The Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus

The
Sino-Tibetan Etymological
Dictionary
and
Thesaurus

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2 Animals and Animal Verbs **515**

2.0 Animals and Animal Verbs **517**
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Chinese comparandum . . . 558
(5) PBod *s-pra MONKEY . . . 558
(6) PKar *(p/b)leʔ^{D} LEMUR (FLYING~) / FLYING SQUIRREL . . . 558
(7) PKar *k-chVN^{A} LORIS . . . 559
(8) PLB *ʔ-loŋ^{1} LORIS, SLOW . . . 559
(9) PDeng *m(i/u)N MONKEY . . . 559

2.1.10 Fowl (i.e. Domestic Birds) **559**
(1) PTB *k-rak FOWL / CHICKEN . . . 559
(2) PTB *daw BIRD . . . 562
Chinese comparandum . . . 564
(3) PTB *haːr BIRD / FOWL / CHICKEN . . . 564
Chinese comparandum . . . 564
(4) PTB *kak CHICKEN . . . 564
(5) PTani *taŋ BIRD . . . 565
(6) PTB *ŋa-n GOOSE . . . 565
Chinese comparandum . . . 565
(7) PTani *ǰap DUCK . . . 565
Chinese comparandum . . . 565
(8) IA *bhāle COCK / ROOSTER . . . 565
(9) PKC *hluy COCK / ROOSTER . . . 566
(10) IA *kukhurā CHICKEN . . . 566
(11) PKar *chjaN^{A} CHICKEN . . . 566
(12) PLB *bay^{1}/^{2} DUCK . . . 566
Chinese comparandum . . . 566
(13) IA *battakh DUCK . . . 566
(14) IA *hạ̄s DUCK . . . 566
(15) CH *yāzi DUCK . . . 567

2.1.11 Canine **567**
(1) PTB *d-k^{w}əy-n DOG . . . 567
Chinese comparandum . . . 571
(2) PTB *na DOG . . . 571
(3) PTB *s-k-ywal WILD DOG / JACKAL / DHOLE / WOLF . . . 571
(4) PTB *gwa FOX . . . 572
Chinese comparandum . . . 572
(5) PKC *tsiŋ-hŋia FOX / DHOLE / WOLF / WILD CANINE . . . 572
(6) PTB *s-pjaŋ WILD DOG . . . 572
(7) PTB *m-par ⪤ *pra WILD DOG / WOLF . . . 573

2.1.11.1 Bark (of dog) **573**
(1) PTB *priŋ ⪤ *b-riŋ BARK (as dog) . . . 573
Chinese comparandum . . . 573
(2) PTB *wu HOWL / WHINE / BARK . . . 573
(3) PTB *laŋ BARK (v.) . . . 573
(4) PTB *haw(ŋ/k) BARK (v.) . . . 574
(5) PTB *zu(k/ŋ) BARK (v.) . . . 574
(6) PKC *ŋi(i)r ⪤ *ŋu(u)r GROWL . . . 574

2.1.12 Porcine **574**
(1) PTB *p^{w}ak PIG . . . 574
Chinese comparandum . . . 580
(2) PTani *rjek PIG . . . 580
(3) PTani *ra WILD BOAR . . . 580
(4) PKC *ŋal ⪤ *hŋal BOAR / PIG (wild) . . . 581
Chinese comparandum . . . 581

2.2.1 Pachyderms **581**
(1) PTB *m-gwi(y) ELEPHANT . . . 581
Chinese comparandum . . . 581
(2) PLB *tsaŋ ELEPHANT . . . 581
(3) PTB *s-ya ELEPHANT . . . 581
(4) PKC *saay ELEPHANT . . . 582
(5) PTB *b-sey RHINOCEROS . . . 582
Chinese comparandum . . . 582

2.2.2 Cervidae **582**
(1) PTB *tswat ANTELOPE / SAMBAR DEER . . . 582
(2) PTani *dum BARKING DEER . . . 582
(3) PTB *d-kəy BARKING DEER / DEER . . . 582
Chinese comparandum . . . 583
(4) TGTM *^{A}pho deer . . . 583
(5) PKar *t-khroʔ^{D} DEER (SAMBHAR) . . . 583
(6) PTB *d-yuk DEER (SAMBHUR / SAMBAR) . . . 583

2.2.3 Ursine **583**
(1) PTB *d-wam BEAR (animal) . . . 583
Chinese comparandum . . . 585

2.2.4 Birds (in general) **585**
(1) PTB *s-ŋak BIRD . . . 585
Chinese comparandum . . . 586
(2) PTB *b(y/r)a BIRD / BEE . . . 586
(3) PTB *ka-n CROW (n.) . . . 588
Chinese comparandum . . . 589
(4) NEIA *a(ː)k CROW / RAVEN . . . 589
(5) PKar *(tho^{B})lwi^{B} DOVE . . . 589
(6) PTB *m-k(r)əw DOVE / PIGEON . . . 589
Chinese comparandum . . . 590
(7) PCC *va-zuun DRONGO (bird) . . . 590
(8) PTB *s-məw EAGLE, HAWK . . . 590
(9) TGTM *^{B}grwat EAGLE, KITE, VULTURE . . . 590
(10) PTB *g-la(ŋ/k) FALCON, VULTURE, EAGLE, KITE, HAWK, BIRD OF PREY . . . 591
Chinese comparandum . . . 591
(11) PTB *hwar HAWK . . . 591
(12) PTB *dzwan HAWK / KITE . . . 591
Chinese comparandum . . . 592
(13) PKC *wa-kok ⪤ *-ʔok HORNBILL . . . 592
(14) PTani *graŋ HORNBILL . . . 592
(15) PTB *(g/k)u OWL . . . 592
Chinese comparandum . . . 592
(16) PKC *tshim-ɓuu OWL . . . 592
(17) PTB *m-dwaŋ PEACOCK . . . 592
Chinese comparandum . . . 593
(18) PTB *s-rik ⪤ *s-ryak PHEASANT / PARTRIDGE . . . 593
Chinese comparandum . . . 593
(19) PKC *wa-huy PIGEON . . . 593
(20) PKC *miim ⪤ *hmiim QUAIL . . . 593
(21) PKC *riit SPARROW . . . 593

2.2.4.1 Particular birds **593**
(1) PKar *pla^{A}/^{B} BAT . . . 593
(2) PKar *lek^{D} HAWK / EAGLE . . . 593
(3) PKar *s-raN^{B} MYNAH . . . 593
(4) PTB *gyəy PARROT / PARAKEET . . . 594
(5) IA *mayūra PEACOCK . . . 594
(6) PKar *(tho^{B})braʔ^{D} PEACOCK . . . 594
(7) PKar *(tho^{B})hrwiʔ^{D} QUAIL . . . 594
(8) PTB *m-tsa SPARROW . . . 594

2.2.5 Fish and Mollusks **595**
(1) PTB *d-k(y)aːy ⪤ *d-k(y)an CRAB . . . 595
(1a) PTB *d-k(y)aːy CRAB . . . 595
Chinese comparandum . . . 595
(2) PTB *s-ŋya FISH . . . 595
Chinese comparandum . . . 599
(3) PKar *ku^{A}/^{B} CATFISH . . . 599
(4) PTk *rew CRAB . . . 599
(5) PKar *daʔ^{D} FISH . . . 599
(6) PQ *r-dzwa FISH . . . 599
(7) PTk *k^{h}aj FISH / AQUATIC CREATURE . . . 599
(8) PTB *kroy SHELLFISH . . . 599
Chinese comparandum . . . 599
(9) PTB *bwap SNAIL . . . 599
Chinese comparandum . . . 599
(10) PTB *k-ru ⪤ *k-rwa SNAIL . . . 599
Chinese comparandum . . . 600
(11) PTB *nyu SNAIL . . . 600
(12) PKC *tseŋ-kol SNAIL (water) . . . 600
(13) PKar *s-ŋwi^{B} SNAIL (WATER~) . . . 600

2.2.6 Insects, Arachnids, and Worms **600**
(1) PTB *pur ⪤ *pwar BUTTERFLY . . . 600
(1a) PTB *pur BUTTERFLY . . . 600
(1b) PTB *pwar BUTTERFLY . . . 600
(2) PTani *ru(k/p) ANT . . . 600
(3) PTB *k/p/s-rwak ANT . . . 600
Chinese comparandum . . . 601
(4) PTk *liŋ ANT . . . 601
(5) PKar *dəŋ^{B} ANT . . . 601
(6) PTani *b(ə/a) BEDBUG . . . 601
(7) PKar *gram^{A} BEDBUG . . . 601
(8) PCN *tʃhak BEE . . . 601
(9) PKar *k-hne^{A} BEE (Apis dorsata) . . . 601
(10) PTB *k/gwaːy ⪤ *k/gwa BEE (dammer) . . . 601
Chinese comparandum . . . 602
(11) PTB *was BEE / HONEY . . . 602
(12) PTB *plyum BEE / WASP . . . 602
Chinese comparandum . . . 602
(13) PTB *s-kryap BUG / ANT / INSECT (LAC) / COCHINEAL . . . 602
Chinese comparandum . . . 602
(14) PCN *phi BUTTERFLY . . . 602
(15) NEIA *ywaŋ CATERPILLAR . . . 602
(16) PKar *siʔ^{D} CATERPILLAR . . . 602
(17) PKar *(t/d)aʔ^{D}ʔbaŋ^{A} CENTIPEDE . . . 603
(18) PKar *ŋjaj^{A} CICADA . . . 603
(19) PKC *thee CICADA / INSECT . . . 603
(20) PKar *s-ki^{A} CRICKET . . . 603
(21) PKC *tsaŋ-tsel EARTHWORM . . . 603
(22) PTani *(t/d)ol EARTHWORM . . . 603
(23) PKar *jɛʔ^{D} EARTHWORM . . . 603
(24) PTB *s-ləy FLEA . . . 603
(25) PTB *m-tow FLY (n.) . . . 604
(26) PTani *jiŋ FLY (n.) . . . 604
(27) PTB *s-b-(r/y)aŋ FLY (n.) / BEE . . . 604
Chinese comparandum . . . 604
(28) PKC *klip GADFLY . . . 604
(29) PTani *jup GADFLY . . . 604
(30) PTani *mit GNAT . . . 604
(31) PTani *kom GRASSHOPPER . . . 605
(32) PKar *ʔdwɛ^{B} GRASSHOPPER . . . 605
(33) PTB *kaw GRASSHOPPER / LOCUST . . . 605
(34) PTani *ŋut^{2} HONEY BEE . . . 605
(35) PTani *gaŋ HORNET . . . 605
(36) PTk *k^{h}u INSECT . . . 605
(37) PKar *gra^{B} INSECT . . . 605
(38) PTB *dyuŋ INSECT / BUG . . . 605
Chinese comparandum . . . 605
(39) PTB *k-r-p^{w}at LEECH . . . 605
(40) PTB *m-liːt LEECH (water-, horse-) . . . 606
Chinese comparandum . . . 607
(41) PTB *s-r(y)ik LOUSE . . . 607
Chinese comparandum . . . 607
(42) PTB *s(y)ar LOUSE . . . 607
(43) PKC *khraʔ LOUSE (body) . . . 609
(44) PKar *(chjaN^{A})gra^{B} LOUSE (chicken) / INSECT . . . 609
(45) PNC *than MAGGOT . . . 609
(46) PTB *s-lu(k/ŋ) MAGGOT / BUTTERFLY . . . 609
Chinese comparandum . . . 610
(47) PKar *k/s-wɛj^{A}/^{B} MILLIPEDE . . . 610
(48) PTB *kraŋ MOSQUITO . . . 610
(49) PTani *ruŋ MOSQUITO . . . 610
(50) PTB *s-diːk SCORPION / CRAB / SHRIMP . . . 610
(51) PKC *maay-mom SPIDER . . . 610
(52) PTani *rum SPIDER . . . 611
(53) PTk *ran SPIDER . . . 611
(54) PTB *m-gu SPIDER . . . 611
(55) PTB *k(w)aŋ ⪤ *p^{w}aŋ SPIDER / SPIN / SPINDLE . . . 611
Chinese comparandum . . . 611
(56) PKar *b-ʔwaN^{A} TERMITE . . . 611
(57) PKar *bi^{B} TERMITE (winged) . . . 611
(58) PTani *pi TICK . . . 612
Chinese comparandum . . . 612
(59) PKar *khej^{B} TICK . . . 612
(60) PLB *s-yawŋ^{2} WAX / BEESWAX . . . 612
(61) PKar *roŋ^{B} WEEVIL . . . 612
(62) PTB *zril WORM . . . 612
Chinese comparandum . . . 612
(63) PTani *pum WORM / INSECT . . . 612
(64) TGTM *^{B}ʃjat louse . . . 612

2.2.7 Other Mammals **612**
(1) PKC *paa-laak BAT . . . 612
(2) PTB *baːk BAT (animal) . . . 612
Chinese comparandum . . . 612
(3) PTani *pon BAT / FLYING FOX . . . 612
(4) PTB *rŋa-mwaŋ CAMEL . . . 613

(5) IA *uṣṭra- CAMEL . . . 613
(6) PKar *(jowᴮ)wiᴬ MOLE . . . 613
(7) PTani *pit PANGOLIN . . . 613
(8) PKar *joᴬ PANGOLIN, ANTEATER . . . 613

2.2.7.1 Otter **613**
(1) PTB *sram OTTER . . . 613
Chinese comparandum . . . 614

2.3 Associated Animal Terms **614**
(1) PKC *pluŋ ANTHILL . . . 614
(2) PNC *khuay-kaay BEEHIVE . . . 615
(3) PTB *s-rap BIT (FOR HORSE) . . . 615
(4) PKar *kɨᴬ CARAPACE / SHELL . . . 615
(5) PKC *ŋooy FISH-TRAP . . . 615
(6) PKC *θek SPUR (of fowl) . . . 615
(7) PKar *ploŋᴮ TERMITE MOUND . . . 615
(8) PKC *nor TRUNK (elephant) . . . 615

2.4 Other Verbs Pertaining to Animals **615**
(1) PKC *khuaŋ-I, *khuan-II; *huaŋ-I, *huan-II CROW (v.) . . . 615
(2) PTani *krok CROW (v.) . . . 615
(3) PTB *groy CROW / HOWL / SCREECH / SCREAM . . . 615
(4) PCC *vulʔ REAR (animal) / DOMESTICATE . . . 615
(5) PTB *w(u/i)l TEND (grazing animals) / WATCH OVER . . . 615

2.4.2 Sting **616**
(1) PCN *tak STING . . . 616

2.4.3 Animal Qualities **616**
(1) PKC *hraaŋ-I, *hraan-II WILD / FRANTIC / ANGRY . . . 616

3 Natural Objects, Plants, Foods **617**

3.1.0 Plants **619**
(1) PTB *dziŋ PLANT (n.) / TREE . . . 619

3.1.1 Names of trees and shrubs **619**
(1) PKC *ɓ(o/u)ŋ BANYAN . . . 619
(2) PKC *hmooŋ ≍ *hmuuŋ BANYAN . . . 619
(3) PKC *rii BANYAN . . . 619
(4) PKC *hriaŋ BIRCH TREE . . . 619
(5) PTB *grwa BIRCH . . . 620
Chinese comparandum . . . 620
(6) PKC *paaŋ COTTON . . . 620
(7) PKar *thəNᴬ DIPTEROCARPUS . . . 620
(8) PKC *θaar PINE (tree) / FIR . . . 620
(9) PTB *m/s-r(a/o)w PINE / FIR . . . 620
(10) PTB *taŋ PINE / FIR . . . 620
Chinese comparandum . . . 621
(11) PTB *ri(ː)m RATTAN / CANE . . . 621
(12) PTani *soŋ RATTAN / CANE . . . 621
(13) PTB *si(ŋ/k) TREE / WOOD / FIREWOOD . . . 621
Chinese comparandum . . . 629
(14) PTB *glaŋ WILLOW / POPLAR . . . 629
Chinese comparandum . . . 629

3.1.2 Plant parts and types **629**
(1) PTani *fiəː BAMBOO (large species) . . . 629
(2) PKar *ʔbaŋᴮ BAMBOO SHOOT . . . 629
(3) PTB *r/g/s-pʷa BAMBOO . . . 629
Chinese comparandum . . . 630
(4) PKC *maaw BAMBOO . . . 630
(5) PTB *ma BAMBOO . . . 631
(6) PKC *tuay BAMBOO-SHOOT . . . 632
(7) PTB *s-m(y)ik CANE / SPROUT . . . 632
(8) PTB *s-nam EAR / SPIKE OF GRAIN . . . 632
(9) PTB *m-da FERN / BRACKEN . . . 632
(10) PTani *kreː ? GINGER . . . 633
(11) PTk *hol GINGER . . . 633
(12) PTB *kyaŋ GINGER . . . 633
Chinese comparandum . . . 633
(13) PTB *pwaːy HUSKS / SHAVINGS / CHAFF . . . 633
Chinese comparandum . . . 634
(14) PTB *g-ram INDIGO . . . 634
Chinese comparandum . . . 634
(15) PKC *thiŋ-luaŋ LOG . . . 634
(16) PTB *tum ≍ *dum LOG / HUNK OF WOOD / SECTION OF SOMETHING LONG . . . 634
(17) PKC *mim MAIZE . . . 634
(18) PTani *fior PANJI (pointed spike) . . . 634
(19) PTani *puːrʔ ROOT . . . 635
(20) PKar *rwiᴮ ROOT . . . 635
(21) PTB *(b/p)ul ROOT / STUMP / TREE . . . 635
Chinese comparandum . . . 635
(22) PKC *phel SLIVER / SPLINTER . . . 635
(23) PKC *θuŋ STICK / STALK / STEM . . . 635
(24) PKC *θuu SUGAR CANE . . . 635
(25) PTk *ʃat THORN . . . 635
(26) PKC *hliŋ THORN . . . 635
(27) PKC *ɗo(o)ŋ TIP / END / SPROUT . . . 635
(28) PTB *kuːŋ TREE / BRANCH / STEM . . . 636
Chinese comparandum . . . 636
(29) PKar *məŋᴮ TRUNK (OF A TREE), FIRE WOOD . . . 636
(30) PCN *th-ləjʔ VINE / VEIN / SINEW . . . 636

3.1.3 Leaves **636**
(1) PNC *teʔ LEAF . . . 636
(2) PTB *s-nas LEAF . . . 636
Chinese comparandum . . . 637
(3) PCN *a-wa LEAF . . . 637
(4) PTB *lay LEAF / PAPER . . . 637
(5) TGTM *ᴬbaː leaf . . . 637

3.1.4 Seeds and flowers, nuts **637**
(1) PTB *baːr BLOOM / FLOWER . . . 637
Chinese comparandum . . . 638
(2) PTB *muːm BUD . . . 638
(3) PTB *r-moy BUD / BLOSSOM / BLOSSOMING . . . 638
(4) PKC *ɓor BUNCH (flower) . . . 638
(5) PTB *b/s-wat FLOWER . . . 638
(6) PTani *pun FLOWER . . . 639
(7) PKar *phɔᴬ FLOWER . . . 639
(8) PKC *huum GRAIN (of unhusked rice and millet) . . . 639
(9) PKC *θaŋ GRAIN / SEED . . . 639
(10) PTB *(m/b)rəw GRAIN / SEED / LINEAGE . . . 639
Chinese comparandum . . . 640
(11) PTani *ñat¹ MILLET (Job's tear) . . . 640
(12) PTani *jak MILLET (fox-tail) . . . 640
(13) PKC *θaaŋ MILLET / RICE PADDY . . . 640
(14) PTB *bay PEA / BEAN / SMALL WEIGHT OR COIN . . . 640
(15) PTk *saam RICE (HULLED) . . . 640
(16) PTani *pim RICE (cooked) . . . 640
(17) PCN *a-tsaŋ RICE (husked, uncooked) . . . 640
(18) PTani *am-bɯn RICE (uncooked) . . . 641
(19) PTB *bu RICE . . . 641
(20) PTB *ma-y ≍ *mey RICE / PADDY . . . 641
Chinese comparandum . . . 641
(21) PTB *li SEED . . . 641
(22) PTB *yəw SEED . . . 642
(23) PKC *tshii SESAME SEED . . . 642
(24) PTB *s-nam SESAME . . . 642
(25) TGTM *ᴬkan food (cooked rice) . . . 642
(26) TGTM *ᴮgrwa/ᴬgrwa wheat . . . 642

3.1.5 Fruits and vegetables **642**
(1) PTani *ko-pak BANANA . . . 642
(2) PKC *ɓan-hlaa BANANA . . . 642
(3) PTB *mow-t BANANA . . . 643
(4) PKC *ɓok-ɓoon ≍ *ɓuk-ɓu BRINJAL / EGGPLANT . . . 643
(5) PKC *man-taat BRINJAL / EGGPLANT . . . 643
(6) PKC *ʔan-kram CABBAGE / MUSTARD / GREENS . . . 643
(7) PKar *haKᴰ CHILI PEPPER / PUNGENT . . . 643
(8) PTani *kuŋ CUCUMBER . . . 643
(9) PKC *yil CUCUMBER . . . 643
(10) PKar *ʔdejᴬ CUCUMBER . . . 643
(11) PTani *braŋ-jom EGGPLANT . . . 643
(12) PKar *s-gaNᴬ EGGPLANT . . . 643
(13) IA *laśuna- GARLIC . . . 643
(14) PKar *srɔᴮ HEMP . . . 643
(15) PKC *seer LEMON / LIME (sour) . . . 644
(16) PKar *khɔʔᴰ MANGO . . . 644
(17) NEIA *haːy MANGO . . . 644
(18) PCC *vul MEDLAR / WILD APPLE . . . 644
(19) PTB *b-tsuŋ ONION . . . 644
Chinese comparandum . . . 644
(20) PTB *swa-n ONION / GARLIC . . . 644
Chinese comparandum . . . 645
(21) PKC *may-tay PEACH . . . 645
(22) PTB *s-ŋak PLANTAIN / BANANA . . . 645
(23) PKar *luNᴮ PUMPKIN (ashy) . . . 645
(24) PTB *maːy PUMPKIN / GOURD . . . 645
(25) PLB *pu PUMPKIN / GOURD . . . 646
Chinese comparandum . . . 646
(26) PLB *blum² TARO . . . 646
(27) PKC *ɓaal TARO / ARUM . . . 646
(28) PTB *g/s-rwa TARO / YAM / TUBER . . . 646
Chinese comparandum . . . 647
(29) PTani *lap WILD GREEN ONION . . . 647
(30) PTB *kywəy YAM . . . 647
(31) PTk *paj YAM . . . 647
(32) PKC *ɓaa YAM . . . 647
(33) PTB *m-n(w)ay YAM / TARO . . . 647
(34) TGTM *ᴮnoː garlic . . . 647

3.1.6 Extracts and processed forms **647**
(1) PKC *taay BEER RESIDUE . . . 647
(2) PKC *ɗaay BIRD-LIME . . . 647
(3) PKC *meʔ ≍ *hmeʔ CURRY . . . 647
(4) TGTM *ᴮkʰu CURRY / SIDE DISH . . . 648
(5) PTB *h(y)an CURRY / VEGETABLE DISH . . . 648
(6) PNC *vuy FLOUR . . . 648
(7) PKC *tshaŋ FLOUR / BREAD . . . 648
(8) PL *raŋ² GREEN VEGETABLE / CABBAGE / MUSTARD . . . 648
(9) PTB *yəw LIQUOR . . . 648
Chinese comparandum . . . 648
(10) PTani *poŋ LIQUOR . . . 648
(11) PTB *m-dzəy LIQUOR . . . 649
(12) PTB *(d/t)uk POISON . . . 649
Chinese comparandum . . . 650
(13) PTB *pʷu POISON . . . 650
(14) PKC *tuur POISON . . . 650
(15) PKC *ruu POISON / POTION . . . 650
(16) PKar *throʔᴰ RESIN . . . 650
(17) PTB *h(w)aŋ RICE / CURRY . . . 650
(18) PKC *ʔaay SPICE / TURMERIC / YELLOW . . . 651
(19) PCN *m-(w)a STRAW . . . 651
(20) PNC *bii THATCH . . . 651
(21) PKC *(ŋaay-)ɗii THATCH . . . 651
(22) PTB *r-tsaːl VEGETABLE . . . 651
(23) PTani *fioː VEGETABLE / CURRY . . . 651
(24) PL *ʔgyak VEGETABLE / GREENS / MUSTARD / CABBAGE . . . 651
(25) PTani *pop YEAST . . . 651
(26) TGTM *ᴬbap beer-mash . . . 652
(27) TGTM *ᴮtaŋ dish, plate, pot . . . 652

3.1.7 Fungi **652**
(1) PTk *waar MUSHROOM . . . 652
(2) PTB *g-r(u/i)n MUSHROOM / FUNGUS . . . 652
Chinese comparandum . . . 652
(3) PTB *g/s-məw MUSHROOM / FUNGUS . . . 652
(4) PKC *paa MUSHROOM / FUNGUS / TOADSTOOL . . . 653

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(2) TGTM *ᴬtʃhi FODDER / GRASS . . . 653
(3) PTB *r-tswa-n GRASS . . . 653
Chinese comparandum . . . 654
(4) PTB *s-yəy GRASS . . . 654
(5) PTB *m(r)(u/a)k GRASS / WEEDS . . . 654
(6) PCC *ram ≍ *hram GRASS / WEEDS . . . 655
(7) PTani *čul SEEDLING . . . 655
(8) PKC *phal SHEAF . . . 655

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(1) PTB *low FIELD . . . 655
(2) PNC *yaaŋ PLAINS-FIELD / FIELD (in plains) . . . 655
(3) PTB *di PLANT (v.) / PADDY FIELD . . . 655
(4) PCC *tsiiŋ-I, *tsiin-II PLANT (v.) / SOW . . . 656
(5) PTani *diː ~ *diŋ PLANT (v.t.) . . . 656
(6) PNC *pooy SOW . . . 656
(7) PKC *tuʔ SOW / PLANT (v.) . . . 656
Chinese comparandum . . . 656

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(2) PCN *liŋ PLANT (v.) . . . 656
(3) PCN *thj [a/ə] m PLANT (v.) / TRANSPLANT . . . 656
(4) PTB *(g/k)ay PLANT . . . 656
(5) PTB *s-min RIPE / COOKED / DELICIOUS . . . 656
(6) PTB *m-bup ROT / SPOTTED / WRITE . . . 658
(7) PKar *səŋᴬ ROTTEN, BAD SMELL . . . 659
(8) PCN *ph-ruk SOW / SCATTER / THROW (seeds) . . . 659
(9) PKC *phuu-I, *phuuk-II TRANSPLANT / UPROOT . . . 659
(10) PTani *san WITHER / DRY . . . 659
(11) PTB *hwaːy WITHER / FADE . . . 659
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(2) PTB *s-dim CLOUD . . . 659
(3) PTB *mway CLOUD / FOG . . . 660
(4) PTB *kyam COLD / SNOW / ICE . . . 660
(5) PKC *ɗaay DEW . . . 660
(6) PTB *(d)zil DEW . . . 660
(7) PTB *muːŋ ⪤ *r/s-muːk FOGGY / DARK / SULLEN / MENACING / THUNDER . . . 661
Chinese comparandum . . . 661
(8) PTB *s-ŋar FROST / ICE . . . 661
(9) PTB *ryal HAIL . . . 662
(10) PTB *syar HAIL / SLEET . . . 662
Chinese comparandum . . . 663
(11) PKC *wuur ICE / FROST / SNOW . . . 663
(12) PTB *s-lyap LIGHTNING / FLASH / GLITTER / BUTTERFLY . . . 663
Chinese comparandum . . . 663
(13) PTB *m/s-raŋ RAIN . . . 663
(14) PTB *m-dzya RAINBOW . . . 664
(15) PTB *twaŋ RAINBOW . . . 664
Chinese comparandum . . . 664
(16) PTB *laŋ RAINBOW . . . 664
(17) PTB *si RAINBOW . . . 664
(18) PDeng *hu(y) RAINBOW . . . 665
(19) PTB *s/m-kwa RAINBOW . . . 665
(20) PTB *dzyaŋ RAINBOW . . . 665
(21) PTB *du(n) RAINBOW . . . 665
(22) PTani *ray RAINBOW . . . 665
(23) PTB *sa(k/ŋ) RAINBOW . . . 665
(24) NEIA *pi(t) RAINBOW . . . 665
(25) PTB *kam RAINBOW . . . 665
(26) PTB *s-la RAINBOW . . . 665
(27) PTB *zuːr RAINY SEASON . . . 665
(28) PTB *r-məw SKY / HEAVENS / CLOUDS . . . 666
(29) PTani *pam SNOW . . . 670
(30) PTB *s-pʷal SNOW / ICE / FROST / HAIL . . . 671
(31) PCC *thruaŋ-(ruaʔ) SPRING RAIN . . . 671
(32) PCC *traw STORM (in spring) / HURRICANE . . . 671
(33) PKC *khraal SUMMER / DRY SEASON . . . 671
(34) PTani *gum THUNDER . . . 672
(35) PTB *glyaːk THUNDERBOLT / LIGHTNING . . . 672
(36) NEIA *doŋ WEATHER FORMATIVE / RAIN . . . 672
(37) PKC *tsiin ⪤ *tseen WET / RAIN (continously) . . . 673
(38) PTB *g-ləy WIND (n.) . . . 673
(39) PTB *buŋ WIND (n.) . . . 674
Chinese comparandum . . . 674
(40) TGTM *ᴮgliŋ snow . . . 674

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(2) PTB *m-ka-n HEAVENS / SKY / SUN . . . 675
Chinese comparandum . . . 675
(3) PTk *caaŋ MOON . . . 675
(4) PTB *s/g-la MOON / MONTH . . . 675
(5) PTB *krəy MOON / MOONLIGHT . . . 679
(6) PTB *g(r/l)aːy SCATTER / SOW / DISPERSED WIDELY / WIDE / STAR . . . 680
Chinese comparandum . . . 681
(7) PKC *waan SKY / HEAVEN . . . 681
(8) PTB *s-kar STAR . . . 681
(9) PTB *swar STAR . . . 682
(10) PNN *dzi STAR . . . 682
(11) PTk *ra STAR . . . 682
(12) PTk *la STAR . . . 682
(13) PKar *chaᴮ STAR . . . 682
(14) PTB *s-ŋʷ(y)a-t STAR / MOON . . . 682
Chinese comparandum . . . 683
(15) PNN *liːt STAR / MOON . . . 683
(16) PKar *miᴮ SUN . . . 683
(17) PTB *s-nəy SUN / DAY / DWELL . . . 683
Chinese comparandum . . . 689
(18) PTB *g-nam SUN / SKY . . . 689
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(4) PTB *r-laŋ STEAM . . . 691
Chinese comparandum . . . 691
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(6) PNN *C̥-yuːŋ WATER . . . 691
(7) PCN *ki WATER . . . 691
(8) PTB *r/m-ba WAVE (in water) / RIPPLE . . . 691
Chinese comparandum . . . 692

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Chinese comparandum . . . 693
(1b) PTB *mul SILVER . . . 693
(2) PKar *swaᴮ CHARCOAL . . . 693
(3) PTB *grəy COPPER . . . 693
(4) PTani *ɯn GOLD . . . 693
(5) PTB *syaːl ⪤ *syiːr IRON . . . 693
(6) PTB *syam IRON . . . 694
(7) PNN *yaːn IRON . . . 695
(8) PTk *ri IRON . . . 695
(9) PTB *l-tsyak IRON / IRON INSTRUMENT . . . 696
Chinese comparandum . . . 696
(10) PKC *suan LEAD (metal) . . . 696
(11) PTB *kar LEAD / BRONZE . . . 696
(12) PTB *(t)swa-y ⪤ *t(s)wa-y RUST / DROSS / STAIN / EXCREMENT . . . 696
(13) PCN *maj SALT . . . 697
(14) PTB *hyam SALTY . . . 697
Chinese comparandum . . . 697
(15) IA *gan ⪤ *gat ⪤ *gay SULFUR . . . 697

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Chinese comparandum . . . 697
(2) PKar *klaᴬ FOREST / JUNGLE . . . 697
(3) PTB *gliŋ GROUND / LAND / ISLAND . . . 697
(4) PKC *mual HILL / MOUND . . . 698
(5) PKC *klaaŋ HILL / MOUNTAIN . . . 698
(6) PCC *vaaw JUNGLE (near hillside field) . . . 698
(7) PTB *ram JUNGLE / FOREST / COUNTRY / FIELD . . . 698
Chinese comparandum . . . 698
(8) PTB *ri MOUNTAIN . . . 698
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Chinese comparandum . . . 700
(13) PKC *ɗil POND / LAKE . . . 700
(14) PKC *lii POOL / LAKE / POND . . . 700
Chinese comparandum . . . 700
(15) PKC *waa RIVER / STREAM / CREEK . . . 700
(16) PKC *tsirʔ SWAMP / MIRE / SLOUGH . . . 701
(17) PKC *kuam VALLEY . . . 701
(18) PKC *phaay VALLEY / PLAINS . . . 701
(19) PTB *kl(y)u(ŋ/k) VALLEY / RIVER . . . 701
Chinese comparandum . . . 701
(20) PKC *ruam VALLEY / VALE . . . 701
(21) PKC *ɓual WALLOW / LAKE . . . 701

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(2) PKC *ʔo(o)ŋ HOLE / APERTURE / OPENING . . . 701
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(4) PTB *kwar HOLE / ORIFICE / INNARDS . . . 702
Chinese comparandum . . . 703
(5) PTB *(g/k)uŋ HOLE / ORIFICE / INNER PART . . . 703
Chinese comparanda . . . 705
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Chinese comparandum . . . 706
(3) PTB *tsa SALT . . . 706
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(4) PTB *la SALT . . . 707
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(2) PNC *yiiŋ DARK . . . 711
(3) PTB *r(u/i)m DARK / SHADE / DUSK / TWILIGHT . . . 711
Chinese comparandum . . . 711
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(6) PTani *kom EARLY MORNING . . . 712
(7) PKC *ɗay LIGHT / DAYLIGHT . . . 713
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(9) PKC *yiiŋ MORNING (early) . . . 713
(10) PTB *ya-n NIGHT . . . 713
Chinese comparandum . . . 713
(11) PKC *muy NIGHT / DARKNESS . . . 713
(12) PTB *g(l)(i/u)m SET (OF THE SUN) . . . 714
(13) PTani *vaŋ SET (SUN) . . . 714
(14) PKC *hli(i)m SHADE / SHADOW (n.) . . . 714
(15) PKC *hliap SHADOW (n.) / SUNSHADE . . . 714
(16) PCN *khə(m/p) SHADOW / SHADE . . . 714
(17) PTani *mloŋ-rji SHADY SIDE OF MOUNTAIN . . . 714
(18) PTB *glwak SHINE / FLASH . . . 714
Chinese comparandum . . . 715
(19) PKC *klaaŋ-I, *klaan-II SHINE / LIGHT / BRIGHT . . . 715
Chinese comparandum . . . 715
(20) PKar *goᴮ SUNLIGHT / HOT . . . 715
(21) PTB *tsyar SUNSHINE . . . 715

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(1) PTB *tal CHARCOAL / DUST / ASHES . . . 715
Chinese comparandum . . . 715
(2) PTB *krəy DIRT / FILTH . . . 715
(3) PNC *niin-I, *nit-II; *neen-I, *net-II DIRTY . . . 715
(4) PTk *kʰow DIRTY . . . 715
(5) PCN *m-njan DIRTY . . . 715
(6) PTB *r-(d/t)ul DUST . . . 715
Chinese comparandum . . . 716
(7) PCC *phut DUST / POWDER . . . 716
Chinese comparandum . . . 716
(8) PTB *m-l(e/ə)y EARTH / COUNTRY / GROUND / MUD / SOIL . . . 716
(9) PTB *ts(y)a EARTH / GROUND . . . 717
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Chinese comparandum . . . 718
(11) PTB *(s/z)a-y EARTH / SAND . . . 718
Chinese comparandum . . . 719
(12) PCC *hnoom FILTHY / DIRTY . . . 719
(13) PTB *tsak FILTHY / DIRTY / RAT . . . 719
(14) PCC *tlak MUD / CLAY . . . 719
(15) PKC *ɓuan MUD / FOAM . . . 719
(16) PKC *nooy ⪤ *naay MUDDY / DIRTY . . . 719
(17) PTani *mɯk POWDER . . . 719
(18) PLB *ʔ-munˡ/³ POWDER . . . 719
(19) PKC *neel SAND . . . 720
(20) PKar *hmɛʔᴰ SAND . . . 720
(21) PTani *mroŋ WORLD / LAND / EARTH . . . 720

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(1) PTB *m-ba SHINE / BRIGHT . . . 720
(2) PTB *(p/b/h)(w/y)a(:)(r/l/n/t) FIRE / BURN / SHINE / BRIGHT / LIGHT / WHITE . . . 721
Chinese comparandum . . . 721
(2a) PTB *bʷar ⪤ *pʷar BURN / FIRE / KINDLE / ROAST . . . 721
Chinese comparandum . . . 721
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Chinese comparandum . . . 722
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(4) PTB *pluŋ BURN . . . 723
(5) PTani *-notᵉ ~ *ñotᵉ KINDLE . . . 723
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Chinese comparandum . . . 723
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Chinese comparandum . . . 724
(9) PKC *phalʔ EXTINGUISH (fire) . . . 724
(10) PKC *ʔuut BURN / CHAR / SCORCH . . . 724
(11) PTB *kyit BURN / SCORCH . . . 724
(12) PKC *hreem ⪤ *hriim SCORCH / BURN . . . 724

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Chinese comparandum . . . 728
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(20) PNC *kuaŋ FLAME . . . 728
(21) PTB *kəw-n/t SMOKE . . . 728
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4.0.0 Kinship Terms, Ethnonyms, Social Roles 733
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(2) PTB *r-mi(ŋ/n) NAME / COMMAND . . . 733
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(2) PTk *ʔej 1ST PERSON . . . 735
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(4) PTB *ŋa-y ⪤ *ka I / ME / 1st p. PRONOUN / SELF . . . 735
Chinese comparandum . . . 738
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Chinese comparandum . . . 746
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Chinese comparandum . . . 746
(3) PTani *ko: CHILD . . . 746
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Chinese comparandum . . . 749
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(1) PTani *mji-bo GUEST / OUTSIDER . . . 749
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Chinese comparandum . . . 751
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Chinese comparandum . . . 751
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Chinese comparandum . . . 753
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Chinese comparandum . . . 754
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Chinese comparandum . . . 755
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Chinese comparandum . . . 755
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Chinese comparandum . . . 755
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Chinese comparandum . . . 755

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Chinese comparandum . . . 756
(8) PTani *me SISTER (elder) . . . 756
(9) PTani *buːr-məː SISTER (younger) . . . 756
(10) PTB *sriŋ SISTER . . . 757
Chinese comparanda . . . 757
(11) PTani *prem TWIN . . . 757
(12) PKC *phi(i/a)r TWIN / TWAIN . . . 757
(13) PTk *tow YOUNGER RELATIVE . . . 757
(14) PTB *(t/d)oy YOUNGER SIBLING . . . 757
Chinese comparandum . . . 757
(15) PTB *naːw YOUNGER SIBLING . . . 757
(16) PTB *nyey YOUNGER SIBLING . . . 758
(17) TGTM *ᴮ(ʔ) t(h)et siblings . . . 758

4.7.3 Later generation 758
(1) PTani *fio CHILD (offspring) . . . 758
(2) PTB *syu(w)-n GRANDCHILD . . . 758
Chinese comparandum . . . 759
(3) PTB *b/m-ləy GRANDCHILD / NEPHEW / NIECE . . . 759
Chinese comparandum . . . 759
(4) PKar *loᴬ GREAT-GRANDCHILD . . . 759
(5) PKar *laᴬ GREAT-GREAT-GRANDCHILD . . . 759
(6) PTB *m-(t/d)u NEPHEW / DESCENDANT . . . 759
Chinese comparandum . . . 759

4.7.4 Related by marriage 759
(1) PKar *ʔdɛᴮ DAUGHTER-IN-LAW . . . 759
(2) TGTM *ᴬtsaŋ DAUGHTER-IN-LAW . . . 759
(3) PTB *s-nam DAUGHTER-IN-LAW / WIFE / SISTER . . . 760
(4) PKC *pa-sal HUSBAND . . . 760
(5) PTani *mi-lo HUSBAND . . . 760
(6) PKar *gwaᴬ HUSBAND . . . 760
(7) PTk *mow SISTER-IN-LAW . . . 760
(8) PTk *nɐŋ SISTER-IN-LAW . . . 760
(9) PTB *krwəy SON-IN-LAW / DAUGHTER-IN-LAW . . . 760
(10) PTk *ʃaŋ SPOUSE . . . 761
(11) PKC *ʔay STEP- (father, mother, child) . . . 761
(12) PLB *m-ya² WIFE . . . 761
(13) PKar *hmaᴬ WIFE . . . 761
(14) TGTM *mriŋ WIFE . . . 761
(15) TGTM *ᴬbe wife . . . 761

4.7.5 General 761
(1) PKC *ɗooŋ HOUSEHOLD / FAMILY . . . 761
(2) PTk *dar OLDER RELATIVE . . . 761

5 Culture, Artifacts, Religion 763

5.0.0 Culture, Artifacts, Religion 765
(1) PKC *tsaaŋ ROW / LINE (horizontal) . . . 765
(2) PKC *klaar ROW / LINE . . . 765

5.1.0 Waste products 765
(1) PLB *bi¹ ANVIL . . . 765
(2) PTani *pruŋ FLUTE . . . 765
(3) PTB *gliŋ TUBE / FLUTE . . . 765
Chinese comparandum . . . 765

5.3.0 Diseases 765
(1) PKC *puul PLAGUE / EPIDEMICS . . . 765
(2) PTani *bum SMALLPOX . . . 765

5.4.0 Instruments and therapies 765
(1) PTk *ri MEDICINE . . . 765
(2) PTB *s-man MEDICINE . . . 765
(3) PCN *mV-ləj MEDICINE / CREAM . . . 766
(4) PTB *r-tsəy MEDICINE / JUICE / PAINT . . . 766
Chinese comparandum . . . 767

5.5.0 Cooking Implements 767
(1) PTB *kwak BOWL . . . 767
(2) PCN *a-hjəm ⪤ *a-həm BREAD / BISCUIT / FLOUR . . . 767
(3) PTani *nu COOKED . . . 767
(4) PLB *ʔ-lu¹ FRY / STIR-FRY / TOAST . . . 767
(5) PTani *do-ŋoŋʔ LEFTOVER (FOOD) . . . 768
(6) PTB *(t)sum MORTAR . . . 768
(7) PTani *par MORTAR . . . 769
(8) PNC *suk PESTLE . . . 769
(9) PTk *kow PESTLE . . . 769
(10) PTB *s-k-ywak POKER / PUDDING-STICK / LADLE . . . 769
Chinese comparandum . . . 769
(11) PTani *(pV)-kiŋ POT (generic) . . . 769
(12) PKar *bəŋᴬ POT . . . 769
(13) PTB *m/ʔ-dik/ŋ POT / CAULDRON . . . 769
Chinese comparandum . . . 770
(14) PTB *yam ⪤ *ʔam POT / GOURD . . . 770
(15) PTB *pu POT / PLATE / DISH . . . 770
(16) PKC *ɓeel POT / UTENSIL / CAULDRON . . . 771
Chinese comparandum . . . 771
(17) PKC *t(h)uul SKEWER / SPIT . . . 771
(18) PTk *re TOAST . . . 771

5.6.0 Culinary nouns 771
(1) PKC *hraay CUP . . . 771
(2) PKC *naw CUP / MUG / JUG . . . 771
(3) PKC *tshiin LID / COVER . . . 771

5.7.0 Culinary verbs 771
(1) PTani *krəŋ BOIL (e.g. meat) . . . 771
(2) PTB *prut BOIL (v.) . . . 771
Chinese comparandum . . . 771
(3) PKC *plok BOIL (v.) . . . 771

(4) PTk *hɐŋ BOIL (v.) . . . 771
(5) PTani *fu BOIL (v.i.) . . . 771
(6) PTani *kil BOIL (water) . . . 771
(7) PTB *tsyow BOIL / BURN / COOK / BAKE . . . 772
Chinese comparandum . . . 772
(8) PTani *rom BURN / ROAST OVER FIRE . . . 772
(9) PNC *huan COOK . . . 772
(10) PTB *s-(k/g)lak COOK / COOKED / BOIL . . . 772
(11) PKC *tshuaŋ-I, *tshuan-II COOK / PUT ON TOP OF . . . 773
(12) PKC *kiaw FRY . . . 773
(13) PTB *r-ŋaw FRY / ROAST . . . 773
Chinese comparandum . . . 773
(14) PKC *raw-I, *roʔ-II GRILL / BAKE / BURN . . . 773
(15) PKar *deN^{A} ROAST (by stuffing into fresh bamboo sections) . . . 773
(16) PTani *va: ROAST IN A PAN (without adding oil) / PARCH . . . 773
(17) PTk *row ROAST . . . 773
(18) PTB *ʔ(u/i)m ROAST / DRY BY FIRE . . . 773
(19) PTani *braŋ SINGE / ROAST IN FIRE . . . 774
(20) PKC *huʔ WELL-COOKED . . . 774

5.8.0 Religion **774**
(1) PCN *m-ɣaj BLESS . . . 774

5.8.1 Dieties and Spiritual Beings **774**
(1) PKC *ɗooy CHARM / MAGIC / LURE . . . 774
(2) PKC *l(i/e)m IMAGE / IDOL / PICTURE . . . 774
(3) PCC *thooy OFFER (sacrifice) . . . 774
(4) PTB *s-g-luːm PRAY / WORSHIP . . . 774
(5) PTB *m-hla SOUL / DEMON / GOD / BEAUTIFUL . . . 774
(6) PCN *hraːm SPIRIT / DEMON . . . 776
(7) TGTM *^{A}l^{h}u snake-god . . . 776

5.9.0 Monetary Terms **776**
(1) PTB *man COST / PRICE . . . 776
(2) PKC *lay-ɓaa DEBT . . . 776
(3) PKC *raw INHERITANCE / ASSET / WEALTH . . . 776
(4) PKar *hrun^{A} MONEY . . . 776
(5) PCN *a-tshan MONEY / PRICE . . . 776
(6) IA *ṭaŋka- MONEY / RUPEE / STAMPED COIN . . . 776
(7) PTani *rə (~ *re ?) PRICE . . . 777
(8) PKC *rum RICH . . . 777
(9) PKC *haaw-I, *hawʔ-II RICH / WEALTHY . . . 777
(10) PKC *hloʔ WAGES . . . 777
(11) PKC *sum WEALTH / MONEY / RICHES . . . 777

5.10.0 Items of Culture **777**
(1) PKC *ɗaan CODE / CUSTOM / METHOD / WAY . . . 777
(2) PKC *phuŋ CUSTOM / BEHAVIOR / RITES . . . 777
(3) PTB *luk CUSTOM / MANNER . . . 777
Chinese comparandum . . . 777
(4) PTB *krim CUSTOM / PROHIBITION . . . 777
Chinese comparandum . . . 777
(5) PKC *koŋ STORY / ABOUT (something) . . . 777
(6) PTB *niŋ WAY / METHOD / CUSTOM . . . 777

5.11.0 Artifacts (unclassified as yet) **777**
(1) PKC *laaŋ ⪤ *hlaaŋ BIER / STRETCHER . . . 777
(2) PKC *hnaa WORK / JOB . . . 778
(3) PKC *rian WORK / JOB . . . 778

5.11.1 Containers **778**
(1) PKC *yaal BAG / POCKET . . . 778
(2) PTB *kaw BASKET . . . 778
(3) PTB *ta BOX / CABINET . . . 778
(4) PKC *ɓoom CONTAINER / BOX / BASKET . . . 778
(5) PKC *ŋiaŋ HANDLE (n.) / SPOUT . . . 778
(6) PKar *do^{B} HANDLE . . . 778
(7) PTB *kwaŋ TROUGH / BOAT / BOX / TRAY . . . 778
Chinese comparandum . . . 778

5.11.2 Conveyances **778**
(1) PTB *m-ləy BOAT . . . 778
(2) PTB *m-lawŋ BOAT . . . 779
Chinese comparandum . . . 779
(3) PTani *si-puɯ BOAT . . . 779
(4) PTk *k^{h}oŋ BOAT . . . 779
(5) PTB *s-lyaŋ CART . . . 779
(6) PKC *hlet EXIT / BACKDOOR . . . 780
(7) PTani *braŋ LADDER . . . 780
(8) PTB *m-gam LADDER / RAMP . . . 780
(9) PTB *pu(u)m RAFT . . . 780
(10) PTB *poŋ RAFT / FLOAT . . . 780
Chinese comparandum . . . 780

5.11.3 Musical objects **780**
(1) PKC *ɗaar BRASS / BELL . . . 780
(2) PCC *sum-seel CYMBAL . . . 780
(3) PKC *khuaŋ DRUM (n.) . . . 781
(4) PTani *guŋ-gaŋ JEW'S HARP . . . 781
(5) PTB *hla SONG . . . 781

5.11.4 Rope **781**
(1) PTB *ʔ-ney BAMBOO STRIP (for tying) . . . 781
(2) PKar *sra^{A} BAMBOO STRIP . . . 781
(3) PKC *khaaw CORD / ROPE . . . 781
(4) PKar *blej^{A} STRING / ROPE . . . 781

5.11.5 Tools **781**
(1) PTB *r-p^{w}a AXE . . . 781
Chinese comparandum . . . 782
(2) PKC *hray AXE / ADZE (n.) . . . 782
(3) PTB *m-dzəy CHISEL . . . 782
(4) PTk *hur FAN . . . 782
(5) PTB *kram FENCE / GARDEN . . . 782
Chinese comparandum . . . 783
(6) PKC *kol FETTER / YOKE . . . 783
(7) PTB *g-(t/d)ap FIREPLACE / ASHES . . . 783
(8) PTB *g-rap FIREPLACE / FIREPLACE SHELF . . . 783
(9) PTB *s/m-t(w)a ⪤ *(t/d)u HAMMER / STRIKE / SLAP . . . 783
Chinese comparandum . . . 784
(10) PTB *s-ta KNIFE / AXE / SWORD . . . 784
Chinese comparandum . . . 784
(11) PCN *nuk MACHETE / DAO . . . 784
(12) PTB *(r/s)-(g/k)wa-n NET (CASTING) . . . 784
Chinese comparandum . . . 784
(13) PTani *sap NET . . . 784
(14) PTB *gram NET / BAMBOO SCREEN . . . 784
Chinese comparandum . . . 784
(15) PTB *lyan STICK / BRANCH / TORCH . . . 784
(16) PKC *tsaay-tseʔ TONGS / PINCERS / PLIERS . . . 785
(17) PTani *mə-ru TORCH . . . 785
(18) PTB *m-dzyam WEDGE . . . 785
(19) PNC *haak YOKE . . . 785

5.11.6 Textile **785**
(1) PKC *thuam APPAREL / CLOTH / DRESS . . . 785
(2) PTk *p^{h}i CLOTH . . . 785
(3) PCN *a-ʃə CLOTH / SHAWL . . . 785
(4) PKar *hlow^{B} COTTON THREAD . . . 785
(5) PTB *b-la COTTON . . . 785
(6) PKC *pat FIBER / COTTON / THREAD . . . 786
(7) PTB *s-nat HEDDLES (of a loom) . . . 786
(8) PKC *thiam LOOM . . . 786
(9) PTB *k-ra(p/m) NEEDLE . . . 786
Chinese comparandum . . . 786
(10) PKC *hriaw NEEDLE . . . 786
(11) PTB *p(r/y)im NEEDLE . . . 786
(12) PTB *bliŋ STRING / THREAD / CORD . . . 787
Chinese comparandum . . . 787
(13) NEIA *laŋ THREAD / COTTON / YARN . . . 787
(14) PCC *zaay THREAD / STRAND (classifier) . . . 787
(15) PTB *krəw THREAD / STRING / PLAIT . . . 787
(16) PCN *a-hjaŋ THREAD / YARN . . . 787
(17) TGTM *^{B}trup thread (sewing) . . . 787

5.11.7 Ornaments **787**
(1) PTk *ca NECKLACE . . . 787
(2) PKC *khrii NECKLACE / BEADS . . . 787

5.11.8 Ornamentation **787**
(1) PTani *broŋ-paʔ CANE HAT . . . 787
(2) PTk *ʃɐŋ CLOTHES . . . 788
(3) PKC *tsay DECORATE . . . 788
(4) PTB *b/s-ni(y) DRAWERS / PETTICOAT . . . 788
(5) PKar *klVŋ^{B} HAT . . . 788
(6) PCN *a-hnjaːm HEADSTRAP / TUMPLINE . . . 788
(7) PTB *s-nam HEADSTRAP, TUMPLINE . . . 788
(8) PTani *gon LOINCLOTH . . . 788
(9) PTani *lə-kram SHOE . . . 788
(10) PTB *s-la TROUSERS . . . 788
(11) TGTM *^{B}ɖaː tumpline / carrying headband . . . 789

5.11.9 Dwellings **789**
(1) PKC *ɓuuk ⪤ *ɓook BARN / BOOTH / HUT . . . 789
(2) PTani *sɯŋ-praŋʔ BOARD / PLANK . . . 789
(3) DRV *wut BRICK . . . 789
(4) PTani *rjap DOOR . . . 789
(5) PTB *kam DOOR . . . 789
(6) PKC *kot DOOR / GATE . . . 789
(7) PCN *a-tam FLOOR . . . 790
(8) PKC *tual FRONTYARD / FELLOW (villager) . . . 790
(9) PKC *thuu HEARTHSTONE / TRIVET . . . 790
(10) PCC *ruun HOUSE / HOME . . . 790
(11) PKC *khlaam HUT / FIELDHUT . . . 790
(12) PTB *hyam MAT . . . 790
(13) PKC *pher MAT . . . 790
(14) PKar *khlɔ^{B} MAT . . . 790
(15) PKar *k-bɔŋ^{A} PEN / COOP . . . 790
(16) PTB *kruk PEN / CORRAL . . . 790
Chinese comparandum . . . 791
(17) TGTM *^{A}braŋ cowshed . . . 791

5.11.11 Construction **791**
(1) PTB *duːŋ POST / COLUMN . . . 791
Chinese comparandum . . . 791

5.14.0 Husbandry **791**
(1) PKC *tshaak BRIDLE . . . 791
(2) PTani *rjok-čik DAGGER . . . 791
(3) PTB *kwa(ŋ/k) FENCE / ENCLOSURE / CIRCLE / RING . . . 791
(4) PTB *s-ga SADDLE / HARNESS . . . 791
Chinese comparandum . . . 792
(5) PTani *bruk SHEATH . . . 792

5.15.0 War and violence **792**
(1) PTani *mro ARROW POISON (ACONITE) . . . 792
(2) PTB *m-da ARROW . . . 792
(3) PTani *puk ARROW . . . 792
(4) PTB *dzan ARROW . . . 792
(5) PTB *tal ARROW / BOW (weapon) . . . 792
Chinese comparandum . . . 792
(6) PTB *d/s-ləy BOW (weapon) / SLINGSHOT . . . 792
Chinese comparandum . . . 793
(7) PTB *g/b/m-la-y BOW / ARROW . . . 793
Chinese comparandum . . . 794
(8) PTB *mlok CANNON . . . 794
(9) PTB *m-dan CROSSBOW . . . 794
(10) PTB *s-na CROSSBOW . . . 795
Chinese comparandum . . . 795
(11) PLB *krak^{H} CROSSBOW . . . 795
(12) PKC *khoot-I, *khoʔ-II DART / LANCE / SPEAR / THROW . . . 795
(13) PCC *zeen GUNPOWDER . . . 795
(14) PTk *k^{h}aj KNIFE . . . 795
(15) PTB *taŋ KNIFE . . . 795
(16) PNN *gləŋ KNIFE / MACHETE / DAO . . . 795
(17) PKC *tsem KNIFE / SWORD . . . 795
(18) PKC *ɵay LANCE / SPEAR . . . 795
(19) PTani *rjok MACHETE / DAO . . . 796
(20) PTani *gat^{1}- QUIVER (for arrows) . . . 796
(21) PTB *tsyuŋ SHIELD . . . 796
(22) PKC *tshaay SLINGSHOT . . . 796
(23) PTk *roŋ SLINGSHOT . . . 796
(24) PKC *tha(a)ŋ SNARE / TRAP . . . 796
(25) PCN *tshaʔ SPEAR (n.) . . . 796
(26) PTk *tsej SPEAR . . . 796
(27) PKC *tiaŋ SPEAR / STICK . . . 796
(28) PKC *na(a)m SWORD / KNIFE . . . 796
(29) PTB *m-duŋ ⪤ *daŋ SWORD / SPEAR . . . 796
(30) PKC *maŋ-khooŋ TRAP (falling log) / DEADFALL . . . 797
(31) PTB *ŋ-wa TRAP . . . 797
(32) PTB *d-mak WAR / SOLDIER . . . 797
Chinese comparandum . . . 798

6 Verbs of Motion, of Manipulation, and of Production **799**

6.1.1 Affect **801**
(1) PTB *(b/p)am BE DEFEATED / SIT / DEFEAT . . . 801
Chinese comparandum . . . 801
(2) PKC *tsim COLLAPSE / FALL DOWN . . . 801
(3) PKC *kluu-I, *kluuk-II COLLAPSE / FALL OVER . . . 801
(4) PCC *poŋ COME OFF / UNLOOSE / FALL OFF . . . 801
(5) PTani *rjuɯ DO . . . 801
(6) PTk *sa DO / MAKE . . . 801
(7) PTB *day DO / MAKE . . . 801
(8) PKar *ma^{A} DO / MAKE . . . 801
(9) PKC *tuaʔ DO / MAKE / WORK . . . 802

(10) PTB *du DWELL / STAY / SIT / REST / LIVE . . . 802
Chinese comparandum . . . 802
(11) PTB *(g/k)rwil FALL (AS LEAVES) / CAUSE TO FALL . . . 802
(12) PKar *dɛʔ[D] FALL DOWN . . . 802
(13) PTB *m-bap FALL OVER . . . 802
Chinese comparandum . . . 802
(14) PTB *(k/g)la-k/y/t FALL . . . 802
Chinese comparandum . . . 803
(15) PTB *hwal FALL . . . 803
(16) PKC *puur FALL / UPROOT . . . 803
(17) PKC *phuur FELL / UPROOT . . . 803
(18) PTB *dzywal HANG DOWN / SAG . . . 803
(19) PTB *(d/n)way HANG FROM / CLING TO / CREEPER . . . 803
Chinese comparandum . . . 804
(20) PTB *pyaŋ HANG . . . 804
(21) PTB *hak HANG . . . 804
(22) PTB *k(w)aːy HANG . . . 804
Chinese comparandum . . . 804
(23) PKC *ɓok-I, *ɓoʔ-II LIE (face down) / PROSTRATE . . . 804
Chinese comparandum . . . 804
(24) PCC *tlolʔ MISS . . . 804
(25) PKC *kh(r)ial-I, *kh(r)ialʔ-II MISS / FAIL / MISTAKE . . . 804
(26) PTB *klwaŋ PLAY (as music) . . . 805
(27) PTB *r-tsyaːy PLAY . . . 805
(28) PTani *soŋ-man PLAY . . . 805
(29) PTB *m-prey PLAY . . . 805
(30) PKC *θual SAG / LONG / HANG (low) . . . 805
(31) PTB *m-(t/d)u(ŋ/k) SIT . . . 806
Chinese comparandum . . . 806
(32) PNungic *roŋ SIT . . . 806
(33) PTB *m-tsu-ŋ SIT . . . 806
(34) PTB *m-tow SIT . . . 807
(35) PTB *syu-t SIT . . . 807
(36) PTB *myan SIT . . . 807
(37) PTB *m-ba SIT . . . 807
(38) PTB *rap or *lap SIT . . . 807
(39) PTB *ŋaŋ SIT . . . 807
(40) PTk *tsɐm SIT . . . 807
(41) PTB *s-(m/n)əy SIT / DWELL / CONTINUATIVE . . . 807
(42) PTB *war SIT / PERCH . . . 808
(43) PTB *waŋ SIT / REMAIN / STAY . . . 808
(44) PTani *prɯt UNDRESS . . . 808
(45) PTB *lyaŋ WAIT . . . 808
(46) PTk *raj WAIT . . . 809
(47) PTB *huŋ WAIT . . . 809
(48) PTB *s-ŋa-k WAIT . . . 809
(49) PTB *dzawŋ WAIT / WATCH FOR . . . 809
(50) PKC *kruan WORK . . . 810
(51) IA *kam WORK . . . 810
(52) PTB *mow WORK / MOVE . . . 810
Chinese comparandum . . . 811
(53) TGTM *[B]gjat work . . . 811

6.2.0 Action Verbs with Patient **811**
(1) PTB *twak CALCULATE / COUNT / TALLY . . . 811
(2) PTB *r-tsyəy COUNT . . . 811
Chinese comparandum . . . 812
(3) PTB *wyal COUNT . . . 812
(4) PTani *krɯ COUNT / CALCULATE . . . 812
(5) PKC *tik-I, *tiʔ-II FUEL / ADD (to fire) . . . 812
(6) PKC *luaʔ INHABIT / OCCUPY / INHERIT . . . 812
(7) PNC *teeŋ INHABIT / STAY . . . 812
(8) PTani *grəŋ LEAN AGAINST . . . 812
(9) PKC *hŋa(t/n) LEAN ON . . . 812
(10) PTB *p[w]a LOOK FOR / SEARCH . . . 812
(11) PTB *(g/k)raŋ MEASURE / COUNT . . . 812
Chinese comparandum . . . 813
(12) PNC *suan REPLACE / PLANT (v.) . . . 813
(13) PTB *gyi ≍ *dzyi RIDE / SIT ASTRIDE / SIT (HORSE) . . . 813
(14) PKC *ruk ≍ *hruk SHEATHE / CORK / PUT ON (cloth) . . . 813
(15) PTB *s-nak ≍ *naŋ STEP ON . . . 814

6.2.2 Assorted action verbs **814**
(1) PTB *(g/k)wa-n WEAR / CLOTHE . . . 814
(1a) PTB *s-gywa(n/t) WEAR / PUT ON / CLOTHE . . . 814
Chinese comparandum . . . 815
(1b) PTB *w(y)a-t ≍ *wit WEAR / CLOTHE . . . 815
Chinese comparandum . . . 816
(2) PTB *kway CONCEAL / HIDE / SHUN . . . 816
(3) PTB *dzin EXHAUST / COME TO AN END . . . 816
Chinese comparandum . . . 816
(4) PKC *hot-I, *hoʔ-II FLUSH (game) / HUNT (game) / STIR UP . . . 816
(5) PKC *kha(a)m ≍ *khap FORBID / BAN / OBSTRUCT / REFRAIN . . . 816
(6) PCN *hnjak GUARD (v.) . . . 816
(7) PTB *s-klawŋ GUARD / TEND CATTLE / GRAZE / BE AT LEISURE . . . 816
Chinese comparandum . . . 817
(8) PNC *tsiŋ-I, *tsin-II GUARD / WATCH . . . 817
(9) PKC *weeŋ-I, *ween-II GUARD / WATCH . . . 817
(10) PKC *thup HIDE . . . 817
(11) PTk *t[h]um HIDE . . . 817
(12) PTB *s-p[w]ak HIDE (v.) . . . 817
(13) PSPC *wum HIDE / COVER . . . 817
(14) PPC *ɓuu HIDE / COVER UP . . . 817
(15) PCN *ram HIDE / CONCEAL . . . 817
(16) PTk *reŋ HUNT . . . 817
(17) PTB *s-r-way LEAD (v.) / TEND / WATCH / GUARD . . . 817
(18) PTB *wəy LOAD . . . 818
(19) PTB *wa(n/t) LOAD / BURDEN / TRANSPORT . . . 818
(20) PKC *hool LOOK FOR / SEARCH . . . 818
(21) PKC *hnok OBSTRUCT / DISTURB . . . 818
Chinese comparandum . . . 818
(22) PKC *yuut PAINT / PLASTER / RUB . . . 818
(23) PKar *plom[B] PILE . . . 818
(24) PKC *ɗaal PREVENT / PROTECT . . . 818
(25) PKar *leʔ[D] PUT ON (A NECKLACE), WEAR . . . 818
(26) PKar *səʔ[D] PUT ON, WEAR . . . 818
(27) PKC *khru(u)l RESCIND / DETER . . . 818
(28) PTani *m(a/e) SEARCH / LOOK FOR . . . 818
(29) PKC *yoŋ-I, *yon-II SEARCH / LOOK FOR / QUEST . . . 818
(30) PLB *s/g-(y/r)a SEEK / SEARCH / LOOK FOR . . . 819
(31) PKC *ɗor SHADOW (v.) . . . 819
(32) PTB *ʔap ≍ *gaːp SHOOT . . . 819
(33) PTB *m-puk SHOOT . . . 820
(34) PTB *kroy SURROUND . . . 820
(35) PNC *ʔu(u)m SURROUND . . . 820
(36) PKC *kul-I, *kulʔ-II SURROUND / CONFINE . . . 821
(37) PTani *krɯ TAKE AIM . . . 821
(38) PKC *tshin TEST / TRY OUT . . . 821
(39) PTB *bu(w) WEAR . . . 821
(40) PKar *ch(w)ɛŋ[A] WEAR (A SHOULDER BAG) . . . 821
(41) PKC *θeeŋ-I, *θeen-II WEAR (lower garments) . . . 821
(42) PKC *ʔooy-I, *ʔoyʔ-II WEAR (necklace) . . . 821
(43) PKC *si(n/l) WEAR / PUT ON (cloth) . . . 821
(44) PTB *bat WIND AROUND . . . 821
(45) TGTM *[B]dot load . . . 821
(46) PKC *ɓay EXERT / ATTEMPT . . . 821
(47) PCC *traŋ-I, *tran-II EXERT / MAKE EFFORT . . . 821
(48) PKar *chuN[A] EXERT FORCING TO EXPEL . . . 821
(49) PCN *jaːm SEARCH / SEEK . . . 821
(50) PNC *hoʔ VISIT . . . 822
(51) PTB *pu-n/ŋ CARRY . . . 822
(52) PCN *p[a/ə]n CARRY (by hand) . . . 822
(53) PTB *bəw CARRY (ON BACK OR SHOULDERS) . . . 822
(54) PKC *pua-I, *puak-II CARRY (on back) . . . 823
(55) PTB *p-kur or *k-pur CARRY (on back) . . . 823
(56) PQ *s-ku ≍ *m-gu CARRY (on back) . . . 823
(57) PKC *yooŋ-I, *yoon-II CARRY (together) . . . 823
(58) PCN *haːn CARRY / PREGNANT / WEAR . . . 823
(59) PTani *gəː CARRY ON BACK / PREGNANT . . . 823
(60) PTB *tam CARRY ON SHOULDER . . . 823
Chinese comparandum . . . 824
(61) PCC *nor BUTT / PUSH (with the head) . . . 824
(62) PCN *njəm PRESS / PUSH . . . 824
(63) PTB *hwəy PUSH . . . 824
(64) PKC *toon PUSH . . . 824
(65) PNC *soon PUSH . . . 824
(66) PLB *C-cak PUSH . . . 824
(67) PKar *chaN[B] PUSH . . . 824
(68) PTB *nwam PUSH / PRESS . . . 824
(69) PLB *ʔcwat PLUCK . . . 824
Chinese comparandum . . . 825
(70) PKC *hnuuk DRAG / PULL . . . 825
(71) PKC *ɗok-I, *ɗoʔ-II DRAW / PULL . . . 825
(72) PKC *ɓot-I, *ɓoʔ-II PLUCK / PULL OUT / UPROOT . . . 825
(73) PCC *phet-I, *pheʔ-II PULL AWAY (support) . . . 825
(74) PKC *yuuk PULL OUT / RETRACT . . . 825
(75) PKC *phooy PULL OUT / UPROOT . . . 825
(76) PKar *thɛʔ[D] PULL UP . . . 825
(77) PKC *waat CLEAR (jungle) / CUT (jungle) . . . 825
(78) PKC *sial PAVE / CLEAR (road) . . . 825
(79) PTB *krəw-t WASH . . . 825
(80) PKC *soop WASH . . . 825
(81) PTB *su(k) WASH . . . 826
(82) PTB *tsəy WASH . . . 826
(83) PKar *chrow[B] WASH (clothes) . . . 827
(84) PTk *p[h]rew WASH (HANDS) . . . 827
(85) PTk *cik WASH (HANDS) . . . 827
(86) PKar *bla[B] WASH (the face) . . . 827
(87) PTB *m/b-s(y)il ≍ *m/b-syal WASH / BATHE . . . 827
Chinese comparandum . . . 827
(88) PCN *m-tsak WASH / BATHE . . . 827
(89) PTB *grwaːl WASH / CLEAN . . . 827
(90) PTB *hus ≍ *h(u/i)r WASH / MOISTURE / WET . . . 827
Chinese comparandum . . . 827
(91) PTB *k/p-y(w)ak SCOOP / SWEEP . . . 827
(92) PTB *syim SWEEP . . . 829
Chinese comparandum . . . 829
(93) PTB *s(u/i)t WIPE / SWEEP / RUB / SCRUB . . . 829
Chinese comparandum . . . 830
(94) PTB *m/s-ka-y GO / STRIDE / SPAN . . . 830
Chinese comparandum . . . 830
(95) PKC *ʔoŋ-I, *ʔon-II; *hoŋ-I, *hon-II OPEN . . . 830
(96) PTk *ʃo OPEN . . . 830
(97) PTB *pwa(ŋ/k) OPEN . . . 830
(98) PTB *twaŋ OPEN . . . 831
(99) PTani *-ko OPEN (verbal particle) . . . 831
(100) PLB *ʔ-ŋak[L] OPEN WIDE . . . 831
(101) PTB *pi-t CLOSE (v.) . . . 832
Chinese comparandum . . . 832
(102) PTB *b/g-tsum CLOSE (v.) / SHUT . . . 832
(103) PKC *khaar CLOSE / SHUT . . . 833
(104) PTk *ʃuŋ CLOSE / SHUT . . . 833
(105) PTB *dzyiːp SHUT / CLOSE (v.) / CLOSE TOGETHER . . . 833
(106) PTB *z(y)um ≍ *zuŋ USE . . . 833
Chinese comparandum . . . 833
(107) PKC *tum DRUM (v.) / PLAY (instruments) . . . 833
(108) PKC *maŋ-I, *man-II; *hmaŋ-I, *hman-II USE / USED TO . . . 834
(109) PTB *s-lwap PRACTICE / LEARN . . . 834
Chinese comparandum . . . 834
(110) PTB *bay REPEAT / PRACTICE . . . 834
Chinese comparandum . . . 834
(111) PTani *fat[1] WRITE . . . 834
(111) PTB *b-rəy ≍ *b-ris ≍ *rit ≍ *riːn DRAW / WRITE / COUNT . . . 834
(111a) PTB *b-rəy DRAW / MARK / BOUNDARY . . . 834
Chinese comparandum . . . 835
(111b) PTB *b-ris DRAW / PICTURE . . . 835
Chinese comparandum . . . 835
(111c) PTB *rit DRAW / BOUNDARY . . . 835
Chinese comparandum . . . 835
(111d) PKC *riːn SCRATCH / DRAW LINE . . . 835
(111) PKC *reel COUNT / READ / THINK . . . 835
(112) PCN *khaj READ / COUNT . . . 835

6.3.0 Friction **835**
(1) PKC *hriat COMB (v.) / BRUSH . . . 835
(2) PKC *phuay FRAY / RUB / SCRATCH . . . 836
(3) PKC *taat HONE / RUB / SHARPEN . . . 836
(4) PTB *s-nwat MOP / RUB / WIPE . . . 836
(5) PTB *riːt REAP / SCRAPE / SHAVE / CUT / SEVER . . . 836
(6) PTB *s-nu(l/r) RUB AGAINST / GRAZE / TOUCH . . . 836
Chinese comparandum . . . 837
(7) PKar *thuʔ[D] RUB / CLEAN / POLISH / SCRUB . . . 837
(8) PTB *hnuay RUB / CRUMPLE / TWIST . . . 837
(9) PTB *sywəy RUB / SCRAPE / SHAVE . . . 837
(10) PCC *ziat-I, *ziaʔ-II SCRAPE . . . 837
(11) PTB *kur SCRAPE / SCRATCH / SCOOP . . . 837
(12) PTk *da SHARPEN . . . 837
(13) PKC *thaay SHOVEL / SCRAPE . . . 837

6.4.0 Harm **837**
(1) PKC *ɗuk BRUISE (v.) / PINCH . . . 837
(2) PKC *khlaw-I, *khlawʔ-II HINDER / FORBID / PROHIBIT . . . 837
(3) PTB *g/b-sat KILL . . . 838
Chinese comparandum . . . 839
(4) PTani *man KILL . . . 839
(5) PKC *nooŋ MURDER . . . 839
(6) PKC *yeŋ-I, *yen-II PARALYZE . . . 839
(7) PCN *m-ʒəm POISON (n.) . . . 839
(8) PCC *hrem PUNISH / TORTURE . . . 839
(9) PTB *m-taːy STING (as bee) / SCOLD (a person) . . . 839
(10) PTB *ʔik STRANGLE . . . 840
Chinese comparandum . . . 840
(11) PKC *hliam WOUND / INJURE . . . 840

6.5.0 Fighting **840**
(1) PKC ***tshaal** CONFRONT / QUESTION (v.) / REPROACH . . . 840
(2) PTB ***g-ra:l ≍ *g-ran ≍ *ray** ENEMY / FIGHT / QUARREL / STRIFE / SWORD / WAR . . 840
Chinese comparandum . . . 841
(3) PTk ***nur** FIGHT . . . 841
(4) PKC ***sual** FIGHT / STRUGGLE . . . 841
(5) PKC ***ɗaw** OPPOSE / FIGHT . . . 841
Chinese comparandum . . . 841
(6) PKC ***tshim** PILLAGE / ATTACK / EXTINGUISH . . . 841
(7) PKC ***ɓuan** WRESTLE . . . 841

6.5.1 Opposition **841**
(1) PCC ***laaŋ-I, *laan-II** WIN / BEAT / SUPERSEDE . . . 841
(2) PLB ***ʔoŋ*[1] WIN / CONQUER / BE COMPLETE . . . 841
(3) PKC ***tay** WIN / OVERCOME . . . 841

6.6.0 Verbs requiring liquids **841**
(1) PTB ***(m/g)-(ts/dz)(y)(a/i)k** DRIP / DROP (n.) . . . 841
(1a) PTB ***g-t(y)ik** DRIP / DROP (n.) . . . 842
Chinese comparandum . . . 842
(1b) PTB ***m-dz(y)ak** DRIP / DROP (n.) . . . 842
Chinese comparandum . . . 843
(2) PTk ***t*[h]*eŋ** DRY . . . 843
(3) PKar ***hlow*[B]** BATHE . . . 843
(4) PCN ***m-lu** BOIL (v.) . . . 843
(5) PTk ***nim** DAMP / GENTLE . . . 843
(6) PKC ***ɗaam** DAMP / MOIST . . . 843
(7) PKC ***hnom** DAMP / MOIST . . . 843
(8) PKC ***puur** DIP . . . 843
(9) PNC ***pap** DIP . . . 843
(10) PKar ***ʔdVN*[B]** DIP UP . . . 843
(11) PTB ***ka:(p/m)** DRAW (water) / SCOOP (water) / CONCAVE . . . 843
Chinese comparandum . . . 844
(12) PTani ***dɯ** DRIP . . . 844
(13) PTB ***tan** DRY . . . 844
Chinese comparandum . . . 844
(14) PTB ***hyar** DRY . . . 844
(15) PTB ***g-ran** DRY . . . 844
(16) PTB ***s-la(m/p)** DRY (by fire / sun) . . . 844
(17) PCC ***khiŋ** DRY (outer part) . . . 845
(18) PTk ***kaw** DRY (v.t.) . . . 845
(19) PKC ***hul** DRY / SICCATIVE . . . 845
(20) PKC ***luaŋ-I, *luan-II** FLOW . . . 845
(21) PTani ***bɯt** FLOW . . . 845
(22) PTB ***sywar ≍ *g/b-sywa-n/t** FLOW / POUR / SCATTER / SPILL / SOW / BROADCAST 845
Chinese comparandum . . . 846
(23) PTB ***lwi(y)** FLOW / STREAM / RIVER . . . 846
(24) PTB ***twəy** FLOW / SUPPURATE . . . 846
(25) PKC ***phuul** FOAM / OVERFLOW / BUBBLE / BOIL (v.) . . . 846
(26) PTB ***s-ka** HOT / DRY . . . 846
(27) PTB ***b-yəw-n/t** LEAK / DRIP / URINE . . . 846
(28) PKC ***liam** OVERFLOW / DISAPPEAR . . . 847
(29) PTB ***(b/p)rup** OVERFLOW / GUSH / SQUIRT / FLOOD . . . 847
Chinese comparandum . . . 847
(30) PTani ***lɯk** POUR . . . 847
Chinese comparandum . . . 847
(31) PTB ***r-lu(w)** POUR / BATHE . . . 847
(32) PKC ***lay-I, *layʔ-II** POUR / POUR OUT . . . 847
Chinese comparandum . . . 847
(33) PKC ***roon** POUR IN . . . 847
(34) PKC ***ɓuŋ-I, *ɓuŋʔ-II; *ɓun-I, *ɓut-II** POUR OUT / EMPTY OUT . . . 847
(35) PKC ***yoot** PRESS OUT . . . 847
(36) PCC ***tleeŋ** RINSE / CLEANSE . . . 848
(37) PTB ***s-rup** SNUFF UP / SIP / SUCK . . . 848
(38) PTani ***pom ~ *promʔ** SOAK . . . 848
(39) PKar ***pru*[A]** SPRAY (v.) . . . 848
(40) PCN ***ɣaʔ** SWIM / SLICE . . . 848
(41) PTB ***s-nyak** WET . . . 848
(42) PNC ***koot** WET . . . 848
(43) PTani ***ǰu-ǰaŋ** WET . . . 848
(44) PTk ***ju** WET . . . 848
(45) PKar ***cɔ*[B]** WET . . . 848
(46) PTB ***pwam** WET . . . 848

6.7.0 Movement **849**
(1) PKC ***kluŋ-I, *klun-II** ARRIVE / RETURN . . . 849
(2) PKC ***hrial** AVOID / GO (round) . . . 849
(3) PKC ***weel** CIRCLE / GO (round) . . . 849
(4) PKC ***pial** DEVIATE / AVOID / STRAY . . . 849
(5) PTB ***s-lay ≍ *ley** PASS / EXCEED . . . 849
(6) PCC ***heel** SKIRT (v.) / GO (round) . . . 849
(7) PKC ***pal** WADE / PASS BY / TREAD ON / WALK ON . . . 849

6.7.1 Inward **849**
(1) PKC ***nayʔ** APPROACH . . . 849
(2) PTk ***da** ARRIVE . . . 849
(3) PTk ***ʃuŋ** ARRIVE . . . 849
(4) PKar ***tə*[B]** ARRIVE . . . 849
(5) PKC ***khleŋ** ARRIVE / REACH . . . 849
(6) PKC ***phaa-I, *phaak-II** ARRIVE / REACH / ATTAIN . . . 849
(7) PNC ***tum** ENTER . . . 850
(8a) PKC ***luut** ENTER . . . 850
(8b) PKC ***hluʔ** INSERT . . . 850
(9) PTk ***tsaŋ** ENTER . . . 850
(10) PKar ***nVʔ*[D]** ENTER . . . 850
(11) PCN ***ʒa** GO IN / ENTER . . . 850
(12) PKC ***peem** IMMIGRATE / MIGRATE . . . 850
(13) PKC ***th(u/a)n** INFUSE / POUR IN / PUT IN . . . 850
(14) PL ***luk** or ***lap** ENTER . . . 850
(15) PKC ***hrolʔ** INSERT / POKE . . . 850
(16) PKC ***san** INSERT / PUT IN . . . 850
(17) PKC ***ɓaan** REACH . . . 850
(18) PKC ***phaan** REACH . . . 850
(19) PKC ***yep-I, *yeʔ-II** TUCK IN / INSERT . . . 850

6.7.2 Outward **850**
(1) PTB ***hwaŋ** COME (OUT) / ENTER . . . 850
Chinese comparandum . . . 851
(2) PTB ***s-prwa-k** COME OUT / EMERGE / BRING OUT . . . 851
(3) PKC ***poot ≍ *puut** COME OUT / EMERGE / PROTRUDE . . . 851
(4) PTB ***s-twak** COME OUT / GO OUT / EMERGE . . . 851
Chinese comparandum . . . 853
(5) PKC ***ph(u/o)l** EXHUME / TAKE OUT . . . 853
(6) PTani ***len** EXIT (v.) . . . 853
(7) PTB ***(d/t)wan** GO OUT / COME OUT / PULL . . . 853
(8) PKar ***lwɛ*[A]** GO . . . 853
(9) PKC ***lan** PROCEED / CONTINUE ON . . . 853
(10) PCC ***peeŋ-I, *peen-II** TURN AWRY / BRANCH OFF . . . 853

6.7.3 Awkwardly, Irregularly, Abruptly **854**
(1) PKC ***hnoʔ** HASTEN . . . 854
(2) PTB ***grim** HASTEN . . . 854
Chinese comparandum . . . 854
(3) PKC ***ploot** SLIP OUT . . . 854
(4) PKC ***teŋ** SLIP / FALL DOWN . . . 854
(5) PTB ***(b/p)lya-l** SLIP / SLIPPERY . . . 854
Chinese comparandum . . . 854
(6) PKC ***waay** STRAY / LOST / WANDER . . . 854
(7) PTB ***ʔut** SWAGGERING / NOISY . . . 854
(8) PKar ***khiŋ*[A]** TILTED . . . 854
(9) PTB ***dar ≍ *d(u/i)r** TREMBLE / SHIVER (fear, cold) . . . 854
Chinese comparandum . . . 855
(10) PKC ***looŋ-I, *loŋʔ-II** WALLOW / ROLL ABOUT . . . 855

6.7.4 Regular, Cyclic, Smoothly **855**
(1) PTB ***r-t(y/w)ak** KICK . . . 855
Chinese comparandum . . . 855
(2) PKC ***tool-I, *tolʔ-II** SLIDE / BACKSLIDE / GLIDE (v.i.) . . . 855
(3) PKC ***tholʔ** SLIDE / BACKSLIDE / GLIDE (v.t.) . . . 855
(4) PCC ***hlaaŋ-I, *hlaan-II** STEP (v.) / LIFT UP / LIFT DOWN . . . 856
(5) PKar ***thu*[B]** SWAY / SWING . . . 856
(6) PTani ***kor** TAKE A STEP . . . 856
(7) PTB ***grwat** TRAVEL / GO THROUGH . . . 856
Chinese comparandum . . . 856
(8) PKC ***laaŋ-I, *laan-II** TRAVEL / VISIT . . . 856
(9) PKC ***yin** TRAVEL / VISIT . . . 856
(10) PKar ***jam*[B]** TREAD . . . 856
(11) PCC ***leeŋ-I, *leen-II** VISIT / WANDER . . . 856
(12) PCN ***tsaj** WALK . . . 856
(13) PKC ***waak-I, *waʔ-II** WANDER / CRAWL / ROAM . . . 856
(14) PCC ***lek** WAVE (v.) / FLASH . . . 856

6.7.5 Medium Primary (e.g. air) **857**
(1) PTB ***byar ≍ *p(i/u)r** FLY (v.) . . . 857
Chinese comparandum . . . 857
(2) PTB ***(p/b)yam** FLY (v.) . . . 857
(3) PNC ***leeŋ-I, *leen-II** FLY (v.) . . . 858
(4) PTk ***praj** FLY . . . 858
(5) PTani ***bjaŋ** SWIM . . . 858
(6) PTB ***pyaw** SWIM / FLOAT / RAFT . . . 858
Chinese comparandum . . . 858

6.7.6 Circularly **858**
(1) PKC ***kup** CIRCLE / EMBRACE . . . 858
(2) PKC ***wial** CURL UP / ENTWINE . . . 859
(3) PKC ***lip** CURL UP / EVAGINATE / TURN INSIDE OUT . . . 859
(4) PTB ***sik** PINCH / TWIST . . . 859
(5) PKC ***liŋ** ROLL UP / CURL UP . . . 859
(6) PTk ***niŋ** SPIN . . . 859
(7) PLB ***ʔ-gyaŋ*[1]** SPIN / ROTATE / TOP (toy) . . . 859
(8) PTB ***s-mwəy** SPINDLE / TWIRL . . . 859
Chinese comparandum . . . 859
(9) PTB ***m-p(y)up** TURN OVER / ROLL OVER / SEARCH FOR . . . 859
Chinese comparandum . . . 860
(10) PTani ***rjat*[1]** TWIST (STRANDS OF ROPE) . . . 860
(11) PTk ***rej** TWIST . . . 860
(12) PTB ***m/s-na:y** TWIST / KNEAD / SOFTEN . . . 860
(13) PTB ***wyat** TWIST / TURN . . . 860
(14) PTB ***s-wa:y** WHIRL / BRANDISH / WAVE (v.) . . . 861
Chinese comparandum . . . 861

6.7.7 Up, etc. **861**
(1) PTani ***čaŋ** ASCEND . . . 861
(2) PKC ***ka(a)(y/l)** ASCEND / CLIMB UP . . . 861
(3) PTk ***ka** CLIMB / ASCEND . . . 861
(4) PTB ***kak** EXPENSIVE / AT ITS PEAK . . . 861
Chinese comparandum . . . 861
(5) PCC ***phok-I, *phoʔ-II** LEVER / RAISE / TIP UP . . . 861
(6) PTB ***dzwaŋ** LOFTY / ELEVATED . . . 861
(7) PTB ***syar** RISE / EAST . . . 862

6.7.8 Downward **862**
(1) PTB ***s/ʔ-yuk** DESCEND . . . 862
(2) PTB ***zak** DESCEND . . . 862
(3) PTk ***ta** DESCEND . . . 863
(4) PKar ***laŋ*[A]** DESCENT / GO DOWN / SET . . . 863
(5) PTB ***l(i/u)p** SINK INTO / DIVE . . . 863

6.7.9 Manner is primary **863**
(1) PTB ***ga:r ≍ *ga** DANCE / SING / LEAP / STRIDE . . . 863
(1a) PTB ***ga:r** DANCE / SING / LEAP / STRIDE . . . 863
Chinese comparandum . . . 863
(1b) PTB ***ga** DANCE / LEAP / STRIDE . . . 863
Chinese comparandum . . . 864
(2) PKC ***loon** CRAWL . . . 864
(3) PTk ***bo** CRAWL . . . 864
(4) PL ***Nkak** CRAWL / CREEP . . . 864
(5) PKC ***yaam** CREEP / CRAWL / SPREAD . . . 864
(6) PKC ***laam** DANCE . . . 864
Chinese comparandum . . . 864
(7) PKC ***yaam** FLEE . . . 864
(8) PTB ***hywa(p/m)** JUMP . . . 864
(9) PTB ***p(r)wak** JUMP . . . 864
(10) TGTM ***[A]ts*[h]*joŋ** JUMP . . . 865
(11) PTQ ***N-tsak** JUMP . . . 865
(12) PKC ***yuaŋ-I, *yuan-II** JUMP / BOUNCE / FLY (v.) / LEAP . . . 865
(13) PTB ***b-(l/r)əy** RUN . . . 865
(14) PTB ***gan ≍ *k(y)at** RUN / DANCE / KICK . . . 865
(15) PCC ***tlaan** RUN / FLEE . . . 866
(16) PTk ***jaam** RUN / FLEE . . . 866
(17) PTB ***plwaŋ** RUN / FLEE / JUMP UP . . . 866
Chinese comparandum . . . 867
(18) PTB ***(g/h)yar** RUN / RIDE / GO BY VEHICLE . . . 867
(19) PTB ***sam** RUN / WALK . . . 867
(20) PTani ***dan** SHAKE . . . 867
(21) PTk ***nuk** SHAKE . . . 867
(22) PKC ***hlok-I, *hloʔ-II** SHAKE / LIFT UP . . . 867
(23) PKC ***thiŋ-I, *thin-II** SHAKE / SHUDDER . . . 867
(24) PKC ***pet** SPRING / SPRINT . . . 867
(25) PKC ***let-I, *leʔ-II** TRANSLATE / FLIP OVER / RESPOND . . . 867
(26) PTk ***tsɛt** WALK . . . 867

6.7.10 Move with something else **867**
(1) PTani ***mon** CHASE . . . 867
(2) PTk ***saam** CHASE . . . 867
(3) PCN ***ri** CHASE / HUNT / FOLLOW / DRIVE . . . 867
(4) PKC ***ɗooy** CHASE / PURSUE . . . 868
(5) PTB ***s/ʔ-(l/r)way** DIVERT / PUSH ASIDE . . . 868
(6) PTk ***t*[h]*aaw** DRIVE . . . 868
(7) PNC ***hool** DRIVE / CHASE . . . 868
(8) PTB ***m/s-yuy** FOLLOW . . . 868
Chinese comparandum . . . 868
(9) PKC ***hroo(ŋ/k)** FOLLOW / GO ALONG / PROCEED . . . 868
(10) PTB ***s-n(y)aŋ** FOLLOW / REPEAT . . . 868
Chinese comparandum . . . 868
(11) PKC ***yoʔ** FOLLOW / WALK ON . . . 868

(12) PTB ***dzywan** RIDE . . . 868
(13) PKC ***tsi(i)l** TRAMPLE / TREAD OUT / WALK ON . . . 868
(14) PTani ***ča** TREAD / TRAMPLE . . . 869

6.7.11 Movement (general) 869
(1) PTB ***s-wa** BE IN MOTION / GO / COME . . . 869
Chinese comparandum . . . 869
(2) PTB ***la-y** ⩙ ***ra** COME . . . 869
Chinese comparandum . . . 870
(3) PKC ***huŋ** COME . . . 870
(4) PTB ***pay** COME / GO . . . 870
(5) PKar ***khaN**^{A} CROSS (v.) . . . 871
(6) PTB ***g(o/a)w** CROSS OVER . . . 871
Chinese comparandum . . . 871
(7) PTk ***kɐn** CROSS . . . 871
(8) PTB ***bywan** GO (out) / COME (out) . . . 871
(9) PTani ***in** GO . . . 871
(10) PTB ***ʔay** GO / DIRECTIONAL PARTICLE / TRANSITIVE MOTION . . . 871
(11) PKC ***kal** GO / PACE / WALK . . . 872
(12) PKC ***θeʔ** GO / WALK . . . 872
(13) PTani ***bruɯ** MOVE (v.i.) . . . 872
(14) PTB ***ywa-n** MOVE . . . 872
(15) PKC ***tsaaŋ** MOVE . . . 872
(16) PTB ***m-kyit** MOVE . . . 872
(17) PKC ***taaŋ** REMAIN . . . 872
(18) PKC ***ɗiŋ-I**, ***ɗin-II** STAND / STOP . . . 872
(19) PKC ***plooŋ-I**, ***ploon-II** VISIT / MOVE . . . 872

6.8.0 Striking, hitting verbs 872
(1) PTB ***m/r-tuk** CUT / KNOCK / POUND . . . 872
Chinese comparandum . . . 873
(2) PTB ***twak** BITE / CHEW / PECK AT / HOOK ONTO . . . 873
Chinese comparandum . . . 873
(3) PTB ***r-duŋ** BEAT / STRIKE / POUND / FLOG . . . 873
Chinese comparandum . . . 874
(4) PTB ***(d/t)(u/i)p** BEAT / STRIKE . . . 874
Chinese comparandum . . . 874
(5) PTB ***(d/t)a:y** POUND / CRUSH . . . 874
(6) PKC ***ɗeeŋ-I**, ***ɗeen-II** HAMMER / BEAT / HIT / PELT . . . 875
(7) NEIA ***lak** HIT / BEAT / STRIKE . . . 875
(8) PKC ***wua-I**, ***wuak-II** HIT / BEAT / STRIKE . . . 875
(9) PTani ***zit** BEAT . . . 875
(10) PKC ***ɓeeŋ-I**, ***ɓeŋʔ** ⩙ ***ɓen-II** SLAP . . . 875
Chinese comparandum . . . 875
(11) PKar ***doŋ**^{B} HIT HARD (with a fist) . . . 875
(12) PTB ***g-(y/r)a:p** FAN / WINNOW / PADDLE / WAVE (v.) / BEAT / THRASH . . . 875
(12a) PTB ***g-ya:p** FAN / WINNOW / PADDLE / WAVE (v.) . . . 875
(12b) PTB ***krap** BEAT / THRASH / WINNOW . . . 876
(13) PKC ***khe(e)n-I**, ***khenʔ-II** HAMMER / HIT / STRIKE . . . 876
(14) PKC ***tsu(u)m-I**, ***tsumʔ-II** POUND (with fist) / HIT / STRIKE . . . 876
(15) NEIA ***tsy(u/i)k** HIT / KNOCK AGAINST . . . 876
(16) PTani ***kɯt** PUNCH (DOWNWARD) WITH FIST . . . 876
(17) PTB ***soy** GRAZE / ALMOST HIT / PASSING CLOSE . . . 876
(18) PKC ***khooŋ** STRIKE / BANG / BEAT / THRESH / HIT . . . 876
Chinese comparandum . . . 876
(19) PKC ***suu-I**, ***suk-II** POUND / HAMMER / PUNCH . . . 876
(20) PKC ***kheeŋ-I**, ***kheen-II** HIT (a target) . . . 876
(21) PTani ***bjək** HIT (target) . . . 877
(22) PL ***m-kuk** COLLIDE / BUTT AGAINST . . . 877
(23) PKC ***thoŋ** PUNCH / HIT . . . 877
(24) PCC ***veel-I**, ***velʔ-II** BEAT / FIGHT . . . 877
(25) PTk ***jap** HIT / STRIKE . . . 877
(26) PTk ***p^{h}e** SLAP . . . 877
(27) PTk ***p^{h}it** HIT . . . 877
(28) PCN ***tam** HIT / SLAP . . . 877
(29) PCC ***vual** WALES / STRIPES (have from beating) . . . 877

6.9.0 Undoing 877
(1) PTB ***p(y)əy** BROKEN DOWN / DESTROYED . . . 877
(2) PKC ***ram** DESTROY / ANNIHILATE / WASTE . . . 877
(3) PTB ***s-pyak** DESTROY / DESTROYED / RUINED . . . 877
(4) PTB ***bray** EFFACED . . . 877
(5) PKC ***phelʔ** LOOSEN / UNDERCUT / UNDO . . . 877
(6) PKC ***kiir** RETURN . . . 878
(7) PKC ***looy** RETURN / GO (home) . . . 878
(8) PCC ***triin** RETURN / GO (home) . . . 878
(9) PTB ***s-run** STRUGGLE / PULL HARD / DEMOLISH . . . 878
(10) PKC ***suut** UNDO / UNTIE / WITHDRAW . . . 878
(11) PTB ***prəy** UNTIE . . . 878
Chinese comparandum . . . 878
(12) PKC ***hliit** UNTIE / UNDO . . . 878
(13) PKC ***phoŋ** UPROOT / UNLOOSE (v.t.) . . . 878

6.9.1 Peel 878
(1) PKC ***khok-I**, ***khoʔ-II** PEEL OFF / STRIP . . . 878
(2) PTB ***kayk** STRIP / UNDRESS / DISMANTLE . . . 879

6.9.2 Carve, shave 879
(1) PTB ***tsow-t** PIERCE / THORN / PLANT (v.) / ERECT . . . 879
Chinese comparandum . . . 879
(2a) PTB ***m-(d)z(y)u(ː)k** PIERCE / THORN / PLANT (v.) / ERECT . . . 879
(2b) PTB ***dz(y)ut** PIERCE / THORN / PLANT (v.) / ERECT . . . 880
(3) PKC ***tay-I**, ***tayʔ-II** ADZE (v.) / SHARP . . . 880
(4) PKC ***saay-I**, ***sayʔ-II** CARVE . . . 880
(5) PKC ***them** CARVE / CHIP / SCRAPE . . . 880
(6) PKC ***ɗoot** JAB / PIERCE / STAB . . . 880
(7) PKar ***cu**^{A} POINTED (as of needles), SHARP POINT . . . 880
(8) PKC ***yum** POINTED / SHARP . . . 880
(9) PTB ***s-ryam** SHARP . . . 880
Chinese comparandum . . . 880
(10) PTk ***tsaan** SHARP . . . 881
(11) PTB ***m-tak** SHARP . . . 881
(12) PTani ***rat**^{1} SHARP(-EDGED) . . . 881
(13) PTani ***nɯk** STAB . . . 882
(14) PKC ***tshun-I**, ***tshunʔ-II** STAB / PRICK / PIERCE . . . 882
(15) PLB ***m-dzy(u/i)t** TEAR / RIP . . . 882
(16) TGTM ***^{A}dzo** point . . . 882

6.9.3 Chop, slice 882
(1) PKC ***khleŋ-I**, ***khleŋʔ-II** AMPUTATE / CUT OFF . . . 882
(2) PTk ***du** CHOP . . . 882
(3) PTB ***ts(y)ap** CHOP . . . 882
(4) PKC ***saat** CHOP / CUT / STRIKE . . . 882
(5) PKC ***kak** CRACK / REND / SPLIT . . . 883
(6) PTk ***tat** CUT (VEGETABLES) . . . 883
(7) PTk ***kak** CUT (WOOD) . . . 883
(8) PTani ***gjat**^{2} CUT (as in reaping crops) . . . 883
(9) PTani ***pa** CUT (e.g. with machete) . . . 883
(10) PTB ***tsyat** CUT OFF / SEVER / BREAK . . . 883
Chinese comparandum . . . 884
(11) PTB ***dan** CUT . . . 884
Chinese comparandum . . . 884
(12) PTB ***hak** CUT . . . 884
(13) PCN ***khju** CUT . . . 884
(14) PTB ***tsywar** CUT / CHOP . . . 884
(15) PCC ***tshat-I**, ***tshaʔ-II** CUT / CHOP . . . 884
(16) PCN ***laŋ** CUT / CHOP . . . 884
(17) PKC ***ʔaat** CUT / SEVER / SLICE . . . 884
(18) PTB ***d-ra-t** CUT / SLASH . . . 885
Chinese comparandum . . . 885
(19) PTani ***pe:** CUT / SLICE . . . 885
(20) PTB ***mwa(n/t)** CUT / SLICE / CASTRATE . . . 885
(21) PTB ***(m/b)rak** CUT / TEAR / MAUL / LACERATE . . . 885
Chinese comparandum . . . 885
(22) PKC ***khluu-I**, ***khluuk-II** FELL / CUT DOWN . . . 885
(23) PTB ***taːr** HANG UP / IMPALE . . . 886
(24) PTani ***dɯ** SKIN / FLAY . . . 886
(25) PTB ***s/g-lyap** SLICE / PARE / CUT OFF . . . 886
(26) PKar ***pla**^{B} SPLIT (bamboo strip) . . . 886
(27) PNC ***ʔek-I**, ***ʔeʔ-II** SPLIT . . . 886
(28) PTB ***(d)ziːt** ⩙ ***(t)siːt** SPLIT . . . 886
(29) PKC ***khleek-I**, ***khleʔ-II** SPLIT / CRACK . . . 886
(30) PTB ***dzi(k/ŋ)** SPLIT / MINCE . . . 886
(31) PCC ***thleer** SPLIT / SLIT . . . 887

6.10.1 Unintentional loss - Misplace 887
(1) PKC ***law-I**, ***lawʔ-II**; ***hlaw-I**, ***hlawʔ-II** DISAPPEAR / LOSE . . . 887
(2) PKC ***maŋ-I**, ***man-II** EXTINCT / DISAPPEAR / LOST . . . 887
(3) PTani ***ñok** LOSE (v.t.) . . . 887
(4) PTk ***maaŋ** LOST . . . 887

6.10.2 Intentional loss - Abandon 887
(1) TGTM ***^{A}k^{h}laː** ABANDON / CAST AWAY . . . 887
(2) PTB ***gar** LEAVE / ABANDON . . . 887
(3) PTB ***(b/p)ral** LEAVE / DEPART / SEPARATE . . . 887
Chinese comparandum . . . 887
(4) PCC ***zuat-I**, ***zuaʔ-II** SPARE / LEAVE . . . 887

6.10.3 Wide separation - Scatter 887
(1) PCC ***triaw** DISPERSE / SCATTER . . . 887
(2) PKC ***thek-I**, ***theʔ-II** SCATTER / SPATTER / SPRINKLE . . . 887
(3) PCC ***phul-I**, ***phulʔ-II** SPRINKLE . . . 887
(4) PBod ***g-twar** SPRINKLE . . . 887
(5) PTB ***pr(y/w)ak** SPRINKLE . . . 887
(6) PTB ***m/s-prat** ⩙ ***pran** SPRINKLE / SPRAY . . . 888
(7) PTani ***krat**^{2} (?) SPRINKLE / WATER (PLANT) . . . 888

6.10.4 Intentional separation - Sort 888
(1) PNN ***Ç-səl** CHOOSE . . . 888
(2) PTB ***dam** CHOOSE . . . 888
(3) PTB ***s-ril** CHOOSE / FASTIDIOUS . . . 888
(4) PTB ***praw** COLLAPSE . . . 888
(5) PKC ***kh(r)en** DIVIDE / SEPARATE . . . 888
(6) PKC ***kaar** PART / SEPARATE . . . 888
(7) PTani ***pu** PICK (FLOWER, FRUIT) . . . 888
(8) PKC ***law-I**, ***loʔ-II** PICK (fruit) / PLUCK . . . 889
(9) PTani ***tɯ** PICK UP . . . 889
(10) PTk ***ʃup** PICK UP . . . 889
(11) PTB ***s-g-ruk** PICK UP . . . 889
(12) PTB ***d-kew** SCRATCH . . . 889
(13) PTani ***pan** SEPARATE (verbal particle) . . . 889
(14) PKC ***ɗa(l/n)** SEPARATE . . . 889
(15) PTB ***s-pak** SEPARATE / DISMANTLE / COLLAPSE . . . 889
Chinese comparandum . . . 890
(16) PKC ***khlay** SEPARATE / REMOVE / TRANSFER . . . 890
Chinese comparandum . . . 890
(17) PTB ***pryak** SEPARATE / SPLIT . . . 890
Chinese comparandum . . . 891
(18) PKC ***suan** TRANSFER / REMOVE . . . 891

6.11.0 Digging, excavation 891
(1) PKC ***khuar** BORE / DIG UP / DRILL . . . 891
(2) PTB ***lwan** BORE / PIERCE . . . 891
(3) PKC ***hrew** BURROW . . . 891
(4) PKC ***wuuy** BURY . . . 891
(5) PTani ***rj(i/u)** BURY . . . 891
(6) PTB ***ram** BURY / BEAR / ENDURE . . . 891
(7) PKC ***phuum** BURY / COVER / IMMERGE . . . 891
Chinese comparandum . . . 891
(8) PTB ***(b/p)(i/u)p** CONCEAL / HIDE / BURY . . . 891
(9) PTB ***klaw** DIG OUT / WEED / HOE (v.) . . . 891
(10) PTB ***r-(k/g)wa-t** DIG UP / SCOOP OUT . . . 892
Chinese comparandum . . . 892
(11) PTB ***tsaw** DIG . . . 892
(12) PTB ***lu** ⩙ ***lwa** DIG . . . 892
(13) PTB ***laːy** DIG / HOE . . . 893
(14) PTB ***s/m-du** DIG / HOE . . . 893
Chinese comparandum . . . 894
(15) PCC ***v(e/i)rʔ** DRILL / BORE . . . 894
(16) PKC ***wut-I**, ***wuʔ-II**; ***wit-I**, ***wiʔ-II** DRILL / BORE / PIERCE . . . 894
(17) PTk ***k^{h}aj** SCOOP OUT . . . 894
(18) PCC ***ruut-I**, ***ruʔ-II** SCOOP UP / SCRAPE UP . . . 894
(19) PTB ***(t)saːy** SCOOP / DIP OUT . . . 894
(20) PTani ***(s/ǰ)uk** SCOOP / LADLE (v.) . . . 895
(21) PTB ***kuːk** ⩙ ***kawk** SHEAR / STRIP / PARE . . . 895
(22) PCC ***look-I**, ***loʔ-II** SHOVEL / SCOOP / LADLE . . . 895

6.12.0 Throwing 895
(1) PTB ***b^{w}ar** ⩙ ***h^{w}ar** THROW (AWAY) / DIVORCE (A SPOUSE) . . . 895
(1a) PTB ***bwar** THROW AWAY / CAST / SOW / TOSS . . . 895
Chinese comparandum . . . 895
(1b) PTB ***hwar** THROW . . . 895
(2) PTani ***čut**^{1} CAST (spear) . . . 895
(3) PKC ***tshep-I**, ***tsheʔ-II** THROW . . . 895
(4) PTB ***s/m-ba** ⩙ ***s/m-baːy** THROW . . . 895
(5) PCC ***hlo(o)n-I**, ***hlonʔ-II** THROW / DISCARD . . . 896

6.13.0 Convergence 896
(1) PTB ***g/l-t(y)ap** FOLD / REPEAT / LAYER / PILE UP . . . 896
Chinese comparandum . . . 897
(2) PTani ***pu** WRAP UP IN A BUNDLE . . . 897
Chinese comparandum . . . 897
(3) PTB ***pun** WRAP / COVER / WEAR . . . 897
(4) PTB ***s-kiːl/r)** BEND / WIND / TWIST / ROLL / CORNER . . . 897
Chinese comparandum . . . 898
(5) PTB ***r-tul** ROLL UP / WRAP . . . 898
(6) PKC ***θuun** WRAP / PACK / BUNDLE . . . 898
(7a) PTB ***(g/k)wap** HATCH / INCUBATE / COVER . . . 898
Chinese comparanda . . . 899
(7b) PTB ***ʔup** COVER / INCUBATE / HATCH . . . 899
(7c) PTB ***klup** COVER / WRAP . . . 900
(8) PKC ***merʔ** TWIST / PINCH / SQUEEZE . . . 900
(9) PKC ***ɗeʔ** SQUASH / PRESS . . . 900
(10) PKC ***(ɓ/p)uum** HEAP / COLLECT . . . 900
(11) PKC ***tel** PARTICIPATE / INCLUDE / JOIN . . . 900
(12) PKC ***nen-I**, ***nenʔ-II** PRESS / PRESS DOWN / SIT UPON . . . 900

(13) PKC *hmet-I, *hme?-II PRESS / KNEAD / MASSAGE . . . 900
(14) PKC *wuum HEAP / PILE (v.) . . . 900
(15) PTB *ŋra-k/ŋ MEET . . . 900
Chinese comparandum . . . 901
(16) PKC *reek TIGHTEN / CONSTRICT . . . 901
(17) PKC *hloom WRAP / COVER . . . 901
(18) PTB *k/g-r(u/i)m MEET . . . 901
(19) PCC *beŋ COMPRESS / PRESS DOWN / CROWD . . . 901
(20) PCC *?ua(m/p) CONFINED / HOT . . . 901
(21) PTk *loj ROLL (in a roll) . . . 901
(22) PTB *pil FOLD . . . 901
(23) PTB *m-prat MEET . . . 901
(24) PTB *tuk ⪤ *(t/d)wa(k/ŋ) MEET . . . 901
Chinese comparandum . . . 902
(25) PTB *tip ⪤ *tu(p/m) WRAP UP . . . 902
Chinese comparandum . . . 903

6.13.1 Tying **903**
(1) PTB *s-dar BIND / FASTEN / TETHER . . . 903
Chinese comparandum . . . 903
(2) PKC *kraan ⪤ *kroon BIND / TIE (knot) . . . 903
(3) PTB *grak CORD / TIE / BIND . . . 903
Chinese comparandum . . . 903
(4) PKC *hreeŋ-I, *hreen-II DETAIN / TIE . . . 903
(5) PTB *(t/d)u-n/t JOIN / TIE / KNOT / BRING TOGETHER / ASSEMBLE / FOLD . . . 903
Chinese comparandum . . . 903
(6) PTani *jək KNOT . . . 903
(7) PKar *cəŋ^{A} TIE (a string) . . . 904
(8) PCN *m-tshə TIE (v.) . . . 904
(9) PTk *su TIE . . . 904
(10) PTk *lɐp TIE . . . 904
(11) PTB *(g/k)(y)i(t/k) TIE / BIND . . . 904
Chinese comparandum . . . 904
(12) PTk *la UNTIE / LOOSE . . . 904
(13) PNungic *pyi(n/t) UNTIE / LOOSEN . . . 904

6.13.2 Adhesion **904**
(1) PTB *(g/k)(w)ap ADJOIN / ADHERE . . . 904
(2) PTB *(b/p)yar AFFIX / PLAIT / SEW / BRAID . . . 904
(3) PKC *ɓeel-I, *ɓel?-II ATTACH / ADHERE / APPEND . . . 904
(4) PTB *s/m-p(ʷ)a PATCH / MEND / SEW . . . 904
Chinese comparandum . . . 905
(5) PTk *nap STICK (v.) . . . 905

6.13.3 With Tools **905**
(1) PKC *pe? CONNECT / JOIN / LINK . . . 905
(2) PKC *yom JOIN / CONNECT / LINK . . . 905
(3) PCC *khaaŋ-I, *khaan-II SPAN (v.) / BRIDGE ACROSS . . . 905

6.13.4 Mix **905**
(1) PTB *ryaw MIX . . . 905
(2) PKC *pol? MIX / MINGLE . . . 905
(3) PTB *s-ŋywal MIX / STIR . . . 905
(4) PKC *tsok-I, *tso?-II STIR / MINGLE / MIX . . . 906

6.13.5 Join (general) **906**
(1) PTk *rum ADD TOGETHER . . . 906
(2) PKC *khoom-I, *khom?-II ASSEMBLE / GATHER . . . 906
(3) PKC *poŋ-I, *pon-II; *puŋ-I, *pun-II ASSEMBLE / GATHER / PUT TOGETHER . . . 906
(4) PTB *tsuk ⪤ *tsik BUILD . . . 906
Chinese comparandum . . . 907
(5) PCN *ʃaːn GATHER / ASSEMBLE (of people) . . . 907
(6) PTk *sun JOIN . . . 907
(7) PTB *tsyap JOIN / CONNECT . . . 907
Chinese comparandum . . . 907
(8) PTB *s-dza-k JOIN / CONNECT / BUILD . . . 907
(9) PTB *dway PUT TOGETHER / BE EVEN WITH / COME UP TO . . . 908

6.14.0 Construction **908**
(1) PKC *ɗoon BUILD / SPAN (v.) / STACK . . . 908
(2) PKC *phuak-I, *phua?-II COMPOSE / NAME (v.) / MAKE UP . . . 908
(3) PKC *phu(n/t) ERECT / PITCH / PLANT (v.) / POST . . . 908
(4) PKC *ser FORGE / MAKE . . . 908
(5) PKC *siam MAKE / CREATE . . . 908
(6) PCC *vuy PRODUCE (v.) . . . 908
(7) PTani *ten REPAIR . . . 908
(8) PTB *glan REPAIR / MEND . . . 908
Chinese comparandum . . . 908
(9) PKC *tsi? ROOF (v.) . . . 908
(10) PKar *thɛŋ^{A} WEAVE (baskets) . . . 908

6.15.0 Repair **909**
(1) PTB *tsəw-t STOP UP / PLUG UP . . . 909

6.16.0 Holding **909**
(1a) PTB *kaːy PULL / DRAG / LEAD . . . 909
(1b) PKC *kaay-I, *kay?-II HOLD / PULL . . . 909
(2a) PTB *s-n(i/u)(ː)p/m ⪤ *r/s-nyap/m PINCH / SQUEEZE / PRESS / OPPRESS / SUBMERGE / SINK INTO / WEST / LOW / SOFT . . . 909
Chinese comparandum . . . 910
(2b) PTB *s-nyit SQUEEZE . . . 910
(3) PTB *s-g-ryam CATCH / HOLD FAST . . . 911
Chinese comparandum . . . 911
(4) PKC *hu(u)m CLENCH / CLASP (in the fist) . . . 911
(5) PKC *suum ⪤ *siim GRASP / HOLD (in the fist) . . . 911
(6) PKC *tsep-I, *tse?-II GRIP / CLASP . . . 911
(7) PTani *sep HOLD / NIP . . . 911
(8) PTani *gak HOLD / SEIZE . . . 911
(9) PTani *pjum HOLD ON BOTH PALMS . . . 911
(10) PTB *rik LEAD / PULL ALONG . . . 911
(11) PTB *tsi LEAD / PULL ALONG . . . 912
(12) PNC *laam LIFT . . . 912
(13) PTani *ǰoŋ LIFT . . . 912
(14) PTk *kʰaaŋ LIFT . . . 912
(15) PKC *tsooy LIFT / ELEVATE . . . 912
(16) PKC *lii(m/p) ⪤ *hliim LIFT / RAISE . . . 912
(17) PTB *laŋ LIFT / RAISE . . . 912
Chinese comparandum . . . 913
(18) PKC *ɗom-I, *ɗom?-II LIFT / SUPPORT . . . 913
(19) PTani *in PINCH (with fingernail) . . . 913
(20) PL *raŋ^{1} PULL . . . 913
(21) PLB *N-gaŋ^{1} PULL . . . 913
(22) PTB *laŋ PULL (OUT) / TAKE AWAY . . . 913
(23) PTB *si PULL / DRAG / LEAD . . . 913
(24) PKar *ɟimᴮ SQUEEZE / MASSAGE . . . 914
(25) PTani *ñum SQUEEZE WITH FINGERS . . . 914
(26) PTB *ku TAKE UP / LIFT / PROP UP . . . 914
Chinese comparandum . . . 914

6.17.0 Putting **915**
(1) PKC *khum-I, *khum?-II ADMIT / ENCLOSE / LOCK . . . 915
(2) PTB *s-ryan EQUAL / PLACE IN A ROW / ALIGN / ROW . . . 915
Chinese comparandum . . . 915
(3) PKC *ɓat-I, *ɓa?-II HANG / HANG UP . . . 915
(4) PKC *suan LAY OUT (dead person) . . . 915
(5) PTB *hwaŋ PUT . . . 915
(6) PTani *paː PUT . . . 915
(7) PTB *s-ta-t PUT / PLACE . . . 915
Chinese comparandum . . . 916
(8) PKC *kam SET (trap) / PROP UP . . . 916
(9) PLB *swat STICK INTO . . . 916

6.18.0 Possession **916**
(1) PKC *kooy KEEP . . . 916
(2) PKC *hual PRESERVE / SECURE . . . 916

6.19.0 Social action **916**
(1) PKC *phal ALLOW / ACCEDE / LET / PERMIT . . . 916
(2) PKC *ɓum CHEAT / LIE / BEWITCH . . . 916
(3) PKC *maa-I, *maak-II DIVORCE (v.) . . . 916
(4) PKir *he(m/p) EMBRACE . . . 916
(5) PKC *kooy EMBRACE . . . 916
(6) PTB *pʷam EMBRACE / ACCEPT / HUG . . . 916
(7) PKC *ɗaw ENTERTAIN / FEED / PROVIDE (hospitality) . . . 917
(8) PKC *kom FELLOWSHIP (have) / ASSOCIATE . . . 917
(9) PKC *?uk GOVERN / RULE . . . 917
(10) PTB *s-kul INSTRUCT / EXPLAIN / ADMONISH . . . 917
Chinese comparandum . . . 917
(11) PTB *s-nya-s ⪤ *s-nyan PUNISH / OPPRESS / COERCE . . . 917
Chinese comparandum . . . 917
(12) PKC *we? VISIT / CHECK UP (on s.thg.) . . . 917
(13) PKar *nɨŋ^{A} WIN . . . 917
(14) PKC *heel-I, *hel?-II WOO / COURT (v.) . . . 917

6.20.0 Helping **917**
(1) PKC *ɗaŋ-I, *ɗaŋ?-II FEED / ENTERTAIN / SUPPLY . . . 917
(2) PCC *tsoom FEED / SUPPORT / SUPPLY . . . 917
(3) PTani *gul HELP (v.t.) . . . 918
(4) PLB *N-gu^{1} HELP . . . 918
Chinese comparandum . . . 918
(5) PNC *hu? HELP . . . 918
(6) PKC *ruŋ-I, *run-II HELP . . . 918
(7) PTk *con HELP . . . 918
(8) PKC *ɓoom HELP / ASSIST . . . 918
(9) PTB *m-ga HELP / PITCH IN . . . 918

6.21.0 Acquisitions **918**
(1) PTB *r-kəw ⪤ *r-ku(n/t) STEAL / THIEF . . . 918
(1a) PTB *r-kəw ⪤ *hu STEAL . . . 918
Chinese comparandum . . . 920
(1b) PTB *r-kun STEAL / THIEF . . . 920
(1c) PTB *r-kut STEAL / THIEF . . . 920
(2) PTani *laŋ TAKE . . . 920
(3) PTB *ŋas GET / RECEIVE / FIND . . . 920
(4) PTani *pjoŋ STEAL . . . 920
(5) PTB *s/r-ney-t GET / HAVE / OBTAIN . . . 920
(6) PTB *la-k TAKE / FETCH . . . 920
Chinese comparandum . . . 921
(7) PKC *m-ruːk STEAL . . . 921
(8) PKC *?ook-I, *-?o?-II TRAP / HANG / MESH / TANGLE . . . 921
(9) PKC *man CAPTURE / ARREST / CATCH . . . 921
(10) PKC *khoŋ-I, *khon-II COLLECT / SAVE . . . 921
(11) PTB *hyal TAKE / HOLD . . . 921
(12) PKC *tshut-I, *tshu?-II CONFISCATE / SNATCH . . . 921
(13) PTB *zim COLLECT / GATHER . . . 921
(14) PKC *loŋ SNATCH / CONFISCATE . . . 921
(15) PTk *li STEAL . . . 922
(16) PKar *neᴮ OBTAIN / RECEIVE / TAKE / GET . . . 922
(17) TGTM *ᴮjo thief . . . 922

6.22.0 Exchanges **922**
(1) PTB *g/m/s-lay ⪤ *r/s-ley ⪤ *b-rey CHANGE / EXCHANGE / BARTER / BUY . . . 922
(1a) PTB *g/m/s-lay CHANGE / EXCHANGE / BUY / BARTER . . . 922
Chinese comparandum . . . 923
(1b) PTB *r/s-ley CHANGE / EXCHANGE / BUY / BARTER . . . 923
(1c) PTB *b-rey BUY / BARTER . . . 923
(2) PTk *ʃuk BORROW . . . 923
(3) PTB *s-kəy BORROW / LEND . . . 923
(4) PTB *r/s-ŋ(y)a BORROW / LEND . . . 923
(5) PTani *nar BORROW / LEND . . . 924
(6) PTB *kroy BORROW / LEND / DEBT . . . 924
(7) PKC *tsoo-I, *tsook-II BUY . . . 924
(8) PCN *juk BUY / SELL . . . 924
(9) PKC *khleŋ-I, *khlen-II CHANGE / EXCHANGE . . . 924
(10) PKC *ruul COMPENSATE / REPAY . . . 924
(11) PCN *hja? EARN / PAY WAGES . . . 924
(12) PTani *luuk EXCHANGE . . . 924
(13) PTk *tʰɨ EXCHANGE . . . 925
(14) PTk *sa LEND . . . 925
(15) PTB *hwaŋ OWE . . . 925
(16) PKC *ɓaa-I, *ɓat-II OWE / BORROW . . . 925
(17) PTB *g-la PAY / GIVE FOR . . . 925
Chinese comparandum . . . 925
(18) PKC *klan REDEEM / RANSOM / SAVE . . . 925
(19) PTB *tsap REPAY . . . 925
(20) PTani *pruk SELL . . . 925
(21) PKar *caᴬ SELL . . . 925
(22) PTB *ywar SELL / BUY . . . 925
(23) PKC *seeŋ SPEND . . . 925
(24) PTB *par TRADE / BUY / SELL . . . 925
Chinese comparandum . . . 926

6.23.0 Giving **926**
(1) PTB *b-rim DISTRIBUTE . . . 926
Chinese comparandum . . . 926
(2) PTani *hor DISTRIBUTE . . . 926
(3) PKC *sem DISTRIBUTE / APPORTION (v.) . . . 926
(4) PKC *hroom DISTRIBUTE / SHARE . . . 926
(5) PTB *g/s-lwat FREE / RELEASE / SLIP / DISLOCATE . . . 926
Chinese comparandum . . . 927
(6) PTB *s-bəy-n/k GIVE . . . 927
Chinese comparandum . . . 928
(7) PTB *ya-k GIVE . . . 928
(8) PTk *mi GIVE . . . 929
(9) PNN *gow GIVE . . . 929
(10) PTB *s-tyar GIVE / CAUSATIVE . . . 929
(11) PTB *?ap SUBMIT / PRESENT / GIVE . . . 929

6.24.0 Verbs concerning textiles **929**
(1) PTB *?-(d/g)rup SEW . . . 929
(2) PKar *chaʔᴰ SEW . . . 930
(3) PTB *krwi(y) SEW . . . 930
Chinese comparandum . . . 930
(4) PTani *ɦom SEW / PATCH . . . 930
(5) PCN *j [a/ə] n SPIN (thread) . . . 931
(6) PTB *m-ga SPIN / CARD FIBERS . . . 931
(7) PKar *dowᴮ THREAD (a needle) . . . 931

(8) TGTM *^{B}**hrup**, *^{B}**ʈup**, *^{A}**ʈup** THREAD . . . 931
(9) PTB ***(t/d)ak** WEAVE . . . 931
Chinese comparandum . . . 932
(10) PTani ***čum** WEAVE . . . 932
(11) PTB ***rak** WEAVE / DRIVE / CHASE . . . 932
Chinese comparandum . . . 933

7 Adjectival Verbs 935

7.1.2 Quantity/Degree/Temperature 937
(1) PKC ***tam** ABUNDANT / MANY / PLENTY . . . 937
(2) PTB ***hwaŋ** CHEAP . . . 937
(3) PTani ***han** COLD (water) . . . 937
(4) PKC *^{s}**ik** COLD . . . 937
(5) PTk ***sik** COLD . . . 937
(6) PTk ***kow** COLD . . . 937
(7) PTB ***wut** COLD / CHILLY . . . 937
(8) PTB ***m/s-glak** ≍ ***m-glaŋ** COLD / FREEZE . . . 937
Chinese comparandum . . . 938
(9) PKC ***har** DIFFICULT / HARD . . . 938
(10) PKC ***looŋ** ≍ ***hlook** EMPTY . . . 938
(11) PTani ***r(a/o)ŋ** EMPTY . . . 938
(12) PKC ***ruak** EMPTY / NAKED / VOID . . . 938
Chinese comparandum . . . 938
(13) PNC ***hoom** EMPTY / VACANT . . . 938
(14) PKC ***tsiaʔ** EXACT . . . 938
(15) PKC ***raŋ-I**, ***ran-II** FAST / QUICK . . . 938
(16) PTk *^{h}**aak** FAST / QUICK . . . 938
(17) PKC ***kloom** FEW / LITTLE . . . 938
(18) PTB ***s-(l/r)əy-t** HEAVY . . . 938
(19) PKar *^{B}**thə** HEAVY . . . 940
(20) PKC ***liŋ-I**, ***lin-II** HOT / RED-HOT . . . 940
(21) PTani ***gu** ~ ***gju?** HOT / WARM . . . 940
(22) PTB ***r-yaːŋ** LIGHT (WEIGHT), LIGHTWEIGHT . . . 941
Chinese comparandum . . . 941
(23) PKar *^{A}**phwi** LIGHT (weight) . . . 941
(24) PTk ***beŋ** LIGHTWEIGHT . . . 941
(25) PTB ***m(r/y)a** MANY / MUCH . . . 941
(26) PKC ***hnem** MANY / MUCH . . . 942
(27) PKar *^{A}**ʔa** MANY / MUCH . . . 942
(28) PTB ***dwak** NARROW . . . 942
(29) PLB ***ʔ-gyiŋ**^{2} NARROW / CONSTRICTED . . . 942
(30) PTB ***gyap** NARROW / CROWDED . . . 942
Chinese comparandum . . . 943
(31) PKC ***waaŋ** RARE / SCARCE . . . 943
(32) PKC ***mal** SOLITARY / FEW / LITTLE . . . 943
(33) PTB ***k/l/ʔ-wan** SWIFT / STRONG / VIOLENT . . . 943
Chinese comparandum . . . 943
(34) PTani ***ɦiː** WARM ONESELF NEAR FIRE . . . 943
(35) PTB ***s-l(u/i)m** WARM . . . 943
Chinese comparandum . . . 945
(36) PTani ***tak** WIDE . . . 945
(37) PKC ***kaaw** WIDE / OPEN . . . 945

7.1.3 Human qualities and appearance 945
(1) PTani ***kaŋ-pro** BEAUTIFUL / GOOD-LOOKING . . . 945
(2) PTB ***mway** BEAUTIFUL / PERFECTLY / WELL . . . 945
Chinese comparandum . . . 945
(3) PL ***pwəy**^{1} GRAY / PALE . . . 945

7.1.4 Sensations 946
(1) PKC ***thak-I**, ***thaʔ-II** ACRID / PUNGENT / SPICY . . . 946
(2) PKC ***phak** ASTRINGENT (taste) . . . 946
(3) PKar *^{D}**kjaʔ** ASTRINGENT . . . 946
(4) PTB ***guːl** BULGE / BEND . . . 946
(5) PTB ***s/ʔ-n(w)ay** COHESIVE / STICKY / ELASTIC . . . 946
(6) PKC ***p(i/e)m** DEFLATED / DENTED . . . 946
(7) PKar *^{B}**ʔwi** DELICIOUS . . . 946
(8) PLB ***krəy**^{1} DELICIOUS / TASTY / SWEET . . . 946
(9) PKC ***ɗe(e)p** DENTED . . . 946
(10) PTani ***dɯ(ŋ/k)** FIRM / SOLID / HARD . . . 946
(11) PCC ***hŋet-I**, ***hŋeʔ-II** FIRM / STABLE . . . 946
Chinese comparandum . . . 946
(12) PKC ***θek** FIRM / STRONG . . . 947
(13) PKC ***θaak** HARD / INTENSE / STRONG . . . 947
(14) PTB ***s-naːŋ** HEAVY / THICK (of liquids) / VISCOUS . . . 947
Chinese comparandum . . . 947
(15) PTani ***(t/d)ɯk** HOT (spicy) . . . 947
(16) PTB ***syay** NOISY / AGITATED . . . 947
(17) PKC ***klor** OILY / GREASY . . . 947
(18) PCC ***tler** RANCID (smell) . . . 947
(19) PLB ***hoŋ**^{1} RANCID / DECAYED . . . 947
(20) PTB ***gram** ROUGH . . . 947
(21) PNC ***ham** ROUGH . . . 947
(22) PTk ***haw** ROUGH . . . 947
(23) PKC ***hraat** ROUGH / HARSH / SHARP . . . 947
(24) PKC ***ʔal** SALTY . . . 947
(25) PKC ***mim** SLEEK / GLOSSY . . . 947
(26) PTani ***lap** SLIPPERY . . . 948
(27) PKC ***naal** SLIPPERY / SLICK . . . 948
(28) PKC ***mil** SMOOTH / SLEEK . . . 948
(29) PKC ***ŋil** SMOOTH / SLICK / GLOSSY . . . 948
(30) PKC ***neel** SMOOTH / SUPPLE . . . 948
Chinese comparandum . . . 948
(31) PTk ***pet** SOFT (TO TOUCH) . . . 948
(32) PTani ***mjak** SOFT . . . 948
(33) PTB ***pryaw-k** SOFT / BOILED . . . 948
(34) PTB ***kruŋ** SOUR . . . 948
(35) PLB ***kyin**^{1} ≍ ***ʔgyin**^{1} SOUR . . . 948
(36) PTB ***k/s-rwak** SOUR / ACID . . . 949
(37) PTB ***s-kyuːr** ≍ ***s-kywaːr** SOUR / BE ACID . . . 949
(38) PTB ***suːr** ≍ ***swaːr** SOUR / BE ACID . . . 949
Chinese comparandum . . . 950
(39) PTB ***s-nyak** STICKY . . . 950
(40) PTB ***ʔu** STINK / PUTREFY / STALE . . . 950
(41) PTB ***kyəw** SWEET . . . 950
(42) PTB ***twi(y)** SWEET . . . 951
(43) PTB ***h(i/u)l** SWEET . . . 952
(44) PTB ***s-klum** SWEET . . . 952
Chinese comparandum . . . 952
(45) PTB ***m-yaŋ** SWEET . . . 952
(46) PTB ***lyam** SWEET / FRAGRANT . . . 952
Chinese comparandum . . . 952
(47) PTB ***dz(y)im** SWEET / TASTY . . . 952
(48) PKar *^{A}**pla** TASTELESS / FADED . . . 953
(49) PNC ***lim** TASTY . . . 953
(50) PTB ***now** TENDER / SOFT . . . 953
Chinese comparandum . . . 953
(51) PCC ***laap** WEAK (liquor, tobacco, tea) . . . 953
(52) PKar *^{B}**ɟa** YOUNG / SOFT / TENDER . . . 953

7.1.5 Object Qualities 953
(1) PKC ***ɓil** BLUNT . . . 953
(2) PTB ***r-t(u/i)l** BUTTOCKS / HEEL / DULL / BLUNT / ROUNDED PART . . . 953
Chinese comparandum . . . 954
(3) PKC ***tsaar** DRY / HARD / STIFF . . . 954
(4) PKC ***ɓaŋ-I**, ***ɓaŋʔ-II** EQUAL / RESEMBLE / SIMILAR . . . 954
(5) PTB ***mwəy** FINE / DELICATE . . . 954
Chinese comparandum . . . 954
(6) PTB ***pyar** FLAT / THIN . . . 954
Chinese comparandum . . . 954
(7) PTB ***m-twa-n** HIGH . . . 954
(8) PTB ***m-raŋ** HIGH / LONG . . . 954
(9) PKC ***shaaŋ-I**, ***shaan-II** HIGH / TALL . . . 955
(10) PKC ***phay** HORIZONTAL / FLAT / LEVEL / WEFT . . . 955
(11) PTB ***g-sik** NEW . . . 955
Chinese comparandum . . . 956
(12) PTB ***g-sar** NEW / FRESH . . . 956
Chinese comparandum . . . 957
(13) PCC ***dip** POWDERED / FINE . . . 957
(14) PTB ***bra** SCATTERED / DIVIDED / FORKED . . . 957
(15) PTk ***paj** SHALLOW . . . 957
(16) NEIA ***day** SHALLOW . . . 957
(17) PTB ***dim** SHALLOW . . . 958
(18) PTani ***ləŋ** ~ ***rjəŋ** SLANTING . . . 958
(19) PTB ***tsyuk** STEEP (ADJ.) . . . 958
(20) PTB ***rwat** STIFF / TOUGH . . . 958
(21) PTB ***(p/b)lyaŋ** STRAIGHT / STRAIGHTEN . . . 958
Chinese comparandum . . . 958
(22) PTB ***t(r)waŋ** STRAIGHT / STRAIGHTEN . . . 958
(23) PKC ***khawʔ** STURDY / RIGID / STRONG / TOUGH . . . 959
(24) PTk ***cow** TALL . . . 959
(25) PTani ***ɦiot**^{2} TALL / HIGH . . . 959
(26) PTB ***(d/t)aŋ** TENSE / TIGHT . . . 959
Chinese comparandum . . . 959
(27) PTB ***lyap** THIN / FLAT / FLAT OBJECT . . . 959
Chinese comparandum . . . 960
(28) PTk ***tsi** TIGHT . . . 960
(29) PTB ***t(r)ya-t** WORN OUT / TORN . . . 960

7.1.6 Composition 960
(1) PKC ***looŋ** ONLY / ALONE . . . 960
(2) PKC ***them** SHRED / BIT / SCRAP (small amount) . . . 960

7.1.7 Importance/Significance 960
(1) PNN ***Ç-reŋ** ALIKE . . . 960
(2) PKC ***kruul** NECESSARY / ESSENTIAL . . . 960
(3) PCC ***laar** POPULAR / PROMINENT . . . 960
(4) PKC ***law** RESEMBLE . . . 960
(5) PTk *^{h}**ta** RESEMBLE . . . 960

7.1.8 Evaluatives (but see also 7.1.3, 7.1.5, 9.6) 960
(1) PTani ***ku** ~ ***kju?** OLD (NOT NEW) . . . 960
(2) PKar *^{B}**bra** OLD (of humans) . . . 960
Chinese comparandum . . . 960
(3) PTB ***sar** OLD (of things) . . . 960
(4) PTB ***s-li** OLD (of things) . . . 961
(5) PKar *^{A}**lej** OLD (of things) . . . 961
(6) PCN ***a-Cən** OLD (of things) . . . 961
(7) PTB ***r-ga** OLD . . . 961
Chinese comparandum . . . 962
(8) PTB ***b-gryas** OLD . . . 962
(9) PTB ***s-bi** OLD . . . 962
(10) PTB ***kwak** OLD . . . 962
(11) PTB ***rar** OLD . . . 962
(12) PKC ***hlun** OLD / ANCIENT / PAST . . . 962
(13) PTani ***le** RAW (UNCOOKED) . . . 963
(14) PTB ***dz(y)im** RAW / GREEN / UNRIPE . . . 963
(15) PKC ***hel** RAW / UNRIPE . . . 963
(16) PTB ***m/s-diŋ** SETTLED / FIX / ESTABLISH . . . 963
Chinese comparandum . . . 963

7.1.11 Light/Dark 963
(1) PTk ***haaŋ** BRIGHT . . . 963
(2) PKC ***thim** DARK . . . 964
(3) PTB ***s-n(y/r)əw** DARK / WITHERED / EVIL . . . 964
(4) PTB ***brwaŋ** LOUD / BRIGHT . . . 964
Chinese comparandum . . . 964

8 Abstract Nouns and Verbs, Psychological Verbs, Verbs of Utterance 965

8.1.0 Abstract Entities 967
(1) PKC ***took** ADEQUACY / SUFFICIENCY . . . 967
(2) PKC ***thuu** AFFAIR / MATTER (n.) / WORD . . . 967
(3) PCC ***hmeel** APPEARANCE / FACE / SHAPE . . . 967
(4) PKC ***moʔ** BLAME / FAULT / SIN . . . 967
(5) PKC ***muy** FIGURE / LOOK . . . 967
(6) PKC ***phun** KIND / SORT / CLAN . . . 967
(7) PKC ***yia** MANNER / HABIT / METHOD . . . 967
(8) PCC ***tsam** OCCASION / ANNIVERSARY . . . 967
(9) PKC ***ɗaŋ** OTHER / ALIAS . . . 967
(10) PTB ***yaːr** OTHER / OUTSIDE . . . 967
(11) PTB ***r-dzas** THING . . . 967
Chinese comparandum . . . 967
(12) PTB ***ray** THINGS / STUFF . . . 967
(13) PTB ***k(y/r)iːn** TIME / OCCASION . . . 967
(14) PTB ***s-pwak** TIME / OCCASION . . . 968
(15) PKC ***nun-tsan**; ***nuŋ-tsaŋ** TRAIT / BEHAVIOR . . . 968

8.2.0 Abstract verbs 968
(1) PKC ***hiip** ATTRACT . . . 968
(2) PTB ***m-dzyaŋ** BE THERE / HAVE . . . 968
(3) PTB ***s/m-wam** DARE . . . 968
Chinese comparandum . . . 969
(4) PCC ***ren** ECONOMIZE / FRUGAL . . . 969
(5) PKar *^{B}**ʔɔ** HAVE / BE / EXIST / STAY / THERE IS . . . 969
(6) PKC ***poy** MATTER (v.) / SERIOUS . . . 969
(7) PKC ***khu(u)m-I**, ***khumʔ-II** SURPASS / TRANSCEND . . . 969

8.3.0 Psychological verbs 969
(1) PTB ***daw** DEFY / INTERFERE / BE AT ENMITY WITH / RISK / GUESS . . . 969

8.3.1 Verbs of Feeling 969
(1) PTB ***p(r/y)aw** DELIGHT / HAPPY / ENJOY . . . 969
(2) PTk ***caaŋ** LIKE / WANT . . . 969
(3a) PCN ***a-m-ʒaːn** LOVE (v.) . . . 969
(3b) PCN ***m-jam** LOVE / FRIEND / FRIENDSHIP . . . 969
(4) PKC ***niŋ-I**, ***nin-II**; ***neŋ-I** nen-II DISDAIN / SICK OF . . . 970
(5) PKC ***hua-I**, ***huat-II** HATE / ABHOR . . . 970
(6) PKC ***tsim** TIRED OF / BORED / IRKED . . . 970
(7) PTk ***ja** ACCEPT . . . 970
(7) PKC ***puʔ** ACCUSE . . . 970
(7) PCC ***tran** SUPPORT / SIDE WITH . . . 970

(7) PKC *loom-I, *lom?-II CELEBRATE / HAPPY / REJOICE . . . 970
(7) PKC *tshiir REGRET . . . 970
(7) PTani *fak ANGRY . . . 970
(7) PTk *han EXPECT . . . 970
(8) PKC *ɓay-say EXPECT / HOPE . . . 970
(9) PKC *riŋ-I, *rin-II EXPECT / HOPE FOR . . . 970
(10) PTani *lom STARTLE (verbal particle) . . . 970
(10) PKC *hre? FRET / DISLIKE . . . 970
(10) PKC *laaw ≍ *hlaaw ALARMED / AFRAID / NERVOUS . . . 971
(11) PTB *b-ray-t FEAR . . . 971
Chinese comparandum . . . 971
(12) PTB *lik FEAR . . . 971
Chinese comparandum . . . 971
(13) PTB *kri-t FEAR / AFRAID . . . 971
(14) PTB *s/d-krwak FEAR / FRIGHTEN . . . 971
Chinese comparandum . . . 972
(15) PTB *baŋ TIRED / EXHAUSTED . . . 972
(16) PNC *tsool TIRED / EXHAUSTED . . . 972
(17) PTani *pe TIRED / REST . . . 972
(18) PKC *rim WEARY / ANXIOUS / REGRET / TIRED . . . 972
(19) PTB *ru-t CRAZY . . . 972
(20) PTani *grak CRAZY / MAD . . . 973
(21) PTB *yum BELIEVE . . . 973
(22) PKC *riŋ-I, *rin-II BELIEVE / TRUST . . . 973
(23) PTB *syey-s KNOW / UNDERSTAND . . . 973
Chinese comparandum . . . 975
(24) NEIA *m(y)aŋ THINK / BELIEVE / IDEATE . . . 975
(25) PNC *t(i/e)l UNDERSTAND . . . 975
(26) PLB *taŋ[1] ≍ *m-daŋ[2] THINK / FEEL AN EMOTION . . . 975
(27) PKC *tum AIM / ASPIRE / INTEND . . . 976
(28) PKC *hri? PLAN / ATTEMPT . . . 976
(29) PCC *?er PLOT / RIVAL . . . 976
(30) PKC *hu(u)r HORNY / AMATORY / LUSTFUL . . . 976
(31) PTB *nay LANGUID / LEISURELY . . . 976
(32) PTB *d-rum LONG FOR / PINE FOR . . . 976
Chinese comparandum . . . 976
(33) PTB *myəy DESIDERATIVE / WISH, WANT . . . 976
(34) PKC *?ii(t/n) DESIRE / LOVE / COVET . . . 976
(35) PTk *ŋaj DESIRE / WANT . . . 976
(36) PKC *θ(o/u)k LUST FOR / DESIRE . . . 976
(37) PTB *huŋ WISH / WANT . . . 976
(38) PTB *b/m-la:p FORGET . . . 977
(39) PTk *laj FORGET . . . 977
(40) PKar *s-beŋ[A] FORGET . . . 977
(41) PKC *hŋil? FORGET / FALL ASLEEP . . . 977

8.3.2 Verbs of Affection **977**
(1) PKC *yo(o)ŋ ADDICTED / HABITUATED . . . 977
(2) PTB *?iŋ BEAR / ENDURE / SUFFER . . . 977
(3) PTB *m-dz(y)u-k BELONG / TRUST / DEPEND / ACCEPT / TAKE . . . 977
(4) PKC *kol CARE / TAKE CARE / SUPERVISE . . . 978
(5) PTB *d-rin COMPASSION / LOVE . . . 978
Chinese comparandum . . . 978
(6) PKC *t(h)uar ENDURE / SUFFER / TOLERATE . . . 978
(7) PKC *yol ENTICE / BRIBE . . . 978
(8) PKar *pə[B] LOOK AFTER (things) . . . 978
(9) PKC *ɗua-I, *ɗuat-II LOVE / DOTE / TEND . . . 979
(10) PKC *?ooy-I, *?oy?-II LULL / HUSH / SOOTHE . . . 979
(11) PTB *toy PROPITIATE / APPEASE . . . 979
(12) PTk *ja RESPECT . . . 979
(13) PKC *ya? RESPECT / REVERE . . . 979
(14) PTB *m-ta:y RETALIATE / GRUDGE (bear a) . . . 979
Chinese comparandum . . . 979
(15) PKC *nuar SULK / AGITATE . . . 979
(16) PCC *thlop SUPPORT / CARE . . . 979
(17) PTk *soj TEMPT . . . 979

8.3.3 Verbs of Conscience and Shame **979**
(1) PCC *rian DILIGENT / EARNEST . . . 979
(1) PKC *heek BETRAY / MALIGN . . . 979
(2) PCC *dep-dee-I, *dep-deet-II DECEITFUL / DISHONEST . . . 979
(3) PTk *nam DECEIVE . . . 979
(4) PCN *rak DECEIVE . . . 979
(5) PKC *khleem DECEIVE / COZEN . . . 979
(6) PTB *s-r(y)ak ≍ *g-yak ASHAMED / SHY . . . 980
(6a) PTB *s-r(y)ak ASHAMED / SHY . . . 980
(6b) PTB *g-yak ASHAMED / SHY . . . 980
(7) PTani *han(?)-ñiŋ SHY / ASHAMED . . . 980
(8) PKC *yum SHY / BASHFUL . . . 980
(9) PTk *ʃuŋ CORRECT . . . 980
(10) PTB *?al RIGHT (CORRECT) / GOOD . . . 980
(11) PLB *dzyaŋ CORRECT / RIGHT / PROPER / OUGHT . . . 981

8.4.0 Feeling **981**
(1) PKar *phruN[A] CARESS . . . 981
(2) PTani *ɦan FEEL (v.t.) . . . 981
(3) PTB *s-ra:p GRAZE / ALMOST HIT / PASSING GLOSE . . . 981
Chinese comparandum . . . 981
(4) PKC *tok MEDDLE / PICK AT / TOUCH . . . 981
(5) PKC *so? PRICK / PROBE . . . 981
(6) NEIA *s-mit RUB . . . 981
(7) PKar *thwɨN[A] SHOVE (WITH THE FOOT) . . . 982
(8) PTk *tsu TOUCH . . . 982
(9) PCC *tooŋ TOUCH / CONTACT . . . 982

8.5.1 Scold **982**
(1) PTani *be CURSE (v.) . . . 982
(2) PTB *mwa-t CURSE / REVILE . . . 982
Chinese comparandum . . . 982
(3) PCN *ziŋ ORDER / COMMAND / LAW . . . 982
(4) PKC *taw SCOLD . . . 982
(5) PKC *haaw SCOLD / ACCOST / QUARREL . . . 982
(6) PTB *m-krim THREATEN / TERRIFY . . . 982

8.5.2 Verbs of Complaint and Praise **982**
(1) PKC *?(a/e)l ARGUE / CHALLENGE / VIE . . . 982
(2) PKC *hnial ARGUE / DENY / DISPUTE . . . 982
(3) PKC *tsu? DISPUTE / CLAIM . . . 982
(4) PKC *phun GRUMBLE / MURMUR . . . 982

8.5.4 Verbs Expressing Communicative Affect **982**
(1) PKar *?o[B] CROW (v.) . . . 982
(2) PCC *?aay CRY OUT (in fear) . . . 983
(3) PKC *suun MOURN / WAIL . . . 983
(4) PCC *raak SHOUT . . . 983
(5) PTk *waw SHOUT . . . 983
(6) PTk *hal SHOUT . . . 983
(7) PLB *graw[1] SHOUT / CALL OUT . . . 983
(8) PTB *?a:w SHOUT / CRY OUT . . . 983
Chinese comparandum . . . 983
(9) PTB *sy(i/u)p WHISPER . . . 983
Chinese comparandum . . . 983

8.5.5 Sounds **983**
(1) PKC *tsiap CHIRP . . . 983
(2) PKC *ruum ≍ *hruum GROAN / GROWL / ROAR . . . 983
Chinese comparandum . . . 983
(3) PTB *?ur MAKE NOISE / HUM / CHAT / BABBLE . . . 983
(4) PNC *taaw MOAN . . . 983
(5) PKC *hraam MOAN / CRY / GROAN . . . 984
(6) PKC *saa-I, *sak-II SING . . . 984
(7) PTB *sit WHISTLE . . . 984

8.5.7 Bid **984**
(1) PKC *ŋeen ASK / APPEAL / REQUEST . . . 984
(2) PKC *suut ≍ *soot ASK / INQUIRE . . . 984
(3) PTB *r-yu(w) ASK / REQUEST . . . 984
(4) PKC *θial ASK / SEND (on errand) . . . 984
(5) PKC *haaw-I, *haw?-II DEMAND / ASK . . . 984
(6) PCC *?uar EMPHASIZE / STRESS / FOND OF . . . 984
(7) PNC *doŋ INQUIRE . . . 984

8.5.8 Banter/Discourse **984**
(1) PTB *(ŋ/g)raŋ CONTRADICT / DENY . . . 984
Chinese comparandum . . . 985

8.5.10 Verbs of Verbosity and Intensity **985**
(1) PCC *leem ATTRACT / PERSUADE / FASCINATE . . . 985
(2) PKC *hal BEG / ASK . . . 985
(3) PTani *ko BEG / REQUEST . . . 985
(4) PTani *mə: CHEAT / LIE . . . 985
(5) PKC *hleŋ LIE / CHEAT . . . 985
(6) PTB *ha:y LIE / DECEIVE / MISS / CONFUSED / FOOLISH . . . 985
(7) PKC *hnee-I, *hneek-II URGE / STIMULATE . . . 985
(8) PKC *ɓia WORD . . . 985
(9) PCN *a-(h)ju WORD / VOICE / LANGUAGE / SAY / SPEECH . . . 985
(10) TGTM *[B]kat voice . . . 986

8.5.13 Beckon **986**
(1) PTB *(g/k)aw CALL . . . 986
(2) PNC *sam CALL . . . 986
(3) PTk *ho CALL . . . 986
(4) PCN *tsaj CALL . . . 986
(5) PTani *grok CALL / SHOUT . . . 986
(6) PKC *soom INVITE / SUMMON . . . 986

8.5.14 Broadcast and Announce **987**
(1) PTB *ha:w ANNOUNCE / BESPEAK . . . 987
(2) PKC *hril? EXPLAIN / TEACH . . . 987
(3) PKC *phuaŋ-I, *phuan-II PROCLAIM / PROFESS / REVEAL . . . 987
(4) PLB *s/?-ma[1]/[2] TEACH . . . 987
Chinese comparandum . . . 987

8.5.15 Boast **987**
(1) PCC *?uaŋ-I, *?uan-II BRAG / SHOW OFF . . . 987

8.5.16 Dedicate **987**
(1) PKC *tiam PROMISE / VOW . . . 987
(2) PCC *kam SWEAR / PROMISE / TAKE OATH . . . 987

9 Shape, Size, Color, Measure, Number, Time, Space **989**

9.1.0 Time **991**
(1) PTB *(k/?)uk BEND / CROOKED / RETURN / BACK / YEAR . . . 991
Chinese comparandum . . . 993
(2) PKC *tik TIME . . . 993
(3) PTB *tsay TIME / LIFESPAN . . . 993
(4) PCC *trum TIME / OCCASION . . . 993
(5) PKC *hun TIME / SEASON . . . 993

9.1.1 Adverbial uses **993**
(1) PKC *hlaan BEFORE / TIME (ancient) . . . 993
(2) NEIA *m/s-nu LATE . . . 993
(3) PTk *hwe LATE . . . 993
(4) PKC *ray LATE / LONG (time) . . . 994
(5) PTB *s/k-la:y LATE / SLOW . . . 994
Chinese comparandum . . . 994
(6) PKC *tuu NOW . . . 994
(7) PKC *yok QUICKLY . . . 994
(8) PKC *p(h)a? WHILE . . . 994

9.1.2 Months and Years **994**
(1) PNC *phal-bii WINTER . . . 994
(2) PTB *s-ni(:)ŋ ≍ *s-nik YEAR . . . 994
Chinese comparandum . . . 997
(3) PBod *lo YEAR . . . 997
(4) PTB *kum YEAR / SEASON . . . 997

9.1.3 Days **998**
(1) PTani *lo DAY . . . 998
(2) PTk *sun DAY . . . 998
(3) PTB *s-r(y)ak DAY / FULL DAY / SPEND THE NIGHT . . . 998
Chinese comparandum . . . 999
(4) PKar *rɔ[A] TOMORROW . . . 999

9.1.4 Times of Day **999**
(1) PTB *g-duk DAYTIME / NOON . . . 999
Chinese comparandum . . . 999
(2) PTani *rjum EVENING . . . 999

9.1.5 Other Intervals **999**
(1) PNN *p[h]a:y AFTER . . . 999
(2) PTB *gla INTERVAL / SPACE BETWEEN . . . 999
(3) PLB *?-m(y)aŋ[1]/[3] LONG (TIME) . . . 999
Chinese comparandum . . . 1000
(4) PTB *gra LONG (TIME) . . . 1000
Chinese comparandum . . . 1000
(5) PKar *ŋjaʔ[D] LONG (of time) . . . 1000

9.2.0 Spatial terms **1000**
(1) PTani *len OUT (verbal particle) . . . 1000
(2) PTB *s-rwəy SLANT / SLOPE . . . 1000
(3) PKC *tshaw SLOPE (upward) / ASCENT . . . 1000
(4) PCC *let-liŋ UPSIDE DOWN / INVERTED . . . 1000

9.2.1 Up **1000**
(1) PNC *ɗoon TOP . . . 1000
(2) PKC *tsuŋ TOP / ABOVE / SURFACE . . . 1000
(3) PKC *khlu(u)ŋ TOP / APEX . . . 1000
(4) PTB *s-tyaŋ UPPER PART / RISE / RAISE / TOP / SUMMIT . . . 1001
Chinese comparandum . . . 1001

9.2.2 Down **1001**
(1) PTB *hwak BELOW . . . 1001
Chinese comparandum . . . 1001
(2) PKar *laʔ[D] BELOW / UNDER / UNDERNEATH . . . 1001
(3) PCC *khlaŋ LOWER / DOWN / SOUTH . . . 1001

(4) PKC *hnuay UNDER / UNDERNEATH . . . 1001

9.2.3 Sideways **1002**
(1) PKC *kiaŋ ADJACENT / BESIDE / NEAR . . . 1002
(2) PTB *ka:l BETWEEN / INTERVAL . . . 1002
Chinese comparandum . . . 1002
(3) PTB *s-na:y ⪤ *s-ney NEAR . . . 1002
Chinese comparandum . . . 1003
(4) PLB *ba² NEARBY PLACE / VICINITY . . . 1003

9.2.4 Apart **1003**
(1) PCN *tjuk ABANDON / LEAVE / AWAY . . . 1003
(2) PTani *krak RESULTATIVE PARTICLE (=off, away) . . . 1003

9.2.5 Amid **1004**
(1) PKC *lak AMONG / AMID / BETWEEN . . . 1004
(2) PTB *naŋ INSIDE . . . 1004

9.2.6 Around **1004**
(1) PTB *hwaŋ ENCIRCLE / CIRCULAR / FENCE . . . 1004

9.2.7 Extent **1005**
(1) PKC *waa(ŋ/y) BREADTH / WIDTH . . . 1005
(2) PKC *hlaa-I, *hlaat-II FAR (away) / REMOTE . . . 1005
Chinese comparandum . . . 1005
(3) PTani *do FAR . . . 1005
(4) PTB *dzya:l FAR . . . 1005
(5) PTk *kla FAR . . . 1005
(6) PTB *g-wəy-n FAR . . . 1005
Chinese comparandum . . . 1006

9.2.8 Directions **1006**
(1) PKC *tshak NORTH (upper part) . . . 1006
(2) PKC *raal OPPOSITE (side) / BEYOND . . . 1006
(3) PTB *d(w)aŋ/k OPPOSITE / FACING . . . 1006
(4) PKC *kalʔ TRANSVERSE / BOLT (shut) / CONTRADICT . . . 1006

9.3.0 Sounds **1006**
(1) PCC *thluuk INTONATION / ACCENT . . . 1007
(2) PKC *thaŋ-I, *-than-II LOUD / SOUND / FAMOUS . . . 1007
(3) PTB *krwap RUSTLE . . . 1007
(4) PTani *dut² SOUND . . . 1007
(5) PTB *mriŋ SOUND / NOISE / ANIMAL CRY . . . 1007
Chinese comparandum . . . 1007
(6) PKC *ʔoo SOUND / VOICE . . . 1007

9.4.0 Colors **1007**
(1) PTB *s-nak BLACK . . . 1007
Chinese comparandum . . . 1010
(2) PTB *ha:ŋ BLACK . . . 1010
(3) PTk *tsik BLACK . . . 1010
(4) PKC *ɗum BLACK / BLUE . . . 1010
(5) PTB *s(y)im BLACK / BLUE / DARK / DARK-COLORED . . . 1010
(6) PKC *wom BLACK / DARK . . . 1010
(7) PTB *s-ma(ŋ/k) BLACK / INK / DEEP . . . 1010
Chinese comparandum . . . 1011
(8) PTB *s-mun DARK . . . 1011
Chinese comparandum . . . 1011
(9) PKar *khiʔᴰ DARK / LATE EVENING . . . 1011
(10) PLB *s-rwəy¹ ⪤ *s-rwe¹ GOLD / YELLOW . . . 1012
(11) PTk *tek GREEN . . . 1012
(12) PCC *daaŋ-I, *daan-II PALE / PALLID / BLANCHED . . . 1012
(13) PTB *bruk PIEBALD / SPECKLED . . . 1012
Chinese comparandum . . . 1012
(14) PTB *r-ni RED . . . 1012
Chinese comparandum . . . 1013
(15) PTani *lɯŋ RED . . . 1013
(16) PTB *t(y)a-n ⪤ *tsa-n RED . . . 1013
Chinese comparandum . . . 1014
(17) PTB *s-kyaŋ RED / BLUSHING . . . 1014
Chinese comparandum . . . 1014
(18) PTB *tsya(k/ŋ) RED / DARK-COLORED / BLACK . . . 1014
(19) PKC *(k)rial STRIPED / SPOTTED . . . 1014
(20) PTB *bawk WHITE . . . 1014
Chinese comparandum . . . 1014
(21) PQ *pram WHITE . . . 1014
(22) PTani *pu(n/ŋ) WHITE . . . 1015
(23) PTk *car WHITE . . . 1015
(24) PTB *s-ŋow WHITE / GREEN / YELLOW / BLUE . . . 1015
(25) PKC *(k)(r)aaŋ-I, *(k)(r)aan-II WHITE / LIGHT (color) . . . 1016
(26) PTB *plu WHITE / SILVER / MONEY . . . 1016
(27) PKC *ʔeŋ-I, *ʔen-II YELLOW . . . 1017

9.5.0 Change of state **1017**
(1) PKC *haan ABATE / CEASE / SUBSIDE . . . 1017
(2) PKC *laŋ-I, *laŋʔ ⪤ *lan-II APPEAR / UNOBSTRUCTED / VISIBLE . . . 1017
(3) PCN *kam BECOME . . . 1018
(4) PKC *tsaŋ-I, *tsan-II BECOME / CHANGE INTO / MATURE . . . 1018
(5) PKC *pran BEGIN / START . . . 1018
Chinese comparandum . . . 1018
(6) PCC *ʔew-I, *ʔewʔ-II BEND (backward) . . . 1018
(7) PKC *kuay BEND OVER . . . 1018
(8) PTB *koy BEND / CURVED / LAP / BOSOM . . . 1018
Chinese comparandum . . . 1019
(9) PTani *(t/d)ɯr BREAK (st. stiff with hand) . . . 1019
(10) PKC *rook BREAK DOWN (v.i.) / DESTROYED . . . 1019
(11) PTk *kaj BREAK . . . 1019
(12) PTk *tlek BREAK . . . 1019
(13) PCN *tʃak BREAK . . . 1019
(14) NEIA *pʷak BURST . . . 1019
Chinese comparandum . . . 1019
(15) PTk *wɐt BURST . . . 1019
(16) PKC *kek-I, *keʔ-II BURST / EXPLODE / LEAK / RUPTURE . . . 1019
(17) PKC *toop CEASE / END / STOP . . . 1019
(18) PKC *ɗiʔ CEASE / FINISH / VANISH . . . 1019
(19) PTB *m-lyan CHANGE / EXCHANGE . . . 1019
(20) PKar *k-hnɔNᴮ CRUSH (v.) . . . 1020
(21) PTk *ʃoj DECAY . . . 1020
(22) PKC *rop DECAY / ROT . . . 1020
(23) PKC *kiam DECREASE / SUBSIDE . . . 1020
(24) PKC *yor DIMINISH / DECREASE . . . 1020
(25) PKC *kuuy DROOP . . . 1020
(26) PKC *khlep DROOP . . . 1020
(27) PKC *ŋuay DROOP / WILT . . . 1020
(28) PKC *phaw EXPOSE / SPREAD OUT . . . 1020
(29) PTk *kup FINISH . . . 1020
(30) PKC *yaw-I, *yoʔ-II FINISH / COMPLETE . . . 1020
(31) PTB *s-grwal ⪤ *ʔwal FINISH / LOOSE / RELAX . . . 1020
Chinese comparandum . . . 1021
(32) PKC *tsip GRATE / BREAK (into pieces) . . . 1021
(33) PTani *pɯ GRIND (SHARPEN) . . . 1021
(34) PKC *rial GRIND / CRUSH / GNASH . . . 1021
(35) PTB *s-ryut GROW WORSE / INFERIOR / FALLEN . . . 1021
(36) PTB *haŋ HEAT UP . . . 1021
(37) PCC *zual INTENSIFY / INCREASE . . . 1021
(38) PKC *ʔew LEAN BACK . . . 1021
(39) PTani *ǰ(i/e)t MELT . . . 1021
(40) PTB *s/m-grəy MELT . . . 1021
(41) PKC *tuy MELT / LIQUEFY . . . 1022
(42) PKC *raaw PALE / DISCOLORED . . . 1022
(43) PTB *s-nyak PULVERIZE / SHATTER / DIMINUTIVE . . . 1022
(44) PCC *leet RENEGE / ALTER / CHANGE . . . 1022
(45) PKC *tsool REST . . . 1022
(46) PKC *ɗiim REST / END . . . 1022
(47) PTB *zya:w ⪤ *zyu(w) ROT / DECAY / DIGEST . . . 1022
Chinese comparandum . . . 1022
(48) PKC *mua(t/n) ROT / FESTER / BRITTLE . . . 1022
(49) PTani *jaŋ ROT / ROTTEN . . . 1023
(50) PTB *pwa(n/t) RUB OFF / GRIND . . . 1023
(51) PTB *g/s-rip SHADE / SHADOW . . . 1023
(52) PKC *tson SHRINK / CONTRACT . . . 1023
(53) PKC *m-hew SPOILED / WASTE(D) . . . 1023
(54) PTB *p-(r/y)an SPREAD (wide) / STRETCH OUT . . . 1023
Chinese comparandum . . . 1024
(55) PTani *pruʔ SPREAD OUT (e.g. bedding) . . . 1024
(56) PTB *r-dal SPREAD / EXTEND / DEVELOP . . . 1024
Chinese comparandum . . . 1024
(57) PTB *ya:r SPREAD / EXTEND / SAIL . . . 1024
(58) PKC *phaʔ SPREAD / STRETCH . . . 1024
Chinese comparandum . . . 1024
(59) PTB *(t)sy(i/u)p ⪤ *(t)swap SQUEEZE / WRING / CRUMPLE . . . 1024
(60) PTk *haaw START . . . 1025
(61) PCC *thok-I, *-thoʔ-II START / BEGIN / COMMENCE . . . 1025
(62) PKC *ŋol STOP . . . 1025
(63) PCC *reʔ STOP / CEASE / END . . . 1025
(64) PTani *ǰon STRETCH ONESELF . . . 1025
(65) PTB *tsyan ⪤ *dzyan STRETCH OUT . . . 1025
(66) PKC *yam STRETCH / SUSPEND . . . 1026
(67) PTB *s-myak VANISH / GET LOST . . . 1026
(68) PKC *huut VAPORIZE / GILD . . . 1026
(69) PTB *(d/t)wan WRINKLE / SHRINK . . . 1026

9.6.1 Positive/Desirable qualities **1026**
(1) PTB *lwa(:)y EASY . . . 1026
Chinese comparandum . . . 1026
(2) PKar *hŋawᴬ EASY . . . 1026
(3) PCC *ʔol EASY / SIMPLE . . . 1027
(4) PTB *g-sal CLEAR / BRIGHT / PLEASANT . . . 1027
Chinese comparandum . . . 1027
(5) PTani *kak CLEAN . . . 1027
(6) PTani *d-rek CLEAN . . . 1027
(7) PCC *faay CLEAN . . . 1027
(8) PTk *tʰɐr CLEAN . . . 1027
(9) PKC *θiaŋ-I, *θian-II CLEAR / LEGIBLE . . . 1027
(10) PTB *(t)s(y)aŋ CLEAR / PURE / CLEAN . . . 1027
Chinese comparandum . . . 1028
(11) PKC *klaw DURABLE / LASTING . . . 1028
(12) PTk *nak FINE, BE . . . 1028
(13) PTB *pra GOOD . . . 1028
(14) PTB *s-na GOOD . . . 1029
(15) PTB *s-nam GOOD . . . 1029
(16a) PTB *m-tyak/ŋ ⪤ *tik/ŋ GOOD / VERY / REAL / STRAIGHT . . . 1029
Chinese comparandum . . . 1030
(16b) PTB *l(y)a(k/ŋ) GOOD / BEAUTIFUL . . . 1030
Chinese comparandum . . . 1030
(17) PKC *suŋ PRECIOUS / RARE . . . 1030
(18) PTB *pəw PRICE . . . 1030
Chinese comparandum . . . 1032
(19) PCC *hlook PROFITABLE / WORTHY . . . 1032
(20) PCN *ʒak- QUICK / QUICKLY . . . 1032
(21) PKC *muaŋ-I, *muan-II SAFE / SECURE . . . 1032
(22) PCC *him SAFE / UNHARMED / UNDAMAGED . . . 1032
(23) PCC *rem SUITABLE / CONGRUOUS / PROPER . . . 1032
(24) PKC *θiim TRANSPARENT / CLEAR / WISE . . . 1032
(25) PNN *Ç-ɟiːŋ TRUE . . . 1032
(26) PCC *mak UNUSUAL / WONDERFUL . . . 1032
(27) PKC *klaak WORTHY / ACCEPTABLE . . . 1032
(28) PKC *phuu WORTHY / EXPEDIENT . . . 1032
(29) PKC *ɗaay CALM / COOL / QUIET / SILENT . . . 1032
(30) PTB *ta:p ⪤ *m-daw CAPABLE / FIT / BEAUTIFUL . . . 1032
(31) PKC *θiŋ-I, *θin-II CLEVER / CLEAR / WISE . . . 1032
(32) PKC *taay-maa DILIGENT / ACTIVE . . . 1033
(33) PTB *dam HEALTHY / WELL . . . 1033
(34) PKC *thiam SKILLFUL / ADROIT / KNOW-HOW . . . 1033

9.6.2 Negative Qualities **1033**
(1) PTani *mul AMISS (verbal particle) . . . 1033
(2) PCC *tshia-vaa BAD . . . 1033
(3) PTk *ʃi BAD . . . 1033
(4) PKC *tshia-I, *tshiat-II BAD / BROKEN . . . 1033
(5) PCC *ŋoŋ DULL / STUPID . . . 1033
(6) PKC *khel FALSE / WICKED . . . 1033
(7) PKC *huay HAUNTED / DANGEROUS . . . 1033
(8) PKC *tsham LACK / INCOMPLETE / SHORT OF . . . 1033
(9) PTB *grwal OVERBEARING / EXPLOITATIVE . . . 1034
(10) PKC *mool PLAIN / DULL / STUPID / SIMPLE . . . 1034
(11) PTB *d-b(u/i)l POOR . . . 1034
Chinese comparandum . . . 1034
(12) PKC *ŋal ⪤ *hŋal RUDE / OVERBEARING / PRESUMPTOUS . . . 1034
(13) PCC *ral RUINED / DESTROYED . . . 1034
(14) PTk *tep SLOW . . . 1034
(15) PKar *ɟiᴮ STINGY . . . 1034
(16) PTk *nir WRINKLE . . . 1034
(17) PKar *g/k-hmaᴮ WRONG / MISTAKE / ERROR . . . 1034
(18) PTk *jon WRONG, BE . . . 1034

9.6.3 Neutral **1034**
(1) PTB *s-(r/y/w)ay BOLD / HEROIC . . . 1034
(2) PTani *mjoŋ-maŋ BUSY . . . 1034
(3) PKC *ɓuay BUSY / BUSTLE / CONFUSED / DISTURB . . . 1034
(4) PTB *b-rut MISCHIEVOUS / ROWDY / HOOLIGAN . . . 1035

9.7.1 Shape and size **1035**
(1) PKC *kual COIL / LOOP . . . 1035
(2) PKC *nuay FRAGMENT / PIECE / COIN . . . 1035
(3) PKC *klaŋ LUMP / CLOD / SOLID (thing) . . . 1035
(4) PKC *yool OBLONG / OVAL (figure) . . . 1035
(5) PKar *thuNᴮ POLE . . . 1035
(6) PTB *s/m-kwar ROUND . . . 1035
Chinese comparandum . . . 1035
(7) PKC *ɓial ROUND / CIRCLE . . . 1035
(8) PKC *tia SIZE . . . 1035
(9) PCC *ʔaay STACK (n.) / PILE (n.) . . . 1035
(10) PTB *sap WEDGE . . . 1035
Chinese comparandum . . . 1036

9.7.2 Verbs referring to size/shape **1036**
(1) PTB ***ba** THIN / FLAT . . . 1036
Chinese comparandum . . . 1037
(1a) PTB ***(b/p)a(n/t)** THIN . . . 1037
(2) PTB ***s-lum* ≍ *b/m-lu(m/ŋ)** ROUND / ROUND OBJECT / HEART / EYEBALL . . . 1037
(2a) PTB ***s-lum** ROUND . . . 1037
(2b) PTB ***b-lum** EYE / EYEBALL / HEART / ROUND OBJECT . . . 1038
(2c) PTB ***m-lu(ŋ/m)** HEART / ROUND . . . 1039
(3) PTB ***r-tas** THICK / HARD / SOLID . . . 1042
Chinese comparandum . . . 1042
(4) PTB ***maŋ** BIG / ELDER (BROTHER, UNCLE) / OLD . . . 1042
Chinese comparandum . . . 1043
(5) PTB ***t(y)u(ŋ/n)** SHORT . . . 1043
Chinese comparandum . . . 1044
(6) PTB ***ta-y** BIG . . . 1044
Chinese comparandum . . . 1045
(7) PTB ***dəw** SHORT . . . 1045
Chinese comparandum . . . 1046
(8) PTB ***tuːk** THICK / DEEP . . . 1046
Chinese comparandum . . . 1046
(9) PTB ***low** LONG / TALL . . . 1046
(10) PTani ***bjɯŋ** THICK (e.g. book) . . . 1046
(11) NEIA ***m-ya** BROAD / WIDE . . . 1047
(12) PTB ***s-ŋ(i/u)ŋ** SHORT . . . 1047
(13) PTani ***rɯŋ** DEEP . . . 1047
(14) PTB ***(p/b)ay** ENCIRCLED / RINGED / STRIPED . . . 1047
(15) PTB ***(d/t)uŋ** LONG / LENGTH . . . 1047
(16) PTani ***bV-čor** SHALLOW / THIN (paper) . . . 1047
(17) PKC ***saaw** LONG . . . 1048
(18) PTani ***gər** CROOKED . . . 1048
(19) PTani ***sɯŋ** GROW (v.i.) . . . 1048
(20) PTB ***m(y)ap** SHORT . . . 1048
(21) PKar ***jɔʔ^{D}** DEEP . . . 1048
(22) PKar ***thaw^{A}** LONG / TALL / HIGH . . . 1048
(23) PKar ***phə^{B}** SHORT / LOW . . . 1048
(24) PKC ***lian-II**, ***lianʔ-II** BIG / LARGE . . . 1048
(25) PKar ***ʔdo^{B}** BIG / LARGE . . . 1048
(26) PTB ***(t/d)ow-n** THICK . . . 1048
Chinese comparandum . . . 1049
(27) PTB ***z(y)əy** LITTLE / SMALL / TINY . . . 1049
Chinese comparandum . . . 1049
(28) PKC ***pum** ROUND / SPHERICAL . . . 1049
(29) PTB ***ku(ː)m** ARCHED / VAULTED / CONCAVE / CONVEX . . . 1049
(30) PKC ***tsom** SHORT / SHRINK . . . 1049
(31) PKC ***tshi(i)ŋ-I**, ***tshi(i)n-II** SHORT . . . 1049
(32) PTB ***wal** ROUND / CIRCULAR . . . 1049
Chinese comparanda . . . 1050
(33) PKC ***tom** RETRACTED / CONTRACTED . . . 1050
(34) PKC ***θaa-I**, ***θaat-II** SMALL . . . 1050
(35) PKC ***sooy-I**, ***soyʔ-II** CROOKED / ASKEW / WRY . . . 1050
(36) PKC ***s^{h}ay** LONG . . . 1050
(37) PTB ***s-grum** CONTRACTED / STUNTED / DWARFISH . . . 1050
(38) PNC ***ɓeem** CIRCULAR / ROUND . . . 1050
(39) PTk ***ŋum** ROUND . . . 1050
(40) PTk ***saaŋ** LONG . . . 1050
(41) PNC ***neew** SMALL . . . 1050
(42) PTk ***kaw** THIN . . . 1051
(43) PTk ***hak** BIG . . . 1051
(44) PTk ***k^{h}ej** CROOKED . . . 1051
(45) PTk ***ʃu** SHORT . . . 1051
(46) PKar ***ʔdwɨN^{A}** THICK . . . 1051
(47) PCN ***ʒa[ː]n** or ***ʒən** GROW . . . 1051
(48) PTB ***s-r(i/u)ŋ** LONG / ELONGATE . . . 1051
(49) PKar ***ʔjɛn^{B}** NARROW . . . 1052
(50) PTB ***(g/k)aː(r/l)** SOLID / CONGEALED / FROZEN / VISCOUS / STRONG . . . 1052
Chinese comparandum . . . 1053
(51) PrGy ***jak** THICK (and flat) . . . 1053

9.8.0 Measure Words **1053**
(1) PKar ***dɨm^{A}** ARMSPAN (with open hand) . . . 1053
(2) PTB ***s-la(ː)m** ARMSPAN / FATHOM / CORD . . . 1053
Chinese comparandum . . . 1054
(3) PKC ***taʔ** GAUGE / MEASURE . . . 1054
(4) PTani ***ke** HALF . . . 1054
(5) PKC ***krim** HALF / MIDWAY . . . 1054
(6) PTB ***p^{w}ak** HALF / ONE OF A PAIR / SIDE . . . 1054
(7) PKar ***khlɛN^{A}** LINEAR MEASURE (about two yards) . . . 1055
(8) PTB ***kyiːn* ≍ *tsyiːn** WEIGH . . . 1055
Chinese comparandum . . . 1055
(9) PCN ***hju* ≍ *hu** WEIGH . . . 1055

9.9.0 Numbers and numeric expression **1055**
(1) PKC ***tshap** ADD / REPEAT . . . 1055
(2) PCC ***zaa** ALL (plural Pn) . . . 1055
(3) PLB ***ka** ALL . . . 1055
(4) PKar ***loʔ^{D}** ALL / ALL GONE / WHOLE . . . 1055
(5) PKC ***ɗee(ŋ/k)** ALMOST . . . 1056
(6) PKC ***pawʔ** ANY / EVERY . . . 1056
(7) PTB ***b-r-gyat* ≍ *b-g-ryat** EIGHT . . . 1056
Chinese comparandum . . . 1057
(8) PKC ***tin** EVERY / EACH / ALL . . . 1057
(9) PCN ***th-njaːm** FIFTY . . . 1057
(10) PTani ***pjoŋ** FIRST (adverbial verbal particle) . . . 1057
(11) PTB ***l/b-ŋa** FIVE . . . 1057
Chinese comparandum . . . 1060
(12) PTB ***b-ləy** FOUR . . . 1060
Chinese comparandum . . . 1064
(13) PTB ***b-r-gya** HUNDRED . . . 1064
Chinese comparandum . . . 1065
(14) PTani ***lɯŋ** HUNDRED . . . 1065
(15) PTk ***cuŋ** MANY . . . 1065
(16) PTani ***jaŋ** MORE (verbal particle of comparison) . . . 1065
(17) PTk ***mej** MORE THAN . . . 1065
(18) PTB ***s-la-k** MORE / BEYOND / EXCESSIVE . . . 1065
(19) PTB ***d/s-kəw** NINE . . . 1065
Chinese comparandum . . . 1067
(20) PTani ***kV-(n)aŋ** NINE . . . 1067
(21) PTani ***kon** ONE . . . 1067
(22) PTB ***kat** ONE . . . 1068
(23) PTB ***tyak* ≍ *g-t(y)ik** ONE . . . 1068
Chinese comparandum . . . 1069
(24) PTB ***ʔa** ONE . . . 1069
(25) PTB ***ʔit* ≍ *yat** ONE . . . 1069
Chinese comparandum . . . 1069
(26) PKar ***t-la^{T}** ONE . . . 1069
(27) PTk ***si** ONE . . . 1069
(28) PTB ***dzum* ≍ *tsum** PAIR . . . 1069
Chinese comparandum . . . 1070
(29) PKC ***tua(k/ʔ)** PAIR / COUPLE . . . 1070
(30) PKC ***kop** PAIR / COUPLE . . . 1070
(31) PTB ***s-ni-s** SEVEN . . . 1070
Chinese comparandum . . . 1073
(32) PKC ***seek** SEVERAL / FREQUENT / EVERY . . . 1073
(33) PTB ***r-kyaŋ** SINGLE . . . 1073
(34) PTB ***(d/t)a(n/y)** SINGLE / ONE / WHOLE / ONLY . . . 1073
Chinese comparandum . . . 1073
(35) PTB ***d-k-ruk** SIX . . . 1073
Chinese comparandum . . . 1075
(36) PTB ***ts(y)i(y)* ≍ *tsyay** TEN . . . 1075
(37) PTani ***rjɯŋ** TEN . . . 1080
(38) PTB ***gip** TEN . . . 1080
Chinese comparandum . . . 1080
(39) PKC ***soom** TEN . . . 1080
(40) PTB ***s-ra** TEN, TEEN . . . 1081
(41) PTani ***čam** TENS (e.g. twenty) . . . 1081
(42) PKar ***hreŋ^{A}** THOUSAND (amount of money) . . . 1081
(43) PTB ***s-tawŋ** THOUSAND . . . 1081
(44) PTB ***g-sum** THREE . . . 1082
Chinese comparandum . . . 1085
(45) PTB ***m-kul** TWENTY / ALL . . . 1085
Chinese comparandum . . . 1086
(46) PTB ***g/s-ni-s** TWO . . . 1086
Chinese comparandum . . . 1091

9.10.1 Roads and Ways **1091**
(1) PKC ***koŋ** ALLEY / LANE / PATH / ROAD . . . 1091
(2) PKar ***glɛ^{A}** PATH / TRAIL / WAY . . . 1091
(3) PTB ***r-ka* ≍ *k(r)a** PATH / WAY / CHANNEL / DITCH . . . 1091
Chinese comparandum . . . 1091
(4) PTB ***lam** ROAD . . . 1091
Chinese comparandum . . . 1093
(5) PTk ***ʃoŋ** ROAD . . . 1093

9.10.2 Waterways/Having to do with water **1093**
(1) PTB ***m-dzam** BRIDGE / LADDER . . . 1093
(2a) PTB ***s-l(a/e)y** BRIDGE / LADDER . . . 1095
Chinese comparandum . . . 1096
(2b) PTB ***s-lak* ≍ *s-laŋ** BRIDGE / LADDER / STAIRS . . . 1096
(3) PCN ***p(w)a** BRIDGE / LADDER . . . 1096
(4) PTB ***m-kup** EDGE / BANK / MOUTH . . . 1096

9.10.3 Governable units (towns, parts of towns) **1096**
(1) PTB ***(d/t)yal** VILLAGE . . . 1096
(2) PTB ***r/g-wa** VILLAGE . . . 1096
Chinese comparandum . . . 1097
(3) PTk ***k^{h}uul** VILLAGE . . . 1097
(4) PL ***k(y)ak^{H}** VILLAGE . . . 1097
(5) PTB ***nam** VILLAGE . . . 1097
(6) PTB ***grwaŋ** VILLAGE / CROSSROADS . . . 1097
Chinese comparandum . . . 1097

9.10.4 Farm/Agricultural places **1097**
(1) PTB ***lay** FIELD (paddy) . . . 1097
(2) PKC ***ɗum** GARDEN . . . 1097
(3) PKC ***huan** GARDEN . . . 1097
(4) PTani ***ruk** SWIDDEN . . . 1097
(5) PTB ***s-ya** SWIDDEN . . . 1098

9.10.5 Places in general, countries **1098**
(1) PTB ***s/k-ra** PLACE . . . 1098
Chinese comparandum . . . 1098
(2) PCC ***hmun** PLACE / SITE / ROOM . . . 1098
(3) PKC ***waw** SHARE / LOT . . . 1098
(4) PKC ***pooŋ** SURROUNDING / VICINITY . . . 1098
(5) TGTM ***^{B}gla:/^{A}gla:** place . . . 1098

9.10.6 Functional buildings/places **1098**
(1) PTani ***bruŋ** GRAVE . . . 1098
(2) PKC ***khlaan** GRAVE / TOMB . . . 1099

10 Grammatical Words **1101**

10.0.0 Grammatical Words **1103**
(1) PTB ***sa-y** INCHOATIVE PARTICLE . . . 1103
Chinese comparandum . . . 1103
(2) PTB ***la-y** QUESTION PARTICLE / INTERROGATIVE . . . 1103
Chinese comparandum . . . 1103
(3) PTB ***dz(y)ay-s** QUOTATIVE PARTICLE . . . 1103
(4) PCN ***ta(ʔ)** QUOTATIVE . . . 1104
(5) PTB ***wa-n** THAT / DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVE . . . 1104

10.1.0 Ontological **1104**
(1) PTB ***na** AGENTIVE / INSTRUMENTAL . . . 1104

10.1.2 Conjunctives **1104**
(1) PKC ***yoŋ** ALSO / TOO . . . 1104
(2) PKC ***lee** AND / WITH . . . 1104

10.1.3 Classifiers **1104**
(1) PKar ***sej^{B}** CLASSIFIER (HAND OF BANANAS) . . . 1104
(2) PKar ***plɔŋ^{B}** CLASSIFIER FOR A PIECE OF MEAT, CAKE, ETC. . . . 1104
(3) PKar ***ʔdə^{A}** CLASSIFIER FOR FOUR-LEGGED ANIMALS . . . 1104
(4) PTani ***tɯŋ** CLASSIFIER FOR GROUP (of animals) . . . 1104
(5) PKar ***ʔbɔN^{A}** CLASSIFIER FOR LONG OBJECTS . . . 1105
(6) PTani ***soŋ** CLASSIFIER FOR LONG, SLENDER OBJECTS . . . 1105
(7) PKar ***bra^{A}** CLASSIFIER FOR PEOPLE, PERSONS . . . 1105
(8) PKar ***kho^{B}** CLASSIFIER FOR PLANTS (CLUMPS, CLUSTERS) . . . 1105
(9) PTani ***bal** CLASSIFIER FOR ROUND FLAT OBJECTS . . . 1105
(10) PKar ***phloŋ^{B}** CLASSIFIER FOR ROUND OBJECTS . . . 1105
(11) PTani ***pjɯl** CLASSIFIER FOR SMALL ROUND OBJECTS . . . 1105
(12) PTani ***bor** CLASSIFIER FOR THIN, FLAT OBJECTS . . . 1105
(13) PTani ***tak** CLASSIFIER FOR THIN, FLAT OBJECTS . . . 1105
(14) PKC ***w(o/a)y** TIMES (classifier) . . . 1106

10.2.1 Grammatical identifiers **1106**
(1) PTani ***aː** (?) THAT (demonstrative) . . . 1106

10.2.2 Morphological identifiers **1106**
(1) TGTM ***^{B}k^{h}am** CAN . . . 1106
(2) PTani ***laŋ** CAN / ABLE TO (verbal particle) . . . 1106
(3) PKC ***khaw** CAN / ABLE . . . 1106
(4) PTB ***m-nyaŋ** CAN / BE ABLE . . . 1106
Chinese comparandum . . . 1106

10.4.1 Nominal **1106**
(1) PKC ***ʔin** ABLATIVE MARKER . . . 1106
(2) PKC ***puy** AUGMENTATIVE . . . 1106
(3) PTk ***bɨ** AUGMENTATIVE . . . 1106
(4) PTB ***ya** DIMINUTIVE . . . 1106
(5) PKC ***ʔaʔ** LOCATIVE MARKER (to, on, etc.) . . . 1107
Chinese comparandum . . . 1107
(6) PTB ***ʔa(ŋ/k)-** NOUN PREFIX . . . 1107
(7) PTB ***m-dzya-t** VERY / TOO / TOO MUCH . . . 1108

10.4.2 Verbal **1109**
(1) PCN ***-thjət** ABILITIVE (suf.) . . . 1109
(2) PKC ***đĩŋ** FUTURE MARKER . . . 1109
(3) PKC ***maa** ≍ ***moo** INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE . . . 1109
(4) PL ***du**[1] IRREALIS PARTICLE . . . 1109
(5) PTB ***(t/d)a** PROHIBITIVE (NEG. IMPERATIVE) . . . 1109
(6) PTani ***jo** PROHIBITIVE MARKER . . . 1109
(7) PTani ***-su** REFLEXIVE MARKER . . . 1110
(8) PCN ***-thaŋ** WHILE (contemporative) . . . 1110

10.4.3 Other **1110**
(1) PKC ***tuu** RELATIVIZER (who, which) . . . 1110
Chinese comparandum . . . 1110
(2) PTB ***m-day** ≍ ***m-di** THAT / THIS / DEICTIC . . . 1110
Chinese comparandum . . . 1111
(3) PTani ***si** THIS . . . 1111
Chinese comparandum . . . 1112
(4) PTB ***(h)i** ≍ ***(h)ay** THIS / HERE / PROXIMAL DEICTIC . . . 1112
Chinese comparandum . . . 1112

10.5.3 WH words **1112**
(1a) PTB ***ka** WHICH / LIKE / DEICTIC / INTERROGATIVE . . . 1112
Chinese comparandum . . . 1112
(1b) PTB ***kay** WHICH / LIKE / DEICTIC . . . 1112
Chinese comparandum . . . 1112
(1c) PTB ***kaŋ** WHICH / LIKE / DEICTIC . . . 1112
(2) PCN ***ku-ta** HOW? . . . 1112
(3) PCN ***ku** INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN / LOCATIVE . . . 1112
(4) PTB ***(b/m)a-y** WHAT . . . 1113
(5) PKC ***koy** ≍ ***khoy** ≍ ***hoy** WHERE . . . 1113

10.6.1 Affirmative **1113**
(1) PCC ***hrim** REALLY . . . 1113
(2) PKar ***mwɛ**[B] YES . . . 1113

10.6.2 Negative **1113**
(1) PTB ***ma** (NEGATIVE) . . . 1113
Chinese comparandum . . . 1116
(2) PTani ***maŋ** NEGATOR . . . 1116
(3) PKC ***law** NOT (negative marker) . . . 1117

References **1122**

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Protogloss Index **1129**

頭懸梁，錐刺股
Tóu xuán liáng, zhuī cì gǔ.
Hanging our hair from roof-beams,
pricking our thighs with awls.*

*This expression refers to the study practices of two celebrated young scholars: *Sūn Jìng* 孫敬 of the Han Dynasty would tie his hair to a roof-beam to avoid dozing off, while *Sū Qín* 蘇秦 of the Warring States period would keep himself awake by pricking his thigh with an awl. Both later had distinguished careers. At STEDT we have been inspired by their example.

Preface

As the STEDT project was nearing the end of its 28-year run in 2014-15, we became more and more preoccupied with trying to figure out how best to preserve and disseminate our databases and etymologies. Obviously there would be no point in contemplating a printout of the more than 500,000 records in our main lexical database, On the other hand, it did not seem beyond the realm of possibility to prepare a printed version of our nearly 6000 etymologies, presenting our reconstructions along with their "supporting forms" from individual Tibeto-Burman languages and Chinese.

This latter idea was put forth with the greatest persuasiveness by J.B. Lowe, who felt that the STEDT project owed it to the scholarly community and the general public to make available a tangible snapshot of our latest etymological thinking as the project came to a close. To demonstrate the feasibility of this idea, J.B. contacted the UC Berkeley Library Bindery, which produced a handsomely bound draft version of the etymologies that came to two folio volumes totaling 1,137 pages.

Meanwhile my main concern was to revise or "rectify" all the etymologies before they were enshrined in print, paying special attention to the numerous weakly attested roots ("WAR's") among them. I carried out this "WARfare" to the best of my ability over a period of several months, with the indispensable assistance of a succession of talented Stedtniks who navigated me through the labyrinth of our lexical and etymological databases.

Finally we have had to call a halt. This printed version accurately represents my latest thinking, but I have no illusions that every detail of my analyses will stand the test of time. It is my hope that some way will be found to periodically update and expand both the electronic and printed versions of our lexical database and our etymologies. In any case, a limited run of the present 2-volume printed version is now available at the relatively modest price of $250. To order a copy, please email me at *matisoff@berkeley.edu*.

United in zeal for TB/ST studies,

James A. Matisoff Berkeley, June 2015

Introduction

History of the STEDT Project

The great Sino-Tibetan language family, comprising both Chinese and Tibeto-Burman (TB),[1] is comparable in time-depth and internal diversity to Indo-European, and equally important in the context of world civilization. The overwhelming cultural and numerical predominance of Chinese is counterbalanced by the sheer number of languages (some 250–300) in the rest of the family.

After the existence of the Tibeto-Burman family was posited in the mid-19th century, British scholars, missionaries, and colonial administrators in India and Burma began to study some of the dozens of little-known "tribal" languages of the region that seemed to be genetically related to the two major literary languages, Tibetan and Burmese. This early work was collected in the monumental *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson 1903–28), three sections of which (Vol. III, Parts 1, 2, 3) are devoted to wordlists and brief texts from TB languages.

Further significant progress in TB studies had to wait until the late 1930's, when the eccentric amateur comparativist Robert Shafer headed a Depression-era project called "Sino-Tibetan Linguistics", sponsored by the eminent anthropologist A.L. Kroeber of U.C. Berkeley.[2] With admirable thoroughness, the project staff assembled all the lexical material then available on TB languages, enabling Shafer to venture a detailed subgrouping of the family at different taxonomic levels, called (from higher to lower) divisions, sections, branches, units, languages, and dialects. This work was finally published piecemeal in a two-volume, five-part opus called *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan* (1966–74).

Shafer's junior collaborator Paul K. Benedict based his own work on the same body of material as Shafer, but achieved much more usable results. In an unpublished manuscript entitled *Sino-Tibetan: a Conspectus* (ca. 1942–43; henceforth *STC*), Benedict adopted a more modest approach to supergrouping and subgrouping than Shafer, stressing that many TB languages had so far resisted precise classification. While Shafer had included Tai in Sino-Tibetan, Benedict (1942a) banished it from the family altogether, relating Tai instead to Austronesian.[3] Shafer's pioneering work, valuable as it was, suffered from his mistrust of phonemics, with a consequent proliferation of pseudo-precise and arcane phonetic symbols. Benedict's structural insight, his flair for isolating that which is crucial from masses of data, enabled him to formulate sound correspondences with greater precision, and to distinguish between regular and exceptional phonological developments.

The publication of a revised and heavily annotated version of *STC* in 1972, with J. Matisoff as contributing editor, laid the foundations for modern Sino-Tibetan historical/comparative linguistics. In this recension, nearly 700 Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) roots were reconstructed (494 of them in numbered cognate sets, with about 200 more scattered throughout the text and footnotes), as well as some 325 comparisons of PTB roots with Old Chinese etyma, largely as reconstructed in Karlgren 1957 (*Grammata Serica Recensa*, henceforth *GSR*). While Benedict focused principally on five key, phonologically conservative TB languages (Tibetan, Burmese, Lushai [=Mizo], Kachin [=Jingpho], Garo), he also used data from more than 100 others, judiciously making allowances for inadequacies of transcription where necessary.[4] How well has *STC* stood the test of time? The short answer is: remarkably well. The work has been reviewed about 15 times, almost always in a highly favorable tone,[5] and has been translated into Chinese.[6] In fact nearly all 700 of the TB cognate sets in *STC* have been shown to be perfectly valid, though many of the reconstructions have had to be changed slightly in the light of new data, and in a couple of cases etyma which had been reconstructed separately have been shown to be variant forms ("allofams") of the same word-family.[7]

Despite its brilliance, however, the *Conspectus* is notoriously difficult to use, largely due to its complex apparatus of footnotes, which often (especially in the Chinese section) occupy more of the page than the text itself. These notes include Benedict's original ones from the 1940's, as well as those he and I added before publication in 1972. Some 200 valid etymologies are squirreled away in these convoluted notes, but they also contain a number of errors, unsubstantiated speculations, and over-complications. Benedict himself realized the limitations of the data he had to work with, and never intended *STC* to be more than an overview or "conspectus" of its vast subject. Neither did he structure it as a practical handbook which systematically tabulated the sound correspondences among the major languages of the family at all canonical points of the syllable. (Such information is certainly extractable from the terse but labyrinthine pages of *STC*, but at the cost of considerable labor.) Towards the end of his life, which ended tragically in a car accident on July 21, 1997, Benedict does seem to have felt the need to embark on such a systematic project, although it never actually got off the ground.

After the publication of the *Conspectus*, further progress in intra-TB and TB/Chinese comparison seemed to depend on multiplying the number of reliably reconstructed etyma, as well as systematizing and refining the methodological underpinnings of the reconstructions. In the mid-1970's, when I was attempting to apply the principles of glottochronology in order to subgroup the TB family, the very first item of "basic vocabulary" that I looked at happened to be 'belly / stomach'. Much to my initial dismay, I quickly found that it was futile to use a simple wordlist to try to subgroup a family as complex and ramified as TB. In fact it was impossible even to deal in isolation with a single point in semantic space; etyma with the meaning 'belly' or 'stomach' spilled over into concepts like 'cave / hole', 'swelling', 'calf of leg', 'liver', 'guts', etc. I became preoccupied with notions of semantic variability, semantic fields, and the field of bodypart nomenclature in particular. At the same time I could not help noticing the morphophonemic variations displayed by almost every etymon previously or newly reconstructed. Instead of guiltily sweeping these variational phenomena under the rug, I began to revel in them. In *Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman* (Matisoff 1978b, henceforth *VSTB*) I set out to establish an explicit methodology for handling phonosemantic variation in word families, introducing the notion of "allofams" and a notation for diagramming patterns of semantic association ("metastatic flowcharts"). In those pre-computer days, I naturally had to assemble my data by hand, copying out bodypart words from dictionaries and sorting them into synonym sets on filecards, then grouping them into putative cognate sets. The older sources used by Shafer and Benedict were supplemented by an ever-increasing volume of new material in the 1970's and 1980's, much of it from post-Cultural Revolution China, but also from India, Nepal, and Thailand. It eventually became apparent that the job of digesting these massive amounts of new and old data would be vastly facilitated by the use of computers. The hitch was my own ignorance of computer technology beyond the level of simple word-processing. Fortunately I somehow got the idea of applying to federal granting agencies for a longterm project to create a computerized etymological dictionary of Tibeto-Burman / Sino-Tibetan based on semantic principles, i.e. an etymological thesaurus.[8] In 1987, the Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus Project (STEDT) got under way, funded jointly by the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Thanks to the efforts of a succession of computer-savvy graduate students (see the *Acknowledgments*), a massive lexical database of forms from over 250 TB languages and dialects has been created, mostly of bodypart terminology at first, but then extending to all the other areas of the lexicon. It has been a race between the vertiginous progress of computer technology (when we started in the Pleistocene, 1987, we were using Mac Pluses!) and our ever-expanding needs for disk capacity, memory, and operating speed. The hard-won experience gained at the STEDT project has inspired similar lexical database projects in the U.S. and abroad.

Original Plan of STEDT

It was originally planned to publish the *Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus* as a series of printed volumes, each containing full details on all the etymologies in a given semantic area, starting with bodyparts and then proceeding to animal names, natural objects, verbs of motion, and all the rest of the lexicon:

Volume I: *Body Parts*
Volume II: *Animals*
Volume III: *Natural Objects, Plants, Foods*
Volume IV: *Kinship Terms, Ethnonyms, Social Roles*
Volume V: *Culture, Artifacts, Religion*
Volume VI: *Verbs of Motion, of Manipulation, and of Production*
Volume VII: *Adjectival Verbs*
Volume VIII: *Abstract Nouns and Verbs, Psychological Verbs, Verbs of Utterance*
Volume IX: *Shape, Size, Color, Measure, Number, Time, Space*
Volume X: *Grammatical words*

The sheer amount of the etymologizable data soon made it clear that this was unrealistic, and that each projected volume of STEDT would have to be split up into smaller units or "fascicles", e.g. in the case of *Body Parts* into ten subdivisions, as follows:

1. *Body (general)*
2. *Head and Face*
3. *Mouth and Throat*
4. *Torso*
5. *Limbs, Joints, and Body Measures*
6. *Diffuse Organs*
7. *Internal Organs*
8. *Secretions and Somatophonics*[9]
9. *Reproductive System*

Every subpart and sub-subpart of the lexicon expanded and bloomed into a major project.

I decided to start with the reproductive system, not only because of its prurient interest but also because it seemed like the point of departure for all things. Accordingly a printed manuscript of some 480 pages was produced in 1997–98, called *Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus, Volume I: Bodyparts, Fascicle 1: The Reproductive System*, containing 286 pages of forms assembled into 174 cognate sets, divided into nine chapters: (1) Egg, (2) Birth, (3) Navel, (4) Breast, (5) Vagina, (6) Womb, (7) Penis, (8) Copulate, (9) Body Fluids. As part of the front matter, I put together a 60 page essay on the initial consonants and consonant clusters of Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

As it turned out, perhaps fortunately, that introductory essay soon took on a teratoid life of its own, and became an example of what one might call in Proto-Tibeto-Burman

***kʷəy**	**lətak**	**rəmay**	**gəyaːp**	**way**
dog	ACC	tail	wag	COP/NOM

or "the tail wagging the dog".[10] Was I not responsible for dealing with the whole proto-syllable, not just the initial consonants? I delayed publication of the "Reproductive Fascicle" until I could get the whole job done.[11] Eventually, the "introductory essay", then entitled *System and Philosophy of Tibeto-Burman Reconstruction*, grew to become *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman* (Matisoff 2003a, henceforth *HPTB*).

The phonological approach of *HPTB* is complementary to the main thrust of the STEDT project, which is semantically organized.

The ST/TB Family in its Areal Context

Typological diversity of TB: Indosphere and Sinosphere

The TB family, which extends over a huge geographic range, is characterized by great typological diversity, comprising languages that range from the highly tonal, monosyllabic, analytic type with practically no affixational morphology (e.g. Loloish), to marginally tonal or atonal languages with complex systems of verbal agreement morphology (e.g. the Kiranti group of E. Nepal). While most TB languages are verb-final, the Karenic and Baic branches are SVO, like Chinese.

This diversity is partly to be explained in terms of areal influence from Chinese on the one hand, and Indo-Aryan languages on the other. It is convenient to refer to the Chinese and Indian spheres of cultural influence as the "Sinosphere" and the "Indosphere".[12] Some languages and cultures are firmly in one or the other: e.g. the Munda and Khasi branches of Austroasiatic, the TB languages of Nepal, and much of the Northeast Indian branch of TB (notably Meithei = Manipuri) are Indospheric; while the Hmong-Mien family, the Kam-Sui branch of Kadai, the Loloish branch of TB, and Vietnamese (Mon-Khmer) are Sinospheric. Others (e.g. Thai and Tibetan) have been influenced by both Chinese and Indian culture at different historical periods. Still other linguistic communities are so remote geographically that they have escaped significant influence from either cultural tradition (e.g. the Aslian branch of Mon-Khmer in Malaya, or the Nicobarese branch of Mon-Khmer in the Nicobar Islands of the Indian Ocean).

Elements of Indian culture, especially ideas of kingship, religions (Hinduism/Brahminism, Buddhism), and *devanāgarī* writing systems, began to penetrate both insular and peninsular Southeast Asia about 2000 years ago. Indic writing systems were adopted first by Austronesians (Javanese and Cham) and Austroasiatics (Khmer and Mon), then by Tai (Siamese and Lao) and Tibeto-Burmans (Pyu, Burmese, and Karen). The learned components of the vocabularies of Khmer, Mon, Burmese, and Thai/Lao consist of words of Pali/Sanskrit origin. Indian influence also spread north to the Himalayan region. Tibetan has used *devanāgarī* writing since A.D. 600, but has preferred to calque new religious and technical vocabulary from native morphemes rather than borrowing Indic ones.

What is now China south of the Yangtze did not have a considerable Han Chinese population until the beginning of the current era (Ramsey 1987; Norman 1988). In early times the scattered Chinese communities of the region must have been on a numerical and cultural par with the coterritorial non-Chinese populations, with borrowing of material culture and vocabulary proceeding in all directions (Benedict 1975a; Mei Tsu-lin & Norman 1976; Sagart 1990). As late as the end of the first millennium A.D., non-Chinese states flourished on the periphery of the Middle Kingdom (Nanchao and Bai in Yunnan, Xixia (Tangut) in the Gansu/Qinghai/Tibet border regions, Lolo (Yi) chieftaincies in Sichuan. The Mongol Yuan dynasty finally consolidated Chinese power south of the Yangtze in the 13th century. Tibet also fell under Mongol influence then, but did not come under complete Chinese control until the 18th century.

Whatever their genetic affiliations, the languages of the East and SE Asian area have undergone massive convergence in all areas of their structure—phonological, grammatical, and semantic.[13] Hundreds of words have crossed over genetic boundaries in the course of millennia of intense language contact, so that it is often exceedingly difficult to distinguish ancient loans from genuine cognates.

Scope and subgrouping of the TB family

The exact number of TB languages is impossible to determine, not only because of the elusiveness of the distinction between "languages" and "dialects", and the fact that a number of languages remain to be discovered and/or described, but especially because of the profusion and confusion of different names for the same language.[14] At the present state of our knowledge we can estimate that the Tibeto-Burman family contains approximately 440 languages, which may be broken down into population categories as indicated in Figure 1.

According to Ethnologue estimates, there are twelve Tibeto-Burman languages with over a million speakers: Burmese, Nuosu (Yi/Lolo), Amdo Tibetan, Meit(h)ei (= Manipuri), S'gaw Karen, Khams Tibetan, Bodo, Eastern Tamang, Central Tibetan, Eastern Pwo Karen, Garo, and Rakhine. Though care has obviously been taken to obtain the most reliable data, such figures can often be quite misleading, since ethnic identity and linguistic competence do not always coincide: of the 8 million people who identify themselves as Tujia, only about 70,000 can actively use the Tujia language, the rest having shifted to Chinese (Lewis *et al.* 2014). Designations like *Yi* and *Karen* actually apply to large numbers of related

[1] Some scholars, especially in China, consider Sino-Tibetan to include the Tai-Kadai (TK) and Hmong-Mien (HM) (=Miáo-Yáo) language families as well. While there is definitely a striking typological similarity among Chinese, TK, and HM, this is undoubtedly due to prolonged ancient contact rather than genetic relationship.

[2] For a readable and humorous account of this project, see Benedict 1975b.

[3] To this putative megalolinguistic grouping, later to include Hmong-Mien and Japanese as well as Tai-Kadai and Austronesian, Benedict gave the name "Austro-T(h)ai" (see Benedict 1975a, 1990).

[4] Peiros & Starostin (1996) followed Benedict' s example in their choice of key TB languages, basing their Sino-Tibetan reconstructions on Written Tibetan, Written Burmese, Lushai, Jingpho, and Chinese, all of which are treated as if they belonged on the same taxonomic level. See the discussion in Handel (1998, Ch. 3).

[5] A notable exception is the intemperate review by Miller (1974), which bitterly criticizes the fact that the notes added in 1972 sometimes modify points made in the original text (ca. 1942). See the defense of *STC* against Miller's attack by Matisoff (1975a).

[6] See Le Saiyue & Luo Meizhen 1984.

[7] E.g. ***dyam** ≍ ***tyam** [*STC* #226] 'full; fill' and ***dyam** [*STC* #227] 'straight' ; see Matisoff (1988b).

[8] The shining example of an etymological thesaurus in the field of Indo-European is Carl Darling Buck's *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (1949).

[9] By "somatophonics" I mean sneezes, belches, farts, and the like.

[10] The presence of the accusative particle ***lətak** is motivated by the semantic anomalousness of this phrase, which has also caused the fronting of the object ***kʷəy** 'dog' to initial position.

[11] It was later published as Matisoff 2008, henceforth *TBRS*.

[12] See Matisoff 1990 ("On megalocomparison.")

[13] An excellent recent study of such phenomena is Thomason & Kaufman 1988.

[14] See Matisoff 1986b, and STEDT Monograph #2 (Matisoff *et al.* 1996).

[15] Based on Lewis *et al.* 2014.

Number of Speakers	*Number of Languages*
more than 1,000,000	12
500,000 – 999,999	13
250,000 – 499,999	15
100,000 – 249,999	41
50,000 – 99,999	37
25,000 – 49,999	52
10,000 – 24,999	82
fewer than 10,000	185

Figure 1: TB languages by number of speakers[15]

but often not mutually intelligible "dialects", which might as well be called separate languages. At the bottom of the scale are some 185 languages with fewer than 10,000 speakers, many of which are highly endangered,[16] to the point where children are no longer learning to speak them.

Although much of the geographical area covered by TB languages[17] has been chronically inaccessible to fieldwork by scholars from outside, there has been an explosion of data in the past 25 years, especially from China[18] and Nepal, but also increasingly from India and Burma.

Evolving notions of ST/TB subgrouping

Millennia of language contact due to migrations, intermarriage, and warfare have presented us what I have described as "an interlocking network of fuzzy-edged clots of languages, emitting waves of mutual influence from their various nuclear ganglia. A mess, in other words."[19] While subgrouping such a recalcitrant family is difficult, there is certainly no need to go so far as van Driem by denying that TB subgroups exist at all, or by claiming that even if they do exist, there are so many of them that there is no point in talking about them![20]

In the published version of *STC* (1972), P.K. Benedict wisely refrained from offering a pseudo-precise family-tree model of the higher-order taxonomic relationships in TB, presenting instead a schematic chart where Kachin (= Jingpho) was conceived as the center of geographical and linguistic diversity in the family. See Figure 2.

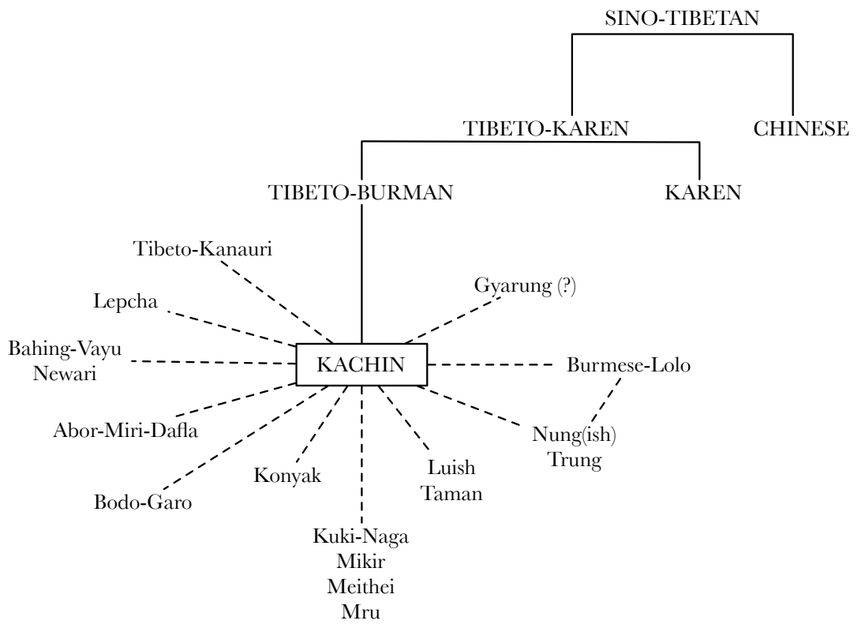


Figure 2: Schematic chart of Sino-Tibetan languages[21]

A simpler scheme was used heuristically at STEDT until very recently (see *HPTB*:5 and *TBRS*:xxix), as shown in Figure 3. It differed from *STC* in several respects:

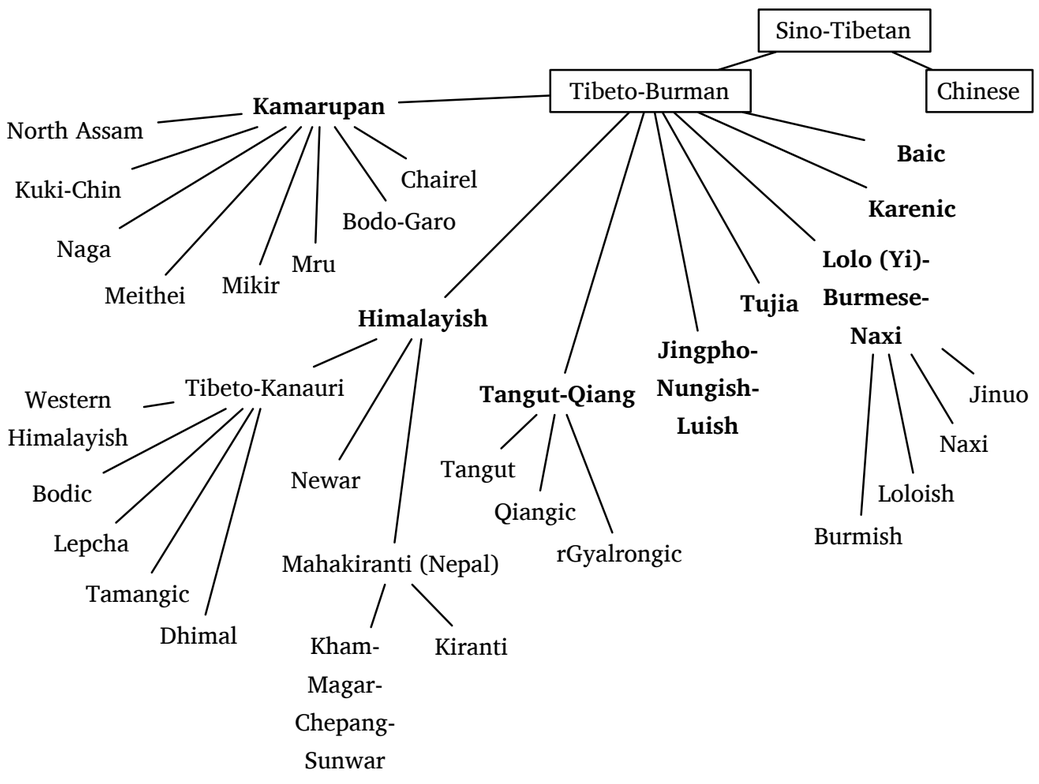


Figure 3: Previous STEDT family tree of ST languages

- Karenic is no longer regarded as having a special status, but is now considered to be a subgroup of TB proper.
- Baic, hardly mentioned (under the name "Minchia") in *STC*, but later hypothesized by Benedict to belong with Chinese in the "Sinitic" branch of Sino-Tibetan, is now also treated as just another subgroup of TB, though one under particularly heavy Chinese contact influence. Both Karenic and Baic have SVO word order, unlike the rest of the TB family.
- The highly ramified Kuki-Chin and Naga groups were provisionally amalgamated with Bodo-Garo (=Barish) and Abor-Miri-Dafla (=Mirish) into a supergroup called by the purely geographical name of *Kamarupan*, from the old Sanskrit name for Assam.
- The important Tangut-Qiang languages (deemed to include rGyalrong [=Gyarung =Jiarong] and the extinct Xixia [=Tangut]) were hardly known to Western scholars at the time *STC* was written (ca. 1942–3) or published (1972). It seems doubtful that a special relationship exists between Qiangic and Jingpho, or between Qiangic and Lolo-Burmese, as some Chinese scholars maintain.[22]
- The Nungish and Luish languages were grouped with Jingpho (=Kachin). Jingpho was also recognized to have a special contact relationship with the Northern Naga (=Konyak) group.[23]
- The somewhat idiosyncratic Mikir (Karbi), Meithei (=Manipuri), and Mru languages were included under Kamarupan.
- The Himalayish (=Himalayan) group is considered to include Bodic (i.e. Tibetanoid) languages, as well as Kanauri-Manchad, Tamang-Gurung-Thakali, Kiranti (=Rai), Lepcha, and Newar. It remains to be seen whether this is anything more than a geographic grouping.
- The relatively well-studied Lolo-Burmese (LB) group (= *STC*'s "Burmese-Lolo") is deemed to include the somewhat aberrant Jinuo language of Xishuangbanna, Yunnan.[24] The Naxi/Moso language is quite close to LB, but stands somewhat outside the core of the family.[25]
- The rather mysterious Tujia language of Hunan and Hubei (not mentioned in *STC*) has so far not been assigned to a subgroup.

Most recent subgrouping schema

My most up-to-date reconsideration of TB subgrouping has been motivated by very recent research on the Luish languages (HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008, 2012; Sangdong 2012), as well as on Jingpho dialects (KURABE Keita 2013). It now seems clear that Jingpho's closest relatives are the formerly obscure languages of the Luish[26] group, with the Northern Naga group also fairly close, and the Bodo-Garo group more distantly related. On the other hand, Nungish (once believed to be especially close to Jingpho) now seems to constitute an independent subgroup, so that the many lexical similarities it shows with Jingpho are due to contact rather than to any particularly close genetic relationship.[27] These matters were explored in detail in Matisoff 2013a, which offers (p. 39) a "Jingpho-Asakian Stammbaum", here reproduced as Figure 4.

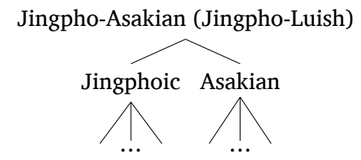


Figure 4: Jingpho-Asakian Stammbaum

Extending this position of the family tree to include Northern Naga and Bodo-Garo, we may re-interpret Burling's *Sal* grouping, as displayed in Figure 5 (cf. Matisoff 2013a:40).

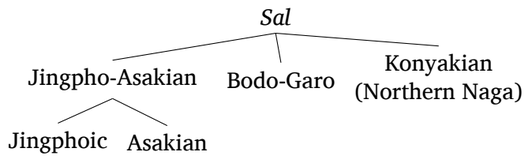


Figure 5: Elaboration of the *Sal* hypothesis

A further change in the previous STEDT schema is my recent abandonment of the cover-term "Kamarupan" for sociolinguistic reasons.[28] For now we are substituting "NE Indian Areal group".

We may now present the latest version of our subgrouping scheme, as shown in Figure 6.

Finally, we are left with the major question of where Chinese fits into the picture. The standard view has always been that the primary split in the ST family is between Chinese (= Sinitic) on the one hand, and TB on the other. This is now being questioned by certain scholars who claim that there are no clear innovations shared by TB as a whole with respect to Chinese, or that there is an especially close relationship between Chinese and a particular branch of TB.[29] If we adopt such a point of view, that would make Sinitic just another branch of a superfamily we might call "Sino-Tibeto-Burman" (STB). It seems prudent, however, to treat this as an open question for the time being.

Teleo- and meso-reconstruction

While in the abstract it might seem super-virtuous to refrain from venturing to reconstruct at the PTB (or *a fortiori*, the PST) level until satisfactory reconstructions are available at every subgroup level, in fact this is neither possible nor necessary. The data are still uneven in the various branches of the family, ranging from the overwhelmingly copious to the tantalizingly sparse, from the phonologically accurate to the poorly transcribed. As mentioned above, as far back as the early 1940's[30] Benedict made brilliant use of "teleoreconstructive" methods by relying mainly on five criterial, phonologically conservative languages: Written Tibetan, Written Burmese, Jingpho, Lushai (Mizo), and Bodo. Teleoreconstruction sometimes involves peeking outside a subgroup in order to come up with a meso-reconstruction; i.e. making educated guesses.[31] Thus final stops may sometimes be reconstructed for Proto-Karenic by looking elsewhere in TB. W.T. French (1983) used similar techniques in his reconstruction of some aspects of his Proto-Northern Naga.[32] As in all scientific inquiry, the main thing is to form precise and correctable hypotheses, i.e. hypotheses that can be tested.

The mesolanguages on which we have relied include the following:

- Proto-Bodo (Burling 1959)
- Proto-Ersuic (Yu 2012)
- Proto-Karenic (Haudricourt 1942–5, 1975; Jones 1961; Burling 1969; Luangthongkum 2013; Solnit in prep; SHINTANI Tadahiko 2012)
- Proto-Kiranti (Michailovsky 1991)
- Proto-Kuki-Chin (VanBik 2009)
- Proto-Northern Chin (Button 2011)
- Proto-Lolo-Burmese (Burling 1967; Matisoff 1969, 1972b, 1974, 1978a, 1979, 1986b, 2010a; Bradley 1979b)
- Proto-Tamangic (Mazaudon 1978, 1994)
- Proto-Tangkhulic (Mortensen 2012)
- Proto-Tani (Sun 1993a)

Nevertheless large gaps remain in our knowledge. We have nothing approaching well-worked out reconstructions for such key subgroups as Qiangic, rGyalrongic, Baic, and Nungish. Still unclear is the exact genetic position of many transitional languages like Chepang, Kham, Lepcha, Newar (all lumped currently with "Himalayish"), or Meithei, Karbi, Mru (close to the Kuki-Chin branch), or Naxi/Moso (close to Lolo-Burmese), or the mysterious Tujia of Hunan/Hubei. As mentioned above, the position of the crucially important Jingpho language has been undergoing reevaluation, with current opinion returning to the notion of a special relationship with Northern Naga and Bodo-Garo, and especially with the hitherto obscure Luish (= Asakian) group of Manipur, Arakan, and Bangladesh. It remains to be seen whether the large "Kamarupan" (languages of the NE Indian area) and the "Himalayish" groups are anything more than purely geographic divisions of the family, and if so what the internal relationships among their many parts might be.

Whenever possible (i.e. when the data are sufficient and the sound-laws are well enough known) we can reconstruct a given etymon at several subgroup levels. A few examples from our database:

[16] See Matisoff 1991b.

[17] The approximate distribution of TB languages by primary country is as follows: India 133, China 133, Nepal 65, Burma 58, Bhutan 24, Bangladesh 18, Thailand 4, Laos 4, Vietnam 3 (Lewis *et al.* 2014).

[18] Among the most valuable of these new sources are Sun Hongkai, Xu Jufang *et al.* (1991), containing 1004 synonym sets in 52 languages and dialects; and Dai Qingxia and Huang Bufan (1992), with 1822 synonym sets in 50 languages and dialects.

[19] *VSTB*:2.

[20] See his review (2003) of Thurgood & LaPolla 1984, *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*.

[21] Reproduced from *STC*, p. 6; *VSTB*, p. 3; *HPTB*, p. 4.

[22] A supergroup called "Rung" was proposed by Thurgood (1984), into which he placed, among others, some Qiangic languages, Nungish, and Lepcha. This grouping was based partly on shared "proto-morphosyntax", and partly on nomenclature, including the *-rong* of *rGyalrong*, the Nungish language *Rawang*, and the Lepcha autonym *Rong*.

[23] The *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson, 1903–28) recognized a "Bodo-Naga-Kachin" group, an idea revived by Burling (1983), whose "Sal" supergroup comprises Bodo-Garo (Barish), Northern Naga (Konyak), and Jingpho (=Kachin). Burling's name for this grouping is derived from the etymon ***sal** 'sun' (ult. < PTB ***tsyar** 'sunshine'), one of a number of roots which is attested chiefly in these languages. See *HPTB*:393–4 and below.

[24] Chinese scholars have further divided the Loloish languages of China into six nuclei, although no attempt is made in this volume to distinguish them. In Matisoff 2010a I examined Loloish tonal developments and the fate of the PLB rhyme ***-a** in terms of this six-way grouping, with inconclusive results.

[25] I have grouped Naxi with Lolo-Burmese proper in a supergroup called "Burmo-Naxi-Lolo" Matisoff 1991c. On the basis of some shared tonal developments, I have also entertained the idea of a special relationship between Lolo-Burmese and Jingpho, to which I assigned the jocular designation *Jiburish* (< **Ji-**(ngpho) + **-bur**(mish) + (Lolo)**ish**). See Matisoff 1974, 1991c.

[26] This group needs to be renamed (I suggest Asakian), since "Luish" is a pejorative exonym. See below, "The problem of nomenclature".

[27] If anything, Nungish now seems to be closer to LB than to Jingpho.

[28] See below, "The problem of nomenclature".

[29] Cf. van Driem's "Sino-Bodic" grouping (Driem 1997), and my critique of it (Matisoff 2000c).

[30] I.e., the manuscript version of *STC*, finally published in 1972.

[31] This method must of course be applied with due caution, and I feel that Benedict applied it too loosely with respect to the vexed question of the existence of a reconstructible tonal system at the PTB level. See e.g. Benedict 1973 ("Tibeto-Burman tones, with a note on teleo-reconstruction"). Neither *HPTB* nor the STEDT database makes any attempt to reconstruct tones at the PTB level, although tones can indeed be reliably reconstructed for certain subgroups (e.g., Lolo-Burmese, Tamangic, Karenic, Kuki-Chin).

[32] I would in fact recommend such a teleological approach to Sinologists as well, since TB evidence will be crucial in evaluating the competing reconstructions of Old Chinese that have been proposed in the past few decades.

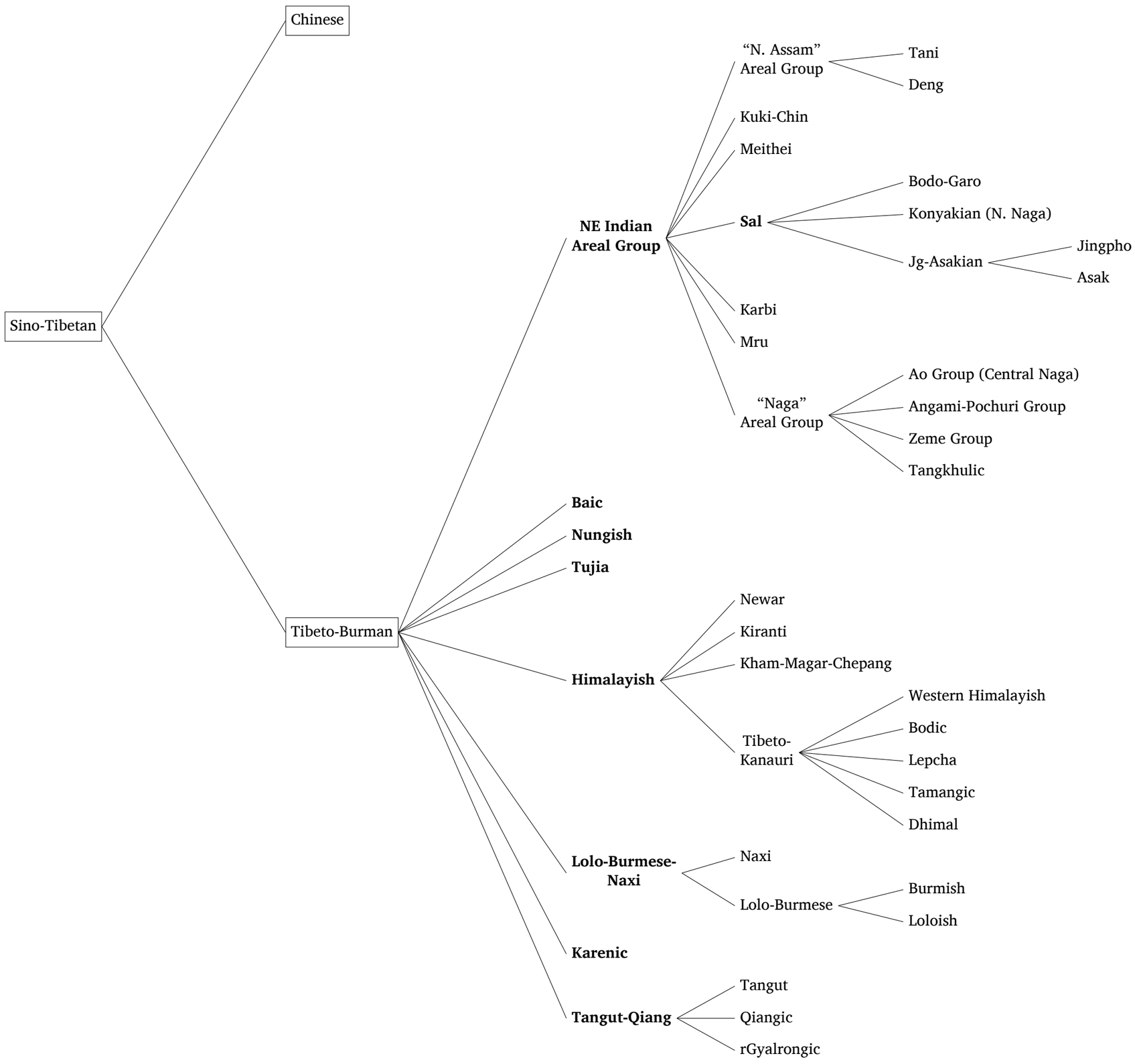


Figure 6: Updated subgrouping model of ST/TB relationships

PIG			
#1006:	PTB	***p^{w}ak**	
	PKC	***wok**	PKC = Proto-Kuki-Chin
	PNN	***wak**	PNN = Proto-Northern Naga
	PTk	***hwok**	PTk = Proto-Tangkhulic
	TGTM	**^{B}ɖwa**	TGTM = Tamang/Gurung/Thakali/Manang
	PLB	***wak^{L}**	PLB = Proto-Lolo-Burmese
	PKar	***thɔʔ^{D}**	PKar = Proto-Karenic
	PBai	***te**	PBai = Proto-Baic
FOUR			
#2409:	PTB	***b-ləy**	
	Proto-Tani	***pri**	
	PKC	***lii**	
	PNN	***bə ləy**	
	PCN	***phV-ləj**	PCN = Proto-Central Naga
	PTk	***ti**	
	TGTM	***^{B}bli**	
	PLB	***b/ʔ-ləy^{2}**	
	PKar	***lwi-t**	
STONE			
#1269:	PTB	***r-luŋ ≍ *k-luk**	
	PTani	***lɯŋ**	
	PKC	***luŋ**	
	PCN	***luŋ**	
	PTk	***luŋ**	
	PLB	***k-lok ≍ *k-loŋ**	
	PKar	***loŋ^{B}**	
TREE/WOOD			
#2658:	PTB	***siŋ ≍ *sik**	
	PTani	***sɯŋ**	
	PKC	***thiŋ**	
	PCN	***siŋ**	
	PTk	***t^{h}iŋ**	
EIGHT			
#2259:	PTB	***b-r-gyat ≍ *(b-)g-ryat**	
	PKC	***riat**	
	PTk	***ʃɐt**	
	PLB	***ʔ-rit^{L}**	
	PKar	***khrɔt^{D}/grɔt^{D}**	
ASHES			
#3514:	PTB	***hot**	
	PKC	***wut**	
	PTk	***hwot**	
	Proto-Asakian	***k-but**	

When a meso-reconstruction can clearly be subsumed under a PTB etymology, we include it (along with its entire suite of supporting forms) under the PTB etymon in question. While it is always gratifying to be able to do this, in may cases it is not yet possible, so that we include the meso-reconstruction as a stand-alone item. These roots of limited distribution are actually highly important for a finer subgrouping of the TB family, since they might eventually permit the establishment of "isogloss bundles" distinguishing one subgroup from another.

The problem of nomenclature

Tibeto-Burman languages are notorious for the multiplicity of names by which they are referred to. These may include the name they use for themselves (autonym), as opposed to the name(s) other groups use for them (exonyms). Languages are frequently referred to by the principal town in which they are spoken (loconyms). Some exonyms are now felt to be pejorative, and have been abandoned, thus acquiring the status of "paleonyms" for which "neonyms" have been substituted.[33] A certain Angamoid Naga group call themselves and their language *Memi* (autonym), and their chief village they call *Sopvoma*; but other groups use *Mao* for this village or its people (exonym), and either *Mao* or *Sopvoma* (exonymic loconym) for their language. There is an older term *Imemai* (probably an autonymic paleonym) which refers to the same language and people.

Some names are used in both a broader and a narrower sense, both for a specific language and for a group of languages that share a close contact relationship. The Maru, Atsi, and Lashi[34] (who speak Burmish languages) consider themselves to be "Kachin" in the broad sense, and in this the Jingpho themselves seem to agree, even though the Jingpho language belongs to a different TB subgroup.

In recent years cultural sensitivities have forced the abandonment of many language names that had been well established in the academic literature. The important Central Chin language that used to be called *Lushai* (a name which is said to mean "long-headed") should now properly be called *Mizo*. A Karenic group that used to be known by the Burmese exonym *Taungthu* (lit. "mountain folk") now prefers their autonym *Pa-o*. The Southern Loloish people formerly known by the Tai exonym *Phunoi* (lit. "little people") should now be called by their autonym *Coong*. The language group that has just been shown to be particularly close to Jingpho has traditionally been called Luish, although this has been shown now to be a pejorative exonym based on the Meithei word for "slave". It is now recommended to change this group's name to *Asakian* (Matisoff 2013a). Speakers of several TB languages of Nepal now object to the Indianized versions of their names with the Indo-Aryan **-i** suffix (e.g. *Newari, Magari, Sunwari*), and prefer to omit the suffix, even though this can lead to ambiguity between the names of the people and their languages (*Newar, Magar, Sunwar*). The autonomy of the most widely spoken TB language of Manipur is Meithei, but for political reasons the preferred name is Manipuri (with the IA suffix **-i**!). There is an Eastern Tani language of Assam usually call Mising, but many leading members of that speech community fear the mockery and mispronunciation of English speakers, who might consider their "Mising" language to be somehow *missing* something—so they now prefer the palatalized variant *Mishing*. The psychological dimensions of these issues are often as fascinating as they are paradoxical. Chinese linguists now feel that the term *Lolo(ish)*, widely used outside of China, is offensive, and insist that the proper respectful term is *Yi*, written with the character 彝 'type of sacrificial wine vessel'. Yet this is only a recent substitution for the homophonous character 夷 'barbarian; savage group on the fringes of the Chinese empire'.

The nomenclatural confusion is particularly acute at the subgroup level, where multiple names for the same TB subgroup have proliferated. Some of this nomenclatural variation goes back to differences between Benedict and his former collaborator and supervisor Robert Shafer, e.g. Shafer's *Barish* and *Mirish* are the same as Benedict's *Bodo-Garo* and *Abor-Miri-Dafla*, respectively. An important group of at least a dozen TB languages spoken in East Nepal is known either as *Kiranti* or *Rai*.[35] An extreme example of proliferation is furnished by the well-established and non-controversial group I call Lolo-Burmese, which has also been referred to as Burmese-Lolo, Yi-Burmese, Burmese-Yi, Burmese-Yipho, Yipho-Burmese, Yi-Myanmar, Myanmar-Yipho—and even Myanmar-Ngwi!

As mentioned above, I had used the name *Kamarupan* as a cover-term for the dozens of TB languages of NE India and adjacent areas (see Figure 3), but several scholars have objected to this largely on the grounds that it has distinctly Indo-Aryan connotations, which might irritate TB groups. See, e.g. R. Burling, "On *Kamarupan*" (1999), and the reply by Matisoff, "In defense of *Kamarupan*" (1999a). I am now certainly willing to abandon this term, although I cannot think of any alternative more concise terms than "TB languages of NE India and adjacent areas". For now, we have chosen the acronym "NEIA" for these languages, and this term appears in body of this work.[36]

Special Challenges for ST/Eytmologization

The relative lack of anciently attested languages—only Chinese, Tibetan, Tangut (Xixia), Burmese, Meithei, Newar, and a few scantily-recorded others—is largely compensated for by the sheer number of modern TB languages (250–300). Special difficulties are presented by the monosyllabic nature of the ST/TB morpheme, a problem shared by other mono- or sesqui-syllabic language families of mainland Southeast Asia (Hmong-Mien, Tai-Kadai, Mon-Khmer).[37] Furthermore, in many TB subgroups these monosyllables are severely eroded phonologically, often losing all the syllable-final consonants.

There are in fact great differences among the TB subgroups with respect to their presentation of proto-entities. WT is especially valuable for its presentation of prefixes; both WT and Kuki-Chin faithfully preserve nasal, stopped, and liquid finals. On the other hand, groups like Loloish and Asakian have

[33] The terminology for the various types of TB language names was developed in Matisoff 1986b: "The languages and dialects of Tibeto-Burman: an alphabetic/genetic listing, with some prefatory remarks on ethnonymic and glossonymic complications." In John McCoy and Timothy Light, eds., *Contributions to Sino-Tibetan Studies*, pp. 1–75. This article was later (1996) expanded into a STEDT Monograph, with the assistance of J.B. Lowe and S.P. Baron.

[34] Referred to as Langsu, Zaiwa, and Leqi in Chinese sources.

[35] Neither of these names is considered to be pejorative. According to K.P. Malla (p.c. 2008), "*Kirāt* is a loose label in Old Indo-Aryan for the cave-dweller, attested in late Vedic texts as well as in the *Mahābhārata*." Rai is "a Nepali word, linked to IA *raaya* 'lord', given to the Khambu chiefs by the Gorkhali rulers in the late 18th century."

[36] This would be similar the the "SHWING" group of Austronesian, i.e. the "South Halmahera West New Guinea Group".

[37] As opposed, e.g., to Austronesian, with its juicy disyllabic roots. For the term *sesquisyllabic*, see below.

retained only indirect traces of earlier prefixes, and have largely or completely undergone erosion of their post-vocalic consonants. rGyalrongic has developed syllable-initial consonant combinations which often surpass those of WT in complexity, but many of the will undoubtedly prove to be secondary. It is therefore a boon to find languages which preserve and erode differently: Hmong-Mien specialists are fortunate that Hmong preserves *initials better, while Mien preserves the pHM *finals better. Recent advances in research in Proto-Asakian[38] have been facilitated by the fact that Kadu preserves *finals better, while Sak preserves *initials better. Such differential preservation often makes for extreme differences in surface form between perfect cognates, e.g. WT **brgyad** / Lahu **hí** 'eight'.

Phonological erosion makes it tough to distinguish between phonologically similar etyma in the same semantic field:

LOUSE ***s(y)ar** and ***s-r(y)ik**. What do you do with a form like **ʂɐ**?

MIND/BREATH ***s(y)am** and ***sak**

MOUTH ***muːr** and ***muk**

FACE ***s-maːy** and ***s-myal**

As an extreme example, we have reconstructed no fewer than 11 etyma meaning NECK/THROAT with initial velars or velar clusters:[39] #389 ***s-gwa-n** ≍ ***r-gwa-n** NECK/NAPE (probably related to #495 ***kwa** THROAT/NECK); #481 ***s-key-k** ≍ ***m-key-k** NECK; #486 ***l-kwak** THROAT/NECK; #488 ***k-raw** ≍ ***k-law** THROAT/PALATE; #489 ***k/s-rawk/ŋ** ≍ ***k-rwak/ŋ** THROAT; #491 ***grey-k** THROAT; #493 ***kak** THROAT; #494 ***ka** THROAT/NECK; #3361 ***gwaŋ** NECK/THROAT; #5651 ***ku** NECK/THROAT.

Some of these putative etyma may ultimately be combinable (e.g. #389 and #495, #481 and #491).[40] It is necessary to constantly rectify one's reconstructions in the light of new data (see below, "Etymological accuracy and rectification of possible errors"), and equally imperative to try to establish "sound laws" by finding parallel examples (see below, "Parallel but surprising examples").

Phonological System of Proto-Tibeto-Burman

Most reconstructions conform to the PTB syllable canon posited in *HPTB*:11–13, shown in Figure 7:

(P_2) (P_1) C_i (G) V (:) (C_f) (s)

Figure 7: Original PTB syllable canon

The initial consonant C_i could be preceded by up to two prefixes, with the inner prefix (P_1) usually assumed to be historically prior to the outer one (P_2).[41] Since one must also assume that some sort of schwa-like vowel must have intervened between the prefix and the root-initial (especially in doubly-prefixed forms like WT **brgyad** 'eight'), this canon actually crosses the boundary between monosyllable and sesquisyllable.[42] While it is sometimes possible assign a clear meaning to a prefixal element,[43] this is not generally the case.[44] (Should it be objected that the term "prefix" should be reserved for fully meaningful elements, we could use the neutral term "formative" instead.) In fact, the semantic and morphophonemic behavior of the prefixes is one of the most interesting aspects of TB morphology.[45] New prefixes are being created all the time, via the reduction (a.k.a. prefixization) of destressed initial constituents in compounds (e.g. PLB ***bəw²-rwak** 'ant' with the first syllable meaning 'bug' > WB **pərwak**). Morphophonemically the prefixes can interact with the root-initial in a variety of ways, including what I have called "prefixal preemption", when a prefix drives out a weak initial like a nasal, liquid, or semivowel.

The C_i may be followed by one of four glides */**-w-, -y-, -r-, -l-**/, or even by certain sequences of two of them (especially **-yw-**).

The PTB vowel system in open syllables is displayed in Figure 8 (see *HPTB*:159–160). Low frequency open-syllable rhymes are in parentheses or square brackets:

(-i) **-u**
-əy **-əw**
[-e] **[-o]**
-ey **-ow**
(-ew) **(-oy)**
-ay **-aw**
-aːy **-aːw**
a

Figure 8: PTB open vowels

The only monophthong of high frequency is ***-a**. Although ***-i** and ***-u** (especially ***-u**) are reconstructible, in many languages they have merged with ***-ey** and ***-ow**, respectively. The core of the system is ***-a** plus a set of falling diphthongs.

Very recently I have banished the weakly attested mid-vowels (**-e**, **-o**) from PTB reconstructions altogether, both in open and closed syllables, substituting for them a set of rising and falling diphthongs /***-wa(-)**, ***-ya(-)**, ***-aw(-)**, ***-ay(-)**/.[46] These formerly reconstructed mid vowels appear in square brackets in Figure 8.

The reinterpretation of some of the formerly reconstructed mid vowels as falling diphthongs necessitates a slight revision in the syllable canon, to permit sequences like */**-wk, -yk, -wŋ, -yŋ**/. We may now revise the PTB syllable canon as shown in Figure 9:

(P_2) (P_1) C_i (G_1) (G_2) V (:) (w/y) (C_f) (s)

Figure 9: Revised PTB syllable canon

Vowel length is reconstructed for PTB, with most of the evidence coming from the Kuki-Chin branch. This is an area where variation is rife, and a length contrast is only shakily reconstructible for the family as a whole.[47]

The set of final consonants includes nasals, stops, liquids, and **-s**: /***-m -n -ŋ -p -t -k -r -l -s**/. The rarest of these is ***-s**, reconstructible in only a few etyma. In both open and closed syllables, a suffixal ***-s** appears in languages like WT (e.g., WT **zas** 'food' < ***dzya** 'eat'; **sbugs** 'hole' ≍ **sbug** 'pierce').

No attempt is made to reconstruct tones beyond the subgroup level, since it is far from proven that a single system of tonal contrasts can be set up for PTB.

It should be noted that many TB languages have much simpler syllable canons, e.g., Lahu (Central Loloish), where native syllables consist maximally of an initial consonant, a vowel, and a tone:

T
(C_i) V

Organization of the Etymologies

The "tagging" process

Etymologization of the thousands of forms in the STEDT database is a laborious and time-intensive process. In principle we are responsible for etymologizing every syllable of every form in the database, by subsuming each syllable under a particular etymon or word-family. This is done by "tagging" the syllables with a numeral representing its provenience, whether it be a root already established in the prior literature or one newly reconstructed by STEDT. The computer can then assemble all similarly tagged forms to create a cognate set. Under favorable circumstances every syllable of a compound can indeed receive a proper tag, e.g. Lahu **g̈û-tu-šī** 'navel' can be shown to be formed from three well-established roots **g̈û** < #137 ***pʷam** 'belly, stomach, waist', **tu** < #520 ***du** 'navel, umbilical cord', and **šī** < #1019 ***sey** 'fruit, rose, round object'. But in reality, of course, a great many of our millions of syllables remain to be tagged, and many will never be etymologized. Such is the case with the five-syllable Lahu word **á-lâ-mì-ší-jɔ** 'rainbow', none of which can yet be assigned to an etymon.[48]

Besides our numerical tags a number of alphabetical symbols are also used: *p* for 'prefix', *s* for 'suffix', *b* for 'borrowing',[49] and *m* for 'morpheme'. The latter tag is assigned to an etymologically obscure constituent of a compound the other members of which have been assigned an etymology.

Supporting forms and their attribution

Each record in our database is ascribed to a particular source. Many of these forms, especially from well-documented languages like Written Tibetan, Written Burmese, or Jingpho, are cited from more than one source. Even when the form is cited identically in multiple sources, we include each citation.[50] When a given form is cited somewhat differently in the sources, our practice of "following copy" is especially useful, particularly when one or more of the sources might not be totally accurate phonemically, or where subphonemic phonetic detail is provided in one source but not another.[51] Great care has also been taken to attribute etymologies to their original source, if they were not newly created at STEDT.

The STEDT database contains forms from sources of many different kinds, including:

- printed books, monographs, articles, especially dictionaries and grammars of individual languages
- synonym lists (i.e. groups of forms from different languages with the same meaning, but with no reconstructions provided), e.g. Luce 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991 (ZMYYC); Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992 (TBL)
- semantically based questionnaires solicited by STEDT from fieldworkers working on particular languages
- monographs and treatises of an etymological nature, including works which provide reconstructions at the subgroup level

The supporting forms for an etymology are cited subgroup by subgroup, in a fixed order. As explained above, meso-reconstructions are subsumed (along with their own supporting forms) under general PTB etymologies whenever possible.

For some key languages, special points need to be made:

Written Tibetan

In Jäschke 1881/1958 the letter known as "a-chung" is written with a subscript circle in initial position, e.g. **◌̣bu** 'insect'. For this we have substituted the symbol **ḫ**, e.g. **ḫbu** 'insect'.

Jäschke symbolizes aspiration by a backward apostrophe, for which we substitute **-h-**, e.g. **kha** 'bitter', instead of **k'a**.

Jäschke writes the palatal series of stops with the cumbersome symbols "**c̀**, **c̀'**, **j̀**", for which we substitute "**c**, **ch**, **j**".

Written Burmese

Already in the Rhyming Dictionary of Written Burmese (1941/1977), Benedict's original "**ts**, **tsh**, **dz**" were changed to "**c**, **ch**, **j**". The unaspirated member of this series can also occur syllable finally, so that, e.g. Benedict's tshats 'joint' has been reinterpreted as **chac**.

The low back nasal rhyme is sometimes written as "**-oŋ**" (as in the RDWB) and sometimes as "**-auŋ**" (as in HPTB).

The three WB tones in open syllables have been described and symbolized in many different ways, but our preferred notation is: no tonemark for the modal tone (e.g. **la** 'come'), a circumflex for the heavy tone (e.g. **lâ** 'yes/no question particle'), and an apostrophe for the creaky tone (e.g. **la'** 'moon').

Jingpho

Tones are not indicated in the classic source, Hanson (1906/1954). Dai Qingxia et al. (1983) use the system devised by Chao Yuen-ren for Chinese dialects, i.e. a system of super- or sub-script numerals. Other authors (e.g. Matisoff 1974, 1991) use diacritical marks. Thus, 'house' may be written as **nta** (Hanson), **n⁵⁵ta⁵¹** (Dai et al.), or **ń-tâ** (Matisoff).

Chinese

Old (= "Archaic") Chinese forms cited from Karlgren's Grammata Serica Recensa (1957) are cited exactly as he wrote them. OC forms cited from Coblin (1986) are according to Li Fang-kuei, while those cited from Schuessler (2007) or Baxter/Sagart (2013) are in the latest versions of their own systems.

Glosses of the supporting forms

In almost all cases, the gloss given in each particular source is preserved, unless it is so awkward or misleading as to require emendation.[52] Even if the glosses in consecutive records are identical, the gloss is repeated for each individual record, instead of using a symbol like the "ditto-mark".

If a gloss is too long to fit onto a single line, it is "wrapped" so that the additional lines are indented under the first one.

Many glosses are ambiguous due to the peculiarities of homophony or homography in the English lexicon, e.g. *bark*, *bear*, *boil*, *calf*, *drop*, *fly*, *quiver*, *right*, *scale*, *sow*, *tear*, *wind*, etc.[53] Some sources take pains to disambiguate such glosses by providing additional information, e.g. 'bark (of dog)' vs. 'bark (of tree)'; 'wind (n.)' vs. 'wind (v.)', etc. Many other sources, however, are not so helpful, and it has been up to us to try to figure out which alternative is correct, on the basis of comparative evidence.

Notes

Notes may appear at any point in an etymology. The loosely-hierarchical taxonomy of notes used is as follows:

(a) **"chapter notes"**, which introduce new thesaurus (semantic) sections; note that this moniker is not completely accurate: chapter notes may introduce volumes and fascicles as well.

(b) **"etymon notes"**, which present points about an etymon as a whole. Details on their composition is given further below.

(c) **"subgroup notes"** pertain to a particular subgroup.

(d) **"source notes"**, copied from the original source document, appear as footnotes with record notes, start with the indicator *[Source Note]*.

(e) **"record notes"** are associated with a specific supporting form. They appear as alphabetcally numbered footnotes at the end of the tabular cognate set display (and the numbered restarts with each set).

(f) **"internal notes"** are reminders made by STEDTniks in the course of their work and do not appear in the printed work.

[38] e.g. Huziwara Keisuke 2008, Sangdong 2012, Matisoff 2013a.

[39] This is perhaps further confirmation of the frequently noted tendency of words for these parts of the body to have "guttural" initials.

[40] This classic problem of distinguishing co-allofams from reflexes of separate roots has bedeviled Tibeto-Burmanists from the beginning. Benedict (*STC*) hesitated before assigning ***g-yak** and ***s-rak** ASHAMED to two separate roots (#452 and #431); similarly with ***m-da** and ***b-la** ARROW (pp. 111–112 and #449). I now believe that two separate roots I set up in *GSTC* (Matisoff 1985a) actually reflect the same etymon, so I would now combine CATTLE/DOMESTIC ANIMAL ***dzay** (#129) with ELEPHANT/CATTLE ***tsaːy** (#143). In 1988 I tried to show that two homophonous roots set up in Benedict (*STC*) (***dyam** STRAIGHT and ***dyam** FULL/FILL) are actually one and the same root (Matisoff 1988b). For many similar examples, see Matisoff 2013a.

[41] To take a synchronic example, the etymon ***m-lyak** 'lick' must be reconstructed with a nasal prefix that is found in several branches of the family (e.g. Chungli Ao **mánák** ~ **məzək**, Jg. **mətá?**, Akha **myè?**). The reflex in Tangkhul Naga, however, is **khəməlek**, with a secondary velar prefix that now occurs before all TN verbs.

[42] This term, introduced in Matisoff 1973, describes morphemes that are "one syllable and a half" in length.

[43] The pioneer in attempting to do so at the PTB level was Wolfenden 1929.

[44] The stronghold of sesquisyllabicity in Southeast Asia is the Mon-Khmer family, but specialists in that family have despaired of attaching any particular meanings to the "minor syllables" with schwa-like vocalism.

[45] See the extended discussion in *HPTB*:87–156.

[46] See Matisoff to appear. Notations like ***-wa(-)** mean "***wa** in both open and closed syllables".

[47] See *HPTB*:237–45.

[48] Words for RAINBOW tend to by multisyllabic and unanalyzable in many TB languages, undoubtedly because of the mythic significance of rainbows. Not a single root for RAINBOW can be reconstructed at the PTB level.

[49] For more details about the treatment of borrowings, see below, "Treatment of loanwords".

[50] Paper is not a problem electronically, but in printed publications (e.g. *TBRS*) the form only appears once, with multiple attributions separated by commas.

[51] Cf. the multiple transcriptions of the Written Burmese form for BREAST/MILK under ***s-nəw**: **no¹** (Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.39); **nuí** (Weidert 1987:327; *STC*:419); **núi** (Coblin 1986:48); **nui'** (Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a); **nui.** (Marrison 1967); **nuiw'** (Luce 1985). Records marked with the abbreviation "JAM-Ety" refer to my own etymological notes compiled in the pre-STEDT era, derived especially from older, classic sources. These specific sources can easily be tracked down from the *Bibliography*.

[52] Our practice of "following copy" does not extend to obvious errors, e.g. misspellings in the gloss. It is always best to bear in mind Ralph Waldo Emerson's apothegm "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds…"

[53] This problem is of course not unique to English. Cf. the French verbs *voler* 'fly; steal' and the corresponding nouns *le vol* 'flight; theft'.

Notes at the level of a semantic category or etymon are shown "inline", that is, as paragraphs in the running text. "Subgroup notes", "source notes", and "record notes" are shown as footnotes.

Many etyma have **Chinese comparanda** and these are rendered as a separate section following their associated etymon (see details below).

Etymon notes provide such information as:

(a) **richness of attestation:** This ranges from a minimum of two perfectly cognate forms, each from a different branch of the family (e.g. #2625 ***d-rum** 'pine for'), to etyma with support from dozens of languages (e.g. #230 ***s-hywəy-t** 'blood').

(b) **distribution of the etymon among the subgroups:** e.g., "***dum** 'kiss/suck' is firmly established in Tani, N. Naga, and Barish, with convincing but so far isolated cognates in Chepang (Himalayish) and Nesu (Loloish)."

(c) **distribution of a phonological feature:** e.g. "In ***m-prwaŋ** 'mouth', the ***m-** prefix is only directly attested in Qiangic, Tani, and S. Chin."

(d) **meso-roots** to be subsumed under the PTB reconstruction.

(e) **allofams:** variant forms that follow well-established patterns (see below, "Notational conventions and pan-allofamic formulas" & following).

(f) **irregularities:** apparently related forms that vary in a non-structured way, perhaps due to borrowing from a related language, or to a now lost morphological element. Such forms are included in some etymologies in hopes that the irregularities will be explained in the future.

Chinese comparanda

After the evidence for a TB etymon is presented, one or more Chinese comparanda are often suggested in the interests of pushing the reconstruction further back to the PST stage.[54] However, no attempt is made to choose among the often contradictory reconstruction schemes for Old Chinese, and I usually have not tried to set up PST forms, as *STC* sporadically attempted to do.

In addition to these sources, OC reconstructions are also cited from GONG Hwang-cherng (2000, 2001), Coblin (1986), PAN Wuyun (2000), Schuessler (2007, 2009)), and the new Baxter/Sagart system (Baxter & Sagart, 2011).[55]

Many of the comparanda have been discussed by Zev Handel; his contributions are indication by the inclusion of his initials "ZJH" at the end of the section. Stephen Baron recently returned to the project and has reviewed and improved a number of the comparanda. His initials ("SPB") appear along with items he has revised. A comparandum cited without attribution is the responsibility of JAM.

Treatment of loanwords

As mentioned above, obvious loanwords from non-TB languages are tagged as such in our database, with the symbol "b" for "borrowing". When the source of the borrowing is clear, this information is provided, e.g. "bChinese", "bIndic", "bMon".

If an etymon of Indic origin has been borrowed into a large number of TB languages, as is frequently the case in the Himalayan and Northeast Indian areas, we sometimes include the Indic root among our etymologies, marked as "IA" (Indo-Aryan). A couple of examples:

- IA ***ghoDā** HORSE > Apatani **go-ra**, Mizro **sa-*kor***, Lotha Naga **ku^{1}rə^{1}**, Tibetan (Jirel) **gorā**, Khaling **ghora**, Bodo **goray**, Chang **kuri**, etc.
- IA ***battakh** DUCK > Chinbon **papak**, Mongsen Ao **phàtàk**, Chaudangsi **bətək**, Phom **bat^{55}æk^{55}**, Jingpho **khai^{33}*pjek^{55}***, Raji **bətək**, etc.

It sometimes happens that there is an accidental phonological resemblance between a non-TB etymon and a genuine TB root with a similar meaning. In the rare cases where it is hard to decide between borrowing and chance resemblance, we tag the lexical item as "b?".

The Representation of Semantic Associations

As opposed to the organization of *HPTB*, where the etymologies are presented according to their phonological shape, the etymologies in this *Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus* are arranged by their semantic content.[56]

Every gloss that appears anywhere in our database has been assigned to one or more semantic categories, according to a system we have developed known as SEMCAT.

Many of the points in semantic space in this Dictionary/Thesaurus, as well as each of the chapters of *TBRS*, are provided with semantic diagrams, called "metastatic flowcharts" in STEDT parlance. These diagrams were first introduced in *VSTB*, and have been used subsequently in many of my articles.[57]

They are intended to represent the paths of semantic association undergone by etyma, as established by comparative/historical and/or internal synchronic evidence. An association between two points (X,Y) in semantic space may be established either synchronically or diachronically, either on the basis of a single language or comparatively. I rely on three basic types of evidence:[58]

1. *Synchronic intra-lingual vagueness.* A given daughter language has a single form that means X or Y according to context, e.g. Karbi **artho** means either 'blood vessel' or 'tendon' or 'muscle' or 'nerve'. In many Chin languages reflexes of ***m-luŋ** can mean either HEART or LIVER.
2. *Inter-lingual semantic shift of phonological cognates,* i.e. reflexes of the same etymon mean X in Lg. A but Y in Lg. B, e.g.:
   PTB ***r-kliŋ** 'marrow/brain' > Karbi **arkleŋ** 'marrow', Dimasa **buthluŋ** 'brain';
   PTB ***s-p^{w}ik** 'bowels/stomach' > Karbi **phek** 'bowels', Lahu **ɔ̀-*ɬɬ*-qō** 'stomach'.
3. *Association via compounding.* Three points (A,B,C) in semantic space are related, such that in some language a compound of two morphemes, A + B, has the meaning C. In other words, an etymon appears as a constituent in compounds, such that part of the meaning of the compound derives from it, e.g.:
   FOOT + EYE → ANKLE (Lahu **khɨ-mêʔ-šī** < **khɨ** 'foot' + **mêʔ-šī** 'eye'); similarly Indonesian **mata-kaki** 'ankle' (< **mata** 'eye' + **kaki** 'foot'), which establishes the association EYE ⟷ ANKLE[59]

Certain graphological conventions are observed in the metastatic flowcharts:

1. Points in semantic space between which an association has been established are connected by solid lines. If a point is a bodypart, it is labeled in capital letters. An association between two points that are both bodyparts is an "intra-field association", e.g.:

   EGG ——— **TESTICLE**

   BRAIN ——— **MARROW**

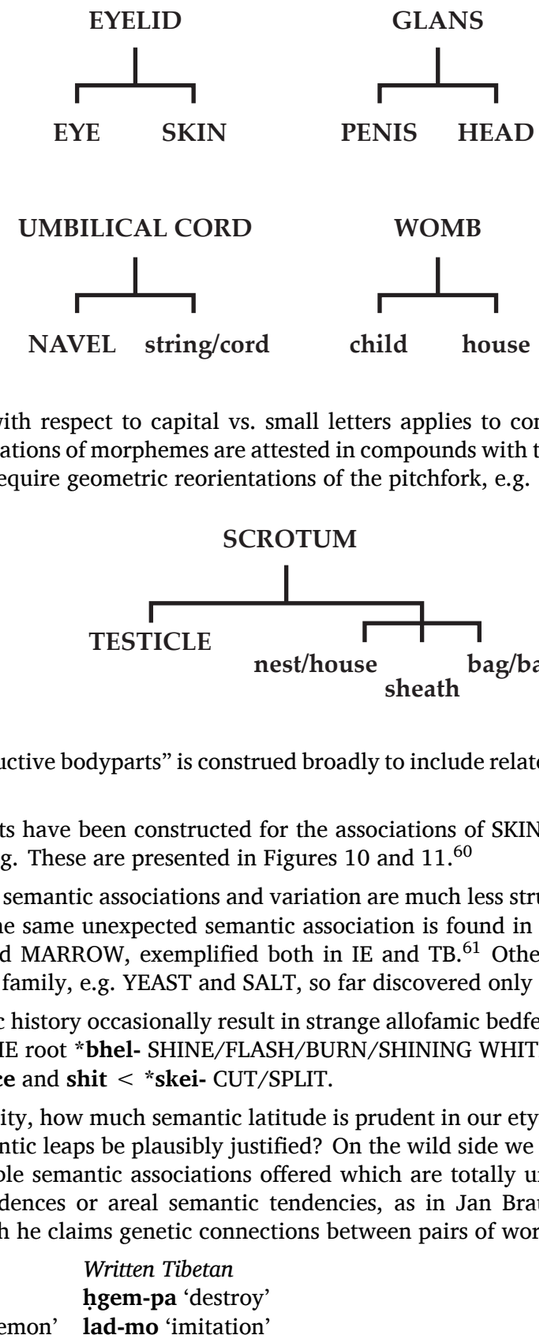
2. If the association crosses into another semantic field (e.g., if it is between a bodypart and a non-bodypart), the non-bodypart point is labeled with small letters, e.g.:

   PENIS ——— **banana**

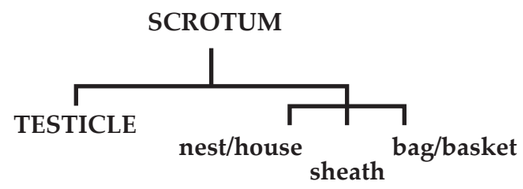
   NAVEL ——— **center**

3. Antonymic associations (cases where the etymon has acquired opposite meanings) are diagrammed by a curved *yin-yang* type of line, e.g.:

4. Compounds are diagrammed by a pitchfork-like symbol, with the two constituents appearing at the points of the fork, and the overall meaning of the compound indicated at the tip of the handle, e.g.:



The same convention with respect to capital vs. small letters applies to compounds. In cases where several different combinations of morphemes are attested in compounds with the same meaning, graphic constraints sometimes require geometric reorientations of the pitchfork, e.g.



The category of "reproductive bodyparts" is construed broadly to include related verbs (e.g., KISS, SUCK, LOVE, SQUIRT).

More complex flowcharts have been constructed for the associations of SKIN, based on the analysis of etyma with that meaning. These are presented in Figures 10 and 11.[60]

In all language families, semantic associations and variation are much less structured than phonological variation. Sometimes the same unexpected semantic association is found in widely different language families, e.g. BRAIN and MARROW, exemplified both in IE and TB.[61] Other associations seem to be confined to a particular family, e.g. YEAST and SALT, so far discovered only in TB.[62]

The vagaries of semantic history occasionally result in strange allofamic bedfellows, e.g. Eng. **black** and **blank**, from the same PIE root ***bhel-** SHINE/FLASH/BURN/SHINING WHITE AND VARIOUS BRIGHT COLORS, or Eng. **science** and **shit** < ***skei-** CUT/SPLIT.

Given this unpredictability, how much semantic latitude is prudent in our etymologies, and under what circumstances can semantic leaps be plausibly justified? On the wild side we have megalo-comparative fantasies with implausible semantic associations offered which are totally unsupported by reasonable phonological correspondences or areal semantic tendencies, as in Jan Braun's *Sumerian and Tibeto-Burman* (2001), in which he claims genetic connections between pairs of words like the following:

Sumerian	*Written Tibetan*
gim 'axe'	**ḥgem-pa** 'destroy'
alad 'protective demon'	**lad-mo** 'imitation'
šinig 'tamarisk'	**snyigs-pa** 'degenerated; grown worse'
peš 'three'	**gsum** 'three'

Deciding how much semantic latitude to allow among putative cognates is definitely an art rather than a science.[63] Here as elsewhere a middle-of-the-road approach is necessary, neither overly conservative nor too wildly speculative.

Regularity and variation

Every spoken language is rife with variation on both the phonological and semantic planes, some of it rule-governed and some of it sporadic. Thus, despite the qualms of certain extreme neogrammarians, we must assume that this is true for proto-languages as well. It must be admitted that a lot of guesswork is involved in etymologizing material from hundreds of languages and dialects at once, without having established the "sound laws" in advance. The problems are especially acute when comparing phonologically depleted languages with those having richer syllable canons. When there is a partial phonological similarity between distinct etyma with the same meaning, it is not easy to decide by simple inspection to which etymon we should assign a phonologically slight form in a daughter language.

There is a dialectical relationship between synchronic data and sound laws. The "laws" are derived by inference from the data in the first place, but once proto-forms are reconstructed, they can be used to guide us in our hunt for cognates in languages not yet examined (even if they have undergone semantic change). Almost every TB/ST etymology so far proposed presents problems and complications—irregularities—in some language or other, which is par for the course even in the much better known Indo-European family. Part of our task is to indicate where the exceptions, problems, and irregularities lie, in the hope that they can ultimately be explained. The concept of "regularity" itself is by no means simple, nor does it mean the same thing to different scholars.[64]

Those who lack what I have called "Proto-Sprachgefühl"[65] can produce abstract, formulaic reconstructions bristling with strange symbols but devoid of any phonetic or typological plausibility.[66] Given sufficient semantic latitude and proto-forms that are complex enough, one can formulate "sound laws" in such a way that they appear completely regular and exceptionless. At an extreme level we find "megalocomparative" proposals of genetic relationship that turn received notions upside down (e.g. Sino-Mayan, Sino-Caucasian, Sino-Austronesian, Japanese-Dravidian), and which can lead the unwary down fruitless paths, obscuring the differences among cognates, borrowings, and chance resemblances.[67] Various tricks of analysis that I have lumped under the rubric of "proto-form stuffing" can help the Nostraticist or Sino-Mayanist convince himself that his fantastical comparisons are "perfectly regular". Paradigmatically, one can multiply the number of proto-phonemes. If you reconstruct 35 proto-vowels, any anomalous vowel correspondence can be regarded as "regularly reflecting" a separate proto-vowel. Syntagmatically, if you reconstruct etyma like ***mrgsla,*** and the monstrous proto-cluster ***mrgsl-** occurs only in a single etymon, any set of reflexes in the daughter languages can be said to be "regular".[68]

The time-depth of PST is perhaps 6000 years B.P., about at the limits of the comparative method. We can hardly afford to insist on "perfect regularity" of correspondence among our putative cognates. But instead of resorting to "proto-form stuffing" to try to explain away problems, what is needed is an explicit theory of variational phenomena. TB and ST etyma, like those of other language families, are not independent isolated entities, but stand in complex phonosemantic relationships with each other. It has been recognized for a long time that words in Chinese and TB languages participate in morphophonemic groups of partially resemblant forms that have been called "word families".[69] In *VSTB* I developed the

[54] Most of these comparanda have already been included in *HPTB*.

[55] See "A Concise Introduction to Old Chinese Phonology" by Zev Handel (*HPTB*:543–574), which treats the major differences in the reconstructive systems of Karlgren (*GSR*), LI Fang Kuei (1976, 1971/1980), and William Baxter (1992).

[56] This is also the organizational plan of *TBRS*, which deals entirely with a single semantic area, the Reproductive System. (This was originally supposed to constitute Fascicle Nine of Vol I (Body-parts). Most of the examples in this section are drawn from *TBRS*, since it is there that the semantic associations of the etyma have been investigated most thoroughly.)

[57] See, e.g., Matisoff 1980 ("Stars, moon, and spirits"), 1985a ("God and the ST copula"), 1985b ("Arm, hand, wing"), 1988b ("Property, livestock, talent"), 1991a ("Grammatization in Lahu"), 1991d ("Mother of all morphemes"), 1994a ("Buttock and heel"), 2000d ("Three TB word-families"), and 2004 ("Areal semantics").

[58] See the discussion in *VSTB*:194–200.

[59] The same formation is found in many other TB languages, e.g.:

	FOOT	*EYE*	*ANKLE*
Lalung	**ia-thong**	**mi**	**ia-thong-mi**
Limbu	**lāŋ**	**mik**	**lāŋ-mik**
Lushai (Mizo)	**ke**	**mit**	**ke-mit**
Meithei	**khu**	**mit**	**khu-mit**
Tangkhul	**phei**	**mik-ra**	**phei-mik-ra**
Written Burmese	**khre**	**myak-ci'**	**khre-myak-ci'**

[60] As a desideratum for the future, one might envision three-dimensional semantic diagrams like those used to model molecules in organic chemistry!

[61] See *VSTB*, pp. 182–3, 203.

[62] See Matisoff 2003a (*HPTB*:34) and 2003b. Yeast is traditionally used for brewing liquor rather than for baking bread in East and SE Asia. Both salt and yeast are efficacious substances that have dramatic effects on the taste of food or drink; their lack renders the food or drink insipid. Cf. Proto-Kuki-Naga ***m-tsyi** 'salt' and Jingpho **mətsi**, Lahu **dî** 'yeast' (Lahu voiced initials come from *prenasalized ones).

[63] As in many other respects, Benedict was also a pioneer in the field of SE Asian areal semantics. Cf. his brilliant article "Semantic differentiation in Indo-Chinese" (1939).

[64] See Matisoff 1992 ("Following the marrow") and 1994d ("Regularity and variation").

[65] See Matisoff 1982.

[66] Recent examples of this genre include Sedláček 1970; Weidert 1975, 1979, 1981, 1987; Peiros & Starostin 1996.

[67] See Matisoff 1990 ("On megalocomparison"). Megalocomparison has the apparent advantage of non-falsifiability, since, as Haudricourt has observed, one can never prove that any two languages are not related. But non-falsifiable hypotheses are not scientific. When presented with alternative non-falsifiable proposals it is impossible to choose among them.

[68] This is actually the proto-form offered in Weidert 1981:25 for an etymon meaning 'spirit, ghost, shadow' (reconstructed as ***m-hla** in *STC* #475). As I have observed (Matisoff 1982:22), "It is always possible and sometimes necessary to invent an *ad hoc* explanation for an anomalous case. It is even true that some such *ad hoc* 'solutions' are more plausible than others. The only harm is in deluding oneself that an explanation which covers only a single case establishes a 'regularity'."

[69] See the pioneering study of Karlgren (1933), "Word families in Chinese".

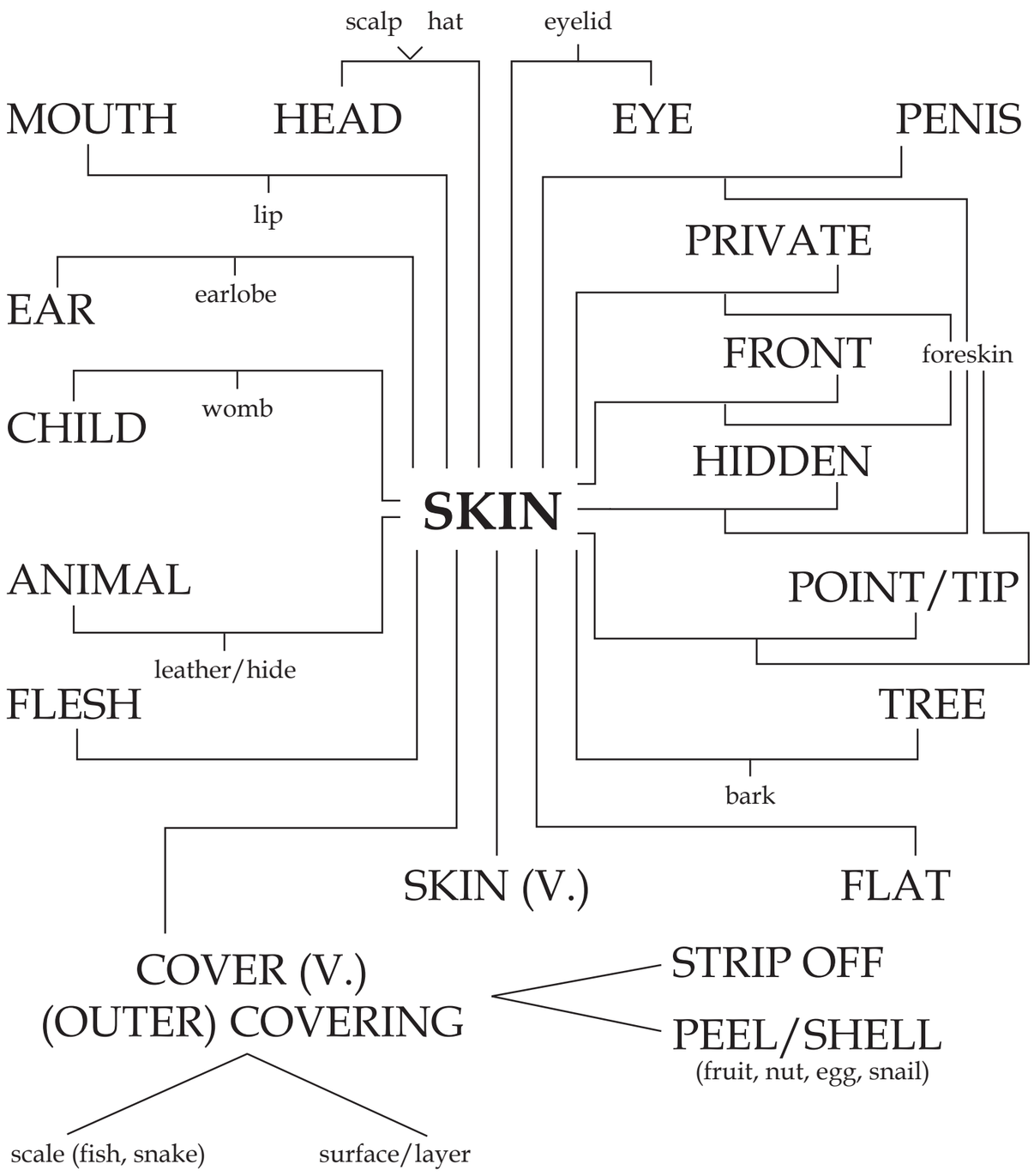


Figure 10: SKIN flowchart #1

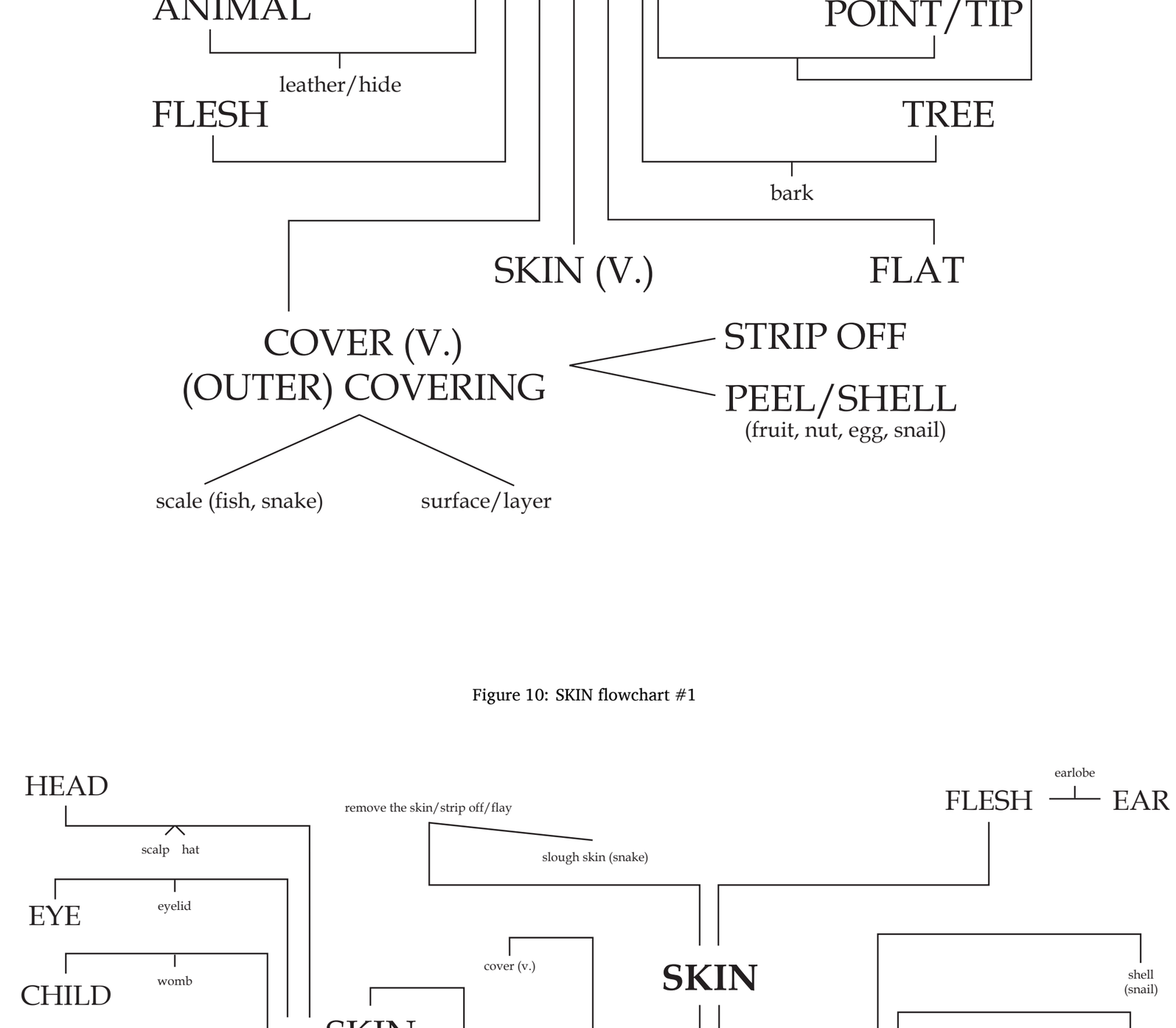


Figure 11: SKIN flowchart #2

notion of the *allofam*, or individual member of a word-family, and advocated the formulation of "allofamic reconstructions" that accommodated all the well-attested variants deemed to descend from the same proto-word-family. The symbol ⩙ was introduced to symbolize an allofamic relationship between variant forms, i.e., "A ⩙ B" means that "A and B are synchronic allofams of each other", while "*A ⩙ *B" means that there is a word-family relationship between A and B at the proto-level.[70]

Needless to say, extreme care must be used in claiming that different forms are variants of the same etymon. Allofamic theory must be applied in a controlled and constrained way.[71] Not everything may be said to vary with everything else! It is sometimes quite difficult to decide whether partially resemblant forms represent separate etyma or whether they are merely allofams of the same word-family. Not only must each proto-allofam fit our canonic template (above, "Phonological System of PTB"), but the type of variation posited must be abundantly replicated in other examples. We do not attempt to conceal such uncertainties, but frequently entertain the possibility that etyma set up as independent might actually be co-allofams, or *vice versa*.

Notational conventions and pan-allofamic formulas

The best attested patterns of variation in ST/TB are all exemplified in the etymologies of Fascicle 1.9 (*The Reproductive System*, previously published as *TBRS*). They include the following:

[70] This symbol ⩙, a combination of > 'goes to' and < 'comes from', is meant to suggest that neither variant is necessarily deemed to have temporal priority, but that both must be set up to account for attested forms. Other related symbols are A ⩱ B "A is not an allofam of B," and A ?⩙? B "is A an allofam of B?" Driem 2012.

[71] See the extended discussion in Ch. XII of *HPTB* (pp. 491–534), "Allofamic variation in rhymes".

1. Voicing vs. voicelessness of the initial consonant:[72]

   ***gwap ≍ *kwap** (11a) HATCH/INCUBATE/COVER
   ***prat ≍ *brat** (75) BREAK/WEAN
   ***tuŋ ≍ *duŋ** (44a) NAVEL

2. Variation between fricative and affricate:

   ***(t)sum** (45) NAVEL
   ***(t)sip ≍ *(t)sup** (107) NEST/WOMB/SCROTUM[73]

3. Presence vs. absence of medial **-y-**:

   ***b(y)at** (81) VAGINA
   ***l(y)ap** (151) COPULATE

   A special case of this pattern is the alternation between dental and palatal fricatives and affricates:

   ***s(y)awk** (61) DRINK/SUCK/SMOKE
   ***dz(y)əw** (56) BREAST/MILK
   ***ts(y)uːŋ** (44b) NAVEL

4. Variation between labial stop and labial semivowel:

   ***pu ≍ *wu** (1a, 1b) EGG
   ***pam ≍ *wam** (98a, 98b) WOMB/PLACENTA/NEST

5. Variation between different prefixes:

   ***r-ga ≍ *m-ga ≍ *d-ga ≍ *s-ga** (141) COPULATE/LOVE/WANT
   ***m-tow ≍ *s-tow** (3) EGG
   ***m-ŋal ≍ *l-ŋal** (100) WOMB/PLACENTA

6. Variation between **-u-** and **-i-** in closed syllables:

   ***dul ≍ *dil** (2b) EGG/TESTICLE
   ***m-dzup ≍ *m-dzip** (55) SUCK/SUCKLE/MILK/KISS
   ***tsyur ≍ *tsyir** (66) MILK/SQUEEZE/WRING

7. Variation between medial **-ya-** and **-i-**:

   ***s-riŋ ≍ *s-ryaŋ** (39) LIVE/ALIVE/GREEN/RAW/GIVE BIRTH
   ***s-nik ≍ *s-nyak** (124) PENIS/COPULATE
   ***b-rim ≍ *b-ryam** (46) NAVEL/UMBILICAL CORD

8. Alternation between medial **-wa-** and **-u-**:

   ***tsyul ≍ *tsywal** (105) WOMB/PLACENTA

9. Alternation between final homorganic stops and nasals:

   ***glim ≍ *glip** (15) BROOD/INCUBATE EGGS
   ***s-nəwn ≍ *s-nəwt** (53c) BREAST/MILK/SUCK
   ***tsiŋ ≍ *tsik** (78) VAGINA

As some of the above examples illustrate, some roots show more than one type of variation. When a posited allofamic reconstruction (e.g. ***sir ≍ *sit** (6) EGG) does not fall into a well-attested variational category, I comment on it. Handel makes similar remarks with respect to some of my TB comparisons with OC.

Occasionally, when the phonosemantic variation among the allofams is considerable, and when each variant is amply attested, we split up the presentation of the data into subroots that are designated by the same number but with different lower case letters, e.g.: ***p-wu** (1) EGG is split into ***wu** (1a) and ***pu** (1b); ***m/s-la(ː)y ≍ *s-tay** (40) NAVEL/CENTER/SELF is split into ***m/s-la(ː)y** (40a) and ***s-tay** (40b); ***m-ley ≍ *m-li ≍ *m-ney** (114) PENIS is broken down into ***m-ley ≍ *m-li** (114a) and ***m-ney** (114b).

As I put it 42 years ago, "We must steer an Aristotelian middle path between a dangerous speculativism and a stodgy insensitivity to the workings of variational phenomena in language history."[74]

Parallel but surprising examples

Despite our concern with variational phenomena, we are always on the lookout for "sound laws" that can be established on the basis of parallel examples. A particularly striking sample is displayed in Figure 12, which demonstrates that PTB *prefixed laterals before the rhyme ***-əy** developed into Lahu syllables with initial **h-** and the vowel **-ɔ**:

	Old Burmese	Lahu	Akha	Jingpho	WT	Proto-TB
'wind'	**le**	**mû-hɔ**		**būŋ-lī**	**rdzi**	***g-ləy**
'boat'	**hle**	**hɔ-lɔ̀ʔ-qō**		**lī**		***m-ləy**
'heavy'	**lê**	**hɔ̂ ve**		**lī**	**lći**	***s-ləy-t**
'grandchild'	**mliy > mrê**	**hɔ̄-ē**	**ɔ̀-pà**	**məlī**		***b-ləy**
'four'	**lê**	**ɔ̂**	**ɔ̀**	**məlī**	**bźi**	***b-ləy**
'bow/sling'	**lê**	**hɔ̂-ma**	**ca-ɔ̀**	**ləlī**	**gźu**	***d/s-ləy**

Figure 12: Lahu reflexes of **-əy** after complex laterals

Yet even in this beautiful example there is an exceptional reflex in the Lahu word for 'four', which lacks initial **h-**. Surely this slight irregularity does not impugn the whole "sound law", although it must be pointed out with hopes that it can ultimately be explained.[75] Parallelism of variational patterns is very welcome, both within a language and across languages. See Figure 13, which exemplifies the same pattern of variation between homorganic final stop and nasal (#9 above) in Chinese and Lahu, two quite distantly related languages. After palatal initials, WT fairly regularly has **-u** corresponding to front vowels in other languages.

PST/PTB ***sywar** > OC ***sân ≍ *sât** and PLB ***swan ≍ *swat**

1. PTB ***sywar** 'flow/pour/scatter'
   WT **ḥtshor-ba** 'escape; flow out, run over'; Lepcha **tśhor** 'the pouring of water; Garo ***sol*-aŋ** 'flow'; Dimasa **di-*sor*** 'id.'; Jingpho **šēn** 'flow (as tears, sweat, water poured on ground)'
2. PLB ***swan ≍ *swat**
   ***swan$^{1/2}$** > WB **swan** 'pour out, spill, shed', **swân** 'pour upon, cast by pouring liquid into a mold'; Lahu **šē** 'pour; sow, broadcast'; Akha **sè** 'sow seeds, **sjè** 'pour'; Mpi **se^{1}** 'sow, broadcast'
   ***swat** > Lahu **šêʔ** 'pour, spill'; Akha **sjéq**; Sani **sɤ^{44}**; Bisu **šèt**
3. OC ***sân ≍ *sât**
   ***sân** > 散 [*GSR* 156a-b] (Mand. *sàn*) 'disperse'
   ***sât** > 撒 [*AD* 767] (Mand. *sā, sǎ*) 'scatter; let loose'

Figure 13: Parallel patterns of variation in Lolo-Burmese and Chinese: SCATTER/POUR

Notational conventions with respect to variation

A few notational conventions with respect to my PTB reconstructions should be mentioned:

- Variant reconstructed forms are indicated in several ways. They are usually written with the "allofam symbol" ≍ between them, e.g.: ***glim ≍ *glip** BROOD / INCUBATE; ***s-riŋ ≍ *s-r(y)aŋ** LIVE / ALIVE / GREEN / RAW / GIVE BIRTH. Sometimes, however, I use an alternative notation with parentheses, e.g.: ***(t)si** COPULATE/LOVE; this is equivalent to ***si ≍ *tsi**. Slashes may also be used, e.g. ***p/buk ≍ *p/bik** BORN/GIVE BIRTH; this is equivalent to ***puk ≍ *buk ≍ *pik ≍ *bik**. Finally, still another way of indicating proto-variation is by means of a "vertical reconstruction", e.g.:

  * **t / d** **uŋ** NAVEL. This means the same as ***tuŋ ≍ *duŋ**.

- Parentheses are especially appropriate for those frequent cases where there is variation or indeterminacy between dental and palatal fricates; in fact that is one of my principal motivations for writing the palatal series as sequences of dental plus **-y-**, rather than writing them with *hačeks* or grave accents, e.g.:

  ***ts(y)uːŋ** NAVEL / CENTER (= ***tsuːŋ ≍ *tšuːŋ)**
  ***s(y)awk** DRINK / SUCK / SMOKE (= ***sok ≍ *šok)**

- Etyma which show variation between initial ***p-** and ***w-** are reconstructed with the morphophonemic symbol ***p^{w}-,** which is roughly equivalent to treating the stop element as a prefix (***p-w-**).[76] Thus, a reconstruction like ***p^{w}u** EGG / BIRD / ROUND OBJECT implies the existence of two subroots, ***pu** and ***wu,** whatever the ultimate explanation for this variation might prove to be.
- In the original version of *STC* (ca. 1943), Benedict reconstructed two PTB high long vowels ***-iy** and ***-uw,** contrasting with the much less frequent short high vowels ***-i** and ***-u.** In the published version (1972) he modified the reconstruction of these long vowels to ***-əy** and ***-əw,** a practice which I follow myself. Occasionally, however, when the evidence does not permit us to decide between a long and a short high proto-vowel, it is convenient to revert to the earlier notation, with parentheses, e.g. ***b-ni(y)** 'petticoat' (*STC* #476); ***sru(w)** 'relative' (*STC* p. 108).

In cases where an etymon exhibits several different variational patterns, it is often advantageous to display these simultaneously in complex expressions that we call pan-allofamic formulas or "PAF's" for short. A typical example is provided in Figure 14, presented in vertical format.

BELLY/STOMACH

	p			
***s-**		**u**		
	b		**(ː)**	**(k)**
***ʔ-**		**i**		
	w			

Figure 14: A typical PAF

A PAF is merely a convenient and concise way of representing several types of variation at once. In this case they include (a) different prefixes attested with the root; (b) voicing alternation and lenition of the labial root-initial; (c) variation between the high vowels **-u-** and **-i-**; (d) evidence for long vowels in some reflexes; (e) presence or absence of a final velar stop. All of these variational patterns are directly instantiated in the various daughter languages. When necessary, such PAF's are broken down into their individual allofams, with each supporting form assigned to a particular variant.

To avoid misunderstandings, several points must be made with respect to our PAF's:

PAF's are to be sharply distinguished from "pseudo-micritizing devices" for making *ad hoc* comparisons look regular. Extreme examples of this approach are Benedict's "split cognates" in Austro-Tai, where purported reflexes of the same etymon need have no proto-phoneme in common, e.g.

DOG Proto-Austro-Tai * **[wa] kl̥əwm [a]** > Proto-Tai ***hma**, Proto-Hmong-Mien ***klu** (Benedict 1975a:272–3)

- Not all mathematically possible variants provided for in a PAF are necessarily needed to cover all the reflexes that have been found. Thus, strictly speaking, Figure 14 (BELLY/STOMACH) would permit 72 allofams: 3 prefixes (***s-**, ***ʔ-**, or zero[77]), × 3 root- initials × 2 vowels × 2 degrees of vowel length × 2 codas (zero or ***-k**). Certain mutual dependencies are not indicated in Figure 14, e.g. the fact that the alternation between **-u-** and **-i-** is only found in closed syllables, i.e. in syllables where there is evidence of final **-k**.
- A PAF makes no claims about the relative antiquity of the various allofams that it represents. Such judgments may sometimes be inferred from the notes accompanying our etymologies, where the relative frequency and subgroup-distribution of the variants are usually detailed.
- It may well turn out that certain variational patterns that have been observed reflect some deeper underlying regularity yet to be discovered. As discussed above, one way to attack an explanation based on variation is to propose a new proto-entity. Thus, e.g., we could reconstruct all etyma showing **-u- ≍ -i-** variation with a special proto-vowel, say ***i**. This "stuffing" of the proto-inventory buys us little, however, and I prefer simply to document the variational patterns which are well-documented, leaving them for future comparativists to evaluate.

Similarities and differences between Tibeto-Burman and Indo-European patterns of variation

Prefixal variation

To have different prefixes attached to the same root is an extremely common phenomenon in TB, partly because prefixes may arise from the reduction of the first syllables of compounds, and also because certain TB languages seem to prefer a particular prefix to generalize throughout large parts of the lexicon. Consonantal prefixes play a very minor role in IE etymologies. The only example I can think of is the s-mobile, a prefixal ***s-** that appears with a certain root in some languages but not in others, e.g. PIE ***(s)teg-** 'cover' > Lat. *tegō*, German *decken*, OE þeccan, but Greek *stegō* and Russian *stog*.[78]

Manner of articulation of the root-initial

As noted above, variation in the voicing of initial consonants is pervasive in TB, largely due to the influence of prefixes, which in many instances have disappeared, leaving only indirect traces. Thus the voiced series of obstruents in Lahu (/b d j g/) has been demonstrated to derived from Proto-Lolo-Burmese *prenasalized initials, which still survive as such in many Loloish languages like Luquan and Nasu (see Matisoff 1972b). In Indo-European, on the other hand, a discrepancy in voicing can sometimes be a fatal objection to a candidate for cognacy.

Alternation between initial labial stop and w-

In as many as 20 TB etymologies, some languages have a labial stop while others have **w-** (even though the "regular" correspondences are between stops and stops and semivowels and semivowels); e.g. PIG WT **phag**/WB **wak**. This phenomenon, which I have called "extrusional", occurs mostly before the vowel **-a-**.[79]

Vocalic alternations

Conversely, vowel alternations ("ablaut" or "gradations") are thoroughgoing and well-structured in IE, but quite sporadic in ST/TB, either confined to particular languages (e.g. Written Tibetan), or due merely to phonetic factors, without semantic content (e.g. alternation between medial **-i- ≍ -u-**, especially in the environment of a labial C_i and/or C_f. Even less phonetically motivated is the variation between **-i- ≍ -ya-** found in several roots, notably EYE ***mik ≍ *myak**. Very occasionally a single etymon exhibits both types of alternation, e.g. BODY HAIR ***mul ≍ *mil ≍ *myal**; FLY ***pur ≍ *pir ≍ *byar**.

Variation between homorganic final stops and nasals

This is common both in Chinese and TB, perhaps due to the influence of suffixes which have since disappeared; but this phenomenon is unknown in IE. See Figure 13, above (SCATTER/POUR).

Tonal variations

Nothing is more common than for a ST/TB etymon to show tonal variation, either within a single language, or within a single subgroup, or across subgroups. These variations may be highly structured, even rule-governed (with clear conditioning), or they may be quite sporadic. Nevertheless tones usually do correspond very well within a subgroup, so that tonal anomalies must receive special attention. Tonally impoverished IE, on the other hand, must do without this sort of correspondence (except perhaps with respect to the pitch accents of Greek and Sanskrit, which sometimes do correspond regularly).

Root extensions/augments in final position

One variational feature shared by both TB and IE is the phenomenon of extra consonants tacked onto the end of a root, with no clear reason for it. First a couple of examples from TB:

A very similar example from Indo-European involves the morpheme ***wer-** TURN/BEND, called "the base of various Indo-European roots" (Morris 1981:1549). See Figure 15.

[72] Nothing is more common in TB word families than variation of voicing in initial consonants, largely due to the pervasive influence of prefixes on the manner of the initial. This is in sharp contrast to the situation in Indo-European or Austronesian, where such variation in manner is quite rare, and is usually not tolerated in reconstructions.

[73] This etymon also illustrates #6, below.

[74] Matisoff 1972a ("Tangkhul Naga and comparative TB"), p. 282.

[75] This exceptional Lahu reflex is reminiscent of Latin *ānser* 'goose' < PIE ***ǵ^{h}ans-**, since the expected Latin reflex of ***ǵ^{h}-** is *h-*. This irregular vowel-initial Latin form is usually described as a "cockneyism."

[76] For extended discussion of this issue, see Matisoff 2000a.

[77] The fact that many daughter languages show no trace of a prefix is indicated by the hyphens in the PAF.

[78] A good list of these roots is to be found in the index to the *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (Rix *et al.* 2001).

[79] See Matisoff 2000a.

TONGUE/LICK

					(w)
***m-**					
					(y)
	l	**(y)**	**a**	**(:)**	
***s-**					**(m)**
					(k)

FIRE/BURN/KINDLE/ROAST

***p**			**r**
	w		**l**
***b**		**a**	
	y		**m, n, ŋ**
***h**			**t**

1. ***wert-** > -WARD (forward, toward, etc.) / Lat. *vert-* (convert, revert, divert, etc.)
2. ***wreit-** > WREATH / WRITHE / WRATH
3. ***wergh-** > WORRY / WRING
4. ***werg-** > WRENCH / WRINKLE
5. ***wreik-** > WRY / WRIGGLE / WRIST / WRESTLE
6. ***wrib-** > RIBALD
7. ***werb-** > WARP
8. ***werp-** > WRAP / RHAPSODY
9. ***wr̥mi-** > WORM

Figure 15: ***wer-** TURN/BEND “conventional basis of various Indo-European roots” AHD 76–77

More on the concept of word family: blood relatives vs. adoptive ones

According to the broad definition of “word family” adopted at STEDT, a family may include “blood relatives” (i.e. native words directly descended from an earlier stage of a given language), as well as words borrowed from a related language (“adoptive relatives”). It is the task of the analyst to distinguish these two types of family members. In TB, this problem is often acute, e.g. with respect to the Baic languages of Yunnan, which have been overwhelmed with different strata of loanwords from Chinese over the millennia. Indo-European also has countless examples of this mixed type of word family, as in Figure 16.

1. Inherited Germanic material
   (a) ***wod-ōr-** [suffixed o-grade] > PGmc ***watar** > OE *wætar* > WATER
   (b) ***wēd-o-** [suffixed lengthened grade] > PGmc ***wēd-** > OE *wæt, wēt* > WET
   (c) ***wod-** [o-grade] > PGmc ***wat-skan** > OE *wæscan, wacsan* > WASH
   (d) ***we-n-d-** [nasalized form] > PGmc ***wintruz** ‘wet season’ > OE *winter* > WINTER
   (e) ***ud-ro**, ***ud-r̥-** [suffixed zero-grade] > PGmc ***otraz** > OE otor > OTTER
2. Borrowings from other Indo-European languages
   (a) ***ud-ōr-** [suffixed zero-grade] > Greek *hudōr* ‘water’ > HYDRO- (including CLEPSYDRA, DROPSY)
   (b) ***u-n-d-ā-** [suffixed nasalized zero-grade] > Latin *unda* ‘wave’ > UNDULATE, INUNDATE, ABOUND, REDUNDANT, SURROUND
   (c) ***ud-skio-** [suffixed zero-grade] > Scot. and Ir. Gaelic *uisge* ‘water’ > *uisquebaugh* ‘eau de vie’ > WHISKEY
   (d) ***wod-ā-** [suffixed o-grade] > Russ. *voda* ‘water’, with *-ka* ‘diminutive’ > VODKA

Figure 16: English reflexes of the PIE etymon ***wed-** ⪤ ***wod-** ⪤ ***ud-** WATER (adapted from AHD 73)

Etymological accuracy and rectification of possible errors

Our STEDT etymologies have been undergoing a constant process of “rectification”, and may be roughly divided into three types: (a) those to be accepted as is; (b) those to be accepted with modifications; and (c) those to be rejected. As with all scientific hypotheses, our reconstructions are falsifiable in the light of new data or better analyses. There are all too many ways in which one can make etymological mistakes, and I have been guilty of all of them at one time or another.[80] A rough taxonomy of errors would have to include the following:

Treating a loanword as native

I was at first delighted when I ran across the Jingpho form **wé?-wū** ‘screw’, since its first syllable looked like an excellent match with Lahu **ɔ̀-vè?** ‘id.’, for which I then had no etymology. Could this be a precious example of the rare PTB rhyme ***-ek**? But the screw is hardly an artifact of any great antiquity, and it would be *prima facie* implausible that a root with such a meaning would have existed in PTB. The truth quickly became apparent. The modern Burmese form for ‘screw’, **wé?-?u** (WB **wak-?u**), the obvious source from which both Jingpho and Lahu borrowed these words, means literally “pig-intestine”. The semantic association is the corkscrew-like appearance of a pig’s small intestine. This etymology is also interesting from the viewpoint of distinguishing native vs. borrowed co-allofams. The usual, native words for ‘pig’ in Jingpho and Lahu are **wà?** and **và?**, respectively; but the doublets borrowed from Burmese have front vowels, as in spoken Burmese. Unless a native speaker of Jingpho knows Burmese, s/he is unlikely to realize that the first syllable of **wé?-wū** means ‘pig’, especially since this syllable is in the high-stopped tone, while ‘pig’ is low-stopped. The native Lahu speaker is even less likely to recognize the source of **ɔ̀-vè?**, since the morpheme for ‘intestine’ has been completely dropped from the original Burmese compound, rather like the way our word *camera* (< Lat. ‘room; chamber; vaulted enclosure’) is a shortening of the old compound *camera obscura* (“dark chamber”).[81]

Combining reflexes of unrelated roots

When two forms bearing a semantic resemblance in a phonologically depleted language differ only in tone, it is tempting to try to relate them. I once entertained the possibility that such pairs of Lahu forms as **phu** ‘silver, money’ / **phû** ‘price, cost’ and **mu** ‘high, tall’ / **mû** ‘sky’ were co-allofams, though they can easily be shown to descend from quite separate etyma: **phu** < PTB ***plu** (*STC* p. 89) / **phû** < PTB ***pəw** (*STC* #41); **mu** < PTB ***mraŋ** (*STC* p. 43) / **mû** < PTB ***r-məw** (*STC* #488).[82]

Failure to recognize that separately reconstructed etyma are really co-allofams

An opposite type of error is to overlook the etymological identity between sets of forms, assigning them to separate etyma when they are really co-allofams. Thus *STC* sets up two independent PTB roots, both with the shape ***dyam**, one meaning ‘full; fill’ (*STC* #226) and the other glossed as ‘straight’ (*STC* #227). Yet it can be shown that the latter root also means ‘flat’, and that all reflexes of #226 and #227 may be subsumed under a single etymon, with the underlying idea being “perfection in a certain dimension”.[83]

Similarly, I was slow to recognize that two roots I had set up separately, PLB ***dzay²** ‘cattle; domestic animal’ (Matisoff 1985a #129) and NE Indian ***tsa:y** ‘elephant; cattle’ (#143) are really one and the same.[84]

Double-dipping

This embarrassing situation occurs when an author inadvertently assigns the same form in a daughter language to two different etyma, perhaps within the pages of the same book, but more likely in separate articles. At different times I have compared Chinese **chún** 唇 ‘lip’ (OC **ɗi̯wən**) to both PTB ***dyal** and ***m-ts(y)ul**, finally deciding in favor of the latter.[85] It is of course perfectly legitimate to change one’s mind, as long as one explains why. The best course is to present the alternative etymologies together, inviting the reader to choose between them.

[80] The discussion in this section is adapted from *HPTB*, pp. 538–40.

[81] There is a difference in detail between the two cases, however: the deleted ‘intestine’ is the head of the compound “pig-intestine”, but the deleted *obscura* is the modifier in the collocation “dark-chamber”.

[82] See Matisoff 1973/1982:29; such speculations were debunked in the 2nd printing (1982), p. 675.

[83] See Matisoff 1988a:4–9.

[84] I have argued that a third root set up in Matisoff 1985a (*GSTC* #106), ***(t)sa:y** ⪤ ***(d)za:y** ‘temperament / aptitude / talent’, is also related, the common notion being ‘property (either material or intellectual)’. See Matisoff 1985a:44–45; 1988a:10–13.

[85] See *HPTB* 9.2.1, 9.22(4), 9.2.4.

Misanalyses of compounds

A vast number of words in TB languages are di- or tri-syllabic compounds, a fact which greatly complicates the task of etymologization. Many traps lie in wait for the analyst, leading to potential errors of several kinds.

Wrong segmentation This can happen when a form in an inadequately transcribed source is not syllabified. The Pochury and Sangtam forms for ‘star’, transcribed as **awutsi** and **chinghi**, respectively, in the little glossaries compiled by the *Nagaland Bhasha Parishad*,[86] should be segmented as **a-wu-tsi** and **ching-hi**, and not as **a-wut-si** and **chi-nghi**, as I imprudently did in Matisoff 1980:21.

Misunderstanding the meaning of a constituent A special case of this problem is mistaking an affix for a root, especially likely to occur when no grammatical description exists for a language. Several Naga languages have disyllabic forms for ‘moon’ with similar final syllables, e.g. Chang **litnyu**, Konyak **linnyu**, Phom **linnyü**, Sangtam **chonu**, Liangmai **chahiu**. Yet these final elements do not constitute a new root meaning ‘moon’, as I had originally guessed; rather they represent an abstract formative, ultimately grammaticalized from a root ***n(y)u** ‘mother’, that occurs in nouns from all sorts of semantic fields (e.g. Chang **chinyu** ‘center’, **henyu** ‘ladder’, **lamnyu** ‘road’, **pinyu** ‘snake’).[87]

Choosing the wrong syllable of a compound for an etymology This can happen when two different syllables of a compound are phonologically similar, especially if one is dealing with a poorly known language with depleted final consonants, e.g. forms like Guiqiong Ganzi **tʃhə⁵⁵sɑ̃⁵⁵** and Ersu **ʂʅ⁵⁵ji⁵⁵** ‘otter’. Which syllables are to be ascribed to PTB ***sram**?

By its very nature, comparative/historical investigation of such a complex language family as TB/ST is an open-ended enterprise. As described above, changes continue to be made in the details of the STEDT reconstructive system,[88] as well as in our conception of the subgrouping of the family.[89]

Desiderata for the future

I am acutely aware of the incompleteness of this Dictionary-Thesaurus. We still have a long way to go before comparative/historical TB/ST studies are as advanced as they deserve to be. Despite the quickening pace of research, our knowledge of the various branches of this multifarious family remains highly uneven. With a few important exceptions,[90] reliable reconstructions at the subgroup level are not yet available, so that “teleo-reconstruction” has to be resorted to.[91] Many more roots remain to be reconstructed at all taxonomic levels of the family.

Much remains to be done on the Chinese side as well, and we seem destined for a period of flux until the dust settles and competing reconstructions have sorted themselves out.

A large lacuna in this work is the lack of a systematic treatment of tone. This is not because the topic does not interest me, but rather because it merits a book-length treatment by itself. We are only just coming to appreciate the richness and variety of TB tone systems as more and more data become available.[92] The big questions are still open, especially the key issue of monogenesis vs. polygenesis: Can we reconstruct a single tonal system at the PTB level? At the PST level? If so, was this original system primarily phonational or melodic? Or are tonogenesis and tonoexodus cyclical processes, with tones having arisen repeatedly and independently in the various branches of TB, so that even if there was an “original” system, it can no longer be recovered?

Despite the fact that changes continue to be made in our reconstructions (see above), STEDT continues to build upon previous research rather than repudiating it. Perpetual revolution gets to be fatiguing after a while.[93] Historical linguistics is a cumulative enterprise. Thanks to the foundation laid by pioneering scholars, especially Paul K. Benedict, a solid body of TB/ST etymological knowledge has been accumulated, in terms of which new etymologies must be evaluated. No longer can one get away with reconstructing whatever one pleases, no matter how typologically bizarre or ad hoc or mechanistic the reconstruction might be.

All in all, it is hard not to be optimistic about the future of TB/ST linguistics, as fieldwork opportunities increase and new generations of talented researchers enter the discipline. Eventually it seems inevitable that scholars throughout the world will share their information more and more, granting mutual access to their databases for the common good. On the other hand, too many TB languages are endangered, and may well disappear before they have been adequately recorded.

In any case, “the reconstruction of PTB is a noble enterprise, where a spirit of competitive territoriality is out of place. We should pool our knowledge and encourage each other to venture outside of our specialized niches, so that we begin to appreciate the full range of TB languages...”[94]

[86] Kumar 1972 (*Hindi Pochury English Dictionary*), 1973a (*Hindi Sangtam English Dictionary*).

[87] See Matisoff 1980 (“Stars, moon, spirits”), p. 35; for the suffixal use of morphemes meaning ‘mother’, see Matisoff 1991d (“The mother of all morphemes”).

[88] Cf. the recent reinterpretation of the PTB mid-vowels ***-e(-)** and ***-o(-)** as rising and falling diphthongs (above).

[89] Cf. the recent reevaluation of the genetic position of Jingpho, Luish and Nungish (above).

[90] These bright spots include Proto-Karen (Haudricourt, Jones, Solnit), Proto-Northern Naga (French), Proto-Tani (J. Sun), Proto-Tamangic (Mazaudon), Proto-Kiranti (Michailovsky), Proto-Kuki-Chin (VanBik), Proto-Northern Chin (Button), and Proto-Lolo-Burmese (Burling, Matisoff, Bradley). See the References.

[91] See Benedict 1973.

[92] For a rough typology of TB tone systems, see Matisoff 1999b. Weidert 1987is an attempt to reduce all TB tone systems to a single proto-phonational contrast among clear, breathy, and creaky voice qualities, but is marred by an over-formalistic and disorganized presentation which renders it virtually incomprehensible. See the review by JAM (1994c).

[93] As Leon Trotsky found to his cost in 1940.

[94] Matisoff 1982:41.

A Short History of STEDT Software and Database Development

Overview

The STEDT project spanned a revolutionary period in computer technology – from 1987, when (compared to today) very little was possible, and what was possible normally required a substantial programming team with lots of experience, to the present, 2015, when everyone is expected to use computerized devices of several sorts, and "collaboration" and "data sharing" are the norm. Today, databases are everywhere.

The STEDT project at times led the effort and pointed the way in computational historical linguistics; at other times, it labored to catch up as the technology "took off".

A Timeline

In 1987, when the STEDT project started, there was no World Wide Web. (There was, of course, an internet, but it was restricted to the military and a few academic institutions.) Only mainframe computers were connected to each other via networks, and very few people used email. Most people used a device called a "modem" to "dial up" via a telephone line to access the internet and services. The ability to print specialized characters such as IPA was limited. Most people were happy that their computer (if they had one) handled both upper- and lower-case characters. Indeed, the ability to make book-quality copy required access to expensive equipment usually available only to publishers. PDFs[1] did not exist, nor was it possible to attach a document to an email (one could, however, "FTP"[2] a file from one computer to another, provided the proper software was installed on both sides).

"Microcomputers", however, did exist, and were becoming ubiquitous – the IBM PC was becoming standard office equipment, and the Apple Macintosh™had been invented a few years previously to replace the Apple II and its variations. Indeed, the Mac incorporated new-fangled features such as a *mouse*, *windows* (movable, resizable "windows" on the screen), and, *gasp* *icons*.

And the idea of "word processing", the creation and editing of usable documents using a computer was just becoming a commonly understood term.[3]

Against this backdrop, the design of a system to create the Dictionary-Thesaurus and the gathering and inputting of data supporting that effort began. The first bitmap version of the STEDT font was created, and data was entered into HyperCard™stacks. [4] The project had three Mac Pluses™, each with a 40MB hard disk, the maximum possible at that time. Since there was no centralized database, software was developed to export the data from the Stacks into delimited text files which could be combined and sorted into larger aggregations.

By 1989, an initial version of a publishing suite was completed, written in Spitbol [5], which read the delimited files, sorted the data (internally), and output "camera-ready copy" in RTF[6]. In addition, a TrueType™version of the STEDT font had been created, enabling the publication of handsome dictionary pages on the project's newly-acquired PostScript™printer, a LaserWriter™.[7]

By 1990, the data and analysis supporting what was to be *Fascicle I: Body Parts* was completed, and it was on this marvelous printer that the first draft of this fascicle was printed. By then, a clear picture had emerged of the requirements of the system: the need to incorporate several levels of notes and footnotes; the ability to include graphics (mainly "semantic flowcharts") inline; the "5-level organization" of the content; the need to (and means to) produce the front-matter and back-matter associated with the D-T (tables of contents and figures, indexes of various flavors, and so on.); and of course the need to be able to iteratively produce, on demand, draft versions of the final document for review and revision. The essence of this data flow is shown in Figure 18. The process was a strict file-to-file pipeline, in which required bits of data were incorporated in several steps, culminating with a final marked-up document (in this case in RTF), ready for printing.

Several "microcomputer database systems" became available around this time. Previous incarnations of these software components (e.g. DBASE™) were clunky and often had restrictions on their ability to handle linguistic data (as opposed to accounting data). They handled only short, fixed-length fields, and balked at "special characters".

By 1992, STEDT data had been loaded into FoxPro™, one of the leading database systems at that time – essentially a rewrite of DBASE, without its many shortcomings, fully relational, with lots of features. The relational table structure still in use today was implemented (see Figure 17); and the first "reports" which allowed users to browse the growing database were created. The hardware too was improving. Much faster computers with larger hard disks (e.g. the Apple Quadra™) were now connected to each other by Ethernet cables, and multiple users were able to access the database at the same time. A client-server architecture was possible for the first time. The "draft fascicles" became at this point a type of report produced by using the database reporting facilities available. While the reports lacked some of the fine details desired, nay required, for final publication (e.g. nice footnotes, and inline formatting), the situation had been infinitely improved by the ability to "push a button" to produce these documents, and the ability for multiple users to access and update the database at the same time.

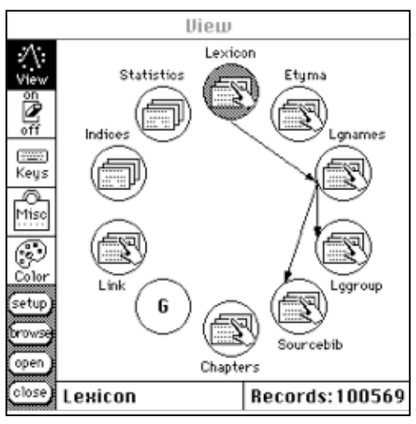


Figure 17: Relational database layout in FoxPro, circa 1992

By 1996, the database had migrated to another database platform, FileMaker Pro™, which had become a popular and flexible system for work of this sort. This new technology made it possible to incorporate data from other database (i.e. other FileMaker Pro files) and from other sources (e.g. images). An elaborate system of linked databases (called "Ancillary databases") was produced and operated for some time for the benefit of the STEDT staff and visitors. However, the system was never very portable, nor was there a desire to publish these data in their early and preliminary state. This version remains as a "legacy document" awaiting the attention of a future generation who may wish to resurrect it from its ashes.

With the advent of the World Wide Web at about this time, it became clear that the STEDT database would eventually need to be available to the world, and besides the FileMaker version (absent further programming) was limited to use in the office; the idea of "web access" was very appealing, as it opened the possibility of having the process of *etymologization* opened up to collaborators all over the world.

Therefore, at the beginning of the 21st century, an effort was made to migrate the data and software to its current implementation as a web-based application backed by a powerful database system. Several software development iterations (some still operational on the STEDT website and available in GitHub[8]) were developed. The current online application and publication tools are written in PERL, using the *CGI::Application framework*.[9] and run on a so-called "LAMP stack".[10]

Today, the STEDT database is freely searchable by anyone anywhere who has an internet connect web browser.[11] In addition, the database itself and the software used to create the etymological structure and generate the "final PDF" is available as opensource software and open data for the world to use.[12]

Database Design and the Workflow of Etymologization

Supporting the workflow of "etymologization"

While the constraints of late 20th-century software and hardware did inhibit some of the development of the software tools needed to produce the most compendious of thesauri produced to date, it was the conceptual issues surrounding the organization of the materials and specifying a robust and durable workflow that were even more restrictive.

Beside managing the basic data being input, some means of organizing it into a semantically-based etymologically-organized whole needed to be designed and implemented.

At first, i.e. for the first couple of decades of the project, the database served the needs of the goal of publishing a thesaurus. Indeed, to this day, the thesaurus remains the primary deliverable – the database and its *accoutrements* are secondary.

Analyzing the tasks, we noted that producing the dictionary entailed completing at least the following subtasks:

- CREATING A DATABASE: collecting, evaluating, entering, indexing, and ultimately archiving all significant lexical data available on the Sino-Tibetan languages.
- PERFORMING AN ETYMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DATA: phonological reconstruction and semantic analysis of the Sino-Tibetan lexicon at various diachronic levels, according to the accepted principles of linguistic reconstruction (i.e. the comparative method).
- PREPARING THE DATA FOR PUBLICATION: Several access points must be provided both for the initial data analysis and for the final publication. Extensive supporting material was required in the form of bibliography, explanations of coding conventions and abbreviations, and other front and back matter.
- DISSEMINATING THE RESULTS: the publishing of the physical Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus in two "tomes". The promulgation of the database and its analysis in machine-readable form for use by other scholars in the field.

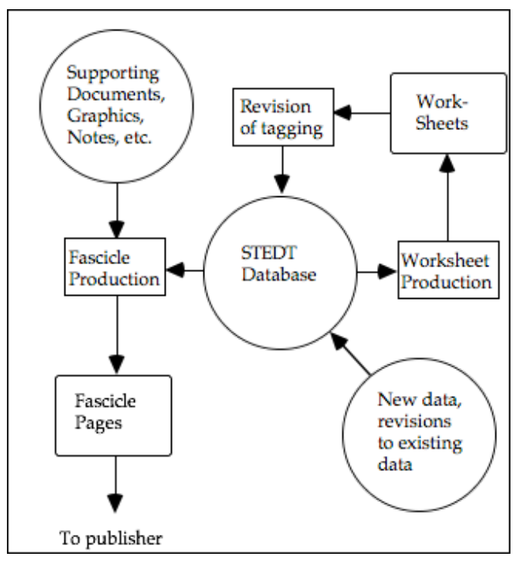


Figure 18: Etymologization and fascicle production, workflow circa 1990

Each of these tasks required a different approach and skillset. Some of them (e.g. "creating a database") were relatively conventional and well-understood, if a bit difficult in implement in the computational milieu at the time.

The Invention of "Tagging"

We needed a means, an implementable formalism, to record the relationship between modern forms and their reconstructed ancestor. Requirements:

- allows marking (extraction) of individual morphemes in modern forms
- no specific knowledge of the sound laws required
- tolerates phonosemantic variations and accommodates allofamic representations: extrusions, affixes,
- allows flexible (re-)organization of related allofams
- quick, easy, intuitive

Production of the final "camera-ready" Dictionary-Thesaurus

The layout of the printed D-T has changed little since it was first conceived of in 1987: Etyma are sequenced within a semantic hierarchy by phonological form and solidity of attestation. Under each etymon, the supporting forms are listed by language subgroup; within subgroup the forms are ordered by language name and then by gloss. This is implemented conceptually via a five-level sort key (semantic node, etyma sequence, language subgroup, language name, gloss) associated with each supporting form. The first version of the D-T was produced by a SPITBOL program which produced MS Word RTF files. These files were edited by hand to include the front and back matter, and to generate a table of contents. The latest and final version of the D-T is generated by a PERL script which extracts sorted data from the database and outputs a series of LaTeX files which are concatenated with front and back matter content to produce a "master document". This file is compiled using various LaTeX facilities to produce the table of contents, include the graphic components (mostly semantic flowcharts), the bibliography, and the backmatter indexes. The process is now fully automatic: a new updated version of the D-T in PDF format is produced nightly. This large document (1,126 11"x17" folio-sized pages) can be downloaded and examined at any time. The nightly file contains the latest database updates and any changes to the front and back matter text that have been checked in to the repository. Thus, the process of producing final camera ready copy is really simply a matter of choosing which nightly version to designate as the final D-T. A somewhat simplified example of a single cognate set is shown in Figure 5 below. Note the following significant details of the arrangement:

- The "5-level sort key" for Milang form shown would be: $2.1.1 + 11.00 + 2.1 + \text{Milang} + \text{skull}$
- A variety of other material is interpolated into the flow of the text, including notes at various levels, figures and diagrams, and commentary. In this case, a semantic flowchart has been associated with the chapter 2.1.1, and the supporting forms have two footnotes.
- The "cognate morpheme", that is, the portion of the transcribed lexical item that is deemed to be distinctly related to the etymon, is rendered in boldface – *in the context in which it is cited, it is important to note!*

[1] Portable Document Format, invented by Adobe in 1991, but only made opensource in 2008 as ISO 32000 1:2008, and so available for use by STEDT. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portable_Document_Format

[2] File Transfer Protocol, RFC114, http://tools.ietf.org/html/rfc114

[3] This term is still in use, but is rapidly becoming dated. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Word_processor

[4] HyperCard was supposed to create a revolution in software development, making it possible for ordinary mortals to write their own highly interactive applications.

[5] A dialect of SNOBOL IV.

[6] Rich Text Format, Microsoft's™proprietary markup language

[7] Contrast the progression of the STEDT project with the development of another similar, but smaller effort, the effort to produce the *Dictionary of Lahu*. This was an early computational lexicographic project of some complexity – a custom font was designed, as well as custom tools for formatting the final copy that was reproduced electrographically by UC Press. The effort is handsomely documented in DL and in its derivative the *English-Lahu Lexicon*.

[8] https://github.com/stedt-project

[9] http://search.cpan.org/ markstos/CGI-Application-4.50/lib/CGI/Application.pm

[10] Linux, Apache, MySQL, Perl.

[11] http://stedt.berkeley.edu/search.

[12] In a self-referential, or "meta" sort of way, it is possible to include a link to this *final PDF* both in this PDF and its printed equivalent, whichever you happen to be reading. The link, which will hopefully endure for some time to come is: http://stedt.berkeley.edu/dissemination/stedt.pdf

- Redundant information, e.g. repeated identical glosses, are elided from the display to increase readability and make the very complex display less busy.
- The source of every form cited is included alongside the form. This is a novel feature of the D-T.

As originally conceived, the D-T was to be published as a conventional printed reference work, probably as part of the linguistic series managed by the UC Press. However, times have changed and the demand for a printed work has diminished; the substantial cost of publishing a work of this sort is now deemed unnecessary: the PDF will be made available publicly, and a few "reference copies" of the two tome set will be produced for depository libraries, the Library of Congress and a few other interested parties. The bindery at the UC Berkeley Library has agreed to produce these tomes from the generated PDF at cost, provided a handsome imitation leather cover and a hand-stitched binding.

Acknowledgments

NSF and NEH Support

I am deeply grateful to the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities for their unswerving support of the *Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus* (STEDT) Project since 1987, even through times of budgetary stringency. I would especially like to thank Dr. Paul G. Chapin and Dr. Joan Maling, of the Language, Cognition, and Social Behavior division of NSF; and Dr. Guinevere Greist, Dr. Helen Agüera, Dr. Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak and Dr. Nadine Gardner of the Research Tools Division of NEH. I can only hope that the fruits of this project will repay their confidence and patience.

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* The National Science Foundation (NSF), Division of Behavioral & Cognitive Sciences, Grant Nos. BNS-86-17726, BNS-90-11918, DBS-92-09481, FD-95-11034, SBR-9808952, BCS-9904950, BCS-0345929, BCS-0712570, and BCS-1028192.
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Administrators

Several Organized Research Units and academic departments of the Berkeley campus have given their moral or practical support to the STEDT project, including the Center for Southeast Asia Studies, the Center for Chinese Studies, the Department of Linguistics, the Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, and especially the Institute of International and Area Studies, to whose administrative staff I am deeply obliged: Karin Beros, Management Services Officer and all-around trouble-shooter, who was instrumental in solving the practical problems of getting the project started back in 1987; Jerilyn C. Foushée, who has handled our budget and helped with our grant proposals and reports since 1987; and Nell Haskell (1987–95) and Kerttu K. McCray (1995–2002), who have kept track of personnel matters. Since 2009, the STEDT grants have been administered by the Linguistics Department, under the able stewardship of Paula Floro and Belén Flores.

Contributors

I would like to thank Anthony Meadow, founder of the Bear River Associates software development firm, now in Oakland, who generously gave many hours of his time during 1986–87 in *pro bono* consultations about how to formulate the computer needs of the project in our original grant proposals to NSF and NEH.

The importance of data contributors cannot be overstated, and STEDT would like to express the deepest gratitude to the many linguists, native speakers, and other individuals who advanced the project by contributing lexical and/or etymological data to the database. Below is a list of some of these contributors in alphabetical order of surname/family name. Some contributors have no doubt been inadvertently missed, and we apologize for any omissions. (Asterisks indicate contributions that have not (yet) been imported.)

- *Name* | *Contribution(s)*
- N. Achumi | Sumi
- M. Balawan (via Karl-Heinz Grüssner) | Tiwa
- Peri Bhaskararao | Mizo, Tiddim Chin
- Balthasar Bickel | Belhare*, Puma*
- Naomi Bishop | Sherpa Helambu
- Sri Chhimed Bodh | Spiti Tibetan
- David Bradley | Ugong, Bisu
- Philip & Cecilia Brassett | Tujia
- Seino van Breugel | Atong
- Daniel Bruhn | Central Naga languages
- Robbins Burling | Garo
- Robbins Buring & U.V. Joseph | Bodo-Garo languages*, Proto-Bodo-Garo*
- Christopher Button | Northern Chin languages*, Proto-Northern Chin*
- Ross Caughley | Chepang
- CHEN Kang | Tujia
- Katia Chirkova | Uppper Xumi*, Lizu*
- Terry Cooke | Manang*
- Alec Coupe | Mongsen Ao
- DAI Qingxia | various & sundry languages (including Deng, Himalayish, Tibetan, Qiangic, rGyalrongic, Nungic, Burmish, & Loloish languages)
- George van Driem | Dumi, Limbu
- Karen Ebert | Chamling*
- Jonathan Evans | Southern Qiang languages
- Jonathan Evans, John B. Lowe, & Jackson Tianshin Sun | Mandarin Chinese
- Michael Ferlus | Phunoi
- Carol Genetti | Newar
- Karen Grunow-Hårsta | Magar*
- Thien Haokip | Thado
- HE Zhiwu | Naxi*
- HUANG Chenglong | Yadu Qiang
- HUZIWARA Keisuke | Sak, Marma, Ganan*, Kadu*, Usoi Tripura*, Proto-Luish*
- François Jacquesson | Deori
- Tej Ratna Kansakar | Baram
- John King | Dhimal
- Tamara Kohn | Yakha
- Donald Kosha | Moyon
- Shree Krishan | Chaudangsi, Darma, Raji
- Randy LaPolla | Rawang, Dulong
- Paul Lewis | Akha
- LI Fanwen (via Richard Cook & Andrew West) | Tangut
- LI Shaoni | Jianchuan Bai*
- Liberty Lidz | Yongning Na
- Theraphan Luangthongkum | Karenic languages, Proto-Karen
- LUO Meizhen | Ahi
- Anton Lustig | Zaiwa*
- MA Erji | Daofu
- MA Xueliang | Sani
- Kamal Malla | Newar
- Ken Manson | Kayan
- LaRaw Maran et al. | Jingpho*
- James Matisoff | various & sundry languages
- Martine Mazaudon | Nepali*, Tamangic languages
- Boyd Michailovsky | Chepang, Kham, Kiranti languages, Proto-Kiranti, Magar, Nepali, Newar, Written Tibetan
- Alexis Michaud | Yonging Na, Laze
- Dinkapar Moral | Boro*, Garo*, Koch*, Tintekiya Koch*
- David Mortensen | Sorbung, Tankghulic languages, Proto-Tangkhulic
- NAGANO Yasuhiko et al. | rGyalrongic languages
- Vikuosa Nienu | Angami, Chokri, Lotha
- Michael Noonan et al. | Chantyal
- Jamin Pelkey | Phula languages
- Audra Phillips | Moulmein Pwo
- Heleen Plaisier | Lepcha
- Mark Post | Apatani*
- Mark Post et al. | Galo
- Krishna Prasad Rai, Anna Holzhausen, & Andreas Holzhausen (via Boyd Michailovsky) | Kulung
- Roland Rutgers | Yamphu
- Daya Ratna Shakya & David Hargreaves | Newar
- Suhnu Ram Sharma | Bunan, Byangsi, Manchati, Rongpo
- SHINTANI Tadahiko | Pyen
- Ch. Yashwanta Singh | Meithei
- Helga So-Hartmann | Southern Chin languages
- David Solnit | Eastern Kayah Li*, Pa-O Karen
- SUN Hongkai | various & sundry languages (including Qiangic, Bodic, rGyalrongic, & Loloish languages)
- Jackson Tianshin Sun | Caodeng, Mandarin Chinese, Mawo Qiang, rGBenzhen, Shili, Amdo Tibetan, Written Tibetan, "North Assam" languages, Tani languages, Proto-Tani
- Tabu Taid | Mising*
- T. Temsunungsang | Chungli Ao, Mongsen Ao
- TIAN Desheng | Tujia*
- TOBA Sueyoshi & Allen Kom | Kom Rem
- Prashanta Tripuri & Dan Jurafsky | Kokborok
- Kenneth VanBik | Kuki-Chin languages, Proto-Kuki-Chin
- Nienu Vikuosa | Angami, Chokri, Lotha
- WANG Ersong | Haoni*
- David & Nancy Watters | Kham
- Julian Wheatley | Luquan*
- XU Xijian | Langsu, Lashi, Zaiwa*
- Shiro Yabu | Khezha
- ZHANG Fengyu | Batang Tibetan
- ZHANG Liansheng | Written Tibetan
- ZHAO Yansun (via Grace Wiersma) | Bai

STEDTniks

Out of the approximately 70 individuals (undergraduates, graduate students, post-docs) who have worked at STEDT since 1987, I am here singling out 14 for special mention because of the significance of their contributions to the project. They are cited approximately in the order in which they have received their highest degrees from U.C. Berkeley or elsewhere. It should be understood that these brief mentions in no way do justice to the brilliance of their accomplishments, or to the love I feel for them all.

Randy J. LaPolla. (STEDT, 1987–90); Ph.D. Berkeley, 1990.) Has since taught at City University of Hong Kong, La Trobe University (Melbourne), and now at Nanyang Technological University (Singapore). Specialties include Nungish, Qiangic, comparative TB grammar. Edited early STEDT monographs and questionnaires.

Jackson (Tianshin) Sun. (STEDT 1990–1992; Ph.D. Berkeley, 1993.) Now teaching, conducting research, and administrating at Academia Sinica, Taipei. Specialties include Qiangic, rGyalrongic, and the NE Indian branch of Tibeto-Burman to which he assigned the now generally accepted name "Tani".

John B. Lowe (STEDT 1987–2000; 2010–2015; Ph.D. Berkeley, 1995.) An experienced library scientist and software engineer before joining STEDT as one of the founding members of the team, John's role has been crucial to the success of the project. He designed and implemented most of the computational apparatus used by STEDT over the years; he invented "tagging" and in 1987 presciently designed the organization and layout of the Dictionary-Thesaurus substantially as it is today.

Zev J. Handel. (STEDT 1991–1998; Ph.D. Berkeley, 1998.) Now Associate Professor of Chinese Language and Linguistics at University of Washington. Specialties include Chinese historical phonology, Sino-Xenic writing systems. Has contributed extensive notes on the Chinese comparanda cited in connection with TB etymologies in several STEDT publications.

Ju Namkung. (STEDT 1993–1997; M.A. Berkeley, 1995.) Currently a web and software developer in the Seattle area. She edited the widely used STEDT Monograph #3, Phonological Inventories of Tibeto-Burman Languages (1996). Editorial assistant (1996–1997) for the journal then published at STEDT, Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area (LTBA).

Jonathan P. Evans. (STEDT 1990–2005; Ph.D. Berkeley, 1999.) Now Associate Research Fellow at Academia Sinica, Taipei. Specialties include Qiangic grammar and historical phonology (especially the development of rudimentary tonal systems), and language contact between Chinese and coterritorial TB languages.

Richard S. Cook. (STEDT 1998–2011; Ph.D. Berkeley, 2003.) Independent researcher, specializing in the history of Chinese characters and the Chinese lexicographical tradition. Played a central role in the production of the Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman. Created electronic versions of several key reference works, which have become "ancillary STEDT databases".

Kenneth VanBik. (STEDT 1997–2006; Ph.D. Berkeley, 2006.) Now teaching at San Jose State University. A native speaker of Lai Chin and Burmese, he has contributed many PTB etymologies based on his newly discovered Chin/Burmese cognates. His dissertation was a full reconstruction of Proto-Kuki-Chin, with over 1350 cognate sets.

David Mortensen. (STEDT 2003–2006; Ph.D. Berkeley, 2006.) Now teaching at University of Pittsburgh. Originally with a background in the Hmong-Mien family, he now also specializes in the Tangkhulic branch of the Naga languages, as well as in theoretical phonology. Played a major role in the production of the English-Lahu Lexicon.

Nina J. Keefer. (STEDT 2000–2008; M.A./M.J. Berkeley [Group in Asian Studies, Graduate School of Journalism].) Editorial Assistant for LTBA (2001–2004) and my chief assistant in the production of the English-Lahu Lexicon. Background in Burmese culture and religion. Currently working as a forensic mental health nurse in Canada.

Liberty A. Lidz. (STEDT 1998, 2009-2014). Ph.D. University of Texas at Austin (2010). Specialist in languages of the Na(xi) group, closely related to Lolo-Burmese, and author of a dissertation grammar on Yongning Na. She did extensive data analysis for the STEDT project, having tagged roughly 43% of

the forms tagged in the database at the time of publication, as well as contributing a number of new etymologies and working closely with the P.I. to rectify existing PTB roots.

Dominic Yu. (STEDT 2004–2012; Ph.D. Berkeley, 2012.) Now employed as an International UI Software Engineer at Apple. Specialist in Qiangic languages, especially those in the Ersuic group. Formatted and produced The Tibeto-Burman Reproductive System (2008). He continues to make key contributions to the structure of the STEDT database and website.

Daniel W. Bruhn. (STEDT 2009–2014; Ph.D. Berkeley, 2014.) Now a Globalization Engineer at PayPal. Specialist in the languages of the Central Naga group. A Jack-of-all-trades, he has contributed significantly to all STEDT projects, including the incorporation of new sources into our database, modifications to our underlying code, improvements in our website, and formatting of our publications.

Chundra A. Cathcart. (STEDT 2011–2015; Ph.D. Berkeley, expected 2014–5.) Currently on the STEDT staff. Specializes in the comparative/historical study of the Indo-Aryan family, and frequently identifies loans from IA languages into Tibeto-Burman. Is assisting the P.I. in the preparation for publication of a large corpus of Lahu texts.

Visiting Scholars

The STEDT project has been greatly enriched by the specialized expertise, unpublished data, and intellectual stimulation provided by a succession of visiting scholars, who have spent anywhere from a few weeks to more than two years at the project headquarters. Two especially deserve special mention:

Martine Mazaudon. (STEDT 1987–89, 1990–91; Doctorat 3e Cycle, Paris V, 1971; Doctorat d'Etat, Paris III, 1994.) Now a Researcher Emerita at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris), specializing in the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Tamangic group of Central Nepal. Spent two full years at STEDT.

Boyd Michailovsky. (STEDT 1987–89, 1990–91; Ph.D. Berkeley, 1981; Doctorat 3e Cycle, Paris III, 1981; Doctorat d'Etat, Paris III, 2004.) Now a Researcher Emeritus at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris), specializing in the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Kiranti (Rai) group of Eastern Nepal. Spent two full years at STEDT.

DAI Qingxia and XU Xijian (Oct.–Nov. 1989) Nationalities University (Beijing), TB languages of China; ZHANG Jichuan (Nov. 1990) Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Beijing), Tibetan dialects; the late Rev. George Kraft (1990–99), Khams Tibetan; Nicolas Tournadre (Feb. 1991) University of Paris III, Tibetan; SUN Hongkai and LIU Guangkun (April–May, 1991) Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Beijing), TB languages of China; YABU Shiro (April–Aug. 1994) Osaka Foreign Languages University, Burmish languages and Xixia; William H. Baxter III (May, 1995) University of Michigan, Old Chinese; Balthasar Bickel (Sept.–Oct. 1996; Feb.–Mar. 1997) University of Zürich and Johann Gutenberg University (Mainz), Kiranti languages; LIN Ying-chin (1997–98) Academia Sinica, Taipei (Xixia, Muya); David B. Solnit (1998–) STEDT, Karenic; WU Sheng-hsiung (Spring, 2002) Taiwan Normal University, Chinese phonology; IKEDA Takumi (2002–03) Kyoto University, Qiangic languages; Yashawanta Singh Manipur University (Imphal) Meithei; Maung Maung (Aaron Tun) (2011) Payap University (Chiangmai), Lahu; LI Yan (2013–14) Shaanxi Normal University (Xi'an) Historical linguistics and dialectology.

Complete List of STEDTniks

Most of all, I am indebted to the phalanges of talented students, past and present, who have been working at STEDT anywhere from five to 20 or 30 hours per week, performing a host of vital tasks such as the inputting and proofreading of hundreds of thousands of lexical records, the development of special fonts and relational database software, computer maintenance and troubleshooting, formatting articles for our journal *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, and editing the publications in the STEDT Monograph Series. 70 researchers have contributed to the STEDT project since 1987, mostly graduate students working as research assistants in the Berkeley Linguistics and East Asian Languages and Cultures Departments, but also including several undergraduate volunteers and non-enrolled or former students. Here they are, in an alphabetical honor roll:

- Madeleine Adkins
- Jocelyn Ahlers
- Shelley Axmaker
- Kenny Baclawski
- Stephen P. Baron
- Leela Bilmes (Goldstein)
- Michael Brodhead
- Daniel Bruhn
- Chundra Cathcart
- Jeff Chan
- Patrick Chew
- Melissa Chin
- Isara Choosri
- Richard Cook
- Jeff Dale
- Amy Dolcourt
- Julia Elliot
- Jonathan P. Evans
- Allegra Giovine
- Cynthia Gould
- Daniel Granville
- Joshua Guenter
- Kira Hall
- Zev J. Handel
- Takumi Ikeda
- Alexander Jacobson
- Annie Jaisser
- Matthew Juge
- Daniel Jurafsky
- David Kamholz
- Nina Keefer
- Jean Kim
- Kyung-Ah Kim
- Heidi Kong
- Aimée Lahaussois (Bartosik)
- Randy J. LaPolla
- Jennifer Leehey
- Anita Liang
- Liberty Lidz
- John B. Lowe
- Jean McAneny
- Pamela Morgan
- David Mortensen
- Karin Myrhe
- Ju Namkung
- Toshio Ohori
- Weera Ostapirat
- Jeong-Woon Park
- Jason Patent
- Chris Redfearn
- S. Ruffin
- Keith Sanders
- Marina Shawver
- Elizabeth Shriberg
- Helen Singmaster
- Tanya Smith
- Gabriela Solomon
- Silvia Sotomayor
- Jackson Tianshin Sun
- Laurel Sutton
- Prashanta Tripura
- Margaret Urban
- Nancy Urban
- Kenneth VanBik
- Blong Xiong
- Dominic Yu
- Liansheng Zhang

Conventions

Abbreviations for Languages Commonly Referred to in the text

Gk. Greek
HM Hmong-Mien (= Miao-Yao)
IA Indo-Aryan
IE Indo-European
Jg. Jingpho (= Kachin)
KC Kuki-Chin
LB Lolo-Burmese
Lh. Lahu
MC Middle Chinese
NN Northern Naga
NT Northern Tai
OC Old Chinese
PIE Proto-Indo-European
PLB Proto-Lolo-Burmese
PNC Proto-Northern Chin
PNN Proto-Northern Naga
PST Proto-Sino-Tibetan
PTB Proto-Tibeto-Burman
Skt. Sanskrit
ST Sino-Tibetan
TB Tibeto-Burman
TK Tai-Kadai
WB Written Burmese
WT Written Tibetan

Conventions Used in Citing the Source of Individual Wordforms

The wide variety of sources included in the database make it difficult to provide a single pointer to a wordform in a source. Typically, an inline bibliographic citation includes something like the author's name, a year (with alphabetic disambiguator if needed) and a page number.

In the STEDT database, many sources do not have page numbers; and at any rate a page number is often not the most useful identifier. We therefore developed an informal system for marking provenance:

- If the source is short and has no page numbers, we have usually omitted source identfiers. A reader who is curious to examine the wordform in its context must locate the hardcopy and find the item using the collation and indexing conventions provided.
- For etymological sources, e.g. the *Conspectus* (*STC*), we used the etymological set number; since many forms are cited that do not belong to sets, we have indicated the page and note number where the form is to be found, e.g. 123n5.
- A number of sources utilize some sort of hierarchical (e.g. semantic) organization of the forms. In most of these cases, we used the hierarchical numbering system provided.

Miscellaneous

allofam a variant of an etymon

allofam box a computer display where all the allofams of an etymon are grouped together within a box on the screen

chapter the smallest section of a fascicle, containing all the etyma reconstructed with a given gloss, e.g. KIDNEY

extra-fascicular etyma etyma that are cited outside of their normal fascicle to illustrate a particular point

fascicle a major section of a STEDT volume, comprising many chapters with closely related glosses, e.g. INTERNAL ORGANS

metastatic flowchart a diagram illustrating the patterns of semantic association displayed by an etymon

meso-reconstruction reconstruction of an etymon at the subgroup level, deemed to be descended from that same etymon at a higher taxonomic level

meso-root an etymon reconstructed at the subgroup level

pan-allofamic formula (PAF) an abstract reconstruction intended to display simultaneously all the patterns of variation attested for a given etymon

rectification the process by which etymologies are subjected to reanalysis, to determine whether they should be accepted as is, accepted with modifications, or rejected

root canal the process through which a STEDT etymology is made public, so that it can be commented upon

semantic flowchart SEE metastatic flowchart

semcat a semantic category; each STEDT etymology is assigned to one or more of them

supporting forms forms from individual languages that support an etymology

volume one of the ten major divisions of STEDT, e.g. BODY-PARTS

weakly attested root a promising etymology, but with insufficient support

> goes to; becomes

< comes from; is derivable from

* indicates a reconstructed form (e.g. PTB ***b-ləy**), or acts as a synonym for "proto-" (e.g. *labials, *Kuki-Chin)

A ⋉ B A and B are co-allofams; A and B are members of the same word-family

A ?⋉? B Are A and B co-allofams? Do A and B belong to the same word family?

A ⋉̸ B A and B are not co-allofams; A and B do not belong to the same word family

Clf. classifier

lit. literally

ult. ultimately

Abbreviations for People

AH André-Georges Haudricourt
B & S (William H.) Baxter & (Laurent) Sagart
JAM James A. Matisoff
JS Jackson Sun
KVB Ken VanBik
WHB William H. Baxter
WTF Walter T. French (cf. French 1983)
ZJH Zev J. Handel

Abbreviations for Sources and Venues

AD *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (Karlgren 1923)

DL *The Dictionary of Lahu* (Matisoff 1988a)

GL *The Grammar of Lahu* (Matisoff 1973/1982)

GSR *Grammata Serica Recensa* (Karlgren 1957)

GSTC/G&C *God and the Sino-Tibetan Copula* (Matisoff 1985a)

HCT *A Handbook of Comparative Tai* (LI Fang Kuei 1977)

HPTB Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman (Matisoff 2003a)

ICSTLL International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics

LTBA *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*

(L)TSR *The Loloish Tonal Split Revisited* (Matisoff 1972b)

STC *Sino-Tibetan: a Conspectus* (Benedict 1972)

TBL 藏缅语族语言词汇 *[A Tibeto-Burman lexicon]* (HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992)

TBRS *The Tibeto-Burman Reproductive System: Toward an Etymological Thesaurus* (Matisoff 2008)

VSTB Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman: The 'Organic' Approach to Linguistic Comparison (Matisoff 1978b)

ZMYYC 藏缅语语音和词汇 *[Tibeto-Burman phonology and lexicon]* (SUN Hongkai et al. 1991)

Volume 1

The Body

1.1 Body Parts

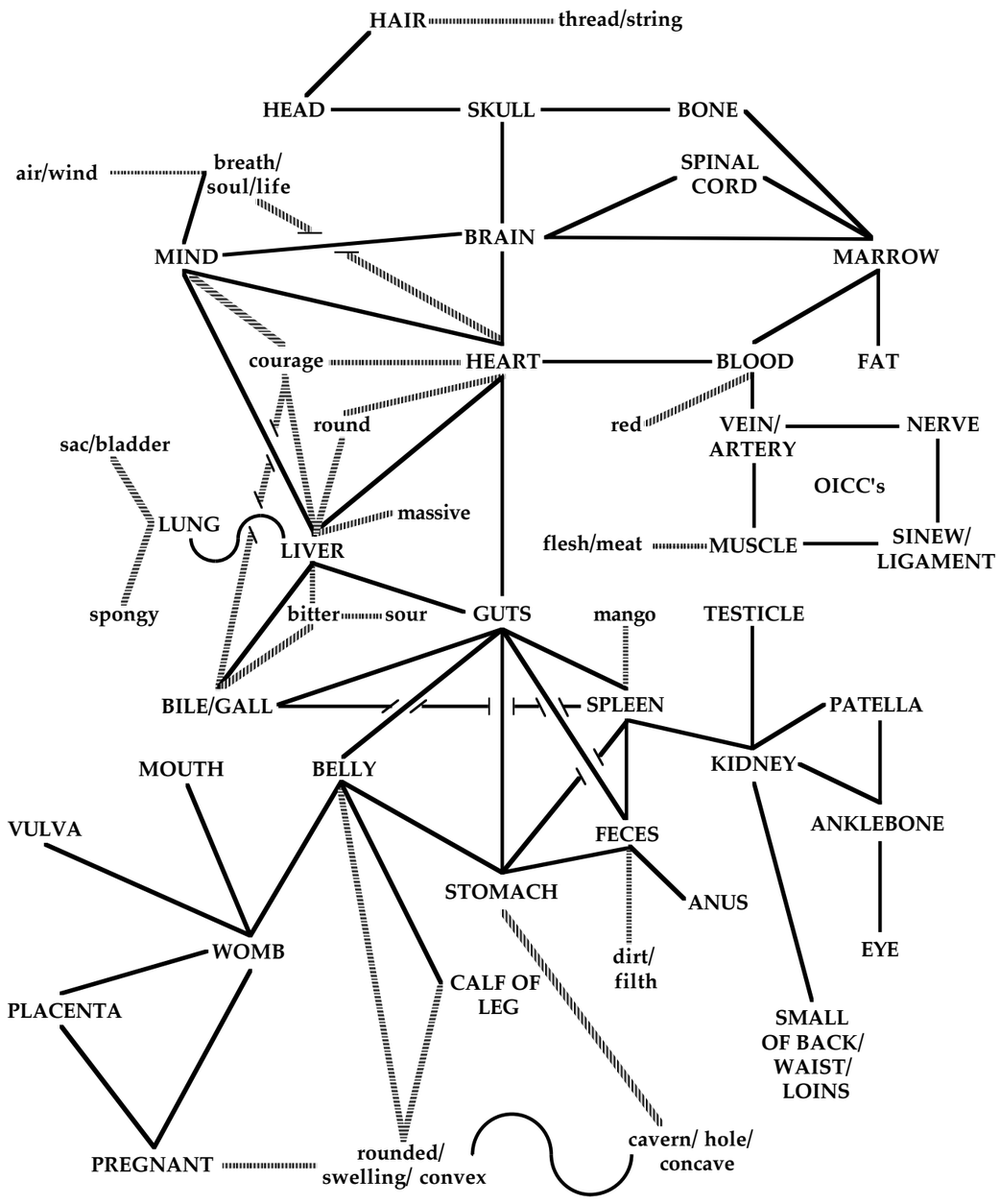

Figure 19: 1.1 *Body Parts*

1.1.1 Body

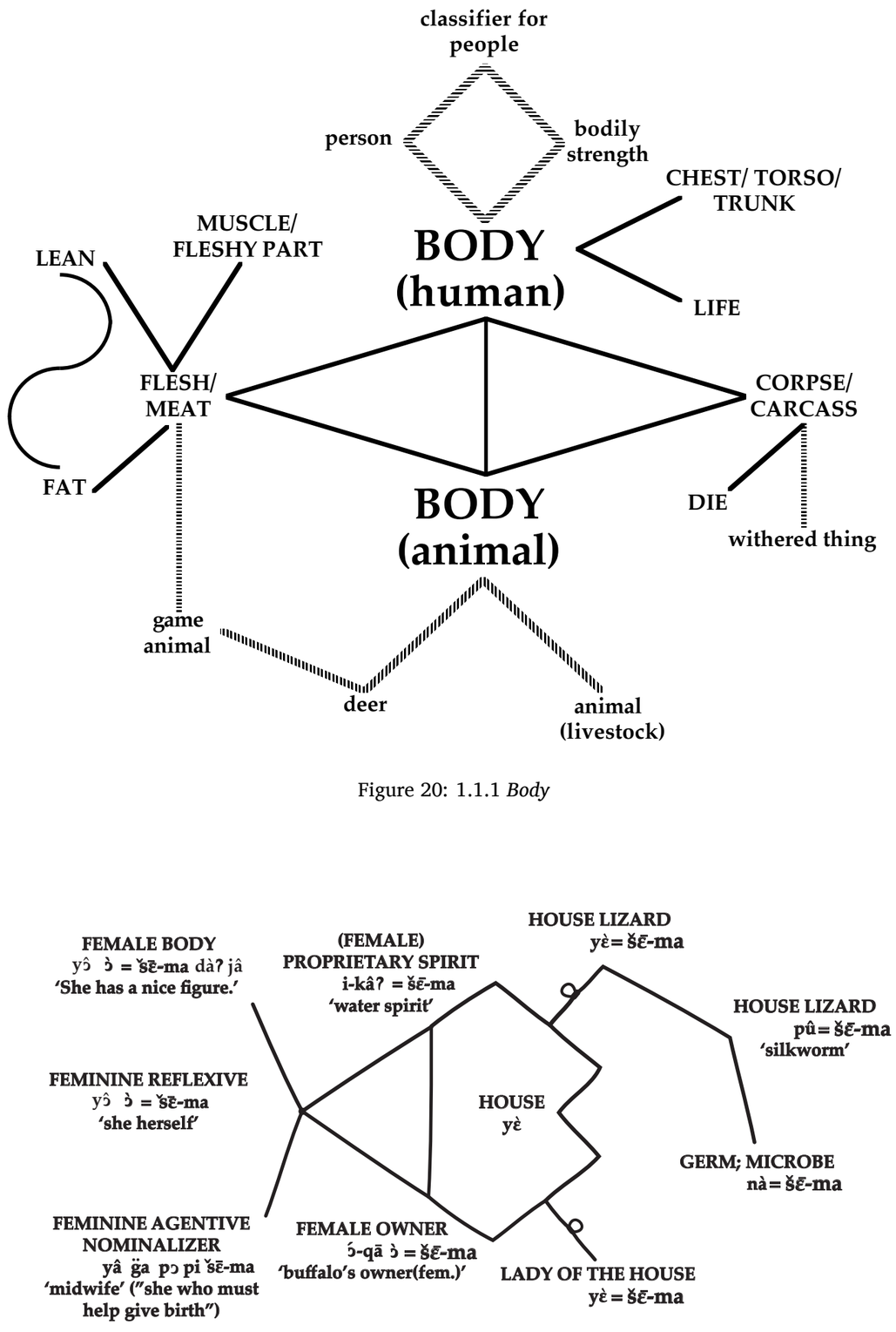

Figure 20: 1.1.1 *Body*

(1) PTB *sya-n ⩬ *sin FLESH / ANIMAL / BODY / AGENTIVE NOMINALIZER

This richly attested root must be considered distinct from PTB ***r-sa*** VEIN / SINEW / INTERNAL CHANNEL / PULSE (§1.6.6), although certain forms (especially those meaning ‘muscle’) seem to show overlap between the two roots.

The **-n** suffix is directly attested in Jingpho, Geman/Kaman, and Chinese.

This morpheme appears as a prefix in numerous animal names and words for parts of the body. See *HPTB*:102 and *STC*:106-108.

We are positing an allofamic relationship between the forms with medial ***-ya-*** and ***-i-***. See *HPTB*: 278, 306, 449.

(1a) PTB *sya-n FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***sya**	meat; flesh; meat, flesh; flesh, meat, animal	Weidert 1987:289; Michailovsky 1991:116; LaPolla 1987:127; Benedict 1972:181
	***sya**-yəw	rat	Matisoff 2003a:620
	***sya-n**	animal / body / flesh / meat	Matisoff 2003a:613
	***śɑ**	flesh; meat; animal	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1100a-f; Chou Fa-kao 1972:386a-c
**Tibeto-Karen*	***sɑ(B)**	flesh / meat / animal	Chou Fa-kao 1972:386a-c
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Miji	**ʃu**-cuŋ	flesh, meat	Simon 1979 [a]
1.1.1. Tani			[b]
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	(**sɯ**-)hɯ-bo	bull	Sun 1993b
	su-bu	mithun	Sun 1993b
	su-bu a-tu	mithun (calf); calf, of mithun	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	su-bu **sɯ**-bo	mithun (male)	Sun 1993b
	su-bu **sɯ**-k^{h}rja	mithun sacrifice	Sun 1993b
	su-bu **sɯ**-nə	mithun (cow)	Sun 1993b
	sɯ	cattle	Sun 1993b
	sɯ (hɯ-nə)	cow	Sun 1993b
	sɯ à-tu	calf (of cattle)	Sun 1993b
	sɯ bu-bo	bull	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-a-so-nɯ	cattle (domestic)	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-be	mithun (young)	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-bo	mithun	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-gua	cattle shed	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-liŋ	wild mithun	Sun 1993b
Bengni	bəŋ-ni **si**-bɯː	mithun	Sun 1993b
Miri, Hill	**so**	cow	Simon 1976
	so-bɤ	mithun [bull]	Simon 1976
	so-do	half-grown mithun	Simon 1976
	so-min sor	animal kid	Simon 1976
	so cer	deer	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	rok-***ɕaː**	chicken (meat)	Sun 1993b
Milang	**su**-ɟi	she mithun	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	aː **shyaː**	mithun	NEFA (India) 1963
	aː **shyaː**-aː	mithun (calf)	NEFA (India) 1963
	aː **shyaː**-kaːri	mithun (bull)	NEFA (India) 1963
	aː **shyaː**-kru	mithun (cow)	NEFA (India) 1963
	shyaː-aː	calf (of a mithun)	NEFA (India) 1963
Kaman [Miju]	**ɕɑ̈i**^{53}	body	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***s^{h}aa** ANIMAL / FLESH / MEAT			
**Chin*	***sha**-thaar	ANTELOPE / GOAT (wild) / SEROW	VanBik 2009:372
	***sha**-yaa	IBEX / WILD GOAT	VanBik 2009:1208
	***sha**-yuk	DEER (male) / ANTLER	VanBik 2009:1195
	***shaa**	ANIMAL / FLESH / MEAT	VanBik 2009:686
	*tak-**shaa**	BODY	VanBik 2009:181
Anal	**sa**-kɔŋ	skin	Matisoff 1987
	sa-thɛ	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
Ngawn	**sa**-thau	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	**sa**	flesh / meat	Haokip 1998:1.11
Paite	**sa** za	ibex	VanBik 2009:1208
	tak **sa**	body	VanBik 2009:181
Sizang	**sā**	flesh	VanBik 2009:686
	sa ham	otter	VanBik 2009:1091
	sa hāng	tiger	VanBik 2009:1101
Thado	**sâ**-zûʔ	deer (big sp.with multiple horns)	VanBik 2009:1195
	sâa	animal, meat	VanBik 2009:686
	sá ŋàn	mule	Thirumalai 1972:38
	sā kɔ̀l	horse	Thirumalai 1972:26
	tàʔ **sâa**	body	VanBik 2009:181
Tiddim	**sa**-than	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	sa-vun	skin	Matisoff 1987
	sa^{1}	flesh	VanBik 2009:686; Bhaskararao 1996:1482
	sa^{1} geːp^{1}	dried meat	Bhaskararao 1996:1486
	sa^{1} haːng^{2}	tiger (”wild animal”)	VanBik 2009:1101; Bhaskararao 1996:1488
	sa^{1} kol^{3}	horse	Bhaskararao 1996:1491
	sa^{1} kol^{1} khaːu^{2}	whip	Bhaskararao 1996:1490
	sa^{1} phu^{3} lip^{3}	armadillo	Bhaskararao 1996:1497
	sa^{1} pi^{1}	wild beast	Bhaskararao 1996:1496
	sa^{1} thak^{1}	wild goat	Bhaskararao 1996:1499
	sa^{1} vun^{1}	leather	Bhaskararao 1996:1500
	sa^{1} zuk^{3}	big deer	VanBik 2009:1195; Bhaskararao 1996:1501
	sa^{1}thak^{1}	wild goat	VanBik 2009:372
	s‘ɑ^{3}	flesh	Luce 1985:P.5
	tak^{3} **sa**^{1}	body	VanBik 2009:181; Bhaskararao 1996:1673
	¯zŭ´ **saː**	rats and mice / vermin (n + n.)	Henderson 1965
	´**saː**	flesh / meat; game (wild) (n.)	Henderson 1965
	´**saː**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	´**saː**´nɛː	eating meat (n + vI.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**a‘só**	flesh	VanBik 2009:686
Asho (Sandoway)	**s‘o**^{2}	flesh	Luce 1985:P.5
Chinbon	**s^{h}o**	flesh	So-Hartmann 1988:100
Cho (Mindat)	**hla**	jungle animal	VanBik 2009:686
Daai	**sha**	flesh	VanBik 2009:686
	s^{h}á	flesh	So-Hartmann 1988:100
Matu	**s^{h}a**	flesh	So-Hartmann 1988:100
	s^{h}ə juʔ	deer	So-Hartmann 1988:61

[a] The final nasal in Miji **-cuŋ** is unexplained.

[b] Several of these Tani forms refer specifically to cattle rather than to animals in general. It is thus possible that they descend from a distinct root.

Matupi	**s‘ɑ**[4]	flesh	Luce 1985:P.5
Mkaang	**s**[h]**a**	flesh	So-Hartmann 1988:100
Ngmüün	**s**[h]**a**	flesh	So-Hartmann 1988:100
Nyhmoye	**s**[h]**á**	flesh	So-Hartmann 1988:100
Womatu	**sɑ**[3] (human)	flesh	Luce 1985:P.5

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**s‘ɑ**[1]	flesh	Luce 1985:P.5
Lai (Hakha)	**sa**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	sa-phɔ	skin	Matisoff 1987
	sa-thâar	antelope, wild goat	VanBik 2009:372
Lai (Falam)	**sà**-zâ	wild goat	VanBik 2009:1208
Lai (Hakha)	**sa**-zàa	ibex	VanBik 2009:1208
	sa-zuk	deer (male), antler	VanBik 2009:1195
	sàa	animal, flesh, meat	VanBik 2009:686
Lai (Falam)	**sâa**	animal, flesh, meat	VanBik 2009:686
Lai (Hakha)	**sàay**-hrĕm	otter	VanBik 2009:1091
	sai-hrem	otter	VanBik 1995–
	s‘ɑ[1]	flesh	Luce 1985:P.5
Lai (Falam)	tàk-**sâa**	body	VanBik 2009:181
Lai (Hakha)	tak-**sàa**	body	VanBik 2009:181
Laizo	**sa**-thau	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	**sa**	meat	Marrison 1967
	sâ	flesh, meat, animal	VanBik 2009:686
	śa	meat, flesh	LaPolla 1987:127
	sa	animal	Benedict 1972:181
	śa	flesh, meat, animal	Benedict 1972:181
	sà hráang	a term applied to the larger and more wild animals, e.g. bear, elephant, wild gayal, wild pig	VanBik 2009:1101
	sa-hrăm	otter (n.)	VanBik 2009:1091
	sa-hram	otter	LaPolla 1987:154; Benedict 1972:108n304; Benedict 1972:438
	sa-hriak	fat; oil; grease; oil, grease (sa flesh); oil, grease	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:204; Coblin 1986:82
	sa̱-hŋâ	fish	Weidert 1987:275
	sa-hŋa	fish	Benedict 1972:136n369
	sa-kor	horse	Bhaskararao 1996:1491
	sà-nghâ	fish (n.)	VanBik 2009:853
	sà-nghàl	wild pig	VanBik 2009:847
	sa̱-vâ	bird	Weidert 1987:141
	sa-va	bird	Bhaskararao 1996:1930; Benedict 1972:99
	sà-váwm	bear, the Himalayan black bear (n.)	VanBik 2009:1132
	sa-vom	bear (n.)	Benedict 1972:461
	sa-vun	leather	Bhaskararao 1996:1500
	sa̱-zâ	goat (wild)(1)	Weidert 1987:151; Weidert 1987:63
	sà-zâ	wild goat	VanBik 2009:1208
	sà-zû	rat	VanBik 2009:1219
	sa-zu	rat; rat, rabbit	Bhaskararao 1996:2062; Benedict 1972:93
	sa-zu-pui	hare (= big rat)	Benedict 1972:99n284
	sà-zùk	sambar deer or Indian elk (n.)	VanBik 2009:1195
	sa-zuk	sambar deer; deer (sambhur)	Bhaskararao 1996:1501; Benedict 1972:386
	sa hram	otter	Marrison 1967
	sa hriak	oil	Marrison 1967
	sa kawr	horse	Marrison 1967
	sa ngha	fish	Marrison 1967
	sa nghal	pig (wild)	Marrison 1967
	sa va	bird	Marrison 1967
	sa vawm	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967
	sa vun	leather	Marrison 1967
	sa zu	rat; mouse	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	sa zuk	deer (sambhur); deer (generic)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	sa zûu	rat	Löffler 1985
	sha	flesh	Bhaskararao 1996:1482
	s‘ɑ[2]	flesh	Luce 1985:P.5
	tàk **sâ**	body	VanBik 2009:181
	tak-**sa**	body	Matisoff 1987; Bhaskararao 1996:1673; Marrison 1967 [a]
	ti **sa**	flesh	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	**s‘ɑ’**[1]	flesh	Luce 1985:P.5
Lakher [Mara]	pô-pa(-**sa**)	body	Matisoff 1987
	sa	flesh, meat, muscles	Matisoff 1987
	sá	flesh, meat	VanBik 2009:686
	sā-thàw	wild goat (n.)	VanBik 2009:372
	sa-thawh	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	sā-vó	skin, hide, leather	VanBik 2009:1169
	sah	muscle	Matisoff 1987
	sah-vo	skin	Matisoff 1987
	sāw-záw	ibex	VanBik 2009:1208
	[2]**sə**[2]thɔ	fat (n.)	Weidert 1987:98
	[2]**sə** [1]khi	barking deer	Weidert 1987:188
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**s‘ɑ**[3]	flesh	Luce 1985:P.5
	ʃɑ[3]	flesh	Luce 1985:P.5
Mera	ă[1]**s‘ʌ**[1]	flesh	Luce 1985:P.5
Xongsai	**sɑ**[2]	flesh	Luce 1985:P.5
Zotung	a´**s‘ɔ**[5]	flesh	Luce 1985:P.5
	sɔ	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Kom Rem	**šə**	flesh	Toba & Kom 1991:1.11
	tək **sə**	body	Toba & Kom 1991:1.1
	tək **sə** bək	body part measurement	Toba & Kom 1991:13
	ə kə t[h]i **šə**	carcass / dead animal	Toba & Kom 1991:1.15
	ə kə t[h]i tək **sə**	corpse / dead body	Toba & Kom 1991:1.14

1.3. “Naga” Areal Group

Maring	**sa** puk	horse	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-ʃaʔ*** ANIMAL / MEAT, FLESH

**Central Naga*	*a-**ʃaʔ**	ANIMAL / MEAT, FLESH	Bruhn 2014a:III.015
**Ao*	*(a-)**ʃaʔ**	ANIMAL / MEAT	Bruhn 2014a:II.088
	***ʃa**-ŋa	MONKEY	Bruhn 2014a:II.267
Ao (Chungli)	**shi**	meat; flesh	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	shi ngo	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
	shi rong	jackal	Marrison 1967
	shi ruru	animal	Marrison 1967
	shi ti	elephant	Marrison 1967
	shi tsü	deer (barking)	Marrison 1967
	shi wu	serow	Marrison 1967
	si[2]ti?[2]	elephant (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.088
	si[2].ɹu[3].ɹu[1]	animal (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.088
	si[3]tsək[3]	wild cat (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	si[3]tsə[3]	monkey (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	si[1]ləm[2]	share, portion (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	si[1]ŋu[1]	monkey (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.267
	si[1].ɹuŋ[1]	fox (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	si?[1]	meat, flesh (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.088
	ta **shi**-tulu	strong	Marrison 1967
	[1]**ši?**	meat / flesh	Weidert 1987:289
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **sa**	meat; flesh	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	sa mo, tü so	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sa nga	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
	sa rar	animal	Marrison 1967
	sa ti	elephant	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	áwk-**sà?**	pork (’pig’ + ’meat’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	ini **sa?**	rabbit (n.)	Coupe 2007
	màsà-**sà?**	beef (’ox’ + ’meat’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	mətshə-**sà?**	venison (’deer’ + ’meat’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	phàtàk-**sa?**	duck meat (’duck’ + ’meat’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	sa-ɹət khàmpaŋ	ivory armlet (’animal’ + ’bone’ + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	sà-ti	elephant (probably ’animal’ + ’big’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	sà ŋa tʃa	macaque (Assamese, pig-tailed) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	sà ɹàɹə	animal (n.)	Coupe 2007
	sa ləm	share (n.)	Coupe 2007
	wà zà-**sà?**	bird meat (’bird’ + ’meat’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-hən-**sà?**	chicken meat (’chicken’ + ’meat’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-ji-**sà?**	dog meat (’dog’ + ’meat’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-khu-**sà?**	tiger meat (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**sá?**	flesh, meat (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**sa**-mi	rump, buttocks (’meat’ + ’tail’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**so?**[2]	meat (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.015
	so[2]-tsə?[1]	elephant (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.015
	khu **so**	monkey (huluk)	Marrison 1967
	li **so**	porcupine	Marrison 1967
	ō **sō**	meat	Acharya 1975
	ō **só**	meat	Acharya 1975
	o **so**	flesh; meat	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:72; Nienu 1990c:1.11
	o **so** ngo	animal	Marrison 1967
	so fu	leather	Marrison 1967
	so siro	bat (animal)	Marrison 1967
	so tsü	elephant	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:37
	só tsə	elephant	Acharya 1975
	só zə	muscle	Acharya 1975
	yak **so**	monkey (generic); monkey	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:75
	[1]o [2]**so(?)**	meat	Weidert 1987:140
Sangtam	**shu**	meat	Marrison 1967
	shu küp	leather	Marrison 1967
	shu tsa	flesh	Marrison 1967
	shu za	monkey / langur	Kumar 1973a
Yacham-Tengsa	**su** chi	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
	su ti	elephant	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	([1])**ši?**	meat / flesh	Weidert 1987:289
	rim **shih**	animal	Kumar 1973b:50
	rim **shi** yi	animal	Marrison 1967
	shi	meat; flesh	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	shih nam	wool	Kumar 1973b:30
	shih ngü	langur	Kumar 1973b:86
	shi küp	leather	Marrison 1967
	shi yüh	animal	Kumar 1973b:50

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	[1]**tshɯ**	meat; flesh	Weidert 1987:140; Weidert 1987:289
Angami (Kohima)	**chhü**	meat	Marrison 1967
	c[h]**ü**[11]	flesh / meat	Nienu 1990a:1.11
	u **chü**	flesh	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**thi**, thümu	meat	Marrison 1967
	thi[11]	flesh / meat	Nienu 1990b:1.11
	thi ze	deer (barking)	Marrison 1967
	u **thi**	flesh	Marrison 1967
	[1]**thi**	meat / flesh	Weidert 1987:289
Khezha	[1]e [3]**tθhɯ**	meat / flesh	Weidert 1987:289
Mao	o **so**	meat; flesh	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	[2]o [4]**so**	meat / flesh	Weidert 1987:289
Meluri	a **sa**	meat; animal	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **sa**	meat; animal; flesh	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	a **sa** hu	leather	Marrison 1967
	a **sa** ketiwa	elephant	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **shi**	meat; flesh	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:1.11
	a **sho** mhi	tail	Marrison 1967
	a **sho** mi	tail (of animal)	Achumi 1998a:5.10.3

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	a **sa**	meat; animal; flesh	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Maram	a **sa**	animal	Marrison 1967
	sa yong	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***sa*** FLESH / MEAT / ANIMAL

**Tangkhulic*	***sa**	flesh / meat / animal	Mortensen 2012:334
Huishu	ʔa-**se**	animal; flesh; meat	Mortensen 2012:Animals.001
Kachai	ʔa-**su**	animal / flesh / meat / skin	Mortensen 2012:Animals.001
Tangkhul	a **sa**	flesh	Marrison 1967
	ā **sā**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	sa	animal; meat	Bhat 1969:84; Bhat 1969:92; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	sā roŋ	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
Tusom	ʔi-**si**	flesh	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.015
Ukhrul	**sa**	meat; animal; skin	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**sa**	skin (human); meat	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	hak **shâ**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	sà	animal; meat(1); cattle(1); deer(1); meat; flesh	Weidert 1987:289; Weidert 1987:41
	sa	meat	Marrison 1967
	sa-un	leather	Marrison 1967
	sa bu	porcupine	Marrison 1967

[a] Lushai (Mizo) **tak-** ≍ **sak-** reflects ***s-*** ≍ ***ts-***.

[a] The laryngeality of **hak** is unexplained.

	sa doŋ	flesh / meat	Singh 1991:1.11
	sa gol	horse	Marrison 1967
	sa ji	deer (barking)	Marrison 1967
	sa mu	elephant	Marrison 1967
	sa mu mə ya	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Singh 1991:3.10.6
	sa namba	otter	Marrison 1967
	sə un	hide / leather	Singh 1991:8.2.6
	un, un **sa**	skin	Marrison 1967
	un **sa**	skin	Singh 1991:8.2
	ə si bə **sa**	carcass / dead animal	Singh 1991:1.15

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **si**	flesh; meat; organ of body	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

1.6. MRU

Mru	**ʃĭ** mi^{3}	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
	ʃŏ^{3}	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
	ʃo^{3}	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
	ʃĕ ʀeʔ^{2}	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
	ʃĕ myi^{3}	tail	Luce 1985:T.15

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	dao **sa**	chicken	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	bə-**ša?**	body, self	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	mɤi **sa?**	meat; flesh; flesh-meat	Weidert 1987:140; Weidert 1987:289; Weidert 1987:41 [a]

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	^{1}**sʌ**-vʌt	leech (land)(1)	Weidert 1987:698
Tangsa	-^{1}**sa(ʔ)**	meat / flesh	Weidert 1987:289
	^{3}ñʌm-^{1}**sa(ʔ)**	animal; meat(1); cattle(1); deer(1)	Weidert 1987:140; Weidert 1987:41

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chaŋ	**šu** mei	meat / flesh	French 1983:521

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	krép ⩙ **śə** krép	bug, ant: bedbug	Benedict 1972:347
	śan	flesh / meat / deer	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:386a-c
	šàn	flesh / meat / animal	Matisoff 1974:216
	śan	meat, flesh; flesh; flesh, meat, deer flesh; deer; flesh, meat, dear	LaPolla 1987:127; Benedict 1972:158n428,181; Benedict 1972:99n284
	shan	meat; flesh	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	shàn	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	śɑn (low tone)	body	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:386a-c
	tšít-**sà**	deer	Matisoff 1974:357
	^{1}**šan**	meat / flesh	Weidert 1987:289
	ə **shàn**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	ʃan^{31}	meat, flesh	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ʃan^{31}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.19
	ʃan^{31}	meat / flesh	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.47
	ʃan^{31}kap^{31}	hunt	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1230.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:686.47
	ʃan^{31}sin^{33}	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.19
	ʃan^{31}ŋa^{33}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.19
	ʃan^{31}ŋa^{33}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.47
	ʃan^{31}ʃă^{31}tʃu̲t^{55}kui^{31}	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.19 [b]

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Ganan	**ʃă** le^{1}	skin	Luce 1985:L.161
	ʃă re^{1}	skin	Luce 1985:L.161
Kadu	**sa**-lê	skin	Matisoff 1987
Kadu (Kantu)	**s'a** le^{3}	skin	Luce 1985:L.161

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Baram	ku **sja**	meat	Kansakar 2010:84
	sja	cow	Kansakar 2010:89
Bunan	**šà**	flesh / meat	Sharma 1991a:1.11
Byangsi	**ʃyà:**	meat, flesh (n.)	Sharma 2003:907
Chaudangsi	**ɕya**	meat	Krishan 2003:803
Darma	**ɕya**	flesh; meat	Krishan 2003:783; Krishan 2003:785
Kanauri	**ša**	meat / flesh	Sharma 1988:20,30,57
	śa	meat, flesh	LaPolla 1987:127
	śya	flesh, meat, game	Benedict 1972:181
	s̲h̲ā phō	porcupine (n.)	Bailey 1911
	s̲h̲yā	game / meat (n.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**ça**	meat, flesh	Sharma 1982
	šà	flesh / meat	Sharma 1991b:1.11
Rongpo	**ʃa**	meat, flesh (n.)	Sharma 2003:1237

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	**shɑ**^{13} kɛ^{35}	flesh / meat	SUN Hongkai 1991a:1.11
	ʃhɑ^{13} kɛ^{35}	muscle	SUN Hongkai 1991a:8.8
	ʃo^{13} nbɑ^{35}	fur (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:8.1.4
Kaike	**syā**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	**sha**	meat; flesh	Andvik 1993:83; Egli-Roduner 1987:36 5
Tsangla (Motuo)	**śa**	meat, flesh	LaPolla 1987:127
	ɕa	meat; flesh; meat, flesh	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.7
	ɕa^{55}	meat, flesh	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	ga-**sha**	deer	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ɕa	meat, flesh	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ɕɑ**^{55}	meat, flesh	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	ɕɑ^{55}wɑ^{55}	deer	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**cʌ**^{13} k^{h}ʌ^{53}	fat (of humans)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	śa^{53}	meat, flesh	LaPolla 1987:127
	ɕʌ^{53} cem^{53}	lean (of meat)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕʌ^{53} cʌr^{13}	fat (of humans)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕa:^{55}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.6
	ɕʌ^{53}	meat; flesh; meat, flesh	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.6
Motuo Menba	**ɕa**	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.07; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.07
Cuona Menba	kam^{55}**ɕa**^{53}	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.06
	ɕa:^{55}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.06
	ɕa^{53}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.06; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**xa**	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.05
	xha	meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.05
	xhæ	flesh / muscle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**xha**	meat / flesh	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**xa**	deer	Sun 1985a:182
	xha	meat / flesh	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.5
	xæ	flesh, meat	Sun 1985a:480
Tibetan (Balti)	**ša·**	meat	Rangan 1975:73
Tibetan (Batang)	**xha**^{53}	flesh / meat	DAI Qingxia 1989a:1.11
	xha^{53}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.03; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.03
	xha^{53}n̥ɑ^{55}mo^{53}	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.03
	xha^{55}mbu^{53}	maggot (meat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**´syāq**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**xha**^{53}	meat / flesh	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ɕa**^{53}	meat / flesh	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.2
	ɕa^{55}	meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.02
	ɕa^{55} kam^{55}po^{55}	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.02
	ɕa^{55}ɕe^{52}	flesh / muscle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.02
Sherpa	**šaq**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**sha**	flesh / meat	Bishop 1989:1.11
	shyah	muscle	Bishop 1989:8.8
Spiti	**šà**	flesh / meat	Bodh 1991:1.11
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ʃá**	meat	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	brla-**sà**	thigh-flesh / muscles of thigh	Matisoff 1987
	ḥgram-**sa**	flesh of cheek	Matisoff 1987
	nu-**sà**	chest / thoracic muscle	Matisoff 1987
	nya-**sa**	flesh of fish	Jäschke 1881:p.184
	pʻag-**sɑ**	pork	Jäschke 1881
	rmen-pa ⩙ **śa**-rmen	gland, wen	Benedict 1972:104
	sa	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
	śa	meat, flesh; flesh, meat, animal	LaPolla 1987:127; Benedict 1972:181
	śa-ba ⩙ **śwa**-ba	hart, stag	Benedict 1972:181
	sha	flesh, meat	Sun 1985c:480
	sha.bu	maggot	Sun 1985c:465
	shwa.ba	deer	Sun 1985c:182
	sà	flesh; meat; muscle	Luce 1985:X.14; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987:74
	sa-búr	boil; abscess; ulcer	Matisoff 1987
	sa-ḥdzer	wart	Matisoff 1987
	sa-ma	placenta	Matisoff 1987
	sa-rmen	gland; swelling of gland; wen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	sɑ-bi-lig	mouse / rat (W.)	Jäschke 1881
	sɑ-bo	sheep / cattle / other animals	Jäschke 1881
	sɑ-kʻyí	dog (shaggy) / poodle	Jäschke 1881
	sɑ-pʻrúg	deer (young) / fawn	Jäschke 1881
	sɑ-sbráŋ	fly (flesh) / blue-bottle-fly	Jäschke 1881
	sɑ-zá	animal (carnivorous) /	Jäschke 1881
	sɑ-zán	animal (carnivorous) /	Jäschke 1881
	śá-bɑ	hart / stag	Jäschke 1881
	śá-bɑ ru-léb	reindeer (domesticated)	Jäschke 1881
	sɑ́-di	ape / monkey	Jäschke 1881
	sɑ́-ḥbu	maggot	Jäschke 1881
	sɑ́-mo	hind / roe	Jäschke 1881
	sɑ́-pʻo	hart / stag (male)	Jäschke 1881
	ʃa	meat; flesh	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ʃa ba	deer (generic)	Marrison 1967
	ɕa	meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.01
	ɕa	meat; muscle; flesh	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:203; ZHANG Liansheng 1988:48; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.1
	ɕa gnad	flesh / muscle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.01
	ɕa pags	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.01
	ɕa snag mo	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.01
	ɕa fibu	maggot (meat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.01
	ɕa fibu	maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**xha**	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.04; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.04
	xha naχ	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**ša**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	să-ro	the long-haired goat of Tibet (n.)	Mainwaring 1898:400 [a]
	sə tum	wolf	Benedict 1972:461

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{A}**sja**	meat / flesh	Mazaudon 1994:968
Chantyal	**sya**	flesh; meat; muscle	Noonan *et al.* 1992:1.11; Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.8
Gurung (Ghachok)	**se**	meat	Glover 1972:7.A.15
	se no	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:1.29
Gurung	^{1}**se**	meat	Mazaudon 1994:968
Manang (Gyaru)	**sya**^{2}	flesh	Nagano 1984:055
	sya^{1}	meat	Nagano 1984:073
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**ɕyə**	flesh; meat	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0046; HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0060
	^{1}**ʃjɤ**	flesh	Mazaudon 1994:983
Tamang	**sya**	meat	Weidert 1987:796
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}naŋ-^{1}**sja**	viscera, entrails (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.4
	^{1}**sja**	meat, flesh (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:1.11, 8.8
	^{1}**sja**	meat / flesh	Mazaudon 1994:983
	^{1}**sja**-^{1}na	lean meat (n.)	Mazaudon 2013
Tamang (Sahu)	ʼgyuh **sya**	mutton	Taylor *et al.* 1972:7.16
	ra **sya**	goat meat	Taylor *et al.* 1972:7.16
	syā	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	sya	flesh; meat	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.29; Taylor *et al.* 1972:7.15
	sya seppala	skeleton	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.2
	^{1}**sja**	flesh, meat	Mazaudon 1994:983
Tamang (Taglung)	**ʃja**	meat	Mazaudon 1994:983
Thakali (Marpha)	^{545}**ɕʌ**	meat	Mazaudon 1994:983
Thakali (Syang)	^{33}**ʃjʌ**	flesh	Mazaudon 1994:983
	^{55}**ʃjʌ** ^{55}k^{h}u	meat	Mazaudon 1994:983
Thakali (Tukche)	**sjɔ**	flesh; meat	Hari 1971:1.29; Hari 1971:7.A.15

[a] [Source Note] lit. flesh-meat, cf. **mʌ́i** 'meat' in Tamlu-Konyak [Weidert 1987: 41].
[b] Literally, "animal-chase-dog."

[a] Lepcha **să-ro** is the origin of English *serao* or *serow* 'wild mountain goat'.

	sjɔ prah-lɔ	grind (meat)	Hari 1971:7.B.1.11.2
	sya	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	ᴴ**sjə**	flesh	Mazaudon 1994:983

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	hna-**sa**	nose	Benedict 1972:101
Newar (Dolakhali)	thõ **si**	meat / animal	Genetti 1990b

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***sa**	meat; flesh, meat	Michailovsky 1991:116; Opgenort 2011
Kharmile	**sa** ko	skin	Weidert 1987:170

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	mak **sa**	bear (black animal)	Ebert 1997
	phak **sa**	pork	Ebert 1997
	sa	fruit; flesh, muscles	Ebert 1997
	u-**sa**	his flesh, his muscles	Ebert 1997
	ŋa **sa**	fish	Ebert 1997
	ŋa **sa**-ka set pa	fisherman	Ebert 1997
Belhare	**sa** lamma	appetite for meat	Bickel 1995
Limbu	nEk **sa**	flesh, meat	Michailovsky 1989b
	nek **sā**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	sa	meat	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:116
	sā	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	sa:	meat	Weidert 1987:140
	shā	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
Yakha	**sa:**	flesh / meat	Kohn 1990:1.11
Yamphu	ak ma **sa**	pork (n.)	Rutgers 1998:524.16
	sa	meat, flesh (n.)	Rutgers 1998:573.1
	sa ŋa	buffalo (n.)	Rutgers 1998:574.03

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	bak **sa**	pork	Rai 1985
	go **sa**	meat	Rai 1985
	sa	meat; flesh	Michailovsky 1991:116; Rai 1985; Rai *et al.* 1984:62
	sa-hok wa	leather	Rai *et al.* 1984:62
	wa **sa**	chicken (meat)	Rai 1985
	yam **sa**	body-flesh / body-meat	Rai 1985
Chamling	**sa**	meat	Michailovsky 1991:116
Kulung	bok **sa**	pork <pig>	Rai *et al.* 1975
	sa	meat; meat, flesh	Michailovsky 1991:116; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	poʔo **su**	pork; suṅgur-ko māsu	Driem 1993
	su	meat; meat, flesh	Michailovsky 1991:116; Driem 1993
Khaling	**sa**-ka	skin	Matisoff 1987
	sö	flesh, marrow	Michailovsky 1991:116
	sō	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	sō nūpāe	strong (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.04
Sampang	**sya**	meat,flesh; flesh	LaPolla 1987:127; Benedict 1972:181

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**sye**	meat, flesh; flesh	LaPolla 1987:127; Benedict 1972:181
Sunwar	**sye**	flesh; meat	Michailovsky 1991:116; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**seo**	meat; meat, flesh	Michailovsky 1991:116; Allen 1975
	syo	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	ŋoak **seo**	lean red meat	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**-sya?**	game or domestic animal (gen.), used for meat (nb.)	Caughley 2000
	-sya?	meat	Caughley 1972:7.A.15
	chet.raŋ.**sya?**	animal (sp.), Goral (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	gay.**(sya?)**	cow (<N gai) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	gay.**sya?**	cow (n.)	Caughley 2000
	go?.**sya?**	Large Indian Civet; animal (sp.), Civet with a grey striped body (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	go?.**sya?**.to	ancestor (sp.), of the ʔugər? clan, son of Brokbaŋto (nn.)	Caughley 2000
	hlyu-**sa**	skin	Caughley 1972:3.B.31
	hoh.raŋ.**sya?**	Barking Deer (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	huŋ.huŋ.**sya?**	animal (sp.), Langur (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ka.**syā?**	deer (barking) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.057
	kanh.ti **syak**.ʔo may?	proud flesh (n.)	Caughley 2000
	khik.raŋ.**sya?**	animal (sp.), Serow (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kə?.**sya?**	Barking Deer (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	kə?.**sya?** bhamh.ʔa.re	insect (sp.), type of Solitary Bee (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kə?.**sya?**.win?	bat (sp.), small (25cm. wingspan), russet-coloured; bat, very small russet-coloured (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	kə **sya?**	animal; meat(1); cattle(1); deer(1); barking deer; hunt	Weidert 1987:41; Caughley 1972:3.A.57; Caughley 1972:3.B.26
	may?/**sya?** gulh-	hunt (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	nuk-**sa**	hide	Caughley 1972:6.B.1. 15
	ruyŋ-**sya?**	sambhur deer	Caughley 1972:3.A.57
	ruyŋ.**sya?**	animal (sp.), Sambar Deer; Sambar Deer (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	rə.raŋ.**sya?**	animal (sp.), civet (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sya	meat (B) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	syā?	cattle (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.031
	syar-**sya?**	antelope (goral)	Caughley 1972:3.A.58
	syar?.**sya?**	Goral, a goat-antelope; animal (sp.), Goral, goat-antelope (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	sya?	animal; meat(1); cattle(1); deer(1); meat	Weidert 1987:41; Weidert 1987:796
	sya?	animal (sp.), cow or bull (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sya?	cattle	Caughley 1972:3.A.31
	sya?.rip	plant (sp.), shrub or small tree, large leaves, woody stems eaten by cattle (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sya?.ro	tree (sp.), with purple flower like lupin, edible, meat-like flavour - used for diarrhoea (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sya?.ryaŋ.ka	wasp (sp.), large; insect (sp.) large wasp (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	sya?.winʔ	bat (sp.), short-nosed fruit bat, large, whitish (n.)	Caughley 2000
	tah.**sya?**	animal (sp.), Himalayan Palm Civet; Himalayan Palm Civet (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	tut.raŋ.**sya?**	animal (sp.), Sambar deer (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	yaw.**sya?**	bull, bullock; bullock, ox (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	yoʔ.**sya?**	animal (sp.), Serow or Goat Antelope (large); Serow, a goat-antelope (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**sya?**	flesh / meat	Caughley 1990:1.11
Kham	**'sya**	meat	Michailovsky 1991:116
	sya' lo	hide (n.)	Watters & Watters 1989
	sya' lo	hide	Watters & Watters 1989
	syā soy	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	ˊsyā:	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
Magar	mi-**śia**	meat, flesh; flesh, meat, animal	LaPolla 1987:127; Benedict 1972:181
	sya	meat	Michailovsky 1991:116
	syā	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**tšhi**	meat; flesh	Nishida 1964:192; Nishida 1964:39-093
	tshi	flesh	Nishida 1964:41-102
	tshi̱e	flesh / meat	DAI Qingxia 1989e:1.11
	tśhi̱e[1]	flesh	Sofronov c1978
	tśhji	meat	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3465

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**ʂl**^{55}	flesh; meat; muscle	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.18
Guiqiong	(**ɕi**^{55}) mi^{35}tsə^{55}	chop / cut (meat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.16
	ɕi^{53}	flesh; meat; muscle	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.17
	ɕi^{55}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.16
	ɕi^{55}kuɔ^{55}pʉ^{55}pʉ^{55}	want to eat (meat) badly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1180.16
	ɕi^{55}ma^{31}dʑa^{31}wu^{55}	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.16
	ɕø^{55}mø^{55}	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.17
Lyuzu	**ʂl**^{53}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.18; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.18
	ʂl^{53}kua^{53}	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.18
Muya	rə^{33}**tɕhə**^{53}	flesh / muscle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.15
Namuyi	**ʂl**^{33}	flesh; meat; muscle	SUN Hongkai 1991i:1.11; SUN Hongkai 1991i:8.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.19
	ə^{ɪ55}**ʂl**^{31}	flesh / muscle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.46
	ʂl^{33}gæ^{31}gæ^{53}	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.46
	ʂl^{31}	meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ʃi**^{55}	meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʃɤ**^{55}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.09; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.09
	ʃɤ^{55}kã^{55}	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʃɤ**^{55}	meat; flesh; meat, flesh	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʂə**^{53}	meat; flesh; meat, flesh	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.10
Qiang (Longxi)	khuà pià **tshì**	fatty meat	Evans 1999:588
	pià **tshì** khuà	fatty meat	Evans 1999:588
	pià-**tshì**	meat [pig-flesh]	Evans 1999:584
Qiang (Mawo)	piɛ **s**	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.08; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.08
	pi **s**	flesh; meat, flesh; meat	Sun 1986; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai 1991g:1.11; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.8
	stɑ **sɑ**	buttocks	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	mɛ́ **tshè**	flesh	Evans 1999:159
	pià-**tshè**	meat [pig-flesh]	Evans 1999:584
Qiang (Taoping)	**tʃhɳ**^{55}	meat / flesh	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.9
	tʃʰl^{55}	meat, flesh	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ɕe^{55} pe^{33}	body	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.9
Qiang (Yadu)	pie **s**	flesh; meat	DAI Qingxia 1989q:159; DAI Qingxia 1989q:584
	pəʲ **ʂən**	body	DAI Qingxia 1989q:97
Xumi	biɛ^{33} **tshɛ**^{55}	flesh; meat	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.20

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	**ptɕa**^{33} no^{33}	flesh / meat	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.11

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Caodeng rGyalrong (Eastern)	pa-**ʃe**	pork	Sun 1997a
	pʰət pa **ʃa**	sinew / tendon (muscle to bone????	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.5
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə rme **ɕʰa**	muscle	SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.8
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə skru **ʃa**	muscle	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.8
	tə swa **ʃa**	gums	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.7.3 [a]
	tə **ʃa**	flesh; meat; muscle	SUN Hongkai 1991j:1.11; SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.8
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ɕe**	flesh / meat	SUN Hongkai 1991l:1.11
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ɕʰa**	flesh / meat	SUN Hongkai 1991k:1.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tɯ **ɕa**	flesh	Nagano & Prins 2013:0203

[a] For the same 'tooth' + 'flesh' combination, cf. Chinese **yá ròu** 'gums'.

rGyalrong (NW)	və **ɕe** kə rɟjas	muscle	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.8
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	**ʃa**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	**ʃa**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	**ʃa**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	**ʃa**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	**ʃa**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	**ʃa**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	**ʃa**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong	**ʃa**	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	**ʃa** mnok	flesh	Nagano & Prins 2013:0203
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	**ʃa5** ʼpu53	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	**ʃaʔ**	flesh	Nagano & Prins 2013:0203
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	**ʃaʔ**	flesh	Nagano & Prins 2013:0203
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	**ʃaʔ**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	**ʃa** ʼpu	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	**ʃa** ʼpu	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	**ʃa** ʼpu	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	**ʃa** ʼpuʔ	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	**ʃa** pu	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	**ʃe**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	**ʃe**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	**ʃe**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	**ʃe**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
Caodeng	**ʃe** kə-ts^{h}o	fat meat	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	**ʃe22**	flesh	Nagano & Prins 2013:0203
	ʃe55	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	**ʃe**^{5}	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
Caodeng	**ʃɐ**-lpeʔ	chunk of meat	Sun 1997a
	ʃɐ-nk^{h}jɐ	raw meat	Sun 1997a
	ʃé-ja	foreleg meat	Sun 1997a
	ʃé-me	hindleg meat	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ʃɑ**	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.11; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.11
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	**ʃɑ**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	**ʃɑ**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	**ʃɑ**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	**ʃɑ**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ʃɑ** kə nə khi	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.11
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	**ʃɑʔ**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	**ʃɑʔ**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong	**ɕa**	flesh / meat	Dai Qingxia 1989d:1.11
rGyalrong (Northern)	**ɕa** ʁlən	sinew / tendon (muscle to bone????	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.5
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	**ɕa** ˈbwan	flesh	Nagano & Prins 2013:0203
rGyalrong (NW)	**ɕɛ** snak	sinew / tendon (muscle to bone????	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.5
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	**ʂa**^{3}pu^{3}	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	**ʂa**^{3}pu^{1}	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	**ʂa**^{3}pu^{5}	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	**ʂa**^{3}pu^{5}	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	**ʂa**^{3}pu^{5}	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	**ʂeʔ**^{5}	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	**ʂɑ**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	**ʂɐ**	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	**ˉʃ^{h}ʌ** pu	meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	**ˊɕɐ** pu	flesh; meat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0203; Nagano & Prins 2013:0306
rGyalrong	**sha**	meat	Nagano 1997:52
	sha skem	flesh	Nagano 1997:1.11
rGBenzhen	**ʃa**	meat (lean); flesh	Sun 1997b; Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Rawang	(**ʃɑ**^{33}) dəgɑŋ^{53}	bake, broil (meat)	LaPolla 2003:1356
Anong	**śa**	meat, flesh; flesh, meat, animal	LaPolla 1987:127; Benedict 1972:181
Anong (dialect)	**śia**	flesh, meat, animal	Benedict 1972:181
Nung	**sɑ**^{55}pho^{31}	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.21
Anong	**sɑ**^{55}pho^{31}	skin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:266.44
Nung	ŋ$_{ˌ}^{31}$**ɕɑ**^{55}su^{55}	fat (pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.21
Rawang	**ʃɑ**^{33}	meat	LaPolla 2003:522
	ʃɑ^{33} phɔr^{31}	flesh, skin	LaPolla 2003:135
Anong	**ɕɑ**^{55}	meat	Sun Hongkai 1988
Nung	**ɕɑ**^{55}	meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.21
Anong	**ɕɑ**^{55}	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.44
	ɕɑ^{55}su^{55}	fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.44
	ˌŋ^{31}**ɕɑ**^{31}ɳɛ^{55}	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.44
Trung [Dulong]	**šia**^{42}	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	šia^{42} pun^{44}	skin	Matisoff 1987
	su^{53}**ɕɑ**^{55}	fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.46
Dulong	**ɕɑ**^{55}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.20; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ɕɑ**^{55}	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.46
	ɕɑ^{55}nĭʔ^{55}	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.46
Dulong	**ɕɑ**^{55}nɑʔ^{55}	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**śa**^{55}	meat, flesh	LaPolla 1987:127
	su^{53} **śa**^{55}	fat meat	LaPolla 1987:116 [a]
	su^{53} **ɕɑ**^{55}	fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɕɑ^{55}	meat, flesh, wild animal	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɕɑ^{55} nĭʔ^{55}	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɕɑ^{55} pɯn^{55}	leather, hide	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	bŭɹ^{55} **ɕɑ**^{55}	fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	śa^{53}	meat, flesh	LaPolla 1987:127
	ɕɑɹ^{55} nŭʔ^{55}	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982 [b]
	ɕɑ^{53}	meat, flesh	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	ha4lie3**si3**	dog meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	mo3**si3**	cat meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	mo^{3}**si**^{3}	cat meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
	pu2tu1**si3**	turtledove meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	pu^{2}tu^{1}**si**^{3}	turtledove meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
	ra3**si3**	chicken meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ra^{3}**si**^{3}	chicken meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
	re3**si3**	rat meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	re^{3}**si**^{3}	rat meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
	ruo2**si3**	sheep/goat meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ruo^{2}**si**^{3}	sheep/goat meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
	sa4**si3**	duck meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	sa^{4}**si**^{3}	duck meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
	si2ku1**si3**	fat meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	si3	meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	si3mei2	lean meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	si^{2}ku^{1}**si**^{3}	fat meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
Tujia	**si**^{21}	flesh; meat; muscle	Chen Kang 1986c:1.11; Chen Kang 1986c:8.8
Tujia (Northern)	**si**^{21}	meat, flesh	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**si**^{21}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.49; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.49
	si^{21}	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.38
Tujia (Northern)	**si**^{21} mei^{35}	lean (meat)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**si**^{21}mɯe^{21}	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.38
	si^{21}muɪ^{21}	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.49
Tujia (Northern)	**si**^{3}	meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
	si^{3}mei^{2}	lean meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
	si^{3}pi^{2}**si**^{3}pai^{2}	have a little meat in a meal (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.5
Tujia	**si**^{35}	flesh; meat; muscle	Chen Kang 1986d:1.11; Chen Kang 1986d:8.8
Tujia (Southern)	**si**^{35}	meat, flesh	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	song^{2}**si**^{3}	fish (meat)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.1
	wo4**si3**	snake meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	wo^{4}**si**^{3}	snake meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
	zi4**si3**	pork (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	zi^{4}**si**^{3}	pork	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**ʂa**^{31}	meat, flesh	LaPolla 1987:127
	ʂɑ^{31}	meat, flesh	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**sua**^{31}muan^{55}	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.28
	ʂua^{31}	meat, flesh	LaPolla 1987:127
	ʂua^{31}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.28; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.28
	ʂua^{31}	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.41
	ʐua^{31}	meat, flesh	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**sa**^{55}	meat, flesh	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:127
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31} **ʂɔ**^{31}	lean meat	Dai Qingxia 1989f:559
	a^{31}**ʂɔ**^{31}	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.29
	sɔ^{31}	flesh / muscle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.29
	ʂɔ^{31}	flesh; meat	Dai Qingxia 1989f:154; Dai Qingxia 1989f:554
	ʂɔ^{31}	meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.29
Bola	**ʃa**^{35}	flesh; meat	Dai Qingxia 1989g:154; Dai Qingxia 1989g:554
Bola (Luxi)	**ʃa**^{35}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.32; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.32
Bola	**ʃă**^{35} kai^{55}	lean meat	Dai Qingxia 1989g:559
	ʃă^{35} kɑ̱uʔ^{55}	skin; skin (human or animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:147; Dai Qingxia 1989g:315
	ʃă^{35} kji^{31}	muscle	Dai Qingxia 1989g:156
	ʃă^{35} mau^{35}	hair (animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:316
	ʃă^{35} mi^{31}	tail	Dai Qingxia 1989g:317 [c]
	ʃă^{35} ts^{h}u^{55}	fatty meat	Dai Qingxia 1989g:558
Bola (Luxi)	**ʃă**^{35}kai^{55}	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.32
	ʃă^{35}kɑ̱uʔ^{55}	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.32
	ʃă^{35}mau^{35}	hair / down (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.32
Burmese (Modern)	a **sā:**	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
Burmese (Rangoon)	tɕwɛʔ^{4}**tθɑ**^{55}	flesh / muscle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.27
	ɑ^{53}**tθɑ**^{55}	meat; meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.27; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.27
Burmese (Spoken)	ă **θa**^{4}	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ɑ **tθɑ**^{55}	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.40
Burmese (Written)	a **sā**	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
	ă **sà**	flesh	Matisoff 1987
	a **sā:**	meat; flesh	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

[a] [Source Note] (śa^{55} ‘meat’).
[b] Note rhotacism.
[c] Bola **ʃă**^{35} seems to have become a generalized body-part prefix.

	a **sā⁴**	flesh	Luce 1985:X.14
	sà	meat; flesh	Weidert 1987:289; Weidert 1987:796
	sâ	meat	Hansson 1989:81
	sà	flesh	Matisoff 1987
	sâ	flesh; meat; animal	Matisoff 1974:216; Benedict 1976a
	sà	beast	Benedict 1972:181
	sà~ a **sà**	meat, flesh	LaPolla 1987:127
	sa maṅ	deer (sambhur)	Marrison 1967
	sà≍ă **sà**	flesh	Benedict 1972:181
	taŋ-**sâ**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	ə-**sâ**	flesh	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ¹**thɑ³**	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.39
	ɑ¹**tθɑ³**	meat; meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.26; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.26
Danu	ă **θɑ²**	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
Hpun (Northern)	ă **ʃà**	flesh	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	ă **ʃɑ⁴**	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
Langsu (Luxi)	**ʃɔ³⁵**	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.31; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.31
	ʃɔ̌³⁵jam⁵⁵	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.31
	ʃɔ̌³⁵kạuk⁵⁵	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.31
	ʃɔ̌³⁵mji³¹	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.31
	ʃɔ̌³⁵nạk⁵⁵	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.31
	ʃɔ̌³⁵tʃhik⁵⁵	muntjac / deer (barking) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0314.31
Lashi	**ʃo⁵⁵**	flesh / meat	Dai Qingxia 1989m:1.11
	ʃǒ⁵⁵ kji³³	nerve; ligament (bone to bone)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.10; Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.6
	ʃǒ⁵⁵ kụk⁵⁵	skin	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.2
Lashi (Lachhe')	**ʃǒ** myi²	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
	ʃɔ²	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
	ʃɔ¹	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
	ʃɔ̌ myi⁴	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
	ʃɔ cheɪ⁴	barking deer	Luce 1985:S.10
Lashi	**ʃə̌⁵⁵** kụk⁵⁵	hide / leather	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.2.6
	ʃə̌⁵⁵ mji³³	tail (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.10.3
Leqi (Luxi)	**sə̌⁵⁵**kuk⁵⁵	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.33
	ʃo⁵⁵	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.33; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.33
	ʃǒ⁵⁵kụk⁵⁵	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.33
	ʃǒ⁵⁵mji³³	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.33
	ʃə̌⁵⁵nạk⁵⁵	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.33
Marma	ə **θá**	flesh; meat	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:55; Huziwara Keisuke 2008:73
Maru [Langsu]	**sa³⁵** khjɔ³¹	pulse	Dai Qingxia 1989l:9.3.2
	šō	meat / flesh	Weidert 1987:289
	sə̌³⁵jam⁵⁵	skin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:266.43
	šə mī	tail	Weidert 1987:307
	ʃo³⁵	flesh / meat	Dai Qingxia 1989l:1.11
	ʃɔ³⁵	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.43
	ʃə̌³⁵ jam⁵⁵	skin	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.2
	ʃə̌³⁵ kạuk⁵⁵	hide / leather	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.2.6
	ʃə̌³⁵ kji³¹	nerve; ligament (bone to bone)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.10; Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.6
	ʃə̌³⁵ mji³¹	tail (of animal); tail	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.10.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.43
Taung-Yo	ă **θɑ⁴**	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**šò**	meat / flesh	Weidert 1987:289
	šò myì	tail	Weidert 1987:307
	šò vùi	bone	Weidert 1987:173
	ʃo²¹	meat, flesh	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ʃo²¹	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.30
	ʃo²¹	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.42
	ʃǒ²¹ kji²¹	muscle	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ʃǒ²¹ kụʔ⁵⁵	skin	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ʃǒ²¹ mji²¹	tail	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ʃǒ²¹ vui²¹	bone	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ʃǒ²¹kụʔ⁵⁵	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.30
	ʃǒ²¹kụʔ⁵⁵	skin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:266.42
	ʃǒ²¹mji²¹	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.30
	ʃǒ²¹mji²¹	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.42
	ʃǒ²¹nị̄k⁵⁵	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.30
	ʃǒ²¹vui²¹	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.30
	ʃo³¹ vui³¹	bone	LaPolla 1987:153
	ʃɔ⁴	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
	ʃɔ⁴we²	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
	ʃɔ⁴we⁴	bone	Luce 1985:T.36
	ʃɔ⁴wi⁴	bone	Luce 1985:T.36
	ʃɔ myi⁴	tail	Luce 1985:T.15

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***sa²**	meat / flesh	Weidert 1987:289
	***xa²**	meat	Bradley 1979b:135; Hansson 1989:81
	***ʃə**-ro²	bone	Bradley 1979b:136; Hansson 1989:370
Lolopho	**xo³¹** ŋe̱³¹	flesh / meat	Dai Qingxia 1989n:1.11
PNL	**xa²**	meat	Chen Kang 1986a:3.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	ji³¹ tsɻ³³ **sa³¹** khɯ⁵⁵	scalp	Dai Qingxia 1989c:2.8 [a]
	oa⁵³**sa³¹**	flesh / muscle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.47
	sa²¹	muscle	Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.8
	sa²¹ khɯ⁵⁵	skin	Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.2
	sa²¹ pɤ²¹	hide / leather	Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.2.6
	sa³¹	meat	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991; Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	sa³¹	meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.47
	sa³¹khɯ⁵⁵	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.47
	sa³¹pɤ³¹	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.47
	sɑ³¹	flesh, muscle	Mu Shihua 2003
	wa⁵³**sa³¹**ŋ²⁴	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.47
	xo³³	flesh / meat	Dai Qingxia 1989c:1.11
Lalo	**xà**	meat	Björverud 1994
	xà-nìq	lean meat	Björverud 1994
	xa²¹	meat	Chen Kang 1986a:3.
	xɑ²¹	flesh / meat	Chen Kang 1986b:1.11
Lipho	**xo²¹**	flesh; meat	Chen Kang 1986a:3.; Chen Kang 1986b:1.11
Nasu	**xo³³**	flesh; meat	Chen Kang 1986a:3.; Chen Kang 1986b:1.11
Neisu	**xu³³**	meat	Chen Kang 1986a:3.
Nesu	**xo³³**	flesh; meat	Chen Kang 1986a:3.; Chen Kang 1986b:1.11
Noesu	**xu³³**ba³³	flesh / meat	Chen Kang 1986b:1.11
Nosu	**ʂɯ²¹**sɻ²¹	flesh / meat	Chen Kang 1986b:1.11
	ʂɯ³³	meat	Chen Kang 1986a:3.
Nusu (Bijiang)	phi⁵⁵**sɑ³¹**	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.45
Nusu (Central)	pʰi⁵⁵ **sɑ³¹**	buttocks	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	pʰi⁵⁵ **sʰɛ³¹**	buttocks	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ɕa⁵⁵**	flesh; meat	Dai Qingxia 1989o:154.; Dai Qingxia 1989o:554.
	ɕa⁵⁵ tsʰu³⁵	fatty meat	Dai Qingxia 1989o:558.
	ɕa⁵⁵ ŋ̊e³⁵	lean meat	Dai Qingxia 1989o:559.
Nusu (Southern)	**ɕɔ⁵⁵**	meat, flesh	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ɕɑ⁵⁵**	meat, flesh	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɕɑ⁵⁵**	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.45
Nusu (Central)	**ʂa⁵⁵**	flesh; meat	Dai Qingxia 1989p:154.; Dai Qingxia 1989p:554.
	ʂa⁵⁵	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.34; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.34
	ʂa⁵⁵ tsʰu³³	fatty meat	Dai Qingxia 1989p:558.
	ʂa⁵⁵ ŋ̊e³³	lean meat	Dai Qingxia 1989p:559.
	ʂa⁵⁵n̥ạ⁵³	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.34
	ʂa⁵⁵ŋ̊e³³	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ʂʰɑ⁵⁵**	meat, flesh	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**fu³³**	meat; flesh; meat, flesh	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʂɯ²¹**ndi²¹hi⁵⁵tshʅ³³	meat, internal organs	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ²¹sʅ²¹	meat, lean	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ²¹ti²¹	meat dishes	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ²¹ʑʅ³³	meat broth	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ³³	meat	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ³³dzɯ⁵⁵	meat, bits of	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ³³fu³³	meat, roasted; roast (meat)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tshu³⁴**ʂɯ³³**	meat, fatty	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	pʌ³³**xo²¹**	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**xo³³**	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**xo²¹**	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.37; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.37
	xo²¹	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.24
	xo²¹n̥i³³	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.37
Yi (Nanjian)	(**xa²¹**) ni̱²¹	lean (of meat)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	(**xa²¹**)ni̱²¹; dʑy⁵⁵	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.23
	xɑ²¹	meat; flesh; meat, flesh	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.23
Yi (Weishan)	**xɑ²¹**	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.36; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.36
	xɑ²¹gɯ⁵⁵	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.36
	xɑ²¹nị̄²¹	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.36
Yi (Xide)	**ʂɯ²¹**-sʅ²¹	lean meat; muscle; muscles	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʂɯ²¹sʅ²¹	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.35
	ʂɯ³³	meat; meat, flesh	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ʂɯ³³	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.35
	ʂɯ³³	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	pɑ³³ **xo²¹**	flesh / meat	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.11
	xo²¹	flesh; meat	Chen Kang 1986a:3.; Chen Kang 1986b:1.11
	xo²¹ tɕi²²	muscle	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.8
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a⁴⁴ **ʃɔ⁴⁴**	flesh	Dai Qingxia 1989h:159
Jinuo	a⁴⁴**ʃɔ⁴⁴**	flesh / muscle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	va⁵⁵ ni⁵⁵ a⁴⁴ **ʃɔ⁴⁴**	pork	Dai Qingxia 1989h:587
Jinuo (Baka)	**ʃo⁴⁴**	flesh	Dai Qingxia 1989i:159
	ʃo⁴⁴ ɯ³³	bone	Dai Qingxia 1989i:165
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃɔ³³** ɣɯ⁴⁴	bone	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ʃə⁴⁴**ɣɤ⁴⁴	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ʃɤ⁴⁴** ɯ⁴⁴	bone	Dai Qingxia 1989h:165
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ⁴⁴ **ʃɔ⁴⁴**	muscle	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**sa35**	meat	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
	sa35 tɕi33 nɔ31	lean meat	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**sà**	meat / flesh	Weidert 1987:289
**Common Lahu*	***sha̱**	meat	Bradley 1979b:135
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ³¹**ɕɑ¹¹**	flesh; muscle; meat; meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.43
Lahu (Black)	awˇ **shɑ**	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
	cì-**šā**	gums	Matisoff 1987
	qhê-**šā**-dì	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	qʰɛ⁵³**sA¹¹**di³¹	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.33
	šā	flesh / meat / animal	Matisoff 1974:216
	sa¹¹	meat, flesh	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	sa¹¹ tsʰy̰³³	oil (animal)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	sA¹¹	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.33
	ɔ̀-**šā**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**šā**-dì	muscle	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**šā**-dɔ̂	muscle	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-šī-ɔ̀-**šā**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987 [a]
Lahu (Yellow)	**sa2²¹**	meat, flesh	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

[a] Gazhuo **ji³¹ tsɻ³³** 'head'.

[a] [Source Note] "blood and flesh".

	saʔ²¹ tsʰu³³	oil (animal)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ³¹ **saʔ²¹**	meat, flesh	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Banlan)	**sha_**	muscle / meat	Bradley 1979a:135
Lisu (Central)	a¹-vá⁶-**hwa⁵**	pork	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	dɔʔ²¹**hwa²¹**	poisoned flesh (flesh around poisoned arrow wound)	Bradley 1994
	dɔʔ²¹**hwa²¹** tʃhɳ²¹	cut off flesh (take out poisoned flesh with a knife)	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹	meat; animal; prey; muscle, body (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹ tsi³⁵	hold meat in the mouth	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹bɤ̞³³ɤ̞²¹	portion of meat (the share for each) (n.)	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹dʒu³³	dried meat	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹fy⁵⁵ dza²¹	eat only meat (no rice)	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹hɤ̞²¹	dried meat floss	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹hɤ̞²¹ **hwa²¹**bæ³³	bits of meat (odds and ends left after cutting)	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹kɔ⁵⁵kɔ²¹	stewed meat	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹kɯ⁵⁵	minced meat	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹næʔ²¹	lean meat; muscle	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹si²¹	liver (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹si²¹ dɔ⁴⁴	suck blood wine	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹thɔ³⁵thi³³	wood stump for chopping meat; chopping board	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹tʃhu³³	roast meat; barbecued meat	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹tʃhɳ²¹	rotten meat	Bradley 1994
	hwa²¹ɕɯ³³	meat (meat used at wedding party)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**hwa⁵**	meat	Bradley 1979b:135
Lisu (Central)	**hwa⁵**	meat; flesh	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Putao)	**hwɑ⁵**	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**hwɑ⁵**	flesh	Luce 1985:T.11
Lisu (Northern)	ji⁵⁵**hwa²¹**	made of flesh (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ji⁵⁵**hwa²¹** næʔ²¹	lean meat (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ji⁵⁵na³³pɔ³³**hwa²¹**	flesh of ear	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**xuɑ³¹**	meat, flesh, animal	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**xuɑ³¹**	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	**xuɑ³¹** nɛ̱⁴²	lean (meat)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**xuɑ³¹**nɛ̱³¹	flesh / muscle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.40
	xuɑ³¹nɛ⁴¹	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.27
	xwà	meat / flesh	Weidert 1987:289
Lisu (Northern)	ŋwa³³ **hwa²¹** bɯ⁴⁴ɤ̞²¹	my share of meat	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa⁵⁵**hwa²¹**	fish meat	Bradley 1994
	ɔ³³mɤ²¹**hwa²¹**	fatty pork	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	sʐ̩⁵⁵**xɒ³³**	flesh / muscle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.39
Sani [Nyi]	**xa²¹**	meat	Chen Kang 1986a:3.
	xɑ²¹	flesh / meat	Chen Kang 1986b:1.11
	xɑ²¹si²¹	muscle	Chen Kang 1986b:8.8
	xɑ¹¹	meat	Ma Xueliang 1989:329.2
	xɑ¹¹ tsʰɻ³³	fatty meat	Ma Xueliang 1989:329.3
	xɒ²¹	flesh, meat	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	xɒ²¹si²¹	muscle	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**xɒ¹¹**	meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.39
	xɒ¹¹bæ³³	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	daˇ tsuiˆ **sha**˯ yoe˯	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	šàʔ	meat	Benedict 1972:53n178
	šà jí	meat / flesh	Weidert 1987:289
	šà yə̀	bone	Weidert 1987:173
	shà-pɔ̀ʔ	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1c
	sha˯ yoe˯	bone	Matisoff 1987
	sha˯ zawˆ	lymph gland / gland in groin	Matisoff 1987
	sha˯ gu˯ **sha**˯ caˆ	sinew / tendon	Matisoff 1987
	sha˯ pawˆ	lung	Matisoff 1987
	sha˯ pya˯ k'ehˆ	hip	Matisoff 1987
	sjhà	meat	Hansson 1989:81
Akha (Yunnan)	**sjhà** djí	meat	Hansson 1989:81
	sjhà jö	bone	Hansson 1989:370
Akha (Thai)	**sjhà**-djí	meat	Hansson 1989:81
	sjhà-jö	bone	Hansson 1989:370
Akha	**sjhà**-jö	bone	Hansson 1989:370
Akha (Thai)	**sjhà**-tshàŋ	liver	Hansson 1989:409
Bisu	aŋ **ʃà**	flesh	Beaudouin 1988:14
	ʔaŋ **sà**	meat	Bradley 1979b
	ʔaŋ **ʃà**	meat	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	**sa³¹**	meat; flesh; meat, flesh	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.31
	sa³¹ gu³¹	muscle / sinew	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	sa³¹ gɯ⁵⁵	skin	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:266.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**shà** njí	meat	Hansson 1989:81
	sa³¹	meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.41
	sa³¹gɯ⁵⁵	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.41
	sa³¹n̥i⁵⁵	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.41
	n̥i⁵⁵dzu³³**sa³¹**	flesh / muscle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.41
Hani (Pijo)	**sjhɔ̀**	meat	Hansson 1989:81
Hani (Caiyuan)	**sɔ³¹**	meat; flesh; meat, flesh	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɕa³¹** dʑi⁵⁵	meat, flesh	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɕa³¹ gu³¹	muscle / sinew	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɕa³¹ ne⁵⁵	lean (of meat)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɕa³¹ pɔ̱³¹	lung	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɕa³¹ tsʰaŋ³¹	liver	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɕa³¹ xo³³	skin	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**saq**	meat	Hansson 1989:81
Hani (Shuikui)	**ʃa³¹** na³¹ na³¹	lean (of meat)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʃa³¹na³¹	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.32
	ʃɔ³¹	meat, flesh	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʃɔ³¹ kɣ̣³¹	muscle / sinew	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʃɔ³¹ pɣ̣⁵⁵ pɣ̣⁵⁵	fatty (of meat)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʃɔ³¹; ja³¹**ʃɔ³¹**	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.32
	ʃɔ³¹pɣ̣⁵⁵	fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.32
	ʃɔ³¹tshɯ⁵⁵	skin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:266.32
Hani (Khatu)	à **tsá**	meat	Hansson 1989:81
	tsá	meat	Hansson 1989:81
Hani (Mojiang)	**tʃɛ³¹**zɔ³¹	livestock / animal (domestic) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0253.42
	ʃa³¹na³¹	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.42
	ʃɔ³¹	meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.42
	ʃɔ³¹kɯ⁵⁵	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.42
	ʃɔ³¹tshl⁵⁵	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.42
	ʃɔ³¹tshɳ⁵⁵	flesh / muscle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.42
Mpi	**sɑ²**pɑʔ²	meat	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	sɑ⁶kɯ⁴	cracklings (fried pig skin)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ʔɑ²**so²**	meat; flesh	Bradley 1979b; Srinuan Duanghom 1976; Hansson 1989:81
Côông [Phunoi]	**sà**	meat	Bradley 1979b
	sɑ¹¹	meat	Bradley 1977
Pyen	wa31 **sa31**	pork	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:042009
	ʔaŋ33 **sa31**	flesh	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131009

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ʂɯ˥** dʑy˧dʑy˧ hĩ	raw meat	Michaud 2006–2009:793
	ʂɯ˥dy˥	fat (person)	Michaud 2006–2009:3374
	ʂɯ˥nɑ˥	muscle, lean meat, lean (meat)	Michaud 2006–2009:356
	ʂɯ˥pʰv˥	fat meat; fat (meat)	Michaud 2006–2009:795
	ʂɯ˥sɑ˥pʰv˥mie˥	meat of the posterior limbs of cattle	Michaud 2006–2009:798
	ʂɯ˧	meat, flesh	Michaud 2006–2009:791
	ʂɯ˧dzɑ˧	skinny, thin (person)	Michaud 2006–2009:3368
	ʂɯ˧lɑ˥mi˩	cooked meat	Michaud 2006–2009:792
Na (Yongning)	æ˩**ʂe**˩	muscle	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˥	meat, flesh	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˧ sɯ˧sɯ˥	raw meat	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˧bv#˥	dried meat preserved in intestines	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˧di˩	fat (person)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˧nɑ˩	lean meat	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˧pv˩	cured meat; bacon	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˧sɑ˩	meat of the posterior limbs of cattle	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˩mɤ˩	fat meat	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**ʂe³³**	meat, flesh	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʂe³³**	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.29
Naxi (Western)	**ʂɯ³³**	meat, flesh	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʂɯ³³**	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.28
Naxi	**ʂɿ³³**	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.45
	ʂɿ³³nɑ²¹	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.45

7. Karenic

Palaychi	nɔ̀ **shà**	body	Jones 1961:840
Pwo (Delta)	**sʻə̄** hwi⁴	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
	sʻə̄ χwi¹	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**sʻə⁴**χwi¹	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Pwo (Bassein)	mó**ʔ xwáʔ**	body	Jones 1961:840
Pwo (Moulmein)	mò **šá**	body	Jones 1961:840

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	身	body; self	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2453
	身体	body	Nagano & Prins 2013:0175

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**śi̱ĕn**	body	Chou Fa-kao 1972:386a-c; Benedict 1972:99n284

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**shēn**-tǐ	body	Evans *et al.* 1991
	shen tii	body	Sun 1985b:84

Chinese comparandum

身 OC ***śi̱ĕn***, *GSR* #386a-c; Mand. **shēn**.

Unclear whether Chinese 身 is to be considered a comparandum for **both** the current etymon PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1) **and** PTB ***sin** BODY / OWNER / AGENTIVE NOMINALIZER (§1.1.1). If so, this would support the allofamic relationship between the two etyma argued for in PTB ***sya-n** ⩙ ***sin** FLESH / ANIMAL / BODY / AGENTIVE NOMINALIZER (§1.1.1).

(1b) PTB *sin BODY / OWNER / AGENTIVE NOMINALIZER

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***sin**	body / owner / agentive nominalizer	Matisoff 2003a:613

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**sîn**	animal	Weidert 1987:289
	śin⁵³	meat, flesh	LaPolla 1987:127
	ɕin⁵³	meat, flesh	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕin⁵³	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.23; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.23
	ɕin⁵³	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.48

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**sañ**	owner, proprietor	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**sañ**	owner, proprietor	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	ɔ̀-**šē**-ma	body (female)	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**šē**-phâ	body (male)	Matisoff 1987

Chinese comparandum

身 OC ***śi̱ĕn***, *GSR* #386a-c; Mand. **shēn**.

Unclear whether Chinese 身 is to be considered a comparandum for **both** the current etymon PTB ***sin** BODY / OWNER / AGENTIVE NOMINALIZER (§1.1.1) **and** PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1). If so, this would support the allofamic relationship between the two etyma argued for in PTB ***sya-n** ⩙ ***sin** FLESH / ANIMAL / BODY / AGENTIVE NOMINALIZER (§1.1.1).

(2) PTB *guŋ BODY / BACK

This etymon should be kept distinct from the similarly-shaped forms PTB ***(k/g)um** BACK / BODY (§1.4.8) which occurs mostly in forms for 'back' and means 'body' only by extension, and PTB ***(k/ʔ)uk** BEND / CROOKED / RETURN / BACK / YEAR (§9.1) which also occurs in some forms meaning 'back'. All three roots are etymologically unrelated.

Many Loloish forms have reflexes which might be attributed equally well to PTB ***s-kəw** BODY / CHEST / THORAX / CORPSE (§1.1.1) or PTB ***(k/g)um** BACK / BODY (§1.4.8). In the absence of more precise

research into Northern Yi rhyme correspondences, we are here adopting the rather arbitrary choice of attributing all Loloish forms meaning BACK to the present root.

See *STC* p. 182, n. 479; *HPTB*: 19, 309.

There is a good Chinese comparandum, 躬 .

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***kjəngw** ~ **gjəngw**	body / person	Coblin 1986:46

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gung**	body	LaPolla 1987:21
	***gung (*A)**	body / person	Coblin 1986:46
	***guŋ**	body; person	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1006e-f; Matisoff 2003a:592
	***guŋ**	body, person (n.)	Benedict 1972:182n479

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	**gɯ** baŋ	back	Simon 1979
	gɯ baŋ-ljaŋ	backbone	Simon 1979

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	i si **gõ** mbo	backbone / spine	Pulu 1978

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	ə-hlì-**gǘ**	back	Weidert 1987:828

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**koŋ** ru	backbone / spine	Toba & Kom 1991:5.5.4
Moyon	**kuŋ**	back	Kosha 1990:5.5
	kuŋ row	backbone / spine	Kosha 1990:5.5.4
	kuŋ row ʌhʌ́k	vertebrae (of spine)	Kosha 1990:8.4.2
Sorbung	**kòoŋ** rúu	spine; backbone; vertebrae (of spine)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.153; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.265

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	bi **kúm**	back	Matisoff 1987
	bi **kúŋʔ**	back	Weidert 1987:828
Kokborok	pʰi-**koŋ**	back	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	bi **kuŋ**	back	Weidert 1987:828

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**gən**	back	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Wancho	**kun**-cu	back	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**gawng**	body	Matisoff 1987
	gòŋ	physical body	Matisoff 1974:53
	ma **gawng**	traditional cattle	Matisoff 1994b
	n-**gawng**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	ǹ-**gòŋ**	corpse	Matisoff 1974:53

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**kõ**	body	Nishida 1964:204-08e
	kon[1]	body	Sofronov c1978

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	**gu**[55]mi[55]	stem; stalk; body	Sun Hongkai 1991i:1.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:223.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.19
	gu[55]nu[55]	back (direction); later (in time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:992.19
	gu[55]mi[55]	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.46
	gu[55]nu[55]	back (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0713.46
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**gõ**[35]	back; back (body)	Sun Hongkai 1991n:5.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.16

4. Nungic

Anong (Rawang/Mutwang)	**gong**	body	LaPolla 1987:21; Coblin 1986:46
	goŋ	body; person	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1006e-f; Benedict 1972:182n479
Anong (Rawang)	**gung**	body	LaPolla 1987:21; Coblin 1986:46
	guŋ	body; animal; self; body, animal, self	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1006e-f; Benedict 1972:182n479
Nung	**gɔŋ**[31]ɹɯ[55]	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.21
Rawang	**gɔŋ**[53]	body	LaPolla 2003:82
Anong	ɖɛ[31]**guŋ**[31]tʰɑŋ[55]	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.44
Trung [Dulong]	**goŋ**[23]ti[44]	backbone	Matisoff 1987
	goŋ[23]ɹi[44]	back	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	**gɔŋ**[55]tɕiʔ[55]	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.20
Trung [Dulong]	**gɔŋ**[55]ɹĭʔ[55]	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.46
Dulong	ɑŋ[31]**guŋ**[55]mɯ[31]dɑm[53]	upper half of the body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.20
	ɑŋ[31]**guŋ**[55]pɑŋ[55]	lower half of the body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0736.20
	ɑŋ[55]**guŋ**[55]	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**gɔŋ**[55] ɹĭʔ[55]	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**gɔng**[53]	body	LaPolla 1987:21
	gɔŋ[31] ɹŭɹʔ[55]	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	gɔŋ[53]	body	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***goŋ**	body / person	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1006e-f
	***guŋ**	body	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1006e-f
	***guŋ ≍ goŋ**	body (n.)	Benedict 1972:182n479
	***guŋ**[1]	body	Matisoff 2003a:592

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Luxi)	**kɔŋ**[31] tɔ[31]	body	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola	**kauŋ**[55] tɔʔ[31]	body	Dai Qingxia 1989g:94
	kauŋ[55] tɔ̃[35]	back (body)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:115
Bola (Luxi)	**kauŋ**[55]tɔʔ[31]	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.32
Burmese (Written)	ă **kauŋ**	body, animal body	Benedict 1972:182n479
	a **khaung**	body	LaPolla 1987:21
	a **koŋ**[3]	body	Luce 1985:Y.86
	ə-**kong**	body, animal body	Coblin 1986:46
	ə-**koŋ**	animal body, animal; dead body	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1976a
	ɑ **kɑuŋ**	body	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1006e-f
	ʔə **koŋ**	body; animal body, dead body	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:53
	ʔə lôŋ-**koŋ**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
Langsu (Luxi)	**kauŋ**[31]tau[35]	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.31
Lashi	**kuŋ**[33]	torso / trunk	Dai Qingxia 1989m:1.6
	kuŋ[31]	body	Dai Qingxia 1989m:1.1
Leqi (Luxi)	**kuŋ**[31]	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.33
Marma	**khaiŋ** tha	body	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:47
Maru [Langsu]	**kauŋ**[31] tau[35]	torso; trunk; body	Dai Qingxia 1989l:1.1; Dai Qingxia 1989l:1.6
	kauŋ[31] tɔ̃[35]	back	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.5
	kauŋ[31] tɔ̃[55]	back	Dai Qingxia 1989l:1.4
	kauŋ[31] tɔ̃[55] ɣuk[55]	backbone / spine	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.5.4
	kauŋ[31]tau[35]	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.43
	kauŋ[31]tɔ̃[55]	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kung**	body	LaPolla 1987:21
	kuŋ	body; animal body	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1006e-f; Benedict 1972:182n479
	kuŋ[51] tu[21]	body	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	kuŋ[51]tu[21]	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.30
	kuŋ[51]tu[21]	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.42

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**ku**[21] tu[33]	back	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5
Nasu	**kɔ**[21] tɔ[21]	back	Chen Kang 1986b:1.4
Yi (Dafang)	**gɯ**[21] kɔ[33]	body	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Mojiang)	**gɯ**[21]ɣɯ[33]	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**gɯ**[33]di[21]mo[33]	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**kɑ**[21] tu[33]	back (of body)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.23
	kɑ[55] dɥ[33]	back (side)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	**gɥ**[33]-zi[33]	backbone	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	kɯ[21] tɯ[21]	back (of body); back	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Yongsheng)	**gu**[35] du[31]	back (of body)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986:p.110
Sani [Nyi]	**ɣo̱**[21]	body	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:292.1

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**gv**˧sɯ˧	back	Michaud 2006–2009:321
	gv˧sɯ˧ ʂɑ˩tu˥	backbone	Michaud 2006–2009:442
	gɤ˥ ɖɯ˧ ʈʂæ˧	top part of the body; above the waist	Michaud 2006–2009:381
	gɤ˥ ɖɯ˧ɖæ˥	top part of body	Michaud 2006–2009:1553
	lɑ˩**gv**˩	back of the hand	Michaud 2006–2009:396
	lɑ˩pʰie˩ lɑ˩**gv**˩	back of the hand	Michaud 2006–2009:396
	ɖɯ˧**gv**˧ɖɯ˧dzi˧	body	Michaud 2006–2009:232
Na (Yongning)	**gv**˧dv˧	back	Michaud 2006–2009
	gv˧dv˧-**gv**˧mi˧	body	Michaud 2006–2009
	gv˧mi˧	body	Michaud 2006–2009
	gv˧mi˧ ʈʂʰæ˧	wash oneself (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˩-**gv**˧dv˧	back of the hand	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**gu**[33]mu[33]	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.45
Naxi (Western)	**gu**[33]mu[33]tʂʰər[33]	bathe	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Eastern)	**gv**[33]dv[33]	back (of body)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**gv**[33]dv[33]	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**gv**[33]mi[33]	body	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**gv**[33]mi[33]	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.29
	gv[33]mi[33]tʂhəɹ[33]	bathe	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:650.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**gv**[33]mi[33]tʂʰa[33]	bathe	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**gv**[33]mu[33]	body	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**gv**[33]mu[33]	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.28
	gv[33]mu[33]tʂhəɹ[33]	bathe	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:650.28
Naxi (Western)	**gɯ**[33]sɯ[33]	back (of body)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**gɯ**[33]sɳ[33]	spine; backbone; back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**gɯ**[33]tsɯ[33]	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.28

7. Karenic

Pwo (Delta)	nɑ̃[1]**k'ɔ̃**[4]	body, self	Luce 1985:I.190
Pwo (Tenasserim)	nɑ̃[4]**k'ɔ̃**[6]	body, self	Luce 1985:I.190
Sgaw	nɔ[6]**k'o**[1]	body, self	Luce 1985:I.190

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kiông**	body	LaPolla 1987:21
	ki̯ông/ki̯ung	body, person	Karlgren 1957:1006e-f
	ki̯ôŋ/ki̯uŋ	body / person	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1006e-f [a]
Chinese (Old)	**ki̯ôŋ**	body	Luce 1985:Y.86
	kjəngw	body / person	Coblin 1986:46

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**kjung**	body, person	Coblin 1986:46

[a] *STC* 282.

Chinese comparandum

躬 OC ***ki̯ông**, *GSR* #1006e-f; Coblin 86: ***kjəngw**; B & S 2011 ***kuŋ {k(r)uŋ}**; Mand. **gōng**.

(3) PTB *s-kəw BODY / CHEST / THORAX / CORPSE

See also two similar but independent roots PTB ***guŋ** BODY / BACK (§1.1.1) and PTB ***(k/g)um** BACK / BODY (§1.4.8).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***khjuɣ**	body / person	Coblin 1986:46

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**s-**)**kuw** (A*)	body / person	Coblin 1986:46
	*(**s-**)**kəw**	body	Chou Fa-kao 1972:122g
	*(**s-**)**kəw**~*(s-)kuw	body	LaPolla 1987:11
	***s-kəw**	body / corpse	Matisoff 2003a:595

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**kô**	body	Matisoff 1987

1.6. Mru

Mru	**kö**	body	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	gùm-**gù**	body	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:52

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Ganan	**ko**[1]	body	Luce 1985:K.49
Sak (Bawtala)	**ko**[2]	body	Luce 1985:K.49

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**ku**[13] ly[53]	body	Sun Hongkai 1991a:1.1

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	gzugs, **sku**	body	Marrison 1967 [a]
	sgo-lo	body / face	Matisoff 1987
	sgo-po	body	Matisoff 1987

[a] WT has a doublet (**sku** and **sgo**), with the relationship between them unclear. Chantyal **gfio** is apparently a loanword from the latter variant.

	sku	body; person; body, person	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:122g; Luce 1985:W.73; LaPolla 1987:11; Benedict 1972:184n483; Coblin 1986:46
	sku-braŋ	chest	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	sku-ċʻal	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	sku-gzugs	body	Matisoff 1987
	sku-ɦ̨iŋ	neck	Matisoff 1987
	sku-lus	body	Matisoff 1987
	sku-mȷ̀ug	tail	Matisoff 1987
	sku-pʻrag	shoulder (resp.)	Matisoff 1987
	sku-rgyab	back	Matisoff 1987
	sku-spur	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	sku-stod	upper part of body	Matisoff 1987
	sku-tʻog	stomach	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	**gfio**	body	Noonan *et al.* 1992
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**ku**	chest	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0024
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	lḭwụ **kwə**	body	DAI Qingxia 1989e:1.1
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**gɯ**^{55} ma^{55}	body	SUN Hongkai 1991d
Namuyi	**gu**^{55}mi^{55}ja^{33}ta^{33}	side (left)	SUN Hongkai 1991i:1.3
	gu^{55}mi^{55}ka^{33}na^{33}	side (right)	SUN Hongkai 1991i:1.2
Pumi (Qinghua)	**gə**^{13} m̥u^{13}	body	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983 [b]
Qiang (Mawo)	**ku** ti	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.8; Sun 1986; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai 1991g:1.1
Qiang (Yadu)	**k^{h}ue**	body dirt	DAI Qingxia 1989q:196
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	tə **zgu** tsuŋ ruŋ	backbone / spine	DAI Qingxia 1989d:5.5.4
Caodeng	tə-**zgɐ**-tsu-rú-ru	spine	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **skru**	body	SUN Hongkai 1991j:1.1
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	aŋ^{31}**gɯ**^{55}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ang^{31} **gɯ**^{55}	body	LaPolla 1987:11
	aŋ^{31} **gɯ**^{55}	back (of body); body	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	aŋ^{31} **gɯ**^{55} ɲŭp^{55}	weak (of body)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɕi^{55} **gɯ**^{55}	corpse	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɕi^{55} **gɯ**^{55}	corpse	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Modern)	**kui**^{3}	body	Luce 1985:V.16
Burmese (Written)	**kui(y)**	body / person	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:122g [c]
	kûi(y)	body	Matisoff 1987
	kui(y)	body; body, person	Matisoff 1974:52; LaPolla 1987:11; Benedict 1972:184n483; Coblin 1986:46
	kuiw	body	Luce 1985:V.16
	kuiw^{3}	body	Luce 1985:W.73
	kuiy	body; animal body (= kûi ?); one's self	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1976a
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Lolopho	**gɯ**^{33} tʂhŋ^{31}	body	DAI Qingxia 1989n:1.1
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**gu̱**^{55} tʂ^{h}ʅ^{21}	body	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.1
Lipho	**gɯ**^{33}tʂhŋ^{21}	body	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.1
Nasu	**gɯ**^{21} p^{h}e^{33}	body	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.1
Nesu	**gɤ**^{21} mu^{21}	body	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.1
Nusu (Bijiang)	tɕhi^{35}**gɯ**^{31}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	tɕ^{h}e^{35} **gɯ**^{31}	body	DAI Qingxia 1989o:94.
Nusu (Central)	tɕ^{h}i^{35} **gɯ**^{31}	body	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	tɕ^{h}i^{55} **gɯ**^{31}	body	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	tʂhŋ^{33} **gɯ** ^{31}	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.34
	tʂ^{h}ʅ^{33} **gɯ**^{31}	body	DAI Qingxia 1989p:94.
Nusu (Northern)	tʂ^{h}ʅ^{31} **gɯ**^{55}	body	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	bɯ^{21} **gɯ**^{33}	back (of body)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:258.22
	gɯ^{21} **kɔ**^{33}	body	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.22
	gɤ^{31} p^{h}i^{31}	body	Matisoff 1994b
Yi (Mile)	**gɯ**^{21}mo^{33}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**gɯ**^{21}mo^{21}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**gɯ**^{33}di^{21}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**gu**^{55} tʂ^{h}ʅ^{21}	body	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.23
Yi (Xide)	**ko**^{21} po^{33}	body; human body, flesh	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ko^{21}po^{33}	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.35
	ko^{21}po^{33}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**gɯ**^{21} mo^{33}	body	LUO Meizhen 1990:1.1; CHEN Kang 1986b:1.1
Lisu	**gaw**^{3}-dē^{5}	body	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**gaw**^{3}-dē^{5}	body	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**gaw**^{3} [dē^{5}]	body	Luce 1985:V.16
Lisu	**go**-	body; person	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1006e-f; Benedict 1972:182n479
	ku̱^{33}de^{31}	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**ku̱**^{44} de^{31}	body	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**ko**^{44}de^{31}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.27
Lisu (Putao)	**ko**^{4} [dü^{5}]	body	Luce 1985:V.16
Lisu (Northern)	**kɔ**^{33}dø^{21}	body (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Luquan)	**kɑ**^{55} to^{55}	back / body	XU Lin *et al.* 1986:p.110
Sani [Nyi]	**kɯ**^{33} pɯ^{33}	body	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:263.1
	kɯ^{33} pɯ^{33} mɪ^{21}	filthy (body)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:28.1
	kɯ^{33} pɤ^{33}	body	MA Xueliang 1989:325.2
	kɯ^{33}(pɯ^{33})	body	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	kɯ^{33}pɯ^{33}mɪ^{21}	bodily dirt	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	kɯ^{33}pɤ^{33}	body	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.1
Yi (Sani)	**kɯ**^{33}pɤ^{33}	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.39
7. KARENIC			
Bwe	**kó** bwɛ	body; flesh (n.)	Henderson 1997
8. BAI			
Bai (Bijiang)	tɕhi^{55} **gu̱**^{42}	body	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕhi^{55}**gɯ**^{42}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.37
Bai (Dali)	tshi^{55} khou^{55} **kɯ**^{31}	body	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	tshɛ̃^{55} **kɯ**^{31}	body	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ts^{h}æ̃^{55} **kɯ**^{33}	torso	ZHAO Yansun 1990:5.0
	ts^{h}æ̃^{55} **kɯ**^{31} «ne̱^{21}»	torso / trunk	ZHAO Yansun 1990:1.6
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kʻi̯u**	body / person	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:122g; Karlgren 1957:GSR 122g [a]
	kʻi̯u	body, person (n.)	Benedict 1972:184n483
Chinese (Old)	**khjug**	body / person	Coblin 1986:46
	khjugh	body / person	Coblin 1986:46
	kʻi̯u	body	Luce 1985:W.73
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**khiu**	body	LaPolla 1987:11
	khju	body, person	Coblin 1986:46; Coblin 1986:46

[a] *GSR*.

Chinese comparandum

軀 OC ***k'i̯u***, *GSR* #122g 'body'; Coblin 86: ***khjug ~ khjugh***; Mand. **qū**.

(4) PTB *pum BODY / BELLY

This root stands in an allofamic relationship to the complex word family reconstructed in PTB ***s-b^{w}a(m/p)*** SWELL / SWOLLEN / FAT / THICK / ROUNDED PART (§1.1.5.2), PTB ***p^{w}am*** WOMB / PLACENTA / BELLY / STOMACH / NEST (§1.9.6), and PTB ***bwat*** PREGNANT / SWOLLEN (§1.1.5.2).

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
**Kuki-Naga-Chin*	***pum**	belly	Weidert 1987:857
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	ʔa-**pən**	body	Sun 1993b
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***pum** BODY / STOMACH / BELLY			
**Chin*	***pum**	BODY / STOMACH / BELLY	VanBik 2009:128
Chinbok	**pum**	body	Matisoff 1987
Ngawn	**pum**-pi	body	Matisoff 1987
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**pum**	body	VanBik 2009:128
Sizang	**pum**	body	VanBik 2009:128
Thado	ti-**pûm**	body	VanBik 2009:128
Tiddim	**pum**^{3}	body	VanBik 2009:128
	pum^{3} (pi^{1})	body	Bhaskararao 1996:1425
	ˊpum	body (n.)	Henderson 1965
	ˊpumˊpi:	body (n + nvs.)	Henderson 1965
	`pum	body	Matisoff 1987
	`pumˊpi:	body (n + nvs.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	a **pün**	body	VanBik 2009:128
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**pum**	body	Matisoff 1987
	pûm	body, stomach	VanBik 2009:128
Lai (Falam)	**pùm**	body, stomach	VanBik 2009:128
Laizo	**pum**-pi	whole body	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	**pùm**	stomach	Weidert 1987:857
	pum	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	pùm	abdomen, the belly, the stomach (not the organ)	VanBik 2009:128
	pùm~pùŋ	belly	Matisoff 1978b
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**pô**-pa(-sa)	body	Matisoff 1987
	pò-sá	body	VanBik 2009:128
	^{1}**pou** ^{2}pə	body	Weidert 1987:343
Zotung	**pin**	body	Matisoff 1987
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	**púm**	body	Weidert 1987:343
	ə **p^{h}um**	gizzard; crop of bird; stomach	Toba & Kom 1991:9.10; Toba & Kom 1991:4.2.4
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Sangtam	jü **bün**	body	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**fɯ**	body	Weidert 1987:494
Yimchungrü	**phü**	body	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Mao	o **pfü**	body	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	cha **pum**	body	Marrison 1967
	ka-**põm**	body	Weidert 1987:343
Maram	a **pum**	body	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**pum**	body	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	mái-**púm**	body	Weidert 1987:343
	pum	body	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	mi **pum**	body	Marrison 1967
	^{3}mi ^{3}**pum**	body	Weidert 1987:343
Mzieme	mi **pum**	body	Marrison 1967
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	mə **pùm**	body	Weidert 1987:343
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ar **pum**	body	Matisoff 1987
	ar **pûm** / ar jôn	body	Grüssner 1979:9
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	*ʔ-**bu:m**	body	French 1983:461
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Khiamngan	^{2}**bẹ̆m**	body	Weidert 1987:343
Konyak	**búm**	body	Weidert 1987:343
	püm	body	Marrison 1967
	pəm	body	French 1983:461
Konyak (Tamlu)	**búm**-mɯn	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
Phom	**büm**	body	Marrison 1967
	bəm	body	French 1983:461
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	**pun**^{13}	center	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	a-**bŭm**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	bŭm	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang (Eastern)	tuk **pun**	stomach	Caughley 1990:9.10
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	nɯ^{31} **pɔm**^{53}	stomach	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	nɯ^{31} **pɔm**^{55}	stomach	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

[a] WT **sku** may be freely prefixed to body part terms to convey a respectful meaning (cf. Jäschke 1881, p. 21).
[b] Pumi **m̥** reflects the ***s-*** prefix.
[c] Written Burmese **-y** is a learned folk etymology (cf. Sanskrit).

(5) PTB *g-zuk BODY

1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Miji	ʃu-**cuŋ**	flesh, meat	Simon 1979 [a]
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	a **yi**	body (human)	Das Gupta 1963
	a **yu**	body (human)	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	**dʐo**^{55}tiaŋ^{35}	body	Sun Hongkai 1991f:1.1
	dʐo^{55}tiaŋ^{35}e^{55}tɕa^{55}ɳu^{55}	side (right)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:1.2
	dʐo^{55}tiaŋ^{35}i^{55}tɕi^{55}ɳu^{55}	side (left)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:1.3
	dʐo^{55}tiɑŋ^{35}	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.50
	jõ tã	body	Anonymous 1962
	ɟõ ta	body	Pulu 1978
Yidu	**dʐo**^{55}tiɑŋ^{35}	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.25
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**cho**	flesh; meat	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**zuks**	body	Sharma 1991a:1.1
	zuks ki pu	body hair	Sharma 1991a:8.1.3
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hzək**	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɣzək**	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**zo**^{55} buʔ^{53}	body hair	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.1.3
	zo^{55} po^{55}	body	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.1
	zo^{55} po^{55} dʐo^{13} xho^{53}	front	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.5
	zo^{55} po^{55} ngo^{55} dĩ^{55}	torso / trunk	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.6
	zo^{55} po^{55} phaʔ^{53}	side (right)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.2
	zo^{55} po^{55} tʂhi^{53}	side (left)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.3
	zo^{55} po^{55} ŋỹ^{55} xho^{53}	back	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.4
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**su**^{13}ku^{55}	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.02
	suʔ^{13}ku^{53}	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**zū** bū	body	Bishop 1989:1.1 [b]
Tibetan (Spiti)	**zu**	body	Sharma 1979
Spiti	**zui** bu	body hair	Bodh 1991:8.1.3 [c]
	zui ḍui wa	skeleton	Bodh 1991:8.4.1
	zuo	body	Bodh 1991:1.1
Tibetan (Spiti)	**zuo**	body	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**gzugs** po	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.01
	gzugs po	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.1
	gzugs, sku	body	Marrison 1967 [d]
	gzugs-po	body	Zhang Liansheng 1988:7
	sku-**gzugs**	body	Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	a-**čók**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	mán **čúk**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Gyaru)	**suː**^{2}	body	Nagano 1984:047
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**suː** pə	body	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0047
Thakali (Tukche)	**suhk** pɔ	body	Hari 1971:2.A.1
	sukh pa	body	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**tsho**	body (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.187
	tsho	body	Matisoff 1987
3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	pu^{55}li^{33}**ʂɛ**^{33}	fat (of people)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:849.19
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**zu**^{35} pu^{53}	body	Sun Hongkai 1991n:1.1
	zu^{35} pu^{53} tõ^{55} le^{55}	side (right)	Sun Hongkai 1991n:1.2
	zu^{35} pu^{53} wa^{35} ɕã^{55}	side (left)	Sun Hongkai 1991n:1.3
	zu^{35}pu^{53}	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.16
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	hɛ **zu** pu	body	Sun Hongkai 1991b:1.1
	hɛ **zu** pu ʐɛ kua	side (left)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:1.3
	hɛ **zu** pu ʐɛ ʐtʰɯ	side (right)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:1.2
	ɦɛ **zu** pu	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.14
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔzu**	torso / trunk	Dai Qingxia 1989b:1.6
	ʔzu ʔmə ŋɑ	body hair	Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.1.3
	ʔzu bo	body	Dai Qingxia 1989b:1.1
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**so**^{55} tʰiu^{21}	body	Chen Kang 1986c:1.1
Tujia (Northern)	**so**^{55} tʰi^{21}	body	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.1. Burmish			
Marma	khaiŋ **tha**	body	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:47
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	o^{31} **tso**^{33}	body	Dai Qingxia 1989c:1.1
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	a^{33}**ʃɔ**^{33}a^{33}ma^{44}	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.34
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Shuikui)	**ʒu**^{33} ɣu^{55}	body	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
7. Karenic			
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***còq**	corpse	Jones 1961:335
**Karen (Pwo)*	***sóq**	corpse	Jones 1961:335
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***só?**	corpse	Jones 1961:335
Palaychi	**còq**	corpse	Jones 1961:335
Pwo (Bassein)	**sò**	corpse	Jones 1961:335
Pwo (Moulmein)	**só?**	corpse	Jones 1961:335
Sgaw (Bassein)	**sò**	corpse	Jones 1961:335
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**só?**	corpse	Jones 1961:335

[a] The final nasal in Miji **-cuŋ** is unexplained.
[b] Cf. WT **gzugs-po**.
[c] Cf. WT **gzugs-po**.
[d] WT has a doublet (**sku** and **sgo**), with the relationship between them unclear. Chantyal **gɦo** is apparently a loanword from the latter variant.

(6) PTB *tyaŋ BODY

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**tiɯŋ**^{55}	body	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tiɯŋ^{55}	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.22
	tiɯŋ^{55}	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.49
	tyang	body	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	tyang maːlam(i)	bath, take (v.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	tyang nyaː	pain (body)	NEFA (India) 1963
	tyang nyaː taː maː	medicine for pain	NEFA (India) 1963
	tyang praː	healthy	NEFA (India) 1963
	tyang rãː	pain (body)	NEFA (India) 1963
	tyang-nyaː-taː maː	medicine for pain	NEFA (India) 1963
	tyang-praː ím	worst	NEFA (India) 1963
Idu	dʐo^{55}**tiaŋ**^{35}	body	Sun Hongkai 1991f:1.1
	dʐo^{55}**tiaŋ**^{35}e^{55}tɕa^{55}ɳu^{55}	side (right)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:1.2
	dʐo^{55}**tiaŋ**^{35}i^{55}tɕi^{55}ɳu^{55}	side (left)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:1.3
	dʐo^{55}**tiɑŋ**^{35}	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.50
	jõ **tã**	body	Anonymous 1962
	ɟõ **ta**	body	Pulu 1978
Yidu	dʐo^{55}**tiɑŋ**^{35}	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.25
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	hʌ̀k **cáŋ**	body	Kosha 1990:1.1
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	hak **shang**	body	Marrison 1967
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	hak **chang**	body	Marrison 1967 [a]
	hak **chàng**	body	Matisoff 1987
	hək **caŋ**	body	Singh 1991:1.1
	əsibə hək **caŋ**	corpse / dead body	Singh 1991:1.14
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**ḍēön̈**	body	Matisoff 1987
	ḍeən̈	body	Sharma 1988:23,29,58
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu	**khi**^{35}; tʃhi^{35}	run	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:573.27

[a] Laryngeality of Meithei **hak** unexplained.

(7) PTB *t(s)ak BODY

This etymon has reflexes ranging from an affricate **ts-** (Lotha), to a simple dental stop **t- or th-**, to a dental sibilant (Mizo, Nocte), to an **h-** (Meithei, Moyon, Maring). [For a similar range of reflexes, cf. PTB ***(t)sum** MORTAR (§5.5).

We can assume a development in Meithei from ***ts-** to ***s-** to **h-**; the Moyon and Maring forms might well be borrowings from Meithei.

VanBik reconstructs a binome ***tak-shaa** for Proto-Kuki-Chin, where the second element is the general etymon PTB ***sya** MEAT / FLESH / ANIMAL.

1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Miji	**zaʔ**	body	Simon 1979
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	din-**tak**	flesh	Tayeng 1976
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tak-shaa** BODY			
**Chin*	***tak**	FLESH	VanBik 2009:196
	***tak**-shaa	BODY	VanBik 2009:181
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**tak** sa	body	VanBik 2009:181
Thado	**tàʔ** sâa	body	VanBik 2009:181
Tiddim	saë **takö**	flesh	VanBik 2009:196
	tak^{3} sa^{1}	body	VanBik 2009:181; Bhaskararao 1996:1673
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tak**	flesh, body	VanBik 2009:196
	tak-sàa	body	VanBik 2009:181
Lai (Falam)	**tàk**-sâa	body	VanBik 2009:181
Lushai [Mizo]	**sak**-rong	body	Matisoff 1987
	tàk sâ	body	VanBik 2009:181
	tak-sa	body	Matisoff 1987; Bhaskararao 1996:1673; Marrison 1967 [a]
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**tək** mih	body hair	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.3
	tək sə	body	Toba & Kom 1991:1.1
	tək sə bək	body part measurement	Toba & Kom 1991:13
	ə kə tʰi **tək** sə	corpse / dead body	Toba & Kom 1991:1.14
Moyon	**hʌ̀k** cáŋ	body	Kosha 1990:1.1
Sorbung	ʔə-**táak**	flesh	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.014
	ʔə-**ták**	muscle (= flesh)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.272
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**hak** shang	body	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**tsək**^{2}	body (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tsək^{2}-ka^{2}	one (human) (num.)	Bruhn 2014b
	o **tsak**	body	Marrison 1967
	o **tsük**	body	Murry *et al.* 1978:11
	o **tsuk**	body (general); body	Nienu 1990c:1; Nienu 1990c:1.1
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**hak** chang	body	Marrison 1967 [b]
	hak chàng	body	Matisoff 1987
	hək caŋ	body	Singh 1991:1.1
	əsibə **hək** caŋ	corpse / dead body	Singh 1991:1.14
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**sak**	body	Marrison 1967
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**thak**	body	Matisoff 1987
	thɔk	body	Michailovsky 1989b

[a] Lushai (Mizo) **tak-** ≍ **sak-** reflects ***s-** ≍ ***ts-**.
[b] Laryngeality of Meithei **hak** unexplained.

(8) PTB *lu-s BODY

This root seems confined to Himalayish and Qiangic. There is also a possible Tani cognate: Tagin **a din *li* ne** 'flesh'.

2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	ku^{13} **ly**^{53}	body	Sun Hongkai 1991a:1.1
Kaike	**lho**	body	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	**lus** pu	body; trunk	Andvik 1993:1; Egli-Roduner 1987:31 8; Egli-Roduner 1987:33 6
Tsangla (Motuo)	**lup**^{13} su^{55}	body	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	lus pu	body	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**lus**-pu	body	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**lu**^{13} po^{53}	body [1]; body	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.6
Motuo Menba	**lus** pu	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.07
Cuona Menba	**lu**^{35}po^{35}	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**lu**^{13}po^{53}	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ly**^{13}mɛ^{52}	lower half of the body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0736.02

	ly^{13}tø^{52}	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.02
Tibetan (Written)	**lus**	body	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	lus	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.01
	lus-po	body	Matisoff 1987; ZHANG Liansheng 1988:7
	sku-**lus**	body	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**lui**	body (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:1.1
Thakali (Tukche)	**lih**	body	Matisoff 1987; Hari 1971:2.A.1
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**liʔɨ**	corpse / dead body	Driem 1993
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**l̥ịwụ** kwə̣	body	DAI Qingxia 1989e:1.1
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**li**^{33} pu^{53}	body	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.17
	li^{31}pu^{55}	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.16
Muya	**ly**^{33}pu^{53}	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.15
Pumi (Taoba)	**ly**^{35} pu^{53}	body	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.10
Xumi	**li**^{33} pu^{55}	body	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.20
	li^{33}sɿ^{33}pu^{53}	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.17
3.3. rGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**li**^{33} spə^{53}	body	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.1 [a]
	li^{33} spə^{53} k^{h}ok^{53} pə^{33}	torso / trunk	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.6
	li^{33} spə^{53} sqa^{53} pa^{33}	back	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.4
	li^{33} spə^{53} ŋo^{33} rə^{33} pa^{33}	front	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.5
	li^{33} spə^{53} ɣje^{33} pa^{33}	side (right)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.2
	li^{33} spə^{53} ɣjon^{53} pa^{33}	side (left)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.3

[a] Original ***lis-pə** > Ergong **li**^{33}**spə**^{53} by comparison with **mək**^{33}**spə**^{53} ‘body hair’ .

(9) PTB *puŋ BODY / TORSO / CORPSE

1.2.4. “OLD KUKI”			
Kom Rem	tək **boŋ**	torso; trunk	Toba & Kom 1991:5; Toba & Kom 1991:1.6
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	**phu** kə	body	Sharma 1991b:1.1
	p^{h}**uk**	body	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hoŋ**-wo	body	Sun 1985a:84
Tibetan (Written)	**phung**.po	body	Sun 1985c:84
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	a-**fŭn̊**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	fŭn̊	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	p’un̊-bo	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**pu**-^{2}ts^{h}am	body hair (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:8.1.3
3.3.1. rGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Northern)	**p**^{h}**uŋ** bu	body	SUN Hongkai 1991k:1.1
	tə **p**^{h}**uŋ** bu rme	body hair	SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.1.3
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **p**^{h}**uŋ** bə	body	SUN Hongkai 1991l:1.1
	tə **p**^{h}**uŋ** bə tə ʁorje	front	SUN Hongkai 1991l:1.5
	tə **p**^{h}**uŋ** bə təque	side (left)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:1.3
	tə **p**^{h}**uŋ** bə ʁatɕ^{h}i	side (right)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:1.2

(10) PTB *tsyi BODY

6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Lolopho	gɯ^{33} **tʂhɿ**^{31}	body	DAI Qingxia 1989n:1.1
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	gụ^{55} **tʂ**^{h}**ʅ**^{21}	body	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.1
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tɕhi**^{35}gɯ^{31}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**tɕ**^{h}**e**^{35} gɯ^{31}	body	DAI Qingxia 1989o:94.
Nusu (Central)	**tɕ**^{h}**i**^{35} gɯ^{31}	body	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**tɕ**^{h}**i**^{55} gɯ^{31}	body	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**tʂhɿ**^{33} gɯ ^{31}	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.34
	tʂ^{h}**ɿ**^{33} gɯ^{31}	body	DAI Qingxia 1989p:94.
Nusu (Northern)	**tʂ**^{h}**ɿ**^{31} gɯ^{55}	body	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Nanjian)	gu^{55} **tʂ**^{h}**ɿ**^{21}	body	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.23
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Sani [Nyi]	**tɕæ**^{33}	corpse (archaic language)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:227.5
8. BAI			
Bai (Bijiang)	**tɕhi**^{55} gɯ̱^{42}	body	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕhi^{55}gɯ^{42}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.37
Bai (Dali)	**tshi**^{55} khou^{55} kɯ^{31}	body	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.35
	tɕɿ^{1} k^{h}o^{1}	body	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tshɛ̃**^{55} kɯ^{31}	body	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	體	body; limbs	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2759
Chinese (GSR #)	**0597i**	body; limbs	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2759
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**t’liər/t’iei:**	body, limb	Karlgren 1957:597i
Chinese (Old)	**r̥**^{ʕ}**ijʔ**	body; limbs	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2759
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**thejX**	body; limbs	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2759
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**tǐ**	body; limbs	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2759
	t’i	body, limb	Karlgren 1957:597i

(11) PTB *ti BODY

This root seems to be confined to the final syllable of compounds, both in TB and in Chinese.

A similar root, PTB ***tsyi** BODY (§1.1.1), which usually occurs in non-final position in compounds, may be allofamically related.

Another possible co-allofam is PTB ***m-di** BUTTOCKS / HIPS / FLESHY PART / WAIST / BACK (§1.7.5).

3.2. QIANGIC			
Pumi (Qinghua)	dʐə̥^{13} **ti**^{55}	lean (of meat)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Mawo)	ku **ti**	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.8; Sun 1986; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai 1991g:1.1
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	so^{55} **t**^{h}**i**^{21}	body	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Nanhua)	gɯ^{33}**di**^{21}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.24
Yi (Xide)	l̩^{33}bo^{21}**thi**^{33}	square / rectangular (lit. ’four square body’) (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0989.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lisu	gaw^{3}-**dē**^{5}	body	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	gaw^{3}-**dē**^{5}	body	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	gaw^{3} **[dē**^{5}**]**	body	Luce 1985:V.16
Lisu	ko̱^{33}**de**^{31}	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	ko̱^{44} **de**^{31}	body	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	ko^{44}**de**^{31}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.27
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{55} **ti**^{55}	meat, flesh	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	shēn-**tǐ**	body	Evans *et al.* 1991
	shen **tii**	body	Sun 1985b:84

(12) PTB *k(y)am BODY

This sparsely attested root awaits further confirmation.

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	nai **gham**	body	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	ding **gam**	body	Matisoff 1987
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Kulung	**gam_**	body	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**’kyã:**	body	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.1
	’kyạ	body	Matisoff 1987

(13) PTB *$\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{\mathbf{p}}{\mathbf{b}}$ aŋ BODY

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**pang**	body	Matisoff 1987
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Yimchungrü	**pang**	body	Marrison 1967
	pang khüm	coat	Marrison 1967
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**bang**	body	Marrison 1967
	bàng	body	Grüssner 1979:149
	bang ahormu	organ of body	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Central)	**phang** pu	dead body	Egli-Roduner 1987:31 9b

(14) PTB *du BODY

From Tai - ‘classifier for animals; self’ PTai ***tue**⋉***due** [NT] (cf. Si. **tua**); *HCT* pp.99, 283.

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**du**-sat-**du**-myeng	animal	Matisoff 1994b
	^{1}**du** ^{1}shat	animal	Weidert 1987:289
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Taman	**tu**	body	Luce 1985:K.49
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Manang (Gyaru)	**doː**^{2} ma^{2}	trunk	Nagano 1984:291
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	so^{55} **t**^{h}**iu**^{21}	body	CHEN Kang 1986c:1.1
	to^{55} p^{h}o^{21}	body	CHEN Kang 1986d:1.1
Tujia (Southern)	**to**^{55} p^{h}o^{21}	body	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	ɑ^{31} **to**^{35}	body	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31} **tu**^{31}	body	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	kɔŋ^{31} **tɔ**^{31}	body	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31} **tu**^{31}	body	DAI Qingxia 1989f:94
	a^{31} **tu**^{51} m̥ɔŋ^{35}	back (body)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:115
	a^{31}**tu**^{31}	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.29
Bola	kauŋ^{55} **tɔʔ**^{31}	body	DAI Qingxia 1989g:94
Bola (Luxi)	kauŋ^{55}**tɔʔ**^{31}	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.32
Maru [Langsu]	kauŋ^{31} **tau**^{35}	body	DAI Qingxia 1989l:1.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	kuŋ^{51} **tu**^{21}	body	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	kuŋ^{51}**tu**^{21}	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.30
	kuŋ^{51}**tu**^{21}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.42
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	ŋa^{323} **tv̩**^{33}	body; back	DAI Qingxia 1989c:1.1; DAI Qingxia 1989c:1.4
	ŋa^{323}**tv**^{33}	body (back) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.47
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	i^{33} **to**^{22}	torso / trunk	LUO Meizhen 1990:1.6
Lahu (Black)	**to**-nû-**to**-šâʔ	animals in general	Matisoff 1988a:1177
	ɔ^{31} **tu**^{33}	body	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**to**^{33}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.33
	ɔ̀-**to**	body	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{2} **to**^{33}	body	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Putao)	ko^{4} **[dü**^{5}**]**	body	Luce 1985:V.16
Lisu (Luquan)	kɑ^{55} **to**^{55}	back / body	XU Lin *et al.* 1986:p.110
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	mɔ́ **du**	body	Hansson 1989:271
Akha (Thai)	mɔ́-**do**	body	Hansson 1989:271
Bisu	aŋ **to**	body	Beaudouin 1988:13

Hani (Gelanghe)	mɔ^{55} **do^{33}**	body	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986

(15) PTB *nam BODY / ANIMAL

This root is well-attested in Karenic, with a likely Tangsa cognate.

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa	**^{3}ñʌm-**^{1}sa(ʔ)	animal; meat(1); cattle(1); deer(1)	Weidert 1987:140; Weidert 1987:41

7. KARENIC

Bwe (Western)	**ne^{2}**	body, self	Luce 1985:I.190
Geba	**ne^{2}**	body, self	Luce 1985:I.190
Pa-O	**nâm**	body	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:840
	nâm ʔáŋ ká	body (2)	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**nɑm^{2}**	body, self	Luce 1985:I.190
Paku	**nɔ^{3}**	body, self	Luce 1985:I.190
Pwo (Delta)	**nɑ̃^{1}**k‘ɔ̃^{4}	body, self	Luce 1985:I.190
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**nɑ̃^{4}**k‘ɔ̃^{6}	body, self	Luce 1985:I.190
Sgaw	**nɔ^{6}**k‘o^{1}	body, self	Luce 1985:I.190

(16) PTB *s-twat BODY (UPPER)

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	k^{h}ok^{55} **tø?^{55}**	upper body	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	khok **tø?**	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.07
Cuona Menba	**tø?^{53}**	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	kho^{55}**tø?^{53}**	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	ly^{13}**tø^{52}**	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.02
Tibetan (Written)	khog **stod**	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.01
	sku-**stod**	upper part of body	Matisoff 1987
	stod	upper part of body	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	khoχ **hto**	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.04

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	khɔ^{55}**ti^{55}**	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.16
Muya	khø^{55}**tø^{53}**	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.15
Queyu (Xinlong)	kuɛ^{55}**ʂtɛ^{55}**	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.13

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **stot**	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.11
Caodeng	tə-mtʃ^{h}i-**stot**	lip (upper)	Sun 1997a
	tə-q^{h}o-**stot**	upper body	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (NW)	tə mtʃ^{h}ə **stot**	upper lip	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.9.1
	tə zga **stot**	upper back	SUN Hongkai 1991l:5.5.1
rGyalrong	ta zgung **stot**	upper back	Nagano 1997:5.5.1

(17) PTB *s-pi ≷ *pay BODY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

Ngawn	pum-**pi**	body	Matisoff 1987

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	pum^{3} (**pi^{1}**)	body	Bhaskararao 1996:1425
	ˊpumˊ**piː**	body (n + nvs.)	Henderson 1965
	ˋpumˊ**piː**	body (n + nvs.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Laizo	pum-**pi**	whole body	Matisoff 1987

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Sema [Sumi]	a **pi**	body	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	**phi**	flesh	Bhat 1969:89

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**be** dór	flesh; meat; flesh, meat	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
Kokborok	**bə**=k^{h}an	meat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	bə=ša?	body, self	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	**be’**-en	meat, flesh, body;meat of a vegetable, in contrast to the greens	Burling 1992
	be’-en-**bi**-mang	whole body	Burling 1992
	be•-en	body; flesh; meat (n.)	Burling 2003:6.27-II:idx
	bi-mang	body of person or thing, shape, form; middle portion of an object, such as a glass	Burling 1992
	bi-mang	body; middle portion (n.)	Burling 2003:6.21-II:idx
	wak **be•**-en	pork (n.)	Burling 2003:5.401-II:idx

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***p^{h}ay**	meat / flesh	French 1983:522

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	ok **p^{h}e**	pork	French 1983:522
	pheh	meat	Marrison 1967
	phie	flesh	Marrison 1967
	p^{h}e li	wound	French 1983:522
	p^{h}eh	meat	French 1983:522
	p^{h}ie	flesh	French 1983:522
Phom	**phai**	flesh; meat	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	p^{h}ai	meat / flesh	French 1983:522
	p^{h}ay^{55}	flesh; meat	Burling & Amon Phom 1998; Burling & Amon Phom 1998

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Taoping)	ɕe^{55} **pe^{33}**	body	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.9

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	li^{33} **spə^{53}**	body	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.1
	li^{33} **spə^{53}** k^{h}ok^{53} pə^{33}	torso / trunk	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.6
	li^{33} **spə^{53}** sqa^{53} pa^{33}	back	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.4
	li^{33} **spə^{53}** ŋo^{33} rə^{33} pa^{33}	front	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.5
	li^{33} **spə^{53}** ɣje^{33} pa^{33}	side (right)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.2
	li^{33} **spə^{53}** ɣjon^{53} pa^{33}	side (left)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.3
	mək^{33} **spə^{53}**	body hair	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.3
	mək^{33} **spə^{53}** rɟje^{13}	pore	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.2.2

[a] Original ***lis-pə** > Ergong **li^{33}spə^{53}** by comparison with **mək^{33}spə^{53}** ‘body hair’ .

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nasu	gɯ^{21} **p^{h}e^{33}**	body	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.1
Yi (Dafang)	gɤ^{31} **p^{h}i^{31}**	body	Matisoff 1994b

(18) PTB *-pu ≷ *-pwa SUFFIX (nominalizer; bulk-provider)

This morpheme is actually a general noun suffix in Tibetan and other languages. For ease of reference, however, nouns with this suffix relating to the body are here assembled in one place. See Jäschke:324-325.

Written Tibetan has the three suffixes **-pa**, **-ba**, and **-po**, which sometimes have nominalizing force, but often merely serve to provide an additional syllable to a noun root. After a verbal root, **-pa** behaves rather like English ‘to’, used in the citation form of verbs, creating a kind of infinitive or verbal noun.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-**po**	body	Sun 1993b
	a u a-**po**	body	Sun 1993b

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Central)	lus **pu**	body; trunk	Andvik 1993:1; Egli-Roduner 1987:31 8; Egli-Roduner 1987:33 6
	phang **pu**	dead body	Egli-Roduner 1987:31 9b
Tsangla (Motuo)	lup^{13} **su^{55}**	body	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	lus **pu**	body	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.7
	tɕaŋ **pu**	lean (of humans)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	lus-**pu**	body	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	tɕɑm^{55} **po^{55}**	lean (person)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	zy^{35} **po^{55}**	body	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986 [a]
Tshona (Mama)	lu^{13} **po^{53}**	body [1]; body	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.6
Motuo Menba	lus **pu**	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.07

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	hoŋ-**wo**	body	Sun 1985a:84
	rkom **mbo**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.5
Tibetan (Batang)	zo^{55} **po^{55}**	body	DAI Qingxia 1989a:1.1
	zo^{55} **po^{55}** dʐo^{13} xho^{53}	front	DAI Qingxia 1989a:1.5
	zo^{55} **po^{55}** ngo^{55} dĩ^{55}	torso / trunk	DAI Qingxia 1989a:1.6
	zo^{55} **po^{55}** phaʔ^{53}	side (right)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:1.2
	zo^{55} **po^{55}** tʂhi^{53}	side (left)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:1.3
	zo^{55} **po^{55}** ŋỹ^{55} xho^{53}	back	DAI Qingxia 1989a:1.4
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	lu^{13}**po^{53}**	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	kam^{55}**po^{53}**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	zū **bū**	body	Bishop 1989:1.1 [b]
Spiti	zui **bu**	body hair	Bodh 1991:8.1.3 [c]
Tibetan (Written)	’bri-**ba**	draw, write	LaPolla 1987:181
	’chi-**ba**	die	Matisoff 1983:13
	’drub-**pa**	sew	LaPolla 1987:178
	’dźiŋ-**pa**~mdźiŋ-**pa**	neck	LaPolla 1987:132
	’gram-**pa**	cheek	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:17; Marrison 1967
	’gul-**pa** ~ mgul(-**pa**)	neck, throat	Coblin 1986:112
	gzugs **po**	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.01
	gzugs **po**	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.1; ZHANG Liansheng 1988:7
	lus-**po**	body	Matisoff 1987; ZHANG Liansheng 1988:7
	pa ~ **ba**	(nominalizing suffix)	Jäschke 1881:321
	phung.**po**	body	Sun 1985c:84
	po	noun suffix	Jäschke 1881:324
	sgo-**po**	body	Matisoff 1987
	skam **po**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.1
	zla **ba**	moon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.01
	zla **ba**	moon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.1; LaPolla 1987:145; Benedict 1972:42n136; Sun 1985c:605; Marrison 1967

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	p’uń-**bo**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}suː **pə**	body	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0047
Thakali (Tukche)	suhk **pɔ**	body	Hari 1971:2.A.1

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	li^{33} **pu^{53}**	body	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.17
	li^{31}**pu^{55}**	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.16
Muya	ly^{33}**pu^{53}**	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.15
Pumi (Taoba)	ly^{35} **pu^{53}**	body	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.10
Xumi	li^{33} **pu^{55}**	body	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.20
	li^{33}ʂʅ^{33}**pu^{53}**	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.17

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	hɛ zu **pu** ʐɛ kua	side (left)	SUN Hongkai 1991b:1.3
	hɛ zu **pu** ʐɛ ʐt^{h}ɯ	side (right)	SUN Hongkai 1991b:1.2
	fiɛ zu **pu**	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.14
Ergong (Daofu)	ʔzu **bo**	body	DAI Qingxia 1989b:1.1

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Northern)	p^{h}uŋ **bu**	body	SUN Hongkai 1991k:1.1
	tə p^{h}uŋ **bu** rme	body hair	SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.1.3
rGyalrong (NW)	tə p^{h}uŋ **bə**	body	SUN Hongkai 1991l:1.1
	tə p^{h}uŋ **bə** tə ʁorje	front	SUN Hongkai 1991l:1.5
	tə p^{h}uŋ **bə** təque	side (left)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:1.3
	tə p^{h}uŋ **bə** ʁatɕ^{h}i	side (right)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:1.2

5. TUJIA

Tujia	to^{55} **p^{h}o^{21}**	body	CHEN Kang 1986d:1.1
Tujia (Southern)	to^{55} **p^{h}o^{21}**	body	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

[a] < Tib.
[b] Cf. WT **gzugs-po**.
[c] Cf. WT **gzugs-po**.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Xide)	ko^{21} **po^{33}**	body; human body, flesh	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ko^{21}**po^{33}**	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.35
	ko^{21}**po^{33}**	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Sani [Nyi]	kɯ^{33} **pɯ^{33}**	body	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:263.1
	kɯ^{33} **pɯ^{33}** mɪ^{21}	filthy (body)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:28.1
	kɯ^{33} **pɤ^{33}**	body	MA Xueliang 1989:325.2
	kɯ^{33}(**pɯ^{33}**)	body	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	kɯ^{33}**pɯ^{33}**mɪ^{21}	bodily dirt	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	kɯ^{33}**pɤ^{33}**	body	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.1
Yi (Sani)	kɯ^{33}**pɤ^{33}**	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.39

(19) IA *jyu BODY

From Nepali **jiu** 'body, life', cf. Sanskrit **jīvá** 'living creature' < PIE ***gwei-**.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**jó** a-ja	flesh	Sun 1993b

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Sangtam	**jü** bün	body	Marrison 1967

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Jirel)	**'jyiu**	body	Matisoff 1987
Sherpa	**ju**	body	Matisoff 1987
	ju-puq	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	**jyu**	body	Noonan *et al.* 1992:1.1
Gurung (Ghachok)	(**N**)jyu	body	Glover 1972:2.A.1
	jyu	body	Matisoff 1987
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{3}tsju**	body (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:1.1
Tamang (Sahu)	**cyuh**	body	Matisoff 1987

2.1.5. DHIMAL

Dhimal	**jiu***	body	King 1994

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	**ju**	body (< Nep.)	Ebert 1997
Yakha	**dziu**	body	Kohn 1990:1.1
	dziu biya muŋ	body hair	Kohn 1990:8.1.3

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**jyu**.ʔaŋ	body (<N jyu + aŋ) (n.)	Caughley 2000
Magar	**jyu**	body	Matisoff 1987

X.1. NON-TB

Nepali	**jiu**	body	Matisoff 1987
	jiu-ko raṇ	body hair (n.)	Hale 1973:02a.09
	jiu-ko raṇ	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	sarir, **jiu**	body (n.)	Hale 1973:02a.01

(20) IA *aŋ BODY / LIMB / MEMBER

Cf. Sanskrit **áṅga** 'limb', 'body'.

1.7.1.1. BODO

Lalung [Tiwa]	**han**	body / flesh	Balawan 1965:27	[a]

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	**a'n**-	body	Burling 1992	[b]
	ha'-an	body, usually in compounds	Burling 1992	
	ha'n-	body, usually in compounds	Burling 1992	
	han	body, usually in compounds	Burling 1992	

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Thakali (Tukche)	**āng**	body	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**ʔang**	body	Matisoff 1987

[a] May be rhinoglottophiliac.
[b] [Source Note] usually used in compounds.

(21) PTB *kwak BODY / TRUNK

The basic meaning of this etymon seems to be "major segment of the body". The compounds glossed 'chest' evidently derive their specific meaning from the first syllable (see PTB ***b/g-raŋ** CHEST (§1.4.4.3)).

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	**k^{h}ok^{55}** tøʔ^{55}	upper body	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	k^{h}oŋ^{55} meʔ^{55}	lower body	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**khok** meʔ	lower half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0736.07
	khok tøʔ	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.07

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	**kho^{55}**m̥ɛʔ^{53}	lower half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0736.03
	kho^{55}tøʔ^{53}	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	phaŋ^{13}**kho^{52}**	chest (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.02
	phaŋ^{13}**kho^{52}** tir^{13}	throw out (one's chest) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1684.02
	phaŋ^{15}**koʔ^{53}**	chest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:257.2
Sherpa	cha **kok**	chest	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	ṭhaŋ **gok**	chest	Bodh 1991:5.1
Tibetan (Written)	(braŋ **khog**) ldir	throw out (one's chest) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1684.01
	braŋ **khog**	chest (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.01
	byaṅ-**k'og**	inside of body, rump "opposed to yan-lag 'limbs'"	Matisoff 1987:179
	khog smad	lower half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0736.01
	khog stod	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.01
	khog-pa	belly, abdomen	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:34
	khog-pa, **khog**-ma	trunk of body (n.)	Jäschke 1881:43
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**khoχ** hto	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.04
	khoχ mar	lower half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0736.04

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**kāʔ**	body	Matisoff 1987
	kaʔ	body	Caughley 1972:2.A.1
	kaʔ-	body (esp the back, but only as a compound in chant words) (nb.)	Caughley 2000
	kaʔ.gəm.ʔi	location of spirit in the body (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kaʔ.rəyʔ	odour (sp.), of body; menses; body odour (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	kaʔ.tam.bi	location of spirit in the body (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**khɔ^{55}**mɛ^{55}	lower half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0736.16
	khɔ^{55}ti^{55}	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.16
Muya	**kho^{55}**pɑ^{53}	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.15
	khø^{55}me^{53}	lower half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0736.15
	khø^{55}tø^{53}	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.15
Muya [Minyak]	**qho^{55}**pa^{53}	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.15
	qho^{55}pa^{53}ʁɒ^{35}ʐɐ^{35}	side (left)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:1.3
	q^{h}o^{55}pa^{53}	body	SUN Hongkai 1991h:1.1
	q^{h}o^{55}pa^{53}mi^{55}ʐɐ^{35}	side (right)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:1.2
Queyu (Xinlong)	**kuɛ^{55}**ʂmɛ^{55}	lower half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0736.13
	kuɛ^{55}ʂtɛ^{55}	upper half of the body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.13

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Caodeng	tə-**q^{h}o**-smɐt	lower body	Sun 1997a
	tə-**q^{h}o**-stot	upper body	Sun 1997a

(22) PTB *t(y)u HAIR

So far this root is deemed to occur only in Karbi and Meithei. However, it bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***(t)su-ŋ** HAIR / MANE / BEARD (§1.2.5.5).

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	segrak-ki **tu**	underarm hair	Singh 1991:8.1.3.1
	thə bak-ki **tu**	chest hair	Singh 1991:8.1.3.2
	tu	body hair; hair (of body)	Singh 1991:8.1.3; Marrison 1967
	tu haw	beard / moustache	Singh 1991:8.1.2

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	a **chu**	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
	chu	hair	Matisoff 1987
	chū	hair; hair of head	Grüssner 1979:74; Grüssner 1979:74
	chu jeng	hair (of head); hair	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987

1.1.1.1 Flesh/Meat

food ····· **meat**

Figure 22: 1.1.1.1 *Flesh/Meat*

(1) PTB *s-nya-k ≷ *hyak FLESH / MEAT

The allofam **hyak** is reconstructed in Matisoff 1997:41 ("Primary and secondary laryngeal initials in TB"), based partially on the Proto-Tani reconstruction in J. Sun (1993), with the addition of Karbi and Meithei reflexes.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***(s-)ńɑ[:]k**	meat / flesh	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1033a-b
	***s-nya(:)k**	meat, flesh (n.)	Benedict 1972:p.190

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nya-k**	meat / flesh	Matisoff 2003a:605

1.1.1. TANI: ***jak** FLESH (human)

**Tani*	***jak**	flesh (human)	Sun 1993a:156

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-**jaʔ**	flesh (human); flesh	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	jó a-**ja**	flesh	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**jak**	flesh (human); body	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**jak** a-tɯr	strong	Sun 1993b
	a-**jak** ma-juŋ	short (human)	Sun 1993b
	a-**jak** tɯk-din	have spasms	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**jak** hɯr-ǰi:	bathe	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**jak** hɯr-kjak	bathe	Sun 1993b
Galo	diŋ **yek**	flesh (n.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**jak**	flesh (human)	Sun 1993a
	ai-**ak**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	din-**yak**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**hak** shâ	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987	[a]

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	an, **ok**	meat	Marrison 1967
	ok	flesh; meat	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	òk	flesh / meat	Grüssner 1979:33
	ok-hī(?)	barking deer	Weidert 1987:188
	ok hi	deer (barking)	Marrison 1967

1.6. MRU

Mru	**ŋɑ^{3}**	flesh	Luce 1985:Q.67

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Khiamngan	**^{1}ñɐɪʔ**	meat	Weidert 1987:91

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung (Ghachok)	se **no**	flesh	Glover 1972:1.29

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	ptɕa^{33} **no^{33}**	flesh / meat	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.11
Ergong (Daofu)	ʔba **no**	flesh / meat	DAI Qingxia 1989b:1.11

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Xide)	**no^{55}**	meat	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

[a] The laryngeality of **hak** is unexplained.

	vu[21]-du[33] **no**[55]-ni[33]	flesh and blood	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
7. Karenic: *hŋa[B] FLESH / MEAT, *njáq MEAT / FLESH			
Karen	***hńa**	flesh, meat; fish, flesh, meat	Benedict 1972:128n350; Benedict 1972:136n369; Benedict 1972:190n488
	***hŋa[B]**	flesh, meat	Luangthongkum 2013:120
Karen (Pwo)	***jáq**	flesh / meat	Jones 1961:62
Karen (TP)	***jáq**	flesh / meat	Jones 1961:62
Karen (Sgaw)	***ñáʔ**	flesh / meat	Jones 1961:62
Karen	***njáq**	flesh / meat	Jones 1961:62
Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)	***njáq**	flesh / meat	Jones 1961:62
Karen [Burling]	*ŋa[2]	flesh, meat	Luangthongkum 2013:120
Karen	da[31] **n̥a**[31]	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.50; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.50
Kayah	**ja**[11]	flesh, meat	Luangthongkum 2013:120
Kayan	**ɟa**[11]	flesh, meat	Luangthongkum 2013:120
Kayaw	**ja**[11]	flesh, meat	Luangthongkum 2013:120
Pa-O	**já**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:62
Pa-O (Southern)	**ja**[33]	flesh, meat	Luangthongkum 2013:120
Pa-O (Northern)	**ja**[55]	flesh, meat	Luangthongkum 2013:120
	yɑ[1]	flesh	Luce 1985:I.212
Pa-O	ʔə **já**	flesh	Solnit 1989
Paku	dɑ[3]**ñɑ**[3]	flesh	Luce 1985:I.212
Palaychi	**záq**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:62
Pwo (Northern)	**ja**[33]	flesh, meat	Luangthongkum 2013:120
Pwo (Southern)	**ja**[55]	flesh, meat	Luangthongkum 2013:120
Pwo (Tenasserim)	sʻə̆[4]**yɑ**[1]	flesh	Luce 1985:I.212
Pwo (Delta)	sʻə̆ **yɑ**[4]	flesh	Luce 1985:I.212
Pwo (Bassein)	**jà**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:62
Pwo (Moulmein)	**jáʔ**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:62
Sgaw	tɑ[6]**ñɑ**[4]	flesh	Luce 1985:I.212
Pwo (Moulmein)	**já?**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:62
Sgaw	**ɲa**[31~]	flesh, meat	Luangthongkum 2013:120
Sgaw (Northern)	**ɲa**[45,]	flesh, meat	Luangthongkum 2013:120
Sgaw (Southern)	**ñà**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:62
Sgaw (Bassein)	a[31] **n̥a**[31]	flesh; meat	Dai Qingxia 1989k:159.1; Dai Qingxia 1989k:554.1
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	da[31] **n̥a**[31]	flesh; meat	Dai Qingxia 1989k:159; Dai Qingxia 1989k:554
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ñáʔ**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:62
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	a[31] **n̥a**[31]	meat	Dai Qingxia 1989j:584
	ta[31] **n̥a**[31]	flesh	Dai Qingxia 1989j:159
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ńi̱ôk/ńźi̱uk**	meat; flesh; meat, flesh	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1033a-b; Karlgren 1957:1033a-b
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	feei **rouh**	fat meat	Sun 1985b:248
	ròu	meat	Evans *et al.* 1991
	rouh	flesh, meat	Sun 1985b:480

Chinese comparandum

Comment: Cf. 肉 **ròu** ‘meat, flesh’, a comparandum for PTB ***now** TENDER / SOFT (§7.1.4).

(2) PTB *mey FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL

(***may**≈***mey**); PNN ***me:y** (WTF 521).

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Kom Rem	**meh**	meat	Toba & Kom 1991:1.11
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	[2]the [4]**muo**	meat	Weidert 1987:91 [a]
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	ka-**mî**	meat	Weidert 1987:91
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**məi** g̱i	skin	Matisoff 1994e
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**me** sang	monkey (langur)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**mɤ́y**	deer	Bhat 1968
	mɤi?	deer	Weidert 1987:91
Dimasa	**mei**	deer (generic)	Marrison 1967
	mi shai	deer (barking)	Marrison 1967
Meche	**mɤi?**	deer	Weidert 1987:91
	mɤi saʔ	meat; flesh; flesh-meat	Weidert 1987:140; Weidert 1987:289; Weidert 1987:41 [b]
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	hogori **me** si	barking deer, Muntiacus muntjac Zimmerman [As. sagoli pohu] (n.)	Jacquesson 2005
	hoha **me** si	Indian hare, Lepus nigricollis Cuvier (& Lepus sadiya Kloss) [As. soha pohu] (n.)	Jacquesson 2005
	hor **me** si	big deer, or sambar, Cervus unicolor Kerr [As. hor] (n.)	Jacquesson 2005
	horina **me** si	hog deer, spotted deer [As. horina pohu, phutaki pohu]	Jacquesson 2005
	me-basi	fat [see sena]	Jacquesson 2005
	mey ju	rhinoceros [see meysu]	Jacquesson 2005
	mey su	rhinoceros, Rhinocerus unicornis L. [rare word] [meysu, meyju]	Jacquesson 2005
	me ang	elephant	Brown 1895:65
	me ba	fat	Brown 1895:70
	me cā	otter, Lutra lutra L.	Jacquesson 2005
	me cu	animal (on earth) [not čījā]	Jacquesson 2005
	me go	lion (?, a rare word anyway)	Jacquesson 2005
	me ja	wild pig, Sus scrofa L.; pig (wild)	Jacquesson 2005; Brown 1895:68
	me õ	elephant [see meyõ] [meõ, meũ]	Jacquesson 2005
	me pu	monitor lizard	Jacquesson 2005
	me ru	ant-eating, striped quadruped	Jacquesson 2005
	me sa	tiger, Panthera tigris L.; tiger	Jacquesson 2005; Brown 1895:69
	me shi	deer	Brown 1895:65
	me si	deer [see hor, horina hogori, hoha; the category mesi is now eqivalent to the As. ”pohu” category]	Jacquesson 2005
	me suru	jackal	Brown 1895:67
	me tsa	otter	Brown 1895:68
	me tu	unidentified quadruped (n.)	Jacquesson 2005
	me yõ	Indian elephant, Elephas maximus L., wild or domestic [var. meü, meõ] (n.)	Jacquesson 2005
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
Northern Naga	***me:y**	meat / flesh	French 1983:521
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	ku **mei**	monkey (macaque)	Marrison 1967
	ku shuo-ku **mei**	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
	mei šou	monkey (generic)	French 1983:521
	mei shi	deer (barking)	Marrison 1967
	mei shou	pig (wild)	Marrison 1967
	šu **mei**	meat / flesh	French 1983:521
Konyak	**mei**	meat; animal; flesh; barking deer; animal, meat, flesh	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; French 1983:521; French 1983:521
	mei ñak	donkey	French 1983:521
	mei nem	game (four footed); sago palm	French 1983:521
	mei ñu	elephant	French 1983:458
	mei ši	wild boar; barking deer	French 1983:521; French 1983:521
	mei šo	rotten; skin, leather	French 1983:521; French 1983:549
	mei yo	langur; squirrel	French 1983:521
	mei-khep	hunt	Marrison 1967
	mei la	pig (wild)	Marrison 1967
	mei nem	rotten	Marrison 1967
	mei nyu	elephant	Marrison 1967
	mei shi	deer (barking)	Marrison 1967
	mei shi	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mei sho	leather	Marrison 1967
	mei yo	monkey (langur); squirrel	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	shi **mei**	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
	sho, **mei** sho	skin	Marrison 1967
	ši **mei**	monkey	French 1983:521
Konyak (Tamlu)	**mʌ́i**	meat	Weidert 1987:41
Phom	**mʌy**[31]ʃi[31]	deer (barking)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	mʌy[31]ʃæŋ[55]	monkey (macaque)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**mai**	flesh; deer (generic); meat; deer	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; French 1983:521
	mai i	animal , meat, flesh	French 1983:521
	mai nak	ape, monkey; monkey (generic)	French 1983:521; Marrison 1967
	me nak	monkey	French 1983:521
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**mí**-lak	skin	Matisoff 1987
	mə-là[3]	skin	Matisoff 1987
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**maiʔ**	meat	Weidert 1987:91
	māyʔ	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	mayʔ	meat, food with meat in it, flesh, woody part of tree, gum on stick; prey, game, victim of demon (ext.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mayʔ	flesh; meat	Caughley 1972:1.29; Caughley 1972:7.A.15
	mayʔ hlyawʔ-	twitch (flesh) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	mayʔ pləwʔ-	have disease where flesh is twisted (cholera?) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	mayʔ srut-	twinge (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	mayʔ.ʔo	snack (meat, pickle or chutney) taken along with beer, spirit (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mayʔ/syaʔ gulh-	hunt (vt.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**mayʔ**	flesh / meat	Caughley 1990:1.11

Chinese comparandum

S381 mi deer (meat)

(3) PTB *ka-y FLESH / MEAT

This root bears a certain resemblance to PTB ***gray** LEAN / THIN (§1.1.1.2), but the different semantics leads us to set it up as a separate etymon.

2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	shɑ[13] **kɛ**[35]	flesh / meat	Sun Hongkai 1991a:1.11
	ʃhɑ[13] **kɛ**[35]	muscle	Sun Hongkai 1991a:8.8
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**ke**[35]	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**kə**[33] e[44]	meat, flesh	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**kɤ**[33] e[44]	meat	Dai Qingxia 1989h:584
Jinuo (Baka)	**kɤ**[33] ji[44]	meat	Dai Qingxia 1989i:584
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**qɑ**[21]	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.37
	qɑ̱[21]	meat, flesh	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**koe** 7	meat	Dell 1981b:54
	kœ[7]	meat	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ka**[42]	flesh / muscle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.48
	kæ̱[21]	flesh / meat	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.11
	kɛ[21]	meat / flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.36
	kɛ̱[21]	meat, flesh	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	肌	flesh	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1203
	肌 肉	flesh	Nagano & Prins 2013:0203
Chinese (GSR #)	**0602d**	flesh	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1203
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kɨ̱ɛr/kji**	flesh	Karlgren 1957:602d
Chinese (Old)	**krəj** {krə[j]}	flesh	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1203
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**kij**	flesh	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1203
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**jī**	flesh	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1203
	ki	flesh	Karlgren 1957:602d

Chinese comparandum

肌 OC ***kɨ̱ɛr**, *GSR* #602d; B & S 2011: ***krəj {krə[j]}**; Mand. **jī**.

(4) PTB *m-dwaŋ FLESH / MEAT

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	a **daŋ**	flesh	Tayeng 1976

[a] Angami [2]**the-** sometimes reflects prefixal ***s-**.
[b] [Source Note] lit. flesh-meat, cf. **mʌ́i** ‘meat’ in Tamlu-Konyak [Weidert 1987: 41].

1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	sa **doŋ**	flesh / meat	Singh 1991:1.11
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar (Dolakhali)	**thõ** si	meat / animal	Genetti 1990b
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya	**ndo**^{53}	meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.15
	ndo^{53}qhɐ̲^{33}qhɐ̲^{53}	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ndo**^{55}	flesh; meat	SUN Hongkai 1991h:1.11; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.15 [a]
Pumi (Jiulong)	**thũ**^{55}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.10; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.10
	thũ^{55}mɑ^{11}tshŋ^{55}	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.10
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tho**^{55}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.13; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**thõ**^{55}	meat / flesh	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tho**^{55}qha^{55}qha^{33}	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**t^{h}õ**^{55}	flesh / meat	SUN Hongkai 1991n:1.11
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**nthu**	meat / flesh	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.14
	nt^{h}u	flesh / meat	SUN Hongkai 1991b:1.11

[a] Cf. Ergong.

(5) PTB *kan FLESH / MEAT

1.7.1.1. BODO			
Kokborok	bə-**k^{h}an**	meat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	poŋ-**k^{h}an**	goat meat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	tauʔ-**k^{h}an**	chicken meat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	wauʔ-**k^{h}an**	pork	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**kʊn**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Côông [Phunoi]	cə̆ **kɨ̃**^{11}	meat	Bradley 1977
	tlə **kə̀n**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	tlə^{33} **kən**^{11}	meat	Bradley 1977

(6) PTB *m $\frac{y}{w}$ an ≍ *min FLESH / MEAT / ANIMAL

Padam-Mising **a-muir ≍ a-muil** 'body' looks like a plausible reflex of this root, but for the moment we hesitate to reconstruct a final liquid on the testimony of this single language.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Miri, Hill	so-**min** sor	animal kid	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	ta **mon**	animal	Tayeng 1976
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Central)	**mong** nang	skin	Andvik 1993:19
Tsangla (Motuo)	**moŋ**^{13} naŋ^{13}	animal skin	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	moŋ naŋ	skin	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**moŋ**-naŋ	skin	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**men**^{53}	body [2]	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Motuo Menba	**moŋ** naŋ	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.07
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	a-**mán**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	mân	meat (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	mán čúk	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
	vi **mân**	kin, offspring, relatives (literally flesh and blood) (n.)	Plaisier 2007
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	ə-**mâñ**	flesh, game	Benedict 1976a

(7) PTB *ta(m)- FLESH / MEAT

Apparently this etymon always occurs in first syllables of compounds, where it usually seems to have been reduced to an unstressed prefix.

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	**ta** mon	animal	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**ta:** brẽ	meat; flesh (meat); flesh	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987
	tɑ^{31} bɹeŋ^{53}	meat, flesh	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɑ^{31}bɹeŋ^{53}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.22; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.22
	tɑ^{31}bɹeŋ^{53}	meat / flesh	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.49
	tɑ^{31}lɑ^{53}	deer (river) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.22
Idu	**tam** be	meat	Pulu 1978
	tam bre	meat	Anonymous 1962
	tam bre-ci	meat soup	Anonymous 1962
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami Naga	**²the** ⁴muo	meat	Weidert 1987:91 [a]
7. KARENIC			
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**ta**^{31} θɔ^{55}	fatty meat	DAI Qingxia 1989j:588

[a] Angami **²the-** sometimes reflects prefixal ***s-**.

(8) NEIA *dwar FLESH / MEAT / ANIMAL

This etymon has so far only been found in languages of the Northeast Indian Areal Group.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Galo	a **dor**	body (animal) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	a **dor**	body (animal)	Das Gupta 1963
	ku: hi ku: **dor** na kuna	lean	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**du**	numeral suffix [animal]	Simon 1976
	dur	numeral suffix [animal]	Simon 1976
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	be **dór**	flesh; meat; flesh, meat	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	dor	classifier for roots or flesh	Bhat 1968

(9) PDeng *bre-ŋ FLESH / MEAT / ANIMAL

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	ta: **brẽ**	meat; flesh (meat); flesh	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987
	tɑ^{31} **bɹeŋ**^{53}	meat, flesh	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɑ^{31}**bɹeŋ**^{53}	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.22; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.22
	tɑ^{31}**bɹeŋ**^{53}	meat / flesh	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.49
	tɑ^{31}**bɹeŋ**^{55}kuɑɯ^{53}	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.22
	tɑ^{31}**bɹeŋ**^{55}mɑ^{31}lɯu^{53}	hunt	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1230.22; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:686.49
	tɑ^{31}**bɹoŋ**^{53}tshoŋ^{35}	hunter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0188.22
Idu	amba-ci am **bre**	wild animal	Anonymous 1962
	am **bre**	animal	Anonymous 1962
	jaŋ^{55}**bɹeŋ**^{55}	flesh / meat	SUN Hongkai 1991f:1.11
	jɑŋ^{55}**bɹeŋ**^{55}	meat / flesh	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.50
	õkoci am **bre**	domestic animal	Anonymous 1962
	tam **be**	meat	Pulu 1978
	tam **bre**	meat	Anonymous 1962
	tam **bre**-ci	meat soup	Anonymous 1962

(10) PTB *ri-dak ANIMAL

This binome is found in Written Tibetan **ri dwags**, with the extremely rare initial **dw-** in the second syllable. This binome has been widely borrowed in languages influenced by Tibetan (Damu, Menba, Tamangic, Qiangic, rGyalrongic).

For the first syllable, see PTB ***ri** MOUNTAIN (§3.2.5).

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	***rɯda**	wild animal	Sun 1993b
2.1.2. BODIC			
Motuo Menba	**ri daʔ**	animal / beast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0303.07
Cuona Menba	**rik**^{35}**daʔ**^{53}	animal / beast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0303.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rə tak**	animal / beast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0303.05
Tibetan (Batang)	**zɻ**^{13}**dɑʔ**^{53}	animal / beast (herbivore) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0303.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ri**^{13}**ta**^{52}	animal / beast (herbivore) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0303.02
Tibetan (Written)	**ri dwags**	animal / beast (herbivore) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0303.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**rə daχ**	animal / beast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0303.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Manang (Prakaa)	**²rita:**	animal	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0091b
	³sem cẽ **²rita:**	animal	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0091a
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**zɚ**^{35}**ta**^{55}	animal / beast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0303.16
Muya	**rə**^{33}**tɑ**^{53}	animal / beast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0303.15
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ri**^{13}**ta**^{55}	animal / beast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0303.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**zʌ**^{33}**ta**^{55}	animal / beast (herbivore) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0303.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**rdak**^{53} rmo^{53}	fur (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.4
	rdak^{53} sp^{h}op^{13}	carcass / dead animal	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.15
Ergong (Daofu)	**rə dɔ** spə	fur (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.1.4
	rə dɔ ʔruə	carcass / dead animal	DAI Qingxia 1989b:1.15
Daofu	**rə dɑ**	animal / beast (herbivore) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0303.12
Ergong (Daofu)	**rədɔ** tɕa	hide / leather	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.2.6
Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	**'rədak**˺	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	**rə̆ dâ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	**'rəda**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	**'rəda**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**'rəda**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**'rəda**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**'rədak**˺	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Northern)	**rdak** tə mbəm	carcass / dead animal	SUN Hongkai 1991k:1.15
rGyalrong (NW)	**rdak** vəɣma	carcass / dead animal	SUN Hongkai 1991l:1.15
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**rdak** wu mt^{h}ək	haunches (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:5.8.3
	rdɐk mgɐm	carcass / dead animal	SUN Hongkai 1991j:1.15
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	**rdɑ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**rdɑ̂ɣ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Northern)	**ridak** rme	fur (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.1.4
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	**rə dak**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**rə dɑk**	animal / beast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0303.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	**rə'bak**˺	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	**rə'bak**˺	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	**rə'da**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**rə'da**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	**rə'da**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431

rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	**rə'dakˀ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	**rə'dakˀ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	**rə'dakˀ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	**rə'dakˀ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	**rə'dakˀ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	**rə'dakˀ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	**rə'dakˀ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	**rə'daʔ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	**rə'dɑkˀ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	**rə'dɑkˀ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	**rə'takˀ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	**rə'tax**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
Caodeng	**rə/e-daʔ**	animal (herbivore)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**rədak** wa rɲe	fur (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.4
rGyalrong (NW)	**rətak** rme	fur (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.4
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**rɯdaʁ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	**ʒəp'dɑkˀ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	**ʐi̱zto**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Queyu Gala)	**ʐɘ'te**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	**ʐˈdo**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	**rə'dokˀ**	animal	Nagano & Prins 2013:1431

(11) PTB * s g -la FLESH / MEAT / DEER

See Gong 2001:32.

For the connection between GAME ANIMAL (in general) and DEER, see the ***syan** allofam of PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1). A similar well-known example in Germanic is the cognate pair German **Tier** 'animal' / English **deer**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gla**	musk deer	Matisoff 2003a:590

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Chinbok	**hla**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣla**	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hla**	muskdeer	Sun 1985a:621
Tibetan (Batang)	**lɑ^{55}**	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**laː^{55}**	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.02
Tibetan (Written)	**gla** ba	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.01
	glɑ-ṗrúg	musk-deer (young)	Jäschke 1881
	glá-bɑ	musk-deer	Jäschke 1881
	glá-mo	musk-deer (female)	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hla**	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.04

2.2. Newar

Newar (Kathmandu)	**la**	meat / animal	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**lā**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.11

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**lha**	deer	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5167
	lha (lhja)	sika (deer)	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5238

4. Nungic

Rawang	thə **lɑ^{53}**	musk deer/river deer	LaPolla 2003:360
Nung	thɑ^{31}**lɑ^{55}**	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.21

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**la**	deer, river	Björverud 1994
Yi (Liangshan)	**lɯ^{21}**pu^{33}	deer, river	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**lo^{33}**	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.37
Yi (Weishan)	**lɑ^{33}**	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.36
Yi (Xide)	**lɯ^{33}**pu̱^{33}	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	fɤ^{35}**lɑ^{53}**	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.43
Lisu (Northern)	de^{21}phe^{33}**la^{33}**	river deer (small in build, short-legged, grey in colour, larger than musk deer) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}li^{21}**la^{33}**	musk deer, moschus sefanicus (species of river deer, living in cold areas 3800m above sea level in Gaoligong and Biluo Snow Mountains)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**la^{3}**	deer (musk)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**la^{33}**	river deer (N.)	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}dʒ̩^{44}	tooth of river deer	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}dʑi^{44}	skin of river deer	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}ma^{33}	female river deer	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}mu^{33}	hair of river deer	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}phu^{33}	male river deer	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}vy^{21}	bone of river deer (poetic, keepsake young man gives to lover)	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}wa^{33}	catching loop (for catching river deer)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**lɒ^{33}**	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.39
	tshʐ̊^{33} **lɒ^{11}**mɒ^{33}	muntjac / deer (barking) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0314.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Lüchun)	dɔ^{55}**la^{31}**	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.41
Hani (Mojiang)	tu^{55}**l̥ɔ^{31}**	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.42
Mpi	thɯ^{6}**lo^{2}**	deer (hog)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	a^{44}**lɔ^{33}**	muntjak deer	Pelkey 2011:104
	tɕ^{h}y^{22}a^{44}**lɔ^{33}**	sambar deer	Pelkey 2011:105
Phu Kha	ma^{33} **lo^{31}**	sambhar deer	Fried 2000
Phuza	ma^{33}**lɯ^{31}**	sambar deer	Pelkey 2011:105

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**lie**˧	roebuck, hornless river deer	Michaud 2006–2009:3882
Na (Yongning)	**ɬi**˧	roebuck, hornless river deer	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**le^{33}**	deer (river) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.45

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**dzi̯ăg**	musk deer	Matisoff 2003a:176 [a]

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**dźʼi̯a**	musk deer	Karlgren 1923:865

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**sheh** shiang	musk	Sun 1985b:620
	sheh shiang luh	muskdeer	Sun 1985b:621

[a] [Source Note] AD #865 reconstructs MC **dźʼi̯a**. This OC reconstruction is a guess based upon the other characters in *GSR* #807.

Chinese comparandum

麝 OC (***d̂ʼi̯ăg**), (not in *GSR* #807) 'musk deer'; Schuessler 2007:457 ***m-lah**; B & S 2011: (***Cə.lak-s**); Mand. **shè**.

Comment: Cf. Karlgren 1923:865, where the reconstruction ***dźʼi̯ɑg** is given. [JAM]

(12) PTani *dɯn MEAT

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***dɯn**	meat	Sun 1993a:252

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	a-**din**	meat	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	din fu-buː	fat	Sun 1993b
	din-liː	raw meat	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**din** jok	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.24
	din-jok	lean meat; meat (lean~)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	i **din**	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.24
	i-**din**	meat; flesh	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	i-**din** huː-nə	meat (fat~)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**din** jok	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.51
	i **din**	meat; flesh; meat, flesh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:399.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **din**	meat; muscle; flesh (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a **din**	meat	Das Gupta 1963
	a **din din**-le	dry meat	Das Gupta 1963
	a **din din**-sen	dry meat	Das Gupta 1963
	a **din** ke-nam	dry meat (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	din tək	meat (hunk, for distributing) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	diɲ yek	flesh (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'din lee	meat (fresh) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'din sen	meat (dry) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲi **din**	human flesh (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	e **din**	meat	Simon 1976
	e rek-e **din**	pork	Simon 1976
Nishing	i **ding**~a **ding**	meat	Das Gupta 1969
	i rík i **din**	pork	Das Gupta 1969
	porok a **ding**	pork	Das Gupta 1969
	sebe a **ding**	mithun meat	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **din**	meat	Das Gupta 1983
	a **din din** li	raw meat	Das Gupta 1983
	a **din** li ne	flesh	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**din**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987; Sun 1993a
	din-yak	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
Milang	a **din**	meat	Tayeng 1976
	din-tak	flesh	Tayeng 1976

(13) PTB *dzay ≍ *tsaːy CATTLE / LIVESTOCK / DOMESTIC ANIMAL

GSTC #129; **≍ *tsaːy** 'property, cattle, economically valuable animal'. Same root as *GSTC* #143 'elephant, cattle' as discussed in Matisoff 1988, 'Universal semantics and allofamic identification... property, livestock, talent.'

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzay**	cattle / livestock / domestic animal	Matisoff 2003a:588

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Kamarupan	**tsaːy**	elephant / cattle	Matisoff 1985a:143

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**si**-ta	elephant / cattle	Matisoff 1985a:143

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**səy**	cattle	Matisoff 1985a:143

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***dzay²** ANIMAL (DOMESTIC) / LIVESTOCK

**Lolo-Burmese*	***dzay²**	cattle / animal (domestic)	Matisoff 1985a:129

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Luquan	**dʐe^{33}**	livestock	Matisoff 1985a:129
	dʑe^{33}	livestock (n.)	Ma Xueliang 1948

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**cê** hu ve	raise animals (ov.)	Matisoff 1988a:1072
	cê-cà	domestic animals; cattle	Matisoff 1985a:129

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**djè**-zà	cattle / animal (domestic)	Matisoff 1985a:129

1.1.1.2 Lean (Meat)

GUMS ····· red ····· LEAN (of meat)

Figure 23: 1.1.1.2 *Lean (Meat)*

(1) PTB *gray LEAN / THIN

This root bears a certain resemblance to PTB ***ka-y*** FLESH / MEAT (§1.1.1.1), but the different semantics leads us to set it up as a separate etymon.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bokar Lhoba	**gi**	lean (of humans)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Mawo)	tsha^{ɪ} **ʁe**	thin (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:852.8
	ts^{h}a^{ɪ} **ʁe**	lean (of humans)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ʁe	lean (of meat); lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.8

4. NUNGIC

Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**tɕɔi^{55}**	lean (person)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**xɑi^{55}**	lean (meat); lean (person)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola	ʃă^{35} **kai^{55}**	lean meat	DAI Qingxia 1989g:559
Bola (Luxi)	ʃă^{35}**kai^{55}**	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.32
Maru [Langsu]	**kji^{55}**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kji^{55}**	lean (meat); lean (person)	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984; XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.42

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Xide)	gɯ^{44} **dʑi^{33}**	lean (of humans); lean (of meat); lean (meat)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.21
	tɕi^{55}-gu^{21}	lean (person)	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Yellow)	**tsɭ^{35}**	lean (meat)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**jeh**	lean (of humans)	Bradley 1979b:220
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ke^{55}**	lean (of humans)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} **ke^{55}**	lean (of meat)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dʑe^{33}**	lean (of humans)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	ʈhɑ̠^{44} **ji^{33}**	lean (person)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984

(2) PTB *s-na LEAN (MEAT)

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung (Ghachok)	se **no**	flesh; meat	Matisoff 1987
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}sja-^{1}**na**	lean meat (n.)	Mazaudon 2013

3.2. QIANGIC

Pumi (Taoba)	dʐᵽ^{35} **na^{55}** mə^{55}	lean (of meat)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983

4. NUNGIC

Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɕɑɹ^{55} **nɔ̆ʔ^{55}**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982 [a]

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Northern)	**n̥a^{53}**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**n̥u^{55}**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Baka)	a^{33} **na^{44}**	lean meat	DAI Qingxia 1989i:589
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{33} **na^{55}**	lean meat	DAI Qingxia 1989h:589
Jinuo	a^{33}**na^{55}**	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.44
	na^{44}	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**nɑ^{55}**	lean (meat)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ɑ^{33} **nɑ^{55}**	lean (meat)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Caiyuan)	a^{31} **na̱^{31}**	lean (of meat)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ʃa^{31} **na^{31} na^{31}**	lean (of meat)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʃa^{31}**na^{31}**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.32
Hani (Mojiang)	ʃa^{31}**na^{31}**	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.42

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	ʂɯ˩**nɑ**˩	muscle, lean meat, lean (meat)	Michaud 2006–2009:356
Na (Yongning)	ʂe˦**nɑ**˩	lean meat	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**nɑ^{33}**	lean (of meat)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**nɑ^{55}**	lean (of meat)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**nɑ^{55}**	flesh / muscle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**nɑ^{55}**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**nɑ^{55}**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.29
Naxi	ʂɭ^{33}**nɑ^{21}**	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.45

7. KARENIC

Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	ta^{31} **n̥a^{31}**	lean meat	DAI Qingxia 1989j:589

[a] Note rhotacism.

(3) PTB * $^{\mathbf{m}}_{\mathbf{s}}$ -kam LEAN (MEAT, PERSON)

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Miri, Hill	**gem**-ne	thin, emaciated, lean	Simon 1976
	gʏm-ne	thin, emaciated, lean	Simon 1976

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Ukhrul	kə-**kem**	become lean due to fasting	Mortensen 2012

2.1.2. BODIC

Tshona (Wenlang)	**tɕɑm^{55}**	lean (meat)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	tɕɑm^{55} po^{55}	lean (person)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**cem^{53}**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.6
	cem^{55} p^{h}ʌ^{53}	lean (of humans)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕʌ^{53} **cem^{53}**	lean (of meat)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Cuona Menba	**kam^{55}**ɕa^{53}	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hkam**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rkom** mbo	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.5
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**kɑŋ^{55}**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**kam^{55}**po^{53}	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.2
Tibetan (Written)	**skam** po	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.1

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Nanjian)	lɑ^{33} **gu̱^{33}**	lean (of humans)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	**gɯ^{44}** dʑi^{33}	lean (of humans); lean (of meat); lean (meat)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.21
	tɕi^{55}-**gu^{21}**	lean (person)	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	**gò**	thin (person or animal)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 410

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Dazhai)	**go̱^{33}**	lean (of animals)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**ko^{33}**	lean (of humans)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986

(4) PTB *syi LEAN (MEAT, PERSON)

The stronghold of this etymon seems to be Lolo-Burmese, with likely cognates in Jingpho and Tujia.

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	lă^{1} **si^{31}**	lean (person)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Southern)	**ɕe^{55}**	lean (meat)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nosu	ʂɯ^{21}**sɻ^{21}**	flesh / meat	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.11
Yi (Dafang)	**sɻ^{21}**	lean (meat); lean (person)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.22
Yi (Liangshan)	ʂɯ^{21}**sɻ^{21}**	meat, lean	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	ʂɯ^{21}-**sɻ^{21}**	lean meat	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʂɯ^{21}**sɻ^{21}**	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Yellow)	**tsɭ^{35}**	lean (person)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Dazhai)	**ɕe̱^{31}**	lean (of humans); lean (of meat); lean (meat)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.31

7. KARENIC

Kayan (Pekon)	**sá̤i**	skinny, thin, lean (ADJ.)	Manson 2010

(5) PTB *m-dzyaŋ LEAN

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"

Sulung [Puroik]	a^{33}**gɹaŋ^{53}**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.52

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	**saŋ** ma	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.7
	tɕaŋ pu	lean (of humans)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɕa^{55} rak^{13}-pa	lean	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Mawo)	**tsha^{ɪ}** ʁe	thin (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:852.8
	ts^{h}a^{ɪ} ʁe	lean (of humans)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**ts^{h}ɑ** χɑ	lean meat	DAI Qingxia 1989q:589

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Northern)	**dʑa^{55}**	lean (person)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ʑa^{55}**	lean (person)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	ʂɯ˦**dzɑ**˦	skinny, thin (person)	Michaud 2006–2009:3368
Naxi (Eastern)	**dzɑ^{33}**	lean (of humans)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**dzɑ^{33}**	thin	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1026.45
	dzɑ^{33}	thinner, get (body) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1639.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**dzɑ^{33}**	thin (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:852.29
Naxi (Western)	**ndzɑ^{33}**	lean (of humans)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndzɑ^{33}**	thin (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:852.28

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**ʈhɑ̠^{44}**	lean (meat)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ʈhɑ̠^{44} ji^{33}	lean (person)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ʈhɑ^{55}qɑ^{21}	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.37
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tshɑ̠^{44}** jo^{31}	lean (person)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984

(6) PTB *ni LEAN (MEAT)

The Nusu voiceless nasals point to an **ʔ-** prefix at the PLB stage. The Lahu mid tone is also compatible with the glottal prefix.

It has been suggested that there is a connection between this root and PTB ***r-ni*** RED (§9.4), since lean meat has a red appearance due to the lack of fat marbling, but this remains to be seen.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Miri, Hill	gem-**ne**	thin, emaciated, lean	Simon 1976
	gʏm-**ne**	thin, emaciated, lean	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Milang	co-**n̥i**	lean	Tayeng 1976

3.2. QIANGIC

Pumi (Qinghua)	**nə^{13}** dʐə^{13}	lean (of humans)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983

4. NUNGIC

Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ɕɑ^{55} **nĭʔ^{55}**	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Luxi)	**nɛ^{55}**	lean (meat)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985

6.1.2. LOLOISH

Lolopho	xo^{31} **ŋe̱^{31}**	flesh / meat	DAI Qingxia 1989n:1.11

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	ɕa^{55} **n̥e^{35}**	lean meat	DAI Qingxia 1989o:559.
Nusu (Central)	ʂa^{55} **n̥e^{33}**	lean meat	DAI Qingxia 1989p:559.
	ʂa^{55}**n̥a̱^{53}**	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.34
	ʂa^{55}**n̥e^{33}**	meat (lean) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.34
Yi (Nanjian)	(xa^{21}) **ni̱^{21}**	lean (of meat)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	(xa^{21})**ni̱^{21}**; dʐy^{55}	lean (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:851.23

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	la^{31} **ni^{33}**	lean (meat)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

	lʌ^{21}**ni**^{33}	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.33
Lisu (Nujiang)	xuɑ^{31} **nɐ̯**^{42}	lean (meat)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	xuɑ^{31}**nɐ̯**^{31}	flesh / muscle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.40
	xuɑ^{31}**nɛ**^{41}	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.27
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Gelanghe)	ʂa^{31} **ne**^{55}	lean (of meat)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

(7) PTB *kruk ≋ *s-gyuk LEAN (MEAT)

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**k^{h}rjo**-sɯr	lean (adj.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	din **jok**	meat (lean) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0444.24
	din-**jok**	lean meat; meat (lean~)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	din **jok**	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.51
Galo	**ku:** hi **ku:** dor na kuna	lean	Das Gupta 1963
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**tɕut**^{13} pa^{55}	lean	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Qinghua)	**dʐə**^{13} ti^{55}	lean (of meat)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	nə^{13} **dʐə**^{13}	lean (of humans)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	**dʐɐ**^{35} mə^{53}	lean (of humans)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	dʐɐ^{35}na^{55} mə^{55}	lean (of meat)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	dʐɐ^{35}mə^{53}	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.10
Qiang (Taoping)	**dʐo**^{231}	lean (of humans); lean (of meat)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dʐo^{241}	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.9
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**xɹʊ̆ʔ**^{55}	lean (person)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**xɹʊ̆ʔ**^{55}	lean (person)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**kɹɥ̱**^{53}	lean (meat); lean (person)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**kɹɥ̱**^{53}	lean (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.45
Yi (Nanjian)	**dʐy**^{55}	lean (of meat)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**cɔ́**	slim, thin, slender (people)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 488-9 [a]
	cɔ́-nêʔ	very thin	Matisoff 1972b:158(b)
	tsɔ^{35}	lean (person)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986 [b]
Lisu (Nujiang)	**tʃɯ̱**^{44}	lean (person)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**tso**^{33}	lean (meat)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tso**^{33}	lean (meat)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.36

[a] This Lahu form probably descends from PLB ***ʔgyuk**; the high rising tone points to a doubly-glottalized prototype, while the initial **c-** is a regular reflex of PLB ***gy-**.

[b] from ***ʔgyok**.

(8) PTB * ŋ / k wak LEAN (MEAT)

Lahu **cɔ́** 'slim, skinny, scrawny' might derive from PLB ***ʔdzwak**, but given the quite different initial, this form probably descends from a different root, perhaps PTB ***kruk ≋ *s-gyuk** LEAN (MEAT) (§1.1.1.2).

2.1.2. Bodic			
Cuona Menba	(**theʔ**^{53})	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.06
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**ŋoak** seo	lean red meat	Allen 1975
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**kuak**^{55}	lean (meat); lean (person)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:851.41
Achang (Luxi)	**kuʔ**^{55}	lean (person)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985

1.1.2 Life/Breathe/Exist

(1) PTB *sryal BREED / BRING UP

This reconstruction is due to Coblin (1986:40) and Gong (2001:29). Li Fang Kuei's OC reconstruction ***srianx** (cited in Coblin) looks closer to the PTB reconstruction than Karlgren's. See *HPTB*: 422, 425.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***srel**	birth, give / rear (v.)	Coblin 1986:40
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***srel**	breed / bring up	Matisoff 2003a:422
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**hrú**	bring up	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:125a
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**srel**-ba	bring up, rear	Coblin 1986:40
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	產	bear, produce (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:241
Chinese (GSR #)	**0194a**	bear, produce (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:241
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**sɑ̆n/ʂɑ̆n**	breed, bear, produce, product	Karlgren 1957:194a
Chinese (Old)	**s-ŋrarʔ**	bear, produce (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:241
	srianx	very	Coblin 1986:40
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**ʂɑ̆n:**	breed, bear, produce (v.)	Coblin 1986:40
	sreanX	bear, produce (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:241

Chinese comparandum

產 OC ***sɑ̆n**, *GSR* #194a; B & S 2011: ***s-ŋrarʔ**; Mand. **chǎn**.

(2) PKar *ʔbə^{B} RAISE, FEED (ANIMALS)

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***ʔbə^{B}**	raise, feed (animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:234
Kayah	**bo**^{11}	raise, feed (animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:234
Kayan	**bəi**^{11}	raise, feed (animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:234
Kayaw	**bə**^{11}	raise, feed (animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:234
Pwo (Southern)	**bi**^{55} lɔ̃$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	raise, feed (animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:234
Sgaw (Northern)	**bi**$^{31\sim}$	raise, feed (animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:234
Sgaw (Southern)	**bi**$^{45\prime}$	raise, feed (animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:234

1.1.2.1 Life/Live/Alive

(1) PTB *dat LIVE / ALIVE

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***dat**	break through (as growing grain); be born	Coblin 1986:48
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**bsdad**	sit, stay, tarry (preterite or future)	Jäschke 1881:296
	sdod	live / reside (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1452.01
	sdod	dwell / live	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:580.1
	sdod-ba	sit, stay, tarry	Jäschke 1881:296
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	sɛ^{55} dʒo^{55} **tɛ**^{33}	alive; be living	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.18
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***dat**	alive	Matisoff 1985a:024
	***dat**	alive ((LOW).)	Matisoff 1972b:1
	***dat**	alive	Matisoff 1972b:1
	***dat^{L}**	alive	Matisoff 2003a:586
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang	**tut**^{55}	alive	Matisoff 1994b
Achang (Longchuan)	**tut**^{55}	alive, become / active (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1396.28
Bola	a^{31} **tui**^{55}	alive	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1505
	tui^{55}	alive	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1934
Bola (Luxi)	**tui**^{55}	alive, become / active (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1396.32
Maru [Langsu]	**tɔi**^{31}	alive; be living	Dai Qingxia 1989l:1.12; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tui**^{51}	alive, become / active (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1396.30
	tui^{51}	alive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***dat^{L}**	alive	Bradley 1979b:553; Hansson 1989:527
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Xide)	**tɯ**^{21}	alive	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **tœ**^{55}	alive	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1546
Jinuo (Baka)	**tø**^{55}	come alive (huoliao)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2003
	tø^{55} to^{44} a^{33}	alive	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1546
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**tœ**^{55}	come alive (huoliao)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2003
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{33}**te**^{55}	live (v.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
**Common Lahu*	***te**$_{\hat{}}$	alive	Bradley 1979b:553
Lahu (Black)	**te**^{21}	alive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.33
	tè?	alive	Matisoff 1985a:024; Matisoff 1972b:1
	teʔ^{21}	live	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**deh LS**	alive	Matisoff 1972b:1
	dehʔ^{31}	alive	Matisoff 1985a:024
Akha (Thai)	**dèq**	alive	Hansson 1989:527
Akha	**dèq**	alive	Hansson 1989:527
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **dèq**	alive	Hansson 1989:527
Bisu	aŋ **tɛ**	live / be alive	Beaudouin 1988:32
	ʔaŋ **tɛ̀**	alive	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	**dɐ̯**^{31}	live, alive	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**dèq** ?	alive	Hansson 1989:527
Hani (Pijo)	**a** tjèq	alive	Hansson 1989:527
	tjèq	alive	Hansson 1989:527
Hani (Wordlist)	**ddeivq**	alive	Hansson 1989:527
Haoni	**ti**^{31}	alive	Hansson 1989:527
Hani (Shuikui)	**tɨ̱**^{31}	live, alive	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	**à** tjè	alive	Hansson 1989:527
	tjè	alive	Hansson 1989:527
Mpi	ʔɑ^{2}-**teʔ**^{1}	alive	Hansson 1989:527
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔɑ̃^{55} **tɑt**^{11}	alive	Bradley 1977
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	u^{33}**tɛ**^{33}	live	Pelkey 2011:916

Chinese comparandum

達 OC ***d'ât**, *GSR* #271b 'penetrate, reach, be prominent/manifest, be born'; Schuessler 2007:202 ***dât**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.l^{ɕ}at**; Mand. **dá**. See also Coblin 1986:48.

(2) PKir *b l / r o n / m LIVE

This root seems to be of extremely limited distribution, so far having turned up only in the Western Kiranti group (Bahing, Sunwar). Michailovsky also cites Bahing **bloept-** and Sunwar **broyM-**, which are perhaps related.

2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**blon**-	live (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:110
Sunwar	√^{L}**blon**-	live (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:110

(3) PKir *let LIVE / SURVIVE / BE SAVED / BURN / SHINE

2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***let**-	live (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:110
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**leːt**- (ku-**reːt**-la, **leːt**-taŋ, ...)	green (of plants)	Michailovsky 1991:110
	leːt-t	green (of plants)	Michailovsky 1991:110
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**let**-	live (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:110
	leT-	live (v.i.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:45
	let-kaba	living	Rai *et al.* 1984:45
	lets-	save (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:110
	leʈ- (-y)	alive (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:110
Chamling	**les**-yu	make alive (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:110
	let-(a)	alive (be v.)	Winter 1985:22
	let-a	live, to burn, to shine (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:110
	let ako	alive	Winter 1985:23
Kulung	**let**-a	saved, to be healed (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:110

	let-a	saved, to be healed (vs.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**let-**	survive (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:110
	let nɨ	survive <live>	Driem 1993

(4) PTB *srwak LIFE

This root has so far been uncovered only in Bodic and in a few TB languages of Nepal.

2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**tʂoʔ**	life	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**tʂoʔ**	life (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.07
Cuona Menba	**so**^{53}	life (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ʂok**	life (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɕ^{h}og**	livestock	Sun 1985a:451
	ʂog	life	Sun 1985a:443
Tibetan (Batang)	**søʔ**^{53}	alive / be living	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.12
	soʔ^{53}	life (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**so**^{52}	life (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.02
Tibetan (Written)	**srog**	life	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:443
	srog	life (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.01
	srog	life	Zhang Liansheng 1988:69
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ʂoχ**	life (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**ɻo:**	life	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0516
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang (Eastern)	**syak** naʔ	alive / be living	Caughley 1990:1.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **srok**	life (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.11
Caodeng	tə-**srɔ**	life	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	tə-**srok**	life	Sun 1997b

(5) PTB *ta LIVE

The reflexes grouped here bear some resemblance to those of PTB ***du*** DWELL / STAY / SIT / REST / LIVE (§6.1.1), but we are treating them for now as having descended from a separate etymon.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	**da** ko	live / reside (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1452.24
	da-ko	live (lodge)	Sun 1993b
	da:	live (lodge)	Sun 1993b
	da:	live / reside (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1452.24
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**tá**	stay / live (v.)	Bhat 1968
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	a **ta** roŋ	live (v.)	French 1983:449
	a **ta** rong	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**da** dauŋ	breathe (v.)	French 1983:454
	da dauŋ	breathe	French 1983:462
	da daung	breathe	Marrison 1967
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Sahu)	som po **ta**-pa	live (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.32

(6) PTB *ts(y)ow LIVE

Lahu **co** ‘one’s life; period of time’ looks superficially like the present root, but is actually a borrowing from Tai (cf. Shan **soo**, Siamese **chûa**, White Tai **čoo**. See DL:478.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	**tʂo:**	life (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.24
2.1.2. Bodic			
Motuo Menba	**tsho** wa	life / livelihood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0683.07
Cuona Menba	**tsho**^{55}wa^{53}	life / livelihood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0683.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**mtsho** wæ	life / livelihood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0683.05
Tibetan (Batang)	**tshʊ**^{55}wɑ^{53}	life / livelihood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0683.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**so**^{55}wa^{53}	alive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tsho**^{55}wa^{55}	life / livelihood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0683.02
Tibetan (Written)	**’thso** ba	life	Marrison 1967
	ḥtsho riŋ-du	live a long time	Jäschke 1881:p.460
	ḥtsho-ba	live	Matisoff 1994b
	ɦtsho ba	life / livelihood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0683.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**tsho** wa	life / livelihood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0683.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Chantyal	**so**-wa	alive / be living	Noonan *et al.* 1992:1.12
Tamang (Risiangku)	**²so**	live (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:1.12
Thakali (Tukche)	**so**-lɔ	live	Hari 1971:2.B.2.32
	so-wɔ	alive	Hari 1971:12.A.8
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	sɛ^{55} **dʒo**^{55} tɛ^{33}	alive; be living	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.18
Guiqiong	**sʉ**^{33} **sʉ**^{55}	alive; be living	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.17
	su^{55}**su**^{55}	living (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1087.16
Muya [Minyak]	**zɯ**^{35}**zɯ**^{35}	alive; be living	Sun Hongkai 1991h:1.12; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.15
Namuyi	**so**^{55}ʐɛ^{53}	alive; be living	Sun Hongkai 1991i:1.12; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.19
Qiang (Yadu)	tə **χsu̱**	alive	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2003
	tɕɑ **χsu**	alive	Dai Qingxia 1989q:1546
	χsu tu	beat (pulse)	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2407
Xumi	**suɛ**^{33} **suɛ**^{55}	alive; be living	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**wsɯ wsɯ**	alive / be living	Sun Hongkai 1991b:1.12
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔshə shə**	alive / be living	Dai Qingxia 1989b:1.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	kə **sə so**	alive / be living	Dai Qingxia 1989d:1.12
rGyalrong (Northern)	kə **su su**	alive / be living	Sun Hongkai 1991k:1.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	kə **sə so**	alive / be living	Sun Hongkai 1991j:1.12
rGyalrong (NW)	kə **sə su**	alive / be living	Sun Hongkai 1991l:1.12
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	ta^{31}**tʂo**^{31}kuai^{55}	lifetime (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0915.28
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31} **co**^{55}	life	Dai Qingxia 1989f:193
	a^{31} **tʂo**^{31}	life-span	Dai Qingxia 1989f:194
	a^{31}**co**^{55}	life (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.29
	a^{31}**tʂo**^{31}	life span (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.29
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nesu	**ʂu**^{55}	alive / be living	Chen Kang 1986b:1.12
Yi (Mile)	i^{33}**so**^{33}	alive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**su**^{55}	alive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.26
Yi (Xide)	a^{21}ʂ^{33}**su**^{33}	alive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.21 [a]
	dʑo^{33}-**dʑu**^{34}	life	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	i^{33} **so**^{33}	alive / be living	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.12
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **tʃo**^{44}	life-span	Dai Qingxia 1989h:202
Jinuo	a^{44}**tʃo**^{44}	life span (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.44
Lisu (Northern)	**zæʔ**^{21}ma^{33} ɲɔ^{55}	short life	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**zɯ**^{33}	lifespan	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**zɯ**^{33}	life span (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.40
Lisu (Northern)	**zɤ**^{44}	generation; life span; C generation (N.)	Bradley 1994
	zɤ^{44}dʑɔ^{44}	longevity; long life	Bradley 1994
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**sv**˥	alive	Michaud 2006–2009:3386
Na (Yongning)	**sɯ**˩	alive	Michaud 2006–2009
	zɯ˦	life (entire life); life, existence	Michaud 2006–2009; Michaud 2006–2009
	zɯ˦**zɯ**˦	life, existence	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**sɯ**^{31}	alive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.28
Naxi	**sɻ**^{21}	living (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1087.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**sɻ**^{33}	alive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.29
Naxi	**sɻ**^{55}	alive, become / active (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1396.45
	zɻ^{33}	life span (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.45
	zɻ^{33}	lifetime (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0915.45
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tsɯ**^{33}	alive / be living	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.12

[a] The two Xide forms a^{21}ʂ^{33} **su**^{33} and dʑo^{33}**-dʑu**^{34} may be explained in terms of the presence or absence of the medial ***-y-***.

(7) PTB *mwa-$^{\mathbf{n}}_{\mathbf{s}}$ LIFE / BREATH

This etymon is well-attested in Karenic and Newar, with likely cognates in Limbu and Loloish. Qiangic has developed an **-s** suffix.

Many of the Karenic forms are compounds containing both PTB ***m-sak*** BREATH(E) / LIFE (§1.1.2.2) and the present root.

2.2. Newar			
Newar	**mwa:**	alive / be living	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.12
Newar (Kathmandu)	**mwae**	alive	Genetti 1990c
	mwan-	alive	Genetti 1990c
Newar (Dolakhali)	**mwa** ku	alive	Genetti 1990b
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**mui**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	(**məs**) p^{h}ʌ	blow (mouth)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:9.2.3
	məs	breath	Sun 1986
	məs	breath (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.08
	məs tɕ^{h}i tɕ^{h}i	breathe (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:9.2.1
	məs χu χu	pant (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:9.2.2
Qiang (Yadu)	**məs** me ɕi	die (breath one’s last)	Dai Qingxia 1989q:1846
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**miə̃**^{55} bio^{31}	die (breath one’s last)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1781.
Nusu (Central)	**miə**^{55}	life-span	Dai Qingxia 1989p:194.
	miə^{55}	life; life span (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.34; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.34
	miə^{55} bio^{31}	die (breath one’s last)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1781.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**miə**^{55} bʲə̃^{35}	life	Dai Qingxia 1989o:193.
Yi (Xide)	**mu**^{55}	breath, vapor	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**mɔ**^{33}ɕi^{31}	alive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.34
7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***mùnh**	alive	Jones 1961:172
Bwe	dɛ ɔ θə **mú**	life	Henderson 1997
	dɛ-ɔ-θə́ **mú**	life, existence (n.)	Henderson 1997
	dɛ-θa-θə́ **mú**	life, existence (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ɔ θə́ **mú**	alive, to live (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θə́ **mú**	alive (be v.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	θu^{1}**mu**^{1}	alive	Luce 1985:I.171
Geba	θu^{2}**hmũ**^{1}	alive	Luce 1985:I.171
Karen	**mu̱**^{55}	alive, become / active (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1396.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**myə́n**	life (N.)	Manson 2010
	myə́n	alive (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θa **myə́n**	alive (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**mùn**	alive	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**mun**^{6}	alive	Luce 1985:I.171
Paku	**mu**^{1}	alive	Luce 1985:I.171
Pwo (Delta)	**mə̃**^{4}	alive	Luce 1985:I.171
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**mə̃**^{6}	alive	Luce 1985:I.171
Sgaw	**mu**^{1}	alive	Luce 1985:I.171
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**mu̱**^{55} t^{h}ɔ^{31} ge^{33}	come alive (huoliao)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2003
	mu^{55}	alive	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1546
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**mu**^{55}	alive	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1546
	θa̱ʔ^{55} θă^{31} **mu**^{55}	life	Dai Qingxia 1989j:201

(8) PLB *lwa LIVE / ALIVE

Further confirmation of this weakly attested root is necessary.

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	gv̩[33] **lv̩**[44]	alive / be living	Dai Qingxia 1989n:1.12
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Southern)	**lua**[31]	live (of fish) (adj.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**luɔ**[31]	alive	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1505.
Nusu (Northern)	**luɛ**[55]	live (of fish) (adj.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**luɑ**[ɹ31]	live (of fish) (adj.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**luɑ**[ɹ31]	alive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**luɚ**[ˌ31]	alive	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1505.
7. Karenic			
Palaychi	tàq **lɔ́q**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987

(9) PNN *ryəŋ ALIVE

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Phom	**yaŋ** ñu	live (v.)	French 1983:449
Wancho	a **zaŋ**	live (v.)	French 1983:449
	e **zaŋ**	green	French 1983:449

(10) PCN *a-kam LIFE

This form is related to PCN ***kam** BECOME (§9.5).

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	*a-**kam**	LIFE	Bruhn 2014a:III.131
Ao (Chungli)	ta **küm**-a li	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
	te **küm** dang tsü	warn	Marrison 1967
	t a[2]-**kəm**[2]	life (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.070
	t a **küm**	life	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	tə-**kəm**	life (NZP + 'be alive') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e[1]-**kəm**[1]	life (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.131
	e[1]-**kəm**[1]-	alive (be v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e **kam** van	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
	e **küm**	life	Murry *et al.* 1978:67
Sangtam	a **kang**	life	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**kam**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967

(11) PKC *nuŋ-I, *nun-II LIVE / ALIVE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***nuŋ-I**, **nun-II**	LIVE / ALIVE	VanBik 2009:817
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**nūng** tā hī	alive	VanBik 2009:817
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**nûŋ-I**, **nŭn-II**	live, be alive	VanBik 2009:817
Lushai [Mizo]	**nŭng-I**, **nùn-II**	live, to be alive (v.)	VanBik 2009:817
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	mà-**nô**[3]	mankind	VanBik 2009:817

1.1.2.2 Breath/Breathe

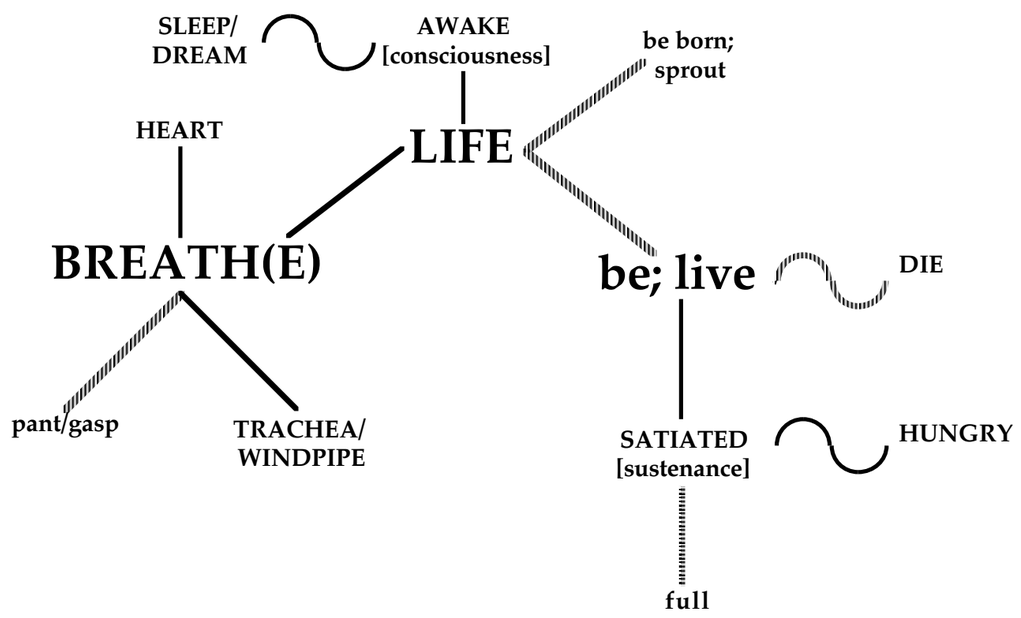

Figure 24: 1.1.2.2 *Breath/Breathe*

In the semantic flowchart, the connection BREATH(E)-HEART is found in Karenic.

(1) PTB *m-sak BREATH(E) / LIFE

Chinese character; *STC* #485; *LTSR* #123 (PLB ***C-sak**[1]); *GSR* 925a ***si̯ə̯k**; WTF pp.462-3.

For now, Karenic syllables **θaʔ** etc. have been assigned to this etymon. But note that the tones are different; compare Jones sets #150 BREATH(E) [pp. 124-5] and #410 CHEST [pp. 140-1].

The basic meaning of this root is the "breath of life" with semantic extensions into HEART (as locus of the life force), CHEST (as locus of the heart), or AIR / STEAM / VAPOR.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***sjək**	breathe	Coblin 1986:48
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*r-**sak**	breath(e) / life	Matisoff 2003a:612
	***sak**	heart; breath; breathe	Weidert 1987:953; Michailovsky 1991:23; Benedict 1972:485; Coblin 1986:48
	***sa:k**	live / breathe (v.)	French 1983:462
	***sɑk**	breathe	Chou Fa-kao 1972:925a
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
**Western Tani*	***sak**	breathe / breath	Sun 1993a:46
Apatani	**saʔ**	breathe; breath; pant	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	saʔ lin	exhale	Sun 1993b
	saʔ-lĩ	breath	Sun 1993b
	saʔ-lɯʔ gɯ	inhale	Sun 1993b
	saʔ-na	pant	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**šak**	breathe / breath	Sun 1993a
	sak	breathe	Sun 1993b
	sak-duŋ	pant	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**šak**	breathe / breath	Sun 1993a
	sak təŋ	pant	Sun 1993b
	sak-len	exhale	Sun 1993b
	sak-oŋ	enhale	Sun 1993b
	sak-ram (ə-či)	common cold	Sun 1993b
	sak-təŋ	asthma	Sun 1993b
Galo	**hag**-nam	breathe (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	hag nam	breathe (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	sag-nam	breath (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	sag du	breath (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	sag bok-nam		
	'hag len	exhale (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'hag lik	inhale (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'ha guu	asthma (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ha gii	sigh (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**sak**	breath	Simon 1976
	saŋ-nam	breathe	Simon 1976
Nishing	**sak**	breathe	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	kaibɤ **sak** lak	breathe deeply	Das Gupta 1983
	sak-nam	breathe	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**ɕɯ**[55]	breath	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	**sɑu**[35] nɑt[55]	tuberculosis	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	manana **si** ha la	pant	Pulu 1978
	mi **si** ga	live (v.)	Pulu 1978
	si-ha-ga	breathe	Anonymous 1962
	si ha la	breath	Pulu 1978
	si ha la ga	breathe	Pulu 1978
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**thaw**	breathe	Marrison 1967
	thawk	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***sak** BREATH			
**Central Naga*	***sak**	BREATH	Bruhn 2014a:III.242
Ao (Chungli)	**sa** shi	breathe	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**saka**	breath (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e[1]-**thək**[2]	breath (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.242
	e **thak**	life	Marrison 1967
	e **thak**-echen	breathe	Marrison 1967
	e **thük**	breath	Murry *et al.* 1978:12
	e **thük** e chen a	breathe	Murry *et al.* 1978:12
Sangtam	a **sa** chi cho	breath	Kumar 1973a
	a **sa** chi chü	breath	Kumar 1973a
	[1]a ([2])**saʔ**	heart / breath	Weidert 1987:953
Yimchungrü	([1])**šak**	heart / breath	Weidert 1987:953
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	**ha** shi	breathe	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**ha**	breathe	Marrison 1967
	ha[31]	breathe (v.)	Nienu 1990a:9.2.1
Chokri	**ha**[31]	breathe (v.)	Nienu 1990b:9.2.1
1.6. Mru			
Mru	**chak**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	ts'ɑk[2]	breath	Luce 1985:Q.38
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Lalung [Tiwa]	u khas cho **saʔ**	breathe	Balawan 1965:79
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**sok**-me	woman's breast	Burling 1992
	sok-mi	woman's breast	Burling 1992
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	wal **chak**-	kindle the fire with your breath by blowing (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***sa:k**	live / breathe (v.)	French 1983:462
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**rʌk**-[2]hoŋ	breathe (v.)	Weidert 1987:1088
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**hak**	life; life, breath	Marrison 1967; French 1983:462
	hak hin	breathe (v.)	French 1983:462
	hak-hin	breathe	Marrison 1967
	hʌ̀k-hín	breathe (v.)	Weidert 1987:1088
	hʌ́k	breath (v.)	Weidert 1987:1088
Konyak (Tamlu)	**ɣák** - hé	breathe (v.)	Weidert 1987:1088
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	ǹ-**sàʔ**	breath	Matisoff 1974:385
	n[31]**saʔ**[31]	air; breath (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.19
	n[31]**saʔ**[31]lam[33]	genitals	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	n **sa** lam	penis	Matisoff 1987
	n **sàʔ**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	n **sa sa**	breathe	Marrison 1967
	n soi n **sàʔ**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	sàʔ	breathe	Matisoff 1974:385
	saʔ	breathe	Coblin 1986:48
	[1]n [1]**shaʔ**-[1]**shaʔ**	breathe (v.)	Weidert 1987:1088
	[1]n [1]**shaʔ**-[1]**shaʔ**	heart / breath	Weidert 1987:953
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Ganan	ă **s'ɑʔ**[3]	breath	Luce 1985:L.141
Kadu (Kantu)	ă **s'ɑ**[2]	breath	Luce 1985:L.141
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **s'ɑ**[2]	breath	Luce 1985:L.141
	ă **s'ɑʔ**[2]	breath, to breathe	Luce 1985:G.60
Sak	svu **saʔ**	breath	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:16a
	svu **saʔ**-kíŋ	breathe	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:16
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**sà**	pulse	Sharma 1991a:9.3.2
	sà wan ca	breathe (v.)	Sharma 1991a:9.2.1
Byangsi	**ʃak** ci mo	breathe (vi.)	Sharma 2003:865
Chaudangsi	**sak**-ci mo	breathe (v.)	Krishan 2003:735
Darma	**sak**-ɕi-mo	breathe (v.)	Krishan 2003:725
Kanauri	riṅsā	breath (n.)	Bailey 1911
	riṅ **sā**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	sā	pulse (in body) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	sā khyāmig'	take one's pulse	Bailey 1911
	sā sön	feel pulse (v.)	Bailey 1911
	sa səɲ	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**sàg** lèp tsi	breath	Sharma 1988:30
	səg	breathe (v.)	Sharma 1991b:9.2.1
	səg l[h]ep tʃi	breath, sound	Sharma 1982
		breathe (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Jirel	lwa-**syakq**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1b
Tibetan (Jirel)	lwā **syākq**	lung	Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**hák**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*[A]**sa:**	breath	Mazaudon 1994:924
Gurung (Ghachok)	**soq**	breath; life	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:2.A.69
	soq sẽq ba	breathe	Glover 1972:2.B.2.20
	soq ba	live	Glover 1972:2.B.2.32
	soq gõ	alive / live	Glover 1972:12.A.8

Gurung	**soq** gǫ	alive (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.08
	²so	breath	Mazaudon 1994:925
Manang (Gyaru)	**sa:²**	breathe	Nagano 1984:016
Manang (Prakaa)	**³sa** ²pi:-	breathe (out)	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0279b
	³sa ²ti-	breathe (in.)	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0279a
	¹sa	breath	Mazaudon 1994:924
Tamang (Risiangku)	glap-**sya**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1b
	²sa:	breathing; breath	Mazaudon 1991; Mazaudon 1994:925
	²sa:-⁴kal	windpipe, trachea (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:4.2.1
	⁴klop -**¹sja**	lung	Mazaudon 1994:195
	⁴klop-**¹sja**	lung (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.2
Tamang (Sahu)	**san** wa **san** wa ’paŋ-pa	pant (through mouth) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.21.1
Tamang (Taglung)	**sa:**	breath	Mazaudon 1994:925
Thakali (Syang)	**⁵⁵sa**	breathing / breath	Mazaudon 1994:925
Thakali (Tukche)	**sā**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	sa	breath	Hari 1971:2.A.69
	ᴴsa	breath	Mazaudon 1994:925

2.2. Newar

Newar	**sā** sa	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	sā sa: lhāta	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	sa sɔ: lhaye	breathe (infinitive verb) (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.2.1
Newar (Kathmandu)	**sa** sɔɔ	breath / life	Genetti 1990c
	sa sɔɔ laye	breath / life	Genetti 1990c

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***sak**	breath	Michailovsky 1991:23
	***sak** ma	breath	Michailovsky 1991:23

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**sok** ma	breath	Ebert 1997
	sok ma somma	breathe	Ebert 1997
	sok ma sond-ue	breathe	Ebert 1997
Belhare	**sak** ma	breath	Bickel 1995
Limbu	saŋ gu **sok** mē	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	sok mā	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	sɔk ma	breath	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:23
	sɔk ma so:nt-	breathe (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**sa** wa puŋmeʔna	pulse	Kohn 1990:9.3.2
	soʔ ma **so** ma na na:li	windpipe / trachea	Kohn 1990:4.2.1
	sɔʔ ma sɔ ma na	breathe (v.)	Kohn 1990:9.2.1

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**sak** ma	breath; life	Michailovsky 1991:23; Rai 1985; Rai *et al.* 1984:62
	sak ma pak-	give life (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:62
	sak ma pakt-	give life to smn (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:62
	sak ma sont-	breathe / inhale	Rai *et al.* 1984:65
	sa wa ʔems-	breathe (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:63

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**’so:k** ti	breath; life	Michailovsky 1991:23; Matisoff 1987
	so ti	breath	Michailovsky 1991:23
	so ti phere-cā	breath / life	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	haw^{h}sek-**sa**	pant	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.21
	hləyŋ^{h}-**sa**	pant	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.21
	syak-ʔo	alive	Caughley 1972:12.A.8
Kham	**’sa:**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	’sə:	breath	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.69
	’sə: do horəy-nya	breathe	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.20

3.2. Qiangic

Lyuzu	**se**^{35}	air; breath; steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.18; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.18
Namuyi	**sæ**^{35}	air; breath; steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.46; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.46
Xumi	**si**^{53}	air; breath; steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.17; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**sha**^{55}	breath (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.14

4. Nungic

Anong	**sa**	breath of life	Coblin 1986:48
Rawang	**ʃɑʔ**^{31}	air; breath	LaPolla 2003:21; LaPolla 2003:22
Dulong	ɑŋ^{55}**sɑʔ**^{55}	air; breath (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**sɯ**^{31} ɯm^{55}	hold the breath / suffocate	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**sə̆ʔ**^{55} zɑŋ^{53}	strength	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	**ɕe**^{55} tɕ^{h}i^{55}	strength	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	*C-sak	breath / air / afflatus	Matisoff 1972b:123
	***C-sak**^{L}	breath(e) / life	Matisoff 2003a:612

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31}**sɔʔ**^{55}	steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.28
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31} **sɔʔ**^{55}	breath	Dai Qingxia 1989f:191
	sɔʔ^{55}	air; breath; steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.29; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.29
	ʂa^{55}	gasp, pant (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1692
Bola	**saʔ**^{55}	breath	Dai Qingxia 1989g:191
Bola (Luxi)	**saʔ**^{55}	air; breath; steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.32; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.32
Bola	**saʔ**^{55} tạ̄u^{35} ʃɛ^{55}	inhale, breath	Dai Qingxia 1989g:2352
	saʔ^{55} t^{h}ɔ^{35}	die (breath one’s last)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1781
	ʃɛ^{55}	gasp, pant (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1692
Burmese (Modern)	a **sak**	breath; life; breath, to breathe	Luce 1985:G.60; Luce 1985:V.128
Burmese (Written)	a **sak**	life; breath, to breathe; breath; to breathe	Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:G.60,V.128; Luce 1985:Y.48
	a **sak**-rhaṅ	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
	a **sak** rhū	breathe	Marrison 1967
	sak	breath; breath, life	Hansson 1989:475; Benedict 1976a
	tθɑk^{4}	lifetime (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0915.26
	ə-**sak**	breath, life	Benedict 1976a; Coblin 1986:48
	ɑ^{1}**tθɑk**^{4}	life; life span (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.26; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.26
	ʔə **sak**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	ʔə **sak** hru	breathe (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Hpun (Northern)	ă **ʃòʔ**	breath	Henderson 1986
	ă **ʃòʔ** ă ʃeɪ	breathe	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	ă **ʃʊʔ**^{5}	breath, to breathe	Luce 1985:G.60
Langsu (Luxi)	**soʔ**^{55}	air; breath; steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.31; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.31
Lashi	**sɔʔ**^{55} khjo^{33}	windpipe / trachea	Dai Qingxia 1989m:4.2.1
	sɔʔ^{55} ʃɛ̰:^{33}	breathe (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:9.2.1
	ʃɛ̰:^{33}	pant (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:9.2.2
Leqi (Luxi)	**sɔʔ**^{55}	air; breath; steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.33; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.33
Marma	ə **θaʔ**	breath	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:16a
	ə **θaʔ**-ŋaŋ	breathe	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:16
Maru [Langsu]	**sɔʔ**^{55} khjɔ^{31}	windpipe / trachea	Dai Qingxia 1989l:4.2.1
	sɔʔ^{55} ʃɛ^{31}	breathe (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:9.2.1
	ʃɛ^{31}	pant (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:9.2.2
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**soʔ**^{55}	air; breath; steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.30

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***C-sak**^{L}	breath; life; steam	Bradley 1979b:138; Bradley 1979b:139; Hansson 1989:475; Bradley 1979b:644
Lolopho	**sɐ̱**^{31} gɒ^{33}	breathe; pant (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:9.2.1; Dai Qingxia 1989n:9.2.2
PNL	C-**sak**^{L}	air	Chen Kang 1986a:150.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**sa**^{53}	air, breath	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	sa^{53}	air; breath; steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.47; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.47
Lalo	**sjìq**	air / breath / steam	Björverud 1994
	ɕi̱^{2}	air	Chen Kang 1986a:150.
Lipho	**sɐ̱**^{2}	air	Chen Kang 1986a:150.
Luquan	**sa 55c**	breath / air / afflatus	Matisoff 1972b:123
Nasu	**sa 55**	breath / air / afflatus	Matisoff 1972b:123
	sa̱^{55}	air	Chen Kang 1986a:150.
	sa̱^{55} gɤ^{21}	pant (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:9.2.2
Neisu	**sa**^{13}	air	Chen Kang 1986a:150.
Nesu	**ɕɐ̱**^{2}	air	Chen Kang 1986a:150.
Noesu	**sa**^{13}mbi^{13}	pant (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:9.2.2
Nosu	**so̱**^{55}	air	Chen Kang 1986a:150.
	so^{55}tshŋ^{21}**so**^{55}ŋgo^{33}	breathe (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:9.2.1
	so^{55}ʂl̩^{33}	pant (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:9.2.2
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**sa̱**^{31}	breath	Dai Qingxia 1989o:191.
Nusu (Central)	**sa̱**^{53}	breath	Dai Qingxia 1989p:191.
	sa̱^{53}	air (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**sɑ̱**^{53}	strength	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:513.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ɕe**^{53}	gasp, pant (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1692.
Nusu (Central)	**ɕe**^{55}	gasp, pant (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1692.
Yi (Liangshan)	**so**^{55}	breath; steam (vapor); vapor	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	so^{55}bi^{55}	leak (air)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	so^{55}fu^{33}	die (breathe one’s last)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	so^{55}gɛ^{21}	die (breathe one’s last)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	so^{55}mi^{21}	hold one’s breath	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	so^{55}phu^{33}**so**^{55}nɯ^{21}ʂl̩^{33}	breathe heavily	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	so^{55}ti^{33}	breathe heavily	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	so^{55}xo^{33}	breathe with difficulty; die	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	so^{55}ɲi^{21}	die (breathe one’s last)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	so^{55}tshu^{33}	breathe with difficulty	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	so^{55}tshŋ^{21}**so**^{55}ŋgo^{33}	breathe	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	so^{55}tsi^{33}	breath, catch one’s	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sʅ^{55}	asthma; wheeze	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Lishan)	**sɐ̱**^{31}	air, breath	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Nanhua)	**se̱**^{33}	air; breath (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.37
Yi (Weishan)	**ɕi**^{21}	air; breath (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.36
Yi (Wuding)	**sɑ̱**^{55}	air; breath; steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.38; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.38
	sɑ̱^{55}	steam (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1797.38
Yi (Xide)	**so**^{55}	breath, vapor	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	so^{55}	air; breath (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.35
	so^{55}-mi^{21}	hold breath	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	so^{55}-ti	breathe heavily	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	so^{55}-ti^{33}	asthma	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979 [a]
	so^{55}-tsi^{33}	pant	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	so^{55}-ts^{h}ŋ^{21}-**so**^{55}-ŋgo^{33}	breathe	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	so^{55}-xo^{33}	breathe with mouth open	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	so^{55}-ɲi^{33}-su^{33}	living things	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	so^{55}-ʂl̩^{33}	breathe heavily	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**sɐ̱**^{2}	air	Chen Kang 1986a:150.
	sɛ 44s	breath / air / afflatus	Matisoff 1972b:123
	sɐ̱^{21} ku^{22}	breathe (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:9.2.1
	sɐ̱^{21} po^{55}	windpipe / trachea	Luo Meizhen 1990:4.2.1
	sɐ̱^{21} ts‘o^{21}	pant (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:9.2.2
	sɐ̱^{21}tʂho^{21}	windpipe	Chen Kang 1986b:4.2.1
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **sa**^{55}	breath	Dai Qingxia 1989h:199
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{44} **sa**^{55}	breath (qixi)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:199
Jinuo	a^{44}**sa**^{55}	air; breath (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**sɑ**^{55}	steam (food) (v.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**sa55**	air	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***sha**ˆ	breath; life	Bradley 1979b:138; Bradley 1979b:139
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**ɕɑ**^{35}	air; breath; steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.43
	ɕɑ^{35}	steam (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1797.43

[a] Xide **ti**^{33} ‘be blocked’.

Lahu (Black)	**šá**	breath; air; afflatus	Matisoff 1974:385; Matisoff 1972b:123
	šá chêʔ ve	die (breath is cut off) (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 1160
	šá ɡɔ̀ ve	draw breath; inhale; breathe (”draw breath”)	Matisoff 1988a:1160; Matisoff 1988a:p.1160
	ɔ̀-**šá**	breath; air; any vaporous; insubstantial substance; vital force; life	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:123
	ɔ̀-ɣâ-ɔ̀-**šá**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	**sa**^{4}	steam (v.)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣa^{55} **sa**^{35}	strength	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Banlan)	a **sha**ˆ	life / age	Bradley 1979a:139
	sha¯	breath(=air)	Bradley 1979a:138
Lisu (Putao)	i^{1}**tsɤʔ**^{6}	breath; life	Luce 1985:V.128
Lisu (Central)	je^{33}**tɕø**^{35}	front (walk of life); trade	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	je^{33}**tɕɤ**^{35}	front (walk of life); trade	Bradley 1994
	ji^{33}dʑæ^{33}**sæʔ**^{21}	vapour; steam; sound of water running	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**sæʔ**^{21}	gas; air; strength; energy; steam (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	pu^{33}**sꭓ**^{31}	steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.40
	syá6	breath / air / afflatus	Matisoff 1972b:123
	syá^{1}tya^{1}	alive	Bradley 1979b:553
	syá^{6}	breath; strength	Bradley 1979b:138; Bradley 1979b:423
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**sya**^{6}	breath; life	Luce 1985:V.128
Lisu	**syá**^{6}	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**syá**^{6}	air (breath); breath (n.)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
	syá^{6}	power; strength	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
	syá^{6} h'a^{4}	breathe (v.i.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**sya**^{6} mya^{3}	breath; life	Luce 1985:V.128
Lisu (Central)	**syá**^{6}-myá^{3}	life (n.)	Fraser 1922
	syá^{6}-myá^{3} tsa^{1}	deliver (save life) (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**syá**^{6}myá^{3}	life	Bradley 1979b:139
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**syɑ**^{6}	breath, to breathe	Luce 1985:G.60
Lisu (Northern)	**sæʔ**^{21}	qi; strength; force; air, steam (N.)	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}ba^{21}	weak; no strength	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}dʑɔ^{44}	strong and sturdy; have strength	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}dʑɔ^{44} wa^{21}ni^{33}	strong and forceful; great; robust	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**sæʔ**^{21}dʑɔ^{44} wa^{21}ɲi^{33}	strong and forceful; great; robust	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**sæʔ**^{21}dʑɔ^{44}pha^{21}	man of unusual strength	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}gɔ^{44}	gasp; asthma	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}gɔ^{44} **sæʔ**^{21}le^{44}	breathe heavily	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}hã^{21}	hold breath	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}hã^{33}	breathe; aspirate	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}hãʔ^{21}ʒl^{21}	gasp	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}le^{44}je^{33}	breathe one's last	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}ma^{33}	life (N.)	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}ma^{33} fuʔ^{21}	do at the risk of one's life	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}ma^{33} kha^{21}	harm life	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}ma^{33}dʒu^{21}	one's very life	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}mja^{33}	life (N.)	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}ma^{33}dʒu^{21}	one's very life	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}mja^{33}	life (N.)	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}te^{35}	healthy; strong; stout; have great strength	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}ti^{35} wa^{21}vu^{21}	vigorous; strong	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}wa^{21}	strength; spirit; energy; force	Bradley 1994
	sæʔ^{21}ʃu^{33}	breathe in	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	**sɛʔ**^{6}	breath; life; breath, to breathe	Luce 1985:G.60; Luce 1985:V.128
Lisu	**sꭓ**^{31}	air; breath; strength (physical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.40; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.40
	sꭓ^{31}mɑ̱^{33}	life (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**sɛ**^{42}	strength	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**sɛ**^{41}	strength	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:513.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	**sɛ**^{55}	live (v.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**sɛ**^{55}	alive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:781.27
Sani [Nyi]	**se 22s**	breath / air / afflatus	Matisoff 1972b:123
	se^{2}	air	Chen Kang 1986a:150.
Yi (Sani)	**se**^{2}	air; breath (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.39
Sani [Nyi]	**se**^{22}tʂɑ^{33}	windpipe	Chen Kang 1986b:4.2.1
	se^{22}xɑ^{33}**se**^{22}qo^{33}	breathe (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:9.2.1
	se^{21}	breath	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:162.2; Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	se^{21} ni^{55} xɑ^{33}	breathe	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:163.1
	se^{21}(ni^{55})tʂɒ^{33}	windpipe	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	se^{21}ni^{55}xɒ^{33}	breathe	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**se**^{55}	steam (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1797.39
	se^{55}khɯ^{11}	steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**sa LS**	breath / air / afflatus	Matisoff 1972b:123
	sàq	breath	Hansson 1989:475
Akha (Thai)	**sàq**	breathe, breath	Hansson 1989:475
Akha (Yunnan)	**sàq** ɣɔ́	breathe, breath	Hansson 1989:475
Bisu	aŋ **sà**	breath	Beaudouin 1988:13
	ʔaŋ **sà**	breathe, breath	Bradley 199x
Hani (Hu T'an)	**sa 21c**	breath / air / afflatus	Matisoff 1972b:123
Hani (Lüchun)	**shà ɣó** (-ɣɔ́ ?)	breathe, breath	Hansson 1989:475
	sꭓ^{31}	air; breath (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.41
	sꭓ^{31}	steam (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1797.41
	sꭓ^{31}lɔ^{55}	steam (cold rice) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1587.41
	sꭓ^{31}xø^{31}	steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.41
Hani (Pijo)	à **sàq** kú	breathe, breath	Hansson 1989:475
	sàq	breath	Hansson 1989:475
Hani (Gelanghe)	**sꭓ**^{31}	steam (v.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**savq**	breathe, breath	Hansson 1989:475
Haoni	**sa**^{32}	breath; breathe, breath	Hansson 1989:475; Hansson 1989:475
Hani (Khatu)	à **shà** kú	breathe, breath	Hansson 1989:475
	shà	breath	Hansson 1989:475
Hani (Mojiang)	**sa**^{31}	air; breath (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.42
	sa^{31}	steam (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1797.42
	sa^{31}xu^{31}	steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.42
Mpi	**sa**^{1}	steam / cook with steam	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ʔɑ^{2}**sa**^{2}	vapor; breath	Bradley 1979b; Hansson 1989:475; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ʔɑ^{2}**sa**^{2}koŋ^{5}	breathe	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**sə**^{55} ce^{33}	die	Bradley 1977
Pyen	**sa33** kaŋ45	breathe (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131023
Woni	**ʂa 33**	breath / air / afflatus	Matisoff 1972b:123

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**sɛ**^{22}lʌ^{44}	breath	Pelkey 2011:341
	sɻ^{45}	steam	Pelkey 2011:695
Southern Muji	**ɕɛ**^{21}kə^{33}	breath	Pelkey 2011:341
Phola	**sɑ**^{31}tɕ^{h}ɛ^{33}	breath	Pelkey 2011:341
Hlepho Phowa	**sɛ**$^{33\eta}$gə^{21}	breath	Pelkey 2011:341
Phuza	ɛ^{33}**ɕi**^{55}(-tsɛ^{33})	breath	Pelkey 2011:341

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**sɑ**˩	breath	Michaud 2006–2009:54
	sɑ˩se˩	breathe (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2882
Na (Yongning)	**so**˥	breath	Michaud 2006–2009
	so˥ts^{h}i˥	breathe (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**sɑ**^{55}	breath; steam (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0021.45

7. Karenic

**Karen (Sgaw)*	*kəʔ **θáʔ**	breath / breathe (v.,n.)	Jones 1961:150
**Karen*	***sàq**	breath (n.) / breathe (v.)	Jones 1961:150
**Karen (TP)*	***sàq**	breath / breathe (v.,n.)	Jones 1961:150
**Karen*	***sáʔ**	heart	Jones 1961:90
**Karen (TP)*	***sáʔ**	heart	Jones 1961:90
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***θàq**	breath / breathe (v.,n.)	Jones 1961:150
**Karen (Pwo)*	***θáq**	breath / breathe (v.,n.)	Jones 1961:150
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***θaʔ**	heart	Jones 1961:90
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***θáʔ**	heart	Jones 1961:90
**Karen (Pwo)*	***θáʔ**	heart	Jones 1961:90
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***θaʔ** ná	chest	Jones 1961:410
**Karen (Pwo)*	***θáʔ** nà	chest	Jones 1961:410
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***θáʔ** náh	chest	Jones 1961:410
Bwe	**-θo=θa**	hearts and minds (n.)	Henderson 1997
	-θú **θa**	liver (n.)	Henderson 1997
	dɛ ɔ **θə** mú	life	Henderson 1997
	dɛ **θa** ɪ	asthma (n.)	Henderson 1997
	dɛ-ɔ-**θə́** mú	life, existence (n.)	Henderson 1997
	dɛ-**θa**-**θə́** mú	life, existence (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ɔ mɔ **θo**=mɔ θa	of good heart (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	ɔ **θə́** mú	alive, to live (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θà	heart / breath	Weidert 1987:953
	θa	heart, life; mind, souls (n.)	Henderson 1997
	θa blɛ̀	lose heart; lose interest in	Henderson 1997
	θa blɛ̀=**θa** yu	become discouraged (v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa bɔ	startled, excited (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa də né	chest (n.)	Henderson 1997
	θa glo	firm of purpose (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa go	anxious, heavy hearted (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa go=**θa** gɛ̀	anxious, heavy hearted (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa gəlɔ̀	industrious, hard-working (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa gənà (í)	pleased with (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa hɛ-tha	give up the ghost, pass away	Henderson 1997
	θa i	tender core or heart (n.)	Henderson 1997
	θa jɛ	of tender years (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa ju	patient, persevering (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa ke	have a twisted outlook (v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa kla	envious, to grudge (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa lɔ́	covet (v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa mí	satisfied, contented (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa mɔ	happy, good-natured (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa tha	get angry (v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa yì	of one mind (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa yì	suffer from wind, or heart burn	Henderson 1997
	θa yɔ	patient, persevering (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa đo	become angry (v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa ɓi	have asthma (v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa ʃa	spiritually mature (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa ʃɛ́	hurt (of feelings) (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa ʃu	keen, enthusiastic (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa ɪ	tough, enduring (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa ɪ	have asthma (v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa θə́lɔ́	generous, open-hearted (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa θə́mú	life (n.)	Henderson 1997
	θa-də né	chest (n.)	Henderson 1997
	θa-kú=**θa**-lɔ́	covet, be covetous (v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa-kwí=**θa**-lɔ́	covet, be covetous (v.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**θa**^{2}	heart / breath	Weidert 1987:953
Bwe	**θo** gɛ̀=θa gɛ̀	heavy hearted (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θo mí=θa mí	satisfied, delighted; satisfied, pleased (be v.)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997
	θo mɔ=θa mɔ	comforted (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θo o=θa o	in trouble (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θo the=θa tho	heavy at heart (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θò-**θà**	liver	Weidert 1987:989
	θə́ mú	alive (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θɛ-la	breathe out (v.)	Henderson 1997
	θɛ-tha	breathe in (v.)	Henderson 1997

	θɛ-tha=**θɛ**-la	breathe (v.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**θɛ**^{2}	breath, to breathe	Luce 1985:G.60
	θɑ^{2}	heart, mind	Luce 1985:J.271
	θʊ^{1}mʊ^{1}	alive	Luce 1985:I.171
Bwe	ʊ-**θo**=ʊ-θa	feel stifled (by heat) (v.)	Henderson 1997
Geba	**θɛ**^{2}	breath, to breathe	Luce 1985:G.60
	θɑ^{2}	heart, mind	Luce 1985:J.271
	θʊ^{2}hmṹ^{1}	alive	Luce 1985:I.171
Karen	**tθa**^{31}wi^{31}	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.50
	tθa̱^{55}	air; breath (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.50
	tθa̱^{55}**be**^{33}**nɔ̱**^{31}	forget (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1704.50
	tθa̱^{55}**dă**^{31}**ku̱**^{55}	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.50
	tθa̱^{55}**dɔ̱**^{31}	angry, be / take offense (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1621.50
	tθa̱^{55}phiø^{31}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.50
	tθa^{55}**thɔ**^{31}	hate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1373.50
	tθa^{55}**wi**^{33}	sing	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1184.50
Kayan (Pekon)	a gɔ́ a **θà**	intelligence [lit. 3-divide-3-heart] (Nelab.)	Manson 2010
	bâ **θà**	like; love (V.)	Manson 2010; Manson 2010
	bâ θṵ́ bâ **θà**	love (Velab.)	Manson 2010
	lo̱ ká lo̱ **θà**	adequate, contented (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	mé **θà**	snore (Vintr.)	Manson 2010
	tɨ́ θo̱ tɨ́ **θà**	crowded [lit. tight-lungs-tight-heart] (ADJelab.)	Manson 2010
	zū **θak**^{h} án	large bamboo rat [lit. rodent-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	zū **θak** én	spotted squirrel with a spindly tail [lit. rodent-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	zū **θak** wan	bamboo rat [lit. rodent-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	zū **θa** hà	lesser bamboo rat [lit. rodent-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θà	heart (N.)	Manson 2010
	θà	breathe (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà	want (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
	θà án	yawn / bored [lit. breathe-open] (Vintr.)	Manson 2010
	θà áu	thirsty (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà blą́	mad, irate, not as strong as angry (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà bù	respect (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà é	grudge (N.)	Manson 2010
	θà é	jealous (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà gwɨ́	hungry, famished (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà hén	jealous (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà hę́	monotonous, boring (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà hí	jealous (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà kàu	excited (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà kàu	crave, desire (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
	θà kái	discouraged [lit. heart-bad] (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà kî	hate, dislike (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà klɨ̀	strange (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà klɨ̀ θàŋá	surprise (Velab.)	Manson 2010
	θà k^{h}ài	hatred (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà k^{h}wę̀	envious (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà k^{h}yàu	scare, frighten, surprise (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà lū	tired (emotionally or mentally tired) [lit. heart-?] (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà nàu	happy, excited (e.g. because they passed an exam, or didn't get injured in an accident) (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà nạ̀	all night (TEMP.)	Manson 2010
	θà nwâ	disgusting (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà pè	afraid (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà pę̀n	forget (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
	θà pę̀n	absent minded (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà pɨ̀	forget (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
	θà plą́	disappointed, depressed (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà prạ̀u	vomit, want to vomit, nauseous (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà prṹ	bored, discouraged (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà pǫ́	sing (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà p^{h}lôn	heart (N.)	Manson 2010
	θà p^{h}rə̀ɨ	afraid (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà rà	embarrassed (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà rōn	afraid (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà rōn **θà** pè	afraid (Velab.)	Manson 2010
	θà rū	afraid, fearful (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà rū **θà** mà	afraid (Velab.)	Manson 2010
	θà rwè	jealous (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà s^{h}á	jealous (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà t^{h}ân	angry (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà t^{h}ə	excited (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	θà zəɨ	want (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà ŋwâ	sick of, disgusted (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà ŋə̄	cry (Vintr.)	Manson 2010
	θà θûlé	sorrow (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà θôɨ	upset, very sad (for yourself) (V.)	Manson 2010
	θa kṵ	air (N.)	Manson 2010
	θa myə́n	alive (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**sà**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	sà	breath / breathe (v.,n.)	Jones 1961:150
	sa	breath, breathe	Benedict 1972:146n397
	sà, **sà** nɤ̀ʔ, **sà** thán	breathe	Solnit 1989
	sáʔ	heart; breath; heart (in cpd.)	Weidert 1987:953; Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:90
	saʔ	heart	Benedict 1972:146n397
Pa-O (Northern)	**s'ɑʔ**^{3}	heart, mind	Luce 1985:J.271
	s'ɑ^{6}	breath, to breathe	Luce 1985:G.60
Pa-O	ʔə **sàk**	life, age	Solnit 1989
Paku	**θɑ**^{1}	breath, to breathe; heart, mind	Luce 1985:G.60; Luce 1985:J.271
Palaychi	**tàq**	heart	Jones 1961:90
	tàq lɔ́q	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	tàq lɔ́q	breath / breathe (v.,n.)	Jones 1961:150
	tàq náq shzùʔ	chest	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:410
Pwo (Tenasserim)	ð **θɑʔ**^{3}	heart, mind	Luce 1985:J.271
Pwo (Delta)	ð **θɑʔ**^{1}	heart, mind	Luce 1985:J.271
Pwo	**θàʔ**	heart / breath	Weidert 1987:953
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**θɑ**^{1}	breath, to breathe	Luce 1985:G.60
Pwo (Delta)	**θɑ**^{4}	breath, to breathe	Luce 1985:G.60
Pwo (Bassein)	**θà**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	θà	breath / breathe (v.,n.)	Jones 1961:150
	θàʔ	heart	Jones 1961:90
	θàʔ kỳʔ	hiccup; hiccough (v.)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:704
	θàʔ nà	chest	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:410
Pwo (Moulmein)	**θáʔ**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	θáʔ	breath / breathe (v.,n.)	Jones 1961:150
	θàʔ	heart	Jones 1961:90
	θàʔ kàuʔ	hiccup; hiccough (v.)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:704
	θàʔ nà	chest	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:410
Sgaw	**θɑ**^{1}	breath, to breathe	Luce 1985:G.60
	θɑʔ^{2}	heart, mind	Luce 1985:J.271
	^{4}**θaʔ**	heart / breath	Weidert 1987:953
Sgaw (Bassein)	kəʔ **θà**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	kəʔ **θà**	breath / breathe (v.,n.)	Jones 1961:150
	θaʔ	heart	Jones 1961:90
	θaʔ ná	chest	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:410
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**da**^{31} p^{h}lø^{31}	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989k:179.1
	tθa^{31} wi^{31}	hungry	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1858
	tθa̱^{55}	breath (qixi)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:199
	tθa̱^{55} dă^{31} ku̱^{55}	hiccup / belch	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1786
	tθa̱^{55} gă^{31} dø^{31}	die (breath one's last)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1846
	tθa̱^{55} ko^{31}	nervous	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2577
	tθa̱^{55} na^{55} bua^{31}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989k:120
	tθa̱^{55} p^{h}lø^{31}	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989k:179
	tθa̱^{55} t^{h}ɔ^{31}	gasp, pant (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1752.1
	tθa̱^{55} t^{h}ɔ^{31} **tθa̱**^{55} lɔ^{33}	gasp, pant (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1752.2
	tθa̱^{55} ɯ^{55}	hum	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1970.1
	tθa^{55} wi^{33}	sing	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1704
	tθa^{55} wi^{33} da^{31}	sing	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1704.2
Sgaw (Moulmein)	kəʔ **θáʔ**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	kəʔ **θáʔ**	breath / breathe (v.,n.)	Jones 1961:150
	θaʔ	heart	Jones 1961:90
	θaʔ ná	chest	Jones 1961:410
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**tă**^{31} u^{55}	hum	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1970
	θa^{33} tă^{31} ku̱ʔ^{55}	hiccup / belch	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1786
	θa^{33} wi^{33}	hungry	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1858
	θa^{31} kă^{31} li^{31}	inhale	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2456
	θa̱ʔ^{55}	breath	Dai Qingxia 1989j:199
	θa̱ʔ^{55} na^{55} pua^{31}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989j:120
	θa̱ʔ^{55} p^{h}lɛ^{31}	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989j:179
	θa̱ʔ^{55} **θă**^{31} mu^{55}	life	Dai Qingxia 1989j:201
	θa^{55} t^{h}ɔ^{31}	gasp, pant (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1752
	θa^{55} wi̱^{31}	sing	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1704

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**si̱ək**	breathe	Chou Fa-kao 1972:925a
	si̱ək/**si̱ək**	breathe	Karlgren 1957:925a
Chinese (Old)	**si̱ək**	breath; to breathe; breath, to breathe	Luce 1985:G.60; Luce 1985:Y.48
	sjək	breathe	Coblin 1986:48

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**sjək**	breathe, rest	Coblin 1986:48

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**si**	breathe	Karlgren 1957:925a

Chinese comparandum

息 OC *__si̱ək__, *GSR* #925a; Coblin 86: *__sjək__; B & S 2011: *__sək__; Mand. __xí__. S523

(2) PTB *h(r)u BLOW / BREATH(E) / LIFE

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Tagin	**haru**	lung	Das Gupta 1983

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**hu**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987

1.6. Mru

Mru	**hü**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Lalung [Tiwa]	**shu** pa	breathe / exhale	Balawan 1965:66

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written/Western?)	**hu**	breath / life	Jäschke 1881

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**syu-**	blow through (hand, etc.); prosper, flourish (met.) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**syo** naʔ	blow (mouth)	Caughley 1990:9.2.3

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**xǐu**	blow (mouth)	Dai Qingxia 1989e:9.2.3
	xju	blow, puff	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4471

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	re2**su4**	blow (of wind) (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	re2tie2ba4**su4**	blow a gale (n+vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	re^{2}**su**^{4}	blow (of wind) (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.1
	re^{2}tie^{2}ba^{1}**su**^{4}	blow a gale (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.1
	su4	blow (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	su^{4}	blow (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.3
Tujia	**su**^{55}	blow away (a speck of dust)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.49
Tujia (Northern)	ze^{35}**su**^{55}**su**^{55}~ze^{35}**su**^{55}	blow (of wind)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	zie^{35}**su**^{55}	blow (wind) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.49
	zie^{35}**su**^{55}**su**^{55}	blow (of wind)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:753.38

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**hru**	breathe; draw into nose, mouth; smoke	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə sak **hru**	breathe (v.)	Matisoff 1987

Chinese comparandum

秀 OC *__si̱ôg__, *GSR* #1095a-b 'flower and set ears (grain); flower (v.); flourishing'; Schuessler 2007:543 *__suh__ < __swuh__; B & S 2011: *__s-lu-s { [s-l] u(ʔ)-s}__; Mand. __xiù__.

(3) PTB *d-buk BREATH(E) / LIFE

The Bokar form has apparently undergone nasalization.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	a **muk**	air; breath (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.24
	a-**muk**	breath; air	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**muk** taŋ	breathe	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **muk**	breath	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	ŋa-**muk**-cu-ma	inhale	Tayeng 1976
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	kə **pʰuk** səm	breathe (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:9.2.1
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	**buk**^{13}	breath	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**əg**	breath	Sun 1985a:98
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**u**^{52}	breath (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.02
Sherpa	**uq**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**u** ton je	breathe (v.)	Bodh 1991:9.2.1
Tibetan (Written)	**dbugs**	breath; life	Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:98
	dbugs	air; breath (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0020.01
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Sahu)	**puːh**	breath; life	Matisoff 1987; Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.66
	puːh Tuhp-pa	breathe (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.20
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**pok**	body; life	Rai 1985; Rai *et al.* 1984:58

(4) PTB * g m -swan BREATH(E) / LIVE

1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	**ntsʰon**^{35}	breath	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	lungshasor **hon**	breathe	Marrison 1967
	swor **hon** bə	breathe (v.)	Singh 1991:9.2.1
	swor thəbet thəbet **hon** bə	pant (v.)	Singh 1991:9.2.2
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**son** po	alive / be living	Sharma 1991a:1.12
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**sø**^{13} **n** bo^{53}	alive / be living	SUN Hongkai 1991a:1.12
Kaike	**sam** pu	alive (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.08
Tsangla (Motuo)	**son** po	alive (adj.)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	son po	alive	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:781.7
	ɕoŋ	breath	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕoŋ^{55}	breath	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ɕoŋ la; nas	rest ordinary days;rest(walkin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**son**^{55} po^{55}	alive	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**søn**^{55}	alive	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:781.6
	søn^{55} mo^{53}	live (huó)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Cuona Menba	**søn**^{55}po^{53}	alive, become / active (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1396.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**son** po	alive	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:781.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɣsom** bo	alive	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:781.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**son** te·	alive	Rangan 1975:24
	soŋ te·	alive	Rangan 1975:56
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'som** noq	alive (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.08
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**sø̃**^{55}	alive, become / active (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1396.02
	sø̃^{55}pa^{53}	alive	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:781.2
Spiti	**son** po/**son** po dice	alive / be living	Bodh 1991:1.12
Tibetan (Written)	**gson** pa	alive	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:781.1
	gson-pa	live, be alive (v.)	Jäschke 1881:591
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Sahu)	**'so**-pa	live (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.32
	som po	life (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.12
	som po	life	Taylor *et al.* 1972:10.12
	som po	live (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.A.9
	som po ta-pa	live (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.32
	²so	live	Mazaudon 1994:962
Thakali (Syang)	^{55,44}**so**-ba	live	Mazaudon 1994:962
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	sa **sɔː** lhaye	breathe (infinitive verb) (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.2.1
Newar (Kathmandu)	sa **sɔɔ**	breath / life	Genetti 1990c
	sa **sɔɔ** laye	breath / life	Genetti 1990c
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**soːm** ma	lung	Michailovsky 1991:114
	sɔk ma **soːnt-**	breathe (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			[a]
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			[b]
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mawo)	**χsəs**	alive / be living	SUN Hongkai 1991g:1.12 [c]
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**χsən**^{53} pə^{33}	alive / be living	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	**'saŋ** si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	na **soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	nə **soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	**saŋ** sɻ	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	**soŋ**^{3}so^{53}	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	**soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	**soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	**səŋ**^{3}sji^{3}	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong	ta **soŋ** si	breathe (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:9.2.1
	ta **soŋ** si ka lɛt	pant (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:9.2.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ta-**soŋ** si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	ta **'soŋ** si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ta **'soŋ soŋ** kalat	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	ta **soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	ta **soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	ta **soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	ta **soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	ta **soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	ta **soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	ta **soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	ta **soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	ta **soŋ** 'sə	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	ta **soŋ** 'sə	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	ta **soŋ** si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	ta **soŋ** səka 'lat	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	ta **səŋ** 'so	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	tə3**'soŋ5**sə53	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	tə^{3}**soŋ**^{3}si^{5}	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	tə^{3}**soŋ**^{3}sə^{3}	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	tə^{3}**soŋ**^{3}sə^{53}	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	tə^{1}**saŋ**^{1}si^{1}	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	tə **soŋ** 'sa	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	tə **soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	tə **soŋ** 'si	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	tə **soŋ** 'sje	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	tə **soŋ** 'sə	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **soŋ** si	breathe (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.2.1
	tə **soŋ** si kɐjtsʰitsʰə	pant (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.2.2
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	ə^{3}**soŋ**^{1}si^{5}	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong	ta **song** se	breathe (v.)	Nagano 1997:9.2.1
	ta **song** se ka let	pant (v.)	Nagano 1997:9.2.2

(5) PTB *dwam BREATH(E) / LIVE

This sparsely attested root requires further confirmation.

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	aya-**dom**	alive	Tayeng 1976
	dom-ɲi	be (be v.)	Tayeng 1976
	ɟuŋ-**dom**-pi	live	Tayeng 1976
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**dɔm**	breath	Sharma 1988:20,43
	dɔ̃m	breath / life	Matisoff 1987

(6) PTB *ti BREATHE

This root has so far been uncovered only in a few Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal.

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	net **ti**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	'soːk **ti**	breath; life	Michailovsky 1991:23; Matisoff 1987
	so **ti**	breath	Michailovsky 1991:23
	so **ti** phere-cā	breath / life	Matisoff 1987

(7) NEIA *ha BREATHE

This weakly attested root seems to have an onomatopoetic component, and awaits further confirmation. It bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***g-haŋ** GASP / PANT (§1.1.2.2), and might well be combined with it in the future.

1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	manana si **ha** la	pant	Pulu 1978
	si-**ha**-ga	breathe	Anonymous 1962
	si **ha** la	breath	Pulu 1978
	si **ha** la ga	breathe	Pulu 1978
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	u **ha**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987

(8) PTB *raŋ^{1} BREATHE / DRAW (BREATH)

3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (NW)	sn̥i **ɣzn̥a** kak tsʰim tsʰo	pant (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:9.2.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə sŋo **ro**	breathe (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:9.2.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə sn̥i **ɣra**	breathe (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:9.2.1
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***raŋ^{1}** BREATHE / DRAW (BREATH)			
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	šá **g̈ɔ̀** ve	draw breath; inhale; breathe ("draw breath")	Matisoff 1988a:1160; Matisoff 1988a:p.1160
Sani [Nyi]	se^{21} ni^{55} **xɑ**^{33}	breathe	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:163.1
	se^{21}ni^{55}**xɒ**^{33}	breathe	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	sàq **ɣɔ́**	breathe, breath	Hansson 1989:475
Hani (Lüchun)	shà ɣó (-**ɣɔ́** ?)	breathe, breath	Hansson 1989:475

(9) PL *ku BREATHE

This sparsely attested verbal root occurs after the noun PTB ***m-sak** BREATH(E) / LIFE (§1.1.2.2).

[a] Hayu shows variation between homorganic final nasal and stop.

[b] For the same final -s (of unknown function), cf. also Qiang (Mawo) **χsəs**.

[c] This Qiang Mawo form bears a superficial resemblance to Chepang and Magar **sās**, although the latter two are undoubtedly borrowings from IA (cf. Sanskrit **śvas-**). The initial velar spirants in the Qiang Mawo and Ergong forms seem cognate to the prefixal **g-** in WT.

6.1.2. LOLOISH

Lolopho	sɛ̲^{31} **gɒ^{33}**	breathe (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:9.2.1

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	sɛ̲^{21} **ku^{22}**	breathe (v.)	LUO Meizhen 1990:9.2.1

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Pijo)	à sàq **kú**	breathe, breath	Hansson 1989:475
Hani (Khatu)	à shà **kú**	breathe, breath	Hansson 1989:475

(10) PTB *g-haŋ GASP / PANT

This root bears a strong resemblance to NEIA ***ha*** BREATHE (§1.1.2.2), and might well be combined with it in the future.

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**gəāŋ**	gasp, as in death throes (v.)	Benedict 1972:33

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**haŋ**-ba	pant, gasp (v.)	Benedict 1972:33

(11) PTani *tur ALIVE

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***tur**	alive	Sun 1993a:2

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**tur**	alive	Sun 1993a
	tùr	alive	Sun 1993b
	tur	live (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**tur**	alive	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**tur**	alive	Sun 1993a
	tur	alive, become / active (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1396.24
	tur nə	living (adj.); alive; live, alive	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1087.24; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**tur** nə	alive, live; alive	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:781.51
Galo	**tur**-nam	alive (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	tur nam	alive; survive (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**tur**	alive	Sun 1993a

(12) PTB *s(y)am-s BREATH / LUNG / SPIRIT / VOICE / HEART

Three phonetically similar etyma must be distinguished in this semantic area: PTB ***s(y)am-s*** BREATH / LUNG / SPIRIT / VOICE / HEART (§1.1.2.2), PTB ***s/k-n(y)i-k/ŋ*** HEART / MIND / BRAIN (§1.7.1), PTB ***s-nyam*** THINK / BRAIN (§1.2.6.10).

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***sjəm**	heart / mind	Coblin 1986:93

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-sam**	breath / voice	Matisoff 2003a:612
	***sam**	heart; mind; spirit, breath	Michailovsky 1991:22; Coblin 1986:93
	***sem-s**	soul / mind / heart / spirit / breath	Matisoff 2003a:612
	***səm**	breath, voice, mind, heart, soul, spirit, thought, think	French 1983:567

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**ǹ-sén**	sound / voice	Matisoff 1974:276
	niŋ **sen** / n **sen**	sound, voice	Benedict 1972:51n171
	n^{31}**sen^{55}**	sound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0161.19
	n^{31}**sen^{55}**; niŋ^{31}**sen^{55}**	voice	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:512.47
	n̩^{31} **sen^{55}**	sound	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	n **hsen**	voice (n.)	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	**sem**	heart / locus of emotions	Sharma 1991a:14.2
Kanauri	**sem**	soul	Sharma 1988:61
Pattani [Manchati]	**sem**	heart	Sharma 1982
	sèm	mind / locus of thought	Sharma 1991b:14.1
	sem lep i	love (v.)	Sharma 1982
	sem i	soul	Sharma 1982
	sem u	desire, wish	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	**sam** lo-phi	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**sem^{55}**dʐan^{35}thɑŋ^{55}	think	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**sam** lo phi	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.07

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**wsam** lo ptaŋ	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**s^{h}em** dəg	get sad	Sun 1985a:587
	s^{h}em nbə	heart	Sun 1985a:351
Tibetan (Batang)	**sɑ̃^{55}**lu^{53}tõ^{55}	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**sɑŋ^{55}**lo^{53}toŋ^{55}	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**sam^{52}**	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.02
	sam^{53}	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.2
	sam^{55}lo^{55} taŋ^{55}	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.02
Tibetan (Written)	**bsam**	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.01
	bsam	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.1
	bsam-pa	thought	Benedict 1972:126n344
	bsams	thought	Coblin 1986:93
	sem(s)	soul, spirit, mind	Coblin 1986:93
	sem(s)-pa	think	Benedict 1972:126n344
	sem(s)-pa bsams bsam soms	think	Coblin 1986:93
	sem-pa	think	Benedict 1972:98n281
	sems	think; spirit; mind	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	sems mi skjid pa	bored	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1096.01
	sems-čɑn	animated being / man / animal	Jäschke 1881
	sems.bu	heart	Sun 1985c:351
	sems.sdug	get sad	Sun 1985c:587

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	a-**sóm**	breath; life; spirit, breath	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:51n171; Coblin 1986:93
	a-**sóm** lóm	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987
	a-**sóm** n̊an lyaṅ	lung	Matisoff 1987
	sóm	breathe (v.)	Plaisier 2007
	sóm	breath / life	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{A}**sem**	mind / heart	Mazaudon 1994:935,960
Gurung	**^{1}saẽ**	spirit / mind / soul	Mazaudon 1994:960
Manang (Gyaru)	**sɐn^{2}**	mind	Nagano 1984:249
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{3}sẽ**	mind; heart; feeling	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0244; HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0722
	^{1}sẽ	mind / heart	Mazaudon 1994:936
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{1}sem**	feelings, heart (figuratively) (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:14.2, 14.3
	^{1}sem	feelings / soul / heart (fig.)	Mazaudon 1994:960
Tamang (Sahu)	**sem**-Ti ’mem-pā	learn by heart (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.09
	sem-Ti ’mem-pa	learn by heart (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.B.9
	^{1}sem	mind, soul, heart	Mazaudon 1994:960
Thakali (Marpha)	**^{54}sʌm**	soul / heart	Mazaudon 1994:936
Thakali (Tukche)	**sɔm**	heart	Hari 1971:1.52.2
	sɔm ’jɔh-wɔ	attractive; desirable	Hari 1971:12.A.69; Hari 1971:12.B.53
	sɔm a-’jɔh-wɔ	repulsive	Hari 1971:12.A.70
	sɔm a-k̇i-wɔ	discontent	Hari 1971:12.A.43
	sɔm cjaŋ-pɔ	stingy	Hari 1971:12.A.41
	sɔm c^{h}juŋ-lɔ	sad, be	Hari 1971:10.B.3.17
	sɔm ki-wɔ	content	Hari 1971:12.A.42
	sɔm lo-ki-nɔ ’lɔ-lɔ	amuse	Hari 1971:11.B.1.16
	sɔm nɔh-nɔ ’lɔ-lɔ	hurt (feelings)	Hari 1971:10.B.1.74
	sɔm sɔh-wɔ	generosity; kindness	Hari 1971:10.A.5; Hari 1971:10.A.8
	sɔm tuh-wɔ	sad	Hari 1971:12.A.45
	sɔm t^{h}e-wɔ ’lɔ-lɔ	give in	Hari 1971:10.B.1.43
	sɔm-ce mɔhn-ci-wɔ	attentive	Hari 1971:12.A.14
	sɔm-ri lehm kjaŋ-lɔ	imagine	Hari 1971:10.B.2.20
	sɔm-sɔh-wɔ	generous	Hari 1971:12.A.40
	sɔm ta ’k^{h}ɔ-wɔ	agreement	Hari 1971:11.A.42
	sɔm ta a-’k^{h}ɔ-wɔ	disagreement	Hari 1971:11.A.43
	sɔm tɔ ’k^{h}ɔ-lɔ	like (v.)	Hari 1971:10.B.3.10
	^{H}səm	heart	Mazaudon 1994:936; Mazaudon 1994:960

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**sõ**	lung	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.2

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***sam**	breath	Michailovsky 1991:22
**SE Kiranti*	***som**	lung	Michailovsky 1991:114

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**sam**	soul, spirit, ghost	Michailovsky 1991:22
	som	lung	Michailovsky 1989b; Matisoff 1987
	so:m	lung	Michailovsky 1991:114
Yakha	**sɔm**	lung	Kohn 1990:9.2

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**sam**	vapor	Michailovsky 1991:22
	som-phu-rok	lung	Matisoff 1978b:ld
	som pho rok	lung	Rai *et al.* 1984:65
	som phu rok	lung	Michailovsky 1991:114
	som pu rok	lung	Michailovsky 1991:114
Chamling	**sam**	idea, soul, image	Michailovsky 1991:22
	sam ai	spirit of clan ancestor	Michailovsky 1991:22
	syam	heart / love	Winter 1985:34
	syam buluy*	heart	Winter 1985:34
Kulung	**som**	breath, steam	Michailovsky 1991:23
	som_	breath, steam	Rai *et al.* 1975
	som_ pəy-ə	short of breath [he is short of breath] (be v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
	səm	lung	Michailovsky 1991:114
	səm_	lung	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**sam**	spirit, mood, soul	Michailovsky 1991:22
	sam phe? lu	1) the Omniscient Stone, one of several epithets for the	Driem 1993
	so:m	breath	Michailovsky 1991:23; Driem 1993
	so:?m ka? him	breathing, animate; breathing, respiring, animate.	Michailovsky 1991:23; Driem 1993
Khaling	**’som**	breath; life; breath, life	Michailovsky 1991:23; Matisoff 1987
	säm	steam, vapor, essence	Michailovsky 1991:22

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**sam**	breath; breath, life	Michailovsky 1991:23; Benedict 1972:51n171; Coblin 1986:93
	sœ pœ rœ	lung	Michailovsky 1991:114
Hayu	**hem** cu	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	hẽ khi	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**sam**	breath, steam; breath, steam, sound (of cymbals)	Michailovsky 1991:23; Allen 1975
	sam khet-	breathe (v.)	Allen 1975
	sām a	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	sam ceo	<breath> weak respiration of a dying man	Allen 1975

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	ftse^{33} **sem^{53}** ~ **sem^{53}** ɕ^{h}ək	heart / locus of emotions	SUN Hongkai 1991c:14.2
Ergong (Daofu)	**seŋ**	heart	DAI Qingxia 1989b:9.3
	sheŋ	heart / locus of personality	DAI Qingxia 1989b:14.3

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Caodeng rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**sem**	heart (abstract)	Sun 1997a
	səm nor kɛ lɐt	recall / recollect (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1388.11
	səm ŋjjot kɑ pɑ	regret (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1376.11
	səm zdək	pain / agony (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0688.11
	səm zdək	sad	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1120.11
	səm mnot kɑpɑ	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.11
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**s^{h}em**	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong	tə-**sɛm**	heart / locus of emotions	DAI Qingxia 1989d:14.2

Caodeng	tə-**sɐm** mɐ-kə-vde	sad	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wu **səm** kəwudən	heart / locus of emotions	Sun Hongkai 1991j:14.2
rGyalrong	**sem** lo	mind	Nagano 1997:14.1
rGBenzhen	tə-**səm** kə-bdə	carefree	Sun 1997b
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	ɑ^{53}**tθã**^{22}	sound (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0161.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ɑ **tθã**^{22}	voice	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:512.40
Burmese (Written)	ă **sam**	sound	Benedict 1972:51n171
	a **san**	voice (n.)	Marrison 1967
	saṁ	sound; report; rumor	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**saṁ**	sound; report; rumor	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ^{1}**thɑṁ**^{2}	voice	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:512.39
	ɑ^{1}**tθɑṁ**^{2}	sound (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0161.26
	ʔə **sam**	sound, report, rumor	Matisoff 1974:276
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	pe^{33}**sɯ**^{33}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.34
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**sẽ**^{55}	heart	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.37
Bai (Dali)	**ɕi**^{35}	heart	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ɕi^{35}**o**^{44}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ɕĩ**^{55}	heart	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ɕĩ^{55}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.48
	ɕĩ^{55}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.36; Zhao Yansun 1990:9.3
	ɕĩ^{55} kʰo^{33}	heart / locus of emotions	Zhao Yansun 1990:14.2
	ɕĩ^{55} tɕʰuæ^{44}	heartbeat	Zhao Yansun 1990:9.3.1
	ɕĩ^{55} ŋɣ̃^{55}	heart / locus of emotions	Zhao Yansun 1990:14.2
	ɕĩ^{55} ŋɣ̃$_{ɪ}^{42}$	heart / locus of emotions	Zhao Yansun 1990:14.2
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**sɟəm**	heart	Chou Fa-kao 1972:663a-b
	sɟəm/sɟəm	heart	Karlgren 1957:663a-b
Chinese (Old)	**sjəm**	heart / mind	Coblin 1986:93
	sjɨm	heart	Baxter 1992:1766
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**sjəm**	heart	Coblin 1986:93
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**shin** tzahng	heart	Sun 1985b:351
	sin	heart	Karlgren 1957:663a-b
	xīn	heart	Evans *et al.* 1991

[a] All these Baic forms are undoubtedly borrowed from Chinese.

Chinese comparandum

心 OC ***sɟəm***, *GSR* #663a-b; B & S 2011: ***səm***; Mand. **xīn**.

(13) PTB *waŋ BREATHE

This root was previously subsumed under PTB ***hwaŋ*** COME (OUT) / ENTER (§6.7.2), with the semantic connection residing in the in-and-out movement of the breath. Now, however, it seems preferable to consider these to be separate roots.

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	chethè **wàng**-hì-hì-	pant (v.)	Grüssner 1979:61
	chethè **wàng**-sèng-	pant (v.)	Grüssner 1979:61
	chethe-**vang**	breathe	Marrison 1967
	che thè ke-**wàng**	breathe (v.)	Grüssner 1979:61
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	sà **wan** ca	breathe (v.)	Sharma 1991a:9.2.1

(14) PCN *tʃh[a/ə]n BREATHE

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***tʃh [a/ə] n**	BREATHE	Bruhn 2014a:III.183
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**sen** ro, **sen** si	breathe	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**sən** si	breathe [breathed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**tʃhen**^{1}-	breathe (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.183
	e **chen** a	breathe	Murry *et al.* 1978:12
	e **chen** ko	breath	Murry *et al.* 1978:12
	e thük e **chen** a	breathe	Murry *et al.* 1978:12
Sangtam	a sa **chi** cho	breath	Kumar 1973a
	a sa **chi** chü	breath	Kumar 1973a
	chi chi	breathe	Marrison 1967

(15) PTB *r-ŋam BREATHE / PANT

This word seems to refer especially to heavy breathing or panting. The ***r-*** prefix is attested in Tibetan.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	**ʻŋa** nam	pant (vi.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	**ŋa**	pant	Sun 1993b
	ŋa-ʔa	pant	Sun 1993b
	ŋaʔ	breathe	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ŋa**-ma	breath; breathe	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	ɲa-ca-ma	breathe	Tayeng 1976
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**rnam**	breathe	Marrison 1967
	rṅams-pa	breathe	Matisoff 1987
	rŋám-pɑ rgod	wild puffing	Jäschke 1881:134
	rŋám-pɑ tʻuŋ	short breath	Jäschke 1881:134

(16) PTB *s-ləy PANT

This putative etymon has so far only been identified in two languages.

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**hləyŋ**^{h}-sa	pant	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Sani [Nyi]	**łe**^{22}	pant (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:9.2.2
	łe^{21}	pant	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:107.1; Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

(17) PTB *duŋ ≷ *duk BE / BREATHE

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**dong**	live (to be alive); be	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***duaŋ**	be (be v.)	French 1983:454
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**daŋ**	be (be v.)	French 1983:454
	dong	be	Marrison 1967
	doŋ	be (be v.)	French 1983:454
Tangsa (Yogli)	da **dauŋ**	breathe (v.)	French 1983:454
	da **dauŋ**	breathe	French 1983:462
	da **daung**	breathe	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Balti)	**d̲uk**	be	Rangan 1975:58
Tibetan (Written)	**ʼdug**	be	Marrison 1967
	ɦidug	be (in the house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1775.01

1.1.2.3 Existence

(1) PTB *$\begin{matrix}\mathbf{s}\\\mathbf{g}\end{matrix}$**-ray ≷ *way BE / COPULA / NOMINALIZER / SUBORDINATOR / GOD**

This etymon was the main focus of Matisoff 1985 (*GSTC*).

Clearly related to this complex etymon is PTB ***s-ri-t*** ≷ ***s-rut*** BE / EXIST / COPULA (§1.1.2.3), though we are listing it separately for convenience's sake.

(1a) PTB *g-ray BE / COPULA / NOMINALIZER / SUBORDINATOR

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-ray**	copula / creator	Matisoff 1985a:005
	***ray** ≷ way	copula / nominalizer / subordinator	Matisoff 2003a:610
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	**ʻree**	Polar question marker; Question marker (polar) (pcl.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**rài**	copula	Matisoff 1985a:005
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʒø**^{13}	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:748.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʐɛ**^{35}	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:748.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʐi**	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:748.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	mè tshɨ́-**ʐì**	follow [behind-exist]	Evans 1999:1931
Qiang (Taoping)	**ʒl̩**^{33}	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:748.9
Xumi	**ji**^{35}	be (in the house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1775.17
	ji^{35}	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:748.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	dʑi **ʐɐ**	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:748.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	**i**	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:748.12
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Sangkong	**ʐe**^{55}	non-1st person agreement particle	Matisoff 2003a:35

(1b) PTB *g-ray GOD / CREATOR

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-ray**	god	Matisoff 2003a:610
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**tharai**	God	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	sa **rai** ba	God	Marrison 1967
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**lai**	God	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**kərài**(-kəsāŋ)	Creator	Matisoff 1985a:005
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**g̈ì**(-ša)	Creator	Matisoff 1985a:005
Lisu (Northern)	**wu**^{33}sa^{33}	god (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**wu**^{4}-sa^{4}	God, the creator	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**wu**^{4}sa^{4}	God	Bradley 1979b:360-1
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**gui** shaḥ	god	Bradley 1979b:360

(1c) PTB *way BE / COPULA / NOMINALIZER / SUBORDINATOR

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*ray ≷ **way**	copula / nominalizer / subordinator	Matisoff 2003a:610
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**e**^{53}	be / copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:733.46
	mɯ^{31}**e**^{53}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**e**^{53}	be / copula	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	mɯ^{31}**e**^{53}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-way**$^{2/3}$	plural	Bradley 1979b:442/3/4-2 [a]
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Luquan	**ve**^{33} ~ ve^{55}	subordinator; final particle	Matisoff 2003a:221
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	kɛ^{31}ɛ^{31}**ve**^{33}	clarify / clear up	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1197.43
	mi^{31}qo^{11}**ve**^{33}	trap / pitfall (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0639.43
	qɛ^{31}ɛ^{31}**ve**^{33}	spacious / commodious (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0978.43
	si^{11}**ve**^{33}	dead	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1089.43
	te^{21}**ve**^{33}	living (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1087.43
	tɕhe^{53}**ve**^{54}	shiver / tremble (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1303.43
	tɕo^{21}ɛ^{31}**ve**^{33}	cramped / narrow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.43
	tɕɔ^{21}pɯ^{33}ɛ^{31}**ve**^{33}	hunchback (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0207.43

[a] A PLB reconstruction with ***ʔr-*** seems preferable, since ***ʔw-*** becomes Lahu **f-**.

	ɕu[35] (dɔ[54]**ve**[33])	cigarette / tobacco (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0455.43
Lahu (Black)	á-qà? yì **ve**	shit (euph.)	Matisoff 1987
	bà? bà **ve**	slice off (as a strip of bark)	Matisoff 1988a:933 [a]
	câ ni **ve**	try eating; have a taste	Matisoff 1985a:145
	cê hu **ve**	raise animals (ov.)	Matisoff 1988a:1072
	cha pà? **ve**	copulate with a woman	Matisoff 1988a:517,814
	cì **ve**	cough (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	dì **ve**	have orgasm	Matisoff 1987
	ğâ?-mu cî? **ve**	pluck a chicken's feathers	Matisoff 1985a:033
	hwɛ̄ **ve**	wound	Matisoff 1987
	jĵ pí **ve**	urinate (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 582
	mì hā **ve**	rough ground	Matisoff 1993
	mû qhâ? **ve**	drought, be a; not have rain	Matisoff 1988a:p. 993
	mû-ni cè ko **ve**	for the sun to be encircled by a colored haze	Matisoff 1985a:013
	mê? še e **ve**	look at sthg sidelong; squint at out of the corner of one's eye	Matisoff 1985a:180
	nā-pɔ pô **ve**	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	nê te **ve**	appease the spirits	Matisoff 1985a:122
	ô? e **ve**	blister	Matisoff 1987
	qā **ve**	dumb / mute	Matisoff 1987
	qhê tɛ̀? **ve**	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
	šá chê? **ve**	die (breath is cut off) (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 1160
	šá ğɔ̀ **ve**	draw breath; inhale; breathe ("draw breath")	Matisoff 1988a:1160; Matisoff 1988a:p.1160
	šú dɔ̀ **ve**	smoke tobacco	Matisoff 1988a:1193
	te ni **ve**	try doing	Matisoff 1985a:145
	tɔ̀?-nà **ve**	revolted by the thought of eating; be unable to stand food (be v.)	Matisoff 1988a:667
	ve	nominalizer; relativizer; genitivizer	Matisoff 1988a:1330
	yâ hu **ve**	be pregnant, raise a child (be.)	Matisoff 1988a:1259
	yì?-mí gə̀? **ve**	sleepy	Matisoff 1988a:p.1301
	yì?-mí qa **ve**	fall asleep; be asleep	Matisoff 1988a:p.1301
	ɔ̀-bâ-ɔ̀-bâ-nâ qay **ve**	come in waves (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p929
	ɔ̀-kɨ cɔ̀ **ve**	brave (be v.)	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-lî yà? **ve**	menses	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-u u **ve**	lay an egg	Matisoff 1988a:135
	ɔ̀-vê? cî?-ğɔ̀ **ve**	pluck a flower	Matisoff 1985a:033
	ə̀? **ve**	belch (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	ə̂? **ve**	hiccup (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	è-è te **ve**	[baby-talk] make poo-poo; make caca	Matisoff 1988a:129
Lahu (Yellow)	tɕhe[5]**ve**[1]	this one	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ve[1]	relativizing particle	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**ø ~ ɔ̀**	subordinator; citation-form marker; terminator of utterances in declarative mood	Matisoff 2003a:221

[a] Lahu **bà** means 'throw away' in isolation, but as an auxiliary verb means 'to perform an action so that something is gotten rid of'. See *HPTB*, p. 231.

Chinese comparandum

惟 OC ***d'i̯wər***, *GSR* #575n 'namely; *copula*'; Schuessler 2007:510 ***wi***; B & S 2011: ***ɢʷij***; Mand. ***wéi***.

(1d) PTB *s-ray PLURALIZER

This etymon is a specialization of the ST copular morpheme PTB ***s/g-ray ⩬ *way*** BE / COPULA / NOMINALIZER / SUBORDINATOR / GOD (§1.1.2.3), an etymon which is discussed at length in Matisoff 1985a (59-64) (*GSTC*).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ray**	plural; everything; pluralizer	Matisoff 1985a:186; Matisoff 2003a:610
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**hrai**	plural affix for denoting company, etc.	Matisoff 1985a:186
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***rwo** PLURAL			
**Tangkhulic*	***rwo**	plural	Mortensen 2012:666
Huishu	ʔu-**ju**	1pl, we	Mortensen 2012:Pronouns.007
Tusom	ʔə-**ru**	1pl	Mortensen 2012:Pronouns.007
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**hăy**	plural of non-animate nouns	Matisoff 1985a:186
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	ran-**sray**	distribute everything	Matisoff 1985a:186
	ran **sray**	distribute everything (v.)	Bhat 1968
	sray	V everything (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:186
	za-**sray**	eat everything	Matisoff 1985a:186
	zankri-**sray**	shake everything	Matisoff 1985a:186
	zankrí **sray**	shake everthing (v.)	Bhat 1968
	za **sráy**	eat everything (v.)	Bhat 1968
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
Caodeng	**-rɐʔ**	plural suffix	Sun 1997a
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Dafang)	na[21]**xɯ**[33]	you (pl.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:975.22
Yi (Liangshan)	no[21]**ɣo**[34]	you (plural)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Lancang)	nɔ[31] **xɯ**[33]	you (pl.) (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.43
	nɔ[31] **xɯ**[33] nɛ[33]	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.43
Lahu (Black)	**hɨ**	pluralizer, esp. of personal pronouns	Matisoff 1985a:186
	nɔ[31]**xɯ**[33]	you (pl.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:975.33
	nɔ[31]**xɯ**[33]nɛ[31]	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.33
	nɔ̀-**hɨ**	you (pl.)	Matisoff 1985a:186
Lisu	nu[33]**uɑ**[31]; nɑ[31]	you (pl.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:975.27
Lisu (Northern)	nu[33]**wa**[21]	you (plural); you (respect) (P.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	nu[4]**-wa**[5]	you / your (pl.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	nɑ[31](nu[33]**uɑ**[31]n̡i[31]ʒo[44])	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.27
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Lüchun)	no[55]**ja**[33]	you (pl.) (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	nɔ[31]**ɣ**[33]	you (pl.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:975.30
	nɔ[31]**ɣ**[33]nɐ̯[31]kɔ[31]	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.30

(2) PTB *g-na-s STAY / REST / DWELL / BE / LIVE / ALIGHT / PERCH

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-na-s**	be / live / stay / rest / alight / perch	Matisoff 2003a:603
	***na**	rest (v.)	Weidert 1987:177
	***na**	remain; rest	LaPolla 1987:61; Benedict 1972:414
1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	**na**[55]	rest	LaPolla 1987:61
	nɑ[55]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.23
	nɑ[55]	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.48
Idu	**nɑ**[55]	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.50
Yidu	**nɑ**[55]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.25
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**na**-śi	rest	LaPolla 1987:61; Benedict 1972:414
	nā s̲h̲imig'	rest (vi.)	Bailey 1911
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	ɕoŋ la; **nas**	rest ordinary days;rest(walkin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.7
Motuo Menba	**nas**	rest (while on the road) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.07
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**gnas**	be (in the house) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1775.01
	gnas ɦtɕhaɦ	live / reside (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1452.01
	gnas-pa	be; live; dwell; stay; be, live, dwell, stay (be v.)	Weidert 1987:177; LaPolla 1987:61; Benedict 1972:414
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*ᴬ**na**	rest	Mazaudon 1994:539
Gurung (Ghachok)	bõhq **nah** ba	rest	Glover 1972:6.B.1. 24
Gurung	bọhq **nāh** bā	rest (v.)	Hale 1973:11b1.33
Gurung (Ghachok)	**nah** ru cwih ba	sleep	Glover 1972:2.B.2.16
Tamang (Sahu)	**nah**-pa	rest (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:22.A.33.a
	tuːh-pa **nah**-pa	rest; rest (of work) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:22.A.33; Taylor *et al.* 1972:17.A.24
	[3]**na**	rest	Mazaudon 1994:539
Thakali	**nah**-la	rest (v.)	Hale 1973:11b1.33
Thakali (Tukche)	**nɔh**-lɔ	rest; rest (from work)	Hari 1971:11.B.1.33; Hari 1971:6.B.1.24 2
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**na**-so	take rest	LaPolla 1987:61; Benedict 1972:414
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	ba[ɪ55]**n̡i**[53]	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.18
Lyuzu	bɯ[33]**n̡i**[53]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.18
	ŋe[33]**n̡i**[53]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.18
Muya	ji[24]**n̡i**[33]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.15
	ɣi[24]**n̡i**[33]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.15
Muya [Minyak]	ji[35]**n̡i**[55]	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.15
Namuyi	**n̡i**[53]tæ[31]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	khɯ[11]**n̡ĩ**[55]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.10
Pumi (Lanping)	khə[13]**ni**[55]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	khə[13]**ni**[55]	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.11
Pumi (Taoba)	khə[35]**n̡i**[53]	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.10
Qiang (Taoping)	χbɑ[241]**n̡i**[31]	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə[35]**ŋu**[53]	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.16
Xumi	lɛ[55]**n̡ɛ**[33]	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.20
	lɛ[55]**n̡ɛ̃**[55]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.17
	lɛ[55]**n̡ɪ**[55]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	ʌ[13] **n̡i**[33]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	nɛ **ni**	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ka nə **na**	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.12
Caodeng	kɐ-nə-**ne**	rest	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ nə **nɑ**	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.11
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	ɹɯ[31]**nɑ**[53]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɹɯ[31]**nɑ**[53]	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	rɯ[31] **na**[53]	rest	LaPolla 1987:61
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	rɯ[31] **na**[53]	rest	LaPolla 1987:61
	ɹɯ[31]**nɑ**[53]	rest	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***na**[2] BE / LIVE / STAY / REST / PERCH / SIT ON			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***na**[2]	be / live / stay / rest / perch	Matisoff 2003a:603
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**na**[31]	rest	LaPolla 1987:61
	nɑ[31]	rest	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**nɔ**[31]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.28
	nɔ[31]	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.41
Achang (Luxi)	**na**[51]	rest	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:61
Achang (Xiandao)	**nɔ**[31]	rest	DAI Qingxia 1989f:2387
	nɔ[31]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.29
Bola	**na**[31]	rest	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2387
Bola (Luxi)	**na**[31]	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.32

Burmese (Rangoon)	**nɑ**^{55}	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ɑ **nɑ**^{55} ju^{22}	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.40
Burmese (Written)	**nà**	rest (v.)	Weidert 1987:177
	nâ	alight, perch; cease from motion, alight	Matisoff 1974:311; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:61
	nɑ^{3}	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.26
	ɑ **nɑ**^{3} ju^{2}	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**nɔ**^{35}	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**nɔː**^{33}	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.33
Marma	**ná**	rest	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:165
Maru [Langsu]	**nɔ**^{35}	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nó**	rest (v.)	Weidert 1987:177
	no^{21}	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.30
	no^{21}	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.42

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**ʔnà**	rest	Björverud 1994
Yi (Dafang)	**nɒ**^{33}	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.22
Yi (Nanjian)	**nɑ**^{21}	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔnɑ**^{21}	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.36

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	**nɔ**^{33}pɐ^{33}	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.34
	nə^{33}pjə^{33}	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**nʌ**^{44} pjʌ^{44}	rest	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2499
Jinuo (Baka)	**n̥o**^{33} pjʌ^{33}	rest	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2499
Jinuo (Youle)	**n̥ɔ**^{44}pjə^{44}	rest	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	**nâ**	perch (bird); rest	LaPolla 1987:61
Lisu	**nà**	rest (v.)	Weidert 1987:177
Lisu (Northern)	**na**^{21}	stop; rest; take a break (V.)	Bradley 1994
	na^{21}gu^{33}	rest place (a large area, same as na^{21}di^{33}, na^{21}tɤ^{55})	Bradley 1994
	na^{21}gu^{33}di^{33}	rest place (larger than na^{33}tɤ^{55})	Bradley 1994
	na^{21}tɤ^{55}	rest place	Bradley 1994
	na^{21}ɲa^{35}	go to bed; have a rest	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**nɑ**^{31}; ha^{31}	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.27
Sani [Nyi]	**nɑ**^{55}	stop and rest	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:98.1

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**nà**	rest	Hansson 1989:37
Akha (Thai)	**nà**	stop, rest	Hansson 1989:37
Akha (Yunnan)	ɣà **nà nà**	stop, rest	Hansson 1989:37
Akha	ɣà **nà**	rest (v.)	Weidert 1987:177
Hani (Lüchun)	ɣà **nà nà**	stop, rest	Hansson 1989:37
Hani (Dazhai)	ɣa^{31}**na**^{31}**na**^{31}	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.31
Hani (Lüchun)	ɣa^{31}**na**^{31}**na**^{31}	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	kɔ^{31}**nɔ**^{31}	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.30
Hani (Pijo)	kɔ̀ **nɔ̀**	stop, rest	Hansson 1989:37
	nɔ̀	rest	Hansson 1989:37
Hani (Gelanghe)	ɣa^{31}**na**^{31}**na**^{31}	rest	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**naq**	stop, rest	Hansson 1989:37
Hani (Shuikui)	ɣɔ^{31}**nɔ**^{31}	rest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.32
Hani (Mojiang)	ɣɔ^{31}**nɔ**^{31}**nɔ**^{31}	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.42

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**nɲ**^{45}kɔ^{33}	rest	Pelkey 2011:654
Hlepho Phowa	**na**^{55}ka^{33}	rest	Pelkey 2011:654
Phu Kha	**na**^{35} ɬjɛ^{53}	rest (v.)	Fried 2000
Phuza	**na**^{13}	rest	Pelkey 2011:654

(3) PLB *C-prik BE / BE ABLE

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***brek**	be / exist / be able	Matisoff 1972b:68(c)
	***C-pret**^{L}	be / be able	Matisoff 2003a:607
	***{C}-prek**	be / exist / be able	Matisoff 1972b:68(a)
	***ʔbrek**	be / exist / be able	Matisoff 1972b:68(b)

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	**phjiʔ**^{4}	be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1628.27
Burmese (Written)	**phrac**	be; be, exist	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Kucong	**piɛ55**	can (i.e., write)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**phɛ**^{21}	can (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1531.43
Lahu (Black)	**phɛ̀ʔ**	be / be able (be v.)	Matisoff 1972b:68(a)
	pɛ́	able to do / be skillful at doing (be v.)	Matisoff 1972b:68(b)
Lahu (Yellow)	**phɛ**^{5}	can / be able to	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**hpye6**	able / succeed in doing (be v.)	Matisoff 1972b:68(a)

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**pyeu**	be; exist (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:68(b)

(4) PNN *C-nəːŋ LIVE / BE

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	*C̥-nəːŋ	be / being (be v.)	French 1983:455

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak	**ngo**	be	Marrison 1967
	ñoi	live (v.)	French 1983:455
	nyoi	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
Phom	**ñu**	be / being (be v.)	French 1983:455
	nyu	be	Marrison 1967
	yaŋ **ñu**	live (v.)	French 1983:449
	yem **ñu**	live (v.)	French 1983:450

(5) PTB *s-ri-t ≍ *s-rut BE / EXIST / COPULA

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ri**	be / exist (be v.)	Benedict 1972:264
	***s-ri(y)-t**	copula / be / existence	Matisoff 2003a:611
	***s-riːt ≍ s-rut**	copula / be case	Matisoff 1985a:005-A
	***s-rut**	copula / be the case	Matisoff 2003a:611

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***li** BE, EXIST, LIVE (COPULA) / HAVE

**Central Naga*	***li**	BE, EXIST, LIVE (COPULA) / HAVE	Bruhn 2014a:III.065
**Ao*	*a-**li**	LIVE, BE, EXIST	Bruhn 2014a:II.348
Ao (Chungli)	**-lī**	live (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a^{2}-**li**^{2}	be, live (copula) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.348
	a **li**	be	Marrison 1967
	ta küm-a **li**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**li**	be	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	kì-**li**-(ə)ɹ	servant ('house' + 'stay' + ANOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	li	be, exist, stay; stay [stayed] (v.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007
	[a]-jim ku **li**-(ə)ɹ	villager ('village' + LOC + 'stay' + ANOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**li**^{1}-	have / exist, be (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.065
	li a	exist; have	Murry *et al.* 1978:41; Murry *et al.* 1978:54
Sangtam	**li**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
	li cho	live (v.)	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**lah**	be	Marrison 1967

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**srid**-pa	existence	Matisoff 1985a:005-A; Benedict 1972:264

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**hri**	be (be v.)	Benedict 1972:264
	hri'	be, be there (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:005-A
	hri^{1}	exist / be present	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:748.39
	hri'	be (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	hut	so, be true (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:005-A
	hut	true; be the case	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:33n107
	hut^{4}	be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1628.26
	ʔə **hut**	truth, right	Matisoff 1985a:005-A

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu	**hêʔ**	be the case	Benedict 1972:33n107
Lahu (Black)	**hêʔ**	the case, be so (usually occuring negated) (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:005-A
	ɔ̀-**hêʔ**	true omen, portent; symbol, sign	Matisoff 1985a:005-A

Chinese comparandum

體 OC ***t'liər**, *GSR* #597i 'body'; Schuessler 2007:494 ***rhîʔ**; B & S 2011: ***r̥**^{ʕ}**ijʔ**; Mand. **tǐ**.

Comment: Cf. all comparanda for PTB ***s-riŋ ≍ *s-r(y)aŋ** LIVE / ALIVE / GREEN / RAW / GIVE BIRTH (§1.9.2).

(6) NEIA *ley BE / EXIST / HAVE

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Zeme	**lei**	be	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***lej** BE / EXIST / HAVE

**Tangkhulic*	***lej**	be / exist / have	Mortensen 2012:397
Huishu	kʰə-**lu**	be a place; exist; have	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012:Verbs.007
Kachai	kʰə-**li**	exist / be	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.004
Tangkhul	**lei**	be	Marrison 1967
Tusom	kʰə-**la**	exist (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.006
Ukhrul	kʰə-**lej**	exist, have, be	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**lei**	be	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***ley** BE

**Northern Naga*	***ley**	be (be v.)	French 1983:454

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa (Yogli)	**lei**	be	Marrison 1967
	lei	be (be v.)	French 1983:454

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Wancho	**le**	be	Marrison 1967
	le	be (be v.)	French 1983:454

(7) PTB *ʔum DWELL / EXIST / LIVE / STAY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ʔ(u/o)m** DWELL / EXIST / LIVE / STAY

**Chin*	***ʔum ≍** ʔom	DWELL / EXIST / LIVE / STAY	VanBik 2009:477

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**om**	dwell	VanBik 2009:477
Sizang	**om** hī	exist	VanBik 2009:477
Thado	**ʔûm**-I, ʔùm-II	exist, remain, be (locative)	VanBik 2009:477
Tiddim	**om**^{1}	present	VanBik 2009:477
	om^{1}	present (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1305
	om^{1}	present	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊom/ˆom	present, be (vi.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**awn**	dwell	VanBik 2009:477
Cho (Mindat)	**om ≍** awm	be, to exist (v.)	VanBik 2009:477

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ʔûm**-I, ʔŭm-II	dwell, live, exist	VanBik 2009:477
Lai (Falam)	**ʔúm**-I, ʔùm-II	dwell, live	VanBik 2009:477
Lushai [Mizo]	**ăwm**	live, to dwell, to be, to exist, to remain, to abide, to stay (v.)	VanBik 2009:477

7. KARENIC: ***ʔɔN**^{B} LIVE, STAY

**Karen [Burling]*	***ʔo**^{2}	live, stay	Luangthongkum 2013:172
Bwe	dɛ **ɔ** θəmú	life	Henderson 1997
	dɛ-**ɔ**-θə́mú	life, existence (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ɔ θə́mú	alive, to live (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	ɔ^{33}-	live, stay	Luangthongkum 2013:172
Karen	**o̲**^{31}	live / reside (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1452.50
Kayah	**ʔo**^{11}	live, stay	Luangthongkum 2013:172
Kayan	**ʔau**^{11}	live, stay	Luangthongkum 2013:172
Kayaw	**ʔo**^{11}	live, stay	Luangthongkum 2013:172
Pa-O	**ʔòŋ**	somewhere, dwell, stay, sto (be v.)	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**ʔɔ̃**^{33}	live, stay	Luangthongkum 2013:172
Pwo (Southern)	**ʔõ**^{55}	live, stay	Luangthongkum 2013:172
Sgaw (Northern)	**ʔo**$^{31~}$	live, stay	Luangthongkum 2013:172
Sgaw (Southern)	**ʔu**^{45}	live, stay	Luangthongkum 2013:172

(8) PTB *tsam STAY / SPEND (time)

The Kuki-Chin/WB correspondence was discovered by VanBik.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***tsa(a)m** STAY / SPEND (time)

**Chin*	***tsa(a)m**	STAY / SPEND (time)	VanBik 2009:565

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**tām** hī	stay, halt	VanBik 2009:565
Thado	**tsăam**-I, tsàam-II	spend the night	VanBik 2009:565

Tiddim	**-taːm**/ta̖ːm	spend the night / stay overnight (v.)	Henderson 1965
	taːm²	stay overnight	VanBik 2009:565
	taːm²	stay overnight (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1713
	taːm²	stay overnight	Bhaskararao 1994
	thaːm²	stay or remain at a place while going to another p (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1875
	thaːm²	stay or remain at a place...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**amtoeéyng**	stay at someplace, stay in one place	VanBik 2009:565
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsâam**-I, tsăam-II	stay, spend the night or time at a place	VanBik 2009:565
Lai (Falam)	**tsăam**-INV	stay, spend the night	VanBik 2009:565
Lushai [Mizo]	**chám**	stay (for a time), to remain in a place over a day or night, or throughout the day (v.)	VanBik 2009:565
	chaːm	stay overnight (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2155
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chà**	stay over one day (v.)	VanBik 2009:565
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**cam**	stay or live (of royalty) (v.)	VanBik 2009:565
	caṁ	enjoy; (live ?)	Benedict 1976a

(9) PTB *nay COPULA / BE

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**nei**	be	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Yacham-Tengsa	**nyi**	be	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	**nai**	be	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**n̥i^{35}**	exist / be present	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ne^{13}**	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:748.6
Cuona Menba	**ne^{35}**	be (in the house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1775.06
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**nyí**~nyím	be (v.)	Plaisier 2007
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya	**ni^{53}**	be (3rd person) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1628.15
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	n^{31}**n̥ɛʔ^{55}**	NEG + copula	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	nɑi^{55}	exist / be present	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ɛʔ^{55}	be / copula	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ni^{55}**	be (in the house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1775.28
	ni^{55}	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:748.41
	n̥eʔ^{55}	be / copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:733.41
Achang (Luxi)	**n̥i^{31}**	exist / be present	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**nai^{55}**	be (in the house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1775.29
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋji^{51}**	be (in the house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1775.30
	ŋji^{51}	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:748.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Northern)	**ni^{31}**	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ni^{55}**	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**n̥i^{33}**	be (in the house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1775.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**n̥i^{35}**	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:748.45
Yi (Liangshan)	**n̥i^{33}**	encased; exist (of a component part)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu	**n̥ɛ^{35}**	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:748.27
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ŋɯ˥**	copula	Michaud 2006–2009:4389
Na (Yongning)	**ȵi˩**	copula	Michaud 2006–2009

(10) PTB *g-sa(ŋ) GOD / CREATOR

The cognacy of the Konyak form is uncertain.

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**kawang**	God	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	kərài(-**kəsāŋ**)	Creator	Matisoff 1985a:005
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***sa^{1}**	God	Bradley 1979b:360-2
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu (Northern)	wu^{33}**sa^{33}**	god (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	wu^{4}-**sa^{4}**	God, the creator	Fraser 1922
Lisu	wu^{4}**sa^{4}**	God	Bradley 1979b:360-1
Lisu (Northern)	ɔ^{33}**sa^{33}**	God (N.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	gui **shah̰**	god	Bradley 1979b:360

1.1.2.4 Be able

(1) PTk *ʃap HAVE THE ABILITY

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***ʃap**	have the ability	Mortensen 2012:525
Huishu	ʃe-kə-**saʔ**	able	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.168
Kachai	kə-**ʃap**	able, have the ability	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.148
Tusom	sɯ-li-kə-**so**	able	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.186
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃɐp**	skilled at, be adept at, well versed in; be enough? (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**ʃɐp**	have the ability / be well versed in	Mortensen 2012

1.1.3 Hungry

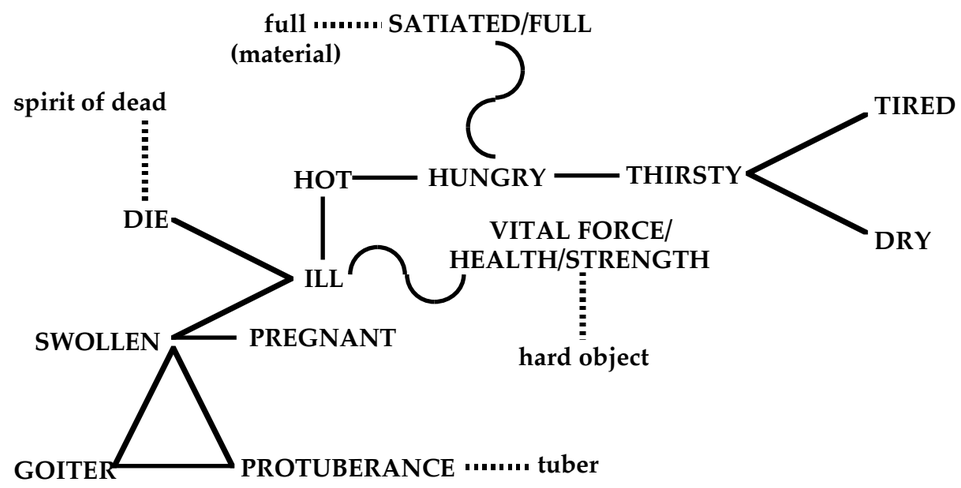

Figure 25: 1.1.3 *Hungry*

(1) PTB *mwat ≍ *ŋ(w)at HUNGRY / THIRSTY

Written Burmese has reflexes of both doublets. The **b-** initials in Phunoi and Bisu are regular reflexes of the labial nasal, a typical development in the Bisoid languages.

3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ŋwə̨**	appetite	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0885
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**ŋɑ^{33}**	hungry (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991d
	ŋɑ^{33}	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.18
Guiqiong	pho^{35} n̥õ^{33} **mu^{55}**	hungry (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991e
	pho^{35}n̥õ^{33}**mu^{55}**	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.17
	phɔ^{55}n̥ũ^{35} (**mu^{55}**)	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.16
Namuyi	**ŋu^{55}**zy^{55}ku^{53}	hungry (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.7.9
	ŋu^{55}zy^{55}ku^{53}	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.19
	ŋu^{55}zu^{55}kuo^{53}	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.46
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	də^{3}**mot^{5}**	get hungry (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0392
rGyalrong	ka **mo**	hungry (be v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.7.9
	ka **mo**	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ka **mok**	hungry (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.7.9
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kə **'mo**	get hungry (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0392
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kə **'mo**	get hungry (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0392
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	kə sa **'mo**	get hungry (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0392
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **mo**	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.11
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**mó**	get hungry (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0392
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	ə^{3}xtu^{5}də^{3}**mot^{3}**	get hungry (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0392
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	¯[l̥]tu ´tᴀ **mo**	get hungry (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0392
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	´kə **mo^{ʔ}**	get hungry; feel hungry (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0392; Nagano & Prins 2013:0393
rGyalrong	tA lto kA **mo**	hungry (be v.)	Nagano 1997:3.7.9
rGBenzhen	ka-**moʔ**	hungry	Sun 1997b
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***mwat** ~ **ŋwat**	hungry	Matisoff 1972b:132
	***mwat ≍ ŋ(w)at ≍ myat**	hungry	Matisoff 1985a:034
	***mwat^{L}**	hungry	Matisoff 2003a:603
	***mwat^{L} ≍ ŋ(w)at^{L}**	hungry	Matisoff 2003a:603
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	**mut^{55}**	hungry	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1792
	mut^{55}	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.29
Bola	vɛ̃^{31} **møʔ^{55}**	hungry	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1792
Bola (Luxi)	vɛ̃^{31}**møʔ^{55}**	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.32
Burmese (Modern)	**mwat**	hungry	Luce 1985:U.21
Burmese (Rangoon)	je^{22}**ŋɑʔ^{4}**	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	je^{22}**ŋɑʔ^{44}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**mʊʔ^{2}**	hungry	Luce 1985:U.21
Burmese (Written)	cha-**mwat**	hungry	Matisoff 1985a:034
	cha-**ŋat**	hungry / thirsty, be in want of food (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:034
	chā **mwat**	hungry	Marrison 1967
	mwat	hungry; hungry or thirsty	Luce 1985:U.21; Hansson 1989:533; Matisoff 1985a:034; Benedict 1976a
	mwat-sip	hungry / thirsty	Matisoff 1987
	re **ŋat**	thirst for water	Matisoff 1985a:034
	re^{2} **ŋɑt**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.39
	re^{2} **ŋɑt^{4}**	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.26
	re **n̊at**	thirsty	Marrison 1967
	ŋat	hungry; to starve; thirsty, hungry	Luce 1985:Y.111; Matisoff 1985a:034; Benedict 1976a
	ŋat-**mwat**	hungry	Matisoff 1985a:034
Danu	**mʊʔ^{2}**	hungry	Luce 1985:U.21
Hpun (Northern)	**myèʔ**	hungry	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	**myeʔ^{5}**	hungry	Luce 1985:U.21
Hpun (Northern)	**ŋàʔ**	starving	Henderson 1986

Langsu (Luxi)	**møʔ**^{31}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.31
Lashi	**mu:t**^{55}	hungry (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.7.9
Lashi (Lachhe')	**mɔt**^{3}	hungry	Luce 1985:U.21
Leqi (Luxi)	**mu:t**^{55}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.33
Marma	**mwaiʔ**	hungry	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:90
Maru [Langsu]	**møʔ**^{31}	hungry (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.7.9
	møʔ^{31}	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.43
	m^{w}**ɔɪʔ**^{2}	hungry	Luce 1985:U.21
	mʊɛʔ^{2}	hungry	Luce 1985:U.21
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mut**^{21}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.30
	mʊt^{2}	hungry	Luce 1985:U.21
	tso^{21} **mut**^{55}	hungry	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***C-mwat**^{L}	hungry	Bradley 1979b:637; Hansson 1989:533
Lolopho	**mi̲**^{31}	hungry (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.7.9
PNL	C-**mwat**^{L}	hungry	CHEN Kang 1986a:169.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	tsa^{232}**mi**^{53}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.47
	tsa^{323} **mi**^{53}	hungry (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.7.9
Lalo	**mi̲**^{2}	hungry	CHEN Kang 1986a:169.
	mə̀q	hungry	Björverud 1994
	mu̲^{21}	hungry (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.9
Lipho	**mi**^{2}	hungry	CHEN Kang 1986a:169.
	mi̲^{21}	hungry (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.9
Nasu	**ñi 55**	hungry	Matisoff 1972b:132
	ñi^{55}	hungry	Matisoff 1985a:034
	n̻i̲^{55}	hungry	CHEN Kang 1986a:169.
	n̻i̲^{55}	hungry (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.9
Neisu	**ŋi**^{13}	hungry	CHEN Kang 1986a:169.
Nesu	**n̻i̲**^{2}	hungry	CHEN Kang 1986a:169.
	n̻i̲^{21}	hungry (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.9
Noesu	**ŋɪ**^{13}	hungry (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.9
Nosu	**mi̲**^{55}	hungry	CHEN Kang 1986a:169.
	mi^{55}	hungry (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.9
Nusu (Southern)	**ma̲**^{53}	hungry	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**muɔ˧**^{53}	hungry	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**muɔ˧**^{53}	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**mɔ̲**^{31}	hungry	DAI Qingxia 1989o:1792.
Nusu (Central)	**mɔ̲**^{53}	hungry	DAI Qingxia 1989p:1792.
	mɔ̲^{53}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.34
Nusu (Northern)	**mɯɛ̲**^{31}	hungry	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**me**^{13}	hungry	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**mi**^{55}	hungry	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mi^{55}**dʑi**^{33}	hungry	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɛ^{55}**mɛ**^{33}	hungry	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ni̲**^{21}	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ni̲**^{21}	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mɛ̲**^{21}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.37
	mɛ̲^{21}	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**mu̲**^{21}	hungry	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.23
Yi (Weishan)	**mu̲**^{21}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.36
Yi (Wuding)	**n̻i̲**^{55}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.38
Yi (Xide)	**mi**^{55}	hungry (be v.)	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	mi^{55}	hungry	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	mi^{55}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.35
	mi^{55}	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.21
	mi^{55}-dʑi^{33}	hunger	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lolo (Ni)	**gni**	hungry	Luce 1985:U.21
Ahi	**ni 44s**	hungry	Matisoff 1972b:132
	ni̲^{2}	hungry	CHEN Kang 1986a:169.
	ni̲^{21}	hungry	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.9
	ni̲^{21}	hungry (be v.)	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.7.9
	ni^{44}**s**	hungry	Matisoff 1985a:034
Jinuo (Baka)	**mø**^{55}	hungry	DAI Qingxia 1989i:1858
Jinuo (Youle)	**mø**^{55}	hungry	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mœ**^{55}	hungry	DAI Qingxia 1989h:1858
Jinuo	**mœ**^{55}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.44
	mɐ^{44}	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.34
Kucong	**mɯ31**	hungry	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***mui**$_{ˆ}$	hungry	Bradley 1979b:637
Lahu (Lancang)	**mɤ**^{21}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.43
Lahu (Black)	**meu**$_{ˆ}$	hungry	Luce 1985:U.21
	mə^{11}	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.33
	mə̀ʔ	hungry	Matisoff 1985a:034; Matisoff 1972b:132
	mə̀ʔ	hungry (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:132
	mɤʔ^{21}	hungry	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**muʔ**^{21}	hungry	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	(h'i^{6}) **mrghe**^{6}	hungry	Bradley 1979b:637 [a]
Lisu (Northern)	hẽʔ^{21}**mɤʔ**^{21}	hungry; starving	Bradley 1994
Lisu	hẽ^{31}**mu̲**^{31}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.40
Lisu (Central)	h'i^{6}-**mrghe**^{6}	hungry, be (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	h'i^{6}**mrghe**^{6}	hungry	Luce 1985:U.21
Lisu (Putao)	h̃iʔ^{6} **mɤ̃ʔ**^{6} (stomach)	hungry	Luce 1985:U.21
Lisu	**mrghe6**	hungry	Matisoff 1972b:132
Lisu (Northern)	**muʔ**^{21}	hungry (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**mu̲**^{42}	hungry	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**mu**^{41}	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.27
Sani [Nyi]	(ɪ^{21}pɪ^{33}) **ni̲**^{21}	hungry	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a [b]
	ni^{2}	hungry	CHEN Kang 1986a:169.
	n̩ 22s	hungry	Matisoff 1972b:132
	n̩^{22}**s**	hungry	Matisoff 1985a:034
Yi (Sani)	**n̩**^{2}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.39
Sani [Nyi]	**n̩**^{22}	hungry (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.9
	ɪ^{11} pɪ^{44} **n̩**^{22}	hungry	MA Xueliang 1989:324.1 [c]

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**meh LS**	hungry	Matisoff 1972b:132
	mehʔ^{33}	hungry	Matisoff 1985a:034
Akha (Thai)	**mɛ̀q**	hungry	Hansson 1989:533
Akha	**mɛ̀q**	hungry	Hansson 1989:533
Akha (Yunnan)	**mɛ̀q** lá	hungry	Hansson 1989:533
Bisu	**bɛ̀**	hungry	Matisoff 1972b:132
	hàŋ **(bɛ̀)**	hungry	Bradley 199x [a]
	hàŋ **bɛ̀**	hungry (be v.)	Beaudouin 1988:27
	láŋ **bɛ**	thirsty (be v.)	Beaudouin 1988:27
Hani (Hu T'an)	**me 21c**	hungry	Matisoff 1972b:132
Hani (Dazhai)	**mɐ̲**^{31}	hungry; thirsty	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.31
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**mie 33**	hungry	Matisoff 1972b:132
Hani	**mie**^{33}	hungry	Matisoff 1985a:034
Hani (Lüchun)	**mɛ̀q** á	hungry	Hansson 1989:533
	mɐ̲^{31}	hungry, be; thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.41; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**mɐ̲**^{31}	hungry	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.30
Hani (Pijo)	**mjɛ̀q**	hungry	Hansson 1989:533
Hani (Gelanghe)	**mɐ̲**^{31}	hungry	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**meivq**	hungry	Hansson 1989:533
Haoni	**mi**^{31}	hungry	Hansson 1989:533
Hani (Shuikui)	**mi̲**^{31}	hungry	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.32
Hani (Khatu)	**mjɛ̀q**	hungry	Hansson 1989:533
Hani (Mojiang)	**mi̲**^{31}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.42
Mpi	**meʔ**^{1}	hungry (of others)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	meʔ^{1}/**mjaʔ**^{1}	hungry	Hansson 1989:533
	mjɑʔ^{1}	hungry	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	lɑ̃^{55} **bɑt**^{11} de^{33}	thirsty	Bradley 1977
	ɦɑ̃^{11} **bɑt**^{11}	hungry	Bradley 1977
Sangkong	**mbɐ̲**^{31}	hungry	LI Yongsui 1991
Sila	**my̲21**	hungry	KATO Takashi 2008:217
Woni	**me̲ 33**	hungry	Matisoff 1972b:132

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**n̻i**^{22}	hungry	Pelkey 2011:1000
Southern Muji	**n̻i**^{21}	hungry	Pelkey 2011:1000
Phola	**mi̲**^{55}	hungry	Pelkey 2011:1000
Hlepho Phowa	**ʔn̻**^{33}	hungry	Pelkey 2011:1000
Phuza	**n̻i**^{55}	hungry	Pelkey 2011:1000

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	dze˩**mi**˩	hungry	Michaud 2006–2009:2176

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ngâ**/ngâ-	hungry, starve	Karlgren 1957:2o

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**è**	hungry	Evans *et al.* 1991
	ehl	hungry	Sun 1985b:546

[a] Bisu **hàŋ** 'rice'.

[b] Lisu **h'i**^{6} 'stomach'.

[c] Sani **ɪ**^{21} **pɪ**^{33} 'stomach'.

Chinese comparandum

餓 OC ***ngâ**, *GSR* #2o; B & S 2011: ***ŋˤaj-s**; Mand. **è**.

(2) PTB *b-kri-$^{n}_{s}$ HUNGRY

Gong (2001:25) gives a root ***b-kres** 'hungry/famine'.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-kres**	hungry / famine	Matisoff 2003a:596

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	a^{31}**ki**^{55}ɕi^{55}	hungry (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.7.9
	a **ge** si	hungry	Pulu 1978
	a **ge** si ja	hunger	Pulu 1978
	ɑ^{31}**ki**^{55}ɕi^{55}	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.50
Yidu	ɑ^{31}**ki**^{55}ɕi^{55}	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.25

1.7.1.1. BODO

Kokborok	o?-**k**^{h}**ri**	hungry	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	ok-**kri**-a	hungry (vt.)	Burling 2003:5.48-II:idx

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**bkrén**-pa	poor, indigent, hungry	Jäschke 1881:p.15
	bkren pa	hungry	Marrison 1967
	bkrés-pa	hungry	Jäschke 1881:p.15

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{A}**k**^{h}**ren**	starve / hungry, be	Mazaudon 1994:130
Manang (Gyaru)	**krɛn**^{2} ba	hungry	Nagano 1984:090
Manang (Prakaa)	^{1}p^{h}wo ^{3}**krẽ**-	starve / hungry, be	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0331
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**k**^{h}**ren**	hungry (be v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.7.9
	^{1}**k**^{h}**ren**	hungry (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:130
Tamang (Taglung)	**hen**-ba	hungry	Mazaudon 1994:130

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	**krium**	hunger	Allen 1975
	krium si-	hungry (vs.)	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**'kəre:**-nya	hunger (v.)	Watters & Watters 1973:21

Chinese comparandum

飢 OC (***kɨɛr**), (not in *GSR* #602) 'hungry, famine'; Schuessler 2007:292 ***kri**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.k‹r›əj {Cə.k‹r›ə [j] }**; Mand. **jī**.

饑 OC ***kɨər**, *GSR* #547k 'famine'; Schuessler 2007:292 ***kəi**; B & S 2011: ***kəj {kə [j] }**; Mand. **jī**.

饉 OC ***gˤɨɛn**, *GSR* #480r-s 'famine'; Schuessler 2007:316 ***gəns**; B & S 2011: ***grər-s { [g] rə [r] -s}**; Mand. **jìn**.

Comment: Note that the original graph 饑 **jī** is usually written 飢 **jī** in Simplified Chinese script; however, Schuessler (2007:292) cautions that the graphs 飢 and 饑 represent phonologically distinct etyma in OC.

(3) PTB *nwaŋ HUNGRY

The meaning of the first element in the Tani binomes is still obscure.

1.1.1. TANI: ***kV-noŋ** HUNGRY

**Tani*	***kV-noŋ**	hungry	Sun 1993a:212

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	**ka-no:**	hungry	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ka-no: ǰi-ǰak	very hungry	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ki-noŋ**	hungry	Sun 1993a
	kin noŋ	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.24
	kin-noŋ	hungry	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**kin noŋ**	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

Galo	**ka-no**-na	hungry	Das Gupta 1963
	kɤ-no-na	hungry	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻkanoo	hungry (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**kano**	hungry	Simon 1976
Nishing	**ka-no**	hungry	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**kano**	hungry	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kə-noŋ**	hungry	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ka-no**-duŋ	hungry	Sun 1993b
Milang	ba-**nu**	hungry	Tayeng 1976
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Wancho	vok **no**	hungry	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	bi **naŋ** khu	hungry (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.7
	bi **naŋ** k^{h}u	hungry	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ri^{13} **naŋ^{13}** sop^{55}	thirsty	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ri **naŋ** sop	thirsty; thirsty (V)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**n̥eu^{55}** do^{55}	hungry	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	prem^{13} **ne:^{13}**	hungry	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Motuo Menba	bi **naŋ** khu	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.07
	ri **naŋ** sop	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.07

(4) PTB *kwa-k HUNGRY / THIRSTY

The final ***-k*** in this etymon is directly reflected by Jingpho, Lahu, and perhaps Baic. The Lisu form **kwa^{55}** is paradoxically not definite evidence for the medial ***-w-*** since Lisu regularly extrudes a labial glide between a velar initial and a vowel **-a** (cf. 'bitter' PTB ***b-ka*** > Lisu **khuɑ^{31}**).

We must resolutely reject any comparison with Japanese **kawaku** 'be dry, thirsty'.

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	tɯ^{31} **kɯ^{55}** ɕoŋ^{53}	thirsty	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɯ^{31}**kɯ^{55}**ɕoŋ^{53}	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.22
	tɯ^{31}**kɯ^{55}**ɕoŋ^{53}	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.49
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**khaw** si	hungry	Marrison 1967
	kǫ̱ʔ^{55} si^{33}	hungry	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	kǫ̱ʔ^{55}si^{33}	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.19
	kǫ̱ʔ^{55}si^{33}	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.47
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**ka^{21}**	thirsty (be.)	Chen Kang 1986c:3.7.8
Tujia (Northern)	**ka^{21}**	thirsty	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	tsie^{35}**ka^{21}**	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.49
	tsie^{35}**ka^{21}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**kʻɑ^{21}**	thirsty (be v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7.8
Lahu (Black)	mû **qhâʔ** ve	drought, be a; not have rain	Matisoff 1988a:p. 993
Lisu (Northern)	**kwa^{55}**	thirsty (V.)	Bradley 1994
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**hwɤ˩**	thirsty (be v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2904
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**ka^{33}** ju^{33} xe̱^{55}	thirsty	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2112.1
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**qhṽ^{44}**	thirsty	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕi^{55} **qhṽ^{44}**	hungry	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕi^{55}**qhɑ^{44}**	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.37
Bai (Dali)	**khu̱^{44}**	thirsty	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	k^{h}a^{2}	thirst , thirsty (v.)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	tsi **k'a** 12	hunger	Dell 1981b:615
	tɕi^{1} **k^{h}a^{2}**	hungry	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	tɕi^{55} **khu̱^{44}**	hungry	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕi^{55}**khɑ^{44}**	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	fv̱$_{\|}^{44}$ tɕi^{55} **k^{h}a̱^{44}**	hungry (be v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.7.9
	khu̱^{33}	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.48
	khu̱^{44}	thirsty	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕi^{55} **khu̱^{44}**	hungry	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕi^{55}**khɑ^{44}**	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.36

(5) PKir *sok HUNGRY

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Belhare	**sak**	hunger	Bickel 1995
Limbu	**-sik** la:kt-	hungry (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:95
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**sa** was-	feel hungry (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:95
Chamling	**saka**	hunger	Michailovsky 1991:95
Kulung	**saka** siy-	starve / die of hunger (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:95
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**so:ʔ** wa	hunger	Michailovsky 1991:95; Driem 1993
	so:ʔ yəmbɨ	famine	Driem 1993
Khaling	**so**	hunger	Michailovsky 1991:95
	so mbe	hunger	Michailovsky 1991:95
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**so** li	hunger	Michailovsky 1991:95
Hayu	**sok** sa	hunger	Michailovsky 1991:95
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	**rpul**	kidney	Sun 1986
	ʂpulu	kidney	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ʂpə lu	kidney	Sun Hongkai 1991g:9.6

(6) PTB *wan HUNGRY

This root requires further confirmation, but looks fairly solid. The Kayan form shows a velar prefix.

This root looks rather similar to PTB ***wat*** THIRSTY (§1.1.3.1), but we are keeping them separate for now. The present root seems always to mean 'hungry' while PTB ***wat*** THIRSTY (§1.1.3.1) apparently always means 'thirsty'.

1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Miji	**fen**-ci	hungry	Simon 1979
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**von** ton-	hungry (be v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	voṇ ḍóṇ	hungry	Acharya 1975
	WoN doN A	hungry (be.)	Nienu 1990c:3.7.9
	won ton sanga	hungry	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**wan**	hungry	Bhat 1969:91
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**wan**	hungry due to having no food (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
7. Karenic			
Karen	tθa^{31}**wi^{31}**	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.50
Kayan (Pekon)	θà **gwí̤**	hungry, famished (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	tθa^{31} **wi^{31}**	hungry	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1858
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	θa^{33} **wi^{33}**	hungry	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1858

(7) PBod *l-tok HUNGRY

This root seems to be confined to Tibetan dialects; the rGyalrongic forms listed are apparently borrowings from Tibetan.

2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rtok**	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htok**	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**htog**	hungry	Sun 1985a:546
	rtok	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**l̥tohs**	hungry	Rangan 1975:77
	l̥tohs pa·	hungry (be v.)	Rangan 1975:42
Tibetan (Batang)	**toʔ^{53}**	hungry (be v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.7.9
	toʔ^{53}	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tuʔ^{53}**	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**toʔ^{53}**	hungry (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.2
	to^{52}	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.02
Tibetan (Written)	**ltogs**	hungry	Sun 1985c:546
	ltogs	hungry, be; hungry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.01; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.1
	ltogs pa	hungry	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htoχ**	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.04
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	**to'** moŋ	get hungry (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0392
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	**tok**ʂa'mo	get hungry (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0392
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	**tə'** moŋs	get hungry (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0392
rGyalrong	tA **lto** kA mo	hungry (be v.)	Nagano 1997:3.7.9

(8) PCN *hja [:] m BE HUNGRY

It seems that this is a separate root from PTB ***ywaŋ-s*** HUNGRY (§1.1.3).

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**yam**	hungry	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hjim**	hungry (be v.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	**yang** re	hungry	Marrison 1967

(9) PCC *kraam FAMINE / DEARTH

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***kraam**	FAMINE / DEARTH	VanBik 2009:1320
Lai (Falam)	**ṭàam**	famine	VanBik 2009:1320
Lai (Hakha)	**trăam**	famine	VanBik 2009:1320
Lushai [Mizo]	ril **ṭam**	hungry	Marrison 1967
	ṭàam	famine, a dearth (n.)	VanBik 2009:1320
	tràam	hungry	Löffler 1985
Paangkhua	**tsàam**	hungry	Löffler 1985
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-khū	famine	VanBik 2009:1320
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	vèn **lcám**	hungry (be.)	Kosha 1990:3.7.9

(10) PTB *ywaŋ-s HUNGRY

It seems that this is a separate root from PCN ***hja [:] m*** BE HUNGRY (§1.1.3).

2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**yõṣ** lèphi	hungry (be.)	Sharma 1991b:3.7.9
	yo ɲi	hungry	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Spiti	tore **yoŋ** je	hungry (be.)	Bodh 1991:3.7.9
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang (Eastern)	**yoŋ** kray naʔ	hungry (be.)	Caughley 1990:3.7.9
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**wjɔŋ**	hungry (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.7.9
	wjɔŋ	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.14

(11) PNC *kial HUNGRY

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
**Northern Chin*	***kial**	HUNGRY	VanBik 2009:294
Thado	gíl **kèl**	hunger	Thirumalai 1972:49
	gíl **kél**	hunger	Thirumalai 1972:68
	kǐel-I, kìel-II	hungry	VanBik 2009:294
Tiddim	**kial^{2}**	hungry	VanBik 2009:294
	kial^{2}	hungry (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:627
	kial^{2}	hungry	Bhaskararao 1994
	kial^{3}	famine	Bhaskararao 1996:628

(12) PTk *t^{h}aj HUNGRY

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	*t^{h}**aj**	hungry	Mortensen 2012:638
Tusom	zɯ-kə-**ʦʃie**	hungry (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.080
Ukhrul	kə-t^{h}**aj**	hungry (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.1.3.1 Thirsty

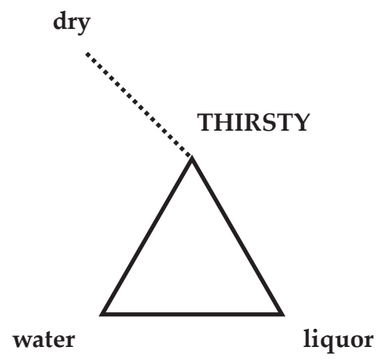

Figure 26: 1.1.3.1 *Thirsty*

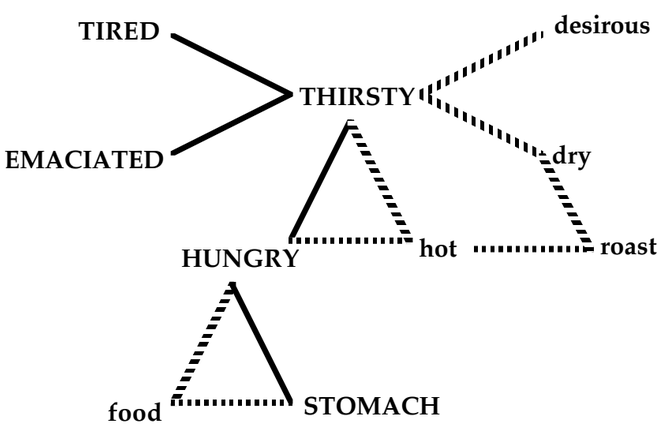

Figure 27: 1.1.3.1 *Thirsty*

(1) PTB *si(p) THIRSTY / HUNGRY

This etymon is particularly well-attested in Lolo-Burmese, where there is strong evidence for the final ***-p**.

Other languages seem to point to an open-syllable variant.

The Qiang (Mawo) binome **ʨi pi** might possibly be a dimidiation of the monosyllable with final **-p**. The term 'dimidiation' is due to Peter Boodberg, who used it to describe the practice of using two Chinese characters to transcribe a single syllable.

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP

Miji	fen-**ci**	hungry	Simon 1979

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	a^{31}ki^{55}**ʨi^{55}**	hungry (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.7.9
	a ge **si**	hungry	Pulu 1978
	a ge **si** ja	hunger	Pulu 1978
	ɑ^{31}ki^{55}**ʨi^{55}**	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.50
Yidu	ɑ^{31}ki^{55}**ʨi^{55}**	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.25

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	khaw **si**	hungry	Marrison 1967
	ko̱ʔ^{55} **si^{33}**	hungry	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ko̱ʔ^{55}**si^{33}**	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.19
	ko̱ʔ^{55}**si^{33}**	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.47

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	cak-wa-**sü-**	thirsty (vs.i.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:13
	caʔ wa **sü-**	thirsty (be v.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:67
Chamling	saka **si**-(a)	feel hungry	Winter 1985:32

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Mawo)	**ʨi** pi	hungry	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ʨi pi	hungry (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.7.9
	ʨi pi	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.8

4. NUNGIC

Trung [Dulong]	pɯ^{31}ɹɑi^{55}**ʨi^{53}**	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.46
Dulong	pɯ^{55}ɹɑi^{55}**ʨi^{53}**	hungry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	pɯ^{31} ɹɑi^{55} **ʨi^{53}**	hungry	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	pɯ^{31} ɹe^{55} **ʨi^{53}**	hungry	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***C-sip^{L}** THIRSTY

**Lolo-Burmese*	***C-sip**	thirsty	Matisoff 1972b:129
	***C-sip^{L}**	thirsty	Matisoff 2003a:613

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**ʂut^{55}**	thirsty	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ʂut^{55}	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.28
	ʂut^{55}	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.41
Burmese (Written)	mwat-**sip**	hungry / thirsty	Matisoff 1987
Atsi [Zaiwa]	vui^{51} **ʃit^{55}**	thirsty	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	vui^{51}**sit^{55}**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.30
	vui^{51}**ʃit^{55}**	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***C-sip^{L}**	thirsty	Bradley 1979b:638
Lolopho	**xæ^{55}**	thirsty (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.7.8
PNL	**C-sip^{L}**	thirsty	CHEN Kang 1986a:170.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	ji^{323}tɕa^{53}**sʮ^{35}**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.47
	ji^{31} tɕa^{53} **sʮ^{35}**	thirsty (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.7.8
Lalo	**sɿ̄^{21}**	thirsty (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.8
	ɣə́-**sìq**	thirsty	Björverud 1994
	ʨi̱^{2}	thirsty	CHEN Kang 1986a:170.
Lipho	**si̱^{2}**	thirsty	CHEN Kang 1986a:170.
	xɛ^{55}	thirsty (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.8
Nasu	**si̱^{55}**	thirsty	CHEN Kang 1986a:170.
	si̱^{55}	thirsty (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.8
Neisu	**si^{13}**	thirsty	CHEN Kang 1986a:170.
Nesu	**si̱^{2}**	thirsty	CHEN Kang 1986a:170.
	sɿ̄^{21}	thirsty (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.8
Noesu	ʑi^{21}**sɪ^{13}**	thirsty (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.8
Nosu	**si̱^{55}**	thirsty	CHEN Kang 1986a:170.
	ʑʮ^{33}**sʮ̄^{55}**	thirsty (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.8
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ʨhɔ^{53}**ɑ^{31}	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ʨə̱^{31}**	thirsty	DAI Qingxia 1989o:2039.
Nusu (Southern)	**ʨɑ̱^{53}**	thirsty	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ʨ^{h}ɔ^{53}** ɑ^{31}	thirsty	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ʂə̱^{53}	thirsty	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2039.
	ʂə̱^{53}	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ʂə̱^{55}**	thirsty	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**se^{13}**	thirsty	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**sʮ^{55}**	thirsty	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑʮ^{33}**sʮ^{55}**	thirsty	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑʮ^{33}**sʮ^{55}**mu^{33}**sʮ^{55}**	thirsty	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**si̱^{21}**	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ʨi̱^{21}**(ne̱^{21}～)	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ʨi̱^{55}**	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.24
	ʨɿ̄^{55}	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**sʮ^{21}**	thirsty	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.23
Yi (Weishan)	**sɿ̄^{21}**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.36
Yi (Wuding)	**si̱^{55}**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.38
Yi (Xide)	(ʑʮ^{33})**sʮ^{55}**	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.21
	sʮ^{55}	thirsty	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ʑʮ^{33} **sʮ^{55}**	thirsty	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʑʮ^{33}**sʮ^{55}**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**si̱^{2}**	thirsty	CHEN Kang 1986a:170.
	sʮ 44s	thirsty	Matisoff 1972b:129
	sɿ̄^{21}	thirsty (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.8
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**si^{55}**	thirsty	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ʃi^{55}**	thirsty	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2112
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃi^{55}**	thirsty	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**ʃʮ^{55}**	thirsty	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2112
Jinuo	**ʨi^{33}**	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.34
	ʨi^{55}	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.44
Kucong	**ʨi55**	thirsty	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***she¯/shi¯**	thirsty	Bradley 1979b:638
Lahu (Lancang)	**ʨi^{35}**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.43
Lahu (Black)	**ší**	thirsty	Matisoff 1972b:129
	si^{35}	thirsty	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ʨe^{35}**	thirsty	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**seʔ^{21}**	thirsty (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**se̱^{31}**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**se̱^{42}**	thirsty	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**se^{41}**	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.27
	si6	thirsty	Matisoff 1972b:129
Lisu (Northern)	**siʔ^{21}**	thirsty	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**si^{6}**	thirsty	Bradley 1979b:638
Lisu (Central)	**si^{6}**	thirsty, be	Fraser 1922
Sani [Nyi]	**si^{2}**	thirsty	CHEN Kang 1986a:170.
	si^{22}	thirsty (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.8
	si̱^{21}	thirsty	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	sẕ 22s	thirsty	Matisoff 1972b:129
Yi (Sani)	**sẕ^{2}**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.39
Sani [Nyi]	zɥ^{33} **sɿ̃^{22}**	thirsty	MA Xueliang 1989:355.1

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Caiyuan)	**sɿ̄^{31}**	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.30
	sʯ̄^{31}	thirsty	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**ʃv̄**	thirsty	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʃv̱^{31}	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**ʃv̱^{31}**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.42
Mpi	**siʔ^{1}**	dried up / thirsty	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Sila	**ʨi̱21**	thirsty	KATO Takashi 2008:218

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**si^{22}**	thirsty	Pelkey 2011:1001
Southern Muji	**ʨi^{21}**	thirsty	Pelkey 2011:1001
Phola	**ʂu^{31}**	thirsty	Pelkey 2011:1001
Phuza	**si^{33}**	thirsty	Pelkey 2011:1001

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**tʨi^{55}** qhv̄^{44}	hungry	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tʨi^{55}qhɑ̱^{44}	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.37
Bai (Dali)	**tsi** k'a 12	hunger	Dell 1981b:615
	tʨi^{1} k^{h}a^{2}	hungry	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	tʨi^{55} khɑ̱^{44}	hungry	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tʨi^{55}khɑ^{44}	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	fv̩^{44} **tʨi^{55}** k^{h}a̱^{44}	hungry (be v.)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.7.9
	tʨi^{55} khɑ̱^{44}	hungry	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tʨi^{55}khɑ^{44}	hungry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:897.36

(2) PTB *s-wi ≷ *s-way DRIED UP / THIRSTY

This root seems almost exclusively to be attested in Lolo-Burmese, where both the prefixed and unprefixed variants occur: e.g. Lahu **vi** < ***-wi ≷ fi̱** < ***s-wi**. Semantically, however, this is not a simplex / causative pair; **fi̱** refers to a mass of water drying up or being emptied out, while **vi** focuses on the drying out of a wet object. Furthermore, **vi** < PLB *Tone 1, but **fi̱** < PLB *Tone 2.

Several languages point to a diphthongal rhyme ***-ay**.

3.2. QIANGIC

Namuyi	**fɛ^{35}**	thirsty (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.7.8
	fɛ^{35}	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.19

6.1.1. BURMISH

Bola	**fɛ^{35}**	swallow dry	DAI Qingxia 1989g:1843
Bola (Luxi)	**fɛ^{35}**	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.32
	khjauŋ^{35}**fɛ^{35}**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.32
Bola	k^{h}jauŋ^{35} **fɛ^{35}**	thirsty	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2039
Burmese (Written)	**swe'**	dry	Hansson 1989:304
	swe.	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	swe'	become dry, free from moisture (v.)	Benedict 1976a

Langsu (Luxi)	**fai^{55}**	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.31
	fai^{55}	dry, be; thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.31
Lashi	khjuŋ^{55} **xəː^{53}**	thirsty (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.7.8
Leqi (Luxi)	khjuŋ^{55}**xəː^{53}**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.33
Marma	**θwĭ**	dry	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:240
Maru [Langsu]	**fai^{35}**	thirsty (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.7.8
	fai^{55}	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.43
	khjauŋ^{35}**fai^{55}**	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**xui^{55}**	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.30
	xui^{55}	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.30
	xui^{55}	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***s-we^{2}**	dry	Bradley 1979b:541A

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**fɤ^{33}**	dry	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.47
	fɤ^{33}	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.47
Lalo	**fe**	dry (adj.)	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Southern)	**xui^{31}**	dry	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**zue^{31}**	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.34
Nusu (Northern)	**zuŋ^{55}**	dry	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**zyi^{31}**ɑ^{31}	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.45
Yi (Dafang)	**fa^{21}**	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{55}**fu^{21}**	dry (powder)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**fʌ^{33}**	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**fa̱^{21}**	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**fə^{33}**	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.37
	fə^{33}	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.37
	fɛ^{33}	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**fe^{33}**; ɑ^{21}**fe^{33}**thi^{55}; **gu̱^{33}**	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.23
Yi (Weishan)	**fɛ^{33}**	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.36
	fɛ^{33}	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.36
Yi (Wuding)	**fɔ̱^{2}**	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.38
	fɔ̱^{2}	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.38

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Kucong	**vi33**	dry	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**vi^{33}**	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.43
	vi^{33}	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.43
Lahu (Black)	**fī**	dry up, go dry (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 1310
	vi	dry, dry out (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 1328
	vi^{33}	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**vi^{1}**	dry	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Yi (Sani)	**fæ^{33}**	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.39
	fæ^{33}	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.39

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**fʌ^{33}**	dry	Pelkey 2011:975
Phola	**fɛ^{33}**	dry	Pelkey 2011:975

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**fv˧**	dry	Michaud 2006–2009:3376
	læ˧**fv**˧kʰɯ˥	dry beside or over a fire (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3142
	læ˩**fv**˩	dry	Michaud 2006–2009:2059

7. KARENIC

Karen	**xe̱^{55}**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.50
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	ka^{33} ju^{33} **xe̱^{55}**	thirsty	DAI Qingxia 1989k:2112.1
	xe̱^{55}	thirsty	DAI Qingxia 1989k:2112
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**xe^{55}**	thirsty	DAI Qingxia 1989j:2112

(3) PTB *s-pa ŋ k THIRSTY

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**hpang** kara	thirsty	Marrison 1967
	phaŋ^{31} kă^{1} ʒaʔ^{31}	thirsty	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	phaŋ^{31}kă^{31}ʒaʔ^{31}	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.19
	phaŋ^{31}kă^{31}ʒaʔ^{31}	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.47
	phaǹ kəràʔ	thirsty	Matisoff 1993

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Longxi)	tsù tə **pià**	thirsty	Evans 1999:2112
Qiang (Mawo)	**ɕpiɛ**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.08
	ʂpi	thirsty	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ʂpi	thirsty (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.7.8
	ʂpi	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**pià**	thirsty	Evans 1999:2112
Qiang (Taoping)	**χpa^{55}**	thirsty	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.9
Qiang (Yadu)	ɦe **ʐpe**	thirsty	DAI Qingxia 1989q:2039
Xumi	**pie^{55}**	thirsty (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	pie^{55}	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.20
	pi^{55}	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.17

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**spa**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.12
Ergong (Northern)	**spa^{53}**	thirsty (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.7.8
Ergong (Danba)	**sphɔŋ**	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.14
Ergong (Daofu)	**spɑŋ**	thirsty (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.7.8
Ergong (Danba)	**spʰɔŋ**	thirsty (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.7.8
Nyagrong Minyag (Ganzi Xinlong)	**¯pa** rə	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	na **'svjaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Ganzi Danba Geshenzha	ka **s'pʰŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	'də **ʃpɑk**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	'kə **ʃpɑk**ˀ	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	'nə **spʰjaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	'tə **ʃpak**ˀ	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	də22sa44**ʂpak44**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	də^{3}**ʃpak^{5}**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	də^{3}**ʃpak^{5}**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	də^{5}**ʃpaʔ^{35}**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	də 'tə **ʃpɑk**ˀ	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	də **'ʃpaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	də **'ʃpaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	də **'ʃpaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	də **'ʃpaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	də **'ʃpaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	də **'ʃpaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	də **'ʃpɑkˀ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	də **'ʃpɑŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (NW)	ka **spʰiax**	thirsty (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.7.8
rGyalrong	ka **ʃpak**	thirsty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:898.12
	ka **ɕpak**	thirsty (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.7.8
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ka-**ʃpak**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	ka44 **ʃpa33**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	kai **ʃ'pəŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	ka **'spjaʔ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	ka **'ʃpaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	ka **'ʃpaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	ka **sˡpʰaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ka **ʃpak**	thirsty (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.7.8
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə22 sɑ33 **spak44**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	kə-**ʂpja**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	kə35**'ʃpak53**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kə^{3}**ʃpak^{5}**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kə **'ʃpak**ˀ	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	kə **'ʃpax**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kə **'ʃpaʔk**ˀ	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	kə **'ʃpjaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	kə sa **'ʃpa**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	kə sa **'ʃpak**ˀ	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	kə sa **'ʃpak**ˀ	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	kə sa **'ʃpak**ˀ	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	kə sa **'ʃpɪk**ˀ	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Northern)	kə **ɕpa**	thirsty (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.7.8
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	kɛˡ**ʃpək**ˀ	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
Caodeng	ké-**ʃpa**	thirsty	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **ʃpɑk**	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	kɪˡ**ʃpə**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	na **'spʰa**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	na **'ʃpaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	ndə **'ʃpjaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	nə **ʃə 'baŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	nə **'spʰaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	nə **'ʃpag** aŋ	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	nə **'ʃpaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	nə **'ʃpaŋʔ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	nə **'ʃpaɣ** aʔ	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	nə kə **'ʃpax**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	rə **'spak**ˀ	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	rə **'sɟaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	sa^{3}**ʃpak^{1}**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**spa**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	**spa** 'ro	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**spa** 'rə	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395

rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	**spa** r	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**spo**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	ta^{3}**ʃpeŋ**^{5}	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	ta **'ʃpak**˥	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	ta **'ʃpoŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	to **'ʃpaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	wu22 k^{h}a44 na22 **ʂpak44**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**ʂpaʁ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	ʂa **'ʃpak**˥	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	ʔatsaˈna **ʃpaŋ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	ˈdək **spɑʔ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊkə **ʂpɐʔ**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395
rGyalrong	na **shpak**	thirsty (be v.)	Nagano 1997:3.7.8
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	ga **'sp^{h}o** si	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395

(4) PTB *g-ra $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ THIRSTY / HUNGRY

The Jingpho forms descend from the allofam with final velar stop.

The Burmish forms apparently descend from a variant ***g-ra(w)ŋ**.

A couple of languages show final **-n** instead of **-ŋ** (Atong, Trung).

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	luŋ-**k^{h}jaŋ**	thirsty	Simon 1979

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***caŋ** THIRST

**Tangkhulic*	***caŋ**	thirst	Mortensen 2012:765
Huishu	ruk-kə-**tso**	thirsty	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.060
Kachai	k^{h}ə-ði-**ca**	thirsty (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.070

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	khou **rang** ba	thirsty	Marrison 1967
	khəw **raŋ** bə	thirsty (be v.)	Singh 1991:3.7.8

1.6. Mru

Mru	tsʻăkʻ **rɑi^{4}**	thirsty	Luce 1985:Q.287

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	ka• **ran-**	thirsty for (be v.)	van Breugel 2008
	kha• **ran-**	thirsty for (be v.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyika• **ran**	thirsty (adj2.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyika **ran**	thirsty (adj2.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyikha• **ran**	thirsty (adj2.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	hpang **kara**	thirsty	Marrison 1967
	kərà?∼**gərà?**	thirsty	Matisoff 1993
	phaŋ^{31} **kă^{1} ʒaʔ^{31}**	thirsty	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	phaŋ^{31}**kă^{31}ʒaʔ^{31}**	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.19
	phaŋ^{31}**kă^{31}ʒaʔ^{31}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.47
	phaŋ **kəràʔ**	thirsty	Matisoff 1993

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	to^{33}**zo^{55}**	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.15
Muya [Minyak]	to^{35}**zo^{35}**	hungry (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.7.9
	to^{35}**zo^{35}**	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.15
Namuyi	ŋu^{55}**zy^{55}**ku^{53}	hungry (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.7.9
	ŋu^{55}**zy^{55}**ku^{53}	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.19
	ŋu^{55}**zʁ^{55}**kuo^{53}	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	tɕe^{35}**ʐ̃ũ^{55}**	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.10
	tɕyə^{11}**ʐ̃ũ^{55}**	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.10
Pumi (Lanping)	tʃø^{55}**ʐ̃õ^{55}**	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.09
	ʃɑ^{13}**ʐ̃õ^{55}**	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	stʃɑ^{13} **ʒõ^{55}**	thirsty	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	stʃɑ^{13}**ʐ̃õ^{55}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.11
	tʃø^{55} **ʐ̃õ^{55}**	hungry	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.11
Pumi (Taoba)	sɛ^{55} **rõ^{55}**	thirsty	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	sɛ^{55}**rõ^{53}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.10
	tɕɛ^{55} **rõ^{55}**	hungry	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	tɕɛ^{55}**rõ^{53}**	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ʐy^{35}** rə^{53}	hungry (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.7.9
	ʐy^{35}rə^{53}	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.16
Xumi	**ʒuɛ^{55}**	hungry (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	ʒuɛ^{55}	hungry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:897.20
	ʐyæ^{55}	hungry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1298.17

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔjə**	hungry (be v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.7.9

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ɹɑn^{53}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola (Luxi)	**khjauŋ^{35}**fɛ^{35}	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.32
Bola	**k^{h}jauŋ^{35}** fɛ^{35}	thirsty	Dai Qingxia 1989g:2039
Lashi	**khjuŋ^{55}** xəː^{53}	thirsty (be v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.7.8
Leqi (Luxi)	**khjuŋ^{55}**xəː^{53}	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.33
Maru [Langsu]	**khjauŋ^{35}**fai^{55}	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.43

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	ji^{323}**tɕa^{53}**sʅ^{35}	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.47
	ji^{31} **tɕa^{53}** sʅ^{35}	thirsty (be v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.7.8

(5) PNN *s-lal THIRSTY / HUNGRY

WTF p.567; See also Achang forms lau 'hungry, thirsty'

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	pɑp^{53} **sɑl^{53}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	pɑp^{53}**sɑl^{53}**	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.23
	pɑp^{53}**sɑl^{53}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.48
Idu	**mi** si ga	live (v.)	Pulu 1978

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***ləl**	thirsty	French 1983:567

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	jo **lan**	thirsty	French 1983:567
	kham **lan**	thirsty	Marrison 1967
	k^{h}am **lan**	thirsty	French 1983:567

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	tei **la**	thirsty	French 1983:567; Marrison 1967
Konyak	**li** pu	thirsty, dry	French 1983:567
	li pu	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	li pu	thirsty	Marrison 1967
Phom	yung **le**	thirsty	Marrison 1967
	yuŋ **le**	thirsty	French 1983:567
Wancho	**la**	thirst	French 1983:567

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**lɑu^{55}**	hungry; thirsty	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**lau^{31}**	hungry; thirsty	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985

(6) PTB *wat THIRSTY

This root seems fairly solid. The final **-p** in Athpare seems to be due to assimilation to the labial nasal in the following syllable. Kulung **wam ma siy-a** shows complete assimilation to the initial of the second syllable.

The second syllable of Bantawa **cak-wa-sü-** and the first syllable of Limbu **P-wa mi:kt-** seem to descend from an independent root PTB ***r/s/g-wa** WATER / RAIN (§1.2.6).

This root looks rather similar to PTB ***wan** HUNGRY (§1.1.3), but we are keeping them separate for now. The present root seems always to mean 'thirsty' while PTB ***wan** HUNGRY (§1.1.3) apparently always means 'hungry'.

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	lok^{33}**və^{ˈ}t^{33}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.52

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **'ìt-**	thirsty (be v.)	Grüssner 1979:17
	ing **it**	thirsty	Marrison 1967

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**wep** ma sima	thirsty (be v.)	Ebert 1997
Yakha	**weʔ** ma siː maː	thirsty (be.)	Kohn 1990:3.7.8

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**waT** ma	thirst	Rai 1985
Kulung	**wam** ma siy-a	thirsty (vs.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	ti^{33}**βi^{55}**	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.15
Muya [Minyak]	ti^{33}**vi^{53}**	thirsty (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.7.8
	ti^{33}**vi^{53}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.15

3.3. rGyalrongic

Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	**svíu**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**svî**	feel thirsty (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0395

(7) PTB *pu THIRSTY

In certain disyllabic forms, this morpheme looks rather like a suffix. However, monosyllabic reflexes in Tamang and Naxi indicate that this is indeed a root morpheme.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	həŋ-**pɯ**	thirsty	Sun 1993b
	ɦəŋ **pɯ**	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.24
Bokar Lhoba	ɦəŋ **pɯ**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	li **pu**	thirsty, dry	French 1983:567
	li **pu**	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	li **pu**	thirsty	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	tɕem^{55} **pu^{55}**	thirsty	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{1}p^{h}juː**	thirsty (be v im.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.7.8

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	ko˧**pv**˧	thirsty (be v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	pv˧	dry	Michaud 2006–2009; Michaud 2006–2009
	pv˧lv˧	non-irrigated farmland; dry land	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	ko^{33}**pv^{33}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.29
	pv^{33}	dry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:864.29
Naxi (Western)	**pv^{31}**	thirsty	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**pv^{31}**	wither	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:791.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**pv^{31}**	dry; thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:864.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**pv^{13}**	thirsty	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**pɣ^{21}**	dry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.45
	pɣ^{21}	dry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.45

(8) PKir *min THIRST

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

**Dum-Thu-Kha*	*ku **min**	thirst	Michailovsky 1991:181
Dumi	ki **miːn**	thirst	Driem 1993
	ki **miːn** li-	thirst	Michailovsky 1991:181
Khaling	kü **min** lü-	thirst	Michailovsky 1991:181

(9) PTB *bal TIRED / THIRSTY

Note the interesting semantic association between TIRED and THIRSTY.

Jingpho has a doublet **bá ≍ bàn**, with the latter directly reflecting the ***-l**.

This root is very likely allofamic with PTB ***baŋ** TIRED / EXHAUSTED (§8.3.1), but it seems best to keep them separate for now.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***bal**	tired	Matisoff 2003a:584; Benedict 1972:29

	***bal (*B)**	tired	Coblin 1986:150
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ɓaa** TIRED / EXHAUSTED			
**Chin*	***ɓaa**	TIRED / EXHAUSTED	VanBik 2009:53
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**bǎa**-I, baat-II	tired, exhausted	VanBik 2009:53
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**á** bā	tired	VanBik 2009:53
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**bàn**	at rest (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:176
	ban	at rest (be v.)	Benedict 1972:15n53
	ban	rest, to be at (v.)	Benedict 1972:29
	ban	at rest (vs.)	Benedict 1972:29
	bá	tired	Benedict 1972:15n53
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**bal**	tired, weary	Benedict 1972:29
4. Nungic			
Rawang	(thi^{31}) **bɑl^{53}** [bɑ^{53} le^{33}]	thirsty	LaPolla 2003:1358
Trung [Dulong]	**bɑl^{55}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**bɑl^{55}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**pân**	tired	Matisoff 1974:176; Benedict 1976a
	pàn	tired; tired, weary	Benedict 1972:15n54(b); Benedict 1972:29; Coblin 1986:150
	paŋ **pân**	tired, exhausted	VanBik 2009:54

Chinese comparandum

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(10) PTB *k(w)am THIRSTY / DRIED OUT

Three different prefixes are attested with this root: Written Tibetan has **s-**, but some modern dialects have **r-**. The voiced initial in the Lahu form reflexes a nasal prefix at the PLB level.

The Written Tibetan doublet **skam-po** 'dry' and **skom-pa** 'thirst' strongly supports the reconstruction of ***-wa-**.

This root bears some resemblance to PTB ***krwap** RUSTLE (§9.3), the common core of meaning perhaps residing in the dry sound made by fallen leaves.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***khəm**	thirsty / dry	Coblin 1986:148
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kham**	thirsty / dry	Coblin 1986:149
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**gam^{1}**	dry (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:302
	gam^{1}	dry, be annihilated	Bhaskararao 1994
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**ko^{53}** dɐ^{13}	thirsty (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.7.8
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tɕem^{55}** pu^{55}	thirsty	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	pɛː^{13} **cem^{53}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.6
Cuona Menba	**cam^{53}**la^{31}	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rkam**	dry, be; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.05; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.05
	rkam bo	dry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.05
	ɣkom	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hkam**	dry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:864.4
	hkom	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hkom**	thirsty	Sun 1985a:547
	hkæm-nbo	dry	Sun 1985a:204
	rkam	dry in the sun; dry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:749.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:864.5
	rkom	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.5
Tibetan (Batang)	kha^{55} **gã^{55}**	thirsty (be v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.7.8
	kha^{53}**kɑ̃^{55}**	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.03
	kɑ̃^{55}	dry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**kom** boq	dry (adj.)	Hale 1973:01.099
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**kɑŋ^{55}**	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**kam^{52}**	dry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.02
	kam^{55}	dry (clothes) in the air (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.02
	kam^{55}po^{53}	dry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:864.2
	kam^{55}po^{55}	dry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.02
	kam^{55}po^{55} tɕha^{52}	dry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.02
	kam^{55}*sø*^{52} taŋ^{55}	dry by fire (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.02
	kha^{55} **kom^{55}**	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.02
	kom^{55}	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.2
	tʂhaŋ^{55}tʂhu^{55} **kam^{55}**	dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**kam** buq	dry (adj.)	Hale 1973:01.099
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**kom** je laŋ en	thirsty (be.)	Bishop 1989:3.7.8
Spiti	**kum** ḍi yoŋ je	thirsty (be.)	Bodh 1991:3.7.8
Tibetan (Spiti)	**kum** ḍi	thirst	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	(gos) **skem**	dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.01
	kha **skom**	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.01
	skam po	dry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.01; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:864.1; Coblin 1986:149; Sun 1985c:204
	skam pa	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	skem	dry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.01
	skom	thirsty	Sun 1985c:547; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.1
	skom-pa	thirst (v.)	Coblin 1986:149
	skom pa	thirsty	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hkam**	dry, be; dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.04
	hkom	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**kom** te ^{3}k^{h}ə-	thirsty, be	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0332
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**go^{35}**	thirsty (be.)	Chen Kang 1986d:3.7.8
Tujia (Southern)	**go^{35}**	thirsty	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***N-kam^{2}** THIRSTY / DRIED OUT			
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Liangshan)	phu^{34}**go^{33}**	dry (grain); dry (road)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**gô**	dried up and brittle; dehydrated	Matisoff 1988a:p. 410
	gô	dried up (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:381
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	**gɯ^{33}**	thirsty	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.31
Hani (Gelanghe)	**gɯ^{33}**	thirsty	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**khəmx**	thirsty / dry	Coblin 1986:148

Chinese comparandum

顑 OC ***χəm**~***k'əm**, *GSR* #671m 'emaciated, gaunt'; Coblin 86:148-9 ST ***khəm** > OC ***khəmx**; Schuessler 2007:332 ***hâms**~***khâm?**; Mand. **kǎn**.
歁 OC (***k'əm**), (not in *GSR* #658) 'famished'; Schuessler 2007:332 ***khâm?**; Mand. **kǎn**.

(11) PTB *$\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{g}\end{matrix}$a(ː)ŋ ROAST / TOAST / DRY / HOT / BURN / THIRSTY

STC sets up two separate roots: PTB ***(t)s(y)ow** FINGER (§1.5.6) ***kaːŋ** and glossed 'roast / toast / burn' and PTB ***(t)si** FINGER (§1.5.6) ***kaŋ** glossed 'dry up'. We regard these two sets as reflecting the same etymon.

The sense of "thirsty" is not recognized in *STC* #330, 331.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ka(ː)ŋ**	roast / toast / burn / be dry	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:595
	***kaang**	roast, toast	LaPolla 1987:15
	***kaŋ**	dry up	Benedict 1972:331
	***kaːŋ**	roast / toast / burn	Benedict 1972:330

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***kaŋ** BAKE / FRY / ROAST, ***kaaŋ-I**, ***kaŋʔ** ≍ ***kan-II** BURN / BLAZE, ***kaŋ-I**, ***kan-II** DRY UP / EVAPORATE

*Chin	*kaaŋ-I, kaŋʔ ≷ kan-II	BURN / BLAZE	VanBik 2009:260
	*kaŋ	BAKE / FRY / ROAST	VanBik 2009:253
	*kaŋ-I, kan-II	DRY UP / EVAPORATE	VanBik 2009:275

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	kang	bake, fry; blaze, alight	VanBik 2009:253; VanBik 2009:260
Sizang	kang hī	fry	VanBik 2009:253
Thado	kâŋ-I, kàn-II	evaporate	VanBik 2009:275
	kàaŋ ≷ kàa-I, kàʔ-II	burn (v.i.)	VanBik 2009:260
Tiddim	kang^{2} > kan^{3}	fry (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:554
	kang^{1}	get dried up (as a brook or a pond etc.)	VanBik 2009:275
	kaŋ (level tone)	fry	Benedict 1972:71n223
	kaŋ (rising tone)	dry up	Benedict 1972:71n223
	ka:ng^{3} > kat^{3}	burn	VanBik 2009:260
	ˊkaŋ/ˆkan	dry up (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	kaáng	dry (up), go down (e.g. of water after flood), not to rain (as in a drought)	VanBik 2009:275
	kang	burn	VanBik 2009:260
	pkaeéng	cook (vegetables) in a pot with a little water and chilis, napi (almost frying, but not with oil ”braise?”)	VanBik 2009:253

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	kăaŋ-I, kaŋʔ-II	blaze, burn	VanBik 2009:260
Lai (Falam)	kàaŋ-INV	blaze, burn	VanBik 2009:260
	kăŋ	bake, roast	VanBik 2009:253
Lai (Hakha)	kâŋ-I, kăn-II	bake, fry, roast	VanBik 2009:253
	kàŋ-I, kăn-II	dry up (as a lake), evaporate	VanBik 2009:275
Lushai [Mizo]	kàaŋ-I, kân-II	burn, to be on fire (v.)	VanBik 2009:260
	kâng	dry up, to evaporate, to decrease, to cease to flow (as water, spring, stream, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:275
	kang	dry up (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2515
	káng-I, kàn-II	fry	VanBik 2009:253
	kaŋ	evaporate, dry up	Benedict 1972:331
	ka:ŋ	burn	Benedict 1972:330

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	kā	ablaze, burnt	VanBik 2009:260

1.2.4. “OLD KUKI”

Sorbung	mə-kaaŋ	dry (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.053
	nàp-káaŋ	mucus, dry	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.060

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): *a-kuŋ DRY (BE) / THIN, LEAN

*Central Naga	*a-kuŋ	DRY / THIN, LEAN (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.219
*Ao	*a-kuŋ	DRY (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.066
Ao (Chungli)	-kúŋ	dry (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:8
	a^{3}-kuŋ^{3}	dry (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.066
	kuŋ^{2}ɹa^{3} kuŋ^{2}ɹaɹ^{32}	quite thin (of people) (adj.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.219
	mu^{2}kuŋ^{2}	cold (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.064
	ta kong	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	te mo kong	cold	Marrison 1967
	tu^{3}-kuŋ^{3}ɹa^{2}	thin (of people) (adj.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.219
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü mu kung	cold	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) kuŋ	dry (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	(NZP-) mə kuŋ	cold (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	hwaŋ	roast, toast [roasted, toasted] (over coals) (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	ŋ^{1}-koŋ^{3}-	dry (vt.) / shrivel up / be skinny (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.219
	e khyang	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	n kong	dry	Murry *et al.* 1978:35
Sangtam	a kong	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	a kong ra	thin	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	a kung	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *kaŋ BURN / SCORCH

*Tangkhulic	*kaŋ	burn / scorch	Mortensen 2012:752
Ukhrul	kə-kaŋ	burnt (food), scorched (as curry while cooking) (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	a kang ba	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	gagan	thirsty	Bhat 1968
	gáŋ	thirsty; thirst for something (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	gang	thirsty	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	kaŋ	thirsty	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Phom	gaŋ^{31}	warm at fire (e.g. hands, food)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	kă^{31}kạŋ^{33}	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.47
	kă^{1}kạŋ^{33}	dry (clothes) near fire	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	kaŋ	hot; emit heat, as the sun; a flame; dry, as paddy, garments; the like (be v.)	Benedict 1972:330; Benedict 1972:331
	kə kaŋ	roast, toast, bake	Benedict 1972:330

2.1.2. BODIC

Tshona (Mama)	kɔŋ^{53}	dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.6
Cuona Menba	koŋ^{53}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.06
	kɔŋ^{53}	dry (clothes) in the air (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.06
	kɔŋ^{55} ŋa^{31}	dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.06

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	kaŋ-	<dry> to be dried, to be heated (at the edge of the fire)	Driem 1988
	kaŋs-	heat, to dry (bread, yam, etc. at the edge of the fire) (v.)	Driem 1988

3.2. QIANGIC

Xumi	kõ^{55}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.17
	kɔ̃^{35}	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.20
	ɳɛ^{33}kɔ̃^{35}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.20

4. NUNGIC

Anong	də gaŋ	toast	Benedict 1972:330
Nung	gɛŋ^{55}	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.21
Anong	gɛŋ^{55}	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.44
Rawang	rəmɑ^{53} gaŋ^{31}	fields (dry)	LaPolla 2003:50
Trung [Dulong]	dɯ^{31}gaŋ^{55}	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	dɯ^{31}gaŋ^{55}	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	kɑŋ^{55}	dry (clothes) near fire; warm (oneself) near fire	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	kuaŋ^{55}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.41
Achang (Luxi)	kaŋ^{31}	dry (clothes) near fire; warm (oneself) near fire	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	kɔ^{55}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.32
Burmese (Written)	kaŋ	broil, roast, toast	Benedict 1972:330
	kɑŋ	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.39
	kɑŋ^{2}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.26
Langsu (Luxi)	kɔ̃^{31}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.31
	kɔ̰̃^{31}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.31
Leqi (Luxi)	kaːŋ^{31}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.33
	kạːŋ^{33}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.33
Maru [Langsu]	kɔ̃^{31}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.43
	kɔ̰̃^{31}	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	kaŋ^{51}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.42

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Southern)	kɔ̃^{31}	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	kɔ̃^{31}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.34
Nusu (Northern)	kə̃^{55}	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	kɑ̃^{31}	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.45
Yi (Dafang)	kɔ^{33}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.22
	kɔ^{33}; ɬi^{13}	dry(clothes)nr fire;dry(kang)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.22
Yi (Liangshan)	ko^{33}	dry out; warm up	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	ka^{33}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.37
	kʌ^{33}	dry (clothes) near fire; warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.24; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.24

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	qɔ	roast or bake; expose to heat	Matisoff 1988a:p. 250
Lisu	ko^{33}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.40
	kọ^{33}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.40
	ko^{44}	dry (clothes) near fire; warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.27; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.27
Lisu (Northern)	kɔ^{33}	dry or warm up with fire; bake; air in sunshine (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	qo^{44}	dry by fire; warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.39; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.39

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炕 OC (not in *GSR* #698, probably ***k’ûng**), ‘heated brick bed / dry / to roast’; Mand. **kàng**.

(12) PTB *gru ≷ *grwa DRY / DRIED OUT

This forms seems to show variation between PLB tones *1 and *2.

The rhyme **-wa** regularly gives Lahu **-u**. The Lahu front velar **k-** reflects a ***gr-** cluster.

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN: ***r-ków*** DRY

**Asakian*	*r-**ków**	dry	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2012:#116
Ganan	**kɔ́**	dry	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2012:#116
Kadu	**ʔə kú**	dry	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2012:#116
Sak	**rəkú**	dry	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:240

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**khø^{55}**	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.17
	khə^{55}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.16
Lyuzu	**khu^{31}**	dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.18
	khɯ^{33}ɣɯ^{ɪ55}ɣɯ^{ɪ31}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.18
	te^{53}**khu^{33}**sæ^{31}	dry (clothes) in the air (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.18
Pumi (Lanping)	**Gu^{55}**	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.09
	Gu^{55}	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**Gu^{55}**	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɣu^{55}**mə^{53}	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**qhuà**	dry, warm by fire	Evans 1999:1971
Qiang (Taoping)	zi̱^{55}**kua^{55}**	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**khu^{55}**	dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**kɯ^{55}**rlɛ^{13}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.13
	kɯ^{55}zgɛ^{55}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**kʌ^{55}**vʑi^{55}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.14
	o^{33}**khu^{55}**	dry (clothes) in the air (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.14
	ʌ^{33} **khu^{55}**	dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.14

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Mile)	**ku^{33}**	dry (clothes) near fire; warm (oneself) near fire; dry in the sun (outdoors)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.25; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.25; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**kɒ^{55}**	dry (clothes) near fire; warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.26; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.26
Yi (Weishan)	**gu^{33}**	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.36
	ku^{55}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.36
Yi (Xide)	**ko^{33}**	dry by fire; warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.35; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.35
	ko^{33}	dry (clothes) near fire; warm (oneself) near fire; dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.21; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.21; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.21
	kɔ^{33}	dry (clothes) in the air (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	a^{33}**kɯ^{44}**	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **kɯ^{33} kɯ^{33}** mju^{55}	swallow dry	DAI Qingxia 1989h:1909
Jinuo	a^{44}**kɯ^{44}**	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.44
	ko^{42}tʃhɤ^{44}**kɤ^{44}**	dry (clothes) in the air (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**kə^{33}**	dry	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**kɯ^{33}**	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.44
Kucong	**ku33**	dry by the fire	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Black)	**ku**~**kwi**	hard, dry object	Matisoff 1988a:p. 335
	kwî	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-ši-kû	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
Yi (Sani)	**gɤ^{2}**	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	**gy**	dry	Hansson 1989:304
Akha	**gy**	dry	Hansson 1989:304
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **gy**	dry	Hansson 1989:304
Bisu	ʔaŋ **kɯ**	dry	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**gy**	dry	Hansson 1989:304
Hani (Dazhai)	**gɯ^{33}**	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**gɯ^{33}**	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.41
	gɯ^{33}	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.41
Hani (Pijo)	**ky**	dry	Hansson 1989:304
Hani (Caiyuan)	**kɤ^{33}**	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**gɯ^{33}**	dry	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Haoni	**kɯ^{33}**	dry	Hansson 1989:304
Hani (Shuikui)	**kɯ^{33}**	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.32
	xõ^{33}	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.32
Hani (Khatu)	**ky**	dry	Hansson 1989:304
Hani (Mojiang)	**kɯ^{33}**	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.42
	kɯ^{33}	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.42
	xõ^{33}	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.42
Mpi	**kɯ^{3}**	dry	Hansson 1989:304; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **kɯ45**	dry	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:210007
Sila	a21 **gɯ33**	dry	KATO Takashi 2008:249

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**kɯ^{33}**	dry by the fire (e.g., clothes)	Pelkey 2011:899
Southern Muji	**kə^{55}**	dry by the fire (e.g., clothes)	Pelkey 2011:899
Phola	**ᵑ̩ki^{31}**	dry by the fire (e.g., clothes)	Pelkey 2011:899
Hlepho Phowa	**kə^{33}**	dry by the fire (e.g., clothes)	Pelkey 2011:899
Phuza	**kʌ^{55}**	dry by the fire (e.g., clothes)	Pelkey 2011:899

6.2. NAXI

Naxi (Yongning)	**ku^{55}**	dry (clothes) near fire; warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.29; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.29

(13) PTB *kan DRY (UP)

This root is rather sparsely attested in TB, but there is a good-looking Chinese comparandum.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***kan**	dry	Coblin 1986:67

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kan**	dry up	Matisoff 2003a:594
	***kan:**	dry (v,adj.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:140c

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bokar	**kam**	dry	Sun 1993b

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***kan**	dry up	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:140c

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**khàn**	dry up	Benedict 1972:166n444
	khàn	dry (v,adj.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:140c
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kʔan**	dry up	Benedict 1972:166n444
	kʔan	dry (v,adj.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:140c

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kân**	dry (v,adj.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:140c
	kân/kân	dry	Karlgren 1957:140c

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**gān**	dry	Evans *et al.* 1991
	gan	dry	Sun 1985b:204
	kɑn	dry	Karlgren 1957:140c

Chinese comparandum

乾 OC ***kân***, *GSR* #140c 'dry'; Schuessler 2007:262 ***kân***; B & S 2011: ***k^{ʂ}ar {*[k]^{ʂ}ar}***; Mand. **gān**. coblin
139h 旱 han4 g^{ʂ}arʔ {[g]^{ʂ}a[r]ʔ} dry drought g'ân

(14) PKC *haal CRAZE / THIRST

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***haal**	CRAZE / THIRST	VanBik 2009:709

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**hal**	craze	VanBik 2009:709

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**há**-é	thirsty	VanBik 2009:709
Khumi	**ahayng** (v.i.)	thirsty	VanBik 2009:709

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hâal**-I, hăal-II	craze, thirst, be thirsty	VanBik 2009:709
Lai (Falam)	**háal**-INV	craze, thirst, be thirsty	VanBik 2009:709

(15) PTk *rew THIRST

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***rew**	thirst	Mortensen 2012:764
Tangkhul	**rew**	thirsty	Bhat 1969:99
Ukhrul	kaw-k^{h}ə-**rew**	very thirsty (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.1.3.2 Satiated/Full/Enough

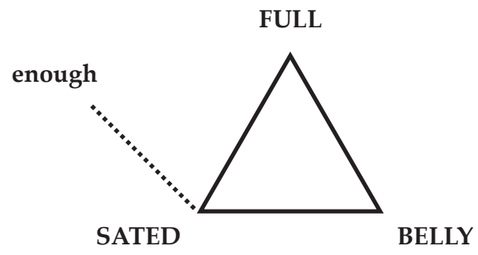

Figure 28: 1.1.3.2 *Satiated/Full/Enough*

(1) PTB *m-pup SATIATED

This root has an interesting distribution; it has so far been found in Lolo-Burmese, Karenic, and Bai. The nasal prefix is amply attested in Lolo-Burmese.

It is not clear whether Chinese 飽 'satiate' is related to this etymon.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-pup**	satiated	Matisoff 2003a:607

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**pu̱**	full, filled	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4381

3.2. QIANGIC

Namuyi	**bu^{55}**tɛ^{55}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.19
	bu^{55}tæ^{53}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.46
	bu^{55}tæ^{55}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.46

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***N-pup*** SATIATED / FULL

**Lolo-Burmese*	***Npup**	satiated / full	Matisoff 1972b:86

6.1.2. LOLOISH

Lolopho	**bu̱^{33}** bi^{33}	full / be satiated	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.7.10

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**po^{53}**	full; be satiated; satisfied, full	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991; DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.7.10
Lalo	**boq**	full (of food) / satiated	Björverud 1994
	bo^{33}	full / be satiated	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.10
	bo̱^{33}	full (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986a:70.
Lipho	**bu̱^{33}**	full (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986a:70.
	bu̱^{33}	full / be satiated	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.10
Nasu	**b'u 32s**	satiated / full	Matisoff 1972b:86
	mbho̱^{2}	full (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986a:70.
	mb^{h}o̱^{21}	full / be satiated	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.10
Neisu	**mbe^{33}**	full (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986a:70.
Nesu	**bu̱^{33}**	full (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986a:70.
	bu̱^{33}	full / be satiated	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.10
Noesu	**mbie^{33}**	full / be satiated	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.10
Nosu	**mbu̱^{33}**	full / be satiated	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.10
	mbu̱^{4}	full (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986a:70.

Yi (Dafang)	**mbɔ**^{33}	full; satiated; full, satiated	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**mbu̱**^{33}	full (after eating)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**bu̱**^{33}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**bu̱**^{33}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**bo̱**^{33}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**bo**^{33}	full; satiated; full, satiated	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.23
Yi (Xide)	**mbu̱**^{33}	full (from eating); full, satiated; full; satiated	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**bu 44**	satiated / full	Matisoff 1972b:86
	bu̱^{33}	full (be v.)	Chen Kang 1986a:70.
	bu̱^{33}	full / be satiated	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.10; Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7.10
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**pu**^{44} lɔ^{44}	full, satiated (be v.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	pu^{44}**lɔ**^{44}	full (of food)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**bɔ33**	full, satiated (be v.)	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Black)	**bú** ɛ̀	swollen	Matisoff 1972b:92(a)
	bû?	satiated / full	Matisoff 1972b:86
	bu^{53}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.33
	bu̱ʔ^{54}	full, satiated	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**bu̱ʔ**^{54}	full, satiated	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Nujiang)	**bo̱**^{44}	full, satiated	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**bo̱**^{44}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.27
Lisu (Northern)	**bɔ**^{33}tsha^{35}	full; rich in	Bradley 1994
	dza^{21}**bɔ**^{33}	eat until full	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**bo**^{44}	full (be v.)	Chen Kang 1986a:70.
	bɯ^{44}	full / be satiated	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.10
	bɤ 44	satiated / full	Matisoff 1972b:86
	bɤ^{44}	full (from eating)	Ma Xueliang 1989:311.5

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**boq**	satiated / full	Matisoff 1972b:86
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**pu 33**	satiated / full	Matisoff 1972b:86
Hani (Lüchun)	**py**	full	Hansson 1989:425
Hani (Pijo)	**pu** ?	satisfied, eat one's fill	Hansson 1989:526
Hani (Caiyuan)	**pɣ̄**^{33}	full, satiated	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	pɣ̱^{33}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.30
Hani (Pijo)	**py**	full	Hansson 1989:425
Hani (Caiyuan)	**pɤ**^{33}	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.30
Hani (Wordlist)	**bbiao**	full	Hansson 1989:425
Hani (Shuikui)	**pu**^{33}	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.32
	pɣ̄^{33}	full, satiated	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	pɣ̱^{33}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.32
Hani (Khatu)	**po**	satisfied, eat one's fill	Hansson 1989:526
	py	full	Hansson 1989:425
Hani (Mojiang)	**pu**^{33}	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.42
	pu^{33}	full, be / filled up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.42
Woni	**pu 55**	satiated / full	Matisoff 1972b:86

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**puɯ**^{22}	full (stomach)	Pelkey 2011:999
Phola	**bɔ**^{33}	full (stomach)	Pelkey 2011:999
Hlepho Phowa	**bo**^{21}	full (stomach)	Pelkey 2011:999

7. Karenic

Karen	**buɛ**^{33}	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**bwé**	full (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	lá **bwé**	full moon [lit. moon-full] (N.)	Manson 2010
	pʰú **bwé**	bloated [lit. belly-full] (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**bwè**	full (of container); full from	Solnit 1989
	bwè bík	brim-full, intensifier for ful	Solnit 1989
	là **bwè**	full moon	Solnit 1989
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**buɛ**^{33}	full (man); full (from eating)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1426; Dai Qingxia 1989k:1652.1
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**buɛ**^{33}	full (man)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1426

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**bu**^{33}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.37
	bɣ^{33}	full, satiated	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**pu**^{33}	full; satiated; full, satiated	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**pu**^{33}	full; satiated; full, satiated	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.36

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pộg/pɑuː**	satiate	Karlgren 1957:1113d

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**bǎo**	satisfied, full	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

飽 OC ***pộg***, *GSR* #1113d; Schuessler 2007:158 ***prûʔ***; Mand. **bǎo**.

(2) PBod *tsim SATED / SATISFIED

Since the Motuo form looks like a borrowing from Tibetan, further confirmation is required before setting this root up for Proto-Bodic, and *a fortiori* for PTB as a whole.

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**tsʰim**	sated, too full	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**tshim** pa	satisfied, content	Matisoff 1994b

(3) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{g}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ **aŋ FULL / SATIATED**

This root appears in many Tibetan dialects with the meaning 'full'. The notion of 'satiated' is attested in Ergong and Sak.

The Ergong forms reflect a labial prefix, perhaps ***b-***.

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**kaŋ**	satiated	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:90a

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**kaŋ**	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.05
	kaŋ	full, be / filled up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**kaŋ**	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**kaŋ**	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.5
	kaŋ-wæ	full	Sun 1985a:296
Tibetan (Batang)	**kõ**^{13}	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.03
	kõ^{13}	full, be / filled up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'khāng**	full	Hale 1973:01.095
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**gɑŋ**^{13}	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**khaŋ**^{15}	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.2
	khaŋ^{52}	full, be / filled up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.02
	khaŋ^{52} pa	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.02
Tibetan (Written)	**gang**.ba	full	Sun 1985c:296
	gaṅ ba	full	Marrison 1967
	gaŋ	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.1
	gaŋ ba	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**kaŋ**	full, be / filled up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.04
	kaŋ wo	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.04

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Lanping)	**khãu**^{55}	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.09

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Daofu)	da **fkhɑŋ**	full / be satiated	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.7.10
Ergong (Danba)	**vkhiɔŋ**	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.14
	vkʰiɔŋ	full / be satiated	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.7.10

(4) PTB *m-gra-ŋ SATIATED / PROVISIONS / GRAIN

This etymon bears a certain resemblance to PTB ***m-dyat*** SATIATED (§1.1.3.2), but should be kept distinct from it. Achang, Nusu, and Trung point to an open syllable variant.

The WT/OC comparison is due to Gong (2001:27).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***graŋ**	provide (food)	Matisoff 2003a:303

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	**raŋ**	full, satiated	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**raŋ**	full, satiated	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **kràng**-	full / be satiated	Grüssner 1979:18

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**ndzɐ̯**^{35}	full / be satiated	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.7.10
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ŋreŋ**^{35}	full, satiated	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**dzɐ̯e**^{13}	full; satiated; full, satiated	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.6
	ʑe^{13} jᴀ^{13}	sated, too full (n.)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Batang)	**dzo**^{55}	full / be satiated	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.7.10
Spiti	**ḍãŋ** še	full / be satiated	Bodh 1991:3.7.10
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥgraŋ**-bɑ	satisfy with food; satiate (v.)	Jäschke 1881:p.98

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{Bh}**mren**	satiated	Mazaudon 1994:802
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mrẽq** ba	satiated	Glover 1972
Gurung	**²mrẽ**-	satiated	Mazaudon 1994:802
Manang (Prakaa)	**²mrẽ**-	drunken, be	Mazaudon 1994:802
Tamang (Risiangku)	**²mren**	satiated	Mazaudon 1994:802
Thakali (Tukche)	**²mrən**	satiated	Mazaudon 1994:802

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**ruŋ**-	satisfied (with food) (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:149
Sunwar	**ruː**-	satisfied (with food) (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:149

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**rəŋʔ**-	protrude, be pushed up (ribs, stomach - because full of food) (va.)	Caughley 2000

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31}**gɹɑ**^{53}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ɑ^{31} **gɹɑ**^{53}	full, satiated	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɑ^{31} **gɹɑ**^{53}	full, satiated	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	oŋ^{31} **tʂɑ**^{31}	full, satiated	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ʐɯa**^{31}	full; satiated; full, satiated	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.41
Achang (Luxi)	ɔm^{51} **tsa**^{51}	full, satiated	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Northern)	**gɹa**^{35}	full, satiated	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**gˈa**^{55}	full (from eating)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1598.
Nusu (Central)	**gˈa**^{55}	full (from eating)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1598.
	vɑ^{31} **gɹɑ**^{53}	full, satiated	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	vɑ^{31}**gɹɑ**^{53}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.45

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	糧	grain, provisions	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1716
Chinese (GSR #)	**0737d**	grain, provisions	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1716

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**liɑng/liɑng**	grain, provisions	Karlgren 1957:735e
Chinese (Old)	**raŋ** {[r]aŋ}	grain, provisions	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1716

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**ljang**	grain, provisions	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1716

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**liáng**	grain, provisions	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1716
	liɑng	grain, provisions	Karlgren 1957:735e

Chinese comparandum

糧 OC ***liɑ̯ng***, *GSR* #735e 'grain, provisions'; Schuessler 2007:356 ***raŋ***; B & S 2011: ***raŋ {[r]aŋ}***; Mand. **liáng**.

(5) PTB *kru SATIATED

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**khʒu**^{55}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.47
	khɹu^{55}	full, satiated	Liu Lu, ed. 1984

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Xide)	**gu̱**^{34}-ndʑ̩^{33}	full	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.2. Naxi

Naxi (Western)	**gɯ**^{33}	full, satiated	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**gɯ**^{33}	eaten one's fill, have	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1148.45

Naxi (Lijiang)	**gɯ**^{33}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.28
Naxi (Eastern)	n̡i^{33}**gɯ**^{33}	full, satiated	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(6) PTB *m-dyat SATIATED

The Proto-Tani root is reconstructed hesitantly as ***jem?*** in J. Sun (1993), but it seems preferable to set it up as ***yet ≍ yen**.

1.1.1. Tani: ***yet ≍ *yen** SATIATED

**Tani*	***jem?**	satiated / tired of	Sun 1993a:334

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	**jet**	full, satiated; eaten one's fill, have	Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1148.24
	la-**jen**	satiated; tired of	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**jet**	full; satiated; full, satiated	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.51
	la**jen**	sated, too full	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**jem**~ **em**	satiated / tired of	Sun 1993a

2.2. Newar

Newar	**jā:**	full	Hale 1973:01.095
Newar (Kathmandu)	**jae** kɔ	full	Genetti 1990c

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	me3**jie2**	full (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	me^{3}**jie**^{2}	full (not hungry) (be v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.1
	mɨe^{21} **tɕe**^{35}	full, satiated	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	mɯe^{21} **tɕe**^{35}	full / be satiated	Chen Kang 1986c:3.7.10
	mɯe^{21}**tɕie**^{35}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.38

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**tɕɛ**^{33}	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.47
Nusu (Southern)	yɛ^{31} **dzɻ**^{55}	full, satiated	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ʥie**^{21}	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.22
Yi (Liangshan)	hi^{55}**tʂhɯ**^{21}	full stomach (animal)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʥi^{21}	become; consummate; full; succeed	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʥi^{21}m̩u̱^{33}	full (containing a lot)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʥi^{21}ʑu̱^{33}	full (complete)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ʥɛ**^{33}	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.25
Yi (Nanjian)	**dzɻ**^{33}	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.23
Yi (Wuding)	**ʥɚ**^{11}	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.38
	ʥɚ^{11}	full, be / filled up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.38
Yi (Xide)	**dʑi**^{21}	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.35
	dʑi^{21}	full, be / filled up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.35
	dʑi^{21}	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.21
	gu̱^{34}-**ndʑɻ**^{33}	full	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Northern)	bɔ^{33}**tsha**^{35}	full; rich in	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**deh^**	full of food or drink	Lewis 1968:p. 139
Akha (Thai)	**dɛq**	satisfied, eat one's fill	Hansson 1989:526
Akha (Yunnan)	**dɛq** lá	satisfied, eat one's fill	Hansson 1989:526
Hani (Dazhai)	**dɐ̱**^{33}	full; satiated; full, satiated	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dɛq** á ʔ	satisfied, eat one's fill	Hansson 1989:526
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dɐ̱**^{33}	full, satiated	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ddeiv**	satisfied, eat one's fill	Hansson 1989:526

(7) PTB * $^{\mathbf{s}}_{\mathbf{k}}$ -wa SATIATED

Prefixal ***s-*** is set up because of the WB creaky tone, while the velar prefix is reconstructed on the basis of the Pumi forms.

This root seems quite distinct from PTB ***ka-s*** SATIATED (§1.1.3.2).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***k-wa**	satiated	Matisoff 2003a:171

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**wã:h**-nya	satisfied (hunger) (v.)	Watters & Watters 1973:37

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**wɑ**^{55}	full; be satiated; satiated	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.18
Pumi (Dayang)	**kwĭ**	satiated	Matisoff 2003a:171
Pumi (Qinghua)	tə^{55} **kui**^{55}	full; satiated; full, satiated	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.11
Pumi (Taoba)	tə^{55} **kui**^{53}	full; satiated; full, satiated	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lu^{55} **wi**^{55}	full; be satiated; satiated	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.7.10; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.16

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**wɑ**^{53}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.40
Burmese (Written)	**wa**	full	Marrison 1967
	wa'	satisfied with food	Benedict 1976a
	wɑ^{1}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.39
Hpun (Northern)	**wá'**, wà'	satisfied / satiated	Henderson 1986
Marma	**wă**	satiated	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:90a

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	**vɑ**^{31} gɹɑ^{53}	full, satiated	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**vɑ**^{31}gɹɑ^{53}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.45

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Côông [Phunoi]	pĩ **vja**	full / be satiated	Ferlus 1991:3.7.10

7. Karenic

Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	lə^{55} **ɔ**^{31}	full (from eating)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1652
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	lɛ^{55} **ɔ**^{31}	full (from eating)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1652

(8) PLB *gyi^{2} SATIATED

For the tonal reconstruction, see Matisoff 1991 ("Jiburish"), p. 94.

There is perhaps a relationship between this root and PKar ***kəʔ^{D}** FEEL FULL (AFTER EATING) (§1.1.3.2).

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola	**kji**^{31}	full (from eating)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1598
Lashi	**kji:**^{33}	full / be satiated	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.7.10
Maru [Langsu]	**kji**^{35}	full; be satiated; satiated	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.7.10; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kji**^{21}	full; satiated; full, satiated	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.42

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Shuikui)	**ji̱**^{31}	sated, too full	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

(9) PTB *ka-s SATIATED

The final ***-s*** is amply attested in Western Himalayish and Kiranti, but has apparently changed to ***-t*** in other languages.

rGyalrongic shows traces of a labial prefix.

This root seems quite distinct from PTB ***s/k-wa*** SATIATED (§1.1.3.2).

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**kɑ**^{31} lo^{35}	sated, too full (ni)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	**kɑ**^{31} lo^{35}	sated, too full (ni)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**kwas** te	full / be satiated	Sharma 1991a:3.7.10
Pattani [Manchati]	**kàs** / **kăši** / **kăphi**	full / be satiated	Sharma 1991b:3.7.10

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**kha**	full / satiated (V)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.7
	k^{h}a	full, satiated	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	k^{h}a^{55}	full, satiated	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.2. Newar

Newar	**gā** ye	enough (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:148

2.3. Kiranti: ***khas-** SATIATED (with food)

**Kiranti*	***khas-**	satisfied (with food) (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:148

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**kha:s**- (kha)	sated (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:148
	kha:s- (kha-)	<satisfy> to be sated, to be full (after eating)	Driem 1988
	kha:tt-	feed full (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:148
	kha:tt-	<enough> to feed full, to satisfy, to satiate	Driem 1988
Yakha	**ka:** ma:	full / be satiated	Kohn 1990:3.7.10

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	buk **khas**-	satisfied (with food) (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:148
	kha	satisfy hunger	Rai 1985
Chamling	**khas**-(a)	full (be v.)	Winter 1985:19
	khas-a	satisfied (with food) (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:148

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**xwan**-	satisfied (with food) (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:148
Thulung	**khos**-	satisfied (with food) (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:148

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang (Eastern)	**kos** naʔ	full / be satiated	Caughley 1990:3.7.10

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Longxi)	tə **χèi**	full of food	Evans 1999:1652 [a]
Qiang (Mawo)	**χə**	full; be satiated; full, satiated; satiated	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.7.10; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**χə**^{55}	full; satiated; full, satiated	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.9
Qiang (Yadu)	tə **χ**	full (from eating)	Dai Qingxia 1989q:1652

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	ka **pkɛ**	full / be satiated	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.7.10
rGyalrong (Eastern)	kə **pkɐ**	full / be satiated	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.7.10
rGyalrong (Northern)	kə **ʃka**	full / be satiated	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.7.10
rGyalrong	kɐ **pkɐ**	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.12
	kA **pke**	full / satisfied	Nagano 1997:3.7.10
rGBenzhen	kɐ-**pkɐ**	full (with food)	Sun 1997b

[a] [Source Note] cf. 'good'.

(10) PTB *m-nyəw- $^{\mathbf{t}}_{\mathbf{s}}$ FULL / SATIATED

This root bears a certain resemblance to PTB ***m-nywa(n/t)*** FULL (of container) (§1.1.3.2), but we are keeping it separate for now. Both the ***-t*** and the ***-s*** suffixes are attested in rGyalrongic, with occasional forms having a ***-k*** or ***-p*** coda.

The reflexes have meanings referring either to the fullness of a container or of one's stomach.

The mid tone Naic forms indicate that they descend from a non-suffixed allofam.

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	**n̡o**^{55}ko^{55}	full; be satiated; satiated	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.7.10; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.19

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	'də **mn̡ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	'kə **mən̡u**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	də^{3}**mə**^{3}**n̡ut**^{5}	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	də **'mən̡o**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	də **'mən̡ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	də **'mn̡ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	də **'mn̡ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	də **'mn̡ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	də **'mn̡ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə33 **mə33 n̡ot44**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong	kə **mn̡ok**	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **mn̡ot**	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.11
	kə **mn̡ot**	full, be / filled up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**mn̡ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **mɜ22 n̡ot44**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	kə44**n̡n̡ut4**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779

rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	kə^{3}**mə^{3}n̥ø^{5}**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kə^{3}**mn̥ot^{5}**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	kə **'mnot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	kə **'mən̥ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	kə **'mn̥os**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	kə **'mn̥ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	kə **'mn̥ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kə **'mn̥ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	kə **'mn̥ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	kə **'mn̥ot˥**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	kə **'mn̥o̱t̪**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	kə **'mn̥o̱t̪**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	kə **'mn̥o̱t̪**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	kə **'mn̥o?t**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	kə **'mn̥ut**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	kə **'mn̥ut**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	kə **'ᵐn̥ok˥**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	kə **'ᵐn̥ot˥**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	kə **m'n̥ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kə **mə'n̥ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	kə **mə'n̥ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	kə **mə'n̥ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	kə **mə'n̥ot**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	kə **mə'n̥o̱t̪˥**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	kʊ ˈ**mɳup˥**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	ta22 **me44 n̥ot44**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGBenzhen	kə-**mə-ɲot**	full	Sun 1997b
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Xide)	**n̥i^{33}**	full	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ŋɯ˦**	full, satiated (be v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2191
Na (Yongning)	**ɲi˦**	full, to be satiated (be v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**n̥i^{33}**	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**n̥i^{33}**gɯ^{33}	full, satiated	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(11) PTB *mwa FULL / SATIATED

This root does not seem to be borrowed from Chinese (cf. 滿 Mand. **mǎn**).

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	**mva**	full / be satiated	Kosha 1990:3.7.10
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**mae**	full	Marrison 1967
Phom	**maei**	full	Marrison 1967
	mæ^{31}	full	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	ka**:ma:**	full / be satiated	Kohn 1990:3.7.10
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	**me3**jie2	full (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	me^{3}jie^{2}	full (not hungry) (be v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.1
Tujia (Southern)	**mʉ^{33}**	full	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**mɨe^{21}** tɕe^{35}	full, satiated	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**mɯe^{21}** tɕe^{35}	full / be satiated	Chen Kang 1986c:3.7.10
	mɯe^{21}tɕie^{35}	full / satiated	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.38
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Mojiang)	**mu^{21}**	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.26
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Thai)	**má**	full	Hansson 1989:58
Akha (Yunnan)	**má**	full	Hansson 1989:58
Akha	**má**	full	Hansson 1989:58
Hani (Lüchun)	**má**	full	Hansson 1989:58
Hani (Pijo)	**má**	full	Hansson 1989:58
Haoni	(**mɔ̀^{55}**)	full	Hansson 1989:425
Hani (Wordlist)	**mal**	full	Hansson 1989:58 [a]
Haoni	**mɔ^{55}**	full	Hansson 1989:425
Hani (Khatu)	**má**	full	Hansson 1989:58

[a] The final **-l** in this form is a tone mark.

(12) PTB *luk ENOUGH / SATIATED

This root is best attested in Lolo-Burmese, but (contra *STC* pp. 203, 213) it is also to be found elsewhere, e.g. Shixing / Xumi, Baic, and Karenic.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***luk**	enough	Matisoff 2003a:600
3.2. Qiangic			
Xumi	**lu^{35}**	enough, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1349.17
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***lok** ENOUGH			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***lok**	enough	Matisoff 1972b:164
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**lok**	enough; enough, sufficient	Marrison 1967; Hansson 1989:520; Benedict 1976a
	lɔk^{4}	enough, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1349.26
	ə-**lok**	enough	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**ʔlo^{2}**	enough	Chen Kang 1986a:87.
	ʔlùq	enough	Matisoff 2003a:358
Luquan	**lu 55c**	enough	Matisoff 1972b:164
Nasu	**lu 55**	enough	Matisoff 1972b:164
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**lu 44s**	enough	Matisoff 1972b:164
Lahu (Lancang)	**lɔ^{21}**	enough, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1349.43
Lahu (Black)	**lɔ̀ʔ**	enough	Matisoff 1974:371; Matisoff 1972b:164
Lisu	**law6**	enough	Matisoff 1972b:164
	lù c	enough	Matisoff 1972b:164
Sani [Nyi]	**lu 22s**	enough	Matisoff 1972b:164
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**lo LS**	enough	Matisoff 1972b:164
Hani (Hu T'an)	**lu 21c**	enough	Matisoff 1972b:164
Woni	**lu 33**	enough	Matisoff 1972b:164
7. Karenic			
Karen	**lø^{55}**	enough, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1349.50
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**lə^{55}** ɔ^{31}	full (from eating)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1652
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**lɛ^{55}** ɔ^{31}	full (from eating)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1652
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**lu** 6	enough	Dell 1981b:167
Bai (Jianchuan)	**lu^{55}**	enough, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1349.48
	lu^{55}	full / be satiated	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.7.10

Chinese comparandum

裕 OC ***gi̯ug**, *GSR* #1202h 'indulgent, abundant, opulent'; Schuessler 2007:589 ***lokh**; Mand. **yù**.

(13) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{p}\\\textbf{b}\end{matrix}$ liŋ FULL / FILL

Contra *STC* #142, Lahu **bî** 'full' is not from this etymon, but rather from PLB ***N-bri^{1}/^{2}** FULL / COMPLETE (§1.1.3.2).

As discussed in Matisoff 1988 ("Straight, flat, full"), this root is allofamically related both to PTB ***(p/b)lyaŋ** PLANK / PALM / FLAT SURFACE / WING (§1.5.1) and PTB ***(p/b)lyaŋ** STRAIGHT / STRAIGHTEN (§7.1.5), the common semantic core being "a complete or ideal realization of a quality appropriate to a particular dimensionality in space".

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	****bliŋ ≍ *pliŋ**	full	Benedict 1972:142
	***bliŋ**	full	Chou Fa-kao 1972:815a-b
	***bliŋ ≍ pliŋ**	full / fill	Matisoff 2003a:584
	***pliŋ**	fill (not represented in Ch.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:815a-b
1.1.1. Tani: ***brɯŋ** FULL (not empty)			
**Tani*	***brɯŋ**	full (not empty)	Sun 1993a:170
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**biŋ**	full (not empty); full; swollen	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	biŋ-ŋɯr	very full	Sun 1993b
	lɯk-**biŋ**	put in until full	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**biŋ**	full (not empty); full; swollen	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	biŋ	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.24
	biŋ	full, be; filled up; swell (of tissue) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1802.24
	ǰaŋ-**biŋ**	stuffed	Sun 1993b
	ɦe:**biŋ**	fill up (a hollow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1673.24
Bokar Lhoba	**biŋ**	swell up; swollen; full	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:778.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.51
Galo	**-bɨɨ**	full (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	bi-nam	carry in front (baby); swell (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	bɨɨ nam	swell (out); full (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	bɯ-cir:-na	full	Das Gupta 1963
	yɨr **bɨɨ**	full (moon) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**by**	full [of jar] (be v.)	Simon 1976
Tagin	yar **bɯŋ** polu	full moon	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	**bɯŋ**	full (not empty)	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**buüŋ**	full	Benedict 1972:142
Damu	**bjəŋ**-tuk	full	Sun 1993b
Milang	**baŋ**-ɲi	full	Tayeng 1976
	yel-**baŋ**	full-moon	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**biŋ**	full (not empty)	Sun 1993a
	büŋ	full	Benedict 1972:142
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**bla:ng**	fill	NEFA (India) 1963
	bla:ng-a:	full	NEFA (India) 1963
	blɯŋ^{55}	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.22
	blɯŋ^{55}	full, be; filled up; go up (water level); rise (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.22; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1787.22
	blɯŋ^{55}	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.49
	pla:ng	swell	NEFA (India) 1963
	plɯŋ^{55}	swell up	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	plɯŋ^{55}	swell (of tissue) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1802.22
	plɯŋ^{55}	swollen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:778.49
Digaro	**bloŋ**	full	Benedict 1972:142
Kaman [Miju]	**phlăŋ^{55}**	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.23
	phlăŋ^{55}	full, be / filled up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.23
	phlăŋ^{55}	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.48
Idu	**bɹoŋ^{55}bɑ^{55}**	full	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:846.50
	pɹoŋ^{55}	swell / be swollen (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:12.4
Yidu	**bɹoŋ^{55}bɑ^{55}**	full (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.25
	bɹoŋ^{55}bɑ^{55}	full, be / filled up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.25
	pɹoŋ^{55}	swell (of tissue) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1802.25
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***pliŋ** FULL / COMPLETE / ATTAIN TO			
**Chin*	***pliŋ**	FULL / COMPLETE / ATTAIN TO	VanBik 2009:1249

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**plé ⋉ plí**	full	VanBik 2009:1249
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tlîŋ**-I, tlĭn-II	full, complete, attain to, reach (a standard)	VanBik 2009:1249
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlĭng**-I, tlìn-II	attain to, to reach the proper height (v.)	VanBik 2009:1249
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-**tlò**	complete (v.)	VanBik 2009:1249
	tlò	complete (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1249
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	**pjəŋ**^{1}-	fill, be full (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	phyang	fill (v.)	Marrison 1967
	phyang a	full	Marrison 1967
	pying chüa	full	Murry *et al.* 1978:48
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**pen** bə	full / be satiated	Singh 1991:3.7.10
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	pe **pleŋ**	fill	Benedict 1972:142
	pleng	full	Marrison 1967
	plèng-	full / be satiated	Grüssner 1979:glossary p
	pleŋ	full, complete; fulfill	Benedict 1972:142
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	a **buŋ**	full	Bhat 1968
	buŋ	full (vi.)	Bhat 1968
	buŋ puŋ	completely full (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**phuluŋ**	fill in (rice into a basket)	Benedict 1972:142
Kokborok	kə=**pləŋ**	full	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	rə-**bəŋ**	swell (v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	ja-ram-**bong**	full moon (n.)	Burling 2003:4.214-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**phing**-	full, to fill (be v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	džə **phrīŋ**	fill (v.)	Matisoff 1974:92
	džə **phriŋ**	fill	Benedict 1972:142
	hpring	full	Marrison 1967
	phrīŋ	full (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:92
	phriŋ	full (vs.)	Benedict 1972:142
	phʒiŋ^{55}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.19
	phʒiŋ^{55}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.19
	phʒiŋ^{55}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.47
	phɹiŋ^{55}	full	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**phríŋ** bəbáŋ	full (n.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:373
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanashi	**plen**	fill	Benedict 1972:142
Kanauri	**bö̇n** s̱ẖĕs	full (adj.)	Bailey 1911
	böŋ	full (vs.)	Benedict 1972:142
	pöŋ	fill	Benedict 1972:142
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**p**^{h}**uŋ**	swell up	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	p^{h}**uŋ**^{55}	swell up	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	(a-) **blyăn**	full	Benedict 1972:142
	blen	full, filled up (be v.)	Plaisier 2007
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**blingh**.ʔo	full	Hale 1973:01.095
	bliŋ-	full, fill (vat.)	Caughley 2000
	bliŋ^{h}-ʔo	full	Caughley 1972:1.95
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**biŋ**˜	full (be v.)	Benedict 1972:142
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-bliŋ**^{1} FULL / PLENTY			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***bliŋ**^{3}**⋉pliŋ**^{3}	full	Matisoff 1978a:24
	***ʔ-bliŋ**^{1}	full / plenty	Matisoff 2003a:584
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**pɯŋ**^{31}	full	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Matisoff 1994b
Achang (Longchuan)	**pʐ̩əŋ**^{35}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.28
	pʐ̩əŋ^{35}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.28
	pʐ̩əŋ^{35}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.41
Achang (Luxi)	**pəŋ**^{51}	full	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**pɯŋ**^{35}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.29
	pɤŋ^{35}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.29
	pʐ̩uŋ^{31}	full (from eating)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:1598
Bola (Luxi)	**pjaŋ**^{35}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.32
	pjaŋ^{35}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**pje**^{53}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.27
	pje^{53}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**pje**^{53}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.40
Burmese (Written)	**phrañ**	fill (v.)	Matisoff 1974:92
	phráń	complete	Benedict 1972:142
	prañ	full	Hansson 1989:425
	prañ	full (v.i.)	Matisoff 1978a:24
	prañ	full (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:92
	práń	full (vs.)	Benedict 1972:142
	praññ	full	Marrison 1967
	prañ'	full (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	prûiŋ	full, abundant	Benedict 1976a
	prɑɲ̊^{1}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.26
	prɑɲ̊^{1}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.26
	prɑɲ̊^{1}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.39
	pyé / phyé	full, fill	Benedict 1972:78n241
Hpun (Northern)	**pyài-ŋ**	full	Henderson 1986
	ʃɛ̀là **pyài-ŋ**	moon (full)	Henderson 1986; Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**pjaŋ**^{55}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.31
	pjaŋ^{55}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**pjəːŋ**^{55}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.33
	pjəːŋ^{55}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.33
Marma	**prĕ**	full (vi.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:373
Maru [Langsu]	**pjaŋ**^{55}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pjiŋ**^{55}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.30
	pjiŋ^{55}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.30
	pjiŋ^{55}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.42
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***m-bliŋ**^{3}	full	Bradley 1979b:547; Hansson 1989:425
PNL	**m-bliŋ**^{3}	full (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986a:70.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Bijiang)	**bɚ̃**^{ɹ31}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.45
Nusu (Southern)	**bɹə**^{31}	full	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**bɹɐ**^{55}	full	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**bɹɚ**^{31}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.34
	bɹɚ̃^{31}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**b**^{ɹ}**ɚ̃**^{31}	full (man)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:1383.
Nusu (Central)	**b**^{ɹ}**ɚ̃**^{31}	full (man)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:1383.
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **plɯ**^{33}	full	DAI Qingxia 1989h:1426
Jinuo	a^{44}**prɯ**^{33}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.44
	o^{44}**pɹɯ**^{33}	full / satiated	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:896.34
Jinuo (Baka)	**plɯ**^{33}	full (man)	DAI Qingxia 1989i:1426
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**plɯ**^{44}	full (from eating)	DAI Qingxia 1989h:1652
Jinuo (Baka)	**plɯ**^{44}	full (from eating)	DAI Qingxia 1989i:1652
Jinuo	**prɯ**^{33}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.44
	pɹɯ^{33}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**pɹɤ**^{33}	full	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ɣo^{55} **pɹɤ**^{33}	full, satiated	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**piɛ33**	full	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***peh:**	full	Bradley 1979b:547
Lahu (Black)	**pɛ**	plentiful; abundant; numerous (Vadj; V.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 844
	pɛ	plentiful; enough	Matisoff 1978a:24
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Thai)	**bjaŋ**	full	Hansson 1989:425
Akha	**bjaŋ**	full	Hansson 1989:425
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **bjaŋ**	full	Hansson 1989:425
Bisu	ʔaŋ **plɯŋ**	full	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	**bjɔ**^{33}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**bjɔ**^{33}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.41
	bjɔ^{33}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**bjaŋ**^{33}	full	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Mpi	(ʔɤʔ/ʔoʔ)^{2} **pjɯ**^{3}	full	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	pjɯ^{3}	full / filled	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ʔo^{2}-**pjɯ**^{3}	full	Matisoff 1978a:24
	ʔoʔ^{2}**pjɯ**^{3}	full	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ʔɯʔ^{2} **pjɯ**^{3}	full	Hansson 1989:425
Côông [Phunoi]	**pĩ** vja	full / be satiated	Ferlus 1991:3.7.10
	ʔã^{55} **piɲ**^{33}	full	Bradley 1977
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **pluŋ45**	full	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:210028
	ʔo33 **pluŋ45** ba31	full, satiated	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:201013
Sila	**blɯ̰33**	full	KATO Takashi 2008:253
7. KARENIC: ***pwɛ**^{A} FULL			
**Karen*	***pwɛ**^{A}	full	Luangthongkum 2013:129
Bwe	**pwe**^{55}	full	Luangthongkum 2013:129
Kayah	**ba**^{33}	full	Luangthongkum 2013:129
Kayan	**bwɛ**^{53}	full	Luangthongkum 2013:129
Kayaw	**bɛ**^{55}	full	Luangthongkum 2013:129
Pa-O (Southern)	**bwɛ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	full	Luangthongkum 2013:129
Pa-O (Northern)	**bwɛ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	full	Luangthongkum 2013:129
Sgaw (Northern)	**pɣɛ**^{33}	full	Luangthongkum 2013:129

Chinese comparandum

赢 OC ***di̯ĕng**, *GSR* #816f 'surplus, profit; win'; Schuessler 2007:575 ***leŋ**; B & S 2011: ***ɢeŋ { [ɢ] eŋ}**; Mand. **yíng**.
盈 OC ***di̯ĕng**, *GSR* #815a-b 'fill; full; surplus'; Schuessler 2007:575 ***leŋ**; B & S 2011: (***leŋ**); Mand. **yíng**.
孕 OC ***di̯əng**, *GSR* #945j 'pregnant'; Schuessler 2007:598 ***ləŋh**; B & S 2011: ***liŋ-s {l [i] ŋ-s}**; Mand. **yùn**.

(14) PLB *N-bri $^{1}_{2}$ FULL / COMPLETE

6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**pji**^{55}	finish / be over (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1702.27
Burmese (Written)	**prī:**	finish (v.)	Marrison 1967
	pri^{3}	finish / be over (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1702.26
	ə-**prî**	finish, completion	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Lolopho	bɯ̠^{33} **bi**^{33}	full / be satiated	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.7.10
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Nanhua)	**bi**^{33}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.37
	bi^{33}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.37
	bi^{33}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.24
Yi (Weishan)	**vi**^{33}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.36
	vi^{33}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.36
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu	**bi**	full	Benedict 1972:142
Lahu (Lancang)	**bi**^{53}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.43
	bi^{53}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.43
Lahu (Black)	**bi**^{53}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**bi**^{3}	full	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**bi**^{3}	full	Bradley 1979b:547
Lisu (Central)	**bi**^{3}	full, be (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**bi**^{33}	full (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**bi̠**^{33}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.40

	bi̱^{33}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.40
	bi^{44}le^{44}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.27
Lisu (Northern)	**bi**^{55}**ji**^{33}	full (V.)	Bradley 1994

(15) PKC *kim COMPLETE / FULL

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***kim**	COMPLETE / FULL	VanBik 2009:268

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**kim**	complete	VanBik 2009:268
Thado	**kím**-I, kìm-II	complete, full	VanBik 2009:268
Tiddim	**kim**^{2}	present in full strength (e.g. when all people of an assembly are present)	VanBik 2009:268
	kim^{2}	present in full strength [e.g. when all people of (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:633
	kim^{2}	present in full strength ..	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**kĭm**-I, kìm-II	complete (be v.)	VanBik 2009:268
Lushai [Mizo]	**kim**	full; whole	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	kĭm	complete, full or whole (as wages etc) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:268

(16) PCN *p[a ə]n COMPLETE / SUFFICIENT / FULL

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	***p [a/ə] n**	COMPLETE, SUFFICIENT, FULL (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.179
**Ao*	*a-**pən**	COMPLETE, SUFFICIENT (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.016
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}-**pən**^{3}sa^{1}	complete, sufficient (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.016
	a^{2}**pən**^{2}sa^{3} a^{2}**pən**^{2}saɪ^{32}	well-rounded (adj.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ɹaŋ^{2}**pən**^{2}	whole	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**pən**	complete (be v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**pen**^{3}-	complete, full (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.179
Sangtam	a mü **pi** sa	incomplete	Kumar 1973a
	khütu **pi** nü	completely	Kumar 1973a

(17) PKar *kəʔ^{D} FEEL FULL (AFTER EATING)

There is perhaps a relationship between this root and PLB ***gyi**^{2} SATIATED (§1.1.3.2).

7. KARENIC

**Karen [Burling]*	***kaʔ**^{2}	feel full (after eating)	Luangthongkum 2013:111
**Karen*	***kəʔ**^{D}	feel full (after eating)	Luangthongkum 2013:111
Kayah	**kɔ**^{55}	feel full (after eating)	Luangthongkum 2013:111
Kayan	**kəʔ**^{45}	feel full (after eating)	Luangthongkum 2013:111
Kayaw	**kə**^{33}	feel full (after eating)	Luangthongkum 2013:111
Pa-O (Northern)	**kəʔ**^{21}	feel full (after eating)	Luangthongkum 2013:111
Pa-O (Southern)	**kəʔ**^{21}	feel full (after eating)	Luangthongkum 2013:111
Pa-O	**kɤ́ʔ**	full from eating	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**kaəʔ**^{45}	feel full (after eating)	Luangthongkum 2013:111

(18) PTB *m-nywa n t FULL (of container)

This root has so far been attested only in Tamangic and rGyalrongic. The meaning always seems to refer to the contents of a container rather than to satiety from eating. The rGyalrongic forms show evidence both of a palatal and labial glide, but no trace of a final **-t**. The Tamangic forms, on the other hand, attest to an alternation between final stop and nasal, as well as evidence of a palatal semivowel (but not of a labial one).

2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{Bh}**nat** FULL

**TGTM*	*^{Bh}**nat**	full	Mazaudon 1994:579
Gurung	**neq**	full	Hale 1973:01.095
Gurung (Ghachok)	**neq**	full	Glover 1972:1.95
Gurung	**ʔne**	full	Mazaudon 1994:579
Manang (Gyaru)	**nan**^{2}	full	Nagano 1984:373
Manang (Prakaa)	**ʔneː** ^{1}mwo pɤ	full	Mazaudon 1994:579
	^{1}neː ^{3}mwo pə	full	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0470
Tamang (Risiangku)	**ʔnat**	full to the (b)rim	Mazaudon 1994:579
	ʔnaŋ	whole / full	Mazaudon 1994:577
Tamang (Sahu)	**ʾnet**	full	Hale 1973:01.095; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.95
	ʔnet	full / even	Mazaudon 1994:579
Thakali (Syang)	**^{54}naŋ**	whole / full	Mazaudon 1994:577

3.3.1. RGYALRONG: ***m-nywan** FULL

rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	kə13**ʾmn̥an53**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	kə^{3}**mə**^{35}**n̥wen**^{5}	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kə **məʾn̥on**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	ta^{3}**mn̥en**^{1}	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊkə **mn̥eʔŋ**	full	Nagano & Prins 2013:1779

(19) PTk *poj FULL / COMPLETE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***poj**	full / complete	Mortensen 2012:428
Huishu	kə-**pu**	full / complete	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.216
Kachai	kə-**pi**	finish / be complete	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.006
Ukhrul	kə-**puj**	full (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(20) PTB *l- t d yam FULL / FLAT / STRAIGHT

This etymology was discussed in detail in JAM 1988. It combines two roots set up separately in *STC*, #226 FULL / FILL and #227 STRAIGHT.

There is a similar PTai etymon ***tlem** (see *HCT*:7.2, 14.6.1), underlying such forms as Siamese **tem**, Po-ai **lim**, Wuming **rim**, Dioi **thim**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	****dyam ≍ *tyam**	full	Benedict 1972:226
	***dyam**	full; flat; straight	LaPolla 1987:43; LaPolla 1987:44; Benedict 1972:227
	***dyam ≍ tyam**	straight / flat / full	Matisoff 2003a:587

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**dioŋ**^{35}	full; satiated; full (food)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:896.49
	ha:lo **dyang**	full moon; moon (full)	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
Idu	ha^{31}**diaŋ**^{55}	full / be satiated	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.7.10
	hɑ^{31}**diɑŋ**^{55}	full / satiated	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:896.50

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***dîm** FULL

**Chin*	***dîm**	FULL	VanBik 2009:82

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**dim** hī	full	VanBik 2009:82
Thado	**dîm**-I, dìm-II	full	VanBik 2009:82
	a̱ dìm	full	Thirumalai 1972:64
Tiddim	**dim**	full	LaPolla 1987:43; Benedict 1972:52n174
	dim^{1}	full	VanBik 2009:82
	dim^{1}	full (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:245
	dim^{1}	full	Bhaskararao 1994
	tam	level	LaPolla 1987:44
	ˊdim/ˆdim	full (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	duʔ **dîm**	fully satisfied (poetic)	VanBik 2009:82

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	zo **dám**	sit flatly (v.)	Bhat 1968

2.1.2. BODIC

Tshona (Wenlang)	**dem**^{35}**n̥i**^{55}	full	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tem**^{13}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.6
Motuo Menba	**teŋ**	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.07
Cuona Menba	**tem**^{35}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.06
	tem^{35}**ne**^{31}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**gtam(s)**-pa	full	Benedict 1972:226
	ldem-pa	straight, upright	LaPolla 1987:44; Benedict 1972:227
	ltam(s)-pa	full (vs.)	Benedict 1972:226
	ltam-pa	full; state of being full, e.g. a vessel full of water	LaPolla 1987:43; Benedict 1972:226
	ltem ba	full	Marrison 1967
	tham-pa ≍ **them**-pa	complete, full	Benedict 1972:226

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Thakali	**kāng**-pa	full	Hale 1973:01.095
Thakali (Tukche)	**kaŋ**-pɔ	full	Hari 1971:1.95

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**tims**-	full <fill>	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**dyam**	full; straight	LaPolla 1987:43; LaPolla 1987:44
	dyam	full (as a vessel); straight (vs.)	Benedict 1972:226; Benedict 1972:227
Hayu	**dam**	full	LaPolla 1987:43
	dam	full (vs.)	Benedict 1972:226
	tam	fill	Benedict 1972:226

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**dyam**	full (onom.)	Caughley 2000

4. NUNGIC

Rawang	**dan**^{31} (i^{53} wɛ^{33})	full	LaPolla 2003:1012
	dan^{31} əlim^{33} (i^{53} wɛ^{33})	full	LaPolla 2003:1012
Anong	ə **dam**	plain (level ground), flat	Benedict 1972:227
Dulong	**dɑm**^{53}	full (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0984.20
	dɑm^{53}	full, be / filled up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1518.20
Trung [Dulong]	**dăm**^{55}	full	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:846.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**dam**^{55}	full	LaPolla 1987:43
	me^{55} **dăm**^{55}	satisfied	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**dam**^{53}	full	LaPolla 1987:43
	dăm^{53}	full	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	a **tam**	straight, long piece (n.)	LaPolla 1987:44
	ă **tam**	straight, long piece	Benedict 1972:227

Chinese comparandum

斟 OC *ʔi̱əm, *GSR* #658a 'pour in, ladle out, serve'; Schuessler 2007:610 ***təm**; B & S 2011: ***t.qəmʔ-{t.[q] [ə] m}**; Mand. **zhēn**.
甚 OC *ʔi̱əm, *GSR* #658a 'excessive'; Schuessler 2007:610 ***dəmʔ/s**; B & S 2011: ***t.ɢəmʔ-s {[t.ɢ] [ə] mʔ-s}**; Mand. **shèn**.

(21) PTB *taw FULL / SATIATED

This root has been reconstructed for Proto-Tangkhulic, and has apparent cognates scattered elsewhere.

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *^{h}**to** FULL / SATIATED

**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}o**	full / satiated	Mortensen 2012:708
Huishu	ʔa-wuʔ-kə-**t^{h}u**	full (stomach); satiated	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.063
	ʔa-wuʔ-**t^{h}u**-i-tse	full (stomach)	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-wuʔ-**t^{h}u**-tse	full (stomach); satiated	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.062
Tangkhul	**tho**	full	Bhat 1969:89
Tusom	kə-**txu**	full (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.081

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**tyu**.nuʔ	stuffed full (onom.)	Caughley 2000

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**thju**	full	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3881

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Southern)	**t^{h}o**^{55}	full, satiated	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**t^{h}o**^{55} la^{21}	full / be satiated	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.7.10

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Mpi	**tho**^{3}	full, be / fill up	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	tho^{1}	full (as with food)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

(22) PKC *ɗayʔ SUFFICE / ENOUGH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	***ɗay?**	SUFFICE / ENOUGH	VanBik 2009:109
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**daih** zou	suffice	VanBik 2009:109
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**dày?**-I, dáy? -II	suffice, be enough (v.)	VanBik 2009:109
Lai (Hakha)	**day?**-INV	suffice, be enough (v.)	VanBik 2009:109
Lushai [Mizo]	**dàih**	suffice, last, be enough (v.)	VanBik 2009:109
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**ʔá** dài	enough	VanBik 2009:109

1.1.4 Wake/Conscious/Alert

WAKE ····· **clear**

Figure 29: 1.1.4 *Wake/Conscious/Alert*

(1) PTB *s-nəw AWAKE / AWAKEN

This is a simplex/causative pair in Lolo-Burmese, e.g. WB **nûi**, Lahu **nɔ̂** 'wake up' < PLB ***nəw**^{2} and WB **hnûi**, Lahu **nɔ̄** 'awaken someone' < PLB ***ʔnəw**^{2}.

2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Wenlang)	sɑŋ^{55} **ŋ̍i^{55}**	wake	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	sa:ŋ **ni**	<wake> suffer from insomnia; sleep poorly; have a poor night's	Driem 1993
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	**ne^{21}** ɕi^{35}	awake / be awake	CHEN Kang 1986d:1.17
	ne^{35} si^{35}	awake / be awake	CHEN Kang 1986c:1.17
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
*Lolo-Burmese	***s-nəw^{2}**	awake(n) / conscious	Matisoff 2003a:604
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**nɑu^{31}**	wake	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**nau^{51}**	wake	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Written)	**hnûi**	awake, rouse (tr.) (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	nhui:	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nûi	awake (intr.) (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	nui:	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
*Loloish	***(C)-no^{2}**	awake	Bradley 1979b:767S
	***səno^{2}**	awaken	Bradley 1979b:767C
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	zɭ^{53} **nv̩^{31}**	awake / be awake	DAI Qingxia 1989c:1.17
Nesu	**nu^{33}**	awake / be awake	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.17
Yi (Dafang)	**ŋ̍i^{55}**	wake (from sleep)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ŋ̍i^{55}(ʑi^{13}ʑi^{55})	wake up	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:583.22
Yi (Mile)	**nɯ^{21}**	wake up	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:583.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**nɯ^{33}**	wake up	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:583.26
Yi (Xide)	i^{55}-**ŋ̍i^{33}**	wake up	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:583.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**nɯ^{21}**	awake; be awake	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.17; LUO Meizhen 1990:1.17
Jinuo (Youle)	e^{55} **nu^{44}**	wake (from sleep)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**nv̩^{44}**	wake	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2498
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ny̩^{44}**	wake	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2498
Jinuo	**nø^{33}**	wake up	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:583.34
Kucong	dv31 **nv35**	awaken, be awake	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
*Common Lahu	***nuh˅**	awake	Bradley 1979b:767S
	***nuh˯**	awaken	Bradley 1979b:767C
Lahu (Black)	**nɔ̂**	awaken from sleep (v.i.)	Matisoff 1988a:791
	nɔ̄	wake someone up (v.t.)	Matisoff 1988a:794
	nɔ^{53}	wake; wake up	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:583.33
Lahu (Yellow)	ni?^{21} **nɔ^{55}**	wake	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	nɔ^{55}	wake	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	yi^{6} **nyi^{1}** grgh^{5}	admonish (=awaken) (v.)	Fraser 1922
	yi^{6}-**nyi^{1}**-grgh^{5}	awake (v.t.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	yi^{6}**nyi^{1}**grgh^{5}	awake; awaken	Bradley 1979b:767C; Bradley 1979b:767C
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	laˆ **noe˯**-eu	awaken	Bradley 1979b:767C
	noe˯-eu	awake	Bradley 1979b:767S
Hani (Lüchun)	**nò** lá	wake up	Hansson 1989:328
Hani (Dazhai)	**nø^{31}**	wake up	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ne^{31}**	wake up	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Pijo)	**nì** lá	wake up	Hansson 1989:328
Hani (Gelanghe)	**nø^{31}**	wake up	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**ŋ̍i^{31}**	wake up	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	**nì** pó lɔ́	wake up	Hansson 1989:328
Mpi	**ni^{1}**	awake	Bradley 1979b:767S
6.2. NAXI			
Naxi (Western)	**no^{33}**	wake up	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**no^{33}**	wake up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**no^{33}**	wake up	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:583.28

(2) PTB *m-sow ARISE / AWAKE / AWAKEN

A Proto-Karenic form has yet to be reconstructed.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***m-sow**	arise; awake(n); arise, awaken; awake	Matisoff 2003a:613; LaPolla 1987:105; Benedict 1972:295; French 1983:453
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	a **ɟo** ga	awake	Pulu 1978
	a **ɟo** ji ga	awaken	Pulu 1978 [a]

[a]Idu **-ji-** probably a causative morpheme.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***thaw-I**, ***tho?-II** RISE / GET UP / STAND UP			
*Chin	***thaw**-I, tho?-II	RISE / GET UP / STAND UP	VanBik 2009:404
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	hih **thou**	arise	VanBik 2009:404
Sizang	**htō** hī	get up from lying position, arise	VanBik 2009:404
Thado	**thôw**-I, thòo-II	get up	VanBik 2009:404
Tiddim	**thou^{1}** > tho?^{3}	get up from lying position, arise	VanBik 2009:404
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**tʻö** ~ tʻü	rise, get up	VanBik 2009:404
Cho (Mindat)	**m**-thaw	make s.o. get up (v.)	VanBik 2009:404
Khumi	a(ng) **thaw**	get up, wake up, stand up	VanBik 2009:404
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thâw**-I, tho?-II	rise, stand up	VanBik 2009:404
Lai (Falam)	**tháw**-INV	rise, stand up	VanBik 2009:404
Lushai [Mizo]	**tho**	rise	Marrison 1967
	tho	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
	thŏ-I, thàwh-II	rise or to be leavened (as bread, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:404
	tho; thawh	rise; get up (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3000
	thou	arise, awaken; arise, awake	LaPolla 1987:105; Benedict 1972:295
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	pə **theu**	arise, awaken; arise, awake	LaPolla 1987:105; Benedict 1972:295
	thyú	rise up, to stand up, to get up from bed (v.)	VanBik 2009:404
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***m-su** LIFT / AWAKEN			
*Central Naga	***m-su**	LIFT / AWAKEN	Bruhn 2014a:III.085
*Ao	***m-su**	LIFT / AWAKEN	Bruhn 2014a:II.098
Ao (Chungli)	**meso**	lift; raise (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	meso	arise, awaken; arise, awake	LaPolla 1987:105; Benedict 1972:295
	mə^{3}su^{1}	lift up / wake up (vt.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.098
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	sə́-**mə́sù**	wake (someone) up (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.098
	tsóŋ-**mə́sù**	raise, lift up (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.098
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	sa **mesu**	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tsung **müsü**	raise (v.)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	je **su**	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
	su ro	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
	thi **müsu**	lift (v.)	Marrison 1967
	thi **müsü**	raise (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	yi **musu**	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	**shu**	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
Maram	**to**	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**thau**	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**tau**	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***t^{h}ow** AWAKEN			
*Tangkhulic	***t^{h}ow**	awaken	Mortensen 2012:413
Huishu	kə-**t^{h}ow**	awaken	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.024
Kachai	kə-**t^{h}e**	awaken	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.021
Tusom	kə-**tuə**	awake (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.023
Ukhrul	kə-**t^{h}uj**	awaken, wake up; leave, depart; sprout (plant), grow	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**hou** gat	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
	həw gət pə	awake / be awake	Singh 1991:1.17
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	**masau**	arise, awaken; arise, awake	LaPolla 1987:105; Benedict 1972:295
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
*Northern Naga	***Ç-so:w**	awake	French 1983:453
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Konyak	ši u **lou**	awake	French 1983:453
Wancho	**jo**	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
	jo	awake	French 1983:453
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Kulung	**ho** du	awake	Rai *et al.* 1975
7. KARENIC			
Bwe	**thó** wè **tho**	wake (trans.); wake up (trans) (v.)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997
	wè **tho**	get up, to rise, to wake up (v.)	Henderson 1997
Karen	mi̲^{55}bø^{31}**thɔ^{31}**	wake up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.50
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	mi̲^{55} bø^{31} **t^{h}ɔ^{31}**	wake	DAI Qingxia 1989k:2498 [a]
Sgaw (Moulmein)	plɔ̀ **θɔ́**	wake up suddenly; get a sudden idea	Jones 1961:497
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	pə^{33} **t^{h}ɔ^{31}**	wake	DAI Qingxia 1989j:2498 [b]

[a]Karen **bø^{31}** probably < ***m-** prefix.
[b]Karen **pə^{33}** probably < ***m-** prefix.

(3) PTB *s(y)a AWAKE

For phonologically similar and perhaps overlapping etyma in this area see PTB ***tsywar** AWAKE (§1.1.4), PTB ***swat** AWAKE (§1.1.4), PTB ***dar** AWAKE (§1.1.4).

1.7.1.1. BODO			
Kokborok	bə-**ca**	wake up	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	šun-**ca**	wake s / one	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	**cè** phi	awake (v.)	Sharma 1991b:1.17
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**ʑɑ^{53}** se^{13}	awake / be awake	SUN Hongkai 1991a:1.17
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Spiti	ñik **sa** ce	awake / be awake	Bodh 1991:1.17
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**sa** ma	full consciousness	Allen 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	hmaŋ-**sa**	wake up (v.i.)	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.19
	le-**sa**	wake up (v.i.)	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.19
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**sue**	awake / be awake	SUN Hongkai 1991b:1.17
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Southern)	ne^{21} **ɕi^{35}**	wake	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	ne^{35} **si^{35}**	wake	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2. LOLOISH			

Lolopho	**xo**^{55} tɕhi^{31}	awake / be awake	Dai Qingxia 1989n:1.17
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**xa**^{21}	awake / be awake	Chen Kang 1986b:1.17
Nasu	**tɕ^{h}er**^{33}	awake / be awake	Chen Kang 1986b:1.17
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**sa**^{55}	wake	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2386.
Nusu (Central)	**sa**^{55}	wake	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2386.
Nusu (Bijiang)	**sha**^{55}	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.45
Nusu (Southern)	**sɔ**^{55}	wake	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**s^{h}a**^{55}	wake	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**s^{h}ɑ**^{55}	wake	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Nanjian)	**xa**^{21}	wake up	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.23
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu (Central)	**hwa**^{1}-hchi^{5}	awake (v.i.)	Fraser 1922
	hwa^{1}-hchi^{5}	wake / be awake or conscious	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**hwa**^{1}hchi^{5}	awake; awaken	Bradley 1979b:767S; Bradley 1979b:767S
Lisu (Nujiang)	**xuɑ**^{55} tʃ^{h}ɭ^{31}	wake	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**xuɑ**^{55}tʃhi^{31}	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.27

(4) PTB *(t)sin-t WAKE

Michailovsky reconstructs two variants for this root, one at the “BSDTK” level (Proto-Central West Kiranti) and one for Proto-Kiranti. Further microlinguistic work is necessary.

2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Gyaru)	nɯː^{4} **cin**^{2} ba	awake (V.)	Nagano 1984:109-01
Manang (Prakaa)	^{4}nuː- ^{3}**c^{h}ĩ**-	wake up	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0326
2.3. Kiranti			
**BSDTK*	***sen**-	wake (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:198
**Kiranti*	***thint**	wake (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:200
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**Thin**	wake up	Rai 1985
	thint-	wake (intr,tr.)	Michailovsky 1991:200
	ʈhinʈ-	wake (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:200
Kulung	**thitt**-a	wake (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:200
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	√**thənt**-	wake (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:200
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**sɛiMs**-	wake up, to be awake (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:198
Hayu	**sɪn**	wake	Michailovsky 1991
	sɪn-	wake up, to be awake (refle (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:198
Sunwar	**’seːM**-si-	wake up, to be awake (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:198
	√^{H}**send**-	wake up (?tr.) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:198

(5) PBm *bun AWAKE

There is a possible cognate to this Proto-Burmish root in Lotha Naga. If this is valid, the root should be promoted to the PTB level.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**phan** Nthia	awake / be awake	Nienu 1990c:1.17
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola	**pɔn**^{31}	wake	Dai Qingxia 1989g:2386
Bola (Luxi)	**pɔn**^{31}	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**pum**^{35}	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.31
Lashi	**puːn**^{33}	awake / be awake	Dai Qingxia 1989m:1.17
Leqi (Luxi)	**puːn**^{33}	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.33
Maru [Langsu]	**pum**^{35}	awake; be awake; wake up	Dai Qingxia 1989l:1.17; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pun**^{21}	wake	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	pun^{21}	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.30
	pun^{21}	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.42

(6) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\text{t}\\\text{d}\end{matrix}$ uŋ WAKE

This poorly attested root requires further confirmation.

1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	**thoŋ**^{35}	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.50
	t^{h}oŋ^{35}	awake / be awake	Sun Hongkai 1991f:1.17
Yidu	**thoŋ**^{35}	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.25
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	**dùŋ**	wake up; awake	Bradley 199x; Bradley 1979b:767S

(7) PTB *s(y)u- $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ WAKE UP / MORNING / CLEAR-HEADED / SOBER UP

Written Burmese **sok-kra** ‘Venus; morning star’ is a loan from Sanskrit **śukra** ‘Venus’, **śukravāra** ‘Friday’, contra *LTSR* #125 and DL:1219, so is therefore not to be assigned to the stopped final allofam of this root. The most convincing evidence for the latter is the Lahu form below.

An interesting semantic extension of this root is “sober up after drunkenness” (cf. the Trung forms).

See also PTB ***(t)s(y)aŋ** CLEAR / PURE / CLEAN (§9.6.1) for a phonosemantically similar etymon.

1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	cha **su**	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
	jə **sù**	wake s.o. up, arouse (vt.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:344
	phʒaŋ^{31}; **su**^{31}	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.47
	su^{31}	wake; arise, awaken	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; LaPolla 1987:105
	su^{31}	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.19
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	mi^{13} naŋ^{13}-**se**^{55}	wake (from sleep)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	se	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.7
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**saːŋ**-	suffer insomnia (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:199
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**saŋ**-	clear, to end (of sleep) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:199
Thulung	ŋom **si**-	awaken (v.)	Allen 1975
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Lanping)	tə^{55}**siõ**^{55}	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	tə^{55} **siõ**^{55}	wake up	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.11
Pumi (Taoba)	tə^{55} **ɕi**^{53}	wake up	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{35} **ʂi**^{53}	awake; be awake; wake up	Sun Hongkai 1991n:1.17; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.16
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	da sue **shei**	awake / be awake	Dai Qingxia 1989b:1.17
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (NW)	ka st^{h}ə **xi**	awake / be awake	Sun Hongkai 1991l:1.17
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	sa^{55} **śɯ**^{31}	arise, awaken	LaPolla 1987:105
	sɑ^{55} **ɕɯ**^{31}	wake (from drunken stupor)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. Tujia			
Tujia	ne^{21} **ɕi**^{35}	awake / be awake	Chen Kang 1986d:1.17
	ne^{35} **si**^{35}	awake / be awake	Chen Kang 1986c:1.17
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***C-sok** or V-sok	morning / morrow	Matisoff 1972b:125
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ʃaw**^{2}	early morning	Bradley 1979b:464
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Luquan	**ʂɔ**^{33}	morning	Matisoff 1972b:125
Nasu	**šɛ44**	morning	Matisoff 1972b:125
Nusu (Central)	nạ^{53}**xo**^{53}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.34
Nusu (Northern)	nɔ^{31}**xo**^{55}	morning	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʂɯ**^{21}tɯ^{21}ʤ^{33}ȵɛ^{55}	morning	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	**šɔ́**	morning	Benedict 1972:76n232
Lahu (Lancang)	mv^{53}**ɕɔ**^{35}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.43
Lahu (Black)	mû-**šɔ́**	morning	Matisoff 1972b:125
	mu^{53}**sɔ**^{35}	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.33
	šɔ́	morning / morrow	Matisoff 1972b:125 [a]
	šɔ́-pɔ̄	morrow; tomorrow	Matisoff 1974:203; Matisoff 1972b:125
	yà?-**šɔ́**	this morning	Matisoff 1988a:1266
Lisu (Central)	**sa**^{1}-grgh^{3}	morrow	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ʃɭ**^{21}thæ^{21}	early; morning; dawn (N.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	tɕhɛ^{21}lɔ^{55}**sɪ**^{21}	wake up	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Yunnan)	ù **sjhɔ̀** gɔ	morning	Hansson 1989:281
Akha	ù-**sjhɔ̀**	morning	Matisoff 1972b:125
Akha (Thai)	ù **sjhɔ̀**	morning	Hansson 1989:281
Bisu	(**t**)sɔ̀ thà	morning	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	ɔ^{31}**so**^{31}	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.31
Hani (Lüchun)	ɔ̀ **sjhò**	morning	Hansson 1989:281
	ɔ^{31}**so**^{31}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	u^{31}**ɕɔ**^{31}	morning	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	aoq **soq**	morning	Hansson 1989:281
Hani (Mojiang)	u^{31}**ʃɣ**^{31}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.42
Mpi	ne?^{4}**soŋ**^{2}	morning	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**so?**-đà	morning	Matisoff 1972b:125
	đo?-**so?**	morning	Matisoff 1972b:125
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	i^{33}**ɕɔ**^{31}nɛ^{55}	this morning	Pelkey 2011:76
	nɑ^{33}tɑ^{33}**ɕɔ**^{31}	morning (early)	Pelkey 2011:70
Phuza	i^{31}**xɔ**^{33}	this morning	Pelkey 2011:76
	xɔ^{33}ɕi^{55}	morning (early)	Pelkey 2011:70
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	mv˩**sɯ**˧njɤ˥	early in the morning	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˩**sɯ**˥	morning	Michaud 2006–2009

[a] The high rising tone in Lahu indicates a stopped final, so that the form should be assigned to the **s(y)ok** allofam.

Chinese comparandum

搜 OC ***sug**, *GSR* #1097d ‘move; vigorous and rapid’; Schuessler 2007:481 ***sôʔ**; B & S 2011: (***s.ruʔ**); Mand. **sōu/sǒu**.
速 OC ***suk**, *GSR* #1222i-j ‘quick, rapid’; Schuessler 2007:481 ***sôk**; B & S 2011: ***s^{ʂ}ok {[s] ^{ʂ}ok}**; Mand. **sù**.
夙 OC ***siə̯ôk**, *GSR* #1030a-c ‘morning; early’; Schuessler 2007:483 ***suk**; B & S 2011: ***suk {[s] uk}**; Mand. **sù**.
聳 OC ***siə̯ung**, *GSR* #1191j ‘excite; encourage’; Schuessler 2007:480 ***soŋʔ**; B & S 2011: (***soŋʔ**); Mand. **sǒng**.

Schuessler 2007:635 considers the following Chinese etyma, with OC initials ***ts/dz-**, to be allofamic with the etyma with OC initial ***s-** cited above:

走 OC ***tsu**, *GSR* #0119a ‘run’; Schuessler 2007:635 ***tsôʔ**; B & S 2011: ***ts^{ʂ}oʔ {[ts] ^{ʂ}oʔ}**; Mand. **zǒu**.
奏 OC ***tsug**, *GSR* #1229a ‘hasten forward; bring forward; exhibit, disply; play (music)’; Schuessler 2007:635 ***tsôh**; B & S 2011: ***ts^{ʂ}o-s {ts^{ʂ}o(ʔ)-s}**; Mand. **zòu**.
趣 OC ***ts’iə̯u**, *GSR* #0131g-h ‘hasten to’; Schuessler 2007:635 ***tshoh**; B & S 2011: ***ts^{h}oʔ-s {[ts^{h}] oʔ-s}**; Mand. **qù**.
趨 OC ***tʂ’iə̯u**, *GSR* #0132c ‘hasten’; Schuessler 2007:635 ***tshro**; B & S 2011: ***ts^{h}ro {[ts] ^{h}ro}**; Mand. **qū**.
驟 OC (cited but not reconstructed in *GSR*), *GSR* #0131q ‘fast-running (of horse)’; Schuessler 2007:635 ***dzroh**; B & S 2011: ***dzroʔ-s {[dz] roʔ-s}**; Mand. **zhòu**.

(8) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\text{b}\\\text{s}\end{matrix}$ -raŋ MORNING / AWAKE / ALERT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-raŋ ≍ s-raŋ**	morning	Matisoff 2003a:609
	***praŋ**	dawn	Benedict 1972:332 [a]
	***praŋ**~*b-raŋ ≍ *s-raŋ	morning	LaPolla 1987:155
1.1. “North Assam”			
Sulung [Puroik]	a^{33}**pɹæ**$^{˦53}$	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.52
	a^{33}**pɹə**$^{˦53}$	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.52
1.1.1. Tani: *ro MORNING			
**Tani*	***ro**	morning	Sun 1993a:259
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**ro**	morning	Sun 1993a
	à-**ro**	morning (5-8 am)	Sun 1993b
	a-**ro** (kon-či)	morning	Sun 1993b
	à-**ro** á-piŋ	breakfast	Sun 1993b
	à-**ro** da-lji	forenoon	Sun 1993b
	a-**ro** kon-či	early morning	Sun 1993a
	a-**ro** kon-cì	early morning (2-5 am)	Sun 1993b

[a] There is an error in the index to *STC* p. 216, where this root is listed as #322 instead of #332.

	à-**ro** kon-či	dawn	Sun 1993b
	a-**ro** lo-ljā-lɯ-pa	midday	Sun 1993b
	a-**ro** lɯ-pa	morning (to noon)	Sun 1993b
	bi-**ro**	yesterday morning	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-**ro**	yesterday morning	Sun 1993b
	ko-**ro**	second morning before last	Sun 1993b
	ri a-**ro**	second morning after next	Sun 1993b
	si-**ro**	this morning	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**ro**	this morning	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**ru:**	morning	Sun 1993a
	a-**ru:** dɯ-gam	breakfast	Sun 1993b
	a-**ru:** kam-či	early morning	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**ru:** tuŋ	late morning	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(a-**ro**) kum-či	morning (early~)	Sun 1993b
	a **ro** kum tɕi	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.24
	a-**ro**	morning; forenoon	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**ro** a-ke:	breakfast	Sun 1993b
	a-**ro** kum-či	early morning	Sun 1993a
Bokar Lhoba	a **ro**	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.51
Galo	a lo-ne a **ro**	tomorrow morning	Das Gupta 1963
	a **ro**	morning	Das Gupta 1963
	sɯ-**ro**	this morning	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻa **ro**	morning (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻa **ro**	morning (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻa **ro**-do bek	breakfast (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻa **ro**-kom ci	early morning; morning (early) (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻhi **ro**	this morning (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**ro** dak	every morning (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	a **r** kum ci	morning	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **ro** kom ci	dawn / morning	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **ro** kom ci	early; early morning; dawn	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
	a **ru**	morning	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ro**	morning	Sun 1993a
	ro kom-pə	early morning	Sun 1993a
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	mék **prāng**-dàk-	awake / be awake	Grüssner 1979:167
	mek **prang**	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
	prāng-	awake / be awake	Grüssner 1979:137
	praŋ	dawn	LaPolla 1987:155; Benedict 1972:332
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	dan **sraŋ**	dawn (v.)	Bhat 1968
	sraŋ	sky to become clear of clouds; dawn (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**phorong**	morning	Marrison 1967
	phoroŋ	morning	LaPolla 1987:155; Benedict 1972:332
Kokborok	**p^{h}roŋ**	morning	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**phriŋ**	morning	LaPolla 1987:155; Benedict 1972:332
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	džə **phràŋ**	arouse	Matisoff 1974:149,144
	myìt **phràŋ**	clear-headed	Matisoff 1974:203
	phràŋ	awake	Matisoff 1974:203
	phʒaŋ^{31}; su^{31}	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.47
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**saŋ**	awaken (from drunken stupor)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	saŋ^{55} (ju^{13})	wake (from drunken stupor)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**sɑŋ**^{55} n̥i^{55}	wake	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**saŋ**	tomorrow	Jäschke 1881:p. 571
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**sa:ŋ** ni	<wake> suffer from insomnia; sleep poorly; have a poor night's	Driem 1993
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**sraŋ**	morning	LaPolla 1987:155; Benedict 1972:72n224
	sɯ^{31}ɹɑŋ^{55}	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**sɯ^{31} raaŋ^{55}**	morning	LaPolla 1987:155
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**sɯ^{31} reeŋ^{55}**	morning	LaPolla 1987:155
	sɯ^{31}ɹeŋ^{55}	morning	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	mɯ^{55}**bɹa^{31}**	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.34
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Youle)	**pɹɔ^{44}**	wake (from drunken stupor)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	šɔ́-**pɔ̄**	morrow; tomorrow	Matisoff 1974:203; Matisoff 1972b:125
7. Karenic			
Pwo (Moulmein)	**phlán** θàn	wake up suddenly; get a sudden idea	Jones 1961:497
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**plɔ̀** θɔ́	wake up suddenly; get a sudden idea	Jones 1961:497

Chinese comparandum

爽 OC (***ṣi̯ɑŋ**), (not in *GSR*) 'bright, dawn; clear; invigorating; cheerful'; Schuessler 2007:475 ***sraŋʔ**; B & S 2011: (***sraŋʔ**); Mand. **shuǎng**.

(9) PTB *tu GET UP / RISE / AWAKEN

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	abala-**du**-nam	awake (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	ə kə **t^{h}ui**	awake / be awake	Toba & Kom 1991:1.17
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**-tū**	go up (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	asük-a **tu**	climb (v.)	Marrison 1967
	á **tù**	come up (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:5
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	ho **du**	awake	Rai *et al.* 1975
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-tu^{1}**	stand up	Hansson 1989:156
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Xide)	i^{55}-**tu^{33}**	awaken	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**to^{42}** lɯ^{33}	rise / go up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.44
Kucong	**ta33** lʌ33	rise up, ascend	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**tu^{33}** lɑ^{33}	rise / stand up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1567.43
Lahu (Black)	**tu**	stand; get up (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:609
	yɨʔ-**tu**	awake from sleep; rise from prone position; awaken (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:609; Matisoff 1993
Lisu (Central)	**tu^{3}**	rise (v.)	Fraser 1922
	tu^{3}-krgh^{3}-lye^{3}	rise	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**tu^{33}**	rise; get up out of bed (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tu^{33}** lɑ^{33}	rise / stand up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1567.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tu^{33}**la^{33}	rise (V.)	Bradley 1994
	tu^{33}ɲa^{35}	stand; be unable to fall asleep (V.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**thú**	stand up	Hansson 1989:156
Akha (Thai)	**thú**	rise, stand up	Hansson 1989:156
Akha (Yunnan)	**thú**	rise, stand up	Hansson 1989:156
Akha	**tuˇ**	stand up	Matisoff 1994b
Hani (Lüchun)	**thú** lá	rise, stand up	Hansson 1989:156
	thu^{55}la^{55}	rise / stand up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1567.41
Hani (Pijo)	**thú**	stand up	Hansson 1989:156
	thú lá	rise, stand up	Hansson 1989:156
Hani (Caiyuan)	**thy^{55}**tsy^{55}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.30
Hani (Wordlist)	**tul**	rise, stand up	Hansson 1989:156
Hani (Khatu)	**thú**	stand up	Hansson 1989:156
	thú lɔ́	rise, stand up	Hansson 1989:156
Hani (Mojiang)	**thy^{55}** lɔ^{55}	rise / stand up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1567.42
Mpi	**tho^{3}**	stand up	Hansson 1989:156
Sila	**tho21** phu55	stand up (v.)	Kato Takashi 2008:57

(10) PTB *g-r(y)ap STAND

Chinese character. PLB ***ʔrap** (*LTSR* #175); *STC* #246; *GSR* 694a-d **, *gl̥i̯əp**.

Lepcha, Khaling, and several rGyalrong dialects have acquired the homorganic final nasal in this root.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***glyəp**	stand	Coblin 1986:140
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-r(y)ap**	stand	Matisoff 2003a:612
	***g-ryap**	stand (v.)	Weidert 1987:663
	***g-ryap**	stand	Benedict 1972:246; Matisoff 1983:40; LaPolla 1987:159
	***g-ryɑp**	stand	Chou Fa-kao 1972:694a-d
1.1.1. Tani: ***rop** STAND UP / GET UP			
**Tani*	***rop**	stand up / get up	Sun 1993a:398
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	dag-**rap**	stand up / get up	Sun 1993a
	dak-**rap**	stand up	Sun 1993b
	hu-**rap**	wake up	Sun 1993a
	hu-**rap**	wake up (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	huk(-**rap**)	wake up	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**rop**	stand up; get up; rise (stand up)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	rop	stand (v.)	Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.24
Bokar Lhoba	**rop**	stand	LaPolla 1987:159; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.51
Galo	gə **rəp**	get up (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	u **rep**-nam	awake (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	gɯ-**rɯp**	stand, awake, arise	Simon 1976
Nishing	go **rap**	arise	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	dag **rap** to	Stand up	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	dag-**rep** rhyme!	stand up / get up	Sun 1993a
Damu	dak-**ra**	stand (up)	Sun 1993b
	jy:-**rəp**-ɟeʔ	wake up	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	da-**rop** < dak-rop	stand up / get up	Sun 1993a
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	**chap**	stand (v.)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**chab**	stand (v.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**sap**	stand (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sap	stand	LaPolla 1987:159; Benedict 1972:246
Mzieme	**sap**	stand (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**lep**	stand (v.)	Marrison 1967
	lep	stand	Benedict 1972:246
Old Meithei	tśə **rep**	stand	LaPolla 1987:159; Benedict 1972:246
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ar **dźap**	stand	LaPolla 1987:159
	ar **džap**	stand	Benedict 1972:246
	ar **jap**	stand (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**chap**-	stand (be in standing position) (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***gyap**	stand (v.)	French 1983:557
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**chap**	stand (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tšʌp	stand (v.)	Weidert 1987:663
Tangsa	**tšhʌp**	stand (v.)	Weidert 1987:663
Tangsa (Moshang)	**chap**	stand (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tśap	stand	LaPolla 1987:159; Benedict 1972:246
Tangsa (Yogli)	**chap**	stand (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**tsáp**	stand	Matisoff 1974:377
	tsap	stand	LaPolla 1987:159; Benedict 1972:57n186
	ts̲ap^{55}	stand	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	ts̲ap^{55}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.19
	ts̲ap^{55}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.47
1.7.3.2. Asakian			

Sak	**caʔ**	stand	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:111

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**hryam**	stand	LaPolla 1987:159
	hryăm	stand on tip of toe, rise	Benedict 1972:246

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung	**rāq**-m	stand (v.)	Hale 1973:01.069
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ra:q**-m	stand	Glover 1972:1.69
	ra:q ba	get up; stand (v.i.)	Glover 1972; Glover 1972:6.B.3.10
Gurung	^{2}**ra:-**	stand	Mazaudon 1994:857; Mazaudon 1994:858
Manang (Gyaru)	**hrᴇ:**^{2} rᴇ^{3} ʈo^{3}	stand (V.)	Nagano 1984:111
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**r̥e:-**	stand	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0321
	^{1}**hre:-**	stand	Mazaudon 1994:877
Tamang (Bagmati)	**’rap**	stand (v.)	Weidert 1987:663
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**rap**	stand up	Mazaudon 1994:858
Tamang (Sahu)	**’rap**-pa	stand; stand (itr) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.69; Taylor *et al.* 1972:17.C.10
	the **’rāp** pā	stand (v.)	Hale 1973:01.069
	^{2}**rap**	stand	Mazaudon 1994:858
Tamang (Taglung)	**rap**-kje	stand	Mazaudon 1994:858

2.1.5. DHIMAL

Dhimal	**džap**	stand	Benedict 1972:246
	sźap	stand	LaPolla 1987:159

2.3. KIRANTI

*Kiranti	*ryap- ~ ryam-	stand	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	**yeb**-e	stand	Ebert 1997
	yep-	stand	Ebert 1997
	yep ma	stand	Ebert 1997
Balali	**yeb**	stand	LaPolla 1987:159; Benedict 1972:246
Limbu	**jEp-**	stand, standing (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	jEps-	stand (sth. up) (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**ep**	stand up	Rai 1985

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**rep** bok nɨ	keep on standing <stand>	Driem 1993
	rep dzɨ nɨ	<stand> remain standing, be standing	Driem 1993
	rep mɨt nɨ	stand something up	Driem 1993
	rep nɨ	stand	Driem 1993
Khaling	**’rem**-ne	stand (v.)	Hale 1973:01.069
	rep ⋉ reb	stand	Benedict 1972:246; LaPolla 1987:159
Sampang	**rip**	stand	LaPolla 1987:159; Benedict 1972:246

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**rap**	stand	LaPolla 1987:159; Benedict 1972:246
Hayu	**yep ⋉** ip	stand	Benedict 1972:246; LaPolla 1987:159

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**jø**^{35}	stand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:569.17
	jə^{35}	stand (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.16
Muya	tə^{33}**rə**^{53}	rise; stand up; stand (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1567.15; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.15
Muya [Minyak]	tɯ^{55}**rɯ**^{55}	stand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:569.15
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	**hẓi**	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
	ri	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
	ẓi	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
Qiang (Taoping)	**zi̦**^{55}	stand	LaPolla 1987:159; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:569.9

3.3. rGYALRONGIC

Daofu	də **rjɛ**	rise / stand up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1567.12
	rjɛ	stand (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.12
Nyagrong Minyag (Ganzi Xinlong)	ˆlo **ʁvɛ**	stand (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0506
	ˊtə **ʁvə**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	tɕhə̌ **râ**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504

3.3.1. rGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	**’roβja**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	’ta **rwas**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	’to **rwajs**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	’tə **ɬjaʔ**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	da **’rjən**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong	ka **rjap**	stand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:569.12
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	ka’ **rjep˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	ka’ **rjep˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ka-**rjap**	stand up, rise; stand (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504; Nagano & Prins 2013:0506
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	ka-**rjɛ**	stand (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0506
	ka-**rwɛ**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	ka^{3}**rja**^{3}	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	ka^{3}**rjep**^{3}	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	kaˡʴ cʲəp / ka ˡ**rwe**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	ka **’rjap**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	ka **’rjap˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	ka **’rjep**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	ka **’rot**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	ka **’ɾjap˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	ka **’ɾɟap˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə22 **rʤaᵖ55**	stand up, rise; stand (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504; Nagano & Prins 2013:0506
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **rɟ̥ap44**	stand up, rise; stand (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504; Nagano & Prins 2013:0506
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	kə44**rjɛt44**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	kə^{3}**rjap**^{31}	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kə^{3}**rjep**^{53}	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	kə **’rjɑp˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	kə **’rjɑp˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	kʊˡʳ **jəp˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **rwɐs**	rise / stand up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1567.11
	kɑ **rjɑp**	stand (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	rɛ **’ɟɛp˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	ta3**’rjep5**sej1	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	tar’jep̚i	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	ta^{3}**rjam**^{5}	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	ta^{3}**rjap**^{5}	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	ta^{3}**rjap**^{5}	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	ta **’rjap˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	ta **’rjap˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	ta **’rjaʔp˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	ta **’rje**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	ta **’rjem**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	ta **’rjep**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	ta **’rjɑp˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	ta **’rjɑp˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	ta **’rwas**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	ta **’rwas**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	ta **’tjeʔp**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	ta **ɹˡjin**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	te **’rjep˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	te **’rjep˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	te **’rjɑp˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	te **’rjɑp˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	te **’rot**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	to **’rjap˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	təra **’rot**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	təra **’rot**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	tə **’rjam**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	tə **’rjap˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	tə **’rje**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	tə **’rje**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	tə **’rjɑp˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	tə **ɾ’jə**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	**ɑrjɛt˺**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˆtə **rwen**	stand up, rise (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0504
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊkə **rje**	stand (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0506
rGyalrong	ka **rwes**	stand	Nagano 1997:135

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**rip**	stand	LaPolla 1987:159; Benedict 1972:246
Rawang	**rip** [riʔ mɛ^{33}]	rise/stand up	LaPolla 2003:1398
Dulong	**ɹɛp**^{55}	rise; stand up; stand (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1567.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	pɯ^{31} **rep**^{55}	stand	LaPolla 1987:159

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *ʔ-rap^{L} STAND

*Lolo-Burmese	*hrap	stand (v.)	Weidert 1987:663
	*hrap	stand	Benedict 1972:57n186
	*ʔ-rap^{L}	stand	Matisoff 2003a:609; Matisoff 2003a:612
	*ʔrap	stand (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:175
	*ʔrap	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**źap**^{55}	stand	LaPolla 1987:159
	ʐap^{55}	stand (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.28
	ʐap^{55}	stand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:569.41
Achang (Luxi)	**liap**^{31}	stand	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:159
Achang (Xiandao)	**jap**^{55}	stand (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.29
Bola (Luxi)	**jɛʔ**^{55}	stand (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.32

Burmese (Modern)	**rɑp**	stand (v.)	Luce 1985:U.14
Burmese (Rangoon)	**jɑʔ**^{4}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**jɑʔ**^{44}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**yaʔ**^{2}	stand (v.)	Luce 1985:U.14
Burmese (Written)	**rap**	stand (v.)	Marrison 1967
	rap	stand; stop, halt, remain	Matisoff 1983:40; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:159; Benedict 1972:246
	ryap	stand / foot (v.)	Luce 1985:W.130
	ryɑp	stand (v.)	Luce 1985:U.14
	rɑp	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.39
	rɑp^{4}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.26
Danu	**yɑʔ**^{2}	stand (v.)	Luce 1985:U.14
Hpun (Northern)	**ʁéʔ, ʁéɪʔ**	stand	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	**ʁeʔ**^{1}	stand (v.)	Luce 1985:U.14
Langsu (Luxi)	**jɛʔ**^{31}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.31
Lashi (Lachhe')	**yɑp**^{2}	stand (v.)	Luce 1985:U.14
	yɑp^{3}	stand (v.)	Luce 1985:U.14
Leqi (Luxi)	**ja:p**^{31}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.33
Marma	**raiʔ**	stand	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:111
Maru [Langsu]	**jɛʔ**^{31}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.43
	yèʔ	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
	yɛʔ^{2}	stand (v.)	Luce 1985:U.14
Taung-Yo	**yɑʔ**^{1}	stand (v.)	Luce 1985:U.14
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**jap**^{21}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.30
	jap^{21}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.42
	yap	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
	yap^{31}	stand	LaPolla 1987:159
	yɑp^{2}	stand (v.)	Luce 1985:U.14

6.1.2. Loloish: ***ʔ-ryap**^{L} STAND UP

**Loloish*	***ʔ-ryap**^{L}	stand up	Bradley 1979b:687
PNL	**ʔrap**^{L}	stand	Chen Kang 1986a:101.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**xɯ**^{53}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.47
Lalo	**hỳq**	stand	Björverud 1994
	hy̱^{2}	stand	Chen Kang 1986a:101.
Lipho	**xɣ̱**^{2}	stand	Chen Kang 1986a:101.
Luquan	**ʔhɛn 55c**	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
Nasu	**hę̱**^{55}	stand	Chen Kang 1986a:101.
	xʏn 34	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
Neisu	**hi**^{13}	stand	Chen Kang 1986a:101.
Nesu	**xɣ̱**^{2}	stand	Chen Kang 1986a:101.
Nosu	**hi̱**^{55}	stand	Chen Kang 1986a:101.
Yi (Dafang)	**hi**^{13}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**hi**^{55}	stand up	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**xo̱**^{21}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**hɯ̱**^{21}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**xə̱**^{21}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**hȳ**^{21}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.23
Yi (Weishan)	**hy**^{21}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.36
Yi (Wuding)	**hę̱**^{55}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.38
Yi (Xide)	**hi**^{55}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.35
	hi^{55}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**xo 44s**	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
	xo̱^{2}	stand	Chen Kang 1986a:101.
Jinuo (Youle)	**xɛ**^{55}	stand	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**xɛ**^{44}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.34
	xɛ^{55}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.44
Lahu (Lancang)	**xu**^{35}tɑ^{11}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.43
Lahu (Black)	**hū**	stand (v.)	Luce 1985:U.14
	hú	stand	Matisoff 1974:377; Matisoff 1972b:175
	xu^{35}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**xu**^{4}	stand	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**hēʔ**^{21}	stand (V.)	Bradley 1994
	hēʔ^{21}ɲa^{35}	stand on; standing	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**hę̱**^{31}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.40
	he^{41}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.27
	hì c	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
Lisu (Northern)	**hĭʔ**^{21}ti^{35}	stand steadily; firmly (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**h'i6**	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**h'i**^{6} (ta^{1})	stand (v.)	Luce 1985:U.14
Lisu (Central)	**h'i**^{6} htsa^{2}	stand (v.)	Fraser 1922
	h'i^{6} ta^{1}	stand (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Putao)	**h̃iʔ**^{6}	stand (v.)	Luce 1985:U.14
Lisu	**ɦi 11**	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
Sani [Nyi]	**hʏ 22s**	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
	hʏ^{2}	stand	Chen Kang 1986a:101.
Yi (Sani)	**hʏ**^{2}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.39
Sani [Nyi]	**hɣ̱**^{21}	stand (vi.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	hʏ^{55}	stand (causative)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**yaw LS**	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
Hani (Hu T'an)	**šo 21c**	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**xo 33**	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175
Woni	**xo 33**	stand	Matisoff 1972b:175

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**xʌ**^{45}	stand (be standing)	Pelkey 2011:888
	xʌ^{45}tɔ^{22}lɛ^{22}	stand up	Pelkey 2011:887
Phola	**xɐ̱**^{31}tɔ^{33}lɔ^{33}	stand up	Pelkey 2011:887
	xi̱^{31}	stand (be standing)	Pelkey 2011:888

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**hĩẽ˥**	stand up (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2885
Na (Yongning)	**hĩ˦**	stand up (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**xy**^{55}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**xy**^{55}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**xĩ**^{13}	stand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:569.29

Chinese comparandum

立 OC ***gliə̱p**, *GSR* #694a-d 'stand, set up'; B & S 2011: ***k.rəp**; Mand. **lì**.
位 OC ***gi̱wɛd**, *GSR* #539a 'place of rank, position'; B & S 2011: ***ɢʷrəp-s {* [ɢ] ʷrəp-s}**; Mand. **wèi**.

(11) PTB *kyi LIFT / RAISE / AWAKE

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	kur **tʃi**	lift (v.)	Sharma 1982
	ə **tʃʰi**	awaken, get up, (v.)	Sharma 1982
	chi-wa	awake / be awake	Noonan *et al.* 1992:1.17

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Taoping)	**tsi**^{33}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.9

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***kyi**$^{1\sim2}$ LIFT / RAISE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***kyi**$^{1\sim2}$	lift; raise	Matisoff 1994b

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**khyî**	lift	Hansson 1989:113
	khyi	promote; exalt (v.)	Matisoff 1993 [b]
	khyî	lift; raise	Matisoff 1993 [c]
	khyi	lift, raise; begin	Benedict 1976a
	khyi'	endure, hold out	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***kyi**^{2}	lift	Bradley 1979b:693; Hansson 1989:113
Lolopho	xo^{55} **tɕhi**^{31}	awake / be awake	Dai Qingxia 1989n:1.17

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**chî**	lift; raise (v.)	Matisoff 1993
Lisu (Central)	hwa^{1}-**hchi**^{5}	awake (v.i.)	Fraser 1922
	hwa^{1}-**hchi**^{5}	wake / be awake or conscious	Fraser 1922
Lisu	hwa^{1}**hchi**^{5}	awake; awaken	Bradley 1979b:767S; Bradley 1979b:767S
Lisu (Nujiang)	xuɑ^{55} **tʃʰl̩**^{31}	wake	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	xuɑ^{55}**tʃhi**^{31}	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.27

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ci̬**-eu	lift, raise	Bradley 1979b:693
	tjhì	lift	Hansson 1989:113
Bisu	**chè**	lift, raise	Bradley 1979b:693
Mpi	**tɕhi**^{1}	lift, raise; lift	Bradley 1979b:693; Hansson 1989:113
Côông [Phunoi]	**chì** jò	lift, raise	Bradley 1979b:693

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**kʰjɛ**^{22}	awake	Pelkey 2011:657
Southern Muji	nuɪ^{21}lja^{13}**kɛ**^{21}	awake	Pelkey 2011:657

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**tʂhe**^{ɪ42}tʂe^{ɪ42}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.37
Bai (Dali)	**tsy** 3/4	lift, to (hand, glass, etc.)	Dell 1981b:740
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tɕy**^{21}	raise (the hand) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1453.48

[a] This root shows tonal variation in Written Burmese: **khyi** 'promote, exalt' (< Tone *1) ≍ **khyî** 'lift, raise' (< Tone *2).
[b] < Tone *1.
[c] < Tone *2.

Chinese comparandum

起 OC ***k'i̱əg**, *GSR* #953r 'rise, raise'; B & S 2011: ***C.qʰə[ʔ] {C.qʰ(r)ə[ʔ]}**; Mand. **qǐ**.

(12) PKir *pok AWAKEN / AROUSE

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**pho:ks-**	<rise, get-up> to rouse, to awaken, to get so. up	Driem 1988

(13) PKC *khraŋ-I, *khraŋʔ-II AWAKE

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**kɹăŋ**^{55}	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.23
	kɹăŋ^{55}	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.48

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***khraŋ**-I, khraŋʔ-II	AWAKE	VanBik 2009:1340

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**khang**	awake / be awake	Haokip 1998:1.17
Thado	**khàŋ**-I, khàʔ-II	awake, wake up	VanBik 2009:1340

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**k'ák**	awaken (v.)	VanBik 2009:1340

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**ṭhàŋ**-INV	awake	VanBik 2009:1340
Lai (Hakha)	**thrăŋ**-I, thraŋʔ-II	awake	VanBik 2009:1340
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭhàng** khat	sleep, a period of unbroken sleep ("between sleep and awake") (n.)	VanBik 2009:1340

(14) PKC *hriim RECUPERATE / REVIVE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***hriim**	RECUPERATE / REVIVE	VanBik 2009:1095

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hrĭim**-INV	recuperate, revive, regain strengh	VanBik 2009:1095

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**hrò**	revive after fainting (v.)	VanBik 2009:1095

(15) PTB *kruk ROUSE / AWAKEN / DISTURB

This etymon was reconstructed in Gong 2001:25.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kruk**	rouse / awaken / disturb	Matisoff 2003a:597

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**dkrog**	startle / disturb (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1449.01
	dkrug	mess up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1510.01
	dkrugs	stir / churn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:638.1
	ḥkhrug	disturbed (be v.)	Matisoff 2003a:363

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**kio**	drive	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3459; Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5401

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kộg/kɑu**	disturb	Karlgren 1957:1038i
	kộk~kộg/kåk~kɑu	awake / apprehend, get insight / rouse somebody into understanding	Karlgren 1957:1038f

Chinese (Old)	**kruk**	awake (v.)	Baxter 1992:1611
	kruk	awake	Baxter 1992:766

Chinese comparandum

覺 OC *__kộk__, *GSR* #1038f ‘be aware, feel’; B & S 2011: *__kˤruk__; Mand. __jué__.
覺 OC *__kộg__, *GSR* #1038f ‘awake’; B & S 2011: *__kˤruk-s__ ; Mand. __jiào__.
攪 OC *__kộg__, *GSR* #1038i ‘disturb’; B & S 2011: *__kˤruʔ__; Mand. __jiǎo__.
學 OC *__gˁộk__, *GSR* #1038a-c ‘learn, study, tech’; Schuessler 2007:547 *__grûk__; B & S 2011: *__m-kˤruk__; Mand. __xué__.

(16) PTk *niŋ STAND

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	*__niŋ__	stand	Mortensen 2012:490
Kachai	kʰə-ŋə-__neŋ__	stand	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.061
Tangkhul	nga __ning__	stand (v.)	Marrison 1967
	__niŋ__	stand	Bhat 1969:97
Tusom	kʰa-n-__na__	stick	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.077
Ukhrul	kʰə-ŋə-__niŋ__	stand; be proud	Mortensen 2012

(17) PTani *dak STAND (posture)

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	*__dak__	stand (posture)	Sun 1993a:397

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	__da__	stand	Sun 1993b
	__da__-bo	stand on a higher plane	Sun 1993b
Bengni	__dag__-rap	stand up / get up	Sun 1993a
	__dak__	stand (posture); stand	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	__dak__-rap	stand up	Sun 1993b
Galo	__dag__-nam	stand (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘__dag__ nam	stand (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	__dak__-nam	stand	Simon 1976
Nishing	__dag__	stand	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	__dag__-nam	stand (n.)	Das Gupta 1983
	__dag__ rap to	Stand up	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	__dag__-rep rhyme!	stand up / get up	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	__dak__	stand (posture)	Sun 1993a
Damu	__dak__-ra	stand (up)	Sun 1993b
Milang	__da__-kyap-ma	stand	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	__da__-rop < dak-rop	stand up / get up	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. Deng

Yidu	__de__^{55}	stand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1784.25

(18) PKar *thəŋ^{B} STAND (v.)

There is a possible allofamic relationship between this root and PKC *__ɗiŋ-I,__ ɗin-II STAND / STOP (§6.7.11).

7. Karenic

**Karen*	*~__thəŋ__^{B}	stand (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:277
Bwe	ʃɔ^{55}__tho__^{33}	stand (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:277
Kayah	__thɔ__^{11}	stand (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:277
Kayan (Pekon)	sʰâ __tʰən__	stand up (V.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	__thə__^{11}	stand (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:277
Kayan (Pekon)	__tʰə̂n__	get up, arise, stand up (Vmot.)	Manson 2010
	__tʰə̂n__	stand (Vintr.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	__tə__^{11}	stand (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:277
Pa-O (Southern)	__thəŋ__^{33}	stand (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:277
Pa-O (Northern)	__thəŋ__^{55}	stand (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:277
Pa-O	__thýŋ__	stand (in cpd)	Solnit 1989
	ʔáu __tèŋ__ mén	stand correctly, i.e. right si	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	__thɑ̃__^{33}	stand (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:277
Pwo (Southern)	__thə̃__^{55}	stand (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:277
Sgaw (Northern)	__thə__$^{31~}$	stand (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:277
Sgaw (Southern)	__thə__^{45,}	stand (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:277

(19) PKC *phoo $\begin{matrix}\text{k}\\\text{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ STARTLE / ALARM / WAKE UP

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	*__phook__ ≍ phooŋ	STARTLE / ALARM / WAKE UP	VanBik 2009:358

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	__phawng__ lau	startle	VanBik 2009:358
Tiddim	__phong?__^{3} > phot^{3}	wake up somebody; lift up a person (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1466
	__phoŋʔ__^{3}/phot^{3}	wake up somebody...	Bhaskararao 1994
	__pho:ng__^{2} > pho:n^{3}	wake up somebody voluntarily by making loud noises (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1472
	__pho:ng__^{1} > pho:n^{1}	wake up somebody involuntarily	VanBik 2009:358
	__pho:ng__^{1} > pho:n^{1}	wake up somebody involuntarily (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1471
	__pho:ŋ__^{2}/pho:n^{3}	wake up somebody voluntarily..	Bhaskararao 1994
	__pho:ŋ__^{1}/pho:n^{1}	wake up somebody involuntarily	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	__phôok__-INV	startle, alarm	VanBik 2009:358
Lushai [Mizo]	__phâwk__	startle, frighten, scare, or alarm (v.)	VanBik 2009:358

(20) PTani *ɦiut^{2} WAKE UP

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	*__ɦiut__^{2}	wake up	Sun 1993a:452

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-__hu__	arouse (awaken); awaken	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	__hú__-ro	wake up	Sun 1993b
	__hu__-ro-do	awake (adj.)	Sun 1993b
	__hu__-ro-nɯ	awake (adj.)	Sun 1993b
	i-mi a-__hu__	wake up	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	__hu__-rap	wake up	Sun 1993a
	__hu__-rap	wake up (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	__huk__(-rap)	wake up	Sun 1993b
Bokar	__hu__-ru	wake up	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	__ɦu__ ru	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.24
Bokar Lhoba	__hu__ ru	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.51
Galo	__-uu__	awake (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	__uu__ nam	awake (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	__u__ rep-nam	awake (v.)	Das Gupta 1963

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	__ut__	wake up	Sun 1993a
Damu	__jy:__-rəp-ɟeʔ	wake up	Sun 1993b

(21) PTB *tsywar AWAKE

For phonologically similar and perhaps overlapping etyma in this area see PTB *__tsywar__ AWAKE (§1.1.4), PTB *__swat__ AWAKE (§1.1.4), PTB *__dar__ AWAKE (§1.1.4).

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung (Ghachok)	__cʰur__ baq	wake up (v.i.)	Glover 1972:2.B.2.19
	__cʰur__ wa: baq	wake up (smn.) (v.t.)	Glover 1972

2.2. Newar

Newar	nhyɔlɔ̃ __ca__-ye	awake / be awake	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.17
Newar (Kathmandu)	nhyɔ lɔ̃ __cal__-	awaken	Genetti 1990c
Newar (Dolakhali)	nir na __car__-	awaken	Genetti 1990b

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	__sor__- (so)	wake up (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	__sos__- (so)	wake, rouse (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	__so:r__-	wake (intr.) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:198
	__so:s__- (so)	wake (tr.) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:198

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	__ches__-	wake up, to take heed, to b; wake up, to take heed, to be intelligent (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:198; Allen 1975

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	__tsi̱e__	awake / be awake	Dai Qingxia 1989e:1.17

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	da^{33} __tsɑ__^{55}	awake; be awake; wake up	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.18
Muya [Minyak]	tɯ^{55}__tɕɯ__^{53}	awake; be awake; wake up	Sun Hongkai 1991h:1.17; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.15
Namuyi	__ʂu__^{33}tɛ^{33}	awake; be awake; wake up	Sun Hongkai 1991i:1.17; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.19
	__ʂu__^{31}tæ^{35}	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.46
Qiang (Taoping)	__dzɑ__^{231} χne^{31}	wake up	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	__dzɑ__^{241}χne^{31}	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.9
Xumi	lɛ^{55} __tshuɛ__^{33}	awake; be awake; wake up	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.20
	lɛ^{55}__tshuɛ__^{53}	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.17

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	b __dzə̱__^{33}	awake / be awake	Sun Hongkai 1991c:1.17
Ergong (Daofu)	da __sue__ shei	awake / be awake	Dai Qingxia 1989b:1.17

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	__tɕʰi__ kəs ta	awake / be awake	Sun Hongkai 1991k:1.17

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Sani [Nyi]	ji̱^{22} __tɕʰæ__^{22}	awake (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:337.2
	__tɕhæ__^{21}	awake	Chen Kang 1986b:1.17
	__tɕhɛ__^{21}lɒ^{55}	awake	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	__tɕhɛ__^{21}lɒ^{55}sɪ^{21}	wake up	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɯ^{33}ʑi̱^{21}__tɕhɛ__^{21}	wake up (vt.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʑi̱^{21} __tɕʰæ__^{21}	wake up (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:248.2
	ʑi̱^{21}__tɕhɛ__^{21}	wake up	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Hlepho Phowa	__tɕʰɛ__^{55}	awake	Pelkey 2011:657

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	__ʈʂʰwæ˩__	wake up (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	__tʂʰuɑ__^{33}	wake up	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(22) PTB *swat AWAKE

The WT doublet __sod__ ≍ __sad__ confirms the reconstruction with *__-wa-__.

For phonologically similar and perhaps overlapping etyma in this area see PTB *__s(y)a__ AWAKE (§1.1.4), PTB *__tsywar__ AWAKE (§1.1.4), PTB *__dar__ AWAKE (§1.1.4).

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Mama)	__sʌt__^{53}	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.6
Cuona Menba	__sat__^{53}ta^{31}	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	gnyid __sad__-pa	wake up (v.)	Jäschke 1881
	gn̰id __sad__	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.1
	__sod__	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
	__sod__-pa	wake up (v.)	Jäschke 1881

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	__sa__^{55} ɬɯ^{31}	arise, awaken	LaPolla 1987:105
	__sɑ__^{55} ʂɯ^{31}	wake (from drunken stupor)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɑ^{31} __sɑ̆t__^{55}	wake (from sleep)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɑ^{31} __sɑt__^{55}	wake	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

(23) PTB *dar AWAKE

For phonologically similar and perhaps overlapping etyma in this area see PTB *__s(y)a__ AWAKE (§1.1.4), PTB *__tsywar__ AWAKE (§1.1.4), PTB *__swat__ AWAKE (§1.1.4).

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	**da**-bar	wake	Tayeng 1976
	dar-ŋo-cu-ma	awake	Tayeng 1976
	dar-ɲo-cu-ma	awake	Tayeng 1976
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**da**[33] tsɑ[55]	awake; be awake; wake up	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.18
Muya [Minyak]	**tɯ**[55]tɕɯ[53]	awake; be awake; wake up	Sun Hongkai 1991h:1.17; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.15
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	**da** sue shei	awake / be awake	Dai Qingxia 1989b:1.17

1.1.4.1 Sleep/Be asleep

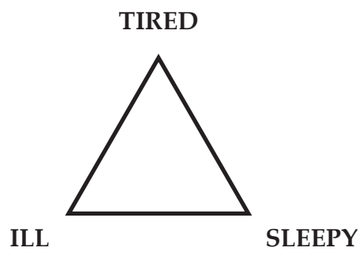

Figure 30: 1.1.4.1 *Sleep/Be asleep*

(1) PTB *s-y $\begin{matrix}\textbf{i}\\\textbf{u}\end{matrix}$ p SLEEP

This is one of the most widespread TB roots to show the variation between medial ***-i-*** and ***-u-***. There might be an allofamic relationship between this root and PTB ***g-(d)z(i/u)m*** SLEEP (§1.1.4.1).

This root frequently occurs as the first syllable in binomes meaning DREAM, where the second element is from PTB ***s/r-ma(ŋ/k)*** DREAM (§1.1.4.2).

Written Burmese **sip** 'put to sleep' illustrates a rare survival of the causative prefix ***s-***; most Burmese morphological causatives simply have an aspirated initial.

Tibetan has developed the meaning HIDE for this root.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	*g-dz(y)im ≍ **g-dz(y)up**	sleep	Matisoff 1983:53
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ip**	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
	***ip**	sleep, hide	Benedict 1972:114
	***ip-yip**	sleep	LaPolla 1987:165
	***s-yip ≍ s-yup**	sleep / put to sleep / conceal / hide (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:620
	***yip ≍ yup**	sleep	Matisoff 1983:53
	***yup**	sleep (v.)	French 1983:551
1.1.1. Tani: ***jup** SLEEP			
**Tani*	***jup**	sleep	Sun 1993a:370
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**è**-ma	dream	Sun 1993b
	é-ma-nɯ	dream (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**jim**-ma:	dream	Sun 1993b
	jip	sleep	Sun 1993b
	jip-ma: ma:	dream	Sun 1993b
	jip-mi: **jip**-ma:	sleepy	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	jip-tap	doze	Sun 1993b
	jip-ŋak	asleep	Sun 1993b
	jup	sleep	Sun 1993b
	jup~ **jip**	sleep	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**jup**	sleep; asleep	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	jup	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.24
	jup (da)	asleep, fall (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1647.24
	jup mi	sleepy, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1486.24
	jup moŋ	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.24
	jup moŋ	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.24
	jup tap	doze / nod off (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1242.24
	jup ŋak	asleep, fall (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1647.24
	jup-moŋ	dream (n.)	Sun 1993b
	jup-moŋ moŋ	dream (v.)	Sun 1993b
	jup-tap	doze	Sun 1993b
	jup-ŋak	fall asleep	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**jup**	sleep	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.51
	jup moŋ	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.51
	yup	sleep	LaPolla 1987:165
Galo	**yu**-ma-ma-nam	dream (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	yub-la-do-nam	asleep (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	yum-ŋak-nam	snore (v.)	Das Gupta 1963 [a]
	yup-nam	sleep (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'yub di	bedtime (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'yub nam	sleep (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'yup kik	sleep (like a log) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'yup ko	bedroom (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'yup po	overlseep (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'yu maa	dream (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'yu mii	sleepy (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'yu mii-**'yu** maa	dream (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**jup**-nam	sleep	Simon 1976
Nishing	**yub**	sleep; lie (position)	Das Gupta 1969; Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**ya** ma ma-nam	dream	Das Gupta 1983
	yup-nam	sleep (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	**ip**	sleep	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ib** bo-shu	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	yub bo-shu	copulate	Matisoff 1987
Adi	**ip**	sleep	LaPolla 1987:165
Damu	**jip**-ma:	dream	Sun 1993b
	jip-tap	doze off	Sun 1993b
	ʔip	asleep	Sun 1993b
	ʔip-daʔ me:-ʔa	sleeptalk	Sun 1993b
Milang	**im**-ma-ma-ma	dream	Tayeng 1976
	ip-ma	sleep	Tayeng 1976
	ip-mi-ɲi	asleep	Tayeng 1976
	ŋem-**gip**-ɲi	nod	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**im**-mang	dream	Coblin 1986:67
	im-maŋ	dream	LaPolla 1987:82; Benedict 1972:82
	jup	sleep	Sun 1993a
	jup-mi (aŋ)	sleepy	Sun 1993a
	yup	sleep	LaPolla 1987:165
	yup	sleep (v.)	Benedict 1972:114
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**jɑ**[53]mo[53]	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.22
	jɑ[55]mo[53]	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.22
	jɑ[55]mo[53]	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.49
	ya: mo	dream	NEFA (India) 1963
Idu	**e** mo	dream	Pulu 1978
	e mo ga	dream	Pulu 1978
	hi	sleep	Pulu 1978
	hi mu si	asleep	Pulu 1978
	i[55]mu[55]	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:1.18
	i[55]mu[55]	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.50
	ɟi mu-si	asleep	Pulu 1978
Yidu	**i**[55]mu[55]	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.25
	i[55]mu[55]	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.25
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ʔip-I**, ***ʔi-II** SLEEP			
**Chin*	***ʔip-I**, **ʔi-II**	SLEEP	VanBik 2009:502
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	**ih** mu	sleep / be asleep	Haokip 1998:1.16
Paite	**ih** mu	sleep	VanBik 2009:502
Thado	**íi** mùu	sleep	VanBik 2009:502
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**i˝**	sleep	VanBik 2009:502
Chinbon	**ip**	sleep	So-Hartmann 1988:125
Cho (Mindat)	**ip-I**, **ih-II**	sleep	VanBik 2009:502
Daai	**iʔ**	sleep	So-Hartmann 1988:125
Khumi	**i**	sleep	VanBik 2009:502
Awa Khumi	**i**[3]	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.9
Khumi	**iʔ**	sleep	So-Hartmann 1988:125
Khumi (Ahraing)	**i**[1]	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.9
	i[5]	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.9
Matu	**ip**	sleep	So-Hartmann 1988:125
Matupi	**i:p**[2]	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.9
Mkaang	**iʔ**	sleep	So-Hartmann 1988:125
Ngmüün	**iʔ**	sleep	So-Hartmann 1988:125
Nyhmoye	**iʔ**	sleep	So-Hartmann 1988:125
Wakung	**iʔ**	sleep	So-Hartmann 1988:125
Womatu	**ɪp**[2]-	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.9
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Khualsim	**ɪt**[1] [part. iʔ[1]]	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.9
Lai (Hakha)	**iʔ**[2]	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.9
	ɪt[2]	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.9
	ʔit-I, **ʔi-II**	sleep	VanBik 2009:502
1.2.3. Maraic			
Tha'oa	**ip**[1]	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.9
Xongsai	**i**[2]-	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.9
Zotung	**i**[1]	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.9
	iʔ[1]	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.9
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***jap** SLEEP			
**Central Naga*	***jap**	SLEEP	Bruhn 2014a:III.153
**Ao*	*a-**jəp**	SLEEP	Bruhn 2014a:II.288
Ao (Chungli)	a[3]-**jəp**[1]	sleep, make one's bed, stay overnight (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.288
	á **jɯ̀p**	sleep (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:5
	jəp[1]-tən[1]	bed (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	mejang a' a **yip**	sleep	Marrison 1967 [a]
	yip	sleep	LaPolla 1987:165
	yip	sleep (v.)	Benedict 1972:114
	yip ten	bed	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen)	**jɯ̀p**	sleep (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	amawa, ayi' **yip** li	sleep	Marrison 1967
	yip chen	bed	Marrison 1967
	yip li	lie down (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**jip**	sleep [slept] (variant of jip-li) (v.)	Coupe 2007
	jip-li	sleep [slept] (variant of jip) (possibly 'sleep' + COP 'be') (v.)	Coupe 2007
	jip-tʃən	bed ('sleep' + LNOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**jəp**[2]-	sleep (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.153
	jəp[2]-phen[3]	bed, place to sleep (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [b]
	e **yip**	sleep	Murry *et al.* 1978:113
	yip	sleep	Marrison 1967
	yip a	sleep / be asleep	Nienu 1990c:1.16
	yip ba	sleep	Murry *et al.* 1978:113
	yip phen	bed	Marrison 1967
	yip yangchi	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
	[(2)] **[y] ɯp**	sleep (v.)	Weidert 1987:658
Sangtam	**yep**	sleep	Kumar 1973a
	yep cho	sleep (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	yip	sleep	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**yap**	sleep	Marrison 1967
	yap kiu	bed	Marrison 1967
	[(1)]**yap**	sleep (v.)	Weidert 1987:658
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**ji**	sleep	Marrison 1967
Maram	**ji**	sleep	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**jip** ri	sleep	Marrison 1967
	ti **zip** məi	make sleep	Matisoff 1994e
	zip məi	sleep	Matisoff 1994e
Mzieme	**zip**	sleep	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***jip** SLEEP / LIE DOWN			
**Tangkhulic*	***jip**	sleep / lie down	Mortensen 2012:532
Huishu	k[h]ə-**jep**	sleep / be asleep / lie down	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.022
Kachai	k[h]ə-**jip**	sleep / be asleep / lie down	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.020
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**i**, inot	sleep	Marrison 1967
	ì-	sleep / be asleep	Grüssner 1979:16
	ì-lòt-	sleep / be asleep	Grüssner 1979:16

[a] Galo **ŋak** 'call'; **nam** NOMINALIZER.

[a] Ao **mejang** probably < Karbi **mék jáng-**.
[b] [Source Note] sleep-LOC

	i rap-chom	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	i rap-rap	copulate	Matisoff 1987
1.6. MRU			
Mru	**ɪp²**	sleep; put to sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:Q.357
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**si** máŋ	dream	Bhat 1968
	si maŋʔ	dream	Weidert 1987:28
Kokborok	**ɛ**-maŋ	dream	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**ho** rmang	dream (n.)	Balawan 1965:29
Meche	**si** maŋʔ	dream	Weidert 1987:28
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**dźu**-maŋ	dream	LaPolla 1987:82
	džu-maŋ	dream	Benedict 1972:82
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ju**-mang	dream (n.)	Burling 2003:7.96-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	ju **mang**	dream (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	jyw **mang**	dream (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***Ç-yu:p**	sleep (v.)	French 1983:551
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	a **jup**	sleep (v.)	French 1983:551
	jup	sleep	Marrison 1967
	jup	sleep (v.)	French 1983:551
	jup t^{h}in	bed-stead	French 1983:551
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**yep**	sleep (v.)	French 1983:551
	yep šaŋ	bed	French 1983:551
	yep, nyiek at shi	sleep	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**jip**	sleep (v.)	French 1983:551
	jup	sleep (v.)	French 1983:551
	zip	sleep	Marrison 1967
	zip	sleep (v.)	French 1983:551
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**ip ≍ yip**	cover, conceal (information)	Benedict 1972:114; LaPolla 1987:165
	ip^{55}	withhold the facts / conceal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1759.19
	jup^{31} mạŋ^{33}	dream	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	jup^{31}maŋ^{33}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.19
	jup^{31}maŋ^{33}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.47
	jup^{31}tu̱ŋ^{33}	midnight (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0754.19
	jup^{31}ŋaʔ^{31}	doze / nod off (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1242.19
	jup^{55}	sleep	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	jup^{55}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.19
	jup^{55}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.47
	jup^{55} ku̱^{31}	bed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0526.19
	jup^{55} mă^{31}ju^{33}	sleepy, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1486.19
	jup^{55} mă^{31}lap^{31}	asleep, fall (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1647.19
	jup^{55}ku̱^{31}	bed	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:455.47
	maŋ ≍ **yup**-maŋ	dream	Benedict 1972:82; LaPolla 1987:82
	yup	sleep	Marrison 1967
	yup mang	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yup rawt	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967
	yup shara	bed	Marrison 1967
	ʔyúp	sleep	Matisoff 1983:53; Matisoff 1974:376
	ʔyup	sleep	LaPolla 1987:165
	ʔyúp	sleep, hide	Benedict 1972:114 [a]
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Ganan	**ɛp**^{3}	sleep, to put to sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:L.291
	ɛp^{3}si:ŋ^{2}	sleep, to put to sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:L.291
	ɛp^{3} maŋ	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
	ɛp^{4}	sleep, to put to sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:L.291
Kadu (Kantu)	**ɛp**^{3}	sleep, to put to sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:L.291
	ɛp^{3}sɑn^{2}	sleep, to put to sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:L.291
Kadu	**ɛp**^{3} maŋ	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Kadu (Kantu)	**ɪp**^{3}	sleep, to put to sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:L.291
Sak (Bawtala)	**e**^{2}tseŋ^{2}	sleep, to put to sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:L.291
	e^{3}	sleep, to put to sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:L.291
	e^{3}mã^{4}	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Sak	**i?**	sleep	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:108
	i? maŋ	dream (n.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:109a
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**ib**	sleep	LaPolla 1987:165
	ib	sleep (v.)	Benedict 1972:114
	ips	sleep / be asleep	Sharma 1991a:1.16
Kanauri	**yəg** mig	sleep	Sharma 1988:141
Pattani [Manchati]	**im**	sleep	Sharma 1982
	im riŋ	sleep	Sharma 1991b:1.16
	sip tʃi	make sleep (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Central)	**ip ~ yip**	sleep	Benedict 1972:114
	ip≍yip	sleep (v.)	Benedict 1972:114
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ip~yip**	sleep	LaPolla 1987:165
	jip	sleep	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.7
	jip^{13}	sleep	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ip**	sleep	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**jip**	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.07
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**jip**^{132}	hide (sthg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1169.02
	jip^{132}	hide oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1295.02
Tibetan (Written)	**jib**	hide oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1295.01
	yib-pa	hide oneself; hide one's self	Matisoff 1983:53; LaPolla 1987:165; Benedict 1972:114
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	**swi** na mara-wa	dream (v.)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:1.18
Gurung	**cwih**-m	sleep (v.)	Hale 1973:01.060
Gurung (Ghachok)	**cwih**-m	sleep	Glover 1972:1.60
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***im**-	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
	***ip**-	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
	***ip**-	lie down	Opgenort 2011
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**im** ma	fall asleep, sleep	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**im** tshɔkwa ta-	nod off to sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	ips-	sleep, go to bed; sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:158
	ipt-	put to sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:158
Yakha	**im** ma:	sleep / be asleep	Kohn 1990:1.16
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**im**	sleep (v.)	Rai 1985
	ims-	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
	ipt-	put to sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
	ip ma	sleep	Rai 1985
	ʔims-	sleep (v.i.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:4
	ʔim kha	sleeping (v.n.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:4
	ʔim sin ko	sleeping	Rai *et al.* 1984:4
	ʔip ma	sleep (v.n.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:4
Chamling	**ibd**-yu	put to sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
	ims-(a)	sleep	Winter 1985:17
	ims-a	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
Kulung	**im**-	feel sleepy (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
	ims-	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
	ims-a	sleep (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**im**	sleep	Michailovsky 1991:158; Driem 1993
	im 'si	sleep; abbreviated form of im'sinɨ vr. "to sleep" used as a	Driem 1993
	im 'si-	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
	im 'si nɨ	sleep.	Driem 1993
	im de:'sinɨ	asleep. (be v.)	Driem 1993
	i:p-	put to sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
	i:p nɨ	put to bed, put to sleep	Driem 1993
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**ib**	sleep (v.)	Benedict 1972:114
	ip	sleep	LaPolla 1987:165
	ip-	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
Hayu	**hɪm**-	put to sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
	ɪm	sleep (vi, vr.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.74
	ĩ: pi	sleep (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.74
	ɪm-	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
Sunwar	**'ip**-	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
	'ip-cā	sleep (v.)	Hale 1973:01.060
Thulung	**ums**-	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158; Allen 1975
	əms-	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158; Allen 1975
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ji**^{55} mɑ^{55}	dream (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	ji^{55}mɑ^{55}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.18
Guiqiong	**ju**^{35}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.16
	jø^{35}	sleep; be asleep	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.17
Lyuzu	**ji**^{33}ma^{53}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.18
	khe^{33}**ju**^{53}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.18
	khu^{33}**ju**^{53}	lie down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1661.18
	ʑi^{35}ma^{53}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.18
Namuyi	**jy**^{33}	sleep; be asleep	SUN Hongkai 1991i:1.16; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.19
	jy^{33}mɛ^{35}	dream (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991i:1.18
	jy^{33}mɛ^{35}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.19
	ju^{33}**ju**^{55}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.46
	ju^{31}	lie down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1661.46
	ju^{31}mæ^{35}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.46
	ju^{31}mæ^{35}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	khɯ^{11} **ʐɯ**^{55}	sleep; lie down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.10; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1661.10
	ʐi^{35}mã^{55}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.10
	ʐi^{11}mã^{11}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.10
Pumi (Lanping)	nə^{13} **ʒə**^{13}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.09
	ʒe^{13}mɛ^{13}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	nə^{13} **ʒə**^{13}	sleep	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.11
	ʒə^{13} mɛ^{13}	dream	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.11
Pumi (Taoba)	khə^{35}**ʐi**^{35}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.10
	k^{h}ə^{35} **ʐi**^{35}	sleep	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	ʐi^{55}mi^{53}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.10
	ʐɨ^{55} mi^{53}	dream	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	**žye**	sleep / put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(a)
Qiang (Longxi)	(fià) mà **zè**	sleep (v.)	Evans 1999:2359
	mà **zè**-qhuà	snore [sleep-snore]	Evans 1999:1787
Qiang (Mianchi)	mè **ʐè**-qè tuá	nod off [sleep-m]	Evans 1999:1783
	mè-**ʐè**-qhuá-pù	snore [sleep-sleep-snore-do]	Evans 1999:1787
	ú **ʐè**	sleep [CMD-sleep] (v.)	Evans 1999:2359
Qiang (Yadu)	**ʔu** ʐmu	dream	DAI Qingxia 1989q:2092
	ʔu ʐmə	dream	DAI Qingxia 1989q:1029
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	kə^{35} **ʐe**^{55}	sleep; be asleep	SUN Hongkai 1991n:1.16; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʐɛ**^{13}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.13
Xumi	lɛ^{33}**ʐe**^{55}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.17
	miæ^{33}**ʐe**^{55}	lie down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1661.17
	ʐɲ^{35}	sleep; be asleep	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.20
	ʐɛ^{33}mo^{55}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.17

[a] Preglottalized initial first pointed out by La Raw Maran [*STC*].

	ʐɛ^{33}mõ^{55}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.17
	ʐɑ^{33} mɔ̃^{55}	dream (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	ʐɑ^{33}mɔ̃^{55}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.20
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	n **jɐp**^{53}	sleep / be asleep	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.16
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**jəp**	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**jə̂v**	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	ka'nə **jəp**˺	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	kanɪ ˈ**ɟɪp**˺	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**rjap**˺ji	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong	ka **gyup**	sleep	Nagano 1997:129
	ka nA **gyAp**	sleep	Nagano 1997:1.16
	wu mnyak ka sA **gyu**	sleep	Nagano 1997:1.16
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**ip**	sleep	LaPolla 1987:165
	ip	sleep (v.)	Benedict 1972:114
	ip-mang	dream	Coblin 1986:67
	ip-maŋ	dream	LaPolla 1987:82; Benedict 1972:82
Anong (Rawang/Mutwang)	śə **yɨp**	sleep (put to)	Benedict 1972:37n120
	yɨp	sleep	Benedict 1972:37n120
Rawang	**yɯp** naŋ^{53}	dream (n.)	LaPolla 2003:765
	yɯp naŋ^{53} naŋ^{53}	dream (vt.)	LaPolla 2003:766
Dulong	**ip**^{55}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ĭp**^{55}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ĭp**^{55}	sleep	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ip^{55}	sleep	LaPolla 1987:165
	ip^{55} ɟɯ^{53}	doze off, nod off (be sleepy)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**jɯp**^{55}	sleep	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	yɯp^{55}	sleep	LaPolla 1987:165
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *s/ʔ-yip^{L} PUT TO SLEEP, *yip^{L} ≍ *yup^{L} SLEEP			
Lolo-Burmese	***s/ʔ-yip**^{L}	put to sleep	Matisoff 2003a:620
	***yip**	sleep (simplex) (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:180
	***yip** ~ **yup**	sleep / put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(a)
	***yip**^{L} ≍ **yup**^{L}	sleep	Matisoff 2003a:620
	***ʔyip**	sleep (causative) (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:180
	***ʔyip**	sleep / put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(b)
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ʑik**^{31}	sleep	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ʑik^{31} m̥ɑʔ^{55}	dream	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**e**^{31}	sleep	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	e^{31}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.28
	e^{31}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.41
	it^{55} mɔʔ^{55}	dream	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	it^{55}mɔʔ^{55}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.28
	it^{55}mɔʔ^{55}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.41
	it^{55}mɔʔ^{55}mɔʔ^{55}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.28
Achang (Luxi)	**ʑit**^{55}	sleep	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ʑi^{55} ma^{55}	dream	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**in**^{31} mɔʔ^{55}	dream	DAI Qingxia 1989f:1009
	in^{31} mɔʔ^{55} mɔʔ	have a dream	DAI Qingxia 1989f:1009.1
	in^{31}mɔʔ^{55}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.29
	in^{31}mɔʔ^{55}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.29
	it^{55}	sleep	DAI Qingxia 1989f:2259
	it^{55}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.29
	it^{55} mui^{31}	asleep	DAI Qingxia 1989f:2261
	it^{55} m̥un^{51} m̥un^{31}	snore	DAI Qingxia 1989f:1725
Bola	**jɐ̰p**^{55}	sleep	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2259
Bola (Luxi)	**jɐ̰p**^{55}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.32
Bola	**jɐ̰p**^{55} k^{h}ɔʔ^{55} k^{h}ɔʔ^{31}	snore	DAI Qingxia 1989g:1725
	jɐ̰p^{55} maʔ^{55} maʔ^{55}	dream	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2092
	jɐ̰p^{55} mɐ̰ʔ^{55}	dream	DAI Qingxia 1989g:1009
	jɐ̰p^{55} nau^{55}	tired, sleepy	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2051
	jɐ̰p^{55} tɐ̰^{35}	asleep	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2261
Bola (Luxi)	**jɐ̰p**^{55}maʔ^{55}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.32
	jɐ̰p^{55}maʔ^{55}maʔ^{55}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.32
Burmese (Modern)	**ʾip** mak	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Burmese (Rangoon)	**eʔ**^{4}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.27
	eʔ^{4}mɛʔ^{4}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**eʔ**^{44}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.40
	eʔ^{44}mɛʔ^{44}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.40
Burmese (Written)	**ip**	sleep; lie down, sleep	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:165
	ip	sleep (v.)	Benedict 1972:114
	ip	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.39
	ip mak	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
	ip mɑk	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.39
	ip-mak	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
	ip-mak	dream	LaPolla 1987:82; Benedict 1972:82
	ip^{4}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.26
	ip^{4}mɑk^{4}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.26
	ip mak	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sip	put to sleep by lulling (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	sip	sleep (put to)	Benedict 1972:37n120
	ə-**ip**	sleep	Benedict 1976a
	ʔip	sleep	Hansson 1989:500; Matisoff 1983:53
Hpun (Northern)	**àiŋ** mùʔ, **aìʔ** mùʔ	dream (cp. Sleep)	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	**ɑiʔ**^{5}muʔ^{5}	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Langsu (Luxi)	**jap**^{31}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.31
	jɐ̰p^{31}mɔʔ^{31}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.31
	jɐ̰p^{31}mɔʔ^{31}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.31
Lashi	**jṵ:p**^{55}	sleep / be asleep	DAI Qingxia 1989m:1.16
	jɐ̰p^{55} khu^{53} khu^{53}	snore	DAI Qingxia 1989m:11.4
	ʃṵ:p^{55}	sleep / be asleep	DAI Qingxia 1989m:1.16 [a]
Leqi (Luxi)	**jṵ:p**^{55}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.33
	jɐ̰p^{55}mɔʔ^{31}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.33
Maru [Langsu]	**jap**^{31}	sleep; be asleep	DAI Qingxia 1989l:1.16; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.43
	jap^{31} kɔk^{31} kɔk^{31}	snore	DAI Qingxia 1989l:11.4
	jɐ̰p^{31} mɔʔ^{31} mɔʔ^{31}	dream (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:1.18
	jɐ̰p^{31}mɔʔ^{31}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.43
	yap moʔ	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
	ʃap^{55}	sleep (put to) (caus.)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:1.16
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**jɯ̰p**^{55}	sleep	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	jɯ̰p^{55}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.30
	jɯ̰p^{55}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.42
	jɯ̰p^{55} moʔ^{21}	dream	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	jɯ̰p^{55}moʔ^{21}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.30
	jɯ̰p^{55}moʔ^{21}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.30
	jɯ̰p^{55}moʔ^{21}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.42
	yup^{55}	sleep	LaPolla 1987:165
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***səyip**^{L}	put to sleep	Bradley 1979b:773C [b]
	***yip**^{L}	sleep	Bradley 1979b:735; Hansson 1989:500
Lolopho	**ʑi̱**^{31} mi̱^{33} khɒ^{33}	dream (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:1.18
	ʑi̱^{31} puɯ^{55}	sleep / be asleep	DAI Qingxia 1989n:1.16
	ʑi̱^{31} xo^{33} gɒ^{33}	snore	DAI Qingxia 1989n:11.4
PNL	**ʔyip**^{L}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986a:167.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	kɛ^{33} **zɭ**^{53}	sleep / be asleep	DAI Qingxia 1989c:1.16
	kɛ^{33}**zɭ**^{53}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.47
	zɪ^{53}	sleep	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	zɭ^{53} kɯ^{323}	sleep / be asleep	DAI Qingxia 1989c:1.16
	zɭ^{53} ma^{33} xɤ^{33}	dream (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:1.18
	zɭ^{53} na^{24} ko^{24}	snore	DAI Qingxia 1989c:11.4
	zɭ^{53} nv^{31}	awake / be awake	DAI Qingxia 1989c:1.17
	zɭ^{53}ma^{33}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.47
Lalo	**ìq**-dàq	sleep	Björverud 1994
	ìq-miq	dream	Björverud 1994
	ɪ̱^{21} da^{21}	sleep / be asleep	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.16
	ɪ̱^{21} k^{h}ɥ̱^{21}	snore	CHEN Kang 1986b:11.4
	ɪ̱^{21} me^{33} k^{h}e^{55}	dream (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.18
	ʔi̱^{2}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986a:167.
Lipho	**ʑe̱**^{21}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.16
	ʑe̱^{21}so^{33}ga^{33}	snore	CHEN Kang 1986b:11.4
	ʑi̱^{2}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986a:167.
	ʑi̱^{21}mi̱^{33}kha^{33}	dream	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.18
Luquan	**jI 55c**	sleep / put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(a)
Nasu	**ji 55**	sleep / put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(a)
	ʑi̱^{55} ŋɯ^{33} ŋg^{h}ɔ^{33}	snore	CHEN Kang 1986b:11.4
	ʑi̱^{55}	sleep / be asleep	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.16
	ʑi̱^{55} ma̱^{33} tɕ^{h}e^{55}	dream (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.18
	ʑi̱^{55}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986a:167.
Neisu	**ʑi̱**^{13}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986a:167.
Nesu	**zɭ̄**^{21}	sleep / be asleep	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.16
	zɭ̄^{21} mu^{55} tʂer^{55} ga^{21}	snore	CHEN Kang 1986b:11.4
	zɭ̄^{21} mɪ̱^{21} fu̱^{33}	dream (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.18
	ʑi̱^{2}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986a:167.
Noesu	tho^{33}**ʑi̱**^{13}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.16
	ʑi̱^{33}ma^{55}ɣu^{21}	dream	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.18
	ʑi̱^{33}ŋgo^{55}	snore	CHEN Kang 1986b:11.4
Nosu	**e**^{55}mo̱^{21}mo̱^{33}	dream	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.18
	i̱^{55}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986a:167.
	i̱^{55}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.16
	i̱^{55}mbu^{33}	snore	CHEN Kang 1986b:11.4
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**iɚ**^{31}	sleep	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**iɚ**^{31} k^{h}õ^{35}	snore	DAI Qingxia 1989o:1725.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**iɚ**^{31} k^{h}ɚ̱^{53}	asleep	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2261.
Nusu (Central)	**iɚ**^{31} k^{hɪ}ɚ̱^{31}	asleep	DAI Qingxia 1989o:2261.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**iɚ**^{31} ʐɯ^{35}	tired, sleepy	DAI Qingxia 1989o:2051.
Nusu (Central)	**iɚ**^{53}	sleep	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2259.
	iɚ^{53}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.34
	iɚ^{53} k^{h}ɔ̃^{33}	snore	DAI Qingxia 1989p:1725.
	iɚ^{53} ʐɯ^{33}	tired, sleepy	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2051.
Nusu (Bijiang)	**iɚ**^{53}ɔ^{31}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.45
Nusu (Central)	**iɔ**^{53} tɕi^{35}	cause to sleep	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	iɔ^{53} ɔ^{31}	sleep	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986 [c]
Nusu (Southern)	**iɑ̰**^{53}	sleep	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	nɨ^{55}(**ʑi̱**^{13}**ʑi**^{55})	wake up	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:583.22
	ʑi̱^{13}	sleep	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.22
	ʑi̱^{13} ma^{55}	dream	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**i**^{55}mbu^{33}	snore	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	i^{55}mɔ^{21}	dream	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	i^{55}phu^{21}	snore	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	i^{55}nɨ^{33}ku^{33}	sleep; sleepy	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	i^{55}ʂa^{33}	sleep poorly	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	i^{55}ʐa̱^{33}	talk (in one's sleep)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ʑe̱**^{21}me̱^{33}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.25
	ʑi̱^{21}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ʑi̱**^{21}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.26
	ʑi̱^{21}mi̱^{21}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.26
Yi (Nanhua)	(**i̱**^{21}mi^{33}) khɑ^{33}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.37
	ʑi̱^{21}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.24
	ʑi̱^{21}mi^{33}khɑ̱^{33}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.24
	ʑi̱^{33}mi̱^{33}khɑ̱^{33}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.37

[a] Lashi form is a causative.
[b] PL *yip ≍ *ʔyip – simplex ≍ causative.
[c] Simplex.

	ʔi̱^{21}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**zɻ^{21}** mĩ^{33}	dream	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	zɻ^{21}da^{21}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.23
	zɻ^{21}mĩ^{33}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.23
	zɻ^{21} da^{21}	sleep	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Weishan)	(**ʔi̱^{21}**mɛ^{55}) chɛ^{55}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.36
	ʔi̱^{21}dɑ^{21}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.36
	ʔi̱^{21}mɛ^{33}chɛ^{55}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ji̱^{55}**	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.38
	ji̱^{55}mo̱^{2}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.38
	ji̱^{55}mo̱^{33}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.38
Yi (Xide)	(**e^{55}**mɔ^{21}) mɔ^{33}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.35
	e^{33}mo^{21}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.35
	e^{55}mɔ^{21}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.21
	i^{55}	sleep	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	i^{55}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.35
	i^{55}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.21
	i^{55}-tu^{33}	awaken	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	i^{55}-ȵi^{33}	wake up	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	i^{55}-ȵi^{33}-ku^{33}	asleep; sleepy	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	i^{55}-ȵi^{33}-vu̱^{33}	fall asleep	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	i^{55}tu^{33}	wake up (from sleep when it's loud) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.35
	i^{55}ȵi^{33}	wake up (from sleep) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.35
	i^{55}ȵi^{33}	wake up	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:583.21
	ɛ^{55}-mɔ^{21}	dream	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**ji 44s**	sleep / put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(a)
	ʑe̱^{21} me̱^{33}	dream (v.)	LUO Meizhen 1990:1.18
	ʑe̱^{21} ŋɯ^{33} ku^{22}	snore	LUO Meizhen 1990:11.4
	ʑe̱^{21}me̱^{33}mo^{22}	dream	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.18
	ʑi̱^{2}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986a:167.
	ʑi̱^{21}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.16
Jinuo (Youle)	**e^{55}**	sleep	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	e^{55} nu^{44}	wake (from sleep)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ji^{44}**	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ji^{55}**	sleep	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2357
Jinuo (Baka)	**ji^{55}**	sleep	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2357
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ji^{55}** mlɛ^{55}	asleep	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2359
	ji^{55} mɯ^{55}	snore	DAI Qingxia 1989h:1787
Jinuo (Baka)	**ji^{55}** mɯ^{55}	snore	DAI Qingxia 1989i:1787
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ji^{55}** nu^{55}	tired, sleepy	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2125
Jinuo (Baka)	**ji^{55}** ŋu^{55}	tired, sleepy	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2125
	ji^{55} tɛ^{35} ja^{44} u^{55} nø^{44}	asleep	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2359
Jinuo	**ji^{55}**thɛ^{44}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.44
Kucong	**zʌ31** ma33	dream	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	ʑi55	sleep	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	(**yɨʔ**)-mâʔ	dream	LaPolla 1987:82
	yɨ̄ʔ maʔ	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
**Common Lahu*	***zuh**ˆ	sleep	Bradley 1979b:735
Lahu (Lancang)	**zi^{21}**	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.43
	zi^{21}mɑ^{54}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.43
Lahu (Black)	**í**	put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(b)
	yìʔ	sleep; put to sleep	Matisoff 1974:376; Matisoff 1972b:180(a)
	yìʔ-mí gəʔ ve	sleepy	Matisoff 1988a:p.1301
	yìʔ-mí qa ve	fall asleep; be asleep	Matisoff 1988a:p.1301
	yìʔ-tu	awake from sleep; rise from prone position; awaken (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:609; Matisoff 1993
	zɻ^{21}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.33
	zɻ^{21}mʌ^{54}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.33
	zɻʔ^{21}	sleep	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	zɻʔ^{21} maʔ^{54}	dream	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**niʔ^{21}** nɔ^{55}	wake	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	zɻʔ^{21}	sleep	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	zɻʔ^{21} maʔ^{54}	dream	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Nujiang)	**e^{31}** mɛ^{33}	dream	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
	e^{31} tɑ^{55}	sleep	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**e^{31}**mɛ^{33}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.27
	e^{31}tɑ^{55}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.27
	e̱^{31} tɑ^{55}	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.40
	e̱^{31}mɛ^{33}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.40
Lisu (Northern)	**jiʔ^{21}**dɤʔ^{21} **jiʔ^{21}**mæ^{35}	talking in sleep; sleepwalking	Bradley 1994
	jiʔ^{21}gu^{33}	luggage; bed	Bradley 1994
	jiʔ^{21}mæ^{33} khɔ^{33}	have dreams; sleep and dream; nightmare	Bradley 1994
	jiʔ^{21}mɤ^{33} thɔ^{35}	doze off; take a nap; devil that makes one sleep	Bradley 1994
	jiʔ^{21}mɤ^{33} tʃhɻ^{21}le^{33}	in sound sleep; asleep	Bradley 1994
	jiʔ^{21}ta^{55}	sleep; go to bed	Bradley 1994
	jiʔ^{21}ta^{55} tɤ^{55}	place for the night	Bradley 1994
	jiʔ^{21}ta^{55}gu^{33}	bed	Bradley 1994
	jiʔ^{21}ta^{55}tɤ^{55}	place for sleeping; bamboo bed	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**yi6**	sleep / put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(a)
	yi^{6}	sleep	Bradley 1979b:735
	yi^{6} myá^{3} hkaw^{4}	dream	Bradley 1979b:586
Lisu (Central)	**yi^{6}** nyi^{1} grgh^{5}	admonish (=awaken) (v.)	Fraser 1922
	yi^{6}-myá^{3}-hkaw^{4}	dream	Fraser 1922
	yi^{6}-nyi^{1}-grgh^{5}	awake (v.t.)	Fraser 1922
	yi^{6}-ta^{1}	sleep (go to bed / lie down)	Fraser 1922
	yi^{6}-ta^{1}	lie down (v.)	Fraser 1922
	yi^{6}-ta^{1} gu^{3}	bed (sleeping place)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**yi^{6}**myɑ^{3}hkɑw^{4}	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Lisu	**yi^{6}**nyi^{1}grgh^{5}	awake; awaken	Bradley 1979b:767C; Bradley 1979b:767C
Sani [Nyi]	**ji 22s**	sleep / put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(a)
Yi (Sani)	**ji^{2}**	sleep; lie down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.39; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1661.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ji̱^{22}**	sleep (v.)	MA Xueliang 1989:339.4
	ji̱^{22} kv̩^{33} dv̩^{55} xɑ	go to sleep (v.)	MA Xueliang 1989:339.6
	ji̱^{22} kʰv̩^{11} tʰv̩^{33}	snore	MA Xueliang 1989:339.7
	ji̱^{22} n̩^{44} kɯ^{55} xɑ^{33}	go to sleep (v.)	MA Xueliang 1989:339.5
	ji̱^{22} tɕʰæ^{22}	awake (v.)	MA Xueliang 1989:337.2
Yi (Sani)	**jɪ^{2}**mɪ^{44}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.39
	jɪ^{2}mɪ^{44}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.39
Sani [Nyi]	**jɪ̱^{22}**	dream (n.)	MA Xueliang 1989:339.8
	jɪ̱^{22} mɪ^{44} ho^{33}	dream (v.)	MA Xueliang 1989:339.9
	ɯ^{33}**ʑi̱^{21}**tɕhɛ^{21}	wake up (vt.)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʑe^{21} mɪ̱^{44}	dream	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:251.4
	ʑe^{21} mɪ̱^{44} ho^{33}	have a dream (v.)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:251.6
	ʑe^{21}mɪ̱^{33}	dream	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʑe^{21}mɪ̱^{33}do^{21}	dream (v.)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʑe^{21}mɪ̱^{33}**ʑe^{21}**si^{33}thọ̄^{33}	sleepwalking	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʑi^{2}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986a:167.
	ʑi^{22}	sleep	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.16
	ʑi^{22}khu^{21}thu^{33};ʑi^{22}qhɔ^{21}qhɯ^{33}		CHEN Kang 1986b:11.4
	ʑi̱^{21} n̩^{33}	nap	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:247.1
	ʑi̱^{21} n̩^{33} kɯ^{55}	go to sleep (v.)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:248.1
	ʑi̱^{21} qʰɑ^{21} du^{55} xɑ^{33}	asleep	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:248.3
	ʑi̱^{21} tɕʰæ^{21}	wake up (v.)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:248.2
	ʑi̱^{21}(ni^{33}kɯ^{55})	sleep	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʑi̱^{21}qhɒ^{21}qhu^{33}	snore	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʑi̱^{21}tɕhɛ^{21}	wake up	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʑɪ^{22}mɪ^{44}ho^{33}	dream	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.18

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	**jùq**	sleep	Hansson 1989:500
Akha (Yunnan)	**jùq**	sleep	Hansson 1989:500
Akha	**jùq**	sleep	Hansson 1989:500
	yu LS	sleep / put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(a)
	yuʔ māʔ	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
Bisu	**jù**	sleep; put to sleep	Bradley 199x; Matisoff 1972b:180(a)
	jù	sleep (v.)	Beaudouin 1988:35
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**i 33**	sleep / put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(a)
Hani (Hu T'an)	**ju 21c**	sleep / put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(a)
Hani (Lüchun)	**jùq**	sleep	Hansson 1989:500
Hani (Dazhai)	**ju̱^{31}**	sleep	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.31
	ju̱^{31} ma̱^{33}	dream	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ju̱^{31}**	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.41
	ju̱^{31}ma̱^{33}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.41
	ju̱^{31}ma̱^{33}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.41
Hani (Pijo)	**í**	sleep	Hansson 1989:500
	í tsá	sleep	Hansson 1989:500
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ji̱^{33}** tsa̱^{33}	sleep	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ju̱^{31}**	sleep	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**yiuvq**	sleep	Hansson 1989:500
Haoni	**ʒv̩^{31}**	sleep	Hansson 1989:500
Hani (Shuikui)	**ʒv̄^{31}**	sleep	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʒv̄^{31} ma^{33}	dream	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʒv̱^{31}tʃa^{33}	sleep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:582.32
	ʒv̱^{31}ma^{33}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.32
Hani (Khatu)	**ì**	sleep	Hansson 1989:500
	ì tsá	sleep	Hansson 1989:500
Hani (Mojiang)	**ʒv̱^{31}**	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.42
	ʒv̱^{31}ma^{33}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.42
	ʒv̱^{31}ma^{33}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.42
Mpi	**ʔi^{2}**thɤŋ^{1}	sleep (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ʔi^{2}tɕa^{3}	lie down	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ʔiʔ^{1}	sleep	Hansson 1989:500
	ʔiʔ^{1}	sleep (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**jup^{11}** bɑ^{33} bɑ^{33} ce^{33}	dream	Bradley 1977 [a]
	jup^{11} ce^{33}	sleep	Bradley 1977
Sangkong	**ʑu̱^{31}**	sleep	LI Yongsui 1991
	ʑu̱^{31} mba̱^{33}	dream	LI Yongsui 1991
Sila	**i21** thi21	sleep (v.)	KATO Takashi 2008:180
Woni	**I 21**	sleep / put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(a)

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**ʑi̱^{45}**	sleep	Pelkey 2011:655
	ʑi̱^{45}lu̱^{45}	put to sleep	Pelkey 2011:656
	ʑy^{22}mɛ^{33}	dream	Pelkey 2011:555
Southern Muji	**ʑi^{21}**	sleep	Pelkey 2011:655
	ʑi^{21}mo^{55}kɯ^{55}	put to sleep	Pelkey 2011:656
	ʑi^{33}ma^{21}mjɛ^{33}	dream	Pelkey 2011:555
Phola	**ʑi^{33}**mɔ^{33}	dream	Pelkey 2011:555
Hlepho Phowa	**zɻ^{55}**mɛ^{21}	dream	Pelkey 2011:555
	zɻ^{55}mɛ^{33}	dream	Pelkey 2011:555
Phuza	**ʑi̱^{55}**mi^{55}	dream	Pelkey 2011:555

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**y**˩mu˩ kʰwɤ˥	dream, to dream (n./v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:1497
	zi˩	sleep (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3171
	zi˩mv˩zi˩	go to sleep (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3173
Moso	**ji 55**	sleep / put to sleep	Matisoff 1972b:180(a)
Na (Yongning)	**ʑi**˧mv˥	dream	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʑi˧ŋv˥	sleep (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʑi˧ŋɤ˥	doze off, to nod (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʑi˥	sleep (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʑi˧ŋv˥hu˩!	sleepy (be v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**i^{55}**	sleep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.45
	i^{55}mu^{33}	dream (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.45
	i^{55}mu^{33}	dream (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**ʑi^{33}**mv^{33}	dream (n.)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʑi^{33}**mv^{33}khuɑ^{33}	dream	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:519.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**ʑi^{13}**	sleep	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

[a] Phunoi denasalizes, as in **bɑ^{33}**.

Naxi (Yongning)	**ʐi**^{13}; **ʑi**^{33}	sleep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.29
Naxi (Western)	**ʐi**^{55}	sleep	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʐi**^{55}	sleep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.28
Naxi (Western)	**ʐi**^{55}mu^{33}	dream (n.)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʐi**^{55}mu^{33}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.28

(2) PTB *g-(d)z $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{i}\\\mathbf{u}\end{matrix}$ **m SLEEP**

There is perhaps an allofamic relationship between this root and PTB ***s-y(i/u)p*** SLEEP (§1.1.4.1).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***g-dz(y)im** ≍ g-dz(y)up	sleep	Matisoff 1983:53
	***tshim ~ gdzim**	sleep	Coblin 1986:134

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-dzim**	sleep	Matisoff 2003a:588

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	**dʑi**^{55}	sleep; be asleep	Sun Hongkai 1991f:1.16; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.50

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	hip, **tum**	sleep	Marrison 1967
	tum bə	sleep / be asleep	Singh 1991:1.16

1.6. Mru

Mru	**ts'im**^{2}	sleep; put to sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:Q.357

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	nyal **gen**	sleep / be asleep	Bishop 1989:1.16
Tibetan (Written)	**gzim**	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:158
	gzim-gzim	eyes dazzled	Coblin 1986:134
	gzim-pa	sleep; sleep, fall asleep; fall asleep	Matisoff 1983:53; Benedict 1972:170n455; Coblin 1986:134
	gzim-pɑ	fall asleep / sleep (v.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:661f-g
	gzims-pa	sleep (hon.) (n.)	Jäschke 1881

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**sim**	sleep (hh) (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:1.16
Thakali (Tukche)	**suhm**-pɔ	sleep (hon.)	Hari 1971:1.60.2

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	**khi**^{53}	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.15 [a]
Muya [Minyak]	**khi**^{53}	sleep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.15
	kʰi^{53}	sleep / be asleep	Sun Hongkai 1991h:1.16
Qiang (Yadu)	fiem **tse**	asleep	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2261

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**zgin**	sleep; be asleep	Sun Hongkai 1991b:1.16; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.14

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	**ts'oe** 3/4	sleep / lie down, to	Dell 1981b:790
	tshe^{ɪ33}	sleep	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.35
	tɕʰœ^{3}	sleep, lie down	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	tɕʰœ^{4}	sleep, lie down	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tshã**^{33}	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.48
	tshẽ^{33}	sleep	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.36
	tsʰæ̃^{33}	sleep / be asleep	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.16
	tsʰæ̃^{33} suĩ^{33}	sleep / be asleep	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.16

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ts'i̯əm**	lie down to sleep (v.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:661f-g [b]
Chinese (Old)	**ts'i̯əm**	sleep	Matisoff 1983:53
	tshjəmx	sleep	Coblin 1986:134

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**tshjəm:**	sleep (v.)	Coblin 1986:134

[a] This Muya form may not be cognate.
[b] *GSR* 661f-g.

Chinese comparandum

寢 OC ***ts'i̯əm*** 'lie down to sleep', *GSR* #661f-g; B & S 2011: ***tsʰim? {[tsʰ] [i] m?***; Mand. **qǐn**.

(3) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{s}\end{matrix}$ **-nyal SLEEP / SLEEPY / LIE DOWN**

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***mɨl ~ myɨl**	sleep	Coblin 1986:134
	***rnəl**+ (~ -nyəl+(d))	rest / sleep	Coblin 1986:124

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***myel**	sleep	Chou Fa-kao 1972:457e
	***myel**	weak (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:201
	***myel**	sleepy	Matisoff 2003a:603; Benedict 1972:197
	***myel (*B)**	sleep	Coblin 1986:134
	***oːl**	weak (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:201

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**mye(n)**	fall into sleep	Benedict 1972:15n53
	myen ~ mye	sleepy	Coblin 1986:134
	myén ≍ myè	fall into sleep / swoon	Benedict 1972:197

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**ȵɛ**^{35}	sleep / be asleep	Sun Hongkai 1991a:1.16
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ȵeu**^{35}	sleep	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ȵɛː**^{13}	sleep	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.6
Cuona Menba	**ȵɛː**^{35}	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ma** wʂu	rest (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.05
	ȵa	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ma** ʂe	rest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:581.4
	ȵal	sleep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ma** ʂo	rest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:581.5
	ȵa	sleep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**ñʌl** ba·	lie down and sleep	Rangan 1975:75
	ŋʌl chua·	rest	Rangan 1975:30
	ŋʌl cʰua·	rest	Rangan 1975:69
Tibetan (Batang)	**ȵɛ**^{231}	sleep / be asleep	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.16
	mei^{13}su^{53}	rest (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.03
	ȵe^{13}	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'nyāl**-gi-duk	sleep (v.)	Hale 1973:01.060
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ŋa**^{13}so^{53}	rest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:581.3
	ȵe^{13}	sleep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ŋɛ**^{13}so^{55} ca^{132}	rest (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.02
	ŋɛ^{15}so^{53}-cap^{13}	rest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:581.2
	ȵɛ^{13}	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.02
	ȵɛ^{15}	sleep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**nyal** gen	sleep / be asleep	Bishop 1989:1.16
Spiti	**ñyal** še	sleep (v.)	Bodh 1991:1.16
Tibetan (Written)	**mnyald**-pa	fall ill, be sick in bed	Coblin 1986:125 [a]
	mnyel-ba	get tired	Coblin 1986:124
	ñal	sleep	Marrison 1967
	nyal-ba	sleep (v.)	Jäschke 1881
	nyal-po	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	nyel-ba	ill (be v.)	Coblin 1986:124
	rnal	rest, tranquillity of mind	Coblin 1986:124
	ŋal gso bjed	rest (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.01
	ŋal gso brgjab	rest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:581.1
	ȵal	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.01
	ȵal	sleep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ma** ʂo	rest (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.04
	na	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	**nfiu**-wa	sleep / be asleep	Noonan *et al.* 1992:1.16
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ne** baq	lay down / put to sleep	Glover 1972
Manang (Gyaru)	**nɯː**^{3} ra^{2} bi^{2} ra^{2} mo^{2}	sleepy	Nagano 1984:108-01
	nɯː^{3} ra^{2} mo^{2}	sleep (V.)	Nagano 1984:108
	nɯː^{4} cin^{2} ba	awake (V.)	Nagano 1984:109-01
Manang (Prakaa)	^{4}**nuː** ^{2}rə-	sleep	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0325
	^{4}**nuː** ^{2}rə pə	sleepy	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0931
	^{4}**nuː**- ^{3}cʰĩ-	wake up	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0326
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**ŋu**	sleep, lie (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:1.16, 12.3
Tamang (Sahu)	**'nuː**-pa	lie down (go bed) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.17
Thakali (Tukche)	**'nuh** rɔh-lɔ	sleep	Hari 1971:2.B.2.16
	'nuh-wɔ	sleep	Hari 1971:1.60.1

2.2. Newar

Newar	**nhyɔː**	sleep / be asleep	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.16
	nhyɔlɔ̃ ca-ye	awake / be awake	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.17
Newar (Kathmandu)	**nhyɔ** lɔ̃ cal-	awaken	Genetti 1990c

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**jold**-	sleepy, to fall asleep (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:201
	myel	sleepy (vs.)	Benedict 1972:197
	myel	sleepy	Coblin 1986:134 [b]
Sunwar	√^{H}**ŋal**-	feel sleepy (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:201
Thulung	**yol**-	in decline, to be very i (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:201
	yul-	in decline, to be very i (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:201

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**hnilh**-	sleep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:201
	hnilʰ-sa	sleep	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.16

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Lanping)	**nə**^{13} ʒə^{13}	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**nə**^{13} ʒə^{13}	sleep	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.11
Qiang (Mawo)	**nə**	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.08
	nɤ	sleep	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.8
	nʌ (?)	sleep / be asleep	Sun Hongkai 1991g:1.16
	ɑ **nə**	lie down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1661.08
	ɑ **n**	lie down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1661.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**né**	lie down	Evans 1999:2357
Qiang (Taoping)	**ne**^{55}	sleep	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**nə**	sleep	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2259
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ȵa**^{35} mõ^{55}	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991n:1.18
	ȵa^{35}mõ^{55}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.16
Xumi	**miæ**^{33}du^{55}	sleepy, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1486.17

5. Tujia

Tujia	**ne**^{21}	sleep / be asleep	Chen Kang 1986d:1.16
Tujia (Southern)	**ne**^{21}	sleep	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	ne^{21} ɕi^{35}	wake	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ne**^{35}	sleep / be asleep	Chen Kang 1986c:1.16
Tujia (Northern)	**ne**^{35}	sleep	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	ne^{35} si^{35}	wake	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	nie2bie1ta4	unable to sleep (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	nie2ta1ti3	unable to sleep (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	nie^{2}bie^{4}ta^{4}	unable to get to sleep (be v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.6
	nie^{2}ta^{1}ti^{3}	unable to sleep (be v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.6
Tujia	**ȵie**^{35}	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.49
	ȵie^{35}	sleep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.38

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola	jạp^{55} **nau**^{55}	tired, sleepy	Dai Qingxia 1989g:2051
Burmese (Written)	**myâñ**	sleepy, sleep (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	myàñ	sleepy	Coblin 1986:134
Langsu (Luxi)	**mjauŋ**^{35}	sleepy, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1486.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**mjɔːŋ**^{33}	sleepy, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1486.33

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Xide)	i^{55}-**ȵi**^{33}-ku^{33}	asleep; sleepy	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

[a] This WT form with the archaic **-d** suffix (the so-called *da-drag*) is properly to be labelled "Old Tibetan", as in Coblin p. 125.
[b] *STC* 197.

	i[55]-ŋi[33]-vu̱[33]	fall asleep	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	ji[55] **mlɛ[55]**	asleep	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2359
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**miən**	close the eyes / sleep	Chou Fa-kao 1972:457e
Chinese (Old)	**hnərx**	rest / sleep	Coblin 1986:124
	min	sleep	Coblin 1986:134

Chinese comparandum

瞑 OC ***mien** ~ ***mieng**, *GSR* #841b ‘close the eyes; sleep’; Schuessler 2007:383 ***mên**; Mand. ***mián ~ míng**.
臥 OC ***ngwâ**, *GSR* #9a ‘lie down; sleep’; Schuessler 2007:516 ***ŋôih** ~ ***ŋwâih**; B & S 2011: ***ŋˤoj-s {[ŋ]ˤ[o]j-s}**; Mand. **wò**.
妥 OC ***t’nwûr**, *GSR* #354a-c ‘peaceful; stop’; Coblin 86:124 ST ***rnəɬ** > OC ***hnərx**; Schuessler 2007:484 ***nhôi?**; B & S 2011: ***n̥ˤoj?**; Mand. **tuǒ**.
綏 OC ***sni̱wər**, *GSR* #354g ‘pacify, comfort; tranquil’; Schuessler 2007:484 ***snui**; Mand. **suí**.

(4) PTB * r/s -mwəy SLEEP / DREAM

Note the Proto-Karen doublet.

Several languages have compounds where the first element descends either from the present etymon or from PTB ***s-mik** EYE (§1.2.6), and the second syllable has a cluster of dental + **r** (see PTB ***draŋ** SLEEP / DREAM (§1.1.4.1)).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***r** + mjwiəd	sleep / dream	Coblin 1986:134
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(r-)mwəy**	sleep (v.)	Weidert 1987:853
	***(r-)mwəy**~(s-)mwəy	sleep / lie down to sleep (v.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:531i-j
	***(s-)mwəy**	sleep (v.)	Weidert 1987:853
	***mwiy**	sleep (v.)	Weidert 1987:853
	***mwiy**	nod / sleep	Benedict 1972:196
	***r/s-mwəy**	sleep	Matisoff 2003a:603
	***rmwiy (*C)** (?)	sleep / dream	Coblin 1986:134
1.1.1. Tani: ***mi** SLEEPY			
**Tani*	***mi**	sleepy	Sun 1993a:371
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	i-**mi**	sleep	Sun 1993a
	í-**mi**	sleep	Sun 1993b
	i-**mi**	sleep, lie down	Sun 1993b
	i-**mi** a-hu	wake up	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	i-**mi** iʔ-ŋɯr	snore	Sun 1993b
	i-**mi** ko	sleeping place	Sun 1993b
	i-**mi** nan	sleepy; asleep	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	í-**mi**-dó-ta-na-nɯ	mattress	Sun 1993b
	i-**mi**-ko	bed	Sun 1993b
Bengni	jip-**mi:** jip-ma:	sleepy	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	jup **mi**	sleepy, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1486.24
Galo	‘yu **mii**	sleepy (adj.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	im-**mi** (aŋ)	sleepy	Sun 1993a
Milang	ip-**mi**-ɲi	asleep	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	jup-**mi** (aŋ)	sleepy	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**ing**	sleep	NEFA (India) 1963
	n̥[53]	sleep (v.)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	n̥[53]	sleep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.49
Kaman [Miju]	**mui**	sleep (v.)	Benedict 1972:196
	ŋui[55]	sleep	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ŋui[55]	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.23
	ŋui[55]	sleep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.48
Idu	hi **mu** si	asleep	Pulu 1978
	ɟi **mu**-si	asleep	Pulu 1978
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Zeme	[3]**mi** [3]maŋ	dream	Weidert 1987:28
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jinɡpho	śə **məwi**	heavy with sleep (vs.)	Benedict 1972:196
	śə **məwi**	heavy with sleep (be.)	Benedict 1972:196
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**mi[13]** naŋ[13]-se[55]	wake (from sleep)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Cuona Menba	**mi[31]**pren[55]	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.06
	mi[55]lam[53]ja[35]	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**n̥ə** lam	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.05
	n̥ə lam n̥i	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**n̥ə** lam	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hn̥ə** læm	dream	Sun 1985a:199
	rn̥ə lam	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**mi[55]** la[55] **mi[53]**	dream (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.18
	miʔ[53]	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.03
	mɪ[55]lɑ̃[55]	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**n̥i[55]**lɑŋ[55]	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**n̥iʔ[53]**lam[15]	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.2
	n̥i:[55]ləm[55]	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.02
	n̥i:[55]ləm[55] taŋ[55]	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**mē** lam	dream (v.)	Bishop 1989:1.18
Spiti	**mi** lam	dream (n.)	Bodh 1991:1.18
	mi lam yoŋ je	dream (v.)	Bodh 1991:1.18
Tibetan (Written)	**rmi**	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.01
	rmi lam	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.01
	rmi-ba	dream	Weidert 1987:853
	rmi-ba	dream (v.)	Benedict 1972:31n98; Coblin 1986:135
	rmi.lam	dream	Sun 1985c:199
	rmis-pa	dream (?.)	Jäschke 1881
	rmi lam	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hnə** lam nə	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.04
	hn̥ə lam	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.04
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Magar	**mi**	sleep (v.)	Benedict 1972:196
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**me**	sleep; be asleep	Dai Qingxia 1989e:1.16; Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4825
	me̱	sleep, lie	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1714
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**ma[ˤ55]**	sleep; be asleep	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.18
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**rn̥i[13]**	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:1.18
Daofu	**rn̥i** lam	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.12
	rn̥i lam nə **rn̥i**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ka **rma**	sleep; be asleep	Dai Qingxia 1989d:1.16; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:582.12
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	ka’ **rma**	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	ka’ **rma**	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	ka’ **rma**	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ka’ **rman**	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	ka’ **rmaʔ**	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong (NW)	kavarma **rmə** lɛm	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:1.18
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ka **rma**	sleep / be asleep	Sun Hongkai 1991j:1.16
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kə’ **rmɑʔ**	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	kə’ wa **rma**	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə44 **rma22**	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	kə44**rma44**	sleep (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0494
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **rmɑ**	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.11
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	it[55] **mui[31]**	asleep	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2261
Burmese (Written)	**muy’**	sleep, enjoy sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:Y.34
	mwé	sleep; enjoy sleep; sleep, enjoy sleep	Weidert 1987:853; Benedict 1972:196; Coblin 1986:135
	mwe’	sleep, enjoy sleep	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**mi[55]**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mi[55]** ma[31]	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1029
Jinuo	**mi[55]**ma[42]	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.44
	mi[55]ma[42]	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**m̥e[35]** mɑ[42]	dream	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**m̥e[35]** m̥a[31]	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1029
Lahu (Black)	yì?-**mí** gə̀? ve	sleepy	Matisoff 1988a:p.1301
	yì?-**mí** qa ve	fall asleep; be asleep	Matisoff 1988a:p.1301
7. Karenic: ***hmaj[A]naj[B]** SLEEPING, ***hmej[A]** LIE DOWN, SLEEP			
**Karen*	***hmaj[A]naj[B]**	sleeping	Luangthongkum 2013:261
	***hmej[A]**	lie down, sleep	Luangthongkum 2013:165 [a]
	***hmi**	sleep	Benedict 1972:136n369
**Karen [Burling]*	***mi[4]**	lie down, sleep; sleeping	Luangthongkum 2013:165; Luangthongkum 2013:261
Bwe	**mi[55]**ma[33]	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
	šɔ́-**ʔmí**	sleep (v.)	Weidert 1987:853
Bwe (Western)	ʃɔ[1]**mi[1]**	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:I.158
	ʃɔ[1]**mi[1]**mɑ[2]	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Bwe	ʃɔ́ **mí**	sleep (v.)	Henderson 1997
	ʃɔ́ **mí** má	dream (usually bad dreams) (v.)	Henderson 1997
	ʃɔ́ **mí** ma yɔ-dɛ	call out in one’s sleep (v.)	Henderson 1997
	ʃɔ[55]**mi[55]**	lie down, sleep	Luangthongkum 2013:165
Geba	sˤɔ[2]**hmi[1]**	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:I.158
	sˤɔ[2]**hmi[1]**hmɑ[2]	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Karen	**mi̱[55]**	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.50
	mi̱[55]mɔ[31]	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.50
	mi̱[55]nɔ[31]	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.50
Kayah	**mə[33]**	lie down, sleep	Luangthongkum 2013:165
Kayan	**mai[53]**	lie down, sleep	Luangthongkum 2013:165
	mai[53]nai[11]	sleeping	Luangthongkum 2013:261
Kayan (Pekon)	**mé**	sleep / lie (down) (V.)	Manson 2010
	mé mān	dream (V.)	Manson 2010
	nān **mé**	bed [lit. INSTR-sleep] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**mi[55]**	lie down, sleep	Luangthongkum 2013:165
	mi[55]ni[11]	sleeping	Luangthongkum 2013:261
Pa-O	**mì**	sleep (in cpd)	Solnit 1989
Paku	**mi[1]**	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:I.158
	mi[1]mɔ[3]	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Pwo (Northern)	**mei[35]**	lie down, sleep	Luangthongkum 2013:165
Pwo (Southern)	**mei[53]**	lie down, sleep	Luangthongkum 2013:165
Pwo (Delta)	**mer[4]**	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:I.158
	mer[4]mɑ̃[1]	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Pwo	**mì**	sleep (v.)	Weidert 1987:853
Pwo (Delta)	**mi[4]**	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:I.158
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**mi[6]**	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:I.158
	mi[6]mɑ̃[4]	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Sgaw (Northern)	**mi[33]**	lie down, sleep	Luangthongkum 2013:165
	mi[33]ne[11‥]	sleeping	Luangthongkum 2013:261
	mi[33] mɔ[31~]	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
Sgaw	**mi[1]**	sleep (v.)	Luce 1985:I.158
	mi[4]mɑ̃[1]**mi[1]**mɔ[6]	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Sgaw (Southern)	**mi[55]**	lie down, sleep	Luangthongkum 2013:165
	mi[55]ni[31]	sleeping	Luangthongkum 2013:261
Sgaw	**[4]mi**	sleep (v.)	Weidert 1987:853
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	da[31] mo[31] **mi̱[55]**	tired, sleepy	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2125

[a] [Source Note] Kayan has an irregular vowel, ai; the regular one should be i.

	mi̱^{55}	sleep	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2357
	mi̱^{55} bø^{31} t^{h}ɔ^{31}	wake	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2498
	mi̱^{55} dă^{31} be^{33}	asleep	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2359
	mi̱^{55} mɔ^{31}	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1029
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**mi**^{55}	sleep	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2357
	mi^{55} mɔ^{31}	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1029
	mi^{55} ne^{31}	asleep	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2359
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**mi̯əd/myi**	sleep / lie down to sleep (v.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:531i-j
Chinese (Old)	**mjiədh**	sleep / dream	Coblin 1986:134
	mjəngh (?)	dream	Coblin 1986:66
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**mji-**	sleep / dream	Coblin 1986:134

[a]Karen **bø**^{31} probably < ***m-*** prefix.

Chinese comparandum

寐 OC ***mi̯əd***, *GSR* #531i-j 'sleep'; B & S 2011: ***mit-s {*mi[t]-s}***; Mand. **mèi**.

(5) PTB * g r -nyit SLEEP / NOD

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g/r-nyi:t**	sleep / nod	Matisoff 2003a:605
	***n(y)it**	nod	Benedict 1972:236
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ɲi̥ʔ**^{53}sɛʔ^{53}	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.2
	ɲi̥^{52} sɛ^{52}	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.02
Spiti	**ñik**	sleep (n.)	Bodh 1991:1.16
	ñik sa ce	awake / be awake	Bodh 1991:1.17
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ɲit**	sleep	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**gńid**	sleep	Matisoff 1983:59
	gnid sad	wake up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.01
	gnyid	sleep	Benedict 1972:236
	gnyid sad (gsod)-pa	waken	Matisoff 1994b
	gnyid sad-pa	wake up (v.)	Jäschke 1881
	gɲi̥d sad	wake up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:583.1
	rnyid-pa	wither, fade	Benedict 1972:236
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	**ɲi̥** sŋəɤ̞	snore	Sun Hongkai 1991k:11.4
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**ne**^{35} k^{h}ɯ^{55} ze^{55}	snore	Chen Kang 1986c:11.4
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**ñit**	nod the head; lean a little, as a post	Benedict 1976a
	ńit	nod the head; lean a little, as a post it)	Benedict 1972:236

(6) PTB * k g li-n SLEEP

This somewhat speculative root requires further confirmation.

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	ə **kə** je	sleep / be asleep	Toba & Kom 1991:1.16
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***Ç-k^{h}li**	sleep (v.)	French 1983:552
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	ñek at **ši**	sleep (v.)	French 1983:552
	yep, nyiek at **shi**	sleep	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**shi**	sleep	Marrison 1967
	ši	sleep, lie down (v.)	French 1983:552
	ši u lou	awake	French 1983:453
Phom	lem **ši**	lie down (v.)	French 1983:552
	shi	sleep	Marrison 1967
	ši	sleep (v.)	French 1983:552
	ʃi^{31}	sleep	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**ceìn**	sleep	Okell 1971
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**kin**	sleep	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**kîn**	sleep, as a Buddh	Benedict 1976a
	kyîn	sleep (resp.) ; remain dormant	Benedict 1976a
	kyin:	sleep	Okell 1971

[a]< PLB voiced initial.

(7) PTB *ka(r) SLEEP

This poorly attested root is in need of further confirmation.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	**kar**	lie down (to sleep); sleep	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	kar pu:	pad / cushion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0492.24
	kar-pu:	mattress	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**kar**	sleep	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kar pu:	mat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:386.51
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Taoba)	**k^{h}ə**^{35} **ʑi**^{35}	sleep	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**kɛ**^{33} ʐ̩^{53}	sleep / be asleep	Dai Qingxia 1989c:1.16
	kɛ^{33}ʐ̩^{53}	sleep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1646.47
	ʐ̩^{53} **kɯ**^{323}	sleep / be asleep	Dai Qingxia 1989c:1.16
Nusu (Central)	iɔ̱^{31} **k^{h}ɔ̱**^{53}	asleep	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2261.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	iɔ̱^{31} **k^{hɹ}ɔ̱**^{31}	asleep	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2261.
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**kɯ**^{55} po^{55}	sleep / be asleep	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.16

(8) PTB *draŋ SLEEP / DREAM

This poorly attested root requires further confirmation. Cf. also Kokborok **məʔ-trəy** 'sleep'.

1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	mon **drəŋ**	day dream	Abbi & Mishra 1985
1.7.1.1. Bodo			

[a]∗***maŋ***. Meithei reflex of ***maŋ*** is ***məŋ***. Perhaps **drəŋ** is from **r-maŋ** with preemption? what about the **d-**?
[b]Meithei **drəŋ** perhaps < ***r-maŋ*** with preemption.

Dimasa	mu **dri** thang	sleep	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	məʔ-**trəy**	sleep	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	mi **drəṅ**	sleep	Sharma 1988:38
	ni **drəṅ**	sleep, a	Sharma 1988:29
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	mík **tráp**	sleep (n.)	Plaisier 2007

(9) PTB *g-la:m LIE DOWN

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	**ge**-lam a	lie down	Tayeng 1976
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***la:m** LIE DOWN			
**Northern Naga*	***la:m**	lie down (v.)	French 1983:512
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**lam**	lie down	French 1983:512
Phom	**lem**	lie down	French 1983:512
	lem ši	lie down (v.)	French 1983:552
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Thakali (Tukche)	'nuh-**lɔ**	lie down (go to bed)	Hari 1971:2.B.2.17.1
	suhm-**lɔ**	lie down (go to bed, hon.)	Hari 1971:2.B.2.17.2
2.3. Kiranti: ***glem-** LIE DOWN			
**Kiranti*	***glem-**	lie down	Opgenort 2011
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Chamling	khArkiba **la**-(a)	lie down together	Winter 1985:19
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**klam^{h}**-sa	lie down	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.17

(10) PTani * g k rət LIE DOWN

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***grət**~ **krət**	lie down	Sun 1993a:238
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**gjú**	lie down	Sun 1993b
	grjɯ-a	lie down; lie (down)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	gɯ-ja	lie down	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**git**	lie down	Sun 1993b
	git-fa:	collapse	Sun 1993b
	git-fit	lie down backward	Sun 1993b
	git-kɯr **git**-fi:	toss and turn	Sun 1993b
	git-pɯ:	lie down; lie (posture)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kət**	lie down	Sun 1993a
Damu	**kət** get mit	collapse	Sun 1993b

(11) PKC *ŋuu NOD / DOZE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ŋuu**	NOD / DOZE	VanBik 2009:864
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**ngú**	nod	VanBik 2009:864
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ŋùu**-I, ŋuut-II	nod, doze	VanBik 2009:864

(12) PTk *pi SLEEP

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***pi**	sleep	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	**pi**	sleep	Bhat 1969:97; Marrison 1967
Tusom	kə-**pzɯ**	sleep	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.022
Ukhrul	kə-**pi**	sleep; lie down	Mortensen 2012
	pi-kə-t^{h}aj	sleep continuously	Mortensen 2012
	pi-p^{h}up-kə-haj	sleep for a long time	Mortensen 2012
	pi-rak-kə-haj	in sound sleep (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
	pi-rup-kə-haj	sleep without worry	Mortensen 2012
	pi-rɐp-kə-haj	sleep a little bit	Mortensen 2012

1.1.4.2 Dream

DREAM ····· **road**

Figure 31: 1.1.4.2 *Dream*

(1) PTB * s r -ma ŋ k DREAM

This root shows variation between the velar homorganic stop and nasal, perhaps due to interference from the root-initial nasal. For a similar variational pattern, see PTB ***d-mak** WAR / SOLDIER (§5.15).

This root frequently occurs as second element in compounds where the first element is PTB ***s-y(i/u)p*** SLEEP (§1.1.4.1).

□. *STC* #82 ***r-maŋ***; *LTSR* #144 PLB ***s-mak*∝*s-maŋ***; *GSR* 902a-b.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***(r-)mɑŋ**~(r-)mɑːŋ	dream	Chou Fa-kao 1972:902a-b
	***mjəng**	dream	Coblin 1986:66
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(r-)maŋ**	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46
	***mang**	dream	Coblin 1986:67
	***maŋ**	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
	***maŋ**	dream	Michailovsky 1991:166; Benedict 1972:82
	***r-maŋ**	dream (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:48
	***r-maŋ**	dream	Matisoff 1983:27; LaPolla 1987:82
	***r-maŋ**	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
	***r/s-maŋ ∝ mak**	dream	Matisoff 2003a:601
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	è-**ma**	dream	Sun 1993b
	é-**ma**-nɯ	dream (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	jim-**ma:**	dream	Sun 1993b

	jip-**ma: ma:**	dream	Sun 1993b
Bokar	jup **moŋ**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.24
	jup **moŋ**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.24
	jup-**moŋ**	dream (n.)	Sun 1993b
	jup-**moŋ moŋ**	dream (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	jup **moŋ**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.51
Galo	yu-**ma**-**ma**-nam	dream (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻmaa nam	dream (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻyu **maa**	dream (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻyu mii-ʻyu **maa**	dream (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	ya **ma ma**-nam	dream	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	jip-**ma:**	dream	Sun 1993b
Milang	im-**ma**-**ma**-ma	dream	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	im-**mang**	dream	Coblin 1986:67
	im-**maŋ**	dream	LaPolla 1987:82; Benedict 1972:82
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	jɑ^{53}**mo**^{53}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.22
	jɑ^{55}**mo**^{53}	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.22
	jɑ^{55}**mo**^{53}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.49
	ya: **mo**	dream	NEFA (India) 1963
Kaman [Miju]	kɑ^{31}**muŋ**^{35}	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.23
	kɑ^{31}**muŋ**^{35}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.48
	tə́-**ʔmûŋ**	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
	ʔmûŋ	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
Idu	e **mo**	dream	Pulu 1978
	e **mo** ga	dream	Pulu 1978
	i^{55}**mu**^{55}	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:1.18
	i^{55}**mu**^{55}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.50
Yidu	i^{55}**mu**^{55}	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.25
	i^{55}**mu**^{55}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.25
1.2. Kuki-Chin: *maŋ DREAM			
**Chin*	*maŋ	DREAM	VanBik 2009:763
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	mu **mang**	dream (v.)	Haokip 1998:1.18
Sizang	**mang**	dream	VanBik 2009:763
Thado	**mâng**	dream	VanBik 2009:763
	màŋ	dream	Thirumalai 1972:66
Tiddim	**mang**^{1}	dream	VanBik 2009:763; Bhaskararao 1996:1055
	maŋ^{3} (n.)	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
	ˊmaŋ	dream (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	a **maung**	dream	VanBik 2009:763
Cho (Mindat)	ng-**mang**	dream	VanBik 2009:763
Khumi	a **maang**	dream	VanBik 2009:763
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**mâŋ**	dream	VanBik 2009:763
Lai (Falam)	**máŋ**	dream	VanBik 2009:763
Lai (Hakha)	**maŋ**^{5}	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Lushai [Mizo]	**mang**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	măng	dream (n.)	VanBik 2009:763
	măng	dream	Löffler 1985
	mang	dream	Bhaskararao 1996:1055
	maŋ	dream	Benedict 1972:82
Paangkhua	ra **màng**	dream	Löffler 1985
	māŋ(ʔ)	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**má**	dream (n.)	VanBik 2009:763
	^{3}ma	dream	Weidert 1987:28
1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Kom Rem	**rəm̥əŋ**	dream (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:1.18
Moyon	**rumə́ŋ** lsə́	dream (v.)	Kosha 1990:1.18
Sorbung	**máaŋ**	dream	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:People.103
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *maŋ DREAM			
**Central Naga*	*maŋ	DREAM	Bruhn 2014a:III.196
**Ao*	*maŋ	DREAM (n./v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.215
Ao (Chungli)	**mang** pu	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	puŋ^{3}**maŋ**^{3}	dream, vision; dream (n./v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.215
	púŋ **máŋ**	dream (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:9
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **mang**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a ja-**maŋ**	dream (’night’ + ’believe’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**məŋ**^{3}	dream (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.196
	-o **mang**-	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **müng**	dream	Murry *et al.* 1978:35
	o **mung**	dream (v.)	Nienu 1990c:1.18
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Ntenyi	a **mang**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**mangh**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**mang**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{3}mi ^{3}**maŋ**	dream	Weidert 1987:28
Mzieme	**mang**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *maŋ DREAM			
**Tangkhulic*	*maŋ	dream	Mortensen 2012:476
Huishu	sə-**mo**	dream	Mortensen 2012:People.092
	ʔa-**mo**-kʰə-re	dream (v.)	Mortensen 2012:People.091
Kachai	kə-pʰə-**mɐn**	dream (v.t.)	Mortensen 2012:People.086
	ʔa-**ma**	dream	Mortensen 2012:People.087
Tangkhul	**mang**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mən	dream	Bhat 1969:88
	məŋ	dream	Bhat 1969:88
	^{2}məŋ ^{2}šoŋ	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
Tusom	**ma**-sxom-pa	dream (n.)	Mortensen 2012:People.091
Ukhrul	kə-ʃi-**mɐn**	dream	Mortensen 2012
	mɐŋ	dream	Mortensen 2012
	mɐŋ-soŋ	dream	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**mang**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	məŋ	dream	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	məŋ məŋ bə	dream (v.)	Singh 1991:1.18
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	he **mān**	dream (v.)	Grüssner 1979:224
	mang	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	māng he **màn**-	dream (v.)	Grüssner 1979:161
	maŋ	dream	LaPolla 1987:82; Benedict 1972:82
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	si **máŋ**	dream	Bhat 1968
	si **maŋʔ**	dream	Weidert 1987:28
Kokborok	ɛ-**maŋ**	dream	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	ho **rmang**	dream (n.)	Balawan 1965:29
Meche	si **maŋʔ**	dream	Weidert 1987:28
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	dźu-**maŋ**	dream	LaPolla 1987:82
	džu-**maŋ**	dream	Benedict 1972:82
Garo (Bangladesh)	ju-**mang**	dream (n.)	Burling 2003:7.96-II:idx
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	*maŋ	dream	French 1983:479
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**mʌŋ**	dream	French 1983:479
	^{2}mʌŋ(ʔ)	dream	Weidert 1987:28
Tangsa	**^{1}mʌŋ(ʔ)**	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
	^{1}mʌŋ(ʔ)	dream	Weidert 1987:28
Tangsa (Yogli)	**mʌŋ**	dream	French 1983:479
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**mang**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	maŋ	dream	French 1983:479
Konyak	**mang**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	maŋ	dream	French 1983:479
Phom	**mang**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	maŋ	dream	French 1983:479
	maŋ^{33}	dream	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	jup^{31} **mạŋ**^{33}	dream	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	jup^{31}**maŋ**^{33}	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.19
	jup^{31}**maŋ**^{33}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.47
	mang	dream	Coblin 1986:67
	māŋ	dream	Matisoff 1974:111
	maŋ ≍ yup-**maŋ**	dream	Benedict 1972:82; LaPolla 1987:82
	maŋ^{33}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.19
	yup **mang**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ʔmaŋ	dream	Benedict 1972:31n98
Jingpho (Maran)	**ʔmaŋ**	dream	LaPolla 1987:82
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Ganan	ɛp^{3} **mɑŋ**	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Kadu	ɛp^{3} **mɑŋ**	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Sak (Bawtala)	e^{3}**mɑ̃**^{4}	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Sak	iʔ **maŋ**	dream (n.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:109a
	maŋ	dream (v.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:109
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**maŋs** rare	dream (v.)	Sharma 1991a:1.18
Byangsi	**maŋ**	dream (n.)	Sharma 2003:534
Kanauri	**maṅ**	dream (n.)	Bailey 1911
	maṅ mig‘	dream (vi.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**maŋ** api	dream (v.)	Sharma 1991b:1.18
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**moŋ**^{13} ɕe^{55}	dream	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	moŋ ɕi	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**moŋ** ɕu	dream	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**mre**^{35} pʰre^{55}	dream	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**mi**^{31}pren^{55}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.6
Motuo Menba	**moŋ** ɕi	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.07
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**rmaŋ**	dream	Matisoff 1983:27
	rmaŋ-	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
	rmaŋ-lam	dream	LaPolla 1987:82; Benedict 1972:82
2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{B}maŋ DREAM, to (v), *^{A}maŋ DREAM (n)			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**maŋ**	dream (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:751
	*^{B}**maŋ**	to dream	Mazaudon 1994:752
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mõhd̥ mõh** ba	imagine / dream	Glover 1972
	mõhd̥ mõh baq	dream	Glover 1972:10.B.3.37
Gurung	^{3}**mõ**-d̥(a)	dream (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:751
	^{4}**mõ**-	dream (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:752
Manang (Gyaru)	**maŋ**^{1} **maŋ**^{2} ba	dream (V.)	Nagano 1984:109
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**maŋ**	dream	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0723
	^{3}**maŋ**	dream (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:751
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**maŋ**	dream (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:1.18; Mazaudon 1994:751
	^{4}**maŋ**	dream (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:752
Tamang (Sahu)	**mahŋ ’mahŋ**-pa	dream (n-v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.C.37
	^{3}**maŋ**	dream (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:751
	^{4}**maŋ**	dream (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:752
Thakali (Marpha)	^{3}**ma^{ɦ}ŋ**	dream (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:751
Thakali (Syang)	^{21}**maŋ**	dream (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:752
	^{21}**maŋ**	dream (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:752
	^{11}**maŋ** ^{11}jaŋ ^{21,11}to-dze	dream (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:752
Thakali (Tukche)	**mahŋ mahŋ**-lɔ	dream (n-v.)	Hari 1971:10.B.3.37
	^{3}**maŋ**	dream (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:751
	^{3}**maŋ**	dream (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:751
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Dolakhali)	**maŋ** ɔs khwɔn-	dream	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**mhɔn**-	dream	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**mhɔ** ne	dream (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.18
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	*maŋ	spirit	Michailovsky 1991:166
	*maŋ	dream (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:48
	*sen **maŋ** (?)	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	sem **maŋ**	dream	Ebert 1997
	sem **maŋ** nima	dream (v.)	Ebert 1997
	sem **maŋ** nis-ue	dream (v.)	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**maŋ**	god, spirit	Michailovsky 1991:166
	sEp **maŋ**	dream	Michailovsky 1989b
	sEp **maŋ makt**-	dream (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	sɛp **maŋ**	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46
	sɛp **maŋ makt**-	dream (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:48
Yakha	sem **maŋ ma?** ma:	dream (v.)	Kohn 1990:1.18
Yamphu	**mak** ma	dream (v.)	Rutgers 1998:554.16
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**mak**	dream (v.)	Rai 1985
	makʈ-	dream (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:48
	maN	dream (v.)	Rai 1985
	mangs-	dream (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:50
	maŋ	spirit; god	Michailovsky 1991:166; Michailovsky 1991:166
	maŋ-	dream (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:48
	sen-**mang**	dream	Rai *et al.* 1984:64

	sen-mit **mangs-**	dream (n.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:50
	sen mi **maŋ-**	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46
Chamling	**mo**	soul, heart	Michailovsky 1991:166
	saî **mo**	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46
	sAy **ma**	dream	Winter 1985:32
	se **mang** tek-(u)	dream	Winter 1985:32
Kulung	se **mo**	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**mo:** mərəŋdi	disembodied spirit of a woman	Michailovsky 1991:166
	mo: məsi?im	disembodied spirit of a woman	Michailovsky 1991:166
	syem **ma**	dream; vision	Michailovsky 1991:46; Driem 1993
Khaling	se **ma**	demon	Michailovsky 1991:46
	se **mö**	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46
	√**moŋ-**	dream (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:48

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**mo**	ancestor spirit	Michailovsky 1991:166
	ŋa **mo**	dream	Michailovsky 1991:47
Thulung	cən **moat-**	dream; dream, see in a dream (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:48; Allen 1975
	ŋi: ma- se **ma**	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	byal?.**maŋ?**	empty, non-significant dream; meaningless dream (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	hmaŋ-sa	wake up (v.i.)	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.19
	hmuŋ^{h}-sa	sleep	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.16
	maŋ.yaŋ	dream (B) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	maŋ?	dream, vision (n.)	Caughley 2000
	maŋ?-	dream, see vision, be in trance (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	maŋ?-ka cyəw?-sa	dream	Caughley 1972:10.B.3.37
	maŋ?-kha	dream	Weidert 1987:28
	maŋ?.kha	dream world, visited in visions, dreams (n.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**maŋ?** ka cyəw? na?	dream (v.)	Caughley 1990:1.18
Magar	**hmaŋ**-naŋ daŋ	dream	Benedict 1972:35n114

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**mi̯e** ngu lĩ	dream (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989e:1.18

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	ji^{55} **mɑ^{55}**	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991d
	ji^{55}**mɑ^{55}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.18
Guiqiong	**mɔ̃^{35}**	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991e
	mɔ̃^{35}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.17
	mɑ̃^{35}	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.16
Lyuzu	ji^{33}**ma^{53}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.18
	ʐi^{35}**ma^{53}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.18
Muya	nɐ^{33}**mi^{53}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.15
Muya [Minyak]	mɐ^{55}**mi^{55}**	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:1.18
	nɐ^{55}**mi^{55}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.15
Namuyi	jy^{33}**mɛ^{35}**	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:1.18
	jy^{33}**mɛ^{35}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.19
	jʉ^{31}**mæ^{35}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.46
	jʉ^{31}**mæ^{35}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	ʐi^{35}**mã^{55}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.10
	ʐi^{11}**mã^{11}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.10
Pumi (Lanping)	ʒe^{13}**mɛ^{13}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	ʒə^{13} **mɛ^{13}**	dream	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.11
Pumi (Taoba)	ʐi^{55}**mi^{53}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.10
	ʐi^{55} **mi^{53}**	dream	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Longxi)	**mò** (zè)	dream (v.)	Evans 1999:2171
	mò zè	dream (n.)	Evans 1999:1029
Qiang (Mawo)	ku **mu**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.08
	ku **ʐmu**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.08
	rmu ʁe	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.8; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	rmu ʁi	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:1.18
Qiang (Mianchi)	**mò**	dream (n.)	Evans 1999:1029
	mò	dream (v.)	Evans 1999:2171
Qiang (Taoping)	**χmu^{55}**	dream	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.9
Qiang (Yadu)	ʔu **ʐmu**	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2092
	ʔu **ʐmə**	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989q:1029
Queyu (Xinlong)	(**rmo^{55}**lo^{55}) **rmo^{13}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.13
	rmo^{55}lo^{55}	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	n̥a^{35} **mõ^{55}**	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991n:1.18
	n̥a^{35}**mõ^{55}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.16
Xumi	ʐɛ^{33}**mo^{55}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.17
	ʐɛ^{33}**mõ^{55}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.17
	ʐɑ^{33} **mɔ̃^{55}**	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	ʐɑ^{33}**mɔ̃^{55}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ma^{55}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.14
	ʌ^{55}**n̥a^{55}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	ntshɛ **lma**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.14
	nts^{h}ɛ **lma**	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:1.18
Ergong (Daofu)	ʔtsha **ɬmɑ**	dream (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:1.18

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	’ta **rmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	’ta **rmo?**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	ka^{3}**rmo^{5}**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	na’ **rmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	na^{3}**rmo^{3}**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**rmô**	dream (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0500
rGyalrong	ta **rmo**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.12
	ta **r̥mo** kə pa	dream (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:1.18
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	ta’ **rmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	ta’ **rmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	ta’ **rmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	ta’ **rmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	ta’ **rmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	ta’ **rmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	ta’ **rmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	ta’ **rmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	ta’ **rmo?**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	ta’ **rmo?**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	ta’ **rmo?**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	ta’ **rmo?**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	ta’ **rmo?**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ta’ **rmo?**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	ta’ **ɾmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	ta’ **ɾmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	ta44**rmo44**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	ta^{3}**rmo^{3}**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	ta^{3}**rmo^{3}**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	ta^{3}**rmo^{5}**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	ta^{3}**rmo^{5}**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	ta^{1}**rmo^{3}**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **rmo**	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:1.18
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	ts^{h}a’ **rmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	tə22 **rmo44**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **rmo**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.11
	tɑ **rmo** kə pɑ	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.11
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	ŋa’ **rmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	ŋa’ **rmo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	´wɐ **rmo** ´ko pe^{ʔ}	dream (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0500
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	´wa **rmo** ´ko pe	dream (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0500
rGyalrong	ta **rmo**	dream	Nagano 1997:148
	ta **rmo** na vo	dream (v.)	Nagano 1997:1.18
rGBenzhen	ta-**rmo**	dream	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Anong	ip-**mang**	dream	Coblin 1986:67
	ip-**maŋ**	dream	LaPolla 1987:82; Benedict 1972:82
	maŋ^{55}	dream (n,v.)	Sun Hongkai 1988
Nung	**mɑŋ^{55}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.21
	mɑŋ^{55}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.21
Anong	**mɑŋ^{55}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.44
Rawang	yɯp **naŋ^{53}**	dream (n.)	LaPolla 2003:765
	yɯp **naŋ^{53} naŋ^{53}**	dream (vt.)	LaPolla 2003:766
Trung [Dulong]	**mləŋ**	dream	LaPolla 1987:82; Benedict 1972:31n98
	mləŋ mləŋ	dream (v.)	Benedict 1972:31n98
Dulong	**mlɑŋ^{55}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.20
	mlɑŋ^{55}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.20
Trung [Dulong]	**mlɑŋ^{55}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**mlaaŋ^{55}**	dream	LaPolla 1987:82
	mlɑk^{55} kɑ^{55}	talking in one’s sleep	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982 [a] [b]
	mlɑŋ^{55}	dream	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**mlaŋ^{55}**	dream	LaPolla 1987:82
	mlɑ̆ŋ^{55}	dream	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	**mu3**zi3	dream (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	mu^{21} tsi^{21}	dream	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**mu^{21}** tsi^{21} dzi^{21}	dream (v.)	Chen Kang 1986c:1.18
	mu^{21}tsi^{21}	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.49
	mu^{21}tsi^{21}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.49
	mu^{21}tsi^{21}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.38
Tujia (Northern)	**mu^{3}**zi^{3}	dream (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.6
Tujia (Southern)	**mʉ^{35}**	dream	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***s-mak^{H}*** **~** ***s-maŋ^{1}*** DREAM

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-mak^{H}***	dream	Matisoff 1978a:78
	s-mak **~** ***s-maŋ***	dream	Matisoff 1972b:144; Matisoff 1972b:144
	s-mak^{H}	dream	Matisoff 2003a:601; Matisoff 2003a:601

6.1.1. Burmish

[a] Dulong **-k** has assimilated to the following syllable.
[b] Note metathesis of ***r-*** prefix with the Dulong glide **-l-**.

Achang (Lianghe)	ʑik^{31} **m̥ɑʔ^{55}**	dream	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	it^{55} **mɔʔ^{55}**	dream	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	it^{55}**mɔʔ^{55}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.28
	it^{55}**mɔʔ^{55}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.41
	it^{55}**mɔʔ^{55}mɔʔ^{55}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.28
Achang (Luxi)	ʑi^{55} **ma^{55}**	dream	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	in^{31} **mɔʔ^{55}**	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1009
	in^{31} **mɔʔ^{55} mɔʔ**	have a dream	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1009.1
	in^{31}**mɔʔ^{55}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.29
	in^{31}**mɔʔ^{55}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.29
Bola	jap^{55} **maʔ^{55} maʔ^{55}**	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989g:2092
	jap^{55} **maʔ^{55}**	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1009
Bola (Luxi)	jap^{55}**maʔ^{55}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.32
	jap^{55}**maʔ^{55}maʔ^{55}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.32
Burmese (Modern)	ʾip **mak**	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Burmese (Rangoon)	eʔ^{4}**mɛʔ^{4}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.27
	mɛʔ^{4}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	eʔ^{44}**mɛʔ^{44}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.40
Burmese (Written)	**hmang-**	dream (in compounds)	Coblin 1986:67 [a]
	hmaŋ	somnambulize; dream; dream (comp.)	Matisoff 1978a:78; Matisoff 1974:111; Benedict 1976a
	hmaŋ-tak-mi	possessed (vs.)	Benedict 1972:82
	hmaŋ-tsa-saŋ	walk in sleep	LaPolla 1987:82; Benedict 1972:82
	ip **mak**	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
	ip **mɑk**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.39
	ip-**mak**	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
	ip-**mak**	dream	LaPolla 1987:82; Benedict 1972:82
	ip^{4}**mɑk^{4}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.26
	ip **mak**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mak	dream	Matisoff 1978a:78; Matisoff 1983:27; Benedict 1976a
	mɑk^{4}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.26
Hpun (Northern)	àiŋ **mùʔ**, aìʔ **mùʔ**	dream (cp. Sleep)	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	ɑiʔ^{5}**muʔ^{5}**	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Langsu (Luxi)	jap^{31}**mɔʔ^{31}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.31
	jap^{31}**mɔʔ^{31}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.31
Lashi	**mɔːʔ^{31}**	dream (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:1.18
Leqi (Luxi)	jap^{55}**mɔʔ^{31}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.33
	mɔːʔ^{31}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.33
Marma	**maʔ**	dream (v.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:109
	oiʔ **maʔ**	dream (n.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:109a
Maru [Langsu]	jap^{31} **mɔʔ^{31} mɔʔ^{31}**	dream (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:1.18
	jap^{31}**mɔʔ^{31}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.43
	yap **moʔ**	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
Atsi [Zaiwa]	jup^{55} **moʔ^{21}**	dream	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	jup^{55}**moʔ^{21}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.30
	jup^{55}**moʔ^{21}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.30
	jup^{55}**moʔ^{21}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.42
	moʔ	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***C-mak^{H}**	dream	Bradley 1979b:586
	***C-mak^{H}**	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
Lolopho	ʑi^{31} **mi^{33}** kho^{33}	dream (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:1.18

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	ʐɻ^{53} **ma^{33}** xɤ^{33}	dream (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:1.18
	ʐɻ^{53}**ma^{33}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.47
Lalo	ìq-**miq**	dream	Björverud 1994
	ɪ^{21} **me^{33}** k^{h}e^{55}	dream (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:1.18
Lipho	ʑi^{21}**mi^{33}**kha^{33}	dream	Chen Kang 1986b:1.18
Nasu	**ma 44s**	dream	Matisoff 1972b:144
	ʑi^{55} **ma^{33}** tɕ^{h}e^{55}	dream (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:1.18
Nesu	ʐɻ^{21} **mɪ^{21}** fu^{33}	dream (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:1.18
Noesu	ʑi^{33}**ma^{55}**ɣu^{21}	dream	Chen Kang 1986b:1.18
Nosu	e^{55}**mo^{21}mo^{33}**	dream	Chen Kang 1986b:1.18
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**m̥a^{31}**	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1009.
Nusu (Central)	**m̥a^{53}**	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1009.
	m̥a^{53}	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.34
	m̥a^{53}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.34
Nusu (Southern)	**m̥õ^{53}**	dream	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**m̥ɑ^{55}**	dream	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**m̥ɑ^{55}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.45
Nusu (Central)	**m̥ɑ^{55}**	dream	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	ʑi^{13} **ma^{55}**	dream	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.22
Yi (Liangshan)	i^{55}**mɔ^{21}**	dream	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mɔ^{33}	dream	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	ʑe^{21}**me^{33}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ʑi^{21}**mi^{21}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.26
Yi (Nanhua)	(i^{21}**mi^{33}**) khɑ^{33}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.37
	ʑi^{21}**mi^{33}**kh^{33}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.24
	ʑi^{33}**mi^{33}**khɑ^{33}	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.37
Yi (Nanjian)	ʐɻ^{21} **mĩ^{33}**	dream	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.23
Yi (Weishan)	(ʔɪ^{21}**mɛ^{55}**) chɛ^{55}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.36
	ʔɪ^{21}**mɛ^{33}**chɛ^{55}	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.36
Yi (Wuding)	ji^{55}**mɑ^{2}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.38
	ji^{55}**mɑ^{33}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.38
Yi (Xide)	(e^{55}**mɔ^{21}**) **mɔ^{33}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.35
	e^{33}**mo^{21}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.35
	e^{55}**mɔ^{21}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.21
	ɛ^{55}-**mɔ^{21}**	dream	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	ʑe^{21} **me^{33}**	dream (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.18
	ʑe^{21}**me^{33}**mo^{22}	dream	Chen Kang 1986b:1.18
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ma^{31}**	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2171
	mi^{55} **ma^{31}**	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1029
Jinuo	mi^{55}**ma^{42}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.44
	mi^{55}**ma^{42}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.44
Jinuo (Youle)	m̥e^{35} **mɑ^{42}**	dream	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	m̥e^{35} **m̥a^{31}**	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1029
Kucong	zʌ31 **ma33**	dream	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	(yɨʔ)-**mâʔ**	dream	LaPolla 1987:82
	mâʔ	dream	Benedict 1972:82
**Common Lahu*	***ma^**	dream	Bradley 1979b:586
Lahu	yīʔ **maʔ**	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
Lahu (Lancang)	**mɑ^{54}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.43
	zi^{21}**mɑ^{54}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.43
Lahu (Black)	**maʔ**	dream	Matisoff 1978a:78
	mâʔ	dream	Matisoff 1972b:144
	ʐɻ^{21}**mʌ^{54}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.33
	ʐɻʔ^{21} **maʔ^{54}**	dream	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	ʐɻʔ^{21} **maʔ^{54}**	dream	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Nujiang)	e^{31} **mɛ^{33}**	dream	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	e^{31}**mɛ^{33}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.27
	e̱^{31}**mɛ^{33}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.40
	myá3	dream	Matisoff 1972b:144
Lisu (Putao)	o^{5}**myɑ^{3}**	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Lisu	yi^{6} **myá^{3}** hkaw^{4}	dream	Bradley 1979b:586
Lisu (Central)	yi^{6}-**myá^{3}**-hkaw^{4}	dream	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	yi^{6}**myɑ^{3}**hkɑw^{4}	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Yi (Sani)	jɪ^{2}**mɪ^{44}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.39
	jɪ^{2}**mɪ^{44}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.39
Sani [Nyi]	jɪ̱^{22} **mɪ^{44}** ho^{33}	dream (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:339.9
	mI 44	dream	Matisoff 1972b:144
	ʑe^{21} **mɪ̱^{44}**	dream	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:251.4
	ʑe^{21} **mɪ̱^{44}** ho^{33}	have a dream (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:251.6
	ʑe^{21}**mɪ̱^{33}**	dream	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʑe^{21}**mɪ̱^{33}**do^{21}	dream (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʑi^{22}**mɪ^{44}**ho^{33}	dream	Chen Kang 1986b:1.18

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**maHS**	dream	Matisoff 1972b:144
	yuʔ **māʔ**	dream (v.)	Weidert 1987:270
Hani (Dazhai)	ju̱^{31} **ma̱^{33}**	dream	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.31
Hani (Hu T'an)	**ma 33c**	dream	Matisoff 1972b:144
Hani (Lüchun)	ju̱^{31}**ma̱^{33}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.41
	ju̱^{31}**ma̱^{33}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ma̱^{33}** me^{55}	dream	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ma̱^{33}**	dream	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ʒv̱^{31} **ma^{33}**	dream	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʒv̱^{31}**ma^{33}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.32
Hani (Mojiang)	ʒv̱^{31}**ma^{33}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.42
	ʒv̱^{31}**ma^{33}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.42
Mpi	**maŋʔ^{3}**	dream	Matisoff 1978a:78
	maŋʔ^{3}	dream (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	jup^{11} **bɑ^{33} bɑ^{33}** ce^{33}	dream	Bradley 1977 [a]
Sangkong	ʑu̱^{31} **mba̱^{33}**	dream	Li Yongsui 1991

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	ʑy^{22}**mɛ^{33}**	dream	Pelkey 2011:555
Southern Muji	ʑi^{33}**ma^{21}**mjɛ^{33}	dream	Pelkey 2011:555
Phola	ʑi^{33}**mɔ^{33}**	dream	Pelkey 2011:555
Hlepho Phowa	ʐɻ^{55}**mɛ^{21}**	dream	Pelkey 2011:555
	ʐɻ^{55}**mɛ^{33}**	dream	Pelkey 2011:555
Phuza	ʐu̱^{55}**mi^{55}**	dream	Pelkey 2011:555

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	y˩**mu**˩ k^{h}wɤ˥	dream, to dream (n./v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:1497
Na (Yongning)	ʑi˧**mv**˥	dream	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	i^{55}**mu^{33}**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.45
	i^{55}**mu^{33}**	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.45
Naxi (Eastern)	ʑi^{33}**mv^{33}**	dream (n.)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	ʑi^{33}**mv^{33}**khuɑ^{33}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.29
Naxi (Western)	ʑi^{55}**mu^{33}**	dream (n.)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	ʑi^{55}**mu^{33}**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.28

7. Karenic: *maŋ^{B} DREAM (v.)

**Karen [Burling]*	***maŋ^{1}**	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
**Karen*	***maŋ^{B}**	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
Bwe	mi^{55}**ma^{33}**	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
Kayah	**mɛ^{11}**	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
Kayan	**maŋ^{11}**	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
Kayan (Pekon)	**mān**	dream (N.)	Manson 2010
	mé **mān**	dream (V.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**mɔ^{11}**	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
Pa-O (Northern)	beŋ^{1} **mɑŋ^{2}**	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Pa-O	beŋŋ **mâŋ**	dream	Solnit 1989
	biŋ-**maŋ**	dream	Benedict 1972:142n384
Pa-O (Northern)	**maŋ^{53}**	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
Pa-O (Southern)	**maŋ^{55}**	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
Pwo (Northern)	**mɛ̃^{11}˷˷**	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
Pwo (Delta)	meɪ^{4}**mɑ̃^{1}**	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Pwo (Tenasserim)	mi^{6}**mɑ̃^{4}**	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Pwo (Southern)	**mɔ̃^{33}**	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
Sgaw (Northern)	mi^{33} **mɔ^{31}˜**	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
Sgaw	mi^{4}**mɑ̃^{1}**mi^{1}mɔ^{6}	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
Sgaw (Southern)	**mɔ^{31}**	dream (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:90
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	mi̱^{55} **mɔ^{31}**	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1029
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	mi^{55} **mɔ^{31}**	dream	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1029

8. Bai

[a] WB preserves nasal-final allofam.

[a] Phunoi denasalizes, as in **bɑ^{33}**.

Bai (Bijiang)	**mɯ**^{42}	dream	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	mɯ^{42}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.37
Bai (Dali)	**mɯ**^{42}	dream	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	mɯ^{53}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**mə**^{21}	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.48
	mə^{21}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.48
	mɯ^{31}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.36
	mɯ^{31} ŋ̍^{42}	dream	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	mɯ̃^{31}	dream (v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.18
	tsu^{55} **mɯ̃**^{31} ŋ̍^{42}	dream (v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.18

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**mi̯ŭng/mi̯ung-**	dream	Karlgren 1957:902a-b
	mi̯ŭŋ/mi̯uŋ	dream	Chou Fa-kao 1972:902a-b
	muŋ	darkened / blind	Chou Fa-kao 1972:902a-b
Chinese (Old)	**mi̯ŭŋ**	dream (v.)	Luce 1985:G.56
	mi̯ŭŋ	dream	Matisoff 1983:27

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**mien**	shut the eyes; sleep	Coblin 1986:134
	mjung	dream	Coblin 1986:66

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**meng**	dream	Karlgren 1957:902a-b
	muhng	dream	Sun 1985b:199

Chinese comparandum

夢 OC ***mi̯ŭng**, *GSR* #902a-b ‘dream’; B & S 2011: ***C.məŋ-s**; Mand. **mèng**.

(2) PTB *m-ŋwa DREAM

This etymon has so far only been found in Kiranti, Tangut, rGyalrongic, and Bai. It is nowhere near as widespread as the major PTB root for DREAM, PTB ***s/r-ma(ŋ/k)**.

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**ŋa** mo	dream	Michailovsky 1991:47
Thulung	**ŋi:** ma	dream	Michailovsky 1991:47; Allen 1975
	ŋi: ma- se ma	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	mi̯e **ngu** lĭ	dream (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989e:1.18

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	təji’ **mŋo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	təji’ **mŋo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mŋo**	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:1.18
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tɯj **mŋo**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499
	ɣʏj **mŋo**	dream (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0500
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	ˈnəʟ **ŋɑʔ**	dream (n.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0499

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**ŋ̍**^{42} **tɪ̯**^{42}	sleep	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	mɯ^{31} **ŋ̍**^{42}	dream	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tsu^{55} mɯ̃^{31} **ŋ̍**^{42}	dream (v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.18

(3) PKir *sen SEE (DREAM)

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***sen** maŋ (?)	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**sem** maŋ	dream	Ebert 1997
	sem maŋ nima	dream (v.)	Ebert 1997
	sem maŋ nis-ue	dream (v.)	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**sɛp** maŋ	dream	Michailovsky 1989b
	sɛp maŋ makt-	dream (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	sɛp maŋ	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46
	sɛp maŋ makt-	dream (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:48
Yakha	**sem** maŋ ma? ma:	dream (v.)	Kohn 1990:1.18

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**se**-ci	dream	Rai *et al.* 1984:64
	se-ci khang	dream	Rai *et al.* 1984:64
	sen-mang	dream	Rai *et al.* 1984:64
	sen-mi tokt-	dream	Rai *et al.* 1984:64
	sen-mi(t)	dream	Rai *et al.* 1984:64
	sen-mit khang-	dream (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:64
	sen-mit mangs-	dream (n.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:50
	sen mi maŋ-	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46
	sen miT	dream (n.)	Rai 1985
	sen miţ	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46
Chamling	**saî** mi	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46
	saî mo	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46
	sAy ma	dream	Winter 1985:32
	sAy mi	dream	Winter 1985:32
	se mang tek-(u)	dream	Winter 1985:32
Kulung	**se** mo	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**syem** ma	dream; vision	Michailovsky 1991:46; Driem 1993
	syen nɨ	look at, discern	Driem 1993
Khaling	**se** ma	demon	Michailovsky 1991:46
	se mö	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**cən**	dream, to see in a dream (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:46
	cən moat-	dream; dream, see in a dream (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:48; Allen 1975
	ŋi: ma- **se** ma	dream	Michailovsky 1991:46

1.1.5 Strength

(1) PTB *$\begin{matrix}\mathbf{g}\\\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{b}\end{matrix}$**-raŋ STRONG / FIRM / TENSE**

A few forms (Chepang, Burmish) show final **-m** instead of **-ŋ**.

For a possibly related root, where the ***r** is prefixal rather than part of an initial consonant cluster, see PTB ***r-kaŋ** STRONG (§1.1.5).

This root is set up as ***graŋ** ≍ ***kraŋ** in *HPTB*:267.

There is apparently a doublet at the PKC level: PKC ***khrooŋ** ‘strong’, ***khraŋ-I, khran-II** ‘grow / increase / rise’.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***krang/mkrang**	hard / strong	Coblin 1986:91

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***graŋ** ≍ **kraŋ**	strong / firm / tight / distended	Matisoff 2003a:267

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**pɹeŋ**^{35}	strength	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	pɹeŋ^{55}	strength (physical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.22
	pɹeŋ^{55}	strength	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:513.49
	ta: **grõ**	strong	NEFA (India) 1963

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***khraŋ-I**, ***khran-II** GROW / INCREASE / RISE, ***khrooŋ** STRONG

**Chin*	***khraŋ**-I, khran-II	GROW / INCREASE / RISE	VanBik 2009:1345
	***khrooŋ**	STRONG	VanBik 2009:1354

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**kháŋ**-I, khàn-II	grow	VanBik 2009:1345
Tiddim	**khang**^{2} > khan^{3}	grow, prosper	VanBik 2009:1345
	khang^{2} > khan^{3}	grow; prosper (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:721
	khaŋ^{2}/khan^{3}	grow, prosper	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**chang**	grow (v.)	VanBik 2009:1345
	chäng ≍ khawng	strong, firm	VanBik 2009:1354

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**ṭhăŋ**-I, ṭhàn-II	grow	VanBik 2009:1345
Lai (Hakha)	**thrâŋ**-I, thrăn-II	grow, grow	VanBik 2009:1345
	thròoŋ-I, thrŏon-II	strong (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1354
Lushai [Mizo]	**Thang**	grow (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2940
	ṭháng-I ṭhàn-II	grow, to increase in size, etc (v.)	VanBik 2009:1345
	ṭhang	grow	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-raŋ** HARD / STRONG

**Central Naga*	***m-raŋ**	HARD / STRONG (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.206
**Ao*	***m-ɹaŋ**	HARD (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.310
Ao (Chungli)	**m-raŋ**	hard	French 1983:501
	me raŋ	hard	French 1983:501
	merang	hard; iron	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mə^{2}**ɹaŋ**^{2}	hard (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.310
	mə^{3}**ɹaŋ**^{3}	iron (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**merang**	brave (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	tü **marang**	hard	Marrison 1967
	tə **ma raŋ**	hard	French 1983:501
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **məɹaŋ**	hard, be stiff (be v.)	Coupe 2007
Yacham-Tengsa	**ma laŋ** la	hard	French 1983:501
	malang la	hard	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **mürang**	strong	Kumar 1973b:79

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	ga **khraŋ**	fixed, firm, healthy	Benedict 1972:382
	gə **krəŋ**	strong; firm; straight	Bhat 1968

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	**mang**-rak-a	healthy; strong (vi.)	Burling 2003:8.91-II:idx

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***raŋ** HARD

**Northern Naga*	***raŋ**	hard	French 1983:501

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**wan** pu	difficult	French 1983:501; Marrison 1967
	waŋ pu	hard	French 1983:501
Phom	**wɔŋ**^{31}	force; power; strength (e.g. of a man, elephant) (cf. ’difficult’); difficult	Burling & Amon Phom 1998; Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	wɔŋ^{31}gɔʔ^{33}	strong (’power; difficult’ + ?)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Sherpa)	**ram** bu	strong (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.04
Tibetan (Written)	**khraŋ**	hard, solid, compact	Jäschke 1881:p.55
	mkhraṅ	hard	Marrison 1967
	mkhraŋ-ba	hard	Jäschke 1881:p.55

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**gramʔ**	firm, resolute (onom.)	Caughley 2000
	grəmh-	firm muscled (va.)	Caughley 2000
	grəmʔ	firm, steady, resolute (onom.)	Caughley 2000
	hluŋ **grəmh-**	bold, firm, stout-hearted (va.)	Caughley 2000

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**khjā**	strong	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2178

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	sǎʔ^{55} **zɑŋ**^{53}	strength	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	ɑ^{31} **ɕɑŋ**^{35}	strength	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31} **xʐaŋ**^{55}	strength	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	a^{31}**xʐaŋ**^{55}	strength (physical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.28
	a^{31}**xʐaŋ**^{55}	strength	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:513.41
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31}**xʐaŋ**^{55}	strength (physical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.29
Bola	**ɣam**^{31}	strength	Dai Qingxia 1989g:961
Bola (Luxi)	**ɣam**^{31}	strength (physical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.32
Burmese (Written)	**kraṁ’**	firm, resolute	Benedict 1976a
	kraŋ’	tense, tight	Benedict 1976a
	kyaŋ’	tense, tight	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**ɣam**^{35}	strength (physical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.31
Maru [Langsu]	**ɣam**^{35}	strength	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:513.43

Chinese comparandum

彊 / 強 / 强 OC ***g’i̯ɑng**, *GSR* #710e-g ‘strong’; Schuessler 2007:427 ***gaŋ**; B & S 2011: ***gaŋ {[g] aŋ}**; Mand. **qiáng**.
強 / 强 OC ***g’i̯ɑng**, *GSR* #710e-g ‘make an effort’; Schuessler 2007:427 ***gaŋʔ**; B & S 2011: ***m-kaŋʔ**; Mand. **qiǎng**.

張 OC ***ti̯ɑng**, *GSR* #721h ‘draw a bow; stretch, expand, extend’; Schuessler 2007:605-6 ***traŋ**; B & S 2011: ***C.traŋ** ; Mand. **zhāng**.
帳 OC ***ti̯ɑng**, *GSR* #721g ‘curtain’; Schuessler 2007:605-6 ***traŋh**; B & S 2011: ***traŋ-s**; Mand. **zhāng**.
長 OC ***d’i̯ɑng**, *GSR* #721a-e ‘long, longstanding; excelling’; Schuessler 2007:605-6 ***draŋ**; B & S 2011: ***Cə-N-traŋ {Cə-[N] -traŋ}**; Mand. **cháng**.
長 OC ***d’i̯ɑng**, *GSR* #721a-e ‘grow (up); senior, official’; Schuessler 2007:605-6 ***traŋʔ**; B & S 2011: ***traŋʔ**; Mand. **zhǎng**.

(2) PTB *d-baŋ STRENGTH / POWER

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	*d **bang**	great / powerful	Coblin 1986:89

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-baŋ**	strength	Matisoff 2003a:584

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Kachai	kə-**pɐŋ**	strong	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.107
Tangkhul	ka **pang**, khama kang	strong	Marrison 1967
	pəŋ	strong	Bhat 1969:98
Ukhrul	kə-**pɐŋ**	fat, healthy, strong (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**põ**-ni	strong, be in excess, be expensive [(pf.) põnom] (be v.)	Jacquesson 2005

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**dbaŋ**	strength, power	Benedict 1972:117n325
	d **bang**	power	Sun 1985c:782

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*[B]**baŋ**	force; strength; power; might	Mazaudon 1978:63; Mazaudon 1994:686
Gurung (Ghachok)	**bõh** ba:q	strong	Glover 1972:12.A.4
Gurung	**bọh** bā:q	strong (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.04
Gurung (Ghachok)	[4]**bõ**	strength	Mazaudon 1978:63
Gurung	[4]**bõ-**	strong	Mazaudon 1994:686
Manang (Gyaru)	**paŋ**[2] to[2] ba	strong	Nagano 1984:341
	paŋ[4] to[2] ba[3]	strength	Nagano 1984:056
Manang (Ngawal)	[4]**phaŋ**	strength	Mazaudon 1978:63
Manang (Prakaa)	[4]**p[h]aŋ**	force / strength / power / might	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0220; Mazaudon 1994:686
Tamang (Risiangku)	[4]**paŋ**	force; strength; power; might	Mazaudon 1978:63; Mazaudon 1994:686
Tamang (Sahu)	**pāhng** ce	violent (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.06
	pāhng cen	strong (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.04
	pahŋ ce	violent (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.A.7
	pahŋ cen	strong (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.A.5
	[3]**paŋ** cen	strength	Mazaudon 1978:63
Thakali	**'pāhng** 'tho-wa	strong (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.04
	'pāhng-na	violent (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.06
Thakali (Marpha)	[4]**paŋ**	strength	Mazaudon 1978:63
Thakali (Syang)	[4]**paŋ**	strength	Mazaudon 1978:63
Thakali (Tukche)	**'pahŋ** 'tʰo-wɔ	strong	Hari 1971:12.A.4
	'pahŋ-nɔ	violent	Hari 1971:12.A.6
	[4]**paŋ**	strength; strong	Mazaudon 1978:63; Mazaudon 1994:686; Mazaudon 1994:686

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**aŋ**	strength, force; strength, power	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:117n325
	ʔaŋ	strength / maturity	Matisoff 1974:132

Chinese comparandum

(discussion tba: Coblin ST *d-b > OC *d for this etymon)

唐 OC ***d'ângs**, *GSR* #700a-b 'exaggerate / great'; Coblin 86: *; B & S 2011: ***N-rˢaŋ { [N-] rˢaŋ}**; Mand. **táng**.
堂 OC ***d'ângs**, *GSR* #725s 'magnificent'; Mand. **táng**.
簜 OC ***d'ângs**, *GSR* #720o' 'giant bamboo'; Mand. **dàng**.
蕩 OC ***d'ângs**, *GSR* #720p' 'grand'; Mand. **dàng**.

(3) PTB *ʔan STRENGTH

This etymon bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***k/l/ʔ-wan** SWIFT / STRONG / VIOLENT (§7.1.2), and should probably be recognized as an allofamic version of it.

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	ŋā-**ʔàn**	young bull (n.)	Matisoff 1974:132
	ʔàn	in full strength (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:132

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**an**	strength	Benedict 1976a
	ʔan	strength	Matisoff 1974:132

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Côông [Phunoi]	**ʔã**[55] hĩ[33]	strength	Bradley 1977

(4) PTB *tsyi-k STRENGTH

This poorly attested root requires further confirmation.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tamet, a **tsü**	strong	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **tsəʔ**	strong (be v.)	Coupe 2007

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Taoping)	**dzɻ**[231] qɑ[33]	strength	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dzɻ[241]qɑ[33]	strength	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:513.9

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	ɕe[55] **tɕʰi[55]**	strength	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	**tɕhi̱**[44] mio̱[42]	strength	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕhi[44]mio[42]	strength	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:513.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tɕhi̱**[33]ɣə̱[21]	strength (physical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.48
	tɕhi̱[44] ɣɯ̱[42]	strength	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

(5) PTB *b-tsan STRONG / FIRM / STEADFAST

We set up this root with an initial affricate to accommodate the Tibetan and Northern Naga forms. At the PLB level, the initial had simplified to a sibilant, a development which is replicated in scattered forms elsewhere, e.g. Sangtam **a ze** and Kayan Pekon **sên**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-tsan**	strong; firm; steadfast	Matisoff 1985a:016; Matisoff 2003a:616

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Sangtam	a **ze**	strong	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***jan** STRONG / FIRM / STEADFAST

**Northern Naga*	***jan**	strong; firm; steadfast; hard	Matisoff 1985a:016; French 1983:501 [a]

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	a **can**	hard; loud	French 1983:501; French 1983:501; Matisoff 1985a:016
	a **chan**	strong	Marrison 1967
	can	difficult	Matisoff 1985a:016; French 1983:501
	lo **can**	strong	French 1983:501; Matisoff 1985a:016
Tangsa (Yogli)	a **tsan**	hard	French 1983:501; Matisoff 1985a:016

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Phom	**ʒæn**[55]	hard (firm)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

[a]French 1983, p. 497.

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**btsan**-po	strong, mighty, powerful; firm, staunch, immovable; safe, sure; definite	Matisoff 1985a:016 [a]

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***zan[1]** STRONG / FIRM

**Lolo-Burmese*	***zan**[1]	strong; firm	Matisoff 1985a:016; Matisoff 2003a:620

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**san**	strong, vigorous	Matisoff 1985a:016; Benedict 1976a
	sâñ	strong, violent; ill	Benedict 1976a
	than	strong, violent	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**yè**	durable, strong, firm; steadfast	Matisoff 1985a:016
Lisu (Northern)	**ze**[44]	strong; solid; firm (V.)	Bradley 1994
	zɯ[35]**zɯ**[35]	strong; hard; firm (V.)	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **zìq**	firm	Hansson 1989:492
Akha (Thai)	**zìq**	firm	Hansson 1989:492
Hani (Lüchun)	**zyq**	firm	Hansson 1989:492

7. Karenic

Kayan (Pekon)	âu **sên** âu klə̣̀n	stable and firm, solid (Velab.)	Manson 2010
	sên	firm (ADJ.)	Manson 2010

[a]"... staunch, immovable; safe, sure; definite, decided."

(6) PTB *twal STRONG / HARD / TOUGH

This root may be safely reconstructed for Proto-Tani, although it might ultimately be of Indo-Aryan origin. Cf. Sanskrit *sthūra-* ~ *sthūla-* 'stout, broad, strong'.

1.1.1. Tani: ***tol** STRONG

**Tani*	***tol**	strong	Sun 1993a:405

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**tor**-nan	security	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-jak a-**tɯr**	strong	Sun 1993b
	a-**tɯr**	strong; strength	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	hi:-**tɯr**	hard (work)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**tor**	strong; strength	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	tor	strength (physical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.24
Bokar Lhoba	**tor**	strength	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:513.51
Galo	at-**tor**-na	hard	Das Gupta 1963
	at **tor**	hard; firm (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	tor-nɤ	hardy; strong (of bamboo, post, etc.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	tor nam	strong; hard; exert (strength/force) (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'lɨɨ **tor**	hard stone; stone (hard) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	a **tɯr**	hard, strong, rough, tough	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **tarr**	strong	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**tor** nam	strong	Das Gupta 1983
	tor nɤ hɤ mi	strong boy	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**tol**	strong	Sun 1993a
Damu	**tor**	harden	Sun 1993b
	tor-nə	hard	Sun 1993b
Milang	**tol**-ɲi	strong; hard; brave	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	tol-ɲi-ru-ŋa	robust	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**tor**	strong	Sun 1993a

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**tura turi**	stout / strong	Bhat 1968

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Byangsi	**tàr** mo	brave (adj.)	Sharma 2003:936
Darma	**tar**-nu	strong	Krishan 2003:797
Rongpo	kə **Tor**	hard (adj.)	Sharma 2003:682 [a]

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	kak[55]**tar[55]**	hard	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	kak **tar**	hard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:831.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	kak-**tara**	hard	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	kak **tar**	hard	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1034.07

[a][Source Note] (IA).

(7) PTB *sak ROUGH / SCALY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***sak**	rough	Matisoff 2003a:612

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**so?**	rough (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:346-1

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	nya-**sag**	fish-scale	Jäschke 1881:p.184
	sag	brawn, callosity; scale	Jäschke 1881:p.571

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**sak** teor	coarse, rough (to touch)	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**cek**-	be rough texture (va.)	Caughley 2000
	cek-ʔo	rough	Caughley 1972:12.C.29
	cek.lo?	plant (sp.), shrub with large rough leaves - crushed to put on suppurating wound; Pilea symmeria (n.)	Caughley 2000
	cek.ʔo	rough (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.29

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***sak** ROUGH

**Lolo-Burmese*	***sak**	rough (GD 53.)	Matisoff 1972b:115
	***sak**	rough	Matisoff 1972b:115

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**sôŋ**	rough (= ka-sôŋ = ka-sok)	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Wuding)	**sɑ̱**[2]	rough / coarse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1038.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**sɛ 44**	rough	Matisoff 1972b:115
Jinuo	a[44]**sa**[42]	rough / coarse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1038.44

Lahu (Black)	**šâʔ**	rough	Matisoff 1972b:115
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}**sæ^{35}**	crude; coarse (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**sæ^{35}**læ^{33}	prickly; rough; coarse	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}**sæ^{35}**	rough millstone	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**syá2**	rough	Matisoff 1972b:115
Lisu (Central)	**syá^{2}**	rough, be (not smooth) (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**sæ^{35}**	coarse (V.)	Bradley 1994
	sæ^{35}ŋɔ^{21} ma^{21} ŋa^{33}	very coarse	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**sɛ^{35}**	rough / coarse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1038.40
Sani [Nyi]	**se 33**	rough	Matisoff 1972b:115
Yi (Sani)	**se^{33}**	rough / coarse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1038.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**sa HS**	rough	Matisoff 1972b:115
Hani (Lüchun)	**sa̱^{33}**tu̱^{33}ne^{33}	rough / coarse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1038.41
Mpi	**sa^{3}**	rough (to the touch)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

(8) PTB *kywaŋ HARD / SOLID

This root has so far only been uncovered in a few Himalayan languages.

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**kyoṅ**	hard	Marrison 1967
	kyong	hard, solid	Matisoff 1994b

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**gyoŋ^{1}**	hard	Nagano 1984:352
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{2}kyoŋ** pə	hard	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0440
Tamang (Sahu)	**koŋ**-pa	hard, solid	Matisoff 1994b
Thakali (Tukche)	**'koŋ** ɔ-wɔ	hard	Hari 1971:12.B.7

(9) PTB *tsak-t HARD / SOLID

The Jingpho binome means literally "hard-liver" (cf. **məsìn** 'liver', which is opposed to **sìn-wóp** 'lungs', lit. "soft/spongy liver"). This metaphorical antonymy is discussed at length in *VSTB*:198-9.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-tʃhak** DIFFICULT / HARD / DEAR, COSTLY

**Central Naga*	*a-**tʃhak**	DIFFICULT / HARD / DEAR, COSTLY (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.252
**Ao*	*a-**tʃhak**	DIFFICULT / HARD (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.164
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**sak^{1}**	difficult, hard (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.164
	shi **sak**	dear (expensive)	Marrison 1967
	si **sak**	expensive	French 1983:501
	ta **sak**	hard, difficult; difficult	French 1983:501; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen)	**c^{h}àk**	hard (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te **chak**	dear (expensive); difficult	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	tə **cak**	difficult, expensive	French 1983:501
Lotha Naga	**tshək^{2}**-	costly (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.252
	tsak a	dear (expensive)	Marrison 1967
	tssük a	dear	Murry *et al.* 1978:28
Sangtam	a mi a **thsak**	costly	Kumar 1973a
	a **thsa**	difficult	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a mo a **chak**	dear (expensive)	Marrison 1967
	a mo **chak**	costly	Kumar 1973b:80

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ʃak** DIFFICULT / HARD

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃak**	difficult / hard	Mortensen 2012:699
Huishu	kə-**soʔ**	difficult / cold	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.154
Tangkhul	ka **sak** a	hard(2)	Matisoff 1994b
	sək	difficult; hard, difficult	Bhat 1969:87; Matisoff 1994b
Ukhrul	kə-**sɐk**	difficult, costly (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	sin^{31} **tʃaʔ^{31}**	liver	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	sin^{31}**tʃaʔ^{31}**	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.19
	sīn^{31}**tʃaʔ^{31}**	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.47

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**cak**-ʔo	hard	Caughley 1972:12.B.7

(10) PTB *s-ra HARD / DIFFICULT / POOR / DISTRESSED

This etymon bears a fortuitous resemblance to PLB ***ša^{1}** EASY / CHEAP (§9.6.1), a root with the opposite meaning.

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ʂa** mo	hard; solid	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1034.05; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1043.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ʂa** mo	hard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:831.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ʂa** mo	hard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:831.5
	ʂæ-mo	firm, hard	Sun 1985a:262
	ʂæ-wæ	hard	Sun 1985a:344
Tibetan (Batang)	**sa^{55}**mu^{53}	hard	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1034.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**sa^{53}**	hard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:831.3
Tibetan (Written)	**sra** mo	hard	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1034.01
	sra-bo	tough, proof against onslaught	Matisoff 1993
	sra.ba	hard, solid, compact, firm	Sun 1985c:344
	sra.mo	firm, hard	Sun 1985c:262
	sra ba	hard	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ʂa** mo	hard; solid	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1034.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1043.04

6.1.2. Loloish: ***ʔ/s-ra^{2}** DIFFICULT / POOR

**Loloish*	***ʔ/s-ra^{2}**	difficult	Bradley 1979b:544B

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Northern)	**ʐa̱^{35}**	difficult; poor	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ʐa̱^{55}**	difficult; poor	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.34; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1084.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ʐɑ^{53}**	poor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:909.45
	ʐɑ^{55}ɑ^{31}	difficult	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:879.45
Nusu (Southern)	**ʐɔ^{53}**	poor	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	ʐɔ^{55}	difficult	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʂa^{33}**	poor (no money)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂa^{33}zɯ^{33}	poor people	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂa^{34}ndu̱^{33}	hard (difficult); laborious; strenuous	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʤo^{34}**ʂa^{33}**	arduous; difficult (living conditions)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**xo^{55}**	difficult	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:879.25
	ʂo^{55}	poor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:909.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**so^{33}**	poor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:909.26
Yi (Nanhua)	pe^{33}**ʂo̱^{55}**	difficult	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:879.24
	pe^{33}**ʂo^{55}**	difficult	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.37
	ʂo^{55}	poor	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1084.37; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:909.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ʂa^{21}**	difficult	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:879.23
	ʑe^{55}**ʂa^{21}**	poor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:909.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʂɑ^{21}**	difficult; poor	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.36; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1084.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ʂu^{33}**	difficult	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	**xɑ^{11}**	difficult; poor	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1084.43
Lahu (Black)	**hā**	distress	Matisoff 1993
	hā	difficult, poor, suffer	Matisoff 1988a:1066
	mì **hā** ve	rough ground	Matisoff 1993
	xᴀ^{11}	difficult; poor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:879.33; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:909.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**xa^{5}**	difficult; poor	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**hwa^{55}**	difficult (V.)	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{55}wa^{33}du^{33}	harm; suffer (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{55}wa^{33}le^{33}	harm; suffer (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**sha^{1}**	difficult; hard (difficult); poor (destitute)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	tshɔ^{33}**ʨwa^{55}**	poor; the poverty-stricken	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**xuɑ^{55}**	difficult	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.40
Lisu (Northern)	ɲa^{35}**ʨwa^{55}**	the difficulty is; put someone in a difficult position; depressed	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ʃuɑ^{55}**	difficult; poor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:879.27; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:909.27
Lisu (Northern)	ʨa^{35}**hwa^{55}**	chronic and stubborn disease; difficult to do	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ʨuɑ^{55}**	poor	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1084.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ʨwa^{55}**	poor; difficult; have hardships (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ʨwa^{55}gi^{21}le^{21}	pauper; poor wretch	Bradley 1994
	ʨwa^{55}khu^{33}	endure hard work; difficulty; difficult times	Bradley 1994
	ʨwa^{55}khɤ^{33}	persecute; deliberately make things difficult	Bradley 1994
	ʨwa^{55}lɔ^{33} **mɤʔ^{21}**lɔ^{33}	toiling; hard and difficult	Bradley 1994
	ʨwa^{55}lɤ^{55}	take pleasure in other's misfortune; speak ironically of; difficult times; difficult seasons	Bradley 1994
	ʨwa^{55}my^{21} muʔ^{21}my^{21}	poor place; poor and remote place	Bradley 1994
	ʨwa^{55}pha^{21}	poor person (man)	Bradley 1994
	ʨwa^{55}pha^{21} muʔ^{21}pha^{21}	poor; the impoverished (ma	Bradley 1994
	ʨwa^{55}su^{33}	poor people; poverty-stricken people; labouring people	Bradley 1994
	ʨwa^{55}su^{33} muʔ^{21}su^{33}	poor people; poverty-stricken people; labouring people	Bradley 1994
	ʨwa^{55}tsi^{55}	take pleasure in other's misfortune; speak ironically of; difficult times; difficult seasons	Bradley 1994
	ʨwa^{55}tsi^{55} muʔ^{21}tsi^{55}	difficult times	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	no^{55}**ʂɒ^{55}**	difficult	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.39
	ʂɒ^{55}	poor	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1084.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Lüchun)	**sø^{31}**	difficult	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.41
Hani (Pijo)	**sjhɔ̀**	poor	Hansson 1989:349
Hani (Caiyuan)	**sɔ^{31}**	poor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:909.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ʨa^{31}**	difficult; poor	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ɣu^{55}**ʃɔ^{31}**	difficult	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:879.32
	ʃɔ^{31}	poor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:909.32
Hani (Khatu)	**shò**	poor	Hansson 1989:349
Hani (Mojiang)	u^{55}**ʃɔ^{31}**	difficult	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.42
	ʃɔ^{31}	poor	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1084.42
Mpi	**so^{1}**ʔuŋ^{1}	poor	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ʂɔ̯^{45}**	poor	Pelkey 2011:1020
	χɔ̯^{45}	difficult	Pelkey 2011:983
Southern Muji	**sa^{55}**	poor	Pelkey 2011:1020
Phola	**xɑ^{33}**	poor	Pelkey 2011:1020
Hlepho Phowa	kə^{33}**sa^{55}**	difficult	Pelkey 2011:983
	sa^{55}za^{55}	poor	Pelkey 2011:1020
Phuza	**sa^{33}**	poor	Pelkey 2011:1020

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	lu˧**hɑ**˧	difficult, hard to do	Michaud 2006–2009:2146
Na (Yongning)	lo˧**hɑ**˧	difficult, hard to do	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	lo^{33}**xɑ^{33}**	difficult	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:879.29

Chinese comparandum

粗 ***N-s^{ʕ}ra** 'coarse, crude, thick; vulgar, rude'
鹵 ***r^{ʕ}aʔ { [r] ^{ʕ}aʔ}** 'rustic, coarse'

(11) PTB *kak HARD / DIFFICULT

The verb in the Lahu expression **mû qhâʔ ve** 'have a drought' might possibly be from this etymon (**mû** 'heaven, sky'), i.e., literally 'heaven is difficult'.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

Sino-Tibetan	*khaɣ/khak	bitter / difficult	Coblin 1986:44
	*ʔyak ≍ kak	difficult	Matisoff 1983:70
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Maram	kak	difficult	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	ə yàk ə khàk	troubles, problems, difficulties (loan word, though)	Matisoff 1983:70 [a]
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	kháʔ	hard / difficult (vi.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:345-2
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Lhasa)	kha?[53]ko[53]	difficult	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:879.2
	kha[55]ko[55]	difficult	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.02
Tibetan (Written)	kag po	difficult	Marrison 1967
	khag	difficulty	Coblin 1986:44
	khag po	difficult; difficult, hard to bear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:879.1; Matisoff 1983:70
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	khak t-	harden, to congeal, to freeze, to solidify (of fats) (v.)	Driem 1988
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	khɛʔ[4]	difficult	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	khɛʔ[44]	difficult	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:879.40
Burmese (Written)	khak	difficult; strong; hard, difficult, arduous; hard, difficult; harsh; difficult, hard	Marrison 1967; Hansson 1989:474; Matisoff 1983:70; Benedict 1976a; Coblin 1986:44
	khɑk	difficult	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:879.39
	khɑk[4]	difficult	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.26
Marma	khaʔ	hard / difficult	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:345-2
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Loloish	*kak[H]	difficult	Bradley 1979b:544A
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Liangshan)	kɔ[33]	difficult; hard (difficult)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	khagx	bitter / difficult	Coblin 1986:44
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	khwo:	bitter / difficult	Coblin 1986:44

[a] This word is evidently a loan from Burmese, since PTB ***-k** regularly became **-ʔ** in Jingpho. The other element in this elaborate expression, however, is from Shan (cf. Siamese **jâak**).

(12) PTB *s-yak HARD / DIFFICULT

Jingpho **yak** 'difficult' is evidently a borrowing from Tai (cf. Proto-Tai ***jaak**), since PTB ***-k** regularly becomes Jingpho **-ʔ**.

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	ta sak	hard	Marrison 1967
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***jek** HARD			[a]
**Northern Naga*	*jek	hard	French 1983:501
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	sek bu	expensive	French 1983:501
	sek ok bu	hard	French 1983:501
	sek ok kaŋ ko bu	vigorous	French 1983:501
	sek bü	dear (expensive)	Marrison 1967
	siek	difficult	Marrison 1967; French 1983:501
Wancho	tiak	hard	French 1983:501
	tsak u	hard	French 1983:501
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	ja[33]	difficult	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.44; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:879.34
Jinuo (Youle)	jɑ[33]	difficult	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	ʔěk	straits, difficulties	Matisoff 1983:70

[a] See Matisoff 1983 ("Translucent insights") #70.

Chinese comparandum

院/阨 OC ***ʔěk** ~ ***ʔěg**, *GSR* #844g-h 'defile, narrow pass; straits, difficulties'; Schuessler 2007:223 ***rêkh** ~ ***ʔêkh**; Mand. **è** ~ **ài**.
隘 OC ***ʔěk** ~ ***ʔěg**, *GSR* #849h 'defile, narrow pass; in straits, distress'; B & S 2011: ***q^{s}ɾ›ik {q^{s}ɾ› [i] k}**; Mand. **è** ~ **ài**.

(13) PCN *a-ʒ[a / ə]n POWER / WRATH

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Central Naga*	*a-ʒ [a/ə] n	POWER / WRATH	Bruhn 2014a:III.182
**Ao*	*a-ʒən	POWER, WRATH	Bruhn 2014a:II.125
Ao (Chungli)	a[3]-in[3]	power / anger (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.125
	a in-adok	angry	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a zən	power (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-zen[3]	power (supernatural, miraculous), magic (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.182
	o zen	power (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ō zéṇ	magic	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	zi	power (n.)	Marrison 1967
	zi chüro	angry	Marrison 1967

(14) PTB *k-ra STRENGTH / WIN / CLASSIFIER FOR PEOPLE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*k-ra	STRENGTH / WIN / CLF FOR PEOPLE	Matisoff 2003a:609
	*ra	humans (classifier)	Matisoff 2003a:170
1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	hɹa[ˈ53]	win; triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.52; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.52
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Risiangku)	[3]ʈa:	win	Mazaudon 1994:401
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	thɑ[33]khɑ[33]	win / triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.18
	thɑ[33]khɑ[55]	win	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.18
Lyuzu	the[33]khua[53]	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.18
Muya	khə[33]khe[53]	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.15
Muya [Minyak]	khe[53]	win / triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.15
	khɯ[55]khe[55]	win	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.15
Namuyi	lo[33]ʁa[35]	win	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.19
	ma[33]ʁa[35]	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.19
	mi[33]ʁa[35]	lose (a game)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:682.19
	mɛ[33]ʁa[35]	lose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:798.19
	ʁa[35]	win / triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.19
	luo[31]ʁa[35]	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.46
	ma[31]ʁa[31]	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	tɯ[11]qo[55]	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.10
Pumi (Lanping)	qa[13]	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.09
	thə[13]ko[55]	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	qa[13]	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.11
	qa[13] ta[55]	strength	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	thə[13]ko[55]	win; triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.11; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.11
Pumi (Taoba)	ka[35]	strength	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.10
	thə[35]ko[53]	win; triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.10; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.10
Qiang (Longxi)	tà qò	win, triumph	Evans 1999:2323
	tà qò	win, beat	Evans 1999:2528
Qiang (Mawo)	da qe; tə qu	win; triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.8
	tu qu	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	dzà qà	strength	Evans 1999:982
	qà	win, beat	Evans 1999:2528
	tɛ́ qǎ	win, triumph	Evans 1999:2323
Qiang (Taoping)	da[31]qe[33]	win / triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.9
	dzɻ[231] qɑ[33]	strength	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dzɻ[241]qɑ[33]	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.9
	tə[31]qɑ[55]	win	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə[35]khə[53]	win	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.16
	thə[35]ko[55]	win / triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	tə[55]khi[55]	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.13
Xumi	ʁɑ[33]khua[55]ji[55]	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	ə[55]khi[55]	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	qa	win	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.14
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	kɹɑʔ[55]	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.20
Trung [Dulong]	kɹɑ̆ʔ[55]	win / triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.46
	kɹɑ̆ʔ[55]; cɑ[53]	win	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	khɹɑ̆ʔ[55]	triumph; win	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Southern)	ɣʉ[13]	strength	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***k-ra²** STRENGTH / WIN / OVERCOME, ***ra²** CLF FOR PEOPLE, ***ra³** GET / OBTAIN			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*k-ra[2]	strength	Matisoff 1988a:p.1116
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	â	strength, force	Benedict 1976a
	khwan-â	strength	Matisoff 1974:69
	ra'	get	Hansson 1989:94
	ra'	get, obtain	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ[3]	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.26
	ɑ[3]	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.39
	ʔâ	strength	Hansson 1989:79
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Loloish	*ra[2]	strength; classifier	Bradley 1979b:423; Bradley 1979b:496A; Hansson 1989:79
	*ra[3]	get	Bradley 1979b:609; Hansson 1989:94
PNL	k-ra[2]	strength	CHEN Kang 1986a:6.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	ɣa[31]ŋ[53]	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.47
Lalo	ɣà	strength; win	Björverud 1994; Björverud 1994
	ɣa[21]	strength	CHEN Kang 1986a:6.
Lipho	ɣo[21]	strength	CHEN Kang 1986a:6.
Nasu	ɣo[33]	strength	CHEN Kang 1986a:6.
Neisu	ɣu[33]	strength	CHEN Kang 1986a:6.
Nesu	ɣo[33]	strength	CHEN Kang 1986a:6.
Nosu	ɣɯ[33]	strength	CHEN Kang 1986a:6.
Nusu (Central)	ɣa[33]	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.34
Nusu (Northern)	ɣa[31]	triumph; win	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	ɣɯ[31]	strength	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	ɣɯ̱[53]	strength	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɣɑ[35]	win; triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.45; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.45
Nusu (Northern)	ɤɯ̱[31]	strength	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	vu[33]	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.22
Yi (Liangshan)	khu[34]ɣɯ[33]	power; strength	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɣɯ[33]	strength; win	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index; MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɣɯ[33]so[55]	strength	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɣɯ[33]vi[33]	influence; strength	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɣɯ[33]zi[21]	strong (not weak)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɣɯ[33]n̡i[33]	strong (not weak)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɣɯ[33]ʑɻ[33]	strong (not weak)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɣɯ[33]tshŋ[55]	exert oneself; strength, show of	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	ɣo[21]nɐ̱[33]	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ɣo[33]	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.26
Yi (Nanhua)	no[21]n̡[21]ʑo[33]	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.37
	nɛ[21]ni[21]ʑo̱[21]	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.24
	ɣo[21]	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.24
	ɣo[21]ni[33]	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.37
Yi (Nanjian)	ɣɑ[21]	strength; win; triumph	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.23,681.23; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.23

Yi (Weishan)	**ɣɑ²¹**	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.36
	ɣɑ²¹	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ɣu³³**	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.38
Yi (Xide)	**ɣɯ³³**	power, strength	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɣɯ³³	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.35
	ɣɯ³³	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.35
	ɣɯ³³	strength; win	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.21; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.21
	ɣɯ³³dʑi²¹	win / triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**ɣo²¹**	strength	CHEN Kang 1986a:6.
Jinuo	**ka³³**kho³³	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.34
	kɔu³⁵	win / triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**kɔ⁴⁴**	triumph; win	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986; GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**kɔ⁴⁴**	win (a game) (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**kɔ⁴⁴**	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**kɔ⁴⁴** kʰo⁴⁴	strength	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**kɔ⁵⁵**	win	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.34
Kucong	**ɣʌ31**	strength	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***g'aˇ**	strength	Bradley 1979b:423
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ³¹**ɣɑ⁵³**	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.43
	ɣɑ³³	get / gain (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1398.43
	ɣɑ⁵³	get; acquire; win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1263.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.43
	ɣɑ⁵⁴	classifier for people (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0835.43
Lahu (Black)	**ɡ̈â**	classifier for people	Matisoff 1988a:1118
	ɡ̈a	get;gain;catch;succeed (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p.1113
	ɡ̈â	strength;power;vital force (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p.1116
	ɡ̈â	win;overcome;conquer (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p.1117
	ɔ³¹ **ɣa⁵³**	strength	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ̀-**ɣâ**-ɔ̀-šá	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	ɣʌ³³	get	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:675.33
	ɣʌ⁵³	strength; win; triumph; classifier for people	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.33; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.33,797.33; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:948.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ɣa³**	triumph; win	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣa¹	get	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣa⁵⁵ sa³⁵	strength	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**wà**	classifier for people	Matisoff 1988a:1118
Yi (Sani)	**qhe⁴⁴**	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ɣa²¹**	strength	CHEN Kang 1986a:6.
Yi (Sani)	**ɣɒ¹¹**	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	**ɣà**	strength	Hansson 1989:79
Akha	**ɣà**	strength	Hansson 1989:79
Akha (Thai)	**ɣà** xaq	strength	Hansson 1989:79
Hani (Dazhai)	no⁵⁵ɲi̱³¹**ɣa³¹**	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.31
	ɣa³¹ xa̱³³	strength	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.30
	ɣɔ⁵⁵	win	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɣa³¹**	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.41
	ɣa³¹xa̱³³	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**kɔ³¹**	strength	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.30
Hani (Pijo)	**kɔ̀**	strength	Hansson 1989:79
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɣa³¹**	strength; win	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɣa³¹tsɛ̱³³	triumph / win	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**hhaq** hav	strength	Hansson 1989:79
Hani (Shuikui)	no³³ɲi̱³¹**ɣɔ³¹**	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.32
	ɣɔ³¹ xa³³	strength	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.32
Hani (Khatu)	**kɔ̀**	strength	Hansson 1989:79
Hani (Mojiang)	**ɣɔ³¹**xa³³	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.42
Mpi	**ko²**	strength	Hansson 1989:79; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**ɣɔ³³**	strength	Pelkey 2011:343
Southern Muji	**ʁa¹³**gwa¹³	strength	Pelkey 2011:343
Phola	**ɣɑ³¹**	strength	Pelkey 2011:343

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ʁɑ**˩zi˩	strength	Michaud 2006–2009:1451
Na (Yongning)	**ʁɑ**˥	strength	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁɑ˧	win, to succeed (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**gɑ³³**	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**gɑ³³**	win / triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.29
	gɑ⁵⁵	win	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**kɑ³³**	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.28
Naxi (Western)	**kɑ³³**tɯ⁵⁵	strength	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**kɑ³³**tɯ⁵⁵	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ŋgɑ³³**	win	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:681.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**ɣɑ³³**	strength	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	ʂe⁵⁵li⁵⁵; **ŋgɑ³³**	win / triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.28

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***wà'**	defeat / overcome (v.)	Jones 1961:132

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**ɣɯ̱⁴²**	strength	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ɣɯ⁴²	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.37
Bai (Jianchuan)	tɕhi̱³³**ɣə̱²¹**	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.48
	tɕhi̱⁴⁴ **ɣɯ̱⁴²**	strength	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ɣo²¹	win / triumph	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:797.36
	ɣo⁴²	win (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.48
	ɣɯ⁴²	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.36

(15) PTB *r-kaŋ STRONG

This reconstruction is due to Liberty Lidz.

For a possibly related root, where the ***r*** is part of an initial consonant cluster rather than prefixal, see PTB ***g/m/b-raŋ*** STRONG / FIRM / TENSE (§1.1.5).

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Ao (Chungli)	á **káŋ**	strong (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:9

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	ka pang, khama **kang**	strong	Marrison 1967
	kəŋ	strong	Bhat 1969:98
Ukhrul	kʰə-mə-**kɐŋ**	strong, unbreakable (string) (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	a **kam** ba	strong	Marrison 1967

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ja **kong**, ing tang	strong	Marrison 1967

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	**'skaŋ** pa	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	də **'rkoŋ**	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665
Caodeng	kə-**rkaŋ**	strong	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**rkɐŋ**	strong (quality)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1667
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	kə22 **ʂkan44**	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	kə **'skaŋ**	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	kə **'ʂkaŋ**	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	kə **'ʂkaŋ**	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kə **'ʂkaŋ**	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	kə **'ʂkaŋ**	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	kə **'ʂkaŋ**	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	kə **'ʂkaŋ**	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	kə **'ʂkaŋ**	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	kə **'ʂkaŋ**	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	**ʂkaŋ** 'sɨ	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665

Chinese comparandum

剛 OC ***kâng***, *GSR* #697b-d 'hard, strong'; Schuessler 2007:250-1 ***kâŋ***; B & S 2011: ***kˢaŋ*** ; Mand. **gāng**.
鋼 OC ***kâng***, *GSR* #697h 'steel'; Schuessler 2007:250-1 ***kâŋ***; B & S 2011: ***s.kˢaŋ*** ; Mand. **gāng**.

(16) PKC *tsak STRONG / TOUGH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tsak**	STRONG / TOUGH	VanBik 2009:567

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**taak**	tough	VanBik 2009:567

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tsak**-I, tsa?-II	strong, be tough (be v.)	VanBik 2009:567
Lai (Falam)	**tsàk**-INV	strong, be tough (be v.)	VanBik 2009:567
Lushai [Mizo]	**chak**	strong	Marrison 1967
	chàk	strong (physically), powerful, vigorous, fast, speedy, quick walking	VanBik 2009:567
	chak	strong (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2162

(17) PTk *ʃon WEAK

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃon**	weak	Mortensen 2012:780
Tangkhul	**śon**	weak	Bhat 1969:100
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃon**	weak due to old age (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.1.5.1 Sick/Hurt/Ache

(1) PTB *na- $\frac{\text{n}}{\text{t}}$ ILL / PAIN / SORE / ACHE / DIFFICULT / EVIL SPIRIT

Chinese characters. *GSR* 152d-f, *STC* p.159, *STC* #80, *LTSR* #136, PLB ***nat*** ⩙***nan***. Split into allofams ***na**, ***nan**, ***nat**.

All three allofams (open-syllable, nasal-final, and stop-final) are well attested.

A few languages (Tangsa, Bisu, Sangkong) have developed the homorganic stop in this root.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***na**	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
	***na**	pain (v.)	Weidert 1987:817
	***na**	ill, (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:96
	***na**	ill; ill, pain	Matisoff 1983:10; Benedict 1972:80
	***na (*A)**	sick	Coblin 1986:132
	***na-n** ⩙ **na-t**	ill / suffer / hurt / evil spirit	Matisoff 2003a:603

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	xɑ³¹ po⁵⁵ **ɲɑŋ³⁵**	tuberculosis	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	**nât**	disease	Weidert 1987:1188
	nʌ̀i	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
	sɑu³⁵ **nɑt⁵⁵**	tuberculosis	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tʌ́-**nât**	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
Idu	jā ko **ɲa** ga	stomach ache	Pulu 1978
	tā-**na**	toothache	Pulu 1978

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***naa-I**, ***nat-II** PAINFUL / SICK			
**Chin*	***naa-I**, **nat-II**	PAINFUL / SICK	VanBik 2009:825
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**na**	pain	VanBik 2009:825
Sizang	a **nā**	pain	VanBik 2009:825
Thado	**náa-I**, **nàt-II**	sick, ache, pain, hurt	VanBik 2009:825
Tiddim	**na:^{3}** > **nat^{3}**	feel pain	VanBik 2009:825
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**noó**	ache (e.g head), hurt, ill, sick	VanBik 2009:825
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**nằa-I**, **nàt-II**	painful, sick (be v.)	VanBik 2009:825
Lushai [Mizo]	**ná**	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
	na ⩙ nat	ill; illness (vs.)	Benedict 1972:80
	náa-I, **nàt-II**	sick or ill, to be painful, to hurt, to ache (be v.)	VanBik 2009:825
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	kʌ-**ná**	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	^{2}a^{2}**nɯ**	pain (v.)	Weidert 1987:817
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**no^{1}**-lan^{3}	ailment (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	no^{1}-	hurt, be painful (vi.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ē **n̰ō**	pain	Acharya 1975
	no a	pain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	No ChoNori	sick / be ill / hurt (be.)	Nienu 1990c:12.2
	^{1}e^{1}**no**	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	a-**næu**	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***na** HURT			
**Tangkhulic*	***na**	hurt	Mortensen 2012:773
Tusom	tsɯ-k^{h}ə-**na**	hurt	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.130
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**na**	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
	na bə	illness	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	na bə	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	Singh 1991:12.2
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	rèng-**nō**-	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	Grüssner 1979:193
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	sa **nai?**	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
Lalung [Tiwa]	sha **na**	sick (be v.)	Balawan 1965:63
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	sak-**na**-a	get pain / hurt	Weidert 1987:198
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Tangsa (Yogli)	**da**	sick	French 1983:561
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**nát**	spirit; demon[1]; deity (animist)	Matisoff 1985a:036; Matisoff 1974:366
	nat, hpi, tsu	spirit	Marrison 1967
	nat^{55}	ghost	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	nat^{55}	ghost / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.19
	nat^{55}	ghost / demon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:523.47
	sin^{31} wop^{55} a^{31} **na^{31}**	tuberculosis	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	^{3}nat	spirit / demon	Weidert 1987:1188
	ə na	illness	Benedict 1972:80
	?ə nà	illness	Matisoff 1974:114
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**na**	hurt (vs.)	Benedict 1972:80
Pattani [Manchati]	**nəd** pa	sick	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Central)	sha rang **nga** ma	headache	Egli-Roduner 1987:37 7
Tsangla (Motuo)	lo **ne?**	tuberculosis	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	nat pa	sick person	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ne^{35}** tsɑ^{55}	sick	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ne^{13}**	pain / ache	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:901.6
	ne^{13}se^{53}	ill / sick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.6
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	**nɛ^{231}** pho^{13}	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:12.2
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**na^{13}**	ill; sick; pain; ache	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:901.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**na^{13}**	ill; sick; pain; ache	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.2; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:901.2
Tibetan (Written)	glo-**nad**	tuberculosis	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:77
	na	ill; sick; pain; ache	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:901.1
	na-ba	ill	Matisoff 1983:10
	na-ba	ill (vs.)	Benedict 1972:80
	na-ba	sick	Coblin 1986:132
	na-tsha	sickness, illness, disease	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:71
	nad	disease; ill; sick; illness	Weidert 1987:817; Matisoff 1983:10; Benedict 1972:80
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung (Ghachok)	mĩq **naq** ba	disease (eye)	Glover 1972:10.A.38
	naq ba	hurt / ache / pain	Glover 1972:2.B.2.44
	naq bae	sick	Glover 1972:12.A.26
Manang (Gyaru)	**na^{1}** mo^{1}	sickness	Nagano 1984:130
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{1}nə** pə	disease / illness / sickness	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0048
Thakali (Tukche)	lo **ne**	tuberculosis	Hari 1971:10.A.31
	mi **nɔh** sɔ	eye disease	Hari 1971:10.A.38
	nɔ-lɔ	hurt / ache / pain (v.)	Hari 1971:2.B.2.44
	nɔ-wɔ	pain; sick; painful	Hari 1971:10.A.22; Hari 1971:12.A.26; Hari 1971:12.B.19
	nɔh sɔ	disease	Hari 1971:10.A.29
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**n̡i^{55}**	sick / ill / hurt (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	n̡i^{55}	ill / sick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.18
Guiqiong	**n̡e^{35}**	ghost / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.16
	n̡e^{35}	ghost / demon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:523.17
	n̡e^{35}khuɔ̃^{55}ndzu̡^{35}mə^{33}	spirit (evil) / demon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0670.16
Lyuzu	de^{33}**n̡i^{31}**	ache (head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.18
	de^{33}**n̡i^{53}**	ill, to be	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1160.18
Muya	tə^{33}**ŋe^{24}**	ill, to be	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1160.15
	tə^{33}**ŋe^{24}**	ache (head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.15
Muya [Minyak]	tɯ^{55}**ŋe^{55}**	pain (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:12.2
	tɯ^{55}**ŋe^{55}**	pain / ache	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:901.15
	ŋe^{55}	sick (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:12.2
	ŋe^{55}	ill / sick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**n̡ẽ^{35}**	ill, to be	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1160.10
	n̡ẽ^{55}	ache (head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.10
Pumi (Lanping)	kɑ^{55}**ŋẽ^{55}**	pain / agony (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0688.09
	nɛ^{55}	ache (head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.09
	n̡ɛ^{55}	ill, to be	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1160.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**n̡ɛ^{55}**	ill; sick; sick, get; pain; ache	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.11; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:901.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**n̡i^{53}**	ill / sick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.10
	n̡i^{55}	sick, get	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	n̡i^{55}mə^{53}	pain / ache	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:901.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**n̡e^{55}**	hurt / be painful (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991n:12.2
	n̡e^{55}	pain / ache	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:901.16
Xumi	**n̡i^{55}**ʂuɛ^{33}	pain / agony (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0688.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ne^{55}**ɕi^{55}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.14
	n̡i^{13}	ill, to be	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1160.14
	n̡i^{13}	ache (head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ka **nə** wo	ill / sick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.12
	kə **nə** wo	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:12.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **nə** no	injure / hurt (the arm) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1607.11
	kɑ **nə** wo	ill, to be	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1160.11
rGyalrong (Eastern)	na **nə** wo	sick / be ill / hurt (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:12.2
rGBenzhen	kɐ-**nə**-ŋgo	ill	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**ə** na	illness	Benedict 1972:80
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**nɑ^{53}**	painful; sick	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***nan ⩙ *nat** SPIRIT / DEMON			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***nan**	spirit / animistic deity	Matisoff 1972b:136(b)
	***nan ⩙ nat**	spirit / demon[1] / deity (animist)	Matisoff 1985a:036
	***nat**	spirit / animistic deity	Matisoff 1972b:136(a)
	***nat ⩙ nan**	spirit / animistic deity	Matisoff 1972b:136
	***na^{1}**	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**nɔ^{55}**	sick, get	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**nɔ^{55}**	sick	DAI Qingxia 1989f:1619
	n̰u?^{55}	hurt, wound (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:2211 [a]
Bola	**na^{55}**	sick; ache	DAI Qingxia 1989g:1619; DAI Qingxia 1989g:2291
Burmese (Written)	**ănа**	pain, disease	Benedict 1972:80
	na	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
	na	sick; ill	Hansson 1989:35; Matisoff 1983:10; Benedict 1976a
	na	ill (vs.)	Benedict 1972:80
	na	ill	Coblin 1986:132
	nat	spirit; demon[1]; deity (animist); demon, god	Matisoff 1985a:036; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:136n369
	nɑt^{4}sho^{3}	spirit (evil) / demon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0670.26
	sarai, **nat**	spirit	Marrison 1967
	ʔə **na**	illness	Matisoff 1974:114
Lashi	**nɔ:^{31}**	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:12.2
Leqi (Luxi)	**nat^{31}**	ghost / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.33
Maru [Langsu]	**nò**	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
	nɔ^{31}	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:12.2
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nat^{21}**	spirit; ghost	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984; XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	nat^{21}	ghost / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.30
	nat^{21}	ghost / demon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:523.42
	nô	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
	no^{51}	painful	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	no^{51}	sick (v.)	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***C-nat^{L}** SPIRIT, ***C-na^{1}** ILL / SICK			
**Loloish*	***C-nat^{L}**	spirit	Bradley 1979b:361
	***C-na^{1}**	ill; sick	Bradley 1979b:763S; Hansson 1989:35
Lolopho	**no^{33}** ?	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:12.2
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**na^{323}**	sick	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	na^{323}	ill (be v.)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	na^{323}	illness, be ill, be in pain	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	na^{323}	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:12.2
	ni^{31}ma^{33}mo^{31}	ghost / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.47
Lalo	**nì**	spirit	Björverud 1994
	nɑ^{55}	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:12.2
Nasu	**no^{21}**	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:12.2
	nɛ 55	spirit / animistic deity	Matisoff 1972b:136(a)
	nɛ^{55}	spirit / demon[1] / deity (animist)	Matisoff 1985a:036
Nesu	**no^{21}**	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:12.2

[a] [Source Note] be.painful-variety

[a] Achang **n̰-** 'causative'.

Nusu (Central)	**na^{33}**	sick	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1619.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**na^{35}**	sick	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1619.
Nusu (Southern)	**nɔ^{55}**	painful; sick	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**nɑ^{31}**	painful; sick	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**nɑ^{35}**	painful; sick	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**no^{21}**	painful; sick	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Liangshan)	su^{33}**ŋ̍i^{55}**	medium, spirit; sunyi	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋ̍i^{55}tshɿ^{33}	ghost; spirit	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋ̍i^{55}tshɿ^{33}xa^{55}mo^{21}	demon; ghost	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Lishan)	**nv^{31}**	ill (be v.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	**nę^{33}**no^{33}	ghost / demon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:523.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**nę^{21}**	ghost / demon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:523.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ni^{21}**	ghost / spirit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.37
	nɛ^{21}	ghost / demon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:523.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ni^{21}**	spirit; ghost; demon	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:523.23
	nɑ^{55}	sick, get	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Weishan)	**ni^{21}**	ghost / spirit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.36
Yi (Xide)	i^{33}-tɕ^{h}i^{33} **na^{33}**	headache	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	na^{33}	ache, pain; ill	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	na^{33}-bo^{33}	cause of disease	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	na^{33}-p^{h}a^{55}		
	na^{33}-fu^{33}	terminally ill	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	na^{33}-mu^{21}	pathology	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	na^{33}-mi^{55}		
	na^{33}-sa^{55}	symptom	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	na^{33}-ŋ̍i^{33}-pu̱^{33}-dzu̱^{33}	sick appearance	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	na^{34}-bu^{33}	germs	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	na^{34}-t^{h}ɛ^{33}	symptom	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	na^{34}-ŋgo^{33}	disease; disease, illness	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̍i^{55}-ts^{h}ɿ^{33}	ghost	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̍i^{55}tshɿ^{33}	ghost / spirit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.35
	ŋ̍i^{55}tshɿ^{33}	ghost / demon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:523.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**no^{22}**	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:12.2
Jinuo	**ne^{33}**	ghost / demon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:523.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ne^{44}**	ghost	Dai Qingxia 1989h:962
Jinuo (Baka)	**ne^{44}**	ghost	Dai Qingxia 1989i:962
Jinuo (Youle)	**ne^{44}**	ghost	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ne^{44}**	ghost / spirit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.44
Jinuo (Baka)	**no^{31}**	sick	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1678
	no^{31}	hurt, wound (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2304
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**nɔ^{31}**	sick	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1678
	nɔ^{31}	hurt, wound (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2304
	nɔ^{31}	ache (teng)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2391
Jinuo (Baka)	**nɔ^{31}**	ache (teng)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2391
Jinuo (Youle)	**nɔ^{42}**	painful	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	nɔ^{42}	sick (v.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**nɔ^{42}**	sick, ill (be v.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	ā **nǎ**	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
**Common Lahu*	***na**ˇ	ill	Bradley 1979b
	***ne**ˇ	spirit	Bradley 1979b:361
Lahu (Black)	**nà**	get better	Matisoff 1988a:p.734-7
	nà	sick (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:114
	na^{31}	illness; sick	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	nê	spirit; demon[1]; deity (animist); animistic deity	Matisoff 1985a:036; Matisoff 1972b:136(b)
	ne^{53}	spirit; ghost	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**na^{31}**	disease; sick	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ni^{55}	spirit	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986 [a]
Lisu	**nā**	ill (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:198
	na^{4}	ill	Bradley 1979b:763S
	na^{4}hsya^{2}	ill	Bradley 1979b:763S
Lisu (Northern)	**ne^{21}**	ghost (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ne^{21}**dzø^{33}	ghost that steals the soul (based on the belief that some people can release a ghost to steal others' souls)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ni5**	spirit / animistic deity	Matisoff 1972b:136(b)
Lisu (Northern)	**ni^{21}**bɯʔ^{21}	ghost	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}dzø^{33}	ghost that steals the soul (based on the belief that some people can release a ghost to steal others' souls)	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}gu^{44}	pay tribute to a ghost	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}lɔ^{33}	hit the ghost (at wedding, the bride and bridegroom throw bamboo pieces at each other, to drive away evil spirits)	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}phi^{21} si^{33}phi^{21}	picture or statue of ghost or god	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}phi^{21} si^{33}pɤ^{55}	become ghost and god; become evil	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ni^{21}**phjø^{21} si^{33}phjø^{21}	picture or statue of ghost or god	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}phjø^{21} si^{33}pɤ^{55}	become ghost and god; become evil	Bradley 1994

[a] < ***nan**.

Lisu (Nujiang)	**ni^{31}**	ghost	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**ni^{31}**	ghost / demon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:523.27
	ni^{5}	spirit; demon[1]; deity (animist)	Bradley 1979b:361; Matisoff 1985a:036 [a]
Lisu (Central)	**ni^{5}**	spirit / apparition	Fraser 1922
	ni^{5}	ghost (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Nujiang)	**nɑ^{33}**	painful; sick	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986; Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**ni 55**	spirit / animistic deity	Matisoff 1972b:136(b)
	ni^{55}	spirit / demon[1] / deity (animist)	Matisoff 1985a:036
	nɑ^{33}	sick, pain	Ma Xueliang 1989:321.12
	nɑ^{33} ko^{33}	illness	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:99.8
	nɑ^{33} ko^{33} tʂo^{33}	ill (be v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:99.9
	nɑ^{33} tʂʅ^{21} mɑ^{33}	disease (jibing)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:99.5
	nɒ^{33}	ache, pain; ill, sick	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a; Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	nɪ^{55}	ghost	Ma Xueliang 1989:320.1
Yi (Sani)	**nɪ^{55}**	ghost / spirit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.39
Sani [Nyi]	o^{55}qo^{21}**nɒ^{33}**	headache	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂi^{33}mɒ^{33}**nɒ^{33}**	toothache	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂʅ^{33} **nɑ^{33}**	toothache	Ma Xueliang 1989:341.4

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**ná**	sick	Hansson 1989:35
Akha (Yunnan)	**ná**	sick	Hansson 1989:35
Akha	**ná**	sick	Hansson 1989:35
	neh LS	spirit / animistic deity	Matisoff 1972b:136(a)
	neh^{31}	spirit / demon[1] / deity (animist)	Matisoff 1985a:036
	neĥ	spirit	Matisoff 1974:366
Bisu	aŋ **dá**	ill	Beaudouin 1988:40
	ʔaŋ **dá**	sick	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**ná**	sick	Hansson 1989:35
Hani (Hu T'an)	**ne 21c**	spirit / animistic deity	Matisoff 1972b:136(a)
Hani (Dazhai)	**nę̱^{31}** xa^{31}	ghost; demon	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:523.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**nę̱^{31}**xa^{31}	ghost / spirit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.41
Hani (Pijo)	**ná**	sick	Hansson 1989:35
Hani (Caiyuan)	**nį̱^{31}**	ghost / demon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:523.30
	ŋ̍i̱^{31}	spirit; ghost	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**nɛ̱^{31}**	ghost	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	mɔ^{55} **nɔ^{55}**	ulcer, sore	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**nal**	sick	Hansson 1989:35
Haoni	**nɔ^{55}**	sick	Hansson 1989:35
Hani (Shuikui)	**nɔ^{55}**	sick, get; painful	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ŋ̍i̱^{31} xɔ^{31}	ghost; demon	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:523.32
Hani (Khatu)	**nɔ́**	sick	Hansson 1989:35
Hani (Mojiang)	**ŋ̍i̱^{31}**xɔ^{31}	ghost / spirit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.42
Mpi	**no^{5}**	sick	Hansson 1989:35
Côông [Phunoi]	**dɑ^{55}** ce^{33}	sick	Bradley 1977
Sangkong	**nda^{55}**	ill; hurt	Matisoff 1993; Li Yongsui 1991
Woni	**ni 33**	spirit / animistic deity	Matisoff 1972b:136(a)
	ni^{33}	spirit / demon[1] / deity (animist)	Matisoff 1985a:036

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɲi**˩	demon, ghost	Michaud 2006–2009:1432

7. Karenic

Bwe	**-nɛ**	spirit of a person (n.)	Henderson 1997
	-θu=**nɛ**	evil spirit of a person, ghost (n.)	Henderson 1997
	nə-**nɛ**	your evil spirit; evil spirit (in general)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997
Kayan (Pekon)	**nà**	spirit (N.)	Manson 2010
	nà dó	ghost [lit. spirit-knock] (N.)	Manson 2010
	nà lę̀ **nà** θyán	evil spirit, demon [lit. spirit-red-spirit-green] (Nelab.)	Manson 2010
	ta **nà**	spirit (N.)	Manson 2010

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	ʂẽ˧˥^{55} **ŋ̍i̱^{21}**	spirit	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**nân**	difficulty / suffering	Chou Fa-kao 1972:152d-f
Chinese (Old)	**nân**	difficulty, suffering	Matisoff 1985a:036; Matisoff 1983:10

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**ṇa**	sick	Coblin 1986:132
	nân	difficulty, suffering	Matisoff 1985a:036

[a] < ***nan**.

Chinese comparandum

難 OC ***nân**, *GSR* #152d-f 'difficult, painful'; B & S 2011: ***n^{ʕ}ar**; Mand. **nán**.
難 OC ***nân**, *GSR* #152d-f 'difficulty, suffering'; B & S 2011: ***n^{ʕ}ar-s**; Mand. **nàn**.

(2) PTB *tsa-t ≍ *dza-t HOT / FEVER / HURT / ILL / HUNGRY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsa**	pain; hot, pain	Weidert 1987:847; Benedict 1972:62
	***tsa-t**	hot / hurt / pain / ill	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:616
	***tsɑ**	hot / pain	Chou Fa-kao 1972:494a-c

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	t^{h}u **t^{h}a** ga	ache	Pulu 1978

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***saa-I**, ***sat-II** HOT

**Chin*	***saa**-I, sat-II	HOT	VanBik 2009:653

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**sā** hī	hot	VanBik 2009:653
Thado	**sáa**-I, sàt-II	hot (temperature)	VanBik 2009:653
Tiddim	**sa^{2}**	hot	VanBik 2009:653

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	ní **saa**	hot season	VanBik 2009:653

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**sâa**-I, sat-II	hot	VanBik 2009:653
Lai (Falam)	**săa**-INV	hot	VanBik 2009:653
Lushai [Mizo]	**sá**-I, sàt-II	hot (as fire, water, etc) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:653

	śa×**śat**	hot, pain	Benedict 1972:62
	thlan a **sha**	sweat (sweat-hot) (v.)	Matisoff 1987
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**sà**	hot, as the sun (be v.)	VanBik 2009:653
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): *__tsha__ HOT / HURT			
**Central Naga*	*__tsha__	BE HOT / HURT	Bruhn 2014a:III.022
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**cha** ru	pain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	cha ru	sick	Marrison 1967
	te **tsa**	hot	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **tʃha**	hot (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃha ɹu	sick (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃha ɹu-paʔ	illness ('be sick' + NR) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**tʃha**-tʃən	disease ('be hot' + LNOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**tsho**[1]-	hot (thermally or spicy) (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.022
	e **tsho**	hot	Murry *et al.* 1978:56
	ra **tha** ta	sick	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967:652
	tsho a	hot	Murry *et al.* 1978:56
	tso a	hot	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a **thsa**	hot; hot, tangy	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
	a **thsa** ra	disease	Kumar 1973a
	thsa cho	pain	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**thsü**	pain	Kumar 1973b:33
	thsü nü	trouble	Kumar 1973b:33
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami Naga	[2]**tshɯ**	fever / hot	Weidert 1987:730
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *__tsa__ ILL / HURT, *__sa__ HOT / SPICY / PUNGENT			
**Tangkhulic*	*__sa__	hot / spicy / pungent	Mortensen 2012:727
	*__tsa__	ill / hurt	Mortensen 2012:333
Huishu	kə-kə-**tse**	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.338
Tusom	kə-**cuə**	sick; ill (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.332; Mortensen 2012:Verbs.081
	kə-**ʃi**	hot	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.208
	sɯ-tχa	chili pepper	Mortensen 2012:Plants.124
Ukhrul	kə-**sa**	hot / spicy / pungent	Mortensen 2012:Pettigrew.287
	kʰə-kə-**tsa**	ill	Mortensen 2012
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**so**	hot, excessive; to be ill, sore	Benedict 1972:62
	sò-	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	Grüssner 1979:209
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	**sa**	ache, pain	Benedict 1972:62
	sa-ba	hot (of chillies)	Benedict 1972:62
Kokborok	**ša**	ache	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	ša	hurt (v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**sha** na	sick (be v.)	Balawan 1965:63
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**sa**	ache; sick	Benedict 1972:62
	sa-ani	pain	Benedict 1972:62
	sa-gipa	pepper	Benedict 1972:62
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**-chet**	disease (of) -	French 1983:561
	a **c(ʰ)at**	sick; fever	French 1983:561
	cʰa	ache (v.)	French 1983:561
	tsʰʌt	ache (v.)	French 1983:561
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Wenlang)	ne[35] **tsɑ**[55]	sick	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	na-**tsha**	sickness, illness, disease	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:71
	tsha	hot; illness	Benedict 1972:62
	tsha-ba	hot; heat; spice, condiment	Benedict 1972:62
	tshad-pa	heat; fever	Benedict 1972:62
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Longxi)	iá **tsà**	pain, suffering; visit doctor (iá = 'sick')	Evans 1999:1005; Evans 1999:2104
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**dzɑ**[53]	painful; sick	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**zɑ**[53]	sick	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	ă **tsha**	hunger; something faulty / hurtful	Benedict 1972:62
	cha	hungry	Benedict 1976a
	cha-mwat	hungry	Matisoff 1985a:034
	chā mwat	hungry	Marrison 1967
	tsha	hungry	Benedict 1972:62
	ə-**cha**	hunger	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**cha**	hot (v.)	Matisoff 1988a
	mû-**cha**	sunlight (n.)	Matisoff 1988a
	mû-**cha**	sunlight	Matisoff 1978a:40
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Pijo)	**tsha**	boil	Hansson 1989:453
7. KARENIC: *__cha__[A] ILL, PAINFUL, SICK			
**Karen (TP)*	*__chà__	sick	Jones 1961:165
**Karen*	*__chàh__	sick	Jones 1961:165
	*__cha__[A]	ill, painful, sick	Luangthongkum 2013:152
**Karen [Burling]*	*__cha__[4]	ill, painful, sick	Luangthongkum 2013:152
**Karen (Sgaw)*	*__shá__	sick	Jones 1961:165
**Karen (Pwo)*	*__shà__	sick	Jones 1961:165
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	*__shàh__	sick	Jones 1961:165
**Karen*	*__tsha__	pain	Weidert 1987:847
Bwe	**ʃe**[55]	ill, painful, sick	Luangthongkum 2013:152
Kayah	**che**[33]	ill, painful, sick	Luangthongkum 2013:152
Kayan	**cha**[53]	ill, painful, sick	Luangthongkum 2013:152
Kayaw	**cha**[55]	ill, painful, sick	Luangthongkum 2013:152
Pa-O	**chà**	pain; sick	Weidert 1987:847; Jones 1961:165
Pa-O (Southern)	**cha**[31··]	ill, painful, sick	Luangthongkum 2013:152
Pa-O (Northern)	**cha**[31··]	ill, painful, sick	Luangthongkum 2013:152
Palaychi	**shàq**	sick	Jones 1961:165
Pwo (Northern)	**cha**[35]	ill, painful, sick	Luangthongkum 2013:152
Pwo (Southern)	**cha**[53]	ill, painful, sick	Luangthongkum 2013:152
Pwo (Bassein)	**shà**	sick	Jones 1961:165
Pwo (Moulmein)	**shà**	sick	Jones 1961:165
Sgaw (Northern)	**cha**[33]	ill, painful, sick	Luangthongkum 2013:152
Sgaw (Southern)	**cha**[55]	ill, painful, sick	Luangthongkum 2013:152
Sgaw (Bassein)	**shá**	sick	Jones 1961:165
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	da[31] **tsʰa**[55]	sick	DAI Qingxia 1989k:1678.1
	tsʰa[55]	ache (teng)	DAI Qingxia 1989k:2391
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**shá**	sick	Jones 1961:165
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**sʰa**[55]	sick; ache (teng)	DAI Qingxia 1989j:1678; DAI Qingxia 1989j:2391
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**dźi̯ə̯t**/dz'i̯ĕt	sickness / pain	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:494a-c
Chinese (Old)	**dzjit**	sickness / evil	Coblin 1986:132
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**dzjet**	sickness, defect, evil	Coblin 1986:132

Chinese comparandum

災 OC *__tsəg__, *GSR* #0940a-c 'disaster, calamity'; Schuessler 2007:599 *__tsə̂__; B & S 2011: *__ts__[ʕ]__ə {[ts]__[ʕ]__ə}__; Mand. __zāi__.
菑 OC *__tsi̯əg__, *GSR* #0969c-d 'field cleared by slash and burn'; Schuessler 2007:632 *__tsrə__; B & S 2011: *__tsrə {[ts] rə}__; Mand. __zī__.

(3) PTB *t __u i__ __k ŋ__ HURT / ACHE

1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	**tʰu** tʰa ga	ache	Pulu 1978
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Sahu)	**'Taŋ**-pa	swell (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.45
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**tuk**-	hurt, ill (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	tuks-	hurt (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	tuŋ	illness, malaria	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**Tuk**	sick (be v.)	Rai 1985
	tuk-yung-ko	ill	Rai *et al.* 1984:70
Chamling	**tik**-(a)	ache	Winter 1985:35
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	hluŋ **jik**-sa	hurt (feelings)	Caughley 1972:10.B.1.74
	jik-sa	hurt	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.44
	jik-si-ʔo	painful	Caughley 1972:12.B.19
	jik-ʔo	pain (v.)	Caughley 1972:10.A.22
	jik-ʔo	sick	Caughley 1972:12.A.26
Chepang (Eastern)	**jik** naʔ	sick / be ill / hurt (be.)	Caughley 1990:12.2
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Southern)	**di**[21]	sick, painful	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**ti**[35]	sick	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central)	**tʰu**[33]	ache (teng)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2291.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**tʰu**[35]	ache (teng)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:2291.
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Pijo)	**thɔ̀**	hurt, bite	Hansson 1989:544
Hani (Khatu)	**thɔ̀**	hurt, bite	Hansson 1989:544
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tu̱**[44] pɛ̃[31]	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:12.2
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**thungh**	hurt (v.)	Coblin 1986:144
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**thung**-	hurt (v.)	Coblin 1986:144

Chinese comparandum

恫 OC *__t'ung__, *GSR* #1176k 'pained, grieved'; Schuessler 2007:499 *__lhôŋ__ ~ *__thôŋ__; Mand. __tōng__.
痛 OC *__t'ung__, *GSR* #1185q 'hurt (v.)'; Schuessler 2007:499 *__lhôŋs__ ~ *__thôŋs__; B & S 2011: *__l__[ʕ]__oŋ-s__; Mand. __tòng__.

(4) PTB *m-gu ILL / HURT / ACHE

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**khu**	ill; sick; pain; ache	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.4; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:901.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**khu**	pain / ache	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:901.5
	khu; nal	ill / sick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.5
3.2. QIANGIC			
Namuyi	**ŋgo**[53]	sick / be ill / hurt (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991i:12.2
	ŋgo[53]	ill / sick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.19
	(ʁuo[53]ə[ɻ31]) **nguo**[31]	ache (head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.46
	nguo[53]lʉ[33]sʁ[53]	doctor (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0181.46
	nguo[53]lʉ[35]	see (a doctor) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1472.46
	nguo[53]sʁ[31]	patient (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0196.46
	nguo[55]	ill, to be; hurt by stinging	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1160.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1223.46
	ɳi[33]mi[55]**nguo**[53]	pain / agony (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0688.46
Queyu (Xinlong)	(qho[55]) **ŋu**[55]	ache (head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ŋo**[55] rə[53]	sick / be ill (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991n:12.2
	ŋo[55]rə[53]	ill / sick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.16
Xumi	**gõ**[33]hĩ[51]	patient (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0196.17
	gõ[55]	ill, to be	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1160.17
	gõ[55]	ache (head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.17
	gõ[55]ɕĩ[33]hu[55]	see (a doctor) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1472.17
	gɔ̃[35]	sick / ill / hurt (be.)	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	gɔ̃[35]	ill / sick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:776.20
	gɔ̃[55]	pain / ache	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:901.20
	tu[55]**gõ**[55]	hurt by stinging	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1223.17
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	**ŋo**	sick / be ill / hurt (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:12.2
Daofu	**ŋo**	ill, to be	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1160.12

Ergong (Danba)	**ŋo**	ill / sick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:776.14
Ergong (Northern)	**ŋo**^{33}	sick / be ill / hurt (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:12.2
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	n̥i **ŋgo**	sick / be ill / hurt (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:12.2
rGyalrong	tu **Ngo**	ill	Nagano 1997:154
rGBenzhen	kɐ-nə-**ngo**	ill	Sun 1997b
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	**k^{h}ɤ^{31}**	ache	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2291
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Xide)	na^{34}-**ŋgo**^{33}	disease; disease, illness	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋgu^{33}	ache, pain	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Thai)	**kàq**	hurt, bite	Hansson 1989:544
Akha (Yunnan)	**kàq**	hurt, bite	Hansson 1989:544
Hani (Lüchun)	**kòq**	hurt, bite	Hansson 1989:544
	koq ?	hurt, bite	Hansson 1989:544
Hani (Wordlist)	**govq**	hurt, bite	Hansson 1989:544
Haoni	**kho**^{31}	hurt, bite	Hansson 1989:544
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	**go**˩	sick, suffering	Michaud 2006–2009
	go˩hĩ˩	patient, sick person	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**gu**^{21}	ill, to be	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1160.45
	gu^{21}	ache (head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**gu**^{31}	sick, get sick	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**gu**^{31}	ill; sick; pain; ache	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:776.29; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:901.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**sɯ**^{55}**kv**^{33}	sickle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:410.28
Naxi (Western)	**ŋgu**^{31}	sick, get sick	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ŋgu**^{31}	ill; sick; pain; ache	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:776.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:901.28

(5) PTB *s-nyuŋ SAD / TIRED / ILL / ACHY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***nyuŋ**	ill, (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:96
	***nyuŋ**	sad / ill / tired	Benedict 1972:194
	***s-nyuŋ**	sad / ill / achy / tired	Matisoff 2003a:605
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**nung** ra	sad	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**nyuŋ**	sad, dejected	Benedict 1972:194
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**snyuŋ**	disease, illness	Benedict 1972:194
	snyuŋ-ba	ill	Matisoff 1993
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**ńauŋ**	ache, be tired, cramped (v.)	Benedict 1972:194
	ñôŋ	ache, be stiff	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**ñôŋ**	ache, feeling of stiffness (n.)	Benedict 1976a

(6) PKir *ŋet ILL / ACHE

2.3. Kiranti			
**BSDTK*	***ŋet**- (?*ŋot-)	ill, (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:96
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**ŋyet**-	hurt, to ache, to be ill; hurt (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:96; Michailovsky 1991:96
	ŋyet nɨ	hurt, ache; fester (of a wound), <ill> be ailing, be in poor; ache, hurt.	Driem 1993; Driem 1993
	ŋyi:sdzɨnɨ	ill, suffer, experience pain, be ailing (be v.)	Driem 1993
Khaling	√**ŋet**-	ill, (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:96
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**nu(t)**-	ill, to suffer pain (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:96
Thulung	**neo**-	hurt, to be ill; hurt (itr), ill (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:96; Allen 1975

(7) PTB *r-kyi SICK / ACHE

This root is well attested in scattered subgroups (Tani, Qiangic, Karenic).

1.1.1. Tani: ***ki** ILL			
**Tani*	***ki**	ill	Sun 1993a:216
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**č(^{h})i**	pain	Sun 1993b
	a-**či**	ill	Sun 1993a
	à-**či**	pain	Sun 1993b
	à-**či** a-je-nɯ	ill	Sun 1993b
	à-**či**-nu	patient	Sun 1993b
	a-**č^{h}i**	disease, illness	Sun 1993b
	a-**č^{h}i** nɯ	fererish	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-dĩ-a-**č^{h}i**	headache	Sun 1993b
	à-diŋ á-**či**	headache	Sun 1993b
	a-hi a-**č^{h}i**	toothache	Sun 1993b
	á-jí à-**či**	toothache	Sun 1993b
	a-k^{h}rjɯ a-**č^{h}i**	stomach-ache; diarrhea	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-xɯ a-**či**	stomach ache	Sun 1993b
	a **č^{h}i**	ache	Sun 1993b
	do-li (a-**č^{h}i**)	fever	Sun 1993b
	do-li a-**č^{h}i**	ill, ailing	Sun 1993b
	ja-pĩ a-**č^{h}i**	disease of the nose	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**či**	ill; painful	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**či** gə:-sit	contract (disease)	Sun 1993b
	a-**či** ka:-bu	healer	Sun 1993b
	a-**či** ta-lɯŋ	measles	Sun 1993b
	fi-a-**či**	toothache	Sun 1993b
	fi-čiŋ a-**či**	toothache (from caries)	Sun 1993b
	ki-po: a-**či**	stomachache	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **tɕi**	ill, to be	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1160.24
	a **tɕi**	ache (head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.24
	a **tɕi** na	patient (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0196.24
	a-**či**	ill	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**či** po:	get well	Sun 1993b
	a-**či**-na	invalid (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ki: **tɕi** bi(da)	diarrhea, have (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1737.24
	ə-**či**	ache, pain	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **tɕi**	ill; sick; pain; ache; get sick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:776.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:901.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **ci**-nam	ache; disease (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	a ki-a **ci**-la	dysentery	Das Gupta 1963
	a ki-a **ci**-nam	gripe (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	a **si**-bɤ mo-nam	hurt (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	a **si**-nam	disease; ache (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	a yi-a **ci**-nam	toothache (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	dum-**ci**-nam	ache (of head) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	dum po-dum-**ci**	headache	Das Gupta 1963
	yu-a **ci**-nam	toothache (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘a **ci**	pain; illness (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘a **ci**	painful (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ci nam	pain (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
	‘pum **ci**	noseache (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ɲɨk **ci**	eye disease; conjunctivitis (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘ɲɨk **ci**-po lɨɨ	irritated (eyes) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ɲɨk **ci**-‘rɨ lii	conjunctivitis (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	dum-**ci**	headache	Simon 1976
	ec **ci**	fever	Simon 1976
	ec **ci**-kar-ne	sickly	Simon 1976
	ec **ci**-nam	ache	Simon 1976
	e **ci**	disease, sickness	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **ci**	ache	Das Gupta 1969
	a **ci**~a **si**	disease / ache	Das Gupta 1969
	a **ci**~i **ci**	pain (body)	Das Gupta 1969
	i **ci**-pa	ill	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **ci**	ache (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	a **ci**	fever	Das Gupta 1983
	dum po duḿ-**ci**-pa	head aches	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ki**	ill	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ci**	ache; hurt	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ci-duŋ	ill	Sun 1993b
	ci:-duŋ	sick	Sun 1993b
Milang	a-**ki**-ɲi	sick	Tayeng 1976
	a **ki**	ache; disease; pain	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	a **ki**-ayar-ɟuŋ	ache	Tayeng 1976
	a **ki**-ru-ŋa-ɲi	painful	Tayeng 1976
	a **ki**-ɲi	ill	Tayeng 1976
	a **ki**-ɲim-ka-ɲi	nurse (sick)	Tayeng 1976
	dum po a **ki**	head-ache	Tayeng 1976 [a]
	ta-**ki**	stomache-ache	Tayeng 1976
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**tɕhi**^{55}	sick / ill / hurt (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991e
	tɕhi^{55}	ill / sick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:776.17
	tɕhi^{55}nda^{55}	ill, to be	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1160.16
Qiang (Mawo)	**rdʑi**	disease; sick, get	Sun 1986; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	rdʑi	sick / be ill / hurt (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:12.2
	rdʑi	ill; sick; pain; ache	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:776.8; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:901.8
	ʐdʑɪ	ill, to be	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1160.08
	ʐdʑɪ	ache (head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**dʑì** sì sí	whimper in pain	Evans 1999:1970
	dʑí	sick, ill (also, 'pain'); ache (head)	Evans 1999:1678; Evans 1999:2391
Qiang (Taoping)	**ʐe**^{231}	sick, get	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ʐe^{241}	ill; sick; pain; ache	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:776.9; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:901.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**dʐi dʐi**	ache (teng)	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2391
	ʐdʐi	sick	Dai Qingxia 1989q:1678
7. Karenic			
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***kí**	ache (muscular) (v.)	Jones 1961:844
Pwo (Bassein)	**ké**	ache (muscular) (v.)	Jones 1961:844
Pwo (Moulmein)	**kè?**	ache (muscular) (v.)	Jones 1961:844
Sgaw (Bassein)	kə? **kí**	ache (muscular) (v.)	Jones 1961:844
Sgaw (Moulmein)	tə? **kí**	ache (muscular) (v.)	Jones 1961:844

[a] Cf. Mirish **dum-po** HEAD.

(8) PTB *bran CONVALESCE / RECOVER / RETURN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***bran**	convalesce	Matisoff 2003a:585; Benedict 1972:133
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	lu-**baŋ**-go-ma	recover	Tayeng 1976
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**bran**	become convalescent, recover; increase	Benedict 1972:133
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**bren**	get well	Benedict 1972:133
	brĕn nig‘ (-do)	well, get (vi.)	Bailey 1911
	parön̈ hacimig‘	heal (vi.)	Bailey 1911
	parön̈ kanmig‘	heal (vi.)	Bailey 1911
4. Nungic			
Anong	**ban**	convalesce	Benedict 1972:133
	də **ban**	heal	Benedict 1972:133
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**pran**	return, repeat; refine; return, repeat, recover from fainting	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:133
	ə-**pran**	return, repeat; refine	Benedict 1976a

Chinese comparandum

般 OC ***b'wân**, *GSR* #182a ‘turn round’; Coblin 86:153 ST ***pran** > OC ***pran** ~ ***ban**; Schuessler 2007:409 ***bân**; Mand. **pán**.

(9) PTB *s-ra-y DISEASE / ILLNESS / AILMENT / DISCOMFORT / HOT

This etymon seems to be confined to the Naga group.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***(h)raj** DISEASE, ILLNESS, AILMENT			
**Central Naga*	***(h)**raj	DISEASE, ILLNESS, AILMENT	Bruhn 2014a:III.052

Ao	*h.ɹa [j]	DISEASE	Bruhn 2014a:II.300
Ao (Chungli)	jəm³**.ɹa**¹	flu, influenza (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.300
	rá sà	angry (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:5
	ra men	fever	Marrison 1967
	tsə³**.ɹa**¹	thirst, be thirsty (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tu³-kuŋ³**.ɹa**²	thin (of people) (adj.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.219
	wa¹**.ɹa**¹	epidemic (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	.ɹa¹mən¹	malaria (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.300
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ra** men	fever	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**h.ɹa** mən	malaria (n.)	Coupe 2007
	jim **h.ɹà**	influenza (n.)	Coupe 2007
	másák **.ɹà**	prickly heat	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e¹-**ra**¹	disease (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.052
	eŋ²ho³ e¹-**ra**¹	flu, influenza; cough & cold (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	va¹**ra?**¹	epidemic (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ē **rà**	illness	Acharya 1975
	e **ra** tsanga	thirsty	Marrison 1967
	E **RA** TSUNGA	thirsty (be.)	Nienu 1990c:3.7.8
	lio **ra**	fever	Marrison 1967
	ra	fever; cook	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ra tha ta	sick	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967:652
Sangtam	a kong **ra**	thin	Kumar 1973a
	a thsa **ra**	disease	Kumar 1973a

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	²**ru**⁴ki	fever	Weidert 1987:413
Angami (Khonoma)	**ro** ki	fever	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**ru** ki	fever	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**rü** che	fever	Marrison 1967
	²**ruu**⁵tše	fever	Weidert 1987:413
Mao	o **ra** maki	fever	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**rü** ka	fever	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ra** münmei	fever	Marrison 1967
Zeme	kan **ra** be	sick	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**mra**	fever	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	wuk khanga **ra**	diarrhea (n.)	Marrison 1967

(10) PCC *zoy FEEBLE

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	*zoy	FEEBLE	VanBik 2009:1200
Lai (Hakha)	**zôy**-I, zŏy-II	feeble, diminished in strength (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1200
Lushai [Mizo]	**zâwi**	feeble, powerless (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1200

(11) PTB *h $\begin{matrix}\text{i}\\\text{u}\end{matrix}$ t NUMB / ACHE / HURT

This rather sparsely attested but attractive root shows the widespread TB variational pattern between medial ***-i-*** and ***-u-***.

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	*hit	NUMB / ACHE / HURT	VanBik 2009:728
Lai (Hakha)	**hit**-I, hi?-II	numb (as limb) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:728
Lushai [Mizo]	**hìt**-INV	ache (as with cold), to hurt (as when one knocks one's funny-bone (v.)	VanBik 2009:728

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**hut**	numb	Bhat 1969:93
Ukhrul	kə-ci-**hut**	numb (leg, etc. due to sitting for a long time) (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(12) PCN *khu? WOUND / INJURY / SCAR

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	*khu?	WOUND, INJURY / SCAR	Bruhn 2014a:III.080
**Ao*	*khu-ma	WOUND, SORE	Bruhn 2014a:II.076
Ao (Chungli)	**ku**²mu³sə¹tsə¹	pus (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ku¹mu²	wound (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.076
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**khù** ma	wound, sore on skin (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o¹-**khu?**²	wound, fresh injury / scar (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.080
	o **khu**	scar; wound	Murry *et al.* 1978:108; Murry *et al.* 1978:138

1.1.5.2 Swollen/Swell/Bloated

(1a) PTB *s-b^{w}a $\begin{matrix}\text{m}\\\text{p}\end{matrix}$ SWELL / SWOLLEN / FAT / THICK / ROUNDED PART

This is the most general form of the complex word family also exemplified in several other etyma, including PTB ***p^{w}am*** WOMB / PLACENTA / BELLY / STOMACH / NEST (§1.9.6) (which itself has several allofams), PTB ***bwat*** PREGNANT / SWOLLEN (§1.1.5.2), and PTB ***pum*** BODY / BELLY (§1.1.1).

For a possibly related root, see PTB ***bwar*** SWELLING / GOITER (§1.1.5.2).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**s-**)**bwam**	plump, swollen	Benedict 1972:24n78
	***bwam**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:323
	***bwam**	big; plump, swollen	Michailovsky 1991:6; Benedict 1972:172
	***bwap ≍ s-bwam**	swell up / be swollen / stout / calf of leg	Matisoff 2003a:585
	***s-bwam**	swelling, rounded, convex	Matisoff 1978b

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Galo	gi:-**pu**	goiter	Das Gupta 1963

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	gu-**pu**	goiter	Matisoff 1987
	lí-**pu**	goiter	Matisoff 1987
Milang	ki-**pum**	buttock	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	kɯ³¹sɑ⁵³**pɯm**⁵⁵dzeɲ⁵⁵	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.49
Kaman [Miju]	**pɑp**⁵³	goiter (jingliu)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	pʰɯp⁵⁵	swell up	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	thɑl⁵⁵**pɯm**⁵⁵dɑŋ⁵⁵	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.48

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Anal	ì-**pɔ̀om**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:323

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**púam**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:323
	puam	swollen, swell (v.)	Benedict 1972:172

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	phei-lo-**byu**	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	rao **byu**-pa	goitre	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	biŋ **pʰo**	goiter	Toba & Kom 1991:4.1.1

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *pəm SWELL, BE SWOLLEN

**Central Naga*	*pəm	SWELL, BE SWOLLEN	Bruhn 2014a:III.140
Lotha Naga	**pəm**¹-	swell, be swollen (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.140
	Bumm a	swell / be swollen (v.)	Nienu 1990c:12.4
	lam **pam**	heart	Marrison 1967
	Lum **bun**	heart	Nienu 1990c:9.3
	lām **pàm** >	heart	Acharya 1975
	mpam	round (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	mpüm a	round	Murry *et al.* 1978:106
	püm a	swell	Murry *et al.* 1978:121
	pām ò	swell (v.)	Acharya 1975
	¹**bum**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:323
Sangtam	**püm** cho	swell	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	a **püm** khi	swell (v.)	Kumar 1973b:95
	püm	puff	Kumar 1973b:72
	²**bum**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:323

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	⁵u²vo²**pho**	goitre	Weidert 1987:504
Angami (Kohima)	vo³¹ **pho**³¹	goiter	Nienu 1990a:4.1.1
Chokri	vo³¹ **pho**³¹	goiter	Nienu 1990b:4.1.1

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	**pũam**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:323
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**pûam**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:323

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	ā **phen**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	khəw **pom** bə	swollen lymph nodes (neck)	Singh 1991:4.1.2
	pom bə	swell / be swollen (v.)	Singh 1991:12.4

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	mak-**phu**	mons Veneris	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Kokborok	bɔ-**pʰam**	fat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***buam**	cheek	French 1983:467
	***pʰum**	round (of body parts)	French 1983:540

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**pam** sam bu	round	French 1983:540
	pam sam bü	round (adj.)	Marrison 1967
Khiamngan	¹²a ²¹**bum**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:323
Wancho	**bom** zroŋ	cheek	French 1983:467
	bom zrong	cheek	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**bam-bam**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	bom	swell	Benedict 1972:172
	bom-bom	swelling; round and chubby	Benedict 1972:172
	bòp	calf of leg	Matisoff 1974:382; Matisoff 1978b
	bum	hill; mountain	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	búm	mountain	Matisoff 1993
	hpum	fat (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	phum³³	fat (person); fat; fat (pig); fat (of people)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.19,1025.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:849.47
	pum	mountain	Marrison 1967
	pum³¹	mountain	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	pum³¹	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.19
	pum³¹	mountain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:25.47
	pum⁵⁵	swell up	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	³**pum**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:323

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	**bø**³⁵	swell up	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**bɔm**¹³mo⁵³	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:811.6
	bɔ¹³	swell up; swollen	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:778.6
Cuona Menba	**bɔm**³⁵mo⁵³	wide (in diameter) / coarse (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0966.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Batang)	**bã**¹³mbu⁵³	wide (in diameter) / coarse (of a rope) (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0966.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**pom**¹³po⁵⁵	wide (in diameter) / coarse (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0966.02
	pom¹⁵po⁵³	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:811.2
Sherpa	**supq**	abdomen; belly; stomach	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(5)
Tibetan (Written)	**sbom**	thick, stout	Matisoff 1978b
	sbom po	wide (in diameter) / coarse (of a rope) (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0966.01
	sbom po	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:811.1
	sbom-pa	thick, stout, coarse; thick	Benedict 1972:172; Marrison 1967

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	nyɛ:⁴ **bɯn**¹	nipple	Nagano 1984:034-01

2.2. Newar

Newar	khyam **pwa:**	anus / rectum	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.12
	khyā:m-**pwa:**	anus	Matisoff 1987
	pwā(th)	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	pwā:	belly / abdomen	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.7
Newar (Kathmandu)	**pwa:**	belly	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**pwa** thɔe dɔegu	pregnant (be v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.4.14 [a]

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	tɔk **phɔm** ma	adam's apple , goiter (?,?.)	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	gal **phu:** la	swollen lymph nodes (in neck)	Kohn 1990:4.1.2

[a] Newar **-gu** 'nominalizer/relativizer'.

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	iːg dəm **pɨm**	buttocks	Driem 1993
Khaling	**bwàp**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**bom** tha	fat (of baby)	Allen 1975

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	**mbø^{33}mbø^{53}**	wide (in diameter) / coarse (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0966.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**pẽ^{11}pẽ^{35}**	wide (in diameter) / coarse (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0966.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**bə̃^{55}**	wide (in diameter) / coarse (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0966.09
Qiang (Mawo)	**p^{h}o** ʁlo	swollen lymph nodes (in neck)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:4.1.2
	p^{h}ə ʁlu	swollen lymph nodes (of groin)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.9.1
	tsu **pu**	hunchback	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.5.6
Qiang (Yadu)	tsu **pu**	hunchback	Dai Qingxia 1989q:263
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**põ^{33}põ^{55}**	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:811.16
Xumi	**bũ^{35}**	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:811.20

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	**zvap^{33}**	goiter	Sun Hongkai 1991c:4.1.1
	ɬtiak^{33} **ɣbop^{13}**	swollen spleen (illness)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:9.8.1

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə p^{h}ʃu k^{h}ɐt nam **bop**	swollen spleen (illness)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:9.8.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **zbap**	goiter	Sun Hongkai 1991l:4.1.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tɐ **spɐp**	goiter	Sun Hongkai 1991j:4.1.1
	wuʒ **bɐm** kɐm	cheek	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.11

4. Nungic

Anong	dɯ^{31} **bɛ^{55}**	goiter	Sun Hongkai 1988

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***C-pwap** SWELL UP / BE SWOLLEN / STOUT / CALF OF LEG [a]

**Lolo-Burmese*	***C-pwap^{L}**	swell up	Matisoff 2003a:608
	***Npwap**	swell up / be swollen / stout / calf of leg ((HIGH);.)	Matisoff 1972b:92(a)
	***pwap**	swell up / be swollen / stout / calf of leg ((HIGH);.)	Matisoff 1972b:92(d)
	***{C}-pwam**	swell up / be swollen / stout / calf of leg (GD 110;.)	Matisoff 1972b:92(c)
	***{C}-pwap**	swell up / be swollen / stout / calf ofleg ((LOW);G.)	Matisoff 1972b:92(b)

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**pum^{55}**	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.28
	pum^{55}	mountain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:25.41
	pum^{55}tɔŋ^{31}	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.28
	pum^{55}ʐə̯ŋ^{31}	hillside / mountain slope (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0024.28
	pum^{55}ʐə̯ŋ^{31}	slope	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:30.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**pum^{53}**tʐo̯ŋ^{31}	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.29
	pum^{55}	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.29
	tsɔ^{31} **pum^{31}**	pregnant	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1912
	tsɔ^{31}**pum^{31}**	pregnant, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1379.29
Bola (Luxi)	**pam^{55}**	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.32
	pam^{55}pu̱ŋ^{35}	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.32
Burmese (Modern)	**p'waṁ'^{1}**	plump, fat	Luce 1985:G.113
Burmese (Written)	**phwám**	fat / plump	Weidert 1987:323
	phwam	plump	Matisoff 1978b
	phwám	fat, plump	Benedict 1972:172
	phwaṁ'	fat, plump	Benedict 1976a
	p'waṁ'	plump, stout	Luce 1985:X.214
	wâm-**pân**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
Langsu (Luxi)	**pam^{31}**	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.31
	pam^{31}kha^{55}	hillside / mountain slope (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0024.31
Lashi	**pɔːŋ^{33}**	swell / be swollen (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:12.4
Leqi (Luxi)	**pɔm^{31}**	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.33
Maru [Langsu]	**pam^{31}**	mountain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:25.43
	pauŋ^{35}	swell / be swollen (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:12.4
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pum^{51}**	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.30
	pum^{51}	mountain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:25.42
	pum^{51}toŋ^{21}	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.30

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***C-pwam^{2}/ap^{L}**	swell up	Bradley 1979b:740A

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	lɛ^{323}**pɛ^{33}**p^{h}v^{33}	goiter	Mu Shihua 2003
	phy̱^{33} tsɭ^{24}	swell / be swollen (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:12.4
Lalo	**p^{h}y^{21}**	swell / be swollen (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:12.4
Nasu	**p^{h}ɤ̱^{55}**	swell / be swollen (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:12.4
Nesu	**bu^{21}** ku^{33}	hunchback	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.6
	p^{h}ɤ̱^{21}	swell / be swollen (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:12.4
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	dɔ̃^{35} **bu^{31} bu^{31}**	hunchback	Dai Qingxia 1989o:248.
Nusu (Central)	dɔ̃^{33} **bu^{31}** a^{31}	hunchback	Dai Qingxia 1989p:248.
	pho^{55}	bloated, feel (of the stomach) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1788.34
Yi (Dafang)	**p^{h}i^{13}**	swell up	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Liangshan)	li^{33}**bi^{33}**	goiter	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Lishan)	**p^{h}ɤ̱^{31}**	swell, swollen	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Nanjian)	**phỹ^{21}**	swell up	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Weishan)	**phy^{55}**	bloated, feel (of the stomach) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1788.36
Yi (Wuding)	**phɤ^{11}**	bloated, feel (of the stomach) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1788.38
Yi (Xide)	**bɭ^{21}**-ku^{21}	hunchback	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**bo^{21}** ʈɑ̱^{33}	swollen lymph nodes (in neck)	Luo Meizhen 1990:4.1.2
	bu^{33} ko^{33}	hunchback	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.5.6
	p'u^{22}	swell / be swollen (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:12.4
Jinuo (Baka)	**pø^{55}**	swell up	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2595
Jinuo (Youle)	**pø^{55}**	swell up	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**pœ^{55}**	swell up	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2595
Lahu (Shehleh)	hkui: **peh˯**	calf (leg)	Bradley 1979a:126
**Common Lahu*	***hpo˄**	swell up	Bradley 1979b:740A
Lahu	khi-**pè**-qu	calf	Benedict 1972:20n72
**Common Lahu*	***peh˯**	calf	Bradley 1979b:126
Lahu (Black)	**bú** ɛ̀	swollen	Matisoff 1972b:92(a)
	cú-**phô**	breast	Matisoff 1993
	cú-**phû**	breast	Matisoff 1993
	khɨ-**pɛ**-qu	calf of leg	Matisoff 1972b:92(c)
	phòʔ	swollen; swell up	Matisoff 1974:382; Matisoff 1972b:92(b)
	pɛ^{31}pɯ^{33}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.33 [a]
	pè-qu	goiter	Matisoff 1993
	p^{h}uʔ^{21}	swell up	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsu^{35}**fu^{33}**	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.33
	ɔ̀-**pè**-qu	goiter	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	**p^{h}oʔ^{21}**	swell up	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**hpɛ̄^{6}**	swell up	Bradley 1979b:740A
	phɔ̈ c	swell up / be swollen / stout / calf of leg	Matisoff 1972b:92(b)
	phu^{31}	bloated, feel (of the stomach) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1788.40
Sani [Nyi]	læ^{33} **pɪ^{33}**	goiter (person with)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:121.4
	læ^{44} **pɪ^{33}**	tumor on neck (goiter?)	Ma Xueliang 1989:362.6.
	lɛ^{33}**pɪ^{33}**	goiter	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**phy̱^{33}**	bloated, feel (of the stomach) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1788.39
Sani [Nyi]	**phɣ̱^{21}**	swell, swollen	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	p^{h}y̱^{33} læ^{33}	swell up (pengzhang); swell up (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:306.2; Ma Xueliang 1989:362.9.
	p^{h}ɣ̱^{22}	swelling (zhong)	Ma Xueliang 1989:306.1
	p'ɤ 22s	swell up / be swollen / stout / calf of leg	Matisoff 1972b:92(b)
	ɪ^{21} pɪ^{33} **p^{h}u^{33}**	bloated (stomach) (be v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:312.2
	ɪ^{21}pɪ^{33}**phu^{33}**	swollen stomach (from gas)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**bɛ́**	goiter	Hansson 1989:219
	law˅ **beh˅** (si˅)	goiter	Matisoff 1987
	law˅ **beh˅ beh˅**-eu	have a goiter (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Yunnan)	lɔ́ **bɛ́**	goiter	Hansson 1989:219
Akha (Thai)	lɔ́-**bɛ́**	goiter	Hansson 1989:219
Bisu	ù **pùm pùm**	pregnant (be v.)	Beaudouin 1988:27
Hani (Lüchun)	lý **bɛ́**	goiter	Hansson 1989:219
Hani (Dazhai)	**p^{h}u^{31}**	swell up	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Pijo)	lý **pí**	goiter	Hansson 1989:219
	pí	goiter	Hansson 1989:219
Hani (Gelanghe)	**p^{h}u^{31}**	swell up	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**bbeil** jjil	goiter	Hansson 1989:219
Hani (Khatu)	lý **pí**	goiter	Hansson 1989:219
	pí	goiter	Hansson 1989:219
Mpi	**peʔ^{1}**	swell, be swollen (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	bǒ **puɑn^{55}** biɑ^{11} jɑu^{33}	fat	Bradley 1977

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	æ˧**bæ˧**	goiter	Michaud 2006–2009:315

7. Karenic

Pa-O	kəthɔ̄ŋ **pú**	goiter	Solnit 1989
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**bua^{33}** jɔ^{31} dę^{55} kę^{31}	hunchback	Dai Qingxia 1989k:263
	mi^{33} **bua^{33}** p^{h}o^{55}	eyeball	Dai Qingxia 1989k:104.1

[a] This form is also cited in DL:852 as **pè-pɨ** 'crop of bird; (human) breast, chest'. It is co-allofamic with **pè-pì(-qu)** 'chicken's breast' (cf. also **pè-qu** 'goiter').

(1b) PTB *bwap CALF / LEG

This root is only one allofam of a complex word family, including ***s-bwam** 'plump / swollen', set up as a separate root in *STC* #172. This allofamy was recognized in *LTSR* #92, which reconstructs PLB ***m-pwap** ⪤ ***C-pwam** 'swell up / be swollen / stout / calf of leg'.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***bop**	calf (leg) (2); calf of leg; calf of the leg	Weidert 1987:1091; Matisoff 2003a:585; Benedict 1972:30

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**bop**	leg; hind leg (animal); leg, hind leg of an animal	Weidert 1987:1091; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:30

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**bop** ⪤ lə **bop**	calf of the leg	Benedict 1972:30
	^{1}lə^{1}**bop**	calf (leg)(2)	Weidert 1987:1091

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	(ă-)**bop**	large (as belly)	Benedict 1972:30

(2) PTB *bwar SWELLING / GOITER

This etymon is very possibly related to PTB ***s-b^{w}a(m/p)** SWELL / SWOLLEN / FAT / THICK / ROUNDED PART (§1.1.5.2).

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	hrok-**puar**	goiter	Matisoff 1987
	nghawng-**puar**	goiter	Matisoff 1987
	ong-**puar**	goiter	Matisoff 1987
	or **puar**	goiter	Matisoff 1987
	ór-**púar**	goitre	Weidert 1987:504

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	rao **pua**-pa	goiter	Matisoff 1987:256

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hwa**	goiter	Sun 1985a:313
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**powa**	goiter	Bishop 1989:4.1.1 [a]
Tibetan (Written)	gn̰an **fibur**	boil (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:285.1
	ḥbur-ba	rise, be prominent (v.)	Jäschke 1881:394
	ḥbur-ma	embossment, relievo (n.)	Jäschke 1881:394
	ḥbur-po	protuberance; tumor (n.)	Jäschke 1881:394
	fibur fibur	protruding / raised (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0970.01

[a] < **lba-ba**.

(3) PTB *bwat PREGNANT / SWOLLEN

This root is very likely related to PTB ***s-b^{w}a(m/p)** SWELL / SWOLLEN / FAT / THICK / ROUNDED PART (§1.1.5.2), although further confirmation would be welcome.

[a] Several Lolo-Burmese languages have reflexes of more than one allofam, e.g. Lahu **phòʔ** 'swell up' < PLB ***C-pwap**, and **pè** 'goiter' < PLB ***bum^{1}**.

6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola	vɛ̃[31] **pɔt[55]**	pregnant	DAI Qingxia 1989g:1912
Lashi	wɔm[33] **pu:t[31]**	pregnant (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:10.4.14
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	si[53] ma[33] ko[21] **po[35]**	pregnant (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:10.4.14
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	vu[55] **pø[33]**	pregnant	DAI Qingxia 1989h:1981
Jinuo (Youle)	ɣo[55] **pø[44]**	pregnant (be v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	tǫ[42] **fv̩[44]**	pregnant (be v.)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:10.4.14

(4) PTB * $\frac{\text{l}}{\text{m}}$ -ba GOITER

This root is distinct from PTB ***bwar*** SWELLING / GOITER (§1.1.5.2). Written Tibetan preserves both etyma: **lba-ba** from the present root and **ḥbur** from PTB ***bwar*** SWELLING / GOITER (§1.1.5.2).

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	tab-**ba:**	goiter	Matisoff 1987
	tɯ[55] **bɑ[31]**	goiter	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Digaro	tə **ba**	goitre	Benedict 1972:96n276
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	**ba[231]**	goiter	DAI Qingxia 1989a:4.1.1
Spiti	**ba**	goiter	Bodh 1991:4.1.1
Tibetan (Written)	**lba**-ba	goitre; goiter; wen	Weidert 1987:504; Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:313
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʂpə**	goiter	SUN Hongkai 1991g:4.1.1
6.2. NAXI			
Moso	**ba** ~ **mba**	goitre	Benedict 1972:96n276

(5) PKir *hom SWELL

The stronghold of this etymon is the Kiranti group, although there is also a good Karbi cognate. The gloss of Karbi **ham-bi** 'kidney, ankle bone, kneecap' seems strange at first glance, but becomes clear in collocations: **kengphu a-ham-bi** 'kneecap' (lit. "knee's rounded part") and **keng ham-bi** 'ankle bone' (lit. "foot's rounded part"). Cf. *VSTB*: 222-223.

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**ham**-bi	kidney, anklebone, kneecap; kidney	Matisoff 1978b:(2); Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***hom**-	swell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:175
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**hom**-e	swell, rise (sun)	Ebert 1997
	hom ma	swell, rise (sun)	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**hɔmt**-	swell up, become edemic; swell (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:175
Yakha	**hom** ma:	swell / be swollen (v.)	Kohn 1990:12.4
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**hom**	swell up	Rai 1985
	hom-	swell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:175; Michailovsky 1991:175
	hom-	swell (v.i.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:30
	homs-	cause to swell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:175
	hom awo	swollen	Rai *et al.* 1984:30
	hop	swell up	Rai 1985
	hopt-	blister (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:175
	hopʈ-	swell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:175
Chamling	**hom**-a	swell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:175
Kulung	**həm**-	swell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:175
	həm-a	swell (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	√**hom**-	swell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:175
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**homd**-	swell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:175
Sunwar	**hom**-	swell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:175
	√[L]**hom**-	swell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:175
Thulung	**hom**-	swell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:175; Allen 1975
	hom si	cucumber	Allen 1975
	hop ci umu	swelling; boil, swelling	Michailovsky 1991:175; Allen 1975

(6) PKar *hɲɔʔ[D] SWOLLEN, SWELLING

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***hɲɔʔ**[D]	swollen, swelling	Luangthongkum 2013:288
**Karen [Burling]*	***ŋoʔ**[2]	swollen, swelling	Luangthongkum 2013:288
Bwe	**jɔ**[33]	swollen, swelling	Luangthongkum 2013:288
Kayah	**jɛ**[55]	swollen, swelling	Luangthongkum 2013:288
Kayan	**ɟauʔ**[45]	swollen, swelling	Luangthongkum 2013:288
Kayaw	**jo**[33]	swollen, swelling	Luangthongkum 2013:288
Pa-O (Southern)	**jɔʔ**[21]	swollen, swelling	Luangthongkum 2013:288
Pa-O (Northern)	**jɔʔ**[21]	swollen, swelling	Luangthongkum 2013:288
Pwo (Northern)	**joʔ**[45]	swollen, swelling	Luangthongkum 2013:288
Pwo (Southern)	**juʔ**[21]	swollen, swelling	Luangthongkum 2013:288
Sgaw (Southern)	**ɲɔʔ**[21]	swollen, swelling	Luangthongkum 2013:288
Sgaw (Northern)	**ɲɔʔ**[45]	swollen, swelling	Luangthongkum 2013:288

(7) PKC *puar BLOAT / ARROGANT / FULL / SWELL

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***puar**	BLOAT / ARROGANT / FULL / SWELL	VanBik 2009:127
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**puak**	bloat, distend	VanBik 2009:127
Thado	**póuʔ**-I, pùoʔ-II	expand, swell	VanBik 2009:127
Tiddim	**puak**[2]	filled up by air like belly or ballon	VanBik 2009:127
	puak[2]	filled up by air like belly or balloon (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1413
	puak[2]	filled up by air ...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**poó**	bloated, flatulent (of a person)	VanBik 2009:127
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**pûar**-I, pŭar-II	bloat, swell, be arrogant	VanBik 2009:127
Lai (Falam)	**pŭar**-INV	bloat, swell	VanBik 2009:127
Lushai [Mizo]	**púar**	bulging (as stomach) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:127
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-púa	arrogant, to be proud (be v.)	VanBik 2009:127

(8) PKC *ɓaw BUMP / SWELL

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɓaw**	BUMP / SWELL	VanBik 2009:11
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**bòo**-I, bóʔ-II	swell	VanBik 2009:11
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**baw**	swell up (v.)	VanBik 2009:11
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**bàw**	bump, swell	VanBik 2009:11
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**byù**	swell, to come into a bump (v.)	VanBik 2009:11

(9) PKC *wuuŋ SWELL / SWOLLEN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***wuuŋ**	SWELL / SWOLLEN	VanBik 2009:1173
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**vu:ng**[1] > vu:n[1]	swollen	VanBik 2009:1173
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**vúung**-I, vùun-II	swell, to be swollen (v.)	VanBik 2009:1173

Chinese comparandum

癰 OC ***ʔi̯ung***, *GSR* #1184h 'swelling, ulcer'; Schuessler 2007:577 ***ʔoŋ***; B & S 2011: ***qoŋ {q(r)oŋ}***; Mand. **yōng**.

(10) PTk *wuur SWELL / BE SWOLLEN

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***wuur**	swell / be swollen	Mortensen 2012:712
Huishu	**wu**-k[h]e	swell / be swollen (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.340
Tusom	kə-**pu**	swell	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.334

1.1.6 Die/Deathly

(1) PTB *səy DIE

Chinese character. *STC* #232; *GSR* 558a-c ***sḭ̀ər/si***. No evidence whatsoever in TB to support OC ***-r***; PNN.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***syid**	die	Coblin 1986:62
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***siy**	die	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:558a-c
	***siy**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192; Michailovsky 1991:44 [a]
	***siy**	die	Matisoff 1983:13; Benedict 1972:232
	siy**-səy**	die	LaPolla 1987:101
	***syiy(?)**	die	Coblin 1986:63
	***səy**	die	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:558a-c
	***səy**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:727 [b]
	***səy**	die	Matisoff 2003a:612
	***səy**	die (v.)	French 1983
**Tibeto-Karen*	***səy**	die	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:558a-c
1.1.1. TANI: ***si** DIE			
**Tani*	***si**	die	Sun 1993a:102
	***si**-maŋ	dead body	Sun 1993a:99
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	do-li **sɯ**-nɯ	death (epidemic)	Sun 1993b
	se-ne(ku)	death	Sun 1993b
	sɯ	die	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	sɯ rhyme!	die	Sun 1993a
	sɯ-ɟer-**sɯ**-do	suicide	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-ɟer-**sɯ**-nɯ	suicide	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-ma	dead body; corpse	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	sɯ-mi	offering to the dead	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-nɯ	death; dead	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ta-lɯ **sɯ**-nɯ	death (accidental)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ši**	die	Sun 1993a
	si	die	Sun 1993b
	ši-ma:	dead body	Sun 1993a
	si-ma:	corpse	Sun 1993b
	si-ma: ri	bury (corpse)	Sun 1993b
	si-mɯ:	play dead	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ši:**	die	Sun 1993a
	si:	die (e.g. of illness)	Sun 1993b
	so-moŋ	corpse	Sun 1993b
	šo-moŋ~ ši-moŋ	dead body	Sun 1993a
	ɕi:	die out (of fire); die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1522.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.24
	ɕi: nə	dead	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1089.24
	ɕo moŋ	corpse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0162.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɕi:**	die	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕo moŋ	corpse	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**hi** maa	corpse (n.)	GLDC 2009
	hi nam	die (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	si-nam	die (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**si**-ki-nam	kill	Simon 1976
	si-nam	die , death (v.)	Simon 1976
Nishing	**si**	die	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**si**-nam	die; death	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
	si-nɤ	dead	Das Gupta 1983
	si-nɤ ŋi	dead man	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**shi**-mang	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	si	die	Sun 1993a
	si-maŋ	dead body	Sun 1993a

[a] *STC* 232.
[b] *STC* 232.

Damu	dem-pe?-ra-**ɕi**-ɟe?	die	Sun 1993b
	ɕi-ɟe?	die (beaten to death)	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ci**-ma-nu	death	Tayeng 1976
	si-rol-ci-ɲi	death by accident	Tayeng 1976
	si-ɲi	die; dead	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**śi**	die	LaPolla 1987:101; Benedict 1972:232

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**ɕi**^{55}	die	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	**si**^{53}	die	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	sîi	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
	táŋ-**sîi**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
Idu	**si**	dead	Pulu 1978
	si ba	death	Anonymous 1962
	si ga	die	Pulu 1978
	ɕi^{55}	die / be dead	Sun Hongkai 1991f:1.13
Yidu	**ɕi**^{55}	dead	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1089.25
	ɕi^{55}	die (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***thii-I**, ***thi?-II** DIE / DEAD / EXTINCT

**Chin*	*__thii__-I, thi?-II	DIE / DEAD / EXTINCT	VanBik 2009:384

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**si**	dead	VanBik 2009:384
Sizang	**chī** hī	die	VanBik 2009:384
Thado	**thíi**-I, thìi-II	die, become extinct	VanBik 2009:384
Tiddim	**si**^{2} > si?^{3}	die	VanBik 2009:384

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**sih**	die (v.)	VanBik 2009:384

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**thĭi**-I, thi?-II	dead, die (be v.)	VanBik 2009:384
Lai (Hakha)	**thîi**-I, thi?-II	dead, die (be v.)	VanBik 2009:384
Lushai [Mizo]	**thí**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
	thi	die	LaPolla 1987:101; Benedict 1972:232
	thí-I, thìh-II	die, to be dead, to be defunct, to expire, to die out (v.)	VanBik 2009:384

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	a-**thi**-pa	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	thí	die, to expire (v.)	VanBik 2009:384
	^{3}**thi**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	ə kə **t^{h}i**	die / be dead	Toba & Kom 1991:1.13
	ə kə **t^{h}i** šə	carcass / dead animal	Toba & Kom 1991:1.15
	ə kə **t^{h}i** tək sə	corpse / dead body	Toba & Kom 1991:1.14

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***səj** DIE

**Central Naga*	***səj**	DIE	Bruhn 2014a:III.106
**Ao*	*a-**sə**	DIE	Bruhn 2014a:II.101
Ao (Chungli)	**-sūı**	die (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a^{2}-**sə**^{2}	die (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.101
	a **sü**	die	Marrison 1967
	ta^{2}-**sə**^{2}	death (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ta^{2}-**sə**^{2}maŋ^{2}	corpse (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**sü**	die	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**sə**	die [died] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	tə-**sə**	death (NZP + 'die') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**sə**-jim	afterlife village, village of the dead ('die' + 'village') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**sə**-maŋ	corpse ('die' + 'body') (n.)	Coupe 2007 [a]
	[tə]-**sə**-nəm	stench of a rotting carcass ('die' + 'smell') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**tʃhə**^{1}-	die (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.106
	chü a	die	Murry *et al.* 1978:32
	chu a	die	Nienu 1990c:1.13
	chu thak a	dead	Nienu 1990c:1.13
	ē **cā**	death	Acharya 1975
	tchhi	die	Marrison 1967
	tchhi tok	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**tšɯ**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
Sangtam	a **sü** cho me	corpse	Kumar 1973a
	sü	die	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**si**	die	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**she**	die (v.)	Kumar 1973b:80
	she	die	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{2}**sie**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
Angami (Kohima)	**sia**^{31}	die / be dead	Nienu 1990a:1.13
	sie	die	Marrison 1967
Khezha	**chì**	die / be dead	Yabu 1994:1.13
	tsi	die	Marrison 1967
Mao	**thi**	die	Marrison 1967
Meluri	**si**	die	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**shü**	die	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**si**	die	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Northern)	^{1}ki ^{3}**šɯ**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:6
Rengma (Southern)	^{4}**si**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
Sema [Sumi]	a ki **thi**	die / dead, be	Achumi 1998a:1.13
	a ki **thi** ku mo	corpse; dead body; carcass; dead animal	Achumi 1998a:1.14; Achumi 1998a:1.15
	thi, **ti**	die	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**si**	die	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**thày** məi	die (inf)	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	^{1}ke ^{1}**cai**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***t^{h}i** DIE

**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}i**	die	Mortensen 2012:349
Huishu	kə-**tik**	die; be dead	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.019
Kachai	kə-**sɐ**	die / be dead	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.016
Tangkhul	ka **thi** a	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	ka **thi** phā	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	thi	die	Bhat 1969:87; Marrison 1967
	^{1}kə ^{1}**thi**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:6
Tusom	kə-**tsɯ**	die	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.017
Ukhrul	kə-**t^{h}i**	die	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**si**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
	si bə	die / be dead	Singh 1991:1.13
	ə **si** bə sa	carcass / dead animal	Singh 1991:1.15

[a] Although the second syllable of this Mongsen Ao form, **tə-sə-maŋ**, appears to reflect the PTB ***s-** prefix, in reality the form is a compound of the roots **sə** 'die' and **maŋ** 'body', with the nominal prefix **tə-**.

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**thì**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
	thi	die	LaPolla 1987:101; Benedict 1972:232
	thì-	die / be dead	Grüssner 1979:glossary p
	thì-lòt-	die / be dead	Grüssner 1979:99
	thì-táng-ló	die / be dead	Grüssner 1979:83

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***təi**	die	Burling 1959:440

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**təy**	die (v.)	Bhat 1968
	tɤi	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:6
Dimasa	**thi**	die	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:101; Benedict 1972:232
Kokborok	kə-**t^{h}əy**	dead	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	t^{h}əy	die	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**thi** wa	death / dead (n. + adj.)	Balawan 1965:74
Meche	**tɤi**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:6

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**si**	die	LaPolla 1987:101; Benedict 1972:232; Coblin 1986:63
	si-a	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:727

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***səy** DIE

**Northern Naga*	***səy**	die (v.)	French 1983:476

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**ri**	die	French 1983
Tangsa (Moshang)	**ti**	die	French 1983

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**hai**	die	French 1983
	hai bu	dead	French 1983
	hʌ̀i	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:6
Konyak	**li**	die	French 1983
Phom	**di**	die	Marrison 1967 [a]
Wancho	**zi**	die	French 1983

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**sī**	die	Matisoff 1974:101
	si	die	LaPolla 1987:101; Benedict 1972:232; Coblin 1986:63
	si^{33}	die	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tʃă **si**^{33}	dead	Matisoff 1994b
	^{2}**shi**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:727

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**šì** ca	die / be dead	Sharma 1991a:1.13
Kanauri	**si**	dead	Sharma 1988:21
	ši	dead	Sharma 1988:61
	śi	die	LaPolla 1987:101; Benedict 1972:232; Coblin 1986:63
	ši-	die	Sharma 1988:128
	si mig	die	Sharma 1988:106
Pattani [Manchati]	**si**	die; be dead; dead	Sharma 1982; Sharma 1991b:1.13

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**sə**^{53}	die / be dead	Sun Hongkai 1991a:1.13
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ɕi**	die	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕi^{55}	die	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ɕi**	die	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ɕiu**^{55}	die	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ɕi**^{53}	die	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ntɕ^{h}ə**	die	Sun 1985a:510 [b]
	xə	die (pf)	Sun 1985a:511
	xə-wo	dead	Sun 1985a:178
Tibetan (Batang)	**xɛʔ**^{53}	die / be dead	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.13
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	mi **shi** gyo	corpse / dead body	Bishop 1989:1.14
	shī gan	die / be dead	Bishop 1989:1.13
	shi gyo	carcass / dead animal	Bishop 1989:1.15
Spiti	**ši** je	die / be dead	Bodh 1991:1.13
Tibetan (Written)	**'chi**-ba	die	Matisoff 1983:13
	chi	die	Sun 1985c:510
	ci-ba	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
	shi	die (pf)	Sun 1985c:511
	shi-ba ~ **'chi**-ba	die	Coblin 1986:63
	shi.bo	dead	Sun 1985c:178
	si-ba	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
	śi-ba	die	Matisoff 1983:13
	śi-ba ⩵ **ḥtśhi**-ba	die	Benedict 1972:232
	śi-ba~**'tśhi**-ba	die	LaPolla 1987:101
	ṣ̀i-ba	die (v.)	Luce 1985:W.42
	ʃi	die	Marrison 1967
	fiɕi	die	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.1
	'c'i-ba	die (v.)	Luce 1985:W.42
"Pre-Tibetan"	**syi**	die	Coblin 1986:63

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{A}**si**	die	Mazaudon 1994:943
Chantyal	**si**-**si**-wa pasu	carcass / dead animal	Noonan *et al.* 1992:1.15
	si-wa	die / be dead	Noonan *et al.* 1992:1.13
Gurung	**si**-m	die	Hale 1973:01.061
Gurung (Ghachok)	**si**-m	die	Glover 1972:1.61
	si baq	die	Glover 1972:2.B.2.14
	si ba:q	death	Glover 1972:10.A.45
	si nuq	dead	Glover 1972:12.A.9
Gurung	^{1}**si**-	die	Mazaudon 1994:943
Manang (Gyaru)	**syi**^{2}	die (V.)	Nagano 1984:137
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**ɕi**-	die	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0397
	^{1}**ʃi**-	die	Mazaudon 1994:943
Tamang (Bagmati)	**si**-(u)	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:727
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**si**	die	Mazaudon 1994:943
Tamang (Sahu)	**syi**-pa	die (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.61; Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.14
	syi pi mi:h cyuh	corpse (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.46
	syi pi mi:h cyuh	corpse (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:10.47
	the **syi** pā	die	Hale 1973:01.061
	^{1}**sji**	die	Mazaudon 1994:943
Tamang (Taglung)	**ʃi**-ba	die	Mazaudon 1994:944
Thakali	**si**-wa	die	Hale 1973:01.061
Thakali (Marpha)	^{54,44}**ɕi**-dzi-mu	die	Mazaudon 1994:944
Thakali (Tukche)	**si**-ci-wɔ	dead	Hari 1971:12.A.9
	si-lɔ	die	Hari 1971:2.B.2.14
	si-wɔ	die; death	Hari 1971:1.61; Hari 1971:10.A.45
	^{2}**si**	die	Mazaudon 1994:944 [c]

2.2. Newar

Newar	**si**-mha	corpse (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.46
	si:	die / be dead	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.13
	si: mhɔ	corpse; dead body; carcass; dead animal	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.14; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.15

[a] Phom ***ji** expected (French 1983: n.582, p.127. Also in Marrison 1967)
[b] Amdo **n-** < WT **ḥ-**.
[c] Tukche tone is irregular

Newar (Kathmandu)	**sil-**	die	Genetti 1990c
Newar (Dolakhali)	**si** r-	die	Genetti 1990b

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***si**	die	Opgenort 2011
	***si-**	die (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:44

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	ku-**si:** wet	dead	Michailovsky 1989b
	sakEllE **si**	die of famine (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	si	die	LaPolla 1987:101; Benedict 1972:232
	si-	die (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:44
Yakha	**si** ana yaʔmi	corpse / dead body	Kohn 1990:1.14
	si ma:	die / be dead	Kohn 1990:1.13
	si nu	carcass / dead animal	Kohn 1990:1.15

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**sï-**	die (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:44
	sU	die (v.)	Rai 1985
	sü-	die (v.i.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:67
Chamling	**si**-(a)	die	Winter 1985:33
	sy-a	die (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:44
	sya ko	dead	Winter 1985:34
Kulung	**siy-**	die (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:44
	siy-a	die (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
	si po	corpse	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	**si-**	die (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:44; Allen 1975
	sit pu	corpse	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**si**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:6; Michailovsky 1991:44
	si-sa	die	Caughley 1972:1.61
	si-ʔo	dead	Caughley 1972:12.A.9
Chepang (Eastern)	**si** naʔ	die / be dead	Caughley 1990:1.13
Magar	**śi**	die	Benedict 1972:232; Coblin 1986:63

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**ʂo^{55}**	die; be dead	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.18
Guiqiong	**sə^{55}**	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.16
	ʂʅ^{55}	die; be dead	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.17
Lyuzu	the^{33}**ʂu^{53}**	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.18
	thu^{53}**ʂu^{53}**	dead	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1089.18
Muya	thɐ^{33}**sə^{53}**	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.15
Muya [Minyak]	**sɯ^{53}**	die; be dead	SUN Hongkai 1991h:1.13; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.15
Namuyi	**ʂʅ^{33}**qo^{55}	die; be dead	SUN Hongkai 1991i:1.13; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.19
	ʂʅ^{31}quo^{53}	dead	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1089.46
	ʂʅ^{31}quo^{53}	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	nə^{11}**ʂʅ^{11}**	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.10
	nɑ^{11}**ʂʅ^{11}**	dead	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1089.10
Pumi (Lanping)	nə^{13} **sɤ^{13}**	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.09
	sə^{13}	dead	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1089.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	nə^{13} **sɤ^{13}**	die	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.11
Pumi (Taoba)	nə^{35} **sə^{35}**	die	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.10
Qiang (Mawo)	də **ɕi**/ʂə	die / be dead	SUN Hongkai 1991g:1.13
	dɛ **ʂɛ**	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.08
	dɛ **ʂɛ** ji	dead	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1089.08
	ɕi	die	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	tè **sì** kì lè	dead	Evans 1999:1547
	tè **sì** zî	eliminate, wipe out, die out	Evans 1999:2489
	tɛ́ **sǐ**	die	Evans 1999:2363
Qiang (Taoping)	**ʃe^{55}**	die	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.9
Qiang (Yadu)	die **ʂəi**	dead	DAI Qingxia 1989q:1547
	ʂe	die	DAI Qingxia 1989q:2363
Queyu (Xinlong)	**si^{55}**	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tə^{35} **si^{55}**	die; be dead	SUN Hongkai 1991n:1.13; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	tə^{55}**si^{55}**tɕe^{33}	dead	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1089.13
Xumi	lɛ^{33}**ɕɛ^{53}**	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.17
	ɕɛ^{53}	die; be dead; dead	SUN Hongkai 1991m; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1089.17; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	tə^{55} **ʂə^{55}**	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Daofu)	da sa **shei**	die / be dead	DAI Qingxia 1989b:1.13
Daofu	də **shɛ**	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.12
Ergong (Danba)	**sɛ**	die; be dead	SUN Hongkai 1991b:1.13; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.14
Ergong (Northern)	**ɕə^{53}** pə^{33}	die / be dead	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.13

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	ka **ʃi**	die	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.12
	kə **ɕi**	die / be dead	DAI Qingxia 1989d:1.13
rGyalrong (Northern)	kə **s^{h}ɛi**	die / be dead	SUN Hongkai 1991k:1.13
Caodeng	kɐ-sə́-**set**	cause to die	Sun 1997a
	ké-**set** ~ ká-**set**	die	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **ʃi**	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.11
rGyalrong (Eastern)	nə **k^{h}ʃis**	die / be dead	SUN Hongkai 1991j:1.13
rGyalrong (NW)	nə kə **sət**	die / be dead	SUN Hongkai 1991l:1.13
rGBenzhen	ka-**ʃi**	die	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**śi**	die	LaPolla 1987:101; Benedict 1972:232; Coblin 1986:63
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**śi^{53}**	die	LaPolla 1987:101
	ɕi^{53}	die	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɕi^{55} gɯ^{55}	corpse	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**śi^{53}**	die	LaPolla 1987:101
	ɕi^{53}	die	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɕi^{55} gɯ^{55}	corpse	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**se^{21}**	die / be dead	CHEN Kang 1986d:1.13
Tujia (Southern)	**se^{21}**	die	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**se^{35}**	die / be dead	CHEN Kang 1986c:1.13
Tujia (Northern)	**se^{35}**	die	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**se^{35}** thu^{35}	die	Matisoff 1994b

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***səy^{1}** DIE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***siy^{1}**	die	Matisoff 1988a:p.1229
	***səy^{1}**	die	Matisoff 2003a:612

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**ʂʅ^{55}**	die	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ʂʅ^{55}**	die	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ʂʅ^{55}	die out (of fire); die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1522.28; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.28
	ʂʅ^{55}	die	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.41
	ʂʅ^{55} mzɑŋ^{55}	corpse	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985 [a]
Achang (Luxi)	**ɕi^{35}**	die	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ʂʅ^{55}**	die out (of fire); die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1522.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.29
	ʂʮ^{55}	dead; die	DAI Qingxia 1989f:1506; DAI Qingxia 1989f:2265
Bola	**ʃʅ^{55}**	die	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2265
Bola (Luxi)	**ʃʅ^{55}**	die out (of fire); die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1522.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.32
Bola	**ʃʅ^{55}** ku^{31}	dead	DAI Qingxia 1989g:1506
Burmese (Modern)	**se^{3}**	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tθe^{22}**	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθe^{22}**	die	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**θe^{3}**	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
Burmese (Written)	**se**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
	se	die	Marrison 1967; Hansson 1989:134; Matisoff 1983:13; Matisoff 1974:101
	se	die; be extinguished (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	se	die	LaPolla 1987:101; Benedict 1972:232; Coblin 1986:63
	siy	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
	siy^{3}	die (v.)	Luce 1985:W.42
	the^{2}	die	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.39
	tθe^{2}	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.26
	ə-**se**	dead	Benedict 1976a
Danu	**θe^{4}**	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
Hpun (Northern)	**ʃí(ʔ)**	die	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	**ʃih^{1}**	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
Langsu (Luxi)	**ʃik^{31}**	die out (of fire); die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1522.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.31
Lashi (Lachhe')	**ʃeɪ^{4}**	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
Lashi	**ʃə̱i^{33}** tsə^{55}	die / be dead	DAI Qingxia 1989m:1.13
Leqi (Luxi)	**ʃeːi^{33}**	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.33
Marma	**θi**	die	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:137
Maru [Langsu]	**ši**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
	sik^{31}	die / be dead	DAI Qingxia 1989l:1.13
	ʃik^{31}	die	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.43
Pyu [Tircul]	**hi**	die (v.)	Luce 1985:M.23
Taung-Yo	**θe^{4}**	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**šî** t	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
	ʃi^{2}	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
	ʃi^{51}	die	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ʃi^{51}	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.30
	ʃi^{51}	die	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***ʃe^{2}**	die	Bradley 1979b:599; Hansson 1989:134
Lolopho	tshɒ^{33} **ʂʅ^{33}** mɒ^{33}	corpse / dead body	DAI Qingxia 1989n:1.14
	ʂʅ^{33} lɣ^{44}	die / be dead	DAI Qingxia 1989n:1.13
	ʂʅ^{33} mɒ^{33}	carcass / dead animal	DAI Qingxia 1989n:1.15
PNL	**siy^{1}**	die	CHEN Kang 1986a:49.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**sʅ^{33}**	die; be dead	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987; DAI Qingxia 1989c:1.13
	sʅ^{33}	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.47
Lalo	**ɕi̱^{21}**	die / be dead	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.13
Lipho	**si^{33}**	die	CHEN Kang 1986a:49.; CHEN Kang 1986b:1.13
Nasu	**ɕi^{21}**	die	CHEN Kang 1986a:49.
	ɕi^{33}	die / be dead	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.13
	ɕi^{33} mɔ^{33}	corpse / dead body	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.14
Neisu	**ɕi^{21}**	die	CHEN Kang 1986a:49.
Nesu	**ɕi^{21}**	die	CHEN Kang 1986a:49.
	ʂʮ^{21}	die / be dead	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.13
Noesu	**ɕi^{13}**	die	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.13
Nosu	**si^{33}**	die	CHEN Kang 1986a:49.
	sʅ^{33}	die	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.13
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ɕi^{35}**	dead; die	DAI Qingxia 1989o:1506.; DAI Qingxia 1989o:2265.
Nusu (Central)	**ɕi^{35}**	die	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɕi^{35} tshɔ̃^{35}	corpse	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ɕi^{35}** ts^{h}õ^{35}	corpse	DAI Qingxia 1989o:192.
Nusu (Southern)	**ɕi^{55}**	die	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ʂi^{33}**	dead; die	DAI Qingxia 1989p:1506.; DAI Qingxia 1989p:2265.
	ʂi^{33}	die out (of fire); die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1522.34; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.34
	ʂi^{33} ts^{h}oŋ^{33}	corpse	DAI Qingxia 1989p:192.
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ʂi^{35}**	die	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ʂʅ^{31}**	die	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986

[a] The medial -**ʐ̩**- (usually < *-**r**-) is unexplained.

Yi (Dafang)	**ɕi^{33}**	die	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʁ̩^{33}**	die (stop living); extinguish (fire); put out (fire)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʁ̩^{33} su^{33}	die	Matisoff 1994b
Yi (Mile)	**ʂi^{33}**	die	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ɕi^{21}**	die	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ɕi^{33}**	die out (of fire); die (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1522.37; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.37
	ɕi^{33}	die	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**xɯ^{55}**	die	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.23
Yi (Weishan)	**xɯ^{55}**	die (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.36
	xɯ^{55}to^{33}	die out (of fire) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1522.36
	ɕɪ̱^{21}	die (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ɕi^{33}**	die (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.38
Yi (Xide)	**ʁ̩^{33}**	die	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ʁ̩^{33}	die out (of fire); die (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1522.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.35
	ʁ̩^{33}	die	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.21
	ʁ̩^{33} gi^{55}	death	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	i^{33} **ʂi^{22}**	die / be dead	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.13
	i^{33} **ʂi^{33}** mu^{33}	carcass / dead animal	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.15
Lolo (Ni)	**she**	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
Ahi	**ʂi^{2}**	die	Chen Kang 1986a:49.
	ʂi^{22}	die	Chen Kang 1986b:1.13
	ʂi^{22} mu^{33}	corpse / dead body	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.14
Jinuo (Youle)	ts^{h}ə^{42} zɔ^{44} **ʃi^{44}** mə^{44}	corpse	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ʃi^{31}**	die	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2363
	ʃi^{31} mʌ^{44}	dead	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1547
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃi^{42}**	die	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ʃi^{44}** mʌ^{44}	corpse	Dai Qingxia 1989h:202.1
Jinuo (Baka)	**ʃʅ^{31}**	die	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2363
	ʃʅ^{35} to^{44} a^{44}	dead	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1547
Jinuo	**ɕi^{31}**	die	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.34
	ɕi^{42}	die (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.44
Kucong	**ʁ̩33**	die	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	chɔ-**ši**	corpse	Matisoff 1994b
**Common Lahu*	***suh:**	die	Bradley 1979b:599
Lahu	**sī**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
Lahu (Lancang)	**si^{11}**	die (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.43
Lahu (Black)	**suh**	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
	ši	die	Matisoff 1988a:p.1229; Matisoff 1974:101
	ʁ̩^{33}	die	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.33
	ɔ^{31} **ʁ̩^{33}** kv̩^{33}	corpse	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ̀-**ši**-kû	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	**ʁ̩^{33}** po^{31}	die	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**shī**	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
Lisu	**shï^{4}**	die	Bradley 1979b:599
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**shï^{4}**	die (v.)	Luce 1985:F.32
Lisu (Central)	**shï^{4}**	die; perish (die) (v.)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu	**šv̄**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
Lisu (Northern)	tɕhæʔ^{21}**ʃʅ^{33}**	die a violent death	Bradley 1994
	ỹ^{35} **ʃʅ^{33}**	die of cold; ossified (fossilised)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ̃^{35}**ʃʅ^{33}**	die of cold; dead stiff (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ʃi^{33}**	die (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.40
	ʃi̱^{33}	die out (of fire) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1522.40
Lisu (Putao)	**ʃɪ^{4}**	die (v.)	Luce 1985:S.19
Lisu (Northern)	**ʃʅ^{33}**	die; pass away; (light) go out (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Luquan)	**ʃʅ^{33}**	die (v.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
	ʃʅ^{33}	die	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986:p.110
Lisu (Northern)	**ʃʅ^{33}**kɯʔ^{21}le^{33}	die	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**ʃʅ^{35}**	die (v.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
	ʃʅ^{35}	die	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986:p.110
Lisu (Nujiang)	**ʃʅ̄^{44}**	die	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**ʃʅ^{44}**	die	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.27
Yi (Sani)	**sž^{33}**	die (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.39
	sʐ̱^{55}	die out (of fire) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1522.39
Sani [Nyi]	**sɥ^{33}**	die (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:355.2
	sɳ^{55}	die (violently) (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:354.9
	ʂi^{33}	die	Chen Kang 1986a:49.; Chen Kang 1986b:1.13
	ʂi^{33} ma^{33}	corpse / dead body	Matisoff 1994b
	ʂi^{33}mu^{33}(mɒ^{33})	corpse	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʂʅ^{33} m̩^{33} mɑ^{33}	corpse	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:208.2

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ší**	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192
Akha (Thai)	**sjhí**	die	Hansson 1989:134
Akha (Yunnan)	**sjhí**	die	Hansson 1989:134
Akha	**sjhí**	die	Hansson 1989:134
Bisu	**ʃí**	die	Bradley 199x
	ʃi	die	Beaudouin 1988:29
Hani (Dazhai)	**si^{55}**	die	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**sjhý**/shý	die	Hansson 1989:134
Hani	tsho^{55} **si^{55}**	corpse	Matisoff 1994b
	tsh̩^{55} **ʁ̩^{55}**	corpse	Matisoff 1994b
Hani (Lüchun)	**si^{55}**	die out (of fire); die (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1522.41; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.41
Hani (Pijo)	**sjhý**	die	Hansson 1989:134
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ʁ̩^{55}**	die	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.30
	ʁ̞^{55}	die	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɕi^{55}**	die	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**siil**	die	Hansson 1989:134
Hani (Shuikui)	**ʃʅ^{55}**	die	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.32
Hani (Khatu)	**sjhý**	die	Hansson 1989:134
Hani (Mojiang)	**ʃʅ^{55}**	die out (of fire); die (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1522.42; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.42
Mpi	**si^{5}**	die	Hansson 1989:134
	si^{5}	die (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	sā^{55} **si^{55}**	corpse / dead body	Ferlus 1991:1.14
Pyen	**ʃi33**	die (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:141022
Sila	**ɕi55**	die (v.)	Kato Takashi 2008:181

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ʂi^{21}**	die	Pelkey 2011:700
Southern Muji	**ɕi^{33}**	die	Pelkey 2011:700
Phola	**ɕi^{55}**	die	Pelkey 2011:700
Hlepho Phowa	**ʁ̩^{21}**χa^{55}a^{21}	die	Pelkey 2011:700
Phuza	**si^{31}**	die	Pelkey 2011:700

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**sɯ˩**	die (person) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3387
	sɯ˩dzi˩	clothes for a corpse before cremation or burial	Michaud 2006–2009
Na (Yongning)	**ʂɯ˦**	die (person) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**ʂɯ^{33}**	die	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**ʂɯ^{33}**	die	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʂɯ^{33}**	die	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.28
Naxi	**ʁ̩^{33}**	die (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʁ̩^{33}**	die	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.29

7. Karenic: ***sej^{A}** DEAD, DIE

**Karen*	***sej^{A}**	dead, die	Luangthongkum 2013:76
	***sìh**	die	Jones 1961:170
**Karen [Burling]*	***si^{4}**	dead, die	Luangthongkum 2013:76
Bwe	mɛ **θí**	kill (v.)	Henderson 1997
	ðu **θí** wɛ	kill a bug by crushing (v.)	Henderson 1997
	ɓɛ **θí**	kill (v.)	Henderson 1997
	θɨ^{55}	dead, die	Luangthongkum 2013:76
Karen	ma^{33}**tθi^{55}**	kill (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.50
Kayah	**sə^{33}**	dead, die	Luangthongkum 2013:76
Kayan (Pekon)	mạ̄ **θí**	kill [lit. do-die] (V.)	Manson 2010
	tē **θí**	kill [lit. hit-die] (V.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**θɨ^{53}**	dead, die	Luangthongkum 2013:76
Kayaw	**si^{55}**	dead, die	Luangthongkum 2013:76
Pa-O	lo **sì**	corpse	Jones 1961:335
	mā **sì**	kill	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**si$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	dead, die	Luangthongkum 2013:76
Pa-O (Northern)	**si$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	dead, die	Luangthongkum 2013:76
Pwo (Northern)	**sei^{35}**	dead, die	Luangthongkum 2013:76
Pwo (Southern)	**θei^{53}**	dead, die	Luangthongkum 2013:76
Sgaw (Northern)	**si^{33}**	dead, die	Luangthongkum 2013:76
Sgaw (Southern)	**si^{55}**	dead, die	Luangthongkum 2013:76
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**tθi^{55}**	dead; die	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1547; Dai Qingxia 1989k:2363
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**θi^{55}**	dead; die	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1547; Dai Qingxia 1989j:2363

8. Bai

Bai	**ɕi^{33}** nõ^{33}	die / be dead	Matisoff 1994b
Bai (Bijiang)	**ɕi^{33}**	die	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.37
Bai (Dali)	**si^{3}**	die (v.)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	si^{4}	die (v.)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	ɕi^{33}	die	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ɕi^{33}**	die; be dead	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:780.36; Zhao Yansun 1990:1.13
	ɕi^{33} k^{h}uã^{33} **ɕi^{33}** ʔã^{55}n˜	carcass / dead animal	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.15 [a]
	ɕi^{33} lạ^{42}	die / be dead	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.13
	ɕi^{33} lọ^{21}**ɕi^{33}** pã^{42}	carcass / dead animal	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.15 [b]
	ɕi^{33} ŋ̱ɯ̱^{21} **ɕi^{33}** mæ^{33}	carcass / dead animal	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.15 [c]

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**sḭər/si**	die	Chou Fa-kao 1972:558a-c
Chinese (Old)	**sḭər**	die	Matisoff 1983:13
	sjidx	die	Coblin 1986:62

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**si:**	die	Coblin 1986:62

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**sǐ**	die	Evans *et al.* 1991
	syy	dead (adj.)	Sun 1985b:178
	syy	die	Sun 1985b:510
	syy	die (pf.)	Sun 1985b:511

[a] Jianchuan **ɕi^{33} k^{h}uã^{33} ɕi^{33} ʔã^{55} nĩ^{55}** lit. "dead dogs, dead cats". Probably refers to all domestic animals (e.g. chickens).
[b] Jianchuan **ɕi^{33} lọ^{21} ɕi^{33} pã^{42}** lit. "dead tigers, dead panthers". Probably refers to all wild animals.
[c] Jianchuan **ɕi^{33} ŋ̱ɯ̱^{21} ɕi^{33} mæ^{33}** lit. "dead ox, dead horse". Probably refers to all draft animals (e.g. water buffalo).

Chinese comparandum

死 OC ***sḭər** *GSR* #558a-c 'die'; Coblin 86:62 ST ***syid**, OC ***sjidx**; Schuessler 2007:478 ***siʔ**; B & S 2011: ***sijʔ**; Mand. **sǐ**.

(2) PTB *s-mi:t EXTINGUISH / SHUT ABRUPTLY / WINK / BLINK / DIE

Chinese character. *STC* #374; Matisoff 1983 ("Translucent insights") #59; *GSR* 294b.

Written Burmese has an allofamic form with homorganic final nasal **hmîn** 'have the eyes shut'.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(s-)mit**	shut (eyes) / extinguish	Matisoff 1983:59
	***mit**	extinguish	Chou Fa-kao 1972:294b
	***mit**	destroy (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:43
	***mit**	extinguish	LaPolla 1987:91; Benedict 1972:374
	***s-mi:n ≍ s-mi:t**	extinguish / shut / blink	Matisoff 2003a:602
	***s-mi:t**	flicker / blink / extinguish	Matisoff 1985a:043

1.1.1. Tani: ***mit** EXTINGUISH / EXTINGUISHED

**Tani*	***mit**	extinguished	Sun 1993a:133

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	ja-mu mú-**miʔ**	extinguish	Sun 1993b
	miʔ	extinguished	Sun 1993a
Bengni	(ə-məː) **ñit**-pak	extinguish	Sun 1993b
	ñit	extinguished	Sun 1993a
Bokar	(mə) **mit**	extinguish (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	mit	extinguished	Sun 1993a
	mo: **mit**	extinguish (vt.)	Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**mit**	extinguished; extinguish	Sun 1993a; LaPolla 1987:91; Benedict 1972:374
Damu	(ʔa-mɯ) ɕi-**mit**	extinguish (vi.)	Sun 1993b
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***mit** GO OUT (light) / EXTINGUISH			
**Chin*	***mit**	GO OUT (light) / EXTINGUISH	VanBik 2009:768
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**mit** hī	extinguish	VanBik 2009:768
Thado	**mìt**-INV	go out (light)	VanBik 2009:768
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**mit**	disappear	VanBik 2009:768
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**mit**-I, miʔ-II	extinct (as species), go out (as light), be extinguished (as fire)	VanBik 2009:768
Lushai [Mizo]	**mìt**-I, mìʔ-II	go out, to burn out, to be extinguished (v.)	VanBik 2009:768
	ti **mit**	extinguish	Benedict 1972:374
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**mó**	become extinct	VanBik 2009:768
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***hmət** EXTINGUISH / BLOW			
**Central Naga*	***hmət**	EXTINGUISH / BLOW	Bruhn 2014a:III.189
Lotha Naga	**hmet²**ok²-	extinguish, put out (flame) (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	mhet ok	extinguish	Marrison 1967
	pan **mhet** a	extinguish	Murry *et al.* 1978:42
	ta **mhet** a	extinguish	Murry *et al.* 1978:42
Sangtam	fü, **me** chi	blow	Marrison 1967
	me	extinguish	Marrison 1967
	me chicho	blow, whiff	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**müt**	blow; extinguish	Kumar 1973b:71; Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	pe **mhe**	extinguish	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	pe **mhe**	extinguish	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**mhü**	extinguish	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Zeme	**mit**	extinguish	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**nmüt**	extinguish	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***met** SQUEEZE / EXTINGUISH			
**Tangkhulic*	***met**	squeeze / extinguish	Mortensen 2012:542
Huishu	kə-sə-**mejʔ**	extinguish / put out fire	Mortensen 2012:Nature.078
Kachai	kə-ʃi-**mɐt**	squeeze / extinguish	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.079
Tangkhul	khə śi **mit**	extinguish	LaPolla 1987:91; Benedict 1972:374
	mit	extinguish	Bhat 1969:88
	sashi **mit**	extinguish	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ʃi-**met**	squeeze	Mortensen 2012
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**met**	flicker; blink; extinguish	Matisoff 1985a:043; LaPolla 1987:91; Benedict 1972:374
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	khu **mu**	destroy	Benedict 1972:374
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	ki **mit**	extinguish	LaPolla 1987:91; Benedict 1972:374
Garo (Bangladesh)	**mit**-chu-a	close; plug up (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.61-II:idx
	mit-tip-a	close; cover (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.61-II:idx
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**simit**	extinguish	Benedict 1972:374 [a]
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**med**-pa	not, exist not (be v.)	Benedict 1972:183n481 [b]
	med-pɑ	not be / not exist	Chou Fa-kao 1972:294b
2.3. Kiranti			
**BSDTK*	***mit**-	die (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:43
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	im **mEtt**-	blink, squint (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	o **mEtt**-	look at (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	tsirap **mEtt**-	blink (the eye) (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**mit**-	die (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:43
	mit nɨ	die	Driem 1993
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**met**-	die (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:43
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**hmeʔ** sat-	put out, extinguish, quench fire (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	mit-	disappear (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:43
	mit-sa	disappear	Caughley 1972:10.B.3.40
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**ma^{ɪ55}ma^{ɪ55}**	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.18
Guiqiong	ji^{55}**mi^{55}**	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.17
Muya [Minyak]	nɑ^{55}**mɯ^{53}**	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.15
Namuyi	**mɛ^{33}mɛ^{55}**	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.19
Pumi (Lanping)	nə^{13}**m̥u^{13}**	close (the mouth)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.09
	nə^{13}**m̥u^{13}**	blink / wink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1780.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	nə^{13} **m̥ə^{13}**	close (eyes); close (eye)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.11
Pumi (Taoba)	nə^{35} **m̥ũ^{35}**	close (eyes); close (eye)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{55}**ma^{53}**	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.16
Xumi	miɛ^{33}**mɛ^{35}**	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**smɛ**	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.14
4. Nungic			
Anong	**śəmit**	extinguish	Benedict 1972:374
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**mĭʔ^{55}**	close (eyes)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. Tujia			
Tujia	lo^{35} pu^{55} tɕ^{h}i^{55} **ni^{21}**	blink (v.)	Chen Kang 1986c:3.4.5
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***mi:t^{L}**	blink / shut abruptly	Matisoff 2003a:602
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola	**mi̱^{35}**	close (mouth)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1609
Bola (Luxi)	**mi̱^{35}**	close (the mouth)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.32
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**m̥eʔ^{44}**	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.40
Burmese (Written)	**hmîn**	have the eyes shut from languor, stupidity, excessive opium smoking	Benedict 1976a
	hmìn	have the eyes shut	Benedict 1972:99n283
	hmit	wink, shut the eyes	Matisoff 1985a:043; Matisoff 1983:59
	hmit	shut the eye, wink (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	hmit	wink; shut (the eye), wink; close (eye)	LaPolla 1987:91; Benedict 1972:99n283; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.39
Hpun (Northern)	**màiʔ**	blink / shut the eyes	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	**mjḛ̱:i^{55}**	close (the door); close (the mouth) lightly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.33; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1523.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mji̱^{21}**	close (the door) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.30
	mji̱^{21}to̱^{21}	close (the mouth) lightly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1523.30
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**m^{35}**	close (the mouth)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.47
	m̥^{35}	close (mouth)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Liangshan)	**m̥i̱^{33}**	close (eyes or mouth); shut (eyes or mouth)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**mi̱^{33}**	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mi̱^{33}**	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.24
	mə^{33}	close (the mouth)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.37
Yi (Xide)	a^{33}-**m̥ɪ̄^{33}**	close mouth	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	dʑɿ^{34}**m̥ɪ^{33}**	close (a book) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1372.35
	m̥ɪ̄^{33}	close (the mouth)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.35
	m̥ɪ̄^{33}	close (the mouth) lightly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1523.35
	ɳɔ^{33}-**m̥ɪ̄^{33}**	close eyes (die)	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mi^{31}**	blink	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2563
Jinuo	**mi^{31}**	close (the mouth)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.44
	mi^{35}	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.34
Jinuo (Youle)	mjɑ^{42} tsi^{44} pɹɛ^{44} **mi^{42}**	blink	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**m̥i^{31}**	close (eyes); blink	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1664.1; Dai Qingxia 1989i:2563
Jinuo (Youle)	**m̥i^{42}**	close (eyes)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**m̥^{31}**	close (mouth)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1664
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**m̥^{31}** tsɿ^{31}	close (mouth)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1664
Lahu	**mèʔ**	shut; blink; shut abruptly (eyes, mouth), go on and off rapidly, twinkle, flash, flicker (as fireflies, stars, sparks)	Matisoff 1983:59; LaPolla 1987:91
Lahu (Black)	**mèʔ**	shut abruptly (eyes, mouth); go on and off rapidly; twinkle, flash, flicker (as fireflies, stars, sparks)	Matisoff 1985a:043
	miʔ^{21}	blink; close (eyes)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛ^{35}	lose / misplace	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:677.33
Lahu (Yellow)	mɛʔ^{54} **ŋ^{33}**	blink	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛ^{4}	lose / misplace	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**mi^{55}**; tshɿ^{55}	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.27
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Thai)	**miq**	close (eyes)	Hansson 1989:489
Akha (Yunnan)	**miq**	close (eyes)	Hansson 1989:489
Akha	**míʔ**	extinguished (be v.)	Matisoff 1983:59
	miʔ^{33}	extinguished (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:043
	myá-núiʔ **míʔ** eu	close one's eyes (=eyes are extinguished)	Matisoff 1983:59
	myaʔ^{33}-nuiʔ^{33} **miʔ^{33}**-eu	close one's eyes tightly	Matisoff 1985a:043
Hani (Lüchun)	**miq**	close (eyes)	Hansson 1989:489
Hani (Dazhai)	**mi̱^{33}**	close (eyes); close (eye)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.31
Hani (Gelanghe)	**mi̱^{33}**	close (eyes)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**miv**	close (eyes)	Hansson 1989:489
Hani (Shuikui)	**mi̱^{33}**	close (eyes); close (eye)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.32
Mpi	**miʔ^{5}**	close (the eyes)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**mi^{44}**	shut	Pelkey 2011:726
Southern Muji	**mɯ^{33}**	shut	Pelkey 2011:726
Phola	**mi̱^{31}**	shut	Pelkey 2011:726
Hlepho Phowa	**mi^{21}**	shut	Pelkey 2011:726
Phuza	**mi^{55}**	shut	Pelkey 2011:726
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**mi^{55}**	close (eyes)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	mi^{55}vĩ^{33}	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.37
Bai (Dali)	**me^{35}**	close (eyes); close (eye)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**me^{55}**	close (eyes); close (eye)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.36
	mi^{55}	close (the mouth)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.48
	mi^{55}	close (the mouth) lightly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1523.48
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**hmjet**	extinguish; destroy	Baxter 1992:428; Baxter 1992:989
	mi̱at	drown, extinguish, destroy	Matisoff 1983:59 [a]

[a] Assamese dialect.

[b] This WT form has been interpreted elsewhere as a fusion of **mi** NEGATIVE + **red-pa** BE, the latter related to WT **srid-pa** COPULA. See *GSTC*:64.

[a] *GSR* 294b.

Chinese comparandum

滅 OC ***mi̱at**, *GSR* #294b 'drown, extinguish, destroy'; Schuessler 2007:385 ***met**; B & S 2011: ***met**; Mand. **miè**.

威 OC ***χmi̱wɑt**, *GSR* #294a 'extinguish, destroy'; Schuessler 2007:385 ***hmet**; B & S 2011: ***m̥et**; Mand. **xuè**.

沒 OC ***mwət**, *GSR* #492b 'disappear, die, destroy'; Schuessler 2007:389-90 ***mə̂t**; B & S 2011: (***mˤut**); Mand. **mò**.

曼 OC ***χi̱wɑd**, *GSR* #293a-b 'wink; signal with eyes'; Schuessler 2007:548 ***hmat** or ***hmet**; Mand. **xuè**.

(3) PTB * g s -ma- t n PERISH / BE SPENT / BE LOST / LOSE / DISAPPEAR / EXHAUSTED / FORGET

This etymon resembles PTB ***s-myak** VANISH / GET LOST (§9.5), but must be kept distinct, as witness the two Jingpho forms **myé?** from PTB ***s-myak** VANISH / GET LOST (§9.5), and **mat** from the present root.

Some languages (e.g., Lotha, Rongmei, Tangkhul, Tsangla) have developed a dental nasal suffix instead of a dental stop.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ma-t**	lose (v.)	Weidert 1987:808
	***ma-t**	lose; disappear; exhausted; spent	Matisoff 2003a:601; Matisoff 2003a:601; Benedict 1972:425

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	*tʃhaj-**maʔ**	DISAPPEAR / LOSE	Bruhn 2014a:II.163
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}**ma?**^{3}	forget (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	á **má?**	forget (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:11
	a **ma**	forget	Marrison 1967
	ma dok	lose	Marrison 1967
	sa^{3}**ma?**^{1}	lose (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.163
	sá **mà?**	lose (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:5
	^{3}a^{3}**ma?**	forget (v.)	Weidert 1987:52
	^{3}sa^{1}**ma?**	lose (v.)	Weidert 1987:808
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ma** chokyi	lose	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	tʃhà **mà?**	disappear, lose [disappeared, lost] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**mon**-	lose, misplace (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e **mon**	perdition	Murry *et al.* 1978:87
	mhe cho	forget	Marrison 1967
	mon a-si	lose	Marrison 1967
	mon cho	lose / loss	Murry *et al.* 1978:69
	^{2}**mhe**-^{3}tšho(?)	forget (v.)	Weidert 1987:52

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Mao	**mo** howo	lose	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	m **man**	lose	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	shi **man**	lose	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**gəmá**	forget / lose (v.)	Bhat 1968
	kama	lose; hide (vt.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**gama ≍ kama**	lose, disappear, perish	Benedict 1972:425; LaPolla 1987:79
	kama	lose	Marrison 1967
	khama	injure, spoil, destroy	Benedict 1972:425
Kokborok	šə-**kma**	lose (v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**gima**-ani	loss, damage	Benedict 1972:425
	gima-at ≍ gimat	destroy, waste, obliterate	Benedict 1972:425
	mat	spent (vs.)	Benedict 1972:425

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**ma**-	lose (v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**kimá**	lost, be	Brown 1895:73
	kima-ri	lose, disappear	Jacquesson 2005
	kima-rom	lost [(pf.) of kima-ri] (be v.)	Jacquesson 2005
	kima re	lose	Brown 1895:73

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***ma** LOSE

**Northern Naga*	***ma**^{B}	lose (v.)	French 1983:516

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**maʔ**-^{1}phe	lose (v.)	Weidert 1987:139
Tangsa	^{1}**mʌi(ʔ)**	lose (v.)	Weidert 1987:139

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**ma**	forget	Marrison 1967
	mao	lose	Marrison 1967
	màu	lose (v.)	Weidert 1987:139
Konyak	**ma**	lose	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**mʌ́t**	lose (v.)	Weidert 1987:139
Phom	**ma**	lose	Marrison 1967
	ma tük	lose	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**ma** li	lose	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**ma**	exhausted, finished, spent (vs.)	Benedict 1972:425
	mat	lost, disappeared	LaPolla 1987:79
	mat	lost, to have disappeared (vs.)	Benedict 1972:425
	mat^{31}	lose / mislay (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1281.19
	mat^{31} **mat**^{31}	disappear / vanish (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1731.19
	sha **mat**	lose	Marrison 1967
	^{1}šə^{1}**mat**	lose (v.)	Weidert 1987:139
	ʃă^{31} **mat**^{31}	lose (sthg.) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1624.19
	ʃă^{31}**mat**^{31}	lose / misplace	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:677.47
	ʃă^{1}**mat**^{31}	lose / misplace	Liu Lu, ed. 1984

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**man**^{55}kem^{13}	lose / misplace	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**man**-tha	lose / misplace	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**man** gem	lose / mislay (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1281.07

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung	**hma**	lost (vs.)	Benedict 1972:425
Tamang	**ma**	lost (vs.)	Benedict 1972:425
Tamang (Bagmati)	**ma**^{ɦ}-(u)	lose (v.)	Weidert 1987:808
Tamang (Sahu)	**mah**-pa	lose s.th. (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.A.85.a
	^{3}**ma**	lose s.th	Mazaudon 1994:745

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**mama**	lose / be lost, get lost	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**maː**-s-(u)	lose; lose sthg (v.)	Weidert 1987:139; Weidert 1987:808
	maːma	lose; be lost; lose sthg (v.)	Weidert 1987:139; Weidert 1987:808
	maːma	lost (vs.)	Weidert 1987:808
	maːr- (maːt)	die (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	maːs- (ma)	lose (sth.) (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	mɔ-	get lost <lose>	Michailovsky 1989b
	mɔ-y-(a)	lost (vs.)	Weidert 1987:139; Weidert 1987:808
Yakha	**ma** si	lose (v.)	Weidert 1987:808

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**ma**	lose (v.)	Rai 1985
Kulung	**mas**-u	lose (sth.) (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	√**mət**-	die (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:43

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**man**/t-	kill (an enemy) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:43; Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Magar	**hma ≍ hmat**	lost; lose (vs.)	Benedict 1972:425
	hma~**hmat**	lost, lose	LaPolla 1987:79

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	thɛ^{33}**mɛ**^{55}	forget	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:726.18
Guiqiong	ʃɔ̃^{31}**mĩ**^{55}ta^{35}	forget (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1704.16
	ʂo^{33}**mu**^{55}tɑ^{33}	forget	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:726.17
Lyuzu	the^{33}**me**^{53}	forget (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1704.18
Muya	thɐ^{55}**mə**^{53}	forget (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1704.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mɯ**^{55}	forget	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:726.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	a^{11}**mã**^{11}	forget (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1704.10
Pumi (Lanping)	thə^{13}**mə̃**^{55}	forget (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1704.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	thə^{13}**n̥ə**^{13}	forget	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:726.11
Pumi (Taoba)	nə^{35}**mə̃**^{53}	forget	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:726.10
Qiang (Longxi)	dà **mù**	forget	Evans 1999:2444
Qiang (Mawo)	dɑː^{ɻ}**m**	forget (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1704.08
	rmə	forget	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:726.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	dɛ̀ **mǔ**	forget	Evans 1999:2444
Qiang (Taoping)	**χmi**^{55}	forget	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:726.9
Xumi	lɛ^{33}**ma**^{55}	forget (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1704.17
	mə̃^{33}	forget	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:726.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	tə^{55} **mə**^{55}	forget (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1704.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	də **rmə**	forget (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1704.12
Ergong (Danba)	**lmu**	forget	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:726.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **jməs**	forget (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1704.11
rGyalrong	kɐ **jməs**	forget	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:726.12
	kA sa **yi mus**	forget	Nagano 1997:147

7. Karenic: ***ma**^{B} DISAPPEAR, LOST

**Karen [Burling]*	***ma**^{1}	disappear, lost	Luangthongkum 2013:86
**Karen*	***ma**^{B}	disappear, lost	Luangthongkum 2013:86
Bwe	hɛ^{55}**mɛ**^{11}	disappear, lost	Luangthongkum 2013:86
Kayah	**me**^{11}	disappear, lost	Luangthongkum 2013:86
Kayan (Pekon)	lá **mā**	new moon [lit. moon-lost] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**ma**^{11}	disappear, lost	Luangthongkum 2013:86
Kayan (Pekon)	**mā**	lost (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	pè̤ **mā**	ignore [lit. ?-lost] (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
	sà **mā**	lost, hidden / disappear (V.)	Manson 2010
	sù **mā**	disappear / lost (V.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ú **mā**	disappear, become lost [lit. become-lost] (V.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**ma**^{11}	disappear, lost	Luangthongkum 2013:86
Pa-O (Northern)	**ma**^{53}	disappear, lost	Luangthongkum 2013:86
Pa-O (Southern)	**ma**^{55}	disappear, lost	Luangthongkum 2013:86
Pa-O	thō **mâ**	lost, disappear	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**mɛ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	disappear, lost	Luangthongkum 2013:86
Pwo (Southern)	**ma**^{33}	disappear, lost	Luangthongkum 2013:86
Sgaw (Southern)	**ma**^{31}	disappear, lost	Luangthongkum 2013:86
Sgaw (Northern)	**ma**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	disappear, lost	Luangthongkum 2013:86

(4) PTB *taŋ DIE / DROP DOWN / CESSATIVE

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	taːbrẽ **thaːng**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
Kaman [Miju]	**táŋ**-sîi	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:192

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	thì-**táng**-ló	die / be dead	Grüssner 1979:83

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**thaːŋ** 'si nɨ	descend, go / come down	Driem 1993
	thaːŋ nɨ	drop, allow fall (v.)	Driem 1993
	thaːŋ nɨ	with saːyɨ "life force", become ill, die / be near death.	Driem 1993

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baka)	ʃղ^{35} **to**^{44} a^{44}	dead	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1547

(5) PTB *s-pwap DIE / DEAD / CORPSE

This promising root could use some further confirmation.

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**pup**- (TE)	die (v.)	Allen 1975

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	rdak^{53} **sp^{h}op**^{13}	carcass / dead animal	Sun Hongkai 1991c:1.15
	sp^{h}op^{13}	corpse / dead body	Sun Hongkai 1991c:1.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	tə33 **ʃpɔ^{ᴘ}44**	corpse	Nagano & Prins 2013:0176
Caodeng	tə-**ʃpop**	corpse	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tɯ **ɕpɤβ**	corpse	Nagano & Prins 2013:0176

(6) PKir *het DIE

2.3. Kiranti

**BSDTK*	***het**-	die (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:45

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**hett**-	die (?) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:45
Thulung	**heat**-	die, to die down (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:45

(7) PTB *tsu DEAD, SPIRIT OF

This root is solidly established for PTB on the basis of the Jingpho and Burmese reflexes, with good confirmation from the Limbu form. It also is well attested in Qiangic, although the vocalism of some of these forms remains to be explained. The cognacy of the rGyalrongic forms is possible but not certain.

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**tsù**	spirit	Matisoff 1974:36
	ʔə **tsù**	disembodied spirit	Matisoff 1974:36
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**su** gup	spirit of a woman dead in childbirth	Driem 1988
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**tʂhɑ**^{55}	ghost / demon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:523.18
Lyuzu	**tʂhæ**^{53}	ghost / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.18
Namuyi	**tʂha**^{55}	ghost / demon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:523.19
	tʂha^{55}	ghost; spirit; spirit (evil); demon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0670.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**dʐy**^{55}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tsu**^{55}	ghost / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tsu**^{55}	ghost; demon	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:523.11
	ɕe^{55}	spirit	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	**tsu**^{55}	ghost; demon	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:523.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**tsɨ́**	spirit	Evans 1999:975
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʐy ʐy**	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**su**^{55}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	nã^{55}**ɕi**^{53}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.16
Xumi	**dʐu**^{35}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.20
	tshu^{35}	ghost / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.17
	tshu^{35}	ghost / demon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:523.20
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	rnɐm **ʃəs**	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.11
rGyalrong	rnɐm **ʃəs**	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.12
Caodeng	rnɐm-**ʃeʔ**	soul	Sun 1997a
	rnɐm-**ʃeʔs**	spirit; soul	Sun 1997a
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	ʔə **chu**	num. aux. applied to deities, pagodas, etc.	Matisoff 1974:36

(8) PTB *swan DIE / SPIRIT OF DEAD / NON-VIABLE

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**són**	die	Matisoff 1974:273
	ʔə **són**	spirit of woman dead in child-	Matisoff 1974:273
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**swan**	non-viable (eggs, roots); inefficient, destitute of vitality	Matisoff 1974:273; Benedict 1976a
	ə-**swan**	inefficient, destitute of vitality	Benedict 1976a

(9) PTB * g / k um DIE / KILL

The WT-Chinese comparison was suggested in *STC* p.175. No further confirmation of this etymon has yet been found.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gum ≍ kum**	die / kill	Matisoff 2003a:592
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**bkum**	kill, slaughter (pf.)	Benedict 1972:175n464
	gum-pɑ	die	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:645a
	gums	die (pf.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:645a
	ḥgum-pa	die	Benedict 1972:175n464
	ḥgum-pɑ	die; kill	Jäschke 1881:p.94
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kʻəm/kʻə̂m**	vanquish / kill	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:651v; CHOU Fa-kao 1972:658q

Chinese comparandum

戡 OC ***k'əm**, *GSR* #658q 'vanquish; kill'; Coblin 86:100 ST ***khum** > OC ***khəm**; Schuessler 2007:330 ***khə̂m**; Mand. **kān**.
戕 OC ***k'əm**, *GSR* #651v 'kill'; Mand. **kān**.

(10) PTB *kay DIE

This root is well-attested in Tani (where it functions both as a main verb and as a resultative complement), with a couple of possible cognates elsewhere. The Batang form is assigned to this root, but in the absence of a WT cognate, this is uncertain.

1.1.1. TANI: ***-ka** ~ ***-ke** DEAD (resultative verbal particle)			
**Tani*	***-ka**~-ke	dead (resultative verbal particle)	Sun 1993a:98
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	**-ki:**	dead (resultative verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**-ke:**	dead (resultative verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	jir-**ke:**	drown	Sun 1993b
	ke:	die (be killed)	Sun 1993b
	ke:	die (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1651.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ke:**	die	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ŋi:; **ke:**	die	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:780.51
Galo	-**ʻkə**	dead (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	si-**ki**-nam	kill	Simon 1976
Tagin	ap **ki**-nam	kill with a gun (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	deŋ **ki**-nam	kill with a stick (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	mo **ki**-nam	kill (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	pa **ki**-nam	kill with a dao (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	**-ka**	dead (resultative verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
Mishing [Miri]	**-ke**	dead (resultative verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Rengma (Northern)	^{1}**ki** ^{3}šɯ	die (v.)	Weidert 1987:6
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	**khɛ**^{55} zo^{53}	carcass / dead animal	DAI Qingxia 1989a:1.15

(11) PTani *ju DEMON / EVIL SPIRIT

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ju**	demon / evil spirit	Sun 1993a:101
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	u-**i**	demon / evil spirit	Sun 1993a
Bengni	u-**ju**	demon; evil spirit; ghost	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	u **ju**	ghost / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.24
	u-**ju**	demon; evil spirit; ghost	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	u-**ju** o-rom	ghost	Sun 1993b
	u-**juː**	devil	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	u **ju**	ghost / demon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:523.51
	u **juː**	ghost	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Nishing	u **yu**	god (spirit)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	u **yu**	ghost	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	u-**ju**	demon / evil spirit	Sun 1993a
Damu	u-**ju**	ghost	Sun 1993b
	ʔu-**ju**	demon	Sun 1993b

(12) PTB *grwaŋ DIE (respectful)

The Tamangic forms are evidently borrowings from Tibetan, as honorific terms generally are.

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥgroŋ**-ba	die (respectful) (v.)	Jäschke 1881:102
2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{A}**droŋ** DIE (honorific)			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**ʈoŋ**	die (high honorific) (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:1.13
	^{3}**ʈoŋ**	die (hon.)	Mazaudon 1994:419

(13) PKC *p(h)a(a)m DIE / WASTED

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***pa(a)m ≍ pha(a)m**	DIE / WASTED	VanBik 2009:140
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**pham**^{2}	die (poetic use) (v.)	VanBik 2009:140; Bhaskararao 1996:1434
	pham^{2}	die (poetic use)	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**pâam**-I, păam-II	die unnecessarily (as by drowning), be wasted (e.g. of food, etc.)	VanBik 2009:140
Lai (Falam)	**pàam**-INV	die, perish	VanBik 2009:140

(14) PKC *raaw SPIRIT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***raaw**	SPIRIT	VanBik 2009:977
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**hlăa** gâaw	spirit	VanBik 2009:977
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thla**-răaw	spirit	VanBik 2009:977
Lushai [Mizo]	**rău**	name of a malignant spirit supposed to be responsible for stiff-necks and wry-necks in human beings and animals (n.)	VanBik 2009:977

1.1.6.1 Carcass/Dead Body

(1) PTB *s-maŋ BODY / CORPSE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-maŋ**	corpse	Matisoff 2003a:601
1.1.1. TANI: ***si-maŋ** DEAD BODY			
**Tani*	*si-**maŋ**	dead body	Sun 1993a:99
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	sɯ-**ma**	dead body; corpse	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	ši-**maː**	dead body	Sun 1993a
	si-**maː**	corpse	Sun 1993b
	si-**maː** ri	bury (corpse)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	so-**moŋ**	corpse	Sun 1993b
	šo-**moŋ**~ **ši-moŋ**	dead body	Sun 1993a
	ɕo **moŋ**	corpse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0162.24
Bokar Lhoba	ɕo **moŋ**	corpse	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	hi **maa**	corpse (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	shi-**mang**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	si-**maŋ**	dead body	Sun 1993a
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-maŋ** BODY / CORPSE			
**Central Naga*	*a-**maŋ**	BODY / CORPSE	Bruhn 2014a:III.198
**Ao*	*(t/a-)**maŋ**	BODY / CORPSE	Bruhn 2014a:II.214
Ao (Chungli)	**maŋ**^{2}ku^{2}	human head trophy (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ta^{2}-sə^{2}**maŋ**^{2}	corpse (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	te **mang**	body; whole	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	to kolak ret, **mang** ko	skull	Marrison 1967
	tə^{2}-**maŋ**^{2}	body (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.214
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**mang** cha	naked	Marrison 1967

	te **mang**	whole; body	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**maŋ**-mətuŋ	village name (Mangmetong) ('body' + 'be erect') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	maŋ ku	human head trophy (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tə **máŋ**	all	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**maŋ**	corpse (cf. 'body'); corpse (n.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**maŋ**	body (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-sə-**maŋ**	corpse ('die' + 'body') (n.)	Coupe 2007 [a]
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**məŋ**^{1}	corpse (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.198
	māŋ hà	body (dead)	Acharya 1975
	^{1}o^{1}**mɯŋ**	corpse	Weidert 1987:5
Sangtam	a sü cho **me**	corpse	Kumar 1973a
Yacham-Tengsa	teri **mang**	body	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	ú-**m̀o**	body	Matisoff 1994b
	^{2}the^{3}**mo**	corpse	Weidert 1987:5
Angami (Khonoma)	**mo**	body	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **mo**^{31}	body	Nienu 1990a:1.1
	(u) **mo**^{31} mia^{55}	body hair	Nienu 1990a:8.1.3
	ke^{31} sia^{33} **mo**^{31}	corpse / dead body	Nienu 1990a:1.14
	u **mo**	body	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **mo**^{31}	body	Nienu 1990b:1.1
	(u) **mo**^{31} ma^{35}	body hair	Nienu 1990b:8.1.3
	kü^{31} sa^{33} **mo**^{31}	corpse / dead body	Nienu 1990b:1.14
	u **mo**	body	Marrison 1967
Khezha	kɘ **mó**	body	Yabu 1994:1.1
Rengma (Northern)	^{1}a^{1}ga^{3}**mã**	corpse	Weidert 1987:5
Sema [Sumi]	a ki thi ku **mo**	corpse; dead body; carcass; dead animal	Achumi 1998a:1.14; Achumi 1998a:1.15
	a ku **mo**	corpse / dead body	Achumi 1998a:1.14

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	be'-en-bi-**mang**	whole body	Burling 1992
	bi-**mang**	body of person or thing, shape, form; middle portion of an object, such as a glass	Burling 1992
	bi-**mang**	body; middle portion (n.)	Burling 2003:6.21-II:idx
	mang	body	Burling 1992
	mang-gi-si	corpse; dead body (n.)	Burling 2003:6.79-II:idx

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***maŋ**	corpse	French 1983:472

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**maŋ**	dead man	French 1983:472
	mʌŋ	corpse	French 1983:472
	^{1}**mʌŋ**	corpse	Weidert 1987:5
Tangsa	^{1}ʌ ^{3}**mʌŋ**	corpse	Weidert 1987:5
Tangsa (Moshang)	mi **mang**	body	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**mʌŋ**	corpse	French 1983:472

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**mang**	body	Marrison 1967
	maŋ	body, corpse, carcass	French 1983:472
Khiamngan	^{21}**mɪa**	corpse	Weidert 1987:5
Phom	**maŋ**^{55}	corpse	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	chyăsi chyă **mang**	corpse	Hanson 1906:p. 99
	maŋ^{33}	carcass / corpse	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:479
	mói **mang**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	u-**mang**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	ə **mang**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**mŭ**	body	Matisoff 1994b

2.2. Newar

Newar	**mha**	body	Matisoff 1987
	mhɔ	torso; trunk; body	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.1; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.6
	si: **mhɔ**	corpse; dead body; carcass; dead animal	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.14; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.15

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**hmaŋ**	corpse	Weidert 1987:5; Caughley 1972:10.A.46
Chepang (Eastern)	**hmaŋʔ**	corpse; dead body; carcass; dead animal	Caughley 1990:1.14; Caughley 1990:1.15

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**mi̱e**	corpse; dead body; carcass; dead animal	Dai Qingxia 1989e:1.14; Dai Qingxia 1989e:1.15

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	gɑ^{55} **ma**^{55}	body	Sun Hongkai 1991d
Pumi (Qinghua)	gə^{13} **m̥u**^{13}	body	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983 [b]
Qiang (Mawo)	**rmu**	corpse; dead body; carcass; dead animal	Sun Hongkai 1991g:1.14; Sun Hongkai 1991g:1.15
	rmus	ashes of a dead body	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**ɻmu**	corpse	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***maŋ**^{1}	corpse / body	Matisoff 1993

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	ʂi^{55} **mɻuaŋ**^{55}	body	Matisoff 1994b
	ʂl^{55} **mɻaŋ**^{55}	corpse	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985 [c]
Achang (Xiandao)	tʂu^{55} **mɔŋ**^{55}	corpse	Dai Qingxia 1989f:192
Bola	**mɔ̃**^{55}	corpse	Dai Qingxia 1989g:192
Lashi	**maŋ**^{31}	corpse; dead body; carcass; dead animal	Dai Qingxia 1989m:1.14; Dai Qingxia 1989m:1.15
Maru [Langsu]	**mɔ̃**^{31}	corpse; dead body; carcass; dead animal	Dai Qingxia 1989l:1.14; Dai Qingxia 1989l:1.15
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**maŋ**^{51}	body	Matisoff 1994b

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	tshɒ^{33} ʂl^{33} **mɒ**^{33}	corpse / dead body	Dai Qingxia 1989n:1.14
	ʂl^{33} **mɒ**^{33}	carcass / dead animal	Dai Qingxia 1989n:1.15

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	xɯ^{55} **m̥**^{55}	corpse / dead body	Chen Kang 1986b:1.14
Nasu	ɕi^{33} **mɔ**^{33}	corpse / dead body	Chen Kang 1986b:1.14
Nesu	ʁɤ^{21} **mu**^{21}	body	Chen Kang 1986b:1.1
	tʂha^{21} **ma**^{55}	corpse / dead body	Chen Kang 1986b:1.14
Yi (Mile)	gɯ^{21}**mo**^{33}	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.25
Yi (Mojiang)	gɯ^{21}**mo**^{21}	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.26
Yi (Xide)	**mo**^{33}	corpse	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	mo^{34}-gɔ^{33}	corpse	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ts^{h}o^{33}-**mo**^{33}	corpse	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	gɯ^{21} **mo**^{33}	body	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.1
	i^{33} ʂi^{33} **mu**^{33}	carcass / dead animal	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.15
	ʂi^{22} **mu**^{33}	corpse / dead body	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.14
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{33} **mʌ**^{44}	body	Dai Qingxia 1989h:97
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{33} **mʌ**^{44}	body	Dai Qingxia 1989i:97
Jinuo	a^{33}ʃɔ^{33}a^{33}**ma**^{44}	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**mə**^{42} to^{44}	body	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ts^{h}ə^{42} zɔ^{44} ʃi^{44} **mə**^{44}	corpse	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	ʃi^{31} **mʌ**^{44}	dead	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1547
	ʃi^{44} **mʌ**^{44}	corpse	Dai Qingxia 1989h:202.1
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33} **mə**^{44}	body	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu (Nujiang)	ts^{h}o̱^{44} **mo**^{33}	corpse	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	ʂi^{33}**mu**^{33}(mɒ^{33})	corpse	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʂɻ^{33} **m̥**^{33} mɑ^{33}	corpse	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:208.2

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	g'aw^{ˇ} **maw**^{ˇ}	body	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Yunnan)	**mɔ́** du	body	Hansson 1989:271
Akha (Thai)	**mɔ́**-do	body	Hansson 1989:271
Hani (Dazhai)	ɣo^{55} **mo**^{55}	body	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ^{31} **mu**^{55}	body	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Pijo)	ɣù **mú**	body	Hansson 1989:271
Hani (Gelanghe)	**mɔ**^{55} do^{33}	body	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	hhol **mol**	body	Hansson 1989:271
Hani (Khatu)	thə **mú**	body	Hansson 1989:271
Sangkong	aŋ^{33} **mbaŋ**^{55}	body	Li Yongsui 1991

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	gv^{ɨ}dv^{ɨ}-gv^{ɨ}**mi**^{ɨ}	body	Michaud 2006–2009
	gv^{ɨ}**mi**^{ɨ}	body	Michaud 2006–2009
	gv^{ɨ}**mi**^{ɨ} ʈʂ^{h}æ^{ɨ}	wash oneself (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	gu^{33}**mu**^{33}	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.45
Naxi (Western)	gu^{33}**mu**^{33}tʂ^{h}ər^{33}	bathe	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Eastern)	gv^{33}**mi**^{33}	body	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	gv^{33}**mi**^{33}	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.29
	gv^{33}**mi**^{33}tʂhəɹ^{33}	bathe	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:650.29
Naxi (Eastern)	gv^{33}**mi**^{33}tʂ^{h}a^{33}	bathe	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	gv^{33}**mu**^{33}	body	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	gv^{33}**mu**^{33}	body	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.28
	gv^{33}**mu**^{33}tʂhəɹ^{33}	bathe	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:650.28

7. Karenic

**Karen (Sgaw)*	***mò** pɣà	body	Jones 1961:840
Palaychi	**nɔ̀** shà	body	Jones 1961:840
Pwo (Bassein)	**mó?** xwá?	body	Jones 1961:840
Pwo (Moulmein)	**mò** šá	body	Jones 1961:840
Sgaw (Bassein)	**mò** pɣà	body	Jones 1961:840
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**mò** pɣà	body	Jones 1961:840

8. Bai

Bai (Jianchuan)	ɕi^{33} ŋɯ̃^{21} ɕi^{33} **mæ**^{33}	carcass / dead animal	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.15 [a]

[a] Although the second syllable of this Mongsen Ao form, **tə-sə-maŋ**, appears to reflect the PTB ***s-** prefix, in reality the form is a compound of the roots **sə** 'die' and **maŋ** 'body', with the nominal prefix **tə-**.

[b] Pumi **m̥** reflects the ***s-** prefix.

[c] The medial -**ɻ**- (usually < ***-r-**) is unexplained.

[a] Jianchuan **ɕi**^{33} **ŋɯ̃**^{21} **ɕi**^{33} **mæ**^{33} lit. "dead ox, dead horse". Probably refers to all draft animals (e.g. water buffalo).

(2) PTB *s-raw WITHERED / RESIDUE / CORPSE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***raw**	dry; dead; old; carcass; withered; residue; corpse	Matisoff 2003a:610; Benedict 1972:268

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***raw** DRY / WITHER

**Chin*	***raw**	DRY / WITHER	VanBik 2009:933

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**góo-I**, **got-II**	dry, withered (from liquid to dry)	VanBik 2009:933
Tiddim	**go:**^{2} > **got**^{3}	dry, dry up, become hardened	VanBik 2009:933
	go:^{2} > **got**^{3}	dry up; become hardened; become seasoned (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:361
	go:^{2}/**got**^{3}	dry up...	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**ràw**-I, răw-II	dry, wither	VanBik 2009:933
Lai (Falam)	**răw**-I, ràw-II	dry	VanBik 2009:933
Lushai [Mizo]	**ro**	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	ró	dry, to be dead (be v.)	VanBik 2009:933
	ro	dry (be v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2853
	rou	dry, dead	Benedict 1972:268

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	a **ru**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***rəw**	old(of persons)	French 1983:528

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	kh **raw**	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	kh **ʒoʔ**^{55}	dry (inside of object)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.19
	kə **rāu**×gə **rāu**	dry over a fire	Matisoff 1974:3
	k **rāu**	dry up, be overdry	Matisoff 1974:3

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	ḍunḍo-**rò**	carcass / dead animal	Sharma 1991a:1.15
	rò	corpse / dead body	Sharma 1991a:1.14

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**rɐ**^{53}	corpse / dead body	Sun Hongkai 1991a:1.14
Tsangla (Central)	**ro**	dead body	Egli-Roduner 1987:31 9a
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ro**	corpse	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ro^{13}	corpse	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ro**	corpse	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**rɔ**^{13}	corpse	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ro**	corpse	Sun 1985a:159
Tibetan (Batang)	khɛ^{55} **zo**^{53}	carcass / dead animal	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.15
	zo^{53}	corpse / dead body	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.14
Spiti	**rò**	corpse / dead body	Bodh 1991:1.14
Tibetan (Written)	**ro**	carcass; corpse; residue, sediment; corpse, carcass	Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:159; Benedict 1972:268

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**hryu**	dry, dead (as a leaf)	Matisoff 1987

	hryu	dry, dead (as leaf) (vs.)	Benedict 1972:268
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**ro**	corpse (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:1.14
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**ryo** ma	body	Matisoff 1987
3.2. QIANGIC			
Pumi (Qinghua)	**zɻɯ**^{13}	corpse	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Mianchi)	**zɻ́**	dry	Evans 1999:1476
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	rə dɔ **ʔruə**	carcass / dead animal	DAI Qingxia 1989b:1.15
	ʔruə	corpse / dead body	DAI Qingxia 1989b:1.14
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**rau**	very old, near withering (as leaves)	Benedict 1972:268
	ro	very old, near withering, as leaves (more than raŋ') (cf. lyo)	Benedict 1976a

Chinese comparandum

老 OC ***lôg***, *GSR* #1055a 'old'; B & S 2011: ***C-r^{ʕ}uʔ***; Mand. ***lǎo***. S345

(3) PTB *ʔu BODY / CORPSE

The stronghold of this root is Tani, but it also appears as a productive body part prefix in Angami, and has developed the meaning CORPSE / DEAD BODY in Tangut.

1.1.1. TANI: ***ɯ** BODY			
**Tani*	***ɯ**	body	Sun 1993a:36
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	a-**uʔ**	body	Sun 1993b
	a-**uʔ** a-ja-nɯ	healthy	Sun 1993b
	a-**wu**	body	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	au har-su	take bath	Sun 1993b
	auʔ a-ra	naked	Sun 1993b
	auʔ gi-gja	waist	Sun 1993b
	auʔ ja-ri	waistband	Sun 1993b
	auʔ-har-su	bathe	Sun 1993b
	auʔ-ja-ri	band (waist)	Sun 1993b
	a **u**	body	Sun 1993b
	a **u** a-po	body	Sun 1993b
	^{2}a^{2}**u**	body	Weidert 1987:494
Bokar	a **ɯː**	body (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.24
	a-**ɯ**	body	Sun 1993a
	ə-**ɯ**	body	Sun 1993b
	ə-**ɯ** nɯː-kak	bathe	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **ɯː** (ɯi)	body	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:231.51
	ə **ɯ** çar kak	bathe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:650.51
	ɑ' **ɯː**	body	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **ɨɨ**	body (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɨɨ poo	trunk (of the body); torso; waist (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ˆa-**ɯ**	body	Weidert 1987:494
Miri, Hill	**y**	body	Simon 1976
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami Naga	**ú**-m̀o	body	Matisoff 1994b
	ú-prì	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1978b:(1) [a]
	ú phié	lung	Matisoff 1978b:3
	^{5}**u**^{2}bu-^{4}thu	elbow	Weidert 1987:407
	^{5}**u**^{2}dzie-^{4}ki^{2}nuo	finger	Weidert 1987:415
	^{5}**u**^{2}hu	tooth	Weidert 1987:254
	^{5}**u**^{2}ke^{5}li	brain	Weidert 1987:218
	^{5}**u**^{2}me^{3}lu	intestines	Weidert 1987:749
	^{5}**u**^{2}me^{1}nie	gums	Weidert 1987:933
	^{5}**u**^{2}mie	vagina	Weidert 1987:474 [bc]
	^{5}**u**^{2}phi	leg / foot	Weidert 1987:438
	^{5}**u**^{2}ru	bone	Weidert 1987:173
	^{5}**u**^{2}vo^{2}pho	goitre	Weidert 1987:504
	^{5}**u**^{3}luo	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214
	^{5}**u**^{1}nha	mucus	Weidert 1987:640
	^{5}**u**^{1}ñu	breast / milk	Weidert 1987:131
	^{5}**u**^{4}se	liver	Weidert 1987:440
	^{5}**u**^{4}tsɯ	head	Weidert 1987:429
	^{5}**u**^{4}tsɯ^{5}tha	hair (head)(1)	Weidert 1987:222
	^{5}**u**^{5}phie	lungs	Weidert 1987:990a
	^{5}**u**^{5}zie	blood	Weidert 1987:260
	^{5}**u** ^{1}ñu	milk / breast	Weidert 1987:327
Angami (Khonoma)	**u** me	mouth	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(**u**) hu^{31}	tooth	Nienu 1990a:3.10
	(**u**) mo^{31}	body	Nienu 1990a:1.1
	(**u**) nha^{31} kha^{55}	solid mucus	Nienu 1990a:3.5.7
	(**u**) nha^{11}	liquid mucus	Nienu 1990a:3.5.6
	(**u**) tsü^{31} to^{33}	top of head / crown / pate	Nienu 1990a:2.2
	(**u**) tsü^{35}	head	Nienu 1990a:2.1
	u hu	tooth	Marrison 1967
	u mo	body	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(**u**) hu^{31}	tooth	Nienu 1990b:3.10
	(**u**) mo^{31}	body	Nienu 1990b:1.1
	(**u**) nha^{31} kha^{35}	solid mucus	Nienu 1990b:3.5.7
	(**u**) nha^{11}	liquid mucus	Nienu 1990b:3.5.6
	(**u**) phe^{35}	spleen	Nienu 1990b:9.8
	u hu	tooth	Marrison 1967
	u mo	body	Marrison 1967
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ʔụ**	corpse; dead body; carcass; dead animal	DAI Qingxia 1989e:1.14; DAI Qingxia 1989e:1.15

[a] It is possible that this Angami form is a borrowing from IA ***p(l/r)i:han** SPLEEN (§1.7.4); however, the **ú-** prefix is evidently of TB origin, occurring in many body-part words.
[b] Angami ^{5}**u** is a general body-part prefix.
[c] The vowel of Angami ^{2}**mie** seems an unlikely reflex of ***-o** (< NEIA ***mo** VAGINA (§1.9.5)); yet the alternative of assigning this form to PTB ***ma:k** SON-IN-LAW / GENITALS / PENIS / MALE / VAGINA (§1.9.7) seems no better, since the regular Angami reflex of ***-ak** seems to be **-o** (e.g. WEAVE ***dak** > Ang. **do**; ANT ***-rwak** > Ang. **cho**).

(4) PTB *rwa $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ BODY / CORPSE

A number of languages in Eastern Nepal have developed final labials in this root, also showing alternation between final stop and nasal: ***rwam** ≍ ***rwap**. We regard these forms as secondary, due most likely to assimilation of the final to the labial glide.

It is possible that Karbi **rèng-** 'die / be dead' and Dumi **rəŋ** gəliːm 'soul / the disincarnate spirit of a dead person' are also somehow related, perhaps reflecting an allofam like ***ryaŋ**.

Also to be compared to this root is PTB ***s-lwaŋ** BODY / CORPSE / DISCARDED OBJECT (§1.1.6.1) with lateral initial.

1.1.1. TANI: ***rom** GHOST (ANCESTRAL)			
**Tani*	***rom**	ghost (ancestral)	Sun 1993a:173
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	a-**ram**	ghost (ancestral); spirit (of the dead)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	o **rom**	soul / spirit (lit. 'ghost spirit') (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.24
	o-**rom**	ghost (ancestral)	Sun 1993a
	o-**rom** a-ke:	offering	Sun 1993b
	u-ju o-**rom**	ghost	Sun 1993b
Galo	u **rom**	ghost	Das Gupta 1963
	u **yom**	ghost	Das Gupta 1963
	'o **rom**	ghost (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	o **rom**	shades of the dead, spirits	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	u-**rom**	ghost (ancestral)	Sun 1993a
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ruak** ≍ ***ruaŋ** CORPSE / DEAD BODY			
**Chin*	***ruak** ≍ ruaŋ	CORPSE / DEAD BODY	VanBik 2009:927
Thanphum	ă **ro**^{5}	corpse, dead body	Luce 1985:P.26
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho (Sandoway)	ă`**yɔuʔ**^{2}	corpse, dead body	Luce 1985:P.26
Cho (Mindat)	**gawk**	corpse, human dead body	VanBik 2009:927
Womatu	**roʔ**^{3}	corpse, dead body	Luce 1985:P.26
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Khualsim	**ruak**^{1} [ruaŋ^{2} = body]	corpse, dead body	Luce 1985:P.26
Lai (Hakha)	**ruak**	corpse, dead body	VanBik 2009:927
Lai (Falam)	**rûak**	corpse, dead body	VanBik 2009:927
Lai (Hakha)	**ruak**^{1}	corpse, dead body	Luce 1985:P.26
Lushai [Mizo]	**ruang**	carcass; corpse; body	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	rŭang	corpse, a carcass, a dead body (n.)	VanBik 2009:927
	ruɑŋ^{3}	corpse, dead body	Luce 1985:P.26
	sak-**rong**	body	Matisoff 1987
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**rí**	corpse, dead body	VanBik 2009:927
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**rə**^{3}	corpse, dead body	Luce 1985:P.26
Mera	a^{1}**ʁiʔ**^{1}	corpse, dead body	Luce 1985:P.26
Tha'oa	**rɔk**^{4}	corpse, dead body	Luce 1985:P.26
Zotung	ă **rua**^{4}	corpse, dead body	Luce 1985:P.26
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	mī **roŋ**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	sā **roŋ**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ar **rak**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	ar **wák**	carcass / dead animal	Grüssner 1979:12 [a]
	rèng-	die / be dead	Grüssner 1979:99
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			[b]
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	mə **dəm**	body; health	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***ram**	body	Michailovsky 1991:17
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**jam**	body	Michailovsky 1991:17
	P-**jam**	body	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**yam**	body	Rai 1985
	yam sa	body-flesh / body-meat	Rai 1985
Chamling	**ram**	body	Michailovsky 1991:17; Winter 1985:30 [c]
Kulung	**gam**	body	Michailovsky 1991:17
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**ram**	body; fleshly body, limbs	Michailovsky 1991:17; Driem 1993
	ri **ram**	body	Driem 1993
	rəŋ gəliːm	<soul> the disincarnate spirit of a man / woman who has died an	Driem 1993
Khaling	**rwaam**	body	Michailovsky 1991:17
	rwām	body	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	**raːM**	body	Michailovsky 1991:17
	rą̄ː	body	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**reom**	body (human; animal); body	Michailovsky 1991:17; Allen 1975
	reop	body (human; animal); body	Michailovsky 1991:17; Allen 1975
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	kə rn̥ɛ **wam**	carcass / dead animal	DAI Qingxia 1989d:1.15
	ta **wam**	corpse / dead body	DAI Qingxia 1989d:1.14

[a] **ar-** is a common Karbi prefix; maybe this is a haplologized form < ***ar-rwak**.
[b] Bodo shows frequent variation between intervocalic **-d-** and **-r-**, as witness the alternate name Boro for the language.
[c] Chamling **bu-lim** 'body' represents different etyma.

(5) PTB *s-lwaŋ BODY / CORPSE / DISCARDED OBJECT

At first glance, WB seems to contradict this reconstruction, since the regular reflex of PTB ***-waŋ** is **-waŋ**. However, there are possible WB allofams **lwaŋ'** and **hlwaŋ'**, which are in its favor. These latter two WB forms are a simplex / causative pair, so we reconstruct the ***s-** prefix to accommodate the causative allofam.

For a similar semantic connection between CORPSE and WITHERED OBJECT, see PTB ***s-raw** WITHERED / RESIDUE / CORPSE (§1.1.6.1).

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**lang**	body	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Kadu (Kantu)	**lɑŋ**^{4}	body	Luce 1985:K.49
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**lɻ̂wụ**^{2}	body	Sofronov c1978
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**hlwaŋ'**	blow away; dissipate; throw away	Benedict 1976a
	lwaŋ'	blown away; driven out of course; scattered and lost; faded (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**hlôŋ**	what may be easily blown away, chaff	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**lôŋ**	dead body, corpse	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **lôŋ**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	ʔə **lôŋ**-koŋ	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	ɕi^{33} **lo̱**^{21}ɕi^{33} pã̱^{42}	carcass / dead animal	ZHAO Yansun 1990:1.15 [a]

[a] Jianchuan **ɕi^{33} lo̱^{21} ɕi^{33} pã̱^{42}** lit. "dead tigers, dead panthers". Probably refers to all wild animals.

(6) PTB *tuŋ CORPSE

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**t^{h}ɯŋ^{55}**	corpse (shi)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	i **t^{h}ũ**	corpse	Pulu 1978; Anonymous 1962
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Thakali	**thun**	corpse (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.46
Thakali (Tukche)	**t^{h}un**	corpse	Hari 1971:10.A.46
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	se^{35} **thu^{35}**	die	Matisoff 1994b
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola	saʔ^{55} **t^{h}ɔ^{35}**	die (breath one's last)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:1781

(7) PTB *s-pur CORPSE

This root has so far mostly been found in Himalayan languages, and further confirmation from other branches of the family would be welcome.

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**pur**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	sku-**spur**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
	spur	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**pur**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya	**pø^{24}**	corpse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0162.15
Muya [Minyak]	**pø^{35}**	corpse / dead body	SUN Hongkai 1991h:1.14

(8) PTB *dzal CORPSE

This etymon needs further confirmation.

1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	**dzɑl^{35}**	corpse (shi)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	dzɑl^{35}	corpse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0162.23
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**tse:**	corpse , bier (?.)	Michailovsky 1989b
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**dz'iɑ**/dz'iᵉ-	bone with meat on	Karlgren 1957:5o
	dz'i̯ə̆r/dz'iᵉ-	carcass, bones of an animal	Karlgren 1957:358r
	dz'i̯ə̆r/dz'iᵉ~dz'iᵉ-	bones with meat on	Karlgren 1957:358q
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**tsï**	carcass, bones of an animal; bone with meat on	Karlgren 1957:358r; Karlgren 1957:5o
	ts'ï	bones with meat on	Karlgren 1957:358q

Chinese comparandum

髊 OC ***dz'iɑ***, *GSR* #5o; Mand. **cī**.
豉 OC ***dz'i̯ə̆r***, *GSR* #358r; Mand. **zì**.
骴 OC ***dz'i̯ə̆r***, *GSR* #358q; Mand. **cī**.

(9) PTB *moy CORPSE

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**mói**	corpse	Matisoff 1974:277
	mói mang	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**mwe**	relics of the body of a Buddh; relics of Buddha	Matisoff 1974:277; Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **mwe**	inheritance	Matisoff 1974:277

(10) PTB *ŋun CORPSE

This etymon is evidently valid, but more confirmation would be welcome.

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***ŋun*** CORPSE				
**Tangkhulic*	***ŋun**	corpse	Mortensen 2012:472	
Huishu	ʔa-**ŋun**	corpse	Mortensen 2012	
Kachai	ʔa-**ŋun**	corpse / dead body	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.017	
Tangkhul	ā **ŋun**	carcass / corpse	Matisoff 1987	
Ukhrul	ʔa-**ŋun**	corpse	Mortensen 2012	
3.1. TANGUT				
Tangut [Xixia]	**ngi̯u̯^{2}**	body	Sofronov c1978	
8. BAI				
Bai (Jianchuan)	ɕi^{33} **ŋɯ̃^{21}** ɕi^{33} mæ^{33}	carcass / dead animal	ZHAO Yansun 1990:1.15	[a]

[a] Jianchuan **ɕi^{33} ŋɯ̃^{21} ɕi^{33} mæ^{33}** lit. "dead ox, dead horse". Probably refers to all draft animals (e.g. water buffalo).

1.2.1 Head/Headed

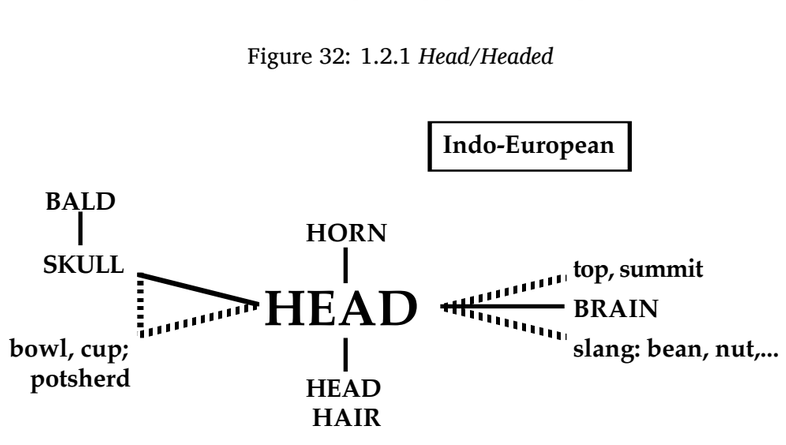

Figure 33: 1.2.1 *Head/Headed*

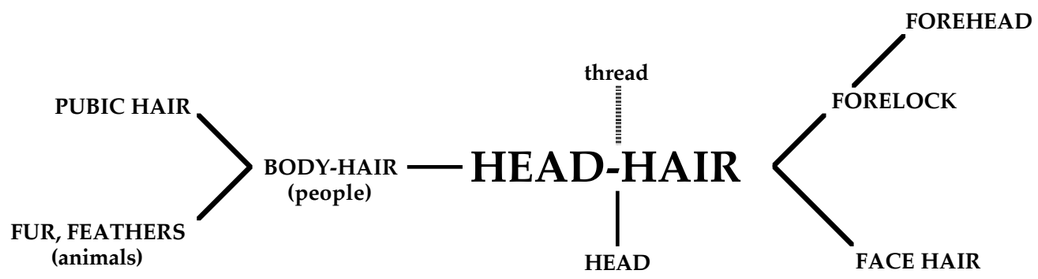

Figure 34: 1.2.1 *Head/Headed*

(1) PTB *d-bu-s HEAD / CENTER / SENIOR MALE RELATIVE / UNCLE

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***dbuɣ**	head	Coblin 1986:92
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(d-)bu** (*B)	head	Coblin 1986:92
	***(d-)bu**	head	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:118e
	***-u**	head	LaPolla 1987:199
	***d-bu-s**	head / center	Matisoff 2003a:585
1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	**u**	head	Simon 1979
	u-k^{h}ɯn	skull; pillow	Simon 1979
	u-wai	headache	Simon 1979
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar Lhoba	dʐa **'u**	hair	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ʔuu*** ELDER SIBLING			
**Chin*	***ʔuu**	ELDER SIBLING	VanBik 2009:480
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**ʔúu** pàa	married man, leader, elder in leadership position (e.g. in church)	VanBik 2009:480
Tiddim	**u^{1}** pa^{1}	elder	VanBik 2009:480
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔûu**	elder or older sibling	VanBik 2009:480
Lai (Falam)	**ʔŭu**	older sibling	VanBik 2009:480
Lushai [Mizo]	**ú**	elder brother or sister (n.)	VanBik 2009:480
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	a **phu** bong kok a nung	back of head	Matisoff 1987
	a **phu** long plang ata rlok	brain	Matisoff 1987
	a **phu** tang	back of head	Matisoff 1987
	phu	head	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	phú	head	Grüssner 1979:145
	phu long plang	scalp	Matisoff 1987
	phú-bòng-kòk	skull	Grüssner 1979:145
	phú-díp	fontanel	Grüssner 1979:145
	phú-lóng-díp	top of head / crown / pate	Grüssner 1979:145
	phú-lóng-pláng	top of head; crown; pate; scalp	Grüssner 1979:145; Grüssner 1979:145
	phú-táp	hair of head; scalp	Grüssner 1979:145; Grüssner 1979:145
	phu long dip	pate	Matisoff 1987
	phu long plang	top of head	Matisoff 1987
	phu tap	scalp	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	**bu** thlung	brain	Marrison 1967
	bu thluŋ ≍ **bi** thlim	brain	Benedict 1972:126
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	(**u**-)bawng	head	Matisoff 1987
	u-baw	head	Matisoff 1987
	ū-bō(ŋ)	head	Matisoff 1974:182 [a]
	u-rung	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**ú** nóʔ	brain	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:1-3
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**pu** ša	head	Sharma 1991a:2.1
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**dbu**	head	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; LaPolla 1987:199; Benedict 1972:117n325; Coblin 1986:92
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	(**u**) kró	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{1}u**	head (n, hh.)	Mazaudon 1991:2.1
2.3. KIRANTI			
**BSDTK*	***pu**	head	Michailovsky 1991:87
**Kiranti*	***ʔpu**	head	Opgenort 2011
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	**u**-na ciʔ wa	brain	Weidert 1987:619
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**dho** sam	head hair	Michailovsky 1991:79
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**pu** tshi	head	Michailovsky 1991:87; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**bu** syu kām ʔa	head hair	Matisoff 1987
	buT	head	Matisoff 1987
	buy	head	Michailovsky 1991:87; Allen 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**puh**.kliʔ	brain (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	pu^{6}-khliʔ	brain	Weidert 1987:619
	pu hkliʔ	brain	Caughley 1972:2.A.16
	tā **puʔ**	skull	Matisoff 1987
	ta **puʔ**	skull	Caughley 1972:2.A.15 [b]
Chepang (Eastern)	**puh**	head	Caughley 1990:2.1
	puh kli	brain	Caughley 1990:2.5
	puh kliʔ	brain	Caughley 1990:9.1
	puh rumʔ	skull	Caughley 1990:2.4
3.1. TANGUT			

[a] Reference doesn' t check out.
[b] Chepang **ta** could represent the same prefix as WT **dbu** 'head'.

Tangut [Xixia]	**·u**	head	Sofronov c1978
	ʔu	head	Dai Qingxia 1989e:2.1
	ʔu mɻ̱ạ	hair of head	Dai Qingxia 1989e:2.7
	ʔu ndʑɪ	scalp	Dai Qingxia 1989e:2.8
	ʔu ɣɻ̱ə	skull	Dai Qingxia 1989e:2.4
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**vi**^{33} li^{55}	head	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.18
Guiqiong	(**wã**^{31}jã^{55}) mi^{31}ŋgui^{55}	lower (the head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1266.16
	wã^{31}jɛ̃^{55}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.16
	wɛ^{33} jɛ̃^{53}	head	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.17
Lyuzu	(**vu**^{35}) ne^{33}ngu^{31}	lower (the head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1266.18
	wu^{33}li^{53}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.18
	wu^{35}tsa^{53}	head-cloth / turban (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.18
Muya	**ʁʉ**^{24}tʂui^{33}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.15
	ʁʉ^{53}lø^{33}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.15
	ʁʉ^{53}mo^{33}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.15
	ʁɑ^{33}kø^{53}	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ʁa**^{33}kø^{53}	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.15
	ʁɐ^{35}lø^{33}	head	Sun Hongkai 1991h:2.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.15
	ʁɐ^{35}mo^{33}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai 1991h:8.1.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.15
	ʁɐ^{35}tʂhyi^{33}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.15
Namuyi	ma^{35}**ʁo**^{55}ntho^{55}	hat (bamboo)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:371.19
	ʁo^{55}hŭ^{33}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai 1991i:8.1.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.19
	ʁo^{55}ji^{33}	scarf for the head / turban	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:369.19
	ʁo^{55}nkhu^{33}	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.19
	ʁo^{55}ntho^{55}	hat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:370.19
	ʁo^{55}pa^{33}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.19
	ʁo^{55}pəˑ^{33}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.19
	ʁo^{55}əˑ^{55}ly^{33}	head	Sun Hongkai 1991i:2.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.19
	ʁo^{55}ɬy^{33}	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991i:2.5
	(**ʁuo**^{53}əˑ^{31}) nguo^{31}	ache (head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.46
	ʁuo^{53}hũ^{31}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.46
	ʁuo^{53}ji^{31}	head-cloth / turban (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.46
	ʁuo^{53}nkhu^{31}	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.46
	ʁuo^{53}pæˑ^{31}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.46
	ʁuo^{53}əˑ^{31} (lʉ^{31})	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.46
	ʁuo^{55}ndʐuo^{55}	lunatic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0209.46
	ʁuo^{55}nthuo^{55}	hat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0475.46
	ʁuo^{55}pa^{55}	upper part of / upper reaches (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0722.46
	ʁuo^{55}pa^{55}dæ^{53}	on top (of the roof) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0729.46
	ʁuo^{55}pəəˑ^{31}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.46
	ʁuo^{55}ɬʉ^{31}	brains (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0132.46
	ʁuæˑ^{55}**ʁuo**^{55}nthuo^{55}	umbrella (lit. 'cloth hat') (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0583.46
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**je**^{55}tsu^{53}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.16
Xumi	**ʁo**^{33} m̥ɔ̃^{35}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	ʁo^{33} ɬo^{35}	head	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	ʁo^{33}m̥ɔ̃^{35}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.20
	ʁo^{33}tʂɑ̃^{35}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.20
	ʁo^{33}ɬo^{35}	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.20
	ʁo^{33}ɸyɛ^{35}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.20
	ʁũ^{33}gie^{55}	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.20
	ʁu^{33}hæ^{55}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.17
	ʁu^{33}mõ^{55}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.17
	ʁu^{33}qhu^{33}lu^{53}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.17
	ʁu^{33}ri^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.17
	ʁu^{33}xi^{53}	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.17
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	xtsə^{53} **ʁo**^{33}	glans penis	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.3.2
	ʁo^{53} dʑi^{33} dʑua^{33}	scalp	Sun Hongkai 1991c:2.8
Ergong (Danba)	**ʁuə** n	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.14
Daofu	**ʁə** rmi	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.12
Ergong (Northern)	**ʁə**^{33} rmo^{53} ŋjje^{33} lə^{33}	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.1.1.1
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**wu** tie	fontanel (soft spot in a baby's skull).	Sun Hongkai 1991j:2.3
rGyalrong	ta **wo**	head	Nagano 1997:2.1
	ta **wo** lo Ngu	top of head	Nagano 1997:2.2
	ta **wo** rnye	hair of head	Nagano 1997:2.7
	ta **wu** rnye	hair of head	Nagano 1997:8.1.1
rGBenzhen	tə-**wu**	head	Sun 1997b
	tə-**wu** kɐ-sə-tsə-lot	shake head	Sun 1997b
	tə-**wu** rɲe	hair of head	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Anong	**u**	head	LaPolla 1987:199; Benedict 1972:117n325; Coblin 1986:92
Trung [Dulong]	**u**^{44}	head	Matisoff 1987
	u^{44} nĕi^{44}	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	**u**^{55}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.20
Trung [Dulong] Dulong	**u**^{55}	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.46
	u^{55}ni^{55}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.20
	u^{55}ni^{55}blɑt^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.20
Trung [Dulong]	**u**^{55}nãi^{55}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.46
	u^{55}nĕi^{55}blɑt^{55}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**u**^{55}	head	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:199
	u^{55} nai^{55}	hair(head)	LaPolla 1987:62
	u^{55} nɯʔ^{55}	brain	LaPolla 1987:48 [a]
	u^{55} nŭʔ^{55}	brain	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	u^{55} nĕi^{55}	hair (head)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	u^{55} nĕi^{55} blɑt^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	u^{55} sɯi^{55}	comb	LaPolla 1987:97
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**u**^{53}	head	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:199
	u^{53} ne^{53}	hair (head); hair(head)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:62
	u^{53} ne^{53} blɑt^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	u^{53} si^{53}	comb	LaPolla 1987:97
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔu**^{2}	head	Matisoff 2003a:583; LaPolla 1987:199 [b]
	***ʔu**^{2}-(y)ik^{L}	elder sibling	Matisoff 2003a:583
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**u**^{31} nuŋ^{31}	head	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:199
	u^{31} phjɛ^{31}	braid (hair) (n.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	u^{31} phɛi^{31}	hair	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	u^{31}pɑi^{31}	scarf for the head / turban	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	u^{55} tɕhɑu^{55}	horn	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**u**^{31} mui^{31}	hair	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	u^{31} nuʔ^{31}	brain	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	u^{31} tʂuɑk^{35}	braid (hair) (n.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	u^{31}mui^{31}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.28
	u^{31}mui^{31}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.41
	u^{31}tʂuak^{35}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.28
	u^{31}tʂuak^{35}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.41
Achang (Luxi)	**u**^{55} nɔŋ^{55}	head	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:199
	u^{55}khɔp^{31}	scarf for the head / turban	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**u**^{31}	hair (head)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:97
	u^{31}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.29
	u^{31} kɔŋ^{31}	head	Dai Qingxia 1989f:96
	u^{31} liŋ^{35} kɔk^{35}	bald person	Dai Qingxia 1989f:246
	u^{31} nuʔ^{55}	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989f:158
	u^{31} n̥ʁk^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:98
	u^{31}kɔŋ^{31}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.29
	u^{31}n̥ʁk^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.29
Bola	**ŭ**^{31} nauʔ^{55}	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989g:158
Bola (Luxi)	**ŭ**^{35}lạk^{55}	turn one's head to the back (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1387.32
	ŭ^{35}thap^{35}	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.32
	ŭ^{35}thap^{55}	head-cloth / turban (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.32
Bola	**ŭ**^{35} kɔŋ^{31}	bald person	Dai Qingxia 1989g:246
	u̲^{35} lam^{31}	head	Dai Qingxia 1989g:96
Bola (Luxi)	**u̲**^{35}fak^{55}fak^{55}	shake (one's head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1752.32
	u̲^{35}lam^{31}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.32
Burmese (Modern)	**ū:**	head, front	Luce 1985:T.28
	ū^{4}	head; top	Luce 1985:G.93
Burmese (Rangoon)	**u**^{55} le^{55}	uncle <mother's brother> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0238.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**u**^{55}le^{55}	uncle (paternal, younger)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:323.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**ʔu**^{4}	head, front	Luce 1985:T.28
Burmese (Written)	**ū**	head; top	Luce 1985:G.93
	û	beginning, fore part, head; uncle	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1976a
	ù	head	LaPolla 1987:199; Benedict 1972:184n483; Coblin 1986:92
	ù-hnauk	brain	LaPolla 1987:48
	ù-hnok	brain	Coblin 1986:48
	ù-màŋ	uncle	Benedict 1972:189n488
	ú-màŋ	uncle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:761e-f
	û-rî	uncle (mother's elder brother)	Benedict 1976a
	ū: khrui	horn	Marrison 1967
	ū: nhok	brain	Marrison 1967
	uk khoṅ: khwaṁ	skull	Marrison 1967
	û^{3} le^{3}	uncle <mother's brother> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0238.26
	û^{3}kri^{3}	uncle (paternal aunt's husband	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:325.39
	û^{3}le^{3}	uncle <mother's sister's husband> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0240.26
	û^{3}le^{3}	uncle (paternal, younger); uncle (maternal); uncle (maternal aunt's husband	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:323.39; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:327.39; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:329.39
	ŭ̃3	head, front	Luce 1985:T.28
	ū^{4}	head, front	Luce 1985:X.65
	ʔu	head	Hansson 1989:143
	ʔû (-khôŋ)-khwam	skull	Matisoff 1987
	ʔû-hnok	brain	Hansson 1989:xxx; Matisoff 1987
	ʔû-khôŋ	head	Matisoff 1987
	ʔû-khôŋ-re	scalp	Matisoff 1987
	ʔû-khrui	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	ʔu:-hnok	brain	Matisoff 1983:49
Danu	**u**^{2}	head, front	Luce 1985:T.28
Langsu (Luxi)	**au**^{35}lam^{35}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.31
	a̲u^{35}jạk^{55}	turn one's head to the back (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1387.31
	a̲u^{35}thap^{55}	head-cloth; turban; cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.31; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.31
Lashi (Lachhe')	**u**^{2}	head, front	Luce 1985:T.28
	u^{1}	head, front	Luce 1985:T.28
Lashi	**u̲**^{55} nuʔ^{31}	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989m:2.5
	wo̲^{55} ku̲k^{55}	scalp	Dai Qingxia 1989m:2.8

[a] [Source Note] (u^{55} 'head').
[b] [Source Note] [Mpi p.15]

	wo̱⁵⁵ lɔ̱m⁵³	head	DAI Qingxia 1989m:2.1
	wo̱⁵⁵ nə̱ː⁵³	fontanel	DAI Qingxia 1989m:2.3
	wo̱⁵⁵ ʃŏ⁵⁵ jou³³	skull	DAI Qingxia 1989m:2.4
Leqi (Luxi)	**wo̱⁵⁵**lɔ̱m⁵³	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.33
	wo̱⁵⁵thɔp⁵⁵	head-cloth / turban (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.33
Marma	**ǔ** hnɔʔ	brain	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:1-3
Maru [Langsu]	**au³⁵** jam⁵⁵	scalp	DAI Qingxia 1989l:2.8
	au³⁵ lam³⁵	head	DAI Qingxia 1989l:2.1
	au³⁵ nauk³¹	brain	DAI Qingxia 1989l:2.5
	au³⁵ nɛ̃⁵⁵	fontanel	DAI Qingxia 1989l:2.3
	au³⁵ tshɛ̃³¹	hair of head	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.1
	au³⁵ ʃŏ³⁵ ɣuk⁵⁵	skull	DAI Qingxia 1989l:2.4
	a̱u³³lam³⁵	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.43
	a̱u³⁵thap⁵⁵	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.43
Taung-Yo	**u²**	head, front	Luce 1985:T.28
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**u²¹** lu̱m²¹	head	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	u²¹ nuʔ⁵⁵	brain	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	u²¹ tsham⁵¹	hair (head)	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	u²¹lu̱m²¹	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.30
	u²¹lu̱m²¹	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.42
	ŭ²¹thup⁵⁵	head-cloth; turban; cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.30; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.30
	u²¹thup⁵⁵	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.42
	u²¹tsham⁵¹	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.30
	u²¹tsham⁵¹	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.42
	u⁴	head, front	Luce 1985:T.28

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***u²**	head	Bradley 1979b:88A; Hansson 1989:143
Lolopho	dæ³³ **ṿ⁵⁵** duɯ³³	glans penis	DAI Qingxia 1989n:10.3.2
	pɒ³¹ pɒ³¹ **ṿ⁵⁵** duɯ³³	nipple	DAI Qingxia 1989n:5.4.1
	ṿ⁵⁵ duɯ³³	head	DAI Qingxia 1989n:2.1
	ṿ⁵⁵ kɒ⁴⁴ pi⁴⁴	top of head / crown / pate	DAI Qingxia 1989n:2.2
	ṿ⁵⁵ no̱³¹	brain	DAI Qingxia 1989n:2.5
	ṿ⁵⁵ phi³¹	scalp	DAI Qingxia 1989n:2.8
	ṿ⁵⁵ tʂhɤ̞³³	hair; hair of head	DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.1; DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.1.1
	ṿ⁵⁵ tʂɤ̞³³	hair of head	DAI Qingxia 1989n:2.7

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**ji³¹** tsl̩³³ kɯ³⁵ mɤ̞³³	headache	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	ji³¹ tsl̩³³ ɣ³¹ kɯ³⁵	skull	DAI Qingxia 1989c:2.4
	o³¹piɛ⁵⁵	comb	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	o³¹piɛ⁵⁵	comb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.47
Lalo	**y²¹** dy⁵⁵	head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.1
	y²¹ tɕʰy⁵⁵	hair of head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.7
	ɑ⁵⁵ tʂ̃ɭ̃³³ **bɪ̱³³** y²¹ dy⁵⁵	nipple	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.4.1 [a]
Nasu	**o³³** bu⁵⁵	skull	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.4
	o³³ kɤ̱²¹	head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.1
	o³³ tsʰe³³	hair of head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.7
	o³³ ŋgʰɔ³³ ndʰɵ³³	top of head / crown / pate	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.2
	o³³ nɤ̞e̱⁵⁵	forehead / brow	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.2
	u²¹ tʰi̱²¹	fontanel	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.3
	u³³ no̱⁵⁵	brain	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.5
Nesu	**ŋ̩³³** ka⁵⁵	top of head / crown / pate	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.2 [b]
	ŋ̩³³ kɤ̱³³	head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.1
	ŋ̩³³ nu̱²¹	brain	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.1
	ŋ̩³³ tɕhɪ²¹	hair of head	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.1
	ŋ̩³³ tɕʰɪ²¹	hair of head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.7
	ŋ̩³³ ɣɤ̞³³	skull	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.4
Noesu	**ŋu³³**de³³	top of head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.2
	ŋu³³ŋgo⁵⁵	head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.1
	ŋu³³ŋgo⁵⁵mi²¹	hair of head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.7; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.1
Nosu	**o³³**no⁵⁵	brain	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.5; CHEN Kang 1986b:9.1
	o̱³³nɤ̞e³³	hair of head	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.1
Nusu (Central)	**u³³** pʰu⁵⁵ gu̱⁵³	bald person	DAI Qingxia 1989p:246.
	u³³ nɤ̞u̱⁵³	brain	DAI Qingxia 1989p:158.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**u³¹** pʰu⁵⁵	head	DAI Qingxia 1989o:96.
Nusu (Central)	**u³¹** pʰu⁵⁵	head	DAI Qingxia 1989p:96.; SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**u³¹** pʰu⁵⁵ tɕʰɤ̞³⁵	bald person	DAI Qingxia 1989o:246.
Nusu (Central)	**u³¹**phu⁵⁵	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**u³¹**phu⁵⁵	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**u⁵⁵** nɤ̞u̱³¹	brain	DAI Qingxia 1989o:158.
Nusu (Southern)	**ʔo³¹** gɑ̃⁵⁵ ti ³¹	forehead	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ʔo³¹** pʰu⁵⁵	head	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ʔo³¹** pʰu⁵⁵	head	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**o³³** gu⁵⁵	head	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	o³³ nɔ³³ ʈu³³	brain	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	o³³ pi³³	braid (hair) (n.)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	o³³ tsʰɯ³³	hair (head)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	o³³ tɕʰi³³	horn	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	o³³gu⁵⁵	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.22
	o³³pi³³	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.22
	o³³se³³du³³	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.22
	o³³tsʰɯ³³	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.22
	o³³tɕhi³³	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**o²¹**li²¹ka³³	shake (one's head)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	o³³	head [literary]; peak (highest point); tip	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	o³³hi³³m̥ɭ̩³³ka³³	shake (one's head)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	o³³m̥ɭ̩³³	head to tail	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	o³³no⁵⁵	brain	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	o³³ɳi⁵⁵	face (head); face (honor)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	o³³tɕhɭ²¹	lift (the head)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɔ³³bu̱³³	scabies (on head)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɔ³³ma³³	head, top of the	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɔ³³thɛ³³	head wrap, man's; turban	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɔ³³tɕɭ̩⁵⁵	braid, hair	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**o⁵⁵**ko̱³³	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.25
	o⁵⁵ti³³	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.25
	o⁵⁵tshi³³ʈhi²¹	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.25
	o⁵⁵tsʰi³³	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.25
	o⁵⁵tʂhi³³	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ŋu̱³³**ku̱³³	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.26
	ŋu̱³³li̱²¹	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.26
	ŋu̱³³tɕʰe²¹	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.26
	ŋu̱³³tɕʰe²¹tɕe̱³³	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.26
Yi (Nanhua)	(**u⁵⁵**) li³³	shake (one's head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1752.37
	u⁵⁵dzæ²¹	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.37
	u⁵⁵də³³	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.37
	u⁵⁵ku̱³³	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.24
	u⁵⁵li⁵⁵	head-cloth; turban; cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.37; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.37
	u⁵⁵pi̱⁵⁵	comb (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:459.24
	u⁵⁵pɯ⁵⁵tɕe³³	comb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.37
	u⁵⁵tshɯ³³phi²¹	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.24
	u⁵⁵tsʰɯ³³	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.24
	u⁵⁵vɛ̱²¹	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.24
Yi (Nanjian)	(**u²¹**dy⁵⁵)tsho³³	shave (hair of head)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:651.23
	(**u³¹**dy⁵⁵)pɯ²¹	comb (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:654.23
	u²¹ dy⁵⁵	head	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	u²¹ tɕʰy⁵⁵ phi²¹	braid (hair) (n.)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	u²¹dy⁵⁵	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.23
	u²¹pɯ²¹tɕi̱³³	comb (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:459.23
	u²¹tɕhy⁵⁵phi²¹	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.23
	u²¹tɕʰy⁵⁵	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.23
Yi (Weishan)	(**ʔy²¹**) ʔl̩³³	shake (one's head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1752.36
	(**ʔy²¹**dy⁵⁵) tʂho̱³³	shave (the head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1668.36
	ʔu²¹l̩³³	head-cloth / turban (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.36
	ʔu̱²¹pho³³	turn one's head to the back (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1387.36
	ʔy²¹dy⁵⁵	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.36
	ʔỹ²¹thy³³	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.36
	ʔy²¹tɕhy⁵⁵phi²¹	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.36
Yi (Wuding)	(ṿ³³) nu¹¹	ache (head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.38
	u³³	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.38
	u³³li̱²	head-cloth / turban (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.38
	u³³tɯ⁵⁵tɯ³³	lower (the head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1266.38
	u³³tʂhɛ̱⁵⁵phi³³	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.38
	u³³ŋɣ̱²phu³³	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.38
	ʔṿ³³gu̱⁵⁵	turn one's head to the back (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1387.38
Yi (Xide)	**i³³** tɕʰi³³	head	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	i³³-tɕʰi³³ na³³	headache	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	i³³tɕhi³³	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.35
	i³³tɕhi³³	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.21
	o²ɲi²	hair (head)	Matisoff 1985a:051
	o³³	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.35
	o³³ fu³³	horn	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.21
	o³³ no⁵⁵	brain	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	o³³-mo²¹	dizziness; dizzy; feel giddy	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	o³³-no⁵⁵	brain; cerebrum	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	o³³ tɕl̩⁵⁵	braid / plait (female's) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.35
	ɔ³³ tɕl̩⁵⁵	braid (hair) (n.)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ɔ³³ ɳɤ̞e³³	hair	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ɔ³³-ma³³	crown of head	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɔ³³-tsʰɭ̃³³	fontanelle	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɔ³³-ɳɤ̞e³³	hair	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɔ³³fɑ³³	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.35
	ɔ³³the³³	head-cloth / turban (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.35
	ɔ³³the³³	scarf for head / turban(male)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.21
	ɔ³³tɕl̩⁵⁵	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.21
	ɔ³³ɳɤ̞e³³	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.35
	ɔ³³ɳɤ̞e³³	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	a³³nɯ³³**o⁵⁵**dɯ³³	nipple	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.4.1
Lolo (Ni)	**o** ts'è	hair of head	Luce 1985:S.34
Ahi	**o⁵⁵** di³³	top of head / crown / pate	LUO Meizhen 1990:2.2
	o⁵⁵ ko̱³³	head	LUO Meizhen 1990:2.1
	o⁵⁵ ko̱³³ bu⁵⁵	skull	LUO Meizhen 1990:2.4
	o⁵⁵ nu̱³³	brain	LUO Meizhen 1990:2.5
	o⁵⁵ tsɛ²² to²²	cowlick (flexure in hair)	LUO Meizhen 1990:8.1.1.1
	o⁵⁵ ts'i²²	hair of head	LUO Meizhen 1990:2.7
	o⁵⁵ tɕi²²	scalp	LUO Meizhen 1990:2.8 [a]
	o⁵⁵ tʂ'i²²	horn (of animal)	LUO Meizhen 1990:2.10
	o⁵⁵ko̱³³	head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.1
	o⁵⁵ku³³	top of head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.2
	o⁵⁵nu̱²¹	brain	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.1
	o⁵⁵tsɳ²²	hair of head	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.1
Lolo (Ni)	**o** kó	head, front	Luce 1985:T.28
Ahi	ʑe̱³³ **o⁵⁵** kɯ²²	comb (of rooster)	LUO Meizhen 1990:2.9

[a] Literally "breast-head".

[b] The syllabic nasals in the Nesu and Noesu compounds are possibly developments from a previous **w-** or zero initial. A similar, though opposite development can be seen in the correspondence of Cantonese initial **ŋ-** and Mandarin **w-** (e.g. Cantonese 'five' and 1st.pro vs. Mandarin 'five' and 1st.pro).

[a] Lit. "head-skin".

Jinuo (Buyuan)	**vu**^{33} kɑ^{55} lɑ^{55}	bald person	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**vu**^{33} k^{h}i^{44}	horn	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**vu**^{33}khi^{33}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.34
	vu^{33}khɛ^{33}	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.34
	vu^{44} khɛ^{44}	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**vu**^{44} k^{h}ji^{44}	horn	DAI Qingxia 1989h:329
	vu^{44} k^{h}jɛ^{44}	head	DAI Qingxia 1989h:99
Jinuo (Youle)	**vu**^{44} k^{h}ɛ^{44}	head	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	vu^{44} k^{h}ɹu^{55}	bald person	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	vu^{44} no^{55}	brain	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**vu**^{44} nu^{55} lu^{55}	brain	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	vu^{44} tɕ^{h}ɯ^{44} lɯ^{44}	head	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**vu**^{44}njo^{55}	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**vu**^{44}nu^{55}lu^{55}	brain, mind (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**vu**^{44}thœ^{42}	head-cloth / turban (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**vu**^{44}tɕhɯ^{44}lɯ^{44}	head (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**vu**^{55}thɐr^{31}	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.34
Jinuo (Baka)	**v̩**^{33} k^{h}ji^{44}	horn	DAI Qingxia 1989i:329
	v̩^{44} k^{h}ɛ^{44}	head	DAI Qingxia 1989i:99
	v̩^{44} no^{55}	brain	DAI Qingxia 1989i:164
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ɯ**^{44} no^{55}	brain	DAI Qingxia 1989h:164
Kucong	**v55** nɔ31	brain	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***o̅**	head	Bradley 1979b:88A
Lahu	**ú**	head	LaPolla 1987:199
	ú-gɛ̂	pillow	LaPolla 1987:5
Lahu (Shehleh)	**u:** g'a$_{\check{}}$	fontanelle	Bradley 1979a:103
Lahu (Nyi)	**u:** ga$^{\check{}}$	fontanelle	Bradley 1979a:103
	u̅hkeh: mvuh:	hair (head)	Bradley 1979a:89
Lahu (Shehleh)	**u̅**naw$_{\hat{}}$ neh$^{\hat{}}$	brain	Bradley 1979a:140
Lahu (Nyi)	**u̅**naw$_{\hat{}}$ neh$^{\hat{}}$	brain	Bradley 1979a:140
Lahu (Lancang)	**o**^{35}qo^{11}	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.43
	o^{35}qo^{11}phɑ^{35}tɕe^{21}	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.43
	o^{35}qo^{11}qɔ^{21}lɑ^{33}	turn one's head to the back (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1387.43
	u^{35}gɛ^{53}	pillow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.43
	u^{35}khɛ^{33}tu^{33}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.43
	u^{35}nɔ^{21}nɛ^{54}	brains (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0132.43
Lahu (Black)	nī-**ó**-qō	glans penis	Matisoff 1987 [b]
	ó-kôʔ ~ **ó**-kwêʔ	skull	Matisoff 1987:DL:122
	ó-qō (-šī)	head	Matisoff 1987
	ó-qō-mu	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	o^{35}qo^{11}	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.33
	o^{35}qo^{11}mu^{33}	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.33
	ō k'o	head, front	Luce 1985:T.28
	ū neh$_{\hat{}}$	brains	Luce 1985:U.43
	ú-gɛ̂	head-pillow; pillow	Matisoff 1978a:64; Matisoff 1974:300
	ú-g̈â	fontanel	Matisoff 1987
	ú-khɛ-mu	hair (head); hair (of head)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:60
	ú-nɔ̀ʔ	brains	Matisoff 1974:364
	ú-nɔ̀ʔ-nêʔ	brains	Matisoff 1972b:156(a) [c]
	ú-nêʔ	brain	Matisoff 1987
	ú-phu	head (in idioms)	Matisoff 1988a:115
	u^{35} qu^{31} si^{11}	skull	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	u^{35}gɛ^{53}	pillow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:387.33
	u^{35}mu^{33}phe^{53}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.33
	u^{35}ni^{35}	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.33
	v̩^{35} k^{h}ɛ^{33} p^{h}i^{53}	braid (hair) (n.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	v̩^{35} nɔʔ^{21} nɛʔ^{54}	brain	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	v̩^{35} qu^{11}	head	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	v̩^{35} qu^{11} mv̩^{33} (**v̩**^{35} mv̩^{33})	hair (head)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**u**^{35} nɛʔ^{21}	brain	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	u^{1}gɛ^{3}	pillow	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	**u**$^{\check{}}$ g'a$^{\check{}}$	fontanelle	Bradley 1979a:103
Lahu (Banlan)	**u:** g'a$^{\check{}}$	fontanelle	Bradley 1979a:103
	u̅neh$^{\hat{}}$	brain	Bradley 1979a:140
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}tʃl̩^{35} **ɔ**^{55}dy^{33}	nipple	Bradley 1994 [d]
Lisu (Putao)	**o**^{1} dü^{4}	head; top; head, front	Luce 1985:T.28; Luce 1985:G.93
	ô^{1}pɯ^{1}	comb; to comb (head)	Luce 1985:V.29
Lisu (Nujiang)	**o**^{55} du^{33}	head	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**o**^{55} du^{33}	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	**o**^{55} nɯ^{55}	brain	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
	o^{55} p^{h}i^{31}	braid (hair) (n.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
	o^{55} ts^{h}e̲^{44}	hair (head)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986 [e]
Lisu	**o**^{55} ts^{h}e^{44}	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.27
	o^{55} tʃhi^{44}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	**o**^{55} tʃ^{h}l̩^{44}	horn	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**o**^{55}du̲^{33}	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.40
	o^{55}phi^{31}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.40
	o^{55}pɯ^{55}	comb (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:459.27
	o^{55}thɯ^{35}	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.27
	o^{55}tshe̲^{33}	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.40
	o^{55}tʃ^{h}e^{31}; **o**^{55}phi^{31}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.27
Lisu (Luquan)	**u**^{55} thɯ^{55}	wrap the head	XU Lin *et al.* 1986:p.108
	u^{55} tshəɹ^{33}	hair (head)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986:p.109
	u^{55}thɯ^{55}	turban (n.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
	u^{55}tshəɹ^{33}	hair (head) (n.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**vu**^{55} tshəɹ^{33}	hair (head)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986:p.109
	vu^{55} ʈhɯ^{35}	wrap the head	XU Lin *et al.* 1986:p.108
	vu^{55}tshəɹ^{33}	hair (head) (n.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
	vu^{55}ʈhɯ^{35}	turban (n.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**wu'**-dū^{3}	head	Matisoff 1987
	wu'-nrghɔ^{1}	brain	Matisoff 1987
	wu1-nrgh'1	brains	Matisoff 1972b:156(c)
Lisu (Central)	**wu**^{1}-dū^{3}	summit; head	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu	**wu**^{1}-hchi^{3}	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**wu**^{1}-hchi^{3}	horn (buffalo, etc.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**wu**^{1}-hkaw^{4}	skull	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**wu**^{1}-hkaw^{4}	skull	Fraser 1922
	wu^{1}-htrghe^{2}	head-cloth / turban	Fraser 1922
	wu^{1}-htrghe^{2}	turban (n.)	Fraser 1922
	wu^{1}-htsye^{4}	hair (head, short in front)	Fraser 1922
	wu^{1}-ku^{3}-ma^{3}	hair (head, long)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**wu**^{1}-ku^{3}-m^{3}	long hair	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**wu**^{1}-prgh^{1}	comb (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**wu**^{1}du^{3}	head	Bradley 1979b:88A
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**wu**^{1}dū^{3}	head; top; head, front	Luce 1985:G.93; Luce 1985:T.28
Lisu	**wu**^{1}hchi^{3}	horn	Bradley 1979b:82
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**wu**^{1}htsye^{4}	hair of head	Luce 1985:S.34
Lisu	**wu**^{1}ku^{3}ma^{3}	head hair	Bradley 1979b:89-1; Bradley 1979b:89-2
	wu^{1}nrgh'^{1}	brain	Bradley 1979b:140
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**wu**^{1}prgh^{1}	comb; to comb (head)	Luce 1985:V.29
Lisu (Northern)	**ɔ**^{55}bø^{33}	big head	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}bɤ^{21}	skull	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}di^{21}	bald on top of head	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}dy^{33}	head; skull; A on top; cf. also ɔ^{55} (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}dy^{33} ka^{33}la^{33}	top of head	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}dy^{33} kwa^{33}	on the head; on top of	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}dy^{33} zø^{21}su^{33}	leader; head; chief	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}dy^{33} ŋɯʔ^{21}	nod one's head	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}dy^{33}bɯ^{21}	skull	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}dy^{33}kwa^{33}	on the head	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}guʔ^{21}pæ^{35}	affected with favus on the head	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}hĩ^{33}	plait string	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}ku^{33}ma^{33}	hair on head	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}ku^{35}vy^{21}	head	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}kɯ^{33}	whorl of hair on the crown of the head	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ɔ**^{55}me^{21}	filth on head	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**ɔ**^{55}mi^{21}	filth on head	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}mi^{33}	fontanelle (unclosed part of skull of newborn baby)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}nɤ^{55}	brain, grey matter (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}nɤ^{55} kɔ^{35}dʑi^{44}	meninx (outer lining of brain)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}pa^{33}	appropriately; head end	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}phi^{21}	plait (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}phi^{21}mɤ^{55}	tip of plait	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ɔ**^{55}phjø^{21}	plait (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}phjø^{21}mɤ^{55}	tip of plait	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**ɔ**^{55}thɯ^{35}	headdress (cloth to wrap up head)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}vy^{21}	head	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}ɤ^{35}	shake head	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**o**^{55} du^{21}	bald	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:324.1
	o^{55} ku^{33}	scalp	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:325.5
	o^{55} læ^{33}	bald person	MA Xueliang 1989:370.1
	o^{55} lɯ^{21}	bald	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:325.3
	o^{55} nu^{44}	brain	MA Xueliang 1989:322.2
	o^{55} qo^{21} ʑæ^{21} mɑ^{33}	skull	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:326.2
	o^{55} qo^{11}	head	MA Xueliang 1989:369.2
	o^{55} ts^{h}ɯ^{33}	hair	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:325.4
	o^{55} ts^{h}ɤ^{33}	hair (head)	MA Xueliang 1989:369.3
	o^{55} ts^{h}ɤ^{33} tɑ^{33} mɑ^{33}	braid	MA Xueliang 1989:369.4 [a]
	o^{55} ɬɯ^{21} tɑ^{33}	braid	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:325.1
	o^{55} ɬɤ^{11} tɑ^{33}	braid (v.)	MA Xueliang 1989:369.5
	o^{55}(qo^{21})	head	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**o**^{55}dzʐ^{33}	head-cloth / turban (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.39
	o^{55}dʑɪ^{2}	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.39
Sani [Nyi]	**o**^{55}ku^{33}	scalp	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.8
	o^{55}lɯ^{21}lɯ^{21}	bald	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	o^{55}no̲^{33}	brain	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	o^{55}no^{44}	brain	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.1
	o^{55}qo^{21}	head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.1
	o^{55}qo^{21}ne^{44}mɑ^{33}	top of head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.2
	o^{55}qo^{21}nɒ^{33}	headache	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**o**^{55}qo^{11}	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.39
Sani [Nyi]	**o**^{55}tshɯ^{33}	hair of head	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	o^{55}tshɤ^{33}	hair of head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.7; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.1
Yi (Sani)	**o**^{55}tshɤ^{33}	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.39
	o^{55}tshɤ^{33}ɬɤ^{11}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.39
Sani [Nyi]	**o**^{55}ɬɯ^{21}tɒ^{33}	queue	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ŋ$_{\text{ı}}^{21}$ **o**^{55}	cow's head	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:281.5
	ɑ^{44} ŋ^{33} **o**^{55} qo^{11}	nipple	MA Xueliang 1989:368.3 [b]
	ɑ^{44}n̩^{33}**o**^{55}qo^{21}	nipple	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.4.1
	ɬɒ^{33}**o**^{55}qo^{21}	tongue tip	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**ù**	head	Hansson 1989:143
Akha (Yunnan)	**ù** dù	head	Hansson 1989:143
Akha	**ù** dù (sì)	head	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Yunnan)	**ù** tjhö	horn	Hansson 1989:345
Akha (Thai)	**ù**-dù	head	Hansson 1989:164 [c]
	ùq-dù	head	Hansson 1989:143
Akha	**u**$^{\check{}}$ nm$_{\hat{}}$	brain	Matisoff 1987
	u$_{\check{}}$ du$_{\check{}}$ k'm$_{\check{}}$ (k'm$_{\check{}}$)	skull	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Lüchun)	**ù** dù	head	Hansson 1989:164
Hani (Hu T'an)	**u**-nɔ **21**-21c	brains	Matisoff 1972b:156(a)
Hani (Dazhai)	**u**^{31} du^{31}	head	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	u^{31} nɔ̲^{31}	brain	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	u^{31}du^{31}	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.31
	u^{31}to̲^{33};**u**^{31}xu̲^{33}	scarf for head / turban-m;-f	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**u**^{31}du^{31}	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.41
	u^{31}to̲^{33}	head-cloth / turban (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.41
	u^{31}xu̲^{33}	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.41
Hani (Pijo)	**vù**	head	Hansson 1989:143
	vù khì	head	Hansson 1989:164
	vỳ khí	horn	Hansson 1989:345
Hani (Caiyuan)	**v̩**^{31} k^{h}e^{31}	head	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	v̩^{31} tɕ^{h}i^{55}	horn	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	v̩^{31}khe^{31}	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.30
	v̩^{31}the̲^{33}	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.30
	v̄^{31} nɣ̲^{31}	brain	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**u**^{31} du^{31}	head	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986

[a] These disyllabic Jinuo forms are perhaps dimidiations (Boodberg's coinage) of the original sesquisyllable ***k-liŋ**.
[b] Literally "penis-head".
[c] The last syllable (**nêʔ**) probably means 'wet' (cf. modern computer slang 'wet-ware').
[d] Literally "breast-head".
[e] Ls. **ts^{h}e^{44}** cannot be from ***tsam**, since ***-am** > Ls. **-o**.

[a] Cf. Bai **tɯ^{21} mɑ^{35} pi^{35}**.
[b] Literally "breast-head".
[c] The many binomes PTB ***d-bu-s** HEAD / CENTER / SENIOR MALE RELATIVE / UNCLE (§1.2.1) + PTB ***du** HEAD (§1.2.1) demonstrate the distinctiveness of the two etyma.

	u[31] nɯ[31]	brain	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	u[31] tɕʰø[55]	horn	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	u[31]dzaŋ[31]	head scarf; turban (for men); turban (for women)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**ʮ**[31] nɤ[31]	brain	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʮ[31] tʮ[31]	head	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʮ[31] tɕʰi[55]	horn	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʮ[31]ti[55]	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.32
	ʮ[31]tʮ[31]	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**wuq** dduq	head	Hansson 1989:164
Hani (Khatu)	**vù**	head	Hansson 1989:143
	vù khý	horn	Hansson 1989:345
	vù tjhì	head	Hansson 1989:164
Hani (Mojiang)	**ʮ**[31]tho[33]	head-cloth / turban (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.42
	ʮ[31]ti[55]	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (for women) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.42
	ʮ[31]tʮ[31]	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.42
Mpi	no?[4]**wo**[4]	brain	Bradley 1979b; Hansson 1989:xxx
	ʔo(ʔ)[2]no?[2]	top of the head / brain	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**i**[44]kɯ[22]kɯ[22]	head	Pelkey 2011:248
	i[44]ty[22]pʰɔ[21]	head-wrap	Pelkey 2011:443
	i[44]tsʰɜ[21]	head hair	Pelkey 2011:251
	i[44]tsʰɜ[21]ɬi[22]	braid	Pelkey 2011:252

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**u**ɬgu ɬ	pillow	Michaud 2006–2009:959
	uɬmu ɬ	straw hat	Michaud 2006–2009:908
	uɬtu ˥	head	Michaud 2006–2009:236
	uɬtu ˥ gv˩gv˩	nod one's head (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3317
	uɬtu ˥ si ɬsi ˦˥	shave the head (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3221
Na (Yongning)	**ʁu** ˥	head (monosyllable)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁuɬgv#˥	pillow	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁuɬhṽ˦˥	hair	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁuɬqʰwɤ˩	head; top part	Michaud 2006–2009; Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁuɬqʰwɤ˩ tɕi˩tɕi˩	shake one's head (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁuɬqʰwɤ˩-pɤ˩hu˩hu ɬgv˩	fontanel	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁuɬqʰwɤ˩ʁu˩tsʰe˩	top of the head, crown of the head	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁuɬto˩	on top of; while, at the time that	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁuɬtsʰe ɬʁu ɬ	mountain top; on top	Michaud 2006–2009; Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɣo**[33]gv[33]	pillow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:387.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**ɣo**[33]kʰuɑ[31]	head	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɣo**[33]tshəɹ[13]	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**ɣo**[33]xu[33]	hair (head)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɣo**[55]khuɑ[33]	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.29

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d'u/d'ə̱u**	head	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:118e [a]
Chinese (Old)	**dug**	head	Coblin 1986:92

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**dəu**	head	Coblin 1986:92

[a] *STC* assigns the Chinese dental-initialled form to this etymon, assuming prefix-preemption (***d-bu** > ***d-wu** > ***du**), but another possible prototype is PTB ***du** HEAD (§1.2.1), here.

Chinese comparandum

頭 OC ***d'u**, *GSR* #118e 'head'; B & S 2011: ***m-tˁo**; Mand. **tóu**.

(1a) PTB *du HEAD

This root seems quite distinct from PTB ***tuk** ≷ ***twak** HEAD / SKULL / NECK (§1.4.2). It occurs frequently as the second element in Loloish compounds. Note that the Jingpho form previously transcribed as **du** is inaccurate: the correct form is **dù?**, so that it is correctly assigned to PTB ***tuk** ≷ ***twak** HEAD / SKULL / NECK (§1.4.2).

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Kohima)	(u) **tsü**[31] kha[33]	forehead / brow	Nienu 1990a:3.2
Chokri	(u) **tu**[31] kha[33]	forehead / brow	Nienu 1990b:3.2

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Lui	ku-**tu**	head	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Yakha	li: go: u **tu** kəruk	glans penis	Kohn 1990:10.3.2
	tu khruk	head	Weidert 1987:903
	tu khəruk	head	Kohn 1990:2.1
	ʈu khruk	head	Weidert 1987:903

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***ʔ-du**[2]	head	Bradley 1979b:88B
Lolopho	dæ[33] ʮ[55] **duɯ**[33]	glans penis	DAI Qingxia 1989n:10.3.2
	pɒ[31] pɒ[31] ʮ[55] **duɯ**[33]	nipple	DAI Qingxia 1989n:5.4.1
	ʮ[55] **duɯ**[33]	head	DAI Qingxia 1989n:2.1

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	y[21] **dy**[55]	head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.1
	ɑ[55] tʂ̄[33] bɪ̄[33] **y**[21] dy[55]	nipple	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.4.1 [a]
Yi (Nanjian)	u[21] **dy**[55]	head	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.23
Yi (Weishan)	(ʔy[21]**dy**[55]) tʂhọ̄[33]	shave (the head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1668.36
	ʔy[21]**dy**[55]	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.36

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	a[33]nɯ[33]o[55]**duɯ**[33]	nipple	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.4.1
**Common Lahu*	***to:**	head	Bradley 1979b:88B
Lahu (Yellow)	**toʔ**[21] quʔ[21]	head	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a[55]tʃɻ[35] ɔ[55]**dy**[33]	nipple	Bradley 1994 [b]
	hɔ̃[21]ɔ[55]**dy**[33]	glans penis	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	o[1] **dü**[4]	head; top; head, front	Luce 1985:T.28; Luce 1985:G.93
Lisu (Nujiang)	o[55] **du**[33]	head	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	o[55] **du**[33]	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.27
	o[55]**du̱**[33]	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.40
	wu'-**dū**[3]	head	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	wu[1]-**dū**[3]	summit; head	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu	wu[1]**du**[3]	head	Bradley 1979b:88A
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	wu[1]**dū**[3]	head; top; head, front	Luce 1985:G.93; Luce 1985:T.28

[a] Literally "breast-head".
[b] Literally "breast-head".

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	ù **dù**	head	Hansson 1989:143
Akha	ù **dù** (sì)	head	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Thai)	ù-**dù**	head	Hansson 1989:164 [a]
	ùq-**dù**	head	Hansson 1989:143
Akha	u˯ **du**˯ k'm˯ (k'm˯)	skull	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	aŋ **tù**	head	Beaudouin 1988:14
	tù kɔŋ hníŋ	fontanelle	Beaudouin 1988:14
	ʔaŋ **tù**	head	Bradley 1979b; Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	ù **dù**	head	Hansson 1989:164
Hani (Dazhai)	u[31] **du**[31]	head	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.31
Hani (Lüchun)	u[31]**du**[31]	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	u[31] **du**[31]	head	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ʮ[31] **tʮ**[31]	head	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	wuq **dduq**	head	Hansson 1989:164
Côông [Phunoi]	ã **tu**[31] pᵊpən ya	fontanel (soft spot in a baby's skull).	Ferlus 1991:2.3
	lõ **tu**	nipple	Ferlus 1991:5.4.1
	ʔã́ **tu**	head	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ **tu** yàu̯	skull	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã̄ **tu**	head	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã[55] **tu**[33]	head	Bradley 1977
	ʔã[55] **tu**[33] jɑu[11]	skull	Bradley 1977

[a] The many binomes PTB ***d-bu-s** HEAD / CENTER / SENIOR MALE RELATIVE / UNCLE (§1.2.1) + PTB ***du** HEAD (§1.2.1) demonstrate the distinctiveness of the two etyma.

Chinese comparandum

頭 OC ***d'u**, *GSR* #118e 'head'; B & S 2011: ***m-tˁo**; Mand. **tóu**.

(2) PTB * $\frac{\mathbf{m}}{\mathbf{s}}$ -gaw HEAD

Besides the ***r-** prefix (reflected in rGyalrong), Barish attached a ***k-** and Nungish a ***t-**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**s-**)**gaw**	head	Weidert 1987:903
	***m-gaw**	head	Weidert 1987:903; Benedict 1972:490

1.1.2. DENG

Digaro	**mkau**	head	Matisoff 1987
	mku-ra	head	Matisoff 1987 [a]
Idu	e[55]**ko**[55]ɹa[55]	head	SUN Hongkai 1991f:2.1
	e[55] **ko**[55] ɹɑ	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.50

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***ku** HEAD

**Central Naga*	***ku**	HEAD	Bruhn 2014a:III.073
**Ao*	***ku**	HEAD	Bruhn 2014a:II.056
	*t-**ku**-luk	BRAIN	Bruhn 2014a:II.356
Ao (Chungli)	**ku**[2]ɹaŋ[2]	hat, crown (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.056
	maŋ[2]**ku**[2]	human head trophy (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	to kolak ret, mang **ko**	skull	Marrison 1967
	to **ko** lak	head	Marrison 1967
	tu[2]-**ku**[2]lak[3], tə[2]-**ku**[2]lak[3]	head (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.056
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**khu** rong	hat, helmet	Marrison 1967
	ko wa	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**kù** hɹàŋ	hat, head-dress (n.)	Coupe 2007
	maŋ **ku**	human head trophy (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**ku**[1]-rə?[3]	head (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.073
	kü ri	head	Murry *et al.* 1978:54
	ku rrü	head	Marrison 1967
	kvu ri	head	Nienu 1990c:2
	[1]**kvu**[3]rɯ	head	Weidert 1987:903
Sangtam	a **ku**	head	Marrison 1967
	ku a	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
	ku thri	hat, helmet	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**ko**	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
	ta **ko**	head	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**ku**	head	Kumar 1973b:94
	kü-üpü	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
	ku rheak	lice	Kumar 1973b:51
	ku ro	head	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Sema [Sumi]	acho **ku** mutsü	glans / head of penis	Achumi 1998a:10.3.2
	a **ku** tsü	head	Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:2.1
	a **ku** tsü qho	head (top) / crown / pate	Achumi 1998a:2.2
	a **kü** tsü-sa	hair of head	Achumi 1998a:8.1.1
	a **ku** tsü kho	hat, helmet	Marrison 1967
	a **ku** tsü sa	hair of head	Achumi 1998a:2.7

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***kow** HEAD

**Tangkhulic*	***kow**	head	Mortensen 2012:419
Champhung	**kau**	head	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-**kow**	head; glans, head of penis	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.021
	ʔa-**kow**-nə-lu	brain	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.028
	ʔa-**kow**-nə-luʔ	brain	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**kow**-nə-sam	hair of head	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.225
	ʔa-**kow**-ruk	skull	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.027
	ʔa-so-**kow**	foreskin	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.305
Kachai	ʔa-**ke**	head	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.022
	ʔa-**ke**-rɐ	skull	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.025
Tangkhul	(ā) **kui** (shoŋ)	head	Matisoff 1987
	ā **kui** ra	skull	Matisoff 1987
	kui	head	Marrison 1967
	kui-sam	hair; hair (head)	Marrison 1967:116; Matisoff 1987
	kui hon	hat, helmet	Marrison 1967
	kui rom	caul	Matisoff 1987
	kui sam	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
	kui thok	dandruff	Matisoff 1987
	kui tuŋ yāŋ	center of skull	Matisoff 1987
	kúy	head	Bhat 1969:90
	mi **kui**	skull	Marrison 1967
Tankghul (Central)	o-**kao**	head	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-**kao**	head	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**kui**	head	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔu-**kuə**	head	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.024
Ukhrul	(a)-**kuj**	head	Mortensen 2012
	kuj-sam	hair (on head)	Mortensen 2012

[a] Digaro **-ra** = BONE; **mku-ra** perhaps better glossed as SKULL.

	kuj-sɐm	hair (head)	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**kuj**	head	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**moko**	head	Marrison 1967
	məko	head	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	**kho** lai	cheek	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**sko**	head	Weidert 1987:903; Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	**sko**-bi-king	skull	Burling 1992
	sku-bi-king	skull	Burling 1992
	sku-taning	brain	Burling 1992
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***k^{h}ow**	head: top of the head	French 1983:502
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	a **k^{h}o** naŋ	above	French 1983:502
	ha ho **k^{h}o**	peak	French 1983:502
	kho	head	Marrison 1967
	k^{h}o	head(top of)	French 1983:502
	raŋ **k^{h}o**	on top of	French 1983:502
	^{1}kho	head	Weidert 1987:903
Tangsa	**^{3}khu**	head	Weidert 1987:903
Tangsa (Moshang)	**khu**	head	Marrison 1967
	ku mul	head hair; hair (of head)	French 1983:500; Marrison 1967
	k^{h}u	head(top of)	French 1983:502
	mul ≈ **kə** mul	hair; fur; body hair, fur, feathers	Benedict 1972:2; LaPolla 1987:90 [a]
Tangsa (Yogli)	**khu**	head	Marrison 1967
	khu mil	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
	k^{h}u	head(top of)	French 1983:502
	k^{h}u mil	head hair	French 1983:500
	maŋ **k^{h}u**	before, first	French 1983:502
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**khu**	head	Marrison 1967
	khu šat	headache	French 1983:561
	kù	head	Weidert 1987:903
	ku lo	human head hair	French 1983:500
	kùˇ-lʌ̀u	hair (head)(2)	Weidert 1987:1048
	ku lo	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
	k^{h}u	skull	French 1983:502
	k^{h}u lu	head(top of)	French 1983:502
Wancho	**ko**	hair	French 1983:502
	ko hom	cap	French 1983:502
	kɔ	hair	French 1983:502
	k^{h}o	hair	French 1983:502
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Andro	**hū** mī	hair of head	Luce 1985:K.53
	hū raŋ	head	Luce 1985:K.52
Ganan	**hă** laŋ^{2}	head	Luce 1985:K.52
	hă raŋ^{4}	head	Luce 1985:K.52
	hɔ^{2}	hair of head	Luce 1985:K.53
	[hă raŋ^{2}] ŋauʔ^{3}	bow the head (v.)	Luce 1985:L.255
Kadu	**ha**-lang	head	Matisoff 1987
Kadu (Kantu)	**hă** laŋ^{2}	head	Luce 1985:K.52
Kadu	**hə** làŋ	head	Matisoff 1987
Kadu (Kantu)	kʻu^{2} **[hɑ** lɑŋ`hū]	hair of head	Luce 1985:K.53
Lui	**hu**-mī	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	hu-röng	head	Matisoff 1987
	ku-tu	head	Matisoff 1987
Sak	a-**hu**	head	Matisoff 1987
	a-**huː**	head	Matisoff 1987
	a-**huː**-mi	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
Sak (Bawtala)	ă-**hwu^{2}**	head	Luce 1985:K.52
Sak	a-**khú**	head	Matisoff 1987
	a **hú**	head	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:1
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **hu^{1}** mẽ^{4}	hair	Luce 1985:G.114
	ă **hu^{1}** mĩ^{4}	hair of head	Luce 1985:K.53
Sak	a **hú** miŋ	hair of head	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:1-1
	a **hú** miŋ phro	white hair	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:1-1a
	a **hú** poŋ	turban	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:66-1d
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **hwu^{2}**	head; top	Luce 1985:G.93
Sak	**hu**-mí	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
Sak (Dodem)	**hu^{1}**	hair of head	Luce 1985:K.53
Sak	**kú**-mí	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
Sak (Dodem)	u **kʻu**	head	Luce 1985:K.52
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	**ko** krà	hair of head	Sharma 1991b:2.7
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**ngɐ^{53}**	head	SUN Hongkai 1991a:2.1
	ngɐ^{53} dɛ^{13} ko^{35}	top of head / crown / pate	SUN Hongkai 1991a:2.2
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ngo**	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.05
	ngo ngur	lower (the head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1266.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ngo**	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.4
	ngo re	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	ndʑe **^{n}go**	glans penis	Sun 1985a:304
	ngo	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.5
	ngo phər	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.5
	^{n}go	head	Sun 1985a:349
	^{n}go dʑo	hair (on the head)	Sun 1985a:338
	^{n}go ɸən	headman	Sun 1985a:434
Tibetan (Balti)	**go**·	head	Rangan 1975:64
Tibetan (Batang)	dʑɛ^{55} **ngo^{53}**	glans penis	DAI Qingxia 1989a:10.3.2
	ngo^{53}	head	DAI Qingxia 1989a:2.1
	ngo^{55} tʂi^{53} go^{55}	top of head / crown / pate	DAI Qingxia 1989a:2.2
	ngo^{55} zi^{55} pa^{53}	skull	DAI Qingxia 1989a:2.4
	ŋgu^{53}	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.03
	ŋgu^{53}ʐu^{53}	shake (one's head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1752.03
	ŋgu^{55}rɛ^{55}	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.03
	ŋgu^{55}tʂĩ^{55}	head-cloth / turban (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**go**	head	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ngo^{31}**	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.3
	ngo^{31}rɛ^{13}	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	(**ko^{13}**) ju^{52}	shake (one's head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1752.02
	ko^{13}	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.02
	ko^{13}	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.2
	ko^{13} na^{13}	ache (head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.02
	ko^{13}rɛʔ^{13}	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.2
	ko^{13}rɛ^{52}	head-cloth; turban; cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.02; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**gō**	head	Bishop 1989:2.1
Sherpa	**go**	head	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	re **kō**	skull	Bishop 1989:2.4
Spiti	**gò**	head	Bodh 1991:2.1
Tibetan (Spiti)	**gɔ́**	head	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	(**mgo**) dbjugs	shake (one's head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1752.01
	(**mgo**) dgur	lower (the head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1266.01
	(**mgo**) na	ache (head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.01
	dpyi-**mgo**	hipbone; hips	Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:364
	go	high; head; head, front; headman; beginning, source	Luce 1985:T.28; Coblin 1986:94; Coblin 1986:94
	klad-**sgo**	fontanel	Matisoff 1987
	mgo	head; top; head, front	Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:G.93,X.65; Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:349
	mgo	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.01
	mgo	head	Coblin 1986:94; ZHANG Liansheng 1988:12; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.1
	mgo ras	head-cloth; turban; cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.01; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.01
	mgo ras	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.1
	mgo-dkyil	crown of head	Matisoff 1987
	mgo-gʐun	crown of head	Matisoff 1987
	mgo-klad	brain	Matisoff 1987
	mgo-rus	skull	Matisoff 1987
	mgo-spu	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	mgo.dpon	headman	Sun 1985c:434
	mgo.sgro	hair (on the head)	Sun 1985c:338
	mje **mgo**	glans penis	Sun 1985c:304
	mȷ̀e-**mgo**	glans penis	Matisoff 1987
	sgo-pur	foreskin (vulg.)	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ngo** tə	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.04
	ŋgo htɕə	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.04
	ŋgo ɕə ra khor	turn one's head to the back (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1387.04
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**'ŋəyh**	head	Watters & Watters 1989:1.38
	ngayh	head	Matisoff 1987
	ngayh 'phanday-nyā	nod (with head) (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.64
3.2. QIANGIC			
Pumi (Jiulong)	**khɯ^{11}** phʐə^{11}phʐə^{55}	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.10
	qhuo^{11}mɛi^{35}	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.10
	qhuo^{11}pʐo^{55}	comb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.10
	qhuo^{11}tɕu^{55}	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.10
	qhuo^{11}tɕɯ^{55}	head-cloth / turban (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.10
	qhuo^{55}	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**qho^{13}**tʂu^{55}	comb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.09
	qho^{55}	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.09
	qho^{55}bʒɑ^{55}	lower (the head) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1266.09
	qho^{55}lo^{13}	turn one's head to the back (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1387.09
	qho^{55}ma^{55}	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.09
	qho^{55}tʂhu^{13}pa^{55}	head-cloth / turban (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.09
	qho^{55}tʂə^{13}tɑ^{13}	pillow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**qho^{55}**	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.11
	qho^{55}ma^{55}	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.11
	qho^{55}pʐɯu^{55}	comb (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:459.11
	qho^{55}tʂə^{13}tɑ^{13}	pillow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:387.11
	q^{h}o^{55}	head	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	q^{h}o^{55} ma^{55}	hair	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	**khu^{53}**	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.10
	khu^{55}kiã^{53}	pillow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:387.10
	khu^{55}mɛ̃^{53}	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.10
	khu^{55}pʐa^{53}	comb (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:459.10
	khu^{55}pʐɐ^{35}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.10
	khə^{35}phʐɐ^{35}	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.10
	k^{h}u^{53}	head	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	k^{h}u^{55} mɛ̃^{53}	hair	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	k^{h}u^{55} p^{h}ʐɐ^{35}	braid (hair) (n.)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Longxi)	**qə**	head	Evans 1999:99
	qə (pá tsì)-suè (qò)	dizzy [head-dizzy]	Evans 1999:2550
	qə (ɳà)-tshó	fontanel [brain-jump]	Evans 1999:102.1
	qə bá tsì	head	Evans 1999:99
	qə tó	hair of head	Evans 1999:100
	qə ɳà	brain	Evans 1999:164
	qə ɔ́·	arrogant [head-dry]	Evans 1999:1577
	qə-ɕý	comb [hair-comb(v)] (n.)	Evans 1999:655
	qə́-ŋú	braid [hair-silver] (refers to decorations in braid)	Evans 1999:101
Qiang (Mawo)	**qa^{1}** (qa^{1} tu)	top of head / crown / pate	SUN Hongkai 1991g:2.2
	qa^{1}ː	crown of head	Sun 1986
	qa ɳi	brain	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	qi ɳi	brain	SUN Hongkai 1991g:2.5
	qu tɕu	hair	Sun 1986
	qə diːβɑ	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.8

[a] Moshang **kə** looks as if it is a reduction of PTB ***m/s-gaw*** HEAD (§1.2.1) (cf. **ku mul**), but the gloss seems to show that it is body hair, not head hair, that is referred to.

	qə patʂ	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.8
	qə pa tʂ ɹa bi	scalp	Sun Hongkai 1991g:2.8
	qə pɑtʂ	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.08
	qə tɕu	hair of head	Sun Hongkai 1991g:2.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.8
	qə xliɛ piɛ	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.08
	qə p ɑ tuɑ	lower (the head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1266.08
	qə pa tʂ	head	Sun 1986; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	qə pa tʂ̧	head	Sun Hongkai 1991g:2.1
	qə si	comb (v.)	LaPolla 1987:97 [a]
	qə si	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.8
	qə sta	back of head	Sun 1986
	qə tɕu	hair; hair of head	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai 1991g:8.1.1
	qə n̩i	brain	Sun 1986
	qɛ dɛ	head-cloth / turban (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**kɛ̀** piá	braid (hair)	Evans 1999:1667
	qà bʐ́á tsɨ̀	head	Evans 1999:99
	qà tó suí	brush, comb (v.)	Evans 1999:2339
	qè suí	comb (n.)	Evans 1999:655
	qè n̩à	brain	Evans 1999:164
	qè toú	hair of head	Evans 1999:100
	qè n̩à-tié	fontanel [brain-heart]	Evans 1999:102.1
	qé ʁuà	muddled, confused [head-stupid?]	Evans 1999:1974
	ʂɛ̀ **qè** piâ	braid	Evans 1999:101
Qiang (Taoping)	**qə**^{33} po^{55} tʂʅ^{33}	head	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.9
	qə^{31} χmə^{55}	hair	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	qə^{31} χmə^{55} sʅ^{55} kie^{31}	braid (hair) (n.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	qə^{31} χn̩a^{33}	brain	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	qə^{31}suə^{33}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.9
	qə^{31}χmə^{55}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.9
	qə^{31}χmə^{55}sʅ^{55}kie^{31}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**qə** pɑ tʂ	head	Dai Qingxia 1989q:99
	qə ni	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989q:164
	qə u	hair (head)	Dai Qingxia 1989q:100
Queyu (Xinlong)	(**qho**^{55}) kɯ^{55} rge^{13}	lower (the head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1266.13
	(**qho**^{55}) lə^{55}rye^{55}	shave (the head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1668.13
	(**qho**^{55}) rmu^{55}	shake (one's head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1752.13
	(**qho**^{55}) n̩u^{55}	ache (head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1666.13
	qha^{55}m̥e^{33}	braid; plait; hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.13; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.13
	qha^{55}pɬe^{33}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.13
	qho^{55}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**xo**^{53}	head	Sun Hongkai 1991n:2.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.16
	xo^{55} mu^{55} tʂ^{h}a^{53}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai 1991n:8.1.1
	xo^{55}mu^{55}tʂha^{53}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.16
	xo^{55}xo^{33}	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.16
Xumi	ʁʊ^{33}**qhʊ**^{33}lu^{53}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**gu**^{33}po^{55}lo^{33}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.14
	gu^{33}zia^{55}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.14
	gu^{13}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	**huə**	head	Dai Qingxia 1989b:2.1
	huə dʑa	scalp	Dai Qingxia 1989b:2.8
	huə pho	hair of head	Dai Qingxia 1989b:2.7
	huə tsɔ tsɔ	top of head / crown / pate	Dai Qingxia 1989b:2.2
	huə tɕhə rei	skull	Dai Qingxia 1989b:2.4
	huə ʔɸuɑ	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989b:2.5
	ɦuə	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989b:9.1
	ɦuə phuo	hair of head	Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.1.1
Ergong (Northern)	**ʁo**^{53}	head	Sun Hongkai 1991c:2.1
	ʁo^{53} q^{h}e^{13}	top of head / crown / pate	Sun Hongkai 1991c:2.2
Ergong (Danba)	**ʁuə**	head	Sun Hongkai 1991b:2.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.14
	ʁuə ʐ̩mi	hair of head	Sun Hongkai 1991b:8.1.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.14
Daofu	**ʁə**	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.12
Ergong (Northern)	**ʁə**^{33} rmo^{53}	hair (head)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:2.7
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ta **ko**	head; brain	Dai Qingxia 1989d:2.1; Dai Qingxia 1989d:9.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.12
	ta **ko** n dɕi	scalp	Dai Qingxia 1989d:2.8
	ta **ko** rn̩ɐ	hair of head; hair (general)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:2.7; Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **ko**	head	Sun Hongkai 1991j:2.1
	ta **ko** dʒala	top of head / crown / pate	Sun Hongkai 1991j:2.2
	ta **ko** n dzi̱	scalp	Sun Hongkai 1991j:2.8
	ta **ko** rɲe	hair (head)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:2.7
	ta **ko** r no	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991j:9.1
Caodeng	tə-**kó**-q^{h}u	back of head	Sun 1997a
	tə-**ko**-rmɐ	hair of head	Sun 1997a
	tə-**ko?**	head; end	Sun 1997a
	tə-**ko?** kɐ-sɐ-ŋél-ŋel	shake (head)	Sun 1997a
	tə-**ko?** lém-wtsjo kɐ-lɐt	stand on head	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ka** χcɕal	top of head / crown / pate	Sun Hongkai 1991k:2.2
	tə **ku**	head	Sun Hongkai 1991k:2.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ku**	head	Sun Hongkai 1991l:2.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ku** n dzi̱	scalp	Sun Hongkai 1991k:2.8
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ku** n dzə̱	scalp	Sun Hongkai 1991l:2.8
	tə **ku** rme	hair (head); hair of head	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.1; Sun Hongkai 1991l:2.7
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **kə** rme	hair (head)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:2.7
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə lam **ko**	glans penis	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.3.2
rGyalrong (NW)	tə mbi **ku**	glans penis	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.3.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **ko**	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.11
4. Nungic			
Rawang	**gɔ**^{33} bɑm^{33}	head-cloth, turban	LaPolla 2003:553
Anong	ə-**gɔ**	head	Matisoff 1987
Rawang	ə **gɔ**^{33}	head	LaPolla 2003:83
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**kho**^{55}pa^{55}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.49
	kho^{55}pa^{55}	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.38
	kho^{55}pa^{55}soŋ^{55}kho^{55}	turn one's head to the back (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1387.49
	k^{h}o^{55} pa^{55}	head	Chen Kang 1986c:2.1
Tujia (Northern)	**k^{h}o**^{55} pa^{55}	head	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Noesu	ŋu^{33}**ŋgo**^{55}	head	Chen Kang 1986b:2.1
	ŋu^{33}**ŋgo**^{55}mi^{21}	hair of head	Chen Kang 1986b:2.7; Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.1
Yi (Xide)	**ŋgo**^{21}	scalp	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Lijiang)	**gu**^{33}mu^{31}	hat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:370.28
Naxi	**ku**^{33}gɯ^{33}	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.45
	ku^{33}mu^{21}	hat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0475.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ku**^{33}ŋgɯ^{33}	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.28
Naxi (Western)	**kv**^{33}fv^{33}	hair (head)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**kv**^{33}fv^{33}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.28
	kv^{33}tsɯ^{33}	scarf for the head / turban	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:369.28
	kv^{33}tɕy^{31}pɑ^{55}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.28
Naxi (Western)	**kv**^{31}fv^{55}	brain	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
	kv^{31}tɕy^{31}tɑ^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**kv̩**^{33}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.45
	kv̩^{33}dʅ^{21}	baldhead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0205.45
	kv̩^{33}fv̩^{33}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.45
	kv̩^{33}fv̩^{55}	brains (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0132.45
	kv̩^{33}tsʅ^{33}	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.45
	kv̩^{33}tɕy^{21}pɑ^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.45
	kv̩^{33}ɣə^{21}	head-cloth / turban (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.45
7. Karenic			
**Karen (Pwo)*	***khóq**	head	Jones 1961:207
**Karen (TP)*	***khóq**	head	Jones 1961:207
**Karen (Pwo)*	***khóq**	hair (head)	Jones 1961:728
	***khóq** nɔ̀	brain	Jones 1961:189
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***khó?**	head; hair (head)	Jones 1961:207; Jones 1961:728
	***khó?** nù?	brain	Jones 1961:189
**Karen*	***khu**^{B} slu^{A}	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Bwe	**-khá** lú	hair (of the head) (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	ă **ko**^{2}	head; top	Luce 1985:G.93
	ă **k'o**^{2}	head; top	Luce 1985:G.93
Bwe	**kha** ʃu	hair on the legs; pubic hair (n.)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997
	khə^{55}lu^{55}	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
	khɛ ʃu	beard; moustache; beard, moustache (n.)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997
	khɛ ʃu=khɛ phí	whiskers (n.)	Henderson 1997
	kò	head	Weidert 1987:903
	ko	top, head, peak (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ko-dəwì	crown of the head (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ko-phe	skin of the scalp (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ko=ká	head and tail, top and bottom	Henderson 1997
	ko=kɔ́	head (n.)	Henderson 1997
Geba	**ko**^{2}	head; top	Luce 1985:G.93
	k'o^{2}	head; top	Luce 1985:G.93
Karen	di^{33}**kho**^{31}	shave (the head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1668.50
	kho^{31}bo̱^{31}	head-cloth / turban (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.50
	kho^{31}tθa̱^{31}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.50
	kho^{31}tθø^{55}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.50
	tθi^{33}**kho**^{31}tθui^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.50
Kayah	**kho**^{55}lo^{11}	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Kayan	**ka?**^{21} lu^{33}	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Kayan (Pekon)	**ka** lù	hair (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**khu**^{11}lu^{33}	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Pa-O (Southern)	**ka**^{33}lu^{53}	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Pa-O (Northern)	**ka?**^{45}lu^{33}	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Pa-O	**khó**	head	Weidert 1987:903; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:207
	ká? nɔ́?	brain	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:189
	kə lū	hair, head	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**k'o**^{1}	head; top	Luce 1985:G.93
Paku	**k'u**^{3}	head; top	Luce 1985:G.93
Palaychi	**hóq** táq	head	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:207
	hú tìq	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:728
	khòq nù	brain	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:189
Pwo (Northern)	**khu**^{33} su^{35}	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Pwo (Delta)	**k'o**^{4}	head; top	Luce 1985:G.93
Pwo (Tenasserim)	ə **k'o**^{1}	head; top	Luce 1985:G.93
Pwo (Bassein)	**khò**	head	Weidert 1987:903; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:207
	khò nò?	brain	Matisoff 1987
	khò nɔ̀?	brain	Weidert 1987:964; Jones 1961:189
	khò θwì	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:728
Pwo (Moulmein)	**khó?**	head	Weidert 1987:903; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:207
	khó? nau?	brain	Weidert 1987:964; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:189
	khó? θù	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:728
Sgaw (Northern)	**kho**^{31}~su^{33}	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Sgaw (Southern)	**khu**^{45}'su^{55}	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Sgaw	**k'o**^{4}	head; top	Luce 1985:G.93
	^{2}**kho**	head	Weidert 1987:903
	^{2}**kho** ^{2}nʏ?	brain	Weidert 1987:964
Sgaw (Bassein)	**khò**	head	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:207
	khò nù?	brain	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:189

[a] [Source Note] (u^{55}, u^{53}, qə- 'head') (LaPolla 1987).

	khò θwí	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:728	[a]
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**k^{h}o^{31}** nu^{33}	brain (marrow)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:164	
	k^{h}o^{31} tθui^{55}	hair (head)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:100	
	k^{h}o^{31} θa̱^{31}	head	Dai Qingxia 1989k:99	
	k^{h}o^{31} θø^{55}	hair (head)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:100.1	
	tθi^{33} **k^{h}o^{31}** tθui^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:101	
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**khó?**	head	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:207	
	khó? nù?	brain	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:189	
	khó? θú	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:728	
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**k^{h}o^{31}**	head	Dai Qingxia 1989j:99	
	k^{h}o^{31} nu̱?^{55}	brain (marrow)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:164	
	k^{h}o^{31} θu^{55}	hair (head)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:100	
	mɛ̱?^{31} **k^{h}o^{31}** θu^{55}	eyebrow	Dai Qingxia 1989j:103	
	θi^{31} **k^{h}o^{31}** θu^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:101	
8. Bai				
Bai (Jianchuan)	tu^{33} tɯ̱^{21} po̱^{21} **k^{h}o^{33}**	glans penis	Zhao Yansun 1990:10.3.2	[b]

[a] The final **-i** is perhaps suffixal: ***su-y*** (cf. **u** ≍ **wi** variation in Lahu).
[b] Bai **tɯ̱^{21} po̱^{21}** 'head'.

Chinese comparandum

后 OC ***g'u***, *GSR* #112a 'sovereign, lord, queen'; B & S 2011: ***ɢ^{ʕ}o? {ɢ^{ʕ}(r)o?}***; Mand. **hòu**.
元 OC ***ngi̱wǎn***, *GSR* #257a 'head (fig.); first, eldest, principal, great'; Schuessler 2007:593 ***ŋon***~***ŋwan***; B & S 2011: ***ŋon { [ŋ] o [n] }*** (ʿ nasal + uvular); Mand. **yuán**.

(3) PTB *kuk HEAD / SKULL / WEAR ON THE HEAD

This is a general TB root, contra *HPTB*:358, where it was treated as probably confined to Lolo-Burmese.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kuk**	wear on head	Matisoff 2003a:597

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**khu:^{3}** > khuk^{3}	wear over head as a cap or umbrella (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:861
	khu:^{3}/khuk^{3}	wear over head as a cap...	Bhaskararao 1994

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	ma **kok**	skull	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**kok**	head	Abbi & Mishra 1985; Singh 1991:2; Marrison 1967
	kôk	head	Matisoff 1987
	kok-ki səru	skull	Singh 1991:2.4 [a]
	kok ru	skull	Marrison 1967
	səm (**kok**-ki)	hair of head	Singh 1991:8.1.1

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	a phu bong **kok** a nung	back of head	Matisoff 1987
	bong **kok**	skull	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	phú-bòng-**kòk**	skull	Grüssner 1979:145

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Mama)	**kɔk^{13}** t^{h}e?^{53}	head	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɔk^{13}the?^{53}	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.6
Cuona Menba	**kɔk^{35}**the?^{53}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.06

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**khuks** u	wear on the head	Matisoff 1972b:12
	khu:ks-	wear (a hat / other head-covering) (v.)	Driem 1988
	khu:kt-	wear (a hat / head-covering) (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	khu:kt u	wear on the head	Matisoff 1972b:12
	mi **kho-k**	skull	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**khuks**-u	wear (on head / shoulders) (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***kok**	wear on the head	Matisoff 1972b:12

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Xiandao)	u^{31} liŋ^{35} **kɔk^{35}**	bald person	Dai Qingxia 1989f:246

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**khoq**	wear (bamboo hat / turban)	Björverud 1994
Yi (Nanhua)	**khu̱^{33}**	wear (a hat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1252.37
Yi (Weishan)	**kho^{33}**	wear (a hat); wear (a turban) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1252.36; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1253.36

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**kho^{42}**	wear (a hat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1252.44
Lahu (Black)	**qhɔ̂?**	wear on the head	Matisoff 1972b:12
Lisu	**hkaw2**	wear on the head	Matisoff 1972b:12
Lisu (Central)	**hkaw^{2}**	wear (hat)	Fraser 1922
Sani [Nyi]	**q'u 44**	wear on the head	Matisoff 1972b:12

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**k'o**	wear on one's head	Lewis 1989:255
Bisu	**khɔ̄**	wear on the head	Matisoff 1972b:12
Hani (Pijo)	**khə**	wear (hat); wear hat	Hansson 1989:513; Hansson 1989:513
Hani (Khatu)	**kho**	wear (hat); wear hat	Hansson 1989:513; Hansson 1989:513

[a] Meithei **-ki** is a genitive particle.

(4) PTB *s-kawŋ HOLLOW / HOLLOW OBJECT / HEAD

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Wancho	**khung**	head	Marrison 1967
	k^{h}aŋ ra	head	French 1983:502

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	tal **gönh**	palate / part of top of head (where Hindu lock is) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	tal **gönh**	crown of head, palate	Matisoff 1987

5. Tujia

Tujia	**k^{h}ũ^{55}** nũ^{55}	brain	Chen Kang 1986c:2.5
Tujia (Northern)	**k^{h}ũ^{55}** nũ^{55}	brain	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	nă^{31} **kuaŋ^{31}**	head	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.41
	ni^{31}**kuaŋ^{31}**	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.28
Achang (Xiandao)	u^{31} **kɔŋ^{31}**	head	Dai Qingxia 1989f:96
	u^{31}**kɔŋ^{31}**	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.29
Burmese (Written)	**khoṅ**	head	Marrison 1967
	khôŋ	head; principal part; large root	Benedict 1976a
	khɔŋ^{3}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.26
	khɔŋ^{3}	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.39
	khɔŋ^{3}prɑn^{2}hlɑ̱^{1}	turn one's head to the back (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1387.26
	khɔŋ^{3}pɔŋ^{3}	head-cloth / turban (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.26
	khɔŋ^{3}pɔŋ^{3}	scarf for the head / turban	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:369.39
	khɔŋ^{3}sɑ̱^{3}pu^{1}wɑɑ^{22}	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.26
	uk **khoṅ:** khwaṁ	skull	Marrison 1967
	ʔû (-**khôŋ**)-khwam	skull	Matisoff 1987
	ʔû-**khôŋ**	head	Matisoff 1987
	ʔû-**khôŋ**-re	scalp	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***ʔ-koŋ^{2}**	head	Bradley 1979b:88C

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	hɪ̱^{21} mɑ^{33} **ko^{33}**	stomach	Chen Kang 1986b:9.10
Nasu	o^{33} **kɤ̱^{21}**	head	Chen Kang 1986b:2.1
Nesu	ŋ̩^{33} **kɤ̱^{33}**	head	Chen Kang 1986b:2.1
	ŋ̩^{33} **ɣɤ^{33}**	skull	Chen Kang 1986b:2.4
Yi (Dafang)	o^{33} **gu^{55}**	head	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.22
Yi (Mile)	o^{55}**ko̱^{33}**	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ŋu̱^{33}**ku̱^{33}**	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.26
Yi (Nanhua)	u^{55}**ku̱^{33}**	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.24

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	o^{55} **ko̱^{33}**	head	Luo Meizhen 1990:2.1
	o^{55} **ko̱^{33}** bu^{55}	skull	Luo Meizhen 1990:2.4
	o^{55}**ko̱^{33}**	head	Chen Kang 1986b:2.1
Lolo (Ni)	o **kó**	head, front	Luce 1985:T.28
Lahu (Nyi)	aw˯ fui˗ **k'u_**	stomach	Bradley 1979a:145
Lahu (Shehleh)	aw˯ fui˗ **k'u_**	stomach	Bradley 1979a:145
**Common Lahu*	***k'o_**	head	Bradley 1979b:88C
Lahu	ɔ́-fí-**qō**	stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1e
Lahu (Lancang)	o^{35}**qo^{11}**	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.43
	o^{35}**qo^{11}**phɑ^{35}tɕe^{21}	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.43
	o^{35}**qo^{11}**qɔ^{21}lɑ^{33}	turn one's head to the back (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1387.43
	qo^{11}	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.43
	ɔ^{31}fɯ^{35}**qo^{11}**	stomach (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.43
Lahu (Black)	nī-ó-**qō**	glans penis	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	nû-fí-**qō**	cow's stomach, tripe	Matisoff 1988a:772
	nû-fí-**qō**-šī	jackfruit	Matisoff 1988a:772
	ó-**qō** (-šī)	head	Matisoff 1987
	ó-**qō**-mu	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	o^{35}**qo^{11}**	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.33
	o^{35}**qo^{11}**mu^{33}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.33
	ō **k'o**	head, front	Luce 1985:T.28
	u^{35} **qu^{31}** si^{11}	skull	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣ^{35} **qu^{11}**	head	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣ̩^{35} **qu^{11}** mɣ^{33} (ɣ^{35} mɣ^{33})	hair (head)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} fɤ^{35} **qu^{11}**	stomach	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}fə^{35}**qo^{11}**	stomach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:269.33
	ɔ̀-fí-**qō**	stomach	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:176
Lahu (Yellow)	to?^{21} **qu?^{21}**	head	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{2}**qu^{5}**	hole	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} fɤ^{35} **qu?^{21}**	stomach	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	aw˯ fui˗ **k'u_**	stomach	Bradley 1979a:145
Lahu (Banlan)	a: **ko_**	head	Bradley 1979a:88
	aw˯ fe˗ **ko_**	stomach	Bradley 1979a:145
Lisu (Central)	wu^{1}-**ku^{3}**-ma^{3}	hair (head, long)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	wu^{1}-**ku^{3}**-m^{3}	long hair	Matisoff 1987
	wu^{1}**ku^{3}**ma^{3}	head hair	Bradley 1979b:89-1; Bradley 1979b:89-2
Lisu (Northern)	ɔ^{55}**ku^{33}**ma^{33}	hair on head	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}**ku^{35}**vy^{21}	head	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	o^{55} **qo^{21}** ʑæ^{21} mɑ^{33}	skull	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:326.2
	o^{55} **qo^{11}**	head	Ma Xueliang 1989:369.2
	o^{55}(**qo^{21}**)	head	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	o^{55}**qo^{21}**	head	Chen Kang 1986b:2.1
	o^{55}**qo^{21}**ne^{44}mɑ^{33}	top of head	Chen Kang 1986b:2.2
	o^{55}**qo^{21}**nɒ^{33}	headache	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	o^{55}**qo^{11}**	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.39
Sani [Nyi]	ɑ^{44} n̩^{33} o^{55} **qo^{11}**	nipple	Ma Xueliang 1989:368.3 [b]
	ɑ^{44}n̩^{33}o^{55}**qo^{21}**	nipple	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.1
	ɬɒ^{33}o^{55}**qo^{21}**	tongue tip	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Bisu	tù **kɔŋ** hnɨ́ŋ	fontanelle	Beaudouin 1988:14

6.2. Naxi

Naxi (Eastern)	ɣo^{33}**k^{h}uɑ^{31}**	head	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

[a] Literally "penis-head".
[b] Literally "breast-head".

(5) PTB *k-lu HEAD

Many languages (e.g. in the Chin group) reflect the simple form ***lu***. Other languages (e.g. Chang, Lotha, Naxi) show disyllabic forms, which are plausibly analyzed as sequences of PTB ***m/s-gaw*** HEAD (§1.2.1) and PTB ***k-lu*** HEAD (§1.2.1). In still other languages (e.g. Camling, Dumi, Milang), these two syllables have been compressed into one. For our present purposes, we are treating the latter two cases as reflecting the monosyllabized root, whether or not they are presently disyllabic.

The forms assigned to this root are distinct from Qiangic and Burmish compounds for HEAD where the last element descends from PTB ***s-lum*** ROUND (§9.7.2).

This etymon is perhaps related to PTB ***lu-s*** BODY (§1.1.1) and/or to WB **lu** 'person' .

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	tuk-**kyu**	skull	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**kru**-krā:	earhole	Matisoff 1987
	kru-na:	ear	NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987 [a]
	kru-nyā:	disease of the ear	NEFA (India) 1963
	kru-pe	ear (ornaments of plug or disc)	NEFA (India) 1963
	kru-ro ka:tyem	fetch by the ear	NEFA (India) 1963
	kru-ta:p-la:g	earhole	Matisoff 1987
	kru: na:	ear	Matisoff 1987
	kuru-ka	scalp, head-skin	Matisoff 1987
	kuru-pom	head; skull	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963 [b]

[a] If this analysis is correct, it is interesting: HEAD + EAR = 'ear'.
[b] Final labial in Darang **pom** perhaps assimilation to the labial initial and rounded vowel.

	kɹu^{53}	head	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɹu^{53}	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.22
	kɹu^{53}	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.49
	kɹu^{53} nɑŋ^{35}	ear	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɹu^{53}nɑŋ^{35}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.22
	kɹu^{53}nɑŋ^{35}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.49
Digaro	**ku-ru**	head	Matisoff 1987
Kaman [Miju]	**kɯu^{53}**	head	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɯu^{53}	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.23
	kɯu^{53}	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.48
Idu	a^{31}**kɹu^{55}**na^{55}	ear	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.6 [a]
	i **kri** ya	head	Anonymous 1962
	i **krui** ya wi ga	headband	Anonymous 1962
	i **ku** ja	head (body part)	Pulu 1978
	i **ku** ja ro ka po	skull	Pulu 1978
	i **ku** ji	headache	Anonymous 1962
	i **ku** ɟi	headache	Pulu 1978
	ɑ^{31}**kɹu^{55}**nɑ^{55}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.50
Yidu	ɑ^{31}**kɹu^{55}**nɑ^{55}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***luu** HEAD

**Chin*	***luu**	HEAD	VanBik 2009:1024
Anal	**lu**-čɛ	head	Matisoff 1987
Chinbok	**lu**-kɛ	head	Matisoff 1987
Ngawn	**lu**	head	Matisoff 1987
Thanphum	**lu^{1}**	head	Luce 1985:N.15

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	**lu** chang	head	Haokip 1998:2.1
	lu yang	top of head / crown / pate	Haokip 1998:2.2
Sizang	**lū**	head	VanBik 2009:1024
Thado	**lú**	head	Thirumalai 1972:55
	lúu	head	VanBik 2009:1024
	lúu sîip	top (of head)	VanBik 2009:608
Tiddim	**lu**	head	Matisoff 1987
	lu^{2}	head	VanBik 2009:1024; Bhaskararao 1996:1011
	lu^{1}	head	Luce 1985:N.15
	lu^{1} kham^{1}	pillow	VanBik 2009:455; Bhaskararao 1996:1008
	lu^{1} zaːng^{2}	top of head	Bhaskararao 1996:1010

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho (Sandoway)	**lü^{1}**	head	Luce 1985:N.15
Chinbon	**lï**	head	So-Hartmann 1988:76
Cho (Mindat)	**lu**	head	VanBik 2009:1024
Daai	**lu**	head	So-Hartmann 1988:76
Awa Khumi	ă **lu^{2}**	head	Luce 1985:N.15
Khumi	**lu**	head	Matisoff 1987
	luú	head, front	VanBik 2009:1024
	lú	head	So-Hartmann 1988:76
Khumi (Ahraing)	**lu^{2}**	head	Luce 1985:N.15
Matu	**lu**	head	So-Hartmann 1988:76
Matupi	**lu^{4}**	head	Luce 1985:N.15
Mkaang	**lu̯** pum	head	So-Hartmann 1988:76
Ngmüün	**lu**	head	So-Hartmann 1988:76
Nyhmoye	**lu̯** kʰɔːŋ	head	So-Hartmann 1988:76
Wakung	**lu**	head	So-Hartmann 1988:76
Womatu	**lu^{4}**	head	Luce 1985:N.15

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Khualsim	**lu^{3}**	head	Luce 1985:N.15
Lai (Hakha)	**lu**	head	Matisoff 1987
Lai (Falam)	**lu**-khàm	pillow (”head pillow)	VanBik 2009:455
Lai (Hakha)	**lu**-tshiip	crown (of head)	VanBik 2009:608
	lûu	head	VanBik 2009:1024
Lai (Falam)	**lŭu**	head	VanBik 2009:1024
Lai (Hakha)	**lu^{5}**	head	Luce 1985:N.15
Laizo	**lu**	head	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	**lu**	head	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	lú	head (n.)	VanBik 2009:1024
	lu	head	Bhaskararao 1996:1011
	lu ruh	skull	Matisoff 1987
	lu-dîp	fontanel	Matisoff 1987
	lu^{1}	head	Luce 1985:N.15
	lu kham	pillow	Marrison 1967
	lu ruh	skull	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**lu**	head	Matisoff 1987
	lù khú	hat (n.)	VanBik 2009:1024
	lu-ru-pa	skull	Matisoff 1987
	lu-sa-di	fontanel	Matisoff 1987
	mo-**lu**	human head	Matisoff 1987
Mera	**lu^{6}**	head	Luce 1985:N.15
Tha'oa	**lu^{1}**	head	Luce 1985:N.15
Xongsai	**lu^{3}**	head	Luce 1985:N.15
Zotung	**lu**	head	Matisoff 1987
	lu^{4}	head	Luce 1985:N.15

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**lu**	head	Toba & Kom 1991:2.1
	lu dep	fontanel (soft spot in a baby's skull).	Toba & Kom 1991:2.3
	lu sip	top of head / crown / pate	Toba & Kom 1991:2.2
	lu tʰuk	brain	Toba & Kom 1991:9.1
	lu um	skull	Toba & Kom 1991:2.4
	lu vun	scalp	Toba & Kom 1991:2.8
	lu-khúm	pillow	Weidert 1987:189
Sorbung	a-**lu**	head	Brown 1837
	lu kaaŋ	head	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.026
	lu káaŋ ruu	skull	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.029
	lu sìip	head, top of; crown; pate	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.027

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**lu**	head	Brown 1837; Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Meluri	a **lü**	head	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **li**	head	Marrison 1967
	li sing	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Puiron	**lu**	head	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**lu**	head	Brown 1837

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**lu** kəŋ	skull	Singh 1991:2.4

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**khilî**-sô	head	Grüssner 1979:55
	kilit	head	Matisoff 1987

1.6. MRU

Mru	**lu**	head	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**koró**	head	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	ko·ro?	head	Weidert 1987:903
Dimasa	**khoro**	head	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	bə-**kʰro?**	head	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**kho·law**	skull	Balawan 1965:15

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**khulu**	skull	Marrison 1967
	kʰu lu	skull	French 1983:461

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**ka-li**	skull	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Chamling	ta **khle** chuy*	brain	Winter 1985:35
	ta **khlo**	head	Michailovsky 1991:88; Winter 1985:35

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	də **khlœ**	head	Driem 1993
	də **khlœ**-saː lu	skull (in its entirety)	Driem 1993

3.2. QIANGIC

Xumi	**ly^{55}** pɐ^{33}	forehead; brow	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:233.20

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Buyuan)	vu^{44} nu^{55} **lu^{55}**	brain	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	vu^{44} tɕʰɯ^{44} **lɯ^{44}**	head	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986

6.2. NAXI

Naxi	**ku^{33}ly^{33}**	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.45
Naxi (Western)	**kv^{33}ly^{33}**	head	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**kv^{33}ly^{33}**	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.28

7. KARENIC: ***klə?^{D}** HEAD

**Karen*	***klə?^{D}**	head	Luangthongkum 2013:141
Bwe	ku^{33}**ko^{33}**	head	Luangthongkum 2013:141
Kayah	**klɔ^{55}**	head	Luangthongkum 2013:141
Kayan	**klə?^{45}**	head	Luangthongkum 2013:141
Kayaw	**kɨ^{33}**~**kə^{33}**	head	Luangthongkum 2013:141
Pa-O (Southern)	**kə?^{21}**tu^{33}	head	Luangthongkum 2013:141
Pa-O (Northern)	**kə?^{21}**tu^{55}	head	Luangthongkum 2013:141

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old)	**glu**	head	Matisoff 1987 [a]

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**ləu**	head	Matisoff 1987

[a] *GSR* 123n.

Chinese comparandum

首 OC ***śi̱ôg**, *GSR* #1102a-c 'head'; Schuessler 2007:470 ***lhuʔ**; B & S 2011: ***l̥uʔ-s**; Mand. **shǒu**.

(6) PTB *d-kyil CROWN OF HEAD

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	la-**ki**	crown of head	Matisoff 1987

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	^{5}u^{4}**tsɯ**	head	Weidert 1987:429

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	mgo-**dkyil**	crown of head	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	ji^{31} **tsʅ^{33}**	head	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987; DAI Qingxia 1989c:2.1
Yi (Xide)	i^{33} **tɕʰi^{33}**	head	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	i^{33}-**tɕʰi^{33}** na^{33}	headache	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	i^{33}**tɕhi^{33}**	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.35
	i^{33}**tɕhi^{33}**	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	vu^{33}**khɛ^{33}**	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.34
	vu^{44} **khɛ^{44}**	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	vu^{44} **kʰjɛ^{44}**	head	DAI Qingxia 1989h:99
Jinuo (Youle)	vu^{44} **kʰɛ^{44}**	head	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	ʏ^{44} **kʰɛ^{44}**	head	DAI Qingxia 1989i:99

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Pijo)	vù **khì**	head	Hansson 1989:164
Hani (Caiyuan)	ʏ^{31} **kʰe^{31}**	head	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʏ^{31}**khe^{31}**	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.30
Hani (Khatu)	vù **tjhì**	head	Hansson 1989:164

(7) PTB *p-laŋ HEAD / FOREHEAD

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	maː **phlaː**	forehead	NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987
	mɑ^{31} **plɑŋ^{35}**	forehead	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	mɑ^{31}**plɑŋ^{35}**	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.22
	mɑ^{31}**plɑŋ^{35}**	forehead	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:233.49
Idu	a **prā** hã	forehead	Pulu 1978
	a **pra** ha	forehead	Anonymous 1962
	a **prā** ha ma pecu ola	tattoo(forehead)	Pulu 1978
	mɑ^{31}**plɑŋ^{35}**	forehead	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:233.50
Yidu	mɑ^{31}**plɑŋ^{35}**	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.25

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**la**-ki	crown of head	Matisoff 1987

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	ā **lap** rai	fontanel	Matisoff 1987
	ā **rap** rai	fontanel	Matisoff 1987

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	a phu long **plang** ata rlok	brain	Matisoff 1987
	phu long **plang**	scalp	Matisoff 1987
	phú-lóng-**pláng**	top of head; crown; pate; scalp	Grüssner 1979:145; Grüssner 1979:145
	phu long **plang**	top of head	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Andro	hū **rɑŋ**	head	Luce 1985:K.52

Ganan	hă **lɑŋ²**	head	Luce 1985:K.52
	hă **rɑŋ⁴**	head	Luce 1985:K.52
	[hă **rɑŋ²**] ŋaʊʔ³	bow the head (v.)	Luce 1985:L.255
Kadu	ha-**lang**	head	Matisoff 1987
	ha **lôŋ**-hû	braid, tresses	Matisoff 1987
Kadu (Kantu)	hă **lɑŋ²**	head	Luce 1985:K.52
Kadu	hə **làng**-hù	braid, tresses	Matisoff 1987
	hə **làŋ**	head	Matisoff 1987
Kadu (Kantu)	kʻu² [hɑ **lɑŋ`** hū]	hair of head	Luce 1985:K.53
Lui	hu-**röng**	head	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Central)	sha **rang**	head	Andvik 1993:2; Egli-Roduner 1987:31 10
	sha **rang** nga ma	headache	Egli-Roduner 1987:37 7
Tsangla (Motuo)	ɕa⁵⁵ **raŋ¹³**	head	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ɕa⁵⁵ **raŋ⁵⁵** wuŋ¹³	crown of head	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ɕa⁵⁵**raŋ¹³**pak¹³taŋ⁵⁵	scarf for the head / turban	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ɕa **raŋ**	head	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	ɕa **raŋ**	head	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**lɑŋ⁵⁵** be⁵⁵	forehead	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**laŋ⁵⁵** pɛʔ⁵³	forehead	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:233.6
Cuona Menba	**laŋ⁵⁵**pɛʔ⁵³	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.06

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	taŋ **laŋ**	forehead	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	ta.**laŋ**	head (n.)	Caughley 2000
	tā **lāng**	head	Matisoff 1987
	ta **laŋ**	head	Michailovsky 1991:88; Caughley 1972:1.38
	tək.ta.**laŋ**	back of head, occipital bone (n.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	ta **laŋ**	head	Caughley 1990:2.1
	təyŋ ta **laŋ**	glans penis	Caughley 1990:10.3.2

3.2. QIANGIC

Pumi (Lanping)	**ɬo¹³**	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ɬo¹³**	forehead	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:233.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɬo³⁵**	forehead	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:233.10

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	ka⁵³ pə³³ **la³³**	skull	SUN Hongkai 1991c:2.4

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**la³¹** pʰuŋ⁵⁵	head	SUN Hongkai 1988
	lɑ³¹phuŋ⁵⁵	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.44
Nung	**lɑ³¹**phuŋ⁵⁵xuɑŋ⁵⁵dɛm⁵⁵	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.21
Anong	**lɑ³¹**phuŋ⁵⁵xuɑŋ⁵⁵dɛm⁵⁵	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.44
Nung	**lɑ³¹**phuŋ⁵⁵ɕin³¹	lead (the way) / guide (lit. 'lead head') (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.21

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Luxi)	ŋɤɛ⁵¹ **laŋ⁵¹**	forehead	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola	ŋə̌³¹ **lɔ̃³¹**	forehead	DAI Qingxia 1989g:99
Bola (Luxi)	ŋə̌³¹**lɔ̃³¹**	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.32
Langsu (Luxi)	ŋa³⁵**lɔ̃³¹**	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.31
Lashi	ŋə̌⁵⁵ **laŋ⁵⁵**	forehead / brow	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.2
Leqi (Luxi)	ŋə̌⁵⁵**laŋ⁵⁵**	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.33
Maru [Langsu]	ŋa³⁵ **lɔ̃³¹**	forehead; brow	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.2; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:233.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	ŋě²¹ **laŋ²¹**	forehead	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ŋě²¹**laŋ²¹**	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.30
	ŋě²¹**laŋ²¹**	forehead	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:233.42

(8) PTB * p/b wa(ŋ) HEAD

This root is not reconstructed in J. Sun (1993), where it seems to be treated as a suffix following PTani ***dum*** HEAD / HAIR (§1.2.3). The final **-r** in the Bokar forms is probably a secondary effect of the back unrounded vowel. Darang has a final **-m**, perhaps an effect of the preceding rounded vowel.

Jingpho provides evidence for both the open- and nasal-final allofams: Hanson (p.42) gives both **u-baw** and **u-bawng** 'a head', the latter marked 'Hkauri dialect' or 'in religious poetry' (p.71). Dai et al. 1983 (p.851) glosses **u³¹ po³³** as 'chicken head' (**ù-** is a prefix in many words referring to birds).

The second syllables of the Milang, Tagin, Idu, and Galo forms for 'horn' resemble this root, but we are keeping them separate for now (see PTB ***m/g-(r)wa-ŋ/k/t*** HORN / ANGLE / CORNER (§1.2.2)).

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	dum-**poː**	head	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	dum **pɯr**	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.24
	dum-**pur**	head	Sun 1993b
	dum-**pɯr**	head	Sun 1993a
Bokar Lhoba	dum **pɯr**	head	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tum **pɯr**	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.51
Galo	dum **po**	skull	Das Gupta 1963
	dum **po**-a pin	scalp	Das Gupta 1963
	dum **po**-dum-ci	headache	Das Gupta 1963
	dum **poo**	head (n.)	GLDC 2009
	dum **poo**-a loo	skull (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	dum-**po**	head	Simon 1976
Nishing	dum-**po**	head	Das Gupta 1969; Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	dum **po** duḿ-ci-pa	head aches	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	dum-**poŋ**	head	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	dum-**pong**	head	Matisoff 1987
Damu	dum-**poː**	head	Sun 1993b
Milang	dum **po** a ki	head-ache	Tayeng 1976 [a]
	dum **poŋ**-ma	dizziness	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	kuru-**pom**	head; skull	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963 [b]

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	a phu **bong** kok a nung	back of head	Matisoff 1987
	bong kok	skull	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	phú-**bòng**-kòk	skull	Grüssner 1979:145

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	(u-)**bawng**	head	Matisoff 1987
	a³¹ **po³³**	head	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	baw	head	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987 [a]
	bawng	head	Marrison 1967
	bawng-wam	fontanel	Matisoff 1987 [bc]
	bung-wam	fontanel	Matisoff 1987 [de]
	pawng	head	Matisoff 1987 [f]
	po³³	head	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	po³³	head (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.19
	po³³	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.47
	pung	head	Matisoff 1987
	pung-kum	skull	Matisoff 1987
	pung kun	skull	Marrison 1967
	puŋ³¹khoʔ⁵⁵	scarf for the head / turban	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	puŋ³¹khoʔ⁵⁵	head-cloth; turban; cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0474.19
	puŋ³¹khoʔ⁵⁵	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.47
	u-**baw**	head	Matisoff 1987
	ū-**bō(ŋ)**	head	Matisoff 1974:182 [g]

4. NUNGIC

Anong	la³¹ **pʰuŋ⁵⁵**	head	SUN Hongkai 1988
	lɑ³¹**phuŋ⁵⁵**	head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:232.44
Nung	lɑ³¹**phuŋ⁵⁵**xuɑŋ⁵⁵dɛm⁵⁵	cloth (colorful, worn on the head) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0473.21
Anong	lɑ³¹**phuŋ⁵⁵**xuɑŋ⁵⁵dɛm⁵⁵	scarf for the head / turban	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:369.44
Nung	lɑ³¹**phuŋ⁵⁵**ɕin³¹	lead (the way) / guide (lit. 'lead head') (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.21

5. TUJIA

Tujia	a³⁵ **bo⁵⁵** bu²¹	head	CHEN Kang 1986d:2.1
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa²¹ **bo⁵⁵**	head	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

8. BAI

Bai (Dali)	tø⁷ **pɔ⁷**	head	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	tɯ̱²¹ **pǫ̱²¹**	head	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	tɯ̱²¹ **pǫ̱²¹**	head	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; ZHAO Yansun 1990:2.0
	tɯ̱²¹ **pǫ̱²¹** kuạ⁴⁴ tɯ̱²¹	skull	ZHAO Yansun 1990:2.4
	tɯ̱²¹ **pǫ̱²¹** no³³ pẹ²¹	scalp	ZHAO Yansun 1990:2.8

[a] Hanson p. 69.
[b] Hanson p.71.
[c] Also means "depression between horns of cattle".
[d] Hanson p.67.
[e] Jingpho **-wam** 'pulsate, undulate'. The semantic association is via the often visible pulse in a fontanel.
[f] Not in Hanson.
[g] Reference doesn' t check out.

(9) PTB *l-t(y)ak UPPER SURFACE / TOP / ABOVE / CLIMB / LIFT / ASCEND / PALATE

This root looks as if it is related to PTB ***s-tak*** HEAD (§1.2.1).

Several forms point to a variant with back vowel, perhaps ***twak ≍ *twaŋ***, e.g. WT **thog-ma** 'upper end, uppermost place', Limbu **thuŋ-daŋ**, **thuŋ-tho**.

STC (p. 52) entertains the possibility that the general Kiranti root ***taŋ*** HORN is related to this etymon, although it seems better to assign it to PTB ***m-twaŋ*** FOREHEAD / HEAD / HAIR (OF HEAD) / HORN (§1.2.5.1).

This root has developed the metaphorical extension of meaning from CARRY UPWARD into BEAR / ENDURE / CARRY A MENTAL BURDEN, in a manner quite similar to English **bear** (v.).

In Lahu, this root has been grammaticalized into an accusative particle, used mostly with animate objects. See DL:676-677 and Matisoff 1973/1982:3.641 (*The Grammar of Lahu*).

A number of Chinese comparanda have been proposed, for what is evidently a rather complicated word family.

For an allofamically related root in this semantic area, see PTB ***s-tyaŋ*** UPPER PART / RISE / RAISE / TOP / SUMMIT (§9.2.1).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(l-)tak**	ascend, above	Benedict 1972:52n176
	***l-tak**	ascend; lift; raise; top; upper part; top surface	Matisoff 2003a:614; Matisoff 1972b:42(c)
	***tyak**	bear (endure) / suffer	Matisoff 2003a:616

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Miri, Hill	**tok**-nam	climb, ascend	Simon 1976
	toŋ-nam	ascend	Simon 1976

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**thok**	rise	Marrison 1967

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	tùr-**thàk**	upper lip	Grüssner 1979:92
	tur **thak**	upper lip	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**dak**	go, advance	Benedict 1972:123n338

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**thàʔ**	climb, rise	Matisoff 1974:326

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Balti)	**thyak**-pa	patience	Benedict 1972:52
Tibetan (Batang)	**tɑʔ⁵³**	wear / bear (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1548.03
Ladakhi	**thag**	bear (v.)	Benedict 1972:52
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ta⁵²**	wear / bear (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1548.02
Purik	**thyak**	lift (v.)	Benedict 1972:52
Tibetan (Written)	hjin-**ltag**	nape	Matisoff 1987
	ltag-ma	upper part of place	Benedict 1972:123n338
	ltag-pa	upper back; nape	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	ltag-spu	mane	Matisoff 1987
	theg-pɑ	lift / raise / bear / endure	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:916a-c
	thog-ma	upper end, uppermost place	Matisoff 2003a:328
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ndax**	wear / bear (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1548.04
	ndaχ	wear (a bracelet) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.04

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**-thaŋ**	on, upon, above	Michailovsky 1989b
	-thuŋ daŋ	above, on top of	Michailovsky 1989b
	-thuŋ tho	above, on top of	Michailovsky 1989b
	thāŋ kon de	upper lip	Matisoff 1987

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**tha**-kha / **tha**-lam	up, above	Benedict 1972:123n338

[a] Cf. Mirish **dum-po** HEAD.
[b] Final labial in Darang **pom** perhaps assimilation to the labial initial and rounded vowel.

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***Ntak**	climb / ascend / carry on shoulder / lift up ((HIGH);.)	Matisoff 1972b:98(a)
	***Ntak**	climb / ascend / carry on shoulder	Matisoff 1972b:98(a)
	***tak**	upper part / top surface	Matisoff 1972b:42(a)
	*V-**tak**	upper part / top surface	Matisoff 1972b:42(b)
	***ʔtak**	climb / ascend / carry on shoulder / lift up ((HIGH).)	Matisoff 1972b:98(b)
	***ʔtak**	climb / ascend / carry on shoulder	Matisoff 1972b:98(b)

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**tɑ**^{31}	ascend	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tɔʔ**^{55}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ta**^{51}	ascend	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**tạʔ**^{55}	rise / stand up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1567.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɛʔ**^{4}	rise / go up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɛʔ**^{44}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.40
Burmese (Written)	**tak**	ascend	Marrison 1967
	tak	climb (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tak	go up, ascend; advance, increase (cf. tha'); climb up; ascend	Hansson 1989:459; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:123n338
	tɑk	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.39
	tɑk^{4}	rise / go up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.26
Hpun (Northern)	**tṵ̀ʔ**	ascend	Henderson 1986
Marma	**taʔ**	ascend / go up	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:236
Maru [Langsu]	**tɔʔ**^{31}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**toʔ**^{21}	rise / go up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.30
	toʔ^{21}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***ʔ-dak**^{H}	ascend	Bradley 1979b:652

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**diq**	ascend / go up	Björverud 1994
Luquan	**da 22s**	climb / ascend / carry on shoulder / lift up	Matisoff 1972b:98(a)
	ta 22s	climb / ascend / carry on shoulder / lift up	Matisoff 1972b:98(b)
Nasu	**da 44**	climb / ascend / carry on shoulder / lift up	Matisoff 1972b:98(a)
	ta 32s	climb / ascend / carry on shoulder / lift up	Matisoff 1972b:98(b)
Yi (Dafang)	**da**^{33}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.22
Yi (Mile)	**dę**^{33}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.25
	dę^{33}lɛ^{33}	rise (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:751.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dę**^{33}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dę**^{33}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**di̱**^{33}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.23

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**tie**^{44}	climb / ascend / carry on shoulder / lift up	Matisoff 1972b:98(b)
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɑ**^{54}	climb up (a tree) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1539.43
Lahu (Black)	**tâʔ**	climb; ascend; carry on shoulder; lift up; climb, rise	Matisoff 1974:326; Matisoff 1972b:98(b)
	thàʔ	functor: obj. Pn (< TOP SURFAC	Matisoff 1972b:42(b)
	tʌ^{54}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.33
	ɔ̀-**thàʔ**	upper part / top surface	Matisoff 1972b:42(b)
Lahu (Yellow)	**ta**^{6}	ascend	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**dá3**	climb / ascend / carry on shoulder / lift up	Matisoff 1972b:98(a)
Lisu (Central)	**dá**^{3} (jye^{4})	ascend	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**dæ**^{33}	climb; ascend; rise (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**dę**^{33}	rise / go up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.40
	dɛ^{44}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.27
Lisu (Northern)	tʃhɳ^{21}**dæ**^{33}	rise; ascend, escalate	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**de 44**	climb / ascend / carry on shoulder / lift up	Matisoff 1972b:98(a)

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**da HS**	climb / ascend / carry on shoulder / lift up	Matisoff 1972b:98(a)
	meh˯ **taˆ**	upper lip	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Hu T'an)	**da 33c**	climb / ascend / carry on shoulder / lift up	Matisoff 1972b:98(a)
Hani (Dazhai)	**dạ**^{33}	ascend; rise (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.31; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:751.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dạ**^{33}la^{55}	rise / go up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.41
	xɯ^{31}**dạ**^{33}	go up (water level) / rise (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1787.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tạ**^{33}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.30
	tạ^{33}; tɣ̱^{55}	rise (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:751.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	le^{33}**dạ**^{33}	ascend	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**ta**^{33}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.32
	ta^{33}lɔ^{55}	rise (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:751.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**ta**^{33}lɔ^{55}	rise / go up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.42

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	**tjɛ**^{33}	ascend	Pelkey 2011:802
Hlepho Phowa	**dɛ**^{13}	ascend	Pelkey 2011:802
Phuza	**di**^{55}	ascend	Pelkey 2011:802

6.2. NAXI

Naxi (Yongning)	**do**^{33}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndo**^{33};tʂhuɑ^{55}	ascend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:743.28

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d̂ị̂ə̂ng**	lift; to present; support, assist	Karlgren 1957:896c
	tị̂ək	mount / advance / promote	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:916a-c

[a]Lahu has developed two allofams of this root: the verb **tâʔ** from PLB ***ʔtak**^{H}, meaning both ASCEND and HOIST / CARRY ON SHOULDERS, and the spatial noun **thàʔ** UPPER SURFACE from PLB ***C-tak**^{L}, the latter ultimately grammaticalizing to **thàʔ** ACCUSATIVE PARTICLE. See *LTSR* #42, Matisoff 1973/1982: p. 158, DL:676.

Chinese comparandum

陟 OC ***tị̂ěk**, *GSR* #916a-c 'ascend, promote'; Schuessler 2007:619 ***trək**; B & S 2011: ***trək**; Mand. **zhì**.
拓 **tuò**

(9a) PTB *s-tak HEAD

This rather sparsely attested root looks as if it is related to PTB ***l-t(y)ak** UPPER SURFACE / TOP / ABOVE / CLIMB / LIFT / ASCEND / PALATE (§1.2.1) [q.v.].

The Lepcha form with medial **-y-** is evidence for the ***s-** prefix (see Benedict 1941).

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	a-**tyak**	glans penis	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	a-**t'yak**	head	Matisoff 1987
	a-**t'yak** kiṅ	forehead	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Thakali	**Ta** 'yuhyo 'la-la	nod (with head) (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.64
Thakali (Tukche)	**Ta**	head	Matisoff 1987
	ʈɔ	head	Hari 1971:1.38
	ʈɔ 'juhjo 'lɔ-lɔ	nod (head)	Hari 1971:2.B.1.64
	^{H}**ʈə**	head	Mazaudon 1994:64

7. KARENIC

Palaychi	hóq **táq**	head	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:207

[a]The Lepcha **-y-** is from prefixal ***s-**.

(10) PTB *m-k $\overset{u}{i}$ m PILLOW / BLOCK / BENCH / BEDSTEAD

This is one of several roots showing alternation between initial velar and glottal stop (= Ø) initial: PTB ***(k/ʔ)uk** BEND / CROOKED / RETURN / BACK / YEAR (§9.1), PTB ***ʔap ≍ *gaːp** SHOOT (§6.2.2), PTB ***k-ra(p/m)** NEEDLE (§5.11.6), etc. (cf. *HPTB*:57). In this case, the crucial language for establishing the alternation is Written Burmese (**khuṁ** 'block', **ûṁ** 'pillow').

The reflexes of this root also illustrate the widespread variational pattern between medial **-i-** and medial **-u-**.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***kr**+**jum**	pillow / block	Coblin 1986:118

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kum**	block; pillow (n.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:656g; Weidert 1987:189
	***kum**	block;pillow;bench; bedstead	Benedict 1972:482
	***kum ≍ m-kum ≍** k(y)im	pillow / block	Matisoff 1983:45
	***m-kum**	pillow	LaPolla 1987:5
	***m-kum ≍ m-kim**	block / pillow	Matisoff 2003a:597
	***ʔum ≍ kum**	block / pillow	Matisoff 2003a:583

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP

Miji	u-**k^{h}un**	skull; pillow	Simon 1979

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Milang	dum-**kin**	pillow	Tayeng 1976
	iŋ **ken**	wooden pillow	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	di-ta: **kha:ng**	sitting block	NEFA (India) 1963
	ta: **khang**	pillow	NEFA (India) 1963
	tɑ^{31}**khɯŋ**^{35}	pillow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:387.49
	tɑ^{31}**kɯŋ**^{35}	pillow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.22
Kaman [Miju]	kɑ^{31}**xăm**^{35}	pillow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.23
	kɑ^{31}**xăm**^{35}	pillow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:387.48
	ká-hʌ̀m	block (n.)	Weidert 1987:189

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kham ≍ *khum** PILLOW, ***khu(m/n)** BED / COUCH

**Chin*	***kham ≍ khum**	PILLOW	VanBik 2009:455
	***khum ≍ khun**	BED / COUCH	VanBik 2009:422

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	zàl **khùn**	bed, couch	VanBik 2009:422
Tiddim	lu^{1} **kham**^{1}	pillow	VanBik 2009:455; Bhaskararao 1996:1008

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	m-**khum**	put s.th. as a pillow (v.)	VanBik 2009:455

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	lu-**khàm**	pillow ("head pillow)	VanBik 2009:455
Lai (Hakha)	ʔiʔ-**khŭn**	bed, a couch (n.)	VanBik 2009:422
Lushai [Mizo]	**khùm**	bed, bedstead, a sleeping platform (n.)	VanBik 2009:422
	khum	pillow	LaPolla 1987:5
	lu **kham**	pillow	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	rā-**khō**	couch, a bed (n.)	VanBik 2009:422

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	lu-**khúm**	pillow	Weidert 1987:189

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***m-kham** BENCH, BLOCK / PILLOW

**Central Naga*	***m-kham**	BENCH, BLOCK / PILLOW	Bruhn 2014a:III.132
Ao (Chungli)	**mə**^{3}**kəm**^{1}	bench, pillow (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.132
Lotha Naga	**ŋ̍**^{1}**-khəm**^{3}	pillow (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.132
	nkham	pillow	Marrison 1967
	nkhüm	pillow	Murry *et al.* 1978:88
	^{1}n^{3}kɯn(?)	pillow	Weidert 1987:189
Yimchungrü	^{2}gu-^{2}**mu**^{2}**kam**^{1}be	pillow	Weidert 1987:189

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	^{2}tsɯ^{2}**khe**	pillow	Weidert 1987:189
Angami (Kohima)	tsü **khe**	pillow	Marrison 1967
Chokri	pi **khü**	pillow	Marrison 1967
	^{2}pi^{2}**khɤ**	pillow	Weidert 1987:189
Khezha	^{2}tsa^{2}**khi**	pillow	Weidert 1987:189
Mao	**mokhu**	pillow	Marrison 1967
Rengma	si **ki**	pillow	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	^{1}pe^{4}**khɑ̃**	pillow	Weidert 1987:189
Sema [Sumi]	-^{1}kɯ^{1}**mɯ**^{2}**khɯ**	place down / rest one's head (v.)	Weidert 1987:189
	aketsü-ke **mukü**	pillow	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	ca-**khũm**	pillow	Weidert 1987:189
	cha **khum**	pillow	Marrison 1967
	ka-**khũm**	pillow	Weidert 1987:189
Zeme	he **kum**	pillow	Marrison 1967
	^{1}biaŋ^{3}**kum**	pillow	Weidert 1987:189

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	**khum** khui	pillow	Marrison 1967
	^{2}**khum**^{3}kui	pillow	Weidert 1987:189

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	khaw **kham**	pillow (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	bùŋ-**khúm**	pillow	Matisoff 1974:300
	buŋ-**khum**	pillow	LaPolla 1987:5
	məkhum	pillow	Benedict 1972:38n123
	puŋ^{31} **khum**^{55}	pillow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.19

	puŋ[31]**khum**[55]	pillow	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.47
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**kum**	pillow	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**k'um**[55] ta[13]-riŋ	pillow	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**khum** ta riŋ	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.07
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Sahu)	**khum**	pillow (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.36
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**kom** si	pillow	Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**kumʔ**-	make pillow or headrest, pillow (oneself) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	kumʔ.siŋʔ	pillow block (wooden), headrest (n.)	Caughley 2000
Kham	**gum**	pillow (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.36
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	nɔ̃[31]**khi**[55]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.16
	xɔ̃[33]**khi**[53]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.17
Muya	ʁɑ[33]**kø**[53]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.15
Muya [Minyak]	ʁa[33]**kø**[53]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.15
Namuyi	ʁo[55]**nkhu**[33]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.19
	ʁuo[53]**nkhu**[31]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.46
Pumi (Taoba)	khu[55]**kiã**[53]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.10
Qiang (Longxi)	n̥ì **kù**	pillow [ear + *kum]	Evans 1999:677
Qiang (Mawo)	nə **ku**	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.8
	nə **kụ**	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	nè **kò**	pillow [ear + *kum]	Evans 1999:677
Qiang (Taoping)	**ko**[33]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	xo[55]**xo**[33]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.16
Xumi	ʁũ[33]**gie**[55]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**gɪ**[13]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Caodeng	tə-**mkom**	pillow	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɐ **mkɐm**	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.11
rGyalrong	tɐ **mkɐm**	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.12
rGBenzhen	ta-**mkam**	pillow	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Rawang	gɔ[33] **məkhɯm**[33]	pillow	LaPolla 2003:573
Anong	**məkhim**	pillow	Matisoff 1978a:64; Benedict 1972:38n123
Nung	**mɑ**[55]**khum**[31]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.21
Anong	**mɑ**[55]**khɯn**[31]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.44
	əgɔ **məkhim**	pillow	LaPolla 1987:5
Dulong	**mɯ**[31]**kɯm**[55]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	u[55] **kɯm**[55]	pillow	LaPolla 1987:5
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	u[53] **kɯm**[53]	pillow	LaPolla 1987:5; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. Tujia			
Tujia	tshie[55]**khɯe**[21]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.49
	tshie[55]**khɯe**[21]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.38
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *m-kum² BLOCK / PILLOW			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-kum**	pillow	Matisoff 1978a:64
	***m-kum²**	block / pillow	Matisoff 2003a:597
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Luxi)	u[55]**khu**[51]	pillow	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	ŭ[35]**khu**[35]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.32
Burmese (Written)	**khum**	block; bench; table	Weidert 1987:189; Matisoff 1983:45
	khum̀	block, bench, table, pillar	Benedict 1976a
	khum	pillow	LaPolla 1987:5
	khumʁ**ʔûm**	block / pillar-pillow	Matisoff 1978a:64
	ûm̀	pillow	Benedict 1976a
	ʔûm	pillow	Hansson 1989:394
	ʔum:	pillow	Matisoff 1983:45
Atsi [Zaiwa]	u[21]**khuʔ**[55]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.30
	u[21]**khuʔ**[55]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***m-gum²**	pillow	Bradley 1979b:380; Hansson 1989:394
Lolo	**ŋk'ɤ**	pillow	Benedict 1972:38n123
	ŋk'ẏ	pillow	Benedict 1972:143n387
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	ji[31]**kɯ**[31]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.47
Luquan	**ŋk'ẏ**	pillow	Matisoff 1978a:64
Yi (Liangshan)	o[33]**khu**[21]	pillow	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	o[55]**gɯ**[21]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ŋu̱**[33]**gɯ**[21]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.26
Yi (Wuding)	u[33]**ŋkhɤ**[33]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.38
Yi (Xide)	o[33]**khu**[21]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.35
	o[33]**khu**[21]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Youle)	vu[44]**kø**[44]	pillow	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	vu[44]**kø**[44]**m̩**[31]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.44
Kucong	ʐi55 **gɯ31**	pillow	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	(ú-)**gɛ̂**	pillow	Benedict 1972:38n123
	gɛ̂	pillow	Weidert 1987:189; Benedict 1972:143n387
	ú-**gɛ̂**	pillow	LaPolla 1987:5
Lahu (Lancang)	u[35]**gɛ**[53]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.43
Lahu (Black)	ú-**gɛ̂**	head-pillow; pillow	Matisoff 1978a:64; Matisoff 1974:300
	u[35]**gɛ**[53]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.33
Lahu (Yellow)	u[1]**gɛ**[3]	pillow	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	o[55]**go**[41]lo[44]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.27
Lisu (Central)	wu[1]-**gaw**[6]-law[3]	pillow	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	ɔ[55]**gɔʔ**[21]lɔ[33]	pillow	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Yunnan)	ù **ɣm̀**	pillow	Hansson 1989:144
Akha (Thai)	ù-**ɣm̀**	pillow	Hansson 1989:144; Hansson 1989:394
Akha	**ɣm̀**	pillow	Hansson 1989:394
Bisu	tù **kho**	pillow	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	ù **ɣɔ̀**	pillow	Hansson 1989:144
	u **ɣɔ̀**	pillow	Hansson 1989:144
	ù **ɣɔ̀**	pillow	Hansson 1989:394
Hani (Dazhai)	u[31]**ɣɔ**[31]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.31
Hani (Lüchun)	u[31]**ɣɔ**[31]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.41
Pyen	do33 **khuʔ55**	pillow	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:072014
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	u˩**gu**˩	pillow	Michaud 2006–2009:959
Na (Yongning)	ʁu˩**gv**#˥	pillow	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	ku[33]**gɯ**[33]	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	ku[33]**ŋgɯ**[33]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.28
Naxi (Yongning)	ɣo[33]**gv**[33]	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.29
7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***khu [m]**	chopping-block	Chou Fa-kao 1972:656g
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tiə̯m/t̂iə̯m**	chopping-block	Chou Fa-kao 1972:658f
	t̂iə̯m/tśiə̯m	pillow / use as a pillow	Chou Fa-kao 1972:656g
Chinese (Old)	**Kjum**	chopping-block	Baxter 1992:1762
	Kjumʔ	block used as headrest / pillow	Baxter 1992:1763
	t'iə̯m	block, anvil	Matisoff 1983:45
	tiə̯m	chopping-block	Matisoff 1983:45
	t̂iə̯m	pillow	Matisoff 1983:45

Chinese comparandum

椹 OC ***tiə̯m**, *GSR* #658f 'chopping-block'; Schuessler 2007:610 ***trəm**; B & S 2011: ***trəm {tr[ə]m}**; Mand. **zhēn**.
枕 OC ***t̂iə̯m**, *GSR* #656g 'pillow'; Schuessler 2007:610-11 ***kimʔ**; B & S 2011: ***t.kəmʔ {[t.k][ə]mʔ}**; Mand. **zhěn**.

(11) PTB *s-mwan PILLOW / CUSHION

This root appears in several TB languages, although it is very likely a borrowing from Tai. Cf. Proto-Tai ***hmɔɔn** (*HCT* p. 75).

1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**mon**	pillow	Marrison 1967
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	ă[31]**m̩ɔn**[31]	pad / cushion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0492.28
7. Karenic			
Kayan (Pekon)	**mwàn**	pillow (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**mɔ̀n**	pillow	Solnit 1989

(12) PTB *pil HEAD

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
**Naga*	***pil**	head	Weidert 1987:429
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Chokri	(u) **pi**[31] to[33]	top of head / crown / pate	Nienu 1990b:2.2
	(u) **pi**[55]	head	Nienu 1990b:2.1
	(u) **pi**[55] tha[35]	hair of head	Nienu 1990b:2.7
	pi[55] tha[35]	hair of head	Nienu 1990b:8.1.1
	thu[31] la[31] **pi**[55]	glans penis	Nienu 1990b:10.3.2
	u-**pi**-tha	hair	Marrison 1967:116
	u **pi**	head	Marrison 1967
	u **pi** tha	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
	[5]**pi**	head	Weidert 1987:429
Mao	o **pi**	head; top (i.e. highest point)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	pi-shu	hair; hair (of head)	Marrison 1967:116; Marrison 1967
	[2]o[5]**pi**	head	Weidert 1987:429
Rengma	re **pe**	head	Marrison 1967
	re **pe** hü	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	[2]n[1]**pe**	head	Weidert 1987:429
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	**pi**	head	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	cha **pi**	head	Marrison 1967
	ka-**pi**	head	Weidert 1987:429
Maram	a **pi**	head	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	mái-**pî**	head	Weidert 1987:429
	məy **pi**	head	Matisoff 1994e
	pi	head	Marrison 1967
Zeme	[5]**peu**	head	Weidert 1987:429
Mzieme	**peu**	head	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**spyi**-bo	crown of head	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Chantyal	**pil** te	glans penis	Noonan *et al.* 1992:10.3.2
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**pi** li	caul	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.4.13
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**pi** ja	head	Michailovsky 1991:87
Sunwar	**'pi** ya	head	Michailovsky 1991:87
	'pi yā	head	Matisoff 1987
	'pi yā 'him-cā	nod (with head) (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.64

(13) IA *kbal HEAD / SKULL / FOREHEAD

From Indo-Aryan (cf. Vedic Sanskrit *kapāla-*, Turner #2744).

1.7.1.1. Bodo				
Kokborok	**kɔ-pa**	forehead	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988	
Lalung [Tiwa]	**khabalʔ**	head	Balawan 1965:11	
1.7.1.2. Garo				
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ko-pal**	forehead	Burling 1992	[a]
	ko-pal	forehead (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				

[a] [Source Note] (< B).

Bunan	**kabil**	skull	Sharma 1991a:2.4
Kanauri	**bă̈l(h)**	head; summit; mountain-peak	Bailey 1911; Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**khopri**	skull	Sharma 1991b:2.4
Raji	**kəpal**	forehead	Krishan 2003:424 [a]
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**kabli**	skull	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Jirel)	**khāppārq**	skull	Matisoff 1987
Sherpa	**kāpliq**	skull	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	**kəpal**	hair; head	Noonan *et al.* 1992; Noonan *et al.* 1992:2.1
	kəpal-ye chala	scalp	Noonan *et al.* 1992:2.8
Gurung (Ghachok)	krā **khoplę̄**	skull	Matisoff 1987
	kra **kʰoplē**	skull	Glover 1972:2.A.15
Tamang (Sahu)	**ʼkhāppār**	skull	Matisoff 1987
	ʼkʰappar	skull	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.15
Thakali (Tukche)	**ʼkaplo**	skull	Matisoff 1987
	ʼkɔplo	skull	Hari 1971:2.A.15
2.1.5. DHIMAL			
Dhimal	**kapal***	forehead	King 1994
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**kapā**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	kapāl	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	kɔpa:	forehead / brow	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.2
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	**khappar**	skull	Kohn 1990:2.4
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**khoplɨ**	skull, esp. the top portion of the skull	Driem 1993
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**ʼkhappar**	skull	Matisoff 1987
	ʼkhəppər	skull	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.15
	ʼkʰəppər	skull	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.15
Magar	**khappar**	skull	Matisoff 1987
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**kɛ pə la**	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.12
Ergong (Danba)	**kɛ pɛ la**	forehead; brow	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.2; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:233.14
Ergong (Daofu)	**kɑɹ pɑ lɑ**	forehead / brow	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.2
X.1. NON-TB			
Nepali	**kapāl**	hair (head); head	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	khappar	skull	Matisoff 1987
	khappar, **khopari**	skull (n.)	Hale 1973:02a.15
	khopari	skull	Matisoff 1987

[a] [Source Note] (IA).

1.2.1.1 Skull

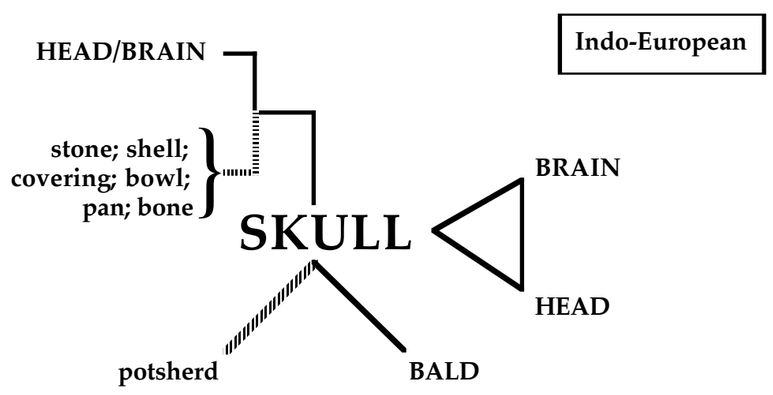

Figure 35: 1.2.1.1 *Skull*

Figure 36: 1.2.1.1 *Skull*

(1) PTB *twat FOREHEAD / SKULL

It is possible that all the non-Tibetan forms are in fact borrowings from Tibetan.

2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**thɛ**^{13} pɑ^{53}	forehead / brow	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.2
Tsangla (Motuo)	**tʰot** pa	skull	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**tʰod**-pæ	forehead	Sun 1985a:279
Tibetan (Batang)	**the**^{55} pa^{55}	forehead / brow	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.2
Spiti	**thod** pa	skull	Bodh 1991:2.4
Tibetan (Written)	**thod** pa	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.01
	thod.pa	forehead; skull	Sun 1985c:279; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	tʻod-pa	skull; (colloq) forehead, brow; forehead	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**tho** pa	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**tʰot** pa	skull (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:2.4, 2.2
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**towā** bā	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	twa: ba	forehead	Michailovsky 1989b
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya	**thə**^{55}pæ^{53}	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.15
Muya [Minyak]	**thɯ**^{55}pɛ^{33}	forehead	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:233.15
	tʰɯ^{55}pɛ^{33}	forehead / brow	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.2
Qiang (Mawo)	**thu** pa	skull	Sun 1986
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**the**^{55}pɐ^{55}li^{55}	forehead	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:233.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**thɛ**^{55}pe^{55}	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tʰe**^{55} pɐ^{55} li^{55}	forehead / brow	SUN Hongkai 1991n:3.2
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**tʰok** pɐ	skull	SUN Hongkai 1991j:2.4
rGyalrong (NW)	**tʰot** poɤ̯	skull	SUN Hongkai 1991l:2.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	**tʰot** pa	skull	SUN Hongkai 1991k:2.4

(2) PTB *kwam SKULL

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	pung-**kum**	skull	Matisoff 1987
	pung **kun**	skull	Marrison 1967
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	uk khoṅ: **khwaṁ**	skull	Marrison 1967
	ʔû (-khôŋ)-**khwam**	skull	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lisu	wu^{1}-**hkaw**^{4}	skull	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	wu^{1}-**hkaw**^{4}	skull	Fraser 1922
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	u˪ du˪ **kʼm**˪ (**kʼm**˪)	skull	Matisoff 1987
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	tɯ̲^{21} pǫ̲^{21} **kuą̲**^{44} tɯ̲^{21}	skull	ZHAO Yansun 1990:2.4

(3) PTB *grap SKULL

This root occurs as the second element in compounds that begin with PTB ***d-bu-s*** HEAD / CENTER / SENIOR MALE RELATIVE / UNCLE (§1.2.1) in two languages, although much more confirmation is needed to set it up for TB as a whole.

3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	ʔu **ɣɪ̣ə**	skull	DAI Qingxia 1989e:2.4
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	ó-**kôʔ** ~ ó-**kwêʔ**	skull	Matisoff 1987:DL:122

1.2.1.2 Crown/Pate

(1) PKC *tshiip TOP / CROWN (of head)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tshiip**	TOP / CROWN (of head)	VanBik 2009:608
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	lúu **sîip**	top (of head)	VanBik 2009:608
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	lu-**tshiip**	crown (of head)	VanBik 2009:608
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhîip**	top (of head, peak, etc.), the summit, the apex (n.)	VanBik 2009:608
	chhîp	top (i.e. highest point)	Marrison 1967

1.2.1.3 Fontanel

(1) PTB * $^{s}_{l}$ -ŋwa-y FONTANELLE / SKULL

This root is distinct from both PTB ***s-ŋa-k*** FOREHEAD / COCKSCOMB (§1.2.5.1) and PTB ***(r/w)a-y*** FONTANELLE (§1.2.1.3).

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	^{1}ə^{1}**ŋə**^{2}tiŋ	brain	Weidert 1987:218
2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{B}**ŋ**^{h}**wa** FONTANEL			
**TGTM*	*^{Bh}**ŋwa**	fontanel	Mazaudon 1978:33
Manang (Ngawal)	^{2}**ŋo**	fontanel	Mazaudon 1978:33
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**wa**	fontanel	Mazaudon 1978:33
Thakali (Marpha)	^{2}**ŋo**	fontanel	Mazaudon 1978:33
Thakali (Syang)	^{H}**ŋo**	fontanel	Mazaudon 1978:33
Thakali (Tukche)	^{H}**ŋo**	fontanel	Mazaudon 1978:33
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**nɪ:** pi	fontanel	Michailovsky 1991:20
	nɪ: pɪ	fontanel	Matisoff 1987
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mawo)	qa^{ɪ} **rguæ**	fontanel (soft spot in a baby's skull).	SUN Hongkai 1991g:2.3
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**lŋa**^{53} jo^{13} jɛ^{33} rwa^{53}	caul (membrane on newborn head	SUN Hongkai 1991c:10.4.13
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Lashi	wǫ̲^{55} **nə̲:**^{53}	fontanel	DAI Qingxia 1989m:2.3
Maru [Langsu]	au^{35} **nɛ̲̃**^{55}	fontanel	DAI Qingxia 1989l:2.3

(2) PTB * $^{d}_{t}$ ip FONTANELLE / PATE

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	lu-**dîp**	fontanel	Matisoff 1987
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	lu-sa-**di**	fontanel	Matisoff 1987
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	lu **dep**	fontanel (soft spot in a baby's skull).	Toba & Kom 1991:2.3
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	phú-**díp**	fontanel	Grüssner 1979:145
	phu long **dip**	pate	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	**tip** tsa	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Sharma 1991b:8.1.1.1
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	khop li-**dɨ**	fontanelle.	Driem 1993
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya [Minyak]	**tsi**^{55}	fontanel	SUN Hongkai 1991h:2.3
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wu **tie**	fontanel (soft spot in a baby's skull).	SUN Hongkai 1991j:2.3
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nasu	u^{21} **ʈʰi̲**^{21}	fontanel	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.3
Yi (Xide)	ɔ^{33}-**ts**^{h}**ʈ**^{33}	fontanelle	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Sani [Nyi]	**tɕɿ**^{44} pu^{21} ṇ^{55}	fontanelle	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:226.2

(3) PTB * {r / w} a-y FONTANELLE

This etymon resembles PTB ***s/l-ŋwa-y** FONTANELLE / SKULL (§1.2.1.3) but seems distinct from it.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ra-y** ⪤ **wa-y**	fontanelle	Matisoff 2003a:609
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	ā lap **rai**	fontanel	Matisoff 1987
	ā rap **rai**	fontanel	Matisoff 1987
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**lawaî**	skull	Matisoff 1987
	ləway	top of head / crown / pate	Singh 1991:2.2
	lə·way	fontanel	Singh 1991:2.3 [a][b]
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**lɿ̯wụ**^{2}	skull	Sofronov c1978
3.3.1. rGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ɕa **rə**	skull	DAI Qingxia 1989d:2.4
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***ra**^{2}/roŋ^{1}	fontanelle	Bradley 1979b:103
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
**Common Lahu*	***g'a**ˇ	fontanelle	Bradley 1979b:103
Lahu (Shehleh)	u: **g'a**ˬ	fontanelle	Bradley 1979a:103
Lahu (Nyi)	u: **ga**ˇ	fontanelle	Bradley 1979a:103
Lahu (Black)	ú-**g̈â**	fontanel	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Bakeo)	uˇ **g'a**ˇ	fontanelle	Bradley 1979a:103
Lahu (Banlan)	u: **g'a**ˇ	fontanelle	Bradley 1979a:103

[a] Also means 'skull'.
[b] The etymon appears here in "prefixized" form.

(4) PTB *m-tswak FONTANELLE

This etymon has so far only been found in Bodic. The Western Himalayish forms are probably borrowings from Tibetan.

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**tshog** ma	fontanel (soft spots in baby s	Sharma 1991a:2.3
Pattani [Manchati]	**tshòŋ** mo	fontanel (soft spots in baby s	Sharma 1991b:2.3
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Spiti	**tsho** ma	fontanel (soft spots in baby s	Bodh 1991:2.3
Tibetan (Written)	**mt'sog**-ma	fontanel	Matisoff 1987 [a]

[a] Cf. WT **gtsug** 'crown of head'.

1.2.2 Horn(ed)/Antler

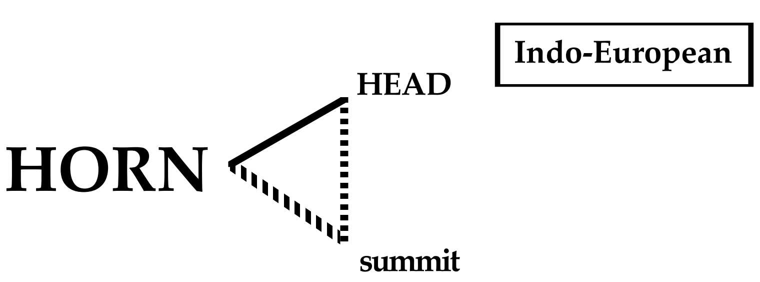

Figure 37: 1.2.2 *Horn(ed)/Antler*

(1a) PTB * {m / g} -(r)wa- {ŋ / k / t} HORN / ANGLE / CORNER

STC #85 originally reconstructed this root as ***ruŋ**, but this was later changed to ***rwaŋ** (*STC* p.32, n.101), treated as an allofam of ***rwa** (see *STC* p.75, n.231).

Initial **-r-** in this root was preemptible after either **n-** (e.g. PK ***noŋ**, Dolakha Newar **ŋwɔ̃**) or **-g-** (e.g. Chinese *jiǎo* 角).

Forms like Limbu **ùl taŋ**, Yakha **ùl taŋ** 'horn' are probably not from this root, but could rather be from PTB ***m-twaŋ** FOREHEAD / HEAD / HAIR (OF HEAD) / HORN (§1.2.5.1).

The second syllables of the Milang, Tagin, Idu, and Galo forms resemble PTB ***(p/b)wa(ŋ)** HEAD (§1.2.1), but we are keeping them separate for now.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-ruŋ**	horn; corner	Matisoff 2003a:611; Matisoff 2003a:591
	***ruŋ**	horn	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1225a-c; Weidert 1987:733; Benedict 1972:85
	***rwa(ŋ)**	horn / corner	Matisoff 2003a:611
	***rwaŋ**	horn; horn (animal)	Weidert 1987:733; Michailovsky 1991:94; Benedict 1972:32n101
1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	ʃu-**ʒuŋ**	horn	Simon 1979
1.1.1. TANI: ***rəŋ** HORN			
**Tani*	***rəŋ**	horn	Sun 1993a:205
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	(to-ro)-a-**rɯ**	antenna	Sun 1993b
	a-**rɯ**	horn	Sun 1993a
	á-**rɯ**	horn	Sun 1993b
	a-**rɯ**	horn; antler	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	^{1}a ^{2}**rɯ**(^{2})	horn	Weidert 1987:507
Bengni	**rɯŋ**	horn	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **rəŋ**	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.24
	a-**rəŋ**	horn; horn, antler	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **raŋ**	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.51
	a **rəŋ**	horn	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**rəə** buu	horn (n.)	GLDC 2009
	rɤ bu	horn	Das Gupta 1963
	'tə **rəə**	elephant tusk; tusk (of an elephant) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ˆ**rɤ:** bu	horn	Weidert 1987:507
Tagin	**roŋ** boŋ	horn (of animal)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	â-**reng**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	a-**rəŋ**	horn	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**rə:**	horn	Sun 1993b
Milang	**re**-buŋ	horn	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	ə **röŋ**	horn	Benedict 1972:85
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**ɹɑu**^{55}	horn	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	**krʌ̀ŋ**	horn	Weidert 1987:733
	kɹǎŋ^{35}	horn	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɹǎŋ^{35}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.23
	kɹǎŋ^{35}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.48
	tɯ^{31} sǎu^{53} **kɹǎŋ**^{35}	antler	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	maco **rũ** adro	antler	Pulu 1978
	rũm bo	horn	Pulu 1978
	ɹu^{55}	horn (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991f:2.10
Yidu	**ɹu**^{55}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.25
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
**Bodo-Garo*	***groŋ**	horn	Burling 1959:442
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**goŋ**	horn; antlers	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1225a-c; Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:452
Dimasa	bo **grong**	horn	Marrison 1967
	bo **groŋ**	corner; horn; corner, horn	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1225a-c; Benedict 1972:452
	goroŋ	side; angle; side, angle	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1225a-c; Benedict 1972:452
	groŋ	horn	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1225a-c; Benedict 1972:452
Kokborok	bə=**kroŋ**	horn	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**krong**	horn	Balawan 1965:21
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**groŋ**	horn; antlers	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1225a-c; Weidert 1987:89; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:85
Garo (Bangladesh)	**grong**	feelers; horn (n.)	Burling 2003:4.473-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**goroŋ**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	khorong	horn (of animal) (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	korong	horn (of animal) (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	kyrong	horn (of an animal) (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***ruŋ**	horn	French 1983:505
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**rong**	horn	Marrison 1967
	roŋ	horn	French 1983:505
	^{1}**roŋ**	horn	Weidert 1987:89
Tangsa	^{1}ʌ^{3}**ruŋ**	horn	Weidert 1987:89
Tangsa (Moshang)	a **ruŋ**	horn	French 1983:505
	a **rung**	horn	Marrison 1967
	ə **ruŋ**	horn	Benedict 1972:85
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**làŋ**	horn	Weidert 1987:89
	laŋ	horn	French 1983:505
	sak **laŋ**	antler	French 1983:505
Khiamngan	^{12}ʊ^{21}**ʊŋ**	horn	Weidert 1987:89
Konyak	ə **woŋ**	horn	French 1983:505
Phom	**vong**	horn	Marrison 1967
	voŋ	horn	French 1983:505
	wɔŋ^{55}	horn (of animal)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**koroŋ**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	roŋ	horn	French 1983:505
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**n**-rung	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	ǹ-rūŋ	horn	Matisoff 1974:142
	nrung	horn	Marrison 1967
	n^{31}**ʒuŋ**^{33}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.19
	n^{31}**ʒuŋ**^{33}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.47
	ṇ^{31} **ʒuŋ**^{33}	horn	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	rung	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	ruŋ ⪤ **nruŋ**	horn	Benedict 1972:85
	u-**rung**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	^{1}b^{2}**ruŋ**	horn	Weidert 1987:89
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Kadu	**yôngâ**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
Sak	a-**rúng**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	a **rúŋ**	horn	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:312
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**ru** co	horn (of animal)	Sharma 1991a:2.10
Kanauri	**rŭd'**	horn (n.)	Bailey 1911
	rŭd'	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**gɐ**^{53}	horn (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:2.10
Kaike	khi **jwa**	horn (animal)	Michailovsky 1991:94
	rhi **jwa**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	wa-**roŋ**	horn	Benedict 1972:85
	wa **rong**	horn	Andvik 1993:91
Tsangla (Motuo)	wa^{13} **roŋ**^{13}	horn	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	wa **roŋ**	horn	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	wa-**roŋ**	horn	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ru**^{35} wɑ^{55}	horn	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ru:**^{13}	horn	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.6
Motuo Menba	wa **roŋ**	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.07
Cuona Menba	**ru**^{35}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ra** tɕho	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ra** tɕo	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ra** cço	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.5
	ræ	antenna, feeler; antler, horn	Sun 1985a:16; Sun 1985a:17
	ræ ɸən	glue (made from melted horn)	Sun 1985a:309
Tibetan (Balti)	**ri:** čo·	horn	Rangan 1975:42
Tibetan (Batang)	ha^{13} **za**^{55}	antler (of deer)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:2.11
	za^{13} je^{55}	horn (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:2.10
Tibetan (Jirel)	**ro** jyo	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
Sherpa	**'arkyokq**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**rō** wa	horn (of animal)	Bishop 1989:2.10
Spiti	**rà** co	horn (of animal)	Bodh 1991:2.10
	rha co	horn (of animal)	Bodh 1991:2.10
Tibetan (Written)	**ru**	horn; antlers	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987

	rwa	horn; antlers; antenna, feeler; antler, horn	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:16,17; Benedict 1972:49n161
	rwa	horn (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.01
	rwa tɕo	horn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:176.1
	rwa-tʃo	horn	Zhang Liansheng 1988:4
	rwa.spyin	glue (made from melted horn)	Sun 1985c:309
	rwɑ~ru	horn	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1225a-c
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ra** tɕo	horn (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.04

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	(ă-)**róŋ**	horn	Benedict 1972:75n231
	a-**róṅ**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	ă **róŋ**	horn	Benedict 1972:85
	róṅ	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**ru**	horn	Mazaudon 1994:860
Chantyal	**ruk**	horn (of animal); antler (of deer)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:2.10; Noonan *et al.* 1992:2.11
Gurung	**ru**	horn	Weidert 1987:507
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ru**	horn; antlers	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:1.34
Gurung	^{1}**ru**	horn	Mazaudon 1994:860
Manang (Gyaru)	**ruɯ**^{1}	horn	Nagano 1984:312
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**ru**	horn	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0068
	^{1}**ru**	horn	Mazaudon 1994:860
Tamang	**ru**	horn	Weidert 1987:507
Tamang (Bagmati)	**ru**	horn	Weidert 1987:733
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**ru**	horn (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:2.10
	^{1}**ru**	horn (animal)	Mazaudon 1994:860
Tamang (Sahu)	**ru**	horn; antlers	Matisoff 1987; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.34
	^{1}**ru**	horn	Mazaudon 1994:860
Tamang (Taglung)	**ru:**	horn	Mazaudon 1994:860
Thakali	**ru**	horn	Weidert 1987:507
Thakali (Marpha)	^{545}**ru**	horn (animal)	Mazaudon 1994:860
Thakali (Syang)	^{55}**ru**	horn (animal)	Mazaudon 1994:860
Thakali (Tukche)	**ru**	horn; antlers	Matisoff 1987; Hari 1971:1.34
	^{H}**ru**	horn	Mazaudon 1994:860

2.2. Newar

Newar (Kathmandu)	ne **ku**	horn	Genetti 1990c
Newar (Dolakhali)	**ŋwɔ̃**	horn	Genetti 1990b

2.3. Kiranti

**BSDTK*	***groŋ**	horn (animal)	Michailovsky 1991:94

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Chamling	**rung***	horn	Winter 1985:31

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**go**	horn (animal); horn	Michailovsky 1991:94; Driem 1993
Khaling	**grang**	horn (animal)	Michailovsky 1991:94
	grong	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**gro**	horn (animal)	Michailovsky 1991:94
	ruŋ	horn	Benedict 1972:85
Hayu	**rUŋ**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	ruŋ	horn	Benedict 1972:85
	ruŋ	horn (animal)	Michailovsky 1991:94
Sunwar	**groː**	horn; antlers; horn (animal)	Michailovsky 1991:94; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**raŋ** a	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	rəŋ	horn (animal); horn	Michailovsky 1991:94; Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**rongʔ**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	roŋʔ	horn; horn (animal)	Weidert 1987:733; Weidert 1987:89; Michailovsky 1991:94
	roŋʔ	horn of animal (n.)	Caughley 2000
	roŋʔ	horn	Caughley 1972:1.34
	roŋʔ.səyk	tusk of pig (n.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**roŋʔ**	horn (of animal); antler (of deer)	Caughley 1990:2.10; Caughley 1990:2.11
Kham	**'raM**	horn (animal)	Michailovsky 1991:94 [a]
	'rạ	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	'rə̃ːh	antler; horn	Watters & Watters 1989:1.34; Watters & Watters 1989:1.34
Magar	mi-**ryam**	horn; antlers; horn (animal)	Michailovsky 1991:94; Matisoff 1987 [b]

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	ʈtsa^{53} **qrə^{33}**	antler (of deer)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:2.11
Ergong (Daofu)	ʔtsa **qrə**	antler (of deer)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:2.11

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Eastern)	k^{h}a ʈts^{h}ɐs **ru**	antler (of deer)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:2.11
rGyalrong (Northern)	qa ʈts^{h}ə **ʁru**	antler (of deer)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:2.11
rGyalrong (NW)	ʁastses **ʁʐə**	antler (of deer)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:2.11

4. Nungic

Anong	də **riŋ** ⩙ **riŋ**	horn	Benedict 1972:85

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**qo̱^{44}**	horn	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**kv̄^{44}**	horn	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984 [c]
Bai (Jianchuan)	**kv̄^{44}**	horn	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	kv̩^{44}	antler	Zhao Yansun 1990:2.11
	kv̩^{44} «tsa̱^{21}»	horn	Zhao Yansun 1990:2.10

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	角	horn, corner; horn	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1349; Nagano & Prins 2013:1532
Chinese (GSR #)	**1225a**	horn, corner	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1349

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kŭk**	horn	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1225a-c
	kŭk/kȕk	horn	Karlgren 1957:1225a-c
Chinese (Old)	C.k^{ʕ}**rok**	horn, corner	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1349
	krok	horn; corner	Baxter 1992:1528; Baxter 1992:1867

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**kaewk**	horn, corner	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1349

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**jiǎo**	horn; horn, corner	Evans *et al.* 1991; Baxter & Sagart 2011:1349
	ji **jiaau**	antler, horn	Sun 1985b:17
	küe	horn	Karlgren 1957:1225a-c

[a] Note final **-m**.
[b] Note final **-m** in Magar **-ryam**.
[c] Could alternately be from PTB ***d-krəw** HORN (§1.2.2).

Chinese comparandum

角 OC ***kŭk**, *GSR* #1225a-c 'horn, corner'; Schuessler 2007:309 ***krôk**; B & S 2011: ***C.k^{ʕ}rok**; Mand. **jiǎo**.
觡 OC ***klŭk**, *GSR* #766b' 'antlers, horns'; Schuessler 2007:253 ***krâk**; Mand. **gé**.

(1b) PTB *nu- $\frac{\text{ŋ}}{\text{k}}$ ⩙ *nwa- $\frac{\text{ŋ}}{\text{k}}$ HORN

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**nu**	horn; antlers	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	nū	antler (of deer); horn (of animal)	Grüssner 1979:117; Grüssner 1979:117

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Lui	**nong-nöng**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987

7. Karenic: ***noŋ^{A}** HORN

**Karen (Pwo)*	***nòn'**	horn (cattle)	Jones 1961:130
**Karen*	***nòŋ'**	horn (cattle)	Jones 1961:130
**Karen (TP)*	***nòŋ'**	horn (cattle)	Jones 1961:130
**Karen [Burling]*	***noŋ^{3}**	horn	Luangthongkum 2013:147
**Karen*	***noŋ^{A}**	horn	Luangthongkum 2013:147 [a]
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***nə**	horn (cattle)	Jones 1961:130
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***nà'**	horn (cattle)	Jones 1961:130
Bwe	**-no^{11}**	horn	Luangthongkum 2013:147
Kayah	**nɔ^{11}**	horn	Luangthongkum 2013:147
Kayan	**no^{33}**	horn	Luangthongkum 2013:147
Kayaw	**nə**	horn	Luangthongkum 2013:147
Pa-O	**noŋ**	horn; antlers; horn (cattle)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:130; Benedict 1972:142n384
Pa-O (Northern)	**noŋ^{33}**	horn	Luangthongkum 2013:147
Pa-O (Southern)	**noŋ^{53}**	horn	Luangthongkum 2013:147
Palaychi	**nə́**	horn; antlers; horn (cattle)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:130
Pwo (Northern)	**nãu^{55}**	horn	Luangthongkum 2013:147
Pwo (Southern)	**nõu$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	horn	Luangthongkum 2013:147
Pwo (Bassein)	**nón**	horn; antlers; horn (cattle)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:130
Pwo (Moulmein)	**non**	horn; antlers; horn (cattle)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:130
Sgaw (Southern)	**nə^{33}**	horn	Luangthongkum 2013:147
Sgaw (Northern)	**nə^{33}**	horn	Luangthongkum 2013:147
Sgaw (Bassein)	**nə**	horn; antlers; horn (cattle)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:130
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a^{31} **nø^{33}**	horn	Dai Qingxia 1989k:313
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**nə**	horn; antlers; horn (cattle)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:130
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**nɛ^{33}**	horn	Dai Qingxia 1989j:329

[a] [Source Note] Bwe has an rregular [sic] tone. Modern Bwe should have tone 33(A3) instead of Tone 11 (D3).

(2) PTB *d-krəw HORN

There are two phonosemantically similar roots PTB ***m/g-(r)wa-ŋ/k/t** HORN / ANGLE / CORNER (§1.2.2) and PTB ***r-ki** HORN (§1.2.2).

For now, all Qiangic forms for HORN are assigned to these latter roots, rather than to the present root; all Himalayish forms are assigned to 814, while all Lolo-Burmese forms are deemed to descend from the present root.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kruw**	horn (animal); horn	Michailovsky 1991:94; LaPolla 1987:167; Benedict 1972:37
	***krəw-k**	horn	Matisoff 2003a:596

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	mɑ^{31} tɕu^{53} **ɹɑu^{55}**	antler	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980 [a]
	raː b	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**tʃuʔ^{2}**	horn (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e **chhü**	horn	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967:354
	ē **cà**	horn	Acharya 1975
	E **jU**	horn (of animal)	Nienu 1990c:2.10
	khe **chü**	elbow	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a **jü**	horn	Marrison 1967

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**khwə̂**	horn (of animal); horn	Dai Qingxia 1989e:2.10; Sofronov c1978

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**ru^{55}**	horn (of animal); horn	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:176.18
Muya	**tʂhə̱^{53}**	horn (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.15
	tʂhə̱^{55}mbɐ^{53}	horn (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ts^{h}ɯ^{55}**mbɐ^{53}	horn (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:2.10
	tʂhɯ^{55}mbɐ^{53}	horn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:176.15
Namuyi	**qhuəˈ^{53}**	horn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:176.19
	q^{h}uəˈ^{53}	horn (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:2.10
	khu^{53}əˈ^{31}	horn (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tʂhu^{55}**bø^{55}	horn (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tʂhy^{55}**	horn (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tʂhy^{55}**	horn	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:176.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tʂhʉ^{53}**	horn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:176.10
	tʂ^{h}ʉ^{53}	horn	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Longxi)	**ɹà ká**	horn	Evans 1999:329
Qiang (Mawo)	**ɹəq**	horn	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:176.8
	ɹəqʐ̩	horn (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:2.10
	ɹəχ	horn (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.08
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tʂhi^{55}**mbə^{55}	horn (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	zɻa^{35} **tɕo^{53}**	horn (of animal); horn	Sun Hongkai 1991n:2.10; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:176.16
Xumi	**qhuɛ^{53}**	horn (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.17
	qhuɐ^{55}	horn (of animal); horn	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:176.20

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**qlɛ** m bɛ la	horn (of animal); horn	Sun Hongkai 1991b:2.10; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:176.14
Ergong (Daofu)	**qrə**	horn (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:2.10
Daofu	**qrə** mbə	horn (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.12
Ergong (Northern)	**qrə^{33}**	horn (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:2.10

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	ta **ʁru**	horn (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:2.10
rGyalrong	tə **ru**	horn (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:2.10
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **ru**	horn (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.11
rGyalrong	tə **ru**	horn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:176.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **ru**	horn (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:2.10
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ʁʐə**	horn (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:2.10

[a] Darang **ɹɑu^{55}** could also be from PTB ***m/g-(r)wa-ŋ/k/t** HORN / ANGLE / CORNER (§1.2.2).

Caodeng	tɛ́-**qʰru**	horn	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	tu **ru**	horn	Nagano 1997:2.10
rGBenzhen	tə-**ruʔ**	horn	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**kʰɯ**^{55}	horn	SUN Hongkai 1988
	tə **kru**	horn	LaPolla 1987:167; Benedict 1972:37
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	tśi^{31} **xrɯ**^{55}	horn	LaPolla 1987:167
	tɕi^{31} **xɹɯ**^{55}	horn	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	aŋ^{31} tɯ^{31} **xrɯ**^{55}	horn	LaPolla 1987:167
	ɑŋ^{31} tɯ^{31} **xɹɯ**^{55}	horn	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	a^{33} **kʰɯe**^{33}	horn (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986d:2.10
Tujia (Northern)	**ke4**	horn (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ke^{4}	horn	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2
Tujia	**khɯe**^{55}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.49
	khɯe^{55}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.38
Tujia (Northern)	**kʰɨe**^{55}	horn	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**kʰɯe**^{55}	horn (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986c:2.10
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa^{33} **kʰɨe**^{33}	horn	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***krəw**^{1} HORN			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***kruw**^{1}	horn	Matisoff 1978a:15
	***krəw**^{1}	horn	Matisoff 2003a:596
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	u^{55} **tɕhɑu**^{55}	horn	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**khʐau**^{35}	horn	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	khʐau^{35}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.28
	khʐau^{55}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.41
Achang (Luxi)	**khjau**^{35}	horn	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31} **kʰʐau**^{55}	horn	DAI Qingxia 1989f:313
	a^{31}**khʐau**^{55}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.29
Arakanese	**-grou**	horn	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**khju**^{55}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.32
Bola	**kʰju**^{55}	horn	DAI Qingxia 1989g:313
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**-jou**	horn	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**khjo**^{22}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.40
Burmese (Written)	**-khrui**	horn	Okell 1971
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**-khruiw**	horn	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	dyo < ù-**khrui**	horn	Benedict 1972:21n75
	khrui	horn	Hansson 1989:345; Matisoff 1974:142; Benedict 1976a
	khrui ≍ khyui	horn	Benedict 1972:37; LaPolla 1987:167
	khyui	horn; (prn. gyui) horn	Hansson 1989:345; Benedict 1976a
	kʰrui~**kʰyui**	horn	Matisoff 1978a:15
	ū: **khrui**	horn	Marrison 1967
	ʔû-**khrui**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
Intha	**-hyou**	horn	Okell 1971
Lashi	**khjou**^{33}	horn (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:2.10
	tshat^{55} **khjou**^{33}	antler (of deer)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:2.11
Leqi (Luxi)	**khjou**^{33}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.33
Marma	ə **gro**	horn	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:312
Maru [Langsu]	**khjuk**^{31}	horn (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:2.10
	khyùk	horn	Okell 1971
	tshɛʔ^{55} **khjuk**^{31}	antler (of deer)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:2.11
Tavoyan	-hcou	horn	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khjui**^{51}	horn	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***kro**^{1} HORN			
**Loloish*	***kro**^{1}	horn	Bradley 1979b:82; Hansson 1989:345
Lolopho	**khɯ**^{33}	horn (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:2.10
	tɕhi̱^{44} **khɯ**^{33}	antler (of deer)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:2.11
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	(ŋ^{31}) **tshv**^{33}khɤ^{33}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.47
	tshv̩^{33} khɤ^{33}	horn (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:2.10
	tsʰv^{33}	horn	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	tsʰv̩^{33}	horn	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Lalo	**kʰu̱**^{55}	horn (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.10
Luquan	**tɕʼyʔ**	horn	MA Xueliang 1948
Nasu	**tɕʰɯ**^{21}	horn (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.10
Nesu	**tʂʰɻ**^{21}	horn (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.10
Noesu	**tɕhy**^{13}	horn	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.10
Nusu (Central)	**khɹɯ**^{33}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khɹɯ**^{35}ɑ^{55}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.45
Nusu (Northern)	**kʰɯ**^{35} ɑ^{55}	horn	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**kʰˌɹɯ**^{35} ɑ^{55}	horn	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	kʰˌɯ^{33}	horn	DAI Qingxia 1989p:313.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**kʰˌɤ**^{55}	horn	DAI Qingxia 1989o:313.
Nusu (Southern)	**tʂʰɭ**^{55}	horn	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	o^{33} **tɕʰi**^{33}	horn	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	o^{33}**tɕhi**^{33}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.22
Yi (Lishan)	**tʂʰɭ**^{31}	horn	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	o^{55}**tʂhi**^{33}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.25
Yi (Mojiang)	(ni^{33})**tshi**^{21}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tɕhi**^{33}tə^{33}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.37
	tɕho^{33}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**khu̱**^{55}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.23
	kʰu̱^{55}	horn	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Wuding)	**tɕhɯ**^{11}ɣɯ^{33}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.38
Yi (Xide)	o^{33} **fu**^{33}	horn	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.21; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	o^{55} **tɕɐ**^{55}	antler (of deer)	LUO Meizhen 1990:2.11
	o^{55} **tʂʻi**^{22}	horn (of animal)	LUO Meizhen 1990:2.10
	tśhö	horn	LaPolla 1987:167
Jinuo (Youle)	vu^{33} **kʰi**^{44}	horn	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	vu^{33}**khi**^{33}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	vu^{44} **kʰji**^{44}	horn	DAI Qingxia 1989h:329
Jinuo (Youle)	ɣ^{33} **kʰji**^{44}	horn	DAI Qingxia 1989i:329
**Common Lahu*	***hkuh:**	horn	Bradley 1979b:82
Lahu	ɔ̀-**khɔ**	horn	LaPolla 1987:167
Lahu (Black)	**khɔ**	horn	Matisoff 1974:142
	khɔ^{53}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.33
	kʰɔ^{33}	horn	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ̀-**khɔ**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**kʰɔ**	horn	Matisoff 1978a:15
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{31} **kʰɔ**^{33}	horn	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}ni^{21} ɔ^{55}**tɕhi**^{33}	ox horn; horn of ox (also ɔ^{55}tʃhɥ^{33})	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a^{55}ɲi^{21} ɔ^{55}**tɕhi**^{33}	ox horn	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	bɤ^{44}**tɕhi**^{33}	goat horn bugle; bugle (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}ɔ^{55}**tɕhi**^{33}	animal horn	Bradley 1994
Lisu	o^{55} **tʃhi**^{44}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	o^{55} **tʃʰl̄**^{44}	horn	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**tśhu**	horn	LaPolla 1987:167
	wu^{1}-**hchi**^{3}	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	wu^{1}-**hchi**^{3}	horn (buffalo, etc.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	wu^{1}**hchi**^{3}	horn	Bradley 1979b:82
Lisu (Northern)	ɔ^{55}**tɕhi**^{33}	horn	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**hkə**	horn	LaPolla 1987:167
	khɯ^{33}	horn, antler	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	kʰɯ^{33}	horn (animal	MA Xueliang 1989:326.2
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Thai)	**tjhö**	horn	Hansson 1989:345
Akha	**tjhö**	horn	Hansson 1989:345
Akha (Yunnan)	ù **tjhö**	horn	Hansson 1989:345
Bisu	aŋ **khjáɔ**	horn	Beaudouin 1988:2
	ʔaŋ **kʰjáw**	horn	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	**kʰø**^{55}	horn	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	ɔ̀ **khü**	horn	Hansson 1989:345
Hani (Pijo)	**khí**	horn	Hansson 1989:345
	vɣ̀ **khí**	horn	Hansson 1989:345
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɣ^{31} **tɕʰi**^{55}	horn	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	u^{31} **tɕʰø**^{55}	horn	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**kyul**	horn; capable, able	Hansson 1989:345; Hansson 1989:346 [a]
Hani (Shuikui)	ɣ^{31} **tɕʰi**^{55}	horn	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	**khý**	horn	Hansson 1989:345
	vù **khý**	horn	Hansson 1989:345
Mpi	ŋ^{2}**khɯ**^{6}	horn	Hansson 1989:345
	ŋ^{2}**kʰɯ**^{6}	horn	Matisoff 1978a:15
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔã´ **cháu̱**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	ʔɑ̃^{55} **cʰɑ̂u**^{55}	horn	Bradley 1977
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**qʰɔ˥**	horn	Michaud 2006–2009:3959
Na (Yongning)	**qʰv˦**	horn	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**kho**^{33}	horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**kho**^{33}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**khər**^{33}	horn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:176.29
Naxi (Western)	**kʰo**^{33}	horn	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Eastern)	**kʰər**^{33}	horn	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	læ^{21}**kho**^{33}	horn (woodwind) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0667.45

[a] Hani **-l** is a tonemark.

(3) PTB *r-ki HORN

This root is quite distinct from PTB ***d-krəw*** HORN (§1.2.2).

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kii** HORN

**Chin*	***kii**	HORN	VanBik 2009:291
Chinbok	**ki**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	sa **ki**	horn (of animal)	Haokip 1998:2.10
Paite	**ki**	horn	VanBik 2009:291
Thado	**kîi**	horn	VanBik 2009:291
	ā **kí**	horn	Thirumalai 1972:55
Tiddim	**ki**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	ki[1]	horn	VanBik 2009:291; Bhaskararao 1996:595

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**ki**	horn	VanBik 2009:291
Khumi	ta-**ki**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	tkii	horn, antler	VanBik 2009:291
	tᵊk̰i	horn	So-Hartmann 1988:50
Matu	**a̰ ki**	horn	So-Hartmann 1988:50
Mkaang	**k̰i**	horn	So-Hartmann 1988:50
Ngmiüün	**ʔk̰i**	horn	So-Hartmann 1988:50
Nyhmoye	**ci**	horn	So-Hartmann 1988:50

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ki**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	kìi	horn	VanBik 2009:291
Lai (Falam)	**kîi**	horn	VanBik 2009:291
Laizo	**ki**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	**ki**	horn; antlers	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Bhaskararao 1996:595
	kîi	horn (of any animal, etc), an antler (of deer), the antennae or feelers (of any insect) (n.)	VanBik 2009:291
	kîi	horn	Löffler 1985
Paangkhua	(**ra**)kíi	horn	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**kí**	horn	VanBik 2009:291

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**rə ki**	horn (of animal)	Toba & Kom 1991:2.10
	rəki bak	antler (of deer)	Toba & Kom 1991:2.11
Moyon	**rʌkə́**	horn (of animal)	Kosha 1990:2.10
Sorbung	ar-**ki**	horn	Brown 1837
	ʔə-**kìi**	horn (of animal); antler (of deer)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.035; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.036

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**chi**	horn (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ci	horn	Brown 1837

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Khezha	’è **cí**	horn (of animal)	Yabu 1994:2.10
Mao	o **kei**	horn	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **ki** bo	horn; horn (of animal); antler (of deer)	Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:2.10; Achumi 1998a:2.11

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Maram	**chi**	horn	Marrison 1967
Puiron	ta **ki**	horn	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ta-**ki**	horn	Brown 1837

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***ci**	horn	Mortensen 2012:353
Tangkhul	āŋa **chi**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
Tusom	ʔə-n-**tsɯ**	horn (of an animal)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.034

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	mə **ci**	horn (of animal)	Singh 1991:2.10
	mə **ci** (səji-gi)	antler (of deer)	Singh 1991:2.11

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Lui	ma **chī**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Mawo)	zdu **ɹəqə̨**	antler (of deer)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:2.11
Qiang (Taoping)	**zɑ̰[33] qə[55]**	horn	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**z̰æq**	horn	DAI Qingxia 1989q:329

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	**ɾ̥ə** pək	antler (of deer)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:2.11	[a]

[a] Apparently all that is left of PTB ***r-ki** HORN (§1.2.2) in this form is the rhotic prefix!

(4) PTk *ci HORN

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Champhung	ra-**tsɯ**	horn	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-nə-**tsik**	horn; antler	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.031
Kachai	ʔa-ŋə-**tsɐ**	horn (of animal), antler (of deer)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.030
Tangkhul	anga **chi**	horn	Marrison 1967
	ci	horn	Bhat 1969:91
Tankghul (Central)	m-**ci**	horn	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-kat-**sɯ**	horn	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ŋa-**ci**	horn	Brown 1837
Ukhrul	a-ŋə-**ci**	horn	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**ci**-kar	very long and growing sideways (horn) (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-ŋə-**ci**	horn	Mortensen 2012

(5) PTB *bak ANTLER

This interesting root shows lenition in Yakha. It occurs as final element in compounds with PTB ***r-ki** HORN (§1.2.2).

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	rəki **bak**	antler (of deer)	Toba & Kom 1991:2.11

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Yakha	taŋ ga: **wəhak**	antler (of deer)	Kohn 1990:2.11

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	**ɾ̥ə pək**	antler (of deer)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:2.11	[a]

[a] Apparently all that is left of PTB ***r-ki** HORN (§1.2.2) in this form is the rhotic prefix!

1.2.2.1 Comb/Crest

(1) PTB *tsywak COCKSCOMB

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	mə **tok**	comb (of rooster)	Singh 1991:2.9

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	the[55] **tɕo[53]**	comb (of rooster)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:2.9
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	tar **chow**	comb (of rooster)	Bishop 1989:2.9

3.2. QIANGIC

Muya [Minyak]	**tʰɯ[55]dʑo[33]**	comb (of rooster)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:2.9
Qiang (Mawo)	qi **dʑu**	comb (of rooster)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:2.9

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	**tʰər[53] ɕok[33]**	comb (of rooster)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:2.9

6.1.1. BURMISH

Langsu (Luxi)	**tʃoʔ[31]**pjɛn[35]	cockscomb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**kjɔɾ[31]**pjɛn[33]	cockscomb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃoʔ[21]** pan[21]	cockscomb	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	voʔ[21]**tʃo[21]**pan[21]	cockscomb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.30

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	ɣ[53]**tso[35]**to[31]	cockscomb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.47

(2) PTB *l-mawk COCKSCOMB / CREST

The ***l-** prefix is set up on the basis of the isolated rGyalrongic form **lmu**. Further cognates are undoubtedly to be found, both in Qiangic and Karenic.

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Daofu)	**lmu**	comb (of rooster)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:2.9

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	tɕɛʔ[4]**mɑuʔ[4]**	cockscomb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.27
Burmese (Written)	krɑk[4]**mɔk[4]**	cockscomb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.26
	mok-	crest, comb	Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:78
	ə-mok	crest, comb	Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:78

7. KARENIC

Pa-O	chjà tə **mɔ́k**	comb of chicken	Solnit 1989

(3) PTB *m-tsywaŋ COCKSCOMB

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***tshuaŋ** CREST / COMB (n.)

**Chin*	***tshuaŋ**	CREST / COMB (n.)	VanBik 2009:585

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**suang**	crest	VanBik 2009:585
Sizang	āk **suang**	cock’s comb	VanBik 2009:585
Thado	**súoŋ**	crest	VanBik 2009:585
Tiddim	**súaŋ**	crest (cock)	Weidert 1987:397
	su:ng[2]	cock’s comb; cocks comb	VanBik 2009:585; Bhaskararao 1996:1656

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tshûaŋ**	crest (of fowl), clitoris (of female)	VanBik 2009:585
Lushai [Mizo]	a:r-**chhuang**	comb of a cock or hen	Bhaskararao 1996:1656
	chhúang	comb (of a cock or hen) (n.)	VanBik 2009:585
	tshúaŋ	crest (cock)	Weidert 1987:397

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	[3]ə[1]**tsɒ**	crest (cock)	Weidert 1987:397

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**mə·tʰiŋ**	comb (of rooster)	Toba & Kom 1991:2.9

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

**Naga*	***tšhuan**	crest (cock)	Weidert 1987:397

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	[4]**tshe**	crest (cock)	Weidert 1987:397
Chokri	[5]**tšhɤ**	crest (cock)	Weidert 1987:397
Khezha	[2]**me[2]the**	crest (cock)	Weidert 1987:397
Mao	[1]**mo[5]tu**	crest (cock)	Weidert 1987:397
Rengma (Southern)	[1]tʌ[1]ro-[4]nɤ[4]**tšwe**	crest (cock)	Weidert 1987:397
Sema [Sumi]	a **miche**	comb (of rooster)	Achumi 1998a:2.9
	[1]a[2]**mi[2]tše**	crest (cock)	Weidert 1987:397

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	ma-rui-**tuan**	crest (cock)	Weidert 1987:397
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	n-rûai-dŭi-**tûan**	crest (cock)	Weidert 1987:397
Zeme	[1]n[5]rui-[1]n[5]**tua**	crest (cock)	Weidert 1987:397

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang (Risiangku)	[3]prok **tsoŋ**	coxcomb (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:2.9

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	nɛ:n **dzɔn**	comb	Michailovsky 1991:36
Yakha	nam **dzoŋ**	comb (of rooster)	Kohn 1990:2.9

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	or **jəm**	comb (of chicken)	Watters & Watters 1989

(4) PTB *prya $\frac{\mathbf{p}}{\mathbf{m}}$ COCKSCOMB

This root was formerly reconstructed as ***p-rem** ⩤ **p-rep**.

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Milang	ta-**pep**	comb	Tayeng 1976
	ta-**pyep**-tum-ma	comb	Tayeng 1976

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Eastern)	ka tʃu rə **rap**	comb (of rooster)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:2.9
rGyalrong (Northern)	kum pɣa ri **rəp**	comb (of rooster)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:2.9
rGyalrong	pka wu ɾ̥ə **ɾ̥ep**	comb (of rooster)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:2.9
rGyalrong (NW)	rə **rap**	comb (of rooster)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:2.9

6.1.1. BURMISH

Bola	ɣaʔ[31] tʃaʔ[31] **pjɛn[31]**	cockscomb	DAI Qingxia 1989g:346	
Bola (Luxi)	ɣaʔ[31]tʃaʔ[31]**pjɛn[31]**	cockscomb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.32	
Langsu (Luxi)	tʃoʔ[31]**pjɛn[35]**	cockscomb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.31	
Lashi	kjɔʔ[31] **pjɛn[33]**	comb (of rooster)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:2.9	
Leqi (Luxi)	kjɔr[31]**pjɛn[33]**	cockscomb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.33	
Maru [Langsu]	tʃɔʔ[31] **pjɛn[35]**	comb (of rooster)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:2.9	[a]
Atsi [Zaiwa]	tʃoʔ[21] **pan[21]**	cockscomb	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984	
	voʔ[21]tʃo[21]**pan[21]**	cockscomb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.30	

[a] Maru **tʃɔʔ[31]** perhaps a word-family variant of forms with **ɣ-**.

(5) PTB *r-tsey SUMMIT / CREST / COCKSCOMB

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**htse**-mo	peak, pinnacle	Sun 1985a:760
Tibetan (Written)	lce-**rtse**	tongue tip (n.)	Jäschke 1881:p. 150
	rtse.mo	peak, pinnacle	Sun 1985c:760

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	**dʒə**	head / point	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***N-tsey**^{3} SUMMIT / CREST / COCK'S COMB, ***ʔN-tsey**^{1} SUMMIT / CREST / COCK'S COMB

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nasu	ɣa̲^{21} **tɕe**^{33}	comb (of rooster)	Chen Kang 1986b:2.9
Nesu	ʑ^{33} **tɕɪ**^{55} bu^{33}	comb (of rooster)	Chen Kang 1986b:2.9
Yi (Wuding)	ɣɑ̲^{2}**tɕe**^{33}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	ɣɑ^{54}nɑ^{11}**dzi**^{33}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.43
Lahu (Black)	ğâʔ-nā-**ji**	cockscomb (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1121
	ɣaʔ^{54} na^{31} **bzɻ**^{33}	cockscomb	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	ɣaʔ^{54} na^{31} **dzɻ**^{33}	cockscomb	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

(6) PTB *tsyar COCKSCOMB

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Batang)	**the**^{55} tɕo^{53}	comb (of rooster)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:2.9
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**tar** chow	comb (of rooster)	Bishop 1989:2.9

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{A}**ɖa:**	comb or wattle of rooster	Mazaudon 1994:399
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**ʈa:**	wattle (of rooster)	Mazaudon 1994:399
Tamang (Sahu)	cyot **tor**	coxcomb	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.5
Tamang (Taglung)	^{3}**ʈa:**	coxcomb	Mazaudon 1994:399

2.3. Kiranti

**BSDTK*	***cer**	comb	Michailovsky 1991:36

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**tsɛr**	comb	Michailovsky 1991:36
Hayu	**tsɪ**	comb	Michailovsky 1991:36
Sunwar	kok **cer**	comb	Michailovsky 1991:36
Thulung	**cer**	comb; cock's comb	Michailovsky 1991:36; Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**c^{h}enʔ**	comb	Caughley 1972:3.A.5
	krən^{h}	comb	Caughley 1972:7.A.39
Chepang (Eastern)	**chenʔ**	comb (of rooster)	Caughley 1990:2.9

3.2. Qiangic

Muya [Minyak]	**t^{h}ɯ**^{55}dʑo^{33}	comb (of rooster)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:2.9

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	**t^{h}ər**^{53} ɕok^{33}	comb (of rooster)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:2.9

1.2.2.2 Comb (Hair)

(1) PTB *ʔ-g^{w}əy-s COMB (FOR HAIR)

This phonologically unstable root is reconstructed with a labiovelar initial. The reflexes are divided between forms with labial and velar initials, sometimes even within a single subgroup, like Lolo-Burmese. Some reflexes have overt labiovelar initials, like Digaro **se-*kwi*** and the Karenic root ***khwiʔ**^{D}.

The Sulung form **biek**^{33} has an unexplained final **-k**, and the Bai form **su**^{55}***phī***^{21} has an unexplained nasal element.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kwi(y)**	comb	Benedict 1972:480
	***k^{w}i-s**	comb	Matisoff 2003a:598

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	**biek**^{33}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.52

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	che-**kui**	comb	NEFA (India) 1963
	tshe^{55}**kui**^{55}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.49
Digaro	se-**kwi**	comb	Matisoff 2003a:26

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**khuih**	comb (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2580
	khuiʔ	comb	Matisoff 2003a:26
	sam **khuih khuih** na	comb (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***Ç-gyuay** COMB

**Northern Naga*	*C-**gyuay**	comb	Matisoff 2003a:592
	*Ç-**gyuay**	comb	French 1983:470

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Moshang)	**chu**	comb (n.)	Marrison 1967
	cu	comb	French 1983:470

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	ku **sei**	comb	French 1983:470 [a]
	ku **sei**	comb (n.)	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**šai** pu	comb	French 1983:470
	shai pu	comb (n.)	Marrison 1967

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung (Ghachok)	**prē** baq	comb wool (with fingers)	Glover 1972:7.B.3.1
	priq si	comb	Glover 1972:7.A.39

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**khiy**-u	comb (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	**pəʴ**^{35}	comb (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:654.19
	ʁo^{55}**pəʴ**^{33}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.19
	pəʴ^{31}	comb (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1634.46
	ʁuo^{55}**pəəʴ**^{31}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.46
Xumi	**ɸiɛ**^{55}	comb (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:654.20
	ʁo^{33}**ɸyɛ**^{35}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.20

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-g^{w}əy^{2} ≋ *ʔ-g^{w}i^{2}** COMB

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-g^{w}əy^{2}**	comb	Matisoff 2003a:592
	***ʔ-g^{w}əy^{2} ≋ ʔ-g^{w}i^{2}**	comb	Matisoff 2003a:598

6.1.1. Burmish: ***prəy ≋ *p(r)i** COMB (v.) / BRUSH (v.)

**Burmese*	***pri**	comb	Matisoff 2003a:607
Achang (Lianghe)	**phjɛ**^{31}	comb (n.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	phjɛ^{31}	comb (v.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**phʐa**^{31}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.28
	phʐa^{31}	comb (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1634.28
	phʐa^{31}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.41
	phʐa^{31}	comb (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:654.41
Achang (Luxi)	**pjɛ**^{55}	comb (n.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	pjɛ^{55}	comb (v.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**phɛ**^{31}	comb (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1634.29
Burmese (Written)	**bhî**	comb, brush (= phî) (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	bhī:	comb (n.)	Marrison 1967
	bhi^{3}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.26; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.39
	phî	comb, brush (= phrî) (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	phrî	comb, brush (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	phri^{3}	comb (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1634.26; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:654.39
Hpun (Northern)	**phyè** xò	comb	Henderson 1986
	phyè, **phyè**-ŋ	comb (v.)	Henderson 1986
Marma	**phrí**	comb hair	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:1-1b
	wə **phrí**	comb	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:1-1c
Maru [Langsu]	**pjɛ̲**^{35}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pjɛ̲**^{21}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.42

6.1.2. Loloish: ***ʔ-g^{w}əy^{2}** COMB, ***ʔ-pi^{2}** COMB

**Loloish*	***ʔ-pi^{2}**	comb	Bradley 1979b:679

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	o^{31}**piɛ**^{55}	comb	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	o^{31}**piɛ**^{55}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.47
Yi (Dafang)	**ku**^{55}	comb (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:654.22
	o^{33}**ku**^{55}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.22
Yi (Mile)	**dzi**^{21}dzo^{21}	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dʑi**^{33}	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**pi**^{55}	comb (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:654.24
	pɯ^{55}	comb (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1634.37
	u^{55}**pi̲**^{55}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.24
	u^{55}pɯ^{55}tɕe^{33}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.37
	ʑi^{33} n̥i^{33} dzo^{21}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.37
Yi (Nanjian)	(u^{31}dy^{55})**pɯ**^{21}	comb (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:654.23
	u^{21}**pɯ**^{21}tɕi̲^{33}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.23
Yi (Xide)	**kɯ**^{55}	comb (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1634.35; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:654.21
	ɔ^{33}**kɯ**^{55}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.35; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**phi**^{33}ɕi^{42}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**phi**^{55}ʃi^{42}	comb (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**phi**^{55}ɕi^{42}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.44
**Common Lahu*	***pui̲**	comb	Bradley 1979b:679
Lahu (Lancang)	**pɤ**^{11}kɑ^{54}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.43
Lahu (Black)	**pə**^{31}kA^{54}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.33
	pī-kâʔ	comb	Matisoff 1972b:96(a)
Lahu (Yellow)	**pɤ**^{2}	comb (v.)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	pɤ^{5}	comb (n.)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	pɤ^{5}ʐa^{3}	comb (fine-toothed)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Putao)	ô^{1}**pɯ**^{1}	comb; to comb (head)	Luce 1985:V.29
Lisu	o^{55}**pɯ**^{55}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.27
	prgh^{1}	comb	Bradley 1979b:679
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**prgh**^{1}	comb; to comb (head)	Luce 1985:V.29
Lisu (Central)	**prgh**^{1}	comb (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Putao)	**pɯ**^{1}	comb; to comb (head)	Luce 1985:V.29
Lisu	**pɯ**^{55}	comb (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1634.40; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:654.27
Lisu (Northern)	**pɤ**^{55}	comb (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	wu^{1}-**prgh**^{1}	comb (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	wu^{1}**prgh**^{1}	comb; to comb (head)	Luce 1985:V.29
Lisu (Northern)	ɔ^{55}**pɤ**^{55} ga^{21}læ^{21}	thick-toothed comb	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}**pɤ**^{55} mja^{33}dzi^{33}	comb with thin and dense teeth	Bradley 1994

6.2. Naxi

Naxi (Yongning)	**pv**^{31}mi^{13}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**pəɹ**^{55}	comb (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:654.28
	pəɹ^{55}me^{33}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.28
Naxi	**pɚ**^{55}	comb (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1634.45
	pɚ^{55}me^{33}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.45

7. Karenic: ***khwiʔ**^{D}** COMB (v.)

**Karen*	***khwéid**	comb (v.t.)	Jones 1961:102
	***khwis**	comb (v.)	Benedict 1979:13
	***khwiʔ**^{D}**	comb (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:61 [a]
**Karen [Burling]*	***khwi**^{4}**	comb (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:61
Bwe	**khwi**	comb (v.)	Henderson 1997
	khwi^{33}	comb (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:61
	wi	comb (v.)	Henderson 1997
	wi ko=**wo** kɔ́	comb the hair (v.)	Henderson 1997
Karen	**khui**^{55}	comb (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1634.50
Kayah	**khwi**^{55}	comb (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:61
Kayan	**khiʔ**^{45}	comb (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:61
Kayan (Pekon)	**kwì**	comb (V.)	Manson 2010
	k^{h}wì	comb (V.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**khi**^{33}	comb (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:61
Pa-O	**khút**	comb (v.)	Benedict 1979:13
Pa-O (Northern)	**khut**^{21}	comb (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:61
Palaychi	**khwèq̣**	comb (v.)	Benedict 1979:13
Pwo (Northern)	**khwi**^{35}	comb (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:61
Pwo (Bassein)	**khwì**	comb (v.)	Benedict 1979:13
Pwo (Southern)	**khwi**^{53}	comb (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:61
Pwo (Moulmein)	**khwì**	comb (v.)	Benedict 1979:13
Sgaw	**khwí**	comb (v.)	Benedict 1979:13
Sgaw (Northern)	**khwi**^{33}	comb (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:61
Sgaw (Southern)	**khwi**^{55}	comb (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:61

8. Bai

Bai (Jianchuan)	su^{55}**phī**^{21}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.48

[a] [Source Note] **ku** < **ku lo** HEAD HAIR (**lo** = LONG).

[a] [Source Note] The SK tones suggest tone *A in PK.

(2) PTB *m-si-t COMB / RAKE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***m-si(y)**	comb (n.)	Weidert 1987:928; LaPolla 1987:97
	***m-si(y)**	comb	Benedict 1972:466
	***m-si(y)**	comb / rake (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:613
	***m-si-t**	comb / rake (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:613
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**si**^{55} pin^{55}	comb	LaPolla 1987:97
	si^{55}pen^{55}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.48
	si^{55}pin^{55}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.23
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***thi?** COMB (n.)			
*Chin	***thi?**	COMB (n.)	VanBik 2009:380
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	săm-**si?**	comb (n.)	Weidert 1987:928
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**pthi**	comb	VanBik 2009:380
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	sâm **thi?**	comb (for hair)	VanBik 2009:380
Lai (Falam)	sám **thì?**	comb	VanBik 2009:380
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	sá **thī**	comb	VanBik 2009:380
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	ku-**mesü**	comb (n.)	Marrison 1967
	məsə	comb (v.)	LaPolla 1987:97; Benedict 1972:466
	mə^{3}**sə**^{1}	comb / lure (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	músù	comb (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	lam **shi** ru	comb (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	ləm **sì** ɹù	comb (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**ʃa**^{2}	comb (for hair) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e **sha**	comb (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***si** COMB			
*Tangkhulic	***si**	comb	Mortensen 2012:348
Huishu	ʔa-roʔ-**sik**	comb	Mortensen 2012:Implements.009
Kachai	rɐk-**sɐ**	comb	Mortensen 2012:Implements.007
Tangkhul	rik **si**	comb (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tusom	n-**tsɯ**	comb	Mortensen 2012:Implements.008
Ukhrul	rik-**si**	comb	Mortensen 2012
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ing **thi**	comb (n.)	Marrison 1967
	iŋ **thī**	comb (n.)	Weidert 1987:928
	iŋ **thi**	comb	LaPolla 1987:97; Benedict 1972:466
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**mă**^{31} **sit**^{31}	comb (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1634.19
	mă^{31}**sit**^{31}	rake (the fields)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1132.19
	mă^{31}**sit**^{31}	rake; comb (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:596.47; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:654.47
	mă^{1}**sit**^{31}	rake; comb (v.)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	məsit	comb, rake; rake; comb (v.)	LaPolla 1987:97; Benedict 1972:466 [a]
	na^{31}**sit**^{31}	rake	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:415.47
	pahsi	comb (n.)	Marrison 1967
	pă^{5}**si**^{55}	comb (n.)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	pă^{55}**si**^{55}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.19
	pəsi	comb; comb, rake	LaPolla 1987:97; Benedict 1972:466
	pũ^{55}**si**^{55}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.47
	^{3}**pə**^{3}**shi**	comb (n.)	Weidert 1987:928
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	kra **swi** baq	comb (hair) (v.)	Glover 1972:2.B.2.37
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Longxi)	qə-**ɕý**	comb [hair-comb(v)] (n.)	Evans 1999:655
	ɕý	brush, comb (v.)	Evans 1999:2339
Qiang (Mawo)	qə **si**	comb (v.)	LaPolla 1987:97 [b]
	qə **si**	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	dzɻ̀ **suì**	double-edged fine-toothed comb	Evans 1999:656
	qà tó **suí**	brush, comb (v.)	Evans 1999:2339
	qè **suí**	comb (n.)	Evans 1999:655
Qiang (Taoping)	qə^{31}**suə**^{33}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.9
4. Nungic			
Anong	ə **si**	comb , comb (v.,n.)	LaPolla 1987:97
	ə **si**	comb; comb (v.) (v.)	Benedict 1972:466
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**sɯi**^{55}	comb (v.)	LaPolla 1987:97
	u^{55} **sɯi**^{55}	comb	LaPolla 1987:97
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**si**^{53}	comb (v.)	LaPolla 1987:97
	u^{53} **si**^{53}	comb	LaPolla 1987:97
7. Karenic			
Bwe	**θì**	comb (n.)	Weidert 1987:928
	θi	comb (n.)	Henderson 1997
	θi di	comb (very fine)	Henderson 1997
Karen	**tθi**^{31}	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.50
Sgaw	^{1}**θi**	comb (n.)	Weidert 1987:928

[a] Note final **-t**.
[b] [Source Note] (u^{55}, u^{53}, qə- 'head') (LaPolla 1987).

(3) PTani *tu {k, p} COMB (v.)

1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	***tuk**~ **tup**	comb (v.)	Sun 1993a:79
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	dĩ **tu**	comb (v.)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b [a]
	tú-su	comb (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-fi **tuk**	comb (v.)	Sun 1993b
	tuk	comb (v.)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**tuk**	comb (v.)	Sun 1993b
	tuk-lap	comb v. (until smooth)	Sun 1993b
	tup	comb (v.)	Sun 1993a; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1634.24
Bokar Lhoba	**tuk**	comb (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:654.51
Galo	**tub**-nam	comb (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	tub nam	comb (vt.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**tup**	comb (v.)	Sun 1993a

[a] [Source Note] **dĩ** = 'head' (Sun 1993a).

(4) PTani *fi COMB (n.)

1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	***fi**	comb (n.)	Sun 1993a:78
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**k**^{h}**rji?**	comb (n.)	Sun 1993b
	a-**xrji?**	comb (n.)	Sun 1993a
	á-**xɯ**	comb	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**fi**	comb (n.)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ta-**fi** tuk	comb (v.)	Sun 1993b

1.2.3 Hair of Head

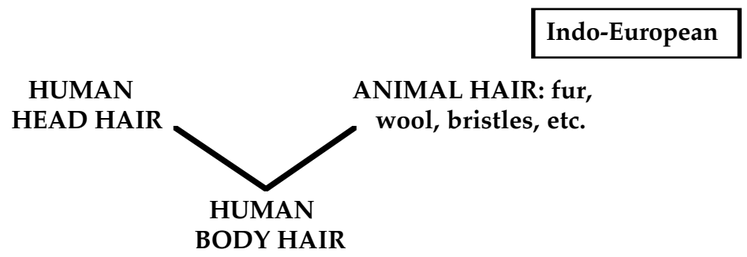

Figure 38: 1.2.3 *Hair of Head*

Figure 39: 1.2.3 *Hair of Head*

(1) PTB *n-dzi-k HAIR (HEAD)

***n-dzi**. This etymon may be related to two verbs, PLB ***?tsik** 'be stuck onto' (Lh. **cí** 'be stuck in place; **pâ-cî?-mu** 'beard'), and PLB ***?dzik** 'be joined; join to' (Lh. **cí**) [*LTSR* #45]. Cf. PTB ***tsik** JOINT (§1.5.8). Lahu informants vouch for the semantic connection, feeling that hairs are "stuck onto" the head or face. This perhaps should be taken with a grain of salt, however.

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	^{5}u^{4}**tsɯ**^{5}tha	hair (head)(1)	Weidert 1987:222
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	do^{55} ma^{ɹ55} **ndzi**^{55}	eyelash	Sun Hongkai 1991d
	tsi^{55}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.18
	tsi^{55}phʂ$_{\text{l}}^{55}$	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.18
	tsi^{55}ʂ$_{\text{l}}^{55}$tɑ^{55}	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.18
Namuyi	a^{55}**ntshy**^{55}	beard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.19
	a^{55}**nts**^{h}**y**^{55}	beard	Sun Hongkai 1991i:8.1.2.1
	miɛ^{33}**ts**$_{\text{l}}^{33}$hũ^{33}	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.4.3
	miɛ^{55}**ts**$_{\text{l}}^{33}$hũ^{33}	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:237.19
	miɛ^{55}**ts**$_{\text{l}}^{33}$hũ^{55}	eyelash	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.4.4
	a^{55}**ntshu**^{53}	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.46
	miæ^{55}**ts**$_{\text{l}}^{33}$hũ^{55}	eyebrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	n̥ə^{35}**ts**$_{\text{l}}^{55}$mɛi^{35}	eyebrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.10
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	k^{h}u **mtɕ**^{h}**i** rme	whiskers (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.7
rGyalrong	tə **mtɕi** mo rn̥ɐ	beard	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.1.2.1
	tə mn̥ak mo **rtsə**	eyebrow; eyelash	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4.3; Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mtɕ**^{h}**i** rme	beard; moustache	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.2.1; Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.2.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə mn̥ak mə **ɻ̊ts**^{h}**ə**	eyebrow; eyelash	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4.3; Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4.4
rGyalrong	wu **mci** mo rn̥ɐ	whiskers (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.1.7
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	sa2**qi1**	hair (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	sa2**qi1**bian1zi1	hair braid (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	sa2**qi1**hhe2la1	hair band (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	sa^{2}**qi**^{1}	hair	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.1
	sa^{2}**qi**^{1}bian^{1}zi^{1}	hair braid	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.6
Tujia	sa^{35} **tɕ**^{h}**i**^{55}	hair of head; hair (head)	Chen Kang 1986c:2.7; Chen Kang 1986c:8.1.1
Tujia (Northern)	sa^{35} **tɕ**^{h}**i**^{55}	hair (head)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	sa^{35} **tɕ**^{h}**i**^{55} piã^{55} tsi^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	sa^{35}**tɕhi**^{55}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.49
	sa^{35}**tɕhi**^{55}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.38
6.1.2. Loloish: ***tsi**^{1} HAIR (HEAD)			
*Loloish	***tsi**^{1}	hair (head)	Matisoff 1993
Lolopho	v̩^{55} **tʂhʏ**^{33}	hair; hair of head	Dai Qingxia 1989n:8.1; Dai Qingxia 1989n:8.1.1
	v̩^{55} **tʂʏ**^{33}	hair of head	Dai Qingxia 1989n:2.7
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	ji^{31} **tshɳ**^{33}	hair of head; hair	Dai Qingxia 1989c:2.7; Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.1
	ji^{31} **ts**^{h}**ɻ**^{33} k^{h}v̩^{33}	head hair	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	ji^{31}**ts**^{h}**ɪ**^{33}k^{h}v^{33}	hair (on head)	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	ni^{31} **tshɳ**^{33} pv̩^{31}	beard	Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.1.2.1
	ni^{31} **ts**^{h}**ɻ**^{33} pv̩^{31} pv̩^{31}	beard	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Lalo	de^{33} **tɕ**^{h}**y**^{55}	male pubic hair	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.6
	m̩^{21} **ts**^{h}**ɻ**^{33}	beard	Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.2.1
	tu̱^{21} **tɕ**^{h}**y**^{55}	female pubic hair	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.5
	tɕ^{h}**y**^{55}	fur (of animal); feather (of bird)	Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.4; Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.5
	tɕ^{h}**y**^{55} k^{h}ɑ^{21}	body hair	Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.3
	y^{21} **tɕ**^{h}**y**^{55}	hair of head	Chen Kang 1986b:2.7
	ʔm̱^{33} **tsɻ**^{55}	eyelash	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.4

Nasu	nạ̄^{21} bu^{21} **ts^{h}e^{21}**	eyebrow	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.3
	nạ̄^{33} **tsɻ^{33}**	eyelash	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.4
	o^{33} **ts^{h}e^{33}**	hair of head	Chen Kang 1986b:2.7
	ts^{h}e^{21}	hair (general)	Chen Kang 1986b:8.1
	ȵe^{21} **ts^{h}i^{21}**	beard	Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.2.1
Nesu	ŋ̩^{33} **tɕhɪ^{21}**	hair of head	Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.1
	ŋ̩^{33} **tɕ^{h}ɪ^{21}**	hair of head	Chen Kang 1986b:2.7
	ȵɪ̱^{33} bu^{21} **tʂer^{55}**	eyebrow	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.3
	ȵɪ̱^{33} **tʂer^{55}**	eyelash	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.4
Noesu	na^{33}**tse^{21}**	eyelash	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.4
Nosu	ȵo̱^{33}**tsi^{33}**	eyelash	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.4
Yi (Mojiang)	ŋu̱^{33}**tɕ^{h}e^{21}**tɕe̱^{33}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.26
Yi (Nanjian)	mi̱^{33} **tsɻ^{55}** tɕ^{h}y^{55}	eyebrow	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	mu̱^{21} **ts^{h}ɻ^{33}**	beard	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	mɛ^{21}-**tsɻ^{55}**	beard	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ȵɔ^{33}-**tsi^{33}**	eyelash	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	ne̱^{33} bu̱^{33} **ts‘ɛ^{22}**	eyebrow	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.4.3
	ne̱^{33} **tsɛ^{22}**	eyelash	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.4.4
	ne̱^{33}**tsɻ̄^{33}**	eyelash	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.4
	ni^{21} **ts‘i^{22}**	beard; whiskers (of animal)	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.1.2.1; Luo Meizhen 1990:8.1.7
	ni^{21} **ts‘i^{22}** nuɪ^{55} kɑ̱^{21} zo^{21}	moustache	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.1.2.3
	ni^{21} **ts‘i^{22}** zo^{21}	goatee	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.1.2.2
	o^{55} **tsɛ^{22}** to^{22}	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.1.1.1
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	mø^{44} **tʃ^{h}i^{31}**	beard	Dai Qingxia 1989h:112
	muɪ^{44} **tʃ^{h}a^{55}**	body hair (hanmao)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:152
Jinuo (Baka)	**tʃ^{h}a^{55}** m̥uɪ^{44}	body hair	Dai Qingxia 1989i:152
Kucong	**dzɻ33** khɯ33	hair	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***tsuhˆ**	beard	Bradley 1979b:101
Lahu (Shehleh)	**tsuh¯**hkeh:	hair (head)	Bradley 1979a:89
**Common Lahu*	***tsuh˯**	head hair	Bradley 1979b:89-1
Lahu (Black)	**cí**-khɛ-mu	hair (head); hair (of head)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:60
	pâ-**cîʔ**	beard; moustache	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	pâ-**cîʔ**-mu	beard	Matisoff 1988a:807
	pa^{31} **tsɻʔ^{54}**	beard	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	pʌ^{53}**tsɻ^{54}**	beard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.33
	yɨ-khɛ-mu	hair (head); hair (of head)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:60
Lahu (Yellow)	**dzɻ^{33}** p^{h}e^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	muɪ^{33} **tsɻʔ^{54}**	beard	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	tsɻʔ^{54} k^{h}ɛ^{33}	hair (head)	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	**tsuh¯**hkeh:	hair (head)	Bradley 1979a:89
Lahu (Banlan)	**tsuh˯**hkeh: mvuh:	hair (head)	Bradley 1979a:89
Lisu	mū^{5}-**tsi^{3}**	beard / moustache	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	mū^{5}-**tsi^{3}**	beard (n.)	Fraser 1922
	mū^{5}-**tsi^{3}**	moutache / beard	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Nujiang)	o^{55} **ts^{h}e̱^{44}**	hair (head)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986 [a]
Lisu	o^{55} **ts^{h}e^{44}**	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.27
	o^{55}**tshe̱^{33}**	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.40
Lisu (Luquan)	u^{55} **tshəɹ^{33}**	hair (head)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986:p.109
	u^{55}**tshəɹ^{33}**	hair (head) (n.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Yongsheng)	vu^{55} **tshəɹ^{33}**	hair (head)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986:p.109
	vu^{55}**tshəɹ^{33}**	hair (head) (n.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	ne^{33} bu^{33} **ts^{h}ɻ̄^{44}**	eyelash	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.2
	ne^{33} **ts^{h}ɻ̄^{44}**	eyelash	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:94.2
	ne^{33}bu^{33}**tshi̱^{33}**	eyebrow	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne^{33}**tshi̱^{33}**	eyelash	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne^{44} bɣ^{33} **ts^{h}ɤ^{33}**	eyebrow	Ma Xueliang 1989:320.6
	ne^{44} **tsɻ^{44}**	eyelash	Ma Xueliang 1989:320.7
	ne^{44}bu^{33}**tshɤ^{33}**	eyebrow	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.3
	ne^{44}**tsi^{44}**	eyelash	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.4
	ni^{55}**tshɯ^{33}**	beard	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ȵ^{55} **ts^{h}ɤ^{33}**	moustache	Ma Xueliang 1989:322.9
	ȵ^{55}**tshɤ^{33}**	beard	Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.2.1

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	mya˄ nui˄ mya˄ **sheh˄**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	tseh˅ kah˅	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987 [b]
	tseh˅ kah˅ kah˅	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Thai)	**tshé** kháŋ	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:403
Akha (Yunnan)	**tshé** kháŋ	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:403
Akha (Thai)	**tshé**-kháŋ	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:176
Hani (Lüchun)	**tshó** khɔ́	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:403
Hani (Dazhai)	**ts^{h}e^{55}** k^{h}ɔ^{55}	hair	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Caiyuan)	mạ̄^{33} **ts^{h}e^{55}**	eyebrow	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Pijo)	**tjhí** khý	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:403
	tjhí khý tɔ̀ pshi	braid	Hansson 1989:529
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshe^{55}**kh^{55}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.30
	ts^{h}e^{55} k^{h}ɤ^{55}	hair	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} **ts^{h}e^{55}**	fur	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**tshe^{55}**	hair / fur	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:172.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ts^{h}e^{55}** k^{h}aŋ^{55}	hair	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ceil** kaol	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:403
Hani (Shuikui)	mɛ^{31} **tʃ^{h}ɛ^{31}**	beard	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ts^{h}ɛ^{55} k^{h}u^{55}	hair	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	tʃ^{h}e^{31} xo^{33}	fur	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	mì **tjhy**	whiskers	Hansson 1989:537
	mì **tshy** ?	whiskers	Hansson 1989:55
	tjhí khý	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:403

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	mv˧**tsɯ˥**	beard	Michaud 2006–2009:306
Na (Yongning)	mv˧**tsɯ˥˧**	beard	Michaud 2006–2009
	njæ˧**tsɯ˩**	eyebrow	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	miə^{33}**tsɯ^{31}**fv^{33}	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:237.28
Naxi	miə^{33}**tsɻ^{21}**fv̩^{33}	eyebrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.45
Naxi (Western)	miə^{55}**tsɯ^{33}**fv^{33}	eyebrow	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Eastern)	mv^{33}**tsɯ^{33}**	beard	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	mv^{33}**tsɻ^{13}**	beard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	mɯ^{33}**tsɯ^{55}**	beard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.28
Naxi	mɯ^{33}**tsɻ^{55}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.45
Naxi (Western)	mɯ^{55}**tsɯ^{33}**	beard	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	nɑ^{33}**tsɻ^{31}**	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:237.29
Naxi (Eastern)	nɑ^{13}**tsɯ^{33}**	eyebrow	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

8. Bai

Bai (Jianchuan)	k^{h}uã^{33} mạ̄^{21} **tsɻ^{33}**	body hair	Zhao Yansun 1990:8.1.3.3
	pi̱^{44} mạ̄^{21} **tsɻ^{33}**	female pubic hair	Zhao Yansun 1990:10.4.5
	tu^{33} mạ̄^{21} **tsɻ^{33}**	male pubic hair	Zhao Yansun 1990:10.3.6
	ŋuĩ^{33} me^{55} **tɕ^{h}i^{31}**	eyelash	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.4.4

(2) PTB *r-$\begin{matrix}\mathbf{n}\\\mathbf{m}\end{matrix}$ey HAIR OF HEAD

This allofamic reconstruction is based on the rGyalrongic reflexes, which vary between **rɲe** and **rme**. Still other rGyalrongic forms with back vowels fit better with PTB ***s/r-mul** ⪤ ***s-mil** ⪤ ***s-myal** HAIR / FUR / FEATHER (§1.6.1).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ney**	hair (head); hair (of head)	Matisoff 1985a:051; Matisoff 2003a:604; LaPolla 1987:62; Benedict 1972:292 [a]

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Barish*	***k-ney**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1993

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	ka-**nai?**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	ka **náy**	hair; hair (head); hair(head)	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:051; LaPolla 1987:62
	ka **náy** zontá	lock of hair	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	kha **nai**	hair (of head); hair (head); hair(head); hair of head	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:051; LaPolla 1987:62; Benedict 1972:292
Kokborok	bə-k^{h} **nay**	hair	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	k^{h} **nay**	hair	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	khi **ni**	hair	Balawan 1965:14
	mo thro **ni**	eyebrow	Balawan 1965:40

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	khə **ni**	hair (head); hair(head); hair of head	Matisoff 1985a:051; LaPolla 1987:62; Benedict 1972:292
	ki-n-**i**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	kin-**i**	hair of head	Burling 1992
	kin-**i**	hair of head (n.)	Burling 2003:6.25-II:idx

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	mau **ʐmi**	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.4.3
Ergong (Daofu)	mɑu **rmei**	eyebrow	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.4.3
	tsha ʔmɑ **rmei**	goatee	Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.1.2.2
	tsə lə ie ʔmə **rmei**	whiskers (of cat)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.1.7
Ergong (Danba)	fiɛ ma **ʐmi**	beard	Sun Hongkai 1991b:8.1.2.1
	ʁuə **ʐmi**	hair of head	Sun Hongkai 1991b:8.1.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.14
Ergong (Daofu)	ʔmɑ **mei**	beard	Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.1.2.1

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	’ta **rme**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (NW)	ku **rme** ka rʁok	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.1.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	k^{h}om **ɲe**	beard; moustache; body hair	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.2; Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.3
rGyalrong (Northern)	k^{h}u mtɕ^{h}i **rme**	whiskers (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.7
rGyalrong (NW)	mbra **rme**	mane (of horse, lion)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.6
rGyalrong (Eastern)	pa tsa wa **rɲe**	feather (of bird)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.5
rGyalrong (NW)	pra kue **rme**	feather (of bird)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.5
rGyalrong (Northern)	pə ɣa **rme**	feather (of bird)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.5
	ridak **rme**	fur (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.4
rGyalrong	**rni**	hair (head); hair(head); hair of head	Matisoff 1985a:051; LaPolla 1987:62; Benedict 1972:292
rGyalrong (Eastern)	rədak wa **rɲe**	fur (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.4
rGyalrong (NW)	rətak **rme**	fur (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.4
rGyalrong	ta jo wa **rŋ̡ᴇ**	beard / moustache	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.1.2
	ta ko **rŋ̡ᴇ**	hair of head; hair (general)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:2.7; Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.12
	ta mᴇ wa **rŋ̡ᴇ**	leg hair	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.1.3.3
	ta ro wa **rŋ̡ᴇ**	chest hair	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.1.3.2
	ta **rŋ̡ᴇ**	hair; fur; fur (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.1.4; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:172.12
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	ta **’rne**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	ta **’rŋ̡e**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	ta **’rŋ̡e**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	ta **’rŋ̡e**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	ta **’rŋ̡i**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	ta **’rŋ̡i**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	ta **’rŋ̡i**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	ta **’rŋ̡i**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta ko **rɲe**	hair (head)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:2.7
rGyalrong (Northern)	ta **rme**	hair (general)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1
	ta **rme** ka ndzəri	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.1.1
	ta **rme** sta	pore	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.2.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta ro wa **rɲe**	chest hair	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.3.2
	ta **rɲe**	hair (general)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	ta **r’ŋ̡e**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	ta **ɾɲɪ**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (NW)	tsita və xpor **rme**	goatee	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.2.2
rGyalrong	tə mtɕi mo **rŋ̡ᴇ**	beard	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.1.2.1
	tə ɕna mo **rŋ̡ᴇ**	nose hair	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.5.4
	tə ɕtu mo **rŋ̡ᴇ**	male pubic hair; female pubic hair	Dai Qingxia 1989d:10.3.6; Dai Qingxia 1989d:10.4.5
Caodeng	tə-ko-**rmɐ**	hair of head	Sun 1997a
	tə-mtʃ^{h}én-**rmɐj**	armpit-hair	Sun 1997a
	tə-ʃtu-**rmɐj**	pubic hair (female)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (NW)	tə ku **rme**	hair (head); hair of head	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.1; Sun Hongkai 1991l:2.7
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə kə **rme**	hair (head)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:2.7
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə lam **rɲie**	male pubic hair	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.3.6

[a] Ls. **ts^{h}e^{44}** cannot be from ***tsam**, since ***-am** > Ls. **-o**.
[b] Akha **tseh^{55}** cannot be from ***tsam**, since ***-am** > Akha syllabic **-m̩**.

[a] [Source Note] [G&C 51] (LaPolla 1987).

rGyalrong (Northern)	tə mbu **rme**	male pubic hair	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.3.6
	tə mi **rme**	leg hair	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.3.3
	tə mtɕʰi **rme**	beard; moustache	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.2.1; Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.2.3
	tə mɲak **rme**	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.4.3
rGyalrong (NW)	tə mɲak **rme**	eyebrow; eyelash	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.4.3; Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.4.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə mɲak ərka **rme**	eyelash	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.4.4
	tə mɟja **rme**	goatee	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.2.2
rGyalrong (NW)	tə pi **rme**	leg hair	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.3.3
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə piak pa **rme**	underarm hair	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.3.1
	tə pʰuŋ bu **rme**	body hair	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.3
rGyalrong (NW)	tə qətsəye **rme**	underarm hair	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.3.1
	tə ra **rme**	chest hair	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.3.2
	tə **rme**	hair (general)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1
	tə **rme** scçi	pore	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.2.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ro **rme**	chest hair	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.3.2
rGyalrong (NW)	tə rŋe **rme**	beard / moustache	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.2
	tə stə **rme**	female pubic hair	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.4.5
	tə sɲi **rme**	nose hair	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.5.4
	tə xpor **rme**	beard; moustache	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.2.1; Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.2.3
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ɣə mba **rme**	beard / moustache	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.2
	tə ʃna **rme**	nose hair	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.5.4
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə ʃna wa **rɲe**	nose hair	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.5.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ʃtu **rme**	female pubic hair	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.4.5
rGyalrong (NW)	tə ɕe **rme**	body hair	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.3
	tə ʁʑa **rme**	male pubic hair	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.3.6
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tʃʰet wu ʃno mo **rɲe**	goatee	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.2.2
Caodeng	tɐ-**rmɐ**	hair	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ ko **rɲɐ**	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.11
	tɑ **rɲɐ**	hair / down (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.11
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wa ko **rɲe** kargorgo	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.1.1
	wa piake wa **rɲe**	underarm hair	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.3.1
rGyalrong	wu mci mo **rɲɐ**	whiskers (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.1.7
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wupʰətpa **rɲe**	leg hair	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.3.3
	ʃno mo **rɲe**	beard	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.2.1
	ʃno mo **rɲe** məjte	moustache	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.2.3
rGyalrong (NW)	ʁaji xpo **rme**	whiskers (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.7
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	ʁǎ **rmə̂**	hair of the head	Nagano & Prins 2013:0007
rGyalrong	ta gye wa **rnye**	facial hair	Nagano 1997:8.1.2
	ta me wa **rnye**	leg hair	Nagano 1997:8.1.33
	ta pye kha wa **rnye**	underarm hair	Nagano 1997:8.1.31
	ta **rnye**	hair	Nagano 1997:8.1
	ta ro **rnye**	chest hair	Nagano 1997:8.1.32
	tA shi tA wu **rnye**	female pubic hair	Nagano 1997:10.4.5
	tA shi te wa **rnye**	male pubic hair	Nagano 1997:10.3.6
	tA shna wu **rnye**	nose hair	Nagano 1997:3.5.4
	ta wo **rnye**	hair of head	Nagano 1997:2.7
	ta wu **rnye**	hair of head	Nagano 1997:8.1.1
rGBenzhen	ta-**rɲe**	hair	Sun 1997b
	tə-lɐmʔ mo-**rɲe**	pubic hair	Sun 1997b
	tə-wu **rɲe**	hair of head	Sun 1997b
	tə-ʃtuʔ mo-**rɲe**	pubic hair	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Rawang	**ni**^{33} san^{33}	braid, plait (n.)	LaPolla 2003:85
Anong	**ñi**^{55}	hair	Sun Hongkai 1988
	ə **ni** ⨯ tə **ni**	hair of head; hair (head); hair(head)	Benedict 1972:292; Matisoff 1985a:051; LaPolla 1987:62
Rawang	ə **ni**^{33}	hair of head	LaPolla 2003:84
	ə **ni**^{33} bɑ^{31} wɛ^{33}	thin (hair)	LaPolla 2003:1059
Nung	ɑ^{31}**ɲi**^{55}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}**ɲi**^{55}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.44
Trung [Dulong]	u^{44} **nĕi**^{44}	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	u^{55}**ni**^{55}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.20
	u^{55}**ni**^{55}blɑt^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.20
Trung [Dulong]	u^{55}**nĕi**^{55}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.46
	u^{55}**nĕi**^{55}blɑt^{55}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	u^{55} **nai**^{55}	hair(head)	LaPolla 1987:62
	u^{55} **nĕi**^{55}	hair (head)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	u^{55} **nĕi**^{55} blɑt^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**nɯ**^{31} tsʰɯm^{55}	beard	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	u^{53} **ne**^{53}	hair (head); hair(head)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:62
	u^{53} **ne**^{53} blɑt^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nosu	o^{33}**ɲe**^{33}	hair of head	Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.1
	ɲe^{33}	fur; feather	Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.4; Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.5
Yi (Liangshan)	**ɲɛ**^{33}	fur; hair	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	o^{2}**ɲi**^{2}	hair (head)	Matisoff 1985a:051
	ɔ^{33} **ɲe**^{33}	hair	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ɔ^{33}-**ɲɛ**^{33}	hair	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɔ^{33}**ɲe**^{33}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.35
	ɔ^{33}**ɲe**^{33}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.21
	ɲe^{33}	fur	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ɲe^{33}	hair; down; feather; plume (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.35
	ɲe^{33}	hair; fur; feather	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:172.21; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:173.21
	ɲɛ^{33}	hair, feather	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	xo^{21} **nɯ̱**^{33} be^{33} zo^{21}	body hair	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.1.3
	kə̱^{55}**ʒa**^{55}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.19
	^{3}**ká**^{3}**rá**	hair (of head)	Weidert 1987:1048

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**krà**	hair of head	Sharma 1991a:2.7
Kanauri	**krā**	hair (n.)	Bailey 1911
	kra	hair (head); hair (of head)	Sharma 1988:34,41,54; Benedict 1972:115
Pattani [Manchati]	ko **krà**	hair of head	Sharma 1991b:2.7
	kra	hair	Sharma 1982
	krà	hair of head	Sharma 1991b:8.1.1

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	**kʰrɑ**^{55}	hair	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	kʰrɑ^{55} pʰre^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**khrʌ**^{53}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.6
	khrʌ^{53}phre^{53}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.6
	kʰrʌ^{53}	hair	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kʰrʌ^{53} pʰre^{53}	braid	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Cuona Menba	**khra**^{53}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.06
	khra^{53}ma^{53}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Central)	**ʈā**	hair (head)	Weidert 1987:795
Tibetan (Jirel)	**ʼTāq**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
Sherpa	**rhaq**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**ta**	hair of head	Bishop 1989:8.1.1
	Taa	hair of head	Bishop 1989:2.7
	ta bē	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Bishop 1989:8.1.1.1
Tibetan (Spoken)	**skra**	hair (head)	Weidert 1987:1048
Tibetan (Written)	**skra**	hair (head); hair (of head)	Weidert 1987:795; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:115
	skra	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.01
	skra	hair; hair of head	Zhang Liansheng 1988:14; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.1
	skra lo	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.01

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	(u) **kró**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{A}**kra** / ^{B}kra	hair / head	Mazaudon 1978:8
Gurung (Ghachok)	**krā**	hair (head); head	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	kra	hair (head); head	Glover 1972:1.37; Glover 1972:1.38
	krā gudi	brain	Matisoff 1987
	kra gudi	brain	Glover 1972:2.A.16
	krā khoplę̆	skull	Matisoff 1987
	kra kʰoplę̆	skull	Glover 1972:2.A.15
	kra laːhba	shake (head)	Glover 1972
	kra swi baq	comb (hair) (v.)	Glover 1972:2.B.2.37
	kra waː baq	cut (hair)	Glover 1972:2.B.2.38
	kra muq	carry-all head-cloth (women's)	Glover 1972:7.A.37
	^{1}**kra**	hair / head	Mazaudon 1978:8
Gurung	^{1}**kra**	head	Mazaudon 1994:64
Manang (Gyaru)	**gra**^{2}	hair	Nagano 1984:001-01
Manang (Ngawal)	^{2}**krɤ**	hair / head	Mazaudon 1978:8
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**krə**	hair (of head)	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0002
	^{1}**krɤ**	hair (of head)	Mazaudon 1994:64
Tamang	**kra**	hair (head)	Weidert 1987:795
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**kra**	hair; head; hair, fur	Mazaudon 1978:8; Mazaudon 1994:64
	^{1}**kra** -sja	brain (meat) / brain (organ)	Mazaudon 1994:64
	^{1}**kra**-sja	brain (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:2.5, 9.1
Tamang (Sahu)	**krā**	brain; head	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	kra	head	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.38
	kra ʼlihp-pa	shake head (animal) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.A.64.3
	kra ʼlihp-pā (p)	nod (shake head, animal) (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.64
	krā ʼyohng-pā	nod (with head, side to side) (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.64
	kra ʼyohŋ-pa	nod (with head, side sid (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.A.64.1
	krā-sām	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	kra.sya	brain	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.16
	kra sam	hair	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.37
	kra sam preːh-pa	cut hair (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.38
	kra sam rheː-pa	comb (hair) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.37
	^{1}**kra**	hair; head	Mazaudon 1978:8; Mazaudon 1994:64
Tamang (Taglung)	**hwa**	hair	Mazaudon 1994:64
	^{1}**hwa**	hair / head	Mazaudon 1978:8
Thakali (Marpha)	^{2}**kjʌ**	hair / head	Mazaudon 1978:8
Thakali (Syang)	^{2}**kja**	hair / head	Mazaudon 1978:8
Thakali (Tukche)	^{H}**ʈʌ**	hair / head	Mazaudon 1978:8

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Lanping)	**ɬɑ**^{13}dʒy^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ɬɑ**^{13} dʒy^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	ɬɑ^{13}dʒy^{55}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.11
Qiang (Mawo)	**khliɛ** piɛ	plait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.08
	qə **xliɛ** piɛ	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.08
	xlia pi	plait; braid	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.8; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:655.8
	xlia pi	braid (hair) (n.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981

(3) PTB *s-kra HAIR OF HEAD / HEAD

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**s-**)**kra**	hair	Weidert 1987:795
	***s-kra**	hair (of head); hair (head)	Benedict 1972:115; Matisoff 2003a:596

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar Lhoba	**dʑa** ʼu	hair	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	**kra̱**	hair	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**kara**	hair (of head); hair (head)	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	kə̱^{5} **ʒa̱**^{55}	hair (head)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	kə̱^{55}**ʒa̱**^{55}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.47
	kəra	hair (head); hair (of head)	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:115

(4) PTB *kriŋ HAIR (HEAD) / THREAD / SINEW / TENDON

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kriŋ**	thread / string	Matisoff 2003a:596

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	**dʑiː** pa	tendon / sinew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0130.24
Bokar Lhoba	**dʑiː** pa	muscle; sinew	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:267.51

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**hkrìng** náng	sinew / tendon	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**ring**	muscle / tendon	Egli-Roduner 1987:36 6
Tsangla (Motuo)	**rin**	muscle / sinew	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	**khi**^{53}	thread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:421.19
	khi^{53}	thread (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0461.46

5. Tujia

Tujia (Southern)	**tɕĩ**^{21}	muscle	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**tɕĩ**^{55}	muscle	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*ʔmul^{1} + **kriŋ**^{1}	hair (of head)	Matisoff 1978a:60
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	a^{31} **tɕiŋ**^{35}	muscle / sinew	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31} **kzə**^{31}	muscle / sinew	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	a^{31} **kjin**^{35}	muscle / sinew	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola	ʃă^{35} **kji**^{31}	muscle	Dai Qingxia 1989g:156
Burmese (Written)	**khrañ**	hair	Hansson 1989:403
	khyañ	hair	Hansson 1989:403
Lashi	ʃð^{55} **kji**^{33}	nerve; ligament (bone to bone)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.10; Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.6
Maru [Langsu]	ʃɔ̆^{35} **kji**^{31}	nerve; ligament (bone to bone)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.10; Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.6
Atsi [Zaiwa]	ʃð^{21} **kji**^{21}	muscle	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***kriŋ**^{1}	head hair; hair	Bradley 1979b:89-2; Hansson 1989:403
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	ji^{31} ts^{h}ɭ^{33} **k^{h}ʏ**^{33}	head hair	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	ji^{31}ts^{h}ɪ^{33}**k^{h}v**^{33}	hair (on head)	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	tshɛ^{44} **khɤ**^{44}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.44
	ts^{h}ɛ^{33}**khɯ**^{33}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	ts^{h}ɛ^{44} **k^{h}ɯ**^{44}	hair (head)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:100
Jinuo (Baka)	ts^{h}ɛ^{44} **k^{h}ɯ**^{44}	hair (head)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:100
Jinuo (Youle)	ts^{h}ɛ^{44} **k^{h}ɤ**^{44}	hair (head)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	dzɭ33 **khɯ33**	hair	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***hkeh:**	head hair	Bradley 1979b:89-2
Lahu (Shehleh)	tsuh¯ **hkeh:**	hair (head)	Bradley 1979a:89
Lahu (Nyi)	u¯ **hkeh:** mvuh:	hair (head)	Bradley 1979a:89
Lahu (Lancang)	u^{35}**kh**ɛ^{33}tu^{33}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.43
Lahu (Black)	cí-**kh**ɛ-mu	hair (head); hair (of head)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:60
	ú-**kh**ɛ-mu	hair (head); hair (of head)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:60
	ỿ^{35} **k^{h}**ɛ^{33} p^{h}i^{53}	braid (hair) (n.)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	yí-**kh**ɛ-mu	hair (head); hair (of head)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:60
Lahu (Yellow)	tsa^{6}**kh**ɛ^{1}	rope	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsɭʔ^{54} **k^{h}**ɛ^{33}	hair (head)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	tsuh¯ **hkeh:**	hair (head)	Bradley 1979a:89
Lahu (Banlan)	tsuh˯ **hkeh:** mvuh:	hair (head)	Bradley 1979a:89
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**kháŋ**	hair	Hansson 1989:403
	tseh˅ **kah˅**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	tseh˅ **kah˅ kah˅**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Thai)	tshé **kháŋ**	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:403
Akha (Yunnan)	tshé **kháŋ**	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:403
Akha (Thai)	tshé-**kháŋ**	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:176
Bisu	tám **khúŋ**	head hair	Bradley 1979b
	tám **k^{h}úŋ**	hair (on head)	Bradley 199x
	ʃám **khíŋ**	head hair	Beaudouin 1988:14
Hani (Dazhai)	tshe^{55}**kho**^{55}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.31
Hani (Lüchun)	tshó **khɔ́**	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:403
Hani (Dazhai)	ts^{h}e^{55} **k^{h}ɔ**^{55}	hair	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Pijo)	**khý**	hair; clf. for long things	Hansson 1989:403; Hansson 1989:404
	tjhí **khý**	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:403
Hani (Caiyuan)	tshe^{55}**khɤ**^{55}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.30
	ts^{h}e^{55} **k^{h}ɤ**^{55}	hair	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	ts^{h}e^{55} **k^{h}aŋ**^{55}	hair	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	ceil **kaol**	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:403
Hani (Shuikui)	ts^{h}ɛ^{55} **k^{h}u**^{55}	hair	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatɯ)	**khý**	hair; clf. for long things	Hansson 1989:403; Hansson 1989:404
	tjhí **khý**	hair (on head)	Hansson 1989:403
Mpi	ŋ^{4}**khɯ**^{6}	head hair; hair; hair (of head)	Bradley 1979b; Hansson 1989:403; Matisoff 1978a:60; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	sham **khə̃́**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	sham **khə̋**	head hair	Bradley 1979b
	sɑm^{33} **k^{h}ɪ̃**^{33}	hair	Bradley 1977
	s^{h}ɑm^{33} **k^{h}ə̃**^{55}	hair	Bradley 1977
Ugong	**khu** săŋ (méŋ)	hair of head (= 8.1.1)	Bradley 1993:2.7
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	**k^{h}ɯ**˩	CL of threads (CL.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	k^{h}ɯ˩	thread	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**khɯ**^{21}	thread (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0461.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**khɯ**^{33}	thread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:421.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**khɯ**^{31}	thread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:421.28
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a^{31} tθui^{31} **klɛ̲**^{55}	blood vessel	Dai Qingxia 1989k:162.1
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**tɕĩ**^{55}	muscle	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	pæ̃^{31} **tɕĩ**^{55}	sinew / tendon (muscle to bone)	Zhao Yansun 1990:8.5
	tɕĩ^{55}	muscle	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕĩ^{55} mĩ^{42} **tɕĩ**^{55} ɣɯ^{33}	ligament (bone to bone)	Zhao Yansun 1990:8.6
	tɕĩ^{55} **tɕĩ**^{55} mæ̲^{44} mæ̲^{44}	nerve	Zhao Yansun 1990:8.10
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**g'i̯ŭn**/g'i̯ün	sinew	Karlgren 1957:249f
	ki̯ən/ki̯ən	sinew	Karlgren 1957:445a
	ki̯ŭn/ki̯ɒn	sinew	Karlgren 1957:249f

[a] Akha **tseh**^{55} cannot be from ***tsam**, since ***-am** > Akha syllabic **-m̩**.

(5) PTani *dum HEAD / HAIR

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***dum**	head	Sun 1993a:193
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	(**din**-)se	band (forehead)	Sun 1993b
	(puɯ-**dĩ**) prja-sú	plait (v.)	Sun 1993b
	a-**dĩ**	head	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**dĩ** di-lĩ	hair knot (women's)	Sun 1993b
	a-**dĩ**-a-č^{h}i	headache	Sun 1993b
	a-**diŋ**	head	Sun 1993b
	a-**diŋ** á-či	headache	Sun 1993b
	a-**diŋ** čé-nɯ	barber	Sun 1993b
	a-**diŋ** dá-lji	bust	Sun 1993b
	a-**diŋ** di-laŋ	grey hair	Sun 1993b
	a-**diŋ dim**-pu	grey hair	Sun 1993b
	a-**diŋ diŋ**-hɯ	curly hair	Sun 1993b
	a-**diŋ diŋ**-xɯ	skull	Sun 1993b
	a-**diŋ** djim-pjɯ	nod	Sun 1993b
	a-**diŋ** ǰín-ǰi	black hair	Sun 1993b
	a-**diŋ** re-nɯ	barber	Sun 1993b
	a-**diŋ** ta-xo	bald head	Sun 1993b
	dĩ p^{h}rjɯʔ	shake (head)	Sun 1993b
	dĩ tĩ	nod	Sun 1993b
	dĩ tu	comb (v.)	Sun 1993a [a]
	dĩ-k^{h}rju	skull	Sun 1993b
	di-ljo	scalp	Sun 1993b
	di-mu	hair (of head); hair of head	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	dĩ-nan	pillow	Sun 1993b
	dĩ-tu	comb (v.)	Sun 1993b
	dim-pĩ	hair band (of beads); hair knot (women's)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	din-č^{h}i	band (head)	Sun 1993b
	din-c^{h}i	hair band (of beads)	Sun 1993b
	din-so	tying string for hair-knot	Sun 1993b
	din-tà	crown of head	Sun 1993b
	din-ta a-ljo	scalp	Sun 1993b
	din-ta ta-k^{h}rjo-nɯ	bald	Sun 1993b
	dín-ti	move head forward and backward	Sun 1993b
	dín-tu	wash head	Sun 1993b
	din-tu	nod	Sun 1993b
	diŋ-xo	bald head	Sun 1993b
	djim-pu	grey hair	Sun 1993b
	k^{h}ro-tu **diŋ**-ko	hair knot	Sun 1993b
	pa-**diŋ**	knot	Sun 1993b
	pú-**dĩ**	hair knot (men's)	Sun 1993b
	puɯ-**diŋ**	hair-knot (men)	Sun 1993b
	puɯ-**diŋ** pàr-tu	hairpin	Sun 1993b
	puɯ-**diŋ** xó-tu	hairpin	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**dum**-či	headache	Sun 1993b
	dum-din	shake head	Sun 1993b
	dum-kit	shake head	Sun 1993b
	dum-lup	hat (Tibetan)	Sun 1993b
	dum-pjɯː	plait	Sun 1993b
	dum-poː	head	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	dum-puɯː	nod	Sun 1993b
	dum-puɯː paː	worship	Sun 1993b
	dum-rɯk	crown of head	Sun 1993b
	dum-tɯm	pillow	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-mɯ	hair (of head)	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-mɯ hi	shave hair (of head)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(**dum**) ten	shake (one's head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1752.24
	dum mɯ	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.24
	dum pin	baldhead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0205.24
	dum pə	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.24
	dum pɯr	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.24
	dum tom	pillow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.24
	dum-mɯ	hair of head	Sun 1993b
	dum-mɯ pe	cut (hair of head)	Sun 1993b
	dum-pur	head	Sun 1993b
	dum-pɯr	head	Sun 1993a
	dum-tom	pillow	Sun 1993b
	mi:-ri-**dum**-či	feel nausea	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**dum** tom	pillow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:387.51
	dum mɯ	hair	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	dum pɯr	head	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	dɯm mɯ	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.51
	tum pɯr	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.51
Galo	a **dum**	hair (head) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	a **dum**	hair	Das Gupta 1963
	a **dum** pak-dum	tying of hair	Das Gupta 1963
	a **dum** sam-nam	hair cutting (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	dum-ci-nam	ache (of head) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	dum-pa	pillow	Das Gupta 1963
	dum boo	headdress (bridal) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	dum jen	hair beads (n.)	GLDC 2009
	dum luk	hair (baby's) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	dum lii̱	brown hair; red hair (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	dum maa	headless (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	dum paa	pillow (n.)	GLDC 2009
	dum po	skull	Das Gupta 1963
	dum po-a pin	scalp	Das Gupta 1963
	dum po-**dum**-ci	headache	Das Gupta 1963
	dum po-ɤm papag-nam	behead (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	dum poo	head (n.)	GLDC 2009
	dum poo-a loo	skull (n.)	GLDC 2009
	dum puu	gray hair; white hair (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	dum pər	curly (hair) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	dum ɯ	hair cutting; tying of hair	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	pak-**dum**	tying of hair	Das Gupta 1963
	'**dum** ci	headache (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**dum** kə	black hair (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**dum** pii	bangs (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**dum** puk	headscarf (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**dum** pə	topknot (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**dum** rɨk	crest; pate; zenith (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**dum**-ci	headache	Simon 1976
	dum-cik	Nishi hairknot	Simon 1976
	dum-pen	Miri hairknot	Simon 1976
	dum-po	head	Simon 1976
	dum-tem	pillow	Simon 1976
	dum-tɤm	pillow	Simon 1976
	duŋ-ko	hairpin	Simon 1976
	duŋ k	skull	Simon 1976
	o **dum**	hair	Simon 1976
Nishing	**dum**-po	head	Das Gupta 1969; Das Gupta 1969
	du mi	hair	Das Gupta 1969
	du mí	hair	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**dom** bin	bald	Das Gupta 1983
	doŋ ku	skull / upper head	Das Gupta 1983 [b]

[a] [Source Note] **dĩ** = 'head' (Sun 1993a).
[b] Cf. Milang **tuk-kyu**, Abor-Miri **tuk-ku** 'skull.'

	dum po **duḿ**-ci-pa	head aches	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	**dum**-poŋ	head	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**dum**-muit	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	dum-pong	head	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**dum**-piar	leader	Sun 1993b
	dum-po:	head	Sun 1993b
	dum-tuk	hat	Sun 1993b
Milang	**du**-ma	hair	Tayeng 1976
	dum-cum	special dress of creeper for priest	Tayeng 1976
	dum-kin	pillow	Tayeng 1976
	dum po a ki	head-ache	Tayeng 1976 [a]
	dum poŋ-ma	dizziness	Tayeng 1976
	du ma ŋat tub cu-ma	hair-do (knotting)	Tayeng 1976
	geying **dum**-pu	hat (cane)	Tayeng 1976

[a] Cf. Mirish **dum-po** HEAD.

(6) PTB *(t)sam HAIR (head)

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***sr + am**	hair	Coblin 1986:90
	***tsə̂m**~**sə̂m**	hair / feather	Chou Fa-kao 1972
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***sâm**	feather; hair (body); eyelash	Weidert 1987:760; Weidert 1987:897
	***tsam**	hair (head)(1)	Weidert 1987:222
	***tsâm**	eyelash	Weidert 1987:760
	***tsam**	eyelash	Weidert 1987:760
	***tsâm**	feather / hair (body)	Weidert 1987:897
	***tsam**	feather; hair (body); hair (head); hair	Weidert 1987:897; Mortensen 2012; Benedict 1972:73
	***tsam** (*A)	hair	Coblin 1986:90
	***tsam** ⩵ **sam**	hair (head); hair	Matisoff 2003a:616; Michailovsky 1991:79
	***tsɑm**	hair / feather	Chou Fa-kao 1972
	***tsə̂m**~**sə̂m**	head hair	Chou Fa-kao 1972
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Miji	mi?-**sɯm** i	eyelash	Simon 1979
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	**sam** nam	hair cutting (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	ɲik-**shin**	eyelash	Simon 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**syám**	hair (head)(1); eyelash	Weidert 1987:222; Weidert 1987:760
	ɕɑm^{55}	hair (head)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕɑm^{55}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.23
	ɕɑm^{55}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.48
	ɕɑm^{55} ɑ^{31} p^{h}lăt^{55}	braid	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕɑm^{55}phlăt^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.23
	ɕɑm^{55}phlăt^{55}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.48
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***s^{h}am** HAIR (head)			
**Chin*	*muy-**sham**	APPEARANCE / FACE	VanBik 2009:749
	***sham**	HAIR (head)	VanBik 2009:688
Thanphum	**tsɑm**^{5}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	jang **sam**	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Haokip 1998:8.1.1.1
	sam	hair of head (= 8.1.1); hair (general); hair of head (= 2.7)	Haokip 1998:2.7; Haokip 1998:8.1; Haokip 1998:8.1.1
Sizang	**sam**	hair	VanBik 2009:688
Thado	**sâm**	hair	VanBik 2009:688
	sám	hair	Thirumalai 1972:43
	sa̱m	hair	Thirumalai 1972:24
	sa̱m pɔ̀	comb (hair) (v.)	Thirumalai 1972:59
	sa̱m thí	comb	Thirumalai 1972:43
Tiddim	**săm**-si?	comb (n.)	Weidert 1987:928
	sam^{1}	hair	VanBik 2009:688; Bhaskararao 1996:1511
	sam^{1} phe:k^{2}	parted hair	Bhaskararao 1996:1512
	sa̤m	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	s‘am^{3}	hair; hair on head	Luce 1985:G.114; Luce 1985:P.19
	ˊsam	hair (n.)	Henderson 1965
	ˊsam	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	a **‘sawn**	hair (of the head) (n.)	VanBik 2009:688
	‘moi-**sán**	face	VanBik 2009:749
Asho (Sandoway)	ă **s‘ɔaŋ**^{2}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
	s‘ɔ̃^{2}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
Chinbon	**š^{h}ám**	hair	So-Hartmann 1988:80
Daai	lu̯ **s^{h}am**	hair	So-Hartmann 1988:80
	sham	hair	VanBik 2009:688
Awa Khumi	ă **s‘ɑ̃**^{2}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
Khumi	**saang**	head hair	VanBik 2009:688
	s^{h}ām	hair	So-Hartmann 1988:80
Khumi (Ahraing)	**sɑm**^{1}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
Matu	**s^{h}am**	hair	So-Hartmann 1988:80
Matupi	**s‘ɑm**^{4}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
Mkaang	lu̯ **šám**	hair	So-Hartmann 1988:80
Wakung	**s^{h}ãŋ**	hair	So-Hartmann 1988:80
Womatu	**sam**^{1}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Khualsim	**s‘am**^{2}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
Lai (Hakha)	mŭy **sâm**	appearance, face	VanBik 2009:749
	sâm	hair (head)	VanBik 2009:688
Lai (Falam)	**sám**	hair (head)	VanBik 2009:688
Lai (Hakha)	**sâm** thi?	comb (for hair)	VanBik 2009:380
Lai (Falam)	**sám** thì?	comb	VanBik 2009:380
Lai (Hakha)	**s‘am**^{5}	hair; hair on head	Luce 1985:G.114; Luce 1985:P.19
Lushai [Mizo]	**sam**	hair (of head); hair (head)	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	săm	hair of the head (n.)	VanBik 2009:688
	sam	hair of the head; hair (of head); head hair	Bhaskararao 1996:1511; Benedict 1972:73; Coblin 1986:90
	sam khuih khuih na	comb (n.)	Marrison 1967
	s‘am^{3}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lailenpi	mə **s‘ə**^{1}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
Lakher [Mara]	**sa**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	sá	hair (n.)	VanBik 2009:688
	sá thī	comb	VanBik 2009:380
	sa-bu	single hair (df.)	Matisoff 1987
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**ʃuə**^{3}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
Mera	**s‘ɑ**^{1}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
Tha’oa	**s‘am**^{2}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
Xongsai	**sam**^{2}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
Zotung	**saŋ**-reu	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	s‘ɑ̃^{5}	hair on head	Luce 1985:P.19
1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Kom Rem	**səm**	hair of head	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.1
	səm inkin	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.1.1
Moyon	mìk rùk **hʌ̀m**	eyebrow	Kosha 1990:3.4.3
	šʌ̀m	hair of head (= 8.1.1); hair of head (= 2.7)	Kosha 1990:2.7; Kosha 1990:8.1.1
Sorbung	**sàam**	hair of head	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.228
1.3. “Naga” Areal Group			
Maring	**sam**	hair; hair (of head)	Brown 1837; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967:116
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-həm** HAIR / LEAF / FEATHER, ***a-tsha:m** HAIR (FACE / HEAD)			[a]
**Central Naga*	*a-**həm**	HAIR / LEAF / FEATHER	Bruhn 2014a:III.148
	*a-**tsha:m**	HAIR (FACE / HEAD)	Bruhn 2014a:III.121
**Ao*	*a-**həm**	BANANA LEAF / ASPIDISTRA LEAF	Bruhn 2014a:II.138
Ao (Chungli)	á **m̀** [á **hʌ̀m]**	banana leaf	Temsunungsang 2009:1a
	a **m**^{31}	banana leaf (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.138
	bang **sem**	beard	Marrison 1967
	paŋ^{3}**səm**^{1}	beard, facial hair (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.121
Ao (Mongsen)	á **m̀** [á **hʌ̀m]**	banana leaf	Temsunungsang 2009:1a
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a **m**	aspidistra sp. (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**həm**^{3}ro?^{3}, **həm**^{3}ro^{3}no?^{3}	hair (of body, nose) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	men^{3}**həm**^{3}	hair (facial) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [b]
	o^{1}-**həm**^{3}	hair (underarm, pubic) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.148
	o^{1}-**tshan**^{3}	hair (head) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.121
	vo^{3}ro^{3} **həm**^{3}	feather (of bird) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.148
	khe no **tsan**	nose hair	Nienu 1990c:3.5.4
	khoka **hüm**	beard	Murry *et al.* 1978:9; Marrison 1967
	men **hüm**	moustache; beard	Murry *et al.* 1978:76; Murry *et al.* 1978:9
	mha **tsan**	beard / moustache	Nienu 1990c:8.1.2
	mhyik **tsan**	eyelash	Nienu 1990c:3.4.4
	Njo **hum**	male pubic hair	Nienu 1990c:10.3.6
	Nre **hum**	female pubic hair	Nienu 1990c:10.4.5
	o **hüm**	feather	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:44
	ō **hə̀m** >	feather	Acharya 1975
	o jo **tsan**	leg hair	Nienu 1990c:8.1.3.3
	o **tsan**	hair (of head); hair	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:53
	o **tsaN**	hair of head	Nienu 1990c:2.7
	o **tsan**	hair (general)	Nienu 1990c:8.1
	o **tssan** pia	plait	Murry *et al.* 1978:89
	tssan tsü phen	braid	Murry *et al.* 1978:11
	wo ro **hum**	feather (of bird)	Nienu 1990c:8.1.5
	^{1}o^{3}**hɯm(?)**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
	^{1}o^{3}**tsan(?)**	hair (head); eyelash	Weidert 1987:222; Weidert 1987:760
Sangtam	anbü a **tsa**	fine hair	Kumar 1973a
	a **m** tpo	hair (of body)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	a **m**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **nam**	feather	Kumar 1973b:65
	mükhüh **nam**	beard	Kumar 1973b:60
	mün-**nam**	moustache	Kumar 1973b:82
	shih **nam**	wool	Kumar 1973b:30
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			[c]
Angami Naga	^{5}u^{4}tsɯ^{5}**tha**	hair (head)(1)	Weidert 1987:222
Angami (Khonoma)	**tha**	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) tsü^{31} **tha**^{55}	hair of head	Nienu 1990a:2.7
Chokri	(u) pi^{55} **tha**^{35}	hair of head	Nienu 1990b:2.7
	pi^{55} **tha**^{35}	hair of head	Nienu 1990b:8.1.1
	u-pi-**tha**	hair; hair (of head)	Marrison 1967:116; Marrison 1967
Khezha	e-**ta**	hair	Marrison 1967:116
Mao	pi-**shu**	hair	Marrison 1967:116
Meluri	a-**she**	hair; hair (of head)	Marrison 1967:116; Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	^{2}n^{3}**šx̌**	eyelash	Weidert 1987:760
Sema [Sumi]	a-**sa**	hair	Marrison 1967:116
	a kü tsü-**sa**	hair of head	Achumi 1998a:8.1.1
	a ku tsü **sa**	hair of head	Achumi 1998a:2.7
	a **sa**	hair (of head); hair (general)	Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:8.1
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	**tham**	hair (of head); hair	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967:116
Liangmei	ka-**thă̱m**	eyelash	Weidert 1987:760
	ta-**tham**	hair; hair (of head)	Marrison 1967:116; Marrison 1967
Maram	**tam**	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**sam**	hair (of head); hair	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967:116
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	kg **sam**	his / her hair	Matisoff 1994e
	me **sam**	hair	Matisoff 1994e
	naŋ **sam**	your hair	Matisoff 1994e
	sam	hair	Brown 1837
	sàm	hair	Matisoff 1994e
	süm	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
	ə **sam**	my hair	Matisoff 1994e
	?ənyu **sam**	our (incl.) hair	Matisoff 1994e
	?ənəi **sam**	our (du. excl) hair	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	mi-**tam**	hair; hair (of head)	Marrison 1967:116; Marrison 1967
	^{4}**tam**	eyelash	Weidert 1987:760
Mzieme	**tam**	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***sam** HAIR (HEAD)			
**Tangkhulic*	***sam**	hair (head)	Mortensen 2012:436
Champhung	**sam**	hair	Brown 1837
Huishu	?a-kow-nə-**sam**	hair of head	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.225
	?a-nə-**sam**	hair (general)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.224
Kachai	ke-**sam**	hair of head	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.204

[a] The inclusion of the Ao ‘banana leaf / aspidistra leaf’ forms is somewhat doubtful, as the large leaves of the banana and Aspidistra plants are not very similar to body hair (though perhaps they resemble giant green feathers). [dwbruhn, 2014 Feb 3]

[b] [Source Note] mouth-hair

[c] **-a** is the regular Angami reflex of **-am**; cf. Angami Naga **^{2}khuo^{5}rha** ‘otter’ < PTB ***sram** OTTER (§2.2.7.1).

Tangkhul	kui-**sam**	hair; hair (head); hair (of head)	Marrison 1967:116; Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967
	sam	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	sam tan	lock of hair	Matisoff 1987
	səm	hair	Bhat 1969:90
	²səm	eyelash	Weidert 1987:760
Tankghul (Central)	ko-**sen**	hair	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	ko-**sen**	hair	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**sam**	hair	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔɯ-kuə-**ʃi**	hair of the head	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.215
Ukhrul	kuj-**sam**	hair (on head)	Mortensen 2012
	kuj-**sɐm**	hair (head)	Mortensen 2012
	sam	hair	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	pi **sum**	eyebrow	Singh 1991:3.4.3; Matisoff 1987
	sam	hair (of head); hair (head)	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	səm	hair of head; hair	Singh 1991:2.7; Singh 1991:8.1
	səm (kok-ki)	hair of head	Singh 1991:8.1.1
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	mek (ang) **sum**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	te hang ang **sum**	brow; eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	te hàng ang **sùm**	eyebrow	Grüssner 1979:87
	te hàng ang **sung**	eyebrow	Grüssner 1979:87
1.6. MRU			
Mru	**cham**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	ts'ɛ̃²	hair of head	Luce 1985:S.34
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Kokborok	mə?-**šram**	eyebrow	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	mik **sam**	eyebrow	Benedict 1972:73; Coblin 1986:90
Garo (Bangladesh)	**sam**-pil	comb (n.)	Burling 2003:6.57-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**cha** chura	hair on top of the head (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**sam**	hair (head); hair; hair (of head)	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:29n92,73; Coblin 1986:90
	sàm-bàn	cue or top-knot left on the top of the head after the rest has been shaved. (n.)	Hansson 1989:581 [a]
	sam^{55} pan^{31}	braid (hair) (n.)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984 [b]
	sam^{55}pan^{51}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.19
	sam^{55}pan^{51}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.47
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Chairel	**sɑm**	hair of head	Luce 1985:K.53
Lui	**söm**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Baram	**sjam**	hair	Kansakar 2010:3
Bunan	ə**l tshəm**	moustache	Sharma 1991a:8.1.2.3
Byangsi	**cham**	wool (n.)	Sharma 2003:134
Chaudangsi	məla-tsum, **tshum**	wool	Krishan 2003:470
Kanauri	mik-**tsam**	eyebrow	Benedict 1972:73
	tsam	wool / fleece (n.)	Bailey 1911
	tsam	wool, fleece	Benedict 1972:73
Pattani [Manchati]	drò **tsam**	male pubic hair	Sharma 1991b:10.3.6
	guzu **tʃəm**	hair on the body	Sharma 1982
	mig **tʃəm**	eyebrow	Sharma 1982
	mik **tsam**	eyebrow; eyelash	Sharma 1991b:3.4.3; Sharma 1991b:3.4.4
	pyo **tsam**	female pubic hair	Sharma 1991b:10.4.5
	tip **tsa**	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Sharma 1991b:8.1.1.1
	tʃəm	hair, wool	Sharma 1982
Rongpo	**chəm**	wool (n.)	Sharma 2003:239
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**chham**	fur (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.026
	chham	hair; hair (body); hair (head)	Michailovsky 1991:79; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	lu **chham**	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	mi **chham**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	pi **chham**	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	ming **sum**	eyebrow / eyelash	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 2
	tśam	hair (of head)	Benedict 1972:73
	tsham	hair	Andvik 1993:3; Egli-Roduner 1987:31 12
Tsangla (Motuo)	**tsham**	hair of head; plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.7; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.7
	ts^{h}am	braid; hair	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ts^{h}am^{55}	hair (head)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	no-waŋ-**sum**	beard	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	tɕam	hair (head)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	cA^{13} **dzɐA^{13}**	beard	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.6
Motuo Menba	**tsham**	braid; plait; hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.07; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.07
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Lahuli	yar-**sam**	moustache	Benedict 1972:73
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**səm** le	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.4
Tibetan (Batang)	**tʂaʔ^{53}**	hair; hair of head	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.1; DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.1.1
	tʂa^{53}	hair of head	DAI Qingxia 1989a:2.7
	tʂa^{53}	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tʂa^{53}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.3
Ladakhi	**sam**-dal	moustache	Benedict 1972:29
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂa^{53}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.2
	tʂa^{55}	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	mē **tsa**	eyebrow	Bishop 1989:3.4.3
Spiti	**ṣà**	hair of head	Bodh 1991:8.1.1
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ṣá**	hair	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	'ag-**t'som**	chin-beard	Matisoff 1987
	'og-**t'som**	beard	Matisoff 1987
	ag-**tshom**	beard	Coblin 1986:90
	sam-dal	hair; hair of head; moustache	Luce 1985:G.114; Luce 1985:S.34,W.134; Matisoff 1987
	yar-**sam**	hair; hair of head; moustache	Luce 1985:G.114; Luce 1985:W.134; Matisoff 1987
	ɜal-**t'som**	chin-beard	Matisoff 1987
	ɑg-**tshom**	beard	CHOU Fa-kao 1972
	ʔag-**tshom**	beard	Benedict 1972:73
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	a-**tsóm**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	tsóm bleng	single hair (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	ʔá **tsóm**	hair (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**ts^{h}am**	hair (pubic)	Mazaudon 1994:283
Gurung (Ghachok)	**chą̄:q**	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	c^{h}ā:q	hair (pubic)	Glover 1972:2.A.10
	mi **jyā:**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	mi **jyā:**	eyebrow	Glover 1972:2.A.11
Gurung	**²ts^{h}ā:**	hair (pubic)	Mazaudon 1994:283
Manang (Gyaru)	mi^{1} **tsin^{1}**	eyebrow	Nagano 1984:004
	mi^{1} **tsin^{1}** mɯy^{2}	eyelash	Nagano 1984:004-01
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}mi: **tsẽ**	eyebrow	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0004
Tamang (Bagmati)	mi-**^{1}sam**	eyelash	Weidert 1987:760
Tamang (Risiangku)	**²ts^{h}am**	pubic hair (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:10.3.6
	²ts^{h}am	hair (pubic)	Mazaudon 1994:283
	^{3}pu-**^{2}ts^{h}am**	body hair (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:8.1.3
	^{1}mi **ts^{h}am**	eyelash (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.4
Tamang (Sahu)	'mi: **'chām**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	'mi: **'c^{h}am**	eyelash	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.12
	'mi:-**^{1}cham**	eyelash	Weidert 1987:760
	'puh **sam**	body hair	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.9
	krā-**sām**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	kra **sam**	hair	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.37
	kra **sam** pre:h-pa	cut hair (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.38
	kra **sam** rhe:-pa	comb (hair) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.37
	pu-**shām**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	²ts^{h}am	hair	Mazaudon 1994:283
Tamang (Taglung)	**ts^{h}am**	hairs	Mazaudon 1994:283
Thakali	**cham**	fur (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.026
Thakali (Syang)	**^{54}ts^{h}ʌm**	feather / hair of an animal / body	Mazaudon 1994:283
Thakali (Tukche)	'puh-**cham**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	'puh-**c^{h}ɔm**	hair (body)	Hari 1971:2.A.9
	cham	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	c^{h}ɔm	hair; fur	Hari 1971:1.37; Hari 1971:3.A.26
	mi-**cham**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	mi-**c^{h}ɔm**	eyebrow; eyelash	Hari 1971:2.A.11; Hari 1971:2.A.12
	mleh-**cham**	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	mleh-**c^{h}ɔm**	hair (pubic, male)	Hari 1971:2.A.10.1
	tu-**cham**	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	tu-**c^{h}ɔm**	hair (pubic, female)	Hari 1971:2.A.10.2
	^{3}mle-**^{H}ts^{h}əm**	pubic hair (male)	Mazaudon 1994:768
	´puh-**cham**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	^{H}ts^{h}əm	hair	Mazaudon 1994:283
2.1.5. DHIMAL			
Dhimal	**tśam**	hide, bark	Benedict 1972:73
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	cim **sạ**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	cim **sɔ̃**	body hair	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.1.3
Newar (Kathmandu)	khwas **sa**	hair (pubic)	Genetti 1990c
Newar	khwā **sā**	male pubic hair	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.3.6
	khwa **sā**	female pubic hair (female)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.4.5
	mi khā **sā**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	nhæ duneya **sɔ̃**	nose hair	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.5.4
Newar (Dolakhali)	**sā**	hair (body); hair (head)	Genetti 1990b; Genetti 1990b
Newar	**sạ**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	sām	hair	Michailovsky 1991:79
Newar (Kathmandu)	**sɔ̃**	hair (head)	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**sɔ̃**	hair of head; hair; fur (of animal)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:2.7; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.1; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.1.4
	yā kwa **sạ** (ạ)	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***cam**	hair	Michailovsky 1991:79
	***sam**	hair	Michailovsky 1991:79
	***som**	hair	Opgenort 2011
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	mik **saŋ**	eyelash	Michailovsky 1989b
	mik **sāŋ**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	do: **səm**	head hair; hair on head	Michailovsky 1991:79; Driem 1993
	dɨ khɨm **səm**	beard	Driem 1993
	kəm ri **səm**	moustache	Driem 1993
	kəm **səm**	moustache	Driem 1993
	səm	body hair, down; body hair, feathers, down, scales	Michailovsky 1991:79; Driem 1993
Khaling	'dho **sam**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	'kwām **swām**	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	'li **swām**	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	dho **sam**	head hair	Michailovsky 1991:79
	maar **swaam**	body-hair	Michailovsky 1991:81
	mar-**swām**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	ma **swām**	eyebrow; eyelash	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	swaam	hair, fur, feather	Michailovsky 1991:79
	swām	fur (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.026
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**tsam**	head hair; hair (of head)	Michailovsky 1991:79; Benedict 1972:73
	ŋar **tsam**	topknot	Michailovsky 1991:192
Hayu	duku-**som**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	kuku **som** /duku **som**	hair	Michailovsky 1991:80
	kuku-**som**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	ra: **som**	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	som	hair; hair (head)	Michailovsky 1991:79; Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	**ca:M**	head hair, fur	Michailovsky 1991:79
	cą̄:	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	bhu **sium** poa	brown hairy caterpillar	Allen 1975
	khu: **sem**	white hair	Allen 1975
	mik a si **syem** a	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mik si **seom**	eyelash	Allen 1975
	mur **sem**	down, body-hair; down, baby-hair, hair on arms, armpit-hair	Michailovsky 1991:81; Allen 1975
	sem	hair	Michailovsky 1991:79; Allen 1975
	si **seom**	moustache (AS.)	Allen 1975
	si **syom** a	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	syom ʔa	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	ŋāra **sem** a	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	ŋar **səm**	topknot	Michailovsky 1991:192

[a] Maran notes "from archaic sam-bang." Tones from Maran.
[b] Note different tone on **pan^{31}** in ZMYYC (**pan^{51}**).

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**'cem**	hair; hair (head)	Michailovsky 1991:79; Watters & Watters 1989
	'mi: **syā**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	'mi **sya**	eyelash	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.12
	cem	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
Magar	**tśham**	hair, wool	Benedict 1972:73

3.2. QIANGIC

Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	xo^{55} mu^{55} **tʂ^{h}a^{53}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai 1991n:8.1.1
	xo^{55}mu^{55}**tʂha^{53}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.16

4. NUNGIC

Anong	əŋ **sam**	hide	Benedict 1972:29n92
	əŋ **sam**	hide (n.)	Benedict 1972:73
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	me^{55} **dʑim^{55}** sɯ^{31}mǎŋ^{53}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ne^{55} **ʐɯm^{53}** sɯ^{3}mǎŋ^{53}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɯ^{31} **ts^{h}ɯm^{55}**	beard	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	**sa2**qi1	hair (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	sa2qi1bian1zi1	hair braid (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	sa2qi1hhe2la1	hair band (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	sa^{2}qi^{1}	hair	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.1
	sa^{2}qi^{1}bian^{1}zi^{1}	hair braid	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.6
Tujia	**sa^{35}** tɕ^{h}i^{55}	hair of head; hair (head)	CHEN Kang 1986c:2.7; CHEN Kang 1986c:8.1.1
Tujia (Northern)	**sa^{35}** tɕ^{h}i^{55}	hair (head)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	sa^{35} tɕ^{h}i^{55} piã^{55} tsi^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**sa^{35}**tɕhi^{55}	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.49
	sa^{35}tɕhi^{55}	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.38

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Luxi)	**tsham^{35}**	hair	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tsham^{35} pjɛn^{35}	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tsham^{35} pyɛn^{35}	braid	LaPolla 1987:196 [a]
Bola	mja?^{31} **ts^{h}ɛ̃^{55}**	eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989g:102
Bola (Luxi)	**tshɛ̃^{55}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.32
Bola	**tshɛ̃^{55}**nak^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:98
Bola (Luxi)	**tshɛ̃^{55}**nak^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.32
Bola	**ts^{h}ɛ̃^{55}**	hair (head)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:97
	ts^{h}ɛ̃^{55} nak^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:98
Burmese (Modern)	**c'aṁ^{3}**	hair; hair of head	Luce 1985:G.114; Luce 1985:S.34
Burmese (Rangoon)	mjĩ^{55}lɛ^{22}**shã^{22}**	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.27
	shã^{22}pĩ^{22}	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.27
	tɕi?^{4}**shã^{22}**mji^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**hsã^{22}**pĩ^{22}	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.40
	shã^{22}pĩ^{22}je?^{44}	shave (hair of head)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:651.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**s'ã^{3}**	hair of head	Luce 1985:S.34
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tɕi?^{44}**hsã^{22}**mji^{55}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.40
Burmese (Written)	**chaṁ**	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
	cham	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	chaṁ	hair	Benedict 1976a
	cham-khrañ	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	cham-paŋ	hair; topknot; hair (head)	Hansson 1989:581; Matisoff 1987 [b]
	c'aṁ	hair; hair of head	Luce 1985:G.114; Luce 1985:S.34
	c'aṁ^{3}	hair of head	Luce 1985:W.134
	hsaṁ^{2}paŋ^{2}	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.39
	kjɑs **hsaṁ^{2}** mri^{3}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.39
	kjɑs^{4}**shaṁ^{2}**mri^{3}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.26
	lañ-**cham**	mane (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	lañ-**cham**-mwê	mane	Matisoff 1987
	mraŋ^{3}laŋ^{2}**shaṁ^{2}**	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.26
	shaṁ^{2}paŋ^{2}	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.26
	shaṁ^{2}paŋ^{2}rit	shave (hair of head)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:651.39
	tsham	hair (head)(1); hair (of head); hair	Weidert 1987:222; Benedict 1972:73; Coblin 1986:90
Danu	**s'ã^{4}** [pĩ^{4}]	hair of head	Luce 1985:S.34
Hpun (Northern)	ă **shé**, ă **ʃé**	hair of head	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	ă **ʃɛ^{1}**	hair; hair of head	Luce 1985:G.114; Luce 1985:S.34
Hpun (Northern)	**shé** thàŋ	knot (hair) (cp. Hair) (v.)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	mjɔ̃^{35}**tshɛ̃^{31}**	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.31
	tshɛ̃^{31}	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.31
	tshɛ̃^{31}pəŋ^{35}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.31
Lashi	(mjaŋ^{33}) **tsham^{33}**	mane (of horse, lion)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.6
	mjɔ?^{31} **tsham^{33}**	eyebrow; eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.4.3; DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.4.4
	tsham^{33}	hair of head; hair	DAI Qingxia 1989m:2.7; DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1; DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.1
Lashi (Lachhe')	**ts'ɑm^{4}**	hair of head	Luce 1985:S.34
Leqi (Luxi)	mjaŋ^{33}**tsham^{33}**	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.33
	tsham^{33}	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.33
	tsham^{33}nək^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.33
Maru [Langsu]	au^{35} **tshɛ̃^{31}**	hair of head	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.1
	mjɔ?^{31} **tshɛ̃^{31}**	eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.4
	mjɔ̃^{35} **tshɛ̃^{31}**	mane (of horse)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.6
	tshìn	hair (head)	Weidert 1987:222
	tshɛ̃^{31}	hair of head; hair	DAI Qingxia 1989l:2.7; DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.43
	tshɛ̃^{31}pəŋ^{35}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.43
Taung-Yo	**ts'ɑ̃^{4}**	hair of head	Luce 1985:S.34
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**s'ɑm^{2}**	hair of head	Luce 1985:S.34
	tshám	hair (head)(1)	Weidert 1987:222
	tsham^{51} pan^{21}	braid (hair) (n.)	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	tsham^{51} pan^{31}	braid	LaPolla 1987:196 [c]
	tsham^{51}pan^{21}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.30
	tsham^{51}pan^{21}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.42
	ts'ɑm^{2}	hair of head	Luce 1985:S.34
	u^{21} **tsham^{51}**	hair (head)	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	u^{21}**tsham^{51}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.30
	u^{21}**tsham^{51}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***?-tsam^{1}**	hair (head)(1); head hair	Weidert 1987:222; Bradley 1979b:89-1
Lolopho	mę^{44} **tɕi^{44}**	eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4.4

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Central)	**tsha^{33}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.34
	tsha^{33}phɹɔ^{33}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tshɑ^{31}**phɹɑ^{ɪ35}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.45
	tshɑ^{35}	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.45
Nusu (Central)	**ts^{h}a^{33}**	hair (head)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:97.
	ts^{h}a^{33} p^{hɹ}ɔ^{33}	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:98.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ts^{h}a^{35}**	hair (head)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:97.
	ts^{h}a^{35} p^{hɹ}ɚ^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:98.
Nusu (Northern)	**ts^{h}ɔ^{31}**	hair (head)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ts^{h}ɔ^{31} p^{h}ɐ^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ts^{h}ɛ^{31}** p^{h}ɹə^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ts^{h}ɛ^{55}	hair (head)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ts^{h}ɑ^{35}**	hair (head)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ts^{h}ɑ^{35} p^{h}ɹɑɹ^{35}	braid (hair) (n.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	o^{33} **ts^{h}ɯ^{33}**	hair (head); hair of head	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.22
	ts^{h}ɯ^{21}	fur (coarse)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Lishan)	ŋ̩^{33} **ts^{h}e^{31}**	head hair	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	o^{55}**tshi^{33}**ʈhi^{21}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.25
	o^{55}**ts^{h}i^{33}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ŋu^{33}**tɕ^{h}e^{21}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.26
Yi (Nanhua)	u^{55}**tshɯ^{33}**phi^{21}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.24
	u^{55}**tshŋ^{33}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.37
	u^{55}**ts^{h}ɯ^{33}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**tɕhy^{55}**	hair; fur; feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.23; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.23
	tɕ^{h}y^{55}	fur	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	u^{21} **tɕ^{h}y^{55}**	hair	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	u^{21} **tɕ^{h}y^{55}** phi^{21}	braid (hair) (n.)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	u^{21}**tɕhy^{55}**phi^{21}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.23
	u^{21}**tɕ^{h}y^{55}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tɕhy^{55}**	hair; down; feather; plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.36; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.36
	ɑ^{55}tʂhŋ̃^{21}**tɕhy^{55}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.36
	ʔy^{21}**tɕhy^{55}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.36
	ʔy^{21}**tɕhy^{55}**phi^{21}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.36
Yi (Wuding)	u^{33}**tshe^{33}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.38
	u^{33}**tʂhɛ^{55}**phi^{33}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.38
Yi (Xide)	**ʂa^{33}**	hair, feather	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	mjo^{44}**tshɛ^{44}**	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.44
	tshɛ^{33}phɹu^{55}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.34
	tshɛ^{42} prœ^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.44
	tshɛ^{44} khɤ^{44}	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**tshɤ^{42}**tɕhi^{42}	hair (head) (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ts^{h}ɛ^{33}**khɯ^{33}	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**ts^{h}ɛ^{42}** p^{h}ɹø^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ts^{h}ɛ^{44}** k^{h}ɯ^{44}	hair (head)	DAI Qingxia 1989h:100
Jinuo (Baka)	**ts^{h}ɛ^{44}** k^{h}ɯ^{44}	hair (head)	DAI Qingxia 1989i:100
Jinuo (Youle)	**ts^{h}ɛ^{44}** k^{h}ɤ^{44}	hair (head)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**ts^{h}ɛ^{44}** p^{h}lø^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989i:101
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ts^{h}ɛ^{44}** p^{h}lœ^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989h:101
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**ts^{h}ɤ^{42}** tɕ^{h}i^{42}	hair (head)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	o^{55} **ts^{h}ɯ^{33}**	hair	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:325.4
	o^{55} **ts^{h}ɤ^{33}**	hair (head)	MA Xueliang 1989:369.3
	o^{55}**tshɯ^{33}**	hair of head	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	o^{55}**tshɤ^{33}**	hair of head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.7; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.1
Yi (Sani)	o^{55}**tshɤ^{33}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.39
	o^{55}**tshɤ^{33}**ɬɤ^{11}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ts^{h}ɤ^{33}**	hair	MA Xueliang 1989:349.5

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	**tám** khúŋ	head hair	Bradley 1979b
	tám k^{h}úŋ	hair (on head)	Bradley 199x
	ʃám khíŋ	head hair	Beaudouin 1988:14
Hani (Lüchun)	**dzɔ́** pèq	braid	Hansson 1989:529
Hani (Dazhai)	**tshe^{55}**kho^{55}	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.31
	tshe^{55}pjɤ^{31}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.31
	ts^{h}ɔ^{55} pjɤ^{31}	braid (hair) (n.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**tshɔ^{55}**pjɤ̱^{31}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshe^{55}**phi̱^{31}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.30
	ts^{h}e^{55} p^{h}i̱^{31}	braid (hair) (n.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tɕa̱^{33}** pɐ̱^{31}	braid (hair) (n.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**tshu^{55}**phi̱^{31}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.32
	ts^{h}u^{55} p^{h}i̱^{31}	braid (hair) (n.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	**tjhí** pjhɛ̀	braid	Hansson 1989:529
Côông [Phunoi]	**sham** khɔ̃́	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	sham khɔ̋	head hair	Bradley 1979b
	sɑm^{33} k^{h}ɪ̃^{33}	hair	Bradley 1977
	s^{h}ɑm^{33} k^{h}ə̃^{55}	hair	Bradley 1977
Pyen	**cam45** khɯŋ45	body hair; hair	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:131002; SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:131032
Sangkong	aŋ^{33} **tsham^{55}**	hair (head)	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ^{33} **tsham^{55}** phɐ̱^{31} lɐ̱^{31}	braid, queue	LI Yongsui 1991
Sila	**tsha55** khɯ55	hair	KATO Takashi 2008:8

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

[a] [Source Note] Chinese?
[b] Judson p. 405 glosses as 'hair of head'; Hanson cites (p.581) but gives no gloss.
[c] [Source Note] (tsham^{51} 'hair').

Azha	i^{44}**ts^{h}ɜ^{21}**	head hair	Pelkey 2011:251
	i^{44}**ts^{h}ɜ^{21}ɬi^{22}**	braid	Pelkey 2011:252

7. KARENIC

**Karen (Pwo)*	***shɔ́nq**	hair (body) / feathers	Jones 1961:39
**Karen*	***tshɔn'**	feather / hair (body)	Weidert 1987:897

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**sɑm**/**ʂɑm**	hair / feather	CHOU Fa-kao 1972
Chinese (Old)	**sam**	hair of head	Luce 1985:W.134
	sam cf.sam	hair	Luce 1985:G.114
	sram	hair	Coblin 1986:90

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**ṣam**	long hair	Coblin 1986:90

Chinese comparandum

彡/髟 OC ***sɑm**, *GSR* #1154a 'long hair'; B & S 2011: ***s^{ʕ}ram {s[^{ʕ}]ram}**; Mand. **shān**.

1.2.3.1 Cowlick/Flexure

(1) PTB *boy COWLICK

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***boy**	cowlick	Matisoff 2003a:585; Benedict 1972:308

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**boi**	have a flexure / cowlick (v.)	Benedict 1972:308
Jingpho (Hkauri)	**bòi**	have flexure / cowlick	Matisoff 1974:81

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	ta **bē**	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Bishop 1989:8.1.1.1

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**bhwe**	circular flexure in hair of animals, esp. horses; circular flexure in the hair of animals	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:308
	bhwe	circular flexure in the hair of animals. (n.)	Benedict 1972:308
	bwe	circular flexure in hair of animals	Matisoff 1974:81

(2) PTB *kwan or *kwa l/r COWLICK / TUFT OF HAIR

The reconstruction of the final is uncertain, since both Jingpho and Chinese have merged ***-n** with ***-r** and ***-l**.

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**khōn**	cowlick; circular flexure, as in the hair of animals, esp. horses regarded as a sign of temper or luck.	Hansson 1989:311

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kwɑn**/kuɑn-	two tufts of hair on child's head	Karlgren 1957:187a

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**kûan'**	two tufts of hair, like horns	Karlgren 1923:443

Chinese comparandum

丱 OC ***kwɑn**, *GSR* #187a 'tufts of hair'; Schuessler 2007:265 ***krôns**; Mand. **guàn**

1.2.3.2 Queue/Braid

(1) PTB * p/b (r)a n/t BRAID / PLAIT / INTERWEAVE

VanBik #366 (p. 126) suggests a connection between the Kuki-Chin root and Written Burmese **phan** 'make, create', although the comparison with the present root seems preferable.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b(l)at**/n	braid	LaPolla 1987:196
	***ban/t ≍ pan/t**	braid / plait / interweave	Matisoff 2003a:584

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"

Sulung [Puroik]	kə^{33}ʑak^{33}**bɹə'^{53}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.52
	kə^{33}ʑak^{33}**bɹɣ'^{53}**	plait	SUN Hongkai 1993

1.1.1. TANI: ***prat^{2}** PLAIT

**Tani*	***prat^{2}**	plait	Sun 1993a:297

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	(puɯ-dĩ) **prja**-sú	plait (v.)	Sun 1993b
	prja-suɯ	plait	Sun 1993a
Bengni	dum-**pjɯ:**	plait	Sun 1993b
	pjɯ:	plait	Sun 1993a
	pjɯ:	braid (v.)	Sun 1993b
Galo	**'pee** nam	plait; weave (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pet** <*pjat<*prat	plait	Sun 1993a
Damu	ta-**pət**	plait; hair of head	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ta-**pət** ŋa:	cut hair	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**pli**	plait (for fine workmanship)	NEFA (India) 1963
	thɯŋ^{35}**plɯ^{55}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.22
	thɯŋ^{35}**plɯ^{55}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.49
	t^{h}ɯŋ^{35} **plɯ^{55}**	braid	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	ɕam^{55} ɑ^{31} **p^{h}lăt^{55}**	braid	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕam^{55}**phlăt^{55}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.23
	ɕam^{55}**phlăt^{55}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.48
Idu	thoŋ^{35}**pɹu^{55}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.50
Yidu	thoŋ^{35} **pɹu^{55}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***phan** WEAVE / CREATE / KNIT [a]

**Chin*	***phan**	WEAVE / CREATE / KNIT	VanBik 2009:366

[a] VanBik #366 (p. 126) suggests a connection between the Kuki-Chin root and Written Burmese **phan** 'make, create', although the comparison with the present root seems preferable.

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**phan**	weave	VanBik 2009:366
Tiddim	**phan**	weave; plait; weave, plait	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:246e; Benedict 1972:173n460
	phan^{1}	knit, embroider, weave with bamboo or cane	VanBik 2009:366
	phan^{1}	knit; embroider; weave with bamboo or cane (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1435
	ˊphan/ˆphan	weave.plait (a basket) (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**phân**-I, phăn-II	create (a song), knit (a cloth)	VanBik 2009:366
Lushai [Mizo]	**phăn**	knit, to crochet, to net (v.)	VanBik 2009:366
	phiar	knit, plait, be entangled; plot, conspire, plan	Benedict 1972:178

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	sàm-**bàn**	cue or top-knot left on the top of the head after the rest has been shaved. (n.)	Hansson 1989:581	[a]
	sam^{55} **pan^{31}**	braid (hair) (n.)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984	[b]
	sam^{55}**pan^{51}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.19	
	sam^{55}**pan^{51}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.47	

2.1.2. BODIC

Tshona (Wenlang)	k^{h}rɑ^{55} **p^{h}re^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	phreu^{55}	braid (v.)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	khrʌ^{53}**phre^{53}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.6
	k^{h}rʌ^{53} **p^{h}re^{53}**	braid	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	phre^{53}	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.6
Cuona Menba	**phre^{53}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.06

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**phɔ-**	braid, to knit, to weave (e.g. basketry, not at a loom) (v.)	Driem 1988
	tso **phɔ-**	weave bamboo strips (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Kulung	**pek**-u	braid (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**pyək** nɨ	braid, plait	Driem 1993

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**phʂl^{55}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.18
	tsi^{55}**phʂl^{55}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.18
Lyuzu	tɕe^{33}**phʒu^{53}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.18
	ŋe^{33}**phʐu^{53}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.18
Namuyi	tɕhi^{33}**phʐə^{33}phʐə^{55}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	khɯ^{11} **phʐə^{11}phʐə^{55}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.10
Pumi (Taoba)	khu^{55}**pʐɐ^{35}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.10
	khə^{35}**phʐɐ^{35}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.10
	k^{h}u^{55} **p^{h}ʐɐ^{35}**	braid (hair) (n.)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Mawo)	khliɛ **piɛ**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.08
	qə xliɛ **piɛ**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.08
	xlia **pi**	plait; braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.8
	xlia **pi**	braid (hair) (n.)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Mianchi)	kè **piá**	knit, weave	Evans 1999:2589
	kè **piá**	braid (hair)	Evans 1999:1667
	ʂè qè **piâ**	braid	Evans 1999:101
Queyu (Xinlong)	**pɬo^{13}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.13
	qha^{55}**pɬe^{33}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.13

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **kpjɐt**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.11
Caodeng	kɐ-ré-**pje**	weave plait	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**pjɐ** lɐ	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.11
Caodeng	tə-**pjɐ**-lɐʔ	plait (male)	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	kɐ-**pjɐt**	weave (plait)	Sun 1997b
	tɐ-**pjɐk**	plait	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Dulong	**blɑt^{55}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.20
Trung [Dulong]	**blɑt^{55}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.46
Dulong	u^{55}ni^{55}**blɑt^{55}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.20
Trung [Dulong]	u^{55}năi^{55}**blɑt^{55}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**blaat^{55}**	braid	LaPolla 1987:196
	u^{55} năi^{55} **blɑt^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**blat^{55}**	braid	LaPolla 1987:196
	blăt^{55}	braid (v.)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	u^{53} ne^{53} **blɑt^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**pian^{35}** tsi^{55}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.38
Tujia (Southern)	**pia^{13}** tsi^{33}	braid (hair) (n.)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***pan^{1}/^{2} ≍ *Ȼ-pat** BRAID / PLAIT / INTERWEAVE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***pan^{1}/^{2} ≍ Ȼ-pat**	braid / plait / interweave	Matisoff 1985a:037	
	***Ȼ-pat ≍ *pan1**/2	braid	LaPolla 1987:196	[c]

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	u^{31} **phjɛ^{31}**	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Written)	**phan**	shuffle cards (i.e. "interweave cards"); shuffle (cards); shuffle cards	Matisoff 1985a:037; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:196

[a] Maran notes "from archaic sam-bang." Tones from Maran.
[b] Note different tone on **pan^{31}** in ZMYYC (**pan^{51}**).
[c] [Source Note] (G+C 37).

Langsu (Luxi)	tshɛ̃^{31}**pəŋ^{35}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.31
Maru [Langsu]	tshɛ̃^{31}**pəŋ^{35}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	tsham^{51} **pan^{21}**	braid (hair) (n.)	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	tsham^{51} **pan^{31}**	braid	LaPolla 1987:196 [a]
	tsham^{51}**pan^{21}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.30
	tsham^{51}**pan^{21}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.42

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**phì**	plait / weave	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Northern)	**phɹa^{55}**	braid (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**phɹɔ^{55}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.34
Nusu (Southern)	**phɹə^{55}**	braid (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**phɹɑ^{ɹ55}**ɑ^{31}	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.45
Nusu (Central)	tsha^{33}**phɹɔ^{33}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	tshɑ^{31}**phɹɑ^{ɹ35}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.45
Nusu (Central)	ts^{h}a^{33} **p^{hɹ}ɔ^{33}**	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:98.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	ts^{h}a^{35} **p^{hɹ}ɚ^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:98.
Nusu (Northern)	ts^{h}ɔ^{31} **p^{h}ɐ^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	ts^{h}ɛ^{31} **p^{h}ɹə^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	ts^{h}ɑ^{35} **p^{h}ɹɑɹ^{35}**	braid (hair) (n.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	o^{33} **pi^{33}**	braid (hair) (n.)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	o^{33}**pi^{33}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.22
Yi (Nanhua)	u^{55}tshɯ^{33}**phi^{21}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**phi^{21}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.23
	u^{21} tɕ^{h}y^{55} **phi^{21}**	braid (hair) (n.)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	u^{21}tɕhy^{55}**phi^{21}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.23
Yi (Weishan)	**phi^{21}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.36
	ʔy^{21}tɕhy^{55}**phi^{21}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.36
Yi (Wuding)	u^{33}tʂhɛ^{55}**phi^{33}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.38

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Buyuan)	**phje^{33}**	braid (hair) (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	phje^{44}	braid (hair) (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**phrœ^{55}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**phɹø^{55}**	braid (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**phɹɐ^{33}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.34
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**p^{h}je^{44}**	braid (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	tshɛ^{33}**phɹu^{55}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.34
	tshɛ^{42} **prœ^{55}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ts^{h}ɛ^{42} **p^{h}ɹø^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	ts^{h}ɛ^{44} **p^{h}lø^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989i:101
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	ts^{h}ɛ^{44} **p^{h}lœ^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989h:101
Kucong	dzʅ33 **phiɛ31**	braid	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	phiɛ31	braid, plait (of hair)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**phê**	braid	LaPolla 1987:196
Lahu (Lancang)	**phe^{53}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.43
Lahu (Black)	**phê**	braid, plait; braid	Matisoff 1985a:037; Matisoff 1978a:97
	phe^{53}	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.33
	u^{35}mu^{33}**phe^{53}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.33
	ɣ^{35} k^{h}ɛ^{33} **p^{h}i^{53}**	braid (hair) (n.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	dzʅ^{33} **p^{h}e^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	phe^{3}	braid (v.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	hĩ^{33}**phi^{21}**	plait (made of thread) (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	o^{55} **p^{h}i^{31}**	braid (hair) (n.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	o^{55}**phi^{31}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.40
	o^{55}tʃ^{h}e^{31}; o^{55}**phi^{31}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.27
Lisu (Northern)	**phi^{21}**	weave; plait (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**phi^{31}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.40
	phi^{31}	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.27
Lisu (Central)	**phjø^{21}**	weave; plait (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ɔ^{55}**phi^{21}**	plait (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}**phi^{21}**mɤ^{55}	tip of plait	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɔ^{55}**phjø^{21}**	plait (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}**phjø^{21}**mɤ^{55}	tip of plait	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	o^{55} **ɬɯ^{21}** tɑ^{33}	braid	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:325.1
	o^{55} **ɬɤ^{11}** tɑ^{33}	braid (v.)	MA Xueliang 1989:369.5
	o^{55}**ɬɯ^{21}**tɒ^{33}	queue	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	**pjèq**	braid	Hansson 1989:529
Akha (Yunnan)	**pjèq**	braid	Hansson 1989:529
Akha	**pjèq**	braid	Hansson 1989:529
Hani (Lüchun)	dzɔ́ **pèq**	braid	Hansson 1989:529
Hani (Dazhai)	**pjɤ̱^{31}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.31
	tshe^{55}**pjɤ^{31}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.31
	ts^{h}ɔ^{55} **pjɤ^{31}**	braid (hair) (n.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**pjɤ̱^{31}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.41
	tshɔ^{55}**pjɤ̱^{31}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**phi̱^{31}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.30
Hani (Pijo)	tjhí khý tɔ̀ **pshi**	braid	Hansson 1989:529
Hani (Caiyuan)	tshe^{55}**phi̱^{31}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.30
	ts^{h}e^{55} **p^{h}i̱^{31}**	braid (hair) (n.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	tɕa̱^{33} **pɛ̱^{31}**	braid (hair) (n.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**bievq**	braid	Hansson 1989:529
Hani (Shuikui)	**phi̱^{31}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.32
	tshu^{55}**phi̱^{31}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.32
	ts^{h}u^{55} **p^{h}i̱^{31}**	braid (hair) (n.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	**pjhè**	braid	Hansson 1989:529
	tjhí **pjhè**	braid	Hansson 1989:529
Hani (Mojiang)	**phi̱^{31}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.42
	tshu^{55}**phi̱^{31}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.42
Mpi	**phe?^{1}**	braid; plait; interweave	Matisoff 1985a:037; Matisoff 1978a:97; LaPolla 1987:196
	phe?^{1}	braid (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	i^{44}**ʦ^{h}**ʒ^{21}**i̱^{22}**	braid	Pelkey 2011:252

6.2. NAXI

Naxi	**phiə^{21}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**phiə^{31}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.28

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	tiɐ̱^{21} mie^{55} **pɐ̱^{ɹ42}**	braid (hair) (n.)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**pi** 6	braid, to	Dell 1981b:313
	pi^{35}	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.35
	tɯ^{21}mɑ^{35}**pi^{35}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.35
	tɯ̱^{21} mɑ^{35} **pi^{35}**	braid (hair) (n.)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**pĩ^{55}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.48
	pĩ^{55}	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.36
	tiə^{42}mɑ^{55}pĩ	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.48
	tɯ^{21}mɑ^{55}**pĩ^{55}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.36
	tɯ̱^{21} mɑ^{55} **pĩ^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**b'i̱ɑn**/b'i̱än	braid / plait	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:219

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**biàn** zi	braid	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

編 OC ***b'i̱ɑn***, *GSR* #246e 'braid, plait'; B & S 2011: ***p^{ʕ}en {p^{ʕ}e [n]}***; Mand. **biān**.
辮 OC (not in *GSR* #219, prob. ***b'i̱ɑn***) 'braid, plait'; B & S 2011: (***bren?***); Mand. **biàn**.

(2) PTB *m-tsywak BRAID / QUEUE

3.2. QIANGIC

Muya [Minyak]	so^{33}**tʂɛ^{53}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.15
	fiɑ^{55}**nthɑ^{35}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.15
Pumi (Lanping)	ɬɑ^{13}**dʒy^{55}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	ɬɑ^{13} **dʒy^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	ɬɑ^{13}**dʒy^{55}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.11
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	je^{55}**tsu^{53}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.16
	ke^{35} **tsu^{53}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.16

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	**mtɕhe**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.14
	nɛ **mtɕhe**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.14

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**tsuɯk^{55}**	braid (v.)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	u^{31} **tʂuɑk^{35}**	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	u^{31}**tʂuak^{35}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.28
	u^{31}**tʂuak^{35}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.41
Achang (Luxi)	**tsək^{31}**	braid (v.)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Dafang)	**tsa^{13}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.22
Yi (Mile)	**ʈhi^{21}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ŋu̱^{33}tɕ^{h}e^{21}**tɕɐ̱^{33}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dzæ̱^{21}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.37
	dzɐ̱^{21}	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.24
	u^{55}**dzæ̱^{21}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.37
Yi (Xide)	o^{33} **tɕʅ^{55}**	braid / plait (female's) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.35
	tɕʅ^{55}	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.35
	tɕʅ^{55}	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.21
	ɔ^{33} **tɕʅ^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ɔ^{33}**tɕʅ^{55}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lisu (Northern)	**dzɤʔ^{21}**	plait (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	o^{55}**tʃ^{h}e^{31}**; o^{55}phi^{31}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.27
Sani [Nyi]	o^{55} **ts^{h}**ɤ^{33} tɑ^{33} mɑ^{33}	braid	MA Xueliang 1989:369.4 [a]

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	**ts^{h}**ɤ˩	plait, to weave (hair, thread) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	kv^{33}**tɕy^{31}**pɑ^{55}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.28
Naxi (Western)	kv^{31}**tɕy^{31}**tɑ^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	kɣ^{33}**tɕy^{21}**pɑ^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**tshə^{33}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.29
	ɣo^{33}**tshəɹ^{13}**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.29

[a] Cf. Bai **tɯ^{21} mɑ^{35} pi^{35}**.

(3) PTB *s-n(y)ak BRAID

This root is well established, even though it has so far only been found in rGyalrongic and Burmish.

Several forms show a development from ***-k*** to ***-t*** in reflexes with front vowels (Caodeng **tə́-sɲet**, Longchuan Achang **net^{35}**). These front vowels, in turn, probably arose through the influence of a medial ***-y-***.

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	ta **sn̰ak**	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.12
Caodeng	tə́-**sɲet**	plait (female)	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	tɐ-**sɲak**	plait	Sun 1997b
	tɐ-**sɲak** re	plait decoration	Sun 1997b

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**net^{35}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.28
	net^{35}	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**nɤk^{55}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.29
	u^{31} **n̥ɤk^{55}**	braid; plait; braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:98; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.29
Bola (Luxi)	**nak^{31}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.32
Bola	tshɛ̃^{55}**nak^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:98
Bola (Luxi)	tshɛ̃^{55}**nak^{55}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.32
Bola	ts^{h}ɛ̃^{55} **nak^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:98
Langsu (Luxi)	**nak^{31}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**nəːk^{31}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.33
	tsham^{33}**nək^{55}**	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.33
Maru [Langsu]	**nak^{31}**	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nik^{21}**	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.30
	nik^{21}	braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.42

(4) PKar *srej^{B} BRAID

[a] [Source Note] (tsham^{51} 'hair').

7. KARENIC			
**Karen [Burling]*	***si**^{2}	braid	Luangthongkum 2013:32
**Karen*	***srej**^{B}	braid	Luangthongkum 2013:32
Bwe	**θre**	plait, braid (the hair) (v.)	Henderson 1997
	θre^{33}	braid	Luangthongkum 2013:32
Karen	**tθi**^{33}	plait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1156.50
	tθi^{33}kho^{31}tθui^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.50
Kayah	**sə**^{11}	braid	Luangthongkum 2013:32
Kayaw	**si**^{11}	braid	Luangthongkum 2013:32
Pa-O (Southern)	**si**^{33}	braid	Luangthongkum 2013:32
Pa-O (Northern)	**si**^{55}	braid	Luangthongkum 2013:32
Pwo (Northern)	**sei**^{33}	braid	Luangthongkum 2013:32
Pwo (Southern)	**θei**^{55}	braid	Luangthongkum 2013:32
Sgaw (Northern)	**si**$^{31\sim}$	braid	Luangthongkum 2013:32
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**tθi**^{33} k^{h}o^{31} tθui^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989k:101
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**θi**^{31} k^{h}o^{31} θu^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989j:101

Chinese comparandum

纚 OC ***liĕg**, *GSR* #878g ‘rope’; Schuessler 2007:525-6 ***re**; Mand. **lí**.
纚 OC ***sliĕg**, *GSR* #878g ‘band wound around the hair’; Schuessler 2007:525-6 ***sreʔ**; Mand. **xǐ**.

1.2.3.4 Bald

A great number of verbs are usable with HEAD to convey the meaning of BALD, e.g. WB **khôŋ proŋ** ‘head + clean/clear’ ; WB **thip proŋ** ‘top + clean/clear’ ; **khôŋ tûm** ‘head + dull/blunt’ ; **khôŋ tûm-tui** ‘head + blunt-short’ ; **û phrâñ** ‘head + slow (?).’

(1) PLB *k-liŋ BALD

6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Xiandao)	**liŋ**^{35}	bald	DAI Qingxia 1989f:1392
	u^{31} **liŋ**^{35} kɔk^{35}	bald person	DAI Qingxia 1989f:246
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **kli**^{55}	bald	DAI Qingxia 1989h:1436.1
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{44} **k^{h}ø**^{55}	bald	DAI Qingxia 1989i:1436
	a^{44} k^{h}ø^{55} **lø**^{55}	bald	DAI Qingxia 1989i:1436.1 [a]
Sani [Nyi]	o^{55} **læ**^{33}	bald person	MA Xueliang 1989:370.1
	o^{55} **lɯ**^{21}	bald	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:325.3
	o^{55}**lɯ**^{21}**lɯ**^{21}	bald	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a

[a]These disyllabic Jinuo forms are perhaps dimidiations (Boodberg’s coinage) of the original sesquisyllable ***k-liŋ**.

(2) PTB * d/t u-k BALD

This poorly attested root awaits further confirmation.

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Spiti)	**do** lo	bald	Sharma 1979
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **tu**^{33}	bald	DAI Qingxia 1989h:1436
Yi (Sani)	**dɣ**^{11}	bald / bare (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0993.39
Sani [Nyi]	ni^{55}**du**^{21}	bald	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	n̩^{55} **du**^{21}	bald; blunt	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:85.1
	o^{55} **du**^{21}	bald	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:324.1
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Lüchun)	**dɔ**^{31}	bald / bare (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0993.41
Hani (Mojiang)	**tɣ**^{33}	bald / bare (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0993.42
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**t’uk/t’uk**	bald	Karlgren 1957:1205a

Chinese comparandum

禿 OC ***t’uk**, *GSR* #1205a ‘bald’; Mand. **tū**.

(3) PL *n-dzi BALD

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central)	**tɕhuɔ**^{55}	bald / bare (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0993.34
	tɕ^{h}uo^{33}	bald	DAI Qingxia 1989p:1392.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**tɕ^{h}ɚ**^{35}	bald	DAI Qingxia 1989o:1392.
	u^{31} p^{h}u^{55} **tɕ^{h}ɚ**^{35}	bald person	DAI Qingxia 1989o:246.
Yi (Liangshan)	ɔ^{21}**ndʐ̩**^{55}	bald person; bald spot	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Wuding)	**nthi**^{55}	bald / bare (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0993.38
Yi (Xide)	**dzɻ**^{33}	bald / bare (tail) (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0993.35
	ndzɻ^{55}	bald / bare (head) (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0993.35
	ɔ^{21}-**ndzɻ**^{55}	baldhead	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Lancang)	**ʑi**^{31}lɔ^{53}	bald / bare (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0993.43
Lisu	**di**^{31}le^{33}	bald / bare (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0993.40

(4) PKC *kolʔ BALD / BARREN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***kolʔ**	BALD / BARREN	VanBik 2009:254
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**kolh**	bald	VanBik 2009:254
Tiddim	**kolʔ**^{3}	bald; be denuded (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:651
	kolʔ^{3}	bald, be denuded	VanBik 2009:254; Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**kòlʔ**	barren, bald	VanBik 2009:254
Lai (Hakha)	**kolʔ**-INV	bald, barren (be v.)	VanBik 2009:254
Lushai [Mizo]	**kàwlh**	bald, bare, devoid of hair, fur, vegetation, etc (be v.)	VanBik 2009:254

(5) PNC *tol BALD / SHAVEN

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
**Northern Chin*	***tol**	BALD / SHAVEN	VanBik 2009:176
Thado	**tòl**-INV	bald	VanBik 2009:176
Tiddim	**tol**^{2}	baldheaded person or shaven person	VanBik 2009:176

1.2.4 Brain

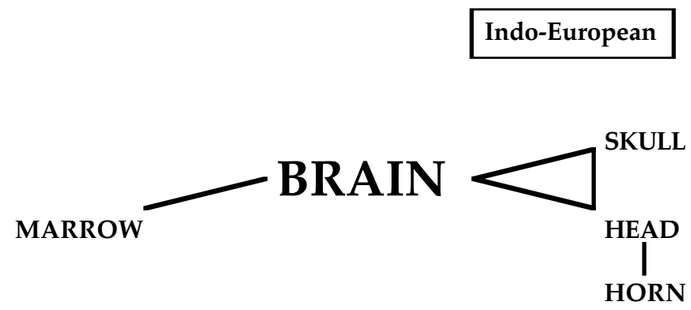

Figure 40: 1.2.4 *Brain*

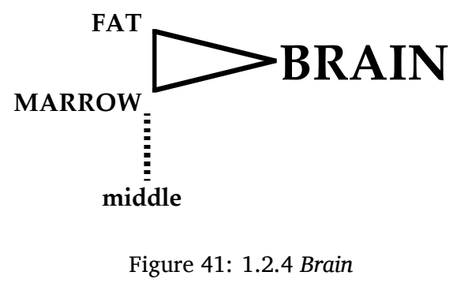

Figure 41: 1.2.4 *Brain*

Figure 42: 1.2.4 *Brain*

Figure 43: 1.2.4 *Brain*

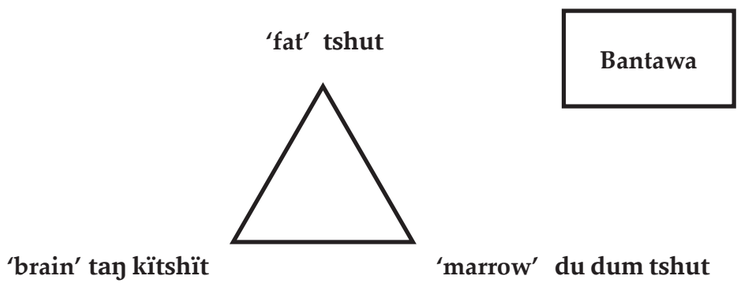

Figure 44: 1.2.4 *Brain*

Figure 45: 1.2.4 *Brain*

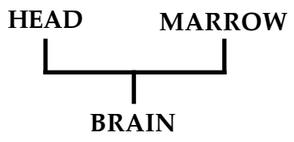

Figure 46: 1.2.4 *Brain*

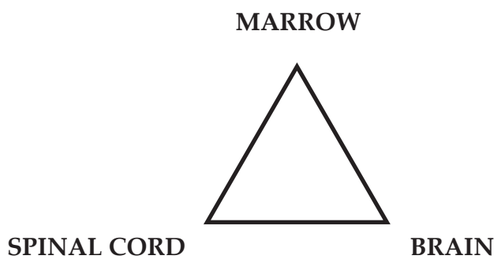

Figure 47: 1.2.4 *Brain*

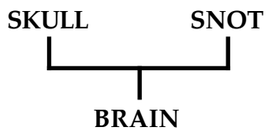

Figure 48: 1.2.4 *Brain*

(1) PTB *s-nəw-k BRAIN

A similar but independent etymon is PTB ***s-nip*** BRAIN (§1.2.4).

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***nukw**	brain	Coblin 1986:48
	***s-nuk ≍ s-nuw**	brain	Matisoff 1983:49
	***s-nuw-k**	brain	Matisoff 1983:49
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			

*Tibeto-Burman	*(**s-**)**nuk**	brain	Weidert 1987:964
	***nuk**	brain	Weidert 1987:964; LaPolla 1987:48; Benedict 1972:483; Coblin 1986:48
	***s-nuk**	brain	Matisoff 1983:49; Matisoff 2003a:605

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	a **nu**	brain; marrow	Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**nu**	brain	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	nu ~ ə **nu**	brain	Coblin 1986:48; LaPolla 1987:48
	nú?	brains	Matisoff 1974:364
	nu?^{55}	brain	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	^{3}**nu?**	brain	Weidert 1987:964
	ə **nu**	brain	Matisoff 1987
	ə **nú?**	brain	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	ú **nó?**	brain	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:1-3

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**nyok** tang	brain	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 9
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ŋ̡ok**^{13} taŋ^{55}	brain	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ŋ̡ok taŋ	brain	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ŋ̡ok**-taŋ	brain	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**nǐuo**	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989e:9.1
	no	brain	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0118; Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0127
	no^{2}	brain	Sofronov c1978
	nɔ̃i	brain	Nishida 1964:18-08b; Nishida 1964:183

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**ŋ̡o**^{55}	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991d
Muya [Minyak]	**ŋ̡i**^{35}	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991h:2.5
Pumi (Qinghua)	**nɐ**^{55}	brain	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	**nuɐ**^{35}	brain	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Longxi)	qə **(ŋ̡à)**-tshó	fontanel [brain-jump]	Evans 1999:102.1
	qə **ŋ̡à**	brain	Evans 1999:164
Qiang (Mawo)	qa **ŋ̡i**	brain	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	qi **ŋ̡i**	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991g:2.5
	qə **ŋ̡i**	brain	Sun 1986
Qiang (Mianchi)	qè **ŋ̡à**	brain	Evans 1999:164
	qè **ŋ̡à**-tié	fontanel [brain-heart]	Evans 1999:102.1
Qiang (Taoping)	qə^{31} **χŋ̡a**^{33}	brain	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	qə **ni**	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989q:164
Xumi	**nɐ**^{35}	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991m

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	**mva**^{33}	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991c:2.5
Ergong (Danba)	**nua**	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991b:2.5

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta ko r **no**	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991j:9.1
Caodeng	tə́-r **nɔ**	brain	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə r **no**	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991j:2.5
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə r **no**	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991k:2.5
	tə r **nok**	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991k:9.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə r **nok**	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991l:9.1
	tə r **noχ**	brain	Sun Hongkai 1991l:2.5
rGyalrong	tA r **nok**	brain	Nagano 1997:9.1
rGBenzhen	tə-vu r **nɔk**	brain	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	u^{55} **nɯʔ**^{55}	brain	LaPolla 1987:48 [a]
	u^{55} **nŭʔ**^{55}	brain	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. Tujia

Tujia	**naɯ**^{55} suĩ^{55}	brain	Chen Kang 1986d:2.5

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***s-nuk**^{H} BRAIN

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-nuk**^{H}	brain	Matisoff 2003a:605

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**nɑu**^{55} tɕi^{55}	brain	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	u^{31} **nuʔ**^{31}	brain	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**nau**^{55} tɕi^{55}	brain	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	u^{31} **nuʔ**^{55}	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989f:158
Bola	ŭ^{31} **nauʔ**^{55}	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989g:158
Burmese (Written)	**hnok**	brains (in WB û-hnok)	Benedict 1976a
	ù-**hnauk**	brain	LaPolla 1987:48
	ù-**hnok**	brain	Coblin 1986:48
	ū: **nhok**	brain	Marrison 1967
	ʔû-**hnok**	brain	Hansson 1989:xxx; Matisoff 1987
	ʔu:-**hnok**	brain	Matisoff 1983:49
Lashi	u̱^{55} **nuʔ**^{31}	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989m:2.5
Marma	ŭ **hnɔʔ**	brain	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:1-3
Maru [Langsu]	au^{35} **nauk**^{31}	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989l:2.5
Atsi [Zaiwa]	u^{21} **nuʔ**^{55}	brain	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984

6.1.2. Loloish: ***(C)-nok**^{L} BRAIN

**Loloish*	*(C)-**nok**^{L}	brain	Weidert 1987:964; Bradley 1979b:140; Hansson 1989:xxx
Lolopho	ɣ^{55} **nu̱**^{31}	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989n:2.5
PNL	**ʔnok**^{L}	brain	Chen Kang 1986a:89.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**ʔnòq**	brain	Björverud 1994
	ʔno^{21}	brain	Chen Kang 1986b:2.5
	ʔnu̱^{2}	brain	Chen Kang 1986a:89.
Luquan	**ɲ̡a 11** ~ **ɲ̡ɐ 11**	brains	Matisoff 1972b:156(c)
	ɲ̡e	brain	Matisoff 1972b:156
	ɲ̡̊a^{11}	brain	Matisoff 1983:49
Nasu	**nu̱**^{55}	brain	Chen Kang 1986a:89.
	u^{33} **nu̱**^{55}	brain	Chen Kang 1986b:2.5
Nesu	**nu̱**^{2}	brain	Chen Kang 1986a:89.
	ŋ̍^{33} **nu̱**^{21}	brain	Chen Kang 1986b:9.1
Nosu	**nu̱**^{55}	brain	Chen Kang 1986a:89.
	o^{33}**no**^{55}	brain	Chen Kang 1986b:2.5; Chen Kang 1986b:9.1
Nusu (Central)	u^{33} **ɲ̡u̱**^{53}	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989p:158.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	u^{55} **ɲ̡̊u̱**^{31}	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989o:158.
Yi (Dafang)	o^{33} **nɔ**^{33} ʅu^{33}	brain	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Liangshan)	o^{33}**no**^{55}	brain	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanjian)	**no**^{21}	brain	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	o^{33} **no**^{55}	brain; cerebrum	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**nu̱**^{2}	brain	Chen Kang 1986a:89.
	o^{55} **nɯ̱**^{33}	brain	Luo Meizhen 1990:2.5
	o^{55}**nu̱**^{21}	brain	Chen Kang 1986b:9.1
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	tʰo^{44} **no**^{55}	marrow	Dai Qingxia 1989h:166
Jinuo (Youle)	vu^{44} **no**^{55}	brain	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	vu^{44} **nu**^{55} lu^{55}	brain	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	vu^{44}**nu**^{55}lu^{55}	brain, mind (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	ɣ̣^{44} **no**^{55}	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989i:164
Jinuo (Youle)	ɣɯ^{44} **no**^{55}	marrow	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	ɯ^{44} **no**^{55}	brain	Dai Qingxia 1989h:164
Kucong	v55 **nɔ31**	brain	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***naw**ˆ	brain	Bradley 1979b:140
Lahu (Shehleh)	u¯**naw**ˆ nehˆ	brain	Bradley 1979a:140
Lahu (Nyi)	u¯**naw**ˆ nehˆ	brain	Bradley 1979a:140
Lahu (Lancang)	u^{35}**nɔ**^{21}nɛ^{54}	brains (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0132.43
Lahu (Black)	ú-**nɔ̀ʔ**	brains	Matisoff 1974:364
	ú-**nɔ̀ʔ**-nɛ̂ʔ	brains	Matisoff 1972b:156(a) [a]
	ɣ̣^{35} **nɔʔ**^{21} nɛʔ^{54}	brain	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Nujiang)	o^{55} **nɯ**^{55}	brain	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	wu'-**nrghɔ**^{1}	brain	Matisoff 1987
	wu1-**nrgh'1**	brains	Matisoff 1972b:156(c)
	wu^{1}**nrgh'**^{1}	brain	Bradley 1979b:140
Lisu (Northern)	ɔ^{55}**nɤ**^{55}	brain, grey matter (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}**nɤ**^{55} kɔ^{35}dʑi^{44}	meninx (outer lining of brain)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**no**^{2}	brain	Chen Kang 1986a:89.
	o^{55} **nu**^{44}	brain	Ma Xueliang 1989:322.2
	o^{55}**nu̱**^{33}	brain	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	o^{55}**no**^{44}	brain	Chen Kang 1986b:9.1

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	iˇ **nm**ˆ	brain	Matisoff 1987 [b]
	nmɔ̀	brain	Hansson 1989:xxx
	uˇ **nm**ˆ	brain	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Hu T'an)	u-**nɔ** 21-**21c**	brains	Matisoff 1972b:156(a)
Hani (Dazhai)	u^{31} **nu̱**^{31}	brain	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɣ̄^{31} **nɤ̱**^{31}	brain	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	u^{31} **nɯ**^{31}	brain	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ɣ̣^{31} **nɤ**^{31}	brain	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Mpi	**noʔ**^{4}wo^{4}	brain	Bradley 1979b; Hansson 1989:xxx
	ʔo(ʔ)^{2}**noʔ**^{2}	top of the head / brain	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔɑ̃ **dɔ̀**	brain	Matisoff 1987 [c]
	ʔɑ̃^{55} **do**^{11}	brain	Bradley 1977
Ugong	khu **nə̰k**	brain (= 9.1); brain (= 2.5)	Bradley 1993:2.5; Bradley 1993:9.1

7. Karenic: ***nok**^{D} BRAIN

**Karen (Pwo)*	*khóq **nɔ̀**	brain	Jones 1961:189
**Karen [Burling]*	*kho^{2}**nuʔ**^{1}	brain	Luangthongkum 2013:33
**Karen (Sgaw)*	*khóʔ **nùʔ**	brain	Jones 1961:189
**Karen*	***nok**^{D}	brain	Luangthongkum 2013:33
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***nùd**	brain	Jones 1961:189
**Karen (TP)*	***nɔ̀d**	brain	Jones 1961:189
**Karen*	***nɔ̀dh**	brain	Jones 1961:189
Bwe	**-no**^{11}	brain	Luangthongkum 2013:33
	nù-í	brain	Weidert 1987:964
Kayah	(ku^{11})**nɔ**^{33}	brain	Luangthongkum 2013:33
Kayan	**nɔʔ**^{21}	brain	Luangthongkum 2013:33
Kayaw	(kə^{33})**nə**^{33}	brain	Luangthongkum 2013:33
Pa-O (Southern)	(ʔaʔ^{21})**nuʔ**^{45}	brain	Luangthongkum 2013:33
Pa-O (Northern)	(ʔu^{55})**nok**^{45}	brain	Luangthongkum 2013:33
Pa-O	káʔ **nɔ́ʔ**	brain	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:189
Palaychi	khòq **nù**	brain	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:189
Pwo (Northern)	(khu^{33})**nauʔ**^{21}	brain	Luangthongkum 2013:33
Pwo (Southern)	(khu^{55}) **nɔuʔ**^{45}	brain	Luangthongkum 2013:33
Pwo (Bassein)	khò **nòʔ**	brain	Matisoff 1987
	khò **nɔ̀ʔ**	brain	Weidert 1987:964; Jones 1961:189
Pwo (Moulmein)	khóʔ **nauʔ**	brain	Weidert 1987:964; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:189
Sgaw (Northern)	(kho$^{31\sim}$)**nuʔ**^{21}	brain	Luangthongkum 2013:33
Sgaw (Southern)	(khu$^{45\cdot}$)**nɔ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	brain	Luangthongkum 2013:33
Sgaw	^{2}kho ^{2}**nɤʔ**	brain	Weidert 1987:964
Sgaw (Bassein)	khò **nùʔ**	brain	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:189
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	kʰo^{31} **nu**^{33}	brain (marrow)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:164
Sgaw (Moulmein)	khóʔ **nùʔ**	brain	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:189
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	kʰo^{31} **nu̱ʔ**^{55}	brain (marrow)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:164

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**nɣ**^{33} ɕui^{33}	brain	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**nɣ**^{33} ɕui^{33}	brain	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**no**^{33}	brain	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	nõ^{33} kʰɣ̣^{31}	brain	Zhao Yansun 1990:9.1
	nõ^{33} «kʰɣ̣^{31}»	brain	Zhao Yansun 1990:2.5

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**nâu:**	brain	Karlgren 1957:1244f
Chinese (Old)	**nagwx**	brain	Coblin 1986:48

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**nâu**	brain	Matisoff 1983:49
	nâu:	brain	Coblin 1986:48 [d]

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**naau** tz	brain	Sun 1985b:94
	nɑo	brain	Karlgren 1957:1244f
	tóu-**nǎo**	brains, intelligence	Matisoff 1993

[a] [Source Note] (u^{55} 'head').

[a] The last syllable (**nɛ̂ʔ**) probably means 'wet' (cf. modern computer slang 'wet-ware').
[b] Akha **iˇ** 'water'.
[c] Phunoi regularly denasalizes.
[d] *GSR* (p. 316) gives no OC reconstruction, "for lack of Shijing rhyme or Xie-sheng connections."

Chinese comparandum

腦 OC ***nâu:**, *GSR* #1244f 'brain'; Coblin 86:48 ST ***nukw** > OC ***nagwx**; Schuessler 2007:397 ***nâuʔ** or ***nûʔ**; B & S 2011: ***n^{ʕ}uʔ {n^{ʕ}[u]ʔ}**; Mand. **nǎo**.

(2) PTB **g-ts(y)u $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\ \mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ ≍ **g-ts(y)i-k BRAIN / MARROW

Cf. FAT 1437/1439.

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	lu **tʰuk**	brain	Toba & Kom 1991:9.1
	ru **tʰuk**	marrow	Toba & Kom 1991:9.1.2
	rə **tʰik**	marrow	Toba & Kom 1991:8.4.3

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	**ki**^{1}**tʃhok**^{3}	brain (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	Kichuk	brain	Nienu 1990c:2.5
	kichuk	brain	Nienu 1990c:9.1

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**sŭn̊**-dăk	marrow	Matisoff 1987

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***ci**	brain	Michailovsky 1991:19
**BSDTK*	*nep **ci**	brain	Michailovsky 1991:20

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**huk sī**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	na **hi:** ma	brain	Weidert 1987:619
	nE **hi:**	brain	Michailovsky 1989b
	ni **hi**	brain	Weidert 1987:619
	ni **sik** pā	brain	Matisoff 1987
	ni **si:k** pa	brain	Weidert 1987:619; Michailovsky 1991:20
	nɛ **hi**	brain	Weidert 1987:619; Michailovsky 1991:20
Yakha	na **gaci?** wa	brain (= 2.5)	Kohn 1990:9.1
	na **gadzi?** wa	brain (= 9.1)	Kohn 1990:2.5
	u-na **ci?** wa	brain	Weidert 1987:619

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	dun-du-**chut**	marrow	Rai *et al.* 1984:24
	dung-**kuchut**	marrow	Rai *et al.* 1984:24
	dut lun-**chut**	marrow	Rai *et al.* 1984:21
	du dum **tshït**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	ḍu ḍum-**chut**	marrow	Rai *et al.* 1984:24
	du dum **tshut**	marrow	Michailovsky 1991:115
	ïlum **tshuk**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	tang **küchut**	brain	Rai *et al.* 1984:68
	tang **kücük**	brain	Rai *et al.* 1984:68
	TaN **kUcUk**	brain	Rai 1985
	taŋkï tshït (-**k?**)	brain	Michailovsky 1991:19
	taŋ **kïcïk**	brain	Michailovsky 1991:21
	taŋ **kïtshïk**	brain	Matisoff 1987
	taŋ **kïtshït**	brain	Michailovsky 1991:21
	tshïk	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	ʈaŋ **kïcïk**	brain	Michailovsky 1991:19
Chamling	**che che** lung ma	marrow	Winter 1985:9
Kulung	tok **ci**	brain	Michailovsky 1991:21; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	ta:k **tsi**	brain; brain, brains	Michailovsky 1991:21; Driem 1993
Khaling	'næ **s**	brain	Weidert 1987:619
	neh **s**	brain	Matisoff 1987
	ne **s**	brain	Michailovsky 1991:20

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	nip **tsi**	brain	Michailovsky 1991:20; Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	'nip **si**	brain	Michailovsky 1991:20; Matisoff 1987
	nip **s(i)**	brain	Weidert 1987:619
Thulung	**chiT**	marrow; marrow, magical substance	Michailovsky 1991:115; Allen 1975
	neop **ci**	brain	Michailovsky 1991:19; Michailovsky 1991:20
	nep a **ci**	brain	Matisoff 1987
	nep **ci**	brain	Michailovsky 1991:20; Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Magar	mi-**Thuk**	marrow	Matisoff 1987

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	khraŋ-**chi**	marrow	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1983:56; Matisoff 1974:72

(3) PTB *t(w)a $\begin{matrix}\text{k}\\\text{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ BRAIN / MARROW

The final **-p** in Meithei is probably due to assimilation to the preceding rounded vowel.

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***tlok** BRAIN

**Tangkhulic*	***tlok**	brain	Mortensen 2012:564
Huishu	ʔa-kow-nə-**luʔ**	brain	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	a nga **tok**	brain	Marrison 1967
	ā ŋa **tok**	brain	Matisoff 1987
	tok	brain	Bhat 1969:85
	^{1}ə^{1}ŋə^{2}**tok**	brain	Weidert 1987:1034
Tusom	ʔu-kuə-**du**	brain	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.030
Ukhrul	kuj-ŋə-**tok**	brain	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-ŋə-**tok**	brain	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**thop**	brain (= 9.1); brain	Singh 1991:2.5; Singh 1991:9.1; Marrison 1967 [a]
	thôp	cerebellum; cerebrum	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Central)	nyok **tang**	brain	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 9
Tsangla (Motuo)	n̥ok^{13} **taŋ**^{55}	brain	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	n̥ok **taŋ**	brain	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	n̥ok-**taŋ**	brain	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Jirel)	le **tāq**	brain	Matisoff 1987
Sherpa	le **tāq**	brain	Matisoff 1987

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	sŭń-**dăk**	marrow	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**dung**-kuchut	marrow	Rai *et al.* 1984:24
	tang küchut	brain	Rai *et al.* 1984:68
	tang kücük	brain	Rai *et al.* 1984:68
	TaN kUcUk	brain	Rai 1985
	taŋkï tshït (-k?)	brain	Michailovsky 1991:19
	taŋ kïcïk	brain	Michailovsky 1991:21
	taŋ kïtshït	brain	Michailovsky 1991:21
	ʈaŋ kïcïk	brain	Michailovsky 1991:19
Kulung	**tok** ci	brain	Michailovsky 1991:21; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**ta:k** tsi	brain; brain, brains	Michailovsky 1991:21; Driem 1993

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Sunwar	**thu:**	brain	Matisoff 1987
	thu:M	brain (!), feelings	Michailovsky 1991:90

[a] Apparently with assimilation of *-**k** to the labial medial *-**w**-.

(4) PTB *s-nip BRAIN

This root seems to be restricted to Himalayish languages. A similar but independent etymon is PTB ***s-nəw-k** BRAIN (§1.2.4).

2. HIMALAYISH

Thangmi	**ni** hũ	brain	Weidert 1987:619
	ni wu	brain	Weidert 1987:619

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang	**'na na**	brain	Weidert 1987:619

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**nhe** pu	brain	Weidert 1987:619
Newar (Kathmandu)	**nhe** pu	brain	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**nhe** pu	brain	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.1
	nhye pu	brain (= 9.1)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:2.5
Newar (Dolakhali)	**ni** pu	brain	Genetti 1990b

2.3. KIRANTI

**BSDTK*	***nep** ci	brain	Michailovsky 1991:20

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**na** hi: ma	brain	Weidert 1987:619
	nE hi:	brain	Michailovsky 1989b
	ni hi	brain	Weidert 1987:619
	ni sik pā	brain	Matisoff 1987
	ni si:k pa	brain	Weidert 1987:619; Michailovsky 1991:20
	nɛ hi	brain	Weidert 1987:619; Michailovsky 1991:20
Yakha	**na** gaciʔ wa	brain (= 2.5)	Kohn 1990:9.1
	na gadziʔ wa	brain (= 9.1)	Kohn 1990:2.5
	u-**na** ciʔ wa	brain	Weidert 1987:619

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	**'næ** s	brain	Weidert 1987:619
	neh s	brain	Matisoff 1987
	ne s	brain	Michailovsky 1991:20

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**nip** tsi	brain	Michailovsky 1991:20; Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	**'nip** si	brain	Michailovsky 1991:20; Matisoff 1987
	nip s(i)	brain	Weidert 1987:619
Thulung	**neop** ci	brain	Michailovsky 1991:19; Michailovsky 1991:20
	nep a ci	brain	Matisoff 1987
	nep ci	brain	Michailovsky 1991:20; Allen 1975

(5) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\text{s}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ -lwak BRAIN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***khluak** BRAIN

**Chin*	***khluak**	BRAIN	VanBik 2009:1279

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**khuak**	brain	VanBik 2009:1279
Sizang	**htuak**	brains	VanBik 2009:1279
Thado	**hlûo?**	brain	VanBik 2009:1279
Tiddim	**khuak**^{1}	brain	VanBik 2009:1279; Bhaskararao 1996:835
	χuak^{3}	brains	Luce 1985:H.121; Luce 1985:P.23

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	lə-**khlò?**	brain	Weidert 1987:1034
Cho (Mindat)	**chawk**	brain	VanBik 2009:1279
Khumi	**lú'aleew**	brain	VanBik 2009:1279
Matupi	**χlok**^{2}	brains	Luce 1985:P.23
Womatu	**k'ʃok**^{3}	brains	Luce 1985:P.23
	k'χɔk^{3}	brains	Luce 1985:P.23

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Khualsim	**t'luak**^{1}	brains	Luce 1985:P.23
Lai (Hakha)	**thluak**	brain	VanBik 2009:1279
Lai (Falam)	**thlûak**	brain	VanBik 2009:1279
Lai (Hakha)	**t'luɑk**^{1}	brains	Luce 1985:P.23
Lushai [Mizo]	**thluak**	brain	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	thlúak	brain (n.)	VanBik 2009:1279
	tlhûak	brain	Weidert 1987:1034
	t'luɑk^{2}	brains	Luce 1985:P.23

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**la**-thlí	brain or spinal cord (n.)	VanBik 2009:1279
	la thli	brain	Matisoff 1987
Tha'oa	**t'lɔk**^{4}	brains	Luce 1985:P.23
Xongsai	**hluʔ**^{2}	brains	Luce 1985:P.23

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Chiru	rɔ **thok**	brain	Weidert 1987:1034

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Ao*	*t-ku-**luk**	BRAIN	Bruhn 2014a:II.356
Ao (Chungli)	to **kolok**	brain	Marrison 1967
	tu^{2}-**ku**^{3}**luk**^{1}	brain (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.356
	^{2}tu^{3}**ku**^{1}**luk**	brain	Weidert 1987:1034
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	o **kuluk**	brain	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**kuluk**	brain (n.)	Coupe 2007

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Mao	^{2}o^{5}**krhe**	brain	Weidert 1987:1034
Rengma (Northern)	^{1}a^{2}fia^{1}**šu**	brain	Weidert 1987:1034
Rengma (Southern)	^{2}n^{1}**šø**	brain	Weidert 1987:1034

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	a-**lŭak**	brain	Weidert 1987:1034
Zeme	mi **kuak**	brain	Marrison 1967
	^{3}mi^{1}n^{4}**kuak**	brain	Weidert 1987:1034

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	tar **lok**	brain	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	tàr-**lòk**	brain; brain (= 9.1)	Grüssner 1979:84; Grüssner 1979:84

1.6. MRU

Mru	**krok**	brain	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Magar	mi-**luk** au	brain	Matisoff 1987

3.2. QIANGIC

Namuyi	ʁo^{55}**ɬy**^{33}	brain	SUN Hongkai 1991i:2.5
	ʁuo^{55}**ɬu**^{31}	brains (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0132.46

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Daofu)	huə **ʔɸuɑ**	brain	DAI Qingxia 1989b:2.5

4. NUNGIC

Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	nuŋ^{31} **kɯ**^{31}**lĕʔ**^{55}	brain	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nuŋ^{31} **kɯ**^{31}**leʔ**^{55}	brain	LaPolla 1987:49

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**hlok**	brain	Matisoff 1987

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	**ɬv**˥	brains	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**ɬv**^{13}	brain	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(6) PTB * $^{s}_{h}$ la BRAIN / MARROW

1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**la** thli	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	ru-**la**-thli	marrow	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**lha**-ba	marrow	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Manang (Gyaru)	**sya**[1] ga[1] ri[1]	brain	Nagano 1984:001-03
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]**ɕa** kri	brain	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0501
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]kra **-sja**	brain (meat) / brain (organ)	Mazaudon 1994:64
	[1]kra-**sja**	brain (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:2.5, 9.1
Tamang (Sahu)	kra.**sya**	brain	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.16
	syā	brain	Matisoff 1987
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar (Kathmandu)	**lho** mha	fat	Genetti 1990c
Newar (Dolakhali)	**sel**	marrow	Genetti 1990b
Newar	**sel**-	marrow	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**sira**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	sirə	marrow	Caughley 1972:2.A.3
Chepang (Eastern)	**sirə**	marrow	Caughley 1990:9.1.2
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**lho**	marrow	Sofronov c1978
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mawo)	**xlə**	marrow	Sun 1986
	ɹə pætʂ **χlə**	marrow	SUN Hongkai 1991g:9.1.2

(7) PTB * $^{k}_{g}$ lat BRAIN / MARROW

This root appears mainly in Himalayish, with a possible cognate in Phunoi that shows preemption by the prefix. The Guiqiong form looks like a loan from Tibetan.

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**ḍat** pa	brain	Sharma 1991a:2.5
	ḍət pa	brain	Sharma 1991a:9.1
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**lap** pā	brain	Matisoff 1987
Tshona (Mama)	**lɑt**[55] pɑ[53]	brain	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hled**-pæ	brain	Sun 1985a:94
Tibetan (Batang)	**le**[55] pa[55]	brain	DAI Qingxia 1989a:2.5
Tibetan (Jirel)	**le** tāq	brain	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**le** hpah	brain	Bishop 1989:9.1
	le pah	brain	Bishop 1989:2.5
Sherpa	**le** tāq	brain	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**let** pa	brain (physical)	Bodh 1991:2.5
Tibetan (Written)	**glad**	brain; head	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	klad	brain; head	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	klad-ċ'un	cerebellum	Matisoff 1987
	klad-pa	brain	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:13
	klad-rgya	skin covering brain	Matisoff 1987
	klad-rgyas	marrow, bloody	Matisoff 1987
	klad-sgo	fontanel	Matisoff 1987
	klad.pa	brain	Sun 1985c:94; Marrison 1967
	mgo-**klad**	brain	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Thakali (Tukche)	**le** pa	brain	Matisoff 1987
	le pɔ	brain	Hari 1971:2.A.16
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**le**[55] pɯ[53]	brain	SUN Hongkai 1991e
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔã´ **khat** mjã`	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	ʔɑ̃[55] **kʰɑt**[33] miɑ[11]	marrow	Bradley 1977

(8) PTB *p $^{u}_{i}$ -k BRAIN

1.1.1. TANI: ***pVk-ni?*** BRAIN			
**Tani*	***pVk-ni?**	brain	Sun 1993a:43 [a]
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**pù-ñú**	brain	Sun 1993b
	pu-ñu rhyme!	brain	Sun 1993a
	puñ-ñu	brain	Sun 1993b
	[1]pu[2]ñu ([2])	brain	Weidert 1987:619
Bengni	**puk-ni**	brain	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**pɯ ni:**	brains (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0132.24
	pɯ-ni:	brain	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**pɯni:**	brain	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**pɯnɯ**	brain	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻpinii	brain (n.)	GLDC 2009
	¯pɯñɯ	brain	Weidert 1987:619
Tagin	**poknyi**	brain	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	**pin-ño** rhyme!	brain	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pîn-nyo**	brain	Matisoff 1987
	pun-nî	brain	Matisoff 1987 [b]
Milang	**paŋi**	brain	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**pun-ni**	brain	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**pí**-ním	brain	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	pɯ[31] n̥ɯm[55]	brain	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	**pa**-bĭŋ	brain	Weidert 1987:218
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	nhe **pu**	brain	Weidert 1987:619
Newar (Kathmandu)	nhe **pu**	brain	Genetti 1990c
Newar	nhe **pu**	brain	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.1
	nhye **pu**	brain (= 9.1)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:2.5
Newar (Dolakhali)	ni **pu**	brain	Genetti 1990b

[a] Sun reconstructs a binome here, but the second element in the Tani forms seems to descend from PTB ***s-nyam*** THINK / BRAIN (§1.2.6.10).

[b] Note assimilation of Abor-Miri medial consonants.

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	ek **pu** ti	brain (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.33
	ek **pu** ti	brain	Matisoff 1987 [a]
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**pu** khli?	brain	Matisoff 1987
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	le[55] **pu**[53]	brain	SUN Hongkai 1991e
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	tə **pjo**	brain	DAI Qingxia 1989d:2.5

[a] The zero-initial in **ek**- is unexplained (perhaps < ***yik?***).

1.2.5 Face

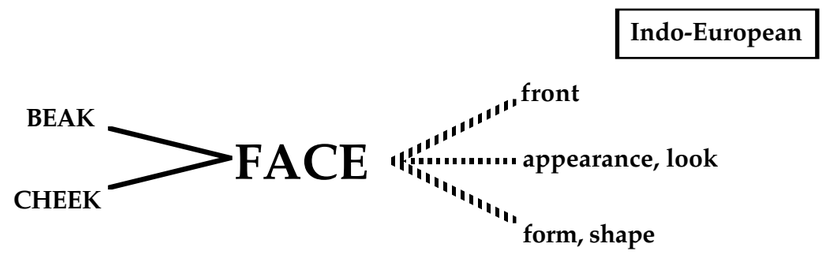

Figure 49: 1.2.5 *Face*

FACE —— **EYE**

Figure 50: 1.2.5 *Face*

(1) PTB *s-ma-y FACE / CHEEK / FRONT / AHEAD / FIRST

GSTC #109.

Several putative reflexes have back vowels (Chepang **mo.hor**, Yi [Xide] **a**[55]**-mo**[21], Lisu **mu**[5]**prgh**[1]**du**[3]). Two West Himalayish languages have forms with final dental stop and mid vowel (Bunan and Pattani **mod**), which makes it tempting to reconstruct a separate root ***mwa-t***, although this is premature.

This root seems to have developed the meaning TOOTH in Karenic.

Also possibly related is PKC ***muy*** FIGURE / LOOK (§8.1).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ma:y**	face	Matisoff 1985a:109; Matisoff 2003a:601
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***hmaay*** FACE / FRONT, ***hmaay-saa*** AHEAD / FIRST, ***hmaa*** FRONT / FIRST			
**Chin*	***hmaa**	FRONT / FIRST	VanBik 2009:874
	***hmaay**	FACE / FRONT	VanBik 2009:873
	***hmaay**-saa	AHEAD / FIRST	VanBik 2009:637
Anal	**hmɛ**	face	Matisoff 1987
Chinbok	mik-**hmai**	face	Matisoff 1987
Ngawn	mit-**mai**	face	Matisoff 1987
Thanphum	miŋ[1]**hmɑi**[5]	face	Luce 1985:P.5
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Kuki-Chin	**ma**	front	Haokip 1998:1.5
Paite	**ma-sa**	ahead	VanBik 2009:637
Sizang	a **ma sā**	first	VanBik 2009:637
	mai tang	face	VanBik 2009:873
Thado	**máa**	front	VanBik 2009:874
	máa sàa	ahead (be v.)	VanBik 2009:637
	mâay	face	VanBik 2009:873
	mu	face	LaPolla 1987:213
Tiddim	**a**[2] ma[1] sa[1]	first	VanBik 2009:637
	mai	face	Matisoff 1987
	ma[1]	front	VanBik 2009:874; Bhaskararao 1996:1036
	ma[1] sa:[1] > **ma**[1] sak[3]	in front; first (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1037
	ma[1] sa:[1]/**ma**[1] sak[3]	front, be in...	Bhaskararao 1994
	ma[1] suan[3] > **ma**[1] suat[3]	let somebody walk in front along the path (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1038
	ma[1] suan[3]/**ma**[1] suat[3]	let somebody walk in front...	Bhaskararao 1994
	ma:i	face	Matisoff 1985a:109
	ma:i[1]	face; front; face, front	VanBik 2009:873; Bhaskararao 1996:1060
	mɑi[3]-	face	Luce 1985:P.5
	m̃ă `suan/**m̃ă** `suat	let smn (usually women or children) walk in front (vpf + v.)	Henderson 1965
	¯mă	in front (vpf.)	Henderson 1965
	¯mă `sa:/¯**mă** _sak	go in front / in front (vpf + vII.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho (Sandoway)	k **mɔyw**[2]	face	Luce 1985:P.5
Cho (Mindat)	**hma**	make first (at the head) (v.)	VanBik 2009:874
	hmai	face	VanBik 2009:873
Awa Khumi	ă tă **mæ**[2]	face	Luce 1985:P.5
	ă tă **mæ**[4]	face	Luce 1985:P.5
Khumi	mei-**mai**	face	Matisoff 1987
	moeymáay	face	VanBik 2009:873
Awa Khumi	ɑ[1] **tămæ**[4]	cheek	Luce 1985:R.29
Khumi (Ahraing)	[meɪ[5]] **mɑɛ**[1]	face	Luce 1985:P.5
Matupi	**mʰhɑi**[1]	face	Luce 1985:P.5
Womatu	**hmɑi**[2]	face	Luce 1985:P.5
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Khualsim	**hmɑi**[2]	face	Luce 1985:P.5
Lai (Hakha)	**hma**-săa-I, hma-sat-II	ahead, first (be v.)	VanBik 2009:637
	hmâay	face, front	VanBik 2009:873
Lai (Falam)	**hmáay**	face	VanBik 2009:873
	hmáay-sàa	ahead	VanBik 2009:637
Lai (Hakha)	**hmɑi**[5]	face	Luce 1985:P.5
	mit-**hmai**	face	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	ha-**hmai**	tooth (incisor)	Matisoff 1987
	hmá	front, the space or place in front of (n.)	VanBik 2009:874
	hma-a	before	Bhaskararao 1996:1039
	hma-a	in front of (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2396

	hmai	face	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	hmăi	face	Matisoff 1985a:109
	hmăi	face (n.)	VanBik 2009:873
	hmai-zaʔ	fan	Benedict 1972:92
	hmɑi^{3}	face	Luce 1985:P.5
Paangkhua	**ma** kòt	front (in front of house)	Löffler 1985; Löffler 1985

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	mə̌ **hmɛʔ**^{1}	face	Luce 1985:P.5
Lakher [Mara]	**hmia**	face	Matisoff 1987
	hmìa	face	Matisoff 1985a:109
	hmía	face, the countenance (n.)	VanBik 2009:873
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**hmyɛ**^{3}	face	Luce 1985:P.5
Mera	**hmɛ'**^{1}	face	Luce 1985:P.5
Tha'oa	mɪk`**hɑi**^{2}	face	Luce 1985:P.5
Xongsai	**mɑi**^{2}-	face	Luce 1985:P.5
Zotung	**ma**	face	Matisoff 1987
	mæ^{5}	face	Luce 1985:P.5

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**ma** tə̂ŋ	front	Toba & Kom 1991:1.5
	məi	face	Toba & Kom 1991:3.1
Moyon	**mæ** ~ mæ sòw ~ mæ sòw	face	Kosha 1990:3.1

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**mai**	face	Marrison 1967
	mai bung	cheek	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *__hmaj__ FACE / SURFACE

**Central Naga*	***hmaj**	FACE / SURFACE	Bruhn 2014a:III.042
**Ao*	*t-**ma [j]**	FACE / SURFACE	Bruhn 2014a:II.211
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}-li^{3}**ma**^{1}	world, earth (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	li^{1}**ma**^{1}	region, place, country (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	li **ma**	land (n.)	Marrison 1967
	li **ma**	world; country; earth	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	tə^{3}-**ma**^{3}	face, surface (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.211
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ma** ko	outside	Marrison 1967
	tü **ma**	face	Marrison 1967
	tü **ma** ko wa	beard	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	kì-**mà**	courtyard ('house' + FACE) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	li **ma**	country, land ('earth' + FACE) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-lí-**má**	world, earth ('earth, soil' + FACE) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**ma**	face (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	li^{3}-**hmaʔ**^{3}	world (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	o^{1}-**hmaʔ**^{3}	face (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.042
	li **mha**	earth	Murry *et al.* 1978:36
	li **mha** tsü	world	Marrison 1967
	li **mha** tzhü	earth	Marrison 1967
	o **mha**	face	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:43
	o **Mha**	face	Nienu 1990c:3.1
Sangtam	a li **mi**	earth	Marrison 1967
	a ro **mi**	face	Marrison 1967
	li **mi**	country; world	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**ma**	outside	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**mi**	face	Kumar 1973b:95
	mü chhip	cheek	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**me** che	jaw	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **me**^{31} nye^{11}	lip	Nienu 1990a:3.9
	(u) **me**^{31} nye^{11} pe^{31} so^{11}	upper lip	Nienu 1990a:3.9.1
	(u) **me**^{31} tso^{33}	jaw	Nienu 1990a:3.13
	(u) **me**^{31} tso^{33} pe^{31} so^{11}	upper jaw	Nienu 1990a:3.13.2
	(u) **me**^{31} tso^{33} pe^{31}khro^{33}	lower jaw	Nienu 1990a:3.13.1
	(u) **me**^{11} nye^{11} rü^{31} khro	lower lip	Nienu 1990a:3.9.2
	u **me** chie	jaw	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **mü**^{31} tso^{33}	jaw	Nienu 1990b:3.13
	mü^{31} tso^{33} rü^{31} khro^{33}	lower jaw / mandible	Nienu 1990b:3.13.1
	mu^{31} tso^{33} rü^{31} so^{11}	upper jaw / maxilla	Nienu 1990b:3.13.2
Khezha	'è **mhò**	face	Yabu 1994:3.1

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	**mai** kum	face	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**mái**-zǽu	face	Weidert 1987:408

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *__maj__ FACE

**Tangkhulic*	***maj**	face	Mortensen 2012:667
Huishu	ʔa-**mej**	face; cheek	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.085
Kachai	ʔa-**mwe**	face	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.032
Tangkhul	**mai**	face; face, visage	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:109
	mai ha	beard	Marrison 1967
	mai hā	beard	Matisoff 1987
	mai sor	cheek	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	may	face	Bhat 1969:88
Tusom	ʔi-**mie**	face	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.036
Ukhrul	**maj**	face	Mortensen 2012
	maj-sor	cheek	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**mai**	face	Marrison 1967
	mâi	face	Matisoff 1987
	may	face	Singh 1991:3.1
	mə **may**	face	Matisoff 1985a:109

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	ha ra **may**	cheekbone	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**mod**	face	Sharma 1991a:3.1
Pattani [Manchati]	**mod**	face, appearance; face	Sharma 1982; Sharma 1991b:3.1

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**do**^{13} ɕe^{53}	cord / fathom (outstretched ar	Sun Hongkai 1991a:13.4

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**mo**.hor	face (B) (n.)	Caughley 2000

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**mɪ**^{2}	cheekbone	Sofronov c1978

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**mi**^{33} xi^{55}	chin	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.18
Guiqiong	**nã**^{31}kɯ^{55}	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.16
	nɛ^{33} nkø^{53}	chin	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.17
Lyuzu	**me**^{53}hĩ^{53}	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.18
Muya	**mɛ̃**^{33}khi^{53}	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mɐ**^{55} ŋkhĩ^{55}	chin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.15
	mɐ^{55} ŋkʰĩ^{55}	chin	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.12
Namuyi	**miɛ**^{55} kəˈ^{33}	chin	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.12; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.19
	miæ^{53} kəəˈ^{31}	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**n̥a**^{55} ka^{55}	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ma**^{13} kɑ^{55}	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.09
Pumi (Dayang)	**mə̀**-qó	chin	Matisoff 2003a:170
Pumi (Qinghua)	**mø**^{13} kɑ^{55}	chin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ma**^{35} kɛ^{35}	chin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**ma** ɣuə	chin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.8
	mæ ɣu̥o̥	chin	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.12
Qiang (Taoping)	**mə**^{31} sɻ̥^{33}kha^{33}	chin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**mɛ**^{35} kʰi^{53}	chin	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.12
	mɛ^{35}khi^{53}	chin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**mɛ**^{13}ŋge^{55}	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.13
Xumi	**ma**^{33}kɛ^{53}	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.17
	mɐ^{33} kɛ^{55}	chin	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.20

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Daofu)	**ma** jə	chin	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.12
Ergong (Northern)	**mə**^{53} ni^{33}	chin	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	tə **m**ɟja	chin	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.12; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **m**ɟjɑ	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.11
Caodeng	tə-**m**gje	chin	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **m**dʒa	chin	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.12
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **m**ɟja	chin	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.12
rGyalrong	tA **m**gya	chin	Nagano 1997:3.12
rGBenzhen	tə-**m**dʒa	chin	Sun 1997b

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**hma**	(affix, locative)	Benedict 1976a
	mê	lower jaw	Benedict 1976a
	mê-ce'	chin	Matisoff 1987
	mê-rûi	jaw	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	**me**^{31} pi^{44}	chin	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.12

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nasu	**n̥e**^{21} pi^{33}	chin	Chen Kang 1986b:3.12
Nesu	**n̥ɪ̱**^{21} bɪ̱^{21}	beard	Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.2.1
	n̥ɪ̱^{21} tʂɻ^{55}	chin	Chen Kang 1986b:3.12
Nusu (Central)	**m̥i**^{55} tʰɑ̃^{35}	chin	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Xide)	a^{55}-**mo**^{21}	face	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mø**^{44} tɤ^{31}	lower jaw, chin	Dai Qingxia 1989h:114
Jinuo (Baka)	**m̥ø**^{44} tʌ^{33}	lower jaw, chin	Dai Qingxia 1989i:114
Jinuo (Youle)	**m̥ø**^{55} tə^{33}	jaw	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu	**mü**^{5} prgh' du^{3}	chin	Matisoff 1987
	mu^{5}prgh^{1}du^{3}	chin	Bradley 1979b:100A
Lisu (Nujiang)	**mɯ**^{31} pɯ̱^{44}	chin	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**n̥**^{55}pi^{44}	chin	Chen Kang 1986b:3.12

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**meh**˯ tah˯ (tah˯)	chin	Matisoff 1987

7. Karenic [a]

**Karen*	***màiD**	face	Jones 1961:190
**Karen (TP)*	***màid**	face	Jones 1961:190
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***màiʔ**	face	Jones 1961:190
**Karen (Pwo)*	***mèʔ**	face	Jones 1961:190
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***mèʔ**	face	Jones 1961:190
	***mé**	tooth	Jones 1961:521
**Karen (Pwo)*	***méq**	tooth	Jones 1961:521
Bwe (Western)	θo^{1} **mɛ**^{3}	tooth / tusk	Luce 1985:I.204
Bwe	θó **mè**	tooth (n.)	Henderson 1997
Geba	θɛ^{1}**mɛ**^{2}	tooth / tusk	Luce 1985:I.204
Pa-O	**méʔ**	face	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:190
	thɔ́ʔ tə **mét**	tusk of pig	Solnit 1989
Paku	**mɛ**^{1}	tooth / tusk	Luce 1985:I.204
Palaychi	**ḿ**	face	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:190
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**mɛ**^{1}	tooth / tusk	Luce 1985:I.204
Pwo (Delta)	ə̌ **mɑi**^{4}	tooth / tusk	Luce 1985:I.204
Pwo (Bassein)	**mài**	tooth	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:521
	mèʔ	face	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:190
Pwo (Moulmein)	**meʔ**	face	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:190
	méʔ	tooth	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:521
Sgaw	**mɛ**^{1}	tooth / tusk	Luce 1985:I.204
Sgaw (Bassein)	**mèʔ**	face	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:190
	mé	tooth	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:521
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**mɛ̱**^{55}	tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989k:170
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**mèʔ**	face	Jones 1961:190
	mé	tooth	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:521
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**mɛ**^{55}	tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989j:170

[a] Karenic languages seem to have developed the meaning 'tooth' from this root, although the forms for 'tooth' and 'face' are slightly different in each language.

[a] [Source Note] field-face

(2) PTB *zyal FACE / MOUTH

The cognacy of the Jingpho morpheme is open to question, since final ***-l*** usually becomes Jingpho **-n**.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	ē **yò**	cheek	Acharya 1975
	e **yo**	cheek	Marrison 1967
	E **yo**	cheek	Nienu 1990c:3.11
	E **yo** ru	cheekbone	Nienu 1990c:3.11.1

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**ze**	face	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **zie**^{31}	face	Nienu 1990a:3.1
	(u) **zie**^{31} tha^{55}	beard / moustache	Nienu 1990a:8.1.2
	u **zie**	face	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **zü**^{31}	face	Nienu 1990b:3.1
	(u) **zu**^{31} ma^{35}	beard / moustache	Nienu 1990b:8.1.2
	u **zü**	face	Marrison 1967
Khezha	keb **zo**	cheek	Marrison 1967
Mao	o **zho**	face	Marrison 1967
	^{2}o^{5}**žo**	face	Weidert 1987:408

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**jau**	face	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	a-**zo**	face	Weidert 1987:408
	ta **ju**	face	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **yo**	face	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**jau**	face	Marrison 1967
	mái-**zæ̀u**	face	Weidert 1987:408
Zeme	mi **zu**	face	Marrison 1967
	^{3}mi^{5}**zu**	face	Weidert 1987:408
Mzieme	**zu**	face	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak	meng **ya**	cheek	Marrison 1967
	meŋ **ya**	cheek	French 1983:467

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	shing-**yaw**	face (poet.)	Matisoff 1987
	šíŋ-**yɔ̂**	face	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983:798
	un-**yaw**	face	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**źal**	mouth	Benedict 1972:106
	ż̀al	mouth; face'	Matisoff 1987
	ż̀al-ko	chin	Matisoff 1987
	ż̀al-lpags	lip	Matisoff 1987
	ż̀al-mc̓u	lip	Matisoff 1987
	ż̀al-rgyan	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	ż̀al-t'som	chin-beard	Matisoff 1987

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**jal**	face	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Chamling	nga **ya**	face	Michailovsky 1991:60

3.2. QIANGIC

Pumi (Jiulong)	**zø**^{35}	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ziɯu**^{55}	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ziɯu**^{55}	face	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.11

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	ta **jo**	face	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.1
	ta **jo** wa rŋɐ	beard / moustache	DAI Qingxia 1989d:8.1.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ʑu**	face	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tɐ **jo**	face	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.1

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Sani [Nyi]	ŋ^{55} **zɑ**^{44}	mouth	MA Xueliang 1989:322.5

[a] WT **ż̀al** is an honorific form for **kha** 'mouth'.

(3a) PTB *r-ŋwa-l FACE / FRONT

The final liquid is attested directly in Kaman, Karbi, Tsangla, and Tshona, and indirectly in Manang, Thakali, Bantawa, and Chinese (all of which have a final nasal). The final **-i** in Bantawa **ŋai wa** and Chamling **ngai** is also perhaps a reflex of this final liquid. The ***r-** prefix is attested in rGyalrongic.

The Written Tibetan rhyme **-o** is a regular reflex of PTB ***-wa** (cf. PTB ***s/p-wa** TOOTH (§1.3.4) > WT **so**).

There is no apparent relation to PTai ***hnaa-C** 'face'.

The final nasals in the Tamang and Magar forms are either to be attributed to the final **-l** or to assimilation from the nasal initial.

There is a Chinese comparandum (顏) reconstructed in *GSR* 199c with final **-n**. Again, it is possible to assign this to PTB ***ŋar** TOPKNOT / FOREPART / FRONT SIDE (§1.2.5) rather than to the present allofam.

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	a^{31} **ŋal**^{35}	face	LaPolla 1987:213
	ɑ^{31} **ŋɑl**^{35}	face	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ʔŋà	face	Weidert 1987:102

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	mo **hor**	face	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	khɑ^{13} **ŋo**^{53}	face	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.1
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ɲer** ma	face	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tshona (Mama)	**ŋor**^{55}	face	LaPolla 1987:213; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.6
	ŋur^{55}	face	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɲer^{55} mA^{53}	face	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Cuona Menba	**ŋur**^{55}	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**ŋo**	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ŋo**	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ŋo**	face	Sun 1985a:239; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ŋo**^{231}	face	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.1
	ŋu^{231}	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	kha^{55}**ŋo**^{53}	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ŋo**^{13}	face (self-respect) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.02
Tibetan (Written)	**ngo**	face	Sun 1985c:239
	ngo-vkhrud-pa	wash one's face	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:162
	ŋo	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.01
	ŋo gdoŋ	face	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:15
	ŋo-mdog	complexion, facial expression	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:16
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ŋo**	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**ńo**	face	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**ŋon**	front	Mazaudon 1994:226
Manang (Gyaru)	**ŋon**^{2} dzɛ^{2}	front	Nagano 1984:354
Manang (Prakaa)	^{1}**ŋwē**	front	Mazaudon 1994:226
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**ŋon**	in front of (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:1.5
	^{1}**ŋon**	front / before	Mazaudon 1994:226
Tamang (Sahu)	**ngohn** kyām	before	Hale 1973:XIID
	ngon kyām	front (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.16
	ngon kyām	in front of	Hale 1973:XIIC56
	ŋohn kyam	before (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.D.28
	ŋon kyam	front; in front of (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.C.16; Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.C.57
Thakali	**ngon**-sāng	in front of	Hale 1973:XIIC56
Thakali (Tukche)	**ŋon**-saŋ	front; in front of	Hari 1971:12.C.16; Hari 1971:12.C.56
	^{H}**ŋon**-	front	Mazaudon 1994:226

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***ŋa**	face	Michailovsky 1991:60

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**na**	face	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:60
	nā	face	Matisoff 1987
	na:	face	Weidert 1987:102
	na: ra	face, cheeks; face	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:60
	nā rā	face	Matisoff 1987
Yakha	**na:** cik	face	Kohn 1990:3.1
	na: cik muŋ	beard / moustache	Kohn 1990:8.1.2

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**Nai** wa	face	Rai 1985
	Na lUN	face	Rai 1985
	Na rom	face (abuse)	Rai 1985
	ŋai wa	face	Michailovsky 1991:60
	ŋam si	face	Michailovsky 1991:60
	ŋa lïŋ	face	Michailovsky 1991:60; Michailovsky 1991:60
	ŋa rom	face (abusive)	Michailovsky 1991:60
Chamling	**ngai**	face, looks; face	Michailovsky 1991:60; Winter 1985:26
	nga lung	face; cheek; face, cheek	Michailovsky 1991:60; Winter 1985:26
	nga ya	face	Michailovsky 1991:60
Kulung	**ŋo** bo	face	Michailovsky 1991:60; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**ŋa:** yɨ	face (of a woman); dainty, comely, unblemished; beautiful face; face	Michailovsky 1991:60; Driem 1993
	ŋa: yɨ-ko: phu	face, countenance, visage	Driem 1993

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	**ŋa:** ro	face	Michailovsky 1991:60; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**ŋa** li	face	Michailovsky 1991:60
	ŋā lī	face	Matisoff 1987
	ŋa li	face, appearance	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**'ngā:h**	face	Matisoff 1987
	'ŋa:h	face	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.21
Magar	**ngon**-sāng	front (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.16

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	li^{33} spə^{53} **ŋo**^{33} rə^{33} pa^{33}	front	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.5
Ergong (Daofu)	**rŋa**	face	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.1
Ergong (Northern)	**rŋɐ**^{13}	face	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.1
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐŋa**	face	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.1

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (NW)	tə **rŋe**	face	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.1
	tə **rŋe** rme	beard / moustache	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.1.2

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ngɑn**/ngɑn	face, countenance, color	Karlgren 1957:199c

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**yen**	face, countenance, color	Karlgren 1957:199c

Chinese comparandum

顏 PTB ***ŋra-k/ŋ** MEET (§6.13).

(3b) PTB *ŋar TOPKNOT / FOREPART / FRONT SIDE

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	lɯ-**ŋe**	ankle	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-**ŋɯ**-rɯ	ankle	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-**ŋur**	ankle	Sun 1993b

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	lak **ŋar**	forearm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	lək **ŋər**	forearm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.5
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	lɑ^{13}**ŋa**^{53}	forearm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	lak^{13}**ŋar**^{55}	forearm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.02
Tibetan (Written)	lag **ŋar**	forearm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.01
	lɑg-**ŋɑr**	forearm	Jäschke 1881:126
	rje-**ṅar**	lower part of leg	Matisoff 1987
	rj̀e-**ṅar**	lower part of leg';	Matisoff 1987
	rkaṅ-**ṅar**	lower part of leg	Matisoff 1987
	rkɑŋ-**ŋɑr**	lower part of leg	Jäschke 1881:126
	ŋɑr	forepart	Jäschke 1881:126
	ŋɑr-gdoŋ	forepart, esp. of leg; shinbone; also perhaps knuckle	Jäschke 1881:126

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**ŋar** tsam	topknot	Michailovsky 1991:192
Hayu	**ŋa:r** o	face (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.69
Thulung	**ŋar** səm	topknot	Michailovsky 1991:192

3.2. QIANGIC

Queyu (Xinlong)	la^{13}**ŋa**^{55}	forearm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.13

(3c) PTB *s-ŋa BEFORE / FRONT

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Thakali	**'ngo ngo**	before	Hale 1973:XIID
Thakali (Tukche)	**'ŋo ŋo**	before	Hari 1971:12.D.28

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**nhya:** / **nhya** wa	before	Hale 1973:XIID
	nhya: ne	front (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.16
	nhya: ne	in front of	Hale 1973:XIIC56
	nhyɔ: ne	front	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.5

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**hngā**	before	Hale 1973:XIID
	hngā.say	in front of	Hale 1973:XIIC56
	hŋa	first, prior (in time, place, position) (nt.)	Caughley 2000
	hŋa	before	Caughley 1972:12.D.28
	hŋa-	go in front, precede (in time, position) (vai.)	Caughley 2000
	hŋa-səy	in front of	Caughley 1972:12.C.56
	hŋa.do	in front, ahead (nl.)	Caughley 2000
Kham	**'ngāh** dā	before	Hale 1973:XIID
	'ngāh tao	front (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.16
Magar	**nghā** sāng	before	Hale 1973:XIID

	nghā slāk	in front of	Hale 1973:XIIC56
7. KARENIC: *hŋa[A] FRONT			
*Karen	***hŋa**[A]	front	Luangthongkum 2013:127
Kayah	**ŋe**[33]	front	Luangthongkum 2013:127
Kayan (Pekon)	ka **ŋá**	in front of (Pp.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**ŋa**[53]	front	Luangthongkum 2013:127
Pa-O	chá? **ŋà**	front of (lz)	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**ŋa**[31¨]	front	Luangthongkum 2013:127
Pa-O (Southern)	**ŋa**[31¨]	front	Luangthongkum 2013:127
Sgaw (Northern)	**ŋa**[33]	front	Luangthongkum 2013:127
Sgaw (Southern)	**ŋa**[55]	front	Luangthongkum 2013:127

(4) PTB *s-myal FACE

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Sino-Tibetan	***s-myal**	face	Matisoff 1985a:109
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***s-mel**	face	Matisoff 2003a:422, 537
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hmel**	face	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:223a; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:109
	hmel	face (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2404
	hmel	face	Benedict 1972:173n461
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	na **min**	cheek	French 1983:480; Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**man**	face	Marrison 1967
	mān	face	Matisoff 1987
	man[33]	face	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mji?[31] **man**[33]	face	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	myì? **mān**	face	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Ganan	**mɑ:n**[2]	face	Luce 1985:L.140
Kadu (Kantu)	**mɑn**[2]	face	Luce 1985:L.140
Lui	**man**	face	Matisoff 1987
	ru **möl**	face	Matisoff 1987
Sak (Bawtala)	**ămaĭ**[2]	face	Luce 1985:L.140
Sak	**maing**	face	Matisoff 1987
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**mr** [mər]	face	Benedict 1972:366
	mər	face	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:441a-c
	mɛŋ[55]	face	SUN Hongkai 1988
Trung [Dulong]	**mal**[44̰] ta[44̰]	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	mal[44]	face	Matisoff 1987
	mal[44] kăl[44]	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	mal[44]ta[44]	forehead	Matisoff 1993
	mă˞[55]dă?[55]	forehead	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:233.46
Dulong	**ɹɛn**[31]dɑŋ[55]	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**mar**[55]	face	LaPolla 1987:213
	mă˞[55]	face	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	mă˞[55] dă?[55]	forehead	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**mar**[55]	face	LaPolla 1987:213
	mă˞[31] gɑŋ[53]	forehead	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	mă˞[55]	face	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Bisu	**man** tèŋ	chin	Beaudouin 1988:13
Sangkong	**maŋ**[31] pi[55]	chin	LI Yongsui 1991
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	面	face	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1918
Chinese (GSR #)	**0223a**	face	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1918
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**mi̱ɑn**/mi̱ən	face; face, face-to-face	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:223a; Karlgren 1957:223a
Chinese (Old)	**mi̱an**	face	Matisoff 1985a:109
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**mi̱än**	face	Matisoff 1985a:109
	mjienH	face	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1918
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**miàn**	face	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1918
	mien	face, face-to-face	Karlgren 1957:223a

Chinese comparandum

面 OC ***mi̱ɑn**, *GSR* #223a; B & S 2011: ***C.men-s {C.me[n]-s}**; Mand. **miàn**.

(5) PTB *s-li FACE

The stronghold of this root seems to be the Tamangic family, with possible cognates in Kiranti and Qiangic.

2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *[B]l[h]i: FACE			
*TGTM	*[Bh]**li:**	face	Mazaudon 1978:36; Mazaudon 1994:898
Gurung (Ghachok)	**liq**	countenance; face	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:2.A.21
	[2]**li**	face	Mazaudon 1978:36
Gurung	[2]**li**	face	Mazaudon 1994:898
Manang (Gyaru)	**li**[1]	face	Nagano 1984:022
Manang (Ngawal)	[2]**li**	face	Mazaudon 1978:36
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]**li**	face	Mazaudon 1994:898
	[1]**li**	face	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0017
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]**li:**	face	Mazaudon 1978:36
	[2]**li:**	face (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.1
	[2]**li:**	face	Mazaudon 1994:898
Tamang (Sahu)	**'li:**	face	Matisoff 1987
	[2]**li:**	face	Mazaudon 1978:36
Tamang (Taglung)	**li:**	face	Mazaudon 1994:898
	[2]**li:**	face	Mazaudon 1978:36
Thakali (Marpha)	[55]**li**	face	Mazaudon 1994:898
Thakali (Syang)	**hli**	face	Mazaudon 1994:898
	[2]**hli**	face	Mazaudon 1978:36
	[53]**hli**	face	Mazaudon 1994:898
Thakali (Tukche)	**li**	face	Matisoff 1987; Hari 1971:2.A.21
	[H]**li**	face	Mazaudon 1978:36; Mazaudon 1994:898
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	ky **li**	face	Michailovsky 1991:59
Thulung	ŋa **li**	face	Michailovsky 1991:60
	ŋā **lī**	face	Matisoff 1987
	ŋa **li**	face, appearance	Allen 1975
3.2. QIANGIC			
Namuyi	ku[55]**ly**[55]	face	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.19
	ku[55] (**lu**[55])	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.46

(6) PTB *pluŋ FACE

3.2. QIANGIC			
Xumi	**phã**[55]	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.17
	phɛ̃[55]	face	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.20
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *plu:ŋ[2] or *pyu:ŋ[2] FACE			[a]
*Lolo-Burmese	*s-myak[H] + **plu:ŋ**[2] OR **pyu:ŋ**[2]	face	Matisoff 1978a:62
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
*Loloish	***pyu**[2]	face	Bradley 1979b:91; Hansson 1989:253
Lolopho	**pha**[31] mę̱[44]	face	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.1
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**tsho**[33] n̥a[53]	face	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.1
Lalo	**phò**-tshì	wash face	Björverud 1994
	p[h]o[21] me[21]	face	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.1 [b]
Lipho	**pha**[21]mę̱[33]	face	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.1
Nasu	**ʈ[h]ɔ**[55] na̱[21]	face	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.1
Nesu	**t[h]a**[21] n̥[55]	face	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.1
Nusu (Central)	**phia**[55]n̥a[33]	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**phɹɑ˞**[55]ŋɑ[35]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.45
Nusu (Central)	**p[h]ia**[55] na[55]	face	DAI Qingxia 1989p:105.
Nusu (Southern)	**p[h]u**[55] n̥ɔ[31]	face	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986 [c]
Nusu (Central)	**p[h]ɹɑ˞**[55] n̥ɑ[35]	face	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**p[h]ɚ**[55] n̥a[35]	face	DAI Qingxia 1989o:105.
Yi (Dafang)	**ʈ[h]u**[55] na[21]	face	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.22
Yi (Mile)	**ʈ[h]u**[21]ne̱[33]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**t[h]ɒ**[21]ni[55]; **thɒ**[21]ne̱[21]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**phe**[21]mę̱[33]	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.37 [d]
	t[h]a̱[21]mę̱[33]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**pho**[31] mi[33]	face	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	phu[31]	face	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	p[h]o[21]mi[33]; **phu**[21]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.23
Yi (Weishan)	**pho**[21]mɛ[33]	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.36
Yi (Xide)	**fu**[55]-n̥ɯ[33]	face, features	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ma[33] **phɤ**[31]	face	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	o[33]-n̥i[55]	face	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**t'u**[21] ne̱[33]	face	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.1
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	mja[31] **p[h]lʌ**[44]	face	DAI Qingxia 1989h:108
Jinuo (Baka)	mja[31] **p[h]lʌ**[44]	face	DAI Qingxia 1989i:108
Jinuo	mja[42]**phrə**[44]	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.44
	mja[42]**phɹə**[44]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.34
Jinuo (Youle)	mjɑ[42] **p[h]ɹə**[44]	face	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	miɛ33 **phv31**	face	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
*Common Lahu	***hpuˇ**	face	Bradley 1979b:91
Lahu (Shehleh)	mehˆ**fui**˯	face	Bradley 1979a:91
Lahu (Nyi)	mehˆ**hpfuh**ˇ	face	Bradley 1979a:91
Lahu (Lancang)	mɛ[54]**phu**[53]	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.43
Lahu (Black)	mɛʔ[54] **p[h]ɣ**[53]	face	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛ̂ʔ-**phû**	face	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:62
	mɛ̂ʔ-**phû**-dì	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ[54]**p[h]u**[33]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.33
Lahu (Yellow)	mɛʔ[54] **p[h]ɣ**[55]	face	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	mehˆ**hpfuh**ˇ	face	Bradley 1979a:91
Lisu	**hpi**[5]-myá[3]	face	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**hpi**[5]-myá[3]	face (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**hpi**[5]mya[3]	face	Bradley 1979b:91
Lisu (Northern)	**phi**[21]	facial features; surface; face value; appearance; posture (N.)	Bradley 1994
	phi[21] thæ[21]si[33]	surface; in front of face	Bradley 1994
	phi[21]hwa[21] ba[44]lø[55]ø[33]	glowing face	Bradley 1994
	phi[21]kɔ[55]	skin; face; facial features; (poetic)	Bradley 1994
	phi[21]mja[33]	face; appearance	Bradley 1994
	phi[21]mja[33] tshi[21]bæ[33]	basin for washing face	Bradley 1994
	phi[21]mja[33] tshi[21]du[33]	things for washing face	Bradley 1994
	phi[21]tsɔ[35]	in the presence; face to face	Bradley 1994
	phi[21]tɔ[35]	face to face	Bradley 1994
	phi[21]tɔ[35] mja[33]tɔ[35]	face to face	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**phi**[31]miɛ[44]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.27
	phi[31]mi̱ę̱[33]	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.40
Lisu (Central)	**phjø**[21]	facial features; surface; face value; appearance; posture (N.)	Bradley 1994
	phjø[21]hwa[44] ba[44]lø[44]lø[44]	glowing face	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**phɔ**[35]	face; A towards (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**p[h]i**[31] miq̱[44]	face	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	ni[55]bɒ[21]**pu**[55]	cheek	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	n̥[55] bɑ[21] **pu**[55]	cheek	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:84.3
	ɬo[21]ne[33]	face	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɬo[21]ne[44]	face	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.1
	ɬo[11] ne[44]	face	MA Xueliang 1989:320.15

[a] This root very frequently occurs in compounds, either with PTB ***s-myak** EYE (§1.2.6) or PTB ***s-na** ≍ ***s-na:r** NOSE (§1.2.8). See e.g. Lipho **pha**[21]**mę̱**[33] (with PTB ***s-myak** EYE (§1.2.6)) vs. Nusu (Central) **p[h]ɹɑ˞**[55] **n̥ɑ**[35] (with PTB ***s-na** ≍ ***s-na:r** NOSE (§1.2.8)). To complicate matters further, the EYE morpheme may occur in either order with PTB ***pluŋ** FACE (§1.2.5). See e.g. Lahu **mɛ̂ʔ-phû** vs. Lisu **hpi**[5]**-myá**[3].

[b] Lalo **me**[21] is distinct from the morpheme for 'eye', **ʔmi̱**[33].

[c] Southern Nusu **n̥ɔ**[31] is distinct both from 'eye' **miq̱**[31] and 'nose' **n̥i**[55]. However, comparison with other forms leads us provisionally to assign it to PTB ***s-na** ≍ ***s-na:r** NOSE (§1.2.8).

[d] These two Nanhua forms, **phe**[21]**mę̱**[33] and **t[h]a̱**[21]**mę̱**[33], are perhaps evidence of dialect mixture. The PLB cluster ***pl-** sometimes loses the lateral element, but sometimes develops into a retroflex stop (as in Mojiang and Dafang). It is possible that the Nanhua form with retroflex initial is borrowed from such a dialect.

Yi (Sani)	**ɬɒ**[11]ne[44]	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	mjaq **pjhɔ̀**	face	Hansson 1989:253
Akha (Thai)	mjaq-**pjhɔ̀**	face	Hansson 1989:253
Akha	mya˄ **pyaw**˅	face	Matisoff 1987
	pjhɔ̀	face	Hansson 1989:253
Hani (Lüchun)	mjaq **phö**	face	Hansson 1989:253
Hani (Dazhai)	mja̱[33] **p^{h}ø**[31]	face	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	mja̱[33]**phjo**[31]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.31
Hani (Lüchun)	mja̱[33]**phø**[31]	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.41
Hani (Pijo)	ma **phỳ**	face	Hansson 1989:253
Hani (Caiyuan)	ma̱[33] **p^{h}ɤ**[31]	face	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ma̱[33]**phɤ**[31]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.30
Hani (Pijo)	**phỳ**	face	Hansson 1989:253
Hani (Gelanghe)	mja̱[33] **p^{h}jɔ**[31]	face	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	miav **pyuq**	face	Hansson 1989:253
Hani (Shuikui)	**pɔ**[31] **pɔ**[31]	face	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	mjaq **phù**	face	Hansson 1989:253
	phù	face	Hansson 1989:253
Mpi	**(phjoŋ**[2]**)**	face	Hansson 1989:253
	m[4]**phjoŋ**[2]	face	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1978a:62; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Sangkong	mja̱[33] **phaŋ**[31]	face	LI Yongsui 1991
Sila	mja33 **phjo21**	face	KATO Takashi 2008:9
Ugong	**phlɔŋ**	face	Bradley 1993:3.1
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**p^{h}v**˦mie˦	face	Michaud 2006–2009:274
	p^{h}v˦mie˦ts^{h}ɯ˦lu˦	washbasin, basin to wash one's face	Michaud 2006–2009:1166
Na (Yongning)	**p^{h}æ**˦q^{h}wɤ˩	face	Michaud 2006–2009
	p^{h}æ˦ʈʂ^{h}æ˦lo#˥	washbasin, basin to wash one's face	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Western)	ma[33] **phɤ**[31]	face	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985 [a]
Naxi (Yongning)	**pha**[33]khuɑ[31]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.29
	pha[33]tʂha[33]lo[33]	washbasin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:445.29
Naxi	**phɑ**[33]me[33]	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**p^{h}a**[33]k^{h}uɑ[31]	face	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**p^{h}ɑ**[33]me[33]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.28

[a] Western Naxi **ma**[33] is distinct from the morpheme for 'eye': **miə**[31] or **miə**[55].

(7) PTB *g-dwaŋ FACE / FRONT PART

This morpheme occurs in compounds for SHIN since the shin is the front part of the leg.

2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**doŋ** pa	face	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.7
	toŋ[13] pa[55]	face	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**doŋ**-pa	face	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**doŋ**[35] pɑ[55]	face	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Jirel)	nar-**dong**-ā	shin	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**toŋ**[13]	face (features of) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.02
	toŋ[15]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**dong** ba / tsenda	face	Bishop 1989:3.1
Sherpa	u go **tung**	face	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	ŋar **Tung**	shin bone; tibia; shin	Bishop 1989:6.2.3; Bishop 1989:6.2.3.1
Spiti	**doŋ**	face	Bodh 1991:3.1
Tibetan (Written)	**gdoṅ**	face	Marrison 1967
	gdoŋ	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.01
	gdoŋ	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.1
	gdoŋ-spu	beard	Matisoff 1987
	nar-**gdoṅ**	shin-bone (nar (Bn) 'front side; forepart')	Matisoff 1987:94
	nyar-**gdoṅ** (w)	shin-bone	Matisoff 1987
	ŋo **gdoŋ**	face	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:15
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	(a-) **t'oṅ** tik	shin	Matisoff 1987
	doṅ	face	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Sahu)	ngāhr-**tung**	shin	Matisoff 1987
	ŋahr **tuŋ**	shin	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.55
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola	mjaʔ[31] **tuŋ**[31]	face	DAI Qingxia 1989g:105
Bola (Luxi)	mjaʔ[31]**tuŋ**[31]	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.32
Lashi	mjɔʔ[31] **tuaŋ**[33]	face	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.1
Atsi [Zaiwa]	mjoʔ[21] **toŋ**[21]	face	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	mjoʔ[21]**toŋ**[21]	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.30
	mjoʔ[21]**toŋ**[21]	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.42

(8) PTB *(t)si FACE / CHEEK

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Ntenyi	**tsi**	face	Marrison 1967
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**hi**	face	Matisoff 1987
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	the **si** nyek	face	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**shi** ta	face	Marrison 1967
Phom	**she**	face	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ze** ti waŋ	face	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tshona (Mama)	**ce**[13] kɔm[53]	face	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**se**	face	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	nam **ci** yəŋ	cheek	Kohn 1990:3.11
	nam **ci** yəŋ seŋ kwɔ:k	cheekbone	Kohn 1990:3.11.1
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	ŋam **si**	face	Michailovsky 1991:60
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Taoping)	**tʃl̩**[31] pa[55]	cheek	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
8. BAI			
Bai (Dali)	**tɕy**[3] pa[5] tɕɻ[2]	cheek	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	tɕy[3] pa[8].tɕɻ[2]	cheek	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tɕui**[33] pa̱[42] «fɣ[33]»	cheek	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.11

(9) PTB *kul FACE

This root has so far only been found in Himalayish languages.

2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**k^{h}ur**	face	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.3. KIRANTI			
**BSDTK*	***kul** i (?)	face	Michailovsky 1991:59
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	**kul**	face	Michailovsky 1991:59; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**kəl**	face	Michailovsky 1991:59; Allen 1975

Chinese comparandum

顕 OC (***kən**), *GSR* (not in #416) 'upper part of cheek/jaw'; Coblin 86:112 ST ***kul** > OC ***kenx**; Schuessler 2007: (***kân?**); B & S 2011: (***k^{s}ən?**); Mand. **gěn**.

(10) PTB *b-ram FACE

This seems to be a valid etymon, although further support would be welcome.

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	the ram **bram**	mouth	NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987
	thuɯ[31]rɯm[53]**bɯm**[35]	mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.49
	thuɯ[31].ɯm[53]**bɯm**[35]	mouth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.22
	t^{h}ɯ[31].ɯm[53]**bɯm**[35]	mouth	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Mao	o **pra**	face	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	**brɑm**[13]	face	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	Na **rom**	face (abuse)	Rai 1985
	ŋa **rom**	face (abusive)	Michailovsky 1991:60

(11) PTB *ts $^{y}_{w}$ ak FACE

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	gɯm **jaʔ**	cheek / face	Simon 1979
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Galo	**cog** lo	jaw	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**cok** lo	jaw	Simon 1976
Tagin	**cok** pya	jaw	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	**ȼok**-ro:	jawbone	Sun 1993b
Milang	**cok**-ku-golo	jaw	Tayeng 1976
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***tʃak** FACE			
**Central Naga*	***tʃak**	FACE	Bruhn 2014a:III.249
Ao (Chungli)	te **jak**	face	Marrison 1967
	te **jak**-mei	wash (face) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tə[3]-**tʃak**[3]	face (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.249
Sangtam	a **tsaʔ**	face	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**chak**	face	Marrison 1967
	jak	face	Kumar 1973b:95
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Rengma	**sho** pha	jaw	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	na **tza**	face	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written/Western?)	k'ur-**t'sog**	cheek (n.)	Jäschke 1881:p. 42
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	na: **cik**	face	Kohn 1990:3.1
	na: **cik** muŋ	beard / moustache	Kohn 1990:8.1.2
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Xide)	**ʂa**[33]-mɻ[55]	face	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Sani [Nyi]	bɑ[21]n̩[44]**zɑ**[21]	cheek	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.11
7. KARENIC			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	mi[33] **tθa̱**[31]	face	DAI Qingxia 1989k:108
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	mɛ̱ʔ[31] **θa**[31]	face	DAI Qingxia 1989j:108

(12) PTB *n(y)a-n BLUSH / RED

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***n(y)a-n**	blush / red	Matisoff 2003a:605
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	**mjon**[3]-	red (be v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e **myom**	red	Murry *et al.* 1978:100
	myon a	red	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a **mo**	red	Marrison 1967
7. KARENIC			
Karen	**ńɑ**	red	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:216b
Pa-O	**ńa**	red	Benedict 1972:159n429
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**nɑn/ńɑn**	blush	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:216b

Chinese comparandum

赧 OC ***nɑn**, *GSR* #216b 'blush'; Schuessler 2007:396 ***nrânʔ**; Mand. **nǎn**.

(13) PTani *-mo: FACE / CHEEK

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	*-**mo:**	face / cheek	Sun 1993a:135
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**mo**-ño	small face	Sun 1993b
	mó-ro	big face	Sun 1993b
	mo-ru	cheek	Sun 1993b
	mó-ru	cheek	Sun 1993b

	ñí-**mo**	face	Sun 1993b
	ñiʔ-**mo**	face; cheek	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**moː**-mit	wash face	Sun 1993b
	mu-pu rup-tin	cheek	Sun 1993b
	muː-mɯ	sideburns	Sun 1993b
	muː-pu	cheekbone	Sun 1993b
	ñik-**muː**	face; cheek	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ma**-lə	jaw	Sun 1993b
	mi **mo**	face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.24
	mi-**mo**	face; cheek	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	mi **mo**	face	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:236.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**ʻmoo** dir	deformed (face) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻmoo ro	cheek (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲuŋ **moo**	face (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲuk-**mo**	face	Das Gupta 1963
Nishing	nyiok **mu**	face	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	nyok **mu**	face	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ming-**mo**	face	Matisoff 1987
	miŋ-**mo** < mik-mo	face / cheek	Sun 1993a
Damu	mit-**mo**	face	Sun 1993b
Milang	mik-**mu**	face	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**mə** yap	fan	Benedict 1972:92

1.2.5.1 Forehead/Temples

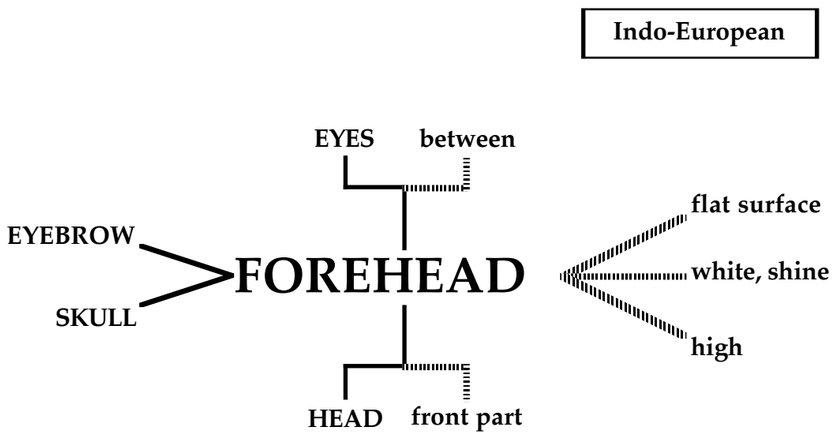

Figure 51: 1.2.5.1 *Forehead/Temples*

(1) PTB *ta-y FOREHEAD

This provisionally reconstructed root seems to appear only in non-initial position in compounds. The vocalism mostly varies from **-a** to **-i** or **-e**.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	tûk-**ta**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	tûk-**te**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	tup-**ta**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	tup-**te**	forehead	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	go^{35} **te^{55}**	head	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	kɔk^{13} **tʰeʔ^{53}**	head	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɔk^{13}**theʔ^{53}**	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.6
Cuona Menba	kɔk^{35}**theʔ^{53}**	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.06

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	cãː **di**	forehead	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.18; Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.18
	cą̃ **di**	forehead	Matisoff 1987

5. Tujia

Tujia	kha^{55}**tha^{55}**khɯe^{55}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.49
	kha^{55}**tha^{55}**khɯe^{55}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.38
Tujia (Northern)	kʰa^{55} **tʰa^{55}** kʰɨe^{55}	forehead	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	kʰa^{55} **tʰa^{55}** kʰɯe^{55}	forehead / brow	Chen Kang 1986c:3.2

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	ŋă^{31} **tha^{35}**	forehead	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋă^{31}**tha^{35}**	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.28
	ŋă^{31}**tha^{35}**	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.41
Achang (Xiandao)	ŋ̊a^{31} **ta^{35}**	forehead	Dai Qingxia 1989f:99
	ŋ̊o^{31}**ta^{35}**	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.29

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	n̥a^{55} goŋ^{55} **ti^{35}**	forehead	Dai Qingxia 1989p:99.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	n̥a^{55} gõ^{55} **ti^{35}**	forehead	Dai Qingxia 1989o:99.
Nusu (Central)	n̥a^{55}goŋ^{55}**ti^{31}**	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.34
	ɬɑ^{31} gã^{55} **t̪i^{35}**	forehead	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɬɑ^{31}gã^{55}**t̪i^{35}**	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.45
Nusu (Southern)	ʔo^{31} gã^{55} **ti** ^{31}	forehead	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Xide)	n̥i^{55} **tʰi^{33}**	forehead	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	n̥i^{55}**thi^{33}**	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.35
	n̥i^{55}**thi^{33}**	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	nɯ^{33}**thɯ^{33}**	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.34
	nɤ^{33}**thə^{55}**	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	nɤ^{44} **tʰɤ^{44}**	forehead	Dai Qingxia 1989h:102
Jinuo (Youle)	n̥ə^{33} **tʰə^{55}**	forehead	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	n̥ɤ^{31} **tʰɤ^{55}**	forehead	Dai Qingxia 1989i:102

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Dazhai)	n̥u^{31} **tʰe** ^{55}	forehead	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	n̥u^{31}**the^{55}**	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.31
Hani (Lüchun)	n̥u^{31}**the^{55}**	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.41
Hani (Shuikui)	nɔ^{55} **tɯ^{55}**	forehead	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.32
Hani (Mojiang)	nɔ^{55}**tɯ^{55}**	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.42
Mpi	n^{2}**thɤ^{6}**	forehead	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	ŋɑ̤^{44} **tɐ̤^{44}** pɐ̤^{ɪ21}	forehead	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ŋɑ^{44}**te^{44}**pe^{ɪ21}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.37
Bai (Dali)	ngoe **tɛ** tö 827	forehead	Dell 1981b:288
	ŋe^{ɪ44}**te^{44}**tɯ^{21}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.35
	ŋe^{ɪ44} **tɐ̤^{44}** tɯ̤^{21}	forehead	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	ŋa̤^{33}**tɐ̤^{33}**	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.48
	ŋæ̤^{44} **tɐ̤^{44}** «kʰui^{55}»	forehead / brow	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.2
	ŋɛ̤^{44} **tɐ̤^{44}**	forehead	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ŋɛ^{44}**te^{44}**	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.36

(2) PTB *s-mawŋ FOREHEAD

This root is of restricted occurrence, although the Lepcha / WB correspondence looks particularly good; Lepcha medial **-y-** is a frequent reflex of the PTB ***s-*** prefix, as shown long ago in Benedict (1941), while the WB voiceless nasal has a similar origin.

The Tujia form is also provisionally assigned to this root.

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	mik-**myoṅ**	brow	Matisoff 1987

5. Tujia

Tujia (Southern)	ŋai^{13} **mɛ̃^{33}**	forehead	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	ŋɯe^{21} **mĩ^{21}**	forehead / brow	Chen Kang 1986d:3.2

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	myak-**hmoŋ**	forehead	Matisoff 1987

(3) PTB *m-twaŋ FOREHEAD / HEAD / HAIR (OF HEAD) / HORN

WT attests to both the **g-** and **m-** prefixes with this root.

Several Kiranti forms (Kulung, Chamling, Limbu) meaning HORN are assigned to the present root.

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	**tok** jaŋ	forehead	Simon 1979

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**thaːng**	hair	NEFA (India) 1963
	thang kadu	style (of hair, for man)	NEFA (India) 1963
	thaːng	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	thɯŋ^{35}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.22
	thɯŋ^{35}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.49
	thɯŋ^{35}plɯ^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.22
	thɯŋ^{35}plɯ^{55}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.49
	tʰɯŋ^{35}	hair (head)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tʰɯŋ^{35} plɯ^{55}	braid	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	**thoŋ^{35}**pɹu^{55}	plait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:235.50
	thoŋ^{55}bɹɑ^{55}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.50
	tʰõm bra	hair	Pulu 1978
	tʰoŋ^{55}bɹa^{55}	hair of head	Sun Hongkai 1991f:8.1.1
	tʰõ apa	hair (knot; forehead)	Pulu 1978
	tʰõ ce	hair (knot string)	Pulu 1978
	tʰõ guru	hair (knot; woman's)	Pulu 1978
	tʰo guru	hair (knot)	Pulu 1978
	tʰõ guru	hair-knot	Anonymous 1962
	tʰrõm-bre	hair	Anonymous 1962
Yidu	**thoŋ^{35}** pɹu^{55}	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.25
	thoŋ^{55}bɹɑ^{55}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.25

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	o **ton**	forehead	Marrison 1967
	o **toN**	forehead / brow	Nienu 1990c:3.2

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**thaing**	forehead	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	pa **tong**	forehead	Egli-Roduner 1987:31 13
Tsangla (Motuo)	pa^{55} **toŋ^{55}**	forehead	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	pa **toŋ**	forehead	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	pa **toŋ**	forehead	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	pa **toŋ**	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**gdaṅs**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	mdaṅs	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	mdongs	blaze, star on a horse's forehead; eyes on a peacock's feather	Coblin 1986:709

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***daŋ**	head	Michailovsky 1991:88; Opgenort 2011
	***taŋ**	hair	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Belhare	**taŋ** ghek	head	Bickel 1995
Limbu	ku **dāŋ**	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	taŋ	horn <head>; horn	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:88
	tāŋ liŋ ba	horned	Matisoff 1987
Yakha	moːha mi? **taŋ** khwa	eyelash	Kohn 1990:3.4.4
	tam phəwa	hair of head	Kohn 1990:8.1.1
	taŋ	horn (of animal)	Kohn 1990:2.10
	taŋ gaː wəhak	antler (of deer)	Kohn 1990:2.11
	toːha miʔ **taŋ** khwa	eyebrow	Kohn 1990:3.4.3
	wɔksaː **tam** phəwa	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Kohn 1990:8.1.1.1
Yamphu	**taŋ**	hair on the head (n.)	Rutgers 1998:580.25

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**dung**	top / head	Rai *et al.* 1984:24
	mük-**tang**	eyebrow	Rai *et al.* 1984:53
	TaN	head	Rai 1985
	tang	hair; head	Rai *et al.* 1984:68; Rai *et al.* 1984:68
	tang-müwa	hair on head	Rai *et al.* 1984:68
	TaN bop	head (of a group or family)	Rai 1985
	TaN DoNma	head scarf	Rai 1985
	TaN mUa	hair (of head)	Rai 1985
	taŋ	head	Michailovsky 1991:88

	taŋ kïtshïk	brain	Matisoff 1987
Chamling	**tô**	head hair	Michailovsky 1991:88
	to	horn	Michailovsky 1991:88
	to*	horn	Winter 1985:36
	tON	hair (on head)	Winter 1985:36
Kulung	pit **to**	horn; horn (cow)	Rai *et al.* 1975; Michailovsky 1991
	ton rim_	scarf, head cloth	Rai *et al.* 1975
	toŋ	head	Michailovsky 1991:88
	toŋ_	head	Rai *et al.* 1975
	toŋ mui	hair (of head)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**do:**	scalp, head-hair; scalp, hair on head	Michailovsky 1991:88; Driem 1993
	do: səm	head hair; hair on head	Michailovsky 1991:79; Driem 1993
Khaling	**dhong**	head	Michailovsky 1991:88; Matisoff 1987
	dhong halley mū-ne	nod (with head) (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.64
	dhong solu	skull	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**taŋ** laŋ	forehead (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.246
	taŋ laŋ	forehead	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Magar	mi-**tạ̄** hạ̄	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	mi-**Tā** hā	face	Matisoff 1987

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	nə’ **mtoʔ**	forehead	Nagano & Prins 2013:0011
rGyalrong	tə **mto**	forehead / brow	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **mto**	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.11
rGyalrong	tə **mto**	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.12
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	tə’5**mto53**	forehead	Nagano & Prins 2013:0011
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	tə22**ndoʔ22**	forehead	Nagano & Prins 2013:0011
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **mto**	forehead / brow	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.2
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	´tə **mto**	forehead	Nagano & Prins 2013:0011
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	´ŋo **m̥toˀ**	forehead	Nagano & Prins 2013:0011
rGyalrong	tA **mto**	forehead	Nagano 1997:3.2

4. Nungic

Rawang	**daŋ**^{31} gaŋ^{33}	forehead	LaPolla 2003:87
Trung [Dulong]	mal^{ɻɻ} **ta**^{ɻɻ}	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	mal^{44}**ta**^{44}	forehead	Matisoff 1993
	mă^{ɹ55}**dă?**^{55}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.46
Dulong	ɹɛn^{31}**dɑŋ**^{55}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	măɹ^{55} **dă?**^{55}	forehead	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Northern)	nu^{31} p^{h}i^{55} **dõ**^{35} ɑ^{55}	forehead	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Nanjian)	no^{21} **t^{h}o**^{33}	forehead	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	no^{21}**tho**^{33}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.23

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Côông [Phunoi]	bə̆ **tã** še?	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	bə̆ **tã**^{55} se^{33}	forehead	Bradley 1977 [ab]

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**tu**˧˩kɤ˥	forehead	Michaud 2006–2009:251
Na (Yongning)	**to**˧˩kɤ#˥	forehead	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**to**^{33}kə^{33}	forehead	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**to**^{33}kɑ^{33}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.29
Naxi (Western)	**to**^{55}mu^{33}	forehead	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**to**^{55}mu^{33}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**to**^{55}mu^{33}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.28

7. Karenic

Kayan (Pekon)	ka **dá**	forehead (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	kə **tɔ̀ŋ**	forehead	Solnit 1989

[a]Phunoi prefix **bə̆-** < ***m-**.
[b]Phunoi regularly denasalizes.

(4) PTB *d-(p)ral FOREHEAD / FACE

Jingpho **-n** is the regular reflex of PTB **-l**.

Forms with dental stop initial (e.g. Jingpho, Northern Naga, Kuki-Chin) might have arisen through preemption by the **d-** prefix found in Written Tibetan. Alternatively, these dentals might just represent a simplification of the unwieldy **dpr** cluster.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-pral**	forehead	Matisoff 2003a:607

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	**cal** ma	forehead band	Tayeng 1976

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tsal** FOREHEAD / BROW

**Chin*	***tsal**	FOREHEAD / BROW	VanBik 2009:538
Anal	pà **càl**	forehead	Weidert 1987:418
Thanphum	**tan**^{5}pɑ^{5}	forehead	Luce 1985:O.12

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**chal** pang	forehead / brow	Haokip 1998:3.2
Paite	**tal**	brow	VanBik 2009:538
Sizang	**tal** kī	forehead	VanBik 2009:538
Thado	**tsâl** páaŋ	forehead	VanBik 2009:538
Tiddim	**tâl**	forehead	Weidert 1987:418
	tàl	forehead	Weidert 1987:66
	tal^{3}	forehead	VanBik 2009:538; Bhaskararao 1996:1675
	tal^{4}	forehead	Luce 1985:O.12
	`tal	forehead (n.)	Henderson 1965
	`tal	forehead	Matisoff 1987

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	m-**ca**	forehead	VanBik 2009:538
Matupi	**tɑ:l**^{1}	forehead	Luce 1985:O.12

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**tsal**^{4}	forehead	Luce 1985:O.12
Lai (Hakha)	**tsăl**	forehead	VanBik 2009:538
Lai (Falam)	**tsàl**	forehead	VanBik 2009:538
Lai (Hakha)	**tsal**^{2}	forehead	Luce 1985:O.12
Lushai [Mizo]	**chal**	forehead	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	chàl	forehead, brow	VanBik 2009:538
	chal	forehead	Bhaskararao 1996:1675
	tsàl	forehead	Weidert 1987:66
	tsal^{4}	forehead	Luce 1985:O.12
	t̥hial-pawn	temple	Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	khi-**tla**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
Tha’oa	**tal**^{2}	forehead	Luce 1985:O.12
Xongsai	**tsal**^{2}	forehead	Luce 1985:O.12
	tsɛl^{2}	forehead	Luce 1985:O.12

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Kom Rem	mə **če**	forehead / brow	Toba & Kom 1991:3.2
	mʌ **tsá**	forehead	Weidert 1987:418
Lamkang	pʌ **tsèl**	forehead	Weidert 1987:418
Moyon	bʌ **cár**	forehead / brow	Kosha 1990:3.2
Sorbung	mə **cèe**	forehead; brow	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.038

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	kha **vei**	forehead	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987 [a]
	wəy	forehead	Bhat 1969:89

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***t^{h}ə:l** FACE

**Northern Naga*	***t^{h}ə:l**	face	French 1983:484

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**than**	face	Marrison 1967
	t^{h}an	face, cheek	French 1983:484
Tangsa (Moshang)	**thal**	face	Marrison 1967
	t^{h}al	face	French 1983:484
Tangsa (Yogli)	**thal**	cheek	Marrison 1967
	t^{h}al	cheek	French 1983:484

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Phom	**the**	face	Marrison 1967
	t^{h}e^{31}	face	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**tun**	face; face, countenance	Marrison 1967; French 1983:484

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**htan**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	kă^{31}**than**^{33}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.19
	kă^{31}**than**^{33}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.47
	kă^{1} **than**^{33}	forehead	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	ka **htan**	forehead	Marrison 1967
	kə **htān**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	kə **thān**	forehead	Matisoff 1993
	ləh **tan**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	lə **thān**	forehead	Matisoff 1993
	thān	forehead	Matisoff 1993
	^{1}gə ^{2}**than**	forehead	Weidert 1987:66

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**phe** tar	forehead / brow	Sharma 1991a:3.2
Kanauri	**phyā**	forehead	Bailey 1911
	phya	forehead	Sharma 1988
	phyā	forehead	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**phyà**	forehead / brow	Sharma 1991b:3.2
	p^{h}ya	forehead	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**parāi**	forehead	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**tho** pæ	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**thol** pa	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**tho** pa	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.5
Tibetan (Jirel)	**Tāl** āq	forehead	Matisoff 1987
Sherpa	**Tal** ā	forehead	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**ṣal** a	forehead / brow	Bodh 1991:3.2
Tibetan (Written)	**dpral** ba	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.1
	dpral pa	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.01
	dpral-ba	forehead	Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**jelh**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	jelh	forehead, brow (n.)	Caughley 2000
	jel^{h}	forehead	Caughley 1972:2.A.18
	jel^{ɦ}	forehead	Weidert 1987:66
Chepang (Eastern)	**jelh**	forehead / brow	Caughley 1990:3.2

[a]For ***-al** > Tangkhul **-ei**, cf. PTB ***m-kal** ≍ ***s-gal** BACK (lower) / KIDNEY / LOAD / CARRY (§1.4.8.1).

(5) PL *s-ka^{2} FOREHEAD

In addition to its Loloish reflexes, there are also probable cognates in the Naga languages. The **s-** prefix is motivated by the tones in several languages, e.g. Lahu.

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Kohima)	(u) tsü^{31} **kha**^{33}	forehead / brow	Nienu 1990a:3.2
Chokri	(u) tu^{31} **kha**^{33}	forehead / brow	Nienu 1990b:3.2

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**kha** vei	forehead	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987 [a]

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Buyuan)	nɑ^{55} **k^{h}ɑ**^{13}	forehead	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	nɑ^{55}**khɑ**^{13}	forehead (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	na55 **ka31** phv33	forehead	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	nɑ^{11}**qɑ**^{21}pɯ^{33}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.43
Lahu (Black)	nā-**qā**-pɨ	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	na^{31} **qa**^{31} pɯ^{33}	forehead	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	nʌ^{31}**qʌ**^{21}pə^{33}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.33
Lahu (Yellow)	na^{31} **qa**^{31} pɯ^{33}	forehead	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	mja^{33}**ka**^{33}my^{33}	brow	Bradley 1994

[a]For ***-al** > Tangkhul **-ei**, cf. PTB ***m-kal** ≍ ***s-gal** BACK (lower) / KIDNEY / LOAD / CARRY (§1.4.8.1).

(6) PTB *g $\overset{w}{r}$ aŋ FOREHEAD

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	tok **jaŋ**	forehead	Simon 1979

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Sangtam	ki **khang**	forehead	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***k^{h}aŋ**	head: forehead	French 1983:502

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**k^{h}aŋ**	forehead	French 1983:502
	k^{h}ʌŋ	forehead	French 1983:502
Tangsa (Moshang)	**khang**	forehead	Marrison 1967
	k^{h}ʌŋ	forehead	French 1983:502
Tangsa (Yogli)	**k^{h}ʌŋ**	forehead	French 1983:502

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**khüng** cha	forehead	Marrison 1967

	kʰəŋ ca	forehead	French 1983:502
Konyak	sha **keng**	forehead	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**kaŋ**-šán	forehead	Weidert 1987:66
Konyak (Wakching)	šeˇ-**gɛŋ**	forehead	Weidert 1987:66
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	mur-**goŋ**	temples	Chou Fa-kao 1972:441a-c; LaPolla 1987:213; Benedict 1972:366
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Gyaru)	ŋgo^{3} **graŋ^{2}**	forehead	Nagano 1984:002
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}ŋo **kroŋ**	forehead	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0003
4. Nungic			
Rawang	daŋ^{31} **gaŋ^{33}**	forehead	LaPolla 2003:87
Nung	mɛ^{55}di^{31}**gɑŋ^{55}**	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.21
Anong	mɛ^{55}ti^{31}**gɔŋ^{53}**	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.44
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	mă$ɹ^{31}$ **gɑŋ^{53}**	forehead	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	n̥a^{55} **goŋ^{55}** ti^{35}	forehead	Dai Qingxia 1989p:99.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	n̥a^{55} **gõ^{55}** ti^{35}	forehead	Dai Qingxia 1989o:99.
Nusu (Central)	n̥a^{55}**goŋ^{55}**ti^{31}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.34
	ɬɑ^{31} **gɑ̃^{55}** t̪i^{35}	forehead	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɬɑ^{31}**gɑ̃^{55}**t̪i^{35}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.45
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	naˇ **kʻawˇ**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	naˇ **kʻawˇ kʻawˇ**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	mɛ **khɔ́ŋ**	forehead	Beaudouin 1988:14
Hani (Caiyuan)	nɔ^{31} **kʰɔ^{31}**	forehead	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	nɔ̰^{31}**khɔ̰^{31}**	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	na^{55} **xɔ^{55}**	forehead	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Ugong	nɔ **khɔ̆ŋ**	forehead / brow	Bradley 1993:3.2

(7) PTB *s-ŋa-k FOREHEAD / COCKSCOMB

The oldest form of this root seems to begin with the velar nasal. This has developed into pre-glottalized **ʔ-n** in Lolo-Burmese.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Miri, Hill	**ŋik**-tuk	forehead	Simon 1976
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	a **nga** tok	brain	Marrison 1967
	ā **ŋa** tok	brain	Matisoff 1987
	^{1}ə^{1}**ŋə**^{2}tok	brain	Weidert 1987:1034
Ukhrul	kuj-**ŋə**-tok	brain	Mortensen 2012
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**nə** phú ja	forehead	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:2 [a]
2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{A}**ŋo** FOREHEAD			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**ŋo**	forehead	Mazaudon 1978:50; Mazaudon 1994:209
Chantyal	**ɦõ**	forehead / brow	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.2
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ngoh**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	^{3}**ŋo**	forehead	Mazaudon 1978:50
Gurung	^{3}**ŋo**	forehead	Mazaudon 1994:209
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ŋoh**	forehead	Glover 1972:2.A.18
Manang (Gyaru)	**ngo^{3}** graŋ^{2}	forehead	Nagano 1984:002
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**ŋo** kroŋ	forehead	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0003
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**ŋo**	forehead	Mazaudon 1978:50
	^{3}**ŋo**	forehead (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.2
	^{3}**ŋo**	forehead	Mazaudon 1994:209
Tamang (Sahu)	**ngoh**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	^{3}**ŋo**	forehead	Mazaudon 1978:50; Mazaudon 1994:209
	ŋoh	forehead	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.18
Tamang (Taglung)	^{3}**ŋo**	forehead	Mazaudon 1978:50; Mazaudon 1994:209
Thakali (Marpha)	^{21}**ŋo**^{ɦ}	forehead	Mazaudon 1994:209
	^{3}**ŋo**	forehead	Mazaudon 1978:50
Thakali (Syang)	^{3}**ŋo**	forehead	Mazaudon 1978:50
	^{L}**ŋo**	forehead	Mazaudon 1994:209
Thakali (Tukche)	**ngoh**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	nhoh	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	^{3}**ŋo**	forehead	Mazaudon 1978:50; Mazaudon 1994:209
	ŋoh	forehead	Hari 1971:2.A.18
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Southern)	**ŋai^{13}** mẽ^{33}	forehead	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ŋɯe^{21}** mĩ^{21}	forehead / brow	Chen Kang 1986d:3.2
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *ʔ-na^{2} FOREHEAD			[b]
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**ŋă^{31}** tha^{35}	forehead	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋă^{31}tha^{35}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.28
	ŋă^{31}tha^{35}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.41
	ɲɔʔ^{55} pat^{35}	cockscomb	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɲɔʔ^{55}pat^{35}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.28
Achang (Luxi)	**ɲɛ^{51}** laŋ^{51}	forehead	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**n̥a^{31}** pap^{35}	cockscomb	Dai Qingxia 1989f:346
	n̥a^{31}pap^{35}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.29
	ŋ̊a^{31} ta^{35}	forehead	Dai Qingxia 1989f:99
	ŋ̊o^{31}ta^{35}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.29
Bola	**ŋă^{31}** lɔ̃^{31}	forehead	Dai Qingxia 1989g:99
Bola (Luxi)	**ŋă^{31}**lɔ̃^{31}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**nɑ^{53}**phu^{55}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**nɑ^{53}**phu^{55}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.40
Burmese (Written)	**na** phu:	forehead	Marrison 1967
	nə phû	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	nɑ^{1}phu^{3}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.26
	nɑ^{1}phu^{3}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**ŋa^{35}**lɔ̃^{31}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.31
Lashi	**ŋă^{55}** laŋ^{55}	forehead / brow	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.2
Leqi (Luxi)	**ŋă^{55}**laŋ^{55}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.33
Marma	**nə** phú ja	forehead	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:2
Maru [Langsu]	**ŋa^{35}** lɔ̃^{31}	forehead; brow	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.2; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋě^{21}** laŋ^{21}	forehead	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ŋě^{21}laŋ^{21}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.30
	ŋě^{21}laŋ^{21}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	**ŋɤ̱^{31}** kɒ^{44}	forehead / brow	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.2
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**nao^{31}** mɛ^{323}	forehead / brow	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.2
	nao^{31}mɛ^{323}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.47
Lalo	**ʔno^{21}** tsɻ^{33}	forehead / brow	Chen Kang 1986b:3.2
Lipho	**ŋɤ^{21}**phu^{21}ts̪i^{33}	forehead	Chen Kang 1986b:3.2
Nasu	o^{33} **ȵɐ̰^{55}**	forehead / brow	Chen Kang 1986b:3.2
Noesu	**ŋu^{21}**thɤ^{21}	forehead	Chen Kang 1986b:3.2
Nosu	**ȵi^{55}**thi^{33}	forehead	Chen Kang 1986b:3.2
Nusu (Northern)	**nu̱^{31}** pʰi^{55} dõ^{35} ɑ^{55}	forehead	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**n̥a^{55}** goŋ^{55} ti^{35}	forehead	Dai Qingxia 1989p:99.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**n̥a^{55}** gõ^{55} ti^{35}	forehead	Dai Qingxia 1989o:99.
Nusu (Central)	**n̥a^{55}**goŋ^{55}ti^{31}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.34
	ɬɑ^{31} gɑ̃^{55} t̪i^{35}	forehead	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɬɑ^{31}**gɑ̃^{55}t̪i^{35}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.45
Yi (Dafang)	**na^{33}** bo^{21}	forehead	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ŋ̊a^{33}**ka^{55}	forehead	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ȵi^{55}thi^{33}	forehead	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ni^{55}**phu^{33}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ŋu̱^{33}**tɕi^{55}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ŋə̱^{21}**bə^{21}di^{33}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.37
	ŋɯ̱^{33}phi^{33}di^{55}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**no^{21}** tʰo^{33}	forehead	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	no^{21}tho^{33}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔno^{21}**tsɻ^{33}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.36
Yi (Wuding)	u^{33}**ȵɐ̰^{55}**	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.38
Yi (Xide)	**ȵi^{55}** tʰi^{33}	forehead	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ȵi^{55}thi^{33}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.35
	ȵi^{55}thi^{33}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**ni^{55}** pʻu^{22}	forehead / brow	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.2
	ni^{55}phu^{22}	forehead	Chen Kang 1986b:3.2
Jinuo	**nə^{44}**mo^{42}lo^{42}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.44
	nɯ^{33}thɯ^{33}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.34
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**nɑ^{55}** kʰɑ^{13}	forehead	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	nɑ^{55}khɑ^{13}	forehead (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**nɤ^{33}**thə^{55}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**nɤ^{44}** tʰɤ^{44}	forehead	Dai Qingxia 1989h:102
	nʌ^{44} mo^{31}	cockscomb	Dai Qingxia 1989h:369
Jinuo (Baka)	**n̥o^{44}** mu^{31} lu^{31}	cockscomb	Dai Qingxia 1989i:369
Jinuo (Youle)	**n̥ɔ^{44}** mo^{42} lo^{42}	cockscomb	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	n̥ə^{33} tʰə^{55}	forehead	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**n̥ɤ^{31}** tʰɤ^{55}	forehead	Dai Qingxia 1989i:102
Kucong	**na55** ka31 phv33	forehead	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**nɑ^{11}**qɑ^{21}pɯ^{33}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.43
	ɣɑ^{54}**nɑ^{11}**dzi^{33}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.43
Lahu (Black)	ɡ̈â?-**nā**-jɨ	cockscomb (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1121
	nā	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	nā-qā-pɨ	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	na^{31} qa^{31} pɯ^{33}	forehead	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	nʌ^{31}qʌ^{21}pə^{33}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.33
	ɣaʔ^{54} **na^{31}** bzɻ^{33}	cockscomb	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**na^{31}** qa^{31} pɯ^{33}	forehead	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣaʔ^{54} **na^{31}** dzɻ^{33}	cockscomb	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**mja^{33}**ka^{33}my^{33}	brow	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**nga^{6}**-hchi^{3}	forehead	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**nga^{6}**-hchi^{3}	forehead	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ŋɯʔ^{21}**	nod; N in compounds for forehead (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ŋɯʔ^{21}læ^{35}	high forehead	Bradley 1994
	ŋɯʔ^{21}tɔ^{33}	protruding forehead	Bradley 1994
	ŋɯʔ^{21}tɕhi^{33}	forehead	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ŋɯ̱^{31}**tɕhi̱^{33}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**ŋɯ̱^{42}** tʃʰi̱^{44}	forehead	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**ŋɯ^{41}**tʃhi^{33}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.27
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**naˇ** kʻawˇ	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	naˇ kʻawˇ kʻawˇ	forehead	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Dazhai)	**ȵu^{31}** tʰe ^{55}	forehead	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ȵu^{31}the^{55}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ȵu^{31}**the^{55}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**nɔ^{31}** kʰɔ^{31}	forehead	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	nɔ̰^{31}khɔ̰^{31}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**na^{55}** xɔ^{55}	forehead	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**nɔ^{55}** tɯ^{55}	forehead	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**nɔ^{55}**tɯ^{55}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.42
Mpi	**n^{2}**thɤ^{6}	forehead	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Sangkong	**ȵi^{31}** phu^{31}	forehead	Li Yongsui 1991
Ugong	**nɔ** khɔ̆ŋ	forehead / brow	Bradley 1993:3.2
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	**nɑ^{33}**qʰɛ^{23}	forehead	Pelkey 2011:250
	ɣɑ^{33}**ʤɔ^{31}nɑ^{55}**	cockscomb	Pelkey 2011:166
Hlepho Phowa	hɛ^{21}**ʤɯ^{21}nə^{33}**	cockscomb	Pelkey 2011:166
	n̥^{21}pə^{55}	forehead	Pelkey 2011:250
Phuza	**ɲi^{55}**pə^{33}	forehead	Pelkey 2011:250
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**ŋɑ̱^{44}** tɐ^{44} pɐ̃^{ɹ21}	forehead	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ŋɑ^{44}te^{44}pe^{ɹ21}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.37

[a] This is a borrowing from Marma (Arakanese) **nəphúja**.

[b] The Loloish glottal prefix is reflected directly by Lalo and Yi (Weishan), and indirectly by the very low tone in Lahu **nā**, and by the voiceless nasals in Nusu (Central) and Jinuo.

Bai (Dali)	**ngoe** tɛ tö 827	forehead	Dell 1981b:288
	ŋɐ^{ɪ44}te^{44}tɯ^{21}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.35
	ŋɐ̱^{ɪ44} tɐ̱^{44} tɯ̱^{21}	forehead	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ŋa̱**^{33}tɐ̱^{33}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.48
	ŋæ̱^{44} tɐ̱^{44} «k^{h}ui^{55}»	forehead / brow	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.2
	ŋɐ̱^{44} tɐ̱^{44}	forehead	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ŋɛ^{44}te^{44}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.36

Chinese comparandum

額/額 OC ***nglǎk***, *GSR* #766j' 'forehead'; Schuessler 2007:552 ***ŋrâk***; Mand. **é**.

(8) PLB *pu^{2} FOREHEAD

1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	nə **phú** ja	forehead	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:2 [a]
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	nɑ^{53}**phu**^{55}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	nɑ^{53}**phu**^{55}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.40
Burmese (Written)	na **phu:**	forehead	Marrison 1967
	nə **phû**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	nɑ^{1}**phu**^{3}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.26
	nɑ^{1}**phu**^{3}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.39
Marma	nə **phú** ja	forehead	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:2
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lipho	ŋɤ^{21}**phu**^{21}ts̱i^{33}	forehead	Chen Kang 1986b:3.2
Nusu (Northern)	nu̱^{31} **p^{h}i**^{55} dõ^{35} ɑ^{55}	forehead	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	na^{33} **bo**^{21}	forehead	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.22
Yi (Mile)	ni^{55}**phu**^{33}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.25
Yi (Nanhua)	ŋu̱^{33}**phi**^{33}di^{55}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.24
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	ni^{55} **p'u**^{22}	forehead / brow	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.2
	ni^{55}**phu**^{22}	forehead	Chen Kang 1986b:3.2

[a] This is a borrowing from Marma (Arakanese) **nəphúja**.

(9) PTB *kup FOREHEAD

This root seems to be restricted to TB languages of Nepal. The resemblance to Nepali **kapāl** is apparently accidental.

2.3. Kiranti			
**BSDTK*	***kup** pi	forehead	Michailovsky 1991:77
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	**'kūp** phi	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	küp phi	forehead	Michailovsky 1991:77
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**ky** pi	forehead	Michailovsky 1991:77
Sunwar	**kup** phi	forehead	Michailovsky 1991:77
	kūp phi	forehead	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**kup** pi	forehead	Michailovsky 1991:77; Allen 1975

(10) PTB *haŋ FOREHEAD / FACE

This poorly attested etymon has only been identified so far in three scattered languages.

1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	a prā **hã**	forehead	Pulu 1978
	a pra **ha**	forehead	Anonymous 1962
	a prā **ha** ma pecu ola	tattoo(forehead)	Pulu 1978
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ma **hang**	face	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	ma **háng**	face	Grüssner 1979:165
	te **hang**	brow; eyebrow; forehead; brow, forehead	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	te **hàng**	forehead / brow	Grüssner 1979:87
	te **hang** ang mi	forelock	Matisoff 1987
	te **hang** ang sum	brow; eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	te **hàng** ang sùm	eyebrow	Grüssner 1979:87
	te **hàng** ang sung	eyebrow	Grüssner 1979:87
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Magar	mi-tą̄ **hą̄**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	mi-Tā **hā**	face	Matisoff 1987

(11) PCC *bek TEMPLE (of head)

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***bek**	TEMPLE (of head)	VanBik 2009:51
Lai (Hakha)	**bek**	temple of head, side of head	VanBik 2009:51
Lushai [Mizo]	**bèk**	side of the head (n.)	VanBik 2009:51

1.2.5.2 Jaw/Cheek

CHEEK —— **BEARD**

Figure 52: 1.2.5.2 *Jaw/Cheek*

JAW —— **CHEEK**

Figure 53: 1.2.5.2 *Jaw/Cheek*

TOOTH —— **JAW**

Figure 54: 1.2.5.2 *Jaw/Cheek*

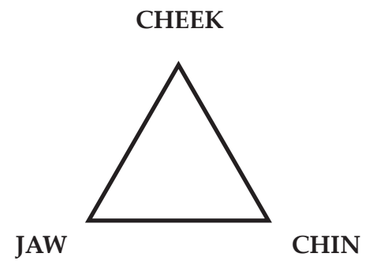

Figure 55: 1.2.5.2 *Jaw/Cheek*

JAW —— **MOUTH**

Figure 56: 1.2.5.2 *Jaw/Cheek*

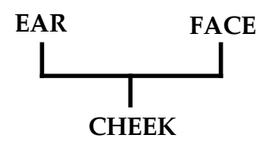

Figure 57: 1.2.5.2 *Jaw/Cheek*

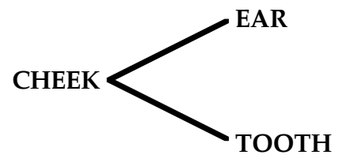

Figure 58: 1.2.5.2 *Jaw/Cheek*

(1) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{s}\end{matrix}$ **-ba CHEEK / JAW / CHIN**

This root is independent from PTB ***s-bi** ≍ ***s-bay** CHIN / CHEEK (§1.2.5.2), despite a certain phonological resemblance between the two. The independence of the two roots is demonstrated by their co-occurrence in compounds, e.g. Lahu **pâ-pi(-li)** 'dimple' and **pâ-pì-qu** 'chin'.

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Thanphum	**pɑ**^{1}k'ɑ^{5}	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	hà **bà** kàm	molar	Kosha 1990:3.10.2
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**mbɛ**^{33} rɛ^{55}	cheek	Sun Hongkai 1991d
Muya [Minyak]	ndzɐ̱^{33}**mbɛ**^{55}	cheek	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.11
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔbə** lə lə	cheek	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.11
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	tə **ɕpa**	cheek	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.11
	tə **ɕpa** ru	cheekbone	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.11.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə k **mba**	cheek	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.11
	tə k **mba** ɕɛru	cheekbone	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.11.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ɣbe**	cheek	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.11
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ɣə **mba** rme	beard / moustache	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wuʒ **ba** ru	cheekbone	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.11.1
5. Tujia			
Tujia	xa^{55} **p^{h}a**^{55} k^{h}ɯe^{55}	chin	Chen Kang 1986c:3.12
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ba**^{2} CHEEK			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ba**^{2}	cheek	Matisoff 2003a:584
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	**pɤ**^{31} ʐa̱m^{35}	cheek	Dai Qingxia 1989f:106
	pɤ^{31}ʐa̱m^{35}	cheek (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.29
	p^{h}ă^{31} kap^{35}	cheekbone	Dai Qingxia 1989f:106.2
	p^{h}ă^{31} kʐa̱u^{35} tau^{31}	cheekbone	Dai Qingxia 1989f:106.1
Burmese (Rangoon)	**pɑ**^{55}	cheek (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.27
Burmese (Written)	**pâ**	cheek	Hansson 1989:49; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a
	pâ-ce'	cheek-seed	Matisoff 1987
	pâ-coŋ	inside of cheek	Matisoff 1987
	pâ-khyit-rûi	lower jaw	Matisoff 1987
	pâ-nak	gills	Matisoff 1987
	pâ-pyâñ	cheek-fold, jowl, gill (of fish)	Matisoff 1974:152
	pâ-rûi	cheekbone; upper jaw	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	pâ-sway	lower part of cheek	Matisoff 1987
	pā:	cheek	Marrison 1967
	pā: khuit rui:	jaw	Marrison 1967
	pɑ^{3}	cheek (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.26
Hpun (Northern)	ă **pà**	cheek	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	**pə̌**^{31}tʃa̱m^{55}	cheek (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.33
Marma	**pá**	cheek	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:23
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pə̱**^{21}sop^{55}	cheek (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.30
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ba**^{2}	cheek	Bradley 1979b:99; Hansson 1989:49
Lolopho	**bo**^{31} kɯ^{33}	cheekbone	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.11.1 [a]
	bo^{31} v̩^{33}	whiskers (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:8.1.7
	bo^{31} v̩^{44}	goatee; moustache	Dai Qingxia 1989n:8.1.2.2; Dai Qingxia 1989n:8.1.2.3
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nosu	**bo**^{33}lo^{33}	cheek	Chen Kang 1986b:3.11
Nusu (Central)	**ba**^{55} ba^{33}	cheek	Dai Qingxia 1989p:106.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ba**^{55} ba^{35}	cheek	Dai Qingxia 1989o:106.
Nusu (Northern)	**ba**^{55} ba^{35}	face	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ba**^{55}ba^{33}	cheek (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.34

[a] Lolopho **kɯ**^{33} 'cheekbone'.

Yi (Liangshan)	**bo**^{33}	cheek (body part)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	bo^{33}lo^{33}	cheek	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**bo**^{21}mɑ^{33}tɕhe^{55}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.37
Yi (Weishan)	**bɑ**^{21}l̩^{33}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.36
Yi (Wuding)	**bu**^{11}tɚ̠^{2}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.38
Yi (Xide)	**bo**^{33} lo^{33}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.35
	bo^{33}-lo^{33}	cheek	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	mi^{21}-**bu**^{33}	lower jaw, chin	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**bo**^{21} i^{21}	cheek	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.11
	bo^{21} ko̠^{33} ɣɯ^{21}	cheekbone	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.11.1
	bo^{21} lo^{33} tʂɑ^{22}	molar	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.10.2
	bo^{21} nɯ̠^{33}	beard / moustache	LUO Meizhen 1990:8.1.2
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**pɔ**^{44} kjɛ^{31}	cheek	DAI Qingxia 1989h:109
Jinuo (Baka)	**pɔ**^{44} kjɛ^{31}	cheek	DAI Qingxia 1989i:109
Jinuo	**pɔ**^{44}kɛ^{42}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.44
**Common Lahu*	***pa**ˇ	cheek	Bradley 1979b:99
Lahu (Lancang)	**pɑ**^{53}qɔ^{11}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.43
Lahu (Black)	**pâ**-cîʔ	beard; moustache	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	pâ-cîʔ-mu	beard	Matisoff 1988a:807
	pâ-g̈ɔ̂	jaw / cheekbone	Matisoff 1987
	pâ-kâ	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	pâ-pi(-li)	dimple, cleft in chin	Matisoff 1987
	pâ-pì-qu	chin	Matisoff 1987
	pâ-qêʔ-lɘ̂ʔ	dimple, cleft in chin	Matisoff 1987
	pa^{31} tsʅʔ^{54}	beard	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	pʌ^{53}tsʅ^{54}	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.33
Lisu	**bà**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Northern)	**ba**^{21}phu^{21}	bulging cheek	Bradley 1994
	ba^{21}ta^{33}	cheek, face (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ba^{21}tɕæ^{35}	face; cheek	Bradley 1994
	ba^{21}vy^{21}	cheek	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ba**^{3}	cheek	Bradley 1979b:99
	bɑ^{31}vu^{31}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.40
Sani [Nyi]	**bɑ**^{21} ni^{55} ɣɯ^{21}	cheekbone	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:24.3
	bɑ^{21}n̥^{44}zɑ^{21}	cheek	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.11
	bɑ^{11} pɑ^{44}	cheek	MA Xueliang 1989:311.3
	bɑ^{11} pɑ^{55}	jaw	MA Xueliang 1989:304.1
	bɒ^{21}ni^{55}ɣɯ^{21}	cheek	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**bɒ**^{11} pɒ^{44}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.39
Sani [Nyi]	ni^{55}**bɒ**^{21}pu^{55}	cheek	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	n̥^{55} **bɑ**^{21} pu^{55}	cheek	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:84.3

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**bà**	cheek	Hansson 1989:49
Akha (Yunnan)	**bà** ba	cheek	Hansson 1989:49
	bà saq	whiskers	Hansson 1989:537
Akha (Thai)	**bà** sɛq sɛq	whiskers	Hansson 1989:537
	bà-ba	cheek	Hansson 1989:49
Akha	**ba**ˬ ba	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	baˬ ngeuˇ (ngeuˇ)	jaw	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	**pà** pa	cheek	Bradley 199x
	pa pá	cheek	Beaudouin 1988:13
	pa ʃɛ̀	beard	Beaudouin 1988:13
Hani (Lüchun)	**bà** ba	cheek	Hansson 1989:49
	bà shɛ́	whiskers	Hansson 1989:537
	ba^{31}ba^{33}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.41
	ba^{31}tshu^{55}tshu^{55}	embrace a child cheek to cheek (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1575.41
Hani (Wordlist)	**bbaq** bba	cheek	Hansson 1989:49
	bbaq seil	whiskers	Hansson 1989:537
Hani (Khatu)	**pɔ̀**	cheek	Hansson 1989:49
	pɔ̀ sjiɛ	cheek	Hansson 1989:49
Hani (Mojiang)	**pɔ**^{31}pɔ^{31}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.42
Mpi	**po**^{2}-po^{4}	cheek	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976; Hansson 1989:49
Côông [Phunoi]	**bo** pa	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	bo^{33} pɑ^{11}	cheek	Bradley 1977

7. Karenic: ***ʔbɔ**^{A} NECK, CHEEK

**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***báuʔ**	cheek	Jones 1961:469
**Karen [Burling]*	***boʔ**^{2}	cheek	Luangthongkum 2013:201
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***bɔʔ** pa	cheek	Jones 1961:469
**Karen*	***ʔbɔ**^{A}	neck, cheek	Luangthongkum 2013:201
Bwe	**-ɓɔ**	cheek (n.)	Henderson 1997
	-ɓɔ^{33}	neck, cheek	Luangthongkum 2013:201
Kayah	khɛ^{33}**bo**^{33}	neck, cheek	Luangthongkum 2013:201
Kayan	kaʔ^{21}**bɔ**^{53}	neck, cheek	Luangthongkum 2013:201
Kayaw	ko^{33}**bo**^{55}	neck, cheek	Luangthongkum 2013:201
Palaychi	**bòq**	cheek	Jones 1961:469
Pwo (Southern)	khoʔ^{21} **bo**^{31}¨	neck, cheek	Luangthongkum 2013:201
Pwo (Bassein)	**bòʔ** phàʔ thèʔ	cheek	Jones 1961:469
Sgaw (Northern)	khɔʔ^{45}**bo**^{33}	neck, cheek	Luangthongkum 2013:201
Sgaw (Bassein)	**bɔʔ** pa thìʔ	cheek	Jones 1961:469
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**bɔʔ** pa	cheek	Jones 1961:469
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**bɔ̠ʔ**^{55} pa^{33}	cheek	DAI Qingxia 1989j:109

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	tɕy^{3} **pa**^{5} tɕʅ^{2}	cheek	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	tɕy^{3} **pa**^{8}.tɕʅ^{2}	cheek	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	tɕui^{33} **pa̠**^{42} «fy̩^{33}»	cheek	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.11

(2) PTB *bwaŋ CHEEK

This root probably stands in an allofamic relationship with PTB ***m-b(y/r)aŋ** CHEEK (§1.2.5.2). The latter etymon is reconstructed with ***-y-** ⋉ ***-r-**, so that three different glides would be represented in a single word family.

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	kɑ^{31} pɯŋ^{55} ɹɯ^{31} **boŋ**^{35}	cheekbone	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**-paːŋ**	cheek	Matisoff 1987

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Awa Khumi	a **bɔŋ**^{2}	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	mai **bung**	cheek	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	**bang** sem	beard	Marrison 1967
	te ni **bong**	cheek	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	chèng-**bòng**	jaw	Grüssner 1979:59

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Ganan	nă **pɑŋ**^{4}	cheek	Luce 1985:R.29
Kadu (Kantu)	lă **pɑŋ**^{3}	cheek	Luce 1985:L.138
Sak (Bawtala)	ă nă **baũ**^{2}	cheek	Luce 1985:L.138
Sak	a nə **báŋ**	cheek	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:23

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**boṅ**-kăm	jaw	Matisoff 1987

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	nɯ^{31} **bǎŋ**^{53}	cheek	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

(3) PTB *m-b(y/r)aŋ CHEEK

The nasal prefix shows up in certain Chin languages (Cho, Womatu), and has preempted the root initial in Northern Naga.

This root bears a striking resemblance to PTB ***bwaŋ** CHEEK (§1.2.5.2), suggesting that they belong to a word family which contains no fewer than three of the posited PTB glides: ***-y-**, ***-r-**, ***-w-**.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**pin**-to	jaw (upper)	Sun 1993b
Tagin	cok **pya**	jaw	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	kɑ^{31} **pɯŋ**^{55} ɹɯ^{31} boŋ^{35}	cheekbone	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	ã **pra**	jaw	Anonymous 1962

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ɓiaŋ** CHEEK

**Chin*	***ɓiaŋ**	CHEEK	VanBik 2009:15
Anal	**biŋ**	cheek	Matisoff 1987

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**bieng**	cheek	Haokip 1998:3.11
Paite	**biang**	cheek	VanBik 2009:15
Thado	**bíeng**	cheek	VanBik 2009:15
Tiddim	**biang**^{2}	cheek	VanBik 2009:15; Bhaskararao 1996:92

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	m-**being**	cheek	VanBik 2009:15
Khumi	ta-**bɛŋ**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	tang **béeng**	cheek	VanBik 2009:15
Khumi (Ahraing)	tʻã^{1}**bæ̃**^{4}	cheek	Luce 1985:R.29
Womatu	m-**ɓeŋ**^{4}	cheek	Luce 1985:R.29

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**bîaŋ**	cheek	VanBik 2009:15
Lai (Falam)	**bĭaŋ**	cheek	VanBik 2009:15
Laizo	**biaŋ**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	**biang**	cheek	Marrison 1967
	biâng	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	bíang	cheek, the side post of a door	VanBik 2009:15
	biaːng	cheek	Bhaskararao 1996:92

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**bȁi**	cheek	VanBik 2009:15
Zotung	**bïa**	cheek	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	kə **biŋ**	cheek	Toba & Kom 1991:3.11
	kə **biŋ** lu	cheekbone	Toba & Kom 1991:3.11.1
Moyon	hà **prèŋ**	jaw	Kosha 1990:3.13
	l **bíŋ**	cheek	Kosha 1990:3.11
	l **bíŋ** ȓow	cheekbone	Kosha 1990:3.11.1

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	a **beng**	cheek	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	cha **byang**	cheek	Marrison 1967
Maram	**beng** to	cheek	Marrison 1967
Puiron	ka **ben**	cheek	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**biang**	cheek	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi **bia** pi	cheek	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	n **'bia**	cheek	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	*N-**biaŋ**	cheek	French 1983:467

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**meng** ya	cheek	Marrison 1967
	meŋ ya	cheek	French 1983:467

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**pīṅ**	cheek (n.)	Bailey 1911
	piṇ	cheek	Sharma 1988:27,42
	piṅ	cheek	Matisoff 1987

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**bjæ**˧l̩ɔ˥	cheek	Michaud 2006–2009:275
Naxi	**be**^{33}bi^{21}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.45

(4) PTB *pow CHEEK

This etymon usually occurs as the first syllable in compounds, where the second syllable is from PTB ***(t)s-wa(s/r)** CHEEK / BUTTOCK / CHIN (§1.2.5.2).

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**bu**-pɯ	jaw (lower)	Sun 1993b

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	te **po** nü	jaw	Marrison 1967

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***pho**-sV-	cheek	Michailovsky 1991:25

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**phou** si	cheek	Michailovsky 1991:25; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**bu** su	cheek	Driem 1993
Khaling	**pho** su	cheek	Michailovsky 1991:25; Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**pho** sip	cheek	Michailovsky 1991:25
	pho siu	cheek	Michailovsky 1991:25; Allen 1975
	pho syu	cheek	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	**bo**^{31} y̩^{44}	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.1.2.1

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Dafang)	**bu**^{21} ts^{h}o^{55}	beard	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985

(5) PTB *(t)s-wa(s/r) CHEEK / BUTTOCK / CHIN

This rather unusual reconstruction is meant to capture the alternation between reflexes with fricates and those with the labial semivowel. Note especially the WT forms **k'ur-t'sós** 'cheek', **ḫpoṅ-t'sos** 'buttock', and **'os-sko** 'chin'.

This root frequently occurs as a non-initial syllable in compounds.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-jo **so?**-ko	jaw (upper)	Sun 1993b
	a-kã **so?**-ko	jaw (lower)	Sun 1993b
	sò-ko	jaw	Sun 1993b
	so?-ko	jaw	Sun 1993b
	so?-ko a-lo	jawbone	Sun 1993b

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Kohima)	(u) **dzo^{33}**	cheek	Nienu 1990a:3.11
	(u) **dzo^{33}** ro^{31}	cheekbone	Nienu 1990a:3.11.1
	(u) me^{31} **tso^{33}**	jaw	Nienu 1990a:3.13
	(u) me^{31} **tso^{33}** pe^{31} so^{11}	upper jaw	Nienu 1990a:3.13.2
	(u) me^{31} **tso^{33}** pe^{31}khro^{33}	lower jaw	Nienu 1990a:3.13.1
	u **dzo**	cheek	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **dzo^{33}**	cheek	Nienu 1990b:3.11
	(u) **dzo^{33}** ro^{31}	cheekbone	Nienu 1990b:3.11.1
	(u) mü^{31} **tso^{33}**	jaw	Nienu 1990b:3.13
	mü^{31} **tso^{33}** rü^{31} khro^{33}	lower jaw / mandible	Nienu 1990b:3.13.1
	mu^{31} **tso^{33}** rü^{31} so^{11}	upper jaw / maxilla	Nienu 1990b:3.13.2
Sema [Sumi]	a nam **chu**	cheek	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	mai **sor**	cheek	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
Ukhrul	maj-**sor**	cheek	Mortensen 2012

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**ndʐo^{13}** tʃɑ^{35}	cheek	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.11
Kaike	**wā** hmā	chin	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	ni **tsu**	cheek	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 8a
Tshona (Mama)	**ʔo:^{55}** mA^{53}	chin	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.6

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Jirel)	**o** koq	chin	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ɔ^{55}**ma^{13}	chin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.2
Sherpa	**o** ku	chin	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Written)	**'os**-sko	chin	Matisoff 1987
	ḫpoṅ-**t'sos**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	k'ur-**t'sós**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	rkub-**t'sós**	buttock	Matisoff 1987

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	*pho-**sV**-	cheek	Michailovsky 1991:25

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	ngam-**si**	cheek	Rai *et al.* 1984:56
	ŋam-**si**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
Kulung	phou **si**	cheek	Michailovsky 1991:25; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	bu **su**	cheek	Driem 1993
Khaling	pho **su**	cheek	Michailovsky 1991:25; Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**tso: tso:**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	tso: tso	cheek	Michailovsky 1991:26
Hayu	mU: **tsho** si ku li	buttock	Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	**co: co**	cheek	Michailovsky 1991:26; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	pho **siu**	cheek	Michailovsky 1991:25; Allen 1975
	pho **syu**	cheek	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	kə **tʂə**	cheek	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.11
	kə **tʂ**	cheek	Sun 1986

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mp^{h}os** təntsi	buttocks	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.10.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mp^{h}us** tsə	buttocks	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.10.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**wuʒ** ba ru	cheekbone	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.11.1
	wuʒ bɐm kɐm	cheek	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.11

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**tsho^{33}** ŋa^{53}	cheek	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.11

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	to^{44} **tʃø^{44}**	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989h:125.1
Jinuo (Baka)	to^{44} **tʃø^{44}**	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989i:125
Jinuo	tɔ^{33}**tɕø^{35}**	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.34

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Khatu)	pɔ̀ **sjiɛ**	cheek	Hansson 1989:49

(6) PTB *g $\begin{matrix}\text{y}\\\text{w}\end{matrix}$ ar CHEEK / CHIN / JAW

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	shog **dur**	chin	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	shau-**yau**	jaw	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**car** ni	cheek	Sharma 1991b:3.11
	tʃyər ni	cheek	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**khar** khang	cheekbone	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 9

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	tă-**gryu**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	ta **gryú**	cheek (n.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Sahu)	**yos** mā	molar (lower)	Matisoff 1987

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	*__yon-__ ≈ __yo-__	chin	Michailovsky 1991:32

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**yo-**	mouth	Rai *et al.* 1984:73
	yo-bhi	chin	Rai *et al.* 1984:73
	yo-khom	chin; jaw; chin, jaw	Michailovsky 1991:190; Rai *et al.* 1984:41
	yon khom	jaw	Michailovsky 1991:32; Rai 1985

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**glo** goŋ	cheek (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.194
	glo goŋ	cheek	Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	**'yoy** li	chin	Michailovsky 1991:32; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**yo** ji	chin	Michailovsky 1991:32; Matisoff 1987; Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**dyor**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	dyor	cheek (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dyor	cheek	Caughley 1972:2.A.19
	ger	cheek (n.)	Caughley 2000
	gwer	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	gwer	cheek (n.)	Caughley 2000
	gwer	cheek	Caughley 1972:2.A.19
	gyor	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	gyor	cheek (n.)	Caughley 2000
	gyor	cheek	Caughley 1972:2.A.19
Chepang (Eastern)	**dyor**	cheek	Caughley 1990:3.11
	gwer	cheek	Caughley 1990:3.11
Magar	gho **yo**	chin	Matisoff 1987

(7) PTB *tsyi $\begin{matrix}\text{p}\\\text{m}\end{matrix}$ CHEEK / CHIN

This root seems solid, despite its rather sparse attestation. Note the alternation between the homorganic final stop and nasal.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Yimchungrü	mü **chhip**	cheek	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**c^{h}im** ʈi	chin	Sharma 1982
	tsim Thi	chin	Sharma 1991b:3.12

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	pho **sip**	cheek	Michailovsky 1991:25

(8) PTB *ney CHEEK / CHIN

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	**ñiw**-lji	lip	Simon 1979

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	**ŋe:**-mi:	beard	Sun 1993b
	n̥e:-mi:	beard	Sun 1993b

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	te **ni** bong	cheek	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	the **ngi**	cheek	Marrison 1967

1.6. Mru

Mru	**ŋyeo^{1}**pɑ^{3}	cheek	Luce 1985:R.29

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	car **ni**	cheek	Sharma 1991b:3.11
	tʃyər **ni**	cheek	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**ne** za	cheek	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 8b
	ni tsu	cheek	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 8a

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	mæ **ni**	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	ma **ne**	chin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	ma **ne**	chin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.5
Tibetan (Batang)	ma^{13}**ne^{53}**	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	me^{13}**ne^{53}**	chin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	ma^{13}**le^{55}**	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.02
	mə^{13}**ne^{55}**	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.02
Tibetan (Written)	ma **ne**	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.01
	ma **ne**	chin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.1
	ma **le**	chin	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	ma **ne**	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.04

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**nyi**-t'yum	cheek	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Thakali (Tukche)	mohmci nɔ ʈi sɔ **'ŋi ŋi**	jaw	Hari 1971:2.A.20
	mohm ci na Ti sa **'ngi ngi**	jaw	Matisoff 1987

2.2. Newar

Newar	**ne** tā(l)	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	nye ta:	cheek	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.11
	nye ta: kwẽ	cheekbone	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.11.1

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**nE** dEŋ ba	cheek, side of a blade	Michailovsky 1989b
	ne deŋ bā	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	ne deŋ yet	cheekbone	Matisoff 1987

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	–	chin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.13
	nĩ	cheek	Dai Qingxia 1989e:3.11

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	mə^{53} **ni^{33}**	chin	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.12

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Sani [Nyi]	bɑ^{21} **ni^{55}** ɣɯ^{21}	cheekbone	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:24.3
	bɒ^{21}**ni^{55}**ɣɯ^{21}	cheek	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ni^{55}bɒ^{21}pu^{55}	cheek	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	n̥^{55} bɑ^{21} pu^{55}	cheek	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:84.3

(9) PTB *wam CHEEK / FACE

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **om**	cheek	Marrison 1967

1.6. Mru

Mru	**ɔm^{2}**	cheek	Luce 1985:R.29

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	o **wom** laŋ	cheek	French 1983:467
	o **wom** lang	cheek	Marrison 1967
Wancho	na **vem**	cheek	French 1983:480; Marrison 1967

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	ze ti **waŋ**	face	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

(10) NEIA *dzyay ≈ *tsyay CHEEK / JAW / CHIN

This root is apparently valid, but requires further confirmation.

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**dze**	cheek	Marrison 1967
	me **che**	jaw	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	u me **chie**	jaw	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**cay** ruŋ	cheekbone	Singh 1991:3.11.1
	chai rung	jaw	Marrison 1967
	châi rung	jaw	Matisoff 1987
	kha **jai**	cheek	Marrison 1967

	kha **jâi**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	khə **jay**	cheek	Singh 1991:3.11

(11) PTB *gra CHEEK / JAW

This etymon seems valid, but further confirmation would be welcome.

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**hrǎ**^{4}kuə^{3}	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	**cha** byang	cheek	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**kya** ṅöl	jaw	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Gyaru)	**gro**^{1} ma^{2}	cheek	Nagano 1984:023

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	pâ-**kâ**	cheek	Matisoff 1987

(12) PTB *kap JAW / CHEEK / CHIN

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Khezha	**keb** zo	cheek	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	ko **káp**	chin	Weidert 1987:1061
	ku **gáb**	beak / chin	Bhat 1968
	ku **káb**	beak; chin; bill	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Meche	ko-**kap**	chin	Weidert 1987:1104; Weidert 1987:1061

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Khiamngan	^{1}**gǫ̱p**	chin	Weidert 1987:1104

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	sha **kap**	jaw	Marrison 1967
	shə **kàp**	jaw	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Spiti)	**gap** só	lower jaw	Sharma 1979

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Chamling	ra **khap** tON*	molar	Winter 1985:30

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	ya **kap** ta	lower jaw	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**khap**	jawbone	Watters & Watters 1989
	k^{h}ap	jawbone	Watters & Watters 1989

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	phă^{31} **kap**^{35}	gills	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	p^{h}ă^{31} **kap**^{35}	cheekbone	DAI Qingxia 1989f:106.2

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nasu	n̥e^{21} **kǫ**^{21}	jaw	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.13

Chinese comparandum

Cf. comparanda for PTB ***gyap*** NARROW / CROWDED (§7.1.2).

(13) PTB *tsyaŋ JAW

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	ã **jã** pra	jawbone	Pulu 1978
	ã **jã** p^{h}u	jaw(lower)	Pulu 1978

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	kha **chung** nung	upper jaw / maxilla	Haokip 1998:3.13.2

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**čuŋ** rə kəm	upper jaw / maxilla	Toba & Kom 1991:3.13.2

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**chèng**-bòng	jaw	Grüssner 1979:59
	ke **cheng**	cheek	Marrison 1967
	ke **cheng** (a rep i)	jaw	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	ke **chèng**(a-rèp-pî)	jaw	Grüssner 1979:43

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	**cheng**-kin-a	jaw bone, mandible, pig jaws that are hung up as trophies	Burling 1992
	cheng-kin-a	jaw bone; mandible (n.)	Burling 2003:6.28-II:idx

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**cheng** khyna	jaw (n.)	van Breugel 2008

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Yakha	**ci:ŋ** bu luʔ ma	cheek	Kohn 1990:3.11
	nam ci yəŋ **seŋ** kwɔ:k	cheekbone	Kohn 1990:3.11.1

(14) PTB *b-rup CHEEK / JAW

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	mu-pu **rup**-tin	cheek	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ru**-tin	cheekbone	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**ru** tin	cheekbone	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**bɯ**^{31}**ɹu**^{55}	cheek	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	bɯ^{31}**ɹu**^{55}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.22
Kaman [Miju]	**bɹɯp**^{35}	cheek	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	bɹɯp^{35}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.23
	bɹɯp^{35} ɹɑɯ^{53}	cheekbone	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

(15) PTB *k(w)aŋ CHEEK / JAW / CHIN / FACE

This morpheme often occurs as the second element in compounds.

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	e **koŋ** go	jaw(upper)	Pulu 1978

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lothvo (Hiranpi)	hră^{4}**kuə**^{3}	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**kaŋ**^{3}	jaw (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	o^{1}-**kaŋ**^{1}	jaw (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [b]

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	mu **kaŋ**	face	Matisoff 1987
Dimasa	mu **khang**	face	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**k^{h}aŋ**-ga	cheek	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	mə-**k^{h}aŋ**	face	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	ši-**kaŋ**	front	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	mo **khang**	face	Balawan 1965:39

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	mik-**kang**	face, front, front end of something such as a flashlight or sweater; top (of a banana leaf)	Burling 1992
	mik-**kang**	face; front (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
	mik-**kang**-o	front; in front of (pp.)	Burling 2003:1.11-II:idx

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	**kāŋ**	jaw	unknown nd

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	chet **kaṅ**	chin	Sharma 1988:37
	chĕt **köṅ**	chin (n.)	Bailey 1911
	chĕt **köṅ**	chin	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Central)	khar **khang**	cheekbone	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 9

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Gyaru)	**gwan**^{3} da^{2}	jaw	Nagano 1984:021

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	nye ta: **kwẽ**	cheekbone	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.11.1

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Yakha	nam ci yəŋ seŋ **kwɔ:k**	cheekbone	Kohn 1990:3.11.1

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**khong**-tang	jaw	Rai *et al.* 1984:41; Michailovsky 1991:33

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	glo **goŋ**	cheek (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.194
	glo **goŋ**	cheek	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**kwang**	jaw	Matisoff 1987
	kwaŋ	jaw (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kwaŋ	jaw	Caughley 1972:2.A.20
Chepang (Eastern)	**kwaŋ**	jaw	Caughley 1990:3.13

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Mawo)	**quŋ**	face	Sun 1986; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.8

6.1.1. BURMISH

Langsu (Luxi)	mjɔʔ^{31}**khuŋ**^{35}	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.31
Maru [Langsu]	mjoʔ^{31} **khuŋ**^{35}	face	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.1
	mjɔʔ^{31}**khuŋ**^{35}	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.43

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	mjaq **xhàŋ**	face	Hansson 1989:253

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	p^{h}æ˩**q^{h}wɤ**˩	face	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	pha^{33}**khuɑ**^{31}	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.29
Naxi (Eastern)	p^{h}a^{33}**k^{h}uɑ**^{31}	face	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(16) PTB *tri JAW / CHIN

A few forms (Newar **wakudhi(k)**, Pwo [Bassein] **bòʔ phàʔ thèʔ**) point to a possible ***-k*** suffix with this root.

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Lotha Naga	o kan **drü**	jaw	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	tu **tri**	chin	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	ka **ṭi**	jaw	Sharma 1991a:3.13
	əl kyo **tsi**	chin	Sharma 1991a:3.12
Pattani [Manchati]	c^{h}im **ʈi**	chin	Sharma 1982
	tsim **Thi**	chin	Sharma 1991b:3.12

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	kam^{13} **ti**^{55}	chin	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ro **zi**	chin	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	gam-**t^{h}i**	chin	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	gɑm^{35} **di**^{55}	chin	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	ro **zi**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.07

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	dzą̃^{55} **zi**^{55}	chin	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.12

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Thakali (Tukche)	mohmci nɔ **ʈi** sɔ ʾŋi ŋi	jaw	Hari 1971:2.A.20
	mohm **ci**	chin	Matisoff 1987; Hari 1971:2.A.22
	mohm ci na **Ti** sa ʾngi ngi	jaw	Matisoff 1987

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	cwoeya wāk **dhi:**	upper jaw / maxilla	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.13.2
	koeyā wāk **dhi:**	lower jaw / mandible	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.13.1
	wak **dhi:**	jaw	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.13
	wa ku **dhi(k)**	jaw	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	yo **ji**	chin	Michailovsky 1991:32; Matisoff 1987; Allen 1975

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nesu	n̥ɪ^{21} **tʂʅ**^{55}	chin	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.12

7. KARENIC

Pwo (Bassein)	bòʔ phàʔ **thèʔ**	cheek	Jones 1961:469
Sgaw (Bassein)	bɔʔ pa **thìʔ**	cheek	Jones 1961:469

(17) PTB *kyit ≍ *krik LOWER JAW

This weakly attested root might well be attributable to PTB ***tri*** JAW / CHIN (§1.2.5.2).

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	a **krik**	lower jaw	Matisoff 1987

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	pâ-**khyit**-rûi	lower jaw	Matisoff 1987
	pā: **khuit** rui:	jaw	Marrison 1967

(18) PTB *m-gal JAW

[a] [Source Note] lower range variant
[b] [Source Note] upper range variant

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	cok-ku-**golo**	jaw	Tayeng 1976
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	mum **gul**	lower jaw / mandible	Bishop 1989:3.13.1
Spiti	ma **ken**	lower jaw / mandible	Bodh 1991:3.13.1
	ya **ken**	upper jaw / maxilla	Bodh 1991:3.13.2
Tibetan (Written)	ma-**mgal**	lower jaw	Matisoff 1987
	mgal	jaw; chin, lower jaw; jawbone	Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:G.67; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:119n329
	ya-**mgal**	upper jaw	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Sahu)	māhng **kāl**	jaw	Matisoff 1987
	mahŋ **kal**	jaw	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.20
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	'kāem **nga** lu	jaw	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**'dal** be	jaw	Michailovsky 1991:33
	'dāl be	jaw	Matisoff 1987
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	**'gar**	jaw	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.20
	'gār	jaw	Matisoff 1987
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	mal^{44} **kăl^{44}**	cheek	Matisoff 1987

(19) IA *gālā CHEEK

2.1.4. Tamangish			
Chantyal	**gala**	cheek	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.11
	gala-ye ɦaar	cheekbone	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.11.1
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	**'gala**	cheek	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.19
	gālā	cheek	Matisoff 1987
Magar	**gālā**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
X.1. Non-TB			
Nepali	**gālā**	cheek (n.)	Hale 1973:02a.19
	gālā	cheek	Matisoff 1987

(20) IA *baŋgar JAW

2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**bānggrā:**	jaw	Matisoff 1987
	baŋgraː	jaw	Glover 1972:2.A.20
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	**baŋəra**	jaw	Kohn 1990:3.13
	moː na **baŋəra**	lower jaw / mandible	Kohn 1990:3.13.1
	toː na **baŋəra**	upper jaw / maxilla	Kohn 1990:3.13.2
X.1. Non-TB			
Nepali	**bạgāro**	jaw (n.)	Hale 1973:02a.20
	bạgāro	jaw	Matisoff 1987

(21) PTB *s-bi ⪤ *s-bay CHIN / CHEEK

This root is independent from PTB ***m/s-ba** CHEEK / JAW / CHIN (§1.2.5.2), despite a certain phonological resemblance between the two. The independence of the two roots is demonstrated by their co-occurrence in compounds, e.g. Lahu **pâ-pi(-li)** 'dimple' and **pâ-pì-qu** 'chin'.

Karenic has separate reflexes of the two roots.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ba-y**	cheek	Matisoff 2003a:584
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	míʔ **hpî**	cheek / temple	Weidert 1987:1049
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ka-** ⪤ ***kha-ɓee** CHIN [a]			
**Chin*	*ka- ⪤ **kha-ɓee**	CHIN	VanBik 2009:18
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	kha **be**	chin	VanBik 2009:18
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	tiet **'buee**	chin	VanBik 2009:18
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	khàa ~ **kha-bèe**	chin	VanBik 2009:18
Lai (Falam)	khâa ~ **kha-bêe**	chin	VanBik 2009:18
Lushai [Mizo]	kha(-**be**)	lower jaw	Matisoff 1987
	kha-**be**	chin	Matisoff 1987
	kha-**be** hmul	beard	Matisoff 1987
	kha **be**	jaw	Marrison 1967
	kha **be** hmul	beard	Marrison 1967
	k'ă^{4}**bɛ^{2}**	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**bai**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Mao	**bai** to	cheek	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	thi **bi**	cheek	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Zeme	mi bia **pi**	cheek	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**pe**	cheek	Burling 1992
	pe	cheek (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
	pe-top	cheek	Burling 1992
	pi	cheek	Burling 1992
	pi-top	cheek	Burling 1992
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	shə **byí**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	^{3}šə^{3}**byi**	cheek / temple	Weidert 1987:1049
	^{3}šə^{3}**pyi**	cheek	Weidert 1987:1049
	ʃă^{55}**pji^{55}**	cheek (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.19
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	yo-**bhi**	chin	Rai *et al.* 1984:73
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	'dal **be**	jaw	Michailovsky 1991:33
	'dāl **be**	jaw	Matisoff 1987
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	sə^{42} **pi^{44}**	chin	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*ʔ-**pi^{1}**	chin	Bradley 1979b:100A
Lolopho	me^{31} **pi^{44}**	chin	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.12
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	ɕa^{35} **phɤ^{323}**	chin	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.12
Lalo	m̩^{21} **pɯ^{55}** du̥^{55}	chin	Chen Kang 1986b:3.12
Nasu	n̥e^{21} **pi^{33}**	chin	Chen Kang 1986b:3.12
Nusu (Northern)	**p^{h}i^{55}** t^{h}ə̃^{31}	chin	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	ni^{21} **pi^{33}** t'u^{22}	chin	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.12
**Common Lahu*	***pi:**	chin	Bradley 1979b:100A
Lahu (Black)	pâ-**pi**(-li)	dimple, cleft in chin	Matisoff 1987
	pâ-**pì**-qu	chin	Matisoff 1987
Lisu	mū^{5} **prgh'** du^{3}	chin	Matisoff 1987
	mu^{5}**prgh^{1}**du^{3}	chin	Bradley 1979b:100A
Lisu (Nujiang)	mɯ^{31} **pɯ̠^{44}**	chin	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	n̩^{55}**pi^{44}**	chin	Chen Kang 1986b:3.12
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Côông [Phunoi]	ban^{31} **pi^{55}** tũ^{31} jao	jaw	Ferlus 1991:3.13
	pi tùn	chin, heel	Matisoff 1987
	pi^{33} tun^{11}	chin	Bradley 1977
Sangkong	maŋ^{31} **pi^{55}**	chin	Li Yongsui 1991
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	**pi**˩˨˧	cheek	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	be^{33}**bi^{21}**	cheek (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.45
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	**bái**	cheek	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:469
	bái chɔ́n	beard on cheek	Solnit 1989
	bɑi^{1}	cheek	Luce 1985:R.29

(22) PTB *gam JAW / CHIN / MOLAR

This root bears some resemblance to PTB ***s-gram** CHEEK / FACE / JAW (§1.2.5.2), but should be kept separate for now.
MM: Tamang has two distinct roots: *Akam 'chin' and *Agrampa 'jaw,cheek'

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***gəm**	put; throw into mouth; hold in the mouth; jaw; molar	Chou Fa-kao 1972:651l'; Coblin 1986:95; Coblin 1986:99
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gam**	molar; tooth	Weidert 1987:201; Michailovsky 1991:190
	***gam**	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:30
	***gam**	molar / jaw	Benedict 1972:50
	***gam** (*B)	jaw / molar	Coblin 1986:99
	***gəm**	jaw (molar teeth)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:651n'
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Miji	**gu**-mjuʔ	beard	Simon 1979
	gɯm jaʔ	cheek / face	Simon 1979
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**kã** soʔ-ko	jaw (lower)	Sun 1993b
	go(m)-mu	moustache	Sun 1993b
	go-mu	beard	Sun 1993b
	gom-mu	beard	Sun 1993b
	góm-pu	chin	Sun 1993b
	gom-pɯ	chin	Sun 1993b
	gom-pɯ a-lo	jaw	Sun 1993b
	gom-pɯ ti-pe	tattoo (on the chin)	Sun 1993b
	gom-pɯ tɯ-pe	chin tattoo	Sun 1993b
	^{2}**gom**^{1}pɯ	chin	Weidert 1987:756
Bengni	**gam**-mɯ	beard	Sun 1993b
Bokar	jiː-**kam**	molar	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	jiː **kam**	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**ɟam**	chew	Das Gupta 1963
	ˆiː **gam**	molar	Weidert 1987:510
Miri, Hill	**gam**-ɲa	molar	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	**gom**-pək	palate	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**gɑm**	hold in mouth / put in mouth (C,A.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:651l'
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	tã **ɟam** bo	tooth(back)	Pulu 1978
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Thanphum	**kɑm^{1}**	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Matupi	**kɑm^{4}**	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	čuŋ rə **kəm**	upper jaw / maxilla	Toba & Kom 1991:3.13.2
	rə **kəm**	jaw	Toba & Kom 1991:3.13
	rʌ-**kám**	chin	Weidert 1987:756
	t^{h}ui rə **kəm**	lower jaw / mandible	Toba & Kom 1991:3.13.1
Moyon	hà bʌ̀ **kʌ̀m**	molar	Kosha 1990:3.10.2
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Ao*	*t-**k [h] əm**	CHIN	Bruhn 2014a:II.071
Ao (Chungli)	te **küm**	chin	Marrison 1967
	te **küm** ret	jaw	Marrison 1967
	tə^{2}-**kəm^{2}**	chin (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.071
	tə^{2}-**kəm^{3}**ɹət^{1}	jaw (lower) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	^{2}tɯ^{2}**kɯm**	jaw; chin	Weidert 1987:201; Weidert 1987:756
Lotha Naga	o **kan**	jaw	Marrison 1967
	o **KaN**	jaw	Nienu 1990c:3.13
	o **kan** drü	jaw	Marrison 1967
	^{1}o^{1}**gan**	jaw; chin	Weidert 1987:201; Weidert 1987:756
Sangtam	**küm** jing	chin	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**gɯm**^{2}rɯ	jaw; chin	Weidert 1987:201; Weidert 1987:756
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Sema [Sumi]	am **khum** hi	beard	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	a **ga**	tooth	Marrison 1967
Puiron	mai **kum**	face	Marrison 1967
1.6. Mru			
Mru	**kam**	chin	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**kham** pho	beard	Marrison 1967
Lalung [Tiwa]	ha **gam**	tooth (wisdom)	Balawan 1965:26
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	wa(-**gam**)	tooth	Benedict 1972:437
	wa-**gam**	tooth; molar	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:50

[a] cf. PKC ***kaa** ⪤ ***khaa** CHIN / JAW (lower), under PTB ***m/s-k(w)a-y** MOUTH / OPENING / SPREAD / DOOR / FACE / JAW (§1.2.5.3)

	wa-**gum**	tooth	Coblin 1986:99
Garo (Bangladesh)	wa-**gam**	molar	Burling 1992
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	^{3}pa^{2}**kʌm(ʔ)**	molar	Weidert 1987:201
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Khiamngan	^{2}hǫu^{21} **gɪ^{1}m**	molar	Weidert 1987:14
Konyak (Wakching)	pá-**gɯm**	molar	Weidert 1987:201
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	u-**kam**	molar; jaw	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:50; Coblin 1986:99
	wā-**gām**	molar	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983:865
	wa-u-**kam**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	^{2}u^{2}**kam**	molar	Weidert 1987:201
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**kam^{13}** ti^{55}	chin	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**gam**-t^{h}i	chin	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**gɑm^{35}** di^{55}	chin	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	kɑm^{55} n̥i^{55}	hold in mouth	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	ce^{13} **kɔm^{53}**	face	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	**kɛ̃^{55}**	jaw	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.13
	kɛ̃^{55} ja^{13} kha^{53}	upper jaw / maxilla	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.13.2
	kɛ̃^{55} ma^{13} kha^{53}	lower jaw / mandible	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.13.1
Tibetan (Jirel)	'mur **kum**	jaw	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**gap** gen	bite (v.)	Bishop 1989:3.10.7
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	boṅ-**kăm**	jaw	Matisoff 1987
	fo-**gam**	molar	Coblin 1986:99
	fo-**gom**	molar; jaw; jaw (molar teeth)	Benedict 1972:25n82; Benedict 1972:50
	fo **góm**	molar (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**kam**	chin	Mazaudon 1978:25; Mazaudon 1994:24
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kã:q**	chin	Glover 1972:2.A.22
	kạ̄: sā	molar	Matisoff 1987
	kã: sa	molar	Glover 1972:2.A.26
	kā:q	chin	Matisoff 1987
	^{2}**kã:**	chin	Mazaudon 1978:25
Gurung	^{2}**kã:**	chin	Mazaudon 1994:24
Manang (Ngawal)	^{2}**kʌn** ta	chin	Mazaudon 1978:25
Manang (Prakaa)	^{1}**kə̃** ta	chin	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0014
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'kam**	chin	Weidert 1987:756
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**kam**	chin	Mazaudon 1978:25
	^{2}**kam**	chin (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.12
	^{2}**kam**	chin	Mazaudon 1994:24
	^{2}**kam**-siŋ	jaw (n comp.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.13, 3.13
Tamang (Sahu)	**'kām**	chin	Matisoff 1987
	'kam	chin	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.21
	'k^{h}a:ra	throat	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.26
	kam	chin	Matisoff 1987
	^{2}**kam**	chin	Mazaudon 1978:25
Tamang (Taglung)	**kam**	chin	Mazaudon 1994:24
Thakali (Marpha)	^{2}**kʌm**	chin	Mazaudon 1978:25
Thakali (Syang)	^{2}**kʌm**	chin	Mazaudon 1978:25
	^{54}**kʌm**	chin	Mazaudon 1994:24
	^{55}**kʌm**	chin	Mazaudon 1994:24
Thakali (Tukche)	^{2}**kʌm**-sʌ	molar	Mazaudon 1978:25
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***kam**-	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:30
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	ha **gum** ma	molar	Weidert 1987:750
	kham t-	bite down on, chew; bite down on, to chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:30
Yakha	**kham** ma:	chew (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.10.8
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	con **khom**	chin	Rai 1985
	yo-**khom**	chin; jaw; chin, jaw	Michailovsky 1991:190; Rai *et al.* 1984:41
	yon **khom**	jaw	Michailovsky 1991:32; Rai 1985
Chamling	**kem**-(u)	chew	Winter 1985:18
	kem dh-yu	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:30
Kulung	**kham**-	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:30
	kham-u	chew (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	bak **ham**	tooth; molar	Michailovsky 1991:190; Driem 1993
	kəm ri səm	moustache	Driem 1993
Khaling	**'kāem** nga lu	jaw; molar	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	√**kam**-	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:30
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	ka **kam**	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:190
Hayu	**kho:** bum	molar / jaw	Michailovsky 1991:190
Thulung	**kam**-	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:30; Allen 1975
	kam li	tooth; molar <tooth>	Michailovsky 1991:190; Allen 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	ma **gam**	molar	Weidert 1987:14; Michailovsky 1991:190
	mā **gām**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	ma **gam**	molar	Caughley 1972:2.A.26
Chepang (Eastern)	**gon** che	beard	Caughley 1990:8.1.2.1
	hluk **gam** səyk	tooth (wisdom)	Caughley 1990:3.10.4
	ma **gam** səyk	molar	Caughley 1990:3.10.2
Magar	mi-**ghām** pāl yāk	jaw	Matisoff 1987
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya [Minyak]	**qo^{53}**	molar	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.10.2
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**rGo^{13}** ɕvə^{53}	molar	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.10.2
Ergong (Danba)	ɕɯ **gue**	molar	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.10.2
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	tə swa **rgu**	molar	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.10.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə swa **kam**	tooth (incisor)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.10.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə ɕue **kum**	tooth (incisor)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.10.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wuʒ bɐm **kɐm**	cheek	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.11
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	s **kam**	jaw (molar teeth)	Benedict 1972:25n82
	s **kam^{42}**	molar	Matisoff 1987
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Modern)	**aṁ^{3}**	cheek	Luce 1985:R.29
Burmese (Written)	**am**	mola	Weidert 1987:201
	aṁ	molar	Benedict 1976a
	àm	molar; jaw; jaw (molar teeth)	Benedict 1972:183n482; Benedict 1972:50; Coblin 1986:99
	àm-swà	molar / jaw	Benedict 1972:50
	aṁ^{3}	cheek, jaw	Luce 1985:W.132
	ʔam-chûm	tooth (wisdom)	Matisoff 1987
	ʔam-swâ	molar	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Sani [Nyi]	**gɑ^{21}**tʂi^{33}mɑ^{33}	molar	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.10.2
7. KARENIC			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	mɛ̰^{55} **k^{h}ɔ^{55}**	molar	DAI Qingxia 1989k:170.1
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	tǭ^{42} ŋæ^{21} **k^{h}o^{33}**	molar	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.10.2
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	頷	jaw, chin	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1007
Chinese (GSR #)	**0651n'**	jaw, chin	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1007
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**g'əm/ɣə̰m**	hold in mouth / put in mouth (C,A.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:651l'
	g'əm/ɣə̰m	jaw	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:651n'
	g'əm/ɣə̰m:	jaw	Karlgren 1957:651n'
Chinese (Old)	**gəm**	hold in the mouth	Coblin 1986:95
	gəmh	hold in the mouth	Coblin 1986:95
	gəmx	jaw / molar	Coblin 1986:99
	g'əm	cheek, jaw	Luce 1985:W.132
	ɢ^{ʕ}əm {[ɢ]^{ʕ}[ə]m?}	jaw, chin	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1007
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**homX**	jaw, chin	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1007
	ɣem	hold in the mouth	Coblin 1986:95
	ɣəm:	jaw	Coblin 1986:99
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**hàn**	jaw, chin	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1007
	hɑn	jaw	Karlgren 1957:651n'

Chinese comparandum

頷 OC ***g'əm**, *GSR* #651n' 'jaw, chin'; Schuessler 2007:270-1 ***gə̂mʔ**; B & S 2011: ***ɢ^{ʕ}əm { [ɢ] ^{ʕ} [ə] mʔ}**; Mand. **hàn**.

(23) PTB *s-gram CHEEK / FACE / JAW

This is undoubtedly the same etymon as *STC* #39 ***r-kaːm** 'edge, bank, precipice; lips, mouth', but in view of the considerable semantic divergence, we are here treating them separately.

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kém-kém**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	kém-ta	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	kém-tan	cheek	Matisoff 1987
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**thram**-um	beard	Matisoff 1987
	t^{h}ɯ^{31} ɹɯm^{53} m̥^{55}	beard	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	e **rõ** mo	beard	Pulu 1978
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**grəm** suà	molar	Sharma 1991a:3.10.2
	grəm pa	cheek	Sharma 1991a:3.11
Pattani [Manchati]	**Dà:** Thə	molar	Sharma 1991b:3.10.2
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**de^{13}** shɐ^{53}	molar	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.10.2
Kaike	**dām** a	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	dam swa	molar	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ndʑam** bæ	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ndʑæm**-nbæ	cheek	Sun 1985a:129
Tibetan (Batang)	**dʐã^{55}** ndõ^{55}	cheekbone	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.11.1
	dʐã^{55} pa^{55}	cheek	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.11
	dʐã^{55} zi^{55}	chin	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.12
	ndʐũ^{55}mba^{53}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.03
Tibetan (Central)	**ʈa̰m** so	molar	Weidert 1987:750
Tibetan (Jirel)	**Dām** pā	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	Dām so	molar	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂam^{13}**pa^{55}	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**dam** ba	cheek	Bishop 1989:3.11
Sherpa	**Dam** bā	cheek	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**dam** dum	cheekbone	Bishop 1989:3.11.1
Sherpa	**Dam** sā	jaw; molar	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**dam** soh	molar	Bishop 1989:3.10.2
Spiti	**ḍam** pa	cheek	Bodh 1991:3.11
Tibetan (Spiti)	**dam** pa	cheek	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**'gram**-pa	cheek	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:17; Marrison 1967
	'gram rus	jaw	Marrison 1967
	gram-pa	cheek	Sun 1985c:129
	gram-so	molar	Matisoff 1987
	ḥgram-pa	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	ḥgram-rus	cheekbone, jawbone; jawbone, cheekbone	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	ḥgram-ŝa	flesh of cheek	Matisoff 1987
	ḥgram-so	cheek-tooth	Matisoff 1987
	mur-**'gram**	jaw	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:441a-c
	mur-**gram**	jaw	LaPolla 1987:213
	mur-**ḥgram**	jaw, jawbone; jaw	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:366
	ɦgram pa	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.01
	ɦgram-so	molar	Weidert 1987:750; Weidert 1987:201
	'gram-pa	cheek, jaw	Luce 1985:W.132
	'grɑm-pɑ	cheek	Luce 1985:R.29
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ndʑa** mba	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**krã:** hmu	cheek	Glover 1972:2.A.19
	kra̰: hmu	cheek	Matisoff 1987
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**krə** mə	cheek	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0015
Tamang (Bagmati)	**gram^{ɦ}**-pa	cheek	Weidert 1987:750
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**kram** pa	cheek (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.11
	^{3}**kram** pa-^{1}ru	cheekbone (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.11.1
	^{3}**kram** pa-^{1}sua	molar (n, np.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.10.2
Tamang (Sahu)	**grāhm** pa sā	molar	Matisoff 1987
	grahm pa sa	molar	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.25
	gram^{ɦ} pa sa	molar	Weidert 1987:750
	krāhm pā	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	krahm pa	cheek	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.19

	^{2}**kam**	chin	Mazaudon 1994:24
Thakali (Tukche)	**kam**-sa	molar	Matisoff 1987
	kəm-sɔ	molar	Hari 1971:2.A.26
	Tahm pa	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	ʈəhm pɔ	cheek	Hari 1971:2.A.19
	^{H}**kəm**-	lower jaw, chin <mm>	Mazaudon 1994:24
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya [Minyak]	**ndʐɐ^{33}**mbɛ^{55}	cheek	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.11
Qiang (Mawo)	**dʒaʴ:**	chin	Sun 1986
	ɣdʒa: hu̥	beard	Sun 1986
	ɣdʒæ hu̥ŋ	beard; moustache	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.1.2.1; SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.1.2.3
	ɣdʐɑ hu	beard	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
3.3. rGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**nɟjam^{33}** pa^{33}	cheek	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.11
	nɟjam^{33} pa^{33} ku^{53} ki^{33}	cheekbone	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.11.1
3.3.1. rGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	tə **mɟja**	jaw	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.13
	tə **mɟja** mai nɛ	lower jaw / mandible	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.13.1
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Xiandao)	pɤ^{31} **ʐam^{35}**	cheek	DAI Qingxia 1989f:106
	pɤ^{31}**ʐam^{35}**	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.29
Bola	nǝ̆^{31} **kɛ̰̃^{55}**	cheek	DAI Qingxia 1989g:106
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	pɔ^{44} **kjɛ^{31}**	cheek	DAI Qingxia 1989h:109
Jinuo (Baka)	pɔ^{44} **kjɛ^{31}**	cheek	DAI Qingxia 1989i:109
Jinuo	pɔ^{44}**kɛ^{42}**	cheek (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0083.44
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**liaan** jiar	cheek	Sun 1985b:129

(24) PKC *ɓeel CHEEK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	*ɓeel	CHEEK	VanBik 2009:16
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	m-**bei**	cheek	VanBik 2009:16
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**bêel**	cheek	VanBik 2009:16
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**bì**	cheek	VanBik 2009:16

1.2.5.3 Chin

CHIN ——— LIP

Figure 59: 1.2.5.3 *Chin*

(1) PTB * $\substack{\text{l}\\\text{m}}$ -da $\substack{\text{n}\\\text{ŋ}}$ CHIN / CHEEK

Both the **l-** and **m-** prefixes are attested in Written Tibetan. The final nasal shows variation in position of articulation.

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	kém-**ta**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	kém-**tan**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	tʰɯ^{31} **tiɑ^{55}**	chin	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	e^{55}**tia^{55}**pu^{55}	chin	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.12
	e **ta** po	chin	Anonymous 1962
	e **ta** pʰu	chin	Anonymous 1962
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi (Ahraing)	**tʻɑ̃^{1}**bæ̃^{4}	cheek	Luce 1985:R.29
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	kha **dang**	chin	Marrison 1967
	kha **dâng**	chin	Matisoff 1987
	khə **daŋ**	lower jaw; mandible; chin	Singh 1991:3.12; Singh 1991:3.13.1
	koy (khə **daŋ**-gi)	beard	Singh 1991:8.1.2.1
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Lalung [Tiwa]	hai **doʔ**	chin	Balawan 1965:26
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	ga-**teng**	cheek	Burling 1992 [a]
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**than**	cheek	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	dʐã^{55} **ndõ^{55}**	cheekbone	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.11.1
Tibetan (Written)	**ldan**-pa	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	ldan-so	molar	Matisoff 1987
	mdan-pa	cheek	Matisoff 1987
2.3. KIRANTI			
*SE Kiranti	*daŋ	chin	Michailovsky 1991:33
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	nE **dEŋ** ba	cheek, side of a blade	Michailovsky 1989b
	ne **deŋ** bā	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	ne **deŋ** yet	cheekbone	Matisoff 1987
	siŋ **daŋ** ba	chin, jaw	Michailovsky 1989b
	si **dang** ba	chin	Michailovsky 1991:33
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	khong-**tang**	jaw	Rai *et al.* 1984:41; Michailovsky 1991:33
	ngam-**tang**	cheek; chin	Rai *et al.* 1984:56; Rai *et al.* 1984:56
Chamling	**dang** a li	chin	Michailovsky 1991:33; Winter 1985:10
	da wa li	chin	Michailovsky 1991:33; Winter 1985:10
Kulung	**dau** lu	chin	Michailovsky 1991:33; Rai *et al.* 1975
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Langsu (Luxi)	ɛ̃^{31}**thɔ̃^{31}**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.31
Lashi	mjɔʔ^{31} **tuaŋ^{33}**	cheek	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.11
	ŋa̠m^{33} **thaŋ^{33}**	chin	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.12
Leqi (Luxi)	ŋa̠m^{33}**thaŋ^{33}**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.33
Maru [Langsu]	ɛ^{31} **thɔ̃^{31}**	chin	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.12
	ɛ̃^{31}**thɔ̃^{31}**	chin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	am^{51}**thaŋ^{55}**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.30
	am^{51}**thaŋ^{55}**	chin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.42
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
*Loloish	*doŋ^{2}	chin	Bradley 1979b:100B
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central)	m̥i^{55} **tʰɑ̃^{35}**	chin	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	pʰi̥^{55} **tʰɔ̃^{31}**	chin	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	meh̬ **tah̬** (**tah̬**)	chin	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	man **təŋ**	chin	Beaudouin 1988:13

[a] [Source Note] (A'-pal dialect).

(2) PTB *s-tu $\substack{\text{n}\\\text{m}}$ CHIN / CHEEK

The medial **-y-** in the Lepcha form is a regular reflex of the **s-**prefix (see Benedict 1943, "Secondary infixation in Lepcha").

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	pin-**to**	jaw (upper)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	mu-pu rup-**tin**	cheek	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ru-**tin**	cheekbone	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ru **tin**	cheekbone	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**tʰɯ^{31}** tiɑ^{55}	chin	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Rengma	njon **tun**	cheek	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	gun **tu** ri	chin; snout	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	tu tri	chin	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	dam **dum**	cheekbone	Bishop 1989:3.11.1
Spiti	tshul **to**	jaw	Bodh 1991:3.13
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	mŭ-**tyum**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	nŭm-**tyum**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	nŭm-**tʻyum**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	nyi-**tʻyum**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	m̩^{21} pɯ^{55} **du̩^{55}**	chin	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.12
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	ni^{21} pi^{33} **tʻu^{22}**	chin	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.12
	ni^{21} tɕi^{22} i^{33} **tʻu^{33}͡ɛ^{33}** tʻi^{21} ʈo^{55}	lower lip	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.9.2
Lisu	mū^{5} prgh' **du^{3}**	chin	Matisoff 1987
	mu^{5}prgh^{1}**du^{3}**	chin	Bradley 1979b:100A
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Côông [Phunoi]	ban^{31} pi^{55} **tũ^{31}** jao	jaw	Ferlus 1991:3.13
	pi **tùn**	chin, heel	Matisoff 1987
	pi^{33} **tun^{11}**	chin	Bradley 1977
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	mɪ̃^{42} **tũ^{55}** kʰui^{55}	cheekbone	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.11.1

(3) PTB * $\substack{\text{m}\\\text{s}}$ -k(w)a-y MOUTH / OPENING / SPREAD / DOOR / FACE / JAW

Of the two prefixes set up for this root, ***m-** is much better attested. The ***s-** prefix appears in Dimasa, as well as in Written Tibetan **sgo** 'door'. The current etymon comprises three roots set up separately in *STC* (468, 469, 470), which Benedict judges as "apparently all related" (p. 120).

There is a likely Chinese comparandum 戶, OC ***g'o** [*GSR* #53a-b] 'door, opening'.

Kuki-Chin (and perhaps other) languages show variation between a plain and aspirated initial.

There is some slight evidence for an allofam with medial **-y-**, ***m-k(y)a**, as witness rGyalrongic forms like **tə mɟja**, **tA mgya**, and **tə-mdʒa** 'chin'.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*(m-)ka ⋉ (s-)ka	chin / jaw	Benedict 1972:470
	*(m/s)-ka	jaw	Michailovsky 1991:190
	*kɑ	door / opening	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:53a-b
	*m-ka	open; opening; mouth; door; chin; mouth, open(ing), door	Weidert 1987:242; Weidert 1987:756; Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:594; LaPolla 1987:7; Benedict 1972:468; French 1983:468
	*m-kɑ	door / opening	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:53a-b
	*s-ka	jaw; chin	Weidert 1987:756; Mortensen 2012; French 1983:468
	*s-ka ⋉ m-ka-y	jaw / chin	Matisoff 2003a:594
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**ka:** ma:cha:	gape	NEFA (India) 1963
	kɑ^{31} pɯŋ^{55} ɹɯ^{31} boŋ^{35}	cheekbone	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kʰɑ^{31} lo^{53}	palate (shang'e)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	**mhâ**	chin	Weidert 1987:1061
	mɯ^{31} xɑ^{53}	chin	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	a **ka** bi	lip(lower)	Pulu 1978
Yidu	**kɑ^{35}**	open (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1785.25
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *kaa ENTRANCE / MOUTH, *kaa ⋉ *khaa CHIN / JAW (lower)			
*Chin	*ka- ⋉ kha-ɓee	CHIN	VanBik 2009:18
	*kaa	ENTRANCE / MOUTH	VanBik 2009:278
	*kaa ⋉ khaa	CHIN / JAW (lower)	VanBik 2009:265
Thanphum	pɑ^{1}**kʻɑ^{5}**	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Kuki-Chin	kam **ka**	gape / open mouth (v.)	Haokip 1998:3.7.15
	kha chung nung	upper jaw / maxilla	Haokip 1998:3.13.2
	kha noinung	lower jaw / mandible	Haokip 1998:3.13.1
Paite	**kha** be	chin	VanBik 2009:18
Sizang	**hkā**	chin	VanBik 2009:265
Thado	**kha**	chin	LaPolla 1987:7; Benedict 1972:470
Tiddim	**kha:^{1}**	chin	VanBik 2009:265
	χɑ^{3}	jaw; chin; chin, lower jaw	Luce 1985:G.67; Luce 1985:P.1

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho (Sandoway)	àŋ **kʻo²**	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1
Cho (Mindat)	**m-ka**	entrance	VanBik 2009:278
	m-kha	chin	VanBik 2009:265
Khami (Southern)	ə **mkha**	mouth	Benedict 1972:468
Matu	**ʔka**	mouth	So-Hartmann 1988:77
Nyhmoye	**mk^{h}a**.k^{h}u^{i}	mouth	So-Hartmann 1988:77
Wakung	**mək^{h}a**	mouth	So-Hartmann 1988:77
Womatu	**m¯kʻɑ³**	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Hwalngau	**kʻɑ²**	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1
Khualsim	**kʻɑ¹**	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1
Lai (Hakha)	**ka**	mouth	Benedict 1972:468
	kâa	entrance, mouth	VanBik 2009:278
	khàa	chin	VanBik 2009:265
Lai (Falam)	**khâa**	chin	VanBik 2009:265
Lai (Hakha)	**khâa** ~ kha-bèe	chin	VanBik 2009:18
Lai (Falam)	**khâa** ~ kha-bêe	chin	VanBik 2009:18
Lai (Hakha)	**kʻɑ¹**	jaw; chin; chin, lower jaw	Luce 1985:G.67; Luce 1985:P.1
Lai (Falam)	sáaŋ-**káa**	entrance, mouth	VanBik 2009:278
Lushai [Mizo]	**kâ**	mouth	Marrison 1967
	ka	mouth	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:468
	khâ	lower jaw (n.)	VanBik 2009:265
	kha	jaw; chin; lower jaw	Bhaskararao 1996:730; LaPolla 1987:7; Benedict 1972:470
	kha(-be)	lower jaw	Matisoff 1987
	kha-be	chin	Matisoff 1987
	kha-be hmul	beard	Matisoff 1987
	kha be	jaw	Marrison 1967
	kha be hmul	beard	Marrison 1967
	kʻă⁴bɛ²	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1

1.2.3. MARAIC

Banjogi	**məka**	mouth	Benedict 1972:468
Lailenpi	**[má] aʹkə⁴**	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1
Lakher [Mara]	**kà**	lower jaw, the chin (n.)	VanBik 2009:265
	ka-hmi	beard	Matisoff 1987
	ô-**khai**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	pəka	mouth	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:468
Mera	**kɑ⁶**	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1
Xongsai	**χɑ²**	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1
Zotung	**kʻɔ⁵**	jaw / chin	Luce 1985:P.1

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**mək^{h}ə** mih	beard	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.2.1
Moyon	**bʌkhá**	chin	Kosha 1990:3.12
	bʌkhá mòwr	goatee	Kosha 1990:8.1.2.2

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): *ka GAPE, OPEN MOUTH

**Central Naga*	***ka**	GAPE, OPEN MOUTH	Bruhn 2014a:III.008
**Ao*	*a-**ka**	GAPE, OPEN MOUTH	Bruhn 2014a:II.052
	*t-**m-kha?**	CHIN	Bruhn 2014a:II.075
Ao (Chungli)	**-kā**	gape (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a²-**ka²**	gape, open mouth (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.052
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **makha**	chin	Marrison 1967
	tü **makha** rat	jaw	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**ka**	open mouth [opened mouth] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**mákhá?**	chin (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**ko¹**-	open (mouth), gape (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.008
	kho **ka**	chin	Marrison 1967
	kho **ka** hüm	beard	Marrison 1967
	khó **khà**	chin	Acharya 1975
	kō à	open mouth (imperat.)	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	pe **ke**	cheek	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**mükhüh** nam	beard	Kumar 1973b:60
	müküh	chin	Kumar 1973b:54

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Kohima)	**me³¹ kou³³**	gape / open mouth (v.)	Nienu 1990a:3.7.15
Chokri	(u) **me³¹ khou¹¹**	chin	Nienu 1990b:3.12
	me³¹ ku³³	gape / open mouth (v.)	Nienu 1990b:3.7.15
	mü³¹ khou¹¹ ma³⁵	beard	Nienu 1990b:8.1.2.1
Sema [Sumi]	a **mkhu**	chin	Marrison 1967
	a **mkhu** 'ghi	jaw	Marrison 1967
	a **mukhu** aqhou ghi	jaw (lower) / mandible	Achumi 1998a:3.13.1
	a **mukhu** ghi	jaw (general)	Achumi 1998a:3.13
	a **mukhu** kungu-u ghi	jaw (upper) / maxilla	Achumi 1998a:3.13.2

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	**nkha** wu	beard	Marrison 1967
Maram	**ka** tei	lip	Marrison 1967
	makho mei	beard	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**ka** ben	cheek	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *ka OPEN (MOUTH), *k^{h}a CHIN / JAW

**Tangkhulic*	***ka**	open (mouth)	Mortensen 2012:624
	***k^{h}a**	chin / jaw	Mortensen 2012:322
Huishu	ʔa-**ke-k^{h}e**	open the mouth	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.069
	ʔa-**mə-k^{h}e**	chin	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.087
Kachai	**mə-k^{h}u**	chin; jaw (general)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.102
Tangkhul	**kā**-rak	palate	Matisoff 1987
	kha	chin	Bhat 1969:86
	kha so	chin	Marrison 1967
	khā so	chin	Matisoff 1987
	makha	jaw	Marrison 1967
	makhā	jaw	Matisoff 1987
	makhā wui āmarei	chin	Matisoff 1987
Tusom	mo-**kʃi**	chin	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.113
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**mə-ka**	open (mouth)	Mortensen 2012
	mə-k^{h}a	chin	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**kha** dang	chin	Marrison 1967
	kha dâng	chin	Matisoff 1987
	kha jai	cheek	Marrison 1967
	kha jâi	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	khə daŋ	lower jaw; mandible; chin	Singh 1991:3.12; Singh 1991:3.13.1
	khə jay	cheek	Singh 1991:3.11
	koy (**khə** daŋ-gi)	beard	Singh 1991:8.1.2.1

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **ho**	mouth	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	ing **hó**	mouth	Grüssner 1979:32
	iːŋ **ho**	mouth	Benedict 1972:468

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**ga:**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	kaw **gá**	mouth	Bhat 1968
	khu-**ga**	mouth	Benedict 1972:470
	ko-**gaʔ**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	ku **gá**	beak; mouth; lip; mouth, lip	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	ku **gáʔ**	mouth	Weidert 1987:1061
	kəwgá	mouth	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	pu **gá**	mouth	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
Dimasa	khu-**sga**	chin	Benedict 1972:470; Marrison 1967
	khu **ska**	jaw	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	k^{h}aŋ-**ga**	cheek	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**hai** doʔ	chin	Balawan 1965:26
Meche	ko **gaʔ**	mouth	Weidert 1987:1061

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	**ga**-teng	cheek	Burling 1992 [a]

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**kha•** wak khu•wak	with open mouth (adv.)	van Breugel 2008
Wanang	**ho**-toŋ	mouth	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***ga**	chin	French 1983:468
	***ga^{ʌ}**	door	French 1983:479

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**ka**	chin; jaw	Marrison 1967; French 1983:468; French 1983:468
	ka ra	chin	French 1983:468
	kaʔ	chin	French 1983:468
	kaʔ-²ra	jaw-bone	Weidert 1987:1061
Tangsa	**kaʔ**	chin	Weidert 1987:1061
Tangsa (Yogli)	**kaʔ**	chin	French 1983:468

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**kau** šaŋ	chin, jaw, brim	French 1983:468
	kau shang	jaw; chin	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**gaʔ**-ɣɛŋ	jaw-bone	Weidert 1987:1061
Wancho	**ka**	jaw	Marrison 1967; French 1983:468
	ka ra	chin	French 1983:468; Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	n-**hka**	chin; jaw	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	n-**hka** n-**hkai**	jaw	Matisoff 1987
	n-**hka** n-mun	beard	Matisoff 1987
	niŋ **kha** ≍ n **kha**	chin, jaw	Benedict 1972:470
	nkha mun	beard	Marrison 1967
	n^{31}**kha^{33}**	chin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.47
	n^{31}**kha^{55}**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.19
	n **hka** n-**hkai**	chin	Matisoff 1987
	n **kha**	chin	Marrison 1967
	n **kha** / niŋ **kha**	chin, jaw	Benedict 1972:118n327
	n **kha**~niŋ **kha**	chin	LaPolla 1987:7
	shau ning **hka**	jaw	Matisoff 1987
	tśyiŋ **kha**	door	Benedict 1972:468
	^{1}n^{3}**kha**	chin	Weidert 1987:1061

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	**ka** ṭi	jaw	Sharma 1991a:3.13
Kanauri	**kha** khang	mouth	Sharma 1988:13
	kha köṅ	mouth (n.)	Bailey 1911
	kha köṅ	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	kha kəṅ	mouth	Sharma 1988:29

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	**kha^{53}**	mouth	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.7
	kha^{53} dø^{341}	hold in mouth (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.7.14
	kha^{53} i^{53}	phlegm	SUN Hongkai 1991a:9.2.5
	kha^{53} the^{35}	gape / open mouth (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.7.15
	khɑ^{13} ŋo^{53}	face	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.1
	khɑ^{53} ndɑ^{53}	stutter / stammer	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.8.2
Kaike	**kha** jyu	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	khā prā	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Tshona (Wenlang)	**k^{h}ɑ^{55}**	mouth	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**kh$_{A}^{53}$**	mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.6
	k^{h}A^{53}	mouth	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Cuona Menba	**kha^{53}**	mouth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.06
	kha^{55} sɔ^{53} wa^{31}	rinse (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1641.06
	kha^{55}lo?^{53}	close (the mouth) lightly (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1523.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**kha** tɕhə	saliva (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0156.05
	kha wɕa	rinse (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1641.05
	kha ɣdaŋ	open (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1785.05
	khæ	mouth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**kha**	mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.4
	kha hwə	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.4
	kha tɕhə	saliva / spittle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:280.4
	kha xha	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**kha**	mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.5
	kha wsə	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.5
	k^{h}æ	mouth	Sun 1985a:613
	s^{h}o **rgo**	tooth (incisor)	Sun 1985a:385
Tibetan (Balti)	**k^{h}a**·	mouth	Rangan 1975:65
Tibetan (Batang)	**kha^{53}**	beak; bill; mouth	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.7; DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.9.3
	kha^{55} bu?^{53}	beard; moustache	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.1.2.1; DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.1.2.3
	kha^{55} do^{55}	gape / open mouth (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.7.15
	kha^{55} gã^{55}	thirsty (be v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.7.8
	kha^{55} tɕho^{53}	saliva	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.7.5
	kɛ̃^{55} ja^{13} **kha^{53}**	upper jaw / maxilla	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.13.2
	kɛ̃^{55} ma^{13} **kha^{53}**	lower jaw / mandible	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.13.1
	le^{55} le^{55} **kha^{55}** bu?^{53}	whiskers (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.1.7
	za^{13} **kha^{55}** bu?^{53}	goatee	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.1.2.2
	(**kha^{53}**) dõ^{55}	open (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1785.03
	kha^{53}	mouth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.03
	kha^{53} xe^{55}	rinse (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1641.03
	kha^{53}kɑu?^{53}	cover (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1710.03
	kha^{53}kɑ̃^{55}	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.03
	kha^{53}nõ^{13} khu^{53}	hold danglingly in the mouth (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1273.03

[a] [Source Note] (A'-pal dialect).

	kha^{55}tɕhu^{53}	saliva (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0156.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'khāq**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**kha**^{53}	mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.3
	kha^{53}pu^{53}	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.3
	kha^{53}ɕu^{53}	saliva / spittle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:280.3
	kha^{55}pin^{55}	mouth organ	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:507.3
	kha^{55}ŋo^{53}	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**kha**^{53}	mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.2
	kha^{53}tɕhu^{53}	saliva / spittle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:280.2
	kha^{55}	mouth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.02
	kha^{55} ka^{52}	cover (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1710.02
	kha^{55} kom^{55}	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.02
	khə^{55}tɕhu^{55}	saliva (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0156.02
Sherpa	**'khāq**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**kha**	mouth	Bishop 1989:3.7
	kha kha pe	gape / open mouth (v.)	Bishop 1989:3.7.15
	kha ge ko ba	lip	Bishop 1989:3.9 [a]
Spiti	**khà**	mouth	Bodh 1991:3.7
	khà pe je	gape / open mouth (v.)	Bodh 1991:3.7.15
	kha ru porše	hold in mouth (v.)	Bodh 1991:3.7.14
Tibetan (Written)	(**kha**) bɕal	rinse (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1641.01
	(**kha**) gdaŋs	open (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1785.01
	k'a ~ **k'a**-po	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	k'a-č'ú	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	k'a-lpags goṅ-ma	upper lip	Matisoff 1987
	k'a-mt'sul	lower part of face; muzzle, as of dogs	Matisoff 1987:167
	ka-spu	beard / moustache	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:28
	kha	mouth; mouth, opening	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:613; Benedict 1972:468
	kha	mouth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.01
	kha	mouth	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:23; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.1
	kha hgeb	cover (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1710.01
	kha skom	thirsty, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.01
	kha tɕhu	saliva (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0156.01
	kha tɕhu	saliva / spittle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:280.1
	kha-lpags	lip	Marrison 1967
	k'a-lpágs	lip	Matisoff 1987
	k'a-mč'u	lip; lower lip	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	k'a-spu	beard	Matisoff 1987
	rgjal **sgo**	door (front) / door (entrance) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0516.01
	sgo	door; door, mouth	Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:W.2; Sun 1985c:196
	sgo	door (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0514.01
	sgo	door	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:353.1
	sgo gtan rgjag	bolt (the door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1644.01
	sgo ltɕags rgjag	lock (the door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1656.01
	so.**rgo**	tooth (incisor)	Sun 1985c:385
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**kha**	mouth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.04
	kha naŋ ŋa zoŋ	hold danglingly in the mouth (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1273.04
	kha tɕə	saliva (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0156.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**gá**	chin	Matisoff 1987
	gă	chin	Matisoff 1987
	k'a	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	tă-**gá**	chin	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	dari **kha** ta	beard / moustache	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.1.2
	kha ta	beard	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.1.2.1
Tamang (Sahu)	**khā** cyo	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	k^{h}a cyo	saliva	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.64

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**khwā**	face	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.1

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***kha**	face	Michailovsky 1991:61

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**ko:** phu	face (of a man)	Driem 1993
	ŋa: yi-**ko:** phu	face, countenance, visage	Driem 1993
Khaling	**kā** phi	face	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**ky** li	face	Michailovsky 1991:59
Hayu	**kha** baraŋ	palate (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.68
	kha ba raŋ dzam toŋ ra	palate	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**ga-**	gape, hold mouth open; fear (ch.) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**ga** naʔ	gape / open mouth (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.7.15
Kham	**'khā** tā	beard	Matisoff 1987
	kha ta	beard	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.13

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	–	mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.13

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	mi^{33} **xi^{55}**	chin	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.18
Guiqiong	**khɑ^{55}** pɑ^{55}	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991e [b]
	khɑ^{55}pɑ^{55}	lip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.16
	khɑ^{55}pɑ^{55}	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.17
	nã^{31}**kɯ^{55}**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.16
	nɛ^{33} **nkø^{53}**	chin	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.17
Lyuzu	me^{53}**hĩ^{53}**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.18
Muya	mɛ̆^{33}**khi^{53}**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.15
Muya [Minyak]	mɛ^{55} **ŋkhĩ^{55}**	chin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.15
	mɛ^{55} **ŋk^{h}ĩ^{55}**	chin	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.12
	tɯ^{33}**qɑ^{53}**	gape / open mouth (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.7.15
Namuyi	miɛ^{55} **kəˤ^{33}**	chin	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.12; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.19
	miæ^{53} **kəəˤ^{31}**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	m̥a^{55} **ka^{55}**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.10
Pumi (Lanping)	ma^{13} **kɑ^{55}**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.09
Pumi (Dayang)	mə̀-**qó**	chin	Matisoff 2003a:170
Pumi (Qinghua)	**khɑ^{55}**	mouth	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	mø^{13} **kɑ^{55}**	chin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.11
Pumi (Taoba)	ma^{35} **kɛ^{35}**	chin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**qà**	mouth	Evans 1999:110
	qà	mouthful (CL.)	Evans 1999:1351
	tə **qà**	open (mouth)	Evans 1999:2571
Qiang (Mawo)	ma **ɣuə**	chin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.8
	mæ **ɣu̥o̥**	chin	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.12
Qiang (Mianchi)	**khè**	chin	Evans 1999:114
	khè-mù	beard [chin-hair]	Evans 1999:112
	qá	mouthful (CL.)	Evans 1999:1351
	qá	open (mouth)	Evans 1999:2571
	qè	mouth	Evans 1999:110
Qiang (Taoping)	mə^{31} sɻ^{33}**kha^{33}**	chin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.9
	q^{h}ɑ^{31} q^{h}ɑ^{31}	face	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	χqɑ^{55}	mouth	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**quæ** hæ	face	DAI Qingxia 1989q:108
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	mɛ^{35} **k^{h}i^{53}**	chin	SUN Hongkai 1991n:3.12
	mɛ^{35}**khi^{53}**	chin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	mɛ^{13}**ŋge^{55}**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.13
Xumi	ma^{33}**kɛ^{53}**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.17
	mɐ^{33} **kɛ^{55}**	chin	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.20

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	**k^{h}ɐ^{33}** spə^{53}	beard; whiskers (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.2.1; SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.7
	mɛ^{33} **kɐ^{53}**	jaw	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.13
	ts^{h}e^{53} **k^{h}ɐ^{33}** spə^{53}	goatee	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.2.2

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	(tə **khɑ**) rəm kɐ stsəs	close (the mouth) lightly (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1523.11
	kɑ nə **khɑ** mtʃik	hold danglingly in the mouth (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1273.11
rGyalrong (Northern)	to **ka** xam	yawn (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.7.16
rGyalrong	tə **kha**	mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.12
	tə **khɐi** kɐ ndzɟət	hold in mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:538.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **khɑ**	mouth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.11
rGyalrong	tə **k^{h}a**	beak; bill; mouth	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.7; DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.9.3
	tə **k^{h}a** ŋtok	palate; soft palate	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.7.1; DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.7.2
	tə m**ɟja**	chin	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.12; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə m**ɟjɑ**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.11
Caodeng	tə-**k^{h}e**	mouth	Sun 1997a
	tə-**k^{h}e** ké-ndi	close (mouth); shut up (mouth)	Sun 1997a; Sun 1997a
	tə-**k^{h}e**-naŋ kɐ-rko	hold in the mouth	Sun 1997a
	tə-m **gje**	chin	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **k^{h}a**	mouth	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.7
	tə **k^{h}a** kɹo	palate	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.7.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **k^{h}e**	mouth	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.7
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə mtɕ^{h}i **ɾka**	lower jaw / mandible	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.13.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə m **dʒa**	chin	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.12
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə m**ɟja**	chin	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	wu **khɑ** kɑ ʃthɛ	cover (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1710.11
rGyalrong	tA m **gya**	chin	Nagano 1997:3.12
rGBenzhen	tə-**k^{h}a**	mouth	Sun 1997b
	tə-m **dʒa**	chin	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**məkha**	chin; chin, jaw	LaPolla 1987:7; Benedict 1972:118n327; Benedict 1972:470
	mɯ^{31} **gi^{31}**	chin	SUN Hongkai 1988
	phəŋ-**kha**	door, gate	Benedict 1972:468
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	mɯ^{31} **kai^{55}**	chin	LaPolla 1987:7
	mɯ^{31} **kɑi^{55}**	chin	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	mɯ^{31} **kai^{55}**	chin	LaPolla 1987:7
	mɯ^{31} **kɑi^{55}**	chin	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia	a^{21} **gu^{21}** p^{h}o^{55}	face	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.1
Tujia (Northern)	**ku^{35}**	face	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ku^{35}** t^{h}a^{55}	face	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.1
	xa^{55} p^{h}a^{55} k^{h}ɯe^{55}	chin	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.12
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa^{21} **gu^{21}** p^{h}o^{55}	face	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-ka**	door	Matisoff 1978a:66

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	tam-**khà**	mouth	Benedict 1972:468

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***k/go^{2}/^{3}**	door	Weidert 1987:242; Bradley 1979b:344B

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**k^{h}a^{21}** p^{h}i̱^{21}	mouth	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7
Nesu	**k^{h}a^{21}**	gape / open mouth (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.15
Yi (Nanjian)	**k^{h}ɑ^{21}** p^{h}y^{21}	mouth	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	**k^{h}a^{21}** p^{h}i^{55}	mouth	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	k^{h}a^{33}-n̥ɔ^{33}	face	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.21

[a] Lit. "mouth + genitive + skin".
[b] Loan from Tibetan (cf. WT **kha-lpags**).

	k^{h}ɯ^{33}	mouth	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	ni^{21} **xɑ^{21}**	gape / open mouth (v.)	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.7.15
	xa^{21}z̩^{21}	gape	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.15
Lahu (Black)	gâ? **qay** ~ gá-go-lo te	crawl / creep	Matisoff 1972b:81
	qay	go, walk, travel (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:260-2 [a]
	ɔ̀-bâ=ɔ̀-bâ-nâ **qay** ve	come in waves (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p929
Lisu	**hkrgh^{5}**hu^{3}	yawn	Bradley 1979b:574-2
Lisu (Northern)	la^{21}ma^{33} **kha?^{21}**bæ?^{21}	tiger's mouth	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**k'a˪** meh	mouth	Matisoff 1987 [b]
Bisu	mɛ **kà**	face	Bradley 199x; Beaudouin 1988:14
Hani (Shuikui)	**xɔ^{31}** mɛ^{33}	mouth	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Côông [Phunoi]	bə̌ **kɑ?^{11}**	face	Bradley 1977
	bə̌ **kà?**	face	Matisoff 1987
7. KARENIC: ***ka^{B}** CHIN, JAW			
**Karen (Pwo)*	***káq** xwíq	jaw	Jones 1961:246
**Karen*	***ka^{B}**	chin, jaw	Luangthongkum 2013:49 [c]
	***kha'**	chin	Weidert 1987:889
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***kháq**	jaw	Jones 1961:246
**Karen [Burling]*	***kha^{2}**	chin, jaw	Luangthongkum 2013:49
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***khá?**	jaw	Jones 1961:246
**Karen*	***?ka**	chin	Weidert 1987:889
Bwe	**khe^{33}**	chin, jaw	Luangthongkum 2013:49
	khɛ	chin (n.)	Henderson 1997
	khɛ ʃu=**khɛ** phí	whiskers (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**khɛ^{2}**	chin	Weidert 1987:889
Bwe	**khɛ̀**	chin	Weidert 1987:889
Bwe (Western)	**k'ɛ^{2}**	chin, lower jaw	Luce 1985:G.67
Geba	**k'ɛ^{2}**	chin, lower jaw	Luce 1985:G.67
Kayah	**khe^{11}**	chin, jaw	Luangthongkum 2013:49
Kayan	**ka^{11}**	chin, jaw	Luangthongkum 2013:49
Kayan (Pekon)	**ka** s^{h}î	jaw (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**kha^{11}**	chin, jaw	Luangthongkum 2013:49
Pa-O	**ká**	jaw	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:246
Pa-O (Southern)	**ka^{33}**	chin, jaw	Luangthongkum 2013:49
Pa-O (Northern)	**ka^{55}**	chin, jaw	Luangthongkum 2013:49
	k'ɑ^{1}	chin, lower jaw	Luce 1985:G.67
Paku	**k'ɑ^{3}**	chin, lower jaw	Luce 1985:G.67
Palaychi	ʔàq **kháq**	jaw	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:246
Pwo (Northern)	**kha^{33}**	chin, jaw	Luangthongkum 2013:49
Pwo (Southern)	**kha^{55}**	chin, jaw	Luangthongkum 2013:49
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**k'ɑ^{1}**lɑʔ^{2}	chin, lower jaw	Luce 1985:G.67
Pwo (Delta)	**k'ɑ^{4}**lɑʔ^{1}	chin, lower jaw	Luce 1985:G.67
Pwo (Bassein)	**khà** xwì	chin; jaw	Weidert 1987:889; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:246
Pwo (Moulmein)	**khá?** xwíʔ	chin; jaw	Weidert 1987:889; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:246
Sgaw (Northern)	**kha$^{31~}$**	chin, jaw	Luangthongkum 2013:49
Sgaw (Southern)	**kha^{45,}**	chin, jaw	Luangthongkum 2013:49
Sgaw	**k'ɑ^{4}**	chin, lower jaw	Luce 1985:G.67
	^{2}kha	chin	Weidert 1987:889
Sgaw (Bassein)	**khà**	jaw	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:246
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**k^{h}a^{31}**	lower jaw, chin	DAI Qingxia 1989k:114
	k^{h}a^{31} ts^{h}u^{31}	whiskers	DAI Qingxia 1989k:113
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**khá?**	jaw	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:246
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**k^{h}a^{31}**	lower jaw, chin	DAI Qingxia 1989j:114
	k^{h}a^{31} s^{h}u^{31}	whiskers	DAI Qingxia 1989j:113
8. BAI			
Bai (Bijiang)	tɕo^{33} **qo^{55}**	mouth	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.37
Bai (Dali)	tɕui^{33} **ke^{ɪ55}**	mouth	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕy^{3} **kuœ^{6}**	mouth	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	tõ^{33} **ka^{31}** nę̱^{21}	palate; soft palate	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.7.1; ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.7.2
	tɕui^{33} **kæ^{55}**	gape / open mouth (v.)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.7.15
	tɕui^{33} **kæ^{55}** k^{h}o^{33}	mouth	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.7
	tɕui^{33} **kɛ^{55}**	mouth	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984

[a] This Lahu form seems to be a fusion of the bare root ***ka** plus a second element meaning GO (see PTB ***?ay** GO / DIRECTIONAL PARTICLE / TRANSITIVE MOTION (§6.7.11)).

[b] The first syllable of this Akha form occurs with a large number of nouns, mostly animal names. It is possible that this morpheme is only a prefix here.

[c] [Source Note] Thai: khaaŋ33.

Chinese comparandum

戶 OC ***g'o**, *GSR* #53a-b 'door, opening, house, family'; Schuessler 2007:282 ***gâ?**; B & S 2011: ***m-q^{ʕ}a?** ; Mand. **hù**.
開 OC ***k'ər**, *GSR* #541a 'open'; B & S 2011: ***k^{hʕ}əj { [k] ^{hʕ}əj }**; Mand. **kāi**.

(4) PTB *s-kow CHIN

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	**guʔ**	chin	Simon 1979
1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	a^{33}**ku^{33}**	chin	SUN Hongkai 1993
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	**kho** ka	chin	Marrison 1967
	kho ka hüm	beard	Marrison 1967
	khó khà	chin	Acharya 1975
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Puiron	**ku** mun	beard	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**khu** put	beard	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**ko** káp	chin	Weidert 1987:1061
	kú	beak; chin	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	ku gáb	beak / chin	Bhat 1968
	ku káb	beak; chin	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
Kokborok	**k^{h}ɔ**-čay	beard	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	k^{h}ɔ-lay	chin	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**ko**-kap	chin	Weidert 1987:1104; Weidert 1987:1061
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ku'**-dim-bok	chin	Burling 1992
	ku•-dim-bok	chin (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**gàu˅**-šʌ̀ŋ	chin	Weidert 1987:1061
	kau shang wi	beard	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Jirel)	o **koq**	chin	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**ko** ma	chin	Bishop 1989:3.12
Sherpa	o **ku**	chin	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Written)	'os-**sko**	chin	Matisoff 1987
	ko-**kó**	throat / chin	Matisoff 1987
	ko-**ko**	throat / chin	Matisoff 1987:JAM-Ety
	ko-**sko**	throat / chin	Matisoff 1987:JAM-Ety
	ža̱l-**ko**	chin	Matisoff 1987
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	wa **ku** dhi(k)	jaw	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Magar	**gho** yo	chin	Matisoff 1987
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	a^{21} **gu^{21}** k^{h}a^{21} kɯ^{21}	cheekbone	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.11.1
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	pâ-pì-**qu**	chin	Matisoff 1987

(5) PTB *li CHIN / DIMPLE

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	ma-**lə**	jaw	Sun 1993b
	nap **lə**	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.24
	nap-**lə**	chin	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	nap **lə**	chin	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Bodo	gun tu **ri**	chin; snout	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	ha tay go **ri**	jaw	Matisoff 1987
Dimasa	kho **lai**	cheek	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	k^{h}ɔ-**lay**	chin	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Spiti	me **le**	chin	Bodh 1991:3.12
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	siŋ sa: **li:**	chin	Kohn 1990:3.12
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Chamling	dang a **li**	chin	Michailovsky 1991:33; Winter 1985:10
	da wa **li**	chin	Michailovsky 1991:33; Winter 1985:10
Kulung	dau **lu**	chin	Michailovsky 1991:33; Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	je-**li**	chin	Matisoff 1987
	je **ly**	chin	Michailovsky 1991:32
Sunwar	'yoy **li**	chin	Michailovsky 1991:32; Matisoff 1987
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	ʔbə **lə lə**	cheek	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.11
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Southern)	ʔɑ^{55} **ʔlɯ^{31} ʔlɯ^{55}**	chin	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	pâ-pi(-**li**)	dimple, cleft in chin	Matisoff 1987

(6) PTani *čok CHIN

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***čok**-praŋ	chin	Sun 1993a:68
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	**čuk-pja:**	chin	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**cok:o** nam-mɤ	beard	Das Gupta 1963
	cok: o	chin	Das Gupta 1963
	'cok ko	chin (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**cok** pa	chin	Simon 1976
Tagin	**cok** pya	chin	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**shog** dur	chin	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**ɕok**-tək	chin	Sun 1993b

(7) PTB *ŋam CHIN / CHEEK / JAW

This root is solidly attested in Bantawa and Zaiwa, as well as in Loloish. The initial element in the Asakian form might also be cognate, but the Batang Tibetan form is suspect, in that there does not appear to be a Written Tibetan cognate.

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Ganan	**ŋă** hôʔ	chin; lower jaw	Luce 1985:L.139
	ŋă hu^{1}	chin; lower jaw	Luce 1985:L.139
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	**ŋoʔ^{31}**	beard / moustache	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.1.2
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**nga**-lüng	cheek	Rai *et al.* 1984:56
	ngam-si	cheek	Rai *et al.* 1984:56
	ngam-tang	cheek; chin	Rai *et al.* 1984:56; Rai *et al.* 1984:56
	nga yü wa	cheek / cheekbone	Rai *et al.* 1984:56
	ŋam-si	cheek	Matisoff 1987
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Lashi	**ŋa̱m^{33}** thaŋ^{33}	chin	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.12
Leqi (Luxi)	**ŋa̱m^{33}**thaŋ^{33}	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**am^{51}**thaŋ^{55}	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.30
	am^{51}thaŋ^{55}	chin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.42
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	ɑ^{33} **ŋɑ^{33}** o^{55}	upper jaw / maxilla	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.13.2
	ɑ^{33} **ŋɑ^{33}** t'u^{22}	lower jaw / mandible	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.13.1
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	ba˪ **ngeu˅** (**ngeu˅**)	jaw	Matisoff 1987

(8) PTani *praŋ CHIN

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	*čok-**praŋ**	chin	Sun 1993a:68
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	čuk-pja:	chin	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Miri, Hill	cok **pa**	chin	Simon 1976
Tagin	cok **pya**	chin	Das Gupta 1983

1.2.5.5 Beard/Moustache/Facial Hair

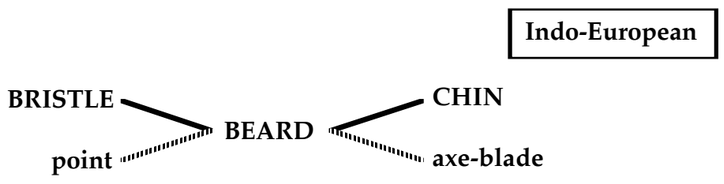

Figure 60: 1.2.5.5 *Beard/Moustache/Facial Hair*

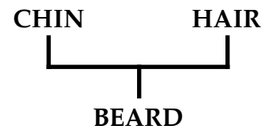

Figure 61: 1.2.5.5 *Beard/Moustache/Facial Hair*

Figure 62: 1.2.5.5 *Beard/Moustache/Facial Hair*

Figure 63: 1.2.5.5 *Beard/Moustache/Facial Hair*

(1) PTB *ra MOUSTACHE / BEARD / CHIN

This root is very likely related to PTB ***ra** GOAT (§2.1.8), the obvious connection being the goatees of hircine animals. However, in view of the large semantic difference between the two roots, we are keeping them separate for the time being.

The nasalization in the second syllable of one of the Idu forms seems due to the effect of the initial nasal in the third syllable.

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	the **ra** mum	moustache	Matisoff 1987
Idu	e **rõ** mo	moustache	Pulu 1978
	e **ro** mo	moustache / beard	Anonymous 1962
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	ka **ra**	chin	French 1983:468
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Wancho	ka **ra**	chin	French 1983:468; Marrison 1967
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	mɛ^{13} **rɑ^{53}**	beard	SUN Hongkai 1991a:8.1.2.1
Kaike	mā **rā**	moustache	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	**ro** zu	chin	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 1
Tsangla (Motuo)	maŋ^{13} **ra^{13}**	beard	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	maŋ **ra**	beard	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.7
	ro zi	chin	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:247.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	mɑŋ^{55} **rɑ^{55}**	beard	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**ro** zi	chin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.07
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Jirel)	'mwâ **râq**	moustache	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	a^{53}**ra^{13}**	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	mang **ra**	beard; goatee; moustache	Bishop 1989:8.1.2.1; Bishop 1989:8.1.2.2; Bishop 1989:8.1.2.3
Tibetan (Written)	'a-**ra**	beard	Matisoff 1987
	a-**ra**	beard, moustache	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:28
	sma **ra**	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.1; Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung (Ghachok)	mu **rā:**	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	mu **ra:**	moustache	Glover 1972:2.A.14
Manang (Gyaru)	mon^{1} **ɖɛ^{1}**	beard	Nagano 1984:024
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}mon **ʈe**	moustache	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0016
Tamang (Sahu)	'k^{h}a:ra	throat	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.26
	māng **re**	beard	Matisoff 1987
	maŋ **re**	beard; moustache	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.13; Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.14
Thakali (Tukche)	ma **ro**	moustache; whiskers	Matisoff 1987; Hari 1971:2.A.14; Hari 1971:3.A.49
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Chamling	**ra** khap tON*	molar	Winter 1985:30
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**ra**	chin	Michailovsky 1991:33; Matisoff 1987
3.2. QIANGIC			
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**la^{55}** pu^{53}	beard	SUN Hongkai 1991n:8.1.2.1
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	**la^{55}** p^{h}a^{21}	beard	CHEN Kang 1986c:8.1.2.1
Tujia (Northern)	**la^{55}** p^{h}a^{21}	beard	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

(2) PTB *s-ma-ŋ BEARD / MOUSTACHE

This root is quite distinct from PTB ***s/r-mul** ≷ ***s-mil** ≷ ***s-myal** HAIR / FUR / FEATHER (§1.6.1). Compare, e.g. WB **mwê** < ***s-mul** vs. **hmaŋ** < ***s-ma-ŋ**.

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	**məi** mih	beard / moustache	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.2
Moyon	**mæ** mòwr ~ mæ mòwr	beard; moustache	Kosha 1990:8.1.2; Kosha 1990:8.1.2.1
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	**mha** tsan	beard / moustache	Nienu 1990c:8.1.2
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Khonoma)	**tama**	beard	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) tie^{31} **mia^{55}**	beard; moustache	Nienu 1990a:8.1.2.1; Nienu 1990a:8.1.2.3
	tamie	beard	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) zu^{31} **ma^{35}**	beard / moustache	Nienu 1990b:8.1.2
	mü^{31} khou^{11} **ma^{35}**	beard	Nienu 1990b:8.1.2.1
	ta^{31} **ma^{35}**	moustache	Nienu 1990b:8.1.2.3
Rengma	**mang** ha	beard	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Lalung [Tiwa]	khu **smang?**	moustache	Balawan 1965:19
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**mān** mun	beard	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**mɛ^{13}** rɑ^{53}	beard	SUN Hongkai 1991a:8.1.2.1
Kaike	**mā** rā	moustache	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Motuo)	**maŋ^{13}** ra^{13}	beard	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	maŋ ra	beard	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**mɑŋ^{55}** rɑ^{55}	beard	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**men** htsəd	goatee	Sun 1985a:311
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'mwâ** râq	moustache	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**mang** ra	beard; goatee; moustache	Bishop 1989:8.1.2.1; Bishop 1989:8.1.2.2; Bishop 1989:8.1.2.3
Tibetan (Written)	**man**.rtsid	goatee	Sun 1985c:311
	sma ra	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.1; Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Manang (Gyaru)	**mon^{1}** ɖɛ^{1}	beard	Nagano 1984:024
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**mon** ʈe	moustache	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0016
Tamang (Sahu)	**māng** re	beard	Matisoff 1987
	maŋ re	beard; moustache	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.13; Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.14
Thakali (Tukche)	**ma** ro	moustache; whiskers	Matisoff 1987; Hari 1971:2.A.14; Hari 1971:3.A.49
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**'mạh**	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	mə̃:h	moustache	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.14
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**mi̯ạ^{1}**	beard	Sofronov c1978
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	su^{55} **ma^{ʻ55}**	beard	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.18
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	tsha **ʔmɑ** rmei	goatee	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.1.2.2
	tsə lə ie **ʔmə** rmei	whiskers (of cat)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.1.7
Ergong (Danba)	fiɛ **ma** ʐ̩mi	beard	SUN Hongkai 1991b:8.1.2.1
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔmɑ** mei	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.1.2.1
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	me^{55} dʑim^{55} **sɯ^{31}mă^{53}**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ne^{55} ʑɯm^{53} **sɯ^{3}mă^{53}**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	myak-**hmaŋ**-tân	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	ə-**hmaŋ**	stiff hair, bristles	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central)	xa̱^{53} **m̥ɯ^{55}**	feathers	DAI Qingxia 1989p:348.
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	meh˪ **mah˪**	beard	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	**man** tɤ̆ŋ	whiskers	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	me^{31} **mo^{31}**	beard	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	mɛ^{31} **maŋ^{31}**	beard	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Sangkong	**maŋ^{31}** mɯ^{31}	beard	LI Yongsui 1991

(3) PTB *(t)su-ŋ HAIR / MANE / BEARD

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	mi?-**sɯ** k^{h}ẽ	eyebrow	Simon 1979
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	ñik-**siŋ**	eyebrow	Sun 1993b
Bokar	mik **ʂɯŋ**	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.24
	mik-**sɯŋ**	eyebrow	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	mik **ʂɯŋ**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tagin	nyik **siŋ** nyik mɯ	eyebrow	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	**t^{h}õ** sibbi	mane	Pulu 1978
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	mə **soŋ**	mane (of horse, lion)	Singh 1991:8.1.6
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	mék ang **sūng**	eyelash	Grüssner 1979:167
	mék-**sūng**	eyelash	Grüssner 1979:168
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Khiamngan	**^{1}tsn̥ŋ**^{12}maɪ	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	chati **sɔ̃**	chest hair	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.1.3.2
	sɔ̃	leg hair	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.1.3.3
	ya ku **sɔ̃**	underarm hair	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.1.3.1
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	mbu^{35}**tshɔ̃^{55}**	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.16
	tshɔ̃^{33}	feather; mane; hair; fur	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.17; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.17
	tshɔ̃^{31}	hair; down; feather; plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.16
	tɕhɑ̃^{31}**tshɔ̃^{31}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.16
	ø^{55} **tshɔ̃^{53}**	beard	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.17
	ə^{55}**tsɑ̃^{55}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.16
	n̥ɑ^{35} ŋo^{53} **tshɔ̃^{53}**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991e
	n̥ɑ^{35} ŋo^{55} **tshɔ̃^{53}**	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991e

	ɳɑ^{35}ŋo^{53}**tshɔ̃^{53}**	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:237.17
	ɳɑ^{35}ŋo^{55}**tshɔ̃^{55}**	eyebrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.16
Muya	a^{33}**tsuø^{53}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.15
	a^{33}**tsə^{55}**ræ^{33}	beard (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0087.15
Muya [Minyak]	ɛ^{33}**tsø^{55}**	beard	Sun Hongkai 1991h:8.1.2.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	a^{33}**sũ^{55}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.10
Pumi (Lanping)	a^{13}**stiɑ̃u^{55}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.09
	miɑ^{55}**ʂu^{55}**	eyebrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	a^{13} **stiɑ̃u^{55}**	beard	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.11
	miɑ^{55} **ʂu^{55}**	eyebrow	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:237.11
Pumi (Taoba)	a^{35} **sõ^{53}**	beard	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.10
Qiang (Taoping)	**tshuə^{55}**χmə^{33}	beard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.9
	ts^{h}uə^{55} χmə^{33}	beard	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**tson** p^{h}ɑ	mane (horse)	Dai Qingxia 1989q:339
Xumi	a^{55}**tsu^{53}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.17
	sũ^{53}	hair / down (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.17
	sũ^{55}	feather; mane; hair; fur	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:172.20; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:173.20
	tshɻ^{53}**sũ^{33}**	wool / fleece (goat) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.17
	ɑ^{55} **sũ^{33}**	beard	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.20
	ʔɛ̃^{53}**sũ^{33}**	wool / fleece (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.17

5. Tujia

Tujia	a^{21} la^{55} a^{21} **so^{21}**	eyebrow	Chen Kang 1986d:3.4.3
	a^{21} **so^{21}**	hair (head); hair (general); body hair	Chen Kang 1986d:2.7; Chen Kang 1986d:8.1; Chen Kang 1986d:8.1.3
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa^{21} la^{55} ʔa^{21} **so^{21}**	eyebrow	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	ʔa^{21} **so^{21}**	fur; hair (head)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986; Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	ɱ̩zɻaŋ^{31}**tsuŋ^{31}**	mane (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.28
Achang (Xiandao)	ɱ̩zɻaŋ^{31} **tʂɯŋ^{55}**	mane (horse)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:322
Bola	ma^{31} **tsuŋ^{31}**	mane (horse)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:322
Bola (Luxi)	ma^{31}**tsuŋ^{31}**	mane (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.32
Lashi	**tsho^{33}** ɳa^{53}	beard / moustache	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.1.2

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	m^{31} mo^{35} **tsʮ^{33}**	mane (of horse, lion)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.1.6
	m^{31}mo^{35}**tsv^{33}**	mane (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.47
	tsho^{33} ɳa^{53}	beard / moustache	Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.1.2
Nasu	**tɕe^{33}**	mane (of horse, lion)	Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.6
Noesu	mu^{33}**dzu^{21}**	mane	Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.6
Nusu (Northern)	mɯ^{31} **tʂ^{h}o^{55}**	beard	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	ɱ̩i^{55} **tɕ^{h}yə^{53}**	beard	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	ɱ̩ui^{55} **tʂ^{h}uẽ^{31}**	beard	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	ɱ̩ɯ^{55} **tɕ^{h}uə̃^{31}**	beard	Dai Qingxia 1989o:109.
Nusu (Central)	ɱ̩ɯ^{55} **tʂ^{h}uə̃^{53}**	beard	Dai Qingxia 1989p:109.
Yi (Dafang)	bu^{21} **ts^{h}o^{55}**	beard	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}mɔ^{21} my^{33}**dzi^{21}**	mane	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a^{55}mɔ^{21} my^{33}**dzø^{21}**	mane	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}mu^{33}**dzø^{21}**	mane	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}my^{33}**dzi^{21}**	mane	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}my^{33}**dzi^{21}**	mane	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Mojiang)	ɔ^{31}mu^{31}mɣ^{33}**tsɣ^{33}**	mane (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.42

7. Karenic: ***chuN^{B}*** FEATHER / FUR / BODY HAIR

**Karen*	***chuN^{B}**	feather, fur, body hair	Luangthongkum 2013:110
**Karen [Burling]*	***chɔn^{2}**	feather, fur, body hair	Luangthongkum 2013:110
**Karen (TP)*	***chónq**	hair (body) / feathers	Jones 1961:39
Kayan	**chwaŋ^{11}**	feather, fur, body hair	Luangthongkum 2013:110
Pa-O (Southern)	**chuə̯m^{33}**	feather, fur, body hair	Luangthongkum 2013:110
Pa-O	**chɔ́n**	feather; hair (body); feathers	Weidert 1987:897; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:39
	chɔ́n tərɣ̍ŋ	stand on end, hair	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**chən^{55}**	feather, fur, body hair	Luangthongkum 2013:110
Pa-O	**chɔ́n**, **chɔ́n**	hair, body	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**cʻɔn^{1}**	hair	Luce 1985:G.114
Pa-O	ká **chɔ́n**	beard on chin	Solnit 1989
	mɛ̀? bí **chɔ́n**	eyelash	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**chɑ̃^{33}**	feather, fur, body hair	Luangthongkum 2013:110
Pwo (Southern)	**chõ^{55}**	feather, fur, body hair	Luangthongkum 2013:110
Pwo (Tenasserim)	ð **sʻɔ̃^{1}**	hair	Luce 1985:G.114
Pwo (Delta)	ð **sʻɔ̃^{4}**	hair	Luce 1985:G.114
Pwo (Bassein)	**shɔ̀n**	feather; hair (body); feathers	Weidert 1987:897; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:39
Pwo (Moulmein)	**shɔ́n?**	feather; hair (body); feathers	Weidert 1987:897; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:39
Sgaw (Northern)	**chu$^{31~}$**	feather, fur, body hair	Luangthongkum 2013:110
Sgaw (Southern)	**chu^{45,}**	feather, fur, body hair	Luangthongkum 2013:110

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	maa **tzung**	mane (of a horse)	Sun 1985b:372

(4) PTB *siŋ ≍ *syaŋ CHIN / JAW / BEARD

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**shong** mûr	beard	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	gàu$^{˘}$-**šàŋ**	chin	Weidert 1987:1061
	kau **šaŋ**	chin, jaw, brim	French 1983:468
	kau **shang**	jaw; chin	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	kau **shang** wi	beard	Marrison 1967

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}kam-**siŋ**	jaw (n comp.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.13, 3.13

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**siŋ** daŋ ba	chin, jaw	Michailovsky 1989b
	si dang ba	chin	Michailovsky 1991:33
	yet **siŋ** bā	chin	Matisoff 1987
Yakha	**siŋ** sa: li:	chin	Kohn 1990:3.12

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**syang** khi	beard	Matisoff 1987
	syaŋ k^{h}i	beard	Caughley 1972:2.A.13

(5) PTB *(t)sya-y BEARD / MOUSTACHE

This tentatively reconstructed root looks fairly solid, although the Angami and Liangmei forms have unexplained dental stops instead of fricates.

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**ɕɑ^{31}** mol^{35}	beard	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕɑ^{31}mol^{35}	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.23
	ɕɑ^{31}mol^{35}	beard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.48

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Kohima)	(u) zie^{31} **tha^{55}**	beard / moustache	Nienu 1990a:8.1.2

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	a **tai**	beard	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Kokborok	k^{h}ɔ-**čay**	beard	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	mut **shē**	moustache	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	mu **cha:**	goatee	Sharma 1991b:8.1.2.2

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**ʃha^{13}** pu^{53}	beard / moustache	Sun Hongkai 1991a:8.1.2
Tshona (Mama)	**cʌ^{13}** dzɻʌ^{13}	beard	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.6

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	gon **che**	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	gon **c^{h}e**	moustache	Caughley 1972:2.A.14
Chepang (Eastern)	gon **che**	moustache	Caughley 1990:8.1.2.3

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Bisu	pa **ʃè**	beard	Beaudouin 1988:13

(6) PTB *kway MOUSTACHE / BEARD

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	hameŋ mə **koy**	goatee	Singh 1991:8.1.2.2
	kô-î	beard	Matisoff 1987
	koi	beard	Marrison 1967
	koy	moustache; beard	Abbi & Mishra 1985; Singh 1991:8.1.2.3
	koy (khə daŋ-gi)	beard	Singh 1991:8.1.2.1
	na ton-gi **koy**	nose hair	Singh 1991:3.5.4

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	jɛ^{33} kɐ^{53} **k^{h}ɐ^{33}** spə^{53}	moustache	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.1.2.3

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	kraŋ-**khway**	lower extremity of moustaches	Matisoff 1987

(7) PTB *yar MOUTH / MOUSTACHE / BEARD

The final **-t** in the Lepcha form is unexplained, in view of the fact that Lepcha preserves final **-r**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***yar**	beard / moustache	Matisoff 2003a:620

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**əl** tshəm	moustache	Sharma 1991a:8.1.2.3

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**ja** wu	beard	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 2

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Lahuli	**yar**-sam	moustache	Benedict 1972:73
Tibetan (Written)	**ya**-ma	temple	Matisoff 1987
	yar-sam	hair; hair of head; moustache	Luce 1985:G.114; Luce 1985:W.134; Matisoff 1987

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	kă-**yát**	beard	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yakha	wi: **ya** muŋ	whiskers (of animal)	Kohn 1990:8.1.7
	ya muŋ	moustache	Kohn 1990:8.1.2.3

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**'yā:h**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	'ya:h	mouth	Watters & Watters 1989:1.42

(8) PTB *r-gya-n BEARD

This root seems to be specific to the Himalayan languages.

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Batang)	**dzɑ̃^{13}** pa^{55}	beard / moustache	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.1.2
Tibetan (Jirel)	o koq-pu **jyaq**	beard	Matisoff 1987
Sherpa	**gerā**	beard	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**kyah**	beard	Bishop 1989:8.1.2
Tibetan (Written)	**rgja** bo	beard (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0087.01
	rgya-bo	beard	Matisoff 1987
	rgya-mo	beard	Matisoff 1987
	rgya-rog	beard	Matisoff 1987
	rgya bo	beard	Marrison 1967
	žal-**rgyan**	moustache	Matisoff 1987

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	še-**gyin**	beard	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**gyɛ^{1}**	beard	Nagano 1984

(9) IA *dāṛhi BEARD

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**dari**	beard and mustache	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**dari**	beard	Sharma 1988:29
	darī	beard	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**dà:Ri**	beard / moustache	Sharma 1991b:8.1.2

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	**dari**	goatee	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.1.2.2
	dari kha ta	beard / moustache	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.1.2
Gurung (Ghachok)	(**N**)da:ri	beard; whiskers	Glover 1972:2.A.13; Glover 1972:3.A.49

	dāːri	beard	Matisoff 1987
Thakali (Tukche)	**tāhri**	beard	Matisoff 1987
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**dāri**	beard	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.1.2.1
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	**daːhri**	beard	Kohn 1990:8.1.2.1
	siŋsali **daːhri**	goatee	Kohn 1990:8.1.2.2
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**dāeri**	beard	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Magar	**dārhi**	beard	Matisoff 1987
X.1. NON-TB			
Nepali	**dārhi**	beard	Matisoff 1987

(10) PTB *g-wu BEARD

The final nasal in the Qiangic forms are probably due to rhinoglottophilia.

3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mawo)	nə **hu̱ŋ**	beard / moustache	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.1.2
	ɣdʒaː **hu̱**	beard	Sun 1986
	ɣdʒæ **hu̱ŋ**	beard; moustache	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.1.2.1; SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.1.2.3
	ɣdʑɑ **hu**	beard	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Lolopho	bo^{31} **ṿ^{33}**	whiskers (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.1.7
	bo^{31} **ṿ^{44}**	beard; goatee; moustache	DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.1.2.1; DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.1.2.2; DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.1.2.3
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Pijo)	lá shà **fù**	whiskers	Hansson 1989:537
	lá sha **fù** ?	whiskers	Hansson 1989:55
8. BAI			
Bai (Bijiang)	**vu̱^{21}**	beard	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**ɣu̱^{21}**	beard	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ɣu̱^{21}**	beard	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.1.2.1
	ɣu̱^{21} fe̱^{44}	goatee	ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.1.2.2
	ɣu̱^{21} te̱^{44} tsʮ^{33}	whiskers (of animal)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.1.7
	ɣu̱^{21} tsʮ^{33} fe̱^{44}	moustache	ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.1.2.3
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**g'o**/ɣuo	dewlap	Karlgren 1957:49a'
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	shan yang **hu** zi	goatee	Sun 1985b:311

1.2.6 Eye

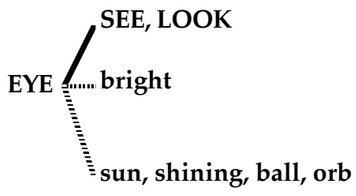

Figure 64: 1.2.6 *Eye*

Figure 65: 1.2.6 *Eye*

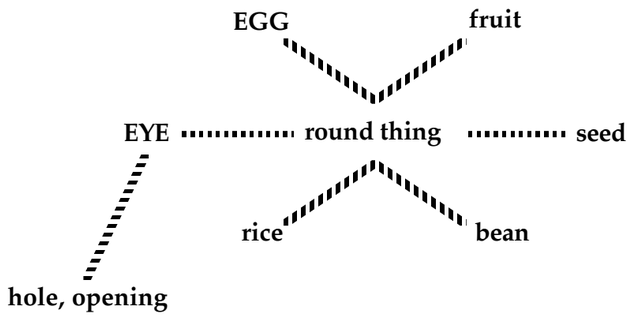

Figure 66: 1.2.6 *Eye*

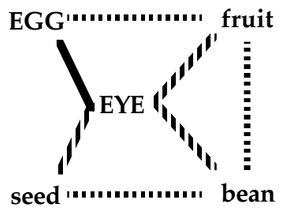

Figure 67: 1.2.6 *Eye*

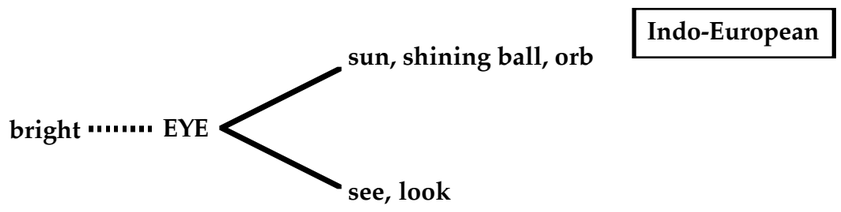

Figure 68: 1.2.6 *Eye*

(1) PTB *s-myak ≍ *s-mik EYE

This is far and away the best attested root for EYE in TB.

Bai (Jianchuan) **ŋui^{33}** can possibly be assigned to this root if we assume a development like ***mik** > ***mʷik** > ***ŋʷi**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***mik** ~ **myak**	eye	Coblin 1986:76; Michailovsky 1991:58; LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Rengma (Southern)	**^{2}n^{3}šɤ̃**	eyelash	Weidert 1987:760
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	si miːk si **miːk** cokmaː	blink (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.4.5
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	myaˆ nuiˆ **myaˆ** shehˆ	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
7. KARENIC: ***mɛʔ^{D}** EYE, FACE			
**Karen [Burling]*	***mɛʔ^{1}**	eye, face	Luangthongkum 2013:107
**Karen*	***mɛʔ^{D}**	eye, face	Luangthongkum 2013:107
	***mɛʔ**	eye	Benedict 1972:128n350
Bwe	mù-đo=**mù**-ká	face (n.)	Henderson 1997
Pa-O	kháŋ **mèʔ**	ankle bone	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**mɛʔ^{45}**	eye, face	Luangthongkum 2013:107
Pa-O (Southern)	**mɛʔ^{45}**	eye, face	Luangthongkum 2013:107
Pwo (Northern)	**meʔ^{21}**	eye, face	Luangthongkum 2013:107
Pwo (Southern)	**meʔ^{45}**	eye, face	Luangthongkum 2013:107
Sgaw (Southern)	**mɛ$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	eye, face	Luangthongkum 2013:107
Sgaw (Northern)	**mɛʔ^{21}**	eye, face	Luangthongkum 2013:107
8. BAI			
Bai (Dali)	**me^{6}** mɔ^{6}	eyebrow (cp. no. 220-221)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	tɕui^{33} **ŋui^{33}**	face	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕui^{33} **ŋuĩ^{33}**	face	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.0
	tɕui^{33} **ŋuĩ^{33}** «ts^{h}ɯ^{44}»	face	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.1
	ŋui^{33}	eye	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ŋuĩ^{33} kæ^{55} ɕĩ^{55}	iris	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.4.2.1
	ŋuĩ^{33} kæ^{55} ɕĩ^{55} k^{h}o^{33}	eyeball	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.4.2
	ŋui^{33} me^{55}	eyebrow	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ŋuĩ^{33} me^{55} tɕ^{h}i^{31}	eyelash	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.4.4
	ŋuĩ^{33} me^{55} «tṽ^{33}»	eyebrow	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.4.3
	ŋuĩ^{33} pe̱^{21}	eyelid	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.4.1
	ŋuĩ^{33} p^{h}o̱^{44}	eye	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.4
	ŋuĩ^{33} sʮ^{33}	eye sand	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.4.7
	ŋuĩ^{33} tæ^{55}	blind	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.4.10
	ŋui^{33} tɛ^{55}	blind person	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.36
	ɛ̱^{44} **ŋui^{33}** pɑ̱^{42}	blind person	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984

(1a) PTB *s-mik EYE

A number of languages (e.g., Kuki-Chin, Meithei, Nocte, Andro) have developed a final dental stop in this root, undoubtedly due to the preceding high vowel.

Tsangla has acquired the homorganic final nasal in this root.

This etymon frequently occurs as first element in compounds meaning ANKLE ("eye-foot").

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***myikw**	eye	Coblin 1986:76
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***mik**	eye	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1036a-c; Weidert 1987:680
	***s-mik ≍** s-myak	eye	Matisoff 2003a:602
1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	**miʔ**	eye	Simon 1979
	miʔ-ljoʔ	blind	Simon 1979
	miʔ-sɯm i	eyelash	Simon 1979
	miʔ-sɯ k^{h}ẽ	eyebrow	Simon 1979
1.1.1. TANI: ***mik** EYE			
**Tani*	***mik**	eye	Sun 1993a:134
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	(a-**miʔ**) **miʔ**-ri	pupil (of eye)	Sun 1993b
	a-**mì**	eye	Sun 1993b
	a-**mì mi**-ljo	eyelid	Sun 1993b
	a-**miʔ**	eye	Sun 1993b
	a-**miʔ**	eye	Sun 1993a
	a-**miʔ** a-č^{h}i	disease of the eye	Sun 1993b
	a-**miʔ** ka-nɯ	vision	Sun 1993b
	là-du **mì**-rɯ	elbow	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-du **mi**-ru	elbow	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	mi-be	wink	Sun 1993b
	mi-bi a-mu	eyelash	Sun 1993b
	mi-bje	blink	Sun 1993b
	mi-bjo à-mu	eyelash	Sun 1993b
	mi-ča	blind	Sun 1993b
	mí-la	tears	Sun 1993b
	mí-ljo	eyelid	Sun 1993b
	mi-tiŋ a-mu	eyebrow	Sun 1993b
	miʔ beʔ	blink	Sun 1993b
	miʔ-brjo a-mu	eyelash	Sun 1993b
	miʔ-č^{h}a	blind	Sun 1993b
	miʔ-ǰu	rheum	Sun 1993b
	miʔ-la	tears	Sun 1993b
	miʔ-ljo	eyelid	Sun 1993b
	miʔ-tĩ a-lo	eyebrow	Sun 1993b
	miʔ-tĩ a-mu	eyebrow	Sun 1993b
	ñí-mo	face	Sun 1993b
	ñiʔ-mo	face; cheek	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	^{1}a^{2}**mi**	eye	Weidert 1987:625
Bengni	a-ŋɯː **ñik**-wuː	pupil (of eye)	Sun 1993b
	fɯr-**ñik**	hip	Sun 1993b [a]
	lak-čiŋ lak-**ñik**	knuckle	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-**ñik**	ankle	Sun 1993b
	ñik	eye	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ñik čiŋ	close eyes	Sun 1993b
	ñik pjoː	open eyes	Sun 1993b
	ñik-bɯr	eyelid ("eye-lip")	Sun 1993b
	ñik-čiŋ	blind (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ñik-čup	corner of eye	Sun 1993b
	ñik-čup baː-rɯŋ huːluː	crow's feet	Sun 1993b
	ñik-jap	blink, wink	Sun 1993b
	ñik-jaː	eye sand	Sun 1993b
	ñik-laː	tears	Sun 1993b
	ñik-laː čoː/bi	shed tears	Sun 1993b
	ñik-laː lin	shed tears	Sun 1993b
	ñik-luk kaː	stare	Sun 1993b
	ñik-muː	face; cheek	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ñik-mɯ	eyelash	Sun 1993b
	ñik-puŋ	white of eye	Sun 1993b
	ñik-pɯ	eyeball	Sun 1993b
	ñik-ruŋ	eye socket	Sun 1993b

[a] Lit. "hip-eye". Cf. the semantic association arising from the rounded nature of the hip joint.

	ñik-siŋ	eyebrow	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(**mik**) jap	blink / wink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1780.24
	lə **mik**	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.24
	lɯ-**mik**	ankle	Sun 1993b
	mi mo	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.24
	mi-mo	face; cheek	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	mik	eye	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	mik	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.24
	mik a-lə	glisten	Sun 1993b
	mik jap	blink	Sun 1993b
	mik laŋ	tears (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.24
	mik lu	blind person (half-blind) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.24
	mik maŋ	close (eyes)	Sun 1993b
	mik maŋ	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.24
	mik mor	close the eye to a slit	Sun 1993b
	mik ɕɯŋ	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.24
	mik-čoŋ	one-eyed person	Sun 1993b
	mik-kop	one-eyed person	Sun 1993b
	mik-laŋ	tears	Sun 1993b
	mik-laŋ dɯ-get	shed (tears) (in drops)	Sun 1993b
	mik-laŋ len(-kap)	shed (tears)	Sun 1993b
	mik-lu	cataract	Sun 1993b
	mik-maŋ	blind person	Sun 1993b
	mik-maŋ sum-pin	close eye (tightly)	Sun 1993b
	mik-mɯ	eyelash	Sun 1993b
	mik-pin	eyelid	Sun 1993b
	mik-sɯŋ	eyebrow	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**mi** mo	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.51
	mik	eye	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.51
	mik go aŋa:	pupil of eye	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	mik laŋ	tear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:239.51
	mik maŋ	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.51
	mik ɕɯŋ	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.51
	mik maŋ	blind person	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	mik pin	eyelid	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	mik pɯ	eyeball	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	mik ruŋ	eye socket	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	mik ɕɯŋ	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	mi mo	face	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **ɲik**	eye	Das Gupta 1963
	a **ɲik**	eye (n.)	GLDC 2009
	a **ɲik**-taluu	eyeglasses; glasses (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	laŋ-**ɲek**	wrist	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻɲuŋ moo	face (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲig bum	eyes (non-folded) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲig bək	eye (right) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲig lor	eyes (coloured) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲig mii	slanted (eyes) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲig mə	eyebrow; eyelash (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻɲig or	glasses; spectacles (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻɲik ci	eye (left); eye disease; conjunctivitis; sty (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻɲik ci-po lii	irritated (eyes) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲik ci-ʻri lii	conjunctivitis (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲik pam	blind person (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲik pin	eyelid (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲik poo	open (eyes) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲik poo	open (eyes) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲik si-**ɲig** laa	water (from the eyes) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲig la	tears	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲik-ce-na	blind	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲik-ma-na	blind	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲuk-mo	face	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲig jak-baayak	eye crap (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲig ji	pupil (of the eye) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲig jək-bərək	eyelid deformity (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲig laa	tear (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲig lo	cataract (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲig lii	irritated (of eyes); red-eyed (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɲig maa	blind; sightless (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɲig rəm	lazy-eyed (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲig yap	blink (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲig yap	wink (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲik cəə	close (eyes) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲik cəə	closed (eyes) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲik puu	eye white (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲik tap-pootap	blink (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲik təm	brow (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆa **ñik**	eye	Weidert 1987:625
Miri, Hill	e **ɲik**	eye	Simon 1976
	laŋ-**ɲik**	wrist	Simon 1976
	ɲik-ce	blind	Simon 1976
	ɲik-la	tears	Simon 1976
	ɲik-pu	white of eye	Simon 1976
	ɲik-shap	eyebrow	Simon 1976
	ɲik-shin	eyelash	Simon 1976
	ɲik-tol	white of eye	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **nyik**~i **nyik**	eye	Das Gupta 1969
	i **nyik**~a **nyik**	eye	Das Gupta 1969
	nik ceng	blind	Das Gupta 1969
	nyik-seng	eyebrow	Das Gupta 1969
	nyiok mu	face	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	lak **nyik**	wrist	Das Gupta 1983
	nik ciŋ	blind	Das Gupta 1983
	nik-ciŋ-ne nyi	blind man	Das Gupta 1983
	nyik	eye	Das Gupta 1983
	nyik siŋ **nyik** mɯ	eyebrow	Das Gupta 1983
	nyok mu	face	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**mik**	eye	Matisoff 1987; Sun 1993a
	lang-**mik**	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	lâng-**mik**	knuckles’	Matisoff 1987
	lé-**mik**	ankle-bone	Matisoff 1987
	mig-or	pupil	Matisoff 1987
	mik-long	eyebrow bone	Matisoff 1987
	mik-pui	eyeball (”eye-egg”)	Matisoff 1987
	mik-pung	white of eye	Matisoff 1987
	mik-shâp	eyebrow; eyelash	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	mik-shi	tears (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	ming-mo	face	Matisoff 1987
	ming-muit	lashes; eyelash	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	mit-tuk	head	Matisoff 1987

[a]Note assimilation of the medial consonants.

	miŋ-mo < mik-mo	face / cheek	Sun 1993a
Damu	lə-**mik**	ankle	Sun 1993b
	mik pin-la	close (eye)	Sun 1993b
	mik-ma:	blind	Sun 1993b
	mik-ma:	blind (n.)	Sun 1993b
	mik-mi	eyebrow; eyelash	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	mik-pi	close (eye)	Sun 1993b
	mik-puɪ	eyeball	Sun 1993b
	mik-ɕi	tears	Sun 1993b
	mik-ɕi tɕep	shed tears	Sun 1993b
	mik-ɕik	eyelid	Sun 1993b
	mit-mo	face	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**mik**	eye	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**mik** ʔa-ty-ɟi	open (eyes)	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **mik**	eye	Tayeng 1976
	mik car-ɲi	blind(ness)	Tayeng 1976
	mik-buk	blind(ness)	Tayeng 1976
	mik-mu	face	Tayeng 1976
	mik-pan	brow	Tayeng 1976
	mik-sar-ɲi	blind	Tayeng 1976
	mik-yak	blind(ness)	Tayeng 1976
	mik si	tears	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	ə **mik**	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	**mík**	eye	Weidert 1987:1094
	min^{55}	eye	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	min^{55}	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.23
	min^{55}	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.48
	min^{55} bɯl^{35}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	min^{55} sɑ^{55}	eyeball; pupil	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	min^{55} uŋ^{35}	eyelid	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	min^{55} ɑ^{31} xɑu^{35}	eye socket	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	míʔ hpî	cheek / temple	Weidert 1987:1049
	plɑ^{55} **min**^{55}	ankle	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	plɑ^{55}**min**^{55}	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.23
Idu	bɯ^{31}**miu**^{55}bu^{53}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.4.3

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***mik-kuu-I**, ***-kuk-II** SLEEPY, ***mik** EYE

**Chin*	***mik**	EYE	VanBik 2009:765
	***mik**-khlii	TEARS	VanBik 2009:1306
	***mik**-kuu-I, -kuk-II	SLEEPY	VanBik 2009:310
Anal	**hmiʔ**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mhíʔ	eye	Weidert 1987:625
Chinbok	**mik**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mik-hmai	face	Matisoff 1987
Ngawn	**mit**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mit-mai	face	Matisoff 1987
Thanphum	**mit**^{5}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
	miŋ^{1}hmɑi^{5}	face	Luce 1985:P.5

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	ahkho **mit**	ankle	Haokip 1998:6.2.5
	ahkho **mit** gu	ankle bone	Haokip 1998:6.2.5.1
	mit	eye	Haokip 1998:3.4
	mit kang	white of eye	Haokip 1998:3.4.2.3
	mit let	eye sand	Haokip 1998:3.4.7
	mit cho	blind	Haokip 1998:3.4.10
Sizang	**mit** tang	eye	VanBik 2009:765
Thado	**mìt**	eye	VanBik 2009:765
	mít	eye	Thirumalai 1972:67
	mìt-thlíi	tears	VanBik 2009:1306
	mít cɔ̀	blind	Thirumalai 1972:32
Tiddim	**-myɪt**^{4}	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
	khu^{3} (**mit**^{3})	eye brow	Bhaskararao 1996:821
	ki^{3} zim^{2} (**mit**^{3})	eye lid	Bhaskararao 1996:623
	mit khu^{3}	eye brow	Bhaskararao 1996:1118
	mit^{3}	eye	VanBik 2009:765; Bhaskararao 1996:1119
	mit^{3} kua^{3}	eye socket (”eye’s cavity”)	VanBik 2009:289; Bhaskararao 1996:1120
	myɪt^{4}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
	na:i^{2} **mit**^{3}	rheum (of the eye)	Bhaskararao 1996:1182
	siak^{1} **mit**^{3}	ankle	Bhaskararao 1996:1567
	su^{1} **mit**^{3}	corner of the eye	Bhaskararao 1996:1618
	to:^{3} (**mit**^{3})	blind	VanBik 2009:523; Bhaskararao 1996:1784
	_ mit	eye	Matisoff 1987
	_mit	eye (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**amǐ**	eye	VanBik 2009:765
	a **mǐ**-kʻlí	tear	VanBik 2009:1306
Asho (Sandoway)	**miʔ**^{1}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
Asho	ə-**míʔ**	eye	Weidert 1987:1009
Chinbon	**mik**.u^{i}	eye	So-Hartmann 1988:74
Cho (Mindat)	**mik**	eyes	VanBik 2009:765
	mik kuk	have the eyelids heavy for want of sleep (v.)	VanBik 2009:310
Daai	**mik**	eye	So-Hartmann 1988:74; VanBik 2009:765
Awa Khumi	ă **miʔ**^{3}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
Khumi	**mei**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mei-mai	face	Matisoff 1987
	me^{i}**ʔ**	eye	So-Hartmann 1988:74
	móey	eye	VanBik 2009:765
Khumi (Ahraing)	**meɪ**^{5}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
	[meɪ^{5}**]**mɑɛ^{1}	face	Luce 1985:P.5
Matu	**mik**	eye	So-Hartmann 1988:74
Matupi	**mik**^{2}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
Mkaang	**mik**	eye	So-Hartmann 1988:74
Ngmüün	**mik**	eye	So-Hartmann 1988:74
Nyhmoye	**mik**.u^{i}	eye	So-Hartmann 1988:74
Wakung	**miʔ**	eye	So-Hartmann 1988:74
Womatu	**mik**^{2}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Khualsim	**myɪt**^{1}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
Lai (Hakha)	**mit**	eye	Matisoff 1987; VanBik 2009:765
Lai (Falam)	**mìt**	eye	VanBik 2009:765
	mìt kùʔ-INV	sleepy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:310
Lai (Hakha)	**mit**-hmai	face	Matisoff 1987
	mit-kûu-I, kuʔ-II	sleepy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:310
	mit-thlîi	tears	VanBik 2009:1306
Lai (Falam)	**mìt**-thlǐi	tears	VanBik 2009:1306
Lai (Hakha)	**myɪt**^{2}	eye; face; knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120; Luce 1985:O.10
Laizo	**mit**	eye	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	ke **mit**	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	ke-**mit**; khei **mit**	ankle	Bhaskararao 1996:1567
	khei **mit**	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	mit	eye	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	mìt	eyes (n.)	VanBik 2009:765

	mit	eye	Bhaskararao 1996:1119; LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402
	mit hmul	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mit ko	brow;eye brows	Matisoff 1987
	mit-ko(-tlâng)	brow, eye brows	Matisoff 1987
	mit-mu	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	mit-tui	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mit-vun	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	mit del	blind	Marrison 1967
	mɪt^{4}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
Paangkhua	(ra) **mìt**	ankle	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	**mə̌** hmɛʔ^{1}	face	Luce 1985:P.5
	[məˊ] **maɪʔ**^{4}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
Lakher [Mara]	i-**mo**-khi	sty on eye	Matisoff 1987
	mō	eye (n.)	VanBik 2009:765
	mo hmô	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	mo saw-pa	pupil, iris;cornea, iris	Matisoff 1987
	mo vy-pa	pupil, iris;cornea, iris	Matisoff 1987
	mo-chao	blind	Matisoff 1987
	mo-chao-pu	blind man	Matisoff 1987
	mo-hmi	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mo-khao	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mo-khi-tla	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	mō-kú	sleepy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:310
	mo-thli	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mō-thlì	tears	VanBik 2009:1306
	mo-vo	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**mĩ**^{4} [kʻɯə^{1}]	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
Mera	**meɪ**^{5}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
Tha'oa	**mɪk**^{1}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
	mɪk^{1}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
	mɪk`hɑi^{2}	face	Luce 1985:P.5
Xongsai	**mɪt**^{22}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10
Zotung	**miʔ**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	miʔ^{1}	eye	Luce 1985:O.10

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**mit** dum	iris	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.2.1
	mit kətʰim	blink (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.5
	mit kə čo	blind	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.10
	mit ləirim	pupil; white of eye	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.2.2; Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.2.3
	mit mih	eyelash	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.4
	mit rətʰi	tears	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.6
	mit vun	eyelid	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.1
	mit ɣəkui mih	eyebrow	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.3
	mit ɣətui	eyeball ("eye-egg")	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.2
	ŋit	eye	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4
Moyon	**mìk**	eye	Kosha 1990:3.4
	mik cù ~ **mìk** cù	blind	Kosha 1990:3.4.10
	mìk kò?	eyelid	Kosha 1990:3.4.1
	mìk mòwr	eyelash	Kosha 1990:3.4.4
	mìk rùk hʌ̀m	eyebrow	Kosha 1990:3.4.3
	mìk rʌ̀ tsə̀	tears	Kosha 1990:3.4.6
	mik šə̀ ~ mìk šə̀	eyeball	Kosha 1990:3.4.2
	ru **mít**	knuckle (joint of digit)	Kosha 1990:7.3
Sorbung	a-**mit**	eye	Brown 1837
	kè **míit**	ankle	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.200
	mìd èk, **mìt** ʔèk	eye, white of	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.043
	mìd ék; **mìt** ʔék	eye sand	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.048
	mìit	eye	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.039
	mìt-còo	blind	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.054
	mìt cò bàa	man, blind	Mortensen & Keogh 2011
	mìt cò nuu	woman, blind	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.055
	mìt cò pà, **mìt** co nu	person, blind	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:People.062

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	a **mit** de	blind	Marrison 1967
	ho ru **mit**	ankle	Marrison 1967
	mit	eye	Brown 1837; Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *__mjak__ ~ *__hmik__ EYE

**Central Naga*	*mjak ~ **hmik**	EYE	Bruhn 2014a:III.234
**Ao*	*t-**nik**	EYE	Bruhn 2014a:II.244
Ao (Chungli)	te ka **nük**	wrist	Marrison 1967
	te **nük**	eye	Marrison 1967
	te **nük**-ta pok	blind	Marrison 1967
	te **nük** lang	ankle	Marrison 1967
	te **nü** tsü	forehead	Marrison 1967
	tə^{3}-**nək**^{3}	eye (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.244
	^{3}tɯ^{3}**nɯk**	eye	Weidert 1987:625
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**nik** tsü tsü	tears (weeping)	Marrison 1967
	te **nik**	eye	Marrison 1967
	te **nik**-tü bak	blind	Marrison 1967
	tü **ni** kam	forehead	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	kì **nìk**	corner (of house, room) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	səŋ-**nik**	knot in wood ('wood' + 'eye') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**nik**	eye (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**nik** khəm	forehead ('eye' + 'precipice') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**nik** [tə]-puk	blind ('eye' + 'stomach')	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**hmjək**^{2}	eye (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.234
	cho **mhyek**	ankle	Marrison 1967
	khe **mhyek**	wrist	Marrison 1967
	mhyik chung	blind	Nienu 1990c:3.4.10
	mhyik tsan	eyelash	Nienu 1990c:3.4.4
	mhyik tsung	eyeball	Nienu 1990c:3.4.2
	o **mhyek**	eye	Marrison 1967
	o **mhyek**-echang	blind	Marrison 1967
	o **mhyik**	eye	Nienu 1990c:3.4
	^{1}o-**mhyɯk**	eye	Weidert 1987:625
Yacham-Tengsa	te **nyik**	eye	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**mük**	eye	Kumar 1973b:25
	mük chi	eye	Marrison 1967
	mük chi-tukrü	blind	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**mhi**	eye	Marrison 1967
	mhi chü	blind	Marrison 1967
	phi **mhi**	ankle	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **mhi**^{11}	eye	Nienu 1990a:3.4
	mhi^{31} chie^{11}	blind	Nienu 1990a:3.4.10
	mhi^{31} dzü^{55}	tears	Nienu 1990a:3.4.6
	mhi chie	blind	Marrison 1967
	u **mhi**	eye	Marrison 1967
	u phi **mhi**	ankle	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **mhü**^{11}	eye	Nienu 1990b:3.4
	(u) **mhu**^{11} ma^{35}	eyelid	Nienu 1990b:3.4.1
	mhü^{31} cʰe^{11}	blind	Nienu 1990b:3.4.10
	mhü^{31} dzü^{33}	tears	Nienu 1990b:3.4.6
	mhü che	blind	Marrison 1967
	u **mhü**	eye	Marrison 1967
Khezha	**ne** chɯ	eye	Yabu 1994:3.4
	ne chɯ 'ɯ ce	blind	Yabu 1994:3.4.10
	nhe chu	eye	Marrison 1967
Mao	o **nghi**	eye	Marrison 1967
	o **nghi**-ka chi	blind	Marrison 1967
	pi **nghi**	ankle	Marrison 1967
Rengma	a **yhü** tü-keponyü	blind	Marrison 1967
	yhü tye	eye	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	^{2}n^{2}**yhʌ**^{4}tø	eye	Weidert 1987:1009
Sema [Sumi]	a la u **nhe**	ankle	Achumi 1998a:6.2.5
	a la u **nhe** ghi	ankle bone	Achumi 1998a:6.2.5.1
	a **nhe** thi	eye	Achumi 1998a:3.4
	a **nhe** thi kighi che	blind	Achumi 1998a:3.4.10
	a **nhye** ti	eye	Marrison 1967
	a **nhye** ti-keri che	blind	Marrison 1967
	a ou **nhye**	wrist	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	a **mit** ka che pa	blind	Marrison 1967
	mik	eye	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	a-**mêk**	my eye	Weidert 1987:1009
	cha **mik**	eye	Marrison 1967
	mik titbu	blind	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **mek**	eye	Marrison 1967
	a **mik** che	blind	Marrison 1967
Puiron	ki **mik**	ankle	Marrison 1967
	mik	eye	Marrison 1967
	mik cho nu	blind	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	mái-**mik**	one's eye	Weidert 1987:1009
	mik	eye	Brown 1837; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1994e
	mik dui	tears (weeping)	Marrison 1967
	mik tiet mei	blind	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**mik** dui	tears (weeping)	Marrison 1967
	mi hi **mik**	ankle	Marrison 1967
	mi **mik**	eye	Marrison 1967
	pe **mik** chit be	blind	Marrison 1967
	^{3}mi^{1}**miak**	eye	Weidert 1987:1009

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *__mit__ EYE, *__mik__ EYE

**Tangkhulic*	***mik**	eye	Mortensen 2012:559
Champhung	a-**mak**	eye	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-**moʔ**	eye	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.032
	ʔa-**moʔ** nə-tsejʔ-kʰe	blind	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.042
	ʔa-**moʔ**-le-tso	eye sand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.039
Kachai	**mɐk**-ʃi-pwe	eye sand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.043
	pʰi-**mɐk**	ankle	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.176
	pʰi-**mɐk**-rɐ	ankle bone	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.177
	ʔa-**mɐk**	eye	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.034
	ʔa-**mɐk** kʰə-ŋə-pi	blind	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.046
	ʔa-pʰi-**mɐk**	ankle	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	**mik**	eye	Bhat 1969:88; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	mik ha char	white of eye	Matisoff 1987
	mik-hā	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mik khangapeio	blind	Marrison 1967
	mik kor	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mik phuŋ	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	mik thā	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	mik thā nao	pupil	Matisoff 1987
	pang **mik** ra	wrist	Marrison 1967
	pāŋ-**mik**-ra	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	phei **mik** ra	ankle	Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967
	^{1}**mik**	eye	Weidert 1987:1009
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-**mi**-ca	eye	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**mik**	eye	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔɯ-**mɯ**	eye	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.038
Ukhrul	pʰej-**mik**	ankle	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**mik**	eye	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	khu **mit**	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	mit	eye	Singh 1991:3.4; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	mit kuppə	blink (v.)	Singh 1991:3.4.5
	mit nəha	pupil	Singh 1991:3.4.2.2
	mit-taŋ bə	blind	Singh 1991:3.4.10
	mit tang ba	blind	Marrison 1967
	mə may	face	Matisoff 1985a:109

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**mek**	eye	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	mék	eye	Grüssner 1979:167
	mek	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402
	mek (ang) sum	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mek a-hom	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	mék a-hōm	eyelid	Grüssner 1979:167
	mék a-hū	eyelid	Grüssner 1979:167
	mék a-mū	eyeball	Grüssner 1979:167
	mék a-rèng	eyelid	Grüssner 1979:167
	mék a-sō	pupil	Grüssner 1979:167
	mék a-wē	blind	Grüssner 1979:167
	mek ahom ang mi	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mék ahōm ang mī	eyelash; eyelid	Grüssner 1979:167; Grüssner 1979:167
	mék ang sūng	eyelash	Grüssner 1979:167
	mek artho	pupil	Matisoff 1987
	mék arthō	iris	Grüssner 1979:167
	mek a mu	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	mek a reng	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	mek a so	iris; pupil	Matisoff 1987 [b]
	mék jáng-	sleep / be asleep	Grüssner 1979:75
	mék ke-jáng-	sleep / be asleep	Grüssner 1979:167
	mek kung a reng	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	mék prāng-dàk-	awake / be awake	Grüssner 1979:167
	mék rèng-jèng-	sleep / be asleep	Grüssner 1979:168
	mék-krí	tears (n.)	Grüssner 1979:168
	mék-kúng a-rèng	eyelid	Grüssner 1979:168
	mék-sūng	eyelash	Grüssner 1979:168
	mek prang	awake / awaken (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.6. Mru

Mru	**mik**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mik^{1}dur^{2}	blind	Luce 1985:Q.293

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***m(ə)k**-( )	eye	Burling 1959:441

1.7.1.1. Bodo

[a] The final **-ŋ** is unexplained.
[b] Lit. "child of the eye."

Bodo	**me** gón	eye; eyelash	Weidert 1987:1094; Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	me gón mi kí	excrement of the eye	Bhat 1968
	me gón mu púr	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	moʔ-gon	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mu kaŋ	face	Matisoff 1987
	mə dáy ~ **mi** dáy	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mə srə́m	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	payrew **me** gón	embroidery (kind of, like the eye of pigeon)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**mu**	eye	Marrison 1967
	mu dri thang	sleep	Marrison 1967
	mu khang	face	Marrison 1967
	ya **mu**	ankle	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**mə**-kɔ	eye	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	mə-k^{h}aŋ	face	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	məʔ-k^{h}i	eye sand	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	məʔ-šram	eyebrow	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	məʔ-trəy	sleep	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	məʔ-təy	tears	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	ia thong **mi**	ankle	Balawan 1965:30
	moʔ	eye	Balawan 1965:39
	mo khana	blind	Balawan 1965:39
	mo khang	face	Balawan 1965:39
	mo kun	eyelid	Balawan 1965:39
	mo thro ni	eyebrow	Balawan 1965:40

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**mik**	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402
	mik sam	eyebrow	Benedict 1972:73
	mik-gir	eye / eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	mik-ron	eye / eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	mik sam	eyebrow	Coblin 1986:90
Garo (Bangladesh)	ja'-**mik**	round ankle bones	Burling 1992
	ja'-**mik**-gi-ru	round ankle bones	Burling 1992
	mik-au-a	open eyes; wake up (vi.)	Burling 2003:7.97-II:idx
	mik-chi	tears	Burling 1992
	mik-del-bu	white of the eye	Burling 1992
	mik-gi-sim	black eye (n.)	Burling 2003:8.953-II:idx
	mik-gil	eyelid	Burling 1992
	mik-gil	eyelid (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
	mik-gil rak-a	awake; wakeful (vi.)	Burling 2003:7.97-II:idx
	mik-gil-ak-a	awake; wakeful (vi.)	Burling 2003:7.97-II:idx
	mik-kang	face, front, front end of something such as a flashlight or sweater; top (of a banana leaf)	Burling 1992
	mik-kang	face; front (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
	mik-kang-bek-bek	raised or high in space between the eyes	Burling 1992
	mik-kang-o	front; in front of (pp.)	Burling 2003:1.11-II:idx
	mik-ki	eye sand	Burling 1992
	mik-kim	forehead	Burling 1992
	mik-kimil	eyebrow	Burling 1992
	mik-na-chak	place between the eyebrows	Burling 1992
	mik-nok-sik	corner of the eye	Burling 1992
	mik-on	eye	Burling 1992
	mik-on	eye; pupil of eye (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
	mik-on bi-rong	iris of eye (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
	mik-on gip-bok	white of the eye	Burling 1992
	mik-sik-kim	forehead, brows, area over, across, and to the side of eyes	Burling 1992
	mik-sram	eyelash, very small	Burling 1992
	mik-sram	eyelash (n.)	Burling 2003:6.25-II:idx

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**myk** byryw-	have itchy eyes (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	myk chel-	shine in the eyes (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	myk chep-	look down upon, to despise, to scorn (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	myk khi	slime from the eyes (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	myk phylyp-	blink with your eyes (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	myk ren	eye (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	myk sep	corner of the eye (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	myk symyl	eyebrow (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	myk syram	eyelash (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	myk tyi	tear (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	myk y ren	eye (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	mək-e-ren	eye	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	**mu** ku-ti	eye [see muku simu]; eye	Jacquesson 2005; Brown 1895:65

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***me:k**	eye	French 1983:484
	***mik**	eye	French 1983:484

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**mit**	eye	Weidert 1987:1094; Marrison 1967; French 1983:484
	mit (mik)	eye	French 1983:484
	mit doak	blind	French 1983:460
	mit duok	blind	French 1983:460; Marrison 1967
Tangsa	**mik**	eye	Weidert 1987:1094
Tangsa (Moshang)	**mak**	eye	Marrison 1967; French 1983:484
Tangsa (Yogli)	**mik**	eye	Marrison 1967; French 1983:484
	ya **mik**	ankle	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**mʌ̀t**-šʌ́u	pupil of eye	Weidert 1987:127
	ñek	eye	French 1983:484
	ñek at ši	sleep (v.)	French 1983:552
	ñek kop	eyelid	French 1983:515
	ñek laŋ	eyeball	French 1983:540
	ñek tu bu	blind	French 1983:484
	nyek	eye	Marrison 1967
	nyek tubü	blind	Marrison 1967
	ñɛk	eye	Weidert 1987:1094
	the si **nyek**	face	Marrison 1967
	yep, **nyiek** at shi	sleep	Marrison 1967
Khiamngan	**^{12}ñɪw(ʔ)**^{21}wɐ̯ɪ	eye	Weidert 1987:625
	^{12}ñɪwʔ-^{21}wɐ̯ɪ	eye	Weidert 1987:1142
Konyak	**mek**	eye	Marrison 1967; French 1983:484
	mük tei pa	blind	Marrison 1967
	mək tei pa	blind	French 1983:484
Phom	**mük**	eye	Marrison 1967
	mük phing pü	blind	Marrison 1967
	mək	eye	French 1983:484
	mək p^{h}iŋ pə	blind	French 1983:484
	muɯk^{33}	eye	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	woŋ^{55}**mʌk**^{33}	joint (of bamboo) ('bamboo' + 'eye')	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	(**mik**) dok	blind	French 1983:460
	mi	eye	Marrison 1967; French 1983:484
	mik dok	blind	French 1983:484; Marrison 1967
	mit	eye	French 1983:484
	mək-ər	eye	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	(**mjiʔ**^{31}) ti̲^{55}	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.47
	a^{31} **mjiʔ**^{31}	eye	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mi	eye	Benedict 1972:14n50
	mjiʔ^{31}	eye	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mjiʔ^{31}	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.19
	mjiʔ^{31}	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.47
	mjiʔ^{31} man^{33}	face	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mjiʔ^{31} ti^{55}	blind person	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mjiʔ^{31}ti^{55}	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.19
	mjiʔ^{31}ti^{55}	blind, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.19
	mjiʔ^{31}ti^{55}	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.47
	mjiʔ^{55} pɹu̲i^{33}	tears	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	myi	eye	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402
	myìʔ	eye	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:329
	myìʔ hka	eye-socket; eye-lid	Matisoff 1987
	myìʔ kaw	brow ridge; supraorbital ridge	Matisoff 1987
	myìʔ kaw-mun	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	myìʔ mān	face	Matisoff 1987
	myiʔ pri	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	myiʔ prəwi	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	myìʔ thèn	blind	Matisoff 1974:99
	myìʔ-hprʌ̀w	white of eye	Matisoff 1987
	myìʔ-hpyi	eye socket / eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	myìʔ-mun	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	myìʔ-sha	iris ("eye-child")	Matisoff 1987
	myìʔ-tum	iris ("eye-child")	Matisoff 1987
	myìʔ hkyi	eye sand	Matisoff 1987
	myi di	blind	Marrison 1967
	myi prwi	tears (weeping)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}miʔ	eye	Weidert 1987:625
	ə **myiʔ**	eye	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Andro	**mīt**	eye	Luce 1985:K.56
Ganan	**mi**^{3}tu^{4}	eye	Luce 1985:K.56
	miʔ^{1}**tu**^{4} [ʃi^{1}]	eyeball	Luce 1985:L.136
Kadu	**mek**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mêt-tu	eye	Matisoff 1987
	miʔ^{1}	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
Kadu (Kantu)	**miʔ**^{1}tălu^{1}	eyeball	Luce 1985:L.136
	miʔ^{1} **[mek]**	eye	Luce 1985:K.56
Lui	**mīt**	eye	Matisoff 1987
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **me**^{3}	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
	ă **meʔ**^{2} tu^{4}	eyeball	Luce 1985:L.136
	ă **meʔ**^{3}	eye	Luce 1985:K.56
Sak (Dodem)	ă **meʔ**^{3}	eye	Luce 1985:K.56
Sak	a **mí**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	ă **mi**^{3}	eye	Matisoff 1987
	a **míʔ**	eye	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:3
	a **míʔ** kólá?muŋ	eyelash	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:4a
	cə **míʔ**	sun	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:261 [a]
	míʔ kre	blind	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:6
	ə **mi**^{3}	eye	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Baram	**mik**	eye	Kansakar 2010:5
Bunan	**mig**	eye	Sharma 1991a:3.4
	mik spù	eyebrow; eyelash	Sharma 1991a:3.4.3; Sharma 1991a:3.4.4
	mik ti	tears	Sharma 1991a:3.4.6
Kanauri	(**mig**) phətryamo	wink	Sharma 1988:37
	khī **mig'**	look / see (vt.)	Bailey 1911
	khya **mig**	see	Sharma 1988:35
	khyā **mig'**	look / see / look at (vt.)	Bailey 1911
	mig	eye	Sharma 1988:57
	mig'	eye (n.)	Bailey 1911
	mig'	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mig spu	eyelash	Sharma 1988:61
	mig spū	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	mig sti	tears	Sharma 1988:60
	mig tsăn	lashes, brows	Matisoff 1987
	mik	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402; Coblin 1986:76
	mik-tsam	eyebrow	Benedict 1972:73
	mĭt tī	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	rok **mig**	eyeball	Sharma 1988:61
	skŭm **mig'** (-mo)	put to sleep (vt.)	Bailey 1911
	yaṅ **mig'**	sleep (vi.)	Bailey 1911
	yəg **mig**	sleep	Sharma 1988:141
	zaṅ **mig'**	show (vt.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**mig**	eye	Sharma 1982
	mig ti	tears	Sharma 1982
	mig tʃəm	eyebrow	Sharma 1982
	mik ti	tears	Sharma 1991b:3.4.6
	mik tsam	eyebrow; eyelash	Sharma 1991b:3.4.3; Sharma 1991b:3.4.4

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	tø^{35} /**n̥i**^{53} ndo^{341} uɛ^{53}	see / look (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.4.9
	n̥i^{13} dø^{341}	pupil	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.4.2.2
	n̥i^{13} dɑ^{35}	eyeball	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.4.2
	n̥i^{13} ndʐe^{35}	eye	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.4
	n̥i^{13} ndʐe^{35} nɔ^{53} dʒuɛ^{35}	tears	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.4.6
	n̥i^{13} ndʐe^{35} tsõ^{53}	blink (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.4.5
	n̥i^{13} pu^{53}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.4.3
	n̥i^{13} pu^{53} dzɔ^{13}	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.4.4
	n̥i^{13} pɑ^{53}	eyelid	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.4.1
	n̥i^{13} tɕɑ^{53}	eye sand	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.4.7
Kaike	**mhi** sup	eye disease (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.38
	mi	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mi chham	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	mi ril	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	mi̥ rho	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	**ming**	eye	Andvik 1993:5; Egli-Roduner 1987:32 1
	ming khu	pupil	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 4
	ming shokpe	have sore eyes (v.)	Egli-Roduner 1987:37 11

[a] The unstressed first syllable of this form might be a reduction of PTB ***tsyar*** SUNSHINE (§3.2.10).

	ming-ri	tears	Egli-Roduner 1987:36 12
	ming-thongme mala	blind (vs.)	Egli-Roduner 1987:37 12b
	ming kanna giwala	blind (vs.)	Egli-Roduner 1987:37 12a
	ming khop tang	eyelid	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 3 [a]
	ming sum	eyebrow / eyelash	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 2
Tsangla (Motuo)	**miŋ**	eye	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.7
	miŋ k^{h}oŋ taŋ	eye	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	miŋ^{13}	eye	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	miŋ^{13} pu^{55}	eyebrow	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	miŋ^{13} ri^{13}	tears	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	miŋ k^{h}or	eye	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	miŋ k^{h}u	eye	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	miŋ pu	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:237.7
	miŋ ri	tears	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	miŋ ri	tear (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:239.7
	miŋ za	eye	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	**miŋ**	eye	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	miŋ-mu gi	tears	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**mek**^{55} ts^{h}i^{55}	tears	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	me^{55} loŋ^{55}	eye	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	me^{55}loŋ^{55}pu^{55}	eyebrow	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**meʔ**^{53}	eye	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.6
	meʔ^{53} kɔŋ^{55}	eye	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	meʔ^{53} priː^{13} pu^{53}	eyeball	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	meʔ^{53} p^{h}ek^{53}	eye	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	mik^{53}tshi^{53}	tear (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:239.6
Motuo Menba	**miŋ**	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.07
	miŋ tek	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.07
Cuona Menba	**meʔ**^{53}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Dzongkha	**ʔmɪ**-duʔ	eye	Weidert 1987:984
Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣŋ̥ək**	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hŋ̥ək**	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.4
	hŋ̥ək tɕhə	tear (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:239.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɣŋ̥ək**	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.5
	ɣŋ̥ək tɕhə	tear (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:239.5
	ɣŋ̥ək wsə	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:237.5
	ŋ̥əg	eye	Sun 1985a:236
	ŋ̥əg ɸə	eyelash	Sun 1985a:238
Tibetan (Balti)	**mik**	eye	Rangan 1975:38
Tibetan (Batang)	**miʔ**^{53}	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.4
	miʔ^{53} po^{55}	eyebrow	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.4.3
	miʔ^{53} to^{53}	eyeball	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.4.2
	miʔ^{55} tɕaʔ^{53}	eye sand	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.4.7
	miʔ^{55} tɕho^{53}	tears (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.4.6
	miʔ^{53}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.03
	mi^{55}pu^{53}	eyebrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**ʾmi**-iq gerā	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	ʾmiː borq	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	miː nekq	eye disease (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.38
	mikq	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mik cyukq	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ŋ̥i**^{53}	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.3
	ŋ̥i^{53}pu^{53}	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:237.3
	ŋ̥i^{55}tɕhu^{53}	tear (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:239.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**mik**^{53}pu^{53}	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:237.2
	mik^{53}tɕhu^{53}	tear (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:239.2
	mik^{55}pu^{55}	eyebrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.02
	miʔ^{53}	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.2
	mi^{52}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.02
	mi^{52} loŋ^{13}	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.02
Sherpa	**ʾmi** burq	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**mē**	eye; eyeball	Bishop 1989:3.4; Bishop 1989:3.4.2
	mē kya	eye sand	Bishop 1989:3.4.7
	mē zhū	tears	Bishop 1989:3.4.6
	mē chung	ankle bone	Bishop 1989:6.2.5.1
	mē gyalmū	pupil	Bishop 1989:3.4.2.2
	mē kō ba	eyelid	Bishop 1989:3.4.1
	mē pū	eyelash	Bishop 1989:3.4.4
	mē tsa	eyebrow	Bishop 1989:3.4.3
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**mik**-iq nerpā	eye disease (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.38
Sherpa	**mikq**	eye; eyeball	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	mik cur	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mi burq	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**mik**	eye	Bodh 1991:3.4
	mik shup	close eye (v.)	Bodh 1991:3.4.5
	mik šok	eyelid	Bodh 1991:3.4.1
	mik sup	blink (v.)	Bodh 1991:3.4.5
	mik bu	eyebrow	Bodh 1991:3.4.3
	mik šok pu	eyelash	Bodh 1991:3.4.4
Tibetan (Written)	(khab **mig**) rgjud	thread (a needle)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1213.01
	(**mig** tɕhu) ɕor	shed (tears) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1660.01
	(**mig**) loŋ	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.01
	(**mig**) rdab	blink / wink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1780.01
	(**mig**) ſidug	have (eyes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1767.01
	dpyi-**mig**	hipbone	Matisoff 1987
	mdons pa, **mig** ʒar	blind	Marrison 1967
	mig	eye; face; knot in wood; eyesight	Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:H.120,W.90; Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:236; LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:237
	mig	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.01
	mig	eye	Coblin 1986:76; Zhang Liansheng 1988:19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.1
	mig spu	eyebrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.01
	mig spu	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:237.1
	mig tɕhu	tears (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.01
	mig tɕhu	tear (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:239.1
	mig-ʾbras	eyeball / apple of the eye	Matisoff 1987
	mig-btsum-pa	blink	Zhang Liansheng 1988:91
	mig-čʻu	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mig-gi miu	pupil (of eye)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1100c; Benedict 1972:163n439
	mig-gs̀og	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mig-h̥bras	ʾapple of the eye, eyeball'; 'eyeball' ; 'eyesocket'	Matisoff 1987:162
	mig-khuŋ	eyehole / eye socket	Matisoff 1987
	mig-lc̀ibs	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	mig-rus	eye-bone	Matisoff 1987
	mig-skyag	eye sand	Matisoff 1987
	mig-skyor	ʾapple of the eye, eyeball'; 'eyeball' ; 'eyesocket'	Matisoff 1987:162
	mig-tʃhu	tears	Zhang Liansheng 1988:62
	mig.spu	eyelash	Sun 1985c:238
	myig	eye	Coblin 1986:76
	sbal **mig**	bud (n.)	Marrison 1967 [a]

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	(a-)tʼoń-**mik**	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	a-**mik**	eye	Matisoff 1987; LaPolla 1987:88
	ă **mik**	eye	Benedict 1972:35n116; Benedict 1972:402
	ă **mik**	eye	Coblin 1986:76
	mig-be	eyelid; edges of lid	Matisoff 1987
	mik sap-bo	blind	Matisoff 1987
	mik-myoń	brow	Matisoff 1987
	mik-shik	eyelid; edges of lid	Matisoff 1987
	mík cóm	eyelash, eyebrow (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	mík tráp	sleep (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	ʔá **mík**	eye (n.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{Bh}**miː(ŋ)** EYE

**TGTM*	*^{Bh}**miː(ŋ)**	eye	Mazaudon 1978:32
Chantyal	**mi**	eye	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.4
	mi cimcim la-wa	blink (v.)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.4.5
	mi-ye nani	iris; pupil	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.4.2.1; Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.4.2.2
	mi lim	tears	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.4.6
Gurung (Ghachok)	**miq**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mĩq	eye	Glover 1972:1.40
	mĩq cyũq cyũq labaq	blink	Glover 1972:2.B.2.2
	mĩq cyũq labaq	blink / hold eyes closed	Glover 1972:2.B.2.2
	miq phu	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	mĩq p^{h}ũ	eyeball	Glover 1972:2.A.23
	mĩq saebaq	blink (one eye)	Glover 1972
	mĩq naq ba	disease (eye)	Glover 1972:10.A.38
Gurung	**miq** nāqbā	eye disease (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.38
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mi** jyā:	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	mi jyā:	eyebrow; eyelash	Glover 1972:2.A.11; Glover 1972:2.A.12
	mi li	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mi li	tears	Glover 1972:2.A.65
	²mĩ	eye	Mazaudon 1978:32
Manang (Gyaru)	**mi**^{1} gi^{1}	tears	Nagano 1984:005
	mi^{1} tsin^{1}	eyebrow	Nagano 1984:004
	mi^{1} tsin^{1} muɯ^{2}	eyelash	Nagano 1984:004-01
	mi^{1}sya^{1} ra^{1}	blind	Nagano 1984:006
	miː^{1}	eye	Nagano 1984:003
Manang (Ngawal)	**²mi**	eye	Mazaudon 1978:32
Manang (Prakaa)	**²mi**	eye	Mazaudon 1994:776
	³miː tsẽ	eyebrow	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0004
	³mi ki	tears	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0006
	¹mi	eye	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0005
	¹mi ⁴ʔamrampə	blind	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0223
Tamang (Bagmati)	**ʾmiː**	eye	Weidert 1987:680
	mi-^{1}sam	eyelash	Weidert 1987:760
Tamang (Risiangku)	**²miː**	eye	Mazaudon 1978:32
	²miː	eye (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.4
	²miː	eye	Mazaudon 1994:776
	²miː-la ²lani	iris (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.2.1
	²miː-la ³kor	eyeball	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.2
	²miː-la ¹la	pupil	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.2.2
	²miː-^{1}p^{h}iː	eyelid (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.1
	²mi k^{h}li	tears (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.6
	¹miː nat	eye sand (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.7
	¹mi rkam	eyebrow (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.3
	¹mi ts^{h}am	eyelash (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.4
Tamang (Sahu)	**ʾmiː** ki ʾrok	eye disease (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.38
	ʾmiː	eye	Matisoff 1987; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.40
	ʾmiː ʾchām	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	ʾmiː ʾc^{h}am	eyelash	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.12
	ʾmiː ki ʾrok	eye disease (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:10.39
	ʾmiː phum	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	ʾmiː-^{1}cham	eyelash	Weidert 1987:760
	ʾmiː kor	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987; Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.11
	mik-khli	tears	Matisoff 1978b
	mik khli māːh	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mik k^{h}li maːh	tears	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.62
	²miː	eye	Mazaudon 1978:32; Mazaudon 1994:776
Tamang (Taglung)	**mi**	eye	Mazaudon 1994:776
	miː	eye	Mazaudon 1994:776
	²miː	eye	Mazaudon 1978:32
Thakali	**mi** nahsa	eye disease (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.38
Thakali (Marpha)	**²mi**	eye	Mazaudon 1978:32
	⁵¹mi	eye	Mazaudon 1994:776
Thakali (Syang)	**²mi**	eye	Mazaudon 1978:32
	⁵⁵mi	eye	Mazaudon 1994:776
Thakali (Tukche)	**ʾmi**-kju	tears	Hari 1971:2.A.65
	ʾmi-kyu	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mi	eye	Matisoff 1987; Hari 1971:1.40
	mi cjum cyum ʾlɔ-lɔ	blink	Hari 1971:2.B.2.2
	mi nɔh sɔ	eye disease	Hari 1971:10.A.38
	mi-cham	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	mi-c^{h}ɔm	eyebrow; eyelash	Hari 1971:2.A.11; Hari 1971:2.A.12
	mi-khum	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	mi-k^{h}um	eyeball	Hari 1971:2.A.23
	^{H}mi	eye	Mazaudon 1978:32; Mazaudon 1994:776

2.1.5. Dhimal

Dhimal	**mi**	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402
	mi muĩ	eyelash / brow	King 1994

2.2. Newar

Newar	**mi**-khā	eyeball	Malla 2007
	mikh ā-gwa(l)	eyeball	Matisoff 1987

[a] This form shows an interesting semantic association between WING and EYELID, possibly because both of these body parts can flutter.

[a] The literal meaning of this compound is "frog-eye."

Newar (Dolakhali)	**mi** kha	eye	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**mi** kha	eye	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**mi** khā	eye; eyeball	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4.2
	mi kha phiti phiti yae	blink (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4.5
	mi khā phu si	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4.3
	mi kha pili	iris	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4.2.1
	mi khā sā	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mi khā syā	eye disease (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.38
	mi kha ya khu:	eye sand	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4.7

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***mik**	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58
	***ʔmik**	eye	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	**mik**	eye	Ebert 1997
Belhare	**mik**	eye	Bickel 1995
Limbu	huk **mik**	knuckle	Matisoff 1987
	laŋ **mik**	ankle	Michailovsky 1989b
	lāŋ **mik**	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	mik	eye; eye, joint, node (of bamboo), germ (of grain)	Michailovsky 1991:58; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:402; Driem 1988
	mik haŋ ma	pupil and iris	Michailovsky 1989b
	mik phuŋ	sight	Matisoff 1987
	mik.hāŋ mā	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	mik khu	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	mik saŋ	eyelash	Michailovsky 1989b
	mik sāŋ	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mik tsi gek	eye sand	Michailovsky 1989b
	mik wa	tears	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:177
	mik wā	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
Yakha	**mik** ŋa mɛni:ma	blind	Kohn 1990:3.4.10
	mi?	eye	Kohn 1990:3.4
	mi? wə ha rik	eyelid	Kohn 1990:3.4.1
	mi? ka:nani	pupil	Kohn 1990:3.4.2.2
	mi? ka:phuna	white of eye	Kohn 1990:3.4.2.3
	mi? ka: makurna	iris	Kohn 1990:3.4.2.1
	mi? kwi:	eye sand	Kohn 1990:3.4.7
	mi? wa ha	tears	Kohn 1990:3.4.6
	mo:ha **mi?** taŋ khwa	eyelash	Kohn 1990:3.4.4
	si **mi:k** si mi:k cokma:	blink (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.4.5
	to:ha **mi?** taŋ khwa	eyebrow	Kohn 1990:3.4.3
Yamphu	**mik**	eye (n.)	Rutgers 1998:556.2
	mik taŋ ghuʔ wa	eyebrow; eyelash (n.)	Rutgers 1998:556.22

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

**Kul-Cham-Ban*	***mik** wa	tears	Michailovsky 1991:177
Bantawa	**mïk**	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58; Michailovsky 1991:58
	mïk wa	tears	Michailovsky 1991:177; Michailovsky 1991:177
	mï wa	tears	Michailovsky 1991:177
	mUk	eye	Rai 1985
	mük	eye	Rai *et al.* 1984:53
	mük-khopt-	wink (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:53
	mük-kon	eyebrow	Rai *et al.* 1984:35
	mük-rim-ma	eyelid	Rai *et al.* 1984:53
	mük-sip-pa	blind	Rai *et al.* 1984:53
	mük-tang	eyebrow	Rai *et al.* 1984:53
	mük a-sam ma	eyelid	Rai *et al.* 1984:53
	mUk kun	eyebrow	Rai 1985
	mUk rim ma	eyelash	Rai 1985
	mUk sip pa	blind (adj. / n.)	Rai 1985
	mUk wa	tears	Rai 1985
	mü? a	tears	Rai *et al.* 1984:53
Chamling	**mi**-kya	tears	Michailovsky 1991:177
	mi cu	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58; Winter 1985:24
	mu	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58
	mu supa	blind	Winter 1985:25
Kulung	**mik** wa	tears	Michailovsky 1991:177; Rai *et al.* 1975
	muks	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58
	muks_	eye	Rai *et al.* 1975
	muks ə mui	eyebrow	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**mik**-si	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402
	mik khi:m	tears ("eye-spit")	Driem 1993
	mik si	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58
Khaling	**'mik** mō	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mas	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58; Matisoff 1987
	mas-ngehpāe	eye disease (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.38
	ma swām	eyebrow; eyelash	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Rai	**mik**-si	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**mi**-tśi	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402
	mit si	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58
Hayu	**mek**	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58; Matisoff 1987; LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402
	mek ujusom utim tso	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	**mi:k** e roy	eye disease (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.38
	mi:k ci	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58; Matisoff 1987
	mi:k ci gerā	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**mik**-si	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402
	mik a si syem a	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mik si	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58
	mik si puŋ ta	eyebrow	Allen 1975
	mik si seom	eyelash	Allen 1975
	mī ka sī	eye	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	bham.**mik**	whites of eye (n.)	Caughley 2000
	gal.**mik**	pupil of eye (n.)	Caughley 2000
	heʔ.**mik**	corner of eye, edge of vision (n.)	Caughley 2000
	heʔ.**mik**.ʔi yo-	look out of corner of eye (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	hyəy.to **mik**	corner of eye (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kliʔ.**mik**	corner of eye (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kliʔ.**mik**.ʔi yo-	look out of corner of eye (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	mik	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mik	eye; gap, small hole (met.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mik	eye	Caughley 1972:1.40
	mik kraw?	eye irritant (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mik lok-ʔo	blind	Caughley 1972:12.A.11
	mik lok.ʔo	blind (human); blind (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.11; Caughley 2000
	mik-kliʔ	tears	Caughley 1972:2.A.65
	mik-luŋ	eyeball	Caughley 1972:2.A.23
	mik. pulʔ	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	mik.ca	eye sores (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mik.khung.gul	epiphyses, bones of eye socket (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mik.kliʔ	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mik.kliʔ	tears, eye-dirt (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	mik.kraw?	mote, speck, irritation in eye (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mik.krəyh	wrinkles near eye, painted eyelashes (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mik.lung	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	mik.pulʔ	eyebrow, eyelash (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mik.ra.ni	eye pupil (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mik.tek	eye-catching (adj.)	Caughley 2000
	mik pulʔ	eyelash; eyebrow	Matisoff 1987; Caughley 1972:2.A.11; Caughley 1972:2.A.12
	yah.**mik**	wrinkle below eye of Barking Deer - said to enable sight at night (n.)	Caughley 2000
	yulʔ.**mik**	ankle (n.)	Caughley 2000
	yuʔ.**mik**	ankle (n.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	(**mik**) hliwiʔna	blink (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.4.5
	gal **mik**	pupil	Caughley 1990:3.4.2.2
	mik	eye	Caughley 1990:3.4
	mik lok na	blind	Caughley 1990:3.4.10
	mik kliʔ	tears; eye sand	Caughley 1990:3.4.6; Caughley 1990:3.4.7
	mik luŋ	eyeball	Caughley 1990:3.4.2
	mik pulʔ	eyebrow; eyelash	Caughley 1990:3.4.3; Caughley 1990:3.4.4
	mik pun	eyelid	Caughley 1990:3.4.1
	mik tiʔ	tears	Caughley 1990:3.4.6
	yuʔ **mik**	ankle bone	Caughley 1990:6.2.5.1
Kham	**'mi**	eye	Watters & Watters 1989:1.40; Matisoff 1987
	'mi jəmkəy-nya	blink (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.2
	'mi mārąyho	blind (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.11
	'mi marə̄yo	blind	Watters & Watters 1989:12.A.11
	'mih gum	eyebrow	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.11
	'mi: syā	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	'mi: lang	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	'mi ləŋ	eyeball	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.23
	'mi sya	eyelash	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.12
	mih gum	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
Magar	mi-**mik**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mik	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402
	mik chap	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mik gedā	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	mik mā-Dhang-ke	blind (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.11
	mik phu	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	mik Di	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	vu^{33} **miɑ^{55}**	face	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.18
Guiqiong	vu^{33} **ɲɑ^{53}**	face	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.17
	wu^{35}**ɲɑ^{55}**	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.16
	ɲɑ^{35} ŋo^{55} tshɔ̃^{53}	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991e
Muya [Minyak]	**mi^{55}**mu^{55}	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.4.4
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɲɛ^{35}** ku^{35}	blind person	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Longxi)	**mí**-χú	eyebrow, eyelash [eye-fur]	Evans 1999:103
Qiang (Mawo)	**mər** kaŋ	eyelash	Sun 1986
	nə hu̯	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.4.4
Qiang (Yadu)	**mi:**	eye	DAI Qingxia 1989q:104
Xumi	**nĩ^{33}** by^{55} ɲɔŋ^{35}	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991m

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	lu^{13} **mə^{53}**	ankle	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.2.5
	lu^{13} **mə^{53}** ɕ^{h}ɛ^{33} rə^{33}	ankle bone	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.2.5.1
Ergong (Danba)	**mau** p^{h}ʂu	white of eye	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.4.2.3
	mau spɛ	eye sand	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.4.7
	mau ʐmi	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.4.3
	me t^{h}e	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.4.4
Ergong (Northern)	**meɣ^{53}** ndɛp^{53} rmo^{53}	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.4.4
	meɣ^{53} pe^{33}	eyelid	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.4.1
	meɣ^{53} ptʂ^{h}u^{33}	white of eye	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.4.2.3
	meɣ^{53} rmo^{53}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.4.3
	meɣ^{53} spa^{33}	eye sand	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.4.7
Daofu	**mo**	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.12
Ergong (Daofu)	**mau** dʑa	eyelid	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.4.1
	mau phru	white of eye	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.4.2.3
	mau rmei	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.4.3
	mau spa	eye sand	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.4.7

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Eastern)	**mɲak** nəsɐ tʃ^{h}ip tʃ^{h}ip	blink (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.4.5
rGyalrong	**mɲ̊ak** t^{h}əp	blink (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.4.5
	mɲ̊ak ʐur	white of eye	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.4.2.3
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**mɲ̊ɐk** tʃhəp kɐ lɐt	blink / wink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1780.11
rGyalrong	ta **mɲ̊ak** kə ʐo	awake / be awake	DAI Qingxia 1989d:1.17
	tə **mɲ̊ak** kə ro	wake up	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:583.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **mɲ̊ɑk** kə ro	wake up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1739.11
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **mɲak** kro	awake / be awake	SUN Hongkai 1991j:1.17
	tə **mɲak** mə ʐ̊ts^{h}ə	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.4.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mɲ̊ak** ka wrum	white of eye	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.4.2.3
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mɲ̊ak** kə prum	white of eye	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.4.2.3
	tə **mɲ̊ak** nəkəndʒɐt	blind	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.4.10
	tə **mɲ̊ak** sne	pupil	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.4.2.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mɲ̊ak** əndʑa	pupil	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.4.2.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wu **mɲak** kə pram	white of eye	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.4.2.3
rGyalrong	tA **mnyak** kA va chap chap	blink (v.)	Nagano 1997:3.4.5

[a] The denasalization of **m-** to **p-** in Chepang **pulʔ** is undoubtedly due to assimilation to the preceding consonant.

4. NUNGIC

Rawang	(**nɛ^{33}**) də zɯʔ	blind (vt.)	LaPolla 2003:1474
Anong	**mɛ**-nɛ	eye	LaPolla 1987:88
	mɛ/nɛ	eye	Benedict 1972:29n93
	mɛ≍nɛ	eye	Benedict 1972:402
	ñi^{55} dzɯŋ^{55}	eye	SUN Hongkai 1988
Rawang	**nɛ^{33}**	eye	LaPolla 2003:89
	nɛ^{33} zɯʔ	blind person	LaPolla 2003:236
Nung	**ŋ̍i^{31}**dɑʔ^{55}	blind, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.21
Anong	**ŋ̍i^{55}**dɛʔ^{55}	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.44
Nung	**ŋ̍i^{55}**dɑʔ^{55}	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.21
	ŋ̍i^{55}luŋ^{55}	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.21
Anong	**ŋ̍i^{55}**luŋ^{55}	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.44
	ŋ̍i^{55}luŋ^{55}dʑɛ^{31}liŋ^{55}	open (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:531.44
Nung	ɑ^{31} xɛ^{35} tɕhi^{31} **ŋ̍i^{55}**	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.21
Trung [Dulong]	**mĕʔ^{55}**	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.46
	me^{55}mɑm^{53}	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.46
	mie^{42}	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mie^{42} bo^{42}	blind	Matisoff 1987
	mie^{42} šin^{44}	pupil	Matisoff 1987
	mie^{42}pi^{44}	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mĭʔ^{55}	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.46
Dulong	**mjɛʔ^{55}**	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.20
	mjɛʔ^{55}bɔʔ^{55}ɑ^{31}sɑŋ^{53}	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**mĕʔ^{55}**	eye	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	meʔ^{55}	eye	LaPolla 1987:88
	me^{55} bɔ̆ʔ^{55}	blind person	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	me^{55} kɔ̆p^{55}	eyelid	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	me^{55} mɑm^{53}	blind person	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	me^{55} pi^{53}	tears	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ne^{31}** pi^{53}	tears	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nĕʔ^{55}	eye	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	neʔ^{55}	eye	LaPolla 1987:88
	ne^{55} bɔ̆ʔ^{55}	blind person	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

7. KARENIC

Bwe	**mo** chí	tears (n.)	Henderson 1997
	mù-ká	face; eye (n.)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997
	mù-đo≍mù-ká	face (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ʔmá-ʔdú	eye	Weidert 1987:984
Karen	**mɛ**	eye	LaPolla 1987:88
Sgaw	**^{1}mɛʔ^{4}**khli	eye sand	Weidert 1987:984
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	bua^{33} **mi^{33}** l̰i^{55}	blind person	DAI Qingxia 1989k:259
	mi^{33} bua^{33} p^{h}o^{55}	eyeball	DAI Qingxia 1989k:104.1
	mi^{33} k^{h}l̰i^{55}	eye	DAI Qingxia 1989k:104
	mi^{33} k^{h}l̰i^{55} ts^{h}u^{31}	eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989k:105.1
	mi^{33} p^{h}e^{55}	eye sand	DAI Qingxia 1989k:194.1
	mi^{33} ts^{h}u^{31}	eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989k:105
	mi^{33} t^{h}i^{55}	tears	DAI Qingxia 1989k:194
	mi^{33} tθa̲^{31}	face	DAI Qingxia 1989k:108
	mi^{33}du^{31} ts^{h}u^{31}	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia 1989k:103
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**mɛ̲^{31}** k^{h}li^{55}	eye	DAI Qingxia 1989j:104
	mɛ̲ʔ^{31} k^{h}li^{55} blɔ^{31}	blind person	DAI Qingxia 1989j:259
	mɛ̲ʔ^{31} k^{h}o^{31} θu^{55}	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia 1989j:103
	mɛ̲ʔ^{31} t^{h}i^{55}	tears	DAI Qingxia 1989j:194
	mɛ̲ʔ^{31} θa^{31}	face	DAI Qingxia 1989j:108

8. BAI

Bai (Dali)	**mi̲^{42}** ji̲^{42}	tears	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**mi̲^{42}** ɕi̲^{42}	tears	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	mi̲^{42} ɕi̲^{42} «ti̲^{33}»	tears (n.)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.4.6

Chinese comparandum

目 OC **mi̊ôk*, *GSR* #1036a 'eye'; Coblin 86:76 ST ****myikw*** > OC ****myəkw***; Schuessler 2007:392-3 ****muk***; B & S 2011: ****C.muk {C.m(r)[u]k}***; Mand. **mù**.

(1b) PTB *s-myak EYE

A number of languages have developed an initial dental nasal due to the following palatal glide (e.g., Qiang [Mawo], Nasu, Sani).

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***(s-)myəːk***	eye	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1036a-c
	mya [a] k	eye	LaPolla 1987:88
	myəːk	eye	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1036a-c

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***myak***	eye	Weidert 1987:680
	myək	eye	Weidert 1987:1094
	*s-mik ≍ **s-myak**	eye	Matisoff 2003a:602

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ****mjak*** ≍ ****hmik*** EYE

**Central Naga*	****mjak*** ≍ hmik	EYE	Bruhn 2014a:III.234
Sangtam	khe **na**	wrist	Marrison 1967
	na?	eye	Marrison 1967
	na to, a **na** torü	blind	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Ntenyi	achü-a **nyang**	ankle	Marrison 1967
	a **nyang**	eye	Marrison 1967
	a **nyang**-ketechun	blind	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **nhe** thi	eyeball	Achumi 1998a:3.4.2

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Mzieme	**miak**	eye	Marrison 1967
	miak tsiet	blind	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	**mik**-on bi-rong	iris	Burling 1992

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	yo **nyek**	ankle	Marrison 1967
Konyak	ya **mek**	ankle	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**mjiʔ^{31}** kǭ^{33} mun^{33}	eyebrow	LIU Lu, ed. 1984

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**mig**	eye	Luce 1985:U.31

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**mei** lwɪ	tears (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989e:3.4.6
	mei mbɪ̨ə	tears (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989e:3.4.6
	mei^{1}	eye	Sofronov c1978
	mej	eye	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4684
	mɛ	eye	Nishida 1964:185, 183; Nishida 1964:7-087

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**miɑ^{55}**	eye	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	miɑ^{55} bo^{55}	tears	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	miɑ^{55}; do^{55}ku^{55}	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.18
Guiqiong	**ŋ̍ɑ^{33}** ɣũ^{55}	tears	SUN Hongkai 1991e
	ŋ̍ɑ^{31}wũ^{55}	tears (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.16
	ŋ̍ɑ^{35}	eye	SUN Hongkai 1991e
	ŋ̍ɑ^{35}	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.16
	ŋ̍ɑ^{35}	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.17
	ŋ̍ɑ^{35} lũ^{55}	eyeball	SUN Hongkai 1991e
	ŋ̍ɑ^{35} ŋo^{53} tshɔ̃^{53}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991e
	ŋ̍ɑ^{35}kuɔ^{55}	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.16
	ŋ̍ɑ^{35}ŋo^{53}tshɔ̃^{53}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.17
	ŋ̍ɑ^{35}ŋo^{55}tshɔ̃^{55}	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.16
	ŋ̍ɑ̃^{35} ko^{53}	blind; blind person	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.17
Lyuzu	**miæ^{33}**mu^{53}	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.18
Muya	**mi^{53}**	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.15
	mi^{55}phə^{33}rɑ^{33}	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.15
	mi^{55}tɕə^{53}	tears (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mi^{35}** mɔ^{35}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.4.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.15
	mi^{53}	eye	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.4; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.15
	mi^{53}tɕɯ^{53}	tears	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.4.6
	mi^{55}kɯ^{33}lø^{35}	eyeball	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.4.2
Namuyi	**miɛ^{33}**tsȷ^{33}hũ^{33}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.4.3
	miɛ^{55}	eye	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.4; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.19
	miɛ^{55}qo^{33}	blind; blind person	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.4.10; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.19
	miɛ^{55}sȷ^{33}ly^{55}	eyeball	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.4.2
	miɛ^{55}tsȷ^{33}hũ^{33}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.19
	miɛ^{55}tsȷ^{33}hũ^{55}	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.4.4
	miɛ^{55}ɦiɛ^{ɹ33}	tears	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.4.6
	miɛ^{55}ɦiɛ^{ɹ33}	tear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:239.19
	miæ^{53} nduo^{31}	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.46
	miæ^{53}lu^{31}	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.46
	miæ^{53}quo^{31}	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.46
	miæ^{53}quo^{31}	blind, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.46
	miæ^{53}ɦiæ^{ɹ31}	tears (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.46
	miæ^{55}tsȷ^{33}hũ^{55}	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**nɑ^{11}**qu^{55}	blind, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.10
	ŋ̍ə^{35}	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.10
	ŋ̍ə^{35}tsȷ^{55}mɛi^{35}	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.10
	ŋ̍ə^{11}qu^{55}	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.10
	ŋ̍ə^{55}bʐ̩e^{55}	tears (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**miɑ^{55}**	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.09
	miɑ^{55}bʐ̩a^{13}	tears (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.09
	miɑ^{55}ʂu^{55}	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**miɑ^{55}**	eye	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.11
	miɑ^{55} bʐ̩a^{13}	tears	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	miɑ^{55} ʂu^{55}	eyebrow	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ŋ̍ɛ^{53}**	eye	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.10
	ŋ̍ɛ^{53} bʐ̩e^{35}	tears	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	ŋ̍ɛ^{53}bʐ̩e^{35}	tear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:239.10
	ŋ̍ɛ^{55} mɛ̃^{55}	eyebrow	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	ŋ̍ɛ^{55}ku^{35}	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.10
	ŋ̍ɛ^{55}mɛ̃^{55}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.10
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	**mi ~ mja**	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
Qiang (Longxi)	**mì** tshò	have dim eyesight (mì = 'eye')	Evans 1999:1975
	mì tɕuà mù	blind person; one-eyed person (= blind person)	Evans 1999:259; Evans 1999:268
	mì-sè	pupil of eye	Evans 1999:104.2
	mì-ɕuà	pupil of eye [eye-bright]	Evans 1999:104.2
	mí-qhú	eye sand	Evans 1999:193.2
Qiang (Mawo)	**mɪj**	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.08
	nu ʁlu	eyeball	Sun 1986
	nə ʁlu	eyeball	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.4.2
	nə hu̯	eyebrow	Sun 1986
	nə ph[ɸ]i^{ɹ}	white of the eye	Sun 1986
	nə quæ^{ɹ} (**nə** qua^{ɹ})	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.4.3
	nə ɸi	white of eye	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.4.2.3
	nə ɻɑ	eyelid	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.4.1
	nə ʂp	eye sand	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	nɑ^{ɹ} ɣdʑɑ hu	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**mè** tié	eye	Evans 1999:104
	mù lé qè	tears	Evans 1999:194
	mù qé-dà mò	have dim eyesight [eye-cloud]	Evans 1999:1975
	mù tié	eye	Evans 1999:104
	mù tié màN pé	pupil of eye	Evans 1999:104.2
	mù tié-mí-tiù-mù	blind person [eyes-not-see-AGT]	Evans 1999:259
	mù tí-à-ʐà-mì-ué-mù	one-eyed person [eye-one-CL-NEG-have-person]	Evans 1999:268
	mù tí-ʂè-χuà-thà	have dim eyesight [eye-p-b-s]	Evans 1999:1975
	mù-mú	eyebrow, eyelash [eye-fur]	Evans 1999:103
	mù-tɕhé	eye sand [eye-feces]	Evans 1999:193.2
Qiang (Taoping)	**mi^{55}**	eye	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.9
	mi^{55} po^{33} χmə^{55}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	mi^{55} ʁo^{33}	tears	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	mi^{55}po^{33}χmə^{55}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**mi** xkam	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia 1989q:103
Queyu (Xinlong)	**mŋ̍e^{55}**	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.13

	mŋe^{55}ŋ̊e^{55}	eyebrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.13
	mŋe^{55}ptʂhe^{55}	tears (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ŋe**^{55}	eye	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.4; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.16
	ŋe^{55} puɯ^{55}	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.4.3
	ŋe^{55} ʑi^{53}	tears	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.4.6
	ŋe^{55}puɯ^{55}	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:237.16
Xumi	**ŋe**^{33} ji^{55}	eye	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	ŋi^{33}ɬũ^{53}	eyebrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.17
	ŋi^{55} dʑyɛ^{55}	tears	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	ŋɛ^{33}jĩ^{55}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.17
	ŋɛ^{33}ji^{55}	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.20
	ŋɛ^{55}wã^{55}	tears (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.17
	ŋɑ^{33} qu^{35}	blind; blind person	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ŋa**^{55}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.14
	ŋa^{55}pu^{55}tshɪ^{55}	eyebrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.14
	ŋa^{55}ʐɻ^{55}	tears (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**mau**	eye	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.4; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.14
	mau ble	tears	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.4.6
Ergong (Northern)	**meɣ**^{53}	eye	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.4
	meɣ^{53} dʑi^{33} dʑua^{33}	iris	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.4.2.1
	meɣ^{53} mdʐe^{33}	pupil	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.4.2.2
	meɣ^{53} pla^{53}	tears	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.4.6
	meɣ^{53} rlu^{13}	eyeball	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.4.2
Ergong (Danba)	**mo** ɣdzi	pupil	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.4.2.2
Ergong (Daofu)	**mɑu**	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.4
	mɑu bla	tears (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.4.6
	mɑu phru **mɑu** nɑ	iris	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.4.2.1

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Eastern)	**mɲɐ** ndʐi ʂrk^{h}o	eyelid	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4.1
	ta me **mɲak**	ankle	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.2.5
	ta me **mɲak** ʃɐre	ankle bone	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.2.5.1
rGyalrong	te **mńak**	eye	LaPolla 1987:88
	tě **mńak**	eye	Benedict 1972:402
	tə **mŋak**	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.12
	tə **mŋak** mo rtsə	eyebrow; eyelash	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4.3; Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4.4
	tə **mŋak** p^{h}ɕɛ	eye sand	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4.7
	tə **mŋak** ʂrk^{h}o	eyelid	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4.1
	tə **mŋak** tɕi	tears (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4.6
	tə **mŋak** wu rmi	eyeball	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **mŋɑk**	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.11
Caodeng	tə-**mŋa**-kɐmʔ	eye-socket	Sun 1997a
	tə́-**mŋa**	eye	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **mŋak**	eye	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4
	tə **mŋak** mə ʂrts^{h}ə	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4.3
	tə **mŋak** p^{h}ʃe	eye sand	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4.7
	tə **mŋak** tʃi	tears	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4.6
	tə **mŋak** ʃŋe	eyeball	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mŋak**	eye	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.4
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mŋak**	eye	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mŋak** ndʐi	iris	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.4.2.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mŋak** pa	eye sand	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.4.7
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mŋak** rme	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.4.3
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mŋak** rme	eyebrow; eyelash	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.4.3; Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.4.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mŋak** rɯe/ʂqu	eyeball	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.4.2
	tə **mŋak** əʂka rme	eyelash	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.4.4
	tə **mŋak** ətɕi	tears	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.4.6
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mŋaŋ** ndʒə	eyelid; iris	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.4.1; Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.4.2.1
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ mɛ **mŋɑk**	ankle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.11
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wu **mŋak** ʃne sɐsəle	iris	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4.2.1
rGyalrong	ta me **mnyak**	ankle	Nagano 1997:6.2.5
	ta me **mnyak** wu sha ru	ankle bone	Nagano 1997:6.2.51
	tA **mnyak**	eye	Nagano 1997:3.4
	tA **mnyak** rdzA ma	eyelash	Nagano 1997:3.4.4
	wu **mnyak** kA ro	awake	Nagano 1997:1.17
	wu **mnyak** nA su ro	awake	Nagano 1997:1.17
rGBenzhen	ta-me **mŋak**	ankle	Sun 1997b
	tə-**mŋak**	eye	Sun 1997b
Shili	tə-**mŋɐχ**	eye	Sun 1997c

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**me**^{55} dʑim^{55} sɯ^{31}mǎŋ^{53}	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ne**^{55} ʑɯm^{53} sɯ^{3}mǎŋ^{53}	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *s-myak EYE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***(s-)myak**	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
	***s-myak**	eye	LaPolla 1987:88
	***s-myak**^{H}	eye	Matisoff 2003a:602
	***s-myak**^{H} + pluːŋ^{2} OR pyuːŋ^{2}	face	Matisoff 1978a:62

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**ŋɑ**^{31} l̥iɑ^{55}	face	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋɑ^{31} mu^{55}	eyebrow	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋɑ^{31} pɛi^{55}	tears	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋɑ^{31} tɕit^{31} ɑ^{31} tɕit^{31}	blind person	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋɑ^{31} tɕi^{31}	eye	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	tɕhi^{55} **ŋɔʔ**^{55}	knee	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tɕhi^{55}**ŋɔʔ**^{55}	knee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.28
	ŋɔʔ^{55} mui^{31}	eyebrow	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋɔʔ^{55} n̥ɔ^{55}	face	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋɔʔ^{55} pi^{55}	tears	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋɔʔ^{55} tset^{55}	blind person	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋɔʔ^{55} tsiʔ^{31}	eye	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋɔʔ^{55} tsiʔ^{31}	eye	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**ŋaʔ**^{31} mui^{31}	eyebrow	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋaʔ^{31} na^{35}	face	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋaʔ^{31} puɯ^{31}	tears	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋaʔ^{31} tsət^{31}	blind person	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋaʔ^{31} tɕiʔ^{55}	eye	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31} **ɲɔʔ**^{55}	joint	Dai Qingxia 1989f:162
	a^{31}**ɲɔʔ**^{55}	joint (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.29
	lɔʔ^{55} **ŋɔʔ**^{55}	wrist	Dai Qingxia 1989f:131
	ɲɔʔ^{55}	eye	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.29
	ɲɔʔ^{55}	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989f:101
	ɲɔʔ^{55}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.29
	ɲɔʔ^{55} mui^{31}	eyebrow; eyelash	Dai Qingxia 1989f:100; Dai Qingxia 1989f:102
	ɲɔʔ^{55} nɔʔ^{55}	pupil	Dai Qingxia 1989f:101.2
	ɲɔʔ^{55} n̥o^{55}	face	Dai Qingxia 1989f:105
	ɲɔʔ^{55} pi^{55}	tears	Dai Qingxia 1989f:187
	ɲɔʔ^{55} p^{h}ʐu^{55}	eye white	Dai Qingxia 1989f:101.1
	ɲɔʔ^{55} tsi^{31}	eyeball	Dai Qingxia 1989f:101.3
	ɲɔʔ^{55} tsɛt^{55}	blind person	Dai Qingxia 1989f:242
	ɲɔʔ^{55}ŋ̊ɔ^{55}	face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.29
	ɲɔʔ^{55}pʐaŋ^{55}	person w / pockmarked face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0206.29
	ɲɔʔ^{55}tsɛt^{55}	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.29
	ɲɔʔ^{55}ʂaŋ^{31}	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.29
Bola	**mjaʔ**^{31}	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989g:101
	mjaʔ^{31} mɑ̰uŋ^{55}	eyebrow	Dai Qingxia 1989g:100
	mjaʔ^{31} ts^{h}ɛ̃^{55}	eyelash	Dai Qingxia 1989g:102
	mjaʔ^{31} tuŋ^{31}	face	Dai Qingxia 1989g:105
	mjaʔ^{31} tʃɔt^{31}	blind person	Dai Qingxia 1989g:242
Bola (Luxi)	**mjaʔ**^{31}tuŋ^{31}	face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.32
	mjaʔ^{31}tʃɔt^{31}	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.32
	mjaʔ^{31}tʃʲ^{35}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.32
	mjaʔ^{31}ʃaʔ^{55}	person w / pockmarked face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0206.32
Bola	**ŋau**^{55} pi^{55}	tears	Dai Qingxia 1989g:187
Burmese (Modern)	a **myak**	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
	myak	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
	[myak] kwaŋ^{4}	eye-socket	Luce 1985:Y.85
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mjɛʔ**^{4}ŋ̊ɑ^{22}	face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.27
	mjɛʔ^{4}si^{53}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.27
	tɕhe^{22}**mjɛʔ**^{4}si^{53}	ankle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.27
Burmese (Spoken)	ă **myɛʔ**^{2}	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mjɛʔ**^{44}ŋ̊ɑ^{22}	face	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:236.40
	mjɛʔ^{44}si^{53}	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.40
Burmese (Written)	a **myak**	eye; eyesight	Luce 1985:U.31; Luce 1985:W.90
	khre **myak** ci’	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	khre^{2}**mjɑk**^{4}si^{1}	ankle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.26
	mjɑk hnɑ^{2}	face	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:236.39
	mjɑk^{4} se^{1}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.26
	mjɑk^{4}hnɑɑ^{2}	face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.26
	mjɑk se^{1}	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.39
	myak	eye; face; knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120; Hansson 1989:468; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402; Coblin 1986:76
	myak-ci’	eye	Matisoff 1987
	myak-hlwa	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	myak-hmaŋ-tân	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	myak-hmoŋ	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	myak-hna	face (”eye-nose”); face (’eye-nose’)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:62; Benedict 1972:35n116
	myak-khûm	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	myak-khûm-mwê	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	myak-khwam	eyelid	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	myak-lûm	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	myak-rac	iris	Matisoff 1987
	myak-toŋ	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	myak ci	eye	Marrison 1967
	myak nha	face	Marrison 1967
	pha **myak**	ankle	Marrison 1967
	phə **myak**	ankle	Matisoff 1987
Danu	**myɛʔ**^{2}	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
Hpun (Metjo)	**yuʔ**^{5}sih^{4}	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
	yuʔ^{5}s‘ih^{4}	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
Hpun (Northern)	**yùʔ** s(h)ì, lùʔ shì, **yù**	eye / eyeball	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**mjɔʔ**^{31}khuŋ^{35}	face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.31
	mjɔʔ^{31}mjɔ̃^{31}	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.31
	mjɔʔ^{31}tʃik^{31}	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.31
	mjɔʔ^{31}tʃik^{55}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.31
	mjɔʔ^{31}ʃɔʔ^{55}	person w / pockmarked face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0206.31
Lashi	jou^{33} **mjɔʔ**^{31}	joint	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.9
	lɔʔ^{31} **mjɔʔ**^{31}	wrist	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.1.6
	mjɔʔ^{31}	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.4

[a] The final labial WB **khwam** perhaps result of assimilation to the preceding **-w-**.

	mjɔʔ³¹ khjei⁵⁵	eye sand	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.4.7
	mjɔʔ³¹ kʉk⁵⁵	eyelid	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.4.1
	mjɔʔ³¹ mɔ:i⁵⁵	iris	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.4.2.1
	mjɔʔ³¹ phju:³³	white of eye	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.4.2.3
	mjɔʔ³¹ tsham³³	eyebrow; eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.4.3; DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.4.4
	mjɔʔ³¹ tso³³	pupil	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.4.2.2
	mjɔʔ³¹ tuaŋ³³	face; cheek	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.1; DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.11
	mjɔʔ³¹ tʃham⁵⁵	eyeball	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.4.2
Lashi (Lachhe')	**myɔʔ²**	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
	myɔʔ³-	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
Lashi	**ŋou³¹** pi³¹	tears (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.4.6
Leqi (Luxi)	jou³³**mjɔʔ³¹**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.33
	lɔʔ³¹**mjɔʔ³¹**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.33
	mjoʔ³¹tuaŋ³³	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.33
	mjɔʔ³¹	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.33
	mjɔʔ³¹mja:ŋ³¹	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.33
	mjɔʔ³¹tʃɛt³¹	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.33
	mjɔʔ³¹ʃɔʔ⁵⁵	person w / pockmarked face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0206.33
Marma	**myaʔ** cĭ	eye	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:3
	myaʔ tɔŋ	eyelash	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:4a
Maru [Langsu]	**mjoʔ³¹** jam⁵⁵	eyelid	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.1
	mjoʔ³¹ khuŋ³⁵	face	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.1
	mjoʔ³¹ tʃik⁵⁵	blind	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.10
	mjɔ³¹ phju³¹ tʃik⁵⁵	white of eye	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.2.3
	mjɔʔ³¹ khjik⁵⁵	eye sand	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.7
	mjɔʔ³¹ mạuŋ⁵⁵	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.3
	mjɔʔ³¹ ma⁵⁵	iris	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.2.1
	mjɔʔ³¹ tshɛ̃³¹	eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.4
	mjɔʔ³¹ tsɔ³¹	pupil	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.2.2
	mjɔʔ³¹ tʃik³⁵	eye	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4
	mjɔʔ³¹ tʃik³⁵ tʃhɛʔ⁵⁵	eyeball	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.2
	mjɔʔ³¹khuŋ³⁵	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.43
	mjɔʔ³¹tʃik³¹	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.43
	mjɔʔ³¹tʃik⁵⁵	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.43
	myɔ(ʔ)²	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
	ŋuk³¹ pik³¹	tears (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.6
Taung-Yo	**myæʔ¹**	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mjoʔ²¹** mui²¹	eyebrow	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	mjoʔ²¹ toŋ²¹	face	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	mjoʔ²¹ tʃit²¹	blind person	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	mjoʔ²¹ tʃi⁵⁵	eye	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	mjoʔ²¹toŋ²¹	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.30
	mjoʔ²¹toŋ²¹	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.42
	mjoʔ²¹tʃit²¹	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.30
	mjoʔ²¹tʃit²¹	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.42
	mjoʔ²¹tʃi⁵⁵	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.30
	mjoʔ²¹tʃi⁵⁵	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.42
	mjoʔ²¹ʃoʔ⁵⁵	person w / pockmarked face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0206.30
	myɔʔ²	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
	vui²¹**mjoʔ²¹**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.30
	ŋau⁵¹ pji²¹	tears	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***(C)-myak^{H}**	eye	Bradley 1979b:92; Hansson 1989:468
Lolopho	**mę̱⁴⁴** bi³³	tears (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4.6
	mę̱⁴⁴ dɣ³¹	eye	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4
	mę̱⁴⁴ ka⁴⁴	blind	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4.10
	mę̱⁴⁴ kɯ⁵⁵ phæ³³	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4.3 [a]
	mę̱⁴⁴ nę̱³³	pupil	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4.2.2
	mę̱⁴⁴ phɣ³³	iris; white of eye	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4.2.1; DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4.2.3
	mę̱⁴⁴ sæ³¹	eyeball	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4.2
	mę̱⁴⁴ tɕhi̱⁴⁴	blink (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4.5
	mę̱⁴⁴ tɕi⁴⁴	eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4.4
	mę̱⁴⁴ ɕi³¹	eye sand	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4.7
	pha³¹ **mę̱⁴⁴**	face; cheek	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.1; DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.11
PNL	**(s-)myak**	eye	CHEN Kang 1986a:149.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	tsho³³ **ŋa̱⁵³**	face	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.1
	ŋa̱⁵³	eye	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987; DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.4
	ŋa̱⁵³ ji²⁴	tears (n.)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	ŋa̱⁵³ ji³²³	tears (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.4.6
	ŋa̱⁵³ ji³²³ tiɛ²⁴	tears (n.)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	ŋa̱⁵³ mo²⁴	eyebrow; eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.4.3; DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.4.4
	ŋa̱⁵³ mo²⁴ kʰɣ³³	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	ŋa̱⁵³ tshʅ³¹	eye sand	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.4.7
	ŋa̱⁵³ tsɛ²⁴	eye	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	ŋa̱⁵³ji³²³tiɛ²⁴	tears	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	ŋa̱⁵³thi³¹	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.47
	ŋa̱⁵³tsɛ²⁴	eye	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	ŋa̱⁵⁵tɤ³⁵	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.47
	ŋa̱ɑ⁵³kɯ²⁴lo⁵¹	corner of eye, canthus	MU Shihua 2003
	ŋa̱ɑ⁵³mo²⁴	eyelash	MU Shihua 2003
	ŋa̱ɑ⁵³sʅ³¹ko³²³	eyeball	MU Shihua 2003
	ŋa̱ɑ⁵³tsɛ²⁴	eye	MU Shihua 2003
	ŋa̱ɑ⁵³tʰʅ³¹	eye sand	MU Shihua 2003
Lalo	**ʔmi̱³³**	eye	CHEN Kang 1986a:149.
	ʔmi̱³³ fu̱⁵⁵	white of eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2.3
	ʔmi̱³³ hɑ⁵⁵	eyebrow	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.3
	ʔmi̱³³ lɑ²¹ bɑ²¹	eyelid	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.1
	ʔmi̱³³ tse²¹	eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4
	ʔmi̱³³ tsʅ⁵⁵	eyelash	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.4
	ʔmi̱³³ ɑ⁵⁵ ɣɯ³³	eyeball	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2
	ʔmi̱³³ ɣɯ⁵⁵	tears (n.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.6
Lipho	**mę̱³³**	eye	CHEN Kang 1986a:149.
	mę̱³³du²¹	eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4
	mę̱³³phu³³	white of eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2.3
	mę̱³³sɛ²¹	eyeball	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2
	mę̱³³tɛ³³	blind	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.10
	pha²¹**mę̱³³**	face	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.1
Luquan	tshi³³ta̱³³tʂo²¹**mę̱³³**	ankle	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.5
	na 22s	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
Nasu	**na 32s**	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
	na̱²	eye	CHEN Kang 1986a:149.
	na̱²¹ bu²¹ tsʰe²¹	eyebrow	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.3
	na̱²¹ du³³	eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4
	na̱²¹ e̱r²¹	blind	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.10
	na̱²¹ ko̱²¹	eyelid	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.1
	na̱²¹ te̱r²¹	blind	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.10
	na̱²¹ zo³³	pupil	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2.2
	na̱²¹ tʰu³³	white of eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2.3
	na̱³³ mo³³ se³³	eyeball	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2
	na̱³³ nɖʰɯ³³	tears (n.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.6
	na̱³³ tsʅ³³	eyelash	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.4
	tʰɔ⁵⁵ **na̱²¹**	face	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.1
	ʂʅ²¹ **na̱²¹** tsi̱⁵⁵	ankle	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.5
Neisu	**na³³**	eye	CHEN Kang 1986a:149.
Nesu	**nę̱³³**	eye	CHEN Kang 1986a:149.
	tʰa²¹ **ȵ̍⁵⁵**	face	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.1
	ȵ̍i³³ tę̱³³	blind	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.10
	ȵ̍ɪ̱³³ bu²¹ tʂer⁵⁵	eyebrow	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.3
	ȵ̍ɪ̱³³ du³³	eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4
	ȵ̍ɪ̱³³ kɤ̱³³	eyelid	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.1
	ȵ̍ɪ̱³³ tʂer⁵⁵	eyelash	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.4
	ȵ̍ɪ̱³³ tʰu²¹	white of eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2.3
	ȵ̍ɪ̱³³ ʂer³³	eyeball	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2
	ȵ̍ɪ̱³³ ʐʅ³³	tears (n.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.6
Noesu	**na³³**du³³	eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4
	na³³dʑi³³	blind	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.10
	na³³tse²¹	eyelash	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.4
	na³³tʰu³³	white of eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2.3
Nosu	**ȵ̍o̱³³**bi⁵⁵	blind	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.10
	ȵ̍o̱³³dzʅ²¹	eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4
	ȵ̍o̱³³tsi³³	eyelash	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.4
	ȵ̍o̱³³tɕhu³³	white of eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2.3
	ȵ̍o̱⁴	eye	CHEN Kang 1986a:149.
	ɕʅ⁴⁴**ȵ̍o̱³³**tsʅ̄⁵⁵	ankle	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.5
Nusu (Southern)	**mia̱³¹** dʑɑ⁵³	blind person	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	mia̱³¹ mɯ⁵⁵	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	mia̱³¹ tʂi⁵⁵	eye	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**miɑ⁵³** dʑi³¹	eye	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	miɑ⁵³ mɯi⁵⁵	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**miɑ⁵³**dʑi³¹	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.45
Nusu (Central)	**mɹa̱⁵³**dzi̱³¹	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.34
	mɹa̱⁵³dzə̱⁵³	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**mʴa̱³¹** dzi³¹	eye	DAI Qingxia 1989o:101.
	mʴa̱³¹ dzə̱³¹	blind person	DAI Qingxia 1989o:242.
	mʴa̱³¹ m̥ʴə³⁵	eyebrow; eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989o:100.; DAI Qingxia 1989o:102.
Nusu (Central)	**mʴa̱⁵³** dzə̱⁵³	blind person	DAI Qingxia 1989p:242.
	mʴa̱⁵³ dzʅ³¹	eye	DAI Qingxia 1989p:101.
	mʴa̱⁵³ m̥ʴə³³	eyebrow; eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989p:100.; DAI Qingxia 1989p:102.
	ŋɯ³³ bʴi³³	tears	DAI Qingxia 1989p:187.
	ŋɯ³⁵ bɹi³⁵ ɑ⁵⁵	tears	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ȵ̍ɑ̱³¹** dzʅ⁵⁵ dzɐ̱³⁵ ɑ⁵⁵	blind person	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ȵ̍ɑ̱⁵³ dzʅ⁵⁵	eye	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ȵ̍ɑ̱⁵³ m̥ɔ̃³¹	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɦi̱ɔ̃³¹** bɹi³¹	tears	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**na³³**	look at; look	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:528.22
	na³³ du³³	eye	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	na³³ dʑi³³	blind person	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	na³³ me³³	close (eye)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	tʰu⁵⁵ **na²¹**	face	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ȵ̍ɔ³³**	eye	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ȵ̍ɔ³³bi⁵⁵	blind	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ȵ̍ɔ³³la³³	attractive; eye-catching	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ȵ̍ɔ³³lu̱³³	eye, white of the	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ȵ̍ɔ³³na³³	eye disease	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ȵ̍ɔ³³ʥʅ²¹	eye	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ȵ̍ɔ³³ʥʅ³³	blind	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ȵ̍ɔ³⁴ȵ̍ɔ³³	eye; hole (opening)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Lishan)	**nɛ̱³³** sɛ̱³³	eye	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	**nę̱³³**sʌ²¹	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.25
	nę̱³³tɯ⁵⁵	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.25
	nę̱³³ŋu³³	see	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.25
	tʰu²¹**nę̱³³**	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**nę̱³³**sɛ³³	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.26
	nę̱³³tʌ̱³³	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.26
	tʰɒ²¹**ni̱⁵⁵**; thɒ²¹**nę̱²¹**	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mę̱³³**du²¹	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.37
	mę̱³³du²¹	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.24
	mę̱³³tɕ̱³³	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.24
	mę̱³³ɕɑ⁵⁵	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.37
	phe²¹**mę̱³³**	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.37 [a]
	tɕhi³³**mę̱³³**sæ²¹	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.37
	tʰʌ̱²¹**mę̱³³**	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**mi̱³³** dzʅ⁵⁵ ɣɯ⁵⁵	tears	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	mi̱³³ tsʅ⁵⁵ tɕʰy⁵⁵	eyebrow	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	mi̱³³ ɕe²¹	eye	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.23
	pho³¹ **mi³³**	face	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	pʰo²¹**mi³³**; phu²¹	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.23
Yi (Weishan)	khɯ⁵⁵ȵ̍⁵⁵**ʔmɪ̱³³**sᴇ²¹	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.36
	pho²¹**mᴇ³³**	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.36
	ʔmɪ̱³³tsᴇ²¹	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.36
Yi (Wuding)	**nɑ̱²**dɣ³³	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.38
	nɑ̱²tə̱²lɑ̱⁵⁵kɯ̱³³	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.38
Yi (Xide)	fu⁵⁵-**n̥ɯ³³**	face, features	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	kʰa³³-**ȵ̍ɔ³³**	face	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.21

[a] These two Nanhua forms, **phe²¹mę̱³³** and **tʰʌ̱²¹mę̱³³**, are perhaps evidence of dialect mixture. The PLB cluster ***pl-** sometimes loses the lateral element, but sometimes develops into a retroflex stop (as in Mojiang and Dafang). It is possible that the Nanhua form with retroflex initial is borrowed from such a dialect.

[a] See the similar Newar form **mi khā phu si**.

	o^{33}-**ŋ̩i^{55}**	face	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̩o^{33}-dzɻ^{33}	blind	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33} bi^{55}	blind; blind person	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33} bɻ^{33}	tears	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33} dzɻ^{21}	eye	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33} dzɻ^{33}	blind person	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33} m̥o^{33}	eyebrow	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}-bɻ^{33}	tears	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}-bɻ^{33} du̲^{33}	weep	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}-dzɻ^{21}	eye	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}-m̥o^{33}	eyebrow	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}-m̥m̄^{33}	close eyes (die)	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}-m̥m̄^{33}-ts^{h}l̄^{33}	wink	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}-ndʑɻ^{33}	eyelid	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}-tsi^{33}	eyelash	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}-tɕ^{h}u^{33}	white of eye	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}-zɯ^{33}	eyeball	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}bi^{55}	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.35
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}bi^{55}	blind, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.35
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}bi^{55}	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.21
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}dzɻ^{21}	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.35
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}dzɻ^{21}	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.21
	ŋ̩ɔ^{33}dzɻ^{21}m̥(l̄)^{33}	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.21
	ʁɻ^{34}-**ŋ̩ɔ^{33}**-tsɻ^{55}	ankle	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʁɻ^{34}**ŋ̩ɔ^{33}**tsl^{55}	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.35
	ʂa^{33}-**mɻ^{55}**	face	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**ne̲^{33}**	eye	CHEN Kang 1986a:149.
	ne̲^{33} bu̲^{33} ts‘ɛ^{22}	eyebrow	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4.3
	ne̲^{33} lo^{22} zo^{21}	eyeball	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4.2
	ne̲^{33} mo^{22} zo^{21}	iris	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4.2.1
	ne̲^{33} mo^{22} zo^{21} ne̲^{33} tʂ‘i^{21} mo^{33}	pupil	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4.2.2
	ne̲^{33} mo^{22} zo^{21} ɑ^{33} t‘o^{22} mo^{33}	white of eye	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4.2.3
	ne̲^{33} mu^{33} ts‘i̲^{21}	blink (v.)	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4.5
	ne̲^{33} sɑ^{21}	eye	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4
	ne̲^{33} tsɛ^{22}	eyelash	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4.4
	ne̲^{33} tɯ^{55}	blind	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4.10
	ne̲^{33} tɕi^{22}	eyelid	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4.1
	ne̲^{33} ʑi^{22}	tears (n.)	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4.6
	ne̲^{33}sa^{21}	eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4
	ne̲^{33}tsl̄^{33}	eyelash	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.4
	ne̲^{33}tɯ^{55}	blind	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.10
	ne̲^{33}ʈho^{22}	white of eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2.3
Lolo (Ni)	**ne** sé	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
Ahi	**nie^{44}**	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
	t‘u^{21} **ne^{33}**	face	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.1
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**me^{31}** mɔ^{33}	eyebrow	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mja^{31}** ji^{31}	tears	DAI Qingxia 1989h:194
Jinuo (Baka)	**mja^{31}** ji^{31}	tears	DAI Qingxia 1989i:194
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mja^{31}** mɯ^{44}	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia 1989h:103
Jinuo (Baka)	**mja^{31}** m̥ɯ^{44}	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia 1989i:103
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mja^{31}** plɯ^{55}	blind person	DAI Qingxia 1989h:259
Jinuo (Baka)	**mja^{31}** plɯ^{55}	blind person	DAI Qingxia 1989i:259
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mja^{31}** p^{h}lʌ^{44}	face	DAI Qingxia 1989h:108
Jinuo (Baka)	**mja^{31}** p^{h}lʌ^{44}	face	DAI Qingxia 1989i:108
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mja^{31}** sɯ^{44}	eye	DAI Qingxia 1989h:104
Jinuo (Baka)	**mja^{31}** sɯ^{44}	eye	DAI Qingxia 1989i:104
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mja^{31}** tsɻ^{33}	eye	DAI Qingxia 1989h:104.1
Jinuo (Baka)	**mja^{31}** tsɻ^{44}	eye	DAI Qingxia 1989i:104.1
Jinuo	**mja^{42}** tsi^{44}	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.44
	mja^{42}phrə^{44}	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.44
	mja^{42}phɹə^{44}	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.34
	mja^{42}pjo^{55}	person w / pockmarked face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0206.44
	mja^{42}pr̥^{55}	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.44
	mja^{42}tsi^{44}	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.34
	mjɐ^{42}	see	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**mjɑ^{42}** e^{42}	tears	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	mjɑ^{42} m̥r̥^{44}	eyebrow	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	mjɑ^{42} pɹɯ^{55}	blind person	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	mjɑ^{42} p^{h}ɹə^{44}	face	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	mjɑ^{42} sr̥^{44}	eye	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	mjɑ^{42} tsi^{33}	eye	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	mjɑ^{42} tsi^{44} pɹɛ^{44} mi^{42}	blink	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**mjɑ^{42}**pɹɯ^{55}	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	tɛ^{33} **mjʌ^{44}**	see	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2103
Jinuo (Baka)	tɛ^{33} **mjʌ^{44}**	see	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2103
Jinuo (Youle)	tɛ^{44} **mjə^{44}**	see	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	ʃɔ^{31}**mja^{42}**	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	ʃɔ^{44} **mja^{31}**	ankle	DAI Qingxia 1989h:130
Kucong	**miɛ33** khʌ33	eye	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	miɛ33 phv31	face	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	miɛ33 tsv55 lv55	blind person	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***meh^**	eye	Bradley 1979b:92
Lahu (Shehleh)	**meh^** fui˯	face	Bradley 1979a:91
Lahu (Nyi)	**meh^** hpfuh˅	face	Bradley 1979a:91
Lahu	**mɛ̂ʔ**	eye	LaPolla 1987:88
Lahu (Lancang)	khu^{33}**mɛ^{54}**ɕi^{11}	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.43
	mɛ^{54}phu^{53}	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.43
	mɛ^{54}tɕu^{35} pɑ^{11}	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.43
	mɛ^{54}ɕi^{11}	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.43
Lahu (Black)	khi-**mɛ̂ʔ**-ši	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	meh^ shi	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
	mɛʔ^{54} p^{h}ɣ^{53}	face	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛʔ^{54} qɣ^{35} mɣ^{33}	eyebrow	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛʔ^{54} si^{11}	eye	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛʔ^{54} tsɣ^{35} pa^{11}	blind person	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛʔ^{54} ɣɯ^{31}	tears	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛ̂ʔ	eye	Matisoff 1974:329
	mɛ̂ʔ cú	blind	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ še e ve	look at sthg sidelong; squint at out of the corner of one’s eye	Matisoff 1985a:180
	mɛ̂ʔ-cú-pā	blind man (?.)	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-cɛ(-kā)	space between eyes	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-gɨ̀	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-kā	space between eyes	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-mu	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-phû	face	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:62
	mɛ̂ʔ-phû-dì	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-pí(-cu)	sty	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-qha-lê	eyeball	Matisoff 1987:DL 1022
	mɛ̂ʔ-qha-phu	eyeball	Matisoff 1987:DL 1022
	mɛ̂ʔ-qú-mu	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-šī	space between eyes; eye	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:145
	mɛ̂ʔ-tɛ-kā	space between eyes	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-yâ-mî	pupil (”eye-daughter”)	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-ɣɨ̀	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ^{54}p^{h}u^{33}	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.33
	mɛ^{54}si^{11}	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.33
	mɛ^{54}tsu^{35}pa^{11}	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɛʔ^{54}**	eye	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛʔ^{54} mɣ^{33}	eyebrow	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛʔ^{54} nɻ^{33}	blink	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛʔ^{54} p^{h}ɣ^{55}	face	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛʔ^{54} tso^{35} paʔ^{21}	blind person	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛʔ^{54} ɣɯ^{31}	tears	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	**meh^** hk’a˯	eye	Bradley 1979a:92
	meh^ hpfuh˅	face	Bradley 1979a:91
Lisu	hpi^{5}-**myá^{3}**	face	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	hpi^{5}-**myá^{3}**	face (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	hpi^{5}**mya^{3}**	face	Bradley 1979b:91
	miɛ^{4}tɯ^{44}	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.27
	miɛ^{44}sɯ^{31}	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	**miq̲^{44}** bi̲^{44}	tears	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
	miq̲^{44} kq̲^{44} mu̲^{44}	eyebrow	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
	miq̲^{44} k^{h}u^{31}	blind person	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**mi̲ɛ̲^{33}**sɯ^{31}	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.40
	mi̲ɛ̲^{33}tɯ̲^{33}	blind, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.40
Lisu (Central)	**mja^{33}** bjøʔ^{21}	offending the eye; dazzling	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**mja^{33}**bi?^{21}	offending the eye; dazzling	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}bɔ^{33}	white ring around the eye (of animal)	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}du^{21}	eye	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}khi^{21}	gum in the eye	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}khu^{21}	blind; lose eyesight	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}khɤ^{21}tɕhi^{33}	in front of the eye; at present; in the presence of someone; at the moment	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}pja^{33}	wrinkle the eye	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}pɤ^{55}su^{55}	corner of eye; canthus wrinkle (at corner of eye)	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}si^{21}	pink-eye	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}sɯ^{21}	eye	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}sɯ^{21} na^{44}	pain in the eye	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}tshi^{55}	shut the eye; jiffy; close the eye (die)	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}tsɔ^{35}khu^{33}	eye socket	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}tø^{35}	fixed eye; stare	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}tɤ^{33}	blind; lose eyesight	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**myá3**	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
Lisu (Putao)	**mya^{3}** (**myɛ^{3}**sɣ^{5})	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
Lisu	**myá^{3}** kaw^{3}-ji^{4}	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	myá^{3} kaw^{3}-mū^{3}	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**myá^{3}** kaw^{3}-mū^{3}	eyelash	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**myá^{3}** ni^{2}-ma^{3}	eyeball (”eye-heart”)	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**myá^{3}** ni^{2}-ma^{3}	eyeball	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**myá^{3}**-bye^{3}	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**myá^{3}**-hchē^{6}	blind	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**myá^{3}**-sï^{5}	eye	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**myá^{3}**-sï^{5}	eye	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**myá^{3}**-ə chē^{6}	blind	Matisoff 1987
	myá^{3}hchē^{6}	blind	Bradley 1979b:571
	mya^{3}sï^{5}	eye	Bradley 1979b:92
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**mya^{3}**si^{5}	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
Lisu (Putao)	**mya^{3}**sɣ^{5}	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
	myɛ^{3}sɣ^{5}	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**myɑ^{3}**sï^{5}	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
Lisu	**niɛ3**	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
Lisu (Nujiang)	**niɛ̲^{44}** sɯ^{31}	eye	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	phi^{21}**mja^{33}**	face; appearance	Bradley 1994
	phi^{21}**mja^{33}** tshi^{21}bæ^{33}	basin for washing face	Bradley 1994
	phi^{21}**mja^{33}** tshi^{21}du^{33}	things for washing face	Bradley 1994
	phi^{21}tɔ^{35} **mja^{33}**tɔ^{35}	face to face	Bradley 1994
Lisu	phi^{31}**miɛ^{44}**	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.27
	phi^{31}**mi̲ɛ̲^{33}**	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	p^{h}i^{31} **miq̲^{44}**	face	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	thi^{21} **mja^{33}**tshi^{55}	in a twinkle of the eye	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	bɑ^{21}**n̥^{44}**zɑ^{21}	cheek	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.11
	ne^{33} bu^{33} ts^{h}l̄^{44}	eyelash	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.2
	ne^{33} bu^{33} tʂo^{55}	knit eyebrows, frown	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.3
	ne^{33} k^{h}ɯ^{33}	corner of eye	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:94.6
	ne^{33} læ^{33} bu̲^{44}	sty in eye	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:94.1
	ne^{33} ma^{55}	dry eye crud	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.5
	ne^{33} mæ^{33}	corner of eye	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.4
	ne^{33} m̥^{21} dzɣ^{55}	eyes narrowed	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.8
	ne^{33} m̥^{21} ts^{h}l̄^{44}	blind-eyed; close eyes	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.7
	ne^{33} qɣ^{55}	eyelid	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:95.1
	ne^{33} sɻ^{21} ko^{33} n̥^{44} mɑ^{33}	eyeball	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:94.3
	ne^{33} ts^{h}l̄^{44}	eyelash	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:94.2
	ne^{33} tʂɑ^{33}	eyesight	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:94.4
	ne^{33} ɬ̥^{21}	eye sand	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.11

	ne[33] ɬu[33]	white of eyes	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.13
	ne[33] ʂa[44] mɑ[33]	blind person	Ma Xueliang 1989:308.3
	ne[33]bu[33]tshi̱[33]	eyebrow	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]mA[55]	eye sand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]mu[21]tshi̱[33]	blind	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]mɛ[33]	corner of the eye	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]qɤ[55]	eyelid	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]si[21]	eye	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]si[21]ko[33]mɒ[33]ne[33]	pupil	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]si[21]ko[33]ni̱[33]mɒ[33]	eyeball	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]tshi̱[33]	eyelash	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]tʂɒ[55]	eyesight	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]ɬi[21]	eye sand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]ɬu[33]	cataract of the eye	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]ʂA̱[33]	blind	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]ʐi̱[33]	tears	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[44]	eye	Chen Kang 1986a:149.; Matisoff 1972b:145
	ne[44] bʏ[33] ts^{h}ɤ[33]	eyebrow	Ma Xueliang 1989:320.6
	ne[44] m̩[44] ts^{h}ɻ̃[44]	blink (zha) (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:320.11
	ne[44] m[44] ts^{h}ɻ̃[44]	blink (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:350.4
	ne[44] sɻ[11]	eye	Ma Xueliang 1989:320.3
	ne[44] sɻ[11] tsɻ[44] mɑ[33] n̩[44]	eyeball	Ma Xueliang 1989:320.4
	ne[44] tsɻ[44]	eyelash	Ma Xueliang 1989:320.7
	ne[44] zɻ[33]	tears	Ma Xueliang 1989:320.5
	ne[44] ɬɻ̃[11]	eye sand	Ma Xueliang 1989:320.8
	ne[44]bu[33]tshɤ[33]	eyebrow	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.3
	ne[44]m̩[44]tshi[44]	blink	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.5
	ne[44]si[21]	eye	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4
	ne[44]si[21]tsi[44]mɑ[33]n̩[44]	eyeball	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.2
Yi (Sani)	**ne**[44]sʐ[11]	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ne**[44]tsi[44]	eyelash	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.4
	ne[44]ɬu[33]	white of eye	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.2.3
	ne[44]ʂa[44]	blind	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.10
Yi (Sani)	**ne**[44]ʂɑ[44]	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.39
	ne[44]ʂɑ[44]mɒ[33]	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.39
Sani [Nyi]	n̩[55] **ne**[33]	countenance	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:85.2
	ɕe[44] **ne**[44] ts^{h}ɻ[33]	ankle	Ma Xueliang 1989:338.1
	ɕe[44]**ne**[44]tshi[33]	ankle	Chen Kang 1986b:6.2.5
Yi (Sani)	ɕe[44]**ne**[44]tshʐ[33]	ankle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.39
Sani [Nyi]	ɬo[21]**ne**[33]	face	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɬo[21]**ne**[44]	face	Chen Kang 1986b:3.1
	ɬo[11] **ne**[44]	face	Ma Xueliang 1989:320.15
Yi (Sani)	ɬɒ[11]**ne**[44]	face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**meh**ˆ nuiˆ	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mjaq	eye	Hansson 1989:468
Akha (Yunnan)	**mjaq** bí	tears	Hansson 1989:129
	mjaq nyq	eye	Hansson 1989:468
	mjaq pjhɔ̀	face	Hansson 1989:253
	mjaq xhàŋ	face	Hansson 1989:253
Akha (Thai)	**mjaq**-bí	tears	Hansson 1989:129
	mjaq-nyq	eye	Hansson 1989:468
	mjaq-pjhɔ̀	face	Hansson 1989:253
Akha	**mya HS**	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
	myaˆ naˆ	pupil of eye (n.)	Lewis 1968:p. 322 [a]
	myaˆ nuiˆ (nuiˆ)	eye	Matisoff 1987
	myaˆ nuiˆ **mya**ˆ k'oˆ	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	myaˆ nuiˆ **mya**ˆ naˆ	pupil of eye (n.)	Lewis 1968:p. 322
	myaˆ nuiˆ myaˆ shehˆ	eyebrow; eyelash	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	myaˆ pyawˇ	face	Matisoff 1987
	myaˆ shehˆ laˆ oˆ tiˆ	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	myaˆ shehˆ laˆ taˆ tiˆ	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	myaˆ biˇ (dzuiˆ)	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	ə **nyi**	eye	Benedict 1972:29n93
Bisu	**mè** hnɯ	eye	Bradley 1979b
	mè-hnɯ̄	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
	mè khjà ɔ hmì	eyebrow	Beaudouin 1988:14
	mè pí	tear[s] (Nb.)	Beaudouin 1988:15
	mɛ hnì	eye	Beaudouin 1988:14
	mɛ hnì ʔaŋhmì	lash (of eye)	Beaudouin 1988:14
	mɛ kà	face	Bradley 199x; Beaudouin 1988:14
	mɛ pɔ	blind	Beaudouin 1988:38
Hani (Dazhai)	(**mja̱**[33]) **mja̱**[33] xo̱[33]	eyelid	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	(**mja̱**[33])**mja̱**[33]xɔ[33]	eyelash	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**ma**[55]	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
Hani (Hu T'an)	**mja 33c**	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
Hani (Lüchun)	**mja** ý	tears	Hansson 1989:129
	mjaq	eye	Hansson 1989:468
	mjaq phö	face	Hansson 1989:253
Hani (Dazhai)	**mja̱**[33]	eye	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.31
	mja̱[33] be̱[31]	blind person	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mja̱[33] bi[55]	tears	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mja̱[33] p^{h}ø[31]	face	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mja̱[33]be̱[31]	blind person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.31
	mja̱[33]phjo[31]	face	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:236.31
	mja̱[33]xɔ[33]	eyebrow	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**mja̱**[33]	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.41
	mja̱[33]be̱[31]	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.41
	mja̱[33]bje̱[31]	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.41
	mja̱[33]phø[31]	face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.41
Hani (Pijo)	**ma** phỳ	face	Hansson 1989:253
	ma pí	tears	Hansson 1989:129
	maq	eye	Hansson 1989:468
	maq tzy	eye	Hansson 1989:468
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ma̱**[33] k^{h}e̱[33]	blind person	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ma̱[33] pi[55]	tears	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ma̱[33] p^{h}ɤ[31]	face	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ma̱[33] ts^{h}ɻ̃[33]	eye	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ma̱[33] ts^{h}e[55]	eyebrow	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ma̱[33]khe̱[33]	blind person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.30
	ma̱[33]phɤ[31]	face	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:236.30
	ma̱[33]ts^{h}ɻ̃[33]	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**mja̱**[33] bi[55]	tears	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mja̱[33] bɛ̱[31]	blind person	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mja̱[33] nɯ̱[33]	eye	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mja̱[33] p^{h}jɔ[31]	face	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mja̱[33] ɕɛ̱[33]	eyebrow	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**ma**[33] pi̱[31]	blind person	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ma[33] pi[55]	tears	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ma[33] tsi̱[33]	eye	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ma[33] xo[33]	eyebrow	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ma[33]pi̱[31]	blind person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.32
	ma[33]tsi̱[33]	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**miav**	eye	Hansson 1989:468
	miav bbil	tears	Hansson 1989:129
	miav pyuq	face	Hansson 1989:253
Hani (Khatu)	**mja**	eye	Hansson 1989:468
	mja tzy ?	eye	Hansson 1989:468
	mjaq phù	face	Hansson 1989:253
	mjaq pí	tears	Hansson 1989:129
Hani (Mojiang)	**ma**[33]pi̱[31]	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.42
	ma[33]pi̱[31]pi̱[31]	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.42
	ma[33]tsi̱[33]	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.42
Mpi	**m**[4]pi[6]	tears	Hansson 1989:129
Côông [Phunoi]	ã **bja**[31]	eye	Ferlus 1991:3.4
	ã **bja**[31] da[55]	pupil	Ferlus 1991:3.4.2.2
	a **bja**[31] po	blind	Ferlus 1991:3.4.10
	bə̌ kɑʔ[11]	face	Bradley 1977
	bə̌ kàʔ	face	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã **bi̱a** pɔ̀ (bê chô`)	blind	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã **bja**	eye	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ **bi̱a**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã[55] **biɑ**[33]	eye	Bradley 1977
	ʔã[55] **biɑ**[33] pɔ[11]	blind	Bradley 1977
Pyen	**mi33** khan31	secretion in the eye	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131054
Sangkong	**mja̱**[33] mɯ[31]	eyebrow	Li Yongsui 1991
	mja̱[33] phaŋ[31]	face	Li Yongsui 1991
	mja̱[33] pɯ[55]	tears	Li Yongsui 1991
	mja̱[33] si[31]	eye	Li Yongsui 1991
Sila	**mja33** phjo21	face	Kato Takashi 2008:9
Ugong	**ɲɔʔ** khlí	eye sand	Bradley 1993:3.4.7
	ɲɔʔ (kɔŋ)phlɔ/phə̌	white of eye	Bradley 1993:3.4.2.3
	ɲɔʔ kɔŋ	eye	Bradley 1993:3.4
	ɲɔʔ sə́kméŋ	eyelash	Bradley 1993:3.4.4

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	kɔ[22]**nɛ**[33]sʌ[22]	ankle joint; ankle bone	Pelkey 2011:297; Pelkey 2011:298
	nɛ[33]ty[22]	eye	Pelkey 2011:255
Southern Muji	**ȵi**[33]ɕi[55]	eye	Pelkey 2011:255
	ȵɛ[21]ta[55]	blind (person)	Pelkey 2011:378
	tɕ^{h}i[22]**ȵi**[33]ɕi[55]	ankle joint; ankle bone	Pelkey 2011:297; Pelkey 2011:298
Phola	k^{h}i[55]**nɑ**[33]si[33]ti̱[23]	ankle joint; ankle bone	Pelkey 2011:297; Pelkey 2011:298
	nɑ[33]tæ[31]p^{h}ɔ[33]	blind (person)	Pelkey 2011:378
	nɑ[33]tɯ[31]	eye	Pelkey 2011:255
Hlepho Phowa	**nɛ**[21]ɕi[55]	eye	Pelkey 2011:255
	ɛ[33]**nɛ**[21]tɬa[55]	blind (person)	Pelkey 2011:378
	ts^{h}ɻ[21]**nɛ**[21]ɕi[55]	ankle	Pelkey 2011:298
Phu Kha	**mja**[31] ʃi[35] dʒiʔ[35]	blind	Fried 2000
	mja[31] ʃiʔ[35]	eye	Fried 2000
Phuza	**ȵi**[55]sɛ[33]	eye; eyeball	Pelkey 2011:255; Pelkey 2011:256
	ȵi[55]dʑi[13]	blind (person)	Pelkey 2011:378
	ts^{h}i[31]**ȵi**[55]sɛ[33]	ankle bone	Pelkey 2011:298

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**mie**˦lie˦gv˦	daytime	Michaud 2006–2009:1603
	mie˦lv˥	eye	Michaud 2006–2009:254
	mie˦lv˥ ʂɑ˩tu˥	orbit; eye socket	Michaud 2006–2009:258
	mie˦lv˥nɑ˥i˥	eyeball	Michaud 2006–2009:256
	mie˦tu˥	eyebrow	Michaud 2006–2009:253
	mie˥˩	eye (monosyllable)	Michaud 2006–2009:255
	mjæ˥ɖʐɯ˥	tear (n.)	Michaud 2006–2009:262
	mjæ˦tsɯ˥	eyelashes	Michaud 2006–2009:252
	mjæ˦ʁæ˥	blind person	Michaud 2006–2009:747
	mjɤ˦lv˥	close one's eyes (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2581
	njæ˩mæ˥˩	blink (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2580
	p^{h}v˦**mie**˦	face	Michaud 2006–2009:274
	p^{h}v˦**mie**˦ts^{h}ɯ˦lu˦	washbasin, basin to wash one's face	Michaud 2006–2009:1166
Moso	**mjʌ**	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
Na (Yongning)	**njæ**˦bæ˥	tear	Michaud 2006–2009
	njæ˦kv˩	look away from (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	njæ˦tsɯ˩	eyebrow	Michaud 2006–2009
	njæ˩kwæ˥˩	blind person	Michaud 2006–2009
	njæ˩q^{h}æ˥	gum in the eyes, rheum	Michaud 2006–2009
	njɤ˦kv˩**njɤ**˩ts^{h}e˩	wink (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	njɤ˦lɑ˥	dawn, daybreak	Michaud 2006–2009
	njɤ˦nɑ˩	eyeball	Michaud 2006–2009
	njɤ˩bi˨˩	top eyelid	Michaud 2006–2009
	njɤ˩q^{h}wɤ˥˩	orbit; eye socket	Michaud 2006–2009
	njɤ˩**l**ɯ˦	eye	Michaud 2006–2009
	njɤ˩**l**ɯ˦**ko**˦**tv**˩	eyeball	Michaud 2006–2009
	njɤ˧˥	eye (monosyllable)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**miə**[21]	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.45
	miə[21]bɚ[33]	tears (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.45
	miə[21]**do**[21]	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.45
	miə[21]do[55]	blink / wink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1780.45
	miə[21]go[33]	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.45
	miə[21]go[33]	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.45

[a] Akha **na**ˆ = BLACK.

Naxi (Lijiang)	**miə^{33}**tsɯ^{31}fv^{33}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.28
Naxi	**miə^{33}**tsɻ^{21}fɣ^{33}	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.45
Naxi (Western)	**miə^{31}**ly^{33}	eye	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**miə^{31}**ly^{33}	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.28
Naxi (Western)	**miə^{31}**mbər^{33}	tears	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**miə^{31}**mbəɹ^{33}	tear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:239.28
Naxi (Western)	**miə^{31}**mər^{55}	close (eyes)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**miə^{31}məɹ^{55}**	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.28
Naxi (Western)	**miə^{31}**ŋgo^{33}	blind person	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**miə^{31}**ŋgo^{33}	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.28
Naxi (Western)	**miə^{55}**tsɯ^{33}fv^{33}	eyebrow	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	phɑ^{33}**me^{33}**	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	p^{h}ɑ^{33}**me^{33}**	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**ɲɑ^{33}**bɑ^{55}	tears	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɲɑ^{33}**lɳ^{33}gv^{33}	day(time)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:102.29
	ɲɑ^{33}tsɻ^{31}	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.29
	ɲɑ^{31}kua^{13}	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**ɲɑ^{31}**kuɑ^{13}	blind person	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɲɑ^{31}**lɳ^{33}	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**ɲɑ^{13}**lv^{55}	eye	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
	ɲɑ^{13}tsɯ^{33}	eyebrow	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
7. KARENIC			
Bwe (Western)	ă **me^{3}**	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
Bwe	**mù**-ká ə-phlú-θɛ	eyeball (n.)	Henderson 1997
Geba	ɑ^{2}**me^{3}**	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
Kayan (Pekon)	**mę́**	eye (N.)	Manson 2010
	mę́ dán	glasses, spectacles [lit. eye-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	mę́ lą́	face [lit. eye-under] (N.)	Manson 2010
	mę́ pą̀	cheek [lit. eye-side] (N.)	Manson 2010
	mę́ p^{h}è	eyelid [lit. eye-skin] (N.)	Manson 2010
	mę́ p^{h}lôn	eyes [lit. eye-seed] (N.)	Manson 2010
	mę́ rân	eyebrow [lit. eye-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	mę́ s^{h}wân	eyelashes [lit. eye-feather] (N.)	Manson 2010
	mę́ θâ	eyes, area around eyes [lit. eye-seed] (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**mé** khú	smoke gets in eye	Solnit 1989
	mɛʔ	eye (face)	Benedict 1972:141n379
Pa-O (Northern)	**mɛʔ^{4}**	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
Pa-O	**mèʔ**	eye	Solnit 1989
	mèʔ bí chɔ́n	eyelash	Solnit 1989
	mèʔ khéʔ	blind; vision goes black as in	Solnit 1989
	mèʔ khū	eyeball	Solnit 1989
	mèʔ khū bwà	white of eye	Solnit 1989
	mèʔ khū phrêŋ	pupil of eye	Solnit 1989
	mèʔ thì	tear (in eye)	Solnit 1989
	mèʔ ʔɔ́k	blind (not polite)	Solnit 1989
Paku	**mɛ^{2}**	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
Pwo (Delta)	ă **meʔ^{1}**	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
	ə̆ **mɪ^{1}**	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
Pwo (Tenasserim)	ə̆ **mɪʔ^{2}**	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
Sgaw	**mɛʔ^{5}** (face)	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (GSR #)	**760a**	eye; face; knot in wood; eyesight	Luce 1985:H.120; Luce 1985:W.90
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**miôk**	eye	LaPolla 1987:88
	miuk	eye	LaPolla 1987:88
	mi̯ôk/mi̯uk	eye	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1036a-c; Karlgren 1957:1036a-c
Chinese (Old)	**miăŋ**	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
	mi̯ăn	eye / eyesight	Luce 1985:W.90
	mi̯ăŋ	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
	mjəkw	eye	Coblin 1986:76
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**mjuk**	eye	Coblin 1986:76

(2) PTB *dzyuŋ ≍ *tsyuŋ EYE

This etymon usually occurs as the second element in compounds.

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	mhyik **tsung**	eyeball	Nienu 1990c:3.4.2
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Khezha	ne **chɯ**	eye	Yabu 1994:3.4
	ne **chɯ** ʾɯ ce	blind	Yabu 1994:3.4.10
	nhe **chu**	eye	Marrison 1967
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Chamling	mi **cu**	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58; Winter 1985:24
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	ñi^{55} **dzɯŋ^{55}**	eye	SUN Hongkai 1988
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Xide)	**dʐu̱^{34}**-lu̱^{33}	eye	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

(3) PTB *m-du EYE / EYEBALL

This root, which occurs as the final element in compounds, is very well established, occurring in several branches of the family.

1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	e lõ **ndu**	eyeball	Pulu 1978
1.7.1.4. DEORI			
Deori/Deuri	bā-**du^{1}**	eyelash	unknown nd
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Chairel	hɑn **tū**	eye	Luce 1985:K.56
Ganan	mi^{3}**tu^{4}**	eye	Luce 1985:K.56
	miʔ^{1}tu^{4} **[ʃi^{1}]**	eyeball	Luce 1985:L.136
Kadu	mêt-**tu**	eye	Matisoff 1987
Lui	hön-**tu**	eye	Matisoff 1987
Sak (Bawtala)	ă meʔ^{2} **tu^{4}**	eyeball	Luce 1985:L.136
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Dzongkha	ʔmɪ-**duʔ**	eye	Weidert 1987:984
Tibetan (Batang)	miʔ^{53} **to^{53}**	eyeball	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.4.2
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Lolopho	mę̱^{44} **dv̩^{31}**	eye	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nasu	na̱^{21} **du^{33}**	eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4
Nesu	ɲɯ̱^{33} **du^{33}**	eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4
Yi (Dafang)	na^{33} **du^{33}**	eye	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.22
Yi (Nanhua)	mę̱^{33}**du^{21}**	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.37
	mę̱^{33}**du^{21}**	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.24
7. KARENIC			
Bwe	ʔmá-**ʔdú**	eye	Weidert 1987:984
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	mi^{33}**du^{31}** ts^{h}u^{31}	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia 1989k:103

(4) PTB *s-kywar EYEBALL / EYEBROW / EYELASH

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	mik **kor**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**gyəl** mo tsi	eyeball	Sharma 1991a:3.4.2
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Spiti	**gyal** mo	eyeball	Bodh 1991:3.4.2
Tibetan (Written)	mig-**skyor**	'apple of the eye, eyeball'; 'eyeball' ; 'eyesocket'	Matisoff 1987:162
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	**kwar** lek	eyeball	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.4.2
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}mi:-la ^{3}**kor**	eyeball	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.2
Tamang (Sahu)	'mi: **kor**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	mo:ha mi? taŋ **khwa**	eyelash	Kohn 1990:3.4.4
	to:ha mi? taŋ **khwa**	eyebrow	Kohn 1990:3.4.3
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	mi:k ci **gerā**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mawo)	nə **quæ^{ɪ}** (nə **qua^{ɪ}**)	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.4.3

(5) PTB *s-ruŋ ROUNDED PART

1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	cay **ruŋ**	cheekbone	Singh 1991:3.11.1
	chai **rung**	jaw	Marrison 1967
	châi **rung**	jaw	Matisoff 1987
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***Ç-ruŋ**	round (of body parts)	French 1983:540
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	kük **lang**	chest	Marrison 1967
	kək **laŋ**	chest	French 1983:540 [a]
	ñek **laŋ**	eyeball	French 1983:540
	o wom **laŋ**	cheek	French 1983:467
	o wom **lang**	cheek	Marrison 1967
	tam **laŋ**	testicle	French 1983:540
Konyak	**yoŋ** keŋ	thigh	French 1983:511
Wancho	bom **zroŋ**	cheek	French 1983:467
	bom **zrong**	cheek	Marrison 1967
	ke **roŋ**	hip	French 1983:511
	ke **rong**	hip	Marrison 1967
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	nam ci **yəŋ**	cheek	Kohn 1990:3.11
	nam ci **yəŋ** seŋ kwɔ:k	cheekbone	Kohn 1990:3.11.1
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	nga-**lüng**	cheek	Rai *et al.* 1984:56

[a] It looks superficially as though the last syllable of this Chang form goes with PTB ***b/g-raŋ*** CHEST (§1.4.4.3), but since **-laŋ** appears as a formative in several rounded bodyparts, we assign this syllable to PTB ***s-ruŋ*** ROUNDED PART (§1.2.6), following French 1983: 540.

(6) PTB *sey FRUIT / ROSE / ROUND OBJECT

This morpheme frequently occurs as the last constituent in compounds referring to round or spherical objects, e.g. HEART (cf. Lahu **ni-ma-šī**).

Many rGyalrongic forms seem to reflect proto-rGyalrongic ***t-sey***.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***sey**	fruit; rose; round object	Weidert 1987:278; Matisoff 1985a:046; Matisoff 2003a:612; LaPolla 1987:102; Benedict 1972:57
1.1.1. TANI: ***ze** FRUIT			
**Tani*	***ze**	fruit	Sun 1993a:169
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	a-**ji**	fruit	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**ji** (a-mɯr) san	fruit tree	Sun 1993b
	à-**jì** (ar-me)	fruit	Sun 1993b
	a-**ji** a-ljo	rind	Sun 1993b
	a-**ji** bo-sa-nɯ	fruit tree	Sun 1993b
	a-**ji**-a-tu	fruit bud	Sun 1993b
	ho-la a-**ji**	fruit	Sun 1993b
	ko-ma-la à-**ji**	orange	Sun 1993b
	ó-mi-ta á-**ji**	papaya	Sun 1993b
	pìn-ta a-**ji**	gourd	Sun 1993b
	ta-k^{h}rjo a-**ji**	walnut	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**si:**	bear fruit (v.)	Sun 1993b
	gam-bu a-**si:**	peach (fruit)	Sun 1993b
	ku-ra: ra:-**si:**	acorn	Sun 1993b
	šiŋ-**ši:**	fruit	Sun 1993a
	siŋ-**si:**	fruit	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-**si:** ra-jiŋ	kernel	Sun 1993b
Bokar	i-ki: pə-**si:**	wild berry	Sun 1993b
Galo	a **se**	fruit	Das Gupta 1963
	a **sɤ**	fruit	Das Gupta 1963
	'a pə-'a **hee**	fruit (n.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	a **se**	fruit	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**je**	fruit	Sun 1993a
	a-**ye**	fruit	Matisoff 1985a:046
Milang	a **ci**	fruit	Tayeng 1976
	a **si**	fruit	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	xɑ^{31} po^{55} **tiɑi^{53}**	heart	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	xɑ^{31}po^{55}**tiɑi^{53}**	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.22
	xɑ^{31}po^{55}**tiɑi^{53}**	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.49

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ʔaar-θii** ⋉ ***-sii** STAR, ***thay** FRUIT

**Chin*	***thay**	FRUIT	VanBik 2009:387
	*ʔaar-**θii** ⋉ -**sii**	STAR	VanBik 2009:507

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	aak-si	star	VanBik 2009:507
	thei	fruit	VanBik 2009:387
Sizang	āk sī	star	VanBik 2009:507
Thado	áʔ **sì**	star	Thirumalai 1972:19
	théi	fruit	Thirumalai 1972:55
	thêy	fruit	VanBik 2009:387
	ʔàʔ sîi	star	VanBik 2009:507
Tiddim	-aːk `siː	star (n.)	Henderson 1965
	aːk^{2} si^{1}	star	VanBik 2009:507; Bhaskararao 1996:33
	leːng^{2} **thei^{1}**	pineapple ("pineapple fruit")	VanBik 2009:387

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	àʻ **sí**	star	VanBik 2009:507
	tʻe̋	fruit	VanBik 2009:387
Chinbon	aːi **s^{h}i**	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Cho (Mindat)	ai-hli	star	VanBik 2009:507
	thei	fruit	VanBik 2009:387
Daai	aːi **s^{h}i**	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Khami	ka(r)-si ⋉ **a**-si	star	Benedict 1972:49
Khumi	**atháy**	fruit	VanBik 2009:387
	k-á-sii	star	VanBik 2009:507
	ka^{i} **s^{h}i**	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Matu	aː^{i} **s^{h}i**	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Mkaang	aː^{i} **s^{h}i**	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Ngmüün	a^{i} **š^{h}ɨ**	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Nyhmoye	aː **š^{h}i**	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Wakung	a **s^{h}i**	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thây**	fruit	VanBik 2009:387
Lai (Falam)	**tháy**	fruit	VanBik 2009:387
Lai (Hakha)	ʔâar-fíi	star	VanBik 2009:507
Lai (Falam)	ʔáar-sìi	star	VanBik 2009:507
Lushai [Mizo]	áar sì	star (n.)	VanBik 2009:507
	ár-sì	star	Weidert 1987:20
	ar-śi	star	Benedict 1972:49
	ar-ʃi	star	LaPolla 1987:16
	ar **si**	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
	aːr-shi	star	Bhaskararao 1996:33
	thĕi	fruit	Weidert 1987:122
	thei	fruit	Matisoff 1985a:046
	thĕi	edible fruit	VanBik 2009:387
	thei	edible fruit; fruit	Bhaskararao 1996:1880; LaPolla 1987:102; Benedict 1972:57
	thei rah	fruit	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	àw-sī	star	VanBik 2009:507
	théi	fruit, a berry (n.)	VanBik 2009:387

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	ar-ʃi	star	Brown 1837
	ʔə **ʃii**	star	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Nature.036; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:ToneMin.002

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**hai**	fruit	Marrison 1967
	mut **hai**	banana	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-sej** FRUIT / SEED

**Central Naga*	*a-**sej**	FRUIT / SEED	Bruhn 2014a:III.056
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**thiʔ^{3}**	fruit, seed (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.056
	tshəŋ^{3}-**thiʔ^{3}**	fruit (edible) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	e **thi**	fruit	Marrison 1967
	tsang **thi**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tshüng **thi** tsüng	nut	Murry *et al.* 1978:79
	tsüng **thi**	fruit	Murry *et al.* 1978:48
Sangtam	sing **si**	fruit	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **so**	fruit	Marrison 1967
	sang a **so**	fruit	Kumar 1973b:71

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	achokughu **thi**	testicle	Achumi 1998a:10.3.5
	a kha **ti**	fruit	Marrison 1967
	a kha **ti** zü	juice	Marrison 1967
	a melo **ti**	heart	Marrison 1967
	a nhe **thi**	eye; eyeball	Achumi 1998a:3.4; Achumi 1998a:3.4.2
	a nhye **ti**-keri che	blind	Marrison 1967
	a pi **thi**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
	kogho **ti**	fig	Marrison 1967
	^{2}a^{2}xi^{2}**thi**	seedling	Weidert 1987:148a

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***tʰej** FRUIT

**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}ej**	fruit	Mortensen 2012:404
Huishu	ʔa-t^{h}ə-**t^{h}u**	fruit	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.013
Kachai	mɐk-**ʃi**-pwe	eye sand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.043
	ʔa-**t^{h}i**	fruit (general)	Mortensen 2012:Plants.053
Tangkhul	a **thei**	fruit	Marrison 1967
	hei na **thei**	mango	Marrison 1967
	həy khá **thəy**	kind of fruit	Matisoff 1985a:136
	həy maŋ **thəy**	cardamom	Matisoff 1985a:136
	həy nɯ **thəy**	mango	Matisoff 1985a:136
	ma **thei**	bear (fruit)	Marrison 1967
	mot **thei**	banana	Marrison 1967
	thei	fruit	Matisoff 1985a:046
	thəy	fruit	Bhat 1969:89
	^{1}ə^{2}**thei**	fruit	Weidert 1987:32
Tusom	ʔə-**tχa**	fruit	Mortensen 2012:Plants.053
Ukhrul	mo-**t^{h}ej**	banana	Mortensen 2012
	mot-**t^{h}ej**	plantain, banana	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**t^{h}ej**	fruit; peas	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**hei**	fruit	Marrison 1967
	u **hei**	fruit	Marrison 1967
	u **hei** yan	bear (fruit)	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	(**a**)the	fruit	Matisoff 1985a:046
	athē	fruit	Weidert 1987:122
	athe	fruit	Marrison 1967
	athē(ʔ)	fruit	Weidert 1987:32
	the ⋉ **athe**	fruit	Benedict 1972:57; LaPolla 1987:102

[a] [Source Note] wood-fruit

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***tai(ʔ)**	fruit	Burling 1959:441

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	ha-**tai**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	ha **taiʔ**	tooth	Weidert 1987:110
	ha **tay**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	ha **tay** go ri	gums	Matisoff 1987
Dimasa	ba **thai**	fruit	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:046; LaPolla 1987:102; Benedict 1972:57
	ha **thai**	tooth	Marrison 1967
	mi **thai**	heart	Marrison 1967
	thai	bear fruit (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:046; Benedict 1972:57
Kokborok	bə=**t^{h}ay**	fruit	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	bəʔ-**tay**	heart	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	t^{h}a-li	banana	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988 [a]
Meche	bi **taiʔ**	fruit	Weidert 1987:32
	bi **taiʔ**-sam **taiʔ**	fruit	Weidert 1987:278
	ha **taiʔ**	tooth	Weidert 1987:110

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**the** ⋉ **bithe**	fruit	Benedict 1972:57; Matisoff 1985a:046; LaPolla 1987:102

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**thai•**	fruit (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	hā-**ti^{2}**	tooth	unknown nd

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***sey**	fruit	Matisoff 1985a:046; French 1983:492

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**sì**	fruit	Matisoff 1974:211
	sì∼əsì	fruit	Matisoff 1985a:046
	si∼əsi	fruit	LaPolla 1987:102
	si^{31}	bear fruit	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	si^{31}	fruit (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.19
	si^{31}	bear (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1439.19
	si^{31}si^{31}	bear fruit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:790.47
	si⋉əsi	fruit	Benedict 1972:57
	əsì sì	bear fruit (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:046
	əsi si	bear fruit (v.)	Benedict 1972:57

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Ganan	miʔ^{1}tu^{4} [ʃi^{1}]	eyeball	Luce 1985:L.136
	sɔʔ^{4}**ʃi^{1}**	breasts	Luce 1985:L.146
Kadu (Kantu)	sôk^{3}**ʃi^{3}**	breasts	Luce 1985:L.146
Sak	**ásɨ**	fruit	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:74

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	akha phug **tsi**	anus / rectum	Sharma 1991a:9.12

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**se**	bear fruit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:790.7
	se^{55}	fruit	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**se**	fruit (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.07
	se	bear (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1439.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**si**	fruit (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**si** tok	fruit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:213.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**shi** tok	fruit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:213.5
Tibetan (Written)	**se**-	fruit	LaPolla 1987:102
	se-ba ⋉ **gse**-ba ⋉ **bse**-ba	rose-bush, rose	Benedict 1972:57
	se-bru	pomegranate	Benedict 1972:57
	se-yab ∼ **bse**-yab	fig	Benedict 1972:57

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}pak **si**	testicle (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:10.3.5

2.1.5. Dhimal

Dhimal	du du no **si**	nipple	King 1994

2.2. Newar

Newar	jɔl **syẽ**	kidney	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.6
	kwa **si**	testicle	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.3.5
Newar (Kathmandu)	maa **si**	vagina / breast / milk	Genetti 1990c
Newar	mā **si**	vulva; labia; vagina	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.4.1; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.4.2
Newar (Kathmandu)	pi-**si**	breast	Malla 2007

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	*Cik **si**	kidney	Michailovsky 1991:99

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	-**seʔ**	fruit	Weidert 1987:122
	nu **seq**	nipple	Michailovsky 1989b
	se	fruit, seed	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**si**	bear fruit	Rai 1985
	si (siwa)	fruit	Rai 1985
	si wa	fruit	Rai 1985
Kulung	cik **s**	kidney	Michailovsky 1991:99
	cik **s_**	kidney	Rai *et al.* 1975
	sey-e	bear fruit [it bears fruit] (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	dza **si**	fruit	Driem 1993
	kariːm-dza **si**	<squash> the fruit of the labu siam, as opposed to the plant.	Driem 1993
	mik-**si**	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402; Michailovsky 1991:58
	phok **sɨ**	scrotum	Driem 1993
	siː mɨtnɨ	cause to bear fruit / to flower	Driem 1993
	si ːnɨ	bear fruit, bear flower (v.)	Driem 1993
Rai	mik-**si**	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402

[a] Literally "penis-fruit" (p.c. Prashanta Tripura 1987).

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	mit **si**	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58
	si	fruit (v.)	Benedict 1972:57
	si-tśi	fruit	Benedict 1972:57
Hayu	**se**	fruit (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:046; Benedict 1972:57
	se ~ si	fruit	Benedict 1972:57; Matisoff 1985a:046
Thulung	cək **si**	kidney	Michailovsky 1991:99; Allen 1975
	mik-**si**	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402
	mik a **si** syem a	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mik **si**	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58
	mik **si** puŋ ta	eyebrow	Allen 1975
	mik **si** seom	eyelash	Allen 1975
	mī ka **sī**	eye	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	dut-**say?**	nipple	Caughley 1972:2.A.35
	?oh-**say?**	nipple	Caughley 1972:2.A.35
Chepang (Eastern)	dut.**say?**	nipple	Caughley 1990:5.4.1
	?oh **say?**	nipple	Caughley 1990:5.4.1
Kham	nwi: **səy**	nipple	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.35

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	si^{55}**sɛ^{55}**	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.18
Lyuzu	se^{33}**sɻ^{53}**	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.18
Namuyi	miɛ^{55}**sɻ^{33}**ly^{55}	eyeball	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.4.2
Pumi (Jiulong)	sẽ^{11}**sy^{55}**	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.10
Pumi (Qinghua)	sɐ^{13}**sy^{55}**	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.11
Pumi (Taoba)	sẽ^{35}**sʉ^{53}**	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.10
Qiang (Longxi)	sí tsì-**ɕì** mì	persimmon [b-fruit]	Evans 1999:500
	tshuá lə-**ɕì** mì	peach (wild) [m-fruit]	Evans 1999:495
	ɕì mì	fruit	Evans 1999:474
Qiang (Mawo)	**si^{ɪ}** mi dzu	bear fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:790.8
	sə^{ɪ} mi	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.8
	sɪj miɛ	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	pià **sè** mú-phò	pear tree	Evans 1999:480
	sè mù	fruit	Evans 1999:474
	ʂè dzǎ	produce fruit	Evans 1999:2062
Qiang (Taoping)	**sie^{55}mə^{55}**	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.9
	sie^{55}mə^{55}dzɑ^{241}	bear fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:790.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	(**ɕe**^{55}tye^{55}) ta^{55}rma^{55}	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.13
Xumi	sẽ^{33}**sy^{35}**	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.20

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	'sa **si?**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	'pakɣ̌ɕi	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	'tə **ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Eastern)	mɲek **ʃe**	heart / locus of personality	SUN Hongkai 1991j:14.3
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	pakˀ**ɕi?**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	pɑkˀ**ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	si **'si**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	**si** 'tʰox	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	ti **'ʃi?**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	tə22 **ʃi44**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	tə **'ʃə?**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	tə-**ʂɿ**	fruit; fruit of tree	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318; Nagano & Prins 2013:0320
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	tə22 **ɕi44**	fruit of tree	Nagano & Prins 2013:0320
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	tə44**ʃi44**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	tə^{3}**ɕi^{5}**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	tə^{3}**ɕə^{3}**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	tə^{3}**ʂə^{3}**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	tə^{3}**ʂə^{5}**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	tə^{3}**ʂə^{5}**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	tə^{3}**ʂə^{5}**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	tə **'ʃi?**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	tə **'ʃo**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	tə **'ʃə**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	tə **'ʃə?**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	tə **'ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	tə **'ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	tə **'ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	tə **'ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	tə **'ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	tə **'ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	tə **'ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	tə **'ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	tə **'ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	tə **'ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	tə **'ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	tə **'ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	tə **'ɕi**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	tə **'ɕi?**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	tə **'ɕi?**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	tə **'ɕəkˀ**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	tuˡ**ɕʲɪ?**	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318
rGyalrong	wu **ʃi** kə ndzok	bear fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:790.12
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	wu **ʂɿ** kə-ts^{h}a	bear fruit (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1421
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	wu **ʧ^{h}ɛ**	bear fruit (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1421
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	wu22 **ʃik44** kə22 tshok44	bear fruit (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1421
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	wu22 **ɕi44** kə22 ts^{h}ok22	bear fruit (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1421
	ɕu22 nts^{h}o44 u44 ɕi24	fruit	Nagano & Prins 2013:0318

4. NUNGIC

Anong	śiŋ **śi**	fruit	LaPolla 1987:102; Benedict 1972:57
Rawang	ʃəru^{33} **ɕi^{53}**	pine cones	LaPolla 2003:437
	ɕɯŋ^{53} **ɕi^{53}**	fruit	LaPolla 2003:431
Nung	ɕɯŋ^{55}**ʂɿ^{31}**	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.21
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	aŋ^{31} **śi^{55}**	fruit	LaPolla 1987:102
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**śi^{53}**	fruit	LaPolla 1987:102
	ɕi^{53}	fruit	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Southern)	jiaɨ^{55} **tsi^{21}**	kidney	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**asì**	fruit	LaPolla 1987:102
	ăsì	fruit	Benedict 1972:57
	asī:	fruit	Marrison 1967
	si	fruit	Hansson 1989:140
	sî	bear fruit (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:046
	sî	fruit	Matisoff 1974:211
	sî	bear fruit (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	sì	bear fruit (v.)	Benedict 1972:57
	sī:	bear (fruit)	Marrison 1967
	thi^{3}	bear fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:790.39
	thɑs **thi^{3}**	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.39
	tθi^{3}	bear (fruit) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1439.26
	ə-**sî**	fruit	Benedict 1976a
	ə **sì**	fruit	Weidert 1987:278
	ə **sî**	fruit	Matisoff 1985a:046
	ɑ^{1}**tθi^{3}**	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.26
Hpun (Northern)	ă **ʃì(h)**	fruit	Henderson 1986
	chí? **sì**	star	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	yuʔ^{5}**sih^{4}**	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
	yuʔ^{5}**s'ih^{4}**	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
Hpun (Northern)	yùʔ **s(h)ì**, lùʔ **shì**, yù	eye / eyeball	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**ʃi^{35}**	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.31
	ʃi^{35}	bear (fruit) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1439.31
Lashi	nou^{55} **ʂɿ^{55}**	nipple	DAI Qingxia 1989m:5.4.1
Leqi (Luxi)	**ʃɿ^{55}**	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.33
Marma	ə **θí**	fruit	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:74
Maru [Langsu]	nuk^{55} **ʃ^{35}**	nipple	DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.4.1
	ʃi^{35}	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.43
	ʃi^{35}tsɔi^{31}	bear fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:790.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**šì**	fruit	Weidert 1987:278
	ʃi^{21}	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.30
	ʃi^{21}	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.42
	ʃi^{21}tsui^{21}	bear fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:790.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***si^{2}**	fruit	Weidert 1987:278; Bradley 1979b:278; Hansson 1989:140
Lolopho	dæ^{33} **sæ^{31}**	testicle	DAI Qingxia 1989n:10.3.5
	mę^{44} **sæ^{31}**	eyeball	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.4.2

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	ɳɑ^{53}**ʂɿ^{31}**ko^{323}	eyeball	MU Shihua 2003
Lalo	de^{33}**se^{21}**	testicle	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.5
Lipho	mę^{33}**sɛ^{21}**	eyeball	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2
Nasu	nạ^{33} mo^{33} **sɵ^{33}**	eyeball	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2
Nesu	ɳɪ^{33} **ʂer^{33}**	eyeball	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2
Nusu (Central)	**ʂi^{55}**	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ʂɿ^{55}ʂɿ^{55}**	fruit	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**se^{33}mo^{33}**	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.22
Yi (Lishan)	nɛ^{33} **sɛ^{33}**	eye	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	nę^{33}**sʌ^{21}**	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.25
Yi (Mojiang)	nę^{33}**sɛ^{33}**	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**sæ^{21}**	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.37
	sɛ^{21}	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.24
Yi (Nanjian)	di^{55} **ɕe^{21}**	kidney	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	mi^{33} **ɕe^{21}**	eye	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.23
Yi (Xide)	ts^{hɻ}^{21}-**si^{34}**	liver	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lolo (Ni)	ne **sé**	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	nɯ^{31} **sɯ^{44}**	heart	DAI Qingxia 1989h:179
Jinuo	nɤ^{42}**sɤ^{44}**	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ɲə^{42} **sɤ^{44}**	heart	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	ɲɯ^{31} **sɯ^{44}**	heart	DAI Qingxia 1989i:179
Kucong	mɯ33 **ɕi35**	sesame	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	cha-**šī**	vagina	Matisoff 1987–
Lahu (Nyi)	g'awˇ tu: **shi_**	navel	Bradley 1979a:120
Lahu	**í sì**	fruit	Weidert 1987:278
	ɔ̀-lâ-**šī**	kidney	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
Lahu (Lancang)	i^{35}**ɕi^{11}**	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.43

	khu^{33}mɛ^{54}**ɕi**^{11}	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.43
	mɛ^{54}**ɕi**^{11}	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.43
	nu^{11}**ɕi**^{11}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.43
	phɯ^{53}mɯ^{35}**ɕi**^{11}	pumpkin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0428.43
	xɑ^{35}pɯ^{33}**ɕi**^{11}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.43
	ɔ^{31}**ɕi**^{11}**ɕi**^{11}	bear (fruit) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1439.43
	ɣu^{53}tu^{33}**ɕi**^{11}	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.43
Lahu (Black)	fâʔ-cú-**šī**	wart ("rat-nipple")	Matisoff 1987
	g̈û(~g̈ɔ̂)-tu-**šī**	navel	Matisoff 1988a:1138
	i^{35}**si**^{11}	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.33
	khɨ-mɛ̂ʔ-**šī**	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	mehˆ **shi**	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
	mɛʔ^{54} **si**^{11}	eye	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛ̂ʔ-**šī**	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
	mɛ^{54}**si**^{11}	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.33
	nàʔ-wɛ̄-**šī**	candy	Matisoff 1988a:756
	ni-ma-pɨ(**šī**)	chest	Matisoff 1987
	nī-**šī**	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	nī-**sī**-phɨ	scrotum	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	nī-**sī**-u	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	ni^{33} ma^{33} **si**^{11}	heart	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	nû-fɨ́-qō-**šī**	jackfruit	Matisoff 1988a:772
	ó-qō (-**šī**)	head	Matisoff 1987
	pɛ^{53}**si**^{11}phu^{33}	taro	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:196.33
	pʰə^{21}mə^{35}**si**^{11}	pumpkin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:203.33
	šī	fruit	Matisoff 1985a:046; Matisoff 1974:211
	šɛ̂-**šī**	sand	Matisoff 1974:221
	u^{35} qu^{31} **si**^{11}	skull	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	xʌ^{35}pɯ^{33}**si**^{11}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.33
	ɔ^{31} la^{53} **si**^{11}	kidney	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ̀-lâ-**šī**~ɔ̀-lə̂-šī	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-lâ̱-**šī**	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	ɣû-tu-**šī**-câʔ	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1988a:1129
	ɣu^{53} tv̩^{33} **si**^{11}	navel	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{1}ka^{6}phv̩^{3}**ɕi**^{5}	bottle gourd	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	a^{1}tɛ^{1}**ɕi**^{5}	pumpkin	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mv̩^{3}kɤ^{1}**ɕi**^{5}	star	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	nu^{5}**ɕi**^{5}	sesame	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	pɛ^{3}**ɕi**^{5}	taro	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} la^{55} **ɕiʔ**^{21}	kidney	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	n̡i^{33} **ɕiʔ**^{21}	heart	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ʔu^{55} tu^{33} **ɕiʔ**^{21}	navel	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	g'uˇ tu: **shi_**	navel	Bradley 1979a:120
Lahu (Banlan)	uˇ tu: **shi_**	navel	Bradley 1979a:120
Lisu	miɛ^{44}**sɯ**^{31}	eye	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:238.27
	mi̱ɛ̱^{33}**sɯ**^{31}	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.40
	myá^{3}-**sï**^{5}	eye	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	myá^{3}-**sï**^{5}	eye	Fraser 1922
Lisu	mya^{3}**sï**^{5}	eye	Bradley 1979b:92
Lisu (Putao)	mya^{3}**sɤ**^{5}	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
	myɛ^{3}**sɤ**^{5}	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	myɑ^{3}**sï**^{5}	eye / face / knot in wood	Luce 1985:H.120
Lisu (Nujiang)	niɛ̱^{44} **sɯ**^{31}	eye	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**sɤ**^{21}	fruit; anything small and roundish; son and daughter (extended meaning) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}**sɤ**^{21}	salt fruit (cf. tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
	tsɯ^{55}**sɤ**^{21}	fruit of chestnut	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	ne^{33} **sɿ**^{21} ko^{33} n̪̩^{44} mɑ^{33}	eyeball	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:94.3
	ne^{33}**si**^{21}	eye	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne^{33}**si**^{21}ko^{33}ni̱^{33}mɒ^{33}	eyeball	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne^{44} **sɿ**^{11}	eye	MA Xueliang 1989:320.3
	ne^{44} **sɿ**^{11} tsɿ^{44} mɑ^{33} n̩^{44}	eyeball	MA Xueliang 1989:320.4
	ne^{44}**si**^{21}	eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4
	ne^{44}**si**^{21}tsi^{44}mɑ^{33}n̩^{44}	eyeball	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2
Yi (Sani)	ne^{44}**sz̩**^{11}	eye (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.39
	sz̩^{11}**mɒ**^{33}	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	á **shì**	fruit	Hansson 1989:140
Akha	á **shì**	fruit	Matisoff 1985a:046
	á **sì**	fruit	Weidert 1987:278
	beh -**si**	kidney	Matisoff 1978b:(2)
	behˇ **si**˛ (**si**˛)	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	bɛ́-**sì**	kidney	Matisoff 1985a:094
	leh‸ uˆ leh‸ **si**˛	scrotum	Lewis 1989
Akha (Yunnan)	nm̀ **sjhì**	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
Akha (Thai)	nm̀-**shì**	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
Akha (Yunnan)	**shì**	fruit	Hansson 1989:140
Akha	**shì**	fruit	Hansson 1989:140
	si	fruit	Benedict 1972:53n178
	ù dù **(sì)**	head	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	nɯŋ ba(sɯ̀)	heart	Bradley 199x
	sɯ̀	fruit (clf.)	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{55}**si**^{31}	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.31
	a^{55}**si**^{31}**si**^{31}	bear fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:790.31
Hani (Lüchun)	á **shỳ**	fruit	Hansson 1989:140
Hani (Dazhai)	bø^{31}**si**^{31}	taro	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:196.31
Hani (Lüchun)	má dɛ á **shì**	pumpkin	Hansson 1989:209; Hansson 1989:59
	nɔ **shì**	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
Hani (Dazhai)	ɣo^{31} **si**^{31}	kidney	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	a^{55}**si**^{31}	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.41
	a^{55}**si**^{31}**si**^{31}	bear (fruit) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1439.41
	nɔ^{31}**si**^{31}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.41
Hani (Pijo)	nỳ **sjhí**	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
	shì	fruit	Hansson 1989:140
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ^{31}**sɿ**^{31}	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.30
	ɔ^{31}**sɿ**^{31}**sɿ**^{31}	bear fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:790.30
Hani (Pijo)	ɔ̀ **shì**	fruit	Hansson 1989:140
Hani (Gelanghe)	a^{55}**si**^{31}	fruit	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	a^{55}**si**^{31}**si**^{31}	bear fruit	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	al **siiq**	fruit	Hansson 1989:140
	naoq **seil**	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
Hani (Shuikui)	pɛ^{31}**ɕi**^{31}	taro	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:196.32
	ɔ^{31}**ɕi**^{31}	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.32
	ɕi^{31}	bear fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:790.32
Hani (Khatu)	à **shì**	fruit	Hansson 1989:140
	nì **sjhɛ́**	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
	shì	fruit	Hansson 1989:140
Hani (Mojiang)	nv̩^{31}**ʃɛ**^{55}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.42
	ɔ^{31}**ɕi**^{31}	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.42
	ɔ^{31}**ɕi**^{31}**ɕi**^{31}	bear (fruit) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1439.42
Mpi	ʔɑ^{2}**sɯ**^{2}	fruit	Hansson 1989:140; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	khɔ **sì**	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	kʰo^{33} **si**^{11}	kidney	Bradley 1977
	lã **sì**	breast	Bradley 1979b
	lõ **si**^{31}	breast	Ferlus 1991:5.4
	lon^{33} **si**^{11}	nipple	Bradley 1977
	lə̆bɑ^{33} **si**^{11}	heart	Bradley 1977
	lɑ̃^{33} **si**^{11}	breast	Bradley 1977
	pḿ-**sì**	taro (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:850
Sangkong	mja̱^{33} **si**^{31}	eye	LI Yongsui 1991

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Phuza	n̡i^{55}**sɛ**^{33}	eye; eyeball	Pelkey 2011:255; Pelkey 2011:256

7. KARENIC: ***sa**^{B} FRUIT

**Karen [Burling]*	***sa**^{2}	fruit	Luangthongkum 2013:128
**Karen*	***sa**^{B}	fruit	Luangthongkum 2013:128
Bwe	mù-ká ə-phlʊ́-**θɛ**	eyeball (n.)	Henderson 1997
	θɛ^{33}	fruit	Luangthongkum 2013:128
Kayah	**se**^{11}	fruit	Luangthongkum 2013:128
Kayan	**θa**^{11}	fruit	Luangthongkum 2013:128
Kayaw	**sa**^{11}	fruit	Luangthongkum 2013:128
Pwo (Northern)	**sa**^{33}	fruit	Luangthongkum 2013:128
Pwo (Southern)	**θa**^{55}	fruit	Luangthongkum 2013:128
Sgaw (Northern)	**sa**$^{31\sim}$	fruit	Luangthongkum 2013:128
Sgaw (Southern)	**sa**$^{45'}$	fruit	Luangthongkum 2013:128

(7) PTB *b-ras RICE / FRUIT / BEAR FRUIT / ROUND OBJECT

An Austronesian connection has long been suggested for this root (cf. Malay **bəras** < Proto-Indonesian ***bəɣa/s** 'husked rice') although this etymology has been rejected by Benedict (1975:104), who prefers to relate the WT form to Chinese □ 'cooked rice or millet' (OC ***b'i̯wăn**; *GSR* 262i), on the grounds that the basic meaning of the TB etymon is FRUIT / BEAR FRUIT (cf. WT **ḫbras-bu** 'fruit, corn, grain'). See Gong 2001:23.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-ras**	bear fruit / rice	Matisoff 2003a:609

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***raʔ** FRUIT

**Chin*	***raʔ**	FRUIT	VanBik 2009:941

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**gah**	fruit	VanBik 2009:941
Sizang	**ngā**	fruit	VanBik 2009:941
Thado	**gàa**	fruit of something	VanBik 2009:941
Tiddim	**gaʔ**^{3}	bear fruit (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:298
	gaʔ^{3}	fruit	Bhaskararao 1996:299
	gaʔ^{3}	fruit; bear fruit ...	VanBik 2009:941; Bhaskararao 1994
	_gaʔ/_gaʔ	bear fruit (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**raʔ**	fruit	VanBik 2009:941
Lai (Falam)	**ràʔ**	fruit	VanBik 2009:941
Lushai [Mizo]	**rah**	bear (fruit)	Marrison 1967
	ràh	fruit, a berry, a corn, a nut (n.)	VanBik 2009:941
	rah	bear fruit (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2820
	rah	fruit	Bhaskararao 1996:299
	ràʔ	fruit	Löffler 1985
	raʔ	fruit / bear fruit	Benedict 1972:STC p.17
	thei **rah**	fruit	Marrison 1967
Paangkhua	**raà**	fruit	Löffler 1985

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	**bere**	bear (fruit); bear fruit	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967:GEM

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**'bras**	rice (uncooked)	Marrison 1967
	'bras-chan	rice (cooked)	Marrison 1967
	'bras bu	fruit	Marrison 1967
	(**ɦbras** bu) smin	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.01
	mig-**'bras**	eyeball / apple of the eye	Matisoff 1987
	mig-**ḫbras**	'apple of the eye, eyeball'; 'eyeball' ; 'eyesocket'	Matisoff 1987:162
	ɦbras bu skje	bear fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:790.1
	ɦbras bu ɦdogs	bear (fruit) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1439.01
	ɦbras pu	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.01
	ɦbras-bu	fruit	Matisoff 1987

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**lâd** ~ **li̯ɑd** ~ **lât**	coarse grain (n.)	Karlgren 1957:340g

Chinese comparandum

糲 OC ***lâd** ~ ***li̯ɑd** ~ ***lât**, *GSR* #340g 'grain (dehusked but not polished)'; Schuessler 2007:352 ***rats**; B & S 2011: ***rat-s {([m] ə-)rat-s}**; Mand. **lì**.
粺 OC ***b'ĕg**, *GSR* #874t 'fine grain'; Schuessler 2007:155 ***brêh**; B & S 2011: ***C.bˤre-s {C. [b] ˤre-s}**; Mand. **bài**.

(8) PTB *s-nuk BEAN / EYE

Like PTB ***sey** FRUIT / ROSE / ROUND OBJECT (§1.2.6) and PTB ***dzəy** SEED / TESTICLE / ROUND OBJECT (§1.9.7), this etymon often occurs as second element in compounds for EYE.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***snjəkw**	bean	Coblin 1986:39

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nok**	bean	LaPolla 1987:46 [a]
	***s-nuk**	bean	Matisoff 2003a:605

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**nòʔ**	bean	Matisoff 1974:323
	noʔ^{31} kju^{55}	bean	LaPolla 1987:46

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	li^{31}ki^{55}**n̡o**^{35}	soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.16

[a] [Source Note] [*TSR* 140].

	ɲ̥o^{35}	pea; bean; soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0430.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.16
	ɲ̥o^{35}	beans	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:201.17
	ɲ̥o^{35}phɔ̃^{55}lɔ^{55}	pea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0433.16
Namuyi	**nu**^{55}ly^{33}	beans	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:201.19
	nʉ^{55}lʉ^{31}	pea; bean; soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0430.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	qõ^{55}**ɲ̥o**^{55}	pea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0433.10
	ɲ̥o^{35}	pea / bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0430.10
	ɑ^{55}lɑ^{55}si^{11}mɑ^{11}**ɲ̥o**^{35}	soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.10
	ɕə^{11}**ɲ̥o**^{55}	bean (broad) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0432.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ɲ̥iu**^{55}	pea / bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0430.09
	ɲ̥õ^{13}	soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.09
	ɲ̥õ^{13}za^{55}	pea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0433.09
	ɲ̥u^{55}pa^{55}	bean (broad) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0432.09
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɲ̥o**^{53}	beans	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:201.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**nu**^{53}	beans	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:201.16
Xumi	jĩ^{55}tshi^{33}**nu**^{33}mbæ^{55}	soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.17
	nu^{33}nbæ^{55}	pea / bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0430.17
	nu^{33}ʁu^{55}	pea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0433.17

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***s-nuk**^{H} BEAN

**Lolo-Burmese*	*(**s-)nok**	bean	Matisoff 1972b:140
	***nok**	bean	LaPolla 1987:46
	***s-nuk**^{H}	bean	Matisoff 2003a:605

6.1.1. BURMISH

Bola (Luxi)	**nauʔ**^{31}	pea / bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0430.32
	nauʔ^{31}ma^{31}	soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.32
Burmese (Written)	**nok**	bean	LaPolla 1987:46
Langsu (Luxi)	**nauk**^{31}	pea; bean; soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0430.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**nuk**^{31}	pea / bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0430.33
	nuk^{31}tse̱i^{53}	soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nuʔ**^{21}	pea; bean; soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0430.30; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.30

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***s-nök**^{H}	bean	Bradley 1979b:276A; Hansson 1989:565
PNL	**s-nök**^{H}	bean	CHEN Kang 1986a:69.

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu	**nɔ̂ʔ**	bean	LaPolla 1987:46
Lahu (Lancang)	**nɔ**^{54}	pea / bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0430.43
Lahu (Black)	**nɔ̂ʔ**	bean	Matisoff 1974:323; Matisoff 1972b:140
Lahu (Yellow)	**nɔ**^{6}ba^{3}	bean curd	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**no**^{44}	bean	CHEN Kang 1986a:69.
	nu 44	bean	Matisoff 1972b:140

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	meh^ **nui^**	eye	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Yunnan)	mjaq **nyq**	eye	Hansson 1989:468
Akha (Thai)	mjaq-**nyq**	eye	Hansson 1989:468
Akha	mya^ **nui^** (**nui^**)	eye	Matisoff 1987
	mya^ **nui^** mya^ k'o^	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mya^ **nui^** mya^ sheh^	eyebrow; eyelash	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	nyq	bean	Hansson 1989:565
Bisu	mɛ̀ **hnɯ**	eye	Bradley 1979b
	mɛ̀-**hnɯ̄**	eye	Matisoff 1972b:145
	mɛ **hnɨ**	eye	Beaudouin 1988:14
	mɛ **hnɨ̀** ʔaŋhmɨ̀	lash (of eye)	Beaudouin 1988:14
Hani (Gelanghe)	mja̱^{33} **nɯ̱**^{33}	eye	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɲy**˥	soy beans	Michaud 2006–2009:4123
	ɲy˧hu˥	long-boiled soft bean curd	Michaud 2006–2009:4125
	ɲy˧hw̃ɑ˥	green beans	Michaud 2006–2009:4131
	ɲy˧tsɑ˥	coarse chaff of beans (used to feed cows)	Michaud 2006–2009:4288
Na (Yongning)	**nv**˧hṽ˩	string bean, kidney bean; bean (generic term)	Michaud 2006–2009; Michaud 2006–2009
	nv˧hṽ˩bi˩bi˩	green beans	Michaud 2006–2009
	nv˩dʑi˧	tofu	Michaud 2006–2009
	nv˩hu˥	long-boiled soft bean curd (tofu)	Michaud 2006–2009
	nv˩tsɑ˦	coarse chaff of beans	Michaud 2006–2009
	nv˩tɕʰi˥	coarse chaff of beans (used to feed cows)	Michaud 2006–2009
	nv˩ʈɯ˧	soy beans	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**nv**^{31}	beans	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:201.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**nv**^{31}ɭ^{33}	beans	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:201.29
Naxi	**nṿ**^{21}	pea; bean; soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0430.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.45

Chinese comparandum

尗 OC ***si̯ôk**, *GSR* #1031a,g 'pulse, bean'; Coblin 86:39 ***snjəkw**; B & S 2011: ***s.tuk**; Schuessler 2007:469 ***nhiuk**; Mand. **shū**.

(9) PTB * k/g um EYEBROW / EYELASH

This promising root deserves further support.

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	me **gón**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	mik **khu**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	mük-**kon**	eyebrow	Rai *et al.* 1984:35
	mUk **kun**	eyebrow	Rai 1985

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	'mih **gum**	eyebrow	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.11
	mih **gum**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	myak-**khûm**-mwê	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	ɲ̥a^{53} mo^{24} **kʰy̩**^{33}	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Dazhai)	mja̱^{33}**xɔ**^{33}	eyebrow	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ma^{33} **xo**^{33}	eyebrow	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986

(10) PTB *ba or *pa EYELASH / EYELID

More confirmation of this promising root would be welcome.

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**pa**	eyelash	Singh 1991:3.4.4
	pâ	eyelid	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	**bā**-du^{1}	eyelash	unknown nd

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	ɲ̥i^{13} **pɑ**^{53}	eyelid	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.4.1

5. TUJIA

Tujia	lo^{35} pu^{55} tʰa^{55} **pʰa**^{21}	eyelid	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.4.1

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	ʔmɪ̱^{33} lɑ^{21} **bɑ**^{21}	eyelid	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.1

(11) PTB *s-(b)r i/u m EYELASH / EYELID

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	megón mə **srə́m**	eyelash	Bhat 1968
	mə **srə́m**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	mik-**sram**	eyelash, very small	Burling 1992
	mik-**sram**	eyelash (n.)	Burling 2003:6.25-II:idx

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	myk **syram**	eyelash (n.)	van Breugel 2008

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Pattani [Manchati]	**bʰrim**	eyelid	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	mi̥ **rho**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	mük-**rim**-ma	eyelid	Rai *et al.* 1984:53
	mUk **rim** ma	eyelash	Rai 1985

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	kwi **rya** so	eye	Watters & Watters 1989:1.40

(12) PTB * r/s/g -wa WATER / RAIN

The final stop in several Kuki-Chin languages is perhaps a reflex of suffixal ***-s**, although this coda is not attested otherwise.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***rɣwjaɣ**	rain	Coblin 1986:122

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-wa**	rain	Weidert 1987:181; Benedict 1972:443
	***r-wa ⋉ s-wa ⋉ g-wa**	rain	Matisoff 2003a:618
	***r-wɑ**	rain	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:100a-c
	***rwa-s**	rain	Matisoff 2003a:611

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"

Sulung [Puroik]	aŋ^{33}**pɹu**^{53}	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.52

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**ka:ra:** bom	light (rain); rain (light)	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	ka:ra: ja:	rain	NEFA (India) 1963
	kɑ^{31}**ɹɑ**^{55}	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.49
	kɑ^{55}**ɹɑ**^{55}	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.22
Digaro	**həra**	rain	Benedict 1972:443
Idu	ɑ^{31}**ɹɑ**^{55}	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.50

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ruaʔ** RAIN (n.)

**Chin*	***ruaʔ**	RAIN (n.)	VanBik 2009:964

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**ngūa**	rain	VanBik 2009:964
Thado	**gòo**	rain	VanBik 2009:964
Tiddim	**guaʔ**^{3}	rain	Bhaskararao 1996:377
	guaʔ	rain	Weidert 1987:181
	guaʔ^{3}	rain	VanBik 2009:964
	_guaʔ	rain (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ruaʔ**	rain	VanBik 2009:964
Lai (Falam)	**rùaʔ**	rain	VanBik 2009:964
Lushai [Mizo]	**ruah**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	rùah	rain	VanBik 2009:964
	ruah	rain	Bhaskararao 1996:377
	ruah a shuːr	rain (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2863
	ruaʔ	rain	Weidert 1987:181; Benedict 1972:443

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**vā** á sùa	rain (v.)	VanBik 2009:964

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***rwa/ru** RAIN

**Central Naga*	***rwa/ru**	RAIN	Bruhn 2014a:III.039
Ao (Chungli)	tsung **lu**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsəŋ^{1}**lu**^{1}	rain (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.190
	^{1}tsɯŋ^{1}**lo**	rain	Weidert 1987:1136 [a]
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**ruʔ**^{3}	rain (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.039
	e **ru**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	e **ryu**	rain	Murry *et al.* 1978:98
	e **ryu** jo ala	rain	Murry *et al.* 1978:98
	^{1}e^{3}**rɤ(ʔ)**	rain	Weidert 1987:181

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

[a] [Source Note] lit. sky-rain.

Angami Naga	^{2}ti^{2}**rɯ**	rain	Weidert 1987:181
Angami (Khonoma)	ti **r**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ti **r** kra	storm (n.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	tei **rü**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	tü **rü**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{2}tɤ^{2}**rɯ**	rain	Weidert 1987:181
Khezha	^{1}the^{2}**rɯ**	rain	Weidert 1987:181
Mao	o chü **rü**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}tšɯ^{2}**rɯ**	rain	Weidert 1987:181

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Puiron	**kwa**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	ting **rui**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	ting **rui**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	**ró**	rain	Bhat 1969:95

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ar **vè**	rain	Weidert 1987:181
	ar **ve**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	***hwV**	rain (v.)	Burling 1959:443

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	**ha**	rain (v.)	Benedict 1972:443
Kokborok	**wa**-təy	rain	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	mikka **wa**	rain (v.)	Benedict 1972:443
Garo (Bangladesh)	**wa**-a	rain (vi.)	Burling 2003:4.325-II:idx

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak	**wai**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Pattani [Manchati]	çə **ru**	incessant rain	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Central)	ngam **su**	rain	Andvik 1993:45
Tsangla (Motuo)	(ŋam^{13}su^{55}) **k'e^{55}**	rain (v.)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ŋam **su**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.7
	ŋam^{13}**su^{55}**	rain	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	ngam-**chu**	rain	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Gyaru)	mo^{2} **yɯ^{1}** ba	rain (V.)	Nagano 1984:253-02

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**wā**	rain (n.)	Hale 1973:01.076
Newar (Dolakhali)	**wa**	rain	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**wa**	rain	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**wā**	rain	Genetti 1990d

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***ku/kwa**	water	Opgenort 2011
	***war/rwa**	rain	Opgenort 2011
Khambu	**kəwa**	water	Benedict 1972:443
Waling	**tśəwa**	water	Benedict 1972:443

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	**cuwa**	water	Ebert 1997
	cuwa dam	well (for water)	Ebert 1997
	cwa	water	Ebert 1997
	wa	(water -> see cuwa)	Ebert 1997
Limbu	mik **wa**	tears	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:177
	mik **wā**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	P-**wa** mi:kt-	thirsty (vs.)	Driem 1988
	wa hit	rain	Weidert 1987:111
	wɔ hit	rain	Michailovsky 1989b
	wɔ hit?	rain	Weidert 1987:111
	ʔɔ hit	rain	Weidert 1987:111
	ʔɔ i̱t?	rain	Weidert 1987:111
Yakha	mi? **wa** ha	tears	Kohn 1990:3.4.6

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

**Kul-Cham-Ban*	*mik **wa**	tears	Michailovsky 1991:177
Bantawa	cak-**wa**-sü-	thirsty (vs.i.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:13
	ca? **wa** sü-	thirsty (be v.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:67
	hak-nu-**wa**	sweat	Matisoff 1987; Rai *et al.* 1984:27
	hak-nu **wa** lons-	sweat (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:28
	hak-nu **wa** lont-	sweat (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:28
	hak nu **wa**	sweat	Rai 1985
	mïk **wa**	tears	Michailovsky 1991:177; Michailovsky 1991:177
	mï **wa**	tears	Michailovsky 1991:177
	mUk **wa**	tears	Rai 1985
	mü? **a**	tears	Rai *et al.* 1984:53
Rodong	**wa**	water	Benedict 1972:443
Kulung	mik **wa**	tears	Michailovsky 1991:177; Rai *et al.* 1975
	wa tay-e	rain [it rains] (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**hu**	rain.	Driem 1993
Khaling	**wō**	rain (n.)	Hale 1973:01.076

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**rya**-wa	rain	Benedict 1972:443
Sunwar	**rew**	rain (n.)	Hale 1973:01.076
Thulung	**wo:**	rain	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	'nam **wā**-nyā	rain (n.)	Hale 1973:01.076

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**guɑ^{33}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.18
	guɑ^{33}lɑ^{55}	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.18
Guiqiong	(tshɔ̃^{31}) **wi^{35}**	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.16
	wi^{53}	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.17
Lyuzu	**ɣuæ^{35}**	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.18
Pumi (Jiulong)	(**wi^{35}**) tɕhõ^{55}	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.10
	wi^{35}	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**gui^{55}**	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**gui^{55}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.11
	gui^{55}tʃhɑ̃u^{55}	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**gui^{53}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.10
	gui^{55}tɕhã^{53}	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**uà**	dew; rain (v.)	Evans 1999:17; Evans 1999:2469
Qiang (Mawo)	mə **ʁe^{ɪ}** phu βɑ	raincoat (of leaves, hemp fibe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:378.8
Queyu (Xinlong)	(**xi^{55}**) lə^{55}ty^{13}	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.13
	xi^{55}	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhabɑ]	**xu^{53}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.16
	xɯ^{53}tu^{55}rə^{53}	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.16
Xumi	**xu^{53}**	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.17
	ɸui^{55}zɑ^{55}	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.20
	ɸui^{55}zɑ^{55}	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.20

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	mɑu^{31}**wɑ^{55}**	rain (v.)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	mau^{31}**ʐo^{55}**	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.28
	mau^{31}**ʐo^{55}**	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.41
	mau^{31}**ʐo^{55}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.41
	ʐo^{55}	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.28
Achang (Luxi)	mau^{51}**wa^{31}**	rain	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	mau^{51}**wa^{31}**	rain (v.)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	mau^{31}**ʐo^{55}**	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.29
	ʐo^{55}	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.29
Bola (Luxi)	**ɣɔ^{55}**	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.32
Burmese (Modern)	**-rwā^{3}**	rain (v.)	Luce 1985:S.7
Burmese (Rangoon)	**jwɑ^{22}**	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.27
Burmese (Spoken)	**-ywa^{3}**	rain (v.)	Luce 1985:S.7
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**jwɑ^{22}**	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.40
Burmese (Written)	**-rwā**	rain (v.)	Luce 1985:S.7
	rwa	rain	Weidert 1987:181
	rwa	rain (v.)	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:443
	rwɑ^{2}	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.39
	rwɑɑ^{2}	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.26
Danu	**-ywɑ^{4}**	rain (v.)	Luce 1985:S.7
Hpun (Metjo)	**-wɑh^{1}**	rain (v.)	Luce 1985:S.7
Hpun (Northern)	tămù **wá?**	rain (cp. Sky) (v.)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**vu^{31}**	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.31
Lashi (Lachhe')	**-wɔ^{4}**	rain (v.)	Luce 1985:S.7
	vwɔ^{4}	rain (v.)	Luce 1985:S.7
Leqi (Luxi)	mou^{33}**wɔ^{31}**	rain (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.33
	wɔː^{53}	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.33
Marma	mú**-rwa**	rain (v.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:253a
Maru [Langsu]	(muk^{55})**vu^{31}**	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.43
	mùk **ɣù**	rain	Weidert 1987:181
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**-wɔ^{2}**	rain (v.)	Luce 1985:S.7
	-ʁɔ^{2}	rain (v.)	Luce 1985:S.7
	vô	rain	Weidert 1987:181
	vo^{51}	fall (rain); rain (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***r-ywa**	rain	Weidert 1987:181
	***r-ywa/we^{1}**	rain	Bradley 1979b:324
	***we^{1}**	rain	Weidert 1987:181

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Bijiang)	mɯ^{55}ɑ^{31}**ɹuɑ^{55}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ɹuɑ^{31}**	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɹuɑ^{35}**	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.45
Yi (Dafang)	m(u)^{33}**ho^{33}**	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.22
	m̩(u)^{33}**ho^{33}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.22
Yi (Mile)	lɛ^{33}; **xo^{33}**	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.25
	mo^{21}**xo^{33}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ʌ^{55}**xo^{33}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.26
Yi (Nanhua)	mɯ^{21}**xo^{33}**; ʌ^{55}mɯ^{21}**xo^{33}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.24
	xo^{33}	fall (rain); rain (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.37; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.24
	ɑ^{55}mə^{21}**xo^{33}**	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**hɑ^{55}**	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.23
	ɑ^{55}m̩(u̱)^{21}**hɑ^{55}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.23
Yi (Weishan)	**hɑ^{55}**	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.36
	ɑ^{55}m̩^{21}**hɑ^{33}**	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.36
Yi (Wuding)	**hu^{11}**	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.38
	hu^{11}	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.38
Yi (Xide)	m(u)^{33}**ha^{33}**dʑi^{21}	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.21
	m̩(u)^{33}**ha^{33}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	**xo^{42}**	fall (rain); rain (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.44; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.34
Kucong	mu31 **zɻ31**	rain	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	zɻ31	fall (of rain)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	mv^{53}**ʑe^{31}**	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.43
Lahu (Black)	mu^{53}**ze^{31}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.33
Lahu (Yellow)	(mɣ^{3}ʑi^{2})**la^{2}**	rain (v.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɣ^{3}**ʑi^{7}**	rain	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	mrgh'^{5}**-h'a^{4}-h'a^{4}**	rain (v.)	Fraser 1922
	mrgh^{5}**-h'a^{4}**	rain (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	mɯ^{31}**hɑ^{33}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.27
	mɯ^{31}**hɑ̃^{33}**	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.40
Lisu (Northern)	mɤ^{21}hã^{33} **thi^{21}** dzɔ^{21}	period of rain (n.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**zɛ^{31}**	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.27

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	mùŋ **hɔ̀**	rain	Bradley 199x
Hani (Caiyuan)	**xu^{55}**(ɔ^{31}**xu^{55}xu^{55}**)	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.30
	ɔ^{31}**xu^{55}**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.30
Hani (Pijo)	ɔ̀ **xhú xhú**	rain	Hansson 1989:230
Hani (Khatu)	ù **xhú xhú**	rain	Hansson 1989:230
Pyen	mo33 **hɔ33**	rain	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:011036

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**fi**˥	rain	Michaud 2006–2009:26
	fi˥**dʐɯ**˥	fall (rain), rain (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2518
Na (Yongning)	**hi**˩**q^{h}ɑ**˩	storm	Michaud 2006–2009
	hi˩**q^{h}ɑ**˩ lɑ˦	torrential rain, cloudburst	Michaud 2006–2009

	hiʎ	rain	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**xi**^{31}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.29
Naxi	**xɯ**^{21}	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**xɯ**^{31}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.28
	xɯ^{31}**gɯ**^{33}	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.28
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ɣo**^{42}	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.36
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gi̯wo**	rain	Chou Fa-kao 1972:100a-c
	gi̯wo/ji̯u-	rain upon (v.)	Karlgren 1957:100a-e
	gi̯wo/ji̯u:	rain	Karlgren 1957:100a-e
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**yǔ**	rain	Evans *et al.* 1991
	yuu	rain	Sun 1985b:796

Chinese comparandum

雨 OC ***gi̯wo**, *GSR* #100a-e; B & S 2011: ***C.ɢʷa {C.ɢʷ(r)a}**; Mand. **yǔ**.

隕/殞 OC ***g'i̯wɛn**, *GSR* #227g/h 'drop, fall; die; overthrow, destroy'; Schuessler 2007:598 ***w(r)ən(ʔ)** ~ ***win(ʔ)**; B & S 2011: ***ɢʷrənʔ {[ɢ]ʷrə[n]ʔ}**; Mand. **yǔn**.
霣 OC ***g'i̯wɛn**, *GSR* #227i 'rain (v.), fall like rain'; Schuessler 2007:598 ***w(r)ən(ʔ)** ~ ***win(ʔ)**; B & S 2011: (***ɢʷrənʔ {[ɢ]ʷrə[n]ʔ}**); Mand. **yǔn**.

(13) PTB *si WATER

This root is abundantly attested in Tani, with scattered apparent cognates elsewhere.

1.1.1. Tani: ***si** WATER

**Tani*	***si**	water	Sun 1993a:455
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	(ja-**si**) hu-brju	vapor	Sun 1993b
	(ja-**si**) reʔ-bo	wade	Sun 1993b
	a-**si**-a-ǰi	jaddy field	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si**	water	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ja-**si** a-ǰĩ	wet cultivation (terrace)	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si** a-ǰi	field	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si** bi	water (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si** brjo bã	immerse	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si** bu-ri	snake (water)	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si** ho sam-bã	immerse	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si** ta-na	thirsty	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si** ti-bu	water (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si** tu	flood (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si**-bi	irrigation	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si**-bu-ri	water snake	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si**-so-li	water (stagnant ~)	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si**-sɯ-čʰoʔ	water pipe	Sun 1993b
	ja-**si**-sɯ-li	water (stagnant ~)	Sun 1993b
	je-**si**	water	Sun 1993b
	je-**si** hú-nɯ	flood	Sun 1993b
	je-**si** pin-ta	water pot	Sun 1993b
	je-**si** sɯ-lɯ	bamboo container of water	Sun 1993b
	kɯ-le je-**si**	river water	Sun 1993b
Bengni	(kɯ-di: a-rɯŋ) **si**-vɯŋ	well (n.)	Sun 1993b
	(ə-**si**) bə-čɯr	shallow	Sun 1993b
	(ə-**si**) **si**-lap	wave	Sun 1993b
	kɯ-di: a-rɯŋ **si**-vɯŋ	well (n.)	Sun 1993b
	pum-**si** pum-la:	snot (watery)	Sun 1993b
	si-duŋ	waterfall	Sun 1993b
	si-pit	foam (on surface of river)	Sun 1993b
	si-vɯŋ	water hole	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**ši**	water	Sun 1993a
	ɯ-**si**	water; river (large); river	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** a-rɯŋ	bottom (of a body of water)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** a-rɯŋ ǰa:	swim under water	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** a-wu	hot water	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** bɯ-ri	watery	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** di	drop of water	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** fu	boil (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** fu-bu:	boiled water	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** fu-tuk	boiling water	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** hin-ča:	overflow (river)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** huŋ-lup	flood (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** ǰa:	swim	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** jo:-rap	wade	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** puk-lɯk	dive	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** pɯ-lɯk	water (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** rap-pit	cross (river)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** rɯk-pa:	field (irrigated)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** **si**-rjɯk	cold water	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** su-dum	upstream	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** su-ko:	spring (water); downstream	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** tu-kjɯ:	spray water (on plant)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** tu-lɯk	irrigate	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**si** vɯr-bu:	whirlpool	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(i **ɕi**) lɯk	dilute / add water	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1178.24
	i **ɕi**	water (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.24
	i **ɕi** wu na	water (boiled) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.24
	i-**ši**	water	Sun 1993a
	i-**si**	water	Sun 1993b
	i-**si** a-laŋ	soup (watery)	Sun 1993b
	i-**si** ha-mɯŋ	clear (< > muddy)	Sun 1993b
	i-**si** ǰir-na	whirlpool	Sun 1993b
	i-**si** taŋ	irrigate, water (v.)	Sun 1993b
	i-**si** tor	irrigate, water (v.)	Sun 1993b
	i-**si** wu-nə	boiled water	Sun 1993b
	i **ɕi** bjoŋ	swim (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1763.24
	i **ɕi** gə:	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.24
	si-ruŋ	well (n.)	Sun 1993b
	si-tə	sea, ocean	Sun 1993b
	ɕi ruŋ	well (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0035.24
Bokar Lhoba	i **ɕi**	water	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:10.51
Galo	i **hi**	water	Das Gupta 1963
	i **si**	water	Das Gupta 1963
	i **si** abu	river	Das Gupta 1963
	i **si** bin-nam	flow (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	i **si** koce	stream	Das Gupta 1963
	i **si** pelig-nam	irrigation (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	i **si** **si**-gur:	spring	Das Gupta 1963
	i **si** ɟa-nam	swim (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	i **si** ɟɯ-nam	water (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	i **si**-asuk	vapor	Das Gupta 1963
	i **si**-du	waterfall	Das Gupta 1963
	i **si**-lok la-len-nam	save (from drowning) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	i **si**-tɯ-li-na	thirsty	Das Gupta 1963
	si lek	bamboo container for water	Das Gupta 1963
	'hi dor	water (clean) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hi dɨɨ	waterfall (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hi gik	dirty (water) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'hi gik	water (dirty) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hi go	hot water; water (hot) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'hi jik	muddy water (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hi lək	bamboo container (variety); container (bamboo, variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'i **si**	water (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'i **si**-rɨk ə	field (wet) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'i **si**-'bɨ ci	snake (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'i **si**-'hilə	lake; pond (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'i **si**-'o poo	drink (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'i **si**-'pə jap	duck (wild) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'i **si**-ɲigam	fisherman (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'pum **si**-pum laa	nose water (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ɲik **si**-ɲig laa	water (from the eyes) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋar **si**	dew (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	i **sh'**-a-nam	drown	Simon 1976
	i **sh'**-byc'	water snake	Simon 1976
	i **sh'**-lek	water	Simon 1976
	i **sh'**-tɯ-nam	drink water	Simon 1976
	i **sh'**-tɯ-ne	thirsty	Simon 1976
	i **sh [i]**	water	Simon 1976
Nishing	i **si** rongo	wet-rice cultivation	Das Gupta 1969
	i **si**~e **si**	water	Das Gupta 1969
	si-pa rongo	wet-rice cultivation	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a gu nɤ i **si** '	warm water'	Das Gupta 1983
	car gu nɤ i **si**	water, boiled	Das Gupta 1983
	e siŋ ɤ i **si** sulo ɟa-kirr-do	Wood floats on water	Das Gupta 1983
	i **si** car gu do	water boil	Das Gupta 1983
	i **si** sintardo	Water is diminishing	Das Gupta 1983
	i **si** ɟi-nam	irrigation / give water	Das Gupta 1983
	i **sɯ** sikiyo (siko)	river (stream)	Das Gupta 1983
	i **sɯ** tɤ-nam	flood	Das Gupta 1983
	kasiŋ kayanɤ i **si**	dirty water	Das Gupta 1983
	pi ciŋ i **si** ɤ aku-yariŋ-do '	pot is full of water'	Das Gupta 1983
	rokdin i **si** lo lok-lɯk-do	Iron sinks in water	Das Gupta 1983
	si-gu	hot water	Das Gupta 1983
	si lɤk	bamboo (for carrying water)	Das Gupta 1983
	sɯ-lɤ	lake (tank)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**si**	water	Sun 1993a
	e-**shi**	shi ='water'	Matisoff 1987
	mik-**shi**	tears (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	shi	shi ='water'	Matisoff 1987
	yé-**she**	shi ='water'	Matisoff 1987
	yé-**shi**	shi ='water'	Matisoff 1987
Damu	(ʔa **ɕi**) xan-nə	cold (water)	Sun 1993b
	(ʔa-**ɕi**) ɟia	drown	Sun 1993b
	mik-**ɕi**	tears	Sun 1993b
	mik-**ɕi** tɕep	shed tears	Sun 1993b
	raʔ-tɕa ʔa-**ɕi**	drop (of water)	Sun 1993b
	ɕi-cir	boiled water	Sun 1993b
	ɕi-ta:	river	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ɕi**	water	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ɕi** bək-duŋ	spring (water)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ɕi** dok-pa	aqueduct	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ɕi** dø:-ruŋ	well	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ɕi** ra-nəŋ	dive	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ɕi** taŋ-mu-nə	clear (water)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ɕi** xər-nə	bathe	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ɕi**-ɕiŋ-ra-ʔin-ɕe	wade	Sun 1993b
Milang	a pu lo a **si** koro ta-muk	irrigation	Tayeng 1976
	a **si**	water	Tayeng 1976
	a **si** a pu	wet cultivation	Tayeng 1976
	a **si** caŋ-ma	drink	Tayeng 1976
	a **si** ha-ma	drown	Tayeng 1976
	a **si** yu-bi-ma	flow	Tayeng 1976
	a **si**-bi-da	water line	Tayeng 1976
	a **si**-caŋ-mi	thirsty	Tayeng 1976
	a **si**-ki yu-on-ma	float	Tayeng 1976
	a **si** ha-ɲi	dive	Tayeng 1976
	mik **si**	tears	Tayeng 1976
	si kal-kal-ma	boil water	Tayeng 1976
	si-per	wave	Tayeng 1976
	si-puŋ	spring	Tayeng 1976
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	mik-**chi**	tears	Burling 1992
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Wenlang)	mek^{55} **ts^{h}i**^{55}	tears	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	mik^{53}**tshi**^{53}	tear (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:239.6
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	dri-**ć'u**	urine	Matisoff 1987
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	tə mn̥ak **tɕi**	tears (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4.6
rGyalrong (Eastern)	təlam **tʃi**	semen	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.3.7
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə mbu **tɕi**	semen	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.3.7
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə mn̥ak **tʃi**	tears	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4.6
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə mn̥ak **ətɕi**	tears	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.4.6
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	v **si** 32	rain (n.)	Dell 1981b:981
	vu^{33}ɕi^{44}o^{42}	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.35
	v^{33}**ɕi**^{44}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	tã^{33} **ɕui**^{33}	bile	Zhao Yansun 1990:9.5.1

(14) NEIA *gon EYE

This weakly attested root appears mostly as the second syllable of Bodo-Garo compounds, with possibly a couple of cognates in Bodic.

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	me **gón**	eye	Weidert 1987:1094; Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987

	me **gón** mi kí	excrement of the eye	Bhat 1968
	mo?-**gon**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	payrew me **gón**	embroidery (kind of, like the eye of pigeon)	Bhat 1968
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	mik-**on**	eye	Burling 1992
	mik-**on**	eye; pupil of eye (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
	mik-**on** bi-rong	iris of eye (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	miŋ **k^{h}oŋ** taŋ	eye	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tshona (Mama)	me?^{53} **kɔŋ**^{55}	eye	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.2.6.1 Eyeball

(1) PTB *g-$\frac{\text{d}}{\text{r}}$a EYEBALL

The Bodic and Magar forms resemble the second syllable of WT **mig-ḳbras** 'eyeball' (lit. "eye-fruit"). For a semantically similar compound, cf. Sema **anhe thi** 'eyeball'.

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	mik **thā**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	n̥i^{13} **dɑ**^{35}	eyeball	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.4.2
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Jirel)	'mi-iq **gerā**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Magar	mik **gedā**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987

1.2.6.2 Iris/Pupil

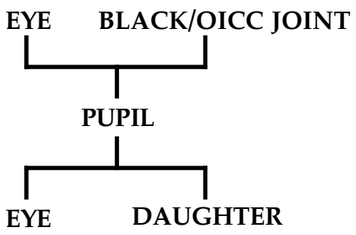

Figure 69: 1.2.6.2 *Iris/Pupil*

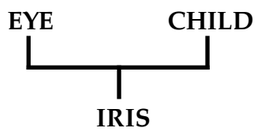

Figure 70: 1.2.6.2 *Iris/Pupil*

1.2.6.4 Eyelid

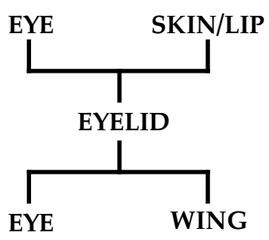

Figure 71: 1.2.6.4 *Eyelid*

Figure 72: 1.2.6.4 *Eyelid*

1.2.6.5 Eyelash

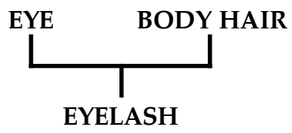

Figure 73: 1.2.6.5 *Eyelash*

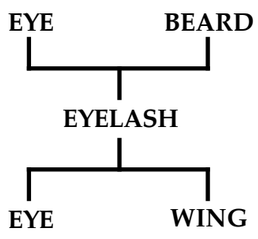

Figure 74: 1.2.6.5 *Eyelash*

Figure 75: 1.2.6.5 *Eyelash*

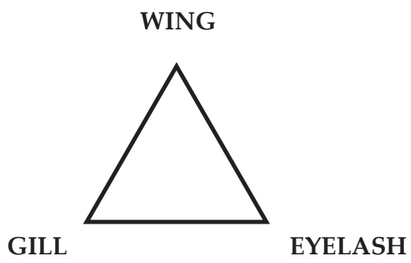

Figure 76: 1.2.6.5 *Eyelash*

Figure 77: 1.2.6.5 *Eyelash*

1.2.6.6 Eyebrow

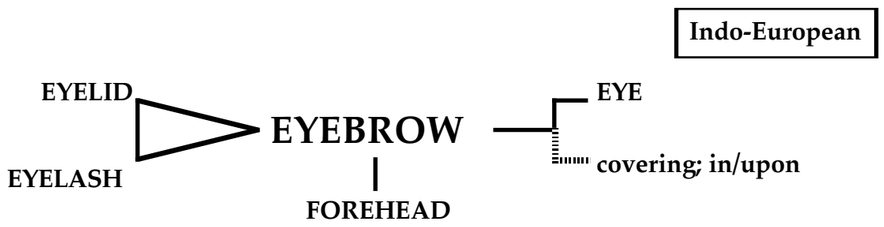

Figure 78: 1.2.6.6 *Eyebrow*

1.2.6.7 Tears

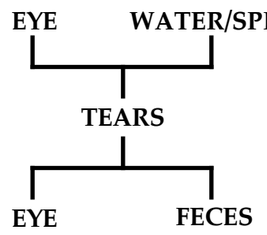

Figure 79: 1.2.6.7 *Tears*

(1) PTB *b-ləy-k TEARS

The Tangut doublet (**lwi^{1} ⩙ mbi̯ə̯** 'tears') is unexplained.

The **m-** which occurs in initial position in some forms (e.g. Mpi **m^{4}pi^{6}**) is evidently a reduction of PTB ***s-myak ⩙ *s-mik** EYE (§1.2.6).

Cf. also PTB ***m-t(w)əy-n ⩙ *m-ti-s** WATER / FLUID / LIQUID / RIVER / SOAK / SPIT (§1.9.9).

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	**bɯ** ca?	tears	Simon 1979
1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	kək^{33}**və'i**^{33}	tears	SUN Hongkai 1993
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	i **bi**-bra	tears	Anonymous 1962; Pulu 1978
	?i^{55}**bɹi**^{55}bɹa^{55}	tears	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.4.6
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**pi**	tears (n.)	Singh 1991:3.4.6
	pi	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	pi raŋ	tears (n.)	Singh 1991:3.4.6
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	mji?^{55} **pɹɯ̱i**^{33}	tears	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	myi? **pri**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	myi? **prəwi**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	khwa **bi**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	khwɔ **bi**	tears (n.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4.6
2.3. KIRANTI			
**BSDTK*	***pli** (?*plek-)	tears	Michailovsky 1991:178
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**plik** ti	tears	Michailovsky 1991:178
Hayu	**pe** ku ti	tears	Michailovsky 1991:178
	pe ku ti	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	**prek** ku	tears	Michailovsky 1991:178
	prek ku	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**bri** ko	tears	Michailovsky 1991:178; Allen 1975
	pla	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	plə	tears	Michailovsky 1991:178; Allen 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**'pihl**	tears	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.65
	'pihl	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**lwi^{1}**	tears	Sofronov c1978
	mbi̯ə̯	tears	Sofronov c1978
	mei **lwɪ**	tears (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989e:3.4.6
	mei **mbi̯ə̯**	tears (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989e:3.4.6
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	mia^{55} **bo**^{55}	tears	SUN Hongkai 1991d
Pumi (Qinghua)	mia^{55} **bʐa**^{13}	tears	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	n̥ɛ^{53} **bʐe**^{35}	tears	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʁləq**	tears (n.)	Sun 1986
	ʁləq	tears	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.4.6
	ʁləχ	tears (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.08
Qiang (Yadu)	**ʁləq**	tears	DAI Qingxia 1989q:194
Xumi	n̥i^{55} **dʐyɛ**^{55}	tears	SUN Hongkai 1991m
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	mau **ble**	tears	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.4.6
Ergong (Northern)	meɣ^{53} **pla**^{53}	tears	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.4.6
Ergong (Daofu)	mɑu **bla**	tears (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.4.6
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	mie^{42}**pi**^{44}	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	me^{55} **pi**^{53}	tears	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ne^{31} **pi**^{53}	tears	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	lo^{35} pu^{35} **pie**^{55} ts^{h}e^{21}	tears	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	lo^{35} pu^{55} **pɯe**^{55} ts^{h}e^{21}	tears	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.4.6

6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	ɳ̟ɑ^{31} **pɛi^{55}**	tears	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	ɳ̟ɔʔ^{55} **pi^{55}**	tears	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	ɳ̟aʔ^{31} **pɯ^{31}**	tears	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	ɲɔʔ^{55} **pi^{55}**	tears	Dai Qingxia 1989f:187
Bola	ŋau^{55} **pi^{55}**	tears	Dai Qingxia 1989g:187
Lashi	ŋou^{31} **pi^{31}**	tears (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.4.6
Maru [Langsu]	ŋuk^{31} **pik^{31}**	tears (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.4.6
Atsi [Zaiwa]	ŋau^{51} **pji^{21}**	tears	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	mę̱^{44} **bi^{33}**	tears (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.4.6
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Northern)	**bɹɯ^{31}** ɣɑ^{35}	tears	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**bʰi^{35}**	tears	Dai Qingxia 1989o:187.
Nusu (Central)	ŋɯ^{33} **bʰi^{33}**	tears	Dai Qingxia 1989p:187.
	ŋɯ^{35} **bɹi^{35}** ɑ^{55}	tears	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	ɦə̃^{31} **bɹi^{31}**	tears	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Xide)	ɳ̟ɔ^{33} **bl̩^{33}**	tears	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɳ̟ɔ^{33}-**bl̩^{33}** du̱^{33}	weep	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu (Nujiang)	miu̱^{44} **bi̱^{44}**	tears	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	myá^{3}-**bye^{3}**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**bí**	tears	Hansson 1989:129
Akha (Yunnan)	mjaq **bí**	tears	Hansson 1989:129
Akha (Thai)	mjaq-**bí**	tears	Hansson 1989:129
Akha	mya^ **bi˘** (dzui^)	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	mɛ̀ **pɨ**	tear[s] (Nb.)	Beaudouin 1988:15
Hani (Dazhai)	mja̱^{33} **bi^{55}**	tears	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Pijo)	ma **pí**	tears	Hansson 1989:129
Hani (Caiyuan)	ma̱^{33} **pi^{55}**	tears	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Pijo)	**pí**	tears	Hansson 1989:129
Hani (Gelanghe)	mja̱^{33} **bi^{55}**	tears	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ma^{33} **pi^{55}**	tears	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	miav **bbil**	tears	Hansson 1989:129
Hani (Khatu)	mjaq **pí**	tears	Hansson 1989:129
	pí	tears	Hansson 1989:129
Mpi	m^{4}**pi^{6}**	tears	Hansson 1989:129
Sangkong	mja̱^{33} **pɯ^{55}**	tears	Li Yongsui 1991
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Western)	miə^{31}**mbər^{33}**	tears	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	miə^{31}**mbəɹ^{33}**	tear (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:239.28
Naxi (Eastern)	ɳ̟ɑ^{33}**bɑ^{55}**	tears	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	眼 泪	tears	Nagano & Prins 2013:0019
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**li̱wəd/ljwi-**	tears	Karlgren 1957:532c
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**lei**	tears	Karlgren 1957:532c
	yǎn **lèi**	tears	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

淚 OC ***li̱wəd***, *GSR* #532c ‘tears’; Mand. **lèi**.
涕 OC ***t’iər***, *GSR* #591m ‘tears’; B & S 2011: ***l̥^{ʕ}əjʔ-s { [l̥] ^{ʕ} [ə] jʔ-s}***; Mand. **tì**.

1.2.6.10 See/Look

(1) PTB *mraŋ SEE

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***mljang**	see	Coblin 1986:129
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***mrak**	see	Benedict 1972:149
	***mrang** (*A)	see	Coblin 1986:129
	***mraŋ**	see (v.)	Weidert 1987:203
	***mraŋ**	see; look toward	Matisoff 2003a:602; Benedict 1972:146
	***mrɑŋ**	see	Chou Fa-kao 1972:743d-k
1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Kom Rem	**muh**	see / look (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.9
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-raŋ** STARE, LOOK AT, WATCH			
**Central Naga*	***m-raŋ**	STARE, LOOK AT, WATCH	Bruhn 2014a:III.205
Ao (Chungli)	**-ràŋ**	stare (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
	rep **rang**	look at; see	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	rūp **rāŋ**	look (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:3
	^{2}rɯp^{2}**raŋ**	see (v.)	Weidert 1987:203
	ɹəp^{2}**ɹaŋ^{2}**	look at, watch (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.205
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ring**	look at	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	**ṇ^{1}-rəŋ^{1}**-i^{3} zet^{2}-	stare (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.205
	nrüng i zet a	stare	Murry *et al.* 1978:116
Yimchungrü	**mürüng** khih	stare (v.)	Kumar 1973b:43
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ke **làŋ**	see (v.)	Weidert 1987:203
	lang	see	Marrison 1967
	làng-	see / look (v.)	Grüssner 1979:glossary p
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	**noŋ**	see	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa	^{2}**laŋ**	look (v.)	Weidert 1987:203
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**mu**	see	Marrison 1967
	mu^{31}	see	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	mu^{31}	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.19
	mu^{31}	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.47
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**ɓo**	see	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:57
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**rāng** bo	see	Hale 1973:01.057
2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{Ah}**mraŋ** SEE			
**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**mraŋ**	see	Mazaudon 1994:796
Gurung	**mrọ** bāq	see (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.14
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mrõ** baq	see	Glover 1972:10.B.2.14
Gurung	^{1}**mrõ-**	see	Mazaudon 1994:796
Murmi	**mrang**	see	Coblin 1986:129
Tamang	**mraŋ**	see	Benedict 1972:146
Tamang (Bagmati)	**mraŋ**	see (v.)	Weidert 1987:739
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**mraŋ**	see (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.9
	^{1}**mraŋ**	see	Mazaudon 1994:796
Tamang (Sahu)	**mrāng**-pā	see (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.14
	mraŋ-pa	see (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.B.14
	^{1}**mraŋ**	appear / to see	Mazaudon 1994:796
Tamang (Taglung)	**mraŋ**-ba	see	Mazaudon 1994:797
Thakali	**mrāng**-la	see (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.14
	mrāng-pa	see	Hale 1973:01.057
Thakali (Marpha)	^{55,55}**mraŋ**-dzi	see	Mazaudon 1994:797
Thakali (Syang)	^{55,33}**mraŋ**-ba	see	Mazaudon 1994:797
Thakali (Tukche)	**mraŋ**-lɔ	see	Hari 1971:10.B.2.14
	mraŋ-pɔ	see	Hari 1971:1.57
	^{2}**mraŋ**	see	Mazaudon 1994:797
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	ni: **ma:**	see (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.4.9
	so:ʔ **ma:**	look (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.4.9
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	dzo^{55} **ro^{55}**	look	Sun Hongkai 1991d
Muya [Minyak]	kʰɯ^{33}tɕɔ^{53}ri^{55}	see / look (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.4.9
	tø^{55}rɔ^{55}	see / look (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.4.9
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	**mtɕa**	see / look (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.4.9
4. Nungic			
Anong	**dʑaŋ^{55}**	look, see	Sun Hongkai 1988
Nung	**dʑaŋ^{55}**ʂl̩^{31}dzl̩^{31}	let s.b. see / show (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1470.21
Anong	**yaŋ**	see	Benedict 1972:146
Anong (Rawang)	**yaŋ**	see	Benedict 1972:43n140
Nung	zaŋ^{31}**dʑaŋ^{53}**	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.21
Anong	zaŋ^{31}**dʑaŋ^{53}**	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.44
Dulong	**jɑ^{53}**	let s.b. see; show; see; see (a doctor) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1470.20; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.20; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1472.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ɟaŋ^{53}**	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ɟaŋ^{53}**	look at; see	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**jaŋ^{53}**	look at; see	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**bo^{13}**	see / look (v.)	Chen Kang 1986d:3.4.9
Tujia (Southern)	**bo^{13}**	look at	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	bo^{13} ji^{35}	see	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***s-mraŋ^{1}** SHOW, ***mraŋ^{1}** SEE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*s-**mraŋ^{1}**	show	Matisoff 2003a:602
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**mjɑŋ^{55}**	see	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	en^{31} **mzaŋ^{55}**	see	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	en^{31}**mzaŋ^{55}**	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.28
	en^{31}**mzaŋ^{55}**	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.41
Achang (Luxi)	**mjaŋ^{31}**	see	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**mzaŋ^{55}**	see	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2030
	mzaŋ^{55}	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.29
Bola	**mjɔ̃^{55}**	see	Dai Qingxia 1989g:2030
Bola (Luxi)	**mjɔ̃^{55}**	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mjĩ^{22}**	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mjĩ^{22}**	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.40
Burmese (Written)	**mraṅ**	see	Marrison 1967
	mrang	see	Coblin 1986:129
	mraŋ	see (v.)	Weidert 1987:203
	mraŋ	see	Hansson 1989:268; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:146
	mro	look forward to, expect	Benedict 1976a
	mrɑŋ^{2}	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.26
	mrɑŋ^{2}	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.39
Hpun (Northern)	**myó**	see	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	mjɔʔ^{31}**mjɔ̃^{31}**	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.31
	mjɔ̃^{31}	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.31
Lashi	**mja:ŋ^{31}**	see (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.4.9
Leqi (Luxi)	**mja:ŋ^{31}**	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.33
	mjɔʔ^{31}**mja:ŋ^{31}**	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.33
Marma	**mraŋ**	see	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:57
Maru [Langsu]	**mjɔ̃^{31}**	see (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.4.9
	mjɔ̃^{31}	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.43
	mya̋	see (v.)	Weidert 1987:203
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mjaŋ^{51}**	see	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	mjaŋ^{51}	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.30
	mjaŋ^{51}	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.42
	myâŋ	see (v.)	Weidert 1987:203
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*sə **mraŋ^{1}**	show	Bradley 1979b:762C
	***ʔ-mraŋ^{1}**	see (v.)	Weidert 1987:203
	***ʔ-mraŋ^{1}**	see	Bradley 1979b:596; Hansson 1989:268
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**mo^{323}**	see (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.4.9; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.47
Lalo	**mó**	see	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ɣʲu^{31}**	look at	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2028.
Nusu (Central)	**ɣʲu^{31}**	look at	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2028.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ɣʲu^{31}** vʲoŋ^{35}	see	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2030.

Nusu (Central)	**ɣʲu**[31] vʲɔ̃[33]	see	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2030.
	ɹu[31]	look at	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɹu**[31]	look at	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɹu**[31]	look	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:528.45
Nusu (Central)	**ɹu**[31] tʰɑ[55]	see	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɹu**[31]thɑ[55]	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ɹu**[55]	look at	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	ɹu[55] vɹə̃[31]	see	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɹɑ̃**[55]	see	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**mɔ**[21]	see	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**mo**[33]	perceive; see	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɣɯ[21]**mo**[33]	see	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɳ̩ɔ[33]**mo**[33]	recognize (an object in the dark); see clearly (an object in the dark)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	nɐ̱[33]**ŋu**[33]	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ŋɒ**[21]	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**miɑ**[33]**tə**[33]	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**mu**[55]	see, perceive; see	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.23
Yi (Weishan)	**mu**[55]	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.36
Yi (Xide)	**mo**[33]	see	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɣɯ[21] **mo**[33]	see, perceive	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ɣɯ[21]**mo**[33]	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.35
	ɣɯ[21]**mo**[33]	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Kucong	**mɔ31**	see	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***maw˪**	see ([Sem:R].)	Bradley 1979b
Lahu	**mɜ̌**	see (v.)	Weidert 1987:203
Lahu (Lancang)	**mɔ**[53]**dɑ**[21]	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.43
Lahu (Black)	ni[33] **mɔ**[31]	see	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣa[33]**mɔ**[31]	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.33
Lahu (Yellow)	ŋɔ[35] **mɔ**[31]	see	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**maw**[4]	see	Bradley 1979b:596
Lisu (Central)	**maw**[4]	see (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**mō**	see (v.)	Weidert 1987:203
Lisu (Nujiang)	**mo**[33]	see	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**mo**[33]	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.27
Lisu (Northern)	**mɔ**[44]	see (V.)	Bradley 1994
	mɔ[44]**le**[33]	see; find	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**mɔ́**	see (v.)	Weidert 1987:203
	mɔ́	see	Hansson 1989:268
Akha (Yunnan)	**mɔ́**	see	Hansson 1989:268
Akha (Thai)	**mɔ́**	see	Hansson 1989:268
Bisu	**hmjáŋ**	see	Bradley 199x; Beaudouin 1988:34
Hani (Lüchun)	**mó**	see	Hansson 1989:268
Hani (Dazhai)	xu[33] **mo**[55]	see, perceive; see	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**mo**[55]	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.41
Hani (Pijo)	**mú**	see	Hansson 1989:268
	mú sjhy	see	Hansson 1989:268
Hani (Caiyuan)	**mu**[55] sɣ[33]	see, perceive; see	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	xɔ[33] **mɔ**[55]	see, perceive	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	fɣ[33] **mɣ**[55]	see, perceive; see	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**mol**	see	Hansson 1989:268
Hani (Khatu)	**mjú**	see	Hansson 1989:268
Hani (Mojiang)	**mɣ**[55]	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.42
Mpi	**mjɑŋ**[5]	see	Hansson 1989:268; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**mjaŋ45**	see (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:132009
Sila	**mjo55**	see (v.)	Kato Takashi 2008:43

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	望	look at from a distance	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2874; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2876
"Pre-Chinese"	**mljangh**	see	Coblin 1986:129

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**mi̯wɑng**	look from afar, look towards (v.)	Karlgren 1957:742m

Chinese comparandum

望 OC ***mi̯wɑng***, *GSR* #742m 'look from afar, look towards'; Coblin 86:129 ST ***mljang*** > PC ***mljangh***; Schuessler 2007:508 ***maŋ***[A]; B & S 2011: ***maŋ-s***; Mand. **wàng**.
also 743d-f gr var

(2) PTB *m-kya $\frac{ŋ}{n}$ SEE / KNOW

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***ken ⪤ mkyen**	see ⪤ know	Coblin 1986:129

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(m-)kyen**	know; see ⪤ know	Chou Fa-kao 1972:241; Benedict 1972:223; Coblin 1986:129
	***m-kyen**	know	Matisoff 2003a:598

1.1.1. Tani: ***ken*** KNOW

**Tani*	***ken**	know	Sun 1993a:227

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**čī**	know	Sun 1993a
	čì	know; understand	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	čin	know	Sun 1993b
	čin-nɯ	wise	Sun 1993b
	čìŋ-go	educate	Sun 1993b
	ta-**čī**	understand	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**-čin**	able to; know	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993a
	čin(-pak)	know	Sun 1993b
	čin-mɯː **čin**-čɯː	pretend not to know	Sun 1993b
	čin-pa	understand	Sun 1993b
	kaː-**čin**	recognize	Sun 1993b
	kaː-**čin**-bu ñiː	acquaintance	Sun 1993b
	kaː-**čin**-maː-bu ñiː	stranger	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**čen**	know; understand; able	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	koŋ **tɕen**	look at and distinguish (characters); recognize (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1589.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1590.24
	koŋ-**čen**	know (recognize); recognize	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	tɕen	understand; grasp; know (to write); familiar with, be; know sthg. o; know (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1282.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1392.24,1524.24,1636.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.24
Bokar Lhoba	**tɕen**	know (a language); can; be abl; know; understand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:722.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:723.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:732.51
Galo	**-'cen**	knowingly (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	cen-la-pɤ emla-ri-nam	learn (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	cen-nam	know; learn (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	kaː**-cen**-si-nam	recognize (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ta-**cen**-nam	understand (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'a **cen**	believable (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'cen nam	know (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'kaa **cen**	know (someone); recognize (someone); understand (what one sees) (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'ta **cen**	understand (what one hears) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**-cen**	able (be v.)	Simon 1976
	cen-nam	understand	Simon 1976
Nishing	**cing**	know; understand	Das Gupta 1969; Das Gupta 1969
	cing-pa	remember	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**cin**-nam	know / learn (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	tɤ **cin**-nam	understand (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ken**	know	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ken**	understand	Sun 1993b
	ken-duŋ	capable	Sun 1993b
	ken-dʑu-maː	stupid	Sun 1993b
	ken-nə-to	understand	Sun 1993b
	ken-ɟe?	understand	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**xueŋ**[53]	look at	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**yeŋ** bə	see / look (v.)	Singh 1991:3.4.9

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***Ç-k**[h]**yeŋ*** KNOW

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-k**[h]**yeŋ**	know (v.)	French 1983:509

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**k**[h]**e**	see (v.)	French 1983:542
Tangsa (Moshang)	**khi**	see	Marrison 1967
	k[h]**i**	see (v.)	French 1983:542

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**chye**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	chyeng	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tše	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:90
	tśyeng	know	Coblin 1986:129
	tśyeŋ ⪤ tśye	know	Benedict 1972:223
	tʃe̱[33]	know; can; be able to	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tʃe̱[33]	know (to write); know (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1392.19; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.19
	tʃe̱[33]	know (a language); can; be abl; know	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:722.47; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:732.47
	²tše	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325
	²tše	know / understand (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:67

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**kən** ca	see / look (v.)	Sharma 1991a:3.4.9
Kanauri	**khī** mig'	look / see (vt.)	Bailey 1911
	khya mig	see	Sharma 1988:35
	khyā mig'	look / see / look at (vt.)	Bailey 1911

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**mkhyen**-pa	know	Benedict 1972:223; Coblin 1986:129

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	***[A]k**[h]**en**	knowledgeable, experienced	Mazaudon 1994:114
Tamang (Risiangku)	**¹k**[h]**en**	educated / knowledgeable / know	Mazaudon 1994:114
Tamang (Sahu)	**¹k**[h]**eː**	experienced	Mazaudon 1994:114

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Taoba)	**tɕyẽ**[55]	see, perceive; see	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**tsi**	look at	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	tsi	see / look (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.4.9
Qiang (Taoping)	**tsia**[33]	look at	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	tɕy[33]	see, perceive; see	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**tse**	look at	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2028
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	kə[35] **ɕe**[55]	look (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.4.9
Xumi	**ʂɯ̃**[55]	look	Sun Hongkai 1991m

5. Tujia

Tujia (Southern)	bo[13] **ji**[35]	see	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**tɕɑŋ**[55]	know / can / be able to	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**tʃə̃**[55]sɛ[35]	familiar with, be / know sthg. o (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.32

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	**kɛ** 2	see, to	Dell 1981b:39
	kɛ[2]	see	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	xɑ̃[55] **kẽ**	see	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gʻiɑn/ɣien**	appear	Chou Fa-kao 1972:241
	kiɑn/kien	see	Chou Fa-kao 1972:241a-d
Chinese (Old)	**kianh**	see ⪤ know	Coblin 1986:129

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**kien-**	see ⪤ know	Coblin 1986:129

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	kàn **jiàn**	see	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

見 OC ***kiɑn***, *GSR* #241a-d; Mand. **jiàn**.
現 OC ***g'iɑn***, *GSR* #241a-d; Mand. **xiàn**.

(3) PTB * $\frac{m}{s}$ -twaŋ SEE / SHOW

This etymon is a simplex/causative pair, with the former marked by the nasal prefix and the latter by prefixal ***s-***. Written Tibetan shows variation of the final nasal (**mthoŋ** 'see' ⪤ **ston** 'show').

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	kɑ^{31} **tiɯŋ^{53}**	see (jiandao)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɑ^{31}**tiɯŋ^{53}**	see (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.22
	kɑ^{31}**tiɯŋ^{53}**	see	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.49
Idu	a^{55}**t^{h}u^{53}**	see / look (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.4.9
	a **t^{h}u** ga	see	Pulu 1978
	ɑ^{55}**thuŋ^{53}**	see	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.50
Yidu	ɑ^{55}**thuŋ^{53}**	see (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.25
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	tø^{35} /ŋi^{53} **ndo^{341}** uɛ^{53}	see / look (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.4.9
Tsangla (Motuo)	**thoŋ**	see	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.7
	t^{h}oŋ	see, perceive	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	t^{h}oŋ^{55}	see	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**t^{h}oŋ**	see	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**toŋ^{55}** ŋu^{55}	see	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**thoŋ^{53}**	see	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.6
	t^{h}oŋ^{53}	see, perceive	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Motuo Menba	**thoŋ**	see (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.07
Cuona Menba	**thoŋ^{53}**	see (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rton**	let s.b. see / show (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1470.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hton**	show	Sun 1985a:581
Tibetan (Balti)	**ʈ^{h}oŋ**	see	Rangan 1975:57
Tibetan (Jirel)	**thong**-gi-dukq	see	Hale 1973:01.057
Tibetan (Lhasa)	(əm^{55}tɕhi^{55}) **tɛ̃^{55}**	see (a doctor) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1472.02
	thoŋ^{55}	see (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.02
	thoŋ^{55}	see	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**tūn** gen	see (v.)	Bishop 1989:3.4.9
Tibetan (Written)	**mthoN**	see (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mthoŋ	see (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.01
	mthoŋ	see	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.1
	mthoŋ-ba	see	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:89
	ston	show	Sun 1985c:581
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hton**	let s.b. see / show (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1470.04
	nal **hton**	see (a doctor) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1472.04
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	kha man **Tok** ka ba	blind	Rai 1985
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**thō**-ne	see (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.14
	√**tho**-	see, to get, to beget (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:150
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ndo^{55}**	see	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.18
Lyuzu	kho^{33}**nduo^{53}**	see (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.18
Namuyi	**ndo^{53}**	see / look (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.4.9
	ndo^{53}	see	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.19
	nduo^{55}ʂa^{31}	see (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**sto^{55}**	see (a doctor) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1472.09
	sto^{55}ku^{55}	let s.b. see / show (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1470.09
Qiang (Mawo)	**stu**	let s.b. see; show; see (a doctor) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1470.08; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1472.08
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	dã^{35} **do^{35}**	see	SUN Hongkai 1991n:3.4.9
	dã^{35}**do^{55}**	see	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.16
Xumi	**dõ^{33}** (sɿ^{55})	see (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.17
	dõ^{33}	see	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.20
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ka **mto**	see / look (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.4.9
	ka **mto**	see	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **mto**	see (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.11
6.2. NAXI			
Na (Yongning)	**do**˩	see (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**do^{21}**	see (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**do^{33}**	see	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**do^{31}**	see	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.29
Naxi (Western)	ly^{31}**do^{31}**	see	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	ly^{31}**do^{31}**	see	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:529.28

Chinese comparandum

黨 OC ***tâng**, *GSR* #725r ‘know, understand’; Schuessler 2007:206 ***tâŋʔ**; B & S 2011: ***tˤaŋʔ**; Mand. **dǎng**.

(4) PTB *s-nyam THINK / BRAIN

Three phonetically similar etyma must be distinguished in this semantic area: PTB ***s(y)am-s** BREATH / LUNG / SPIRIT / VOICE / HEART (§1.1.2.2), PTB ***s/k-n(y)i-k/ŋ** HEART / MIND / BRAIN (§1.7.1), PTB ***s-nyam** THINK / BRAIN (§1.2.6.10).

The Tani reflexes of this etymon appear as the second element in the PTani binome ***pVk-ni** ‘brain’; these binomes are tagged under PTB ***p(u/i)-k** BRAIN (§1.2.4).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nyam**	think	Matisoff 2003a:605
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	pí-**ním**	brain	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	pɯ^{31} **ŋɯm^{55}**	brain	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	**nɯn^{53}**	brain	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**nyɑm(s)**	soul / mind / thought	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:667q-r
	sñam	think	Marrison 1967
	snyɑm-pɑ	think / imagine / thought / mind	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:667q-r
2.3. KIRANTI			
Zerungge Rai	**nɛm**	brain	Weidert 1987:619
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Ombule (Rai)	**nyam**	brain	Weidert 1987:619
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	k^{h}ũ^{55} **nŭ^{55}**	brain	CHEN Kang 1986c:2.5
Tujia (Northern)	k^{h}ũ^{55} **nŭ^{55}**	brain	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lisu (Northern)	**hã^{33}**tɤ^{21}	edge of field	Bradley 1994
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**niəm**	think of	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:670a-c
	ńi̯əm	think	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:667q-r

Chinese comparandum

念 OC ***niəm**, *GSR* #670a-c ‘think of, read’; B & S 2011: ***nˤim-s** ; Mand. **niàn**.
恁 OC ***ńi̯əm**, *GSR* #667q-r ‘think’; B & S 2011: ***nəmʔ {n [ə] mʔ}**; Mand. **nèn**.

(5) PTB *ka $^{\mathbf{n}}_{\mathbf{ŋ}}$ KNOW / SEE

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	**kang** tan	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**kang**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	khang	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	**khã** ɖzi	see / look (v.)	Sharma 1991b:3.4.9
	kən ɖri	show (v.)	Sharma 1982
	k^{h}ən ɖri	see, examine (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ken^{13}**	show (v.)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**kɑn^{55}**	know / can / be able to	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	kɑn^{55}nu^{55}	know	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**khʌn^{55}**ni^{53}	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.6
Cuona Menba	**khan^{55}**ni^{53}	know (to write); know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1392.06; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.06
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**khan** e	look, t (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:113
Newar (Dolakhali)	**khwɔn**-	see	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**khwɔn**-	see	Genetti 1990c
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***koŋ**-	look, to guard / to show (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:113
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**khaN**	see	Rai 1985
	khang-	see (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:36
	khaŋ-	see, to look at; see (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:113; Michailovsky 1991:113
Chamling	**khang**-(u)	see / look	Winter 1985:19
	khang-u	see, to look at (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:113
Kulung	**khoŋ**-u	look, t; look (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:113; Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**koŋ**-	look, to watch (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:113
Sunwar	**koː**-	look, to watch (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:113
	√^{L}**koŋ**-	look (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:113
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**kàn**	look	Evans *et al.* 1991
	kàn jiàn	see	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

看 OC ***k’ân**, *GSR* #142a ‘gaze at, look at’; Schuessler 2007:332 ***khâns**; B & S 2011: ***k^{h}ˤar-s {k^{h}ˤa [r] -s}**; Mand. **kàn**.

(6) PTani *kaŋ LOOK

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***kaŋ**	look	Sun 1993a:245
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**ka**	look	Sun 1993a
	ká	look at	Sun 1993b
	ka	look	Sun 1993b
	ká	watch (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ká	see; notice	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ka-di	gaze	Sun 1993b
	kà-ge	look	Sun 1993b
	ka-geʔ	gaze	Sun 1993b
	ka-la	recognize	Sun 1993b
	ka-ljā	watch	Sun 1993b
	ka-ljā ka-da	look after	Sun 1993b
	ka-lja-ta-da	care (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ka-pa	find; see	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ká-pa-nu	sight	Sun 1993b
	ká-pe	peep	Sun 1993b
	ká-ri	get up and look	Sun 1993b
	ká-ro	peep	Sun 1993b
	ka-ro	peep	Sun 1993b
	ká-rɯ	hole through which to see	Sun 1993b
	ka-te	search; seek	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ká-te	visit	Sun 1993b
	ka-te	visit	Sun 1993b
	mjú-**ká**	watch and protect	Sun 1993b
Bengni	(**kaː**-)mi:	search, look for	Sun 1993b
	ka-riŋ	same	Sun 1993b
	kaː	look	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	kaː-čin	recognize	Sun 1993b
	kaː-čin-bu ñi:	acquaintance	Sun 1993b
	kaː-čin-maː-bu ñi:	stranger	Sun 1993b
	kaː-čiː-mu-su	compare	Sun 1993b
	kaː-duŋ	look up	Sun 1993b
	kaː-fɯŋ	lower head and look back	Sun 1993b
	kaː-jum	look after (property)	Sun 1993b
	kaː-kɯr	look back	Sun 1993b
	kaː-paː	find out, discover; see	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	kaː-paː-mu-su	meet	Sun 1993b
	kaː-riŋ	similar	Sun 1993b
	ñik-luk **kaː**	stare	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**koŋ**	look	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	koŋ	let s.b. see; show; watch (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1469.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1470.24
	koŋ jaŋ	protect	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1147.24
	koŋ jaŋ	manage / control (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1358.24
	koŋ poŋ	see (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.24
	koŋ tɕen	look at and distinguish (characters); recognize (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1589.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1590.24

	koŋ-baŋ	sharp / shrewd	Sun 1993b
	koŋ-čen	know (recognize); recognize	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	koŋ-jaŋ	manage, be in charge	Sun 1993b
	koŋ-jaŋ bi:	take care of	Sun 1993b
	koŋ-ñər	ugly	Sun 1993b
	koŋ-poŋ	see	Sun 1993b
	koŋ-ro:	steal a glance at	Sun 1993b
	men kaŋ **koŋ**	see (a doctor) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1472.24
Bokar Lhoba	**koŋ**	look at; look	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:528.51
	koŋ poŋ	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.51
	koŋ ʾpoŋ	see, perceive	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**-kaa**	see (how it goes) (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	ka-go-nam	visit (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ka-nam	see; look; watch (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	ka-pek-nam	peep (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ka-rik-hi-nam	meet (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ka-tʏm-nam	show (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	kaa bok	look (downward) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	kaa buu	look into (a space) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	kaa cɨk	obstruct (vision) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	kaa nam	look (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	kaa nam	look (as though) (vie.)	GLDC 2009
	kaa nam	watch (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	kaa nam-ʻta nam	interactions; observations (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	kaa raa	look after (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	kaa ree	look down (on someone) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	kaa rɨk	encounter; meet (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	kaa tom	show (vte.)	GLDC 2009
	ka:-cen-si-nam	recognize (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻkaa cen	know (someone); recognize (someone); understand (what one sees) (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻkaa cɨɨ-ʻta cɨɨ	look after; care for (something) (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻkaa hɨr	funny (to see) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻkaa kee	scan (in all directions) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻkaa paa	see (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻkaa pək	identify; see (clearly) (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻkaa ro	peep; spy (looking) (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻkaa ro-ʻtamo	hallucinate (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻkaa ŋak	gaze (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**ka**-kin-nam	show	Simon 1976
	ka-nam	see	Simon 1976
	me-**ka**	search, look for	Simon 1976
Nishing	**ka**	visit / see	Das Gupta 1969
	ka-kin	show	Das Gupta 1969
	ka-la-ju	let us see	Das Gupta 1969
	ka-pa	find	Das Gupta 1969
	ka-pa-ma	did not find	Das Gupta 1969
	ka-pa-pa	find / found	Das Gupta 1969
	ka-ring-to	show (which is better in selection)	Das Gupta 1969
	ka-tam	show	Das Gupta 1969
	ka-tam-to	show	Das Gupta 1969
	ka-to	look	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**ka**-bui-nam	examine (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ka-bup-nam	look below from a tree (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ka-buŋ-nam	look inside a pot, glass etc. (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ka-duŋ-nam	look upwards (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ka-nam	see (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ka-pa-ma-nam	invisible	Das Gupta 1983
	ka-pa-nam	discover / find (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ka-riŋ-nam	look similar / resemble (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ka-ru-nam	peep through a hole, window etc. (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ka-si-nam	look secretly (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ka-tam-nam	exhibit / show	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kaŋ**	look	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ka**-pa:-to	find	Sun 1993b
	ka-ta:-ra	search (body)	Sun 1993b
	ka:-ken	recognize	Sun 1993b
	ka:-ra	look	Sun 1993b
	ka:-ta:-ra	search	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ka**-be-ŋe-ma	visible	Tayeng 1976
	ka-bi-ma	look after; watch; guard	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	ka-hu-ma	recognize	Tayeng 1976
	ka-le-ma	find	Tayeng 1976
	ka-ma	see	Tayeng 1976
	ka-ma-nu	appear	Tayeng 1976
	ka-pi-yil	show	Tayeng 1976
	ka-sur-ma	peep	Tayeng 1976
	ka-teŋ-ma	gaze	Tayeng 1976

(7) PTk *jaŋ LOOK

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***jaŋ**	look	Mortensen 2012:707
Kachai	kʰə-**ja**	look at (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.045
Tusom	kʰə-ŋə-**hã**	look (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.050
Ukhrul	kʰə-**jɐŋ**	look	Mortensen 2012

(8) PBod *l-ta-$^{s}_{t}$ LOOK

WT reflects three allofamic variants: an open syllable as well as forms with both the ***-t*** and ***-s*** suffixes.

This root seems restricted to Tibetan dialects and the Kiranti languages, with the latter forms likely borrowings from the former.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***l-ta-t-s**	look	Matisoff 2003a:456

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hta**	look	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:528.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rta**	look	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:528.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ta**^{53}	look (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.4.9
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ta**^{53}	look	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:528.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ta**^{53}	look	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:528.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**tā** gen	look (v.)	Bishop 1989:3.4.9
Spiti	**ta** je	see / look (v.)	Bodh 1991:3.4.9
Tibetan (Written)	**lta**	look at; look	Marrison 1967; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:528.1
	lta-ba	look, watch	Zhang Liansheng 1988:88
	lta-ba rgyaŋ-**lta** rgyab-pa	look, gaze	Zhang Liansheng 1988:90
	ltad-mo	sight; scene; spectacle	Matisoff 2003a:456
	ltas	miraculous sign; omen	Matisoff 2003a:456

2.3. Kiranti: ***ta-** SEE

**BSDTK*	***ta-**	see (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:150

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

**Kul-Cham-Ban*	***dat-**	see (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:151
Kulung	**dat**-e	<see> to be visible [it is visible]	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**ta-**	see, to find, to get (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:150
Sunwar	**ʾta-**	see, to get (e.g. an inheri (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:150
	ʾtā-cā	see (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.14
	√^{l}**ta-** (^{l}tɔ-)	see (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:150

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Xide)	no^{21}**ɣo**^{34}	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.35
	no^{21}**ɣo**^{44}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Youle)	ni^{55}**vu**^{33}	you (pl.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	no^{33}**jo**^{33}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.34
	no^{55} **jo**^{31}	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.44

Chinese comparandum

睹 OC ***to***, *GSR* #45c' 'look; see'; Schuessler 2007:218 ***tâʔ***; B & S 2011: ***tˤaʔ***; Mand. ***dǔ***.

(9) PTB *ney LOOK / TRY TO

This root is particularly well-attested in Bodo-Garo and Lolo-Burmese, with a healthy sprinkling of forms elsewhere.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ney**	look; try; try to	Matisoff 1985a:145; Matisoff 2003a:604

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Zeme	**ni**	look at	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**nay**	look (v.)	Bhat 1968
	nay	look	Matisoff 1985a:145
	nay blid	look straight (v.)	Bhat 1968
	nay dam	see by force (v.)	Bhat 1968
	nay kma	look secretly (v.)	Bhat 1968
	nay kne	just begin to look (v.)	Bhat 1968
	nay kre	look by bending one's head a little (v.)	Bhat 1968
	nay na	good to look at	Bhat 1968
	nay sleŋ	see a little (v.)	Bhat 1968
	nay slú	see a little (v.)	Bhat 1968
	nay slu	see a little; peep (v.)	Bhat 1968
	nay so	look after (v.)	Bhat 1968
	nay so	look after, try Ving	Matisoff 1985a:145
	nay soŋ	see a little (v.)	Bhat 1968
	na za	try (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**nai**	look at; look, see	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:145; Benedict 1972:65n206
Kokborok	**nay**	look at; try	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988; Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	nay-toʔ	search, look for	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**ni**	look, see	Matisoff 1985a:145; Benedict 1972:65n206
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ni**-a	look at; test; try; watch (vt.)	Burling 2003:3.514-II:idx
	ni-cha-a	look up (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.41-II:idx
	ni-rok-a	guard; look after; observe (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.73-II:idx

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Baram	**ni** go	look (v.)	Kansakar 2010:201

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	ləm **nɨ**	look for, search, seek	Driem 1993
	syen **nɨ**	look at, discern	Driem 1993
Khaling	sey-**ne**	look at (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.15

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	**ni1**	look for (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ni^{1}	look for (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.3
Tujia	**n̥i**^{53}	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.49

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ney**^{3} ≍ ****ʔney**^{1} LOOK / TRY

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ney**^{3} ≍ ʔney^{1}	look / try	Matisoff 1985a:145

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***C-ɲi**^{1}	look at	Bradley 1979b:594A
	***C-ɲi**^{1}	try (v.)	Bradley 1979b:794

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**Ní**	look	Björverud 1994
Nesu	**n̥i**^{55}	see / look (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.9
Noesu	na^{33}**n̥i**^{13}	see / look	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.9
Yi (Mile)	**ni**^{33}	look	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:528.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ni**^{55}	look	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:528.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**n̥i**^{33}	let s.b. see / show (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1470.37
	n̥i^{33}	look	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:528.24
	n̥i^{33}ko^{21}	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.24
	ʂ^{21}**n̥i**^{33}	try / attempt (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1627.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**i**^{55}	look at; look	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:528.23
Yi (Wuding)	**n̥i**^{33}	try / attempt (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1627.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**ni**^{33}	see / look	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.9
	ni^{33}	see / look (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.4.9
Kucong	**n̥i33**	look	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009

Common Lahu	*ni:	look at	Bradley 1979b:594A
Lahu (Lancang)	xɑ^{33} **ni^{33}**	try / attempt (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1627.43
Lahu (Black)	câ **ni** ve	try eating; have a taste	Matisoff 1985a:145
	ni	look at; look after, care for	Matisoff 1985a:145
	ni^{33}	look at; look	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:528.33
	ni^{33} mɔ^{31}	see	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	te **ni** ve	try doing	Matisoff 1985a:145
Lisu (Central)	hpi^{2}-**nyi^{3}**	look	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	na^{33}**ni^{33}**	ask; inquire; ask and look for; visit (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	na^{33}**ɲi^{33}**	ask; inquire; ask and look for; visit (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**ni^{33}**	look; glance; peep; look around; see (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33} ma^{21} my^{33}	look down on; discriminate; slander; despise	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33} ma^{21} phy^{21}	look down on	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33}dʑa^{33}	attend; look after	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33}hwa^{55}	unpleasant to look at; ugly	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33}na^{35}	look; visit; have a look	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33}ta^{55}	watch; look at; wait; wait and see; gaze; stare	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**nyi^{3}**	look	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**nyi^{1}**	look at	Bradley 1979b:594B
Lisu (Northern)	næ^{33}**ni^{33}**	take a furtive look at	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	næ^{33}**ɲi^{33}**	take a furtive look at	Bradley 1994
	shï^{5}-**nyi^{3}**	try	Fraser 1922
	tē^{2}-**nyi^{3}**	look	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	thi^{21} lø^{35}zaʔ^{21} **ni^{33}**	treat equally without discrimination; look together	Bradley 1994
	tɕa^{35}**ni^{33}**	test; try; guess	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	tɕa^{35}**ɲi^{33}**	test; try; guess	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	tɕha^{33}**ni^{33}**thɯ^{33}	look for; seek	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	tɕha^{33}**ɲi^{33}**thɯ^{33}	look for; seek	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	za^{35}**ni^{33}**	try	Bradley 1994
	za^{35}**ni^{33}ni^{33}**	have a try; test; examine	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	za^{35}**ɲi^{33}**	try	Bradley 1994
	za^{35}**ɲi^{33}ɲi^{33}**	have a try; test; examine	Bradley 1994
Lisu	zɑ^{35} **n̥i^{33}**	try / attempt (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1627.40
	zɑ^{35}**n̥i^{33}**	taste / try the flavor of	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1182.40
Lisu (Central)	**ɲi^{33}**	look; glance; peep; look around; see (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{33} ma^{21} my^{33}	look down on; discriminate; slander; despise	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{33} ma^{21} phy^{21}	look down on	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{33}dʑa^{33}	attend; look after	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{33}hwa^{55}	unpleasant to look at; ugly	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{33}na^{35}	look; visit; have a look	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{33}ta^{55}	watch; look at; wait; wait and see; gaze; stare	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**n̥i̱^{44}**	look at	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**n̥i^{44}**	look	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:528.27
Sani [Nyi]	**ne^{33}**	look	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:92.1
Yi (Sani)	**ne^{44}**	let s.b. see / show (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1470.39
	nɒ^{33}**ne^{44}**	see (a doctor) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1472.39

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**nɛ^{44}**	look at	Pelkey 2011:591
	n̥i^{44}	look at	Pelkey 2011:591
Phola	**n̥i^{55}**	look at	Pelkey 2011:591

(10) PKC *hmuu-I, *hmuʔ-II SEE / FIND / GET / SHOW

This root is quite independent from PTB ***mraŋ*** SEE (§1.2.6.10).

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

Chin	***hmuu**-I, hmuʔ-II	SEE / FIND / GET / SHOW	VanBik 2009:880
Thanphum	**hmuʔ^{5}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	**mu**	see / look (v.)	Haokip 1998:3.4.9
Thado	**mù**	see	Thirumalai 1972:58
	mú	see	Thirumalai 1972:67
	mùu-INV	see, find	VanBik 2009:880
Tiddim	**muː^{3}** > muʔ^{3}	see (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1153
	muː^{3} > muʔ^{3}	discover, see, find	VanBik 2009:880
	muː^{3}/muʔ^{3}	see	Bhaskararao 1994
	mũ^{4}	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
	`muː/_muʔ	see (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**'mü**	perceive	VanBik 2009:880
Asho (Sandoway)	**hmü^{1}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
	[Imp. **hmü^{2}]**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
Chinbon	**mïʔ**	see	So-Hartmann 1988:107
Cho (Mindat)	**hmuh**	show	VanBik 2009:880
Daai	**muʔ**	see	VanBik 2009:880
	mu^{ʔ}	see	So-Hartmann 1988:107
Khumi	**ne^{u}ʔ**	see	So-Hartmann 1988:107
Awa Khumi	**nũ^{1}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
Khumi (Ahraing)	**neu^{5}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
Matu	**huʔ**	see	So-Hartmann 1988:107
Matupi	**m^{ə}huʔ^{2}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
	m^{ə}huʔ^{1}	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
Mkaang	**muʔ**	see	So-Hartmann 1988:107
Ngmüün	**muk**	see	So-Hartmann 1988:107
Nyhmoye	**muʔ**	see	So-Hartmann 1988:107
Wakung	**nuʔ**	see	So-Hartmann 1988:107
Womatu	**hmuʔ^{2}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Khualsim	**hmũ^{4}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
Lai (Hakha)	**hmŭu**-I, hmuʔ-II	see	VanBik 2009:880
Lai (Falam)	**hmùu**-I, hmùʔ-II	see	VanBik 2009:880
Lai (Hakha)	**hmuʔ^{2}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
Lushai [Mizo]	**hmu**	see	Marrison 1967
	hmu	see (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2408
	hmù-I, hmùh-II	see, to find, to perceive, to discover, to come across, to receive, to obtain (v.)	VanBik 2009:880
	hmu^{4}	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lailenpi	**a´hmɑuʔ^{4}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
Lakher [Mara]	**hmō**	find, to discover (v.)	VanBik 2009:880
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**ăhmũ^{4}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
	hmũ^{1}	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
Mera	**hməu'^{5}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
Tha'oa	**huʔ^{2}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
	huʔ^{1}	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
Xongsai	**mũ^{2}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
Zotung	**amœʔ^{1}**	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
	mwiʔ^{1}	see (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Sorbung	**mùu**	see (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.051

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**mu**	see	Marrison 1967

(11) NEIA *huŋ SEE

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**üng**	see	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hùŋ**	obtain, see [obtained, saw]; see [saw] (v.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**hoŋ^{3}-**	see (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	hüng	see	Marrison 1967
	mhüng	see	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Rengma	**hu**	see	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**hou**	see (v.)	Marrison 1967 [a]

[a] After the <u>, there appears to be an <m> which has been typed over with a comma. It is not clear whether the <m> is part of the form.

1.2.6.12 Blink/Wink

(1) PKC *khrep BLINK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

Chin	***khrep**	BLINK	VanBik 2009:1341

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	(mik) m-**chüp**	flap one's eyelids (v.)	VanBik 2009:1341

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**thèp**-INV	blink	VanBik 2009:1341
Lai (Hakha)	**threp**-I, threʔ-II	blink (eyes)	VanBik 2009:1341

(2) PTk *ʃep BLINK

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhulic	***ʃep**	blink	Mortensen 2012:632
Huishu	ʔa-moʔ-kə-**sɐp**-k^{h}e	blink	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.037
Tusom	ʔə-muɯ k^{h}a-kə-**sxɯ**	blink (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.045

1.2.6.13 Squint

(1) PKC *ka(a)y SQUINT (eyes)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

Chin	***ka(a)y**	SQUINT (eyes)	VanBik 2009:312

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**ang'** kie	of queer eyes	VanBik 2009:312

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	(**mìt**) káay-INV	squint	VanBik 2009:312
Lai (Hakha)	(**mit**) kày-I, kăy-II	squint (e.g. eyes) (v.)	VanBik 2009:312

1.2.6.14.2 Blind

(1) PTB *p-law $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ BLIND

Some reflexes of this root begin with a labial stop, while others begin with **l-**, leading us to consider the ***p-*** as having been treated as a prefix at certain stages. The Tshona forms look like borrowings from Tibetan.

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	**p^{h}ok**	blind (v.)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	p^{h}ok^{55} tɕi^{55}	blind person	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**loŋ^{55}** bɑ^{55}	blind person	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**lɔŋ^{13}** pʌ^{53}	blind person	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.6
Motuo Menba	**phok**	blind, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.07
Cuona Menba	**loŋ^{35}**wa^{31}	blind, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.06
	lɔŋ^{35}pa^{53}	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	**lõ^{13}**	blind	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.4.10
	lũ^{13}	blind, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.03
	lũ^{13}ma^{53}	blind person (both eyes) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**luŋ^{13}**wa^{53}	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**loŋ^{13}**ŋa^{55}	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.02
	loŋ^{15}ŋa^{13}	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.2
	mi^{52} **loŋ^{13}**	blind, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.02
Tibetan (Written)	(mig) **loŋ**	blind, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.01
	loŋ ba	blind person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.01
	loŋ ba	blind person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.1

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	mik **lok**-ʔo	blind	Caughley 1972:12.A.11
	mik **lok**.ʔo	blind (human); blind (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.11; Caughley 2000

Chepang (Eastern)	mik **lok** na	blind	Caughley 1990:3.4.10

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	mja^{31} **plɯ^{55}**	blind person	Dai Qingxia 1989h:259
Jinuo (Baka)	mja^{31} **plɯ^{55}**	blind person	Dai Qingxia 1989i:259
Jinuo	mja^{42}**prɤ^{55}**	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.44
Jinuo (Youle)	mjɑ^{42} **pɹɯ^{55}**	blind person	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	mjɑ^{42}**pɹɯ^{55}**	blind person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**plɯ^{55}**	blind	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2465
Jinuo (Baka)	**plɯ^{55}**	blind	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2465
Jinuo	**prɯ^{55}**	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.44

7. Karenic

**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***blàuq**	blind	Jones 1961:448
**Karen (Pwo)*	***blɔ̀q**	blind	Jones 1961:448
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***blɔ́ʔ**	blind	Jones 1961:448
Bwe	**plɔ**	blind (be v.)	Henderson 1997
Palaychi	ḿ **blòq**	blind	Jones 1961:448
Pwo (Bassein)	**blàu**	blind	Jones 1961:448
Pwo (Moulmein)	**blɔ́ʔ**	blind	Jones 1961:448
Sgaw (Bassein)	**blɔ̀**	blind	Jones 1961:448
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**blɔ́ʔ**	blind	Jones 1961:448
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	mɛ̰ʔ^{31} k^{h}li^{55} **blɔ^{31}**	blind person	Dai Qingxia 1989j:259

(2) PTB *dwa $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ BLIND

Written Tibetan attests to both prefixal **m-** and **l-**. The labial glide remains as such in Nocte.

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	mit-**taŋ** bə	blind	Singh 1991:3.4.10
	mit **tang** ba	blind	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***do:k**	blind	French 1983:460

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	mit **doak**	blind	French 1983:460
	mit **duok**	blind	French 1983:460; Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Wancho	(mik) **dok**	blind	French 1983:460
	mik **dok**	blind	French 1983:484; Marrison 1967

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**ldóŋ**-ba	blind (v.)	Jäschke 1881:274
	mdons pa, mig ʒar	blind	Marrison 1967

(3) PTB *tsy(w)at BLIND / TIGHTLY CLOSED

Some reflexes of this root have front mid vowels, while others have back mid ones, suggesting a double-medial glide ***-yw-**.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tsoo-I**, ***tsoot-II** BLIND

**Chin*	***tsoo**-I, tsoot-II	BLIND	VanBik 2009:523

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**tsòo**-I, tsòot-II	blind	VanBik 2009:523
Tiddim	**to:^{3}** (mit^{3})	blind	VanBik 2009:523; Bhaskararao 1996:1784

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tsŏo**-I, tsoot-II	blind (be v.)	VanBik 2009:523
Lai (Falam)	**tsòo**-INV	blind (be v.)	VanBik 2009:523

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	mo-**chao**	blind	Matisoff 1987
	mo-**chao**-pu	blind man	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	mit kə **čo**	blind	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.10
Moyon	mik **cù** ~ mìk **cù**	blind	Kosha 1990:3.4.10
Sorbung	mìt-**còo**	blind	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.054
	mìt **cò** bàa	man, blind	Mortensen & Keogh 2011
	mìt **cò** nuu	woman, blind	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.055
	mìt **cò** pà, mìt **co** nu	person, blind	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:People.062

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	mhi **chü**	blind	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	mhi^{31} **chie^{11}**	blind	Nienu 1990a:3.4.10
	mhi **chie**	blind	Marrison 1967
Chokri	mhü^{31} **c^{h}e^{11}**	blind	Nienu 1990b:3.4.10
	mhü **che**	blind	Marrison 1967
Khezha	ne chɯ'ɯ **ce**	blind	Yabu 1994:3.4.10
Mao	o nghi-ka **chi**	blind	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a nhe thi kighi **che**	blind	Achumi 1998a:3.4.10
	a nhye ti-keri **che**	blind	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	a mit ka **che** pa	blind	Marrison 1967
Maram	a mik **che**	blind	Marrison 1967
Puiron	mik **cho** nu	blind	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	mik **tiet** mei	blind	Marrison 1967
Zeme	pe mik **chit** be	blind	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	miak **tsiet**	blind	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Huishu	ʔa-moʔ nə-**tsejʔ**-k^{h}e	blind	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.042

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mianchi)	**tuà**	blind	Evans 1999:2465
Qiang (Taoping)	**χtɕya^{33}**	blind person	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.9

4. Nungic

Rawang	(nɛ^{33}) də **zɯʔ**	blind (vt.)	LaPolla 2003:1474
	nɛ^{33} **zɯʔ**	blind person	LaPolla 2003:236

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	n̥ɑ^{31} **tɕiɪt^{31}** ɑ^{31} **tɕiɪt^{31}**	blind person	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tset^{55}**	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.28
	n̥ɔʔ^{55} **tset^{55}**	blind person	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ɔʔ^{55}**tset^{55}**	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.28
	n̥ɔʔ^{55}**tset^{55}**	blind person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.41
Achang (Luxi)	n̥aʔ^{31} **tsət^{31}**	blind person	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**tsɛt^{55}**	blind	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2360
	tsɛt^{55}	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.29
	ɲɔʔ^{55} **tsɛt^{55}**	blind person	Dai Qingxia 1989f:242
	ɲɔʔ^{55}**tsɛt^{55}**	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.29
Bola	mjaʔ^{31} **tʃɔt^{31}**	blind person	Dai Qingxia 1989g:242
Bola (Luxi)	mjaʔ^{31}**tʃɔt^{31}**	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.32
Bola	**tʃɔt^{31}**	blind	Dai Qingxia 1989g:2360
Bola (Luxi)	**tʃɔt^{31}**	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.32
Langsu (Luxi)	mjɔʔ^{31}**tʃik^{31}**	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.31
	mjɔʔ^{31}**tʃik^{55}**	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.31
	tʃik^{55}	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.31
Lashi	**tʃi:t^{31}**	blind	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.4.10
Leqi (Luxi)	mjɔʔ^{31}**tʃɛt^{31}**	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.33
Maru [Langsu]	mjoʔ^{31} **tʃik^{55}**	blind	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.4.10
	mjɔʔ^{31}**tʃik^{31}**	blind person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	mjoʔ^{21} **tʃit^{21}**	blind person	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	mjoʔ^{21}**tʃit^{21}**	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.30
	mjoʔ^{21}**tʃit^{21}**	blind person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.42
	tʃit^{21}	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.30

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Noesu	na^{33}**dʑi^{33}**	blind	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.10
Nusu (Central)	**dzɚ^{53}**	blind	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2360.
	dzɚ^{53}	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.34
	dzɳ^{31} ɑ^{31} su^{35}	blind person	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**dzɳ^{31}**ɑ^{31}su^{35}	blind person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**dʑɚ^{31}**	blind	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2360.
Nusu (Southern)	miạ^{31} **dʑɑ^{53}**	blind person	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	mɹa̱^{53}**dzɚ^{53}**	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	mˈa̱^{31} **dʑɚ^{31}**	blind person	Dai Qingxia 1989o:242.
Nusu (Central)	mˈa̱^{53} **dzɚ^{53}**	blind person	Dai Qingxia 1989p:242.
Nusu (Northern)	n̥ɑ̱^{31} dzɳ^{55} **dzɐ̯e^{35}** ɑ^{55}	blind person	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	na^{33} **dʑi^{33}**	blind person	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ndʑu^{33}**	blind	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	n̥ɔ^{33}**dʑɳ^{33}**	blind	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	mɐ̱^{33}**ɕɑ^{55}**	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.37
	ɕɑ^{55}	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.37
Yi (Xide)	n̥o^{33}-**dzɳ^{33}**	blind	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	n̥ɔ^{33} **dzɳ^{33}**	blind person	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Kucong	miɛ33 **tsv55** lv55	blind person	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
	tsv55	blind	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***cu**$^{-}$	blind	Bradley 1979b:571
Lahu (Lancang)	mɛ^{54}**tɕu^{35}** pɑ^{11}	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.43
	tɕu^{35}	blind, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1715.43
Lahu (Black)	**cú**	tightly closed, puckered up (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:467 [a]
	mɛʔ^{54} **tsɣ^{35}** pa^{11}	blind person	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛ̂ʔ **cú**	blind	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-**cú**-pā	blind man (?.)	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ^{54}**tsu^{35}**pa^{11}	blind person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.33
	tsu^{35}	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.33
Lahu (Yellow)	mɛʔ^{54} **tso^{35}** paʔ^{21}	blind person	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsɳ^{35}	close (eyes)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	myá^{3}-**hchē^{6}**	blind	Fraser 1922
Lisu	myá^{3}-ə **chē^{6}**	blind	Matisoff 1987
	myá^{3}**hchē^{6}**	blind	Bradley 1979b:571
Sani [Nyi]	ne^{33} m̩^{21} **ts^{h}ɿ^{44}**	blind-eyed; close eyes	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.7
	ne^{33}mu^{21}**tshi̱^{33}**	blind	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Phu Kha	mja^{31} ʃi^{35} **dʒiʔ^{35}**	blind	Fried 2000
Phuza	n̥i^{55}**dʑi^{13}**	blind (person)	Pelkey 2011:378

[a] The high rising tone in this Lahu form indicates an earlier *pre-glottalized initial, perhaps PLB ***ʔdzwat^{L}**.

(4) IA *kāṇa BLIND

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**kana**	blind	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**ka-na**	blind	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**khana**	blind	Balawan 1965:13
	mo **khana**	blind	Balawan 1965:39

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	**ga-na**	blind (n.)	Burling 2003:8.92-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**kana**	blind person (n.)	van Breugel 2008

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**kāṇā**	blind (adj.)	Bailey 1911
	kāṇō	blind (adj.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**kaNe**	blind	Sharma 1991b:3.4.10
	kaɳe	blind	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	ming **kanna** giwala	blind (vs.)	Egli-Roduner 1987:37 12a

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**kana**	blind	Bishop 1989:3.4.10

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	**kana**	blind	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.4.10
Gurung	**kāqnā:**	blind (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.11
Tamang (Sahu)	**'kā:nā**	blind (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.11
	'ka:na	blind (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.A.12

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**kā:nā:**	blind (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.11

(5) PTk *pew BLIND

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***pew**	blind	Mortensen 2012:768
Kachai	ʔa-mɐk kʰə-ŋə-**pi**	blind	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.046
Tangkhul	**pew**	blind	Bhat 1969:85
Ukhrul	kʰə-ŋə-**pew**	blind (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.2.7 Ear

Figure 80: 1.2.7 *Ear*

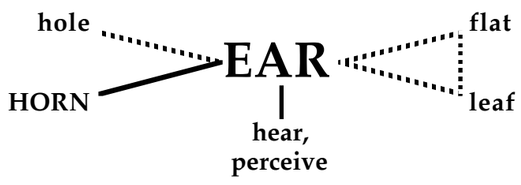

Figure 81: 1.2.7 *Ear*

Figure 82: 1.2.7 *Ear*

Figure 83: 1.2.7 *Ear*

(1) PTB * r/g -na EAR / HEAR / LISTEN

This root has acquired a variety of final consonants in Himalayish languages, including **-k** (Kiranti, Tamangic), **-ŋ** (Kanauri), **-r** (Lepcha), and **-m** (Written Tibetan).

There is a fortuitous resemblance between this root and an Indo-European synonym (cf. Sanskrit **karṇa-**). The velar prefix is well attested in Bodo-Garo, Asakian, and Naga languages.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***r**+**njəɣ**	ear	Coblin 1986:69

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-na**	listen (v.)	Weidert 1987:212
	***g-na**	ear	Weidert 1987:244; Benedict 1972:453
	***g-na**^{A}	ear	French 1983:480
	***g/r-na**	ear	LaPolla 1987:47
	***r-na**	listen (v.)	Weidert 1987:212
	***r-na**	ear	Weidert 1987:244; Coblin 1986:69
	***r-na** ~ g-na	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
	***r-na**^{A}	ear	French 1983:480
	***r-nɑ**	ear	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:981a-b
	***r/g-na**	ear / hear / listen	Matisoff 2003a:603

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP

Miji	**ʒoʔ**	ear	Simon 1979	[a]

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Milang	**raŋu**	ear	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	kru-**na:**	ear	NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987	[b]
	kru**: na:**	ear	Matisoff 1987	
	kɹu^{53} **nɑŋ**^{35}	ear	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980	
	kɹu^{53}**nɑŋ**^{35}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.22	
	kɹu^{53}**nɑŋ**^{35}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.49	
Idu	a^{31}kɹu^{55}**na**^{55}	ear	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.6	[c]
	a kõ **na**	ear	Pulu 1978	
	a ko **na**	ear	Anonymous 1962	
	a kõ **na** bɤ	earhole; eardrum	Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978	
	ɑ^{31}kɹu^{55}**nɑ**^{55}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.50	
Yidu	ɑ^{31}kɹu^{55}**nɑ**^{55}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.25	

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***naa** ≍ ***hnaa** EAR

**Chin*	***naa** ≍ **hnaa**	EAR	VanBik 2009:812
Anal	à-**nà**	ear	Weidert 1987:244
	kəna	ear	Benedict 1972:453
	na	ear	Matisoff 1987
Chinbok	**hŋa**	ear	Matisoff 1987
Thanphum	**hnɑ**^{1}	ear	Luce 1985:N.2

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**náa**	ear-drum	VanBik 2009:812
Tiddim	**nɑ**^{1}	ear	Luce 1985:G.45; Luce 1985:N.2

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**a'nó**	ear	VanBik 2009:812
Asho (Sandoway)	**hno**^{1}	ear	Luce 1985:N.2
Chinbon	**ɴo**	ear	So-Hartmann 1988:75
Cho (Mindat)	**hnga**	ear	VanBik 2009:812
Daai	**ŋn̥a**	ear	So-Hartmann 1988:75
Khumi	**kanou**	ear	Matisoff 1987
Awa Khumi	**kănɑ**^{2}	ear	Luce 1985:N.2
Khumi	**knoó**	ear	VanBik 2009:812
	kʰnó?	ear	So-Hartmann 1988:75
Khumi (Ahraing)	**kănɑ**^{2}	ear	Luce 1985:N.2
Matu	**ŋn̥a**	ear	So-Hartmann 1988:75
Matupi	**nʰhɑ**^{4}	ear	Luce 1985:N.2
Mkaang	**ɴa**.kɔːi	ear	So-Hartmann 1988:75
Ngmüün	**ŋn̥a**	ear	So-Hartmann 1988:75
Nyhmoye	**ŋn̥a** kʰɔːŋ	ear	So-Hartmann 1988:75
Wakung	a̰ **na** kʰiŋ	ear	So-Hartmann 1988:75
Womatu	**hŋɑ**^{4}	ear	Luce 1985:N.2

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Khualsim	**nɑ**^{3}	ear	Luce 1985:N.2
Lai (Hakha)	**hna**	ear	Matisoff 1987
Lai (Falam)	**hnăa**	ears	VanBik 2009:812
Lai (Hakha)	**hnâa**, hna-khòo	ears	VanBik 2009:812
	hnɑ^{5}	ear	Luce 1985:G.45; Luce 1985:N.2

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lailenpi	mə̆ **nɑ**^{4} kuɑ^{1}	ear	Luce 1985:N.2
Lakher [Mara]	**na**-cha-kao	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nà-chā-káo	ear (n.)	VanBik 2009:812
	na-i	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	na-khao	earhole	Matisoff 1987
	na-pâ	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	na-pâ-pa	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	^{1}**nə**^{2}ko	ear; earhole	Weidert 1987:108; Weidert 1987:162
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**nɑ**^{1}küɛ^{3}	ear	Luce 1985:N.2
Mera	**nɔ̃**^{6}	ear	Luce 1985:N.2
Tha'oa	**hɑ**^{1}	ear	Luce 1985:N.2
Xongsai	**nɑ**^{3}	ear	Luce 1985:N.2
Zotung	**nă**^{4}kuɑ^{4}	ear	Luce 1985:N.2
	nɔ	ear	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Lamkang	kɣ̊-**nà**	ear	Weidert 1987:244
	ə **kəna**	ear	Benedict 1972:453
Moyon	**nà** ~ ná	ear	Kosha 1990:3.6
	nà béŋ ~ **nà** dúŋ	eardrum	Kosha 1990:3.6.5
	nà bʌ̀ kòwrl	ear canal	Kosha 1990:3.6.4
	na bʌ khùr ~ nàbʌ̀khùr	inner ear	Kosha 1990:3.6.3
	nà íʔ	earwax	Kosha 1990:3.6.6
	na khíŋ	outer ear	Kosha 1990:3.6.2
	na thúr ten ná	earlobe	Kosha 1990:3.6.1
Sorbung	**na**-kor	ear	Brown 1837
	ná kʰùur	ear canal	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.066
	ʔə **náa**	ear	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.064

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**khana** bil	ear	Marrison 1967
	nha-mil	ear	Brown 1837

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***hnaʔ** EAR, ***a-hŋaj** HEAR, LISTEN

**Central Naga*	*a-**hŋaj**	HEAR, LISTEN	Bruhn 2014a:III.046
	***hnaʔ**	EAR	Bruhn 2014a:III.007
**Ao*	*a-**hŋaj**	HEAR, LISTEN	Bruhn 2014a:II.266
	*t-**hna**-ɹuŋ	EAR	Bruhn 2014a:II.231
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}**ŋa**^{2}	hear, listen (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.266
	a^{2}**ŋa**^{3}-siʔ^{1}	hear (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	a^{2}**ŋa**^{3}-təʲ^{1}	understand (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ā **ŋā**	listen (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:3
	a **nga**	obey	Marrison 1967
	a **nga**-ah	listen	Marrison 1967
	a **nga** shi	hear	Marrison 1967
	te **na** rong	ear	Marrison 1967
	te **na** rong-a jak	deaf	Marrison 1967
	tə^{2}-**na**^{2}ɹuŋ^{3}	ear (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.231
	tə^{2}-**na**^{2}ɹuŋ^{3} ta^{3}tʃak^{3}	deaf (adj.)	Bruhn 2014b
	^{2}tɯ^{3}**na**^{3}ruŋ	ear	Weidert 1987:607
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**nga**	obey; hear	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	nga cham	understand	Marrison 1967
	nga chet	understand	Marrison 1967
	nga küla	listen	Marrison 1967
	te **na** rong	ear	Marrison 1967
	te **na** rong-te chak	deaf	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hŋa**	listen [listened] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	hŋa-tʃhət	understand [understood] ('listen' + ABIL) (v.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**hna** ɹuŋ	ear (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**hna** ɹuŋ tə-tʃak	deaf ('ear' + NZP + 'break')	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**noʔ**^{1}	ear (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.007
	e^{1}-**ŋa**^{1}-	listen (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.046
	e **ng**	listen; hear	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967:332
	e **nga**	hear; listen	Murry *et al.* 1978:54; Murry *et al.* 1978:68
	e **nno**	ear	Marrison 1967
	e **no**	ear	Murry *et al.* 1978:36
	E **No**	ear	Nienu 1990c:3.6
	E **No** chu	earwax	Nienu 1990c:3.6.6
	e **no** pang a	deaf	Marrison 1967
	ē **n̰ò**	ear	Acharya 1975
	No buNg	deaf	Nienu 1990c:3.6.8
	no püng	deaf	Murry *et al.* 1978:28
	n̰ó pə̀ŋ	deaf	Acharya 1975
	^{1}e^{1}**no**	ear	Weidert 1987:244; Weidert 1987:78
Sangtam	a **na** t püng rü ngitsarü	deaf	Kumar 1973a
Yacham	te **na** long	ear	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**ang**, shushu	hear	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**mü** khün-peng rü	deaf	Marrison 1967
	nü khün	ear	Kumar 1973b:34; Marrison 1967
	nü khün peang	deaf	Kumar 1973b:74
	^{2}**nu**^{2}gu	ear	Weidert 1987:108; Weidert 1987:162
	^{2}**nɯ**^{2}kɯn	ear; earhole	Weidert 1987:162; Weidert 1987:162

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	**rəńə**	listen	Benedict 1972:110n307
	^{2}**rɯ**^{3}**nɯ**	listen (v.)	Weidert 1987:212
Angami (Khonoma)	**nie**	ear	Marrison 1967
	te **lanu**	ear	Marrison 1967:GEM
	te **na** long	ear	Marrison 1967:GEM
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **nyie**^{33}	ear	Nienu 1990a:3.6
	u **nyie**	ear	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **nyi**^{33}	ear	Nienu 1990b:3.6
	(u) **nyi**^{31} bi^{33}	earlobe	Nienu 1990b:3.6.1
	(u) **nyi**^{31} bo^{35}	eardrum	Nienu 1990b:3.6.5
	(u) **nyi**^{31} bvü^{35}	earwax	Nienu 1990b:3.6.6
	(u) **nyi**^{31} che^{35}	ear canal	Nienu 1990b:3.6.4
	u **nyi**	ear	Marrison 1967
	^{3}**ni**	ear	Weidert 1987:244
Khezha	**kenü**	ear	Marrison 1967
	kenú	ear	Yabu 1994:3.6
	^{2}**ke**^{3}**nvɯ**	ear	Weidert 1987:244
Mao	**no** bi	ear	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **khena**	ear	Marrison 1967
	na, ke **na**	hear	Marrison 1967

[a] Judging from the inadequate data at our disposal, Miji **-o** seems to be the normal reflex of ***-a**, while **ʒ-** descends from a variety of sonorant clusters.

[b] If this analysis is correct, it is interesting: HEAD + EAR = 'ear'.

[c] If this analysis is correct, it is interesting: HEAD + EAR = 'ear'.

Ntenyi	a **khuna**	ear	Marrison 1967
	a **khuna**-ketecho	deaf	Marrison 1967
	ke **na** ya	listen	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**na**	hear	Benedict 1972:453
	nye ting	ear	Marrison 1967
	ə **khəna**	ear	Benedict 1972:453
Rengma (Northern)	^{1}a^{3}**ku**^{3}**na**	ear	Weidert 1987:162
	^{1}gi^{1}gi^{3}**na**	listen (v.)	Weidert 1987:212
Sema [Sumi]	a **kini**	ear	Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:3.6
	a **kini**-ki	ear canal	Achumi 1998a:3.6.3
	a **kini** bo	ear (outer)	Achumi 1998a:3.6.2
	a ki **ni**-ba	earwax	Achumi 1998a:3.6.6
	a ki **ni**-niqhe	earlobe	Achumi 1998a:3.6.1
	a ki **ni** po	deaf	Marrison 1967
	^{1}a^{1}**ki**^{3}**ni**	ear	Weidert 1987:162
	^{1}i^{3}**ni**	listen (v.)	Weidert 1987:212

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	**kana**	ear	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ka-na**	ear	Brown 1837
	nu-kúan	ear; earhole	Weidert 1987:162; Weidert 1987:162
	nu kong	ear	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *__na__ EAR, *__na__ HEAR

**Tangkhulic*	***na**	ear; hear	Mortensen 2012:340; Mortensen 2012:342
Champhung	k^{h}u-**nu**	ear	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-k^{h}ə-**ni**	ear	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.049
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**nɐ**	ear	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.054
	k^{h}ə-**nɐ**-k^{h}ur	ear canal	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.056
	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**nɐ**	hear (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.059
Tangkhul	kha **na**	ear	Marrison 1967
	kha **nā**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	kha **nā** khur	earhole	Matisoff 1987
	khə **na**	ear	Benedict 1972:453
	na	hear	Bhat 1969:90
	nā gạ ka shai	otorrhoea	Matisoff 1987
	^{1}khə^{1}**na**	earhole	Weidert 1987:162
	^{1}khə^{1}ŋə^{1}**na**	listen (v.)	Weidert 1987:212
Tankghul (Central)	o-k^{h}a-**na**	ear	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-k^{h}a-**na**	ear	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	k^{h}a-**na**	ear	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔi-k^{h}ə-**ni**	ear	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.062
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**na**	ear	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**na**	hear; listen, be obedient	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**na**	ear	Singh 1991:3.6; Marrison 1967
	na-gi drəm	eardrum	Singh 1991:3.6.5
	na-gi mə khun	ear canal	Singh 1991:3.6.4
	na khun	earlobe	Singh 1991:3.6.1
	na kong	ear	Marrison 1967
	nâ kông	ear	Matisoff 1987
	na koŋ nəp thi	earwax	Singh 1991:3.6.6

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	a **no** ar lo a reng	ear	Matisoff 1987
	a **no** nam	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nò	ear	Weidert 1987:162
	no	ear	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	nò	ear	Grüssner 1979:115
	nò a-bō	earwax	Grüssner 1979:115
	no ang thor	earhole	Matisoff 1987
	nò-bō	earwax	Grüssner 1979:115
	nò-nàm	earlobe	Grüssner 1979:115
	no bo	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	no ku	ear	Matisoff 1987

1.6. Mru

Mru	**na**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nɛ̆ɪ^{3}**/no**^{3}	ear	Luce 1985:T.8

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Barish*	***na**	ear	Weidert 1987:350
**Bodo-Garo*	***na**	ear; hear	Burling 1959:441; Burling 1959:442

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**kamá**	ear	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	kamá krí	inside the ear	Bhat 1968
	kamá se tor	bulge just opposite to the ear lobe	Bhat 1968
	kʏmaʔ	ear	Weidert 1987:162
	kʏna-	listen (v.)	Weidert 1987:212
Dimasa	**khana**	ear	Benedict 1972:453
Kokborok	**k^{h}na**	hear	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	k^{h}ə́na	hear, listen	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	na-t^{h}oŋ	deaf	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**kana-**	listen (v.)	Weidert 1987:212

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**khna**	ear	Benedict 1972:453
	kna-a	listen (v.)	Weidert 1987:212
	na-cir	ear	Matisoff 1987
	na-tśil	ear	LaPolla 1987:47; Benedict 1972:453
Garo (Bangladesh)	**na**'-chil a'-kil-ok	earhole	Burling 1992
	na-chil	ear	Burling 1992
	na-chil	ear (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
	na-chil a'-kil-ok	earhole	Burling 1992
	na-chil a'-kol	earhole	Burling 1992
	na-chil-ke'-em-a	ear ornament for women	Burling 1992
	na-chil-ki	ear ornament for women	Burling 1992
	na-chil-ni a'-kil-ok	earhole	Burling 1992
	na-kol	earhole	Burling 1992

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**na**-	hear (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	na-kur	ear	Matisoff 1987
	na khal	ear (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na khal cha•dan	part of the head behind the ear (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na khong	backside of the ear (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *__na__ EAR

**Northern Naga*	***na**^{A}	ear	French 1983:480

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**na**	ear	Marrison 1967; French 1983:480
	na ba	deaf	French 1983:476
	na kan	earhole	French 1983:504
	na van	earlobe	French 1983:480
	na wan	lobe of the ear	French 1983:549
	^{3}**na**	ear	Weidert 1987:78
	^{3}**na**-^{1}ba	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072
Tangsa	^{2}**na**	ear	Weidert 1987:244
Tangsa (Moshang)	**na**	ear	Marrison 1967; French 1983:480
Tangsa (Yogli)	**na**	ear	Marrison 1967; French 1983:480

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**nou**	ear	Marrison 1967; French 1983:480
	nə̂u	ear	Weidert 1987:162
Khiamngan	**nọu**^{2} kan	ear	Weidert 1987:350
	^{2}**nọu**^{2}kan	ear	Weidert 1987:162
	^{2}**nọu** kan	earhole	Weidert 1987:162
	^{2}**nou**-^{2}kan	ear	Weidert 1987:162
Konyak	**ná**	ear	Weidert 1987:244
	na	ear	Marrison 1967; French 1983:480
	na pan pa	deaf	French 1983:476
Phom	**na** min	cheek	French 1983:480; Marrison 1967
Wancho	**na**	ear	Marrison 1967; French 1983:480
	na ba	deaf	French 1983:476
	na vem	cheek	French 1983:480
	na-kor	ear	Matisoff 1987
	na vem	cheek	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	(**na**) hpang	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	(**na**) lətsawp	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	(**na**) ləyawng	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	(**na**) lə bying	outside of ears	Matisoff 1987
	(**na**) lə hpang	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	(**na**) lə pyen	lobe of ear	Matisoff 1987
	a^{31} **na**^{33}	ear	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	na	ear	Marrison 1967
	na	hear, ear (n.,v.)	Matisoff 1987
	na	ear; hear	LaPolla 1987:47; Benedict 1972:453,453; Coblin 1986:69
	na ləbying	auricle	Matisoff 1987
	na ləkawng	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nā ləshîng hkū	earhole	Matisoff 1987
	na lə kyaw	pus from inflamed ear	Matisoff 1987
	nà-pháŋ	plug up / deaf	Matisoff 1974:301
	na^{33}	ear	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	na^{33}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.19
	na^{33}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.47
	na^{31} phaŋ^{55}	deaf person; deaf	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; LaPolla 1987:73
	na^{31}phaŋ^{55}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.19
	na^{31}phaŋ^{55}	deaf, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.19
	na^{31}phaŋ^{55}	deaf person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.47
	na layawng, **na** hpang	deaf	Marrison 1967
	^{2}**na**	ear	Weidert 1987:244
	^{2}**na**-^{1}lə^{3}phaŋ	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Andro	**kɑnɑ**	ear	Luce 1985:K.58
Ganan	**kănɑ**^{2}	ear	Luce 1985:K.58
Kadu	**kanâ**	ear	Matisoff 1987
Kadu (Kantu)	**kănɑ**^{2}	ear	Luce 1985:K.58
Kadu	**kənā**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	kənà	ear	Benedict 1972:453
Lui	**kana**	ear	Matisoff 1987
Sak	a-**kaná**	ear	Matisoff 1987
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **kănɑ**^{2}	ear	Luce 1985:K.58
Sak (Dodem)	ă **kănɑ**^{2}	ear	Luce 1985:K.58
Sak	a **kənáˊ**	ear	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:8
Taman	**nə** pʻɑ:	ear	Luce 1985:K.58

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Baram	**kuna**	ear	Kansakar 2010:6
	kəna	ear	Benedict 1972:453
Kanauri	**kāṇöṅ**	ear (n.)	Bailey 1911
	kāṇöṅ	ear	Matisoff 1987
	kāṇöṅ khö	wax in ear	Bailey 1911
	kanəṇ	ear	Sharma 1988:30,58

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**nɑ**^{35}	ear	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.6
	nɑ^{35} po^{35}	earwax	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.6.6
	nɑ^{35} ɳɛ^{13}	hear (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.6.7
	nɑ^{13} ue^{35}	deaf	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.6.8
Kaike	**nā** i pā	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	nā mihaw	ear	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	**na**	ear	Andvik 1993:6; Egli-Roduner 1987:32 5
Tsangla (Motuo)	**na**	ear	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	na^{13}	ear	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	rna	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**na**	listen	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	nei-gaŋ	ear	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**nɑ**^{35} lɑp^{55}	ear	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	ɳɑ^{35} **nɑ**^{55}	listen	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	nem^{13} **nɛʔ**^{53}	ear	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.6
Motuo Menba	**na**	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**rnæ**	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hnam** dʑok	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hna**	ear	Sun 1985a:209
	hnam dʑok	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.5
	hnæ ɸag	earwax	Sun 1985a:211
Tibetan (Batang)	**na**^{53}	ear	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.6
	na^{55} khõ^{55}	ear canal	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.6.4
	na^{55} tɕa?^{53}	earwax	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.6.6
	na^{55} tʂa^{55}	earlobe	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.6.1
	na^{55} ɣỹ^{55}	deaf	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.6.8
	na^{55} ɲi^{55}	ear ornament for women	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.6.5
	na^{55}jo^{53}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**nām**-jyokq-kyāk-pāq	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	nā mjyokq	ear	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**na**^{55}ʈo^{53}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**am**^{55}tɕo?^{53}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.2
	am^{55}tɕo^{52}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.02
Sherpa	**nao** žokq	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	na mǰokq	ear	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**na** mjya dzali	eardrum	Bishop 1989:3.6.5
	na mjyō	ear; outer ear	Bishop 1989:3.6; Bishop 1989:3.6.2
	na mjyō ge ōm	inner ear	Bishop 1989:3.6.3
	na mjyō pe ma	earlobe	Bishop 1989:3.6.1 [a]

[a] Cf. Sherpa **no-pe-te** 'earlobe'.

Tibetan (Written)	**na**-skyag	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	rna	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.01
	rna	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.1
	rna-ba	ear; listen	Weidert 1987:244; Luce 1985:G.45,W.13; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:110n307; Coblin 1986:69; ZHANG Liansheng 1988:22
	rna-bai me-loṅ	ear	Matisoff 1987
	rna-bɑ	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
	rna-kuṅ	earhole	Matisoff 1987
	rna-mc̀'og	ear	Matisoff 1987
	rna-rkyag	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	rna-spabs	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	rna-spag	earwax (sic)	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	rna.ba	ear	Sun 1985c:209
	rna.spags	earwax	Sun 1985c:211
	rna ba	ear	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**na** ndʑoχ	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	a-**nyor**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	a-**nyor** póṅ	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	a **nyor** sǔṅ-toṅ	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	ʔá **nyúr**	ear (n.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	**nfia**	ear; outer ear	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.6; Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.6.2
	nfia-ye dhoŋ ri	inner ear; ear canal	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.6.3; Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.6.4
	nfia-ye loti	earlobe	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.6.1
Gurung (Ghachok)	**nāh**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nah	ear	Glover 1972:1.39
	nah kli	earwax	Matisoff 1987
Gurung	**na**^{ɦ}	ear	Weidert 1987:607
Gurung (Ghachok)	**neh** me	ear	Matisoff 1987
	neh mẽ	ear	Glover 1972:1.39
	nəh kli	earwax	Glover 1972:2.A.64
Gurung	^{3}**na**	ear	Mazaudon 1994:540
Manang (Gyaru)	**na**^{1}	ear	Nagano 1984:008
	nya^{1} ma?^{2}	ear	Nagano 1984:008a
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**ɲe** maŋ	ear	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0007
	^{3}**nɤ**	ear	Mazaudon 1994:540
Tamang	**na**^{ɦ}-pyaŋ	ear	Weidert 1987:607
Tamang (Bagmati)	**na**^{ɦ}-pyaŋ	ear	Weidert 1987:747
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**na** k^{h}li	earwax (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.6.6
	^{3}**na** p^{h}i	ear (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.6
Tamang (Sahu)	**nak**-khli	earwax	Matisoff 1978b; Matisoff 1987
	nā ping	ear	Matisoff 1987
	na piŋ	ear	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.39
Thakali	**na**^{ɦ}	ear	Weidert 1987:607
Thakali (Tukche)	**nah**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nah-ki	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	nɔh	ear	Hari 1971:1.39
	nɔh-ki	earwax	Hari 1971:2.A.64
	^{3}**nə**	ear	Mazaudon 1994:540

2.1.5. DHIMAL

Dhimal	**nha** toŋ	ear	King 1994

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**nhāe** pã	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nhāe pạ̃: pwị̃	earwax	Matisoff 1987
Newar (Kathmandu)	**nhae** pɔ̃	ear / hear	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**nhæ** pɔ̃	ear	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.6
	nhæ pɔ̃ pa	outer ear	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.6.2
	nhæ pɔ̃ pili	ear drum	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.6.5
	nhæ pɔ̃ puĩ	earwax	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.6.6
	nhæ pɔ̃ pwa	ear canal	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.6.4
Newar (Dolakhali)	**nɔs** pu ṭi	earwax	Genetti 1990b
Newar	**nɑs** pu ṭi	ear	Weidert 1987:747
	n^{ɦ}**æ** pɔ̃:	ear	Weidert 1987:747
	n^{ɦ}**ɛ:** pɔŋ	ear	Weidert 1987:747

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***na** (?)	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
	***ʔna/ʔno**-	ear	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**-n** 'phak	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
	na:-mɛŋghɛmma	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:162
	na:-mɛŋ ghɛm ma	ear	Weidert 1987:108
	nek kho hī	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	nE bhak	ear	Michailovsky 1989b
	ne phāk	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nɛk khoʔ ba	ear	Weidert 1987:108; Weidert 1987:162
	nɛk koʔ ba	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
	nɛ bhak	ear	Weidert 1987:747
	nɛ bhakʔ	ear	Weidert 1987:108
	nɛ phak	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
Lohorong	**na** bhek	ear	Weidert 1987:747
Yakha	**na** bak	ear; outer ear	Kohn 1990:3.6; Kohn 1990:3.6.2
	na bak dzali	eardrum	Kohn 1990:3.6.5
	na bak ɔwi	earwax	Kohn 1990:3.6.6
	na bak a loti	earlobe	Kohn 1990:3.6.1
	na bak a ɔhɔŋ	inner ear	Kohn 1990:3.6.3
Yamphu	**næ** ʔæk	ear (n.)	Rutgers 1998:559.21

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

**Kul-Cham-Ban*	***na** brak	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
Bantawa	**kana** sup ma	earwax	Rai 1985
	na ba	ear	Weidert 1987:747
	na bak	ear	Weidert 1987:747; Michailovsky 1991:50; Rai *et al.* 1984:53
	na bal	ear	Rai 1985
	na ka sup ma	earwax	Michailovsky 1991:51
Chamling	**-na** bro	ear	Weidert 1987:747; Michailovsky 1991:50; Winter 1985:25
Kulung	m-**no** bo	ear	Weidert 1987:747
	no bo	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50; Rai *et al.* 1975
	no bo susu	earwax	Rai *et al.* 1975; Michailovsky 1991:51

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**ŋi** tso	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50; Driem 1993
	ŋi tso-si ʔi	earwax	Driem 1993; Michailovsky 1991:51
	ŋi tso tso:	earlobe.	Driem 1993
Khaling	**'nge** co khli	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	nge co	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50; Matisoff 1987

[a] [Source Note] substandard for **rna-spabs** (acc. to Jäs., p. 312).

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**nœ**	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
Hayu	**nok** tshuŋ	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50; Matisoff 1987
Ombule (Rai)	**ʔdo** bu	ear	Weidert 1987:747
Sunwar	**'no** pha	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
	'no phā	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nɑ̀ pha	ear	Weidert 1987:747
Thulung	**nok** ciu	earwax	Michailovsky 1991:51; Allen 1975
	nok phla, **nə** phla	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
	no ka phlā	ear	Matisoff 1987
	no phla	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50; Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**no**	ear	Weidert 1987:78; Matisoff 1987
	no	ear (n.)	Caughley 2000
	no	ear	Caughley 1972:1.39
	no dayŋʔ-	blocked (ear) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	no lok-ʔo	deaf	Caughley 1972:12.A.12
	no thot-	have infected, running ear (va.)	Caughley 2000
	no-kliʔ	earwax	Caughley 1972:2.A.64
	no.cay	base of ear, inner ear (n.)	Caughley 2000
	no.keŋʔ	earfolds (at front of ear) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	no.kliʔ	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	no.kliʔ	earwax (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**no**	ear	Caughley 1990:3.6
	no lok na?	deaf	Caughley 1990:3.6.8
	no ghaŋ	ear canal	Caughley 1990:3.6.4
	no kliʔ	earwax	Caughley 1990:3.6.6
	no pe te	earlobe	Caughley 1990:3.6.1 [a]
Kham	**nah** gu	earwax	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.64
	nāh gu	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	na:	ear	Watters & Watters 1989:1.39
	na: syo:	ear (upper)	Watters & Watters 1989
	or' **nā**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	or **na** mathaso	deaf	Watters & Watters 1989:12.A.12
	or **na** mat^{h}aso	deaf	Watters & Watters 1989:12.A.12
Magar	**na** sa gun	earwax	Matisoff 1987

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	–	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.13
	nịu	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989e:3.6
	nị̂u^{1}	ear	Sofronov c1978
	nju	ear	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4681
	nrĭu	hear; listen; ear	Nishida 1964:223-061; Nishida 1964:297-111
	nrĭụ	ear	Nishida 1964:8-051
	nrĭuɦ	ear	Nishida 1964:184
	nrĭuɦ ndžĭ^{w}ō	ear (cavity of)	Nishida 1964:184
	nrĭuɦ pịĕ	ear-plug	Nishida 1964:184

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**nɑ**^{33} nbo^{55}	deaf; deaf person	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:301.18
	nɑ^{33}rɑ^{55}	earring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:372.18
	nɑ^{55} ku^{55}	ear	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.18
Guiqiong	**nɔ**^{35}	ear	SUN Hongkai 1991e
	nɔ^{35}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.16
	nɔ^{35}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.17
	nɔ^{55} wu^{55}	ear ornament for women	SUN Hongkai 1991e
	nɑu^{35}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.16
Lyuzu	**na**^{33}dzɻ^{53}	earrings (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0484.18
	na^{33}nbo^{35}	deaf person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.18
	na^{53}pi^{53}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.18
	ne^{33}nbo^{53}	deaf, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.18
	ɣuo^{33}ju^{53} **na**^{53}pi^{53}	fungus (edible) (lit. 'mouse's ear') (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.18
Muya	**nɑ**^{33}mbɑ^{24}	deaf, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.15
	ɲuə^{24}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ɲi**^{35}tɕ^{h}ɯ^{55}	earwax	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.6.6
	ɲyi^{35}	ear	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.6; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.15
Namuyi	**hĩ**^{33}mbo^{33}	deaf; deaf person	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.6.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:301.19
	hĩ^{33}pa^{33}	ear	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.6; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.19
	hĩ^{33}qo^{33}ts^{h}ɻ^{33}	earwax	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.6.6
	hĩ^{33}qo^{33}tsɻ^{55}	earring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:372.19
	hĩ^{31}nbo^{35}	deaf, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.46
	ʔhĩ^{31}nbo^{31}	deaf person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.46
	ʔhĩ^{31}nduo^{55}	earrings (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0484.46
	ʔhĩ^{31}pæ^{55}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**nə**^{55}tsu^{55}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**na**^{55}dʒo^{55}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**na**^{55} dʒo^{55}	ear	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**nɐ**^{55} pɐ^{53}	ear	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**ɲì** bò	deaf	Evans 1999:2160
	ɲì ká	ear	Evans 1999:107
	ɲì kù	pillow [ear + *kum]	Evans 1999:677
	ɲì mà	ear lobe; earring (ɲì = 'ear')	Evans 1999:107.1; Evans 1999:662
	ɲì-bò	deaf person [ear-deaf]	Evans 1999:261
	ɲí-qhú	ear wax	Evans 1999:193.1
Qiang (Mawo)	**nə** ku	ear; pillow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:387.8
	nə ku bu	deaf person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:301.8
	nə kụ	pillow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0490.08
	nə ku	ear	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	nə ku pa la	earring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:372.8
	nə kuə	ear	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.6
	nə kuə bu	deaf	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.6.8
	nə kuə kuəku	inner ear	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.6.3
	nə kuə kuəni	outer ear	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.6.2
	nə kuə ts^{h}æ nʂə	earwax	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.6.6

[a] Cf. Sherpa **na mjyō pe ma** 'earlobe'

	nə kuᵚ ʑu	ear canal	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.6.4
	nə kᵚ	ear	Sun 1986
	nə kᵚ staba	earlobe	Sun 1986
	nə ku bu	deaf person; deaf	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; LaPolla 1987:73
	nə ku tsha χʂ	earwax	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ȵə kᵚ	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.08
	ȵə kᵚ bu	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.08
	ȵə kᵚ pɑl	earrings (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0484.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	à dà-**nə̀** kɛ́	wood ear fungus [grandmother-ear]	Evans 1999:567
	nè kò	pillow [ear + *kum]	Evans 1999:677
	nə̀ kiè bú	deaf person [ear-deaf]	Evans 1999:261
	nə̀ kɛ́	ear	Evans 1999:107
	nə̀ mà	earring	Evans 1999:662
Qiang (Taoping)	**nə**^{31}mɑ^{33}	earring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:372.9
	ȵi^{31} kie^{33}	ear	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ȵi^{31} kie^{33} bu^{231}	deaf person	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ȵi^{31}kie^{33}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.9
	ȵi^{31}kie^{33}bu^{241}	deaf person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**ȵuk** pu	deaf person	Dai Qingxia 1989q:261
	ȵu k	ear	Dai Qingxia 1989q:107 [a]
	ȵyk bu	deaf	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2081
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ne**^{55} po^{55} to^{55}	ear	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**rna**^{55}pɔ^{55}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.13
	rna^{55}ʁo^{55}	earrings (big) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0484.13
	rȵi^{55}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ȵ̊ʌ**^{33}ʐa^{55}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	**rna**^{53} mda^{33}	earlobe	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.6.1
	rna^{53} ra^{33}	outer ear	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.6.2
	ɲə^{53}	ear	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.6
	ɲə^{53} no^{13}	inner ear	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.6.3
	ɲə^{53} qrə^{33}	eardrum	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.6.5
	ɲə^{53} ʯpə^{53}	earwax	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.6.6
	ɲə^{53} ʁʲje^{13}	ear canal	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.6.4
Ergong (Danba)	**ȵɔ** mp^{h}ɯ	earwax	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.6.6
Daofu	**ȵə**	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	ʾnə **rnɑ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	ʾtə **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	ʾtə **rnaʔ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	ʾtə **rneʔ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	ʾtə **rneʔ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ʾtə **rnje**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	ʾtə **rnɑ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	ʾtə **rnɑ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ka **rna**	hear (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.6.7
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Mengucun)	naʾ **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	nəʾ **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	nəʾ **rnaʔ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	nəʾ **rnɑ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	nəʾ **rnɑ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	nəʾ **rnɑʔ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	nuʾ **ɾnʊ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong	**rȵa** mtʂi	earlobe	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.6.1
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	tə22 **rna44** mbi44	ear wax	Nagano & Prins 2013:0028
	tə33 **rne44**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	tə **ʾrnaʔ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong	tə **rna**	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **rnɑ**	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.11
rGyalrong	tə **rȵa**	ear	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.6
	tə **rȵa** k^{h}oi jdu	ear canal	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.6.4
	tə **rȵa** p^{h}ɕɛ	earwax	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.6.6
	tə **rȵa** wu gu	inner ear	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.6.3
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	təʾ **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	təʾ **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	təʾ **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	təʾ **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	təʾ **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	təʾ **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	təʾ **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	təʾ **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	təʾ **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	təʾ **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	təʾ **rnaʔ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	təʾ **rnaʔ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	təʾ **rnaʔ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	təʾ **rnaʔ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	təʾ **rna** ke	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	təʾ **rne**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	təʾ **rne**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	təʾ **rnje**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	təʾ **rnje**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	təʾ **rnje**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	təʾ **rnɑ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	təʾ **rnɑʔ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	təʾ **rnɑʔ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	təʾ **rȵe**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	təʾ **rȵe**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	təʾ **rȵe**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	təʾ **ɾna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	tə-**rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
Caodeng	tə-**rne**	ear	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	tə22 **rna44**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
	tə22 **rna44** pok22 pok44	ear wax	Nagano & Prins 2013:0028
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	tə44**rna33**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	tə^{3}**rnje**^{3}	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	tə^{3}**rnje**^{53}	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	tə^{3}**rnje**^{53}	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	tə^{3}**rȵe**^{3}	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	tər5**ʾnje53**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	tə^{ˈ}ʳ**nəʔ**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	tə^{5}**rnje**^{5}	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **rna**	ear	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.6
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **rna**	ear	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.6
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **rna**	ear	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.6
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **rna** k^{h}a pok	ear canal	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.6.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **rna** k^{h}uŋ du	inner ear	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.6.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **rna** mʈʂi	earlobe	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.6.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **rna** ndʒə	eardrum	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.6.5
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **rna** ntʃ^{h}e	eardrum	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.6.5
	tə **rna** p^{h}i	outer ear	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.6.2
	tə **rna** p^{h}ʃe	earwax	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.6.6
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **rna** qambo	earwax	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.6.6
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **rna** sne	ear canal	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.6.4
	tə **rna** sp^{h}op	earwax	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.6.6
	tə **rna** vunaŋ	inner ear	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.6.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **rna** wugui	inner ear	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.6.3
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **rna** ənu	earlobe	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.6.1
	tə **rna** ən du	ear canal	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.6.4
	tə **rna** əʂqʰu	outer ear	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.6.2
	tə **rna** əsərok	eardrum	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.6.5
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **rna** ʃne	inner ear	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.6.3
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **rna** ʁo	outer ear	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.6.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	tə **rne**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	tɛ^{ˈ}ʳ**na**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tɯ **rna**	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	ə^{3}**rnje**^{1}	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	ə^{1}**rnje**^{3}	ear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0027
rGyalrong	tA **rna**	ear	Nagano 1997:3.6
	tA **rna** khung Ngyu	ear canal	Nagano 1997:3.6.4
	tA **rna** wu mpo	outer ear	Nagano 1997:3.6.2
	tA **rna** wu Ngu	inner ear	Nagano 1997:3.6.3
rGBenzhen	tə-**rna**	ear	Sun 1997b
Shili	tə-**rna**	ear	Sun 1997c

4. Nungic

Anong	**ənɑ**	ear	Benedict 1972:453; Coblin 1986:69; LaPolla 1987:47
Rawang	ə **nɑ**^{31}	ear	LaPolla 2003:91
Anong	ɑ^{31} **nɑ**^{31}	ear	Sun Hongkai 1988
Nung	ɑ^{31}**nɑ**^{31}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.21
Anong	ɑ^{55}**nɑ**^{31}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.44
Trung [Dulong]	a^{32} **na**^{42} mə^{44} to^{44}	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	a^{32} **ng**^{42}	ear	Matisoff 1987
	na-ba	ear	LaPolla 1987:47
	ɑ^{31}**nɑ**^{53}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.46
Dulong	ɑ^{55}**nɑ**^{53}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	a^{31} **na**^{53}	ear	LaPolla 1987:47
	ɑ^{31} **nɑ**^{53}	ear	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	a^{31} **na**^{55}	ear	LaPolla 1987:47
	ɑ^{31} **nɑ**^{55}	ear	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	*(C)-**na**^{2}	ear	Weidert 1987:162
	***na**^{1}	ear / listen	Matisoff 2003a:603
	***nʔa**^{2}bɔ^{1}	ear	Weidert 1987:747
	***ʔ-na**^{2}	ear	Matisoff 2003a:603

6.1.1. Burmish

**Burmese*	***na**^{2}	ear	Weidert 1987:244
Achang (Lianghe)	**na**^{31} kɯ^{31}	ear	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	na^{31} paŋ^{31}	deaf	LaPolla 1987:73
Achang (Longchuan)	**ni**^{31} tʂhua^{31}	ear	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ni^{31}tʂhua^{31}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.28

[a] Note the radical reduction of Qiang **k**.

	ni^{31}tʂhua^{31}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.41
Achang (Luxi)	**na**^{55} paŋ^{51}	deaf person; deaf	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:73
	na^{55} phja^{55}	ear	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ŋa**^{31} tʂ^{h}ɔ^{31}	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989f:104
	ŋa^{31}tʂhɔ^{31}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.29
	ŋɔ^{31} pjau^{31}	deaf	DAI Qingxia 1989f:2081
Bola	**nə̌**^{31} k^{h}jɛʔ^{55}	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989g:104
Bola (Luxi)	**nə̌**^{31}khj^{55}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.32
Burmese (Modern)	**nā**^{3}	listen (v.)	Luce 1985:V.3
	nāː	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
	nā^{4}	ear	Luce 1985:G.45
Burmese (Rangoon)	**nɑ**^{55}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.27
	nɑ^{55}thɑ̃u^{22}	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.27
Burmese (Spoken)	**na**^{4}	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**nɑ**^{55}htɑũ^{22}	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.40
	nɑ^{55}jwɛʔ^{44}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.40
Burmese (Written)	**nà**	ear	Weidert 1987:212
	na	listen (v.)	Weidert 1987:212
	na	listen	Marrison 1967
	nā	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
	nā	listen (v.)	Luce 1985:V.3
	nâ	ear	Hansson 1989:38; Matisoff 1987
	na	listen, hearken	Benedict 1976a
	nâ	ear	Benedict 1976a
	nà	ear	LaPolla 1987:47; Benedict 1972:453
	na	listen	Benedict 1972:453
	nà	ear	Coblin 1986:69
	na	listen	Coblin 1986:69
	nâ-pâŋ	deaf	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:301
	nâ-pha-khyê	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	nâ-pok	earhole	Matisoff 1987
	nâ-pyâñ	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nâ-rwak	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nā:	ear	Marrison 1967
	nā^{3}	ear / listen	Luce 1985:W.13
	nā^{4}	ear / listen	Luce 1985:W.13
	nɑ^{3}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.26
	nɑ^{3}htɔŋ^{2}	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.39
	nɑ^{3}thɔŋ^{2}	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.26
	nɑ^{3} rwɑk	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.39
Danu	**nɑ**^{2}	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
Hpun (Northern)	ă **nà**	ear	Henderson 1986
	ă **nă** tăpó-ŋ	deaf (cp. Ear)	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	ă **nɑ**^{4}	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
Langsu (Luxi)	**nə̌**^{31}khjɛʔ^{55}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.31
Lashi (Lachhe')	**nɔ**^{3}	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
Lashi	**nə̌**^{33} jam^{31}	outer ear	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.6.2
	nə̌^{33} khjap^{55}	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.6
	nə̌^{33} khjei^{55}	earwax	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.6.6
	nə̌^{33} tuaŋ^{33}	ear canal	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.6.4
	nə̌^{33} tuaŋ^{33} khou^{33}	inner ear	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.6.3
Marma	**ná**	ear	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:8
Maru [Langsu]	**nò**	ear	Weidert 1987:244
	nə̌^{31} jɛ̃^{31}	outer ear	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.6.2
	nə̌^{31} khjik^{55}	earwax	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.6.6
	nə̌^{31} khjɛʔ^{55}	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.6
	nə̌^{31} tuŋ^{35}	ear canal	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.6.4
	nə̌^{31} tuŋ^{35} khuk^{31}	inner ear	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.6.3
	nə̌^{31}khjɛʔ^{55}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.43
Taung-Yo	**nɑ**^{2}	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nǒ**^{21} phjo^{21}	ear	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	nǒ^{21}phjo^{21}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.30
	nǒ^{21}phjo^{21}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.42
	nò phyò	ear	Weidert 1987:244
	nɔ^{4}	ear	Luce 1985:T.8

6.1.2. LOLOISH: *(C)-**na**^{2} EAR

**Loloish*	*(C)-**na**^{2}	ear	Weidert 1987:931; Bradley 1979b:102-1; Hansson 1989:38
	***nʔa**^{2}bɔ^{1}	ear	Weidert 1987:162
	***ʔ-na**^{1}	listen	Bradley 1979b:667
Lolopho	(**no**^{55}) bɒ^{31}	deaf	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.6.8
	no^{55} pɒ^{44}	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.6
	no^{55} pɒ^{44} mi^{33} dv̩^{31}	ear canal	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.6.4
	no^{55} ȶi^{31}	earwax	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.6.6

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**na**^{35}	hear, listen	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	na^{35}	hear; listen (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.6.7; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.47
	na^{35} po^{24}	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.6
	na^{35} tȶa^{31} ?	hear (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.6.7
	na^{35}po^{35}tȶha^{31}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.47
	na^{35}tȶa^{31}	hear (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.47
	nɑ^{24}po^{24}	earhole, ear canal	MU Shihua 2003
	nɑ^{24}pɑ^{24}tȶ^{h}ɑ^{31}p^{h}ɑ^{55}	ear	MU Shihua 2003
Lalo	**ʔná**	listen	Björverud 1994
	ʔnà-pó	ear	Björverud 1994
	ʔnɑ^{21} bu^{21}	deaf	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.8
	ʔnɑ^{21} k^{h}i^{21}	earwax	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.6
	ʔnɑ^{21} pu^{55}	ear	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6
	ʔnɑ^{55}	hear (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.7
Lipho	**no**^{33}	hear	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.7
	no^{55}pa^{33}	ear	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6
Nasu	**no**^{21} tɤ̲^{21}	earwax	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.6
	no^{33} bɔ^{33}	deaf	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.8
	no^{33} tsǫ^{21}	earlobe	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.1
	nɔ^{21} pɔ^{33}	ear	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6
	nɔ^{21} pɔ^{33} p^{h}a̲^{55}	outer ear	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.2
Nesu	**lo**^{55} pa^{55}	ear	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6 [a]
	lo^{55} pa^{55} ȶ^{h}i^{33}	earwax	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.6
	no^{55}	hear (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.7
	no^{55} ba^{33}	deaf	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.8
Noesu	**lo**^{21}po^{13}	ear	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6
	lo^{21}po^{13}du^{13}	ear canal	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.4
Nosu	**ŋ̊a**^{33}	hear	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.7
	ŋ̊ɯ^{21}po^{33}	ear	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6
Nusu (Northern)	**nɑ**^{55} s^{h}ɔ^{31}	ear	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ŋ̊a**^{33}	listen	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2309.
	ŋ̊a^{33}	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.34
	ŋ̊a^{33} t^{h}a̲^{53}	hear	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2310.
	ŋ̊a^{33}tha̲^{53}	hear (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ŋ̊a**^{35}	listen	DAI Qingxia 1989o:2309.
	ŋ̊a^{35} t^{h}a̲^{31}	hear	DAI Qingxia 1989o:2310.
Nusu (Central)	**ŋ̊a**^{55} sə̃^{33}	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989p:104.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ŋ̊a**^{55} sə̃^{35}	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989o:104.
Nusu (Central)	**ŋ̊a**^{55}sə̃^{33}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.34
Nusu (Southern)	**ŋ̊i**^{55} sə^{31}	ear	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ŋ̊ɔ^{55}	listen	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ŋ̊ɑ**^{31}	listen	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ŋ̊ɑ**^{35}	listen	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ŋ̊ɑ**^{35}	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.45
Nusu (Central)	**ŋ̊ɑ**^{55} s^{h}ə̃ɹ^{35}	ear	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ŋ̊ɑ**^{55}shə̃ɹ^{35}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.45
Yi (Dafang)	**lɔ**^{21} pɔ^{33}	ear	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	lɔ^{21}pɔ^{21}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ŋ̊a**^{21}	ear	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋ̊a^{21}po^{33}	ear	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋ̊a^{33}	hear; listen	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋ̊a^{33}tʂu̲^{33}	hear clearly	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋ̊a^{33}vɭ^{55}	ear infection	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋ̊a^{33}tshɛ^{33}	hear clearly	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋ̊ɯ^{21}	ear	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋ̊ɯ^{21}zɯ^{33}	ear lobe	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋ̊ɯ^{33}ndʑi^{21}	ear cartilage	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**no**^{33}	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.25
	no^{33}pʌ^{33}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**lo**^{55}pɒ^{55}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.26
	no^{55}	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**no**^{55}pɑ^{33}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.37
	no^{55}pʌ^{33}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.24
	no^{55}ȵi^{33}	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.37
	nɯ^{33}ȵi^{33}	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ne**^{55}; pɑ^{33}gɑ^{31}	listen; hear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.23
	nɑ^{21} pu^{55}	ear	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔna**^{55}	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.36
	ʔnɑ^{21}pu^{55}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.36
Yi (Wuding)	**nu**^{33}	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.38
	nu^{11}pɒ^{33}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.38
Yi (Xide)	**ŋ̊a**^{21}po^{33}	ear	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋ̊a^{33}	listen	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.21
	ŋ̊ɯ^{21} po^{33}	ear	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.21
	ŋ̊ɑ^{21}po^{33}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.35
	ŋ̊ɑ^{33}	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**no**^{33}	hear	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.7
	no^{33}	hear (v.)	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.6.7
	no^{33} pɑ^{33}	ear	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.6
	no^{33} pɑ^{33} i^{33} ku^{33}	inner ear	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.6.3
	no^{33} pɑ^{33} i^{33} tsɛ^{33}	outer ear	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.6.2
	no^{33} pɑ^{33} nɐ^{33} bɑ^{55}	ear canal	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.6.4
	no^{33} pɑ^{33} ʈ‘o^{21} zo^{21}	eardrum	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.6.5
	no^{33}pa^{33}	ear	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6
	no^{55} bu^{21}	deaf	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.6.8
	no^{55} tsɑ^{33}	earlobe	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.6.1
	no^{55} ʈ‘i^{21}	earwax	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.6.6
Lolo (Ni)	**nɑ̄** po	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
Jinuo	**na**^{33} kho^{44}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.44
	na^{33}kho^{55}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**na**^{44} k^{h}o^{55}	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989h:107
	nɔ^{31}	listen	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2409
	nɔ^{31} kjɔ^{44}	hear	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2410
Jinuo	**nɔ**^{35}	hear (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.44
	nɔ^{35}	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.34
	nɔ^{42}tȹɔ^{44}	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**nɔ**^{44} p^{h}ɑ^{55}	ear	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	nɔ^{44}phɑ^{55}	ear (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**ŋ̊a**^{44} k^{h}u^{55}	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989i:107
	ŋ̊o^{31}	listen	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2409
	ŋ̊o^{31} kjɔ^{44}	hear	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2410
Jinuo (Youle)	**ŋ̊ɔ**^{42} tɔ^{44}	listen	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ŋ̊ɑ^{33} k^{h}o^{55}	ear	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**na55** pv33	ear	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	nʌ33	listen	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**nā**-pɔ pɔ̂	deaf	LaPolla 1987:73
	nā-pɔ-phà?	external ear	Matisoff 1994b
**Common Lahu*	***na:**	listen	Bradley 1979b:667
	***na_**	ear	Bradley 1979b:102-1
Lahu	**nà** pɔ̄	ear	Weidert 1987:244
Lahu (Lancang)	**nɑ**^{33}	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.43
	nɑ^{33}kɑ^{53}	hear (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.43
	nɑ^{11}pɔ^{33}	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.43
Lahu (Black)	**nā**-pɔ	ear	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:63
	nā-pɔ pô ve	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	na^{33}	listen	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	na^{31} pɔ^{33}	ear	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	nɑ pɑw:	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
	nʌ^{33}	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.33
	nʌ^{31}pɔ^{33}	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**na**^{33}	listen	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	na^{31} pv̩^{33} tȹ^{h}i^{33}	ear	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a^{21}gɔ^{44} **na**^{33}pɔ^{33}	hoe-ear (side part of hoe)	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}**na**^{33}pɔ^{33}	ear of a mouse	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**na**^{33}pɔ^{33}	ear (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**na**^{33}pɔ^{33}hwa^{21}	flesh of ear	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**na'**-paw^{3}	ear	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**na**^{3}-na^{2}	acquiesce (=listen); listen (v.)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922

[a] We are assuming dialectal variation between initial **l-** and **n-** in Nesu, a phenomenon also characteristic of Southwest Mandarin and other languages in the area.

	na^{3}-na^{2}	obey (=listen)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**na**^{3}**na**^{2}	listen	Bradley 1979b:667
Lisu (Putao)	**na**^{3}**na**^{2}	listen (v.)	Luce 1985:V.3
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**na**^{3}**na**^{2}	listen (v.)	Luce 1985:V.3
Lisu (Northern)	**na**^{33}lɔ^{35}	listen (V.)	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}me^{44}	grating on the ear	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}na^{35}	listen (V.)	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}na^{35} bu^{33}	not willing to listen	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}na^{35} sa^{33}	nice to listen	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}na^{35} ɕwa^{55}	not nice to listen	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}na^{35}ɤ^{44}	willing to listen	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}pɔ^{33}	ear	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}pɔ^{33}khi^{21}	earwax	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}sa^{33}	appeal to the ear; pleasant to listen to; beautiful (V.)	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}sa^{33}sa^{33}	delight the heart and appeal to the ear; delightful; beautiful	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**na**^{1} baw^{5}	deaf	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**na**^{1}-paw^{3}	ear	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**na**^{1}-paw^{3} hku^{4}	earhole	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**na**^{1}-paw^{3}-hku^{4}	ear orifice	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**na**^{1}paw^{3}	ear	Bradley 1979b:102-1
Lisu (Northern)	**na**^{55}pɔ^{33}	ear (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**nɑ**^{1}paw^{3}	ear	Luce 1985:G.45
Lisu (Putao)	**nɑ**^{1}po^{4}	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**nɑ**^{1}pɑw^{3}	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
Lisu	**nu̱**^{33}lo^{35}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.40
	nu̱^{33}po^{33}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**nu̱**^{44} lo^{35}	listen	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
	nu̱^{44} po^{44}	ear	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**nɑ**^{44}**nɑ**^{35}; **nɑ**^{44}lo^{35}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.27
	nɑ^{44}po^{44}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.27
Sani [Nyi]	**nɑ**^{44}	hear	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.7
	nɑ^{44} gɑ^{11}	hear (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:321.7
	nɑ^{55}	ear	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:97.1
	nɑ^{55} bo^{11}	deaf	Ma Xueliang 1989:321.2
	nɑ^{55} po^{44}	ear	Ma Xueliang 1989:304.2
	nɑ^{55} ɬi^{21}	earwax	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:98.4
	nɑ^{55} ɬi̱^{11}	earwax	Ma Xueliang 1989:321.4
	nɑ^{55}bo^{21}	deaf	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.8
	nɑ^{55}po^{44}	ear	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6
	nɑ^{55}tʂhi^{33}	earlobe	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.1
	nɑ^{55}ɬi^{21}	earwax	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.6
Yi (Sani)	**nɒ**^{44}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.39
	nɒ^{44}gɒ^{11}	hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.39
Sani [Nyi]	**nɒ**^{55}(po^{33})	ear	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	nɒ^{55}bo^{21}	deaf	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	nɒ^{55}po^{33}ne^{33}	earhole	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**nɒ**^{55}po^{44}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.39
Sani [Nyi]	**nɒ**^{55}ɬi^{21}	earwax	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ná**	ask	Hansson 1989:36
	nà	ear	Hansson 1989:38
Akha (Yunnan)	**nà** bɔ̀	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
	nà bɔ́	ear	Hansson 1989:38
	ná xhà	ask, listen	Hansson 1989:68
Akha (Thai)	**nà**-bɔ̀	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
	nà-bɔ́	ear	Hansson 1989:259
	ná-hà	ask, listen	Hansson 1989:68
Akha	**na˯** baw˅ (pyaw˯)	ear	Matisoff 1987
	na˯ baw˯ baw˯-eu	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	na˯ cu˯	ear	Matisoff 1987
	na˯ pa˄ (pyaw˯)	ear (external)	Matisoff 1987
	nà bɔ́	ear	Weidert 1987:244
Bisu	**hná**	listen	Bradley 199x
	nà sùŋ	ear	Bradley 1979b
	nà pàŋ	deaf	Beaudouin 1988:39
	na sìŋ	ear	Beaudouin 1988:13
	nà sùŋ	ear	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**nà** bó	ear	Hansson 1989:259
	na bò	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
	ná xhà	ask, listen	Hansson 1989:68
Hani (Dazhai)	**na**^{31} bo^{55}	ear	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	na^{31} u̱^{33}	earlobe	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	na^{31}bo^{55}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.31
	na^{31}xa^{31}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.31
	na^{55} xa^{31}	ask; inquire; listen	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:690.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**na**^{31}bo^{55}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.41
	na^{55}xa^{31}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.41
Hani (Pijo)	**ná**	ask	Hansson 1989:36
	ná tì	ask, listen	Hansson 1989:68
Hani (Caiyuan)	**na**^{55} te^{31}	ask; inquire; listen	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:690.30
Hani (Pijo)	**nò**	ear	Hansson 1989:38
	nò pú	ear	Hansson 1989:259
	nù pù	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
Hani (Caiyuan)	**nɔ**^{31} pu^{55}	ear	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**na**^{31} pa^{31}	ear	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	na^{55} xa^{31}	ask; inquire; listen	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**nal** haq	ask, listen	Hansson 1989:68
	naq bbol	ear	Hansson 1989:259
	na qbboq	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
Hani (Shuikui)	**nɔ**^{31} pɣ^{55}	ear	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.32
	nɔ^{55} ɔ^{31}	listen	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.32
Hani (Khatu)	**ná**	ask	Hansson 1989:36
	nà	ear	Hansson 1989:38
	nà pú	ear	Hansson 1989:259
	nà pù	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
	ná tì	ask, listen	Hansson 1989:68
Hani (Mojiang)	**nɔ**^{31}pɣ^{55}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.42
	nɔ^{55}ɔ^{31}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.42
Mpi	**m**^{2}pha^{2}	ear	Bradley 1979b; Hansson 1989:259; Matisoff 1978a:63; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	ã **hnã**^{31} ləpen	earlobe	Ferlus 1991:3.6.1
	ʔã́ **hnà**	ear	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1987
	ʔã^{55} **hnɑ**^{11}	ear	Bradley 1977
Pyen	**nae45**	listen (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:132020
Sangkong	aŋ^{33} **na**^{31}	ear	Li Yongsui 1991
Sila	**nɔ55** da21	listen (v.)	Kato Takashi 2008:44

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**nu̱**^{45}pɯ^{22}	ear	Pelkey 2011:259
	nɔ^{44}	listen	Pelkey 2011:595
Southern Muji	**na**^{33}	listen	Pelkey 2011:595
	na^{55}**pə**^{33}**tɬa**^{55}	ear	Pelkey 2011:259
Phola	**nɑ**^{33}pɔ^{33}	ear	Pelkey 2011:259
	nɑ^{55}	listen	Pelkey 2011:595
Hlepho Phowa	**na**^{55}pə^{33}	ear	Pelkey 2011:259
	ʔna^{33}	listen	Pelkey 2011:595
Phuza	**na**^{33}	listen	Pelkey 2011:595
	na^{33}bʌ^{33}	ear	Pelkey 2011:259

7. Karenic: *$\mathbf{na}^{B}$ ear, *-$\mathbf{hna}^{B}$ listen to

**Karen*	*-**hna**^{B}	listen to	Luangthongkum 2013:171
**Karen (Sgaw)*	*__nà__	ear	Jones 1961:21
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	*__nà__	ear	Jones 1961:21
**Karen*	*__na__’	ear	Weidert 1987:931
	*__ná__’	ear	Jones 1961:21
**Karen (Pwo)*	*__ná__’	ear	Jones 1961:21
**Karen (TP)*	*__ná__’	ear	Jones 1961:21
**Karen (Pwo)*	*__ná__’ ɣàn	hear (v.)	Jones 1961:223
**Karen [Burling]*	*__na__^{1}	ear	Luangthongkum 2013:95
**Karen*	*__na__^{B}	ear	Luangthongkum 2013:95
**Karen (Sgaw)*	*__nà__ ɣú	hear (v.)	Jones 1961:223
Bwe	**nɛ**-kú	ear (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**nɛ**^{2}ku^{1}	ear	Weidert 1987:931; Luce 1985:G.45
Bwe	**nɛ**^{33}	ear	Luangthongkum 2013:95
	nɛ̀-kú	ear	Weidert 1987:931
Geba	**ñĩ**^{2}gu^{2}	ear	Luce 1985:G.45
Karen	gă^{31}**nu̱**^{31}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.50
	na^{31}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.50
Kayah	**ne**^{11}	ear	Luangthongkum 2013:95
Kayan	**na**^{11}	listen to; ear	Luangthongkum 2013:171; Luangthongkum 2013:95
Kayan (Pekon)	**nâ**	listen (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
	nâ hyə́n	hear (V.)	Manson 2010
	nâ θè	understand [lit. listen-know] (V.)	Manson 2010
	nā kú	ear (N.)	Manson 2010
	nā kúθí	earring [lit. ear-insert] (N.)	Manson 2010
	nā là	ear (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**na**^{11}	listen to; ear	Luangthongkum 2013:171; Luangthongkum 2013:95
Pa-O	**nâ**	ear	Weidert 1987:931
	ná	listen	Solnit 1989
	nâ	ear	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:21
	nâ lá	ear	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**na**^{33}	listen to	Luangthongkum 2013:171
Pa-O (Northern)	**na**^{53}	ear	Luangthongkum 2013:95
	na^{55}	listen to	Luangthongkum 2013:171
Pa-O (Southern)	**na**^{55}	ear	Luangthongkum 2013:95
Pa-O (Northern)	**nɑ**^{2}	ear	Luce 1985:G.45
Paku	**nɑ**^{3}	ear	Luce 1985:G.45
	nɑ^{3}hu^{1}	hear (v.)	Luce 1985:I.170
Palaychi	**nà**	ear	Jones 1961:21
Pwo (Northern)	**na**^{33}	listen to	Luangthongkum 2013:171
	nɛ^{11}	ear	Luangthongkum 2013:95
Pwo (Southern)	**na**^{33}	ear	Luangthongkum 2013:95
	na^{55}	listen to	Luangthongkum 2013:171
Pwo (Delta)	**nɑ**^{1}	ear	Luce 1985:G.45
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**nɑ**^{4} [ku^{5}]	ear	Luce 1985:G.45
Pwo (Bassein)	**ná?**	ear	Weidert 1987:931; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:21
	ná? ɣàn	hear (v.)	Jones 1961:223
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ná**	ear	Weidert 1987:931; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:21
	ná ɣàn	hear (v.)	Jones 1961:223
Sgaw (Northern)	kə^{33} **na**$^{31\sim}$	listen to	Luangthongkum 2013:171
Sgaw (Southern)	**na**^{31}	ear	Luangthongkum 2013:95
Sgaw (Northern)	**na**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	ear	Luangthongkum 2013:95
Sgaw (Southern)	**na**^{45}	listen to	Luangthongkum 2013:171
Sgaw	**nɑ**^{6} **[kɤ**^{1}**]**	ear	Luce 1985:G.45
	****^{1}**na**	ear	Weidert 1987:931
	****^{1}**na**^{4}hu	hear (v.)	Weidert 1987:931
Sgaw (Bassein)	**nà**	ear	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:21
	nà hú	hear (v.)	Jones 1961:223
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**gă**^{31}**nu̱**^{31}	listen	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2409
	na^{31}	ear	Dai Qingxia 1989k:107
	nu̱^{31} xu^{55}	hear	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2410
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**nà**	ear	Jones 1961:21
	nà ɣú	hear (v.)	Jones 1961:223
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**kă**^{31}**na**^{31}	listen	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2409
	na^{31}	ear	Dai Qingxia 1989j:107
	na^{31} hu^{55}	hear	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2410

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	kɣ^{1} **nio**^{3} tɔ^{4}	deaf	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	nio tɔ 34	ear	Dell 1981b:255
	nio^{3} tɔ^{4}	ear	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	nu̱v^{33}to^{42}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.35
	nu̱ɣ^{33} to^{31}	ear	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**jũ̃**^{33} tɯ̱^{21} kuã^{55} mɯ^{55} ŋua̱^{44} fɣ^{33} no^{33}	inner ear	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.6.3
	jũ̃^{33} tɯ̱^{21} kuã^{55} mɯ^{55} ŋua̱^{44} fɣ^{33} no^{33}	outer ear	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.6.2
	jũ̃^{33} tɯ̱^{21} kuã^{55} sʅ^{33}	earwax	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.6.6
	jũ̃^{33} tɯ̱^{21} kuã^{55} tɕi^{33} ne̱^{21}	eardrum	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.6.5
	jũ̃^{33} tɯ̱^{21} kuã^{55} tɕĩ^{55} ne̱^{21}	earlobe	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.6.1
	jũ̃^{33} tɯ̱^{21} kuã^{55} ʔuĩ^{33} xɯ^{31}	ear canal	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.6.4
	jũ̃^{33} tɯ̱^{21} kuɑ̃^{55}	ear	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	jũ̃^{33}tɯ^{21}kuɑ̃^{55}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.36
	ɲi^{33}tiə^{42}kuɑ̃^{55}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.48

9. Sinitic

Chinese (GSR #)	**981a**	ear; listen	Luce 1985:T.8; Luce 1985:W.13
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ńi̯əg**/ńźi:	ear	Karlgren 1957:981a-b
	ńi̯əg/ńźi̯	ear	Chou Fa-kao 1972:981a-b
Chinese (Old)	**ñi̯əg**	ear; listen	Luce 1985:T.8; Luce 1985:W.13
	njəgx	ear	Coblin 1986:69
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**ńźï:**	ear	Coblin 1986:69
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**eel** duo	ear	Sun 1985b:209
	eel shyy	earwax	Sun 1985b:211
	er	ear	Karlgren 1957:981a-b
	ěr-kǒng	earhole	Matisoff 1994b
	ěr duo	ear	Evans *et al.* 1991 [a]

[a]Mandarin **duo** from *GSR* 10a ***twâ**/***tuâ:** 'to move'.

Chinese comparandum

耳 OC ***ńi̯əg***, *GSR* #981a 'ear'; Coblin 86:69 ST ***rnjəɣ*** > OC ***njəgx***; B & S 2011: ***C.nəʔ***; Mand. **ěr**.

(2) PTB *nam EAR

This root seems quite independent of the much more widespread etymon for EAR, PTB ***r/g-na*** EAR / HEAR / LISTEN (§1.2.7).

The Sangtam development of PTB ***-am*** to ***-aŋ*** is regular (cf. Bruhn 2014:400).

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**nâm**-muit	beard	Matisoff 1987 [a]
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Sangtam	**nang** khi	ear	Marrison 1967
	nang ku	ear	Kumar 1973a
	nang tping	deaf	Marrison 1967
	^{1}a^{1}**naŋ**^{1}dbiŋ	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072
	^{1}naŋ^{1}ki	ear	Weidert 1987:162
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Sema [Sumi]	a **nam** chu	cheek	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	a no **nam**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nò-**nàm**	earlobe	Grüssner 1979:115
1.6. Mru			
Mru	**rɑm^{2}**	ear	Luce 1985:Q.31
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Mama)	**nem^{13}** nɛʔ^{53}	ear	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.6
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	**nam** ci yəŋ	cheek	Kohn 1990:3.11
	nam ci yəŋ seŋ kwɔ:k	cheekbone	Kohn 1990:3.11.1
6.1.1. Burmish			
Lashi (Lachhe')	**nũ^{2}**	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
7. Karenic			
Palaychi	**náḿ**	hear (v.)	Jones 1961:223

[a]Lit. "ear-hair"

(3) PTB *puŋ HOLE

This promising root requires further confirmation.

3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Longxi)	zà **pù**	hole; pit ('hole')	Evans 1999:29; Evans 1999:38
Qiang (Mianchi)	(ʐɛ̀ **pù**) ʂɛ̀ tɕǐ	wear a hole into	Evans 1999:1743
	tɕhè ʑò-ʐɛ̀ **pú**	anus [buttocks-hole]	Evans 1999:143
	ɕỳ χó-ʐɛ̀ **pù**	trap [hunt-hole] (n.)	Evans 1999:908
	ʐɛ̀ **pù**	hole; pit ('hole')	Evans 1999:29; Evans 1999:38
	ʐə̀ **pù**	gap, interval (hole, hollow)	Evans 1999:1021
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**pun^{55}** tɔŋ^{31}	pit, hole	LaPolla 1987:42
Bola (Luxi)	**pu̱ŋ^{35}**	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.32
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Sani [Nyi]	**pu**-du	hole	Benedict 1972:169
Yi (Sani)	**pʏ^{55}**ne^{44}	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Shuikui)	tɔ^{55}**pu^{31}**	hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.32

(4) PTB *m-tsywa-$\begin{matrix}\textbf{k}\\\textbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ EAR

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	kōr zə **mjə**	earlobe	Toba & Kom 1991:3.6.1
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	rhe **ṭṣa**	ear	Sharma 1991b:3.6
	r^{h}e **ʈra**	ear	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	nā **mihaw**	ear	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	hnam **dʑok**	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	hnam **dʑok**	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.5
Tibetan (Batang)	na^{55} **ʈṣa^{55}**	earlobe	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.6.1
	na^{55}**jo^{53}**	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	nām-**jyokq**-kyāk-pāq	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	nā **mjyokq**	ear	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	na^{55}**ɕo^{53}**	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	am^{55}**tɕoʔ^{53}**	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.2
	am^{55}**tɕo^{52}**	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.02
Sherpa	na **mǰokq**	ear	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	na **mjya** dzali	eardrum	Bishop 1989:3.6.5
	na **mjyō**	ear; outer ear	Bishop 1989:3.6; Bishop 1989:3.6.2
	na **mjyō** ge ōm	inner ear	Bishop 1989:3.6.3
	na **mjyō** pe ma	earlobe	Bishop 1989:3.6.1 [a]
Spiti	a **mjok**	ear	Bodh 1991:3.6
	a **mjok** naŋ	inner ear	Bodh 1991:3.6.3
	a **mjok** phila	outer ear	Bodh 1991:3.6.2
Tibetan (Written)	rna-**mč'og**	ear	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	na **ndʑoχ**	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.04
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	ŋi **tso**	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50; Driem 1993
	ŋi **tso**-si ʔi	earwax	Driem 1993; Michailovsky 1991:51
	ŋi **tso tso:**	earlobe.	Driem 1993
Khaling	nge **co**	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50; Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	nok **tshuŋ**	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50; Matisoff 1987
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	na**:** **syo:**	ear (upper)	Watters & Watters 1989
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Lanping)	na^{55}**dʒo^{55}**	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	na^{55} **dʒo^{55}**	ear	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.11
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	rn̥a **mtʂi**	earlobe	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.6.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə rna **ndʒə**	eardrum	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.6.5
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə rna **ntʃ^{h}e**	eardrum	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.6.5
5. Tujia			
Tujia	ẽ^{21} **tɕ^{h}e^{35}** se^{21}	earwax	Chen Kang 1986c:3.6.6
	ẽ^{21} **tɕ^{h}e^{35}** tɕi^{55} la^{21}	earlobe	Chen Kang 1986c:3.6.1
	tsã^{21} pu^{55}	ear	Chen Kang 1986d:3.6
Tujia (Southern)	**tsã^{21}** pu^{55}	ear	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**tsã^{21}** pu^{55} se^{35}	earwax	Chen Kang 1986d:3.6.6
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	ni^{31} **tʂhua^{31}**	ear	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ni^{31}**tʂhua^{31}**	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.28
	ni^{31}**tʂhua^{31}**	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.41
Achang (Xiandao)	n̥a^{31} **tʂ^{h}ɔ^{31}**	ear	Dai Qingxia 1989f:104
	n̥a^{31}**tʂhɔ^{31}**	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.29
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nasu	no^{33} **tsǫ^{21}**	earlobe	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.1
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	no^{55} **tsɑ^{33}**	earlobe	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.6.1
Sani [Nyi]	nɑ^{55}**tʂhi^{33}**	earlobe	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.1
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	na◡ **cu◡**	ear	Matisoff 1987

(5) PTB *l-kwaŋ EAR

This root is fairly well established, but is nowhere near as widespread as the general root PTB ***r/g-na*** EAR / HEAR / LISTEN (§1.2.7).

1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	a **kõ** k^{h}re	ear ornament	Pulu 1978
	a **kõ** na	ear	Pulu 1978
	a **ko** na	ear	Anonymous 1962
	a **kõ** na bɤ	earhole; eardrum	Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978
	a **kõ** su	ear disc (decor.)	Pulu 1978
	a **kõ** su lomu	lobe(ear); earlobe	Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	ā-**kũ^{2}**	ear	unknown nd
	á **kung**	ear	Brown 1895:65
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**ləkaw** ~ **ləkawng**	upper part of ear	Matisoff 1987
	na **ləkawng**	ear	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Tilang)	nei-**gaŋ**	ear	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**kɯ̈ɦ**	ear / auditory organ / extern	Nishida 1964:111-092
	kə^{2}	ear	Sofronov c1978

(6) PTB *s-ri EAR

2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**re** kho la	earwax	Sharma 1991a:3.6.6
	re tsi	ear	Sharma 1991a:3.6
Pattani [Manchati]	**rhe** ko rog	earwax	Sharma 1991b:3.6.6
	rhe ṭṣa	ear	Sharma 1991b:3.6
	r^{h}e ʈra	ear	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	na mjya **dzali**	eardrum	Bishop 1989:3.6.5
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	na bak **dzali**	eardrum	Kohn 1990:3.6.5
3.2. Qiangic			
Xumi	a^{33}pɑ^{33}**ɬɛ^{55}**jy^{53}	fungus (edible) (lit. 'old person's ear') (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.17
	ɬɛ^{33}ku^{35}; uɛ̃^{55}li^{55}	earring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:372.20
	ɬɛ^{55} yi^{33} qhɐ^{55}	earwax	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	ɬɛ^{55} yi^{55}	ear	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	ɬɛ^{55}jy^{53}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.17
	ɬɛ^{55}yi^{55}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.20
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɬie**˧bu˧	deaf person	Michaud 2006–2009:752
	ɬie˧k^{h}v˥	earring	Michaud 2006–2009:941
	ɬie˧q^{h}æ˧ bæ˥	earwax	Michaud 2006–2009:272
	ɬie˧tu˥	ear	Michaud 2006–2009:268
Na (Yongning)	**ɬi**˧bu#˥	deaf person	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬi˧pi˩	ear	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬi˧pæ˥	earring	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬi˧q^{h}v#˥	auditory canal	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬi˧q^{h}æ#˥	earwax	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**xe^{33}**bu^{33}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**xe^{33}**khv^{55}	earring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:372.28
Naxi (Western)	**xe^{33}**mbu^{33}	deaf person	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**xe^{33}**mbu^{33}	deaf person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.28
Naxi	**xe^{33}**tsɻ^{21}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.45
Naxi (Western)	**xe^{55}**tsɯ^{31}	ear	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

Naxi (Lijiang)	**xe**^{55}tsɯ^{31}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**ɬe**^{33}bu^{33}	deaf person	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɬe**^{33}bu^{33}	deaf person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.29
	ɬe^{33}pa^{55}	earring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:372.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**ɬe**^{33}pi^{31}	ear	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɬe**^{33}pi^{31}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.29

(7) PTB *byaŋ EAR / EARLOBE / FLAT THING

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Ngawn	**bɛŋ**	ear	Matisoff 1987

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**beng**	ear	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Bhaskararao 1996:94
	beng kherh	otorrhoea	Matisoff 1987
	beng-ngong	deaf (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2138
	beng beh	earring	Marrison 1967
	beng ngawng	deaf	Marrison 1967
	béŋ	ear	Weidert 1987:747
	chh (**beng**-chheng)	make a noise (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2183

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Moyon	nà **béŋ** ~ nà dúŋ	eardrum	Kosha 1990:3.6.5

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	khana **bil**	ear	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Mao	no **bi**	ear	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	(na) lə **bying**	outside of ears	Matisoff 1987
	(na) lə **pyen**	lobe of ear	Matisoff 1987
	lə **ping**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	lə **pyēn**	lobe (of ear), vent (of gun)	Matisoff 1974:152
	na ləbying	auricle	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang	na^{ɦ}-**pyaŋ**	ear	Weidert 1987:607
Tamang (Bagmati)	na^{ɦ}-**pyaŋ**	ear	Weidert 1987:747
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}na **p^{h}i**	ear (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.6
Tamang (Sahu)	nā **ping**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	na **piŋ**	ear	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.39

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	no ka **phlā**	ear	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang (Eastern)	**jeŋʔ**	earlobe	Caughley 1990:3.6.1

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	nâ-**pyâñ**	ear	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Côông [Phunoi]	ã hnã^{31} **ləpen**	earlobe	Ferlus 1991:3.6.1

6.2. Naxi

Naxi (Eastern)	ɬe^{33}**pi**^{31}	ear	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	ɬe^{33}**pi**^{31}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.29

(8) PTB *b(r)aŋ EAR / LOBELIKE PART

2.2. Newar

Newar (Kathmandu)	nhae **pɔ̃**	ear / hear	Genetti 1990c
Newar	nhæ **pɔ̃**	ear	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.6
	nhæ **pɔ̃** pa	outer ear	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.6.2
	nhæ **pɔ̃** pili	ear drum	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.6.5
	nhæ **pɔ̃** puĩ	earwax	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.6.6
	nhæ **pɔ̃** pwa	ear canal	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.6.4
Newar (Dolakhali)	nɔs **pu** ʈi	earwax	Genetti 1990b
Newar	nɑs **pu** ʈi	ear	Weidert 1987:747
	n^{ɦ}æ **pɔ̃ː**	ear	Weidert 1987:747
	n^{ɦ}ɛː **pɔŋ**	ear	Weidert 1987:747

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Chamling	-na **bro**	ear	Weidert 1987:747; Michailovsky 1991:50; Winter 1985:25
Kulung	m-no **bo**	ear	Weidert 1987:747
	no **bo**	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50; Rai *et al.* 1975
	no **bo** susu	earwax	Rai *et al.* 1975; Michailovsky 1991:51

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Ombule (Rai)	ʔdo **bu**	ear	Weidert 1987:747
Thulung	nok **phla**, nə **phla**	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
	no **phla**	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50; Allen 1975

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	hĩ^{33}**pa**^{33}	ear	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.19
	ʔhĩ^{31}**pæ**^{55}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.46
Pumi (Taoba)	nɐ^{55} **pɐ**^{53}	ear	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	ne^{55} **po**^{55} to^{55}	ear	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.16

5. Tujia

Tujia	tsã^{21} **pu**^{55}	ear	Chen Kang 1986d:3.6
Tujia (Southern)	tsã^{21} **pu**^{55}	ear	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	*nʔa^{2}**bɔ**^{1}	ear	Weidert 1987:747

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Luxi)	na^{55} **phja**^{55}	ear	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Langsu (Luxi)	**paŋ**^{35}**tại**^{55} (tsəŋ^{31})	year of the rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.31
	paŋ^{35} tại^{55}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**paŋ**^{55}teị^{55}	rabbit; year of the rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.33; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.33
Maru [Langsu]	**paŋ**^{35}tại^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	nŏ^{21} **phjo**^{21}	ear	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	nŏ^{21}**phjo**^{21}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.30
	nŏ^{21}**phjo**^{21}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.42
	nò **phyò**	ear	Weidert 1987:244
	paŋ^{55}tại^{51}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.30
	paŋ^{55}**tại**^{51} (tsan^{51})	year of the rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.30
	paŋ^{55}**tại**^{51}; thaŋ^{55}lo^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.42

6.1.2. Loloish: ***ʔbaŋ**^{1} EAR

**Loloish*	*nʔa^{2}**bɔ**^{1}	ear	Weidert 1987:162
	*ʔ-**baŋ**^{1}	ear	Bradley 1979b:102-2
	*ʔ-**baʔ**^{1}	ear	Weidert 1987:747
	***ʔbaŋ**^{1}	ear	Hansson 1989:259
Lolopho	no^{55} **pɒ**^{44}	ear	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.6
	no^{55} **pɒ**^{44} mi^{33} dẏ^{31}	ear canal	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.6.4

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	na^{35} **po**^{24}	ear	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.6
	na^{35}**po**^{35}tɕha^{31}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.47
	nɑ^{24}**po**^{24}	earhole, ear canal	Mu Shihua 2003
	nɑ^{24}**pɑ**^{24}tɕ^{h}a^{31}p^{h}ɑ^{55}	ear	Mu Shihua 2003
Lalo	ʔnà-**pó**	ear	Björverud 1994
	ʔnɑ^{21} **pu**^{55}	ear	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6
Lipho	no^{55}**pa**^{33}	ear	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6
Nasu	nɔ^{21} **pɔ**^{33}	ear	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6
	nɔ^{21} **pɔ**^{33} p^{h}a^{55}	outer ear	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.2
Nesu	lo^{55} **pa**^{55} t^{h}i^{33}	earwax	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.6
Noesu	lo^{21}**po**^{13}	ear	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6
	lo^{21}**po**^{13}du^{13}	ear canal	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.4
Nosu	n̥ɯ^{21}**po**^{33}	ear	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6
Yi (Dafang)	lɔ^{21} **pɔ**^{33}	ear	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	lɔ^{21}**pɔ**^{21}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.22
Yi (Liangshan)	n̥a^{21}**po**^{33}	ear	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	no^{33}**pʌ**^{33}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.25
Yi (Mojiang)	lo^{55}**pɒ**^{55}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.26
Yi (Nanhua)	no^{55}**pɑ**^{33}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.37
	no^{55}**pʌ**^{33}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.24
Yi (Nanjian)	nɑ^{21} **pu**^{55}	ear	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.23
Yi (Weishan)	ʔnɑ^{21}**pu**^{55}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.36
Yi (Wuding)	nu^{11}**pɒ**^{33}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.38
Yi (Xide)	n̥a^{21}**po**^{33}	ear	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	n̥ɯ^{21} **po**^{33}	ear	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.21
	n̥ɑ^{21}**po**^{33}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	no^{33} **pɑ**^{33}	ear	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.6
	no^{33} **pɑ**^{33} i^{33} ku^{33}	inner ear	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.6.3
	no^{33} **pɑ**^{33} i^{33} tsɛ^{33}	outer ear	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.6.2
	no^{33} **pɑ**^{33} nẹ^{33} bɑ^{55}	ear canal	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.6.4
	no^{33} **pɑ**^{33} ʈ‘o^{21} zo^{21}	eardrum	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.6.5
	no^{33}**pa**^{33}	ear	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6
Lolo (Ni)	nɑ̄ **po**	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
Kucong	na55 **pv33**	ear	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	nā-**pɔ**-phàʔ	external ear	Matisoff 1994b
	nà **pɔ̄**	ear	Weidert 1987:244
**Common Lahu*	***puh:**	ear	Bradley 1979b:102-2
Lahu (Lancang)	nɑ^{11}**pɔ**^{33}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.43
Lahu (Black)	nā-**pɔ**	ear	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:63
	na^{31} **pɔ**^{33}	ear	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	nɑ **pɑw:**	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
	nʌ^{31}**pɔ**^{33}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.33
Lahu (Yellow)	na^{31} **pẏ**^{33} tɕ^{h}i^{33}	ear	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	hæ̃^{35}na^{33}**pɔ**^{33}	ear of a mouse	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}na^{33}**pɔ**^{33}	ear (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}na^{33}**pɔ**^{33}hwa^{21}	flesh of ear	Bradley 1994
Lisu	na'-**paw**^{3}	ear	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Northern)	na^{33}**pɔ**^{33}	ear	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	na^{1}-**paw**^{3}	ear	Fraser 1922
Lisu	na^{1}-**paw**^{3} hku^{4}	earhole	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	na^{1}-**paw**^{3}-hku^{4}	ear orifice	Fraser 1922
Lisu	na^{1}**paw**^{3}	ear	Bradley 1979b:102-1
Lisu (Northern)	na^{55}**pɔ**^{33}	ear (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	nɑ^{1}**paw**^{3}	ear	Luce 1985:G.45
Lisu (Putao)	nɑ^{1}**po**^{4}	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	nɑ^{1}**pɑw**^{3}	ear	Luce 1985:T.8
Lisu	nɑ̱^{33}**pɑ̱**^{33}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	nɑ̱^{44} **pɑ̱**^{44}	ear	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	nɑ^{44}**po**^{44}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.27
	pa^{3}ja^{5}	hear	Bradley 1979b:583
Lisu (Nujiang)	**pɑ̱**^{44} dʒɛ^{31}	hear	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	nɑ^{55} **po**^{44}	ear	Ma Xueliang 1989:304.2; Chen Kang 1986b:3.6
	nɒ^{55}(**po**^{33})	ear	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	nɒ^{55}**po**^{33}ne^{33}	earhole	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	nɒ^{55}**po**^{44}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**bɔ́**	ear	Hansson 1989:259
Akha (Yunnan)	nà **bɔ́**	ear	Hansson 1989:38
Akha (Thai)	nà-**bɔ́**	ear	Hansson 1989:259
Akha	na˩ **baw˅** (**pyaw˩**)	ear	Matisoff 1987
	na˩ pa˧ (**pyaw˩**)	ear (external)	Matisoff 1987
	nà **bɔ́**	ear	Weidert 1987:244
Hani (Lüchun)	nà **bó**	ear	Hansson 1989:259
Hani (Dazhai)	na^{31} **bo**^{55}	ear	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.31
Hani (Lüchun)	na^{31}**bo**^{55}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.41
Hani (Pijo)	nò **pú**	ear	Hansson 1989:259
Hani (Caiyuan)	nɔ^{31} **pu**^{55}	ear	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.30
Hani (Pijo)	**pú**	ear	Hansson 1989:259
Hani (Gelanghe)	na^{31} **pa**^{31}	ear	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	naq **bbol**	ear	Hansson 1989:259
Hani (Shuikui)	nɔ^{31} **pẏ**^{55}	ear	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.32
Hani (Khatu)	nà **pú**	ear	Hansson 1989:259
	pú	ear	Hansson 1989:259
Hani (Mojiang)	nɔ^{31}**pẏ**^{55}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.42

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	nụ^{45}**pɯ**^{22}	ear	Pelkey 2011:259
Southern Muji	na^{55}pɔ^{33}ʈɬa^{55}	ear	Pelkey 2011:259
Phola	nɑ^{33}**pɔ**^{33}	ear	Pelkey 2011:259

Hlepho Phowa	na[55]**pə[33]**	ear	Pelkey 2011:259
Phuza	na[33]**bʌ[33]**	ear	Pelkey 2011:259

(9) PTB *myaŋ EAR

This root, confined apparently to Himalayish, requires further confirmation.

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung (Ghachok)	neh **me**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	neh **mẽ**	ear	Glover 1972:1.39
Manang (Gyaru)	nya[1] **ma?[2]**	ear	Nagano 1984:008a
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]ɲe **maŋ**	ear	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0007

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	naː**-mɛŋ** ghɛm ma	ear	Weidert 1987:108

(10) PTB *tsy **u i** **l r** EAR

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Chokri	(u) nyi[31] **che[35]**	ear canal	Nienu 1990b:3.6.4

1.7.1.1. BODO

Kokborok	k[h]un-**ju**	ear	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	khan **jur**	ear	Balawan 1965:13

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	na-**cir**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	na-**tśil**	ear	LaPolla 1987:47; Benedict 1972:453
Garo (Bangladesh)	na'-**chil** a'-kil-ok	earhole	Burling 1992
	na-**chil**	ear	Burling 1992
	na-**chil**	ear (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
	na-**chil** a'-kil-ok	earhole	Burling 1992
	na-**chil** a'-kol	earhole	Burling 1992
	na-**chil**-ke'-em-a	ear ornament for women	Burling 1992
	na-**chil**-ki	ear ornament for women	Burling 1992
	na-**chil**-ni a'-kil-ok	earhole	Burling 1992

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	re **tsi**	ear	Sharma 1991a:3.6

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	ɲə[53] **ʁʑje[13]**	ear canal	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.6.4

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	eng3**qie2**	ear (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	eng[3]**qie[2]**	ear	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.1
Tujia	ẽ[21] **tɕ[h]e[35]**	ear	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.6
Tujia (Northern)	ẽ[21] **tɕ[h]e[35]**	ear	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	ong3**qie2**	ear (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia	ən[21]**tɕhie[35]**	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.49
	ən[21]**tɕhie[35]**	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.38

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Northern)	nɑ[55] **s[h]ɔ[31]**	ear	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	n̥a[55] **sə̃[33]**	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989p:104.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	n̥a[55] **sə̃[35]**	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989o:104.
Nusu (Central)	n̥a[55]**sə̃[33]**	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.34
Nusu (Southern)	n̥i[55] **sə[31]**	ear	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	n̥ɑ[55] **s[h]ə̃ˠ[35]**	ear	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	n̥ɑ[55]**shə̃ɹ[35]**	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.45

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Yellow)	na[31] pɣ[33] **tɕ[h]i[33]**	ear	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.2. NAXI

Naxi	xe[33]**tsʅ[21]**	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.45
Naxi (Western)	xe[55]**tsɯ[31]**	ear	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	xe[55]**tsɯ[31]**	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.28

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	ẽ[33] **tɕi[21]**	ear	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ẽ[33]**tɕui[21]**	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.37

(11) PTB *kyap EAR

This promising but sparsely attested root requires further confirmation.

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Magar	me-he **kep**	ear	Matisoff 1987

6.1.1. BURMISH

Bola	nə̌[31] **k[h]jɛʔ[55]**	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989g:104
Bola (Luxi)	nə̌[31]**khj[55]**	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.32
Langsu (Luxi)	nə̌[31]**khjɛʔ[55]**	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.31
Lashi	nə̌[33] **khjap[55]**	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.6
Maru [Langsu]	nə̌[31] **khjɛʔ[55]**	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.6; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.43

(12) PAsak *rip-hi EAR

This root has so far only been identified in Asakian.

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Chairel	**rīphī**	ear	Luce 1985:K.58
Lui	**rīphī**	ear	Matisoff 1987

(13) PTB *ruŋ HOLE / ORIFICE / EAR

This root is well-attested in Tani, and probably also in Qiangic and Central Naga.

This root occurs as second element in compounds with PTB ***r/g-na*** EAR / HEAR / LISTEN (§1.2.7). There is a fortuitous resemblance between this etymon and PTB ***m/g-(r)wa-ŋ/k/t*** HORN / ANGLE / CORNER (§1.2.2), which has a certain specious plausibility since the ears are located on the sides of the head like horns.

1.1.1. TANI: ***ruŋ** HOLE / DENT

**Tani*	***ruŋ**	hole / dent	Sun 1993a:203

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**-ru**	hole / dent	Sun 1993a	[a]
	ja-ru **ru**-bu	eardrum; earlobe	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b	
	ja-ru **ru**-ji	earwax	Sun 1993b	
	ja-ru **ru**-leʔ	earlobe	Sun 1993b	
	ja-ru **ru**-pĩ	earring	Sun 1993b	
	ja-ru **ru**-puʔ	earlobe	Sun 1993b	
	ja-ru **ru**-tĩ	earring (woman's)	Sun 1993b	
	ja-ru **ru**-tuʔ	earlobe	Sun 1993b	
	ká-**rɯ**	hole through which to see	Sun 1993b	
	mi-**ru**	lair	Sun 1993b	
	rù-kó	hole	Sun 1993b	
Bengni	na-fuŋ **uŋ**	nostril	Sun 1993b	
	ñik-**ruŋ**	eye socket	Sun 1993b	
	ruŋ-bɯr	earlobe	Sun 1993b	
	ruŋ-jiː	earwax	Sun 1993b	
	ruŋ-ǰiː	deaf (n.)	Sun 1993b	
	ruŋ-ni	earring (small)	Sun 1993b	
	ruŋ-sup	earwax	Sun 1993b	
	uŋ-**ruŋ**	hole / dent	Sun 1993a	
	uŋ-**ruŋ**-lɯk	concave	Sun 1993b	
Bokar	a **ruŋ**	well; pit; trap; pitfall (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0035.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0639.24	
	a-**ruŋ**	hole; dent; hole, cavity	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b	
	i jin a **ruŋ**	anus (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.24	
	ruŋ be	deaf person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.24	
	ruŋ be	deaf, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.24	
	ruŋ-be	deaf	Sun 1993b	
	ruŋ-ŋeː	earwax	Sun 1993b	
	si-**ruŋ**	well (n.)	Sun 1993b	
	ɕi ruŋ	well (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0035.24	
Bokar Lhoba	a **ruŋ**	well	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:22.51	
	mik **ruŋ**	eye socket	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980	
	ruŋ be	deaf person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:301.51	
	ruŋ 'eː	earwax	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980	
	ruŋ be	deaf person	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980	
Galo	a **ruu**	aperture; hole (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009	
	hi **ruu**	porcupine den; den (of a porcupine) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009	
	hot tum-tum **ruu**	bear den; den (bear) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009	
	ho men-men **ruu**	den (tiger); tiger den (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009	
	ruu gok	ring (ears) (adj.)	GLDC 2009	
	ruu jak	split (ear) (adj.)	GLDC 2009	
	ruu ji	deaf (adj.)	GLDC 2009	
	ruu ken	soft spot (near ear) (n.)	GLDC 2009	
	ruː-ji-na	deaf	Das Gupta 1963	
	ruː ko-nam	drilling (v.)	Das Gupta 1963	
	ruː ko-nane	drill	Das Gupta 1963	
	ta pen-pen **ruu**	batcave (n.)	GLDC 2009	
	'liɨ **ruu**	hole (in stone) (n.)	GLDC 2009	
	'ruu bək	ear (right); right ear (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009	
	'ruu ci	ear disease (variety); ear (left); left ear (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009	
	'ruu ci-taliɨ	ear water (n.)	GLDC 2009	
	'ruu koo	pierce (ear) (vt.)	GLDC 2009	
	'ruu mə	ear hair; hair (ear) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009	
	'ruu puk	ear wax; wax (ear) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009	
Miri, Hill Nishing	**ru** tɯ	deaf	Simon 1976	
	rung-bi	ear (left)	Das Gupta 1969	
	rung-ci	ear (right)	Das Gupta 1969	
	rung-tarr	deaf	Das Gupta 1969	
Tagin	ka-**ru**-nam	peep through a hole, window etc. (v.)	Das Gupta 1983	
	nyaruŋ a **roŋ**	earhole	Das Gupta 1983	[a]
	roŋriŋnɤ sɤ **ruŋ**	deep well	Das Gupta 1983	
	ruŋ ɟinɤ nyimɤ	deaf woman	Das Gupta 1983	
	ruŋ ɟi	deaf	Das Gupta 1983	

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**ruŋ**	hole / dent	Sun 1993a
	nyé-bung-a-**rung**	nostril	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**ruŋ**-ciəm	temple (of head)	Sun 1993b
	ruŋ-ciəŋ	temple (of head)	Sun 1993b
	ruŋ-tyn	deaf	Sun 1993b
	ruŋ-ɕək	earwax	Sun 1993b
	ŋi-ruŋ ʔa-**ruŋ**	earhole	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ruŋ**	hole	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-ɕi døː-**ruŋ**	well	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **ruŋ**-ru-muk-ma	perforate	Tayeng 1976
	nu-kuŋ-a-**ruŋ**	nostril	Tayeng 1976
	ra-ɲu-a-**ruŋ**	hole	Tayeng 1976

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Ao (Chungli)	**rong** naro	earring	Marrison 1967
	te na **rong**	ear	Marrison 1967
	te na **rong**-a jak	deaf	Marrison 1967
	tə[2]-na[2]**ɹuŋ[3]**	ear (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.231
	[2]tɯ[3]na[3]**ruŋ**	ear	Weidert 1987:607
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**rong** naru	earring	Marrison 1967
	te na **rong**	ear	Marrison 1967
	te na **rong**-te chak	deaf	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-hna **ɹuŋ**	ear (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-hna **ɹuŋ** tə-tʃak	deaf ('ear' + NZP + 'break')	Coupe 2007
Yacham	te na **long**	ear	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	te na **long**	ear	Marrison 1967:GEM

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	nɑ[35] nga[53] ɦo[13] **ru[53]**	nostril	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.5.2

3.2. QIANGIC

Muya [Minyak]	sɯ[55]ndʑɯ[35]**rø[35]**	nostril	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.5.2
Qiang (Mawo)	stə qə[1] **dʐu**	nostril	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.5.2
	stə **ʐu**	nostril	Sun 1986

8. BAI

Bai (Jianchuan)	ŋ̃v̩[21] k[h]v̩[44] tɯ̃[21] **ʔuĩ[33]**	nostril	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.5.2

[a]Tagin **nyaruŋ a roŋ** implies that **ruŋ** HORN/EAR is distinct from **aroŋ** HOLE (cf. Jackson's Mirish reconstruction for HOLE).

(14) NEIA *twar EAR (in compounds)

The scattered reflexes of this root all have dental stops, but these may well reflect an earlier fricative ****swar**. See *HPTB*: 31-32.

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Moyon	na **thúr** ten ná	earlobe	Kosha 1990:3.6.1

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	no ang **thor**	earhole	Matisoff 1987

[a][Source Note] as in **ja-ru** 'ear'.

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	kamá se **tor**	bulge just opposite to the ear lobe	Bhat 1968

(15) PTB *dwa(ː)ŋ HOLE / ORIFICE / CAVE / PIT / WELL (FOR WATER)

This root typically appears as the final morpheme in words for bodily orifices (anus, ear, mouth, nostril, throat, trachea, vagina), as well as words describing inanimate openings like caves and wells.

The Tiddim forms meaning 'hole' with initial **w-** appear to be cognate, although the loss of the initial dental stop is not parallelled elsewhere. Note the Tiddim allofam **daŋ** 'throat' where the initial stop is preserved.

The apparent lateral prefix in the second syllable of the WT word for 'throat' (**'ol-ldoṅ**) seems to be merely a perseverative effect of the preceding syllable with final **-l**.

Cf. Chinese **tǔng** 'tube' , *GSR* 1176g.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***dong**	tube	Coblin 1986:153

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dwaaŋ**	pit, hole	LaPolla 1987:42
	***dwaŋ**	pit, hole, cave	Benedict 1972:169
	***dwaːŋ**	hole / cave / pit / well (for water)	Matisoff 2003a:587

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	mit-**duŋ**	throat	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	haː **dang**-ra	nape	Matisoff 1987
	$k^hɑ^{31}$ **diɯŋ**^{53} $ɹɑ^{55}$	neck	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	$ɕɯ^{31}$**tɯ**^{31}$gɹu^{53}$	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.22
	$ɕɯ^{31}$**tɯ**^{31}$gɹu^{53}$	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.49
	$ɕɯ^{53}$ **tɯ**^{31} $gɹo^{53}$	throat	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	$gɑ^{31}$**dɯŋ**^{35}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.23
	$gɑ^{31}$**dɯŋ**^{35}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.48

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**-daŋ**	throat (n.)	Henderson 1965
	-daŋ	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	-vaŋ	hole (n.)	Henderson 1965
	-vaŋ/ˆvan	form a hole (v.)	Henderson 1965
	vang^2 > van^3	have a hole (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1936
	vang^3	hole (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1937
	vaŋ^2/van^3	have a hole	Bhaskararao 1994
	waːŋ	hole, make a hole	Benedict 1972:45n150

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	kə **dəŋ** k^hul	windpipe / trachea	Toba & Kom 1991:4.2.1
	kə **dəŋ** səi luŋ	adam's apple / larynx	Toba & Kom 1991:4.1.4
Moyon	nà béŋ ~ nà **dúŋ**	eardrum	Kosha 1990:3.6.5

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Rengma	nye **ting**	ear	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	ŋuŋ sit u **toŋ**	windpipe / trachea	Singh 1991:4.2.1

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	che **thok**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.3. Koch

Wanang	ho-**toŋ**	mouth	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Phom	yong **dong**	cave	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	khàʔ-**thūŋ**	well / pit	Matisoff 1974:202
	$kha ʔ^{31}$**thuŋ**^{33}	well	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	$kha ʔ^{31}$**thuŋ**^{33}	well (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0035.19
	$kha ʔ^{31}$**thuŋ**^{33}	well	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:22.47

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	as-**tung:** $lɔ^3$	mouth	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**tong tong**	throat	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 3
Tsangla (Motuo)	**toŋ toŋ**	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.7
	toŋ^{55} **toŋ**^{55}	throat	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	toŋ toŋ	throat	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ʔa pak **taŋ**	mouth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tshona (Wenlang)	mi^{55}**toŋ**^{55}	hole	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	ri^{35}**toŋ**^{55}	cave	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	toŋ^{55} **toŋ**^{55}	throat	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	$meʔ^{53}$**tɔŋ**^{55}	hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.6
	tɔŋ^{55}	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.6
	tɔŋ^{55} **tɔŋ**^{55}	throat	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.6
Motuo Menba	**toŋ toŋ**	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.07
Cuona Menba	$koŋ^{55}$**toŋ**^{53}	pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.06
	ri^{35}**tɔŋ**^{55}	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.06
	tɔŋ^{35}**tɔŋ**^{35}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.06
	tɔŋ^{55}	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	oŋ **doŋ**	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.05
	toŋ tɕhə	well (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0035.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**toŋ** tɕhə	well	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:22.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**toŋ**	hole (deep)	Sun 1985a:181
	toŋ tɕhə	well	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:22.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**tũ**^{13}	pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	$koŋ^{55}$**toŋ**^{55}	pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.02
	sa^{55}**toŋ**^{55}	pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.02
Tibetan (Written)	'o-**doṅ**	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987
	'o-**ldoṅ**	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987
	'ol-**ldoṅ**	throat; windpipe; trachea	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	dong	hole (deep)	Sun 1985c:181
	doŋ	pit, hole; deep hole, pit, ditch	LaPolla 1987:42; Benedict 1972:169
	doŋ	pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.01
	dwaːŋ	hole, cave, pit	Benedict 1972:190n488
	glo-**doṅ**	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	khəχ **doŋ**	pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.04
	toŋ tɕə	well (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0035.04

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**tung** hóng	pit, hole (n.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	nfia-ye **dhoŋ** ri	inner ear; ear canal	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.6.3; Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.6.4
Thakali (Tukche)	kho **toŋ**	hole	Mazaudon 1978:26
	k^hotoŋ **tohŋ**-ci-wɔ	perforated	Hari 1971:12.C.35
	k^ho **toŋ**	hole	Hari 1971:5.A.62
	k^ho **toŋ** soh-lɔ	bore (a hole)	Hari 1971:8.B.7

2.2. Newar

Newar	ka **thu**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
Newar (Kathmandu)	ka **thu**	throat	Malla 2007
Newar	kɔ **thu**	throat; gullet; pharynx; uvula	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.7.4; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:4.2
	twā(th)	mouth / nozzle / beak	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	si **daŋ** ba	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:121
Yamphu	ruŋ **daŋ**	cave, larger than a "rummuk" (n.)	Rutgers 1998:572.28

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	buk **TaN**	cave / den	Rai 1985
	Dhi luN **TaN**	cave	Rai 1985
	ngam-**tang**	throat	Rai *et al.* 1984:56

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	hmo.**toŋ** klyak-	talk hot air, shoot one's mouth off (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	hmo.**toŋ**.ca	mouth sores (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hmoʔ.**toŋ**	mouth, opening, entrance, wide end (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hmo **tong**	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:120; Matisoff 1987
	hmo **toŋ**	mouth	Weidert 1987:736; Caughley 1972:1.42
Chepang (Eastern)	hmo **toŋ**	mouth	Caughley 1990:3.7
	ryo **dhyoŋʔ**	windpipe / trachea	Caughley 1990:4.2.1
	thyoŋ waʔ	adam's apple / larynx	Caughley 1990:4.1.4
Magar	mi-**Dung** gā	neck	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	qu^{55}**tu**^{33}	hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.19
	$jʉ^{55}$**tu**^{53}	snare / trap (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0638.46
	$jʉ^{55}tu^{53}$ **qu**^{53}**tu**^{31}	trap / pitfall (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0639.46
	$qu^{53}tu^{31}luo^{33}χa^{35}$	pierce through	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1222.46
	qu^{55}**tu**^{31}	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.46
	$tshɳ^{33}tshɳ^{33}qu^{55}$**tu**^{31}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.46
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	ne^{55} po^{55} **to**^{55}	ear	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.16

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**doŋ**	cave; hole; pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.12; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	**doŋ** duʼ cu rə ʁa	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	**doŋ** duʼ cu rə ʁa	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	**dɑŋ** ke **doŋ** lɑ	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong	khɐi **du**	hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	khɐi **jdu**	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.11
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	k^hən k^hənʼ ka **toŋ**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	k^hə bokʼ ka **toŋ**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	k^hə pokʼ ka **təŋ**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	k^hə pokʼ ka **təŋ**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	k^hə pokʼ na **toŋ**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	k^hə pokʼ na **toŋ**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	k^hə poŋʼ na **toŋ**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	$k^hʊ^l$ poˀka^l **toŋ**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	qəʼ **toŋ**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong	ta sop k^hoi **jdu**	anus / rectum	Dai Qingxia 1989d:9.12
Caodeng	**toŋ-toŋ**	pit; hole (small)	Sun 1997a; Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	**toŋ44toŋ44** ka22rwa44	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	**toŋ** ʼkałga	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	**toŋ toŋ** ʼka łwa	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	**toŋ** ʒalo ʼci	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong	tə rɲa k^hoi **jdu**	ear canal	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.6.4
	tə ɕna k^hoi **jdu**	sinus; pupil; nostril	Dai Qingxia 1989d:2.6; Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4.2.2; Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.5.2
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	**tə**^{l} lo li	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə rna k^huŋ **du**	inner ear	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.6.3
	tə rna ən **du**	ear canal	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.6.4
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə ʃna k^hɐ **jdu**	nostril	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.5.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ʃtu k^huŋ **du**	vagina	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.4.1
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ sop khɐi **du**	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.11
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	ŋaʼ **toŋ**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128

rGBenzhen	k^{h}e-**du**	cave	Sun 1997b
	ta-sɔp k^{h}e-**du**	anus	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Anong	**duŋ**-khr	pit, hole; hole	LaPolla 1987:42; Benedict 1972:169; Benedict 1972:350
Rawang	**dəŋ^{31}** khɯr^{31}	pit	LaPolla 2003:43
	lɔŋ^{53} **doŋ^{31}**	mountain cave	LaPolla 2003:32
	ni^{53} **dɯŋ^{31}**	anus	LaPolla 2003:130
Dulong	nɯ^{31}ɹɔn^{55}**duŋ^{55}**	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑŋ^{31}**duŋ^{55}**	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.46
Dulong	ɑŋ^{55}**duŋ^{53}**	pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	aŋ^{31} **duŋ^{55}**	pit, hole	LaPolla 1987:42
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	aŋ^{31} **duŋ^{55}**	pit, hole	LaPolla 1987:42
	lɯ^{31}kɑ^{55}**duŋ^{55}**	cave	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɑŋ^{31}**duŋ^{55}**	hole	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Southern)	gua^{21} la^{55} **dɯ^{35}**	throat	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	se^{35} a^{21} **dɯ^{35}**	anus / rectum	Chen Kang 1986d:9.12
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***dwaŋ^{2}**	well (for water)	Matisoff 2003a:587
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	lɑ^{31}**tuŋ^{55}**	grave	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tʂuUŋ^{31} **tuŋ^{31}**	pit, hole	LaPolla 1987:42
	tʂɯŋ^{31}**tuŋ^{31}**	cave	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɑ^{31}**tuŋ^{35}**	hole	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31}**tɔŋ^{31}**	hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.41
	pum^{55}**tɔŋ^{31}**	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.28
	pum^{55}**tɔŋ^{31}**	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.41
	pun^{55} **tɔŋ^{31}**	pit, hole	LaPolla 1987:42
	tɔŋ^{31}	cave; hole; pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.28; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.28
	tɕhi^{31}**tuŋ^{31}**	buttocks (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.28
	tɕhi^{31}**tuŋ^{31}tuŋ^{31}**	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.28
	zɻ^{31}**tuŋ^{55}**	tomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0071.28
	zɻ^{31}**tuŋ^{55}**	grave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:364.41
Achang (Luxi)	tsəŋ^{51}**tuaŋ^{51}**	cave	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tuaŋ^{51}	hole	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	khu^{55}**tuŋ^{31}**	buttocks (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.29
	khŭ^{31}**tuŋ^{31}**	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.29
	k^{h}u^{55} **tuŋ^{31}**	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989f:122
	k^{h}ŭ^{31} **tuŋ^{31}**	anus	Dai Qingxia 1989f:140
Bola (Luxi)	pam^{55}**tuŋ^{31}**	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.32
	tuŋ^{31}	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.32
	tuŋ^{31}ŋjạm^{35}	trap / pitfall (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0639.32
Burmese (Written)	kham-**twâŋ**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	re-**twâŋ**	well / pit	Matisoff 1974:202
	re-**twàŋ**	pit, hole, cave	Benedict 1972:169
	re^{2}**twɑŋ^{3}**	well (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0035.26
	re^{2}**twɑŋ^{3}**	well	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:22.39
	re **twaṅ:**	well (n.)	Marrison 1967
	twaṅ:	hole	Marrison 1967
	twâŋ	hole, pit; pit, hole	Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:42
	twaŋ	hole, pit	Benedict 1972:169
	twɑŋ^{3}	pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**tuŋ^{35}**	cave; hole; cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.31; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.31
	tuŋ^{35}khuŋ^{31}	pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.31
Lashi	nă^{33} **tuaŋ^{33}**	ear canal	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.6.4
	nă^{33} **tuaŋ^{33}** khou^{33}	inner ear	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.6.3
	tʃhă^{55} khuŋ^{55} **tuaŋ^{33}**	anus / rectum	Dai Qingxia 1989m:9.12
Leqi (Luxi)	mjoʔ^{31}**tuaŋ^{33}**	face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.33
	tuaŋ^{33}	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.33
	tuaŋ^{33}khuaŋ^{55}	pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.33
	tʃhă^{55}khuŋ^{55}**tuaŋ^{33}**	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.33
Maru [Langsu]	nă^{31} **tuŋ^{35}**	ear canal	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.6.4
	nă^{31} **tuŋ^{35}** khuk^{31}	inner ear	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.6.3
	tuŋ^{35}	cave; hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.43; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	khjuŋ **^{21}toŋ^{21}**	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.30
	pum^{51}**toŋ^{21}**	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.30
	pum^{51}**toŋ^{21}**	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.42
	toŋ^{21}	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.30
	toŋ^{21}	hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.42
	tʃhĭ^{55}**toŋ^{21}**	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.30
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	no^{55} pɒ^{44} mi^{33} **dɣ^{31}**	ear canal	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.6.4
	śi-**du** ⩤ hi-**du**	cave, hole	Benedict 1972:169
	ɕi^{31} **dɣ^{31}**	anus / rectum	Dai Qingxia 1989n:9.12
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**tuŋ^{35}**	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.47
Lalo	ʔnɑ^{55} k^{h}ụ^{33} k^{h}ụ^{55} **dụ^{55}**	nostril	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.2
Nasu	ɬi^{33} xo^{33} **du^{33}**	anus / rectum	Chen Kang 1986b:9.12
Nesu	thi^{33} **du^{33}**	anus / rectum	Chen Kang 1986b:9.12
Noesu	ʈhi^{21}**du^{33}**	anus	Chen Kang 1986b:9.12
Nusu (Northern)	**dõ^{35}**	hole	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**doŋ^{55}**	cave; hole; pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.34; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.34
Nusu (Southern)	**dõ^{55}**	hole	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	khɹi^{55}**doŋ^{55}**	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.34
	k^{hɹ}i^{55} **doŋ^{55}**	anus	Dai Qingxia 1989p:140.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	k^{hɹ}i^{55} **dõ^{53}**	anus	Dai Qingxia 1989o:140.
Nusu (Northern)	lụ^{31}**dõ^{35}**	cave	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	fa^{13}**du^{33}**	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.22
	tɕhɒ^{33}**thɔ^{21}**	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.22
	tɕ^{h}ɒ^{33} **t^{h}ɔ^{21}**	throat	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Mojiang)	**tɯ^{21}**	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**du^{21}**	pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.37
	du^{33}	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.24
	du^{33};**thu^{33}**	hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.24
	ɕi^{21}**du^{21}**	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.37
Yi (Nanjian)	khụ^{55}**dụ^{55}**	cave; hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.23; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.23
Yi (Weishan)	khụ^{55}**dụ^{55}**	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.36
Yi (Wuding)	**dɣ^{33}**	pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	**ɣɨ tú**	pit, hole, cave	Benedict 1972:169
Lahu (Black)	qhê-**tû**	anus	Matisoff 1987
	qhê-**tû**-qhɔ	anus	Matisoff 1987
Lisu	**du**	pit, hole, cave	Benedict 1972:169
Sani [Nyi]	fe-**du**	cave	Benedict 1972:169
	pu-**du**	hole	Benedict 1972:169
	tʂ^{h}ʅ^{21} **du^{21}**	anus	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:196.2
	ɬi^{21}**du^{21}**	anus	Chen Kang 1986b:9.12; Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	ɬʐ^{11}**dɣ^{11}**	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**thaŋʔ^{1}**	cave	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	li^{35} kho^{35} **tõ^{31}** phan	neck / throat	Ferlus 1991:4
	li^{35} khũ **tõ^{31}** phan	neck / throat	Ferlus 1991:4
Sangkong	maŋ^{31} **thoŋ^{31}**	mouth	Li Yongsui 1991
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	pɑ˩**tv**˩	pitfall, pit, trap; little hole in the ground, uneven patch on the ground; puddle, pool, water hole	Michaud 2006–2009:1350
Na (Yongning)	q^{h}æ˧**tv**˧	anus	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧**to**˧	mouth and jaw	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	nɣ^{55}**tɑ^{53}**	mouth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.45
Naxi (Western)	nv^{55}**tɑ^{33}**	mouth	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	n̡e^{31}**to^{31}**	mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.29
Naxi (Eastern)	n̡i^{33}**to^{33}**	mouth	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	nio **tɔ** 34	ear	Dell 1981b:255
	nio^{3} **tɔ^{4}**	ear	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	n̡v^{33}**to^{42}**	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.35
	n̡ɣ^{33} **to^{31}**	ear	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	jũ^{33} **tɯ^{21}** kuã^{55} mɯ^{55} k^{h}ɯ^{31} fɣ^{33} no^{33}	inner ear	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.6.3
	jũ^{33} **tɯ^{21}** kuã^{55} mɯ^{55} ŋua^{44} fɣ^{33} no^{33}	outer ear	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.6.2
	jũ^{33} **tɯ^{21}** kuã^{55} sʅ^{33}	earwax	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.6.6
	jũ^{33} **tɯ^{21}** kuã^{55} tɕi^{33} ne^{21}	eardrum	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.6.5
	jũ^{33} **tɯ^{21}** kuã^{55} tɕi^{55} ne^{21}	earlobe	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.6.1
	jũ^{33} **tɯ^{21}** kuã^{55} ʔuĩ^{33} xɯ^{31}	ear canal	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.6.4
	jũ^{33} **tɯ^{21}** kuã^{55}	ear	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	jũ^{33}**tɯ^{21}**kuã^{55}	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.36
	tṽ^{44}	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.36
	ɲi^{33}**tiə^{42}**kuã^{55}	ear (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.48
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**dong**	tube (n.)	Coblin 1986:153
	dungh	cave / hole (n.)	Coblin 1986:53
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**dung**	cave; hole; tube (n.)	Coblin 1986:153; Coblin 1986:53
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**dòng**	hole	Evans *et al.* 1991
	duhng	hole (deep)	Sun 1985b:181
	kuung **duhng**	hole	Sun 1985b:366

(16) NEIA *ko $\frac{\textbf{n}}{\textbf{r}}$ EAR

This root may well descend from the more general etymon PTB ***kwar*** HOLE / ORIFICE / INNARDS (§3.2.7), due to the obvious fact that the ears are orifices.

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**kōr**	ear	Toba & Kom 1991:3.6
	kōr dəp	eardrum	Toba & Kom 1991:3.6.5
	kor ek	earwax	Toba & Kom 1991:3.6.6
	kor kəset	deaf	Toba & Kom 1991:3.6.8
	kor kətaŋ	temple	Toba & Kom 1991:3.3
	kōr k^{h}ur	ear canal	Toba & Kom 1991:3.6.4 [a]
	kōr zə mjə	earlobe	Toba & Kom 1991:3.6.1
	suŋteŋ **kōr**	inner ear	Toba & Kom 1991:3.6.3
	vənteŋ **kōr**	outer ear	Toba & Kom 1991:3.6.2
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	**kon**	ear	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	**k^{h}un**-ju	ear	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**khan** jur	ear	Balawan 1965:13

[a] This form constitutes good evidence for the independence of etyma PTB ***kwar*** HOLE / ORIFICE / INNARDS (§3.2.7) and NEIA ***ko(n/r)*** EAR (§1.2.7).

(17) PNC *bil EAR

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
**Northern Chin*	***bil**	EAR	VanBik 2009:22
Kuki-Chin	**bil**	ear	Haokip 1998:3.6
	bil hom	ear canal	Haokip 1998:3.6.4
	bil kol	outer ear	Haokip 1998:3.6.2
	bil sungnung	inner ear	Haokip 1998:3.6.3
Sizang	**bīl**	ear	VanBik 2009:22
Thado	**bîl**	ear lobe, visible part of external ear	VanBik 2009:22

Tiddim	**bil**[1]	ear	VanBik 2009:22; Bhaskararao 1996:94
	bil[1] ba?[3]	ear ring	Bhaskararao 1996:95
	bil[1] khem[2]	ear wax	Bhaskararao 1996:96
	bil[1] nge:k[1]	ear lobe	Bhaskararao 1996:97
	bil[1] tep[3]	ear wig	Bhaskararao 1996:99
	ˊbil	ear (n.)	Henderson 1965

(18) PTani *ña-ruŋ EAR

This Tani binome is a combination of PTB ***r/g-na*** EAR / HEAR / LISTEN (§1.2.7) + PTB ***ruŋ*** HOLE / ORIFICE / EAR (§1.2.7).

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***ña-ruŋ**	ear	Sun 1993a:117

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**ja-ru**	ear	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja-ru a-čʰi	disease of the ear	Sun 1993b
	ja-ru hu-kʰrjo	earplug; plug n. (ear~)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja-ru hu-tɯʔ	earhole	Sun 1993b
	ja-ru la-čaŋ	earring	Sun 1993b
	ja-ru laʔ-ca	ear disc	Sun 1993b
	ja-ru ru-bu	eardrum; earlobe	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja-ru ru-ji	earwax	Sun 1993b
	ja-ru ru-leʔ	earlobe	Sun 1993b
	ja-ru ru-pĩ	earring	Sun 1993b
	ja-ru ru-puʔ	earlobe	Sun 1993b
	ja-ru ru-tĩ	earring (woman's)	Sun 1993b
	ja-ru ru-tuʔ	earlobe	Sun 1993b
	ja-ru u-bu	earhole	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	[1]**ya**[2]**ru** ([1])	ear	Weidert 1987:607
Bengni	**ñu-ruŋ**	ear	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ñu-ruŋ hi-ko:	earhole	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ña-ruŋ**	ear	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ŋa ruŋ	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ŋa ruŋ**	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**ʻŋeruu**	ear (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋeru	ear	Das Gupta 1963
	ˉñaru	ear	Weidert 1987:607
Miri, Hill	**ŋiru**	ear	Simon 1976
Nishing	**nyiorung**	ear	Das Gupta 1969
	nyu-rung	ear	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**nyaruŋ**	ear	Das Gupta 1983
	nyaruŋ a roŋ	earhole	Das Gupta 1983 [a]

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	**ño-ruŋ**	ear	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**nyé-rung**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nyo-rung	ear	Matisoff 1987
	yé-rung	ear	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**ŋi-ruŋ**	ear	Sun 1993b
	ŋi-ruŋ ʔa-ruŋ	earhole	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**je-ruŋ**~ **ñe-ruŋ**	ear	Sun 1993a

[a]Tagin **nyaruŋ a roŋ** implies that **ruŋ** HORN/EAR is distinct from **aroŋ** HOLE (cf. Jackson's Mirish reconstruction for HOLE).

1.2.7.1 Earlobe

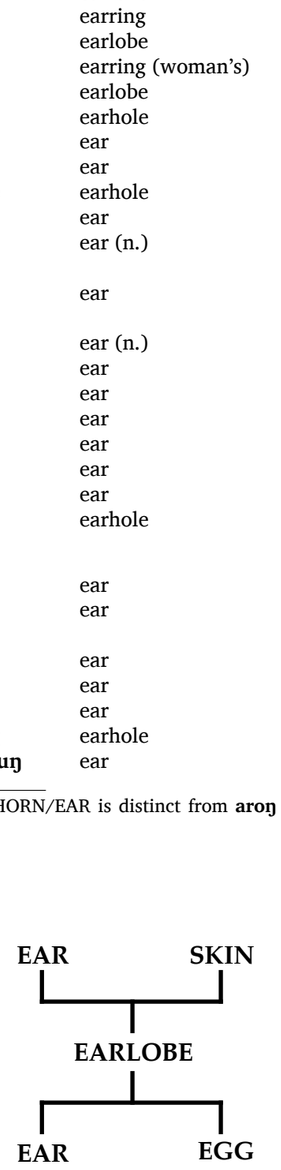

Figure 84: 1.2.7.1 *Earlobe*

1.2.7.2 Eardrum

Figure 85: 1.2.7.2 *Eardrum*

1.2.7.3 Earwax

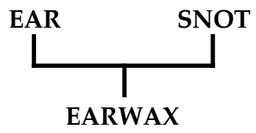

Figure 86: 1.2.7.3 *Earwax*

(1) PTB *s-p(w)a-$\begin{matrix}\mathbf{p}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ EARWAX

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	ruŋ-**sup**	earwax	Sun 1993b

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Chokri	(u) nyi[31] **bvü**[35]	earwax	Nienu 1990b:3.6.6

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**bō**	earwax	Grüssner 1979:156
	nò a-**bō**	earwax	Grüssner 1979:115
	nò-**bō**	earwax	Grüssner 1979:115
	no **bo**	earwax	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	nɑ[35] **po**[35]	earwax	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.6.6
Kaike	nā i **pā**	earwax	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	hnæ **ɸag**	earwax	Sun 1985a:211
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	le **be**	earwax	Bishop 1989:3.6.6
Tibetan (Written)	rna-**spabs**	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	rna-**spag**	earwax (sic)	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	rna.**spags**	earwax	Sun 1985c:211
	spabs	earwax	Matisoff 1987

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	nhāe **pạ:** pwị	earwax	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	kana **sup** ma	earwax	Rai 1985
	na ka **sup** ma	earwax	Michailovsky 1991:51

3.2. QIANGIC

Pumi (Qinghua)	**sphø**[13]	earwax	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	**phʉ**[35]	earwax	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	ɲə[53] **ʁ̥pə̱**[53]	earwax	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.6.6
Ergong (Danba)	n̥ɔ **mpʰɯ**	earwax	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.6.6
Ergong (Daofu)	n̥ɑŋ **phə**	earwax	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.6.6

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (NW)	tə rna **spʰop**	earwax	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.6.6

5. TUJIA

Tujia	tsã[21] **pʉ**[55] se[35]	earwax	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.6.6

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	nâ-**pha**-khyê	earwax	Matisoff 1987

(2) PTB *tsyu EARWAX

The typical word for earwax in TB languages is a compound EAR + SHIT. Cf., e.g. Lotha **E No chu** 'earwax', where the last syllable is from PTB ***kləy*** BODY DIRT / EXCREMENT (§1.8.5). It is quite possible that some of the forms grouped under the present etymon may have a similar origin.

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Kulung	no bo **susu**	earwax	Rai *et al.* 1975; Michailovsky 1991:51

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	ʼnge **co** khli	earwax	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	nok **ciu**	earwax	Michailovsky 1991:51; Allen 1975

3.2. QIANGIC

Muya [Minyak]	n̥i[35]**tɕʰɯ**[55]	earwax	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.6.6
Namuyi	hĩ[33]qo[33]**tsʰɿ̃**[33]	earwax	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.6.6

(3) PTB *ku DIRT / FILTH

This root occurs especially as the second element in compounds meaning 'earwax'.

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	re **kho** la	earwax	Sharma 1991a:3.6.6

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	nek **kho** hī	earwax	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	nah **gu**	earwax	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.64
	nāh **gu**	earwax	Matisoff 1987
Magar	na sa **gun**	earwax	Matisoff 1987

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	污垢	dirt	Nagano & Prins 2013:0196
	耳垢	ear wax	Nagano & Prins 2013:0028

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ku/kə̱u:**	filth	Karlgren 1957:112d

Chinese comparandum

垢 OC ***ku**, *GSR* #112d 'filth'; Schuessler 2007:258 ***kôʔ**; B & S 2011: (***kˤoʔ**); Mand. **gòu**.
詬 OC ***ku** ~ ***kʼu** ~ ***χu**, *GSR* #112f 'revile; disgrace'; Schuessler 2007:258 ***(k)hôh** ~ ***kôʔ**; B & S 2011: (***kʰˤo-s** ~ ***kˤoʔ**); Mand. **gòu**.

Comment: Also see comparanda for PTani ***kot**[1] BODY DIRT (§1.8.1.2).

1.2.7.4 Hear/Listen

(1) PTB *s-ta-s ≷ *ta-n HEAR

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ta-s**	hear	Matisoff 2003a:614
	***ta-s**	hear	LaPolla 1987:32; Benedict 1972:415
	***tâ-s**	hear (v.)	French 1983:502

1.1.1. TANI: ***tat**[2] LISTEN / HEAR

**Tani*	***tat**[2]	listen / hear	Sun 1993a:242

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**ta**	listen; hear; obey	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	tà-go	refuse to listen	Sun 1993b
	tà-ljá	listen	Sun 1993b
	ta-pa	hear	Sun 1993b
	ta-prɯ	bad to listen	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**tə:**-dɯr	listen clearly	Sun 1993b
	tɯ:	listen; hear	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	tɯ:-pa:	hear	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ta:**	listen; hear	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ta:	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.24
	ta:-poŋ	hear	Sun 1993b
	ta: poŋ	hear (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.24
Bokar Lhoba	**taa**	hear	LaPolla 1987:32
	ta:	listen	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.51
Galo	**ta**-nam	hear (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻta jin	strain (to hear) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻta nam	listen; hear (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻta paa	hear (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**ta**	listen, hail (n.)	Simon 1976
	ta-nam	listen, hear, obey	Simon 1976
Nishing	**té**	hear	Das Gupta 1969
	té-ram	disobey ('hear not')	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**tɤ** ɟuk nam	choose by hearing (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	tɤ-nam	obey (hear); hear (v.)	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**tat**	listen / hear	Sun 1993a
Damu	**te:**-pa:-to	hear	Sun 1993b
	te:-ra	listen	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**tat**	hear	LaPolla 1987:32; Benedict 1972:415

[a][Source Note] substandard for **rna-spabs** (acc. to Jäs., p. 312).

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**tʰɑ**[31] tiɯŋ[53]	hear	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tʰɑ[31] ɹɯŋ[55]	listen	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	**tat**[55]	hear	LaPolla 1987:32
	tɑt[55]	hear	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɑ[55] giɑt[55]	listen	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	[2]**thei**	hear	Weidert 1987:325
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**ta**, pukninchang	listen	Marrison 1967
	ta bə	hear (v.)	Singh 1991:3.6.7
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	*Ç-**taːt**	hear (v.)	French 1983:502
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Tangsa	[1]**t̪ai(ʔ)**	hear (v.)	Weidert 1987:34
Tangsa (Yogli)	**tai**	hear	French 1983:502
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	**tan** ~ **dan**	hear	French 1983:502
Wancho	a **tat**	hear	French 1983:502
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	ma[31] **tat**[31]	hear	LaPolla 1987:32
	mă[31]**tat**[31]	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.19
	mă[31]**tat**[31]	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.47
	mă[1] **tat**[31]	listen	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ma **tat**	listen	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Ganan	**tɑt**[3]	listen to (v.)	Luce 1985:L.280
Kadu (Kantu)	**tɛt**[2]	listen to (v.)	Luce 1985:L.280
Sak (Bawtala)	ă[4]**te**[2]	listen to (v.)	Luce 1985:L.280
Sak	a **té**	listen	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:59a
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	ma **tʰa** cə	deaf	Sharma 1982
	tʰa tʃi	listen (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Central)	**tha**	hear	Benedict 1972:415
Tsangla (Motuo)	**than**	hear	LaPolla 1987:32
Tshona (Mama)	**thɔʔ**[53]	hear	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	**tsho**[55]	hear (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.6.7
Tibetan (Written)	**thos**-pa	hear	LaPolla 1987:32; Benedict 1972:99n282
	thos-pa go-ba tshor ba	hear	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:93
2.1.3. LEPCHA			[a]
Lepcha	**thyo**	hear	LaPolla 1987:32; Benedict 1972:415
	thyo~**thyóm**	hear (v.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung	**theː**-m	hear	Hale 1973:01.058
Gurung (Ghachok)	**tʰeː**-m	hear	Glover 1972:1.58
	tʰeː baq	listen	Glover 1972:10.B.1.17
Gurung	[1]**tʰeː**-	hear	Mazaudon 1994:479
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]**tʰai**	hear (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.6.7, 3.6
	[1]**tʰai**	hear	Mazaudon 1994:479
Tamang (Sahu)	ʾsai **tap**-pa	approve, confirm (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.A.18
	[1]**tʰeː**	hear	Mazaudon 1994:479
Tamang (Taglung)	**tʰeː**-ba	hear	Mazaudon 1994:479; Mazaudon 1994:480
Thakali	**the**-wa	hear	Hale 1973:01.058
Thakali (Marpha)	[55›44]**tʰeʌ**-dzi	hear	Mazaudon 1994:480
Thakali (Syang)	**tʰɛ**-ba	hear	Mazaudon 1994:480
	[55›44]**tʰe**-ba	hear	Mazaudon 1994:480
Thakali (Tukche)	nah-**tʰe**-wɔ	deaf	Hari 1971:12.A.12
	tʰe-lɔ	listen	Hari 1971:10.B.1.17
	tʰe-wɔ	hear	Hari 1971:1.58
	[2]**tʰe**	hear	Mazaudon 1994:480
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**tā**-ye	hear	Hale 1973:01.058
	ta-ye	hear	LaPolla 1987:32
	tā-ye	hear	Benedict 1972:103n294
	ta-ye	hear	Benedict 1972:99n282
	tā e	hear (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.6.7
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***tho**-	hear	Opgenort 2011
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**thas**(-tśe)	hear	Benedict 1972:415
Thulung	**theos**-	hear (v.)	Allen 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**saiʔ**	hear (v.)	Weidert 1987:34
	sayʔ-sa	hear; listen	Caughley 1972:1.58; Caughley 1972:10.B.1.17
	sāyʔ.sā	hear	Hale 1973:01.058
Kham	**thəy**-nya	hear (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:1.58
	tʰəy-nya	hear (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:1.58
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	n **thɑu**	hear (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.6.7
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**tha**	hear	LaPolla 1987:32; Benedict 1972:415
Nung	**tho**[53]	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.21
Anong	**tho**[53]	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.44
Rawang	**thɑ**[53]	listen (vt.)	LaPolla 2003:1449
Trung [Dulong]	a[32] na[42] mə[44] **to**[44]	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	tɔ[55]	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.46
Dulong	**tɑ**[53]	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**tɔ**[55]	listen; hear	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:32
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ta**[55]	hear	LaPolla 1987:32
	tɑ[55]	listen	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central)	n̥a[33] **tʰa̲**[53]	hear	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2310.
	n̥a[33]**tha̲**[53]	hear (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	n̥a[35] **tʰa̲**[31]	hear	DAI Qingxia 1989o:2310.
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Youle)	n̥ɔ[42] **tɔ**[44]	listen	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Pijo)	ná **tì**	ask, listen	Hansson 1989:68
Hani (Caiyuan)	na[55] **te**[31]	listen	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.30
Hani (Khatu)	ná **tì**	ask, listen	Hansson 1989:68

[a] As demonstrated by Benedict 1943, Lepcha medial **-y-** often derives from the PTB ***s-** prefix.

(2) PTB *s-nyan HEAR / LISTEN

This etymon refers to either visual or auditory perception. Some reflexes have **ny-** onsets, while others have **hy-** or zero, but this is easily explicable in terms of an ***s-** prefix.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***hyen**	hear / listen / look / see	Matisoff 2003a:594
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ʔen** LOOK / BEHOLD / GLANCE			
**Chin*	***ʔen**	LOOK / BEHOLD / GLANCE	VanBik 2009:494
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**en**	look	VanBik 2009:494
Tiddim	**en**[1] > et[3]	look at	VanBik 2009:494
	en[1] > et[3]	look at (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:289
	en[1]/et[3]	look at	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊen/_et	look at (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**en**	look at	Marrison 1967
	ên	look, to look at, to glance, to behold, to view, to eye (v.)	VanBik 2009:494
	en	look (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2303
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	**en**	see / look (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.9
Moyon	**en** ~ **én** ~ mbówr	see / look (v.)	Kosha 1990:3.4.9
Sorbung	**ʔen**	look	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.052
	ʔenee	look (imp.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.053
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Sangtam	**in** zhu, **in** ye	listen	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Khezha	**ʾen** tú	listen	Yabu 1994:3.6.7
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**yeng**	look at	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	**e**	see	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**hɛn** ca	hear (v.)	Sharma 1991a:3.6.7
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	nɑ[35] **ŋɛ**[13]	hear (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.6.7
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ŋan**	listen	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.7
	ŋan[13]	listen	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ŋɑ**[35] nɑ[55]	listen	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ŋʌn**[13]	listen	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ŋʌn[13]	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.6
Motuo Menba	**ŋan**	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.07
Cuona Menba	**ŋan**[35]	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ŋan**	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ŋan**	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ŋan**	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ŋɛ̃**[13]	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ŋen**[13]	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ŋɛ̃**[13]	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.02
	ŋɛ̃[15]	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.2
Tibetan (Written)	**ñan**	listen	Marrison 1967
	nyan-pa	listen	Jäschke 1881:p.640
	ŋan	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.01
	ŋan	listen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:532.1
	ŋan-pa	hear, listen	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:92
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ŋan**	listen (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.04
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**nyen**	listen (v.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*[Ah]**ɲan**	listen	Mazaudon 1994:242
Manang (Gyaru)	**nyɛn**[2] no[2]	listen	Nagano 1984:059
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]**ɲẽ**-	hear	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0277
	[1]**ɲẽ**-	hear	Mazaudon 1994:242
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]**ŋjan**	listen (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.6.7
	[1]**ŋjan**	listen / pay attention / obey	Mazaudon 1994:242
Tamang (Sahu)	**nyem**-pa	listen (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.A.17
	nyem-pā(n)	listen (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.17
	nyem pa	hear (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.58
	the **nyem** pā	hear	Hale 1973:01.058
	[1]**ɲen**	listen / to hear	Mazaudon 1994:242
Tamang (Taglung)	**ɲan**-go	listen	Mazaudon 1994:242
Thakali (Marpha)	**ɲan**-lā...	listen	Mazaudon 1994:242
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**nyen** e	hear (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.6.7
2.3. KIRANTI			
**SE Kiranti*	***en**-	hear (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:89
**Kiranti*	***ren**-	hear	Opgenort 2011
**BSDTK*	***ŋen**-	hear (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:89
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**en**	listen	Rai 1985
	en-	hear (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:89
	en- (-n)	hear (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:89
	ent-	listen to (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:89
	ʔen-	hear / listen (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:3
Chamling	**en**-	hear	Winter 1985:13
	en-yu	hear (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:89
Kulung	**yen**-u	hear (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:89; Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			

Dumi	**ŋyiː-**	hear; hear (things) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:89; Michailovsky 1991:89
	ŋyiː nɨ	hear, listen to (v.)	Driem 1993
	ŋyiː nɨ	hear, not be deaf.	Driem 1993
Khaling	**ngi**-ne	listen (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.17
	√**ngi**-	hear (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:89
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**ŋin**-	hear (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:89
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang (Eastern)	say? **naʔ**	hear (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.6.7
Kham	thəy-**nya**	hear (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:1.58
	t^həy-**nya**	hear (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:1.58
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	ba^{33}**ɲi**^{55}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.18
	bɐ^{33} **ɲi**^{55}	hear	Sun Hongkai 1991d
Lyuzu	bæ^{33}**ɲi**^{53}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.18
Muya [Minyak]	sɯ^{55}**ŋɑ**^{33}	hear (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.6.7
Namuyi	bɛ^{55}**hĩ**^{55}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.19
	bæ^{55}**hĩ**^{55}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	se^{11}**ɲi**^{55}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.10
Pumi (Lanping)	thə^{13}**ni**^{13}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	thə^{13}**ni**^{13}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.11
	t^hə^{13} **ni**^{13}	listen	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	sɛ^{35} **ɲi**^{53}	listen	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.10
Qiang (Taoping)	tɕhy^{55}**ɲy**^{55}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.9
	tɕ^{h}y^{55} **ɲy**^{55}	listen	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	kə^{35}**ɲu**^{53}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.16
Xumi	lɛ^{33}**hĩ**^{55}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	ŋo^{55}**ɲu**^{33}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	wu **sŋi**	hear (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.6.7
	wu **sŋi**	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.14
	ɲaŋ	ear	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.14
Ergong (Daofu)	**ɲɑŋ**	ear	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.6
	ɲɑŋ phə	earwax	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.6.6
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**en**^{31}	look at	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	en^{31}	let s.b. see / show (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1470.28
	en^{31}	look	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:528.41
	en^{31} mzɻaŋ^{55}	see	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	en^{31}mzɻaŋ^{55}	see (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1471.28
	en^{31}mzɻaŋ^{55}	see	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:529.41
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Nanhua)	no^{55}**ɲi**^{33}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.37
	nɯ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ne**^{55}	listen	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Côông [Phunoi]	**hnɑ̃**^{55} ce^{33}	listen	Bradley 1977
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	**ɲi**$^{\dashv}$	listen (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	kho^{33}**mi**^{33}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	kho^{33}**mi**^{33}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.28
Naxi	kho^{33}**mi**^{33}thʏ^{33}	hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.45
	kho^{33}**mi**^{33}tʂhɚ^{21}	pleasant to the ears	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1092.45
Naxi (Western)	k^{h}o^{33}**mi**^{33}	listen	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Eastern)	k^{h}ua^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	listen	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɲi**^{55}; nv^{55}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.29
7. Karenic			
**Karen (Pwo)*	*ná' **ɣèn**	hear (v.)	Jones 1961:223
**Karen (TP)*	***ɣỳn**	hear (v.)	Jones 1961:223
Bwe	šɔ́-**ʔnè**	hear (v.)	Weidert 1987:931
	ʃɔ́ **ne**	hear, to listen (v.)	Henderson 1997
	ʃɔ^{55}**ne**^{33}	listen to	Luangthongkum 2013:171
Geba	**hɛ**^{1}	hear (v.)	Luce 1985:I.170
Kayan (Pekon)	**hyə́n**	hear (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
	nâ **hyə́n**	hear (V.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**hỳn**	hear (v.)	Jones 1961:223
	hìn	hear	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**hɯn**^{6}	hear (v.)	Luce 1985:I.170
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**e**^{33}	look at	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

Chinese comparandum

認 OC ***ńi̱ən**, *GSR* #456j 'know, recognize'; Schuessler 2007: ***nəns** or ***niəm**; B & S 2011: ***nən-s {nə[n]-s}**; Mand. **rèn**.

(3) PTB * k g ra HEAR / LISTEN / SOUND

2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**sgra**	word	Marrison 1967
	sgra	hear / sound (v.)	Luce 1985:X.2
	sgra	sound, noise, voice, word, syllable, language	Matisoff 1983:72
	sgra	sound (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0161.01
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**g^{h}i?**-sa	listen	Caughley 1972:10.B.1.17
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***gla**^{2} HEAR / LISTEN			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***gla**^{2}	hear; listen	Matisoff 2003a:590; Matisoff 1978a:20
	***gra**^{2}	hear / inform	Matisoff 1983:72
6.1.1. Burmish			
**Burmese*	***krâ**	hear	Okell 1971
Achang (Lianghe)	**tɕɑ**^{31}	listen	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**kzɻua**^{31}	listen	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	kzɻua^{31}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.28
	kzɻua^{31}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.41
Achang (Luxi)	**kja**^{51}	listen	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**kzɻ**^{31}	listen; hear	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2309; Dai Qingxia 1989f:2310
	kzɻ^{31}	listen; hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.29; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.29
Arakanese	**krà**	hear	Okell 1971
Bola	**kja**^{31}	listen	Dai Qingxia 1989g:2309
Bola (Luxi)	**kja**^{31}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.32
Bola	ɣə̌^{31} **kja**^{31}	hear	Dai Qingxia 1989g:2310
Bola (Luxi)	ɣə̌^{31}**kja**^{31}	hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.32
Burmese (Modern)	**krā**^{4}	hear (v.)	Luce 1985:V.19
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕɑ**^{55}	hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**cà**	hear	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**krā**	hear (v.)	Luce 1985:V.19
	krâ	hear	Hansson 1989:10; Matisoff 1978a:20
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**krá**	hear	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**krâ**	hear with ear; inform	Benedict 1976a
	krā:	hear	Marrison 1967; Okell 1971
	kra:	hear, inform	Matisoff 1983:72
	krā^{4}	hear / sound (v.)	Luce 1985:X.2
	krɑ^{3}	hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.26
Hpun (Northern)	**chà**, **chà**-ŋ	hear	Henderson 1986
Intha	**cà**	hear	Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	**kjɔ**^{35}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.31
	ɣɔ^{55}**kjɔ**^{35}	hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.31
Lashi	jɔː^{33} **kjɔː**^{33}	hear (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.6.7
	kjɔː^{33}	hear (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.6.7
Leqi (Luxi)	jɔː^{55}**kjɔː**^{33}	hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.33
	kjɔː^{33}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.33
Marma	**krá**	hear	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:59
Maru [Langsu]	**kjɔ**^{35}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.43
	kyō	hear	Okell 1971
	tjō	hear	Okell 1971
	ɣɔ^{55} **kjɔ**^{31}	hear (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.6.7
Tavoyan	**cà**	hear	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kjo**^{21}	listen	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	kjo^{21}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.30
	kjo^{21}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.42
	vo^{55}**kjo**^{21}	hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.30
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***gra**^{2}	hear	Bradley 1979b:583; Hansson 1989:10
Lolopho	dʑi^{33} **ɣo**^{33}	hear (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.6.7
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	na^{35} **tɕa**^{31} ?	hear (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.6.7
	na^{35}**tɕa**^{31}	hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.47
Nasu	**dʑo**^{33}	hear (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.7
Yi (Dafang)	**dʑu**^{33}	listen	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.22
Yi (Lishan)	**dʑo**^{33}	hear, listen	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Nanjian)	pɑ^{33} **gɑ**^{21}	listen	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	**gɯ**^{34}-dɛ^{33}	hear	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɣɯ^{21}-gɯ^{33}	hear	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	nɔ^{31} **kjɔ**^{44}	hear	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2410
Jinuo (Baka)	n̥o^{31} **kjɔ**^{44}	hear	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2410
Lahu	**kâ**	in unison	Matisoff 1983:72
**Common Lahu*	***ka**˘	hear	Bradley 1979b:583
Lahu (Lancang)	nɑ^{33}**kɑ**^{53}	hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.43
Lahu (Black)	**kâ**	hear	Matisoff 1978a:20
Lisu (Nujiang)	pɑ̱^{44} **dʒɛ**^{31}	hear	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	nɑ^{44} **gɑ**^{11}	hear (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:321.7
Yi (Sani)	nɒ^{44}**gɒ**^{11}	hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**gà**	hear	Hansson 1989:10
Akha (Yunnan)	ná **xhà**	ask, listen	Hansson 1989:68
Akha (Thai)	ná-**hà**	ask, listen	Hansson 1989:68
Bisu	**kjà**	hear	Beaudouin 1988:31
Hani (Lüchun)	ná **xhà**	ask, listen	Hansson 1989:68
Hani (Dazhai)	na^{31}**xa**^{31}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.31
	na^{55} **xa**^{31}	ask; inquire; listen	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:690.31
Hani (Lüchun)	na^{55}**xa**^{31}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.41
Hani (Pijo)	**kɔ̀**	hear	Hansson 1989:10
Hani (Gelanghe)	na^{55} **xa**^{31}	ask; inquire; listen	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Haoni	**kɔ**^{31}	hear	Hansson 1989:10
Hani (Wordlist)	nal **haq**	ask, listen	Hansson 1989:68
Hani (Mojiang)	**kɔ**^{31}	hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.42
Mpi	**kjo**^{1}	hear	Hansson 1989:10; Matisoff 1978a:20; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**cɑ**^{11} ce^{33}	hear	Bradley 1977
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi	**kho**^{33}mi^{33}	listen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1681.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**kho**^{33}mi^{33}	listen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:532.28
Naxi	**kho**^{33}mi^{33}thʏ^{33}	hear (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1682.45
	kho^{33}mi^{33}tʂhɚ^{21}	pleasant to the ears	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1092.45
Naxi (Western)	**k^{h}o**^{33}mi^{33}	listen	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Eastern)	**k^{h}ua**^{33}ɲi^{33}	listen	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(4) PTk *ʃa HEAR

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***ʃa**	hear	Mortensen 2012:751
Huishu	**tse**-k^{h}ə-low	hear	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.054
Tangkhul	**śa**	hear	Bhat 1969:90

	sha	hear	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃa**	hear	Mortensen 2012

(5) PCN *ja HEAR

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	***ja**	HEAR	Bruhn 2014a:III.031
Ao (Mongsen)	**jàʔ**	hear (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**jàʔ**	hear [heard] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**zo**^{2}-	hear (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.031
	zo	hear	Marrison 1967
	zō à	hear (v.)	Acharya 1975
	zo a	hear	Murry *et al.* 1978:54
	Zo A	hear (v.)	Nienu 1990c:3.6.7
Sangtam	**yu** chi	hear	Kumar 1973a
	yu chi, nying	hear	Marrison 1967

(6) PKC *ŋaay LISTEN / HARK

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ŋaay**	LISTEN / HARK	VanBik 2009:860

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**ngai**	hark	VanBik 2009:860
Sizang	**ngai** hī	attend, listen	VanBik 2009:860
Thado	**ngáay**-I ngày-II	listen to	VanBik 2009:860
Tiddim	**ngaːi**^{2} > ŋgaiʔ^{3}	love; listen (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1280
	ngaːi^{3} > ŋgaiʔ^{3}	love, listen	VanBik 2009:860

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**tngáy**	listen to, obey	VanBik 2009:860

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**ŋăay**-I, ŋày-II	listen, hark, obedient	VanBik 2009:860
Lai (Hakha)	**ŋâay**-I, ŋayʔ-II	listen, hark, obedient	VanBik 2009:860
Lushai [Mizo]	**ngai**	listen; love (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2714
	ngái-I, ngàih-II	listen, to hark, to obey, to take notice of (v.)	VanBik 2009:860
	ngai thla	listen	Marrison 1967

Chinese comparandum

宜 OC ***ngiɑ**, *GSR* #21a-g ‘proper, correct, suitable’; Schuessler 2007:566 ***ŋaj**; B & S 2011: ***ŋaj {ŋ(r)aj}**; Mand. **yí**.
儀 OC ***ngiɑ**, *GSR* #2u ‘proper conduct, demeanor, manner, dignity’; Schuessler 2007:566 ***ŋaj**; B & S 2011: ***ŋaj {ŋ(r)aj}**; Mand. **yí**.
義 OC ***ngiɑ**, *GSR* #2r-t ‘right, righteous, proper’; Schuessler 2007:566 ***ŋajh**; B & S 2011: ***ŋaj-s {ŋ(r)aj-s}**; Mand. **yì**.
議 OC ***ngiɑ**, *GSR* #2v ‘true sense, meaning’; Schuessler 2007:566 ***ŋajh**; B & S 2011: ***ŋaj-s {ŋ(r)aj-s}**; Mand. **yì**.
犧 OC ***χiɑ**, *GSR* #2z ‘sacrifice (v., n.), sacrifial’; Schuessler 2007:566 ***hŋai**; B & S 2011: ***ŋ̊aj {ŋ̊(r)a [j] }**; Mand. **xī**.

1.2.7.5 Deaf

(1) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{b}\\\textbf{p}\end{matrix}$ **aːŋ DEAF**

A couple of languages (Jingpho, Phunoi) have acquired an **l-**prefix with this root, while several others have a nasal prefix which is perhaps a reduction of PTB ***r/g-na** EAR / HEAR / LISTEN (§1.2.7).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***baːŋ**	deaf	French 1983:476
	***l-baŋ** ⪤ m-baŋ	deaf	Matisoff 2003a:584
	***paːŋ**	deaf	French 1983:476

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ru-**bé**	deaf	Matisoff 1987

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	ka^{31}**pa**^{55}	deaf	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.6.8

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**báaŋ**	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072
	beng-ngong~**beng**-chhît	deaf	Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	na-**pâ**	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	na-**pâ-pa**	deaf	Matisoff 1987

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *p(j)aŋ DEAF

**Central Naga*	***p(j)aŋ**	DEAF (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.195
Lotha Naga	**pəŋ**^{3}-	deaf (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.195
	e no **pang** a	deaf	Marrison 1967
	No **buNg**	deaf	Nienu 1990c:3.6.8
	no **püng**	deaf	Murry *et al.* 1978:28
	n̥ó **pèŋ**	deaf	Acharya 1975
	^{3}buŋ	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072
Sangtam	a na t **püng** rü ngitsarü	deaf	Kumar 1973a
	nang **tping**	deaf	Marrison 1967
	^{1}a^{1}naŋ^{1}**dbiŋ**	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072
Yimchungrü	mü khün-**peng** rü	deaf	Marrison 1967
	nü khün **peang**	deaf	Kumar 1973b:74

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	a ki ni **po**	deaf	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Zeme	be kun **pang** be	deaf	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	kwen **pang**	deaf	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**beŋ** ga	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072
Meche	**beŋ** ga	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**beŋ**-a	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***baːŋ**	deaf	French 1983:476

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	na **ba**	deaf	French 1983:476
	^{3}na-^{1}**ba**	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072
Tangsa	**^{3}baŋ**	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072
Tangsa (Yogli)	**baŋ**	deaf	French 1983:476

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	ò-**báŋ**	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072
Konyak	na **pan** pa	deaf	French 1983:476
Wancho	na **ba**	deaf	French 1983:476

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	(na) **hpang**	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	(na) lə **hpang**	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	lə **pháŋ**	deaf	Matisoff 1974:301
	nà-**pháŋ**	plug up / deaf	Matisoff 1974:301
	na^{31} **phaŋ**^{55}	deaf person; deaf	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; LaPolla 1987:73
	na^{31}**phaŋ**^{55}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.19
	na^{31}**phaŋ**^{55}	deaf, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.19
	na^{31}**phaŋ**^{55}	deaf person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.47
	na layawng, na **hpang**	deaf	Marrison 1967
	pháŋ	plug up / deaf	Matisoff 1974:301
	^{2}na-^{1}lə^{3}**phaŋ**	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	a-nyor **póm̊**	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	bóm̊	deaf	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**pheng**-nabak	deaf	Rai *et al.* 1984:53

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**mba**	deaf	Dai Qingxia 1989e:3.6.8

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	nɑ^{33} **nbo**^{55}	deaf; deaf person	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.18
Lyuzu	na^{33}**nbo**^{35}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.18
	ne^{33}**nbo**^{53}	deaf, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.18
Muya	**mbɑ**^{33}phi^{53}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.15
	nɑ^{33}**mbɑ**^{24}	deaf, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mbɑ**^{33}phi^{35}	deaf person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.15
	mbɑ^{33}p^{h}i^{35}	deaf	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.6.8
Namuyi	hĩ^{33}**mbo**^{33}	deaf; deaf person	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.6.8; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.19
	hĩ^{31}**nbo**^{35}	deaf, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.46
	ʔhĩ^{31}**nbo**^{31}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	zɑ^{11}**bũ**^{55}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.10
Pumi (Lanping)	zdə^{13}**bõ**^{13}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	sdə^{13} **bõ**^{13}	deaf person	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.11
Pumi (Taoba)	zɐ^{35} **bõ**^{35}	deaf person	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.10
Qiang (Longxi)	n̥ì **bò**	deaf; deaf person [ear-deaf]	Evans 1999:2160; Evans 1999:261
Qiang (Mawo)	**bu**	deaf, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.08
	nə ku **bu**	deaf person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.8
	nə kuᵚ **bu**	deaf	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.6.8
	nə ku **bu**	deaf person; deaf	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; LaPolla 1987:73
	n̥ə kᵚ **bu**	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**bù**	deaf	Evans 1999:2160
	nè kiè **bú**	deaf person [ear-deaf]	Evans 1999:261
Qiang (Taoping)	n̥i^{31} kie^{33} **bu**^{231}	deaf person	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	n̥i^{31}kie^{33}**bu**^{241}	deaf person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.9
Qiang (Yadu)	n̥uk **pu**	deaf person	Dai Qingxia 1989q:261
	n̥yk **bu**	deaf	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2081
Queyu (Xinlong)	rna^{55}**pɔ**^{55}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.13
Xumi	za^{33}**bõ**^{53}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.17
	zɛ^{33}**bõ**^{55}	deaf, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.17
	zɐ^{33} **bɔ̃**	deaf	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	zɐ^{33}**bɔ̃**^{35}	deaf person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**mbʊ**^{33}ge^{55}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.14
	mbʊ^{13}	deaf, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Eastern)	kawa **mbo**	deaf	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.6.8
rGyalrong (Northern)	kəwu **mbo**	deaf	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.6.8
rGyalrong (NW)	ta **mba**	deaf	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.6.8
rGyalrong	ta **Nbo** lo	deaf	Nagano 1997:3.6.8
rGBenzhen	ta-**nbo**	deaf (n.)	Sun 1997b

5. Tujia

Tujia	tsa^{13} **pʉ**^{55} tʉ^{55}	deaf	Chen Kang 1986d:3.6.8

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	na^{31} **paŋ**^{31}	deaf	LaPolla 1987:73
Achang (Luxi)	na^{55} **paŋ**^{51}	deaf person; deaf	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:73
Achang (Xiandao)	n̥ɔ^{31} **pjau**^{31}	deaf	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2081
Burmese (Written)	nâ-**pâŋ**	deaf	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:301
	pâŋ	deaf	Hansson 1989:267

6.1.2. Loloish: *baŋ^{2} DEAF

**Loloish*	***baŋ**^{2}	deaf	Bradley 1979b:573; Hansson 1989:267
Lolopho	(no^{55}) **bɒ**^{31}	deaf	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.6.8

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**po**^{31}	deaf	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987; Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.6.8
Lalo	ʔnɑ^{21} **bu**^{21}	deaf	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.8
Nasu	no^{33} **bɔ**^{33}	deaf	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.8
Nesu	no^{55} **ba**^{33}	deaf	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2081.
Nusu (Central)	**boŋ**^{55}	deaf	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2081.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**bõ**^{55}	deaf	
Yi (Lishan)	**bɔ**^{33}	deaf	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Xide)	lo^{33}-**bo**^{33}	deaf	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	no^{55} **bu**^{21}	deaf	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.6.8
Jinuo (Baka)	**pɤ**^{44}	deaf	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2160
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**pʌ**^{44}	deaf	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2160
Lahu	nā-pɔ **pɔ̂**	deaf	LaPolla 1987:73
**Common Lahu*	***paw**$^{\check{}}$	deaf	Bradley 1979b:573
Lahu (Black)	nā-**pɔ pô** ve	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	pɔ̂	deaf	Matisoff 1974:301
Lisu	**baw**^{5}	deaf	Bradley 1979b:573
	na^{1} **baw**^{5}	deaf	Matisoff 1987

Sani [Nyi]	nɑ[55] **bo[11]**	deaf	MA Xueliang 1989:321.2
	nɑ[55]**bo[21]**	deaf	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.6.8
	nɒ[55]**bo[21]**	deaf	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**bɔ̀**	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
Akha (Yunnan)	nà **bɔ̀**	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
Akha (Thai)	nà-**bɔ̀**	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
Akha	naˬ **baw**ˬ **baw**ˬ-eu	deaf	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	nà **pàŋ**	deaf	Beaudouin 1988:39
Hani (Lüchun)	na **bò**	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
Hani (Pijo)	nù **pù**	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
	pù	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
Hani (Wordlist)	na **qbboq**	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
Hani (Khatu)	nà **pù**	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
	pù	deaf	Hansson 1989:267
Mpi	**poŋ[1]**	deaf	Hansson 1989:267; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	lə̆ **pɑ̃[11]**	deaf	Bradley 1977
	lə̆ **pɑ̃**	deaf	Matisoff 1987
8. BAI			
Bai (Dali)	kv[1] tø[2] **pɔ[7]**	deaf	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169

(2) PTB *tawŋ DEAF

West Himalayish provides the only diphthongal reflexes of this root, yet ***-waŋ** seems to be a canonically better reconstruction.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Miri, Hill	ru **tɯ**	deaf	Simon 1976
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ing **thông-**	deaf	Grüssner 1979:23
	nò-**thòng-**	deaf	Grüssner 1979:115
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Kokborok	na-**t[h]oŋ**	deaf	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	**t[h]oŋ** aŋ pa	deaf	French 1983:476
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**TauN** a	deaf	Sharma 1991a:3.6.8
Kanauri	**ṭoṇ** ō	deaf	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**ʈauɳ** a	deaf	Sharma 1982
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	a nyor sŭ̊ń-**toń**	deaf	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Manang (Gyaru)	nog[3] **toŋ[2]**	deaf	Nagano 1984:009
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	bɯ[31] **dɯ[55]**	deaf	SUN Hongkai 1988
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	nũ[55] **t[h]ũ[55]**	deaf	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.6.8
	tsa[13] pʉ[55] **tʉ[55]**	deaf	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.6.8
8. BAI			
Bai (Dali)	kv[1] nio[3] **tɔ[4]**	deaf	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	kv[1] **tø[2]** pɔ[7]	deaf	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169

(3) PTB *l-ywa ŋ/n DEAF

The ***l-** prefix in this tentatively reconstructed root is attested in Jingpho. There is variation between final velar and dental nasals.

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**o**	deaf (be v.)	French 1983:476
	o bu	deaf	French 1983:476
	ò-báŋ	deaf (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1072
Phom	t[h]oŋ **aŋ** pa	deaf	French 1983:476
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	(na) **ləyawng**	deaf	Matisoff 1987
	ləjōŋ	deaf	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983:422
	na **layawng**, na hpang	deaf	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**'on**-pa	deaf	Jäschke 1881:p.624; Marrison 1967
	on.pa	deaf person	Sun 1985c:179
	ɦon	deaf, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.01
	ɦon pa	deaf person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.01
	ɦon pa	deaf person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:301.1
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**wɑ̃[31]**	deaf, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.16
	wɑ̃[31]pə[55]	deaf person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.16
	wɛ[33] mø[53]	deaf; deaf person	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:301.17
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**wɑ̃[33]** pa[53]	deaf; deaf person	SUN Hongkai 1991n:3.6.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:301.16
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ta **wo**	deaf; deaf person	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.6.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:301.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **wo**	deaf person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.11
	tɑ **wo**	deaf, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1504.11

Chinese comparandum

聾 OC ***lung**, *GSR* #1193m 'deaf'; Schuessler 2007:363 ***rôŋ**; B & S 2011: ***C.r[ˤ]oŋ** ; Mand. **lóng**.

(4) PTk *k[h]ok DEAF

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***k[h]ok**	deaf	Mortensen 2012:769
Huishu	k[h]ə-ni ni-kə-**k[h]ɐ**	deaf	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.053
Tangkhul	khana-khanga **khok**	deaf	Marrison 1967
	khok	deaf	Bhat 1969:87
Tusom	ni-kə-**kxu**	deaf	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.068
Ukhrul	k[h]ə-ŋə-**k[h]ok**	deaf (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(5) PKar *ʔəŋ[A] DEAF

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***ʔəŋ[A]**	deaf	Luangthongkum 2013:77
Bwe	tə **'o[55]**	deaf	Luangthongkum 2013:77
Kayah	**ʔɔ[33]**	deaf	Luangthongkum 2013:77
Kayan	**ʔəŋ[53]**	deaf	Luangthongkum 2013:77
Kayaw	**ʔə[55]**	deaf	Luangthongkum 2013:77
Pa-O (Northern)	**ʔəŋ[31··]**	deaf	Luangthongkum 2013:77
Pa-O (Southern)	**ʔəŋ[31··]**	deaf	Luangthongkum 2013:77
Pwo (Northern)	**ʔɑ̃[55]**	deaf	Luangthongkum 2013:77
Pwo (Southern)	**ʔə̃[31··]**	deaf	Luangthongkum 2013:77
Sgaw (Northern)	**ʔə[33]**	deaf	Luangthongkum 2013:77
Sgaw (Southern)	**ʔə[55]**	deaf	Luangthongkum 2013:77
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	dă[31] **ɤ̱[55]**	deaf	DAI Qingxia 1989k:2160
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	tă[31] **ə[55]**	deaf	DAI Qingxia 1989j:2160

1.2.8 Nose

Indo-European

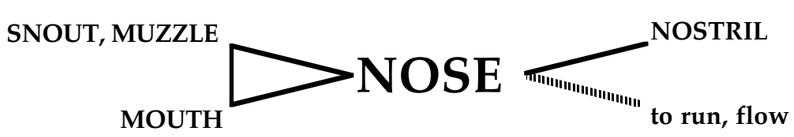

Figure 87: 1.2.8 *Nose*

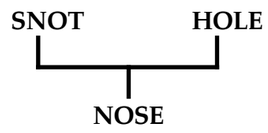

Figure 88: 1.2.8 *Nose*

Figure 89: 1.2.8 *Nose*

(1) PTB *s-na ≷ *s-na:r NOSE

Chantyal **nak/nakh** is a borrowing from Nepali **nāk**, but the superficially similar Tiddim form **na:k[3]** is a genuine descendant of PKC ***hnaar**. (The development of final **-r** to a velar is regular in Tiddim.)

A few Tani languages (Idu, Kaman) have developed secondary final consonants (**-m, -ŋ**)). There are separate but perhaps related roots: PTB ***m/s-nam** SMELL (§1.2.8.5), PTB ***s-nap** SNOT / NASAL MUCUS (§1.8.2). Cf. all the English words relating to the nose that begin with the clusters *sm-* or *sn-*.

Noteworthy is the Qiang (Mawo) reflex with initial **st-** rather than **sn-**. This obstruentization of **n-** after the **s-** prefix had hitherto been noted only in Kanauri and Chinese. See *HPTB*:103.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**snɑ-**)ti(y)A	snot	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:551f
	***na** ku:ŋ	nostril	French 1983:527
	***s-na ≷** s-na:r	nose	Michailovsky 1991:133
	***s-na**	nose	Weidert 1987:186; LaPolla 1987:55; Benedict 1972:101
	***s-na ≷ s-na:r**	nose	Matisoff 2003a:603
	***s-nɑ**	nose	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:521c
1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	**ñi**	nose; you; know (v.)	Simon 1979
	ñi-jaŋ	nostril	Simon 1979
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**ja**-pĩ	nose; snout	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja-pĩ a-č[h]i	disease of the nose	Sun 1993b
	ja-pĩ hu-lo	nose ornament; ornament (of the nose); plug n. (nose~)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja-pĩ pim-bu	nostril	Sun 1993b
	ja-pĩ pin-j̃ã (a-lo)	nose ridge	Sun 1993b
	ja-piŋ	nose	Sun 1993b
	ja-piŋ a-mu	nose hair	Sun 1993b
	ja-piŋ hu-lo	nose pluck	Sun 1993b
	ja-piŋ ú-bu	nostril	Sun 1993b
	na-ru	odor / smell	Sun 1993a
	na-ru	smell (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	na-ru	smell	Sun 1993b
	na-ru ja-nɯ	putrid	Sun 1993b
	na-ru nem-prjo	fragrance; scent	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	na-ru neŋ-ka	sniff	Sun 1993b
	na-ru neŋ-ka	smell (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	nè-ru	odor	Sun 1993b
	ne-ru	stink (v.)	Sun 1993b
	¹ya²piŋ([1])	nose	Weidert 1987:610
Bengni	**na**-fuŋ	nose	Sun 1993b
	na-fuŋ uŋ	nostril	Sun 1993b
	na-ru	stinky	Sun 1993b
	na-ru ǰi-ǰak	very stinky	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**na** ta	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.24
	ña-pum	nose	Sun 1993b
	n̡a pum	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.24
Bokar Lhoba	**n̡a** pum	nose	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	z̡a pum	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.51
Galo	**'ɲe** pum	nose (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲe pum	nose	Das Gupta 1963
	¯ña pum	nose	Weidert 1987:610
	¯ñɤ pum	nose	Weidert 1987:610
Miri, Hill	**ɲi** pum	nose	Simon 1976
	ɲi pum-u	nostril	Simon 1976
Nishing	**nyio** pum	nose	Das Gupta 1969
	nyo pum	nose	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**naŋ**	nose	Das Gupta 1983
	na mɯ	moustache	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**nyé**-bung	nose	Matisoff 1987
	nyé-bung-a-rung	nostril	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**n̡i**-buŋ	nose	Sun 1993b
Milang	**nu**-kuŋ-a-ruŋ	nostril	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	ha: **nya:** gom	nose	NEFA (India) 1963
	ha: **nya:** gom-nyã:	disease of the nose	NEFA (India) 1963
	ha: **nya:** krã:	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	ha: **nya:** gom	nose	Matisoff 1987
	xɑ^{31} **niɑ^{53}** pɯm^{55}	nose	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	xɑ^{31}**niɑ^{53}**pɯm^{55}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.22
	xɑ^{31}**niɑ^{53}**pɯm^{55}	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.49
Digaro	**həna**-gam ≍ **hnya**-gom	nose	Benedict 1972:101
Kaman [Miju]	min^{55} **nioŋ^{35}**	nose	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	min^{55} **nioŋ^{35}** k^{h}uŋ^{53}	bridge of nose	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	min^{55}**nioŋ^{35}**	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.23
	min^{55}**nioŋ^{35}**	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.48
Idu	e^{55}**ɳaŋ^{55}**bo^{55}	nose	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.5
	e^{55}**ɳɑŋ^{55}**bo^{55}	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.50
	e **nam** bo	nose	Pulu 1978
	e **nam** bõ	nose	Anonymous 1962
	e **nam** bõ-be	nostril	Anonymous 1962
	e **naŋ** go	nose ridge; ridge(of nose)	Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978
	e **na** bɤ	nostril	Pulu 1978
	e **na** pũ	snout	Pulu 1978
	no ga	smell	Pulu 1978
Yidu	e^{55} **ɳɑŋ^{55}** bo^{55}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***hnaar** NOSE

**Chin*	***hnaar**	NOSE	VanBik 2009:899
Anal	**hnal**	nose	Matisoff 1987
Chinbok	**hŋa**-kɔŋ	nose	Matisoff 1987
Thanphum	rə`**hnɔŋ^{5}**	nose	Luce 1985:O.14

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	**nah**	nose	Haokip 1998:3.5
	nah let	alae nasi (nose flaps)	Haokip 1998:3.5.3
	nah lhong	nose bridge	Haokip 1998:3.5.1
	nah mul	nose hair	Haokip 1998:3.5.4
Sizang	**nā**	nose	VanBik 2009:899
Thado	**náʔ**	nose	VanBik 2009:899
	nàʔ	nose	Thirumalai 1972:25
	náʔ	nose	Thirumalai 1972:66
Tiddim	**nâ**	nose	Weidert 1987:168
	nak	nose	Matisoff 1987
	na:k^{3}	nose	VanBik 2009:899; Bhaskararao 1996:1187
	na:k^{3} gu?^{3}	nose ridge	Bhaskararao 1996:1188
	nɑk^{4}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22; Luce 1985:O.14
	`na:k	nose (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho (Sandoway)	**hno^{1}**	nose	Luce 1985:O.14
Chinbon	**ɴo** t^{h}u	nose	So-Hartmann 1988:73
Cho (Mindat)	**hnga**	nose, snout	VanBik 2009:899
Daai	**ɴa** kɔŋ	nose	So-Hartmann 1988:73
Khumi	**na**-taran	nose	Matisoff 1987
	no tráeeng	nose	VanBik 2009:899
	no t^{ə}rə̃ŋ	nose	So-Hartmann 1988:73
Awa Khumi	**nɑ^{4}**k‘ɔ̃^{2}	nose	Luce 1985:O.14
Khumi (Ahraing)	**no^{5}**	nose	Luce 1985:O.14
Matu	**ɴa** xõŋ	nose	So-Hartmann 1988:73
Matupi	**no^{1}**χɔ:ŋ^{2}	nose	Luce 1985:O.14
Mkaang	**ɴa**.u:m	nose	So-Hartmann 1988:73
Ngmüün	**ɴa**	nose	So-Hartmann 1988:73
Nyhmoye	**ɴa** kɔ:ŋ	nose	So-Hartmann 1988:73
Wakung	**nə** k^{h}õŋ	nose	So-Hartmann 1988:73
Womatu	**hnɑ^{2}**	nose	Luce 1985:O.14

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Hwalngau	**hnɑ:r^{4}**	nose	Luce 1985:O.14
Khualsim	**hnɑ:r^{4}**	nose	Luce 1985:O.14
Lai (Hakha)	**hnăar**	nose	VanBik 2009:899
Lai (Falam)	**hnàar**	nose	VanBik 2009:899
Lai (Hakha)	**hnar**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	hnɑr^{2}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22; Luce 1985:O.14
Lushai [Mizo]	**hna**-pasu	nose	Matisoff 1987
	hnáar	nose (n.)	VanBik 2009:899
	hnâr	nose	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	hnâr-kua	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	hnâr-te-ngeng	flaps of nose	Matisoff 1987
	hna:r	nose	Bhaskararao 1996:1187
	hna:r	snore; nose (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2419
	hna:r	nose	LaPolla 1987:55; Benedict 1972:101
	hnɑ:r^{1}	nose	Luce 1985:O.14

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lailenpi	mə˝**hnɑ’^{4}**pəs‘u’^{4}	nose	Luce 1985:O.14
Lakher [Mara]	**hna**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	hna(-cha)-bu	bridge of nose	Matisoff 1987
	hna-pasu-khao	nostril	Matisoff 1987
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**hnɑ^{ə4}**k‘ɯ^{1}	nose	Luce 1985:O.14
Mera	**hnʌ^{5}**pə̌^{5}s‘yu^{5}	nose	Luce 1985:O.14
Xongsai	**nɑʔ^{3}**	nose	Luce 1985:O.14
Zotung	**nã^{4}** du’^{1}	nose	Luce 1985:O.14

1.2.4. “OLD KUKI”

Kom Rem	**nar**	nose	Toba & Kom 1991:3.5
	nar kot	nose bridge	Toba & Kom 1991:3.5.1
	nar kəm	alae nasi (nose flaps)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.5.3
	nar k^{h}ur	nostril	Toba & Kom 1991:3.5.2
	nar mih	nose hair	Toba & Kom 1991:3.5.4
	nar siŋ	blow nose (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.5.8
	ner mih	moustache	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.2.3
Moyon	**nàr**	nose	Kosha 1990:3.5
	nar bʌkòwr ~ **nàr** bʌ̀kòwr	alae nasi (nose flaps)	Kosha 1990:3.5.3
	nar khùr ~ **nàr** khùr	nostril	Kosha 1990:3.5.2
	nàr mòwr	nose hair	Kosha 1990:3.5.4
	nàr rùkhʌ̀m	nose bridge	Kosha 1990:3.5.1
	nar tùm ~ nàrtùm	snout	Kosha 1990:3.5.5
	nèr mòwr	moustache; whiskers (of animal)	Kosha 1990:8.1.2.3; Kosha 1990:8.1.7

1.3. “NAGA” AREAL GROUP

Maring	**na** thung	nose	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***na(ʔ)** NOSE

**Central Naga*	***na(ʔ)**	NOSE	Bruhn 2014a:III.006
Ao (Chungli)	te **ni**	nose	Marrison 1967
	^{3}tɯ^{3}**niʔ**	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te **na**	nose	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**na**-kuʔ	nostril (’nose’ + ’hole’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	na-tsə	snot, watery (’nose’ + ’water’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	na-tsə́ʔ	snot, dried (’nose’ + ’faeces’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**naʔ**	nose (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	khe^{3}**noʔ^{3}**	nose (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.006
	ke **nno**	nose	Marrison 1967
	Khe **no**	nose	Nienu 1990c:3.5
	khe **no** NtseNa	blow nose (v.)	Nienu 1990c:3.5.8
	Khe **no** e na o khe nandeng	nose to fingertip	Nienu 1990c:13.4.1
	khe **no** kvu	nostril	Nienu 1990c:3.5.2
	khe **no** tsan	nose hair	Nienu 1990c:3.5.4
	khē **n̤ò**	nose	Acharya 1975
	^{3}ke^{3}**no**	nose	Weidert 1987:186
	^{3}ke^{3}**no(ʔ)**	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Sangtam	**na** pong	nose	Marrison 1967
	^{2}**na**^{1}buŋ	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Tengsa	**tana** ko	nose	Marrison 1967
Yacham	**teno** kong	nose	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**nu** bong	nose	Marrison 1967
	nü pung	nose	Kumar 1973b:63
	^{1}**nɯ**^{2}buŋ	nose	Weidert 1987:186

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	**nhi** cha	nose	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **nhü^{31}**	nose	Nienu 1990a:3.5
	(u) **nhü^{31}** mia^{55}	nose hair	Nienu 1990a:3.5.4
	(u) **nhü^{31}** tsa^{55}	nostril	Nienu 1990a:3.5.2
	the^{31} vo^{11} **nhü^{31}**	snout	Nienu 1990a:3.5.5
	u **nhyü**	nose	Marrison 1967
	u **nhyü** cha	nose	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **nhü^{31}**	nose	Nienu 1990b:3.5
	nhu^{31} tso^{35}	nostril	Nienu 1990b:3.5.2
	nhü^{31} tso^{35} ma^{35}	nose hair	Nienu 1990b:3.5.4
	u **nhi** cho	nose	Marrison 1967
Khezha	**nhu** ka	nose	Marrison 1967
	nhɯ kà	nose	Yabu 1994:3.5
Meluri	a **nga** pu	nose	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **nya** tsa	nose	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**hi** kong	nose	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **nhi** ki	nose	Marrison 1967
	a **n** ki	nose	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	**na**	nose	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	mai-**nu**-kuaŋ	nose	Weidert 1987:186
	ta **niu**	nose	Marrison 1967
Maram	**na** kang	nose	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**nû**-kûaŋ	nose	Weidert 1987:186
	nu kwaŋ	nose	Matisoff 1994e
	nu ton	nose	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi **neu**	nose	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***na** NOSE

**Tangkhulic*	***na**	nose	Mortensen 2012:344
Huishu	ʔa-**ni**-su	nose	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.043
	ʔa-**ni**-su-kə-p^{h}uŋ	nose bridge	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.044
	ʔa-**ni**-su-vej	nose hair	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.045
	ʔa-**ni**-ʃu	nose	Mortensen 2012
Kachai	**nɐ**-put	nose	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.047
	nɐ-put-fu	nose hair	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.050
	nɐ-put-rɐ	nose bridge	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.048
Tangkhul	**na**	nose	Bhat 1969:93
	na tang	nose	Marrison 1967
	nā tāŋ	nose; snout; nostril	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	phei **nā**-tāŋ ra	shinbone (”leg-nose-bone”)	Matisoff 1987
	^{2}**na**^{1}taŋ	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Tusom	ʔi-**nə**-ʃi	nose	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.053
Ukhrul	**na**-taŋ	nose	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**na** tol	nose	Marrison 1967
	na ton	nose; snout	Singh 1991:3.5; Singh 1991:3.5.5; Marrison 1967
	nâ tôn	nose; nostril	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	na ton mə khun	nostril	Singh 1991:3.5.2
	na ton nakci	alae nasi (nose flaps)	Singh 1991:3.5.3
	na ton-gi koy	nose hair	Singh 1991:3.5.4
	nə khaŋ	nose bridge	Singh 1991:3.5.1

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**no** kan	nose; nostril	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	nò kàn	nose; nostril	Grüssner 1979:115; Grüssner 1979:115
	no kan ang lhor	nostril	Matisoff 1987

1.6. MRU

Mru	**na**-	nose	Matisoff 1987
	no^{2}	nose	Luce 1985:S.3

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**na** bla	person with flat nose (male); person with a flat nose	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
	na blaŋ	person with spread nose	Bhat 1968
	na bli	person with flat nose (female)	Bhat 1968
	na ki	nose-rope of a bull; nose-rope (of bulls)	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
	na tad	nose-rope (of bulls)	Bhat 1968
	na tar	nose-rope (of bulls)	Bhat 1968

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**na**-kuŋ	nose	Matisoff 1987
	na khung	nose (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na khung myn•	nose hair (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na kung	nose; snot (liquid) (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na kung di•	hard piece of snot (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Khiamngan	^{21}**ŋan**	nose	Weidert 1987:610
Konyak	**na** teŋ	nose	French 1983:527
	na teng	nose	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**na** goŋ	nose	Weidert 1987:186
Wancho	**na** kuŋ	nose	French 1983:527
	na kung	nose	Marrison 1967
	ne-kuŋ	nose	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**nə^{31}**	nose	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	nə di	nose	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Andro	**sɑnɑ** ū tī	nose	Luce 1985:K.55
Chairel	sɑ **ŋɑ**	nose	Luce 1985:K.55
Ganan	**s‘ănɑ^{1}**	nose	Luce 1985:K.55

Kadu	**səna**	nose	Benedict 1972:101
	s'ănɑ^{3}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Kadu (Kantu)	**s'ănɑ**^{3}	nose	Luce 1985:K.55
Sak (Bawtala)	ă să kă **nu**^{2}	nose	Luce 1985:K.55
Sak	a sə kə **nú**	nose	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:7
Sak (Dodem)	kă **no**^{3}	nose	Luce 1985:K.55
	kă **no**^{4}	nose	Luce 1985:K.55
Sengmai	**sɑnūŋ**	nose	Luce 1985:K.55

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**sta** kuc	nose	Sharma 1988:61
	stə mti	snot	Sharma 1988:61
	tā kŭs	nose	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**ña**	nose	Sharma 1991b:3.5
	ña phuk tsa	nostril	Sharma 1991b:3.5.2
	ɲa	nose	Sharma 1982
	ɲa p^{h}ug tʃə	nostril	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**na**^{35} ngɐ^{53} dzɻ^{13} ɲɑ^{53}	nose bridge	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.5.1
	nɑ^{35} nga^{53} fio^{13} ru^{53}	nostril	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.5.2
	nɑ^{35} ngɐ^{53}	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.5
Kaike	**nha**	nose	Weidert 1987:610
	nhA	nose	Michailovsky 1991:133
	nhā	nose	Matisoff 1987
	nhā na to Tya	nostril	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	**na** wung	nose	Andvik 1993:7; Egli-Roduner 1987:32 6
	na wung-gang	nostril	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 7
	na wung-gi yi shole	bleed from the nose (v.)	Egli-Roduner 1987:37 13
Tsangla (Motuo)	**na**^{13} huŋ^{55}	nose	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	na^{13} k^{h}uŋ^{55}	nose	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	na wuŋ	nose	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.7
	na wuŋ laŋ	nose	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	**na** uŋ	nose	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**nɑ**^{55}	nose	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**nʌɪ**^{55} **ŋʌk**^{53}	nose	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	nʌ^{53}	nose	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.6
Motuo Menba	**na** wuŋ	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.07
Cuona Menba	**na**^{53}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.06
	na^{55}dʐuʔ^{53}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**rn̥æ**	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hna**	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hnæ**	nose	Sun 1985a:703
	rn̥a	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**n̥a**^{55}	nose	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.5
	n̥a^{55} khõ^{55}	nostril	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.5.2
	n̥a^{55} po^{53}	nose hair	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.5.4
	pha?^{55} **n̥a**^{55}	snout (pig)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.5.5
	n̥a^{53}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.03
	n̥a^{55}tɕu^{53}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**nouq**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	nouɨ 'miyuq	nostril	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**n̥a**^{53}	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**nə**^{55}ku^{52}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**nar** ko	nose	Bishop 1989:3.5
	nar ko nange pū	nose hair	Bishop 1989:3.5.4
	nar ko phēgen	blow nose (v.)	Bishop 1989:3.5.8
	na rko om	nostril	Bishop 1989:3.5.2
Sherpa	**na** wuq	nose; nostril	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**nà**	nose	Bodh 1991:3.5
	na yi mi kum	nostril	Bodh 1991:3.5.2
	na yi pu	nose hair	Bodh 1991:3.5.4
Tibetan (Written)	glaṅ-**sna**	trunk	Matisoff 1987
	sna	nose	Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:X.3; Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:703; LaPolla 1987:55; Benedict 1972:101
	sna	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.01
	sna	nose	Zhang Liansheng 1988:20; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.1
	sna gtɕu	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.01
	sna stug	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.1
	sna-bug	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	sna-dri	snot; drivel	Matisoff 1987
	sna-gšogs	alae nasi	Matisoff 1987:317
	sna-khuŋ	nostril	Zhang Liansheng 1988:21
	sna-k'uṅ	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	sna-mč'u~**sna**-goṅ	trunk	Matisoff 1987
	sna-sbugs	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	sna.sgang	bridge of nose	Sun 1985c:704
	snai čag-krum	septum	Matisoff 1987
	sna i-k'rag	nosebleed	Matisoff 1987
	snā	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
	šaṅs-rgyud~šaṅs-**sna**	nose (resp.)	Matisoff 1987
	šaṅs-**sna**	nose	Matisoff 1994b
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hna** htɕə	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.04
	hna ʁoŋ	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.04

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**na**	snout	Matisoff 1987
	nă-t'ár	snout	Matisoff 1987
	nyo	nasal catarrh; snot	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:101

2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{Ah}**na** NOSE

**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**na**	nose	Mazaudon 1978:12; Mazaudon 1994:564
Gurung (Ghachok)	**nā** khụ	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	nā khụq	nose	Matisoff 1987
	na k^{h}ũ	nostril	Glover 1972:2.A.24
	na k^{h}ũq	nose	Glover 1972:1.41
	^{1}na	nose	Mazaudon 1978:12
Manang (Gyaru)	**na**^{2}	nose	Nagano 1984:007
Manang (Ngawal)	**^{1}nɤ**	nose	Mazaudon 1978:12
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{3}nə**	nose	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0008a
	^{3}nə kuŋ	nose	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0008b
	^{1}nɤ	nose	Mazaudon 1994:564
Tamang	**na**	nose	Weidert 1987:610
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{1}na**	nose	Mazaudon 1978:12
	^{1}na	nose (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.5
	^{1}na	nose	Mazaudon 1994:564
	^{1}na -^{1}p^{h}i:	noseflaps / alaenasi	Mazaudon 1994:564
	^{1}na-^{3}kaŋ	nose ridge (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.5.1
	^{1}na-^{1}p^{h}i:	nose flaps (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.5.3
	^{1}nar-^{1}koŋ	nose ridge (n ?comp.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.5.1
	^{1}na kal	nostril	Mazaudon 1991:3.5.2
Tamang (Sahu)	**nā**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	na	nose	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.41
	na.'k^{h}uŋ	nostril	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.23
	^{1}na	nose	Mazaudon 1978:12; Mazaudon 1994:564
Tamang (Taglung)	**na**	nose	Mazaudon 1994:567
	^{1}na	nose	Mazaudon 1978:12
Thakali	**na**	nose	Weidert 1987:610
Thakali (Marpha)	**^{1}nʌ**	nose	Mazaudon 1978:12
	^{545}nʌ	nose	Mazaudon 1994:564
Thakali (Syang)	**^{1}nʌ**	nose	Mazaudon 1978:12
	^{54}na	nose	Mazaudon 1994:567
Thakali (Tukche)	**na**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	na-kho tong	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	now p^{h}ja-lɔ	blow nose	Hari 1971:2.B.2.4
	nɔ	nose	Hari 1971:1.41
	nɔ-k^{h}o toŋ	nostril	Hari 1971:2.A.24
	^{1}nʌ	nose	Mazaudon 1978:12
	^{H}nə	nose	Mazaudon 1994:564

2.1.5. Dhimal

Dhimal	**hna**-pu	nose	Benedict 1972:101
	hna-thi	snot	Benedict 1972:168n449
	hnɑ-thi	snot	Chou Fa-kao 1972:551f
	nha pu	nose	King 1994

2.2. Newar

Newar	**hna**	nose	Benedict 1972:101
	hna-sa	nose	Benedict 1972:101
Newar (Dolakhali)	**nas**	nose	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**nhae**	nose	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**nhāe**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	nhāe-pwā(l)	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	nhās-	nose	Matisoff 1987
	nhA s	nose	Michailovsky 1991:133
	nhæ	nose; sinus	Weidert 1987:610; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:2.6; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.5
	nhæ duneya sɔ̃	nose hair	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.5.4
	nhæ phwɔ:	alae nasi (nose flaps)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.5.3
	nhæ pu	nose bridge	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.5.1
	nhæ pwa:	nostril	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.5.2
Newar (Kathmandu)	**nɔ** tun-	smell	Genetti 1990c

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***na**	nose	Michailovsky 1991:133
	***na** khli	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	***ʔna**	nose	Opgenort 2011
Rokhung	**na** bu	nose	Weidert 1987:168

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**na**	nose	Ebert 1997
	na buk	nose	Ebert 1997
	na wat	snot (cf. na)	Ebert 1997
Belhare	**na** ri	nose	Bickel 1995
Chukwa	**na** bu	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Limbu	**na** wet	bridge of the nose	Michailovsky 1991:133
	nE bo	nose	Michailovsky 1989b
	ne bo	nose	Matisoff 1987
	ne bo hoŋ	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	ne bo so-m	tip of nose	Matisoff 1987
	nE bu hoŋ	nostril	Michailovsky 1989b
	nE hik	snot	Michailovsky 1989b
	ne hik	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	nɛ bo	nose	Michailovsky 1991:134
	nɛ boʔ ba	nose	Weidert 1987:610
	nɛ hik	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	[nɛ bo]	nose	Weidert 1987:168
	[nɛ boʔ ba]	nose	Weidert 1987:168
	[nɛ bu]	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Lohorong	**na** buk	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Yakha	**na**-buʔ ka:koŋ galik	nose bridge	Kohn 1990:3.5.1
	na bhuk	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Yakkha-Dewan	**na** bu	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Yakha	**na** buʔ ka: ɔ hoŋ	nostril	Kohn 1990:3.5.2
	na buʔ	nose	Kohn 1990:3.5
	na buʔ muŋ	nose hair	Kohn 1990:3.5.4
	na buʔ ka: poŋma	alae nasi (nose flaps)	Kohn 1990:3.5.3
	na gaʔma siŋma:	blow nose (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.5.8
	na phuk	nose	Weidert 1987:610
	pak ka u **na** buʔ	snout	Kohn 1990:3.5.5
Yamphu	**na** ʔu	nose (n.)	Rutgers 1998:559.07

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

**Kul-Cham-Ban*	***na** bu	nose	Michailovsky 1991:134
Bantawa	**na** bï	nose	Michailovsky 1991:134
	na bu	nose	Weidert 1987:168; Michailovsky 1991:134; Rai 1985; Rai *et al.* 1984:53
	na bu-hut	nostril	Rai *et al.* 1984:54
	na buk	nose	Weidert 1987:168
	na bu huT	nostril	Rai 1985
	na khï	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	na khïa	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	na khï wa	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	na khU(wa)	nasal discharge	Rai 1985
Chamling	**na** di pung	nose	Michailovsky 1991:134; Winter 1985:25
	na d̂i pũ	nose	Weidert 1987:168
	na khe	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	na khle	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162; Winter 1985:25
	na t̂i pɔ̃	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Kulung	**na** khil wa	snot	Rai *et al.* 1975
	na kkhi wa	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**nu**	nose	Michailovsky 1991:133; Driem 1993
	nu-dɨlə	nostril.	Driem 1993
	nu khil	snot; snot, mucus	Michailovsky 1991:162; Driem 1993
	nu tso:	tip of the nose.	Driem 1993
Khaling	**'ne** khli	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	'nō lāem	nostril	Matisoff 1987

	ne khli	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	nö	nose	Michailovsky 1991:133
	nō	nose	Matisoff 1987
Sampang	**na** bu	nose	Weidert 1987:168

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**ne** khli	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	nœ	nose	Michailovsky 1991:133
Hayu	**no:** bu	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	no: yi	blood coming from the nose (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:reyected 8
	tsoʔ **no**	nose (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.166
	tsoʔ **no**	nose	Michailovsky 1991:133
Sunwar	**ne:M**	nose	Michailovsky 1991:133
	nẹ:	nose	Matisoff 1987
	nẹ: a ʼpo: lā:	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	ne khi	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**na** khli	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	na khlī	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	na khli	snot, nasal mucus	Allen 1975
	neo	nose	Michailovsky 1991:133; Allen 1975
	nyo	nose	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**neh**	nose	Michailovsky 1991:133; Matisoff 1987
	neh	nose (n.)	Caughley 2000
	neh	nose	Caughley 1972:1.41
	neh-g^{h}aŋ	nostril	Caughley 1972:2.A.24
	neh-kliʔ	nasal catarrh; snot; mucus (nasal)	Caughley 1972:2.A.66; Matisoff 1987
	neh.ghāng	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	neh.ju.jhi	nose tip (n.)	Caughley 2000
	neh.kliʔ	nasal mucus (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	neh.kryoŋʔ	corners of nose (n.)	Caughley 2000
	neh.siŋʔ	bridge of nose (n1.)	Caughley 2000
	ne^{ñ}	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Chepang (Eastern)	**neh**	nose	Caughley 1990:3.5
	neh sri naʔ	blow nose (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.5.8
	neh ghaŋ	nostril	Caughley 1990:3.5.2
	neh kli	liquid mucus; solid mucus	Caughley 1990:3.5.6; Caughley 1990:3.5.7
	neh menʔ	nose hair	Caughley 1990:3.5.4
	neh romʔ	alae nasi (nose flaps)	Caughley 1990:3.5.3
	neh siŋʔ	nose bridge	Caughley 1990:3.5.1
Kham	**ʼsani**	nose	Michailovsky 1991:133
	ʼsani:	nose	Matisoff 1987
	ʼsəni:	nose	Watters & Watters 1989:1.41
	ʼsəni: kũ:	nostril	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.24
	sani: kụ	nostril	Matisoff 1987
Magar	**hna**	nose	Benedict 1972:101
	mi-**mhā**	nostril	Matisoff 1987

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	–	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.13
	nɪ̀ɦ	nose	Nishida 1964:152-073; Nishida 1964:183
	nꭒe	nose	Dai Qingxia 1989e:3.5
	nꭒe lhꭒe	nose bridge	Dai Qingxia 1989e:3.5.1
	nꭒe swa	nose hair	Dai Qingxia 1989e:3.5.4
	nꭒe^{2}	nose	Sofronov c1978

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**su**^{55}zɑ^{55}ɣɛ^{55}	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.18
Guiqiong	**ɳ̊o**^{53}	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.17
	ɳ̊o^{55} kũ^{53}	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.17
	ɳ̊ə^{55}kũ^{55}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.16
	ɳ̊ə^{55}thɑ̃^{55}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.16
Muya	**sə**^{53}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.15
Muya [Minyak]	**sɯ**^{53}	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.15
	sɯ^{55}mbɐ^{35}	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.15
Namuyi	**ɳ̊i**^{33}nga^{55}	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.19
	ɳ̊i^{33}ŋgɛ^{55}ɦɛ^{55}	liquid mucus; snot	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.5.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.19
	ɳ̊i^{33}nga^{53}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.46
	ɳ̊i^{31}nga^{55}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ɳ̊ɪ̃**^{11}gõ^{35}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**xiɛ̃**^{13}dʒõ^{55}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.09
	xiɛ̃^{13}pu^{13}lɑ^{53}	lip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**xiɛ̃**^{13} dʒõ^{55}	nose	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	xiɛ̃^{13} pu^{13} lɑ^{55}	lip	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	xiɛ̃^{13}dʒõ^{55}	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.11
	xiɛ̃^{13}pu^{13}lɑ^{55}	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɳ̊ə**^{35} ɣiã^{53}	nose	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**sì**-tí kù	ring for cow nose [m-round]	Evans 1999:840
Qiang (Mawo)	**sto** q tsu:	bridge of nose	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	stu q pu	nose bridge	Sun 1986
	stə q	nose	Sun 1986
	stə qᵚ	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.5
	stə q pu	nose bridge	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.5.1
	stə ˈtʃi	snot	Sun 1986
	stɤ xuˈ	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.8
	stɤ q	nose	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.8
	stɤ xuˈ	snot	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Mianchi)	**nè**	snot	Evans 1999:193.3
	nə̀ qɛ́ pì	nose	Evans 1999:106
Qiang (Taoping)	**χɳ̊i**^{31} qo^{55} pə^{33}	nose	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.9
	χɳ̊i^{55} tsuə^{33}	snot	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɳ̊a**^{35} ko^{53}	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**sɳ̊a**^{55}pɔ^{55}tʂa^{55}	blow (one's nose) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1738.13
	ȵi^{55}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.13
Xumi	**ɳ̊ɛ**^{53}qõ^{33}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.17
	ɳ̊ɛ^{55}si^{33}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.17
	ɳɑ^{55} qũ^{33}	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.20

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	**sna**^{53} rdoŋ^{33}	nose bridge	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.5.1
Ergong (Daofu)	**snei**	nose	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.5
	snei naŋ	sinus	Dai Qingxia 1989b:2.6
	snei nɑŋ	nostril	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.5.2
	snei qrə	nose bridge	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.5.1
	snei ʔmə ŋɑ	nose hair	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.5.4
Ergong (Danba)	**sni**	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.5
Daofu	**sni**	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.12
Ergong (Danba)	**sni**	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.14
Ergong (Daofu)	**snə** no	smell / sniff (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.5.9
Ergong (Northern)	**snə**^{53}	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.5
	snə^{53} rmo^{53}	nose hair	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.5.4
	snə^{53} ʁɟje^{13}	nostril	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.5.2
	snɛ^{53} ndɐp^{53}	alae nasi (nose flaps)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.5.3
Ergong (Danba)	**snɯ** no	smell; sniff (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.5.9; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:548.14
Ergong (Northern)	va^{53} **snə**^{53}~va^{53} ɱtɕ^{h}e^{53}	snout (pig)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.5.5
Ergong (Daofu)	vɑ **snei**	snout (pig)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.5.5

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (NW)	pa və **sɳ̊i**	snout (pig)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.5.5
rGyalrong (Eastern)	pak wu **ʃna**	snout (pig)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.5.5
rGyalrong (Northern)	pak **ʃna**	snout (pig)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.5.5
rGyalrong	**snə** no	smell / sniff (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.5.9
	tə **ʃna**	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **ʃnɑ**	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.11
rGyalrong	tə **ɕna**	nose	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.5
	tə **ɕna** kro ko	nose bridge	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.5.1
	tə **ɕna** k^{h}oi jdu	nostril	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.5.2
	tə **ɕna** mo rɳɛ	nose hair	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.5.4
Caodeng	tə-**ʃneʔ**	nose	Sun 1997a
	tɑ́-**ʃne** v	snot	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **sɳ̊i** rme	nose hair	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.5.4
	tə **sɳ̊i** p	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.5
	tə **sɳə** ku	nose bridge	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.5.1
	tə **sɳɛ** ʁduŋ	alae nasi (nose flaps)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.5.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **ʃna**	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.5
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ʃna**	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.5
	tə **ʃna** ago	nose bridge	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.5.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **ʃna** kro ko	nose bridge	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.5.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ʃna** k^{h}uŋ du	nostril	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.5.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **ʃna** k^{h}ɐ jdu	nostril	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.5.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ʃna** rme	nose hair	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.5.4
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **ʃna** wa rɲe	nose hair	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.5.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ʃna** zgoku	alae nasi (nose flaps)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.5.3
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ʃnɐ** kɐr	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.11
rGyalrong	**ɕna** tɕ^{h}i	alae nasi (nose flaps)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.5.3
	tA **shna**	nose	Nagano 1997:3.5
	tA **shna** kro vo	nose bridge	Nagano 1997:3.5.1
	tA **shna** wu rnye	nose hair	Nagano 1997:3.5.4
rGBenzhen	tə-**ʃnaʔ**	nose	Sun 1997b
	ʃnɐ-kɐʔr	nose-ring	Sun 1997b
Shili	tə-**sni**	nose	Sun 1997c

4. Nungic

Anong	**śəna**	nose	LaPolla 1987:55; Benedict 1972:101
Nung	**sɻ**^{31}**nɑ**^{55}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.21
Anong	**sɻ**^{31}**nɑ**^{55}	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.44
Rawang	**ʃənɑ**^{53}	nose	LaPolla 2003:90
	ʃənɑ^{53} sɯm^{33}ri^{33}	ring in a cow's nose, used to lead it about	LaPolla 2003:675
Trung [Dulong]	**snɑ**^{44}	nose	Matisoff 1987
	snɑ^{44} doŋ^{42}	nostril	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	**sɯ**^{55}**nɑ**^{55}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ʂɯ**^{31}**nɑ**^{55}	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**sɯ**^{31} **na**^{55}	nose	LaPolla 1987:55
	sɯ^{31} **nɑ**^{55}	nose	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**sɯ**^{31} **na**^{55}	nose	LaPolla 1987:55
	sɯ^{31} **nɑ**^{55}	nose	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔna**$^{1/2}$ + koŋ$^{1/2}$	nose	Matisoff 1978a:61

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**na**^{31} khɑŋ^{55}	nose	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ni**^{31} xɔŋ^{55}	nose	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	nɔʔ^{55} **ɳ̊ɔ**^{55}	face	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:236.41
	ɳ̊ɔŋ^{55}	nose	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɳ̊ɔŋ^{55}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.28
	ɳ̊ɔŋ^{55}; ni^{31}**ɳ̊ɔŋ**^{55}	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.41
Achang (Luxi)	**na**^{55} kaŋ^{35}	nose	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:55
	ɳaʔ^{31} **na**^{35}	face	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	ɲɔʔ^{55} **ɳ̊o**^{55}	face	Dai Qingxia 1989f:105
	ɲɔʔ^{55}**ɳ̊ɔ**^{55}	face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.29
Bola	**nạ**^{55}	nose	Dai Qingxia 1989g:103
Bola (Luxi)	**nạ**^{55}ʃø^{31}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.32
Burmese (Modern)	**nhā**^{3}	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
Burmese (Rangoon)	mjɛʔ^{4}**ɳ̊ɑ**^{22}	face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.27
	nɑ^{53}phɑ^{55}kwī^{55}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.27
	ɳ̊ɑ^{22}khɑ̃u^{55}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.27
Burmese (Spoken)	**hna**^{3}	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	mjɛʔ^{44}**ɳ̊ɑ**^{22}	face	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:236.40
	ɳ̊ɑ^{22}khɑũ^{55}	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.40
Burmese (Written)	**hna**	nose	Weidert 1987:186; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:55; Benedict 1972:101

	hna-khôŋ	nose	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1993
	hna-khôŋ-pok	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	hna-tam	ridge of nose	Matisoff 1987
	hnɑ^{2}khɔŋ^{3}	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.39
	hnɑɑ^{2}khɔŋ^{3}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.26
	mjɑk **hnɑ**^{2}	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.39
	mjɑk^{4}**hnɑɑ**^{2}	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.26
	myak-**hna**	face ("eye-nose"); face ('eye-nose')	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:62; Benedict 1972:35n116
	myak **nha**	face	Marrison 1967
	nhā	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
	nhā^{3}	nose	Luce 1985:X.3
	nhā khoṅ	nose	Marrison 1967
	nɑ^{1}phɑ^{3}kwɑŋ^{3}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.26
	pwat-sui-**na**	disease affecting the nose	Matisoff 1985a:030
Danu	**nǎ**^{4} k'aũ^{2}	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
Hpun (Northern)	**náʔ** kɔ̀ŋ	nose	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	**nɑh**^{1} kɔ̆ŋ^{4}	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
	nɑh^{1} [kɔ̆ŋ^{4}]	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Langsu (Luxi)	**nɔ̱**^{31}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.31
Lashi	**no̱**^{33}	nose	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.5
	no̱^{33} khjuŋ^{55}	nostril	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.5.2
	no̱^{33} mou^{55}	nose hair	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.5.4
Lashi (Lachhe')	**nɔ**^{4}	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
Leqi (Luxi)	**no̱**^{33}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.33
	nɔ̆^{33}ka̱ŋ^{33}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.33
Marma	**nə** khɔ́ŋ	nose	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:7
Maru [Langsu]	**nɔ̱**^{31}	nose	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.5; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.43
	nɔ̱^{31} khjauŋ^{35}	nostril	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.5.2
	nɔ̱^{31} muk^{55}	nose hair	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.5.4
	nʔò	nose	Weidert 1987:186
Taung-Yo	**nɑ**^{4}	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**no**^{2}	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
	no̱^{51}	nose	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	no̱^{51}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.30
	no̱^{51}	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.42
	no̱^{51}ʃon^{55}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.30
	nʔó	nose	Weidert 1987:186

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***s-na**^{1}	nose	Weidert 1987:186; Bradley 1979b:93-1
Lolopho	**no**^{44} v̩^{31}	nose bridge	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.5.1
	nv̩^{44} gv̩^{33}	nose	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.5
	nv̩^{44} gv̩^{33} mi^{33} dv̩^{31}	nostril	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.5.2
	nv̩^{44} gv̩^{33} mɯ^{33}	nose hair	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.5.4
	ve̱^{31} **nv̩**^{44} gv̩^{33}	snout (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.5.5

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**na**^{35} khv̩^{33}	nose	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.5
	na^{35} khv̩^{33} mo^{24}	nose hair	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.5.4
	na^{35}khv^{33}tɕhɛ^{33}tɕhɛ^{33}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.47
	na^{35}khv̩^{33}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.47
	nɑ^{24}k^{h}v^{24}	nose	MU Shihua 2003
	nɑ^{24}k^{h}v^{33}tso^{55}ts^{h}i^{55}kɤ^{21}	bridge of nose	MU Shihua 2003
	nɑ^{24}k^{h}v^{33}tɕɛ^{33}tɕɛ^{33}	tip of nose	MU Shihua 2003
	nɑ^{24}k^{h}v^{33}n̥o^{24}	nose hair	MU Shihua 2003
	nɑ^{24}ts^{h}ɿ^{31}	snot, mucus	MU Shihua 2003
	wa^{53} **na**^{35} khv̩^{33}	snout (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.5.5
Lalo	**ʔná**-khu	nose	Björverud 1994
	ʔnɑ^{55} k^{h}u̱^{33}	nose	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5
	ʔnɑ^{55} k^{h}u̱^{33} dzo̱^{21} tsɿ̄^{21}	nose bridge	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.1
	ʔnɑ^{55} k^{h}u̱^{33} k^{h}u̱^{55} du̱^{55}	nostril	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.2
Lipho	**nu**^{55}bi̱^{33}	nose	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5
	nu^{55}dza^{21}	nose bridge	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.1
Nasu	**no**^{21} bi̱^{21}	nose	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5
	no^{21} bi̱^{21} ɬu^{33}	nostril	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.2
	no^{33} mo^{33} pu^{33}	nose bridge	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.1
Nesu	**no**^{55} bu^{21}	nose bridge	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.1
	no^{55} ko̱^{21}	nose	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5
	no^{55} ko̱^{21} du^{33}	nostril	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.2
Noesu	**no**^{21}bɪ^{21}	nose	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5
	no^{33}ku^{55}	nose bridge	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.1
Nosu	**n̥a**^{21}bi^{55}	nose	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5
	n̥a^{33}ko^{33}	nose bridge	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.1
Nusu (Northern)	**nɑ**^{55} kɔ̃^{53}	nose	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	nɑ^{55} k^{h}õ^{31}	mouth	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**n̥a**^{55} kõ^{35}	nose	DAI Qingxia 1989o:103.
Nusu (Central)	**n̥a**^{55} kɔ̃^{33}	nose; mouth	DAI Qingxia 1989p:103.; DAI Qingxia 1989p:107.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**n̥a**^{55} k^{h}õ^{35}	mouth	DAI Qingxia 1989o:107.
Nusu (Central)	**n̥a**^{55}kɔ̃^{33}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.34
	n̥iɑ^{ɹ31}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**n̥iɑ**^{ɹ31}thɑ^{55};ŋ̊ẽ^{ɹ31}t^{h}ɑ^{55}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.45
Nusu (Southern)	**n̥i**^{55} kɔ̃^{31}	nose	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	n̥i^{55} k^{h}õ^{31}	mouth	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**n̥ɑ**^{55} kɔ̃^{35}	mouth	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	n̥ɑ^{55} kɑ̃^{35}	nose	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**n̥ɑ**^{55}kɑ̃^{35}	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.45
Nusu (Central)	phia^{55}**n̥a**^{33}	face (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0082.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	phɹɑ^{ɹ55}**ŋɑ**^{35}	face	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:236.45
Nusu (Central)	p^{h}ia^{55} **na**^{55}	face	DAI Qingxia 1989p:105.
Nusu (Southern)	p^{h}u^{55} **n̥ɔ**^{31}	face	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986 [a]
Nusu (Central)	p^{h}ɹɑ^{ɹ55} **n̥ɑ**^{35}	face	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	p^{hɹ}ɚ^{55} **n̥a**^{35}	face	DAI Qingxia 1989o:105.
Yi (Dafang)	**nɔ**^{33} mo^{55}	nose	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	nɔ^{33} tɕ^{h}i^{55}	mucus	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	nɔ^{33}mo^{55}	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.22
	nɔ^{33}tɕhi^{55}	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**n̥a**^{21}bi^{55}	nose; nose, runny	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index; MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index

	n̥a^{33}	nose	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	n̥a^{33}ndʑu^{33}ʑɿ^{33}	snot	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	n̥a^{33}ʑɿ^{33}	nose rope	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	n̥a^{33}dʑu^{55}	nose bridge	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**no**^{33}bo̱^{21}	nose; snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.25; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**no**^{55}ko̱^{21}	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.26
	no^{55}tshi^{21}	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**no**^{33}be̱^{33}	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.24
	no^{33}ku̯^{33}pi^{33}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.37
	no^{55}bi̱^{33}	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**nɑ**^{55} k^{h}u̯^{33}	nose	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	nɑ^{55}k^{h}u̯^{33}	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔnɑ**^{55}khu̯^{33}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.36
Yi (Wuding)	**nu**^{33}mu^{33}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.38
	nu^{33}tnv̩^{33}tʂɑ̱^{2}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.38
Yi (Xide)	**n̥a**^{21} bi^{55}	nose	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.21
	n̥a^{33}-dʑu̱^{33}	nasal cavity; nostril	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	n̥a^{33}-ko^{33}	bridge of nose	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	n̥ɑ^{21}bi^{55}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.35
	n̥ɑ^{33}ʑɿ^{33}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lolo (Ni)	**na** bí	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
Ahi	**no**^{33} bo̱^{21}	nose; solid mucus	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.5; LUO Meizhen 1990:3.5.7
	no^{33} bo̱^{21} i^{33} nɯ̱^{33}	nose hair	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.5.4
	no^{33} bo̱^{21} ne̱^{33} bɑ^{55}	nostril	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.5.2
	no^{33} bo̱^{21} si̱^{33}	blow nose (v.)	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.5.8
	no^{33} tʂɛ^{22} ɣɯ^{21}	nose bridge	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.5.1
	no^{33} ʈ'i̱^{21}	snout	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.5.5
	no^{33}bo̱^{21}	nose	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5
	no^{33}tʂɛ^{22}ɣɯ^{21}	nose bridge	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.1
Jinuo	**nɔ**^{33}to^{44}	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.34
	nɔ^{33}vu^{44}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.44
	nə^{42}to^{44}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**nɤ**^{31} to^{44}	nose	DAI Qingxia 1989h:106
Jinuo (Baka)	**n̥o**^{31} tu^{44}	nose	DAI Qingxia 1989i:106
Jinuo (Youle)	**n̥ɔ**^{42} to^{44}	nose	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**na35** khu31	nose	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***na̠**	nose	Bradley 1979b:93-1
Lahu (Lancang)	**nɑ**^{11}qhɔ^{53}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.43
Lahu (Black)	**na** [hk'awˇ]	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
	nā-qhɔ̂	nose	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:61
	nā-qhɔ̂-qhɔ	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	na^{31} q^{h}ɔ^{53}	nose	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	nú	snot	Matisoff 1974:389; Matisoff 1972b:152
	nu-yɨ̀	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	nʌ^{31}qhɔ^{53}	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**na**^{31} q^{h}ɔ^{55}	nose	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Banlan)	**na̠** hkuhˇ	nose	Bradley 1979a:93
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}**na**^{33}ka^{33}	nose (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**na**^{3}-bē^{4}	nose	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**na**^{3}-bē^{4}	nose	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**na**^{3}bē^{4}	nose	Bradley 1979b:93-1
Lisu (Northern)	**na**^{33}be^{44}	nose	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}gɔ^{44}	aquiline nose	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}ka^{33}thu^{33}	pierce through the nose	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}khu^{33}	nose; nostril; nasal cavity	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}khu^{33}si^{21}	nasal blood; nosebleed	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}khu^{33}ta^{33}	turn up the nose	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}ne^{55}	nose of saddle	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}si^{21}	brandy nose	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}si^{35}vy^{21}	bone of nose-bridge	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}tshi^{35}vy^{21}	bone of nose-bridge	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**na̱**-bi	nose	Matisoff 1987
	na̱-bwe	nose	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Putao)	**na**^{4}k'ü^{3}	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
Lisu	**nâ** bī	nose	Weidert 1987:186
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**nɑ**^{3}bē^{4}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Lisu	**nɑ̱**^{33}bi^{33}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.40
	nɑ̱^{33}khu̱^{33}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**nɑ̱**^{44} k^{h}u̱^{44}	nose	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**nɑ**^{44}k^{h}u^{44}; **nɑ**^{44}bi^{33}	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.27
Lisu (Putao)	**nɑ**^{4} [k'ü^{3}]	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Sani [Nyi]	**nɑ̱**^{44}	nose	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:100.1
	nɑ̱^{44} bi^{33} ne^{33}	nostril	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:100.3
	nɑ̱^{44} bi^{33} no̱^{44}	nasal hair	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:100.4
	nɑ^{44} bɪ^{33}	nose	MA Xueliang 1989:321.8
	nɑ^{44} bɪ^{33} ne^{44}	nostril	MA Xueliang 1989:321.9
	nɑ^{44} bɪ^{33} xɤ^{44}	blow nose (v.)	MA Xueliang 1989:321.10
	nɑ^{44}bɤ^{22}pu^{55}	nose bridge	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.1
	nɑ^{44}bɪ^{33}	nose	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5
	nɑ^{44}bɪ^{33}ne^{44}pu^{55}	nostril	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.2
	nɑ^{44}bɪ^{33}no^{44}	nose hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.4
	nɑ^{44}bɪ^{33}xɯ^{44}	blow nose	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.8
	nɒ̱^{33}	nose	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	nɒ̱^{33}bi^{33}ne^{33}	nostril	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	nɒ̱^{33}bɤ̱^{21}pu^{55}	bridge of nose	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**nɒ**^{44}bɪ^{33}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.39
Sani [Nyi]	n̩^{55}**n̥ɑ**^{44}	mouth	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	**ná** bàŋ	nose	Hansson 1989:222
	ná mɛ́	nostril	Hansson 1989:357
Akha (Thai)	**ná** mɛ́ bjö	nostril	Hansson 1989:357
	ná-mɛ́	nose	Hansson 1989:222
Akha	**na**ˇ mehˇ bah̬	nose	Lewis 1989
	naˇ mehˇ (mehˇ)	nose	Matisoff 1987
	naˇ mehˇ **na**ˇ tsmˇ	bridge of nose	Matisoff 1987
	ná mɛ́	nose	Weidert 1987:186
Bisu	**hná** kháŋ	nose	Bradley 1979b
	na kháŋ	nose	Beaudouin 1988:15

[a] Southern Nusu **n̥ɔ**^{31} is distinct both from 'eye' **mi̱ɑ**^{31} and 'nose' **n̥i**^{55}. However, comparison with other forms leads us provisionally to assign it to PTB ***s-na** ⪤ ***s-naːr** NOSE (§1.2.8).

	na khɔ́ŋ	nostril	Beaudouin 1988:15
	ná k^{h}aŋ	nose	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**ná** bɔ̀	nostril	Hansson 1989:357
	ná mɛ́	nose	Hansson 1989:222
Hani (Dazhai)	**na**^{55} me^{55}	nose	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**na**^{55}me^{55}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.41
	na^{55}ts$\underline{a}^{33}$	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.41
Hani (Pijo)	**ná** khú	nostril	Hansson 1989:357
	ná mí	nose	Hansson 1989:222
Hani (Caiyuan)	**na**^{55} me^{55}	nose	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.30
	na^{55}pi^{55}	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**na**^{55} mɛ^{55}	nose	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**nal** bbyu	nostril	Hansson 1989:357
	nal meil	nose	Hansson 1989:222
Hani (Shuikui)	**nɔ**^{55} mɛ^{55}	nose	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.32
Hani (Khatɯ)	**ná** khú	nostril	Hansson 1989:357
	ná tù	nose	Hansson 1989:222
Hani (Mojiang)	**nɔ**^{55}khu^{55}a^{31}tʃha^{33}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.42
	nɔ^{55}mɛ^{55}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.42
Mpi	**ŋ**^{4}khoŋ^{6}	nose	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1978a:61; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**na33** khaŋ45	nose	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131065
Sangkong	**na**^{55} qhaŋ^{55}	nose	Li Yongsui 1991
Sila	**na55** mø55	nose	Kato Takashi 2008:13
Ugong	**nà** kɔŋ	nose	Bradley 1993
	nà thêŋ / **nè** thêŋ	nose	Bradley 1993:3.5
	nà thêŋ / yɔŋ	tip of nose	Bradley 1993
	nà thêŋ mə́ŋ	nose hair	Bradley 1993:3.5.4

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**nɲ**^{45}nɲ^{45}	snot	Pelkey 2011:323
	nɔ^{44}mɔ^{21}	nose	Pelkey 2011:258
Southern Muji	**ȵa**^{33}kɯ^{21}	nose	Pelkey 2011:258
Phola	**nɑ**^{55}qɔ^{33}	nose	Pelkey 2011:258
Hlepho Phowa	**na**^{33}kɯ^{55}	nose	Pelkey 2011:258
	na^{33}zɻ^{33}	snot	Pelkey 2011:323
Phu Kha	**na**^{33} bu^{33} ku^{35}	nose	Fried 2000
Phuza	**na**^{55}kɯ^{33}	nose	Pelkey 2011:258
	na^{55}kɯ^{33}zi^{31}	snot	Pelkey 2011:323

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**njɤ**˧gɤ˥	nose	Michaud 2006–2009:263
	njɤ˧gɤ˥ dzi˩	rope attached to a cow's nasal ring	Michaud 2006–2009:1208
	njɤ˧gɤ˥ q^{h}ɔ˥	nostril	Michaud 2006–2009:264
Na (Yongning)	**ȵi**˧gɤ˧#˥	nose	Michaud 2006–2009
	ȵi˧gɤ˧bæ˥	rope attached to a cow's nasal ring	Michaud 2006–2009
	ȵi˧gɤ˧dʑi˥	nasal mucus, snot	Michaud 2006–2009
	ȵi˧q^{h}v˧	nostril; nasal mucus, snot	Michaud 2006–2009
	ȵi˧tɕ^{h}i˧	pierce (e.g. a cow's nose) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	ɣɯ^{33}**ȵi**^{55}tɣ^{21}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**ȵi**^{33}gə^{33}	nose	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ȵi**^{33}gə^{33}	nose; snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.29; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.29
Naxi (Western)	**ȵi**^{55}mər^{31}	nose	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ȵi**^{55}məɹ^{31}	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.28
Naxi	**ȵi**^{55}mɚ^{21}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.45

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***hna**	nose	Weidert 1987:845; Benedict 1972:136n369
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ná**	nose	Jones 1961:403
**Karen (Pwo)*	***nà**	nose	Jones 1961:403
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***nàK**	nose	Jones 1961:403
Bwe	**nɛ**-khɔ́'ɪ	snot	Henderson 1997
	nɛ-khɔ́ đé	nose (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**nɛ**^{2}-khə-ʔde^{1}	nose	Weidert 1987:845
	nɛ^{2}k'e^{1}đe^{1}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Bwe	**nì**-khí-ká	nose	Weidert 1987:845
Geba	**ne**^{2}k'e^{2}de^{1}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Kayan (Pekon)	**nà**	nose (N.)	Manson 2010
	nà p^{h}ú	nose (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**nèʔ** phù, **nè** phù	nose	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**neʔ**^{3}p'u^{6}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Pa-O	**néʔ** phù	nose	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:403
Paku	**nɑ**^{1}đe^{1}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Palaychi	**nàʔ** dèʔ	nose	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:403
Pwo (Delta)	**nɑ**^{4}p'u^{4}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**nɑ**^{6}p'u^{6}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
	nɑ^{6}p'ɤ^{6}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Pwo (Bassein)	**nà** phù	nose	Weidert 1987:845; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:403
Pwo (Moulmein)	**nà**	nose	Weidert 1987:845; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:403
Sgaw	**nɑ**^{1}đe^{1}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
	^{4}**na**^{3}se	nose	Weidert 1987:845
Sgaw (Bassein)	**ná** se	nose	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:403
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**nɔ**^{33} dze^{33}	nose	Dai Qingxia 1989k:106
	nɔ^{33} dze^{33} bu^{33}	nostril	Dai Qingxia 1989k:106.1
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ná** dé	nose	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:403
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**na**^{55} se^{33}	nose	Dai Qingxia 1989j:106

8. Bai

Bai (Jianchuan)	**ŋv**^{21}khv^{33}tɯ^{21}	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.36
	ŋṽ^{21} khṽ^{44} tɯ̃^{21}	nose	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ŋṽ$_{ı}^{21}$ k^{h}ṽ$_{ı}^{44}$ tɯ̃^{21} xɯ^{31} no^{33} m$\underline{a}^{21}$ «tsɯ^{31}	nose hair	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.5.4
	ŋṽ$_{ı}^{21}$ k^{h}ṽ$_{ı}^{44}$ tɯ̃^{21} «n$\underline{e}^{21}$»	nose	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.5
	ŋṽ$_{ı}^{21}$ k^{h}ṽ$_{ı}^{44}$ tɯ̃^{21} ʔuĩ^{33}	nostril	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.5.2

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	**pɔk**^{33}	nose	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.52
	pɔk^{33}kua^{33}	snot	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.52

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	ja-**pĩ**	nose; snout	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja-**pĩ** a-č^{h}i	disease of the nose	Sun 1993b
	ja-**pĩ** hu-lo	nose ornament; ornament (of the nose); plug n. (nose~)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja-**pĩ pim-bu**	nostril	Sun 1993b
	ja-**pĩ** pin-ǰã (a-lo)	nose ridge	Sun 1993b
	ja-**piŋ**	nose	Sun 1993b
	ja-**piŋ** a-mu	nose hair	Sun 1993b
	ja-**piŋ** hu-lo	nose pluck	Sun 1993b
	ja-**piŋ** ú-**bu**	nostril	Sun 1993b
	pím-bu	nostril	Sun 1993b
	pin-ǰã	bridge of nose	Sun 1993b
	^{1}ya^{2}piŋ(^{1})	nose	Weidert 1987:610
Bengni	na-**fuŋ**	nose	Sun 1993b
	na-**fuŋ** uŋ	nostril	Sun 1993b
	pum-ji:	snot (solid)	Sun 1993b
	pum-si **pum**-la:	snot (watery)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ña-**pum**	nose	Sun 1993b
	pum-loŋ	bridge of nose	Sun 1993b
	ŋa **pum**	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.24
Bokar Lhoba	**pum** loŋ	bridge of nose	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ŋa **pum**	nose	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ʑa **pum**	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.51
Galo	**pum** duu	nose (upturned) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	pum jak	split (nose) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	pum tup	nose (tip) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	pum tuu	nose (short) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	pum tuu	short (nose) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	puŋ kii	nose (pointy) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	puŋ kii	pointy (nose) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'pum bək	nostril (right) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'pum ci	noseache; nostril (left) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'pum jap	flat (nose) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'pum jap	nose (flat) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'pum kam	booger (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'pum mə	nosehair (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'pum si-**pum** laa	nose water (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'puŋ gɨɨ	bridge (of the nose); nose bridge (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'puŋ koo	nose piercing (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ɲe **pum**	nose (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲe **pum**	nose	Das Gupta 1963
	¯ña **pum**	nose	Weidert 1987:610
	¯ñɤ **pum**	nose	Weidert 1987:610
Miri, Hill	ɲi **pum**	nose	Simon 1976
	ɲi **pum**-u	nostril	Simon 1976
Nishing	nyio **pum**	nose	Das Gupta 1969
	nyo **pum**	nose	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	nyé-**bung**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	nyé-**bung**-a-rung	nostril	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**buŋ**-ro:	bridge of nose	Sun 1993b
	ŋi-**buŋ**	nose	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	xɑ^{31} niɑ^{53} **pɯm**^{55}	nose	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	xɑ^{31}niɑ^{53}**pɯm**^{55}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.22
	xɑ^{31}niɑ^{53}**pɯm**^{55}	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.49
Idu	e^{55}ŋɑŋ^{55}**bo**^{55}	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.5
	e^{55}ŋɑŋ^{55}**bo**^{55}	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.50
	e nam **bo**	nose	Pulu 1978
	e nam **bõ**	nose	Anonymous 1962
	e nam **bõ**-be	nostril	Anonymous 1962
	e na **bɤ**	nostril	Pulu 1978
	e na **pũ**	snout	Pulu 1978
Yidu	e^{55} ŋɑŋ^{55} **bo**^{55}	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.25

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Sangtam	na **pong**	nose	Marrison 1967
	^{2}na^{1}**buŋ**	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Yimchungrü	nu **bong**	nose	Marrison 1967
	nü **pung**	nose	Kumar 1973b:63
	^{1}nɯ^{2}**buŋ**	nose	Weidert 1987:186

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Meluri	a nga **pu**	nose	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	gyum **pug**	nose	Sharma 1991a:3.5
	gyum **pug** bruša	blow nose (v.)	Sharma 1991a:3.5.8
	gyum **pug** phug	nostril	Sharma 1991a:3.5.2
Pattani [Manchati]	ña **phuk** tsa	nostril	Sharma 1991b:3.5.2
	ɲa **p^{h}ug** tʃə	nostril	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	na **wung**	nose	Andvik 1993:7; Egli-Roduner 1987:32 6
	na **wung**-gang	nostril	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 7
	na **wung**-gi yi shole	bleed from the nose (v.)	Egli-Roduner 1987:37 13
Tsangla (Motuo)	na **wuŋ**	nose	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.7
	na **wuŋ** laŋ	nose	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	na **uŋ**	nose	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Sherpa	na **wuq**	nose; nostril	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Written)	sna-**bug**	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	sna-**sbugs**	nostril	Matisoff 1987

2.1.5. Dhimal

Dhimal	hna-**pu**	nose	Benedict 1972:101
	nha **pu**	nose	King 1994

2.2. Newar

Newar	nhāe-**pwā(l)**	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	nhæ **pu**	nose bridge	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.5.1
	nhæ **pwa:**	nostril	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.5.2

2.3. Kiranti

Rokhung	na **bu**	nose	Weidert 1987:168

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	na **buk**	nose	Ebert 1997
Chukwa	na **bu**	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Limbu	nE **bo**	nose	Michailovsky 1989b

(2) PTB *bu $\begin{matrix}\text{k}\\\text{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ NOSE / NOSTRIL

In several languages including Written Tibetan, this etymon means NOSTRIL rather than NOSE, suggesting that there might be a connection with PTB ***d-(p/b)u-k*** BELLY / STOMACH / CAVE (§1.7.6) and PTB ***d-pu:k*** BELLY / VITALS / HOLLOW OBJECT / CAVE (§1.7.6).

Reflexes with final **-m**, as in some Tani languages and Darang, seem to have arisen by assimilation to the labial initial.

Apatani has developed a high front vowel in this root, still another example of the variation between **-u-** and **-i-** in the environment of labials.

	ne **bo**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	ne **bo** hoŋ	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	ne **bo** so-m	tip of nose	Matisoff 1987
	nE **bu** hoŋ	nostril	Michailovsky 1989b
	nɛ **bo**	nose	Michailovsky 1991:134
	nɛ **boʔ** ba	nose	Weidert 1987:610
	[nɛ **bo]**	nose	Weidert 1987:168
	[nɛ **boʔ** ba]	nose	Weidert 1987:168
	[nɛ **bu]**	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Lohorong	na **buk**	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Yakha	na-**buʔ** kaːkoŋ galik	nose bridge	Kohn 1990:3.5.1
	na **bhuk**	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Yakkha-Dewan	na **bu**	nose	Weidert 1987:168
Yakha	na **buʔ** kaː ɔ hɔŋ	nostril	Kohn 1990:3.5.2
	na **buʔ**	nose	Kohn 1990:3.5
	na **buʔ** muŋ	nose hair	Kohn 1990:3.5.4
	na **buʔ** kaː poŋma	alae nasi (nose flaps)	Kohn 1990:3.5.3
	na **phuk**	nose	Weidert 1987:610
	pak ka u na **buʔ**	snout	Kohn 1990:3.5.5

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

**Kul-Cham-Ban*	*na **bu**	nose	Michailovsky 1991:134
Bantawa	na **bï**	nose	Michailovsky 1991:134
	na **bu**	nose	Weidert 1987:168; Michailovsky 1991:134; Rai 1985; Rai *et al.* 1984:53
	na **bu**-hut	nostril	Rai *et al.* 1984:54
	na **buk**	nose	Weidert 1987:168
	na **bu** huT	nostril	Rai 1985
Chamling	na di **pung**	nose	Michailovsky 1991:134; Winter 1985:25
	na d̂i **pũ**	nose	Weidert 1987:168
	na î **pɔ̃**	nose	Weidert 1987:168

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Sampang	na **bu**	nose	Weidert 1987:168

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	neː a **ʼpoː** lāː	nostril	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	sɻ^{55} **nbu^{55}**	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.18 [a]
Qiang (Mawo)	stu q **pu**	nose bridge	Sun 1986
	stə q **pu**	nose bridge	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.5.1
Qiang (Taoping)	χn̥i^{31} qo^{55} **pə^{33}**	nose	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.9

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (NW)	tə sn̥ɛs **pʰo**	nostril	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.5.2

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Xiandao)	n̥ap^{31} **pʰɔŋ^{55}**	nose	Dai Qingxia 1989f:103
	n̥ap^{31} **phɔŋ^{55}**	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.29
Burmese (Written)	hna-khôŋ-**pok**	nostril	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nasu	no^{33} mo^{33} **pu^{33}**	nose bridge	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.1
Nesu	no^{55} **bu^{21}**	nose bridge	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.1
Yi (Mile)	no^{33}**bo̱^{21}**	nose; snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.25; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.25

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	no^{33} **bo̱^{21}**	nose; solid mucus	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.5; Luo Meizhen 1990:3.5.7
	no^{33} **bo̱^{21}** i^{33} nɯ̱^{33}	nose hair	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.5.4
	no^{33} **bo̱^{21}** ne̱^{33} bɑ^{55}	nostril	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.5.2
	no^{33} **bo̱^{21}** si̱^{33}	blow nose (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.5.8
	no^{33}**bo̱^{21}**	nose	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5
Sani [Nyi]	nɑ^{44}bɤ^{22}**pu^{55}**	nose bridge	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.1
	nɑ^{44}bɪ^{33}ne^{44}**pu^{55}**	nostril	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.2
	nɒ̱^{33}bɤ̱^{21}pu^{55}	bridge of nose	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	ná **bàŋ**	nose	Hansson 1989:222
Akha (Thai)	ná mé **bjö**	nostril	Hansson 1989:357
Hani (Lüchun)	ná **bɔ̀**	nostril	Hansson 1989:357
Hani (Wordlist)	nal **bbyu**	nostril	Hansson 1989:357

7. Karenic

Kayan (Pekon)	nà **pʰú**	nose (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	nè? **phù**, nè **phù**	nose	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	ne?^{3}**p‘u^{6}**	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Pa-O	né? **phù**	nose	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:403
Pwo (Delta)	nɑ^{4}**p‘u^{4}**	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Pwo (Tenasserim)	nɑ^{6}**p‘u^{6}**	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
	nɑ^{6}**p‘ɤ^{6}**	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Pwo (Bassein)	nà **phù**	nose	Weidert 1987:845; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:403
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	nɔ^{33} dze^{33} **bu^{33}**	nostril	Dai Qingxia 1989k:106.1

[a] Preemption in Ersu NOSE **sɻ^{55} nbu^{55}** < ***sm̥ɻ** (cf. Ergong **sni**, Lahu **š-i** < ***s-nit**).

(3) PTB *l-di NOSE

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**di**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	dì-rūng	nasal bone, bridge of nose	Matisoff 1987
	lă^{5} **ti^{31}**	nose	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lă^{55}**ti^{51}**	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.19
	lă^{55}**ti^{51}**	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.47
	la **di**	nose	Marrison 1967
	lədi hking gang	septum	Matisoff 1987
	lədî hkū	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	lə **di**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	nə **di**	nose	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Andro	sanɑ ū **tī**	nose	Luce 1985:K.55

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Chamling	na **di** pung	nose	Michailovsky 1991:134; Winter 1985:25
	na **d̂i** pũ	nose	Weidert 1987:168
	na **î** pɔ̃	nose	Weidert 1987:168

7. Karenic

Bwe	nɛ-khá **đé**	nose (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	nɛ^{2}-khə-**ʔde^{1}**	nose	Weidert 1987:845
	nɛ^{2}k‘e^{1}**đe^{1}**	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Geba	ne^{2}k‘e^{2}**de^{1}**	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Paku	nɑ^{1}**đe^{1}**	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Palaychi	nàʔ **dəʔ**	nose	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:403
Sgaw	nɑ^{1}**đe^{1}**	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Sgaw (Moulmein)	ná **dé**	nose	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:403

(4) PTB *bi NOSE

For phonosemantically similar roots, see PTB ***bat** SMELL / ODOR (§1.2.8.5) and PTB ***bu** STINK / SMELL BAD (§1.2.8.5).

Cf. also PTB ***s-brit** SNEEZE / NOSE / SWALLOW (§1.3.5.6).

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	e nam bõ-**be**	nostril	Anonymous 1962

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lipho	nu^{55}**bi̱^{33}**	nose	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5
Nasu	**be^{55}** ne^{33}	smell / sniff (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.9
	no^{21} **bi̱^{21}**	nose	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5
	no^{21} **bi̱^{21}** ɬu^{33}	nostril	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.2
Noesu	no^{21}**bɪ^{21}**	nose	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5
Nosu	n̥a^{21}**bi^{55}**	nose	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5
Yi (Dafang)	**bi^{55}** nɯ^{33}	smell (v.)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:548.22
Yi (Liangshan)	n̥a^{21}**bi^{55}**	nose; nose, runny	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index; Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	no^{33}**be̱^{33}**	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.24
Yi (Xide)	n̥a^{21} **bi^{55}**	nose	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.21
	n̥ɑ^{21}**bi^{55}**	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**bi^{22}**	nose to fingertip (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:13.4.1
Lolo (Ni)	na **bí**	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
Lisu	na^{3}-**bē^{4}**	nose	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	na^{3}-**bē^{4}**	nose	Fraser 1922
Lisu	na^{3}**bē^{4}**	nose	Bradley 1979b:93-1
Lisu (Northern)	na^{33}**be^{44}**	nose	Bradley 1994
Lisu	na̱-**bi**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	na̱-**bwe**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	nâ **bī**	nose	Weidert 1987:186
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	nɑ^{3}**bē^{4}**	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Lisu	nɑ̱^{33}**bi^{33}**	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.40
	nɑ^{44}k^{h}u^{44}; nɑ^{44}**bi^{33}**	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.27
Sani [Nyi]	nɑ̱^{44} **bi^{33}** ne^{33}	nostril	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:100.3
	nɑ̱^{44} **bi^{33}** nɒ̱^{44}	nasal hair	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:100.4
	nɑ^{44} **bɪ^{33}**	nose	Ma Xueliang 1989:321.8
	nɑ^{44} **bɪ^{33}** ne^{44}	nostril	Ma Xueliang 1989:321.9
	nɑ^{44} **bɪ^{33}** xɤ^{44}	blow nose (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:321.10
	nɑ^{44}**bɤ^{22}**pu^{55}	nose bridge	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.1
	nɑ^{44}**bɪ^{33}**	nose	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5
	nɑ^{44}**bɪ^{33}**ne^{44}pu^{55}	nostril	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.2
	nɑ^{44}**bɪ^{33}**no^{44}	nose hair	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.4
	nɑ^{44}**bɪ^{33}**xɯ^{44}	blow nose	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.8
	nɒ̱^{33}**bi^{33}**ne^{33}	nostril	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	nɒ̱^{33}**bɤ̱^{21}**pu^{55}	bridge of nose	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	nɒ^{44}**bɪ^{33}**	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.39

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	**pi** fv sw 732	nose	Dell 1981b:317
	pi^{31} fv̩^{44} tsi^{33}	nose	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	pi^{31}fv^{44}tsi^{44}	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.35
	pi^{7} fv̩^{3} sɻ^{2}	nose	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**pi̱^{42}** ɕæ̃^{55} tsɻ^{33} jɯ̱^{42}	nose bridge	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.5.1

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	鼻	nose	Baxter & Sagart 2011:83
Chinese (GSR #)	**0521c**	nose	Baxter & Sagart 2011:83

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**b‘i̱əd**/b‘yi	nose	Chou Fa-kao 1972:521c
	b’i̱əd/b’ji-	nose	Karlgren 1957:521c
Chinese (Old)	**bjiədh**	nose ≍ sneeze	Coblin 1986:113
	m-**bit**-s {m-[b]i[t]-s}	nose	Baxter & Sagart 2011:83

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**bji-**	nose	Coblin 1986:113
	bjijH	nose	Baxter & Sagart 2011:83

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**bí**	nose	Baxter & Sagart 2011:83
	bir liarng	bridge of nose	Sun 1985b:704
	bir tz	nose	Sun 1985b:703
	bí tì	snivel, mucus; snot	Evans *et al.* 1991; Matisoff 1987
	bí zi	nose	Evans *et al.* 1991; Evans *et al.* 1991
	pi	nose	Karlgren 1957:521c

Chinese comparandum

鼻 OC ***b’i̱əd**, *GSR* #521c ‘nose’; B & S 2011: ***m-bit-s {m-[b]i[t]-s}**; Mand. **bí**.

(5) PTB * k/g ywaŋ NOSE

This etymon very frequently occurs as a second element in compounds with PTB ***s-na** ≍ ***s-naːr** NOSE (§1.2.8). The vocalism of the reflexes varies from **-a-** to **-u-** or **-o-**, motivating the diphthongal reconstruction ***-wa-**. A few reflexes, however, have high front vowels (Garo, Sema, Bwe), so that we reconstruct a double medial glide ***-yw-**.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	nu-**kuŋ**-a-ruŋ	nostril	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Digaro	həna-**gam** ≍ hnya-**gom**	nose	Benedict 1972:101

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Chinbok	hŋa-**kɔŋ**	nose	Matisoff 1987

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Daai	na **kɔŋ**	nose	So-Hartmann 1988:73
Awa Khumi	nɑ^{4}**k‘ɔ̃^{2}**	nose	Luce 1985:O.14
Matu	na **xõŋ**	nose	So-Hartmann 1988:73
Matupi	no^{1}**χɔːŋ^{2}**	nose	Luce 1985:O.14
Nyhmoye	na **kɔːŋ**	nose	So-Hartmann 1988:73
Wakung	nə **k^{h}õŋ**	nose	So-Hartmann 1988:73

1.2.3. Maraic

Lothvo (Hiranpi)	hnɑ^{ə4}**k‘ɯ^{1}**	nose	Luce 1985:O.14

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Tengsa	tana **ko**	nose	Marrison 1967
Yacham	teno **kong**	nose	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Mao	ong **hung**	nose	Marrison 1967
Rengma	hi **kong**	nose	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a nhi **ki**	nose	Marrison 1967
	a n **ki**	nose	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	mai-nu-**kuaŋ**	nose	Weidert 1987:186
Maram	na **kang**	nose	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	nû-**kûaŋ**	nose	Weidert 1987:186
	nu **kwaŋ**	nose	Matisoff 1994e

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	nə **khaŋ**	nose bridge	Singh 1991:3.5.1

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**gon** toŋ	nose	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	goʔn-toʔŋ	nose	Matisoff 1987
Dimasa	**gung**	nose	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	bə-**koŋ**	nose	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**kung**	nose	Balawan 1965:22
	kung kat	nostril	Balawan 1965:22

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**giŋ**-tiŋ	nose	Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ging**	nose	Burling 1992
	ging	nose; snot (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
	ging a'-kil-ok	nostril	Burling 1992
	ging et-a	blow nose (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.44-II:idx
	ging-chi-mik-chi ong•-kat-ing-a	run, nose (vph.)	Burling 2003:8.93-II:idx
	ging-ki	snot	Burling 1992
	ging-ki	snot (n.)	Burling 2003:6.29-II:idx
	ging-kil-ok	nostril	Burling 1992
	ging-kol	nostril	Burling 1992
	ging-ti	tip of nose	Burling 1992
	ging-to-ti	tip of nose	Burling 1992

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	na-**kuŋ**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	na **khung**	nose (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na **khung** myn•	nose hair (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	**gu**-gi-ri[1]	mucus of the nose	unknown nd
	gu-tũ[1]	nose	unknown nd
	gu giriŋ	snot	Jacquesson 2005
	gu tũ	nose	Jacquesson 2005
	gu tung	nose	Brown 1895:67

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	*C/V-**guːŋ**	nose	French 1983:527

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**kho**	nose	Marrison 1967
	kho kan	nostril	French 1983:504
	kʰo	nose	French 1983:527
	kʰo kan	nostril	French 1983:527
Tangsa (Yogli)	**khaung**	nose	Marrison 1967
	kʰauŋ	nose	French 1983:527

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**kung**	nose	Marrison 1967
	kuŋ	nose / beak	French 1983:527
	kuŋ kan	nostril	French 1983:527
Konyak (Tamlu)	na **goŋ**	nose	Weidert 1987:186
Wancho	**kuŋ** kan	nostril	French 1983:504
	na **kuŋ**	nose	French 1983:527
	na **kung**	nose	Marrison 1967
	ne-**kuŋ**	nose	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	sta **kuc**	nose	Sharma 1988:61
	tā **kŭs**	nose	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Central)	na wung-**gang**	nostril	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 7
Tsangla (Motuo)	na[13] **huŋ**[55]	nose	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	na[13] **kʰuŋ**[55]	nose	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	n̥a[55] **khõ**[55]	nostril	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.5.2
Tibetan (Lhasa)	na[53]**khuʔ**[53]	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.2
	nə[55]**ku**[52]	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	nar **ko**	nose	Bishop 1989:3.5
	nar **ko** nange pū	nose hair	Bishop 1989:3.5.4
	nar **ko** phēgen	blow nose (v.)	Bishop 1989:3.5.8
	na **rko** om	nostril	Bishop 1989:3.5.2
Spiti	na yi mi **kum**	nostril	Bodh 1991:3.5.2
Tibetan (Written)	sna-**khuŋ**	nostril	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:21
	sna-**kʻuṅ**	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	sna-mčʻu~sna-**goṅ**	trunk	Matisoff 1987
	s̀aṅs-**kʻuṅ**	nostril	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung (Ghachok)	nā **khụq**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	na **kʰŭq**	nose	Glover 1972:1.41
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]nə **kuŋ**	nose	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0008b
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]na-[3]**kaŋ**	nose ridge (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.5.1
	[1]nar-[1]**koŋ**	nose ridge (n ?comp.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.5.1
Thakali (Tukche)	na-**kho** tong	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	nɔ-**kʰo** toŋ	nostril	Hari 1971:2.A.24

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	neh-**gʰaŋ**	nostril	Caughley 1972:2.A.24
	neh.**ghāng**	nostril	Matisoff 1987
Chepang (Eastern)	neh **ghaŋ**	nostril	Caughley 1990:3.5.2
Kham	ʼsəni: **kũ:**	nostril	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.24
	sani: **kụ**	nostril	Matisoff 1987

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	n̥o[55] **kũ**[53]	nose	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.17
	n̥ə[55]**kũ**[55]	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.16
Pumi (Jiulong)	n̥ĩ[11]**gõ**[35]	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.10
Pumi (Lanping)	xiɛ̃[13]**dʒõ**[55]	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	xiɛ̃[13] **dʒõ**[55]	nose	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.11
Pumi (Taoba)	n̥ə[35] **ɣiã**[53]	nose	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.10
Qiang (Mawo)	sto **q** tsuː	bridge of nose	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	stu **q** pu	nose bridge	Sun 1986
	stə **q**	nose	Sun 1986
	stə **qəˌ** dʑu	nostril	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.5.2
	stə **qə̠**	nose	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.5
	stə **q** pu	nose bridge	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.5.1
	stɤ **q**	nose	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.8
Qiang (Taoping)	χn̥i[31] **qo**[55] pə[33]	nose	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	n̥a[35] **ko**[53]	nose	SUN Hongkai 1991n:3.5; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.16
Xumi	n̥ɛ[53]**qõ**[33]	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.17
	n̥ɑ[55] **qũ**[33]	nose	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.20

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ʃna **kʰuŋ** du	nostril	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.5.2

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**kʉ**[13] tɕi[55] dʉ[35]	nose	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.5
Tujia (Southern)	**kʉ**[13] tɕi[55] dʉ[35]	nose	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**kʉ**[13] tɕi[55] dʉ[35]	nostril	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.5.2

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	*ʔna[1/2] + **koŋ**[1/2]	nose	Matisoff 1978a:61

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	na[31] **khɑŋ**[55]	nose	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	ni[31] **xɔŋ**[55]	nose	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	na[55] **kaŋ**[35]	nose	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:55
Burmese (Rangoon)	n̥ɑ[22]**khãu**[55]	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	n̥ɑ[22]**khɑũ**[55]	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.40
Burmese (Written)	hna-**khôŋ**	nose	Matisoff 1987
	hna-**khôŋ**-pok	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	hnɑ[2]**khɔŋ**[3]	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.39
	hnɑɑ[2]**khɔŋ**[3]	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.26
	nhā **khoṅ**	nose	Marrison 1967
Danu	nă[4] **kʻaũ**[2]	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
Hpun (Northern)	ná? **kɔ̀ŋ**	nose	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	nɑh[1] **kɔ̆ŋ**[4]	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
	nɑh[1] **[kɔ̆ŋ[4]]**	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Lashi	nɵ[33] **khjuŋ**[55]	nostril	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.5.2
Marma	nə **khɔ́ŋ**	nose	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:7
Maru [Langsu]	nɔ̰[31] **khjauŋ**[35]	nostril	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.5.2

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***kaŋ**[2]	nose	Bradley 1979b:93-2
Lolopho	nɣ[44] **gɣ**[33]	nose	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.5
	nɣ[44] **gɣ**[33] mi[33] dɣ[31]	nostril	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.5.2
	nɣ[44] **gɣ**[33] mɯ[33]	nose hair	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.5.4
	vɐ̰[31] nɣ[44] **gɣ**[33]	snout (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.5.5

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	na[35] **khɣ**[33]	nose	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.5
	na[35] **khɣ**[33] mo[24]	nose hair	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.5.4
	na[35]**khv**[33]tɕhɛ[33]tɕhɛ[33]	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.47
	na[35]**khɣ**[33]	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.47
	nɑ[24]**kʰv**[24]	nose	MU Shihua 2003
	nɑ[24]**kʰv**[33]tso[55]tsʰi[55]kɤ[24]	bridge of nose	MU Shihua 2003
	nɑ[24]**kʰv**[33]tɕɛ[33]tɕɛ[33]	tip of nose	MU Shihua 2003
	nɑ[24]**kʰv**[33]ɲo[24]	nose hair	MU Shihua 2003
	wa[53] na[35] **khɣ**[33]	snout (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.5.5
Lalo	ʔná-**khu**	nose	Björverud 1994
	ʔnɑ[55] **kʰu̱**[33]	nose	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5
	ʔnɑ[55] **kʰu̱**[33] dʐo[21] tsl̄[21]	nose bridge	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.1
	ʔnɑ[55] **kʰu̱**[33] kʰu̱[55] du̱[55]	nostril	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.2
Nesu	no[55] **kǫ**[21]	nose	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5
	no[55] **kǫ**[21] du[33]	nostril	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.2
Nusu (Northern)	nɑ[55] **kə̃**[53]	nose	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	n̥a[55] **kõ**[35]	nose	DAI Qingxia 1989o:103.
Nusu (Central)	n̥a[55] **kɔ̃**[33]	nose	DAI Qingxia 1989p:103.
	n̥a[55]**kɔ̃**[33]	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.34
Nusu (Southern)	n̥i[55] **kɔ̃**[31]	nose	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	n̥ɑ[55] **kã**[35]	nose	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	n̥ɑ[55]**kã**[35]	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.45
Yi (Mojiang)	no[55]**kǫ**[21]	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.26
Yi (Nanhua)	no[33]**ku̱**[33]pi[33]	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.37
Yi (Nanjian)	nɑ[55] **kʰu̱**[33]	nose	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	nɑ[55]**kʰu̱**[33]	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.23
Yi (Weishan)	ʔnɑ[55]**khu̱**[33]	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.36
Yi (Xide)	n̥a[33]-**ko**[33]	bridge of nose	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Kucong	na35 **khu31**	nose	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***hk'uhˇ**	nose	Bradley 1979b:93-2
Lahu (Lancang)	nɑ[11]**qhɔ**[53]	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.43
Lahu (Black)	na **[hkʻawˇ]**	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
	nā-**qhɔ̂**	nose	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:61
	nā-**qhɔ̂**-qhɔ	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	na[31] **qʰɔ**[53]	nose	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	nʌ[31]**qhɔ**[53]	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.33
Lahu (Yellow)	na[31] **qʰɔ**[55]	nose	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Banlan)	na_**hkuhˇ**	nose	Bradley 1979a:93
Lisu (Northern)	ji[55]na[33]**ka**[33]	nose (N.)	Bradley 1994
	na[33]**khu**[33]	nose; nostril; nasal cavity	Bradley 1994
	na[33]**khu**[33]si[21]	nasal blood; nosebleed	Bradley 1994
	na[33]**khu**[33]ta[33]	turn up the nose	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	na[4]**kʻü**[3]	nose	Luce 1985:S.3
Lisu	nɑ̱[33]**khu̱**[33]	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	nɑ̱[44] **kʰu̱**[44]	nose	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	nɑ[44]**kʰu**[44]; nɑ[44]bi[33]	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.27
Lisu (Putao)	nɑ[4] **[kʻü[3]]**	nose	Luce 1985:F.22

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	hná **kháŋ**	nose	Bradley 1979b
	lɛ **kʰáŋ**	nose	Bradley 199x
	na **kháŋ**	nose	Beaudouin 1988:15
	na **khɔ́ŋ**	nostril	Beaudouin 1988:15
	ná **kʰaŋ**	nose	Bradley 199x
Hani (Pijo)	ná **khú**	nostril	Hansson 1989:357
Hani (Khatu)	ná **khú**	nostril	Hansson 1989:357
Mpi	ŋ[4]**khoŋ**[6]	nose	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1978a:61; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	lə̆ **ká̋**	nose	Bradley 1979b
	lə̆ **kã**[55]	nose; nostril	Bradley 1977; Bradley 1977
	lə **ká̋**	nose; nostril	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	lə **kã**[55] thũ[55]	nostril	Ferlus 1991:3.5.2
Pyen	na33 **khaŋ45**	nose	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:131065
Sangkong	na[55] **qhaŋ**[55]	nose	LI Yongsui 1991
Ugong	nà **kɔŋ**	nose	Bradley 1993

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	n̥a[33]**kɯ**[21]	nose	Pelkey 2011:258
Phola	nɑ[55]**qɔ**[33]	nose	Pelkey 2011:258
Hlepho Phowa	na[33]**kɯ**[55]	nose	Pelkey 2011:258
Phu Kha	na[33] bu[33] **ku**[35]	nose	Fried 2000
Phuza	na[55]**kɯ**[33]	nose	Pelkey 2011:258
	na[55]**kɯ**[33]ʐi[31]	snot	Pelkey 2011:323

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	ȵjɤ˩**gɤ**˥	nose	Michaud 2006–2009:263
	ȵjɤ˩**gɤ**˥ dzi˩	rope attached to a cow's nasal ring	Michaud 2006–2009:1208
	ȵjɤ˩**gɤ**˥ q^{h}ɔ˥	nostril	Michaud 2006–2009:264
Na (Yongning)	ȵi˩**gɤ**#˥	nose	Michaud 2006–2009
	ȵi˩**gɤ**˩bæ˦	rope attached to a cow's nasal ring	Michaud 2006–2009
	ȵi˩**gɤ**˩dʑi˦	nasal mucus, snot	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	ȵi^{33}**gə^{33}**	nose	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	ȵi^{33}**gə^{33}**	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.29

7. KARENIC

Bwe	nɛ-**khá** đé	nose (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	nɛ^{2}-**khə**-ʔde^{1}	nose	Weidert 1987:845
	nɛ^{2}**k'e^{1}**đe^{1}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22
Bwe	nì-**khí**-ká	nose	Weidert 1987:845
Geba	ne^{2}**k'e^{2}**de^{1}	nose	Luce 1985:F.22

8. BAI

Bai (Jianchuan)	ŋv^{21}**khv^{33}**tɯ^{21}	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.36
	ŋ̃v̩^{21} **khṽ^{44}** tɯ̲^{21}	nose	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ŋ̃v̩$_{˩}^{21}$ **k^{h}v̩$_{˩}^{44}$** tɯ̲^{21} xɯ^{31} no^{33} ma̲^{21} «tsɯ^{31}	nose hair	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.5.4
	ŋ̃v̩$_{˩}^{21}$ **k^{h}v̩$_{˩}^{44}$** tɯ̲^{21} «ne̲^{21}»	nose	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.5
	ŋ̃v̩$_{˩}^{21}$ **k^{h}v̩$_{˩}^{44}$** **tɯ̲^{21}** ʔuĩ^{33}	nostril	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.5.2

(6) PTB *t(w)a $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{n}\end{matrix}$ NOSE

This etymon typically occurs as second element in compounds beginning with PTB ***s-na*** ≍ ***s-na:r*** NOSE (§1.2.8).

1.2.3. MARAIC

Zotung	nã^{4} **dʊ'^{1}**	nose	Luce 1985:O.14

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	na **thung**	nose	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Puiron	nap **tong**	nose	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	nu **ton**	nose	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	na **tang**	nose	Marrison 1967
	nā **tāŋ**	nose; snout; nostril	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	phei nā-**tāŋ** ra	shinbone ("leg-nose-bone")	Matisoff 1987
	^{2}na^{1}**taŋ**	nose	Weidert 1987:168

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	na **tol**	nose	Marrison 1967
	na **ton**	nose	Singh 1991:3.5; Marrison 1967
	nâ **tôn**	nose; nostril	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	na **ton** mə khun	nostril	Singh 1991:3.5.2
	na **ton** nakci	alae nasi (nose flaps)	Singh 1991:3.5.3

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	gon **toŋ**	nose	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	goʔn-**toʔŋ**	nose	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	giŋ-**tiŋ**	nose	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	gu-**tũ^{1}**	nose	unknown nd
	gu **tũ**	nose	Jacquesson 2005
	gu **tung**	nose	Brown 1895:67

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak	na **teŋ**	nose	French 1983:527
	na **teng**	nose	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**htaung htawng**	nostril	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	**dõ^{55}** kei^{53}	nose bridge	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.5.1

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Thakali (Tukche)	na-kho **tong**	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	nɔ-k^{h}o **toŋ**	nostril	Hari 1971:2.A.24

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	sna^{53} **rdoŋ^{33}**	nose bridge	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.5.1

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ʃna k^{h}uŋ **du**	nostril	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.5.2

4. NUNGIC

Trung [Dulong]	sna^{44} **doŋ^{42}**	nostril	Matisoff 1987

5. TUJIA

Tujia	ẽ^{35} tɕ^{h}i^{55} **tũ^{21}** ka^{35}	nostril	Chen Kang 1986c:3.5.2
	ku^{13} tɕi^{55} **du^{35}**	nose	Chen Kang 1986d:3.5
Tujia (Southern)	ku^{13} tɕi^{55} **du^{35}**	nose	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	ku^{13} tɕi^{55} **dɯ^{35}**	nostril	Chen Kang 1986d:3.5.2

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	hna-**tam**	ridge of nose	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2. LOLOISH

Lolopho	nɣ^{44} gɣ^{33} mi^{33} **dɣ^{31}**	nostril	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.5.2

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nesu	no^{55} ko̲^{21} **du^{33}**	nostril	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.2

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	nɔ^{33}**to^{44}**	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.34
	nə^{42}**to^{44}**	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	nɤ^{31} **to^{44}**	nose	Dai Qingxia 1989h:106
Jinuo (Baka)	n̥o^{31} **tu^{44}**	nose	Dai Qingxia 1989i:106
Jinuo (Youle)	n̥ɔ^{42} **to^{44}**	nose	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Khatu)	ná **tù**	nose	Hansson 1989:222
Côông [Phunoi]	lə kã^{55} **thũ^{55}**	nostril	Ferlus 1991:3.5.2

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	qhuẽ^{ɪ42}**ʈɯ^{21}**	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.37
	qhue̲^{ɪ42} **ʈɯ̲^{21}**	nose	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	ŋv^{21}khv^{33}**tɯ^{21}**	nose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.36
	ŋ̃v̩^{21} kh̃v̩^{44} **tɯ̲^{21}**	nose	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ŋ̃v̩$_{˩}^{21}$ k^{h}v̩$_{˩}^{44}$ **tɯ̲^{21}** xɯ^{31} no^{33} ma̲^{21} «tsɯ^{31}	nose hair	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.5.4
	ŋ̃v̩$_{˩}^{21}$ k^{h}v̩$_{˩}^{44}$ **tɯ̲^{21}** «ne̲^{21}»	nose	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.5
	ŋ̃v̩$_{˩}^{21}$ k^{h}v̩$_{˩}^{44}$ **tɯ̲^{21}** ʔuĩ^{33}	nostril	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.5.2

(7) PTB *-ts(y)a NOSE

This root has so far only been discovered as the second element in compounds. No WT cognate has yet been discovered.

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	nhi **cha**	nose	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) nhü^{31} **tsa^{55}**	nostril	Nienu 1990a:3.5.2
	u nhyü **cha**	nose	Marrison 1967
Chokri	nhu^{31} **tso^{35}**	nostril	Nienu 1990b:3.5.2
	u nhi **cho**	nose	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a nya **tsa**	nose	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Pattani [Manchati]	ña phuk **tsa**	nostril	Sharma 1991b:3.5.2
	ɲa p^{h}ug **tʃə**	nostril	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	nhā na to **Tya**	nostril	Matisoff 1987

(8) PTB *ka ≍ *ŋa NOSE

This etymon occurs only as a non-initial syllable in compounds.

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Khezha	nhu **ka**	nose	Marrison 1967
	nhɯ **kà**	nose	Yabu 1994:3.5

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	na^{35} **ngɐ^{53}** dzɻ^{13} n̥ɑ^{53}	nose bridge	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.5.1
	nɑ^{35} **nga^{53}** ɦo^{13} ru^{53}	nostril	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.5.2
	nɑ^{35} **ngɐ^{53}**	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.5

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Yakha	na bu? **ka:** ɔ hɔŋ	nostril	Kohn 1990:3.5.2

3.2. QIANGIC

Namuyi	n̥i^{33}**nga^{55}**	nose	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:240.19
	n̥i^{31}**nga^{55}**	nose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.46

5. TUJIA

Tujia	ẽ^{35} tɕ^{h}ĩ^{55} tũ^{21} **ka^{35}**	nostril	Chen Kang 1986c:3.5.2

7. KARENIC

Bwe	nì-khí-**ká**	nose	Weidert 1987:845

(9) PKC *hniit BLOW (nose)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***hniit**	BLOW (nose)	VanBik 2009:885

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**nîit**-I, nìit-II	blow nose	VanBik 2009:885
Tiddim	**niit^{1}**	blow nose	VanBik 2009:885
	ni:t^{1}	blow nose (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1231
	ni:t^{1}	blow nose	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**noeey(ng)**	blow one's nose	VanBik 2009:885

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hniit**-I, hniʔ-II	blow nose	VanBik 2009:885
Lushai [Mizo]	**hníit**	expel forcibly from the nose (v.)	VanBik 2009:885

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**hnó**	blow the nose (v.)	VanBik 2009:885

(10) PKar *k-mlɔN^{A} TRUNK (OF AN ELEPHANT)

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***k-mlɔN^{A}**	trunk (of an elephant)	Luangthongkum 2013:312
**Karen [Burling]*	***mlɔŋ^{3}**	trunk (of an elephant)	Luangthongkum 2013:312
Kayah	**mo^{11}**	trunk (of an elephant)	Luangthongkum 2013:312
Kayan	**mɔ^{33}**	trunk (of an elephant)	Luangthongkum 2013:312
Pa-O (Southern)	**mɔ^{53}**	trunk (of an elephant)	Luangthongkum 2013:312
Pwo (Northern)	**mlõ^{55}**	trunk (of an elephant)	Luangthongkum 2013:312
Pwo (Southern)	**mlõ$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	trunk (of an elephant)	Luangthongkum 2013:312
Sgaw (Northern)	**kə^{11}mlɔ^{33}**	trunk (of an elephant)	Luangthongkum 2013:312
Sgaw (Southern)	**mlu^{33}**	trunk (of an elephant)	Luangthongkum 2013:312

1.2.8.1 Nostril

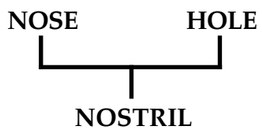

Figure 90: 1.2.8.1 *Nostril*

1.2.8.3 Snout

(1) PTB *tun SNOUT

This promising root requires further confirmation.

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	a-hmao-**thy**	snout	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Moyon	nar **tùm** ~ nàrtùm	snout	Kosha 1990:3.5.5

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	na **ton**	snout	Singh 1991:3.5.5

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**tŭn**	snout	Matisoff 1987

1.2.8.5 Smell

(1) PTB *s-mu $\begin{matrix}\text{y}\\\text{r}\end{matrix}$ SMELL / FRAGRANT

This etymon shows an unusual variation between final **-y** and **-r**.

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**múy**-nám-I, mùy-nàm-II	smell good, be fragrant	VanBik 2009:881
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**muúy**	smell, have an odor (good or bad), scent	VanBik 2009:881
1.2.2. Central Chin: *hmuy SMELL (good) / FRAGRANT			
**Central Chin*	*hmuy	SMELL (good) / FRAGRANT	VanBik 2009:881
Lai (Hakha)	**hmùy**-I, hmŭy-II	smell good, be fragrant	VanBik 2009:881
Lai (Falam)	**hmŭy**-I, hmùy-II	smell good, be fragrant	VanBik 2009:881
Lushai [Mizo]	**hmúi**	savory-smelling, giving forth an appetising savoury smell	VanBik 2009:881
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**mə** dəm	smell nicely (v.)	Bhat 1968
	mə dəm pru	smell strongly (good smell) (v.)	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	**mə**-təŋ	smell good	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	**mu**-dũ-ā^{2}	smell (v.)	unknown nd
	mũ **dũ**	good smell	Jacquesson 2005
	mu dũ-ma	good smell	Jacquesson 2005
	mũ dũ-ni	smell good [see nase-ri]	Jacquesson 2005
	mu dũ-wã-nĩ	smell, sniff (vtr.)	Jacquesson 2005
	mu du a	smell (intr.)	Brown 1895:74
	mu du ma nima	smell (tr.)	Brown 1895:74
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	**mmur_**	smell	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	**mur** mū-ne	sniff (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.05
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**'mur**	smell	Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**hmər**	smell (sp.) associated with fertility of field (adjn.)	Caughley 2000
	hməy(ə)-	have smell, taste (sp.), a good lingering taste (of nuts, oil, etc.) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	hməyŋ-	have smell (sp.), pleasantly sweet (as of tobacco, etc.) (va.)	Caughley 2000
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**m̥we**^{55}	fragrant (smell)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.27
Burmese (Written)	**hmwê**	smell sweet, be fragrant	Benedict 1976a
	hmwe^{3}	fragrant (smell)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.26

(2) PTB *bu STINK / SMELL BAD

This root, attested in Qiangic and Naxi, usually refers to a bad smell, although certain forms are glossed with the opposite meaning of 'fragrant'.

For phonosemantically similar roots, see PTB ***bat*** SMELL / ODOR (§1.2.8.5) and PTB ***bi*** NOSE (§1.2.8).

3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	**bu**^{33}n̥yɛ^{35}	stinky; fishy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:894.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:895.19
	bu^{55}n̥uæ^{31}	stinking; smelly; fragrant (smell); savory; appetizing; fishy-smelling	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.46; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1070.46,1071.46; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1079.46
Xumi	**bu**^{33}n̥o^{55}	stinky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:894.20
	by^{55} n̥o^{55}	smell / sniff	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	tʂu^{33}mɑ^{55}**bu**^{33}n̥o^{55}	fragrant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:892.20
	ʒɛ̃^{55}rɛ̃^{33}**bu**^{33}n̥o^{55}	fishy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:895.20
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**bu**˧ɳv˧	perceive a smell (unintentionally) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2880
	bv˧ɳv˧	stinking	Michaud 2006–2009:2160
Na (Yongning)	**bv**˧nv˧	perceive a smell (unintentionally) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	bv˧nv˧	stinking	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɕjɤ˧ **bv**˧nv˧	good (smell)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**bv**^{33}nv^{33}	smell (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:548.29
	bv^{33}nv^{33}	fishy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:895.29
	bv^{33}nv^{33}dʐuəɹ^{13}	stinky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:894.29
	bv^{33}nv^{33}dʐɑ^{13}	delicious	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:893.29
Naxi	**bv̩**^{33}nv̩^{21}	stinking / smelly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1070.45

(3) PTB *{d/t}um SMELL

1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	mə **dəm**	smell nicely (v.)	Bhat 1968
	mə **dəm** pru	smell strongly (good smell) (v.)	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	mə-**təŋ**	smell good	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	mu-**dũ**-ā^{2}	smell (v.)	unknown nd
	mũ **dũ**	good smell	Jacquesson 2005
	mu **dũ**-ma	good smell	Jacquesson 2005
	mũ **dũ**-ni	smell good [see nase-ri]	Jacquesson 2005
	mu **dũ**-wã-nĩ	smell, sniff (vtr.)	Jacquesson 2005
	mu **du** a	smell (intr.)	Brown 1895:74
	mu **du** ma nima	smell (tr.)	Brown 1895:74
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Ganan	**tum**^{2}	smell (tr.) (v.)	Luce 1985:L.292
Kadu (Kantu)	**tu:m**^{2}	smell (tr.) (v.)	Luce 1985:L.292
Sak (Bawtala)	a^{1}**t'ɤ̃**^{4}	smell (tr.) (v.)	Luce 1985:L.292
Sak	á **tɨŋ**	sniff / smell	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:58

(4) PTB *bat SMELL / ODOR

For phonosemantically similar roots, see PTB ***bu*** STINK / SMELL BAD (§1.2.8.5) and PTB ***bi*** NOSE (§1.2.8).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*bat	smell / odor	Matisoff 1985a:030; Matisoff 2003a:584
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**bàt**	odor, any kind of smell, fragrant / offensive	Matisoff 1985a:030
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*bat	smell / odor	Matisoff 1985a:030
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**pwat**-sui-na	disease affecting the nose	Matisoff 1985a:030
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	ɔ-**pèʔ**	smell (n.)	Matisoff 1985a:030
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**behʔ**^{31}-laʔ^{31}	smell (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:030
Akha (Thai)	**bèq** làq	smell	Hansson 1989:483
Akha (Yunnan)	**bèq** làq	smell	Hansson 1989:483
Akha (Thai)	**bèq**-làq	smell	Hansson 1989:532
Hani (Lüchun)	**bɛ** làq	smell	Hansson 1989:532
Hani (Pijo)	**pỳ** ní ʔ	smell	Hansson 1989:532
Hani (Wordlist)	**bbeiv** lavq	smell	Hansson 1989:532
Hani (Khatu)	**pò**	smell	Hansson 1989:532

(5) PTB *b-s{u/a}ŋ SMELL / SCENT / FRAGRANT

At least two other roots have so far been found with the same pattern of vowel gradation, cf. PTB ***s-n(u/a)m*** FAT (§1.6.4) and PTB ***s-l(a/u)p*** FAT (§1.6.4).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*b-suŋ ≍ b-saŋ	smell / scent / fragrant	Matisoff 2003a:613
	*suŋ	fragrance; smell, scent	Matisoff 1983:46; Benedict 1972:405
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**suŋ**	scent, odor, smell	Benedict 1972:405
	sūŋ ≍ sīŋ	smell / scent / odor (n.)	Matisoff 1974:208
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Balti)	**šʌŋ** spa·	state of loosing fragrance	Rangan 1975:74
Tibetan (Written)	**bsuŋ**	smell (sweet); scent; smell, esp. sweet scent	Matisoff 1983:46; Benedict 1972:405
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	nam-**saŋ**	odor	Benedict 1972:464
	nam **saŋ**	smell (n df.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.200
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**saŋ**	emit pleasant odour	Matisoff 1983:46
	sâŋ	emit pleasant odor; unite, associate	Matisoff 1974:208; Matisoff 1976a; Benedict 1976a
	sàŋ	emit a pleasant odor	Benedict 1972:405

(6) PTB *s-ŋu SMELL

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
**Naga*	*sŋu	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:466
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	eh **ngwu**	smell	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	^{2}the^{4}**ŋu**	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:252
Angami (Khonoma)	te **ngu**, mena	smell	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	the^{31} **ngu**^{33}	smell / sniff (v.)	Nienu 1990a:3.5.9
	the **ngu**	smell	Marrison 1967
Chokri	^{2}thɤ^{3}**nɤ**	good smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:466
	^{2}thɤ^{5}**nɤ**	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:252; Weidert 1987:466
Mao	^{1}to^{5}**nhü**	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:466
Sema [Sumi]	tsü **ngu**	smell / sniff (v.)	Achumi 1998a:3.5.9
	^{1}tsɯ^{2}**ŋu**	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:466
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**nga** nam	smell	Marrison 1967
	nga nam shi	stink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}khə^{1}**ŋə**^{1}nəm	stink (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:205
	^{1}khə^{1}**ŋə**^{1}nəm	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:333
	^{1}**ŋə**^{1}nəm	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:333
	^{1}ə^{1}**ŋə**^{3}nəm	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:205
	ŋay	smell	Bhat 1969:97
	ŋaŋ	smell	Bhat 1969:97
	ŋəŋ	smell	Bhat 1969:97
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	**səŋər**-nya	smell (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Bijiang)	n̥iɑ^{ɪ31}thɑ^{55};**n̊ẽ**^{ɪ31}t^{h}ɑ^{55}	smell (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:548.45

(7) PTB *s-rim SMELL

1. NE Indian Areal Group			
**Kuki-Naga-Chin*	*(**s-**)**rim**	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:465
1.2. Kuki-Chin: *rim ODOR / SMELL			
**Chin*	*rim	ODOR / SMELL	VanBik 2009:956
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**gím**	odor (poetic)	VanBik 2009:956
Tiddim	**gim**^{2}	smell	VanBik 2009:956; Bhaskararao 1996:352
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**rîm**	odor, smell	VanBik 2009:956
Lai (Falam)	**rĭm**	odor, smell	VanBik 2009:956
Lushai [Mizo]	**rím**	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:465
	rím	odour, smell, scent, perfume, fragrance	VanBik 2009:956
	rim	smell	Bhaskararao 1996:352
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**rò**	smell, odor	VanBik 2009:956
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	mə **rim**	smell / sniff (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.5.9
	mʌ **rím**	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:465
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *a-hrəm SMELL (n.), ODOR			
**Central Naga*	*a-**hrəm**	SMELL, ODOR (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.145
Lotha Naga	**hrəm**-	emit an odor, be stinky (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	o^{1}-**hrəm**^{1}	odor, smell (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.145
	o **rhüm**	smell; odor	Murry *et al.* 1978:113; Murry *et al.* 1978:81

	[1]o[1]**rhɯm**	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:465
Sangtam	a **ghüm**	smell (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	a **ghüm**	smell	Kumar 1973a
	ghüm, **ghüm** ting	smell	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **rhüm**	pungent	Kumar 1973b:33
	[2]a [2]**hrɯm** [[1]]	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:465

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	[4]**re**	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:465
Chokri	[2]u[5]**rɤ**	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:465

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	gi-**rān**[2]	smell	unknown nd

(8) PNN *sri:ŋ SMELL

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	**ntshiŋ**[55]	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.23; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.48
	nts[h]iŋ[55]	smell, sniff	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***sri:ŋ**	smell (v.)	French 1983:553

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa (Moshang)	a **thing**	smell	Marrison 1967
	t[h]iŋ	smell	French 1983:553
Tangsa (Yogli)	**ding**	smell	Marrison 1967
	diŋ	smell	French 1983:553

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**siŋ**	smell, odor (of fresh, raw food	Matisoff 1987

Chinese comparandum

腥 OC ***sieng**, *GSR* #812a' 'raw meat; offensive (smell)'; Schuessler 2007:540 ***sêŋ**; Mand. **xīng**.
腥 OC ***sieng**, *GSR* #812a' 'grease'; Schuessler 2007:541 ***sêŋh**; Mand. **xīng**.

(9) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{m}\\\textbf{s}\end{matrix}$ -nam SMELL

This etymon could take either the ***m-** prefix, originally giving the meaning HAVE AN ODOR, or the ***s-** prefix, with the meaning SNIFF, SMELL SOMETHING.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-nam**	stink (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:205
	***m-nam**	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:252
	***m-nam**	smell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:159
	***m-nam**	smell	Benedict 1972:464
	***m/s-nam**	smell	Matisoff 2003a:604
	***s-nam** ≍ ***m-nam**	smell (vt.)	LaPolla 1987:64

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"

Sulung [Puroik]	**naŋ**[33]	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.52

1.1.1. TANI: ***nam** SMELL (v.)

**Tani*	***nam**	smell (v.)	Sun 1993a:375

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	na-ru **nem**-prjo	fragrance; scent	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	na-ru **neŋ**-ka	sniff	Sun 1993b
	na-ru **neŋ**-ka	smell (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	nem-ba	odor	Sun 1993b
	nèm-pjó	fragrance	Sun 1993b
	néŋ	smell (v.)	Sun 1993b
	neŋ-ka	smell (v.)	Sun 1993a
	néŋ-xa	give off odor	Sun 1993b
	[1]**nem** [2]pa ([1])	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:855
Bengni	**nam**	smell (v.)	Sun 1993a
	nam	smell	Sun 1993b
	nam-bu:	smell, odor	Sun 1993b
	nam-ču:	stinky (with urine odor)	Sun 1993b
	nam-nik	fragrance	Sun 1993b
	nam-pu:	fragrance; fragrant	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	nam-ruk	stench	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**nam**	smell (v.)	Sun 1993a; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.24
	nam jaŋ	stinking / smelly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1070.24
	nam po	savory; appetizing; fragrant (smell)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1071.24
	nam(-kɯ)	smell (v.)	Sun 1993b
	nam-jaŋ	stinky	Sun 1993b
	nam-po	fragrant	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**nam**	smell (with nose)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	nam	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.51
	nam jaŋ	stinky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:894.51
	nam po	fragrant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:892.51
Galo	**nam**-ken-na	fragrance	Das Gupta 1963
	nam-su-nam	stink (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	nam-ya-nam	stink (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	nam tii	sweet-smelling (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'nam nam	smell (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'nam suu	foul (smelling) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'nam suu	stench (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'nam suu	stinky (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'nam yaa	rotten odor (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'naŋ kuu	sour-smelling (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'naŋ kɨr	body odor (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**nam**-nam	smell	Simon 1976
	nam-pɤ	fragrant	Simon 1976
	nom rɯ	bad-smelling	Simon 1976
Nishing	**nam**-pu-pa	smells sweet	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**nam** pu nɤ	fragrance	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**nam**	smell (v.)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**nam**-mo-duŋ	fragrant	Sun 1993b
	nam-ɕiŋ	stinky	Sun 1993b
Milang	ale **nam**-ma	smell	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**nam**	smell (v.)	Benedict 1972:464

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	hing-**na:ng**	smell; fragrance	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	nang-ka:ra:	stink	NEFA (India) 1963
	nɯŋ[35]	smell, sniff	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	nɯŋ[35]	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.22; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.49
	ŋn[55]	fragrant (smell); fragrant	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.22; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:892.49
	ta:pí-**na:ng**	smell of flower	NEFA (India) 1963
Idu	**nu**[55]	smell; sniff (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.5.9; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.50
	nɯŋ[55]	fragrant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:892.50
Yidu	**nu**[55]	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.25
	nɯŋ[55]	fragrant (smell)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.25
	nɯŋ[55]mɑ[31]	savory / appetizing	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1071.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***nam** SMELL (v.)

**Chin*	***nam**	SMELL (v.)	VanBik 2009:835

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**nam** hī	smell	VanBik 2009:835
Thado	**năm**-I, nàm-II	smell	VanBik 2009:835
Tiddim	**-nam**/^**nam**	smelly / smell (vi.)	Henderson 1965
	nâm	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:72
	nám	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:72
	nam[3] > nap[3]	smell	VanBik 2009:835
	nam[3] > nap[3]	smell (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1169
	nan[1]	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
	`nam/_nap	smell (vt.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Wakung	**m[ə]nãn**	smell	So-Hartmann 1988:119

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN: ***hniim** SNIFF / SMELL (v.)

**Central Chin*	***hniim**	SNIFF / SMELL (v.)	VanBik 2009:904
Lai (Falam)	**hnìim**-I, hnîm-II	smell, to sniff (v.)	VanBik 2009:904
Lai (Hakha)	**hnǐim**-I, hnim?-II	sniff, to smell (v.)	VanBik 2009:904
	nâm-I, năm-II	smell	VanBik 2009:835
Lai (Falam)	**năm**-I, nàm-II	smell	VanBik 2009:835
Lai (Hakha)	**nam**[5]	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
Lushai [Mizo]	**hni:m**	smell	Benedict 1972:117n326
	hnìim	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:252
	hnìim	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:72
	hnìim-I, hnîim-II	smell (v.)	VanBik 2009:904
	hnim	smell	Marrison 1967
	nám	smell of, to reek of, to give forth a smell (v.)	VanBik 2009:835
	nam	smell of (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2699

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Lamkang	kʌ pʌ **níim**	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:252
Moyon	**nmʌ́m** ~ nmʌnʌ́m	smell / sniff (v.)	Kosha 1990:3.5.9

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**nam**	smell	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***m-hna:m** SMELL / STINK

**Central Naga*	***m-hna:m**	SMELL / STINK	Bruhn 2014a:III.116
**Ao*	***m-hnəm**	SMELL (vi./vt.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.236
Ao (Chungli)	**menem**	smell	Marrison 1967
	mə[2]nəm[2]	smell, emit a smell (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.236
	mũnũm	smell (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	tashi **nem**	stink (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**menam**	smell	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**məhnəm**	smell [smelled] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-sə-**nəm**	stench of a rotting carcass ('die' + 'smell') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**ṇ[1]-nan[1]**-	be stinky, emit a bad smell (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.116
	nan	stink (v.)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**nyüm**	stink (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**munim**	smell	Kumar 1973b:39
	münim	smell	Kumar 1973b:76
	münim	smell (v.)	Kumar 1973b:95

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	te ngu, **mena**	smell	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	parim, **manam**	smell	Marrison 1967
Maram	krima-**nam** lak	smell	Marrison 1967
Puiron	ma **nam**	smell	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**nam**	stink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nam gai	smell	Marrison 1967
	[3]ke[1]n[1]**nam**	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:205
Mzieme	**n'nam**	stink (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***nam** SMELL

**Tangkhulic*	***nam**	smell	Mortensen 2012:442
Huishu	kə-mə-**nam**	smell / sniff (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.048
Kachai	k[h]ə-ŋə-**nam**	smell / sniff (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.053
Tangkhul	khəŋ ə **nam**	smell	Benedict 1972:119n330
	nga **nam**	smell	Marrison 1967
	nga **nam** shi	stink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nəm	smell	Bhat 1969:97
	[1]khə[1]ŋə[1]**nəm**	stink (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:205
	[1]khə[1]ŋə[1]**nəm**	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:333
	[1]ŋə[1]**nəm**	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:333
	[1]ə[1]ŋə[3]**nəm**	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:205
Tusom	k[h]ə-**nõ**	smell / sniff (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.061
Ukhrul	k[h]ə-ŋə-**nɐm**	smell	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**mənəm nəm** bə	smell / sniff (v.)	Singh 1991:3.5.9
	nam	smell	Marrison 1967
	nam thi	stink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nəm	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:205

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	aŋ **ním**	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:252
	ing **nim**	smell	Marrison 1967
	ing **nìm**- (àt-)	smell / sniff (v.)	Grüssner 1979:1, 26
	iŋ **nim**	smell	Benedict 1972:119n330
	kaŋ **nìm**	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:252
	nèm-èy-	smell / sniff (v.)	Grüssner 1979:113
	nem so	stink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nem thu	stink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nim / nem	smell	Benedict 1972:117n326

1.6. MRU

Mru	**nɛ̃**[3]	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
	nɑm[1]	smell bad (v.)	Luce 1985:Q.358

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**manam**	smell badly (v.)	Bhat 1968
	manam pru	smell strongly (bad smell) (v.)	Bhat 1968
	mɤnam	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:72
Kokborok	mɛ-**naŋ**	smell bad	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**mɤnam**	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:72

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**manam**	bad smell, stench (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	manam-	to stink (adj1.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**^{1}nʌm**	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:855

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Khiamngan	^{12}a^{3}**nɯm**	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:1080
	^{12}a^{3}**nɯm**	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:205
	^{12}a^{3}**nɯm**	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:333
Konyak	**nüm**, phei, hu	smell	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	mă^{31}nam^{33}pjo^{33}	fragrant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:892.47
	mă^{31}nam^{33}ŋon^{33}	fragrant (smell)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.19
	mă^{31}**nam^{55}**	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.47
	mă^{1} **nam^{55}**	smell (v.)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mă^{1}nam^{33}pjo̲^{33}	fragrant	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ma **nam**	smell	Marrison 1967
	mənam	smell; smell, scent (v.)	Benedict 1972:464
	mənam nam	smell offensively (v.)	Benedict 1972:464
	nam	smell (tr.)	LaPolla 1987:64
	nam	taste / smell, as of spices (v.)	Benedict 1972:464
	^{1}mə^{3}**nam**	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:1080
	^{1}mə^{3}**nam**	stink (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:205
	^{1}mə^{3}**nam**	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:333

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Ganan	**nɑm^{2}**	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
Kadu	**nɑm^{2}**	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
Sak (Bawtala)	**nɑũ^{2}**	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	**num** ca	smell / sniff (v.)	Sharma 1991a:3.5.9
Kanauri	ga **n̥öm**	smell (generally sweet) (n.)	Bailey 1911

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	**n̥y^{341}**	smell / sniff (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.5.9
Tsangla (Motuo)	**nam**	smell, sniff (v.)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	nam	smell (with nose)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	nam	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**nam**	smell (v.)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**nem^{35}** do^{55}	smell, sniff (v.)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	ʂi^{53} **num^{13}**	smell, sniff	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ʂi^{53}**num^{13}**	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.6
Motuo Menba	**nam**	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.07
Cuona Menba	**num^{35}**	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hnəm**	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hnəm**	smell	Sun 1985a:580
	rn̥əm	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**n̥iu^{55}**	smell / sniff (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.5.9
	n̥ũ^{55}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**n̥uŋ^{53}**	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**num^{55}**	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.2
	tshi^{13}mə^{55} **num^{52}**	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.02
Spiti	**num** je	smell / sniff (v.)	Bodh 1991:3.5.9
Tibetan (Written)	**bsnams**	smell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:159
	mnam	stink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mnam-pa	smell, to smell; smell	Luce 1985:T.37; Luce 1985:X.203
	mnam-pa	smell, stink (v.)	Benedict 1972:464
	mnam-pa. snom–	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
	snam-pa	smell (tr.)	LaPolla 1987:64
	snam-pa ≍ snom-pa ≍ snum-pa	smell (v.)	Benedict 1972:464
	snom	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.01
	snom***	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.1
	snom, **mnam**	smell	Marrison 1967
	snom-pa	smell, to smell; smell	Luce 1985:T.37; Luce 1985:X.203
	snum	smell	Sun 1985c:580
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hnəm**	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**nom**	smell (v.)	Benedict 1972:464
	nyóm	smell (v.)	Plaisier 2007
	nyom	smell	Benedict 1972:464
	tŭk-**nóm** hryep/hrop	septum (of nose)	Matisoff 1987
	tŭk-**nóm** ~ tŭŋ-nóm	nose	Matisoff 1987
	tuk **nóm**	nose (n.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung (Ghachok)	t^{h}ã**: na:q** ba	smell (sthg.)	Glover 1972
	t^{h}ã**: nã:q** ba	smell (flower) (v.i.)	Glover 1972:4.B.3
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{2}na:**	sniff (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.5.9

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**nã**-swā:	fragrant (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.27
	na-wa	fetid (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.28
Newar (Dolakhali)	**nas** sar-	smell	Genetti 1990b

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***nam**-	smell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:159

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	**nams**-ue	smell, sniff	Ebert 1997
	nam ma	stink / smell, sniff	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**nam**	smell	Michailovsky 1989b
	nams-	sniff, smell; kiss (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**na:m** ma:	smell / sniff (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.5.9
Yamphu	**nam** ma	smell, to stink (v.)	Rutgers 1998:558.24

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**nam**	give off fragrance	Rai 1985
	nam	smell (v.)	Rai 1985
	nam-	smell (intr.)	Michailovsky 1991:159
	nam-ko	smelling	Rai *et al.* 1984:54
	nams-	sniff (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:159
	nams-	smell at sthg. (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:54
Chamling	**hnaps**-(u)	smell (v.t.)	Winter 1985:14
	nam-e	smell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:159
	naps-yu	smell (tr.)	Michailovsky 1991:159
	nham-e	smell bad (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:159
Kulung	**nam**-	smell	Michailovsky 1991:159
	nam-e	smell, stink [it stinks] (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
	naps-	smell (tr.)	Michailovsky 1991:159
	naps-u	smell, sniff (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**nam**-	stink, to smell (intr.) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:159
	nam nɨ	<smell> reek, stink, exude a stench	Driem 1993
	nəm-	smell; to stink; sniff, to smell (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:159; Michailovsky 1991:159
	nəm nɨ I)	smell; sniff	Driem 1993
	tsa**: nam**	smell (n.)	Michailovsky 1991:159
	tsa**: nam**	<smell> fragrant (complement of númnɨ "smell")	Driem 1993
Khaling	√**nom**-	smell, to sniff (tr.)	Michailovsky 1991:159

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**nam**	smell (tr.)	LaPolla 1987:64
	nam	smell (v.)	Benedict 1972:464
	nam-	smell (tr,intr.)	Michailovsky 1991:159
	nam-ba	having odor	Benedict 1972:464
Hayu	**nam**	smell, sniff; stink (vtt (im.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.200
	nam	smell (tr.)	LaPolla 1987:64
	nam	smell (v.)	Benedict 1972:464; Michailovsky 1991:159
	nam-saŋ	odor	Benedict 1972:464
	nam saŋ	smell (n df.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.200
Sunwar	**nam**-	sniff (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:159
Thulung	**nem**-	smell	Michailovsky 1991:159
	nem-	smell (v.,intr.)	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**nam**-	spiced, scented, pick up, be aware of scent or spice, waft (scent) (vri.)	Caughley 2000
	namh-	sniff (for scent), smell (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	nam^{h}-sa	smell sthg.; sniff	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.10; Caughley 1972:3.B.5
	nam^{ɦ}	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:72
Chepang (Eastern)	**namh**	smell / sniff (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.5.9
Kham	sənər-**nya**	sniff	Watters & Watters 1989:3.B.5
Magar	**nām**-ke	fetid (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.28

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	–	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.13

3.2. QIANGIC

Muya	khi^{33}sø^{55}**næ^{33}**	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.15
Muya [Minyak]	khɯ^{55}**nɯ^{53}**	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.15
	k^{h}ɯ^{55}**nɯ^{53}**	smell / sniff (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.5.9
Namuyi	bu^{33}**n̥yɛ^{35}**	stinky; fishy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:894.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:895.19
	bu^{55}**n̥uæ^{31}**	stinking; smelly; fragrant (smell); savory; appetizing; fishy-smelling	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1070.46,1071.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1079.46
Pumi (Lanping)	xə^{13}**n̥iə^{55}**	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	xə^{13} **n̥iɛ^{55} n̥iɛ^{55}**	smell (v.)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	xə^{13}**n̥iə^{55}**	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.11
Pumi (Taoba)	xə^{35} **n̥õ^{35}**	smell (v.)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tə^{35} lu^{55} **nũ^{55}**	smell; sniff (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991n:3.5.9; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.16
Xumi	bu^{33}**n̥o^{55}**	stinky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:894.20
	by^{55} **n̥o^{55}**	smell / sniff	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	by^{55}**n̥o^{55}**	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.20
	hũ^{55}**nu^{55}**	fragrant (smell)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.17
	tʂu^{33}mɑ^{55}bu^{33}**n̥o^{55}**	fragrant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:892.20
	ʒẽ^{55}rɛ̃^{33}bu^{33}**n̥o^{55}**	fishy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:895.20

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**no**	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.12
Ergong (Danba)	**no** ʐa	stinky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:894.14
Ergong (Daofu)	snə **no**	smell / sniff (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.5.9
Ergong (Danba)	snɯ **no**	smell; sniff (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.5.9; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (NW)	kæ **nam nam**	smell / sniff (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.5.9
Caodeng	kɐ-nɐ-**mnəm?**	smell (v.t.)	Sun 1997a
	mnəm?	give off odor	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	snə **no**	smell / sniff (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.5.9
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	təri kə **mɛm**	fragrant (smell)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.11
rGyalrong	tʂə mɐ ri kə **mnam**	fragrant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:892.12
	ka na **nem**	smell (v.)	Nagano 1997:3.5.9
rGBenzhen	tə-riʔ kə-**mjem**	fragrant	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Anong	phə **nam**	smell (tr.)	LaPolla 1987:64
	phə **nam**	smell (v.)	Benedict 1972:464
Rawang	phə **nam^{53}** [phəna^{53} mɔ^{31} ɛ^{33}]	smell (vt.)	LaPolla 2003:1468
Trung [Dulong]	pw^{31}**nɑm^{55}**	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.46
	pənam	smell, stink (v.tr.)	Benedict 1972:117n326
	pə **nam**	smell (tr.)	LaPolla 1987:64
Dulong	pɯ^{31}**nɑm^{53}**	savory; appetizing; fragrant (smell)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1071.20
	pɯ^{31}**nɑm^{53}**	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ŋɑ̆m^{55}**	fragrant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:892.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	pɯ^{31} **naam^{55}**	smell (tr.)	LaPolla 1987:64
	pɯ^{31} **nam^{55}** gam^{53}	fragrant	LaPolla 1987:64 [a]
	pɯ^{31} **nɑm^{55}**	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	pɯ^{31} **nam^{53}**	smell (tr.)	LaPolla 1987:64
	pɯ^{31}**nɑ̆m^{53}**	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ŋɑ̆m^{53}	fragrant	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**nã^{21}**	smell / sniff (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.5.9
Tujia (Northern)	**nã^{21}**	smell (v.)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

[a] [Source Note] ('smell' + 'good').

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***nam**$^{1/2/3}$	smell	Matisoff 2003a:604
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**naŋ**^{31}	smell (v.)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**nam**^{31}	smell (v.)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.41
Achang (Luxi)	**nam**^{51}	smell (v.)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**nam**^{31}	smell (with nose)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:2346
	nam^{31}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.29
Bola (Luxi)	**nɛ̃**^{31}**ŋɔn**^{35}	fragrant (smell)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.32
Bola	**nɛ̃**^{55}	smell (with nose)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2346
Bola (Luxi)	**nɛ̰̃**^{55}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.32
Burmese (Modern)	ă **naṁ**$^{\prime 1}$	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
	naṁ^{3}	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
	nam:	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
	nam^{4}	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
Burmese (Rangoon)	**nã**^{55}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.27
Burmese (Spoken)	**nã**^{4} (v.)	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ɕu^{22}/**nã**^{55}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.40
Burmese (Written)	ă **nám**	smell (n.)	Benedict 1972:89n260
	a **naṁ'**	smell	Luce 1985:X.203
	hru^{2}/**nɑm**^{3}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.39
	nam	stink (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:205
	nàm	stink (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:205
	nam	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:252
	nàm	smell (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:252
	naṁ	stink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nam	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
	naṁ	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
	nâm	smell	Benedict 1976a
	naṁ	stink	Benedict 1976a
	nàm	smell (tr.)	LaPolla 1987:64
	nam	smell offensively, stink (intr.)	Benedict 1972:464
	nam	smell (v.i.)	Benedict 1972:89n260
	nàm	smell (v.tr.)	Benedict 1972:89n260
	naṁ-naṁ	coriander (< 'stink') (aromatic seeds)	Benedict 1976a
	nam:	kiss; sniff; smell	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	naṁ'-	smell	Benedict 1976a
	nam^{4}	smell	Luce 1985:X.203
	nɑm^{3}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.26
	ə-**naṁ**	unpleasant odor	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**naṁ'-**	smell, odor, scent	Benedict 1976a
	ə **nám**	odor	Weidert 1987:333
Danu	**nã2**^{2}	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
Hpun (Northern)	ălí'; **nɛ́**	smell	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	**nɛ**^{1} (n.)	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
	nɛ^{1}(n.)	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
Hpun (Northern)	**nɛ́**-ŋ	stink / smell bad	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**nɛ̃**^{31}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.31
Lashi	**na:m**^{31}	smell / sniff (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.5.9
Lashi (Lachhe')	**nɑm**^{3}	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
	nã^{2}	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
Leqi (Luxi)	**na:m**^{31}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.33
Maru [Langsu]	**nɛ̃**^{31}	smell; sniff (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.5.9; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.43
Taung-Yo	**nã**^{2}	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nam**^{51}	smell (v.)	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.42
	nɑm^{4}	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-nam**^{2}	smell bad	Bradley 1979b:513
Lolopho	**nɤ**^{31}	smell / sniff (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.5.9
PNL	**ʔ-nam**^{2}	smell	CHEN Kang 1986a:147.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**nɛ**^{31}	smell; sniff (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.5.9; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.47
Lalo	**nỳ**	smell at	Björverud 1994
	ny^{21}	smell	CHEN Kang 1986a:147.
	ny^{21}	smell / sniff (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.9
	sjý-**ný**	fragrant / with good smell	Björverud 1994
Lipho	**nɤ**^{21}	smell; sniff	CHEN Kang 1986a:147.; CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.9
	nɤ^{21}xa^{33}	kiss	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.9.5
Nasu	be^{55} **ne**^{33}	smell / sniff (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.9
	ne^{33}	smell	CHEN Kang 1986a:147.
Neisu	**ȵɛ**^{33}	smell	CHEN Kang 1986a:147.
Nesu	**nɤ**^{21}	smell / sniff (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.9
	nɤ^{33}	smell	CHEN Kang 1986a:147.
Noesu	bi^{55}**ȵe**^{33}	smell / sniff	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.9
Nosu	**ni**^{33}	smell; sniff	CHEN Kang 1986a:147.; CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.9
Nusu (Southern)	**niɛ**^{55}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**nɔ**^{33}	smell (with nose)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2346.
	nɔ^{33}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.34
Nusu (Northern)	**nɔ**^{35}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	nɔ^{35}**nɯ**^{31}	fragrant	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ȵ̥ɔ**$^{\nu 35}$	smell (with nose)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:2346.
Yi (Dafang)	bi^{55} **nɯ**^{33}	smell (v.)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.22
	ɳe^{33}	fragrant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:892.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ȵ̥i**^{21}	smell (intentionally); sniff	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	va^{55}**ni**^{33}	smell good (food)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ȵi^{33}	delicious; fragrant	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐ̩^{21}**ni**^{33}	body odor, having; smell bad (body odor)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʤi^{33}**ni**^{33}	fishy (smell/taste); taste, fishy	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tshɯ^{21}**ni**^{33}	moldy smell	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**nɯ**^{21}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**nɯ**^{21}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**nə**^{21}**ȵ̥i**^{33}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.37
	nɯ^{55}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.24
	ɕyo^{33}**nɯ**^{33}	fragrant (smell)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ny**^{21}	smell (v.)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.23
	ɕe^{55}**ny**^{55}	fragrant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:892.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ny**^{21}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.36
	ɕy^{55}**ny**^{55}	fragrant (smell)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.36
Yi (Xide)	**ni**^{21}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.21
	ni^{33}	smell (v.)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ni^{33}**ho**^{34}**sɑ**^{33}	fragrant (smell)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.35
	ni^{33}**ho**^{44}**sa**^{33}	fragrant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:892.21
	ȵ̥i^{21}	smell	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ȵ̥i^{21}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.35
	vɑ^{55}**ni**^{33}	fragrant (smell)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lolo (Ni)	**nèu**	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
Ahi	**nɯ**^{21}	smell; sniff	CHEN Kang 1986a:147.; CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.9
	nɯ^{21}	smell / sniff (v.)	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.5.9
Jinuo (Baka)	**nɛ**^{31}	smell (with nose)	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2450
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**nɛ**^{31} tɛ^{44}	smell (with nose)	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2450
Jinuo (Youle)	**nɛ**^{42} tɛ^{44}	smell (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**nɛ**^{42}tjɛ^{33}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.34
	nɛ^{42}**tɛ**^{44}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**nɛ**^{44}**sɔ**^{44}	fragrant	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**nɛ**^{44}**sɔ**^{44}	fragrant (smell); fragrant	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.44; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:892.34
Kucong	**nv31**	smell, sniff	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	śū-phu-**nù**	garlic	LaPolla 1987:99 [a]
Lahu (Lancang)	**nu**^{31}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.43
Lahu (Black)	**nu**^{31}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.33
	nu$_{\smile}$	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
	ɔ-**nu**	smell of decay (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:132
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**-nē**^{3}	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
Lisu (Northern)	bu^{21}**ny**^{44}	fragrant (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	tsɯ^{5}**nü**^{3}	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
	tsɯ^{5}**nü**^{3}	smell, to smell	Luce 1985:T.37
Lisu	tʃhi^{31}**nu**^{33}mi^{33}	fragrant (smell)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.40
	tʃhi^{31}**nu̱**^{33}ȵi^{33}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.40
Lisu (Northern)	tʃhɻ^{21}**ny**^{44}	foul smell; smell; to smell; sense of smell (V.)	Bradley 1994
	tʃhɻ^{21}ny^{44}mi^{33}	fragrant; fragrant smell	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tʃhɻ^{31}**nu**^{33}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.27
	tʃhɻ^{31}nu^{33}mi^{33}	fragrant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:892.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	tʃ^{h}ɻ^{31} **nu**^{33}	smell (v.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**nɯ**^{21}	smell / sniff	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.9
	nɤ^{21}	smell	CHEN Kang 1986a:147.
Yi (Sani)	**nɤ**^{11}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.39
Sani [Nyi]	ʑe^{55}mɪ^{21}bɯ^{21}**nu̱**^{33}	armpit odor	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Bisu	**duŋ**	smell (v.)	Beaudouin 1988:35
	ʔaŋ **nám**	smell (bad) (v.)	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	**nɔ**^{55}	smell (v.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**nɔ**^{55}**xu**^{33}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ne**^{55}	smell (v.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.30
Côông [Phunoi]	**hnam**	smell / sniff (v.)	Ferlus 1991:3.5.9
Pyen	**nam31** me45	smell (v.)	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:132021
	nam45	smell, odor	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:203001
	ʔaŋ33 **nam45**	bad smell	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:203004
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Phola	**nɯ**^{33}	smell	Pelkey 2011:620
Hlepho Phowa	**nɔ**^{55}	smell	Pelkey 2011:620
Phuza	**nʌ**^{31}	smell	Pelkey 2011:620
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	bu˩**ɳv**˩	perceive a smell (unintentionally) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2880
	bv˩**ɳv**˩	stinking	Michaud 2006–2009:2160
Na (Yongning)	bv˩**nv**˩	perceive a smell (unintentionally) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	bv˩**nv**˩	stinking	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɕjɤ˩ bv˩**nv**˩	good (smell)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɳv˩	sniff (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	bv^{33}**nv**^{33}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.29
	bv^{33}**nv**^{33}	fishy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:895.29
	bv^{33}**nv**^{33}dʐuəɹ^{13}	stinky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:894.29
	bv^{33}**nv**^{33}dʑɑ^{13}	delicious	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:893.29
Naxi	bɣ^{33}**nɣ**^{21}	stinking / smelly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1070.45
	dzɻ^{33}**nɣ**^{21}	fishy-smelling	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1079.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**mv**^{33}	smell (v.)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	ndzɻəɹ^{33}**nv**^{31}	fishy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:895.28
Naxi (Western)	**nv**^{31}	smell (v.)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**nv**^{31}	smell (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:548.28
Naxi	**nɣ**^{21}	smell (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	tʂhəɹ^{33}**nv**^{31}	stinky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:894.28
Naxi	ɕy^{21}**nɣ**^{21}	savory; appetizing; fragrant (smell)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1071.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	ɕy^{31}**nv**^{31}	fragrant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:892.28
7. KARENIC: ***(h)nɨm**^{A} SMELL (v.)			
**Karen*	***(h)**nɨm^{A}	smell (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:263 [b]
	***hnum**	smell	Benedict 1972:136n369
	***hnəm**	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:855
	***num**	smell	Benedict 1972:117n326

[a] Contra DL:1195, Lahu **-phu-** in this compound seems to mean WHITE rather than the homophonous morpheme BULBOUS OBJECT.

[b] [Source Note] Tone A3 in NK and CK suggests a voiceless onset (*hn-) but tone A12 in Sgaw and tone A1 in Pwo indicate a voiced onset *n-.

Karen (Pwo)	*nàn	smell (v.)	Jones 1961:273
Karen (Sgaw)	*ná	smell (v.)	Jones 1961:273
Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)	*náh	smell (v.)	Jones 1961:273
Bwe	**nú**	smell; to smell, to be smelly (v.)	Henderson 1997
	nú ho	smell of roasting game (v.)	Henderson 1997
	nú-θo=**nú**-θá	smell delicious; have the delicious smell (v.)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**nu**^{1}	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:855
	nũ^{1}	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
Bwe	**nu**^{55}	smell (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:263
	ʔnú	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:855
Geba	**hnu**^{1}	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
Karen	da^{31}nø^{55}mu^{55}	fragrant (smell)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.50
	nø^{55}	smell (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1707.50
Kayan	**nɨ**^{33}	smell (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:263
Kayaw	**nɨ**^{33}	smell (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:263
Pa-O	**num**	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:855
	num	smell (v.)	Jones 1961:273
	num	smell	Benedict 1972:142n384
Pa-O (Northern)	**num**^{33}	smell (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:263
Pa-O (Southern)	**nuəm**^{53}	smell (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:263
Pa-O	**nɨm** sèŋ	stink	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**nɯm**^{1}	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
Paku	**nœ**^{1}	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
Palaychi	**nýɋ**	smell (v.)	Jones 1961:273
Pwo (Northern)	**nã**^{35}	smell (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:263
Pwo	**nàn**	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:855
Pwo (Southern)	**nãi**^{53}	smell (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:263
Pwo (Delta)	**nã**^{4}	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**nã**^{6}	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
Pwo (Bassein)	**nàn**	smell (v.)	Jones 1961:273
Pwo (Moulmein)	**nàn**	smell (v.)	Jones 1961:273
Sgaw (Northern)	**nə**^{33}	smell (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:263
Sgaw	**nə**^{1}	smell (v.)	Luce 1985:F.42
Sgaw (Southern)	**nɨ**^{55}	smell (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:263
Sgaw	^{4}**nø**	smell (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:855
Sgaw (Bassein)	**ná**	smell (v.)	Jones 1961:273
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**nø**^{55}	smell (with nose)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2450
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ná**	smell (v.)	Jones 1961:273
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**nə**^{55}	smell (with nose)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2450

(10) PKC *thuu STINK / SMELL (bad)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***thuu**	STINK / SMELL (bad)	VanBik 2009:415
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**tʻǘ**	rot, become putrid (v.)	VanBik 2009:415
Cho (Mindat)	**thu**-I, thuk-II	emit a bad smell	VanBik 2009:415
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thùu**-I, thuut-II	stink, smell bad	VanBik 2009:415
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**thū**	stink	VanBik 2009:415

1.3 Mouth and Throat

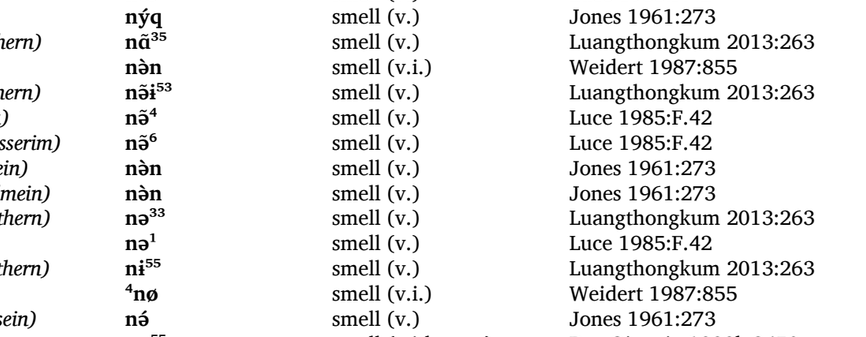

Figure 91: 1.3 *Mouth and Throat*

1.3.1 Mouth

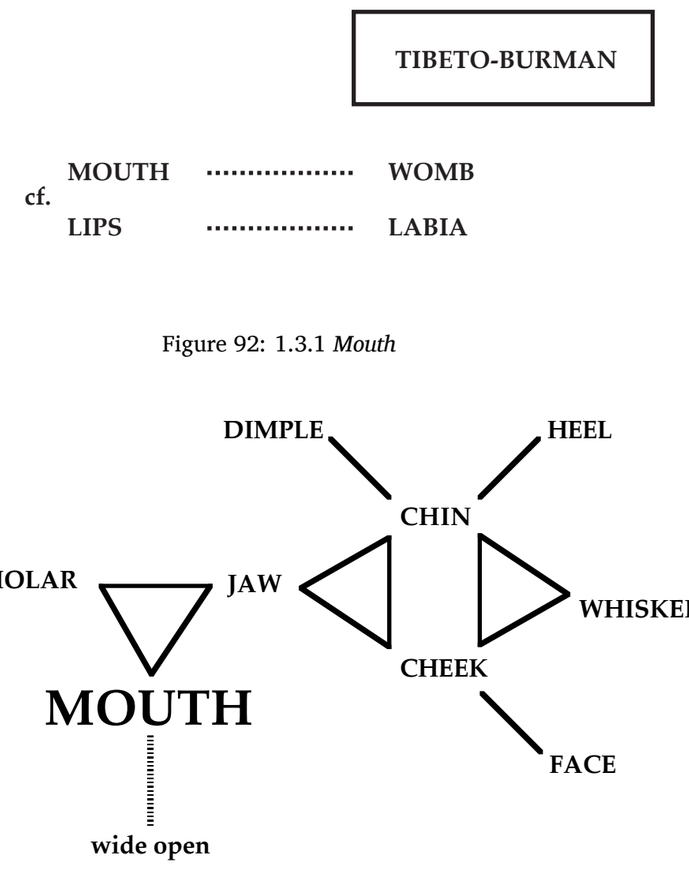

Figure 93: 1.3.1 *Mouth*

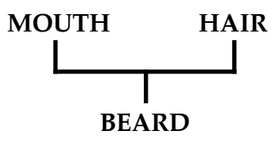

Figure 94: 1.3.1 *Mouth*

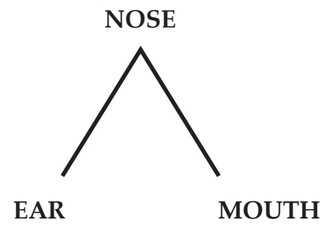

Figure 95: 1.3.1 *Mouth*

(1) PTB *s-mu:r MOUTH / LIP / HOLD IN MOUTH / CHEW / FACE / GILLS

Note the Mizo doublet **hmùur** 'tip, point, end, prow, teat' ≍ **hmui** 'lip, mouth' as well as other forms where an original final **-r** has become a palatal semi-vowel.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***mjur**/mur	mouth movements / mouth	Coblin 1986:111
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***muur**	face	LaPolla 1987:213
	***mu:r**	mouth; face; gills; beak; gills, beak, mouth, face; mouth movements	Michailovsky 1991:120; Matisoff 2003a:603; Benedict 1972:366; Coblin 1986:111
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar Lhoba	**mur**	chew; hold in mouth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.51
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	shong **mûr**	beard	Matisoff 1987
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hmuur** LIP / BEAK / MOUTH / TIP			
**Chin*	***hmuur**	LIP / BEAK / MOUTH / TIP	VanBik 2009:876
Khoibu	**mur**	prow; mouth	Benedict 1972:366; Coblin 1986:111
Thanphum	pə̀**hni**^{5}	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	a **mūk**	lip (of a vessel)	VanBik 2009:876
Thado	**mu**	beak / bill	Chou Fa-kao 1972:441a-c; Benedict 1972:366
	mù?	lip	VanBik 2009:876
	nɔ́i **mù?**	nipple	Thirumalai 1972:66
Tiddim	**mû**	lip	Weidert 1987:439
	mu:k^{3}mul^{1}	moustaches ("lip hair")	VanBik 2009:876
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	a **mon**	mouth, beak, lips	VanBik 2009:876
Asho (Sandoway)	**mɔ̆uŋ**^{1}-	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
Chinbon	**mo:ŋ**	mouth	So-Hartmann 1988:77
Cho (Mindat)	**hmui**	mouth	VanBik 2009:876
Matupi	**mə̆hui**^{1}	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
	mᵊhɤi^{1}	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Khualsim	**hmu:r**^{4}	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
Lai (Hakha)	**hmur**^{2}	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
	hmŭur	mouth, beak, lip, tip (e.g. of a pen)	VanBik 2009:876
Lai (Falam)	**hmùur**	mouth, beak, lip, tip (e.g. of a pen)	VanBik 2009:876
Lushai [Mizo]	**hmui**	lip; mouth	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	hmûi	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987
	hmui	upper lip	Matisoff 1987
	hmui^{4} (hmur^{4}=nipple)	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
	hmûr	face	Matisoff 1987
	hmùui	lip	Weidert 1987:439
	hmùur	tip, point, end, prow, teat	VanBik 2009:876
	hmuur	point, tip, prow	LaPolla 1987:213
	hmu:i	beak; lip	Bhaskararao 1996:1154
	hmu:r	point; tip; prow; point, tip, prow	Chou Fa-kao 1972:441a-c; Benedict 1972:366
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lailenpi	ă **hmɑu**^{4} [tʻɔʔ^{1}]	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
Lakher [Mara]	**hmão**	lips, the tip (n.)	VanBik 2009:876
	^{2}**hmu**	lip	Weidert 1987:439
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**hmua**^{4}	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
	hmɯə^{4}tɔ^{3}	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
Mera	**hmʊ**^{5}	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
Tha'oa	**hui**^{2}	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
Zotung	**mõ**^{4}	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
	mũ^{1}	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	ču ču **mur**	nipple	Toba & Kom 1991:5.4.1
	va **mur**	beak / bill	Toba & Kom 1991:3.9.3
Moyon	cu cu? **mówr**	nipple	Kosha 1990:5.4.1
	nèr kù ~ ner kù	beak / bill	Kosha 1990:3.9.3
	ni **mówr**	nipple	Kosha 1990:5.4.1
Sorbung	**mor**	mouth	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.071
	mòr	lip	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.102
	mur	mouth	Brown 1837
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**mur**	mouth	Brown 1837; Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***mən** MOUTH			
**Central Naga*	***mən**	MOUTH	Bruhn 2014a:III.169
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**men**^{3}	mouth (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.169
	men^{3}-fəʔ^{2}	lip (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	men^{3}həm^{3}	hair (facial) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [b]
	men^{3}set^{2}-	smile (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	E **me**	lip	Nienu 1990c:3.9
	e **men**	mouth	Murry *et al.* 1978:76
	ē **mēn̰**	lip	Acharya 1975
	mén̰ fə̂	lip	Acharya 1975
	mén̰ kēp >	beak	Acharya 1975

[a] [Source Note] mouth-skin
[b] [Source Note] mouth-hair

	men fu	lip	Marrison 1967
	men hüm	moustache; beard	Murry *et al.* 1978:76; Murry *et al.* 1978:9
Yimchungrü	**mün**	mouth	Marrison 1967
	mün-nam	moustache	Kumar 1973b:82

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	u **me**	mouth	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) me^{31} **nye**^{11} pe^{31} so^{11}	upper lip	Nienu 1990a:3.9.1
	(u) me^{11} **nye**^{11} rü^{31} khro	lower lip	Nienu 1990a:3.9.2
	u **me**	mouth	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **mü**^{31} na^{11}	lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9
	(u) **mü**^{31} na^{11} mü^{31} khro	lower lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9.2
	(u) **mü**^{31} na^{11} mü^{31} so^{11}	upper lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9.1
	(u) **mü**^{31} na^{11} ru^{31} khro^{3}	lower lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9.2
	(u) **mü**^{31} na^{11} rü^{31} so^{11}	upper lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9.1
	(u) **mü**^{31} na^{11} u^{31} khro^{33}	lower lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9.2
	(u) **mü**^{31} na^{11} u^{31} so^{11}	upper lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9.1
Mao	o **me**	mouth	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**meng** si	lip	Marrison 1967
	müng	mouth	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**me** ki	lip	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	cha **mun**	mouth	Marrison 1967
	cha **mun** tai	lip	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **mui**	mouth	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**mun**	mouth	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ma-**mun**	mouth	Brown 1837
	muong	mouth	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi **mui**	mouth; face	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mi **mui** jo	lip	Marrison 1967
	mi **mui** mai	beard	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	mi **mui**	mouth	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***mor*** MOUTH

**Tangkhulic*	***mor**	mouth	Mortensen 2012:520
Champhung	k^{h}a-**mar**	mouth	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-**mo**-su-kə-p^{h}uŋ	upper lip	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.077
	ʔa-**mo**-tse	lower lip	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.078
	ʔa-**mu**-su	mouth	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.056
Kachai	**mor**-ce	lip; beak / bill (of bird)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.086
	mor-sɐ	mouth	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.061
	mor-tɕe	lip	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	(ā) kha **mor**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	kha **mor**	mouth	Marrison 1967
	khə **mor**	mouth	LaPolla 1987:213; Benedict 1972:366
	mor chai	lip	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	mor hā	beard; moustache	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	mur	mouth	Coblin 1986:111
	vā nō kha **mor**	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987
Tangkhul (Standard)	k^{h}a-**mor**	mouth	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔə-k^{h}ə-**mo**	mouth	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.069
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**mor**	mouth	Mortensen 2012
	mor-caj	lip	Mortensen 2012

1.6. Mru

Mru	**mör**	face	Matisoff 1987
	nor	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	nɔr^{2}	mouth (of men or animals)	Luce 1985:Q.32

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	ko-**mor** / ku-**mor**	waist	Burling 1992 [a]

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Moshang)	**nür**	mouth	Marrison 1967
	nər	mouth	French 1983:524

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	a **mu**	lip	Sharma 1991b:3.9
	ə **mu**	lip	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	tɕ^{h}uŋ^{55} **min**^{55}	lip	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	tɕhu^{55}kɔ^{55}**men**^{53}	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.6

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Jirel)	**'mur** kum	jaw	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	jang **mūr**	anus / rectum	Bishop 1989:9.12
	mur ken	chew (v.)	Bishop 1989:3.10.8
	mur tza	forehead / brow	Bishop 1989:3.2
Tibetan (Written)	**mur**	gills; gills, beak, mouth, face	Chou Fa-kao 1972:441a-c; LaPolla 1987:213; Benedict 1972:366; Coblin 1986:111
	mur-'gram	jaw	Chou Fa-kao 1972:441a-c
	mur-ba	masticate	Coblin 1986:111
	mur-goŋ	temples	Chou Fa-kao 1972:441a-c; LaPolla 1987:213; Benedict 1972:366
	mur-gram	jaw	LaPolla 1987:213
	mur-ḥgram	jaw, jawbone; jaw	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:366

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	sɯŋ^{2} **man**^{2} ji^{2}	lip	Nagano 1984:011
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**mul**-	chew	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0756
	^{2}**mə̃** ci	lip	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0010
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**mul**	hold in mouth (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.7.14

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**mur** a	mouth, beak; mouth	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:120
	mur ā	mouth	Matisoff 1987

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**mɯr**	lip	Nishida 1964:162-092; Nishida 1964:183
	mər	lip	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4543
	mə̣^{1}	beak / bill	Sofronov c1978

3.2. Qiangic

Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**mɯ**^{55} **mɯ**^{55}	face	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.1
Xumi	**ŋ̡i**^{55} ɕɑ̃^{33} dʑi^{35}	lip	Sun Hongkai 1991m [b]

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	ha **mə**^{ɪ}	lip	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.9
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔmaɪ** dʐa	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.9

[a] [Source Note] (<B). Note the second syllable looks like 'mouth', but the semantics are quite peculiar!
[b] Xumi **ŋ̡i**^{55} and **ɕɑ̃**^{33} 'mouth'.

	ʔmo	beak / bill	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.9.3

4. Nungic

Anong	**mr** [mər]	face, mouthful	LaPolla 1987:213
Trung [Dulong]	**ñi**^{44} kop^{44}	lip	Matisoff 1987
	ñi^{44} koŋ^{42}	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**nɯi**^{55}	mouth	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɯi^{55} gɔŋ^{53}	mouth	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɯi^{55} kɔp^{55}	lip	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**nɯ**^{31} pǎn^{55}	lip	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ŋ̡i^{31} gɔŋ^{53}	mouth	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	*(**C**)me^{2}/mok^{L}	mouth	Bradley 1979b:94
Lolopho	**me**^{31} khɣ^{44}	mouth	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.7
	me^{31} kɣ^{44}	beak / bill	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.9.3
	me^{31} la^{55}	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.9
	mɤ^{44}	hold in mouth (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.7.14

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**mɛ**^{33}	hold in mouth (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.7.14
Lalo	**m̩**^{21} lɑ^{33} p^{h}i̱^{33}	lip	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9
Lipho	**mɯ**^{55}	hold in mouth	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.14
Nasu	**mɤ**^{33}	hold in mouth (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.14
	ŋ̡e̱^{55} pu^{21}	mouth	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7
	ŋ̡e̱^{55} tʂ^{h}ɵ^{33}	lip	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9
Nesu	**mu**^{55}	hold in mouth (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.14
	ŋ̡i̱^{21} pe̱^{33}	lip	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9
	ŋ̡i̱^{21} p^{h}i^{33}	mouth	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7
Nosu	**mo**^{33}	hold in mouth	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.14
Nusu (Central)	**mɔ**^{31}	hold in mouth	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɔ**^{31}	hold in mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.45
Nusu (Northern)	**mɔ**^{55}	hold in mouth	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**mɑ**^{55}	hold in mouth	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**nu**^{31} ʂu^{55}	lip	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**n̩i**^{31} bə^{55}	lip	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**n̩ɯ**^{31} sui^{55}	lip	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**n̩ɯ**^{31}sui^{55}	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**n̩ɯ**^{55} sui^{55}	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989o:108.
Nusu (Central)	**n̩ɯ**^{55} ʂui^{55}	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989p:108.
	n̩ɯ^{55}ʂui^{55}	lip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.34
Yi (Dafang)	**mi**^{13} ndʑi^{21}	lip	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	mi^{13} pu^{21}	mouth	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	mə^{33}	hold in mouth	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.22
Yi (Mojiang)	**mɯ**^{55}	hold in mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mɯ**^{55}	hold in mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**mu̱**^{21} la^{33} p^{h}i^{21}	lip	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	mu̱^{55}	hold in mouth	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	**mi**^{21} pu^{21}	lip	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	mi^{21}-ndʑ̩^{33}	lip	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	mo^{33}	hold in mouth	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**ni**^{21} pi^{33} tʻu^{22}	chin	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.12
	ni^{21} pʻe̱^{21}	beak; bill; mouth	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7; Luo Meizhen 1990:3.9.3
	ni^{21} tsʻi^{22}	beard; whiskers (of animal)	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.1.2.1; Luo Meizhen 1990:8.1.7
	ni^{21} tsʻi^{22} nɯ^{55} kɑ̱^{21} zo^{21}	moustache	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.1.2.3
	ni^{21} tsʻi^{22} zo^{21}	goatee	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.1.2.2
	ni^{21} tɕi^{22}	lip	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.9
	ni^{21} tɕi^{22} i^{33} tʻu^{33}ɛ^{33} tʻi^{21} ʈo^{55}	lower lip	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.9.2
	ni^{21} tɕi^{22} o^{55} kʻɑ^{33} tʻi^{21} ʈo^{55}	upper lip	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.9.1
	ni^{21} xɑ^{21}	gape / open mouth (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7.15
	ni^{21} ʐi^{22}	saliva	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7.5; Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.5
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**mi**^{44} k^{h}u^{44}	lip	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**mo**^{42}	hold in mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mø**^{33} ɬɔ^{44}	tongue	Dai Qingxia 1989h:172.1
	mø^{44} k^{h}jø^{44}	mouth	Dai Qingxia 1989h:110.1
	mø^{44} k^{h}o^{31}	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989h:111
	mø^{44} **mø**^{44}	mouth	Dai Qingxia 1989h:110
	mø^{44} t^{h}a^{55}	palate	Dai Qingxia 1989h:174
Jinuo (Youle)	**m̩ø**^{44} k^{h}o^{42}	lip	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**m̩ø**^{44} k^{h}u^{31}	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989i:111
	m̩ø^{44} **m̩ø**^{44}	mouth	Dai Qingxia 1989i:110
Jinuo (Youle)	**m̩ø**^{44} **m̩ø**^{44}	mouth	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	cha-**mə̂**	labia	Matisoff 1987
	mə̂-cu	snout / beak / mouth (animal)	Matisoff 1988a:1044
	mə̂-gɨ	lip	Matisoff 1987
	mə̂-lɔ	lip	Matisoff 1987
	mə̂-qɔ	lip	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	mɯ^{53} gɯ^{31}	lip	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɯ**^{55} gɯ^{31}	lip	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Nujiang)	**me̱**^{44}	hold in mouth	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**mrgh**^{5}-lrghe^{2}	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	mrgh^{5}-lrghe^{2} kaw^{3}ji^{4}	lip	Matisoff 1987
	mrgh^{5}lrghe^{2}	mouth	Bradley 1979b:94
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**mrgh**^{5}lrghe^{2}	mouth, snout	Luce 1985:V.109
Lisu (Nujiang)	**mɯ**^{31} lɯ^{35}	mouth	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
	mɯ^{31} lɯ^{35} ku^{35} dʒi^{33}	lip	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**mɯ**^{31}lɯ^{35}	mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.27
Lisu (Putao)	**mɯ**^{5}lɯ^{2}	mouth, snout	Luce 1985:V.109
	mɯ^{5}nɯ^{2}	mouth, snout	Luce 1985:V.109
Sani [Nyi]	bɒ^{21}pɒ^{33}; **ni**^{55}ŋ̡ɛ^{33}	mouth	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	mɤ^{55}	hold in mouth	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.14
	ni^{55}phu^{33}	lip	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ŋ̡^{55} p^{h}ɣ^{33}	lip	Ma Xueliang 1989:306.3
	ŋ̡^{55} zɑ^{44}	mouth	Ma Xueliang 1989:322.5
	ŋ̡^{55} ŋ̡æ^{33}	mouth	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:85.3
	ŋ̡^{55}phu^{33}	lip	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9
	ŋ̡^{55}ŋ̡ɑ^{44}	mouth	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	k'aˬ **meh**	mouth	Matisoff 1987 [b]
	mehˬ boeˬ	snout / mouth	Matisoff 1987
	mehˬ luˬ	lip	Matisoff 1987
	mehˬ mahˬ	beard	Matisoff 1987
	mehˬ toˆ	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987 [c]

[a] The second syllable of this form might well be derived from PLB ***ʔgaŋ**, but this syllable also appears in several other words (**mɔ̀ʔ-qɔ** 'mouth', **làʔ=tɔ-qɔ** 'palm of the hand', **mû-lɔ̀ʔ-qɔ** 'daytime; afternoon'), and is glossed 'noun formative of elusive meaning' in DL:250.
[b] The first syllable of this Akha form occurs with a large number of nouns, mostly animal names. It is possible that this morpheme is only a prefix here.
[c] Stopped second syllable in Akha points to allofam with final **-k**.

Bisu	**man** pɔ̀ŋ	mouth	Beaudouin 1988:15
Hani (Dazhai)	**me³¹** bɔ³¹	mouth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	me³¹ lu³¹	lip	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	me³¹ mo³¹	beard	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Caiyuan)	**me³¹** kʰv̄³³	lip	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	me⁵⁵	hold in mouth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ³¹ **me³¹**	mouth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**mɛ³¹** bø³¹	mouth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mɛ³¹ la⁵⁵	tongue	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mɛ³¹ lu³¹	lip	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mɛ³¹ maŋ³¹	beard	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**mɛ³¹** pʰa³¹	lip	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mɛ³¹ tʃʰɛ³¹	beard	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	xɔ³¹ **mɛ³³**	mouth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Sangkong	**maŋ³¹** qhọ̄³³	lip	Li Yongsui 1991
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ni**˩tɕʰɤ˥	lips	Michaud 2006–2009:300
Na (Yongning)	**ɲi**˧to˧	mouth and jaw	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**nv³³**bi³³li³³	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**nv³³**bi³³li⁵⁵	lip	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**nv̩⁵³**	mouth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.45
	nv̩⁵⁵bi²¹	lip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.45
	nv̩⁵⁵tɑ⁵³	mouth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**nv⁵⁵**	mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.28
Naxi (Western)	**nv⁵⁵**bi³¹	lip	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**nv⁵⁵**bi³¹	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.28
Naxi (Western)	**nv⁵⁵**tɑ³³	mouth	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɲɐ³¹**to³¹	mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**ɲɐ³³**to³³	mouth	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
7. Karenic			
Bwe	lə **mɔ**	mouth (n.)	Henderson 1997
Palaychi	lə̀q **mó**	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:691
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**mi̱wən**/mi̱uən	lip (corner of) / shut lips	Chou Fa-kao 1972:503o
	mwən/muən	gate / door	Chou Fa-kao 1972:441a-c; Karlgren 1957:441a-c
Chinese (Old)	**mjənx**	mouth movements / mouth	Coblin 1986:111
	mən	mouth movements / mouth	Coblin 1986:111
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**mén**	door	Evans *et al.* 1991
	mern	door	Sun 1985b:196

Chinese comparandum

門 OC ***mwən**, *GSR* #441a-c ‘gate, door’; Schuessler 2007:379 ***mə̂n**; B & S 2011: ***mˁən {mˁə[n]}**; Mand. **mén**.
吻 OC ***mi̱wən**, *GSR* #503o ‘lip (corner of), shut lips’; Schuessler 2007:515 ***mənʔ**; Mand. **wěn**.

(2) PTB *ku(w) MOUTH

It is so far unclear whether this root should be reconstructed with simple ***-u** or with the diphthong or long vowel ***-əw**. This uncertainty is conventionally reflected by the reconstruction ***-u(w)**.

The putative Tangut cognate has undergone a change from velar stop to velar nasal.

There is an excellent Chinese comparandum.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***khuɣ**	mouth	Coblin 1986:110
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ku(w)**	mouth	Matisoff 2003a:597; Coblin 1986:110
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Miji	**go**	mouth	Simon 1979
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	e⁵⁵**ko⁵⁵**be⁵³	mouth	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.50
	e **ko**-be	mouth	Anonymous 1962
	e **ko** bɤ	mouth	Pulu 1978
Yidu	e⁵⁵ **ko⁵⁵** be⁵³	mouth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.25
1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Moyon	nèr **kù** ~ ner kù	beak / bill	Kosha 1990:3.9.3
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***k(h)u**	mouth	Benedict 1972:184 n. 483
	***ku**-dəi	saliva	Burling 1959:443
	***kV**	mouth	Burling 1959:442
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**kaw** gá	mouth	Bhat 1968
	khu-ga	mouth	Benedict 1972:470
	ko-gaʔ	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	ku dáy	saliva	Bhat 1968
	ku gá	beak; mouth; lip; mouth, lip	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	ku gáʔ	mouth	Weidert 1987:1061
	ku gá dəy	spittle; saliva	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	ku káb	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987
	kəwgá	mouth	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
Dimasa	**khu**	mouth	Chou Fa-kao 1972:110a-c; Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:184n483; Coblin 1986:110
	khu-sga	chin	Benedict 1972:470
	khu jer	lip	Marrison 1967
	khu sga	chin	Marrison 1967
	khu ska	jaw	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	bə **kʰoʔ**	mouth	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	kʰoʔ-či	lip	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**khuʔ**	mouth	Balawan 1965:17
	khu smangʔ	moustache	Balawan 1965:19
	khu ur	mouth	Balawan 1965:18
Meche	**ko** gaʔ	mouth	Weidert 1987:1061
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**ku** / **khu**	mouth	Benedict 1972:184n483
	ku ~ **khu**	mouth	Chou Fa-kao 1972:110a-c; Coblin 1986:110
	ku-ci	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	ku-sik	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	ka’-ma-ni **ku’**-chil	lower lip	Burling 1992
	ku’-chi	saliva, bubbles	Burling 1992
	ku’-chil	lip	Burling 1992
	ku’-gi-sep	corner of mouth	Burling 1992
	ku’-sik	mouth; language; opening of a pot, etc.	Burling 1992
	ku•-chi	bubbles; saliva (n.)	Burling 2003:6.29-II:idx
	ku•-chil	lip (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
	ku•-sik	mouth (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
	sak-a-ni **ku’**-chil	upper lip	Burling 1992
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**khu•** chul	lip (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	ku-cuk	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	ku-dəi	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Chairel	dū-**kwī**	mouth	Luce 1985:K.54
Lui	du-**khwí**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Jirel)	**kho** jyuq	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	o **koq**-pu jyaq	beard	Matisoff 1987
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ngu²**	mouth	Sofronov c1978
	ngu¹	mouth	Sofronov c1978
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	dzə **kuə**	mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.8; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dzə **kʯ**	mouth	Sun 1986
	dzə **kʯə̯**	mouth	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.7
	ʂqu	mouth	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**ʂqu**	mouth	Dai Qingxia 1989q:110
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	**kʰu** mtɕʰi rme	whiskers (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.7
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	me³¹ **kv̩⁴⁴**	beak / bill	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.9.3
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	ʔɑ²-**khwe²**	mouth	Bradley 1979b:303
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	**kwɤ**˩pi˩	mouth	Michaud 2006–2009
	kwɤ˩to˨	lower jaw	Michaud 2006–2009
7. Karenic			
Karen	**kho³¹**bu³³	mouth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.50
Palaychi	thàq **hóq**	mouth	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:668
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**ho³¹** bu³³	mouth	Dai Qingxia 1989k:110
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**ko³¹** pu³³	mouth	Dai Qingxia 1989j:110
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	tɕui³³ kæ⁵⁵ **kʰo³³**	mouth	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.7
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kʻu**/kʻəu	mouth	Chou Fa-kao 1972:110a-c
Chinese (Old)	**khugx**	mouth	Coblin 1986:110
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**khəu:**	mouth	Coblin 1986:110

Chinese comparandum

口 OC ***k’u**, *GSR* #110a-c ‘mouth’; Coblin 86:110 ST ***khuɣ** > OC ***khugx**; Schuessler 2007:336 ***khôʔ**; B & S 2011: ***kʰˁoʔ {kʰˁ(r)oʔ}**; Mand. **kǒu**.

(3) PTB *nap MOUTH

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-jo **ña**-čʰu	lip (upper)	Sun 1993b
	a-kã **ña**-čʰu	lip (lower)	Sun 1993b
	ñá-ču	lip	Sun 1993b
	ña-čʰu	lip	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**na**-bɯr	lip	Sun 1993b
	nap-mɯ [nam-mɯʰ]	moustache	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**nap** lə	chin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0088.24
	nap mɯ	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.24
	nap paŋ	mouth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.24
	nap tum	close (the mouth)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.24
	nap tum	close (the mouth) lightly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1523.24
	nap tɕi	lip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.24
	nap-či	lip	Sun 1993b
	nap-lə	chin	Sun 1993b
	nap-paŋ	mouth	Sun 1993b
	nap-tɕi	lip	Ouyang Jueya, ed. 1985
	nəp-mɯ	beard	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**nap** mɯ	beard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.51
	nap nə	chin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:247.51
	nap paŋ	mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.51
	nap tɕi	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.51
	nap bjer	mouth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	nap lə	chin	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	nap mɯ	beard	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	nap paŋ	mouth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	cokːo **nam**-mɤ	beard	Das Gupta 1963
	nab-bɤ	lip	Das Gupta 1963
	nab doo	protruding (mouth) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	nab doo	protruding (mouth) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	nab jak	cleft palate (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	nap-pa	mouth	Das Gupta 1963 [a]
	nap paa	mouth (n.)	GLDC 2009
	nap por	malformed (mouth) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	nap por	malformed (mouth) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	nap tor	mouth (protruding) (n.)	GLDC 2009

[a] Galo seems to show an alternation between **bu** and **pa**. If these are indeed allofams, it would support the reconstruction of a rising diphthong ***-wa-**.

	nap tuu	short (mouth) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nab bee	drool (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nab ber	lips (fat) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nab bik	shrug (lips) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nab bik	shrug (lips) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nab jap	flat (mouth) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nab jom	sloping-mouthed (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nam mə	facial hair; beard; moustache (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘nap kap	pointy (chin) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nap kap	pointy-chinned (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nap kap	sunken (mouth) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nap tum	closed (mouth) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nap tum	closed (mouth) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**nep** to	lip	Simon 1976
Tagin	**nap** cu	upper lip	Das Gupta 1983
	na mi	beard	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**nâb**-bér	lip	Matisoff 1987
	nâm-mûr	beard	Matisoff 1987
	nâp-pang	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Milang	ŋu-giŋ-**nap**-bel	lip (upper)	Tayeng 1976
	ŋuk-pak-**nap**-bel	lip (lower)	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**nab**-ber	lip	Sun 1993a
1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Kom Rem	**nəp**	snout	Toba & Kom 1991:3.5.5
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	**na** war	lip	French 1983:549; Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	**no** wang	mouth	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 10
	nu wang	mouth	Andvik 1993:8
Tsangla (Motuo)	**no**^{13} waŋ^{13}	mouth	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	no^{13} waŋ^{13} k^{h}op^{55} taŋ^{55}	lip	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	no waŋ	mouth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.7
	no waŋ khop taŋ	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**no**-waŋ	mouth	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	no-waŋ-k^{h}op-taŋ	lip	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	no-waŋ-sum	beard	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	hmo tong	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:120; Matisoff 1987
	hmo toŋ	mouth	Weidert 1987:736; Caughley 1972:1.42
	mong	snout (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.043
	moŋ	snout	Caughley 1972:3.A.42
	moŋʔ	snout, pointed mouth and jaws (n1.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**hmo** toŋ	mouth	Caughley 1990:3.7
	moŋʔ	snout	Caughley 1990:3.5.5
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**mək**^{33} spə^{53}	beard / moustache	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.1.2
	ɣmu^{53}	mouth	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.7
Ergong (Danba)	fia **mo**	mouth	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.7
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔmo**	mouth	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.7
	ʔmo da pha tɕhu	gape / open mouth (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.7.15
	ʔmo nɑŋ na skhe	hold in mouth (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.7.14
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*(C)**me**^{2}/mok^{L}	mouth	Bradley 1979b:94
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	**muɯ31** ɣɯ31	saliva	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***maw**̂	mouth	Bradley 1979b:94
Lahu (Black)	**mɔ**^{21}qɔ^{33}	mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.33 [a]
	mɔʔ^{21} qɔ^{33}	mouth	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	mɔ̀ʔ-cu	snout / beak / mouth (animal)	Matisoff 1988a:1044
	mɔ̀ʔ-qɔ	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɔ**^{31} qɔ^{33}	mouth	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	muɯ^{55} ɣɯ^{31}	saliva	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	(**mrgh**^{5} rghe^{4}) ti^{1}	spit (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**mrgh**^{5}-rghe^{4}	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**mrgh**^{5}-rghe^{4}	saliva / spittle	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Nujiang)	**muɯ**^{31} ɣɯ^{33}	saliva	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**muɯ**^{31}ɣɯ^{33}	saliva / spittle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:280.27
Lisu (Northern)	**mɤ**^{21}ɤ^{44}	saliva; mouth water (N.)	Bradley 1994

[a] The second syllable of Lahu ‘mouth’ occurs in several other words **là?＝tɔ-qɔ** ‘palm of the hand’, **mâ-*qɔ*** ‘lip’, **mû-lɔ̀?-qɔ** ‘daytime; afternoon’, and is glossed ‘noun formative of elusive meaning’. For now, however, we are assigning it to the present root.

(4) PTB *ak CRACK OPEN / MOUTH / CHIN

The Karenic languages have apparently substituted the homorganic velar nasal for **-k**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ak**	crack open, mouth	Benedict 1972:106
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**ag**	mouth	Benedict 1972:106
	aʔ	mouth	Sharma 1991a:3.7
	aʔ alca	gape / open mouth (v.)	Sharma 1991a:3.7.15
Pattani [Manchati]	**ă**	mouth	Sharma 1991b:3.7
	ă càŋzi	open mouth (v.)	Sharma 1991b:3.7.15
	à(h)	mouth, beak	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**’ag**-t‘som	chin-beard	Matisoff 1987
	’og-rgya	beard	Matisoff 1987
	’og-t‘som	beard	Matisoff 1987
	ag-tshom	beard	Coblin 1986:90
	ɑg-tshom	beard	Chou Fa-kao 1972
	ʔag-tshom	beard	Benedict 1972:73
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**ók**	open (as door, mouth) (v.)	Benedict 1972:106
	ʔok	open (v.)	Plaisier 2007
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**a**	crack open, gape	Benedict 1976a [a]
	ak	crack open (less than WB a) (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	ak	crack open, mouth	Benedict 1972:106
	ă **ak**	opening, gap	Benedict 1972:106
	ɑk^{4}	split open / rend (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1500.26
7. Karenic: ***ʔaN**^{A} OPEN (THE MOUTH)			
**Karen*	***ʔaN**^{A}	open (the mouth)	Luangthongkum 2013:208
Bwe	**a**^{55}-tha^{33}	open (the mouth)	Luangthongkum 2013:208
Kayah	**ʔɛ**^{33}	open (the mouth)	Luangthongkum 2013:208
Kayan	**ʔaŋ**^{53}	open (the mouth)	Luangthongkum 2013:208
Kayaw	**ʔɔ**^{55}	open (the mouth)	Luangthongkum 2013:208
Pa-O (Southern)	**ʔan**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	open (the mouth)	Luangthongkum 2013:208
Pa-O (Northern)	**ʔaŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	open (the mouth)	Luangthongkum 2013:208
	ɑŋ^{6}	open (mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:I.148
Pa-O	**ʔàŋ** phrɔ̂ŋ	open mouth	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Southern)	**ʔɔ̃**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	open (the mouth)	Luangthongkum 2013:208
Sgaw (Northern)	**ʔɔ**^{33}	open (the mouth)	Luangthongkum 2013:208

[a] Also glossed as “inside of mouth”. Possibly allofamic with **ak**, although a WB alternation between open **a** and **ak** is not attested elsewhere.

(5) PTB *s-muk MOUTH

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the reflexes of this root and PTB ***s-muːr*** MOUTH / LIP / HOLD IN MOUTH / CHEW / FACE / GILLS (§1.3.1). In general, reflexes with front, mid or centralized vowels (i, e, ø, ə) are deemed to belong to the latter etymon.

The Chepang forms for ‘snout’ with final nasals have also been assigned to this root.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***muk**	mouth	Matisoff 2003a:602
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**muːk**^{3}	beak; lip	Bhaskararao 1996:1154
	muːk^{4}	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
1.2.3. Maraic			
Xongsai	**muʔ**^{2}	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**mhu** tu-si	lip	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.9
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**muk** tshu	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:120; Matisoff 1987
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**hmo**.toŋ klyak-	talk hot air, shoot one’s mouth off (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	hmo.toŋ.ca	mouth sores (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hmoʔ.toŋ	mouth, opening, entrance, wide end (n.)	Caughley 2000

(6) TGTM *suŋ MOUTH

This root appears in Kiranti as well as in the TGTM group, and there may well be cognates in other Himalayan languages.

2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**suŋ**	mouth	Mazaudon 1994:951
Chantyal	**suŋ**	mouth; face	Noonan *et al.* 1992; Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.7
	suŋ ã la-wa	gape / open mouth (v.)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.7.15
	suŋ-ye ta la	palate; soft palate	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.7.1; Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.7.2
Gurung	**sũ**	mouth	Weidert 1987:736
Gurung (Ghachok)	**sũ**	mouth; snout	Glover 1972:1.42; Glover 1972:3.A.43
	sụ	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Gurung	^{1}**sũ**	mouth / snout	Mazaudon 1994:951
Manang (Gyaru)	**sɯŋ**^{2}	beak; bill; mouth	Nagano 1984:010; Nagano 1984:315
	sɯŋ^{2} man^{2} ji^{2}	lip	Nagano 1984:011
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**suŋ**	beak; bill; mouth	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0009; Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0067
	^{1}**suŋ**	mouth	Mazaudon 1994:951
Tamang (Bagmati)	**suŋ**	mouth	Weidert 1987:736
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**suŋ**	mouth (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.7, 3.5.5
	^{1}**suŋ**	mouth	Mazaudon 1994:951
	^{1}**suŋ**-^{1}p^{h}i:	lip (n comp.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.9
Tamang (Sahu)	**sung**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	sung phi:	lip	Matisoff 1987
	suŋ	mouth	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.42
	suŋ p^{h}i:	lip	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.24
	^{1}**suŋ**	mouth	Mazaudon 1994:951
Tamang (Taglung)	**sũ**	mouth	Mazaudon 1994:951; Mazaudon 1994:952
	suŋ	mouth	Mazaudon 1994:951; Mazaudon 1994:952
Thakali	**sung**	snout (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.043
	suŋ	mouth	Weidert 1987:736
Thakali (Marpha)	^{55}**suŋ**	mouth	Mazaudon 1994:951; Mazaudon 1994:952; Mazaudon 1994:964
Thakali (Syang)	^{54}**suŋ**	mouth	Mazaudon 1994:964
	^{55}**suŋ**	mouth	Mazaudon 1994:964
Thakali (Tukche)	’ne me **suŋ**	bill	Hari 1971:3.A.12
	sung	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	sung-kha	lip	Matisoff 1987
	suŋ	mouth; snout	Hari 1971:1.42; Hari 1971:3.A.42
	suŋ-k^{h}ɔ	lip	Hari 1971:2.A.25
	^{H}**suŋ**	mouth	Mazaudon 1994:951; Mazaudon 1994:952; Mazaudon 1994:964
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	ŋə cə **suu**	lip	Michailovsky 1991:107; Rai *et al.* 1975; Michailovsky 1991:108
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**sũy** gi	lip	Matisoff 1987

(7) PTB *ban MOUTH / LIP

Forms with final labial nasal are easily explained in terms of assimilation to the following syllable. However, the reflexes still vary between **-n** and **-ŋ**.

1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	chim **ban**	lip	Marrison 1967 [a]
	chin **bân**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	cin **ban**	lip	Singh 1991:3.9
	məkhathəŋbə cin **ban**	lower lip	Singh 1991:3.9.2
	məthəkthəŋbə cin **ban**	upper lip	Singh 1991:3.9.1
	thu **ban**	vulva / labia	Singh 1991:10.4.2
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	ju **pen**	lip	French 1983:524; Marrison 1967
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Xide)	**bu**^{55}-tɕ$_{l}$^{55}	lip	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Sani [Nyi]	**bɒ**^{21}pɒ^{33}; ni^{55}n̥ɛ^{33}	mouth	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Côông [Phunoi]	**bam** fòn	mouth	Matisoff 1987

[a] Note the optional assimilation of the medial consonants.

	bàn hmot	beard	Matisoff 1987
	bàn hmut	beard	Bradley 1979b
	bàn khò	lip	Matisoff 1987
	bɑm^{33} fon^{11}	mouth	Bradley 1977
	bɑn^{33} k^{h}o^{33}	lip	Bradley 1977
	bɑn^{11} hmot^{33}	beard	Bradley 1977
	bɑn^{11} k^{h}o^{11}	lip	Bradley 1977
	hija **ban** põ^{31}	beak / bill	Ferlus 1991:3.9.3
	va^{31} **ban^{31}** põ ãflə^{55}	snout (pig)	Ferlus 1991:3.5.5

(8) PTB * b / p i MOUTH

Reflexes of this root are divided with respect to voicing of the initial, as well as in terms of vowel height. Since PTB ***-i*** is much better attested than PTB ***-e***, we have opted to reconstruct this etymon with the former.

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	e^{55}ko^{55}**be^{53}**	mouth	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.7; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.50
	e ko-**be**	mouth	Anonymous 1962
	e ko **bɤ**	mouth	Pulu 1978
Yidu	e^{55} ko^{55} **be^{53}**	mouth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.25

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**bei**	mouth	Toba & Kom 1991:3.7
Moyon	**bæ**	mouth	Kosha 1990:3.7

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Sangtam	**pe** küp	lip	Marrison 1967

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	k^{h}a^{21} **p^{h}i^{21}**	mouth	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7
Nesu	ɳi^{21} **p^{h}i^{33}**	mouth	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7
Yi (Nanjian)	k^{h}ɑ^{21} **p^{h}y^{21}**	mouth	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	k^{h}a^{21} **p^{h}i^{55}**	mouth	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	ni^{21} **p'e^{21}**	beak; bill; mouth	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.7; LUO Meizhen 1990:3.9.3
Lisu (Northern)	la^{21}ma^{33} kha?^{21}**bæ?^{21}**	tiger's mouth	Bradley 1994

7. KARENIC

Pa-O	phrɔ̂ŋ **bí**	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:691

(9) PTB *m-p(r)(w)aŋ MOUTH

Two forms with final velar stop (Bokar Lhoba **gum puɯk** and Tsangla Motuo **ʔa pak taŋ** 'mouth') seem at first glance to be related to this root. However, Bokar **nap pang** and Tsangla **no waŋ** 'mouth' suggest that a separate root is involved.

The resemblance of these stop-finalled forms to Thai (cf. Siamese **pàak** 'mouth') seems quite fortuitous.

So far the nasal prefix has only been found in Qiangic.

1.1.1. TANI: ***fi-buŋ** BEAK [a]

**Tani*	***fi-buŋ**	beak	Sun 1993a:18

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**hi-bu**	beak	Sun 1993a
	hí-bu	beak / bill	Sun 1993b
	hi-bu	beak / bill	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**fi-buŋ**	beak; bill	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ji-buŋ**	beak; bill	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	nap **paŋ**	mouth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.24
	nap-**paŋ**	mouth	Sun 1993b
	fiam **paŋ**	side (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0709.24
	fiam **pəŋ**	edge / rim / margin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0718.24
Bokar Lhoba	gum **puɯk**	mouth	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ham **paŋ**	edge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:61.51
	nap **paŋ**	mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**ibu**	beak / bill	Das Gupta 1963
	iibuu	beak (n.)	GLDC 2009
	nap-**pa**	mouth	Das Gupta 1963 [b]
Tagin	**ibuŋ**	beak / bill	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	nâp-**pang**	mouth	Matisoff 1987

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	lãm **bõ**	beak / bill	Pulu 1978

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi (Ahraing)	lə **bɛãu^{5}**	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16
Womatu	**mrŏŋ^{4}**	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***paŋ** MOUTH

**Central Naga*	***paŋ**	MOUTH	Bruhn 2014a:III.194
**Ao*	***t-paŋ**	MOUTH	Bruhn 2014a:II.007
Ao (Chungli)	**paŋ^{3}**səm^{1}	beard, facial hair (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.121
	te **bang**	mouth	Marrison 1967
	te **bang** mechi	lip	Marrison 1967
	tə^{2}-**paŋ^{2}**	mouth (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.007
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **bang** metsü	lip	Marrison 1967
	tü **pang**	mouth	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	im-**paŋ** məphu	ward, upper ('village' + 'mouth' + 'ward') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	paŋ-kəp	lip (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**paŋ**	mouth, beak (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-thəm-**paŋ**	edge ('end' + 'mouth')	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**pəŋ^{1}**	mouth (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.194
	o **bung**	mouth	Nienu 1990c:3.7
	o **pang**	mouth	Marrison 1967
	o **püng**	mouth	Murry *et al.* 1978:76
Sangtam	**pe**	mouth	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	ta **bang**	mouth	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Meluri	a **po**	mouth	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **pan**	mouth	Marrison 1967
	a **pang**	mouth	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**pang**	bank (edge)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**pu** gá	mouth	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	sam **puŋ**	point, rim, mouth	French 1983:524
	sam **puŋ** kop	lip	French 1983:515
	sam **pung**	mouth	Marrison 1967
	sam **pung** kop	lip	Marrison 1967
	sàmˇ-**bùŋ**	mouth	Weidert 1987:736

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	khā **prā**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	no **wang**	mouth	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 10
	nu **wang**	mouth	Andvik 1993:8
Tsangla (Motuo)	no^{13} **waŋ^{13}**	mouth	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	no^{13} **waŋ^{13}** k^{h}op^{55} taŋ^{55}	lip	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	no **waŋ**	mouth	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.7
	no **waŋ** khop taŋ	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.7
	ʔa **pak** taŋ	mouth	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	no-**waŋ**	mouth	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	no-**waŋ**-k^{h}op-taŋ	lip	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	no-**waŋ**-sum	beard	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	a-**boṅ**	beak; bill; mouth	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	boṅ	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	sɻ^{55} **mphɑ^{55}** ndzo^{55} pi^{55}	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	sɻ^{55} **nphɑ^{55}**	mouth	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.18
	sɻ^{55}**nphɑ^{55}**ndzo^{55}pi^{55}	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.18
Guiqiong	ũ^{55} **pa^{53}**	mouth	SUN Hongkai 1991e
Namuyi	**mp^{h}** sɻ^{55}ɦiə^{ɹ33} qu^{55}	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.9
Pumi (Qinghua)	xiɛ̃^{13} **pu^{13}** lɑ^{55}	lip	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	ɳɐ^{35} **pu^{35}** la^{53}	lip	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Mawo)	tshə **b** [β]	lip	Sun 1986

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nasu	ɳɛ^{55} **pu^{21}**	mouth	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7
Yi (Dafang)	mi^{13} **pu^{21}**	mouth	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Sani [Nyi]	bɒ^{21}**pɒ^{33}**; ni^{55}ɳɛ^{33}	mouth	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	meh˯ **boe˯**	snout / mouth	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	man **pɔ̀ŋ**	mouth	Beaudouin 1988:15
Hani (Dazhai)	me^{31} **bɔ^{31}**	mouth	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	mɛ^{31} **bø^{31}**	mouth	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Côông [Phunoi]	bam **fòn**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	bɑm^{33} **fon^{11}**	mouth	Bradley 1977
	hija ban **põ^{31}**	beak / bill	Ferlus 1991:3.9.3

7. KARENIC

Karen	kho^{31}**bu^{33}**	mouth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.50
Kayan (Pekon)	ka **plõ**	mouth (N.)	Manson 2010
	ka **plõ** p^{h}è	lips [lit. mouth-skin] (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	pè? **phrɔ̂ŋ**	close mouth	Solnit 1989
	phrɔ̂ŋ	mouth	Solnit 1989; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:668
	phrɔ̂ŋ bí	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:691
	ʔàŋ **phrɔ̂ŋ**	open mouth	Solnit 1989
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	ho^{31} **bu^{33}**	mouth	DAI Qingxia 1989k:110
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	ko^{31} **pu^{33}**	mouth	DAI Qingxia 1989j:110

[a] Ersu **sɻ^{55} mphɑ^{55}** 'mouth'; **ndzo^{55} pi^{55}** 'skin'.

(10) PTB *l-tywa MOUTH / BEAK / FOOD / STOMACH

The Bantawa forms were assigned rather to PTB ***tsyuk** MOUTH / LIP (§1.9.5) in TBRS #77b, but it now seems preferable to include them here.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Miri, Hill	nep **to**	lip	Simon 1976

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**chhô**	abdomen; belly; stomach; abdomen, belly, stomach	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(2)
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	hmɯə^{4}**tɔ^{3}**	mouth, lips	Luce 1985:O.16

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	**ta**	mouth	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **tie^{33}**	mouth	Nienu 1990a:3.7
	pe^{31}ra^{31} **tia^{33}**	beak / bill	Nienu 1990a:3.9.3
	u **tie**	mouth	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **ta^{33}**	mouth	Nienu 1990b:3.7
	mü^{31}ra^{31} **ta^{33}**	beak / bill	Nienu 1990b:3.9.3
Khezha	ke **ti**	mouth	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	**cha** mun	mouth	Marrison 1967
	cha mun tai	lip	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	chù **ta**	beak / bill	Sharma 1991a:3.9.3
Kanauri	**tu** nöṅ	lip	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	ntɕ^{h}ə **t^{h}o**	lip	Sun 1985a:447
Tibetan (Batang)	tɕhə^{55} **də^{55}**	lip	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.9
	tɕhə^{55} **də^{55}** ma^{13} kha^{53}	lower lip	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.9.2
Tibetan (Jirel)	cyho **doq**	lip	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	tɕhu^{53}**to^{53}**	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	chho **do**	beak / bill	Bishop 1989:3.9.3
Spiti	chù **to**	lip	Bodh 1991:3.9
	chù **to** mašo	lower lip	Bodh 1991:3.9.2
	ci sul **to**	beak / bill	Bodh 1991:3.9.3
Tibetan (Spiti)	c^{h}u **to**	lip	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**lto**-ba	belly, stomach; stomach	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	mć'u-**lto**	beak / bill	Jäschke 1881:165
	mchu.**tho**	lip	Sun 1985c:447
	mtʃhu-**to**	lip	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:24

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	cuc **co**	beak / bill	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.9.3

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	phā-**twā** (th)	snout (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.043
	twā:	beak; bill; snout	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.5.5; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.9.3

[a] "The first morpheme is 'tooth'; the second morpheme can be identified with the classifier for long slender objects, PT *buŋ..." Sun 1993a:92.

[b] Galo seems to show an alternation between **bu** and **pa**. If these are indeed allofams, it would support the reconstruction of a rising diphthong ***-wa-**.

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yakha	**ya**	mouth	Kohn 1990:3.7

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

**Kul-Cham-Ban*	***do**	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:123
Bantawa	**do**	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:123
	Do	mouth	Rai 1985
	do	mouth	Rai *et al.* 1984:23
	do si ja	lip	Matisoff 1987
	Do si wa	lip	Rai 1985
	ɖo	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:123
Chamling	**dyo**	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:123; Winter 1985:11

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	kwām **to** tar	lip	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	’thu **tu** nā	lip	Matisoff 1987
	thu **tu** na	lip	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.25
	t^{h}u **tu** na	lip	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.25

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**ldia**^{2}	mouth	Sofronov c1978
	ldi̯a	mouth	Dai Qingxia 1989e:3.7
	tɪ̯ɘ̯^{1}	bill	Sofronov c1978

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	meh˪ **to**ˆ	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987 [a]

7. Karenic

Palaychi	**thàq** hóq	mouth	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:668

[a] Stopped second syllable in Akha points to allofam with final **-k**.

Chinese comparandum

肚 OC (***d’o**), *GSR* (not in #62) ‘belly’; Schuessler 2007:218 ***dâʔ**; B & S 2011: ***m-tˢaʔ**; Mand. **dù**.
肚 OC (***to**), *GSR* (not in #62) ‘belly (used as food)’; Schuessler 2007:218 ***tâʔ**; B & S 2011: ***tˢaʔ**; Mand. **dǔ**.

(11) PTB *tsywaŋ MOUTH / BEAK

This etymon is so far only quite sparsely attested.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	**caŋ**-ci	mouth	Tayeng 1976
	caŋ-ci-ci-ma	spit	Tayeng 1976

3.2. Qiangic

Xumi	n̥i^{55} **ɕɑ̃**^{33} dʑi̥^{35}	lip	Sun Hongkai 1991m [a]

[a] Xumi **n̥i**^{55} and **ɕɑ̃**^{33} ‘mouth’.

(12) NEIA *ki MOUTH / LIP

This tentatively offered root is so far quite weakly attested.

1.1. “North Assam”

Sulung [Puroik]	kə^{33}**kiɛ**^{33}	lip	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.52

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	a **ki** chi	mouth	Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:3.7

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	me **ki**	lip	Marrison 1967

(13) PTB *kwaŋ MOUTH

This root might be allofamically related to PTB ***kwaŋ** PALATE / GUMS (§1.3.4.3).

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**khang**	mouth	Sharma 1988:13
	kha **khang**	mouth	Sharma 1988:13
	kha **kön̂**	mouth (n.)	Bailey 1911
	kha **kön̂**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	kha **kən̂**	mouth	Sharma 1988:29

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**kon** de	lip	Matisoff 1987
	mu **kon** de	lower lip	Matisoff 1987
	thāŋ **kon** de	upper lip	Matisoff 1987

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	ñi^{44} **koŋ**^{42}	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	nɯi^{55} **gɔŋ**^{53}	mouth	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	n̥i^{31} **gɔŋ**^{53}	mouth	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	me^{31} **khv̩**^{44}	mouth	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.7

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Northern)	nɑ^{55} **k^{h}õ**^{31}	mouth	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	n̥a^{55} **kõ**^{33}	mouth	Dai Qingxia 1989p:107.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	n̥a^{55} **k^{h}õ**^{35}	mouth	Dai Qingxia 1989o:107.
Nusu (Southern)	n̥i^{55} **k^{h}õ**^{31}	mouth	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	n̥u^{55} **kõ**^{35}	mouth	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	mø^{44} **k^{h}jø**^{44}	mouth	Dai Qingxia 1989h:110.1
Lahu (Black)	mɔ^{21}**qɔ**^{33}	mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.33 [a]
	mɔʔ^{21} **qɔ**^{33}	mouth	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	mɔ̀ʔ-**qɔ**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	mɔ^{31} **qɔ**^{33}	mouth	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986

[a] The second syllable of Lahu ‘mouth’ occurs in several other words **là**ʔ = **tɔ-qɔ** ‘palm of the hand’, **mâ-*qɔ*** ‘lip’, **mû-lɔ̀**ʔ**-qɔ** ‘daytime; afternoon’, and is glossed ‘noun formative of elusive meaning’. For now, however, we are assigning it to the present root.

(14) PTB *s-ŋyar MOUTH

This root seems quite independent from PTB ***s-nyas** LIP (§1.3.2). The ***s-** prefix is reconstructed on the basis of the voiceless nasals in Kom Rem and the Chepang forms with glottalization.

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Kom Rem	čuŋ teŋ **n̥er**	upper lip	Toba & Kom 1991:3.9.1
	n̥er	lip	Toba & Kom 1991:3.9
	t^{h}uiteŋ **n̥er**	lower lip	Toba & Kom 1991:3.9.2
Moyon	**nèr**	lip	Kosha 1990:3.9

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**ŋə**	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:60; Rai *et al.* 1975
	ŋə cə suu	lip	Michailovsky 1991:107; Rai *et al.* 1975; Michailovsky 1991:108

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**narʔ** pun	lip	Matisoff 1987
	nərʔ pun	lip	Caughley 1972:2.A.25
Chepang (Eastern)	**nərʔ** pun	lip	Caughley 1990:3.9
Magar	me-**nger**	mouth	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Muya [Minyak]	**ŋɯ**^{35}tsø^{35}	mouth	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.7
	ŋɯ^{35}tsø^{35}ʐɯ^{33}mbɐ^{53}	lip	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.9 [a]

[a] Lit. “mouth-skin”.

(15) PTB *nwaŋ MOUTH

The final stop in the first syllable of Damu ***n̥ok*-ko** ‘lip’ seems definitely to be due to assimilation to the initial of the second syllable.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	**n̥ok**-ko	lip	Sun 1993b

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	mə **naw**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	mə **nawng**	mouth	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	so **n̥ən̂**	beak / bill	Sharma 1988
	tu **nön̂**	lip	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Taoba)	**n̥õ**^{35}	mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.10
	n̥̊õ^{35}	mouth	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983

1.3.1.1 Palate

(1) PTB * t/d a ŋ/k PALATE / TOP PART

It seems likely that this root is ultimately related to PTB ***l-t(y)ak** UPPER SURFACE / TOP / ABOVE / CLIMB / LIFT / ASCEND / PALATE (§1.2.1).

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ɗaŋ** UVULA / PALATE

**Chin*	***ɗaŋ**	UVULA / PALATE	VanBik 2009:115
Thanphum	**dɑŋ**^{1}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**dang**	palate	Haokip 1998:3.7.1
	dang nem	soft palate	Haokip 1998:3.7.2
Paite	**dang** tung	palate	VanBik 2009:115
Sizang	va **dang**	palate	VanBik 2009:115
Thado	**dáŋ**	palate	VanBik 2009:115
	dʌ̀ŋ	palate	Thirumalai 1972:66
Tiddim	**-daŋ**^{1}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37
	dang^{2}	palate	VanBik 2009:115; Bhaskararao 1996:206

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho (Sandoway)	**đaŋ**^{1}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37
	đɑ̃	palate	Luce 1985:N.37
Cho (Mindat)	**dang**	palate in the mouth	VanBik 2009:115
Khumi	**da(ng)** káang	palate, inside of cheek	VanBik 2009:115
Khumi (Ahraing)	**dɑ̃**^{2}kɑ̃^{4}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37
Matupi	**dɑŋ**^{4}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37
Womatu	**đaŋ**^{4}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**daŋ**^{3}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37
Lai (Hakha)	**dâŋ**	palate, uvula (inside the throat)	VanBik 2009:115
Lai (Falam)	**dăŋ**	palate, uvula (inside the throat)	VanBik 2009:115
Lai (Hakha)	**daŋ**^{5}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37
Lushai [Mizo]	**dang**	palate	Matisoff 1987
	dáng	palate	Löffler 1985
	dang	palate	Bhaskararao 1996:206
	dáŋ	palate, the inside of the mouth including the larynx	VanBik 2009:115
	daŋ^{1}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37
Paangkhua	**dáng**	palate	Löffler 1985
	ma **dáng**	palate	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	mə́**də**^{4}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37
Lakher [Mara]	**da**	palate	Matisoff 1987
	dà	palate	VanBik 2009:115
	da-pa-di-pa	palate	Matisoff 1987
	da < **dang**	palate	Löffler 1985
Mera	**đɑ**^{6}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37
Tha’oa	**daŋ**^{1}kɑi^{1}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37
Xongsai	**daŋ**^{3}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37
Zotung	**đɑ̃**^{4}t‘ăli^{5}	palate	Luce 1985:N.37

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Kom Rem	kə **dəŋ**	palate; soft palate	Toba & Kom 1991:3.7.1; Toba & Kom 1991:3.7.2
Moyon	**ldáŋ**	palate	Kosha 1990:3.7.1
	ldáŋ ldáŋ	soft palate	Kosha 1990:3.7.2

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Lalung [Tiwa]	**tha** lo	palate	Balawan 1965:72

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	a^{55} pak^{13} **taŋ**^{55}	palate	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.2. Newar

Newar	**thɔk** wɔ	palate	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.7.1

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	kham **tak** pa	palate	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	kɔːŋ **daʔ** maː	palate	Kohn 1990:3.7.1
	neːʔna kɔːŋ **daʔ** maː	soft palate	Kohn 1990:3.7.2

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	tə k^{h}a **ŋtok**	palate; soft palate	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.7.1; Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.7.2

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola	**t^{h}aʔ**^{55} ɛ̃^{55}	palate	Dai Qingxia 1989g:167

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	mø^{44} **t^{h}a**^{55}	palate	Dai Qingxia 1989h:174

7. Karenic

Pa-O	tə **dák**	palate	Solnit 1989

8. Bai

Bai (Jianchuan)	**tõ**^{33} ka^{31} nę̱^{21}	palate; soft palate	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.7.1; Zhao Yansun 1990:3.7.2

(2) PLB *ŋa-m PALATE

6.1.1. Burmish

Lashi	**ŋa̱m**^{33}	palate	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.7.1

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	**ɳɘ**^{33}	palate	Dai Qingxia 1989p:167.
Yi (Liangshan)	ka^{21}**ŋa**^{33}	palate, soft; throat	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	ɑ^{33} **ŋɑ**^{33}	palate	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7.1
	ɑ^{33} **ŋɑ**^{33} zo^{21}	soft palate	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7.2
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	**ŋa**^{31} **ŋa**^{55}	palate	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	**ŋɤ**˩**ŋɤ**˩	palate	Michaud 2006–2009

(3) PTB *kur PALATE

This weakly attested root awaits further confirmation.

2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**kŭr**-hóp	palate	Matisoff 1987
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **kuɻ**	palate	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.7.1

(4) PTB * d/r -kan PALATE / GUMS

The Qiangic forms are perhaps borrowings from Tibetan. This root awaits further confirmation from elsewhere in the family.

2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hken**	palate	Sun 1985a:729
Tibetan (Balti)	**ṣkʌn**	palate	Rangan 1975:77
Spiti	ya **ken**	palate	Bodh 1991:3.7.1
Tibetan (Written)	**dkan**	palate	Sun 1985c:729
	dkan~rkan	palate	Matisoff 1987
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**ɻkɛn**^{53}	palate	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.7.1
	ɻkɛn^{53} no^{13}	soft palate	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.7.2
Ergong (Daofu)	ɕə **rkɑn**	gums	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.7.3
Ergong (Danba)	ɕɯ **zk^{h}a**	gums	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.7.3
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Caodeng	tə-**rkɛn**	palate	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ʂkɛn**	palate	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.7.1
rGyalrong	**rkeN** nyi	soft palate	Nagano 1997:3.7.2

(5) PTB *ha m/p PALATE

This poorly attested root requires further confirmation.

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ang **ham**	palate	Matisoff 1987
	ing **hàm**	palate	Grüssner 1979:32
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	kŭr-**hóp**	palate	Matisoff 1987

1.3.1.3 Yawn/Gape

(1) PTB *ha-y YAWN

The reflexes show a certain amount of vocalic variation, only to be expected in such a sound-symbolic root.

There is a similar root PTB ***m-ha(ː)m ≍ *kam** YAWN (§1.3.1.3), which should be kept distinct, since some languages (Nocte, Tangsa, Tamang) have compounds containing both etyma.

Several forms reflect a diphthongal rhyme ***-ay**, either directly (Tangsa, Lalung, Thakali, Lahu) or indirectly via a fronted vowel (Apatani, Chokri, Karbi).

1. NE Indian Areal Group			
**Kuki-Naga-Chin*	***ha**-haːm	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:484
Miji	**ho**	yawn	Simon 1979
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	ge-**he**	yawn	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	^{2}ge ^{2}**he** (^{2})	yawn	Weidert 1987:981
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**hào**	yawn	Thirumalai 1972:56
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-**hā**	yawn (v.)	VanBik 2009:747
	^{2}pə^{2}**ha**	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:74
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***xa** YAWN (v.)			
**Central Naga*	***xa**	YAWN (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.017
**Ao*	***xa**-m-sa	YAWN	Bruhn 2014a:II.135
Ao (Chungli)	**wa**^{1}mə^{2}sa^{2}	yawn (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.135
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hwà** məsa	yawn [yawned] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**ho**^{3}həm^{3}-	yawn (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.017
	hó hùm >	yawn	Acharya 1975
	ho hü a	yawn	Murry *et al.* 1978:139
	^{3}**ho**^{3}hɯm(ʔ)	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:484
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Chokri	kü^{31} **ha**^{33}	yawn (v.)	Nienu 1990b:3.7.16
	^{2}kɤ^{5}**he**	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:74
	^{2}kɤ^{5}**he**	yawn	Weidert 1987:981
Khezha	**ha**	yawn (v.)	Yabu 1994:3.7.16
	^{2}e^{2}**xa**	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:484
Mao	^{1}a^{4}**ha**	yawn	Weidert 1987:981
	^{1}a^{5}**ha**	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:484
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Kachai	ham-**hwe**	yawn (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.078
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ko **hè**-	gape; open mouth; yawn (v.)	Grüssner 1979:48; Grüssner 1979:48
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Lalung [Tiwa]	**hai** om ko na	yawn / gape (v.)	Balawan 1965:89
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**ha** jam-	yawn (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	^{3}**ha**^{3}hʌm	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:74
	^{3}**ha**^{3}hʌm	yawn	Weidert 1987:981
	^{3}**ha**^{3}hʌm ^{3}ri	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:368
Tangsa	^{2}ham^{2}**hai**	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:74
	^{2}ham^{2}**hai**	yawn	Weidert 1987:981
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**ha**-kam	yawn (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.7.16
Tamang (Sahu)	**'ha** k^{h}am-pa	yawn (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.9
Thakali (Tukche)	**haj** 'lɔ-lɔ	yawn	Hari 1971:2.B.2.9
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	**ha** baŋ ba-thak ma	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:74
	ha kɔm ba tak ma na	yawn (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.7.16
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	**ha** kam a-mo ma	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:74
	ha kam ma	yawn	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**ha** kam a	yawn	Allen 1975
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	dɑ^{33} **xɑ**^{55}	gape / open mouth	Sun Hongkai 1991d
	xɑ^{55} ŋ^{55}	yawn	Sun Hongkai 1991d
Guiqiong	**hø**^{33} **hø**^{55} bi^{55}	yawn	Sun Hongkai 1991e
	hə^{31}**hə**^{55}bi^{35}	yawn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1243.16
Lyuzu	**xa**^{35} mu^{33}	yawn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1243.18
Muya	**χɑ**^{53} nɐ^{33}tɕə^{55}tɕi^{33}	yawn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1243.15
Namuyi	lo^{33}**xa**^{35}	gape / open mouth (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.7.15
	xa^{55}**xa**^{55}mɯ^{55}	yawn (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.7.16
	χa^{55}**χa**^{55} ŋu^{53}	yawn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1243.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**xɑ**^{11}xe^{11}	yawn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1243.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**hà há** pù	yawn (onomat)	Evans 1999:1785
Qiang (Mianchi)	**χà** pú	yawn [b?-do]	Evans 1999:1785
Xumi	dʑi^{33} **hɑ**^{35}	gape / open mouth	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	ha^{33}ji^{55} tɕhũ^{55}	yawn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1243.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ha**^{13} mu^{55}tʂe^{33}	yawn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1243.14
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**há**	yawn	Weidert 1987:981
Lashi	**xɔː**^{53}	gape / open mouth (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.7.15
Maru [Langsu]	**xa**^{35}	gape / open mouth (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.7.15
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ha**$^{2/3}$	yawn	Weidert 1987:981; Bradley 1979b:574-1
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**xa**^{24} ji^{31} m^{33}	yawn (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.7.16
Lalo	**xɑ**^{55} u^{21} ʂa^{33}	yawn (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.16
Nusu (Central)	**xɑ**^{33} tʂɯ^{53}	yawn	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1723.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**xɑ**^{31} tɕɯ^{31}	yawn	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1723.
Yi (Xide)	**ha**^{34}-ʂɯ^{33}	yawn	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**xɑ**^{55}	yawn (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7.16
Jinuo (Baka)	**xɤ**^{55} **xɛ**^{31}	yawn	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1785
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	ɤ^{55} **xɛ**^{31} m^{31}	yawn	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1785
**Common Lahu*	***hai**˘/ha˘	yawn	Bradley 1979b:574-1
Lahu (Black)	**há**-mì ~ hɛ́-mɨ	yawn	Matisoff 1988a:1063
Lisu	hkrgh^{5}**hu**^{3}	yawn	Bradley 1979b:574-2
Sani [Nyi]	**ha 55**	yawn	Matisoff 1972b:176a
	hɑ^{55} tʂ^{h}ɑ^{11}	yawn (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:342.1
	hɑ^{55}tʂhɑ^{21}	yawn	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.16

(2) PTB *m-ha(ː)m ≍ *kam YAWN

This root is still another example of the widespread variational pattern between **h-** and initial velars. See Matisoff (1997) and *HPTB*:57. Chepang, Kulung, and Jingpho have velar stops, while several other languages (rGyalrong and the Burmish languages Achang, Bola, Lashi) have velar fricatives.

Many reflexes show a nasal prefix, which has perhaps developed due to rhinoglottophilia (Matisoff 1975).

There is also a related root PTB ***ha-y** YAWN (§1.3.1.3) with initial **h-**, demonstrating that these etyma are sound-symbolic.

Written Burmese **sâm** is of doubtful cognacy.

1. NE Indian Areal Group			
**Kuki-Naga-Chin*	***(m-)haːm**	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:484
	*ha-**haːm**	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:484
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**mhâm**	yawn	Weidert 1987:981
	tá-**mhâm**	yawn	Weidert 1987:981
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***haam** YAWN			
**Chin*	***haam**	YAWN	VanBik 2009:747
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**ham**	yawn	VanBik 2009:747
Sizang	**hām** suak hī	yawn	VanBik 2009:747
Tiddim	**haːm**^{3} > hap^{3}	yawn	VanBik 2009:747
	haːm^{3} > hap^{3}	yawn (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:422
	haːm^{3}/hap^{3}	yawn	Bhaskararao 1994
	ha̍ːm/_hap	yawn (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**m-ham**	yawn	VanBik 2009:747
Khumi	**p'háng**	yawn	VanBik 2009:747
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	(hàa)-**hăam**-INV	yawn	VanBik 2009:747
Lai (Falam)	(hàʔ)-**hàam**-INV	yawn	VanBik 2009:747
Lushai [Mizo]	**hàam**	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:484
	hàam-I, hâam-II	gap, to yawn (v.)	VanBik 2009:747
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**inhəm**	yawn (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.7.16
Moyon	**ŋhám**	yawn (v.)	Kosha 1990:3.7.16
Sorbung	**məhàm**	yawn (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.093
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	ho^{3}**həm**^{3}-	yawn (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.017
	hó **hùm** >	yawn	Acharya 1975
	^{3}ho^{3}**hɯm(ʔ)**	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:484
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**hem**	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:484
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**hæ̀m**	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:484
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ham** YAWN			
**Tangkhulic*	***ham**	yawn	Mortensen 2012:619
Huishu	**ham**-mej-k^{h}e	yawn	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.070
Kachai	**ham**-hwe	yawn (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.078
Tusom	**hõ**-mə-ʃie	yawn	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.087

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	^{3}ha^{3}**hʌm**	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:74
	^{3}ha^{3}**hʌm**	yawn	Weidert 1987:981
	^{3}ha^{3}**hʌm** ^{3}ri	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:368
Tangsa	^{2}**ham**^{2}hai	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:74
	^{2}**ham**^{2}hai	yawn	Weidert 1987:981

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak (Tamlu)	**hám**	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:74
Phom	ɛ^{33}**hɛm**^{33}ʃʌɯ^{33}	yawn	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	kǎ^{31}**kham**^{31}	yawn (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1243.19
	^{1}gə^{1}**ham**	yawn	Weidert 1987:981

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}ha-**kam**	yawn (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.7.16
Tamang (Sahu)	ʾha **k^{h}am**-pa	yawn (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.9

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Kulung	ha **kam** a-mo ma	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:74
	ha **kam** ma	yawn	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	ha **kam** a	yawn	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**kamh**-	yawn (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	kam^{h}-sa	yawn	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.9
	kam^{fi}	yawn (v.)	Weidert 1987:74
Chepang (Eastern)	**kamh** na?	yawn (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.7.16

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	ta **hɛm** ka pa	yawn (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.7.16
rGyalrong (Northern)	to ka **xam**	yawn (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.7.16
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **xam**	yawn (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.7.16
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tɐ **xɐm**	yawn (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.7.16

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Xiandao)	it^{55} **xam**^{31} **xam**^{31}	yawn	DAI Qingxia 1989f:1723
Bola	a^{31} **xam**^{51} **xam**^{31}	yawn	DAI Qingxia 1989g:1723
Burmese (Written)	**sâm**	yawn	Benedict 1976a
Lashi	a^{31} **xam**^{55} **xam**^{55}	yawn (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.7.16

7. KARENIC

**Karen (Pwo)*	***kàn'**	yawn (v.)	Jones 1961:649
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***kɔ́**	yawn (v.)	Jones 1961:649
Pa-O	tə́ʔ-**hàm**	yawn	Weidert 1987:981
	tə́ʔ **hàm**	yawn (v.)	Jones 1961:649
Pwo (Bassein)	**kán**	yawn	Weidert 1987:981
	kán	yawn (v.)	Jones 1961:649
Pwo (Moulmein)	**kan**	yawn	Weidert 1987:981
	kan	yawn (v.)	Jones 1961:649

Chinese comparandum

欠 OC ***k'i̯ŭm***, *GSR* #624a 'yawn'; Schuessler 2007:426 ***khams***; B & S 2011: ***bk^{h}om-s { [k] ^{h}(r)om-s}***; Mand. **qiàn**.

(3) PKC *ʔaaŋ-I, *ʔaan-II OPEN (mouth)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ʔaaŋ**-I, ʔaan-II	OPEN (mouth)	VanBik 2009:497

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**aang**-I, aan-II	open the mouth, to gape	VanBik 2009:497
Khumi	**ang**	open mouth wide	VanBik 2009:497

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ʔâaŋ**-I, ʔǎan-II	open (mouth)	VanBik 2009:497
Lushai [Mizo]	**áang**-I, àan-II	open (as mouth), to gape with open mouth (v.)	VanBik 2009:497

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**â**	open the mouth (v.)	VanBik 2009:497

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Moyon	**áŋ**	gape / open mouth (v.)	Kosha 1990:3.7.15
Sorbung	**ʔàaŋ**	gape; open mouth (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.092

1.3.1.4 Blow

(1) PTB *mu $\frac{\text{r}}{\text{l}}$ BLOW

This tentatively reconstructed root seems quite independent of the more widespread etymon PTB ***k/s-mut*** BLOW (with mouth) (§1.3.1.4). The Ersu forms are assigned to this root by analogy with the homophonous Ersu form **ma**^{ɪ55} 'hair' < PTB ***s/r-mul*** ≷ ***s-mil*** ≷ ***s-myal*** HAIR / FUR / FEATHER (§1.6.1).

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Milang	a-sar **mul**	blow (with mouth)	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**mong**	blow (with mouth)	NEFA (India) 1963
	mɯŋ^{53}	blow away (a speck of dust); blow with mouth	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.22; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.49
	mɯŋ^{55}	blow (air)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**ma**^{ɪ55}	blow; whistle; blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.18
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	la^{35} **ma**^{55}	blow (mouth)	SUN Hongkai 1991n:9.2.3
	lə^{35}**ma**^{55}	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.16

(2a) PTB *pu BLOW

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***phu*** BLOW

**Central Naga*	***phu**	BLOW	Bruhn 2014a:III.069
**Ao*	*a-**phu**	BLOW	Bruhn 2014a:II.021
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}-**pu**^{2}	blow (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.021
	ā **pū**	blow (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:3
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mə́zə́-**phu**-tʃən	fireplace ('fire' + 'blow' + LNOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	phu	blow [blew] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	phu-nik	extinguish [extinguished] ('blow' + ?) (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**hmu**^{3}-	blow (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.069
Sangtam	**fü**, me chi	blow	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Sema [Sumi]	**fu**	blow (mouth)	Achumi 1998a:9.2.3

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Pattani [Manchati]	**p^{h}u:** l^{h}a zi	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	**pho**^{13} su^{53}	blow (mouth)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:9.2.3

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	**pu**^{231}	blow (mouth)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:9.2.3
	pu^{231} tau^{13}	breathe (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:9.2.1
	pu^{55}	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.03; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**phu**^{53}ɕe^{31}	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**phu**^{53}cap^{13}	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.2
	phu^{55} Ca^{132}	blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**phū** gen	blow (mouth)	Bishop 1989:9.2.3
Tibetan (Written)	**phu** brgjab	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.1
	phu rgjag	blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.01

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung (Ghachok)	**p^{h}wi** baq	blow (with mouth)	Glover 1972:2.B.2.3
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**p^{h}u** ^{3}lə-	blow (breath)	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0386b
Thakali (Tukche)	**p^{h}uj**-lɔ	blow (with mouth)	Hari 1971:2.B.2.3

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**pu** ye	blow (mouth)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.2.3

3.2. QIANGIC

Muya	**phə**^{53} tə^{33}tə^{53}	blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.15
Muya [Minyak]	**phɯ**^{55}	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.15
	p^{h}ɯ^{55}	blow (mouth)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:9.2.3
Namuyi	**fu**^{53}	whistle; blow (mouth); blow with mouth; blow (of wind); blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	SUN Hongkai 1991i:11.5; SUN Hongkai 1991i:9.2.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.19,753.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.46
	fu^{53}	blow (wind) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**phu**^{55}py^{55}	blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.09
Qiang (Longxi)	dà **phú**	blow (dust)	Evans 1999:1749
	mù **phú** liù	tube for blowing on fire [fire-light/blow-?]	Evans 1999:788
	phú	blow (instrument)	Evans 1999:1748
	phú tà	blow (of wind)	Evans 1999:1941
Qiang (Mawo)	(məs) **p^{h}ʌ**	blow (mouth)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:9.2.3
	phə	blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.08
	phɤ	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.8
	p^{h}ɤ	blow (with mouth)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Mianchi)	mè mè **phú**	blow (of wind)	Evans 1999:1941
	mú-**phù**-diò	tube for blowing on fire [fire-light/blow-door]	Evans 1999:788
	phú	blow (instrument); blow (dust)	Evans 1999:1748; Evans 1999:1749
Qiang (Taoping)	**phə**^{33}	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.9
	p^{h}ə^{33}	blow (with mouth)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**p^{h}ə**	blow (trumpet); blow (dust)	DAI Qingxia 1989q:1748; DAI Qingxia 1989q:1749

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	ka wa **phu**	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.12
	ka wa **p^{h}u**	blow (mouth)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:9.2.3
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ wɑ **phu**	blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.11

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	**bɔ**	blow	Hansson 1989:264
Akha (Yunnan)	**bɔ**	blow	Hansson 1989:264
Hani (Lüchun)	**bo**	blow	Hansson 1989:264
Hani (Dazhai)	**bo**^{33}	blow (with mouth); blow with mouth; blow (of wind)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.31; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:753.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**bo**^{33}	blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.41
	bo^{33}	blow (wind) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**bɔ**^{33}	blow (with mouth)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	dʑa^{31}lɛ^{55}**bɔ**^{33}	blow (of wind)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**bbo**	blow	Hansson 1989:264

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**phu**^{55}	blow (with mouth)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	phɯ^{55}	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.37
Bai (Dali)	**phɯ**^{55}	blow (with mouth); blow with mouth	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.35
	p^{h}ø^{1}	breath, blow (v.)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**phu**^{55}	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.48; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.48
	phɯ^{55}	blow (with mouth); blow with mouth	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.36
	p^{h}ɯ^{55}	blow (mouth)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:9.2.3

Chinese comparandum

弗 OC ***pi̯wət***, *GSR* #500a-c 'gust of wind'; Schuessler 2007:240-1 ***pət***; B & S 2011: ***put***; Mand. **fú**.

(2b) PTB *pur BLOW

This allofam has so far only been uncovered in a few TB languages of Nepal.

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	**phurə**-wa	blow (mouth)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:9.2.3

2.2. NEWAR

Newar (Kathmandu)	**phu(l)**-	blow	Genetti 1990c
Newar (Dolakhali)	**phur**-	blow	Genetti 1990b

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**p^{h}orh**-sa	blow (with mouth)	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.3

(3) PTB *tsuy BLOW

This promising root has so far only been identified in Loloish and Chinese.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Central)	**si**^{35}	blow (on a fire)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**si**^{35}	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.45
Yi (Nanjian)	**tʂ^{h}a**^{33}	blow (with mouth)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Buyuan)	**tsi**^{55}	blow	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**tsɯ**^{33}	blow (trumpet); blow (dust)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1748; Dai Qingxia 1989h:1749
Jinuo (Baka)	**tsɯ**^{33}	blow (trumpet)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1748
Jinuo	**tsɯ**^{33}	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.44; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.44
	tsɯ^{44}	blow with mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:544.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**tsɤ**^{33}	blow	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**tʂ^{h}o̲**^{44}	blow (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:199.1

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Pijo)	**tsý**	blow	Hansson 1989:264
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsl̩**^{33}	blow (with mouth); blow with mouth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:544.30
Côông [Phunoi]	hmot^{33} **ce**^{33}	blow	Bradley 1977
	hon^{33} **ce**^{33}	blow	Bradley 1977

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	吹	blow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:386
Chinese (GSR #)	**0030a**	blow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:386

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**thjoj**	blow	Baxter 1992:1818
	t^{h}oj	blow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:386

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**tsyhwe**	blow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:386

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**chuī**	blow; blow (of wind)	Evans *et al.* 1991; Evans *et al.* 1991
	chuī	blow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:386

Chinese comparandum

吹 OC *ŝ’wiɑ, *GSR* #30a; B & S 2011: ***t^{h}oj**; Mand. **chuī** ‘blow (wind); play (wind instrument)’.

(4) PTB *hywan BLOW

This sparsely attested root awaits further confirmation.

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Sahu)	nap **’hi:n**-pa	blow nose (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.4

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Côông [Phunoi]	**hon**^{33} ce^{33}	blow	Bradley 1977

(5) PTB *s-la BLOW

This root has only been found in a few Himalayan languages, and awaits further confirmation.

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	p^{h}u: **l^{h}a** zi	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Sharma 1982

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**hlaː**^{2} ba	blow (V.)	Nagano 1984:269
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}p^{h}u ^{3}**lə-**	blow (breath)	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0386b
Thakali (Tukche)	p^{h}uj-**lɔ**	blow (with mouth)	Hari 1971:2.B.2.3

(6) PTB *swar BLOW / BLOW NOSE / BREATHE / LUNG

This root seems fairly widespread in the specialized meaning of BLOW NOSE, but also occurs in relation to the wind, etc.

This root has also developed semantically in the direction of BREATHE / BREATH OF LIFE / LUNG.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**shâr**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	e-**shâr**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
Milang	a-**sar** mul	blow (with mouth)	Tayeng 1976

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**swor** hon bə	breathe (v.)	Singh 1991:9.2.1
	swor thəbet thəbet hon bə	pant (v.)	Singh 1991:9.2.2

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	haŋ-**sur**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	sur	blow in through the nose (v.)	Bhat 1968
	sur úb	blow in through the nose (v.)	Bhat 1968
	sər ə́b	blow in (nose); consume liquid through the nose (v.)	Bhat 1968

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	**sal**-srip-a	slurp; smell; sniff; sniffle; suck (vt.)	Burling 2003:5.472-II:idx

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	ning^{31} **soi**^{33}	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	n **soi** n sàʔ	breath / life	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**saN**	blow / play (musical instrument)	Rai 1985

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	**’swah**-prap	lung	Matisoff 1978b:ld
	’swāh prāp	lung	Matisoff 1987
	swaa praap	lung	Michailovsky 1991:114

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**sel** ʔmu-sa	live	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.32

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	**suɛ**	blow (one’s nose) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1738.08
Qiang (Yadu)	**sue**	blow nose	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2385

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nasu	**sɯ**^{21}	blow nose (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.8
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**su$\tilde{ə}$**^{31}	blow nose	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2385.
Nusu (Central)	**su$\tilde{ə}$**^{53}	blow (one’s nose) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1738.34
	su$\tilde{ə}$^{53}	blow nose	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2385.

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**s$\tilde{l}$**^{33};x**y̲**^{33}	blow nose	Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.8

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Mpi	**siŋʔ**^{1}	blow (the nose)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

(7) PTB * k / s -mut BLOW (with mouth)

This root, like many others, displays variation between medial ***-u-*** and ***-i-***.

Jingpho and Mikir have lenited the initial to **w-**, while Karenic has dropped it entirely.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(s-)mut**	blow (by mouth)(2)	Weidert 1987:1087
	***(s-)mut**	blow (v.)	French 1983:460
	***mat**	blow (by mouth)(2)	Weidert 1987:1087
	***s-mut**	blow	Matisoff 2003a:603; LaPolla 1987:80

1.1.1. Tani: ***mut**^{1} BLOW (WITH MOUTH)

**Tani*	***mut**^{1}	blow (with mouth)	Sun 1993a:32

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**muʔ**(-ka)	blow (with mouth)	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**mit**	blow (with mouth)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**mit**	blow (with mouth); blow; blow away (a speck of dust)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.24
	mit	blow (wind) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.24
	mit ba	tube (bamboo) for blowing on a fire (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0567.24
Bokar Lhoba	**mit**	blow (with mouth); blow with mouth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:544.51
Galo	doi-**mi**-nam	blow (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	min nam	blow (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	min nam	blow (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘mip pak	blow out (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**min**-nam	blow [of wind]	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**mut**	blow (with mouth)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**muʔ**(-ka)	blow v. (with mouth)	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**mut**	blow	LaPolla 1987:80; Benedict 1972:75n231

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	**mu**^{55}	blow (mouth); blow with mouth	Sun Hongkai 1991f:9.2.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:544.50
	mu ga	blow (of mouth)	Pulu 1978
Yidu	**mu**^{55}	blow away (a speck of dust)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***muut** BLOW / SMOULDER

**Chin*	***muut**	BLOW / SMOULDER	VanBik 2009:753

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**mut**	blow	VanBik 2009:753
Thado	**mût**-I, mùut-II	blow	VanBik 2009:753
Tiddim	**mût**^{3}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:P.25
	mu:t^{1}	blow with mouth (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1157
	mu:t^{1}	blow with mouth	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**hmùʔ**	blow (by mouth)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:1000
Asho (Sandoway)	**hmuˀt**^{2}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:P.25
Chinbon	**mï:t**	blow	So-Hartmann 1988:113
Cho (Mindat)	ng-**mut**-I, ng-**muh**-II	blowing (wind, breath), to breathe on (be v.)	VanBik 2009:753
Daai	**mu:t**	blow	So-Hartmann 1988:113; VanBik 2009:753
Khumi (Ahraing)	**hm**^{5} [Imp. hm^{1}]	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:P.25
Matu	**hu:t**	blow	So-Hartmann 1988:113
Matupi	**mˀhu:t**^{2}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:P.25
Ngmüün	**mu:t**	blow	So-Hartmann 1988:113
Wakung	**mu**	blow	So-Hartmann 1988:113
Womatu	**muʔ**^{2}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:P.25

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**hmu:t**^{1} [part.hmuʔ^{1}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:P.25
Lushai [Mizo]	**mût**-I, mùh-II	smoulder	VanBik 2009:753

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	ă **hmɑuʔ**^{1}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:P.25
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**hmũ**^{3}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:P.25
Mera	**hməuʔ**^{1}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:P.25
Tha’oa	**hu:t**^{4}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:P.25
	huˀt^{4}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:P.25
Xongsai	**mut**^{2}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:P.25

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Lamkang	kʌ **muut**	blow (by mouth)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:1000

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	**mv** nua	blow (mouth)	Nienu 1990c:9.2.3

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Mao	**^{1}nhʏ**	blow (by mouth)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:1000
Rengma (Northern)	^{1}gi^{2}**mu**	blow (by mouth)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:1000
Rengma (Southern)	^{1}n^{2}**mhʌ**	blow (by mouth)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:1000

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	**mŭat**	blow (by mouth)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:1000
Zeme	^{1}ke^{1}**mət**	blow (by mouth)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:1000

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**mut** hat	extinguish	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**but**, jap, phun	blow	Marrison 1967
	bùt-	blow (mouth)	Grüssner 1979:159
	wùt-	blow (mouth)	Grüssner 1979:221

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***mut**	blow (v.)	French 1983:460

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**mʌt**	blow (by mouth)(2)	Weidert 1987:1087
Tangsa (Yogli)	**mi**	blow	Marrison 1967; French 1983:460

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**mat**	blow	Marrison 1967; French 1983:460
	màt	blow (by mouth)(2)	Weidert 1987:1087
Khiamngan	^{12}a^{23}**mat**	blow (by mouth)(2); blow (mouth)(2)	Weidert 1987:1087; Weidert 1987:1148

Konyak	**mei**	blow	French 1983:460
Wancho	a **mut**	extinguish	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
**Jingpho*	*g-**mwut**	blow (by mouth)(2)	Weidert 1987:1087
Jingpho	ga **wut**, wa, bong	blow	Marrison 1967
	ka^{31} **wut^{31}**	blow	LaPolla 1987:80
	kă^{31}**wut^{31}**	blow away (a speck of dust); blow with mouth	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.47
	kă^{1} **wut^{31}**	blow (on a fire)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	kə **wùt**	blow	Matisoff 1974:324
	mut	blow	Benedict 1972:75n231
	^{1}gə^{1}**wut**	blow (by mouth)(2); blow (mouth)(2)	Weidert 1987:1087; Weidert 1987:1148
Jingpho (Assam)	**mut**	blow	LaPolla 1987:80
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak (Bawtala)	**mo^{3}**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:L.252
Sak (Dodem)	**moʔ^{3}**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:L.252
Sak	**muʔ**	blow (with mouth)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:269a
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**mu**	blow (with mouth); blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.7
	mu^{13}	blow	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**byt^{35}** po^{55}	blow	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**p^{h}u?^{53}** jA^{13}	blow (with mouth)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Motuo Menba	**mu**	blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.07
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**măt**	blow	LaPolla 1987:80
	măt	blow	Benedict 1972:75n231
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**mutt**-ue	blow (fire)	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**mu:tt-**	blow (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**muʔ** ma na	blow (mouth)	Kohn 1990:9.2.3
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**muT**	blow (by mouth)	Rai 1985
	mutt-	blow by mouth / (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:52
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**hmut / mut**	blow	Benedict 1972:75n231
	mut~**hmut**	blow	LaPolla 1987:80
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**mut-**	blow into; play wind instrument (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	mut-sa	blow (with mouth)	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.3
Chepang (Eastern)	**mut** naʔ	blow (mouth)	Caughley 1990:9.2.3
Magar	**hmut**	blow	Benedict 1972:35n114
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**mạ**	blow (mouth)	DAI Qingxia 1989e:9.2.3
	mạ	blow, play, brag	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2128
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	(**mʉ^{31}**ji^{55}) ʃuɔ^{55}	blow (wind) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.16
	mʉ^{35}	blow; whistle; blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust); blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai 1991e; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.16,1219.16; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.17
Lyuzu	te^{53}**mu^{53}**	blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.18
Muya	tə̱^{33}**mə̱^{53}**	blow (wind) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**mo^{35}**	blow (the trumpet)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.10
Pumi (Qinghua)	khə^{13}**m̥ə^{13}**	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.11
	k^{h}ə^{13} **m̥ə^{13}**	blow (with mouth)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	xə^{35} **m̥ə^{35}**	blow (with mouth); blow with mouth	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.10
Xumi	**hũ^{53}**	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.17; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.17
	hũ^{55}	blow; blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.20
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**gɯ wmɯ**	blow (mouth); blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai 1991b:9.2.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.14
Ergong (Daofu)	**rmə**	blow (mouth)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:9.2.3
Ergong (Northern)	**ɣmə^{53}**	blow (mouth)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:9.2.3
Daofu	**ɣmɛ**	blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	**-mut**	blow	LaPolla 1987:80; Benedict 1972:75n231
rGyalrong (NW)	ka **wa mot**	blow (mouth)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:9.2.3
Caodeng	kɐ-**wɛ́-mot**	blow (air)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Northern)	**mət**	blow (mouth)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:9.2.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **mot** kɐlɐt	blow (mouth)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.2.3
rGyalrong	ka phro, ka **va mot**	blow	Nagano 1997:9.2.3
	ka va **phu**	blow	Nagano 1997:189
	ka **va mot**	blow	Nagano 1997:189
rGBenzhen	ta-**mot** kɐ-lɐt	blow (air)	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	**mut^{55}**	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.46
Dulong	**mɯt^{55}**	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**mɯt^{55}**	blow (on a fire); blow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:80
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**mit^{55}**	blow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:80
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	**me^{35}**	blow (mouth)	CHEN Kang 1986c:9.2.3
Tujia (Northern)	**me^{35}**	blow	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	mie2	blow (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	mie^{2}	blow (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.3
Tujia	**mie^{35}**	blow (the trumpet); blow with mouth	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.49; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.38
	mi^{55}	blow (mouth)	CHEN Kang 1986d:9.2.3
Tujia (Southern)	**mi^{55}**	blow	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***s-mut^{H}** BLOW			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-mut**	blow	Matisoff 1972b:143
	***s-mut^{H}**	blow	Matisoff 2003a:603
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	lɑi^{55}**mɛt^{31}**	blow (of wind)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	mɛt^{31}	blow	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**m̥ut^{55}**	blow; blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust); blow with mouth	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.28,1219.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.41
Achang (Luxi)	lɯ^{31}**mut^{31}**	blow (of wind)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	mut^{31}	blow	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**m̥ut^{55}**	blow (trumpet); blow (dust); blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:1688; DAI Qingxia 1989f:1689; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.29
Bola	**mɔt^{31}**	blow (trumpet); blow (dust)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:1688; DAI Qingxia 1989g:1689
Bola (Luxi)	**mɔt^{31}**	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.32
Burmese (Modern)	**mhut**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:U.18
Burmese (Rangoon)	**m̥oʔ^{4}**	blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.27
Burmese (Spoken)	**hmoʔ^{2}**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:U.18
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**m̥oʔ^{44}**	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.40
Burmese (Written)	**hmut**	blow with the mouth (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	hmut	blow; blow with mouth	LaPolla 1987:80; Benedict 1972:75n231; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.39
	hmut^{4}	blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.26
	mhut	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:W.124
	mhut, tuik	blow	Marrison 1967
Danu	**məuʔ^{2}**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:U.18
Langsu (Luxi)	**mat^{31}**	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.31
Lashi	**mu:t^{31}**	blow (mouth)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.2.3
Lashi (Lachhe')	**mɔt^{3}**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:U.18
	mɔ^{ə}(t)^{2}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:U.18
Leqi (Luxi)	**mu:t^{31}**	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.33
Marma	**hmouʔ**	blow (with mouth)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:269a
Maru [Langsu]	**mat^{31}**	blow (mouth); blow with mouth	DAI Qingxia 1989l:9.2.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.43
Taung-Yo	**moʔ^{1}**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:U.18
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mut^{21}**	blow (with mouth); blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust); blow with mouth	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.30,1219.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.42
	mut^{2}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:U.18
6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***s-mut^{H}** BLOW			
**Loloish*	***s-mut^{H}**	blow	Bradley 1979b:690
Lolopho	**mu̱^{44}**	blow (mouth)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:9.2.3
PNL	**s-mut^{H}**	blow	CHEN Kang 1986a:200.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**m̩^{53}**	blow; blow (mouth)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987; DAI Qingxia 1989c:9.2.3
	m^{53}	blow; blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.47; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.47
Lalo	**ʔmoq**	blow	Björverud 1994
	ʔmu̱^{33}	blow	CHEN Kang 1986a:200.
	ʔm̱^{33}	blow (mouth)	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.2.3
Lipho	**mɯ̱^{33}**	blow; blow (mouth)	CHEN Kang 1986a:200.; CHEN Kang 1986b:9.2.3
Nasu	**mu̱^{2}**	blow	CHEN Kang 1986a:200.
	mu̱^{21}	blow (mouth)	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.2.3
	mɯ 32s	blow	Matisoff 1972b:143
Neisu	**mu^{33}**	blow	CHEN Kang 1986a:200.
Nesu	**mu̱^{33}**	blow; blow (mouth)	CHEN Kang 1986a:200.; CHEN Kang 1986b:9.2.3
Noesu	**mu^{33}**	blow (mouth)	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.2.3
Nosu	**m̩u^{4}**	blow	CHEN Kang 1986a:200.
	m̥o^{33}	blow (mouth)	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.2.3
Nusu (Central)	**mɔ̱^{31}**	blow (fire)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:1688.
	mɔ̱^{53}	blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.34
Nusu (Northern)	**mə̱^{55}**	blow (on a fire)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**mə̱^{55}**	blow (on a fire)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**m^{ɪ}ə̱^{31}**	blow (fire)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:1688.
Yi (Dafang)	**mɒ^{33}**	blow (on a fire); blow with mouth; blow (of wind)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.22; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:753.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**m̩o^{21}**	blow (a horn)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	m̥o^{33}	blow (fire)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**mu̱^{33}**	blow with mouth; blow (of wind)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.25; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:753.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**mu̱^{33}**	blow with mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mɯ̱^{33}**	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust); blow with mouth	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.37; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.37; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**mu̱^{33}**	blow (with mouth)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	m̩(u̱)^{33}	blow on fire, blow flute	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:544.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔm̩^{33}**	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.36; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.36
Yi (Wuding)	**mɯ̱^{2}**	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.38; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.38
Yi (Xide)	**mo^{21}**	blow	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	m̥o^{21}	blow (the trumpet)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.35

	m̥o^{33}	blow; blow (with mouth); blow away (a speck of dust); blow with mouth	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.35; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:544.21
	m̥u̱^{33}	blow	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lolo (Ni)	**mū**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:U.18
Ahi	**mu̱**^{33}	blow; blow (mouth)	Chen Kang 1986a:200.; Luo Meizhen 1990:9.2.3
	mɤ 44 ~ m̩ 44	blow	Matisoff 1972b:143
	m̱$_{\|}^{33}$	blow (mouth)	Chen Kang 1986b:9.2.3
Kucong	**mɤ33**	blow (a horn)	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	*__muiˆ__	blow	Bradley 1979b:690
Lahu (Lancang)	**mɤ**^{54}	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.43
	mɤ^{54}	blow (wind) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.43
Lahu (Black)	**meuˆ**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:U.18
	mə̂ʔ	blow	Matisoff 1974:324; Matisoff 1972b:143
	mə^{54}	blow with mouth; blow (of wind)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:544.33; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:753.33
	mɯʔ^{54}	blow	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɯʔ**^{54}	blow	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**mū3**	blow	Matisoff 1972b:143
	mū^{3}	blow	Bradley 1979b:690
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**mū**^{3}	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Luce 1985:U.18
Lisu (Central)	**mū**^{3}	blow (with mouth)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**mu̱**^{33}	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.40; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**mu̱**^{44}	blow (on a fire)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**mu**^{44}	blow with mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:544.27
Lisu (Northern)	**my**^{33}	blow (V.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**mu**^{44}	blow	Chen Kang 1986a:200.
	m̩ 44	blow	Matisoff 1972b:143
	m̩^{44}	blow (mouth)	Chen Kang 1986b:9.2.3
Yi (Sani)	**m̩**^{44}	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.39; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.39
	m̩^{44}	blow (wind) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.39
Sani [Nyi]	**m̩**^{44} (v)	blow	Ma Xueliang 1989:309.6

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Bisu	**hmi**	blow	Bradley 199x; Beaudouin 1988:28
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**mə 55**	blow	Matisoff 1972b:143
Hani (Lüchun)	**mɯ**^{55}	blow (the trumpet)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.41
Hani (Shuikui)	**mɤ**^{33}	blow (with mouth); blow with mouth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:544.32
Hani (Khatu)	**mji**	blow	Hansson 1989:264
Hani (Mojiang)	**mɤ**^{33}	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.42; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.42
Côông [Phunoi]	**hmot**^{33} ce^{33}	blow	Bradley 1977
Pyen	**mɯ45**	blow (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:132047

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	mi^{33}xi^{21}**mɨ**^{44}	(of the wind) blow	Pelkey 2011:832
	mɨ^{44}	blow (on)	Pelkey 2011:611
Hlepho Phowa	mi^{33}ʔm̩^{21}**ʔm̩**^{21}	(of the wind) blow	Pelkey 2011:832
	ʔm̩^{21}	blow (on)	Pelkey 2011:611
Phu Kha	**m̩**^{31}	blow	Fried 2000
Phuza	mɯ^{31}n̥i^{33}**mɯ**^{55}	(of the wind) blow	Pelkey 2011:832
	mɯ^{55}	blow (on)	Pelkey 2011:611

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**mi˥**	blow (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2524
Na (Yongning)	**mv˩**	blow (e.g. to blow the fire, to blow a horn) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**mu**^{21}	blow (the trumpet); blow away (a speck of dust)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1218.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1219.45
Naxi (Western)	**mu**^{31}	blow (with mouth)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mu**^{31}	blow with mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:544.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**mv**^{13}	blow (with mouth)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**mv**^{13}	blow with mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:544.29

7. Karenic: ***ʔu**^{A} BLOW (a fire)

**Karen*	***ʔu**^{A}	blow (a fire)	Luangthongkum 2013:26
**Karen [Burling]*	***ʔu**^{4}	blow (a fire)	Luangthongkum 2013:26
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ʔú**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Jones 1961:237
**Karen (Pwo)*	***ʔúq**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Jones 1961:237
**Karen (TP)*	***ʔùq**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Jones 1961:237
Bwe	**u**^{33}	blow (a fire)	Luangthongkum 2013:26
Kayah	**ʔu**^{33}	blow (a fire)	Luangthongkum 2013:26
Kayan	**ʔu**^{53}	blow (a fire)	Luangthongkum 2013:26
Kayaw	**ʔu**^{55}	blow (a fire)	Luangthongkum 2013:26
Pa-O (Northern)	**ʔu**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	blow (a fire)	Luangthongkum 2013:26
Pa-O (Southern)	**ʔu**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	blow (a fire)	Luangthongkum 2013:26
Pa-O	**ʔù**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Jones 1961:237
	ʔu	blow	Benedict 1972:147n402
Palaychi	**vù**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Jones 1961:237
	vu	blow	Benedict 1972:147n402
Pwo (Northern)	**ʔu**^{55}	blow (a fire)	Luangthongkum 2013:26
Pwo (Southern)	**ʔu**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	blow (a fire)	Luangthongkum 2013:26
Pwo (Bassein)	**ʔù**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Jones 1961:237
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ʔúʔ**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Jones 1961:237
Sgaw (Northern)	**ʔu**^{33}	blow (a fire)	Luangthongkum 2013:26
Sgaw (Southern)	**ʔu**^{55}	blow (a fire)	Luangthongkum 2013:26
Sgaw (Bassein)	**ʔú**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Jones 1961:237
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**u̱**^{55}	blow (trumpet); blow (dust)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1748; Dai Qingxia 1989k:1749
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ʔú**	blow (with mouth) (v.)	Jones 1961:237
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**u̱**^{55}	blow (trumpet); blow (dust)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1748; Dai Qingxia 1989j:1749

(8) PKC *tsheem BLOW / FAN (v.)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tsheem**	BLOW / FAN (v.)	VanBik 2009:579

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**sĕem**-I, sèem-II	blow	VanBik 2009:579
Tiddim	**se:m**^{2}	blow air at	VanBik 2009:579
	se:m^{2}	blow air at (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1552
	se:m^{2}	blow air at	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**sĕem**-I, sèem-II	blow	VanBik 2009:579
Lai (Hakha)	**tshêem**-I, tshĕem-II	blow	VanBik 2009:579
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhéem**	blow (with the mouth, or as wind), to fan (as wind or breeze) (v.)	VanBik 2009:579
	chhêm, ham	blow	Marrison 1967
	chhe:m	blow (with the mouth) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2197

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	**sèm**	blow (mouth)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.284

(9) PTk *p^{h}an BLOW

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***p^{h}an**	blow	Mortensen 2012:458
Huishu	**p^{h}ej**-kə-tsej-ʔ	blow	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.127; Mortensen 2012
Kachai	kə-**p^{h}ɐn**	blow (mouth)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.257
Tangkhul	mari, **phan**	blow	Marrison 1967
	phən	blow	Bhat 1969:85
Ukhrul	kə-**p^{h}an**	blow (wind)	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**p^{h}ɐn**	blow (wind)	Mortensen 2012

(10) PTk *ri BLOW

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***ri**	blow	Mortensen 2012:347
Huishu	kə-mə-**lik**	blow (mouth)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.128
Tangkhul	**ri**	blow	Bhat 1969:85
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**ri**	blow	Mortensen 2012

1.3.2 Lip

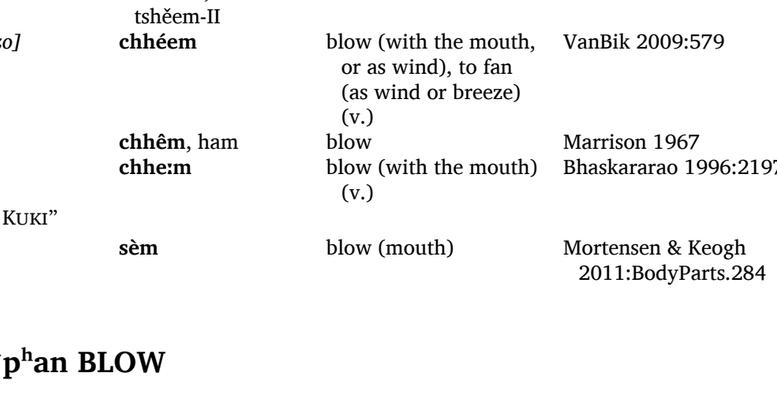

Figure 96: 1.3.2 *Lip*

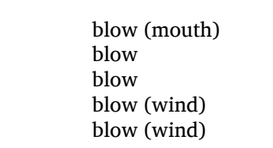

Figure 97: 1.3.2 *Lip*

(1) PTB *m-ts(y)ul NOSE AND MOUTH / LIP / LOWER PART OF FACE

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***mtr** + yəɣw	beak / lip	Coblin 1986:39

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-ts(y)ul**	lip / beak	Matisoff 2003a:618

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	buzu-**t^{h}u**	beak / bill	Simon 1979

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-jo ña-**č^{h}u**	lip (upper)	Sun 1993b
	a-kã̄ ña-**č^{h}u**	lip (lower)	Sun 1993b
	ñá-**ču**	lip	Sun 1993b
	ña-**č^{h}u**	lip	Sun 1993b
Bokar	nap **tɕi**	lip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.24
	nap-**či**	lip	Sun 1993b
	nap-**tɕi**	lip	Ouyang Jueya, ed. 1985
Bokar Lhoba	nap **tɕi**	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.51

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**n̥tɕhɯu**^{53}	mouth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.23
	n̥tɕhɯu^{53}	mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.48
	n̥tɕ^{h}ɯu^{53}	mouth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	hna-**pasu**	nose	Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	mə˝hnɑ˝^{4}**pəs'u˝**^{4}	nose	Luce 1985:O.14
Lakher [Mara]	hna-**pasu**-khao	nostril	Matisoff 1987
Mera	hnʌ^{5}**pə̆**^{5}**s'yu**^{5}	nose	Luce 1985:O.14

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	vo-**thun**	beak / bill	French 1983:524

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**sho**	lip	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	u **sho**	lip	Marrison 1967
Chokri	thü^{31} vo^{11} hü^{31} **tso**^{35}	snout	Nienu 1990b:3.5.5

	u **su**	lip	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **mtsü**	lip	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	**mathu**	mouth	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi mui **jo**	lip	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	mi **mleu**	lip	Marrison 1967
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ang **tur** ang mum	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	ing **tur**	lip	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	ing **tùr**	lip; mouth; beak; bill	Grüssner 1979:22; Grüssner 1979:22; Grüssner 1979:glossary p
	ing **tùr** ang mûm	moustache	Grüssner 1979:22
	tur-ber	lower lip	Matisoff 1987
	tùr-bēr	lower lip	Grüssner 1979:92
	tùr-thàk	upper lip	Grüssner 1979:92
	tur thak	upper lip	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
**Barish*	***yun**	mouth	Weidert 1987:736
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	ten **tú**	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	ku**•-chil** bret-a	chapped lips (vph.)	Burling 2003:8.953-II:idx
1.7.1.4. DEORI			
Deori/Deuri	dum **ju**^{1} si mu^{1}	beard	unknown nd
	dum **ju**^{1}	mouth	unknown nd
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	****N-thu:r**	edge / mouth	French 1983:524
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**tun**	mouth	Marrison 1967
	t^{h}un	mouth	French 1983:524
	t^{h}un k^{h}uap	lip	French 1983:515
	vo **t^{h}un**	beak / bill	French 1983:524
	^{1}**thun**	mouth	Weidert 1987:736
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**t^{h}uən**	edge, end	French 1983:524
Khiamngan	**^{21}sǫn**	mouth	Weidert 1987:736
Konyak	**ju**	mouth	Marrison 1967; French 1983:524
	ju pen	lip	French 1983:524
	ju peŋ	point, rim, mouth	French 1983:490
	ju pen	lip	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**dɯn**	mouth	Weidert 1987:736
Konyak (Wakching)	**ju**	mouth	Weidert 1987:736
Phom	**ju**	mouth	Marrison 1967; French 1983:524
	shung **chu**	nose	Marrison 1967
	šuŋ **cu**	nose	French 1983:527
Wancho	**tun**	mouth	Marrison 1967; French 1983:524
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Andro	**šūn**	mouth	Luce 1985:K.54
Chairel	**dū**-kwī	mouth	Luce 1985:K.54
Ganan	s'ŭ **dɯn^{2}**	mouth	Luce 1985:K.54
Kadu	s'ə **dün**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Kadu (Kantu)	s'ă **dun^{2}**	mouth	Luce 1985:K.54
	s'ă **tun^{2}**	mouth	Luce 1985:K.54
Lui	**du**-khwí	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	shun	mouth	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**chù** ta	beak / bill	Sharma 1991a:3.9.3
	ju	lip	Sharma 1991a:3.9
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	mɑ^{13} **ndʒo^{341}**	lower lip	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.9.2
	ndʒo^{35}	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.9
Kaike	**chhyo** chyā	lip	Matisoff 1987
Tshona (Mama)	**tɕhu^{55}**kɔ^{55}men^{53}	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.6
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**mtɕhə** lə	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.5
	ntɕ^{h}ə t^{h}o	lip	Sun 1985a:447
	ræ **ntɕ^{h}ə**	beak / bill	Sun 1985a:52
Tibetan (Batang)	**tɕhə^{55}** də^{55}	lip	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.9
	tɕhə^{55} də^{55} ma^{13} kha^{53}	lower lip	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.9.2
Tibetan (Jirel)	**cyho** doq	lip	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tɕho^{53}**	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tɕhu^{53}**to^{53}	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**chho** do	beak / bill	Bishop 1989:3.9.3
Sherpa	**cu** tuk	lip	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**chù** to	lip	Bodh 1991:3.9
	chù to mašo	lower lip	Bodh 1991:3.9.2
	ci **sul** to	beak / bill	Bodh 1991:3.9.3
Tibetan (Spiti)	**c^{h}u** to	lip	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	k'a-**mt'sul**	lower part of face; muzzle, as of dogs	Matisoff 1987:167
	k'a-**mc'u**	lip; lower lip	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	ma **mc'u**	lower lip	Matisoff 1987
	mć'u-lto	beak / bill	Jäschke 1881:165
	mchu	lip, bill; beak of birds; lip	Marrison 1967; Coblin 1986:39
	mchu.tho	lip	Sun 1985c:447
	mc'u	lip	Matisoff 1987
	mt'sul-pa	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	mtśhu	lip	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:455u
	mtʃhu-to	lip	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:24
	mtɕhu	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.1
	mt'sul-pa	beak; bill; nose	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	rwa.**mchu**	beak / bill	Sun 1985c:52
	sna-**mc'u**~sna-goṅ	trunk	Matisoff 1987
	źur	snout / muzzle / trunk	Jäschke 1881:477
	ża**l-mc'u**	lip	Matisoff 1987
"Pre-Tibetan"	**mthyu**	beak / lip	Coblin 1986:39
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	a-**dul**	lip of crater, rim	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	**cuc** co	beak / bill	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.9.3
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**mhutu**	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:120
Newar (Kathmandu)	**mhutu**	mouth	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**mhutu**	mouth	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.7
	muthu	mouth	Weidert 1987:736
Newar (Dolakhali)	**muthu**	mouth	Genetti 1990b
Newar	**m^{h}utu** etaegu	hold in mouth (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.7.14
	m^{ɦ}u-ʈu	mouth	Weidert 1987:736
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**do**-phe? wa	lip	Rai *et al.* 1984:24; Matisoff 1987
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	kəm **tso**	beak, bill, snout, mouth (of animals).	Driem 1993
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	muk **tshu**	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:120; Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	**syo:**	mouth	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:121
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**'thu** tu nā	lip	Matisoff 1987
	thu tu na	lip	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.25
	t^{h}u tu na	lip	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.25
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	–	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.13
	tśi̱u^{2}	lip	Sofronov c1978
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	ŋua^{ɪ33} **ndzǫ^{55}**	hide / leather	SUN Hongkai 1991d
Muya [Minyak]	sɯ^{55}**ndʑɯ^{35}**rø^{35}	nostril	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.5.2
	ŋɯ^{35}**tsø^{35}**	mouth	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.7
	ŋɯ^{35}**tsø^{35}**ʐɯ^{33}mbɐ^{53}	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.9 [a]
Qiang (Mawo)	a **dzʌ**	beak / bill	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.9.3
	dzə kuə	mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.8; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dzə kṵ	mouth	Sun 1986
	dzə kṵə	mouth	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.7
	tshə b [β]	lip	Sun 1986
Qiang (Taoping)	**χduə^{33}**	lip	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**zde** kṵ	lip	DAI Qingxia 1989q:111
	ʦtɕy ts	nose	DAI Qingxia 1989q:106
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**m̥tɕ^{h}ə^{13}**	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.9
	va^{53} snə^{53}~va^{53} **m̥tɕ^{h}e^{53}**	snout (pig)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.5.5
	wɟjo^{33} **mtɕ^{h}ə^{13}**	beak / bill	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.9.3
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (NW)	ka **mtɕ^{h}ox**	beak / bill	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.9.3
rGyalrong	pak wu **mtɕ^{h}i**	snout (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.5.5
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mtʃ^{h}ə**	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.9
	tə **mtʃ^{h}ə** smɛt	lower lip	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.9.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mtɕ^{h}i**	mouth	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.7
	tə **mtɕ^{h}i** məŋke	lower lip	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.9.2
	tə **mtɕ^{h}i** ndzi̱	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.9
	tə **mtɕ^{h}i** ʐka	lower jaw / mandible	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.13.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə stə **mtɕ^{h}i**	vulva / labia	SUN Hongkai 1991l:10.4.2
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	nôê-**sil**	lips (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:415
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	eng2**qi4**	nose (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	eng^{2}**qi^{1}**	nose	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.1
Tujia	ẽ^{35} **tɕ^{h}i^{55}**	nose	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.5
Tujia (Northern)	ẽ^{35} **tɕ^{h}i^{55}**	nose	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	kʉ^{13} **tɕi^{55}** dʉ^{35}	nose	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.5
Tujia (Southern)	kʉ^{13} **tɕi^{55}** dʉ^{35}	nose	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	ong2**qi4**	nose (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia	ən^{35}**tɕhi^{55}**	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.49
	ən^{35}**tɕhi^{55}**	nose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:240.38
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	nut-**sî**	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	mɔ̀?-**cu**	snout / beak / mouth (animal)	Matisoff 1988a:1044
	mâ-**cu**	snout / beak / mouth (animal)	Matisoff 1988a:1044
8. BAI			
Bai (Bijiang)	**tɕo^{33}** qo^{55}	mouth	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.37
	tɕui^{33} tɕṵi^{21}	lip	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**tɕui^{33}** ke^{ɪ55}	mouth	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕui^{33} pe̱^{21}	lip	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕy^{3} kuœ^{6}	mouth	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tɕui^{33}** kæ^{55}	gape / open mouth (v.)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.7.15
	tɕui^{33} kæ^{55} k^{h}o^{33}	mouth	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.7
	tɕui^{33} kɛ^{55}	mouth	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕui^{33} pe̱^{21}	lip	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d̂'i̱wən/dź'i̱uěn**	lip	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:455u
	d̂'i̱wən/dź'i̱uěn	lip	Karlgren 1957:455u
Chinese (Old)	**trjəgwh**	beak / lip	Coblin 1986:39
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**ʧjəu-**	beak / bill	Coblin 1986:39
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**ch'un**	lip	Karlgren 1957:455u
	tzueei **chern**	lip	Sun 1985b:447

[a] Lit. "mouth-skin".

Chinese comparandum

觜 OC ***tsi̱ăr**, *GSR* #358t 'beak, snout, mouth'; Schuessler 2007:636 ***tse** or ***tsai**; Mand. **zī**.
觜/嘴 OC ***tsi̱wăr**, *GSR* #358t 'beak, snout, mouth'; Schuessler 2007:636 ***tsoi?**; Mand. **zǔi**.
脣/唇 OC ***d̂'i̱wən**, *GSR* #455u 'lips'; Schuessler 2007:197 ***m-dun**; B & S 2011: ***sə.dur {sə.[d]ur}**; Mand. **chun**.

(2) PTB *s-nyas LIP

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nes**	lip / beak	Matisoff 2003a:604
1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
**Kuki-Naga*	****hneʔ**	LIP (n.)	Benedict 1972:16, n. 59
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**-nɛʔ**	lower lip	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:16n59
	_nɛʔ	lip (lower) (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**heh**	lip (lower); lower lip	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	heʔ	lower lip	Benedict 1972:16n59; Benedict 1972:p.16
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Kohima)	(u) me^{31} **nye^{11}**	lip	Nienu 1990a:3.9
Chokri	(u) mü^{31} **na^{11}**	lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9
	(u) mü^{31} **na^{11}** mü^{31} khro	lower lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9.2
	(u) mü^{31} **na^{11}** mü^{31} so^{11}	upper lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9.1

	(u) mü[31] **na[11]** ru[31] khro[3]	lower lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9.2
	(u) mü[31] **na[11]** rü[31] so[11]	upper lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9.1
	(u) mü[31] **na[11]** u[31] khro[33]	lower lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9.2
	(u) mü[31] **na[11]** u[31] so[11]	upper lip	Nienu 1990b:3.9.1
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ä **śnäs**	lip / beak	Benedict 1972:p.16
rGyalrong (Eastern)	pa tsa wu **ʃnos**	beak / bill	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.9.3
rGyalrong	tə **ɕnəs**	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.9
	tə **ɕnəs** məi nɛ	lower lip	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.9.2
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **sn̥ɛs** p[h]o	nostril	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.5.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **ʃno** ndzi̥	lip	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.9
	tə **ʃnos** məjnɛ	lower lip	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.9.2
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Sani [Nyi]	bɒ[21]pɒ[33]; ni[55]**n̥ɛ[33]**	mouth	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	n̥[55] **n̥æ[33]**	mouth	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:85.3

(3) PTB *r-ka(ː)m LIP / MOUTH / EDGE / BANK

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-ka(ː)m**	edge; bank; precipice; lip; mouth; precipice, bank, edge, lips, mouth	Matisoff 2003a:594; Benedict 1972:329
	***r-kam**	bank, edge	Michailovsky 1991:122
	***r-ka[ː]m**	bank / shore	Matisoff 1983:36
	***r-kaːm**	bank, edge	Michailovsky 1991:122
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	a-kɯŋ **gam**-bɯr	lip; lower lip	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	gam-bɯr	lip	Sun 1993b
	gam-bɯː	rim, edge	Sun 1993b
	gam-faː	spit out (food)	Sun 1993b
	gam-gjoː	talk	Sun 1993b
	gam-hɯr	gargle	Sun 1993b
	gam-jaː	tartar	Sun 1993b
	gam-kak	palate	Sun 1993b
	gam-lin	spit out (food)	Sun 1993b
	gam-sɯː	yawn	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ɦam** paŋ	side (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0709.24
	ɦam pəŋ	edge / rim / margin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0718.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ham** paŋ	edge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:61.51
Tagin	**gam** burr	lip; lower lip	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gom**-mang	dumb / mute	Matisoff 1987 [a]
Milang	**kam**-ku	yawn	Tayeng 1976
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***kam** MOUTH			
**Chin*	***kam**	MOUTH	VanBik 2009:301
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	**kam**	mouth	Haokip 1998:3.7
	kam amom	hold in mouth (v.)	Haokip 1998:3.7.14
	kam ka	gape / open mouth (v.)	Haokip 1998:3.7.15
Paite	**kam**	mouth	VanBik 2009:301
Sizang	**kam**	mouth	VanBik 2009:301
Thado	**kàm**	language / mouth	Weidert 1987:508
	kám	mouth	VanBik 2009:301
	kàm	mouth	Thirumalai 1972:62
	kām sìn	shut (the mouth)	Thirumalai 1972:67
Tiddim	**-kam**	mouth / speech / language (n.)	Henderson 1965
	kam²	mouth; bank of a river	VanBik 2009:301; Bhaskararao 1996:545; Bhaskararao 1996:546
1.2.2. Central Chin: ***kam** BANK / SIDE / SHORE			
**Central Chin*	***kam**	BANK / SIDE / SHORE	VanBik 2009:255
Lai (Hakha)	**kâm**	bank (of a river) side (of a road), shore (of an ocean); mouth	VanBik 2009:255; VanBik 2009:301
Lushai [Mizo]	**kám**	language / mouth	Weidert 1987:508
	kam	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	kám	bank (of a river, lake), side (of a road), shore or coast (of ocean); mouth (n.)	VanBik 2009:255; VanBik 2009:301
	kam	bank; mouth; bank shore, mouth; bank, shore, mouth	Bhaskararao 1996:545; Bhaskararao 1996:546; Benedict 1972:183n482; Benedict 1972:329
	kha:m	precipice	Benedict 1972:183n482; Bhaskararao 1996:717; Benedict 1972:329
	khɑːm	precipice	Chou Fa-kao 1972:652k
	kɑm	bank / shore / mouth	Chou Fa-kao 1972:652k
	lui **kam**	bank (edge)	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Ao*	***khəm**	EDGE, BANK	Bruhn 2014a:II.082
Ao (Chungli)	tzü **küm**	bank (edge)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü ni **kam**	forehead	Marrison 1967
	yung **kam**	bank (edge)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	juŋ-**khəm**	river bank ('river' + 'precipice') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	khəm	precipice (n.)	Coupe 2007
	lùŋ-**khàm**	village name (Lungkum) ('stone' + 'precipice') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	səŋ **khàm**	village gate (probably 'wood' + 'precipice') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-nik **khəm**	forehead ('eye' + 'precipice') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	pe **khüm**	bank (edge)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	pa **gem**	bank (edge)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	**kan**-da	hem, edge	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	ri **kam**	bank, margin, rim	Benedict 1972:329
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***kyam**	edge / mouth	French 1983:524
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			[a]
Jingpho	kha, nin **gam**	bank of a river	Benedict 1972:329
	lă[33]kə̱[33]n[55]**kam[51]**	flight of steps (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0520.19
	ǹ-gàm	precipice	Matisoff 1974:185
	ngam (**n-gam**)	precipitous; precipice	Benedict 1972:329
	níng-**gâm**	flight of steps	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:597
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Mama)	**kʌm[53]**	mouth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]mi **rkam**	eyebrow (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.3
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
**Dum-Thu-Kha*	***kom**	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:122
Dumi	**kəm**	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:122; Driem 1993
	kəm ri səm	mouth	Driem 1993
	kəm səm	moustache	Driem 1993
	kəm tso	beak, bill, snout, mouth (of animals).	Driem 1993
	kəm tsok si	lips (human); mouth (buccal cavity) and lips; beak, bill,	Driem 1993; Driem 1993
	kəŋ ki̱	lips (human); mouth (buccal cavity) and lips; beak, bill,	Driem 1993
Khaling	**'kwām** swām	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	kwaam	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:122
	kwam	language / mouth	Weidert 1987:508
	kwām	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	kwām to tar	lip	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**kum** tshiŋ	lip	Matisoff 1987
	kum tsiŋ	lip	Michailovsky 1991:107; Michailovsky 1991:122
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**gon** che	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	gon c[h]e	moustache	Caughley 1972:2.A.14
Chepang (Eastern)	**gon** che	moustache	Caughley 1990:8.1.2.3
	kam	mouth	Caughley 1990:3.7
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Yadu)	mi **xkam**	eyebrow	Dai Qingxia 1989q:103
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**k[h]om** ɲe	beard / moustache	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.2
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	hmut-**khâm**	bank (river) / precipice	Matisoff 1974:185
	hnut **khɯm[3]**	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.39
	hnut-**khâm**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	hnut-**khâm**	lip, brim / upper edge of vessel (n.)	Matisoff 1974:185
	hnut-**khàm**	lip	Benedict 1972:329
	hnut[4]**khɯm[3]**	lip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.26
	kam	bank / shore	Matisoff 1983:36
	kâm	give, transmit; bank of river	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1976a
	kàm (archaic khàm)	bank of a river / sea	Benedict 1972:329
	kam:	bank (edge)	Marrison 1967
	kham	lip	Matisoff 1987
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**kham**	bank / shore	Matisoff 1983:36
Burmese (Written)	**khâm** (obs.)	bank (river) / precipice	Matisoff 1974:185
	kham-	mouth	Benedict 1976a
	kham-twâŋ	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	nhut **kham:**	lip	Marrison 1967
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**k'əm**/k'ə̱m	cliff / bank / steep	Chou Fa-kao 1972:658
Chinese (Old)	**k'âm**	bank / shore	Matisoff 1983:36

[a] Since the PTB prefix ***r-** regularly develops into the Jingpho syllabic nasal prefix (see *STC*:109 and *HPTB*:129), we treat these Jingpho forms as a unit.

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厰 OC ***k'ûm**~***ŋgi̱əm**, *GSR* #607f-g 'precipitous; bank along fields'; Schuessler 2007:332 ***khâm?**; B & S 2011: ***N-q[hˤ]əm?**; Mand. **kǎn** ~ **yín** ~ **ǎn**.
嵁/磡 OC ***k'əm** ~ ***k'ɛm** ~ ***ŋgəm**, *GSR* #658r 'cliff; bank; step'; Schuessler 2007:332 ***khâms**; B & S 2011: (***k[hˤ]əm-s**); Mand. **kàn**.

(4) PTB *b $\begin{matrix}\text{i}\\\text{u}\end{matrix}$ l ⩙ *byal LIP / LOBE / LID

This root apparently shows two types of allofamic variation: **-i- ⩙ -u-** and **-i- ⩙ -ya-**, parallel to the patterns shown by PTB ***s/r-mul ⩙ *s-mil ⩙ *s-myal** HAIR / FUR / FEATHER (§1.6.1).

1.1.1. Tani: ***bel** LIP			
**Tani*	***bel**	lip	Sun 1993a:240
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	ja-ru ru-**bu**	earlobe	Sun 1993b
	ja-ru ru-**pɯʔ**	earlobe	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-ja: na-**bɯr**	upper lip	Sun 1993b
	a-kɯŋ gam-**bɯr**	lip; lower lip	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	gam-**bɯr**	lip	Sun 1993b
	na-**bɯr**	lip	Sun 1993b
	ñik-**bɯr**	eyelid ("eye-lip")	Sun 1993b
	ruŋ-**bɯr**	earlobe	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	nap **bjer**	mouth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	nab-**bɤ**	lip	Das Gupta 1963
	'nab **ber**	lips (fat) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	**bar**-dum	lip (upper)	Das Gupta 1969
	bar-ko	lip (lower)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	gam **burr**	lip; lower lip	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	nap-**bel**	lip	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	nâb-**bér**	lip	Matisoff 1987
Milang	ŋu-giŋ-nap-**bel**	lip (upper)	Tayeng 1976
	ŋuk-pak-nap-**bel**	lip (lower)	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	nab-**ber**	lip	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	e no **bru**	lip(upper)	Pulu 1978
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Chokri	(u) nyi[31] **bi[33]**	earlobe	Nienu 1990b:3.6.1
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	tur-**ber**	lower lip	Matisoff 1987

	tùr-**bēr**	lower lip	Grüssner 1979:92
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Lalung [Tiwa]	khu **ur**	mouth	Balawan 1965:18
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	na **war**	lip	French 1983:549; Marrison 1967
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Magar	**bur** lin	lip	Matisoff 1987

(5) PTB *b-lu LIP

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	ya **bulu** ʔa	lip	Kohn 1990:3.9 [a]
5. Tujia			
Tujia	a^{21} ze^{21} kɯ^{21} **lo^{21}**	lip	Chen Kang 1986d:3.9 [b]
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa^{21} ze^{21} ki^{21} **lo^{21}**	lip	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	me^{31} **la^{55}**	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.9
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	m̩^{21} **lɑ^{33}** p^{h}i̱^{33}	lip	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9
Yi (Nanjian)	mu̱^{21} **la^{33}** p^{h}i^{21}	lip	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	mɑ̂-**lɔ**	lip	Matisoff 1987
Lisu	mrgh^{5}-**lrghe^{2}**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	mrgh^{5}-**lrghe^{2}** kaw^{3}ji^{4}	lip	Matisoff 1987
	mrgh^{5}**lrghe^{2}**	mouth	Bradley 1979b:94
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	mrgh^{5}**lrghe^{2}**	mouth, snout	Luce 1985:V.109
Lisu (Nujiang)	mɯ^{31} **lɯ^{35}**	mouth	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
	mɯ^{31} **lɯ^{35}** ku^{35} dʒi^{33}	lip	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	mɯ^{31}**lɯ^{35}**	mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.27
Lisu (Putao)	mɯ^{5}**lɯ^{2}**	mouth, snout	Luce 1985:V.109
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	meh˪ **lu**˪	lip	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Dazhai)	me^{31} **lu^{31}**	lip	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	mɛ^{31} **lu^{31}**	lip	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
7. Karenic: ***phlỳ'** LIP			
**Karen (Pwo)*	***phlỳ'**	lip	Jones 1961:630
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ply**	lip	Jones 1961:630
Pa-O	**blỳ**	lip	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:630
Palaychi	**phlùq**	lip	Jones 1961:630
	phlùʔ	lip	Matisoff 1987
Pwo (Bassein)	**phlý**	lip	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:630
Pwo (Moulmein)	**phly**	lip	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:630
Sgaw (Bassein)	**ply**	lip	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:630
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ply**	lip	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:630

[a] 1st morphemes = 'mouth'
[b] = mouth + skin

(6) PTk *caj LIP

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***caj**	lip	Mortensen 2012:377
Kachai	mor-**ce**	lip; beak / bill (of bird)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.086
	mor-**tɕe**	lip	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	mor **chai**	lip	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
Ukhrul	mor-**caj**	lip	Mortensen 2012

1.3.2.1 Suck/Suckle

(1) PTk *tsim SUCK (as a leech)

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***tsim**	suck (as a leech)	Mortensen 2012:625
Huishu	kə-mə-**tsɐm**	suck (as a leech) (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.108
Tusom	k^{h}ə-mə-**zɯ̃**	suck	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.139
Ukhrul	kə-**tsim**	suck	Mortensen 2012

1.3.2.2 Kiss

(1) PKC *hnam KISS

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hnam**	KISS	VanBik 2009:894
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**nàm**-INV	kiss	VanBik 2009:894
Tiddim	**nam^{3}** > nap^{3}	kiss	VanBik 2009:894
	nam^{3} > nap^{3}	kiss (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1168
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	ng-**hngam**	kiss, to touch noses with one another (v.)	VanBik 2009:894
Khumi	**pnang**	kiss (which involves sniffing rather than actual kissing), sniff, smell	VanBik 2009:894
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**hnàm**-I, hnâm-II	kiss	VanBik 2009:894
Lai (Hakha)	**hnăm**-I, hnamʔ-II	kiss	VanBik 2009:894

1.3.3 Tongue

Figure 98: 1.3.3 *Tongue*

Figure 99: 1.3.3 *Tongue*

(1a) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{s}\end{matrix}$ **-lay ≍ *s-ley TONGUE**

Mikir and Khoirao have a dental stop instead of the lateral. Kham shows preemption by the ***s-** prefix.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***-lay ≍ -ley ≍** -lya	tongue	Matisoff 1985a:056
	***-ley**	tongue	French 1983:569
	***g-lay**	lick (v.)	French 1983:511
	***m-lay**	tongue	Weidert 1987:109
	***m-lay ≍ s-lay**	tongue	Benedict 1972:281; Michailovsky 1991:186
	***m/s-lay ≍ s-ley**	tongue	Matisoff 2003a:599
	***s-lay**	tongue	Weidert 1987:109; LaPolla 1987:135
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Miji	ʒeʔ **ghi**	tongue	Simon 1979
1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**rye^{33}**	tongue	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.52
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Miri, Hill	a **rih**	tongue	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	mɯ-**ji**	flame	Sun 1993b
Milang	ci-**dal**	tongue	Tayeng 1976
	mi-**le**	flame	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**blâi**	tongue	Weidert 1987:171
	blɑi^{53}	tongue	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	blɑi^{53}	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.23
	blɑi^{53}	tongue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.48
Idu	e^{55}**li^{55}**na^{55}	tongue	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.8
	e^{55}**li^{55}**nɑ^{55}	tongue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.50
	i **li** na	tongue	Pulu 1978; Anonymous 1962
Yidu	e^{55}**li^{55}**nɑ^{55}	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.25
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***lay** TONGUE			
**Chin*	***lay**	TONGUE	VanBik 2009:1058
**Kuki*	***mlei**	tongue	Benedict 1972:281
Anal	**pali**	tongue	Matisoff 1987
Thanphum	**lɑi^{1}**	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	**lei**	tongue	Haokip 1998:3.8
Sizang	**lē**	tongue	VanBik 2009:1058
Thado	**léi**	tongue	Thirumalai 1972:55
	léy	tongue	VanBik 2009:1058
Tiddim	**-lei**	tongue (n.)	Henderson 1965
	-lei	tongue	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:056
	lei^{2}	tongue	VanBik 2009:1058; Bhaskararao 1996:913
	lei^{1}	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9; Luce 1985:N.19
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	a **mlé**-baw	tongue	VanBik 2009:1058
Asho (Sandoway)	**mleɪ^{1}**	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
Chinbon	**m̩le^{i}**	tongue	So-Hartmann 1988:79
Cho (Mindat)	**m-lei**	tongue	VanBik 2009:1058
Daai	**m̩le^{i}**	tongue	So-Hartmann 1988:79
Awa Khumi	ă **mlɛ^{2}**	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
Khumi	**plaáy**	tongue	VanBik 2009:1058
	p^{ə}la^{i}	tongue	So-Hartmann 1988:79
Khumi (Ahraing)	**pə̌lɑɛ^{4}**	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
Matu	**n̩la^{i}**	tongue	So-Hartmann 1988:79
Matupi	**lɑi^{4}**	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
Mkaang	**le^{i}**	tongue	So-Hartmann 1988:79
Ngmüün	**m̩le^{i}**	tongue	So-Hartmann 1988:79
Nyhmoye	**m̩le^{i}**	tongue	So-Hartmann 1988:79
Wakung	**məlɛ**	tongue	So-Hartmann 1988:79
Womatu	**m̄leɪ^{4}**	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Khualsim	**lei^{3}**	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
Lai (Hakha)	**lây**	tongue	VanBik 2009:1058
Lai (Falam)	**lǎy**	tongue	VanBik 2009:1058
Lai (Hakha)	**lei^{5}**	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9; Luce 1985:N.19
Lushai [Mizo]	**léi**	tongue	Weidert 1987:109
	lei	tongue	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:056
	léi	tongue (n.)	VanBik 2009:1058
	lei	tongue	Bhaskararao 1996:913; LaPolla 1987:135; Benedict 1972:281
	lei^{1}	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lailenpi	mə́**pə̌le^{4}**	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
	mə́ **pə̌leɪ**	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
Lakher [Mara]	**pā-lèi**	tongue	VanBik 2009:1058
	palei	tongue / flame	Matisoff 1987
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**pə̀li^{1}**	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
Mera	**pə̌lɪ^{6}**	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
Tha'oa	**lɑi^{1}**	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
Xongsai	**lei^{3}**	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**məlei**	tongue	Toba & Kom 1991:3.8
Moyon	**brí** ~ bʌrí	tongue	Kosha 1990:3.8
Sorbung	**məlée**	tongue	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.094
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**malai**	tongue	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-lej(ʔ)** TONGUE			
**Central Naga*	***m-lej(ʔ)**	TONGUE	Bruhn 2014a:III.058
**Ao*	*t-**m-li**	TONGUE	Bruhn 2014a:II.351
Ao (Chungli)	te **meli**	tongue	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:118n327
	tə^{2}-**mə^{2}li^{2}**	tongue (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.351
	tə^{2}-**mə^{2}li^{2}** ta^{3}tsək^{3}	mute (adj.)	Bruhn 2014b
	^{2}tɯ^{2}**mu^{2}li**	tongue	Weidert 1987:21
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **mili**	tongue	Marrison 1967
	tu **mili**-te chak	dumb	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**məli**	tongue (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**məli** tə-tʃak	mute ('tongue' + NZP + 'break')	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**n̩^{1}-liʔ^{1}**	tongue (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.058
	nli	tongue	Marrison 1967:784
	NLi	tongue	Nienu 1990c:3.8
	nli / **nni**	tongue	Benedict 1972:118n327
	nni	tongue	Marrison 1967
	n̂ī	tongue	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**müle**	tongue	Kumar 1973a
	müle ja	dumb	Marrison 1967
	müli	tongue	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	tü **mili**	tongue	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**mulo**	tongue	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	**melü**	tongue	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **me**^{55}	tongue	Nienu 1990a:3.8
	u **meü**	tongue	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **mhü**^{31}**yi**^{33}	tongue	Nienu 1990b:3.8
	u **meyi**	tongue	Marrison 1967
	²me³yi	tongue	Weidert 1987:822
Khezha	**meli**	tongue	Marrison 1967
	meži	tongue	Yabu 1994:3.8
Mao	**mali**	tongue	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **mezi**	tongue	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **meli**	tongue	Marrison 1967
Rengma	n **nyi**	tongue	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a hu-**mili**	gums	Achumi 1998a:3.7.3
	a mi-**mili**	flame	Achumi 1998b:4.11
	a **mili**	tongue	Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:3.8
	mile sü	rainbow	Marrison 1967
	mili sü	rainbow	Achumi 1998b:2.5
	ə **mili**	tongue	Benedict 1972:118n327

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	**di**	tongue	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**chali**	tongue	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**balei**	tongue	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi **lei**	tongue	Marrison 1967
	³mi¹**n**¹**leu**	tongue	Weidert 1987:21

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *lej TONGUE

**Tangkhulic*	***lej**	tongue	Mortensen 2012:410
Huishu	ʔa-mə-**lu**	tongue	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.071
Kachai	mə-**li**	tongue	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.079
Tangkhul	ma **le**	tongue	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	ré	tongue	Bhat 1969:99
Tusom	ʔi-mə-**li**	tongue	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.088
Ukhrul	mə-**lej**	tongue	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**lei**	tongue	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	ləy	tongue	Singh 1991:3.8

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**de**	tongue	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:056
	dè	tongue	Grüssner 1979:104
	de	tongue	LaPolla 1987:135; Benedict 1972:281

1.6. MRU

Mru	**dài**	tongue	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	*( )-**lai**	tongue	Burling 1959:444

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**saláy**	tongue	Bhat 1968
	salei	tongue	Matisoff 1987
Dimasa	**salai**	tongue	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:056; LaPolla 1987:135; Benedict 1972:281
	wai-**slai**	flame	Benedict 1972:281
Kokborok	**šlay**	tongue	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**plai plai** che la naʔ	lick	Balawan 1965
	shili	tongue	Balawan 1965:64

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**sre**	tongue	Weidert 1987:21; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:056; LaPolla 1987:135; Benedict 1972:281
	wal-**sre**	flame	Benedict 1972:281
Garo (Bangladesh)	**si-ri**	tongue	Burling 1992

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***C-ley**	tongue	Matisoff 1985a:056
	***Ç-glay**	lick (v.)	French 1983:511
	***Ç-ley**	tongue	French 1983:569

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**thali**	tongue	Marrison 1967
	t^{h}ali	tongue	French 1983:569
	¹thΛ¹li	tongue	Weidert 1987:109
Tangsa	**³li**	tongue	Weidert 1987:21
Tangsa (Moshang)	la-**li**	tongue	French 1983:569; Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**li**	tongue	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:056; French 1983:569

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**li** šaŋ	tongue	French 1983:569
	lìˇ-šʌ̀ŋ	tongue	Weidert 1987:109
	li shang	tongue	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**yi**	tongue	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:056; French 1983:569
Konyak (Tamlu)	dʌ **le**	tongue	Weidert 1987:877
Konyak (Wakching)	**yi**	tongue	Weidert 1987:877
Phom	**lai**	lick	French 1983:511
	yei	tongue	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:056; French 1983:569
	yʌy^{55}	tongue	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**le**	tongue	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:056; French 1983:569
	telai	tongue	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**lai**	tongue	Matisoff 1987
	làì	tongue	Matisoff 1985a:056
	lai	tongue	LaPolla 1987:135; Benedict 1972:281
	shing **li**	tongue (poet.)	Matisoff 1987
	śiŋ **li**	tongue	Matisoff 1985a:056
	śiŋ **li**/śiŋ lau	tongue	Benedict 1972:64n202

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Ganan	**ʃĭli²**	tongue	Luce 1985:L.135
Kadu (Kantu)	**săli²** [sʻàdì`]	tongue	Luce 1985:L.135
Kadu	**sʻədì**	tongue	Matisoff 1987
Sak	a **səlíʔ**	tongue	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:12
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **sʻăle²**	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9
Sak (Dodem)	ă **sʻăleʔ**	tongue	Luce 1985:L.135
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **sʻăleʔ²**	tongue	Luce 1985:L.135

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Baram	ce **le**	tongue	Kansakar 2010:10
Bunan	**lè**	tongue	Sharma 1991a:3.8
Kanauri	**lē**	tongue (n.)	Bailey 1911
	lē	tongue	Matisoff 1987
	le	tongue	LaPolla 1987:135; Benedict 1972:281
	leː	tongue	Sharma 1988:13,19,28
Pattani [Manchati]	**lhe**	tongue	Sharma 1991b:3.8
	l^{h}e	tongue	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. BODIC

Bumthang	**ʔli**	tongue	Weidert 1987:822
Kaike	**lai**	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186; Matisoff 1987
Monpa	**le**	tongue	Weidert 1987:822
Tsangla (Central)	**le**	tongue	Andvik 1993:10; Egli-Roduner 1987:32 12
Tsangla (Motuo)	**le**	tongue	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.7
	le^{13}	tongue	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**le**	tongue	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**le**^{55}	tongue	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**le**^{53}	tongue	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.6
Motuo Menba	**le**	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.07
Tashigang	**le**	tongue	Weidert 1987:822
Cuona Menba	**le**^{53}	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Bhote	tšē **le**	tongue	Weidert 1987:822
Dzongkha	**tše**	tongue	Weidert 1987:822
Tibetan (Alike)	**rtɕi**	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htɕe**	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rtɕi**	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**tɕɛ**^{55}**lə**^{55}	tongue	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.8
Tibetan (Central)	**tšē** mo	tongue	Weidert 1987:822
Tibetan (Jirel)	**cyelāq**	tongue	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tɕe**^{53}	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tɕe**^{53}	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.2
Spiti	**ce**	tongue	Bodh 1991:3.8
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ce**	tongue	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**lce**	tongue	Weidert 1987:822; Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:W.11
	lce	tongue	Matisoff 1987
	lce-čʻuŋ	uvula ("tongue-small")	Matisoff 1987
	lce-kʻyigs	frenum of tongue	Matisoff 1987
	lce-rtsa	tongue root	Jäschke 1881:p. 150
	lce-rtse	tongue tip (n.)	Jäschke 1881:p. 150
	ltśe	tongue	Matisoff 1985a:056; LaPolla 1987:135; Benedict 1972:33n104
	ltʃe	tongue	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:25
	ltɕe	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.01
	ltɕe	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.1
	me-**ltśe**	flame	Benedict 1972:281
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htɕe**	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	a-**li**	tongue	Matisoff 1987; LaPolla 1987:135
	ă **li**	tongue	Benedict 1972:281
	lin-śet	tongue	Benedict 1972:281

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{Bh}**le(ː)**	tongue	Mazaudon 1978:35
Chantyal	khe **le**	tongue	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.8
Gurung (Ghachok)	**leq**	tongue	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:1.44
	²le	tongue	Mazaudon 1978:35
Gurung	**²le**	tongue	Mazaudon 1994:903
Manang (Gyaru)	**lɛ**^{1}	tongue	Nagano 1984:012
Manang (Prakaa)	**²lie**	tongue	Mazaudon 1994:903
	¹liʔ e	tongue	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0011
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'le**	tongue	Weidert 1987:822
Tamang (Risiangku)	**²leː**	tongue	Mazaudon 1978:35
	²leː	tongue (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.8
	²leː	tongue (organ)	Mazaudon 1994:904
Tamang (Sahu)	**'le**	tongue	Matisoff 1987; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.44
	²le	tongue	Mazaudon 1978:35; Mazaudon 1994:903
Tamang (Taglung)	**le**	tongue	Mazaudon 1994:903; Mazaudon 1994:904
	²le	tongue	Mazaudon 1978:35
Thakali (Marpha)	**²le**	tongue	Mazaudon 1978:35
	^{545}le	tongue	Mazaudon 1994:903; Mazaudon 1994:904
Thakali (Syang)	**^{H}hl(j)e**	tongue	Mazaudon 1978:35
Thakali (Tukche)	**le**	tongue	Matisoff 1987; Hari 1971:1.44
	^{H}le	tongue	Mazaudon 1978:35; Mazaudon 1994:903; Mazaudon 1994:904

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**me**	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186
Newar (Dolakhali)	**me**	tongue	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**me**	tongue	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**me**	tongue	Matisoff 1987
	mec-	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186; Matisoff 1987 [ab]
	mye	tongue	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.8

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**-l'** soːt	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186
	le-sot	tongue	LaPolla 1987:135; Benedict 1972:281
	le sop pā̲	tongue	Matisoff 1987
	lE sot	tongue, barb (of a hook)	Michailovsky 1989b
	lɛ soʔ	tongue	Weidert 1987:109
	lɛ soːt	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186
	lɛ ssoː pa	tongue	Weidert 1987:109

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	**li**	tongue	LaPolla 1987:135; Benedict 1972:281
Sunwar	**leː**	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186; Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**le**	tongue	Weidert 1987:21; Michailovsky 1991:186; Matisoff 1987
	le	tongue (n.)	Caughley 2000
	le	tongue	Caughley 1972:1.44
	le phu.riʔ	ulcers of tongue (n.)	Caughley 2000
	le.phu.ri	sores, ulcers, swelling of tongue - after eating remains of another's meal (esp. child) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	le.phu.ri daŋ-	have sores, etc. of tongue (va.)	Caughley 2000
	le.ʔi prəyh-	give tongue, speak (vi.)	Caughley 2000

[a] Preemption by ***m-**: ***m-lay** > **me**.
[b] Oblique form.

Chepang (Eastern)	**le**	tongue	Caughley 1990:3.8
Kham	**seː**	tongue	Watters & Watters 1989:1.44; Matisoff 1987

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	–	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.13
	lhjwa	tongue	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3190
	lhwa	tongue	DAI Qingxia 1989e:3.8
	lhwa^{1}	tongue	Sofronov c1978
	l$^{\mathrm{w}}$**ɑ**	tongue	Nishida 1964:183; Nishida 1964:49-102

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**htsʅ**^{33} psʅ^{55}	tongue	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.18
Guiqiong	**dzᵲə**^{35}	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.16
	dzᵲə^{35}tsi^{33}	uvula (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0140.16
	dzɻ^{35}	tongue	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.17
	dzɻ^{35} nɛ^{53}	uvula	SUN Hongkai 1991e
Muya	**rɐ**^{24}	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.15
	rɐ^{24} qə^{55}tɸ^{53}	stutterer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0210.15
	rɐ^{33}tɕue^{53}	uvula (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0140.15
Muya [Minyak]	**rɐ**^{35}tɕe^{53}	uvula	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.7.4
	zᵲɐ^{35}	tongue	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.15
Namuyi	ji^{33}**ɬɛ**^{55}	tongue	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.19
	ji^{33}**ɬæ**^{55}	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.46
	ji^{33}**ɬæ**^{55}**z**ʅ^{55}	uvula (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0140.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ɬə**^{55}	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.10
	ɬə^{55}tsy^{55}	uvula (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0140.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ɬei**^{55}pha^{55}mi^{13}	stutterer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0210.09
	ɬie^{55}qho^{55}	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.09
	ɬɛ^{13}bzᵲã^{13}	uvula (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0140.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ɬie**^{55} q$^{\mathrm{h}}$o^{55}	tongue	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	ɬie^{55}qho^{55}	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.11
	ɬɛ^{55} bzᵲã^{13}	uvula	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɬiɛ**^{53}	tongue	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**zə** qə	tongue	Evans 1999:172
	zə qə tɕý	uvula	Evans 1999:173
	zə qə-tsá	uvula [tongue-small]	Evans 1999:173
Qiang (Mawo)	**zə** q	tongue	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.8
	zə qᵲ	tongue	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.8
	zə χ	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**zɨ** qé	tongue	Evans 1999:172
	zɨ qé-tsú	uvula [tongue-small]	Evans 1999:173
Qiang (Taoping)	**z**ʅ^{31} qə^{55}	tongue	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**zə** q	tongue	DAI Qingxia 1989q:172
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɬli**^{55}	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.13
Xumi	**ʁ**ʅ^{53}	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.17
	ʁʅ^{55}	tongue	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.20

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Daofu)	**fʑa**	tongue	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.8
Ergong (Northern)	**vdɛ**^{53}	tongue	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.8
Daofu	**vʁɛ**	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.12
Ergong (Danba)	**vʑɛ**	tongue	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.14

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**la ≍ le**	tongue / lick	Benedict 1972:211
	phəle	tongue	Benedict 1972:281
	phəlɛ	tongue	Matisoff 1985a:056; LaPolla 1987:135
Rawang	**phəlɛ**^{31}	tongue	LaPolla 2003:156
Nung	**phɯ**^{31}**lɛ**^{31}	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.21
Anong	**phɯ**^{31}**lɛ**^{31}	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.44
	p$^{\mathrm{h}}$**ɯ**^{31}**lɛ**^{31}	tongue	SUN Hongkai 1988
	thəmi-**səle**	flame	Benedict 1972:281
Trung [Dulong]	**ple**^{42}	tongue	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	**pɯ**^{31}**lɑi**^{53}	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.20
Trung [Dulong]	**pɯ**^{31}**lăi**^{53}	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**pɯ**^{31}**lai**^{53}	tongue	LaPolla 1987:135
	pɯ^{31}**lăi**^{53}	tongue	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**pɯ**^{31}**lai**^{53}	tongue	LaPolla 1987:135
	pɯ^{31}**lăi**^{53}	tongue	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**dzi**^{21} la^{21}	tongue	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.8
Tujia (Southern)	**dzi**^{21} la^{21}	tongue	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**ji**^{35} la^{55}	tongue	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ʑi**^{35} la^{55}	tongue	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.8

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**la**^{35}	uvula	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.7.4
Yi (Xide)	**ha**^{33} ne^{33}	tongue	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Sani [Nyi]	**ɬɒ**^{33}tʂhi^{33}	tongue root	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɕi**˩ t$^{\mathrm{h}}$æ˥	stammerer, stutterer	Michaud 2006–2009:759
	ɕi˩mie˩	tongue	Michaud 2006–2009:291
	ɕi˩ʑæ˥	uvula, tendon of the tongue	Michaud 2006–2009:293
Na (Yongning)	**hi**˩mi˩	tongue	Michaud 2006–2009
	hi˩ʑæ˧	tendon of the tongue	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɕi˩t$^{\mathrm{h}}$æ˥	stammerer, stutterer	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**ɕi**^{31}mi^{13}	tongue	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɕi**^{31}mi^{13}	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.29
Naxi (Western)	**ɕi**^{55}	tongue	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**ɕi**^{55}	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ɕi**^{55}	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.28

7. KARENIC: *hlaj^{B} LICK (v.), *ble^{A} TONGUE

**Karen*	***ble**	tongue	Weidert 1987:877; Benedict 1972:139n375
	***ble**^{A}	tongue	Luangthongkum 2013:307
	***hlaj**^{B}	lick (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:164
**Karen [Burling]*	***lɛŋ**^{2}	lick (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:164
**Karen (Pwo)*	***phlè'**	tongue	Jones 1961:111
**Karen [Burling]*	***phle**^{3}	tongue	Luangthongkum 2013:307
**Karen*	***phrè'**	tongue	Jones 1961:111
**Karen (TP)*	***phrè'**	tongue	Jones 1961:111
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ple**	tongue	Jones 1961:111
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***plè'**	tongue	Jones 1961:111
Bwe	**-bli**^{11}	tongue	Luangthongkum 2013:307
	-blì	tongue (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**blɪ**^{3}	tongue	Weidert 1987:877; Luce 1985:F.9
Bwe	**blì**	tongue	Weidert 1987:877
	lɪ^{33}	lick (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:164
Geba	**bli**^{2}	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9
Karen	**ble**^{33}	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.50
Kayah	**pli**^{11}	tongue	Luangthongkum 2013:307
Kayan	**lai**^{11}	lick (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:164
	plai^{33}	tongue	Luangthongkum 2013:307
Kayan (Pekon)	**plè̤**	tongue (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**li**^{11}	lick (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:164
	pli^{33}	tongue	Luangthongkum 2013:307
Pa-O (Southern)	**lai**^{33}	lick (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:164
Pa-O	lɛ̄m **phrē**	stick out tongue	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**phle**^{33}	tongue	Luangthongkum 2013:307
Pa-O	**phre**	tongue	Weidert 1987:877
	phrē	tongue	Solnit 1989
	phre	tongue	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:111; Benedict 1972:149n409
	phrē thjá?	root of tongue	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**ple**^{53}	tongue	Luangthongkum 2013:307
Pa-O (Northern)	**p're**^{5}	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9
Paku	**ble**^{2}	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9
Palaychi	**phlé**	tongue	Matisoff 1987
	plé	tongue	Jones 1961:111
	ple	tongue	Benedict 1972:149n409
Pwo (Northern)	**pli**^{55}	tongue	Luangthongkum 2013:307
Pwo (Southern)	**lai**^{55}	lick (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:164
	phli$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	tongue	Luangthongkum 2013:307
Pwo (Delta)	**p'le**^{2}	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**p'le**^{5}	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9
Pwo (Bassein)	**phlé**	tongue	Weidert 1987:877; Jones 1961:111
	phlé́	tongue	Matisoff 1987
Pwo (Moulmein)	**phle**	tongue	Weidert 1987:877; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:111
Sgaw (Northern)	**le**$^{31\sim}$	lick (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:164
Sgaw (Southern)	**li**^{45,}	lick (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:164
Sgaw	**ple**^{3}	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9
Sgaw (Southern)	**ple**^{33}	tongue	Luangthongkum 2013:307
Sgaw (Northern)	**ple**^{33}	tongue	Luangthongkum 2013:307
Sgaw	^{3}**ple**	tongue	Weidert 1987:877
Sgaw (Bassein)	**ple**	tongue	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:111
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**ble**^{33}	tongue	DAI Qingxia 1989k:172
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ple**	tongue	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:111
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**ple**^{33}	tongue	DAI Qingxia 1989j:172

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**ʈɐ**^{ɪ42}	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.37
	ʈɐ̲^{ɪ42}	tongue	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**tsɐ̲**^{42}	tongue	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tsɐ̲^{42}phi^{31}	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.35
	tɕɛ^{8} p$^{\mathrm{h}}$i^{3}	tongue	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tsɐ̲**^{42}	tongue	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tsɐ̲^{42} p$^{\mathrm{h}}$ĩ^{31}	tongue	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.8

(1b) PTB * $^{\mathbf{s}}_{\mathbf{m}}$ -l(y)a-t TONGUE

The present allofam of this complex word family has reflexes both with open **-a** and with a **-t** final. The latter variant is attested in Jingpho, Lepcha, Magar, Limbu, and Chinese.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*-lay ≍ -ley ≍ -**lya**	tongue	Matisoff 1985a:056
	***s-l(y)a**	tongue	Matisoff 2003a:600

1.1.1. TANI: *rjo TONGUE

**Tani*	***rjo**	tongue	Sun 1993a:435

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-**ljo**	tongue	Sun 1993a
	à-**ljó**	tongue	Sun 1993b
	a-**ljo**	tongue	Sun 1993b
	ja-mi mɯ-**ljo**	flame	Sun 1993b
	ja-mu mu-**ljo**	blaze; flame	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	^{2}a^{2}**lyo**	tongue	Weidert 1987:524
Bengni	mɯ-**rjuː**	flame	Sun 1993b
	rju-tuk	tip of tongue	Sun 1993b
	rjuː	tongue	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	rjuː-kak	fur on the tongue	Sun 1993b
	rjuː-lin	stick out tongue	Sun 1993b
	rjuː-loː toː-kuk	larynx	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **jo**	tongue (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.24
	a-**jo**	tongue	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**jo** mi-tuk	tongue tip	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **jo**	tongue	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:245.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	joː len	stick out (tongue)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **ro**	tongue (n.)	GLDC 2009
	a **ro**	tongue	Das Gupta 1963
	ˆa **yo**	tongue	Weidert 1987:524
Nishing	a **ru**~a **riu**	tongue	Das Gupta 1969
	ri-to	tip of tongue	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**riu**	tongue	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**io**	tongue	Matisoff 1987
	a-**jo**	tongue	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**lo**	tip of tongue; tongue	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b

1.2.3. MARAIC

Zotung	**la**^{4}	tongue	Luce 1985:N.19

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	te-**ra**-pak	tongue	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa (Moshang)	**la**-li	tongue	French 1983:569

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**let**	tongue	Matisoff 1987
	shing-**let**	tongue	Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	šiŋ-**let** ≍ šiŋ-lep	tongue / lick	Benedict 1972:211
	śiŋ **let**	tongue	Benedict 1972:64n202
	śiŋ **let** / śiŋ **lep**	tongue	Benedict 1972:165n442
	^{1}šiŋ^{1}**let**	tongue	Weidert 1987:171
	ʃiŋ^{31} **let^{31}**	tongue	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	ʃiŋ^{31}**let^{31}**	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.19
	ʃiŋ^{31}**let^{31}**	tongue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.47
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**dʒɑ^{341}**	tongue	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.8
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	lin-**śet**	tongue	Benedict 1972:281
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	-l' **so:t**	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186
	le-**sot**	tongue	LaPolla 1987:135; Benedict 1972:281
	le **sop** pā̲	tongue	Matisoff 1987
	lE **sot**	tongue, barb (of a hook)	Michailovsky 1989b
	lɛ **so?**	tongue	Weidert 1987:109
	lɛ **so:t**	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186
	lɛ **sso:** pa	tongue	Weidert 1987:109
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Magar	**let**	tongue; lick	Benedict 1972:165n442; Benedict 1972:211; Coblin 1986:103
	meleT	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186; Matisoff 1987
5. Tujia			
Tujia	dzi^{21} **la^{21}**	tongue	Chen Kang 1986d:3.8
Tujia (Southern)	dzi^{21} **la^{21}**	tongue	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	ji^{35} **la^{55}**	tongue	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	ʑi^{35} **la^{55}**	tongue	Chen Kang 1986c:3.8
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***hlya**	tongue	Weidert 1987:524
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	n̥ut^{55} **tshɑʔ^{55}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ɕɔ^{55}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɕɔ^{55}	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.28
	ɕɔ^{55}	tongue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.41
Achang (Luxi)	**lia^{35}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ɕɔ^{55}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia 1989f:165
	ɕɔ^{55}	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.29
Bola	**ʃa^{55}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia 1989g:165
Burmese (Modern)	**lhyā^{3}**	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9
Burmese (Spoken)	**ʃa^{3}**	tongue	Luce 1985:S.6
Burmese (Written)	**hljɑ^{2}**	tongue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.39
	hljɑɑ^{2}	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.26
	hlya	tongue; tongue (freq. written and pr. hra)	Hansson 1989:xx; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:056; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:64n202
	hlya-khaŋ	uvula, palate	Matisoff 1974:90
	lhyā	tongue	Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:F.9
	lhyā^{3}	tongue	Luce 1985:W.11
	ʃhyā	tongue	Luce 1985:S.6
Danu	**sʻɑ^{4}**	tongue	Luce 1985:S.6
Hpun (Metjo)	**ă yɑh**	tongue	Luce 1985:S.6
Lashi	**jo^{33}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.8
Lashi (Lachhe')	**yɔ^{4}**	tongue	Luce 1985:S.6
Maru [Langsu]	**ʃɔ^{31}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.8
Taung-Yo	**sʻɑ^{4}**	tongue	Luce 1985:S.6
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**yɔ^{2}**	tongue	Luce 1985:S.6
	ʃo^{51}	tongue	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-l(y)a^{1}**	tongue	Bradley 1979b:97; Hansson 1989:xx
Lolopho	**lo^{44}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.8
PNL	**ʔ-l(y)a^{1}**	tongue	Chen Kang 1986a:27.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**la^{35}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.8
	la^{35}	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.47
	la^{35} ta^{24}	tongue	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	lɑ^{24}	tongue	Mu Shihua 2003
	lɑ^{24}ni^{31}	tip of tongue	Mu Shihua 2003
	lɑ^{24}tso^{35}tso^{35}	root of tongue	Mu Shihua 2003
Lalo	**ʔlá**	tongue	Björverud 1994
	ʔla^{55}	tongue	Chen Kang 1986a:27.
	ʔlɑ^{55}	tongue	Chen Kang 1986b:3.8
Lipho	**lo^{33}**	tongue	Chen Kang 1986a:27.; Chen Kang 1986b:3.8
Nasu	**ɬo^{33}**	tongue	Chen Kang 1986a:27.; Chen Kang 1986b:3.8
Nesu	**lo^{55}** p^{h}ɪ^{21}	tongue	Chen Kang 1986b:3.8
	ɬo^{55}	tongue	Chen Kang 1986a:27.
Noesu	**ɬo^{13}**	tongue	Chen Kang 1986b:3.8
Nosu	**ha^{33}**	tongue	Chen Kang 1986a:27.
	ha^{33}ne^{33}	tongue	Chen Kang 1986b:3.8
Nusu (Central)	**fia^{33}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia 1989p:165.
	fia^{33}	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**fia^{35}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia 1989o:165.
Nusu (Central)	**flɑ^{35}**	tongue	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	fɹɑ^{35}	tongue	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**fɹɑ^{35}**	tongue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.45
Nusu (Northern)	**f^{h}iɑ^{31}**	tongue	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**liạ^{31}** liạʔ^{53}	lick	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2301.
Nusu (Southern)	**ɬiɔ^{55}**	tongue	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Nanjian)	**lɑ^{55}**	tongue	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.23
Yi (Xide)	**ha^{33}**-nɛ^{33}	tongue	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**lo^{33}**	tongue	Chen Kang 1986a:27.; Chen Kang 1986b:3.8; Luo Meizhen 1990:3.8
Lolo (Ni)	**shlà**	tongue	Luce 1985:S.6
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{33} **ɬo^{44}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia 1989i:172
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{33} **ɬɔ^{44}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia 1989h:172
	mø^{33} **ɬɔ^{44}**	tongue	Dai Qingxia 1989h:172.1
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33} **ɬɔ^{44}**	tongue	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	à-mī-**ha**	flame	Benedict 1972:64n203
	ha-tê	tongue	Benedict 1972:64n203
**Common Lahu*	***ha:**	tongue	Bradley 1979b:97
Lahu (Shehleh)	**ha:** le:	tongue	Bradley 1979a:97
Lahu (Lancang)	**xɑ^{33}**tɛ^{11}	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.43
Lahu (Black)	**ha**(-tɛ̄)	tongue	Matisoff 1985a:056
	ha: teh˘	tongue	Luce 1985:S.6
	xa^{33} tɛ^{31}	tongue	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	xʌ^{33}tɛ^{31}	tongue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**xa^{33}** leʔ^{54}	tongue	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	**ha:** leˆ	tongue	Bradley 1979a:97
Lahu (Banlan)	**ha:** leˆ	tongue	Bradley 1979a:97
Lisu (Central)	**la^{3}**-hchē^{3}	tongue	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**la^{3}**-hchē̲^{3}	tongue	Matisoff 1987
	la^{3}hchē^{3}	tongue	Bradley 1979b:97
Lisu (Northern)	**la^{33}**	first syllable of words for tongue (N.)	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}hɔ^{35}tɕe^{33}	root of tongue; throat	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**la^{33}**tɕhø^{33}	tongue	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}tɕhø^{33} lɔ^{33}du^{33}	tip of tongue	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}tɕhø^{33} phæʔ^{21}	tongue blade	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}tɕhø^{33} pɤ^{35}	snap the tongue	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}tɕhø^{33} tɕe^{33}	root of tongue	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**la^{33}**tɕhɤ^{33}	tongue	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}tɕhɤ^{33} lɔ^{33}du^{33}	tip of tongue	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}tɕhɤ^{33} pɤ^{35}	snap the tongue	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}tɕhɤ^{33}phæʔ^{21}	tongue blade	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}tɕhɤ^{33}tɕe^{33}	root of tongue	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	**la^{4}**chɤ^{4}	tongue	Luce 1985:S.6
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**lɑ^{3}**hche^{3}	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9
Lisu	**lɑ̲^{33}**tɕhɯ̲^{33}	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**lɑ̲^{44}** tʃ^{h}ɯ̲^{44}	tongue	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Putao)	**lɑ^{4}**chɤ^{4}	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9
Lisu	**lɑ^{44}**tʃhɯ^{44}	tongue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.27
Sani [Nyi]	**ɬɑ^{33}**	tongue	Chen Kang 1986b:3.8
	ɬɑ^{33} o^{55} qo^{21}	tip of tongue	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:110.1
Yi (Sani)	**ɬɒ^{33}**	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ɬɒ^{33}**	tongue	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɬɒ^{33}o^{55}qo^{21}	tongue tip	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɬɒ^{33}zɒ^{21}	uvula	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**lá**	tongue	Hansson 1989:xx
Bisu	man **hlà**	tongue	Beaudouin 1988:16
	mèn **hlà**	tongue	Bradley 1979b
Hani (Dazhai)	**la^{55}** ma^{33}	tongue	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**la^{55}**ma^{33}	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	a^{31} **la^{55}**	tongue	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	mɛ^{31} **la^{55}**	tongue	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{31} **l̥ɔ^{55}**	tongue	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.32
Hani (Mojiang)	ɔ^{31}**l̥ɔ^{55}**	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.42
Mpi	ʔɑ^{2}**lo^{6}**	tongue	Bradley 1979b; Hansson 1989:xx; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔã **hlá**	tongue	Matisoff 1987
	ʔấ **hlá**	tongue	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã^{33} **hlɑ^{55}**	tongue	Bradley 1977
Sila	a21 **lɔ55**	tongue	Kato Takashi 2008:15
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (GSR #)	**288**	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9
	288a	tongue	Luce 1985:W.11
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d̂ʻi̯ɑt**/dźʻiät	tongue	Chou Fa-kao 1972:288a
	d̂ʼi̯ɑt/dźi̯ät	tongue	Karlgren 1957:288a
Chinese (Old)	**d̂ʻi̯at1**	tongue	Luce 1985:F.9
	d̂ʻi̯at	tongue	Luce 1985:W.11
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**shê**	tongue	Karlgren 1957:288a

Chinese comparandum

舌 OC ***d̂ʼi̯ɑt***, *GSR* #288a 'tongue'; B & S 2011: ***mə.lat***; Mand. **shé**.

(1c) PTB *s-lyam TONGUE / LICK / FLAME

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***hl** + iam	lick / tongue / flame	Coblin 1986:103
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(s-)lyam**	lick / tongue / flame	Coblin 1986:103
	***s-lyam**	tongue / flame	Matisoff 2003a:601
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	tha:-**lyang**-na:	tongue	NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987
	thɯ^{31}**liɯŋ^{53}**nɑ^{35}	tongue (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0139.22
	thɯ^{31}**liɯ^{53}**nɑ^{35}	tongue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.49
	t^{h}ɯ^{31} **liɯŋ^{53}** nɑ^{35}	tongue	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**lem**	lick	Benedict 1972:48n158; Coblin 1986:103
	lĕm mig' (-mo)	lick (vt.)	Bailey 1911
Thebor	**lem**	lick	Benedict 1972:48n158; Coblin 1986:103
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	ă-**lim**	flame (n.)	Benedict 1972:48n158
	lim	flame up (as fire)	Benedict 1972:48n158
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**lẽh** ba	lick	Glover 1972:3.B.7
Manang (Gyaru)	**lɛn^{2}** ba	lick (V.)	Nagano 1984:084
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{2}lẽ-**	lick	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0757
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{3}lem**	lick (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.8.4
	^{3}lem	lick	Mazaudon 1994:887
Tamang (Sahu)	**lehm**-pa	lick (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:14.7
	lehm-pā(m)	lick (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.07
	^{3}lem	lick	Mazaudon 1994:887
Thakali	**lehm**-la	lick (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.07
Thakali (Tukche)	**lehm**-lɔ	lick	Hari 1971:3.B.7
2.3. Kiranti: ***lem** TONGUE			

**Kiranti*	***lem**	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186; Opgenort 2011
Khambu	**lem**	tongue	Coblin 1986:103
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	**lem**	tongue	Benedict 1972:172n458; Coblin 1986:103
	lɛm	tongue	Kohn 1990:3.8
Yamphu	**lem**	tongue (n.)	Rutgers 1998:553.11
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**lem**	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186; Michailovsky 1991:186; Rai 1985; Rai *et al.* 1984:44
Chamling	**lem**	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186; Winter 1985:22
Kulung	**lem**	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186
	lem_	tongue	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**leːm**	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186; Driem 1993
Khaling	**lem**	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186; Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**lem**	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186
	liam	tongue	Coblin 1986:103
	lɛm	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186
Hayu	**liːM** ga	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186
	lĩː ga	tongue	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**lem**	tongue	Michailovsky 1991:186; Allen 1975
	lep-	lick (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:106; Allen 1975 [a]
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**lemh-**	lick (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:106
	lemh-	lick (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	lemh.sā	lick (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.07
	lem^{h}-sa	lick	Caughley 1972:3.B.7
Chepang (Eastern)	**lemh** naʔ	lick	Caughley 1990:3.8.4
Kham	**lep**-nyā	lick (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.07
	lep-nya	lick (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:3.B.7
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	ə-**hlyaṁ**	coruscation of flame (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**hlyaṁ**	coruscation of flame	Coblin 1986:103
7. Karenic: ***hlɛm^{B}** PUT OUT (THE TONGUE)			
**Karen*	***hlɛm^{B}**	put out (the tongue)	Luangthongkum 2013:231
Kayan	**ljaŋ^{11}**	put out (the tongue)	Luangthongkum 2013:231
Kayaw	**li^{11}**	put out (the tongue)	Luangthongkum 2013:231
Pa-O (Southern)	**lɛm^{33}**	put out (the tongue)	Luangthongkum 2013:231
Pa-O (Northern)	**lɛm^{55}**	put out (the tongue)	Luangthongkum 2013:231
Pwo (Northern)	**lãi^{33}**	put out (the tongue)	Luangthongkum 2013:231
Pwo (Southern)	**lãi^{55}**	put out (the tongue)	Luangthongkum 2013:231
Sgaw (Northern)	**le$^{31\sim}$**	put out (the tongue)	Luangthongkum 2013:231
Sgaw (Southern)	**li^{45,}**	put out (the tongue)	Luangthongkum 2013:231
9. Sinitic			
"Pre-Chinese"	**hliamx**	lick / tongue / flame	Coblin 1986:103
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**thiamx**	lick / tongue / flame	Coblin 1986:103
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**thiem:**	lick (v.)	Coblin 1986:103
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**tiaan**	lick; lick (imp)	Sun 1985b:569; Sun 1985b:570
	tiǎn	lick	Evans *et al.* 1991

[a] Perhaps, stop-final allofam of PTB ***s-lyam** TONGUE / LICK / FLAME (§1.3.3).

Chinese comparandum

炎 OC ***di̯ɑm**, *GSR* #617a-b 'blaze, blazing'; Schuessler 2007:552-3 ***lam**; Mand. **yán**.
燄 OC ***di̯ɑm**, *GSR* #617c 'flame up'; Schuessler 2007:553 ***lamʔ**; Mand. **yàn**.
舔 OC (***tʼiem:**), (not in *GSR* #1247) 'lick, taste'; Coblin 86:103 ST * + ***hɬiam** > PC ***hliamx** > OC ***thiamx**; Schuessler 2007:496-7 ***lhîm**; B & S 2011: (***l̥^{ʕ}im? {l̥^{ʕ}[i] m?}**); Mand. **tiǎn**.

(1d) PTB *s-lyaːw LICK / TONGUE

1.2.2. Central Chin: ***hliaw** LICK (flame) / ENVELOP (flame)			
**Central Chin*	***hliaw**	LICK (flame) / ENVELOP (flame)	VanBik 2009:1113
Lai (Hakha)	**hlìaw**-I, hlĭaw-II	lick (used for fire or flame only)	VanBik 2009:1113
Lushai [Mizo]	**hliao**	lick (as flames do a pot) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2387
	hlíau	lick (as flames do a pot), to envelop (as flames) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1113
	hliau	lick (as flames)	Benedict 1972:211
1.6. Mru			
Mru	**ʃo^{2}**	tongue	Luce 1985:S.6
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	shing **lau**	tongue (poet.)	Matisoff 1987
	śiŋ li/śiŋ **lau**	tongue	Benedict 1972:64n202
3.2. Qiangic			
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɬo^{53}**	tongue	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.8; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:245.16
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Dafang)	**ɬo^{33}**	tongue	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985

(1e) PTB * m s -lyak LICK / TONGUE g

Several languages (Sani, Nocte, some Tibetan dialects) have a dental stop instead of the lateral. Written Tibetan has a doublet **ldag** 'lick' ⪤ **ldzags** 'tongue, lick'.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***liek**	lick / tongue	Coblin 1986:102
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(m-)lyak**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1043
	***(m-)lyak** ~ (s-)lyak	lick; tongue	Coblin 1986:103; Benedict 1972:211
	***(m-)lyɑk**~(s-)lyak	lick / tongue	Chou Fa-kao 1972:288a
	***(s-)lyak**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1043
	***m-/s-lyak**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:647
	***m-lyak** ⪤ *s-lyak	lick	LaPolla 1987:137
	***m-lyak**~s-lyak	lick (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:105
	***m/s-lyak**	lick / tongue / eat (of animals) / feed (animals)	Matisoff 2003a:601
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	(a) **ljaʔ**	lick	Sun 1993b
	ljà	lick	Sun 1993b
	^{2}lyaʔ (^{2})	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:647
Bengni	dɯ-**rjak**	lick	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**jak**	lick	Sun 1993b
	jak	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.24
	mə-**jak**	flame	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**jak**	lick	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.51
Galo	**rag**	lick	Das Gupta 1963
	rag nam	lick (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	rak-nam	licking (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	yag	lick	Das Gupta 1963
	yak-nam	licking (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ˆ yag-	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:647
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	**jak**-ra	lick	Sun 1993b
Milang	**yak**-ɟuŋ	licking	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**yak**	tongue; lick	LaPolla 1987:137; Benedict 1972:211; Coblin 1986:103
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**lio^{53}**	lick	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lio^{53}	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.22
	lio^{53}	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.49
Kaman [Miju]	**lo^{53}**	lick	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lo^{53}	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.23
	lo^{53}	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.48
	lɔ̃ʔ	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1127
	tɕí-**lɔ̃ʔ**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1127
Idu	a **l̥ag** a	lick	Pulu 1978
	ha^{55}**mɹe^{55}**	lick	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.8.4
	hɑ^{55}**mɹe^{55}**	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.50
Yidu	hɑ^{55} **mɹe^{55}**	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.25
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***liak-I**, ***liaʔ-II** LICK / LAP			
**Chin*	***liak**-I, liaʔ-II	LICK / LAP	VanBik 2009:1030
Anal	pì-ì-**líi**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:647
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	**lieh**	lick (v.)	Haokip 1998:3.8.4
Sizang	**leak** hī	lick	VanBik 2009:1030
Thado	**lîeʔ**-I, lìe-II	lick	VanBik 2009:1030
Tiddim	**liak^{1}** > liaʔ^{3}	lick (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:942
	liak^{1} > liaʔ^{3}	lick	VanBik 2009:1030
	liak^{1}/liaʔ^{3}	lick	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**mlèʔ**-éi	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1043
Khumi	**plee**	lick up	VanBik 2009:1030
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**liak**-I, liaʔ-II	lick, lap	VanBik 2009:1030
Lai (Falam)	**lîak**-I, lìaʔ-II	lick, lap	VanBik 2009:1030
Lushai [Mizo]	**lîak**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1043
	liak	lick	Marrison 1967
	liak	lick (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2641
	liak	tongue; lick	LaPolla 1987:137; Benedict 1972:211; Coblin 1986:103
	lîak-I, lìah-II	lick, to lap, to lap up (v.)	VanBik 2009:1030
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pā-lí**	lick, lap	VanBik 2009:1030
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**məlik**	lick	Toba & Kom 1991:3.8.4
Lamkang	kʌpʌ **lìik**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:647
Moyon	**nriʔ** ~ nríʔ	lick	Kosha 1990:3.8.4
Sorbung	**məléek**	lick (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.101
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-ljak** LICK			
**Central Naga*	***m-ljak**	LICK	Bruhn 2014a:III.258
**Ao*	***m-ljak**	LICK	Bruhn 2014a:II.382
Ao (Chungli)	**menak**	lick	Marrison 1967
	menak dang	taste (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mezak	lick	Benedict 1972:118n327
	mezük	lick	Marrison 1967
	mə^{3}nak^{3}	lick (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.382
	mɯ́nák	lick (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:10
	^{3}mɯ^{3}nak	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1043
Ao (Mongsen)	**mɯ́nák**	lick (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:12
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**menak**	lick	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**məlak**	lick [licked] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**m̩^{1}-jak^{2}**-	lick (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.258
	myak	lick	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:118n327
	myak a	lick	Murry *et al.* 1978:67
	N **mhak** a	lick	Nienu 1990c:3.8.4
Sangtam	**müya**	lick	Marrison 1967
	müya thing	taste (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**^{2}mɯ^{2}leak** ([^{1}])	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:647
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	**meye**	lick	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**meyuo**	lick	Marrison 1967
	me^{31} yo^{11}	lick	Nienu 1990a:3.8.4
Chokri	**mü^{31}yo^{11}**	lick	Nienu 1990b:3.8.4
Khezha	**mèzo**	lick (v.)	Yabu 1994:3.8.4
Mao	**malei**	lick	Marrison 1967
	^{1}ma^{5}lei	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1043
Sema [Sumi]	**min(e/a)**	lick (v.)	Achumi 1998a:3.8.4
	minya	lick	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**malĭak**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:647
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	a-**lĭak**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1043
	nliek	lick	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**niak**	lick	Marrison 1967
	^{3}ke ^{1}n ^{3}**niak**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1043
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***lek** LICK			
**Tangkhulic*	***lek**	lick	Mortensen 2012:558
Huishu	kə-**mə-leʔ**	lick	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.076
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**mə-lek**	lick (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.085
Tangkhul	khə **mə̀lek**	tongue; lick	LaPolla 1987:137; Benedict 1972:211; Coblin 1986:103
	malek	lick	Marrison 1967
	rek	lick	Bhat 1969:92
	rip	lick	Bhat 1969:92
	^{1}khə^{1}mə^{2}**lek**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1043

Tusom	kʰə-mə-**luə**	lick	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.096
Ukhrul	kʰə-**mə-lek**	lick	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**lek**	lick	Marrison 1967
	lek pə	lick (v.)	Singh 1991:3.8.4
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ing **lek**	lick	Marrison 1967
	ing **lèk**-	lick (v.)	Grüssner 1979:28
	in **lek**	lick	Marrison 1967
	iŋ **lek**	tongue; lick	LaPolla 1987:137; Benedict 1972:211
	kaŋ **lèk**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1043
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**salá**	lick (v.)	Bhat 1968
	salá kon	lick and make dirty (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**salao**	lick	Marrison 1967
Lalung [Tiwa]	che **la** na	lick / gulp	Balawan 1965:83
	plai plai che **la** na?	lick	Balawan 1965
Meche	co **la**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1127
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**srak**	tongue; lick	LaPolla 1987:137; Benedict 1972:211; Coblin 1986:103
	srak-a	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1127
Garo (Bangladesh)	**srak**-a	lick (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.44-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**sa·lak**-	lick (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	leip **dak**	lick	Marrison 1967
	leʌp-**dʌk**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1127
Tangsa	[1]**mel**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1127
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**sé**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1127
	se	lick	French 1983:511
Khiamngan	[12]a[23]**šɪ**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1127
Konyak	**yai**	lick	French 1983:511
Konyak (Tamlu)	**yai**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1127
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**mata**	lick	Marrison 1967
	mă[31] **tạʔ**[55]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.19
	mă[31]**tạʔ**[55]	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.47
	mă[1]**tạʔ**[55]	lick	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mətáʔ	lick	Matisoff 1974:372; Benedict 1972:32n102
	[1]**mə**[3]**taʔ**	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:1127
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Ganan	**tɑk**[4]	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:L.279
Kadu (Kantu)	ă **tɑk**[4]	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:L.279
Sak (Bawtala)	ă[1]**tɑ**[4]	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:L.279
Sak	á **taʔ**	lick	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:84
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**lak** ca	lick	Sharma 1991a:3.8.4
Pattani [Manchati]	**yag** tʃi	lick (v.)	Sharma 1982
	yàk tsi	lick	Sharma 1991b:3.8.4
	yək[h] tʃi	lick (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**ndʒɑ**[53]	lick	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.8.4
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ŋlɑk**[35]	lick	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**klʌ**[13]	lick	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.6
Cuona Menba	**kla**[35]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rdak**	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hdak**	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**dag**	lick	Sun 1985a:569
	dog	lick (imp)	Sun 1985a:570
	rdak	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ɕo**[231]	lick (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.8.4
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**dzi̱**[53]	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ta**[132]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.02
	taʔ[13]	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.2
Sherpa	**celaq**	tongue	Matisoff 1987
	celą̄q	tongue	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**chele**	tongue	Bishop 1989:3.8
	dag en	lick	Bishop 1989:3.8.4
Sherpa	**tšēlakʔ**	tongue	Weidert 1987:822
Spiti	**dàk** ce	lick	Bodh 1991:3.8.4
Tibetan (Written)	**ldag**	lick	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1974:372; Sun 1985c:569; Benedict 1972:32n102
	ldag	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.01
	ldag	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.1
	ldag-pa	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:X.102
	ldag-pa	lick	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:109
	ldog	lick (imp)	Sun 1985c:570
	ldžags	tongue / lick	Benedict 1972:211
	ljags	tongue; tongue (resp.)	Luce 1985:W.11; Matisoff 1987; Coblin 1986:103
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**daχ**	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.04
"Pre-Tibetan"	**lyags**	lick / tongue	Coblin 1986:103
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**lyak**	taste, try (v.)	Benedict 1972:211
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	**lfie** mə	lick	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.8.4
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***lak**- (?*lek-	lick (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:105
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**leg**-ue	lick	Ebert 1997
	lek-	lick	Ebert 1997
	lek ma	lick	Ebert 1997
	lek pha	tongue	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**lak**-	lick (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:105
Yakha	**leːk** maː	lick	Kohn 1990:3.8.4
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**lek**	lick	Rai 1985
	lek-	lick (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:105
	lek-	lick (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:44
Chamling	**lek**-u	lick (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:105
	lik-(u)	lick	Winter 1985:23
	lik-u	lick (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:105
	lyok-u	lick (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:105
Kulung	**lok**-u	lick (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:105; Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**lyək**-	lick (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:105
	lyək nɨ	lick	Driem 1993
Khaling	**'la**-ne	lick (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.07
	√**lak**-	lick (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:105
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**hlyak**-	lick (B) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**lhâɯ**	lick (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989e:3.8.4
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**gɛ**[55] **gɛ**[55]	lick	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.18
Guiqiong	**lɑ**[55] **lɑ**[55]	lick	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.17
Muya	thi[33]**ndʑuɐ**[53]læ[33]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.15
Muya [Minyak]	thi[53]**ndʑyɛ**[55]lɛ[33]	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.15
	tʰi[53]**ndʑyɛ**[55]lɛ[33]	lick (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.8.4
Namuyi	**jɛ**[33]	lick (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.8.4
	jɛ[33]	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.19
	jæ[31]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	tɕu[11] **ndʑɐ**[35]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.10
Pumi (Lanping)	xə[13]**tʂɑ**[13]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	xə[13] **tʂɑ**[13]	lick	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**dzɐ**[35]	lick	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**ni** tæ	lick	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.8.4
	ɲi ta	lick	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Taoping)	**na**[33]	lick	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**ɲe** te	lick	DAI Qingxia 1989q:2401
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lo[35] pu[55] **dʐɯ**[53]	lick	SUN Hongkai 1991n:3.8.4; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	ɣɯ[13]pur[55]**dʐyə**[13]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.13
Xumi	**tɕhyɛ**[35]	lick	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.20
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	da **ʔʐɑ**	lick (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.8.4
Ergong (Northern)	**ɲjua**[13]	lick	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.8.4
Ergong (Danba)	**ɲɣia** la	lick (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.8.4
	ɲʁia la	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ka nə **ntsok**	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.12
rGyalrong (NW)	ka **rdax**	lick	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.8.4
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ka nə **ntsop**	lick	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.8.4
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ nə **ntsok**	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.11
rGyalrong	ta **nətsok**	lick (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.8.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə wu nə **ntsək**	lick	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.8.4
rGyalrong	ka nu **zok**	lick	Nagano 1997:180
	ka nu **zok**	lick (v.)	Nagano 1997:3.8.4
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**la** ~ **lɛ**	lick	LaPolla 1987:137; Coblin 1986:103
	laŋ[55]	lick	SUN Hongkai 1988
Nung	**lɑ**[55]ŋu[31]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.21
Anong	**lɑ**[55]ŋu[31]	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.44
Dulong	**lɑʔ**[55]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.20
Trung [Dulong]	**lɑʔ**[55]	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**laaʔ**[55]	lick	LaPolla 1987:137
	lɑʔ[55]	lick	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**laaʔ**[55]	lick	LaPolla 1987:137
	lɑʔ[55]	lick	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**la2**	lap, lick (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	la[2]	lap, lick (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.2
Tujia	**la**[35]	lick	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.8.4
Tujia (Northern)	**la**[35]	lick	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**la**[35]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.49
	la[35]	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.38
	lo[21]	lick	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.8.4
Tujia (Southern)	**lo**[21]	lick	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***m-lyak** ≍ ***ʔ-lyak** LICK			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-lyak** ≍ **ʔ-lyak**	lick	Matisoff 1972b:179(a)
	***ʔ-m-(l)yak**[L]	lick	Matisoff 1978a:80
	***ʔlyak**	cause to lick	Matisoff 1972b:179(b)
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**liɑ**[31]	lick	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	l̥iɑ[31]	lick	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**leʔ**[55]	lick	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	liap[55]	lick	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985 [a]
	liap[55]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.28
	liap[55]; **leʔ**[55]	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.41
Achang (Luxi)	**liaʔ**[31]	lick	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**lɛʔ**[55]	lick	DAI Qingxia 1989f:2301
	lɛʔ[55]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.29
Bola	**jaʔ**[31]	lick	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2301
Bola (Luxi)	**jaʔ**[31]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.32
Burmese (Modern)	**lyak**	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
Burmese (Rangoon)	**jɛʔ**[4]	lick / lap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**jɛʔ**[44]	lick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:537.40

[a] note -p

Burmese (Spoken)	**yɛʔ²**	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
Burmese (Written)	**jɑk**	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.39
	jɑk⁴	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.26
	lyak	lick	Marrison 1967
	lyak	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:X.102
	lyak	tongue; lick	Hansson 1989:578; Matisoff 1978a:80; Matisoff 1974:372; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:137; Benedict 1972:141n379,211; Coblin 1986:103
	m-liak	lick (v.)	Weidert 1987:524
Danu	**yɛʔ²**	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
Hpun (Northern)	**zòʔ**	lick	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	**zoʔ⁵**	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
	zuʔ⁵	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
Langsu (Luxi)	**jɔʔ³¹**	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.31
Lashi	**jɔːʔ³¹**	lick (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.8.4
Lashi (Lachhe')	**yɔʔ²**	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
	yɔʔ³	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
Leqi (Luxi)	**jɔːʔ³¹**	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.33
Marma	**yaʔ**	lick	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:84
Maru [Langsu]	**jɔʔ³¹**	lick (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.8.4
	jɔʔ³¹	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.43
	yoʔ²	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
	yɔʔ²	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
Taung-Yo	**yæʔ¹**	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**joʔ²¹**	lick	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	joʔ²¹	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.30
	joʔ²¹	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.42
	yɔʔ²	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35

6.1.2. Loloish: ***m-lyak**ᴸ lick

**Loloish*	***m-lyak**ᴸ	lick	Bradley 1979b:630; Hansson 1989:578
Lolopho	**la³¹**	lick (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.8.4
PNL	**m-lyakᴸ**	lick	Chen Kang 1986a:93.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**lɤ⁵³**	lick	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991; Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	lɤ⁵³	lick; lap (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.8.4; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.47
Lalo	**làq**	lick	Björverud 1994
	la²¹	lick (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.8.4
	la̱²	lick	Chen Kang 1986a:93.
Lipho	**la̱²**	lick	Chen Kang 1986a:93.
	la̱²¹	lick	Chen Kang 1986b:3.8.4
Nasu	**le̱ṟ⁵⁵**	lick (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.8.4
	lə̱ˑ⁵⁵	lick	Chen Kang 1986a:93.
Neisu	**lɪ¹³**	lick	Chen Kang 1986a:93.
Nesu	**la̱²**	lick	Chen Kang 1986a:93.
	le̱²¹	lick (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.8.4
Noesu	**lɪ¹³**	lick	Chen Kang 1986b:3.8.4
Nosu	**ʑo̱⁵⁵**	lick	Chen Kang 1986a:93.
	ʑo⁵⁵	lick	Chen Kang 1986b:3.8.4
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	lia̱³¹ **lia̱ʔ⁵³**	lick	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2301.
Nusu (Central)	**lia̱⁵³**	lick	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2301.
	lia̱⁵³	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.34
Nusu (Southern)	**liə̱⁵³**	lick	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**liɑ̱³¹**	lick	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ʔliɑ⁵³**	lick	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ʔliɑ⁵³**	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.45
Yi (Dafang)	**le³¹**	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.22
	le¹³	lick	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʑo⁵⁵**	lap up; lick	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Lishan)	**læ̱³¹**	lick	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	**i̱ʌ̱²¹**	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**lʌ̱²¹**	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**læ̱²¹**	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.37
	lɛ̱²¹	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**la²¹**	lick	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.23
Yi (Weishan)	**la²¹**	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.36
Yi (Wuding)	**lə̱ˑ⁵⁵**	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.38
Yi (Xide)	**tɛ³³**	lick / lap	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʂo⁵⁵	lick / lap	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʑo⁵⁵	lick	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ʑo⁵⁵	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.35
	ʑo⁵⁵	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lolo (Ni)	**shlá**	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
Ahi	**ɖ̱a̱²**	lick	Chen Kang 1986a:93.
	ɬa̱²¹	lick	Chen Kang 1986b:3.8.4
	ɬɑ̱²¹	lick (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.8.4
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mlʌ⁵**	lick	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2401
Jinuo (Baka)	**mlʌ⁵**	lick	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2401
Jinuo	**mrə⁵⁵**	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.44
	mɹa⁵⁵	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**mɹə⁵⁵**	lick	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**liɛ31**	lick	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***leh**ˆ	lick	Bradley 1979b:630
Lahu	**lɛ̀ʔ/lɛ́**	lick, feed an animal	Benedict 1972:48n157
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɕɔ³³lɛ²¹**	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.43
Lahu (Black)	**lɛ²¹**	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.33
	lɛʔ²¹	lick	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	lɛ̀ʔ	lick	Matisoff 1978a:80; Matisoff 1974:372; Matisoff 1972b:179(a)
	lɛ́	cause to lick	Matisoff 1978a:80; Matisoff 1974:372; Matisoff 1972b:179(b)
	shaw: **lehˆ**	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
Lahu (Yellow)	**lɛʔ²¹**	lick	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**lrghe6**	lick	Matisoff 1972b:179(a)
	lrghe⁶	lick	Bradley 1979b:630
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**lrghe⁶**	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
Lisu (Central)	**lrghe⁶**	lick (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**lɯ̱³¹**	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**lɯ̱⁴²**	lick	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**lɯ⁴¹**	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.27
Lisu (Northern)	**lɤʔ²¹**	lick; taste (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	**lɤʔ⁶**	lick (v.)	Luce 1985:U.35
Sani [Nyi]	**lha 22s**	cause to lick	Matisoff 1972b:179(b)
	ɖ̱a²	lick	Chen Kang 1986a:93.
	ɬa²²	lick	Chen Kang 1986b:3.8.4
	ɬa³³	tongue	Chen Kang 1986a:27.
	ɬa̱²²	lick	Ma Xueliang 1989:359.1
	ɬa̱²² dzɑ²¹	lick	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:108.1
	ɬA̱²¹(dzɒ²¹)	lick	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**ɬɑ²**	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ɬɑ²¹**phi⁵⁵	lap	Chen Kang 1986b:1.8

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**mjə̀q**	lick	Hansson 1989:578
Akha (Yunnan)	**mjə̀q**	lick	Hansson 1989:578
Akha	**mjə̀q**	lick	Hansson 1989:578
	myeu LS	lick	Matisoff 1972b:179(a)
Bisu	**bɛ̀**	lick	Bradley 199x; Matisoff 1972b:179(a)
	bɛ̀	lick (v.)	Beaudouin 1988:32
Hani (Dazhai)	**mjɤ̄³¹**	lick	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mjɤ̱³¹	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**myq**	lick	Hansson 1989:578
	mje̱³¹	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.41
Hani (Pijo)	**mɔ̀q**	lick	Hansson 1989:578
Hani (Caiyuan)	**mɔ̱³¹**	lick	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**mjɤ̱³¹**	lick	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**mievq**	lick	Hansson 1989:578
Hani (Shuikui)	**mɤ³¹**	lick	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.32
Hani (Khatu)	**mjɔ̀**	lick	Hansson 1989:578
Hani (Mojiang)	**mɤ³¹**	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.42
Mpi	**mjɑŋʔ³**	stick out (one's tongue)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	mjɑŋʔ¹	lick	Hansson 1989:578; Matisoff 1978a:80; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**be¹¹**	lick	Bradley 1977
Pyen	**lɛ45**	lick with tip of tongue (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:132035

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ha³³**	lick	Pelkey 2011:603
Phola	**læ̱²³**	lick	Pelkey 2011:603

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**jɤ˩**	lick (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2465
Na (Yongning)	**jɤ˥**	lick (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**iə²¹**	lick / lap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1674.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**ʐə³³**	lick	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**ʐə³¹**	lick	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʐə³¹**	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʐɑ¹³**	lick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:537.29

7. Karenic

Bwe	**lɪ**	lick (v.)	Henderson 1997
Pa-O	**lják**	lick: lap, of animals (v.)	Solnit 1989
	lják	taste / lick (v.t.)	Jones 1961:293
	lyak (h.t.)	lick	Benedict 1972:141n379
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	ɔ³¹ **li̱⁵⁵**	lick	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2401
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**le³¹**	lick	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2401

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**dʐɛ̃ˑ³³**	lick	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**tsi³³**	lick	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕʅ³	lick	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tsi³³**	lick	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tsʅ³³	lick (v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.8.4

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gʻi̱ok**	lick / tongue	Chou Fa-kao 1972:803h
	gʼi̱ɑk/gʼi̱ak	tongue	Karlgren 1957:803h
Chinese (Old)	**gʻi̱ok**	lick / tongue	Chou Fa-kao 1972:803h
	rigx (?)	lick / tongue	Coblin 1986:102

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**küe**	tongue	Karlgren 1957:803h

Chinese comparandum

舐 OC ***gʼi̱ɑk ~ gʼi̱ok**, *GSR* #803h 'tongue'; Coblin 86:102 *; Schuessler 2007: *; B & S 2011: ***Cə.leʔ**; Mand. **shì**.
食 OC ***ɖ̱iə̱k**, *GSR* #921a-c 'eat'; Schuessler 2007:463 ***m-lək**; B & S 2011: ***mə-lək**; Mand. **shí**.
食/飼 OC ***dzi̱əg**, *GSR* #921a-c 'food; give food to; raise, nourish'; Schuessler 2007:463 ***s-ləkh**; B & S 2011: ***s-m-lək-s**; Mand. **sì**.

1.3.4 Tooth

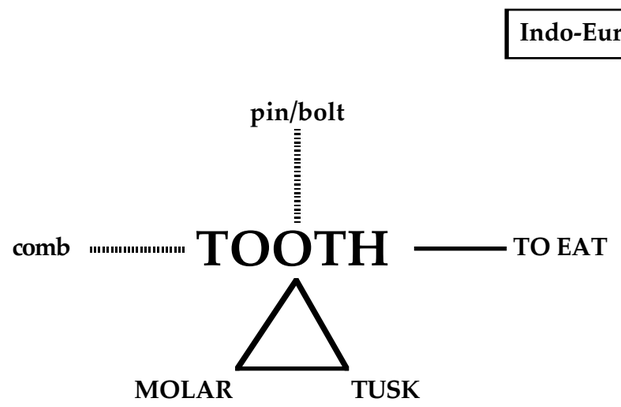


Figure 100: 1.3.4 *Tooth*

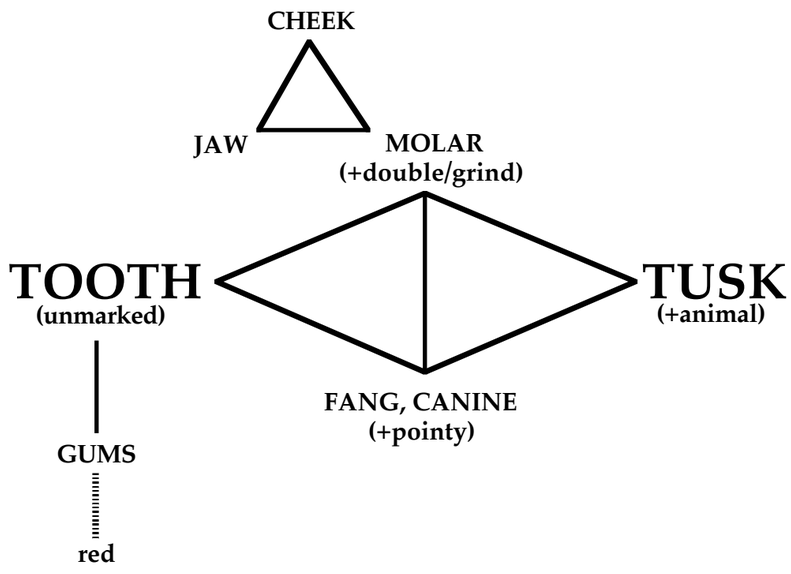


Figure 101: 1.3.4 *Tooth*

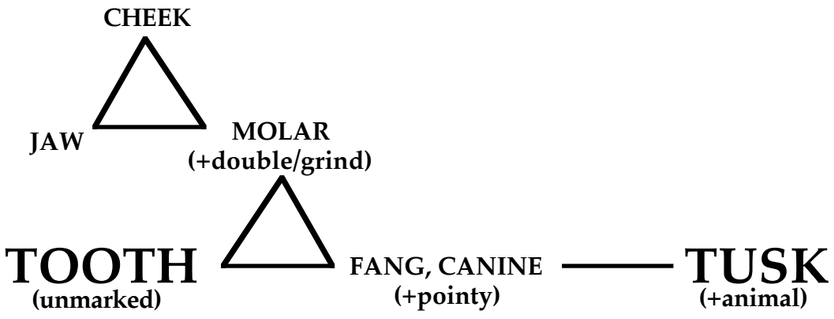


Figure 102: 1.3.4 *Tooth*

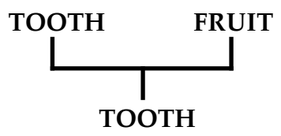


Figure 103: 1.3.4 *Tooth*

(1) PTB * s p -wa TOOTH

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-wa**	tooth	Weidert 1987:254; Michailovsky 1991:189; Benedict 1972:437
	***swa** or **s-wa**	tooth	Matisoff 2003a:613

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	**tʰu**	tooth	Simon 1979

1.1.1. Tani: *fi: TOOTH [a]

**Tani*	***fi:**	tooth	Sun 1993a:436

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	(sit') a-**hi**	tusk	Sun 1993b
	a-**hi**	tooth; tooth (fang)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**hi** a-čʰi	toothache	Sun 1993b
	a-**hi** ñen su	gnash	Sun 1993b
	á-**ji**	tooth	Sun 1993b
	á-**jí** à-či	toothache	Sun 1993b
	á-**ji** da-te-ru	dentist	Sun 1993b
	á-**ji** pjo-su	clean tooth (v.)	Sun 1993b
	à-kì a-**ji**	tooth (canine)	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-pjo a-**ji**	tooth (canine)	Sun 1993b
	hi-lu	gums	Sun 1993b
	hi-prja	tooth (front)	Sun 1993b
	hi-rã	molar; tooth (back)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	hi-xɯŋ	feel funny in the teeth	Sun 1993b
	²a²**i**	tooth	Weidert 1987:525
	²**hi:**²lu	gums	Weidert 1987:506
Bengni	**fi**	tooth	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	fi-a-či	toothache	Sun 1993b
	fi-bɯ:	gums	Sun 1993b
	fi-čiŋ a-či	toothache (from caries)	Sun 1993b
	fi-ǰuŋ	tooth (canine)	Sun 1993b
	fi-pit ko:	pick tooth; clean teeth	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	fi-ruŋ	molar	Sun 1993b
	fi-tuk	tooth (incisor)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	***so**-tʂu	toothbrush	Sun 1993b
	a-ke: **ji**-čuŋ	tooth (upper)	Sun 1993b
	ji-čuŋ	tooth	Sun 1993b
	ji:-čak	tooth (incisor)	Sun 1993b
	ji:-čuŋ	tooth	Sun 1993a
	ji:-čuŋ ta-ket	tartar	Sun 1993b
	ji:-kam	molar	Sun 1993b
	ji:-ñur	gums	Sun 1993b
	ji:-po	tooth (canine)	Sun 1993b
	ji: tɕuŋ	tooth (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.24
	ji: ɲur	gum (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0138.24
	kə-muɯk **ji:**-čuŋ	tooth (lower)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**ji:** tɕuŋ	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.51
	ji: kam	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ji: po	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ji: tɕuŋ	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **i**	tooth	Das Gupta 1963
	a **ii**	tooth (n.)	GLDC 2009
	a **yi**-a ci-nam	toothache (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ii gam	molar (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ii juu	tooth; tooth (front) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ii kum	numb (teeth) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ii tor	bucktoothed (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ii tuu	toothless (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ii ɲir	gums (n.)	GLDC 2009
	i ɲir	gums	Das Gupta 1963
	i ɟu	tooth	Das Gupta 1963
	te **re**	tusk	Das Gupta 1963
	ˆ**i:**-ñur	gums	Weidert 1987:506
	ˆ**i:** džu	tooth	Weidert 1987:525
	ˆ**i:** gam	molar	Weidert 1987:510
Miri, Hill	e **i**	tooth	Simon 1976
	hi-ɟu	tooth (front)	Simon 1976
Nishing	i **hi**	tooth	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**i** nyior	gums	Das Gupta 1983
	i ɟoŋ	tooth	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**ye**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	i-buing	back tooth; molar	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	i-pang	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	i-paŋ	tooth	Sun 1993a
	i-tíng	tooth (front)	Matisoff 1987
Damu	*dyn **so:**	tooth (incisor)	Sun 1993b
	*pʰuk **so:**	molar	Sun 1993b
	xe-pa	tooth	Sun 1993b
	xe:-duŋ	tooth (canine)	Sun 1993b
	ɟi-ɕø	toothpaste	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	tyang-**so**	gums; gum (of tooth)	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963 [a]
Kaman [Miju]	kui^{55} **si^{55}**	tooth (canine)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	si^{55}	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	síi	tooth	Weidert 1987:525
	síi-nʌ́l	gums	Weidert 1987:164
Idu	tā **ɟe**	tooth(front)	Pulu 1978

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *haa TOOTH

**Chin*	***ha**-nii ⩵ -hnii	GUMS	VanBik 2009:816
	***haa**	TOOTH	VanBik 2009:742
Thanphum	**hɑ^{1}**	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**ha** ni	gums	Haokip 1998:3.7.3
Sizang	**hā**	tooth	VanBik 2009:742
	hā nī	gum	VanBik 2009:816
Thado	**hà**-nî	gums	VanBik 2009:816
	háa	tooth	VanBik 2009:742
Tiddim	**-ha**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	ha^{1} ni^{1}	gums (of teeth)	VanBik 2009:816
	haː^{2}	tooth, teeth (fang)	VanBik 2009:742
	hā li	gums	Matisoff 1987
	hɑ^{1}	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	a **ho˝**	tooth	VanBik 2009:742
Asho (Sandoway)	**ho^{1}**	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4
Cho (Mindat)	**ha**	tooth, tusk	VanBik 2009:742
Awa Khumi	ă **fɑ^{2}**	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4
Khumi	**hoó**	tooth	VanBik 2009:742
Awa Khumi	[ă **fɑ^{2}**] lu^{1} gɔ̃^{2}	gums	Luce 1985:R.84
Khumi (Ahraing)	**ho^{2}**	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4
	[ho^{2}] sətɑɛ	gums	Luce 1985:R.84
Womatu	**hā^{4}** kʻu^{2}	gums	Luce 1985:R.84
	hɑ^{4}	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**hɑ^{3}**	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4
Lai (Hakha)	**ha**-nìi	gums	VanBik 2009:816
	hâa	tooth, teeth	VanBik 2009:742
Lai (Falam)	**hǎa**	tooth, teeth	VanBik 2009:742
Lai (Hakha)	**ha** ni^{1}	gums	Luce 1985:R.84
	hɑ^{5}	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4
Lushai [Mizo]	(**háa**) hnîi	gums	Löffler 1985
	há	tooth	Weidert 1987:172
	ha	tooth	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	há	tooth, the teeth, the edge (of a knife, etc) (n.)	VanBik 2009:742
	ha	tooth	Benedict 1972:437
	ha ui ngho	tooth (canine)	Matisoff 1987
	ha-hmai	tooth (incisor)	Matisoff 1987
	hå-hnî	gums	Weidert 1987:933
	ha-hni	gums	Benedict 1972:3
	ha-pui	molar	Matisoff 1987
	háa hnî	gums (n.)	VanBik 2009:816
	hɑ^{1}	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4
Paangkhua	(**há**)-manIit	gums	Löffler 1985
	(**háa**) níi	gums	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	mə̆ **ʹhɑ^{4}**	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4
Lakher [Mara]	(a-)**ha**-ka-pi	molar	Matisoff 1987
	(**ha**) pano < panii	gums	Löffler 1985
	a-**ha**-hmia	upper front tooth'	Matisoff 1987
	a-**ha**-pa-no	lower front tooth'	Matisoff 1987
	ha	tooth (incisor)	Matisoff 1987
	hà	tooth	VanBik 2009:742
	ha-hni	gums	Matisoff 1987
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**hɑ^{1}**	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4
Mera	**hɔ̆^{6}**	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4
Xongsai	**hɑ^{3}**	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4
Zotung	**hɔ^{4}**	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**hə**	tooth	Toba & Kom 1991:3.10
	hə mənih	gums	Toba & Kom 1991:3.7.3
	hə pui	molar; tooth (wisdom)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.10.2; Toba & Kom 1991:3.10.4
	kə tu **hə**	tooth (incisor)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.10.1
	ui **hə**	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Toba & Kom 1991:3.10.3
Moyon	**hà**	tooth; tusk (of elephant, boar)	Kosha 1990:3.10; Kosha 1990:3.10.6
	hà bʌ̀ kʌ̀m	molar	Kosha 1990:3.10.2
	hà prèŋ	jaw	Kosha 1990:3.13
Sorbung	**há** kʰii	gums	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.074

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	a **ha**	tooth	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *p-hwa TOOTH

**Central Naga*	***p-hwa**	TOOTH	Bruhn 2014a:III.027
**Ao*	*t-**phwa**	TOOTH	Bruhn 2014a:II.374
Ao (Chungli)	te **po**	tooth	Marrison 1967
	tə^{2}-**pu^{2}**	tooth (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.374
	²tɯ²**pu**	tooth	Weidert 1987:110
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **pa**	tooth	Marrison 1967

[a] Jackson Sun notes, "Padam-Mising L has a form a-je, which seems to reflect a different root, cf. the Mising T doublet a-je; iː-paŋ. This root could be related to PTB *m-ćway 'tusk/tooth' (Prof. Matisoff, p.c., cf. PTB ***m-dzyway** TOOTH / TUSK (§1.3.4)); the problem is that PT *-i(ː) normally reflects PTB *-əy rather than *-ay." Sun 1993a:102 (*A historical-comparative study of the Tani (Mirish) branch of TB*).

We have nevertheless treated both the Padam variants and a similar doublet in Apatani as reflexes of the present root for the time being.

[a] The order of the morphemes in this Darang compound seems strange, since the head noun **so** 'tooth' should appear before the modifier **tyang**.

Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**pha**-ɹət	jaw (molar teeth) ('tooth' + 'bone') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	phá-tʃhə́m	gums ('tooth' + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**pha**	tooth (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**ho**[1]	tooth (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.027
	Nga ro **ho**	baby tooth	Nienu 1990c:3.10.5
	ō **hō**	tooth	Acharya 1975
	o **ho**	tooth	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:123; Nienu 1990c:3.10
	[1]o **[1]ho**	tooth	Weidert 1987:254
Sangtam	**ha**	tooth	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	ta **phu**	tooth	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**hü**	tooth	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	[5]u[2]**hu**	tooth	Weidert 1987:254
Angami (Khonoma)	**hu**	tooth	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **hu**[31]	tooth	Nienu 1990a:3.10
	u **hu**	tooth	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **hu**[31]	tooth	Nienu 1990b:3.10
	u **hu**	tooth	Marrison 1967
Khezha	e **fü**	tooth	Marrison 1967
	[1]e[2]**fu**	tooth	Weidert 1987:254
Mao	o **ho**	tooth	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **ha**	tooth	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **ha**	tooth	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**hü**	tooth	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Northern)	[1]a[1]**ha**[3]ni	gums	Weidert 1987:933
Sema [Sumi]	atsü-**hu**	incisor	Achumi 1998a:3.10.1
	a **hu**	tooth	Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:3.10
	a **hu**-mili	gums	Achumi 1998a:3.7.3
	a nga-**hu**	baby tooth	Achumi 1998a:3.10.5

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	cha **hiu**	tooth	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **ghu**	tooth	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**huh**	tooth	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *ha tooth

**Tangkhulic*	***ha**	tooth	Mortensen 2012:575
Champhung	a-**va**	tooth	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-s-**we**	tooth	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.081
Kachai	ʔa-**fu**	tooth	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.092
Tangkhul	a **ha**	tooth	Marrison 1967
	hā chai	molar	Matisoff 1987
	[1]**ha**[2]niŋ	gums	Weidert 1987:164
Tankghul (Central)	o-**ha**	tooth	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-**ha**	tooth	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**ha**	tooth	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔi-**ʃi**	tooth	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.103
Ukhrul	ʔa-**ha**	tooth	Mortensen 2012

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**sò**	tooth	Weidert 1987:110
	so	tusk; canine tooth; tooth	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	só	tooth; tusk (of elephant, boar)	Grüssner 1979:210; Grüssner 1979:210
	so	tooth	Benedict 1972:437
	só-mùn-phráng	tooth (incisor)	Grüssner 1979:210
	só-mùn-pī	molar	Grüssner 1979:210
	so-ni	gums	Benedict 1972:3

1.6. Mru

Mru	**so** mun pi	back tooth	Matisoff 1987
	su[3]	edge of knife	Luce 1985:T.13
	s'u[3]	edge of knife	Luce 1985:T.13

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

1.7.1.1. Bodo

**Bodo-Garo*	***hwa**	tooth	Burling 1959:444
Bodo	**ha**-tai	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	ha ra may	cheekbone	Matisoff 1987
	ha tai?	tooth	Weidert 1987:110
	ha tay	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	ha tay go ri	gums; jaw	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Dimasa	**ha**	tooth	Benedict 1972:437
	ha-rni	gums (teeth); gums	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:3
	ha thai	tooth	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**wa**	tooth	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**ha** gam	tooth (wisdom)	Balawan 1965:26
	ha ru gunʔ	gums	Balawan 1965:28
	ha soʔ	tooth	Balawan 1965:28
Meche	**ha** tai?	tooth	Weidert 1987:110

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**wa**(-gam)	tooth	Benedict 1972:437
	wa-gam	tooth; molar	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:50
	wa-gum	tooth	Coblin 1986:99
	wa-riŋ	gums	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:3
Garo (Bangladesh)	**wa**	tooth	Burling 1992
	wa-ching	tusk (n.)	Burling 2003:4.473-II:idx
	wa-chu	tooth (incisor / canine)	Burling 1992
	wa-gam	molar	Burling 1992
	wa-ki	tooth dirt, tartar	Burling 1992
	wa-ring	gums of the mouth	Burling 1992

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	kyi• **wa**	canine teeth (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	wa	tooth, tusk (of elephant) (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**hā**-ku-ru[1]	cheek	unknown nd
	hā-ti[2]	tooth	unknown nd

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *swa[B] tooth

**Northern Naga*	***swa**[B]	tooth	French 1983:570

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**pa**	tooth	Marrison 1967; French 1983:570
	[3]**pa**	tooth	Weidert 1987:172
	[3]**pa**[2]hʌn(ʔ)	gums	Weidert 1987:164
	[3]**pa**[2]kʌm(ʔ)	molar	Weidert 1987:201
Tangsa	[2]**pa**	tooth	Weidert 1987:172
Tangsa (Moshang)	**va**	tooth	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:437; French 1983:570
Tangsa (Yogli)	**pa**	tooth	Marrison 1967; French 1983:570

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**hau**	tooth	Marrison 1967; French 1983:570
	hâu	tooth	Weidert 1987:172
Khiamngan	[2]**họu**[21] gɪ[1]m	molar	Weidert 1987:14
	[21]**họu**[12]ñaɪ	gums	Weidert 1987:164
	[3]**họu**	tooth	Weidert 1987:172
Konyak	**pha**	tooth	Marrison 1967
	p[h]a	tooth	French 1983:570
Konyak (Tamlu)	**wá**	tooth	Weidert 1987:172
Konyak (Wakching)	**pá**	tooth	Weidert 1987:172
	pá-gɯm	molar	Weidert 1987:201
Phom	**pha**	tooth	Marrison 1967
	p[h]a	tooth	French 1983:570
Wancho	**va**	tooth	French 1983:570
	ɸa	tooth	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	a[31] **wa**[33]	tooth	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	wa	tooth	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	wā	tooth	Matisoff 1974:264
	wa	tooth	Benedict 1972:437
	wā-gām	molar	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:865
	wa-nin	gums	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:3
	wa-u-ji	gums	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	wa-u-kam	molar	Matisoff 1987
	wa[33]	tooth	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	wa[33]	tooth (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.19
	wa[33]	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.47
	wa[33]pọt[31]	gum (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0138.19
	[2]**wa**	tooth	Weidert 1987:172
	ə **wa**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	[3]**họu**	tooth	Weidert 1987:172

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Andro	**šo**	tooth	Luce 1985:K.57
Ganan	**s'wɑ**[2]	tooth	Luce 1985:K.57
Kadu	**s'əwà**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	swâ	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	səwa	tooth	Benedict 1972:437
Kadu (Kantu)	**s'ăwɑ**[2]	tooth	Luce 1985:K.57
Lui	**sho**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	shoa	tooth	Matisoff 1987
Sak	a-**thuwá**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	a **sva:**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	a **syvaʔ**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **s'ăvɑ**[2]	tooth	Luce 1985:K.57
Sengmai	**šoɑ**	tooth	Luce 1985:K.57
Taman	**vɑ:** kɔun	tooth	Luce 1985:K.57
	wɑ: kɔun	tooth	Luce 1985:K.57

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Baram	**swa**	tooth	Benedict 1972:437
Bunan	du **suà**	tooth (incisor)	Sharma 1991a:3.10.1
	grəm **suà**	molar	Sharma 1991a:3.10.2
	suà	tooth	Sharma 1991a:3.10
Pattani [Manchati]	Dà: **Thə**	molar	Sharma 1991b:3.10.2
	tshoa	tooth	Benedict 1972:437
	tshuă	tooth	Sharma 1991b:3.10
	tʃ[h]wa	tooth	Sharma 1982
Thebor	**soa**	tooth	Benedict 1972:437

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	de[13] **shɐ**[53]	molar	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.10.2
	sha[53] ɲi[35]	gums	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.7.3
	shɐ[53]	tooth	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.10
	ŋø[13] **shɐ**[53]	tooth (incisor)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.10.1
Kaike	dam **swa**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	langborchhe-na-**swa**	tooth (canine) / tusk	Matisoff 1987
	swa	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:189; Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	**sha**	tooth	Andvik 1993:9; Egli-Roduner 1987:32 11
	sha ni ring	gums	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 13
Tsangla (Motuo)	be ma **ɕa**	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɕ[h]e **wa**	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕa	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.7
	ɕa[55]	tooth	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ɕa**	tooth	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**wɑ**[55]	tooth	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	krʌŋ[13] **ʔo**[53]	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɕ[h]e[55] **wa**[53]	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	wa[53]	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.6

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**sho**	tooth (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**sho**	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**sho**	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.5
	s[h]o rgo	tooth (incisor)	Sun 1985a:385
Tibetan (Balti)	**so**·	tooth	Rangan 1975:71
Tibetan (Batang)	**so**[53]	tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.10
	so[55] ngo[55]	tooth (incisor)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.10.1
	su[53]	tooth (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.03
Tibetan (Central)	ṭạm **so**	molar	Weidert 1987:750
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'saq**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	Dām **so**	molar	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**sho**[53]	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**so**[53]	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.2
	so[55]	tooth (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.02
Sherpa	**'saq**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	bah **soh**	tooth (wisdom)	Bishop 1989:3.10.4
Sherpa	Dam **sā**	molar	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	dam **soh**	molar	Bishop 1989:3.10.2
	kē **soh**	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Bishop 1989:3.10.3
	soh	tooth; tooth (incisor)	Bishop 1989:3.10; Bishop 1989:3.10.1
	soh samba	baby tooth	Bishop 1989:3.10.5
Spiti	buk **so**	molar	Bodh 1991:3.10.2
	dun **sò**	tooth (incisor)	Bodh 1991:3.10.1
	omo **sò**	baby tooth	Bodh 1991:3.10.5
	sò	tooth	Bodh 1991:3.10
Tibetan (Spiti)	**só**	tooth	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	ba-**so**	tusk (of elephant)	Matisoff 1987
	gc̀ad-**so**	tooth (front)	Matisoff 1987
	gram-**so**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	ḫgram-**so**	cheek-tooth	Matisoff 1987
	ḫọg-**so**	lower tooth	Matisoff 1987
	ldan-**so**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	mche-**so**	tusk / canine tooth	Matisoff 1987–:165
	mc̀'e-**so**	tusk / canine tooth	Matisoff 1987
	mdun-**so**	tooth (front)	Matisoff 1987
	raŋ-t'ag-**so**	molar	Matisoff 1987

[a] The only Jingpho form given in Dai' s dictionaries is **wa**[33]**a**[55]**tʃi**[55].

	rnyil ~ snyil ~ **so**-rnyil	gums	Coblin 1986:90; Benedict 1972:3
	sbubs-**so**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	so	tooth	Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:T.13; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:437; ZHANG Liansheng 1988:27; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.1
	so khrig-khrig byed-pa	grind the teeth	Benedict 1972:119
	so-drum	tooth (front)	Matisoff 1987
	so-rgyag-pa	bite	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:102
	so-rnyil	gums	Matisoff 1987
	so.rgo	tooth (incisor)	Sun 1985c:385
	steng-**so**	upper tooth	Matisoff 1987
	ya-**so**	upper tooth	Matisoff 1987
	figram-**so**	molar	Weidert 1987:750; Weidert 1987:201
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**sho**	tooth (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	a-**fo**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	fo	tooth (also [ʔáfo]) (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	fo	tooth	Benedict 1972:34n111
	fo kí	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	fo-gam	molar	Coblin 1986:99
	fo-gom	molar; jaw; jaw (molar teeth)	Benedict 1972:25n82; Benedict 1972:50
	fo-nyăl	gums	Matisoff 1987
	fo-nyăl ~ fo-nyal	gums	Coblin 1986:90
	fo-nyăl ⩵ fo-nyel	gums	Benedict 1972:3
	fo-nyel	gums	Matisoff 1987
	fo-ñel	gums	Matisoff 1987
	fo góm	molar (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	ʔá **fo**	tooth (n.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*$^{\wedge}$**swa**	tooth	Mazaudon 1994:981
Chantyal	na ku-ye **swa**	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.10.3
	swa	tooth	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.10
Gurung (Ghachok)	kə̰ː **sā**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	kāː **sa**	molar	Glover 1972:2.A.26
	sa	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	sə	tooth	Glover 1972:1.43
Gurung	^{1}**sa**	tooth	Mazaudon 1994:981
Manang (Gyaru)	**swa**^{1}	tooth	Nagano 1984:014
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**sə**	tooth	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0013
	^{3}**ɕaː**	tusk / fang	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0536
	^{1}**sɤ**	tooth	Mazaudon 1994:981
Tamang	**swa**	tooth	Benedict 1972:437
Tamang (Bagmati)	**swa**	tooth	Weidert 1987:743
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}kram pa-^{1}**sua**	molar (n, np.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.10.2
	^{1}ma ma ^{1}**swa**	molar	Mazaudon 1991:3.10.2
	^{1}**swa**	tooth (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.10
	^{1}**swa**	tooth	Mazaudon 1994:981
Tamang (Sahu)	grāhm pa **sā**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	grahm pa **sa**	molar	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.25
	gram^{ɦ} pa **sa**	molar	Weidert 1987:750
	sa	tooth	Weidert 1987:743
	sā	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	^{1}**sa**	tooth	Mazaudon 1994:981
Tamang (Taglung)	**sa**	tooth	Mazaudon 1994:981
Thakali (Marpha)	^{51}**sʌ**	tooth	Mazaudon 1994:981
Thakali (Syang)	**sʌ**	tooth	Mazaudon 1994:922 [a]
	^{54}**soː**	tooth	Mazaudon 1994:981
Thakali (Tukche)	**ha** daŋ	molar	Matisoff 1987
	kam-**sa**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	kɔm-**sɔ**	molar	Hari 1971:2.A.26
	sa	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	sɔ	tooth	Hari 1971:1.43
	^{2}kʌm-**sʌ**	molar	Mazaudon 1978:25
	^{H}**sə**	tooth	Mazaudon 1994:981

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	boeu **wa**	tooth (incisor)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.10.1
	cwoeya **wāk** dhiː	upper jaw / maxilla	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.13.2
	koeyā **wāk** dhiː	lower jaw / mandible	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.13.1
	na e gu **wā**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	nɔ e u **wa**	molar	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.10.2
	wA	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:189
Newar (Dolakhali)	**wa**	tooth	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**wa**	tooth	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**wā**	tooth	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.10; Benedict 1972:437
	wak dhiː	jaw	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.13
	wa ku dhi(k)	jaw	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**ha** boʔ	tooth	Weidert 1987:110; Michailovsky 1991:189
	ha boʔ (ba)	tooth	Weidert 1987:172
	ha boʔ ba	tooth	Weidert 1987:110
	ha gum ma	molar	Weidert 1987:750
	heː bu	tooth	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:189
	hE dzɔk	tooth (front) / incisor	Michailovsky 1989b
	hE ma	molar	Michailovsky 1989b
	hɛ buʔ	tooth	Weidert 1987:110
	thos mā **he** po	molar	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	gup **siu** liu	tooth (canine)	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**'hAː**	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:189
	'haː	tooth	Watters & Watters 1989:1.43
	'hāː	tooth	Matisoff 1987

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	–	tooth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.13
	śi̯we^{1}	tooth	Sofronov c1978
	šʷiɦ	teeth	Nishida 1964:10-083; Nishida 1964:183

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**ʂl**^{55} mɑ^{55}	tooth	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	ʂl^{55} n̥i^{55} wɑ^{55} zɑ^{55}	gums	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	ʂl^{55}ma^{55}	tooth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.18
Guiqiong	**xui**^{53}	tooth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.17
	xui^{55}	tooth (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.16
	xui^{55}sə^{55}	gum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0138.16
	xɯi^{53}	tooth	SUN Hongkai 1991e
Lyuzu	**fu**^{33}n̥i^{53}	gum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0138.18
	fu^{35}	tooth (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.18
Muya	**xuə**^{24}	tooth (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.15
	xuə^{55}nɐ^{53}	gum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0138.15
Muya [Minyak]	**xɯ**^{35}	tooth	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.10; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.15
	xɯ^{55}mɐ^{53}	tooth (incisor)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.10.1
	xɯ^{55}nɑ^{53}	gums	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.7.3
	xɯ^{55}ŋgɐ^{35}	gums	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.7.3
Namuyi	**xie**^{33}pɛ^{ɪ33}	gums	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.7.3
	xə^{33}	tooth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.19
	xi^{31}	tooth (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.46
	xi^{31}pæ^{ɪ31}	gum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0138.46
	xə^{31}	tooth (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**xui**^{55}	tooth (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.10
	xui^{55}nɑ^{55}	gum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0138.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʂy**^{55}	tooth (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.09
	ʂy^{55}bzą̃^{13}	gum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0138.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʂy**^{55}	tooth	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʂʉ**^{53}	tooth	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**sù**	tooth	Evans 1999:170
	sù kà	gums	Evans 1999:171
	sù kà pú	gums	Evans 1999:171
	sù kè	gums	Evans 1999:171
	sù kù	gums	Evans 1999:171
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʂuə**	tooth (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.08
	ʂuət pɛl	gum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0138.08
	ʂə	tooth	Sun 1986; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.10; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.8
	ʂə (dzə/ʁlɑŋ bu tɕi kə **ʂə**)	tusk (of elephant, boar)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.10.6
	ʂə zdi	molar; tooth (wisdom)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.10.2; SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.10.4
	ʂə z	gums	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981 [a]
	ʂə z (< dzə 'fang')	tooth (canine)	Sun 1986
	ʂə zdi	gums	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.7.3
	ʂə zdu	tooth (incisor)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.10.1
Qiang (Mianchi)	**sú**-nə̀	gums [tooth?-red]	Evans 1999:171
Qiang (Taoping)	**suə**^{55}	tooth	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**ʂuə**	tooth	DAI Qingxia 1989q:170
Xumi	**wuɛ**^{53}	tooth (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.17
	wuɛ^{53}khe^{33}	gum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0138.17
	βɛ^{55}	tooth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.20
	βɐ^{55} khɯ^{35}	gums	SUN Hongkai 1991m
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ʃu**^{13}	tooth (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**ɕə**	tooth (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.12
Ergong (Daofu)	**ɕə** rkɑn	gums	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.7.3
	ɕə ma	tooth (incisor)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.10.1
Ergong (Danba)	**ɕɯ**	tooth	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.10; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.14
	ɕɯ gue	molar	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.10.2
	ɕɯ zk^{h}a	gums	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.7.3
	zɛ̨ jo **ɕɯ** mɛ	tooth (incisor)	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.10.1

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta pu **swa**	baby tooth	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.10.5
rGyalrong	tə **swa**	tooth; gums	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.10; DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.7.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.12
	tə **swa** rgu	molar	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.10.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **swɑ**	tooth (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.11
Caodeng	tə-**ʃwe**	tooth	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ndzə **ʁa**	eyetooth; canine tooth; fang; tusk (of elephant, boar)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.10.3; SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.10.6
	tə ndzi̯ **ʃʁa**	tooth (incisor)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.10.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **swa**	tooth	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.10
	tə **swa** kam	tooth (incisor)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.10.1
	tə **swa** ndzui	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.10.3
	tə **swa** rgun	molar	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.10.2
rGyalrong	tə **swa** wutʂi	tooth (incisor)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.10.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **swa** ʃa	gums	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.7.3 [b]
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ʃʁa**	tooth	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.10
	tə **ʃʁa** moŋ	tooth (wisdom)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.10.4
	tə **ʃʁa** pu	baby tooth	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.10.5
	tə **ʃʁa** p^{h}u	molar	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.10.2
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ɕue**	tooth	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.10
	tə **ɕue** kum	tooth (incisor)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.10.1
	tə **ɕue** p^{h}əx	tooth (wisdom)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.10.4
	tə **ɕue** rgɛn	molar	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.10.2
	va **ɕue** mədəkaptɕ^{h}i	baby tooth	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.10.5
rGyalrong	tA **shwa**	tooth	Nagano 1997:3.10
	tA **shwa** sha	gums	Nagano 1997:3.7.3
rGBenzhen	tə-**swa**	tooth	Sun 1997b
	tə-**swa** ʃa	gums	Sun 1997b
Shili	tá-**ʃwe**	tooth	Sun 1997c

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**sa**	tooth	Benedict 1972:437
	ɑ^{31} **sɑ**^{31}	tooth	SUN Hongkai 1988
Trung [Dulong]	**ha**-pa-no	gums	Matisoff 1987
	sa^{42}	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	sɑ^{53}	tooth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:244.46
	s kam	jaw (molar teeth)	Benedict 1972:25n82
	s kam^{42}	molar	Matisoff 1987
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**sɑ**^{53}	tooth	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɑ^{31} **sɑ**^{53}	tooth	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**si**^{33} ta^{35}	tooth	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.10

[a] loan from the Marpha form

[a] This form is found on Qiangyu Jianzhi p. 38. Jackson Sun's Mawo consultant does not recognize this form; for him, **ʂə-z** means 'canine tooth'; **dzə** 'fang'. On Sun Hongkai's own body part sheets, he gives the Mawo form **ʂə-zdi** instead of **ʂə-z**.

[b] For the same 'tooth' + 'flesh' combination, cf. Chinese **yá ròu** 'gums'.

Tujia (Southern)	**si**^{33} ta^{35}	tooth	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**si**^{55} **si**^{55}	tooth	Chen Kang 1986c:3.10
Tujia (Northern)	**si**^{55} **si**^{55}	tooth	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *__swa__^{2} TOOTH

**Lolo-Burmese*	***swa**^{2}	tooth	Weidert 1987:172

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Modern)	**swā:**	tooth	Luce 1985:T.13
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθwɑ**^{55}	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**θwa**^{4}	tooth	Luce 1985:T.13
Burmese (Written)	àm-**swà**	molar / jaw	Benedict 1972:50
	swà	tooth	Weidert 1987:172
	swā	tooth	Luce 1985:T.13
	swâ	tooth	Hansson 1989:336; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:264; Benedict 1976a
	swà	tooth	Benedict 1972:437
	swâ-pâ	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	swâ-phûm	gums	Matisoff 1987
	swâ-rañ	tooth-water	Matisoff 1987
	swā:	tooth	Marrison 1967
	ə-**swâ**	edge of cutting instrument	Benedict 1976a
	ʔam-**swâ**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	ʔə **swâ**	edge of cutting instrument	Matisoff 1988a:1196
Danu	**θwɑ**^{2}	tooth	Luce 1985:T.13
Hpun (Metjo)	a **ʃɑ**^{4}	edge of knife	Luce 1985:T.13
	ʃɑʔ^{5}mɑ^{4}	tooth	Luce 1985:T.13
Lashi (Lachhe')	**sɔ**^{2}	tooth	Luce 1985:T.13
	sɔ^{3}	edge of knife	Luce 1985:T.13
Taung-Yo	**θwɑ**^{2}	tooth	Luce 1985:T.13
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**sɔ**^{4}	edge of knife	Luce 1985:T.13

6.1.2. Loloish: *__swa__^{2} TOOTH

**Loloish*	***swa**^{2}	tooth	Weidert 1987:254; Bradley 1979b:96A; Hansson 1989:336
Lolopho	**sɤ**^{31} tse^{33}	gums	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.7.3
	ɒ^{55} no^{31} ȼi^{55} **ʂɤ**^{31} ?	eyetooth / canine tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.10.3
	ʂɤ^{31}	tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.10
	ʂɤ^{31} mo^{33} pe̲^{31}	tooth (incisor)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.10.1

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**sɻ**^{31} sɻ^{33}	tooth	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987; Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.10; Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**ȼy**^{21}	tooth	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10
	ȼy^{21} ɑ^{55} k^{h}ɑ^{21} dɥ^{21} mɑ^{33} pɪ̲^{21}	tooth (incisor)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.1
	ȼy^{55} ke^{21}	molar	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.2
Nusu (Bijiang)	**shua**^{55}	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**sua**^{55}	tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989o:163.
Nusu (Central)	**sua**^{55}	tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989p:163.
	s^{h}**uɑ**^{55}	tooth	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**s**^{h}**ɑ**^{55}	tooth	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	ʑoŋ^{55} **sua**^{55}	tusk (of elephant)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:359.
Nusu (Southern)	ʔi^{31} **so**^{55}	tooth	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Nanhua)	**si**^{21};sɯ^{21}	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ȼy**^{21}	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.23
Yi (Xide)	**sɻ**^{21}-vu^{33}-a^{21}-mo^{21}	molar	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	bo^{21} lo^{33} **tʂɑ**^{22}	molar	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.10.2
Lolo (Ni)	**seú**	edge of knife	Luce 1985:T.13
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**so**^{44} kɯ^{55}	gums	Dai Qingxia 1989h:171
Lahu (Black)	**-šū**	tooth-like part of tools	Matisoff 1988a:1195
Lahu (Yellow)	**sɣ**^{31} tȼ^{h}i^{33}	tooth	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**si**^{5} hchi^{3}	tooth; tusk	Matisoff 1985a:160; Matisoff 1987; Bradley 1979b:96A; Bradley 1979b:96B
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**si**^{5}hchi^{5}	tooth	Luce 1985:T.13
Lisu (Putao)	**sɤ**^{5}chɪ^{5}	tooth	Luce 1985:T.13
Lisu (Nujiang)	**sɻ**^{31} tʃ^{h}i̲^{44}	tooth	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**sɻ**^{31}tʃhi^{44}	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.27

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**seu**◡	tooth	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Thai)	**shə̀**	tooth	Hansson 1989:336
Akha (Yunnan)	**shə̀**	tooth	Hansson 1989:336
Akha	**shə̀**	tooth	Hansson 1989:336
Bisu	**sɔ̀** khɔ̀ŋ	gum[s]	Beaudouin 1988:14
	sɔ̀ phɛ̀	tooth	Beaudouin 1988:16
	tsò phè	tooth	Beaudouin 1988:16
	ts^{h}**ɔ̀** p^{h}è	tooth	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**shə̀**	tooth	Hansson 1989:336
Hani (Dazhai)	**sɤ**^{31}	tooth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**sɤ**^{31}	tooth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**seq**	tooth	Hansson 1989:336
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{31}**tʃɯ**^{55}	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.32
Mpi	ʔɑ^{2}**so**^{2}/ʔɑ^{2}tȼɯ^{6}	tooth	Hansson 1989:336
Côông [Phunoi]	jᵊ ba sə **ȼi**^{55}	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Ferlus 1991:3.10.6
	she phɛ́	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	si ɲi	tooth (incisor)	Ferlus 1991:3.10.1
	s^{h}**e**^{33} p^{h}e^{55}	tooth	Bradley 1977
Sangkong	aŋ^{33} **so**^{31}	tooth	Li Yongsui 1991

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**fi**˥ts^{h}i˥	gum; gingiva	Michaud 2006–2009:290
	fi˧	tooth	Michaud 2006–2009:283
	fi˧t^{h}u˧	tooth	Michaud 2006–2009:284
	fi˩tsɯ˩tȼ^{h}y˩ hĩ˥	canine teeth	Michaud 2006–2009:287
	fi˩t^{h}u˩ t^{h}ɑ˥ tȼ^{h}i˥	canine teeth (paraphrase)	Michaud 2006–2009:288
Na (Yongning)	**hi**˥	tooth	Michaud 2006–2009
	hi˧k^{h}ɯ#˥	gum; gingiva	Michaud 2006–2009
	hi˧q^{h}wɤ˩	decayed teeth; dental caries	Michaud 2006–2009
	hi˧tsɯ˩	incisors	Michaud 2006–2009
	hi˧t^{h}o#˥	tooth	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**xi**^{55}	tooth	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**xi**^{55}	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.29
Naxi (Western)	**xɯ**^{33}	tooth	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**xɯ**^{33}	tooth (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**xɯ**^{33}	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.28

7. Karenic

Bwe (Western)	**θo**^{1} mɛ^{3}	tooth / tusk	Luce 1985:I.204
Bwe	**θó** mɛ̀	tooth (n.)	Henderson 1997
	θə-ʔmɛ̀ ə-nì	gums	Weidert 1987:933
Geba	**θɛ**^{1}mɛ^{2}	tooth / tusk	Luce 1985:I.204

(2) PTB *m-dzyway TOOTH / TUSK

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-dzyway**	tooth / tusk	Matisoff 2003a:589
	***m-jway**	tooth / tusk	Matisoff 1985a:160

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**tȼ^{h}e** wa	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tshona (Mama)	**tȼ^{h}e**^{55} wa^{53}	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ntȼ^{h}ɔ**	tooth (canine); tooth (fang)	Sun 1985a:118; Sun 1985a:243
Spiti	**chi** ya	tooth (wisdom)	Bodh 1991:3.10.4
Tibetan (Written)	**mche**-ba	canine tooth, eyetooth, fang, tusk	Matisoff 1985a:160
	mche-so	tusk / canine tooth	Matisoff 1987–:165
	mche.ba	tooth (canine); tooth (fang)	Sun 1985c:118; Sun 1985c:243
	mc'e-ba	eyetooth	Luce 1985:X.62
	mc̀'e-ba	tusk / canine tooth	Matisoff 1987
	mc̀'e-so	tusk / canine tooth	Matisoff 1987
	p'ag-**mc̀'e**	tusk (of boar)	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*ᴬ**sjoi**	tooth,fang,tusk	Mazaudon 1994:990
Tamang (Risiangku)	¹na k^{h}i ¹**sjoi**	tooth (canine)	Mazaudon 1991:3.10.3
	¹**sjoi**	tooth (fang) (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.10.3
Tamang (Sahu)	**syoi**	tooth (canine); tusk	Matisoff 1987; Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.56

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**hui**^{53} nɛ^{53}	gums	Sun Hongkai 1991e [a]
Muya [Minyak]	**ndʐɯ**^{35}	eyetooth; canine tooth; fang; tusk	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.10.3; Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.10.6
Qiang (Mawo)	ʂə (**dzə**/ʁlɑŋ bu tȼi kə ʂə)	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.10.6
	ʂə **z**	gums	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981 [b]
	ʂə **z** (< dzə 'fang')	tooth (canine)	Sun 1986

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	**dʒvə**^{53}	eyetooth; canine tooth; fang; tusk (of elephant, boar)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.10.3; Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.10.6
	lŋa^{53} **ȼvə**^{53}	baby tooth	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.10.5
	rGo^{13} **ȼvə**^{53}	molar	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.10.2
	ȼvə̲^{53}	tooth	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.10

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	ta **ndʐui**	eyetooth / canine tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.10.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **ndzui**	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.10.6
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ndzə** ʁa	eyetooth; canine tooth; fang; tusk (of elephant, boar)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.10.3; Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.10.6
	tə **ndʐi̲** ʃʁa	tooth (incisor)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.10.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ndʐui**	eyetooth; canine tooth; fang; tusk (of elephant, boar)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.10.3; Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.10.6
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə swa **ndzui**	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.10.3

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *__jway__^{1} TOOTH / TUSK

**Lolo-Burmese*	***jway**^{1}	tooth / tusk	Matisoff 1985a:160
	***j́way**^{1}	tooth / tusk	Matisoff 1978a:44
	***jway**^{1} (?)	tooth / tusk	Matisoff 1985a:003

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**tsui**^{55}	tooth	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tȼoi**^{55}	tooth	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**tsui**^{31}	tooth	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**cui**^{55}	tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989f:163
	cui^{55} xɯm^{55}	gums	Dai Qingxia 1989f:164
	c^{h}aŋ^{55} **cui**^{55}	tusk (of elephant)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:359
Bola	ts^{h}ɔ̃^{55} **tui**^{55}	tusk (of elephant)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:359
	tui^{55}	tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989g:163
Burmese (Written)	**cwai**	tooth; tusk; eyetooth; eyetooth tusk; eyetooth, tusk	Matisoff 1985a:003; Matisoff 1985a:160; Matisoff 1978a:44; Benedict 1976a
	cway^{3}	eyetooth	Luce 1985:X.62
	ə-**cwai**	eyetooth, tusk	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **cway**	tooth (canine) / tusk	Matisoff 1987
Hpun (Northern)	**ăshwí**, **ăswi**	eyetooth, tusk	Henderson 1986
Lashi	khui^{55} **tsɻ**^{31}	eyetooth / canine tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.10.3
	tshaŋ^{33} **tsɻ**^{31}	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.10.6
	tsɻ^{31}	tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.10
	tsɻ^{31} thaŋ^{33}	tooth (wisdom)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.10.4
	tsɻ^{31} thu:ŋ^{55}	molar	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.10.2
	ʃək^{55} **tsɻ**^{31}	tooth (incisor)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.10.1
Maru [Langsu]	lə̃^{31} kha^{35} **tsɔi**^{31}	eyetooth / canine tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.10.3
	tshɛ̃^{31} **tsɔi**^{31}	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.10.6
	tsɔi^{31}	tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.10
	tsɔi^{31} thauŋ^{35}	molar	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.10.2
	tsɔi^{31} thɔ̃^{31}	tooth (wisdom)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.10.4
	xək^{55} **tsɔi**^{31}	tooth (incisor)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.10.1
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tsui**^{51}	tooth	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984

6.1.2. Loloish: *__ʔ-cway__^{1} TUSK

**Loloish*	***ʔ-cway**^{1}	tusk	Bradley 1979b:96B

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	sɻ^{31} **sɻ**^{33}	tooth	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987; Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.10; Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**dʑɑ**^{55}	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.3

[a] Guiqiong **hui**^{53} could be a different rendering of **xɯi**^{53} 'tooth' .

[b] This form is found on Qiangyu Jianzhi p. 38. Jackson Sun's Mawo consultant does not recognize this form; for him, **ʂə-z** means 'canine tooth'; **dzə** 'fang'. On Sun Hongkai's own body part sheets, he gives the Mawo form **ʂə-zdi** instead of **ʂə-z**.

Nasu	**dʐɵ^{21}**	tooth	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10
	dʐɵ^{21} mo̱^{21}	molar	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.2
	dʐɵ^{21} p^{h}e^{55}	tooth (incisor)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.1
	xo̱^{33} **dʐɵ^{33}**	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.6
Nesu	**dʐer^{21}**	tooth	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10
	dʐer^{21} ga^{21} la^{21} mo^{21}	molar	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.2
	dʐer^{21} pɪ̱^{33}	tooth (incisor)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.1
	ts^{h}ʅ^{33} **dʐer^{21}**	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.3
Yi (Dafang)	**dzə^{21}** mo^{21}	tooth	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.22
Yi (Mile)	**tʂa^{33}**ɣɯ^{21}	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dzɛ^{21}**	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.26
Yi (Nanjian)	**ɕy^{21}**	tooth	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	**dzɛ^{33}**-ma^{33}	tooth	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	dʐ̩^{33}	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.21
	dʐ̩^{33}	tooth; horn	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	dʐ̩^{33} tɕ^{h}u^{34}-ts^{h}ɿ̄^{33}	white teeth	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	dʐ̩^{33}-ndʑi^{21}	root of tooth	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	dʐ̩^{34}-tu^{33}	bucktooth	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɕɛ^{33}-**dʐ̩^{33}**	tooth (front)	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lolo (Ni)	**tchè** mā	tooth	Luce 1985:T.13
Ahi	tɕʻi^{21} **tʂɑ^{22}**	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.10.3
	tʂɑ^{22} kɯ^{33} mo^{33}	tooth (wisdom)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.10.4
	tʂɑ^{22} si^{55} zo^{21}	tooth (incisor)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.10.1
	tʂɑ^{22} tɕe̱^{33} mo^{33}	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.10.6
	tʂɑ^{22} ɣɯ^{21}	tooth	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.10
	tʂʻɑ^{33} tɕʻi^{22}	gums	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7.3
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{33} **tʃɯ^{44}**	tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989h:170
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{33} **tʃɯ^{44}**	tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989i:170
Jinuo	a^{33}**tʃɯ^{33}**	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.34
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{33} **tsi^{31}**	tooth	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33} **tʃɤ^{44}**	tooth	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
**Common Lahu*	***ci̯**	tusk / eyetooth	Bradley 1979b:96B
Lahu (Black)	**cì**	tooth; tusk	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:003,160; Matisoff 1978a:44
	cì-ɡàʔ-ma	molar	Matisoff 1987
	cì-qhɔ	gums / tooth-socket	Matisoff 1987
	cì-šā	gums	Matisoff 1987
	cì-tê	gums	Matisoff 1988a:463
	ci̯	tooth	Luce 1985:T.13
	cì-tɔ̄	gums; tooth	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	tsi^{31}	tooth	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.33
	ɔ̀-**cì**	tooth / tusk	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	sɣ^{31} **tɕ^{h}i^{33}**	tooth	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	si^{5} **hchi^{3}**	tooth; tusk	Matisoff 1985a:160; Matisoff 1987; Bradley 1979b:96A; Bradley 1979b:96B
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	si^{5}**hchi^{5}**	tooth	Luce 1985:T.13
Lisu (Putao)	sɤ^{5}**chɪ^{5}**	tooth	Luce 1985:T.13
Lisu (Nujiang)	sɿ^{31} **tʃ^{h}i̱^{44}**	tooth	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	sɿ^{31}**tʃhi^{44}**	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.27
Sani [Nyi]	gɑ^{21}**tʂi^{33}**mɑ^{33}	molar	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.2
	gɑ^{11} **tʂʅ^{33}** mɑ^{33}	molar	Ma Xueliang 1989:341.7
	tɕi^{44} **tʂʅ^{33}** mɑ^{33}	tooth (incisor)	Ma Xueliang 1989:341.6
	tʂhi^{21}**tʂi^{33}**	tooth (incisor)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂi^{33}(mɒ^{33})	tooth	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂi^{33}mɑ^{33}	tooth	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10
	tʂi^{33}mɒ^{33}nɒ^{33}	toothache	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂi^{33}tsi^{33}	gums	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.3
	tʂʅ^{33}	tooth	Ma Xueliang 1989:341.2
	tʂʅ^{33} nɑ^{33}	toothache	Ma Xueliang 1989:341.4
	tʂʅ^{33} tsɥ^{33}	gums	Ma Xueliang 1989:341.3
	tʂʅ^{33} zɑ^{11}	tooth (incisor)	Ma Xueliang 1989:341.5
	tʂ^{h}ʅ^{21} **tʂʅ^{33}**	tooth (canine) / incisor	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:195.2
	ʂʅ^{55} tɕi̱^{44} **tʂʅ^{33}**	tooth (incisor)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:208.1

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**djý**	tusk	Matisoff 1985a:160
Bisu	**tjí**	tusk / ivory	Beaudouin 1988:4
Hani (Dazhai)	**dʑi̱^{33}** sɤ^{31}	molar	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Pijo)	**tsy**	tooth	Hansson 1989:336
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ^{31} **tsʅ^{55}**	tooth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Pijo)	ɔ̀ **tsý**	tooth	Hansson 1989:336
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{31} **tʃɯ^{55}**	tooth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	à **tsy**	tooth	Hansson 1989:336
	tsy	tooth	Hansson 1989:336
Mpi	ʔɑ^{2}so^{2}/ʔɑ^{2}**tɕɯ^{6}**	tooth	Hansson 1989:336

7. Karenic

Pa-O	**cwé**	tusk, canine tooth (in cpd)	Solnit 1989
	tə ŋà **cwé**	canine tooth	Solnit 1989

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**tɕo^{33}** pɑ̱^{44}	tooth	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕo^{33}pɑ^{44}	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.37
Bai (Dali)	**tsi^{33}** pɑ̱^{44}	tooth	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕʅ^{2} pa^{2}	tooth	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	k^{h}uã^{33} **tsʅ^{33}** pɑ̱^{44}	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.10.3
	tsi^{33} pɑ̱^{44}	tooth	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tsʅ^{33} pɑ̱^{44} k^{h}o^{33}	tooth	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.10
	tɕĩ^{55} to̱^{42} jɑ̱^{42}	tooth (wisdom)	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.10.4

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	牙齿	tooth	Nagano & Prins 2013:0040

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ŋ̊’i̯əg**/tśʻi:	tooth (front)	Karlgren 1957:961l

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**tsyhiX**	front teeth	Baxter & Sagart 2011:318

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**chǐ**	front teeth	Baxter & Sagart 2011:318
	ch’ï	tooth (front)	Karlgren 1957:961l
	yá **chǐ**	tooth	Evans *et al.* 1991

(3) PTB *s-k-lu TOOTH

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	hi-**lu**	gums	Sun 1993b
	^{2}hi:-^{2}**lu**	gums	Weidert 1987:506

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Awa Khumi	[ă fɑ^{2}] **lu^{1}** gɔ̄^{2}	gums	Luce 1985:R.84

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yakha	u **luʔ** ma keŋ	tooth (wisdom)	Kohn 1990:3.10.4

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

**Dum-Thu-Kha*	***lu-**	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:187
	*ŋi **lu**	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:188
Dumi	ŋi **lo:**	tooth; fang	Michailovsky 1991:188; Driem 1993
Khaling	’kāem nga **lu**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	’nga **lu**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	nga **lu**	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:188

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

**Bah-Sun*	***khlu-**	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:187
Bahing	**khly**	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:187
Hayu	**lu**	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:187; Matisoff 1987
	tseo tseo **lu**	tooth (incisor)	Michailovsky 1991:140
Sunwar	**khruy**	tooth; molar	Michailovsky 1991:187; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	gup siu **liu**	tooth (canine)	Allen 1975
	kam **li**	tooth; molar <tooth>	Michailovsky 1991:190; Allen 1975
	khle ya **liu**	tooth (canine)	Allen 1975
	li	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:187; Allen 1975
	liu	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:187
	lyu	tooth	Matisoff 1987

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**kụo^{2}**	tooth (front)	Sofronov c1978

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	**sgu^{44}**	tooth (front)	Matisoff 1987

(4) PTB *bu $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{p}\end{matrix}$ TOOTH (MOLAR) / WISDOM TOOTH

The Kiranti languages reflect a final velar stop, while Tibetan points to a final labial, with this latter development perhaps due to assimilation to the initial labial.

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**bah** soh	tooth (wisdom)	Bishop 1989:3.10.4
Spiti	**buk** so	molar	Bodh 1991:3.10.2
Tibetan (Written)	**sbubs**-so	molar	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	ha **boʔ**	tooth	Weidert 1987:110; Michailovsky 1991:189
	ha **boʔ** (ba)	tooth	Weidert 1987:172
	ha **boʔ** ba	tooth	Weidert 1987:110
	he: **bu**	tooth	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:189
	hɛ **buʔ**	tooth	Weidert 1987:110

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**bak** kaŋ	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:190
	bak kaŋ_	molar	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**bak** ham	tooth; molar	Michailovsky 1991:190; Driem 1993

(5) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{b}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ -(l)aŋ TOOTH

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	fi-**rɯŋ**	molar	Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	i-**pang**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	i-**paŋ**	tooth	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	kuɑɯ^{53} **laŋ^{35}**	tooth (canine)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lã:	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	lɑŋ^{35}	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ta: meing **lã:**	tusk	NEFA (India) 1963
Idu	**lã**	tusk	Pulu 1978

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	ya **pəŋ**	molar	Singh 1991:3.10.2

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Mama)	**krɑŋ^{13}** ʔo^{53}	tooth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**raŋ**-t’ag-so	molar	Matisoff 1987

7. Karenic

Bwe	**-blɔ^{11}**	tusk	Luangthongkum 2013:312
	-blɔ̀	tusk (of elephant), ivory (n.)	Henderson 1997

(6) PTB *s-wik TUSK / FANG / CANINE TOOTH

If the Chepang and Magar forms belong here, they must be explained as due to preemption by the sibilant prefix. It is also possible that these forms would be better assigned to PTB ***m-dzyway** TOOTH / TUSK (§1.3.4).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***wik**	tusk / fang / canine tooth	Matisoff 2003a:619

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**vek**	tusk / canine tooth	Matisoff 1987

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**vik**	tooth (canine) / tusk	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	co?.gam.**(səyk)**	molar, small, next but one to canine tooth (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hluk.gam.**(səyk)**	tooth (sp.), wisdom tooth; wisdom tooth (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	hluk.gam.**səyk**	wisdom tooth (n.)	Caughley 2000
	jun?.**(səyk)**	tooth - front tooth, incisor (n.)	Caughley 2000
	jun?.**səyk**	front tooth (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kuy?.gam.**(səyk)**	molar next to canine tooth (n.)	Caughley 2000

	kuy?.gam.**səyk**	tooth (molar) next to canine; molar next to canine tooth (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	kuy?.**səyk**	canine tooth; tooth (sp.), canine (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	ma.gam.**(səyk)**	molar, large, next to wisdom tooth; tooth (sp.), molar (large) (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	ray.gam.**(səyk)**	milk tooth (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ray.gam.**səyk**	tooth (sp.), milk tooth; milk tooth (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	roŋ?.**səyk**	tusk of pig (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sayk	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:189; Matisoff 1987
	sayk	tooth (B) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	səik	tooth	Weidert 1987:525
	səyk	tooth (gen.), beak (n.)	Caughley 2000
	səyk	tooth	Caughley 1972:1.43
	səyk dup-	grow outwards (tusk, tooth of pig, dog) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	tol.gam.**(səyk)**	molar, large, next but one from wisdom tooth (n.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	hluk gam **səyk**	tooth (wisdom)	Caughley 1990:3.10.4
	jun? **səyk**	tooth (incisor)	Caughley 1990:3.10.1
	kuy? **səyk**	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Caughley 1990:3.10.3
	ma gam **səyk**	molar	Caughley 1990:3.10.2
	ray gam **səyk**	baby tooth	Caughley 1990:3.10.5
	səyk	tooth; tusk (of elephant, boar)	Caughley 1990:3.10; Caughley 1990:3.10.6
Magar	mi-**syAk**	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:189
	mi-**syāk**	tooth	Matisoff 1987

(7) PTB *d-yu $\frac{ŋ}{k}$ TOOTH

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	fi-**ǰuŋ**	tooth (canine)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	*so-**tʂu**	toothbrush	Sun 1993b
	a-ke: ji-**čuŋ**	tooth (upper)	Sun 1993b
	ji-**čuŋ**	tooth	Sun 1993b
	ji:-**čuŋ**	tooth	Sun 1993a
	ji:-**čuŋ** ta-ket	tartar	Sun 1993b
	ji: **tɕuŋ**	tooth (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0137.24
	kə-muk ji:-**čuŋ**	tooth (lower)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ji: **tɕuŋ**	tooth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:244.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	i **ɟu**	tooth	Das Gupta 1963
	yu-a ci-nam	toothache (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ˆi: **džu**	tooth	Weidert 1987:525
Miri, Hill	hi-**ɟu**	tooth (front)	Simon 1976
Tagin	i **ɟoŋ**	tooth	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	***dyn** so:	tooth (incisor)	Sun 1993b
	xe:-**duŋ**	tooth (canine)	Sun 1993b

1.6. Mru

Mru	**yəŋ**[1]	tooth	Luce 1985:Q.34

6.1.1. Burmish

Lashi	tsɻ[31] **thu:ŋ**[55]	molar	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.10.2

(8) PTB *twaŋ TOOTH / MOLAR

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	kə[33]**tuaŋ**[33]	tooth	Sun Hongkai 1993

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**tiŋ**[53] kueŋ[53]	molar	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	**tā** ɲaga	toothache	Anonymous 1962
	tā-na	toothache	Pulu 1978
	tā-so pu	gums	Anonymous 1962
	tā-su	gums	Pulu 1978
	tām bo	tooth	Pulu 1978
	tām bro	tooth	Anonymous 1962
	tā pra	tooth	Anonymous 1962
	tā ɟam bo	tooth(back)	Pulu 1978
	tā ɟe	tooth(front)	Pulu 1978
	tia[35] pɹa[35]	tooth	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.10

2.1.4. Tamangish

Thakali (Tukche)	ha **daŋ**	molar	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**thos** mā he po	molar	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	khong-**tang**-ma	molar	Rai *et al.* 1984:41
	khoN **TaN** ma	molar	Rai 1985
	khoŋ **taŋ** ma	molar; tooth	Michailovsky 1991:33; Michailovsky 1991:190
	küng-**tang**-ma	molar	Rai *et al.* 1984:36
Chamling	ra khap **tON***	molar	Winter 1985:30

5. Tujia

Tujia	si[33] **ta**[35]	tooth	Chen Kang 1986d:3.10
Tujia (Southern)	si[33] **ta**[35]	tooth	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.1. Burmish

Lashi	tsɻ[31] **thaŋ**[33]	tooth (wisdom)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.10.4
Maru [Langsu]	tsɔi[31] **thauŋ**[35]	molar	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.10.2
	tsɔi[31] **thɔ̃**[31]	tooth (wisdom)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.10.4

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Côông [Phunoi]	sa ba **tõ**[31] sum	molar	Ferlus 1991:3.10.2
Ugong	ka phŭ **(dâŋ)**	molar	Bradley 1993:3.10.2

1.3.4.1 Eyetooth/Tusk/Canine Tooth

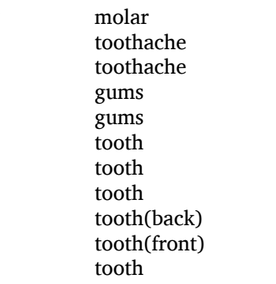


Figure 104: 1.3.4.1 *Eyetooth/Tusk/Canine Tooth*

(1) PTB *s-ŋya TUSK / TOOTH

This root was set up as ***d-ŋa** in *HPTB* 175, with the erroneous note that the only reflex in TB was the Pa-O Karen form.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-ŋa**	tooth	Matisoff 2003a:605

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Miri, Hill	gam-**ɲa**	molar	Simon 1976

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Matupi	**no**[4]	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4
	nɔ[4]	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4

1.2.2. Central Chin: ***hŋaw** FANG / CANINE TOOTH

**Central Chin*	***hŋaw**	FANG / CANINE TOOTH	VanBik 2009:912
Lai (Hakha)	**hăw**	fang (of animal), canine tooth	VanBik 2009:912
Lushai [Mizo]	ha ui **ngho**	tooth (canine)	Matisoff 1987
	ngho	tusk	Matisoff 1987
	ŭi **nghò**	canine tooth	VanBik 2009:912

1.2.3. Maraic

Tha'oa	**nɔ**[1]	tooth	Luce 1985:N.4

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	**nga**	tooth	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi **geu**	tooth	Marrison 1967
	[3]mi[2]**gei**	tooth	Weidert 1987:254
Mzieme	mi **gei**	tooth	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	huy-**ya**	eyetooth / canine tooth	Singh 1991:3.10.3
	sa mu mə **ya**	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Singh 1991:3.10.6
	ya	tooth	Singh 1991:3.10; Marrison 1967
	yâ	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	ya-khəy	tooth (wisdom)	Singh 1991:3.10.4
	ya? khəy	tooth (wisdom)	Singh 1991:3.10.4
	ya maŋ	tooth (incisor)	Singh 1991:3.10.1
	ya pəŋ	molar	Singh 1991:3.10.2
	ya ri	gums	Singh 1991:3.7.3

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ang **ni**	tooth (canine)	Matisoff 1987

1.6. Mru

Mru	**hngou**	tooth	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Chairel	**yɑ**	tooth	Luce 1985:K.57
Lui	**ya**	tooth	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**ŋø**[13] shɐ[53]	tooth (incisor)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.10.1

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Batang)	so[55] **ngo**[55]	tooth (incisor)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.10.1
Spiti	chi **ya**	tooth (wisdom)	Bodh 1991:3.10.4

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

**Dum-Thu-Kha*	***ŋi** lu	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:188
Dumi	**ŋi** lo:	tooth; fang	Michailovsky 1991:188; Driem 1993
Khaling	'kāem **nga** lu	molar	Matisoff 1987
	'nga lu	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	nga lu	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:188

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**ka** kam	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:190

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**kụo**	tooth	Dai Qingxia 1989e:3.10
	kụo[2]	tooth	Sofronov c1978

3.2. Qiangic

Queyu (Yajiang)	**ku**[53]	tooth	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.10
[Zhaba]			

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Ugong	**ka**	tooth	Bradley 1993:3.10
	ka khlí/**ka** sę̣ŋ	tooth dirt	Bradley 1993

7. Karenic

Pa-O	**tə́ʔŋá**	tooth	Matisoff 1987
	tə́ʔ **ŋà**	tooth	Jones 1961:521
	tə **ŋà**	tooth	Solnit 1989
	tə **ŋà** cwɛ́	canine tooth	Solnit 1989

8. Bai

Bai (Jianchuan)	khuɑ̃[33] **ŋɛ**[21]	tooth (canine)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	牙	tooth	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3264
	牙齿	tooth	Nagano & Prins 2013:0040

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ngå**/ngɑ	tooth	Karlgren 1957:37a-b
	ŋå/ŋɑ	tooth	Chou Fa-kao 1972:37a-b

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	liáo-**yá**	tooth (fang)	Sun 1985b:243
	mén-**yá**	tooth (incisor)	Sun 1985b:385
	quǎn-**yá**	tooth (canine); tooth (fang)	Sun 1985b:118; Sun 1985b:243
	yá chǐ	tooth	Evans *et al.* 1991
	yɑ	tooth	Karlgren 1957:37a-b

Chinese comparandum

牙 OC ***ngå**, *GSR* #37a-b; B & S 2011: ***m-gˢ‹r›a**; Mand. **yá**.

(2) PTB *k $\frac{w}{y}$ aŋ TUSK / MOLAR

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	tiŋ[53] **kueŋ**[53]	molar	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Kohima)	tso[55] **kie**[11]	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Nienu 1990a:3.10.6
Chokri	(u) **kü**[31]	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Nienu 1990b:3.10.6

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**kawng**	tooth (canine); tusk; fang	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**keŋ**	tooth (canine) / tusk	Matisoff 1987
	ke:ŋ	tooth (canine); tusk; tooth	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:191
Yakha	aga:ḍi **keŋ**	tooth (incisor)	Kohn 1990:3.10.1
	ke:ŋ	tooth	Kohn 1990:3.10
	ku: cu: ma **keŋ**	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Kohn 1990:3.10.3
	u luʔ ma **keŋ**	tooth (wisdom)	Kohn 1990:3.10.4
	u ma **keŋ**	molar	Kohn 1990:3.10.2

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

**Kul-Cham-Ban*	***kiŋ**	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:191
Bantawa	**khong**-tang-ma	molar	Rai *et al.* 1984:41
	khoN TaN ma	molar	Rai 1985
	khoŋ taŋ ma	molar; tooth	Michailovsky 1991:33; Michailovsky 1991:190
	kïŋ	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:191
	kUN	tooth	Rai 1985
	küng	tooth	Rai *et al.* 1984:36
	küng-tang-ma	molar	Rai *et al.* 1984:36
Chamling	**king**	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:191
	kung	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:191
Kulung	bak **kaŋ**	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:190
	bak **kaŋ_**	molar	Rai *et al.* 1975
	kaŋ	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:191
	kaŋ_	tooth	Rai *et al.* 1975
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	mbu **kụo**	tusk (of elephant, boar)	DAI Qingxia 1989e:3.10.6
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Lolopho	ɣ^{33} **kɯ^{55}**	molar	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.10.2
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	ɕy^{55} **ke^{21}**	molar	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.10.2

(3) IA *dārhā TUSK / CANINE TOOTH

Idu	tabu i̱ina mra **dela**	tooth (fang)	Pulu 1978
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**gar‘**	tooth (canine) / tusk	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Jirel)	**dā:rā:**	tooth (canine) / tusk	Matisoff 1987
Sherpa	**dāre**	tooth (canine) / tusk	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	**daara**	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.10.6
Gurung (Ghachok)	**dā:rā:**	tooth (canine) / tusk	Matisoff 1987
	da:ra:	tusk	Glover 1972:3.A.56
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**dạ:**	tooth (canine) / tusk	Matisoff 1987
	dạ:l-	tooth (canine) / tusk	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	**da:hra**	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Kohn 1990:3.10.6
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**dāra**	tooth (canine) / tusk	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**dahra**	tusk	Watters & Watters 1989:3.A.56
	o’ **dāhrā**	tooth (canine) / tusk	Matisoff 1987
Magar	**dārhā**	tooth (canine) / tusk	Matisoff 1987
X.1. NON-TB			
Nepali	**dārhā**	tusk / canine tooth	Matisoff 1987

1.3.4.2 Molar

MANY TB words meaning MOLAR are compounds: Lepcha **fo-góm** and Bokar **ji:-kam** are compounds of TOOTH + JAW. (See PTB ***gam** JAW / CHIN / MOLAR (§1.2.5.2).) Lahu **cì-ɡ̈à?-ma** ‘molar’ is a compound of PTB ***m-dzyway** TOOTH / TUSK (§1.3.4) and PTB ***rak** WEAVE / DRIVE / CHASE (§6.24). Lushai (Mizo) **ha-pui** ‘molar’ is a compound of PTB ***s/p-wa** TOOTH (§1.3.4) and PTB ***pwi(y)-n** FEMALE / MOTHER / BIG / MOLAR (§1.3.4.2).

(1) IA *bangār- MOLAR

2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	**baŋra**	molar	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.10.2
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**’bạ̄gal**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	bā:gəl	molar	Watters & Watters 1989
Magar	**bāngrā**	molar	Matisoff 1987
X.1. NON-TB			
Nepali	**bangāro**	molar	Matisoff 1987

(2) PTB *pwi(y)-n FEMALE / MOTHER / BIG / MOLAR

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pwi(y)**	female	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:566i-j; Benedict 1972:171
	***pwi(y)-n**	female (human or animal)	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:608
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	ha-**pui**	molar	Matisoff 1987
	pui	female	Benedict 1972:171
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	(a-)ha-ka-**pi**	molar	Matisoff 1987
1.2.4. “OLD KUKI”			
Kom Rem	hə **pui**	molar; tooth (wisdom)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.10.2; Toba & Kom 1991:3.10.4
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	**-puʔ^{3}**	leader, head, main / female with children (mothermorph)	Bruhn 2014b
	e^{1}-ran^{3}-**pu** iʔ^{2}	main author (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	han^{1}-**puʔ^{3}**	mother hen (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.165
	joŋ^{3}-**puʔ^{3}**	thumb (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ki^{1}-**pu^{3}**-iʔ^{3}	owner of house (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	maŋ^{3}sə^{3}-**puʔ^{3}**	mother cow (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	o^{1}-**puʔ^{3}**	mother (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	som^{1}**pu^{3}**roʔ^{3}	woman (old) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ora **pvu**	husband	Marrison 1967
	o **pvü**	mother	Marrison 1967
	o **pvu** ram	aunt	Marrison 1967
	sōm **pú** rò	woman (old)	Acharya 1975
	ying **pvu**	thumb	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Ntenyi	nu’u **pfü**	wife	Marrison 1967
	u **pfü**	wife	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	ani **pvu**	wife	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	akhen **pui**	wife	Marrison 1967
	pui mai	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	mei **pui**	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ələu na **pùi**	girl	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	he **pui**	wife	Marrison 1967
	mpui mi	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	mi **pui**	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
	rüleibe **pui**	young woman	Marrison 1967
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	só-mùn-**pī**	molar	Grüssner 1979:210
1.6. MRU			
Mru	so mun **pi**	back tooth	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	śə **wi** ≍ śə **yi**	female	Benedict 1972:171
	wi≍yi	female	Benedict 1972:171
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	là?-ma-**pə**	thumb	Matisoff 1987
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**b’i̯ən/b’i̯ĕn:**	female of animals	Karlgren 1957:566i-j
	b’i̯ər/b’ji:	female of animals	Karlgren 1957:566i-j
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**p’in**	female of animals	Karlgren 1957:566i-j

Chinese comparandum

牝 OC ***b’i̯ən~b’i̯ər**, *GSR* #566-j ‘female of animals’; Schuessler 2007: ***bi(n)ʔ**; B & S 2011: ***birʔ** **{ [b] ir?}(dial. -r › -j)**; Mand. **pìn**.

1.3.4.3 Gums

MOST TB languages reflect the PTB root ***r-nil ≍ s-nil**, which *STC* claims to be possibly related to PTB***r-ni** ‘red’ . The Northern Qiang forms for ‘gums’ **-zdi** and ‘red’ **ɕi-** (Taoping **χn̥i-**), however, seem to come from different initials. The form **khV-** is also common in BL and Qiangic (Bradley reconstructs Proto-Loloish ***ʔ-ko^{3}** on the basis of Lahu Shi and Southern Loloish). Attested compound formations in TB include TOOTH + GUMS, TOOTH + RED, TOOTH + BASE and TOOTH + FOOT; the Chinese formation TOOTH + FLESH is also attested.

(1) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{r}\\\mathbf{m}\end{matrix}$ **-nil GUMS**

As *STC* surmises (note 58, p. 16), this root is very likely connected with PTB ***r-ni** RED (§9.4), so that the original meaning seems to have been “tooth-redness”.

The ***m-** prefix (attested in Paangkua, Moyon, Angami) seems to be secondary in this root. This is reminiscent of the development of prefixal **r-** in Jingpho, which has regularly become a syllabic nasal. See *STC*:109-110 and *HPTB*:129.

A few languages (Kanauri, Written Tibetan) have developed an **s-** prefix, which is clearly a reduction of PTB ***s/p-wa** TOOTH (§1.3.4). The WT forms **so-rnyil** and **snyil** illustrate this prefixization process.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***rnyil**/snyil	gums	Coblin 1986:90
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-ni(y)**	gums	Weidert 1987:164
	***r-nil**	gums	Weidert 1987:164
	***r-nil ~ s-nil**	gums	Coblin 1986:90; Benedict 1972:3
	***r/s-ni-l**	gums	Matisoff 2003a:604; Matisoff 2003a:604
	***s-nil**	gums	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:560j; Weidert 1987:164
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	ji:-**ñur**	gums	Sun 1993b
Galo	i **ɲir**	gums	Das Gupta 1963
	ˆi:-**ñur**	gums	Weidert 1987:506
Tagin	i **nyior**	gums	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	síi-**nʌ́l**	gums	Weidert 1987:164
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ha-nii ≍ *-hnii** GUMS			
**Chin*	*ha-**nii ≍** -hnii	GUMS	VanBik 2009:816
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Kuki-Chin	ha **ni**	gums	Haokip 1998:3.7.3
Sizang	hā **nī**	gum	VanBik 2009:816
Thado	hà-**nî**	gums	VanBik 2009:816
Tiddim	ha^{1} **ni^{1}**	gums (of teeth)	VanBik 2009:816
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	ha-**nìi**	gums	VanBik 2009:816
	ha **ni^{1}**	gums	Luce 1985:R.84
	ni^{1}	gums	Luce 1985:R.84
Lushai [Mizo]	(háa) **hnîi**	gums	Löffler 1985
	hå-**hnî**	gums	Weidert 1987:933
	ha-**hni**	gums	Benedict 1972:3
	háa **hnî**	gums (n.)	VanBik 2009:816
Paangkhua	(háa) **níi**	gums	Löffler 1985
	maniit	gums	Weidert 1987:164
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	ha-**hni**	gums	Matisoff 1987
1.2.4. “OLD KUKI”			
Kom Rem	hə **mənih**	gums	Toba & Kom 1991:3.7.3
Moyon	**mʌnə́**	gums	Kosha 1990:3.7.3
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami Naga	^{5}u^{2}me^{1}**nie**	gums	Weidert 1987:933
Rengma (Northern)	^{1}a^{1}ha^{3}**ni**	gums	Weidert 1987:933
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	ya **ri**	gums	Singh 1991:3.7.3
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	so-**ni**	gums	Benedict 1972:3
1.6. MRU			
Mru	**tăni^{1}**	gums	Luce 1985:R.84
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	ha tay go **ri**	gums	Matisoff 1987
Dimasa	ha-**rni**	gums (teeth); gums	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:3
Lalung [Tiwa]	ha **ru** gunʔ	gums	Balawan 1965:28
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	^{3}pa^{2}**hʌn(ʔ)**	gums	Weidert 1987:164
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**ŋʌ́i**	gums	Weidert 1987:164
Khiamngan	^{21}họu^{12}**ñaɪ**	gums	Weidert 1987:164
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	wa-**nin**	gums	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:3
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**ñil**	gums	Sharma 1991a:3.7.3

[a] [Source Note] digit-main
[b] [Source Note] be.old([son])-FNOM-suf. ?

Byangsi	**hnil**	gums (n.)	Sharma 2003:634
Chaudangsi	**nil**	gums	Krishan 2003:503
Darma	**nil**	gums	Krishan 2003:524
Kanauri	**stil**	gums	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:177n471
	stil / **til**	gums	Benedict 1972:35n117
	stil ≍ **til**	gums	Benedict 1972:3
	stilh	gums	Matisoff 1987
	til	gums	Matisoff 1987
	tilh	gums	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**ñil**	gums	Sharma 1991b:3.7.3
Thebor	**nil**	gums (STC); gums	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:3
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	sha^{53} **n̡i**^{35}	gums	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.7.3
Tsangla (Central)	sha **ni** ring	gums	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 13
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Spiti	**ñil**	gums	Bodh 1991:3.7.3
Tibetan (Written)	**rnyil**	gums	Matisoff 1987
	rnyil ~ **snyil** ~ so-**rnyil**	gums	Coblin 1986:90; Benedict 1972:3
	snyil	gums	Matisoff 1987
	so-**rnyil**	gums	Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	fo-**nyăl**	gums	Matisoff 1987
	fo-**nyăl** ~ fo-nyal	gums	Coblin 1986:90
	fo-**nyăl** ≍ fo-nyel	gums	Benedict 1972:3
	fo-**nyel**	gums	Matisoff 1987
	fo-**n̊el**	gums	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**ŋil**	gums	Mazaudon 1994:208
Tamang	**ŋil**^{fi}	gums	Weidert 1987:506
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**ŋil**	gums, palate (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.7.3, 13.
	^{3}**ŋil**	gums / palate	Mazaudon 1994:208
Tamang (Taglung)	^{3}**nil**	gums	Mazaudon 1994:208
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**nen** dī	gums	Matisoff 1987
	nE:n di	gums	Michailovsky 1989b
	[ne:n di? ba]	gums	Weidert 1987:164
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang (Eastern)	**nəl**	gums	Caughley 1990:3.7.3
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	ʂl^{55} **n̡i**^{55} wɑ^{55} zɑ^{55}	gums	Sun Hongkai 1991d
Guiqiong	hui^{53} **nɛ**^{53}	gums	Sun Hongkai 1991e [a]
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**rni**^{53}	gums	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.7.3
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **rne**	gums	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.7.3
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola	**ŋɛ**^{55}	gums	Dai Qingxia 1989g:164
Lashi	**ŋjəŋ**^{31}	gums	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.7.3
Maru [Langsu]	**ŋan**^{31}	gums	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.7.3
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**n̡ɔ**^{33}	gums	Dai Qingxia 1989p:164.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**n̡ɔ**^{35}	gums	Dai Qingxia 1989o:164.
Yi (Xide)	**ni**^{34}-l̩^{33}	gums	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Côông [Phunoi]	kə **lin**^{55}	gums	Ferlus 1991:3.7.3
Ugong	**ɲîŋ**	gums	Bradley 1993:3.7.3
7. Karenic			
Bwe	θə-ʔmɛ̀ ə-**nì**	gums	Weidert 1987:933
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**śi̡ən/śi̡ěn**	tooth (base of) (=gums)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:560j
Chinese (Old)	**hnjinx**	gums	Coblin 1986:90

[a] Guiqiong **hui**^{53} could be a different rendering of **xɯi**^{53} 'tooth' .

Chinese comparandum

矧 OC ***śi̡ən***, *GSR* #560i; Mand. **shěn**.
弭 OC ***śi̡ən***, *GSR* #560j; Mand. **shěn**.

(2) PL *diŋ GUMS

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	nen **dī**	gums	Matisoff 1987
	nE:n **di**	gums	Michailovsky 1989b
	[ne:n **diʔ** ba]	gums	Weidert 1987:164
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***diŋ**^{2}	gums	Bradley 1979b:98B
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
**Common Lahu*	***teh˘**	gums	Bradley 1979b:98B
Lahu (Black)	cì-**tê**	gums	Matisoff 1988a:463

(3) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{r}\\\mathbf{n}\end{matrix}$ **iŋ GUMS**

The Garo form **wa-riŋ** is derived from an earlier ***rni** in *STC* #3, where it is assigned to PTB ***r/m-nil** GUMS (§1.3.4.3), but the present analysis seems preferable.

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	^{1}ha^{2}**niŋ**	gums	Weidert 1987:164
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	wa-**riŋ**	gums	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:3
Garo (Bangladesh)	wa-**ring**	gums of the mouth	Burling 1992
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	sha ni **ring**	gums	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 13
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Xide)	ni^{34}-**l̩**^{33}	gums	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

(4) PTB *kwaŋ PALATE / GUMS

This rather sparsely attested root has an apparently strange range of meaning, including both GUMS and PALATE, perhaps explicable by their common reddish color.

The second element of the Lahu compound **cì-qhɔ** is a possible phonological descendant of this root, but is better assigned to PTB ***(g/k)uŋ** HOLE / ORIFICE / INNER PART (§3.2.7).

It seems likely that there is a connection between this root and PTB ***kwaŋ** MOUTH (§1.3.1).

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Awa Khumi	[ă fɑ^{2}] lu^{1} **gɔ̃**^{2}	gums	Luce 1985:R.84
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	**kɔ:ŋ** daʔ ma:	palate	Kohn 1990:3.7.1
	ne:ʔna **kɔ:ŋ** daʔ ma:	soft palate	Kohn 1990:3.7.2
3.2. Qiangic			
Xumi	βɐ^{55} **khɯ**^{35}	gums	Sun Hongkai 1991m
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*ʔ-**ko**^{3}	gums	Bradley 1979b:98A
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	so^{44} **kɯ**^{55}	gums	Dai Qingxia 1989h:171
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	sɔ̀ **khɔ̀ŋ**	gum[s]	Beaudouin 1988:14
Mpi	so^{2}**khuŋ**^{6}	gums	Bradley 1979b
Côông [Phunoi]	bàn **khə**	gums	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1987
	ban^{11} **k^{h}ə**^{35}	gums	Bradley 1977
	kə lin^{55}	gums	Ferlus 1991:3.7.3

1.3.4.4 Bite/Hold in Mouth

(1) PTB *g-wa-t BITE / CHEW

This root is undoubtedly related to PTB ***s/p-wa** TOOTH (§1.3.4).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-wa-t**	bite / chew	Matisoff 2003a:618
	***wa**	chew (v.)	Weidert 1987:266
	***wa**	bite / chew	Benedict 1972:424
	***wa-t**	chew (v.)	Weidert 1987:266
1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**we**^{33}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.52
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**ód**	bite (v.)	Bhat 1968
	wat ≍ **ot**	bite	Benedict 1972:424
Dimasa	**wai**	bite (v.)	Marrison 1967
	wai	bite	Benedict 1972:424
Kokborok	**wa**	bite (v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	wa	bite	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**wat**	chew (v.)	Weidert 1987:266
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	gə **wá**	bite	Matisoff 1974:316
	gə **wa** ≍ kə **wa** ≍ **wa**	bite	Benedict 1972:424
	kǎ^{1} **wa**^{55}	bite	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	ka **wa**	bite	Matisoff 1987
	kə **wá**	bite	Matisoff 1974:316
	^{1}gə^{3}**wa**	chew (v.)	Weidert 1987:266
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola	**va**^{31}	chew	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1971
Bola (Luxi)	**va**^{31}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**wɑ**^{55}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**wɑ**^{55}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.40
Burmese (Written)	**wà**	chew (v.)	Weidert 1987:266
	wâ	chew	Hansson 1989:193; Matisoff 1974:316
	wâ	chew (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	wà	chew	Benedict 1972:424
	wɑ^{3}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.26
	wɑ^{3}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**vɔ**^{35}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.31
Maru [Langsu]	**vɔ**^{35}	chew (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.10.8
	vɔ^{35}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.43
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*(**g**)wa^{2}	chew (v.)	Weidert 1987:266
	*(**g**)wa^{2}	chew	Bradley 1979b:635A
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Northern)	**ua**^{35}	chew	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ua**^{55}	chew	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1971.
Nusu (Central)	**ua**^{55}	chew	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1971.
	ua^{55}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.34
	uɑ^{53}	chew	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**uɑ**^{53}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.45
Nusu (Southern)	**ɦo**^{55}	chew	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	**v˧v˧**	chew; to chew the cud (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**v**^{33}	chew	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**v**^{33}**v**^{33}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.29

(2) PTB *C-tsat BITE DOWN ON

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***C$_{VD}$-tsat**	bite down on	Matisoff 1985a:025
	***tsat**	bite down on	Matisoff 2003a:616
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Chokri	^{2}m**ɤ**^{5}**tše**	bite (v.)	Weidert 1987:385
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***tsat** BITE INTO			
**Northern Naga*	***tsat**	bite down on	Matisoff 1985a:025
	***tsat**	bite (v.)	French 1983:459
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**jei**	bite (v.)	Marrison 1967
	jei	bite down on	Matisoff 1985a:025
	jei	bite (v.)	French 1983:459
Wancho	**tsat**	bite (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tsat	bite down on	Matisoff 1985a:025; Matisoff 1972b:24
	tsat	bite (v.)	French 1983:459
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	**tɕ^{h}e**^{21}	chew	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Southern)	**tɕ^{h}e**^{35}	chew	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***C-tsat^{L}** BITE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***C-tsat^{L}**	bite	Matisoff 1978a:33
	*{C}-**tsat**	bite down on	Matisoff 1972b:24
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***C-tsat^{L}**	bite	Bradley 1979b:634A
PNL	**{C}-tsat^{L}**	bite	Chen Kang 1986a:185.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			

Gazhuo	**tɕhi**^{53}	bite; bite (mosquito) (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.10.7; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1279.47; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.47
	tɕʰi̱^{53}	bite; gnaw (bite)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987; DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Nasu	**ndzʰe̱r**^{55}	bite (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.10.7
	tš'ɤ 55	bite down on	Matisoff 1972b:24
	tɕʰɤ̱^{55}	bite (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.10.7
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tshuɔ**^{ɹ53}	bite	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:535.45
Nusu (Central)	**tshuo̱**^{53}	bite (mosquito); bite (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1279.34; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.34
	tsʰuo̱^{53}	bite	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2405.
	tsʰuɔ^{ɹ53}	bite	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	tsʰuo̱^{53}	bite, sting (mosquito)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:1766.
Nusu (Northern)	**tsʰue̱**^{55}	bite	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**tsʰuɑ**^{53}	bite	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**tsʰuɚ̱**^{31}	bite, sting (mosquito); bite	DAI Qingxia 1989o:1766.; DAI Qingxia 1989o:2405.
	tsʰuɚ̱^{31} tsi^{35}	bite hold of	DAI Qingxia 1989o:2406.
Nusu (Central)	**tsʰu̱**^{53}	bite hold of	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2406.
Yi (Dafang)	**tɕhi**^{13}	bite	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:535.22
	tɕʰi̱^{13}	bite	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Mile)	**dzᴀ̱**^{21}	bite	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:535.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tshɯ̱**^{21}	bite	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:535.26
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**tʂho 44s**	bite down on	Matisoff 1972b:24
	tʂho̱^{2}	bite	CHEN Kang 1986a:185.
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**tɕʰi̱**^{55}	bite	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**tɕʰə**^{55}	bite	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
**Common Lahu*	***che**ˆ	bite	Bradley 1979b:634A
Lahu (Black)	**chè?**	bite down on; bite into	Matisoff 1985a:025; Matisoff 1972b:24
	cʰè?	bite	Matisoff 1978a:33
	tsʰe?^{21}	bite (of dog)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**tɕʰi?**^{21}	bite (of dog)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**tseh LS**	clamp down with teeth	Matisoff 1972b:24
	tseh?^{31}	bite down on	Matisoff 1985a:025
	tsehˆ	bite	Matisoff 1978a:33
Bisu	**tshɛ̀**	bite	Bradley 199x; Beaudouin 1988:28
6.2. NAXI			
Moso	**ts'a 55**	bite down on	Matisoff 1972b:24
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tshɑ**^{55}	bite	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:535.28
Naxi (Western)	**tsʰɑ**^{55}	bite	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(3) PTB *k(w)ak ≍ *k(y)ak BITE / CHEW

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***m-kak** BITE			
**Central Naga*	*m-**kak**	BITE	Bruhn 2014a:III.241
Lotha Naga	ŋ^{1}-**kək**^{2}-	bite (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.241
	eng **kak**	bite (v.)	Marrison 1967
	n **kük** a	bite	Murry *et al.* 1978:10
	N **kuk** a	bite (v.)	Nienu 1990c:3.10.7
Sangtam	mü **ka**	bite (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	ma **kü**	bite (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**kak**-	bite (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	kak dep-	bite on something (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***gək**	bite (v.)	French 1983:459
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**kak**	bite (v.)	Marrison 1967; French 1983:459
Tangsa (Moshang)	**kok**	bite (v.)	Marrison 1967; French 1983:459
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***kek**-	bite (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:13
**BSDTK*	***kok**- (?*kak-)	bite (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:11
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**khe:k** s-	bite through (e.g. a grain; bite through (a grain to test its dryness) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:13; Driem 1988
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**khek**-	bite into, to eat (fruit) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:13
	kheT	bite (v.)	Rai 1985
	kheʈ-	bite (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:9
Chamling	**khak**-(u)	bite	Winter 1985:19
	khak-u	bite (beans, peas) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:13
	kho-(u)	bite	Winter 1985:20
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**kok**-	peck, to strike, to dig (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:11
	kok da	<hoe>; large spade with metal blade pointed diagonally away from	Driem 1993
	kok sa	<hoe> small spade ;with point of metal blade inclined toward the	Driem 1993
Khaling	√**kakt**-	dig, to hoe (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:11
	√**kek**-	chew, to bite (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:13
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**kok**-	peck, to hoe (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:11
Thulung	**kək**-	peck, to bite, to dig; dig, [to hoe], to peck, to bite (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:11; Allen 1975
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya	**ko**^{33}mɑ^{53}	hoe (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0617.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ko**^{55}mɑ^{55}	hoe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:412.15
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	**go**^{35}	bite (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.10.7
Tujia (Southern)	**go**^{35}	bite (of dog); bite (of snake)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986; TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**ka**^{35}	bite (of dog)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ka**^{35}	bite (mosquito); bite (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1279.49; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.49
	ka^{35}	bite	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:535.38
	ka^{55}	bite (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.10.7
Tujia (Northern)	**ka**^{55}	bite (of snake)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	(**kuik**)	bite	Hansson 1989:544
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***C-kuk**	bite	Hansson 1989:544
	***C-kuk**^{L}	bite	Bradley 1979b:634B
Lolopho	**khɤ̱**^{31}	bite (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.10.7
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**khòq**	bite	Björverud 1994
	kho^{2}	bite	CHEN Kang 1986a:185.
	kʰo^{21}	bite (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.10.7
Lipho	**khɤ̱**^{2}	bite	CHEN Kang 1986a:185.
	khɤ̱^{21}	bite	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.10.7
Nasu	**khɤ̱**^{55}	bite	CHEN Kang 1986a:185.
Yi (Nanhua)	**khɯ**^{55}	bite	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:535.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**kʰo**^{21}	bite; gnaw	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	tho^{33}; **kho**^{21}	bite(snake, rat); bite(by dog)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:535.23
Yi (Weishan)	**kho**^{21}	bite (of draught animals, wild animals) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.36
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**ko**^{33}	chew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:536.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**ko**^{44}	chew	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**kʰe**^{55}	chew; gnaw	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2041; DAI Qingxia 1989i:2115
Jinuo (Youle)	**kʰe**^{55}	gnaw	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	**gə̀?**	hold firmly in mouth	LaPolla 1987:195 [a]
Lahu (Black)	**gə**^{21}	bite	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:535.33
	gə̀?	hold firmly in mouth	Matisoff 1972b:90(a)
Lisu	**hkaw6**	bite	Matisoff 1972b:90(b)
	hkaw^{6}	bite	Bradley 1979b:634B
Lisu (Central)	**hkaw**^{6}	bite	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**kho̱**^{31}	bite (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.40
	kho^{41}	bite	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:535.27
Lisu (Northern)	**khɔ?**^{21}	bite (V.)	Bradley 1994
	khɤ^{21}	mouth; C bite (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**kʰo̱**^{42}	bite	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	la^{21}**khɔ?**^{21} dzø^{33}ɲɔ^{35}	Song of Tiger Biting and Eagle Snatching (ancient Lisu poem)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**qhɤ**^{22}	bite	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.10.7
	qhɤ̱^{21}	bite	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	qʰɯ̱^{22}	bite, chew (v.)	MA Xueliang 1989:334.1
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**kaw**	bite as a dog bites a person	LaPolla 1987:195
	kaw LS	bite (e.g. dog biting a person)	Matisoff 1972b:90(b)
	kɔ̀q	bite	Hansson 1989:544
Bisu	**kɔ̀**	chew; bite onto; bite into	Bradley 199x; Matisoff 1972b:90(a); Beaudouin 1988:28; LaPolla 1987:195
Hani (Khatu)	**kù**	chew	Hansson 1989:193

[a] If this Lahu form with voiced initial is cognate, it reflects a nasal prefix.

(4) PTB *par HOLD IN MOUTH / BITE

This sparsely attested root has been found only in Nungic and Burmish.

4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	**pɑɹ**^{53}	hold in mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:538.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**pɑɹ**^{53}	hold in mouth	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**pɑ̆ɹ**^{53}	hold in mouth	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**pan**^{31}	bite	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	pan^{31}	bite (mosquito); bite (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1279.28; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.28
	pan^{31}	bite	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:535.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**pan**^{31}	bite, sting (mosquito); bite	DAI Qingxia 1989f:1766; DAI Qingxia 1989f:2405
	pan^{31}	bite (mosquito); bite (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1279.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.29
	pan^{31} tɔ^{35}	bite hold of	DAI Qingxia 1989f:2406
Bola	**pɛ̃**^{31}	bite	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2405
Bola (Luxi)	**pɛ̃**^{31}	bite (mosquito); bite (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1279.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.32
Bola	**pɛ̃**^{31} tsaŋ^{55}	bite hold of	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2406
Maru [Langsu]	**pəŋ**^{35}	bite (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.10.7
	pəŋ^{35}	bite	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:535.43

(5) PTB *hap BITE / SNAP AT / MOUTHFUL

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***hr** + ap	bite / suck up	Coblin 1986:43
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***hap**	bite; sip (esp. soup) (v.)	Weidert 1987:670; Michailovsky 1991:156
	***hap**	bite; snap at; mouthful; bite, snap; suck up	Matisoff 2003a:593; LaPolla 1987:195; Benedict 1972:89; Coblin 1986:43
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hap**	bite, snap	Benedict 1972:89; Coblin 1986:43
	hɑp	bite / snap	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:629
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**hab**	mouthful	Weidert 1987:670; Michailovsky 1991:156; Benedict 1972:89; Coblin 1986:43
	hɑb	mouthful	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:629
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**haqr**-	bite (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	haʔr-	bite (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:9
Yakha	**ha:p** ma:	bite (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.10.7
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Chamling	rak **hap** to	tooth	Michailovsky 1991:190
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**xwap**-	bite into, to chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:30
6.1.1. BURMISH			

Burmese (Written)	**hap**	bite at, as a fish or dog; snatch in eating; attract, as a magnet; bite at, as a fish; dog; bite at	Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:195; Benedict 1972:89; Coblin 1986:43
	hɑp	bite at (as a fish / dog)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:629
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**xɑp/xɑp**	inhale / drink	Chou Fa-kao 1972:629
Chinese (Old)	**hrap**	bite / suck up	Coblin 1986:43
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**xap**	drink in with a sucking movement (v.)	Coblin 1986:56
	xjəp	inhale	Coblin 1986:98

(6) PTB *kri:t GRIND

The WT form reflects a variant with final velar stop.

It is possible that two separate Loloish roots are involved, one with an initial velar stop, and one with an affricate.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***krit**	grind, gnash (teeth)	Benedict 1972:119
	***kri:t**	grind	Matisoff 2003a:597
1.1.1. Tani: ***rit** GRIND (CRUSH INTO POWDER)			
**Tani*	***rit**	grind (crush into powder)	Sun 1993a:183
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**ri**-mũ	grind (crush into powder); grind	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**rit**	grind (crush into powder); grind	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	rit-mɯk	grind into powder	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ra:** mak	break to pieces (grain); crush to pieces (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1653.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1654.24
Miri, Hill	**rin**-nam	grind	Simon 1976
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ch-.ing **krìt**-tśiŋ **krit**	gnash, grind the teeth grind, gnash (teeth)	Grüssner 1979:67 Benedict 1972:119
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**krìt**	grind	Matisoff 1974:333
	krit	grind, gnash (teeth)	Benedict 1972:119
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	so **khrig-khrig** byed-pa	grind the teeth	Benedict 1972:119
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**khrit**	grind, gnash (teeth)	Benedict 1972:119
4. Nungic			
Anong	ə **gyit**	grind, gnash (teeth)	Benedict 1972:119
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***Nkrit** GRIND			[a]
**Lolo-Burmese*	***krit** ***krit** ***Nkrit**	grind (TS 22.) grind grind	Matisoff 1972b:94(a) Matisoff 1972b:94(a) Matisoff 1972b:94(b)
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**krit**	grind; grind, gnash (teeth)	Marrison 1967; Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:119; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:641.39
	krit^{4}	grind (flour) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1527.26
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**tshŋ**^{55}	grind (flour) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1527.47
Lalo	**gə́q**	grind (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:350
Luquan	**tš'y 22s**	grind	Matisoff 1972b:94(a)
Yi (Liangshan)	**ndʑŋ**^{21}	grind down	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	dʑɛ^{33}	crush; grind	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tɕhi^{33}	grind (manually)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tʂhi̱**^{33}	grind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:641.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tshi̱**^{33}	grind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:641.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**gA**^{33}	grind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:641.24
	gɑ^{33}	grind (flour) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1527.37
	ɣæ^{21}	grind / pestle (medicine) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1747.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ɣu**^{33}	grind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:641.23
Yi (Weishan)	**gɯ**^{33}	grind / pestle (medicine) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1747.36
	ɣu^{33}	grind (flour) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1527.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tɕhɯ̱**^{2}	grind (flour) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1527.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	**gɯ33**	grind (of grain)	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**gɛ**^{54}	grind / pestle (medicine) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1747.43
Lahu (Black)	**gɑ̂ʔ**	grind	Matisoff 1974:333; Matisoff 1972b:94(b)
Lisu	**dʒi**^{33}	grind / pestle (medicine) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1747.40
Lisu (Northern)	**dʒŋ**^{33}	grind (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**dʒŋ**^{44}	grind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:641.27
	jē3	grind	Matisoff 1972b:94(b)
Lisu (Central)	**jē**^{3}	grind (v.)	Fraser 1922
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	**dzi̱**^{33}	grind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:641.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dzi̱**^{33}	grind (flour) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1527.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsi̱**^{33}	grind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:641.30
Hani (Shuikui)	**tɕi**^{31}	grind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:641.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**tɕi**^{31}	grind (flour) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1527.42
Mpi	**kiʔ**^{1}	grind / gnash	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
7. Karenic			
**Karen*	*(**kh**)rwɛ̀t	grind (noisily)	Jones 1961:191
Kayan (Pekon)	**rí**	grind (V.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**khrüt**	grind	Benedict 1972:141n382
	khrɪ̀t	grind, mill rice, grind stg to	Solnit 1989

[a] The nasal prefix in PLB is reconstructed on the basis of the voiced Lahu initial.

Pwo	**ɣaiʔ/ɣɛʔ**	grind	Benedict 1972:141n382
Karen (Sgaw)	**χi**	grind	Benedict 1972:141n382

(7) PKar *ʔɛN^{B} BITE (v.)

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***ʔɛN**^{B}	bite (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:23
**Karen [Burling]*	***ʔɛŋ**^{2}	bite (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:23
Kayah	**ʔa**^{11}	bite (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:23
Kayan	**ʔi**^{11}	bite (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:23
Pa-O (Southern)	**ʔɛm**^{33}∼**ʔɛn**^{33}	bite (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:23
Pa-O (Northern)	**ʔɛŋ**^{55}	bite (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:23
Pwo (Northern)	**ʔɑ̃i**^{33}	bite (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:23
Pwo (Southern)	**ʔɑ̃i**^{55}	bite (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:23
Sgaw (Northern)	**ʔe**$^{31~}$	bite (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:23
Sgaw (Southern)	**ʔi**^{45,}	bite (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:23

(8) PKC *tsuu-I, *tsuk-II PECK / BITE

This root is independent from PTB ***twak** BITE / CHEW / PECK AT / HOOK ONTO (§6.8).

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tsuu**-I, tsuk-II	PECK / BITE	VanBik 2009:552
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**tū** hī	peck	VanBik 2009:552
Thado	**tsùu**-I, tsû?-II	peck	VanBik 2009:552
Tiddim	**tu:**^{3} > tuk^{3}	land like a bird; peck like a bird; strike or bite like a snake	VanBik 2009:552
	tu:^{3} > tuk^{3}	land like a bird; peck like a bird; strike like a (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1842
	tu:^{3}/tuk^{3}	land like a bird...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**ptiw**	bite (of a snake), peck (of a bird)	VanBik 2009:552
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsŭu**-I, tsuk-II	peck (as a fowl), bite (as a snake)	VanBik 2009:552
Lushai [Mizo]	**chù**-I, chùk-II	bite (as snake), to peck, to peck up (v.)	VanBik 2009:552
	chuk	bite (as a snake); peck (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2258
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-**chū**	peck as fowl (v.)	VanBik 2009:552

(9) PKC *pet-I, *peʔ-II BITE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***pet**-I, peʔ-II	BITE	VanBik 2009:124
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	**pet**	bite (v.)	Haokip 1998:3.10.7
Sizang	**pet** hī	bite	VanBik 2009:124
Thado	**pèt**-I, pèe	bite	VanBik 2009:124
	pè	bite	Thirumalai 1972:65
	pɛ́	bite	Thirumalai 1972:56
Tiddim	**pet**^{3} > peʔ^{3}	bite (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1364
	pet^{3} > peʔ^{3}	bite	VanBik 2009:124
	pet^{3}/peʔ^{3}	bite	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**pèt**-I, pèh-II	bite, to seize or hold with the teeth, to nibble (v.)	VanBik 2009:124

(10) PKC *tewʔ NIBBLE / BITE / GNAW

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tewʔ**	NIBBLE / BITE / GNAW	VanBik 2009:212
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tewʔ**-INV	nibble, bite, gnaw	VanBik 2009:212
Lai (Falam)	**tewʔ**-INV	nibble, bite, gnaw	VanBik 2009:212
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pa**-tei	nibble, to gnaw, as a rat (v.)	VanBik 2009:212

(11) PKC *seʔ BITE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***seʔ**	BITE	VanBik 2009:639
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**seʔ**-INV	bite	VanBik 2009:639
Lushai [Mizo]	**seh**	bite (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sèh	bite, to gnaw, to nibble (v.)	VanBik 2009:639
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**sī** ≍ sēi	bite	VanBik 2009:639

(12) PTB *gam PUT INTO MOUTH, SEIZE WITH MOUTH

This etymon may well be allofamically related to PTB ***ŋam** CHEW / HOLD IN THE MOUTH (§1.3.4.5).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gam**	put into mouth; seize with mouth; jaw; molar; hold in the mouth	Matisoff 2003a:590; Benedict 1972:491; Coblin 1986:95
	***gɑm**	put into mouth / seize with mouth	Chou Fa-kao 1972:651l'
1.1.1. Tani: ***gam** (∼ ***gjam?**) BITE			
**Tani*	***gam** (∼ **gjam?**)	bite	Sun 1993a:28
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**gam**	bite	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**gam**	bite; sting v. (bee)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	gam	bite (mosquito); bite (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1279.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.24
Bokar Lhoba	**gam**	bite	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:535.51
	gam	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.51

Galo	**ʻgam** nam	bite (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**gam**-nam	bite	Simon 1976
Nishing	**gam**	bite	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gam**~ **ǰam**	bite	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ɟiam**	bite	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**gam**	seize (with teeth, as a tiger); seize in the teeth	Benedict 1972:491; Coblin 1986:95
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥgam**-pa	put or throw into the mouth	Benedict 1972:491
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gʻəm**	hold in the mouth / put in the mouth	Benedict 1972:491

Chinese comparandum

含 OC ***g'i̯əm**, *GSR* #651l' 'hold in mouth'; Schuessler 2007:270-1 ***gə̂m**; B & S 2011: ***Cə-m-kˤəm {Cə-m-kˤ[ə] m}**; Mand. **hán**.
噤 OC ***g'li̯əm**, *GSR* #655m 'shut the mouth'; B & S 2011: (***grəm-s**); Mand. **jìn**.

Comment:

GSR #651m', Mand. **hán**, is the same etymon as #651l', written with a different ideograph: 唅.

1.3.4.5 Chew

(1) PTB *g- r/l (y)at CHEW

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	*l+jat	bite / chew	Coblin 1986:43
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**le**^{53}	chew (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.10.8
Tshona (Mama)	**klʌt**^{13}	chew	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Spiti	**de** ce	chew (v.)	Bodh 1991:3.10.8
Tibetan (Written)	**blad**-pa	chew	Coblin 1986:43 [a]
	ldad bldad ldod	chew	Coblin 1986:43 [b]
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***krat-**	bite (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:9
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**krat-**	bite (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:9
Sunwar	√^{H}**klat-**	bite (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:9
Thulung	**khret-**	bite, to nibble, to rend; bite, rend, nibble<gnaw> (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:9; Allen 1975
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**gɹǎt**^{55}	bite	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**l̥ɛ**^{31}	chew	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**ləi**^{55}	chew	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d̂i̯ad/źi̯äi-**	bite	Karlgren 1957:336c
Chinese (Old)	**djadh**	bite / chew	Coblin 1986:43
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**źjäi-**	bite	Coblin 1986:43

[a] According to Jäschke p. 384, this is a form secondary to WT **ldad-pa**.
[b] Written Tibetan **ld-** is sometimes a reflex of ***ly-**, as in PTB ***m/s/g-lyak** LICK / TONGUE (§1.3.3) > WT **ldag**.

Chinese comparandum

噬 OC ***d̂i̯ad**, *GSR* #336c; B & S 2011: ***det-s {[d] e [t] -s}**; Mand. **shì**.

(2) PTB *nak CHEW

2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**nak-**	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:29
Hayu	**nok**	chew (vt, vr.)	Michailovsky 1989a:[72.1.78],
	nok-	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:29
Sunwar	**'naːk-**	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:29
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang (Eastern)	ʔumh **naʔ**	hold in mouth (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.7.14

(3) PTB *b-ruk CHEW / BITE

This root occurs primarily in Western Himalayish, with scattered cognates elsewhere.

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	kòr-**ràk-**	bite (v.)	Grüssner 1979:48
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**ruk** ca	chew (v.)	Sharma 1991a:3.10.8
Kanauri	**brəg** mig	chew	Sharma 1988:34
Pattani [Manchati]	**rhuk** tshi **ruk** tsi	chew (v.)	Sharma 1991b:3.10.8
	ruk tʃ^{h}i	chew (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	tsi **rut**	chew cud	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	tɕu wu **rək** ru	chew (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.10.8

(4) PTB *ŋyat CHEW / GNAW

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	**ŋot**-ma	bite	Tayeng 1976
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**ɲat**	chew	Mazaudon 1994:133,133
Gurung	^{1}**ŋe-**	chew	Mazaudon 1994:247
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ŋe** baq	gnaw; chew	Glover 1972; Glover 1972:7.B.2.37
Manang (Gyaru)	**nyɛː**^{2}	chew (V.)	Nagano 1984:085
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**ŋjat**	chew (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.10.8
	^{1}**ŋjat**	chew	Mazaudon 1994:241
Tamang (Sahu)	**'nyep**-pa	chew (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:18.B.37
	^{2}**ɲep**	chew	Mazaudon 1994:596
Tamang (Taglung)	^{1}**ɲe**-ba	chew	Mazaudon 1994:249
	ɲeː-ba	chew	Mazaudon 1994:593
Thakali (Marpha)	^{33,44}**ɲeː**-dzi	chew	Mazaudon 1994:596
Thakali (Tukche)	**ŋje**-lɔ	chew	Hari 1971:7.B.2.37 3
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**nh**-ye	chew (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.10.8
	nyāt-	bite, to cut with the teeth (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:10
Newar (Kathmandu)	**nyat-**	bite	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**nyāt** a	bite (past); bite (snake) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.04; Hale 1973:03b.18
	nya ye	bite (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.10.7
Newar (Dolakhali)	**ŋar-**	bite	Genetti 1990b
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	kay-**nyā**	bite (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.04
	kəy-**nya**	bite (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:1.56
3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	**ŋə**^{33}**ŋə**^{55}	chew (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.10.8
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Luxi)	**ŋat**^{31}	bite	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Lashi	**ŋaːt**^{31}	bite (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.10.7
Leqi (Luxi)	**ŋaːt**^{31}	bite (mosquito); bite (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1279.33; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋat**^{21}	bite	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ŋat^{21}	bite (mosquito); bite (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1279.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.30
	ŋat^{21}	bite	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:535.42
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**ŋɑ̠**^{44}	bite	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**nga**^{2}	bite, gnaw	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	ŋɑ̠^{44}	bite	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

(5) PTB *m-gwya CHEW

This etymon bears a close resemblance to PTB ***s/p-wa** TOOTH (§1.3.4), as does PTB ***g-wa-t** BITE / CHEW (§1.3.4.4).

3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**kạ**	chew (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989e:3.10.8
	ki̯oɯ	chew (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989e:3.10.8
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**ko**^{33} **ko**^{55}	chew	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.17
Muya	**khə**^{55}βɐ^{53}	bite (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.15
Muya [Minyak]	**khɯ**^{55}vɐ^{53}	bite	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:535.15
	k^{h}**ɯ**^{55}**vɐ**^{53}	bite (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.10.7
Namuyi	**ŋə**^{33}**ŋə**^{55}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.19
	ŋi^{31}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.46
	ŋi^{31}**ŋi**^{55}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.46
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-g**^{w}**ya**^{2}	chew	Matisoff 2003a:592
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*(**g**)wa^{2}	chew	Hansson 1989:193
Lolopho	**gɯ̱**^{31}	chew (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.10.8
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**ga**^{21}	chew	Chen Kang 1986a:7.
	ɣɑ^{21}	chew (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.8
Lipho	**go**^{21}	chew	Chen Kang 1986a:7.; Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.8
Nasu	**ngho**^{33}	chew	Chen Kang 1986a:7.
	ŋg^{h}**o**^{33}	chew (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.8
Neisu	**ngu**^{33}	chew	Chen Kang 1986a:7.
Nesu	**go**^{33}	chew	Chen Kang 1986a:7.
	go^{33}	chew (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.8
Noesu	**ŋgu**^{33}	chew	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.8
Nosu	**ngɯ**^{33}	chew	Chen Kang 1986a:7.
	ŋgɯ^{33}	chew	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.8
Yi (Dafang)	**ŋgu**^{33}	chew	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.22
Yi (Mile)	**go**^{21}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**go**^{33}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**go**^{21}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.37
	go^{21}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ɣɑ**^{21}	chew	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ɣɑ**^{21}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.36
Yi (Xide)	**ŋgɯ**^{33}	chew	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ŋgɯ^{33}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.35
	ŋgɯ^{33}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**go**^{21}	chew	Chen Kang 1986a:7.; Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.8
	go^{21}	chew (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.10.8
**Common Lahu*	***behˇ**	chew	Bradley 1979b:635B
Lahu (Black)	**bɛ**^{21}mə^{33}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.33
	bɛ^{53}	chew	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986 [a]
Lahu (Yellow)	**bɛ**^{55}	chew	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Nujiang)	**guɑ**^{31}	chew	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**guɑ**^{31}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.40
	guɑ^{31}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.27
Lisu (Northern)	**gwa**^{21}	chew (V.)	Bradley 1994
	gwa^{21}døʔ^{21}	chew carefully	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**gwa**^{5}	chew	Bradley 1979b:635B
Lisu (Central)	**gwa**^{5}	chew / masticate (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	pha^{33}**gwa**^{21} pha^{33}deʔ^{21}	detailed; chew carefully (V.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ga**^{21}	chew	Chen Kang 1986a:7.
	gɑ^{21}	chew; kiss	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.8; Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.5
	gɑ^{11}	kiss, chew, gnash (teeth) (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:326.3
	gɒ^{21}	chew	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**gɒ**^{11}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Thai)	**ɣò**	chew	Hansson 1989:193
Akha (Yunnan)	**ɣö**	chew	Hansson 1989:193
Akha	**ɣò**	chew	Hansson 1989:193
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɣò**	chew	Hansson 1989:193

[a] The Lahu labial initial in **bɛ**^{53} is the regular reflex of an earlier labiovelar initial, with several parallel examples (e.g. DOG, NEST, COMB), see Matisoff 1986, 'Labiovelar unit phonemes in Lolo-Burmese?'.

Hani (Dazhai)	**ɣø**^{31}	chew	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɣø**^{31}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.41
Hani (Pijo)	**kù**	chew	Hansson 1989:193
Hani (Caiyuan)	**kɣ**^{31}	chew	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɣo**^{31}	chew	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**hhyuq**	chew	Hansson 1989:193
Hani (Shuikui)	**kɣ**^{31}	chew	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.32
Mpi	**ko**^{1}	chew	Hansson 1989:193; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**ko**^{11} ce^{33}	chew	Bradley 1977
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi	**gɯ**^{33}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.45
Naxi (Western)	**ŋgɯ**^{33}	chew	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ŋgɯ**^{33}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.28

(6) PTB *k $\frac{\text{r}}{\text{w}}$ ap CHEW (noisily) / MUNCH

2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**k^{h}rap**	bite	Mazaudon 1994:125
Tamang (Bagmati)	**khrap**	bite (v.)	Weidert 1987:670
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**k^{h}rap**	bite (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.10.7
	^{1}**k^{h}rap**	bite (like a dog)	Mazaudon 1994:125
Tamang (Sahu)	**khrāp**-pā(p)	bite (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.04
	k^{h}rap-pa	bite (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:14.4; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.56
	the **khrāp** pā	bite (v.)	Hale 1973:01.056
	^{1}**k^{h}rap**	bite	Mazaudon 1994:125
Tamang (Taglung)	**hwap**-pa	bite	Mazaudon 1994:134
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**khup**	chew	Rai 1985
	khup-	chew (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:41
	khupt-	bite (a grain to test dryne (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:30
	khupt-	chew on s.th. (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:41
	khupʈ-	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:30
	yo **khott**	chew the cud	Rai *et al.* 1984:41
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**'khrayk-**	bite (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:9
	'khrāyk-cā	bite (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.04
	'krayk-	bite (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:9
	'krāyk-cā	bite (v.)	Hale 1973:01.056
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	**khò?**	munch, bite noisily	LaPolla 1987:195 [a]
Lahu (Black)	**khò?**	munch / bite noisily	Matisoff 1972b:90(b)
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Haoni	**kho**^{31}	bite	Hansson 1989:544

[a] Lahu **kh-** is the regular reflex of ***kr**, and **-ò?** is the regular reflex of the rhyme ***-ap**.

(7) PTB *k $\frac{\text{r}}{\text{l}}$ uŋ CHEW

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	do-**gyuŋ**-**gyuŋ**-ma	chew	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	a **k^{h}rõ** ga	chew	Pulu 1978
2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{A}**gloŋ** SWALLOW			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**gloŋ**	swallow (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:194
Gurung (Ghachok)	**klõ** baq	swallow	Glover 1972:7.B.2.38
Gurung	^{3}**ɬõ-**	swallow	Mazaudon 1994:194
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**kloŋ**	swallow (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:4.2.3; Mazaudon 1994:194
Tamang (Sahu)	**klohŋ**-pa	swallow (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:18.B.38
	^{3}**kloŋ**	swallow	Mazaudon 1994:194
Tamang (Taglung)	**hloŋ**-ba	swallow	Mazaudon 1994:194
Thakali (Tukche)	**kjohŋ**-lɔ	swallow (v.)	Hari 1971:7.B.2.38 3
	^{3}**kjoŋ**	swallow (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:194
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**khang** sa-wa	swallow	Rai *et al.* 1984:38
	khUN	swallow (v.)	Rai 1985
Chamling	**khlungs**-(u)	swallow	Winter 1985:20

(8) PTB *wal ≍ *m-yal CHEW (cud, betel)

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***yal ≍ wal**	chew (cud, betel)	Matisoff 2003a:620
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**jɑl**^{55}	chew cud	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**mǎ**^{31}**ja**^{55}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.19
	mǎ^{31}**ja**^{55}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.47
	mǎ^{1} **ja**^{55}	chew	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	məyá	chew	Matisoff 1974:279
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**ŋal**	ruminate, chew cud	Mazaudon 1994:244
Gurung	^{1}**ŋe-**	ruminate	Mazaudon 1994:247
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**ŋjal**	ruminate	Mazaudon 1994:244
Tamang (Sahu)	^{1}**ŋal**	ruminate	Mazaudon 1994:244
Tamang (Taglung)	**ŋep**-pa	chew cud, ruminate	Mazaudon 1994:596
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
**Dum-Thu-Kha*	***ol**	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:31
Khaling	√**ol-**	ruminate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:31
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**ol-**	chew cud (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:31
	ol- (TE)	chew cud (v.)	Allen 1975
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**mjɔ**^{55}	chew	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ŋ̊ɑ**^{53}	chew	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**ya**	betel cud	Benedict 1972:138n371

(9) PTB *ŋam CHEW / HOLD IN THE MOUTH

This etymon may well be allofamically related to PTB ***gam** PUT INTO MOUTH, SEIZE WITH MOUTH (§1.3.4.4).

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar Lhoba	tɕu: tɛ: **ŋ̊am**	chew cud	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**ɲam**	bite	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲam nam	masticate (vt.)	GLDC 2009
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	ma^{2}**ŋəm**^{2}	hold in mouth (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ŋam**^{13}	bite	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ŋam**	bite	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ŋom**^{55} mu^{55}	bite	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**ŋam**	bite (mosquito); bite (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1279.07; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.07
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**Nam**	chew / munch	Rai 1985
	ŋam s-	chew, to munch (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:30
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**ŋam**-	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:30
	ŋam-sa	chew	Caughley 1972:7.B.2. 37
Chepang (Eastern)	**ŋam** naʔ	chew (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.10.8
Kham	**nyahm**-nya	chew (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:7.B.2. 37
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ŋɑp**^{55}	bite	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ŋuŋ**^{55}	hold in mouth	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**ŋɔm**^{31}	hold in mouth	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ŋõ**^{22}	hold in mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.40
Burmese (Written)	**ŋuṁ**^{2}	hold in mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.39
Lashi	**ŋu:m**^{31}	hold in mouth (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.7.14
Maru [Langsu]	**ŋam**^{31}	hold in mouth (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.7.14
	ŋam^{31}	hold in mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.43

(10) PTB *tya $\frac{\text{p}}{\text{m}}$ CHEW

This weakly attested root awaits further confirmation.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	me **tep**	bite (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mú **túp**	bite (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:10
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	pe-**tèp**- (-àn ≂)	chew (v.)	Grüssner 1979:128
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ka na **tɕɛm tɕɛm**	chew (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.10.8

(11) PTB *m-k(r)a-y CHEW

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***kray** BITE / CHEW			
**Chin*	***kray**	BITE / CHEW	VanBik 2009:1313
Anal	pì-ì-**kè**	bite (v.)	Weidert 1987:385
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**kei**^{3}	bite, chew	VanBik 2009:1313
	kei^{3} > kei?^{3}	bite as an animal (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:582
	kei^{3}/kei?^{3}	bite as an animal	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**trây**-I, trăy-II	bite, chew	VanBik 2009:1313
Lushai [Mizo]	**keih**	bite (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2531
	kei?	bite (v.)	Weidert 1987:385
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chài**	bite or tear (v.)	VanBik 2009:1313
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Khezha	^{2}**me**^{2}**ke**	bite (v.)	Weidert 1987:385
Rengma (Southern)	^{1}**n**^{4}**ka**	bite (v.)	Weidert 1987:385
Sema [Sumi]	^{1}**mi**^{2}**ki**	bite (v.)	Weidert 1987:385
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**ma-ki**	bite (v.)	Weidert 1987:385
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**n-kûi**	bite (v.)	Weidert 1987:385
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***kej** BITE			
**Tangkhulic*	***kej**	bite	Mortensen 2012:398
Kachai	k^{h}ə-mə-**ki**	bite (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.098
Tangkhul	^{1}khə^{1}mə^{3}**kəi**	bite (v.)	Weidert 1987:385
	^{1}khə^{1}ŋə^{3}**kəi**	bite (v.)	Weidert 1987:385
Tusom	k^{h}a-ŋ-**ka**	bite	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.109
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**kej**	bite	Mortensen 2012
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	**khəy**-a	bite; bite (e.g. of a dog) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:9; Rai *et al.* 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	dā:-**nyā**	bite (snake) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.18
	kay-nyā	bite (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.04
	kəy-nya	bite (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:1.56
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ka wa **ŋki**	bite (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.10.7
	ka wu **ŋk^{h}ɛi**	hold in mouth (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.7.14
rGyalrong (Northern)	tɕu na **ŋka**	hold in mouth (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.7.14
	tɕu wu nɛ **nka**	bite (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.10.7

(12) PTB *m-dzyak CHEW

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-tʃak** CHEW			
**Central Naga*	***m-tʃak**	CHEW	Bruhn 2014a:III.250
**Ao*	***m-tʃak**	CHEW	Bruhn 2014a:II.149
Ao (Chungli)	**mə**^{3}**tʃak**^{3}	chew (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.149
	mʊ́cák	chew (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:10
Ao (Mongsen)	**mʊ́cák**	chew (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:12
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**mətʃak**	chew [chewed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**n̥**^{1}**-tʃak**^{2}-	chew (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.250
	njak a	chew	Murry *et al.* 1978:16
	Njak a	chew (v.)	Nienu 1990c:3.10.8
Sangtam	**mütsa** nacho	masticate (v.)	Kumar 1973a

Yimchungrü	**müjak** thünak	masticate	Kumar 1973b:44
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**tsik tsi**	bite (v.)	Sharma 1991b:3.10.7
	tʃig tʃi	bite (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tɕʰeu**^{55}	chew	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Batang)	**tɕia**^{53}	chew (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.10.8
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**jEːk** s-	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	jɛːk s-	chew (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:12
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**tsik**	bite (vt, vr.)	Michailovsky 1989a:[73.1.1]
	tsik-	bite (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:14
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	**dzə zi**	chew (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.10.8
	tʃuɑχ tʃuɑχ dzə	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.08
	tʃɑq tʃɑq dzə	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.8; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Taoping)	**χtʂɑ**^{33}	chew	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**dzi dzi**	chew	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2041
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{35} **tʂʰa**^{55}	chew (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.10.8
	lə^{35}**tʂha**^{55}	chew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.16
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**ɲtɕak**^{53} **ɲtɕak**^{53}	chew (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.10.8
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	kʰa **mtʃik**	bite (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.10.7
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**tɕʰe**^{21}	chew (v.)	Chen Kang 1986c:3.10.8
	tɕʰe^{35}	chew (v.)	Chen Kang 1986d:3.10.8
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**jiáo**	chew	Evans *et al.* 1991

(13) PQ * $^{s}_{m}$ -ka GNAW

3.2. Qiangic			
Muya	nɑ^{33}**qo**^{55}la^{33}	gnaw / nibble (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1481.15
Muya [Minyak]	tɯ^{33}**qø**^{55}lɛ^{33}	gnaw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:539.15
Namuyi	**ŋqhɛ**^{33}	gnaw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:539.19
	nqhæ^{31}	gnaw / nibble (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1481.46
Pumi (Qinghua)	xə^{13}**qɑ**^{13}	gnaw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:539.11
Qiang (Longxi)	**ʁà** ɕà	gnaw	Evans 1999:2115
Qiang (Mawo)	**ɣə**^{ɪ} ɕiɛ	gnaw / nibble (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1481.08
	ʁɑ^{ɪ} ɬa	gnaw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:539.8; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Taoping)	**χGɑ**^{231} ɕe^{33}	gnaw	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	χGɑ^{241}ɕe^{33}	gnaw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:539.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**ʁæ** ɬi	gnaw	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2042
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐɑa** le	gnaw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:539.14

1.3.5 Throat/Pharynx

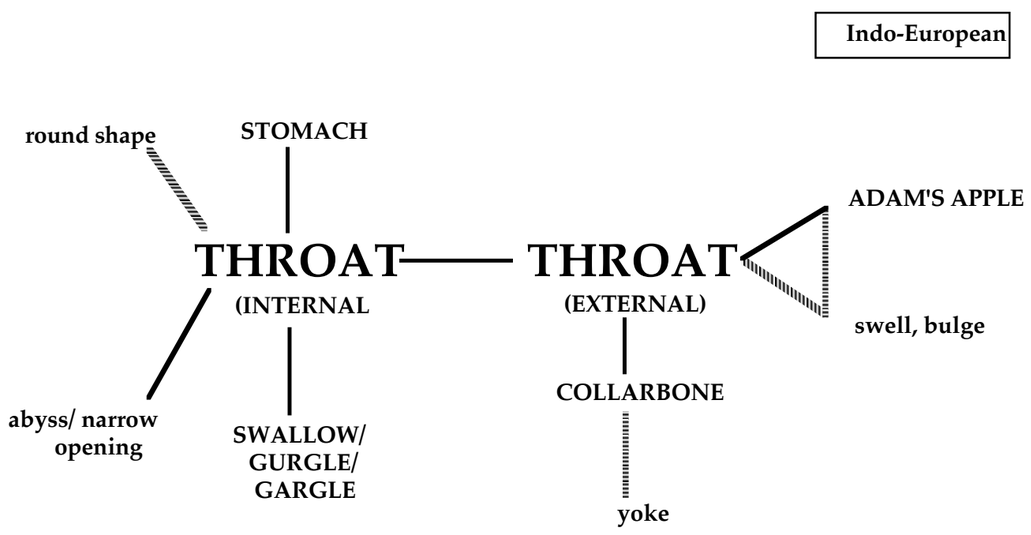


Figure 105: 1.3.5 *Throat/Pharynx*

Figure 106: 1.3.5 *Throat/Pharynx*

(1) PTB *kwa THROAT / NECK

In line with the frequently noted tendency of words meaning NECK / THROAT to have velar initials, we have reconstructed no fewer than eleven etyma with initial velars or velar clusters: PTB ***s/r-gwa-n** NECK / NAPE (§1.4.2), PTB ***s/m-key-k** NECK (§1.4.2), PTB ***l-kwak** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***k-(r/l)aw** THROAT / PALATE (§1.3.5), PTB ***k/s-raw(k/ŋ) ≍ *k-rwa(k/ŋ)** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***grey-k** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***kak** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***ka** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***kwa** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***gwaŋ** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2), and PTB ***ku** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2).

It is highly likely that some of these etyma are allofams of each other. It is equally likely that a given supporting form may have been assigned to the wrong etymon. However, on the basis of the available data, this may be the best that can be done at this point.

2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**gŏ** löṅ	throat (n.)	Bailey 1911
	go laṇ	throat	Sharma 1988:25
	gŏ löṅ	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ko**-kó	throat / chin	Matisoff 1987
	ko-ko	throat / chin	Matisoff 1987:JAM-Ety
	ko-sko	throat / chin	Matisoff 1987:JAM-Ety
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**ko** kʰro	Adam's apple (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:4.1.4
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**ka** ku	windpipe / trachea	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:4.2.1
	ka thu	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
Newar (Kathmandu)	**ka** thu	throat	Malla 2007
	kɔ ku	throat	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**kɔ** thu	throat; gullet; pharynx; uvula	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.7.4; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:4.2
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**kho** bori	neck (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.142
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nesu	**ko**^{33} lę̄^{21} tsl̄^{21}	nape of neck	Chen Kang 1986b:4.1.3
Nusu (Northern)	**ku**^{31} te^{55} luɑ^{35}	throat	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	**ku**^{21}li^{33}	neck (body part)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ku^{33}go^{55}li^{33}go^{55}	neck, sore; sore neck	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ku^{33}na^{33}lɛ^{34}na^{33}	neck, sore; sore neck	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ku^{33}tsl̩^{55}	neck, back of the	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	lɛ^{33}**khu**^{21}sɛ^{21}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.24
Yi (Xide)	**ku**^{21} li^{33}	neck	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ku^{21}li^{33}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.35
	ku^{21}li^{33}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**ko**^{55} lɛ^{22} ɣɯ^{21}	nape of neck	Luo Meizhen 1990:4.1.3; Chen Kang 1986b:4.1.3
Lisu (Northern)	bø^{44}**khu**^{55}	Adam's apple	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**ku**◡ byah◡	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔɑ̃́ **kò**	throat	Bradley 1979b
	ʔɑ̃́ **kɔ̀**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	ʔɑ̃^{55} **ko**^{11}	throat	Bradley 1977
Ugong	**khu** ʔɔ̌ŋ	throat / gullet / pharynx	Bradley 1993:4.2
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**qɔ**ɬtsɯ˥	throat	Michaud 2006–2009:295
	qɔɬtsɯ˥ tu˩ly˩	Adam's apple	Michaud 2006–2009:299
Na (Yongning)	**qv**ɬtɕi˥	phlegm, sputum	Michaud 2006–2009
	qvɬʈʂæ˥	throat; noise	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	tʂhɔ^{55}**kho**^{33}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.45
Naxi (Western)	tʂo^{55}**k**^{h}**o**^{33}to^{55}lo^{33}	throat	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
7. Karenic			
Paku	**gu**^{2}	neck	Luce 1985:E.55
Palaychi	**kó**	neck	Weidert 1987:966

(2) PTB *lwam THROAT

This etymon, which never occurs as an initial syllable in a compound, bears a certain resemblance to PTB ***lam** ROAD (§9.10.1), with a putative semantic association based on the throat's being a pathway to the interior of the body.

1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	e ro-**lõ**	throat	Anonymous 1962
	e rõ **lõ**	Adam's apple; gullet; throat	Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	ol **loŋ**	adam's apple / larynx	Sharma 1991b:4.1.4
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	a-sóm **lóm**	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	tho to **rom** bā	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
Yakha	ik **laːm**	throat / gullet / pharynx	Kohn 1990:4.2 [a]
4. Nungic			
Nung	kɔ^{31}**lɔn**^{53}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.21
Anong	kɔ^{31}**lɔn**^{53}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.44
Trung [Dulong]	ko^{44} **lom**^{44}	Adam's apple / larynx / glottis	Matisoff 1987
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Luxi)	khɔm^{55} **lɔm**^{35}	throat	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985

[a] For Yakha **ik**, cf. ***ik** *STC* #113 STRANGLE/THROTTLE.

(3) PTB * $^{k}_{s}$ -raw $^{k}_{ŋ}$ ≍ *k-rwa $^{k}_{ŋ}$ THROAT

In line with the frequently noted tendency of words meaning NECK / THROAT to have velar initials, we have reconstructed no fewer than eleven etyma with initial velars or velar clusters: PTB ***s/r-gwa-n** NECK / NAPE (§1.4.2), PTB ***s/m-key-k** NECK (§1.4.2), PTB ***l-kwak** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***k-(r/l)aw** THROAT / PALATE (§1.3.5), PTB ***k/s-raw(k/ŋ) ≍ *k-rwa(k/ŋ)** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***grey-k** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***kak** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***ka** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***kwa** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***gwaŋ** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2), and PTB ***ku** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2).

It is highly likely that some of these etyma are allofams of each other. It is equally likely that a given supporting form may have been assigned to the wrong etymon. However, on the basis of the available data, this may be the best that can be done at this point.

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**thrō**-ka:	throat; gullet; esophagus; neck (front of, i.e. throat)	NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987
Kaman [Miju]	**go**^{31}**ɹoŋ**^{35}	throat	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	e **ro**-lõ	throat	Anonymous 1962
	e **rõ** gu	Adam's apple	Pulu 1978
	e **rõ** lõ	Adam's apple; gullet; throat	Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	awr, **hrawk**	throat	Marrison 1967
	hrok	throat; gullet; esophagus	Matisoff 1987; Bhaskararao 1996:364
	hrok bawk	Adam's apple	Matisoff 1987
	hrok-hrawl	larynx; windpipe	Matisoff 1987
	hrok-puar	goiter	Matisoff 1987
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	le **ʂrok**	neck / throat	Toba & Kom 1991:4
	le **ʂrok** int^{h}iŋ	swollen lymph nodes (in neck)	Toba & Kom 1991:4.1.2
	re **ʂrok**	throat / gullet / pharynx	Toba & Kom 1991:4.2

Moyon	**lrʌ́k**	throat / gullet / pharynx	Kosha 1990:4.2
	rəŋ **roʔ**	adam's apple / larynx	Kosha 1990:4.1.4
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	te **rok**	throat	Marrison 1967
	$tə^{3}$-**ɹuk**^{3}	throat (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	^{3}tɯ^{3}**rok**	throat	Weidert 1987:1041
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Khezha	**kèrə**	throat / gullet / pharynx	Yabu 1994:4.2
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	mái-**ruak**	throat	Weidert 1987:1041
	rok	throat	Marrison 1967
Zeme	^{3}mi^{4}**ruak**	throat	Weidert 1987:1041
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***rok** THROAT / LARYNX / VOICE			
**Tangkhulic*	***rok**	throat / larynx / voice	Mortensen 2012:583
Kachai	ʔa-**rɐk**-ʃe	throat	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.106
Tangkhul	ā **rok** ra	windpipe; pharynx; throat; larynx	Matisoff 1987:99
	kha **rok**	Adam's apple; larynx; glottis; throat; gullet; esophagus; windpipe; pharynx	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987:99
	kha **rok** āma thin	uvula ("throat-liver")	Matisoff 1987
	rok	throat	Bhat 1969:99
	^{1}ə^{1}khə^{1}**rok**	throat	Weidert 1987:1041
Tusom	ʔɯ-k^{h}-**ru**	throat	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.117
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**rok**	larynx	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**garang**	throat	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	**garõ**	throat (inside) [see ditõ]	Jacquesson 2005
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	yu **khrawng**	throat	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Ganan	**hɔʔ**^{4}k'ɑ^{1}	throat	Luce 1985:L.145
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Jirel)	bā **gārok**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	thɔ **k'rɔŋ**	windpipe <throat>	Michailovsky 1989b
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	tə **khruŋ khruŋ**	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.12
	khrung khrung	throat; windpipe	Nagano 1997:4.2; Nagano 1997:4.2.1
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	tʂə **k**^{32}	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	tʂ'ə **k**^{32}**hɹa**^{42}	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	tɕi^{31}**xɹʌ̆ʔ**^{55}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	tɕi^{31} **xɹʌ̆ʔ**^{55}	throat	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	tɯ^{31} **xɹʌ̆ʔ**^{55}	throat	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
**Burmese*	***khroŋ**	throat	Okell 1971
Achang (Longchuan)	**khʐ̩ŋ**^{31} tʂo^{35}	throat	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	khʐ̩ŋ^{31}tʂo^{35}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.28
	khʐ̩ŋ^{31}tʂo^{35}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**khʐ̩ŋ**^{31}tʐ̩oŋ^{31}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.29
	k^{h}**ʐ̩ŋ**^{31} tʐ̩oŋ^{31}	throat	Dai Qingxia 1989f:168
Arakanese	**hkraùn**	throat	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**khjauŋ**^{35}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.32
Bola	**k**^{h}**jauŋ**^{35}	throat	Dai Qingxia 1989g:168
Burmese (Rangoon)	ɑ^{22}**khãu**^{22}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hcaùn**	throat	Okell 1971
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khloṅ**	throat	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khroṅ:**	throat	Okell 1971
	khrôŋ	windpipe; trachea	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a
	khyôŋ	windpipe; trachea	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a
	lañ-**khrôŋ**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	lañ̃ñ **khyoṅ:**	throat	Marrison 1967
Hpun (Northern)	lɛ́ **xɔ̀ŋ**	throat	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**khjauŋ**^{35}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.31
Lashi	**khjuŋ**^{55}	throat / gullet / pharynx	Dai Qingxia 1989m:4.2
	sɔʔ^{55} **khjo**^{33}	windpipe / trachea	Dai Qingxia 1989m:4.2.1
Leqi (Luxi)	**khjuŋ**^{55}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.33
Maru [Langsu]	**khjauŋ**^{35}	throat; gullet; pharynx	Dai Qingxia 1989l:4.2; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.43
	khyaūng	throat	Okell 1971
	sɔʔ^{55} **khjɔ**^{31}	windpipe / trachea	Dai Qingxia 1989l:4.2.1
Tavoyan	**hcòn**	throat	Okell 1971
	hkòn	throat	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khjuŋ** ^{21}toŋ^{21}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.30
	khjuŋ^{21}	throat	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*ʔ-**kroŋ**^{2}	throat	Bradley 1979b:105A

(4) PTB *k-$\begin{matrix}\text{r}\\\text{l}\end{matrix}$aw THROAT / PALATE

In line with the frequently noted tendency of words meaning NECK / THROAT to have velar initials, we have reconstructed no fewer than eleven etyma with initial velars or velar clusters: PTB ***s/r-gwa-n** NECK / NAPE (§1.4.2), PTB ***s/m-key-k** NECK (§1.4.2), PTB ***l-kwak** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***k-(r/l)aw** THROAT / PALATE (§1.3.5), PTB ***k/s-raw(k/ŋ) ≍ *k-rwa(k/ŋ)** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***grey-k** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***kak** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***ka** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***kwa** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***gwaŋ** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2), and PTB ***ku** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2).

It is highly likely that some of these etyma are allofams of each other. It is equally likely that a given supporting form may have been assigned to the wrong etymon. However, on the basis of the available data, this may be the best that can be done at this point.

Darang has an apparent doublet **k**^{h}**ɑ**^{31} **lo**^{53} 'palate' and **ɕɯ**^{31}**tɯ**^{31}**gɹu**^{53} 'throat'.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	gjui-g(j)u-**ro**	throat	Sun 1993b
	grui grju-**ro**	throat	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993a
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	k^{h}ɑ^{31} **lo**^{53}	palate (shang'e)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕɯ^{31}tɯ^{31}**gɹu**^{53}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.22
	ɕɯ^{31}tɯ^{31}**gɹu**^{53}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.49
	ɕɯ^{53} tɯ^{31} **gɹo**^{53}	throat	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	o^{55} **lo**^{55}	palate (shang'e)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**rao**	neck; throat; neck, throat	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	rao byu-pa	goitre	Matisoff 1987
	rao ka ri	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987
	rao pua-pa	goiter	Matisoff 1987:256
	rao ti-pa dy-pa	Adam's apple; trachea	Matisoff 1987
	rao tì-pa dy-pa	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987
	^{3}**ro**	neck	Weidert 1987:180
Mera	**ʀo**^{5}hmi^{1}	neck	Luce 1985:N.44
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	ying **khiro**	throat	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **ru**^{11} ki^{55}	windpipe / trachea	Nienu 1990a:4.2.1
	(u) vo^{33} **ru**^{31}	adam's apple / larynx	Nienu 1990a:4.1.4
Chokri	(u) **ru**^{11} che^{35}	windpipe / trachea	Nienu 1990b:4.2.1
	(u) vo^{33} **ro**^{31}	adam's apple / larynx	Nienu 1990b:4.1.4
Khezha	**kegho**	neck	Marrison 1967
1.6. Mru			
Mru	**kro**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Lalung [Tiwa]	tha **lo**	palate	Balawan 1965:72
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	džə **khrō**	windpipe / throat / gullet / esophagus	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:329
	jə **hkrāw**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak (Bawtala)	a^{1}**kru**^{4}	throat	Luce 1985:L.145
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	o **ro**	adam's apple / larynx	Sharma 1991a:4.1.4
Pattani [Manchati]	ta**: Ru** / šâng war	throat / gullet / pharynx	Sharma 1991b:4.2
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	ʃhe^{13} **ru**^{35}	throat / gullet / pharynx	Sun Hongkai 1991a:4.2
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**kru-kru**	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}ko **k**^{h}**ro**	Adam's apple (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:4.1.4
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Chamling	ghi **cro**	throat / neck	Winter 1985:13
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
**Dum-Thu-Kha*	*gon du **ru**	throat	Michailovsky 1991:184
Khaling	'ghwān dū **rū**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	ghwaan dü **rü**	throat	Michailovsky 1991:184
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	gun diu **riu**	throat	Michailovsky 1991:184; Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang (Eastern)	**ryo** dhyoŋʔ	windpipe / trachea	Caughley 1990:4.2.1
Magar	bhọ **karo**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə k^{h}a **kɹo**	palate	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.7.1
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**k**^{h}**jo**^{44} pɛ^{44}	throat	Dai Qingxia 1989h:175
	lɯ^{31} no^{44} **k**^{h}**lo**^{55}	nape	Dai Qingxia 1989h:116
Jinuo	**tɕho**^{33}pɛ^{44}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.34
	tɕho^{44}pɛ^{44}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**tɕhu**^{33}pi^{33}	throat, larynx (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**tɕ**^{h}**o**^{44} pɛ^{44}	throat	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**tɕ**^{h}**u**^{33} pi^{33}	throat	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	læ^{33} **ɣɯ**^{11}	throat	Ma Xueliang 1989:331.5
Yi (Sani)	læ^{33}**ɣɯ**^{11}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.39
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ku**^{21}**lu**^{55}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.36

(5) PTB *l-kwak THROAT / NECK

The Karbi and Meithei forms with **kr-** clusters may well have arisen by metathesis from the *liquid prefix and *velar root initial.

In line with the frequently noted tendency of words meaning NECK / THROAT to have velar initials, we have reconstructed no fewer than eleven etyma with initial velars or velar clusters: PTB ***s/r-gwa-n** NECK / NAPE (§1.4.2), PTB ***s/m-key-k** NECK (§1.4.2), PTB ***l-kwak** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***k-(r/l)aw** THROAT / PALATE (§1.3.5), PTB ***k/s-raw(k/ŋ) ≍ *k-rwa(k/ŋ)** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***grey-k** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***kak** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***ka** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***kwa** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***gwaŋ** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2), and PTB ***ku** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2).

It is highly likely that some of these etyma are allofams of each other. It is equally likely that a given supporting form may have been assigned to the wrong etymon. However, on the basis of the available data, this may be the best that can be done at this point.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	rju:-lo: to:-**kuk**	larynx	Sun 1993b
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	krek **kruk**	Adam's apple / larynx / glottis	Matisoff 1987
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	kèk **krúk**	adam's apple / larynx	Grüssner 1979:41
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**kog** ma	throat / gullet / pharynx	Sharma 1991a:4.2
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kurtöp	**koʔ** ma	neck	Weidert 1987:966
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Spiti)	**k**^{h}**o** pa	throat	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**'og**-ma	throat / neck	Matisoff 1987
	lkog-ma	throat; gullet; esophagus; neck	Weidert 1987:966; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**ghok** ta	throat; oesophagus, inside of the throat.	Michailovsky 1991:182; Driem 1993

	leŋ **ghok**	throat; cf. toksɨ.	Driem 1993
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**'ku:k** ku	throat; gullet; esophagus	Michailovsky 1991:182; Matisoff 1987
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**guk**	throat	Matisoff 1987
	guk	throat, pharynx (n.)	Caughley 2000
	guk	throat; neck	Caughley 1972:2.A.27; Caughley 1972:2.A.28
	guk syəwʔ-	catch (of throat - as when liquid goes down wrong way) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	guk yup-	choked, blocked (throat), unable to speak (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	guk-	throat	Michailovsky 1991:182
Chepang (Eastern)	**guk**	throat / gullet / pharynx	Caughley 1990:4.2
	guk kak	goiter	Caughley 1990:4.1.1
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	ɒ^{44} **kɤ̠^{44}** lɤ̠^{44}	adam's apple / larynx	Dai Qingxia 1989n:4.1.4
	ɒ^{44} **kɤ̠^{44}** lɤ̠^{44} tʂo^{33}	throat / gullet / pharynx	Dai Qingxia 1989n:4.2
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Nyi)	k'a¯ **k'eu:** leuˆ	larynx	Bradley 1979a:104
Lahu (Shehleh)	k'ui¯ **kui:** lui:	larynx	Bradley 1979a:104
Lahu (Lancang)	**qhɔ^{21}**qhɔ^{33}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.43
	qɑ^{35}**qɤ^{33}**lɤ^{33}	Adam's apple (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0142.43
Lahu (Black)	qá-**qə**-lə	Adam's apple / larynx / glottis	Matisoff 1987
	qá-**qə̂ʔ**-lə̂ʔ	larnyx / Adam's apple	Matisoff 1988a [a]
	qhɔ^{33}qhɔ^{33}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.33
	qhɔ̀ʔ-qhɔ	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	q^{h}ɔ^{31} q^{h}ɔ^{33}	throat	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	chi: **hk'aw¯** law:	larynx	Bradley 1979a:104
Lahu (Banlan)	kan¯ **ke:** le:	larynx	Bradley 1979a:104
Lisu (Northern)	bø^{44}**kɔ^{21}**lɔ^{35}	windpipe	Bradley 1994
7. Karenic			
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***kàuʔ**	neck	Jones 1961:399
**Karen (Pwo)*	***khòʔ**	neck	Jones 1961:399
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***kɔ̀ʔ**	neck	Jones 1961:399
Bwe (Western)	**gɔ^{3}**	neck	Luce 1985:E.55
Bwe	**gɔ̀**	neck	Weidert 1987:966
	gɔ̀	neck, throat (n.)	Henderson 1997
	gɔ̀ ɓɔ́	whole of the throat (n.)	Henderson 1997
	gɔ̀ ʃá	nape of the neck (n.)	Henderson 1997
Geba	**gɔ^{3}**	neck	Luce 1985:E.55
Karen	**kho^{31}**dze^{33}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.50
Palaychi	**kó**	neck	Jones 1961:399
Pwo (Southern)	**khoʔ^{21}** bo$^{31··}$	neck, cheek	Luangthongkum 2013:201
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**k'ʊʔ^{2}-**	neck	Luce 1985:E.55
Pwo (Delta)	**k'ʊʔ^{1}**	neck	Luce 1985:E.55
Pwo (Bassein)	**khòʔ**	neck	Weidert 1987:966; Jones 1961:399
Pwo (Moulmein)	**khoʔ**	neck	Weidert 1987:966; Jones 1961:399
Sgaw (Northern)	**khɔʔ^{45}**bo^{33}	neck, cheek	Luangthongkum 2013:201
Sgaw	**koʔ^{5}**	neck	Luce 1985:E.55
	kɔʔ^{5}	neck	Luce 1985:E.55
	^{1}koʔ	neck	Weidert 1987:966
Sgaw (Bassein)	**kɔ̀ʔ**	neck	Jones 1961:399
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**k^{h}o^{31}** dze^{33}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989k:115
	k^{h}o^{31} **ko̠ʔ^{55}**	throat	Dai Qingxia 1989k:175
	k^{h}o^{31} lø^{31} t^{h}i^{55}	nape	Dai Qingxia 1989k:116
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**kɔ̀ʔ**	neck	Jones 1961:399
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**ko^{31}** bo̠^{55}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989j:115
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	sẽ̠^{42} **qv̠̄^{21}**	throat	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**ku^{21}**tshi^{31}te^{44}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.35
	ku̠^{21} tsi^{33} te̠^{44}	throat	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ku̠^{21}** tsi^{33} te̠^{44}	throat	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ku̠^{21} tsɿ^{33} tei̠^{44} k^{h}o^{33} «ne̠^{21}»	throat / gullet / pharynx	Zhao Yansun 1990:4.2
	to̠^{42} **ko̠^{42}** tɕi^{55}	nape of neck	Zhao Yansun 1990:4.1.3

[a] The immediate ancestor of Lahu **qá-** would be PLB ***ʔgak**.

(6) PTB *m-g (u / i) l THROAT

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***kul**~**gul**	neck	Coblin 1986:112
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gí**-rí	Adam's apple	Matisoff 1987
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	kə dəŋ **k^{h}ul**	windpipe / trachea	Toba & Kom 1991:4.2.1
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Kohima)	(u) ru^{11} **ki^{55}**	windpipe / trachea	Nienu 1990a:4.2.1
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	lang **joi** (a pong)	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	lang **joi**, che thok	throat	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	bo **gol** tu tí	windpipe; trachea	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**git**-ok-du'-chi	adam's apple	Burling 1992 [a]
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	khã **gul**	neck	Sharma 1991a:4.1
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**'gul**-pa ~ **mgul**(-pa)	neck, throat	Coblin 1986:112
	ḥgul	throat / neck (resp.)	Matisoff 1987
	mgul	throat	Marrison 1967
	mgul(-pa)	throat / neck (resp.)	Matisoff 1987
	mgur	throat; neck (resp.); neck	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Chantyal	**kil** tiŋ	adam's apple / larynx	Noonan *et al.* 1992:4.1.4
Manang (Gyaru)	da^{4} jɯ^{3} **gɯ^{3}**	nape	Nagano 1984:025-01
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**kil** lik-**kil** lik	Adam's apple, the lump caused by projecting thyroid cartilage in	Driem 1993
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**kor**	larynx, throat; throat	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0458; Nishida 1964:98-072
	kor-n^{w}eɦ	throat	Nishida 1964:184
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**kenx**	neck	Coblin 1986:112
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**kən:**	neck	Coblin 1986:112

[a] [Source Note] (lit: neck-egg).

(7) PTB *wa (l / r) THROAT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ʔol**	throat / gullet	Matisoff 2003a:583
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	kyuŋ-**rul**	throat	Tayeng 1976
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ʔor** THROAT (outside)			
**Chin*	***ʔor**	THROAT (outside)	VanBik 2009:514
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**ok^{3}** > oʔ^{3}	wear on the neck (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1304
	ok^{3}/oʔ^{3}	wear on the neck	Bhaskararao 1994
	o:k^{2}	get choked in the throat	VanBik 2009:514
	o:k^{2}	get choked in the throat (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1318
	o:k^{2}	get choked in the throat	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**t'oó**	throat (inside or outside)	VanBik 2009:514
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔôr**	throat (outside)	VanBik 2009:514
Lushai [Mizo]	**áwr**	throat (outside) (n.)	VanBik 2009:514
	awr, hrawk	throat	Marrison 1967
	or	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	or	wear around the neck (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2754
	or puar	goiter	Matisoff 1987
	ór-púar	goitre	Weidert 1987:504
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**hun**	throat	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Wancho	tuk-**ur**	neck	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Kadu (Kantu)	kă **ʔɔ^{4}**	throat	Luce 1985:L.145
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**o** ro	adam's apple / larynx	Sharma 1991a:4.1.4
Pattani [Manchati]	**ol** loŋ	adam's apple / larynx	Sharma 1991b:4.1.4
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**u** cçhok	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.5
	u ndəd	adam's apple	Sun 1985a:6
Tibetan (Batang)	**õ^{55}** ty^{55}	adam's apple / larynx	Dai Qingxia 1989a:4.1.4
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**ol** gong	throat; gullet; pharynx; adam's apple; larynx	Bishop 1989:4.1.4; Bishop 1989:4.2
Tibetan (Spiti)	**òl** e	neck	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**'o**-doṅ	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987
	'o-ldoṅ	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987
	'o-lé	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	'ol-ldoṅ	throat; windpipe; trachea	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	'ol-ma	throat; windpipe; trachea	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	'ol-mdud	forepart of larynx	Matisoff 1987
	ul.mdud	adam's apple	Sun 1985c:6
	ʔol tɕog	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.01
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Gyaru)	ka^{1} rᴇ^{1} **ol^{1}** gɯŋ^{1}	throat	Nagano 1984:026
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{2}ol** koŋ	throat (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:4.2.2
Thakali (Tukche)	**ol**-koTa	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	ol-koʈɔ	throat	Hari 1971:2.A.27
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**wu^{55}**tʂo^{55}	throat; Adam's apple (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.16; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0142.16
Muya	**o^{55}**ndy^{53}	Adam's apple (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0142.15
	u^{55}tʂho^{53}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.15
Muya [Minyak]	**o^{33}** tʂ^{h}o^{55}	windpipe / trachea	Sun Hongkai 1991h:4.2.1
	o^{55}ndy^{55}	adam's apple / larynx	Sun Hongkai 1991h:4.1.4
	u^{55}tʂho^{53}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.15
	u^{55}tʂ^{h}o^{53}	throat / gullet / pharynx	Sun Hongkai 1991h:4.2
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**o^{33}** mdət^{53}	adam's apple / larynx	Sun Hongkai 1991c:4.1.4

(8) PTB *s(y)a (m / ŋ) THROAT

This sparsely attested root, which in TB languages refers to the neck, seems to be distinct from PTB ***s(y)am-s** BREATH / LUNG / SPIRIT / VOICE / HEART (§1.1.2.2), whose semantic center of gravity is more abstract.

The putative Chinese comparandum, however, has a more "internal" meaning, referring to the voice or throat. Cf. Mandarin **sǎngzi** 'voice', which occurs neither in *GSR* 704 nor in Baxter's system, so that it probably has no early attestation. By analogy with **sāng** 'mulberry', which is in both sources, it would be reconstructed ***sâng** by Karlgren and ***sangʔ** by Baxter.

1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	**sem**-bra	neck	Anonymous 1962
	sem ba	neck	Pulu 1978
	ɕeŋ^{55}bɹa^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991f:4.1
	ɕeŋ^{55}bɹɑ^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.50
Yidu	**ɕeŋ^{55}**bɹɑ^{55}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.25
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	ngak **sam**	neck	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Ntenyi	a **sung**	neck	Marrison 1967

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	ngak **sam**	neck	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	ŋək **səm**	neck; throat	Singh 1991:4; Singh 1991:4.1
	ŋək **səm** məri	nape of neck	Singh 1991:4.1.3

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Pattani [Manchati]	ta: Ru / **šâng** war	throat / gullet / pharynx	Sharma 1991b:4.2

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old)	**sâng**	throat / voice	Matisoff 1994b:704
	sang?	throat / voice	Matisoff 1994b

(9) PTB *sit NAPE / NECK / THROAT

This sparsely attested root awaits further confirmation. As a long shot, one could compare PTB ***sit** WHISTLE (§8.5.5)[q.v.], with the semantic connection residing in the expulsion of air through the vocal organs.

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	ŋuŋ **sit** u toŋ	windpipe / trachea	Singh 1991:4.2.1

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**sik** koma	nape of the neck	Michailovsky 1989b
	sik kumbā	nape	Matisoff 1987
	sik ruŋ nā	nape	Matisoff 1987
	sit la	neck, throat	Michailovsky 1989b
	sit lā	neck	Matisoff 1987

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	tok **si**	neck / throat	Driem 1993

(10) PTB *grey-k THROAT

This etymon was formerly reconstructed as ***gre-k**.

In line with the frequently noted tendency of words meaning NECK / THROAT to have velar initials, we have reconstructed no fewer than eleven etyma with initial velars or velar clusters: PTB ***s/r-gwa-n** NECK / NAPE (§1.4.2), PTB ***s/m-key-k** NECK (§1.4.2), PTB ***l-kwak** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***k-(r/l)aw** THROAT / PALATE (§1.3.5), PTB ***k/s-raw(k/ŋ) ≍ *k-rwa(k/ŋ)** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***grey-k** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***kak** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***ka** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***kwa** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***gwaŋ** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2), and PTB ***ku** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2).

It is highly likely that some of these etyma are allofams of each other. It is equally likely that a given supporting form may have been assigned to the wrong etymon. However, on the basis of the available data, this may be the best that can be done at this point.

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**krek** kruk	Adam's apple / larynx / glottis	Matisoff 1987

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**kèk** krúk	adam's apple / larynx	Grüssner 1979:41

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**kare** pā	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**gre**-ba	windpipe; gullet	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Gyaru)	**ka**^{1} **rɛ**^{1} ol^{1} guŋ^{1}	throat	Nagano 1984:026

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**ce** bop mā	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987

(11) PTB *kak THROAT

In line with the frequently noted tendency of words meaning NECK / THROAT to have velar initials, we have reconstructed no fewer than eleven etyma with initial velars or velar clusters: PTB ***s/r-gwa-n** NECK / NAPE (§1.4.2), PTB ***s/m-key-k** NECK (§1.4.2), PTB ***l-kwak** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***k-(r/l)aw** THROAT / PALATE (§1.3.5), PTB ***k/s-raw(k/ŋ) ≍ *k-rwa(k/ŋ)** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***grey-k** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***kak** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***ka** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***kwa** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***gwaŋ** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2), and PTB ***ku** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2).

It is highly likely that some of these etyma are allofams of each other. It is equally likely that a given supporting form may have been assigned to the wrong etymon. However, on the basis of the available data, this may be the best that can be done at this point.

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	kong-**gâk**	nape	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**kak'** ts	neck (n.)	Bailey 1911
	kak' ts	neck	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang (Eastern)	guk **kak**	goiter	Caughley 1990:4.1.1

6.1.1. BURMISH

Hpun (Northern)	laíŋ **kà?**	neck (nape of)	Henderson 1986

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Nyi)	**k'a**$^{-}$ k'eu: leuˆ	larynx	Bradley 1979a:104
Lahu (Shehleh)	**k'ui**$^{-}$ kui: lui:	larynx	Bradley 1979a:104
Lahu (Lancang)	**qɑ**^{35}qɤ^{33}lɤ^{33}	Adam's apple (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0142.43
Lahu (Black)	**qá**-qə-lə	Adam's apple / larynx / glottis	Matisoff 1987
	qá-qɔ̂?-lɔ̂?	larnyx / Adam's apple	Matisoff 1988a [a]
Lahu (Bakeo)	**chi:** hk'aw^{-} law:	larynx	Bradley 1979a:104
Lahu (Banlan)	**kan**$^{-}$ ke: le:	larynx	Bradley 1979a:104

[a]The immediate ancestor of Lahu **qá-** would be PLB ***ʔgak**.

(12) PTB *ka THROAT / NECK

In line with the frequently noted tendency of words meaning NECK / THROAT to have velar initials, we have reconstructed no fewer than eleven etyma with initial velars or velar clusters: PTB ***s/r-gwa-n** NECK / NAPE (§1.4.2), PTB ***s/m-key-k** NECK (§1.4.2), PTB ***l-kwak** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***k-(r/l)aw** THROAT / PALATE (§1.3.5), PTB ***k/s-raw(k/ŋ) ≍ *k-rwa(k/ŋ)** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***grey-k** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***kak** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***ka** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***kwa** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***gwaŋ** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2), and PTB ***ku** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2).

It is highly likely that some of these etyma are allofams of each other. It is equally likely that a given supporting form may have been assigned to the wrong etymon. However, on the basis of the available data, this may be the best that can be done at this point.

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**ha:** dang-ra	nape	Matisoff 1987
	k^{h}ɑ^{31} diɯŋ^{53} ɹɑ^{55}	neck	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	thrõ-**ka:**	throat; gullet; esophagus; neck (front of, i.e. throat)	NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	rao **ka** ri	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Ganan	hɔʔ^{4}**k'ɑ**^{1}	throat	Luce 1985:L.145

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	**kha**	neck	Noonan *et al.* 1992:4.1
Gurung (Ghachok)	**khāq** ri	throat; gullet; esophagus	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987 [a]
	k^{h}aq ri	throat; neck	Glover 1972:2.A.27; Glover 1972:2.A.28
Manang (Gyaru)	**ka**^{1} rɛ^{1}	neck	Nagano 1984:025
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{3}k^{h}a:** r	neck	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0018
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{1}k^{h}a:** re	neck (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:4.1
Thakali (Tukche)	**khā**	neck	Matisoff 1987
	k^{h}a	neck	Hari 1971:1.50

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**ga:** pwa(t)	neck	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**'kha** rim	nape	Watters & Watters 1989
	'khā rim	throat; gullet; esophagus; neck	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	'k^{h}a rim	nape	Watters & Watters 1989
Magar	mi-Dung **gā**	neck	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	lu^{55} **ka**^{21} tsɭ^{33}	neck	CHEN Kang 1986b:4.1
Nusu (Central)	mi^{31} k^{h}ũ^{55} **k^{h}ɑ**^{31}	throat	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	mi^{31}khũ^{55}**khɑ**^{31}	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.45
Yi (Nanjian)	lu^{55} **ka**^{21} tsɭ^{33}	neck	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:248.23
Yi (Weishan)	lu^{55}**ka**^{21}tsɭ^{33}	neck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.36

[a]The glottal final in Gurung **khāq** suggests that PTB ***ka** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5) might stand in an allofamic relationship to PTB ***kak** THROAT (§1.3.5).

(13) PTB *m-tsywa(ŋ) THROAT

Qiangic provides the evidence for the ***m-** prefix, while Pumi and Achang seem to reflect a final ***-ŋ**.

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**tʂho**^{55} ko^{53}	throat	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.17
	wu^{55}**tʂo**^{55}	throat; Adam's apple (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0142.16
Muya	u^{55}**tʂho**^{53}	throat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.15
Muya [Minyak]	o^{33} **tʂ^{h}o**^{55}	windpipe / trachea	SUN Hongkai 1991h:4.2.1
	u^{55}**tʂho**^{53}	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.15
	u^{55}**tʂ^{h}o**^{53}	throat / gullet / pharynx	SUN Hongkai 1991h:4.2
Namuyi	**ntshy**^{55}pho^{55}ɣo^{55}tɛ^{55}	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.19
	nts^{h}y^{55}p^{h}o^{55}ɣo^{55}tɛ^{55}	throat / gullet / pharynx	SUN Hongkai 1991i:4.2
Pumi (Taoba)	su^{55} **tʂ^{h}õ**^{53}	throat	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	su^{55}**tʂhõ**^{53}	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**tshu** ʂqu ma ti	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.8
	tshə rqu	windpipe	Sun 1986
	ts^{h}u χu	clear throat	SUN Hongkai 1991g:11.8
	ts^{h}u rqu	throat	Sun 1986
	ts^{h}u ʂqu ma ti	throat	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ts^{h}ə q^{h}u^{ɪ} mə ti	windpipe / trachea	SUN Hongkai 1991g:4.2.1
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	ku^{55} **tʂ^{h}u**^{53}	throat / gullet / pharynx	SUN Hongkai 1991n:4.2
	ku^{55}**tʂhu**^{53}	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tɕhy**^{55}	throat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.13
Xumi	**tshu**^{53}qhu^{33}ta^{33}	throat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.17

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	ʐqua **mtɕhɯ**	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.14
	ʐqua **mtɕ^{h}ɯ**	throat / gullet / pharynx	SUN Hongkai 1991b:4.2

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	khzꭥɔŋ^{31} **tʂo**^{35}	throat	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	khzꭥɔŋ^{31}**tʂo**^{35}	throat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.28
	khzꭥɔŋ^{31}**tʂo**^{35}	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.41
Achang (Xiandao)	khzꭥoŋ^{31}**tzꭥoŋ**^{31}	throat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.29
	k^{h}zꭥoŋ^{31} **tzꭥoŋ**^{31}	throat	DAI Qingxia 1989f:168

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nasu	**tɕ^{h}u**^{21} ɕe^{21} pu^{33}	adam's apple / larynx	CHEN Kang 1986b:4.1.4
Nesu	**tʂ^{h}o**^{33} po^{33}	throat / gullet / pharynx	CHEN Kang 1986b:4.2
	tʂ^{h}o^{33} po^{33} ts̄^{21}	adam's apple / larynx	CHEN Kang 1986b:4.1.4
Nusu (Southern)	**tʂ^{h}u**^{55} ts^{h}i̱^{53}	throat	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**tɕhɒ**^{33}thɔ^{21}	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.22
	tɕ^{h}ɒ^{33} t^{h}ɔ^{21}	throat	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Mile)	**tʂho**^{21}lɛ^{33}po^{55}	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tsho**^{33}po^{33}	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.26

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**tʂho**^{21}lɛ^{33}po^{55}	throat	CHEN Kang 1986b:4.2
	tʂ'o^{21} lɛ^{22} po^{55}	adam's apple / larynx	LUO Meizhen 1990:4.1.4
	tʂ'o^{21} lɛ^{33} po^{55} ts'i^{21}	clear throat	LUO Meizhen 1990:11.8
	tʂ'o^{21} tʂo^{22}	throat / gullet / pharynx	LUO Meizhen 1990:4.2
Lisu	**tʃho**^{31}thi^{31}	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	**tʃ^{h}o**^{31} t^{h}e^{31}	throat	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**tɕho**^{31}the^{31}	throat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tɕhɔ**^{21}be^{44}	throat	Bradley 1994
	tɕhɔ^{21}nɔ^{33}	choke, block the throat	Bradley 1994
	tɕhɔ^{21}the^{21}	throat	Bradley 1994

6.2. NAXI

Naxi (Western)	**tɕər**^{33}pər^{31}	neck	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tɕəɹ**^{33}pəɹ^{31}	neck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:248.28
	tɕəɹ^{33}tʂəɹ^{55}	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.28
Naxi	**tɕɚ**^{33}pɚ^{21}	neck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.45
	tʂhɚ^{33}ko^{21}tɣ^{55}lɣ^{33}	Adam's apple (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0142.45
	tʂhɚ^{55}kho^{33}	throat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.45

Naxi (Western)	**tʂo**^{55}k^{h}o^{33}to^{55}lo^{33}	throat	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(14) NEIA *hy $\begin{matrix}\textbf{i}\\\textbf{u}\end{matrix}$ ŋ THROAT

This root shows potential, but requires further confirmation.

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	ɕi^{55}**ɦoŋ**^{55}phoŋ^{55}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.50
	ɕi^{55}**ɦoŋ**^{55}p^{h}oŋ^{55}	throat / gullet / pharynx	Sun Hongkai 1991f:4.2
Yidu	ɕi^{55}**ɦoŋ**^{55}phoŋ^{55}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.25

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	**ying** khiro	throat	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **hung**	throat	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Ntenyi	a ki **yang**	throat	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**eng**	throat	Marrison 1967
Phom	**üng**	throat	Marrison 1967

(15) PKir *ca-na THROAT

This disyllabic Kiranti root has so far not been discovered elsewhere.

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

**Kul-Cham-Ban*	***cana**	throat	Michailovsky 1991:183
Bantawa	**tsana** pok	throat	Michailovsky 1991:183
Kulung	**cana** ri	throat	Michailovsky 1991:183; Rai *et al.* 1975

(16) PTB *ywa $\begin{matrix}\textbf{p}\\\textbf{m}\end{matrix}$ THROAT

This etymon requires further support.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	do: **jom** lɯŋ guŋ	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.24
Bokar Lhoba	do: **jom**	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.51

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**yawp**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	yóp	be hoarse	Maran nd.

(17) PTB *mit THROAT

This root has so far been discovered mostly in Tibetan dialects, as well as in Qiangic and in an isolated form in Tani.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	**mit**-duŋ	throat	Sun 1993b

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**n̥i**^{13} uɑ^{53}	windpipe / trachea	Sun Hongkai 1991a:4.2.1

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Batang)	**mi**^{53}	swallow (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:4.2.3
	mi^{55} pa^{53}	throat / gullet / pharynx	Dai Qingxia 1989a:4.2
	miʔ^{53}	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**miʔ**^{53}tɑŋ^{53}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.3
	n̥i^{55}pa^{53}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**mik**^{13}chuː^{55} taŋ^{55}	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.02
	mik^{13}cur^{55}-taŋ^{55}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.2
	mik^{13}pa^{53}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.2
	mik^{13}pə^{55}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.02
	mik^{53}pa^{55}-taŋ^{55}	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.2
Spiti	**mit** pa	adam's apple; larynx; windpipe; trachea	Bodh 1991:4.1.4; Bodh 1991:4.2.1
	mi ce	swallow (v.)	Bodh 1991:4.2.3
Tibetan (Written)	khyur-**mid**-gtoŋ-ba	swallow, gulp down	Zhang Liansheng 1988:100
	mid	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.01
	mid khjur btaŋ	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.1
	mid khjur btaŋ	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.1
	mid pa	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.1; Zhang Liansheng 1988:26

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**mi**^{55}	swallow	Sun Hongkai 1991d
	mi^{55}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.18
	mi^{55}	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.18
	mi^{55} hku^{55}	throat	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.18
Guiqiong	**mi**^{33}ʐu^{55}ku^{33}	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.17
	mi^{35}nɔ̃^{55}	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.16
	mi^{55} nɔ^{53}	swallow	Sun Hongkai 1991e
	mi^{55}nɔ^{53}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.17
Lyuzu	**mi**^{33}ku^{53}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.18
Pumi (Jiulong)	**mũ**^{35}phzʉ̃^{55}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.10
	mũ^{35}phzʉ̃^{55}ʐɑ^{35}qɑ^{55}	Adam's apple (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0142.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**mu**^{55}po^{13}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**mu**^{55} po^{13}	throat	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.11
Qiang (Yadu)	**mu** wu	throat	Dai Qingxia 1989q:175
Xumi	**miæ**^{55}ʔũ^{55}	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.17
	miɛ^{55} ũ^{55}	swallow	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	miɛ^{55}ũ^{55}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	a^{33} **mi**^{55}	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	**mn̥et**^{33} pa^{53}	throat / gullet / pharynx	Sun Hongkai 1991c:4.2
	mn̥ə^{33} tak^{53}	windpipe / trachea	Sun Hongkai 1991c:4.2.1

(18) PTB *ri THROAT

This etymon seems always to occur as the last syllable in compounds. It is attested in Himalayish, Meithei and Karbi, with an isolated cognate in Kuki-Chin.

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	rao ka **ri**	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	khou **ri**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	khəw **ri**	neck / throat	Singh 1991:4

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	che thè a-**rī**	adam's apple / larynx	Grüssner 1979:61
	che the a **ri**	windpipe; trachea; larynx	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung (Ghachok)	khāq **ri**	throat; gullet; esophagus	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987 [a]
	k^{h}aq **ri**	throat	Glover 1972:2.A.27

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	cana **ri**	throat	Michailovsky 1991:183; Rai *et al.* 1975

[a] The glottal final in Gurung **khāq** suggests that PTB ***ka*** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5) might stand in an allofamic relationship to PTB ***kak*** THROAT (§1.3.5).

1.3.5.2 Windpipe/Trachea

(1) PTB *ti WINDPIPE / TRACHEA / THROAT

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	ñi-čik **ti-ti**	Adam's apple	Sun 1993b

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	rao **ti**-pa dy-pa	Adam's apple; trachea	Matisoff 1987
	rao **tì**-pa dy-pa	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	che **thè** a-rī	adam's apple / larynx	Grüssner 1979:61
	che **the** a ri	windpipe; trachea; larynx	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	bo gol tu **tí**	windpipe; trachea	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	tun **tí**	windpipe; trachea	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	tu **tí**	windpipe; trachea	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Batang)	õ^{55} **ty**^{55}	adam's apple / larynx	Dai Qingxia 1989a:4.1.4

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	ntshy^{55}pho^{55}ɣo^{55}**tɛ**^{55}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.19
	nts^{h}y^{55}p^{h}o^{55}ɣo^{55}**tɛ**^{55}	throat / gullet / pharynx	Sun Hongkai 1991i:4.2
Qiang (Mawo)	tshu ʂqu ma **ti**	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.8
	ts^{h}u ʂqu ma **ti**	throat	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ts^{h}ə q^{h}uˈ mə **ti**	windpipe / trachea	Sun Hongkai 1991g:4.2.1
Xumi	ɣɛ̃^{33} **thiɛ**^{35}	throat	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.20

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	k^{h}ũ^{55} **ti**^{55}	neck	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	tshie^{21}lo^{21}**thi**^{35}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.38
	ts^{h}e^{21} lo^{35} **t^{h}i**^{55}	throat / gullet / pharynx	Chen Kang 1986c:4.2
Tujia (Northern)	ts^{h}e^{21} lo^{35} **t^{h}i**^{55}	throat	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	khɹoŋ^{33}**tɐ̱**^{53}lɔ^{53}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.34
	k^{hɹ}oŋ^{55} **tɐ̱**^{53} lɔ^{53}	throat	Dai Qingxia 1989p:168.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	k^{hɹ}õ^{55} **tɐ̱**^{31}	throat	Dai Qingxia 1989o:168.
Yi (Xide)	li^{21} **t^{h}i**^{21}	throat	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	li^{21}**thi**^{21}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.35
	li^{21}**thi**^{21}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu	tʃho^{31}**thi**^{31}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	tʃ^{h}o^{31} **t^{h}e**^{31}	throat	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	tɕho^{31}**the**^{31}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.40
Lisu (Northern)	tɕhɔ^{21}**the**^{21}	throat	Bradley 1994

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	ku^{21}tshi^{31}**te**^{44}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.35
	ku^{21} tsi^{33} **tɐ̱**^{44}	throat	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	ku^{21} tsi^{33} **tɐ̱**^{44}	throat	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ku^{21} tsɻ^{33} **teɪ̱**^{44} k^{h}o^{33} «nɐ̱^{21}»	throat / gullet / pharynx	Zhao Yansun 1990:4.2

(2) PTB *tsyi-k WINDPIPE / ADAM'S APPLE

This etymon appears similar to PTB ***dzəy*** SEED / TESTICLE / ROUND OBJECT (§1.9.7), as suggested by the WB compound WB **lañ-ce'** 'larynx' (lit. 'neck seed').

On the other hand, several languages have distinct reflexes of these two roots, e.g. Chokri **tsa** 'seed' vs. **(u) ru**^{11} **che**^{35} 'windpipe/trachea', and nor Darang **tɑ**^{31} **piɑi**^{55} 'seed' vs. **shig-ceig** 'windpipe', so that it seems best to keep them separate.

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	shig **ceig**	windpipe; trachea	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Chokri	(u) ru^{11} **che**^{35}	windpipe / trachea	Nienu 1990b:4.2.1

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	git-ok-**du**'-chi	adam's apple	Burling 1992 [a]

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	ʃhe^{13} **tʃuɛ**^{53}	adam's apple / larynx	Sun Hongkai 1991a:4.1.4

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	lɛ^{323} pɛ^{33} **tsɻ**^{35} **tsɻ**^{35}	adam's apple / larynx	Dai Qingxia 1989c:4.1.4

[a] [Source Note] (lit: neck-egg).

1.3.5.4 Adam's Apple/Larynx

NOTE the semantic connection between LARYNX and KNOT or SEED., e.g. WT **'ol-mdud** 'throat-knot' ; WB **lañ-ce'** 'neck-seed' ; Lisu **tɕɐɑ**^{35}**miʔ**^{21}**tɔ**^{55}**siˇa a**^{1} 'monkey-knot'.

Note the similarity between the Lolopho form **ɒ**^{44} **kɣ̱**^{44} **lɣ̱**^{44}, the Lahu form **qá-qâʔ-lâʔ**, and the Lisu form **bø**^{44} **kɔ**^{21} **lɔ**^{35} (all 'larynx/Adam's apple'). There seems to be a Loloish binome here, currently tagged PTB ***l-kwak*** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5) + PTB ***lwak*** LARYNX (§1.3.5.4), but this could just be imitative, as in English 'gullet', 'glug'.

(1) PTB *lwak LARYNX

This promising root requires further confirmation.

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (NW)	tə ʁqua **lu lu**	adam's apple / larynx	Sun Hongkai 1991l:4.1.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ʂqo **lok lok**	adam's apple / larynx	Sun Hongkai 1991k:4.1.4

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	ɒ^{44} kɤ̲^{44} **lɤ̲^{44}**	adam's apple / larynx	Dai Qingxia 1989n:4.1.4
	ɒ^{44} kɤ̲^{44} **lɤ̲^{44}** tʂo^{33}	throat / gullet / pharynx	Dai Qingxia 1989n:4.2

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Nyi)	k'a¯k'eu: **leu^**	larynx	Bradley 1979a:104
Lahu (Shehleh)	k'ui¯kui: **lui:**	larynx	Bradley 1979a:104
Lahu (Lancang)	qa^{35}qɤ^{33}**lɤ^{33}**	Adam's apple (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0142.43
Lahu (Black)	qá-qə-**lə**	Adam's apple / larynx / glottis	Matisoff 1987
	qá-qâʔ-**lâʔ**	larnyx / Adam's apple	Matisoff 1988a [a]
Lahu (Bakeo)	chi: hk'aw¯**law:**	larynx	Bradley 1979a:104
Lahu (Banlan)	kan¯ke: **le:**	larynx	Bradley 1979a:104
Lisu (Northern)	bø^{44}kɔ^{21}**lɔ^{35}**	windpipe	Bradley 1994

[a]The immediate ancestor of Lahu **qá-** would be PLB ***ʔgak**.

(2) PTB *baw LARYNX / WINDPIPE / NECK

Mandarin 脖 *bó* 'neck' bears a superficial resemblance to this TB etymon, but it seems to be a relatively recent addition to the Chinese vocabulary, since it does not appear in *GSR* or the Shuo Wen.

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**bo** gol tu tí	windpipe; trachea	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**bo**	neck	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**pau**-si	Adam's apple / larynx / glottis	Matisoff 1987

6.1.1. Burmish

Maru [Langsu]	laŋ^{31} **pau^{55}**	adam's apple / larynx	Dai Qingxia 1989l:4.1.4

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Northern)	**bø^{44}**khu^{55}	Adam's apple	Bradley 1994
	bø^{44}kɔ^{21}lɔ^{35}	windpipe	Bradley 1994
	bø^{44}tɔ^{35}lɔ^{33}	Adam's apple	Bradley 1994

1.3.5.6 Swallow

Note the following three WT forms for 'throat': **'og-ma ≍ lkog-ma ∗ 'ol-ma**.

It is difficult to distinguish among the velar-initialed etyma: PTB ***l-kwak** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***kwa** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), and PTB ***gwaŋ** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2). Compare Sangkong **aŋ^{33}khoŋ^{31}** and Phunoi **ʔã^{55}ko^{11}** (both 'throat'). The Phunoi form cannot be from ***-waŋ**, since ***-waŋ** > **on/õ**, cf. 'wing' **ʔấ tố** < PTB ***dwaŋ** WING / HAND (§1.5.1), 'thigh' **ʔấ-pon** < PTB ***(p/b)waŋ** HIPS / BUTTOCKS / TAIL / ANUS (§1.4.9.2).

(1) PTB *mlyəw-k SWALLOW (v.) / THROAT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***mlyuw**	swallow (v.)	Benedict 1972:153
	***mlyəw-k**	swallow (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:602

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	**mə^{33}riu^{33}**uɑ^{11}	throat	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.52

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**byàuk**	swallow (v.)	Weidert 1987:1115
	tʌ́m-**byàuk**	swallow (v.)	Weidert 1987:1115

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-lju(k)** SWALLOW (v.)

**Central Naga*	***m-lju(k)**	SWALLOW (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.086
**Ao*	***m-juk**	SWALLOW	Bruhn 2014a:II.283
Ao (Chungli)	**meyak**	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mə^{3}juk^{3}	swallow (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.283
	mɯ́júk	swallow (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:10
	^{3}mɯ^{3}yuk	swallow (v.)	Weidert 1987:1115
Ao (Mongsen)	**mɯ́júk**	swallow (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:12
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	**májúk**	swallow (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.283
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**mizuk** zuk	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**mi**	swallow [swallowed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**ṇ^{1}-ʒə^{1}-**	swallow (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.086
	Nzhu a	swallow (v.)	Nienu 1990c:4.2.3
	nzü thet	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**münyü**	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}mɯ^{1}ñɯ	swallow (v.)	Weidert 1987:583
Yimchungrü	**muyou**	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967
	muyu	swallow	Kumar 1973b:64

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	**me-zu**	swallow	Benedict 1972:44n143
	^{2}me^{1}zu	swallow (v.)	Weidert 1987:1115
Angami (Khonoma)	**mezu**	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**mezü**	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967
	me^{31} zu^{11}	swallow (v.)	Nienu 1990a:4.2.3
Chokri	**mü^{31} zo^{11}**	swallow (v.)	Nienu 1990b:4.2.3
	^{2}mɤ^{1}zo	swallow (v.)	Weidert 1987:1115
Khezha	**mèňu**	swallow (v.)	Yabu 1994:4.2.3
	^{1}me^{2}ñu	swallow (v.)	Weidert 1987:583
Mao	**mazhe**	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**meji**	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**nnyi**	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	**ma-nĩ**	swallow (v.)	Weidert 1987:583
Mzieme	**m'nwa**	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Kachai	k^{h}ə-**mwi**	swallow (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.114
Tangkhul	**mayui**	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967
	yuy	swallow	Bhat 1969:98
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**mə-juj**	swallow	Mortensen 2012

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**mayu**, **ma'ut**	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mă^{3}juʔ^{31}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.19
	mă^{31}juʔ^{31}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.47
	mă^{31}juʔ^{31}	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.47
	mă^{31}ut^{55}	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.19
	mă^{31}u̲t^{55}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.47
	mă^{1} juʔ^{31}	swallow (v.i.)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	mă^{1} u̲t^{55}	swallow (v.t.)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	mă^{1}juʔ^{31}	throat	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	məyùʔ	throat; swallow	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:390
	məyuʔ	throat / swallow (v.)	Benedict 1972:153
	yu	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	yu khrawng	throat	Marrison 1967
	^{1}mə^{1}yuʔ	swallow (v.)	Weidert 1987:1115

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**myu**	swallow (v.)	Benedict 1972:153
	myũ mig'	swallow (vt.)	Bailey 1911

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**yok**-	swallow (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	yok-sa	swallow	Caughley 1972:7.B.2. 38
Chepang (Eastern)	**yok** naʔ	swallow (v.)	Caughley 1990:4.2.3

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Eastern)	ka **mərɟjup**	swallow (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:4.2.3
rGyalrong	tə **mn̥uk**	throat / gullet / pharynx	Dai Qingxia 1989d:4.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **mn̥ik**	throat / gullet / pharynx	Sun Hongkai 1991j:4.2

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	**mjɑʔ^{55}**	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.46
Dulong	**mlɑʔ^{55}**	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**mlɑʔ^{55}**	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**mlăʔ^{55}**	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	mlăʔ^{55}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-yuk**	swallow	Matisoff 1972b:169a
	***myuk** ; **m-yuk**	swallow (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:137(a)
	***myuw** ; **m-yuw**	swallow (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:137(b)

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Luxi)	**mjau^{31}**	swallow (v.i.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ɲau^{55}**	swallow (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2316; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mjo^{22}**	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mjo^{22}**	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.40
	mjo^{22}	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.40
Burmese (Written)	**mjo^{2}**	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.26
	mjo^{2}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.39
	mjo^{2}	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.39
	myui	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:153
Langsu (Luxi)	**mjuk^{31}**	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.31
Lashi	**mja̲:u^{33}**	swallow (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:4.2.3
Maru [Langsu]	**mjuk^{31}**	swallow (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:4.2.3
	mjuk^{31}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.43
	mjuk^{31}	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mji̲^{51}**	swallow (v.i.)	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	mji̲^{51}	swallow (v.t.)	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	mji̲^{51}	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.30
	mji̲^{51}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.42
	mji̲^{51}	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.42

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***myo(k)^{1}**/^{LA}	swallow	Bradley 1979b:636

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Northern)	**m̥ĩ^{31}**	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**m̥i^{31}**	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**m̥ĩ^{31}**	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**m̥i^{31}**	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**m̥i^{35}**	swallow (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2316.
Nusu (Central)	**m̥iə^{33}**	swallow (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2316.; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.34
	m̥iɯ^{35}	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**m̥iɯ^{35}**	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.45
Nusu (Central)	**m̥iɯ^{35}** kɑ̲^{ɪ53}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**m̥iɯ^{35}**kɑ̲^{ɪ53}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.45

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} kɯ^{33} kɯ^{33} **mju^{55}**	swallow dry	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1909
Jinuo	**mjo^{33}**	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.34
	mjo^{33}tɕø^{35}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.34
	mjo^{55}	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mju^{55}**	swallow (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2416
Jinuo (Youle)	**mju^{55}**	swallow (v.i.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	mju^{55}	swallow (v.t.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**mjɣ^{55}**	swallow (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2416

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**myo̱**	swallow	Matisoff 1974:390
Hani (Dazhai)	**mju̲^{31}**	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.31
	mjɤ̃^{31} t^{h}ɔ^{33}	swallow (v.i.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mjɤ̃^{31} t^{h}ɔ^{33}	swallow (v.t.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mjɤ̲^{31}thɔ^{33}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**mju̲^{31}**thɔ^{33}	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**mv^{33}**ke^{33}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.30
	mɣ̃^{33} ke^{33}	swallow (v.i.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mɣ̃^{33} ke^{33}	swallow (v.t.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mɣ^{33}ke^{33}	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**mjɤ̲^{31}** aŋ^{55}	swallow (v.i.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mjɤ̲^{31} aŋ^{55}	swallow (v.t.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**mɤ^{31}** kɔ^{33}	swallow (v.t.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mɤ^{31} u^{55}	swallow (v.i.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	mɤ^{31}kɔ^{33}	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.32
	mɤ^{31}ɣu^{55}	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**mɤ^{31}**kɔ^{33}	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.42

Mpi	**mju2**[1]	swallow	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
7. Karenic			
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***jỳ**	swallow (v.)	Jones 1961:515
**Karen (Pwo)*	*ʔánq**jú'** làn'	swallow (v.)	Jones 1961:515
Pa-O	**mjɔ**	swallow (v.)	Jones 1961:515
	mjɔ́	swallow (v.)	Solnit 1989
	myɔ	swallow (v.)	Benedict 1972:147n402; Benedict 1972:158n403
Pwo (Bassein)	ʔàn **júʔ** lán	swallow (v.)	Jones 1961:515
Pwo (Moulmein)	ʔán **ʔjú** lan	swallow (v.)	Jones 1961:515
Sgaw (Bassein)	**jỳ**	swallow (v.)	Jones 1961:515
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**ju**[31]	swallow (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2416
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**jỳ**	swallow (v.)	Jones 1961:515
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**jų̱ʔ**[31]	swallow (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2416
	kɔ[31] **ju**[31]	throat	Dai Qingxia 1989j:175

Chinese comparandum

The following comparandum assumes a path whereby ST ***mlyəw** > + **-n** > PCH ***mlwən**, yielding Schuessler's OC reconstruction below:

吮 OC ***d̂'i̱wən**, *GSR* #468m 'suck, lick'; Schuessler 2007:476 ***m-lunʔ**; Mand. **shǔn**.

(2) PTB *s-brit SNEEZE / NOSE / SWALLOW

The final labial in Bunan seems to be due to assimilation to the initial.

Cf. also PTB ***bi** NOSE (§1.2.8).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***brjiət** ≍ **sbrjiət**	nose ≍ sneeze	Coblin 1986:113
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	a **bi**	swallow	Pulu 1978
	a **bi** ga	swallow	Pulu 1978
	bɹi[55]	swallow (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:4.2.3
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	pa-seèr-**phràt**-	sneeze	Grüssner 1979:125
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**phriphs**	sneeze	Sharma 1991a:11.3
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'rit** tā	sneeze (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.27
Spiti	**rit** pa	sneeze	Bodh 1991:11.3
Tibetan (Written)	**sbrid**	sneeze	Marrison 1967
	sbrid-pa	sneeze	Coblin 1986:113
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**dzə̨l**	roll up (cloth) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1456.12

Chinese comparandum

PTB ***bi** NOSE (§1.2.8)

(3) PrGy * N/s -glak SWALLOW (v.)

3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**mglak**[53]	swallow (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:4.2.3
Ergong (Danba)	**sqʰlɛ**	swallow (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:4.2.3
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (NW)	ka **mglək**	swallow (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:4.2.3
rGyalrong (Northern)	tɕʰuwu **mqla**	swallow (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:4.2.3

(4) PTB *tun SWALLOW (v.)

This root has so far only been found in two languages.

6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**thun**[31]	swallow (v.t.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	thun[31]	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.28
	thun[31]	swallow (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:540.41
Achang (Luxi)	**thun**[55]	swallow (v.t.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**thui̱**[44]	swallow (v.t.)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**thuẽ**[55]	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.48
	thuɛ̃[55]	swallow (v.t.)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

(5) PKC *ɗook ≍ *ɗuuk GULP / SWALLOW

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗook** ≍ ɗuuk	GULP / SWALLOW	VanBik 2009:86
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**dawk**-I, dawh-II	swallow, to gulp down (v.)	VanBik 2009:86
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**dŭuk**-I, dùuk-II	gulp down, swallow (v.)	VanBik 2009:86

(6) PKC *ɗolʔ SWALLOW

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗolʔ**	SWALLOW	VanBik 2009:110
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dolʔ**-INV	swallow (v.)	VanBik 2009:110
Lushai [Mizo]	**dàwlh**	swallow whole, to swallow without masticating (v.)	VanBik 2009:110
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**dauö**	swallow (v.)	VanBik 2009:110

(7) PNC *wal SWALLOW

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
**Northern Chin*	***wal**	SWALLOW	VanBik 2009:1172
Kuki-Chin	**val**	swallow (v.)	Haokip 1998:4.2.3
Sizang	**val** hī	swallow	VanBik 2009:1172
Thado	**vàl**-INV	swallow	VanBik 2009:1172
	vāl lút	swallow (food)	Thirumalai 1972:68
Tiddim	**valʔ**[3]	swallow (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1932
	valʔ[3]	swallow	VanBik 2009:1172; Bhaskararao 1994
	_valʔ/_valʔ	swallow (v.)	Henderson 1965

(8) PTk *saŋ SWALLOW

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***saŋ**	swallow	Mortensen 2012:745
Huishu	mə-nɐŋ-**so**-kʰe	swallow	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.093
Tusom	pʰ-la-kə-**sā**	swallow	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.125

(9) PTani *met SWALLOW (v.)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***met**	swallow (v.)	Sun 1993a:408
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	dɯ-**mit**	swallow	Sun 1993b
	dɯː-**mit**	swallow (v.)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	jom **met**	swallow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1692.24; Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	jom **mit**	swallow (v.i.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:541.51
	jom **mit**	swallow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**met**	swallow (v.)	Sun 1993a

(10) PCC *lem-I, *lemʔ-II SWALLOW / GULP

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***lem**-I, lemʔ-II	SWALLOW / GULP	VanBik 2009:1055
Lai (Hakha)	**lemʔ**-INV	swallow, gulp	VanBik 2009:1055
Lushai [Mizo]	**lêm**	swallow, to gulp down (v.)	VanBik 2009:1055
	lem, dawlh	swallow (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.5.7 Choke

(1) PTB *ha(ː)k HAWK / GAG / CHOKE

This etymon definitely has an onomatopoetic component (witness the English near-homophone **hawk**). There is a possible allofamic relationship with PTB ***kwak** COUGH (§1.8.3.3) and/or PTB ***k(r)aːk** PHLEGM / SPUTUM / MUCUS (§1.8.3.1).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ha(ː)k** ≍ **kak**	gag / choke	Matisoff 2003a:593
	***haːk**	hawk / gag / choke	Benedict 1972:323
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***haak** CHOKE / GAG / THROTTLE			
**Chin*	***haak**	CHOKE / GAG / THROTTLE	VanBik 2009:704
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**hāk** hī	choke	VanBik 2009:704
Tiddim	**haːk**[1]	choke while eating	VanBik 2009:704
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**hák**	throttle	VanBik 2009:704
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**haak**-INV	choke, gag, throttle	VanBik 2009:704
Lushai [Mizo]	**hâak**	swallow the wrong way or so as to choke, to catch one's breath (v.)	VanBik 2009:704
	haːk	swallow the wrong way or so as to choke (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2342
	haːk	choke	Benedict 1972:323
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-hrak** CHOKE (vi.)			
**Central Naga*	*a-**hrak**	CHOKE (vi.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.255
**Ao*	*a.**hɹak**	CHOKE / DROWN (vi.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.301
Ao (Chungli)	a[3]**ɹak**[1]	drown, choke (vi.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.301
	á **rùk**	drown (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
Ao (Mongsen)	á ʰ**rùk**	drown (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:13
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a **hɹək**	drown [drowned] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e[1]-**hrək**[2]-	choke (vi.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.255
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**hak**	stretch (the mouth) , to gag; to gash (bamboo) obliquely; to slit (the mouth); hawk, raise phlegm (v.)	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1976a
	hak	hawk, raise phlegm; stretch (the mouth), gag	Benedict 1972:323; Benedict 1972:323

1.3.5.8 Eat/Devour

(1) PTB *m-dz(y)a-{k,n,t,s} EAT / FOOD / FEED / RICE

This root evidently could take a variety of suffixes, as well as a nasal prefix (Qiangic / rGyalrongic, Baima, and Naxi). The **-t** and **-n** suffixes had a nominalizing force, giving meanings like 'food', 'rice', 'deer' (see the references to #66 in the Index of *STC*, p. 200).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dza**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271; Michailovsky 1991:52
	***dza**	eat	Benedict 1972:66
	***dza ≍ dža**	food	LaPolla 1987:125
	***dza-n ≍ dza-k**	eat / food	Matisoff 1983:8
	***dzya**	eat; food; feed; rice	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:588; Matisoff 2003a:588
	***dzya-n/k**	eat / food / feed	Matisoff 2003a:588; Mortensen 2012
	***dzya-s**	eat / food / feed	Matisoff 2003a:588
	***dzya-t**	eat / food / feed	Matisoff 2003a:588
	***dzɑ**	eat	Chou Fa-kao 1972:154c
	***dzɑ**	food / give food to (v.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:921e
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
**Kuki-Naga*	***dza(k)**	eat	Benedict 1972:101n289

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	tɯ[31]**thɑ[53]**	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.22
	t[h]ɑ[53]	eat	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	**câ**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
	syâ	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
	tɕɑ[53]	eat (meat); eat (meat, corn, etc.)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.23
	tɤ́-**syât**	eat / rice (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
	ɕɑ; **tɕɑ[53]**	eat rice; eat meat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.48
	ɕɑ[53]	eat (rice); eat (rice, etc.)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.23

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***θaʔ*** FEED

**Chin*	***θaʔ**	FEED	VanBik 2009:616

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	**hai[2]**	eat plenty	Bhaskararao 1994
	taʔ[3]	feed into the mouth by hand (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1658
	taʔ[3]	feed into the mouth by hand	VanBik 2009:616

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-htah	feed oneself nicely (v.)	VanBik 2009:616

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**faʔ**-INV	feed (only to chicken) (v.)	VanBik 2009:616
Lushai [Mizo]	**fàh**	feed with the mouth (as Lushai women do their babies, and as birds their young) (v.)	VanBik 2009:616
	fah	feed with the mouth (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2309

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Chiru	**sak**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
Kom Rem	**sàak**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
	šək	eat (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.7.6

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**chak**	rice (uncooked)	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-tsa-k*** RICE (paddy), ***tsaʔ*** EAT

**Central Naga*	***tsaʔ**	EAT	Bruhn 2014a:III.019
**Ao*	*(a-)**tsak**	PADDY, GRAIN	Bruhn 2014a:II.192
	*(a-)**tʃa**	RICE (COOKED)	Bruhn 2014a:II.142
	*a-**tʃaʔ**	EAT	Bruhn 2014a:II.143
Ao (Chungli)	**-cíʔ**	eat (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:7
	a[3]-**tʃiʔ[3]**	eat (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.143
	a **chi**	eat	Marrison 1967
	chi	rice (cooked)	Marrison 1967
	chi yong tsü	food	Marrison 1967
	tsük	rice (paddy)	Marrison 1967
	tsük sü	chaff (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsək[1]	paddy, rice (unhusked) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.192
	tʃi[1]	rice (cooked), food (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.142
	tʃi[1]juŋ[2]	eat a meal (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tʃi[1]puʔ[1]	pot (for cooking) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.070
	[3]a[3]**tši?**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
Ao (Mongsen)	**càʔ**	eat (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **cha**	rice (cooked)	Marrison 1967
	a **chak**	rice (paddy)	Marrison 1967
	cha	eat	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tʃak**-hən-paʔ làtà	October ('paddy' + 'carry' + NR + 'month')	Coupe 2007
	tʃàʔ	consume [consumed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**tʃa**	rice (cooked) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**tʃak**	paddy (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	aji na **tso** e	Ao person (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	o[1]-**tshok[2]**	rice (unhusked), paddy (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tso[2]-	eat (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.019
	e **tso** yu	food	Marrison 1967
	o **tsok**	rice (paddy)	Marrison 1967
	tso	eat	Marrison 1967
	tsō à	eat (imperat.)	Acharya 1975
	tso a	eat	Murry *et al.* 1978:36
	TSo A	eat (v.)	Nienu 1990c:3.7.6
	[2]dzo	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:47
Sangtam	**tsu**, **chu**	eat	Marrison 1967
	tsu cho	eat (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	tsu yongnung	food	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**chik**	rice (paddy)	Marrison 1967
	tyu	eat	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	([1])**dzɯʔ**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
	tsü	eat	Marrison 1967
	tsü youngpü	food	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	**chi**	eat	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**chü**	eat	Marrison 1967
	tsü[11]	eat (v.)	Nienu 1990a:3.7.6
Meluri	**tsa**, kucha	eat	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**tsa**	eat	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**chu**	eat (v.)	Achumi 1998a:3.7.6
	chu, ilhu	eat	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***tsa*** EAT, ***tsaat*** RICE (COOKED)

**Tangkhulic*	***tsa**	eat	Mortensen 2012:327
	***tsaat**	rice (cooked)	Mortensen 2012:540
Huishu	kə-**tse**	eat	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.059
Kachai	kə-p[h]ə-**ðu**	eat (rice) (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.068
	ʔa-**ðot**	rice (cooked)	Mortensen 2012:Plants.150
Tangkhul	[1]kə[1]**tsa**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
Tusom	kə-**zi**	eat; eat (rice) (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.075; Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.076
	zɯə	cooked rice	Mortensen 2012:Plants.150
Ukhrul	kə-**tsa**	eat (e.g. rice), dine	Mortensen 2012
	tsat	rice (cooked)	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**cà** bə	eat (v.)	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	ca bə	eat (v.)	Singh 1991:3.7.6
	cha	eat	Marrison 1967
	tsà	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:47

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**che**-máng-ke **tšō(ʔ)**	eat (v.)	Grüssner 1979:64
		eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271

[a] [Source Note] lit. "one who eats with left hand"

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**jaʔ**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:136
	zá	eat	Bhat 1968
	za lay	eat again	Matisoff 1985a:058
	za-klay	eat from top to bottom (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:125
	za-may	eat properly	Matisoff 1985a:065
	za-sray	eat everything	Matisoff 1985a:186
	za gláy	eat from top to bottom (as worms) (v.)	Bhat 1968
	za kláy	eat from top to bottom (v.)	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	**ča**	eat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**jaʔ**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:136

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**caʔ**-a	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:136
	tśha	eat	LaPolla 1987:125; Benedict 1972:66
Garo (Bangladesh)	**cha•**-a	eat (vt.)	Burling 2003:5.472-II:idx

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***dza[B]**	eat (v.)	French 1983:481

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**cha**	eat	Marrison 1967
	sa	eat, cooked rice	French 1983:481
	tšhaʔ	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:1064; Weidert 1987:47
Tangsa	**saʔ**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:1064; Weidert 1987:47
Tangsa (Moshang)	**c[h]aʔ**	eat	French 1983:481
	sa	eat	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**c[h]a**	eat	French 1983:481
	sa	eat	French 1983:481
	sa, sei, phak	eat	Marrison 1967
	saʔ	eat	French 1983:481

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**šàu**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:1064
	šau la bu	eat	French 1983:481
	sau la yuŋ la bu	eat	French 1983:481
	shau	eat	Marrison 1967
Khiamngan	[12]ɕ̰[12]**hẹ̰**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:1064
Phom	**šau**	eat	French 1983:481
Wancho	**cha**	rice (paddy)	Marrison 1967
	sa	eat	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**śa**	eat	Benedict 1972:66
	šá	eat	Matisoff 1974:304
	[3]ša	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:1064
	ʃa[55]	eat	LIU Lu, ed. 1984

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	**za** re	eat (v.)	Sharma 1991a:3.7.6
Kanauri	**za**	eat	Benedict 1972:66
Pattani [Manchati]	**zai**	eat (v.)	Sharma 1991b:3.7.6
	zəi	eat (v.)	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	**ndʒɐ[341]**	eat (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.7.6
Tsangla (Motuo)	**sa[13]**	eat (rice / meal)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	za	eat	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**za**	eat (rice / meal)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**zɑ[35]**	eat	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**zʌ[13]**	eat	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**sa**	eat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**sa**	eat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.5
	so	eat (imp)	Sun 1985a:542
	su	eat (pf)	Sun 1985a:543
	sæ	eat	Sun 1985a:541
Tibetan (Batang)	**sa[13]**	eat (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.7.6
	sa[231]	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**sa[13]**	eat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**sa[13]**	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.02; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**sa** gen	chew; eat (v.)	Bishop 1989:3.10.8; Bishop 1989:3.7.6
Tibetan (Spiti)	**sae**	eat / being eaten	Sharma 1979
Spiti	**sa** je	eat (v.)	Bodh 1991:3.7.6
Tibetan (Spiti)	**sɔ**	eat (v.)	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**za**	eat; food (v.)	Luce 1985:W.9
	za	eat; food	Matisoff 1983:8; Sun 1985c:541; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.01; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.1
	za-ba	eat (v.)	Luce 1985:T.6
	za-ba ≍ **bza**-ba	eat; food	Benedict 1972:66; LaPolla 1987:125
	za.ma	food	Sun 1985c:274
	zas	food	Marrison 1967
	zas	eat; food (v.)	Luce 1985:W.9
	za n	eat / food	Matisoff 1983:8
	zo	eat (imp)	Sun 1985c:542
	zo s	eat (pf)	Sun 1985c:543
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**sa**	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.04

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	**ca**-wa	eat (v.)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.7.6
Gurung	**cā**-m	eat	Hale 1973:01.055
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ca**-m	eat	Glover 1972:1.55
	ca baq	eat	Glover 1972:7.B.2.27
Gurung	[1]**tsa**-	eat	Mazaudon 1994:252
Manang (Gyaru)	**dza[2]** ba	eat	Nagano 1984:083
	dzoː[1]	eat(IMP)	Nagano 1984:083-01
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]**tsə**-	eat	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0328
	[1]**tsɤ**-	eat	Mazaudon 1994:252
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]**tsa**	eat (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.7.6
	[1]**tsa**	eat	Mazaudon 1994:252
Tamang (Sahu)	**ca**-pa	eat (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:18.B.27; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.55
	the **cā** pā	eat	Hale 1973:01.055
	[1]**tsa**	eat	Mazaudon 1994:252
Tamang (Taglung)	**tsa**-ba	eat	Mazaudon 1994:255
Thakali	**'ca**-wa	eat	Hale 1973:01.055
Thakali (Marpha)	[55,33]**tsa**-wa	eat	Mazaudon 1994:255
Thakali (Tukche)	**'cɔ**-lɔ	eat	Hari 1971:7.B.2.27.1
	'cɔ-wɔ	eat	Hari 1971:1.55.1
	[1]**tsə**	eat	Mazaudon 1994:252

2.2. NEWAR

Newar (Dolakhali)	**ja**	rice (cooked)	Genetti 1990b

Newar (Kathmandu)	**ja**	rice (cooked)	Genetti 1990c
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***ja**-	eat	Opgenort 2011
	***ɟa**-	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:52
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**ca**-	1. eat; 2. REFLEXIVE-RECIPROCAL	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**caŋʔ**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:136
	ca: ma	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:136
	cɛ̨	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:136
	tsa-	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:52
Yakha	**ca:** ma:	eat (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.7.6
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**ca**	eat	Rai 1985
	ca	eat (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:13
	so t-	eat / drink w / pickle	Rai *et al.* 1984:66
	tsa-	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:52
Chamling	**ca**-(u)	eat	Winter 1985:7
	cyo	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:52
Kulung	**cay**-ə	eat [he eats] (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
	cəy-	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:52
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**dzu**-	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:52
	dzɨ-	eaten, to be edible (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:52
	dzɨ nɨ	eaten, be edible. (be v.)	Driem 1993
Khaling	√**jo**- (?)	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:52
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**dža**	eat	Benedict 1972:66
	dza-	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:52
Hayu	**dza**	eat (vt, vr.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.66,74
	dza-	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:52
Sunwar	**'ja**-	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:52
	'jā-cā	eat	Hale 1973:01.055
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**jeʔ**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:47
	jeʔ-sa	eat	Caughley 1972:1.55
Chepang (Eastern)	**jeʔ** naʔ	eat (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.7.6
Kham	**zyā**-nyā	eat	Hale 1973:01.055
Magar	**džya**	eat	Benedict 1972:66 [a]
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**dzɻ**^{33}	eat	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.18
Lyuzu	**dzɻ**^{53}	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.18
	dzɻ^{53}le^{53}	life / livelihood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0683.18
	dzɻ^{53}læ^{53}giæ^{31}	want to eat (meat) badly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1180.18
Muya	ɦæ^{24}**ndzə**^{53}	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ndzɯ**^{35}	eat (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.7.6
	ndzɯ^{35}	eat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.15
Namuyi	**dzɻ**^{53}	eat (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.7.6
	dzɻ^{53}	eat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.19
	dzi^{53}	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.46
	dzi^{53}wu^{31}	life / livelihood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0683.46
	dzi^{55}	rice (unhusked) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0409.46
	dzi^{55}nkhuə^{ɻ55}	straw (rice) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0408.46
	dzi^{55}po^{53}	rice (paddy) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0403.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**dzɛ̃**^{35}	rice (cooked) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0440.10
	dzɻ^{35}	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**dzi**^{55}	rice (cooked) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0440.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**dzi**^{55}	rice (cooked)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:392.11
	dzə^{55}	eat	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**dzə**^{53}	eat	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**zə̀**-nà	tasty [eat-good]	Evans 1999:1553
	zɨ̀	eat	Evans 1999:1722
Qiang (Mawo)	**dzə**	eat	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dzə	eat (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.7.6
	dzə	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.08; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.8
	dzə ɕpiɛ	like (to eat)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.08
	tʃuɑχ tʃuɑχ **dzə**	chew (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.08
	tʃɑq tʃɑq **dzə**	chew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:536.8; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Mianchi)	(**dzɛ̀**) má	like (to do something) (dzɛ̀ = 'eat')	Evans 1999:1625
	dzɛ̀	eat	Evans 1999:1722
	khuɛ̀-lə̀-**dzɛ̀**	eclipse of moon [dog-moon-eat]	Evans 1999:2549
	khuɛ̀-mɛ̀ nə̀-**dzɛ̀**	eclipse of sun [dog-sun-eat]	Evans 1999:2275
	khuɛ̀-mɛ̀ sí-**dzɛ̀**	eclipse of sun [dog-sun-eat]	Evans 1999:2275
	mì **(dzɛ́)**	NEG (+ eat)	Evans 1999:2638
	tsuɛ̀-dʐɛ̀-**dzɛ̀**-mú	otter [water-fish-eat-AGT]	Evans 1999:392
Qiang (Taoping)	**dʒ**ɻ^{33}	eat	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**dzə**	eat	DAI Qingxia 1989q:1722
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	kə^{35} **tɐ**^{53}	eat (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991n:3.7.6
Xumi	**dzɛ**^{35}	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.17
	dzɛ^{35}	peck at (rice; of a chicken) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1814.17
	dzɛ^{53}	eat	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.20
	sɛ̃^{55} **dʐɛ**^{53}	want to eat (meat) badly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1180.17
	tɕæ^{55}rɛ̃^{33}**dzɛ**^{35}	rust (lit. 'eat mud') (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.17
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**dzə**^{33}	eat (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.7.6
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ka **za**	eat (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.7.6
	ka **za**	eat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ka **za**	eat (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.7.6
rGyalrong (NW)	kə **ndze`**	eat (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.7.6
Caodeng	kɐ-**ndze**	eat	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **zɑ**	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.11
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə wu **ndza**	eat (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.7.6
rGyalrong	ka **NdzaH**	eat	Nagano 1997:175
	ta **Ndzaw**	eat (v.)	Nagano 1997:3.7.6
rGBenzhen	ka-**ndza**	eat	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	**tɕɑ**^{53}	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.21
	ɕɑ^{53}	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.21
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ǰa**^{2}	eat	Matisoff 1978a:47
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**tɕɑ**^{31}	eat	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tɕɔ**^{31}	eat	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**tsa**^{51}	eat	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**cɔ**^{31}	eat	DAI Qingxia 1989f:1662; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.29
Bola	**ta**^{31}	eat	DAI Qingxia 1989g:1662
Burmese (Modern)	**cā:**	eat (v.)	Luce 1985:T.6
Burmese (Written)	a **cā**^{3}	eat; food (v.)	Luce 1985:W.9
	a **tsà**	food	LaPolla 1987:125
	ă **tsa**	food	Benedict 1972:66
	ă **tsha**	food	Benedict 1972:130n354
	cā	eat (v.)	Luce 1985:T.6
	câ	eat; eat, corrode, wear out	Hansson 1989:22; Matisoff 1978a:47; Matisoff 1974:304; Benedict 1976a
	ca	food	Benedict 1976a
	cā.carā	food	Marrison 1967
	cā:	eat	Marrison 1967
	ca:	eat / food	Matisoff 1983:8
	cā^{4}	eat; food (v.)	Luce 1985:W.9
	tsà	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
	tsa	eat	Benedict 1972:66
	ə-**ca**	food	Benedict 1976a
	ə **ca:**	eat / food	Matisoff 1983:8
	ʔə **ca**-ʔim	food-house	Matisoff 1987
Langsu (Luxi)	**tsɔ**^{35}	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.31
Lashi	**tsɔ:**^{33}	eat (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.7.6
Lashi (Lachhe')	**tsɔ**^{2}	eat (v.)	Luce 1985:T.6
	tsɔ^{3}	eat (v.)	Luce 1985:T.6
Leqi (Luxi)	**tsɔ:**^{33}	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.33
Marma	**cá**	eat	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:83
	ə **cá**	food	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:71
Maru [Langsu]	**tsō**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
	tsɔ^{35}	eat (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.7.6
	tsɔ^{35}	eat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.43
Taung-Yo	**tsɑ**^{2}	eat (v.)	Luce 1985:T.6
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tsó**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
	tso^{21}	eat	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.42
	tsɔ^{4}	eat (v.)	Luce 1985:T.6
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***dza**^{2}	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
	***dza**^{2}	eat	Bradley 1979b:629; Hansson 1989:22
Lolopho	**dzo**^{31}	eat (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.7.6
PNL	**dza**^{2}	eat	CHEN Kang 1986a:5.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**tsa**^{31}	eat	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991; DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	tsa^{31}	eat (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.7.6
	tsa^{31}	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.47
	tsa^{55}	eat (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.7.6
Lalo	**dzà**	eat	Björverud 1994
	dza^{21}	eat	CHEN Kang 1986a:5.
	dzɑ^{21}	eat (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.6
Lipho	**dzo**^{21}	eat	CHEN Kang 1986a:5.; CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.6
Nasu	**dzo**^{33}	eat	CHEN Kang 1986a:5.
	dzo^{33}	eat (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.6
Neisu	**dzu**^{33}	eat	CHEN Kang 1986a:5.
Nesu	**dzo**^{33}	eat	CHEN Kang 1986a:5.
	dʐo^{33}	eat (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.6
Noesu	**dzu**^{33}	eat	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.6
Nosu	**dzɯ**^{33}	eat	CHEN Kang 1986a:5.; CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.6
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**dza**^{55}	eat	DAI Qingxia 1989o:1662.
Nusu (Central)	**dza**^{55}	eat	DAI Qingxia 1989p:1662.; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.34
	dza^{55}miɔ^{33}	tasty / delicious	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1091.34
Nusu (Southern)	**dzɔ**^{55}	eat	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**dzɑ**^{35}	eat	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**dzɑ**^{55}	eat	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**dzɑ**^{55}	eat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.45
Yi (Dafang)	**dzu**^{33}	eat	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʣa**^{33}n̩i^{33}	food, delicious; tasty food	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʣɯ^{33}	eat	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Lishan)	**dzo**^{33}	eat	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	**dzo**^{21}	eat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dzo**^{33}; tso^{33}	eat; eat (causative)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dzo**^{21}	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.37; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.24
	dzo^{21}mi^{33}	tasty / delicious	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1091.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**du**^{55}	eat	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	dzɑ^{21}	eat	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	dzɑ^{21}; du^{55}	eat; eat (of birds)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.23
Yi (Weishan)	**dzɑ**^{21}	eat	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.36

[a] *STC* erroneously lists the language for this form as "Nagari".

Yi (Wuding)	**dzu**^{33}	eat	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.38
Yi (Xide)	**dzɯ**^{33}	eat	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.35; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:533.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lolo (Ni)	**dzá**	eat (v.)	Luce 1985:T.6
Ahi	**dzo**^{21}	eat	Chen Kang 1986a:5.; Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.6
	dzo^{21}	eat (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7.6
Jinuo (Baka)	**tso**^{44}	eat	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1722
Jinuo	**tsɔ**^{33}	eat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:533.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**tsɔ**^{44}	eat	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1722
Jinuo (Youle)	**tsɔ**^{44}	eat	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**tsɔ**^{44}	eat	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tsɔ**^{44}	eat	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.44
Lahu	**câ**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
**Common Lahu*	***ca˅**	eat	Bradley 1979b:629
Lahu (Black)	**câ**	eat	Matisoff 1978a:47; Matisoff 1974:304
	câ ni ve	try eating; have a taste	Matisoff 1985a:145
	cà-lwɛ̄	early growing rice	Matisoff 1985a:078
	cà-qha	grain of rice	Matisoff 1988a:1022
	ca˅	eat (v.)	Luce 1985:T.6
	cà	paddy	Matisoff 2003a:169
	tsa^{53}	eat	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsʌ^{21}qhʌ^{33}	rice (uncooked)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:390.33
	tsʌ^{31}si^{11}	rice (plant)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:186.33
	tsʌ^{53}	eat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:533.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tsa**^{2}	rice (plant)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsa^{2}qha^{1}	rice (uncooked)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsa^{2}ɣɔ^{3}	straw (rice)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsa^{55}	eat	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**dzà**	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
Lisu (Northern)	**dza**^{21}	eat; C a meal (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**dza**^{5}	eat	Bradley 1979b:629
Lisu (Central)	**dza**^{5}	eat (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Nujiang)	**dzɑ**^{31}	eat	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**dzɑ**^{31}	eat	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.40; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:533.27
Lisu (Putao)	**dzɑ**^{5}	eat (v.)	Luce 1985:T.6
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**dzɑ**^{5}	eat (v.)	Luce 1985:T.6
Sani [Nyi]	**dza**^{21}	eat	Chen Kang 1986a:5.
	dzɑ^{21}	eat	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.6
	dzɑ^{11}	eat (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:351.4
	dzɒ^{21}	eat	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**dzɒ**^{11}	eat	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	(**dza**)	eat	Matisoff 1978a:47
	dzà	eat (v.)	Weidert 1987:271
Akha (Thai)	**dzá**	food	Hansson 1989:19
Akha (Yunnan)	**dzá**	food	Hansson 1989:19
Akha (Thai)	**dzà**	eat	Hansson 1989:22
Akha (Yunnan)	**dzà**	eat	Hansson 1989:22
Akha	**dzà**	eat	Hansson 1989:22
Bisu	(hàŋ) **tsà**	eat	Beaudouin 1988:30
	tsà	eat	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**dzà**	food; eat	Hansson 1989:19; Hansson 1989:22
Hani (Dazhai)	**dza**^{31}	eat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:533.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dza**^{31}	eat	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.41
	dza^{31}khɯ^{55}	tasty / delicious	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1091.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsɔ**^{31}	eat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:533.30
Hani (Pijo)	**tsɔ̀**	eat	Hansson 1989:22
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dza**^{31}	eat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Haoni	**tsɔ**^{31}	eat	Hansson 1989:22
Hani (Shuikui)	**tsɔ**^{31}	eat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:533.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**zzaq**	eat	Hansson 1989:22
Hani (Khatu)	**tsɔ̀**	eat	Hansson 1989:22
Hani (Mojiang)	**tsɔ**^{31}	eat	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.42
Mpi	**tɕo**^{1}	eat	Hansson 1989:22; Matisoff 1978a:47; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Sangkong	**tsa**^{31}	eat	Li Yongsui 1991
Sila	**dzɛ21**	eat (v.)	Kato Takashi 2008:45

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**dze**˦	eat (of animal) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2450
	dze˦	food	Michaud 2006–2009:849
	dze˦bv˦	food steamer	Michaud 2006–2009:1110
	dze˦sv˥	paddy rice	Michaud 2006–2009:4005
	mi˥k^{h}ɯ˥**dze**˦	dinner	Michaud 2006–2009:1614
	mi˥k^{h}ɯ˥**dze**˦**dze**˦	eat dinner (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:1615
	ʐu˦**dze**˦	eat lunch (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:1608
Na (Yongning)	**dzɯ**˦	eat (of animal) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʈʂ^{h}wɤ˩**dzɯ**˩	eat dinner (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐu˩**dzɯ**˩-ze˦	afternoon	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐu˩**dzɯ**˩bi˩dʑi˩	eat lunch (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐu˩**dzɯ**˩	lunch	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**dzɯ**^{55}	eat	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**dzɿ**^{33}	eat	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**dzɿ**^{55}; **dzɿ**^{13}	eat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:533.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	mɯ^{33}khv^{55}**ndzɯ**^{33}	dinner	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:395.28
Naxi (Western)	**ndzɯ**^{33}	eat	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndzɯ**^{33}	eat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:533.28

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d̂ʻi̯ək**/dźʻi̯ək	eat	Chou Fa-kao 1972:921a-c
	tsʻû n	eat / food / meal	Chou Fa-kao 1972:154c
Chinese (Old)	**dzi̯əg**	eat / food	Matisoff 1983:8
	d̂'i̯ək	eat / food	Matisoff 1983:8
	ts'a n	eat / food	Matisoff 1983:8
	tsha n	eat	Coblin 1986:69

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**tshâ** n	eat	Coblin 1986:69

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**chī**	eat	Evans *et al.* 1991
	chy	eat	Sun 1985b:541

Chinese comparandum

咀 OC ***dzi̯o**, *GSR* #46u 'chew'; Schuessler 2007:323 ***dza?**; B & S 2011: (***dza?**); Mand. **jǔ**.
餐 OC ***ts'ûn**, *GSR* #154c 'eat; food, meal'; Schuessler 2007:323 ***tshân**; B & S 2011: (***ts^{hr}ar**); Mand. **cān**.

(2) PTB *ka- **y w m** EAT

This putative root has reflexes with open syllables, as well as syllables with final semivowel or **-m**. Further confirmation is required to assure the authenticity of all these variants.

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**kam**	eat	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kam^{55}	eat (vegetables) (v.)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Risiangku)	**²ka:**	eat (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.7.6
	²ka:	eat up, stuff oneself (slang)	Mazaudon 1994:14

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**kham** d-	eat (curries, not grain) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:30

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**kaw**-sa	eat	Caughley 1972:7.B.2. 27

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**kuə**^{35}	eat	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.16
	kuə^{35}	peck at (rice; of a chicken) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1814.16
	kø^{35}	eat	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:533.17

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔgɑu**	eat (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.7.6

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**kɑi**^{55}	eat	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**k^{h}e**^{53}	eat	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. Tujia

Tujia	**ka**^{35}	eat (v.)	Chen Kang 1986c:3.7.6
Tujia (Northern)	**ka**^{35}	eat	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

(3) PNN *they EAT

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Mzieme	**tei**	eat	Matisoff 1985a:144

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***they**	eat	Matisoff 1985a:144; Matisoff 2003a:588
	***t^{h}ey**	eat (v.)	French 1983

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Yogli)	sa, **sei**, phak	eat	Marrison 1967
	sei	eat	Matisoff 1985a:144; French 1983:481

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**hei**	food	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:144; French 1983:481
	he hak	food	Marrison 1967

(4) PTB *h(w)a-k EAT

This promising root is nowhere nearly as well attested as the basic TB etymon PTB ***m-dz(y)a-k/n/t/s** EAT / FOOD / FEED / RICE (§1.3.5.8).

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	a **hu**-ɲi	eat	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	**ha**	eat	Anonymous 1962
	ha^{53}	eat (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.7.6
	ha ga	eat, eating	Pulu 1978
	hɑ^{53}	eat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:533.50

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**hā**	eat (v.)	unknown nd
	há	eat	Brown 1895:72
	ha-ri	eat, smoke (pipe, cigarette) [with object, see mokõ]	Jacquesson 2005
	mokõ **ha**-ri	eat	Jacquesson 2005

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**ha**	eat	Marrison 1967
	hak	eat	French 1983:481
Phom	**hak**	eat	Marrison 1967
	haʔ yiŋ	food	French 1983:481
	haʔ^{33}	eat	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**ha**	eat	French 1983:481

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Sahu)	**wha:**-pa	feed; give to drink (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:18.B.27.a; Taylor *et al.* 1972:18.B.28.a

(5) PNC *nee-I, *neek-II EAT

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Northern Chin*	***nee**-I, neek-II	EAT	VanBik 2009:813
Sizang	**ne** hī	eat	VanBik 2009:813
Thado	**nêe**-I, nèʔ	eat	VanBik 2009:813
Tiddim	**ne:**^{1} > ne:k^{3}	eat	VanBik 2009:813

(6) PTani *do EAT

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***do**	eat	Sun 1993a:120

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	à-lo á-piŋ **dɯ**-du	lunch time	Sun 1993b
	dɯ	eat	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	dɯ-go-ho	feast	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-ka	taste by chewing; taste	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	dɯ-miŋ	snack	Sun 1993b

	dɯ-nà-nɯ	dining utensil	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-pjo	steal	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-prjo	taste; tasty	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	dɯ-p^{h}rjo	steal	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	dɯ-sà-nɯ	edible	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-sɯ-nɯ	food	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-luː lɯ-paː **dɯ**-gam	lunch	Sun 1993b
	a-rjum **dɯ**-gam	dinner	Sun 1993b
	a-ruː **dɯ**-gam	breakfast	Sun 1993b
	duː	eat	Sun 1993b
	duː-puː	delicious	Sun 1993b
	də-ǰiː	full, satiated	Sun 1993b
	dɯ	eat	Sun 1993b
	dɯ, **duː**	eat	Sun 1993a
	dɯ-čoː	steal	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	dɯ-gam	food	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-gam ǰi	feed	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-gam mɯt	prepare food	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-gaː	gluttonous	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-gaː **dɯ**-gam	lunch	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-ǰiː ǰi-ǰak	very full	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-kaː	taste	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-mit	swallow	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-puː	delicious	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-rum rum	give a banquet	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-təː-pak	satiated (tired of)	Sun 1993b
	dɯː-mit	swallow (v.)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**do**-pjoŋ	steal	Sun 1993a
	doː	eat	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1198.24
	doː kɯ	taste / try the flavor of	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1182.24
	doː po	tasty / delicious	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1091.24
	doː-kɯ	try	Sun 1993b
	doː-liŋ	gluttonous	Sun 1993b
	doː-po	tasty	Sun 1993b
	doː-sə	food	Sun 1993b
	doː liŋ	want to eat (meat) badly; gluttonous	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1180.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1181.24
Bokar Lhoba	**doː**	eat	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.51
Galo	**do**	eat	Das Gupta 1963
	do-ben-nam	overeat (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	do-ka-nam	taste (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	do-lɯk-nam	digest (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	do-mak-nam	chewing (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	do-mo-nam	feed (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	do-nam	eating (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	do ji	full (stomach) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	do kaa	taste (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	do kee	fodder (n.)	GLDC 2009
	do ken-ɟa-na	tasteful (tasty)	Das Gupta 1963
	do kum	stoned (from eating something) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	do nam	eat; steal (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	do nam-tɨɨ nam	sustenance (n.)	GLDC 2009
	do nəm	satiated (by eating) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	do pak	snack (n.)	GLDC 2009
	do so-nam	steal (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘a ro-**do** bek	breakfast (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**do** ken	delicious (to eat) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**do**-gom	food, cooked rice	Simon 1976
	do-ka-nam	taste	Simon 1976
	do-ken-ma-ne	bad taste	Simon 1976
	do-ken-ne	taste	Simon 1976
	do-ken-ɟaɟ-ne	good taste	Simon 1976
	do-nam	food, eating	Simon 1976
	do-namci	food	Simon 1976
	do-sɯ	eat	Simon 1976
	doc co	steal	Simon 1976
	so-**do**-nam	fodder	Simon 1976
Nishing	**do**	eat	Das Gupta 1969
	do-ka-to	taste	Das Gupta 1969
	do gu	food	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**do**-nam	eat	Das Gupta 1983
	do co-nam	steal (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	dɤ ka-nam	taste (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**do**	eat	Sun 1993a
	do-pjoŋ	steal	Sun 1993a
Damu	**da** jit toː	eat (have eaten)	Sun 1993b
	da ma	eat	Sun 1993b
	da ra	eat	Sun 1993b
	da ɕe	eat (will eat)	Sun 1993b
Milang	**do**-gyuŋ-gyuŋ-ma	chew	Tayeng 1976

(7) PTk *ʃaj EAT (FRUIT)

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***ʃaj**	eat (fruit)	Mortensen 2012:374
Kachai	kə-**ʃwe**	eat (general) (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.067
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃaj**	eat (fruit)	Mortensen 2012

(8) PKC *ʔay EAT / CONSUME

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ʔay**	EAT / CONSUME	VanBik 2009:479
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**é**	eat	VanBik 2009:479
Cho (Mindat)	**ei**	eat (food), corrode (metal)	VanBik 2009:479
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔây**-I, ʔǎy-II	eat, consume	VanBik 2009:479
Lai (Falam)	**ʔǎy**-I, ʔày-II	eat, consume	VanBik 2009:479
Lushai [Mizo]	**éi**	eat (v.)	VanBik 2009:479

(9) PKC *tulʔ FEED

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tulʔ**	FEED	VanBik 2009:194
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**tulʔ**^{3}	feed into the mouth (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1827
	tulʔ^{3}	feed into the mouth	VanBik 2009:194; Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tuʔ**-INV	feed, to spoon (to the mouth) (v.)	VanBik 2009:194
Lushai [Mizo]	**tùlh**	cause to drink (v.)	VanBik 2009:194
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**tú**	feed, to spoon (v.)	VanBik 2009:194

(10) PLB *ʔ-klak^{H} ⪤ *glak^{H} GRAZE (as cattle)

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***Nkak**	graze (e.g. cattle)	Matisoff 1972b:105(a)
	***ʔ-klak**^{H} ⪤ **glak**^{H}	graze (forage)	Matisoff 2003a:595
	***ʔkak**	graze (e.g. cattle) ((HIGH).)	Matisoff 1972b:105(b)
	***ʔkak**	graze (e.g. cattle)	Matisoff 1972b:105(b)
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	caː-**kyak**	pasture / ground (grazing)	Matisoff 1983:2
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**qâʔ**	graze (e.g. cattle)	Matisoff 1972b:105(b)
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**ga HS**	graze (e.g. cattle)	Matisoff 1972b:105(a)
	gáʔ	pasture / ground (grazing)	Matisoff 1983:2
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ʁwɑ˥**	graze (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2463

(11) PKC *ts $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{a}{o}$ m TASTE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tsam** ⪤ tsom	TASTE	VanBik 2009:569
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**cam**	taste	VanBik 2009:569
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsôm**-I, tsǒm-II	taste (food)	VanBik 2009:569

(12) PTB *m- $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{r}{y}$ aŋ TASTE

9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	嘗	taste (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:248

Chinese comparandum

嘗 OC ***ȡ'i̯ɑng**, *GSR* #725f-h ‘taste’; Schuessler 2007:181 ST ***m-jaŋ** > OC ***djaŋ** or ***daŋ**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.daŋ**; Mand. **cháng**.

(13) PKC *tia $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{m}{p}$ TASTE / TEST

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tiam** ⪤ tiap	TASTE / TEST	VanBik 2009:236
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**tep** hī	taste (eat sample)	VanBik 2009:236
Thado	**tèp**-I, tèe-II	taste (food)	VanBik 2009:236
Tiddim	**ciam**^{3} -I, ciap^{3}-II	taste, to test the taste (v.)	VanBik 2009:236
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**m**-dep	taste a drink (v.)	VanBik 2009:236
Khumi	**pte(ng)**	taste	VanBik 2009:236
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tep**-I, teʔ-II	taste, to test for taste (v.)	VanBik 2009:236
Lai (Falam)	**tèp**-INV	taste, to test for taste (v.)	VanBik 2009:236
Lushai [Mizo]	**tèp**	smack the lips (v.)	VanBik 2009:236

1.3.5.9 Drink

(1) PTB *ʔam EAT / DRINK

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***am**	eat; drink; imbibe	Benedict 1972:481; Coblin 1986:97
	***əm**	eat / drink	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:654a
	***ʔam**	eat / drink	Matisoff 2003a:583
2.1.5. DHIMAL			
Dhimal	**am**	drink	Coblin 1986:95
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**um**-	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:54
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**am**	eat	Coblin 1986:95
	ɛm^{55}	eat	SUN Hongkai 1988
	ɑm^{53}	eat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:533.44
7. KARENIC: ***ʔam**^{B} EAT			
**Karen [Burling]*	***ʔam**^{2}	eat	Luangthongkum 2013:98
**Karen*	***ʔam**^{B}	eat	Luangthongkum 2013:98
	***ʔámq**	eat	Jones 1961:74
**Karen (TP)*	***ʔámq**	eat	Jones 1961:74
**Karen (Pwo)*	***ʔánq**	eat	Jones 1961:74
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***ʔɔ̀q**	eat	Jones 1961:74
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ʔɔ́ʔ**	eat	Jones 1961:74
Bwe	**a**^{33}	eat	Luangthongkum 2013:98
Kayah	**ʔɛ**^{11}	eat	Luangthongkum 2013:98
Kayan	**ʔaŋ**^{11}	eat	Luangthongkum 2013:98
Kayaw	**ʔɔ**^{11}	eat	Luangthongkum 2013:98
Pa-O (Southern)	**ʔam**^{33}	eat	Luangthongkum 2013:98
Pa-O (Northern)	**ʔam**^{55}	eat	Luangthongkum 2013:98
	ɑm^{1}	eat (v.)	Luce 1985:J.239
Pa-O	**ʔám**	eat	Jones 1961:74
	ʔam	eat	Coblin 1986:95
Pwo (Northern)	**ʔɛ̃**^{33}	eat	Luangthongkum 2013:98
Pwo (Southern)	**ʔɔ̃**^{55}	eat	Luangthongkum 2013:98
Pwo (Bassein)	**ʔàn**	eat	Jones 1961:74
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ʔánʔ**	eat	Jones 1961:74
Sgaw (Northern)	**ʔɔ**$^{31\sim}$	eat	Luangthongkum 2013:98
Sgaw (Southern)	**ʔɔ**$^{45'}$	eat	Luangthongkum 2013:98
Sgaw (Bassein)	**ʔɔ̀**	eat	Jones 1961:74

Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**ɔ^{31}**	eat	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1722
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ʔɔ́ʔ**	eat	Jones 1961:74
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**ɔ^{31}**	eat	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1722
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**i̱əm**	eat / drink	Chou Fa-kao 1972:654a
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**ʔjəm:**	drink	Coblin 1986:97

Chinese comparandum

飲 OC ***ʔi̱əm***, *GSR* #654a 'drink (v.)'; Schuessler 2007:573-4 ***ʔəmʔ***; B & S 2011: ***qəmʔ {q(r)[ə]mʔ}***; Mand. **yǐn**.
飲 OC ***ʔi̱əm***, *GSR* #654a 'give to drink'; Schuessler 2007:573-4 ***ʔəms***; B & S 2011: ***qəmʔ-s {q(r)[ə]mʔ-s}***; Mand. **yìn**.

(2) PTB *hwap DRINK

This root is best attested in Kiranti, with a likely Tujia cognate and a good Chinese comparandum.

The final nasal in the first syllable of Yakha **hom ma:** 'drink' is due to assimilation to the initial nasal of the second syllable.

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	**hom** ma:	drink (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.7.7
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**hop**	drink	Rai 1985
	hop t-	drink (soup, buttermilk, ...) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:156
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**hop** t-	drink (soup) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:156
Thulung	**hop**-	drink, to sip (non-alcoholic); drink, to sip (non-alcoholic beverages) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:156; Allen 1975
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	**hu3**	drink, smoke (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	hu^{3}	drink (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.3
Tujia	**xu^{21}**	drink (v.)	Chen Kang 1986c:3.7.7
Tujia (Northern)	**xu^{21}**	drink	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**xu^{21}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.49
	xu^{21}	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.38
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	喝	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
Chinese (GSR #)	**675**	sip, drink	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1026
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**q^{hˤ}əp** {q^{hˤ}[ə]p}	sip, drink	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1026
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**xop**	sip, drink	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1026
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**hē**	drink (v.)	Evans *et al.* 1991
	he	drink	Sun 1985b:544
	hē	sip, drink	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1026

Chinese comparandum

吸 OC ***χi̱əp***, *GSR* #681j 'breathe, inhale, suck in, absorb'; Coblin 86:98 ST ***rngjup*** > OC ***hngjəp***; Schuessler 2007:522 ***hŋəp*** ~ ***həp***; B & S 2011: ***q^{h}əp {q^{h}(r)[ə]p}***; Mand. **xī**.

欿 OC (not in *GSR* #675); B & S 2011: ***q^{hˤ}əp {q^{hˤ}[ə]p}***; Mand. **hē**.

(3) PTB *m-l $\begin{matrix}\textbf{i}\\\textbf{u}\end{matrix}$ $\begin{matrix}\textbf{ŋ}\\\textbf{k}\end{matrix}$ DRINK

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(m-)li [:] ŋ**	drink (v.)	French 1983:479
	***lu [:] ŋ**	drink (v.)	French 1983:479
1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**rin^{33}**	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.52
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Kuki*	***in**	drink	Benedict 1972:183n482
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**in**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	in	drink	Benedict 1972:142n384
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**in**	drink (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.7.7
Moyon	**lń**	drink (v.)	Kosha 1990:3.7.7
Sorbung	**ʔíin**	nurse; suckle (=drink); drink (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.080; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.146
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	**in**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**jun**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***ləŋ**	drink	Burling 1959:440
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**ləŋ**	drink (v.)	Bhat 1968
	ləŋ blod	drink soon (v.)	Bhat 1968
	ləŋ der	drink in a prohibited place (v.)	Bhat 1968
	ləŋ ram	drink a bit (v.)	Bhat 1968
	ləŋ srəm	drink completely (v.)	Bhat 1968
	lɤŋ	drink (v.)	Weidert 1987:7
Dimasa	**lung**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**nəŋ**	drink, smoke (v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**lɤŋ**	drink (v.)	Weidert 1987:7
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ring**-a	drink; smoke (vt.)	Burling 2003:5.474-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**ɤyng**-	drink (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	ryng khaw-	drink sneakily (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	ryng khele-	drink for fun (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***N-liːŋ** DRINK			
**Northern Naga*	***N-liːŋ**	drink (v.)	French 1983:479
	***N-luːŋ**	drink (v.)	French 1983:479
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	**ning**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	niŋ	drink (v.)	French 1983:479
Tangsa (Yogli)	**ning**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	niŋ	drink (v.)	French 1983:479
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**yung**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	yùŋ	drink (v.)	Weidert 1987:7
	yuŋ	drink (v.)	French 1983:479
Konyak	**ying**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	yiŋ	drink (v.)	French 1983:479
Phom	**ying**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	yiŋ	drink (v.)	French 1983:479
	yɯŋ^{31}	feed liquid / make drink	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	yɯŋ^{55}	drink	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**ling**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	liŋ	drink (v.)	French 1983:479
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**lu**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	luʔ^{31}	drink	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	luʔ^{31}	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.19
	luʔ^{31}	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.47

(4) PTB *ʔ-wa DRINK

This root is well attested in Karenic and Baic, but apparently not elsewhere.

7. Karenic: *ʔɔ^{A} DRINK (v.)			
**Karen [Burling]*	*ʔɔ^{3}	drink (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:91
**Karen*	*ʔɔ^{A}	drink (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:91
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***ʔàuh**	drink (v.t.)	Jones 1961:99
**Karen (TP)*	***ʔwáug**	drink (v.t.)	Jones 1961:99
**Karen*	***ʔwáugh**	drink (v.t.)	Jones 1961:99
**Karen (Pwo)*	***ʔɔ̀'**	drink (v.t.)	Jones 1961:99
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ʔɔ́**	drink (v.t.)	Jones 1961:99
Bwe	**ɔ^{55}**	drink (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:91
Kayah	**ʔo^{33}**	drink (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:91
Kayan	**ʔau^{53}**	drink (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:91
Kayaw	**ʔo^{55}**	drink (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:91
Pa-O	**ʔwáʔ**	drink (v.t.)	Jones 1961:99
Palaychi	**ʔòq**	drink (v.t.)	Jones 1961:99
Pwo (Northern)	**ʔɔ^{55}**	drink (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:91
Pwo (Southern)	**ʔo$^{31¨}$**	drink (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:91
Pwo (Bassein)	**ʔáu**	drink (v.t.)	Jones 1961:99
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ʔɔ**	drink (v.t.)	Jones 1961:99
Sgaw (Northern)	**ʔɔ^{33}**	drink (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:91
Sgaw (Southern)	**ʔɔ^{55}**	drink (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:91
Sgaw (Bassein)	**ʔɔ́**	drink (v.t.)	Jones 1961:99
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**ɔ̰^{55}**	drink	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1964
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ʔɔ́**	drink (v.t.)	Jones 1961:99
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**o^{55}**	drink	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1964.1
	ɔ^{55}	drink	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1964
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**ɯ̃^{33}**	drink	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**ɣɯ^{33}**	drink	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ɯ^{3}	drink (v.)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ʔɯ̃^{33}**	drink (v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.7.7

(5) PTB *ʔuŋ DRINK

This weakly attested root awaits further confirmation.

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	**uŋ** ma:	drink (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.7.7
4. Nungic			
Anong	**aŋ^{55}**	drink	Sun Hongkai 1988
Nung	**ʔɑŋ^{55}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.21
Anong	**ʔɑŋ^{55}**	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.44

(6) PKC *ɗoon DRINK

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗoon**	DRINK	VanBik 2009:77
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	**don**	drink (v.)	Haokip 1998:3.7.7
Thado	**dóon**-I, dòon-II	drink	VanBik 2009:77
	dɔ̀n	drink	Thirumalai 1972:58
Tiddim	**doːn^{2}**	drink	VanBik 2009:77
	doːn^{2}	drink (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:272
	doːn^{2}	drink	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**dáwn**	drink (Poetical word used in stead of ?in in Lushai songs) (v.)	VanBik 2009:77

(7) PTk *maŋ DRINK

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***maŋ**	drink	Mortensen 2012:477
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**ma**	drink (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.069
Tangkhul	**mang**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	məŋ	drink	Bhat 1969:88
Tusom	k^{h}ə-**mã**	drink (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.077
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**maŋ**	drink	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-**mɐŋ**	drink	Mortensen 2012
	mɐŋ-kə-k^{h}uj	just to have something to drink	Mortensen 2012

(8) PCN *juŋ DRINK (v.)

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***juŋ**	DRINK (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.222
**Ao*	*a-**juŋ**	DRINK	Bruhn 2014a:II.285
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}-**juŋ^{2}**	drink (breast milk or broth) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.285
	a **yong**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tʃi^{1}**juŋ^{2}**	eat a meal (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	**juŋ**	drink (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.157
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**yung**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	**ju^{1}**-	drink (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.222
	yu	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	yu a	drink	Murry *et al.* 1978:35
	YU A	drink (v.)	Nienu 1990c:3.7.7
Sangtam	**yong**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**young**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	yung	drink (v.)	Kumar 1973b:69

(9) PKC *hroop DRINK / EAT (semi-liquid food)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	***hroop**	DRINK / EAT (semi-liquid food)	VanBik 2009:1081
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**hawp** hī	drink	VanBik 2009:1081
Thado	**hôop**-I, hòop-II	drink soup (with handle bowl or spoon), sip	VanBik 2009:1081
Tiddim	**ho:p**^{1}	eat semi-liquid food (e.g. porridge)	VanBik 2009:1081
	ho:p^{1}	eat semi-liquid food [e.g. porridge] (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:493
	ho:p^{1}	eat semi-liquid food	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hroop**-I, hroʔ-II	drink or eat semi-liquid food (e.g. porridge)	VanBik 2009:1081

(10) PTani *krum DRUNK

1.1.1. TANI			
*Tani	***krum**	drunk	Sun 1993a:113
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	(tɯŋ)-**kjum**	drunk	Sun 1993a
	təŋ-**kjum**	drunk	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(tɯŋ)-**kum**	drunk	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	kum	drunk, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1818.24
Bokar Lhoba	tɯŋ **kum**	drunk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:779.51
Galo	**-kum**	drunk; senseless; stoned (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	do **kum**	stoned (from eating something) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	tɨi **kum**	drunk; drunk (from liquor); stoned (from inhaling something) (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	tɯ-**kum**-nam	druken (be v.)	Simon 1976

(11) PTB *yit DRUNK

This root seems to be independent of PTB ***m-dzəy** LIQUOR (§3.1.6).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***yit**	drunk	Matisoff 2003a:620
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	thɛ^{33}**ʐɻ**^{55}	drunk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:779.18
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**zi**^{35}si^{53}	drunk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:779.16
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
*Lolo-Burmese	***yit**	drunk / intoxicated	Matisoff 1972b:163
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Modern)	**yac**	drunk (be v.)	Luce 1985:V.114
Burmese (Written)	**yac**	drunk; intoxicated	Hansson 1989:539; Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	djə́-**ìq**	drunk	Björverud 1994
Yi (Nanjian)	**ʐi̱**^{21}	drunk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:779.23
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lisu (Northern)	**jiʔ**^{21}	drunk; hangover (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**yi6**	drunk / intoxicated	Matisoff 1972b:163
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**yi**^{6}	drunk (be v.)	Luce 1985:V.114
Lisu (Central)	**yi**^{6}**(a)** law^{3}	drunk, be	Fraser 1922
	yi^{6}**(a)** law^{3}	intoxicated, be (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Putao)	**yɪʔ**^{6}	drunk (be v.)	Luce 1985:V.114
Lisu (Nujiang)	**ʒi̱**^{42}	drunk	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Putao)	**ʒɪʔ**^{6}**3**	drunk (be v.)	Luce 1985:V.114
Lisu (Northern)	**ʒlʔ**^{21}	drunk (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ʒl**^{41}	drunk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:779.27
	ʐi̱^{31}	drunk, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1818.40
Yi (Sani)	**jɪ**^{2}	drunk, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1818.39
Sani [Nyi]	tsɥ^{33} **ji̱**^{22}	drunk	MA Xueliang 1989:348.6
	tʂi^{33}**ʐi̱**^{21}	drunk	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	yi 22s	drunk / intoxicated	Matisoff 1972b:163
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**jèq**	drunk	Hansson 1989:539
Akha (Thai)	**jèq**	drunk	Hansson 1989:539
Akha (Yunnan)	**jèq**	drunk	Hansson 1989:539
Akha	**yeh LS**	drunk / intoxicated	Matisoff 1972b:163
Hani (Lüchun)	**jèq**-jè ?	drunk	Hansson 1989:539
Hani (Dazhai)	**jɤ̱**^{31}	drunk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:779.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**jɤ̱**^{31}	drunk, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1818.41
Hani (Wordlist)	**yevq**	drunk	Hansson 1989:539
Hani (Khatu)	**jèq**	drunk	Hansson 1989:539

(12) PKar *mwɨN^{A} DRUNK

7. KARENIC			
*Karen [Burling]	***mun**^{3}	drunk	Luangthongkum 2013:93
*Karen	***mwɨN**^{A}	drunk	Luangthongkum 2013:93
Bwe	**mu**	giddy, dizzy, drunk (be v.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**mũ**^{2}	dizzy, drunk	Luce 1985:F.15
Bwe	**mu**^{33}	drunk	Luangthongkum 2013:93
Geba	**hmũ**^{2}	dizzy, drunk	Luce 1985:F.15
Karen	**mu**^{33}	drunk, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1818.50
Kayah	**mɨ**^{11}	drunk	Luangthongkum 2013:93
Kayan (Pekon)	**myə̤̀n** θì	drunk (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**mɨ**^{33}	drunk	Luangthongkum 2013:93
Kayaw	**mʉ**^{33}	drunk	Luangthongkum 2013:93
Pa-O	**mūn**, **mūn** dàu	drunk	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**mun**^{33}	drunk	Luangthongkum 2013:93
Pa-O (Southern)	**mu̱əm**^{53}	drunk	Luangthongkum 2013:93
Pa-O (Northern)	**mʊn**^{5}	dizzy, drunk	Luce 1985:F.15
Paku	**mu**^{2}	dizzy, drunk	Luce 1985:F.15
Pwo (Northern)	**mɑ̃**^{55}	drunk	Luangthongkum 2013:93
Pwo (Delta)	**mə̃**^{2}	dizzy, drunk	Luce 1985:F.15
Pwo (Southern)	**mə̃ɨ**$^{31¨}$	drunk	Luangthongkum 2013:93
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**mə̃**^{5}	dizzy, drunk	Luce 1985:F.15
Sgaw	**mu**^{3}	dizzy, drunk	Luce 1985:F.15
Sgaw (Northern)	**mu**^{33}	drunk	Luangthongkum 2013:93
Sgaw (Southern)	**mu**^{33}	drunk	Luangthongkum 2013:93
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**mu**^{33}	drunk	DAI Qingxia 1989k:2621
	mu^{33} tθi^{55}	drunk	DAI Qingxia 1989k:2621.1
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**mu**^{33}	drunk	DAI Qingxia 1989j:2621

1.4.2 Neck

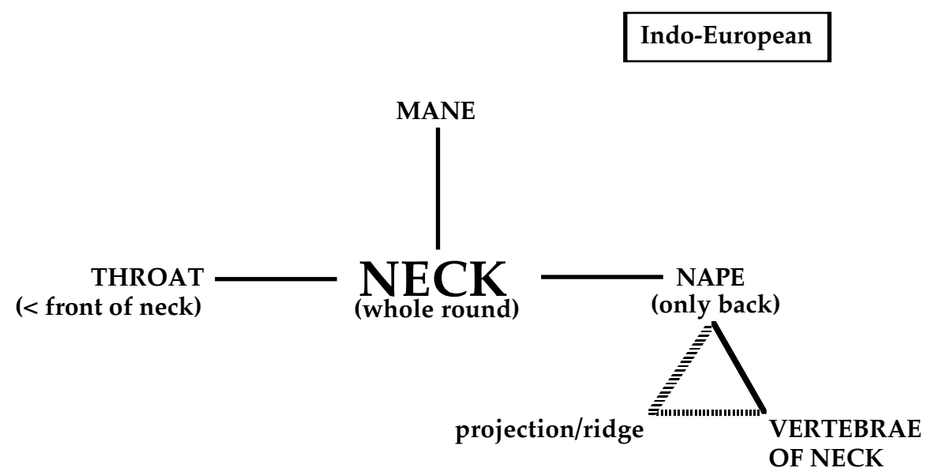


Figure 107: 1.4.2 *Neck*

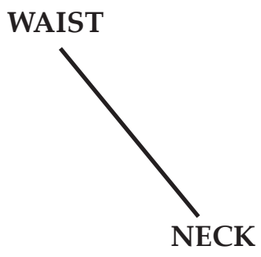


Figure 108: 1.4.2 *Neck*

NOTE the semantic connection between NECK and WAIST; the latter is the neck of the body. This is analogous to the extension of words for 'neck' to other thin flexible areas of the body, as in Korean **son-mok** 'wrist' ('hand neck') and **pal-mok** 'ankle' ('foot neck'). There is thus probably a relationship between WT **sked-pa** ~ **rked-pa** 'waist; middle' and **ske** ~ **skye** ~ **skya** 'neck, throat'.

For the semantic connection between NECK and SHOULDER, see Chapter 1.4.3.

The Karen forms, which all look something like **ko**, could either be from PTB ***l-kwak** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5) or from PTB ***gwaŋ** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2).

Note also the similarity between the Hani forms for 'neck' **k^{h}ɔ^{31} lɔ^{55}**, **k^{h}ɔ^{31} laŋ^{55}**, **k^{h}ɯ^{31} l̥ɯ^{55}** and the Karen (B) form **k^{h}o^{31} lø^{31} t^{h}i̱^{55}**.

There is a widespread binome in LB consisting of etyma PTB ***g/m-liŋ** NECK (§1.4.2) + PTB ***tsiŋ** NECK (§1.4.2).

There is a possible semantic connection between THROAT/NECK and HEART; the first syllables of Limbu **niŋ-mā** 'throat' and Bisu **niŋ-tshɨ** 'neck' mean 'heart' .

(1) PTB * $\begin{matrix} g \\ m \end{matrix}$ -liŋ NECK

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Sino-Tibetan	***bl**+**ying**~ml+ying	neck	Coblin 1986:112
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***ling** (*A)	neck	Coblin 1986:112
	***liŋ**	neck	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:831n; Weidert 1987:180; Matisoff 1983:26; LaPolla 1987:132; Benedict 1972:96
	***liŋʔ**/II-der.	neck	Weidert 1987:609
	***m-liŋ**	neck	Matisoff 2003a:600
1.1.1. TANI: ***lɯŋ** NECK			
*Tani	***lɯŋ**	neck	Sun 1993a:269
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**lā**-gu	neck	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lá-ŋu lan-ču	Adam's apple	Sun 1993b
	la-ŋu pa-ču	Adam's apple	Sun 1993b
	lán-ču	goiter	Sun 1993b
	laŋ-gu	neck	Sun 1993b
	laŋ-gu pa-č^{h}u	Adam's apple	Sun 1993b
	^{1}**laŋ** ^{2}gu(^{1})	neck	Weidert 1987:609
Bengni	**ləŋ**-guŋ pa-rit	behead	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-po:	neck	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-guŋ	throat	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-po:	neck	Sun 1993a
Bokar	do:jom **lɯŋ** guŋ	throat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.24
	lɯŋ guŋ	neck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.24
	lɯŋ poŋ	neck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.24
	lɯŋ-guŋ	throat; nape	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-po	mane, bristle (of pig)	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-poŋ	neck	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**lɯŋ** poŋ	neck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:248.51
	lɯŋ guŋ	neck	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lɯŋ poŋ	neck	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**li:** po	neck	Das Gupta 1963
	'lɨɨ goo	throat; neck (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'lɨɨ poo	neck (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'lɨɨ yaa	collar (n.)	GLDC 2009
	¯lu: go	neck	Weidert 1987:609
Miri, Hill	**lɯ** po	neck	Simon 1976
Nishing	**long** gum	neck	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**leŋ** po	neck	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	a-**lɯŋ**	neck	Sun 1993a
	lɯŋ-guŋ	throat	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**lí**-bum	neck below nape	Matisoff 1987

	lí-pong	throat; gullet; esophagus; bones of neck	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	lí-pu	goiter	Matisoff 1987
	líng-gung	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**ləŋ**-gɯŋ	neck	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-pat	goiter	Sun 1993b
Milang	**laŋ** be	goiter	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	ə **lüŋ**	neck	LaPolla 1987:132; Benedict 1972:96

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Thanphum	**lə̀**`hɤn^{5}	neck	Luce 1985:N.44

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**ring**	neck	Matisoff 1987; Coblin 1986:112
	rîŋ	neck	Weidert 1987:180
	riŋ	neck	LaPolla 1987:132; Benedict 1972:96

1.2.3. Maraic

Tha'oa	**rɔ̆n^{2}**	neck	Luce 1985:N.44
	rɔ̆n^{4}	neck	Luce 1985:N.44

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**rìiŋ**	neck	Weidert 1987:180
	r̥iŋ	neck; nape of neck	Toba & Kom 1991:4.1; Toba & Kom 1991:4.1.3
Moyon	**rəŋ**	neck	Kosha 1990:4.1
	rəŋ lpúm ~ **rəŋ** ltúr	goiter	Kosha 1990:4.1.1
	rəŋ kuŋ	nape of neck	Kosha 1990:4.1.3
Sorbung	**riiŋ**	neck	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.123

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	*a-**liŋ**	BASE / LOWER RANGE	Bruhn 2014a:II.333
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**zəŋ^{3}**	lower range (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.333
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a **liŋ**	lower range (n.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	**ling** a	throat	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Meluri	a **lji**	neck	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	mai-gõ-«**riaŋ**»	neck	Weidert 1987:609
	mai-«gõ»-**riaŋ**	neck	Weidert 1987:609
Puiron	**ring**	neck	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**làng**-jóy	throat / gullet / pharynx	Grüssner 1979:178
	lang joi (a pong)	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	lang joi, che thok	throat	Marrison 1967

1.6. Mru

Mru	**ling**	neck	Matisoff 1987
	lɑŋ^{2}	neck	Luce 1985:S.43

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	git-ok-**reng**	neck, narrow place, throat	Burling 1992

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	dok-e-**reŋ**	neck	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***kliŋ**	neck	French 1983:525

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Yogli)	**khing**	neck	Marrison 1967
	k^{h}iŋ	neck	French 1983:525

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**üng**	neck	Marrison 1967
	ung phang	neck	Marrison 1967
	əŋ	neck	French 1983:525
Konyak (Tamlu)	**ɯŋ˅**-dɔk	neck	Weidert 1987:1106
Phom	**üng**	neck	Marrison 1967
	əŋ	neck, throat	French 1983:525
	ɯŋ^{33}	neck	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	gŏ **lön̓**	throat (n.)	Bailey 1911
	go **laṇ**	throat	Sharma 1988:25
	gŏ **lön̓**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	ngang da **ring**	nape of the neck	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 5b
	ngang de **reng**	nape of the neck	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 5a

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Jirel)	**jying** bā	neck	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**jing** ba	neck	Bishop 1989:4.1
Sherpa	**jing** bā	throat; gullet; esophagus; neck	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	jinh bā	neck	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**jiŋ** ba	neck	Bodh 1991:4.1
Tibetan (Written)	**'dźiŋ**-pa~**mdźiŋ**-pa	neck	LaPolla 1987:132
	'jing-pa ~ **mjing**-pa	neck	Coblin 1986:112
	'jiŋ-pa	neck	Matisoff 1983:26
	ḥdźiŋ-pa / **mdźiŋ**-pa	neck	Benedict 1972:33n106
	hjin-ltag	nape	Matisoff 1987
	ḫ̰jiṅ-kuṅ	nape	Matisoff 1987
	ḫ̰jiŋ-pa	neck	Matisoff 1987
	jiŋ-pa	neck	Luce 1985:S.43
	mdʒiŋ-pa	neck	Zhang Liansheng 1988:29
	mdʑiŋ pa	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.01
	mjiŋ-pa	neck	Luce 1985:S.43; Matisoff 1983:26
	mj̰iŋ-pa	neck	Matisoff 1987
	sku-**ḫ̰jiŋ**	neck	Matisoff 1987
	'jiŋ-pa	neck	Luce 1985:W.121
"Pre-Tibetan"	**'mlying**	neck	Coblin 1986:112

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	tŭk-**liṅ**	neck	Matisoff 1987
	tŭk-**liŋ** ⩵ tŭŋ-**liŋ**	neck	Benedict 1972:96
	tuk-**liŋ**~tuŋ-**liŋ**	neck	LaPolla 1987:132
	tŭŋ-**liṅ**	neck	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**mlaŋ** kuŋ	throat	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0019

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	sik **ruŋ** nā	nape	Matisoff 1987

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**leŋ** ghok	throat; cf. toksɨ.	Driem 1993

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**lək** ca	neck	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang (Eastern)	pok cyu **ruŋʔ**	nape of neck	Caughley 1990:4.1.3

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**lɨ̣we^{1}**~**hlɨ̣we**	neck	Sofronov c1978
	l^{w}e̱	neck; throat	Nishida 1964:185; Nishida 1964:7-101
	ɬuɦ	neck	Nishida 1964:39-132

3.2. Qiangic [a]

Muya	**ʁə̱^{55}**tsa^{53}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ʁɯ^{35}**tsa^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991h:4.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.15
Namuyi	**ɣɛ^{55}**kɛ^{33}	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991i:4.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.19
Xumi	**ɣɛ̃^{35}**	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.20
	ʁɛ̃^{33}tshi^{53}	neck (back of, hindneck, nape) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.17
	ʁɛ̃^{35}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.17

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	vdɛ^{33} **le^{53}**	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991c:4.1

4. Nungic

Anong	**ling** (*A)	neck	Coblin 1986:112
	liŋ	neck	LaPolla 1987:132; Benedict 1972:33n105
Trung [Dulong]	**liŋ^{55}**gɯi^{53}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.46
	ləŋ^{13} gə̆i^{44}	neck	Matisoff 1987
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**liŋ^{55}** gɯi^{53}	neck	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:132
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**laŋ^{55}** gi^{53}	neck	LaPolla 1987:132
	lɑŋ^{31} gi^{53}	neck	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***liŋ^{1}**-tsiŋ^{2}	neck	Weidert 1987:180
	***m-liŋ^{1}**	neck	Matisoff 2003a:600

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**lɯŋ^{55}** tsɯŋ^{55}	neck	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**laŋ^{31}** tseŋ^{31}	neck	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	laŋ^{31}tsəŋ^{31}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.28
	laŋ^{31}tsəŋ^{31}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ləŋ^{55} ləŋ^{35}**	neck	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**lɤŋ^{31}** tsɤŋ^{31}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989f:112
	lɤŋ^{31}tsɤŋ^{31}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.29
Bola	**laŋ^{55}** taŋ^{31}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989g:112
Bola (Luxi)	**laŋ^{55}**taŋ^{31}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.32
Burmese (Modern)	**lañ^{3}**	neck	Luce 1985:S.43
Burmese (Rangoon)	**lɛ^{22}**pĩ^{55}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**lɛ^{22}**pĩ^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**lɛ^{3}**	neck	Luce 1985:S.43
Burmese (Written)	**lañ**	neck	Weidert 1987:180
	lań	neck	Weidert 1987:609
	lañ	neck	Luce 1985:S.43
	lań	neck	Matisoff 1983:26
	lañ	neck	Benedict 1976a
	lań	neck	LaPolla 1987:132; Benedict 1972:96
	lañ	neck	Coblin 1986:112
	lañ-ce'	Adam's apple / larynx / glottis	Matisoff 1987
	lañ-cham	mane (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	lañ-cham-mwê	mane	Matisoff 1987
	lañ-khrôŋ	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	lañ-kug	nape	Matisoff 1987
	lañ-pâŋ	neck	Matisoff 1987
	lañ-tuiŋ	neck	Matisoff 1987
	lañ̃ khyoṅ:	throat	Marrison 1967
	lañ̃ paṅ:	neck	Marrison 1967
	lañ^{3}	neck	Luce 1985:W.121
	lɑɲ^{2}pɑŋ^{3}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.26
	lɑɲ^{2}pɑŋ^{3}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.39
	mrɑŋ^{3}**lɑɲ^{2}**shɑṁ^{2}	mane (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.26
Danu	**lɛ^{4}** [pʻĩ^{2}]	neck	Luce 1985:S.43
Hpun (Northern)	ă **láiŋ**	neck	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	ă **laiŋ^{1}**	neck	Luce 1985:S.43
Hpun (Northern)	**laíŋ** kàʔ	neck (nape of)	Henderson 1986
	lɛ́ xɔ̀ŋ	throat	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**laŋ^{31}**tsaŋ^{35}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.31
Lashi	**ləŋ^{31}** tsəŋ^{33}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989m:4.1
Lashi (Lachhe')	**ləŋ^{4}**-	neck	Luce 1985:S.43
Leqi (Luxi)	**ləŋ^{31}**tsəŋ^{33}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.33
Marma	**lɔiŋ** pháŋ	neck	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:25
Maru [Langsu]	**laŋ^{31}** pau^{55}	adam's apple / larynx	Dai Qingxia 1989l:4.1.4
	laŋ^{31} tsaŋ^{35}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989l:4.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.43
	làŋ tsàŋ	neck	Weidert 1987:180
Taung-Yo	**le^{4}**	neck	Luce 1985:S.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**liŋ^{51}** tsiŋ^{21}	neck	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	liŋ^{51}tsiŋ^{21}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.30
	liŋ^{51}tsiŋ^{21}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.42
	lìŋ tsìŋ	neck	Weidert 1987:180
	ləŋ^{4}-	neck	Luce 1985:S.43

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***liŋ^{1}**	neck	Weidert 1987:180; Bradley 1979b:104
Lolopho	**lɛ^{33}** bɛ^{31}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989n:4.1

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**lɛ^{24}** pɛ^{33}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989c:4.1
	lɛ^{24}pɛ^{33}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.47

[a] It is difficult to decide whether these Qiangic forms with eroded finals belong to PTB ***g/m-liŋ** NECK (§1.4.2) or PTB ***rim** NECK (§1.4.2).

	lɛ^{323} pɛ^{33}	throat / gullet / pharynx	Dai Qingxia 1989c:4.2
	lɛ^{323} pɛ^{33} tsɻ^{35} tsɻ^{35}	adam's apple / larynx	Dai Qingxia 1989c:4.1.4
	lɛ^{323}pɛ^{33}	neck	Mu Shihua 2003
	lɛ^{323}pɛ^{33}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.47
	lɛ^{323}pɛ^{33}p^{h}v^{33}	goiter	Mu Shihua 2003
Lalo	**lu^{55}** ka^{21} tsɻ^{33}	neck	Chen Kang 1986b:4.1
	lu^{55} mu^{21}	nape of neck	Chen Kang 1986b:4.1.3
Nesu	ko^{33} **lę^{21}** ts̄ɻ^{21}	nape of neck	Chen Kang 1986b:4.1.3
	lę^{21} bę^{21}	neck	Chen Kang 1986b:4.1
Noesu	**le^{21}**ba^{21}	neck	Chen Kang 1986b:4.1
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**le^{31}** dɔ^{35}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989o:112.
Nusu (Central)	**le^{31}** dɔ^{35}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989p:112.; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**le^{31}** dɔ^{35}	neck	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**le^{31}**dɔ^{33}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**le^{31}**dɔ^{35}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.45
Nusu (Southern)	**lɑ^{31}** dɑ^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**lie^{21}** bɑ^{21}	neck	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	lie^{21}ba^{21}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.22
Yi (Liangshan)	ku^{21}**li^{33}**	neck (body part)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ku^{33}go^{55}**li^{33}**go^{55}	neck, sore; sore neck	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	li^{33}	neck (body part)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	li^{33}bi^{33}	goiter	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	li^{34}sɻ^{33}	goiter	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lɛ^{33}da^{33}	neck, back of the	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lɛ^{34}m̩u^{33}	neck, thick; thick-necked	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**lɛ^{33}**ɣɯ^{21}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.25
	tʂho^{21}**lɛ^{33}**po^{55}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**lę^{21}**bę^{21}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**li^{33}**ɣɯ^{21}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.37
	lɛ^{33}khu^{21}sɛ^{21}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.24
	lɛ^{33}ɣɯ^{21}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**lu^{55}** ka^{21} tsɻ^{33}	neck	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.23
Yi (Weishan)	**lu^{55}**ka^{21}tsɻ^{33}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.36
Yi (Xide)	fu^{21}-**li^{21}**	throat	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ku^{21} **li^{33}**	neck	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ku^{21}**li^{33}**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.35
	ku^{21}**li^{33}**	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.21
	li^{21} t^{h}i^{21}	throat	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	li^{21}thi^{21}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.35
	li^{21}thi^{21}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	ko^{55} **lɛ^{22}** ɣɯ^{21}	nape of neck	Luo Meizhen 1990:4.1.3; Chen Kang 1986b:4.1.3
Lolo (Ni)	**lài**	neck	Luce 1985:S.43
Ahi	**lɛ^{22}** pɑ^{33}	goiter	Luo Meizhen 1990:4.1.1
	lɛ^{22} ɣɯ^{21}	neck	Luo Meizhen 1990:4.1; Chen Kang 1986b:4.1
	tʂʻo^{21} **lɛ^{22}** po^{55}	adam's apple / larynx	Luo Meizhen 1990:4.1.4
Jinuo	**lɯ^{33}**tshɯ^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**lɯ^{31}** no^{44} k^{h}lo^{55}	nape	Dai Qingxia 1989h:116
Jinuo (Baka)	**lɯ^{31}** nu^{44} lu^{44}	nape	Dai Qingxia 1989i:116
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**lɯ^{31}** ts^{h}ɯ^{55}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989h:115
Jinuo (Baka)	**lɯ^{31}** ts^{h}ɯ^{55}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989i:115
Jinuo	**lɤ^{31}**tshɤ^{55}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**lɤ^{42}** ts^{h}ɣ^{55}	neck	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**le^{33}**be^{33}	neck (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	**le^{4}**bi^{4}	neck	Luce 1985:S.43
Lisu (Nujiang)	**li^{33}** be^{33}	neck	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**li^{33}**be^{33}	neck (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**li^{44}**be^{33}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.27
Sani [Nyi]	**læ^{33}** pɪ^{33}	goiter (person with)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:121.4
	læ^{33} tǫ^{21}	short neck (person with)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:121.5
	læ^{33} ɣɯ^{21} tɑ^{33}	neckbone (jinggu)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:123.2
	læ^{33} ɣɯ^{11}	throat	Ma Xueliang 1989:331.5
	læ^{33} ɕæ^{44} mɑ^{33}	long neck (person with)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:123.1
Yi (Sani)	**læ^{33}**kɣ^{33}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.39
Sani [Nyi]	**læ^{33}**ɣɯ^{21}	neck	Chen Kang 1986b:4.1
Yi (Sani)	**læ^{33}**ɣɯ^{11}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.39
Sani [Nyi]	**læ^{44}** pɪ^{33}	tumor on neck (goiter?)	Ma Xueliang 1989:362.6.
	lɛ^{33}be^{33}ne^{33}	throat	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	lɛ^{33}pɪ^{33}	goiter	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	lɛ^{33}ɣɯ^{21}	neck	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	kaw˯ **lahˇ**	neck	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	**niŋ** pan	goiter	Beaudouin 1988:14
	niŋ poe	nape of the neck	Beaudouin 1988:15
	niŋ tshí	neck	Beaudouin 1988:15
	ʔǎ **líɲ**	neck	Bradley 1979b
Hani (Dazhai)	khɔ^{31}**lɔ^{55}**	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.31
	k^{h}ɔ^{31} **lɔ^{55}**	neck	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**lý** bɛ́	goiter	Hansson 1989:219
	khɔ^{31}**lɔ^{55}**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.41
Hani (Pijo)	**lý** pí	goiter	Hansson 1989:219
Hani (Caiyuan)	ŋɤ^{31} **lɤ^{55}**	neck	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	k^{h}ɔ^{31} **laŋ^{55}**	neck	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	khɯ^{31}**l̥ɯ^{55}**	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.32
	k^{h}ɯ^{31} **l̥ɯ^{55}**	neck	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	**lý** pí	goiter	Hansson 1989:219
Hani (Mojiang)	khɯ^{31}**l̥ɯ^{55}**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.42
Mpi	ʔi^{2}**lɯ^{6}**	throat	Bradley 1979b
Côông [Phunoi]	**li^{35}** kho^{35} tõ^{31} phan	neck / throat	Ferlus 1991:4
	li^{35} khũ tõ^{31} phan	neck / throat	Ferlus 1991:4
	ʔǎ **líɲ**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	ʔɑ̆^{55} **liŋ^{33}**	throat	Bradley 1977
Sangkong	**laŋ^{55}** tshɻ̱^{31}	neck	Li Yongsui 1991
	lɯŋ^{55} tshɻ̱^{31}	neck	Li Yongsui 1991
Ugong	**yŭŋ** sûŋ / yŭŋ sṳ̂ŋ	neck	Bradley 1993:4.1
	yŭŋ sûŋ bǫ̣ŋ	back of neck	Bradley 1993
	yŭŋ sûŋ wú sɔ́ŋ	nape of neck	Bradley 1993:4.1.3
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	ka^{44}**la^{21}**p^{h}ɛ^{33}	neck	Pelkey 2011:270
Phuza	**lɛ^{13}**pi^{55}	neck	Pelkey 2011:270
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	k^{h}o^{31} **lø^{31}** t^{h}i^{55}	nape	Dai Qingxia 1989k:116
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	kv̄^{42} **lv̄^{42}** mi̱^{42}	neck	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	kv̱^{42} **lv̱^{42}** mi̱^{42}	neck / throat	Zhao Yansun 1990:4.0
	kv̱^{42} **lv̱^{42}** mi̱^{42} no^{33} k^{h}o^{33}	swollen lymph nodes (in neck)	Zhao Yansun 1990:4.1.2
	kv̱^{42} **lv̱^{42}** mi̱^{42} «tsv̱^{44}»	neck	Zhao Yansun 1990:4.1
	kv^{42}**lv^{42}**mi^{42}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.36
9. Sinitic			
"Pre-Chinese"	**bljingx**	neck	Coblin 1986:112
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kl̥ĕng**/kl̥äng:	neck / throat	Karlgren 1957:831n
	l̥ĕng/l̥äng	neck, collar	Karlgren 1957:823f
	l̥ĕŋ/l̥äŋ	neck / collar	Chou Fa-kao 1972:823f
Chinese (Old)	**lĕŋ**	neck	Luce 1985:W.121
	l̥éŋ	neck	Matisoff 1983:26
	ljäŋ:	neck	Weidert 1987:609
	ljingx	neck	Coblin 1986:112
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**ljäng:**	neck	Coblin 1986:112
	ljäŋ	neck, collar	LaPolla 1987:132
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**king**	neck / throat	Karlgren 1957:831n
	ling	neck, collar	Karlgren 1957:823f

Chinese comparandum

領 OC **l̥ĕng*, *GSR* #823f; Coblin 86:112 **ljingx*; B & S 2011: ****reŋʔ {[r] eŋʔ}***; Mand. **lǐng**.
頸 OC ****kl̥ĕng***, *GSR* #831n; B & S 2011: ****keŋʔ {[k] eŋʔ}*∼**m-keŋ {m-[k] eŋ}***; Mand. **jǐng**.

(2) PTB *tsiŋ NECK

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Sema [Sumi]	a **zü** po	neck	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	ŋaŋ **ziŋ**	neck	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**tshi:** ri	neck (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.246
	tshi: ri	neck	Michailovsky 1991:131
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	tɑ^{55} **tshɻ^{53}**	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.17
Muya	ʁə̰^{55}**tsa^{53}**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.15
Muya [Minyak]	ʁɯ^{35}**tsa^{55}**	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991h:4.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.15
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*liŋ^{1}-**tsiŋ^{2}**	neck	Weidert 1987:180
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	lɯŋ^{55} **tsɯŋ^{55}**	neck	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	laŋ^{31} **tseŋ^{31}**	neck	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	laŋ^{31}**tsəŋ^{31}**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.28
	laŋ^{31}**tsəŋ^{31}**	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.41
Achang (Xiandao)	lʏŋ^{31} **tsʏŋ^{31}**	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989f:112
	lʏŋ^{31}**tsʏŋ^{31}**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.29
Bola	laŋ^{55} **taŋ^{31}**	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989g:112
Bola (Luxi)	laŋ^{55}**taŋ^{31}**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.32
Langsu (Luxi)	laŋ^{31}**tsaŋ^{35}**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.31
Lashi	ləŋ^{31} **tsəŋ^{33}**	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989m:4.1
Leqi (Luxi)	ləŋ^{31}**tsəŋ^{33}**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.33
Maru [Langsu]	laŋ^{31} **tsaŋ^{35}**	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989l:4.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.43
	làŋ **tsàŋ**	neck	Weidert 1987:180
Atsi [Zaiwa]	liŋ^{51} **tsiŋ^{21}**	neck	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	liŋ^{51}**tsiŋ^{21}**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.30
	liŋ^{51}**tsiŋ^{21}**	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.42
	lìŋ **tsìŋ**	neck	Weidert 1987:180
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	niŋ **tshí**	neck	Beaudouin 1988:15
Ugong	yŭŋ **sûŋ** / yŭŋ sṳ̂ŋ	neck	Bradley 1993:4.1
	yŭŋ **sûŋ** bǫ̣ŋ	back of neck	Bradley 1993
	yŭŋ **sûŋ** wú sɔ́ŋ	nape of neck	Bradley 1993:4.1.3
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	houh **jiing** (shengchuh jy)	nape (of bovines and horses)	Sun 1985b:626
	jiing buh	neck	Sun 1985b:629

(3) PTB *tuk ⩙ *twak HEAD / SKULL / NECK

Several forms seem to reflect a variant with a final velar nasal: WB **lañ-tuing**, **jak-tuing** and Sulong **kə^{33}tuoŋ^{33}**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tuk**	neck	Weidert 1987:1106; Benedict 1972:392
	***tuk ⩙ twak**	neck	Matisoff 2003a:615
	***twak**	neck	Weidert 1987:1106
1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	kə^{33}**tuoŋ^{33}**	neck	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.52
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	ñik-**tuk**	forehead	Sun 1993b
	tuk-kup	wrinkle (on forehead)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	mi **tuk**	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.24
Bokar Lhoba	mi **tuk**	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**tuk**-ko	forehead	Das Gupta 1963
	tuk ko	forehead (n.)	GLDC 2009
	tup ko	forehead (n.)	GLDC 2009

	tup pɨk	protruding (forehead) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	ɲik-**tuk**	forehead	Simon 1976
Tagin	**tok** tum	forehead	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**tuk**	head	Matisoff 1987
	mit-**tuk**	head	Matisoff 1987
	tuk-ku	head	Matisoff 1987
	tûk-ta	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	tûk-te	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	tup-ta	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	tup-te	forehead	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**tuk**-da:	forehead	Sun 1993b
	tuk-mi: to:-ma:	bald person	Sun 1993b
Milang	**tuk**-kyu	skull	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**tɯ**^{55} bɑ^{31}	goiter	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	xuŋ^{55} **dǎk**^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**thluk**	head; nape; back of the head	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Bhaskararao 1996:235
	tuk-khum	back of head	Matisoff 1987
	tuk-khum(-khur)	nape	Matisoff 1987
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lailenpi	mə̌´rua^{1} **tɑu?**^{4}	neck	Luce 1985:N.44
1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Kom Rem	**tuk** tu mih	mane (of horse, lion)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.6
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ce **thók**	neck	Weidert 1987:1106
	che-**thók**	neck / throat	Grüssner 1979:61
	che **thok**	neck	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	che **thók** a-.ŋ mī	mane (of horse, lion)	Grüssner 1979:61
	che **thók** a-chày-bè	mane (of horse, lion)	Grüssner 1979:61
	ci **thók**	neck	Weidert 1987:1106
	lang joi, che **thok**	throat	Marrison 1967
	tśe **thok**	neck	Benedict 1972:392
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***dVk**	neck	Burling 1959:442
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	ga **da** na	nape	Matisoff 1987
	go **do**	neck	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	gə-**də?**-na	neck	Matisoff 1987
Dimasa	go **do**	neck	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:392
Kokborok	kə-**to?**	throat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	ko **do** phang?	neck	Balawan 1965:20
	ko **do?**	neck	Balawan 1965:20
	ko **do** kui si	Adam’s apple	Balawan 1965:20
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	git-**dok**	neck	Weidert 1987:1106; Matisoff 1987
	gi **tok**	neck	Benedict 1972:392
Garo (Bangladesh)	gi-**tok**	neck / narrow place / throat	Burling 1992
	git-**ok**-du’-chi	adam’s apple	Burling 1992 [a]
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**dok**-e-reŋ	neck	Matisoff 1987
	dək-əm	head	Matisoff 1987
	tok thining	neck (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	tok thynyng	neck (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa	**t̪uk**	neck	Weidert 1987:1106
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak (Tamlu)	ɯŋˇ-**dɔk**	neck	Weidert 1987:1106
Wancho	**tuk**-ur	neck	Matisoff 1987
	tək-əm	head	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	a^{31} **tu?**^{31}	neck	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	du	neck	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:392
	du bawng	goiter	Matisoff 1987
	du krawk	hollow on each side of neck above clavicle	Matisoff 1987:64
	du lə sa	lg. sinews of the neck	Matisoff 1987
	du lə si	salivary glands	Matisoff 1987
	dù?-bōŋ	goiter	Matisoff 1974:182
	tu?^{31}	neck	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tu?^{31}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.19
	tu?^{31}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.47
	^{1}**du?**	neck	Weidert 1987:1106
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Ganan	kă **dɔ?**^{4}	neck	Luce 1985:L.144
Kadu (Kantu)	kă **to?**^{3}	neck	Luce 1985:L.144
Sak (Bawtala)	ă kɔ̌^{3} **du?**^{4}	neck	Luce 1985:L.144
Sak	á kə **du?**	neck	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:25
Sak (Dodem)	ă să **do?**^{3}	neck	Luce 1985:L.144
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	mu **t^{h}u**	neck, throat	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	dʒø^{13} ngɔ^{53} kɛ^{13} **do**^{35}	nape of neck	Sun Hongkai 1991a:4.1.3
	kɛ^{13} **do**^{35}	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991a:4.1
Kaike	**thop** pā	head	Matisoff 1987 [b]
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tɑk**^{55} pɑ^{55}	neck	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tʌk**^{55} pʌ^{53}	neck	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.6
Cuona Menba	**tak**^{55}pa^{53}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.06
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**-tok**	neck; head	Benedict 1972:75n231; Matisoff 1987
	tŭk-liŋ ⨯ **tŭŋ**-liŋ	neck	Benedict 1972:96
	tuk-liŋ~**tuŋ**-liŋ	neck	LaPolla 1987:132
	tŭk-**tok**	neck	Matisoff 1987
	tük-**tok**	neck	Benedict 1972:392
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**t^{h}op** o	head (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:2.1
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**thɔt** luŋ pek	throat, adam’s apple	Michailovsky 1989b
	thɔ k’rɔŋ	windpipe <throat>	Michailovsky 1989b
	tɔk phɔm ma	adam’s apple , goiter (?,?.)	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**tu:** a:	forehead / brow	Kohn 1990:3.2
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Chamling	**duk** se	neck	Winter 1985:11
	du se	neck	Winter 1985:11
Kulung	**do** wei	neck	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
**Dum-Thu-Kha*	*gon **du** ru	throat	Michailovsky 1991:184
Dumi	**tok** sɨ	neck / throat	Driem 1993
Khaling	**’tak** cu	neck	Matisoff 1987
	tah cu	neck	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	gun **diu** riu	throat	Michailovsky 1991:184; Allen 1975
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**htuɑ**^{33} rɑ^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.18
4. Nungic			
Anong	**duɯ**^{31} bɛ^{55}	goiter	Sun Hongkai 1988
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	jak-**tuiŋ**	neck	Matisoff 1987
	lañ-**tuiŋ**	neck	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	le^{31} **dɔ**^{35}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989o:112.
Nusu (Central)	le^{31} **dɔ**^{35}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989p:112.; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	le^{31} **dɔ**^{35}	neck	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	le^{31}**dɔ**^{33}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	le^{31}**dɔ**^{35}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.45
Nusu (Southern)	lɑ^{31} **dɑ**^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**tø**^{7} pɔ^{7}	head	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	tɯ̄^{21} pǭ^{21}	head	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tǫ**^{42} kǭ^{42} tɕi^{55}	nape of neck	Zhao Yansun 1990:4.1.3
	tɯ̄^{21} pǭ^{21}	head	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Zhao Yansun 1990:2.0
	tɯ̄^{21} pǭ^{21} kuā^{44} tɯ̄^{21}	skull	Zhao Yansun 1990:2.4
	tɯ̄^{21} pǭ^{21} no^{33} pę̄^{21}	scalp	Zhao Yansun 1990:2.8
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d’u**/d’ə̧u-	neck	Karlgren 1957:118d

[a] [Source Note] (lit: neck-egg).
[b] With assimilation of medial consonants.

Chinese comparandum

脰 OC ***d’u**, *GSR* #118d ‘neck’; B & S 2011: ***kə.dˤok-s**; Mand. **dòu**.
髑 OC ***d’u̱k**, *GSR* #1224m ‘skull’; B & S 2011: ***dˤok {[d]ˤok}**; Mand. **dú**.

(4) PTB *gwaŋ NECK / THROAT

This etymon is very similar to PTB ***s-ŋwa(ŋ/k)** NECK / WAIST (§1.4.2), and is very likely in an allofamic relationship to it.

In line with the frequently noted tendency of words meaning NECK / THROAT to have velar initials, we have reconstructed no fewer than eleven etyma with initial velars or velar clusters: PTB ***s/r-gwa-n** NECK / NAPE (§1.4.2), PTB ***s/m-key-k** NECK (§1.4.2), PTB ***l-kwak** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***k-(r/l)aw** THROAT / PALATE (§1.3.5), PTB ***k/s-raw(k/ŋ) ⨯ *k-rwa(k/ŋ)** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***grey-k** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***kak** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***ka** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***kwa** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***gwaŋ** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2), and PTB ***ku** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2).

It is highly likely that some of these etyma are allofams of each other. It is equally likely that a given supporting form may have been assigned to the wrong etymon. However, on the basis of the available data, this may be the best that can be done at this point.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***guŋØ**/I	neck	Weidert 1987:609
1.1.1. Tani: ***gruŋ?** THROAT			
**Tani*	***gruŋ?**	throat	Sun 1993a:429
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**gjui-g(j)u**-ro	throat	Sun 1993b
	grui grju-ro	throat	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993a
Bengni	ləŋ-**guŋ** pa-rit	behead	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-**guŋ**	throat	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	do:jom lɯŋ **guŋ**	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.24
	guŋ ru	Adam’s apple (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0142.24
	lɯŋ **guŋ**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.24
	lɯŋ-**guŋ**	throat; nape	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**guŋ** pɯ	neck	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lɯŋ **guŋ**	neck	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	‘lɨɨ **goo**	throat; neck (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ **poo**	neck (n.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	long **gum**	neck	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	lɯŋ-**guŋ**	throat	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kong**-gâk	nape	Matisoff 1987
	líng-**gung**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
Damu	ləŋ-**guŋ**	neck	Sun 1993b
Milang	**kyuŋ**-rul	throat	Tayeng 1976
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Chinbok	hŋü-**gɔn**	neck	Matisoff 1987
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	mai-**gõ**-«riaŋ»	neck	Weidert 1987:609
	mai-«**gõ**»-riaŋ	neck	Weidert 1987:609
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***k^{h}oŋ** NECK			
**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}oŋ**	neck	Mortensen 2012:629
Huishu	ʔa-**k^{h}u**	neck	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.089
	ʔa-**k^{h}u**-t^{h}u	goiter	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.090
Tusom	ʔə-**k^{h}õ**	neck	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.118
Ukhrul	ʔa-**k^{h}oŋ**	neck	Mortensen 2012
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**khã** gul	neck	Sharma 1991a:4.1
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	ol **gong**	throat; gullet; pharynx; adam’s apple; larynx	Bishop 1989:4.1.4; Bishop 1989:4.2
Tibetan (Written)	lha-**goṅ**	larynx	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Gyaru)	ka^{1} rɛ^{1} ol^{1} **gɯŋ**^{1}	throat	Nagano 1984:026
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}mlaŋ **kuŋ**	throat	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0019
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}ol **koŋ**	throat (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:4.2.2

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	**kɔn**	neck	Kohn 1990:4.1
	kɔn to:tana	goiter	Kohn 1990:4.1.1
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Jiulong)	**qã**^{35}tsɛi^{55}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**qã**^{55}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**qã**^{55}	neck	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**kɛ̃**^{53}	neck	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.10
4. Nungic			
Nung	**kɔ**^{31}lɔn^{53}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.21
Anong	**kɔ**^{31}lɔn^{53}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.44
Trung [Dulong]	**ko**^{44} lom^{44}	Adam's apple / larynx / glottis	Matisoff 1987
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**khoŋ**^{55}ti^{55}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.49
	khoŋ^{55}ti^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.38
Tujia (Northern)	**kong1**di1	neck (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	kong^{1}di^{1}	neck	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.1
Tujia	**k**^{h}**ũ**^{55} ti^{55}	neck	Chen Kang 1986c:4.1
Tujia (Northern)	**k**^{h}**ũ**^{55} ti^{55}	neck	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔgoŋ**^{2} NECK / NECK-LIKE PART			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔgoŋ**^{2}	NECK / NECK-LIKE PART (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:253
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**khuŋ**^{31} tɑ^{31}	throat	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**khɔm**^{55} lɔm^{35}	throat	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**khɹoŋ**^{33}tɐ̱^{53}lɔ^{53}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.34
	k^{hɹ}**oŋ**^{55} tɐ̱^{53} lɔ^{53}	throat	Dai Qingxia 1989p:168.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**k**^{hɹ}**õ**^{55} tɐ̱^{31}	throat	Dai Qingxia 1989o:168.
Nusu (Central)	mi^{31} **k**^{h}**ũ**^{55} k^{h}ɑ^{31}	throat	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	mi^{31}**khũ**^{55}khɑ^{31}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.45
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	**qɔ**^{11}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.43
Lahu (Black)	**qɔ**^{31} pɛ^{31}	neck	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	qɔ^{31}pe^{31}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.33
	qɔ̄	nape; neck	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	qɔ̄-g̈ɔ̂	whole neck (front and back)	Matisoff 1987
	qɔ̄-pē	neck	Matisoff 1987
	qɔ̄-tà	whole neck (front and back)	Matisoff 1987
	qɔ̄-ɔ̀-qhɔ̀ʔ-nɔ́	nape	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	**qɔ**^{31} q^{h}ɔ^{33}	throat	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	qɔ^{31} ta^{31} pɤ^{31}	neck	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**krgh'**-tsï^{3}	neck	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**krgh**^{1}-tsï^{3}	neck	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**krgh**^{1}tsï^{3}	throat	Bradley 1979b:105A
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**krgh**^{1}tsï^{3}	nape / neck	Luce 1985:V.95
Lisu (Putao)	**kɯ**^{1}tsɤ^{3}	nape / neck	Luce 1985:V.95
	kɯ^{1}tsɤ^{1}	nape / neck	Luce 1985:V.95
Lisu	**kɯ**^{55}tsi^{55}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.40
Lisu (Northern)	**kɤ**^{55}tsi^{55}	neck (N.)	Bradley 1994
	kɤ^{55}tsi^{55}vy^{21}	neck	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**qo**^{55}no^{44}bu^{21}du^{21}	nape of neck	Chen Kang 1986b:4.1.3
	qo^{55}nɒ̱^{33}bu^{21}du^{21}	nape	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**kaw**$_{˘}$ byah$_{˘}$	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	kaw$_{˘}$ lah$^{˘}$	neck	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	níŋ **khɔ́ŋ**	larynx	Beaudouin 1988:14
Hani (Dazhai)	**khɔ**^{31}bɔ^{31}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.31
	khɔ^{31}lɔ^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.31
	k^{h}**ɔ**^{31} bɔ^{31}	throat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	k^{h}**ɔ**^{31} lɔ^{55}	neck	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**khɔ**^{31}bɔ^{31}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.41
	khɔ^{31}lɔ^{55}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**khɔ**^{31}sɻ^{31}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.30
	k^{h}**ɔ**^{31} pɔ^{31}	throat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**k**^{h}**ɔ**^{31} bjaŋ^{31}	throat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	k^{h}**ɔ**^{31} laŋ^{55}	neck	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**khu**^{31}pu^{31}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.32
	khɯ^{31}l̥ɯ^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.32
	k^{h}**u**^{31} pu^{31}	throat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	k^{h}**ɯ**^{31} l̥ɯ^{55}	neck	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Mojiang)	**khu**^{31}pu^{31}	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.42
	khɯ^{31}l̥ɯ^{55}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.42
Mpi	**kho**^{2}mo^{4}	neck	Bradley 1979b
	kho^{2}wo^{4}	windpipe / throat	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**khon** bá sì	neck	Bradley 1979b
	k^{h}**on**^{33} bɑ^{55} si^{11}	larynx	Bradley 1977
	li^{35} **kho**^{35} tõ^{31} phan	neck / throat	Ferlus 1991:4
	li^{35} **khũ** tõ^{31} phan	neck / throat	Ferlus 1991:4
Sangkong	aŋ^{33} **khoŋ**^{31}	throat	Li Yongsui 1991
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**ka**^{44}la^{21}p^{h}ɛ^{33}	neck	Pelkey 2011:270
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**k**^{h}**o**^{31} koʔ^{55}	throat	Dai Qingxia 1989k:175
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**kɔ**^{31} ju^{31}	throat	Dai Qingxia 1989j:175
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**qo̱**^{42} te̱^{44} me̱^{ɪ42}	neck	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	qõ^{42}te^{44}me^{ɪ42}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.37
Bai (Jianchuan)	**kv̱**^{42} lv̱^{42} mi̱^{42}	neck	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	kv$_{ˌ}$**̱**^{42} lv$_{ˌ}$**̱**^{42} mi̱^{42}	neck / throat	Zhao Yansun 1990:4.0
	kv$_{ˌ}$**̱**^{42} lv$_{ˌ}$**̱**^{42} mi̱^{42} no^{33} k^{h}o^{33}	swollen lymph nodes (in neck)	Zhao Yansun 1990:4.1.2
	kv$_{ˌ}$**̱**^{42} lv$_{ˌ}$**̱**^{42} mi̱^{42} «tsv$_{ˌ}$**̱**^{44}»	neck	Zhao Yansun 1990:4.1
	kv^{42}lv^{42}mi^{42}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.36
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kûng/kâng**	neck, throat	Karlgren 1957:698a

Chinese comparandum

亢 OC ***kâng**, *GSR* #698a' 'neck, throat'; Schuessler 2007:250 ***kâŋ**; Mand. **gāng**.
項 OC ***g'ŭng**, *GSR* #1172y 'neck'; Schuessler 2007:534 ***grôŋʔ**; B & S 2011: ***g**^{ʂ}**roŋʔ {[g]**^{ʂ}**roŋʔ}**; Mand. **xiàng**.

(5) PTB * $\frac{\textbf{s}}{\textbf{m}}$ -key-k NECK

This etymon was formerly reconstructed as ***s-ke-k** ⩷ ***m-ke-k**.

In line with the frequently noted tendency of words meaning NECK / THROAT to have velar initials, we have reconstructed no fewer than eleven etyma with initial velars or velar clusters: PTB ***s/r-gwa-n** NECK / NAPE (§1.4.2), PTB ***s/m-key-k** NECK (§1.4.2), PTB ***l-kwak** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***k-(r/l)aw** THROAT / PALATE (§1.3.5), PTB ***k/s-raw(k/ŋ)** ⩷ ***k-rwa(k/ŋ)** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***grey-k** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***kak** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***ka** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***kwa** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***gwaŋ** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2), and PTB ***ku** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2).

It is highly likely that some of these etyma are allofams of each other. It is equally likely that a given supporting form may have been assigned to the wrong etymon. However, on the basis of the available data, this may be the best that can be done at this point.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ke**	neck-shaped (be v.)	Benedict 1972:251 [a]
	***s-ke-k**	neck / neck-shaped	Matisoff 2003a:595
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**ke**; **ké?**	be / make neck-shaped (be v.)	Benedict 1972:251
	ke? (high tone)	neck-shaped	Benedict 1972:59n190
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rke**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hke**	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hke**	neck	Sun 1985a:629
	rke tə	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.5
	si **k**^{h}**æ**	nape (of bovines and horses)	Sun 1985a:626
Tibetan (Batang)	**kɛ**^{53}	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989a:4.1
	kɛ^{55} ŋ̊a?^{53}	nape of neck	Dai Qingxia 1989a:4.1.3
	ke^{53}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ke**^{53}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ke**^{53}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.2
	ke^{55}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.02
Tibetan (Written)	**ske**	throat; gullet; esophagus; neck; neck, throat	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:629; Benedict 1972:251
	ske	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.01
	ske	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hke** tə	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.04
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**kayk**	neck	Matisoff 1987
	kek	neck (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kəyk	neck	Weidert 1987:966
	kəyk	neck, stem (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kəyk	neck	Caughley 1972:1.50
Chepang (Eastern)	**kəyk**	neck	Caughley 1990:4.1
3.2. Qiangic			[b]
Namuyi	ɣɛ^{55}**kɛ**^{33}	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991i:4.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.19
Qiang (Longxi)	**mù kà**	neck	Evans 1999:115
Qiang (Mawo)	**mu ku**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.08
	tʃə **ka**	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.8; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	tʃə **kæ**	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991g:4.1
	tʃə **kə**	neck	Sun 1986
Qiang (Mianchi)	**qè** mò	neck	Evans 1999:115
	qè mò-sè lí	necklace [neck-thread]	Evans 1999:663
Qiang (Taoping)	ʂʅ^{31}**kie**^{33}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.9
	ʂʅ^{31} **kie**^{33}	neck	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	tʂu **ki**	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989q:115
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**qɛi**^{53}	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991n:4.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.16
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tajɐk **mki**	wrist	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.1.6
rGyalrong	te **mgər**	nape of neck	Dai Qingxia 1989d:4.1.3
	te **mki**	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989d:4.1
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **mki**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.11
rGyalrong	tə **mki**	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.12
Caodeng	tə-**mkɐ**	neck	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mke**	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991k:4.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mki**	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991l:4.1
	tə **mke** ʁu	nape of neck	Sun Hongkai 1991l:4.1.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **mki**	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991j:4.1
	tə **mki** ɣu/tə **mki** ŋk^{h}u	nape of neck	Sun Hongkai 1991j:4.1.3
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mkə** q^{h}u	nape of neck	Sun Hongkai 1991k:4.1.3
rGyalrong (NW)	tə mə **mke** ɕɛr̥	ankle bone	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.2.5.1
	tə mə **mke** ʁorna	ankle	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.2.5
	tə mə **mki**	shin	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.2.3
	tə mə **mki** ɕɛr̥	shin bone / tibia	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.2.3.1
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɐ jɐk **mki**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.11
	tɐ jɐk **mki**	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.11
rGyalrong	tɐ jɐŋ **mki**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.12 [c]
	tA **mgu**	neck	Nagano 1997:4.1
rGBenzhen	tə-**mki?**	neck	Sun 1997b
	tɐ-jɐk **mki?**	wrist	Sun 1997b
Shili	tɜ́-**mk**^{h}**e**	neck	Sun 1997c

[a] Benedict revised his original reconstruction *ke to *s-ke(k) on the basis of additional Jingpho data (see *STC* #251).
[b] The vowels in these Qiangic forms show considerable variation.
[c] Note the assimilation of the medial consonants in rGyalrong **jɐŋ mki**.

(6) PTB *s-ŋwa ŋ / k NECK / WAIST

Note that this root appears in some words for 'waist', as in Bokar Lhoba **huŋ-ŋəŋ**. It's a natural extension for 'neck' to refer to any thin, bendable body part, as in the Korean words **son-mok** 'wrist' (literally 'hand-neck') and **pal-mok** 'ankle' (literally 'foot-neck').

This etymon is very similar to PTB ***gwaŋ*** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2), and is very likely in an allofamic relationship to it.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	huŋ-**ŋəŋ**	waist	Sun 1993b
	ɦuŋ **ŋəŋ**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.24
Bokar Lhoba	ɦuŋ **ŋəŋ**	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	pa:**hang**	neck; voice, neck	NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987
	pɑ^{31} **ŋ̊ŋ**$_{,}^{55}$	neck	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	pɑ^{31}**ŋ̊ŋ**^{55}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.22
	pɑ^{31}**ŋ̊ŋ**^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.49
Kaman [Miju]	**xuŋ**^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	xuŋ^{55}	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.23
	xuŋ^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.48
	xuŋ^{55} dǎk^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hŋooŋ*** NECK / COLLAR

**Chin*	***hŋooŋ**	NECK / COLLAR	VanBik 2009:916
Chinbok	**hŋü**-gɔn	neck	Matisoff 1987
Thanphum	lə̀**hʏn**^{5}	neck	Luce 1985:N.44

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**ngong**	neck	Haokip 1998:4.1
Sizang	**ngawng**	neck	VanBik 2009:916
Thado	**ngóong**	neck	VanBik 2009:916
	ŋòŋ	neck	Thirumalai 1972:39
Tiddim	-**ŋɔ:ŋ**	neck (n.)	Henderson 1965
	-**ŋɔ:ŋ**	neck	Matisoff 1987
	ngo:ng^{2}	neck	VanBik 2009:916; Bhaskararao 1996:1302
	ŋɔŋ	neck	Matisoff 1987
	ŋɔ:ŋ^{1}	neck	Luce 1985:N.44

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	kut **hngawng**	wrist	VanBik 2009:916
Khumi	ka-**neuŋ**	neck	Matisoff 1987
	kᵊ **nɛʌŋ**	neck	So-Hartmann 1988:81
Khumi (Ahraing)	kə̆ **nɛaŭ**^{4}	neck	Luce 1985:N.44
Matu	**ŋ̩xɔ:n**	neck	So-Hartmann 1988:81
Matupi	**χɔn**^{1}	neck	Luce 1985:N.44
Womatu	**hŋ**^{3}	neck	Luce 1985:N.44

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**hŋɔ:ŋ**^{3}	neck	Luce 1985:N.44
Lai (Hakha)	**hŋôoŋ**	neck	VanBik 2009:916
Lai (Falam)	**hŋǒoŋ**	neck	VanBik 2009:916
Lai (Hakha)	**hŋoŋ**	neck	Matisoff 1987
	hŋɔŋ^{5}	neck	Luce 1985:N.44
Lushai [Mizo]	**hngông**	neck	Matisoff 1987
	hŋɔ:ŋ^{1}	neck	Luce 1985:N.44
	nghâwng	neck	Marrison 1967
	nghawng	neck	Matisoff 1987
	ngháwng	neck, the collar (n.)	VanBik 2009:916
	nghawng	neck	Bhaskararao 1996:1302
	nghawng-puar	goiter	Matisoff 1987
	ong-puar	goiter	Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. Maraic

Xongsai	**ŋɔ:ŋ**^{3}	neck	Luce 1985:N.44
Zotung	**ŋin**	neck	Matisoff 1987

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**ngak** sam	neck	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Chokri	**ngüm**	throat	Marrison 1967
Mao	ko **ngo**	neck; throat	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**ngak** sam	neck	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	ŋuŋ sit u toŋ	windpipe / trachea	Singh 1991:4.2.1
	ŋək səm	neck; throat	Singh 1991:4; Singh 1991:4.1
	ŋək səm məri	nape of neck	Singh 1991:4.1.3

1.6. Mru

Mru	**ngong**	neck	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**ngam**	neck	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	s̲ha **n̈o**	throat (n.)	Bailey 1911
	s̲ha **n̈o**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**ngang**	neck	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 4
	ngang da ring	nape of the neck	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 5b
	ngang de reng	nape of the neck	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 5a
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ŋaŋ**	neck	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.7
	ŋaŋ^{13}	neck	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ŋaŋ ziŋ	neck	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ŋaŋ**	neck	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**ŋaŋ**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.07

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**ngwə**	throat / gullet / pharynx	Dai Qingxia 1989e:4.2

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Caiyuan)	**ŋʏ**^{31} lʏ^{55}	neck	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.30

7. Karenic

Pa-O	pàt **ŋɔ̄n**	hang on neck	Solnit 1989
	ŋɔ̄n	neck	Solnit 1989
	ŋɔ̄ŋ ʔɔ́ʔ	neck, back of	Solnit 1989
	ŋən	neck	Jones 1961:399

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	**ŋœ**^{3}	throat / collar	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	ŋœ^{3} p^{h}iœ^{1}	throat / collar	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	ŋœ^{4}	throat / collar	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169

(7) PTB *bran ≍ *pwat NECK / THROAT

Despite the fact that reflexes of this root show variation between initial **b-** and **p-**, between medial **-r-**, **-y-**, and **-w-**, and between final **-n** and **-t** and open syllables, we are referring them all to a single etymon. The second syllable of Lahu **qɔ^{31}pe^{31}** definitely points to PLB ***-an***.

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	k^{h}ɑ^{31} diɯŋ^{53} **ɹɑ^{55}**	neck	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	sem-**bra**	neck	Anonymous 1962
	sem **ba**	neck	Pulu 1978
	ɕeŋ^{55}bɹa^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai 1991f:4.1
	ɕeŋ^{55}bɹɑ^{55}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.50
Yidu	**ɕeŋ^{55}bɹɑ^{55}**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.25

1.2.3. Maraic

Zotung	**ɓã^{5}**	neck	Luce 1985:N.44

2.2. Newar

Newar	ga:**pwa(t)**	neck	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

**Kul-Cham-Ban*	***pot**	neck	Michailovsky 1991:132
Bantawa	**pot**	neck	Michailovsky 1991:132
	poT	neck	Rai 1985
	pot	throat / neck	Rai *et al.* 1984:59
	poʈ	neck	Michailovsky 1991:132

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	le^{33} **be^{31}**	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989n:4.1

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	lɛ^{24} **pɛ^{33}**	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989c:4.1
	lɛ^{24}**pɛ^{33}**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.47
	lɛ^{323} **pɛ^{33}**	throat / gullet / pharynx	Dai Qingxia 1989c:4.2
	lɛ^{323} **pɛ^{33}** tsɻ^{35} tsɻ^{35}	adam's apple / larynx	Dai Qingxia 1989c:4.1.4
	lɛ^{323}**pɛ^{33}**	neck	Mu Shihua 2003
	lɛ^{323}**pɛ^{33}**	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.47
Nesu	lę^{21} **bę^{21}**	neck	Chen Kang 1986b:4.1
Noesu	le^{21}**ba^{21}**	neck	Chen Kang 1986b:4.1
Yi (Mojiang)	lę^{21}**bę^{21}**	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.26

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	k^{h}jo^{44} **pɛ^{44}**	throat	Dai Qingxia 1989h:175
Jinuo	tɕho^{33}**pɛ^{44}**	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.34
	tɕho^{44}**pɛ^{44}**	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	tɕhu^{33}**pi^{33}**	throat, larynx (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	tɕ^{h}o^{44} **pɛ^{44}**	throat	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	tɕ^{h}u^{33} **pi^{33}**	throat	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
**Common Lahu*	***pe**$_{ˬ}$	throat	Bradley 1979b
Lahu (Black)	qɔ^{31} **pɛ^{31}**	neck	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	qɔ^{31}**pe^{31}**	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.33
	qɔ̄-**pē**	neck	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	qɔ^{31} ta^{31} **pʏ^{31}**	neck	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	le^{33}**be^{33}**	neck (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	le^{4}**bi^{4}**	neck	Luce 1985:S.43
Lisu (Nujiang)	li^{33} **be^{33}**	neck	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	li^{33}**be^{33}**	neck (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	li^{44}**be^{33}**	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.27
Lisu (Northern)	tɕhɔ^{21}**be^{44}**	throat	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	lɛ^{33}**be^{33}**ne^{33}	throat	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	kaw$_{ˬ}$ **byah**$_{ˬ}$	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	ku$_{ˬ}$ **byah**$_{ˬ}$	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Dazhai)	khɔ^{31}**bɔ^{31}**	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.31
	k^{h}ɔ^{31} **bɔ^{31}**	throat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	khɔ^{31}**bɔ^{31}**	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	k^{h}ɔ^{31} **pɔ^{31}**	throat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	k^{h}ɔ^{31} **bjaŋ^{31}**	throat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	khu^{31}**pu^{31}**	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.32
	k^{h}u^{31} **pu^{31}**	throat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Mojiang)	khu^{31}**pu^{31}**	throat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.42
Côông [Phunoi]	khon **bá** sì	neck	Bradley 1979b

7. Karenic

Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	ko^{31} **bo̲^{55}**	neck	Dai Qingxia 1989j:115

(8) NEIA *k-waŋ NECK

This root is well-attested in Naga languages, but has so far not been found elsewhere.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a/k-hwuŋ*** NECK

**Central Naga*	***a/k-hwuŋ**	NECK	Bruhn 2014a:III.220
**Ao*	***t-khuŋ**	NECK	Bruhn 2014a:II.080
Ao (Chungli)	te **kong**	neck	Marrison 1967
	tu^{2}-**kuŋ^{2}**	neck (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.080
	^{2}tu^{2}**kuŋ**	neck	Weidert 1987:609
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **khung** len	neck	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**khuŋ**	neck (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**vəŋ^{1}**	neck (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.220
	e **ngu**	neck	Marrison 1967
	e **vüng**	neck	Murry *et al.* 1978:77
	E **vung**	neck	Nienu 1990c:4.1
Sangtam	a **hong**	neck	Kumar 1973a
	hong	neck	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	tü **khung**	neck	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **hung**	neck	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**vo**	neck	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **vo^{33}**	throat; gullet; pharynx; neck	Nienu 1990a:4.1; Nienu 1990a:4.2
	u **vo**	neck	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **vo^{33}**	throat; gullet; pharynx; neck	Nienu 1990b:4.1; Nienu 1990b:4.2
	u-**vo**	neck	Marrison 1967
Khezha	ke **wó**	neck	Yabu 1994:4.1
Rengma	**ngu** da	neck	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	^{2}n^{2}**gwu**^{4}da	neck	Weidert 1987:609
Sema [Sumi]	^{1}a^{1}ku^{3}o	neck	Weidert 1987:609

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	**kawong**	neck	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	cha **gwang**	neck	Marrison 1967
Maram	**kawong**	neck	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**guong**	neck	Marrison 1967
	mái-**ɣuaŋ**	neck	Weidert 1987:609
	məi **guəŋ**	neck	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	mi **guang**	neck	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	mi **ngwang**	neck	Marrison 1967
	peng **wang**	throat	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	a **gahung**	neck	Marrison 1967
	ā **gahuŋ**	neck	Matisoff 1987
	gahuŋ	neck	Matisoff 1987
	hùŋ	neck	Bhat 1969:93

(9) PTB * s r -gwa-n NECK / NAPE

The final **-n** in the reconstruction is motivated by the Thulung and Khaling forms. The root as a whole seems fairly well established.

In line with the frequently noted tendency of words meaning NECK / THROAT to have velar initials, we have reconstructed no fewer than eleven etyma with initial velars or velar clusters: PTB ***s/r-gwa-n*** NECK / NAPE (§1.4.2), PTB ***s/m-key-k*** NECK (§1.4.2), PTB ***l-kwak*** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***k-(r/l)aw*** THROAT / PALATE (§1.3.5), PTB ***k/s-raw(k/ŋ)*** ≷ ***k-rwa(k/ŋ)*** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***grey-k*** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***kak*** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***ka*** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***kwa*** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***gwaŋ*** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2), and PTB ***ku*** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2).

It is highly likely that some of these etyma are allofams of each other. It is equally likely that a given supporting form may have been assigned to the wrong etymon. However, on the basis of the available data, this may be the best that can be done at this point.

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Sema [Sumi]	a **kuo**	throat; neck	Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:4.1
	a **kuwo** ghü	nape of neck	Achumi 1998a:4.1.3
	a **kuwo** lothi	swollen lymph nodes (in neck)	Achumi 1998a:4.1.2
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**kwa** ku	neck	Matisoff 1987
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
**Dum-Thu-Kha*	***gon** du ru	throat	Michailovsky 1991:184
Khaling	**'ghwān** dū rū	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	ghwaan dü rü	throat	Michailovsky 1991:184
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**gun** diu riu	throat	Michailovsky 1991:184; Allen 1975
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**kụo**[1]	throat	Sofronov c1978
	kɔɦ	larynx	Nishida 1964:255-058
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	mi[55] **hku**[55]	throat	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.18
Guiqiong	tʂho[55] **ko**[53]	throat	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.17
Lyuzu	mi[33]**ku**[53]	throat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.18
Muya [Minyak]	mi[55]**kuɐ**[53]	esophagus	SUN Hongkai 1991h:4.2.2
Qiang (Mawo)	tshu **ʂqu** ma ti	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.8
	tshə **rqu**	windpipe	Sun 1986
	ts[h]u **χu**	clear throat	SUN Hongkai 1991g:11.8
	ts[h]u **rqu**	throat	Sun 1986
	ts[h]u **ʂqu** ma ti	throat	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ts[h]ə **q[h]u**[ɤ] mə ti	windpipe / trachea	SUN Hongkai 1991g:4.2.1
	ʂqu ma	throat / gullet / pharynx	SUN Hongkai 1991g:4.2
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ku**[55] tʂ[h]u[53]	throat / gullet / pharynx	SUN Hongkai 1991n:4.2
	ku[55]tʂhu[53]	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.16
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	**rquɑ** qa tɔ	adam's apple / larynx	DAI Qingxia 1989b:4.1.4
	squɑ	neck	DAI Qingxia 1989b:4.1
	squɑ vʐə ze	goiter; swollen lymph nodes (neck)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:4.1.1; DAI Qingxia 1989b:4.1.2
	ʂtshe **rquɑ**	windpipe; trachea; esophagus	DAI Qingxia 1989b:4.2.1; DAI Qingxia 1989b:4.2.2
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐqua**	neck	SUN Hongkai 1991b:4.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:248.14
	ʐqua mtɕhɯ	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.14
	ʐqua mtɕ[h]ɯ	throat / gullet / pharynx	SUN Hongkai 1991b:4.2
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Northern)	**ʂ̗qo** zbə	goiter	SUN Hongkai 1991k:4.1.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ʂ̗qua** lu lu	adam's apple / larynx	SUN Hongkai 1991l:4.1.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ʂ̗qo** lok lok	adam's apple / larynx	SUN Hongkai 1991k:4.1.4
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	**gua**[21] la[55]	neck	CHEN Kang 1986d:4.1
Tujia (Southern)	**gua**[21] la[55]	neck	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**gua**[21] la[55] dʉ[35]	throat / gullet / pharynx	CHEN Kang 1986d:4.2
Tujia (Southern)	**gua**[21] la[55] dʉ[35]	throat	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**gua**[55] **gua**[31]	nape	DAI Qingxia 1989o:113.

(10) PTB *tsyak NAPE OF NECK

This sparsely attested root requires further confirmation.

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	guːʔ **cuk**	nape of neck	Kohn 1990:4.1.3
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	ləka **cā**	nape	Matisoff 1987
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**jak**	nape; nape of neck	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a
	jak-tuiŋ	neck	Matisoff 1987
	kup-**chak**	nape	Matisoff 1987

(11) PTB *p(w)aŋ NECK

This etymon, although fairly well attested, seems to occur only in the last syllable of compounds.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	ləŋ-**poː**	neck	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-**poː**	neck	Sun 1993a
Bokar	lɯŋ **poŋ**	neck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.24
	lɯŋ-**poŋ**	neck	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	guŋ **pɯ**	neck	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lɯŋ **poŋ**	neck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:248.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	liː **po**	neck	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	lɯ **po**	neck	Simon 1976
Tagin	leŋ **po**	neck	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	lí-**pong**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	ɕi[55]ɦioŋ[55]**phoŋ**[55]	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.50
	ɕi[55]ɦioŋ[55]**p[h]oŋ**[55]	throat / gullet / pharynx	SUN Hongkai 1991f:4.2
Yidu	ɕi[55]ɦioŋ[55]**phoŋ**[55]	throat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.25
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Lalung [Tiwa]	ko do **phang?**	neck	Balawan 1965:20
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Konyak	ung **phang**	neck	Marrison 1967
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	lañ-**pâŋ**	neck	Matisoff 1987

(12) PTB *g-n(y)a NECK

This poorly attested root, found mostly in Tibetan dialects, requires further confirmation.

1.2.3. MARAIC			
Zotung	**ŋye**[1]	neck	Luce 1985:N.44
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	gə-dəʔ-**na**	neck	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	**ŋ̣e**[13]	neck	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ŋ̣ʌu[13]	neck	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ŋ̣ə** thuk	throat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ŋ̣ə** tok	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.4
Tibetan (Batang)	kɛ[55] **ŋ̣aʔ**[53]	nape of neck	DAI Qingxia 1989a:4.1.3
Tibetan (Written)	**gnya**(-ba)	nape; neck, nape	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ŋ̣ə** taχ	throat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.04
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Phola	**ŋ̣ɛ**[33]ki[55]	neck	Pelkey 2011:270

(13) PTB *dwar NECK

This etymon requires further review before it can be fully established.

2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**dor**	neck	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
6.2. NAXI			
Naxi (Yongning)	ɣa[33]**tuəɹ**[55]	neck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:248.29
Naxi (Eastern)	ɣe[33]**tər**[55]	neck	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(14) PKir *syur NECK

This poorly attested root awaits further confirmation.

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**sø** rø	neck	Michailovsky 1991:131
Sunwar	**syur**	neck	Michailovsky 1991:131; Matisoff 1987

(15) PTB *grawk RAVINE / VALLEY

It seems likely that this etymon is somehow related to PTB ***kl(y)u(ŋ/k)*** VALLEY / RIVER (§3.2.5).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***grok**	ravine; gulf	Matisoff 2003a:591; Benedict 1972:122
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	ta **rok**	valley	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	ta **luk**	ravine (n.)	Coupe 2007
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**kharaw**	valley	Marrison 1967
	khəro	ravine	Benedict 1972:122
	khəró?	ravine	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**kəló?**	valley	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:273-2
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**grog**-po	deep dell, ravine	Benedict 1972:122
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**khəro**	ravine	Benedict 1972:122
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Xiandao)	a[31]**khʐo?**[55]	valley (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.29
Burmese (Written)	**khyauk**	chasm, gulf	Benedict 1972:122

(16) PTB *rim NECK

2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	ga **le** kha-si-wa	swollen lymph nodes (in neck)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:4.1.2
Gurung (Ghachok)	k[h]aq **ri**	neck	Glover 1972:2.A.28
Manang (Gyaru)	ka[1] **rɛ**[1]	neck	Nagano 1984:025
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]k[h]aː **r**	neck	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0018
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]k[h]aː **re**	neck (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:4.1
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	tshiː **ri**	neck	Michailovsky 1991:131
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	'kha **rim**	nape	Watters & Watters 1989
	'khā **rim**	throat; gullet; esophagus; neck	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	'k[h]a **rim**	nape	Watters & Watters 1989

(17) PTB *ku NECK / THROAT

In line with the frequently noted tendency of words meaning NECK / THROAT to have velar initials, we have reconstructed no fewer than eleven etyma with initial velars or velar clusters: PTB ***s/r-gwa-n** NECK / NAPE (§1.4.2), PTB ***s/m-key-k** NECK (§1.4.2), PTB ***l-kwak** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***k-(r/l)aw** THROAT / PALATE (§1.3.5), PTB ***k/s-raw(k/ŋ) ≍ *k-rwa(k/ŋ)** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***grey-k** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***kak** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***ka** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***kwa** THROAT / NECK (§1.3.5), PTB ***m-g(u/i)l** THROAT (§1.3.5), PTB ***gwaŋ** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2), and PTB ***ku** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2).

It is highly likely that some of these etyma are allofams of each other. It is equally likely that a given supporting form may have been assigned to the wrong etymon. However, on the basis of the available data, this may be the best that can be done at this point.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	lã-**gu**	neck	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lá-**ŋu** lan-ču	Adam's apple	Sun 1993b
	la-**ŋu** pa-ču	Adam's apple	Sun 1993b
	laŋ-**gu**	neck	Sun 1993b
	laŋ-**gu** pa-č^{h}u	Adam's apple	Sun 1993b
	^{1}laŋ ^{2}**gu**(^{1})	neck	Weidert 1987:609
Galo	¯luː **go**	neck	Weidert 1987:609

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	e rõ **gu**	Adam's apple	Pulu 1978

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	cha **khu**	throat	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**khou** rang ba	thirsty	Marrison 1967
	khou ri	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	khəw pom bə	swollen lymph nodes (neck)	Singh 1991:4.1.2
	khəw raŋ bə	thirsty (be v.)	Singh 1991:3.7.8
	khəw ri	neck / throat	Singh 1991:4

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Wancho	din **ku**	neck, throat; throat; neck	French 1983:525; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

2.2. Newar

Newar	ka **ku**	windpipe / trachea	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:4.2.1
Newar (Kathmandu)	kɔ **ku**	throat	Genetti 1990c

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	'kuːk **ku**	throat; gullet; esophagus	Michailovsky 1991:182; Matisoff 1987

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	sẽ^{42}**qu**^{21}	throat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:249.37
Bai (Dali)	po^{35} tsi^{33} **ku̲**^{44}	neck	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	po^{35}tsi^{33}**ku**^{44}	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.35
	pɔ tsw **ku** 622	neck	Dell 1981b:359
	pɔ^{6} tɕ$_{\text{l}}^{2}$ **ku**^{2}	neck	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	ku̲^{21} ts$_{\text{l}}^{33}$ tei̲^{44} **k^{h}o**^{33} «ne̲^{21}»	throat / gullet / pharynx	Zhao Yansun 1990:4.2

Chinese comparandum

喉 OC ***g'u**, *GSR* #113f 'throat'; Schuessler 2007:279 ***gô**; B & S 2011: ***g^{ʕ}o {[g]^{ʕ}(r)o}**; Mand. **hóu**.

1.4.3 Shoulder

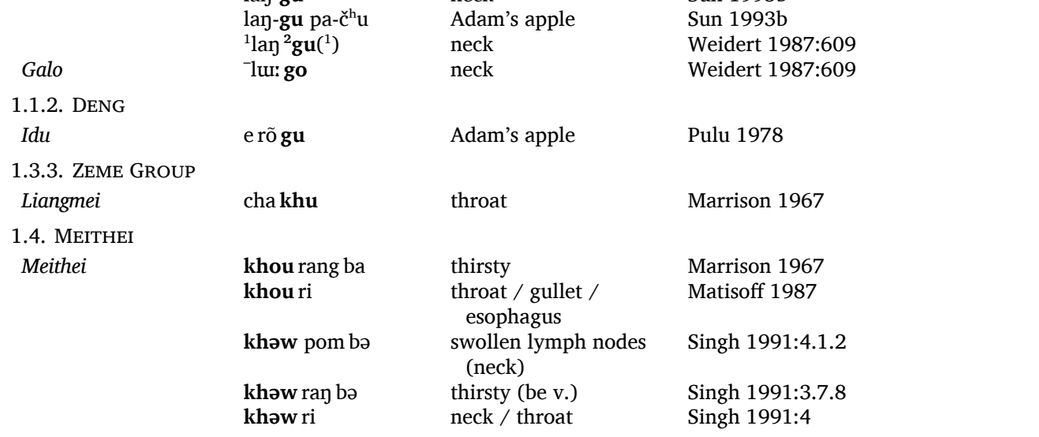


Figure 109: 1.4.3 *Shoulder*

Figure 110: 1.4.3 *Shoulder*

For the semantic relationship with KNEE, see Chapter 1.5.8.4 (PTB ***put-s ≍ *pit-s** KNEE (§1.5.8.4)). Note also the semantic connection between SHOULDER and the adjoining NECK. PTB ***m/p-lyaŋ** SHOULDER (§1.4.3) is probably related to PTB ***g/m-liŋ** NECK (§1.4.2).

Some words for SHOULDER are derived from roots meaning CONVEX, as WB **pa' khûm**.

Note the general proliferation of etyma for SHOULDER with labial initials.

Note the striking similarity between the Lahu form **làʔ-qá-pɨ** and Qiang (Taoping) **lɑ^{31} χɑ^{55} pi^{33}**, both meaning 'shoulder' and both tagged as PTB ***lak** HAND/LIMB (§1.5.1) + PTB ***s-ka(ː)k** FORK / BRANCH / CROTCH (§1.4.9.1) + PTB ***(p/b)i** ROUNDED PART / NIPPLE / FOREHEAD / SHOULDER (§1.9.4).

(1) PTB *baw SHOULDER

The basic meaning of this etymon, which occurs both in monosyllables and in compounds, is apparently 'rounded part', cf. PTB ***pu** BALL / EGG / ROUND OBJECT (§1.9.1).

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***puʔ** SHOULDER

**Central Naga*	***puʔ**	SHOULDER	Bruhn 2014a:III.068
Ao (Chungli)	ta^{3}**pu**^{3}paŋ^{2}	shoulder (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.068
	ta **pu** bang	shoulder	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**puʔ**^{2}	shoulder (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.068
	E **bvu**	shoulder	Nienu 1990c:5.3
	e **pfhu**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	e **pvü**	shoulder	Murry *et al.* 1978:111
Sangtam	**pü** kyang	shoulder	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	tü **puh**	shoulder	Kumar 1973b:31

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**bu** khie	shoulder	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **bou**^{31} ka^{31}	shoulder	Nienu 1990a:5.3
	(u) **bou**^{31} ka^{31}ru^{31}	shoulder blade / scapula	Nienu 1990a:5.3.1
	u **bou** ka	shoulder	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **bo**^{31} ka^{31}	shoulder	Nienu 1990b:5.3
	(u) **bo**^{31} ka^{31}ro^{31}	shoulder blade / scapula	Nienu 1990b:5.3.1
Khezha	kà **bu**	shoulder	Yabu 1994:5.3
Meluri	a sa **phu**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a ta **pfu**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**mbu** thun	shoulder	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**bou**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	məi **bɔw**	shoulder	Matisoff 1994e

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**pao** khrong	shoulder	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**bāu** kā^{1}	shoulder	unknown nd

2.2. Newar

Newar	**boː**, bwahal	shoulder	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.3
	bwa ha(l)	shoulder	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**bou** to	shoulder	Rai *et al.* 1975
	bo to	shoulder	Michailovsky 1991:155

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	xuŋ^{31} **pauʔ**^{31}	shoulder	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	xuŋ^{31}**pau**^{31}	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.28
	xuŋ^{31}**pau**^{31}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.41
Achang (Luxi)	laʔ^{31} san^{35} **phu**^{55}	shoulder	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***bo**^{2}	carry (shoulder)	Bradley 1979b:661A

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nasu	va^{55}**bu**^{21}mi^{33}tɕ^{h}i^{33}	shoulder	Chen Kang 1986b:5.3
Nesu	li̲^{21} **p^{h}u**^{33}	shoulder	Chen Kang 1986b:5.3

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baka)	pa^{44} **p^{h}ʏ**^{55}	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989i:117
Jinuo (Youle)	pɑ^{33} **p^{h}u**^{55}	shoulder	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	bàq-**phu**	shoulder	Hansson 1989:472
Akha	ba˧ **pu (pu)**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	ba˧ **pu** (pyaw˩)	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Lüchun)	bàq **phu**	shoulder	Hansson 1989:472
Hani (Gelanghe)	ba̲^{31} **p^{h}u**^{33}	shoulder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Sangkong	pha^{31} **phu**^{33}	shoulder	Li Yongsui 1991

(2) PTB *t(w)a $\frac{ŋ}{k}$ SHOULDER

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	pa **stuŋ**	shoulder	Simon 1979

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	pua^{33}tok^{33}tsən^{33}	carry on shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:593.52
	pua^{33}**tok**^{11}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.52

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	gor-**dung**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	gor-**duŋ**	shoulder	Sun 1993a

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	dar **tang**	shoulder	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Rengma	mbu **thun**	shoulder	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	n **tong**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**dang** kau	shoulder	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi kei **tua**	shoulder	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	phak **tang**	shoulder	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	dʐɑ^{13} **dɔ**^{35}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991a:5.3

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**tŭk**-puṅ	shoulder	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	phak-**ʈaŋ**	shoulder / arm	Weidert 1987:1113
	phak **taŋ**	shoulder	Ebert 1997
Limbu	phok **tāŋ**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	phɔk-**taŋ**	shoulder; arm	Weidert 1987:1113; Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:155
Yakha	phak-**ʈaŋ**	shoulder / arm	Weidert 1987:1113
	phak **taŋ**	shoulder	Kohn 1990:5.3
	phak **taŋ** seːŋ kwɔk	shoulder blade / scapula	Kohn 1990:5.3.1
	phak **taŋ** yuŋmaː	shrug shoulders (v.)	Kohn 1990:5.3.2

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

**Kul-Cham-Ban*	*bak **taŋ**	shoulder	Michailovsky 1991:155
Bantawa	bak **TaN**	shoulder	Rai 1985
	bak **taŋ**	shoulder	Michailovsky 1991:155
	ba **taŋ**	shoulder	Michailovsky 1991:155

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

**Dum-Thu-Kha*	*bak **taŋ**	shoulder	Michailovsky 1991:155

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**duŋ** du (Tingla)	shoulder	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Magar	**dān**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	ɹɑ^{55}**tsuŋ**^{55}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.46

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	po^{33} **ʈu̲**^{21}	shoulder	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	po^{33}**tɯ**^{21}khu^{55}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.37
Bai (Dali)	to^{31}po^{33}**tɯ**^{21}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.35
	tọ^{42} po^{33} **tu̲**^{21}	shoulder	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɔ^{2} pɔ^{2} **tø**^{7}	shoulder	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	po^{33} **tu̲**^{21}	shoulder	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Zhao Yansun 1990:5.3
	po^{33}**tɯ**^{21}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.36

(3) PTB *ba-k CARRY / SHOULDER

The allofam with final **-k** is attested in Tani, Jingpho, Northern Naga, and Nungish.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ba**	carry; carry on back	Chou Fa-kao 1972:39b; Matisoff 2003a:583; Benedict 1972:26

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	**pa** stuŋ	shoulder	Simon 1979

1.1.1. Tani: ***bak** CARRY ON BACK

**Tani*	***bak**	carry on back	Sun 1993a:58

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	*mal-**baʔ**-nɯ mju	porter	Sun 1993b
	a-**bà**	carry on back	Sun 1993b
	bà-bo	carry (two people together)	Sun 1993b
	bá-gɯ	carry on head	Sun 1993b
	ba-kuŋ	carry on the back and store	Sun 1993b
	baʔ	carry on back; carry in pocket	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	baʔ(-gɯ)	carry	Sun 1993b
	baʔ-ko	ride	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**bak**	carry on back; carry (a man) on back	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	bak-rap	carry (a man) onto one's back	Sun 1993b
	kuː-**bak**	carry child on back	Sun 1993b
Nishing	**bak**	carry	Das Gupta 1969
	mal **bag**-bu	porter	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**bag**-nam	carry child on back	Das Gupta 1983
	beŋ nam	carry on should	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**baː**	carry	NEFA (India) 1963
	bɑ^{55}	carry (a child) on the back); carry on back	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1151.22; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.49
	kha lyang-**paː**	shoulder	NEFA (India) 1963
	khɯ^{55}liɯŋ^{53}**pɑ^{35}**	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.22
	khɯ^{55}liɯŋ^{53}**pɑ^{35}**	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.49
	kʰɯ^{55} liɯŋ^{35} **pɑ^{35}**	shoulder	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɑ^{31}**bu^{55}**	shoulder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.22
	ɑ^{31}**bu^{55}**	carry on shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:593.49
Digaro	**ba**	carry (a child)	Benedict 1972:26
Kaman [Miju]	ɑ^{31} **pʰo^{55}**	shoulder	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɑ^{31}**pho^{55}**	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.23
	ɑ^{31}**pho^{55}**	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.48
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**ba** pyu-na	joints of bones; shoulder joint	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**pa** plí	shoulder	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	pa plíʔ	shoulder / arm	Weidert 1987:1113
Kokborok	**pʰa** rkoŋ	shoulder	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**pha** rap	shoulder	Balawan 1965:50
Meche	**pa** peli	shoulder / arm	Weidert 1987:1113
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**ba**	carry	Benedict 1972:26
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**baʔ**	carry on back	French 1983:467
Tangsa	**boʔ**	carry(on back)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:265
Tangsa (Yogli)	**boʔ**	carry on back	French 1983:467
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**ba**	carry (child on back)	Benedict 1972:26
	bàʔ	carry (on the back)	Benedict 1972:19n71
	paʔ^{31}	carry on back; carry (a child) on the back)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1151.19
	^{1}baʔ	carry(on back)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:265
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Central)	**pha** mo	shoulder	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 7b
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥba**-ba	bring, carry	Benedict 1972:26
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**'bhaa** taa	shoulder	Michailovsky 1991:155
	'bhā tā	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**'ba** lam	shoulder blade	Allen 1975
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ba^{55}**	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.18
Guiqiong	**pə^{55}**	carry (a child) on the back)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1151.16
	pɑ^{55}	lift up / carry (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1659.16
	pɑ^{55}	carry on a pole (two people); carry on shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:592.17; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:593.17
Lyuzu	de^{33}**bæ^{53}**	carry (a child) on the back)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1151.18
Muya	fiæ^{24}**βi^{33}**	carry (sthg.) with a pole on t (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1676.15
Muya [Minyak]	fiɛ^{35}**vi^{33}**	carry on shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:593.15
Namuyi	**bɛ^{33}bɛ^{55}**	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.19
	lu^{33}**vɛ^{55}**	carry on shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:593.19
	bæ^{33}bæ^{55}	carry (a child) on the back)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1151.46
	pæ^{ɻ35}	carry (money) on one (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1249.46
	ta^{33}**pæ^{53}**dæ^{31}ɣu^{53}	carry (sthg.) with a pole on t (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1676.46
Qiang (Longxi)	**bià**	carry (child) on back	Evans 1999:1656
Qiang (Mawo)	**bi**	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.8
	biɛ	carry (a child) on the back)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1151.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**bià**	carry (child) on back; carry (books) on back	Evans 1999:1656; Evans 1999:1658
Qiang (Taoping)	**ba^{33}**	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.9
Xumi	**pɑ^{33}pɑ^{55}**	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.20
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	mbɯ **vɛ**; mgue	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.14
	vɛ	carry on shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:593.14
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	(raʔ phu^{31} thɑʔ) **bɑʔ**	carry (on shoulder)	LaPolla 2003:1353
	(sam^{31} rɛ^{53}) **bɑʔ** ɔ^{31} ɛ^{33}	carry (a child) on the back	LaPolla 2003:1180
Anong	**ba**	carry (on the shoulder)	Benedict 1972:26
Anong (Rawang/Mutwang)	**baʔ**	carry (on the back)	Benedict 1972:19n71
Rawang	**bɑʔ**	lift up, carry (vt.)	LaPolla 2003:1434
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**pu^{53}**khõ^{55}	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.40
Burmese (Written)	**pa'**-khûm	shoulder	Matisoff 1974:399
	pa'-khûṁ	shoulders	Benedict 1976a
	pa khuṁ:	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	pu^{1}khuṁ^{3}	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.39
	pə kûm	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	pɑ^{1}khum^{3}	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.26
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Mile)	**pʰʌ^{33}**ni^{21}	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**pʰɛ^{33}**tsi^{55}	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.24
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**pʻɑ^{22}** ni^{21}	shoulder	LUO Meizhen 1990:5.3
Sani [Nyi]	**phæ^{33}**	shoulder	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.3
Yi (Sani)	**phæ^{33}**n̩^{55}	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.39
Sani [Nyi]	**phæ^{33}**ɣu^{21}	shoulder blade	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.3.1
	phɛ^{33}ni^{55}	shoulder	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	pʰæ^{33}	shoulder	MA Xueliang 1989:305.7
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Bisu	**pà**	carry on shoulder	Beaudouin 1988:28
	pa hùm	shoulder	Bradley 1979b
	pà hòm	shoulder	Bradley 199x
	pà hùm	shoulder	Beaudouin 1988:15
Hani (Dazhai)	**bạ^{31}**	carry on shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:593.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**bạ^{31}**	shoulder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.41
Hani (Pijo)	**pà** thà	shoulder	Hansson 1989:472
Hani (Shuikui)	**pa^{31}**tha^{31}	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.32
Mpi	**po^{2}**-tʰa^{2}	shoulder	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	po^{2}tha^{2}	shoulder	Bradley 1979b; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**bò** hŭm	shoulder	Bradley 1979b
	ɓɔ̀ ɦŭm	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
Sangkong	**pha^{31}** phu^{33}	shoulder	LI Yongsui 1991

Chinese comparandum

負 OC ***b'i̯ŭɡ***, *GSR* #1000a 'carry on the back'; Schuessler 2007:245 ***bəʔ***; B & S 2011: ***bəʔ {[b]əʔ}***; Mand. **fù**.

(4) PTB *p(r)ak ≍ *r-pak SHOULDER

1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	**ʔpʻɔ̃ʔ**	shoulder; arm	Weidert 1987:1113; Weidert 1987:1202
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Awa Khumi	le^{3}**pɑh^{2}**	shoulder	Luce 1985:R.26
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	aŋ ru **pek**	shoulder blade / scapula	Toba & Kom 1991:5.3.1
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**pak**-krong	shoulder	Burling 1992
	pak-krong	shoulder (n.)	Burling 2003:6.233-II:idx
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**phak** cho	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	pák	shoulder / arm	Weidert 1987:1113
Khiamngan	**^{12}paʔ**	arm	Weidert 1987:1139
	^{12}paʔ-^{2}gaŋ-^{12}kɪm	armpit / anus of arm	Weidert 1987:1
Konyak	**phak** tang	shoulder	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**pak**	shoulder / arm	Weidert 1987:1113
Phom	**phak** chong	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	pʰak^{33}čɔŋ^{33}	shoulder	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**hpàʔ**-jawn	shoulders (poet.) [cf. RIDE]	Matisoff 1987
	kă^{31}**phaʔ^{31}**	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.19
	kă^{31}**phaʔ^{31}**	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.47
	kă^{31}**phaʔ^{31}**n^{55}pu̱ʔ^{55}	armpit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0092.19
	kă^{31}**phaʔ^{31}**n^{55}pu̱ʔ^{55}	armpit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:265.47
	kă^{1} **phaʔ^{31}**	shoulder	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	kă^{1} **phaʔ^{31}** n̩^{55} pu̱ʔ^{55}	armpit	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	kha **pa**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	kə **hpàq** shing ban	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987
	kə **hpàʔ**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	kə **phǎʔ**	shoulder	Matisoff 1974:399
	lə **hpàʔ**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	lə **phàʔ**	shoulder	Matisoff 1974:399
	phàʔ	shoulder	Matisoff 1974:399
	^{1}gə^{1}**phaʔ**	shoulder; arm	Weidert 1987:1113; Weidert 1987:1202
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Kadu	yă **pɑ^{2}**	shoulder	Luce 1985:R.26
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tʂhak** kha	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.4
Tibetan (Batang)	**tʂha^{55}** pa^{55}	shoulder	DAI Qingxia 1989a:5.3
	tʂhɑ^{55}pa^{53}	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.03
	tʂhɑ^{55}pa^{53}ŋgo^{55}khʊ^{53}	shoulder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tʂha^{55}**pa^{53}	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.3
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**Tak** tsa	shoulder	Bishop 1989:5.3
Tibetan (Written)	**phrag** – pa	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.01
	phrag-pa	shoulder	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:30
	pʻrag-goŋ	upper arm	Jäschke 1881:353-4 [a]
	pʻrag-pa	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	pʻrɑg-pɑ	shoulder	Luce 1985:R.26
	sku-**pʻrag**	shoulder (resp.)	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**tʂhaχ** ka	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.04
	tʂhaχ ʁa khər	shoulder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{4}preː**-	shoulder (v.)	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0829
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**phak**-ʈaŋ	shoulder / arm	Weidert 1987:1113
	phak taŋ	shoulder	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**phok** tāŋ	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	phɔk-taŋ	shoulder; arm	Weidert 1987:1113; Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:155

[a] WT **dpuṅ-pa rkaṅ** also means 'upper arm', but is to be analyzed as "shoulder's leg" (**dpuṅ-pa** 'shoulder'). Perhaps the girth of the upper arm reminded speakers of a leg.

Yakha	**phak**-ʈaŋ	shoulder / arm	Weidert 1987:1113
	phak kau muŋ	mane (of horse, lion)	Kohn 1990:8.1.6
	phak taŋ	shoulder	Kohn 1990:5.3
	phak taŋ seːŋ kwɔk	shoulder blade / scapula	Kohn 1990:5.3.1
	phak taŋ yuŋmaː	shrug shoulders (v.)	Kohn 1990:5.3.2

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

**Kul-Cham-Ban*	***bak** taŋ	shoulder	Michailovsky 1991:155
Bantawa	**bak** TaN	shoulder	Rai 1985
	bak taŋ	shoulder	Michailovsky 1991:155
	ba taŋ	shoulder	Michailovsky 1991:155

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

**Dum-Thu-Kha*	***bak** taŋ	shoulder	Michailovsky 1991:155
Dumi	**bok** to	shoulder; shoulder (as seen from behind), shoulder blades	Michailovsky 1991:155; Driem 1993

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**phak** ka	shoulder	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	tɛ^{33}**pɛ**^{55}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991i:5.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.19

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	(tɐn tɐn) kɑ mɑ **rpɑk**	carry (sthg.) with a pole on t (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1676.11
rGyalrong	ka ma **rpak**	carry on shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:593.12
Caodeng	kɐ-mé-**rpa**	carry on shoulder	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ mɑ **rpɑk**	lift up; carry; shoulder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.11; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1659.11
rGyalrong	ta **rpak**	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **ɻpa**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.3
	ta **ɻpak** ʃɐre	shoulder blade / scapula	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.3.1
Caodeng	tə-**rpa**-koʔ	shoulder-head	Sun 1997a
	tɜ́-**rpa**	shoulder	Sun 1997a
	tɜ́-**rpa** kɐ-nGlət	sprain (shoulder)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ɻpa**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.3
	tə **ɻpa** ɕɛru	shoulder blade / scapula	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.3.1
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **rpɑk**	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.11
rGyalrong	ta **rpak**	shoulder	Nagano 1997:5.3
rGBenzhen	ta-**rpak**	shoulder	Sun 1997b

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***hpàʔ**-jawn	shoulder (poet.) (n.)	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**pʻɑ**^{22} ɣɯ^{21}	shoulder blade / scapula	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.3.1
Jinuo (Baka)	**pa**^{44} pʰɣ^{55}	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989i:117
Jinuo (Youle)	**pɑ**^{33} pʰu^{55}	shoulder	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	hɔ^{33}**phɤ**^{33}	shoulder blade (poetic) (N.)	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**bàq**-phu	shoulder	Hansson 1989:472
Akha	**ba˧** pu (pu)	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	ba˧ pu (pyaw˩)	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Yunnan)	làq **bjaq**	shoulder	Hansson 1989:472
Hani (Lüchun)	**bàq** phu	shoulder	Hansson 1989:472
Hani (Dazhai)	**ba̲**^{31} ta̲^{31}	shoulder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.31
Hani (Caiyuan)	**pa̲**^{31} tʰa̲^{31}	shoulder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	pa̲^{31}tha̲^{31}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ba̲**^{31} pʰu^{33}	shoulder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**bbavq** davq	shoulder	Hansson 1989:472
Hani (Shuikui)	**pa**^{31} tʰa^{31}	shoulder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	**pà** thà	shoulder	Hansson 1989:472

7. Karenic

Bwe	phí-**bà**-khù	shoulder	Weidert 1987:903
Sgaw (Moulmein)	phí **báʔ** khóʔ	shoulder	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:538

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pâk**/pâk	shoulder (of an animal)	Karlgren 1957:782m-n
Chinese (Old)	**pʰˁak**	shoulder blade	Baxter & Sagart 2011:172

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**phak**	shoulder blade	Baxter & Sagart 2011:172

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**bó**	shoulder blade	Baxter & Sagart 2011:172
	pʼo	shoulder (of an animal)	Karlgren 1957:782m-n

Chinese comparandum

胉 OC ***pâk**, *GSR* #782m-n ‘shoulder blade’; Schuessler 2007:170 ***prâk**; B & S 2011: ***pʰˁak**; Mand. **bó**.
膊 OC ***pʼâk**, *GSR* #771l ‘dismember; shoulder blade’; Schuessler 2007:170 ***phâk**; B & S 2011: ***pʰˁak**; Mand. **pò**.
膊 OC (***bâk**), *GSR* #771l ‘shoulder blade’; Schuessler 2007:170 ***pâk**; Mand. **bó**.

(5) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{p}\end{matrix}$ **-lyaŋ SHOULDER**

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Tagin	gor **biŋ**	shoulder	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	kha **lyang**-paː	shoulder	NEFA (India) 1963
	khɯ^{55}**liɯŋ**^{53}pɑ^{35}	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.22
	khɯ^{55}**liɯŋ**^{53}pɑ^{35}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.49
	kʰɯ^{55} **liɯŋ**^{35} pɑ^{35}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	e^{55}**li**^{55}pa^{55}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991f:5.3
	e^{55}**li**^{55}pɑ^{55}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.50
	i **li** pā	shoulder	Anonymous 1962
	i **l̩i** pā	shoulder	Pulu 1978
	i **l̩i** pā a ku tu lu	shoulder(blade)	Pulu 1978
Yidu	e^{55}**li**^{55}pɑ^{55}	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***liaŋ** SHOULDER / WALL-PLATE

**Chin*	***liaŋ**	SHOULDER / WALL-PLATE	VanBik 2009:1049

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**lieng** kou	shoulder	Haokip 1998:5.3
Paite	**liang**	shoulder	VanBik 2009:1049
Sizang	**liāng** kō	shoulder	VanBik 2009:1049
Thado	**leŋ**	shoulder	Benedict 1972:p.120
	léŋ kòu	shoulder	Thirumalai 1972:39
	líeŋ	shoulder	VanBik 2009:1049
Tiddim	**liang**^{2}	shoulder	VanBik 2009:1049; Bhaskararao 1996:948

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	ə **hmleŋ**	shoulder	Benedict 1972:p.120
Cho (Mindat)	**phleing**	shoulder	VanBik 2009:1049
Khami (Northern)	**pəlain**	shoulder	Benedict 1972:p.120
Khumi	**pleéng**	shoulder	VanBik 2009:1049
	pᵊleⁱŋ	shoulder	So-Hartmann 1988:82
Khumi (Ahraing)	**pəlæ**^{2}	shoulder	Luce 1985:R.26
Ngmüün	**pʰlin**	shoulder	So-Hartmann 1988:82
Womatu	**pʻleɪʔ**^{3}	shoulder	Luce 1985:R.26
	pʻlôŋ^{4}	shoulder	Luce 1985:R.26

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**lîaŋ**	shoulder, wall-plate (of house)	VanBik 2009:1049
Lai (Falam)	**lĭaŋ**	shoulder	VanBik 2009:1049
Lai (Hakha)	**liaŋ**	shoulder	Benedict 1972:p.120
	liɑŋ^{5}	shoulder	Luce 1985:R.26
Lushai [Mizo]	(**liang**)	shoulder	Löffler 1985
	líaŋ	wall-plate (n.)	VanBik 2009:1049
Paangkhua	**malíang**	shoulder	Löffler 1985; Löffler 1985

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**palai** < **paliang**	shoulder	Löffler 1985

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**leng** ban	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	leng bân	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	leŋ-bal ~ **leŋ**-ban	shoulder	Benedict 1972:p.120
	leŋ ban	shoulder	Singh 1991:5.3

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	pa **plí**	shoulder	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	pa **plíʔ**	shoulder / arm	Weidert 1987:1113
Meche	pa **peli**	shoulder / arm	Weidert 1987:1113

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	pă-**li**	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Sahu)	’pāhm **le**	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987
	’pahm **le**	shoulder blade	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.45

7. Karenic: ***pleŋ**^{A} SHOULDER

**Karen (Sgaw)*	***phí**-khóʔ	shoulder	Jones 1961:538
**Karen*	***pleŋ**^{A}	shoulder	Luangthongkum 2013:257
Bwe	**plé**	shoulder; on the shoulder (s) (n.)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997
	plé-lɛ̀	below the shoulder (n.)	Henderson 1997
	plé-ɓa đí-lɛ̀	place below the shoulder (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ple^{55}	shoulder	Luangthongkum 2013:257
Kayah	**pla**^{33}	shoulder	Luangthongkum 2013:257
Kayan (Pekon)	**blén**	shoulder (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**ble**^{53}	shoulder	Luangthongkum 2013:257
Kayaw	**ple**^{55}	shoulder	Luangthongkum 2013:257
Pa-O	**plèŋ**	shoulder (in cpd); shoulder	Solnit 1989; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:538
	plèŋ chúm	shoulder joint	Solnit 1989
	plèŋ nám	shoulder blade	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**pleŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	shoulder	Luangthongkum 2013:257
Pa-O (Northern)	**pleŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	shoulder	Luangthongkum 2013:257
Pa-O	**pleŋ**^{6}	shoulder	Luce 1985:R.26
Palaychi	**blàq**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:538
Sgaw (Bassein)	**phí** thí khò	shoulder	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:538
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**pʰă**^{55} na^{55} kʰo^{31}	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989k:117
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**pʰi**^{55} na^{55} kʰo^{31}	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989j:117

(6) PTB *d $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{y}\\\mathbf{w}\end{matrix}$ **ar SHOULDER**

Perhaps also the second syllables of the Manang forms **ban**^{3} **da?**^{1} and ^{2}**pən taː**. So far this root has been attested in the NE Indian Areal group, Qiangic, and probably Lolo-Burmese.

is only attested in the NE Indian Areal Group and Qiangic.

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**dâr**	shoulder	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	dâr-ruh	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987

1.3. “Naga” Areal Group

Maring	**dar** tang	shoulder	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**yar** dui	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	yār dui	shoulder	Matisoff 1987

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ke **tvar**	armpit behind the shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	ke **twàr**	shoulder blade / scapula	Grüssner 1979:43

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	**tɕɑr**^{55}	carry on shoulder	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	kA^{31}**ɕar**^{55}	carry on shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:593.6
Cuona Menba	**ɕar**^{55}ra^{35}	shoulder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.06

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Jiulong)	**dɑ**^{35}	shoulder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.10

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ta** SHOULDER [a]

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	phi^{33}**tha**^{55}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	pʰi^{31} **tʰa**^{55}	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989h:117
Jinuo (Youle)	pʰi^{42}**tʰɑ**^{55}	shoulder	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	la31 phi33 **pa55**	shoulder	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Dazhai)	ba̲^{31} **ta̲**^{31}	shoulder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.31
Hani (Pijo)	pà **thà**	shoulder	Hansson 1989:472
Hani (Caiyuan)	pa̲^{31} **tʰa̲**^{31}	shoulder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	pa̲^{31}**tha̲**^{31}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.30
Hani (Wordlist)	bbavq **davq**	shoulder	Hansson 1989:472
Hani (Shuikui)	pa^{31} **tʰa**^{31}	shoulder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	pa^{31}**tha**^{31}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.32
Hani (Khatu)	pà **thà**	shoulder	Hansson 1989:472

[a] This etymon has so far only been found as a second syllable of Loloish forms.

Mpi	po²-**tʰa²**	shoulder	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	po²**tha²**	shoulder	Bradley 1979b; Srinuan Duanghom 1976

(7) PNungic *ra SHOULDER / ARMPIT

The stronghold of this etymon is Nungic, with a possible cognate in Cuona Menba.

2.1.2. Bodic

Cuona Menba	ʂar⁵⁵**ra³⁵**	shoulder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.06

4. Nungic

Rawang	(**raʔ** phu³¹ thɑʔ) bɑʔ	carry (on shoulder)	LaPolla 2003:1353
Anong	**ra**-kyi tśip	armpit	LaPolla 1987:134; Benedict 1972:265
	ra-phut	shoulder	Matisoff 1987; LaPolla 1987:70; Benedict 1972:7; Coblin 1986:101
Rawang	**rɑʔ** phu³¹	shoulder	LaPolla 2003:101
	rɑʔ tɕhip	armpit	LaPolla 2003:103
Trung [Dulong]	**ɹa⁴²**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	**ɹɑ** ʔ⁵⁵	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.20
	ɹɑʔ⁵⁵li⁵⁵	armpit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0092.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ɹɑ⁵⁵**li⁵⁵	armpit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:265.46
	ɹɑ⁵⁵tsuŋ⁵⁵	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ra⁵⁵** li⁵⁵	armpit	LaPolla 1987:134
	ɹɑ⁵⁵ li⁵⁵	armpit	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

(8) PTB * l k -wak SHOULDER

Cf. the rather similar etymon PTB ***(t)swak*** SHOULDER (§1.4.3).

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yakha	phak taŋ seːŋ **kwɔk**	shoulder blade / scapula	Kohn 1990:5.3.1

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**wạ**	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989e:5.3
	wɋ	shoulders	Nishida 1964:185; Nishida 1964:236-058
	wɋ¹	shoulder	Sofronov c1978
	·wạ (wạ)	shoulder	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5170

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**vɛ³³** bi⁵⁵	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.18
	vɛ⁵⁵	carry on shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:593.18
Muya [Minyak]	**ʁua³⁵**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991h:5.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.15

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**lva**	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.12
	lva poŋ	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.12
	lva tɕha	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.12
Ergong (Danba)	**lvɛ**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991b:5.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.14
Ergong (Northern)	**lwa¹³**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.3
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔlvɑ**	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989b:5.3

6.1.1. Burmish

Langsu (Luxi)	**vɔʔ³¹**	shoulder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.31
Maru [Langsu]	**vɔʔ³¹**	carry on shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:593.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**vaʔ²¹**	lift up; carry; shoulder; carry (sthg.) with a pole on t (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1659.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1676.30
	vaʔ²¹	carry on shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:593.42

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nasu	**vạ⁵⁵**bu²¹mi³³tɕʰi³³	shoulder	Chen Kang 1986b:5.3
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**kua⁵⁵** bo³¹	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989o:114.
Nusu (Central)	**kua⁵⁵** bɔ³¹	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989p:114.
	kua⁵⁵bɔ³¹	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.34
Nusu (Northern)	**kuɑ⁵⁵**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**kuɑ⁵⁵** bɔ³¹	shoulder	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**kuɑ⁵⁵**bɔ³¹	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.45

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**hwæ**˥tsʰɯ˥	shoulder	Michaud 2006–2009:319
Na (Yongning)	**qʰwɤ**˧to˩	tip of the shoulder	Michaud 2006–2009
	qʰwɤ˧tsʰi˩	shoulder	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**khuɑ³³**tshɻ³¹	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.29
Naxi	**khuɑ³³**tʏ²¹	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**kʰuɑ³³**tsʰɯ⁵⁵	shoulder	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**kʰuɑ³³**tv³¹	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.28
Naxi (Western)	**kʰuɑ³¹**tv³¹	shoulder	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

7. Karenic

**Karen (Sgaw)*	*phí-**khóʔ**	shoulder	Jones 1961:538
**Karen (Pwo)*	*théʔ **khóq**	shoulder	Jones 1961:538
Bwe	phí-bà-**khù**	shoulder	Weidert 1987:903
Pwo (Bassein)	phèʔ thèʔ **khò**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:538
Pwo (Moulmein)	šù thàiʔ **khóʔ**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:538
Sgaw (Bassein)	phí thí **khò**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:538
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	pʰă⁵⁵ na⁵⁵ **kʰo³¹**	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989k:117
Sgaw (Moulmein)	phí báʔ **khóʔ**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:538
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	pʰi⁵⁵ na⁵⁵ **kʰo³¹**	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989j:117

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	po³³tur²¹**khu⁵⁵**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.37
Bai (Jianchuan)	**kuạ⁴⁴** sæ³¹ pa³¹	shoulder blade / scapula	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.3.1

(9) PBm *san SHOULDER

This seems to be confined to Burmish, but cf. also Yakha **phak taŋ seːŋ kwɔk** and Lisu **læʔ²¹se³³**. The Burmish reflexes are more or less evenly divided between **-n** and **-ŋ**, so that the original position of the final nasal remains unclear.

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	lɑ³¹ **sɑn⁵⁵**	shoulder	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	laʔ³¹ **san³⁵** phu⁵⁵	shoulder	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola	laʔ³¹ **sɛ̃⁵⁵**	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989g:114
Bola (Luxi)	laʔ³¹**sɛ̃⁵⁵**	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.32
Langsu (Luxi)	lɔʔ³¹**saŋ³¹**	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.31
Lashi	lɔʔ³¹ **sa̱n³³**	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.3
	lɔʔ³¹ **sa̱n³³** jou³³	shoulder blade / scapula	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.3.1
Leqi (Luxi)	lɔʔ³¹**sa̱n³³**	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.33
Maru [Langsu]	lɔʔ³¹ **saŋ³¹**	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.3
	lɔʔ³¹ **saŋ³¹** ɣuk⁵⁵	shoulder blade / scapula	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.3.1
	lɔʔ³¹**saŋ³¹**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	koʔ²¹ **san⁵¹**	shoulder	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	koʔ²¹**san⁵¹**	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.30
	koʔ²¹**san⁵¹**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.42

(10) PTB *bal SHOULDER

This root is confined to Himalayish (with a possible Meithei cognate), and is perhaps of Indo-Aryan origin (cf. Marathi **bāhuḷā** Turner [1962-6] #9233).

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	leŋ-**bal** ~ leŋ-**ban**	shoulder	Benedict 1972:p.120

2.2. Newar

Newar	bwa **ha(l)**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**phar-**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	**bālā**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	bala:	shoulder	Michailovsky 1991:155

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**bāl**	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987
	bal	shoulder blade	Caughley 1972:2.A.48
	bal.(na)	shoulder, moveable part of upper arm (including shoulder blade) (n.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**bal**	shoulder blade; scapula; shoulder	Caughley 1990:5.3; Caughley 1990:5.3.1

(11) PTB *k(r)waŋ SHOULDER

See also PTB ***k(w/y)an*** SHOULDER / CARRY ON SHOULDER (§1.4.3) and PTB ***kyaŋ*** SHOULDER (§1.4.3).

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	dang **kau**	shoulder	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	pao **khrong**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	pʰa **rkoŋ**	shoulder	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	pak-**krong**	shoulder	Burling 1992
	pak-**krong**	shoulder (n.)	Burling 2003:6.233-II:idx

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	chua **kho**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	cua **kʰo**	shoulder	French 1983:545
	cʰuak **kʰo**	shoulder	French 1983:545

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Phom	phak **chong**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	pʰak³³**čɔŋ³³**	shoulder	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	suak **koŋ**	shoulder	French 1983:545
	swa **kong**	shoulder	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**krōn**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987

2.2. Newar

Newar	bo: **kwoẽ**	shoulder blade / scapula	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.3.1

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	tʂhɑ⁵⁵ **khø⁵³**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.17
	tʂhɑ⁵⁵**khə⁵⁵**	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.16
Qiang (Mawo)	dʒæ **χu**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.3
	dʒɑ **χu**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.8; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981

4. Nungic

Dulong	ɑ³¹**gɹɑŋ⁵³**	shoulder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.20

(12) PKC *aŋ SHOULDER

This poorly attested root is not reconstructed in VanBik (2009).

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**aŋ**	shoulder	Toba & Kom 1991:5.3
	aŋ ru pek	shoulder blade / scapula	Toba & Kom 1991:5.3.1
Moyon	**an** jom nə́	joint	Kosha 1990:8.9
	aŋ	shoulder	Kosha 1990:5.3
	aŋ row	shoulder blade / scapula	Kosha 1990:5.3.1

(13) PTB *k w y an SHOULDER / CARRY ON SHOULDER

This sparsely attested root has a possible Chinese comparandum 肩 (*GSR* #240a ***kiɑn*** 'shoulder, carry').

See also PTB ***kyaŋ*** SHOULDER (§1.4.3) and PTB ***k(r)waŋ*** SHOULDER (§1.4.3).

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung (Ghachok)	**kã:** sa	shoulder	Glover 1972:2.A.29
	kə̰: sā	shoulder	Matisoff 1987

2.1.5. Dhimal

Dhimal	**kan** dhe	shoulder	King 1994

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	**khɨe⁵⁵**	carry on shoulder with a pole; carry on a pole (palanquin)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986; Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**khɯe⁵³**	carry (sthg.) with a pole on t (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1676.49
	khɯe⁵³	carry on shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:593.38
	phɯe³⁵thi⁵⁵**khɯe⁵⁵**	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.49

	phɯe^{35}thi^{55}**khɯe**^{55}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.38
Tujia (Northern)	p^{h}ɨe^{35} t^{h}i^{55} **k^{h}ɨe**^{55}	shoulder	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	p^{h}ɯe^{35} t^{h}ɨ^{55} **k^{h}ɯe**^{55}	shoulder	Chen Kang 1986c:5.3
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**kuan**^{55}	shoulder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.28
	kuan^{55}	carry on shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:593.41
Achang (Luxi)	**khjɛn**^{51}	carry on shoulder	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**k'a** 8	carry on shoulder, to	Dell 1981b:116
	khɑ^{42}	carry on shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:593.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**khɑ̃**^{42}	carry on shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:593.36
	khɑ̰^{21}	shoulder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.48
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	肩	shoulder (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1293
	肩胛骨	shoulder blade	Nagano & Prins 2013:0083
	肩膀	shoulder	Nagano & Prins 2013:0082
Chinese (GSR #)	**0240a**	shoulder (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1293
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kiɑn/kien**	shoulder, carry	Karlgren 1957:240a
Chinese (Old)	**ken**	shoulder	Baxter 1992:1910
	k^{s}en {[k]^{s}e[n]}	shoulder (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1293
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**ken**	shoulder (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1293
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**jiān**	shoulder (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1293
	jiān bǎng	shoulder	Evans *et al.* 1991
	kien	shoulder, carry	Karlgren 1957:240a

Chinese comparandum

肩 OC ***kiɑn***, *GSR* #240a 'shoulder, carry'; B & S 2011: **k^{s}en {[k]^{s}e[n]}**; Mand. **jiān**.

(14) NEIA *ki SHOULDER

This weakly attested root has so far been found only in compounds in a few languages of Northeast India.

1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	ko-**ki**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Sema [Sumi]	a bin **gi** ka	shoulder	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	ke **ki**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi **kei** tua	shoulder	Marrison 1967

(15) PTB *kyaŋ SHOULDER

This weakly attested root requires further confirmation.

See also PTB ***k(w/y)an*** SHOULDER / CARRY ON SHOULDER (§1.4.3) and PTB ***k(r)waŋ*** SHOULDER (§1.4.3).

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	**keng**-gor	shoulder	Tayeng 1976
3.2. Qiangic			
Xumi	qhu^{55} tɕi^{33} **kĩ**^{35}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	qhu^{55}tɕi^{33}**kɛ̃**^{35}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.20
4. Nungic			
Nung	zɛ^{31}**gɛŋ**^{55}	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.21
Anong	zɛ^{31}**gɛŋ**^{55}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.44

(16) PTB *dway SHOULDER

This provisionally reconstructed etymon has so far been identified only in compounds.

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	yar **dui**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	yār **dui**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
2.1.5. Dhimal			
Dhimal	kan **dhe**	shoulder	King 1994
3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	**tɛ^{33}**pɛ^{55}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991i:5.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.19
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	kho^{55}**te**^{53}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.16
	k^{h}o^{55} **te**^{53}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991n:5.3
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	p^{h}ɨe^{35} **t^{h}i**^{55} k^{h}ɨe^{55}	shoulder	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
7. Karenic			
**Karen (Pwo)*	***thé?** khóq	shoulder	Jones 1961:538
Pwo (Bassein)	phè? **thè?** khò	shoulder	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:538
Pwo (Moulmein)	šù **thài?** khó?	shoulder	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:538

(17) PTani *gor SHOULDER

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***gor**	shoulder	Sun 1993a:357
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**gor**-bã	shoulder	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	gor-bã a-lo	shoulder blade	Sun 1993b
	gor-baŋ	shoulder	Sun 1993b
	gor-k^{h}rã	armpit	Sun 1993b
	gòr-xaŋ	armpit	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**gɯr**-bɯŋ	shoulder	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	gɯr-bɯŋ ǰo:	carry on shoulder	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**gur** bɯŋ	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.24
	gur-bɯŋ	shoulder	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**gur** bɯŋ	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Miri, Hill	**gor**-bɤ	nape of neck	Simon 1976
	gor-ga-to kok	shoulder	Simon 1976
Tagin	**gor** biŋ	shoulder	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gor**-dung	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	gor-duŋ	shoulder	Sun 1993a
Milang	keng-**gor**	shoulder	Tayeng 1976

(18) PTB *(t)swak SHOULDER

Cf. the rather similar etymon PTB ***l/k-wak*** SHOULDER (§1.4.3).

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***dzuak** SHOULDER			
**Northern Naga*	***dzuak**	shoulder	French 1983:546
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**chua** kho	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	cua k^{h}o	shoulder	French 1983:545
	c^{h}uak k^{h}o	shoulder	French 1983:545
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Wancho	**suak** koŋ	shoulder	French 1983:545
	swa kong	shoulder	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**dzɻ**^{13} dɔ^{35}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991a:5.3
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**sog**-pa	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʃtʃuɑ**^{13}	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**stʃuɑ**^{13}	shoulder	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.11
Qiang (Mawo)	**dʒa** bla	shoulder	Sun 1986
	dʒæ χu	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.3
	dʒɑ χu	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.8; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**s^{h}ok**^{33} pa^{53}	shoulder blade / scapula	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.3.1
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	**sok** pa	shoulder blade	Nagano 1997:5.3.1

1.4.4 Front

(1) PTB *səy FRONT / BEFORE

This root somewhat resembles PTB ***s-rəy*** FRONT (§1.4.4), but seems independent from it.

1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	**ši**-kaŋ	front	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Chamling	bhu **si**	front	Winter 1985:7
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Lanping)	**zɻə**^{55}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**zɻə**^{55}	front	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.11
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	ɳɔʔ^{55} **siʔ**^{31}	front	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɳɔʔ^{55}**siʔ**^{31}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.28
	ɳɔʔ^{55}**siʔ**^{31}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.41
Achang (Xiandao)	ɲɔʔ^{55} **sai**^{35}	front	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1025
	ɲɔʔ^{55}**sai**^{35}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.29
Bola (Luxi)	**xəi**^{35}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.32
	xəi^{35}	charge / sprint (in the front)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1199.32
Bola	**xəi**^{35} k^{h}jɑ^{55}	front	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1025
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**xi**^{51}	front	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.42
	xi^{55}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.30
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	y^{33} **ɕi**^{55}	front	Chen Kang 1986b:1.5
Yi (Nanjian)	u^{21} de^{21} **ɕi**^{55}	front	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	**ɕɛ^{33}**-dzɻ^{33}	tooth (front)	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	tʂɑ^{22} **si**^{55} zo^{21}	tooth (incisor)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.10.1
**Common Lahu*	***suh:**	in front	Bradley 1979b:447-2
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}ɣu^{53}**si**^{11}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.43
Lahu (Black)	ɣu^{53} **sɿ**^{11}	front	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣu^{53}**sɿ**^{11}phɔ^{53}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.33
Lahu (Yellow)	u^{55} **sɿʔ**^{21}	front	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Nujiang)	mɯ^{31} dʒɛ^{31} (**sɿ**^{33})	front	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	me^{31}**sɿ**^{33}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.31
	mi^{31} **sɿ**^{33}	front	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	me^{31}**si**^{33}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.41
Hani (Wordlist)	meiq **sii**	in front	Hansson 1989:224
Hani (Shuikui)	**ʃɿ**^{31} **ʃɿ**^{31}	front	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʃɿ^{31}**ʃɿ**^{31}fɔ^{33}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**ʃɿ**^{31}**ʃɿ**^{31}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.42
Côông [Phunoi]	bə̆ tɑ̃^{55} **se**^{33}	forehead	Bradley 1977 [ab]

[a] Phunoi prefix **bə̆-** < ***m-**.
[b] Phunoi regularly denasalizes.

(2) PTB *s-rəy FRONT

This root somewhat resembles PTB ***səy*** FRONT / BEFORE (§1.4.4), but seems independent from it.

3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Taoba)	**rə^{35}** be^{53}	front	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.10
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	li^{33} spə^{53} ŋo^{33} **rə^{33}** pa^{33}	front	Sun Hongkai 1991c:1.5
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**hre**^{1}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.26
	hre^{1}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.39
Marma	**hrǐ**	front	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:354
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***s-re**^{3}	in front	Bradley 1979b:447-2
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Southern)	**hɹõ**^{35} bɔ̰^{31}	front	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**kɹu**^{35} ɑ^{31}	front	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**xɹui**^{35} ɹu^{31}	front	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**xɹui**^{35}ɹu^{31}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.45
Nusu (Central)	**xɹu**^{33}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.34

Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**xˡui**^{35}	front	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1025.
Nusu (Central)	**xˡu**^{33}	front	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1025.

(3) PTB *ka FRONT / FOREHEAD

The semantic association between FOREHEAD and FRONT PART is a natural one; cf. French **front** which has both meanings.

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	ɲi^{55} **kɑ**^{55}	front	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986

4. Nungic

Anong	mɑ^{55} ʂu^{31} **kʰɑ**^{55}	front	Sun Hongkai 1988
Nung	mɑ^{55}ʂu^{31}**khɑ**^{53}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.21
Anong	mɑ^{55}ʂu^{31}**khɑ**^{53}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.44

5. Tujia

Tujia	**kha**^{55}tha^{55}khɯe^{55}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.49
	kha^{55}tha^{55}khɯe^{55}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.38
Tujia (Northern)	**kʰa**^{55} tʰa^{55} kʰɨe^{55}	forehead	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**kʰa**^{55} tʰa^{55} kʰɯe^{55}	forehead / brow	Chen Kang 1986c:3.2

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Caiyuan)	**ka**^{33} xu^{31}	front	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

(4) PTB *ti-ŋ FRONT / FOREHEAD

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	i-**tíng**	tooth (front)	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	ma **tə̂ŋ**	front	Toba & Kom 1991:1.5

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Tilang)	dop-**tejaŋ**	front	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	cha **ti**	front	Noonan *et al.* 1992:1.5

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Yadu)	**tɕi** qe	front	Dai Qingxia 1989q:1047

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	pʰuŋbu tən **dʑi**	front	Sun Hongkai 1991k:1.5
rGyalrong	tə **tʂi**	front	Dai Qingxia 1989d:1.5
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **tʂi**	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.11
rGyalrong	tə **tʂi**	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wu **tʂi**	front	Sun Hongkai 1991j:1.5

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	**tsi**^{55} kɨe^{55}	front	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**tsi**^{55} kɯe^{55}	front	Chen Kang 1986c:1.5
	tsi^{55}kɯe^{55}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.49
	tsi^{55}kɯe^{55}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.38

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nesu	**tsɻ**^{55} tʂu^{33} bu^{33}	forehead / brow	Chen Kang 1986b:3.2

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**dʑi**^{21} ɣɯ^{33}ɛ^{33}	front	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.5
Lisu	nga^{6}-**hchi**^{3}	forehead	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	nga^{6}-**hchi**^{3}	forehead	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	ŋɯʔ^{21}**tɕhi**^{33}	forehead	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ŋɯ̱^{31}**tɕhi̱**^{33}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	ŋɯ̱^{42} **tʃʰi̱**^{44}	forehead	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	ŋɯ^{41}**tʃhi**^{33}	forehead	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:233.27
Sani [Nyi]	**tsɥ**^{55} ɣɯ^{11}	front	Ma Xueliang 1989:348.3
	tɕɪ̱^{44} pu^{21}	forehead	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:226.1
	tɕɪ^{44} pʰɣ^{11}	forehead	Ma Xueliang 1989:306.5
	tɕɪ^{44}phu^{21}	forehead	Chen Kang 1986b:3.2
Yi (Sani)	**tɕɪ**^{44}phɣ^{11}	forehead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.39
Sani [Nyi]	ɣɯ^{21}**tʂi**^{55}	front	Chen Kang 1986b:1.5

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**tɯ̱**^{21}	front	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ʈɯ^{21}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.37
Bai (Dali)	**tɯ**^{21}mɯ^{35}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.35
	tɯ̱^{21} mɯ^{35}	front	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tɯ**^{21}ŋv^{55}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.36
	tɯ̱^{21} ŋɣ^{55}	front	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

(5) PLB *ru² FRONT / BEFORE

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***ʔ-ru**^{2}	in front	Bradley 1979b:447-1

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	xɹui^{35} **ɹu**^{31}	front	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	xɹui^{35}**ɹu**^{31}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.45

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

**Common Lahu*	***g'uˇ**	in front	Bradley 1979b:447-1
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**ɣu**^{53}si^{11}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.43
Lahu (Black)	**ɣu**^{53} sɻ^{11}	front	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣu^{53}sɻ^{11}phɔ^{53}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**u**^{55} sɻʔ^{21}	front	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

(6) PTB *maŋ FRONT

This root seems to be attested mostly in Loloish, with a sprinkling of forms from elsewhere.

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Moyon	**màŋ** šòk ~ **maŋ** šòk	front	Kosha 1990:1.5

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Kachai	mə-**mɐŋ**	in front of	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.007

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**maŋ**	front	Singh 1991:1.5
	ya **maŋ**	tooth (incisor)	Singh 1991:3.10.1

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Liangshan)	**mo**^{21}	before; front, in; previously	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mɛ^{21}	ahead; before; earlier; front	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mɛ^{21}lɛ^{33}	ahead; front	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	**me**^{21}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.35
	me^{21} le^{33}	front	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.21
	mɐ^{21}	front	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	mɐ^{21} tɕo^{34}	in front	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Nujiang)	**mɯ**^{31} dʒɛ^{31} (sɻ^{33})	front	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**mɯ**^{31}dʒɛ^{31}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.27
	mɯ^{31}dʑɛ^{31}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.40
Lisu (Northern)	**mɤ**^{21}dʑæ^{21}	in front; future; prospect (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{21}dʑæ^{21}ɤ^{21}	get to the front in a roundabout way; take over the topic; thread of discourse	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{55}dʑæ^{21}	front; in front of (N.)	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Dazhai)	**me**^{31}sɻ^{33}	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.31
	mi^{31} sɻ^{33}	front	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**mè** shí pho	in front	Hansson 1989:224
	mè sjhí pho	in front	Hansson 1989:224
	me^{31}si^{33}	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**mɛ**^{31} xu^{31}	front	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**meiq** sii	in front	Hansson 1989:224

1.4.4.1 Folded

(1) PKC *pleep LAYER

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***pleep**	LAYER	VanBik 2009:1250

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	ng-**plep**	piled up, folded into several layers (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1250

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tleep**	layer	VanBik 2009:1250
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlêep**	gathered together in great numbers, close together in great numbers (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1250

1.4.4.2 Bosom/Lap

(1) PTB * p/b a k/ŋ CHEST / LAP / BOSOM

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Moyon	brúŋ ~ bɹrúŋ ~ thà **bà?**	chest	Kosha 1990:5.1

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	mi lung **pak**	chest	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	tha **bak**	bosom	Singh 1991:1.9
	Tha **bak**	bosom	Singh 1991:1.9
	tha **bak**	chest	Marrison 1967
	tha **bâk**	chest	Matisoff 1987
	thə **bak**	chest	Singh 1991:5.1
	thə **bak**-ki səru	rib	Singh 1991:5.1.2
	thə **bak**-ki səru polaŋ	rib cage	Singh 1991:5.1.1
	thə **bak**-ki tu	chest hair	Singh 1991:8.1.3.2
	təm **pak**	lap	Singh 1991:1.8

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**waŋ**	lap	Sun 1985a:90
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**pang** ba	lap	Bishop 1989:1.8
Spiti	**pàŋ**	lap	Bodh 1991:1.8
Tibetan (Written)	**pang**	lap	Sun 1985c:90

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**phɔk** tuŋ	lap	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**bok** choN	lap	Rai 1985
	bop chüng	lap	Rai *et al.* 1984:10

3.2. Qiangic

Muya [Minyak]	zɐ^{35}**mbɐ**^{55}	bosom	Sun Hongkai 1991h:1.9

6.1.1. Burmish

Hpun (Northern)	**pàŋ** xʀàŋ	side of body (see Rib)	Henderson 1986
	pã xʀã, pàŋ xʀàŋ	rib	Henderson 1986

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	vu̱^{55} **bɑ**^{21}	lap	Chen Kang 1986b:1.8

(2) PTB *m-dum LAP / BOSOM

This weakly attested root requires further confirmation.

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mdəm**	lap	Sun Hongkai 1991k:1.8

5. Tujia

Tujia	dʑi^{35} **du**^{55}	lap; leg	Chen Kang 1986d:1.8; Chen Kang 1986d:6.2
Tujia (Southern)	dʑi^{35} **du**^{55}	leg	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.1. Burmish

Maru [Langsu]	**tɔ̃**^{55} kɔ̱i^{31}	lap	Dai Qingxia 1989l:1.8

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nasu	**ʈʰo**^{33} pu^{33}	lap	Chen Kang 1986b:1.8

1.4.4.3 Chest

NOTE the relationship between CHEST and BELLY; the Kiranti root PKir ***pwam** CHEST (§1.4.4.3) is from PTB ***pʷam** BELLY / STOMACH / WAIST (§1.9.6).

PTB ***s-kəw** BODY / CHEST / THORAX / CORPSE (§1.1.1) is the source for WT **sku-braŋ** 'chest (resp.)', and also of the honorific prefix used with many body parts in WT. It should be kept distinct from PTB ***k(r)u** CHEST / RIB (§1.4.4.3), which is reflected in Thakali **'ku**, Kaike **gu**, etc.

It is interesting to note that both 'chest' and 'trunk' are ambiguous in English between body-part and receptacle!

(1) PTB *k(r)u CHEST / RIB

The **r** in the reconstruction is motivated by rGyalrong **tə s gru**, as well as by Lahu **kû**, since Lahu velars are from earlier clusters with **r**.

rGyalrong has an **s-** prefix, while Chepang has an **-s** suffix. Both of these elements are possibly from the animal root PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1).

1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	tə^{33}**kɯ^{53}**	chest	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.52
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**kɯ^{31}** tsɯm^{55}	chest	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɯ^{31}tsɯm^{55}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.22
	kɯ^{31}tsɯm^{55}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.49
Idu	e^{55}tʂho^{53}**ku^{35}**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.50
	e^{55}tʂ^{h}o^{53}**ku^{35}**	chest	Sun Hongkai 1991f:5.1
	i t^{h}uŋ-**gu**	chest	Anonymous 1962
Yidu	e^{55}tʂho^{53}**ku^{35}**	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.25
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***t-ku?** CHEST			
**Central Naga*	*t-**ku?**	CHEST	Bruhn 2014a:III.078
**Ao*	*t-**ku?**	CHEST	Bruhn 2014a:II.061
Ao (Chungli)	to **ko**	chest	Marrison 1967
	tu^{3}-**ku?^{1}**	chest (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.061
	^{3}tu^{1}**ku?**	chest	Weidert 1987:788
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **khü**	chest	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**kù?**	chest (n.)	Coupe 2007
Yimchungrü	(^{1})**kɯ?**	chest	Weidert 1987:788
	khüh	chest	Kumar 1973b:48
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **kho^{31}** mia^{55}	chest hair	Nienu 1990a:8.1.3.2
Chokri	(u) **kho^{31}**	chest	Nienu 1990b:5.1
	(u) **kho^{31}** ma^{35}	chest hair	Nienu 1990b:8.1.3.2
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	ka **kau**	chest	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	ku **khu**	chest	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**gu**	chest	Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	kŭr-**gŭ**	chest	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{A}**ku** CHEST			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**ku**	chest; chest, statue	Mazaudon 1978:6; Mazaudon 1994:29
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ku**	chest	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:2.A.33
	^{1}**ku**	chest	Mazaudon 1978:6
Gurung	^{1}**ku**	chest	Mazaudon 1994:29
Manang (Ngawal)	^{1}**ku**	chest	Mazaudon 1978:6
Manang (Prakaa)	^{1}**ku**	chest	Mazaudon 1994:29
Tamang	**ku**	chest	Weidert 1987:788
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**ku**	chest; statue	Mazaudon 1978:6; Mazaudon 1994:29
Tamang (Sahu)	**kut**-to	chest	Matisoff 1987; Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.31
	^{1}**ku**	chest	Matisoff 1987
	^{1}**kut** to	chest	Mazaudon 1978:6
Tamang (Taglung)	^{1}**ku**	chest	Mazaudon 1978:6
Thakali (Marpha)	^{1}**ku**	chest	Mazaudon 1978:6
	^{545}**ku**	god (statue of)	Mazaudon 1994:29
Thakali (Syang)	^{1}**ku**	chest	Mazaudon 1978:6
	^{54}**ku**	chest; statue	Mazaudon 1994:29; Mazaudon 1994:29
	^{55}**ku**	statue	Mazaudon 1994:29
Thakali (Tukche)	**ku**	chest	Matisoff 1987; Hari 1971:2.A.33
	^{1}**ku**	chest	Mazaudon 1978:6
	^{H}**ku**	chest	Mazaudon 1994:29
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**ku**-tsu	chest	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:28
Sunwar	**'ku**-cu	chest	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:28
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**khos**	chest	Michailovsky 1991:28; Matisoff 1987
	khos	chest, lap; upper surface (n.)	Caughley 2000
	k^{h}os	chest	Caughley 1972:2.A.33
Chepang (Eastern)	**kos**	chest	Caughley 1990:5.1
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	tə s **gru**	torso; trunk; body	Dai Qingxia 1989d:1.1; Dai Qingxia 1989d:1.6
5. Tujia			
Tujia	li^{55} **k^{h}o^{55}** ts^{h}ũ^{55}	chest	Chen Kang 1986c:5.1
Tujia (Northern)	li^{55} **k^{h}o^{55}** ts^{h}ũ^{55}	chest (of body)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	li^{55}**kho^{55}**tshoŋ^{55}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.38
	to^{55} po^{21} k^{h}a^{21} **kɯ^{21}**	rib	Chen Kang 1986d:5.1.2
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	ɔm^{31} **ko^{55}**	chest (of body)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɔm^{31}**ko^{55}**	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.28
	ɔm^{31}**ko^{55}**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.41
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	lɛ^{35} pa^{33} **kv̩^{35}**	rib cage; rib	Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.1.1; Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.1.2
	lɛ^{35}pa^{33}**kv^{35}**	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.47
	lɤ^{24}pɑ^{24}**kv^{24}**	rib	Mu Shihua 2003
Yi (Mile)	ni^{33}tɐ^{33}**gu^{21}**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ni^{33}mo^{21}**go^{21}**de^{21}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.26
Yi (Xide)	ŋɔ^{33}-mo^{21} **ko^{33}**	chest	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	ni^{33} tɐ^{33} **gu^{21}**	bosom; chest	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.9; Luo Meizhen 1990:5.1
	ni^{33} tɐ^{33} **gu^{21}ˆɛ^{33}** i^{33} nɯ^{33}	chest hair	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.1.3.2
Lahu (Lancang)	ni^{33}**ku^{53}**	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.43
Lahu (Black)	ni-**kû** ~ n̥-**kû**	rib	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Northern)	la^{21}ma^{33} nø^{33}**gu^{21}**	tiger's rib	Bradley 1994
Lisu	nē'-**gu^{5}**	rib	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Putao)	ne^{3}**gu^{5}**	side of body, rib	Luce 1985:V.52
Lisu	ne^{33}**gu^{31}**	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.40
Lisu (Central)	nē^{1}-**gu^{5}**	rib (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	nē^{1}**gu^{5}**	side of body, rib	Luce 1985:V.52
Lisu (Northern)	ne^{44}**gu^{21}**	rib; chop (N.)	Bradley 1994
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi	nv̩^{55}me^{33}**kv̩^{33}**	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.45
Naxi (Western)	nv^{55}me^{33}**kv^{33}**	chest (of body)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	nv^{55}me^{33}**kv^{33}**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.28
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	ɕĩ^{55} **kho^{55}** tɕi^{33}	chest (of body)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ɕĩ^{55} **ko^{55}** tɕi^{33}	chest	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.1

(2) PTB * b / g -raŋ CHEST

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-raŋ ≍ g-raŋ**	chest / breast	Matisoff 2003a:609
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Miji	loŋ-**k^{h}ju?**	chest	Simon 1979
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	**bya**-ɟuŋ	trunk	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**gɹoŋ^{35}**	chest	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	gɹoŋ^{35}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.23
	gɹoŋ^{35}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.48
Idu	i **t^{h}ruŋ** gu	breast	Pulu 1978
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	**brúŋ** mòwr ~ **bɹrúŋ** mòw	chest hair	Kosha 1990:8.1.3.2
	brúŋ ~ **bɹrúŋ** ~ thɹ̀ bà?	chest	Kosha 1990:5.1
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	mi **lung** pak	chest	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	ka **chang**	chest	Marrison 1967
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	thə bak-ki səru **polaŋ**	rib cage	Singh 1991:5.1.1
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	**brang** tong	chest	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 8
Tsangla (Motuo)	**braŋ** toŋ	chest	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.7
	praŋ^{13} toŋ^{55}	chest (of body)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**braŋ**	chest (of body)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**braŋ^{55}** to^{55}	chest (of body)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**prɑŋ^{13}**	chest	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.6
Motuo Menba	**braŋ** toŋ	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.07
Cuona Menba	**praŋ^{35}**	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ptʂaŋ**	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tʂaŋ** kha	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ptʂaŋ** kha	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.5
	tʂaŋ k^{h}æ	chest	Sun 1985a:131
Tibetan (Batang)	**dzõ^{13}** buʔ^{53}	chest hair	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.1.3.2
Tibetan (Jirel)	**Thāng**	chest	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tʂuŋ^{13}**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**phaŋ^{13}**kho^{52}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.02
	phaŋ^{13}kho^{52} tir^{13}	throw out (one's chest) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1684.02
	phaŋ^{15}koʔ^{53}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**prango**	torso; trunk; chest	Bishop 1989:1.6; Bishop 1989:5.1
	prang o pū	chest hair	Bishop 1989:8.1.3.2
Spiti	**ṭhaŋ** gok	chest	Bodh 1991:5.1
Tibetan (Written)	(**braŋ** khog) ldir	throw out (one's chest) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1684.01
	braṅ	chest	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	brang.kha	chest	Sun 1985c:131
	braŋ	chest	Luce 1985:X.122; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.1
	braŋ khog	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.01
	braŋ-ka	chest	Zhang Liansheng 1988:31
	sku-**braŋ**	chest	Matisoff 1987 [a]
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ɣɑr**	chest	Nishida 1964:185; Nishida 1964:202-071 [b]
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**ro^{33}** ɳo^{55} ma^{55}	chest; bosom	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.18
Guiqiong	**wɔ̃^{33}** tɕɑ^{53}	bosom; chest	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.17
Namuyi	**ʁo^{55}**ɬy^{55}	bosom; chest	Sun Hongkai 1991i:1.9; Sun Hongkai 1991i:5.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.19
	ʁuo^{55}ɬu^{31}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.46
Pumi (Taoba)	**ho^{55}** ɬĩ^{55}	chest (of body)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	ho^{55}ɬĩ^{55}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**ʁó** qhuà	upper half of body [chest-part]; chest	Evans 1999:1082; Evans 1999:120
Qiang (Mawo)	**jə** qhuɑ	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.08

[a] WT **sku** may be freely prefixed to body part terms to convey a respectful meaning (cf. Jäschke 1881, p. 21).
[b] The affiliation of this form remains doubtful, although this reconstruction bears a resemblance to the sequence **g-r**.

	ʁa hu̯	chest hair	Sun 1986
	ɹu qhuɑ	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.8
	ɹu q^{h}ua^{ɪ}	chest	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.1
	ɹu q^{h}uɑ	chest (of body)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**ji** q^{h}uɑ	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989q:120
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ka^{33} rõ^{55}**	chest	Sun Hongkai 1991n:5.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɣa^{13}rlo^{55}**	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.13
Xumi	n̥i^{53}mu^{33}**ʁu^{33}**ʐu^{33}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.17
	n̥ɛ^{55} mi^{33} **ʁo^{33}** ʐ̩ũ^{35}	chest; bosom	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**ja^{33}** tɕuŋ^{53}	rib cage	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.1.1
	rʁa^{33} lo^{53}	chest	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.1
	rʁa^{53} lo^{33} rmo^{53}	chest hair	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.1.3.2
Ergong (Daofu)	**fia** lɔ	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989b:5.1
	fia lɔ ʔmə ŋɑ	chest hair	Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.1.3.2
Ergong (Danba)	**ʁɛ** lɔ	chest	Sun Hongkai 1991b:5.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.14
Daofu	**ʁɑ** lo	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	**ro**	chest	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.1
rGyalrong	ta **ro**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.12
	ta **ro** kə ɟja	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.1
	ta **ro** wa rɲɛ	chest hair	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.1.3.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **ro**	chest	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.1
	ta **ro** wa rɲe	chest hair	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.3.2
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ra** rme	chest hair	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.1.3.2
	tə **ra** sto	rib cage	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.1.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ro** rme	chest hair	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.3.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **ro** khor khor	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.11
	tɑ **ro** kɑ kɑt	throw out (one's chest) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1684.11
rGyalrong (Northern)	ə **ro** ɕɛru	rib cage	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.1.1
rGyalrong	ta **ro**	chest	Nagano 1997:5.1
	ta **ro** rnye	chest hair	Nagano 1997:8.1.32
rGBenzhen	ta-**ro**	chest	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**būaŋ^{42}**	chest	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	**pɹɑŋ^{55}**	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.20
Trung [Dulong]	**pɹɑ̆ŋ^{55}**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**pɹɑ̆ŋ^{55}**	chest (of body)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**pɹɑ̆ŋ^{53}**	chest (of body)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola	**ɣɔ^{55}** kɔ̃^{55}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989g:117
Burmese (Modern)	**raŋ^{3}** [kʻoŋ^{4}]	chest	Luce 1985:V.82
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**jī^{22}**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.40
Burmese (Written)	**raṅ** pat	chest	Marrison 1967
	raŋ	chest; breast	Luce 1985:V.82; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a
	raŋ-khôŋ	chest	Matisoff 1987
	raŋ-pat	chest	Matisoff 1987
	raŋ^{3}	chest	Luce 1985:X.122
	raŋ^{2}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.39
	raŋ^{2}bhɑt^{4}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.26
Lashi	**jaŋ^{31}** kaŋ^{31}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.1
	jaŋ^{31}-kaŋ^{31} mou^{55}	chest hair	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.1.3.2
Leqi (Luxi)	**jaŋ^{31}**kaŋ^{31}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.33
Maru [Langsu]	**ɣɔ̃^{31}** kɔ̃^{31}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.1
	ɣɔ̃^{31}kɔ̆^{31}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**vaŋ^{51}** kaŋ^{51}	chest (of body)	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	vaŋ^{51}kaŋ^{51}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.30
	vaŋ^{51}kaŋ^{51}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**ɣɹɔ^{31}**li^{33}	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ɣˈoŋ^{31}** li^{35}	rib	Dai Qingxia 1989o:161.
	ɣˈoŋ^{31} p^{hɹ}ɚ^{55}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989o:117.
Nusu (Central)	**ɣˈɔ̃^{31}** li^{33}	rib	Dai Qingxia 1989p:161.
	ɣˈɚ^{31} p^{hɹ}ɚ^{33}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989p:117.
Nusu (Northern)	**ɹa̱^{31}** p^{h}ɐ^{55}	chest (of body)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɹɔ̱^{31}** p^{h}a^{55}	chest (of body)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	ʔĭ^{31} lɔ^{53} **k^{h}ɹũ^{35}**	chest (of body)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ʔĭ^{31}lɔ^{55}**kh.ɹũ^{35}**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.45
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**bya**ˇg'aˇ	rib cage (side)	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Dazhai)	nɯ^{33} **ɣa^{33}**	chest (of body); chest	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.31
Hani (Gelanghe)	**xaŋ^{31}**	chest (of body)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	nɯ^{33} **ɣɔ^{33}**	chest (of body)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Côông [Phunoi]	ã **jã^{55}** jao	rib cage	Ferlus 1991:5.1.1
	ʔấ **já**	chest	Bradley 1979b
	ʔấ **yỗ**	chest	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã^{55} **jã^{55}**	chest	Bradley 1977
Ugong	**hăŋ** khɔ́ŋ wú/ᴜ	rib	Bradley 1993:5.1.2
	wŭŋ khjḛ	chest	Bradley 1993:5.1
	wŭŋ khjẹ mḛ́ŋ	chest hair	Bradley 1993:8.1.3.2
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	**ʁɑ**ɬpvɬ	chest	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɣɑ^{33}**pv^{33}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.29
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	tθa̱^{55} na^{55} **bua^{31}**	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989k:120
	ɣu^{33} xu̱i^{55}	rib	Dai Qingxia 1989k:168
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**ɣu̱ʔ^{55}** xi^{55}	rib	Dai Qingxia 1989j:168
	θa̱ʔ^{55} na^{55} **pua^{31}**	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989j:120

Chinese comparandum

匈/胷/胸 OC **χi̱ung*, *GSR* #1183d-f 'breast(bone); chest'; Schuessler 2007:541 ***hoŋ***; B & S 2011: (***q^{h}oŋ {q^{h}(r)oŋ}***); Mand. ***xiōng***.
膺 OC **ʔi̱əng*, *GSR* #890e 'breast, chest; breastplate; resist, oppose'; Coblin 86:85 ST ***ʔɬjəng*** > PC ***ʔljəng*** > OC ***ʔjəng***; Schuessler 2007:574-5 ***ʔəŋ***; B & S 2011: ***qəŋ {[q](r)əŋ}***; Mand. ***yīng***.
應 OC **ʔi̱əng*, *GSR* #890d 'to face, respond; correspond, agree'; Schuessler 2007:575 ***ʔəŋh***; B & S 2011: (***qəŋ-s***); Mand. ***yìng***.
應 OC **ʔi̱əng*, *GSR* #890d 'ought to, must; rightfully'; Schuessler 2007:575 ***ʔəŋ***; B & S 2011: (***qəŋ***); Mand. ***yīng***.

(3) PTB *k(w)a CHEST

A few languages (Qiang, Bai) have a labial semi-vowel, but this might be secondary, in view of a similar tendency to labialize velar onsets in languages like Lisu: cf. e.g. BITTER PTB ***b-ka-n/m/ŋ***, Lisu ***khwa^{21}***.

The first syllable of Chang **ku khu** might also reflect this labialization, a similar development is characteristic of Chinese (cf. Mandarin **ku^{3}** 'bitter' from PTB ***b-ka-n/m/ŋ*** BITTER / SALTY / BILE / LIVER (§1.7.3.1)). See *STC* p. 186.

For a phonosemantically similar root, see PTB ***kywak*** CHEST / RIB (§1.4.4.3).

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	**ka**	chest	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	mai **ga**	chest	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi **ga** ra	chest	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	he **ka**	chest	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	bi **ka**	chest	Matisoff 1987
Lalung [Tiwa]	**kha** mi har	rib	Balawan 1965:12
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**ku** khu	chest	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**kà**	chest	Sharma 1991b:5.1
	ká(h)	chest	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	tʂaŋ **kha**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	ptʂaŋ **kha**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.5
	tʂaŋ **k^{h}æ**	chest	Sun 1985a:131
Tibetan (Batang)	n̥i^{55} **kha^{53}**	bosom	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.9
	n̥i^{55} **kha^{53}**	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989a:5.1
Tibetan (Written)	**b**rang.**kha**	chest	Sun 1985c:131
	braŋ-**ka**	chest	Zhang Liansheng 1988:31
	mt'oṅ-**ga**	chest / breast	Matisoff 1987
	mt'oṅs-**k'a**	chest	Matisoff 1987
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Longxi)	ʁó **qhuà**	upper half of body [chest-part]; chest	Evans 1999:1082; Evans 1999:120
Qiang (Mawo)	jə **qhuɑ**	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.08
	ə^{ɻ}**:qhwɑ**	chest	Sun 1986
	ɹu **qhuɑ**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.8
	ɹu **q^{h}ua^{ɪ}**	chest	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.1
	ɹu **q^{h}uɑ**	chest (of body)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Taoping)	ʐ̩u^{55} dzɻ^{33} **qə^{33}**	chest (of body); chest	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.9
Qiang (Yadu)	ji **q^{h}uɑ**	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989q:120
4. Nungic			
Anong	**gɑ^{31}**phɑm^{55}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.44
5. Tujia			
Tujia	to^{55} po^{21} **k^{h}a^{21}** kɯ^{21}	rib	Chen Kang 1986d:5.1.2
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Nanjian)	n̥(ɭ)^{33} du^{55} **kɑ^{55}**	chest (of body); chest	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.23
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	nɯ^{31} **k^{h}a^{31}**	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989h:120
Jinuo (Youle)	n̥ə^{42} **k^{h}ɑ^{42}**	chest (of body)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	n̥ə^{42}**kha^{42}**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.34
Jinuo (Baka)	n̥ɯ^{31} **k^{h}a^{31}**	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989i:120
Lahu (Black)	ni-ma-**qa**-pɨ	chest	Matisoff 1987
Sani [Nyi]	nɪ̱^{33}tu^{33}**qɒ^{33}**	chest	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	n̥^{44} tʏ^{44} **qɑ^{33}**	chest	Ma Xueliang 1989:323.5
	n̥^{44}tu^{44}**qɑ^{33}**	chest	Chen Kang 1986b:5.1
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**kua̱^{44}** pi^{55} tsɻ^{33}	rib	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.1.2
	kua̱^{44} pi^{55} tsɻ^{33} tɕa̱^{44}	rib cage	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.1.1
	kua̱^{33}pi^{55}tsɻ^{33}	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.48

(4) PTB *tsu-N CHEST

A few languages show a final nasal in this root, but it is not clear what position of articulation to reconstruct.

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	a: **ssõ**	chest; breast; breast (chest)	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987
	kɯ^{31} **tsɯm^{55}**	chest	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɯ^{31}**tsɯm^{55}**	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.22
	kɯ^{31}**tsɯm^{55}**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.49
Idu	e^{55}**tʂho^{53}**ku^{35}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.50
	e^{55}**tʂ^{h}o^{53}**ku^{35}	chest	Sun Hongkai 1991f:5.1
Yidu	e^{55}**tʂho^{53}**ku^{35}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.25
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Kohima)	(u) chie^{55} **tso^{31}** ru^{31}	rib	Nienu 1990a:5.1.2
Chokri	(u) tsü^{35} **tso^{31}** ro^{31}	rib	Nienu 1990b:5.1.2
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**tsu^{13}** pɑ^{53}	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991a:5.1.2
	tʂo^{13} ɳ^{35}	chest	Sun Hongkai 1991a:5.1
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	ku-**tsu**	chest	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:28
Hayu	rip-**tsa**	breast	Michailovsky 1991:144
	rip **tsho**	rib; chest	Michailovsky 1991:145; Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	'ku-**cu**	chest	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:28
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	ja^{33} **tɕuŋ^{53}**	rib cage	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.1.1
5. Tujia			
Tujia	li^{55} k^{h}o^{55} **ts^{h}ũ^{55}**	chest	Chen Kang 1986c:5.1
Tujia (Northern)	li^{55} k^{h}o^{55} **ts^{h}ũ^{55}**	chest (of body)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	li^{55}kho^{55}**tshoŋ^{55}**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.38
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	n̥i̱^{44} mo^{33} **tʂo^{33}** tse^{31}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.1
	n̥i̱^{44} mo^{33} **tʂo^{33}** tshe^{31}	bosom	Dai Qingxia 1989n:1.9
	ɒ^{44} kɤ̱^{44} lɤ̱^{44} **tʂo^{33}**	throat / gullet / pharynx	Dai Qingxia 1989n:4.2
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Nanhua)	n̥i̱^{33}mo^{33}**tʂo^{33}**	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.24
7. Karenic			
Palaychi	tàq náq **shzù?**	chest	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:410

(5) PTB *wa $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{p}\end{matrix}$ CHEST / RIB

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	a **up**	rib (n.)	GLDC 2009

	a **up**	rib	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	o-**up**	rib	Simon 1976
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	**op**	chest	Haokip 1998:5.1
	op mul	chest hair	Haokip 1998:8.1.3.2
Thado	**ɔ́p**	chest	Thirumalai 1972:57
Tiddim	**oːm**^{2}	chest	Bhaskararao 1996:1319
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**âwm**	chest	Marrison 1967
	awm	chest; breast	Matisoff 1987; Bhaskararao 1996:1319
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	ʌ **úm**	rib cage	Kosha 1990:5.1.1
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**hum** dang	rib	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**hüm** pa-lak wai	rib	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**'om**-mog	chest	Matisoff 1987
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**ɔm**^{31} ko^{55}	chest (of body)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɔm^{31}ko^{55}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.28
	ɔm^{31}ko^{55}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.41
Achang (Luxi)	**an**^{35} tuaŋ^{31}	chest (of body)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**am**^{31} pɔŋ^{55}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989f:117
	am^{31}pɔŋ^{55}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.29
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu	**aw'**^{3}-hkrgh^{3}	chest	Matisoff 1987
	aw'^{3}hkrgh^{5}	chest	Bradley 1979b:106
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**aw'**^{3} [hkrgh^{5}]	chest	Luce 1985:V.82
Lisu (Central)	**aw'**^{3}-hkrgh^{3}	breast	Fraser 1922
	aw'^{3}-hkrgh^{5}	chest (of body)	Fraser 1922

(6) PTB *kruːŋ CAGE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kruːŋ**	cage	Matisoff 2003a:597; Benedict 1972:389
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**griŋ**	cage	Benedict 1972:389
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ta rnam ŋk^{h}ug **ŋk^{h}uŋ**	rib cage	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.1.1
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**khrúiŋ ≍ khyúiŋ**	cage	Benedict 1972:389
	khruiŋ'	cage for birds	Benedict 1976a
	khyuiŋ'	cage for birds	Benedict 1976a

Chinese comparandum

籠 OC ***lung**, *GSR* #1193l 'cage, coop'; Schuessler 2007:363 ***rôŋ**; B & S 2011: ***k.r^{ʕ}oŋ**; Mand. **lóng**.
籠 OC ***lung**, *GSR* #1193l 'basket; cage'; Schuessler 2007:363 ***rôŋ?**; B & S 2011: ***k.r^{ʕ}oŋ?**; Mand. **lǒng**.

(7) PTB *m-twa $\begin{matrix}\text{k}\\\text{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ CHEST / BREAST / RIB

The **-i-** vocalism in the Tangkhul Naga form **mə thik** 'chest' indicates we may need to set up a subroot ***m-tik ≍ *m-tuk**.

1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	i **t^{h}uŋ**-gu	chest	Anonymous 1962
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Sorbung	mə **tóo**	lap	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.010
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***t^{h}ik** LUNG / CHEST			
**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}ik**	lung / chest	Mortensen 2012:563
Huishu	ʔa-mə-**t^{h}oʔ**	bosom; chest	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.095
Kachai	mə-**t^{h}ɐk**	lung / chest	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.116
Tangkhul	ma **thik**	chest	Marrison 1967
	ma **thik** ra	breastbone / sternum	Matisoff 1987
	mə **thik**	chest	Matisoff 1987
Ukhrul	mə-**t^{h}ik**	chest	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	hum **dang**	rib	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ning **thang**	chest	Matisoff 1987
	rèp-**ták**	rib	Grüssner 1979:193
	rep **tak**	rib	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	chel-**tong**	chest	Burling 1992
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Wancho	khɛ **tok**	chest	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	htan-**da** (Hkauri)	chest	Matisoff 1987
	sin^{31} **ta?**^{31}	chest (of body); chest	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.47
	sin **da**	chest	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	kyuk **ṭoŋ**	chest	Sharma 1991a:5.1
Kanauri	**sṭug**	chest	Sharma 1988:34,41
	ʂẖṭŭg	chest	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	brang **tong**	chest	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 8
Tsangla (Motuo)	braŋ **toŋ**	chest	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.7
	praŋ^{13} **toŋ**^{55}	chest (of body)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	brɑŋ^{55} **to**^{55}	chest (of body)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	braŋ **toŋ**	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.07
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ʈaŋ**	chest	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**mt'oṅ**-ga	chest / breast	Matisoff 1987
	mt'oṅs-k'a	chest	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	phɔk **tuŋ**	lap	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**dak** a cī	chest	Matisoff 1987
	dək ci	chest	Allen 1975
5. Tujia			
Tujia	to^{55} po^{21} **dɯ**^{21} go^{35}	chest	Chen Kang 1986d:5.1
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Luxi)	an^{35} **tuaŋ**^{31}	chest (of body)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Lashi	**tạŋ**^{55} kɔːi^{55}	lap	Dai Qingxia 1989m:1.8
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	ʔm̩^{33} **tu̱**^{55} k^{h}e^{55}	bosom; chest	Chen Kang 1986b:1.9; Chen Kang 1986b:5.1
Nasu	**ta̱**^{21} ŋg^{h}o̱^{21}	chest	Chen Kang 1986b:5.1
Yi (Dafang)	ne^{33} **tu**^{33}	chest (of body); chest	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.22
Yi (Nanjian)	n̩(ɭ)^{33} **du**^{55} kɑ^{55}	chest (of body); chest	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.23
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Sani [Nyi]	n̥i̱^{33}**tu**^{33}qɒ^{33}	chest	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	n̥^{44} **tʏ**^{44} qɑ^{33}	chest	Ma Xueliang 1989:323.5
	n̥^{44}**tu**^{44}qɑ^{33}	chest	Chen Kang 1986b:5.1
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Shuikui)	nɯ^{33} **t^{h}u**^{31}	chest (of body)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	se^{55} **ʈɯ̱**^{21} ɯ̱^{44}	chest (of body)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	sẽ^{55}**ʈɯ**^{21}ɯ^{44}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.37
Bai (Dali)	ɕi^{55} khe^{ɪ55} khe^{ɪ55} **tɯ̱**^{21}	chest (of body)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ɕi^{55}ke^{ɪ55}ke^{ɪ55}**tɯ**^{21}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.35

(8) PLB *pat CHEST

6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	raṅ **pat**	chest	Marrison 1967
	raŋ-**pat**	chest	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	ɑ^{55} tʂ̱^{33} **bɪ̱**^{33}	breast	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	ɣ^{ɪ}o^{31} **p^{hɪ}ɚ**^{55}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989o:117.
Nusu (Central)	ɣ^{ɪ}ɚ^{31} **p^{hɪ}ɚ**^{33}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989p:117.
Nusu (Northern)	ɹa̱^{31} **p^{h}e**^{55}	chest (of body)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	ɹɔ̃^{31} **p^{h}a**^{55}	chest (of body)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Nanjian)	a^{55} tʂ̱^{33} **pi̱**^{33}	breast	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Yellow)	tsʏ^{35} **pɛʔ**^{54}	breast	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	cu¯ **peh^**	breast	Bradley 1979a:119
Lahu (Banlan)	cu: **peh^**	breast	Bradley 1979a:119
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	lɔŋ **pɛ́t**	breast	Bradley 1979b
	lɔŋ **pɛt**	breast	Beaudouin 1988:13
	lɔŋ **pɛt** láŋ	milk	Beaudouin 1988:15
Hani (Gelanghe)	a^{31} tɕ^{h}ø^{55} **bɛ̱**^{33}	breast	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

(9) PLB *koŋ^{2} CHEST

6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola	ɣɔ^{55} **kɔ̃**^{55}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989g:117
Burmese (Modern)	raŋ^{3} **[k'oŋ^{4}]**	chest	Luce 1985:V.82
Burmese (Written)	raŋ-**khôŋ**	chest	Matisoff 1987
Lashi	jaŋ^{31} **kaŋ**^{31}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.1
	jaŋ^{31}-**kaŋ**^{31} mou^{55}	chest hair	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.1.3.2
Leqi (Luxi)	jaŋ^{31}**kaŋ**^{31}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.33
Maru [Langsu]	ɣɔ̃^{31} **kɔ̃**^{31}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.1
	ɣɔ̃^{31}**kɔ̃**^{31}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	vaŋ^{51} **kaŋ**^{51}	chest (of body)	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	vaŋ^{51}**kaŋ**^{51}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.30
	vaŋ^{51}**kaŋ**^{51}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***koŋ^{2}**	chest	Bradley 1979b:106
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu	aw'^{3}-**hkrgh^{3}**	chest	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	aw'^{3}**hkrgh^{5}**	chest	Bradley 1979b:106
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	aw'^{3} **[hkrgh^{5}]**	chest	Luce 1985:V.82
Lisu (Central)	aw'^{3}-**hkrgh^{3}**	breast	Fraser 1922
	aw'^{3}-**hkrgh^{5}**	chest (of body)	Fraser 1922
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**k'ah**ˇ	chest	Bradley 1979b:106; Matisoff 1987
Ugong	hăŋ **khɔ́ŋ** wú/ᴜ	rib	Bradley 1993:5.1.2
	wŭŋ **khjẹ** mə́ŋ	chest hair	Bradley 1993:8.1.3.2

[a] For a similar Lisu vocalic reflex, cf. PLB ***ʔgoŋ^{2}** NECK/NECK-LIKE PART > Lisu (Northern) **kɤ^{55}tsi^{55}**. (**-ɤ** is the vowel corresponding to Fraser' s *-rgh*; **tsi^{55}** is 'joint'.). **-ɤ (-rgh)** may be the regular reflex of ***-oŋ** after velars.

(10) PTB *ru CHEST

This etymon is attested in scattered languages as the final syllable in compounds. Several other roots in the semantic area with initial ***r-** seem unrelated (cf. PTB ***s-ri(p/m)** RIB / SIDE (§1.4.4.4), PTB ***s/b-ram** RIB (§1.4.4.4), and PTB ***b/g-raŋ** CHEST (§1.4.4.3)). The widely attested etymon for BONE (PTB ***s/m/g-rus** BONE (§1.6.3)) is also distinct.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Sangtam	nyi **rü**	chest	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Kohima)	u me **rü**	chest	Marrison 1967
Chokri	u mü **rü**	chest	Marrison 1967
Khezha	le **rú**	chest	Yabu 1994:5.1
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	tʂo^{13} **ɽ^{35}**	chest	Sun Hongkai 1991a:5.1
6.1.1. Burmish			
Hpun (Northern)	ò **ʀó**, ò **ʀú**	chest	Henderson 1986

(11) PTB *kywak CHEST / RIB

For a phonosemantically similar root, see PTB ***k(w)a** CHEST (§1.4.4.3).

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	à-**hú** pà-ta	rib	Sun 1993b
	à-**hɯ**	rib	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**fuk**-da:	rib	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**huk**-ma	rib	Sun 1993b
	fiuk ma	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.24

1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	chel-**gok**	chest	Burling 1992
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	[1]thʌn-**khuʔ**	chest	Weidert 1987:788
Tangsa	**khʌuʔ**	chest	Weidert 1987:788
Tangsa (Yogli)	**khau**	chest	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**kük** lang	chest	Marrison 1967
	kək laŋ	chest	French 1983:540 [a]
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**kyuk** ṭoŋ	chest	Sharma 1991a:5.1
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ta rnam **ŋkʰug** ŋkʰuŋ	rib cage	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.1.1

[a] It looks superficially as though the last syllable of this Chang form goes with PTB ***b/g-raŋ*** CHEST (§1.4.4.3), but since **-laŋ** appears as a formative in several rounded bodyparts, we assign this syllable to PTB ***s-ruŋ*** ROUNDED PART (§1.2.6), following French 1983: 540.

(12) PTB *tan CHEST

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	[1]**thʌn**-khuʔ	chest	Weidert 1987:788
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**htan**-da (Hkauri)	chest	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Sangkong	ŋgaŋ[55] **tan**[33]	chest	Li Yongsui 1991

(13) PTB *tsyal CHEST / RIB

1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**cha** chô-hna	chest	Matisoff 1987
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	**tie**	rib	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **chie**[55] tso[31] ru[31]	rib	Nienu 1990a:5.1.2
	(u) **cʰie**[55]	chest	Nienu 1990a:5.1
	tie ru	rib	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**chel**	chest	Burling 1992
	chel-chik	breast bone of a pig or human	Burling 1992
	chel-gok	chest	Burling 1992
	chel-tong	chest	Burling 1992
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	**cẽ**[1]	chest	unknown nd
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**cha** pa	chest	Marrison 1967
Phom	**ja** pa	chest	Marrison 1967
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Thakali (Tukche)	**'cahr**	rib	Matisoff 1987
	'cɔhr	rib	Hari 1971:2.A.34
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya [Minyak]	**zɻa**[35]mbɐ[55]	chest	Sun Hongkai 1991h:5.1
	zɻɐ[35]mbɐ[55]	bosom; chest	Sun Hongkai 1991h:1.9; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.15
Pumi (Lanping)	**tsiɛ̃**[13]po[13]	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tsiɛ̃**[13] po[13]	chest (of body); chest	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.11
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ta ro kə **ɟja**	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **zɻa**	chest	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.1

(14) PKir *pwam CHEST

2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***pom**	chest	Michailovsky 1991:27
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	soŋ **bep** mā	chest	Matisoff 1987
	sɔŋ **bɔp** ma	chest	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**pom**	chest	Michailovsky 1991:27
Kulung	**pəm**	chest	Michailovsky 1991:27
	pəm_	chest	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	**pwaam**	chest	Michailovsky 1991:27
	pwām	chest	Matisoff 1987
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**phõ**	breast / chest / bosom	Nishida 1964:202-071
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Qinghua)	**pu**[13]	chest (of body)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
4. Nungic			
Anong	gɑ[31]**phɑm**[55]	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.44

(15) NEIA *mlam CHEST

This weakly attested root requires further confirmation, although the Damu-Sumi comparison looks particularly good.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	ʔa-**mjam**	chest	Sun 1993b
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Kohima)	u **me** rü	chest	Marrison 1967
Chokri	u **mü** rü	chest	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **mla**	chest	Marrison 1967

(16) PTB *ŋaN CHEST

The position of articulation of the final nasal in this etymon is difficult to reconstruct based on the Rongmei, Tangkhul, and Khoirao reflexes; but perhaps the Sangkong form can settle the matter in favor of ***-ŋ***. For now, we symbolize the uncertainty by using an **N**.

1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	a **ngan**	chest	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	məi **ŋææŋ**	chest	Matisoff 1994e
	ngang	chest	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	ā **ŋām**	chest	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nasu	tɑ̲[21] **ŋgʰo̲**[21]	chest	Chen Kang 1986b:5.1
Yi (Liangshan)	**ŋɔ**[33]	chest (body part)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋɔ[33]mo[21]	chest (body part)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	**ŋɔ**[33]-mo[21]	chest	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋɔ[33]-mo[21] ko[33]	chest	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ŋɔ[33]mo[21]	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.35
	ŋɔ[33]mo[21]	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.21
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Sangkong	**ŋgaŋ**[55] tan[33]	chest	Li Yongsui 1991

(17) PTB *ki CHEST

This weakly attested root, with attestation only in Loloish and a couple of languages of Northeast India, requires further review.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	a **ki**	chest	Das Gupta 1963
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	ta **ki**	chest	Marrison 1967
	t̪ə̀ **kì**	chest	Acharya 1975
	t̪ə́ **kì**	chest	Acharya 1975
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Mao	ka **khe**	chest	Marrison 1967
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	ʔm̩[33] tu̱[55] **kʰe**[55]	chest	Chen Kang 1986b:5.1
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Caiyuan)	nɤ̲[31] **kʰe̲**[31]	chest (of body)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Ugong	wŭŋ **khjê**	chest	Bradley 1993:5.1

(18) PKir *ɟe RIB

Note the similarity to the NE Indian Areal Group root PTB ***tsyal*** CHEST / RIB (§1.4.4.3).

2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***ɟe** rem	rib	Michailovsky 1991:144
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	**jhe** rem	rib	Michailovsky 1991:144; Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**je:**-ri	rib	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:144
Thulung	**j(h)e:**-rem	rib	Michailovsky 1991:144
	jē-rem	rib	Matisoff 1987
	je: rem	rib	Allen 1975
	jhe: rem	rib	Allen 1975

(19) PTani *haŋ-braŋ ≍ *haŋ-kɯŋ CHEST

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***haŋ-braŋ/haŋ-kɯŋ**	chest	Sun 1993a:64
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**há-bjaŋ**	chest	Sun 1993b
	ha-brjā	chest; breast	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**haː-kɯŋ**	chest	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**hoŋ-boŋ**	chest; front; front (body part)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɦoŋ boŋ	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.24
	ɦoŋ boŋ	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɦoŋ boŋ**	chest; front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Miri, Hill	**habo**	chest	Simon 1976
Nishing	**habo**	chest	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**hakɯŋ**	chest	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**âng-keng**	chest	Matisoff 1987
	angkeng a long	breastbone / sternum	Matisoff 1987
	aŋ-kəŋ	chest	Sun 1993a

1.4.4.4 Ribs/Ribcage

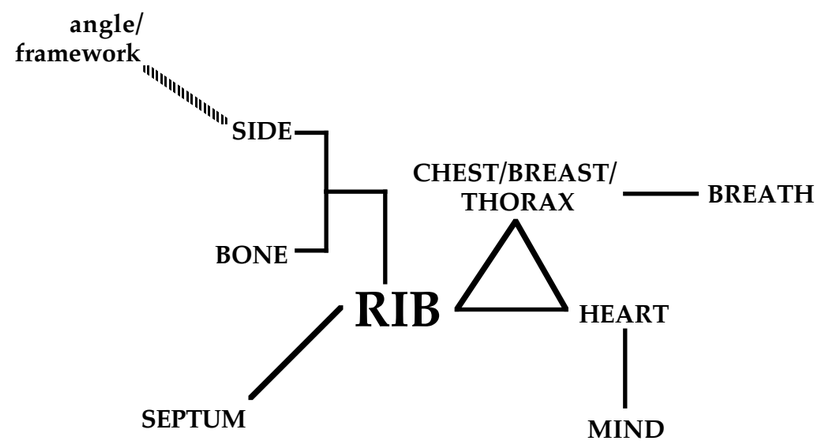


Figure 111: 1.4.4.4 *Ribs/Ribcage*

For the formations WAIST + BONE = RIB and BELLY + BONE = RIB, see Chapters 1.4.6 and 1.4.7.

The two roots PTB ***s-nam*** RIB (§1.4.4.4) and PTB ***s-ni*** HEART / BREAST / CHEST / RIB (§1.7.1) are sometimes difficult to distinguish, especially in Lolo-Burmese, but in general it seems that PTB ***s-nam*** RIB (§1.4.4.4) is more typical of Burmish, while PTB ***s-ni*** HEART / BREAST / CHEST / RIB (§1.7.1) is more typical of Loloish.

(1) PTB *s-ri $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{p}\\\mathbf{m}\end{matrix}$ RIB / SIDE

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**reb** bũ	bone	NEFA (India) 1963

	reb-bũ da:ng	bone	Matisoff 1987
	reb-bung	bone	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**ri** kui	lower ribs	Matisoff 1987
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	a **rep**	side	Matisoff 1987
	ke cheng (a **rep** i)	jaw	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	ke chèng(a-**rèp**-pî)	jaw	Grüssner 1979:43
	phangkor a **rep** i	collarbone / clavicle	Matisoff 1987
	rep	side (of body)	Marrison 1967
	rèp	side (left); side (right)	Grüssner 1979:193; Grüssner 1979:193
	rèp-pī	bone; skeleton	Grüssner 1979:193; Grüssner 1979:193
	rèp-ták	rib	Grüssner 1979:193
	rep i	bone	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	rep tak	rib	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	gə **rèp** nra	rib	Matisoff 1987
	ka **rep** nra	rib	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**ṣib**	rib	Sharma 1991a:5.1.2
Kanauri	**rib**	rib	Sharma 1988:13,29,57
	rib‘	rib (n.)	Bailey 1911
	rib‘	rib	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**rìš** pa	rib	Sharma 1991b:5.1.2
	r^{h}iṣ pa	rib	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**chim**-mą̄	rib	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Jirel)	**’cim**-aq	rib	Matisoff 1987
Sherpa	**cimq**	rib	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**tsē** ma	rib cage	Bishop 1989:5.1.1
Spiti	**si** wa	rib	Bodh 1991:5.1.2
Tibetan (Written)	**rtsib** ma	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.01
	rtsib(s)-ma	rib	Matisoff 1987
	rtsibs-ma	rib	Marrison 1967
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**-hrep**	septum	Matisoff 1987
	tŭk-nóm **hryep**/hrop	septum (of nose)	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{Bh}**rai**	rib	Mazaudon 1994:855
Gurung (Ghachok)	**req**-sį̄	rib	Matisoff 1987
	req sĩ	rib	Glover 1972:2.A.34
Manang (Gyaru)	**rɛː^{2}**	rib	Nagano 1984:034-02
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{2}rai**	rib (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:5.1.2
	^{2}rai	rib	Mazaudon 1994:855
Tamang (Sahu)	**’rāi**	rib	Matisoff 1987
	’rai	rib	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.32
	^{2}rai	rib	Mazaudon 1994:855
Tamang (Taglung)	**rai**	rib	Mazaudon 1994:855
Thakali (Marpha)	**^{45}re**	rib	Mazaudon 1994:865
Thakali (Syang)	**^{45}re**	rib	Mazaudon 1994:865
	^{545}re	rib	Mazaudon 1994:865
2.3. Kiranti: *__rem__ RIB			
**Kiranti*	*ɟe **rem**	rib	Michailovsky 1991:144
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**jEt**	bone	Michailovsky 1989b
	jɛt	bone	Michailovsky 1991:18
	yɛp pa	bone	Weidert 1987:173
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	**chem**	rib	Michailovsky 1991:144
	chem_	rib	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	jhe **rem**	rib	Michailovsky 1991:144; Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**rip**-tsa	breast	Michailovsky 1991:144
	rip tsho	rib; chest	Michailovsky 1991:145; Matisoff 1987
	tshep	rib (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.136,229
	tshep	rib	Michailovsky 1991:144
Sunwar	je:-**ri**	rib	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:144
Thulung	j(h)e:-**rem**	rib	Michailovsky 1991:144
	jē-**rem**	rib	Matisoff 1987
	je: **rem**	rib	Allen 1975
	jhe: **rem**	rib	Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**rip**	rib	Michailovsky 1991:145; Matisoff 1987
	rip	rib, ribs (n.)	Caughley 2000
	rip	rib	Caughley 1972:2.A.34
Chepang (Eastern)	**rip**	rib	Caughley 1990:5.1.2
7. Karenic: *__rəʔ^{D}__ FLANK, RIB			
**Karen*	***rəʔ^{D}**	flank, rib	Luangthongkum 2013:117
	***rə̀ʔ**	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
**Karen (TP)*	***rə̀ʔ**	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
**Karen [Burling]*	***ɣyʔ^{1}**	flank, rib	Luangthongkum 2013:117
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ɣỳʔ** xí	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
**Karen (Pwo)*	***ɣỳʔ** xwíq	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***ɣə̀ʔ** xìh	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
Kayah	**rɔ^{33}**	flank, rib	Luangthongkum 2013:117
Kayan	**rəʔ^{21}**	flank, rib	Luangthongkum 2013:117
Kayaw	**rə^{33}**	flank, rib	Luangthongkum 2013:117
Pa-O (Southern)	**rəʔ^{45}**	flank, rib	Luangthongkum 2013:117
Pa-O (Northern)	**rəʔ^{45}**	flank, rib	Luangthongkum 2013:117
Pa-O	**rə̀ʔ**	rib; side	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:181
	rɤ̀ʔ	side	Solnit 1989
Palaychi	**ɣí** xìq	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
Pwo (Northern)	**ɣəəʔ^{21}**	flank, rib	Luangthongkum 2013:117
Pwo (Southern)	**ɣəəʔ^{45}**	flank, rib	Luangthongkum 2013:117
Pwo (Bassein)	**ɣỳʔ** xwì	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ɣauʔ**-xwíq	side	Matisoff 1987
	ɣauʔ xwíʔ	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
Sgaw (Northern)	**ɣuʔ^{21}**	flank, rib	Luangthongkum 2013:117
Sgaw (Southern)	**ɣəi̯$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	flank, rib	Luangthongkum 2013:117
Sgaw (Bassein)	**ɣỳʔ** xí	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ɣỳʔ** xí	rib / side	Jones 1961:181

Chinese comparandum

Cf. 脅, Mand. **xié**, comparandum for PTB *__gyap__ NARROW / CROWDED (§7.1.2).

(2) PKar *s-nak RIB

7. Karenic			
**Karen (Sgaw)*	*θaʔ **ná**	chest	Jones 1961:410
**Karen (Pwo)*	*θáʔ **nà**	chest	Jones 1961:410
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	*θáʔ **náh**	chest	Jones 1961:410
Bwe	θa də **né**	chest (n.)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997
Palaychi	tàq **náq** shzùʔ	chest	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:410
Pwo (Bassein)	θàʔ **nà**	chest	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:410
Pwo (Moulmein)	θàʔ **nà**	chest	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:410
Sgaw (Bassein)	θaʔ **ná**	chest	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:410
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	tθa̱^{55} **na^{55}** bua^{31}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989k:120
Sgaw (Moulmein)	θaʔ **ná**	chest	Jones 1961:410
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	θa̱ʔ^{55} **na^{55}** pua^{31}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989j:120

(3) PTB *__s__ __b__ -ram RIB

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Ao*	*t-**(p-)ɹəm**	WAIST	Bruhn 2014a:II.321
Ao (Chungli)	tə^{2}-**pə^{2}ɹəm^{3}**	waist, lower back (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.321
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te **cham**	rib	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *__raap__ RIB			
**Tangkhulic*	***raap**	rib	Mortensen 2012:530
Huishu	ʔa-**raʔ**-t^{h}ɐŋ	rib	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.097
	ʔa-**raʔ**-t^{h}ɐŋ-ruk	rib cage	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.096
Kachai	ʔa-**rop**	rib; bosom; torso; trunk	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.118
	ʔa-**rop**-t^{h}ɐŋ	rib cage	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.117
Tangkhul	ā-**rāp** thiŋ-ra	rib	Matisoff 1987
	a **rap** thing	rib	Marrison 1967
Tusom	ʔɯ-**rɯə**-t^{h}ɯ̃	ribcage	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.128
Ukhrul	ʔa-**rap**	rib	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**rɐp**-t^{h}iŋ-rɐ	rib	Mortensen 2012
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ɦgram**	side (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0709.01
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	a-**ram**	bridge of nose	Matisoff 1987
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Chamling	**syam** bu	chest	Winter 1985:34
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	**rahm**	rib	Matisoff 1987
	rəhm	rib	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.34
Magar	mi-**rhām**	rib	Matisoff 1987
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**śi̯wɑ^{1}**	rib	Sofronov c1978
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	nɑ^{55} **ro^{55}**	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991d
Guiqiong	nɔ̃^{35} **tɕe^{53}**	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991e
	nɑ̃^{55}**tɕe^{55}**	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.16
Qiang (Mawo)	**χaˈː** z	rib	Sun 1986
	χəˈ	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.1.2
	χɑːˈ	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.08
Qiang (Yadu)	**xæ**	rib	Dai Qingxia 1989q:168
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	no **p^{h}ʐau**	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991b:5.1.2
Ergong (Northern)	nəu^{53} **ɕa^{33}**	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.1.2
4. Nungic			
Rawang	**sərɑm^{31}**	rib	LaPolla 2003:152
Trung [Dulong]	**bɹam^{42}**	rib	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	**puɪ^{31}ɹɑm^{53}**	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.20
6.1.1. Burmish			
Lashi	nam^{31} **tʃham^{55}** jou^{33}	rib cage; rib	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.1.1; Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.1.2
Leqi (Luxi)	nam^{31}**tʃham^{55}**	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.33
Maru [Langsu]	nɛ^{31} **tʃhɛ̃^{35}** ɣuk^{55}	rib cage; rib	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.1.1; Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.1.2
Atsi [Zaiwa]	nam^{51}**tʃham^{21}**	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.30

(4) PTB *s-nam RIB

3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	Bǐe̱-**now**	rib	Nishida 1964:186
	now	rib	Nishida 1964:41-102
	no^{1}	rib	Sofronov c1978
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**nɑ^{55}** ro^{55}	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991d
Guiqiong	**nɔ̃^{35}** tɕe^{53}	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991e
	nɑ̃^{55}tɕe^{55}	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.16
Muya	**no^{55}**pɐ^{33}	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.15
Muya [Minyak]	**no^{35}**pɐ^{53}	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991h:5.1.2
Pumi (Lanping)	**nõ^{55}**	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.09
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**no** p^{h}ʐau	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991b:5.1.2
Ergong (Northern)	**nəu^{53}** ɕa^{33}	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.1.2
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ta **rnam**	rib	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.1.2
	ta **rnam** ŋk^{h}ug ŋk^{h}uŋ	rib cage	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.1.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **rnam** ʃɐre	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.1.2
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **rnam**	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.1.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **rnəm**	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.1.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **rnɑm** ʃɐ rə	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.11
rGyalrong	ta **rnam**	rib cage	Nagano 1997:5.1.1
	ta **rnam** sha rA	rib	Nagano 1997:5.1.2
rGBenzhen	tɐ-**rnɐm**	rib	Sun 1997b
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *__ʔ-nam^{1}__ SIDE / RIB			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-nam^{1}**	side / rib	Matisoff 2003a:604
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola	**nɛ̃^{55}** tʃ^{h}ɛ̃^{35}	rib	Dai Qingxia 1989g:161
Bola (Luxi)	**nɛ̃^{55}**tʃhɛ̃^{35}	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.32
Burmese (Modern)	**naɯ̀^{3}**	side of body, rib	Luce 1985:V.52
Burmese (Rangoon)	**nɑ̃^{22}**jo^{55}	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.27
Burmese (Written)	**naɯ̀**	side of body, rib	Luce 1985:V.52
	nam-rûi	rib	Matisoff 1987
	naɯ̀ rui:	rib	Marrison 1967

	nɑm̀²ro³	rib (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.26
Lashi	**nam³¹** tʃham⁵⁵ jou³³	rib cage; rib	DAI Qingxia 1989m:5.1.1; DAI Qingxia 1989m:5.1.2
Leqi (Luxi)	**nam³¹**tʃham⁵⁵	rib (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.33
Maru [Langsu]	**nɛ³¹** tʃhɛ̃³⁵ ɣuk⁵⁵	rib cage; rib	DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.1.1; DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.1.2
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nam⁵¹**tʃham²¹	rib (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.30

(5) PTB *s-riŋ RIB

This root remains poorly attested. It is possible that it is ultimately related to the allofam **ryaŋ** of PTB ***g-r(w/y)a(ŋ/k)*** BONE / SKELETON (§1.6.3).

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Sangtam	**thring** rü	rib	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	ā-rāp **thiŋ**-ra	rib	Matisoff 1987
	a rap **thing**	rib	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	ʔa-rɐp-**tʰiŋ**-rɐ	rib	Mortensen 2012

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung (Ghachok)	req-**si̯**	rib	Matisoff 1987
	req **sĩ**	rib	Glover 1972:2.A.34

(6) PKC *naak ≍ *-hnaak RIB / SIDE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***naak ≍ -hnaak**	RIB / SIDE	VanBik 2009:829

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	**nah** gu	rib	Haokip 1998:5.1.2
	nah gu bom	rib cage	Haokip 1998:5.1.1
Thado	**nâʔ**	rib	VanBik 2009:829
Tiddim	**na:k**¹ gu?³	rib bone	Bhaskararao 1996:1184
	na:k¹gu?¹	rib bone	VanBik 2009:829
	ˊna:k	rib (n.)	Henderson 1965
	ˊna:k	rib	Matisoff 1987

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**pnaa**	side of body	VanBik 2009:829

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hnaak**	rib	VanBik 2009:829
Lai (Falam)	**hnâak**	rib	VanBik 2009:829
Lai (Hakha)	**hnɑɑk** ruh	rib (n.)	VanBik 1995–
Lushai [Mizo]	**nâak**	side (n.)	VanBik 2009:829
	nâk ruh	rib	Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967
	na:k ruh	rib	Bhaskararao 1996:1184

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	mə **nək**	rib	Toba & Kom 1991:5.1.2
	mə **nək** ru	rib cage	Toba & Kom 1991:5.1.1
Moyon	mʌ **náʔ**	rib	Kosha 1990:5.1.2

1.4.5 Sides

SIDE —— **RIBS**

Figure 112: 1.4.5 *Sides*

(1) PTB *pa $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ SIDE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ɓa(a)ŋ ≍ *pa(a)ŋ*** WALL / FLANK / SIDE

**Chin*	***ɓa(a)ŋ ≍ pa(a)ŋ**	WALL / FLANK / SIDE	VanBik 2009:55

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**bang**	wall	VanBik 2009:55
Sizang	**bang**	wall	VanBik 2009:55
Thado	**bâaŋ**	wall	VanBik 2009:55
Tiddim	**pangʔ**³	side	VanBik 2009:55

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	a **paung**	wall	VanBik 2009:55
Cho (Mindat)	**pang**	wall	VanBik 2009:55
Khumi	**tpaáng**	wall	VanBik 2009:55

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	vâam **pàŋ**	wall, flank, side	VanBik 2009:55
Lushai [Mizo]	**băng**	wall (as of stockade, fortification, etc) (n.)	VanBik 2009:55

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	và **pà**	wall	VanBik 2009:55

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***bak** SIDE*

**Tangkhulic*	***bak**	side	Mortensen 2012:718
Kachai	ʔa-tɕa-**wa**	right side	Mortensen 2012
Tusom	ʔə-sam-**pa**	right hand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.172
Ukhrul	ja-**vak**	right side	Mortensen 2012
	juj-**vak**	left side	Mortensen 2012

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nasu	fɵ³³ **pʰa̱²¹**	side (left)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.3
	ne²¹ **pʰa̱³³**	rib	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.1.2
	se⁵⁵ **pʰa̱²¹**	side (right)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.2
Yi (Liangshan)	n̥o⁵⁵**pho²¹**	across from; far side	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	pho³³	area (portion) [classifier]; batch [classifier]; portion [classifier]	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**pho³³**po³³sɿ³³	reverse side (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0997.37
Yi (Weishan)	**pho³³**	reverse side (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0997.36
Yi (Wuding)	bu³³**phɑ̱²**	side (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0709.38
	tʂhɿ³³ **phɑ̱²**	this side / here (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0945.38
	ɣɯ⁵⁵**phɑ̱²**	that side / there (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.38
	ʈɒ⁵⁵**phɑ̱²**	direction / orientation (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0703.38
Yi (Xide)	pu̱³³**phɑ³³**tɕo²¹	reverse side (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0997.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	a⁴⁴**pɔ⁴⁴**	direction / orientation (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0703.44
	khə⁴² **pɔ⁴⁴**	that side / there (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.44
	ɕi³¹ **pɔ⁴⁴**	this side / here (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0945.44
Kucong	a31 tha31 **pɔ35**	upper side	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	la31 fa33 **pɔ35**	left (side)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	la31 ʑɛ31 **pɔ35**	right (side)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	tshɔ31 **pɔ35**	this side	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***hpawˇ**	side	Bradley 1979b:460
Lahu (Lancang)	o⁵³ **phɔ⁵³**	that side / there (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.43
	phɔ⁵³lo³³	direction / orientation (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0703.43
	tɕho³¹**phɔ⁵³**	this side / here (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0945.43
Lahu (Black)	ɔ³¹pʌ³¹**phɔ⁵³**	side	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:55.33
	ɔ³¹xɔ³⁵**phɔ⁵³**	back (direction)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:52.33
	ɣu⁵³sɻ¹¹**phɔ⁵³**	front	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:51.33
Lisu (Northern)	dʑæ³³**phɤ³³**	roadside (the sunny side); the wild (poetic)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	go³³ **po⁵⁵**	that side / there (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.40
	hpaw²	side	Bradley 1979b:460
Lisu (Central)	**hpaw²**	side (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	mi³³**phɤ³³**	sunny side of hill; sunny side	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	**phɔ**	side, direction	Hansson 1989:258
Akha (Yunnan)	**phɔ**	side, direction	Hansson 1989:258
Hani (Lüchun)	ba dzé **pho**	side	Hansson 1989:40
	pho	side, direction	Hansson 1989:258
	ø⁵⁵ **phø³³**	that side / there (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.41
	ɕi⁵⁵**phø³³**	this side / here (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0945.41
Hani (Shuikui)	**pɔ³¹** tsɛ⁵⁵ fɔ³³	side	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:55.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**pɔ⁵⁵**tsɛ⁵⁵	side (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0709.42

Chinese comparandum

旁 OC ***b'wâŋ***, *GSR* #740f' 'side'; B & S 2011: ***bˤaŋ {[b]ˤaŋ}***; Mand. **páng**.

(2) PTB *z $\begin{matrix}\text{u}\\\text{i}\end{matrix}$ r EDGE / CORNER / SIDE

Although many of the Himalayan forms appear to be loans from Tibetan, the presence of the same root in Kuki-Chin makes it clear that this is a general TB root.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***si(i)r** LATERAL / SIDE*

**Chin*	***si(i)r**	LATERAL / SIDE	VanBik 2009:657

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**siik**	lateral	VanBik 2009:657
Thado	**sí?**	lateral, side	VanBik 2009:657

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**sîir**	lateral, side	VanBik 2009:657
Lai (Falam)	**sîir**	lateral, side	VanBik 2009:657
Lushai [Mizo]	**sír**	side (of anything) (n.)	VanBik 2009:657

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**ser**	side	Bhat 1968

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	**chur** kå	corner	Brown 1895:64

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**zĭr**	corner (n.)	Bailey 1911

2.1.2. BODIC

Motuo Menba	**zur**	corner / angle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0716.07
Cuona Menba	**zur³⁵**	corner / angle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0716.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**sər**	corner / angle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0716.05
	sər khæ	edge / rim / margin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0718.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**sər** ka	edge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:61.4
Tibetan (Written)	sta-**zur**	hip, hipbone; hip	Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967
	zur	edge / corner / side	Matisoff 1987
	zur	corner / angle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0716.01
	zur	edge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:61.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**sər** ka	corner / angle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0716.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**dyer**	side	Matisoff 1987
	tŭk-**jer**	side	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^**zur**	corner	Mazaudon 1994:998
Manang (Prakaa)	³**sur**	corner	Mazaudon 1994:998
Tamang (Sahu)	**'su:hr**	corner (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.05
	'su:hr	corner	Taylor *et al.* 1972:6.5
Thakali	**suhr**	corner (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.05
Thakali (Tukche)	**suhr**	corner	Hari 1971:6.A.5.2
	³**sur**	corner	Mazaudon 1994:998

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**or** dɔ̃:h	leg (side of)	Watters & Watters 1989
	or la	side	Watters & Watters 1989

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Caodeng	sndɐ-**vzər**	corner (of wall)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	te **zur**	corner / angle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0716.11
rGBenzhen	tə-**zur**	corner	Sun 1997b
	tə-**zuʔr**	corner	Sun 1997b

Chinese comparandum

陬 OC ***tsu**/*tsi̯u***, *GSR* #1311 'angle, corner'; Schuessler 2007:635 ***tso***; Mand. **zōu**.

(3) PTani *ɦar EDGE (of knife)

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***ɦar**	edge (of knife)	Sun 1993a:121

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**hár**	cut up (animal killed)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	(rjuk-)**hɯr**	edge (of knife)	Sun 1993a
	rjuk-**hɯr**	blade of knife	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-**ar**	blade	Sun 1993b
	ar	edge (of knife)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ar**	edge (of knife)	Sun 1993a
Damu	jok-**fiar**	edge of knife	Sun 1993b

(4) PCC *tlaaŋ EDGE / BORDER / RIM

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***tlaaŋ**	EDGE / BORDER / RIM	VanBik 2009:1258
Lai (Hakha)	**tlâaŋ**	edge, rim	VanBik 2009:1258
Lushai [Mizo]	**tláang**	border (as of cloth, etc), edge (of table, box, basin, pot, etc), rim, brim	VanBik 2009:1258

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**tlà**	border of a cloth, the rim of a pot, the brim (n.)	VanBik 2009:1258

(5) PTB *m-dzya EDGE / SIDE

This root has been uncovered in both Qiangic and Loloish. The nasal prefix is reflected by the voiced Lahu initial.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-dzya**	edge / side	Matisoff 2003a:588

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**-ja:**	edge, blade	Michailovsky 1989b

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**tɕhi^{55}**	edge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:61.18
Guiqiong	**jɛ̃^{55}**kɑ^{55}	edge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:61.17
Muya [Minyak]	**zyi^{35}**	edge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:61.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ʐui^{11}**mbe^{35}	edge / rim / margin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0718.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**dzə^{55}**pe^{13}	side (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0709.09
	dzə^{55}to^{55}	edge / rim / margin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0718.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**dzə^{55}** pe^{13}	side	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:55.11
	dzə^{55}to^{55}	edge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:61.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**zi^{35}**pe^{35}	edge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:61.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**tɕà** (piá) qó	knife edge	Evans 1999:764
	tɕà qó	knife edge	Evans 1999:764
Qiang (Mawo)	**zi** ka	edge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:61.8
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ze^{13}**ʂkha^{55}	edge / rim / margin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0718.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**zi^{55}**kha^{53}	edge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:61.16
Xumi	**zɻ^{33}**lɑ^{55}	edge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:61.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**zʌ^{13}**	edge / rim / margin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0718.14

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu	**jâ**	side	Benedict 1972:38n123
Lahu (Black)	ɔ^{31}**dzʌ^{54}**	edge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:61.33

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	bɛ **dzé** ?	edge	Hansson 1989:202
Akha (Thai)	bɛ-**dzé**	edge	Hansson 1989:202

1.4.6 Waist

The Angami, Jirel, Kulung, Moyon, Bodo, Lalung, and Apatani forms appear to be closely related.

Note the relation WAIST + BONE = RIB in Phunoi **ʔã cò** 'waist', **ʔã^{55} co^{11} jɑu^{11}** 'rib' (**jɑu^{11}** is 'bone'); for the similar construction BELLY + BONE = RIB, see Chapter 1.4.7.

Note that in the Loloish languages (e.g. Lisu, Xide, Gazhuo), compounds for WAIST often have PTB ***tsik** JOINT (§1.5.8) as a constituent; these morphemes should not be confused with PTB ***m-(t)syi(ŋ/k)** WAIST / LOWER BACK / LOINS (§1.4.6).

Note the following NE Indian 'parallel' binomes which appear to have the same etymological structure, all glossed 'waist': Meluri **a-khü-shi**; Miji **gɯ-tsiʔ**; Miri **ki-čik**; Galo **pak-pu-cik** (last syllable only); Ntenyi **a-khü-shü**. The final syllables may be stop-final allofams of PTB ***m-(t)syi(ŋ/k)** WAIST / LOWER BACK / LOINS (§1.4.6); the first syllables may possibly be related to PTB ***k(r)aw ≍ *k(y)aw** BACK (§1.4.8) or PTB ***krya(t/n)** WAIST / LOINS (§1.4.6).

(1) PTB *gyu-k ≍ *dzyu-k WAIST

Written Burmese has a doublet **krô ~ kyô** 'back' ≍ **kyok** 'back of an animal', **kyok-kap** 'kidney', indicating that the final velar stop was sometimes treated as a suffix and dropped.

It is sometimes difficult to say to which of these allofams a Loloish or Qiangic open-syllable reflex belongs.

The Bisu doublet **kjɔ̀ ~ tšɔ̀** clearly justifies the allofamic reconstruction with both a palatalized velar and a palatal affricate initial.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gyuk**	waist	Matisoff 2003a:592

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	auʔ gi-**gja**	waist	Sun 1993b
	gɯ-**gja**	waist	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	a^{31}**tɕ^{h}u^{55}**be^{55}	waist	Sun Hongkai 1991f:5.6
	a^{31}**tɕhu^{55}**be^{55}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.50
Yidu	a^{31}**tɕhu^{55}**be^{55}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.25

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Kohima)	(u) thu^{31} **jo^{11}**	buttocks	Nienu 1990a:5.10.1
Chokri	(u) tho^{31} **jo^{11}**	buttocks	Nienu 1990b:5.10.1
Mao	**chü** khei	waist	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	sing-jen~**joi** shang	waist (poetic)	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	coŋ **gro**	buttocks; hips	Sharma 1991a:5.10.1; Sharma 1991a:5.8.1
Pattani [Manchati]	**tʃ^{h}o** ri	buttocks	Sharma 1982
	tʃ^{h}o ri a	buttocks	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**ndzɔ^{13}** rɑ^{53}	hipbone	Sun Hongkai 1991a:5.8.2

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yakha	to:k **ca** li sa:	haunches (of animal)	Kohn 1990:5.8.3

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	dhang-**kok**	kidney	Rai *et al.* 1984:26

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**dʒu^{55}**	waist; kidney	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.18
Guiqiong	**ʐo^{35}**	waist; kidney	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.17
	ʐuɔ^{35}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.16
Lyuzu	**dʐu^{35}**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.18
Namuyi	**dʐu^{33}**	waist; kidney	Sun Hongkai 1991i:5.6; Sun Hongkai 1991i:9.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.19
	dʐu^{33}tsɛ^{33}tsɛ^{33}	back; back (of body)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:5.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.19
	dʐu^{31}mi^{31}da^{5}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**dʑi^{35}**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**dʒə^{13}**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**dʒə^{13}**	waist	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**dʑi^{35}**	waist	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	dʑi ^{35}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**dzə** zdi gɹu	waist	Sun 1986
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tɕi^{53}**	waist	Sun Hongkai 1991n:5.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.16
Xumi	**tɕhe^{55}** sə̃^{33}	waist	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.20

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**dʑau**	waist	Sun Hongkai 1991b:5.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.14
Ergong (Daofu)	**dʑɑu** zgrə	hunchback	Dai Qingxia 1989b:5.5.6

4. Nungic

Rawang	**dʑuʔ**	waist	LaPolla 2003:109

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***gyuk^{L} ≍ *džuk^{L}** WAIST

**Lolo-Burmese*	***gyok ≍ džok**	waist	Matisoff 1972b:6
	***gyok^{L} ≍ jok^{L}**	waist / small of back	Matisoff 1978a:13
	***gyuk^{L} ≍ džuk^{L}**	waist	Matisoff 2003a:592

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	lɑ^{31} **ʑɑu^{55}**	waist	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola	**tʃ^{h}au^{55}** pauŋ^{55}	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989g:122
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕɑuʔ^{4}**kɑʔ^{4}	kidney (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0146.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕɔ^{55}**	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.40
	tɕɑuʔ^{44}kɑʔ^{44}	kidney	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.40
Burmese (Written)	**kjɔk** kɑp	kidney	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.39
	kjɔk^{4}kaṗ^{4}	kidney (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0146.26
	kjɔ^{3}	back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.26
	kjɔ^{3}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.39
	kro	back	Okell 1971
	krô	back (cf. kyok) (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	kro kun:	back (body)	Marrison 1967
	kyô	back (cf. kyok) (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	kyok	smallpox, cowpox; back of an animal (cf. krô, kyô)	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1976a
	kyok-kap	kidney	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:13
	kyok-kûn	back	Matisoff 1987
	kyok kap	kidney	Marrison 1967
Lashi	**tʃhă^{55}** khuŋ^{55}	buttocks; hips	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.10.1; Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.8.1
	tʃhă^{55} khuŋ^{55} jou^{33}	hipbone	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.8.2
Maru [Langsu]	**tʃhauʔ^{55}** pau^{31}	buttocks; hips	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.10.1; Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.8.1
	tʃhauʔ^{55} pau^{31} ɣuk^{55}	hipbone	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.8.2
	tʃhauʔ^{55}pau^{31}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.43
Tavoyan	**cò**	back	Okell 1971

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***gyaw^{2}** / ap^{L}	waist	Bradley 1979b:118
Lolopho	**dʐo^{31}** tɕi^{55}	small of back; waist	Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.5.3; Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.6
PNL	**džok^{L}**	waist	Chen Kang 1986a:90.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**tso^{53}** tsɻ^{35}	small of back; waist	Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.5.3; Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.6
	tso^{53}tsɻ^{24}	waist	Mu Shihua 2003
	tso^{53}tsɻ^{35}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.47
Lalo	**djòq**	waist	Björverud 1994
	dzo^{21}	waist	Chen Kang 1986b:5.6
	dzo^{2}	waist	Chen Kang 1986a:90.
Lipho	**dʐu^{2}**	waist	Chen Kang 1986a:90.
	dʐu^{21}tsi^{33}	waist	Chen Kang 1986b:5.6
	dʐu^{21}tsi^{33}vu^{21}kɤ^{33}	spine	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.4
Luquan	**dzɔ 55**	waist	Matisoff 1972b:6
Nasu	**džu 42**	waist	Matisoff 1972b:6
	dzo^{55}	waist	Chen Kang 1986a:90.; Chen Kang 1986b:5.6
	dzo^{55} ɣɯ^{33}	backbone / spine	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.4
	dzo^{55} ɣɯ^{33} ʈu^{33}	spinal cord	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.5
Nesu	**dzu^{2}**	waist	Chen Kang 1986a:90.
	dʐu^{21}	waist	Chen Kang 1986b:5.6
	dʐu^{21} tsɻ̄^{21} tu^{55}	spinal cord	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.5
	dʐu^{21} tsɻ̄^{21} ɣɤ^{33}	backbone / spine	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.4
Nosu	**dʑu^{55}**	waist	Chen Kang 1986a:90.
	dʑu^{55}tsɻ^{33}vu^{33}	spine	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.4
Nusu (Central)	**dzu^{55}**	waist	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**dzu^{55}**	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**dʑu^{31}**	waist	Dai Qingxia 1989o:121.
Nusu (Central)	**dʑu^{53}**	waist	Dai Qingxia 1989p:121.
Nusu (Northern)	**dʑu^{53}**	waist	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**dʑu^{53}**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.34
Yi (Dafang)	**dzɔ^{13}**	waist	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʤu^{55}**	waist	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʤu^{55}sɻ^{21}	back, lower (person's body); waist	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index

Yi (Mile)	**dʐu̱**^{21}tsi̱^{55}ɣɯ^{21}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dʐu̱**^{21}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dʐu̱**^{21}ɣɯ^{21}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.24
	dʐu̱^{21}ɤɯ̱^{21}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**dzo**^{21}	waist	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.23
Yi (Weishan)	**dʐo**^{21}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.36
Yi (Wuding)	**dʐu̱**^{55}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.38
Yi (Xide)	**dʑu̱**^{53}ʂ^{21}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.35
	dʑu̱^{55}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.35
	dʑu^{55} ʂ^{21}	waist	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	dʑu^{55}-tsɿ̄^{33}-vu^{33}	back (body)	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	dʑu^{55}ʂ^{21}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.21
	dʑu^{55}tsɿ̄^{33}vu^{33}	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**dzu 44s**	waist	Matisoff 1972b:6
	dzu̱^{2}	waist	Chen Kang 1986a:90.
	dzu̱^{21} tsi̱^{55} ɣɯ^{21}	waist	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.6
	dzu̱^{21}ɣɯ^{21}	waist	Chen Kang 1986b:5.6
	pʻɑ^{22} **zo**^{21}	small of back	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.5.3
	ʧʻu^{21} **tʂo̱**^{55} gu̱^{21}	groin; loins (i.e. hips to thighs); hipbone	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.10; Luo Meizhen 1990:5.8.2
Jinuo	a^{33}**ʧo**^{55}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **ʧo**^{55}	waist	Dai Qingxia 1989h:124
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{44} **ʧu**^{55}	waist	Dai Qingxia 1989i:124
Jinuo	a^{44}**ʧo**^{55}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33} **ʧo**^{55}	waist	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**tsɔ31**	waist	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Shehleh)	**caw**ˆ	waist / back (lower)	Bradley 1979a:118
**Common Lahu*	***caw**ˆ	waist	Bradley 1979b:118
Lahu (Nyi)	**caw**ˆ gʼawˇ	waist / back (lower)	Bradley 1979a:118
Lahu	**cɔ̀ʔ**-pɛ̄-ni	waist / small of back	Matisoff 1978b:(2)
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕɔ**^{21}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.43
Lahu (Black)	**cɔ̀ʔ**	lower back; loins; lumbar region; waist; small of back	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:13; Matisoff 1972b:6
	cɔ̀ʔ-cɨ́(-qhwèʔ)	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	cɔ̀ʔ-pɛ̄/cɛ̄-ni	waist	Matisoff 1987
	tsɔ^{21}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.33
	tsɔʔ^{21}	waist	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsɔʔ^{21} qɔ^{53}	back (of body)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.33
Lisu (Nujiang)	**dʒo**^{31} tsɿ^{55}	waist	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**dʒo**^{31}tsɿ^{55}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.27
	dʐo^{31}tsi^{55}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.40
	ju^{5}-tsi^{3}	waist	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:6
Lisu (Central)	**ju**^{5}-tsi^{3}	waist	Fraser 1922
Sani [Nyi]	**dzo**^{2}	waist	Chen Kang 1986a:90.
	dzo^{22}	waist	Chen Kang 1986b:5.6
	dzo^{21}	waist	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	dzo̱^{21}tsi^{55}ɣɯ^{21}	backbone	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	dzu 22s	waist	Matisoff 1972b:6
Yi (Sani)	**dzu̱**^{2}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**jo LS**	waist	Matisoff 1972b:6
	joˆ	waist	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	aŋ **tjɔ**	waist	Beaudouin 1988:16
	kjɔ̀ ~ tšɔ̀	waist	Matisoff 1972b:6
	ʔaŋ **kjɔ̀** / **tɕɔ̀**	waist	Bradley 1979b
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**tʂu 21**	waist	Matisoff 1972b:6
Mpi	ʔoʔ^{2}-**tɕoʔ**^{2}	waist; small of back	Matisoff 1978a:13; Bradley 1979b; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	ã **co**^{31}	waist	Ferlus 1991:5.6
	ʔã **cɔ̀ʔ**	waist	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ **cɔ̀** yàu̱	rib	Matisoff 1987
	ʔɑ́ **cò**	waist	Bradley 1979b
	ʔɑ̃^{55} **co**^{11}	waist	Bradley 1977
	ʔɑ̃^{55} **co**^{11} jɑu^{11}	rib	Bradley 1977
Sangkong	aŋ^{33} **tɕo**^{31}	waist	Li Yongsui 1991
Sila	a21 **tɕo̱21**	waist	Kato Takashi 2008:30
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**tsɔ**^{22}tsi̱^{45}	waist	Pelkey 2011:306
Phola	**tɕɔ**^{55}tɕi^{31}	waist	Pelkey 2011:306
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Yongning)	**dʐə**^{33}mi^{33}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.29

(2) PTB *k(w)a ŋ/k WAIST / HIPS / BUTTOCKS / TAIL / BACK

1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	a^{33}n̥uk^{33}**kuaŋ**^{33}	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.52
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	e-**kong**	buttock	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	în-**kok**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**kâwng**	hip	Marrison 1967
	kawng	lower back; loins; lumbar region	Matisoff 1987; Bhaskararao 1996:677
	kawng-hren	loin cloth (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2521
	kawng fên	loincloth	Marrison 1967
	kawng hren	belt (girdle)	Marrison 1967
	tai, **kâwng**	waist	Marrison 1967
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**koŋ**	back; waist	Toba & Kom 1991:5.5; Toba & Kom 1991:5.6
	koŋ in k^{h}ur	hunchback	Toba & Kom 1991:5.5.6
	koŋ kəsin	small of back	Toba & Kom 1991:5.5.3
	koŋ ru	vertebrae (of spine)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.4.2
	t^{h}uiteŋa **koŋ**	lower back	Toba & Kom 1991:5.5.2
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**khang** khen	hip	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**khang** dong	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	te long **kung**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Sema [Sumi]	ai **ku**	hip	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	dang **kang**	hip	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**kong**	waist	Marrison 1967
	mai **kwok**	hip	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi **kua**	hip	Marrison 1967
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**khwang**	waist	Marrison 1967
	khwang li	belt (girdle)	Marrison 1967
	khwang phi	loincloth	Marrison 1967
	khwaŋ	waist	Singh 1991:5.6
	k^{h}waŋ	waist	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	niŋ **goŋ**	pelvis / pelvic girdle	Singh 1991:5.8
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	jeng **khong**	waist	Marrison 1967
Lalung [Tiwa]	**khan** galʔ	waist	Balawan 1965:12
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	ja-**kā**^{2}	waist	unknown nd
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	^{2}tam^{2}ra^{1}**khoŋ**	backbone / spine	Weidert 1987:828
Tangsa	^{3}rʌi^{3}**khoŋ**	back	Weidert 1987:828
Tangsa (Yogli)	**kheng** pang	back (body)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak (Wakching)	**goŋ**	anus	Weidert 1987:1
Wancho	me **kua**	tail	French 1983; Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	dang-**kang**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	dàŋ-**kāŋ**	buttocks	Matisoff 1974:54
	taŋ^{31}**kaŋ**^{33}	buttocks (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.19
	taŋ^{31}**kaŋ**^{33}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.47
	^{1}daŋ^{2}**kaŋ**-^{2}khu	anus	Weidert 1987:1
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Ganan	miʔ^{3}**kʻu**^{2}	tail	Luce 1985:L.151
Kadu	mɛ^{4}**ku**^{2}	tail	Luce 1985:G.50
Kadu (Kantu)	mɛ^{4}**ku**^{2}	tail	Luce 1985:L.151
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	pa **khön**	tail	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	mè **ku** Tu	tail (of animal)	Sharma 1991b:5.10.3
	me **ku** ʈu	tail (of animal)	Sharma 1982
Thebor	me-**kon**	tail	LaPolla 1987:84; Benedict 1972:282
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	tsing **khang**	backbone / spine	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 10
Tsangla (Motuo)	ts^{h}iŋ **k^{h}aŋ** duŋ ɕiŋ	back	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	tsiŋ-**k^{h}aŋ**	back (of body)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Jirel)	pi **koq**	lower back; loins; lumbar region; buttock	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Sherpa	**'gong** dok	buttock; hip	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Written)	byaṅ-**k'og**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}p^{h}ul p^{h}ul ^{3}**kaŋ**	buttocks (gn.)	Mazaudon 1991:5.10.1
	^{1}ts^{h}i: ma ^{3}**kaŋ**	hip	Mazaudon 1991:5.8.1
Thakali (Tukche)	'pi ku **kāhng**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	'pi ku **kahŋ**	buttock	Hari 1971:2.A.45
	koh **kuhng** naTi	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	koh **kuhŋ** nɔʈi	backbone / spine	Hari 1971:2.A.32
2.2. Newar			
Newar	nhi pyɔ̄ **kwẽ**	tailbone / coccyx	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.10.2
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	mu **gɔk** ma	buttocks	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	mi: **gɔk**	small of back	Kohn 1990:5.5.3
	mi lak se:ŋ **kwɔk**	tailbone / coccyx	Kohn 1990:5.10.2
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**keN** TaN huT	anus	Rai 1985
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	(mi^{31}**kuɛ**^{55}) thu^{55}tsu^{55}	raise (the tail) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1572.16
	gi^{35} **kuɔ̃**^{53}	back; back (of body)	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.17
	gi^{35}**kuɑ̃**^{55}	back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.16
	mi^{33} **kue**^{53}	tail	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.17
	mi^{55}**kuɛ**^{55}	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.16
Namuyi	mɛ^{33}**qu**^{55}	tail (of animal); tail	Sun Hongkai 1991i:5.10.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.19
	mæ^{31}**ku**^{31}	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.46
Pumi (Taoba)	**kua**^{35}n̥ã^{53}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.10
Qiang (Longxi)	suà **kà**	tail	Evans 1999:334
Qiang (Mawo)	su **ka**	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.8
	su **kuæ**	tail (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.10.3
	su **ka**	tail	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	sɛ **kuɛ**	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	suà **kè**	tail	Evans 1999:334
Qiang (Taoping)	suɑ^{55} **kie**^{33}	tail	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.9
Qiang (Yadu)	si **kue**	tail	Dai Qingxia 1989q:334
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**kɔŋ**^{55}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. Tujia			
Tujia	se^{21} **ku**^{21} ti^{55}	hips	Chen Kang 1986c:5.8.1
6.1.1. Burmish			
Lashi	lɔʔ^{31} nuŋ^{55} **khuŋ**^{33}	back of hand	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.1.7.2
	nuŋ^{55} **khuŋ**^{33}	back	Dai Qingxia 1989m:1.4
	nuŋ^{55} **khuŋ**^{33} jou^{33}	backbone / spine	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.5.4
	tʃhɜ̆^{55} **khuŋ**^{55}	buttocks; hips	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.10.1; Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.8.1
	tʃhɜ̆^{55} **khuŋ**^{55} jou^{33}	hipbone	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.8.2
Maru [Langsu]	lɔʔ^{31} **kauŋ**^{31} tɔ̃^{55}	back of hand	Dai Qingxia 1989l:6.1.7.2
	ɔ^{31} mɛ^{31} **kauŋ**^{31} tɔ̃^{55}	lower back	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.5.2
Atsi [Zaiwa]	nuŋ^{51} **khuŋ**^{51}	back (of body)	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	nuŋ^{51}**kuŋ**^{51}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nasu	la̱^{55} **k^{h}ɵ**^{21}	back of hand	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.2
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu	k^{h}i^{31}**k^{h}u**^{33}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.27

[a] Cf. Lahu **ɔ̀-šɛ** 'special portion; prime cut' [DL 207] ≍ **ɔ̀-šɛ̄-phâ** (-**ma**) man's (woman's) body [DL 207] perhaps allofam of PTB ***sya-n*** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1).

Lisu (Nujiang)	tʃʰi[31] **kʰu̲[44]**	buttocks	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	daw˯ **k'm˯**	buttock (hum, animal. imp)	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	tàŋ **khàŋ**	back	Beaudouin 1988:13
	tàŋ **kʰàŋ**	back / spine	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	dɔ[31]**khɔ[31]**	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.31
Hani (Lüchun)	dɔ **khɔ**	buttocks	Hansson 1989:391
Hani (Wordlist)	ddaoq **kaoq**	buttocks	Hansson 1989:391
Mpi	**koŋ[6]**thɯ[2]si[4]	back (upper)	Bradley 1979b
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	bu˩mæ˧**qv**˩	pig's tail	Michaud 2006–2009
	mæ˧**qv**˩	tail; figurative use: lower part	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	ma[33]**ko[31]**	tail	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	ma[33]**ko[31]**	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.29
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	ẽ[55] **quɑ̲[44]**	waist	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ẽ[55]**quɑ[44]**	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.37
Bai (Dali)	ji[35]**kuɑ[44]**	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.35
	ji[55] **kuɑ̲[44]**	waist	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	zi[6] **kua[2]** tɕy[2]	waist / loins	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	ji[55] **kuɑ̲[44]**	waist	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.6
	ji[55] **kuɑ̲[44]**	waist	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ji[55]**kuɑ̲[33]**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.48
	ji[55]**kuɑ[44]**	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.36
	kɔ̲[44] **kã̲[42]** «nɐ̲[21]»	groin / loins	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.10
	tɔ̲[21] **ko[55]** tsɐ̲[44] nɐ̲[21]	hips	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.8.1
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**gang** mern	anus	Sun 1985b:18

(3) PTB *m-(t)syi ŋ / k WAIST / LOWER BACK / LOINS

Several reflexes of this root have final **-n** instead of **-ŋ**. More research is required to ascertain whether this variation is merely allofamic or whether two separate etyma are involved.

The nasal prefix is reflected in Jingpho, Rengma, Tangut, and perhaps Rongmei.

1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Miji	gɯ **tsi?**	waist	Simon 1979
1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	ko[33]**tɕiŋ[33]**	buttocks	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.52
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	ki:-**čik** kɯ-lɯk	waist / girth	Sun 1993b
Galo	pak-pu **cik**	waist	Das Gupta 1963
	'kii **cik**	slender (waist) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	ki **cik**	waist	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	**ce**-ko:	waist	Sun 1993b
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**sin**	waist	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	**che**	waist	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **cʰie[55]**	back; waist	Nienu 1990a:5.5; Nienu 1990a:5.6
	(u) **sie[55]** tsa[31]	back	Nienu 1990a:1.4
	u **chhe**	waist	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **cʰe[35]**	back; waist	Nienu 1990b:5.5; Nienu 1990b:5.6
	u **che**	waist	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a khü **shi**	waist	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a khü **shü**	waist	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**nse**	waist	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	a **sen**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	məi **siən**	waist	Matisoff 1994e
	sen	waist	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi **ching**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**jeng** khong	waist	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**šen** caŋ	waist	French 1983:574
	shen chang	waist	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**shing**	waist	Marrison 1967
	šiŋ hit	waist	French 1983:574
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	mə **shi**	loins / small of back	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	sha **chi** nang	hips / waist	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 14
	tsing ang **(tsing)**	back	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 9
	tsing khang	backbone / spine	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 10
Tsangla (Motuo)	**tshiŋ**	back (of body); back (direction); later (in time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:992.7
	tsʰiŋ	back	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tsʰiŋ[55]	back (of body); back (side)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	tsʰiŋ kʰaŋ duŋ ɕiŋ	back	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕa[55] **ɕi[55]** naŋ	waist	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ɕa **tɕhi** naŋ	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.7
	ɕa **tɕʰi** naŋ	waist	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	**tsiŋ**	back (side)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	tsiŋ-kʰaŋ	back (of body)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ɕa-**tɕi**-naŋ	waist	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	ɕa **tɕhi** naŋ	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.07
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Batang)	kɛ[55] **tʂhi[53]**	small of back; waist	Dai Qingxia 1989a:5.5.3; Dai Qingxia 1989a:5.6
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Gyaru)	byi[1] **syi[1]**	buttocks	Nagano 1984:042
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]pi **ɕi**	buttock	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0023
2.3. Kiranti			
**BSDTK*	***ciŋ**	back	Michailovsky 1991:1
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	mi **siŋ**	back	Kohn 1990:5.5
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	deŋ-**si**	back	Matisoff 1987
Kulung	**ci** rə	back; spine; backbone	Michailovsky 1991:18; Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**tsi?** dam	waist / girdle / loins	Driem 1993
	tsɨm ri	backbone; backbone, spine, spinal column	Michailovsky 1991:18; Driem 1993
	tsɨm ri-sa:lu	<spine> backbone, vertebral column	Driem 1993
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**tsiŋ**	back	Michailovsky 1991:1
Hayu	**si** pi tu pluŋ	waist	Matisoff 1987
	sɪ:M tɪ	back	Michailovsky 1991:1
	Sĩ: ti	back	Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	**ci:**	back	Michailovsky 1991:1
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	**chị** tao	back (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.17
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ndzi̯ɐɯ**	waist	Dai Qingxia 1989e:5.6
	ʐi̯e̯[2]	backbone / spine	Sofronov c1978
3.2. Qiangic			[a]
Ersu	**htʃɛ[55]** mo[55]	buttocks; haunches	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.18
Qiang (Mawo)	**dzə** zdi ɣu	haunches (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.8.3
Qiang (Taoping)	mɑ[31] **tʃhŋ[33]**	back (side)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**dʑiɣ[33]**	waist; haunches (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.6; Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.8.3
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	dəp[32]**tš'in[42]**	waist	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	tɯm[31]**tɕiŋ[53]**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**si[31]** duŋ[55]	buttocks	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	taŋ[31] **tshin[55]**	waist	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	taŋ[31]**tshin[55]**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.28
	taŋ[31]**tshin[55]**	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.41
Achang (Luxi)	paʔ[31] **tɕhi[55]**	waist	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**tshin[55]tshin[55]**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.29
	tsʰin[55] tsʰin[55]	waist	Dai Qingxia 1989f:121
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	**ɕi[31]** dɣ[31]	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.10.1
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**tshŋ[31]** ka[33] phi[53]	buttocks; hips	Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.10.1; Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.8.1
Lalo	ke[55] u[21] **ɕi[55]**	back	Chen Kang 1986b:1.4
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	no[33] ko[33] **tɕi[22]**	back	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.5
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Eastern)	**ʑi[31]**tʂa[13]	waist	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	to[31] ko[31] **ɕi[35]**	back (of body)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.35
	tɔ[3] kɔ[2] **si[6]**	back (n.)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	zi[6] kua[2] tɕy[2]	waist / loins	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	to[21]ko[21]**tɕi[55]**phia[55]	back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.48
	tɔ̲[42] kɔ̲[42] **tɕi[55]**	back (of body); back	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Zhao Yansun 1990:5.5
	to[42]ko[42]**tɕi[55]**phiɛ[55]	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.36

[a] Several of these Qiangic forms were assigned to PTB ***gyu-k** ≍ ***dzyu-k** WAIST (§1.4.6) in *HPTB*:358, although it now seems preferable to include them under the present etymon.

(4) PTB *krya t / n WAIST / LOINS

Written Tibetan has both an **r-** and an **s-** prefix, with the former apparently metathesized to a glide in other languages (Apatani, Tshona, Tamang).

The Tangut form may reflect the nasal allofam, although its cognacy is by no means certain.

The first member of the Apatani doublet **har-č(ʰ)eʔ** 'groin' and **kʰrjɯ-po** 'waist' has a palatal affricate initial, similar to the Lepcha and Hpun forms, leading one to wonder whether two separate roots are involved.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	har-**č(ʰ)eʔ**	groin	Sun 1993b
	kʰrjɯ-po	waist	Sun 1993b
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	khang **khen**	hip	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	cha **khen**	waist	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**kit** láŋ ta ri	hip-bone	Bhat 1968
	kit laŋ ta ri	hip	Matisoff 1987
	ki táw	buttock	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**kyet** pa	waist	Sharma 1991a:5.6
Kanauri	**re**	waist	Sharma 1988:19
	re:	waist	Sharma 1988:28
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**kɛ[53]** uɑ[53]	waist	Sun Hongkai 1991a:5.6
Tsangla (Central)	**khen** tong	buttock	Egli-Roduner 1987:34 1b
Tshona (Wenlang)	**kʰret[55]**	waist	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**khren[53]**	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.6
	kʰren[53]	waist	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rket**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hke** pa	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hked**-pæ	loins / waist	Sun 1985a:457
	rke pa	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**ṣkeṭ** pa·	waist	Rangan 1975:72
Tibetan (Batang)	**kɛ[55]** tʂhi[53]	small of back; waist	Dai Qingxia 1989a:5.5.3; Dai Qingxia 1989a:5.6
	ke[55]pa[55]	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**ge:** ri	hip	Matisoff 1987
	ke tāq	waist	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ge[13]**ba[53]	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.3

	ke^{55}pa^{53}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ke?**^{53}pa^{53}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.2
	ke:^{55}pa^{55}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.02
	kɛ^{15}pa^{53}	back / waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**kā** pah	waist	Bishop 1989:5.6
	ke pa	groin / loins / hips	Bishop 1989:1.10
Tibetan (Spiti)	**kut** pa	loins	Sharma 1979
Spiti	**kyet** pa	waist	Bodh 1991:5.6
Tibetan (Written)	**rked** pa	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.01
	rked pa	waist; haunch; thigh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.1; Luce 1985:W.6; Zhang Liansheng 1988:33
	rked-pa ~ **sked**-pa	waist	Matisoff 1987
	rked.pa	loins; waist	Sun 1985c:457; Marrison 1967
	sked-pa	waist / haunch / thigh	Luce 1985:W.6
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hke** pa	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	pă-**cet** săhă	groin	Matisoff 1987
	pŭn-**cet**-săhă	groin	Matisoff 1987
	pŭr-**cet** săhă	groin	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**kre(t)**	waist	Mazaudon 1978:10
	*^{A}**kre:**	waist, cummerband	Mazaudon 1994:75
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{1}**kre**	waist	Mazaudon 1978:10
Manang (Gyaru)	**grɛ:**^{1}	waist	Nagano 1984:041
Manang (Ngawal)	^{1}**kre**	waist	Mazaudon 1978:10
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**kre**	waist	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0022
	^{1}**kre**	waist	Mazaudon 1994:75
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**ke:**	waist	Mazaudon 1978:10
Tamang (Sahu)	**kep** pa	waist	Matisoff 1987; Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.35
	^{1}**kep**-pa	waist	Mazaudon 1994:17; Mazaudon 1978:10
Tamang (Taglung)	^{1}**ke:**	waist	Mazaudon 1978:10
Thakali (Marpha)	^{1}**kʌe**	waist	Mazaudon 1978:10
Thakali (Syang)	^{1}**kʌe**	waist	Mazaudon 1978:10
Thakali (Tukche)	**Te**	waist	Matisoff 1987
	ţe	waist	Hari 1971:2.A.37
	^{H}**ţe**	waist	Mazaudon 1978:10; Mazaudon 1994:75
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**keng**-tang	buttocks	Rai *et al.* 1984:34
	keN TaN	buttocks	Rai 1985
Kulung	**ge** ri	hip	Rai *et al.* 1975
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	khɨ **stshĭẽ**	groin	Nishida 1964:192
	stshĭẽ	groin	Nishida 1964:105-101
6.1.1. Burmish			
Hpun (Northern)	ă pɔ́ŋ cà; pɔŋ **ce?**	groin	Henderson 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Ugong	sǫ́ **ké?**	waist	Bradley 1993:5.6
7. Karenic			
**Karen (Pwo)*	***khèn**	buttocks / anus / rear	Jones 1961:752
Pwo (Bassein)	**khèn**	buttocks; anus; rear; buttock	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:752
Pwo (Moulmein)	**khèn**	buttocks / anus / rear	Jones 1961:752

(5) PTB * d s -pəy WAIST / HIPS / LOWER BACK / BUTTOCKS / TAIL

A possible Chinese comparandum is 屁 Mand. *pì* (cf. Mand. 放屁 *fàngpì* 'to fart' and 辟谷 *pìgǔ* 'buttocks'), although it is not clear whether it is attested in Old Chinese.

1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	a^{31}tɕ^{h}u^{55}**be**^{55}	waist	Sun Hongkai 1991f:5.6
	ɑ^{31}tɕhu^{55}**be**^{55}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.50
Yidu	ɑ^{31}tɕhu^{55}**be**^{55}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.25
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**phei**	groin / loins	Matisoff 1987
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**phai**	groin / loins	Matisoff 1987
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**pi** nəi	groin / loins / hips	Toba & Kom 1991:1.10
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	te **pe** rem	waist; back (body)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	o **phi**	groin / loins / hips	Nienu 1990c:1.10
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Mao	o **pfe**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	a **pe**	waist	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ling **pei**	hip	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi kia **pui**	waist	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	ta **pi** la	buttock	Matisoff 1987
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**phe** lo	hip	Marrison 1967
	p^{h}e lo	hip	French 1983:522
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**pi** ṣṭiṅ	back	Sharma 1988
	pi ṣ̲ṭiṅ	back (n.)	Bailey 1911 [a]
	pi ṣ̲ṭiṅ	back	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	sham=**pi**	tail	Andvik 1993:92
Tsangla (Motuo)	ɕam **pi**	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.7
	ɕam^{55} **pi**^{55}	tail	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ɕam **pi**	tail	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	ɕam-**p^{h}i**	tail	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Batang)	**pei**^{55} kõ^{55}	pelvis / pelvic girdle	Dai Qingxia 1989a:5.8
Jirel	**pi**-koq	lower back	Matisoff 1978b:(2)
Tibetan (Jirel)	**pi** koq	lower back; loins; lumbar region; anus; buttock	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Written)	**dpyi**	hip	Marrison 1967
	dpyi-mgo	hipbone	Matisoff 1987
	dpyi-mig	hipbone	Matisoff 1987
	dpyi-rus	hipbone	Matisoff 1987
	dpyi.mgo	hips	Sun 1985c:364
	dpyi~spyi	hip	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Gyaru)	**byi**^{1} syi^{1}	buttocks	Nagano 1984:042
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**pi** ɕi	buttock	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0023
Tamang (Sahu)	**'pe** te	navel	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.36
	'pi ku	hip	Matisoff 1987
Thakali (Tukche)	**'pi** ku	hip	Hari 1971:2.A.44
	'pi ku kāhng	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	'pi ku kahŋ	buttock	Hari 1971:2.A.45
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**phoi**	waist	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	si **pi** tu pluŋ	waist	Matisoff 1987
3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	do^{33}**bi**^{55}	buttocks; haunches	Sun Hongkai 1991i:5.10.1; Sun Hongkai 1991i:5.8.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.19
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **xpi** ɕe	rump	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.10
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	nɯ^{31} **pi**^{55}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	nɯ^{31} **pi**^{55}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**pei**^{35}	back	Chen Kang 1986c:5.5
Tujia (Northern)	**pei**^{35}	back (of body)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**pi**^{55} t^{h}a^{55}	lap	Chen Kang 1986c:1.8
	pɯi^{55}	back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.49
	pɯi^{55}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.38
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola (Luxi)	**phi**^{31}tam^{31}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.32
Bola	**p^{h}i**^{31} tam^{31}	waist	Dai Qingxia 1989g:121
Langsu (Luxi)	**phjik**^{55}tam^{31}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.31
Lashi	**phji**^{55} tɔm^{33}	small of back; waist	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.5.3; Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.6
Leqi (Luxi)	**phji**^{55}tɔm^{33}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.33
Maru [Langsu]	**phjik**^{55} tam^{31}	small of back; waist	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.5.3; Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**phji**^{21} tum^{21}	waist	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	phji^{21} tum^{21}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.30
	phji^{21}tum^{21}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	**phi**^{31} se^{33} xo^{31}	rump	Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.10
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	tshŋ^{31} ka^{33} **phi**^{53}	buttocks; hips	Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.10.1; Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.8.1
Lalo	ʔme^{21} **p^{h}e**^{21}	tail (of animal)	Chen Kang 1986b:5.10.3
Nasu	**p^{h}i**^{21} nd^{h}e^{21}	hips	Chen Kang 1986b:5.8.1
Nesu	bo^{21} **phɪ**^{33}	thigh	Chen Kang 1986b:6.2.1
	bo^{21} **p^{h}ɪ**^{33}	lap	Chen Kang 1986b:1.8
	p^{h}er^{21} dɪ^{21}	back	Chen Kang 1986b:1.4
	p^{h}e^{21} dɪ^{21}	back	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5
Nosu	**phŋ**^{21}ndi^{21}	hips	Chen Kang 1986b:5.8.1
Nusu (Bijiang)	**phi**^{55}sɑ^{ɪ31}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.45
Nusu (Southern)	**p^{h}i**^{55} pa^{31}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**p^{h}i**^{55} sɑ^{ɪ31}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**p^{h}i**^{55} s^{h}ɛ^{31}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**bɯ**^{21} gɯ^{33}	back (of body)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.22
Yi (Mile)	mʌ^{55}**p^{h}i**^{21}**ɣɯ**^{21}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**p^{h}i**^{21}du^{21}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.24
Yi (Nanjian)	du^{55}**be**^{21}dzŋ^{33}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.23
	mɛ^{21} **p^{h}e**^{21}	tail	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	mɛ^{21}**phe**^{21}	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.23
Yi (Xide)	**p^{h}ŋ**^{21}-ndi^{21}	buttocks	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	p^{h}ŋ^{21}nbi^{21}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	ma^{55}**phi**^{21}	hips	Chen Kang 1986b:5.8.1
	mɑ^{55} **p'i**^{21} ɣɯ^{21}	hips	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.8.1
	ɣɯ^{21} **p'i**^{21} zo^{21}	pelvis / pelvic girdle	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.8
Sani [Nyi]	ɬɑ^{21}**phi**^{55}	lap	Chen Kang 1986b:1.8
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	dǫ^{42} **pɛ̰**^{ɪ42}	back (of body)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	do^{42}**pɛ̰**^{ɪ42}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.37
Bai (Jianchuan)	k^{h}uæ^{31} **pi**^{55}	lap; thigh	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.8; Zhao Yansun 1990:6.2.1
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	屁 股／肛门	buttocks	Nagano & Prins 2013:0134
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**pì** gǔ	buttocks	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

髀 OC ***pi̯ĕg** ~ ***bieg**, *GSR* #874f 'thighbone, haunch'; Schuessler 2007:164 ***pe?** ~ ***bê?**; B & S 2011: (***be?**); Mand. **bì**.

(6) PTB *ru WAIST

This root is promising, but further confirmation would be welcome.

Contra DL:1130, there does not seem to be a connection between this root and PTB ***wu** BELLY / STOMACH / INTESTINE / KIDNEY (§1.7.6).

1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	kei-khâ-**ru**	groin	Matisoff 1987
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**ru**^{1}	waist (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e **rü**	waist	Marrison 1967
	E **ru**	waist	Nienu 1990c:5.6
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	shə **yū**	hip (joint)	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**drò**	hips	Sharma 1991b:5.8.1
	Dù **Ru**	buttocks	Sharma 1991b:5.10.1
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	dzə zdi **ɣu**	haunches (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.8.3
	dzə zdi **gɹu**	waist	Sun 1986
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**xu**^{53}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai 1991n:5.10.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.16
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Mile)	mʌ^{55}p^{h}i^{21}**ɣɯ**^{21}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.25

[a] Kanauri regularly develops a cluster **st-** from the PTB sequence ***sn-**, see *HPTB*:103. The **-i-** vocalism of Kanauri **ṣṭiṅ** is probably explicable in terms of the widespread TB variational pattern of ***-u-** ⩤ **-i-**, cf. *HPTB*:493-505.

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	mɑ^{55} p'i^{21} **ɣɯ^{21}**	hips	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.8.1
Lahu (Black)	**ǧù**-nà	hips / waist	Matisoff 1987
	ɣù-nà	hip	Matisoff 1987

(7) PTB * d / t am HIPS / WAIST / SMALL OF BACK / BUTTOCKS / TAIL

Certain languages (Karbi, Trung) have doublets with both voiced and voiceless initials.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**tâm**-nyo	tail	Matisoff 1987

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**tam** tak	waist	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	hì-**dám**	anus / rectum	Grüssner 1979:226
	hi **dam**	anus	Matisoff 1987
	kèng-**thàm** a-cho bák	buttocks	Grüssner 1979:42
	keng **tham**	hip	Marrison 1967
	keng **tham** achobak	hip	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**tam**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
	²tam²ra¹khoŋ	backbone / spine	Weidert 1987:828

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**jam**	lower back	Michailovsky 1991:17

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	i:g **dəm** pim	buttocks	Driem 1993
	i:g **dəm** sa: lu	coccyx.	Driem 1993
	tsi? **dam**	waist / girdle / loins	Driem 1993

4. Nungic

Anong	sɹɛ^{53}**dɑm^{55}**	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.44
Nung	xɹɛ^{53}**dɑm^{55}**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.21
Trung [Dulong]	sɯ^{31}ɹăt^{55}**dăm^{55}**	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.46
	tɯm^{55}	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	sɯ^{31} ɹăt^{55} **dăm^{55}**	waist	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	tɯm^{55}	back (side)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	sɯ^{31} ɹăt^{55} **dăm^{55}**	waist	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	t^{h}ɯm^{55}	back (side)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. Tujia

Tujia	a^{13} **dʉ^{55}**	waist	Chen Kang 1986d:5.6

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	tsɑ^{31} **tuŋ^{35}**	back (of body)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	tsaʔ^{31} **tɔm^{31}**	back (of body)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	tu^{31} **tum^{31}** ʐau^{31}	backbone / spine	Dai Qingxia 1989f:160
	tu^{31}**tum^{51}** ʐau^{31}	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.29
Bola (Luxi)	phi^{31}**tam^{31}**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.32
Bola	p^{h}i^{31} **tam^{31}**	waist	Dai Qingxia 1989g:121
Langsu (Luxi)	phjik^{55}**tam^{31}**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.31
Lashi	phji^{55} **tɔm^{33}**	small of back; waist	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.5.3; Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.6
Leqi (Luxi)	phji^{55}**tɔm^{33}**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.33
Maru [Langsu]	phjik^{55} **tam^{31}**	small of back; waist	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.5.3; Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	phji^{21} **tum^{21}**	waist	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	phji^{21} **tum^{21}**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.30
	phji^{21}**tum^{21}**	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.42

(8) PTB *hwaŋ BELOW / BUTTOCKS / LOWER BACK

This root is undoubtedly related to PTB ***hwak** BELOW (§9.2.2), but is here treated separately in view of the considerable semantic difference between the two.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**hoã**	back	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**həŋ**-kɯ	waist	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**huŋ**-ŋəŋ	waist	Sun 1993b
	ɦuŋ ŋəŋ	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɦuŋ** ŋəŋ	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**oŋ** doŋ	buttocks (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**oŋ** toŋ	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**oŋ** xha	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.5
	o^{n}go	buttocks	Sun 1985a:113 [a]
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ʔoŋ** doŋ	buttocks (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.04

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**hwoyŋh**	waist, diaphragm (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hwəyŋh	waist, diaphragm (n.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**hwoyŋh**	waist	Caughley 1990:5.6
	pam/hemh/**hwoyŋh**	waist	Caughley 1990:5.6

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**wᵲ^{2}**	backbone / spine	Sofronov c1978

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Xide)	**o^{33}**	waist	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Ugong	**wŭŋ** phûŋ wú/u	backbone / spine	Bradley 1993:5.5.4

7. Karenic

Pa-O	nâŋ **ʔóŋ**	back	Matisoff 1987
	ŋâŋ **ʔóŋ**	back (body)	Jones 1961:362

[a] In Jackson Sun's system, **ⁿg** indicates a unitary prenasalized phoneme (1985:17).

(9) PTB *s-da:y WAIST / BELT / ZONE / FLAT EXPANSE

This root may well be related to PTB ***s-tay** NAVEL / ABDOMEN / CENTER / SELF (§1.9.3), with which it has an obvious semantic connection, as well as a nearly identical phonological form.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ta:y**	belt / zone / waist	Matisoff 1985a:095

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**ta:** khrí	waist	NEFA (India) 1963
	tai khrí	waist	Matisoff 1987

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***taay** WAIST

**Chin*	***taay**	WAIST	VanBik 2009:242

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**tâay**	waist	VanBik 2009:242
	tái	waist	Thirumalai 1972:20
Tiddim	**ta:i^{1}**	lower part of the abdomen	VanBik 2009:242

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tâay**	waist	VanBik 2009:242
Lai (Falam)	**táay**	waist	VanBik 2009:242
Lushai [Mizo]	**tai**	waist	Matisoff 1987
	tăi	waist, the lower part of the abdomen (n.)	VanBik 2009:242
	tai	waist (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2915
	tai, kâwng	waist	Marrison 1967
	tai-von	wear in the belt	Matisoff 1985a:95
Paangkhua	**tái**	waist	VanBik 2009:242

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	pā-**tìa**	waist	VanBik 2009:242

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**day** kha	girdle, sash; carry at the girdle	Matisoff 1985a:095

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	zan **zay**	hip	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**sde**	part / portion / province / zone	Matisoff 1985a:095

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	**tᵲ^{33}tᵲ^{53}**	level / flat (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0994.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tɯ^{55}tɯ^{53}**	flat / level(land)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:825.15
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**de^{35}de^{55}**	flat / level(land)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:825.16

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	gɛ **ɣde**	level / flat (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0994.12
Ergong (Danba)	**wde wde**	flat; level(land); plain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:29.14; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:825.14
Daofu	**ɣde ɣde**	level / flat (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0994.12

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***N-day^{3}** LEVEL EXPANSE / PLAIN [a]

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Luquan	**nt'e^{11}**	plain, flat expanse (n.)	Matisoff 1985a:95
Yi (Dafang)	**dɔ^{21}**	flat / level(land)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:825.22
	ndi^{21}	plain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:29.22
Yi (Mile)	**di^{33}**mi^{33}	plain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:29.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**de^{21}**mi^{55}	plain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:29.26
	dɒ^{21} ; **de^{21}**	flat / level(land)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:825.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**di^{33}**; pa̲^{55}tsi^{33}	plain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:29.24
Yi (Wuding)	**dɒ^{11}**	level / flat (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0994.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**de**	belt of land lying between the high rain-forest and the plains; large expanse of terrain	Matisoff 1985a:095
Lisu (Northern)	**de^{33}**	level (V.)	Bradley 1994
	di^{33}	level (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**di^{44}**	flat / level(land)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:825.27
Lisu (Northern)	**te^{33}**tɤ^{35}	level; equal (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tᵲ^{33}**tɯ^{35}	level / flat (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0994.40
	u^{31}**di^{44}**	plain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:29.27
Lisu (Northern)	wa^{21}**di^{33}**	plain; flat land	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}**di^{33}** wa^{21}jiʔ^{21}	large plain; large piece of flat land	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	wa^{4}-**dye^{3}**	plain (n.)	Fraser 1922

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**deh**-ga	fairly level place with high mountains near / around it (n.)	Matisoff 1985a:095
	deh-k'awʔ^{31}	plain, flat expanse	Matisoff 1985a:095
Akha (Thai)	**dɛ**	level	Hansson 1989:208
Akha (Yunnan)	**dɛ**	level	Hansson 1989:208
	dɛ xhàŋ	level	Hansson 1989:208
Hani (Dazhai)	**de^{33}**	flat / level(land)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:825.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dɛ** ɔ́ shá	level	Hansson 1989:208
Hani (Dazhai)	lo^{55}**de^{33}**	plain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:29.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**de^{33}**	level / flat (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0994.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**te^{33}**mɔ^{33}	plain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:29.30
	tᵲ^{33}kv̲^{31}tu^{55}	flat / level(land)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:825.30
Hani (Pijo)	**tɛ** kò tú	level	Hansson 1989:208
Hani (Gelanghe)	**di^{33}**	flat / level (land)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ddei**	level	Hansson 1989:208
Hani (Shuikui)	**te^{33}**mɔ^{33}	plain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:29.32
	te^{33}ɣu^{55}sɔ^{55}	flat / level(land)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:825.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tɛ** kò kò	level	Hansson 1989:208
Hani (Mojiang)	**tɛ^{33}**	level / flat (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0994.42

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**du**˩k^{h}u˩	large plain	Michaud 2006–2009:134
Na (Yongning)	**di**˧ko˧	plain	Michaud 2006–2009
	di˧mi˧	large plain	Michaud 2006–2009
	di˧ɻæ˧	plain	Michaud 2006–2009
	hæ˧**do**˧	plain	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dy^{31}**	plain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:29.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**dy^{31}**	plain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:29.29

[a] The nasal prefix in Lolo-Burmese ***N-day^{3}** is directly attested in several Yi dialects, as well as indirectly by the Lahu voiced initial.

Chinese comparandum

Definitely cognate is the following:

帶 OC ***tûd**, *GSR* #315a 'girdle, sash; carry at the girdle'; B & S 2011: ***C.t^{ʂ}at-s {C.t^{ʂ}a [t] -s}**; Mand. **dài**;

The modern word also means 'zone; area', e.g. 熱帶, Mand. **rèdài**, 'torrid zone').

(10) PTB * k / m -sya ŋ / n WAIST

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**kashan**	waist	Marrison 1967
	kashān	waist	Matisoff 1987
	śan	waist	Bhat 1969:100

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Lalung [Tiwa]	a **san** di	hip	Balawan 1965:3

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	šen **caŋ**	waist	French 1983:574
	shen **chang**	waist	Marrison 1967
Phom	**shüng**	waist	Marrison 1967
	šəŋ	waist	French 1983:574
	ʃʌŋ^{33}	waist	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	n-**shang**	waist; loins; small of back	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	n^{31}**ʃaŋ**^{33}	waist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.19
	n^{31}**ʃaŋ**^{33}	waist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:261.47
	ṇ^{31} **ʃaŋ**^{33}	waist	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	n **shang**	waist	Marrison 1967
	sing-jen~joi **shang**	waist (poetic)	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Ganan	**kăs'ɑ̃**^{2}	back	Luce 1985:K.60
Kadu (Kantu)	**kăs'ɑŋ**^{2}	back	Luce 1985:K.60
Kadu	**kăs'ɑŋ**^{2}	back (body)	Luce 1985:R.19
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **kăs'aũ**^{2}	back	Luce 1985:K.60
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	n **džu**	loins	Nishida 1964:191
3.2. QIANGIC			
Xumi	tɕhe^{55} **sə̃**^{33}	kidney; waist	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:261.20

(11) PTB *kray WAIST / LOWER BACK / LOINS

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	ta: **khrí**	waist; loin	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	tai **khrí**	waist	Matisoff 1987
	ta **khrí**	loins; loin	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	ɑ^{31} t^{h}ɯ^{55} **kɹɯ**^{35}	waist	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɑ^{31}thɯ^{55}**kɹɯ**^{35}	waist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.22
	ɑ^{31}thɯ^{55}**kɹɯ**^{35}	waist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:261.49
Idu	a t^{h}u-**ku**	waist	Anonymous 1962
	a t^{h}u **kru**	waist	Pulu 1978
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	cha-**khai**	hip	Matisoff 1987
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Moyon	jæ **khí**	groin; loins; hips	Kosha 1990:1.10; Kosha 1990:5.8.1
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Khonoma)	**che**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **chie**^{55} se^{55} ru^{31}	backbone / spine	Nienu 1990a:5.5.4
	u **chie**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **che**^{35} se^{35} ro^{31}	backbone / spine	Nienu 1990b:5.5.4
	che^{35} ro^{31}	vertebrae (of spine)	Nienu 1990b:8.4.2
	u **che**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Khezha	ke **che**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
	ke **chè**	waist	Yabu 1994:5.6
Mao	chü **khei**	waist	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Zeme	mi **chai**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**khai** shāŋ	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	raŋ **kai**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	ǹ **krāi** ~ nìŋ-**krāi**	narrow part of a tool near the handle (n.)	Matisoff 1987:101
	shing-**krai**	small of waist	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kre**	lower back; loins; lumbar region; back (lower)	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:2.A.31
Gurung	^{1}**kre**	back (lower)	Mazaudon 1994:75
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang (Eastern)	**kray** ki me? tat	tailbone / coccyx	Caughley 1990:5.10.2
3.2. QIANGIC			
Xumi	**tɕhe**^{55} sə̃^{33}	kidney	SUN Hongkai 1991m

(12) NEIA *rem WAIST

This sparsely attested root has so far been found only in the Kuki-Naga group.

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Moyon	dàr **rə́m**	waist (of male)	Kosha 1990:5.6
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	te pe **rem**	waist; back (body)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**ɹəm**	waist, middle (specifically, section between lower ribs and hips) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	ə̀nti-**ɹəm**	path (middle of) ('road' + 'waist/middle') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	shü **rem** / ki	waist	Marrison 1967

(13) PTB *pak WAIST

The reflexes of this putative root are quite scattered, and further confirmation is needed.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Galo	**pak**-pu cik	waist	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	**pak**-ɟuŋ	waist	Tayeng 1976
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**puk** suk	waist, side of the body (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak (Bawtala)	kă **p'æ**^{2}	side / waist	Luce 1985:L.147
Sak	kə **phai?**	waist	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:41
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Luxi)	**pa?**^{31} tɕhi^{55}	waist	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985

(14) PKC *kooŋ ≍ *kuuŋ LOIN / WAIST

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***kooŋ ≍ kuuŋ**	LOIN / WAIST	VanBik 2009:300
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Kuki-Chin	**kong** chung	waist	Haokip 1998:5.6
Paite	**kawng**	loin	VanBik 2009:300
Thado	**kôoŋ**	waist	VanBik 2009:300
Tiddim	**ko:ng**^{1}	waist	VanBik 2009:300; Bhaskararao 1996:677
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	akeng **kiiwng**	waist (including the front and the back)	VanBik 2009:300
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	(to)-**kòoŋ**	loin	VanBik 2009:300
Lushai [Mizo]	**kâwng**	loins, the lumbar region (n.)	VanBik 2009:300

1.4.7 Belly/Abdomen

Figure 113: 1.4.7 *Belly/Abdomen*

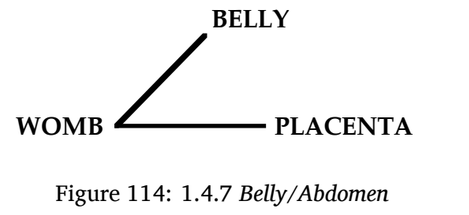


Figure 114: 1.4.7 *Belly/Abdomen*

NOTE the relation BELLY + BONE = RIB in Apatani **a-k^{h}rjɯ** 'belly' , **a-k^{h}rjɯ a-lo** 'rib' (**a-lo** is 'bone'); for the similar construction WAIST + BONE = RIB, see Chapter 1.4.6.

1.4.8 Back

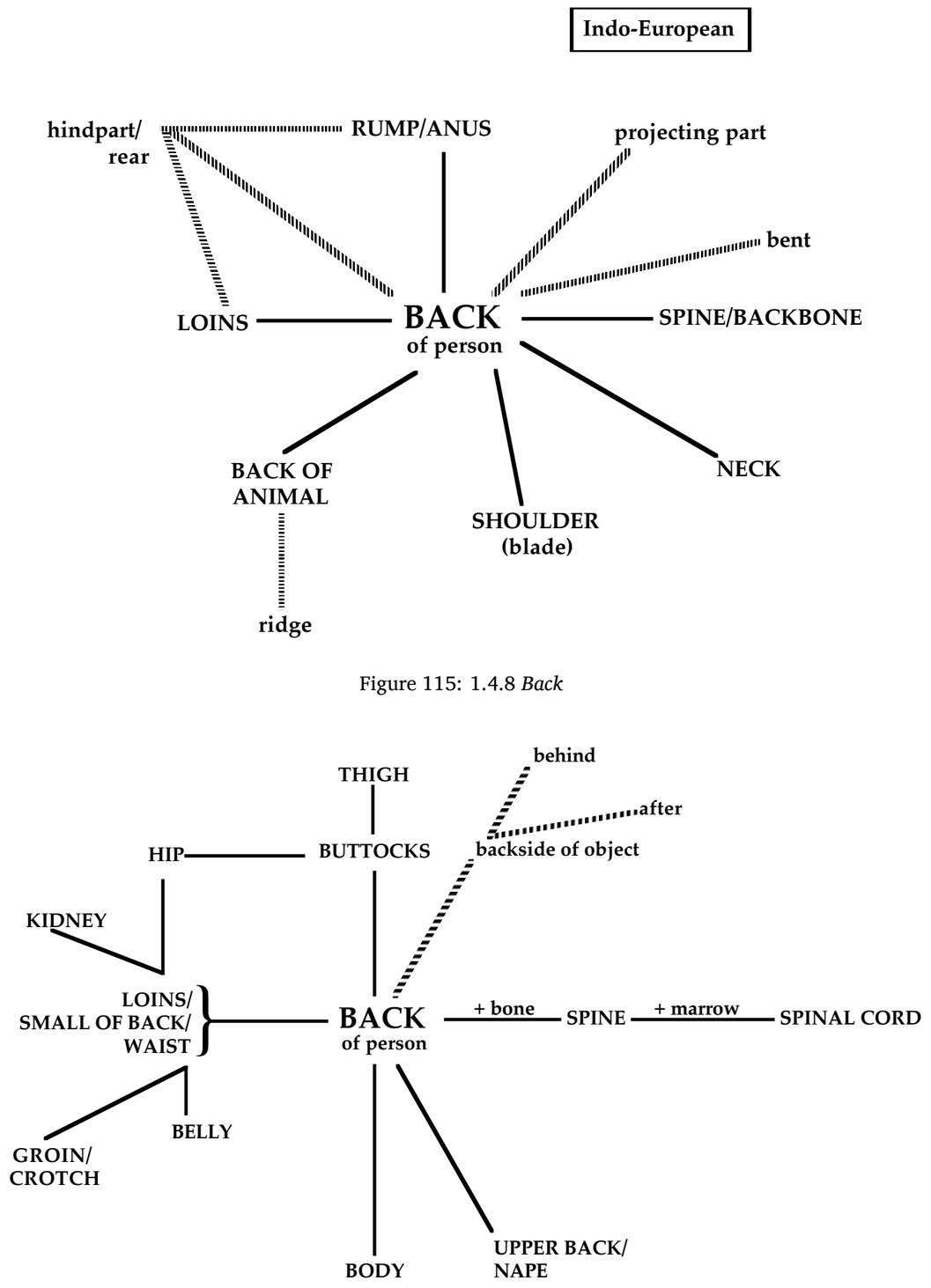


Figure 115: 1.4.8 *Back*

Figure 116: 1.4.8 *Back*

MANY Lolo-Burmese forms for 'back' are apparently descended from a bi-syllabic protoform PTB ***m-daŋ*** BUTTOCKS / HIPS / TAIL / LOWER BACK / LOINS (§1.4.8.1) + PTB ***k(w)a(ŋ/k)*** WAIST / HIPS / BUTTOCKS / TAIL / BACK (§1.4.6), as Bisu **taŋ-khaŋ**. We also note the frequent pattern PTB ***guŋ*** BODY / BACK (§1.1.1) + PTB ***m-daŋ*** BUTTOCKS / HIPS / TAIL / LOWER BACK / LOINS (§1.4.8.1), as Lisu **gu**^{35} **du**^{31}. Lolo-Burmese languages show no real evidence for PTB ***k(r)aw ≍ *k(y)aw*** BACK (§1.4.8) or PTB ***(k/g)um*** BACK / BODY (§1.4.8).

Note the following forms for 'back' : Sde-dge Tibetan **dʑɑ?**^{31}**lo?**^{53}, Sherpa **'gyap-lā**, Shixing **dʑo**^{33}**lɑ**^{35}. The second syllables seem to be related to WT **logs** 'side', for which we have no PTB etymology.

(1) PTB *k(r)aw ≍ *k(y)aw BACK

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**kɯ**-liŋ	behind	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ko:**-tɯ:	back (body)	Sun 1993b
	lam-ku **ku**-ro:	back (upper)	Sun 1993b
Galo	**ko** ki	back	Das Gupta 1963
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**ko**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	ko-ki	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	man **ku**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
	man **kvu**	back	Nienu 1990c:1.4

	MaN **kvu**	back	Nienu 1990c:5.5
	MaN **kvu** okupoe	lower back	Nienu 1990c:5.5.2
	MaN **kvu** omhawoi	upper back	Nienu 1990c:5.5.1
	MaN **kvu** ru	backbone / spine	Nienu 1990c:5.5.4
Yimchungrü	**ku** khiak	shoulder	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**kho** ci	backside	Sharma 1991a:1.4

2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{A}**go** BACK

**TGTM*	*^{A}**go**	back; back (upper)	Mazaudon 1978:46; Mazaudon 1994:155
Gurung (Ghachok)	**koh**	upper back; back (upper)	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:2.A.30
	^{3}**ko**	back	Mazaudon 1978:46
Gurung	^{3}**ko**	back (upper)	Mazaudon 1994:155
Manang (Gyaru)	**go**^{1} dɛ^{1}	back	Nagano 1984:040
Manang (Ngawal)	^{3}**ko**-^{3}te	back	Mazaudon 1978:46
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**ko**	back	Mazaudon 1978:46
	^{3}**ko**	back (body) (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:5.5
	^{3}**ko**	back (of body)	Mazaudon 1994:155
	^{3}**ko** siŋma	middle back (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:5.5.1
Tamang (Sahu)	**'koh** i pot	backbone / spine	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.30; Matisoff 1987
	'pi **ku**	hip	Matisoff 1987
	koh	lower back; loins; lumbar region	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(1); Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.29
	^{3}**ko**	back; lower back	Matisoff 1987; Mazaudon 1978:46; Mazaudon 1994:155
Tamang (Taglung)	^{3}**ko**	back	Mazaudon 1978:46; Mazaudon 1994:155
Thakali (Marpha)	^{21}**go**^{fi}	back (of body)	Mazaudon 1994:155
	^{3}**ko**	back	Mazaudon 1978:46
Thakali (Syang)	^{212}**go**	back (of body)	Mazaudon 1994:155
	^{3}**ko**	back	Mazaudon 1978:46
	^{L}**ko**	back (of body)	Mazaudon 1994:155
Thakali (Tukche)	'pi **ku**	hip	Hari 1971:2.A.44
	'pi **ku** kāhng	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	'pi **ku** kahŋ	buttock	Hari 1971:2.A.45
	koh	back; lower back; upper back; back (upper); back (lower)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(1); Hari 1971:2.A.30; Hari 1971:2.A.31
	koh kuhng naTi	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	koh kuhŋ nɔʈi	backbone / spine	Hari 1971:2.A.32
	^{3}**ko**	back	Mazaudon 1978:46; Mazaudon 1994:155

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**kāh**	back (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.17
	kāh	upper back	Matisoff 1987
	kah	back (upper) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kah	back; back (upper)	Caughley 1972:12.C.17; Caughley 1972:2.A.30
Chepang (Eastern)	**kah**	back (upper); upper back	Caughley 1990:1.4; Caughley 1990:5.5.1
Magar	**kuku** dhyāng garo	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Muya [Minyak]	**khø**^{35}dyi^{53}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.15
	k^{h}o^{35}dyi^{53}	back	Sun Hongkai 1991h:1.4
	k^{h}ø^{35}dyi^{53}	back	Sun Hongkai 1991h:5.5

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**qo** mɲo	back; back (of body)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:5.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	p^{h}uŋ bu tə **q^{h}u**	back	Sun Hongkai 1991k:1.4
	q^{h}u ɕɛru	backbone / spine	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.5.4
rGyalrong	teŋ **k^{h}u**	back	Dai Qingxia 1989d:1.4
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tuŋ **k^{h}u**	back	Sun Hongkai 1991j:1.4
rGyalrong	tə **khu**	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.12

6.1.1. Burmish

Arakanese	**krò**	back	Okell 1971
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**cò**	back	Okell 1971
Intha	**cò**	back	Okell 1971

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	lɪ̱^{21} to^{33} **ka**^{33}	back of hand	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.2
Yi (Mile)	kha^{33}**ko**^{33}dɯ^{21}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.25

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	bu^{33} **ko**^{33}	hunchback	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.5.6
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	to^{44} **k^{h}lo**^{55}	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989h:125
Lisu	ka^{3}**kaw**^{3}	back (upper)	Bradley 1979b:117

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Côông [Phunoi]	lə̆kho (nô **khô**)	back	Matisoff 1987
	l^{a} **kho**^{55}	back of hand	Ferlus 1991:6.1.7.2
	shã l^{a} **kho** ākhot^{31}	hunchback	Ferlus 1991:5.5.6

(2) PTB *s-nu ŋ k BACK / BEHIND / AFTER

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nuŋ**	back; after	Weidert 1987:236; French 1983:511
	***s-nuŋ**	after, back (vs.)	Benedict 1972:354
	***s-nuŋ ≍ s-nuk**	back / behind / after	Matisoff 2003a:605

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	**nɯn**-t^{h}len	back (body)	Simon 1979

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	a^{33}**ɲuk**^{33}kuaŋ^{33}	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.52

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	**ɲuk**-pim	back side	Tayeng 1976

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***nuŋ ≍ *hnuŋ** BACK / BEHIND / LATER

**Chin*	***nuŋ ≍ hnuŋ**	BACK / BEHIND / LATER	VanBik 2009:802

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**nung**	behind	VanBik 2009:802
	nūng zāng	spine	VanBik 2009:1186
Thado	**núng**	back, behind, after	VanBik 2009:802
Tiddim	**-nuŋ**	back	Matisoff 1987
	nung^{2}	back (of the body)	VanBik 2009:802; Bhaskararao 1996:1265
	núŋ	back	Weidert 1987:236

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	hma-**nùŋ**	later, after	VanBik 2009:802
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnung**	back (body); back	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	hnúng	back, the rear (n.)	VanBik 2009:802
	hnung-zâng	back	Matisoff 1987
	hnúŋ	back	Weidert 1987:236
	hnuŋ	back	Benedict 1972:354
	hnuŋ-a	after, behind	Benedict 1972:354

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**hnô**-khi	nape	Matisoff 1987
	hno-khi	nape	Matisoff 1987
	hno-la	back	Matisoff 1987
	^{1}**hnou**	back	Weidert 1987:236

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**nuŋ** tẽŋ	back	Toba & Kom 1991:1.4
Moyon	tùk **núŋ**	back	Kosha 1990:1.4

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	ā kha **nuk** shoŋ	rear	Matisoff 1987

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	a phu bong kok a **nung**	back of head	Matisoff 1987
	nung	back (body)	Marrison 1967
	nùŋ	back	Weidert 1987:236
	rí-pák a-**nùng**	back of hand	Grüssner 1979:195
	ə **nuŋ**	back	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:354

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	pi **ṣṭiṅ**	back	Sharma 1988
	pi **ʂ̱ṭiṅ**	back (n.)	Bailey 1911 [a]
	pi **ʂ̱ṭiṅ**	back	Matisoff 1987
	pön tsĕ **niṅ**	tail	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**nhing** a	back	Matisoff 1987
	nhing ā nāthyāngā	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	nhing ā na chan	back (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.17

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**no**^{2}	back	Sofronov c1978

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	gu^{55}**nu**^{55}	back (direction); later (in time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:992.19
	gu^{55}**nu**^{55}	back (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0713.46

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Daofu)	dʑɑu **ɳo** ce	back	Dai Qingxia 1989b:1.4
Ergong (Danba)	qo **mɳo**	back; back (of body)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:5.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.14
	ɳo	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.14

5. Tujia

Tujia	tha^{55}**ɳi̱e**^{55}	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.38
	t^{h}a^{55} **ne**^{55}	back	Chen Kang 1986c:1.4
Tujia (Northern)	t^{h}a^{55} **ne**^{55}	back (side)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***nok**	back / behind / after	Matisoff 1972b:155(a)
	***ʔ-nuk**^{L}	back	Matisoff 2003a:605
	***ʔnok**	back / behind / after	Matisoff 1972b:155(b)
	***ʔnoŋ**	back / behind / after	Matisoff 1972b:155(c)

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**nuŋ**^{55} tɛ^{55}	back (side)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**n̥oŋ**^{55}	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.41
	n̥oŋ^{55} pa^{31}	back (side)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥oŋ^{55}pa^{31}	back (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0713.28
Achang (Luxi)	**nɔŋ**^{31} pjɛ^{31}	back (side)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	c^{h}i^{31} **n̥oŋ**^{55}	back	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1026
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**nɑu?**^{44}	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.40
Burmese (Written)	a **hnaúŋ**	back (of knife)	Benedict 1972:354
	a **hnaùŋ**	coming after, last	Benedict 1972:354
	hnaùŋ	after, back (vs.)	Benedict 1972:354
	khre phə **hnoŋ'**	heel	Matisoff 1987
	noŋ-	backward and forward	Benedict 1976a
	nɔk	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.39
	pha **noṅ:**	heel	Marrison 1967
	phə-**hnoŋ'** phə-krâñ	heel	Matisoff 1987
	phə **hnoŋ'**	heel	Matisoff 1987
	ə-**hnoŋ'**	back of knife; head of punch	Benedict 1976a
Lashi	lɔʔ^{31} **nuŋ**^{55} khuŋ^{33}	back of hand	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.1.7.2
	nuŋ^{55} khuŋ^{33}	back	Dai Qingxia 1989m:1.4
	nuŋ^{55} khuŋ^{33} jou^{33}	backbone / spine	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.5.4
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nuŋ**^{51} khuŋ^{51}	back (of body)	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	nuŋ^{51}kuŋ^{51}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.42

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	kæ^{44} **ni**^{55} sɤ^{44}	back	Dai Qingxia 1989n:1.4
	kæ^{44} **ɳi**^{55} sɤ^{44}	back	Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.5

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Dafang)	**nɔ**^{33} bɔ^{55}	back (side); back (direction)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.22
Yi (Xide)	ɣa^{33} **nɔ**^{33}	back (side); back (direction)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**no**^{33} ko^{33} tɕi^{22}	back	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.5
	no^{33} ko^{33}ɛ^{33}	back	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.4
	nɯ^{33} ɣɯ^{21} to^{22}	backbone / spine	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.5.4
Jinuo	a^{33}**no**^{31}	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **no**^{31}	back; back (body)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1048; Dai Qingxia 1989h:118
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{44} **n̥u**^{31}	back; back (body)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1048; Dai Qingxia 1989i:118
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{44} **n̥o**^{42}	back (side)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	qhɔ^{21}**nɔ**^{35}	later (in time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:992.33
	qhɔ̀ʔ-**nɔ́**	space behind; future time; after; back	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:155(b)
	qhɔ̀ʔ-**nɔ́**-qhwèʔ	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	qɔ̄-ɔ̀-qhɔ̀ʔ-**nɔ́**	nape	Matisoff 1987
	q^{h}ɔʔ^{21} **nɔ**^{35}	back (side)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	q^{h}a^{55} **nɔʔ**^{21}	back (side)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	ká^{1}-**ná**^{1}-hku^{4}	back	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Nujiang)	kɑ^{55} **niɛ**^{55} (sɻ^{33})	back (side)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	kɑ^{55}**nɛ**^{55}	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.27

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Dazhai)	**nɔ**^{55} xɔ^{33}	back (side); back (direction)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.31
Hani (Caiyuan)	a^{31} **nɤ̄**^{33}	back (side)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ka^{33} **nɤ̄**^{33}	back (side)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

[a] Kanauri regularly develops a cluster **st-** from the PTB sequence ***sn-**, see *HPTB*:103. The **-i-** vocalism of Kanauri **ṣṭiṅ** is probably explicable in terms of the widespread TB variational pattern of ***-u- ≍ -i-**, cf. *HPTB*:493-505.

	ka^{33}**nɣ^{33}**; a^{31}**nɣ^{33}**	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	mɛ^{31} **naŋ^{31}**	back (side)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	nɔ^{31} **nɣ^{55}**	back (side)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	nɔ^{31}nv^{55}fɔ^{33}	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.32
7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***ŋáŋ'** dèŋ'	loins (see 144.)	Jones 1961:24
**Karen (TP)*	***ŋáŋ'** dèŋ'	loins	Jones 1961:24
**Karen*	***ŋáŋ'**dèŋ'	loins (see 24.)	Jones 1961:144
**Karen (TP)*	***ŋáŋ'**dèŋ'	loins	Jones 1961:144
Pa-O	**nâŋ** dèŋ	groin / loins	Matisoff 1987
	nâŋ ʔóŋ	back	Matisoff 1987
	ŋâŋ dèŋ	loins	Jones 1961:24
	ŋâŋ deŋ	loins	Jones 1961:144
	ŋâŋ ʔóŋ	back (body)	Jones 1961:362
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	ɣɯ^{33} **no^{33}**	back (side)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

(3) PTB * g/b -liŋ ≍ * g/b -lyaŋ BACK / SPINE

The Lepcha form **glyaṅ** provides the best evidence for the allofam with the ***-yaŋ*** rhyme.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***gljaɣ**	backbone / skeleton	Coblin 1986:138
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Tagin	eŋ **kiŋ** galo	backbone / spine	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gí**-jí (a long)	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	gí jí tatkin	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	u-**gíng**	lower back; loins; lumbar region; hip; waist	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**pling**	back	Matisoff 1987
	pling	back (n.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	pling gla:	carry on back	NEFA (India) 1963
	pling-nu	rear (back)	NEFA (India) 1963
	plɯn^{53}	back	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	plɯn^{53}	back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.22
	plɯn^{53}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.49
	plɯu^{53}	back (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0713.22
	plɯu^{53}	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.49
Kaman [Miju]	**glă^{53}**	back; back (of body); back (direction)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.48; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.48
Idu	i^{55}**pin^{55}**dio^{55}	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.50
	i **pin** do	back	Pulu 1978
	plɯn^{53}	back; back (of body)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:5.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.50
Yidu	i^{55}**pin^{55}**dio^{55}	back (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0713.25
	plɯn^{53}	back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.25
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	ə-**hlì**-gű	back	Weidert 1987:828
Awa Khumi	**li^{1}** tʻõ^{4}	back (body)	Luce 1985:R.19
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	zâng-ruh **thling**	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	zô-ru la-**thli**	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	**khen**	back basket (women's)	French 1983:453
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Khezha	**ke** che	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **ke** sü	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **ki** che	back (body)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: **k^{h}e:ŋ* BACK (BODY)			
**Northern Naga*	***Ç-geŋ**	waist	French 1983:574-5
	***k^{h}e:ŋ**	back (body)	French 1983:453
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	**k^{h}en** ko	yoke	French 1983:453
Tangsa (Yogli)	**k^{h}eŋ** paŋ	back	French 1983:453
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Wancho	ta **ki**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**giɛ^{13}** ʐ$_{l}^{53}$	back	Sun Hongkai 1991a:5.5
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**glyaṅ**	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish: **^{Ah}li* BACK / BACKSIDE			
**TGTM*	***^{Ah}li**	back / backside	Mazaudon 1994:896
Gurung	**liụ** diq	back (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.17
Gurung (Ghachok)	**liũ** diq	back; after	Glover 1972:12.C.17; Glover 1972:12.D.29
Manang (Gyaru)	**lyi:^{2}** dzɛ^{2}	back	Nagano 1984:355
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{3}li:**	back; backside	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0269a; Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0746a
	^{3}li: tse	back / backside	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0269b
	^{3}li: tsə	back	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0746b
	^{1}li:	back / backside	Mazaudon 1994:896
Tamang (Sahu)	**lik** kyām	back (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.17
Thakali	**li** se	behind	Hale 1973:XIIC
Thakali (Tukche)	**li** se	back	Hari 1971:12.C.17
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**liu** ne	back	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:1.4
	lyu ne	back (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.17
	lyu ne	behind	Hale 1973:XIIC
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**ging**	lower back / loins / lumbar region	Matisoff 1987
	giŋ	back; back (lower)	Weidert 1987:828; Caughley 1972:2.A.31
Chepang (Eastern)	**giŋ**	back (lower); back; lower back	Caughley 1990:1.4; Caughley 1990:5.5; Caughley 1990:5.5.2
	giŋ khur?	hunchback	Caughley 1990:5.5.6
Magar	**li** se	back (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.17
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**gi^{35}** kuɔ̃^{53}	back; back (of body)	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.17
	gi^{35}kuɑ̃^{55}	back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.16
7. Karenic			
Bwe	**-blʊ**	backbone / spine (n.)	Henderson 1997
	phlú-ká	back part of the inside	Henderson 1997
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**plo^{31}**	back (body)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:118
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**gljagx**	backbone / skeleton	Coblin 1986:138
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**ljwo:**	backbone / spine	Coblin 1986:138
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**lü**	backbone / spine; pitch-pipe	Karlgren 1957:76a-c

(4) PTB *m-k(y)un BACK / KIDNEY

This root is reconstructed as ***m-glun*** (*HPTB* 73, 125, 198), largely because of the voiced initial in the OC comparanda ***d̂i̯ĕn*** and ***di̯ən*** (*GSR* #368h 'kidney' and #450h-i 'small of the back'). On the TB level, however, it now seems best to reconstruct it with a voiceless root initial.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-glun**	kidney	Matisoff 2003a:590
1.6. Mru			
Mru	**kia**	kidney	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**hkyun**	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	hkyun sau	fatty tissues around kidney	Matisoff 1987
	hkyun-tawng sham	loin / sirloin (meat)	Matisoff 1987
	khyun nra	lumbar vertebrae	Matisoff 1987
	n-hkyun	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	n-khyun	kidney; small of back	Matisoff 1978a:67; Matisoff 1978b:(1); Marrison 1967
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Chantyal	**kən** nyaw lo	backbone / spine	Noonan *et al.* 1992:5.5.4
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{1}ky^{h}e**	kidney	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0506
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	kro **kun:**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
	kyok-**kûn**	back	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**ŋ^{4}kjo^{5}**	kidney	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1978a:67
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	夤	small of the back, region of the reins	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3490
	腎	kidney	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2464
Chinese (GSR #)	**0368h**	kidney	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2464
	0450h	small of the back, region of the reins	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3490
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**di̯ən/i̯ĕn**	small of the back, region of the reins	Karlgren 1957:450h-i
	d̂i̯ĕn/ź i̯ĕn	kidney	Chou Fa-kao 1972:368h
	d̂i̯ĕn/ź i̯ĕn:	kidney	Karlgren 1957:368h
Chinese (Old)	**gin?** {[g]i[n]?}	kidney	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2464
	gjin?	kidney	Baxter 1992:349
	ɢər {[ɢ[(r)ə[r]}	small of the back, region of the reins	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3490
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**dzyinX**	kidney	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2464
	yin	small of the back, region of the reins	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3490
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**shehn** tzahng	kidney	Sun 1985b:412
	shen	kidney	Karlgren 1957:368h
	shèn	kidney	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2464
	yin	small of the back, region of the reins	Karlgren 1957:450h-i
	yín	small of the back, region of the reins	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3490

Chinese comparandum

腎 OC ***d̂i̯ĕn***, *GSR* #368h 'kidney'; B & S 2011: ***gin? {(g)i(n)?}***; Mand. **shèn**.
夤 OC ***di̯ĕn***, *GSR* #450h-i 'small of the back, region of the reins'; B & S 2011: ***gər {ɢ(r)ə(r)}***; Mand. **yín**.

(5) PTB *man BACK (lower) / BUTTOCKS

This etymon seems to partially overlap with PTB ***mu(n/ŋ)*** BUTTOCKS / TAIL / BACK (§1.4.10), and should perhaps be merged with it in the future.

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**ma:** tõ	buttock	NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**man** ku	back (body)	Marrison 1967
	man kvu	back	Nienu 1990c:1.4
	MaN kvu	back	Nienu 1990c:5.5
	MaN kvu okupoe	lower back	Nienu 1990c:5.5.2
	MaN kvu omhawoi	upper back	Nienu 1990c:5.5.1
	MaN kvu ru	backbone / spine	Nienu 1990c:5.5.4
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	shing **ma**	back	Matisoff 1987
	shing **mang**	back	Matisoff 1987
	ʃin^{33}**ma^{33}**	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.47
	ʃiŋ^{33} **ma^{33}**	back (of body)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**man^{13}** tɕuŋ^{55}	buttocks	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	man tɕuŋ	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.7
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	čaṅ **màn**	loins	Matisoff 1987
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Taoping)	**mɑ^{31}** tʃhɻ^{33}	back (side)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Mile)	**mʌ^{55}**p^{h}i^{21}ɣɯ^{21}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.25
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mɑ^{55}**tɕy^{31}	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.28

(6) PTB * k g um BACK / BODY

This root is etymologically distinct from PTB ***guŋ*** BODY / BACK (§1.1.1) and PTB ***(k/ʔ)uk*** BEND / CROOKED / RETURN / BACK / YEAR (§9.1).

The Bai forms are rather arbitrarily assigned to this root, although roots PTB ***guŋ*** BODY / BACK (§1.1.1) and PTB ***s-kəw*** BODY / CHEST / THORAX / CORPSE (§1.1.1) are also possibilities.

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**ngûm** ruh	sacrum	Matisoff 1987
	ngûm-fi ruh	sacrum	Matisoff 1987

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	məi **ŋum**	back	Matisoff 1994e

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *k^hum BACK

**Tangkhulic*	*k^h**um**	back	Mortensen 2012:452
Huishu	ʔa-laʔ-k^h**ɐm**	back, upper back	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.110
Kachai	k^h**um**-k^hor	back	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.131
Tangkhul	ā **khum** ren ra li kazan	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	khum khor	back	Matisoff 1987
	khum kor	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	k^h**um**-k^hor	back	Mortensen 2012

1.6. Mru

Mru	**kom**[1]	back	Luce 1985:Q.46
	kum[1]	back (body)	Luce 1985:R.19

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	(a)-**khùm**-ʃīŋ-jāŋ	body	Matisoff 1994b
	gùm-gù	body	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:52
	khum	body	Marrison 1967
	khūm-pāi	spleen	Matisoff 1974:14
	khum[31]	body	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; LaPolla 1987:21
	khum[31]	body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.19
	khum[31]to[31]	body upper half of the body (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:231.47 Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0735.19

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**kŭm**-šiń~**kŭm**-šŭń	lower back	Matisoff 1987
	tă-(tŭ¸n-)**gum**	back	Matisoff 1987

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	to[31] **ko**[31] ɕi[35]	back (of body)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.35
	tɔ[3] **kɔ**[2] si[6]	back (n.)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	to[21]**ko**[21]tɕi[55]phia[55]	back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.48
	to̱[42] **ko̱**[42] tɕi[55]	back (of body); back	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Zhao Yansun 1990:5.5
	to[42]**ko**[42]tɕi[55]phiɛ[55]	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.36

(7) PTB *tu $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ BACK (of body)

Cf. also PTB ***m-daŋ*** BUTTOCKS / HIPS / TAIL / LOWER BACK / LOINS (§1.4.8.1), where the semantic center of gravity is lower in the body (i.e. lower back, buttocks, tail); however, the Sherpa, Lepcha, and Yakha forms are included here because of their stopped finals.

We recognize three quite similar etyma in this semantic area: the present root PTB ***tu(k/ŋ)***, PTB ***m-daŋ*** BUTTOCKS / HIPS / TAIL / LOWER BACK / LOINS (§1.4.8.1), and PTB ***du*** TAIL / BUTTOCKS / BACK (§1.4.10). In the case of phonologically eroded languages (e.g. Loloish, Qiangic, Baic), it is sometimes difficult to decide among them. Several Loloish languages have distinct reflexes for at least two of them, e.g. Lahu **tɔ̀** 'lower back / loins / lumbar region' < PTB ***m-daŋ*** vs. **ɔ̀-mē-tu** 'tail' < PTB ***du***; Written Burmese **taŋ-pâ** 'buttock' < PTB ***m-daŋ*** vs. **khâ-tuiŋ** 'lower back / loins / lumbar region' < PTB ***tu(k/ŋ)***. Two Southern Loloish binomes are particularly problematic (Akha **dɔ̀-dàŋ** 'buttocks' and Sangkong **toŋ**[31] **taŋ**[55] 'buttocks'), where the first syllables are from PTB ***m-daŋ***, while the second syllables are of uncertain origin despite their superficial resemblance to PTB ***m-daŋ***.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	ko:-**tɯ:**	back (body)	Sun 1993b

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *ɗuŋ REAR / BACK

**Chin*	***ɗuŋ**	REAR / BACK	VanBik 2009:103

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**dün˝**	rear	VanBik 2009:103
Awa Khumi	li[1] **t'õ**[4]	back (body)	Luce 1985:R.19
Khumi (Ahraing)	nă **t'õ**[2]	back (body)	Luce 1985:R.19

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**dúŋ**	rear, back	VanBik 2009:103

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Moyon	**tùk** núŋ	back	Kosha 1990:1.4

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	te rong **tong**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü rong **tong**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	khang **dong**	back (body)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Khezha	**thò** kə	back	Yabu 1994:5.5

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**tung**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	mai **ting**	back (body)	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**tung**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
	tuŋ	back	Singh 1991:1.4

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***tuk**	back	French 1983:453

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**tok** di	behind	French 1983:453

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**tak**	back (body); back	Marrison 1967; French 1983:453
Konyak	**tok**	back (body); back	Marrison 1967; French 1983:453
Phom	**tok**	back (body); back	Marrison 1967; French 1983:453
Wancho	ci **tok**	instep	French 1983:453
	tok	back	French 1983:453
	tɔk i	back	French 1983:453

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	mərūng **tōŋ**	backbone	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:495

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**t^{h}aka**	back	Sharma 1982

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Sherpa	'gong **dok**	buttock; hip	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**tŭk**-bróń	hip	Matisoff 1987
	tŭk-ček	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	tŭk-šim	tail	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yakha	**to:k** ca li	rump; buttocks; hips	Kohn 1990:5.10; Kohn 1990:5.10.1; Kohn 1990:5.8.1
	to:k ca li sa:	haunches (of animal)	Kohn 1990:5.8.3
	to:k ca li se:ŋ kwɔk	hipbone	Kohn 1990:5.8.2

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	khâ-**tuiŋ**	lower back / loins / lumbar region	Matisoff 1987

(8) PTB *pa $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{ŋ}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ BACK / BOTTOM / UNDER / BEHIND

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	gɯ **baŋ**	back	Simon 1979
	gɯ **baŋ**-ljaŋ	backbone	Simon 1979

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	i si gõ **mbo**	backbone / spine	Pulu 1978
	rūm **bõ**	back	Pulu 1978

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Ngmüün	**paŋ**	back	So-Hartmann 1988:84
Womatu	**paŋ**[3]	back (body)	Luce 1985:R.19

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	ā mei **phāŋ** ra	pelvis	Matisoff 1987
	ā raŋ **phāŋ** ra	pelvis	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *p^haŋ UNDER

**Northern Naga*	*p^h**aŋ**	under	French 1983:572

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Yogli)	kheng **pang**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
	k^heŋ **paŋ**	back	French 1983:453

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**pang** a	under	Marrison 1967
	pang to	under	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**phang** me	under	Marrison 1967
Phom	**phang** ei	under	Marrison 1967
Wancho	ho **pang**	under	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**phaŋ**[33]	back (side)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	phaŋ[33]	back (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0713.19
	phaŋ[33]	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.47

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**pön** tsĕ niṅ	tail	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Mama)	**phuŋ**[53]	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.6
	p^{h}uŋ[53]	back	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	**p^{h}uŋ** bu tə q^{h}u	back	Sun Hongkai 1991k:1.4
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **p^{h}uŋ** bə tə zga ʁo	back	Sun Hongkai 1991l:1.4
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wa sop **p^{h}ak**	buttocks	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.10.1

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**phĩ**[22]	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.40
Burmese (Written)	**phɑŋ**[2]	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.39

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	m̥e[55] **pɔ**[55]	tail	Dai Qingxia 1989o:317.
Nusu (Central)	m̥i[31] **pɯ̱**[55]	tail	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	m̥i[31]**pɯ̱**[55]	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.45
Nusu (Central)	m̥u[55] **pʻɚ**[53]	tail	Dai Qingxia 1989p:317.
Nusu (Southern)	n̥i[55] **pa̱**[53]	tail	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Ugong	wŭŋ **phûŋ** wú/u	backbone / spine	Bradley 1993:5.5.4

(9) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{l}\\\mathbf{n}\end{matrix}$ am BACK (body)

Several languages have an initial **n-** instead of **l-**, a well-attested variational phenomenon in this linguistic area, notably in Southwest Mandarin.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**lam**-piŋ	nape	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**lam** ming	tail	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	khut nung **lam**	back of hand	Haokip 1998:6.1.7.2

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	ʔə-núuŋ-**làm**	back (of something)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.004

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**nam**-gal	back	Benedict 1972:12
	nam hal	back (body)	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Yacham-Tengsa	ta **lam**	back (body)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Chokri	**na**[31] ku[33] ro[31]	backbone / spine	Nienu 1990b:5.5.4

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	khu **nəm**	back of hand	Singh 1991:6.1.7.2
	nam-gal ~ **nam**-gan	back	Benedict 1972:12; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	nam gal	back	Matisoff 1987
	nəŋ gən	back	Singh 1991:5.5

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	mí-**lum** bóng	buttocks	Grüssner 1979:170
	mi **lum** bong	buttock / haunch	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Andro	**lo** mɑ	back	Luce 1985:K.60

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**lu**	back	Dai Qingxia 1989e:1.4

3.2. Qiangic

Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	ka[35]**lõ**[55]	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.16

(10) PTB *m-ruŋ BACK (body)

The ***m-*** prefix is attested in Jingpho.

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	ha:-**rũ**	backbone	NEFA (India) 1963
	ha: **rung**	backbone	NEFA (India) 1963
	ha: **rung**~ha:-**rũ**	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
Idu	**rũm** bõ	back	Pulu 1978

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***ruŋ*** BACK (BODYPART)

**Central Naga*	***ruŋ**	BACK (BODYPART)	Bruhn 2014a:III.226
**Ao*	*t-**ɹuŋ**-thuŋ	BACK (BODYPART)	Bruhn 2014a:II.317
Ao (Chungli)	te **rong** tong	back (body)	Marrison 1967
	tə[2]-**ɹuŋ**[2]tuŋ[2]	back (body part) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.317

Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	tə-**ruŋ**-thuŋ	back (body part) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.317
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **rong** tong	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a **rong**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	te **long** kung	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**rung**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Rengma	nnye **zung**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	**chung**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**marung**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
	mərūng	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	mərūng tōŋ	backbone	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:495

(11) PTB *kur BACK (adv.) / BACK (body part)

This root has so far been best attested in Tani, where it has an adverbial meaning. In a few other languages, its meaning is restricted to the body part.

1.1.1. Tani: ***kur** BACK (adv.)			
**Tani*	***kur**	back (adv.)	Sun 1993a:12
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**kur**	back (adv.)	Sun 1993a
Bengni	(lam-ku:) ɯŋ-**kur**	retreat	Sun 1993b
	git-**kur** git-fi:	toss and turn	Sun 1993b
	hiŋ-**kur**	turn head	Sun 1993b
	kur	back (adv.)	Sun 1993a
	rjo:-**kur**-ku	come back running	Sun 1993b
	tak-**kur**	turn around	Sun 1993b
	ɯŋ-**kur**-ku	come back	Sun 1993b
Bokar	dʑir **kur**	turn around (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1806.24
	həŋ-**kur**	retreat, go back	Sun 1993b
	kur	back (adv.)	Sun 1993a
	luŋ-**kur**	redeem	Sun 1993b
	fiəŋ **kur**	back up / retreat (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1691.24
Galo	-**ʻkur**	back; back to back; return; again (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a-**kur:**-nam	return (come back) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	in-**kur:**-nam	return (go back) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ka-**kur:**-nam	turn (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻaa **kur**	return (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻiŋ **kur**	go back (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ɟɯ-**kur:**-nam	return (give back); repay; repaying of debt (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	-**kur**	back	Simon 1976
Nishing	ang + **kurr** ~ ang + **karr**	return	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	miŋ-**kur**-nam	think again / reconsider (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	**gor**-ga:	back (body)	Sun 1993b
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	khum **khor**	back	Matisoff 1987
	khum **kor**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mgəɤ̯**	back	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.5

(12) PKar *klon BACK (body)

Perhaps ultimately related to PTB ***k(r)aw** ≍ ***k(y)aw** BACK (§1.4.8), a root set up with final labial semi-vowel rather than a final nasal.

7. Karenic			
**Karen (Pwo)*	***khlòn**	back (body)	Jones 1961:362
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***khlòh**	back (body)	Jones 1961:362
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***khlə́**	back (body)	Jones 1961:362
Bwe	**-khló**	reverse side of, back, behind (n.)	Henderson 1997
	khló	back	Weidert 1987:828
Bwe (Western)	**kʻlo**^{1}	back (body)	Luce 1985:I.173
Geba	**kʻlo**^{1}	back (body)	Luce 1985:I.173
Karen	**khlø**^{55}xɯ̯i^{55}	back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.50
Paku	**kʻloe**^{1}	back (body)	Luce 1985:I.173
Palaychi	**khlɔ̀q**	back; back (body)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:362
Pwo	**khlòn**	back	Weidert 1987:828
Pwo (Delta)	ð **kʻlõ**^{4}	back (body)	Luce 1985:I.173
Pwo (Tenasserim)	ð **kʻlõ**^{6}	back (body)	Luce 1985:I.173
Pwo (Bassein)	**khlòn**	back; back (body)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:362
Pwo (Moulmein)	**khlòn**	back; back (body)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:362
Sgaw	**kʻlə**^{1}	back (body)	Luce 1985:I.173
	^{4}**khlø**	back	Weidert 1987:828
Sgaw (Bassein)	**khlə́**	back; back (body)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:362
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**kʰlø**^{55} xɯ̯i^{55}	back (body)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:118
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**khlə́**	back; back (body)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:362

(13) PTB * p / b al BACK

1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	**ul**	back	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**bol**-gro	backbone of a human or animal, ridge pole of a house	Burling 1992
	bol-gro	backbone (n.)	Burling 2003:6.28-II:idx
	bol-gru	backbone of a human or animal, ridge pole of a house	Burling 1992
	jang-gil **bol**-gru	backbone	Burling 1992
	jang-gil-ni **bol**-gru	backbone	Burling 1992
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sengmai	lū **bɑl**	back	Luce 1985:K.60
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	sya **phal**	thigh (back side of)	Watters & Watters 1989
	syā **phāl**	back	Matisoff 1987
	sya **pʰal**	thigh (back side of)	Watters & Watters 1989

(14) PTB *paw WAIST / BACK / BUTTOCK

1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	a **pau**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	dàng-**bāu**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
6.1.1. Burmish			
Maru [Langsu]	tʃhau?^{55} **pau**^{31}	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.10.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.43

(15) PTB *ts(y)a BACK

1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	kə^{33}**tse**^{53}	back; waist; back (of body)	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.52; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.52
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Kohima)	(u) sie^{55} **tsa**^{31}	back	Nienu 1990a:1.4
Meluri	a **se** hü	back (body)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**cha** khen	waist	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	**ja**-kā^{2}	waist	unknown nd
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Thakali	li **se**	behind	Hale 1973:XIIC
3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	dʐu^{33}**tsɛ**^{33}**tsɛ**^{33}	back; back (of body)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:5.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.19
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʒɛ**^{55} dʑe^{13}	back (side); back (direction)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʑɐ**^{55} gi^{53}	back (side); back (direction)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.10
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Luxi)	**tsaʔ**^{31} tɔm^{31}	back (of body)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Youle)	tə^{42} **tsʰə**^{42}	back (of body)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	tə^{42}**tshə**^{42}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.34
Sani [Nyi]	**tɕʰæ**^{33} dɪ^{33}	back (body)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:234.1
	tɕʰæ^{44}	back (body)	Ma Xueliang 1989:337.1

(16) PTani *lam-ku BACK (n.)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***lam-ku**	back (n.)	Sun 1993a:13
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**kɯ-lĩ**	back (n.)	Sun 1993a
	kɯ-lĩ	back	Sun 1993b
	kɯ-liŋ	back (body)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	(**lam-ku:**) ɯŋ-kɯr	retreat	Sun 1993b
	lam-ku	back (n.)	Sun 1993a
	lam-ku	back	Sun 1993b
	lam-ku ku-ro:	back (upper)	Sun 1993b
	lam-ku:	behind	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**lam ko**	back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.24
	lam ko	back (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0713.24
	lam-ko	back (n.)	Sun 1993a
	lam-ko	behind (postp.)	Sun 1993b
	lam-ko	back; behind; back (body)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	lok-pjo **lam-ko**	back of hand	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**lam ko**	back (of body); back (direction); back	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**ˆnaŋko**	back	Weidert 1987:828
Miri, Hill	**naŋ-ke**	back	Simon 1976
	naŋ-kɤ	back	Simon 1976
Tagin	**laŋku**	back	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**lâm-ku**	back	Matisoff 1987
	lam-ku	back (n.)	Sun 1993a
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Côông [Phunoi]	**lãkhu**^{55}	back	Ferlus 1991:1.4
	lə̃kho (nô khô)	back	Matisoff 1987

1.4.8.1 Lower Back/Small of Back

SMALL OF BACK —— KIDNEY

Figure 117: 1.4.8.1 *Lower Back/Small of Back*

(1) PTB *m-daŋ BUTTOCKS / HIPS / TAIL / LOWER BACK / LOINS

We recognize three quite similar etyma in this semantic area: the present root PTB ***m-daŋ**, PTB ***tu(k/ŋ)** BACK (of body) (§1.4.8), and PTB ***du** TAIL / BUTTOCKS / BACK (§1.4.10). In the case of phonologically eroded languages (e.g. Loloish, Qiangic, Baic), it is sometimes difficult to decide among them. Several Loloish languages have distinct reflexes for at least two of them, e.g. Lahu **tɔ̀** 'lower back / loins / lumbar region' < PTB ***m-daŋ** vs. **ɔ̀-mɛ̄-tu** 'tail' < PTB ***du**; Written Burmese **taŋ-pâ** 'buttock' < PTB ***m-daŋ** vs. **khâ-tuiŋ** 'lower back / loins / lumbar region' < PTB ***tu(k/ŋ)**. Two Southern Loloish binomes are particularly problematic (Akha **dɔ̀-dàŋ** 'buttocks' and Sangkong **toŋ**^{31} **taŋ**^{55} 'buttocks'), where the first syllables are from PTB ***m-daŋ**, while the second syllables are of uncertain origin despite their superficial resemblance to PTB ***m-daŋ**.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	ko-**ta**	buttocks	Sun 1993b
Bengni	həŋ-**tɯŋ**	backbone / spine	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ma: **tõ**	buttock	NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987
Kaman [Miju]	thɑl^{55}pɯm^{55}**dɑŋ**^{55}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.48
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Anal	**tɔ**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
Ngawn	**tɔ**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**tɔ**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tɔ**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
Laizo	**tɔ**	buttock	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Kom Rem	**tʰoŋ**	anus / rectum	Toba & Kom 1991:9.12
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Chokri	(u) **tho**^{31} tsu^{35} ro^{31}	tailbone / coccyx	Nienu 1990b:5.10.2
Khezha	**thè** ba	buttocks	Yabu 1994:5.10.1
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	ta **dang**	hip	Marrison 1967
Maram	**dang** kang	hip	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	a phu **tang**	back of head	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	kʰi-**toŋ**	tail	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**dang**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	dang-hkawp	hip	Matisoff 1987
	dang-kang	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	dàŋ	buttocks	Matisoff 1974:54
	dàŋ-kāŋ	buttocks	Matisoff 1974:54
	dàng-bāu	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	mài-**dàŋ**	buttocks	Matisoff 1974:54
	mai **dang**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	taŋ^{31}kaŋ^{33}	buttocks (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.19
	taŋ^{31}kaŋ^{33}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.47
	^{1}**daŋ**^{2}kaŋ-^{2}khu	anus	Weidert 1987:1
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	khen **tong**	buttock	Egli-Roduner 1987:34 1b
Tshona (Wenlang)	**teŋ**^{55}	buttocks	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**teŋ**^{55}pɛʔ^{53}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.6
Cuona Menba	**teŋ**^{55}pɛʔ^{53}	buttocks (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	oŋ **doŋ**	buttocks (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	oŋ **toŋ**	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.4
Sherpa	kel **dangq**	lower back / loins / lumbar region	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	ʔoŋ **doŋ**	buttocks (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	tă-(**tŭ¸n**-)gum	back	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Sahu)	cyuhp **to**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**DeN**	backside / behind	Rai 1985
	deng	back	Rai *et al.* 1984:22
	deŋ-si	back	Matisoff 1987
	keng-**tang**	buttocks	Rai *et al.* 1984:34
	keN **TaN**	buttocks	Rai 1985
	keN **TaN** huT	anus	Rai 1985
3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	**do**^{33}bi^{55}	buttocks; haunches	Sun Hongkai 1991i:5.10.1; Sun Hongkai 1991i:5.8.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.19
Pumi (Qinghua)	**do**^{13}	back (of body)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**do**^{55}	back (of body)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.10
Qiang (Taoping)	**de**^{231}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	de^{241}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.9
	χde^{33} tɑ^{33}	back (side)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Xumi	**do**^{33} pɑ^{55}	buttocks; haunches	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	fiɛ **thɯ**	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.14
	fiɛ **tʰɯ**	buttocks; haunches	Sun Hongkai 1991b:5.10.1; Sun Hongkai 1991b:5.8.3
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	**teŋ** kʰu	back	Dai Qingxia 1989d:1.4
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**tuŋ** kʰu	back	Sun Hongkai 1991j:1.4
4. Nungic			
Anong	ɖɛ^{31}guŋ^{31}**ʈhɑŋ**^{55}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.44
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**taŋ**^{31} tshin^{55}	waist	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	taŋ^{31}tshin^{55}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.28
	taŋ^{31}tshin^{55}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.41
Bola	kauŋ^{55} **tɔ̃**^{35}	back (body)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:115
	pju^{55} **tɔ̃**^{55} kuŋ^{35}	hunchback	Dai Qingxia 1989g:248
	tʰɔ̃^{55} kʰja^{55}	back	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1026
Burmese (Written)	**taṅ** pāː ruiː	hip	Marrison 1967
	taŋ	tail; buttocks	Hansson 1989:248; Matisoff 1974:54
	taŋ-pâ	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	taŋ-pâ-rûi	hip	Matisoff 1987
	taŋ-sâ	buttock	Matisoff 1987
Hpun (Northern)	lɛ **thaŋ**	back	Henderson 1986
Lashi	**tạŋ**^{55} kɔːi^{55} khjo^{33}	groin / loins	Dai Qingxia 1989m:1.10
	tạŋ^{55} pou^{55} ʃo^{55}	rump	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.10
Maru [Langsu]	kauŋ^{31} **tɔ̃**^{35}	back	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.5
	kauŋ^{31} **tɔ̃**^{55}	back	Dai Qingxia 1989l:1.4
	kauŋ^{31} **tɔ̃**^{55} ɣuk^{55}	backbone / spine	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.5.4
	kauŋ^{31}**tɔ̃**^{55}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.43
	lɔʔ^{31} kauŋ^{31} **tɔ̃**^{55}	back of hand	Dai Qingxia 1989l:6.1.7.2
	thɔ̃^{31}khjɔ^{31}	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.43
	tɔ̃^{55} kɔi^{31} khjɔ^{31}	groin / loins	Dai Qingxia 1989l:1.10
	tɔ̃^{55} puk^{55} ʃɔ^{35}	rump	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.10
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**thaŋ**^{51}	back (side); back (direction)	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	ɕi^{31} **dv̩**^{31}	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.10.1
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	ku^{21} **tu**^{33}	back	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5
Nasu	kɔ^{21} **tɔ**^{21}	back	Chen Kang 1986b:1.4
Nesu	**da**^{21} pɣ̱^{21}	hips	Chen Kang 1986b:5.8.1
Noesu	**do**^{21}pu^{55}	hips	Chen Kang 1986b:5.8.1
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**dõ**^{35}	back (body)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:115.
	dõ^{35} bu^{31} bu^{31}	hunchback	Dai Qingxia 1989o:248.
	doŋ^{31} tse̱^{31}	backbone / spine	Dai Qingxia 1989o:160.
Nusu (Central)	**dɔ̃**^{33}	back (body)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:115.
	dɔ̃^{33} bu^{31} a^{31}	hunchback	Dai Qingxia 1989p:248.
	dɔ̃^{33} tsi̱^{53}	backbone / spine	Dai Qingxia 1989p:160.
	dɔ̃^{33}tsi̱^{53}	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.34
	dɔ̃^{35}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**dɔ̃**^{55}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**də̃**^{31} ɑ̃^{35}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	kʰɯi^{55} **dõ**^{53}	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989o:122.
Nusu (Central)	kʰɯi^{55} **dɔŋ**^{55}	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989p:122.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	la^{35} **tʰɔ̃**^{31}	back	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1026.
Nusu (Southern)	la^{35} **tʰɔ̃**^{35}	back (side)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	lo^{33} **tʰɔ̃**^{31}	back	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1026.
Nusu (Northern)	lɛ^{31} **tə̃**^{55}	back (side)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	lɑ^{35} **tʰɑ̃**^{31}	back (side)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	lɑ^{35}**thɑ̃**^{31}	back (direction); later (in time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.45; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:992.45
Yi (Mojiang)	**tɻ̩**^{21}pɯ^{21}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.26
Yi (Nanhua)	pʰi^{21}**du**^{21}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**du**^{55}be^{21}dzɭ^{33}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.23
	kɑ^{21} **tu**^{33}	back (of body)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.23
Yi (Xide)	kɯ^{21} **tɯ**^{21}	back (of body); back	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**to**^{33} kʰlo^{44}	anus	Dai Qingxia 1989h:143
Jinuo (Youle)	**to**^{33} pʰu^{44}	buttocks	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**to**^{44} kʰlo^{55}	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989h:125
	to^{44} mi^{44}	tail	Dai Qingxia 1989h:334
Jinuo (Youle)	**to**^{44} m̥i^{44}	tail	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**to**^{44} tʃø^{44}	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989h:125.1
Jinuo (Baka)	**to**^{44} tʃø^{44}	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989i:125
Jinuo	**tɔ**^{33}tɕø^{35}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.34
Lahu (Black)	**tɔ̀**	lower back / loins / lumbar region	Matisoff 1987
	tɔ̀-pɛ̄(-ni)	girth	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Yongsheng)	gu^{35} **du**^{31}	back (of body)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986:p.110
Lisu	hchi^{5}-**du**^{5}	buttock	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Northern)	khi^{21}**du**^{21}	buttocks	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	mæ^{55} **tɑ**^{33}	tail (esp. of livestock, wild animals)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:33.4
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**daw**˪ byoe	anus	Matisoff 1987
	daw˪ kʼm˪	buttock (hum, animal. imp)	Matisoff 1987
	daw˪ dah˪	buttock (semi-polite)	Matisoff 1987
	daw˪ mehˇ	buttock (hum., polite)	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Thai)	**dáŋ**-thé	back / spine	Hansson 1989:418
Akha (Yunnan)	**dɔ** xhm̀	buttocks	Hansson 1989:247
Akha	**dɔ̀**	tail	Hansson 1989:248
Akha (Thai)	**dɔ̀** dzú dzú	sit on heels	Hansson 1989:250
Akha (Yunnan)	**dɔ̀** mì	tail	Hansson 1989:248
	dɔ̀ phè	root, base	Hansson 1989:217
Akha (Thai)	**dɔ̀**-dàŋ	buttocks	Hansson 1989:391
	dɔ̀-mì	tail	Hansson 1989:248
Akha	**dɔ̀**-mì	tail	Matisoff 1985a:072
Akha (Thai)	**dɔ̀**-phɛ	root, base	Hansson 1989:249
	dɔ̀-phè	root, base	Hansson 1989:249
	dɔ̀-xhm̀	buttocks	Hansson 1989:391
Bisu	**tàŋ** khàŋ	back	Beaudouin 1988:13
	tàŋ kʰàŋ	back / spine	Bradley 199x
	tɔŋ hɲì	tail	Beaudouin 1988:4
	tɔŋ hɲì	tail	Bradley 1979b
	tɔŋ hnì	tail	Bradley 199x
	tɔŋ khlɔ̀ŋ	anus	Beaudouin 1988:13
	tɔŋ phlà	buttock	Beaudouin 1988:13
Hani (Lüchun)	**do** mì (dɔ̀ ?)	tail	Hansson 1989:248
	dó thé	back / spine	Hansson 1989:418
Hani (Dazhai)	**dɔ**^{31} mi^{31}	tail	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	dɔ^{31}khɔ^{31}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.31
	dɔ^{31}mi^{31}	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dɔ̀** dzú dzú	sit on heels	Hansson 1989:250
	dɔ̀ khɔ̀	buttocks	Hansson 1989:391
	dɔ̀ phè	root, base	Hansson 1989:249
Hani (Dazhai)	**dɔ**^{55} tsɿ̄^{31}	waist	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	dɔ^{55} tʰe^{55}	back (of body)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	dɔ^{55}the^{55}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.31
	dɔ^{55}ts^{31}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dɔ**^{55}tsɿ̄^{31}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.41
Hani (Pijo)	**tà**	buttocks	Hansson 1989:247
	tà py	buttocks	Hansson 1989:391
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tɐ̱**^{31}pɣ̄^{33}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**daŋ**^{55} tsɯ̄^{31}	waist	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ddaol** teil	back / spine	Hansson 1989:418
	ddaoq-	sit on heels	Hansson 1989:250
	ddaoq kaoq	buttocks	Hansson 1989:391
	ddaoq miq	tail	Hansson 1989:248
	ddaoq peiq	root, base	Hansson 1989:249
Hani (Shuikui)	**tɣ̄**^{31}tshɿ̄^{31}	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.32
	tɣ̄^{31} tsʰɿ̄^{31}	waist	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	tɣ̄^{33}pɣ̄^{33}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tò**	buttocks	Hansson 1989:247
	tò py	buttocks	Hansson 1989:391
	tò py (pu?)	buttocks	Hansson 1989:247
Hani (Mojiang)	**tɣ̄**^{31}tshɿ̄^{31}	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.42
Mpi	**toŋ**^{2}	buttocks	Hansson 1989:247
	toŋ^{2}phuʔ^{4}	buttock	Bradley 1979b
Côông [Phunoi]	hɲɪ **tã**	buttock	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1987
	hɲi^{33} **tɑ̃**^{33}	buttocks	Bradley 1977
	tã hmin	tail	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1987
	tɑ̃^{33} hmin^{33}	tail	Bradley 1977
Sangkong	**toŋ**^{31} taŋ^{55}	buttocks	Li Yongsui 1991
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	**do**ɬbvɬ	buttocks	Michaud 2006–2009
	doɬbæɬ	thigh	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**do**^{21}pa^{55}	buttocks (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**do**^{31}pɑ^{55}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.28
7. Karenic			
Bwe	ká **thó**	buttocks (n.)	Henderson 1997
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**do̱**^{42} pɐ̱^{ɪ42}	back (of body)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	do^{42}pɐ̃^{ɪ42}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.37
Bai (Dali)	**to**^{31} ko^{31} ɕi^{35}	back (of body)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.35

	tɔ³ kɔ² si⁶	back (n.)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**to²¹**ko²¹tɕi⁵⁵phia⁵⁵	back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.48
	tõ³¹ kuạ⁴⁴ ɕui³³ jʉ̃ɯ̃⁴²	backbone / spine	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.5.4
	tǫ̃²¹ ko⁵⁵ tsẹ̃⁴⁴ nẹ̃²¹	hips	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.8.1
	tǫ⁴² kǫ⁴² tɕi⁵⁵	back (of body); back	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Zhao Yansun 1990:5.5
	to⁴²ko⁴²tɕi⁵⁵phiɛ⁵⁵	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.36

(2) PTB *m-kal ≍ *s-gal BACK (lower) / KIDNEY / LOAD / CARRY

The PKC etymon ***khel*** (a meso-root of PTB ***(k/g)yal*** BACK (lower) / BUTTOCKS / HIPS (§1.4.9.2)) definitely seems related to this root, perhaps pointing to a PKC variant ***k(y)al***.

The meaning of this etymon ranges from KIDNEY / SMALL OF BACK to the notion of CARRY ON THE BACK / LOAD. There also seems to be a relationship with the widespread root PTB ***m-kul*** TWENTY / ALL (§9.9), which perhaps indicates an original meaning like 'a complete load; everything that can be placed on a beast of burden at one time.'

The original meaning of the graph 荷 of the Chinese comparandum was 'lotus', as witness its "grass radical", but it came to be used as a loan character for the concept CARRY (in the Confucian Analects [Lún Yǔ 论语]) and for SUSTAIN (in the Zuǒ Zhuàn [左傳], one of the commentaries on the Spring and Autumn Annals).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-kal**	kidney; small of back; loins	Weidert 1987:936; Mortensen 2012; Benedict 1972:12
	***m-kal ≍ s-ga**	kidney / small of back	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	***m-kɯl**	kidney	Chou Fa-kao 1972:368h
	***s-gal**	load / burden	Matisoff 2003a:416, 423
	***s-ga:l**	loins	Weidert 1987:287
	***s-ga:l ≍ m-kal**	kidney / small of back / loins	Matisoff 2003a:590

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	**ge:** ɕi:	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.24
	gɛ-si:	backbone / spine	Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	***k^he** ma	kidney	Sun 1993b
	ge:-ts^hɯk ʔa-ro:	backbone	Sun 1993b

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***kal*** KIDNEY

**Chin*	***kal**	KIDNEY	VanBik 2009:297

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**kâl**	kidney	VanBik 2009:297
Tiddim	**kal**	kidney	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	kal[1]	kidney	VanBik 2009:297; Bhaskararao 1996:540; Benedict 1972:18n66
	´ kal	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	´kal	kidney (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**khãĩ**-lãĩ	groin	Weidert 1987:427
Khumi	**pkaawy**	kidney	VanBik 2009:297

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**kăl**	kidney	VanBik 2009:297
Lushai [Mizo]	**kal**	kidney	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	kăl	kidney	VanBik 2009:297; Löffler 1985
	kal	kidney	Bhaskararao 1996:540; Benedict 1972:12
Paangkhua	ma **kàl**	kidney	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**kei**-khâ-ru	groin	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	a **kə**	kidney	Toba & Kom 1991:9.6
Sorbung	**mə-kee**	kidney	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.294

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	nam-**gal**	back	Benedict 1972:12
	nam **hal**	back (body)	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	o **khü**	kidney	Murry *et al.* 1978:65
Sangtam	**khü** ling	kidney	Marrison 1967
	[1]a[2]**kɯ**[2]liŋ	kidney	Weidert 1987:936

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**meche**	kidney	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **mi³¹kie⁵⁵**	kidney	Nienu 1990a:9.6
	meche	kidney	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **mi³¹ ki³⁵**	kidney	Nienu 1990b:9.6
	[2]me[5]ku	loins	Weidert 1987:287
Khezha	**mecì** (chú́)	kidney	Yabu 1994:9.6
	[2]me[2]ku	loins	Weidert 1987:287
Mao	**[1]mo[5]ko**	loins	Weidert 1987:287
Rengma (Northern)	[1]a[1]**ŋ**[2]**ga**	loins	Weidert 1987:287
Rengma (Southern)	**m-ka**[ñ]	groin	Weidert 1987:287
	[2]n[1]**n**[3]**khi**	loins	Weidert 1987:287
Sema [Sumi]	a **ke** lu	kidney	Marrison 1967
	a **khü** lü	kidney	Achumi 1998a:9.6
	a **mchi** thi	kidney	Achumi 1998a:9.6
	[1]a[3]**khɯ**[3]lɯ	kidney	Weidert 1987:81

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**məi çi**	kidney	Matisoff 1994e
	məi xi	kidney	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	[3]mi [1]**n**[4]**keu**	kidney	Weidert 1987:81

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***kal*** KIDNEY

**Tangkhulic*	***kal**	kidney	Mortensen 2012:630
Huishu	ʔa-**mə-kej**	kidney	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.285
Kachai	**mə-ki**	kidney	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.267
Tangkhul	a **makei**	kidney	Marrison 1967
	ā **makei**	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	[1]ə[1]**mə**[2]**kəi**	kidney	Weidert 1987:81
Tusom	ŋ-**ka**-tχa	kidney	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.278
Ukhrul	a-**mə-kej**	kidney	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	nam-**gal ≍** nam-**gan**	back	Benedict 1972:12; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	nam **gal**	back	Matisoff 1987
	nəŋ **gən**	back	Singh 1991:5.5

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	iŋ **hãi(ʔ)**	loins / inguinal hernia,bubo(GDW	Weidert 1987:287

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***gəl**	back	Burling 1959:440

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Lalung [Tiwa]	iang **gulʔ**	back	Balawan 1965:30
	khan **galʔ**	waist	Balawan 1965:12

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	dźaŋ-**gal**	back	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	džaŋ-**gal**	back	Benedict 1972:12

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa	[3]veŋ[1]**xʌl(ʔ)**	groin	Weidert 1987:287
	[1]ʌ[1]**kʌl(ʔ)**	kidney	Weidert 1987:81

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**gé**	kidney	Weidert 1987:81

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**khal** ma	kidney	Sharma 1991a:9.6
Byangsi	**kha** ʃa:	kidney (n.)	Sharma 2003:427
Chaudangsi	**kha**-sya	kidney	Krishan 2003:345
Darma	**khə**-dɔŋ-sɛ	kidney	Krishan 2003:375
Kanauri	**khō**	waist (n.)	Bailey 1911
	khō	waist	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	bu **ka**	kidney	Sharma 1991b:9.6

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**khal**	kidney	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
Tsangla (Central)	**khe** ma	kidney	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 14b
Tshona (Mama)	**khɛ:**[55]mʌ[53]	kidney	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.6
	k^hɛ:[55] mʌ[53]	kidney	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Cuona Menba	**ge**[35]tsiʔ[53]	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**mkha** mæ	kidney (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0146.05
	rga tshək	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hga** wa	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.4
	kha ma	kidney	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**mkha** ma	kidney	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.5
	nk^ha-mæ	kidney	Sun 1985a:412
Tibetan (Batang)	**gɛ**[55] tʂhi[53]	backbone / spine	Dai Qingxia 1989a:5.5.4
	khɛ[55] le[53]	kidney	Dai Qingxia 1989a:9.6
	ge[55]tshiʔ[53]	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.03
	khe[55]ma[53]	kidney (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0146.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'khal** maq	kidney	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**khe**[55]ma[53]	kidney	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**khɛ**[55]ma[13]	kidney	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.2
	khɛ[55]ma[55]	kidney (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0146.02
	kɛ[13]tshi[52]	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.02
Sherpa	**kel** dangq	lower back / loins / lumbar region	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Written)	**khal**	load	Sun 1985c:453
	khal.ma	beast of burden	Sun 1985c:56
	k'ɑ́l-mɑ	beast of burden, sumptermule	Jäschke 1881
	mk'al-ma	kidney	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	mkhal ma	kidney (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0146.01
	mkhal ma	kidney	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.1; Benedict 1972:12; Sun 1985c:412; Marrison 1967
	mk'al-ma	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	sgal pa	back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.01
	sgal pa	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.1
	sgal par khjer	carry (a child) on the back)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1151.01
	sgal par fikhjer	carry on back	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:575.1
	sgal-ḫdabs	side	Matisoff 1987
	sgal-pa	lower back; loins; lumbar region; small of the back; small of back; back	Weidert 1987:287; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(1); Benedict 1972:12; Zhang Liansheng 1988:32
	sgal-rus	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	sgal-tšigs	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	sgal.pa	small of the back	Sun 1985c:51
	sgaɬ tshigs	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ga** tshəχ	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.04
	kha ma	kidney (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0146.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	mir **kay** lo	kidney	Noonan *et al.* 1992:9.6
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kaT** Ti	waist / lower back	Matisoff 1987
	khā qi	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	k^ha qi	kidney	Glover 1972:2.A.41
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]kli-[4]**kal**	anus (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.12
Thakali (Tukche)	**khu** ma	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	k^hu mɔ	kidney	Hari 1971:2.A.41

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	**'kal**	kidney	Matisoff 1978b:(1)

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**khal**	bile	Michailovsky 1991:7
Hayu	**ga:** ta tso	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**gal**	kidney	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	gəl	kidney	Weidert 1987:81
	gəl	kidney (n.)	Caughley 2000
	gəl	kidney	Caughley 1972:2.A.41
Chepang (Eastern)	**gəl**	kidney	Caughley 1990:9.6
Kham	**'gāh**-chum	hip	Matisoff 1987
	'gah chum	hip (sides of)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.44
	'gāh chum	hip	Matisoff 1987
	'gah c^hum	hip (sides of)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.44
	'kal	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	kəl	kidney	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.41

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**khi** wa	kidney	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2718

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**khi**[55]mʉ[55]	kidney (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0146.16
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**khe**[55]lø[55]	kidney	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.16

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	**zgɛl**[53] ts^hək[53]	backbone; spine; vertebrae (of spine)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.5.4; Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.4.2

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (NW)	**zgɛl** tsʰək	backbone / spine	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.5.4
	zgɛr tsʰək	vertebrae (of spine)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.4.2

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**kha**[55]	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**khɑ**[55]	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.40
Burmese (Written)	**khà**	loins	Weidert 1987:287
	khâ	lower back; loins; lumbar region; waist; loins, waist, small of back	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(1); Benedict 1976a
	khâ-tuiŋ	lower back / loins / lumbar region	Matisoff 1987
	khā:	waist	Marrison 1967
	kha[3]	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.26
	khɑ[3]	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.39
	kʻā[4]	waist / haunch / thigh	Luce 1985:W.6
Marma	**khá**	waist	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:41

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**gʼaw**˪ si˪	kidney (dial.)	Matisoff 1987

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	荷	lotus	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1028
Chinese (GSR #)	**0001o**	lotus	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1028

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gʼâ/ɣû:**	carry, sustain	Karlgren 1957:1o
Chinese (Old)	**gˤaj** {[g]ˤaj}	lotus	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1028

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**ha**	lotus	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1028

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**hé**	lotus	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1028

Chinese comparandum

荷 OC ***gʼâ***, *GSR* #1o ‘carry, sustain’; Schuessler 2007:275-6 ***kâiʔ***; Coblin 86:51-2 ST ***gaɬ*** > OC ***garx***; B & S 2011: (***gˤaj { [g] ˤaj }***); Mand. **hè**.
可 OC ***kʻâ***, *GSR* #1a-c ‘may, be able’; Coblin 86:51-2 ST ***khaɬ*** > OC ***kharx***; Schuessler 2007:275-6 ***khâiʔ***; B & S 2011: ***kʰˤajʔ { [k] ʰˤa [j] ʔ }***; Mand. **kě**.

(3) PTB *r-gyap BACK (lower) / LOINS

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	â **rkép**	groin	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**gyap**	back	Sharma 1991a:1.4
	gyəb	back	Sharma 1991a:5.5

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	**dʐɑp**[35]	back (side)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	dʐɑp[35] pɑ[55]	back (of body)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**rɟjap**	back (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0091.05
	rɟjap	back (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0713.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hdʐap** ɕok	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**dʐæb**	back	Sun 1985a:50
	rɟjap	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**rgvʌp**	back	Rangan 1975:23
Tibetan (Jirel)	**ʼgyāp**	back	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**dʐɑʔ**[31]loʔ[53]	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**cap**[13]loʔ[13]	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.2
	cəp[132]	back (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0713.02
	cəp[132]	load on an animal’s back (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0880.02
	cəp[132] la cheː[55]	carry (a child) on the back)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1151.02
Sherpa	**ʼgyap**	upper back	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**ʼgyap**-lā	back (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.17
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**kyap** shūm	small of back	Bishop 1989:5.5.3
	kyaph	back	Bishop 1989:1.4
Spiti	**gyap**	back	Bodh 1991:5.5
	gyap mid	lower back	Bodh 1991:5.5.2
	gyap tud	upper back	Bodh 1991:5.5.1
	gyap i ri wa	backbone / spine	Bodh 1991:5.5.4
Tibetan (Written)	**rgjab** logs	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.1
	rgyab	back (body); back; groin; loins	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:50
	sku-**rgyab**	back	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Yadu)	**tsup**	back (body)	Dai Qingxia 1989q:118
Xumi	**dʐo**[33]lɑ[35]	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.20

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Daofu)	**dʐɑu**	back	Dai Qingxia 1989b:5.5
	dʐɑu ɳo ce	back	Dai Qingxia 1989b:1.4

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola	tʰɔ̃[55] **kʰja**[55]	back	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1026
Burmese (Written)	chî-**caʼ**	pelvis	Matisoff 1987
	chî-**cap**	pelvis	Matisoff 1987
Maru [Langsu]	thɔ̃[31]**khjɔ**[31]	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.43

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Sani [Nyi]	nɑ[44]go[55];**tɕhæ**[44]	back	Chen Kang 1986b:1.4
	tɕhæ[44]	back	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5

(4) PTB *dal LOWER BACK / WAIST / LOINS

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	**tor**-mə-ta	crotch of trousers	Sun 1993b

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Kom Rem	ke mə **tor** kuŋ	crotch / fork of legs	Toba & Kom 1991:5.9
Moyon	**dar** hʌŋ	crotch / fork of legs	Kosha 1990:5.9

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	a chü **tha**	waist	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Wancho	khe **da**	waist	Marrison 1967
	kʰe **da**	waist	French 1983:453

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Jirel)	ke **tāq**	waist	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Written)	**dal**-mo	groin / loins	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	**dɦar**	waist	Noonan *et al.* 1992:5.6
	dɦar-ye ɦaar	hipbone	Noonan *et al.* 1992:5.8.2

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	ʼyā **tā**	back (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.17

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**ʼdel** lo	lower back / loins / lumbar region	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Buyuan)	kʰɯ[31] **tʰɑ**[55]	back (of body)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986

(4) PTB *dzyaŋ BACK (LOWER)

This etymon bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***g-raŋ*** ≍ ***k-laŋ*** BUTTOCKS / ANUS / HIPS (§1.4.9.2), but the semantic center of gravity of the two roots is quite different, so that we are considering them to be separate etyma at the moment.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***yaaŋ*** BACK / SPINE

Chin	***yaaŋ**	BACK / SPINE	VanBik 2009:1186

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	nūng **zāng**	spine	VanBik 2009:1186
Thado	**záaŋ**	back, spine	VanBik 2009:1186

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**zăaŋ**	back (of a person or animal), spine	VanBik 2009:1186
Lai (Hakha)	**zɑŋ**[5]	back (body)	Luce 1985:R.19
Lushai [Mizo]	hnung-**zâng**	back	Matisoff 1987
	záang	back (of a person, animal, etc) (n.)	VanBik 2009:1186
	zâng	back	Matisoff 1987
	zâng-ruh	spinal cord	Matisoff 1987
	zâng-ruh thling	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**zô**	back	Matisoff 1987
	zô-ru	spinal cord	Matisoff 1987
	zô-ru la-thli	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	zô[1]-rū	backbone, the spine (n.)	VanBik 2009:1186

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**yaŋ** len səru	backbone; spine; vertebrae (of spine)	Singh 1991:5.5.4; Singh 1991:8.4.2

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Kokborok	bə-**čaŋ**	waist	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**iang** gul sir	backbone / spine	Balawan 1965:30
	iang gulʔ	back	Balawan 1965:30

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**caŋ** kil	back (n.)	Weidert 1987:2
	dźaŋ-gal	back	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	džaŋ-gal	back	Benedict 1972:12
	jaŋ-gir	back	Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	**jang**-gil	back, back side, back of body, back of almost anything, green ”back” edge of bamboo strip, back of an insect, bottom of a banana leaf	Burling 1992
	jang-gil bol-gru	backbone	Burling 1992
	jang-gil-ni bol-gru	backbone	Burling 1992

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Chairel	**yù** ŋēl	back	Luce 1985:K.60

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**čaṅ** màn	loins	Matisoff 1987

2.2. Newar

Newar	**jạ̄**	lower back; loins; lumbar region	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	jɔ̃	lower back; waist	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.5.2; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.6

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	**ʼyā** tā	back (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.17

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**caŋ** sar	lower back / loins / lumbar region	Matisoff 1987
	cəŋ	back; back (of body), behind, past	Michailovsky 1991:1; Allen 1975
	he **yoŋ** wa	waist	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	or **ʼjạ̄**	lower back / loins / lumbar region	Matisoff 1987
	or **ʼjɔ̃ː**	back (body)	Watters & Watters 1989
Magar	**jāng**	back; upper back	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	kuku **dhyāng** garo	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Taoba)	pu[55] **jã**[53]	kidney	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.10

4. Nungic

Anong	ʔi[55]**zɑŋ**[31]khɑ[53]	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.44

5. Tujia

Tujia (Southern)	**jiã**[21] tɯ[55]	tail	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

(5) PTB *s-ha $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ LOWER BACK / CROTCH

The Limbu form points to a medial **-y-**, which is perhaps due to the influence of the ***s-*** prefix, as in Lepcha (cf. Benedict 1943).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

Tibeto-Burman	***hyak**	back	Matisoff 2003a:594

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**həŋ**-tɯŋ	backbone / spine	Sun 1993b
	hɯŋ-kɯ a-loː	backbone / spine	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	a **hak** a la	groin	Pulu 1978

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Moyon	dar **hʌŋ**	crotch / fork of legs	Kosha 1990:5.9

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**hang** tha	hip	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**sāhāk**	groin	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**hag** ma	back	Matisoff 1987
Lalung [Tiwa]	khe lang **ha** ta	hip	Balawan 1965:14

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**hang**	waist	Matisoff 1987

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	pă-cet **săhă**	groin	Matisoff 1987
	pŭn-cet-**săhă**	groin	Matisoff 1987
	pŭr-cet **săhă**	groin	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**ek**	back	Matisoff 1987
	ek sī	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	eːk	back	Michailovsky 1989b
	eːk si	backbone	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**hak** maː	crotch / fork of legs	Kohn 1990:5.9
	hek saŋ	back	Kohn 1990:5.5

1.4.9 Loins/Groin

(1) PKar *dzyan GROIN / LOINS

All these Karenic forms reflect a bisyllabic prototype PKar ***dzyan*** GROIN / LOINS (§1.4.9) + PTB ***m-tya(k/ŋ)*** WAIST / LOINS (§1.4.9).

7. Karenic

**Karen (Pwo)*	***ján'** dèn'	loins	Jones 1961:24; Jones 1961:144
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***jɔ́** dé	loins	Jones 1961:24
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***jɔ́** dèh	loins	Jones 1961:24
Bwe	**ja**^{33}de^{11}	waist	Luangthongkum 2013:318
	ya dè	waist (n.)	Henderson 1997
Palaychi	**zɔ̀** dəq	groin; loins	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:24
	zɔ dəq	loins	Jones 1961:144
Pwo (Northern)	**ja**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$di^{55}	waist	Luangthongkum 2013:318
Pwo (Southern)	**jɑ̃**^{33} di$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	waist	Luangthongkum 2013:318
Pwo (Bassein)	**ján?** dén	groin; loins	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:24; Jones 1961:144
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ján** den	groin; loins	Jones 1961:24; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:144
Sgaw (Southern)	**jɔ**^{31}de^{55}	waist	Luangthongkum 2013:318
Sgaw (Northern)	**jɔ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$de^{33}	waist	Luangthongkum 2013:318
Sgaw (Bassein)	**jɔ́** dé	groin; loins	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:24
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**jɔ**^{31} dɐ̰?^{55}	waist	Dai Qingxia 1989k:124
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**jɔ́** dé	groin; loins	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:24
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**jɔ**^{31} dɐ̰^{55}	waist	Dai Qingxia 1989j:124

(2) PTB *dak GROIN

This is a weakly attested root which requires further review before it can be fully established.

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ar **dak**	groin	Matisoff 1987
	ar **dàk**	groin / loins	Grüssner 1979:5

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	**dək** a	thigh	Sun 1986
	dək a pa	groin	Sun 1986

(3) PKC *khraal GROIN

This PKC root appears distinct from PTB ***m-kal*** ≷ ***s-gal*** BACK (lower) / KIDNEY / LOAD / CARRY (§1.4.8.1), as witness the different reflexes in Mizo, Lai (Hakha), and Tiddim. Certain forms, however, seem to go equally well with either root (e.g. Paite **khal**, assigned by VanBik (2009) [#1344] to the present root).

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***khraal**	GROIN	VanBik 2009:1344

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**khal**	groin / loins (i.e. hips to thighs)	Haokip 1998:1.10
Paite	**khal**	groin	VanBik 2009:1344
Tiddim	**xaːl**^{3} < * khaːl	groin	Benedict 1972:18n66
	xâal	groin	Weidert 1987:427
	xaːl	groin	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	`xaːl	groin (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thrăal**	groin	VanBik 2009:1344
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭhàal**	groin (n.)	VanBik 2009:1344
	trhàal	loins; groin	Weidert 1987:287; Weidert 1987:427
	ṭhâl	groin / loins	Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**chhīa**	groin	VanBik 2009:1344

(4) PCN *m-k(w)a LOINS / GROIN

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	*m-**k(w)a**	LOINS / GROIN	Bruhn 2014a:III.009
Lotha Naga	ŋ^{1}-**kuʔ**^{3}	loins, groin (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.009
	^{1}n^{3}**gvɯ**	loins	Weidert 1987:287
Sangtam	^{1}a^{1}mɯ^{2}**ga**	loins	Weidert 1987:287
Yimchungrü	^{2}mɯ ^{2}**gɯ** [^{1}]	loins	Weidert 1987:287

(5) PTB *m-tya $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ WAIST / LOINS

This root has far been found only in rGyalrongic and Karenic. We are assuming alternation between homorganic final stop and nasal, although it might turn out that two separate roots are involved.

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Eastern)	rdak wu **mt^{h}ək**	haunches (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.8.3
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **mthək**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.11
rGyalrong	tə **mthək**	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.12
	tə **mt^{h}ɛk**	waist	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.6
Caodeng	tə-**mt^{h}o** ~ tə-**mt^{h}e**	waist	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **mt^{h}ək**	waist	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.6
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mt^{h}ək**	waist	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.6
	tə **mt^{h}ək** ətsʰək	crotch / fork of legs	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.9
	ə **mt^{h}ək**	haunches (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.8.3
rGyalrong	tA **mthek**	waist	Nagano 1997:5.6
rGBenzhen	tə-**mt^{h}ək**	waist	Sun 1997b

7. Karenic: ***j-ʔde**^{A} WAIST [a]

**Karen*	*j-**ʔde**^{A}	waist	Luangthongkum 2013:318
**Karen (Pwo)*	*ján' **dèn'**	loins	Jones 1961:24; Jones 1961:144
**Karen (Sgaw)*	*jɔ́ **dé**	loins	Jones 1961:24
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	*jɔ́ **dèh**	loins	Jones 1961:24
**Karen*	*ŋáŋ' **dèŋ'**	loins (see 144.)	Jones 1961:24
**Karen (TP)*	*ŋáŋ' **dèŋ'**	loins	Jones 1961:24
**Karen*	*ŋáŋ' **dèŋ'**	loins (see 24.)	Jones 1961:144
Bwe	**ja**^{33}**de**^{11}	waist	Luangthongkum 2013:318
	ya dè	waist (n.)	Henderson 1997
Pa-O	nâŋ **dèŋ**	groin / loins	Matisoff 1987
Pa-O (Northern)	~**de**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	waist	Luangthongkum 2013:318
Pa-O (Southern)	~**de**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	waist	Luangthongkum 2013:318
Pa-O	ŋâŋ **dèŋ**	loins	Jones 1961:24
	ŋâŋ **deŋ**	loins	Jones 1961:144
Palaychi	zɔ̀ **dəq**	groin; loins	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:24
	zɔ **dəq**	loins	Jones 1961:144
Pwo (Northern)	ja$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**di**^{55}	waist	Luangthongkum 2013:318
Pwo (Southern)	jɑ̃^{33} **di**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	waist	Luangthongkum 2013:318
Pwo (Bassein)	ján? **dén**	groin; loins	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:24; Jones 1961:144
Pwo (Moulmein)	ján **den**	groin; loins	Jones 1961:24; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:144
Sgaw (Southern)	jɔ^{31}**de**^{55}	waist	Luangthongkum 2013:318
Sgaw (Northern)	jɔ$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**de**^{33}	waist	Luangthongkum 2013:318
Sgaw (Bassein)	jɔ̀ **dé**	groin; loins	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:24
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	jɔ^{31} **dɐ̰?**^{55}	waist	Dai Qingxia 1989k:124
Sgaw (Moulmein)	jɔ̀ **dé**	groin; loins	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:24
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	jɔ^{31} **dɐ̰**^{55}	waist	Dai Qingxia 1989j:124

1.4.9.1 Crotch/Fork

(1) PTB *s-ka(ː)k FORK / BRANCH / CROTCH

This etymon is possibly a co-allofam of PTB ***m/s-ka-y*** GO / STRIDE / SPAN (§6.2.2) and should perhaps be merged with it in future.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kaːk**	fork; branch	Matisoff 1983:51; Benedict 1972:327
	***s-kaak** ≷ ****s-k(w)aak**	branch	LaPolla 1987:9
	***s-kaːk**	fork / branch	Matisoff 2003a:594

1.1.1. Tani: ***fiak** BRANCH

**Tani*	***fiak**	branch	Sun 1993a:44

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	á-**ha**	branch	Sun 1993b
	bi-**ha**	bamboo branch	Sun 1993b
	je-saŋ à-**hà**	branch	Sun 1993b
	sà-nɯ à-**hà**	branch	Sun 1993b
	sà-nɯ **há**-lo	branch	Sun 1993b
	san a-**ha**	branch	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **fiok**	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.24
	a-**hak**	branch	Sun 1993a
	a-**hok**	branch	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **fiok**	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.51
Galo	**ag** bə	branch (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ak cəə	branch (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɯ sɯ **ak** se	branch	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**hak** be	branch	Simon 1976
Tagin	**aːk**	branch	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**ak**	branch	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	âr-**kok**	fork of legs	Matisoff 1987
Mishing [Miri]	**ak**-ləŋ	branch	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**xɑ**^{31}ɹɑ^{53}	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.22
	xɑ^{31}ɹɑ^{53}	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.49
Idu	**hɑ**^{55}ɹo^{53}	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.50
Yidu	**hɑ**^{55}ɹo^{53}	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.25

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**kaak**	fork of tree	LaPolla 1987:9
	kaːk	fork (of tree), forked (v.i.)	Benedict 1972:327

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang (Eastern)	(plek) **ghak**	crotch / fork of legs	Caughley 1990:5.9

3.2. Qiangic

Lyuzu	se^{33}**kæ**^{53}li^{31}	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.18
Namuyi	sɻ^{33}po^{55} **kæ**^{31}læ^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.46
Qiang (Longxi)	ɕì **kə̀** mà	branch	Evans 1999:467
Qiang (Mianchi)	phò **khə̀**	branch	Evans 1999:467
Qiang (Taoping)	lɑ^{31} **χɑ**^{55} pi^{33}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.9

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-gak**^{L} BRANCH

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-gak**^{L}	branch	Matisoff 2003a:589
	***ʔgak**	fork; branch	Matisoff 1983:51; Matisoff 1972b:43; LaPolla 1987:9 [a]

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Luxi)	səkˀ^{55}**kaʔ**^{55}	branch	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	ʂɯkˀ^{55}**xɔʔ**^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.29
Bola (Luxi)	sakˀ^{55}**kaʔ**^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	ɑ^{53}kɑ̃i^{55}ɑ^{53}**khɛʔ**^{4}	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ɑ **khɛʔ**^{44}	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.40
Burmese (Written)	a **khak**	branch (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **khak**	branch	LaPolla 1987:9; Benedict 1972:327
	khak-maʾ	main branch of tree	Benedict 1976a
	khak-râŋ	fork (of any kind) (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	khak-raŋ	fork	Benedict 1972:327
	ə-**khak**	branch of tree	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**khak**-maʾ	main branch of tree	Benedict 1976a
	ə **khak**	branch	Matisoff 1983:51
	ɑ^{1}koŋ^{3}ɑ^{1}**khɑk**^{4}	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.26
	ɑ^{1} **khɑk**	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.39
Hpun (Northern)	ă **khò**, ă **khùʔ**	branch	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	saˀk^{55}**kɔ̰ʔ**^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.31
Leqi (Luxi)	səˀk^{55}**kɔ̰ʔ**^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.33

[a] [Source Note] [*TSR* 43] (LaPolla 1987).

[a] This Karenic binome reconstructed by Theraphan Luangthongkum might be a sequence of PTB ***dzyaŋ*** BACK (LOWER) (§1.4.8.1) plus PTB ***s-daːy*** WAIST / BELT / ZONE / FLAT EXPANSE (§1.4.6).

Marma	ə **kha?**	branch	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:294
Maru [Langsu]	sa̱k^{55}**kɔ̱ʔ^{55}**	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.43
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**kàq**-lìq	branch	Björverud 1994
Luquan	**ka 55c**	branch	Matisoff 1972b:43
Nusu (Central)	si̱^{53}**ka̱^{53}**	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	si^{53}**kɑ̱^{53}**lɑ^{53}ɑ^{31}	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.45
Nusu (Northern)	sʮ^{55}**ka^{55}**	branch	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	se^{33}**ka^{13}**	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ko^{55}**	branch (tree)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sʮ̄^{33}**ko^{55}**	branch (tree)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	ɕi̱^{33}**kɔ̱^{21}**le̱^{21}	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.26
Yi (Nanhua)	ɕi̱^{33}**kɑ^{55}**le̱^{21}	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.37
	ɕi̱^{33}**kʌ̱^{55}**le̱^{21}	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.24
Yi (Wuding)	si̱^{2}**kɑ̱^{55}**	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	sɤ33 la31 **ka55**	tree branch	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	ɔ-**qá**	fork (of tree), forked (v.i.)	Benedict 1972:327
	ɔ̀-**qá**	branch	LaPolla 1987:9
Lahu (Lancang)	lɑ^{21}**qɑ^{35}**	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.43
	si^{54}**qɑ^{35}**	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.43
Lahu (Black)	là?-phɛ-**qá**	shoulder (Tlf)	Matisoff 1987
	là?-**qá**	shoulder area / arm's length	Matisoff 1987
	là?-**qá**-pɨ	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	la?^{21} **qa^{35}**	shoulder	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	lʌ^{21}**qʌ^{35}**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.33
	sʮ^{54}**qʌ^{35}**	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.33
	ɔ̀-**qá**	branch	Matisoff 1972b:43
Lahu (Yellow)	sʮ^{6}**qa^{4}**	branch	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	e^{55}lɛ^{31}**kɑ^{55}**	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.27
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}læ?^{21}**ka^{55}**	branch; twig	Bradley 1994
	ka?^{21}la^{21}**ka^{55}**	olive branch (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ka^{55}phu^{33}	tree branch; branch of jade (poetic, used to refer to women) (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	si2-lá6-**ka3**	branch	Matisoff 1972b:43
Lisu (Central)	si^{2}-lá^{6}-**ka^{3}**	branch	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	si^{35}læ?^{21}**ka^{55}**	tree branch	Bradley 1994
	ɕɔ^{21}lɔ^{44}**ka^{55}**	coral branch	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**qe 55**	branch	Matisoff 1972b:43
Yi (Sani)	sʐ^{44}**qe^{55}**	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.39
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Southern Muji	a^{33}**ka^{21}**ljɛ^{33}	fork (of tree branch)	Pelkey 2011:229
	ɕi^{33}**ka^{21}**lɛ^{33}	branch	Pelkey 2011:219
Phola	si̱^{31}**kɑ̱^{33}**	fork (of tree branch)	Pelkey 2011:229
	si̱^{31}lɑ^{33}kɑ̱^{31}	branch	Pelkey 2011:219
Hlepho Phowa	sʮ^{21}**ka^{33}**	branch; fork (of tree branch)	Pelkey 2011:219; Pelkey 2011:229
Phuza	si^{55}mʌ^{33}a^{55}**ka^{13}**	fork (of tree branch)	Pelkey 2011:229
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	si˥**qɑ**˥lɑ˦	branch	Michaud 2006–2009:4239
Na (Yongning)	**kɤ**˩lo˥	branch	Michaud 2006–2009
	si˦**kɤ**˥	branch	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	dzɚ^{21}**kə^{55}**dzɚ^{21}lɑ^{21}	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.45
Naxi (Yongning)	sʮ^{33}dzʮ^{33}**kə^{31}**lo^{31}	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.29
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**k^{h}uæ^{31}** kã^{42}	crotch / fork of legs	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.9

Chinese comparandum

支 OC ***t̂i̱ĕg***, *GSR* #864a 'branch (of tree); limb; support'; Schuessler 2007:614 ***ke***; B & S 2011: ***ke***; Mand. **zhī**.
枝 OC ***t̂i̱ĕg***, *GSR* #864b 'branch (of tree); resist, go astray'; Schuessler 2007:614 ***ke***; B & S 2011: ***ke***; Mand. **zhī**.
肢 OC ***t̂i̱ĕg***, *GSR* #864c 'limb (of body)'; Schuessler 2007:614 ***ke***; B & S 2011: ***ke***; Mand. **zhī**.
翅 OC ***ś̱i̱ĕg***, *GSR* #864e 'wing'; Schuessler 2007:614 ***ke***; B & S 2011: ***s-k^{h}e-s***; Mand. **chì**.
歧 OC ***g'i̱ĕg***, *GSR* #864i 'bifurcating, forked (as of a road)'; Schuessler 2007:614 ***ke***; B & S 2011: ***N-ke*** (dial.: no palatalization); Mand. **qí**.

(2) PTB *kap FORK / BRANCH / CROTCH / GROIN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kap**	fork; crotch; groin; fork (legs); fork (of legs)	Weidert 1987:1098; Matisoff 2003a:595; Benedict 1972:338
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**kap**	fork of the legs	Benedict 1972:338
	kap	gag, wedge open (v.)	Benedict 1972:338
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	ya-**khap**	groin / fork	Benedict 1972:338

Chinese comparandum

柙 OC ***kl̥ɑp***, *GSR* #630f 'chopsticks'; Schuessler 2007:300 (***krêp***); B & S 2011: ***k^{ʂ}‹r›ep***; Mand. **jiā**.

Comment: Cf. comparanda for PTB ***gyap*** NARROW / CROWDED (§7.1.2).

(3) PTB *b-la GROIN / CROTCH

This putative root has scattered reflexes.

1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	a hak a **la**	groin	Pulu 1978
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**Laɦ**	crotch	Nishida 1964:230-051
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	**bla** ze	groin / loins	Dai Qingxia 1989b:1.10
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ta ŋga **la** k^{h}a	crotch / fork of legs	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.9
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Sani [Nyi]	**ɬɒ^{21}**kɒ^{55}du^{21}	groin	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

(4) PTk *p^{h}aaŋ BRANCH

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***p^{h}aaŋ**	branch	Mortensen 2012:605
Huishu	ʔa-nə-**p^{h}i**	branch / bough	Mortensen 2012:Plants.029
Kachai	t^{h}ɐŋ-**p^{h}o**	branch / bough	Mortensen 2012:Plants.029
Tangkhul	**phaŋ**	branch	Bhat 1969:85
	thing **phang**	branch (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	ʔa-**p^{h}aŋ**	branch	Mortensen 2012

1.4.9.2 Hips/Pelvis/Haunches

(1) PTB *m-$\begin{matrix}\mathbf{p}\\\mathbf{b}\end{matrix}$a HIPS / BUTTOCKS / TAIL

2.2. Newar			
Newar	pem **pā**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	se boŋ **bā**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**bha**	anus	Driem 1993
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	**'pa** gil	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	or **bạh**	tail	Matisoff 1987
	pə gil	buttock	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.45
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**mbɪɦ**	tail	Matisoff 1978a:72
3.2. Qiangic			
Xumi	do^{33} **pɑ^{55}**	buttocks; haunches	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	mp^{h}u^{33} **p^{h}a^{33}**	buttocks	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.10.1
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***m-ba^{2}/^{3}** TAIL			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-ba^{2}/^{3}**	tail	Matisoff 2003a:584
	***mba^{3}**	tail	Matisoff 1978a:72
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	ui^{55} **pɑ^{55}**	tail	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Written)	taṅ **pā:** rui:	hip	Marrison 1967
	taŋ-**pâ**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	taŋ-**pâ**-rûi	hip	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**p'ɑ^{22}** le̱^{21}	lower back	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.5.2
	p'ɑ^{22} ni^{21}	upper back	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.5.1
	p'ɑ^{22} zo^{21}	small of back	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.5.3
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**m^{2}pɑ^{4}**	tail	Bradley 1979b; Hansson 1989:248; Matisoff 1978a:72

(2) PTB *tsyu $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{p}\end{matrix}$ HIP

This weakly attested root requires further confirmation.

2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Sahu)	**cyuhp** to	buttock	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.42
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	'gāh-**chum**	hip	Matisoff 1987
	'gah **chum**	hip (sides of)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.44
	'gāh **chum**	hip	Matisoff 1987
	'gah **c^{h}um**	hip (sides of)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.44

(3) PTB *$\begin{matrix}\mathbf{s}\\\mathbf{m}\end{matrix}$-ta BACKSIDE / HIPS

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	kó-**ta**	buttock	Sun 1993b
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	hang **tha**	hip	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	kit láŋ **ta** ri	hip-bone	Bhat 1968
	kit laŋ **ta** ri	hip	Matisoff 1987
Lalung [Tiwa]	khe lang ha **ta**	hip	Balawan 1965:14
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**sta**-zur	hip, hipbone; hip	Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Magar	mi-pu **Tha**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya	**nda^{53}**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.15
Muya [Minyak]	**nda^{53}**	waist; kidney	Sun Hongkai 1991h:5.6; Sun Hongkai 1991h:9.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.15
Qiang (Mawo)	qə **sta**	back of head	Sun 1986
	sta qə tɕu	tailbone / coccyx	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.10.2
	sta sa	hips	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.8.1
	sta ba	buttocks	Sun 1986
	sta ka	back (side); back (direction)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.8
	sta pa	buttocks	Sun 1986
	stɑ sɑ	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.8
	tha su	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.8
	t^{h}ɑ ɕu / **t^{h}a** su	waist	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.6
	t^{h}ɑ su	waist	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ɹa **sta**	back (of body); back	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.8; Sun 1986; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ɹæ **stæ**	back	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.5
Qiang (Taoping)	**thɑ^{31}**bɑ^{33}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.9
	χde^{33} **tɑ^{33}**	back (side)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	χnɑ^{33} **tɑ^{33}**	back (side); back (direction)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.9
	χtɑ^{33} sɑ^{33}	waist	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**ste** qe	back	Dai Qingxia 1989q:1048
	stɑ stɑ	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989q:125
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔthə**	buttocks; hips	Dai Qingxia 1989b:5.10.1; Dai Qingxia 1989b:5.8.1
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (NW)	tə mə **n̥ta**	waist	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.6
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	mɯ^{55} **ta^{323}**	tail; tail (of animal)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987; Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.10.3

	mɯ[55] **ta**[323]	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.47
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**da˘** tsui˄ sha˅ yoe˅	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	da˘ tsui˄	back	Matisoff 1987
6.2. NAXI			
Naxi (Western)	ma[33]**tɑ**[55]	tail	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(4) PTB *na HIP

This etymon is poorly attested and awaits further confirmation.

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	pi **nəi**	groin / loins / hips	Toba & Kom 1991:1.10
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	ɡù-**nà**	hips / waist	Matisoff 1987
	ɣù-**nà**	hip	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Ugong	**na**/ní kha wú/U	hipbone	Bradley 1993:5.8.2

(5) PTB * p/b waŋ HIPS / BUTTOCKS / TAIL / ANUS

This root seems to be quite distinct from PTB ***s-baŋ*** DUNG (§1.8.5), although WB **phaŋ** 'anus' was cited in connection with the latter in *HPTB*:264.

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	în-**bok**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	ta-**pong**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	e[55]pi[55]**pu**[55]	buttocks; haunches (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991f:5.10.1; SUN Hongkai 1991f:5.8.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.50
	i pĩ **pũ**	buttocks	Pulu 1978
	i pi **pũ**	buttocks	Anonymous 1962
1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP			
Maring	ling **bong**	hip	Marrison 1967
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	lum **bóng**	anus / rectum	Grüssner 1979:189
	mí-lum **bóng**	buttocks	Grüssner 1979:170
	mi lum **bong**	buttock / haunch	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	ya **phong**	thigh	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥpoṅ**-t'sos	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	ḥpoṅs	buttock	Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**páṅ**	waist	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	se **boŋ** bā	buttock	Matisoff 1987
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**phon**[1]	bosom	Sofronov c1978
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	bo[33] **bo**[53]	buttocks; haunches	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.17 [a]
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **χpon** ʁo rma	lap	SUN Hongkai 1991l:1.8
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	le[21] **pʰũ**[35]	tail (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986c:5.10.3
Tujia (Northern)	le[21] **pʰũ**[35]	tail	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	lie3**pong2**	tail (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia	lie[21]**phoŋ**[35]	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.49
	lie[21]**phoŋ**[35]	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.38
Tujia (Northern)	lie[3]**pong**[2]	tail	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola	tʃʰau?[55] **pauŋ**[55]	buttocks	DAI Qingxia 1989g:122
Burmese (Written)	**phaŋ**	anus	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a
	poṅ	thigh	Marrison 1967
	poŋ	thigh	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a
	poŋ-khyan	groin	Matisoff 1987
	poŋ-rûi	thigh; thigh bone	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	poŋ[3]	thigh / buttocks	Luce 1985:X.134
	pɔŋ[2]	thigh (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0100.26
	ə-**poŋ**	thigh; side of door	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **poŋ**	thigh	Matisoff 1987
Hpun (Northern)	ă **pɔ́ŋ**	thigh	Henderson 1986
	ă **pɔ́ŋ** cà; **pɔŋ** ceʔ	groin	Henderson 1986
Lashi	tə̱ŋ[55] **pou**[55] ʃo[55]	rump	DAI Qingxia 1989m:5.10
Marma	ə **pɔŋ**	thigh	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:42-11
Maru [Langsu]	tɔ̃[55] **puk**[55] ʃɔ[35]	rump	DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.10
	tʃhauk[55] **puŋ**[55]	anus / rectum	DAI Qingxia 1989l:9.12
	tʃhau?[55] **pau**[31]	hips	DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.8.1
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**bõ**[35] **bõ**[35]	thigh	DAI Qingxia 1989o:123.
Nusu (Central)	**boŋ**[33]	thigh	DAI Qingxia 1989p:123.
	boŋ[33]	thigh (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0100.34
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	mɑ[55] **po**[22]	buttocks	LUO Meizhen 1990:5.10.1
Sani [Nyi]	mæ[55] **pu**[33]	buttocks	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:33.2
	mɛ[55]**pu**[33]	buttocks	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Bisu	**pɔ́ŋ** tú	thigh	Beaudouin 1988:15
Côông [Phunoi]	ã **pũ**[55] co ca[31]	groin / loins / hips	Ferlus 1991:1.10
	ʔấ **pon**	thigh	Bradley 1979b
Sangkong	aŋ[33] **poŋ**[55]	thigh	LI Yongsui 1991
Ugong	**phùŋ** bălăŋ	thigh	Bradley 1993:6.2.1
	phùŋ bàlăŋwú/U	thigh bone / femur	Bradley 1993:6.2.1.1

[a] It is not clear which of the two syllables descends from the present root, or whether some type of reduplication is involved.

(6) PTB *s-li HIPS / BUTTOCKS / ANUS

There is a possible relationship with the forms assigned to PTB ***liŋ*** HIPS (§1.4.9.2). If they are indeed related, it would require a reconstruction like ***s-li-ŋ***.

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	**l̥e**	buttocks; hips	Toba & Kom 1991:5.10.1; Toba & Kom 1991:5.8.1
	l̥e ru	pelvis; pelvic girdle; hipbone	Toba & Kom 1991:5.8; Toba & Kom 1991:5.8.2
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Khonoma)	**li** ge	hip	Marrison 1967
	li mü	hip	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	u **lei** khi	hip	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	kit láŋ ta **ri**	hip-bone	Bhat 1968
	kit laŋ ta **ri**	hip	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	tsʰua **ri**	anus / rectum	Sharma 1991b:9.12
	tʃʰo **ri**	buttocks	Sharma 1982
	tʃʰo **ri** a	buttocks	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Jirel)	ge: **ri**	hip	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	to:k ca **li**	rump; buttocks; hips	Kohn 1990:5.10; Kohn 1990:5.10.1; Kohn 1990:5.8.1
	to:k ca **li** sa:	haunches (of animal)	Kohn 1990:5.8.3
	to:k ca **li** se:ŋ kwɔk	hipbone	Kohn 1990:5.8.2
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Kulung	chum **ri**	waist	Rai *et al.* 1975
	ge **ri**	hip	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	mU: tsho si ku **li**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	'po: **le**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Magar	mi-phu **li**	hip	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Sani [Nyi]	mæ[55]pu[33];**ɬi**[21]du[21]mæ[55]	hips	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.8.1
	ɬi[21]du[21]mɛ[55]	buttocks	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɬl̥[21] du[21] mæ[55]	buttocks	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:106.2
	ɬɳ[11] dv̩[11]	buttocks	MA Xueliang 1989:319.2

(7) PTB * p/b laŋ HIPS / BUTTOCKS

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	ku-**pja:**	buttocks	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ko-**piang**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	sing **phlang**	hip	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	lə-**hprāng**	groin	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**byaṅ**-k'og	buttock; inside of body, rump "opposed to yan-lag 'limbs'"	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987:179
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	tŭk-**bróṅ**	hip	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	**beran**	anus / rectum	Noonan *et al.* 1992:9.12
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	nhi **pyɔ**	tail (of animal)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.10.3
	nhi **pyɔ** kwē	tailbone / coccyx	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.10.2
	pya:	hip	Matisoff 1987
	pyɔ̃	buttocks	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.10.1
	pyɔ̃ pə	hips	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.8.1
	pyɔ̃ pə kwẽ	hipbone	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.8.2
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	si pi tu **pluŋ**	waist	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	sha˅ **pya˅** k'eh˄	hip	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	tɔ̀ŋ **phlà**	buttock	Beaudouin 1988:13

(8) PTB * k/g yal BACK (lower) / BUTTOCKS / HIPS

The PKC etymon ***kal*** (a meso-root of PTB ***m-kal*** ≍ ***s-gal*** BACK (lower) / KIDNEY / LOAD / CARRY (§1.4.8.1)) definitely seems related to this root, perhaps pointing to a PKC variant ***k(y)al***.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Galo	u **gi**-a lo	backbone	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**kel** lo	backbone	Simon 1976
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***khel*** HIP / LOINS			
**Chin*	***khel**	HIP / LOINS	VanBik 2009:448
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**hkeal** ngū	hip, side of hip	VanBik 2009:448
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**khei**	loins	VanBik 2009:448
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**khêl**	hip	VanBik 2009:448
Lushai [Mizo]	**khel**	hip	Matisoff 1987
	khêl	hips, the side of the upper part of the thigh (n.)	VanBik 2009:448
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Lalung [Tiwa]	iang **gul** sir	backbone / spine	Balawan 1965:30
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	caŋ **kil**	back (n.)	Weidert 1987:2
	jaŋ-**gir**	back	Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	jang-**gil**	back, back side, back of body, back of almost anything, green "back" edge of bamboo strip, back of an insect, bottom of a banana leaf	Burling 1992
	jang-**gil** bol-gru	backbone	Burling 1992
	jang-**gil**-ni bol-gru	backbone	Burling 1992
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Chairel	yà **ŋēl**	back	Luce 1985:K.60
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**kil**	joint of hip; hip joint	Weidert 1987:2; Matisoff 1987
	kil	hip joint (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kil	hip	Caughley 1972:2.A.44
Chepang (Eastern)	**kil**	hip joint	Caughley 1990:5.8.2

Kham	’pa **gil**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	pə **gil**	buttock	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.45

(9) PTB *g-raŋ ≍ *k-laŋ BUTTOCKS / ANUS / HIPS

This etymon bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***dzyaŋ** BACK (LOWER) (§1.4.8.1), but the semantic center of gravity of the two roots is quite different, so that we are considering them to be separate etyma at the moment.

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	ā **kharaŋ** shoŋ	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	ā **raŋ** ra	anus	Matisoff 1987
	kharaŋ khur	anus	Matisoff 1987
	laŋ khor	anus	Matisoff 1987
	raŋ kai	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	raŋ thei	buttock	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	kit **láŋ** ta ri	hip-bone	Bhat 1968
	kit **laŋ** ta ri	hip	Matisoff 1987
Lalung [Tiwa]	khe **lang** ha ta	hip	Balawan 1965:14
	khe **lang** kat	anus	Balawan 1965:14 [a]

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	**tɕhã^{55}** po^{55}	anus; rectum; hips	DAI Qingxia 1989a:5.8.1; DAI Qingxia 1989a:9.12
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**jang** mūr	anus / rectum	Bishop 1989:9.12
Tibetan (Written)	**gźaŋ**(-ka)	anus	Matisoff 1987
	gžaṅ(-kʻa)	anus, private parts	Matisoff 1987
	gʒaŋ	anus (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.01

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	hi **rɔːŋ** ga	anus	Michailovsky 1989b

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Southern)	**giõ^{53}**	waist	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	to^{33} **k^{h}lo^{44}**	anus	DAI Qingxia 1989h:143

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	**k^{h}lɔ**	buttocks	Bradley 199x
	tɔ̀ŋ **khlɔ̀ŋ**	anus	Beaudouin 1988:13

[a]Lalung **kat** ‘hole’ (cf. **kung kat** ‘nostril’).

Chinese comparandum

See comparanda for PTB ***(g/k)uŋ** HOLE / ORIFICE / INNER PART (§3.2.7).

(10) PTB *m-pu HIPS

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Galo	pak-**pu** cik	waist	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲo **bu**	tail	Das Gupta 1963
	¯ño **bu**	tail	Weidert 1987:571

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**phu** ya ret	hip	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***pɐ** BUTTOCKS / HIP

**Tangkhulic*	***pɐ**	buttocks / hip	Mortensen 2012:640
Kachai	**pu**-ʃit-t^{h}i	hip, hips	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.140
	ʔa-**pu**-ʃit	buttocks; back (of something)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.144
Tusom	**po**-ti	buttocks	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.155

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	khyu-**bu**	hips; hip	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	cẽy **pho**	groin / loins / hips	Noonan *et al.* 1992:1.10

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Sunwar	’**poː** le	buttock	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Magar	mi-**phu** li	hip	Matisoff 1987
	mi-**pu** Tha	buttock	Matisoff 1987

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**bo^{33}** bo^{53}	buttocks; haunches	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.17 [a]

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	**mp^{h}u^{33}**	groin; loins; hips	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.10; SUN Hongkai 1991c:5.8.1
	mp^{h}u^{33} p^{h}a^{33}	buttocks	SUN Hongkai 1991c:5.10.1

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mp^{h}os**	hips	SUN Hongkai 1991k:5.8.1
	tə **mp^{h}o** s ɕɛru	hipbone	SUN Hongkai 1991k:5.8.2
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mp^{h}u** ɕɛr̥	hipbone	SUN Hongkai 1991l:5.8.2
	tə **mp^{h}us**	groin; loins; hips	SUN Hongkai 1991l:1.10; SUN Hongkai 1991l:5.8.1

5. TUJIA

Tujia	to^{55} **po^{21}** dɯ^{21} go^{35}	bosom	CHEN Kang 1986d:1.9

6.1.1. BURMISH

Maru [Langsu]	tʃhauʔ^{55} **pau^{31}** ɣuk^{55}	hipbone	DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.8.2

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nasu	t̪^{h}o^{33} **pu^{33}**	lap	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.8
Nesu	**bo^{21}** phɪ^{33}	thigh	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.1
	bo^{21} p^{h}ɪ^{33}	lap	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.8
Yi (Mojiang)	tʌ̲^{21}**pɯ̲^{21}**	buttocks	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.26

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	mɑ^{55} **po^{22}**	anus / rectum	LUO Meizhen 1990:9.12
Jinuo (Youle)	to^{33} **p^{h}u^{44}**	buttocks	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	**pù**-cɨ́-pɨ̄	hip	Matisoff 1987
	pù-dì	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	pù-tɛ-qu	hip; hips, thighs, loins, lap	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Sani [Nyi]	mæ^{55}**pu^{33}**ɣɯ^{21}	hipbone	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.8.2

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Pijo)	tà **py**	buttocks	Hansson 1989:391
Hani (Caiyuan)	tɰ̲^{31}**pɣ̲^{33}**	buttocks	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.30
Hani (Shuikui)	tɣ̄^{33}**pɣ̄^{33}**	buttocks	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.32
Hani (Khatu)	tò **pɣ̀**	buttocks	Hansson 1989:391
	tò **pɣ** (pu?)	buttocks	Hansson 1989:247
Mpi	toŋ^{2}**phu?^{4}**	buttock	Bradley 1979b

[a]It is not clear which of the two syllables descends from the present root, or whether some type of reduplication is involved.

(11) PTB *pin HIPS

We are keeping this root distinct from PTB ***d/s-pəy** WAIST / HIPS / LOWER BACK / BUTTOCKS / TAIL (§1.4.6), where the reflexes show no sign of nasalization.

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	e^{55}**pi^{55}**pu^{55}	buttocks; haunches (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991f:5.10.1; SUN Hongkai 1991f:5.8.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.50
	i **pĩ** pũ	buttocks	Pulu 1978
	i **pi** pũ	buttocks	Anonymous 1962

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Ao (Chungli)	te **ben**, te mi	tail	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**pen** da	body from knee to waist	Matisoff 1987

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**pem** pā	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	pen-	hip	Matisoff 1987

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	**’pin**	anus; buttock; hip	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

(12) PTB *liŋ HIPS

This weakly attested etymon is provisionally reconstructed, and further review is required before it can be fully established. Perhaps related is PTB ***s-li** HIPS / BUTTOCKS / ANUS (§1.4.9.2).

The alternation between the apical lateral and nasal is unexplained, but certainly parallelled in the Sino-Tibetan linguistic area (e.g. Southwest Mandarin).

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Damu	ʔeː**-ləŋ**	buttocks	Sun 1993b

1.3. “NAGA” AREAL GROUP

Maring	**ling** bong	hip	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ling** pei	hip	Marrison 1967

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**ning**	hip	Marrison 1967

(13) PKar *glam^{B} HIP

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***glam^{B}**	hip	Luangthongkum 2013:145
Kayah	**kla^{11}**	hip	Luangthongkum 2013:145
Kayan	**ka^{11}**ki^{11}	hip	Luangthongkum 2013:145
Kayaw	**ka^{11}**	hip	Luangthongkum 2013:145
Pa-O (Southern)	**kwam^{55}**	hip	Luangthongkum 2013:145
Pwo (Northern)	**kwã$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	hip	Luangthongkum 2013:145
Pwo (Southern)	**khwõ^{33}**	hip	Luangthongkum 2013:145
Sgaw (Northern)	**khi^{33}ko$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	hip	Luangthongkum 2013:145
Sgaw (Southern)	**kɔ^{31}**	hip	Luangthongkum 2013:145

1.4.10 Buttocks/Rump

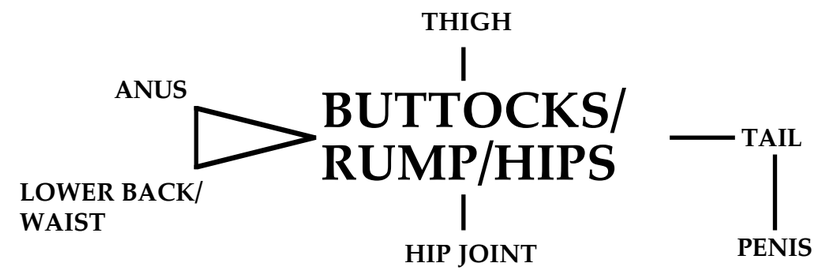


Figure 118: 1.4.10 *Buttocks/Rump*

NOTE the collocation of BUTT and HEAVY for words meaning ‘lazy; sluggish’. See Jingpho **maid-ang li** ‘heavy, slow, lazy’; Lahu **qhê-qhɔ hô** ’sluggish, slow-moving; lazy’. (Note also the English expression ‘lead in your pants’, and Japanese **koshi ga omoi** ‘hips are heavy’.)

It is interesting to note that Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri] preserves four distinct PTB roots in four synonyms glossed ‘buttock’: **ko-dun**, **ko-piang**, **ta-pong**, **ki-pum** (roots PTB ***r-t(u/i)l** BUTTOCKS / HEEL / DULL / BLUNT / ROUNDED PART (§7.1.5), PTB ***(p/b)laŋ** HIPS / BUTTOCKS (§1.4.9.2), PTB ***(p/b)waŋ** HIPS / BUTTOCKS / TAIL / ANUS (§1.4.9.2), and PTB ***s-b^{w}a(m/p)** SWELL / SWOLLEN / FAT / THICK / ROUNDED PART (§1.1.5.2) resp.).

(1) PTB *pur BUTTOCKS / HIPS / RECTUM

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	**fɯr**-ñik	hip	Sun 1993b [a]

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**pă**-cet săhă	groin	Matisoff 1987
	pŭn-cet-săhă	groin	Matisoff 1987
	pŭr-cet săhă	groin	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**p^{h}ul p^{h}ul** ^{3}kaŋ	buttocks (gn.)	Mazaudon 1991:5.10.1
Tamang (Sahu)	^{1}**phul-phul**	buttocks	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	ʔekhawo **phur** i	anus	Rai *et al.* 1984:2
	ʔemawo **phur** i	anus	Rai *et al.* 1984:3

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	**pul** cho	anus	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**por**	bottom (of pot, netbag, field, etc.), buttocks (n.)	Caughley 2000
	por thyo.re(ŋ)	anus (n.)	Caughley 2000
	por-ghaŋ	anus / rectum	Weidert 1987:1
	por.ghaŋ	anus (n.)	Caughley 2000
	por.thyo.re	anus (n.)	Caughley 2000
	por?	buttock	Matisoff 1987; Caughley 1972:2.A.45
	por? ghāng	anus	Matisoff 1987
	por?-g^{h}aŋ	anus / rectum	Caughley 1972:2.A.46
Chepang (Eastern)	**por**	rump; buttocks	Caughley 1990:5.10; Caughley 1990:5.10.1
	por ghaŋ	anus / rectum	Caughley 1990:9.12
	por thyo reŋ	anus / rectum	Caughley 1990:9.12

[a]Lit. “hip-eye”. Cf. the semantic association arising from the rounded nature of the hip joint.

(2) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{b}\end{matrix}$ **-gyu** $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{ŋ}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ TAIL / BACKSIDE

The semantic range of this etymon seems to extend from COCCYX to BUTTOCK. Witness the WT allo-famic pair **gźug** ‘coccyx’ ≍ **mǰug** ‘backside’.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	ñu-**bjuŋ**	tail	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	i-**juŋ**	buttocks	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	i **jin**	buttocks	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.51
Tagin	nay **buŋ**	tail	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	me-**tɕuŋ**	tail	Sun 1993b
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Chokri	(u) tho^{31} **tsu**^{35} ro^{31}	tailbone / coccyx	Nienu 1990b:5.10.2
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	mí-**bóng**	tail (of animal)	Grüssner 1979:170
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Central)	khi **chung**	buttock	Egli-Roduner 1987:34 1a
Tsangla (Motuo)	k^{h}i^{55} **tɕuŋ**^{55}	buttocks	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	man^{13} **tɕuŋ**^{55}	buttocks	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	man **tɕuŋ**	buttocks	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.7
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Spiti	**cõŋ** to	buttocks	Bodh 1991:5.10.1
Tibetan (Written)	**gzug**-č'uṅ	coccyx	Matisoff 1987
	gzug-gu	coccyx	Matisoff 1987
	mjug(-ma)	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	mȷ̀ug (-ma)	tail	Matisoff 1987
	rṅa ma, **mjug** ma	tail	Marrison 1967
	sku-**mȷ̀ug**	tail	Matisoff 1987
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar (Kathmandu)	nhi **pyɔ̃**, nhe	tail	Genetti 1990c
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Chamling	**yung** kha	buttocks	Winter 1985:40
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	mɛ^{33} **ntʃhɛ**^{55}	tail	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.18
Qiang (Mawo)	sta qə **tɕu**	tailbone / coccyx	SUN Hongkai 1991g:5.10.2
Xumi	m̥iɛ^{33} **tsũ**^{55}	tail	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.20
	m̥æ^{33}**tsũ**^{55}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.17
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	ni^{31}**tɕhuŋ**^{55}	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.44
Nung	n̥i^{31}**tɕhuŋ**^{55}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.21
Dulong	mi^{55}**tɕɔʔ**^{55}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.20
Trung [Dulong]	mi^{55}**tɕǒʔ**^{55}	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	mi^{55} **tɕɔʔ**^{55}	tail	LaPolla 1987:84
	mi^{55} **tɕǒʔ**^{55}	tail	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	aŋ^{31} nɯ^{31} **tɕhɔʔ**^{55}	tail	LaPolla 1987:84
	ɑŋ^{31} nɯ^{31} **tɕ^{h}ǒʔ**^{55}	tail	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Xiandao)	n̥i^{31} **tʂ^{h}ɔ**^{31}	tail	DAI Qingxia 1989f:317

(3) PTB *mu $^{n}_{ŋ}$ BUTTOCKS / TAIL / BACK

This etymon seems to partially overlap with PTB ***man*** BACK (lower) / BUTTOCKS (§1.4.8), and should perhaps be merged with it in the future.

This weakly attested but fairly solid root has so far been found almost exclusively in Himalayish languages, with a likely Deng cognate. Hayu shows variation between final **-n** and **-m**, but the basic form of the etymon seems to reflect the former, especially since Tsangla has a final dental stop.

1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	lɯ^{31}**mum**^{53}	tail (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991f:5.10.3
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**mong**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	mong-kua	anus	Matisoff 1987
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**moŋ** khui	pelvis	Matisoff 1987
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**mung**	back	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Tilang)	**mut**-p^{h}rok-pa	buttocks	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**mu** gɔk ma	buttocks	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**mun**	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176; Matisoff 1987
	mU: tsho si ku li	buttock	Matisoff 1987
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	htʃɛ^{55} **mo**^{55}	buttocks; haunches	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.18
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ^{31} **mu**^{55}	back (of body)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:258.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	xɔ^{55} **mɔ**^{55}	back (of body)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986

(4) PTB *swap BUTTOCKS / TAIL

This sparsely attested root occurs mostly in Qiangic, with plausible Loloish cognates. The only language to preserve the final ***-p*** is rGyalrong.

3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya [Minyak]	**zo**^{53}	buttocks	SUN Hongkai 1991h:5.10.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.15
Pumi (Qinghua)	**so**^{13}	buttocks	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.11
Qiang (Longxi)	phù-**suà**	front of Chinese jacket [clothes-tail]	Evans 1999:627
	suà kà	tail	Evans 1999:334
	suà qá	in back (qá = 'tail end')	Evans 1999:1048
Qiang (Mawo)	**su** ka	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.8
	su kuæ	tail (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:5.10.3
	su ka	tail	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	sɛ kuɛ	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**suà** kè	tail	Evans 1999:334
Qiang (Taoping)	**suɑ**^{55} kie^{33}	tail	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**si** kue	tail	DAI Qingxia 1989q:334
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ta **sop**	buttocks	DAI Qingxia 1989d:5.10.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.12
	ta **sop** k^{h}oi jdu	anus / rectum	DAI Qingxia 1989d:9.12
	ta **sop**	hips	DAI Qingxia 1989d:5.8.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **sop**	buttocks; hips	SUN Hongkai 1991j:1.10; SUN Hongkai 1991j:5.8.1
	ta **sop** p^{h}eluŋ	crotch / fork of legs	SUN Hongkai 1991j:5.9
	ta **sop** ʃɐre	hipbone	SUN Hongkai 1991j:5.8.2
rGyalrong	ta **sop** ɕɛrə	hipbone	DAI Qingxia 1989d:5.8.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wa **sop** p^{h}ak	buttocks	SUN Hongkai 1991j:5.10.1
rGyalrong	ta **sop**	hips	Nagano 1997:5.8.1
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nasu	mɔ^{21} **ʂu**^{33}	tail (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.10.3
Noesu	me^{21}**ʂu**^{33}	tail	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.10.3
Nosu	phu^{21}**ʂu**^{33}	tail	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.10.3
Yi (Dafang)	mo^{21}**so**^{33}	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.22
Yi (Xide)	phu^{21}**ʂu**^{33}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.35
	phu^{21}**ʂu**^{33}	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.21
	p^{h}u^{21} **ʂu**^{33}	tail	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

(5) PTB *r-kup BUTTOCKS / ANUS

This root is so far best attested in Himalayish, with a convincing Jingpho cognate.

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	dang-**hkawp**	hip	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**khyu** bu natotyā	anus	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	**kuʔ**^{53}	buttocks (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**kuʔ**^{53}	buttocks	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**kup**^{52}	buttocks (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.02
	kup^{53}	buttocks	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	pē **rup**	buttocks; haunches (of animal)	Bishop 1989:5.10.1; Bishop 1989:5.8.3
Spiti	kya **kup**	anus / rectum	Bodh 1991:9.12
	tu˜ **kup**	vagina	Bodh 1991:10.4.1
Tibetan (Written)	**rkub**	anus; anus, vulva; buttock	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	rkub	buttocks (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.01
	rkub	buttocks	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.1
	rkub-t'sós	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	rkup	bottom, behind, buttocks	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:35
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	a yit **tsup**	anus	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Sahu)	**cyuhp** to	buttock	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Luquan	ve^{33} ~ **ve**^{55}	subordinator; final particle	Matisoff 2003a:221

(6) PTB *saŋ BUTTOCK

This promising root has so far been uncovered in only two languages.

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	ā kharaŋ **shoŋ**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	khai **shāŋ**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	ki'-**sang**	buttocks, rump, backside, behind, rump; back end of anything, as a flashlight, bottom, bottom of a basket, glass, or pot	Burling 1992
	ki'-**sang**-ti	buttock / hind end of an animal	Burling 1992
	ki'-**sang**-ti ki'-ting	hard point at middle back pelvis	Burling 1992

(7) PTB *pat BUTTOCK

So far this root has only been uncovered in two widely separated languages, although the sound correspondence between them is exact.

3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	**p^{h}at** paça	rump	DAI Qingxia 1989d:5.10
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Hpun (Northern)	tó **phàʔ**, tó **phàt**	buttocks	Henderson 1986

(8) PTB *s-mi ANUS / BUTTOCK

This etymon seems distinct from PTB ***r-may*** ⩤ ***m-ray*** TAIL / PENIS (§1.4.10.1).

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**-mí**	tail	Matisoff 1985a:072
	mi	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	mí	anus / rectum	Grüssner 1979:170
	mi ang kok	anus	Matisoff 1987
	mí-bóng	tail (of animal)	Grüssner 1979:170
	mí-lum bóng	buttocks	Grüssner 1979:170
	mi lum bong	buttock / haunch	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Magar	**mi**-pu Tha	buttock	Matisoff 1987
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	n̥**i**^{31}khu^{55}	buttocks	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:262.44
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Côông [Phunoi]	**hŋi** tã	buttock	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1987
	hŋi^{33} tã^{33}	buttocks	Bradley 1977
Ugong	**ní** kha	buttocks	Bradley 1993:5.10.1

(9) PKC *too BOTTOM / ANUS / BUTTOCK / END

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***too**	BOTTOM / ANUS / BUTTOCK / END	VanBik 2009:182
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**to** lam	anal	VanBik 2009:182
Thado	**tôo**	bottom, end	VanBik 2009:182
	tó phè	buttock	Thirumalai 1972:65

Tiddim	**to:**[1]	buttock	VanBik 2009:182; Bhaskararao 1996:1781
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tôo**	anal, anus	VanBik 2009:182
Lai (Falam)	**tóo**	anal, anus	VanBik 2009:182

(10) PKC *krook BUTTOCK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***krook**	BUTTOCK	VanBik 2009:1314
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**trook**	buttock	VanBik 2009:1314
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**cháo**	buttock	VanBik 2009:1314

(11) PTB *du TAIL / BUTTOCKS / BACK

We recognize three quite similar etyma in this semantic area: the present root PTB ***du**, PTB ***m-daŋ** BUTTOCKS / HIPS / TAIL / LOWER BACK / LOINS (§1.4.8.1), and PTB ***tu(k/ŋ)** BACK (of body) (§1.4.8). In the case of phonologically eroded languages (e.g. Loloish, Qiangic, Baic), it is sometimes difficult to decide among them. Several Loloish languages have distinct reflexes for at least two of them, e.g. Lahu **tɔ̀** 'lower back / loins / lumbar region' < PTB ***m-daŋ** vs. **ɔ̀-mɛ̄-tu** 'tail' < PTB ***du**; Written Burmese **taŋ-pâ** 'buttock' < PTB ***m-daŋ** vs. **khâ-tuiŋ** 'lower back / loins / lumbar region' < PTB ***tu(k/ŋ)**. Two Southern Loloish binomes are particularly problematic (Akha **dɔ̀-dàŋ** 'buttocks' and Sangkong **toŋ**[31] **taŋ**[55] 'buttocks'), where the first syllables are from PTB ***m-daŋ**, while the second syllables are of uncertain origin despite their superficial resemblance to PTB ***m-daŋ**.

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	**dɯ** mrai?	tail	Simon 1979
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	**Dù** Ru	buttocks	Sharma 1991b:5.10.1
	mè ku **Tu**	tail (of animal)	Sharma 1991b:5.10.3
	me ku **ʈu**	tail (of animal)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Spiti	cõŋ **to**	buttocks	Bodh 1991:5.10.1
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar (Dolakhali)	cum **ṭu**	tail	Genetti 1990b
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Southern)	jiã[21] **tu**[55]	tail	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Hpun (Northern)	**tó** phà?, **tó** phàt	buttocks	Henderson 1986
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nasu	**du**[55] $p^h a^{21}$	back	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.4
Nesu	a^{55} **do**[21] ta^{33}	back	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.4
Yi (Mile)	$kha^{33}ko^{33}$**dɯ**[21]	back (of body)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:258.25
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Baka)	**tu**[44] $m̥i^{44}$	tail	DAI Qingxia 1989i:334
Jinuo	**tɔ**[44]$sm̥i^{33}$	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.34
**Common Lahu*	***tu:**	tail	Bradley 1979b:84-1
Lahu (Lancang)	$mɛ^{11}$**tu**[33]	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.43
Lahu (Black)	aw˯ meh **tu:**	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
	me^{31}**tu**[33]	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.33
	$mɛ^{31}$ **tṿ**[33]	tail	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛ̄-**tu**	tail	Matisoff 1985a:072; Matisoff 1974:233
	ɔ̀-mɛ̄-**tu**	tail	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	$mɛʔ^{21}$ **tu**[33]	tail	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	$mæ^{55}pu^{33}$;$ɬi^{21}$**du**[21]$mæ^{55}$	hips	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.8.1
	$ts^hɥ^{11}$ **dṿ**[11]	buttocks	MA Xueliang 1989:351.3
	$tʂhi^{21}$**du**[21]	buttocks	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	$ɬi^{21}$**du**[21]$mɛ^{55}$	buttocks	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	$ɬɭ^{21}$ **du**[21] $mæ^{55}$	buttocks	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:106.2
	$ɬɳ^{11}$ **dṿ**[11]	buttocks	MA Xueliang 1989:319.2
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Pijo)	**tù**	tail	Hansson 1989:248
	tù mì	tail	Hansson 1989:248
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tɔ**[31] mi^{31}	tail	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	tɔ[31]me^{31}	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dɔ**[31] mi^{31}	tail	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**tu**[31] $mɛ^{31}$	tail	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	tu[31] xu^{55}	back (of body)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	tu[31]$mɛ^{31}$	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.32
	tu[31]xu^{55}	back (of body)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:258.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tù**	tail	Hansson 1989:248
	tù mì	tail	Hansson 1989:248
6.2. NAXI			
Na (Yongning)	gv˩**dv**˩	back	Michaud 2006–2009
	gv˩**dv**˩-gv˩mi˩	body	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˩-gv˩**dv**˩	back of the hand	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	gv^{33}**dv**[33]	back (of body)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	gv^{33}**dv**[33]	back (of body)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:258.29
7. KARENIC			
Bwe	ká **thu**	tail stump of chicken or duck (n.)	Henderson 1997
8. BAI			
Bai (Dali)	mi **tu** 26	tail	Dell 1981b:193
	mi^2 **tu**[6]	tail	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	mi^{31} **tu**[35]	tail	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	mi^{42}**tu**[35]	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	$ŋa^{33}$**tu**[55]	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.48
	$ŋv^{33}$**tṽ**[55]	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.36
	$ŋv̩^{33}$ **tṽ**[55]	tail	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; ZHAO Yansun 1990:5.10.3

(1) PTB *r-may ≷ *m-ray TAIL / PENIS

This extremely widespread etymon seems distinct from PTB ***s-mi** ANUS / BUTTOCK (§1.4.10). A number of languages have developed a dental or palatal nasal through the influence of a following yod or front vowel. A similar development has occurred in roots like PTB ***s-myak ≷ *s-mik** EYE (§1.2.6).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-may**	tail	Weidert 1987:307; Michailovsky 1991:176
	***r-măy**	tail	Matisoff 1985a:072
	***r-may**	tail	Matisoff 2003a:601; Benedict 1972:282
	***r-may**~mey	tail	LaPolla 1987:84
	***r-mi**	tail	Matisoff 2003a:601
	***r-mɑy**	tail	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:583a-b
1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	dɯ **mrai?**	tail	Simon 1979
1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Aka [Hruso]	ə **rim**	tail	LaPolla 1987:84; Benedict 1972:282 [a]
1.1.1. TANI: ***me** ~ ***mjo** TAIL			
**Tani*	***me**~ **mjo**	tail	Sun 1993a:413
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	à-kì a-**mi**	dog tail	Sun 1993b
	a-**mi**	tail	Sun 1993a
	à-**mì**	tail	Sun 1993b
	a-**mi**	tail	Sun 1993b
	mi-prjũ	tail tuft	Sun 1993b
	$^2a^1$**mi**	tail	Weidert 1987:571
Bengni	**ñu**-bjuŋ	tail	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	am **n̥o**	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.24
	am-**ño**	tail	Sun 1993b
	e-**mño**	tail	Sun 1993a
	em **n̥o**	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.24
	em-**ño**	tail	Sun 1993b
	kɯ-**mjo**	tail (of horse)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	kɯ' **mjo**	hair of horse's tail	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɛ **m n̥o**	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**ʻɲo** buu	tail (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲo lap	tail (of fish); fishtail (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻɲo tup	tip (of tail) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲo ŋər	tail joint (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲo bu	tail	Das Gupta 1963
	¯ño bu	tail	Weidert 1987:571
Miri, Hill Tagin	aŋ **ɲo**	tail	Simon 1976
	nay buŋ	tail	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	ta-**me** ~ a-**me**	tail	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**mé**	tail	Matisoff 1987
	ta-**mé**	tail	Matisoff 1987
	tâm-**nyo**	tail	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**me**-tɕuŋ	tail	Sun 1993b
Milang	ta **mi**	tail	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	ta-**mño**	tail	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	$lɯ^{31}$**mɯn**[55]	tail	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	$lɯ^{31}$**mɯn**[55]	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.22
	$lɯ^{31}$**mɯn**[55]	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.49
Digaro	**ləmi** ~ ləmiŋ	tail	Benedict 1972:282; LaPolla 1987:84
Kaman [Miju]	$ɑ^{31}$ **măi**[55]	tail	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	$ɑ^{31}$**măi**[55]	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.23
	$ɑ^{31}$**măi**[55]	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.48
	ʔmʌ̀i	tail	Weidert 1987:612; Weidert 1987:307
Idu	i **mi** na	tail	Pulu 1978
	i **mi** na pũ	tail(tuft)	Pulu 1978
	k^hi **mi** na	tail	Pulu 1978
	k^hi **mi** na pũ	tail(tuft)	Pulu 1978
	$lɯ^{31}$**mum**[53]	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.50
Yidu	$lɯ^{31}$ **mum**[53]	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.25
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***C-may** TAIL			
**Chin*	***may**	TAIL	VanBik 2009:794
Thanphum	ă **mɑi**[5]	tail	Luce 1985:P.7
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Kuki-Chin	**mei**	tail (of animal)	Haokip 1998:5.10.3
Sizang	a **mē**	tail, fire	VanBik 2009:794
Thado	**mêy**	fire	VanBik 2009:794
	ā **méi**	tail	Thirumalai 1972:42
Tiddim	**mei**	tail	Matisoff 1987
	mei[3]	tail	Luce 1985:G.50; Luce 1985:P.7
	mei[1]	fire, tail; tail	VanBik 2009:794; Bhaskararao 1996:1084
	ˊmei	tail (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	ho **mé**	tail	VanBik 2009:794
Asho (Sandoway)	ho^2**meɪ**[2]	tail	Luce 1985:P.7
Cho (Mindat)	**mei**	fire	VanBik 2009:794
Khumi	ta-**mai**	tail of a bird	Matisoff 1987
	$t^ə$ **má:**[i]	tail	So-Hartmann 1988:48
	t **maay**	tail	VanBik 2009:794
Awa Khumi	[tă$χo^3$] **mæ**[4]	tail	Luce 1985:P.7
Khumi (Ahraing)	tə **mɑɛ**[1]	tail	Luce 1985:P.7
Matu	a̰ **ma:**[i]	tail	So-Hartmann 1988:48
Matupi	ă **mɑi**[4]	tail	Luce 1985:P.7
Mkaang	**me:**[i]	tail	So-Hartmann 1988:48
Nyhmoye	ŋ **mɛi**	tail	So-Hartmann 1988:48
Womatu	$ŋ^{4ˋ}$**meɪ**[1]	tail	Luce 1985:P.7
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Khualsim	**mei**[2]	tail	Luce 1985:P.7
Lai (Hakha)	**mây**	tail	VanBik 2009:794
Lai (Falam)	**máy**	fire, tail	VanBik 2009:794
Lai (Hakha)	**mei**	tail	Matisoff 1987
	mei[5]	tail	Luce 1985:G.50; Luce 1985:P.7
Laizo	**mei**	tail	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	**mei**	tail	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:072

[a] This Aka form looks as if it has been metathesized from **mri**.

1.4.10.1 Tail

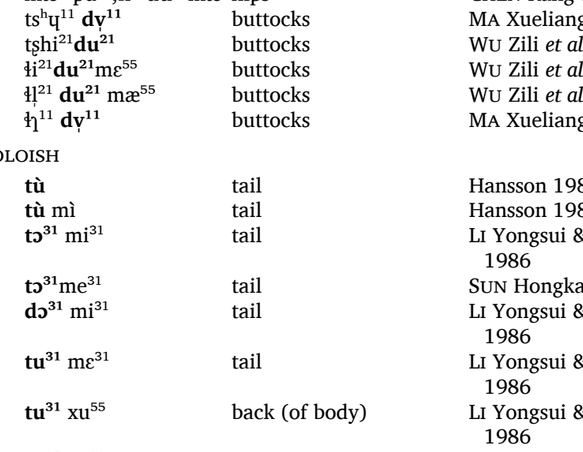


Figure 119: 1.4.10.1 *Tail*

	měi	fire, a tail	VanBik 2009:794
	mei	tail	Bhaskararao 1996:1084; LaPolla 1987:84; Benedict 1972:282
	mei^{3}	tail	Luce 1985:P.7
	´mei	tail	Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lailenpi	mə **lə̃hme**^{1}	tail	Luce 1985:P.7
Lakher [Mara]	cháo-lā-**hméi**	tail of a bird or animal (n.)	VanBik 2009:794
	chao-la **hmei**	tail	Matisoff 1987
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	ă **lə̃hmĩ**^{3}	tail	Luce 1985:P.7
Mera	tso^{1}**lə̃**^{1}**hmi**^{1}	tail	Luce 1985:P.7
Tha'oa	ă **mɑi**^{2}	tail	Luce 1985:P.7
Xongsai	**mei**^{2}	tail	Luce 1985:P.7
Zotung	le?^{5}**mæ**^{5}	tail	Luce 1985:P.7

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Aimol	**rəmai**	tail	LaPolla 1987:84; Benedict 1972:282
Chiru	ʌ **rʌmei**	tail	Weidert 1987:307
Kom Rem	**rəmei**	tail (of animal)	Toba & Kom 1991:5.10.3
	rəmei kuŋ	rump	Toba & Kom 1991:5.10
	rəmei ru	tailbone / coccyx	Toba & Kom 1991:5.10.2
Lamkang	mʌ **rméi**	tail	Weidert 1987:39
Moyon	**rumí**	tail (of animal)	Kosha 1990:5.10.3
	rumí row	tailbone / coccyx	Kosha 1990:5.10.2

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	**mi**	tail	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **mi**^{55}	tail (of animal)	Nienu 1990a:5.10.3
	mei	tail	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **me**^{35}	tail (of animal)	Nienu 1990b:5.10.3
Khezha	kə **mè**	tail (of animal)	Yabu 1994:5.10.3
Mao	i **mi**	tail	Marrison 1967
Rengma	a **ma**	tail	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	^{5}a^{3}**ma**	tail	Weidert 1987:307
Sema [Sumi]	a sho **mhi**	tail	Marrison 1967
	a sho **mi**	tail (of animal)	Achumi 1998a:5.10.3

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	a **mei**	tail	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**mai**-tiŋ-kha	testicle	Weidert 1987:617a
	pa **mi**	tail	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **me**	tail	Marrison 1967
Puiron	ka **mei**	tail	Marrison 1967
	mai kwok	hip	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ka **mai**	tail	Marrison 1967
	kə **mai**	tail	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	pe **mi**	tail	Marrison 1967

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**mei**	tail	Marrison 1967
	mə **məy**	tail (of animal); tail	Singh 1991:5.10.3; Matisoff 1985a:072
	mə **mə̀i**	tail	Weidert 1987:307

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	a **rme**	tail	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:072
	a **rmê**	tail (of animal)	Grüssner 1979:10
	a **rme**	tail	LaPolla 1987:84; Benedict 1972:282
	a **rmē(ʔ)**	tail	Weidert 1987:307
	a **ɾme**	tail	Matisoff 1987

1.6. MRU

Mru	**mai**	tail	Matisoff 1987
	ʃĭ **mi**^{3}	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
	ʃĕ **myi**^{3}	tail	Luce 1985:T.15

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	***mai**	tail	Burling 1959:444

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	ha **may**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
Dimasa	ba **rmai**	tail	Marrison 1967
	khe **rmai** ≍ be **rmai**	tail	Benedict 1972:282; Matisoff 1985a:072

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	ki?-**me**	tail	Matisoff 1987
	ki **me**	tail	Matisoff 1985a:072; LaPolla 1987:84; Benedict 1972:282
Garo (Bangladesh)	ki•-**me**	tail (n.)	Burling 2003:4.473-II:idx

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	di-**mai**	tail	Matisoff 1987
	di• **mai**	tail (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw• di• **mai**	tail feathers (n.)	van Breugel 2008
Wanang	ci-**mai**	tail	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	chi **mi**	tail	Brown 1895:69
	ci-**mi**^{1}	tail	unknown nd
	ci **mĩ**	tail, rear part (any animal) (var. cimi)	Jacquesson 2005

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	(ǹ-)**mài**	tail	Matisoff 1985a:072
	mai	tail	Matisoff 1987
	mai ~ **nmai**	tail	Benedict 1972:282
	mài-dàŋ	buttocks	Matisoff 1974:54
	mai~**nmai**	tail (euph.); tail	Matisoff 1987; LaPolla 1987:84
	mai^{31}	tail	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mai^{31}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.19
	mai^{31}	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.47
	mai dang	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	ǹ-mài	tail	Matisoff 1974:233
	nmài	tail	Matisoff 1987
	nmai, **mai** tsan	tail	Marrison 1967
	n̩^{31}**mai**^{31}	tail	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ù-**mài**	bird's tail	Matisoff 1987
	u-**mai**	tail	Matisoff 1987
	^{1}niŋ^{1}**mai**	tail	Weidert 1987:307

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Ganan	**miʔ**^{3}k'u^{2}	tail	Luce 1985:L.151
Kadu	**mɛ**^{4}ku^{2}	tail	Luce 1985:G.50
Kadu (Kantu)	**mɛ**^{4}ku^{2}	tail	Luce 1985:L.151
Sak (Dodem)	ă **lămu**^{4}	tail	Luce 1985:L.151
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **lɔ̆mũ**^{4}	tail	Luce 1985:L.151

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Pattani [Manchati]	**mè** ku Tu	tail (of animal)	Sharma 1991b:5.10.3
	me ku ʈu	tail (of animal)	Sharma 1982
Thebor	**me**-kon	tail	LaPolla 1987:84; Benedict 1972:282

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**mya**	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176; Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	**m̥ɛ**^{13} tei^{53}	rump	DAI Qingxia 1989a:5.10
Tibetan (Written)	**rmed**	tail; crupper of saddle; crupper	Luce 1985:G.50; Luce 1985:T.15; Luce 1985:W.29

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**me:**	tail	Mazaudon 1978:15; Mazaudon 1994:781
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mãe** siq	hip	Matisoff 1987
	mae sĩq	hip	Glover 1972:2.A.44
	mi	tail	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:1.35
	^{1}**mi**	tail	Mazaudon 1978:15
Gurung	^{1}**mi**	tail	Mazaudon 1994:781
Manang (Gyaru)	**mɛ:**^{2}	tail	Nagano 1984:314
Manang (Ngawal)	^{1}**me**	tail	Mazaudon 1978:15
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**me**	tail	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0100
	^{1}**me**	tail	Mazaudon 1994:781
Tamang	**me:**	tail	Weidert 1987:802
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**me:**	tail	Mazaudon 1978:15
	^{1}**me:**	tail (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:5.10.3
	^{1}**me:**	tail	Mazaudon 1994:781
Tamang (Sahu)	**me:**	tail	Matisoff 1987; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.35
	^{1}**me:**	tail	Mazaudon 1978:15; Mazaudon 1994:781
Tamang (Taglung)	**me:**	tail	Mazaudon 1994:781
	^{1}**me:**	tail	Mazaudon 1978:15
Thakali (Marpha)	^{1}**me**	tail	Mazaudon 1978:15
	^{51}**me**	tail	Mazaudon 1994:781
Thakali (Syang)	^{1}**me**	tail	Mazaudon 1978:15
	^{52}**me:**	tail	Mazaudon 1994:781
	^{54}**me**	tail	Mazaudon 1994:781
Thakali (Tukche)	**me**	tail	Matisoff 1987; Hari 1971:1.35
	^{H}**me**	tail	Mazaudon 1978:15; Mazaudon 1994:781

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**nhi** pyɔ̃	tail (of animal)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.10.3
	nhi pyɔ̃ kwẽ	tailbone / coccyx	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.10.2
Newar (Kathmandu)	**nhi** pyɔ̃, nhe	tail	Genetti 1990c

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***meri**	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**mi**	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176
	mi:	tail	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**mi** lak	tail (of animal)	Kohn 1990:5.10.3
	mi lak seːŋ kwɔk	tailbone / coccyx	Kohn 1990:5.10.2
Yamphu	**mi** ra	tail (n.)	Rutgers 1998:556.31

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**miri**	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176
	miri(p)	tail	Rai *et al.* 1984:51
	mirip	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176; Rai 1985
Chamling	**meri**	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176; Winter 1985:24
Kulung	**mer**	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176
	mer_	tail	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**miri**	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176; Driem 1993
Khaling	**'mer**	tail	Matisoff 1987
	mer	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**meri**	tail	Matisoff 1985a:072; LaPolla 1987:84; Benedict 1972:282
	me:ri	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176
Sunwar	**'mi:** lu	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**'mer**	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176; Allen 1975
	mera	tail	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**meq**	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176
	meʔ	tail	Weidert 1987:39; Michailovsky 1991:176; Matisoff 1987
	meʔ	tail, lower end (of field, etc.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	meʔ	tail	Caughley 1972:1.35
	meʔ cer-	split, ragged tail (of fish) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	meʔ.koʔ ro	brush (of tail), tuft (n.)	Caughley 2000
	meʔ.koʔ tuku.luŋ	base, stump (esp. of bird's tail) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	meʔ.tuku.luŋ	base of tail (bird) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	meʔ.tulh	base of tail (bird) (n.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	kray ki **meʔ** tat	tailbone / coccyx	Caughley 1990:5.10.2
	meʔ	tail (of animal)	Caughley 1990:5.10.3
Kham	o **r'mẽ:h**	tail	Watters & Watters 1989:1.35
	o **rmeMh**	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176
	o **rm̥eh**	tail	Matisoff 1987
Magar	me-**me**	tail	LaPolla 1987:84; Benedict 1972:282
	me-**mek**	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176; Matisoff 1987

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**mĭefi**	tail	Nishida 1964:208-062
	mjij	tail, end	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5677
	mi̯e^{1}	tail	Sofronov c1978

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**mɛ**^{33} ntʃhɛ^{55}	tail	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.18
Guiqiong	(**mi**^{31}kuɛ^{55}) thu^{55}tsu^{55}	raise (the tail) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1572.16
	mi^{33} kue^{53}	tail	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.17
	mi^{55}kuɛ^{55}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.16
Muya	**mə**^{24}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mɯ**^{35}	tail (of animal); tail	SUN Hongkai 1991h:5.10.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.15
Namuyi	**mɛ**^{33}qu^{55}	tail (of animal); tail	SUN Hongkai 1991i:5.10.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.19
	mæ^{31}ku^{31}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**mɛi**^{31}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**mɐ**^{13}ɬiɛ^{55}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**mɐ**^{13} ɬiɛ^{55}	tail	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**mɛ̃**^{35} ɬio^{35}	tail	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	mɛ̃^{35}ɬio^{53}	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.10

Xumi	**m̥iɛ^{33}** tsũ^{55}	tail	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.20
	m̥æ^{33}tsũ^{55}	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.17

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	**rmi^{53}**	tail (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.10.3
	rmi^{53} rʁə^{13}	tailbone / coccyx	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.10.2

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	e **jme** ɕɛru	tailbone / coccyx	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.10.2
Caodeng	nbri-**jmɐ**	tail of horse	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	ta **jmi**	tail (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.10.3
	ta **jmi** ɕɛrə	tailbone / coccyx	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.10.2
	te **me**	tail	LaPolla 1987:84
	tě **mě**	tail	Benedict 1972:282
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **rme**	tail (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.10.3
	tə **rme** ɕɛr̥	tailbone / coccyx	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.10.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɐ **jmi**	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.11
Caodeng	tɐ-**jmɐ**	tail	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	tɐi **jmi**	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wɐ **jmi**	tail (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.10.3
	wɐ **jmi** ts^{h}ə ngrum	tailbone / coccyx	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.10.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	ə **jme**	tail (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.10.3
rGyalrong	tay **mu**	tail	Nagano 1997:5.10.3
rGBenzhen	te-**mə**	tail	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Rawang	(**ni^{33}** go^{33}) ŋaŋ^{53} ɕi^{31}	raise (the tail)	LaPolla 2003:1402
	(**ni^{33}** zo^{33}) ŋaŋ^{53} ɕi^{31}	raise (the tail)	LaPolla 2003:1402
	ni^{33} goŋ^{33}	tail (of animal)	LaPolla 2003:308
	ni^{33} zo^{33}	tail (of bird)	LaPolla 2003:309
Anong	**ni^{31}**tɕhuŋ^{55}	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.44
Nung	**n̥i^{31}**tɕhuŋ^{55}	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.21
Dulong	**mi^{55}**	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.20
	mi^{55}tɕɔʔ^{55}	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.20
Trung [Dulong]	**mi^{55}**tɕɤ̆ʔ^{55}	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**mi^{55}** tɕɔʔ^{55}	tail	LaPolla 1987:84
	mi^{55} tɕɤ̆ʔ^{55}	tail	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	aŋ^{31} **nɯ^{31}** tɕhɔʔ^{55}	tail	LaPolla 1987:84
	ɑŋ^{31} **nɯ^{31}** tɕ^{h}ɤ̆ʔ^{55}	tail	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-m(r)ay^{2}*** tail

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-m(r)ay^{2}***	tail	Matisoff 1988a:1019-1020

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Luxi)	a^{31} **mi^{35}**	tail	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**n̥i^{31}** tʂ^{h}ɔ^{31}	tail	Dai Qingxia 1989f:317
Bola	ʃă^{35} **mi^{31}**	tail	Dai Qingxia 1989g:317 [a]
Burmese (Modern)	a **mrī:**	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
	a **mrī^{4}**	tail	Luce 1985:G.50
Burmese (Rangoon)	ɑ^{53}**mji^{55}**	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.27
Burmese (Spoken)	ă **mi^{4}**	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ɑ^{53}**mji^{55}**	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.40
Burmese (Written)	a **mrī**	tail	Luce 1985:G.50
	a **mrì**	tail	LaPolla 1987:84
	ă **mrì**	tail	Benedict 1972:282
	a **mrī:**	tail	Marrison 1967
	a **mrī^{4}**	tail / crupper	Luce 1985:W.29
	mrī	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
	mrî	tail	Hansson 1989:248
	mri	tail	Matisoff 1987
	mrî	tail (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**mrî**	tail (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə **mrì**	tail	Weidert 1987:307
	ɑ^{1}**mri^{3}**	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.39
	ʔə **mrî**	tail	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:072; Matisoff 1974:233
Danu	ă **mi^{2}**	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
Hpun (Northern)	ă **mì**	tail	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	ă **mi^{4}**	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
Langsu (Luxi)	ʃă^{35}**mji^{31}**	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.31
Lashi (Lachhe')	ʃŏ **myi^{2}**	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
	ʃă **myi^{4}**	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
Lashi	ʃă^{55} **mji^{33}**	tail (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.10.3
Leqi (Luxi)	ʃŏ^{55}**mji^{33}**	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.33
Maru [Langsu]	šə **mī**	tail	Weidert 1987:307
	ʃă^{35} **mji^{31}**	tail (of animal); tail	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.10.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.43
Taung-Yo	ă **mi^{2}**	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
Atsi [Zaiwa]	šò **myì**	tail	Weidert 1987:307
	ʃŏ^{21} **mji^{21}**	tail	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ʃŏ^{21}**mji^{21}**	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.30
	ʃŏ^{21}**mji^{21}**	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.42
	ʃɔ **myi^{4}**	tail	Luce 1985:T.15

6.1.2. Loloish: ***ʔmri^{2}*** tail

**Loloish*	***ʔ-mri^{2}***	tail	Hansson 1989:248; Weidert 1987:307; Bradley 1979b:84-2
Lolopho	**mæ^{55}**	tail (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.10.3
	mæ^{55} ɣ^{31} kɣ^{33}	tailbone / coccyx	Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.10.2

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**mɯ^{55}** ta^{323}	tail; tail (of animal)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987; Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.10.3
	mɯ^{55}ta^{323}	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.47
Lalo	**ʔme^{21}** p^{h}e^{21}	tail (of animal)	Chen Kang 1986b:5.10.3
Lipho	**mɛ^{55}**	tail	Chen Kang 1986b:5.10.3
Nasu	**mɔ^{21}** ʂu^{33}	tail (of animal)	Chen Kang 1986b:5.10.3
Nesu	**mer^{33}**	tail (of animal)	Chen Kang 1986b:5.10.3
	mer^{33} ɣɤ^{33}	tailbone / coccyx	Chen Kang 1986b:5.10.2
Noesu	**me^{21}**ʂu^{33}	tail	Chen Kang 1986b:5.10.3
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**m̥e^{55}** pɔ^{55}	tail	Dai Qingxia 1989o:317.
Nusu (Central)	**m̥i^{31}** pɔ̲^{55}	tail	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**m̥i^{31}**pɔ̲^{55}	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.45
Nusu (Northern)	**m̥i^{55}**	tail	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**m̥ɯ^{55}** pˈə̲^{53}	tail	Dai Qingxia 1989p:317.
	m̥ɯ^{55}pɹə̲^{53}	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.34
Nusu (Southern)	**n̥i^{55}** pa̲^{53}	tail	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**mo^{21}** so^{33}	tail	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**m̥ɳ^{33}**	tail	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	o^{33}**m̥ɳ^{33}**	head to tail	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**mʌ^{55}**dzɻ^{21}	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**mɛ^{33}**	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mə^{55}**tə^{33}	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.37
	mɛ^{55}tɛ^{33}	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**me^{21}** p^{h}e^{21}	tail	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	me^{21}phe^{21}	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔmɛ^{21}**phɛ^{21}	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.36
Yi (Xide)	hɯ^{33}-**m̥ɳ^{21}**-tʂa^{55}	fish tail	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**ma^{55}**dzɻ^{21}	tail	Chen Kang 1986b:5.10.3
	ma^{55}phi^{21}	hips	Chen Kang 1986b:5.8.1
Lolo (Ni)	**mȁi**	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
Ahi	**mɑ^{55}**	rump	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.10
	mɑ^{55} dzɻ^{21}	tail (of animal)	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.10.3
	mɑ^{55} po^{22}	anus; rectum; buttocks	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.10.1; Luo Meizhen 1990:9.12
	mɑ^{55} pʻi^{21} ɣɯ^{21}	hips	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.8.1
	mɑ^{55} ɣɯ^{21}	tailbone / coccyx	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.10.2
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	to^{44} **mi^{44}**	tail	Dai Qingxia 1989h:334
Jinuo (Youle)	to^{44} **m̥i^{44}**	tail	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	tu^{44} **m̥i^{44}**	tail	Dai Qingxia 1989i:334
Jinuo	tɔ^{44}**smi^{33}**	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.34
Kucong	a31 **ma35**	tail	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***meh_**	tail	Bradley 1979b:84-2
Lahu (Lancang)	**mɛ^{11}**tu^{33}	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.43
Lahu (Black)	aw˯ **meh** tuː	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
	khɨ-**mē**-cu	heel	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-**mē**-cwi	heel	Matisoff 1987
	me^{31}tu^{33}	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.33
	mɛ^{31} tɣ^{33}	tail	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mē	tail	Matisoff 1987
	mē-tu	tail	Matisoff 1985a:072; Matisoff 1974:233
	ɔ̀-**mē**-tu	tail	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɛʔ^{21}** tu^{33}	tail	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Banlan)	aw˯ **meh**	tail	Bradley 1979a:84
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}na^{21}**mɤ^{55}**	dog's tail	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}na^{21}**mɤ^{55}** ze^{21}	white-tailed dog	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	e^{55} **mɯ^{55}**	tail	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	e^{55}**mɯ^{55}**	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.27
	mrgh'^{1}	tail	Bradley 1979b:84-1
	mrgh»^{1}	tail	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**mrgh'^{1}**	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
Lisu (Central)	**mrgh'^{1}**	tail (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**mɤ^{55}**	tail (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{55}næ^{33}	black tail	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{55}phu^{33}	white tail	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{55}tɕe^{33}	tortoise-tail	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	yi^{1}**mūˈ^{1}**	tail	Luce 1985:T.15
Sani [Nyi]	**mæ^{33}** pa̲^{44}	raise (tail)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:33.1
	mæ^{55}	tail	Chen Kang 1986b:5.10.3; Ma Xueliang 1989:307.4
Yi (Sani)	**mæ^{55}**	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.39
Sani [Nyi]	**mæ^{55}** pe^{33}	tip (of tail)	Ma Xueliang 1989:303.3
	mæ^{55} pu^{33}	buttocks	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:33.2
	mæ^{55} tɑ^{33}	tail (esp. of livestock, wild animals)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:33.4
	mæ^{55} vi^{33}	wag, shake (tail)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:33.3
	mæ^{55}pu^{33};ɬi^{21}du^{21}**mæ^{55}**	hips	Chen Kang 1986b:5.8.1
	mæ^{55}pu^{33}ɣɯ^{21}	hipbone	Chen Kang 1986b:5.8.2
	mɛ^{55}pu^{33}	buttocks	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɬi^{21}du^{21}**mɛ^{55}**	buttocks	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɬi^{21} du^{21} **mæ^{55}**	buttocks	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:106.2

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**daw˯mi˯**	tail	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Yunnan)	dɔ̀ **mì**	tail	Hansson 1989:248
Akha (Thai)	dɔ̀-**mì**	tail	Hansson 1989:248
Akha	dɔ̀-**mì**	tail	Matisoff 1985a:072
	mì	tail	Hansson 1989:248
Bisu	tɔŋ **hɲì**	tail	Beaudouin 1988:4
	tɔ̀ŋ **hɲì**	tail	Bradley 1979b
	tɔ̀ŋ **hnì**	tail	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	do **mì** (dɔ̀ ?)	tail	Hansson 1989:248
Hani (Dazhai)	dɔ^{31} **mi^{31}**	tail	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.31
Hani (Lüchun)	dɔ^{31}**mi^{31}**	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.41
Hani (Pijo)	**mì**	say; tail	Hansson 1989:197; Hansson 1989:248
	tù **mì**	tail	Hansson 1989:248
Hani (Caiyuan)	tɔ^{31} **mi^{31}**	tail	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	tɔ^{31}**me^{31}**	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	dɔ^{31} **mi^{31}**	tail	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	ddaoq **miq**	tail	Hansson 1989:248
Hani (Shuikui)	tu^{31} **mɛ^{31}**	tail	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.32
Hani (Khatu)	**mì**	tail	Hansson 1989:248
	tù **mì**	tail	Hansson 1989:248
Hani (Mojiang)	tu^{31}**mɛ^{31}**	tail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.42
Côông [Phunoi]	tã **hmin**	tail	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1987
	tã^{33} **hmin^{33}**	tail	Bradley 1977
Pyen	toŋ31 **mi31**	tail	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:020004
Sila	to21 **mi21**	tail	Kato Takashi 2008:97

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	i^{33}**m̥ɔ^{45}**	tail	Pelkey 2011:164
Southern Muji	ɛ^{21}**mji^{33}**	tail	Pelkey 2011:164
Phola	**mɛ^{33}**tɕu^{55}	tail	Pelkey 2011:164
Hlepho Phowa	ɛ^{33}**ʔmi^{55}**	tail	Pelkey 2011:164
Phu Kha	i^{33} **miʔ^{35}**	tail	Fried 2000
Phuza	**mɛ^{31}**	tail	Pelkey 2011:164

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	bu˩**mæ**˧qv˩	pig's tail	Michaud 2006–2009
	mæ˧qv˩	tail; figurative use: lower part	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ma^{33}**	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**ma^{33}**ko^{31}	tail	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ma^{33}**ko^{31}	tail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:177.29
Naxi (Western)	**ma^{33}**tɑ^{55}	tail	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

[a] Bola **ʃă^{35}** seems to have become a generalized body-part prefix.

Naxi	**mæ**^{33}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.45
	mæ^{33}ku^{21}	raise (the tail) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1572.45

7. KARENIC

**Karen (Pwo)*	***mé'**	tail	Jones 1961:20
**Karen (TP)*	***mé'**	tail	Jones 1961:20
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***mjè**	tail	Jones 1961:20
**Karen*	***mjé'**	tail	Jones 1961:20
	***mɛ'**	tail	Weidert 1987:944
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***mè**	tail	Jones 1961:20
Bwe (Western)	ă kɑ^{1} **me**^{3}	tail	Luce 1985:G.50
Bwe	ká-**mè**	tail (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	[ka^{1}] **me**^{3}	tail	Weidert 1987:944
Bwe	ə ká-**ʔmè**	tail	Weidert 1987:944
Geba	kɑ^{1}**hmi**^{2}	tail	Luce 1985:G.50
	[ka^{1}] **hmi**^{2}	tail	Weidert 1987:944
Karen	**me**^{31}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.50
Kayan (Pekon)	ka **mē**	tail (N.)	Manson 2010
	ka **mē** kaklōn	fleshy part of the tail (N.)	Manson 2010
	mē	tail (N.)	Manson 2010
	rō θyán lę́ ka **mē**	red-tailed green pit viper [lit. snake-green-red-tail] (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O (Northern)	ă **me**^{2}	tail	Luce 1985:G.50
Pa-O	**mê**	tail	Weidert 1987:944; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:20
	me	tail	Benedict 1972:149n409
	ʔə **mê**, N + **mê**	tail	Solnit 1989
Paku	ă **me**^{3}	tail	Luce 1985:G.50
Palaychi	**mə**	tail	Benedict 1972:149n409
	mə̀	tail	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:20
Pwo (Delta)	ə̆ **me**^{1}	tail	Luce 1985:G.50
Pwo (Tenasserim)	ə̆ **me**^{4}	tail	Luce 1985:G.50
Pwo (Bassein)	**méʔ**	tail	Weidert 1987:944; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:20
Pwo (Moulmein)	**mé**	tail	Weidert 1987:944; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:20
Sgaw (Southern)	**mɛ**^{31}	tail	Luangthongkum 2013:289
Sgaw (Northern)	**mɛ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	tail	Luangthongkum 2013:289
Sgaw	**mɛ**^{6}	tail	Luce 1985:G.50
	^{1}**mɛ**	tail	Weidert 1987:944
Sgaw (Bassein)	**mɛ̀**	tail	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:20
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**me**^{31}	tail	DAI Qingxia 1989k:317
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**mɛ̀**	tail	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:20
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**mɛ**^{31}	tail	DAI Qingxia 1989j:334

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**me**^{ɻ33} quɑ^{55}	tail	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.37
Bai (Dali)	**mi** tu 26	tail	Dell 1981b:193
	mi^{2} tu^{6}	tail	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	mi^{31} tu^{35}	tail	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	mi^{42}tu^{35}	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ŋa**^{33}tu^{55}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.48
	ŋv^{33}tṽ^{55}	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.36
	ŋv̩^{33} tṽ^{55}	tail	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; ZHAO Yansun 1990:5.10.3

9. SINITIC

Chinese (GSR #)	**583a**	tail	Luce 1985:T.15

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	/**mjwe̯i**	tail	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:583a-b
	miwər	tail	LaPolla 1987:84
	mi̯wər/mjwe̯i:	tail / copulate	Karlgren 1957:583a-b
	mjwei	tail	LaPolla 1987:84
Chinese (Old)	**mi̯wər**	tail; crupper	Luce 1985:T.15; Luce 1985:W.29; Matisoff 1985a:072
	mjwe̯i	tail	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:583a-b

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**mjwe̯i**	tail	Matisoff 1985a:072

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**wei**	tail / copulate	Karlgren 1957:583a-b

Chinese comparandum

尾 OC ***mi̯wər**, *GSR* #583a-b; B & S 2011: ***məjʔ {[m]əjʔ}**; Mand. **wěi**.

(1a) PTB *r-mey TAIL

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*r-may~**mey**	tail	LaPolla 1987:84
	***r-mey**	tail	Matisoff 2003a:601

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	ka **mei**	tail	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-hmej** TAIL

**Central Naga*	*a-**hmej**	TAIL	Bruhn 2014a:III.055
Ao (Chungli)	te ben, te **mi**	tail	Marrison 1967
	te sa **mi**	hip	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	ta **mi**	tail	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**mi**	tail (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-sa-**mi**	rump, buttocks ('meat' + 'tail') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**hmiʔ**^{3}	tail (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.055
	ē **mhì**	tail	Acharya 1975
	e **mhi**	tail; tail (of animal)	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:122; Nienu 1990c:5.10.3
	^{1}e^{3}**mhi(ʔ)**	tail	Weidert 1987:307
Yacham-Tengsa	ta **mi**	tail	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **mo**	tail	Kumar 1973b:69

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***mej** TAIL

**Tangkhulic*	***mej**	tail	Mortensen 2012:409
Huishu	ʔa-k^{h}ə-**mu**	tail	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.113
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**mi**	tail (of animal)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.146
Tangkhul	a kha **mei**	tail	Marrison 1967
	ā kha **mei**	tail	Matisoff 1987
	a khə **məy**	tail	Matisoff 1985a:072
	ā **mei** phāŋ ra	pelvis	Matisoff 1987
	ā **mei** shom	coccyx	Matisoff 1987
	^{1}ə^{1}khə^{2}**məi**	tail	Weidert 1987:307
Tusom	ʔə-k^{h}ə-**ma**	tail	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.157
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**mej**	tail	Mortensen 2012

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***Ç-me:y** TAIL

**Northern Naga*	*C-**me:y**	tail	Matisoff 1985a:072
	*Ç-**me:y**	tail	French 1983

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	a **me**	tail	French 1983; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:072
	^{1}ʌ^{2}**me(ʔ)**	tail	Weidert 1987:39
Tangsa	^{1}ʌ^{1}**mi(ʔ)**	tail	Weidert 1987:307
Tangsa (Moshang)	a **mi**	tail	French 1983; Matisoff 1985a:072; Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	ʌ **mi**	tail	French 1983

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**mei**	tail	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:072; French 1983
Khiamngan	^{12}a^{1}**mɪ**	tail	Weidert 1987:307
Konyak	a-**ñei**	tail	Matisoff 1985a:072
	ū **nyiei**	tail	Marrison 1967
	ə **nyiei**	tail	French 1983
Phom	**mʌy**^{33}	tail	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**me** kua	tail	French 1983; Marrison 1967

7. KARENIC: ***me**^{B} TAIL

**Karen [Burling]*	***me**^{1}	tail	Luangthongkum 2013:289
**Karen*	***me**^{B}	tail	Luangthongkum 2013:289 [a]
Bwe	**me**^{33}	tail	Luangthongkum 2013:289
Kayah	**mi**^{11}	tail	Luangthongkum 2013:289
Kayan	**mai**^{11}	tail	Luangthongkum 2013:289
Kayaw	**mi**^{11}	tail	Luangthongkum 2013:289
Pa-O (Northern)	**me**^{53}	tail	Luangthongkum 2013:289
Pa-O (Southern)	**me**^{55}	tail	Luangthongkum 2013:289
Pwo (Northern)	**mɛ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	tail	Luangthongkum 2013:289
Pwo (Southern)	**mi**^{33}	tail	Luangthongkum 2013:289

[a] [Source Note] Sgaw and N.Pwo have irregular vowel, i.e. ɛ instead of e.

(2) PTB *r-ŋa TAIL / BACK

1.6. MRU

Mru	**nge'**	tail	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	**ŋa** ma	tail (of animal)	Sharma 1991a:5.10.3

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	**ŋuɛ**^{35}	tail (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:5.10.3

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**rŋa** mæ	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hŋa** ma	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rga** wa	back (of body)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:258.5
	rŋa ma	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ngia**^{231}	back	DAI Qingxia 1989a:5.5
	ngia^{231} go^{13}	upper back	DAI Qingxia 1989a:5.5.1
	xa^{55} dʑei^{55} **ŋa**^{55} ma^{55}	tailbone / coccyx	DAI Qingxia 1989a:5.10.2
	ŋa^{55} ma^{55}	tail (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:5.10.3
	(**ŋa**^{55}ma^{53}) tɕɑʔ^{53}	raise (the tail) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1572.03
	ŋa^{55}ma^{53}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**ngā** māq	tail	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ŋa**^{55}ma^{53}	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ŋa**^{53}ma^{13}	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.2
	ŋa^{55}ma^{55}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.02
Sherpa	**nga** māq	tail	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**ŋyā** ma	tail (of animal)	Bishop 1989:5.10.3
Spiti	**ŋa** ma	tail (of animal)	Bodh 1991:5.10.3
Tibetan (Written)	**rŋa**-ma	tail	Matisoff 1987
	rŋa ma, mjug ma	tail	Marrison 1967
	rŋa ma	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.01
	rŋa ma	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hŋa** ma	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.04

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**ngɪə̣**^{2}	back	Sofronov c1978
	ŋa	back	Nishida 1964:185; Nishida 1964:236-058

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	tɕhɔ̃^{33}**ngɑ**^{33}ri^{55}	back (direction)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:52.17
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ŋa**^{55} ma^{53}	tail (of animal); tail	SUN Hongkai 1991n:5.10.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.16

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**rŋa** ma	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.12
Ergong (Danba)	**zŋɛ** ma	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.14
	zɳɛ ma	tail (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991b:5.10.3
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔŋa** mɑ	tail (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:5.10.3

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**ŋa**^{323} tv̩^{33}	body; back	DAI Qingxia 1989c:1.1; DAI Qingxia 1989c:1.4
	ŋa^{323}tv^{33}	body (back) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0073.47

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Sangkong	ta^{31} qha^{55} laŋ^{55} **ŋga**^{55}	back	LI Yongsui 1991

(3) PTB *k-lyak TAIL

This etymon, although nowhere near as widespread as PTB ***r-may** ≍ ***m-ray** TAIL / PENIS (§1.4.10.1), seems quite valid, despite its rather scattered distribution. The velar prefix is found in Tshona.

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	cháo-**lā**-hméi	tail of a bird or animal (n.)	VanBik 2009:794
	chao-**la** hmei	tail	Matisoff 1987
Zotung	**leʔ**^{5}mæ^{5}	tail	Luce 1985:P.7

2.1.2. BODIC

Tshona (Wenlang)	**k^{h}rek**^{55}	tail	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**k^{h}lɛʔ**^{53}	tail	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Yakha	mi **lak**	tail (of animal)	Kohn 1990:5.10.3
	mi **lak** seːŋ kwɔk	tailbone / coccyx	Kohn 1990:5.10.2

3.2. QIANGIC

Pumi (Lanping)	mɐ^{13}**ɬiɛ**^{55}	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	mɐ^{13} **ɬiɛ**^{55}	tail	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.11
Pumi (Taoba)	mə̃^{35} **ɬio**^{35}	tail	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	mə̃^{35}**ɬio**^{53}	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.10

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**le**^{21} p^{h}ũ^{35}	tail (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986c:5.10.3
Tujia (Northern)	**le**^{21} p^{h}ũ^{35}	tail	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

Tujia	**lia**[35] tɯ[55]	tail (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986d:5.10.3
Tujia (Northern)	**lie3**pong2	tail (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia	**lie**[21]phoŋ[35]	tail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0267.49
	lie[21]phoŋ[35]	tail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:177.38
Tujia (Northern)	**lie**[3]pong[2]	tail	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2

1.5 Limbs, Joints, and Body Measures

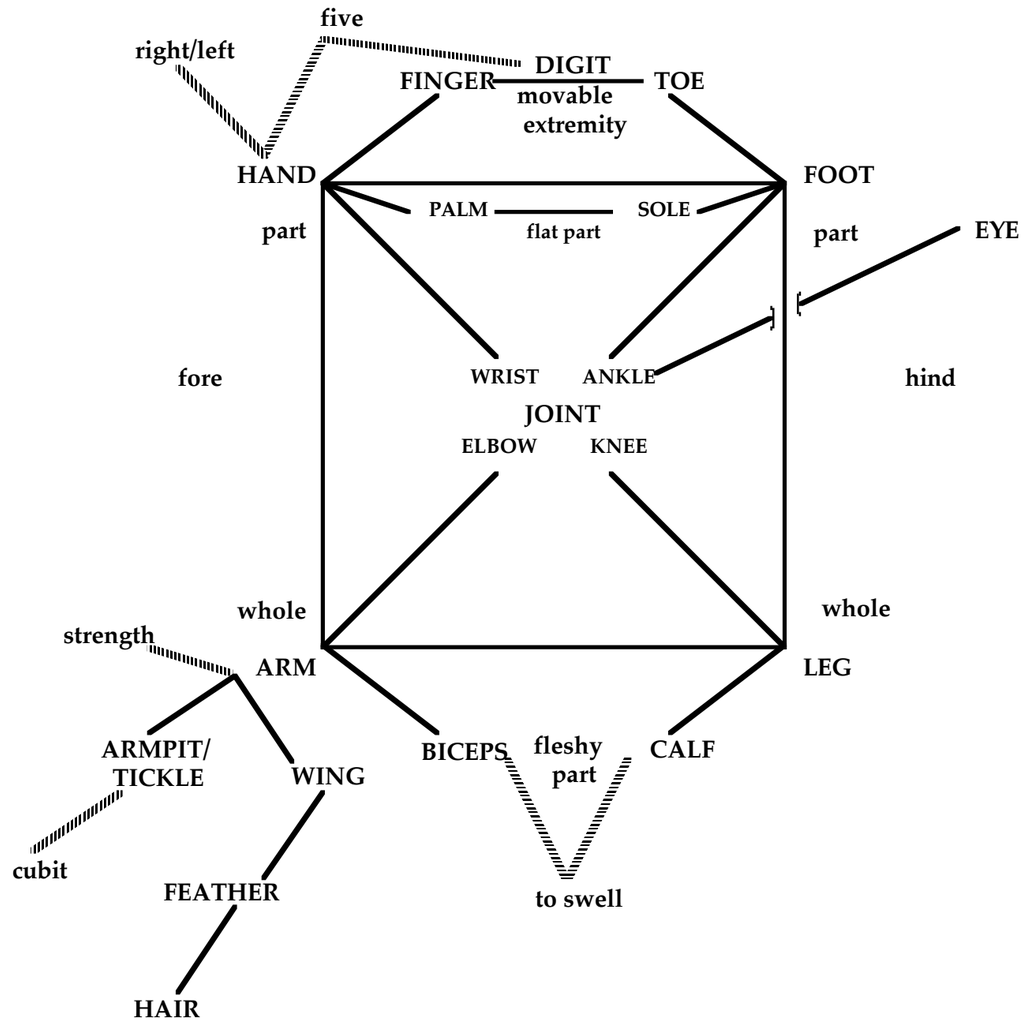


Figure 120: 1.5 *Limbs, Joints, and Body Measures*

1.5.1 Hand, Arm, Wing

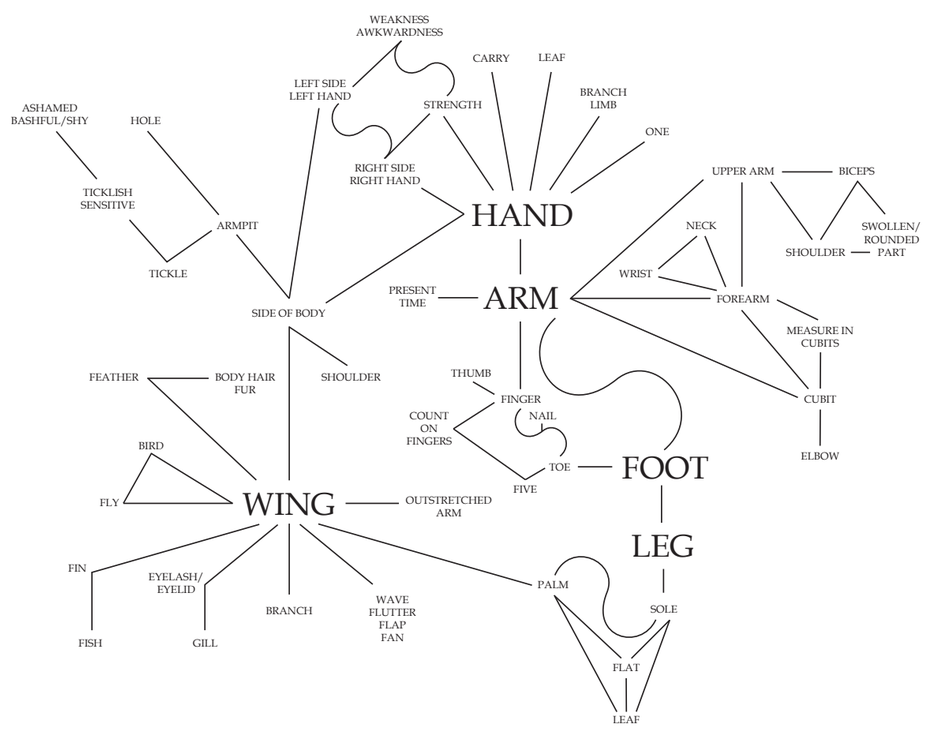


Figure 121: 1.5.1 *Hand, Arm, Wing*

FOR the first attempt to deal with this area of semantic space, see Matisoff 1985 (’Out on a limb’).

The presentation of the roots follows a certain roughly logical order. First come the etyma that seem basically to have meant HAND. The most widespread of these, which we might call «the ***lak**-family», comes in some nine variant forms (allofams), with semantic spillover into the areas of CUBIT and FOOT (Etyma #’s 1a-1i). This HAND section also comprises 6 more etyma, of varying degrees of solidity (#’s 2-7).

Next come the roots whose basic meaning is deemed to have been ARM (#’s 8-15), followed by the more numerous etyma in the WING area (#’s 17-32), one of which (#17) has 5 variants. This study is rounded out by several roots meaning PALM or WRIST (#’s 33-37); then three roots referring to measurements made with the upper limb (CUBIT, HANDSPAN; #’s 38-40); finally an etymon with both nominal (ARMPIT) and verbal (TICKLE) dimensions (#41), and a group of 7 Proto-Kuki-Chin reconstructions referring to actions performed with the hands (#’s 42-48).

Most of the reconstructions offered are at the Proto-Tibeto-Burman level. When available, meso-reconstructions are also included (e.g. pKaren, pKiranti, pKuki-Chin, pLolo-Burmese, pTani). Usually these are subsumed under the PTB etymon they represent, and do not receive a separate number (#’s 1c, 2, 8, 19, 20b, 22), but occasionally they have so far only been reconstructed for a single subgroup, and so receive separate numbers (#’s 15, 26, 30, 42-48).

For 13 of these etyma, Chinese comparanda are suggested, so that they may plausibly be reconstructed back to the Proto-Sino-Tibetan level.

For the sake of completeness we include an Indo-Aryan root (#32) which has been borrowed into several Himalayan languages.

Detailed as these etymologies are, they by no means exhaust the semantic field of the UPPER LIMB, which includes such notions as FINGER, FIST, ELBOW, NAIL, etc.

NOTE the connection between HAND and LEAF, cf. Nocte **dʌk** ‘hand’ , **[1]ʌ-dʌk** ‘leaf’ ; Konyak (Tamlu) **yak** ‘hand’ , **bɯn-yak** ‘leaf’ ; Garo **jak** ‘hand’ ; **bi-jak** ‘leaf’ ; etc. In other languages, the words for ‘hand’ and ‘foot’ both contain the same morpheme, which is allofamically related to a morpheme in ‘leaf’ . For example, Lisu **lá[6]-hpá[2]** ‘hand’ , **hchi[3]-hpá[2]** ‘foot’ , **si[2]-hpyá[5]** ‘leaf’.

(1) PTB *lak ≷ *C-yak ARM / HAND / WING

This etymon, far and away the most widely attested root in this semantic area in TB as a whole, is characterized by considerable morphophonemic complexity. The basic allofam is PTB ***lak** (1a), but in many daughter languages the lateral has become a yod, yielding forms like PTB ***yak** (1b). By a further sound change, this yod has developed into **z-** or **ʑ-**, but reflexes with these initials are also assigned to (1b). In other languages we find forms with **d-** rather than **l-**. Two explanations are possible here: **(a)** These languages could have added a prefix **d-** to the yodated variant, yielding PTB ***d-yak** (1c), which sometimes developed into reflexes with voiced affricate initials like **dʑ-**; in other cases, the prefix “preempted” the initial entirely, giving forms like PTB ***dak** (1d). **(b)** Alternatively, we might assume that these latter forms arose directly from PTB ***lak** via a sporadic “deltacism”, perhaps via an intermediate ****lyak**. A handful of reflexes contain both an **l** and a **d**, probably best explained of reprefixation after the original **l** had become **d**.[*] Other reflexes point to a prefix **g-** added to the yodated root, PTB ***g-yak** (1e), with secondary meanings like ‘cubit’ or ‘armpit’; some reflexes with affricated initials are assigned to this variant rather than to PTB ***d-yak** (see especially the Written Burmese triplet for ‘armpit’). Finally, an honorific Written Tibetan form for ‘hand’ reflects a labial prefix, PTB ***p-yak** (1f).

Note that all these prefixes (**d-**, **g-**, **p-**) are deemed to have been added to the variant with **y-** rather than **l-**, as reflected in the pan-allofamic formula given above, where “C-” stands for a consonantal prefix:

***d**
***g -yak**
***p**

Benedict originally reconstructed this root simply as ***lak**, but in the revised version of *STC* he included prefixal **g-** in the protoform (*STC* #86). This reconstruction was followed by Weidert (1987:#689), and by French (1983:500) for Proto-Northern Naga. This elevation of **g-** to special proto-status seems unwarranted, however, since the **d-** prefix is actually much more widespread. There are in fact no unambiguous reflexes of a prototype ***g-lak**.

It is extremely interesting to note that a number of languages have forms for FOOT that reflect the open syllables ***la** or ***ya**, both of which could also take a prefix (either **d-** or **g-** that sometimes led to affrication of the initial). This is noted with puzzlement in *STC* (p. 34 and n. 308), but it seems irresistible to posit some sort of connection with this etymon for HAND.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-l(y)ak**	hand / arm	Matisoff 2003a:601

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**lǎ**[31]lam[33]	fathom (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0899.19
	lǎ[31]lam[55]	fathom = 6 feet	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:959.47
	lǎ[1] lam[33]	fathom, cord	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	lə lām	fathom / cubit	Matisoff 1974:116
	lə lam	fathom	LaPolla 1987:147; Benedict 1972:71n220

(1a) PTB *lak HAND / LIMB

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***lək**	arm / hand / wing	Coblin 1986:37

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-lak**	hand	Matisoff 2003a:599; Weidert 1987:689
	***g-lɑk**	arm	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:954d
	***lak**	arm; hand; wing; arm, hand	Weidert 1987:689; Michailovsky 1991:82; Benedict 1972:86; Coblin 1986:37

1.1.1. TANI: ***lak** HAND / ARM

**Tani*	***lak**	hand / arm	Sun 1993a:190
	***lak**-bruk	right (hand)	Sun 1993a:325
	***lak**-ke	left (-hand)	Sun 1993a:234
	***lak**-keŋ	finger	Sun 1993a:145
	***lak**-pro	palm (of hand)	Sun 1993a:286

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	(**laʔ**-čʰiʔ) **laʔ**-nə	thumb	Sun 1993b
	à-**là**	hand	Sun 1993b
	à-**là** mú-ǰa	glove	Sun 1993b
	a-**laʔ**	hand; arm	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**laʔ** mú-maʔ	touch	Sun 1993b
	là-bi a-**la**	right hand	Sun 1993b
	la-čáŋ	ring (n.)	Sun 1993b
	lá-či	left arm	Sun 1993b
	la-či	finger	Sun 1993b
	lá-či da-lji	left side	Sun 1993b
	là-či ha-ña	little finger	Sun 1993b
	la-či lɯ-pa	middle finger	Sun 1993b
	la-či pà-pjo	gap between fingers	Sun 1993b
	la-du	cubit (measure)	Sun 1993b
	là-du mì-rɯ	elbow	Sun 1993b
	la-dɯ	handspan	Sun 1993b
	lá-ge	inside part of elbow	Sun 1993b
	lá-ku	left	Sun 1993b
	là-piŋ	back of hand	Sun 1993b
	la-pja	bone of arm	Sun 1993b
	la-pja **la**-sa	scatter with hand	Sun 1993b
	la-pjo	palm	Sun 1993b
	lá-pu	fist	Sun 1993b
	la-so	handspan	Sun 1993b
	lán-či ha-ña	ring finger	Sun 1993b
	laŋ-grɯ	wrist	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-bi	right (hand); right (< > left); foreleg (right~)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	laʔ-bi a-**laʔ**	hand (right)	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-čā	ring; fingerring	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	laʔ-či	left (-hand)	Sun 1993a
	laʔ-čin pa-ba	knuckle	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-čiʔ	finger	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-čʰi	left (adj.)	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-čʰi	foreleg (left~)	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-čʰi a-**laʔ**	hand (left)	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-čʰiʔ ha-ña	finger (little)	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-čʰiʔ lɯ-pa	finger (middle)	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-du mi-ru	elbow	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	laʔ-p(ʰ)rja	forearm	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-pĩ	back of hand; hand; paw	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	laʔ-pĩ-pa-gɯ	display palm at war	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-po	upper arm	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-pu	fist	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-pʰrjo	palm (of hand)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	[2]**laʔ**-	arm / hand	Weidert 1987:623
	[2]**laʔ**[2]pryo	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:592
	[2]**laʔ**[2]tši	finger	Weidert 1987:587
	[1]a [2]**la** ([2])	arm / hand	Weidert 1987:623
Bengni	**lak**	hand; arm	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lak it-ča:	raise hand	Sun 1993b
	lak it-lin	reach out hand	Sun 1993b
	lak pə:-lu:	put down hand	Sun 1993b
	lak-bik	right (hand)	Sun 1993a
	lak-či	left (-hand); ring	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lak-či-kjam	right	Sun 1993b
	lak-čiŋ	finger	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lak-čiŋ **lak**-ñik	knuckle	Sun 1993b

[*] For an extended discussion of **d/l** interchange in a variety of languages, see Matisoff 2013 (“The dinguist’s dilemma: regular and sporadic **d/l** interchange in Sino-Tibetan and elsewhere”).

	lak-ču	palm	Sun 1993b
	lak-ču a-wu:	back of hand	Sun 1993b
	lak-ču ku-wa	center of palm	Sun 1993b
	lak-ču mam-tum	cover (mouth) with hand	Sun 1993b
	lak-ču nəŋ-ča:	hold up on open palm	Sun 1993b
	lak-ču rja:-rja:	shake hand	Sun 1993b
	lak-ču si-pjak	clap	Sun 1993b
	lak-ču:	palm (of hand)	Sun 1993a
	lak-du	elbow	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lak-fu: bin	get a cramp (in the hand)	Sun 1993b
	lak-kit	walking stick	Sun 1993b
	lak-nɯ:	thumb	Sun 1993b
	lak-pa:	arm	Sun 1993b
	lak-pik-kjam	left	Sun 1993b
	lak-po:	upper arm	Sun 1993b
	lak-pup	forearm	Sun 1993b
	lak-puɯŋ	fist	Sun 1993b
	lak-puɯŋ nɯk	hit with fist	Sun 1993b
	lak-rɯk	wrist	Sun 1993b
	lak-suk	wash hands	Sun 1993b
	lak-suk ǰi:	wash hands	Sun 1993b
	lak-suk-su:	wash hands	Sun 1993b
	lak-tɯr	callus	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-**lak**	branch	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-ǰi: **lak**-lɯk	sleeve	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **lok**	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.24
	a-**lok**	hand; arm; hand and arm	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**lok** či-tɯŋ	shake hands	Sun 1993b
	a-**lok** gin-tum	clench one's fists	Sun 1993b
	lak-če	left (-hand)	Sun 1993a
	lok bik	right (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.24
	lok du	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.24
	lok ken	bracelet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0487.24
	lok kuk	frostbitten, be (hand) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1284.24
	lok nə	thumb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0110.24
	lok poŋ	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.24
	lok puɯŋ	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.24
	lok tɕe	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.24
	lok tɕəŋ	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.24
	lok tɕəŋ a jar	fingersbreadth (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0902.24
	lok-bik	right (hand); right	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lok-če	left	Sun 1993b
	lok-čəŋ	finger	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lok-čəŋ bet	classifier	Sun 1993b
	lok-du	elbow	Sun 1993a
	lok-ken	bracelet	Sun 1993b
	lok-lam	fingerprint; handprint	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	lok-nə	thumb	Sun 1993b
	lok-pio	hand	Sun 1993b
	lok-pio lo-poŋ	palm (center of ~)	Sun 1993b
	lok-pjo	palm (of hand)	Sun 1993a
	lok-pjo lam-ko	back of hand	Sun 1993b
	lok-poŋ	arm	Sun 1993b
	lok-tuŋ	handicapped	Sun 1993b
	lu jen	light (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0003.24
	lu-gɯŋ (Yayi)	elbow	Sun 1993b
	luk-du	elbow	Sun 1993b
	luk-puɯŋ	fist	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **lok**	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lok bik	right	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:54.51
	lok du	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.51
	lok ken	bracelet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:373.51
	lok poŋ	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.51
	lok puɯŋ	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.51
	lok tɕe	left	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:53.51
	lok tɕəŋ	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.51
	lok bik	right	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lok nə	finger	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lok poŋ	arm	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lok tɕe	left	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lok tɕəŋ	finger	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	luk du	elbow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	luk puɯŋ	fist	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **lak**	hand; arm (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a **lak**	hand; arm	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	koopuu-**lag** goo	ornament (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	kopu **lag**-bu	bangles for women: single pieces	Das Gupta 1963
	lag-bi	elbow	Das Gupta 1963
	lag-bu	arm-guard of cane; shield	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	lag-du	lower arm	Das Gupta 1963
	lag baa	haunch (of the arm) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	lag bor	palm (of the hand) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	lag buu	armlet (n.)	GLDC 2009
	lag daa	arm-wrestling; forearm (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	lag den	twitch (arm) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	lag den	twitch (arm) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	lag duu-kuurəə	elbow (n.)	GLDC 2009
	lag goo	bow-armed (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	lag rɨɨ-la gaa	wrist (n.)	GLDC 2009
	lak-bɯt	right (hand)	Das Gupta 1963
	lak-ce	finger	Das Gupta 1963
	lak-ce ŋin-nam	pinch (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	lak-cup	finger-ring	Das Gupta 1963
	lak-po	upper arm	Das Gupta 1963
	lak-se	finger	Das Gupta 1963
	lak-tam	palm	Das Gupta 1963
	lak cup	ring (n.)	GLDC 2009
	lak cəə	finger (n.)	GLDC 2009
	lak cəə-'baa təə	knuckle (of the hand) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	lak cəə-'tɨtə	fingertip (n.)	GLDC 2009
	lak poo	arm (not including hand) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	lak pə	handful (one hand) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	lak suk	wash (hands) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	laŋ-ɲek	wrist	Das Gupta 1963
	'lag bək	right hand; hand (right) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'lag men	bracelet (thread) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'lag mə	arm hair; hair (of the arm) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'lag nə	thumb (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'lak ci	hand (left); left hand (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'lak pee	cramp (arm) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'lak pee	cramped (arm) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'lak tam	palm (of the hand) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'lak tum	fist (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'takaa-**lag** buu	ornament (variety); armlet (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ˆa **lak**	arm / hand	Weidert 1987:623
	`lag-bar	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:592
	`lak-sʏ	finger	Weidert 1987:587
Miri, Hill	a **lak**	hand / arm	Simon 1976
	a **lak**-**lak** ci	finger	Simon 1976
	lak-lep	right hand	Simon 1976
	lak-lep-pele	right (v.)	Simon 1976
	lak-tam	palm of hand	Simon 1976
	lak ce-citom	point	Simon 1976
	lak ci	left hand	Simon 1976
	lak ci-?-pele	left (v.)	Simon 1976
	laŋ-nʏ	thumb	Simon 1976 [a]
	laŋ-ɲik	wrist	Simon 1976
	log du	elbow	Simon 1976
Nishi [Dafla]	$^{?}$a$^{?}$**la**	arm / hand	Weidert 1987:623
	ə **la**	arm	Benedict 1972:34n108
Nishing	a **lak**	hand	Das Gupta 1969
	lak-cing	finger	Das Gupta 1969
	lak cang~**lak** cing	finger	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**lak**	hand	Das Gupta 1983
	lak-ne	thumb	Das Gupta 1983
	lak bi	lower arm	Das Gupta 1983
	lak ciŋ	finger	Das Gupta 1983
	lak cu	palm	Das Gupta 1983
	lak nyik	wrist	Das Gupta 1983
	lak po	arm	Das Gupta 1983
	lak tum	fist	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**lak**-pjo	palm (of hand)	Sun 1993a
	lâk-pong	arm	Lorrain 1907
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**lak**	hand / arm	Sun 1993a
	lâg-du	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	lag-du	elbow	Sun 1993a
	lâg-gu-lung	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	lâk-buing	fist	Matisoff 1987
	lak-bɯk	right (hand)	Sun 1993a
	lâk-kê	finger (middle); finger	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	lak-ké	left hand	Matisoff 1985a:080
	lak-ke	left (-hand); finger	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993a
	lâk-kê ké-yi	finger (little)	Matisoff 1987
	lak-ko	beg / request	Sun 1993a
	lang-mik	wrist	Matisoff 1987 [b]
	lâng-mik	knuckles'	Matisoff 1987
	lâng-ne	thumb	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**lak**-biəŋ	fist	Sun 1993b
	lak-ce	finger	Sun 1993b
	lak-du tɕuk-ku	elbow	Sun 1993b
	lak-po	arm	Sun 1993b
	lak-pyo	palm	Sun 1993b
	lak-tap ʔi	gesture (v.)	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-bjuk	right (adj.)	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-ci	left (adj.)	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-nə	thumb	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-tuŋ	sleeve	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**laʔ**	hand	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**laʔ** kum	make a fist	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**laʔ**-gaʔ-ra	shake hands	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **lak**	hand	Tayeng 1976
	a **lak** hat-ma	clap	Tayeng 1976
	kob-gi **la**-do	ornament on arm (female)	Tayeng 1976
	la-kit	wrist	Tayeng 1976
	lak-daŋ	right (other than left)	Tayeng 1976
	lak-ke	finger	Tayeng 1976
	lak-po	arm	Tayeng 1976
	lak-pyu	palm	Tayeng 1976
	lak-sing	ring	Tayeng 1976
	lak-tal	paw	Tayeng 1976
	lak-ɲi	thumb	Tayeng 1976
	lak-ɟu	elbow	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**lag**-śin ~ **lag**-yin	finger-nail	Benedict 1972:74
	lak-po	palm (of hand); palm	Sun 1993a; Benedict 1972:418
	ə **lak**	arm; arm, hand	Benedict 1972:34n108; Benedict 1972:86

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**râuk**	arm	Weidert 1987:1126
	râuk-pà	hand; palm (hand)(1)	Weidert 1987:1126; Weidert 1987:175
	ɹ̆ău^{53}	hand	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɹ̆ău^{53}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.23
	ɹ̆ău^{53}	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.48
	ɹ̆ău^{53} dzit^{55}	fingernail	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɹ̆ău^{53} niŋ^{35}	little finger	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɹ̆ău^{53} xɑ^{31} nɑuŋ^{35}	elbow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɹ̆ău^{53} xɑ^{31} tɑp^{35}	fist	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɹ̆ău^{53}niŋ^{35}	finger (little) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0112.23
	ɹ̆ău^{53}xɑ^{31}nɑuŋ^{31}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.48
	ɹ̆ău^{53}xɑ^{31}nɑuŋ^{35}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.23
	ɹ̆ău^{53}xɑ^{31}tɑp^{35}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.23
	ɹ̆ău^{53}xɑ^{31}tɑp^{35}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.48
Idu	**lak** ke	hand (left)	Pulu 1978
	la^{55}nu^{55}nbo^{35}	elbow	Sun Hongkai 1991f:6.1.4
	la pũ	hand	Anonymous 1962
	la rundi	elbow	Pulu 1978
	la rũ mbo	arm	Pulu 1978
	la ru mbõ	elbow	Anonymous 1962
	lɑ^{55}nu^{55}nbo^{35}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.50
Yidu	**lɑ**^{55}nu^{55}mbo^{35}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.25

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Awa Khumi	**le**^{3}pɑh^{2}	shoulder	Luce 1985:R.26

[a] Note assimilation of the medial consonants.
[b] Note assimilation of the medial consonants.

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**lek**	hold in the hand (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2634

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Sangtam	**ok**	arm	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**lak** pa	hand	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**ak**-daʔ	right hand	Weidert 1987:1068 [a]
Meche	**ak**-ɖa	right hand	Weidert 1987:1068

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *__glək__ HAND

**Northern Naga*	***glək**	hand	French 1983:500

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**úk**	hand	Weidert 1987:689
	úk-kʌ̀ɯ	leaf	Weidert 1987:1126
Phom	**lak**	arm; hand	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	lak	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	lak	arm; hand, arm, leaf	Benedict 1972:34n108; French 1983:500
	lak ñoŋ	left	French 1983:511
	lak pʰa	palm	French 1983:531
	lak ta	right-hand	French 1983:538
	lak^{33}	arm / hand	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lak^{33}čæŋ^{55}	finger	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lak^{33}dæʔ^{33}	right side (’hand, arm’ + ?)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lak^{33}hak^{33}læ^{33}hak^{33}	centipede (’arm’ + ’red’ + ’leg’ + ’red’)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lak^{33}hæp^{55}	hand	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lak^{33}hɯʔ^{33}	wash hands (’arm/hand’ + ?)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lak^{33}nawʔ^{33}	elbow	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lak^{33}ñɔŋ^{31}	left side (’hand, arm’ + ?)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lak^{33}pʰæ^{31}	palm (of hand)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lak^{33}tʰan^{31}	nail (finger)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lak^{33}yʌp^{33}	beckon / wave (’hand, arm’ + ?)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lak jang	finger	Marrison 1967
	lak nyong	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	lak pha	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
	lak ta	right-hand	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**lak** chawp	ring (finger ring)	Marrison 1967
	lă^{31} ton^{55}	stretch out (the arm) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1613.19
	lă^{31}juŋ^{33}	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.19
	lă^{31}kham^{33}	span (thumb to middle finger) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0901.19
	lă^{31}kham^{33}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.47
	lă^{31}mjin^{33}	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.19
	la^{31}mjin^{33}	claw / talon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.19
	lă^{31}mjin^{33}	claw; fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:174.47; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.47
	lă^{31}phum^{31}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.19
	lă^{31}phum^{31}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.47
	lă^{31}ton^{55}	reach out(hand)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:561.47
	lă^{31}tsa̱^{33}; **lă**^{31}juŋ^{33}	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.47
	lă^{31}tu̱p^{55}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.19
	lă^{31}wuʔ^{55}	lower part of / lower reaches (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0723.19
	lă^{31}wuʔ^{55}	below / under (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0732.19
	lă^{1} juŋ^{33}	finger	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lă^{1} kham^{33}	span	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lă^{1} mjin^{33}	fingernail; claw	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lă^{1} phum^{31}	arm	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lă^{1} tɑ̱ʔ^{55}	hand	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lă^{1}ton^{55}	reach out (hand)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	laʔ^{31}khʒa^{55}	right (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.19
	laʔ^{31}pa̱i^{33}	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.19
	laʔ^{31}tʃo̱p^{55}	ring (n.)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.19
	laʔ^{31}tʃo̱p^{55}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.47
	lă^{5}khon^{31}	bracelet	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lă^{55}khon^{51}	bracelet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0487.19
	lă^{55}khon^{51}	bracelet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:373.47
	lă hpùm	forearm	Hanson 1906:376
	la kra	right-hand	Marrison 1967
	la pai	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	lə-	arm, hand	Benedict 1972:86
	lə hpàʔ	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	lə khrá	right (hand)	Benedict 1972:98
	lə màn	joint (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	lə myin	talon; claw; fingernail; finger-nail	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; LaPolla 1987:207; Benedict 1972:74
	lə pāi	left-handed, awkward	Matisoff 1985a:080
	lə pai	left-handed, awkward	Benedict 1972:47
	lə phan	palm, sole	Benedict 1972:418 [b]
	lə phàʔ	shoulder	Matisoff 1974:399
	lə phō	arm above elbow (putative seat of strength)	Hanson 1906
	lə sing	bones of forearm	Matisoff 1987
	lə tá?	hand	Benedict 1972:32n102
	lə taʔ	hand	Benedict 1972:42n137
	lə tá? **lə** sing	bones of forearm	Matisoff 1987
	lə təʔ	hand	Benedict 1972:34n109
	lə wúʔ	below / side (lower)	Matisoff 1974:368
	sùm thāŋ **lə** phùm	arm	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:816
	tɑ̱ʔ^{55}**lă**^{33}seŋ^{33}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.19
	tɑ̱ʔ^{55}**lă**^{31}tu̱p^{55}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.47
	^{1}**lə**^{2}myin	nail	Weidert 1987:290
	^{1}**lə**^{1}kuŋ	branch	Weidert 1987:263
	^{1}**lə** ^{3}taʔ	hand	Weidert 1987:1126

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Chairel	**lak**	arm; arm, hand	Benedict 1972:34n108; Benedict 1972:86
	lɑk	hand; palm	Luce 1985:K.50
Lui	**lök**	hand	Matisoff 1987
Sak (Dodem)	bé^{3} s‘ă **lɑʔ**^{2}	left (hand)	Luce 1985:L.45
Sak	**láʔ** síʔ	fist	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:32-1
	laʔ ɓúŋ	hand net / landing net	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:123-a
Sak (Bawtala)	pe^{3}**lauʔ**^{2}	left (hand)	Luce 1985:L.158
Taman	**la**	hand; palm	Luce 1985:K.50

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**lak**-ban	limbs / arms and legs	Sharma 1991a:1.7
	laʔ	hand	Sharma 1991a:6.1.7
	yaspa **laʔ**	right hand	Sharma 1991a:6.1.7.4
	yoma **laʔ**	left hand	Sharma 1991a:6.1.7.5
Byangsi	**lak** ʃin	nail (n.)	Sharma 2003:465
Chaudangsi	**lak**-ɕin	nail	Krishan 2003:392
Darma	**lak**-ɕiŋ	nail	Krishan 2003:397

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**la̤a̤**	hand	Michailovsky 1991:82 [a]
	lā chā	finger	Matisoff 1987
	lhā na jing	palm of hand	Hale 1973:66
Tsangla (Tilang)	**lak**-pa	left	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**lɑk**^{55} tɕuŋ^{55}	arm	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	lɑ^{55}	hand	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**lʌʔ**^{53}	hand	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.6
	lʌʔ^{53} priu^{53}	finger	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.6
	lʌ^{55}dum^{55}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.6
Cuona Menba	**laʔ**^{53}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.06
	laʔ^{53}priu^{53}	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.06
	laʔ^{53}tshik^{53}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.06
	la^{55}dum^{55}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**lak** kwa wsaŋ	stretch out (the arm) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1613.05
	lak tshək	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.05
	lak ŋar	forearm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.05
	lok kwæ	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**lak** kwa	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**lag** ntʰi	palm	Sun 1985a:730
	lag ŋær	fore-arm	Sun 1985a:278
	lag-wæ	hand	Sun 1985a:341
	lok kwa	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.5
	lək ŋər	forearm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**lʌq** t̲ʰil	palm (of hand)	Rangan 1975:25
Tibetan (Batang)	**la**^{13} pa^{53}	hand	Dai Qingxia 1989a:6.1.7
	laʔ^{13} tshi^{55}	forearm / lower arm	Dai Qingxia 1989a:6.1.5
	la^{13}pa^{53}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.03
	lɑ^{13}tsa^{53}	pulse (wrist) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.03
	lɑ^{13}ŋa^{53}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.03
Tibetan (Central)	**la̤k** pa	hand	Weidert 1987:689
Tibetan (Jirel)	**lāk** pā	hand	Hale 1973
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**la**^{13}pa^{53}	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.3
	lɑ^{13}ŋa^{53}	forearm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**lak**^{13}pa^{53}	hand; arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.2; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.2
	lak^{13}pa^{55}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.02
	lak^{13}tsa^{55}	pulse (wrist) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.02
	lak^{13}ŋar^{55}	forearm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.02
	lək^{13}tshi^{52}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**’lak** pā phiq ’lakpā	left-handed person (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.15
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**la** lep	arm	Bishop 1989:6.1
	lak pa	forearm; lower arm; wrist	Bishop 1989:6.1.5; Bishop 1989:6.1.6
	lak pa kang	cord / fathom (outstretched arms)	Bishop 1989:13.4
	lak patsē	elbow	Bishop 1989:6.1.4
	yoba **lak** pa	right hand	Bishop 1989:6.1.7.4
	yoma **lak** pa	left hand	Bishop 1989:6.1.7.5
Spiti	**lak** pa	hand	Bodh 1991:6.1.7
	lak pa ye wa	right hand	Bodh 1991:6.1.7.4
	lak pa yun ma	left hand	Bodh 1991:6.1.7.5
Tibetan (Spiti)	**lak** tʰil	palm	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	(**lag** pa la) rma bzo	injure / hurt (the arm) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1607.01
	(**lag** pa) rkjoŋ	stretch out (the arm) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1613.01
	(**lag** pa) sreg	scald / burn (the hand) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1662.01
	dpuṅ-pa **lag**	upper and lower arm	Matisoff 1987
	l-ŋa	five	Benedict 1972:96n276
	lag	hand; hand, arm	Luce 1985:U.33; Luce 1985:X.101
	lag g-yas	right (hand)	Weidert 1987:230; Benedict 1972:98
	lag pa	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.01
	lag pa	hand; arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.1
	lag rtsa	pulse (wrist) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.01
	lag tshigs	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.01
	lag ŋar	forearm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.01
	lag(-pa)	arm, hand	Benedict 1972:86
	lag-mthil	palm	Zhang Liansheng 1988:39
	lag-pa	hand; hand, arm; arm	Luce 1985:U.33; Luce 1985:X.101; Coblin 1986:37; Zhang Liansheng 1988:36; Zhang Liansheng 1988:38
	lag-t’sigs	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	lag-tshigs	wrist	Zhang Liansheng 1988:37
	lag-t‘sigs	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	lag.mthil	palm	Sun 1985c:730
	lag.ngar	fore-arm	Sun 1985c:278
	lag.pa	hand; arm	Sun 1985c:341; Marrison 1967
	lag mthil	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
	lag pa	hand	Marrison 1967
	lag thsigs	wrist	Marrison 1967
	lak-pa	arm / hand	Weidert 1987:623
	lɑg-ldáṅ	elephant (having hand or trunk, hence elephant)	Jäschke 1881

[a] These Bodo-Garo forms illustrate a reduction of the lateral initial to zero.
[b] The final **-n** in Jingpho **phan** is attributed to a PTB dual suffix in *STC* n. 284, p. 99.

[a] Hale (1973) uses a plus under the vowel to indicate breathy phonation.

Tibetan (Xiahe)	**laχ** htsa	pulse (wrist) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.04
	laχ kwa	arm; hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.04; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.04
	laχ kwə hke htsa	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.04
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	depa **lhā:**	left hand	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:6.1.7.5
	jɔwɔ **lhā:**	right hand	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:6.1.7.4
Newar (Dolakhali)	**laha**	hand / arm	Genetti 1990b
Newar	**lhā:**	hand	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:6.1.7 [a]
	lhā: phwɔ:	back of hand	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:6.1.7.2
Newar (Kathmandu)	**lha** pa	hand / arm	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**lha** t	hand	Michailovsky 1991:82
	lɔ pā	arm	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:6.1
	psa **lhā:**	hand span	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:13.2
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***ʔla**	arm, hand	Opgenort 2011
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**loa**	hand; hand, arm	Michailovsky 1991:82; Allen 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**'ləp** ta	palm (hand)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.53 [b]
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**lạ**	hand; arm; napkin; catch; start; end; row/scull	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3485
	ldɑ	hand	Sofronov c1978
	lho	arm	DAI Qingxia 1989e:6.1
	lo̱	hand	Nishida 1964:235-072
	ɬo̱	hand	Nishida 1964:17-062; Nishida 1964:192
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**lɛ³³** kuaɹ⁵⁵ tʃhu³³	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	lɛ³³ ma⁵⁵	thumb	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	lɛ³³ phɛ⁵⁵	hand	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	lɛ³³ phɛ⁵⁵ li⁵⁵	left hand	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	lɛ³³ phɛ⁵⁵ lɛ⁵⁵ tʃu⁵⁵	right hand	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	lɛ³³ su⁵⁵	finger	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	lɛ³³ su⁵⁵ ndzo³³ mo⁵⁵	middle finger	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	lɛ³³dzɻ⁵⁵	nail; fingernail	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:256.18
	lɛ³³kuaɹ⁵⁵tʃhu³³	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.18
	lɛ³³nguaɹ⁵⁵	ring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:375.18
	lɛ³³phɛ⁵⁵	hand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.18
	lɛ³³su⁵⁵	finger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:255.18
	lɛ³³tʂu⁵⁵	bracelet	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:373.18
	lɛ⁵⁵ psɻ⁵⁵	palm	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	lɛ⁵⁵ tsuɑ⁵⁵	wrist	SUN Hongkai 1991d
Lyuzu	du³³**ly⁵³**	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.18
	le²³phu⁵³	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.18
	le³³mæ⁵³	thumb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0110.18
	le³³ngu⁵³	ring (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.18
	le³³pi⁵³	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.18
	le³³se⁵³	finger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.18
	le³³tsa⁵³	nail (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.18
	le³³tʂu⁵³	bracelet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0487.18
Muya	**rɐ⁵³** kə³³tshi³	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.15
Muya [Minyak]	**lɛ³³**mbɛ³⁵	ring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:375.15
Namuyi	**lɛ³³**	hand	SUN Hongkai 1991i:6.1.7; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.19
	lɛ³³ja³³na³³	right hand	SUN Hongkai 1991i:6.1.7.4
	lɛ³³ja³³ta³³	left hand	SUN Hongkai 1991i:6.1.7.5
	lɛ³³kɛ³³	arm	SUN Hongkai 1991i:6.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.19
	lɛ³³ntshɛ³³	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.19
	lɛ³³ntsʰɛ³³	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991i:6.1.4
	lɛ³³pu⁵⁵	ring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:375.19
	lɛ³³tsʰɻ³³	palm	SUN Hongkai 1991i:6.1.7.1
	lɛ³³tʂu⁵⁵	bracelet	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:373.19
	lɛ³³ɳi³⁵	finger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:255.19
	lɛ³³ɳi³⁵tʂɻ³³qu³³	nail; fingernail	SUN Hongkai 1991i:7.4; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:256.19
	la³³qha⁵³zu⁵⁵kua⁵³	injure / hurt (the arm) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1607.46
	læ³¹kæ³¹	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.46
	læ³¹kæ³¹	claw / talon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.46
	læ³¹kæ³¹ zʁ⁵⁵sʁ³¹	grip / handle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0621.46
	læ³¹ntshæ³³ntshæ³¹	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.46
	læ³¹ntshæ³¹	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.46
	læ³¹pu⁵⁵	ring (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.46
	læ³¹tʂu⁵⁵	bracelet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0487.46
	læ³¹ɳi³¹	finger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.46
	læ³¹ɳi³¹ (tɕi³¹) la⁵⁵	fingersbreadth (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0902.46
	læ³¹ɳi³¹ tʂɻ³³qo⁵⁵	nail (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.46
	læ³¹ɳi³¹ æ⁵⁵mi⁵⁵	thumb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0110.46
Qiang (Taoping)	**lɑ³¹** χɑ⁵⁵ pi³³	shoulder	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**lo** pu	arm	DAI Qingxia 1989q:131
Queyu (Xinlong)	(**le⁵⁵**) rə¹³ʂtɕu⁵⁵	raise (the hand) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1453.13
	(**le⁵⁵**) ɬu⁵⁵	scald / burn (the hand) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1662.13
	la¹³xthɯ⁵⁵tɕy¹³ʑe⁵⁵	finger (middle) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0111.13
	la¹³ŋa⁵⁵	forearm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.13
	le¹³mɲi⁵⁵	thumb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0110.13
	le¹³ɕɲi⁵⁵	finger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.13
	le¹³ʂthye⁵⁵	press (with palm or finger)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1129.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**le⁵⁵**	hand	SUN Hongkai 1991n:6.1.7; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.16
	le⁵⁵ ru⁵³	arm	SUN Hongkai 1991n:6.1
	le⁵⁵ sa⁵⁵	finger	SUN Hongkai 1991n:7.1
	le⁵⁵ tõ⁵⁵ le⁵⁵	right hand	SUN Hongkai 1991n:6.1.7.4
	le⁵⁵ tʂa⁵⁵	nail	SUN Hongkai 1991n:7.4
	le⁵⁵ wa³⁵ ɕã⁵⁵	left hand	SUN Hongkai 1991n:6.1.7.5
Queyu (Xinlong)	**le⁵⁵**pa⁵⁵	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**le⁵⁵**ru⁵³	arm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.16
	le⁵⁵sa⁵⁵	finger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:255.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**le⁵⁵**tsi⁵⁵	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**le⁵⁵**tʂa⁵⁵	fingernail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:256.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**lɛ⁵⁵**phɛ⁵⁵tʂo¹³	grasp (with the fingers and thumb of both hands)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1133.13
Xumi	**lie³³** tshe³⁵	arm; elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai 1991m
	lie³³ tʂɛ̃³⁵	nail	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	lie³³ yɛ³⁵	palm	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	lie³³ ɲi³⁵	finger	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	lie³³tshe³⁵	arm; elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.20; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.20
	lie³³tʂɛ̃³⁵	fingernail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:256.20
	lie³³ɲi³⁵	finger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:255.20
	lie³⁵	hand	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.20
	lie³⁵ jɛ³³ zi⁵⁵	right hand	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	lie³⁵ ʑɛ³³ zi⁵⁵	left hand	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	lĩ³³qũ⁵³	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.17
	li³³tshi⁵³	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.17
	li³³tshi⁵³	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.17
	li³³ɲi³³a³³pɑo⁵³	thumb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0110.17
	li³³ɲĭ³³tʂɛ̃⁵³	nail (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.17
	li³⁵	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.17
	lɛ³³ʁu⁵³	frostbitten, be (hand) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1284.17
	ɬɑ³³py³⁵	ring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:375.20
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔluɑ**	arm	DAI Qingxia 1989b:6.1
Ergong (Northern)	χpoŋ³³ **lə³³**	arm	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**la³¹**	hand	SUN Hongkai 1988
Nung	**lɛ³¹**ɣɯ⁵⁵	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.21
Anong	**lɛ³¹**ɣɯ⁵⁵	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.44
Trung [Dulong]	ul⁴⁴**sla⁴²**	arm	LO Ch'ang-p'ei 1945
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***lak**[L] HAND			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***lak**	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**lɑ³¹**	hand	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɑ³¹ sɑn⁵⁵	shoulder	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɑ³¹ uŋ³⁵	arm	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɑ³¹ n̥ɑu³⁵	finger	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɑ³¹ ʂɯŋ³⁵	fingernail	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**lɔʔ⁵⁵**suak³⁵	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.28
	lɔʔ³¹nam³¹pa³¹	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.28
	lɔʔ³¹nam³¹pa³¹	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.41
	lɔʔ³¹ʑɔ⁵⁵pa³¹	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.28
	lɔʔ³¹ʑɔ⁵⁵pa³¹	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.41
	lɔʔ³⁵n̥ɑu³¹	finger (middle) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0111.28
	lɔʔ⁵⁵	hand	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɔʔ⁵⁵	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.28
	lɔʔ⁵⁵	hand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.41
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ m̥ɔʔ³¹	thumb	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ sɑn⁵⁵	arm	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ tɔʔ⁵⁵	joint of hand	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ n̥ɑu³¹	finger	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ ʂəŋ³¹	fingernail	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɔʔ⁵⁵məʔ³¹	pulse (wrist) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.28
	lɔʔ⁵⁵phu⁵¹	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.28
	lɔʔ⁵⁵sɑn⁵⁵	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.28
	lɔʔ⁵⁵sɑn⁵⁵	arm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.41
	lɔʔ⁵⁵suak³⁵	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.41
	lɔʔ⁵⁵thum³¹	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.28
	lɔʔ⁵⁵thum³¹	fist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:252.41
	lɔʔ⁵⁵tɔʔ⁵⁵	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.28
	lɔʔ⁵⁵n̥ɑu³¹	finger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.28
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ŋɑu³¹	finger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:255.41
Achang (Luxi)	**laʔ³¹**	hand	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	laʔ³¹ paŋ⁵⁵ tsɻ⁵⁵	arm	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985

[a] The voiceless Newar initial perhaps points to a variant with the ***s-** prefix. On the other hand, the Dolakha form suggests that this initial results from the fusion of a disyllabic prototype.

[b] Note the secondary labial final of Kham **'ləp**.

	laʔ³¹ san³⁵ phu⁵⁵	shoulder	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	laʔ³¹ səŋ³⁵	fingernail	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:207
	laʔ³¹ n̥au³⁵	finger	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**lɔʔ³¹** saɲ⁵⁵	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989f:114
	lɔʔ³¹san⁵⁵	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.29
	lɔʔ⁵⁵	hand	Dai Qingxia 1989f:130
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ jɔ⁵⁵	right	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1024
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ mɔ³¹	thumb	Dai Qingxia 1989f:133
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ o³¹	hand web	Dai Qingxia 1989f:132.1 [a]
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ tsɔ³¹	little finger	Dai Qingxia 1989f:137
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ tʰom³¹	elbow	Dai Qingxia 1989f:129
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ tʰum³¹	fist	Dai Qingxia 1989f:139
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ tʰɔŋ⁵⁵	elbow	Dai Qingxia 1989f:129.1
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ xa⁵⁵	left	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1023
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ n̊au³¹	finger	Dai Qingxia 1989f:132
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ n̥ɔʔ⁵⁵	wrist	Dai Qingxia 1989f:131
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ ʂɯŋ³¹	fingernail	Dai Qingxia 1989f:138
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ ʐum³¹	arm	Dai Qingxia 1989f:128
	lɔʔ⁵⁵jɔ⁵⁵	right (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.29
	lɔʔ⁵⁵kɯ³¹	pulse (wrist) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.29
	lɔʔ⁵⁵n̥au³¹	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.29
	lɔʔ⁵⁵thom³¹	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.29
	lɔʔ⁵⁵thum³¹	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.29
	lɔʔ⁵⁵tsɔ³¹	finger (little) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0112.29
	lɔʔ⁵⁵xa⁵⁵	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.29
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ɲɔʔ⁵⁵	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.29
	lɔʔ⁵⁵n̊au³¹	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.29
	lɔʔ⁵⁵ʐum³¹	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.29
Bola	**laʔ³¹**	hand	Dai Qingxia 1989g:130
Bola (Luxi)	**laʔ³¹**	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.32
Bola	**laʔ³¹** ja⁵⁵	right	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1024
	laʔ³¹ jɔn³¹	wrist	Dai Qingxia 1989g:131
	laʔ³¹ kaun̄ŋ³⁵	left	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1023
	laʔ³¹ mɔn̄³⁵ tʃʰɔ̃³⁵ tʰauŋ³¹	elbow	Dai Qingxia 1989g:129
	laʔ³¹ pu³⁵	arm	Dai Qingxia 1989g:128
	laʔ³¹ sɛ̃⁵⁵	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989g:114
	laʔ³¹ tsa̱p⁵⁵	fist	Dai Qingxia 1989g:139
	laʔ³¹ tʰɔ̃³⁵ ŋjun̄ŋ³⁵	little finger	Dai Qingxia 1989g:137
	laʔ³¹ tʰɔ̃³⁵ ŋjun̄ŋ³⁵ jɔ̃³¹ pai³¹	ring finger	Dai Qingxia 1989g:136
	laʔ³¹ ŋjun̄ŋ³⁵	finger	Dai Qingxia 1989g:132
Bola (Luxi)	**laʔ³¹**ja⁵⁵	right (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.32
	laʔ³¹jɔn³¹	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.32
	laʔ³¹kaun̄ŋ³⁵	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.32
	laʔ³¹mɔn̄³⁵tʃhɔ̃³⁵thauŋ³¹	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.32
	laʔ³¹pu³⁵	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.32
	laʔ³¹sɛ̃⁵⁵	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.32
	laʔ³¹thɔ̃³⁵ŋjun̄ŋ³⁵	finger (little) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0112.32
	laʔ³¹tsa̱p⁵⁵	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.32
	laʔ³¹ŋjun̄ŋ³⁵	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.32
	la̱ʔ³¹saŋ³⁵	claw / talon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.32
Burmese (Modern)	**lak**	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
	lak-ñhui⁴	finger / forefinger	Luce 1985:V.45
Burmese (Rangoon)	da⁵⁵**lɛʔ⁴**kãi²²	handle (of a knife) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0550.27
	ĩ⁵⁵tɕi²²**lɛʔ⁴**mãu⁵⁵	sleeve (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0469.27
	lɛʔ⁴	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.27
	lɛʔ⁴ khã²²ja⁵³ɕi⁵³	receive (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1630.27
	lɛʔ⁴ ma⁵³	inch (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0905.27
	lɛʔ⁴ tiʔ⁴	fingersbreadth (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0902.27
	lɛʔ⁴khoʔ⁴	load of cupped-hands (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0878.27
	lɛʔ⁴kha⁵³lɛ²²	finger (middle) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0111.27
	lɛʔ⁴kɑuʔ⁴	bracelet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0487.27
	lɛʔ⁴kɑuʔ⁴wuʔ⁴	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.27
	lɛʔ⁴kãi²²	grip / handle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0621.27
	lɛʔ⁴mãu⁵⁵	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.27
	lɛʔ⁴ma⁵³	thumb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0110.27
	lɛʔ⁴n̥jɑuʔ⁴	raise (the hand) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1453.27
	lɛʔ⁴pja⁵³	gesticulate	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1229.27
	lɛʔ⁴suʔ⁴	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.27
	lɛʔ⁴thãu²²	raise (the hand) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1453.27
	lɛʔ⁴tɕhãu⁵⁵	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.27
	lɛʔ⁴tθi⁵⁵	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.27
	lɛʔ⁴tθɛ⁵⁵	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.27
	lɛʔ⁴tθɑ̃⁵⁵	finger (little) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0112.27
Burmese (Spoken)	**lɛʔ²**	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**lɛʔ⁴⁴**	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.40
	lɛʔ⁴⁴kɑuʔ⁴⁴	bracelet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:373.40
	lɛʔ⁴⁴mɑɯ̃⁵⁵	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.40
	lɛʔ⁴⁴mɑ⁵³	inch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:961.40
	lɛʔ⁴⁴pɑʔ⁴⁴nɑ²²ji²²	wristwatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:374.40
	lɛʔ⁴⁴suʔ⁴⁴	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.40
	lɛʔ⁴⁴tθi⁵⁵	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.40
	lɛʔ⁴⁴tθɛ⁵⁵	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.40
	lɛʔ⁴⁴tθɑ̃⁵⁵	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.40
Burmese (Written)	gyak-kăli' ⨯ tshak-kăli' ⨯ **lak**-kăli'	armpit	Benedict 1972:265
	lak	arm; hand; hand, arm; arm, hand	Weidert 1987:623; Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:U.33,X.101; Hansson 1989:482; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:86; Coblin 1986:37
	lak lay	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	lak-hnuì	finger	Benedict 1972:77n234
	lak-hnyûi	finger (index)	Matisoff 1987
	lak-kalí	armpit	LaPolla 1987:134
	lak-khok	knuckle	Matisoff 1987
	lak-khyaùŋ	finger	Weidert 1987:273; Benedict 1972:355
	lak-khyôŋ	finger	Matisoff 1987
	lak-kok-wat	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	lak-maʔ	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	lak-phə mûi	back of hand	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	lak-praŋ-rûi	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987 [b]
	lak-sân	finger (little)	Matisoff 1987
	lak-sâñ	talon / claw	Matisoff 1987
	lak-sàń	finger-nail	Benedict 1972:74
	lak-sâñ-khwam	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	lak-wài	left-hand	Weidert 1987:225
	lak-wâi	left hand	Matisoff 1985a:080; Benedict 1976a [c]
	lak-waì	left hand	Benedict 1972:47
	lak-ya	right (hand)	Weidert 1987:230; Benedict 1972:98
	lak chac	wrist	Marrison 1967
	lak khyoṅ:	finger	Marrison 1967
	lak moṅ	arm	Marrison 1967
	lak phawā	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
	lak sañ̃	claw	Marrison 1967
	lak wai	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	lak yā	right-hand	Marrison 1967
	lɑk	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.39
	lɑk mɔŋ³	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.39
	lɑk thi³	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.39
	lɑk thɑn³	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.39
	lɑk⁴	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.26
	lɑk⁴hmrɔk⁴	raise (the hand) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1453.26
	lɑk⁴khjɔŋ³	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.26
	lɑk⁴khɑ¹lɑj²	finger (middle) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0111.26
	lɑk⁴kɔk⁴wɑt⁴	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.26
	lɑk⁴mɔŋ³	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.26
	lɑk⁴thɔŋ²	raise (the hand) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1453.26
	lɑk⁴tθi³	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.26
	lɑk⁴tθɑn³	finger (little) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0112.26
	[lak-]ya³	right (hand)	Luce 1985:W.18
	ə-**lak**	arm, hand	Benedict 1976a
Danu	**lyɛʔ**	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
	lɛʔ²	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
Hpun (Metjo)	ă **lʊʔ⁵**	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
Hpun (Northern)	ă **lʊ̀ʔ**	hand	Henderson 1986
	lʊ̀ʔ wà	palm (of hand)	Henderson 1986
	lʊ̀ʔ pí	left (hand)	Henderson 1986
	lʊ̀ʔ ʃàiŋ	fingernails	Henderson 1986
	lʊ̀ʔ-má	thumb	Henderson 1986
	lʊ̀ʔ áʔ, **lʊ̀ʔ** àʔ	right (hand)	Henderson 1986
	lʊ̀ʔ pì	fist	Henderson 1986
	lʊ̀ʔ saʔ	finger (little)	Henderson 1986
	lʊ̀ʔ só	finger (index) (cp. Point at)	Henderson 1986
	lʊ̀ʔ yù; **lòʔ** yùʔ	elbow	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**lɔʔ²¹**thɔ̃⁵⁵ŋjo̱k⁵⁵	finger (little) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0112.31
	lɔʔ³¹	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.31
	lɔʔ³¹jɔ³¹	right (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.31
	lɔʔ³¹kaun̄ŋ³⁵	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.31
	lɔʔ³¹mat⁵⁵thauŋ³⁵thɔ̃³¹	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.31
	lɔʔ³¹pau³⁵	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.31
	lɔʔ³¹saŋ³¹	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.31
	lɔʔ³¹tsa̱p⁵⁵	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.31
	lɔʔ³¹ŋjo̱k⁵⁵	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.31
Lashi (Lachhe')	**lɔʔ²**	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
	lɔʔ³	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
Lashi	**lɔʔ³¹**	hand	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.1.7
	lɔʔ³¹ jo³¹ **lɔʔ³¹**	right hand	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.1.7.4
	lɔʔ³¹ mjɔʔ³¹	wrist	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.1.6
	lɔʔ³¹ nuŋ⁵⁵ khuŋ³³	back of hand	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.1.7.2
	lɔʔ³¹ pe̱i⁵⁵ **lɔʔ³¹**	left hand	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.1.7.5
	lɔʔ³¹ pu⁵³	arm	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.1
	lɔʔ³¹ sa̱n³³	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.3
	lɔʔ³¹ sa̱n³³ jou³³	shoulder blade / scapula	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.3.1
	lɔʔ³¹ sə̱ŋ³³	nail; claw (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:7.4; Dai Qingxia 1989m:7.4.3
	lɔʔ³¹ thaŋ⁵³ ŋjo̱⁵⁵	little finger	Dai Qingxia 1989m:7.1.4
	lɔʔ³¹ thuŋ⁵⁵ jou³³	elbow bone	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.1.4.1
	lɔʔ³¹ tsɔ̱p⁵⁵	fist	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.1.7.3
Leqi (Luxi)	**lɔ** ³¹mɔn⁵⁵thuŋ⁵⁵tshɔm³³	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.33
	lɔʔ³¹	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.33

[a] The original gloss, in Chinese, is **hǔkǒu** (lit. "tiger's mouth"), 'part of hand between the thumb and index finger.'

[a] Note the destressing or "prefixization" of WB **phə**.
[b] Lit. "arm-outside-bone".
[c] [Source Note] (< phai 'go aside') (Benedict 1976).

	lɔʔ³¹jo³¹	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.33
	lɔʔ³¹mjɔʔ³¹	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.33
	lɔʔ³¹mo⁵⁵tʃham⁵⁵	finger (little) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0112.33
	lɔʔ³¹pe̱i⁵⁵	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.33
	lɔʔ³¹pu⁵³	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.33
	lɔʔ³¹sa̱n³³	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.33
	lɔʔ³¹sə̱ŋ⁵⁵	nail (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.33
	lɔʔ³¹sə̱ŋ⁵⁵	claw / talon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.33
	lɔʔ³¹tsɔ̱p⁵⁵	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.33
Marma	**laʔkhuŋ**.əchɔiʔ	wrist	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:29-1
	laʔ wá	palm of hand	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:30a
	laʔ θé	nail; claw	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:313; HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:32
	laʔ θí	fist	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:32-1
	ə **laʔ**	arm; hand	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:28; HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:30
Maru [Langsu]	**loʔ²**	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
	loʔ³¹ jɔ³¹	side (left)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:1.3
	lòʔ sāŋ	claw	Weidert 1987:290
	lɔʔ³¹	hand	DAI Qingxia 1989l:6.1.7; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.43
	lɔʔ³¹ jɔ³¹ **lɔʔ³¹**	left hand	DAI Qingxia 1989l:6.1.7.5
	lɔʔ³¹ kauŋ³¹ tɔ̄⁵⁵	back of hand	DAI Qingxia 1989l:6.1.7.2
	lɔʔ³¹ ka̱uŋ³⁵ khjɔ³¹	side (right)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:1.2
	lɔʔ³¹ ka̱uŋ³⁵ **lɔʔ³¹**	right hand	DAI Qingxia 1989l:6.1.7.4
	lɔʔ³¹ pau⁵⁵	forearm; lower arm; arm	DAI Qingxia 1989l:6.1; DAI Qingxia 1989l:6.1.5
	lɔʔ³¹ saŋ³¹	shoulder	DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.3
	lɔʔ³¹ saŋ³¹ ɣuk⁵⁵	shoulder blade / scapula	DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.3.1
	lɔʔ³¹ saŋ³⁵	nail	DAI Qingxia 1989l:7.4
	lɔʔ³¹ thauŋ³⁵ ɣuk⁵⁵	elbow bone	DAI Qingxia 1989l:6.1.4.1
	lɔʔ³¹ thɔ̄⁵⁵ ŋju̱k⁵⁵	little finger	DAI Qingxia 1989l:7.1.4
	lɔʔ³¹ tsa̱p⁵⁵	fist	DAI Qingxia 1989l:6.1.7.3
	lɔʔ³¹jɔ³¹	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.43
	lɔʔ³¹ka̱uŋ³⁵	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.43
	lɔʔ³¹mat⁵⁵thauŋ³⁵thɔ̄³¹	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.43
	lɔʔ³¹pau⁵⁵	arm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.43
	lɔʔ³¹saŋ³¹	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.43
	lɔʔ³¹tsa̱p⁵⁵	fist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:252.43
	lɛʔ³¹tʃɔʔ⁵⁵	ring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:375.43
Taung-Yo	**læʔ¹**	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**loʔ²¹**	hand	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	loʔ²¹	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.30
	loʔ²¹	hand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.42
	loʔ²¹ jo⁵¹	right (side)	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	loʔ²¹ pa̱i²¹	left	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	loʔ²¹ pu⁵⁵	arm	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	loʔ²¹ siŋ²¹	nail	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	loʔ²¹ ŋju̱i²¹	finger	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	loʔ²¹jin⁵¹	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.30
	loʔ²¹jo⁵¹	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.30
	loʔ²¹jo⁵¹	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.42
	loʔ²¹mun⁵⁵thuŋ⁵⁵tshum⁵⁵	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.30
	loʔ²¹mun⁵⁵thuŋ⁵⁵tshum⁵⁵	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.42
	loʔ²¹pa̱i²¹	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.42
	loʔ²¹pu⁵⁵	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.30
	loʔ²¹pu⁵⁵	arm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.42
	loʔ²¹siŋ²¹	nail (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.30
	loʔ²¹siŋ²¹	fingernail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:256.42
	loʔ²¹thaŋ⁵¹ŋu̱i²¹	finger (little) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0112.30
	loʔ²¹tsu̱p⁵⁵	fist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:252.42
	loʔ³¹ siŋ³¹	fingernail	LaPolla 1987:207
	loʔ³¹pa̱i²¹	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.30
	loʔ sìŋ	nail	Weidert 1987:290
	loʔ yô	right (hand)	Weidert 1987:230
	lɔʔ²	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
	lɔʔ²¹tsu̱p⁵⁵	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.30

6.1.2. LOLOISH: *lak^L HAND

**Loloish*	***lak**ᴸ	hand	Bradley 1979b:111; Hansson 1989:482
Lolopho	dv̩³³ **le̱³¹**	wing (of bird)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:6.1.9
	le³³ ga³¹	shoulder	DAI Qingxia 1989n:5.3
	le̱³¹ ge³¹	inner elbow / crook of elbow	DAI Qingxia 1989n:6.1.4.2
	le̱³¹ kv̩³³ dzu̱v̩³¹	fist	DAI Qingxia 1989n:6.1.7.3
	le̱³¹ mæ⁵⁵	elbow	DAI Qingxia 1989n:6.1.4
	le̱³¹ tɕi̱⁵⁵	wrist; knuckle (joint of digit)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:6.1.6; DAI Qingxia 1989n:7.3
	le̱³¹ v̩³¹	hand	DAI Qingxia 1989n:6.1.7
	le̱³¹ v̩³¹ væ⁵⁵ bo³¹	right hand	DAI Qingxia 1989n:6.1.7.4
	le̱³¹ v̩³¹ zu̱o³³ bo³¹	left hand	DAI Qingxia 1989n:6.1.7.5
PNL	**lak**ᴸ	hand	CHEN Kang 1986a:82.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**la⁵³**	hand	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	la⁵³ kv̩⁵⁵ tsɭ⁵⁵	fist	DAI Qingxia 1989c:6.1.7.3
	la⁵³ m⁵⁵ koɛ³¹ koe³¹	elbow	DAI Qingxia 1989c:6.1.4
	la⁵³ m⁵⁵ tsɭ⁵⁵	elbow	DAI Qingxia 1989c:6.1.4
	la⁵³ m⁵⁵ tsɭ⁵⁵ v̩³¹ kɯ³⁵	elbow bone	DAI Qingxia 1989c:6.1.4.1
	la⁵³ pha⁵⁵	arm; hand	DAI Qingxia 1989c:6.1; DAI Qingxia 1989c:6.1.7
	la⁵³ phɛ³¹ tsɭ³³	shoulder	DAI Qingxia 1989c:5.3
	la⁵³ pʰa⁵⁵	hand	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	la⁵³kv⁵⁵tsɭ⁵⁵mɛ³³	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.47
	la⁵³m⁵⁵tsɭ⁵⁵	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.47
	la⁵³pha⁵⁵	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.47
	la⁵³phɛ³¹tsɭ³³	shoulder	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	la⁵³ phɛ³¹ tsɭ⁵⁵	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.47
	la⁵³ piɛ⁵⁵	ring (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.47
	la⁵³ pʰa⁵⁵	hand	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	la⁵³vɤ⁵⁵pha⁵⁵	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.47
	lɑ⁵³ko³¹pʰɤ³³	back of hand	MU Shihua 2003
	lɑ⁵³kv⁵⁵tsɭ⁵⁵	fist	MU Shihua 2003
	lɑ⁵³mu̱⁵⁵tsɭ⁵⁵	elbow	MU Shihua 2003
	lɑ⁵³pɑ³¹tsɭ³¹tʰi³¹	shoulder blade	MU Shihua 2003
	lɑ⁵³pʰe³¹tsɭ³³	shoulder	MU Shihua 2003
	lɑ⁵³pʰɑ⁵⁵	hand	MU Shihua 2003
	lɑ⁵³sɭ²⁴v³¹kɤ²⁴	arm	MU Shihua 2003
	lɑ⁵³tsɭ²⁴tsɭ²⁴	wrist	MU Shihua 2003
	tshɿ³¹ŋɤ²⁴la³³n̥a⁵³	anus (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.47
	tv³²³**la⁵³**thi³¹	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.47
	tv̩³²³ **la⁵³** thi³¹	wing (of bird)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:6.1.9
Lalo	**lìq**-phiq	hand / arm	Björverud 1994
	lɪ²¹ ɑ²¹ u²¹ zɑ²¹ du̱⁵⁵ gɯ⁵⁵	arm	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1
	li̱²¹ bɑ²¹ tʂʰɑ⁵⁵	palm	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.1
	li̱²¹ ku̱²¹ se²¹	fingernail	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.4.1
	li̱²¹ ku̱²¹ tsʰɭ⁵⁵ ɳ⁵⁵	fist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.3
	li̱²¹ n̥⁵⁵ mɑ³³ ko³³	thumb	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.1.5
	li̱²¹ n̥⁵⁵ zɑ²¹	finger	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.1
	li̱²¹ pʰɑŋ²¹ tsɭ³³	shoulder	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.3
	li̱²¹ pʰɪ̱³³	hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7
	li̱²¹ to³³ ka³³	back of hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.2
	li̱²¹ tsɭ̄²¹	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	li̱²¹ u²¹ ɑ²¹ tsɭ²¹	elbow	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.4
	li̱²¹ u²¹ ɑ²¹ tsɭ²¹ ʔvu̱²¹ dɑ⁵⁵	elbow bone	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.4.1
	zu̱ɑ⁵⁵ **li̱²¹**	right hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4
	ʔli̱²	hand	CHEN Kang 1986a:82.
	ʔve²¹ **li̱²¹**	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
Lipho	**le²**	hand	CHEN Kang 1986a:82.
	le̱²¹khu̱²¹tshɭ̄³³	fist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.3
	le̱²¹pa⁵⁵	arm	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1
	le̱²¹tsi̱³³mo³³	elbow	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.4
	le̱²¹tsi̱³³zo²¹	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	le̱²¹vɯ̱²¹	hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7
	vɛ⁵⁵**le̱²¹**	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
	zu̱o³³**le̱²¹**	right hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4
Luquan	**la 55c**	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
Nasu	du²¹ **la̱⁵⁵**	wing (of bird)	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.9
	la 11	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
	la̱⁵⁵	hand	CHEN Kang 1986a:82.; CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7
	la̱⁵⁵ fɵ³³	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
	la̱⁵⁵ ko²¹ tsʰɯ̱²¹	fist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.3
	la̱⁵⁵ kʰɵ²¹	back of hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.2
	la̱⁵⁵ mi³³	elbow	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.4
	la̱⁵⁵ mo̱²¹	thumb	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.1.5
	la̱⁵⁵ pu³³ tso̱²¹	underarm; armpit; arm	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1; CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.1
	la̱⁵⁵ pʰa³³	palm	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.1
	la̱⁵⁵ se³³	fingernail	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.4.1
	la̱⁵⁵ se⁵⁵	right hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4
	la̱⁵⁵ tsi̱⁵⁵	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	la̱⁵⁵ ŋer²¹ pɔ²¹	forearm / lower arm	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.5
Neisu	**la¹³**	hand	CHEN Kang 1986a:82.
Nesu	a⁵⁵ fer³³ **li̱²¹**	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
	a⁵⁵ zu̱o³³ **li̱²¹**	right hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4
	do²¹ **li̱²¹**	wing (of bird)	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.9
	le̱²	hand	CHEN Kang 1986a:82.
	lɪ²¹	hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7
	li̱²¹ bu²¹	back of hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.2
	li̱²¹ mer³³ du²¹ tsʰɭ²¹	underarm / armpit	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.1
	li̱²¹ mo²¹ tʂɭ⁵⁵	thumb	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.1.5
	li̱²¹ mo̱²¹	pulse	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.3.2
	li̱²¹ pu̱³³	fist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.3
	li̱²¹ pʰi²¹	palm	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.1
	li̱²¹ pʰu³³	shoulder	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.3
	li̱²¹ tsɭ̄²¹	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	li̱²¹ tʂɭ⁵⁵	finger	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.1
	li̱²¹ ɣɤ³³ po̱²¹	arm	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1
	li̱²¹ n̥i̱³³ me³³ ɣɤ³³	elbow bone	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.4.1
	li̱²¹ n̥³³ me³³	elbow	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.4
	li̱²¹ ʂɭ³³ kɤ̱³³	fingernail	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.4.1
Noesu	du²¹**la¹³**	wing(of bird)	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.9
	la¹³	hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7
	la¹³fe³³	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
	la¹³mi³³	elbow	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.4
	la¹³mi³³ʑy³³	elbow bone	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.4.1
	la¹³nu³³	back of hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.2
	la¹³po⁵⁵	arm	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1
	la¹³sɤ⁵⁵	right hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4
	la¹³tsɪ¹³	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
Nosu	**la⁴⁴vɭ³³tɕo⁴⁴**	side (left)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.3
	la⁴⁴ʑi³³tɕo⁴⁴	side (right)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.2
	lo̱⁵⁵	hand	CHEN Kang 1986a:82.
	lo⁵⁵	hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7
	lo⁵⁵bu³³kuɪ²¹tɯ²¹	back of hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.2
	lo⁵⁵tsɭ̄³³	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	lo⁵⁵ɣa²¹no̱³³	elbow	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.4
	lo⁵⁵ɣa²¹no̱³³vu³³	elbow bone	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.4.1
	vɭ²¹**lo⁵⁵**	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
	ɬo²¹bo²¹	arm	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1
	ʑi²¹**lo⁵⁵**	right hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**la̱³¹**	hand	DAI Qingxia 1989o:130.
Nusu (Northern)	**la̱³¹**	hand	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**la̱³¹** ma³¹	thumb	DAI Qingxia 1989o:133.
	la̱³¹ n̥i⁵⁵	pulse	DAI Qingxia 1989o:157.
	la̱³¹ n̥i⁵⁵ tso̱³¹	fist	DAI Qingxia 1989o:139.
Nusu (Northern)	**la̱³¹** n̥ɔ̃⁵⁵	finger	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**la̱³¹** n̥ɯ⁵⁵	finger	DAI Qingxia 1989o:132.
Nusu (Northern)	**la̱³¹** pu̱³⁵	fist	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**la̱³¹** pʰɪuɚ³¹	arm	DAI Qingxia 1989o:128.
	la̱³¹ sɚ̃⁵⁵	fingernail	DAI Qingxia 1989o:138.
Nusu (Northern)	**la̱³¹** sʰɐ⁵⁵	nail	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**la̱³¹** tʰõ³⁵	elbow	DAI Qingxia 1989o:129.
	la̱³¹ va⁵⁵	wrist	DAI Qingxia 1989o:131.
Nusu (Northern)	**la̱³¹** ɹɔ³⁵	arm	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**la̱⁵³**	arm; hand	DAI Qingxia 1989p:128.; DAI Qingxia 1989p:130.
	la̱⁵³	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.34

	la^{53} ma^{31}	thumb	Dai Qingxia 1989p:133.
	la^{53} m̥i^{55}	pulse	Dai Qingxia 1989p:157.
	la^{53} n̥ɯ^{55}	finger	Dai Qingxia 1989p:132.
	la^{53} pu^{55}	fist	Dai Qingxia 1989p:139.
	la^{53} sə̃^{55}	fingernail	Dai Qingxia 1989p:138.
	la^{53} tsi̱^{53}	elbow; wrist	Dai Qingxia 1989p:129.; Dai Qingxia 1989p:131.
	la^{53}boŋ^{55}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.34
	la^{53}m̥i^{55}	pulse (wrist) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.34
	la^{53}pu^{55}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.34
	la^{53}sə̃^{33}	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.34
	la^{53}tsi̱^{53}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.34
	la^{53}tsi̱^{53}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.34
Nusu (Southern)	**lɔ̱^{31}** n̥ɯ^{55}	finger	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	lɔ̱^{31} põ^{55}	fist	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	lɔ̱^{31} ɹã^{55}	arm	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	lɔ̱^{31} ɹã^{55} t^{h}ã^{35}	elbow	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	lɔ̱^{53}	hand	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**lɑ̱^{53}**	hand	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	lɑ̱^{53} nu^{31}	fist	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	lɑ̱^{53} n̥ɯ^{55}	finger	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	lɑ̱^{53} s^{h}ə̃ˑ^{55}	nail	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	lɑ̱^{53} ɹɔ^{55} t^{h}ã^{35}	elbow	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ɹɔ^{35}** dõ^{55}	elbow	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ɹɔ^{55}**	arm	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ʔlɑ^{53}**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.45
	ʔlɑ^{53}	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.45
	ʔlɑ^{53}nu^{31}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.45
	ʔlɑ^{53}ɹɔ^{55}t^{h}ɑ̃^{55}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.45
Yi (Dafang)	do^{21} **la^{13}**	wing	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.22
	la^{13}	hand	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.22
	la^{13} bɯ^{21}	shoulder	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	la^{13} tsɭ^{33}	finger	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	la^{13} vu^{33}	arm (upper)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	la^{13} ɣɯ^{33}	arm (lower)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	la^{13}bɯ^{21}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.22
	la^{13}tsɭ^{33}	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.22
	la^{13}vu^{33}	arm (upper)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**la^{34}**vɭ^{33}	left (side)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	la^{34}ʑi^{33}	right (side)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lo^{55}	hand	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lo^{55}bu^{33}	palm (hand)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lo^{55}pi^{21}	callus, hand	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lo^{55}pi^{33}	ring (jewelry)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lo^{55}ʤɭ^{33}	hand deformity	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lo^{55}ʨo^{33}	handicapped hand	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lɛ^{34}va^{33}	hold (arm in arm)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬo^{21}bo^{21}	arm (body part); forearm	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Lishan)	**lɛ̱^{31}** p^{h}ɛ^{31}	hand	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	**lɐ̱^{21}**nɯ̱^{55}dɯ^{21}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.25
	lɐ̱^{21}pi^{55}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.25
	lɐ̱^{21}pu^{55}	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.25
	lɐ̱^{21}pu^{55}tshi̱^{33}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.25
	lɐ̱^{21}tʂi^{33}	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.25
	phʌ^{33}**lɐ̱^{21}**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.25
	ʈo^{33}**lɐ̱^{21}**	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.25
Yi (Mojiang)	do^{21}**lɐ̱^{21}**	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.26
	lɐ̱^{21}	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.26
	lɐ̱^{21}pe^{33}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.26
	lɐ̱^{21}po^{33}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.26
	lɐ̱^{21}pu̱^{33}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.26
	lɐ̱^{21}tsi^{55}	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.26
	lɐ̱^{21}tɕi̱^{21}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.26
	lɛ^{21}p^{h}u^{33}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.26
Yi (Nanhua)	du̱^{33}**lɐ̱^{21}**	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.37
	du̱^{33}**lɐ̱^{21}**	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.24
	lɐ̱^{21}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.37
	lɐ̱^{21}bu^{33}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.24
	lɐ̱^{21}ku^{33}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.37
	lɐ̱^{21}pɯ̱^{33}lɯ̱^{33}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.24
	lɐ̱^{21}tsi̱^{55}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.37
	lɐ̱^{21}tɕi̱^{55}mo^{33}di^{33}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.37
	lɐ̱^{21}ɣɯ^{21}	hand; elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.24; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.24
	lɐ̱^{21}n̥i^{33}	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.24
	lɐ̱^{21}ɤɯ^{21}pɑ^{33}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.37
Yi (Nanjian)	du̱^{55} **li̱^{21}**	wing	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	du̱^{55}**li̱^{21}**	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.23
	li̱^{21} phɑŋ^{21} dzɭ^{33}	shoulder	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	li̱^{21} p^{h}i̱^{21}	hand	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	li̱^{21} ɑo^{21} kaŋ^{21} tsɭ^{33}	arm	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	li̱^{21}phi̱^{33}	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.23
	li̱^{21}phaŋ^{21}dzɭ^{33}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.23
	li̱^{21}ɑo^{21}kɑŋ^{21}tsɭ^{33}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.23
Yi (Weishan)	du̱^{55}**lɪ̱^{21}**	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.36
	lɪ̱^{21}ku̱^{21}tshɭ^{55}n̥^{55}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.36
	lɪ̱^{21}o^{21}kuɛ^{21}tsɭ^{33}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.36
	lɪ̱^{21}pha^{21}tsɭ^{33}	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.36
	lɪ̱^{21}phi̱^{33}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.36
	lɪ̱^{21}tsɭ^{33}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.36
Yi (Wuding)	dv̩^{11}**lɑ̱^{55}**	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.38
	lɔ^{33}	scald / burn (the hand) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1662.38
	lɑ̱^{55}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.38
	lɑ̱^{55}mi^{33}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.38
	lɑ̱^{55}pe^{11}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.38
	lɑ̱^{55}pv̩^{33}tsu̱^{2}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.38
	lɑ̱^{55}ŋə^{11}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.38
Yi (Xide)	**la^{34}**-vɭ^{33}	left side	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	la^{34}-ʨi^{33}	right side	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	la^{44} vɭ^{33}	left (hand)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	la^{44} ʑi^{33}	right (hand)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	la^{44}vɭ^{33}	left	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:53.21
	la^{44}ʑi^{33}	right	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:54.21
	le^{34}bɑ^{33}	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.35
	le^{44} ba^{33}	shoulder	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.21
	lo^{55}	hand	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	lo^{55}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.35
	lo^{55}	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.21
	lo^{55} si^{33}	fingernail	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	lo^{55} tɕɭ^{33}	finger	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	lo^{55}-bu^{33}	palm	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	lo^{55}-bu^{33} kɯ^{21}-tɯ^{21}	back of hand	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	lo^{55}-mo^{21}	thumb	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	lo^{55}-si^{33}	fingernail	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	lo^{55}-tsɭ̄^{33}	wrist	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	lo^{55}-tɕɭ^{33}	finger	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	lo^{55}-ɣa^{21}-nɔ^{33}	elbow	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	lo^{55}pi^{33}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.35
	lo^{55}pi^{33}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.21
	lo^{55}tsɭ̄^{33}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.35
	lo^{55}tɕɭ^{33}	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.21
	lo^{55}ɣa^{21}nɔ^{33}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.21
	lo^{55}ɤɑ^{21}nɔ^{33}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.35
	lɑ^{34}ʑi^{33}	left; right (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.35
	lɛ^{34}-ba^{33}	shoulder	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vo^{55}-**lo^{55}**-ʂɯ^{33}	elbow	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vɭ^{21}-**lo^{55}**	left hand	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʨi^{21}-**lo^{55}**	right hand	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɬo^{21} bo^{21}	arm	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɬo^{21}-bo^{21} tɔ^{33}-sɭ^{33}	upper arm / wing	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɬo^{21}-bo^{21} tɔ^{33}-sɭ̄^{33}	arm	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɬo^{21}bo^{21}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.35
	ɬo^{21}bo^{21}tɔ^{33}sɭ̄^{33}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**le 22s**	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
Lolo (Ni)	**lè [p'è]**	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
Ahi	**le^{21}** lɛ^{22}	inner elbow / crook of elbow	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.4.2
	lɐ̱^{2}	hand	Chen Kang 1986a:82.
	lɐ̱^{21}	hand	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7; Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.7
	lɐ̱^{21} gu̱^{55}	wrist	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.6
	lɐ̱^{21} kʻɑ^{22}	back of hand	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.7.2
	lɐ̱^{21} nɯ̱^{55} dɯ^{21}	elbow	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.4
	lɐ̱^{21} nɯ̱^{55} ɣɯ^{21}	elbow bone	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.4.1
	lɐ̱^{21} pu^{55} tsʻi̱^{21}	fist	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.7.3
	lɐ̱^{21} si^{21}	nail	Luo Meizhen 1990:7.4
	lɐ̱^{21} si^{21} zo^{21}	fingernail	Luo Meizhen 1990:7.4.1
	lɐ̱^{21} vɑ^{55}	left hand	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.7.5
	lɐ̱^{21} ɣɯ^{21}	forearm / lower arm	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.5
	lɐ̱^{21} ʐu̱^{33}	right hand	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.7.4
	lɐ̱^{21}kha^{33}	back of hand	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.2
	lɐ̱^{21}nɯ̱^{55}dɯ^{21}	elbow	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.4
	lɐ̱^{21}nɯ̱^{55}dɯ^{21}ɣɯ^{21}	elbow bone	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.4.1
	lɐ̱^{21}pu^{55}tshɭ^{21}	fist	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.3
	lɐ̱^{21}tsɭ̄^{55}	wrist	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	lɐ̱^{21}va^{55}	left hand	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
	lɐ̱^{21}ɣɯ^{21}po^{55}	arm	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1
	lɐ̱^{21}ʐo̱^{33}	right hand	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4
	lie 44s ~ **li** 44s	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
	lieʔ^{44}pu^{55}	hand	Yuan Chia-hua 1953
	lieʔ^{44}pɤˤ^{44}	hand	Yuan Chia-hua 1953
	pʻɑ^{22} **lɐ̱^{21}**	arm	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1
	ʈo^{22} **lɐ̱^{21}**	wing (of bird); wing(of bird)	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.9; Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.9
Jinuo	**la^{33}**mɔ^{44}	right	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:54.34
	la^{33}mɔ^{55}	right (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.44
	la^{33}pu^{33}	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.34
	la^{33}thu^{33}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.34
	la^{33}tshɯ^{33}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.34
	la^{33}vu^{33}	left	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:53.34
Jinuo (Baka)	**la^{55}** k^{h}jø^{44}	palm	Dai Qingxia 1989i:133.1
	la^{55} mo^{33}	thumb	Dai Qingxia 1989i:136
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**la^{55}** mɔ^{55}	right	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1046
Jinuo (Baka)	**la^{55}** m̥o^{55}	right	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1046
	la^{55} ni^{55} li^{55}	little finger	Dai Qingxia 1989i:140
	la^{55} n̥v̩^{55}	finger	Dai Qingxia 1989i:135
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**la^{55}** pu^{44}	arm; hand	Dai Qingxia 1989h:131; Dai Qingxia 1989h:133.1
Jinuo (Baka)	**la^{55}** pv̩^{44}	arm; hand	Dai Qingxia 1989i:131; Dai Qingxia 1989i:133
	la^{55} sɯ^{44}	fingernail	Dai Qingxia 1989i:141
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**la^{55}** ts^{h}ɯ^{55}	elbow; wrist	Dai Qingxia 1989h:132; Dai Qingxia 1989h:134
Jinuo (Baka)	**la^{55}** ts^{h}ɯ^{55}	elbow	Dai Qingxia 1989i:132
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**la^{55}** t^{h}u^{31}	fist	Dai Qingxia 1989h:142
Jinuo (Baka)	**la^{55}** t^{h}v̩^{31}	fist	Dai Qingxia 1989i:142
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**la^{55}** vu^{55}	left	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1045
Jinuo (Baka)	**la^{55}** v̩^{55}	left	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1045
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**la^{55}** ɯ^{33}	hand	Dai Qingxia 1989h:133
Jinuo (Baka)	**la^{55}** ɯ^{44}	forearm	Dai Qingxia 1989i:131.1
Jinuo	**la^{55}**phu^{55}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.44
	la^{55}pu^{44}	arm; hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.44; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.44

	la^{55}sɯ^{44}	claw / talon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.44
	la^{55}sɤ^{44}	nail (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.44
	la^{55}thu^{42}	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.44
	la^{55}tshɯ^{55}	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.44
	la^{55}vu^{55}	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.44
	la^{55}ɤ^{44}	arm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**lɑ**^{33} m̥ɔ^{55}	right (side)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	lɑ^{55} pu^{44}	hand	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**lɑ**^{55} pu^{44}	hand	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**lɑ**^{55} sɤ^{44}	nail	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	lɑ^{55} vu^{55}	left	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	lɑ^{55} ɤ^{44}	arm	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	a^{31} ta^{31} **la**^{31} kv^{55}	wing	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	la31 fa33 pɔ35	left (side)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	la31 phi33 pa55	shoulder	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	la31 pi35	(finger) ring	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	la31 pv55	hand	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	la31 tɕhui31 phu33	fist	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	la31 ʑɛ31 pɔ35	right (side)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***la**ˆ	hand	Bradley 1979b:111
Lahu (Shehleh)	**la**ˆ hpeh:	shoulder	Bradley 1979a:107
Lahu (Nyi)	**la**ˆ k'a^{-} pui:	shoulder	Bradley 1979a:107
	laˆ meh: cwi:	elbow	Bradley 1979a:109
Lahu (Shehleh)	**la**ˆ ngeh˘	elbow	Bradley 1979a:109
Lahu (Nyi)	**la**ˆ tsuh^{-}	wrist	Bradley 1979a:110
Lahu (Shehleh)	**la**ˆ tsuh^{-}	wrist	Bradley 1979a:110
Lahu (Nyi)	taw: **la**ˆ k'u^{-}	wing	Bradley 1979a:83
Lahu (Shehleh)	taw: **la**ˆ k'u_	wing	Bradley 1979a:83
Lahu (Lancang)	**lɑ**^{21}di^{54}	pulse (wrist) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.43
	lɑ^{21}mɛ^{11}	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.43
	lɑ^{21}mɛ^{11}tɕu^{33}	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.43
	lɑ^{21}pe^{11}	ring (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.43
	lɑ^{21}qɑ^{35}	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.43
	lɑ^{21}tsi^{35}	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.43
	lɑ^{21}tsi^{54}pɯ^{33}	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.43
	lɑ^{21}ɣɔ^{53}	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.43
	lɑ^{21}ɕɛ^{33}	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.43
	lɑ^{21}ɕɑ^{33}	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.43
	tɔ^{21}**lɑ**^{21}qu^{35}	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.43
Lahu (Black)	**là?**	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
	là?-chî?	fist	Matisoff 1987
	là?-chî?-khɔ	knuckles (as they appear in clenched fist)	Matisoff 1987:3
	là?-chî?-pɨ	fist	Matisoff 1987
	là?-cɨ́	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	là?-dî?	pulse	Matisoff 1987
	là?-ma-pə̄	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	là?-mɛ̄	left hand	Matisoff 1985a:080
	là?-mɛ̄-cwi	wrist?	Matisoff 1987
	là?-nɔ	finger	Matisoff 1987
	là?-nɔ-cɛ́	finger (little)	Matisoff 1987
	là?-nɔ-cɨ́	knuckle	Matisoff 1987
	là?-nɔ-dà?	finger (ring)	Matisoff 1987
	là?-nɔ-jî	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	là?-pē	finger-ring	Matisoff 1985a:096
	là?-phɛ-qá	shoulder (Tlf)	Matisoff 1987
	là?-qá	shoulder area / arm's length	Matisoff 1987
	là?-qá-pɨ	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	là?-qɔ̄	whole arm (shoulder to wrist); narrow part of forearm where it joins the hand	Matisoff 1988a:1353
	là?-qɔ̄-lɛ̄	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	là?-šɛ̄-qú	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	là?-ŋɛ̄-cwi	wrist?	Matisoff 1987
	la?^{21} di?^{54}	pulse	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	la?^{21} mɛ^{31}	left	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	la?^{21} qa^{35}	shoulder	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	la?^{21} sa^{33}	right (side)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	la?^{21} sɛ^{33}	hand	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	la?^{21} ɣɔ^{53}	arm	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	laˆ sheh:	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
	là?-pɔ̄ ~ **là?**-pwɛ̄	segment of the arm; forearm; upper arm	Matisoff 1988a:p. 1358
	là?-šɛ	hand	Matisoff 1988a:1360-1
	lʌ^{21}mɛ^{31}phɔ^{53}	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.33
	lʌ^{21}pe^{31}	ring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:375.33
	lʌ^{21}qʌ^{35}	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.33
	lʌ^{21}sɛ^{33}	hand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.33
	lʌ^{21}sʌ^{33}phɔ^{53}	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.33
	lʌ^{21}tshŋ^{54}pə^{33}	fist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:252.33
	lʌ^{31}mɛ^{11}tsu^{33}	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.33
	lʌ^{31}ɣɔ^{53}	arm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.33
	phɨ-qhê-**là?**-nɔ	finger (index)	Matisoff 1987
	tō-**là?**-qú ~ tɔ̄-**là?**-qú	wing	Matisoff 1988a:640
	tɔ^{31} **la?**^{21} kɣ^{35}	wing	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tɔ^{31}**lʌ**^{31}ku^{35}	wing	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**là?**-fā	left hand	Matisoff 1985a:080
	là?-vɛ̄-ɔ̄	left hand	Matisoff 1985a:080
	la?^{21} fa?^{21}	left	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	la?^{21} p^{h}e^{33}	shoulder	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	la?^{21} qɔ^{31}	hand	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	la?^{21} ɣɔ^{55}	arm	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	la?^{21} ʑɔ^{55}	right (side)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	la^{5}pe^{5}	ring	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	la^{5}tɕhɛ^{1}	pestle (hand)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} tu^{31} **la?**^{21} qa^{35}	wing	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	aw˘ to: **la**ˆ	wing	Bradley 1979a:83
	laˆ hpe:	shoulder	Bradley 1979a:107
	laˆ k'aw:	hand	Bradley 1979a:111
	laˆ tsuh^{-}	elbow	Bradley 1979a:109
	laˆ tu^{-}k'u_	wrist	Bradley 1979a:110
Lahu (Banlan)	**la**ˆ boˆ	shoulder	Bradley 1979a:107
	laˆ g'uh˘	arm	Bradley 1979a:108
	laˆ ho:	hand	Bradley 1979a:111
	laˆ kuh: leh˘	wrist	Bradley 1979a:110
	laˆ tsuh^{-}	elbow	Bradley 1979a:109
	taw: **la**ˆ ku_	wing	Bradley 1979a:83
Lisu (Central)	(**lá**^{6})-ja^{3}	right (hand side)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	bi^{44}hĩ^{33} du^{33}**læ?**^{21}	wing of aeroplane	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	bjø^{44}hĩ^{33} du^{33}**læ?**^{21}	wing of aeroplane	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	du^{33}**læ?**^{21}	wing (N.)	Bradley 1994
	du^{33}**læ?**^{21}mu^{33}	feather, plume	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	du̱^{44} **lɛ̱**^{42}	wing	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Central)	du^{4}-**lá**^{6}	wing	Fraser 1922
Lisu	du^{4}**la**^{6}	wing	Bradley 1979b:83
	e^{55}du^{44}**lɛ**^{41}	wing	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.27
	là	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
Lisu (Northern)	**la**^{21}du?^{21}tɔ^{35}	shoulder a pole (V.)	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}dʑæ^{33}	shoulder bag (N.)	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ti^{33}	skilled; old hand (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**lá**^{6}-hpá^{2}	hand	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**lá**^{6}-hprgh^{4}	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**lá**^{6}-hprgh^{4}	arm; shoulder	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922 [a]
	lá^{6}-kwa^{3}	palm (of hand)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**lā**^{6}-ma	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	lá^{6}-nyi^{3}	finger	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**lá**^{6}-pū^{2}	fist	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**Lá**^{6}-rgh^{1}	left	Matisoff 1985a:080
Lisu (Central)	**lá**^{6}-rgh^{1}	left (hand)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**lā**^{6}-tsï^{3}	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	lá^{6}-tsï^{3}	wrist	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**lá**^{6}-tsï^{3}	wrist (n.)	Fraser 1922
	lá^{6}-tsï^{3}	elbow	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**lá**^{6}du^{5}hku^{4}	armpit	Bradley 1979b:116A
	lá^{6}hpá^{2}	hand	Bradley 1979b:111
	lá^{6}hprgh^{4}	shoulder; arm	Bradley 1979b:107; Bradley 1979b:108
	lá^{6}ja^{3}	right	Bradley 1979b:445A
	lá^{6}kwa^{3}	palm	Bradley 1979b:112
	lá^{6}ma^{3}	thumb	Bradley 1979b:114
	lá^{6}nyi^{3}	finger	Bradley 1979b:113
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**lá**^{6}nyi^{3}	finger / forefinger	Luce 1985:V.45
Lisu	**lá**^{6}rgh^{1}	left	Bradley 1979b:446A
	lá^{6}tsï^{3}	elbow; wrist	Bradley 1979b:109; Bradley 1979b:110
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**la**^{6} [hpa^{2}]	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
Lisu	**lia 11**	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
Lisu (Northern)	**læ?**^{21}	arm, hand (first syllable in many compounds) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}dzɔ^{33}	shoulder joint	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}dɔʔ^{21}	use too much force (with hand)	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}fu^{33}	use too much force (with hand)	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}jæ^{33}	right hand	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}jæ^{33} hɤ^{55}je^{33}	right opportunism	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}ku^{33}	numb hand	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}kɔ^{55}	stiff hand	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}li^{35}	slip through hand	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}ly^{55}	slip through hand	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}lɔ^{44}	use little force (with hand); relaxed and happy	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}**lɔ**^{44}**lɔ**^{44}	give a free hand	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}me?^{21}	wave hand (v.)	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}mi^{21}	hand work; job	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**læ?**^{21}mjø^{21}	hand work; job	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**læ?**^{21}mɤ^{33}	pulse	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}mɤ^{33} tshi^{55}	feel the pulse; try to find out one's opinion; probe	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}mɤ^{33} zø^{21}	feel pulse	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}ni^{33} tɕɤ^{55}	crevice between fingers	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}ny^{33}	fist	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}phæ^{35}	hand	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}phæ^{35} thi^{21} ba^{21}	hand	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}phæ^{35} tsa^{55}	shake hand	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}phæ^{35} ŋɔ^{33}mi^{44}	land dug by hand	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}phæ^{35}ɤ^{35}	swing hand; conduct singing by swinging hands	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}phɤ^{33}	shoulder	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}phɤ^{33} nɔ^{55}du^{33}	shoulder pad	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}phɤ^{33}phi^{21}	shoulder blade	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}pu^{55}	sweat on hand (palms wet and sweaty)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**læ?**^{21}py^{35}ny^{33}	fist	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**læ?**^{21}py^{35}nɔ^{33}	fist	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}se^{33}	shoulder	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}tsi^{55}	wrist; elbow joint	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}tsi^{55} thi^{21}gɔʔ^{21}	length starting from the webbing between thumb and index finger, going round the elbow and then coming back to the starting point)	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}tsi^{55} thi^{21}tɔ^{35}	length between elbow and fist; cf. læ?^{21}tsi^{55}	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**læ?**^{21}tɕø^{55}	crevice between fingers	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**læ?**^{21}tɕɔ^{55}	at hand; centre of palm	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}tɕɔ^{55}kwa^{33}	in the hand; under	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}tɕɤ^{55}	crevice between fingers	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}vy^{21}	arm	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}wa^{33} dzɤ^{33}su^{33}	dab hand	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}ɲɔ^{21}	swift (hand)	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}ɕa^{55}	shoulder bag	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}ɕe^{55}	numb hand	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}ɤ^{55}	left hand; left; monkey	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}ɤ^{55} dʑɔ^{33}je^{33}	left opportunism	Bradley 1994
	læ?^{21}ɤ^{55} hɤ^{55}je^{33}	left deviation	Bradley 1994

[a] Literally "dogshit finger", so called because of its size and shape.

[a] The trigraph **-rgh** was described by Fraser as representing "the sound of involuntary retching", and seems to have represented the high central vowel **ɨ**.

	læʔ^{21}ɤ^{55}ba^{21}	left hand side	Bradley 1994
	læʔ^{21}ɤ^{55}pha^{21}	left handed	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	**lɛ^{3}**	hand	Luce 1985:U.33
Lisu (Nujiang)	**lɛ^{31}** pu^{35} nọ^{44}	fist	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
	lɛ^{31} p^{h}ɛ^{35}	hand	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
	lɛ^{31} p^{h}ɯ^{33}	shoulder	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
	lɛ^{31} se^{31}	claw	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
	lɛ^{31} tsɻ^{55}	elbow	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**lɛ^{31}**pu^{35}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.27
	lɛ^{31}p^{h}ɛ^{35}	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.27
	lɛ^{31}p^{h}ɯ^{44}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.27
	lɛ^{31}tsɻ^{55}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.27
	lɛ^{31}ɣɯ^{55}	left	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:53.27
	lɛ^{31}ʒɛ^{44}	right	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:54.27
	lɛ̱^{31}mɯ̱^{33}	pulse (wrist) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.40
	lɛ̱^{31}phɛ^{35}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.40
	lɛ̱^{31}phɯ^{33}	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.40
	lɛ̱^{31}pu^{35}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.40
	lɛ̱^{31}tsi^{55}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.40
	lɛ̱^{31}tsi^{55}ɡi̱^{31}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.40
	lɛ̱^{31}vu^{31}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.40
	lɛ̱^{31}ɯ^{55}	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.40
	lɛ̱^{31}ʑɛ̱^{33}	right (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**lɛ̱^{42}** ɣɯ^{55} tʃ^{h}e^{31}	left	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
	lɛ̱^{42} ʒɛ̱^{44} tʃ^{h}e^{31}	right (side)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**lɛ^{5}**-phɛ^{2}	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
Sani [Nyi]	**la 21**	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
	le^{2}	hand	Chen Kang 1986a:82.
Yi (Sani)	**le^{2}**khʏ̣^{11}tshʐ̱^{44}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.39
	le^{2}me^{33}	pulse (wrist) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.39
	le^{2}phe^{44}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.39
	le^{2}pʐ̱^{55}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.39
	le^{2}tshɤ^{33}	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.39
Sani [Nyi]	**le^{22}**læ^{33}tshi^{44}	wrist	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	le^{22}mɤ^{22}	pulse	Chen Kang 1986b:9.3.2
	le^{22}n̩^{55}	elbow	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.4
	le^{22}n̩^{55}ɣɯ^{21}	elbow bone	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.4.1
	le^{22}phe^{44}	hand	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7
	le^{22}qhu^{21}tshi^{44}	fist	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.3
	le^{22}tɕhæ^{33}	back of hand	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.2
	le^{22}væ^{55}	left hand	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
	le^{22}ɣɯ^{21}pu^{55}	arm	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1
	le^{22}ʐɑ^{55}	right hand	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4
	le^{21} kɤ^{55}	palm of hand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:121.2
	le^{21} mɤ^{21}	pulse	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:120.3
	le^{21} p^{h}e^{33} ɬo̱^{44} p^{h}u̱^{44} mɑ^{33} tɑ^{33}	have a blister on hand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:120.2
	le^{21}(phe^{33})	hand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le^{21}lɛ^{33}tshi̱^{33}	wrist	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le^{21}mɤ^{21}	pulse	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le^{21}ni^{55}	elbow	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le^{21}qhu^{21}tshi̱^{33}	fist	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le^{21}tɕhɛ^{33}	back of hand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le^{21}vɛ^{55}	left hand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le^{21}ɣɯ^{21}pu^{55}	arm, forearm	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le^{21}zɒ^{55}	right hand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**le^{2}**ɣɯ^{11} le^{2}n̩^{55}	arm (forearm and postbrachium) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.39
Sani [Nyi]	**le̱^{22}** k^{h}ʏ̣^{11} ts^{h}ɻ̱^{44}	fist	Ma Xueliang 1989:350.5
	le̱^{22} n̩^{55}	upper arm	Ma Xueliang 1989:362.3.
	le̱^{22} p^{h}e^{44}	hand	Ma Xueliang 1989:362.10.
	le̱^{22} tʂɻ^{44} mɑ^{33}	thumb	Ma Xueliang 1989:362.12.
	le̱^{22} væ^{55}	left hand	Ma Xueliang 1989:362.14.
	le̱^{22} zɑ^{55}	right hand	Ma Xueliang 1989:362.15.
	tu^{33}**le^{22}**	wing(of bird)	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.9
	tu^{33}**le^{21}**	wing	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʏ̣^{33} **le̱^{22}**	wing	Ma Xueliang 1989:362.4.
Yi (Sani)	tʏ̣^{33}**le^{2}**	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ɬi^{21}**du^{21}	arm	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	zɒ^{55}**le^{21}**	right hand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	à **làq**	hand	Hansson 1989:482
Akha (Yunnan)	à **làq**	hand	Hansson 1989:482
	à **làq làq** ɣà	palm of hand	Hansson 1989:102
Akha	**la LS**	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
	la-o LS-LS ~ LS-HS	lower side / below	Matisoff 1972b:173
	làq	hand	Hansson 1989:482
Akha (Yunnan)	**làq** bjaq	shoulder	Hansson 1989:472
	làq kɔq	lines of hand	Hansson 1989:543
	làq mjáq	branch / knot in wood	Hansson 1989:481
	làq nǒ	finger	Hansson 1989:354
	làq og phɔ	below	Hansson 1989:503
	làq tsỳq	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
Akha (Thai)	**làq** zà	palm of hand	Hansson 1989:102
Akha (Yunnan)	**làq** ɣà	inside of hand	Hansson 1989:553
Akha	**làq**-bɛ̀	finger-ring	Matisoff 1985a:096
Akha (Thai)	**làq**-kɔq	lines of hand	Hansson 1989:543
	làq-nǒ	finger	Hansson 1989:354
	làq-tsỳq	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
	làq-xɔq	inside of hand	Hansson 1989:553
Akha	**laʔ^{31}** beh^{31}	finger-ring	Matisoff 1985a:096
	laˆ du	forearm (up to the elbow)	Lewis 1989:264
	laˆ ma (ma)	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	laˆ noeˇ	finger	Lewis 1989
	laˆ puˇ	hand (esp. back of hand)	Lewis 1989:268
	laˆ sahˬ (sahˬ)	talon; claw	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	laˆ tsuiˆ (tsuiˆ)	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	mehˬ luˬ **la**ˆ oˆ pyawˬ	lip (lower)	Lewis 1989
Bisu	**la 33**	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
	là lɯ̀ŋ	arm	Bradley 1979b
	là pù	hand	Bradley 1979b
	là tshɯ̀	wrist	Bradley 1979b
	là tshɯ̀ tɔŋ	elbow	Bradley 1979b
	là hɲúŋ	finger	Bradley 199x
	là hɲùŋ	fingers	Beaudouin 1988:14
	la khì	feet (animal)	Beaudouin 1988:2
	là khì khì kjú	ankle	Beaudouin 1988:13
	là khì lá ba	big toe	Beaudouin 1988:13
	là khì **lá** hɲuŋ	toe	Beaudouin 1988:16
	là khì mɛ́ hnɨ	tibia	Beaudouin 1988:15 [a]
	là lìŋ	arm	Beaudouin 1988:13
	là mɔ̀ŋ	bottom of the hand; wrist	Beaudouin 1988:13; Beaudouin 1988:16
	là pò	hand	Bradley 199x
	là pù	hand	Beaudouin 1988:14
	là sì tɔŋ	elbow	Beaudouin 1988:13
	là tshù	fist	Beaudouin 1988:14
	là ts^{h}ù̱ tɔ̀ŋ	elbow	Bradley 199x
	là wà	palm of hand; palm of the hand	Bradley 199x; Beaudouin 1988:15
Hani (Lüchun)	a **làq**	hand	Hansson 1989:482
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{31} **la̱^{31}**	hand	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.31
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**la 21c**	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
Hani (Lüchun)	**là** njö	finger	Hansson 1989:354
	la tsə̀q ?	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
Hani (Hu T'an)	**lá6**	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
Hani (Lüchun)	**làq** koq	lines of hand	Hansson 1989:543
	làq xoq	palm of hand; inside of hand	Hansson 1989:102; Hansson 1989:553
Hani (Dazhai)	**la̱^{31}** kọ^{33}	fingerprint	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} lo^{33}	arm	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} nø^{55}	finger	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} sɔ^{31}	fingernail	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} u̱^{31} xɔ^{31}	armpit	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31}lo^{33}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.31
	la̱^{31}tsɻ̄^{31}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.31
	la̱^{31}tu̱^{33}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.31
Hani (Lüchun)	a^{31}**la̱^{31}**	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.41
	la^{31}du^{33}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.41
	la^{31}gu^{31}	pulse (wrist) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.41
	la^{31}lo^{33}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.41
	la^{31}phu^{55}**la^{31}**tsɻ̄^{31}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.41
	la^{31}tu̱^{33}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.41
	la̱^{31}bjɛ̱^{33} bjɛ̱^{33}	numb, be (hand) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.41
	la̱^{31}so̱^{33}so̱^{33}	put one's hand on (sthg.) for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1327.41
Hani (Pijo)	à **làq**	hand	Hansson 1989:482
Hani (Caiyuan)	a^{31} **la̱^{31}**	hand	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.30
Hani (Pijo)	**làq**	hand	Hansson 1989:482
	làq khý	lines of hand	Hansson 1989:543
	làq khɛ	palm of hand	Hansson 1989:102
	làq kjhe	inside of hand	Hansson 1989:553
	làq mèq	left (hand)	Hansson 1989:24
	làq njí	finger	Hansson 1989:354
	làq tshì	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
Hani (Caiyuan)	**la̱^{31}** k^{h}ɤ^{33}	fingerprint	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} me̱^{31}	left	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} p^{h}u^{55}	arm	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} sɻ^{31}	fingernail	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} t^{h}a̱^{31}	right (side)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} n̥i^{55}	finger	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31}me̱^{31}pa^{33}	left	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:53.30
	la̱^{31}phʏ̣^{55}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.30
	la̱^{31}tha^{31}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.30
	la̱^{31}tha̱^{31}pa^{33}	right	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:54.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	a^{31} **la̱^{31}**	hand	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} kɔ̱^{33}	fingerprint	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} lɔ^{33}	arm	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} nø^{55}	finger	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} o^{31} **la̱^{31}** t^{h}aŋ^{31}	armpit	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̱^{31} saŋ^{31}	fingernail	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	aq **lavq**	hand	Hansson 1989:482
Hani (Shuikui)	a^{31} **la^{31}**	hand	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Haoni	a^{31}**la^{31}**	hand	Hansson 1989:482
Hani (Shuikui)	a^{31}**la^{31}**	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**lavq** gov	lines of hand	Hansson 1989:543
	lavq hhaq	palm of hand	Hansson 1989:102
	lavq hov	inside of hand	Hansson 1989:553
	lavq nyul	finger	Hansson 1989:354
	lavq zivq	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
Hani (Shuikui)	**la^{31}** k^{h}o^{33}	fingerprint	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la^{31} su^{31}	fingernail	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la^{31} tʏ̣^{55}	arm	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la^{31} n̥i^{55}	finger	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la^{31}pa^{33}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.32
	la^{31}tʏ̣^{55}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.32
Hani (Wordlist)	qal **lavq**	left (hand)	Hansson 1989:24
Hani (Khatu)	à **là**	hand	Hansson 1989:482
	là	hand	Hansson 1989:482
	là khý	lines of hand	Hansson 1989:543
	làq mjè	left (hand)	Hansson 1989:24
	làq njí	finger	Hansson 1989:354
	làq tjhe	inside of hand	Hansson 1989:553
	làq tjhɛ	palm of hand	Hansson 1989:102
	làq tshə̀	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
	làq tú	wing	Hansson 1989:416
Hani (Mojiang)	a^{31}**la^{31}**	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.42

[a] Note that Beaudouin glosses this form as 'tibia', but **mɛ-hnɨ** (with different tone on first morpheme) is 'eye', which suggests the long form should mean 'ankle', not 'tibia'. (Note Bradley has **mè-hnɨ** 'eye' and *LTSR* has **mè-hnū** 'eye'.)

	la^{31}ky̩^{31}	pulse (wrist) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.42
	la^{31}thy̠^{33}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.42
	la^{31}tshʅ̄^{31}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.42
	la^{31}ty̩^{55}	arm; elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.42; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.42
Mpi	**la**^{2}-ʔoʔ^{2}	left	Matisoff 1985a
	lɑ^{2}khweʔ^{2}	palm of the hand / classifier for palms of hands	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	lɑ^{2}kwi^{2}	fist / classifier for fists	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	lɑ^{2}mo^{6}	right-hand side	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	lɑ^{2}phu^{6}	hand	Bradley 1979b; Hansson 1989:482; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	lɑ^{2}phu^{6}weʔ^{4}leʔ^{4}	wrist	Bradley 1979b
	lɑ^{2}wo^{2}weʔ^{3}	beckon (to) / summon (a person) by waving one's hand	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	lɑ^{2}ʔoʔ^{2}	left-hand side	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	lɑ^{2}ʔɯ^{2}	arm; classifier for arms	Bradley 1979b; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**là**/**lə̆** sùp	hand	Bradley 1979b [a]
	lə̆ hyã́	finger	Matisoff 1987
	lə̆ khɔ (**là** linh)	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	lə̆ ko	wrist	Bradley 1979b
	lə̆ pù	arm	Bradley 1979b
	lə̆ pu^{11}	arm	Bradley 1977
	lə̆ shi ton	elbow	Bradley 1979b
	lə̆ sup^{11}	fist	Bradley 1977
	lə̆ s^{h}i^{33} ton^{33}	elbow	Bradley 1977
	lə̆ shi ton	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	lɑ^{11}	hand	Bradley 1977
	lɑ^{11} kɑm^{33}	left	Bradley 1977
	l^{ə} kho^{55}	back of hand	Ferlus 1991:6.1.7.2
	l^{ə} va^{31} t^{ə}phja^{31}	back of hand	Ferlus 1991:6.1.7.2
	l^{ə} ʔum^{31}	arm muscles / biceps	Ferlus 1991:6.1.3
Pyen	**la33** chai45	left-hand	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131113
	la33 ma45	right-hand	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131112
	la33 pu31	hand	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131111
	la33 pu31 chi45	wash hand (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:133039
	la33 pu31 chia45	raise the hand (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:132059
Sangkong	aŋ^{33} **la̱**^{31}	handarm	Li Yongsui 1991
	la^{31} ta^{31} qe^{31} le^{55}	armpit	Li Yongsui 1991
	la̱^{31} nuŋ^{55}	finger	Li Yongsui 1991
	la̱^{31} sɯŋ^{31}	fingernail	Li Yongsui 1991
	la̱^{31} toŋ^{31} tshʅ̠^{31}c	elbow	Li Yongsui 1991
	la̱^{31} tshu̠^{33}	fist	Li Yongsui 1991
Sila	**la̰21** bu21	hand	Kato Takashi 2008:20
	la̰21 mɔ55	right-hand	Kato Takashi 2008:21
	la̰21 tshɯ̰21	elbow	Kato Takashi 2008:24
	la̰21 ṵ21	left-hand	Kato Takashi 2008:22
	la̰21 ɯ21	arm	Kato Takashi 2008:23
Ugong	**lɔ́ʔ** khɛ́ʔ wú	shoulder blade / scapula	Bradley 1993:5.3.1
	lɔ̆ʔ phɔ́	hand	Bradley 1993:6.1.7
	lɔ̆ʔ sɔ́ʔ	wrist	Bradley 1993:6.1.6
	lɔ̆ʔ sə̀k	knuckle (joint of digit)	Bradley 1993:7.3
	lɔ̆ʔ thúŋ	elbow	Bradley 1993:6.1.4
	lɔ̆ʔ ʂuk	fist	Bradley 1993:6.1.7.3
	lɔ̆ʔ phə̂ŋ	arm	Bradley 1993:6.1
	lɛ̆ʔ-khɛʔ(bə̌ŋ) / lɔ̆ʔ	shoulder	Bradley 1993:5.3
Woni	**la 55c**	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
	la^{33}ni^{55}	hand	Yuan Chia-hua 1947

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**lɛ**^{22}k^{h}a^{21}	back of hand	Pelkey 2011:277
	lɛ^{22}ni̠^{45}pɔ^{22}	elbow	Pelkey 2011:280
	lɛ^{22}pi̠^{45}	ring (for finger)	Pelkey 2011:448
	lɛ^{22}p^{h}ɛ^{33}	hand	Pelkey 2011:275
	lɛ^{22}ʂa^{33}	palm (of hand)	Pelkey 2011:278
	lɛ^{22}ʑy^{22}	hand/arm; arm	Pelkey 2011:274; Pelkey 2011:276
	lɛ^{22}ts^{h}i^{22}	wrist	Pelkey 2011:279
Southern Muji	**ljɛ**^{21}	hand/arm	Pelkey 2011:274
	ljɛ^{21}o^{21}pɯ^{55}	arm	Pelkey 2011:276
	ljɛ^{21}pi^{33}	ring (for finger)	Pelkey 2011:448
	ljɛ^{21}tə^{21}	palm (of hand)	Pelkey 2011:278
	ljɛ^{21}n̥i^{55}kɯ^{21}tsa^{21}	elbow	Pelkey 2011:280
	ljɛ^{21}ɬa^{55}	hand	Pelkey 2011:275
	ljɛ^{21}ɬa^{55}n̥i^{55}tɯ^{33}	back of hand	Pelkey 2011:277
Phola	**lɑ**^{33}pɛ̠^{23}	ring (for finger)	Pelkey 2011:448
	lɑ̠^{33}	hand/arm	Pelkey 2011:274
	lɑ̠^{33}li̠^{55}	hand	Pelkey 2011:275
	lɑ̠^{33}mi̠^{31}qɔ^{33}	elbow	Pelkey 2011:280
	lɑ̠^{33}nu̠^{23}	back of hand	Pelkey 2011:277
	lɑ̠^{33}p^{h}i^{33}mɔ̠^{23}	palm (of hand)	Pelkey 2011:278
	lɑ̠^{33}ɣɯ^{31}pɔ^{33}	arm	Pelkey 2011:276
	lɑ̠^{33}tɕi̠^{31}	wrist	Pelkey 2011:279
Hlepho Phowa	**lɛ**^{33}	hand	Pelkey 2011:275
	lɛ^{33}fa^{55}	palm (of hand)	Pelkey 2011:278
	lɛ^{33}nɔ^{33}	back of hand	Pelkey 2011:277
	lɛ^{33}n̩^{55}	elbow	Pelkey 2011:280
	lɛ^{33}pi^{55}	ring (for finger)	Pelkey 2011:448
	lɛ^{33}pə^{55}	hand/arm	Pelkey 2011:274
	lɛ^{33}vɯ^{21}	arm	Pelkey 2011:276
	lɛ^{33}tsʅ^{21}	wrist	Pelkey 2011:279
Phuza	**li**^{55}	hand/arm; hand	Pelkey 2011:274; Pelkey 2011:275
	li^{55}bji^{33}	ring (for finger)	Pelkey 2011:448
	li^{55}bɯ^{31}	arm	Pelkey 2011:276
	li^{55}fa^{33}	palm (of hand)	Pelkey 2011:278
	li^{55}**fɛ**^{33}**p**^{h}**i**^{55}	left	Pelkey 2011:1111
	li^{55}pɛ^{33}	back of hand	Pelkey 2011:277
	li^{55}**za**^{31}**p**^{h}**i**^{55}	right	Pelkey 2011:1112
	li^{55}tsi^{13}	wrist; elbow	Pelkey 2011:279; Pelkey 2011:280

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**lɑ**˩bu˩lv˥	forearm	Michaud 2006–2009:387
	lɑ˩bu˩lv˥ ʂɯ˥nɑ˥	biceps	Michaud 2006–2009:358
	lɑ˩dʑy˩	bracelet	Michaud 2006–2009:945
	lɑ˩gv˩	back of the hand	Michaud 2006–2009:396
	lɑ˩kv˩ʈv˩	fist	Michaud 2006–2009:397
	lɑ˩kwɤ˩ɬie˩gv˥tɕi˥	palm of the hand	Michaud 2006–2009:393
	lɑ˩p^{h}ie˩	arm	Michaud 2006–2009:385
	lɑ˩**p**^{h}**ie**˩ læ˧gv˥	lines of the hand	Michaud 2006–2009:395
	lɑ˩p^{h}ie˩ **lɑ**˩gv˩	back of the hand	Michaud 2006–2009:396
	lɑ˩p^{h}ie˩tsɑ˧qæ˥	inside of the elbow	Michaud 2006–2009:390
	lɑ˩tsɯ˩	wrist	Michaud 2006–2009:398
	lɑ˩tu˩	elbow	Michaud 2006–2009:389
	lɑ˩ɲi˩	finger	Michaud 2006–2009:399
	lɑ˩ɲi˩ ɑ˧mie˧	thumb	Michaud 2006–2009:400
	lɑ˩ʈʂɯ˩	nail; claws, talons of birds	Michaud 2006–2009:407
	lɑ˩ʈʂ^{h}v˩	scarf, kerchief	Michaud 2006–2009:904
	lɑ˩ʈ^{h}ɯ˩	ring	Michaud 2006–2009:944
Moso	**la**^{11}	hand	Li Lin-ts'an *et al.* 1967
Na (Yongning)	**lo**˧ɖʐɤ˩	hand instrument with 3 spikes, to loosen the soil	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˧ɲi˥	finger	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˩-gv˧dv˧	back of the hand	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˩bɤ˩	palm of the hand	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˩dʑu˨	bracelet	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˩mi˧	thumb	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˩mi˧qɑ˩	space between thumb and index finger	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˩mi˧ʁɑ˧	space between thumb and index finger	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˩pv˦	ring	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˩q^{h}wɤ˧	arm	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˩ʈv˧	fist	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˩ʈʂæ˦	upper part of the arm	Michaud 2006–2009
	lo˩ʈ^{h}ɯ˧	elbow	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**lo**^{33}kuəɹ^{55}tʂhəɹ^{33}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.29
	lo^{33}n̥i^{55}	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**lo**^{31}bv^{55}lʅ^{33}	arm	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**lo**^{31}bv^{55}lʅ^{33}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.29
	lo^{31}dʑu^{55}	bracelet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:373.29
	lo^{31}khuɑ^{13}	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**lo**^{31}ko^{55}	armpit	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
	lo^{31}k^{h}uɑ^{33}	hand	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**lo**^{31}pv^{13}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.29
	lo^{31}tuəɹ^{55}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**lo**^{31}n̥i^{55}	finger	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**lɑ**^{21}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.45
	lɑ^{21}dzʅ^{21}ky̩^{55}	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.45
	lɑ^{21}dʑy^{21}	bracelet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0487.45
	lɑ^{21}ko^{55}	armpit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0092.45
	lɑ^{21}lu^{33}	load of cupped-hands (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0878.45
	lɑ^{21}ly^{33}	finger (middle) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0111.45
	lɑ^{21}me^{33}	thumb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0110.45
	lɑ^{21}mɯ^{55}thy̩^{21}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.45
	lɑ^{21}phi^{21}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.45
	lɑ^{21}py̩^{55}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.45
	lɑ^{21}tʂhə˞^{55}	gun / rifle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0635.45
	lɑ^{21}tʂhə˞^{55}n̥i^{21}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.45
	lɑ^{21}y^{55}kho^{33}	sleeve (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0469.45
Naxi (Western)	**lɑ**^{33}dzɯ^{31}kv^{55}	fingernail	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lɑ**^{33}dzɯ^{31}kv^{55}	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.28
Naxi	**lɑ**^{33}n̥i^{21}	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lɑ**^{33}n̥i^{31}lɑ^{31}me^{33}	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.28
Naxi (Western)	**lɑ**^{31}	hand	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lɑ**^{31}	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.28
	lɑ^{31}dʑy^{31}	bracelet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:373.28
Naxi (Western)	**lɑ**^{31}ko^{55}	armpit	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lɑ**^{31}ko^{55}	armpit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:265.28
	lɑ^{31}mɯ^{55}t^{h}v^{31}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.28
	lɑ^{31}phi^{31}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.28
	lɑ^{31}pəɹ^{55}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.28
Naxi (Western)	**lɑ**^{31}p^{h}i^{31}	arm	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lɑ**^{31}tʂhəɹ^{55}	gun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:423.28
	lɑ^{31}tʂhəɹ^{55}dʑy^{31}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.28
	lɑ^{31}ʑu^{55}kho^{33}	sleeve	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:377.28
Naxi (Western)	**lɑ**^{55}n̥i^{31}	finger	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**lo**^{21}ji^{33}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.37
	lo̠^{21} ji^{33}	wing	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**lo̠**^{21}	hand	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**li̯ək**/**li̯ək**	strong, strength, force	Karlgren 1957:925a-b

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**lih** liahng	strength	Sun 1985b:277
	lì qì	strength	Evans *et al.* 1991

[a] The final consonant in Phunoi **sùp** has perhaps assimilated to the preceding vowel.

Chinese comparandum

力 OC ***li̯ək**, *GSR* #928a-b 'sinew, strength, force, power'; Li 1971: **(*ljək)**; Baxter 1992 #1314: ***C-rjɨk**; B & S 2011: ***k.rək**; Schuessler 2007:351; Mand. **lì**.

仂 OC ***lək, *****li̯ək**, *GSR* #928c 'a tenth'; Li 1971: **(*lək, ljək)**; Baxter 1992 #1315: ***C-rɨk, C-rjɨk**; B & S 2011: **(* [r] ˤək, [r] ək)**; Schuessler 2007:349-350; Mand. **lè**.

扐 OC ***lək**, *GSR* #928d 'space between fingers'; Li 1971: **(*lək)**; Baxter 1992 #1315: ***C-rɨk**; B & S 2011: **(* [r] ˤək)**; Schuessler 2007:349-350; Mand. **lè**.

The graph seems to depict an arm with a hand. Also, in the same phonetic series, 仂 OC ***lək ⪤ li̯ək**, *GSR* #928c 'a tenth' (from the 10 fingers); Mand. **lè**, and 扐 OC ***lək**, *GSR* #928d 'space between the fingers' (where divination sticks were inserted); Mand. **lè**.

For a similar semantic association, cf. Japanese **ude** 'arm' and te 'hand', which may often be used in the sense of 'ability, competence, skill'.

ZJH: Handel 2009:133-4 considers Chinese 亦 'armpit' **yì** and 翼 'wing' **yì**, both with OC *lateral initial, to be the most direct cognates to the basic PTB root ***lak**, while 力 **lì** with initial ***r-** is probably a more distantly related member of the Chinese word family. See PTB ***yak** ARM / HAND / ARMPIT / TICKLE (§1.5.1) and PTB ***d-yak** HAND / ARM / LEAF (§1.5.1) for more details.

SPB: Note that Schuessler (2007:349-50) considers 仂 **lè** and 扐 **lè** to be unrelated etymologically to 力 'strength' **lì**; he considers them to derive from a basic sense of 'vein (in soil)', and thus connects them to 理/里 'cut in a regular way, divide into even sections' (cf. ***li̯əg**, *GSR* #978a,d; Mand. **lǐ**).

(1b) PTB *yak ARM / HAND / ARMPIT / TICKLE

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	bu^{55} **jɑ**^{35}	fist	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	bu^{55}**jɑ**^{35}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.22
	bu^{55}**jɑ**^{35}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.49

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***yak** ARMPIT

**Chin*	***yak**	ARMPIT	VanBik 2009:1185

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**zàʔ** noy	armpit	VanBik 2009:1185

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Khualsim	**zak**[1]	armpit	Luce 1985:O.6
Lai (Hakha)	**zak**	armpit	VanBik 2009:1185
Lai (Falam)	**zàk**	armpit	VanBik 2009:1185
Lai (Hakha)	**zak**[2]	armpit	Luce 1985:O.6
Lushai [Mizo]	**za**	tickle; gave the pins and needles (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3112
	zàk	arm-pit, the axilla (n.)	VanBik 2009:1185
	zak	hand	Benedict 1972:34n108
	zak[4]	armpit	Luce 1985:O.6
	zɑk < **khrɑ [k]**	armpit	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:800m

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

**Naga*	***yak**	hand	Weidert 1987:1126

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	a **ya** bang	right-hand	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi **zak**	side (of body)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	he **zak**	side (of body)	Marrison 1967

1.6. MRU

Mru	**yāk**	armpit	Löffler 1966

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	**yao**	hand	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:14n50
	yao ga da	right-hand	Marrison 1967
	yao go do	arm	Marrison 1967
	yao sher	armlet	Marrison 1967
	yao si	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	yao sugang	elbow	Marrison 1967
	yao sugur	claw	Marrison 1967
	yau	arm	Benedict 1972:34n108
Kokborok	**ya**-p^{h}a	palm	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	yaʔ-ši	left	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**ia**	hand	Balawan 1965:30
	ia muthi	fist	Balawan 1965:30
	iak anthi	wrist	Balawan 1965:30
	iak shiʔ	left hand / left side	Balawan 1965:30
	iak thi	left hand	Balawan 1965:30
	ia gra	right hand / right side	Balawan 1965:30
	ia khui	arm	Balawan 1965:30
	ia pha	palm	Balawan 1965:30
	ia phap	forearm	Balawan 1965:30
	ia phli	footprint	Balawan 1965:30
	ia si	finger	Balawan 1965:30
	ia si mul	thumb	Balawan 1965:30
	ia skur	nail	Balawan 1965:30
	ia thong	foot	Balawan 1965:30
	ia thong **ia** si	toe	Balawan 1965:30
	ia thong kora	heel	Balawan 1965:30
	ia thong mi	ankle	Balawan 1965:30
	ia thong top	leg bone; tibia; calf (of leg)	Balawan 1965:30; Balawan 1965:91
Meche	**ak**-ci	left	Weidert 1987:588

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**jak**-a si	left	Weidert 1987:588
Garo (Bangladesh)	**jak**-a-si	left (n.)	Burling 2003:2.11-II:idx
	jak-pa	palm of hand; end of an insect leg	Burling 1992

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	**ya**-jā[2]	right hand	unknown nd
	ya-si[1]	left hand	unknown nd
	yó ja	right (hand)	Brown 1895:70
	yó shi	left (hand)	Brown 1895:70

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa (Moshang)	**yok**	arm	Benedict 1972:34n108
	yok p^{h}a	hand	French 1983:500
	yok p^{h}um	arm	French 1983:500
	yok t^{h}in	claw	French 1983:469
	yok pha	hand	Marrison 1967
	yok phum	arm	Marrison 1967
	yok thin	claw	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**yak**	hand	Marrison 1967; French 1983:500
	yak p^{h}im	arm	French 1983:500
	yak luk	wrist	Marrison 1967
	yak phim	arm	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**yik**	arm; hand; hand, arm	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; French 1983:500 [a]
	yik kək	elbow	French 1983:508
	yik san	claw	French 1983:469
	yik kük	elbow	Marrison 1967
	yik mang	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
	yik san	claw	Marrison 1967
	ʉ́k-sʌ̀n	nail	Weidert 1987:290
Konyak	**yak**	arm; hand; hand, arm	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; French 1983:500
	yak ja	right-hand	French 1983:538
	yak koŋ	elbow	French 1983:473
	yak p^{h}a	palm	French 1983:531
	yak-kong	elbow	Marrison 1967
	yak-kün	claw	Marrison 1967
	yak-kən	claw	French 1983:469
	yak-pá	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:358
	yak ja	right-hand	Marrison 1967
	yak lan	finger	Marrison 1967
	yak nya	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	yak pha	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
	yak shi	wrist	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tableng)	**yak**	arm	Benedict 1972:34n108
Konyak (Tamlu)	**yak**-caʔ	right (side)(1)	Weidert 1987:1068
	yak-šʉ́n	nail; nail (finger)	Weidert 1987:290; Weidert 1987:87
Konyak (Wakching)	**yak**-kʉ́n	nail; nail (finger)	Weidert 1987:290; Weidert 1987:87

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	**iɑ**[35]	hand	SUN Hongkai 1991a:6.1.7
	iɑ[13] ndzɻ[13] ru[53]	finger	SUN Hongkai 1991a:7.1
	iɑ[13] po[35] uɑ[53]	forearm; lower arm; arm	SUN Hongkai 1991a:6.1; SUN Hongkai 1991a:6.1.5
	iɑ[13] tɑ[13] tsɑ[53]	back of hand	SUN Hongkai 1991a:6.1.7.2
	iɑ[13] tɕi[35]	palm	SUN Hongkai 1991a:6.1.7.1
	iɑ[13] tɕy[13] tsi[53]	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991a:6.1.4
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ja**[13] naŋ[13]	span (hand)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ja naŋ	span (hand)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Balti)	**yo** ce·	left-handed	Rangan 1975:79

2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{Ah}**ja:** HAND

**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**ja:**	hand	Mazaudon 1978:13
Chantyal	dayne **ya**	right hand	Noonan *et al.* 1992:6.1.7.4
	dewre **ya**	left hand	Noonan *et al.* 1992:6.1.7.5
	ya	arm; hand	Noonan *et al.* 1992:6.1; Noonan *et al.* 1992:6.1.7
	ya-ye nəŋ	fingernail	Noonan *et al.* 1992:7.4.1
Gurung (Ghachok)	**yo**	hand	Glover 1972:1.48
	yo ã:ma:	thumb	Glover 1972:2.A.55
	yo ã̰:mã:	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	yo ku duq	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	yo ku dũq	elbow	Glover 1972:2.A.52
Gurung	**yo** pla:	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:592
Gurung (Ghachok)	**yo** pla:	palm (hand)	Glover 1972:2.A.53
	yo sĩ	fingernail	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:1.45
	[1]**jo**	hand	Mazaudon 1978:13
Gurung	[1]**jo**	hand	Mazaudon 1994:822
Manang (Gyaru)	**ya:**[2]	arm; hand	Nagano 1984:028; Nagano 1984:030
	ya:[1] ta[1] li[1]	palm	Nagano 1984:030-01
	ya:[1] tsi:[1]	wrist	Nagano 1984:029-01
Manang (Ngawal)	[1]**ja**	hand	Mazaudon 1978:13
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]**ya:**	hand	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0030
	[3]**ya:** c^{h}amnaŋ	fist	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0503b
	[3]**ya:** kaŋ	arm	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0028
	[3]**ya:** kru	elbow	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0029
	[3]**ya:** pla	palm	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0502a
	[1]**ja:**	hand	Mazaudon 1994:822
Tamang (Bagmati)	**ya:**	hand	Weidert 1987:689
	ya: chin	fingernail	Weidert 1987:761
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]**ja:**	hand	Mazaudon 1978:13
	[1]**ja:**	hand (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:6.1, 6.1.7
	[1]**ja:**	hand	Mazaudon 1994:822
	[1]**ja:**-ts^{h}in	fingernail (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:7.4.1
	[1]**ts^{h}ja:**	hands (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:6.1.7
Tamang (Sahu)	**yā:**-'chin	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	ya:	hand	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.48
	ya: kyo:hpa	clever (hand) (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.A.20
	yā: pāpā	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	ya:-'chin	fingernail	Weidert 1987:761
	ya:-'c^{h}in	fingernail	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.45
	yā:.cuh mi	finger	Matisoff 1987
	ya:.cuh mi	finger	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.51
	ya: papa	thumb	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.52
	ya: t^{h}iŋ	palm of hand	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.50
	[1]**ja:**	hand	Mazaudon 1978:13; Mazaudon 1994:822
	[1]**ja:**-[2]ts^{h}in	fingernail	Mazaudon 1994:293
Tamang (Taglung)	**ja:**	hand	Mazaudon 1994:822
	[1]**ja:**	hand	Mazaudon 1978:13
Thakali	'pa-**yā** kyāng-pa-e mih	left-handed person (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.15
	yā-Tu	cubit (elbow to fingertip)	Hale 1973:12c.42
Thakali (Marpha)	[1]**ja**	hand	Mazaudon 1978:13
	[51]**ja**	hand	Mazaudon 1994:822
Thakali (Syang)	[1]**ja**	hand	Mazaudon 1978:13
Thakali (Tukche)	'pɔ-**ja**	left; arm (left)	Hari 1971:12.C.19; Hari 1971:2.A.50
	'pɔ-**ja** kjaŋ-pɔ-e mih	left-handed person	Hari 1971:10.A.15
	ja	hand	Hari 1971:1.48
	ja 'kjɔhpɔ	thumb	Hari 1971:2.A.55
	ja-pohm nɔ ʈi	shoulder blade	Hari 1971:2.A.48
	ja-sin	fingernail	Hari 1971:1.45
	ja-t^{h}in	palm (hand)	Hari 1971:2.A.53
	ja-ʈu	cubit; elbow	Hari 1971:12.C.42; Hari 1971:2.A.52
	ki-**ja**	right; arm (right)	Hari 1971:12.C.18; Hari 1971:2.A.49
	yā-'kyahpa	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	ya-pohm	arm	Matisoff 1987
	yā-pohm na Ti	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987
	yā-sin	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	yā-Tu	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	[1]**ja**	hand	Mazaudon 1978:13
	[H]**ja**	hand	Mazaudon 1994:822
	[H]**ja**-[H]sin	fingernail	Mazaudon 1994:948
	[H]t^{h}in	palm (hand)	Mazaudon 1994:489

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**yā** ku, **yā**-kwa	underarm / armpit	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:6.1.1
	ya ku sɔ̃	underarm hair	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.1.3.1

3.2. QIANGIC

Pumi (Jiulong)	**iə**[11]kɯ[55]	bracelet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0487.10
	ja[13]	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.10
	jə[13]	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.10
	jə[11]bʐe[55]	ring (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.10
	jə[11]tsɛi[55]	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʒdʒɛ**[13]pu[55]	armpit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0092.09
	ʒɛ[13]	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.09
	ʒɛ[13] kɯ[55]	bracelet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0487.09
	ʒɛ[13]bʐə̃[13]	ring (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.09
	ʒɛ[13]tsei[55]	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.09
	ʒɛ[13]ʐu[55]	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.09
	ʒɛ[55]xqo[13]	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʒɛ**[13]	hand	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.11
	ʒɛ[13] ʐu[55]	arm	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	ʒɛ[13]bʐə̃[13]	ring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:375.11
	ʒɛ[13]khu[55]	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.11
	ʒɛ[13]kɯ[55]	bracelet	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:373.11
	ʒɛ[13]ʐu[55]	arm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʑɛ**[35]	hand	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.10
	ʑɛ[35] ru[35]	arm	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	ʑɛ[35]bʐɛ[53]	ring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:375.10
	ʑɛ[35]ku[35]	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.10
	ʑɛ[35]po[53]	armpit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:265.10
	ʑɛ[35]ru[35]	arm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.10
	ʑɛ[55] po[53]	armpit	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983

[a] Note the secondary palatalization of the vowel in Chang **yik**.

Qiang (Mawo)	**ji** dɛ	bracelet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0487.08
	ju su χu̯	finger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.08
	jə pɑ	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.08
	jə xə̠ʲ	ring (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.08
	jə xə̠ʲ dɛs	finger (middle) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0111.08
Qiang (Yadu)	**jɑ** pɑ	hand	DAI Qingxia 1989q:133
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ja**^{33}dzi^{55}	nail (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.14
	ja^{33}me^{55}	thumb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0110.14
	ja^{33}ndei^{55}	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.14
	ja^{33}pa^{55}	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.14
	ja^{33}sɪ^{55}	finger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.14
	ja^{13}tshɻ^{33}	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.14
	ja^{55}ku^{55}tshɻ^{33}	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**ɻ̊** kəu^{53}	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1.4
	ɻ̊ kəu^{53} no^{13}	inner elbow / crook of elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1.4.2
	ɻ̊ kəu^{53} ɕ^{h}ɛ^{13} rə^{33}	elbow bone	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1.4.1
Daofu	**ʁa**	arm; hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.12; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.12
	ʁa ʂtsho	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐ̩** kiau	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991b:6.1.4; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.14
	ʑa	hand	SUN Hongkai 1991b:6.1.7; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.14
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʑa** ɬdzə	fingernail	DAI Qingxia 1989b:7.4.1
Ergong (Danba)	**ʑa** ʑɛ kua	left hand	SUN Hongkai 1991b:6.1.7.5
	ʑa ʑɛ ʐ̩^{h}ɯ	right hand	SUN Hongkai 1991b:6.1.7.4
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʑɑ**	hand	DAI Qingxia 1989b:6.1.7
	ʑɑ kuəlɑ	right hand	DAI Qingxia 1989b:6.1.7.4
	ʑɑ n̥o	back of hand	DAI Qingxia 1989b:6.1.7.2
	ʑɑ ɬthuə	left hand	DAI Qingxia 1989b:6.1.7.5
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu	gì-li **yá**	tickle	Benedict 1972:62n199 [a]
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**zi̱ɑk**/i̱ăk	armpit	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:800m

[a]The Lahu high-rising tone indicates that this was an originally stopped syllable with some kind of glottalized onset, perhaps ***ʔ-yak***.

Chinese comparandum

亦 OC ***zi̱ăk***, *GSR* #800a-c; Li 1971: ***rak***; Baxter 1992: ***(*ljAk)***; B & S 2011: ***m-q(r)Ak***; Schuessler 2007:568; Mand. ***yì***.

掖 OC ***zi̱ăk***, *GSR* #800l; Li 1971: ***rak***; Baxter 1992: ***(*ljAk)***; B & S 2011: –; Schuessler 2007:568; Mand. ***yì***.

掖 OC ***zi̱ăk***, *GSR* #800m; Li 1971: ***rak***; Baxter 1992: ***(*ljAk)***; B & S 2011: –; Schuessler 2007:568; Mand. ***yì***.

These three characters are considered by *GSR* to represent the same lexical item.

ZJH: It seems likely, as noted in Handel 2009:133-5, that the Chinese word began with ***l-*** rather than Karlgren's ***z-***, so that this word is a perfect match for the basic PTB root PTB ***lak*** rather than PTB ***yak***. Schuessler (2007:568), who like Baxter (1992) reconstructs initial ***j-***, compares this Chinese word instead to PTB ***(g-)yak*** just as Matisoff does here. Baxter & Sagart's most recent (2011) reconstruction, ***m-q(r)Ak***, would seem to make the comparison to PTB problematic, but the general correspondence patterns of their uvular initial ***q-*** in Tibeto-Burman are unclear, so the possibility of a comparison of the root ***qAk*** to PTB ***g-yak*** is not out of the question (***m-*** is a human body part prefix). Because Baxter and Sagart have not published a full explanation of their individual reconstructions, it is not clear why they have chosen to reconstruct ***q-*** for this word, but most likely it is because uvular initials are reconstructed for other words in *GSR* #800 and #954.

(1c) PTB *d-yak HAND / ARM / LEAF

The source of this prefix is a matter of speculation, but cf. the apparently prefixal dental that occurs before other roots referring to the upper limb in scattered TB languages: e.g. [Himalayish] WT ***dpuŋ*** 'shoulder'; [Qiangic] rGyalrong ***te*khlye** 'upper arm'; [Asakian] Kadu ***ta*paung, *tə*hù** 'arm', Sak ***ta*kú** 'arm', Lui ***ta*khu** 'arm'; [Naga] Ao Chungli ***te*ben** 'arm', ***ta*shikang** 'wing', Ao Mongsen ***tü*pen, *tü*cha** 'arm', ***ta*cha** 'wing', Yacham Tengsa ***ta*ka** 'wing'; [Tani] Taraon ***ta:*lõ** 'feather'.

We assign to this allofam reflexes with affricate initials (e.g. Tujia, Qiang, Naga).

The cluster ***dl-*** is not tolerated in most TB languages[*], so that the presence of the dental prefix has favored the palatalization of the root-initial lateral.

This allofam is the immediate source of the Karenic forms assembled below PKar ****ʔde?***^{D} WING (§1.5.1).

Forms from Northern Naga languages show initial variation among the simple palatal semivowel, dental stops, and palatal affricates: e.g. Tamlu **bɯn-yak**, Tangsa ^{3}**pul-džak**, and Nocte ^{1}**ʌ-dʌk**, all meaning 'leaf'. To Weidert belongs the credit for identifying the morphemic structure of these compounds as "tree-hand". For convenience's sake, we list all these forms under the present allofam.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-yak**	hand / arm	Matisoff 2003a:619; Matisoff 2003a:587
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	a: **tyo**	hand	NEFA (India) 1963
	a: **tyo**-ka	palm of hand	NEFA (India) 1963
	a: **tyo**-ka:	palm (of hand)	NEFA (India) 1963
	a: **tyo**-kham	back of hand	NEFA (India) 1963
	ɑ^{31} **tio**^{55}	hand	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɑ^{31}**tio**^{55}	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.22
	ɑ^{31}**tio**^{55}	hand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.49
Idu	ka^{31}**tio**^{53}	hand	SUN Hongkai 1991f:6.1.7
	ka^{31}**tio**^{53}e^{55}tɕa^{55}n̥u^{55}	right hand	SUN Hongkai 1991f:6.1.7.4
	ka^{31}**tio**^{53}i^{55}tɕi^{55}n̥u^{55}	left hand	SUN Hongkai 1991f:6.1.7.5
	kɑ^{31}**tio**^{53}	hand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.50
Yidu	kɑ^{31}**tio**^{53}	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.25
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Khonoma)	**dze**	hand	Marrison 1967
	dze jelo	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **dzie**^{31}	hand	Nienu 1990a:6.1.7
	(u) **dzie**^{31} khrü^{33}	back of hand	Nienu 1990a:6.1.7.2
	u **dzie**	hand	Marrison 1967
	u **dzie** zü	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	kèng-**jàk**	ankle	Grüssner 1979:42
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
**Bodo-Garo*	***jak**	hand	Burling 1959:441
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Kokborok	**ya?**	hand, arm	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	ya?-tɔ	lead by the hand	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	bi-**jak**	leaf	Weidert 1987:1126
	dźak	hand; arm	Benedict 1972:14n50; Benedict 1972:34n108
	džak-pha	palm	Benedict 1972:418
	džak-ra	right (hand)	Benedict 1972:98
	džak-tśik	elbow	Benedict 1972:64
	jak	hand	Weidert 1987:1126
	jak-si	finger	Weidert 1987:587; Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	**jak**	hand, arm	Burling 1992
	jak	arm; hand (n.)	Burling 2003:6.233-II:idx
	jak-brak	area of body including shoulder and upper arm, especially front of shoulder and inside of the upper arm	Burling 1992
	jak-pa-jang-gil	back of hand	Burling 1992
	jak-pong	upper arm	Burling 1992
	jak-ra	right hand (n.)	Burling 2003:2.11-II:idx
	jak-si	finger, distal portion of an insect leg	Burling 1992
	jak-si	finger (n.)	Burling 2003:6.235-II:idx
	jak-si-chon-gip-a	little finger	Burling 1992
	jak-si-jang-chi	middle finger; ring finger (n.)	Burling 2003:6.235-II:idx
	jak-si-ku-ti	tip of finger	Burling 1992
	jak-si-ot-ra	index finger (n.)	Burling 2003:6.235-II:idx
	jak-si-pi'-sa	little finger	Burling 1992
	jak-si-pi•-sa	little finger (n.)	Burling 2003:6.235-II:idx
	jak-si-tam	ring for finger (n.)	Burling 2003:6.564-II:idx
	jak-skil	finger nail, claw	Burling 1992
	jak-skil	claw; finger mail; nail (n.)	Burling 2003:6.235-II:idx
	jak-sku	elbow	Burling 1992
	jak-sku	elbow (n.)	Burling 2003:6.233-II:idx
	jak-tom	fist (n.)	Burling 2003:6.235-II:idx
	jak-tom-a	make a fist	Burling 1992
	jak-tom-a	fist (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.46-II:idx
	pak-sik-kep-a	carry under arm (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.532-II:idx
	pak-wal	arm pit	Burling 1992
	pak-wal	arm pit (n.)	Burling 2003:6.233-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**cak**	hand	Burling 1959:441
	cak phung	arm, upper arm (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	chak	arm, hand (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	chak chok	hand (n khjyksai.)	van Breugel 2008
	chak chuk	elbow (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	chak khawak	hollow part of the elbow, elbow pit (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	chak pha	palm of the hand (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	chak pha khung	back of the hand (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	chak phong	arm, upper arm (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	chak sikhum	back of the hand (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	chak syrong-	stretch your arm (v.)	van Breugel 2008
Wanang	**cak**-toŋ	hand	Burling 1959:441
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	^{1}ʌ-**dʌk**	leaf	Weidert 1987:1126
Tangsa	**džʌk**	hand	Weidert 1987:689
	džʌk-xa?	hand-right	Weidert 1987:1068
	džʌk-^{2}pha-^{3}muŋ	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:358
	^{3}pul-**džʌk**	leaf	Weidert 1987:1126
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Konyak (Tamlu)	bɯn-**yak**	leaf	Weidert 1987:1126
	yak	hand	Weidert 1987:1126
Wancho	**cak**	hand	French 1983:500
	cak in	claw	French 1983:469
	chak	hand	Marrison 1967
	chak in	claw	Marrison 1967
	chak lo	elbow	Marrison 1967
	tśak	arm	Benedict 1972:34n108
	tzak	arm	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**ta?** ʃi?	finger	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:31 [a]
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**džak**	tickle	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**ja:**	hand	Mazaudon 1994:822
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʤa** hu̯	armpit hair	Sun 1986
	ʤa pu	arm	Sun 1986
	ʤa su	finger	Sun 1986
	ʤu pu	arm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.8; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ʤæ su	finger	SUN Hongkai 1991g:7.1
	ʤæ su tu ɣu kæ	middle finger	SUN Hongkai 1991g:7.1.2
	ʤæ su zə nuʐ̩ kækæ	index finger	SUN Hongkai 1991g:7.1.1
	ʤæ ʁuæʲ si	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991g:6.1.4
	ʤə pa	hand	SUN Hongkai 1991g:6.1.7
	ʤə pa næ χi	right hand	SUN Hongkai 1991g:6.1.7.4
	ʤə pa ʁuaʲ χi	left hand	SUN Hongkai 1991g:6.1.7.5
	ʤə pɑ	hand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.8
	ʤə pa	hand	Sun 1986
	ʤə pa ʁdzi̱ si	fingernail	SUN Hongkai 1991g:7.4.1
	ʤə pɑ	hand	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ʤɑ di	bracelet	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:373.8
	ʤɑ su	finger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:255.8
	ʤɑ ʁuɑʲ si	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.8
	ʤɑ su	finger	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ʤi mi	thumb	SUN Hongkai 1991g:7.1.5
	ʤi sɑ	ring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:375.8
	ʤu pu	arm	SUN Hongkai 1991g:6.1
	lasi **ʤa**ʲ ʁsi	elbow	Sun 1986
	ɣdʒə si	fingernail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:256.8; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ʁdzə̠ si	fingernail	Sun 1986
Qiang (Yadu)	**ʁdzə̠** s	fingernail	DAI Qingxia 1989q:141
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ta **jɛk** ndʑu	fingernail	DAI Qingxia 1989d:7.4.1
	ta jɛk	hand	DAI Qingxia 1989d:6.1.7
	ta jɛk ka c^{h}a	left hand	DAI Qingxia 1989d:6.1.7.5
	ta jɛk ka wlak	right hand	DAI Qingxia 1989d:6.1.7.4
	ta jɛk ndʑo wu ts^{h}ək	knuckle (joint of digit)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:7.3

[a]The final glottal stop in Sak **ʃi?** has led Huziwara to speculate that the Proto-Asakian etymon had a final consonant, perhaps ***-r*** (cf. **sor** < PBod ***s(w/y)ar*** FINGER (§1.5.6)).

[*]An exception is Sani =Nyi (Loloish), which has developed ***dl-*** < ***by*** (e.g. 'bee' ***bya*** > Nyi **dla-ma**).

	ta jɐk ŋkʰu	back of hand	Dai Qingxia 1989d:6.1.7.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**tajɐk**	hand	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.1.7
	tajɐk gŋkʰu	back of hand	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.1.7.2
	tajɐk ka tʃʰa	right hand	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.1.7.4
	tajɐk kəwla	left hand	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.1.7.5
	tajɐk mki	wrist	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.1.6
	ta **jɐk** ndzə ru	fingernail	Sun Hongkai 1991j:7.4.1
Caodeng	tə-**ja**-ndz ru	fingernail	Sun 1997a
	tə-ja-qʰu	back of hand	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (NW)	**təja** mke	forearm / lower arm	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.1.5
rGyalrong (Northern)	**təjak**	arm; hand	Sun Hongkai 1991k:6.1; Sun Hongkai 1991k:6.1.7
	təjak mke	forearm / lower arm	Sun Hongkai 1991k:6.1.5
rGyalrong (NW)	**təjak** que	left hand	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.1.7.5
rGyalrong (Northern)	**təjak** qʰo	back of hand	Sun Hongkai 1991k:6.1.7.2
rGyalrong (NW)	**təjak** se	wrist	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.1.6
rGyalrong (Northern)	**təjak** tsʰək	wrist; knuckle (joint of digit)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:6.1.6; Sun Hongkai 1991k:7.3
rGyalrong (NW)	**təjak** tsʰək	knuckle (joint of digit)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:7.3
rGyalrong (Northern)	**təjak** tərdʑom	phalanx (knuckle length)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:13.1
	təjak tɕʰa	right hand	Sun Hongkai 1991k:6.1.7.4
rGyalrong (NW)	**təjak** ʁatɕʰi	right hand	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.1.7.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	**təjak** ʁoi	left hand	Sun Hongkai 1991k:6.1.7.5
rGyalrong (NW)	**təjak** ʁu	back of hand	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.1.7.2
	təjax	arm; hand	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.1; Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.1.7
rGyalrong	**təyǎk**	hand	Benedict 1972:34n108
Caodeng	**tó-ja**	hand / arm	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **jak** ndzu ru	fingernail	Sun Hongkai 1991k:7.4.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **jak** ndzə ru	fingernail	Sun Hongkai 1991l:7.4.1
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tɐ jɐk**	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.11
rGyalrong	**tɐ jɐk**	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tɐ jɐk** mki	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.11
	tɐ jɐk mki	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.11
	tɐ jɐk rtsɐ	pulse (wrist) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.11
rGyalrong	**tɐ jɐŋ** mki	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.12 [a]
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**tɐjɐk** mbro	arm	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.1
	tɐjɐk ste kərɟjam ~tətəkr	phalanx (knuckle length)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:13.1
rGyalrong	**ta yu** Nkhu < ta yuk 'khu	back of hand	Nagano 1997:6.1.72
	ta yuk	hand	Nagano 1997:6.1.7
	ta yuk ka gla	left hand	Nagano 1997:6.1.75
	ta yuk ka khyas	right hand	Nagano 1997:6.1.74
rGBenzhen	**tɐ-jɐk**	hand; arm	Sun 1997b
	tɐ-jɐk mkiʔ	wrist	Sun 1997b
	tɐ-jɐk mkʰuʔ	elbow	Sun 1997b
	tɐ-jɐk ʃum-ʃum	fingernail	Sun 1997b
Shili	**tə-jaq**/χ	hand / arm	Sun 1997c

5. Tujia

Tujia	a^{21} **dʐe^{21}** be^{21}	finger	Chen Kang 1986d:7.1
	a^{21} **dʐe^{35}** a^{21} ma^{21} ni^{35}	thumb	Chen Kang 1986d:7.1.5
	a^{21} **dʐe^{55}**	hand	Chen Kang 1986d:6.1.7
	a^{21} **dʐe^{55}** dzo^{35}	fist	Chen Kang 1986d:6.1.7.3
	a^{21} **dʐe^{55}** muɯe^{21} dʐi^{55}	arm	Chen Kang 1986d:6.1
	a^{21} **dʐe^{55}** muɯe^{55} kʰɯe^{21}	back of hand	Chen Kang 1986d:6.1.7.2
	a^{21} **dʐe^{55}** po^{21} lo^{21}	elbow	Chen Kang 1986d:6.1.4
	a^{21} **dʐi^{21}** a^{21} la^{55}	ankle	Chen Kang 1986d:6.2.5
	tɕe^{35}	hand	Chen Kang 1986c:6.1.7
Tujia (Northern)	**tɕe^{35}**	hand	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**tɕe^{35}** lo^{35} pu^{55}	wrist	Chen Kang 1986c:6.1.6
Tujia (Northern)	**tɕe^{35}** lo^{35} pu^{55}	wrist (bone)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**tɕe^{35}** lo^{35} tʰi^{55}	elbow	Chen Kang 1986c:6.1.4
	tɕe^{35} mi^{55} tʰi^{21} kã^{55} pʰɯe^{55}	middle finger	Chen Kang 1986c:7.1.2
	tɕe^{35} mi^{55} tʰi^{21} tso^{35} kʰu^{33}	ring finger	Chen Kang 1986c:7.1.3
	tɕe^{35} mi^{55} tʰi^{21} tʰe^{55} pʰɯe^{21}	little finger	Chen Kang 1986c:7.1.4
	tɕe^{35} mi^{55} tʰi^{21} za^{21} pa^{21}	index finger	Chen Kang 1986c:7.1.1
	tɕe^{35} mi^{55} tʰi^{21} n̡i^{21} ka^{21}	thumb	Chen Kang 1986c:7.1.5
Tujia (Northern)	**tɕe^{35}** si^{55} pʰɨe^{55}	arm	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**tɕe^{35}** si^{55} pʰɯe^{55}	arm	Chen Kang 1986c:6.1
	tɕe^{35} tã^{55} tɕi^{21}	underarm / armpit	Chen Kang 1986c:6.1.1
	tɕe^{35} tsʰuei^{21} tsi^{21}	fist	Chen Kang 1986c:6.1.7.3
	tɕe^{35} tʰi^{55} kʰɯe^{55}	fingerprint	Chen Kang 1986c:7.1.6
	tɕie^{35}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.49
	tɕie^{35}	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.38
	tɕie^{35}lo^{35}pu^{55}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.49
	tɕie^{35}lo^{35}thi^{55}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.49
	tɕie^{35}lo^{35}thi^{55}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.38
	tɕie^{35}pan^{55}tsi^{55}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.49
	tɕie^{35}pan^{55}tsi^{55}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.38
	tɕie^{35}tshui^{21}tsi^{21}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.49
	tɕie^{35}tshui^{21}tsi^{21}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.38
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa^{21} **dʐe^{55}**	hand	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	ʔa^{21} **dʐe^{55}** mai^{21} tɕi^{55}	arm	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	gyak-kăli' ~ **tshak**-kăli' ~ lak-kăli'	armpit	Benedict 1972:265

[a] Note the assimilation of the medial consonants in rGyalrong **jɐŋ mki**.

Chinese comparandum

翼 OC *g**i̱ə**k**, *GSR* #954d 'wing'; Li 1971: **(*rək)**; Baxter 1992 #469: ***lji̱k**; B & S 2011: ***ɢrəp**; Schuessler 2007:570; Mand. **yì**.

ZJH: As discussed in Handel 2009:133-134, if reconstructed with initial OC ***l-** (a view shared by Schuessler 2007:570), this is a perfect match to PTB ***lak**, a comparison that is preferable to ***d-yak**. Chinese 翼 'wing' **yì** and 亦 'armpit' **yì** thus differ only in the reconstructed main vowel (***ə** vs. ***a**), both of which correspond regularly to PTB ***a**. The nature of the word-family relationship of the two words within Chinese is unclear.

Note that Baxter & Sagart (2011) reconstruct coda ***-p** for 翼 **yì**, with "dialectal" development of ***-p** to later ***-k**, because they believe this is the same word as that written with the homophonous character 翌, also 'wing', which has phonetic 立 ending in ***-p**. Their reconstruction would separate 翼 'wing' **yì** and 亦 'armpit' **yì** into two different Chinese words families, and preclude the comparison of the former to the ***lak**/***yak** family of PTB arm/hand/wing roots.

(1d) PTB *dak ARM / HAND

The Nocte forms require no further comment. Of special interest is the Jingpho form **lətá?**, for which several explanations have been offered (cf. *STC* nn. 102, 109, 137). In my opinion, what happened was, after the obstruentization of original **l** to **t** in Jingpho, yielding **ta?**, the form was reprefixed by the general root ***lak**, here reduced to **lə**. Note that in Jingpho, a secondary prefix **lə-** occurs in many verbs describing action with either the hands or the feet (see my portion of *STC*, n. 308 and O. Hanson 358-85). The Tangut and Ergong forms seem to have a similar origin.

Another explanation might be in terms of metathesis, ***d-lak** > ***l-dak**, in order to avoid the disfavored **dl-** cluster.

1.6. Mru

Mru	**dɑk**¯dɔ^{4}	armpit	Luce 1985:Q.42

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	(**dak**) cha	right-hand	French 1983:538
	dak	hand; arm; hand, arm	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:34n108; French 1983:500 [a]
	dak ku	elbow	French 1983:508
	dak pʰa	palm	French 1983:531
	dak su	finger	French 1983:488
	dak ku	elbow	Marrison 1967
	dak su	finger	Marrison 1967
	dʌk	hand	Weidert 1987:689
	dʌk-tša?	hand-right	Weidert 1987:1068
	dʌk-^{1}pha	palm (hand)(1); palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:175; Weidert 1987:358

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**lata**	hand	Marrison 1967
	lata laphan	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
	lă^{1} **tạ?^{55}**	hand	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lə **tá?**	hand	Benedict 1972:32n102
	lə **ta?**	hand	Benedict 1972:42n137
	lə **tá?** lə sing	bones of forearm	Matisoff 1987
	lə **tə?**	hand	Benedict 1972:34n109
	tạ?^{55}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.19
	tạ?^{55}; **lă^{31}tạ?^{55}**	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.47
	tạ?^{55}lă^{33}seŋ^{33}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.19
	tạ?^{55}lă^{31}tụp^{55}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.47
	^{3}ta?	arm; hand	Weidert 1987:1182; Weidert 1987:689
	^{3}ta?-^{1}lə^{1}phan	palm (hand)(1); palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:175; Weidert 1987:358
	^{1}lə^{3}ta? -^{1}khri?^{1}khro	wrist	Weidert 1987:1126
	^{1}lə **^{3}ta?**	hand	Weidert 1987:1126

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Ganan	**tak^{3}**pɑ^{2}	hand; palm	Luce 1985:K.50
	tă bɛ^{4}	left (hand)	Luce 1985:L.158
	ʔtɑʔ^{1}bɛ^{4}	left (hand)	Luce 1985:L.158
Kadu (Kantu)	**tă** pɛ^{3}	left (hand)	Luce 1985:L.158
	tɑk^{3} pɑ^{2}[tɑhu`]	hand; palm	Luce 1985:K.50
Sak	**taʔ** miŋ	nail; claw	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:313; Huziwara Keisuke 2008:32
	taʔ práiŋ	palm of hand	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:30a

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**lda**	hand	Dai Qingxia 1989e:6.1.7 [b]

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**da^{55}** vɛ^{55} ɳo^{33}	arm	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.18

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	**lda^{33}**	hand	Sun Hongkai 1991c:6.1.7
	lda^{33} l dzə^{33}	fingernail	Sun Hongkai 1991c:7.4.1
	lda^{33} sqʰa^{53}	back of hand	Sun Hongkai 1991c:6.1.7.2
	lda^{33} tsʰək^{53}	wrist	Sun Hongkai 1991c:6.1.6
	lda^{33} ʁje^{33} pa^{33}	right hand	Sun Hongkai 1991c:6.1.7.4
	lda^{33} ʁjon^{33} pa^{33}	left hand	Sun Hongkai 1991c:6.1.7.5
Ergong (Danba)	**l** dzɯ	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.14
Ergong (Daofu)	ʑa **ɬ** dzə	fingernail	Dai Qingxia 1989b:7.4.1

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGBenzhen	kɐ-**dət**	hand	Sun 1997b [c]

[a] Cf. Nocte **da** 'foot' under PTB ***d-ya** OR g-ya FOOT (§1.5.1).
[b] This is M. V. Sofronov's reconstruction (1968), cited in Kepping 1975:228. Nishida 1966:349 reconstructs **ɬa**.
[c] The dental final in rGBenzhen **dət** is unexplained.

(1e) PTB *g-yak ARM / HAND / CUBIT

This allofam with velar prefix has been specialized semantically into the areas of *armpits/tickling* and *cubits*. Of particular interest is the triplet in WB below, reflecting three separate allofams of our etymon: the naked root in **lak-kăli**, the variant with dental prefix (written **tshak-kăli** in the transcription of *STC* but better interpreted as **chak-kăli**), and the present variant with velar prefix (**gyak-kăli**).

The Lahu form with voiced initial, **jâ?**, points to a variant with a nasal prefix, perhaps at the Proto-Loloish level.

There is a separate root 'right hand', reconstructed as ***g-ya** ≍ ***g-ra** in *STC* #98.

There is still another resemblant root ***g-ya** TICKLE (*STC* #51) underlying WT **gya-ba** 'tickle, itch', Jingpho **kəyá** 'id.', WB **yâ**b 'itch'.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**g-**)**yɑk**	armpit	Chou Fa-kao 1972:800m
	***g-yak**	armpit / tickle / cubit	Matisoff 2003a:619

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	**jak**-git-ok	wrist	Burling 1992 [a]
	jak-git-ok	wrist (n.)	Burling 2003:6.235-II:idx
	jak-tong	forearm, lower part of forearm, wrist	Burling 1992

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**chak** gy dok	wrist (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Wancho	**cak** diŋ	wrist	French 1983:525
	chak lo, **chak** ding	wrist	Marrison 1967

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***Nkyak**	cubit (elbow to fingertips)	Matisoff 1972b:100(a)
	***?-gyak^{H}**	cubit	Matisoff 2003a:619
	***?gyak**	cubit	Benedict 1972:34n109
	***?kyak**	cubit (elbow to fingertips) ((HIGH).)	Matisoff 1972b:100(b)
	***?kyak**	cubit (elbow to fingertips)	Matisoff 1972b:100(b)

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**gyak**-ka-li'	armpit, tickle	Benedict 1976a
	gyak-kăli' ~ tshak-kăli' ~ lak-kăli'	armpit	Benedict 1972:265

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**jâ?**	cubit (elbow to fingertips)	Matisoff 1972b:100(a)
	ɔ̀-**jâ?**	cubit; cubit (elbow to fingertips)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:100(a)
Lisu	**cha^{3}**	length of outstretched fingers	Matisoff 1972b:100(b)

[a] [Source Note] (lit: arm-neck).

Sani [Nyi]	**ca 44**	cubit (elbow to fingertips)	Matisoff 1972b:100(b)
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**ca HS**	cubit (elbow to fingertips)	Matisoff 1972b:100(b)
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	a^{31} **tɕa̲**^{42}	cubit (elbow to fingers)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:13.3
	tɕa̲^{42}	cubit (elbow to fingers)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:13.3
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**di̯ə̯k**/i̯ək	wing	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:954d
	gi̯ə̯k/i̯ək	wing	Karlgren 1957:954d
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**jiək**	wing	Coblin 1986:37

Chinese comparandum

翼 OC ***gi̯ə̯k***, *GSR* #954d 'wing'; Li 1971: **(*rək)**; Baxter 1992 #469: ***ljɨk**; B & S 2011: ***ɢrəp** (with dialectal change to **-k**)*; Schuessler 2007:570; Mand. **yì**.

趩 OC ***t'i̯ə̯k**, *GSR* #954g 'sound of marching'; Li 1971: **(*thrjək)**; Baxter 1992: **(*hlrjɨk)**; B & S 2011: –; Schuessler 2007:–; Mand. **chì**.

腳/脚 OC ***kɨɑ̯k**, *GSR* #776g-h 'leg, foot'; Li 1971: **(*kjak)**; Baxter 1992: **(*kjak)**; B & S 2011: ***s.kak, [k]ak**; Schuessler 2007:309; Mand. **jiǎo**.

匊/掬 OC ***kɨə̯ôk**, *GSR* #1017a,c 'both hands joined; grasp with both hands; double-handful'; Li 1971: **(*kjəkw)**; Baxter 1992:770: ***k(r)juk**; B & S 2011: **(*k(r)uk)**; Schuessler 2007:–; Mand. **jū**.

JAM: *GSR* reconstructs this morpheme (翼), Mand. **yì** with initial ***gi̯-**, but *STC* prefers ***di̯-**, since the phonetic series (*GSR* #954) also contains 趩 ***t'i̯ə̯k/t̂'i̯ə̯k**, Mand. **chì** 'sound of marching'. Baxter's (2011) reconstruction ***ɢrəp** reverts to the interpretation with velar (actually postvelar) onset.

Benedict (p.c.) later agreed with the *GSR* reconstruction, assuming that it is underlain by an earlier ***gli̯ə̯k**. He then derived the allofam in ***t'-** from an alternant with prefixal ***s-**, i.e. ***skɨə̯k**, but this is not very convincing.

Yang 1980 suggests further Chinese comparanda: 腳/脚 OC ***kɨɑ̯k** 'leg, foot', *GSR* #776g, Mand. **jiǎo**; and 匊/掬 OC ***kɨə̯ôk** 'both hands joined; grasp with both hands; double-handful', *GSR* #1017a-c, Mand. **jū**.

ZJH: Of these four Chinese comparanda, only the first, 翼 **yì** 'wing', is defensible, although the more likely PTB comparandum is ***(g-)lak** (Handel 2009:133-5). Both 趩 **chì** and 匊/掬 **jū** are impossible as they are not close in terms of sound correspondences; 腳/脚 **jiǎo** 'foot' is conceivable if we assume prefix-preemption of PST ***g-yak** on the Chinese side, but the semantic shift makes this comparison speculative at best.

(1f) PTB *p-yak ARM

This allofam is represented principally by a single WT form with honorific meaning. The source of the labial prefix remains to be discovered. Jäschke (1881:347-8) gives 'bow, compliment, reverence' as an additional meaning. Whether this or 'hand' is the basic meaning is reminiscent of the phenomenon in the history of English whereby a verb meaning 'to pray' had its reference shifted by metonomy to 'bead used in prayer'. (OE **gebed** 'prayer' > ME **bede**, **bead** 'prayer, prayer bead, bead')

There are also good-looking Lepcha, Limbu, and Karbi cognates, as well as a convincing Chinese comparandum.

The Karbi variant with **pak** seems basically to mean 'leaf', or more generally 'flat object'. The Karbi morpheme **-pak** is glossed as 'num. part., flat things' (Walker 1925:119). See also PTB ***r-pak** LEAF / LEAFLIKE PART / FLAT OBJECT (§1.5.5).

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ri-**pak** ≍ ri-**pek**	hand (distinct from arm)	Walker 1925:148
	ri-**pek**	palm; palm (of hand)	Walker 1925:360; Marrison 1967:187
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**p'yag**	hand (resp.)	Jäschke 1881:p. 347
	p'yag-mdzub	finger, toe' (respectful)	Matisoff 1987
	p'yag-sor	finger	Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	(a-)kă **pek**	forearm	Mainwaring 1898:491
	pek	forearm	Mainwaring 1898:220
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	phuk-**bek**	forearm	Chemjong 1962
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pi̯ĕg**/pjiᵉ̯-	arm	Karlgren 1957:853s

Chinese comparandum

臂 OC ***pi̯ĕg**, *GSR* #853s 'arm'; Li 1971: **(*pjigh)**; Baxter 1992: **(*pjeks)**; B & S 2011: ***pek-s**; Schuessler 2007:164; Mand. **bì**.

ZJH: The front vowel in Old Chinese would normally preclude a correspondence to PTB ***a**. However, it can be noted that the bulk of the TB evidence points to ***e**; Tibetan occasionally has (dialectally-influenced?) **ya** < ***e** where we would normally expect **e**. (Tibetan also has **(y)a** < PTB ***e** before dental codas, but that is not relevant here.) The comparison can stand, but only if the PTB form is reconstructed as ***pek**, which would have a number of ramifications for the TB etymology, viz.: (1) Unless reconstructed ***pek** ≍ ***pyak**, the word-family connection to ***yak** 'arm' would be harder to maintain; (2) the Karbi form **ri-pak** would have to be attributed entirely to a separate root ***r-pak** 'leaf', with subsequent conflation within Karbi of ***pak** and ***pek** because of semantic and phonetic overlap. In short, the validity of this Chinese comparison is subject to the uncertainty of the PTB reconstruction stemming from the small number of identified reflexes.

(1g) PTB *la LEG / FOOT

As mentioned above, a number of languages have forms with open syllables and initial **l-**, **y-**, or **d-** with the meaning 'foot'. Although this might seem strange, it cannot be excluded that these etyma for *hand* and *foot* are somehow related. This is rather analogous to the situation with NOSE and EAR, which are reconstructed as ***s-na** and ***r-na** ≍ ***g-na**, respectively.

The prefixal **lə** in Jingpho forms referring to the feet are assigned to this etymon, while similar referring to the hand are interpreted as deriving from PTB ***lak**. This ambiguity is the result of the weakening of the rhyme in the prefixization process.

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	**lai**	leg / foot	Simon 1979
	lai-cuŋ-k^{h}u	ankle; heel, ankle	Simon 1979; Simon 1979
	lai-duɒbuɒn	calf of leg	Simon 1979
	lai-guɒp^{h}iw	knee	Simon 1979
	lai-k^{h}u	sole of foot	Simon 1979
	lai-mu-dului	lame	Simon 1979
	lai-ɟaŋ	leg, hand	Simon 1979
1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**læ**^{33}	foot	SUN Hongkai 1993; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:263.52
1.1.1. TANI: ***lə** (~ ***le?)** LEG			
**Tani*	***lə**(~ **le?**)	leg	Sun 1993a:236
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	à-**lì**	leg	Sun 1993b
	a-**li**	leg	Sun 1993b
	a-**li** rhyme!	leg	Sun 1993a
	a-**li**-č^{h}a	lame	Sun 1993b
	li-bi	hind leg (right~)	Sun 1993b
	li-č^{h}i	hind leg(left~)	Sun 1993b
	li-piʔ	hind leg	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-ge	back of knee	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-gru	side of foot	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-prjo	foot	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-prjũ	web (on duck's foot)	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-puɯ	wash (leg)	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-puɯʔ	leg (hind leg)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	^{1}**lɯ** ^{2}siŋ(^{1})	calf (leg)	Weidert 1987:546
	lə-ču	foot	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-čiŋ tuŋ	ball of foot	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-ču a-wu:	back of foot	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-ču ku-ro:	sole (of foot)	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-fu: bin	get a cramp (in the leg)	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-gap	back of knee	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-pa:	leg; leg and foot, lower limb	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lɯ-ti bin	get a cramp (in the leg)	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-ti ha:-puk	calf (of leg)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-**lə**	leg	Sun 1993a
	lə paŋ	calf (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0102.24
	lə pjo	foot (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.24
	lə-čəŋ mi-tuk	tip of foot	Sun 1993b
	lə-lam	foot (of bird)	Sun 1993b
	lə-pio	foot	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-tɯ	calf (of leg)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**lə** p jo	foot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:263.51
	lə paŋ	leg	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lə pio	foot	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lɯ tɯ	leg	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **lɤ**	leg	Das Gupta 1963
	'a **lə**	leg; foot (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'lə bok	foot-and-mouth disease (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'lə bək	leg/foot (right); right leg/foot (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'lə ci	left leg/foot; leg/foot (left) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'lə dek	crack (leg) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'lə den	twitch (leg) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'lə den	twitch (leg) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'lə dəə	short (leg) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'lə gok	crack in the foot; foot crack (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'lə mə	hair (leg); leg hair (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'lə pee	cramp (leg) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'lə pee	cramped (leg) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'lə tam	sole (of foot) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'lə tə	calf (of leg) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'lə tik	foot (of mountain) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	`lɤ tɤ	calf (leg)	Weidert 1987:546
Miri, Hill	a **le**	foot	Simon 1976
	lɯ-pa	leg	Simon 1976
	lɯ-tɯ	calf of leg	Simon 1976
Nishi [Dafla]	**al**	foot	Benedict 1972:34n108
Nishing	a **le**	leg	Das Gupta 1969
	a **lé**	leg	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**lɤ** bit	right leg	Das Gupta 1983
	lɤ cu	foot	Das Gupta 1983
	lɤ pa	leg	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	a-**lə**	leg	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**le**	leg; foot	Matisoff 1987
	a-**lé**	leg;	Matisoff 1987
	lé-ân	Achilles tendon	Matisoff 1987
	lé-kê	toe	Matisoff 1987
	lé-kê kê-i	little toe	Matisoff 1987
	lé-kit	ankle-bone	Matisoff 1987
	lé-long	shin	Matisoff 1987
	lé-mik	ankle-bone	Matisoff 1987
	lé-muik	joints of toe	Matisoff 1987
	lé-ne	big toe	Matisoff 1987
	lé-pio	foot	Matisoff 1987
	lé-po	foot; sole	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	lé-puk	hoof	Matisoff 1987
	lé-pum	calf	Matisoff 1987
	lé-tik	hind leg; leg of men	Matisoff 1987
	lé-yin	toenail	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**lə**-piuk	hoof	Sun 1993b
	lə-ɕən	calf (of leg)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**lɯ:**	foot	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	a-**le**	leg	Sun 1993a
	le-po	sole	Benedict 1972:418
	ə **le**	foot	Benedict 1972:34n108
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Sema [Sumi]	a **la** u nhe	ankle	Achumi 1998a:6.2.5
	a **la** u nhe ghi	ankle bone	Achumi 1998a:6.2.5.1
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	**la**	foot; leg; leg, foot	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:34n108; French 1983:511
	la šəʔ	knee	French 1983:508
	la shüh	knee	Marrison 1967
	læ^{33}	leg / foot	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	læ^{33}ʃɯʔ^{33}	knee	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**lah** put	knee	Marrison 1967
	lă^{31}khʒuʔ^{31}	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.19
	lă^{31}khʒuʔ^{31}	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.47
	lă^{31}ko^{33}	foot (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.19
	lă^{31}ko^{33}	foot; leg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:263.47; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:264.47
	lă^{31}phut^{31}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.19
	lă^{1} khɹuʔ^{31}	hoof	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	lă^{1} ko^{33}	foot; leg	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	lă^{1} phut^{31}	knee	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	la gaw	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	la gaw-**lah** taw	ankle	Marrison 1967
	la gawng	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	la gaw **la** bawp	calf (of leg)	Marrison 1967
	la khru	hoof	Marrison 1967
	lə-hkre	ankle (back of)	Matisoff 1987
	ləh pùt shəmyen	knee cap	Matisoff 1987
	lə gaw	foot; leg	Matisoff 1987
	lə gaw **lə**-seng	tibia and fibula of leg	Matisoff 1987

*See explanation for coda ***-p** in discussion of PTB ***d-yak** HAND / ARM / LEAF (§1.5.1).

	lə gaw **lə** nu	big toe	Matisoff 1987
	lə gaw yung	big toe	Matisoff 1987
	lə gaw yung nu	big toe	Matisoff 1987
	lə gō≍**lə** gōŋ	foot	Matisoff 1974:72
	lə hkàp	hamstring	Matisoff 1987
	lə hkru	hoof	Matisoff 1987
	lə hpùt	knee	Matisoff 1987
	lə htaw	leg just above ankles	Matisoff 1987
	lə khàt	kick, as a horse	Matisoff 1985a:039
	lə phut	knee	LaPolla 1987:70; Benedict 1972:7; Coblin 1986:101
	^{1}**lə**^{2}go	foot	Weidert 1987:731
	^{1}**lə**^{1}bop	calf (leg)(2)	Weidert 1987:1091
	^{1}**lə**^{1}khap	knee (hollow)	Weidert 1987:1098
	^{1}**lə**^{1}phut	knee	Weidert 1987:620
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Chairel	**la**	foot	Benedict 1972:34n108
	lɑ	foot	Luce 1985:K.51
Lui	me-**la**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	na-**la**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	ta-**ka**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	tö-**ha**	foot	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**li**^{35} min^{55}	foot	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**le**^{13} dum^{13}	leg	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	le^{13} mɛʔ^{53}	foot	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.6
	li^{13} min^{55}	paw, foot of animal	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Cuona Menba	**le**^{35}mɛʔ^{53}	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.06
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	khy **li**	foot	Michailovsky 1991:73
Hayu	**le**	foot	Michailovsky 1991:72; Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	dim-**lāː**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	dim **la**	foot	Michailovsky 1991:72; Michailovsky 1991:75
	dim **laː**	foot	Michailovsky 1991:75
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**la**	foot (Hodgson) (n2.)	Caughley 2000
	la	foot	Benedict 1972:34n109
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	**là** khɯ̀	foot	Bradley 1979b
	là khì	foot	Beaudouin 1988:14
	là khì pháwa	sole of foot	Beaudouin 1988:15
	là k^{h}ɯ̀	foot	Bradley 199x
	là k^{h}ɯ̀ mɛ hnɯ	sole of foot	Bradley 199x
Mpi	**la**^{2}-k^{h}i^{6}	foot	Matisoff 1978a:14
	lɑ^{2}khi^{6}	foot	Bradley 1979b
	lɑ^{2}puŋ^{6}	leg; classifier for legs	Bradley 1979b; Sriruan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**lə̌** khə̀	foot	Matisoff 1987
	lə̌ khə́	foot	Bradley 1979b
	lə̌ k^{h}ə^{11}	foot	Bradley 1977

(1h) PTB *ya LEG / FOOT

Further support for the notion that this and the preceding etymon are related to the basic root ***lak*** is provided by the parallelism of allofamy between ***la**/***ya** and ***lak**/***yak**. Furthermore, there are a group of forms with initial affricates in the Bodo-Garo family that are parallel to ***d-yak*** or ***g-yak***. See PTB ***d-ya*** OR g-ya below.

1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**ya**	foot	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:34n108
	ya-khap	groin / fork	Benedict 1972:338
	ya ga	foot	Marrison 1967
	ya khitu	leg	Marrison 1967
	ya phong	thigh	Marrison 1967
	ya sugu	knee	Marrison 1967
	ya thorai	calf (of leg)	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**ya**-krɔy	ankle	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	ya-pay	sole (of foot)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	ya-p^{h}oŋ	thigh	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	ya-t^{h}əy	leg	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**jaʔ**-a	foot	Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ja'**-ping	thigh, thigh of a bird	Burling 1992
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	**ya**	leg; foot	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:34n108; French 1983:511
	ya p^{h}a	foot	French 1983:511
	ya vuin	calf (of leg); calf	French 1983:466; French 1983:489
	ya pha	foot	Marrison 1967
	ya vuin	calf (of leg)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**ya**	leg	Marrison 1967; French 1983:511
	ya vaun	foot	French 1983:511
	ya mik	ankle	Marrison 1967
	ya vaun	foot	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**yo**	foot	Marrison 1967; French 1983:511
	yo kək	knee	French 1983:508
	you	leg	Marrison 1967; French 1983:511
	you šan	calf (of leg); calf	French 1983:466; French 1983:489
	you šun	calf (of leg)	French 1983:466
	you shan	calf (of leg)	Marrison 1967
	yo kük	knee	Marrison 1967
	yo nyek	ankle	Marrison 1967
	yáu-šón	calf (leg)	Weidert 1987:546
Konyak	**ya**	foot; leg; leg, foot	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; French 1983:511
	ya tu	knee	French 1983:508
	ya-pá	sole (foot)	Weidert 1987:361
	ya mek	ankle	Marrison 1967
	ya tu	knee	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tableng)	**ya**	foot	Benedict 1972:34n108
Konyak (Tamlu)	**ya** tɯn	calf (leg)	Weidert 1987:546
Konyak (Wakching)	**ya**-še	calf (leg)	Weidert 1987:546

(1i) PTB *d-ya or *g-ya FOOT

The Nocte form **da** reflects a prototype with no palatal component, but we are including it here since it is obviously cognate.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**cho** khab	shoe (n.)	Marrison 1967
	cho mhyek	ankle	Marrison 1967
	cho mpo	foot	Marrison 1967
	o **cho**	leg	Marrison 1967
	o **jo**	leg; foot	Nienu 1990c:6.2; Nienu 1990c:6.2.6
	o **jo** tsan	leg hair	Nienu 1990c:8.1.3.3
1.7.1.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***dya**	leg, foot	Benedict 1972:34n109
	***jaʔ**	foot, leg	Burling 1959:441
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**dźa**	foot	Benedict 1972:34n108
	dža-pha	sole	Benedict 1972:418
	dźa-tśik	knee (=leg-joint)	Benedict 1972:170n455
	dža-tśik	knee	Benedict 1972:64
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ja'**-	leg, foot	Burling 1992 [a]
	ja'-chok	lower part of the leg (from knee down), leg of bird, corner at the bottom of a basket	Burling 1992
	ja'-gam	step, foot print, tracks	Burling 1992
	ja'-git-teng	lower leg, knee to ankle, leg of a bird	Burling 1992 [b]
	ja'-kol	footprint, hole left by foot	Burling 1992
	ja'-ku	leg	Burling 1992
	ja'-ku-ak	back of knee	Burling 1992
	ja'-pa	sole of foot, foot	Burling 1992
	ja'-pa-jang-gil	top of foot	Burling 1992 [c]
	ja'-pa-ti	calf of leg, the flabby part	Burling 1992
	ja'-sku	knee	Burling 1992
	ja'-sku-gi-ro	knee cap	Burling 1992
	ja'-teng	lower leg, from knee to ankle	Burling 1992 [d]
	ja'-teng-ga	lower leg, from knee to ankle	Burling 1992 [e]
	ja•-	foot; leg (n.)	Burling 2003:6.237-II:idx
	ja•-chok	leg (n.)	Burling 2003:6.237-II:idx
	ja•-gam	foot print; tracks (n.)	Burling 2003:6.238-II:idx
	ja•-git-teng	leg (n.)	Burling 2003:6.237-II:idx
	ja•-kol	foot print (n.)	Burling 2003:6.238-II:idx
	ja•-pa	sole of foot (n.)	Burling 2003:6.238-II:idx
	ja•-rek	foot of mountains (n.)	Burling 2003:4.232-II:idx
	ja•-si git-ok chot-a	athlete's foot (vi.)	Burling 2003:8.953-II:idx
	ja•-sku	knee (n.)	Burling 2003:6.237-II:idx
	ja•-teng	leg (n.)	Burling 2003:6.237-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**caʔ**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	cha•	leg, foot (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	cha• chok	sole of the foot (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	cha• khawak	hollow side of the knee (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	cha• khok	hollow side of the knee (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	cha• ku	knee, length from the knee to the foot (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	cha• kyw	knee, length from the knee to the foot (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	cha• myn	leg hair (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	cha• pa	sole of the foot (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	cha• pha	a foot (clf.)	van Breugel 2008
	cha• phung	upper leg (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	cha• syrong-	stretch your leg (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**da**	foot; leg; leg, foot	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:34n108; French 1983:511
	da ku	knee	French 1983:508
	da p^{h}a	underside of foot	French 1983:531
	da ku	knee	Marrison 1967
	^{2}**da**-kʌp	knee (hollow)	Weidert 1987:1098
	^{2}**da**^{3}pha	sole (foot)	Weidert 1987:175
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Wancho	**ca**	foot	French 1983:511
	ca-tim	foot	Matisoff 1987
	chia	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	cia	leg, foot	French 1983:511
	tśia	foot	Benedict 1972:34n108

[a] [Source Note] combining form, rarely used alone.
[b] [Source Note] =ja'-chok.
[c] [Source Note] (lit: back of sole).
[d] [Source Note] (=ja'-git-teng).
[e] [Source Note] (=ja'-git-teng).

(2) PTB *k(r)u-t HAND / FIST / ARM

This widely distributed root appears in Kuki-Chin, North Assam, Himalayish, and perhaps Qiangic.

Several forms (Sulung **geɻ^{33}**, Kanauri **khyuč**, Sunwar **guy**, and Pattani **guz̧**) show palatalization of the final consonant.

A few other languages have forms with medial glides: Chepang **krut**, Kanauri **khyuč**, and Bunan **khyutsi**. Mru **rut** shows loss of the initial velar, so that the medial became the initial consonant. Several Himalayan languages have similar looking forms which are borrowings from Nepali **pākhurā** 'arm': Gurung **pā:khruq**, Thakali **yā pākhura**, and Sunwar **pā:khrā:**.

The second syllable of Magar **mi-huṯ** 'hand' might also descend from this etymon, but cf. Nepali **hāt**.

Many other forms show loss of the final **t** in compound-initial position, e.g. Lakher (Mara) **ku paro**; Lushai (Mizo) **ku-tang**; Meithei **khudôn**, etc.; Bunan **khuṭub**; and WT **khu-tshur**.

The Mongsen Ao form **tə-khát** or **tükhet** does not descend from this etymon, but rather from a totally distinct root PTB ***kat** ONE (§9.9) (cf. *STC* p.94 and JAM 1995:3.12). Daniel Bruhn, based on a suggestion from T. Temsunungsang, points out a similar semantic development in Chungli Ao: **kà** 'one', **tə́-kà** 'hand' (cf. the next etymon). There is a fascinating parallel in Written Burmese: **hnac** 'two', **khu' hnac** 'seven', where the first syllable (under the creaky tone) seems likely to descend from this etymon, with the meaning 'five', pointing to a former quinary system of counting, as in modern Khmer. The semantic connection between the hand and the numeral five is also found in Austronesian (cf. Indonesian **lima** 'five, hand').

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***k(r)u-t ≍ g(r)u-t**	hand	Matisoff 2003a:597
1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**geɻ^{33}**	hand	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.52
	geɻ^{33}jik^{33}	fist	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.52
	geɻ^{33}kə^{33}n̥iŋ^{33}	elbow	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.52
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Miri, Hill	**kod'**	hand, earth	Simon 1976
	kod ɯ	hand, earth	Simon 1976
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***kut ≍ *khut** HAND, ***kut-tum ≍ *khut-tum** FIST			
**Chin*	***kut ≍ khut**	HAND	VanBik 2009:287
	***kut- ≍ khut**-tum	FIST	VanBik 2009:281
Anal	**khuʔ**	hand	Ono 1965
Chinbok	**kut**	hand	Ono 1965
Ngawn	**khut**	hand	Ono 1965
Thanphum	**kut**^{5}	hand	Luce 1985:O.14

	kʊt[1]tə̆ki[3]	elbow	Luce 1985:O.10
	[kʊt[5]**]**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	**khut**	hand	Haokip 1998:6.1.7
	khut chal	index finger	Haokip 1998:7.1.1
	khut jung	finger	Haokip 1998:7.1
	khut lai	middle finger	Haokip 1998:7.1.2
	khut nung lam	back of hand	Haokip 1998:6.1.7.2
	khut tum	fist	Haokip 1998:6.1.7.3
Paite	**khut**	hand	VanBik 2009:287
Sizang	**kut**	hand	VanBik 2009:287
	kut tum	fist	VanBik 2009:281
Thado	**khùt**	hand	VanBik 2009:287
	xút	hand	Thirumalai 1972:63
	xút cʌ̀l	finger (index)	Thirumalai 1972:32
	xút zùŋ	finger	Thirumalai 1972:32
Tiddim	**khut**-zŭŋ	finger	Weidert 1987:273
	khut[3]	hand	VanBik 2009:287; Bhaskararao 1996:852
	khut[3] tum[2]	fist	VanBik 2009:186; VanBik 2009:281; Bhaskararao 1996:858
	χʊt[4]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho (Sandoway)	**kuˀt**[1]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14
Chinbon	**kït**	hand	So-Hartmann 1988:89
Cho (Mindat)	**kut**	hand	VanBik 2009:287
	kut hngawng	wrist	VanBik 2009:916
Daai	**kut**	hand	So-Hartmann 1988:89
Awa Khumi	ă **kɔɛ**[3]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14
Khumi	**keᵘʔ**	hand	So-Hartmann 1988:89
	kíw	hand, front legs (of an animal)	VanBik 2009:287
	kíw pcueeng	fingernail, claw, talon	VanBik 2009:211
Khumi (Ahraing)	**keu**[5]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14
Matu	**kut**	hand	So-Hartmann 1988:89
Matupi	**kut**[2]ˆk'i[1]	elbow	Luce 1985:O.10
	ku:t[2]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14
Mkaang	**kut**	hand	So-Hartmann 1988:89
Ngmüün	**kut**	hand	So-Hartmann 1988:89
Nyhmoye	**kut**	hand	So-Hartmann 1988:89
Wakung	**kœʔ**	hand	So-Hartmann 1988:89
Womatu	**kʊt**[2]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Bawm	**kut**	hand	Schwerli 1979
Khualsim	**kʊt**[1]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14
Lai (Hakha)	**kut**	hand	VanBik 2009:287
Lai (Falam)	**kùt**	hand	VanBik 2009:287
Lai (Hakha)	**kut**-tŭm	fist	VanBik 2009:281
	kʊt[2]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14
Lushai [Mizo]	**ku**-tang	finger	Matisoff 1987
	kut	hand	Marrison 1967
	kùt	hand, the handle (of a spinning machine, etc) (n.)	VanBik 2009:287
	kut	hand	Bhaskararao 1996:852
	kut pha	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:592
	kut-phaʔ	palm (hand)(1)	Weidert 1987:175
	kut-tia	finger (little)	Matisoff 1987
	kùt-tùm	fist, the clenched hand (n.)	VanBik 2009:186; VanBik 2009:281
	kut-zung	finger	Matisoff 1987
	kut-zung-chal	finger (index)	Matisoff 1987
	kut-zung-lai	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	kut-zung-pui	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	kut-zung-tê-u	finger (ring)	Matisoff 1987
	kut-zung-u	finger (ring)	Matisoff 1987
	kut phah	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
	kut tum	fist	Matisoff 1987
	kut zung	finger	Marrison 1967
	kʊt[4]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lailenpi	məˊ**kuʔ**[4]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14
Lakher [Mara]	**kū**	hand (n.)	VanBik 2009:287
	ku paro	finger	Matisoff 1987
	ku-cha-hu	fist	Matisoff 1987
	ku-dy	finger (index)	Matisoff 1987
	ku-lia	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	kū-tō	fist	VanBik 2009:281
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**kvɤ**[4]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14
Mera	**ku'**[5]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14
	ku[5]tsə̆k'i[5]	elbow	Luce 1985:O.10
Tha'oa	**kʊt**[1]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14
Xongsai	**χŏt**[2]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14
Zotung	**kwiʔ**[1]	hand	Luce 1985:O.14
	kwiʔ[1]k'i[1]	elbow	Luce 1985:O.10
	kwiʔ[1]ɓɔ[4]	arm	Luce 1985:N.35

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**kut**	hand	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.7
	kut če	index finger	Toba & Kom 1991:7.1.1
	kut čəŋ	right hand	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.7.4
	kut ləi	middle finger	Toba & Kom 1991:7.1.2
	kut pər	finger	Toba & Kom 1991:7.1
	kut pər inčunnə	knuckle (joint of digit)	Toba & Kom 1991:7.3
	kut rəbu	fist	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.7.3
	kut te	little finger	Toba & Kom 1991:7.1.4
	kut te u	ring finger	Toba & Kom 1991:7.1.3
	kut tun	fist	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.7.3
	kut vui	left hand	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.7.5
	kut rəkʰu	back of hand	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.7.2
Sorbung	**kʉ̀t** kʰóom	hand span	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.357
	kʉ́t	arm; hand	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.171; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.181

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	a **khut**	hand	Marrison 1967
	khut bang	arm	Marrison 1967
	khut mayung	finger	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Meluri	a **khet**	hand	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Puiron	**khut**	arm; hand	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	khut ki	elbow	Marrison 1967
	khut yung	hand	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***k**ʰ**ut** HAND / ARM

**Tangkhulic*	***k**ʰ**ut**	hand / arm	Mortensen 2012
Tankghul (Central)	**k**ʰ**ut**	hand	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-**k**ʰ**ui**	hand	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔə-**kfɯ**	hand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.168

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**khut**	hand	Singh 1991:6.1.7; Marrison 1967
	khut məmi	fingerprint	Singh 1991:7.1.6
	khut oy	left hand	Singh 1991:6.1.7.5
	khut yet	right hand	Singh 1991:6.1.7.4
	khut əmasuŋ khoŋ	limbs / arms and legs	Singh 1991
	khut-ki khujil	fingernail	Singh 1991:7.4.1
	khut-ki khujin	fingernail	Singh 1991:7.4.1
	khut ning thau	finger (ring)	Matisoff 1987
	khut pi	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	khut sa	finger	Singh 1991:7.1
	khut tum	fist	Singh 1991:6.1.7.3
	khut yay	middle finger	Singh 1991:7.1.2
	khu bak	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
	khu bi	finger	Marrison 1967
	khu dang	wrist	Marrison 1967
	khu daŋ	wrist	Singh 1991:6.1.6
	khu dom	ring (finger ring)	Marrison 1967
	khu dombi	index finger	Singh 1991:7.1.1
	khu dôn	finger	Matisoff 1987
	khu dôn bi	finger (index)	Matisoff 1987
	khu dum	fist	Matisoff 1987
	khu jeng	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	khu jil	claw (of animal); talon (of bird); claw; fingernail	Singh 1991:7.4.3; Singh 1991:7.4.4; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	khu jin	nail	Singh 1991:7.4
	khu nawbi	little finger	Singh 1991:7.1.4
	khu niŋthəw	ring finger	Singh 1991:7.1.3
	khu nəm	back of hand	Singh 1991:6.1.7.2
	khu yai	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	kut nau bi	finger (little)	Matisoff 1987
	kʰ**ut** sa	finger	Abbi & Mishra 1985

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	**khu** ṭub	fist	Sharma 1991a:6.1.7.3
	khyut si	arm	Sharma 1991a:6.1
	khyut si ṭaŋ ṭaŋ	forearm / lower arm	Sharma 1991a:6.1.5
Kanauri	**gu**	hand, arm (n.)	Bailey 1911
	gu sab'	glove	Bailey 1911
	gud	hand	Sharma 1988
	gŭd sẖĕnnig'	touch	Bailey 1911
	gŭd'	hand / arm (n.)	Bailey 1911
	gŭd ös khoyāmig'	touch	Bailey 1911
	i **gŭd'**	handful (one)	Bailey 1911
	khyuč	arm	Sharma 1988:29,35
Pattani [Manchati]	**guz̧**	hand	Sharma 1982
	gù Rə	hand	Sharma 1991b:6.1.7

2.1.1.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**khu** tshur	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.01
	khu-tshur	fist	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:40; Sun 1985c:264
	k'u-t'sur	fist	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

**Bah-Sun*	***gut**	hand	Michailovsky 1991:83
Bahing	dzumro **gø**	right hand	Michailovsky & Mazaudon 1973
	gy	hand	Michailovsky 1991:83
	peː ro **gø**	left hand	Michailovsky & Mazaudon 1973
Hayu	**got**	hand (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.97
	got	hand	Michailovsky 1991:83
Sunwar	**guy**	hand	Michailovsky 1991:83
	guy nāː	elbow	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**krut**	hand	Michailovsky 1991:83
	krut	arm, hand, tendril (n.)	Caughley 2000
	krut	hand; arm	Caughley 1972:1.48; Caughley 1972:2.A.47
	krut.pak	palm of hand (n.)	Caughley 2000
	krut pak	palm (hand)	Caughley 1972:2.A.53
	weʔ-**krut**	arm (left)	Caughley 1972:2.A.50
	ŋoy **krut**	arm (right)	Caughley 1972:2.A.49
Chepang (Eastern)	(**krut**) brəyh	finger	Caughley 1990:7.1
	(**krut**) sən	fingernail	Caughley 1990:7.4.1
	krut	forearm; lower arm; arm; hand	Caughley 1990:6.1; Caughley 1990:6.1.5; Caughley 1990:6.1.7
	krut pak	palm	Caughley 1990:6.1.7.1
	weʔ **krut**	left hand	Caughley 1990:6.1.7.5
	ŋoy **krut**	right hand	Caughley 1990:6.1.7.4
Kham	**'kwi**	hand; arm	Michailovsky 1991:83; Watters & Watters 1989:1.48; Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.47

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**ku**[55] tsi[55]	fist	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:252.18
Guiqiong	**ko**[53]	hand	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:251.17
	ko[53] tʃɔ̃[33] lɑ[33] phɑ[55]	left hand	SUN Hongkai 1991e
	ko[53] wi[55] lɑ[55] phɑ[55]	right hand	SUN Hongkai 1991e
	ko[55] kho[33] kho[33]	palm	SUN Hongkai 1991e
	kue[33]ɕɛ[53]	fingernail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:256.17
	kuɔ[5]	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.16
	kuɔ[55]	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.16
	kuɔ[55]	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.16
	kuɔ[55]nɤ̃[55]	finger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.16
	kuɔ[55]ɳɤ̃[55] ta[35]wu[55]	thumb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0110.16
	kuɔ[55]ɳɤ̃[55] ŋi[35]wu[55]	finger (little) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0112.16
	kuɔ[55]ɳɤ̃[55] ʐ̩ũ[35]ɳɤ̃[55]	finger (middle) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0111.16
	kuɔ[55]ɕɛ̃[55]	nail (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.16
Qiang (Taoping)	**χkue**[31]ɳi[33]	fist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:252.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**khu**[55]tsi[53]	fist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:252.16
	kʰ**u**[55] tsi[53]	fist	SUN Hongkai 1991n:6.1.7.3
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʂkə**[33]pɔ[13]	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.13
Xumi	lie[33] **qhu**[55] tsho[55]	fist	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:252.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ʂkʌ**[55]tshe[55]	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Daofu)	**rgu**	fist	DAI Qingxia 1989b:6.1.7.3
Daofu	**rɤə**	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.12
Ergong (Danba)	**zgu** lu	fist	SUN Hongkai 1991b:6.1.7.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:252.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	ta **rku**	fist	Dai Qingxia 1989d:6.1.7.3
	ta **rkut**	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **r̥kut**	fist	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.1.7.3
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ʃk^{h}ət**	fist	Sun Hongkai 1991k:6.1.7.3
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **rkut**	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.11
rGyalrong	ta **rkut**	fist	Nagano 1997:6.1.73
rGBenzhen	ta-**rkut**	fist	Sun 1997b

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	le̠^{31} **kv̩^{33}** dʐv̩^{31}	fist	Dai Qingxia 1989n:6.1.7.3

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	la^{53} **kv̩^{55}** tsɿ^{55}	fist	Dai Qingxia 1989c:6.1.7.3
	la^{53}**kv^{55}**tsɿ^{55}mɛ^{33}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.47
	lɑ^{53}**kv^{55}**tsɿ^{55}	fist	Mu Shihua 2003
Lalo	lɪ̠^{21} **ku̠^{21}** ts^{h}ɿ^{55} n̩^{55}	fist	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.3
Lipho	le̠^{21}**khu̠^{21}**tshɿ̄^{33}	fist	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.3
Nasu	la̠^{55} **ko̠^{21}** ts^{h}ɯ̠^{21}	fist	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.3
Noesu	**ko^{21}**po^{21}	fist	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.3
Nosu	**ku^{21}**tsɿ^{21}	fist	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.3
Yi (Liangshan)	**ku^{21}**tsɿ^{21}	fist	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	le̠^{21}**ku^{33}**	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.37
Yi (Weishan)	lɪ̠^{21}**ku̠^{21}**tshɿ^{55}n̩^{55}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ku̠^{2}**tshɯ̠^{2}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.38
Yi (Xide)	**ku^{21}**tsɿ^{21}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.35
	ku^{21}tsɿ^{21}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Yi (Sani)	le^{2}**khv̩^{11}**tshz̩^{44}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.39
Sani [Nyi]	le^{22}**qhu^{21}**tshi^{44}	fist	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.7.3
	le^{21}**qhu^{21}**tshi̠^{33}	fist	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le̠^{22} **k^{h}v̩^{11}** ts^{h}ɿ̠^{44}	fist	Ma Xueliang 1989:350.5

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	lɑ˩**kv**˩ʈv˩	fist	Michaud 2006–2009:397

(3) PTB *k(w)ay ARM / HAND / WING

This form is attested in several different subgroups, although the evidence is rather scanty.

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	**gi**	hand	Simon 1979

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**xàì**	hand	Thirumalai 1972:69

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	aʔ-**kaiʔ**	hand	Burling 1959:441
	a **kái**	hand	Weidert 1987:1126
	a **káy**	hand; arm	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
	ha **káy**	arm / hand	Bhat 1968
	na **káy**	hand	Bhat 1968
Meche	a **kai**	hand	Weidert 1987:1126
	na **kai**	hand	Weidert 1987:1126

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	gung-**hkai**	limb; wing	Matisoff 1987

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**kh^{w}ɨ**	arm	Nishida 1964:39-107

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	a^{32}**kui^{44}**ul^{44}	right hand	Lo Ch'ang-p'ei 1945

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	jie^{2}da^{1}**ke^{1}**	wing (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	jie^{2}tang^{1}**ke^{1}**	wing	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2
	jie^{2}tang^{1}**ke^{1}**	wing (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	tɕe^{35} t^{h}ã^{35} **k^{h}ɨe^{55}**	wing	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	tɕe^{35} t^{h}ã^{35} **k^{h}ɯe^{55}**	wing (of bird)	Chen Kang 1986c:6.1.9
	tɕie^{35}tan^{55}**khɯe^{55}**	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.49
	tɕie^{35}tan^{55}**khɯe^{55}**	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.38

(4) PTB *wul HAND

This etymon seems valid, but has a restricted distribution, having been so far discovered only in Nungic and a single Naga language.

HPTB unwisely considered the present root (there reconstructed as ***ʔur**) as being allofamic with PTB ***kwar** HAND / WING (§1.5.1) (there reconstructed as ***kur**). It now seems much more preferable to keep the two roots separate.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*kur ⋉ **ʔur**	hand	Matisoff 2003a:597
	***ʔul**	hand	Matisoff 2003a:583

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	a **ou**	arm; hand	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	a **ou** lo-pfe	carry (in hand)	Marrison 1967
	a **ou** mza	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
	a **ou** nhye	wrist	Marrison 1967
	a **u**	hand	Achumi 1998a:6.1.7
	a **u** kha kimighü	hand span (thumb to middle finger)	Achumi 1998a:13.2
	a **u** piyiu	left hand	Achumi 1998a:6.1.7.5
	a **u**-azheu	right hand	Achumi 1998a:6.1.7.4
	a **u**-mlo	arm	Achumi 1998a:6.1
	a **u**-muloshi	biceps / arm muscles	Achumi 1998a:6.1.3
	a **u**-sü	fist	Achumi 1998a:6.1.7.3

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	·**wer** (wer)	wing	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1697

4. Nungic

Anong	**ur**-pha	palm	Benedict 1972:418
	ur-phut	elbow	LaPolla 1987:70; Benedict 1972:7; Coblin 1986:101
Rawang	**wur^{33}**	hand	LaPolla 2003:121
	wur^{33} phɯt	elbow	LaPolla 2003:120
	wur^{33} siʔ	elbow; wrist	LaPolla 2003:119; LaPolla 2003:122
Nung	ɑ^{31}**vu^{35}**	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}**vu^{35}**	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.44
Nung	ɑ^{31}**vu^{35}**dɯ^{31}khɑŋ^{55}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.21
	ɑ^{31}**vu^{35}**ti^{55}phu^{31}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}**vu^{35}**ti^{55}phu^{31}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.44
Trung [Dulong]	a^{32}kui^{44}**ul^{44}**	right hand	Lo Ch'ang-p'ei 1945
	ul^{44} hlam^{42}	finger	Matisoff 1987
	ul^{44}a^{32}be^{42}	palm	Lo Ch'ang-p'ei 1945
	ul^{44}sla^{42}	arm	Lo Ch'ang-p'ei 1945
Dulong	**uɹ^{55}**	arm; hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.20; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.20
	uɹ^{55}	claw / talon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.20
	uɹ^{55}mɯ^{31}tɯp^{55}	fist (hollow, empty) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.20
	uɹ^{55}tɕiʔ^{55}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.20
	uɹ^{55}tɕiʔ^{55}	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.20
	uɹ^{55} pɔŋ	fist (solid) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ŭ^{ɹ55}**	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.46
	ŭ^{ɹ55}kɹu^{55}mu^{55}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.46
	ŭ^{ɹ55}pɔŋ^{53}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ŭɹ^{55}**	hand	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ŭɹ^{55} kɹu^{55} mu^{55}	elbow	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ŭɹ^{55} pɔ̆ŋ^{53}	fist	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ŭɹ^{55} tɕiʔ^{55}	wrist	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ŭɹ^{55} xɹɑm^{53}	finger	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ŭɹ^{55}**	hand	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

(5) PTB *m-bi ARM / HAND

This root of limited distribution occurs in the Angami group, with a single possible cognate in rGyalrong.

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**bi**	hand	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	u **bi**	hand	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(thi^{11}) **be^{31}** tsü^{35}	claw (of animal)	Nienu 1990b:7.4.3
	(u) **be^{31}**	hand	Nienu 1990b:6.1.7
	be^{31} khri^{33}	back of hand	Nienu 1990b:6.1.7.2
	be^{31} sa^{35} tso^{31}	back of hand	Nienu 1990b:6.1.7.2
	u **be**	hand	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**mbe**	arm; hand	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mbe nzhe	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	tə **p^{h}əi** k^{h}u	arm	Dai Qingxia 1989d:6.1

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	phæ^{33}	arm	Dai Qingxia 1989n:6.1

(6) PTB *ri HAND

This root is abundantly attested in Karbi, with good cognates in Qiangic. The Tamangic cognates, except for Tamang **'na:ri** 'arm', have acquired the meaning of 'digit' (finger, toe).

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	(**rí**)-mùn-dák-wám	middle finger	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	(**rí**)-mùn-jòng	index finger	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	(**rí**)-mùn-mén-wē	ring finger	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	(**rí**)-mùn-pī	thumb	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	(**rí**)-mùn-pō	thumb	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	(**rí**)-mùn-sék	ring finger	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	(**rí**)-mùn-sō	little finger	Grüssner 1979:175, 195
	(**rí**)-mùn-thokwám	thumb	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	ri	arm; hand	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	rí	arm; hand	Grüssner 1979:194; Grüssner 1979:194
	rí a-.ngkùng	elbow	Grüssner 1979:194
	rí a-pòng	upper arm	Grüssner 1979:194
	rí a-sék	elbow	Grüssner 1979:194
	ri a sek	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	rí-bēr	forearm / lower arm	Grüssner 1979:195
	rí-chi mī	fingernail	Grüssner 1979:194
	rí-chi mùn	finger	Grüssner 1979:194
	rí-kán	forearm / lower arm	Grüssner 1979:194
	rí-pák	hand; palm	Grüssner 1979:194; Grüssner 1979:194
	rí-pák a-nùng	back of hand	Grüssner 1979:195
	rí-pák a-thák	palm	Grüssner 1979:194
	ri-pak ⋉ **ri**-pek	hand (distinct from arm)	Walker 1925:148
	ri-pek	palm	Walker 1925:360
	rí-sák	wrist	Grüssner 1979:195
	rí-thák	upper arm	Grüssner 1979:194
	rí-tùng-dē	elbow	Grüssner 1979:194 [a]
	ri a sek	elbow	Marrison 1967
	ri deng	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
	ri kan	arm; wrist	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ri pek	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187

1.6. Mru

Mru	**rə̆** nui^{1}	elbow	Luce 1985:Q.60

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung (Ghachok)	pāh li **ri**	toe	Matisoff 1987
	yo **ri**	finger	Matisoff 1987
Tamang (Sahu)	'na: **ri**	arm	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.44
Thakali (Tukche)	pah le **Re**	toe	Matisoff 1987
	yā-**Re**	finger	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	**ɤi^{53}**	hand	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.15
Muya [Minyak]	u^{55}**ɣi^{55}**ŋgɐ^{35}	claw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:174.15
	ɣi^{55}	hand	Sun Hongkai 1991h:6.1.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.15
	ɣi^{55}mi^{55}ʐɐ^{35}	right hand	Sun Hongkai 1991h:6.1.7.4
	ɣi^{55}ʁɐ^{35}ʐɐ^{35}	left hand	Sun Hongkai 1991h:6.1.7.5
Qiang (Taoping)	**i^{55}** sɑ^{33}	arm	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.9

[a] Lit. "hand-knee". Cf. **tùng-dè** 'knee', with a different tone on the second syllable.

(7) PTB *g-wan HAND / WRIST / FIN

This etymon is represented in the Naga, Qiangic, and Himalayish branches. The Amdo (Bla-brang) form **hwoŋ wa** seems to represent a distinct root. The velar prefix is attested in both Ntenyi and Lepcha.

The second syllable of Ersu **da^{55} vɛ^{55} n̥o^{33}** looks like a possible reflex of this etymon, but **vɛ^{55}n̥o^{55}** is glossed as 'intestines'. However, the semantic development of HAND + INTESTINES > ARM seems quite implausible.

There is a good Chinese comparandum meaning 'wrist'.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-wan**	hand / wrist	Matisoff 2003a:618

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	ē **vōn̥**	arm	Acharya 1975
	e **won**	arm	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Ntenyi	a **gwün**	hand	Marrison 1967 [a]
	a **khwen**	hand	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	**wan**	hand	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	iɑ^{13} po^{35} **uɑ^{53}**	arm	SUN Hongkai 1991a:6.1
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	(a-)**gon**	fin	Matisoff 1987
	ŋo-**gon**	fin of a fish	Mainwaring 1898:58
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	da^{55} **vɛ^{55}** ŋo^{33}	arm	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.18
Muya	jɐ^{33}næ^{55}**βa^{35}**	armpit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0092.15
Muya [Minyak]	ja^{35}na̲^{55}**va̲^{35}**	underarm / armpit	SUN Hongkai 1991h:6.1.1
	jɐ^{35}na̲^{55}**va̲^{35}**	armpit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:265.15
	va^{35}	arm	SUN Hongkai 1991h:6.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.15

[a]These forms coexist alongside **akwang** 'arm' (< PTB ***k(w)aŋ** ARM (upper) / WING (§1.5.1)), demonstrating that these represent separate etyma.

Chinese comparandum

腕 OC ***ʔwân**, *GSR* #260n 'wrist'; Li 1971: **(*·uanh)**; Baxter 1992: **(*ʔons)**; B & S 2011: * **[ʔ] ʿo [r] -s**; Schuessler 2007:582-3 (see 迂 below); Mand. **wàn**.

捥 OC ***ʔwân**, *GSR* #260m 'wrist'; Li 1971: **(*·uanh)**; Baxter 1992: **(*ʔons)**; B & S 2011: * **[ʔ] ʿo [r] -s**; Schuessler 2007:–; Mand. **wàn**.

ZH: The Old Chinese words may have ended in ***-n** or ***-r**, which merge in later stages of Chinese; the brackets around ***r** in Baxter & Sagart's (2011) reconstruction are meant to reflect these two possibilities. Bodman (1980:65) suggested a comparison with Old Tibetan **'khord** 'to turn around' > WT **'khor** and reconstructed OC ***skwars**.

Schuessler 2007:582-3 instead derives the Chinese word for 'wrist' from an open-syllable root meaning 'bend' (迂, Mand. **yū**), with nominalizing suffix ***-n**, an etymology unrelated to this PTB root.

OC forms reconstructed with ***o** (***wa** in Karlgren and Li) should normally correspond to PTB ***o**, not ***wa**. But the support for this root in TB is sparse enough that a reconstruction with PTB ***o** probably can't be ruled out; besides, comparisons involving zero or glottal initial may have different correspondences that remain to be clearly worked out.

(8) PTB *ban ARM / HAND / SHOULDER

The stronghold of this etymon is Kuki-Chin, with possible scattered cognates in Himalayish, as well as in Tujia.

Reflexes of this etymon never seem to mean 'wing'. For similar-looking reflexes with that meaning, see PTB ***m/s-pa** WING / FEATHER (§1.5.1).

This root is phonosemantically similar to PTB ***pwaŋ** ARM (upper) / SHOULDER (§1.5.1), but seems distinct from it. The final nasal in the present root is always **-n**, while that of PTB ***pwaŋ** ARM (upper) / SHOULDER (§1.5.1) is always **-ŋ**.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ɓaan** ARM			
**Chin*	***ɓaan**	ARM	VanBik 2009:1
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Kuki-Chin	**ban**	arm	Haokip 1998:6.1
	ban thajung	arm muscles / biceps	Haokip 1998:6.1.3
	ban lai	forearm / lower arm	Haokip 1998:6.1.5
Paite	**baan**	fore-arm	VanBik 2009:1
Sizang	**bān**	arm	VanBik 2009:1
Thado	**báan**	arm (upper and lower)	VanBik 2009:1
Tiddim	**-baːn**	arm (n.)	Henderson 1965
	baːn^{2}	arm	VanBik 2009:1; Bhaskararao 1996:63
	bɑn^{1}	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**bawn˝**	arm	VanBik 2009:1
Cho (Mindat)	**ban**	arm	VanBik 2009:1
Khumi	kíw-**báang**	arm (especially the upper part)	VanBik 2009:1
Khumi (Ahraing)	**-bɑɛ̃^{4}**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
Matupi	**bɑn^{4}**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
Womatu	**ɓaːn^{4}**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Khualsim	**bɑːn^{3}**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
Lai (Hakha)	**bâan**	arm	VanBik 2009:1
Lai (Falam)	**bǎan**	arm	VanBik 2009:1
Lai (Hakha)	**bɑn^{5}**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
Lushai [Mizo]	**báan**	arm (n.)	VanBik 2009:1
	bân	arm	Marrison 1967
	bân-rêk	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	bân bun	armlet	Marrison 1967
	ban rêk	wrist	Marrison 1967
	baːn	arm	Bhaskararao 1996:63
	bɑːn^{1}	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lailenpi	mə˝**bə'^{4}**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
Lakher [Mara]	**bá**	arm	VanBik 2009:1
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**buə^{1}**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
Mera	**ɓɑ^{6}**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
Tha'oa	**bɑːn^{1}**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
Xongsai	**bɑn^{3}**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
Zotung	kwi?^{1}**ɓɔ^{4}**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	**ban**	arm; upperarm	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1; Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.2
	kut **ban** məti	arm muscles / biceps	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.3
Moyon	**bàn**	arm	Kosha 1990:6.1
	bàn rupum	forearm / lower arm	Kosha 1990:6.1.5
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	te **ben**	arm	Marrison 1967
	tə^{3}-**pən^{1}**	arm, hand (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **pen**	arm	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**pün** rü	shoulder	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Khezha	**ba**	hand	Marrison 1967
	bap fo	forearm / lower arm	Yabu 1994:6.1.5 [a]
	ba šu	elbow	Yabu 1994:6.1.4
	^{2}ba^{2}šu	elbow	Weidert 1987:407
	'è ba	arm	Yabu 1994:6.1
Mao	o **ba**	arm; hand	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	o **ba** zho	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
Sema [Sumi]	a **bin** gi ka	shoulder	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	cha **bin**	hand	Marrison 1967
	ka-**bẽn**-zuŋ	finger	Weidert 1987:273
Maram	a **va**	hand	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ban**	hand	Marrison 1967
	ban jung	finger	Marrison 1967
	ban pom	arm	Marrison 1967
	bân-pô	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:592
	bân-tı́n	nail	Weidert 1987:290
	bân-zú̱ŋ	finger	Weidert 1987:273
	məi **baan** zuŋ	finger	Matisoff 1994e
	məi **baan^{53}**	hand	Matisoff 1994e
Mzieme	mi **ba**	hand	Marrison 1967
	mi **ba**-keng kieng	arm	Marrison 1967
	mi **ba** deu	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***paan** HAND / ARM			[a]
**Tangkhulic*	***paan**	hand / arm	Mortensen 2012:465
Champhung	a-**pan**	hand	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-**vej**	forearm; lower arm; hand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.114
	ʔa-**vej** ʔa-jie	right hand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.184
	ʔa-**vej**-k^{h}ɐm	back of hand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.182
	ʔa-**vej**-mə-k^{h}ɐm	back of hand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.181
	ʔa-**vej**-mə-re-ruk	fist	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.183
	ʔa-**vej**-t^{h}u	upper arm	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.013
	ʔa-**vej**-t^{h}u mə-sɐl	arm muscles; biceps	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.173
	ʔa-**vej**-ʔa-vue	left hand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.185
Kachai	ʔa-**pon**	forearm / lower arm / hand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.157
	ʔa-**pon**-t^{h}i	upper arm	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.150
	ʔa-**pon**-ʔa-ca-wa	right hand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.161
	ʔa-**pon**-ʔa-ju-wa	left hand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.162
Tangkhul (Standard)	**paŋ**	hand	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔɯ-**pɯə̃**	arm	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.158
Ukhrul	ʔa-**paŋ**	hand / arm	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	leng **ban**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	leng **bân**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	leŋ **ban**	shoulder	Singh 1991:5.3
	pam bom	arm; upperarm	Singh 1991:6.1; Singh 1991:6.1.2; Marrison 1967 [b]
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	kə hpàq shing **ban**	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Lui	**pam**-bom	arm	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	**bA^{13}**	hand	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Manang (Gyaru)	**ban^{3}** da?^{1}	shoulder	Nagano 1984:027
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{2}pən** taː	shoulder	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0020
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	tɕie^{35}**pan^{55}**tsi^{55}	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.49
	tɕie^{35}**pan^{55}**tsi^{55}	arm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.38
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Lolopho	**phæ^{33}**	arm	DAI Qingxia 1989n:6.1
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	la^{53} **pha^{55}**	arm	DAI Qingxia 1989c:6.1

[a]The cognacy of the aberrant-seeming Huishu forms remains to be demonstrated.
[b]Note assimilation of the medial consonants.

(9) PTB *pow ARM / HAND

This etymon is attested in Jingpho, Lolo-Burmese, and perhaps in Qiangic.

There is a similar but distinct etymon PTB ***s-pu** meaning WING / FEATHER.

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	lə **phō**	arm above elbow (putative seat of strength)	Hanson 1906
3.2. QIANGIC			
Lyuzu	le^{23}**phu^{53}**	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.18
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	lak-**phə** mûi	back of hand	Matisoff 1987 [a]
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	lieʔ^{44}**pu^{55}**	hand	YUAN Chia-hua 1953
	lieʔ^{44}**pʏ^{44}**	hand	YUAN Chia-hua 1953
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	la˰ **pu˅**	hand (esp. back of hand)	Lewis 1989:268
Bisu	là **pù**	hand	Bradley 1979b
Mpi	lɑ^{2}**phu^{6}**	hand	Bradley 1979b; Hansson 1989:482; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	lɑ^{2}**phu^{6}**we?^{4}leʔ^{4}	wrist	Bradley 1979b

[a]Note the destressing or "prefixization" of WB **phə**.

(10) PTB *k(w)aŋ ARM (upper) / WING

The Bodic forms listed here seem to exemplify this etymon, but there is a complication. WT **goŋ** basically means 'upper part' (Jäschke 1881:72), as in **p'rag-goŋ** 'upper arm' (**p'rag** 'shoulder'), **bol-goŋ** 'upper part of foot', **k'a-lpags goŋ-ma** 'upper lip'. Less obvious compounds with this morpheme are **lha-goŋ** 'larynx' and **mur-goŋ** 'temple'.

Cf. also PTB ***g-raŋ** WING / HAND / ARM (§1.5.1).

Note the Jingpho doublet with final velar nasal **sìŋ-kōŋ**.

A number of other forms with velar initial and high back vowel are also candidates for assignment to this etymon, including (Asakian) Sak **ta-kú, tăhù** 'arm', Lui **takhu, tahu** 'arm'; (Kiranti) Limbu **ku-lāp** 'wing', **ku-co** 'feather'; also Chepang **waʔ-ko** 'small feather'.

There seems no reason to assign Proto Tani PTani ***m-kloŋ** FEATHER / WING (§1.5.1) to this root since there seems to be no trace of a liquid medial.

1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	a **k^{h}õ** pu	arm (upper)	Pulu 1978
	a **k^{h}o** sipra	arm (lower)	Pulu 1978
	a **k^{h}u** sipra	lower arm	Anonymous 1962
	a **k^{h}u**-pũ	upper arm	Anonymous 1962
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	ta shi **kang**	wing	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	shi **kang**	wing	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Ntenyi	a **kwang**	arm	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	a **kang**	wing	Marrison 1967
Maram	wai chu **kung**	arm	Marrison 1967

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	su **kang**	wing	Marrison 1967
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ar veng **kong**	wing	Walker 1925:13
	veng **kong**	wing	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	gaŋ **koŋ**	wing	Bhat 1968
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**kak**	wing	Marrison 1967 [a]
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	sing **kaw**	wing	Marrison 1967
	sìŋ-**koŋ**	wing, e.g. as of a bird or airplane	Maran nd.:1390
	siŋ^{31}**kǫ^{33}**	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.19
	ʃiŋ^{31} **kǫ^{33}**	wing	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.47
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	a yáiŋ **kó**	wing	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:316
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	gur **gaŋ**	arm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.7
Motuo Menba	gur **gaŋ**	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.07
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Spiti	**kaŋ** doŋ	arm	Bodh 1991:6.1
Tibetan (Written)	pʻrag-**goŋ**	upper arm	Jäschke 1881:353-4 [b]
Tibetan (Xiahe)	laχ **kwa**	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}ya: **kaŋ**	arm	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0028
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Nyi)	la˄ **k'aw:**	arm	Bradley 1979a:108
Lahu (Shehleh)	la˄ **k'aw_**	arm	Bradley 1979a:108
Lahu (Black)	là?-**qɔ̄**	whole arm (shoulder to wrist); narrow part of forearm where it joins the hand	Matisoff 1988a:1353 [c]
Lahu (Bakeo)	la˄ **k'aw:**	arm	Bradley 1979a:108
6.2. NAXI			
Naxi (Eastern)	dər^{33}**ko^{33}**	wing	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	dər^{33}**ko^{33}**	wing	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.29
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	ji^{21}**ku^{55}**	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.48
	ji^{33} **khɣ^{55}**	wing	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ji^{33}**khv^{55}**	wing	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.36
	ji̱^{44} **k^{h}ɣ^{55}**	wing	ZHAO Yansun 1990:6.1.9
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kwəng**/kwəng	arm, esp. upper arm from elbow to shoulder	Karlgren 1957:887a-e

[a] This Chang form perhaps represents a stop-final allofam of this root.

[b] WT **dpuṅ-pa rkaṅ** also means 'upper arm', but is to be analyzed as "shoulder's leg" (**dpuṅ-pa** 'shoulder'). Perhaps the girth of the upper arm reminded speakers of a leg.

[c] This word was originally glossed 'whole arm (shoulder to wrist)' during JAM's 1965-66 field trip, but was revised to 'narrow part of forearm where it joins the hand' when the data was revised on subsequent trips (cf. **qɔ̄** 'neck'). Given the imprecision of body part terminology, it is very possible that both glosses are correct.

Chinese comparandum

肱 OC ***kwəng**, *GSR* #887f 'arm, upper arm'; Li 1971: ***kwəng**; Baxter 1992 #522: ***k^{w}iŋ**; B & S 2011: ***[k]^{wʕ}əŋ**; Schuessler 2007:256; Mand. **gōng**.

ZJH: Schuessler (2007:256) says this Chinese word "has apparently no outside cognate", and derives it from Chinese 弓 'bow (the weapon)', Mand. **gōng**. The proposed correspondence to PTB ***k(w)aŋ** is reasonable on semantic and phonetic grounds, but the competing internal Chinese etymology must also be considered.

(11) PTB *pwaŋ ARM (upper) / SHOULDER

This root is well distributed in several subgroups, with a good Chinese comparandum. It frequently appears as the second member of compounds after reflexes of PTB ***lak**. Semantically, it is firmly in the area of UPPER ARM rather than HAND.

Jingpho **mə*bù?*** 'wing' (poetic couplet of **sìŋkō**) seems to point to an allofam with homorganic final stop, as is probably the case with the first syllable of Sangtam **pük yang** 'arm'.

Reflexes of this root are divided between plausible prototypes with ***-aŋ** and those with a back vowel (***-oŋ** or ***-uŋ**). Hence the reconstruction with ***-w-**. For similar outcomes, cf. PTB ***dwaŋ** WING / HAND (§1.5.1).

This root is phonosemantically similar to PTB ***ban** ARM / HAND / SHOULDER (§1.5.1), but should be kept distinct from it.

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	**p^{h}aŋ**	arm	Simon 1979
1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**pua^{33}tok^{33}tsən^{33}**	carry on shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:593.52
	pua^{33}tok^{11}	shoulder	SUN Hongkai 1993; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.52
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	gor-**bã**	shoulder	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	gor-**bã** a-lo	shoulder blade	Sun 1993b
	gor-**baŋ**	shoulder	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-**po**	upper arm	Sun 1993b
Bengni	gɯr-**bɯŋ**	shoulder	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	gɯr-**bɯŋ** ǰo:	carry on shoulder	Sun 1993b
	lak-**po:**	upper arm	Sun 1993b
Bokar	gur **bɯŋ**	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.24
	gur-**bɯŋ**	shoulder	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lok **poŋ**	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.24
	lok-**poŋ**	arm	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	gur **bɯŋ**	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lok **poŋ**	arm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	luk **pɯŋ**	fist	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	lak-**po**	upper arm	Das Gupta 1963
	lak **poo**	arm (not including hand) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	lak **po**	arm	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	lâk-**pong**	arm	Lorrain 1907
Damu	lak-**po**	arm	Sun 1993b
	ŋe-**pəŋ**	shoulder	Sun 1993b
Milang	lak-**po**	arm	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	e^{55}li^{55}**pa^{55}**	shoulder	SUN Hongkai 1991f:5.3
	e^{55}li^{55}**pɑ^{55}**	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.50
	i li **pã**	shoulder	Anonymous 1962
	i l̩i **pã**	shoulder	Pulu 1978
	i l̩i **pã** a ku tu lu la **pũ**	shoulder(blade) hand	Pulu 1978 Anonymous 1962
Yidu	e^{55}li^{55}**pɑ^{55}**	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.25
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho (Sandoway)	ă`**ɓɔã^{1}**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35 [a]
Awa Khumi	sʻă **bɔ̃^{2}**	arm	Luce 1985:N.35
1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP			
Maring	khut **bang**	arm	Marrison 1967 [b]
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	ta pu **bang**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-u **phaŋ**	shoulder (n.)	Coupe 2007
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Khonoma)	**bu**	arm	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **bo^{11}**	arm	Nienu 1990a:6.1
	u **bou**	arm	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **bo^{11}**	arm	Nienu 1990b:6.1
	bo^{31} tso^{31} thi^{11}	arm muscles / biceps	Nienu 1990b:6.1.3
	u **bo**	arm	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**pang**	hand	Marrison 1967
	pang khuk	elbow	Marrison 1967
	pang maya	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
	pang thei	arm	Marrison 1967
	paŋ	hand	Bhat 1969:90
	pāŋ khumthei	fist	Matisoff 1987
	pāŋ-khuk	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	vānaowui **pāŋ** marin	talon / claw	Matisoff 1987
Ukhrul	**paŋ**-t^{h}ej	arm	Mortensen 2012
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**phang**	arm; shoulder; upper arm	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	phàng	shoulder	Grüssner 1979:139
	phàng-kōr	upper arm	Grüssner 1979:139
	rí a-**pòng**	upper arm	Grüssner 1979:194
1.6. MRU			
Mru	**bong**	arm	Löffler 1966
	pɑŋ^{2}kɔ^{ə}t^{4}	shoulder	Luce 1985:R.26
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	jak-**pong**	upper arm	Burling 1992
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	cak **phung**	arm, upper arm (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	chak **phong**	arm, upper arm (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	mă **bùʔ**	wing	Hanson 1906:406
Jingpho (Hkauri)	shing **bang**	shoulderblade	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Kadu ("Sak")	ta **paung**	arm	Löffler 1964
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**pum** pa	shoulder	Sharma 1991a:5.3
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**bo^{13}** dzo^{35}	fist	SUN Hongkai 1991a:6.1.7.3
Kaike	pā **pung**	arm	Hale 1973:66
Tsangla (Central)	**phang** ma	shoulder	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 7a
Tsangla (Motuo)	**phaŋ** ma	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.7
	p^{h}aŋ^{55} ma^{13}	shoulder	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	p^{h}aŋ ma	shoulder	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	**p^{h}aŋ**-ma	shoulder	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**pum^{55}** pɑ^{55}	shoulder	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**pu^{55}** pʌ^{53}	shoulder	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.6
Motuo Menba	**phaŋ** ma	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.07
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	**bõ^{55}** pa^{55}	arm	DAI Qingxia 1989a:6.1
Tibetan (Jirel)	pā **pung**	arm	Hale 1973:66
	pung bāq	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**puŋ^{55}**pa:^{55} che:^{55}	shoulder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.02
	puŋ^{55}pa^{53}	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.2
	puŋ^{55}pa^{55}che^{55}	carry on shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:593.2
	puŋ^{55}pə^{55}	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.02
Sherpa	**pu** muq	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Written)	**dpuṅ**-pa	shoulder	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	dpuṅ-pa lag	upper and lower arm	Matisoff 1987
	dpuṅ-pa rkaṅ	upper arm bone	Matisoff 1987
	dpuŋ pa	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.1
	dpuŋ par fikhjer	carry on shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:593.1
	dpuŋ-pa	shoulder	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:30
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**bo:** kwoẽ	shoulder blade / scapula	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.3.1
	bwa: kwaę̃	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**'põ:**	shoulder	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.29
	'pǫ̃	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
3.2. QIANGIC			
Pumi (Taoba)	sa^{55} **põ^{55}**	shoulder	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.10
Qiang (Mawo)	dʒa **pu**	arm	Sun 1986
	dʒu **pu**	arm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.8; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dʐu **pu**	arm	SUN Hongkai 1991g:6.1
Qiang (Yadu)	lo **pu**	arm	DAI Qingxia 1989q:131
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**χpoŋ^{33}** lə^{33}	arm	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1
	χpoŋ^{33} ɕya^{53}	arm muscles / biceps	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1.3
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	**phɯe^{35}**thi^{55}khɯe^{55}	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.49
	phɯe^{35}thi^{55}khɯe^{55}	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.38
Tujia (Northern)	**p^{h}ɨe^{35}** t^{h}i^{55} k^{h}ɨe^{55}	shoulder	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**p^{h}ɯe^{35}** t^{h}i^{55} k^{h}ɯe^{55}	shoulder	CHEN Kang 1986c:5.3

[a] This form nicely confirms our reconstruction.

[b] The velarity of the final in Maring **bang** is unexplained.

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Luxi)	laʔ^{31} **paŋ^{55}** tsɻ^{55}	arm	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola	laʔ^{31} **pu^{35}**	arm	Dai Qingxia 1989g:128
Bola (Luxi)	laʔ^{31}**pu^{35}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.32
Hpun (Northern)	kă **paŋ**	shoulder	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	lɔʔ^{31}**pau^{35}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.31
Lashi	lɔʔ^{31} **pu^{53}**	arm	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.1
Leqi (Luxi)	lɔʔ^{31}**pu^{53}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.33
Maru [Langsu]	lɔʔ^{31} **pau^{55}**	forearm; lower arm; arm	Dai Qingxia 1989l:6.1; Dai Qingxia 1989l:6.1.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	loʔ^{21} **pu^{55}**	arm	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	loʔ^{21}**pu^{55}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.30
	loʔ^{21}**pu^{55}**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.42

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	lɪ̲^{21} **pʰɑŋ^{21}** tsɻ^{33}	shoulder	Chen Kang 1986b:5.3
Nasu	la̲^{55} **pu^{33}** tsọ^{21}	arm	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1
Nesu	lɪ̲^{21} ɣʏ^{33} **pọ^{21}**	arm	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1
Noesu	la^{13}**po^{55}**	arm	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1
Nosu	ɬo^{21}**bo^{21}**	arm	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	kua^{55} **bo^{31}**	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989o:114.
Nusu (Central)	kua^{55} **bɔ^{31}**	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989p:114.
	kua^{55}**bɔ^{31}**	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.34
	kuɑ^{55} **bɔ^{31}**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	kuɑ^{55}**bɔ^{31}**	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	la̲^{31} **pʰɹuɔ^{31}**	arm	Dai Qingxia 1989o:128.
Nusu (Central)	la̲^{53}**boŋ^{55}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.34
Yi (Dafang)	**bɯ^{21}** pʰa^{33}	leg (thigh); thigh	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:264.22
Yi (Nanhua)	le̲^{21}**bu^{33}**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.24
Yi (Nanjian)	lɪ̲^{21} **phɑŋ^{21}** dzɻ^{33}	shoulder	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.23
Yi (Weishan)	lɪ̲^{21}**pha^{21}**tsɻ^{33}	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.36
Yi (Wuding)	lo̲^{55}**pɣ^{33}**tsu̲^{2}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.38
Yi (Xide)	ɬo^{21} **bo^{21}**	arm	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɬo^{21}-**bo^{21}** tɔ^{33}-sɻ^{33}	upper arm / wing	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɬo^{21}-**bo^{21}** tɔ^{33}-sɻ̄^{33}	arm	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɬo^{21}**bo^{21}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.35
	ɬo^{21}bo^{21}tɔ^{33}sɻ̄^{33}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	le̲^{21}ɣɯ^{21}**po^{55}**	arm	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	la^{55} **pu^{44}**	arm	Dai Qingxia 1989h:131
Jinuo (Baka)	la^{55} **pɣ^{44}**	arm	Dai Qingxia 1989i:131
Jinuo	la^{55}**pu^{44}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.44
**Common Lahu*	***hpeh:**/pui:	shoulder	Bradley 1979b:107
Lahu (Black)	là?-**pɔ̄** ~ là?-**pwɛ̄**	segment of the arm; forearm; upper arm	Matisoff 1988a:p. 1358
Sani [Nyi]	**bu^{33}**	shoulder	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:25.2
	bu^{33} tɕʰæ^{33}	shoulder	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:25.3
	bu^{33}tɕhɛ^{33}	shoulder	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Bisu	là **pò**	hand	Bradley 199x
	là **pù**	hand	Beaudouin 1988:14
Hani (Caiyuan)	la̲^{31} **pʰu^{55}**	arm	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	la̲^{31}**phɣ^{55}**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.30
Hani (Shuikui)	la^{31}**pa^{33}**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.32
Côông [Phunoi]	**bǒ** fium^{35}	shoulder	Bradley 1977
	lə̆ **pù**	arm	Bradley 1979b
	lə̆ **pu^{11}**	arm	Bradley 1977
Ugong	lə̆ʔ **phêŋ**	arm	Bradley 1993:6.1

6.2. Naxi

Naxi (Eastern)	lo^{31}**bv^{55}**lɳ^{33}	arm	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	lo^{31}**bv^{55}**lɳ^{33}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.29

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**po^{33}** ʈɯ̲^{21}	shoulder	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	po^{33}tɯ^{21}khu^{55}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.37
	ʂi^{33} **pɑ̃^{42}**	arm	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ʂi^{33}**pã^{42}**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.37
Bai (Dali)	sɯ^{33} **pɑ̃^{31}** tsi^{33}	arm	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	sɯ^{33}**pɑ^{42}**tsi^{44}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.35
	to^{31}**po^{33}**tɯ^{21}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.35
	tọ^{42} **po^{33}** tɯ̲^{21}	shoulder	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɔ^{2} **pɔ^{2}** tø^{7}	shoulder	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**po^{33}** tɯ̲^{21}	shoulder	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Zhao Yansun 1990:5.3
	po^{33}tɯ^{21}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.36

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	chì **bǎng**	wing	Evans *et al.* 1991
	jiān **bǎng**	shoulder	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

膀 ‘upper arms’; *GSR*: not in #740; Li 1971: **(*bangx)**; Baxter 1992: **(*bangʔ)**; B & S 2011: **(* [b] ʿaŋʔ)**; Schuessler 2007:170 (see below 膊); Mand. **bǎng**.

JAM: Yang 1980 cites 肩膀 ‘shoulder’ Mand. **jiānbǎng** and 翅膀 ‘wing’ Mand. **chìbǎng**, where the second element 膀 has the same phonetic as other members of *GSR* #740, with the basic meaning of SIDE. For instance:

房 OC ***b’iwɑng**, *GSR* #740y ‘side-room’; Mand. **fáng**
旁 OC ***b’wɑ̂ng**, *GSR* #740f’ ‘side, on all sides’; Mand. **páng**
傍 OC ***b’wɑ̂ng**, *GSR* #740m’ ‘at the side of; assist’; Mand. **bàng**.

ZJH: 膀 **bǎng** is not attested in early Chinese sources, which is the reason it is not found in *GSR* or the other sources for OC reconstruction (the reconstructions I have provided may therefore be anachronistic); it is either an old colloquial/dialectal term that was not recorded in texts, or a later development within Chinese. Schuessler (2007:170) raises the possibility that it derives from Chinese 膊 *pâk ‘shoulder blade’ (Mand. **bó**). But in terms of semantics and phonetics, 膀 **bǎng** is a good match for the TB root.

(12) PTB *pum ARM / SHOULDER

This etymon looks rather similar to ***s-bwam** PLUMP / SWOLLEN [*STC* #172] as well as to PTB ***bwap** CALF / LEG (§1.1.5.2) [*STC* #30], since the bicep of the arm is protuberant like the calf of the leg. Cf. Mizo **puam** ‘swell’, **pan-puam** ‘muscle of upper arm’.

Both Meithei and Lui show assimilation of the final consonants of the first syllable (< PTB ***ban**) to the initial of the second. The Liangmei form seems to show radical reduction of the first syllable to syllabic **m**, implying a two-stage development: assimilation to the initial of the second syllable, followed by reduction and prefixization of the first syllable.

1.1. “North Assam”

Sulung [Puroik]	**pua^{33}**tok^{33}	arm	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.52

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	m **poum**	arm	Marrison 1967 [a]
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ban **pom**	arm	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	pam **bom**	arm; upperarm	Singh 1991:6.1; Singh 1991:6.1.2; Marrison 1967 [b]

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Moshang)	yok **pʰum**	arm	French 1983:500
	yok **phum**	arm	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	yak **pʰim**	arm	French 1983:500
	yak **phim**	arm	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	lă^{31}**phum^{31}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.19
	lă^{31}**phum^{31}**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.47
	lă^{1} **phum^{31}**	arm	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lă **hpùm**	forearm	Hanson 1906:376
	sùm thāŋ lə **phùm**	arm	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:816

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Lui	pam-**bom**	arm	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	**pfiam**	shoulder	Noonan *et al.* 1992:5.3
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{3}pam**	shoulder (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:5.3
	^{3}pam	shoulder	Mazaudon 1994:688
Tamang (Sahu)	**’pāhm** le	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987
	’pahm le	shoulder blade	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.45
	pāhm	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	pahm	shoulder	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.27
	^{3}pam	shoulder	Mazaudon 1994:688
Tamang (Taglung)	**^{3}bam**	shoulder	Mazaudon 1994:688
Thakali (Marpha)	**^{21}bɔ^{ɦ}m**	shoulder	Mazaudon 1994:688
Thakali (Syang)	**^{21}pʌm**	shoulder	Mazaudon 1994:688
Thakali (Tukche)	ja-**pohm**	shoulder	Hari 1971:2.A.29
	ja-**pohm** nɔ ʈi	shoulder blade	Hari 1971:2.A.48
	ya-**pohm**	arm	Matisoff 1987
	yā-**pohm** na Ti	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987
	^{3}pom	shoulder	Mazaudon 1994:688

6.1.2. Loloish: ***pum^{1}** SHOULDER [c]

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	la^{53} **phɛ^{31}** tsɻ^{33}	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.3
	la^{53}**phɛ^{31}**tsɻ^{33}	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.47
	lɑ^{53}**pɑ^{31}**tsɻ^{31}tʰi^{31}	shoulder blade	Mu Shihua 2003
	lɑ^{53}**pʰe^{31}**tsɻ^{33}	shoulder	Mu Shihua 2003
Lalo	**phé**	shoulder blade	Björverud 1994

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	là?-**phɛ**-qá	shoulder (Tlf)	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	laʔ^{21} **pʰe^{33}**	shoulder	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Bisu	pa **hùm**	shoulder	Bradley 1979b
	pà **hòm**	shoulder	Bradley 199x
	pà **hùm**	shoulder	Beaudouin 1988:15
Côông [Phunoi]	bò **hŭm**	shoulder	Bradley 1979b
	bŏ **fium^{35}**	shoulder	Bradley 1977
	ɓò **fiŭm**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987

[a] The initial nasal in this form is perhaps from the final consonant of a formerly preceding syllable (cf. the Rongmei and Meithei forms where the first syllable is to be assigned to PTB ***ban** ARM / HAND / SHOULDER (§1.5.1)).
[b] Note assimilation of the medial consonants.
[c] The Lahu rhyme **-ɛ** is often from PL ***-um**.
The putative Bisu and Phunoi reflexes of this weakly attested root show initial **h-** rather than a labial stop. If these are indeed valid reflexes, they would point to a development reminiscent of Old Japanese ***p-** going to Modern Japanese **h-**.

(13) PTB *m-brwaŋ ARM

This etymon appears mostly in the North Assam area, with a striking cognate in rGyalrong.

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	a: **pr**	arm	NEFA (India) 1963
	a: **pr** tha:ming	upper arm; muscle of arm	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	a: **pr**-ru	arm (lower)	NEFA (India) 1963
	a: **pr**-ru:	arm (lower)	NEFA (India) 1963
	a: **pr**-tha:ming	arm (upper)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ɑ^{31}**pɹɯ^{35}**kɯ^{31}xɑŋ^{35}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.22
	ɑ^{31}**pɹɯ^{35}**kɯ^{31}xɑŋ^{35}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.49
Kaman [Miju]	**ɹă̆u^{53}** ɹɑŋ^{55}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.23
	ɹă̆u^{53} ɹɑŋ^{55}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.48
Idu	a^{55}**pɹu^{53}**	arm	Sun Hongkai 1991f:6.1
	a kʰo **mbrõ**	arm	Anonymous 1962
	a kʰõ **pu**	arm (upper)	Pulu 1978
	a kʰu-**pũ**	upper arm	Anonymous 1962
	la rũ **mbo**	arm	Pulu 1978
	ɑ^{55}**pɹu^{53}**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.50
Yidu	ɑ^{53}**pɹu^{53}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.25

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Eastern)	tɐjɐk **mbro**	arm	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.1

(14) PTB *dum ARM

This rather rare but valid-looking root often occurs as the second syllable of compounds where the first syllable descends from ***lak**. There seems to be a connection with the notion of ‘fist’.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Tagin	lak **tum**	fist	Das Gupta 1983

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	ó **tu**	arm	Brown 1895:64

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**thŭm**	arms (n.)	Bailey 1911

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Mama)	la^{55}**dum^{55}**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.6
Cuona Menba	la^{55}**dum^{55}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.06

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Sani [Nyi]	ɬi^{21}**du^{21}**	arm	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Shuikui)	la^{31} **tɣ^{55}**	arm	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Mojiang)	la^{31}**tɣ^{55}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.42

(15) PTB *dwaŋ WING / HAND

This is the best attested root with the meaning WING. The reflexes vary between a low central and a mid back vowel, suggesting a prototype with labial medial ***dwaŋ**. The two Black Lahu variants **tō-làʔ-qú ~ tɔ̄-làʔ-qú** reflect this: Lahu **o** frequently derives from ***-oŋ**, while Lahu **ɔ** often derives from ***-aŋ**. Similarly, Jingpho **sùm thāŋ lə phùm** 'arm' reflects ***-aŋ**, while Jingpho **dòŋ** 'cubit' comes from ***-oŋ**.

The Naxi and Zhaba forms reflect a variant with prenasalized initial.

There is an almost identical set of reflexes with the meaning CUBIT (see PTB ***dwaŋ** CUBIT (§1.5.1)), which is undoubtedly related to the present root.

This root is to be distinguished from the phonologically similar PTB ***tuŋ** KNEE / ELBOW (§1.5.8).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***duŋ**	wing	Matisoff 2003a:587
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	ta-ka-ka-**taŋ**	feather	Tayeng 1976
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	bʌ **thá**	wing (of bird)	Kosha 1990:6.1.9
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	ba **thang**	wing	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	ba garang **thong**	wing	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Wanang	cak-**toŋ**	hand	Burling 1959:441
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	o-**tũ**	arm, hand	Jacquesson 2005
	o-**tũ²**	hand	unknown nd
	ó **tu**	hand	Brown 1895:66
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	sùm **thāŋ** lə phùm	arm	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:816
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	ming khop **tang**	eyelid	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 3 [a]
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Spiti	kaŋ **doŋ**	arm	Bodh 1991:6.1
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Thakali	**tāhng** karā	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
Thakali (Tukche)	**tahŋ** kɔra	wing	Hari 1971:3.A.14
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	lap **taŋ**	wing	Ebert 1997
	lap **ʈaŋ**	wing	Weidert 1987:634
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Chamling	-lab he **tuŋ**	wing	Weidert 1987:634
	lab, lab e **tung**	feather, wing	Michailovsky 1991:64
	lab e **tung**	feather / wing	Winter 1985:22
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**bu**^{55} ɬɛ^{55}	wing	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.18 [b]
Guiqiong	**dɔ**^{35} nphɑ^{53}	wing	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.17
	dɑ̃^{35}pha^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.16
Lyuzu	**du**^{33}ly^{53}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.18
Namuyi	**du**^{55}**tʂʅ**^{55}	wing (of bird); wing	Sun Hongkai 1991i:6.1.9; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.19
	du^{55}**tʂʅ**^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**dũ**^{35}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**dõ**^{13}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**dõ**^{13}	wing	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**diã**^{35} ka^{55}	wing	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.10
Xumi	**dũ**^{55} quɐ^{33}	wing	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.20
	dũ^{55}tɕhyɛ^{53}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ndu**^{33}ʐə^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.14
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	jie^{2}**da**^{1}	wing	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3
	jie^{2}**da**^{1}	wing (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	jie^{2}**da**^{1}ke^{1}	wing (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	jie^{2}**tang**^{1}ke^{1}	wing	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2
	jie^{2}**tang**^{1}ke^{1}	wing (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	tɕe^{35} **t**^{h}**ã**^{35} k^{h}ɨe^{55}	wing	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	tɕe^{35} **t**^{h}**ã**^{35} k^{h}ɯe^{55}	wing (of bird)	Chen Kang 1986c:6.1.9
	tɕe^{13} **ta**^{55}	wing (of bird)	Chen Kang 1986d:6.1.9
Tujia (Southern)	tɕe^{13}**ta**^{55}	wing	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	tɕie^{35}**tan**^{55}khɯe^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.49
	tɕie^{35}**tan**^{55}khɯe^{55}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.38
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	a^{31} **tuŋ**^{55}	wing	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31} **tuŋ**^{55}	wing	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	a^{31}**tuŋ**^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.28
	a^{31}**tuŋ**^{55}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.41
Achang (Luxi)	a^{31} **tɔŋ**^{31}	wing	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31} **tuŋ**^{55}	wing	Dai Qingxia 1989f:347
	a^{31}**tuŋ**^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.29
Bola	**tauŋ**^{55}	wing	Dai Qingxia 1989g:347
Bola (Luxi)	**tauŋ**^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɑ̃u**^{22}pɑ̃^{22}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɑ̃u**^{22}pɑ̃^{22}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.40
Burmese (Written)	a **toṅ**	wing	Marrison 1967
	myak-**toŋ**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	toŋ	wing; wing, limb	Hansson 1989:416; Benedict 1976a
	tɔŋ^{2}pɑṁ^{2}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.26
	tɔŋ^{2}pɑṁ^{2}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.39
	ə-**toŋ**	quill; wing	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	ă **tɔ́ŋ**	wing	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**tauŋ**^{31}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.31
Lashi	**tuŋ**^{31}	wing (of bird)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.1.9
Leqi (Luxi)	**tuŋ**^{31}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.33
Marma	ə **tɔŋ**	wing	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:316
Maru [Langsu]	**tauŋ**^{31}	wing (of bird); wing	Dai Qingxia 1989l:6.1.9; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tuŋ**^{51}	wing	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	tuŋ^{51}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.30
	tuŋ^{51}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	***doŋ**^{1}	wing	Bradley 1979b:83; Hansson 1989:416
Lolopho	**dɣ**^{33} lɐ̱^{31}	wing (of bird)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:6.1.9
PNL	**doŋ**^{1}	wing	Chen Kang 1986a:43.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**tv**^{323}la^{53}thi^{31}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.47
	tɣ^{323} la^{53} thi^{31}	wing (of bird)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:6.1.9
Lalo	**dú**-lìq	wing	Björverud 1994
	dn̈^{55}	wing	Chen Kang 1986a:43.
	dn̄^{55} lɪ̄^{21}	wing (of bird)	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.9
Lipho	**du**^{33}	wing	Chen Kang 1986a:43.
	du^{33}lɐ̱^{21}	wing(of bird)	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.9
Luquan	**dɣ**^{11}	wing	Ma Xueliang 1948
Nasu	**du**^{21}	wing	Chen Kang 1986a:43.
	du^{21} la̱^{55}	wing (of bird)	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.9
Neisu	**du**^{21}	wing	Chen Kang 1986a:43.
Nesu	**do**^{21}	wing	Chen Kang 1986a:43.
	do^{21} lɪ̄^{21}	wing (of bird)	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.9
Noesu	**du**^{21}la^{13}	wing(of bird)	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.9
Nosu	**du**^{33}	wing	Chen Kang 1986a:43.
	dn̄^{44}**dn̄**^{33}	wing(of bird)	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.9
Nusu (Central)	bia^{33} **doŋ**^{33}	wing	Dai Qingxia 1989p:347.
	bia^{33}**doŋ**^{33}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	bia^{35} **dõ**^{35}	wing	Dai Qingxia 1989o:347.
Nusu (Northern)	biɔ^{31} **dõ**^{31}	wing	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	biɑ^{55} **dũ**^{55}	wing	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	biɑ^{55}**dũ**^{55}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.45
Nusu (Southern)	**dõ**^{35}	wing	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**do**^{21} la^{13}	wing	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**dn̄**^{33}	wing	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ʈo**^{33}lɐ̱^{21}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**do**^{21}lɐ̱^{21}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dn̄**^{33}lɐ̱^{21}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.37
	dn̄^{33}lɐ̱^{21}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**dn̈**^{55} lɪ̄^{21}	wing	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	dn̈^{55}lɪ̄^{21}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.23
Yi (Weishan)	**dn̈**^{55}lɪ̄^{21}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.36
Yi (Wuding)	**dɣ**^{11}lɑ̱^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.38
Yi (Xide)	**dn̄**^{33}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.35
	dn̄^{44} **dn̄**^{33}	wing	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**to**^{2}	wing	Chen Kang 1986a:43.
	ʈo^{22} lɐ̱^{21}	wing (of bird); wing(of bird)	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.9; Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.9
Jinuo	a^{33}**to**^{44}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.44
	a^{33}**to**^{44}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **to**^{44}	wing	Dai Qingxia 1989h:370
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{44} **tu**^{44}	wing	Dai Qingxia 1989i:370
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33} **to**^{44}	wing	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	a^{31} **ta**^{31} la^{31} kv^{55}	wing	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
*Common Lahu	***taw:**	wing	Bradley 1979b:83
Lahu (Nyi)	**taw:** la˪ k'u¯	wing	Bradley 1979a:83
Lahu (Shehleh)	**taw:** la˪ k'u_	wing	Bradley 1979a:83
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɔ**^{21}lɑ^{21}qu^{35}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.43
Lahu (Black)	**tō-**là?-qú ~ **tɔ̄-**là?-qú	wing	Matisoff 1988a:640
	tɔ^{31} la?^{21} kɣ^{35}	wing	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tɔ^{31}lʌ^{31}ku^{35}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.33
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{31} **tu**^{31} la?^{21} qa^{35}	wing	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	aw˯ **to:** la˪	wing	Bradley 1979a:83
Lahu (Banlan)	**taw:** la˪ ku_	wing	Bradley 1979a:83
Lisu (Northern)	bi^{44}hĩ^{33} **du**^{33}læ?^{21}	wing of aeroplane	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	bjø^{44}hĩ^{33} **du**^{33}læ?^{21}	wing of aeroplane	Bradley 1994
	du^{3}	feather	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**du**^{33}læ?^{21}	wing (N.)	Bradley 1994
	du^{33}læ?^{21}mu^{33}	feather, plume	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**dn̄**^{44} lɛ̱^{42}	wing	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Central)	**du**^{4}-lá^{6}	wing	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**du**^{4}la^{6}	wing	Bradley 1979b:83
	e^{55}**du**^{44}lɛ^{41}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.27
	e^{55}mu^{44}**du**^{44}	feather	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:173.27
Sani [Nyi]	**tu**^{33}	wing	Chen Kang 1986a:43.
	tu^{33}le^{22}	wing(of bird)	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.9
	tu^{33}le^{21}	wing	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tɣ^{33} lɐ̱^{22}	wing	Ma Xueliang 1989:362.4.
Yi (Sani)	**tɣ**^{33}le^{2}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Yunnan)	à **dáŋ**	wing	Hansson 1989:416
Akha (Thai)	à **dáŋ**	wing	Hansson 1989:416
Akha	**dáŋ**	wing	Hansson 1989:416
Bisu	aŋ **tɔ́ŋ**	wing	Beaudouin 1988:4
	ʔaŋ **tɔ́ŋ**	wing	Bradley 1979b; Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	à **dɔ́**	wing	Hansson 1989:416
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{31} **dɔ**^{55}	wing	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.31

[a] This form shows an interesting semantic association between WING and EYELID, possibly because both of these body parts can flutter.

[b] The change **du** > **bu** is regular in Ersu. See Ersu **bu**^{33}**mo**^{55}/Lyuzu (TBL) **du**^{53}**mu**^{53} 'mad person'; Er. **bu**^{55}/Lz. (Mianning) **'du** 'plow'; Er. **jɑ**^{33}**bu**^{55}/Lz. **'ʒduʒdu** 'thick'; Er. **bu**^{55}**tʂhɛ**^{55}/Lz. **dʐu**^{53}**tʂhɯ**^{31} 'year'; and Er. **bu**^{55}**phɑ**^{55}/Lz. (Mianning) **dʐyp**^{h}**æ** 'stomach'. This development is plausibly to be explained in terms of assimilation to the rhyme **-u** which is realized as a bilabial trill in this environment (Dominic Yu, p.c.).

Hani (Lüchun)	a[31]**dɔ**[55]	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.41
Hani (Pijo)	pí **tú**	wing	Hansson 1989:416
	tú	wing	Hansson 1989:416
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ[31] **tu**[55]	wing	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	a[31] **daŋ**[55]	wing	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	aq **ddaol**	wing	Hansson 1989:416
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ[55] **tu**[55]	wing	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tú**	wing	Hansson 1989:416
Hani (Mojiang)	ɔ[55]**tu**[55]	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.42
Mpi	mɯ[2] **tuŋ**[6]	wing	Bradley 1979b
	tuŋ[6]	wing	Hansson 1989:416
Côông [Phunoi]	hija ã **tũ**[55]	feather (of bird)	Ferlus 1991:8.1.5
	ʔɑ̃ **tố**	wing	Bradley 1979b
	ʔɑ̃[55] **tõ**[55]	wing	Bradley 1977

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**dv**˩ts[h]ɯ˩	wing	Michaud 2006–2009:3700
Na (Yongning)	**du**[33] qæ[33]	wing	Lidz 2010:774
	dv˦qæ˦	wing	Michaud 2006–2009
	dv˩	wing	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**dẏ**[33]	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**dər**[33]ko[33]	wing	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**dər**[33]ko[33]	wing	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndv**[33]phi[31]	wing	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.28
Naxi (Western)	**ndv**[33]p[h]i[31]	wing	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(15a) PTB *dwaŋ CUBIT

This is evidently the same etymon as PTB ***dwaŋ** WING / HAND (§1.5.1).

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	e[55]**thoŋ**[55]ge[55]	handspan	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:960.50
	e[55]**t[h]oŋ**[55]ge[55]	cubit (elbow to fingers)	SUN Hongkai 1991f:13.3
	e **thõ** juga	beckon (with hand)	Pulu 1978

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ɗoŋ ≍ *toŋ** CUBIT

**Chin*	***ɗoŋ ≍ toŋ**	CUBIT	VanBik 2009:71

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	**tong**	cubit (elbow to fingers)	Haokip 1998:13.3
Sizang	**tong**	cubit	VanBik 2009:71
Thado	**tòŋ**	cubit	VanBik 2009:71
Tiddim	**tong?**[3]	cubit	Bhaskararao 1996:1777
	tongʔ[3]	cubit	VanBik 2009:71

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**dawng**	cubit	VanBik 2009:71
Womatu	**ɗǒŋ**[2]	cubit	Luce 1985:R.43

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**dǒŋ**	cubit (measurement: from elbow-fingertip)	VanBik 2009:71
	dǒŋ[2]	cubit	Luce 1985:R.43
Lushai [Mizo]	**tong**	cubit	Bhaskararao 1996:1777

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**dáw**	cubit	VanBik 2009:71

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	mə **tən**	cubit	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**dòŋ**	cubit	Matisoff 1987
	dōŋ	cubit	Matisoff 1974:42
	toŋ[31]	cubit (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0903.19

6.1.1. BURMISH

Bola (Luxi)	**tauŋ**[35]	cubit (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0903.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tãu**[22]	cubit (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0903.27
Burmese (Written)	**toŋ**	measure with a cubit	Benedict 1976a
	toŋ[3]	cubit	Luce 1985:R.43
	tɔŋ[2]	cubit (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0903.26
	ə-**toŋ**	cubit (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **toŋ**	cubit (n.)	Matisoff 1974:42
Langsu (Luxi)	**tauŋ**[55]	cubit (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0903.31
Lashi	**tuŋ**[33]	cubit (elbow to fingers)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:13.3
Leqi (Luxi)	**tuŋ**[33]	cubit (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0903.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tuŋ**[51]	cubit (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0903.30

(16) PTB * m p s - l d ap ARM / HAND / WING

This well-established root is attested in the North Assam group and Himalayish. The basic allofam has a simple lateral initial, but several prefixes (**p-** and **n-**) are also attested. The initial is realized as a dental stop after the nasal prefix (see **n-dap** below). Possibly ultimately related is the root **ya:p** "wave, fan, paddle" [*HPTB* p.340]

There is a similar root PTB ***s-lap** LEAF / LEAFLIKE PART (§1.5.5) (*STC* #321), with perhaps the same origin, the connection being the perceived flatness of leaves and wings.

(16a) PTB *lap WING / FEATHER

This root is perhaps allofamically related to PTB ***s-la** LEAF / TEA / FLAT THING (§1.5.5).

1.1.1. TANI: ***lap** WING

**Tani*	***lap**	wing	Sun 1993a:467

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-**le**	wing	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	[1]a [2]**le** ([2])	wing	Weidert 1987:634
Bengni	**lap**	wing	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **lap**	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.24
	a-**lap**	wing; fin	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **lap**	wing	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **lap**	wing	Das Gupta 1963
	ŋo ii-a **lap**	fin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆa **lab**	wing	Weidert 1987:634
Miri, Hill	al-**lap**	feather	Simon 1976
Tagin	**lap**	feather; wing	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**lap**	wing	Sun 1993a
	lâp-per	fin	Matisoff 1987
Damu	ta:-**lap**	wing	Sun 1993b

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***lap**	feather	Michailovsky 1991:64

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	**lap** taŋ	wing	Ebert 1997
	lap ʈaŋ	wing	Weidert 1987:634
Limbu	ku **lāp**	wing	Chemjong 1962
	lap	wing	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:64
Yakha	u: **lap**	wing (of bird)	Kohn 1990:6.1.9
Yamphu	**lap** khæʔ wa	wing (n.)	Rutgers 1998:552.13
	lap pʃaŋ	wing (n.)	Rutgers 1998:552.15

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**lap**	feather	Michailovsky 1991:64
	lap	wing (n.)	Rai 1985
	lap	feather / wing	Rai *et al.* 1984:43
	lap ma	feather	Michailovsky 1991:64
	wa-**lap**-ma	quill; feather	Rai *et al.* 1984:43; Rai 1985
Chamling	-**lab** he tuŋ	wing	Weidert 1987:634
	la	feather, wing	Michailovsky 1991:64
	lab, **lab** e tung	feather, wing	Michailovsky 1991:64
	lab e tung	feather / wing	Winter 1985:22
Kulung	**lap** to	wing	Weidert 1987:634; Michailovsky 1991:64; Rai *et al.* 1975
	wa **lam** ma	feather	Michailovsky 1991:64; Rai *et al.* 1975 [a]

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	**'lehp** ti	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
	'lep ti	wing	Michailovsky 1991:64
	-**'lehp** ti	wing	Weidert 1987:634

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	**lap** ter	wing	Michailovsky 1991:64; Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Magar	ghār **lāp**	armpit	Hale 1973:66

[a] Note the assimilation of the medial consonants in Kulung **lam ma**.

Chinese comparandum

葉 OC ***dịɑp**, *GSR* #633d 'leaf, foliage, generation'; Li 1971: ***rap**; Baxter 1992 #1037: ***ljap**; B & S 2011: ***l [a] p**; Schuessler 2007:562; Mand. **yè**.

ZJH: The ordinary Chinese word for 'leaf' (葉 Mand. **yè**) is a likely cognate to this PTB root for 'wing'; the shape-based semantic connection is obvious. Furthermore, Schuessler (2007:562) notes that "In some southern dialects [of Chinese] 葉 also seems to be the word for 'wing'". Schuessler compares the Chinese to PTB ***lap** 'leaf' (*STC* #321). It seems to me that PTB ***lap** 'wing' and PTB ***lap** 'leaf' are likely to be in the same word family, and that this Chinese word for 'leaf' is cognate.

(16b) PTB *s-lap WING / FLUTTER / EYELASH / GILL

There is perhaps a connection with PTB ***s-lyap** LIGHTNING / FLASH / GLITTER / BUTTERFLY (§3.2.1) (*STC* #213). Cf. Lepcha **lyop** 'glitter, flash, glisten', where the medial **-y-** could be a reflex of the ***s-** prefix. See Benedict 1943.

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	mik-**shâp**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	shâp-sha	gills	Matisoff 1987
	shâp-shé	gills	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**lhab lhab**	flutter to and fro; glimmer, glisten	Jäschke 1881:601

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**hlap**-pă	flap (as wings)	Mainwaring 1898:381

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Magar	mik **chap**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987

(16c) PTB *p- l y ap WING / FEATHER

The Tamangic forms have medial **-y-**, which appears to be secondary. It is possible that this **-y-** derives from earlier prefixal ***s-** (see Benedict 1943, *Secondary Infixation in Lepcha*). Note the similar alternation between **l-** and **y-** in PTB ***lak** HAND/LIMB (§1.5.1) and PTB ***d-yak** HAND / ARM / LEAF (§1.5.1).

There is apparently no connection PTB ***(p/b)yam** FLY (v.) (§6.7.5).

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung	**pyā:h**	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
	pya[ɦ]	wing	Weidert 1987:634
Gurung (Ghachok)	**pya:h**	feather; wing	Glover 1972:1.36; Glover 1972:3.A.14
Gurung	[3]**pja:**	feather	Mazaudon 1994:707
Manang (Gyaru)	syɛ[3] **ba:**[2]	wing	Nagano 1984:316
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]çi **pyə**	wing	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0064
Tamang	**pyap**[ɦ]	wing	Weidert 1987:634
Tamang (Bagmati)	**byap**[ɦ]	wing	Weidert 1987:673
Tamang (Risiangku)	[3]**pjap**	wing (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:6.1.9
	[3]**pjap**	wing / feather (large, of wing)	Mazaudon 1994:707
Tamang (Sahu)	**pyāhp**	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
	pyahp	wing	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.14
	pyahp.syiŋ	feather	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.36
Tamang (Taglung)	[3]**bjap**	wing	Mazaudon 1994:707

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	**blop**	feather	Michailovsky 1991:64

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (NW)	**pra** kue rme	feather (of bird)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.1.5

(16d) PTB *pap WING / FEATHER

In Chepang, prefixal preemption has evidentally occurred, yielding an immediate antecedent **pap**. Chepang evidently shows a preemptive propensity; cf. Chepang **pop** 'lung' < PTB ***p-wap** (*VSTB* 113-123).

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	hrus.**pap**	hard wing covers of beetle (n.)	Caughley 2000
	pāp	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
	pap	wing	Weidert 1987:673
	pAp	wing	Michailovsky 1991:67
	pap	wing, wing pinion (n.)	Caughley 2000
	pap	wing	Caughley 1972:3.A.14
	pheh.**(pap)**	feather, large wing pinion (n.)	Caughley 2000
	syuŋ.**pap**	feathers, main wing pinions (n.)	Caughley 2000

Chepang (Eastern)	**pap**	wing (of bird)	Caughley 1990:6.1.9

(16e) PTB *m-dap WING / FEATHER

Written Tibetan has initial **ḥd-**; the **a-chung** prefix is usually realized as prenasalization in modern dialects (cf. e.g. Batang), and is probably responsible for the hardening of the lateral into a voiced stop (see Matisoff 2013, "The dinguist's dilemma").

2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Batang)	**de**^{13} ma^{55}	wing (of bird)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:6.1.9
	nde^{13}ma^{53}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.03
Tibetan (Written)	**'dab** ma	wing	Marrison 1967
	ḥdab-ma	wing	Jäschke 1881:p. 274 [a]

[a]This form is glossed 'wing; petal, leaf, fan' by Csoma de Kőrös 1834.

(17) PTB *g-raŋ WING / HAND / ARM

This etymon is well-attested in North Assam, Northern Naga, Bodo-Garo, and Bodic. Darang shows preemption by the velar prefix.

This root is distinct from PTani ***m-kloŋ*** FEATHER / WING (§1.5.1).

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ɑ^{31}pɹɯ^{35}kɯ^{31}**xɑŋ**^{35}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.22
	ɑ^{31}pɹɯ^{35}kɯ^{31}**xɑŋ**^{35}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.49
Kaman [Miju]	ɹɑ̆u^{53} **ɹɑŋ**^{55}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.23
	ɹɑ̆u^{53} **ɹɑŋ**^{55}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.48
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Sangtam	pük **yang**	arm	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**keang**	wing	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Mzieme	mi ba-keng **kieng**	arm	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***caaŋ** WING			
**Tangkhulic*	***caaŋ**	wing	Mortensen 2012:717
Tangkhul	a nga **chang**	wing	Marrison 1967
	caŋ	wing	Bhat 1969:100
Tusom	n-**cɯ̃ə**	wing	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.175
Ukhrul	a-ŋə-**caŋ**	wing	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-ŋə-**caŋ**	wing	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***gra'ŋ**	wing, feather	Burling 1959:445
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**gan** kəti	feather	Bhat 1968
	gaŋ	feather; page of a book; classifier for flat objec	Bhat 1968
	gaŋ koŋ	wing	Bhat 1968
	gaʔŋ	wing, feather	Burling 1959:445
Dimasa	ba **garang**	feather	Marrison 1967
	ba **garang** thong	wing	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	bɛ-**kraŋ**	wing	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**krang**	wing	Balawan 1965:21
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**graŋ**	wing	Weidert 1987:864
Garo (Bangladesh)	**grang**	feather; wing (n.)	Burling 2003:4.471-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**karang**	wing (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw• **karang**	bird's wing (n.)	van Breugel 2008
Wanang	**ka-raŋ**	wing, feather	Burling 1959:445
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***Ç-rəŋ**	wing	French 1983:579
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	a **raŋ**	wing	French 1983:579
	a **rang**	wing	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	wu **roŋ**	wing	French 1983:579
	wu **rong**	wing	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**yang**	wing	Marrison 1967
	yaŋ	wing	French 1983:579
Phom	**yang**	wing	Marrison 1967
	yaŋ	wing	French 1983:579
	yaŋ^{55}	wing; feather	Burling & Amon Phom 1998; Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	(o) **raŋ**	wing	French 1983:579
	rang	wing	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	**gadang**	arm / hand	Egli-Roduner 1987:34 7
	gadang-gure	arm	Andvik 1993:13
	gadang-ningzing	elbow	Egli-Roduner 1987:34 9
Tsangla	**garang**	hand	Das Gupta 1968
	garang-par	palm	Das Gupta 1968
Tsangla (Motuo)	**gadaŋ**	hand	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.7
	ka^{13} **taŋ**^{13}	arm; hand	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**garaŋ**	arm; hand	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	garaŋ-kili	elbow	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**ga daŋ**	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.07

Chinese comparandum

翔 OC ***dzi̯ɑng**, *GSR* #732p 'roam back and forth; fly to and fro' ; Li 1971: **(*rjang)**; Baxter 1992:797 ***z(l)jang**; B & S 2011: ***s-[g] aŋ**; Schuessler 2007:533; Mand. **xiáng**.

JAM: 翔 OC ***dzi̯ɑng** 'go to and fro; fly backwards and forwards; soar; walk with elbows kept as outstretched wings' *GSR* #732p.

Yang 1980 reconstructs PST ***s-g/ki̯ang**, since the same phonetic (羊) occurs in 姜 '*surname*' (Mand. **jiāng**), a word reconstructed with a velar initial as ***ki̯ɑng** in *GSR* #711a.

ZJH: This Chinese word belongs to a phonetic series that presents unique challenges of reconstruction, as evidenced by the wide variation seen in the proposed reconstructions. Most words in the series suggest a lateral initial, but a few have velar initial; this is an atypical pattern. Li's reconstruction of ***rj-** is the norm for words with Middle Chinese **zj-**, and makes a good match with the PTB syllable ***raŋ**. But there is enough uncertainty about the Old Chinese to throw the comparison as a whole in doubt, especially since the Chinese meaning seems to have a semantic center closer to 'wander' than to 'wing' (contra the presence of the 'wing' element (羽, Mand. **yǔ**) in the written character).

Schuessler (2007:533) reconstructs "***s-jaŋ** or **s-laŋ** (?)" and places it in the same word family as 徉 'to walk irresolutely, wander', Mand. **yáng**.

(18) PTB *g-(t)syəw- {k, ŋ} WING / HAND

The nasal-final allofam of this widespread root is attested in Chepang and Nungic. Note the semantic association in Tibetan between WING and SIDE OF BODY. The velar prefix shows up in Tibetan and Qiangic.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish reflexes of this etymon from those of PTB ***s/k-la** ARM / HAND / WING (§1.5.1).

There is a Chinese comparandum.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***tśəw**	hand	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1101a-b
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsyəw**	hand	Matisoff 2003a:617
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Sangtam	**khyo**	wing	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	wai **chu** kung	arm	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ka-**shû**	wing	Weidert 1987:481
	su kang	wing	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Wancho	**chuk**	arm	Marrison 1967 [a]
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**šok** pa	wing (of bird); feather (of bird)	Sharma 1991a:6.1.9; Sharma 1991a:8.1.5
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**ʃuɛ**^{35} pɑ^{53}	wing (of bird)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:6.1.9
Tsangla (Motuo)	mu **tʂu** ma	hand	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ɕom**^{55} pek^{55}	wing	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986 [b]
Tshona (Mama)	**ɕɔk**^{55} pʌ^{53}	wing	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.6
Cuona Menba	**ɕɔk**^{55}pa^{53}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣɕok** kwa	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ɕok** kwa	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɣɕok** kwa	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.5
Tibetan (Jirel)	pu-**jyaq**	hair (body); feather	Matisoff 1987
	syok pāq	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**xo**^{53}pa^{53}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ɕok**^{53}pa^{53}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.2
	ɕok^{55}pa^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	pu **šokɋ**	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**shōk** pa	fin (of fish); wing (of bird)	Bishop 1989:6.1.8; Bishop 1989:6.1.9
Spiti	cha **šok**	wing (of bird)	Bodh 1991:6.1.9
	mik **šok**	eyelid	Bodh 1991:3.4.1
	mik **šok** pu	eyelash	Bodh 1991:3.4.4
Tibetan (Written)	**gʒog**-pa	wing	Jäschke 1881:563
	gʒogs	side of body	Matisoff 1987
	gɕog pa	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.01
	gɕog pa	wing, feather, fin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.1
	mig-**gʒog**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	sna-**gšogs**	alae nasi	Matisoff 1987:317
	snam **[-gʒogs]**	side of body	Luce 1985:X.204
	sug-pa	hand (medical)	Jäschke 1881:574
	ʒog-pa	wing	Jäschke 1881:563
	ɣʒog-ldáṅ	bird / provided with wings /	Jäschke 1881
	ɣʒóg-pɑ-ċɑn	bird / provided with wings /	Jäschke 1881
	ʃog pa	wing	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ɕoχ** kwa	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	mik-**shik**	eyelid; edges of lid	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	ku **cho**	feather	Chemjong 1962
	tsoq	long tail-feathers of a cock	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
**Kul-Cham-Ban*	***chuk**	hand	Michailovsky 1991:86
Bantawa	**chuk**	hand	Michailovsky 1991:86; Rai 1985; Rai *et al.* 1984:20
	chuk-bop	elbow	Rai *et al.* 1984:20
	chuk-ku-si(-ma)	finger	Rai *et al.* 1984:20
	chuk-phembalak	paw	Rai *et al.* 1984:20
	chuk-si-ma	finger	Rai *et al.* 1984:20
	chuk ku si	finger	Rai 1985
	tshuk	hand	Michailovsky 1991:86
	tshu ku si	finger	Matisoff 1987
	tshu ku si ma	finger	Michailovsky 1991:71
	tsu ku si ma	finger	Matisoff 1987
Chamling	**chu**	hand	Michailovsky 1991:86; Winter 1985:9
	chuk	hand	Winter 1985:9
	chuk se*	finger	Winter 1985:9
	chu se*	finger	Winter 1985:9
Kulung	**chok** choma	finger	Michailovsky 1991:71; Michailovsky 1991:86
	chok chome	finger	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**syuŋ**.pap	feathers, main wing pinions (n.)	Caughley 2000
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**čǐu**	wing	Nishida 1964:305-083
	tśjù	wing	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1420
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	**gzɪj** pɑ	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.08
	wu ək **ɣzi** ɣuæ^{1}	wing (of bird)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:6.1.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**ɣzei** fɑ	wing	Dai Qingxia 1989q:370
Zhaba (Daofu County)	ndu^{33}**ʐə**^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	v **dzo**	wing (of bird)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:6.1.9
Ergong (Danba)	v **dzo**	wing (of bird); wing	Sun Hongkai 1991b:6.1.9; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.14
Ergong (Northern)	ʁbio^{33} **χɕok**^{53} pa^{33}	wing (of bird)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:6.1.9
Ergong (Danba)	ʑa **kʂɯ**	arm	Sun Hongkai 1991b:6.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.14
4. Nungic			
Nung	ɹɑ^{31}**tshuŋ**^{55}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.21
Anong	ɹɑ^{31}**tshuŋ**^{55}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.44
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Wuding)	lo̱^{55}pʏ^{33}**tsu̱**^{2}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.38
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			

[a]Cf. also Wancho **tśak** 'arm' under PTB ***d-yak** HAND / ARM / LEAF (§1.5.1).
[b]Note the assimilation of the medial consonants.

Côông [Phunoi]	là/lǝ̆ **sùp**	hand	Bradley 1979b [a]

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***cùh**	hand / arm	Jones 1961:174
**Karen (TP)*	***cùq**	hand / arm	Jones 1961:174
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***cỳh**	hand / arm	Jones 1961:174
**Karen (Pwo)*	***súq**	hand / arm	Jones 1961:174
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***sý**	hand / arm	Jones 1961:174
**Karen*	***tsü**	hand; arm	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1101a-b; Benedict 1972:128n350; Benedict 1972:170n455
Karen	**tsy̠**^{31}de̠^{55}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.50
	tsy̠^{31}khă^{31}nu^{31}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.50
Pa-O	**cù**	hand; arm; arm, hand, finger (in cpds)	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:174
	cù jā	palm of hand	Solnit 1989
	cù khó	hand, back of hand	Solnit 1989
	cù thōm	fist (2)	Solnit 1989
	cù tóp	fist	Solnit 1989
Palaychi	**cùq**	hand / arm	Jones 1961:174
	zù kǝ̀q	wing (shoulder)	Jones 1961:219
Pwo (Bassein)	**sù**	hand / arm	Jones 1961:174
Pwo (Moulmein)	**súʔ**	hand / arm	Jones 1961:174
Sgaw (Bassein)	**sý**	hand / arm	Jones 1961:174
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**tsy̠**^{31} de̠^{55}	hand	Dai Qingxia 1989k:133
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**sý**	hand / arm	Jones 1961:174
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**su**^{55}	arm; hand	Dai Qingxia 1989j:131; Dai Qingxia 1989j:133
	su^{55} k^{h}o^{31}	fist	Dai Qingxia 1989j:142

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**ʂi**^{33}	hand	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.37
	ʂi^{33} pɑ̠̃^{42}	arm	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ʂi^{33} tʂe^{ɪ33} ʈɯ̠^{21}	finger	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ʂi^{33} tʂe^{ɪ33} ʈɯ̠^{21} qɑ̠^{44}	fingernail	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ʂi^{33}jo^{44}ȵe^{ɪ55}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.37
	ʂi^{33}pɑ̃^{42}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.37
	ʂi^{33}tʂe^{ɪ33}tʂi^{33}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.37
	ʂi^{33}tʂe^{ɪ33}ʈɯ^{21}	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.37
	ʂi^{33}tʂe^{ɪ33}ʈɯ^{21}que^{ɪ55}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.37
	ʂi^{33}tʂe^{ɪ33}ʈɯ^{21}qɑ^{44}	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.37
Bai (Dali)	**sö** 2	hand	Dell 1981b:446
	sö tso tsw 221	elbow	Dell 1981b:447
	sø^{2}	hand	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	sø^{2} tɕo^{2} tɕɿ^{1}	elbow, wrist	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	sɯ^{33}	hand	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.35
	sɯ^{33} pɑ̃^{31} tsi^{33}	arm	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	sɯ^{33}kue^{ɪ31}tsi^{44}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.35
	sɯ^{33}pɑ^{42}tsi^{44}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**sɯ**^{33}	hand	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.36; Zhao Yansun 1990:6.1.7
	sɯ^{33} kuæ^{31} tsɿ^{33}	elbow; elbow bone	Zhao Yansun 1990:6.1.4; Zhao Yansun 1990:6.1.4.1
	sɯ^{33} k^{h}v̠^{44} tsɿ^{33}	inner elbow / crook of elbow	Zhao Yansun 1990:6.1.4.2
	sɯ^{33} to̠^{42} pe̠^{42}	back of hand	Zhao Yansun 1990:6.1.7.2
	sɯ^{33}kue^{31}tsi^{33}	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.36
	sɿ^{33}	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.48
	sɿ^{33}tse̠^{33}tsɿ^{33}tse̠^{33}	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.48

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**śi̯ôg**/śi̯ə̯u	hand	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1101a-b
	śi̯ôg/śi̯ə̯u:	hand	Karlgren 1957:1101a-b
Chinese (Old)	**hjuʔ**	hand	Baxter 1992:274
	si̯ôg	hand, arm	Luce 1985:G.63
	śi̯ôg	hand	Luce 1985:U.33

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**shoou**	hand	Sun 1985b:341
	shǒu	hand	Evans *et al.* 1991
	shou	hand	Karlgren 1957:1101a-b

[a] The final consonant in Phunoi **sùp** has perhaps assimilated to the preceding vowel.

Chinese comparandum

手 OC ***śi̯ôg** *GSR* #1101a-b 'hand'; Li 1971/76: **(*hrjəgwx)**; Baxter 1992 #274: ***hjuʔ**; B & S 2011: ***n̥uʔ**; Schuessler 2007:469; Mand. **shǒu**.

ZJH: Contra Karlgren's *GSR* reconstruction, this Chinese word certainly did not begin with a coronal fricative in Chinese. More recent scholarship shows that the initial was a voiceless resonant of some sort. The comparison with the PTB root is therefore unsustainable.

(19a) PTB *sya WING

This root bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***s/k-la** ARM / HAND / WING (§1.5.1), but it remains to be seen whether they should be grouped into a single etymon.

The development of PTB ***sy-** > PCN ***tʃh-** is irregular.

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

**Naga*	*g-**ša**	wing	Weidert 1987:481
Maring	a **sa**	wing	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-tʃha** WING

**Central Naga*	*a-**tʃha**	WING	Bruhn 2014a:III.024
**Ao*	*t-(a-)**tʃha**	WING	Bruhn 2014a:II.161
Ao (Chungli)	ta^{3}**si**^{1}kaŋ^{2}	wing of bird (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.161
	ta **shi** kang	wing	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **cha** yi ko	right-hand	Marrison 1967
	o za **cha**, ta **cha**	wing	Marrison 1967
	tü **cha**	arm	Marrison 1967
	tü **cha** tü man	shoulder	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**tʃha**	armlength	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**tʃha**	wing (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**tʃha**-pùk	armpit ('wing' + STOMACH) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**tʃhoʔ**^{3}	wing (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.024
	ē **chó**	wing	Acharya 1975
	e **cho**	wing; wing (of bird)	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:137; Nienu 1990c:6.1.9

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{4}**sɯ**	wing	Weidert 1987:481
Angami (Khonoma)	**shü**	wing	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	pe^{31} ra^{31} **shü**^{35}	wing (of bird)	Nienu 1990a:6.1.9
	puo **sü**	wing	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **shi**^{55}	wing (of bird)	Nienu 1990b:6.1.9
	^{2}u^{5}**si**	wing	Weidert 1987:481
Khezha	kə **šʉ**	wing (of bird)	Yabu 1994:6.1.9
	^{2}ku ^{2}**šɯ**	wing	Weidert 1987:481
Mao	ko **sho**	wing	Marrison 1967
	^{1}ko^{5}**šo**	wing	Weidert 1987:481
Ntenyi	a ki **sha**	wing	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**se** ki	wing	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Northern)	^{2}ma^{1}gi^{2}**ša**	wing	Weidert 1987:481 [a]

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	**cha** bin	hand	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	ma **sa**	wing	Marrison 1967
	mə **sa**	wing (of bird)	Singh 1991:6.1.9

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**ɕa** tɕ^{h}iŋ naŋ	hand	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**syᴇ**^{3} baː^{2} mɯy^{2}	feather	Nagano 1984:317

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Taoping)	i^{55} **sɑ**^{33}	arm	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɕo**^{55}xpa^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.13
Xumi	dũ^{55}**tɕhyɛ**^{53}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.17
	lie^{33} **tshe**^{35}	arm	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.20
	li^{33}**tshi**^{53}	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.17

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**ɕɑ** spɑ	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ʑa** kʂɯ	arm	Sun Hongkai 1991b:6.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.14

[a] There is some difficulty in interpreting these Naga forms from Weidert, since they are glossed literally as "one's wing".

(19b) PTB * s/k -la ARM / HAND / WING

Note the "brightening" of the vowel from ***-a** to **-i** in Tangut.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***khlaa** WING

**Chin*	***khlaa**	WING	VanBik 2009:1309
**Kuki*	*b-**sgla**	wing	Weidert 1987:481

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**lha**	wing (of bird)	Haokip 1998:6.1.9
Paite	**kha**	wing, soul	VanBik 2009:1309
Sizang	a **htā**	wing	VanBik 2009:1309
Thado	**hlàa**	wing	VanBik 2009:1309
Tiddim	**khaː**^{3}	wing	VanBik 2009:1309; Bhaskararao 1996:735
	xâ	wing	Weidert 1987:481

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thlǎa**	wing, quill, spirit	VanBik 2009:1309
Lai (Falam)	**thlàa**	wing	VanBik 2009:1309
Lushai [Mizo]	**thla**	wing	Marrison 1967
	thlà	wing (of bird), a pinion, a quill (n.)	VanBik 2009:1309
	thla	wing	Bhaskararao 1996:735
	tlhà	wing	Weidert 1987:481

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	mā-**thlāw**	wing; fin	Matisoff 1987; VanBik 2009:1309

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	wə mə **t**^{h}**lə**	wing (of bird)	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.9
Lamkang	pʌ **lhà**	wing	Weidert 1987:481

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**dzjwɨ**	wing	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1242
	lhi^{2}	wing	Sofronov c1978
	ndzwɪ^{2}	wing	Sofronov c1978 [a]

[a] The immediate precursor of this form seems to have been something like ***m-tswa**. This seems to be a legitimate doublet of **lhi**^{2}, from ***s-la**. These two words are written with distinct characters (Matisoff 1985:436).

(20) PTB *ka-t WING / HAND

Like PTB ***k(r)u-t** HAND / FIST / ARM (§1.5.1) above, this root seems to show a semantic connection with the numeral ONE: cf. Chungli Ao **ka** 'one', **teka** 'hand' and Lepcha **kát** 'one', **ʔákâ** 'hand'.

Yacham-Tengsa **takhat** and Ao (Mongsen) **tükhet** 'hand' seem to point to a dental suffix, which may well be the same element to be found in Newar **lhā** ≍ **lhāt** 'hand, arm'.

Sangtam **khe** and Lotha **okhe** 'hand' might also be reflexes of the suffixed version of this etymon.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	ta-**ka**	wing	Tayeng 1976

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***khat** HAND, ARM

**Central Naga*	***khat**	HAND, ARM	Bruhn 2014a:III.186
Ao (Chungli)	te **ka**	hand	Marrison 1967
	te **ka** bo	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
	te **ka** nük	wrist	Marrison 1967
	tə^{3}-**ka**^{1}	hand, arm (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.185
	tɯ́ **kà**	hand	Temsunungsang 2009:p.14
	^{2}ta^{3}**ka**^{3}pu	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:592
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **khet**	hand	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**khə́t**	hand, arm (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**khe**^{2}roʔ^{3}	branch (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	khe^{2}tʃəʔ^{3}	elbow (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	o^{1}-**kheʔ**^{2}	hand, arm (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.186
	khe chü	elbow	Marrison 1967
	khe khap	bracelet	Marrison 1967
	khe mhyek	wrist	Marrison 1967
	Khe no e na o **khe** nandeng	nose to fingertip	Nienu 1990c:13.4.1
	ō **khē**	hand	Acharya 1975
	o **khe**	hand	Marrison 1967; Nienu 1990c:6.1.7
	o **khe** hamiwoe	right hand	Nienu 1990c:6.1.7.4
	o **khe** hayiwoe	left hand	Nienu 1990c:6.1.7.5
	o **khe**-ayiwe	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	o **kle**	arms / hands	Nienu 1990c:1.7
Sangtam	**khe**	hand; arm	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
	khe na	wrist	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	ta **ka**	wing	Marrison 1967
	ta **khat**	hand	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**kha**	hand	Marrison 1967
	khah	hand	Kumar 1973b:97

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Ntenyi	a **khwe** sa	bracelet	Marrison 1967

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	(a-)**kă** pek	forearm	Mainwaring 1898:491

	ʔá **kâ**	hand (n.)	Plaisier 2007
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Taoba)	diã^{35} **ka**^{55}	wing	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.10
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	du^{33} **qæ**^{33}	wing	Lidz 2010:774
	dv˧**qæ**˧	wing	Michaud 2006–2009

(21) PTB *kwar HAND / WING

This root is found in the closely-related Tangut, Qiangic, and rGyalrongic branches, as well as in Himalayish, including Kiranti.

HPTB unwisely considered the present root (there reconstructed as ***kur**) as being allofamic with PTB ***wul** HAND (§1.5.1) (there reconstructed as ***ʔur**). It now seems much more preferable to keep the two roots separate.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kur** ≈ ʔur	hand	Matisoff 2003a:597
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar Lhoba	a **ɕur**	hand	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	phàng-**kōr**	upper arm	Grüssner 1979:139
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**kor** pā	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
Tsangla (Motuo)	**gur** gaŋ	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.7
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Thakali	tāhng **karā**	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
Thakali (Tukche)	tahŋ **kɔra**	wing	Hari 1971:3.A.14
2.3. Kiranti: ***khur** HAND / WING			
**BSDTK*	***khur**	hand	Michailovsky 1991:84
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**khur**	hand	Michailovsky 1991:84; Driem 1993
	khɨr	hand, lower arm (from elbow to fingertips); front paw; hand	Michailovsky 1991:84; Driem 1993
	pa **khɨr**	upper arm (from shoulder to elbow).	Driem 1993
Khaling	**khar**	cubit (elbow to fingertip); hand	Hale 1973:12c.42; Michailovsky 1991:84
	plem **khar**	palm	Michailovsky 1991:136
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	**ʼkar**	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
	ʼkər	wing, outstretched arm, branch; wing	Michailovsky 1991:84; Watters & Watters 1989:3.A.14
	kər	feather (wing)	Watters & Watters 1989:1.36
Magar	mi-**khār**	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
	mi-**khār**	wing	Michailovsky 1991:84
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	gzi **gua**^{ɪ}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.8; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	wu ə˧k ɣzi **ɣuæ**^{ɪ}	wing (of bird)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:6.1.9
Qiang (Taoping)	dʑe^{231} **qe**^{33}	wing	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dʑe^{241}**qe**^{33}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.9
Qiang (Yadu)	ɣzei **fɑ**	wing	Dai Qingxia 1989q:370
Xumi	dũ^{55} **quɐ**^{33}	wing	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.20
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	ta’ **xar**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	ta’ **ɣaɾ**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	ta’ **ɣaɾ**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
Caodeng	tə-**ʁɛ́r** ndzem ?	wing	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tɤ **ʁar**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Northern)	ə **ʁuar**	wing (of bird)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:6.1.9

(22) PTB *m-kiŋ WING

The labial prefix is attested in Kuki-Chin and Naga. The Sema/Simi forms seem to show reduplication of the root. Palatalization of the initial has occurred in Nungic and Qiangic. The Wakung and Nungic forms provide evidence for the velar nasal final.

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	pᵊ **kʰi**^{ʔ}	wing	So-Hartmann 1988:44
Wakung	a **mᵊkʰĭŋ**	wing	So-Hartmann 1988:44
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Ntenyi	a **ki** sha	wing	Marrison 1967
Rengma	se **ki**	wing	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Northern)	^{2}**ma**^{1}**gi**^{2}ša	wing	Weidert 1987:481 [a]
Sema [Sumi]	a **chi chi** bo	wing	Marrison 1967
	a **ki chi** bo	wing (of bird)	Achumi 1998a:6.1.9
	^{1}a^{1}**tši**^{2}**ši**- ^{3}bo	wing	Weidert 1987:481
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	**ki** so	wing	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	ɕa **tɕʰiŋ** naŋ	hand	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
3.2. Qiangic			
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**dzɻ**^{53}	wing (of bird); wing	Sun Hongkai 1991n:6.1.9; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.16
4. Nungic			
Nung	dɑ^{31}**tɕhiŋ**^{35}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.21
Anong	dɑ^{31}**tɕhiŋ**^{55}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.44

[a] There is some difficulty in interpreting these Naga forms from Weidert, since they are glossed literally as “one’s wing”.

(23) PTB * m / s -pa WING / FEATHER

This relatively sparsely attested root occurs especially in Qiangic with likely but scattered cognates in Kuki-Chin and Newar. Both the nasal and sibilant prefixes show up in Qiangic.

There is a possible etymological connection with PTB ***w(a/u)** and PTB ***pʷu**. See *HPTB* p. 165 and TBRS #1. For the interplay between labial stops and semivowel in Tibeto-Burman, see Matisoff 2000 (“An Extrusional Approach to ***p-/w-** Variation in Sino-Tibetan”).

This root seems quite distinct from the Indo-Aryan derived IA ***pak** WING / ARM (§1.5.1).

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Chinbon	a̠ **pʰa**	wing	So-Hartmann 1988:44
Khumi	**pᵊ** kʰi^{ʔ}	wing	So-Hartmann 1988:44
Matu	a̠ **pʰe**^{i}	wing	So-Hartmann 1988:44
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**pa** kan	wing	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**ba** thang	wing	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**pa** kan	wing	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**ba** garang thong	wing	Marrison 1967
2.2. Newar			
Newar	kha **pa**	feather	Genetti 1990a
	pA	feather	Michailovsky 1991:67
	pā	feather (of bird)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.1.5
	pa-pu-ti	wing; feather	Hale 1973:93; Michailovsky 1991:67
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**phɪɦ**	wing	Nishida 1964:305-053 [a]
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	dɔ^{35} **nphɑ**^{53}	wing	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.17
	dɑ̃^{35}**pha**^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.16
Muya	βə^{33}**phæ**^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.15
Muya [Minyak]	vɯ^{35}**phɛ**^{55}	wing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:171.15
	vɯ^{35}**p^{h}ɛ**^{55}	wing (of bird)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:6.1.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	ɕo^{55}**xpa**^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.13
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	ɕɑ **spɑ**	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.12

[a] Tangut **phɪɦ** vowel due to brightening.

(24) PTB *s-pu FEATHER / WING / HAIR (body)

The semantic center of gravity of this root seems to be BODY HAIR, with an extension into FEATHER, and thence to WING.

1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	bɯ^{31}miu^{55}**bu**^{53}	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.4.3
	ma^{31}**bu**^{53}	mane (of horse, lion)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:8.1.6
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	sa-**bu**	single hair (df.)	Matisoff 1987
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	nkha **wu**	beard	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	khu **put**	beard	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	mik **phuŋ**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987 [a]
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	kham **pho**	beard	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	mik **spù**	eyebrow; eyelash	Sharma 1991a:3.4.3; Sharma 1991a:3.4.4
	zuks ki **pu**	body hair	Sharma 1991a:8.1.3
	ŋyak **spu**	male pubic hair	Sharma 1991a:10.3.6
Kanauri	mig **spu**	eyelash	Sharma 1988:61
	mig **spū**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	spū	hair (fine, on body or clothes) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	spu	hair, body	Sharma 1988:34
	spū	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	tɕa^{13} **nbu**^{35}	hair (head)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:2.7
	ʃha^{13} **pu**^{53}	beard / moustache	Sun Hongkai 1991a:8.1.2
	ʒɔ^{13} **pu**^{53}	male pubic hair	Sun Hongkai 1991a:10.3.6
	ȵi^{13} **pu**^{53}	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.4.3
	ȵi^{13} **pu**^{53} dzɔ^{13}	eyelash	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.4.4
	ɕɑ^{53} **pu**^{53}	feather (of bird)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:8.1.5
Tsangla (Central)	ja **wu**	beard	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 2
Tsangla (Motuo)	miŋ^{13} **pu**^{55}	eyebrow	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	miŋ **pu**	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:237.7
	pu	hair; fur	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:172.7
	pu^{55}	fur	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**pu**	fur	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	kʰɑ^{55} **pu**^{55}	feather	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	me^{55}loŋ^{55}**pu**^{55}	eyebrow	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	pu^{55}	fur	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**pu**^{53}	hair; fur	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:172.6
	tɕʌ^{13} **pu**^{53}	feather	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Motuo Menba	**pu**	hair / down (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.07
Cuona Menba	**pu**^{53}	hair / down (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	kha **hwə**	beard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	kha **wsə**	beard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.5
	war **ɸə**	down (tiny body hair)	Sun 1985a:197
	ȵəg **ɸə**	eyelash	Sun 1985a:238
	ɸə	body hair	Sun 1985a:336
Tibetan (Balti)	gu **spu**·	hair (of woman); hair (woman)	Rangan 1975:28; Rangan 1975:52
	spu lu·	feather	Rangan 1975:72
	ʂɪʌq **sbu**·	mane	Rangan 1975:72
Tibetan (Batang)	dzõ^{13} **buʔ**^{53}	chest hair	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.1.3.2
	də^{55} **buʔ**^{53}	female pubic hair	Dai Qingxia 1989a:10.4.5
	dʑə^{55} **buʔ**^{53}	male pubic hair	Dai Qingxia 1989a:10.3.6
	kha^{55} **buʔ**^{53}	beard; moustache	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.1.2.1; Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.1.2.3
	le^{55} le^{55} kha^{55} **buʔ**^{53}	whiskers (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.1.7
	miʔ^{53} **po**^{55}	eyebrow	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.4.3
	n̥a^{55} **po**^{53}	nose hair	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.5.4
	tə^{55} **buʔ**^{53}	male pubic hair	Dai Qingxia 1989a:10.3.6
	tɕɛ^{55} zɛ^{55} **buʔ**^{53}	fur (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.1.4
	zo^{55} **buʔ**^{53}	body hair	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.1.3
	n̥a^{231} **buʔ**^{53}	leg hair	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.1.3.3
	ɕia^{13} **buʔ**^{53}	feather (of bird)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.1.5
	mi^{55}**pu**^{53}	eyebrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.03
	pu^{53}	hair / down (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	ʼmiː **borq**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	o koq-**pu** jyaq	beard	Matisoff 1987
	pu-jyaq	hair (body); feather	Matisoff 1987

[a] The final **-ŋ** is unexplained.

Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	kha[53]**pu[53]**	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.3
	pu[53]	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.3
	ɳi[53]**pu[53]**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	mik[53]**pu[53]**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.2
	mik[55]**pu[55]**	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.02
	pu[53]	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.2
	pu[55]	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.02
	tɕhə[13]**pu[55]**	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.02
Sherpa	'mi **burq**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'puq**	fur (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.026
Sherpa	ju-**puq**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	kang ba **pū**	leg hair	Bishop 1989:8.1.3.3
	ki tig **pū**	underarm hair	Bishop 1989:8.1.3.1
	mē **pū**	eyelash	Bishop 1989:3.4.4
Sherpa	mi **burq**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	nar ko nange **pū**	nose hair	Bishop 1989:3.5.4
	prang o **pū**	chest hair	Bishop 1989:8.1.3.2
	pū	body hair; fur (of animal)	Bishop 1989:8.1.3; Bishop 1989:8.1.4
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**pu** šokq	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
Spiti	ce **pu**	feather (of bird)	Bodh 1991:8.1.5
	khi **wu**	beard	Bodh 1991:8.1.2.1
	mik **bu**	eyebrow	Bodh 1991:3.4.3
	mik šok **pu**	eyelash	Bodh 1991:3.4.4
	na yi **pu**	nose hair	Bodh 1991:3.5.4
	pu	hair (general)	Bodh 1991:8.1
Tibetan (Written)	ba-**spu**	little hair	LaPolla 1987:74
	ba-**spu**	little hair (n.)	Benedict 1972:25
	ba-**spu**	fine hair; down (tiny body hair)	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:58; Sun 1985c:197
	brań-**spu**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	gdoŋ-**spu**	beard	Matisoff 1987
	hdoms-kyi-**spu**	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	ḫdoms-**spu**	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	ka-**spu**	beard / moustache	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:28
	kʻa-**spu**	beard	Matisoff 1987
	ltag-**spu**	mane	Matisoff 1987
	mčʻan-**spu**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	mgo-**spu**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	mig **spu**	eyebrow; eyelash	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.1; Sun 1985c:238
	spu	hair (of body); feather; hair, feathers; hair, feather; hair (body); body hair	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:T.26,W.71; Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:336
	spu	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.01
	spu	hair; fur; hair, fur	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.1
	spu-ńan	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Thakali (Tukche)	**'puh**-cham	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	'puh-cʰɔm	hair (body)	Hari 1971:2.A.9
	ˊpuh-cham	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	mi khā **phu** si	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4.3

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Yakha	tam **phəwa**	hair of head	Kohn 1990:8.1.1
	wɔksa: tam **phəwa**	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Kohn 1990:8.1.1.1

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Magar	mik **phu**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**poi**	hair	DAI Qingxia 1989e:8.1
	pại[2]	hair	Sofronov c1978

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	ʐu[33] **pu[53]**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.17
	ʐu[33]**pu[53]**jĩ[33]thɑ[55]	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.17
	ʐu[31]**pu[55]**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.16
Qiang (Taoping)	mi[55] **po[33]** χmə[55]	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.9
Qiang (Yadu)	tɕy: xu **pɑ**	feathers	DAI Qingxia 1989q:371
	xu **pɑ**	hair (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989q:332
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	la[55] **pu[53]**	beard	SUN Hongkai 1991n:8.1.2.1
	ɳe[55] **puɯ[55]**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991n:3.4.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.16
Xumi	nĩ[33] **by[55]** ɳɔŋ[35]	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991m

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Daofu)	huə **pho**	hair of head	DAI Qingxia 1989b:2.7
Ergong (Northern)	jɛ[33] kɐ[53] kʰɐ[33] **spə[53]**	moustache	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.2.3
	kʰɐ[33] **spə[53]**	beard; whiskers (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.2.1; SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.7
	mək[33] **spə[53]**	beard / moustache	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.2
Ergong (Daofu)	rə dɔ **spə**	fur (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.1.4
	spə	feather (of bird)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.1.5
Daofu	**spə**	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.12
	spə spa	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.12
Ergong (Northern)	tsʰe[53] kʰɐ[33] **spə[53]**	goatee	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.2.2
Ergong (Daofu)	fiuə **phuo**	hair of head	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.1.1

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	**'spu 'spa**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	bæ **spʰʊʔ**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	pə **'spa**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**spə**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	**spʊ**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	**spəʔ**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	lo[35] **pu[35]** si[35] ka[55]	eyebrow	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	lo[35] **pu[55]** si[35] ka[55]	eyebrow	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.4.3
Tujia (Southern)	me[33] **po[33]**	beard	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	nie[21] **bo[35]**	beard	CHEN Kang 1986d:8.1.2.1

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nasu	nạ[21] **bu[21]** tsʰe[21]	eyebrow	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.3
Nesu	ɳ̟ɪ̱[33] **bu[21]** tʂer[55]	eyebrow	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.3

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Sani [Nyi]	ne[33] **bu[33]** tsʰɿ̄[44]	eyelash	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.2
	ne[33]**bu[33]**tshi[33]	eyebrow	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[44] **bɣ[33]** tsʰɤ[33]	eyebrow	MA Xueliang 1989:320.6
	ne[44]**bu[33]**tshɤ[33]	eyebrow	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.3

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pi̯wăt**/pi̯wɒt	hair	Karlgren 1957:276i
	pwât/puât	hair (small hairs on body)	Karlgren 1957:276f
Chinese (Old)	**pjot**	hair	Baxter 1992:997

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**fɑ**	hair	Karlgren 1957:276i
	po	hair (small hairs on body)	Karlgren 1957:276f

Chinese comparandum

髮 OC *__pi̯wăt__ 'head hair '*GSR* #276i; Li 1971: ***pjat***; Baxter 1992 #997: ***pjot***; B & S 2011: –; Schuessler 2007:228-9; Mand. **fǎ, fà**.

肺 OC *__pwât__ 'small hairs on body' *GSR* #276f; Li 1971: **(*bat)**; Baxter 1992: **(*bat)**; B & S 2011: –; Schuessler 2007:228-9; Mand. **bá**.

The Chinese and Yakha forms suggest a possible allofam ***pwat**.

ZJH: The OC vowel might be either *__a__ or *__o__; with a labial initial and dental coda, the developments to Middle Chinese are identical, making it difficult to determine the OC vowel with certainty. However, either reconstruction is problematic for a comparison with PTB *__u__. OC *__o__ does sometimes correspond to Tibetan **u**, but only in open syllables (where we find Burmese **uiw**, as in the well-known words for 'steal': 寇 OC *__k[hs]o-s__; WT **rku**; WB **khuiw**; Mand. **kòu**), and before velars (where we find Burmese **o**, as in 'torch, light, flame': 燭 OC *__tok__; WT **dugs**; WB **tok**; Mand. **zhú**). There is no evidence for anything other than a coda *__-t__ in Chinese, and no evidence for any kind of stop coda in the TB reflexes; the makes both the vowel and the coda problematic for cognacy. An internal Chinese derivation from 發 'come out; emit' (Mand. **fā**) is also possible for these Chinese words (Schuessler 2007:228-9).

A comparison of the Chinese to WT **phud** 'hair-knot' is tempting given the dental coda, but OC *__o__ does not correspond to Tibetan **u** before dentals.

(25) PTani *m-kloŋ FEATHER / WING

This root is well-attested in the North Assam group, although there is no Proto-Tani reconstruction in J. Sun 1993.

The interesting Idu forms perhaps include what we have called "incestuous compounds", where two members of the same word family cooccur, one with a velar cluster and one with a simple lateral. The resemblance between these forms with velar clusters and PTB *__g-raŋ__ WING / HAND / ARM (§1.5.1) seems to be fortuitous.

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	tɑ[31]**loŋ[55]**	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.22
	tɑ[31]**loŋ[55]**	wing	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.49
Kaman [Miju]	**kʻlɔ̀ŋ**	wing	Weidert 1987:864
	ŋkhloŋ[35]	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.23
	ŋkhloŋ[35]	wing	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.48
	ŋkʰloŋ[35]	wing	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	a **kʰõ**	hand	Pulu 1978
	a **kʰõ** ecama	hand (back of)	Pulu 1978
	e[55]**loŋ[55]khɹoŋ[35]**	wing	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.50
	e[55]**loŋ[55]kʰɹoŋ[35]**	wing (of bird)	SUN Hongkai 1991f:6.1.9
Yidu	e[55]**loŋ[55]khɹoŋ[35]**	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.25

(26) PTB *tir FEATHER / WING

Although this root is of quite limited distribution, the exact but unusual rhyme correspondence between Thulung and Nungic inspires confidence that this is a genuine etymon.

The first syllable of Rengma **te ro ha** 'feather' looks related but it might mean 'bird' (cf. **tegü** or **tegvu** 'bird'). Cf. PTB ***daw** BIRD (§2.1.10) (*STC* pp. 149, 192), attested otherwise only in Bodo-Garo and Karenic.

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Ao (Chungli)	**te**	feather	Marrison 1967

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	pa-pu-**ti**	wing; feather	Hale 1973:93; Michailovsky 1991:67

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	'lehp **ti**	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
	'lep **ti**	wing	Michailovsky 1991:64
	-'lehp **ti**	wing	Weidert 1987:634

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	lap **ter**	wing	Michailovsky 1991:64; Allen 1975

4. NUNGIC

Trung [Dulong]	**ceɨ[55]**	wing	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.46
Dulong	**cɛɹ[55]**	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ceɹ[55]**	wing	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɑŋ[31] **tɕeɹ[53]**	wing	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

(27) PTB * m/s -lam WING / ARM / HAND / FINGER

This etymon is usually found as the last element of compounds, but appears as an independent monosyllable in Kham. The nasal prefix is attested in Simi, while the ***s-** prefix is reflected in the Nungic words for 'finger'.

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	ta: **lõ**	feather	NEFA (India) 1963

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	ding **lam**	right-hand	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Sema [Sumi]	a u-**mlo**	arm	Achumi 1998a:6.1

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Puiron	bei **lam**	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	chang **lam**	right-hand	Marrison 1967

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	yet **lom**	right-hand	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	wai[13] **lam[13]**	wing	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	wø **lam**	wing	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.7

Tsangla (Tilang)	oi-**lom**	wing	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	wø **lam**	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.07
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**lAm**	hand	Michailovsky 1991:82
	lam	arm	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.47
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	ñil^{44} sɹi^{44} **hlam^{42}**	finger (little)	Matisoff 1987
	ul^{44} **hlam^{42}**	finger	Matisoff 1987
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	ə-**hlâm**	reach of the hand or weapon; distance (n.)	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Côông [Phunoi]	lə **hyã´**	finger	Matisoff 1987

(28) PTB *kan WING / ARM

Although this etymon is of quite restricted distribution in TB, there is a possible Chinese comparandum.

The second syllable of Bodo **akánti** 'arm (upper part)' might also be related.

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	pa **kan**	wing	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	pa **kan**	wing	Marrison 1967
Zeme	pe **kan**	wing	Marrison 1967
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ri **kan**	arm	Marrison 1967
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	翰	feather (pheasant); wing	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1001 [a]
Chinese (GSR #)	**0140f**	feather (pheasant); wing	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1001 [b]
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**g'ân/ɣân-**	feather (pheasant); wing	Karlgren 1957:140f-g
Chinese (Old)	**g^{ʕ}ar-s** {[g]^{ʕ}ar-s}	feather (pheasant); wing	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1001 [c]
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**hanH**	feather (pheasant); wing	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1001 [d]
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**hàn**	feather (pheasant); wing	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1001 [e]
	hɑn	pheasant feather; wing, to fly	Karlgren 1957:140f-g

[a] This entry is erroneously glossed in Baster & Sagart 2011 as 'pheasant; feather, wing' (apparently mis-copied from *GSR*).
[b] This entry is erroneously glossed in Baster & Sagart 2011 as 'pheasant; feather, wing' (apparently mis-copied from *GSR*).
[c] This entry is erroneously glossed in Baster & Sagart 2011 as 'pheasant; feather, wing' (apparently mis-copied from *GSR*).
[d] This entry is erroneously glossed in Baster & Sagart 2011 as 'pheasant; feather, wing' (apparently mis-copied from *GSR*).
[e] This entry is erroneously glossed in Baster & Sagart 2011 as 'pheasant; feather, wing' (apparently mis-copied from *GSR*).

Chinese comparandum

翰 OC ***g'ân**, *GSR* #140f-g 'to support'; Li 1971: **(*ganh)**; Baxter 1992:761 ***gans**; B & S 2011: ***[g]^{ʕ}ar-s**; Schuessler 2007:250 (as 幹 **gàn**); Mand. **hàn**.

ZJH: The semantics are not promising for this comparison. The Chinese word seems more likely to belong to a Chinese word family with basic meaning of 'stem', 'framework' with root ***gan** or ***gar**.

(29) PrGy *r-kam WING

This root has so far only been found in dialects of rGyalrong and is included here in hopes of finding cognates.

3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	a^{3}**k^{h}om^{5}**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	a^{3}**k^{h}rom^{5}**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	a^{3}**rk^{h}om^{1}**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong	ta **rkham**	wing	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.12
	ta **rk^{h}am**	wing (of bird)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:6.1.9
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	ta' **k^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	ta' **rk^{h}am**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	ta' **rk^{h}am**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	ta' **rk^{h}am**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	ta' **rk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	ta' **rk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	ta' **rk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	ta' **rk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	ta' **rk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	ta' **rk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	ta' **rk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	ta' **ɾk^{h}am**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	ta' **ʂk^{h}am**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	ta' **ʂk^{h}am**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	ta' **ʂk^{h}a^{m}**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	ta' **ʂk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ta-**rk^{h}am**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	ta22 **ʂkam44**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	ta^{3}**rk^{h}om^{1}**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	ta **ɾ'k^{h}a^{m}**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	tə33 **rk^{h}am55**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **rkhɑm**	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.11
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	wa' **rk^{h}am**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	wa' **rk^{h}am**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	wa' **rk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	wa' **rk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	wa' **rk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	wa^{3}**rk^{h}wom^{3}**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	wa^{3}**rk^{h}wom^{3}**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	wa^{5}**rk^{h}om^{53}**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wa **ɾ̥k^{h}am**	wing (of bird)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:6.1.9
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	wo' **k^{h}rom**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	wo' **k^{h}rom**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	wo' **rk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	wo' **rk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	wo' **rk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	wo' **ʂk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	wo' **ʂk^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	wə22 **rk^{h}am44**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	ʔar'35**k^{h}om53**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˆtʌ **ɾ̥k^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	ˈwo **k^{h}rom**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	¯tɐ **ɾ̥k^{h}om**	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong	ta **rkham**	wing of bird	Nagano 1997:6.1.9
rGBenzhen	ta-**rk^{h}am?**~tɐ-**rk^{h}ɐʔm** ?	wing	Sun 1997b

(30) PTB *w $\begin{matrix}\text{a}\\\text{u}\end{matrix}$ BIRD / EGG / WING / FOWL

This etymon definitely shows variation between **-a-** and **-u-**, undoubtedly because of the rounding power of initial **w-**. As in many other TB etyma, there is also variation between the labial semivowel and labial stops. Cf. PTB ***p^{w}u** EGG / BIRD / ROUND OBJECT (§1.9.1) (TBRS #1).

This etymon appears as first element in a number of Kuki-Chin binomes, e.g., PKC ***wa-huy** PIGEON (§2.2.4), PKC ***wa-kok** ≍ ***-ʔok** HORNBILL (§2.2.4), etc.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***sgwljaɣ**	feather	Coblin 1986:78
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***wa**	bird; feather	Matisoff 2003a:618; Benedict 1972:99
	***wa** / *(b)wa	bird / chicken	Weidert 1987:116
1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	**buzu**-t^{h}u	beak / bill	Simon 1979
1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	**u^{55}**diu^{55}	peacock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0345.23
	wɑ^{35}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.23
	wɑ^{35}	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.48
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***waa** BIRD			
**Chin*	***waa**	BIRD	VanBik 2009:1134
Khoibu	**wa**-tsa	bird	Brown 1837
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Kuki-Chin	**va** chaoisung	gizzard / crop of bird	Haokip 1998:4.2.4
	va cha mul	feather (of bird)	Haokip 1998:8.1.5
Sizang	**va**-lik	pheasant	VanBik 2009:961
Thado	**và**	bird	Thirumalai 1972:47
	vâa	bird	VanBik 2009:1134
	vâa gîit	pheasant	VanBik 2009:961
	vā̰ cà	bird	Thirumalai 1972:29
	vā̰ hóŋ	peacock	Thirumalai 1972:46
	vā̰ tɔ́t	duck	Thirumalai 1972:63
Tiddim	gam^{2} **va^{1}** khu^{2}	turtle dove	Bhaskararao 1996:308
	gun^{2} **va^{1}**	bird species (n.)	Bhaskararao 1996:389
	in^{1} **va^{1}** khu^{2}	pigeon	Bhaskararao 1996:530
	u^{1} tong^{2}	peacock	Bhaskararao 1996:1912
	va^{3} sa^{1}	bird	VanBik 2009:1134
	va^{1} a:k^{1}	crow	VanBik 2009:499; Bhaskararao 1996:1925
	va^{1} gik^{3}	partridge	Bhaskararao 1996:1926
	va^{1} ka:ng^{2}	crane	Bhaskararao 1996:1927
	va^{1} mim^{1}	quail	VanBik 2009:782; Bhaskararao 1996:1928
	va^{1} phual^{1}	heron	Bhaskararao 1996:1929
	va^{1} sa^{1}	bird	Bhaskararao 1996:1930
	va^{1} to:t^{1}	duck	Bhaskararao 1996:1931
	va^{1}-khu^{2}	dove	VanBik 2009:1343
	¯vă-să´ bu:	nest (bird's) (n+n+n.)	Henderson 1965; Henderson 1965
	¯vă _laʔ	bird (small, game) (n+?.)	Henderson 1965
	´va:	bird (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**waw̆**-k'ó	dove	VanBik 2009:1134; VanBik 2009:1343
Cho (Mindat)	**va**	generic term to designate big birds (n.)	VanBik 2009:1134
Khumi	**tvoo**	bird	VanBik 2009:1134
	təvó	bird	So-Hartmann 1988:43
Matu	**va**	bird	So-Hartmann 1988:43
Wakung	tə **vá**	bird	So-Hartmann 1988:43
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	(**vàa**)-bŭu	bird-nest	VanBik 2009:38
	va-rit	pheasant	VanBik 2009:961
	vàa	bird	VanBik 2009:1134
Lai (Falam)	**vâa**	bird	VanBik 2009:1134

Lushai [Mizo]	sạ-**vâ**	bird	Weidert 1987:141
	sa-**va**	bird	Bhaskararao 1996:1930; Benedict 1972:99; Marrison 1967
	vâ	bird (n.)	VanBik 2009:1134
	và-hrìt	black pheasant (n.)	VanBik 2009:961
	va-hri:t	black pheasant	Benedict 1972:403
	vạ-kĭ	parrot	Weidert 1987:141
	va-ki	parrot	Bhaskararao 1996:638
	va-rak	duck	LaPolla 1987:198; Benedict 1972:107n301; Marrison 1967
	va ṭhu	dove	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	pā-**váw**	bird (n.)	VanBik 2009:1134
	vā-chhō-chā-bū	species of large owl (n.)	VanBik 2009:594
	vāw-dīa	bird-lime	VanBik 2009:61
	^{2}pə^{3}**vɔ**	bird	Weidert 1987:43
	^{2}**və**^{3}ku	owl	Weidert 1987:83

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**va** mur	beak / bill	Toba & Kom 1991:3.9.3
	və mih	feather (of bird)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.5
	wə mətin	talon (of bird)	Toba & Kom 1991:7.4.4
	wə mə t^{h}lə	wing (of bird)	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.9
Moyon	**và** ti mòwr	feather (of bird)	Kosha 1990:8.1.5
Sorbung	ʔə-**waa**	bird	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.120
	ʔə-**waa**-búu	nest	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.121

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**wa**	bird	Marrison 1967
	wa-ca	bird	Brown 1837
	wa-jui	egg	Brown 1837
	wa cha	bird	Marrison 1967
	wa yui	egg	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Ao*	***wa**-zaʔ	BIRD	Bruhn 2014a:II.127
	***waj**-hɹu	CROW (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.270
Ao (Chungli)	**o** zü	bird	Marrison 1967
	u^{1}zəʔ^{1}	bird (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.127
	vo-thun	beak / bill	French 1983:524
	wa^{2}-ɹu^{2}	crow (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.270
	wa ro	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**wa** ru	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
	wa ya	bird	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**wà** zà-sàʔ	bird meat ('bird' + 'meat') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	wà zàʔ	bird (n.)	Coupe 2007
	wa hɹu	crow, raven (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**vo**^{3}ro^{3} həm^{3}	feather (of bird) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.148
	vo^{3}roʔ^{3}	bird (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	vó rò	bird	Acharya 1975
	vo ro	bird	Murry *et al.* 1978:10
	wó rō	bird	Acharya 1975
	wó rò	bird	Acharya 1975
	wo ro	bird	Marrison 1967
	wo ro hum	feather (of bird)	Nienu 1990c:8.1.5
	wo ro shüp	nest	Murry *et al.* 1978:77
Sangtam	**u** za	bird	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**u** so	bird	Marrison 1967
	u tü	egg	Marrison 1967
	wa lo	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**wu** nunü	bird	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	the **vü** no	chicken	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	the **vü**	chicken	Marrison 1967
	the **vü** nuo	chicken	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(**u**) shi^{55}	wing (of bird)	Nienu 1990b:6.1.9
	^{2}**u**^{5}si	wing	Weidert 1987:481
Mao	**ho** dzü	egg	Marrison 1967
Meluri	amo **wa**	bird	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**ao wa**	bird	Marrison 1967
	a **wa**	bird	Marrison 1967
	a **wüü**-a tsü	egg	Marrison 1967
Rengma	teg **vu**	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**au** khu	egg	Marrison 1967
	a **o**	bird	Marrison 1967
	a **u** ti	chicken	Marrison 1967
	a **wu** khu	egg (of animal)	Achumi 1998a:10.4.16

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Puiron	**wa** hong	peacock	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**u** weng	peacock	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***wa*** BIRD

**Tangkhulic*	***wa**	bird	Mortensen 2012:318
Huishu	ʔa-p^{h}-**we**	bird (general)	Mortensen 2012:Animals.120
Kachai	**u**-ðu	bird	Mortensen 2012
	wu-ðu	bird (general)	Mortensen 2012:Animals.119
Tangkhul	**va** na	duck	Marrison 1967
	va nao	bird	Marrison 1967
	vā nō kha mor	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987
	wa	bird	Bhat 1969:85
Tangkhul (Standard)	**va**	bird	Brown 1837
Ukhrul	**va**-naw	bird	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**wa** hong	peacock	Marrison 1967

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**vo**	bird	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:99
	vō(ʔ)	bird	Weidert 1987:43
	vo-alo	cock	Marrison 1967
	vo-asi	chicken	Marrison 1967
	vo-ing hu	owl	Marrison 1967
	vo-iŋ hū(ʔ)	owl	Weidert 1987:83
	vo-mu	eagle; eagle, hawk, kite	LaPolla 1987:86; Benedict 1972:257
	vo ak	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
	vo dudu	owl	Marrison 1967
	vo kak	duck	Marrison 1967
	vo mu	hawk	Marrison 1967
	vo mu lang lopi	eagle	Marrison 1967
	vo ti	egg	Marrison 1967
	wō a-tì	egg (of animal)	Grüssner 1979:217
	wò-tī	egg (of animal)	Grüssner 1979:glossary p

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	*(**C-**)**wa(w)** təy	egg	French 1983
	*Ç-**waw**	bird	French 1983:459
	***ua**	bird	French 1983:459
	***wa**	bird	French 1983:459

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**va** kha	crow; crow (bird)	French 1983:459; Marrison 1967
	vo	bird	Marrison 1967; French 1983:459
	vo t^{h}un	beak / bill	French 1983:524
	^{1}**vʌ**^{1}kha	crow (n.)	Weidert 1987:725
Tangsa	^{1}**vu**^{3}kha	crow (n.)	Weidert 1987:725
	^{1}**vu**^{1}ṭ̬ʌi	egg	Weidert 1987:896
Tangsa (Moshang)	**vu**	bird	Marrison 1967; French 1983:459
	wu	chicken	Marrison 1967
	wu di	egg	French 1983:481
	wu roŋ	wing	French 1983:579
	wu-di	egg	Benedict 1972:45n149; Marrison 1967
	wu kha	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
	wu rong	wing	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**wu**	bird	Marrison 1967; French 1983:459

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**ao**	bird	Marrison 1967
	au	bird	French 1983:459
	au tei	egg ("bird-egg")	French 1983:481
	au kumatpa	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
	au nak	chicken	Marrison 1967
	au tei	egg ("bird-egg")	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**ao** ha	bird	Marrison 1967
	ao ha mei	chicken	Marrison 1967
	ao kiak	egg	Marrison 1967
	ao nim	duck	Marrison 1967
	ao sha	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
	au ha	bird	French 1983:459
	u weng	peacock	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**ʌu**-kaʔ	crow (n.)	Weidert 1987:725
	ʌu ji	egg	Weidert 1987:896
Phom	**ou** thə	bird	French 1983:459
	ou chaha	chicken	Marrison 1967
	ou thü	bird	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**ao**	bird	Marrison 1967
	ao ka	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
	ao pak	duck	Marrison 1967
	ao sa	chicken	Marrison 1967
	ao ti	egg	Marrison 1967
	o	bird	French 1983:459
	ɔ	bird	French 1983:459
	ɔ ti	egg	French 1983:481

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**u**	bird	Marrison 1967
	u-doŋ	peacock	Benedict 1972:341
	ù-mài	bird's tail	Matisoff 1987
	u-ri	pheasant	Benedict 1972:403
	u^{33}kha^{33}	crow (n.)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.19
	u^{31}	chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.19
	u^{31} (ʃă^{31}niŋ^{33})	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.19
	u^{31}loŋ^{31}	pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.19
	u^{31}nam^{31}tʃi^{33}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.19
	u^{31}toŋ^{33}	peacock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0345.19
	u^{31}tsa̲^{33}	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.19
	u^{31}tsi̲p^{55}	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.19
	u̲^{33}kha^{33}	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.47
	u̲^{31}	chicken; bird	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.47; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.47
	u̲^{31}tsa̲^{33}	sparrow	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.47
	u̲^{31}tsi̲p^{55}	nest	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.47
	u pyek	duck	Marrison 1967
	u tsa	sparrow	Marrison 1967
	wu	bird	Marrison 1967
	wu tawng	peacock	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**u**^{1}di	egg	Weidert 1987:896
	ʔù-tōŋ	peacock	Matisoff 1974:187
	ʔù-tsā	sparrow	Matisoff 1974:13
	ʔù-tsəwí	kind of bird	Matisoff 1974:285

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Kadu	**u**-di	egg	Matisoff 1987
Sak	**u**	fowl / chicken	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-7
	u-kyi	egg	Matisoff 1987
	u há	crow (n.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:305-6
	u sɨ	bird	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:301
	wa-tí	egg	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	go **wa**	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.7
	go **wa** la po	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.7
	ko^{13}**wa**^{13}	chicken	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ko^{13}**wa**^{13}la^{13}po^{55}	rooster	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	wai^{13} lam^{13}	wing	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	wø lam	wing	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**oi**-lom	wing	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	go **wa**	chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.07
	wø lam	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.07

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ræ** ntɕ^{h}ə	beak / bill	Sun 1985a:52
Tibetan (Written)	**rwa**.mchu	beak / bill	Sun 1985c:52

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	beʔ **wa**	duck	Ebert 1997
	le **wa** ḍin	testicle	Weidert 1987:617b
	nu **wa**	bird	Ebert 1997
	n **wa**	bird's nest (n.)	Ebert 1997
	wa	bird	Ebert 1997
	wa dhin	hen, chicken	Ebert 1997
	wa hap	chicken egg	Ebert 1997
	wa ji let	nest	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**wa**	small chicken	Michailovsky 1989b
	waʔ	chicken	Michailovsky 1989b
	wā thin	bird / chicken	Weidert 1987:116
	wɔ maqma	egg	Matisoff 1987
	wɔ phapro	hen (immature) / pullet	Michailovsky 1989b
	wɔ raŋkhEkpa	hen (immature) / pullet	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**u:** lap	chicken louse	Michailovsky 1989b
Yamphu	ciŋ yaʔ **wa**	wing (of bird)	Kohn 1990:6.1.9
		species of chicken with erect feathers (n.)	Rutgers 1998:531.13

	wa	chicken (n.)	Rutgers 1998:589.1
	wa ʔiŋ	egg (n.)	Rutgers 1998:590.22

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	keku **wa**	bird, kind of	Rai 1985
	li-**wa**-din	testicle	Rai *et al.* 1984:46 [a]
	l **Ua** Din	testicle	Rai 1985
	naroʔ **wa**	duck, kind of flying	Rai 1985
	TUʔ **wa**	bird, kind of	Rai 1985
	wa	hen	Rai 1985
	wa-din	chicken egg / egg	Rai *et al.* 1984:72
	wa-lap-ma	feather	Rai *et al.* 1984:43
	waicheT	chickens	Rai 1985
	wa Din	egg of hen	Rai 1985
	wa khU	chicken droppings	Rai 1985
	wa lap ma	quill / feather	Rai 1985
	wa mama	hen	Rai 1985
	wa sa	chicken (meat)	Rai 1985
	wa simba	chicken flea	Rai 1985
	wa yaN	nest (n.)	Rai 1985
	wa ḍin	chicken egg	Michailovsky 1991:55
Chamling	kOw **wa**	crow (bird?)	Winter 1985
	mow **wa**	bird sp.	Winter 1985
	wa- daî ma	chicken egg	Michailovsky 1991:55
	wa ccha	chick	Winter 1985
	wa chi	chicken	Winter 1985
	wa dAy ma	chicken egg	Winter 1985:38
	wa ma	hen	Winter 1985
	wa pa	rooster	Winter 1985
	wa sa	bird	Winter 1985
Kulung	**wa**	hen	Rai *et al.* 1975
	wa cha	chick	Rai *et al.* 1975
	wa di	egg	Michailovsky 1991:55; Rai *et al.* 1975
	wa ditt-a	lay an egg (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
	wa lam ma	feather	Michailovsky 1991:64; Rai *et al.* 1975 [b]

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	phu **pum**	cock / rooster	Driem 1993

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**bwā:** gutkā:	house (chicken) (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.11

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	baŋ.tholʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), an owl, Scops Owl? (ED) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	baŋ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Peregrine or Shahin Falcon (n.)	Caughley 2000
	bet.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Fantail Flycatcher (n.)	Caughley 2000
	beŋ.ku.ti.**(waʔ)**	bird (sp.), Bearded Laughing Thrush (n.)	Caughley 2000
	bhal.**ya**.(waʔ)	rooster (<N) (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	bhiŋ.gu.luŋ.**(waʔ)**	bird (sp.), Bearded Laughing Thrush (n.)	Caughley 2000
	brit.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Sharp-tailed Munia (n.)	Caughley 2000
	bruk.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), medium-sized, fruit-eating, Speckled Wood Pigeon (n.)	Caughley 2000
	bu.dha.jyu.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), with feather crest Sultan Tit (n.)	Caughley 2000
	bə.hi.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Long-tailed Broadbill (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ci.pinʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Ground Warbler (n.)	Caughley 2000
	coyʔ.lik.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), lowland nocturnal, Nightjar (n.)	Caughley 2000
	cu.pə.ti.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), yellow breast, reddish wings (n.)	Caughley 2000
	cyamʔ.pa.laŋ.**(waʔ)**	bird (sp.), Sunbird (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dayk.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), green, lowland Kingfisher (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dha.gu.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), an owl, Spotted Owlet? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dhe.ki.thumʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), medium-sized, grey, nocturnal (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dhu.kur.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), dove (<N Dhukur) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dhən.cu.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), a warbler (n.)	Caughley 2000
	du.hik.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Scarlet Minabet (male) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	du.wət,**waʔ**	bird (sp.), a snipe? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	duŋ.narʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), blackbird-sized, black, ground-feeding (insects), of the highlands (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dyəw.kalʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Red-vented Bulbul (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	gal.dalə.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), large eagle (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ghroyk.cik.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), small, brown, nests in ground hole, Spiny Babbler? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	glipi.cik.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Spotted Babbler (n.)	Caughley 2000
	go.go.ta.(sa.gə).**waʔ**	bird (sp.), White-throated Laughing Thrush (n.)	Caughley 2000
	goʔ.sarʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Domestic Fowl (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	gryok.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), migrating Greylag goose? – these birdscall when flying in formation (n.)	Caughley 2000
	gyak.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), starling-sized, grey, eats corn (n.)	Caughley 2000
	he.le.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Black or Bronzed Drongo (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hik.lən.ʔi.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Hair-crested Drongo (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hik.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Hair-crested Drongo (n.)	Caughley 2000
	huyh.lən.ʔi.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), mentioned in songs (domestic fowl?) (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	jaʔ.walʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), blackbird-sized, brown, inhabiting clearings (n.)	Caughley 2000
	jhew.ta.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), grey, Black-throated Babbler? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	jhi.liŋ.kon.**waʔ**	large rooster (n.)	Caughley 2000
	jhik.jir.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Silver-eared Mesia (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kā.**wāʔ**	crow (bird) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.016
	kek.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), White-cheeked Bulbul (n.)	Caughley 2000
	khok.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Hornbill (n.)	Caughley 2000
	khus.puk.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), European Cuckoo (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kim.**waʔ**	Domestic Fowl (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kliʔ.hreh.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), small greyish, found in bushes (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kohibas-**waʔ**	eagle	Caughley 1972:3.A.22
	kohibās.**wāʔ**	eagle (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.022
	kok.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), day feeding, nocturnal calling, Koel? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kolo.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), White-crested Laughing Thrush (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kom.ʔər.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), ground-feeding (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kromh.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), lowland, nocturnal, Nightjar (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kruyk.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Blossom-headed Parakeet (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ku.hi.bas.**waʔ**	bird of prey (sp.), larger than Crested Eagle (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kutu.ruk.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Blue-throated Barbet (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kuyʔ.kolo.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Slaty-headed Scimitar Babbler? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kwaʔ.cyarʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Rufous-chinned Spotted Babbler (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kwir.hlik.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Striated Laughing Thrush, nests in thatch grass (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kyuŋʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Crimson-backed Woodpecker (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kətə.pəw.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), lowland, greenish, thrush-sized (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kəy.ci.kat.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Swift (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kəyʔ.lən.ʔi.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Black Bulbul (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kəyʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Black Bulbul (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kəyʔ.**waʔ**.diŋ	god (sp.), of Black Bulbul (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lak.wah.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), nocturnal, grey (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lan.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Grey-headed Warbler or Yellow-bellied Fantail Flycatcher, (with black eyes like a lan) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	laŋ.narʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Domestic Fowl (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	les.**waʔ**	Jungle Fowl, Wild Fowl (n.)	Caughley 2000
	liŋ.sərʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Bulbul (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	loŋʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Whistling Thrush (n.)	Caughley 2000
	luk.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), an owl with ear tufts, a Scops Owl? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lyo.bhər.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), White-throated Bulbul? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	maŋʔ.dor.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Pygmy Woodpecker (n.)	Caughley 2000
	me.taŋ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	met.chyaʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mom.breŋ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Silver-eared Mesia (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mu.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), bird of prey, esp. Crested Serpent Eagle (n.)	Caughley 2000
	munh.raŋ.**waʔ**	bird, small scrub bird (gen.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	myaŋ.thuyʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), a bluish-grey flycatcher, Verditer Flycatcher? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mən.jhərʔ.**waʔ**	bird (sp.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	məy.ku.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), pigeon, small green, with red on head and shoulder, Thick-billed Green Pigeon? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nya.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Himalayan Barbet (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.ci.**waʔ**	bird (sp.), Brown-breasted Wren Warbler (n.)	Caughley 2000

[a] Literally “penis + bird + egg” (cf. Athpare **le wa ḍin** ‘testicle’).
[b] Note the assimilation of the medial consonants in Kulung **lam ma**.

pal?.tot.**wa?**	bird (sp.), nocturnal, used as a bogey to frighten children, Night Heron (n.)	Caughley 2000
pap.nər?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Domestic Fowl (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
paŋ.kat.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Scops Owl (n.)	Caughley 2000
paŋ.khuy?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), grey, Black-throated Babbler (n.)	Caughley 2000
phuh.**wa?**	first cock to crow in morning (n.)	Caughley 2000
pi.ci.rek.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Gold-fronted Chloropsis (n.)	Caughley 2000
pyak.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Gorgetted Flycatcher? (n.)	Caughley 2000
pə.ku.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Tawny Fish Owl (n.)	Caughley 2000
pəw?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Green-billed Malkoa (n.)	Caughley 2000
raŋ?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Pied Indian Hornbill (n.)	Caughley 2000
reke.tew.**(wa?)**	bird (sp.), a greyish waterbird, with crest, a Lapwing? (n.)	Caughley 2000
ri.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Vulture (n.)	Caughley 2000
riw?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), small lowland (n.)	Caughley 2000
ro.klaŋh.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Yellow-naped Blue Woodpecker (n.)	Caughley 2000
ru.dhən?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), larger size, eats flowers, fruit (n.)	Caughley 2000
rut.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Black-crested Kalege Pheasant (n.)	Caughley 2000
ruyŋ.kolo.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Necklaced Laughing Thrush (n.)	Caughley 2000
sayk, **wā?**-ko, tyap	bill (of bird) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.012
si.dhən?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), lowland, fruit-eating (n.)	Caughley 2000
si.riŋ.**wa?**	bird (sp.), lives high up near water-sources (n.)	Caughley 2000
si.?o.syak.**wa?**	bird (sp.), White-throated Bulbul (n.)	Caughley 2000
sisi.khyaw?.**wa?**	bird (sp.) White-cheeked Tit (n.)	Caughley 2000
siŋ?.dorh.**wa?**	bird (sp.), a woodpecker (n.)	Caughley 2000
siŋ?.syul?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Fulvous-Breasted Woodpecker (n.)	Caughley 2000
sok.thər?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), nocturnal (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
sot.?ər.**wa?**	bird (sp.?), rooster? (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
su.hi.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Plaintive Cuckoo (or a Drongo?) (n.)	Caughley 2000
suk.si.dhu.dhu.**wa?**	bird (sp.), a large greyish owl (n.)	Caughley 2000
suy?.lik.**wa?**	bird (sp.), a cuckoo, call heard in February (n.)	Caughley 2000
sya.gar.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Speckled Woodpigeon, medium sized, fruit-eating (n.)	Caughley 2000
sya?.sinh.**wa?**	bird (sp.), White-throated Bulbul (n.)	Caughley 2000
syo.dən?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), owl (sp.), large, greyish (n.)	Caughley 2000
syu.lik.**wa?**	bird (sp.), White-throated Bulbul (n.)	Caughley 2000
syu.ru.ruk.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Rose Finch? (n.)	Caughley 2000
syuk.ruk.**wa?**	bird (sp.), small, greyish, with red throat, Rose Finch? (n.)	Caughley 2000
tek.?ən?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Plain Leaf Warbler, eats tek.?ən?.say? (n.)	Caughley 2000
tene.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Black-naped Ground Woodpecker (n.)	Caughley 2000
thyoŋ.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Black-bearded Bee-eater (n1.)	Caughley 2000
tiri.bo.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Striated Laughing Thrush (n.)	Caughley 2000
ti?.lən?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), White-eye (n.)	Caughley 2000
to.krəw?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), medium-sized, a Babbler (n.)	Caughley 2000
toh.?ay?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), lowland bird of prey (n.)	Caughley 2000
tok.kon.**wa?**	bird (sp.), rooster (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
tom.klik.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Tailorbird (n.)	Caughley 2000
toy.tet.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Rufous-Bellied Bulbul (n.)	Caughley 2000
toŋ?.**wa?**	bird (sp.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
tunu.**wa?**	bird (sp.), beak red, twisted (n.)	Caughley 2000
tu?.kyak.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Swift (n.)	Caughley 2000
tyo.tet.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Rufous-Bellied Bulbul (n.)	Caughley 2000
tyu.hryum?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Indian Streaked Spiderhunter (n.)	Caughley 2000
wa	bird	Benedict 1972:99
wa.kum	bird (sp.), swallow (n.)	Caughley 2000
wā?	bird	Hale 1973:01.020
wa?	bird	Weidert 1987:43
wa?	bird (gen.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
wa?	bird	Caughley 1972:1.20
wa?-ko səyk	bill	Caughley 1972:3.A.12
wā?.bhālya	rooster (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.002
wa?.cəw?.ru	snake (sp.), grey, lies under a bird's perch to catch it (n.)	Caughley 2000
wa?.?i ho?-	receive rooster (hen) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
wa?.?um	egg (of bird) (n.)	Caughley 2000
wa kum	swallow	Caughley 1972:3.A.11
wā kum, carkum	swallow (bird) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.011
wes.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Jungle Fowl (n.)	Caughley 2000
wəs.?o.pək.**?u**	bird (sp.), Indian Cuckoo (n.)	Caughley 2000
wə?-ko men?	feather	Caughley 1972:1.36
yar.**wa**.lu	bird (sp.), Scarlet Minabet (f.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
yos.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Jungle Fowl (n.)	Caughley 2000
yuk.luŋ.**wa?**	bird (sp.), with long tail, greenish wings and body, red brow (n.)	Caughley 2000
?ay.krəw?.**wa?**	bird (sp.) a Babbler (n.)	Caughley 2000
?ay.tyok.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Red-headed Trogon (n.)	Caughley 2000
?o.dər?.**wa?**	bird (sp.), of lowland (ch.), used metaphorically in song for a person (n.)	Caughley 2000
?u.muk.**wa?**	bird (sp.), Quail (n.)	Caughley 2000
Magar	bhārtong **gwā**	swallow (bird) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.011
	gwā	bird	Hale 1973:01.020
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**wor**	chicken	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0090
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya	ndʑe^{55}**ɦu**^{55} mo^{24}	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.15
	vɐ̯^{33}vɑ^{53}	egg (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.15
	βə^{33}phæ^{55}	wing (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.15
Muya [Minyak]	dʑe^{35}**wu**^{33}	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.15
	dʑe^{35}**wu**^{35}mo^{35}	feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.15
	dʑɛ^{35}**wu**^{35}mo^{35}	feather	SUN Hongkai 1991h:8.1.5
	vɯ^{35}phɛ^{55}	wing	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:171.15
	vɯ^{35}p^{h}ɛ^{55}	wing (of bird)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:6.1.9
	vɑ^{33}vɑ^{55}	egg (of animal); egg	SUN Hongkai 1991h:10.4.16; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.15
Qiang (Mawo)	tɕi **wə** st	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.8; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	wu tsɛ	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.08
	wu n̡ɛ	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.08
	wu ni	feather (of bird)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.1.5
	wu stə̯	egg (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:10.4.16
	wu ək ɣzi ɣuæ^{ɪ}	wing (of bird)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:6.1.9
	wə	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.8
	wə nəʂ	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.08
	wə ri	pheasant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:141.8
Qiang (Yadu)	**wə** s	egg	DAI Qingxia 1989q:604 [a]
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**wɟjo**^{33} mtɕ^{h}ə^{13}	beak / bill	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.9.3
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Northern)	**pəɣa** ən tok	beak / bill	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.9.3
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	**wa'** rk^{h}am	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	**wa'** rk^{h}am	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	**wa'** rk^{h}om	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	**wa'** rk^{h}om	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	**wa'** rk^{h}om	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	**wa**^{3}rk^{h}wom^{3}	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	**wa**^{3}rk^{h}wom^{3}	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	**wa**^{5}rk^{h}om^{53}	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**wa** ɻk^{h}am	wing (of bird)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:6.1.9
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	**wo'** k^{h}rom	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	**wo'** k^{h}rom	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	**wo'** rk^{h}om	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	**wo'** rk^{h}om	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	**wo'** rk^{h}om	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	**wo'** ʂk^{h}om	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	**wo'** ʂk^{h}om	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	**wə22** rk^{h}am44	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	^{l}**wo** k^{h}rom	wing	Nagano & Prins 2013:1547
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**ú**-daùŋ	peacock	Benedict 1972:341
	ʔu'-dôŋ	peacock	Matisoff 1974:187
Hpun (Northern)	**ù**-	bird prefix (cp. Egg, Dove)	Henderson 1986
	ú tɔ̀ŋ	peacock	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	**wo**^{33}tɔ̯ŋ^{33}	peacock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0345.33
Marma	**ŭ** dɔ́ŋ	peacock	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:305-7a
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŭ**^{55}tɒŋ^{55}	peacock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0345.30

[a] Comparison with other Qiangic forms indicates that the final **-s** in Yadu is a truncated verson of **stə** or **stu**. This apocopation of the vowel of second elements in compounds is characteristic of Qiangic. See Benedict (1983), "Qiang monosyllabization: a third phase in the cycle" (*LTBA* 7.2:113-4).

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolo	**wa**	bird	Benedict 1972:99

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Northern)	**wa**^{21}ŋa^{35}	migratory bird (N.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**wa**	bird	Benedict 1972:99

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**hah L**	bird	Matisoff 1972b:141
Akha (Yunnan)	**xhà** dzé	hawk, eagle	Hansson 1989:178
Akha (Thai)	**xhà**-dzé	hawk, eagle	Hansson 1989:178
Akha	**xhà**-dzé	hawk; kite	Hansson 1989:178; Matisoff 1985a:006
Bisu	**hā**-jà	bird	Matisoff 1972b:141
	ha ja	bird	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	**xa**^{31}dze^{55}	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**xhà** dzé	hawk, eagle	Hansson 1989:178
	xa^{31}dze^{55}	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.41
	xa^{31}dze^{55}dze^{55}bu^{31}	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**xa**^{31}dze^{55}	eagle	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**haq** zzeil	hawk, eagle	Hansson 1989:178
Hani (Shuikui)	**xɔ**^{33}tsɛ^{55}	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.32
Mpi	**wa**^{4}	fowl / chicken	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	wa^{4}ɲɤ^{2}	fowl (wild)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	si˥tɕ^{h}ɤ˥**u**˥li˧	type of bird	Michaud 2006–2009:3639
	u˩li˩	bird	Michaud 2006–2009:3611
Na (Yongning)	**v**˩dze˩	bird	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**vu**^{55}zi^{33}	bird	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:142.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**v**^{31}ze^{13}	bird	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:142.29
Naxi	**v̩**^{55}zi^{33}	bird (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.45

7. Karenic

Pa-O	**wâ**	bird	Solnit 1989
	wâ cám pjáŋ	swallow (bird)	Solnit 1989
	wâ rán	bird, k. with yellow beak, son	Solnit 1989
	wâ rɤ̀ʔ	bird, small k. that runs; k. of bird, like buttonquail,	Solnit 1989; Solnit 1989
	wâ tɔ̄ŋ	peacock	Solnit 1989

Chinese comparandum

羽 OC ****gi̯wo**, *GSR* #98a-b ‘feather’; Coblin 86:78 ST ****sgwljaɣ** > PC ****gwljagx** > OC ****gwjagx** ; Schuessler 2007:587 ****waʔ**; B & S 2011: ****ɢ^{w}aʔ {[ɢ]^{w}(r)aʔ}**; Mand. **yǔ**.

(31) IA *pak WING / ARM

This etymon is restricted to the Himalayan region, and seems definitely to be a loan from Indo-Aryan (cf. Skt. *pakṣa-*, Pali *pakkha-*.

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**pəkhəṅ**	wing	Sharma 1988:58
Pattani [Manchati]	**pak^{h}**	wing	Sharma 1982
	pà:kh	wing (of bird)	Sharma 1991b:6.1.9

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	ɕom^{55} **pek^{55}**	wing	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986 [a]

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	**pəkhyata**	wing (of bird)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:6.1.9

[a]Note the assimilation of the medial consonants.

(32) PTB *$\begin{matrix}\mathbf{p}\\\mathbf{b}\end{matrix}$ lyaŋ PLANK / PALM / FLAT SURFACE / WING

This phonologically distinctive root has so far been uncovered only in a few Himalayan languages.

There is a closely similar root meaning PALM in several Kiranti languages, which seems rather to be related to ****pleŋ** ‘flat surface; plank; slab’ (*STC* #138).

As discussed in Matisoff 1988 (“Straight, flat, full”), this root is allofamically related both to PTB ****(p/b)liŋ** FULL / FILL (§1.1.3.2) and PTB ****(p/b)lyaŋ** STRAIGHT / STRAIGHTEN (§7.1.5), the common semantic core being “a complete or ideal realization of a quality appropriate to a particular dimensionality in space”.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	****pleŋ**	flat surface; plank; flat; flat and wide	Michailovsky 1991:136; Matisoff 2003a:607; Benedict 1972:138

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ka **pleŋ**	plank	Benedict 1972:138

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**boŋ**-palaŋ≍bo-phalaŋ	plank	Benedict 1972:138

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	bol-**pleŋ**	plank	Benedict 1972:138

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**bren ≍ byen**	flat and wide	Benedict 1972:138
	luŋ-**byen**	slab	Benedict 1972:138
	phun-**pyen**	plank	Benedict 1972:138
	phun^{55}**pjen^{33}**	board / plank	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	phun^{55}**pje̱n^{33}**	plank / board (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.19
	phun^{55}**pje̱n^{33}**	board / plank	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:359.47

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**pyaiŋ**	board / plank	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:289a

2.2. Newar

Newar (Dolakhali)	**pwɔm** t̪u	wing	Genetti 1990b

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	****plem-**	palm	Michailovsky 1991:136
Zerungge Rai	ma **phlem**	wing	Weidert 1987:634

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	tap **pe**	palm, sole; palm	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:136; Michailovsky 1991:137 [a]
Yamphu	lap **pf̂aŋ**	wing (n.)	Rutgers 1998:552.15

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	**plem** khar	palm	Michailovsky 1991:136
	plem säl	sole	Michailovsky 1991:136

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**blem**	palm, sole	Michailovsky 1991:136
Hayu	**plem** dzaŋ	sole	Michailovsky 1991:136
	pleŋ teŋ	palm	Michailovsky 1991:136
Ombule (Rai)	ʔba **phlem**	wing	Weidert 1987:634
Sunwar	**phra:M**	feather, wing	Michailovsky 1991:65

[a]Note the assimilation of the medial consonants.

	phrạ:	wing (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.014
Thulung	ba **phlem**	wing (arch.)	Michailovsky 1991:65; Allen 1975

4. Nungic

Anong	śiŋ-**byen**	plank	Benedict 1972:138
Trung [Dulong]	ul^{44}a^{32}**be^{42}**	palm	Lo Ch’ang-p’ei 1945

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	kyauk-**pyáń**	flat level stone, slab	Benedict 1972:138
	pyàń	reduced to a level;plank; flat (be v.)	Benedict 1972:138

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	平板	flat	Nagano & Prins 2013:1578
	扁平	flat	Nagano & Prins 2013:1577

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**píng**	flat, even	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

平 OC ****b’i̯ĕng**, *GSR* #825a ‘flat, even’; B & S 2011: ****breŋ**; Mand. **píng**.

(33) PTB *mu: $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ ARM / CUBIT

Most reflexes of this etymon (possibly including WB **muik**) have a final velar stop, but other Burmese forms point to an allofam with final velar nasal. Several Himalayish languages of Nepal have borrowed an accidentally similar Indo-Aryan root with the meaning ‘fist’: Kanauri **muṭhu**, **mŭṭṭhu**, Chantyal **murki**, Kham **mutka** < cf. Skt. *muṣṭi-*, Pali *muṭṭhi-*.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	****mu:k**	cubit; armlength; arm, hand (length), cubit	Matisoff 2003a:602; Benedict 1972:394

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Awa Khumi	**mŭʔ^{3}**	cubit	Luce 1985:R.43
	mŭʔ^{4}	cubit	Luce 1985:R.43
Khumi (Ahraing)	**meʊ^{5}**	cubit	Luce 1985:R.43

1.6. Mru

Mru	pă **mu^{2}**	cubit	Luce 1985:Q.64
	[pă] **mu^{2}**	cubit	Luce 1985:R.43

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**mu**	arm-length	Benedict 1972:394
Kokborok	**moʔ**	cubit	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**mik**	cubit	Benedict 1972:394
Garo (Bangladesh)	**mik-**	cubit (cls.)	Burling 2003:1.36-II:idx

2.3. Kiranti: ****muk** ARM / HAND LENGTH / CUBIT

**Kiranti*	****muk**	arm, hand length, cubit	Benedict 1972:394
Lambichong	**muk**	arm, hand length, cubit	Benedict 1972:394

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	khek **muk**	elbow	Ebert 1997
	kheŋ **muk**	elbow	Ebert 1997
	muk	hand, arm	Ebert 1997
Belhare	**muk**	arm, hand; hand, arm	Bickel 1995; Bickel 1995
Chhintang	**muk**	arm, hand length, cubit	Benedict 1972:394
Yakha	cuptaŋ **mu:k**	right hand	Kohn 1990:6.1.7.4
	muk	arm,hand length,cubit	Benedict 1972:394
	mu:k	hand	Kohn 1990:6.1.7
	mu:k eko	one cupped hand	Kohn 1990
	mu:k pa:khu:ra	arm	Kohn 1990:6.1
	mu:k adzorni	knuckle (joint of digit)	Kohn 1990:7.3
	mu:k co:ŋ	back of hand	Kohn 1990:6.1.7.2
	mu:k so:dzi ciʔmana	cubit (elbow to fingers)	Kohn 1990:13.3
	phɛksaŋ **mu:k**	left hand	Kohn 1990:6.1.7.5

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	lɛʔ^{4}**mãu^{55}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	lɛʔ^{44}**mɑũ^{55}**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.40
Burmese (Written)	lak **moṅ**	arm	Marrison 1967
	lɑk **mɔŋ^{3}**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.39
	lɑk^{4}**mɔŋ^{3}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.26
	muik	measure with breadth of fist	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:394

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Mpi	**mɯ^{2}** tuŋ^{6}	wing	Bradley 1979b

(34) PKC *ɓaar FEED (using palm of hand)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	****ɓaar**	FEED (using palm of hand)	VanBik 2009:27

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	an-**baak**-khat	morsel	VanBik 2009:27
Tiddim	**ba:k^{2}**	eat food with hands (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:58
	ba:k^{2}	eat food with hands	Bhaskararao 1994
	ba:k^{3} > **baʔ^{3}**	feed (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:60
	ba:k^{3}-I, **baʔ^{3}-II**	feed, eat food with hands	VanBik 2009:27
	ba:k^{3}/baʔ^{3}	feed	Bhaskararao 1994
	`ba:k/_baʔ	feed forcibly (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**bai**	put something in one’s mouth (v.)	VanBik 2009:27
Khumi	**aba**	stuff (e.g. rice) into one’s own mouth	VanBik 2009:27

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**bâar-I**, **băar-II**	feed by putting a handful into the mouth	VanBik 2009:27
Lai (Falam)	**bàar-I**, **bár?-II**	feed by putting a handful into the mouth	VanBik 2009:27

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**bàw**	cram, as food in the mouth; to stuff with food	VanBik 2009:27

Chinese comparandum

哺 OC ****b’wo**, *GSR* #102i’ ‘have food in mouth’; Schuessler 2007:174 ****bâh**; B & S 2011: ****b^{ʂ}a-s {[b]^{ʂ}a-s}**; Mand. **bǔ**.
餔 OC ****pwo**, *GSR* #102e’ ‘eat; evening meal’; Schuessler 2007:174 ****pâ**; B & S 2011: (****p^{ʂ}a**); Mand. **bū**.
餔 OC ****pwo**, *GSR* #102e’ ‘give to eat’; Schuessler 2007:174 ****pâh**; B & S 2011: (****p^{ʂ}a-s**); Mand. **bù**.

(35) PCC *keŋ-I, *ken-II CARRY (in the hand) / BRING ALONG

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**ckieéng**	carry or hold under the arm, at the side	VanBik 2009:264
1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***keŋ-I, ken-II**	CARRY (in the hand) / BRING ALONG	VanBik 2009:264
Lai (Hakha)	**kêŋ-I, kĕn-II**	carry (in the hand), bring along	VanBik 2009:264
Lushai [Mizo]	**keng**	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	keng	carry (in hand); take	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	keng	take; bring (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2532; Bhaskararao 1996:2533
	kéng-I, kèn-II	carry (in the hand), to take or bring with (as money) (v.)	VanBik 2009:264

(36) PKC *tham CARESS / GROPE / TOUCH (with hand)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tham**	CARESS / GROPE / TOUCH (with hand)	VanBik 2009:376
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**thâm**-I, thàm-II	touch (with hand)	VanBik 2009:376
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**pthang**	grope in the dark for something, feel around for	VanBik 2009:376
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thâm**-I, thăm-II	caress, touch (with hand), grope	VanBik 2009:376
Lai (Falam)	**thám**-INV	caress, touch (with hand), grope	VanBik 2009:376
Lushai [Mizo]	**thăm**	feel around, to feel with the hand (v.)	VanBik 2009:376
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	pa-**thá**	caress, grope	VanBik 2009:376

(37) PKC *khoyʔ TOUCH (with hand)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***khoyʔ**	TOUCH (with hand)	VanBik 2009:462
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**khoih**	touch	VanBik 2009:462
Thado	**khòy**-INV	scratch, dig up	VanBik 2009:462
Tiddim	**khoiʔ^{3}**	touch	VanBik 2009:462
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**khoyʔ**	dig with hand	VanBik 2009:462
Lushai [Mizo]	**khàwih**	touch	VanBik 2009:462

(38) PKC *tsooy BORROW / CARRY (in the hand)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tsooy**	BORROW / CARRY (in the hand)	VanBik 2009:524
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**tsóoy**-I, tsòy-II	carry (in hand)	VanBik 2009:524
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsŏoy**-I, tsoyʔ-II	borrow	VanBik 2009:524
Lai (Falam)	**tsòoy**-INV	borrow	VanBik 2009:524
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chēi**	borrow, to carry in the hand (v.)	VanBik 2009:524

(39) PCC *huy-I, *huyʔ-II RAKE UP / SCRAPE (with hand)

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***huy**-I, huyʔ-II	RAKE UP / SCRAPE (with hand)	VanBik 2009:732
Lai (Hakha)	**hûy**-I, hŭy-II	rake up, scrape (with hand)	VanBik 2009:732
Lushai [Mizo]	**hûy** lûut	scrape, rake into (v.)	VanBik 2009:732

(40) PCC *thruam SCOOP (with hand)

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***thruam**	SCOOP (with hand)	VanBik 2009:1350
Lai (Hakha)	**thrûam**-I, thrŭam-II	scoop up with hand	VanBik 2009:1350
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭhúum**	scoop up with both hands (v.)	VanBik 2009:1350

(41) PKar *ʔdeʔ^{D} WING

D. Solnit has recently (in prep.) reconstructed this root with a velar final (as ***ɗek OR *ɗĭk**).

It is also not excluded that these Karen forms derive ultimately from PTB ***d-yak*** HAND / ARM / LEAF (§1.5.1).

7. Karenic			
**Karen (TP)*	***dáiʔ**	wing (shoulder)	Jones 1961:219
**Karen [Burling]*	***diʔ^{2}**	wing	Luangthongkum 2013:335
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***diʔ** shé	wing (shoulder)	Jones 1961:219
**Karen (Pwo)*	***déʔ** shwèn	wing (shoulder)	Jones 1961:219
**Karen*	***ʔdeʔ^{D}**	wing	Luangthongkum 2013:335
Bwe	(-)**đe** klé	wing, feather (n.)	Henderson 1997
	-đe	appendage such as wing or fin (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ɗe^{33}	wing	Luangthongkum 2013:335
	ə-**ʔdì**-kʔlé	wing	Weidert 1987:864
Karen	**dı̱^{55}** tshɛ^{55}	wing (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0298.50
	tsy̱^{31} **de̱^{55}**	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.50
Kayah	**da^{55}**	wing	Luangthongkum 2013:335
Kayan (Pekon)	**dè**	wing (N.)	Manson 2010
	dè kı̱	wing (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**de^{33}**	wing	Luangthongkum 2013:335
Pa-O (Northern)	**deʔ^{21}**	wing	Luangthongkum 2013:335
Pa-O	**déʔ**	wing; wing (shoulder)	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:219
Pa-O (Southern)	**diʔ^{21}**	wing	Luangthongkum 2013:335
Pwo (Northern)	**daiʔ^{45}**	wing	Luangthongkum 2013:335
Pwo (Southern)	**daiʔ^{31}**	wing	Luangthongkum 2013:335
Pwo	**dèʔ**-shwèn	wing	Weidert 1987:864
Pwo (Bassein)	**dèʔ** shwèn	wing (shoulder)	Jones 1961:219
Pwo (Moulmein)	**dàiʔ** shwèn	wing (shoulder)	Jones 1961:219
Sgaw (Southern)	**daiʔ^{21}**	wing	Luangthongkum 2013:335
Sgaw (Northern)	**diʔ^{45}**che^{33}	wing	Luangthongkum 2013:335
Sgaw (Bassein)	**diʔ** shé	wing (shoulder)	Jones 1961:219
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**dı̱^{55}** tsh^{55}	wing	Dai Qingxia 1989k:347
	tsy̱^{31} **de̱^{55}**	hand	Dai Qingxia 1989k:133
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**diʔ** shé	wing (shoulder)	Jones 1961:219
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	a^{31} **dı̱ʔ^{55}**	wing	Dai Qingxia 1989j:370

(42) PKir *huk HAND

This root is reconstructed for SE Kiranti. A previous reconstruction by Baxter for Chinese 手 looks quite similar to these Kiranti forms, see PTB ***g-(t)syəw-k/ŋ*** WING / HAND (§1.5.1) for more discussion on this Chinese comparandum. Baxter and Sagart's more recent reconstruction is OC ****n̥uʔ***.

This root bears a slight resemblance to PTB ***k(r)u-t*** HAND / FIST / ARM (§1.5.1), but seems distinct from it.

2.3. Kiranti			
**SE Kiranti*	***huk**	hand	Michailovsky 1991:85
**Kiranti*	***huk**	arm, hand	Opgenort 2011
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**huk**	hand, arm; hand	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:85
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	**hu**	hand; hand, arm	Michailovsky 1991:85; Rai *et al.* 1975
	huk pama	palm; palm (of hand)	Michailovsky 1991:136; Rai *et al.* 1975; Michailovsky 1991:85

(43) PTani *hup GROPE

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***hup**	grope	Sun 1993a:185
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**hup**-ka:	grope	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**hup**	grope; feel, grope	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	hup-kɯ	touch	Sun 1993b
Galo	**ub** nam	grope (vt.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**up**-ki	grope	Sun 1993a

(44) PTani *lak-ŋər WRIST

The first syllable of this Tani binome is from PTB ***lak*** HAND/LIMB (§1.5.1). The Proto-Tani rhyme ***-ər*** is rare, so that J. Sun reconstructs it only for two roots.

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***lak-ŋər?**	wrist	Sun 1993a:478
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**laʔ-ŋɯr**	wrist	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**lok ŋər**	wrist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.24
	lok-ŋər	wrist	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**lak-ŋar**	wrist	Sun 1993a
	lâng-ngar	wrist	Matisoff 1987

(45) PKC *ɗap GROPE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗap**	GROPE	VanBik 2009:85
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**dap** vel	grope (v.)	VanBik 2009:85
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**dó**	reach for (v.)	VanBik 2009:85
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dap**-I, daʔ-II	grope (v.)	VanBik 2009:85
Lai (Falam)	**dàp**-I, dàʔ-II	grope (v.)	VanBik 2009:85
Lushai [Mizo]	**dàp**	grope after or for, to search (a person, house, box, etc with the hand) (v.)	VanBik 2009:85

(46) PCC *thlaar BUNCH / HAND (of bananas)

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***thlaar**	BUNCH / HAND (of bananas)	VanBik 2009:1280
Lai (Hakha)	**thlàar**	bunch (of bananas), comb (of honey)	VanBik 2009:1280
Lushai [Mizo]	**thláar**	bunch or hand (as of bananas, etc.) (n.)	VanBik 2009:1280
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**thlaw**	bunch, cluster	VanBik 2009:1280

(47) PTB *tu $\frac{\text{p}}{\text{m}}$ CLENCH / FIST

1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	ɹău^{53} xɑ^{31} **tɑp^{35}**	fist	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***kut-tum** ≍ ***khut-tum** FIST, ***tum** CLENCH			
**Chin*	*kut- ≍ khut-**tum**	FIST	VanBik 2009:281
	***tum**	CLENCH	VanBik 2009:186
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	khut **tum**	fist	Haokip 1998:6.1.7.3
Sizang	kut **tum**	fist	VanBik 2009:281
Thado	**túm-I, tùm-II**	clench (as fist)	VanBik 2009:186
Tiddim	khut^{3} **tum^{2}**	fist	VanBik 2009:186; VanBik 2009:281; Bhaskararao 1996:858
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	kut-**tŭm**	fist	VanBik 2009:281
	tûm-I, tŭm-II	clench	VanBik 2009:186
Lushai [Mizo]	kùt-tùm	fist, the clenched hand (n.)	VanBik 2009:186; VanBik 2009:281

1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	kū-**tō**	fist	VanBik 2009:281
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	lă^{31}**tu̱p**^{55}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.19
	ta̱ʔ^{55}lă^{31}**tu̱p**^{55}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.47
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**tub**	fist	Sharma 1982; Sharma 1991b:6.1.7.3
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**tup**	fist (n.)	Caughley 2000
	tup-	clench fist, beat iron, hammer into shape (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	tup.kru	short cubit (elbow to end of closed fist) (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	tup.kru	cubit (short) - elbow to closed fist (nms.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**tup**	fist	Caughley 1990:6.1.7.3
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	lɔʔ^{55}**thum**^{31}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.28
	lɔʔ^{55}**thum**^{31}	fist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:252.41
Achang (Xiandao)	lɔʔ^{55} **t^{h}um**^{31}	fist	Dai Qingxia 1989f:139
	lɔʔ^{55}**thum**^{31}	fist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.29

(48) PKar *ʔboʔ^{D} REACH INTO

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***ʔboʔ**^{D}	reach into	Luangthongkum 2013:236
Kayah	**bɔ**^{55}	reach into	Luangthongkum 2013:236
Kayan	**bɔʔ**^{45}	reach into	Luangthongkum 2013:236
Kayaw	**bə**^{33}	reach into	Luangthongkum 2013:236
Pa-O (Northern)	**boʔ**^{21}	reach into	Luangthongkum 2013:236
Pa-O (Southern)	**buʔ**^{21}	reach into	Luangthongkum 2013:236
Pwo (Northern)	**bauʔ**^{45}	reach into	Luangthongkum 2013:236
Pwo (Southern)	**bɔuʔ**^{31}	reach into	Luangthongkum 2013:236
Sgaw (Southern)	**bɔuʔ**^{21}	reach into	Luangthongkum 2013:236
Sgaw (Northern)	**bɨʔ**^{45}	reach into	Luangthongkum 2013:236

1.5.1.2.3 Underarm/Armpit

(1) PTB *g-li-k ARMPIT / TICKLE

This "funny" root is quite well attested in several branches of the family, usually as a sesqui- or disyllable. Several languages (Ao, Bisu, Magar) show a variant with final velar stop, while others (WB, Gurung) show some sort of laryngeal feature after the vowel.

Yang 1985 cites several extra-TB lookalikes: Khmer **kliək**, Indonesian **ketiak** 'armpit', Cham **kəlĕk** 'tickle'. See also Benedict 1975a:410 ("Austro-Thai Language and Culture, with a glossary of roots").

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-li**	armpit; tickle	Weidert 1987:255; Matisoff 2003a:600; Benedict 1972:265; LaPolla 1987:134
	***k(a)li**	armpit	Weidert 1987:255
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	ba-**kəli**	armpit	LaPolla 1987:134; Benedict 1972:265
	kili	tickle, armpit	Benedict 1972:265
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	ʒɑ^{4}**kǝ̆li**^{3}	armpit	Luce 1985:O.6
Mera	ɓɑ^{6}**kǝ̆li˞**^{1}	armpit	Luce 1985:O.6
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	kə̀ŋ **krík**	underarm / armpit	Kosha 1990:6.1.1
	nrik	tickle	Kosha 1990:6.1.1.1
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***k-lik** TICKLE			
**Central Naga*	***k-lik**	TICKLE	Bruhn 2014a:III.259
Ao (Chungli)	^{3}**ki**^{1}**lik**	tickle	Weidert 1987:255
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**kə̀lìk**	tickle [tickled] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**zək**^{2}-	tickle (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.259
	E **zuk** a	tickle	Nienu 1990c:6.1.1.1
	e **zük** phi a	tickle	Murry *et al.* 1978:125
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	^{2}ke^{5}**lie**	tickle	Weidert 1987:255
Angami (Kohima)	ke^{31} **li**^{55}	tickle	Nienu 1990a:6.1.1.1
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***rik** ARMPIT			
**Tangkhulic*	***rik**	armpit	Mortensen 2012:601
Huishu	a-ka-**lik**	armpit	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-ka-**lik**	armpit	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.002
	ʔa-ka-**lik**-vej	armpit hair	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.003
Kachai	t^{h}aw-k^{h}ə-**lɐk**	tickle (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.149
	t^{h}aw-**lɐk**	underarm / armpit	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.148
Tangkhul	**rí**	armpit	Bhat 1969:84
Ukhrul	**rik**-k^{h}a	armpit	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**lek**-gu-a	tickle (vt.)	Burling 2003:3.64-II:idx
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	kanch **lhi**	armpit	Hale 1973:66
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung	bgyāu-**liq**	armpit	Hale 1973:66
Gurung (Ghachok)	ŋyau **liq**	armpit	Glover 1972:2.A.51
Manang (Gyaru)	nyaŋ^{2} **li**^{2}	armpit	Nagano 1984:028-01
Tamang (Sahu)	kuh **cili**	armpit	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.48
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Magar	**kilik**-ke	tickle	Hale 1973:158
4. Nungic			
Anong	**khri**	tickle, armpit	Benedict 1972:265
Dulong	ɹɑʔ^{55}**li**^{55}	armpit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0092.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɹɑ^{55}**li**^{55}	armpit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:265.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ra^{55} **li**^{55}	armpit	LaPolla 1987:134
	ɹɑ^{55} **li**^{55}	armpit	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	gyak-**ka-li'**	armpit, tickle	Benedict 1976a
	gyak-**kăli'** ⪤ tshak-**kăli'** ⪤ lak-**kăli'**	armpit	Benedict 1972:265 [a]
	kăli'	tickle, armpit	Benedict 1972:265
	lak-**kalí**	armpit	LaPolla 1987:134
	zak-**kəli**	armpit	Weidert 1987:255
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***li**^{1}	armpit	Weidert 1987:255; Bradley 1979b:116B
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	g̈ì-**li** yá	tickle	Benedict 1972:62n199 [a]
	pὲ-**lí**-kā	armpit	LaPolla 1987:134
Lahu (Black)	pɛ^{31} **li**^{35} qa^{11}	armpit	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	kɔ̀ **kili**	armpit	Beaudouin 1988:13
	kɔ̀ **kilík**	armpit	Beaudouin 1988:13

[a] The first syllables of this important triplet represent three separate allofams of the first etymon in this study: **gyak** < PTB ***g-yak** ARM / HAND / CUBIT (§1.5.1), **tshak** (also transcribable as **chak** < PTB ***d-yak** HAND / ARM / LEAF (§1.5.1), and **lak** < PTB ***lak** HAND/LIMB (§1.5.1).

[a] The Lahu high-rising tone indicates that this was an originally stopped syllable with some kind of glottalized onset, perhaps ***ʔ-yak**.

1.5.2 Foot

(1a) PTB *r-k(y)aŋ FOOT / LEG

This etymon bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***r-kwa(ŋ)** FOOT (§1.5.2), and should perhaps ultimately be combined with it.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**r-)kaŋ**	foot	Weidert 1987:731
	***r-kaŋ** ⪤ **keŋ**	leg / foot / stem / stalk	Matisoff 2003a:595
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Anal	**khu**	foot	Matisoff 1987
Chinbok	**khɔ**	foot	Matisoff 1987
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**kheu**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	k^{h}e^{u}	leg; foot	So-Hartmann 1988:92; So-Hartmann 1988:93
Khumi (Ahraing)	**k'ɛʊ**^{5}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:O.17
1.2.3. Maraic			
Zotung	**ču**	foot	Matisoff 1987
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Ao*	*t-**tsaŋ**	FOOT / LEG	Bruhn 2014a:II.194
Ao (Chungli)	te **tsung**	leg; foot	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	te **tsung**-ta tsük	lame	Marrison 1967
	tsung sem	shoe (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsəŋ^{1}tsək^{1}	lame (adj.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tə^{3}-**tsəŋ**^{3}	foot / leg (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.194
	tə^{3}-**tsəŋ**^{3} ta^{3}tsək^{3}	lame (adj.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te **chang**	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	te **chang**-te chak	lame	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tʃaŋ**-pùk	sole of foot ('foot' + STOMACH) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃaŋ-sə	footprint ('foot/leg' + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃaŋ-tʃhə̀m	shoe ('leg/foot' + 'wear') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃaŋ kaʔ	pace (one)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**tʃaŋ**	leg, foot (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**tʃaŋ** tə-tʃak	lame ('leg' + 'NZP + break')	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	a **jing**	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	a **jing** ja rü	lame	Marrison 1967
	ching müyong zachang	toe	Marrison 1967
	ging	foot	Marrison 1967
	jing khüm	shoe (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	ta **ching**	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**ching**	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ching kik rü	lame	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	a **kánʔ**	footprint	Weidert 1987:31
Meche	a **kanʔ**	footprint	Weidert 1987:31
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**kaŋ**	leg	Sharma 1991a:6.2
	kaŋ bal bal	thigh	Sharma 1991a:6.2.1
	kaŋ ṭaŋ ṭaŋ	calf	Sharma 1991a:6.2.4
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hkaŋ** wa	foot; leg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.4; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:264.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hkaŋ**-wæ	foot	Sun 1985a:275
Tibetan (Balti)	rgyʌp **ṣkʌŋ**	leg (hind)	Rangan 1975:34
	ṣkʌŋ	leg	Rangan 1975:77
Tibetan (Jirel)	**kām**-bāq	foot	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**kuŋ**^{55}ba^{53}	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**kaŋ**^{35}pa^{55}	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.02
	kaŋ^{55}pa^{53}	foot; leg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.2; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:264.2
Sherpa	**kang**-bāq	foot / leg	Matisoff 1987
	kang-lingq	shin	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**kang** ba	leg	Bishop 1989:6.2
	kang ba pū	leg hair	Bishop 1989:8.1.3.3
	kang ba sham	foot	Bishop 1989:6.2.6
Spiti	**kaŋ** ba	leg; foot	Bodh 1991:6.2; Bodh 1991:6.2.6
	kaŋ je	footprint	Bodh 1991:6.2.6.7
	kaŋ thil	sole	Bodh 1991:6.2.6.5
Tibetan (Written)	brla-**rkaṅ**	femoral bone	Matisoff 1987
	dpuṅ-pa **rkaṅ**	upper arm bone	Matisoff 1987
	rkaṅ-ṅar	lower part of leg	Matisoff 1987
	rkaṅ-pa	foot / leg	Matisoff 1987
	rkaṅ-rus	bone of foot	Matisoff 1987
	rkaṅ-sor	heel	Matisoff 1987
	rkang.pa	foot	Sun 1985c:275
	rkaṅ pa	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	rkaŋ pa	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.01
	rkaŋ pa	foot; leg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:264.1
	rkaŋ(-pa)	foot; leg, foot, stem, stalk	Weidert 1987:731; Benedict 1972:70n218
	rkaŋ-pa	foot, leg; foot, marrow-bone; leg, thigh; foot	Luce 1985:G.97; Matisoff 1974:72; Zhang Liansheng 1988:42; Zhang Liansheng 1988:44
	rkɑŋ(-pɑ)	foot / leg / stem / stalk	Chou Fa-kao 1972:831u
	rkɑŋ-ŋɑr	lower part of leg	Jäschke 1881:126
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hkaŋ** dəχ jə	stamp (one's foot) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1297.04

	hkaŋ wa	foot (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.04
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**kaǹ**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	koǹ	foot	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*[A]**kaŋ**	leg	Mazaudon 1994:15
Tamang (Baqmati)	**kaŋ**	foot	Weidert 1987:731
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]**kaŋ**	foot, leg (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:6.2, 6.2.6
	[1]**kaŋ**	foot / leg	Mazaudon 1994:15
	[1]**kaŋ** [2]primtsi	toe (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:7.2
	[1]**kaŋ** ts^{h}in	toe-nail (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:7.4.2
Tamang (Sahu)	**kāng**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	kang.cuh mi	toe	Matisoff 1987
	kaŋ	foot; leg	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.46; Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.53
	kaŋ.cuh mi	toe	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.59
	[1]**kaŋ**	foot / leg	Mazaudon 1994:15
Tamang (Taglung)	**kaŋ**	leg	Mazaudon 1994:15
Thakali (Tukche)	pah-le **kāng**	shin	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**'khə̃:**	foot; leg	Watters & Watters 1989:1.46; Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.56
	'khə̃: bã:	sole	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.61
	'khə̃: səy	toe	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.62
	'k^{h}ə̃:	foot; leg	Watters & Watters 1989:1.46; Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.56
	'k^{h}ə̃: bã:	sole	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.61
	'k^{h}ə̃: səy	toe	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.62
	khạ	foot	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Côông [Phunoi]	lə̆ **khà**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	lə̆ **khá**	foot	Bradley 1979b
	lə̆ **k^{h}ə^{11}**	foot	Bradley 1977
7. KARENIC: ***khaŋ**[B] LEG			
**Karen (Pwo)*	***kháṇq**	knee; foot	Jones 1961:404; Jones 1961:44
**Karen*	***kháŋq**	foot	Jones 1961:44
**Karen (TP)*	***kháŋq**	foot	Jones 1961:44
**Karen*	***khaŋ**[B]	leg	Luangthongkum 2013:162
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***khɔ́q**	knee; foot	Jones 1961:404; Jones 1961:44
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***khɔ́ʔ**	foot	Jones 1961:44
	***khɔ́ʔ** lèkhóʔ	knee	Jones 1961:404
	***khɔ́ʔ** ñáθaʔ	sole (foot, hand)	Jones 1961:409
Bwe	**kha**	leg, foot (n.)	Henderson 1997
	kha ləbɔ	lower leg, below the knee (n.)	Henderson 1997
	kha đé gɔ̀	narrow part of the leg (n.)	Henderson 1997
	kha-khɔ	leg; foot, leg (n.)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997
	kha-ləbɔ	lower leg (n.)	Henderson 1997
	kha-ləmè	knee (n.)	Henderson 1997
	kha-ləmè	knee	Henderson 1997
	kha-ləmè ə-khwi	knee-cap (n.)	Henderson 1997
	kha-lɛkho	upper surface of the foot (n.)	Henderson 1997
	kha-đé	narrow part of the leg (n.)	Henderson 1997
	kha-đé-gɔ̀	narrow part of the leg (n.)	Henderson 1997
	kha-đé-θé	calf of the leg (n.)	Henderson 1997
	kha-íθa	sole of the foot	Henderson 1997
	kha-íθa	sole of the foot (n.)	Henderson 1997
	kha^{33}	leg	Luangthongkum 2013:162
Bwe (Western)	**k'ɑ**^{2}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:G.97
Geba	**k'ɑ**^{2}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:G.97
Karen	**khɔ**^{31}dę̱^{55}	foot (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.50
	khɔ^{31}lo^{31}du^{33}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.50
Kayah	**khɛ**^{11}	leg	Luangthongkum 2013:162
Kayan	**haŋ**^{11}	leg	Luangthongkum 2013:162
Kayan (Pekon)	**k^{h}án** dáukán	back of the knee (N.)	Manson 2010
	k^{h}ân	leg (N.)	Manson 2010
	k^{h}ân bù	leg rings worn below the knee [lit. leg-ring] (N.)	Manson 2010
	k^{h}ân dę́n	leg, foot, lower limb, hind leg (N.)	Manson 2010
	k^{h}ân lē	knee (N.)	Manson 2010
	k^{h}ân p^{h}lâ	shoes [lit. leg-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	k^{h}ân p^{h}ú θâ	calf [lit. leg-belly-seed] (N.)	Manson 2010
	k^{h}ân t^{h}ó	third toe [lit. foot-long] (N.)	Manson 2010
	k^{h}ân zān	footprint [lit. leg-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	k^{h}ân zạ̀	sole [lit. leg-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	sùdwân **k^{h}ân** bwān	expert [lit. hand-every-leg-another] (Nelab.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**khɔ**^{11}	leg	Luangthongkum 2013:162
Pa-O	**kháŋ**	leg, foot (in cpds); foot	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:44
	kháŋ dèŋ	leg just above ankle	Solnit 1989
	kháŋ khó	foot (top of)	Solnit 1989
	kháŋ lêŋ	knee (cap)	Solnit 1989
	kháŋ lɔ̃ŋ	leg, lower	Solnit 1989
	kháŋ lɔ̃ŋ phóŋ	calf of leg	Solnit 1989
	kháŋ mèʔ	ankle bone	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**khaŋ**^{33}	leg	Luangthongkum 2013:162
Pa-O (Northern)	**khaŋ**^{55}	leg	Luangthongkum 2013:162
	k'ɑŋ^{1}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:G.97
Pa-O (Northern)	**khaŋ**^{55}	leg	Luangthongkum 2013:162
	k'ɑŋ^{1}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:G.97
Paku	**k'ɔ**^{3}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:G.97
Palaychi	**khɔ́q**	foot	Jones 1961:44
	khɔ́q dùq	thigh	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:210
	khɔ́q nýhóq	knee	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:404
Pwo (Northern)	**khɛ̃**^{33}	leg	Luangthongkum 2013:162
Pwo (Southern)	**khɔ̃**^{55}	leg	Luangthongkum 2013:162
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**k'ɑ̃**^{1}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:G.97
Pwo (Delta)	**k'ɑ̃**^{4}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:G.97
Pwo (Bassein)	**khàn**	foot	Jones 1961:44
	khàn jàθàʔ	sole (foot, hand)	Jones 1961:409
	khàn lá?khò	knee	Matisoff 1987
	khàn lú?khò	knee	Jones 1961:404
Pwo (Moulmein)	**khán?**	foot	Jones 1961:44
Sgaw (Northern)	**khɔ**$^{31\sim}$	leg	Luangthongkum 2013:162
Sgaw (Southern)	**khɔ**$^{45\prime}$	leg	Luangthongkum 2013:162
Sgaw	**k'ɔ**^{4}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:G.97
Sgaw (Bassein)	**khɔ̀**	foot	Jones 1961:44
	khɔ̀ lèkhò	knee	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:404
	khɔ̀ ñáθaʔ	sole (foot, hand)	Jones 1961:409
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**k^{h}ɔ**^{31} dę̱^{55}	foot	DAI Qingxia 1989k:129
	k^{h}ɔ^{31} lo^{31} du^{33}	knee	DAI Qingxia 1989k:127
	k^{h}ɔ^{31} lo^{31} xɯ̱i^{55}	knee	DAI Qingxia 1989k:127.1
	k^{h}ɔ^{31} ts^{h}a^{55}	sore (leg)	DAI Qingxia 1989k:2368.1
	k^{h}ɔ^{55} dę̱^{55} tθa̱^{31}	calf (leg)	DAI Qingxia 1989k:128
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**khɔ́ʔ**	foot	Jones 1961:44
	khɔ́ʔ lèkhóʔ	knee	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:404
	khɔ́ʔ ñáθaʔ	sole (foot, hand)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:409
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**k^{h}ɔ**^{31}	foot	DAI Qingxia 1989j:129
	k^{h}ɔ^{31} du̱^{31} θa^{31}	calf (leg)	DAI Qingxia 1989j:128

(1b) PTB *r-kya-ŋ FOOT

STC n. 218, p. 70 already proposed a "possible doublet" PTB ***keŋ** in order to accommodate some Kuki-Chin and Chinese forms.

1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	aŋ-**ge**-sa	leg; leg(hind)	Anonymous 1962; Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978
	aŋ **ge** sa ɲa	leg pain	Pulu 1978
	a^{55}**ge**^{55}ɕa^{53}	foot	SUN Hongkai 1991f:6.2.6
	ɑ^{55}**ge**^{55}ɕɑ^{53}	foot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:263.50
Yidu	ɑ^{55}**ge**^{55}ɕɑ^{53}	foot (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.25
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kee** ≍ ***khee** FOOT / LEG			
**Chin*	***kee** ≍ **khee**	FOOT / LEG	VanBik 2009:283
Ngawn	**kɛ**	foot	Matisoff 1987
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Kuki-Chin	**keng**	leg	Haokip 1998:6.2
	keng mul	leg hair	Haokip 1998:8.1.3.3
	keng phang	foot	Haokip 1998:6.2.6
Paite	**khe**	foot	VanBik 2009:283
Thado	**keŋ**	leg, foot	Benedict 1972:70n218
	kèŋ	leg	Thirumalai 1972:26
	kèŋ kéu	bare foot	Thirumalai 1972:61
	kèŋ xó	foot measure	Thirumalai 1972:61
	kéŋ	leg	Thirumalai 1972:62
	kéɛŋ	foot	Weidert 1987:731
Tiddim	**khe**^{3} khuan^{3} to:^{1}	foot of the bed	Bhaskararao 1996:757
	khe^{3} pe:k^{1}	foot	VanBik 2009:153; VanBik 2009:283; Bhaskararao 1996:759
	khe:^{3}	leg	Bhaskararao 1996:773
	khɛ	foot	Matisoff 1987
	xɛ	leg, foot	Benedict 1972:70n218
	`xɛ:	leg (n.)	Henderson 1965
	χɛ^{4}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:O.17
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Khualsim	**kɛ**^{4}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:O.17
Lai (Hakha)	**kĕe**	leg, foot	VanBik 2009:283
Lai (Falam)	**kèe**	leg, foot	VanBik 2009:283
Lai (Hakha)	**kɛ**^{2}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:O.17
Lushai [Mizo]	fu-**ke**	leg	Matisoff 1987
	ke	leg; foot	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	kè	foot, a leg, a wheel (of vehicle, etc) (n.)	VanBik 2009:283
	ke	foot; leg; leg, foot	Bhaskararao 1996:759; Bhaskararao 1996:773; Benedict 1972:70n218
	ke-ar-tui	heel ("foot-chicken-egg")	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:45n149; Marrison 1967
	ke-a:r-tui	heel	Bhaskararao 1996:760
	ke-phah	foot; leg	Matisoff 1987
	ke-phah hnuai	sole	Matisoff 1987
	ke-phaʔ	sole	Benedict 1972:100n286
	kę̱-phaʔ	sole (foot)	Weidert 1987:175
	kɛ^{4}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:O.17
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**kei**	leg; crotch; leg from hip down	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Xongsai	**kɛŋ**^{2}	foot, leg	Luce 1985:O.17
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	**ke**	leg	Toba & Kom 1991:6.2
	ke mih	leg hair	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.3.3
	ke mək^{h}oŋ	ball of the foot	Toba & Kom 1991:6.2.6.4
	ke p^{h}ə	foot	Toba & Kom 1991:6.2.6
Sorbung	a-**ke**	foot	Brown 1837
	kèe	leg; foot	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.190; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.202
	kè míi	hair, leg	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.237
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Puiron	**ki**	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ki baja	foot	Marrison 1967
	ki barai	calf (of leg)	Marrison 1967
	ki kok	knee	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ki**	foot	Brown 1837
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	(-**kèng**)-kemô	hoof (of animal)	Grüssner 1979:42, 43
	keng	foot; leg; lower leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	kèng	foot; leg	Grüssner 1979:41; Grüssner 1979:41
	keng (chi mun) chi mi	toenail	Matisoff 1987
	kèng a-sék	joint; ankle	Grüssner 1979:41; Grüssner 1979:41
	kèng a-wúr	foot and mouth disease	Grüssner 1979:41
	keng ar-kong	shin bone	Matisoff 1987
	kèng ar kòng	shin bone / tibia	Grüssner 1979:41
	keng a sek	joint	Matisoff 1987
	keng chi mun	toe	Matisoff 1987
	keng ke mo	hoof	Matisoff 1987
	keng tung (de)	knee	Matisoff 1987
	kèng-bêr	hind-leg	Grüssner 1979:42
	kèng-chìp	knee hollow / popliteal	Grüssner 1979:42
	kèng-chi mî	toenail	Grüssner 1979:42
	kèng-chi pù	sole	Grüssner 1979:42
	kèng-jàk	ankle	Grüssner 1979:42
	keng-kung	lower leg	Matisoff 1987
	kèng-kûng	shin	Grüssner 1979:42
	kèng-mùn-pî	big toe	Grüssner 1979:43
	kèng-pàk a-.nglûr	sole	Grüssner 1979:42
	kèng-pàk a-nùng	instep	Grüssner 1979:42

kèng-phú	knee		Grüssner 1979:42
kèng-phú a-hambí	knee cap / patella		Grüssner 1979:42
kèng-phú a-rèp-pî	knee cap / patella		Grüssner 1979:42
keng-ri	lower leg		Matisoff 1987
kèng-rî	foot, bottom, base (of tree), foundation		Grüssner 1979:43
keng-sak	lower leg		Matisoff 1987
kèng-sák	shin bone / tibia		Grüssner 1979:43
keng-sar-ti	lower leg		Matisoff 1987
kèng-sartí	calf		Grüssner 1979:43
kèng-ták	sthg sticking in the foot		Grüssner 1979:42
kèng-thàk	thigh		Grüssner 1979:42
kèng-thàm a-cho bák	buttocks		Grüssner 1979:42
kèng-thîr	leg (of table, etc.),		Grüssner 1979:42
kèng-tì	heel		Grüssner 1979:42
kèng-tùng(-dè)	knee		Grüssner 1979:42, 91
keng a sek	knee		Matisoff 1987
keng kung	knee		Matisoff 1987
keng op	hoof		Marrison 1967
keng pak-ang lur	sole		Matisoff 1987
keng pak-arum	sole		Matisoff 1987
keng phu	knee		Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
keng phu ahambi	knee cap		Matisoff 1987
keng pop, chimi	hoof		Marrison 1967
keng ri	foot		Marrison 1967
keng sak	joint		Matisoff 1987
keng sarti (apok)	calf (of leg); calf		Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
keng tak	sole		Matisoff 1987
keng thak	thigh		Matisoff 1987
keng tham	hip; thigh		Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
keng tham achobak	hip		Matisoff 1987
keng tham arepi	thigh bone		Matisoff 1987
keng ti	heel (”foot-egg”)		Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
keŋ	leg / foot		Chou Fa-kao 1972:831u
kèŋ	foot		Weidert 1987:731
keŋ	leg, foot		Benedict 1972:70n218
keŋ-ti	heel		Benedict 1972:45n149
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***geːŋ**	leg (comp. form)	French 1983:511
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	yoŋ **keŋ**	thigh	French 1983:511

Chinese comparandum

脛 OC ***g'ieng**, *GSR* #831k ‘leg, shank’; B & S 2011: ***m-k^{hs}eŋ-s**; Mand. **jìng**.
莖 OC ***g'ĕng**, *GSR* #831u ‘stalk’; B & S 2011: ***m-k-l^{s}‹r›eŋ**; Mand. **jìng**; cf. *STC* note 218, p. 70.

(2) PTB *li FOOT

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	keng-**ri**	lower leg	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**le**	leg; leg’	Michailovsky 1991:72; Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Chantyal	pfia **le**	leg; foot	Noonan *et al.* 1992:6.2; Noonan *et al.* 1992:6.2.6
	pfia **le**-ye rə̃w	leg hair	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.1.3.3
Gurung (Ghachok)	pāh-**li**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	pah **li**	leg	Glover 1972:2.A.56
	pəh **li**	foot	Glover 1972:1.46
Manang (Gyaru)	bwa^{1} **lɛ^{1}**	foot	Nagano 1984:045
Thakali (Tukche)	pah-**le**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	pah **le** kurkuca	heel	Matisoff 1987
	pah **le** puhm	calf	Matisoff 1987
	pah **le** sāmera	thigh	Matisoff 1987
	pɔh **le**	foot; leg	Hari 1971:1.46; Hari 1971:2.A.56
	pɔh **le** kurkucɔ	heel	Hari 1971:2.A.60
	pɔh **le** t^{h}in	sole (foot)	Hari 1971:2.A.61
2.2. Newar			
Newar	pā **li**	foot	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:6.2.6
	pu **li**	knee	Matisoff 1987
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	phoŋ **li**	leg; limb (of a quadruped)	Michailovsky 1991:74; Driem 1993
	pho? **lü**	foot	Michailovsky 1991:74; Driem 1993
	pho? **li**	foot; foot, paw (of fowl, primates (inc. man) and quadrupeds)	Michailovsky 1991:74; Driem 1993
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	khok a **li**	knee	Michailovsky 1991:100; Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	khoy-**li**	foot	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:73

(3) PTB *krəy FOOT

Thulung **khel** might be a reflex of this root, especially if one assumes that the **-l** is a reduced version of a full morpheme.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kriy**	foot; seat, chair; frame	LaPolla 1987:168; Benedict 1972:38
	***krəy**	foot; footstool	Chou Fa-kao 1972:90a; Matisoff 2003a:596
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**khri**	foot, seat, chair, frame	Benedict 1972:38
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**khe**-la?	foot	Matisoff 1987
	khel	foot; leg, foot	Michailovsky 1991:73; Allen 1975
3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	**ʂʅ^{33}**kɛ^{33}	foot	Sun Hongkai 1991i:6.2.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.19
	tʂhɿ^{53}kæ^{31}	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.46
	tʂhɿ^{53}tʂhɿ^{31}	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tʂhɿ^{55}**	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tʂhə^{55}**	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.09
	xə^{13}**tʂhə^{55}**	hurt (the foot from grit in the shoe) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1344.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tʂhə^{55}**	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.11
	tʂ^{h}ə^{55}	foot	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	**tʂhə^{53}**	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.10
	tʂ^{h}ə^{53}	foot	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Mawo)	**dʒæ** qu	foot	Sun Hongkai 1991g:6.2.6
	dʒɑ qu	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.8; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dʐu qu	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.08
Qiang (Taoping)	**dʐi^{55}**	foot	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**dʐo** qu	foot	Dai Qingxia 1989q:129
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**khø^{53}**	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.16
	k^{h}ø^{53}	foot	Sun Hongkai 1991n:6.2.6
Xumi	**khɛ^{55}**	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.17
	khɐ^{55}	foot	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**tʂhʌ^{13}**	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.14
4. Nungic			
Anong	**hi**	foot	LaPolla 1987:168; Benedict 1972:38 [a]
Rawang	**hi^{53}**	foot	LaPolla 2003:116
	hi^{53} dɔl^{33}	leggings, leg wrapings	LaPolla 2003:557
Anong	**xɛ^{35}**	foot	Sun Hongkai 1988
Nung	ɑ^{31}**xɛ^{35}**	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}**xɛ^{35}**	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.44
Dulong	**çi^{55}**	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.20
Trung [Dulong]	**hɹ^{33}**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	xɹɑ̆i^{55}	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**xrai^{55}**	foot	LaPolla 1987:168
	xɹɑ̆i^{55}	foot	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**xre^{55}**	foot	LaPolla 1987:168
	xɹe^{55}	foot	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	(m̥jaŋ^{31}) **khɯ^{55}**	hoof (horse)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	khɯ^{55}	foot	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	khɯ^{55} ŋuɑ^{55}	lame person	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	khɯ^{55} ʂɯŋ^{55}	claw	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tɕhi^{55}**	foot (measure)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tɕhi^{55}	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.28
	tɕhi^{55}	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.41
	tɕhi^{55} kək^{55}	lame person	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tɕhi^{55} phʐai^{55}	claw	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tɕhi^{55} san^{55}	leg	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tɕhi^{55} xo^{55}	hoof (horse)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tɕhi^{55} ʂua^{31} pu^{35}	lower leg, calf	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tɕhi^{55}san^{55}	leg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:264.41
Achang (Luxi)	(mjaŋ^{51}) **khɯ^{35}**	hoof (horse)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	khɯ^{35}	foot	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	khɯ^{35} pai^{35}	lame person	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	kjaʔ^{31} **khɯ^{35}**	claw	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**chi^{55}**	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.29
	c^{h}i^{55}	foot	Dai Qingxia 1989f:126
	c^{h}i^{55} ʐum^{31}	calf (leg)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:125
Arakanese	**hkri**	foot	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**khji^{53}**	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.32
	khji^{55}saŋ^{35}	hoof (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.32
Bola	**k^{h}ji^{55}**	foot	Dai Qingxia 1989g:126
	k^{h}ji^{55} saŋ^{35}	hoof	Dai Qingxia 1989g:314
Burmese (Modern)	**k‘re^{3}**	foot, leg	Luce 1985:S.11
Burmese (Spoken)	**chi^{3}**	foot, leg	Luce 1985:S.11
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hcei**	foot	Okell 1971
	hci	foot	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕhe^{22}**	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.40
Burmese (Written)	**khley** / **khre**	foot	Benedict 1972:41n134
	khre	foot; leg; foot, leg	Marrison 1967; Hansson 1989:295; Matisoff 1987; Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:168; Benedict 1972:38
	khre myak ci’	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	khre phə hnoŋ’	heel	Matisoff 1987
	khre-khyaùŋ	toe	Weidert 1987:273
	khre-khyauŋ	toe	Benedict 1972:355
	khre-khyâŋ	anklet, fetters	Benedict 1976a
	khre-nâŋ	shoe	Benedict 1976a
	khre-phəwâ	sole	Matisoff 1987
	khre-sàń	toe-nail	Benedict 1972:74
	khre-sâñ~lak-sâñ	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	khre-sə-lûm	leg from knee to ankle	Matisoff 1987
	khre-thok	leg; shank	Matisoff 1987
	khre^{2}	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.39
	khre^{2} thɔk^{4}	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.26
	khre^{2}mjɑk^{4}si^{1}	ankle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.26
	khre thok	leg	Marrison 1967
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khriy**	foot	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**k^{h}re**	foot	Matisoff 1978a:14
	k‘riy	foot, leg	Luce 1985:S.11
	ʔə-**khre**	foot; leg	Matisoff 1987
Danu	**che^{4}**	foot, leg	Luce 1985:S.11
Hpun (Northern)	ă **x(ʀ)í** phăwà, khí ph	sole (of foot)	Henderson 1986
	ă **xʀí** phăwà, khí phă	sole of foot	Henderson 1986
	ă **xʀíʔ**, xí, khí	foot; leg; leg (cp. Foot)	Henderson 1986; Henderson 1986

[a] The correspondence of WT **khr-** to Nung **h-** is parallel to the correspondence in BILE / GALL (WT **mkhris-pa** / Nung **səhi**), as pointed out in *STC* #38.

Hpun (Metjo)	ă **χih**[1]	foot, leg	Luce 1985:S.11
Hpun (Northern)	**xí** ʃàiŋ	toenails (cp. Foot); toenails (cp. Foot, Nails)	Henderson 1986; Henderson 1986
Intha	**hkei**	foot	Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	**khjuk**[55]saŋ[35]	hoof (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.31
Lashi	**khjei**[33]	leg; foot	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.2; Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.2.6
	khjei[33] mou[55]	leg hair	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.1.3.3
	khjei[33] səŋ[55]	hoof (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:6.2.6.8
Lashi (Lachhe')	**k'yeɪ**[4]	foot, leg	Luce 1985:S.11
Leqi (Luxi)	**khjei**[33]	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.33
	khjei[33]səŋ[55]	hoof (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.33
Marma	ə **khri**	leg; foot	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:44; Huziwara Keisuke 2008:45
Maru [Langsu]	**khjik**[55]saŋ[35]	hoof	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:175.43
	khjuk[55] saŋ[35]	hoof (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:6.2.6.8
Taung-Yo	**ch'e**[4]	foot, leg	Luce 1985:S.11
Tavoyan	**hkei**	foot	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khji**[51]	hoof; foot	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984; Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	khji[51]	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.30
	khji[51]	hoof; foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:175.42; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.42
	khji[51]siŋ[21]	hoof (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.30
	khji[51]tok[55]	leg	Matisoff 1987
	k'yi[2]	foot, leg	Luce 1985:S.11

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***kre**[1]	foot	Bradley 1979b:127; Hansson 1989:295
Lolopho	**tɕhi**[33] ɣ̣[31]	foot	Dai Qingxia 1989n:6.2.6

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**khó**-phiq	leg	Björverud 1994
	kʰɯ[55] pʰi̱[33]	foot	Chen Kang 1986b:6.2.6
	kʰɯ[55] u[21]	leg	Chen Kang 1986b:6.2
Nusu (Central)	**khɹi**[33]	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khɹi**[35]	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.45
Nusu (Central)	**kʰɹi**[35]	foot	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	kʰɹi̱[33]	foot	Dai Qingxia 1989p:126.
	kʰɹi̱[33] tʂʰɔ[33]	calf (leg)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:125.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**kʰɹi̱**[35]	foot	Dai Qingxia 1989o:126.
	kʰɹi̱[35] pʰɹuə̠[31] za[55]	calf (leg)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:125.
Yi (Nanjian)	**khɯ**[55] pi̱[33]	foot	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	kʰɯ[55]pi̱[33]	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.23
Yi (Weishan)	**khɯ**[55]phi[33]	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.36

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**tɕ'i**[22] bi̱[33]	foot	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.2.6
	tɕ'i[22] si[21]	claw (of animal)	Luo Meizhen 1990:7.4.3
	tɕ'i[22] si[21] zo[21]	paw (of animal); toenail	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.2.6.9; Luo Meizhen 1990:7.4.2
Jinuo (Baka)	ʃɔ[33] **kʰji**[55]	foot	Dai Qingxia 1989i:129
Jinuo (Youle)	ʃɔ[33] **kʰi**[44]	foot	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	ʃɔ[33]**kʰi**[33]	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.34
	ʃɔ[31]**khi**[33]	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	ʃɔ[44] **kʰji**[31]	foot	Dai Qingxia 1989h:129
Kucong	**khɯ33** kɔ35	calf (of leg)	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
	khɯ33 pv55	foot	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***hkui:**	foot	Bradley 1979b:127
Lahu (Nyi)	**hkui:** (sheh:)	leg	Bradley 1979a:124
Lahu (Shehleh)	**hkui:** k'awˬ	calf (leg)	Bradley 1979a:126
	hkui: pehˬ	calf (leg)	Bradley 1979a:126
Lahu (Nyi)	**hkui:** pehˬ k'wi:	calf (leg)	Bradley 1979a:126
Lahu (Shehleh)	**hkui:** sheh:	leg	Bradley 1979a:124
	hkui: taw: k'aw:	sole (foot)	Bradley 1979a:130
Lahu (Nyi)	**hkui:** taw_pa_	sole (foot)	Bradley 1979a:130
	hkui: tsuh⁻k'u_	knee	Bradley 1979a:125
Lahu (Shehleh)	**hkui:** tsuh⁻k'u_	knee	Bradley 1979a:125
Lahu	**khî**	foot	LaPolla 1987:168
Lahu (Lancang)	**khɯ**[33]tsi[35]qu[33]	knee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.43
	khɯ[33]ɕɛ[33]	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.43
Lahu (Black)	**hkui:** [sheh:]	foot, leg	Luce 1985:S.11
	khɨ-cɨ́ (-qú)	knee	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-ɡ̈ɔ̂	leg (whole) / shank	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-ɡ̈ɔ̂-qwèʔ	whole leg	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-ɡ̈ɔ̂-qɔ̀ʔ	shin	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-mɛ́ - qwèʔ	kneepan	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-mɛ̂ʔ-šī	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-mɛ̄-cu	heel	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-mɛ̄-cwi	heel	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-nɔ	toe	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-nɔ-cɛ́	little toe	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-nɔ-cɨ́	knuckle of toe	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-nɔ-dàʔ	fourth toe	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-nɔ-jî	middle toe	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-nɔ-qhɛ̂	toe-jam	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-nɔ-yɨ̀	toe (second)	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-pɛ-qu	calf of leg	Matisoff 1972b:92(c)
	khɨ-pɨ-lɨ	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-qɔ̀ʔ	a. underside of knee; b. whole leg; whole leg	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987:49
	khɨ-qɔ̄-lɛ̀	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-šɛ̂ʔ	leggings, gaiters, puttees	Matisoff 1985a:029
	khɨ-šī-qú	toe-nail	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-šɛ	foot	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-šɛ-qɔ̀	whole leg	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-šɛ́-qwèʔ	whole leg	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-sɛ̄-qú	toe-nail	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-tɔ-pa	foot	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-tɔ-pɛ	whole foot; sole	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-tɔ-qɔ hó	sole	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-tɔ-qɔ-hɔ́	foot	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-tɔ-qɔ-thá ʔ	instep	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-ŋɛ̄-cwi	heel	Matisoff 1987
	khí-nôʔ	shoes	Matisoff 1972b:147
	khɯ[33]ɣɔ[53]	leg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:264.33
	kʰi-šɛ	foot	Matisoff 1978a:14
	kʰɯ[33] sɛ[33]	foot	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	kʰɯ[33] tsɭ[35] qɣ̣[33]	knee	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	kʰɯ[33] ɣɔ[53]	leg	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	kʰɯ[33]sɛ[33]	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.33
	ɔ̀-**khɨ**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**khɨ**-qɔ̀ʔ	whole leg; kneepan	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	**khɯ**[1]tɕhɛ[1]	pestle (foot)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	kʰɯ[33]	foot	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	kʰɯ[33] tsɣ̣[35] qu[33]	knee	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	**hkui:** g'oˇ peˬ	calf (leg)	Bradley 1979a:126
	hkui: hoˆ	foot	Bradley 1979a:127
	hkui: sheh:	leg	Bradley 1979a:124
	hkui: tsuh⁻k'u_	knee	Bradley 1979a:125
Lahu (Banlan)	**hki:** ho:	foot	Bradley 1979a:127
	hki: htuhˬ	sole (foot)	Bradley 1979a:130
	hki: kaw:	calf (leg)	Bradley 1979a:126
	hki: kuˇ	leg	Bradley 1979a:124
	hki: tsuh⁻	knee	Bradley 1979a:125
Lisu (Putao)	**che**[4]	foot, leg	Luce 1985:S.11
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**hchi**[3]	foot, leg	Luce 1985:S.11
Lisu	**hchi**[3]-hpa[2]	foot	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**hchi**[3]-hpá[2]	foot	Fraser 1922
	hchi[3]-wū[6]	calf (of leg)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**hchi**[5]hpá[2]	foot	Bradley 1979b:127
Lisu (Nujiang)	**tʃʰi̱**[44] pʰɛ[35]	foot	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**tʃʰi̱**[44]pʰɛ[35]	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tɕhi**[33]	foot (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi[33]di[35]di[21]	bare foot	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi[33]du[33]	foot print	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi[33]dʒu[21]	tendon of foot; tendon of hoof	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi[33]dʒu[21]	leg shield (made of cloth or bamboo pieces)	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi[33]kwa[33]	arch of foot	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi[33]phæ[35]	foot	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi[33]vy[21]	leg	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi[33]vy[21] pu[55]lu[33]	calf of leg	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tɕhi̱**[33]phɛ[35]	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.40
Lisu (Northern)	ɣɔ[44]**tɕhi**[33]phæ[35]	bear's paw (from hind-leg)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**tshž**[11]be[44]	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.39
Sani [Nyi]	**tshə**	foot	LaPolla 1987:168
	tsʰɥ[11] be[44]	foot	Ma Xueliang 1989:351.1
	tʂhi[33](be[33])	leg	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂhi[33]be[33]	foot; sole (of foot)	Chen Kang 1986b:6.2.6; Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂhi[33]dlo̱[33]phe[21]	foot	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂhi[33]tho[33]	sole (of foot)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂhi[33]ɬɤ[33]phi[21]	foot	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	à **khý**	foot	Hansson 1989:295
Akha	aˬ **kuiˇ**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	aˬ **kuiˇ** k'oˆ beh	calf	Matisoff 1987
	aˬ **kuiˇ kuiˇ**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	aˬ **kuiˇ kuiˇ** nuiˆ	heel	Matisoff 1987
	aˬ **kuiˇ** pawˬ tsuiˆ	knee	Matisoff 1987
	aˬ **kuiˇ** pyawˬ	foot	Matisoff 1987
	aˬ **kuiˇ kuiˇ** ma	big toe	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Thai)	à **khý**	foot	Hansson 1989:295
	à **khý** phè zà	sole of foot	Hansson 1989:101
Akha (Yunnan)	à **khý** pjhà ɣà	sole of foot	Hansson 1989:101
Akha	**khý**	foot	Hansson 1989:295
	kui sah	toenail	Matisoff 1987
	kuiˇ du du behˆ	calf	Matisoff 1987
	kuiˇ du k'oˆ behˆ (behˆ)	calf of leg	Lewis 1989
	kuiˇ noeˇ (noeˇ)	toe (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	kuiˇ nuiˬ (nuiˆ)	heel	Matisoff 1987
	kuiˇ sehˬ (sehˬ)	hoof	Matisoff 1987
	kuiˇ tsuiˬ	knee	Lewis 1989
	kuiˇ du	lower leg from knee down	Matisoff 1987
	kuiˇ ma	big toe, mother of foot	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	là **khɯ̀**	foot	Bradley 1979b
	là **khɨ̀**	foot	Beaudouin 1988:14
	la **khɨ̀**	feet (animal)	Beaudouin 1988:2
	là **khɨ̀ khɨ̀** kjú	ankle	Beaudouin 1988:13
	là **khɨ̀** lá ba	big toe	Beaudouin 1988:13
	là **khɨ̀** lá hɲuŋ	toe	Beaudouin 1988:16
	là **khɨ̀** mɛ́ hnɨ̀	tibia	Beaudouin 1988:15 [a]
	là **khɨ̀** pháwa	sole of foot	Beaudouin 1988:15
	là **kʰɨ̀**	foot	Bradley 199x
	là **kʰɨ̀** mɛ hnɯ	sole of foot	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	à **khý**	foot	Hansson 1989:295
Hani (Dazhai)	a[31] **kʰɯ**[55]	foot	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	a[31]**khɯ**[55]	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.31
Hani (Lüchun)	à **khý** bu dú	leg	Hansson 1989:160
	a[31]**khɯ**[55]	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.41
Hani (Pijo)	**khí**	foot	Hansson 1989:295
	ɔ̀ **khí**	foot	Hansson 1989:295
Hani (Gelanghe)	a[31] **kʰɯ**[55] pʰɛ[31] za[31]	foot	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	kʰɯ[55] du[33]	leg	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	aq **keel**	foot	Hansson 1989:295
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ[31] **kʰɯ**[55]	foot	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ[31]**khɯ**[55]	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tjhí**	foot	Hansson 1989:295
Hani (Mojiang)	ɔ[31]**khɯ**[55]	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.42
Mpi	**khi**[4]thɤŋ[6]	calf (of a leg)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	khi[6]	foot	Hansson 1989:295
	la[2]-**kʰi**[6]	foot	Matisoff 1978a:14
	la[2]**khi**[6]	foot	Bradley 1979b
Pyen	ʔa33 **khɯ45**	leg	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131184
	ʔa33 **khɯ45** wa31	foot	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131190
Sila	a21 **khi55**	leg; foot	Kato Takashi 2008:40; Kato Takashi 2008:41
Ugong	khŏʔ **khî**	foot	Bradley 1993:6.2.6
	khžʔ **khî** khí	foot dirt	Bradley 1993

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Southern Muji	**tɕʰi̱**[21]	foot/leg; foot	Pelkey 2011:290; Pelkey 2011:291
	tɕʰi̱[21]ao[21]pə[33]	calf (of leg)	Pelkey 2011:293
	tɕʰi̱[21]tʰə[21]	sole (of foot)	Pelkey 2011:294
	tɕʰi̱[21]ɬa[55]	top of foot	Pelkey 2011:295
Phola	**kʰi̱**[55]	leg; foot/leg	Pelkey 2011:289; Pelkey 2011:290

[a] Note that Beaudouin glosses this form as 'tibia', but **mɛ-hnɨ** (with different tone on first morpheme) is 'eye', which suggests the long form should mean 'ankle', not 'tibia'. (Note Bradley has **mè-hnɨ** 'eye' and *LTSR* has **mè-hnū** 'eye'.)

	kʰi[55]lɛ[55]	foot	Pelkey 2011:291
	kʰi[55]li[55]	top of foot	Pelkey 2011:295
	kʰi[55]tʰɔ[33]	sole (of foot)	Pelkey 2011:294
	kʰi[55]ɣu[23]tsʰɛ[52]	calf (of leg)	Pelkey 2011:293
Hlepho Phowa	**tsʰɭ**[21]	foot/leg	Pelkey 2011:290
	tsʰɭ[21]fa[55]ʧi[33]	foot; top of foot	Pelkey 2011:291; Pelkey 2011:295
	tsʰɭ[21]tʰə[33]	sole (of foot)	Pelkey 2011:294
	tsʰɭ[21]vɯ[21]	leg; calf (of leg)	Pelkey 2011:289; Pelkey 2011:293
Phuza	**tsʰi**[31]	foot/leg; foot	Pelkey 2011:290; Pelkey 2011:291
	tsʰi[31]fa[55]tʰʌ[33]	sole (of foot)	Pelkey 2011:294
	tsʰi[31]kʰɛ[31]di[31]	top of foot	Pelkey 2011:295
	tsʰi[31]wʌ[55]pi[33]	calf (of leg)	Pelkey 2011:293

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	**kʰɯ**꞉tsʰɤ꞉gv꞉dv꞉	top part of the foot	Michaud 2006–2009
	kʰɯ꞉tsʰɤ꞉	leg	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**khɯ**[33]	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**khɯ**[33]tshe[13]	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.29
Naxi (Western)	**kʰɯ**[33]	foot	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**kʰɯ**[33]	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**kʰɯ**[31]tsʰə[13]	foot	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(4) PTB *bwal LEG / FOOT / HOOF

It is possible that this root is related to PTB ***(b/p)ul*** ROOT / STUMP / TREE (§3.1.2), the semantic association residing in the notion of something grounded in the earth.

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**bol**	upper part of foot	Matisoff 1987
	bol-goṅ	upper part of foot	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**bwa**[1] lɛ[1]	foot	Nagano 1984:045

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	**bo**[55]ɣo[55]	leg	Sun Hongkai 1991i:6.2; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:264.19

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Xide)	**bu̱**[33]	thigh	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	bu̱[33] le[33]	leg	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	bu̱[33]-lɛ[33]	leg; thigh	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu	**bo**[44]vu[31]	leg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:264.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	**bu**[33] vu[31]	leg	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**baw**ˇ law	leg	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Thai)	**bɔ**-dú	leg	Hansson 1989:160

(5) PTB *pey LEG / THIGH / FOOT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pey**	leg	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:606

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Kamarupan	**pey**	leg	Matisoff 1985a:142

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***phay** THIGH / LEG

**Chin*	***phay**	THIGH / LEG	VanBik 2009:360

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**phei**	thigh	VanBik 2009:360
Thado	**phèy**	thigh, front part of thigh	VanBik 2009:360
Tiddim	**phei**[3]	thigh	VanBik 2009:360

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	a **p'é**	thigh	VanBik 2009:360
Khumi	**pháy**	thigh	VanBik 2009:360

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**phăy**	thigh	VanBik 2009:360
Lushai [Mizo]	**phèi**	leg / foot	Weidert 1987:438
	phei	foot; leg; foot, leg	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:142
	phèi	foot, the leg, the lower leg (n.)	VanBik 2009:360
	phei	leg	Bhaskararao 1996:1444

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**phei**	leg	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:142
	phēi	leg	VanBik 2009:360
	phei-lo-byu	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	phei-pa-za	foot, sole	Matisoff 1987
	²phei	leg / foot	Weidert 1987:438
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**p'i**[4]	foot, leg	Luce 1985:O.17

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***phej** THIGH

**Central Naga*	***phej**	THIGH	Bruhn 2014a:III.053
**Ao*	*t-**phi**	THIGH	Bruhn 2014a:II.019
Ao (Chungli)	tesamik, te **pi**	thigh	Marrison 1967
	tə[3]-**pi**[1]	thigh (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.019
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **pi**	thigh	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**phi**	thigh (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**phiʔ**[3]	thigh (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.053
	ō **phì**	thigh	Acharya 1975
	o **phi**	thigh	Murry *et al.* 1978:124; Nienu 1990c:6.2.1
	phi vu	thigh bone / femur	Nienu 1990c:6.2.1.1
Yimchungrü	**pho**	thigh	Kumar 1973b:50

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	[5]u[2]**phi**	leg / foot	Weidert 1987:438
Angami (Khonoma)	**phi**	leg	Marrison 1967
	phi tsa	calf (of leg)	Marrison 1967
	phi zhe	foot	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **phi**[31]	leg; foot	Nienu 1990a:6.2; Nienu 1990a:6.2.6
	(u) **phi**[31] mia[55]	leg hair	Nienu 1990a:8.1.3.3
	u **phi**	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	u **phi** tsa	calf (of leg)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **phe**[31] ma[35]	leg hair	Nienu 1990b:8.1.3.3
	phe[31]	leg; foot	Nienu 1990b:6.2; Nienu 1990b:6.2.6
	phe[31] zhi[33]	ball of the foot	Nienu 1990b:6.2.6.4
	u **phe**	leg	Marrison 1967
	u **phe** zi	foot	Marrison 1967
	[4]u[2]**phe**	leg / foot	Weidert 1987:438
Khezha	**phe**	foot	Marrison 1967
	phe žúɑ́	foot	Yabu 1994:6.2.6
	[1]e[2]**phe**	leg / foot	Weidert 1987:438
	’e **phe**	leg	Yabu 1994:6.2
	’è **phe**	rear leg (of animal)	Yabu 1994:6.2.6.9
Mao	o **phi**	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	[2]o[5]**phi**	leg / foot	Weidert 1987:438
Ntenyi	a **pe** tsü	thigh	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	a **phai**	leg	Marrison 1967
	phai	foot	Marrison 1967
	phai tan	calf (of leg)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	cha **phi**	leg	Marrison 1967
	cha **phi** ba	foot	Marrison 1967
	ka-**phi**-bŭap	calf (leg)(2)	Weidert 1987:1091
	mai-**phi**	leg / foot	Weidert 1987:438
Maram	a **pe**	leg	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	mái-**phîi**	leg / foot	Weidert 1987:438
	mai-**phîi**-bŭap	calf (leg)(2)	Weidert 1987:1091
	mai-**pʰîi**	leg (one’s)	Weidert 1987:1091
	məi **phài**	foot	Matisoff 1994e
	phai bok	calf (of leg)	Marrison 1967
	phai pa	foot	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi **pi**	calf (of leg); leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mi **pi** dei	foot	Marrison 1967
	[3]mi[5]**pi**	leg / foot	Weidert 1987:438
Mzieme	mi **pi**	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***pʰej** FOOT / LEG

**Tangkhulic*	***pʰej**	foot / leg	Mortensen 2012:403
Champhung	a-**pʰai**	foot	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-**pʰu**	foot; leg	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.203
	ʔa-**pʰu**-mə-kʰɐm	top of foot	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.205
	ʔa-**pʰu**-tʰu	calf (of leg)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.202
	ʔa-**pʰu**-vej	leg hair	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.233
Kachai	**pʰi**-kʰuk	knee	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.170
	pʰi-kʰuk-kʰur	knee hollow / popliteal region	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.172
	pʰi-kʰuk-rɐ	knee cap / patella	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.171
	pʰi-tʰi	calf (of leg)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.175
	ʔa-**pʰi**	leg; foot	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.166; Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.178
	ʔa-**pʰi**-fu	leg hair	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.213
Tangkhul	(ā) **phei**	foot; leg	Matisoff 1985a:142
	ā-**phei**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	phei	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	phei nā-tāŋ ra	shinbone (”leg-nose-bone”)	Matisoff 1987
	phei thei	calf (of leg)	Marrison 1967
	phə́y	leg	Bhat 1969:92; Matisoff 1985a:142
	[1]ə[3]**phəi**	leg / foot	Weidert 1987:438
Tangkhul (Standard)	**pʰai**	foot	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔə-**pχa**-tχa	thigh	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.178
Ukhrul	ʔa-**pʰej**	foot, leg	Mortensen 2012

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**bi**	leg; foot	Andvik 1993:18; Egli-Roduner 1987:34 14
	bi-pholang	calf	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 2
	bi-phrang	sole	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 6
	bi-ting pa	heel	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 5
	bi-tshig	ankle	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 4
Tsangla (Motuo)	**bi**	foot	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.7
	bi pʰolaŋ	leg	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	pi[13]	foot; leg	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**bi**	leg	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	bi-bak-taŋ	foot	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**bi**	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.07

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Sahu)	**’pui**	knee	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.47

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Chamling	**phi** lu	leg; foot	Michailovsky 1991:74; Winter 1985:30

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	ə[ɻ55] **phɛ**[55]	foot	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.18

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu	**hpi**[5]-sye[4]	leg	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**hpi**[5]-sye[4]	leg	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**hpi**[5]sye[4]	leg	Bradley 1979b:124

Chinese comparandum

腓 OC ***b'i̱wər**, *GSR* #579q ‘calf of leg’; Schuessler 2007:233 ***bəi**; B & S 2011: (***bəj**); Mand. **féi**.

(6) PTB *m-pa FOOT / LEG

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	grõ-**pha**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	grõ-**pha:**	foot	NEFA (India) 1963

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	ke-**phah**	foot; leg	Matisoff 1987

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	te **mopo**	foot	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**məpha**	foot, dorsal aspect (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	cho **mpo**	foot	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Meluri	a **mpa**	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Rengma	**mpha**	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mpha bero	ankle	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	[4]**n**[4]**pha**	leg / foot	Weidert 1987:438

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	**pfia** le	leg; foot	Noonan *et al.* 1992:6.2; Noonan *et al.* 1992:6.2.6
	pfia le-ye rə̃w	leg hair	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.1.3.3
Gurung (Ghachok)	**pāh**-li	foot	Matisoff 1987
	pah li	leg	Glover 1972:2.A.56
	pəh li	foot	Glover 1972:1.46
Thakali (Tukche)	**pah**-le	foot	Matisoff 1987
	pah le kurkuca	heel	Matisoff 1987
	pah le puhm	calf	Matisoff 1987
	pah le pu Ti	knee	Matisoff 1987
	pah le sāmera	thigh	Matisoff 1987
	pɔh le	foot; leg	Hari 1971:1.46; Hari 1971:2.A.56
	pɔh le kurkucɔ	heel	Hari 1971:2.A.60

	pɔh le pu ʈi	knee	Hari 1971:1.47
	pɔh le t^{h}in	sole (foot)	Hari 1971:2.A.61
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**pā** li	foot	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:6.2.6
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	lāŋ-**be** huk-lāŋ	limbs	Matisoff 1987

(7) PTB *t(w)aŋ ≍ *s-d(y)aŋ FOOT

WB **khre-thok** 'leg; shank' and **khji^{51}tok^{55}** 'leg' show a final stop, but might well be related to this etymon.

Note the Lepcha doublet **a-tʻoṅ** and **dyaṅ** 'foot'. The Lepcha medial **-y-** might reflect the ***s-*** prefix (see Benedict 1943), but the Bodo forms also might point to a medial **-y-**.

1.6. MRU			
Mru	**tʻoŋ^{1}**	thigh, leg	Luce 1985:Q.53
	tʻoŋ^{4}	thigh, leg	Luce 1985:Q.53
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	a-**téŋ**	leg	Matisoff 1987; Bhat 1968
	ha-**téŋ**	leg	Matisoff 1987
	ha dáy~ha **deŋ**	calf	Matisoff 1987
	təŋ	classifier for the leg	Bhat 1968
Lalung [Tiwa]	ia **thong**	foot	Balawan 1965:30
	ia **thong** ia si	toe	Balawan 1965:30
	ia **thong** kora	heel	Balawan 1965:30
	ia **thong** mi	ankle	Balawan 1965:30
	ia **thong** top	leg bone; tibia; calf (of leg)	Balawan 1965:30; Balawan 1965:91
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	ja'-git-**teng**	lower leg, knee to ankle, leg of a bird	Burling 1992 [a]
	ja'-**teng**	lower leg, from knee to ankle	Burling 1992 [b]
	ja'-**teng**-ga	lower leg, from knee to ankle	Burling 1992 [c]
	ja•-git-**teng**	leg (n.)	Burling 2003:6.237-II:idx
	ja•-**teng**	leg (n.)	Burling 2003:6.237-II:idx
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	a-**dyaṅ**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	a-**tʻoṅ**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	a-**tʻoṅ** dóm	big toe	Matisoff 1987
	a-**tʻoṅ** jóm	toe	Matisoff 1987
	dyáng lyók	sole of foot (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	dyâng pak	knee (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	dyaṅ	foot	Matisoff 1987
	dyaṅ hryep	calf	Matisoff 1987
	dyaṅ-tʻyaṅ	foot	Matisoff 1987
	tʻoṅ	foot	Matisoff 1987
	ʔá **dyáng**	lower leg (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	ʔá **thong**	leg (n.)	Plaisier 2007
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	khɨ-**tɔ**-pa	foot	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-**tɔ**-pɛ	whole foot; sole	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-**tɔ**-qɔ hó	sole	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-**tɔ**-qɔ-hó	foot	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-**tɔ**-qɔ-thá?	instep	Matisoff 1987

[a] [Source Note] =ja'-chok.
[b] [Source Note] (=ja'-git-teng).
[c] [Source Note] (=ja'-git-teng).

(8) PTB *r-kwa(ŋ) FOOT

This etymon bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***r-k(y)aŋ*** FOOT / LEG (§1.5.2), and should perhaps ultimately be combined with it.

Jingpho shows alternation between an open syllable and one with final velar nasal.

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**grõ**	leg	NEFA (India) 1963
	grõ a:tyo	leg (fore)	NEFA (India) 1963
	grõ ka:la:ng	leg (hind)	NEFA (India) 1963
	grõ tha:ming	muscle of leg	NEFA (India) 1963
	grõ-blm	eye of foot; ankle	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	grõ-ha:tya:ng	big toe	Matisoff 1987
	grõ-ka	sole; sole of foot; sole (of foot)	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	grõ-ka:-la:ng	hind leg	NEFA (India) 1963
	grõ-khru	hoof	NEFA (India) 1963
	grõ-pha	foot	Matisoff 1987
	grõ-pha:	foot	NEFA (India) 1963
	grõ-tha:-ming	muscle of leg	Matisoff 1987
	grõ-ti	heel	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	gɹoŋ^{53}	foot	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	gɹoŋ^{53}	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.22
	gɹoŋ^{53}	foot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.49
	gɹoŋ^{53} bɯ^{31}lɯm^{55}	ankle	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	gɹoŋ^{53} k^{h}ɑ^{55}	back of knee	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	gɹoŋ^{53} tioŋ^{55}	hoof	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	gɹoŋ^{53} ti^{55}	heel	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	gɹoŋ^{53} ɕɯŋ^{35}	lower leg (xiaotui)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	gɹoŋ^{53}bɯ^{31}lɯm^{55}	ankle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.22
	gɹoŋ^{53}tioŋ^{55}	hoof (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.22
	gɹoŋ^{53}tioŋ^{55}	hoof	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:175.49
	kí nu **grõ**	leg (left)	NEFA (India) 1963
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**khong**	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	không	foot	Matisoff 1987
	khong nao	toe	Marrison 1967
	khong tukpa	lame	Marrison 1967
	khong up	shoe (n.)	Marrison 1967
	khôŋ	foot	Weidert 1987:731
	khoŋ	leg	Singh 1991:6.2
	khoŋ məmi	footprint	Singh 1991:6.2.6.7
	khoŋ phəm	footprint	Singh 1991:6.2.6.7
	khoŋ seknə seknə cətpə	limp (v.)	Singh 1991:6.2.8
	khoŋ-gi khujil	toenail	Singh 1991:7.4.2
	khoŋ-gi khujin	toenail	Singh 1991:7.4.2
	khoŋ bi	big toe	Singh 1991:7.2.1
	khoŋ naw bi	little toe	Singh 1991:7.2.5
	khoŋ pak	foot	Singh 1991:6.2.6
	khoŋ sa	toe	Singh 1991:7.2
	khoŋ tekpə	crippled / lame	Singh 1991:6.2.7
	khoŋ ya	sole	Singh 1991:6.2.6.5
	khut əmasuŋ **khoŋ**	limbs / arms and legs	Singh 1991
	k^{h}oŋ pak	sole	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	k^{h}oŋ pak	large foot (n.)	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	tu (**khoŋ**-gi)	leg hair	Singh 1991:8.1.3.3
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**gawng**	foot	Matisoff 1987
	gung-hkai	limb; wing	Matisoff 1987
	lă^{31}**ko^{33}**	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.19
	lă^{31}**ko^{33}**	foot; leg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.47; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:264.47
	lă^{1} **ko^{33}**	foot; leg	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	la **gaw**	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	la **gawng**	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	la **gaw** la bawp	calf (of leg)	Marrison 1967
	lə **gaw**	foot; leg	Matisoff 1987
	lə **gaw** lə-seng	tibia and fibula of leg	Matisoff 1987
	lə **gō≍**lə **gōŋ**	foot	Matisoff 1974:72
	^{1}lə^{2}**go**	foot	Weidert 1987:731
3.2. QIANGIC			
Queyu (Xinlong)	**sko^{55}**	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.13
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	**rko**	foot; claw (of animal); talon (of bird)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:6.2.6; Dai Qingxia 1989b:7.4.3; Dai Qingxia 1989b:7.4.4
	rko rtsɑ	achilles tendon	Dai Qingxia 1989b:6.2.6.2
	rko tɕhei	arch; sole	Dai Qingxia 1989b:6.2.6.3; Dai Qingxia 1989b:6.2.6.5
	rko ɬdzə	toenail	Dai Qingxia 1989b:7.4.2
	rko ʑa	limbs / arms and legs	Dai Qingxia 1989b:1.7
	rko ʐɑ	paw (of mammal)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:6.1.10
	rko ʔmə ŋɑ	leg hair	Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.1.3.3
Ergong (Danba)	**rko^{55}**ʐa^{55}	limbs / arms and legs	Sun Hongkai 1991b:1.7
Daofu	**ʂko**	foot (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0103.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐko**	paw (of mammal); foot; claw	Sun Hongkai 1991b:6.1.10; Sun Hongkai 1991b:6.2.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:174.14; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:263.14 [a]
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	tɕi^{31}**gɹi^{53}**	hoof (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.20
Trung [Dulong]	tɕi^{31}**gɹɔ^{53}**	hoof	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:175.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	tɕɯi^{31} **gɹi^{53}**	hoof	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	tɕɯ^{31} **gɹi^{53}**	hoof	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ʑi^{31} **gɹi^{53}**	hoof	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

[a] This etymon bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***r-k(y)aŋ*** FOOT / LEG (§1.5.2), but it seems best to treat it as a separate root.

(9) PKir *laŋ FOOT

2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**laŋ**	foot	Michailovsky 1991:75
2.3. KIRANTI			
**SE Kiranti*	***laŋ**	foot	Michailovsky 1991:75
**Kiranti*	***laŋ**	foot	Benedict 1972:34n109
	***ʔlaŋ**	foot, leg	Opgenort 2011
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**laŋ**	leg, foot	Ebert 1997
	laŋ ghak	calf of leg	Ebert 1997
	u **laŋ**	his leg, his foot	Ebert 1997
Belhare	**laŋ**	leg, foot	Bickel 1995
Limbu	**laŋ**	leg, stem, trunk, straw; leg, stem, trunk	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:75
	lāŋ	foot	Matisoff 1987
	lāŋ-be huk-**lāŋ**	limbs	Matisoff 1987
	laŋ thEmbɔk	calf of the leg	Michailovsky 1989b
	thak-**laŋ**	front leg	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**laŋ**	leg	Kohn 1990:6.2
	laŋ aŋgolik	knee cap / patella	Kohn 1990:6.2.2.1
	laŋ biya muːŋ	leg hair	Kohn 1990:8.1.3.3
	laŋ peːkmana	knee hollow / popliteal region	Kohn 1990:6.2.2.2
	laŋ tapi	foot	Kohn 1990:6.2.6
Yamphu	**laŋ**	leg (only in the expression for 'go on foot') (n.)	Rutgers 1998:552.1
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**laN**	leg	Rai 1985
	lang	leg / foot	Rai *et al.* 1984:43
	laN mUk	joints of a leg	Rai 1985
	laN TaN	leg-side (of a person)	Rai 1985
	laT The	kick (n.)	Rai 1985
	laŋ	foot	Michailovsky 1991:75
	ʔek-**lang**	on one leg	Rai *et al.* 1984:2
Chamling	phi **lu**	leg; foot	Michailovsky 1991:74; Winter 1985:30
Kulung	**loŋ**	foot	Michailovsky 1991:75
	loŋ_	leg, foot	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	khe-**laʔ**	foot	Matisoff 1987

(10) PNC *pee $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ LEG / FOOT

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
**Northern Chin*	***peek ≍ peeŋ**	LEG / FOOT	VanBik 2009:153
Sizang	**peang**	leg, foot	VanBik 2009:153
Tiddim	khe^{3} **peːk^{1}**	foot	VanBik 2009:153; VanBik 2009:283; Bhaskararao 1996:759

(11) PTk *k^{h}o FOOT

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}o**	foot	Mortensen 2012
Tankghul (Central)	o-**k^{h}o**	foot	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-**k^{h}o**	foot	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔɯ-**kxu**	foot	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.189

1.5.2.1 Heel

NOTE that words for 'heel' are sometimes collocations of FOOT + EGG or FOOT + BUTTOCK.

(1) PTB *tsyu HEEL

The last syllable of the Lahu form **khɨ-mē-*cu*** 'heel' also occurs in **làʔ-mē-*cu*** 'elbow' and **qhɔ-*cu*** 'hill, mountain peak', and seems to mean "rounded object". (The form **cwi** is a more colloquial variant of **cu**. See GL:19.)

Further confirmation of this root would be welcome.

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung (Ghachok)	tị-**jyuq**	heel	Matisoff 1987
	tĩ**jyuq**	heel	Glover 1972:2.A.60
Tamang (Sahu)	**chju:**	heel	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	khɨ-mē-**cu**	heel	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-mē-**cwi**	heel	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-ŋɛ̄-**cwi**	heel	Matisoff 1987

(2) PTB *r-ti $^{\eta}_{n}$ HEEL

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**Ting**-pā	heel	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	bi-**ting** pa	heel	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 5

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	ȼhɛ^{55} **tĩ^{55}**	heel	DAI Qingxia 1989a:6.2.6.1
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**Ting** ba	heel	Bishop 1989:6.2.6.1
Sherpa	**ting**-bā	heel	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**tiŋ** pa	heel	Bodh 1991:6.2.6.1
Tibetan (Written)	phyir.**rting**	heel	Sun 1985c:354
	p'yi-**rtiṅ**	heel	Matisoff 1987
	rtiṅ ba	heel	Marrison 1967
	žabs-**rtin**	heel	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung (Ghachok)	**tị**-jyuq	heel	Matisoff 1987
	tĩ jyuq	heel	Glover 1972:2.A.60

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Kulung	**din** di ri	heel	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	**'dhin** di ri	heel	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	kõ:-**teŋ**	heel	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**din** di ri	heel	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	go-**de?**	heel	Matisoff 1987

(3) PTB *gwa-ŋ HEEL

This sparsely attested root is so far to be found only in a few languages of the Himalayas.

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**gwā** li	heel	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	**kõ:**-teŋ	heel	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**go**-de?	heel	Matisoff 1987

1.5.2.5 Footprint

(1) PKC *ne? ≍ *hne? PRINT / FOOTPRINT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ne? ≍ hne?**	PRINT / FOOTPRINT	VanBik 2009:827

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**nè?**	print, footprint	VanBik 2009:827
Lai (Hakha)	**ne?**, **ne?**-nàŋ	print, footprint	VanBik 2009:827

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**hnī**	footprint	VanBik 2009:827

1.5.4 Hoof/Paw

(1) PTB *s-k $^{w}_{r}$ a HOOF

Because of Qiangic cognates with initial **p-**, this root was reconstructed with an extrusional ***p^{w}-** initial in Matisoff 2000: #12, "An Extrusional Approach to ***p-/w-** Variation in Sino-Tibetan" (referred to in passing in *HPTB*:61, n. 86).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***k/s-p^{w}a**	hoof	Matisoff 2003a:608
	***kwa**	hoof	Matisoff 2003a:597

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Lotha Naga	nong **khu**	hoof	Marrison 1967
	n **khu**	hoof	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	**kho**	hoof	Bhat 1969:91

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	ya **kho** long	hoof	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak	**khwa**	hoof	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:313a [a]

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**khŏ** cöb	hoof (n.)	Bailey 1911
	kho cöb	hoof	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	rn̥uk **xa**	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	hn̥ək **kwa**	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.4
Tibetan (Written)	ra-**sgo**	hoof	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	hn̥əχ **kwa**	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.04

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**khu:**	hoof (of animal)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:6.2.6.8
	khwa(1)	hoof (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.032
	khwa(l)	hoof	Matisoff 1987
	khwā rā	hoof	Genetti 1990a

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**kwej**	hoof	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1749
	kn̥ei	hoof (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989e:6.2.6.8

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	n **khuɑ^{55}**	hoof	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.18
Guiqiong	n **gɑ^{35}**	hoof	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.17
Lyuzu	ŋu^{55}**khua^{53}**	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.18
Muya	**quə^{33}**tshə^{53}	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.15
Muya [Minyak]	**quɐ^{33}**tshɯ^{53}	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.15
	quɐ^{33}ts^{h}ɯ^{53}	hoof (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:6.2.6.8
Namuyi	**qha^{55}**tsɛ^{33}	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.19
	q^{h}a^{55}tsɛ^{33}	hoof (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991i:6.2.6.8
	qha^{55}tsæ^{31}	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**kuɑ^{35}**sɑ^{55}	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**fpɑ^{55}**	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**spɑ^{55}**	hoof	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**kua^{55}** ɬa^{55}	hoof	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.10
Qiang (Longxi)	tsú **kə̀**	hoof	Evans 1999:330
Qiang (Mawo)	tʃuə **χ**	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.08
	ʁdzi̱ **ku**	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.8
	ʁdzi̱ **kuə̱**	hoof (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:6.2.6.8
	ʁdzi̱ **ku**	hoof	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	tʂuə **χ**	hoof	DAI Qingxia 1989q:330
Queyu (Xinlong)	**qa^{55}**ȼye^{55}	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	n̥e^{55} **k^{h}ø^{53}**	hoof (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991n:6.2.6.8
	n̥e^{55}**khø^{53}**	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**khui^{55}**	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.14
	khui^{55}tȼhʌ^{55}	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Daofu)	**qua** le	hoof (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:6.2.6.8
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐko**	hoof (of animal); hoof	SUN Hongkai 1991b:6.2.6.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	ta **ka**	hoof (of animal); hoof	DAI Qingxia 1989d:6.2.6.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **ka**	hoof (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:6.2.6.8
rGyalrong (Northern)	ta **qa**	hoof (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:6.2.6.8
Caodeng	tə-me-**q^{h}ɐ**	hoof	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **kɑ**	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.11
rGyalrong	ta **ka**	hoof of animal	Nagano 1997:6.2.68
rGBenzhen	ta-**ka?**	hoof	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Anong	ŋ^{31}**gɯ^{31}**n̥i^{31}	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.44

5. TUJIA

Tujia	di^{21} **k^{h}o^{21}**	hoof (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986d:6.2.6.8
Tujia (Southern)	di^{21} **k^{h}o^{21}**	hoof	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	thi^{21}**kho^{35}**	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.49
	thi^{21}**kho^{35}**	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.38
Tujia (Northern)	ti3**kuo3**	hoof (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ti^{3}**kuo^{3}**	hoof	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2
Tujia	t^{h}i^{21} **k^{h}o^{35}**	hoof (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986c:6.2.6.8
Tujia (Northern)	t^{h}i^{21} **k^{h}o^{35}**	hoof	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	**khwɑ^{22}**	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**khwɑ^{22}**	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.40
Burmese (Written)	**khwā**	hoof	Marrison 1967
	khwa	hoof	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a
	khwɑ^{2}	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.39
	khwɑɑ^{2}	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.26
Marma	**khwa**	hoof	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:313a

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	(ŋ^{31}) thi^{24}**kho^{24}**mɛ^{33}	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.47
	m^{31} thi^{24} **kho^{24}**	hoof (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:6.2.6.8
Nosu	**kha^{33}**	hoof	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.6.8
Nusu (Central)	**khua^{33}**	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khuɑ^{35}**	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.45
Nusu (Southern)	**k^{h}o^{35}**	hoof	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**k^{h}ua^{33}**	hoof	DAI Qingxia 1989p:314.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**k^{h}ua^{35}**	hoof	DAI Qingxia 1989o:314.
Nusu (Central)	**k^{h}uɑ^{35}**	hoof	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**kho^{21}**	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.22
	k^{h}o^{21}	hoof (horse)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Liangshan)	bi^{55}**ka^{33}**	hoof	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{33}ʂ^{33}**kha^{33}**	horse hoof	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂ^{34}**kha^{33}**	hoof	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	**kha^{33}** ; bi^{55}	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.21
	k^{h}a^{33}	hoof	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ʂ^{33}-**k^{h}a^{33}**	hoof	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʂ̄^{33}**khɑ^{33}**	hoof (odd number) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.35

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**k^{h}wɤ**˥bie˥	hoof	Michaud 2006–2009:3951
Na (Yongning)	**q^{h}wɤ**˧bi˩	hoof	Michaud 2006–2009
	q^{h}wɤ˧ʂe˩	hoof	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**khuɑ^{33}**be^{21}	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**khuɑ^{33}**be^{31}	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**khuɑ^{33}**bi^{31}	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.29
Naxi (Western)	**k^{h}uɑ^{33}**be^{31}	hoof	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Eastern)	**k^{h}uɑ^{33}**bi^{31}	hoof	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

7. KARENIC

Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**k^{h}ɔ^{31}**	hoof	DAI Qingxia 1989j:330

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**ko^{44}**po^{21}	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.37
Bai (Dali)	**ko^{44}**pɑ^{21}	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.35
	kɔ ?	foot / hoof of an animal	Dell 1981b:63
	kɔ^{0}	foot, / hoof	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169

(2) PTB *kru-k HOOF

The independence of this root from PTB ***r-kwa(ŋ)** FOOT (§1.5.2) is demonstrated by the Darang binome **grõ-khru**.

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Milang	byaŋ-**kyu**	claw; hoof	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976

[a] This form is probably a borrowing from Burmese.

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	grō-**khru**	hoof	NEFA (India) 1963
Idu	**kɹu**[53]	hoof (of animal); hoof	SUN Hongkai 1991f:6.2.6.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.50
Yidu	**kɹu**[53]	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.25
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	lă[31]**khʒuʔ**[31]	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.19
	lă[31]**khʒuʔ**[31]	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.47
	lă[1] **khɹuʔ**[31]	hoof	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	la **khru**	hoof	Marrison 1967
	lə **hkru**	hoof	Matisoff 1987

(3) PL *bəy HOOF

The Proto-Loloish tone remains to be reconstructed.

6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Lolopho	**bɤ**[31]	hoof (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:6.2.6.8
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**bȳ**[21]	hoof (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.6.8
Lipho	**bɤ**[2]	hoof	CHEN Kang 1986a:98.
	bɤ[21]	hoof	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.6.8
Nasu	**bɤ**[55]	hoof; hoof (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986a:98.; CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.6.8
Neisu	**bi**[13]	hoof	CHEN Kang 1986a:98.
Nesu	**bɤ**[21]	hoof (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.6.8
Noesu	**bi**[13]	hoof	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.6.8
Nosu	**bi**[55]	hoof	CHEN Kang 1986a:98.
Yi (Liangshan)	**bi**[55]	hoof	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	bi[55]ka[33]	hoof	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**bo**[21]	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**bə**[21]	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.37
	bɯ[21]	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**bȳ**[21]	hoof	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.23
Yi (Weishan)	**by**[21]	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.36
Yi (Wuding)	**bɤ**[55]	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.38
Yi (Xide)	**bi**[55]	hoof	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	bi[55]	hoof (even number) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.35
	bi[55]-tsɭ̄[33]	hoof	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**bo**[2]	hoof	CHEN Kang 1986a:98.
	bo[21]	hoof; hoof (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.6.8; LUO Meizhen 1990:6.2.6.8
Lisu (Central)	(a[1]-mu[5]) hchi[3]-**hpá**[2]	hoof (horse)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	ji[55]tɕhi[33]**byʔ**[21]	hoof; claw (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tʃhi[44]**bu**[41]	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	tʃ[h]i̱[44] **bu**[42]	hoof	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	tɕhi[33]**byʔ**[21]	hoof	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**bɤ**[2]	hoof	CHEN Kang 1986a:98.
Yi (Sani)	**bɤ**[2]	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.39
Sani [Nyi]	**bɤ**[22]	hoof	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.6.8
	m̩[55] **bɤ**[22]	hoof	MA Xueliang 1989:309.4
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Phola	**pi̱**[23]	hoof	Pelkey 2011:162
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	kʰwɤˈ**bie**˥	hoof	Michaud 2006–2009:3951
Na (Yongning)	qʰwɤˈ**bi**˩	hoof	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	khuɑ[33]**be**[21]	hoof (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	khuɑ[33]**be**[31]	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.28
Naxi (Yongning)	khuɑ[33]**bi**[31]	hoof	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.29
Naxi (Western)	kʰuɑ[33]**be**[31]	hoof	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Eastern)	kʰuɑ[33]**bi**[31]	hoof	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

1.5.5 Palm/Sole

PALM —— SOLE

Figure 122: 1.5.5 *Palm/Sole*

(1b) PTB *r-pak LEAF / LEAFLIKE PART / FLAT OBJECT

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pak**	leaf	Weidert 1987:692; Benedict 1972:40
	***på**	palm (hand)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:39a
	***r-pak**	leaf	Matisoff 2003a:606
	***r-pʷak**	palm / sole	Matisoff 2003a:608
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Moyon	nà **bʌ̀** kòwrl	ear canal	Kosha 1990:3.6.4
	na **bʌ** khùr ~ nàbʌ̀khùr	inner ear	Kosha 1990:3.6.3
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-pjak** FLAT, ***a-phak** MAT			
**Central Naga*	*a-**phak**	MAT	Bruhn 2014a:III.233
	*a-**pjak**	FLAT (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.232
**Ao*	*(a.)**pak**	BE FLAT / MAT	Bruhn 2014a:II.005
Ao (Chungli)	a[3]**pak**[3]	flat (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.005
	a **pak**	mat	Marrison 1967
	pak[3]ti[3]	mat (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.005
	pak ti	mat	Marrison 1967
	ta[2]**pak**[2]	page (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ta **pak**	flat	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	a-**phàk**	mat (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.005
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **pak**	mat	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) a **pak**	flat (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	luŋ-**pak**	slab ('stone' + 'be flat') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	səŋ-**pak**	plank ('wood' + 'be flat') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e[1]-**pjak**[2]-	flat (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.232
	o[1]-**phək**[2]	mat (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.233
	e **pyak** a	flat	Marrison 1967
	e **pyak** vu	flat	Murry *et al.* 1978:45
	o **phak**	mat	Marrison 1967
	o **phük**	mat	Murry *et al.* 1978:71
Sangtam	**pa**	flat; mat	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	pha	mat	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	amü **peak**	flat	Kumar 1973b:44
	a **peak**	sheet	Kumar 1973b:45
	pheak	mat	Kumar 1973b:44
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	bûn-**pɔ̂**	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:592
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	kèng-**pàk** a-.nglûr	sole	Grüssner 1979:42
	kèng-**pàk** a-nùng	instep	Grüssner 1979:42
	rí-**pák**	hand; palm	Grüssner 1979:194; Grüssner 1979:194
	rí-**pák** a-nùng	back of hand	Grüssner 1979:195
	rí-**pák** a-thák	palm	Grüssner 1979:194
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Tangsa (Moshang)	ya **p[h]a**	foot	French 1983:511
	ya **pha**	foot	Marrison 1967
	yok **p[h]a**	hand	French 1983:500
	yok **pha**	hand	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**hpa** lap	tea	Marrison 1967
	pha	tea plant	Benedict 1972:40
	phàʔ	tea-plant	Matisoff 1974:383
	phaʔ[31]lap[31]	tea	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	phaʔ[31]lap[31]	tea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.19
	[1]gə[1]**phaʔ**	arm	Weidert 1987:1139
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	lə **phá?**	tea	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:80-3
Taman	nə **pʻɑ:**	ear	Luce 1985:K.58
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	lɔ **pā**	arm	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:6.1
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***phak**	leaf	Benedict 1972:40
Lambichong	lă-**phak**	leaf; tea	Benedict 1972:486; Benedict 1972:23n77; Benedict 1972:40
Waling	suŋ-**phak**	leaf	Benedict 1972:40
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Balali	siŋ-**bak**	leaf	Benedict 1972:40
Limbu	-n **'phak**	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
	nE **bhak**	ear	Michailovsky 1989b
	ne **phāk**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nɛ **bhak**	ear	Weidert 1987:747
	nɛ **bhakʔ**	ear	Weidert 1987:108
	nɛ **phak**	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
	phEk wa	leaf, cache-sexe	Michailovsky 1989b
Lohorong	na **bhek**	ear	Weidert 1987:747
Yakha	na **bak**	ear; outer ear	Kohn 1990:3.6; Kohn 1990:3.6.2
	na **bak** dzali	eardrum	Kohn 1990:3.6.5
	na **bak** ɔwi	earwax	Kohn 1990:3.6.6
	na **bak** a loti	earlobe	Kohn 1990:3.6.1
	na **bak** a ɔhɔŋ	inner ear	Kohn 1990:3.6.3
	sum-phak	leaf	Benedict 1972:40
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
**Kul-Cham-Ban*	*na **brak**	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
Bantawa	na **ba**	ear	Weidert 1987:747
	na **bak**	ear	Weidert 1987:747; Michailovsky 1991:50; Rai *et al.* 1984:53
	na **bal**	ear	Rai 1985
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	'no **pha**	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50
	'no **phā**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nà **pha**	ear	Weidert 1987:747
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang (Eastern)	krut **pak**	palm	Caughley 1990:6.1.7.1
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**pa**[55]**pa**[55]	leaf (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.16
Pumi (Jiulong)	**pɑ**[55]	leaf (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.10
Pumi (Lanping)	sɐ[13]**fpɑ**[55]	leaf (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	sɐ[13]**spɑ**[55]	leaf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:224.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**pa**[35]	leaf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:224.10
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ba**[13]la[55]	leaf (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.13
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**lba** la	leaf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:224.14
Daofu	**lba** lə	leaf (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
Caodeng	ndʒwe-**lvaʔ**	bamboo leaf	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	ta **rpak**	arm	Nagano 1997:6.1
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	**phɑʔ** khɑ[53]	tea (plain tea)	LaPolla 2003:533
Trung [Dulong]	na-**ba**	ear	LaPolla 1987:47
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	lɑ[31]**phɑ**[31]	tea	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Rangoon)	lɛʔ[4]**phɛʔ**[4]je[22]	tea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.27
Burmese (Written)	la-**bhak**	tea	Benedict 1976a
	lak-**phak** ≍ lă **bhak**	tea	Benedict 1972:40
	lak **phak** rañ̃	tea	Marrison 1967
	lɑk[4]**phɑk**[4]rɑɲ[2]	tea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.26
	phak	leaf	Hansson 1989:xxx; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:40
	phak / rwak	tea	Benedict 1972:23n77
Marma	lə **phaʔ**	tea	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:80-3
Maru [Langsu]	**phɔʔ**[55]; **fɔʔ**[55]	leaf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:224.43
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	*C-**pak**[L]	leaf	Bradley 1979b:305; Hansson 1989:xxx
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	la[53] **pha**[55]	hand	DAI Qingxia 1989c:6.1.7
	la[53] **p[h]a**[55]	hand	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	la[53]**pha**[55]	hand (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.47
	la[53]**p[h]a**[55]	hand	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	p[h]a[55]	hand	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Lalo	lɪ̱[21] **p[h]ɪ̱**[33]	hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7

Lipho	lɐ̲^{21}**pa**^{55}	arm	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1
Nesu	lo^{55} **pa**^{55}	ear	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6 [a]
Yi (Lishan)	lɐ̲^{31} **p^{h}ɛ^{31}**	hand	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	**phʌ^{33}**lɐ̲^{21}	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.25
Yi (Nanhua)	lo^{21}**phɐ̲^{55}**	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.37
Yi (Nanjian)	li̲^{21} **p^{h}i̲^{21}**	hand	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	li̲^{21}**phi̲^{33}**	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.23
Yi (Weishan)	(la^{21}**phɪ̲^{21}**) tɪ̲^{33}	make (tea) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1545.36
	lɑ^{21}**phɪ̲^{21}**	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.36

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Buyuan)	nɔ^{44} **p^{h}ɑ^{55}**	ear	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	nɔ^{44}**phɑ^{55}**	ear (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	nā-pɔ-**phà?**	external ear	Matisoff 1994b
Lahu (Black)	á-**phà?**	ear; leaf	Matisoff 1978a:63; Matisoff 1972b:29
Lisu	lá^{6}**hpá^{2}**	hand	Bradley 1979b:111
Lisu (Nujiang)	lɛ^{31} **p^{h}ɛ^{35}**	hand	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	lɛ^{31}**p^{h}ɛ^{35}**	hand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:251.27
	lɛ̲^{31}**phɛ^{35}**	hand (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0107.40
	lɛ^{5}-**phɛ^{2}**	hand	Matisoff 1972b:166
Sani [Nyi]	le^{21}(**phe^{33}**)	hand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	lɐ̲^{22} **p^{h}e^{44}**	hand	Ma Xueliang 1989:362.10.

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	naˬ **pa**^ (pyawˬ)	ear (external)	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Yunnan)	ɣɔ̀ **pàq**	cabbage	Hansson 1989:470
Akha (Thai)	ɣɔ̀-**pàq**	cabbage	Hansson 1989:470
Hani (Lüchun)	ɣo **pàq**	cabbage	Hansson 1989:470
Hani (Wordlist)	hhoq **bavq**	cabbage	Hansson 1989:470
Mpi	m^{2}**pha^{2}**	ear	Bradley 1979b; Hansson 1989:259; Matisoff 1978a:63; Srinuan Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	ɣu^{22}**p^{h}ɛ^{21}**tɕɛ^{45}	cabbage greens	Pelkey 2011:196
Hlepho Phowa	hə^{55}**p^{h}ɛ^{33}**tɕɛ^{55}	cabbage greens	Pelkey 2011:196
	hə^{55}tɕɛ^{21}**p^{h}ɛ^{33}**	cabbage greens	Pelkey 2011:196
Phuza	wɔ^{33}**p^{h}ɛ^{31}**	cabbage greens	Pelkey 2011:196

6.2. Naxi

Naxi	lɑ^{21}**phi^{21}**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	lɑ^{31}**phi^{31}**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.28
Naxi (Western)	lɑ^{31}**p^{h}i^{31}**	arm	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

7. Karenic

Karen	la^{31}**pha^{55}**	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.50

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pǎ**/pɑ	palm (hand)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:39a

[a] We are assuming dialectal variation between initial **l-** and **n-** in Nesu, a phenomenon also characteristic of Southwest Mandarin and other languages in the area.

(2) PTB *rwak LEAF / LEAFLIKE PART

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*k-**rwak**	leaf	Matisoff 1983:71
	***rwak**	leaf	Matisoff 2003a:611

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	si^{55}**tshɑ^{55}**	leaf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:224.18
Guiqiong	**je^{55}je^{55}**	leaf (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.16
	je^{55}je^{55}	leaf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:224.17
Namuyi	**tshɳ^{33}tshɳ^{55}**	leaf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:224.19
	tshɳ^{33}tshɳ^{53}	leaf (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.46
Qiang (Mawo)	**khɕaq**	leaf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:224.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**tɕhɑ^{55}**qə^{33}	leaf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:224.9

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	tɐ **jwɐk**	leaf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:224.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɐi **wɐk**	leaf (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.11

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	**ɣɨe^{55}**tha^{55}	leaf	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ɣɯe^{55}**tha^{55}	leaf (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.49
	ɣɯe^{55}tha^{55}	leaf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:224.38
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa^{21}**ɣɨe^{21}**	leaf	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	ɑ^{31}**fɑ^{31}**	leaf	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31}**xz̩o?^{55}**	leaf (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.28
	a^{31}**xz̩o?^{55}**	leaf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:224.41
Achang (Luxi)	a^{31}**wa?^{55}**	leaf	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31}**xz̩o?^{55}**	leaf (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.29
Burmese (Written)	nâ-**rwak**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	nɑ^{3} **rwɑk**	ear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:241.39
	phak / **rwak**	tea	Benedict 1972:23n77
	rwak	leaf, sail	Benedict 1976a
	sərak-**rwak**	mango-leaf	Matisoff 1987
	ə-**rwak**	leaf, sail; leaf	Benedict 1976a; Matisoff 1983:71
	ɑ^{1}**rwɑk^{4}**	leaf (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.26
	ɑ^{1} **rwɑk**	leaf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:224.39
Atsi [Zaiwa]	a^{21}**xa?^{55}**	leaf (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.30
	a^{21}**xa?^{55}**	leaf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:224.42

(3) PTB *s-la LEAF / TEA / FLAT THING

This root is perhaps allofamically related to PTB ***lap*** WING / FEATHER (§1.5.1).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-la**	leaf / tea	Matisoff 2003a:599

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	**lo^{3}**moʔ^{3}	leaf (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	lo mo	grass	Marrison 1967
	lo mo	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	lo mo soko	tea	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**la**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**lo**	leaf	Benedict 1972:486

2.1.5. Dhimal

Dhimal	**hla**-ba	leaf	Benedict 1972:486

2.3. Kiranti

Lambichong	**lă**-phak	leaf; tea	Benedict 1972:486; Benedict 1972:23n77; Benedict 1972:40

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	pel **la**	leaf	Benedict 1972:486

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Rodong	**la**-bo	leaf	Benedict 1972:486

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**lo**	leaf	Benedict 1972:486

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**lo**	leaf (n.)	Hale 1973:01.025
	lo	leaf	Caughley 1972:1.25; Benedict 1972:486
Magar	**hla**	leaf	Benedict 1972:35n114
	lhā	leaf (n.)	Hale 1973:01.025

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Longxi)	tsù **lə** qə	tea	Evans 1999:610

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**la**-bhak	tea	Benedict 1976a
	lak-phak ≍ **lă** bhak	tea	Benedict 1972:40
	lak phak rañ̃	tea	Marrison 1967
	lɑk^{4}phɑk^{4}rɑɲ^{2}	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.26
Marma	**lə** phaʔ	tea	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:80-3

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***la^{1}**	tea	Bradley 1979b:407

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**làq**-phìq	tea	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	**la^{31}**tɕa^{33}	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**la^{55}**	tea	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	la^{55}ni^{33}	tea leaves	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	la^{55}ʑ̩^{33}	tea, brewed	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	la^{55}tɕɔ^{33}	tea	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**lo^{21}**	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.37
	lo^{21}phɐ̲^{55}	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.37
Yi (Weishan)	(**la^{21}**phɪ̲^{21}) tɪ̲^{33}	make (tea) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1545.36
	lɑ^{21}phɪ̲^{21}	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.36
Yi (Xide)	**lɑ^{55}ʑ̩^{33}**	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	**lɑ^{31}**	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.43
Lahu (Yellow)	**la^{5}**	tea	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**la^{21}**tɕa^{55}	tea cf. la^{33}my^{33} (N.)	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}tɕa^{55} dɔ^{44}kɯ^{55}	tea cup	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}tɕa^{55} pø^{55}	dregs of tea	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}tɕa^{55} thi^{21} thø^{35}	packet of tea (n.)	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}tɕa^{55} ti^{35}du^{33}	tea pot	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}tɕa^{55}dzi^{33}	tea plant	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}tɕa^{55}hɤ^{21}	tea dust	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}tɕa^{55}khu^{55}	bowl-shaped compressed mass of tea leaves	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}tɕa^{55}**la^{21}**	wild tea (wild plant, bitter in taste, can be used as tea)	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}tɕa^{55}mi^{44}	tea plot	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}tɕa^{55}phja^{21}	tea leaf (leaf of tea plant)	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}tɕa^{55}phja^{55}	tea in pieces	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**lá^{5}**-chyá^{3}	tea	Fraser 1922
Yi (Sani)	**lɒ^{11}**	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Lüchun)	**la^{31}**bɐ̲^{33}	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**lɔ^{55}**bɔ^{31}	tea	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Mojiang)	**lɔ^{31}**khɛ^{55}	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.42
Sila	**la̲33**	tea	Kato Takashi 2008:146

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**lie**˩	tea	Michaud 2006–2009:837
Na (Yongning)	**li**˩pi˥	tea that has infused for too long	Michaud 2006–2009
	li˨	tea	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**le^{55}**	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.45

7. Karenic: ***hla^{B}** LEAF

**Karen*	***hla^{B}**	leaf	Luangthongkum 2013:158
**Karen [Burling]*	***la^{2}**	leaf	Luangthongkum 2013:158
Bwe	**lɛ^{33}**	leaf	Luangthongkum 2013:158
Karen	**la^{31}**pha^{55}	tea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0454.50
Kayah	**le^{11}**	leaf	Luangthongkum 2013:158
Kayan	**la^{11}**	leaf	Luangthongkum 2013:158
Kayaw	**la^{11}**	leaf	Luangthongkum 2013:158
Pa-O (Southern)	**la^{33}**	leaf	Luangthongkum 2013:158
Pa-O (Northern)	**la^{55}**	leaf	Luangthongkum 2013:158
Pwo (Northern)	**la^{33}**	leaf	Luangthongkum 2013:158
Pwo (Southern)	**la^{55}**	leaf	Luangthongkum 2013:158
Sgaw (Northern)	**la$^{31~}$**	leaf	Luangthongkum 2013:158
Sgaw (Southern)	**la^{45,}**	leaf	Luangthongkum 2013:158

(4) PTB *s-lap LEAF / LEAFLIKE PART

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***lap**	leaf	Coblin 1986:102

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***la**	leaf	Benedict 1972:486
	***lap**	leaf	Weidert 1987:166; Matisoff 2003a:599; LaPolla 1987:136; Benedict 1972:321
	***lɑp**	leaf	Chou Fa-kao 1972:633d

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Ntenyi	a khwe **la**	ear	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***lap**	leaf	French 1983:510

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**lap**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	lap	leaf	LaPolla 1987:136; Benedict 1972:321
	lap^{31}	leaf	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lap^{31}	leaf (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.19

	lap^{31}	sheet (of paper); classifier for leaves (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0839.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0860.19
	lap^{31}	leaf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:224.47
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**lab**	leaf	LaPolla 1987:136; Benedict 1972:321
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Wenlang)	nɑ^{35} **lɑp**^{55}	ear	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Takpa	**blap**	leaf	LaPolla 1987:136; Benedict 1972:321
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Western)	**lob**-ma	leaf	LaPolla 1987:136; Benedict 1972:321
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***la**	leaf	Benedict 1972:486
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Kulung	**la**	leaf	Benedict 1972:486
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Magar	**hla**	leaf	Benedict 1972:486
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Longxi)	tshò **lò**	leaf	Evans 1999:471
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**śəlap**	leaves for packing food	Benedict 1972:321
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	ẽ^{21} tɕ^{h}e^{35} tɕi^{55} **la**^{21}	earlobe	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.6.1
7. KARENIC			
Pwo	**la**	leaf	Benedict 1972:486
Karen (Sgaw)	**la**	leaf	Benedict 1972:486
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**di̯ɑp/i̯ɑ̈p**	leaf	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:633d
Chinese (Old)	**ljap**	leaf	Baxter 1992:1037; Baxter 1992:1736

Chinese comparandum

葉 OC ***di̯ɑp**, *GSR* #633d 'leaf, foliage; generation, epoch'; Coblin 86:102 ST ***lap** > OC ***rap**; Schuessler 2007:562 ***ljap**; B & S 2011: ***lap {l [a] p}**; Mand. **yè**.
世 OC ***śi̯ɑd**, *GSR* #339a-c 'generation, epoch; world'; Coblin 86:85 ST ***rap** > OC ***hrjabh** > ***hrjadh**; Schuessler 2007:562 ***lhats** < ***lhaps**; B & S 2011: ***l̥ap-s {l̥ [a] p-s}**; Mand. **shì**.

(5) PTB *p(l)a-n ⩙ *p(w)a-n PALM / SOLE

STC #418 reconstructs ***pwa** or ***bwa**. A similar but probably distinct root is PTB ***r-pak** LEAF / LEAFLIKE PART / FLAT OBJECT (§1.5.5), which underlie forms like Mizo **kut-pha?** 'palm', **ke-pha?** 'sole' and Karbi **ri-pak ~ ri-pek** 'palm', **keŋ-pak** 'sole'.

For now, we are treating the Proto-Tani form as a reflex of this root.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-wa**	palm (hand)(1)	Weidert 1987:175
	***pa**	palm (hand)(1); palm	Weidert 1987:175; Benedict 1972:418
	***pa** (*A)	palm (of hand)	Coblin 1986:115
	***pwa**	palm (hand)(1)	Weidert 1987:175
	***pwɑ**	palm (of hand)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:101f
	***p^{w}a-n**	palm / sole	Matisoff 2003a:608
1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
**Kuki-Naga-Chin*	*m-**pha**-s	sole (foot)	Weidert 1987:361
1.1.1. TANI: ***lak-pro** PALM (of hand)			[a]
**Tani*	*lak-**pro**	palm (of hand)	Sun 1993a:286
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	la-**pjo**	palm	Sun 1993b
	la?-**p^{h}rjo**	palm (of hand)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	^{2}la?^{2}**pryo**	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:592
Bengni	lak-**ču**	palm	Sun 1993b
	lak-**ču** ku-wa	center of palm	Sun 1993b
	lak-**ču** nəŋ-ča:	hold up on open palm	Sun 1993b
	lak-**ču:**	palm (of hand)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	lok-**pio**	hand	Sun 1993b
	lok-**pio** lo-poŋ	palm (center of ~)	Sun 1993b
	lok-**pjo**	palm (of hand)	Sun 1993a
	lok-**pjo** lam-ko	back of hand	Sun 1993b
Tagin	lak **cu**	palm	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	lak-**pjo**	palm (of hand)	Sun 1993a
Damu	lak-**pyo**	palm	Sun 1993b
Milang	lak-**pyu**	palm	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	lak-**po**	palm (of hand); palm	Sun 1993a; Benedict 1972:418
	le-**po**	sole	Benedict 1972:418
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	ke-**phah** hnuai	sole	Matisoff 1987
	ke-**pha?**	sole	Benedict 1972:100n286
	ke̯-**pha?**	sole (foot)	Weidert 1987:175
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***m-ph(w)a** FOOT (PART)			
**Central Naga*	*m-**ph(w)a**	FOOT (PART)	Bruhn 2014a:III.002
**Ao*	*t-m-**phwa**	FOOT (PART)	Bruhn 2014a:II.373
Ao (Chungli)	tə^{2}-mu^{3}**pu**^{1}	foot (some part) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.373
Lotha Naga	mi^{1}-**pho?**^{3}	foot (skin of) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.002
	m **po**	foot	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	-^{1}mɯ^{2}**pa**	sole (foot)	Weidert 1987:175
Yimchungrü	mü **fü**	foot	Kumar 1973b:67
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Sema [Sumi]	^{2}a^{2}u^{2}**pha**	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:592
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Kokborok	ya-**pay**	sole (of foot)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	ya-**p^{h}a**	palm	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	yak **p^{h}a**	palm	French 1983:531
	yak-**pá**	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:358
Lalung [Tiwa]	ia **pha**	palm	Balawan 1965:30
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	dža-**pha**	sole	Benedict 1972:418
	džak-**pha**	palm	Benedict 1972:418
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	chak **pha**	palm of the hand (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	da **p^{h}a**	underside of foot	French 1983:531
	dak **p^{h}a**	palm	French 1983:531
	dʌk-^{1}**pha**	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:358
	^{2}da^{3}**pha**	sole (foot)	Weidert 1987:175
Tangsa	džʌk-^{2}**pha**-^{3}muŋ	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:358
	^{1}dža^{2}**pha**	sole (foot)	Weidert 1987:361
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Khiamngan	^{12}**pa(?)**^{21}mo̯ŋ	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:358
Konyak	ya-**pá**	sole (foot)	Weidert 1987:361
	yak **p^{h}a**	palm	French 1983:531
	yak-**pá**	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:358
Phom	lak **p^{h}a**	palm	French 1983:531
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	lə **phan**	palm, sole	Benedict 1972:418 [a]
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung	yo **pla:**	palm (hand)	Weidert 1987:592
Gurung (Ghachok)	yo **pla:**	palm (hand)	Glover 1972:2.A.53
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}ya: **pla**	palm	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0502a
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	ta **pla**	palm	Michailovsky 1991:136; Michailovsky 1991:137
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	ur-**pha**	palm	Benedict 1972:418
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**bhawà** (phawà)	palm, sole	Benedict 1972:418
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nasu	la̱^{55} **p^{h}a**^{33}	palm	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.1
Nesu	li̱^{21} **p^{h}i**^{21}	palm	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.1
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	khɨ-tɔ-**pɛ**	whole foot; sole	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Bisu	là khɨ **pháwa**	sole of foot	Beaudouin 1988:15
	là **wà**	palm of hand; palm of the hand	Bradley 199x; Beaudouin 1988:15

[a] The first syllable of this binome is PTB ***lak** HAND/LIMB (§1.5.1).

[a] The final **-n** in Jingpho **phan** is attributed to a PTB dual suffix in *STC* n. 284, p. 99.

Chinese comparandum

扶 OC ***b'i̯wo**~***pi̯wo**, *GSR* #101f 'breadth of four fingers'; Schuessler 2007:240 ***pa**; B & S 2011: ***m-pa {m-p(r)a}**; Mand. **fú**.

(6) PTB *dyaŋ PALM / SOLE

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ri **deng**	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	lhā na **jing**	palm of hand	Hale 1973:66
2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{A}**t^{h}iŋ** PALM (HAND)			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**t^{h}iŋ**	palm (hand)	Mazaudon 1994:489
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**t^{h}iŋ**	palm of the hand (fingers (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:6.1.7.1
	^{1}**t^{h}iŋ**	palm (without fingers)	Mazaudon 1994:489
Tamang (Sahu)	ya: **t^{h}iŋ**	palm of hand	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.50
Thakali (Tukche)	ja-**t^{h}in**	palm (hand)	Hari 1971:2.A.53
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	pleŋ **teŋ**	palm	Michailovsky 1991:136
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	掌	palm of the hand	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3784
Chinese (GSR #)	**0725j**	palm of the hand	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3784
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**t̂i̯ɑng/tśi̯ɑng:**	palm of the hand	Karlgren 1957:725j
Chinese (Old)	**k.taŋ?** {[k.t]aŋ?}	palm of the hand	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3784
	tjang?	palm (of the hand)	Baxter 1992:231
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**tsyangX**	palm of the hand	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3784
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**zhǎng**	palm of the hand	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3784

Chinese comparandum

掌 OC ***t̂i̯ɑng** *GSR* #725j 'palm, sole'; Li 1971: **(*tjangx)**; Baxter 1992 #231: ***tjang?** (#231); B & S 2011: * **[k.t] aŋ?**[*]; Mand. **zhǎng**.
[ZJH]

(7) PTB *m-ya PALM

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Chinbon	**m̩jo**	palm	So-Hartmann 1988:90
Daai	**m̩ja**	palm	So-Hartmann 1988:90
Ngmüüin	**m̩ja**	palm	So-Hartmann 1988:90
Wakung	kœ.**m^{ə}ja**	palm	So-Hartmann 1988:90
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Moyon	kik **bʌjá**	palm	Kosha 1990:6.1.7.1
Sorbung	kə̀d **məjáa**	palm	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.182
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***m-ja** PALM OF HAND			
**Central Naga*	*m-**ja**	PALM OF HAND	Bruhn 2014a:III.030
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**mija**	palm (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	m̩^{1}-**jo**^{1}-ku?^{3}	palm (of hand) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.030
	myo ku	palm (hand)	Marrison 1967:529
Sangtam	**müyo**	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
Yimchungrü	**müyi** lung	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***ja** PALM (HAND)			
**Tangkhulic*	***ja**	palm (hand)	Mortensen 2012:336
Kachai	pon-mə-**ju**	palm	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.158
Tusom	ʔɯ-kfɯ-mə-**ʒi**	palm	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.169
Ukhrul	paŋ-mə-**ja**	palm (of hand)	Mortensen 2012
7. KARENIC: ***ɲa^{A}** PALM (OF THE HAND)			
**Karen*	***ɲa^{A}**	palm (of the hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:210 [a]
Kayah	**ja**^{11}	palm (of the hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:210
Kayan	**Ɉa**^{33}	palm (of the hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:210
Pa-O (Northern)	**ja**^{33}	palm (of the hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:210
Pa-O (Southern)	**ja**^{53}	palm (of the hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:210
Pwo (Northern)	**jɛ**^{35}	palm (of the hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:210
Pwo (Southern)	**ja**^{53}	palm (of the hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:210
Sgaw (Northern)	**ɲa**^{33}	palm (of the hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:210

[a] [Source Note] NK and CK have tone A3 which indicates a voice onset *ɲ- but the tone A12 in SK suggests a voiceless onset *hɲ-.

1.5.6 Finger/Toe

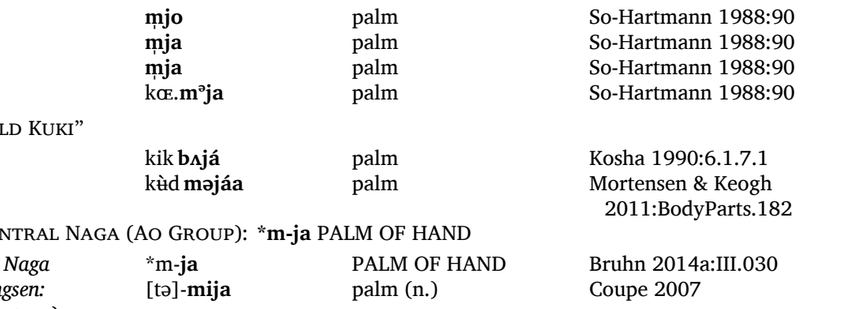


Figure 123: 1.5.6 *Finger/Toe*

[*] I do not understand why Baxter & Sagart (2011) reconstruct a cluster ***k.t-** instead of plain ***t-** here. Their notation with a period (as opposed to a hyphen as in ***k-t-**) indicates that they have no evidence for a morphological prefix ***k-**, but I don't see any motivation for reconstructing a purely phonological pre-initial element ***k**.

FINGER ——— **TOE**

Figure 124: 1.5.6 *Finger/Toe*

(1) PTB *s-nyuŋ ≍ *s-m-yuŋ ≍ *s-m-yuw FINGER

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**m-**)**yuŋ**	finger; toe	Weidert 1987:273; Benedict 1972:355
	***m-yuŋ**	finger	Matisoff 2003a:620

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***yuŋ** FINGER / TOE / ROOT

**Chin*	***yuŋ**	FINGER / TOE / ROOT	VanBik 2009:1201

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	a **zūng**	root	VanBik 2009:1201
Thado	**zûŋ**	root, finger, toe, tendon	VanBik 2009:1201
Tiddim	khut-**zŭŋ**	finger	Weidert 1987:273
	zung[1]	root	VanBik 2009:1201; Bhaskararao 1996:2075

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	a-**yü˝n**	root	VanBik 2009:1201
Khami	**məyuŋ ≍** məzuŋ	finger, toe	Benedict 1972:355

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**zûŋ**	fingers, toes	VanBik 2009:1201
Lai (Falam)	**zúŋ**	fingers, toes	VanBik 2009:1201
Lushai [Mizo]	ke-**zung**	toe	Matisoff 1987
	kut-**zung**	finger	Matisoff 1987
	kut-**zung**-chal	finger (index)	Matisoff 1987
	kut-**zung**-lai	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	kut-**zung**-pui	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	kut-**zung**-tê-u	finger (ring)	Matisoff 1987
	kut-**zung**-u	finger (ring)	Matisoff 1987
	kut **zung**	finger	Marrison 1967
	zung	root (n.)	Marrison 1967
	zŭng	root, a finger, a toe, a digit (n.)	VanBik 2009:1201
	zung	root	Bhaskararao 1996:2075
	zung-bun	finger ring; ring (finger ring)	Bhaskararao 1996:2076; Marrison 1967
	zuŋ	finger, toe	Benedict 1972:355

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**zô**[3]	handiness with one's fingers	VanBik 2009:1201

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	khut **mayung**	finger	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-juŋ** DIGIT (FINGER / TOE)

**Central Naga*	***m-juŋ**	FINGER / TOE	Bruhn 2014a:III.224
**Ao*	*t-**m-juŋ**	FINGER / TOE	Bruhn 2014a:II.287
Ao (Chungli)	te **meyong**	finger; toe	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	tə[2]-**mə[2]juŋ[3]**	finger, toe (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.287
	[2]tɯ[3]**mɯ[3]yuŋ**	finger	Weidert 1987:273
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	ta **myu**	finger	Marrison 1967
	tü **miyung**	toe	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**mijuŋ**	finger (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**mijuŋ** nə̀m	finger's width	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**joŋ**-loŋoʔ	middle finger (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	joŋ-oʔ	ring finger (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	joŋ-tamoʔ	little finger, pinkie (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	joŋ[3]-kjok[2]	nail (of finger, toe), claw (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	joŋ[3]-kjəp[2]	nail (of finger, toe), claw (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [b]
	joŋ[3]-puʔ[3]	thumb (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [c]
	joŋ[3]-tshuʔ[2]	forefinger, index finger (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [d]
	joŋ[3]roʔ[3]	finger, toe (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.224
	cho **ying** dro	toe	Marrison 1967
	ying dro	finger	Marrison 1967
	ying pvu	thumb	Marrison 1967
	YiNg ro	finger	Nienu 1990c:7.1
	YiNg ro loNg o	middle finger	Nienu 1990c:7.1.2
	yin kep	claw	Marrison 1967
	[3]**yɯŋ**[3]ro(ʔ)	finger	Weidert 1987:273
Sangtam	ching **müyong** zachang	toe	Marrison 1967
	müyong kutrüti	thumb	Marrison 1967
	müyong za	finger	Marrison 1967
	[1]**mɯ[2]yuŋ**[2]za	finger	Weidert 1987:273
Yimchungrü	a **ying**	root (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ying khing	finger	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	ka-bĕn-**zuŋ**	finger	Weidert 1987:273
Maram	wai **yung**	finger	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ban **jung**	finger	Marrison 1967
	bân-**zúŋ**	finger	Weidert 1987:273
	məi baan **zuŋ**	finger	Matisoff 1994e

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***juŋ** ROOT

**Tangkhulic*	***juŋ**	root	Mortensen 2012:500
Huishu	ʔa-nə-**juŋ**	root	Mortensen 2012:Plants.003
Kachai	ʔa-ŋə-**lɐŋ**	root	Mortensen 2012:Plants.003
Tusom	kə-**zɯə̃**	root	Mortensen 2012:Plants.003
Ukhrul	ʔa-ŋə-**juŋ**	root	Mortensen 2012

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	(rí)-**mùn**-dák-wám	middle finger	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	(rí)-**mùn**-jòng	index finger	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	(rí)-**mùn**-mén-wē	ring finger	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	(rí)-**mùn**-pī	thumb	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	(rí)-**mùn**-pō	thumb	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	(rí)-**mùn**-sék	ring finger	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	(rí)-**mùn**-sō	little finger	Grüssner 1979:175, 195
	(rí)-**mùn**-thokwám	thumb	Grüssner 1979:174, 195
	chi **mun** a sek	knuckle	Matisoff 1987
	chi **mun** pi	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	keng (chi **mun**) chi mi	toenail	Matisoff 1987
	keng chi **mun**	toe	Matisoff 1987
	mun-po	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	mun dak vam	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	mun thok vam	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	rí-chi **mùn**	finger	Grüssner 1979:194

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	dak **su**	finger	French 1983:488; Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	lə gaw **yung**	big toe	Matisoff 1987
	lə gaw **yung** nu	big toe	Matisoff 1987
	lə **yung**	finger, toe (s,s.)	Matisoff 1987
	lə **yung**	finger, toe	Matisoff 1987
	mə **yung**	finger, toe (s,s.)	Matisoff 1987
	yung	finger, toe (s,s.)	Matisoff 1987
	yung	finger, toe	Matisoff 1987
	yung hkyi	little toe	Matisoff 1987
	yung lat	second toe	Matisoff 1987
	yung nu	big toe; thumb	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	yung sam	middle toe	Matisoff 1987
	yung sha	digits, fingers / toes (except thumb, big toe)	Matisoff 1987:4
	yuŋ ≍ ləyuŋ	finger, toe	Benedict 1972:355

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Jirel)	**ju**	finger	Matisoff 1987
	kāmb-eq **ju**	toe	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	ya-ye **nəŋ**	fingernail	Noonan *et al.* 1992:7.4.1

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	kue[33] **ɳy[53]**	finger	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.17
	kuɔ[55]**nỹ[55]**	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.16
	kuɔ[55]**ɳỹ[55]** ŋi[35]wu[55]	finger (little) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0112.16
	kuɔ[55]**ɳỹ[55]** ʐũ[35]ɳỹ[55]	finger (middle) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0111.16
Muya	mɑ[33]**nə[53]**	finger (middle) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0111.15
	rɑ[33]**nə[53]**	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.15
	rɑ[33]**nə[53]** tɕue[24]	finger (little) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0112.15
Muya [Minyak]	ʐ̩[35]**nɯ[53]**	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.15
	ʐɑ[35]**nɯ[55]**tɕe[53]	little finger	Sun Hongkai 1991h:7.1.4
Namuyi	lɛ[33]**ɳi[35]**	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.19
	læ[31]**ɳi[31]**	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.46
Qiang (Mianchi)	ì **ná** qè	finger	Evans 1999:135
	í **nà** qè	finger	Evans 1999:135
	í **nà** qè-bʐà-(kí)	thumb [finger-big-NOM]	Evans 1999:136
	í **nà** qè-bʐù bʐí	little finger [finger-little]	Evans 1999:140
	í **nà** qè-gó tì-(kì)	middle finger [finger-between-NOM]	Evans 1999:138
Qiang (Taoping)	nɑ[31] **ne[33]**	finger	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	le[13]**ɕɳi[55]**	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.13
Xumi	lie[33] **ɳi[35]**	finger	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.20

5. Tujia

Tujia	tɕe[35] **mi[55]** tʰi[21] kã[55] pʰɯe[55]	middle finger	Chen Kang 1986c:7.1.2
	tɕe[35] **mi[55]** tʰi[21] tso[35] kʰu[33]	ring finger	Chen Kang 1986c:7.1.3
	tɕe[35] **mi[55]** tʰi[21] tʰe[55] pʰɯe[21]	little finger	Chen Kang 1986c:7.1.4
	tɕe[35] **mi[55]** tʰi[21] za[21] pa[21]	index finger	Chen Kang 1986c:7.1.1
	tɕe[35] **mi[55]** tʰi[21] ɳi[21] ka[21]	thumb	Chen Kang 1986c:7.1.5

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	lɑ[31] **ɲɑu[35]**	finger	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	lɔʔ[35]**ɲau[31]**	finger (middle) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0111.28
	lɔʔ[55] **ɲau[31]**	finger	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɔʔ[55]**ɲau[31]**	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.28
	lɔʔ[55]**ɲau[31]**	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.41
Achang (Luxi)	laʔ[31] **ɲau[35]**	finger	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	lɔʔ[55] **ɲau[31]**	finger	Dai Qingxia 1989f:132
	lɔʔ[55]**ɲau[31]**	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.29
Bola	laʔ[31] **ŋjuŋ[35]**	finger	Dai Qingxia 1989g:132
Bola (Luxi)	laʔ[31]thɔ̃[35]**ŋjuŋ[35]**	finger (little) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0112.32
	laʔ[31]**ŋjuŋ[35]**	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.32
Bola	tɻn[35] **ŋjuŋ[35]**	index finger	Dai Qingxia 1989g:134
Burmese (Modern)	lak-**ñhui[4]**	finger / forefinger	Luce 1985:V.45
Burmese (Written)	lak-**hnuì**	finger	Benedict 1972:77n234
	lak-**hnyûi**	finger (index)	Matisoff 1987
	lak-**khyôŋ**	finger	Matisoff 1987
	lak **khyoṅ:**	finger	Marrison 1967
	lɑk[4]**khjɔŋ[3]**	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.26
Langsu (Luxi)	kauŋ[35]kauŋ[35]**ŋjuk[55]**	finger (middle) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0111.31
	lɔʔ[21]thɔ̃[55]**ŋjuk[55]**	finger (little) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0112.31
	lɔʔ[31]**ŋjuk[55]**	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.31
Lashi	lɔʔ[31] thaŋ[53] **ŋjo[55]**	little finger	Dai Qingxia 1989m:7.1.4
Atsi [Zaiwa]	loʔ[21] **ŋjui[21]**	finger	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	li[21] **ɳ[55]** zɑ[21]	finger	Chen Kang 1986b:7.1
Yi (Nanhua)	le[21]**ɳi[33]**	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.24

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baka)	la[55] **ɲv[55]**	finger	Dai Qingxia 1989i:135
Lahu (Black)	khi-**nɔ**	toe	Matisoff 1987
	khi-**nɔ**-cɛ́	little toe	Matisoff 1987

[a] [Source Note] digit-?
[b] [Source Note] digit-?
[c] [Source Note] digit-main
[d] [Source Note] digit-point(v.)

[a] The cognacy of these Tujia syllables is uncertain.

	khɨ-**nɔ**-cí	knuckle of toe	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-**nɔ**-dàʔ	fourth toe	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-**nɔ**-jî	middle toe	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-**nɔ**-qhê	toe-jam	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-**nɔ**-yɨ	toe (second)	Matisoff 1987
	làʔ-**nɔ**	finger	Matisoff 1987
	làʔ-**nɔ**-cé	finger (little)	Matisoff 1987
	làʔ-**nɔ**-cí	knuckle	Matisoff 1987
	làʔ-**nɔ**-dàʔ	finger (ring)	Matisoff 1987
	làʔ-**nɔ**-jî	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	phî-qhê-làʔ-**nɔ**	finger (index)	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**nɔ**	fingerbreadth’	Matisoff 1987
Lisu	lá[6]-**nyi**[3]	finger	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	la˄ **noe˅**	finger	Lewis 1989
	noe˅ da˅	finger (ring)	Matisoff 1987
	noe˅ doe˅	finger (ring)	Lewis 1989
	noe˅ g’ah˅	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	là **hɲúŋ**	finger	Bradley 199x
	là **hɲùŋ**	fingers	Beaudouin 1988:14
	là khì lá **hɲuŋ**	toe	Beaudouin 1988:16
Hani (Dazhai)	la̱[31] **nø**[55]	finger	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Pijo)	làq **njí**	finger	Hansson 1989:354
Hani (Gelanghe)	la̱[31] **nø**[55]	finger	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	lavq **nyul**	finger	Hansson 1989:354
Hani (Shuikui)	la[31] **n̠i**[55]	finger	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	làq **njí**	finger	Hansson 1989:354

[a]Literally “dogshit finger”, so called because of its size and shape.

(2) PTB *(t)si FINGER

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	rí-**chi** mùn	finger	Grüssner 1979:194

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	a **si**	finger	Bhat 1968
	a **sí**	finger	Matisoff 1987
	a **si** baray	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	a **si** gezer	finger (middle)	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	a **si** pisá	finger (little)	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	a **sí?**	finger	Weidert 1987:587
	ha **sí**	finger	Matisoff 1987
Lalung [Tiwa]	ia **si**	finger	Balawan 1965:30
	ia **si** mul	thumb	Balawan 1965:30
	ia thong ia **si**	toe	Balawan 1965:30
Meche	a **si**	finger	Weidert 1987:587

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	jak-**si**	finger	Weidert 1987:587; Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	jak-**si**	finger, distal portion of an insect leg	Burling 1992
	jak-**si**	finger (n.)	Burling 2003:6.235-II:idx
	jak-**si**-chon-gip-a	little finger	Burling 1992
	jak-**si**-jang-chi	middle finger; ring finger (n.)	Burling 2003:6.235-II:idx
	jak-**si**-ku-ti	tip of finger	Burling 1992
	jak-**si**-ot-ra	index finger (n.)	Burling 2003:6.235-II:idx
	jak-**si**-pi’-sa	little finger	Burling 1992
	jak-**si**-pi•-sa	little finger (n.)	Burling 2003:6.235-II:idx
	jak-**si**-tam	ring for finger (n.)	Burling 2003:6.564-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	chak **si**	finger (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	chak **si** jotram	index finger (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	chak **si** rengma	little finger (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa	džʌk[3] **ši**	finger	Weidert 1987:587
Tangsa (Moshang)	yok **ši**	finger, thumb	French 1983:488
	yok **shi**	finger	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	yak **ši**	thumb (’finger’ not available)	French 1983:488

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	yik **ci** šou	finger	French 1983:488
	yik **chi** shou	finger	Marrison 1967
	úk-**jì**	finger	Weidert 1987:587
	úk-**jí**-šʌ̀u	finger	Weidert 1987:127

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	taʔ **ʃiʔ**	finger	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:31 [a]

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	bot **si**	finger	Sharma 1991a:7.1
	bot **si** mal	fingerprint	Sharma 1991a:7.1.6

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]prim **tsi**	finger (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:7.1
Tamang (Sahu)	[2]prim-**ci**	finger	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	chuk-ku-**si**(-ma)	finger	Rai *et al.* 1984:20
	chuk-**si**-ma	finger	Rai *et al.* 1984:20
	chuk ku **si**	finger	Rai 1985
	tshu ku **si**	finger	Matisoff 1987
	tshu ku **si** ma	finger	Michailovsky 1991:71
	tsu ku **si** ma	finger	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nesu	lɪ̱[21] **tʂʅ**[55]	finger	Chen Kang 1986b:7.1
Yi (Dafang)	la[13] **tsʅ**[33]	finger	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.22
Yi (Mile)	le̱[21]**tʂi**[33]	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.25
Yi (Mojiang)	le̱[21]**tsi**[55]	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.26
Yi (Xide)	lo[55]-**tɕʅ**[33]	finger	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

[a]The final glottal stop in Sak **ʃiʔ** has led Huziwara to speculate that the Proto-Asakian etymon had a final consonant, perhaps ***-r** (cf. **sor** < PBod ***s(w/y)ar** FINGER (§1.5.6)).

(3) PTB *(t)s(y)ow FINGER

This root appears almost entirely in Himalayish, especially the Kiranti group. There is a possible Northern Naga cognate.

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	yik ci **šou**	finger	French 1983:488
	yik chi **shou**	finger	Marrison 1967
	úk-jí-**šʌ̀u**	finger	Weidert 1987:127

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Sahu)	kang.**cuh** mi	toe	Matisoff 1987
	kaŋ.**cuh** mi	toe	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.59
	yā:.**cuh** mi	finger	Matisoff 1987
	ya:.**cuh** mi	finger	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.51

2.3. Kiranti

**BSDTK*	*brep **co**	finger	Michailovsky 1991:70

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	huk **co**	finger	Matisoff 1987
	klum **co**	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	pāk **co**	finger (little)	Matisoff 1987
	sok **co**	finger (index)	Matisoff 1987
	swā kep **co**	finger (ring)	Matisoff 1987

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	’brehp **co**	finger	Matisoff 1987
	’brep **co**	finger	Michailovsky 1991:71

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	brɛp-**tso**	knuckle; finger	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:71
Sunwar	brep **co**	finger	Michailovsky 1991:71; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	brep-**co**	finger	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:71; Allen 1975

(4) PBod *s $\begin{matrix}\text{w}\\\text{y}\end{matrix}$ ar FINGER

WT has both **ser-mo** and **sor-mo**, but the latter seems to be merely a colloquial variant (Jäschke p. 577 and 580).

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**sar** my	fingernail	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**sor**	fingersbreadth (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0902.05
Tibetan (Jirel)	**’ser** mukq	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**sor**[55]	fingersbreadth (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0902.02
Sherpa	**ser** muq	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Written)	p‘yag-**sor**	finger	Matisoff 1987
	rakaṅ **sor**	toe	Marrison 1967
	ser-mo	finger	Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967
	sor-mo	finger; toe	Matisoff 1987
	sor-t‘sigs	joint of fingers; knuckle	Matisoff 1987
	žabs-**sor**	finger	Matisoff 1987

(5) PTB *brya $\begin{matrix}\text{p}\\\text{m}\end{matrix}$ FINGER

This root has so far been identified only in Himalayan languages.

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**brem** za ~ bren za	finger	Sharma 1991b:7.1
	brim za	finger	Sharma 1982
	šen **brem** za	little finger	Sharma 1991b:7.1.4
	tak **brem** za	middle finger	Sharma 1991b:7.1.2
	Tik **bren** za	ring finger	Sharma 1991b:7.1.3
	zug **bren** za	index finger	Sharma 1991b:7.1.1

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]**prim** tsi	finger (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:7.1
Tamang (Sahu)	[2]**prim**-ci	finger	Matisoff 1987

2.3. Kiranti

**BSDTK*	***brep** co	finger	Michailovsky 1991:70

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	**’brehp** co	finger	Matisoff 1987
	’brep co	finger	Michailovsky 1991:71

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**brep**-tso	knuckle; finger	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:71
Sunwar	**brep** co	finger	Michailovsky 1991:71; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**brep**-co	finger	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:71; Allen 1975

(6) PTB *bra-n FINGER

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	a: **brang**	finger	NEFA (India) 1963
	a: **brang** a: hling	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	a: **brang**	finger	Matisoff 1987
	ɑ[31] **bɹɯŋ**[55]	finger	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɑ[31]**bɹɯŋ**[55]	finger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.22
	ɑ[31]**bɹɯŋ**[55]	finger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:255.49
Idu	**bra** japra	foot	Pulu 1978
	bra pa	foot	Anonymous 1962

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	ku **paro**	finger	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**bran**-mo	finger, toe	Matisoff 1987

(7) PTB *b-ray FINGER

It cannot be excluded that this root has an allofamic relationship with PTB ***bra-n** FINGER (§1.5.6).

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	a si **baray**	thumb	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**prats**	finger / toe (n.)	Bailey 1911
	prats	finger; toe	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**brayh**	finger	Matisoff 1987
	brəyh	finger	Michailovsky 1991:70; Caughley 1972:2.A.54
	dom.**brayh**	toe	Matisoff 1987
Chepang (Eastern)	(krut) **brəyh**	finger	Caughley 1990:7.1

(8) PTk *m-reŋ FINGER / TOE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***reŋ**	finger / toe	Mortensen 2012:484
Huishu	ʔa-vej-**mə-re**	finger	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.117
Tangkhul	**məreŋ**	finger	Matisoff 1987
	phei **mareŋ**	toe	Matisoff 1987
Tusom	ʔɯ-kfɯ-mə-**rɯə̃**	finger	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.200
Ukhrul	paŋ-**mə-reŋ**	finger	Mortensen 2012

(9) PTani *lak-keŋ FINGER

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	*lak-**keŋ**	finger	Sun 1993a:145

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	la-**či**	finger	Sun 1993b
	là-**či** ha-ña	little finger	Sun 1993b
	la-**či** lɯ-pa	middle finger	Sun 1993b
	lán-**či** ha-ña	ring finger	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-**čiʔ**	finger	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-**čʰiʔ** ha-ña	finger (little)	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-**čʰiʔ** lɯ-pa	finger (middle)	Sun 1993b
	^{2}laʔ^{2}**tši**	finger	Weidert 1987:587
Bengni	lak-**čiŋ**	finger	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	lok **tɕəŋ**	finger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0109.24
	lok-**čəŋ**	finger	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	lok **tɕəŋ**	finger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:255.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	lak-**ce**	finger	Das Gupta 1963
	lak-**se**	finger	Das Gupta 1963
	lak **cəə**	finger (n.)	GLDC 2009
	`lak-**sɤ**	finger	Weidert 1987:587
Miri, Hill	a lak-lak **ci**	finger	Simon 1976
Nishing	lak-**cing**	finger	Das Gupta 1969
	lak **cang**~lak **cing**	finger	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	lak **ciŋ**	finger	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	lâk-**kê**	finger (middle); finger	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	lak-**ke**	finger	Sun 1993a
	lâk-**kê** ké-yi	finger (little)	Matisoff 1987
Damu	lak-**ce**	finger	Sun 1993b
Milang	lak-**ke**	finger	Tayeng 1976

(10) PNN *saːŋ FINGER

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak	yak **lan**	finger	Marrison 1967
Phom	lak^{33}**čæŋ**^{55}	finger	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lak **jang**	finger	Marrison 1967

1.5.6.1 Thumb/Big Toe

THERE are also compounds HAND-MOTHER.

1.5.7 Leg

FOR etyma meaning LEG, see Chapter 1.5.1.

1.5.7.1 Thigh

(1) PTani *far- THIGH / LEG

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***far-**	thigh / leg	Sun 1993a:423

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**har**-lā	thigh; leg	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	har-laŋ	thigh	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**fɯr**	leg	Sun 1993b
	fɯr-poː	thigh; leg	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**ar** po	thigh	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**har** po	thigh	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ar**-biang	thigh	Matisoff 1987
	ar-bjaŋ	thigh / leg	Sun 1993a
	âr-kok	fork of legs	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**xar**-ba	thigh	Sun 1993b

1.5.7.2 Shin/Tibia

(1) PTB *ŋal SHIN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ŋal** SHIN / SHANK

**Chin*	***ŋal**	SHIN / SHANK	VanBik 2009:866

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	**ngal** gu	shin bone / tibia	Haokip 1998:6.2.3.1
	ngal peng	shin	Haokip 1998:6.2.3
Paite	**ngal**	shin, shank	VanBik 2009:866
Thado	**ŋál** péeŋ	shin	VanBik 2009:866
Tiddim	**ngal**^{2} taːk^{2}	shin	Bhaskararao 1996:1274; VanBik 2009:866
	ŋal^{1}	shin	Luce 1985:N.22

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**khéw'angáay**	lower shin area	VanBik 2009:866

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Khualsim	**ŋal**^{3}	shin	Luce 1985:N.22
Lai (Hakha)	**ŋâl**	shin	VanBik 2009:866
	ŋal^{5}	shin	Luce 1985:N.22
Lushai [Mizo]	**ngal**	shin	Matisoff 1987
	ngál	shin	VanBik 2009:866
	ngal	shin	Bhaskararao 1996:1274
	ngal-châr	shin	Matisoff 1987
	ŋal^{1}	shin	Luce 1985:N.22

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**ngia** ly	shin	Matisoff 1987
	ngìa lý	shin (n.)	VanBik 2009:866
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**ŋiɛ**^{1}luɔ^{4}	shin	Luce 1985:N.22
Mera	**ŋyɛ**^{6}lau^{5}	shin	Luce 1985:N.22
Xongsai	**ŋal**^{3}-	shin	Luce 1985:N.22
	ŋɛl^{3}-	shin	Luce 1985:N.22

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	shă-**ṅgăr**	shin	Matisoff 1987
	shă **ṅgăr**	shin (n.)	Bailey 1911

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**nal**-tyā	shin	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Jirel)	**nar**-dong-ā	shin	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**ŋar** Tung	shin bone; tibia; shin	Bishop 1989:6.2.3; Bishop 1989:6.2.3.1
Tibetan (Written)	**nar**-gdoṅ	shin-bone (nar (Bn) 'front side; forepart')	Matisoff 1987:94
	nyar-gdoṅ (w)	shin-bone	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang (Sahu)	**ngāhr**-tung	shin	Matisoff 1987
	ŋahr tuŋ	shin	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.55

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**'nal**-thā	shin	Matisoff 1987
	'nəl tha	shin	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.58
	'nəl t^{h}a	shin	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.58

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	**nā**-khē-qu	shin	Matisoff 1987

(2) PTB *r-guːŋ EDGE / SIDE / SHIN

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-guŋ**	back (of a blade), edge, side, shin	Benedict 1972:395
	***r-guːŋ**	edge / shin	Matisoff 2003a:592

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP

Miji	lai-**gjuŋ**	shin	Simon 1979

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	rjuk-**gɯŋ**	back of knife	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	i si **gõ** mbo	backbone	Pulu 1978
	i sũŋ-**gu** mbõ	backbone	Anonymous 1962

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ar **koŋ**	shin	Benedict 1972:395
	keng ar-**kong**	shin bone	Matisoff 1987
	kèng ar **kòng**	shin bone / tibia	Grüssner 1979:41
	keng-**kung**	lower leg	Matisoff 1987
	kèng-**kûng**	shin	Grüssner 1979:42
	kung	bank (edge)	Marrison 1967
	kùŋ	side / edge / border	Weidert 1987:746
	kuŋ	side, edge, border, brim, bank, rim	Benedict 1972:395

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**giŋ**	side	Benedict 1972:395
Dimasa	bu **rguŋ**	margin, edge, rim; blunt edge of a knife	Benedict 1972:395
	di **rgong**	bank (edge)	Marrison 1967
	rugung	near	Marrison 1967
	ruguŋ	near, by the side of	Benedict 1972:395

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	dźa-**ri-kiŋ**	shin	Matisoff 1987
	dža-**rikiŋ**	shin	Benedict 1972:395
	rikiŋ	edge	Benedict 1972:395
Garo (Bangladesh)	ja'-**rik-ing**	shin	Burling 1992 [a]
	ja•-**rik-ing**	shin (n.)	Burling 2003:6.237-II:idx

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-guːŋ**	shin	French 1983:545

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	yo **kuŋ**	shin	French 1983:545
Wancho	swa **koŋ**	shin	French 1983:545

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	n-**guŋ**	back (of blade);edge, side	Benedict 1972:395
	n^{31}**guŋ**^{31}	back of knife (n.)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983:582

[a] [Source Note] (lit: leg-edge)

(3) PTB *m-raŋ SHIN

This root, while not widely attested, seems quite solid.

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**nərəŋ** kho	shin	Driem 1993
	nərəŋ kho-saːlu	shin	Driem 1993

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**mrâŋ**-	shin	Benedict 1976a
	mrâŋ-khôŋ	shin	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**maw**˯ g'aw (g'aw)	shin	Matisoff 1987

(4) PTani *praŋ SHIN / SHANK

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***praŋ**	shin / shank	Sun 1993a:353

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	lɯ-**pja**	shin	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-**pʰrja** (a-lo)	shin; shank; shin (bone)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	lɯ-**poː**	shank	Sun 1993b
Bokar	lə **paŋ**	calf (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0102.24
	lə-**paŋ**	shin; shank	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	lə **paŋ**	leg	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	'lə **paa**	shin (n.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Damu	lə-**pia**	shank	Sun 1993b

1.5.7.3 Calf

(1) PKC *tan CALF (of leg)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	*tan	CALF (of leg)	VanBik 2009:183
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	tan gai sa	calf	VanBik 2009:183
Thado	tán	calf	VanBik 2009:183
Tiddim	tan[2]	calf (of leg)	VanBik 2009:183; Bhaskararao 1996:1683
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	m-tan	calf	VanBik 2009:183
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	tân-pŏor	calf of leg	VanBik 2009:183

1.5.8 Joint

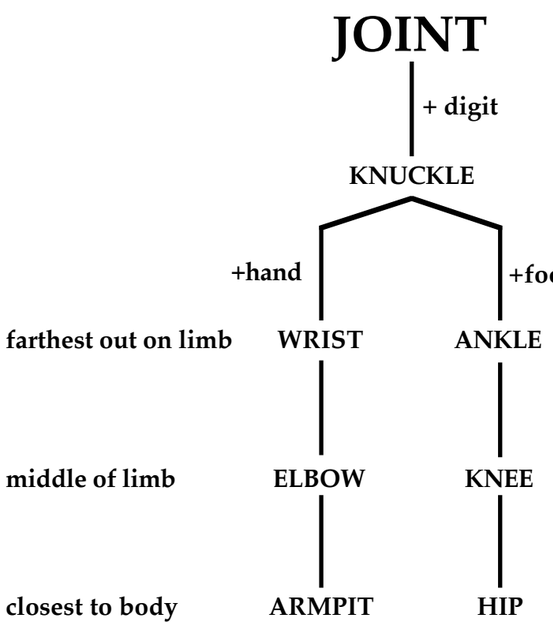


Figure 125: 1.5.8 *Joint*

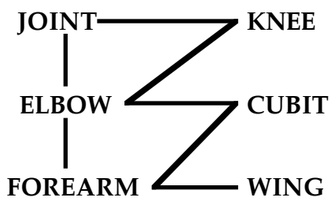


Figure 126: 1.5.8 *Joint*

(1) PTB *tsik JOINT

This etymon frequently appears as the second element in compounds meaning 'waist' in Loloish languages. See Chapter 4.6 WAIST.

Many forms formerly reconstructed as PLB ***dzəy*** SHOULDER now appear to belong to the present root.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Sino-Tibetan	***tsik**	joint / section	Coblin 1986:99
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***tsik**	knot; joint; section	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:399e-f; Matisoff 2003a:617; Matisoff 1983:22; Benedict 1972:64; Coblin 1986:99
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	ge: **ɕi:**	spine / backbone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.24
	gɛ-**si:**	backbone / spine	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	ge:-**ts^{h}ɯk** ʔa-ro:	backbone	Sun 1993b
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	a-**sek**	joint	Matisoff 1987
	chi mun a **sek**	knuckle	Matisoff 1987
	kèng a-**sék**	joint; ankle	Grüssner 1979:41; Grüssner 1979:41
	keng a **sek**	joint; knee	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	keng **sak**	joint	Matisoff 1987
	rí a-**sék**	elbow	Grüssner 1979:194
	ri a **sek**	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	rí-**sák**	wrist	Grüssner 1979:195
	ri a **sek**	elbow	Marrison 1967
	sak	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	sek	joint	Benedict 1972:64
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	dźa-**tśik**	knee (=leg-joint)	Benedict 1972:170n455
	dža-**tśik**	knee	Benedict 1972:64
	džak-**tśik**	elbow	Benedict 1972:64
	tśik	joint	Coblin 1986:99
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Konyak	yak **shi**	wrist	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Ganan	[mɑŋ[1] ku[3]] **ts'ɑʔ[3]**	joint (of bones)	Luce 1985:L.162
Kadu (Kantu)	ă **s'ɑʔ[2]**	joint (of bones)	Luce 1985:L.162
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **s'ɑuʔ[2]**	joint (of bones)	Luce 1985:L.162
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	preŋ preŋ **tsi**	backbone / spine	Sharma 1991a:5.5.4
	tshiks pa	joint	Sharma 1991a:8.9
Kanauri	pratsŭ **tsig'**	knuckle	Bailey 1911; Matisoff 1987
	tsig	joint	Benedict 1972:64
	tsig'	joint (in bones) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	tsig'	joint	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**tsik**	ankle	Sharma 1991b:6.2.5
	tsik jum	backbone / spine	Sharma 1991b:5.5.4
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**tshŋ[53]**	joint	Sun Hongkai 1991a:8.9
Kaike	**chhi**	joint	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	bi-**tshig**	ankle	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 4
	tsig	joint	Egli-Roduner 1987:36 4
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ts^{h}ik** taŋ	joint	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Motuo Menba	**tshik** taŋ	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.07
Cuona Menba	ge[35]**tsiʔ[53]**	spine / backbone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.06
	la?[53]**tshik[53]**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.06
	tshik[53]	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.06
	tshik[53]to?[53]	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	lak **tshək**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.05
	rga **tshək**	spine / backbone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.05
	tshək	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**tɕ^{h}əg**-wæ	joint	Sun 1985a:404
Tibetan (Balti)	**c^{h}iks**	joint	Rangan 1975:69
Tibetan (Batang)	gɛ[55] **tʂhi[53]**	backbone / spine	DAI Qingxia 1989a:5.5.4
	dʑa[55]**tshiʔ[53]**	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.03
	ge[55]**tshiʔ[53]**	spine / backbone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.03
	tsha[55] **tshiʔ[53]**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.03
	tshiʔ[53]piʔ[231]	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**chiq**	joint	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	kɛ[13]**tshi[52]**	spine / backbone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.02
	lək[13]**tshi[52]**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.02
	ry[13]**tshi[52]**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.02
	tshi[52] tʂho[52]	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.02
Sherpa	**'chi**	elbow; joint	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987 [a]
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**tsē**	knee; ankle; knuckle (joint of digit); joint	Bishop 1989:6.2.2; Bishop 1989:6.2.5,7.3; Bishop 1989:8.9
Tibetan (Written)	(**tshigs**) fibud	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.01
	lag **tshigs**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.01
	lag-**t'sigs**	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	lag-**tshigs**	wrist	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:37
	lag-**t'sigs**	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	lag **thsigs**	wrist	Marrison 1967
	loŋ **tshigs**	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.01
	mdzub-**t'sigs**	joint of fingers; knuckle	Matisoff 1987
	sgal-**tšigs**	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	sgał **tshigs**	spine / backbone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.01
	sor-**t'sigs**	joint of fingers; knuckle	Matisoff 1987
	tshigs	joint	Matisoff 1983:22; Benedict 1972:64
	tshigs	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.01
	tshigs	joint, knot, knee	Coblin 1986:99
	tshigs.pa	joint	Sun 1985c:404
	t'sigs	joint	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	dʑa **tshəχ**	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.04
	ga **tshəχ**	spine / backbone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.04
	tshəχ	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.04
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	(a-)**tśak**	joint	Benedict 1972:64
	čak	joint	Matisoff 1987
	tsák	joint	Coblin 1986:99
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
*TGTM	*[A]**dzi:**	joint, knee	Mazaudon 1994:353
Gurung (Ghachok)	rĩ eq **cih**	bamboo joint	Glover 1972:4.A.61
Gurung	[3]**tsi**	knee	Mazaudon 1994:353
Manang (Gyaru)	ya:[1] **tsi:[1]**	wrist	Nagano 1984:029-01
Tamang (Risiangku)	[3]**tsi:**	joint (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:7.3,8.9
	[3]**tsi:**	joint	Mazaudon 1994:353
Tamang (Sahu)	**ci:h**	joint; bamboo joint	Matisoff 1987; Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.4; Taylor *et al.* 1972:4.71
	[3]**tsi:**	joint	Mazaudon 1994:353
Tamang (Taglung)	[3]**tsi**	joint	Mazaudon 1994:353
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	tĩŋ pï **tsïk**	knee	Michailovsky 1991:101
	tum-pït **sïk**	knee	Matisoff 1987
	tum pu **chük**	knee	Rai *et al.* 1984:70
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	lɛ[55] **tsuɑ[55]**	wrist	Sun Hongkai 1991d
	tshŋ[55]	shoulder blade	Sun Hongkai 1991d
Guiqiong	**ntshə[55]**wu[55]tsi[33]	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.16 [b]
Lyuzu	**tshŋ[33]**ta[53]	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.18
	tshŋ[33]tshŋ[53]ta[33]ta[33]	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.18
	tshŋ[53]tshŋ[53]	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.18
Muya	**tshi[53]**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.15
Muya [Minyak]	ts^{h}i[55]**nts^{h}ɐ[35]**	joint	Sun Hongkai 1991h:8.9
Namuyi	lɛ[33]**ntshɛ[33]**	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.19
	lɛ[33]**nts^{h}ɛ[33]**	elbow	Sun Hongkai 1991i:6.1.4
	nts^{h}ɛ[33]	joint	Sun Hongkai 1991i:8.9
	læ[31]**ntshæ[33]ntshæ[31]**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.46
	læ[31]**ntshæ[31]**	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.46
	ma[33]**tsæ[53]**	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.46
	ntshæ[33]ntshæ[31]	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.46
	tʂhŋ[53]kæ[33]**nthæ[33]ntshæ[31]**kle (n.)	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	jə[11]**tsɛi[55]**	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.10
	qã[35]**tsɛi[55]**	neck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.10
	tsɛi[35]	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.10

[a] As glossed in Hale (1973), vol. 4, p. 60, but probably only part of a disyllabic compound.

[b] The third morpheme in this form, **tsi[33]**, seems to be a widespread Guiqiong noun suffix, probably borrowed from Chinese 子.

Pumi (Lanping)	**tsi^{55}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.09
	ʒɛ^{13}**tsei^{55}**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.09
Queyu (Xinlong)	(**tsi^{55}**) tə^{55}pty^{33}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.13
	le^{55}**tsi^{55}**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.13
	tsi^{55}	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.13
	ʂko^{55}**tsi^{55}**	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.13
Xumi	bæ^{53}**tshi^{53}**	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.17
	lie^{33} **tshe^{35}**	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.20
	li^{33}**tshi^{53}**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.17
	tshe^{55}	joint	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	tshi^{53}	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	ja^{13}**tshɳ^{33}**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.14
	tshɳ^{55}	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	lda^{33} **ts^{h}ək^{53}**	wrist	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1.6
Ergong (Daofu)	no **ʂtshɑu**	knuckle (joint of digit)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:7.3
	rtshɑu	joint	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.9
Ergong (Northern)	**ts^{h}ək^{53}**	joint	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.9
	t^{h}a^{13} ma^{53} **ts^{h}ək^{53}**	knuckle (joint of digit)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:7.3
	zgɛl^{53} **ts^{h}ək^{53}**	backbone; spine; vertebrae (of spine)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:5.5.4; SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.4.2
Daofu	ʁa **ʂtsho**	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.12
	ʂtsho	spine; backbone; wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.12; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.12
	ʂtsho xa	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.12
	ʂtshɛ **ʂtsho**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	(**tə tshək**) kə khʃut	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.11
rGyalrong	ta jɛk ndʑo wu **ts^{h}ək**	knuckle (joint of digit)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:7.3
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tshək**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.11
rGyalrong (Northern)	**ts^{h}ək**	joint	SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.9
rGyalrong	tə **ts^{h}ək**	bone; joint	DAI Qingxia 1989d:8.4.0; DAI Qingxia 1989d:8.9 [a]
Caodeng	**tə-ts^{h}ək**	joint (n.)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (NW)	təjak **se**	wrist	SUN Hongkai 1991l:6.1.6
rGyalrong (Northern)	təjak **ts^{h}ək**	wrist; knuckle (joint of digit)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:6.1.6; SUN Hongkai 1991k:7.3
rGyalrong (NW)	təjak **ts^{h}ək**	knuckle (joint of digit)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:7.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **ts^{h}ək**	knuckle (joint of digit); joint	SUN Hongkai 1991j:7.3; SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.9
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ts^{h}ək**	joint	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.9
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tɐ zgən **ts^{h}ək** ŋgruŋ	vertebrae (of spine)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.4.2
	t^{h}a **ts^{h}ək**	backbone / spine	SUN Hongkai 1991j:5.5.4
rGyalrong (NW)	zgɛl **ts^{h}ək**	backbone / spine	SUN Hongkai 1991l:5.5.4
	zgɛr **ts^{h}ək**	vertebrae (of spine)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.4.2
rGyalrong	tA **tshuk**	joint	Nagano 1997:8.9
	ta yi Ndzo wu **tshuk**	knuckle	Nagano 1997:7.3
rGBenzhen	tə-**ts^{h}ək**	joint	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Rawang	ban^{33} **siʔ**	knee	LaPolla 2003:112
	hi^{53} **siʔ**	knee	LaPolla 2003:113
	siʔ	joint (of bone)	LaPolla 2003:153
Anong	**tsi**	joint	Benedict 1972:64
Rawang	wur^{33} **siʔ**	elbow; wrist	LaPolla 2003:119; LaPolla 2003:122
Nung	ŋ$_{l}^{31}$**tɕhi^{31}**n̥i^{55}	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.21
	ɑ^{31} xɛ^{35} **tɕhi^{31}** n̥i^{55}	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.21
Dulong	ɕi^{55}**tɕiʔ^{55}**	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.20
	gɔŋ^{55}**tɕiʔ^{55}**	spine / backbone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.20
	uɹ^{55}**tɕiʔ^{55}**	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.20
	uɹ^{55}**tɕiʔ^{55}**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.20
	ɑŋ^{31}**tɕiʔ^{55}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ŭɹ^{55} **tɕiʔ^{55}**	wrist	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɑŋ^{31} **tɕiʔ^{55}**	joint	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *ʔdzik ≍ **ʔdzak JOINT

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-dzik^{L}**	joint	Matisoff 2003a:617
	***ʔdzik ≍ ʔdzak**	joint	Matisoff 1972b:45

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Xiandao)	phɔʔ^{31}**tʂhɯk^{55}**	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.29
	p^{h}ɔʔ^{31} **tʂ^{h}ɯk^{55}**	knee	DAI Qingxia 1989f:124
Bola	u^{31} **ts^{h}aʔ^{55}**	joint	DAI Qingxia 1989g:162
Bola (Luxi)	u^{31}**tshaʔ^{55}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	ɑ^{53}**shiʔ^{4}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.27
Burmese (Written)	ă **tshats**	joint	Benedict 1972:64
	chac	joint	Matisoff 1983:22
	dû-**chac**	knee joint	Matisoff 1987
	lak **chac**	wrist	Marrison 1967
	pu'-**chac**	knee	Benedict 1976a
	pu'[-**c'ac]**	knee	Luce 1985:X.75
	tam-toŋ(-**chac**)	joint; elbow; cubit	Matisoff 1987
	[pu] **c'ac**	knee	Luce 1985:Y.97
	ə-**chac**	joint (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**chac**	joint	Coblin 1986:99
	ə-**chak**	junction, joint; a degree in lineage	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ^{1}**shɑs^{4}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.26
	ʔə-**chac**	join	Matisoff 1987
Marma	laʔkhuŋ.**əchɔiʔ**	wrist	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:29-1

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***C-dzik^{L}**	elbow; wrist	Bradley 1979b:109; Bradley 1979b:110; Hansson 1989:561
Lolopho	dzo^{31} **tɕi^{55}**	waist	DAI Qingxia 1989n:5.6
	le^{31} **tɕi^{55}**	wrist; knuckle (joint of digit)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:6.1.6; DAI Qingxia 1989n:7.3
	tɕhi^{33} **tɕi^{55}** ŋɤ^{31} kɯ^{33}	knee	DAI Qingxia 1989n:6.2.2

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	lɑ^{53}**tsɭ^{24}tsɭ^{24}**	wrist	MU Shihua 2003
	tso^{53} **tsɭ^{35}**	small of back; waist	DAI Qingxia 1989c:5.5.3; DAI Qingxia 1989c:5.6
	tso^{53}**tsɭ^{24}**	waist	MU Shihua 2003
	tso^{53}**tsɭ^{35}**	waist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.47
	ts^{h}ɭ^{33}**tsɭ^{24}**	knee	MU Shihua 2003
	v^{31}kɯ^{24}**tsɭ^{24}**	joint	MU Shihua 2003
	v^{31}kɯ^{35}**tsɭ^{35}tsɭ^{35}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.47
	v̩^{31} kɯ^{35} **tsɭ^{35} tsɭ^{35}**	joint	DAI Qingxia 1989c:8.9
Lalo	lu^{55} ka^{21} **tsɭ^{33}**	neck	CHEN Kang 1986b:4.1
	lɪ^{21} **tsɭ^{21}**	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	ʔvu^{21} dɑ^{55} **tsɭ^{21}**	joint	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.9
	ʔvɣ^{21} dɑ^{55} **tsɭ^{21}**	knuckle (joint of digit)	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.3
Lipho	dzu^{21}**tsi^{33}**	waist	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.6
	dzu^{21}**tsi^{33}**vu^{21}kɤ^{33}	spine	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.5.4
	le^{21}**tsi^{33}**zo^{21}	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	tshi^{33}**tsi^{33}**ŋɤ^{21}phu^{21}	knee	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.2
	tsi^{33}	knuckle; joint	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.3; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.9
Luquan	**tsi 55c**	joint	Matisoff 1972b:45
Nasu	be^{21} **tsi^{33}**	knee	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.2
	la^{55} **tsi^{55}**	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	tsi^{33} ɣɯ^{33}	knee	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.2
	tsi^{55}	joint	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.9
	ɣɯ^{33} **tsi^{55}**	knuckle (joint of digit)	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.3
	ʂɭ^{21} na^{21} **tsi^{55}**	ankle	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.5
Nesu	bɤ^{21} **tsɭ^{21}**	knee	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.2
	bɤ^{21} **tsɭ^{21}** ɣɤ^{33}	knee cap / patella	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.2.1
	dzu^{21} **tsɭ^{21}** tu^{55}	spinal cord	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.5.5
	dzu^{21} **tsɭ^{21}** ɣɤ^{33}	backbone / spine	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.5.4
	ko^{33} le^{21} **tsɭ^{21}**	nape of neck	CHEN Kang 1986b:4.1.3
	lɪ^{21} **tsɭ^{21}**	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	ɣɤ^{33} **tɕi^{21}**	knuckle (joint of digit); joint	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.3; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.9
Noesu	bu^{21}**tsɪ^{33}**	knee	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.2
	la^{13}**tsɪ^{13}**	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	tsɪ^{13}	joint	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.9
	xo^{21}ʑy^{33}**tsɪ^{13}**	knuckle	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.3
Nosu	ba^{21}**tsɭ̄^{33}**	knee	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.2
	dzu^{55}**tsɭ̄^{33}**vu^{33}	spine	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.5.4
	lo^{55}**tsɭ̄^{33}**	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	tsɭ̄^{55}ma^{33}	knuckle; joint	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.3; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.9
	ʨɭ^{44}ŋo^{33}**tsɭ̄^{55}**	ankle	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.5
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	doŋ^{31} **tse^{31}**	backbone / spine	DAI Qingxia 1989o:160.
Nusu (Central)	dɔ̃^{33} **tsi^{53}**	backbone / spine	DAI Qingxia 1989p:160.
	dɔ̃^{33}**tsi^{53}**	spine / backbone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.34
	khɻi^{33}**tsi^{53}**	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.34
	kʰʰi^{33} **tsi^{53}**	ankle	DAI Qingxia 1989p:127.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	kʰʰi^{35} **tse^{31}**	ankle	DAI Qingxia 1989o:127.
Nusu (Central)	la^{53} **tsi^{53}**	elbow; wrist	DAI Qingxia 1989p:129.; DAI Qingxia 1989p:131.
	la^{53}**tsi^{53}**	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.34
	la^{53}**tsi^{53}**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.34
	ɣɹɯ^{55}**tsi^{53}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	ɣˈɯ^{55} **tse^{31}**	joint	DAI Qingxia 1989o:162.
Nusu (Central)	ɣˈɯ^{55} **tsi^{53}**	joint	DAI Qingxia 1989p:162.
Yi (Liangshan)	ba^{21}**tsɭ^{33}**	knee; kneecap	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	dʑu^{55}**sɭ̄^{21}**	back, lower (person's body); waist	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsɭ^{55}	joint (section)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsɭ^{55}ndzu̱^{33}	dislocate (bone)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsɭ^{55}ɬɛ^{33}	dislocate (bone)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsɭ^{55}zo^{55}	dislocate (bone)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	dzu^{21}**tsi^{55}**ɣɯ^{21}	waist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:261.25
Yi (Nanhua)	le^{21}**tsi^{55}**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.37
	tɕhi^{33}**tsi^{55}**mo^{33}di^{33}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.37
	ʁɯ^{21}**tɕi^{55}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.37
Yi (Weishan)	lɪ^{21}**tsɭ^{33}**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.36
	tsɭ^{21}di^{21}	boundary line / demarcation line (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0721.36
	vu^{55}lo^{21}khu̱^{55}**tsɭ^{21}**	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.36
	ʔvu̱^{21}**tsɭ̄^{21}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tsi^{55}** mu̱	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.38
	ʁɯ^{21}**tsi^{55}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.38
Yi (Xide)	dʑu̱^{53}**sɭ^{21}**	waist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.35
	dʑu^{55} **sɭ^{21}**	waist	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	dʑu^{55}-**tsɭ̄^{33}**-vu^{33}	back (body)	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	dʑu^{55}**sɭ^{21}**	waist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:261.21
	dʑu^{55}**tsɭ̄^{33}**vu^{33}	spine / backbone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.35
	gu̱^{33}-**zi^{33}**	backbone	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	lo^{55}-**tsɭ̄^{33}**	wrist	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	lo^{55}**tsɭ̄^{33}**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.35
	tsɭ^{55}	joint	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	tsɭ^{55}	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.35
	tsɭ^{55}ɬe^{33}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.35
	ʨɭ^{34}-n̥ɔ^{33}-**tsɭ^{55}**	ankle	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

[a] This form has perhaps been mis-glossed, in view of the fact that this morpheme means 'joint' in the other rGyalrong forms.

	ɕʅ^{34}n̥ɔ^{33}**tsl^{55}**	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	dzu̠^{21} **tsi̠^{55}** ɣɯ^{21}	waist	LUO Meizhen 1990:5.6
	le̠^{21}**tsʅ̄^{55}**	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	tsi 55 ∼ tse 55	joint	Matisoff 1972b:45
	tsi̠^{55}	phalanx (knuckle length)	LUO Meizhen 1990:13.1
	tsʅ^{55}	knuckle	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.3
	tɕ‘i̠^{21} tʂi^{33} mo^{33} i^{33} **tsi̠^{55}**	knuckle (joint of digit)	LUO Meizhen 1990:7.3
	ɣɯ^{21} **tsi̠^{55}**	joint	LUO Meizhen 1990:8.9
	ɣɯ^{21}**tsʅ^{55}**	joint	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.9
Jinuo	a^{33}**tshɤ^{35}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **ts^{h}ɯ^{55}**	joint	DAI Qingxia 1989h:169
Jinuo	la^{33}**tshɯ^{33}**	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	la^{55} **ts^{h}ɯ^{55}**	elbow; wrist	DAI Qingxia 1989h:132; DAI Qingxia 1989h:134
Jinuo (Baka)	la^{55} **ts^{h}ɯ^{55}**	elbow	DAI Qingxia 1989i:132
Jinuo	la^{55}**tshɯ^{55}**	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.44
	lɯ^{33}**tshɯ^{55}**	neck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:248.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	lɯ^{31} **ts^{h}ɯ^{55}**	neck	DAI Qingxia 1989h:115
Jinuo (Baka)	lɯ^{31} **ts^{h}ɯ^{55}**	neck	DAI Qingxia 1989i:115
Jinuo	lɤ^{31}**tshɤ^{55}**	neck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.44
Jinuo (Youle)	lɤ^{42} **ts^{h}ɤ^{55}**	neck	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	phɤ^{55}**tshɤ^{55}**	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	p^{h}ɯ^{55} **ts^{h}ɯ^{55}**	knee	DAI Qingxia 1989h:127
Jinuo (Youle)	p^{h}ɤ^{55} **ts^{h}ɤ^{55}**	knee	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**tsɤ33**	classifier.joint (of bamboo)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Nyi)	hkui: **tsuhˉ** k’u_	knee	Bradley 1979a:125
Lahu (Shehleh)	hkui: **tsuhˉ** k’u_	knee	Bradley 1979a:125
Lahu (Nyi)	la‸ **tsuhˉ**	wrist	Bradley 1979a:110
Lahu (Shehleh)	la‸ **tsuhˉ**	wrist	Bradley 1979a:110
***Common Lahu*	***tsuhˉ**	elbow; wrist	Bradley 1979b:109; Bradley 1979b:110
Lahu (Lancang)	khɯ^{33}**tsi^{35}**qu^{33}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.43
	lɑ^{21}**tsi^{35}**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.43
	ɔ^{31}mv^{21}ku^{33}**tsi^{35}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.43
Lahu (Black)	cɔ̀ʔ-**cɨ́**(-qhwèʔ)	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	cɨ́	joint	Matisoff 1972b:45
	khɨ-**cɨ́** (-qú)	knee	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-nɔ-**cɨ́**	knuckle of toe	Matisoff 1987
	k^{h}ɯ^{33} **tsʅ^{35}** qv̩^{33}	knee	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	làʔ-**cɨ́**	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	làʔ-nɔ-**cɨ́**	knuckle	Matisoff 1987
	pù-**cɨ́**-pī	hip	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**cɨ́**	joint	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	k^{h}ɯ^{33} **tsv̩^{35}** qu^{33}	knee	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	tsʅʔ^{21}	waist	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	hkui: **tsuhˉ** k’u_	knee	Bradley 1979a:125
	la‸ **tsuhˉ**	elbow	Bradley 1979a:109
Lahu (Banlan)	hki: **tsuhˉ**	knee	Bradley 1979a:125
	la‸ **tsuhˉ**	elbow	Bradley 1979a:109
Lisu (Nujiang)	dʒo^{31} **tsʅ^{55}**	waist	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	dʒo^{31}**tsʅ^{55}**	waist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:261.27
	dʐo^{31}**tsi^{55}**	waist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.40
	hchi^{3}-**tsi^{3}**	knee	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	hchi^{3}-**tsi^{3}**	knee (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	hchi^{3}**tsi^{3}**	knee	Bradley 1979b:125
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}**tsi^{55}**	joint; season (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ju^{5}-**tsi^{3}**	waist	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:6
Lisu (Central)	ju^{5}-**tsi^{3}**	waist	Fraser 1922
Lisu	krgh’-**tsï^{3}**	neck	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	krgh^{1}-**tsï^{3}**	neck	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	krgh^{1}**tsï^{3}**	nape / neck	Luce 1985:V.95
Lisu (Putao)	kɯ^{1}**tsɤ^{3}**	nape / neck	Luce 1985:V.95
	kɯ^{1}**tsɤ^{1}**	nape / neck	Luce 1985:V.95
Lisu	kɯ^{55}**tsi^{55}**	neck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.40
Lisu (Northern)	kɤ^{55}**tsi^{55}**	neck (N.)	Bradley 1994
	kɤ^{55}**tsi^{55}**vy^{21}	neck	Bradley 1994
Lisu	lā^{6}-**tsï^{3}**	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	lá^{6}-**tsï^{3}**	wrist	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	lá^{6}-**tsï^{3}**	wrist (n.)	Fraser 1922
	lá^{6}-**tsï^{3}**	elbow	Fraser 1922
Lisu	lá^{6}**tsï^{3}**	elbow; wrist	Bradley 1979b:109; Bradley 1979b:110
Lisu (Northern)	læʔ^{21}**tsi^{55}**	wrist; elbow joint	Bradley 1994
	læʔ^{21}**tsi^{55}** thi^{21}gɔʔ^{21}	length starting from the webbing between thumb and index finger, going round the elbow and then coming back to the starting point)	Bradley 1994
	læʔ^{21}**tsi^{55}** thi^{21}tɔ^{35}	length between elbow and fist; cf. læʔ^{21}tsi^{55} elbow	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	lɛ^{31} **tsʅ^{55}**	elbow	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	lɛ^{31}**tsʅ^{55}**	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.27
	lɛ̠^{31}**tsi^{55}**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.40
	lɛ̠^{31}**tsi^{55}**gi̠^{31}	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.40
Lisu (Northern)	ma^{33}da^{33} ji^{55}**tsi^{55}**	bamboo joint	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}**tsi^{55}**	bamboo joint	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}**tsi^{55}**be^{44}	kind of bamboo with thick joints	Bradley 1994
	ma^{44}da^{33}**tsi^{55}**	bamboo joint; knot	Bradley 1994
Lisu	o̠^{31}to̠^{33}**tsi^{55}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.40
	tsï3-**tsi3**	joint	Matisoff 1972b:45
	tsi^{3}	joint	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Northern)	**tsi^{55}**	joint (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	tʃ^{h}i̠^{44} **tsʅ^{55}** nɑ̠^{44} kɑ̠^{44}	knee	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	tɕhi^{33}**tsi^{55}**	joint	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi^{33}**tsi^{55}** læ^{21}**tsi^{55}**	joint	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi^{33}tsi^{55} **na^{33}ka^{33}**	knee bone	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tɕhi^{33}**tsi^{55}**nɑ̠^{33}kɑ̠^{33}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.40
Lisu (Northern)	tɕhæ^{35}bø^{33}**tsi^{55}**	ankle bone (n.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	tɕhæ^{35}bø^{44}**tsi^{55}**	ankle bone (n.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tɕhɛ^{35}be^{33}**tsi^{55}**	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.40
Lisu (Northern)	ɔʔ^{21}tɔ^{33}**tsi^{55}**	joint	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	dʐo̠^{21}**tsi^{55}**ɣɯ^{21}	backbone	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le^{22}læ^{33}**tshi^{44}**	wrist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.6
	le^{21}lɛ^{33}**tshi̠^{33}**	wrist	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	pu^{21}**tsi^{55}**	knee	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.2
Yi (Sani)	pv̩^{2} **tsz̩^{55}**	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.39
Sani [Nyi]	pv̠̩^{22} **tsʅ̄^{55}**	knee	MA Xueliang 1989:305.2
	tsi^{55}pu^{33}	joint	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tsz̩ 55	joint	Matisoff 1972b:45
	tsʅ̄^{55}	joint	MA Xueliang 1989:348.1
	tsʅ^{55} pu^{33}	joint (gujie)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:132.1
	ɣɯ^{21}**tsi^{55}**ɣɯ^{21}le^{21}	knuckle; joint	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.3; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.9; WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	ɣɯ^{11}**tsz̩^{55}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	a-**tsui** H-LS	joint	Matisoff 1972b:45
	aˇ **tsui‸**	joint	Matisoff 1987
	a˯ kuiˇ paw˯ **tsui‸**	knee	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Thai)	á **tsỳq**	joint	Hansson 1989:560
Akha	daˇ **tsui‸** sha˯ yoe˯	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	daˇ **tsui‸**	back	Matisoff 1987
	kuiˇ **tsui˯**	knee	Lewis 1989
Akha (Yunnan)	làq **tsỳq**	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
Akha (Thai)	làq-**tsỳq**	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
Akha	la‸ **tsui‸** (tsui‸)	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	paw˯ **tsui‸** (**tsui‸**)	knee	Matisoff 1987
	paw˯ **tsui‸** aˇ beuˆ (beuˆ)	knee cap	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Yunnan)	thì **tsỳq**	joint	Hansson 1989:560
Akha	**tsỳq**	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
	yoe˯ **tsui‸**	joint	Lewis 1989
Bisu	là **tshɨ̀ɯ**	wrist	Bradley 1979b
	là **tshɨ̀ɯ** tɔŋ	elbow	Bradley 1979b
	là **sɨ** tɔŋ	elbow	Beaudouin 1988:13
	la **tshɨ̀**	joint	Beaudouin 1988:14
	là **ts^{h}ɨ̀ɯ** tɔ̀ŋ	elbow	Bradley 199x
	tshɨ̀ɯ	joint	Matisoff 1972b:45
Hani (Lüchun)	á **tsỳq**	joint	Hansson 1989:560
Hani (Dazhai)	dɔ^{55} **tsʅ̄^{31}**	waist	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	dɔ^{55}**ts^{31}**	waist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:261.31
Hani (Lüchun)	la **tsə̀q** ?	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
Hani (Dazhai)	la̠^{31}**tsʅ̄^{31}**	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.31
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**tshə 21**	joint	Matisoff 1972b:45
Hani (Hu T’an)	**tsʅ 21c**	joint	Matisoff 1972b:45
Hani (Lüchun)	dɔ^{55}**tsʅ̄^{31}**	waist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.41
	la^{31}phu^{55}la^{31}**tsʅ̄^{31}**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.41
	phɔ^{31}**tsʅ̄^{31}**	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.41
Hani (Pijo)	á **tshì**	joint	Hansson 1989:560
	làq **tshì**	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
	tshì	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
Hani (Gelanghe)	daŋ^{55} **tsɯ̠^{31}**	waist	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	al **zivq**	joint	Hansson 1989:560
	lavq **zivq**	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
Hani (Shuikui)	tv̩^{31}**tshʅ̄^{31}**	waist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:261.32
	tv̩̄^{31} **ts^{h}ʅ̄^{31}**	waist	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	á **tshə̀**	joint	Hansson 1989:560
	làq **tshə̀**	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
	tshə̀	elbow	Hansson 1989:561
Hani (Mojiang)	la^{31}**tshʅ̄^{31}**	wrist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0108.42
	pha^{31}**tshʅ̄^{31}**	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.42
	tv̠^{31}**tshʅ̄^{31}**	waist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.42
	ʃɔ^{31}**ji^{31}**mu^{55}l̥u^{33}	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.42
Sila	la̠21 **tshɯ̰̠21**	elbow	KATO Takashi 2008:24
Ugong	lɔ̆ʔ **sə̰k**	knuckle (joint of digit)	Bradley 1993:7.3

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	i^{33}**ts^{h}i^{22}**	joint	Pelkey 2011:273
	lɛ^{22}**ts^{h}i^{22}**	wrist	Pelkey 2011:279
	tsɔ^{22}**tsi̠^{45}**	waist	Pelkey 2011:306
Southern Muji	ljɛ^{21}**tɕi^{21}**	wrist	Pelkey 2011:279
Phola	lɑ̠^{33}**tɕi̠^{31}**	wrist	Pelkey 2011:279
	tɕi̠^{31}	joint	Pelkey 2011:273
	tɕɔ^{55}**tɕi^{31}**	waist	Pelkey 2011:306
Hlepho Phowa	lɛ^{33}**tsʅ^{21}**	wrist	Pelkey 2011:279
	tsʅ^{21}	joint	Pelkey 2011:273
	ts^{h}ʅ^{21}**tsʅ^{33}**	ankle joint	Pelkey 2011:297
Phuza	li^{55}**tsi^{13}**	wrist; elbow	Pelkey 2011:279; Pelkey 2011:280
	ɛ^{33}**tsi^{55}**	joint	Pelkey 2011:273
	ts^{h}i^{31}bɯ^{31}**tsi^{55}**	knee	Pelkey 2011:299
	ts^{h}i^{31}**tsi^{13}**	ankle joint	Pelkey 2011:297

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	gɤ˥ ɖɯ˧ **ʈʂæ˦˥**	top part of the body; above the waist	Michaud 2006–2009:381
	i˩**tsɯ˩**	waist	Michaud 2006–2009:347
	læ˧mie˥**tsɯ˥** tu˩ly˩	ankle	Michaud 2006–2009:373
	lɑ˩**tsɯ˩**	wrist	Michaud 2006–2009:398
	tsɯ˩	joint	Michaud 2006–2009:369
	v˥ ɖɯ˧ **ʈʂæ˦˥**	lower part of the body; below the waist	Michaud 2006–2009:380
Na (Yongning)	gɤ˩**ʈʂæ˦˥**	top part of the body; above the waist	Michaud 2006–2009
	i˩**ʈʂæ˦˥**	waist	Michaud 2006–2009
	k^{h}ɯ˧**ʈʂæ˦˥**	ankle	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˩**ʈʂæ˦˥**	lower part of the body; below the waist	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʈʂæ˦˥	joint	Michaud 2006–2009
	ĩ̠˧**ʈʂæ˩**	ankle, joint between the foot and the leg	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**tʂɚ^{55}**	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.45
	tʂɚ^{55}	section (of bamboo between two joints) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0869.45
Naxi (Eastern)	ʐi^{31}**tʂa^{13}**	waist	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

9. SINITIC

”Pre-Chinese”	**tsik**	joint / section	Coblin 1986:99

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tsiet**	knot / joint	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:399e-f
Chinese (Old)	**tsiet**	joint	Matisoff 1983:22
	tsik	knot; joint in plants; joint or section of bamboo	Baxter 1992:1144; Baxter 1992:1309; Baxter 1992:669

	tsit	joint / section	Coblin 1986:99
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**tsiet**	knot / joint of bamboo; section	Coblin 1986:99

Chinese comparandum

節 OC ***tsiet***, *GSR* #399e-f 'joint of bamboo'; Coblin 86:99 ST ***tsik*** > PC ***tsik*** > OC ***tsit***; Schuessler 2007:312 ***tsît***; B & S 2011: ***ts$^{\varsigma}$ik***; Mand. **jié**.
切 OC ***ts'iet***, *GSR* #400f 'cut'; Schuessler 2007:312 ***tshît***; B & S 2011: ***ts$^{h\varsigma}$it { [ts^{h}] $^{\varsigma}$i [t] }***; Mand. **qiè**.

(2) PTB *du-k ELBOW / KNEE

The basic meaning of this root seems to be "major joint of a limb", i.e. ELBOW / KNEE.

1.1.1. Tani: ***du** ELBOW			
**Tani*	***du**	elbow	Sun 1993a:125
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	là-**du** mì-rɯ	elbow	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-**du** mi-ru	elbow	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	lak-**du**	elbow	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	lok **du**	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.24
	lok-**du**	elbow	Sun 1993a
	luk-**du**	elbow	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	lok **du**	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.51
	luk **du**	elbow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **du**	forearm span; span (of a forearm) (n:clfq.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	lag-**du**	lower arm	Das Gupta 1963
	lag **duu**-kuurəə	elbow (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	log **du**	elbow	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	lâg-**du**	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	lag-**du**	elbow	Sun 1993a
Damu	lak-**du** tɕuk-ku	elbow	Sun 1993b
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	(h)**an** tu	knee	Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**tuk** păt	knee	Coblin 1986:101
	tŭk-păt	knee	Matisoff 1987
	tuk-pat	knee	LaPolla 1987:70
	tuk-păt	knee	Benedict 1972:7
	tŭk-păt	knee	Benedict 1972:75n231
	tûk-t'yok pót	thigh bone	Matisoff 1987
	tuk pát	knee (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	yo ku **duq**	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	yo ku **dūq**	elbow	Glover 1972:2.A.52
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**du^{55}**	knee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.27
	du^{55}thɑuʔ^{4}	kneel (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1360.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**du^{55}**toʔ^{44}	kneel	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:566.40
Burmese (Written)	**dû**	knee	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a
	dû-chac	knee joint	Matisoff 1987
	dû-khôŋ	top of knee	Matisoff 1987
	dû-thok	kneel	Benedict 1976a
	dū:	knee	Marrison 1967
	du^{3}	knee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.26
	du^{3}thɔk^{4}	kneel (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1360.26
	du^{3} tup	kneel	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:566.39
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Northern)	ɹɔ^{35} **dō^{55}**	elbow	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Mile)	le̱^{21}nɯ̱^{55}**dɯ^{21}**	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.25
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	le̱^{21} nɯ̱^{55} **dɯ^{21}**	elbow	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.4
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	kuiˇ **du**	lower leg from knee down	Matisoff 1987
	la˄ **du**	forearm (up to the elbow)	Lewis 1989:264
Côông [Phunoi]	bə̆ **tu**	knee	Matisoff 1987
	bə̆ **tu^{33}**	knee	Bradley 1977
	bə **tu**	knee	Bradley 1979b

(3) PTB *tuŋ KNEE / ELBOW

This root is to be distinguished from the phonologically similar PTB ***dwaŋ*** CUBIT (§1.5.1) and PTB ***dwaŋ*** WING / HAND (§1.5.1).

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	ya **tu**	knee	French 1983:508; Marrison 1967
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	**tum** buk	knee	Ebert 1997
	tum but	knee	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**thuŋ** bo	knee	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:101; Matisoff 1987
	thu:m boʔ	knee	Weidert 1987:620
Yamphu	**tum** ruk	knee (n.)	Rutgers 1998:585.14
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**tïŋ** pï tsïk	knee	Michailovsky 1991:101
	tum-pït sïk	knee	Matisoff 1987
	tum pu chük	knee	Rai *et al.* 1984:70
Kulung	**tum** chi	knee	Michailovsky 1991:101; Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	**tam** cy	knee	Matisoff 1987
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	lɔʔ^{55} **t^{h}om^{31}**	elbow	Dai Qingxia 1989f:129
	lɔʔ^{55} **t^{h}ɔŋ^{55}**	elbow	Dai Qingxia 1989f:129.1
	lɔʔ^{55}**thom^{31}**	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.29
Bola	laʔ^{31} mo̱n^{35} tʃ^{h}ɔ̃^{35} **t^{h}auŋ^{31}**	elbow	Dai Qingxia 1989g:129
Bola (Luxi)	laʔ^{31}mo̱n^{35}tʃhɔ̃^{35}**thauŋ^{31}**	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	tɑ̃^{22}**tɑ̃u^{22}**	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tɑ^{53}**tɑũ^{22}**	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.40
Burmese (Written)	tam-**toŋ**	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	tam-**toŋ** ~ tə-toŋ	joint; elbow; cubit	Matisoff 1987
	tam-**toŋ**(-chac)	joint; elbow; cubit	Matisoff 1987
	taṁ **thoṅ** chae	elbow	Marrison 1967
	tan **toŋ^{3}**	elbow	Luce 1985:Y.90
	tɑm^{2}**tɔŋ^{2}**	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.26
	tɑ^{1}**tɔŋ^{2}**	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.39
Langsu (Luxi)	lɔʔ^{31}mat^{55}thauŋ^{35}**thɔ̃^{31}**	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.31
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Côông [Phunoi]	lə̆ shi **ton**	elbow	Bradley 1979b
	lə̆ s^{h}i^{33} **ton^{33}**	elbow	Bradley 1977
	lə̆ shi **ton**	elbow	Matisoff 1987

(4) PTB *krwak or *krawk JOINT

The fit between the Jingpho and Chepang forms is quite good, but more confirmation is necessary.

1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	hkri-**hkraw**	joint	Matisoff 1987
	khɟiʔ^{31}**khɟoʔ^{31}**	joint (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.19
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**kroh**	joint	Matisoff 1987
	kroh	joint, knuckle, node (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kroh	joint; bamboo joint	Caughley 1972:2.A.4; Caughley 1972:4.A.61
Chepang (Eastern)	**kroh**	knuckle (joint of digit)	Caughley 1990:7.3

(5) PTB *swam JOINT

This weakly attested root awaits confirmation.

1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	in-**zom**-na	joint	Matisoff 1987
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	an **jom** ná	joint	Kosha 1990:8.9
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	tâng-**sam**	joint	Matisoff 1987

(6) PTB *la JOINT

This weakly attested root awaits confirmation.

1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**la**	knuckle, all joints in body	Matisoff 1987
	ru-**la**	joint	Matisoff 1987
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	**'lā**-kha-**lā**	joint	Matisoff 1987
	a khə **la**	joint	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.4
	a k^{h}ə **la**	joint	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.4

(7) PTB *sa JOINT

2.2. Newar			
Newar	pɔtĩ **sa:**	knuckle (joint of digit)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:7.3
	sa:	joint	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.9
	sạ hạ(l)	joint	Matisoff 1987
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Longxi)	kù **sà**	joint	Evans 1999:169
	sà ká	joint	Evans 1999:169
Qiang (Mawo)	pasu **sæq**	knuckle (joint of digit)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:7.3
	saq	knuckle; joint	Sun 1986; Sun Hongkai 1991g:8.9
	sɑχ	joint (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**ʂà** qhá	dislocate (joint)	Evans 1999:2434
	ʂè dzɻuè	dislocate (joint)	Evans 1999:2434
	zɻ̀ ʁoú-zɻ̀ **sà** ~ zɻ̀ ʁoù-zɻ̀ **sá**	joint [bone-joint]	Evans 1999:169

(8) PTB *rik JOINT

This root is perhaps from ***r-tsik***, a prefixed and pre-empted version of PTB ***tsik*** JOINT (§1.5.8).

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	lak-**ruk**	wrist	Sun 1993b
	lo:-**ruk**	joint	Sun 1993b
Galo	lag **rii**-la gaa	wrist (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	bui-**rik**	joint	Matisoff 1987
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	bân-**rêk**	wrist	Matisoff 1987
	ban **rêk**	wrist	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	ā-**lik**-**lak**	joint	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**hkri**-hkraw	joint	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	ge-**dri**	joint	Matisoff 1987

(9) PTB *s-hwal JOINT / WRIST

This root resembles PTB ***wul*** HAND (§1.5.1) but seems distinct from it. Further confirmation is necessary.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-hwal**	joint / wrist	Matisoff 2003a:593
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	ā-**won**	joint	Matisoff 1987
2.2. Newar			
Newar	sạ **hạ(l)**	joint	Matisoff 1987
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ʔwân/ʔuân-**	wrist	Karlgren 1957:260m; Karlgren 1957:273b
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**wɑn**	wrist	Karlgren 1957:260m; Karlgren 1957:273b

(10) PTB *myan JOINT

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	lə-myi lə-**man**	joint	Matisoff 1987
	lə **màn**	joint (n.)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**min**	joint	Matisoff 1987
7. KARENIC			
Bwe	-lə **mè**	joint (n.)	Henderson 1997
	-mè	knot, joint (n.)	Henderson 1997

(11) PKC *tsaaŋ ⩙ *tsooŋ JOINT / JUNCTION

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tsaaŋ ⩙** tsooŋ	JOINT / JUNCTION	VanBik 2009:543
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**tsŏoŋ**	joint, juncture	VanBik 2009:543
Tiddim	**ta:ng²**	joint, junction; joint	VanBik 2009:543; Bhaskararao 1996:1721
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsàaŋ**	joint, junction	VanBik 2009:543
Lai (Falam)	**tsǎaŋ**	joint, junction	VanBik 2009:543

(12) PTani *čuŋ ANGLE

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***čuŋ**	angle	Sun 1993a:4
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	**čuŋ**-dum	angle; corner (of wall)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	tɕuŋ n̥iŋ	corner / angle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0716.24
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**suŋ**-ken	angle	Sun 1993a

1.5.8.1 Wrist

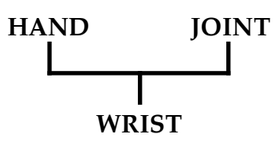


Figure 127: 1.5.8.1 *Wrist*

1.5.8.2 Ankle

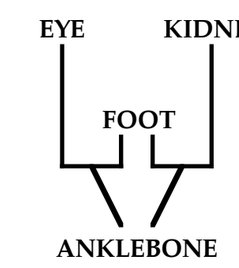


Figure 128: 1.5.8.2 *Ankle*

1.5.8.3 Elbow

Figure 129: 1.5.8.3 *Elbow*

(1) PTB *s-g(r)u ELBOW / CUBIT

The rhyme of this etymon definitely seems to be ***-u-**, but a scattering of reflexes have high front vowels (e.g., Tsangla **garaŋ-kili**, WT **gre-mo**, Khaling **'khe cūlū**), perhaps indicating a diphthongal variant.

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	**k^{h}u** riŋ	cubit (elbow to fingers)	Toba & Kom 1991:13.3
	k^{h}u n̥iŋ	elbow	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.4
	k^{h}u n̥iŋ ru	elbow bone	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.4.1
	suŋteŋa **k^{h}u** n̥iŋ	inner elbow / crook of elbow	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.4.2
Moyon	**khù** dùp ~ **khu** dùp	cubit (elbow to fingers)	Kosha 1990:13.3
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**khu** dup	cubit (elbow to fingers)	Singh 1991:13.3
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**khrui**	cubit (elbow to fingers)	Sharma 1991a:13.3
Pattani [Manchati]	**krù**	cubit (elbow to fingers)	Sharma 1991b:13.3
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Tilang)	garaŋ-**kili**	elbow	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**gre**-mo	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	gru mo	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.01
	gru mo	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.1; Matisoff 1987; Coblin 1986:70
	gru.?	elbow	Sun 1985c:222
	gru mo	elbow	Marrison 1967
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**kru**	cubit; cubit (measure)	Mazaudon 1978:9; Mazaudon 1994:72
Gurung	**kru**	cubit (elbow to fingertip)	Hale 1973:12c.42
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kru**	cubit	Glover 1972:12.C.42
	^{1}**kru**	cubit	Mazaudon 1978:9
Gurung	^{1}**kru**	cubit	Mazaudon 1994:72
Manang (Ngawal)	^{1}**kru**	cubit	Mazaudon 1978:9
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}ya: **kru**	elbow	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0029
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**kru**	cubit	Mazaudon 1978:9
	^{1}**kru**	cubit (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:13.3
	^{1}**kru**	cubit (measure)	Mazaudon 1994:72
Tamang (Sahu)	**'kru** 'nāng	cubit (elbow to fingertip)	Hale 1973:12c.42
	'kru 'naŋ	cubit (elbow to fingertip) (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.C.43
	^{2}**kru**-naŋ	cubit (elbow to fingertip)	Mazaudon 1994:73
	^{2}**kru**-^{2}naŋ	cubit	Mazaudon 1978:9
Tamang (Taglung)	**hu**	cubit	Mazaudon 1994:73
	^{1}**hu**	cubit	Mazaudon 1978:9
Thakali	yā-**Tu**	cubit (elbow to fingertip)	Hale 1973:12c.42
Thakali (Marpha)	**ku**	cubit	Mazaudon 1994:73
	^{1}**ku**	cubit	Mazaudon 1978:9
Thakali (Syang)	^{1}**ku**	cubit	Mazaudon 1978:9
Thakali (Tukche)	ja-**ʈu**	cubit; elbow	Hari 1971:12.C.42; Hari 1971:2.A.52
	yā-**Tu**	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	^{H}**ʈu**	cubit	Mazaudon 1978:9; Mazaudon 1994:73
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**ku**	cubit (elbow to fingers)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:13.3
	ku (hāka)	cubit (elbow to fingertip)	Hale 1973:12c.42
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	**gu:** sa:	elbow	Kohn 1990:6.1.4
	gu: sa: se:ŋkwɔk	elbow bone	Kohn 1990:6.1.4.1
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**'khe** cūlū	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	khe cülü	elbow	Michailovsky 1991:57
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**kru**	cubit (elbow to fingertip)	Hale 1973:12c.42
	kru	cubit (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	kru	cubit	Caughley 1972:12.C.42
	ku.cyu.li	elbow (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ku culi	elbow	Michailovsky 1991:57; Matisoff 1987; Caughley 1972:2.A.52
	phyah.**kru**	cubit (long), with fingers extended; long cubit (elbow to tip of extended fingers) (nm.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	tup.**kru**	short cubit (elbow to end of closed fist) (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	tup.**kru**	cubit (short) - elbow to closed fist (nms.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**ku** cyu li	elbow	Caughley 1990:6.1.4
	phyah **kru**	cubit (elbow to fingertips)	Caughley 1990:13.3
	tup **kru**	cubit (elbow to knuckles of cl	Caughley 1990:13.3
Kham	**'gu**	elbow	Matisoff 1987
	'gũ: da	knee	Watters & Watters 1989:1.47
	'tu **gụ**	cubit (elbow to fingertip)	Hale 1973:12c.42
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	lɛ^{33} **kua^{ɪ55}** tʃhu^{33}	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.18
Guiqiong	**khu^{33}** pi^{55} tɕo^{33}	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.17
	ku^{31}pu^{55}tɕho^{55}	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.16
Pumi (Lanping)	ʒɛ^{55}**xqo^{13}**	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	ʒɛ^{13}**khu^{55}**	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.11
Pumi (Taoba)	ʑɛ^{35}**ku^{35}**	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.10
Qiang (Taoping)	i^{33}**kye^{33}kye^{33}**	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.9
Zhaba (Daofu County)	ja^{55}**ku^{55}**tshŋ^{33}	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	(a) **gzə**	cubit (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0903.12
Ergong (Northern)	a^{33} **grə^{33}** tsɛ^{53}	cubit (elbow to fingers)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:13.3
	n̥ **kəu^{53}**	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1.4
	n̥ **kəu^{53}** no^{13}	inner elbow / crook of elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1.4.2
	n̥ **kəu^{53}** ɕ^{h}ɛ^{13} rə^{33}	elbow bone	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1.4.1
Ergong (Danba)	ʐ̩**kiau**	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991b:6.1.4; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**kru** gam	cubit (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0903.11
rGyalrong	tə **kru**	elbow	DAI Qingxia 1989d:6.1.4
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **kru**	elbow (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.11
rGyalrong	tə **kru**	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.12
	tə **kru** ɕɛ rə	elbow bone	DAI Qingxia 1989d:6.1.4.1
Caodeng	tə-**kru**-zu	elbow	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **kru**	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991j:6.1.4
	tə **kru** ʃɐre	elbow bone	SUN Hongkai 1991j:6.1.4.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **krə**	cubit (elbow to fingers)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:13.3
	tə **krə** tɕ^{h}im	inner elbow / crook of elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991l:6.1.4.2
	tə **krə** ʁu	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991l:6.1.4
	tə **krə** ʁu ɕɛɾ̥	elbow bone	SUN Hongkai 1991l:6.1.4.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ɣzu**	elbow	SUN Hongkai 1991k:6.1.4
	tə **ɣzu** ɕɛru	elbow bone	SUN Hongkai 1991k:6.1.4.1
rGyalrong	tu **kru**	elbow	Nagano 1997:6.1.4
	tu **kru** sha ru	elbow bone	Nagano 1997:6.1.41
rGBenzhen	tə-**kru?**	elbow	Sun 1997b
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Nanhua)	lę^{21} **ɣɯ^{21}**	elbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:254.24
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	lę^{21} nɯ^{55} **ɣɯ^{21}**	elbow bone	LUO Meizhen 1990:6.1.4.1

Chinese comparandum

肘 OC ***tị̂ôg***, *GSR* #1073a 'elbow, wrist'; B & S 2011: ***t-k‹r›u?***; Mand. **zhǒu**.

(2) PKC *ki(i)w ELBOW

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ki(i)w**	ELBOW	VanBik 2009:276

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**kiu**	elbow	VanBik 2009:276
Thado	**kìw**	elbow	VanBik 2009:276
Tiddim	**kiu**^{3}	elbow	VanBik 2009:276; Bhaskararao 1996:637
	kiu^{4}	elbow	Luce 1985:O.10
	`ki:u	elbow / corner (n.)	Henderson 1965
	`ki:u	elbow	Matisoff 1987
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**kìiw**	elbow	VanBik 2009:276
Lai (Hakha)	**kǐiw**	elbow	VanBik 2009:276
Lushai [Mizo]	**kiu**	elbow	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	kìu	elbow, the point of the elbow	VanBik 2009:276
	kiu	elbow	Bhaskararao 1996:637
	kiu^{4}	elbow	Luce 1985:O.10
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Xongsai	**kiu**^{2}	elbow	Luce 1985:O.10

1.5.8.4 Knee

NOTE the semantic connection between SHOULDER (Chapter 1.4.3) and KNEE; cf. Nung **phut** 'shoulder' and Jingpho **ləphùt** 'knee' (< PTB ***put-s** ≋ ***pit-s** KNEE (§1.5.8.4)).

(1) PTB *put-s ≋ *pit-s KNEE

Written Tibetan **pus** is from ***put-s**, since WT dental stops do not occur before final **-s**. There is a West Tibetan variant **pis-mo**.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***pjut**	knee / knee over	Coblin 1986:101
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***put**	knee; knee over	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:501a-b; Weidert 1987:697; LaPolla 1987:70; Benedict 1972:7; Coblin 1986:101
	***put-s**	knee	Matisoff 2003a:608
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**hpùt**-	knee	Matisoff 1987
	lah **put**	knee	Marrison 1967
	lă^{31}**phut**^{31}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.19
	lă^{1} **phut**^{31}	knee	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ləh **pùt** shəmyen	knee cap	Matisoff 1987
	lə **hpùt**	knee	Matisoff 1987
	lə **phut**	knee	LaPolla 1987:70; Benedict 1972:7; Coblin 1986:101
	phut	kneel	Benedict 1972:7
	^{1}lə^{1}**phut**	knee	Weidert 1987:620
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**pus**	knee	Sharma 1991a:6.2.2
Kanauri	**buš** baṅ	knee	Sharma 1988:39
	bəš	joint	Sharma 1988:60
	bəš baṅ	knee	Sharma 1988:60
	pösḫ pöṅ	knee (n.)	Bailey 1911
	pösḫ pöṅ	knee	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**bəTN**	knee cap / patella	Sharma 1991b:6.2.2.1
	puṣ	knee	Sharma 1991b:6.2.2
	puṣ	knee	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**pis**^{13}ta^{55}-p'i^{55}	kick	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Purik	**pug**-ma	collar-bone	Benedict 1972:7
Sherpa	**pu** muq	knee	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Western)	**pis**-mo	knee	Benedict 1972:7
Tibetan (Written)	**pig**-mo	knee	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:17n62
	pis-mo	knee	Matisoff 1987
	pus / **pis**	knee	Benedict 1972:17n62
	pus mo	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.01
	pus-mo	knee	Weidert 1987:697; Luce 1985:X.75; Matisoff 1987; LaPolla 1987:70; Benedict 1972:7; Coblin 1986:101; ZHANG Liansheng 1988:43; Marrison 1967
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**pŭn**-li	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987
	pŭt-li	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987
	tuk **păt**	knee	Coblin 1986:101
	tŭk-**păt**	knee	Matisoff 1987
	tuk-**pat**	knee	LaPolla 1987:70
	tuk-**păt**	knee	Benedict 1972:7
	tŭk-**păt**	knee	Benedict 1972:75n231
	tŭk-**puň**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	tuk **pát**	knee (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'pui**	knee	Weidert 1987:697
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	tĭŋ **pï** tsïk	knee	Michailovsky 1991:101
	tum-**pït** sïk	knee	Matisoff 1987
	tum **pu** chük	knee	Rai *et al.* 1984:70
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**pok**-ti	knee	Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	**po:k** ci	knee	Matisoff 1987
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	(raʔ **phu**^{31} thɑʔ) bɑʔ	carry (on shoulder)	LaPolla 2003:1353
	hi^{53} **phɯt**	knee	LaPolla 2003:114
Anong	phang-**phit**	knee	Matisoff 1987; Coblin 1986:101
	phaŋ-**phit**	knee	LaPolla 1987:70; Benedict 1972:7
	ra-**phut**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987; LaPolla 1987:70; Benedict 1972:7; Coblin 1986:101
Rawang	rɑʔ **phu**^{31}	shoulder	LaPolla 2003:101
	rɑʔ **tɕhip**	armpit	LaPolla 2003:103
Anong	ur-**phut**	elbow	LaPolla 1987:70; Benedict 1972:7; Coblin 1986:101
Trung [Dulong]	bak^{32} **pət**^{44}	knee	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	paŋ^{31}**puт**^{55}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	bak^{55} **puт**^{55}	knee	LaPolla 1987:70
	bă̆k^{55} **pŭ̆t**^{55}	knee	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	paaŋ^{31} **pit**^{55}	knee	LaPolla 1987:70
	pɑŋ^{31} **pit**^{55}	knee	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***put** KNEE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***put**	knee	LaPolla 1987:70; Benedict 1972:7
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Xiandao)	**phɔʔ**^{31}tʂhuɯk^{55}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.29
	pʰɔʔ^{31} tʂ^{h}uk^{55}	knee	DAI Qingxia 1989f:124
Bola	**pɔ̱t**^{55} lauʔ^{55}	knee	DAI Qingxia 1989g:124
Bola (Luxi)	**pɔ̱t**^{55}lauʔ^{55}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.32
Burmese (Written)	**pu'**-chac	knee	Benedict 1976a
	pu' [-c'ac]	knee	Luce 1985:X.75
	[pu] c'ac	knee	Luce 1985:Y.97
Langsu (Luxi)	**pɔ̱t**^{55}lauk^{31}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.31
Lashi	**pɔ̱t**^{55} luʔ^{31}	knee	DAI Qingxia 1989m:6.2.2
	pɔ̱t^{55} luʔ^{31} ʃŏ^{55} jou^{33}	knee cap / patella	DAI Qingxia 1989m:6.2.2.1
Leqi (Luxi)	**pɔ̱t**^{53}luʔ^{31}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.33
Maru [Langsu]	**pat**-lau	knee	Benedict 1972:7
	pa̱t^{55} lauk^{31}	knee	DAI Qingxia 1989l:6.2.2
	pa̱t^{55} lauk^{31} ɣuk^{55}	knee cap / patella	DAI Qingxia 1989l:6.2.2.1
Atsi [Zaiwa]	khji^{51} **phut**^{55}	knee	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	khji^{51}**phut**^{55}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.30
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Côông [Phunoi]	**phat** tho khau	kneel	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:7
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pi̱ĕt**	knee-cover	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:501a-b
	pi̱ĕt/**pi̱ĕt**	knee-cover	Karlgren 1957:407m
	pi̱wət/**pi̱uət**	knee-cover; knee-covers	Karlgren 1957:276l; Karlgren 1957:501c
	pi̱wət/**pjwət**	knee-cover	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:501a-b
Chinese (Old)	**pjut**	knee covers	Baxter 1992:1026
	pjət	knee / knee over	Coblin 1986:101
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**pjwət**	knee covers	Coblin 1986:101

Chinese comparandum

韠 OC ***pi̱ĕt**, *GSR* #407m 'knee cover'; Coblin 86:101 ***pjit**; B & S 2011: ***pit {pi [t] }**; Mand. **bì**.
韍 OC ***pi̱wət**, *GSR* #276l 'knee cover'; Coblin 86:101 ST ***pjut** > OC ***piət** > ***pjwət**; Mand. **fú**.
市 OC ***pi̱wət**, *GSR* #501a-b 'knee cover'; Mand. **fú**.
芾 OC ***pi̱wət**, *GSR* #501c 'knee cover'; Mand. **fú**.

The primary comparanda here are 韠 **bì** and 韍 **fú**, which are allofamic in OC.

The ideograph 市 **fú** meaning 'knee cover' apparently antedates 韍 **fú**, but the latter eventually became the predominant form. Likewise, the ideograph 芾 **fú** was optionally a loan character for 市 **fú** (see note, *GSR* #501c).

(1b) PTB *pu KNEE

There is a possible connection between this allofam of the etymon and PTB ***pu** EGG (§1.9.1), owing to the ball-like appearance of the patella.

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	kèng-**phú**	knee	Grüssner 1979:42
	kèng-**phú** a-hambí	knee cap / patella	Grüssner 1979:42
	keng **phu**	knee	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	keng **phu** ahambi	knee cap	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**bho**	knee	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Sahu)	**'pui**	knee	Matisoff 1987
Thakali (Tukche)	pah le **pu** Ti	knee	Matisoff 1987
	pɔh le **pu** ʈi	knee	Hari 1971:1.47
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**pu** li	knee	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:6.2.2; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:6.2.6.1
	pu li lyu:	knee cap / patella	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:6.2.2.1
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	thuŋ **bo**	knee	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**po**^{33} lo^{33} kɛ^{35}	knee	DAI Qingxia 1989c:6.2.2
	po^{33} lo^{33} kɛ^{35} ɣ^{31} kɯ^{35}	knee cap / patella	DAI Qingxia 1989c:6.2.2.1
	po^{33}lo^{33}kɛ^{35}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.47
Nesu	**bɤ**^{21} ts$\bar{ɻ}^{21}$	knee	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.2
	bɤ^{21} ts$\bar{ɻ}^{21}$ ɣɤ^{33}	knee cap / patella	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.2.1
Noesu	**bu**^{21}tsɪ^{33}	knee	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.2
Nusu (Central)	**phu**^{55}tsi^{33}l̥u^{53}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.34
	pʰu^{55} tsi^{33} l̥u^{53}	knee	DAI Qingxia 1989p:124.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**pʰɯi**^{55} tsi^{35} l̥u^{53}	knee	DAI Qingxia 1989o:124.
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**po**^{22}tsh$\bar{ɻ}^{21}$ni^{55}o^{55}ko^{33}	knee	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.2
	po^{33} tsi^{33} ni^{55} o^{55} kǫ^{33}	knee	LUO Meizhen 1990:6.2.2
	po^{33} ts'i^{21} bu^{55}	knee cap / patella	LUO Meizhen 1990:6.2.2.1
	po^{33} ts'i^{21} gu^{21}	knee hollow / popliteal region	LUO Meizhen 1990:6.2.2.2
Jinuo	**phɤ**^{55}tshɤ^{55}	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**pʰuu**^{55} ts^{h}uu^{55}	knee	DAI Qingxia 1989h:127
Jinuo (Youle)	**pʰɤ**^{55} ts^{h}ɤ^{55}	knee	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**pu**^{21}tsi^{55}	knee	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.2.2
Yi (Sani)	**pɣ̩**^{2} ts$\tilde{z}^{55}$	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.39
Sani [Nyi]	**pɣ̩**^{22} ts$\bar{ɻ}^{55}$	knee	MA Xueliang 1989:305.2
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**paw**$_{˅}$ tsui$_{˄}$ (tsui$_{˄}$)	knee	Matisoff 1987
	paw$_{˅}$ tsui$_{˄}$ a$^{˅}$ beu$^{˄}$ (beu$^{˄}$)	knee cap	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Lüchun)	**phɔ**^{31}ts$\bar{ɻ}^{31}$	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.41
Hani (Mojiang)	**pha**^{31}tsh$\bar{ɻ}^{31}$	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.42

Mpi	**po2²**thɯʔ²/ŋ²koŋ⁴	knee	Bradley 1979b
Ugong	**phú** bâ / **phú** dŭọʔ wú	knee cap / patella	Bradley 1993:6.2.2.1
	phú dúọʔ	knee	Bradley 1993:6.2.2
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**pœ²¹**χɔ⁴⁴	knee	Pelkey 2011:299

(2) PTB *m-ku: k ŋ KNEE / ANGLE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gu(:)k** ≍ m-ku(:)k	crooked / bent / knee / angle	Matisoff 2003a:591
	***kuk**	bow down / stoop (v.)	Weidert 1987:677
	***kuk**	crooked / bent / knee / angle / return / back	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012
	***kuk ≍ guk**	crooked / bent	Matisoff 1983:32
	***m-ku:k**	angle / knee	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1213a
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar Lhoba	dʑiŋ **guŋ**	knee	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	ki⁵⁵ **koŋ⁵⁵**	back of knee	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kuup ≍ *khuup ≍ *khuuk** KNEE			
**Chin*	***kuup ≍** khuup ≍ khuuk	KNEE	VanBik 2009:298
Anal	**khuʔ**	knee	Matisoff 1987
Ngawn	**khuk**	knee	Matisoff 1987
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Kuki-Chin	**khup**	knee	Haokip 1998:6.2.2
	khup kang	knee cap / patella	Haokip 1998:6.2.2.1
Paite	**khuk**	knee	VanBik 2009:298
Sizang	**kūp** ngū	knee	VanBik 2009:298
Thado	**khûuk**	knee	VanBik 2009:298
	xóp	knee	Thirumalai 1972:56
	xùp	knee	Thirumalai 1972:27
	xúp	knee	Thirumalai 1972:35
Tiddim	**khuk**	knee	Matisoff 1987
	khu:k¹	knee	Bhaskararao 1996:863
	´ xu:k	knee	Matisoff 1987
	´xu:k	knee (n.)	Henderson 1965
	χuk³	knee	Luce 1985:P.24
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**n´k'u** lú	knee	VanBik 2009:298
Asho (Sandoway)	**ŋk'üʔ²**	knee	Luce 1985:P.24
Chinbon	**ṃkʰï:k.**ɨï	knee	So-Hartmann 1988:94
Daai	**ṃkʰú:k**.lu	knee	So-Hartmann 1988:94
Khumi	khéw **khuu**	knee	VanBik 2009:298
	khu	knee	Matisoff 1987
	kʰeᵘ.**kʰu**	knee	So-Hartmann 1988:94
Awa Khumi	[k'oʔ¹]mu⁴**k'uʔ²**	knee	Luce 1985:P.24
Khumi (Ahraing)	**-k'u¹**	knee	Luce 1985:P.24
Matu	**kʰuk**.lu	knee	So-Hartmann 1988:94
Matupi	**k'uk²**lu⁴	knee	Luce 1985:P.24
Mkaang	**kʰuk**.lu	knee	So-Hartmann 1988:94
Ngmüün	**ṃkʰú:k**.lu	knee	So-Hartmann 1988:94
Nyhmoye	**ṃkʰu²** lu	knee	So-Hartmann 1988:94
Womatu	**m̄k'u:k³**	knee	Luce 1985:P.24
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Khualsim	**k'u:k¹**	knee	Luce 1985:P.24
Lai (Hakha)	**khuk**	knee	Matisoff 1987
Lai (Falam)	**khûuk**	knee	VanBik 2009:298
Lai (Hakha)	**khuuk ≍** khuup	knee	VanBik 2009:298
	k'uk¹	knee	Luce 1985:P.24
Laizo	**khuk**	knee	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	**khûp**	knee	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	khûup	knee (n.)	VanBik 2009:298
	khûup	knee	Löffler 1985
	khu:p	knee	Bhaskararao 1996:863
	k'u:p²	knee	Luce 1985:P.24
Paangkhua	ra **khúup**	knee	Löffler 1985
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lailenpi	mə´pə̀**k'uʔ¹**	knee	Luce 1985:P.24
Lakher [Mara]	pa-**khu**	knee	Matisoff 1987
	pà-**khú**	knee (n.)	VanBik 2009:298
	pa-**khu** sia-ly-pa	knee cap	Matisoff 1987
Mera	pə̌⁶**k'uʔ¹**	knee	Luce 1985:P.24
Tha'oa	t'ɛn⁴**k'uk⁴**	knee	Luce 1985:P.24
Xongsai	**χup²**	knee	Luce 1985:P.24
Zotung	baʔ-**khuŋ**	knee	Matisoff 1987
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	ke mərə **kʰup**	knee	Toba & Kom 1991:6.2.2
	ke mərə **kʰup** kəve	knee hollow / popliteal region	Toba & Kom 1991:6.2.2.2
Sorbung	**kʰúk**	knee cap; patella	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.195
	ʔə **kʰúk**, **ʔkʰúk**	knee	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.194
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***m-khuk** KNEE			
**Central Naga*	***m-khuk**	KNEE	Bruhn 2014a:III.264
**Ao*	*t-**m-kuk**	KNEE	Bruhn 2014a:II.062
Ao (Chungli)	te **mokok**	knee	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:118n327
	tə²-**mu³kuk¹**	knee (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.062
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**məkuk**	knee (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**ṅ¹-khok²**	knee (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.264
	nkho	knee	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:118n327
	nkhok	knee	Murry *et al.* 1978:65
	Nkhuk	knee	Nienu 1990c:6.2.2
Sangtam	**mükho**	knee	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**mukhuk**	knee	Kumar 1973b:43
	mükhüm	knee	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Khonoma)	**khu** dza	knee	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **khou³¹** ja⁵⁵	knee	Nienu 1990a:6.2.2
	u **khou** dza	knee	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**khü³¹** ba³³	knee	Nienu 1990b:6.2.2
	u **khü** ba	knee	Marrison 1967
	²khɤ³ba	knee	Weidert 1987:620
Mao	¹tšɯ¹**kho**¹bo	knee	Weidert 1987:620
Meluri	a **khwo**	knee	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **khü** phu	knee	Marrison 1967
	kuki	knee	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**nko**	knee	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **kho**-nhe kuqho ghi	knee cap / patella	Achumi 1998a:6.2.2.1
	a **kho** nhe	knee	Achumi 1998a:6.2.2
	a **kwu** nhye	knee	Marrison 1967
	kho nhe bo	knee hollow / popliteal region	Achumi 1998a:6.2.2.2
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	**nkhu**	knee	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**khu**-bût	knee	Weidert 1987:620
Maram	khu **kok**	knee	Marrison 1967
Puiron	ki **kok**	knee	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**khu** but	knee	Marrison 1967
	məi **khùu** bùt	knee	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	mi **kuk**	knee	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***kʰuk** KNEE			
**Tangkhulic*	***kʰuk**	knee	Mortensen 2012:571
Huishu	ʔa-mu-**kʰuʔ**	knee	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.197
	ʔa-mu-**kʰuʔ**-ruk	knee cap; patella	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.198
Kachai	pʰi-**kʰuk**	knee	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.170
	pʰi-**kʰuk**-kʰur	knee hollow / popliteal region	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.172
	pʰi-**kʰuk**-rɐ	knee cap / patella	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.171
Tangkhul	**khuk** sao	knee; knee cap	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	pang **khuk**	elbow	Marrison 1967
	pāŋ-**khuk**	elbow	Matisoff 1987
Tusom	**kxu**-tsɯ	knee	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.181
Ukhrul	ʔa-**kʰuk**	knee	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**khu**	knee	Singh 1991:6.2.2
	khu kaŋ	knee cap / patella	Singh 1991:6.2.2.1
	khu-u	knee	Matisoff 1987
	khu jeng	ankle	Marrison 1967
	khu jeŋ	ankle	Singh 1991:6.2.5
	khu ku	knee	Marrison 1967
	khu mit	ankle	Matisoff 1987
	khu ning	elbow	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	khu niŋ	elbow	Singh 1991:6.1.4
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	keng **kung**	knee	Matisoff 1987
1.6. MRU			
Mru	t'a **koŋ²**	knee	Luce 1985:Q.56
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	cha• **khok**	hollow side of the knee (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	da **ku**	knee	French 1983:508
	dak **ku**	elbow	French 1983:508; Marrison 1967
	da **ku**	knee	Marrison 1967
	²da-**kʌp**	knee (hollow)	Weidert 1987:1098
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	yik **kək**	elbow	French 1983:508
	yik **kük**	elbow	Marrison 1967
	yo **kək**	knee	French 1983:508
	yo **kük**	knee	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	ŋ̣ʌ¹³ **kʰuk⁵³**	knee	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	nē **kong**	knee hollow / popliteal region	Bishop 1989:6.2.2.2
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Risiangku)	**²kʰok** to	knee (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:6.2.2
Tamang (Sahu)	**'kok** ta	angular (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.C.20
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**khok** a li	knee	Michailovsky 1991:100; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**kok** ci	knee	Michailovsky 1991:100
	kok cī	knee	Matisoff 1987
	kok ci	knee	Allen 1975

(3) PTB *s-gyi-t KNEE

Further confirmation of this root would be welcome.

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**sgyid**-k'uṅ	hollow of knee	Matisoff 1987
	sgyid-pa	knee	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**cih**	knee	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:1.47
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	tam **cy**	knee	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	pok-**ti**	knee	Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	poːk **ci**	knee	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	kok **ci**	knee	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lisu	**hchi³**-tsi³	knee	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**hchi³**-tsi³	knee (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**hchi³**tsi³	knee	Bradley 1979b:125

(4) PTani *lə-bɯŋ KNEE

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***lə-bɯŋ**	knee	Sun 1993a:225
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**lɯ-bã**	knee	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lɯ-baŋ	knee	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-baŋ tà-pi	kneecap	Sun 1993b
	¹lɯ²baŋ(²)	knee	Weidert 1987:620
Bengni	**lɯ-bɯŋ**	knee	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**lɯ pɯŋ**	knee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.24
	lɯ-bɯŋ	knee	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lɯ-bɯŋ gu	kneel	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**lɯbɯŋ**	knee	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**'ləbɨɨ**	knee (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ləbɨɨ-tatək	kneecap (n.)	GLDC 2009
	¯lɤbɯ	knee	Weidert 1987:620
Miri, Hill	**lɯ-bɯ**	knee	Simon 1976
Tagin	**lɤbiŋ**	knee	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**lé-buing**	knee	Matisoff 1987

	le-bɯŋ	knee	Sun 1993a
Damu	**lə-pəŋ**	knee	Sun 1993b

Chinese comparandum

髕 髌 **bìn** kneecap

1.5.9 Body Measures

NOTE that etymon 350 *la LEG is homophonous to etymon 701 *la ARM.

1.5.9.1 Right

(1) PTB *g- y/r a RIGHT (HAND)

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-ya ⪤ g-ra**	righthand / right side	Matisoff 2003a:619
	***g-ra**	right (hand)(1)	Weidert 1987:230
	***g-ya**	right (hand)(1)	Weidert 1987:230
	***g-ya ⪤ g-ra**	right side; right (hand)	Matisoff 1983:11; Benedict 1972:98
	***g-yɑ**	right (hand)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:995i-j

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	kɯ^{31} **jɑu^{53}**	right	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɯ^{31}**jɑu^{53}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.23
	kɯ^{31}**jɑu^{53}**	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.48

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	^{2}the^{1}**za-**	right (side)(1)(2)	Weidert 1987:1027
Angami (Khonoma)	**za**	right-hand	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **za^{11}** tsa^{31}	right hand; side (right)	Nienu 1990a:6.1.7.4; Nienu 1990a:1.2
	the **za**	right-hand	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **za^{11}** tso^{31}	side (right); right hand	Nienu 1990b:1.2; Nienu 1990b:6.1.7.4
	^{2}u^{1}**za**	right (side)(1)(2)	Weidert 1987:1027

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***ja** RIGHT SIDE

Tangkhul	**ya**	right (hand)	Bhat 1969:95
	ya shong	right-hand	Marrison 1967
	^{3}**ya**	right (side)(1)(2)	Weidert 1987:1027
	^{3}**ya^{2}šoŋ**	right (hand)	Weidert 1987:230

1.6. MRU

Mru	**-yo^{2}**	right (hand)	Luce 1985:S.4

1.7.1.1. BODO

Lalung [Tiwa]	ia **gra**	right hand / right side	Balawan 1965:30

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	džak-**ra**	right (hand)	Benedict 1972:98
	kra-a	right (side)(1)	Weidert 1987:1068
Garo (Bangladesh)	jak-**ra**	right hand (n.)	Burling 2003:2.11-II:idx

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	o-**ja**-(si)	right side	Jacquesson 2005
	o-**ja**-ya	right hander	Jacquesson 2005
	ya-**jā^{2}**	right hand	unknown nd
	yó **ja**	right (hand)	Brown 1895:70

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	(dak) **cha**	right-hand	French 1983:538
	cha	right-hand	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak	yak **ja**	right-hand	French 1983:538; Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	yak-**caʔ**	right (side)(1)	Weidert 1987:1068

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**khrá**	right (side)	Matisoff 1974:282
	khʒa^{55}	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.19
	khʒa^{55}	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.47
	khɹa^{55}	right (side)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	laʔ^{31}**khʒa^{55}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.19
	la **kra**	right-hand	Marrison 1967
	lə **khrá**	right (hand)	Benedict 1972:98 [a]
	^{3}**khra**	right (side)(1)	Weidert 1987:1068

2.1.2. BODIC

Tshona (Mama)	**jɛː^{55}** pᴀ^{53}	right	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.6
Cuona Menba	**jɛː^{55}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣji**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hje**	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɣji**	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.5
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**jɛ^{55}pa^{53}**	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**jɛ^{52}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.02
	jɛ^{55}ŋøʔ^{13}	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**yā** wāq	right (opposite of left) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.18
Spiti	lak pa **ye** wa	right hand	Bodh 1991:6.1.7.4
	ye wa	side (right)	Bodh 1991:1.2
Tibetan (Written)	**g – jas**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.01
	g-yas-pa	right (hand)	Benedict 1972:113n318
	gjas pa	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.1
	gyas	right side	Matisoff 1983:11
	gyas-pa	right (hand)	Luce 1985:W.18
	lag **g-yas**	right (hand)	Weidert 1987:230; Benedict 1972:98
	ɣyas-pa	right-hand; right (hand)	Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:S.4
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hje**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**gyo**-m	right (hand)	Benedict 1972:98

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung	**kyo** lo	right (opposite of left) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.18
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kyo** lo	right	Glover 1972:12.C.18
	kyo lo pa:k^{h}ruq	arm (right)	Glover 1972:2.A.49
Manang (Gyaru)	**gyᴇː^{4}** dzᴇ^{2}	right	Nagano 1984:361
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**kyeː** tse	right	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0267

3.2. QIANGIC

Pumi (Jiulong)	**ʑi^{35}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʒe^{55}dʑe^{13}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʐə^{13}**	right (hand); right	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʐə^{35}** tɕ^{h}ye^{53}	right (side)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	ʐə^{35}tɕhye^{53}	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.10

3.3. rGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	lda^{33} **ʁje^{33}** pa^{33}	right hand	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1.7.4
	li^{33} spə^{53} **ɣje^{33}** pa^{33}	side (right)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:1.2
Daofu	**ʁje**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.12

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	lɔʔ^{31}**ʑɔ^{55}**pa^{31}	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.28
	lɔʔ^{31}**ʑɔ^{55}**pa^{31}	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.41
Achang (Xiandao)	lɔʔ^{55} **jɔ^{55}**	right	DAI Qingxia 1989f:1024
	lɔʔ^{55}**jɔ^{55}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.29
Bola	laʔ^{31} **ja^{55}**	right	DAI Qingxia 1989g:1024
Bola (Luxi)	laʔ^{31}**ja^{55}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.32
Burmese (Modern)	**-yā^{3}**	right (hand)	Luce 1985:S.4
	kyā^{3}	right (hand)	Luce 1985:V.5
	yā^{3}	right (hand)	Luce 1985:V.5
Burmese (Rangoon)	**jɑ^{22}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.27
Burmese (Spoken)	**-ya^{3}**	right (hand)	Luce 1985:S.4
Burmese (Written)	**-kyā**	right (hand)	Luce 1985:V.5
	-yā	right (hand)	Luce 1985:V.5
	jɑ^{2}	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.39
	jɑɑ^{2}	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.26
	lak-**ya**	right (hand)	Weidert 1987:230; Benedict 1972:98
	lak **yā**	right-hand	Marrison 1967
	ya	right side; right (side)	Matisoff 1983:11; Matisoff 1974:282
	[lak-**]** **ya^{3}**	right (hand)	Luce 1985:W.18
Hpun (Metjo)	**-ɑh**	right (hand)	Luce 1985:S.4
	-ɑ^{4}	right (hand)	Luce 1985:S.4
	ɑʔ^{1}	right (hand)	Luce 1985:S.4
Langsu (Luxi)	lɔʔ^{31}**jɔ^{31}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.31
Lashi (Lachhe')	**-yɔ^{4}**	right (hand)	Luce 1985:S.4
Lashi	lɔʔ^{31} **jo^{31}** lɔʔ^{31}	right hand	DAI Qingxia 1989m:6.1.7.4
Leqi (Luxi)	lɔʔ^{31}**jo^{31}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.33
Maru [Langsu]	lɔʔ^{31}**jɔ^{31}**	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.43
	yò	right (hand)	Weidert 1987:230
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**-yɔ^{2}**	right (hand)	Luce 1985:S.4
	loʔ^{21} **jo^{51}**	right (side)	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	loʔ^{21}**jo^{51}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.30
	loʔ^{21}**jo^{51}**	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.42
	loʔ **yô**	right (hand)	Weidert 1987:230

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**ʐɑ^{55}** l̠ɪ^{21}	right hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4
	ʐɑ^{55} ɕi^{55}	side (right)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.2
Lipho	**ʐo^{33}**bo^{21}	side (right)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.2
	ʐo^{33}l̠e^{21}	right hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4
Nesu	a^{55} **ʐo^{33}** l̠ɪ^{21}	right hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4
	a^{55} **ʐo^{33}** ta^{35}	side (right)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.2
Nosu	la^{44}**ʑi**^{33}tɕo^{44}	side (right)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.2
	ʑi^{21}lo^{55}	right hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4
Nusu (Central)	**ia^{33}**	right	DAI Qingxia 1989p:1024.
	ia^{33}	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ia^{31}**	right	DAI Qingxia 1989o:1024.
Nusu (Southern)	**iɔ^{31}** tʂ^{h}ɛ^{55}	right (side)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**iɑ^{31}** bɑ^{35}	right (side)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**iɑ^{31}** nu^{55}	right (side)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**iɑ^{31}bɑ^{35}**	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.45
Yi (Liangshan)	la^{34}**ʑi^{33}**	right (side)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{33}	right (side)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{33}tɕo^{21}	right (side)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	ᴀ^{33}ʐu^{33}phi^{55}	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ᴀ^{55}zo^{55}bo^{55}	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ʐo^{33}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.37
	ʑo^{33}**bɛ^{21}**	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ʐɑ^{55}** ɕi^{55}	right (side); right	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʐɑ^{33}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.36
Yi (Xide)	la^{34}-**ɕi^{33}**	right side	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	la^{44} **ʑi^{33}**	right (hand); right	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.21
	lɑ^{34}**ʑi^{33}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.35
	ɕi^{21}-lo^{55}	right hand	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	a^{33}ʐo^{33}phi^{55}	side (right)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.2
	l̠e^{21} **ʐu^{33}**	right hand	LUO Meizhen 1990:6.1.7.4
	l̠e^{21}**ʐo^{33}**	right hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4
	ɑ^{33} **ʐu^{33}** p'i^{55}	side (right)	LUO Meizhen 1990:1.2
Kucong	la31 **ʑɛ31** pɔ35	right (side)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***sha:/ya:**	right	Bradley 1979b:445A
Lahu (Lancang)	lɑ^{21}**ɕɑ^{33}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.43
Lahu (Black)	**-shā**	right (hand)	Luce 1985:S.4
	laʔ^{21} **sa^{33}**	right (side)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	laʔ^{21} **ʑɔ^{55}**	right (side)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	(lá^{6})-**ja^{3}**	right (hand side)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**-jā^{3}**	right (hand)	Luce 1985:S.4
	-ja^{3}	right (hand)	Luce 1985:V.5
Lisu	lá^{6}**ja^{3}**	right	Bradley 1979b:445A
Lisu (Northern)	læʔ^{21}**jæ^{33}**	right hand	Bradley 1994
	læʔ^{21}**jæ^{33}** hɤ^{55}je^{33}	right opportunism	Bradley 1994
Lisu	lɛ^{31}**ʒɛ^{44}**	right	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:54.27
	l̠ɛ^{31}**ʑɛ̠^{33}**	right (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	l̠ɛ^{42} **ʒɛ̠^{44}** tʃ^{h}e^{31}	right (side)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	a^{33}ʐɑ^{55}o^{55}	side (right)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.2
	le^{22}**ʐɑ^{55}**	right hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.4

[a] Note the metanalysis of Jingpho **lәkh-rá** > **lә-khrá**.

	le^{21}**ʐɒ^{55}**	right hand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le̱^{22} **ʐɑ^{55}**	right hand	Ma Xueliang 1989:362.15.
	ɑ^{44} **ʐɑ^{55}** o^{55}	right side	Ma Xueliang 1989:345.2
Yi (Sani)	ɒ^{44}**ʐɒ^{55}**	right (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ʐɒ^{55}**	right (adj.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʐɒ^{55}le^{21}	right hand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Southern Muji	**jo^{13}tsa^{21}**	right	Pelkey 2011:1112
Hlepho Phowa	a^{55}**za^{13}**	right	Pelkey 2011:1112
Phuza	li^{55}za^{31}p^{h}i^{55}	right	Pelkey 2011:1112

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**i**˥tɑ˥	right	Michaud 2006–2009:1513
Na (Yongning)	**ju**˩gi˩	right (side)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ju˩gi˩dzɤ˩	right	Michaud 2006–2009
	ju˩	right (side)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**i^{21}**tɕy^{21}	right (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.45
Naxi (Western)	**ʑi^{31}**tɕy^{31}	right (side)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʑi^{31}**tɕy^{31}	right	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:54.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʑu^{31}**dzɑ^{13}	right	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:54.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**ʑu^{31}**dʑi^{33}	right (side)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

Chinese comparandum

右 OC ***gi̯ŭg***, *GSR* #995i-j ‘right (side); esteem; assist’; B & S 2011: ***m-q^{w}əʔ-s ~ m-q^{w}əʔ***; Mand. **yòu**.
友 OC ***gi̯ŭg***, *GSR* #995e ‘friend’; B & S 2011: ***ɢ^{w}əʔ {[ɢ]^{w}əʔ}***; Mand. **yǒu**.
佑 OC ***gi̯ŭg***, *GSR* #995k ‘assist’; B & S 2011: ***ɢ^{w}əʔ-s***; Mand. **yòu**.

(2) PTani *(lak-)bruɯk RIGHT (HAND)

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	*lak-**bruɯk**	right (hand)	Sun 1993a:325

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	là-**bi** a-la	right hand	Sun 1993b
	la?-**bi**	right (hand); foreleg (right~); right (< > left)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	la?-**bi** a-la?	hand (right)	Sun 1993b
	li-**bi**	hind leg (right~)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	lak-**bik**	right (hand)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	lok **bik**	right (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0711.24
	lok-**bik**	right (hand); right	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	lok **bik**	right	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:54.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	lak-**bɯt**	right (hand)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘lag **bək**	right hand; hand (right) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘lə **bək**	leg/foot (right); right leg/foot (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘pum **bək**	nostril (right) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ruu **bək**	ear (right); right ear (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘ɲig **bək**	eye (right) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	lɤ **bit**	right leg	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	lak-**bɯk**	right (hand)	Sun 1993a
Damu	la?-**bjuk**	right (adj.)	Sun 1993b

(3) PKar *thwɛ^{A} RIGHT (SIDE)

7. Karenic

**Karen [Burling]*	***thwe^{4}**	right (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:238
**Karen*	***thwɛ^{A}**	right (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:238 [a]
Bwe	**thwɛ^{33}**	right (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:238
Kayah	**thwa^{33}**	right (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:238
Kayan	**thwɛ^{53}**	right (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:238
Kayaw	**thɛ^{55}**	right (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:238
Pa-O (Northern)	**thwɛ$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	right (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:238
Pa-O (Southern)	**thwɛ$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	right (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:238
Pwo (Southern)	**thwɛ^{55}**	right (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:238
Sgaw (Northern)	**chwɛ^{33}**	right (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:238
Sgaw (Southern)	**thwɛ^{55}**	right (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:238

[a] [Source Note] S.Sgaw has tone B. Perhaps, the word thwɛ^{55} in S.Pwo was borrowed from S.Sgaw, thwɛ^{55}. There is no cognate in N.Pwo.

1.5.9.2 Left

(1) PTB *b(w)ay LEFT (HAND)

This etymon is certainly co-allofamic with PTB ***(p/b)a:y*** LAME / LIMP / ASKEW (§1.5.12), via a set of semantic associations familiar from Western languages, where left-handedness has been regarded as “gauche” or “sinister”.

HPTB pp. 219, 510 ill-advisedly reconstructs an allofam ***r-bi(y)*** to account for Karbi **ar-vi**, though *STC* correctly assigns it to the general ***b(w)ay*** etymon.

W.T. French 1983:445 sets up a Proto Northern Naga root ***pha:y*** AFTER (> e.g. Chang **pai** ‘backwards, behind’), which he also suggests to be related to the notions of LEFT and LAME / LIMP. (See PNN ***p^{h}a:y*** AFTER (§9.1.5).)

A number of Nungish and Qiangic forms with velar + labial clusters must also reflect this root. If we were to set up an allofam ***gway***, this would be tantamount to admitting this root into the select company of etyma with *labiovelar initials like DOG, NEST, COMB, TRUMPET, etc.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b(w)ăy**	left	Matisoff 1985a:080
	***bay**	left; left(hand)	Weidert 1987:225; Benedict 1972:47
	***b^{w}ay or b(w)ay**	left side / lefthand	Matisoff 2003a:585; Mortensen 2012

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	kɯ^{31} **wɑi^{53}**	left	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɯ^{31}**wɑi^{53}**	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.23
	kɯ^{31}**wɑi^{53}**	left	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:53.48

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**vei** lam	side (left)	Haokip 1998:1.3
	vei lang	left hand	Haokip 1998:6.1.7.5
Tiddim	**vei^{1}**	left	Bhaskararao 1996:1949

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Awa Khumi	**voeu^{4}**	left (hand)	Luce 1985:R.64
Khumi (Ahraing)	**-v^{w}ɔɪ^{1}**	left (hand)	Luce 1985:R.64

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**vĕi**	left	Weidert 1987:225
	vei	left	Matisoff 1985a:080; Benedict 1972:47
	vei-lam	left-hand side; left-hand	Bhaskararao 1996:1949; Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	^{2}tsə^{3}**vei**	left	Weidert 1987:225

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Kom Rem	kut **vui**	left hand	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.7.5
	vui tɛ̃ŋ	side (left)	Toba & Kom 1991:1.3

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	āyú **wè**	left-handed	Acharya 1975
	hayi **we**	side (left)	Nienu 1990c:1.3

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{2}the^{5}**vi-**	left	Weidert 1987:225
Angami (Khonoma)	pe **vi** tsa	left-hand	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **vi^{55}** t sa^{31}	side (left); left hand	Nienu 1990a:1.3; Nienu 1990a:6.1.7.5
	the **vi** tsa	left-hand	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **ve^{33}** tso^{31}	side (left)	Nienu 1990b:1.3
	(u) **ve^{35}** tso^{31}	left hand	Nienu 1990b:6.1.7.5

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**woi**	left-hand	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**mawui**	left-hand	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**bei** lam	left-hand	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**mbai**	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	n-bɑi-zat	left	Weidert 1987:225

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***joj*** LEFT SIDE

**Tangkhulic*	***joj**	left side	Mortensen 2012:429
Huishu	ʔa-**vue**	left side	Mortensen 2012
Kachai	ʔa-**ji**-wa	left side	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.003
Tangkhul	**phui** kəsiŋə	left-handed	Matisoff 1985a:080; Benedict 1972:47
	wui-sóŋ	left	Matisoff 1985a:080
	wui-śoŋ	left	Benedict 1972:47
	wui shong	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	wuy	left (side)	Bhat 1969:92
	yuy	left (side)	Bhat 1969:92
	yuy paŋ	left hand	Matisoff 1985a:080
Tusom	ʔəpa-**pa**	left hand	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.173
Ukhrul	**juj**-vak	left side	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**òi**	left	Weidert 1987:225
	oi rom	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	oy	side (left)	Singh 1991:1.3
	òy	left	Matisoff 1985a:080
	oy na	left	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	woi	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	woy	side (left); left hand	Singh 1991:1.3; Singh 1991:6.1.7.5

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ar **vi**	left-hand; left	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:080; Benedict 1972:47
	ar **vī(ʔ)**	left	Weidert 1987:225

1.6. Mru

Mru	tă **wɑi^{1}**	left (hand)	Luce 1985:R.64

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	la?^{31}**pa̱i^{33}**	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.19
	la **pai**	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	lə **pāi**	left-handed, awkward	Matisoff 1985a:080
	lə **pai**	left-handed, awkward	Benedict 1972:47
	pāi	left	Matisoff 1985a:080
	pai	left	Benedict 1972:47
	pa̱i^{33}	left	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	pa̱i^{33}	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.19
	pa̱i^{33}	left	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:53.47
	^{2}**pai**	left	Weidert 1987:225
	ə **pāi**	awkward / speak with a brogue (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:080
	ə **pai**	awkward, speak with a brogue (vs.)	Benedict 1972:47

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Thebor	**ba-e**	left	Matisoff 1985a:080; Benedict 1972:47

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**vi**-m	left	Matisoff 1985a:080; Benedict 1972:47

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**weʔ**	left side (nl.)	Caughley 2000
	weʔ-do	left	Weidert 1987:225; Caughley 1972:12.C.19
	weʔ-krut	arm (left)	Caughley 1972:2.A.50
	weʔ.do	left (opposite of right) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.19
	weʔ.do	left (direction) (nl.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**weʔ** do	left side (of anything)	Caughley 1990:1.3
	weʔ krut	left hand	Caughley 1990:6.1.7.5

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**wi^{55}**la^{55}	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.16
Muya	**ʁɐ̯^{55}**rɐ^{53}	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.15
Muya [Minyak]	qho^{55}pa^{53}**ʁɒ^{35}**ʐɐ^{35}	side (left)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:1.3
	ɣi^{55}**ʁɐ^{35}**ʐɐ^{35}	left hand	Sun Hongkai 1991h:6.1.7.5
	ʁɐ^{35}ʐɐ^{35}	left	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:53.15
Namuyi	gu^{55}mi^{55}**ja^{33}**ta^{33}	side (left)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:1.3
	ja^{33}ta^{33}	left	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:53.19
	lɛ^{33}**ja^{33}**ta^{33}	left hand	Sun Hongkai 1991i:6.1.7.5
	ja^{33}ta^{31}	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**we^{35}**	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**uɑ^{13}**	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**uɑ^{13}**	left (hand); left	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:53.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**we^{55}** tɕ^{h}ye^{53}	left	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	we^{55}tɕhye^{53}	left	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:53.10
Qiang (Longxi)	lí zí **ʁuá**	left (hand)	Evans 1999:1045
Qiang (Mawo)	dʒə pa **ʁua^{ɪ}** χi	left hand	Sun Hongkai 1991g:6.1.7.5
	ʁua^{ɪ}	left	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:53.8
	ʁuɑ	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.08

[a] Note the triple Tangkhul allofams in **y- ≍ w- ≍ ph-**.

	ʁuɑ[1] χi	side (left)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:1.3
Qiang (Mianchi)	**guì**	left (hand)	Evans 1999:1045
	guì ~ **guí**	upside down, inverted (=left (hand))	Evans 1999:1446
Qiang (Taoping)	**χgy**[33]	left	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**ʁuæ** xe̱	left	DAI Qingxia 1989q:1045
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	le[55] **wa**[35] ɕã[55]	left hand	SUN Hongkai 1991n:6.1.7.5
	wa[35]ɕã[55]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.16
	zu[35] pu[53] **wa**[35] ɕã[55]	side (left)	SUN Hongkai 1991n:1.3
Xumi	lie[35] **ʑɛ**[33] zi[55]	left hand	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	li[33] pu[55] **ʑɛ**[55] zi[55]	side (left)	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	ʑɛ[33]zi[55]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.20
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	hɛ zu pu **ʐɛ** kua	side (left)	SUN Hongkai 1991b:1.3
	ʐa ʐɛ kua	left hand	SUN Hongkai 1991b:6.1.7.5
	ʐa ʐɛ ʐtʰɯ	right hand	SUN Hongkai 1991b:6.1.7.4
	ʐɛ kua	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ka **wi**	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **wi**	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.11
rGBenzhen	ke-**vi**-laʔ	left	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	lɛ[31]**ɣɯ**[55]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.21
Anong	lɛ[31]**ɣɯ**[55]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.44
Rawang	ə **gwɛ**[53]	left	LaPolla 2003:776
Dulong	ɑ[31]**gui**[55]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ[31]**gŭi**[55]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ɑ[31] **gŭi**[55]	left	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**gui**[55]	left	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Modern)	**-wai**[4]	left (hand)	Luce 1985:V.35
Burmese (Rangoon)	**bɛ**[22]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.27
	wɛ[55]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.27
Burmese (Written)	**-way**	left (hand)	Luce 1985:V.35
	bhai	left; left side	Weidert 1987:225; Matisoff 1985a:080; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:47
	bhɑj[2]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.26
	lak-**wài**	left-hand	Weidert 1987:225
	lak-**wâi**	left hand	Matisoff 1985a:080; Benedict 1976a [a]
	lak-**waì**	left hand	Benedict 1972:47
	lak **wai**	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	wâi	speak with a brogue; speak with accent	Matisoff 1985a:080; Benedict 1976a
	waì	speak with a brogue	Benedict 1972:47
	wɑi[3]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.26
	wɑi[3]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.39
	wɑi[4]	left (hand)	Luce 1985:R.64
Hpun (Northern)	lùʔ **pí**	left (hand)	Henderson 1986
Lashi	lɔʔ[31] **pe̱i**[55] lɔʔ[31]	left hand	DAI Qingxia 1989m:6.1.7.5
Leqi (Luxi)	lɔʔ[31]**pe̱i**[55]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.33
Marma	**be**	left	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:362
Atsi [Zaiwa]	loʔ[21] **pa̱i**[21]	left	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.42
	loʔ[31]**pa̱i**[21]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.30
6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***b-way**[2] LEFT			
**Loloish*	***b-way**[2]	left	Weidert 1987:225; Bradley 1979b:446A
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	la[53]vɤ[55]pha[55]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.47
Lalo	**ʔve**[21] li̱[21]	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
	ʔve[21] ɕi[55]	side (left)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.3
Lipho	**vɛ**[55]bo[21]	side (left)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.3
	vɛ[55]le̱[21]	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
Nasu	**fʊ**[33] pʰa̱[21]	side (left)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.3
	la̱[55] **fʊ**[33]	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
Nesu	a[55] **fer**[33] li̱[21]	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
	a[55] **fer**[33] ta[35]	side (left)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.3
Noesu	**fe**[33]	side (left)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.3
	la[13]**fe**[33]	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
Nosu	la[44]vɭ[33]tɕo[44]	side (left)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.3
	vɭ[21]lo[55]	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ue**[31]	left	DAI Qingxia 1989o:1023.
Nusu (Northern)	**ue**[35] nu[55]	left	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ue**[55]	left	DAI Qingxia 1989p:1023.
	ue[55]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.34
	ue[55] ɑ[31]	left	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ue**[55]**ɑ**[53]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.45
Nusu (Southern)	**ui**[31] tʂʰɛ[55]	left	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**fə**[33]	left	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.22
Yi (Liangshan)	la[34]**vɭ**[33]	left (side)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vɭ[33]	left (side)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vɭ[33]**tɕo**[21]	left (side)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	ʌ[33]vʌ[55]phi[55]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ʌ[55]fɛ[33]bo[55]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ve**[55]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.37
	vɛ[55]**bɛ**[21]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ve**[21] ɕi[55]	left	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔvɛ**[21]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.36
Yi (Wuding)	**fɔ**[33]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.38
Yi (Xide)	la[34]-**vɭ**[33]	left side	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	la[44] **vɭ**[33]	left (hand); left	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.21
	vɭ[21]-lo[55]	left hand	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	a[33]va[55]phi[55]	side (left)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.3
	le̱[21] **vɑ**[55]	left hand	LUO Meizhen 1990:6.1.7.5
	le̱[21]**va**[55]	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
	ɑ[33] **vɑ**[55] pʻi	side (left)	LUO Meizhen 1990:1.3
Jinuo	la[33]**vu**[33]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	la[55] **vu**[55]	left	DAI Qingxia 1989h:1045
Jinuo (Baka)	la[55] **v̩**[55]	left	DAI Qingxia 1989i:1045
Jinuo	la[55]**vu**[55]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.44
Jinuo (Youle)	lɑ[55] **vu**[55]	left	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	la31 **fa33** pɔ35	left (side)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***meh_**	left	Bradley 1979b:446B
Lahu	**mɛ̄**	left	Benedict 1972:25n80 [a]
Lahu (Lancang)	lɑ[21]**mɛ**[11]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.43
Lahu (Black)	là**ʔ-mɛ̄**	left hand	Matisoff 1985a:080
	laʔ[21] **mɛ**[31]	left	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	lʌ[21]**mɛ**[31]phɔ[53]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.33
Lahu (Yellow)	là**ʔ-fā**	left hand	Matisoff 1985a:080
	là**ʔ-vɛ̄**-ɔ̄	left hand	Matisoff 1985a:080
	laʔ[21] **faʔ**[21]	left	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**-rgh**[1]	left (hand)	Luce 1985:V.35
Lisu	Lá[6]-**rgh**[1]	left	Matisoff 1985a:080
Lisu (Central)	lá[6]-**rgh**[1]	left (hand)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	lá[6]**rgh**[1]	left	Bradley 1979b:446A
Lisu (Northern)	læʔ[21]**ɤ**[55]	left hand; left; monkey	Bradley 1994
	læʔ[21]ɤ[55] **dʑɔ**[33]**je**[33]	left opportunism	Bradley 1994
	læʔ[21]ɤ[55] **hɤ**[55]**je**[33]	left deviation	Bradley 1994
	læʔ[21]**ɤ**[55]ba[21]	left hand side	Bradley 1994
	læʔ[21]ɤ[55]pha[21]	left handed	Bradley 1994
Lisu	lɛ[31]**ɣɯ**[55]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.27
	le̱[31]**ɯ**[55]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	le̱[42] **ɣɯ**[55] tʃʰe[31]	left	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Putao)	**ʁɯ**[1]	left (hand)	Luce 1985:V.35
Lisu (Northern)	**ɤ**[55]	left; left side; left-leaning (N.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	a[33]væ[55]o[55]	side (left)	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.3
	le[22]**væ**[55]	left hand	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.5
	le[21]**vɛ**[55]	left hand	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le̱[22] **væ**[55]	left hand	MA Xueliang 1989:362.14.
	ɑ[44] **væ**[55] o[55]	left side	MA Xueliang 1989:313.3
Yi (Sani)	ɒ[44]**væ**[55]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Sila	la̱21 **u̱21**	left-hand	KATO Takashi 2008:22
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	a[22]vɔ[45]pʰɛ̱[45]	left	Pelkey 2011:1111
Southern Muji	**fi**[55]**tsa**[21]	left	Pelkey 2011:1111
Phola	**fæ**[33]**ɬɔ**[55]	left	Pelkey 2011:1111
Hlepho Phowa	a[55]fi[55]ʑa[55]	left	Pelkey 2011:1111
Phuza	li[55]fɛ[33]pʰi[55]	left	Pelkey 2011:1111
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**væ**ɬtɑɬ	left	Michaud 2006–2009:1509
Na (Yongning)	**ʁwæ**˥	left (monosyllable)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁwæɬgi#˥	left	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁwæɬgiɬdzɤɬ	left	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Western)	**ua**[33]tɕy[31]	left	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ua**[55]tɕy[31]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.28
Naxi	**uæ**[33]tɕy[21]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**uɑ**[33]dʑi[33]	left	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɣua**[33]dzə[33]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.29

[a] Benedict proposes a development from PLB ***lak-bai** > ***laŋ-wai** > ***mai** > **mɛ̄**. This analysis implies that there was a subsequent re-compounding of this **mɛ̄** with the morpheme **làʔ** 'hand'.

[a] [Source Note] (< phai 'go aside') (Benedict 1976).

Chinese comparandum

≠ 左, but add note to refer to comparanda in #6133.

(2) PTB *kyay LEFT (SIDE)

1.1.1. TANI: ***(lak-)ke** LEFT (HAND)			
**Tani*	*lak-**ke**	left (-hand)	Sun 1993a:234
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	lá-**či**	left arm	Sun 1993b
	lá-**či** da-lji	left side	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-**či**	left (-hand)	Sun 1993a
	laʔ-**čʰi**	left (adj.)	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-**čʰi**	foreleg (left~)	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-**čʰi** a-laʔ	hand (left)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	lak-**či**	left (-hand)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	lak-**če**	left (-hand)	Sun 1993a
	lok **tɕe**	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.24
	lok-**če**	left	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	lok **tɕe**	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	ʻlak **ci**	hand (left); left hand (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻlə **ci**	left leg/foot; leg/foot (left) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻruu **ci**	ear (left); left ear (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻɲik **ci**	eye (left) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	lak **ci**	left hand	Simon 1976
	lak **ci**-ʔ-pele	left (v.)	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	lak-**ké**	left hand	Matisoff 1985a:080
	lak-**ke**	left (-hand)	Sun 1993a
Damu	laʔ-**ci**	left (adj.)	Sun 1993b
Milang	bya-**ke**	left leg	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**kí**-nu	left side	NEFA (India) 1963
	kí nu grõ	leg (left)	NEFA (India) 1963
	tɯ[31] **kiɯ**[55]	left	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɯ[31]**kiɯ**[55]	left (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.22
	tɯ[31]**kiɯ**[55]	left	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:53.49
Idu	lak **ke**	hand (left)	Pulu 1978
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	a **kí?**	left	Weidert 1987:588
Lalung [Tiwa]	iak **shi?**	left hand / left side	Balawan 1965:30
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Wancho	non **ci**	left-hand	French 1983:511
	nong **chi**	left-hand	Marrison 1967
7. KARENIC: ***ce**[B] LEFT (SIDE)			
**Karen*	***céq**	left (side)	Jones 1961:65
**Karen (TP)*	***céq**	left (side)	Jones 1961:65

Karen [Burling]	*ce^{2}	left (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:161
Karen	*ce^{B}	left (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:161
Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)	*sèq	left (side)	Jones 1961:65
Karen (Pwo)	*séq	left (side)	Jones 1961:65
Karen (Sgaw)	*sí?	left (side)	Jones 1961:65
Bwe	-cu tə-cɪ	left hand	Henderson 1997
	cɪ^{33}	left (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:161
Bwe (Western)	tɪ^{2}tcɪ^{2}	left (hand)	Luce 1985:J.219
Geba	ti^{2}si^{2}	left (hand)	Luce 1985:J.219
Karen	tsɣ̄^{55}tsɐ̱^{31}	left (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0710.50
Kayah	ci^{11}	left (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:161
Kayan	cai^{11}	left (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:161
Kayan (Pekon)	sé̤	left (direction) (N.)	Manson 2010
	sù sé̤	left-hand side (V.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	ci^{11}	left (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:161
Pa-O	cé	left (side)	Jones 1961:65
Pa-O (Southern)	ce^{33}	left (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:161
Pa-O (Northern)	ce^{55}	left (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:161
	tje^{1}	left (hand)	Luce 1985:J.219
Pa-O	ʔə cé phɛ́ʔ	left	Solnit 1989
Paku	se^{3}	left (hand)	Luce 1985:J.219
Pwo (Northern)	ci^{33}	left (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:161
Pwo (Southern)	ci^{55}	left (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:161
Pwo (Tenasserim)	se^{1}	left (hand)	Luce 1985:J.219
Pwo (Delta)	se^{4}	left (hand)	Luce 1985:J.219
Pwo (Bassein)	sè	left (side)	Jones 1961:65
Pwo (Moulmein)	sé?	left (side)	Jones 1961:65
Sgaw (Northern)	ce$^{31\sim}$	left (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:161
Sgaw (Southern)	ce^{45,}	left (side)	Luangthongkum 2013:161
Sgaw	se^{4}	left (hand)	Luce 1985:J.219
Sgaw (Bassein)	sè	left (side)	Jones 1961:65
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	tsɣ̱^{55} tsɐ̱^{31}	left	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1023
Sgaw (Moulmein)	sí?	left (side)	Jones 1961:65
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	su^{55} se^{31}	left	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1045

1.5.9.4 Span/Handspan

(1) PTB *m-twa HANDSPAN

This root is extremely well established, with an impressive cognates even in Baic and Karenic. Several forms (Lyuzu, Ersu, and Southern Tujia) have affricated initials, which bear some resemblance to Mandarin Chinese *zhǎ* 拃, although the latter shows no sign of a labial medial.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

Tibeto-Burman	*m-twa	handspan	Matisoff 2003a:616
	*twa	span	LaPolla 1987:30; Benedict 1972:165

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	t^{h}o^{55}	span (hand)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	thɔ^{53}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.6

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	tho	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	ntho	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.5
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	tho^{53}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	tho^{53}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.2
Spiti	ṭhù	hand span	Bodh 1991:13.2
Tibetan (Written)	mtho	span; handspan	LaPolla 1987:30; Benedict 1972:165; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.1

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	dzuɑ^{55}	cubit; handspan	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.18
Lyuzu	(te^{33}) dʑuæ^{31}	span (thumb to middle finger) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0901.18
Muya [Minyak]	tɔ^{33}ʁo^{35}	hand span	Sun Hongkai 1991h:13.2
Qiang (Mawo)	tɤ	span; handspan	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.8
Qiang (Taoping)	tu^{33}	span; handspan	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.9

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (NW)	kə mt^{h}o kaŋ	hand span	Sun Hongkai 1991l:13.2
	kə tui	hand span	Sun Hongkai 1991l:13.2
rGyalrong	tə twa	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə tua	hand span	Sun Hongkai 1991j:13.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə təʁa	hand span	Sun Hongkai 1991k:13.2

5. Tujia

Tujia (Southern)	dʑuɑ^{13}	span	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	thi^{55} khɑ^{55}	span	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	tho	span	LaPolla 1987:30
	tho^{55}	span; handspan	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.41
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	htwɑ^{22}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.40
Burmese (Written)	a thwa	span	LaPolla 1987:30
	ă thwa	span	Benedict 1972:165
	htwɑ^{2}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.39
	thwa	measure with a span	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:165
	ə-thwa	span (n.)	Benedict 1976a
Lashi	thǫ^{33}	hand span	Dai Qingxia 1989m:13.2
Maru [Langsu]	thu^{31}	hand span; handspan	Dai Qingxia 1989l:13.2; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	tho^{51}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.42

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	t^{h}y^{55}	hand span	Chen Kang 1986b:13.2
Lipho	thɯ^{33}	handspan	Chen Kang 1986b:13.2
Nasu	t^{h}ɤ^{21}	hand span	Chen Kang 1986b:13.2
Nesu	tu̱^{33}	hand span	Chen Kang 1986b:13.2
Noesu	thɤ^{21}	handspan	Chen Kang 1986b:13.2
Nusu (Southern)	tho^{35}	span	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	thuɑ^{31}	span	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	thuɑ^{35}	span	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	thuɑ^{35}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.45
Yi (Dafang)	thuɯ^{21}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.22
Yi (Mile)	thuɯ^{33}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.25
Yi (Nanhua)	tho^{21}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.24
Yi (Nanjian)	thy^{55}	span; handspan	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.23

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	thuɯ^{22}	handspan	Chen Kang 1986b:13.2
	tu̱^{22}	hand span	Luo Meizhen 1990:13.2
Jinuo	tho^{55}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.34
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33} t^{h}o^{44}	span	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	thv33	handspan (unit of measure)	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	ɔ̀-thu	span	LaPolla 1987:30
Lahu (Black)	tɛ^{53}thu^{33}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.33
	thɣ^{33}	span	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	tho^{33}	span	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Nujiang)	thu̱^{44}	span (hand)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	thu^{44}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.27
Sani [Nyi]	thu^{33}	handspan	Chen Kang 1986b:13.2

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Dazhai)	thu^{55}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.31
	t^{h}u^{55}	span	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	t^{h}o^{55}	span	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	thɣ^{55}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.32
	t^{h}ɣ̣^{55}	span	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

7. Karenic: *tha^{A} HANDSPAN (about 8-9 inches)

Karen	*thàh	span (1st-3rd fingers) (v.t.)	Jones 1961:162
	*tha^{A}	linear measure about 8-9 inches (a span)	Luangthongkum 2013:167
Karen [Burling]	*tha^{4}	linear measure about 8-9 inches (a span)	Luangthongkum 2013:167
Kayah	the^{33}	linear measure about 8-9 inches (a span)	Luangthongkum 2013:167
Kayan	tha^{53}	linear measure about 8-9 inches (a span)	Luangthongkum 2013:167
Pa-O (Northern)	tha$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	linear measure about 8-9 inches (a span)	Luangthongkum 2013:167
Pa-O (Southern)	tha$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	linear measure about 8-9 inches (a span)	Luangthongkum 2013:167
Pwo (Northern)	tha^{35}	linear measure about 8-9 inches (a span)	Luangthongkum 2013:167
Pwo (Southern)	tha^{53}	linear measure about 8-9 inches (a span)	Luangthongkum 2013:167
Sgaw (Northern)	tha^{33}	linear measure about 8-9 inches (a span)	Luangthongkum 2013:167
Sgaw (Southern)	tha^{55}	linear measure about 8-9 inches (a span)	Luangthongkum 2013:167

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	thǫ^{42}	span	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	tho^{42}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.37
Bai (Dali)	(ɑ^{31})thou^{33}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.35
	thuo^{31}	span	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	a^{31} t^{h}o^{31}	hand span	Zhao Yansun 1990:13.2
	tho^{31}	span; handspan	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.36

Chinese comparandum

度 OC *d'ûk, *GSR* #801a 'a measure; limit, degree; rule, law'; Schuessler 2007:218 ***dâk**; B & S 2011: ***d^{ʕ}ak { [d] ^{ʕ}ak}**; Mand. **dù**.
度 OC *d'ûg, *GSR* #801a 'measure, calculate, consider, plan; a measure of width'; Schuessler 2007:218 ***dâkh**; B & S 2011: ***d^{ʕ}ak-s { [d] ^{ʕ}ak-s}**; Mand. **duó**.
圖 OC *d'o, *GSR* #64a-c 'plan, consider; calculate; law, regulation; a plan, map'; Schuessler 2007:218 ***dâ**; B & S 2011: ***d^{ʕ}a { [d] ^{ʕ}a}**; Mand. **tú**.

(2) PTani *gop HANDSPAN

1.1.1. Tani

Tani	*gop	handspan	Sun 1993a:191

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	go-dɯ	handspan	Sun 1993b
Bengni	gap	handspan	Sun 1993a
	gap-tɯŋ	length between tips of thumb	Sun 1993b
	gap-tɯː	handspan	Sun 1993b
Bokar	gop	handspan; classifier (handspan)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	gop	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.51
Galo	a gop	handspan (n:clfq.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	pin-gop	handspan	Sun 1993a

(3) PKC *k(h)aap SPAN (n.) / HANDSPAN

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Chin	*kaap ~ khaap	SPAN / HANDSPAN (n.)	VanBik 2009:311

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	kāp	span	VanBik 2009:311

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	khap	span of a hand (between stretched thumb and little finger) (n.)	VanBik 2009:311
Khumi	káa	handspan	VanBik 2009:311

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	khaap	span of hand	VanBik 2009:311
Lushai [Mizo]	kháap	span (n.)	VanBik 2009:311

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	khā	span (n.)	VanBik 2009:311

1.5.10 Nail

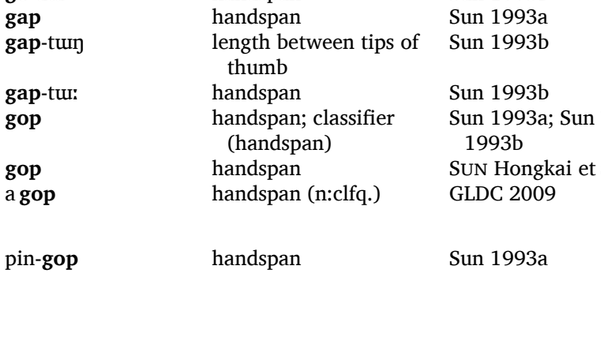


Figure 130: 1.5.10 *Nail*

(1) PTB *m-(t)sin NAIL / CLAW

This root was originally reconstructed as ***m-(t)sin** in *STC* #74, with the remark that the PTB initial was "uncertain". The reconstruction was revised to ***m-tsyen** in note 24, expanded in note 122 (p. 37).

Several allofams must be posited: one with final ***-l** (PTB ***m-tsyal** NAIL / CLAW (§1.5.10)), one with an open syllable (PTB ***m-tsyey** NAIL / CLAW (§1.5.10)), and one where the nasal prefix seems to have preempted the affricate initial (PTB ***m-(y/r)in** NAIL / CLAW (§1.5.10)).

A number of languages have reduced the initial affricate to a simple fricative, hence the parentheses around the **t** in the PAF.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(s-)yin**	claw	French 1983:469
	***m-(t)sin**	nail; fingernail; claw; fingernail, toenail, claw	Weidert 1987:290; Weidert 1987:761; Matisoff 2003a:617; Benedict 1972:74
	m-(t)sin**=m-tsyen**	fingernail	LaPolla 1987:207

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-[z/ʒ]a[:]n** NAIL (bodypart)

**Central Naga*	*m-**[z/ʒ]a[:]n**	NAIL (BODYPART)	Bruhn 2014a:III.176
Sangtam	mu **zi**	nail	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	nü **zan**	nail	Kumar 1973b:63
	^{2}mɯ ^{2}**zan** [^{1}]	nail	Weidert 1987:290

(1a) PTB *m-tsyal NAIL / CLAW

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	khu **jil**	claw (of animal); talon (of bird); claw; fingernail	Singh 1991:7.4.3; Singh 1991:7.4.4; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	**ñil**^{44} sɹi^{44} hlam^{42}	finger (little)	Matisoff 1987
	ñil^{44}	fingernail	Matisoff 1987

(1b) PTB *m-tsyey NAIL / CLAW

This allofam was formerly reconstructed as ***m-tsye**.

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**shi**	talon; claw	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	ɕi^{55}	claw	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕi^{55}	claw / talon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.22
	ɕi^{55}	claw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:174.49
Digaro	**mśi**	fingernail; toenail; claw	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:74

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **metsü**	claw	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	au-**mütsü**	nail	Achumi 1998a:7.4
	au-**mutsü**	fingernail; claw (of animal)	Achumi 1998a:7.4.1; Achumi 1998a:7.4.3
	mtsü	claw	Marrison 1967

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	pŭn-**či**	fingernail, toenail	Matisoff 1987

2.2. Newar

Newar (Kathmandu)	lu **si**	nail / claw	Genetti 1990c
Newar	lu **si**	fingernail; nail; toenail; talon (of bird)	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:7.4,7.4.1,7.4.2; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:7.4.4

(1c) PTB *m-(t)syen NAIL / CLAW

The mid vowel of this allofam seems certainly to be a secondary development from the original rhyme ***-in**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-tsyen**	nail	Michailovsky 1991:125
	***m-(t)syen**	nail / claw	Matisoff 2003a:617
	***m-tsyen**	fingernail; nail, claw	Weidert 1987:761; Benedict 1972:29n94

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Mishing [Miri]	lag-**śin** ~ lag-**yin**	finger-nail	Benedict 1972:74

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**msen**	claw	LaPolla 1987:207; Benedict 1972:74

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tin** NAIL / CLAW / HOOF

**Chin*	***tin**	NAIL / CLAW / HOOF	VanBik 2009:211
Chinbok	am-**tin**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
Thanphum	-pŏ **tin**^{3}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	gancha **tin**	claw (of animal)	Haokip 1998:7.4.3
	keng **tin** (vacha)	talon (of bird)	Haokip 1998:7.4.4
	tin	nail	Haokip 1998:7.4
Paite	**chin** [tsin]	nail	VanBik 2009:211
Siyin	**tśiŋ**	nail	Benedict 1972:74
Thado	**tîn**	claw, nail	VanBik 2009:211
	tín	claw	Thirumalai 1972:66
Tiddim	**cin**^{1}	finger nail	VanBik 2009:211; Bhaskararao 1996:182
	tin	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	tjɪn^{3}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
	tsĭn	nail; nail (finger)	Weidert 1987:167; Weidert 1987:87

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho (Sandoway)	**dɪn**^{2}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
Chinbon	**ṃtin**	nail	So-Hartmann 1988:91
	ṃti:n	claw	So-Hartmann 1988:49
Daai	**mtin**	claw	So-Hartmann 1988:49
	ṃtín	nail	So-Hartmann 1988:91
Khami	**msiŋ ≍ mseŋ**	nail	Benedict 1972:74
Awa Khumi	**m¯tsi:ŋ**^{2}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
Khumi	**p^{ə}s^{h}ín**	claw	So-Hartmann 1988:49
	p^{ə}s^{h}ïn	nail	So-Hartmann 1988:91
Khumi (Ahraing)	**pətjən**^{1}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
	pətsən^{1}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
Matu	**tin**	claw; nail	So-Hartmann 1988:49; So-Hartmann 1988:91
Matupi	**ti:n**^{4}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
Mkaang	**tin**	nail	So-Hartmann 1988:91
	tšin	claw	So-Hartmann 1988:49
Ngmüün	**msɨn**	claw	So-Hartmann 1988:49
	ṃsɨn	nail	So-Hartmann 1988:91
Nyhmoye	**mtín**	claw	So-Hartmann 1988:49
	ṃtin	nail	So-Hartmann 1988:91
Wakung	**m^{ə}siŋ**	nail	So-Hartmann 1988:91
	m^{ə}sĩŋ	claw	So-Hartmann 1988:49
Womatu	**m`tsʏn**^{1}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**tɪn**^{2}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
Lai (Hakha)	**tin**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	tîn	nail	VanBik 2009:211
Lai (Falam)	**tín**	nail	VanBik 2009:211
Lai (Hakha)	**tɪn**^{5}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
Lushai [Mizo]	**mutin**	claw	Marrison 1967
	tĭn	nail	Weidert 1987:167
	tin	hoof; fingernail; talon; claw	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	tĭn	claw, a nail, a talon, a hoof (n.)	VanBik 2009:211
	tĭn	nail / hoof	Löffler 1985
	tin	nail; claw; nail, claw, hoof	Bhaskararao 1996:182; Benedict 1972:74
	tɪn^{3}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
Paangkhua	**matìn**	nail / hoof	Löffler 1985
	tìn	nail / hoof	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	mə´ **pətaɪ**^{1}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
Lakher [Mara]	**pà-tó**	nail, claw	VanBik 2009:211
	pato < patin	nail / hoof	Löffler 1985
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**pə̌`tẽ**^{3}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
Mera	**pə̌**^{6}**teɪ**^{1}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
Tha'oa	**tin**^{2}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
Xongsai	**tɪn**^{2}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22
Zotung	**tĩ**^{5}	nail, claw, hoof	Luce 1985:P.22

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**mətin**	nail	Toba & Kom 1991:7.4
	mʌtìn	nail	Weidert 1987:290
	sə **mətin**	claw (of animal)	Toba & Kom 1991:7.4.3
	wə **mətin**	talon (of bird)	Toba & Kom 1991:7.4.4
Moyon	**bʌtíŋ**	nail	Kosha 1990:7.4
Sorbung	**mətín**	nail; claw (of animal); talon (of bird)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.221; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.224; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.225

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	n-**tín**	nail	Weidert 1987:290
Zeme	mi **tśin**	nail	Benedict 1972:74

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa	džak ^{2}**thin**	nail	Weidert 1987:290
	^{2}**thin**	nail	Weidert 1987:167
Tangsa (Moshang)	yok **t^{h}in**	claw	French 1983:469
	yok **thin**	claw	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	úık-**sàn**	nail	Weidert 1987:290
Konyak (Tamlu)	-**šún**	nail	Weidert 1987:167
	yak-**šún**	nail; nail (finger)	Weidert 1987:290; Weidert 1987:87

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**cen** tsi	claw (of animal)	Sharma 1991a:7.4.3
Byangsi	lak **ʃin**	nail (n.)	Sharma 2003:465
Chaudangsi	lak-**ɕin**	nail	Krishan 2003:392
Darma	lak-**ɕiŋ**	nail	Krishan 2003:397
Kanauri	**cin**	claw / nail of finger or toe (n.)	Bailey 1911
	cin	talon; claw; fingernail	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**tin**	nail	Sharma 1982; Sharma 1991b:7.4

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**shen** mo	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**s^{h}en**-mo	nail	Sun 1985a:624
Tibetan (Batang)	**she**^{55}mo^{53}	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**sẽ**^{55}mo^{55}	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.02
Spiti	**sen** mo	nail	Bodh 1991:7.4
Tibetan (Spiti)	**sen** mo	nail	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	p'yag-**sen**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	sen mo	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.01
	sen-mo	nails (of hand, foot); fingernail; fingernail, toenail, claw; nail	Luce 1985:X.166; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:74; Zhang Liansheng 1988:46; Sun 1985c:624
	ẓabs-**sen**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**shen** mo	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.04

2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{A}**ts^{h}in** NAIL

**TGTM*	*^{A}**ts^{h}in**	nail	Mazaudon 1994:292
Gurung (Ghachok)	yo **sĩ**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:1.45
Gurung	^{1}**sĩ**	fingernail	Mazaudon 1994:948
	^{1}**ts^{h}ĩ**	nail	Mazaudon 1994:292
Manang (Gyaru)	ya:^{1} **syin**^{1}	nail	Nagano 1984:032
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**ɕĩ**	nail	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0032
	^{1}**ʃĩ**	nail	Mazaudon 1994:948
Tamang (Bagmati)	ya**:** **chin**	fingernail	Weidert 1987:761
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}ja**:-ts^{h}in**	fingernail (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:7.4.1
	^{1}kaŋ **ts^{h}in**	toe-nail (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:7.4.2
	^{1}**ts^{h}in**	nail (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:7.4
	^{1}**ts^{h}in**	nail (finger, toe)	Mazaudon 1994:292
Tamang (Sahu)	yā:-**'chin**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	ya:-**'chin**	fingernail	Weidert 1987:761
	ya:-**'c^{h}in**	fingernail	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.45
	^{1}ja:-^{2}**ts^{h}in**	fingernail	Mazaudon 1994:293
Tamang (Taglung)	**ts^{h}in**	nail	Mazaudon 1994:293
Thakali (Marpha)	^{54}**ɕin**	nail (finger, toe)	Mazaudon 1994:948
Thakali (Syang)	^{54}**tʃ^{h}in**	nail (finger, toe)	Mazaudon 1994:293
Thakali (Tukche)	ja-**sin**	fingernail	Hari 1971:1.45
	yā-**sin**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	^{H}ja-^{H}**sin**	fingernail	Mazaudon 1994:948

2.1.5. Dhimal

Dhimal	khur-**siŋ**	fingernail; finger-nail	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:74

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***sen**	nail	Michailovsky 1991:125

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**sen** di	nail, claw	Michailovsky 1989b
	sen dī	fingernail	Matisoff 1987:p.55
	sen duk	nail	Weidert 1987:167
	se:n di	nail	Michailovsky 1991:125; Michailovsky 1991:126
	se:n dik?	nail	Weidert 1987:512
	se:n di?	nail	Weidert 1987:512
	se:n du?ba	nail	Weidert 1987:512
	[se:n di?]	nail	Weidert 1987:167
	[se:n du?ba]	nail	Weidert 1987:167
Yakha	**chen** di	nail	Weidert 1987:167
	chen dik	nail	Weidert 1987:167
	cɛ:n di	nail	Kohn 1990:7.4
	mu:k **cɛ:n** di	fingernail	Kohn 1990:7.4.1

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**sen** di	nail; nail, claw	Michailovsky 1991:125; Michailovsky 1991:126; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**syen** di	nail; nail, claws, talon	Michailovsky 1991:125; Michailovsky 1991:126; Driem 1993
Khaling	**sen** dü	nail	Michailovsky 1991:125; Michailovsky 1991:126
	sen dū	fingernail	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**san**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	son	nail, claw (B) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sən	nail	Michailovsky 1991:125
	sən	nail (of finger, toe), claw (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sənʔ	nail; nail (finger)	Weidert 1987:167; Weidert 1987:87
Chepang (Eastern)	(dom) **sən**	toenail	Caughley 1990:7.4.2
	(krut) **sən**	fingernail	Caughley 1990:7.4.1
	sən	nail	Caughley 1990:7.4
Kham	**'sen**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
Magar	ar **kin**	finger-nail	Benedict 1972:74

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	lɛ^{33}**dzɻ^{55}**	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.18
Guiqiong	kue^{33}**ɕɛ^{53}**	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.17
Muya [Minyak]	zm̩a^{35}**ndza^{53}**	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.15
Namuyi	lɛ^{33}ɳi^{35}**tʂɻ^{33}**qu^{33}	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.19
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sdʒã^{13}**	fingernail	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**zm̩ɛ̃^{35}**	fingernail	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.10
Qiang (Mawo)	dʒə pa ʁdzi **si**	fingernail	Sun Hongkai 1991g:7.4.1
	ɣdʒə **si**	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.8; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ʁdzm̩ə **si**	fingernail	Sun 1986
Qiang (Taoping)	**sie^{55}** qə^{55}	fingernail	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.9
Qiang (Yadu)	ʁdzm̩ə **s**	fingernail	Dai Qingxia 1989q:141
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	le^{55}**tʂa^{55}**	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.16
Xumi	lie^{33}**tʂɛ̃^{35}**	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.20

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	lda^{33} l **dzə̱^{33}**	fingernail	Sun Hongkai 1991c:7.4.1
Ergong (Danba)	l **dzɯ**	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.14
Ergong (Daofu)	ʑa ɬ **dzə**	fingernail	Dai Qingxia 1989b:7.4.1

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	ta jɐk **ndʑu**	fingernail	Dai Qingxia 1989d:7.4.1
	ta **ndzu**	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta jɐk **ndzə** ru	fingernail	Sun Hongkai 1991j:7.4.1
Caodeng	tə-ja-**ndz** ru	fingernail	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə jak **ndzu** ru	fingernail	Sun Hongkai 1991k:7.4.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə jak **ndzə** ru	fingernail	Sun Hongkai 1991l:7.4.1
rGyalrong	ta yi **Ndzu** ru	fingernail	Nagano 1997:7.4.1

4. Nungic

Anong	**ñin**	nail, finger	Sun Hongkai 1988
	nyin	nail; finger-nail	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:33n105; Benedict 1972:74
Nung	**n̩in^{55}**	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.21
Dulong	**n̩in^{55}**	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**n̩un^{53}**	nail	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	khɯ^{55} **ʂɯŋ^{55}**	claw	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	lɔʔ^{55} **ʂəŋ^{31}**	fingernail	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Written)	à **sàń**	nail	Benedict 1972:74
	khre-**sâñ**	talon / claw	Matisoff 1987
	khre-**sàń**	toe-nail	Benedict 1972:74
	khre-**sâñ**~lak-**sâñ**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	lak-**sân**	finger (little)	Matisoff 1987
	lak-**sàń**	finger-nail	Benedict 1972:74
	lak-**sâñ**-khwam	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	ə-**sâñ**	nail (finger-)	Benedict 1976a
Lashi	lɔʔ^{31} **sǝ̱ŋ^{33}**	nail	Dai Qingxia 1989m:7.4
Leqi (Luxi)	lɔʔ^{31}**sǝ̱ŋ^{55}**	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.33
Maru [Langsu]	lɔʔ^{31} **saŋ^{35}**	nail	Dai Qingxia 1989l:7.4
Atsi [Zaiwa]	loʔ^{21} **siŋ^{21}**	nail	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	loʔ^{21}**siŋ^{21}**	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.30
	loʔ^{21}**siŋ^{21}**	fingernail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:256.42
	loʔ^{31} **siŋ^{31}**	fingernail	LaPolla 1987:207
	loʔ **sìŋ**	nail	Weidert 1987:290

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***siŋ^{2}**	nail; fingernail	Weidert 1987:290; Bradley 1979b:115

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nesu	l̲i^{21} **ʂʅ^{33}** k̲ɤ̲^{33}	fingernail	Chen Kang 1986b:7.4.1

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	l̲e^{21} **si^{21}**	nail	Luo Meizhen 1990:7.4
	l̲e^{21} **si^{21}** zo^{21}	fingernail	Luo Meizhen 1990:7.4.1
	tɕʻi^{22} **si^{21}**	claw (of animal)	Luo Meizhen 1990:7.4.3
	tɕʻi^{22} **si^{21}** zo^{21}	paw (of animal); toenail	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.2.6.9; Luo Meizhen 1990:7.4.2
Jinuo (Baka)	la^{55} **sɯ^{44}**	fingernail	Dai Qingxia 1989i:141
Jinuo	la^{55}**sɤ^{44}**	nail (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.44
Jinuo (Youle)	lɑ^{55} **sɤ^{44}**	nail	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	ɔ̀-**śɛ̄**-qú	fingernail	LaPolla 1987:207
Lahu (Black)	là?-**šɛ̄**-qú	fingernail	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	kui **sah**	toenail	Matisoff 1987
	la˄ **sah˅** (**sah˅**)	talon; claw	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Hani (Gelanghe)	l̲a^{31} **saŋ^{31}**	fingernail	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	la^{31} **su^{31}**	fingernail	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Côông [Phunoi]	lə̆ **shìn**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987

(1d) PTB *m- $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{y}\\\mathbf{r}\end{matrix}$ in NAIL / CLAW

There is a possible allofamic relationship between this root and PKar ***hmej^{B}*** NAIL (§1.5.10).

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	lé-**yin**	toenail	Matisoff 1987

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	a **marin**	claw	Marrison 1967
	ā **marin**	talon / claw	Matisoff 1987
	vānaowui pāŋ **marin**	talon / claw	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	la^{31}**mjin^{33}**	claw / talon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.19
	lă^{31}**mjin^{33}**	claw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:174.47
	lă^{1} **mjin^{33}**	claw	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lə **myin**	talon; claw; fingernail; finger-nail	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; LaPolla 1987:207; Benedict 1972:74
	^{1}lə^{2}**myin**	nail	Weidert 1987:290

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	dI: **mIn**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987

(2) PTB *m(y)uk ≍ *r-mi-k NAIL / CLAW / HOOF

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	chi **mi**	claw; hoof; nail; talon	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	chi **mī**	nail; hoof (of animal); toenail; fingernail; claw (of animal)	Grüssner 1979:69; Grüssner 1979:69,69,69; Grüssner 1979:69
	kèng-chi **mî**	toenail	Grüssner 1979:42
	rí-chi **mī**	fingernail	Grüssner 1979:194

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	sar **my**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Jirel)	'ser **mukq**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**mik^{53}**pa^{53}	hoof	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:175.2
	mik^{55}pə^{55}	hoof (odd number) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.02
Sherpa	ser **muq**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa)	t-eq **mik** pāq	hoof (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.032
Sherpa	t-eq **mik** pāq	hoof	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Written)	**rmig** pa	hoof (even number) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.01
	rmig pa	hoof	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:175.1; Matisoff 1987; Zhang Liansheng 1988:3
	rmig.lcags	horseshoe	Sun 1985c:373
	rmig.pa	hoof	Sun 1985c:369; Marrison 1967

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**mjuk** pa	hoof (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:6.2.6.8
Tamang (Sahu)	**myuk** pā	hoof (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.032
	myuk pā	hoof	Matisoff 1987
	myuk pa	hoof	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.32

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**rn̩u** pa	hoof (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0264.12
Ergong (Northern)	**rn̩ək^{33}**pa^{53}	hoof (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:6.2.6.8

(3) IA *khura NAIL / HOOF

Sanskrit **khura**, Nepali **khur** 'hoof'

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	a-su-**gur**	claw, nail	Matisoff 1987
	a si **kur**	nail / hoof	Bhat 1968
	a si **kur**	hoof; nail, hoof	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	kura	leg (of chair etc.); hoof	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
Lalung [Tiwa]	ia **skur**	nail	Balawan 1965:30

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**skir**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**khor** ta	hoof (of animal)	Sharma 1991b:6.2.6.8

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**khur**	hoof (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.032
	khur	hoof	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Jirel)	**khurq**	hoof (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.032
	khurq	hoof	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	**khur** i	hoof (of animal)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:6.2.6.8
Gurung (Ghachok)	(**N**)k^{h}ur	hoof	Glover 1972:3.A.32
Gurung	**khur**	hoof (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.032
Gurung (Ghachok)	**khur**	hoof	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yakha	laŋ **khuːr**	hoof (of animal)	Kohn 1990:6.2.6.8

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	**khur**	hoof (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.032
	khur	hoof	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**khur**	hoof (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.032
	khur	hoof	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**'khur**	hoof (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.032
	'khur	hoof	Matisoff 1987
Magar	mi-**khur**	hoof (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.032
	mi-**khur**	hoof	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mianchi)	thì **khə̀˔**	hoof {b}	Evans 1999:330

X.1. Non-TB

Nepali	**khur**	hoof (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.032
	khur	hoof	Matisoff 1987

(4) PTB *s-lyaŋ NAIL / CUTICLE

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	a: **hling**	fingernail; nail	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	grō-**haleng**	toenail	Matisoff 1987

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	*t-m-**zəŋ**	NAIL (FINGER/TOE)	Bruhn 2014a:II.132
Ao (Chungli)	tə^{2}-mə^{2}**zəŋ^{3}**	nail (finger, toe), claw (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.132
	^{2}tɯ^{3}mɯ^{3}**zɯŋ**	nail	Weidert 1987:167
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-mə **zəŋ**	nail (finger, toe), claw (n.)	Coupe 2007

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**reng**	cuticle	Matisoff 1987
	reng alip	scab	Matisoff 1987

(5) PTB *g(y)aŋ ≍ *g(w)aŋ NAIL / CLAW

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gâng**	talon; claw	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	a^{55}huŋ^{55}**koŋ^{35}**	nail	SUN Hongkai 1991f:7.4
	ɑ^{55}huŋ^{55}**koŋ^{35}**	fingernail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:256.50
Yidu	ɑ^{55}huŋ^{55}**koŋ^{35}**	nail (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.25

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**gɛŋ**	nail; fingernail	Michailovsky 1991:127; Matisoff 1987

(6) PKir *di FINGERNAIL

This root has so far only been found in Kiranti. There is a possible connection with PKC ***ɗeʔ** SQUASH / PRESS (§6.13); see e.g. Khumi **di** 'press with fingernail'.

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	sen **dī**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987:p.55
Yakha	muːk cɛːn **di**	fingernail	Kohn 1990:7.4.1

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	sen **dū**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	**dI:** mIn	fingernail	Matisoff 1987

(7) PTani *lak-zin NAIL (body part)

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***lak-zin**	nail (body part)	Sun 1993a:266

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**là-hìŋ**	nail	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-ī	nail (body part); nail, (finger~)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	^{2}laʔ^{2}hiŋ$^{(2)}$	fingernail	Weidert 1987:512
Bengni	**lak-šin**	nail (body part)	Sun 1993a
	lak-sin	fingernail	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**lu gin**	nail (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0113.24
	lu-gin	fingernail	Sun 1993b
	lu-gin < lok + jin	nail (body part)	Sun 1993a
	lə jin	claw / talon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.24
	lə-jin	nail on claw; talon	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**lu gin**	fingernail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:256.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ləjin	fingernail; claw	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**lak-sin**	nail	Das Gupta 1963
	laksin	claw; fingernail (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ˆlaksin	nail	Weidert 1987:512
Miri, Hill	**leksin**	nail [anat.]	Simon 1976
Nishing	**lak-seng**	nail	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**lak-sin**	nail	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	**lag-jin**	nail (body part)	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**lâg-yin**	fingernail'	Matisoff 1987
	lâk-shin	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	lé-shin	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**la-jin**	claw	Sun 1993b
	laʔ-jin	nail (body part)	Sun 1993b
Milang	**la-han**	nail	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**lak-sin**	nail (body part)	Sun 1993a

(8) PKar *hmej^{B} NAIL

This root is possibly related to PTB ***m-(y/r)in** NAIL / CLAW (§1.5.10).

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***hmej^{B}**	nail	Luangthongkum 2013:197
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***méʔ**	nail / hoof	Jones 1961:59
**Karen [Burling]*	***mi**/ɛŋ/eŋ^{2}	nail	Luangthongkum 2013:197
**Karen (Pwo)*	***míq**	nail / hoof	Jones 1961:59
**Karen (TP)*	***míq**	nail / hoof	Jones 1961:59
**Karen*	***mjéq**	nail / hoof	Jones 1961:59
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***mjéq**	nail / hoof	Jones 1961:59
Bwe	θə^{55}**mi^{33}**	nail	Luangthongkum 2013:197
Kayah	**mə^{11}**	nail	Luangthongkum 2013:197
Kayan	**mɨ^{11}**	nail	Luangthongkum 2013:197
Kayaw	**mi^{11}**	nail	Luangthongkum 2013:197
Pa-O	cù **mí**	nail / hoof	Jones 1961:59
	mí	claw, nail (in cpd)	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**mi^{33}**	nail	Luangthongkum 2013:197
Pa-O (Northern)	**mi^{55}**	nail	Luangthongkum 2013:197
Palaychi	ʔàq làq **máq**	nail / hoof	Jones 1961:59
Pwo (Northern)	**mei^{33}**	nail	Luangthongkum 2013:197
Pwo (Southern)	**mei^{55}**	nail	Luangthongkum 2013:197
Pwo (Bassein)	**mì**	nail / hoof	Jones 1961:59
Pwo (Moulmein)	**míʔ**	nail / hoof	Jones 1961:59
Sgaw (Northern)	**me$^{31\sim}$**	nail	Luangthongkum 2013:197
Sgaw (Southern)	**mi^{45,}**	nail	Luangthongkum 2013:197
Sgaw (Bassein)	**mè**	nail / hoof	Jones 1961:59
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**méʔ**	nail / hoof	Jones 1961:59

1.5.10.4 Claw/Talon/Pincer

(1) PTB *ki CLAW / HOOF

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	lɯ-**ki**	hoof; nail of claw	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	**khe^{3}** cin^{1}	claw	Bhaskararao 1996:754
	khe^{3} ka^{1}	hoof	Bhaskararao 1996:756

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**ke**	talon; claw	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	cha-**ki**	hoof	Matisoff 1987

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Puiron	**ki**	hoof	Marrison 1967

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	keng **ke** mo	hoof	Matisoff 1987

1.6. MRU

Mru	**ke**	talon; claw	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

3.2. QIANGIC

Xumi	**khɛ^{55}**	hoof	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:175.20

(2) PTB *s-dyar CLAW

The forms cited from Qiangic, rGyalrongic, and Nungic look like loans from Tibetan, especially since most of them closely resemble the Tibetan binome with the **-mo** suffix.

2.1.2. BODIC

Tshona (Wenlang)	**ter^{55}** mɑ^{55}	claw	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**der^{13}** mo^{53}	claw	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:174.6
Cuona Menba	**der^{35}**mo^{53}	claw / talon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**rder** mo	claw / talon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hder** mo	claw	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:174.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**der**-mo	claw	Sun 1985a:137
	rder mo	claw	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:174.5
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ter^{13}**mo^{55}	claw / talon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.02
	ter^{15}mo^{13}	claw	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:174.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**ter** sing	claw (of animal)	Bishop 1989:7.4.3
Tibetan (Written)	**sder** mo	claw / talon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.01
	sder mo	talon; claw	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:174.1; Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:137
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**der** mo	claw / talon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.04

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Gyaru)	**dar^{2}** ma^{2}	claw	Nagano 1984:313

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	**'der**	nail; nail, claw, hoof	Michailovsky 1991:126; Allen 1975
	der	claw	Matisoff 1987

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**de^{35}**mʉ^{55}	claw / talon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.16
Muya	**de^{33}**mə^{53}	claw / talon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.15

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**zder** mo	claw / talon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.12

4. NUNGIC

Trung [Dulong]	**de^{ɪ55}**mu^{55}	claw	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:174.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**deɹ^{55}** mu^{55}	claw	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	tɔm^{31} **deɹ^{55}**	claw	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**dl̥^{21}**	claw (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.4.3
Yi (Mojiang)	**dę^{21}**	claw	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:174.26

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**dę^{21}**	claw	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.4.3

(3) PTB *dak COCKSPUR / HOOF

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	lɯ-**ta**	spur	Sun 1993b
Bengni	lɯ-**tak**	spur	Sun 1993b
Bokar	po-rok lə-**tok**	spur (of chicken)	Sun 1993b

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***dak^{L}** COCKSPUR / HOOF

**Lolo-Burmese*	***dak^{L}**	cockspur / hoof	Matisoff 2003a:586

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	krak-**tak**	cockspur (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:601
	ə-**tak**	shoot from stump; spur of cock	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2. LOLOISH

PNL	**dak**	cockspur	CHEN Kang 1986a:153.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**dìq**	hoof	Björverud 1994
	dl̥^{2}	cockspur	CHEN Kang 1986a:153.
Lipho	**dę^{2}**	cockspur	CHEN Kang 1986a:153.
Nasu	**da^{55}**	cockspur	CHEN Kang 1986a:153.
Neisu	**da^{13}**	cockspur	CHEN Kang 1986a:153.
Nesu	**dę^{2}**	cockspur	CHEN Kang 1986a:153.
Nosu	**do^{55}**	cockspur	CHEN Kang 1986a:153.
Yi (Xide)	va^{33}-ʂʅ^{33}-**do^{55}**	cockspur	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**dę^{2}**	cockspur	CHEN Kang 1986a:153.
Sani [Nyi]	**de^{2}**	cockspur	CHEN Kang 1986a:153.

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**da$_{ˆ}$**	spur on a cock/rooster (n.)	Lewis 1989:642
	ya cî **da$_{ˆ}$**	spur on a cock/rooster (n.)	Lewis 1989:642
Bisu	hja pa **tà**	spur (animal) (n.)	Beaudouin 1988:4

1.5.11 Numb/Paralyzed

(1) PTB *pit NUMB

This root bears a strong phonosemantic resemblance to PTB ***pir** NUMB (§1.5.11), and perhaps should be considered part of the same etymon.

1.1.1. TANI: ***le-pit** NUMB (in the feet)

**Tani*	***le-pit**	numb (in the feet)	Sun 1993a:276

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**lɯ-pi**	numbness in leg	Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**le-pit**	numb (in the feet)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**lə-pit**	numb	Sun 1993b

4. NUNGIC

Dulong	**pit^{55}**	numb, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**pĭt^{55}**	go numb (as a leg)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

(2) PTB *pir NUMB

This root bears a strong phonosemantic resemblance to PTB ***pit** NUMB (§1.5.11), and perhaps should be considered part of the same etymon.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	**pir**	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.24
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	**bər**	numb (foot)	Sun 1993b
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Mama)	**ber**^{13}	numb	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**pir**^{13}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.02
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**pi**:-se cwane	numb (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.10
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**pi**^{31}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.28
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baka)	**pi**^{31}	numb	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2165
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Pijo)	à **pi pi**	numb	Hansson 1989:567
Hani (Khatu)	á **pi pi**	numb	Hansson 1989:567
Hani (Mojiang)	xa^{31}**pi̱**^{33} **pi̱**^{33}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.42
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi	**pɯ**^{55}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.45
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**piə**^{42}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.48
	piɯ̱^{21}	numb / be paralyzed (be v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:12.3

(3) PTB *g-zwəy NUMB

The velar prefix is attested in Khezha and Qiang Mawo.

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Khezha	**kèvi**	numb, be / paralyzed, be	Yabu 1994:12.3
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	**gzə**	numb	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	gzə	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.08
	ɣzæ ɣzæ n̥i	numb / be paralyzed (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:12.3
Qiang (Mianchi)	**zɛ̀** bù	numb	Evans 1999:2165 [a]
Queyu (Xinlong)	**rvɯ**^{55}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.13
	zvɯr^{13}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.13
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**zvə**^{33}	numb / be paralyzed (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:12.3
Daofu	**zvɛ**	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.12
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nasu	**vi̱**^{55}	numb / be paralyzed (be v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:12.3
Nesu	**vi**^{21}	numb / be paralyzed (be v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:12.3
Noesu	**fɪ**^{13}	numb (be v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:12.3
Nosu	**vɿ̱**^{55}	numb (be v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:12.3
Nusu (Central)	**fə̱**^{53}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**fʴɣ̱̃**^{31}	numb	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2086.
Nusu (Central)	**vɚ̃**	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.34
	vɚ̃^{55}	numb	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2086.
Yi (Liangshan)	ha^{33}**vɿ**^{55}	numb (from drugs or tobacco)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ha^{34}**zɿ̱**^{33}	numb (from eating spices); tingly	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ha^{34}**ʑi**^{33}	numb	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vɿ^{55}	numb (feet or hands)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vɿ^{55}di^{21}	numb	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vɿ^{55}tɕu̱^{33}	numb	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋga^{33}**vɿ**^{55}	numb (from eating buckwheat leaves)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɕɿ^{33}**vɿ**^{55}	numb (foot)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**fi̱**^{55}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.37
Yi (Weishan)	**sɿ̱**^{21}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.36
Yi (Wuding)	**fi̱**^{55}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.38
Yi (Xide)	**vɿ**^{55}	numb	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vɿ^{55}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**fi̱**^{55}	numb	Chen Kang 1986b:12.3
Sani [Nyi]	**fi**^{55}	numb (be v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:12.3
	fi^{55}	numb	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	fi^{55} dɤ^{21} dɤ^{21} m̩^{33}	very numb	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:46.1
Yi (Sani)	**fʐ̩**^{55}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.39
Sani [Nyi]	**vi**^{33}	numb (taste)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	**zɯ˩zɯ˧˥**	numb (be v.)	Michaud 2006–2009

[a] [Source Note] cf. 'deaf'.

(4) PTB *ti NUMB / PARALYZED

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	ləŋ kə **tʰi**	numb / be paralyzed (be.)	Toba & Kom 1991:12.3
	tək kə **tʰi**	numb / be paralyzed (be.)	Toba & Kom 1991:12.3
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***tʰi** NUMB / PARALYZED			
**Tangkhulic*	***tʰi**	numb / paralyzed	Mortensen 2012:711
Huishu	kə-**tik**	numb, paralyzed (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.339
Tusom	kə-**tsɯ**	numb (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.333
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**thi**.ʔo	numb (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.10
	tʰi-sa	numb	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.30
	tʰi-ʔo	numb	Caughley 1972:12.A.10
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya	**thi**^{55}βə^{53}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tʰi**^{35}vɯ^{53}	numb / be paralyzed (be.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:12.3
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	a^{33}ti^{33}li^{33}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ti**^{44}	numb	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2165
7. Karenic			
Karen	**tθi**^{31}	numb, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1513.50
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	kʰɔ^{31} **tθi**^{31}	numb	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2165.1

1.5.12 Lame/Limp

(1) PTB * p/b a:y LAME / LIMP / ASKEW

W.T. French 1983:503 reconstructs Proto Northern Naga ***ba:y** with the meaning JUMP, clearly a related notion to LAME / LIMP in the sense that special movements of the lower limbs are involved.

This etymon is certainly co-allofamic with PTB ***b(w)ay** LEFT (HAND) (§1.5.9.2), via a set of semantic associations familiar from Western languages, where left-handedness has been regarded as "gauche" or "sinister".

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pay ⪤ bay**	lame / limp / askew	Matisoff 1985a:124
	***pa:y ⪤ ba:y**	lame / limp / askew	Matisoff 2003a:606
	***r-bi(y)**	left	Matisoff 2003a:584
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	tol-ŋe-**pi**-lu-ma	limp	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	plɑ^{55} ɑ^{31} **be**^{35}	lame person	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	plɑ^{55}ɑ^{31}**be**^{35}	lame person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0203.23
	plɑ^{55}ɑ^{31}**be**^{35}	lame person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:304.48
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ɓa(a)y ⪤ *pa(a)y** LAME / LIMP / HALTING (speech)			
**Chin*	***ɓa(a)y ⪤ pa(a)y**	LAME / LIMP / HALTING (speech)	VanBik 2009:33
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	el **bai**	crippled / lame	Haokip 1998:6.2.7
	ki **bai**	limp (v.)	Haokip 1998:6.2.8
Paite	**bai**	lame	VanBik 2009:33
Sizang	**baī** hī	lame	VanBik 2009:33
Thado	kì-**báay**-I, kì-bày-II	lame (be v.)	VanBik 2009:33
	ɛ̀l **bài**	lame (one side only)	Thirumalai 1972:15
Tiddim	-**ba:i**	lame (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:124
	-**ba:i**/ˆ**ba:i**	lame (v.)	Henderson 1965
	ba:i^{2}	lame	VanBik 2009:33
	ba:i^{2}	lame (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:55
	ba:i^{2}	lame	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˋba:i	lame (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:124
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**tbaáy**	lame, unable to walk	VanBik 2009:33
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**bày**-I, bǎy-II	lame, limp	VanBik 2009:33
Lai (Falam)	**báy**-I, bày-II, bǎy	lame, limp (be v.)	VanBik 2009:33
Lushai [Mizo]	**bǎi**	limp, be lame; hop	Matisoff 1985a:124
	bǎi	lame, to limp (be v.)	VanBik 2009:33
	bai	lame; walk lamely (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2111
	ke **bai**	lame	Marrison 1967
	pǎi	stagger, reel; have a foreign accent; be out of line askew	Matisoff 1985a:124
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	chā-**bìa**	limp, to hobble (v.)	VanBik 2009:33
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***ba:y** JUMP			
**Northern Naga*	***ba:y**	jump	Matisoff 1985a:124
	***ba:y**	jump (v.)	French 1983:507
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**ai**	jump (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ai	lame; limp; askew; jump	Matisoff 1985a:124; French 1983:507
Phom	tüt **ei**	jump (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tət **ei**	jump	French 1983:507; Matisoff 1985a:124
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	**Nbi**	person who limps	Matisoff 1985a:124

Chinese comparandum

The following set of Chinese etyma is offered on the basis of discussion in Schuessler 2007:158-9, 170-71 *et pass*; (also see Matisoff 1995: ST Palatal Suffixes Revisited). These etyma can be considered allofams within Chinese, as well as primary comparanda for PTB ***(p/b)a:y** on both phonological and semantic grounds:

跛 OC ***pwâ**, *GSR* #25m 'walk lame'; Schuessler 2007:171 ***pâiʔ**; B & S 2011: ***pˤajʔ**; Mand. **bǒ**.
頗 OC ***p'wâ**, *GSR* #25p 'slanting, oblique, perverse'; Schuessler 2007:158 ***phâi**; Mand. **pō**.
坡 OC (***p'wâ**), (not in *GSR* #25) 'slope, slanted'; Schuessler 2007:158 ***phâi**; Mand. **pō**.
陂 OC ***piɑ**, *GSR* #25i 'river bank, dike'; Schuessler 2007: ***pai**; B & S 2011: ***paj {p(r)a [j] }**; Mand. **bēi, bī**.
詖 OC ***piɑ**, *GSR* #25h 'biased, insincere'; Schuessler 2007:158 ***paih**; Mand. **bì**.

(2) PKC *ɓul MAIMED

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɓul**	MAIMED	VanBik 2009:35
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**bu:i**^{3} > **buiʔ**^{3}	maimed	VanBik 2009:35
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**bùl-I**, **bǔl-II**	maimed (e.g. lost limbs, etc.) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:35

1.6.1 Body Hair/Fur

(1) PTB * s/r -mul ⪤ *s-mil ⪤ *s-myal HAIR / FUR / FEATHER

Although a number of rGyalrongic forms apparently descend from this root, many others are better assigned to a prototype with front vowel, i.e. PTB ***r-(n/m)ey** HAIR OF HEAD (§1.2.3).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**r-)mul**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
	*(**s-)mil**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
	*(**s-)mul**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:261
	*(**s-)mul** ⪤ *(**r-)mul**	body hair, fur, feathers	Benedict 1972:2

	*(s-)**mul**~(r-)**mul**	hair	Michailovsky 1991:81
	***g-mul**	hair (body)	Matisoff 2003a:602
	***mul**	hair / fur	LaPolla 1987:90
	***r-mul**	hair / fur / feathers	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1137a-b
	***s-mul ≋ s-mil ≋ s-myal**	hair (body) / fur / feather	Matisoff 2003a:603
	***s/r-mul ~ s-mil**	eyebrow	Chou Fa-kao 1972:567a-c

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	gu-**mjuʔ**	beard	Simon 1979
	ñiw **mjuʔ**	moustache	Simon 1979

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	kə^{33}tuᵻ^{33}**muɲ**^{33}	beard	Sun Hongkai 1993

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	go(m)-**mu**	moustache	Sun 1993b
	go-**mu**	beard	Sun 1993b
	gom-**mu**	beard	Sun 1993b
	mi-bi a-**mu**	eyelash	Sun 1993b
	mi-bjo à-**mu**	eyelash	Sun 1993b
	mi-tiŋ a-**mu**	eyebrow	Sun 1993b
	miʔ-brjo a-**mu**	eyelash	Sun 1993b
	miʔ-tĩ a-**mu**	eyebrow	Sun 1993b
Bengni	gam-**mɯ**	beard	Sun 1993b
	jaː-**mɯ**	wool (on sheep's body)	Sun 1993b
	nap-**mɯ** [nam-mɯ^{h}]	moustache	Sun 1993b
	ñik-**mɯ**	eyelash	Sun 1993b
Bokar	mik-**mɯ**	eyelash	Sun 1993b
	nəp-**mɯ**	beard	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	nap **mɯ**	beard	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	cokːo nam-**mɤ**	beard	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻpum **mə**	nosehair (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻrog **mə**	chicken feather; feather (chicken) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Tagin	na **mi**	beard	Das Gupta 1983
	na **mɯ**	moustache	Das Gupta 1983
	nyik siŋ nyik **mɯ**	eyebrow	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	nâm-**mûr**	beard	Matisoff 1987
Damu	mik-**mi**	eyebrow; eyelash	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ŋeː-**miː**	beard	Sun 1993b
	n̥eː-**miː**	beard	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **ma**	fur	Tayeng 1976
	kyaŋ **ma**	beard	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	blm-**um**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	bɯ^{31}lɯm^{55} **m̩^{55}**	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	m̩^{55}	feathers; fur	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	m̩^{55}	hair; down; feather; plume (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.22; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.22
	m̩^{55}	hair; fur; feather	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:172.49; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:173.49
	thram-**um**	beard	Matisoff 1987
	t^{h}ɯ^{31} ɹɯm^{53} **m̩^{55}**	beard	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	um	hair (body); hair of the body	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
Kaman [Miju]	min^{55} **bɯl^{35}**	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕɑ^{31} **mol^{35}**	beard	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕɑ^{31}**mol^{35}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.23
	ɕɑ^{31}**mol^{35}**	beard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.48
Idu	e lõ **mo**	eyelash	Pulu 1978
	e po **mo**	eyebrow	Pulu 1978; Anonymous 1962
	e rõ **mo**	beard; moustache	Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978
	e ro **mo**	moustache / beard	Anonymous 1962
	mu^{55}bɹa^{55}	feather (of bird)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:8.1.5
	mu^{55}bɹɑ^{55}	feather	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:173.50
	ʔi^{55}ɦuŋ^{31}**mu^{55}**	beard	Sun Hongkai 1991f:8.1.2.1
Yidu	**mu^{55}**bɹɑ^{55}	feather / plume (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***mul ≋ *hmul** HAIR (body) / FUR / WOOL

**Chin*	***mul ≋** hmul	HAIR (body) / FUR / WOOL	VanBik 2009:770
Anal	**hmul**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	mhɔ́l	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
Chinbok	**mu**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
Thanphum	ă **mɤn^{5}**	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	beng khajum **mul**	whiskers (of animal)	Haokip 1998:8.1.7
	beng **mul**	facial hair	Haokip 1998:8.1.2
	gancha muh **mul**	mane (of horse, lion)	Haokip 1998:8.1.6
	jahnoi **mul**	underarm hair	Haokip 1998:8.1.3.1
	jang **mul**	male pubic hair	Haokip 1998:10.3.6
	keng **mul**	leg hair	Haokip 1998:8.1.3.3
	kha **mul**	beard	Haokip 1998:8.1.2.1
	mul	hair (general); body hair	Haokip 1998:8.1; Haokip 1998:8.1.3
	nah **mul**	nose hair	Haokip 1998:3.5.4
	op **mul**	chest hair	Haokip 1998:8.1.3.2
	sa **mul**	fur (of animal)	Haokip 1998:8.1.4
	su **mul**	female pubic hair	Haokip 1998:10.4.5
	va cha **mul**	feather (of bird)	Haokip 1998:8.1.5
Sizang	**mul**	animal's hair	VanBik 2009:770
Thado	**mûl**	body hair	VanBik 2009:770
	xɑ̄ **mùl**	beard	Thirumalai 1972:42
Tiddim	**mŭl**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:25
	mul	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	mul^{1}	hair; feather; hair, feather	VanBik 2009:770; Bhaskararao 1996:1150
	muːk^{3}**mul^{1}**	moustaches ("lip hair")	VanBik 2009:876
	mʊl^{3}	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho (Sandoway)	ă**ˋ hmɔ^{2}**	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17
Chinbon	a̰ **mɔ**	feather	So-Hartmann 1988:45
Cho (Mindat)	**mu**	hairy, to have feathers on (birds) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:770
Awa Khumi	ă **mü^{2}**	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17
Khumi	**mui?**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	muuy	body hair	VanBik 2009:770
	tə vó.**mu^{i}**	feather	So-Hartmann 1988:45
Khumi (Ahraing)	**mur^{1}**	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17
Matu	a̰ **mul**	feather	So-Hartmann 1988:45
Matupi	**mul^{4}**	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17
Mkaang	**mï^{i}**	feather	So-Hartmann 1988:45
Ngmüün	lṵ **mu**	hair	So-Hartmann 1988:80
	ʔk^{h}a **mú**	feather	So-Hartmann 1988:45
Nyhmoye	lu.**mu**	hair	So-Hartmann 1988:80
Womatu	**mũ^{1}**	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**hmül^{2}**	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17
	hmʊl^{2}	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17
Lai (Hakha)	**hmul**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	hmûl	hair (body)	VanBik 2009:770
Lai (Falam)	**hmúl**	hair (body)	VanBik 2009:770
Lai (Hakha)	**hmul^{5}**	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17
Laizo	**hmul**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	hmûi-**hmul**	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	hmŭl	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
	hmul	hair (of body); feather; hair (body)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	hmŭl	hair, fur, wool, feathers, plumage	VanBik 2009:770
	hmul	hair; feather; fur; body hair, fur, feathers	Bhaskararao 1996:1150; LaPolla 1987:90; Benedict 1972:2
	hmʊl^{3}	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17
	kha-be **hmul**	beard	Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967
	mit **hmul**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	məpɑi^{4}**hmi'^{1}**	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17
Lakher [Mara]	ka-**hmi**	beard	Matisoff 1987
	mo-**hmi**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	^{3}hmi	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**hmĩ^{3}**	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17
Mera	**hmi^{1}**	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17
Tha'oa	ă**ˋmʊl^{2}**	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17
Xongsai	**mʊl^{2}**	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17
Zotung	**miŋ**-zaʔ	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	mĩ^{5}	hair on body, feathers	Luce 1985:P.17

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	ǰəŋ **mih**	male pubic hair	Toba & Kom 1991:10.3.6
	ke **mih**	leg hair	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.3.3
	kəču **mih**	underarm hair	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.3.1
	lop **mih**	chest hair	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.3.2
	mì	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
	mih	hair (general)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1
	mih inkin	cowlick (flexure in hair)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.1.1
	mit **mih**	eyelash	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.4
	mit ɣəkui **mih**	eyebrow	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.3
	məi **mih**	beard / moustache	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.2
	mək^{h}ə **mih**	beard	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.2.1
	nar **mih**	nose hair	Toba & Kom 1991:3.5.4
	ner **mih**	moustache	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.2.3
	su-**mih**	female pubic hair	Toba & Kom 1991:10.4.5
	sə **mih**	fur (of animal)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.4
	tuk tu **mih**	mane (of horse, lion)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.6
	tək **mih**	body hair	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.3
	t^{h}əmbe **mih**	whiskers (of animal)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.7
	və **mih**	feather (of bird)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.1.5
Moyon	brúŋ **mòwr** ~ bʌrúŋ **mòw**	chest hair	Kosha 1990:8.1.3.2
	bʌkhá **mòwr**	goatee	Kosha 1990:8.1.2.2
	jʌŋ **mówr**	male pubic hair	Kosha 1990:10.3.6
	khì **mòw** ~ khi **mòwr**	leg hair	Kosha 1990:8.1.3.3
	kæ̀ŋkrik **mówr**	underarm hair	Kosha 1990:8.1.3.1
	lbúŋ **mòwr**	mane (of horse, lion)	Kosha 1990:8.1.6
	mìk **mòwr**	eyelash	Kosha 1990:3.4.4
	mòwr	hair (general) of all parts of; body hair	Kosha 1990:8.1; Kosha 1990:8.1.3
	mæ **mòwr** ~ mæ mòwr	beard; moustache	Kosha 1990:8.1.2; Kosha 1990:8.1.2.1
	nàr **mòwr**	nose hair	Kosha 1990:3.5.4
	nèr **mòwr**	moustache; whiskers (of animal)	Kosha 1990:8.1.2.3; Kosha 1990:8.1.7
	sòw **mòwr** ~ sow **mòwr**	female pubic hair	Kosha 1990:10.4.5
	šʌ̀ **mòwr** ~ šʌ **mòwr**	fur (of animal)	Kosha 1990:8.1.4
	và ti **mòwr**	feather (of bird)	Kosha 1990:8.1.5
Sorbung	cù bláa **míi**	hair, underarm	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.235
	jàŋ **mìi**	hair, male pubic	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.317
	kè **míi**	hair, leg	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.237
	mòr **míi**	hair, facial	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.230
	ʃir **mìi**	hair, female pubic	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.325
	ʔə **míi**	hair (general); hair, body; feather (of bird)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.227; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.234; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.239

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	wa ka **mul**	feather	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{5}u^{5}**mie**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
Angami (Kohima)	(u) kho^{31} **mia^{55}**	chest hair	Nienu 1990a:8.1.3.2
	(u) mie^{31} **mia^{55}**	female pubic hair	Nienu 1990a:10.4.5
	(u) mo^{31} **mia^{55}**	body hair	Nienu 1990a:8.1.3
	(u) nhü^{31} **mia^{55}**	nose hair	Nienu 1990a:3.5.4
	(u) phi^{31} **mia^{55}**	leg hair	Nienu 1990a:8.1.3.3
	(u) tho^{55} **mia^{55}**	male pubic hair	Nienu 1990a:10.3.6
	(u) zho^{11} khro^{31} **mia^{55}**	underarm hair	Nienu 1990a:8.1.3.1
	mie	feather	Marrison 1967
	pe^{31} ra^{31} **mia^{55}**	feather (of bird)	Nienu 1990a:8.1.5
	u **mie**	hair (of body)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) kho^{31} **ma^{35}**	chest hair	Nienu 1990b:8.1.3.2
	(u) mo^{31} **ma^{35}**	body hair	Nienu 1990b:8.1.3
	u **ma**	hair (of body)	Marrison 1967
	^{4}ma	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:261
Khezha	rò **mhí**	feather (of bird)	Yabu 1994:8.1.5
	^{1}e^{1}**mhi**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:261
	ʼè **mhì**	hair, body; fur (of animal)	Yabu 1994:8.1.3; Yabu 1994:8.1.3
	ʼe **mhì**	feather (of bird)	Yabu 1994:8.1.5
Mao	o **mei**	hair (of body)	Marrison 1967
	^{2}o^{3}**mei**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:261
Rengma	**hü**	hair (of body)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	acho **mhi**	hair (male, pubic)	Achumi 1998a:10.3.6
	agi-**mhi**	hair (facial)	Achumi 1998a:8.1.2
	akichi-**mhi**	moustache	Achumi 1998a:8.1.2.3
	amo **mhi**	hair (female, pubic)	Achumi 1998a:10.4.5
	amükhü **mhi**	beard	Achumi 1998a:8.1.2.1
	amukhü **mhi**	goatee	Achumi 1998a:8.1.2.2
	amula **mhi**	chest hair	Achumi 1998a:8.1.3.2
	angi-**mhi**	nose hair	Achumi 1998a:3.5.4
	apukhu **mhi**	leg hair	Achumi 1998a:8.1.3.3

	a **mhi**	hair (of body); feather; body hair; fur (of animal); feather (of bird); mane (of horse, lion)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:8.1.3,8.1.4,8.1.5; Achumi 1998a:8.1.6
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	**mai**-hiu	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
Maram	makho **mei**	beard	Marrison 1967
Puiron	ku **mun**	beard	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**mái**-hîu	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
	məi **hu**[31]	body hair	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	mi mui **mai**	beard	Marrison 1967
	[4]**mai**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:25
Mzieme	**mai**	hair (of body)	Marrison 1967
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**mun**	male; female pubic hair; female; male pubic hair	Singh 1991:10.3.6; Singh 1991:10.4.5
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ang-**mi**	fur, hair; hair (of body)	Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967
	aŋ **mi**	hair; fur; body hair, fur, feathers	LaPolla 1987:90; Benedict 1972:2
	aŋ **mī(ʔ)**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:261
	che thók a-.ŋ **mī**	mane (of horse, lion)	Grüssner 1979:61
	ing **mî**	body hair; fur (of animal)	Grüssner 1979:28; Grüssner 1979:28
	ing **mî** ka-.ngdùk	feather (of bird)	Grüssner 1979:28
	ing **mî**-sô	feather (of bird)	Grüssner 1979:28
	mek ahom ang **mi**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mék ahōm ang **mī**	eyelash; eyelid	Grüssner 1979:167; Grüssner 1979:167
	ning ang **mi**	chest hair	Matisoff 1987
1.6. MRU			
Mru	ă **moʔ**[2]	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26
	ʃɔ̆ **moʔ**[2]	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26
	ʃɛ[3]**moʔ**[2]	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	me gón **mu** púr	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
Lalung [Tiwa]	khu **mul**	hair / fur	Balawan 1965:18
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	ki **mil**	hair; fur; body hair, fur, feathers	LaPolla 1987:90; Benedict 1972:2
	[kɨ **mɨl]**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
Garo (Bangladesh)	ja'-ku-**mil**	hair on legs	Burling 1992
	ki **m-il**	body hair, fur of an animal, small feathers, down	Burling 1992
	ki **m-il**	down; fur; hair of body (n.)	Burling 2003:6.25-II:idx
	mik-**kimil**	eyebrow	Burling 1992
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	cha• **myn**	leg hair (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	myn•	body hair (of human), fur (of animal) (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	ri• **myn**	male pubic hair (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	su• **myn**	pubic hair (female) (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.1.4. DEORI			
Deori/Deuri	dum ju[1] si **mu**[1]	beard	unknown nd
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***muil**	hair	French 1983:500
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Tangsa (Moshang)	ku **mul**	head hair; hair (of head)	French 1983:500; Marrison 1967
	mul	feather	Marrison 1967; French 1983:500
	mul ≷ kə **mul**	hair; fur; body hair, fur, feathers	Benedict 1972:2; LaPolla 1987:90 [a]
Tangsa (Yogli)	khu **mil**	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
	k[h]u **mil**	head hair	French 1983:500
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	u **wi**	hair (of body)	Marrison 1967
Khiamngan	[1]tsǫŋ[12]**maɪ**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
Konyak	**min**	hair (of body); hair (of head); head hair; body hair	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; French 1983:500
Konyak (Tamlu)	búm-**mɯn**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
Wancho	**mun**	fur	French 1983:500
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	jìn-**mūn**	female pubic hair	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	mān **mun**	beard	Matisoff 1987
	mjiʔ[31] kǭ[33] **mun**[33]	eyebrow	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mun	hair (of body); hair (body); hair (head)	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	mun ≷ ə **mun**	hair; fur; beard	Benedict 1972:2; LaPolla 1987:90
	mun[33]	fur	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mun[33]	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.19
	mun[33]	hair; fur; feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.47; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.47
	myìʔ kaw-**mun**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	myìʔ-**mun**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	n-hka n-**mun**	beard	Matisoff 1987
	n-**mun**	beard	Matisoff 1987
	n-**mun** n-mau	beard	Matisoff 1987
	n-gup n-**mun**	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	ne[31]**mun**[33]	male pubic hair (n.)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ning **mun**	beard	Matisoff 1987
	niŋ[31] **mun**[33]	beard	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	niŋ **mun** ≷ n **mun**	beard	Benedict 1972:2
	nkha **mun**	beard	Marrison 1967
	n̩[31] **mun**[33]	beard	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	n **mun** n mɑu	beard	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1137a-b
	u[31]**mun**[33]	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.19
	u **mun**	feather	Marrison 1967
	[2]**mun**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
	ə-**mùn**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Andro	hū **mī**	hair of head	Luce 1985:K.53
Ganan	**miŋ**[1]ku[1]	hair of body	Luce 1985:L.160
Kadu (Kantu)	**mu:n**[1]ku[1]	hair of body	Luce 1985:L.160
Lui	hu-**mī**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
Sak	ayáiŋ kó **muŋ**	feather	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:317
Sak (Bawtala)	ă[1]**mŭ**[4]	hair of body	Luce 1985:L.160
Sak	á **muŋ**	fur; animal hair; body hair	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:312-1; HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:48
	hu-**mí**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	kú-**mí**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	**min**[53] mA[53]	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	min[55]mA[53]	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.6
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**mĩ**[55]mə[55]	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.02
Tibetan (Written)	**smin**-ma	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:173n461; ZHANG Liansheng 1988:18
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	(a-)**myal** / (a-)**myel**	hair (body-)	Benedict 1972:75n231
	(ă-)**myal** ≷ (ă-)**myel**	body hair, fur, feathers	Benedict 1972:2
	a-**myal**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	a-**myel**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	myal	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	ʔá **mel**	hair (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*[Bh]**mwi**	hair (body)	Mazaudon 1994:808
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mihq**	hair (body)	Glover 1972
	syoq **mwiq**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:2.A.9
Manang (Gyaru)	mi[1] tsin[1] **mɯy**[2]	eyelash	Nagano 1984:004-01
	mɯy[1]	hair	Nagano 1984:048
	syɛ[3] ba:[2] **mɯy**[2]	feather	Nagano 1984:317
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]**mui**	hair (body)	Mazaudon 1994:808
	[1]**muʔi**	feather; plume; hair (body); hair (of animal)	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0042; HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0065; HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0101
Thakali (Tukche)	**muhj**	feather	Hari 1971:1.36
2.1.5. DHIMAL			
Dhimal	li **muĩ**	woman's pubic hair	King 1994
	ta **muĩ**	man's pubic hair	King 1994
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***mur**	hair	Michailovsky 1991:81
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**muŋ**	feather, body hair	Ebert 1997
	soga **muŋ**	body hair (cf. muŋ)	Ebert 1997
	wa **muŋ**	feather	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**-m'** rik	hair, feathers, fur	Michailovsky 1991:81
	hi-rā-**mu**-rik	female pubic hair	Matisoff 1987
	le **mu** rik	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	mu rik	hair (body); hair, feathers, fur	Weidert 1987:586; Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:81
	mu rikʔ	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
	mu riʔ	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
Yakha	bɔ:stu: **muŋ**	fur (of animal)	Kohn 1990:8.1.4
	chati **muŋ**	chest hair	Kohn 1990:8.1.3.2
	dziu biya **muŋ**	body hair	Kohn 1990:8.1.3
	laŋ biya **mu:ŋ**	leg hair	Kohn 1990:8.1.3.3
	li: go: u **muŋ**	male pubic hair	Kohn 1990:10.3.6
	lɛ:ku:maŋ **muŋ**	underarm hair	Kohn 1990:8.1.3.1
	muŋ	hair (general)	Kohn 1990:8.1
	na: cik **muŋ**	beard / moustache	Kohn 1990:8.1.2
	na buʔ **muŋ**	nose hair	Kohn 1990:3.5.4
	nwɔ:ka **muŋ**	feather (of bird)	Kohn 1990:8.1.5
	phak kau **muŋ**	mane (of horse, lion)	Kohn 1990:8.1.6
	wi: ya **muŋ**	whiskers (of animal)	Kohn 1990:8.1.7
	ya **muŋ**	moustache	Kohn 1990:8.1.2.3
Yamphu	ya **mi**	body hair, moustache (n.)	Rutgers 1998:592.2
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**mïa**	hair; fur	Michailovsky 1991:81; Michailovsky 1991:81
	mUa	fur	Rai 1985
	müwa	body hair / feather	Rai *et al.* 1984:53
Chamling	**mu** se*	feather / body hair	Winter 1985:25
	mu se	feather, body-hair	Michailovsky 1991:81
Kulung	koko **mui**	hair; body hair	Michailovsky 1991:80; Rai *et al.* 1975
	mui	hair (general), fur; hair (incl. of head), fur	Michailovsky 1991:81; Rai *et al.* 1975
	muks ə **mui**	eyebrow	Rai *et al.* 1975
	mu lum	hair (of head)	Michailovsky 1991:81
	mu lum_	topknot <hair>	Rai *et al.* 1975
	toŋ **mui**	hair (of head)	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	mik. **pulʔ**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	mik.**pulʔ**	eyebrow, eyelash (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mik **pulʔ**	eyelash; eyebrow	Matisoff 1987; Caughley 1972:2.A.11; Caughley 1972:2.A.12
Chepang (Eastern)	mik **pulʔ**	eyebrow; eyelash	Caughley 1990:3.4.3; Caughley 1990:3.4.4
Kham	**'muhl**	fur (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.026
	'muhl	feather; hair; fur; hair (body)	Watters & Watters 1989:1.36; Watters & Watters 1989:1.37,3.A.26; Matisoff 1987
Magar	mi-**mha**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	mi-**mhā**	hair (head); hair?	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	mi-**mur**	moustache	Matisoff 1987
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**mar**	hair; hair (of head)	DAI Qingxia 1989e:8.1; Nishida 1964:185, 184; Nishida 1964:39-095
	mej	hair	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2563
	mi̱a̱	hair	Sofronov c1978
	mjar	hair	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2600
	mji̱	full head of hair	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1979
	mɛ	hair (of body)	Nishida 1964:96-092
	mɛ rie	feather (of bird)	DAI Qingxia 1989e:8.1.5
	mi̱a̱[1]	eyebrow	Sofronov c1978
	ʔu **mi̱a̱**	hair of head	DAI Qingxia 1989e:2.7
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	do[55] bɛ[55] **ma**[ɹ55]	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.18
	ma[ɹ55]	feather; mane; hair; fur	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.18; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.18
Lyuzu	miæ[33]**mu**[53]	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.18
	mu[53]	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.18
Muya	**mo**[24]	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.15

[a] Moshang **kə** looks as if it is a reduction of PTB ***m/s-gaw*** HEAD (§1.2.1) (cf. **ku mul**), but the gloss seems to show that it is body hair, not head hair, that is referred to.

[a] The denasalization of **m-** to **p-** in Chepang **pulʔ** is undoubtedly due to assimilation to the preceding consonant.

	ndʑe^{55}ɦu^{55} **mo^{24}**	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.15
	ʁɐ̯^{53}**mo^{33}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.15
Muya [Minyak]	dʑe^{35}wu^{35}**mo^{35}**	feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.15
	dʑɛ^{35}wu^{35}**mo^{35}**	feather	SUN Hongkai 1991h:8.1.5
	mi^{35} **mɔ^{35}**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.4.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.15
	mi^{55}**mu^{55}**	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.4.4
	mo^{35}	hair; fur; mane	SUN Hongkai 1991h:8.1.6; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.15
	ʁe^{35}**mo^{33}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai 1991h:8.1.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.15
Namuyi	**hũ^{33}**	feather; mane; hair; fur	SUN Hongkai 1991i:8.1.5; SUN Hongkai 1991i:8.1.6; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.19
	miɛ^{33}tsʅ^{33}**hũ^{33}**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.4.3
	miɛ^{55}tsʅ^{33}**hũ^{33}**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.19
	miɛ^{55}tsʅ^{33}**hũ^{55}**	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.4.4
	ʁo^{55}**hũ^{33}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai 1991i:8.1.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.19
	hũ^{31}	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.46
	miæ^{55}tsʅ^{33}**hũ^{55}**	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.46
	tshʅ^{35}**hũ^{53}**	wool / fleece (goat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.46
	ɦæ^{ɪ53}**hũ^{31}**	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.46
	ʁuo^{53}**hũ^{31}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.46
	ʔhũ^{31}	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**mã^{35}**	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.10
	mɛi^{35}	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.10
	qhuo^{11}**mɛi^{35}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ma^{55}**	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.09
	qho^{55}**ma^{55}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.09
	ʐo^{13}**mã^{55}**	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ma^{55}**	hair; fur	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.11
	ma^{55}ʃu^{55}	feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.11
	qho^{55}**ma^{55}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.11
	q^{h}o^{55} **ma^{55}**	hair	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	khu^{55}**mɛ̃^{53}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.10
	k^{h}u^{55} **mɛ̃^{53}**	hair	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	mɛ̃^{13}	fur	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	mɛ̃^{53}	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.10
	ru^{35}**m̥ã^{53}**	feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.10
	n̥ɛ^{55} **mɛ̃^{55}**	eyebrow	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.10
Qiang (Longxi)	lià **χù**	male pubic hair	Evans 1999:144.1
	mí-**χú**	eyebrow, eyelash [eye-fur]	Evans 1999:103
	phì **χù**	female pubic hair	Evans 1999:146.1
	tɕhà **χù**	wool	Evans 1999:350
	ỳ **χù**	feather	Evans 1999:371
	ɹà-**χù**	body hair [skin-hair]	Evans 1999:152
	ʁó kə́ **χú**	horse's mane [horse-POSS?-body.hair]	Evans 1999:339
	χù	fur, hair	Evans 1999:332
Qiang (Mawo)	dʒa **hu̯**	armpit hair	Sun 1986
	hu pɑ	hair; fur; feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.8
	huŋ pa	hair (general); body hair	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.1; SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.1.3
	hu pɑ	fur, feather	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	kæ **hu̯ŋ**	female pubic hair	SUN Hongkai 1991g:10.4.5
	k^{h}uə pik **hu̯ŋ** pa	fur (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.1.4
	li **hu̯**	pubic hair(male)	Sun 1986
	li **hu̯ŋ**	male pubic hair	SUN Hongkai 1991g:10.3.6
	nə **hu̯**	body hair; eyebrow	Sun 1986; Sun 1986
	nə **hŭ**	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.4.4
	nɑ^{ɪ}ɣdʑɑ **hu**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.8
	tʃə **hu̯ŋ** pa	mane (of horse, lion)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.1.6
	xu pɑ	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.08
	n̥u **xu̯**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.08
	ɹa **hu̯**	chest hair	Sun 1986
Qiang (Mianchi)	(ì) **mù**	feather	Evans 1999:371
	(**mù**) tʂhuá	shave [hair-shave]	Evans 1999:1940
	khɛ̀-**mù**	beard [chin-hair]	Evans 1999:112
	mù	pubic hair; body hair; fur, hair	Evans 1999:144.1; Evans 1999:152; Evans 1999:332
	mù-**mú**	eyebrow, eyelash [eye-fur]	Evans 1999:103
	tshé-**mù**	wool [goat-hair]	Evans 1999:350
Qiang (Taoping)	mi^{55} po^{33} **χmə^{55}**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.9
	qə^{31} **χmə^{55}**	hair	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	qə^{31} **χmə^{55}** sʅ^{55} kie^{31}	braid (hair) (n.)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	qə^{31}**χmə^{55}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.9
	qə^{31}**χmə^{55}**sʅ^{55}kie^{31}	plait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:235.9
	tshuə^{55}**χmə^{33}**	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.9
	ts^{h}uə^{55} **χmə^{33}**	beard	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	χmə^{33}	hair; fur; fur, feathers; feather	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.9; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	mn̥e^{55}**m̥e^{55}**	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.13
	m̥e^{13}rie^{55}	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**m̥u^{53}**	hair; fur; mane (of horse, lion)	SUN Hongkai 1991n:8.1.6; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.16
	m̥u^{55} dzo^{53}	feather (of bird); feather	SUN Hongkai 1991n:8.1.5; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	qha^{55}**m̥e^{33}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.13
Xumi	ʁo^{33} **m̥õ^{35}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.20
	ʁʊ^{33}**mõ^{55}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.17

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	gɛv^{53} **rmo^{53}**	leg hair	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.3.3
	meɣ^{53} ndɛp^{53} **rmo^{53}**	eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.4.4
	meɣ^{53} **rmo^{53}**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.4.3
	pcç^{h}a^{33} k^{h}u^{33} **rmo^{53}**	underarm hair	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.3.1
	rdak^{53} **rmo^{53}**	fur (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.4
	rmo^{53}	hair (general)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1
	rʁa^{53} lo^{33} **rmo^{53}**	chest hair	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.3.2
	snə^{53} **rmo^{53}**	nose hair	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.5.4
	stə^{53} **rmo^{53}**	female pubic hair	SUN Hongkai 1991c:10.4.5
Ergong (Danba)	**wmə** rɣia	feather	SUN Hongkai 1991b:8.1.5
	wmə ʐʑa	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.14
Ergong (Northern)	xtsə^{53} **rmo^{53}**	male pubic hair	SUN Hongkai 1991c:10.3.6
Ergong (Daofu)	ɦa lɔ **ʔmə** ŋɑ	chest hair	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.1.3.2
Ergong (Northern)	ʁbio^{33} **rmo^{53}**	feather (of bird)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.5
	ʁə^{33} **rmo^{53}**	hair (head)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:2.7
	ʁə^{33} **rmo^{53}** nɟje^{33} lə^{33}	cowlick (flexure in hair)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.1.1

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	**moɬ** 'ja	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	**moɹ** ˈjaʔˈ	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	ta^{3}**moj^{1}**	hair of skin	Nagano & Prins 2013:0178
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Mengqucun)	ta **'muɬ**	feather	Nagano & Prins 2013:1549
rGyalrong	tə mtɕi **mo** rŋʁ	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989d:8.1.2.1
	tə mn̥ak **mo** rtsə	eyebrow; eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.4.3; DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.4.4
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə mŋak **mə** ɻtsʰə	eyebrow; eyelash	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.4.3; SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.4.4
	tə ʃtu **mor**	female pubic hair	SUN Hongkai 1991j:10.4.5
rGyalrong	wu mci **mo** rŋʁ	whiskers (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:8.1.7
	tA mnyak rdzA **ma**	eyelash	Nagano 1997:3.4.4

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**mil**	hair; body hair, fur, feathers	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:2
	min^{55}	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.44
Rawang	**mul^{33}**	fur; feather, plume	LaPolla 2003:307; LaPolla 2003:342
	mul^{33} ɕɯm^{33}	hair of body	LaPolla 2003:86
Nung	tɕhɑ^{55}**min^{55}**	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.21
Anong	tɕhɑ^{55}**min^{55}**	feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.44
Rawang	ə yaŋ^{31} **mul^{33}**	wool, fleece	LaPolla 2003:321
Trung [Dulong]	**mul^{44}**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	**mɯn^{55}**	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.20
	ɑ^{31}tɕit^{55}**mɯn^{55}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑŋ^{31}**mŭl^{55}**	hair; fur; feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.46; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.46
Dulong	ɑŋ^{55}**mɯn^{55}**	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	aŋ^{31} **mul^{55}**	hair / fur	LaPolla 1987:90
	ɑŋ^{31} **mŭl^{55}**	fur	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	aŋ^{31} **mun^{53}**	hair / fur	LaPolla 1987:90
	ɑŋ^{31} **mŭn^{53}**	fur	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Southern)	**me^{33}** po^{33}	beard	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**nie^{21}** bo^{35}	beard	CHEN Kang 1986d:8.1.2.1

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-məw^{1}**	body hair	Matisoff 2003a:601
	***ʔmul^{1}** + kriŋ^{1}	hair (of head)	Matisoff 1978a:60

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	a^{31} **mu^{35}**	fur	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ɑ^{31} **mu^{55}**	beard	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ɹɑ^{31} **mu^{55}**	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31} **mui^{31}**	fur	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	a^{31}**mui^{31}**	hair; down; feather; plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.28; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.28
	a^{31}**mui^{31}**	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.41
	paʔ^{53}**mui^{31}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.28
	u^{31} **mui^{31}**	hair	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	u^{31}**mui^{31}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.28
	u^{31}**mui^{31}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.41
	n̥ɔʔ^{55} **mui^{31}**	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ot^{55} **mui^{31}**	beard	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ot^{55}**mui^{31}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.28
	n̥ot^{55}**mui^{31}**	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.41
Achang (Luxi)	a̰^{31} **mui^{31}**	fur	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	na^{55} **mui^{35}**	beard	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥aʔ^{31} **mui^{31}**	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**mui^{31}**	hair (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:316
	mui^{31}	hair; down; feather; plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.29
	n̥ut^{55} **mui^{31}**	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989f:109
	n̥ut^{55}**mui^{31}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.29
	n̥ɔt^{55} **mui^{31}**	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989f:109.1
	paʔ^{31} **mui^{31}**	wool	DAI Qingxia 1989f:328
	paʔ^{31}**mui^{31}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.29
	ɲɔʔ^{55} **mui^{31}**	eyebrow; eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989f:100; DAI Qingxia 1989f:102
Bola (Luxi)	a^{31}**mau^{35}**	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.32
Bola	mja^{31} **mau̯ŋ^{55}**	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia 1989g:100
	nɔ̱t^{55} **mø^{31}**	beard; whiskers	DAI Qingxia 1989g:109; DAI Qingxia 1989g:110
Bola (Luxi)	nɔ̱t^{55}**mø^{31}**	beard; moustache; goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0087.32
	tʃhɔt^{55}pɛʔ^{55}**mau^{35}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.32
Bola	tʃ^{h}ɔt^{55} pɛʔ^{55} **mau^{35}**	wool	DAI Qingxia 1989g:328
Burmese (Modern)	a **mwe:**	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26

Burmese (Rangoon)	tθo^{55}**mwe^{55}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.27
	ŋɛʔ^{4}**mwe^{55}**	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.27
	ɑ^{53}**mwe^{55}**	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.27
Burmese (Spoken)	a **mwe^{4}**	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ɑ^{53}**mwe^{55}**	hair; fur; feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.40; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.40
Burmese (Written)	(ă-)**mwè**	body hair, fur, feathers	Benedict 1972:2
	(ə-)**mwè**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
	à **muy**	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26
	a **mwe:**	hair (of body)	Marrison 1967
	a **mwey**	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26
	a **mwuy^{4}**	hair, feather	Luce 1985:W.71
	hŋɑk^{4} **mwe^{3}**	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.26
	lañ-cham-**mwê**	mane	Matisoff 1987
	mwè	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:261
	mwê	hair of body	Benedict 1976a
	mwè	hair; fur	LaPolla 1987:90; Benedict 1972:15n55
	myak-khûm-**mwê**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	ṅhak **mwe:**	feather	Marrison 1967
	tθo^{3}**mwe^{55}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.26
	ə-**mwê**	hair of body	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ^{1}**mwe^{3}**	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.26
	ɑ^{1}**mwe^{3}**	hair; fur; feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.39; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.39
	ʔə-**mwê**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
Danu	ă **mwe^{2}**	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26
Phön (Megyaw)	**myaiŋ**	hair (body)	Benedict 1972:15n55
Langsu (Luxi)	nạt^{55}**mɔi^{31}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.31
	pai^{31}nam^{35}**muk^{55}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.31
	ʃɔ̆^{35}**muk^{55}**	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.31
Lashi	jaŋ^{31}-kaŋ^{31} **mou^{55}**	chest hair	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.3.2
	khjei^{33} **mou^{55}**	leg hair	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.3.3
	lɔʔ^{31} tʃhap^{55} **mou^{55}**	underarm hair	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.3.1
	mou^{55}	body hair	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.3
Lashi (Lachhe')	**mɑu^{2}**	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26
	mɑu^{3}	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26
Lashi	nọ^{33} **mou^{55}**	nose hair	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.5.4
	nuạt^{55} **mou^{55}**	moustache; whiskers (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.2.3; DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.7
	nuạt^{55} **mə^{33}**	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.2.1
	sei^{55} jɔ^{31} ŋjou^{53} **mou^{55}**	fur (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.4
	tʃuʔ^{31} **mou^{55}**	female pubic hair	DAI Qingxia 1989m:10.4.5
	ŋjị̄^{55} **mou^{55}**	male pubic hair	DAI Qingxia 1989m:10.3.6
Leqi (Luxi)	nuạt^{55}**mə^{33}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.33
	tshɔt^{55}pat^{31}**mou^{55}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.33
	ʃǒ^{55}**mou^{55}**	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.33
Maru [Langsu]	khjik^{31} **muk^{55}**	leg hair	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.3.3
	lɔʔ^{31} tʃhɛʔ^{55} **muk^{55}**	underarm hair	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.3.1
	mjɔʔ^{31} **mạuŋ^{55}**	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.3
	muk^{55}	body hair	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.3
	nạt^{55} **muk^{55}**	whiskers (of cat)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.7
	nạt^{55} **mɔi^{31}**	beard; moustache	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.2.1; DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.2.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.43
	nŭŋ^{35} mʒɔ̃^{35} **muk^{55}**	fur (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.4
	nɔ̰^{31} **muk^{55}**	nose hair	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.5.4
	tʃauk^{31} **muk^{55}**	female pubic hair	DAI Qingxia 1989l:10.4.5
	vɔ̃^{31} kɔ̃^{31} **muk^{55}**	chest hair	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.3.2
	ŋjị̄^{35} **muk^{55}**	male pubic hair	DAI Qingxia 1989l:10.3.6
	ʃɔ̆^{35} **muk^{55}**	hair; fur; feather (of bird); feather	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.5; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.43; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.43
Taung-Yo	ă **mwe^{2}**	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mau^{55}**	feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.42
	mjaŋ^{21} **m**	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.30
	mjoʔ^{21} **mui^{21}**	eyebrow	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	nụt^{55} **mui^{21}**	beard	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	nụt^{55} **mui^{21}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.30
	nụt^{55}**mui^{21}**	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.42
	pai^{21}nam^{55}**mau^{55}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.30
	sŏ^{21}**mau^{55}**	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.42
	ʃŏ^{21} **mau^{55}**	fur	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ʃŏ^{21}**mau^{55}**	hair; down; feather; plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.30; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.30
	ʃɔ^{4}**mau^{4}**	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***mwe^{3}**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:158
Lolopho	dæ^{33} **mɯ^{33}**	male pubic hair	DAI Qingxia 1989n:10.3.6
	lę̄^{31} tɕį̄^{55} wọ̄^{31} **mɯ^{33}**	underarm hair	DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.1.3.1
	mɯ^{33}	body hair; feather (of bird)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.1.3; DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.1.5
	nẏ^{44} gẏ^{33} **mɯ^{33}**	nose hair	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.5.4
	tẏ^{55} **mɯ^{33}**	female pubic hair	DAI Qingxia 1989n:10.4.5
	ṇi^{55} **mɯ^{33}**	fur (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.1.4

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	m^{31} **mo^{35}** tsẏ^{33}	mane (of horse, lion)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:8.1.6
	m^{31}**mo^{35}**tsv^{33}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.47
	na^{35} khẏ^{33} **mo^{24}**	nose hair	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.5.4
	xɑ^{323}**mɑ^{33}**	fine hair (on human body)	MU Shihua 2003
	ṇa^{53} **mo^{24}**	eyebrow; eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.4.3; DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.4.4
	ṇa^{53} **mo^{24}** k^{h}ẏ^{33}	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	ṇɑ^{53}**mo^{24}**	eyelash	MU Shihua 2003
Lalo	**m̩^{21}** ts^{h}ɭ^{33}	beard	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.2.1
Lipho	**mɯ^{33}**	hair; fur; feather	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.4; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.5
Nasu	**mu^{21}**	hair (general); fur (of animal); feather (of bird)	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.4; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.5
	ȵe^{21} ts^{h}i^{21}	beard	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.2.1
Nesu	dzi^{31} **nɯ^{33}**	male pubic hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.6
	nɯ^{33}	fur (of animal); feather (of bird)	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.4; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.5
	nɯ^{33} k^{h}o^{33}	body hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.3
	pi^{55} **nɯ^{33}**	female pubic hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.5
Noesu	be^{33}**mi^{21}**	male pubic hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.6
	de^{21}ŋgo^{33}**mi^{21}**	chest hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.3.2
	mi^{21}	hair; fur; feather	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.4; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.5
	pe^{33}**mi^{21}**	female pubic hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.5
	ŋu^{33}ŋgo^{55}**mi^{21}**	hair of head	CHEN Kang 1986b:2.7; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.1
	ʈhu^{33}bu^{33}**mi^{21}**	leg hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.3.3
	ɳe^{21}**mi^{55}**	body hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.3
Nosu	dze^{21}**ȵe^{33}**	male pubic hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.6
	mu^{33}li^{44}**m̥o^{33}**	mane	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.6
	ȵi^{55}**m̥o^{33}**	body hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.3
Nusu (Southern)	miɑ̱^{31} **mɯ^{55}**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	miɑ^{53} **m̥ɯi^{55}**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**mɯ^{31}** tʂ^{h}o^{55}	beard	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	mɹə^{55}**m̥e^{55}**	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	m^{ɪ}ą̱^{31} **m̥^{ɪ}ɚ^{35}**	eyebrow; eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989o:100.; DAI Qingxia 1989o:102.
Nusu (Central)	m^{ɪ}ą̱^{53} **m̥^{ɪ}ɚ^{33}**	eyebrow; eyelash	DAI Qingxia 1989p:100.; DAI Qingxia 1989p:102.
	m^{ɪ}ə^{55} **m̥e^{55}**	mane (horse)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:322.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	m^{ɪ}ɤ^{53} **m̥e^{55}**	mane (horse)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:322.
Nusu (Central)	**m̥e^{53}**	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**m̥e^{55}**	hair (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:316.
Nusu (Central)	**m̥e^{55}**	hair (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:316.
Nusu (Southern)	**m̥i^{55}** tɕ^{h}yə^{53}	beard	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**m̥ə̄^{55}**	fur	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**m̥ɯi^{55}**	feather; fur	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**m̥ɯi^{55}**	fur	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**m̥ɯi^{55}**	hair; fur; feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.45; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.45
Nusu (Central)	**m̥ɯi^{55}** tʂ^{h}uẽ^{31}	beard	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**m̥ɯ^{31}**	feather	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**m̥ɯ^{55}** tɕ^{h}uə̃^{31}	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989o:109.
Nusu (Central)	**m̥ɯ^{55}** tʂ^{h}uə̃^{53}	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989p:109.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	tɕ^{h}ə̃^{31} **m̥e^{55}**	wool	DAI Qingxia 1989o:328.
Nusu (Central)	tʂhə̃^{53}**m̥e^{55}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.34
	tʂ^{h}ə̃^{53} **me^{55}**	wool	DAI Qingxia 1989p:328.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	xą̃^{31} **m̥e^{55}**	feathers	DAI Qingxia 1989o:348.
Nusu (Central)	ŋ̊ą^{53}**m̥ɯ^{55}**	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.34
Nusu (Northern)	ŋ̊ɑ̱^{53} **m̥ə̃^{55}**	feather	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ȵɑ̱^{53} **m̥õ^{31}**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**mu^{21}**	fur (fine)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	m̩(u)^{21}	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.22
	na^{33} **mu^{33}**	eyebrow	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Liangshan)	li^{34}**m̥o^{33}**	mane, horse's	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	gʌ^{33}kho^{21}**mɯ^{33}**	feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.24
	mə^{33}	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.37
	mɯ^{33}	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.24
	ɑ^{55}tʂhŋ̄^{55}**mə^{33}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**mu̱^{21}** ts^{h}ɭ^{33}	beard	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Wuding)	**mv̩^{11}**	hair; down; feather; plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.38; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.38
	tshŋ̄^{55}**mv̩^{11}**	wool / fleece (goat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.38
Yi (Xide)	mu^{33}li^{34}**m̥o^{33}**	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.35
	mɛ^{21}-tsɭ^{55}	beard	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ȵi^{55}-**m̥o^{33}**	soft body hair	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ȵɔ^{33} **m̥o^{33}**	eyebrow	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	a^{55}ɕi^{21}**nɯ̱^{33}**	male pubic hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.6
	dzi^{33} **nɯ̱^{33}**	male pubic hair	LUO Meizhen 1990:10.3.6
	i^{33} **nɯ̱^{33}**	hair (general); hair; fur	LUO Meizhen 1990:8.1; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.4
	no^{33} bọ̄^{21} i^{33} **nɯ̱^{33}**	nose hair	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.5.4
Lolo (Ni)	**nū**	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **mɯ^{44}**	hair (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989h:332
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{44} **m̥ɯ^{44}**	hair (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989i:332
Jinuo	a^{44}**mɯ^{44}**	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	me^{31} **mɔ^{33}**	eyebrow	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	mja^{31} **mɯ^{44}**	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia 1989h:103
Jinuo (Baka)	mja^{31} **m̥ɯ^{44}**	eyebrow	DAI Qingxia 1989i:103
Jinuo (Youle)	mjɑ^{42} **m̥ɤ^{44}**	eyebrow	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**mø^{33}**tɕhi^{33}	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mø^{44} mɯ^{44}**	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989h:112.1
Jinuo (Baka)	**mø^{44} m̥ɯ^{44}**	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989i:112
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mø^{44}** tʃ^{h}i^{31}	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989h:112
Jinuo	**mø^{44}**su^{31}	beard (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0087.44
	mø^{44}tɕhi^{42}	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.44
	mɯ^{33}tʃhɑ^{33}	feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mɯ^{44}** tʃ^{h}a^{55}	body hair (hanmao)	DAI Qingxia 1989h:152
Jinuo	**mɯ^{44}**nu^{44}	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**m̥ø^{44} m̥ɤ^{44}** (**mø^{44}** tɕ^{h}i^{42})	beard	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	tʃ^{h}a^{55} **m̥ɯ^{44}**	body hair	DAI Qingxia 1989i:152
Jinuo	tɕhi^{55}**mɯ^{44}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{33} **mɤ^{44}**	fur	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33} **m̥ɯ^{44}**	fur	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	ɑ^{33}**mɯ^{33}**	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.34
Kucong	a31 **mu33**	wool	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***mu:**	feathers	Bradley 1979b:85/90
Lahu (Nyi)	u¯hkeh: **mvuh:**	hair (head)	Bradley 1979a:89
Lahu	ɔ̀-kú-**mu**	mane	Benedict 1972:76n232

Lahu (Lancang)	**mv^{33}**lo^{11}	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.43
	o^{35}qo^{11}**mv^{33}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.43
	ɔ^{31}**mv^{33}**	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.43
	ʑɔ^{31}**mv^{33}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.43
Lahu (Black)	**-mvuh:**	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26
	cha-**mu**	female pubic hair	Matisoff 1987
	cí-khɛ-**mu**	hair (head); hair (of head)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:60
	mɛʔ^{54} qṵ^{35} **mṵ^{33}**	eyebrow	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛ̂ʔ-**mu**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-qú-**mu**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	nī-**mu**	male pubic hair	Matisoff 1988a:769
	ó-qō-**mu**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	o^{35}qo^{11}**mu^{33}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.33
	pâ-cíʔ-**mu**	beard	Matisoff 1988a:807
	ú-khɛ-**mu**	hair (head); hair (of head)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:60
	ṵ^{35} qu^{11} **mṵ^{33}** (ṵ^{35} **mṵ^{33}**)	hair (head)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	yɨ-khɛ-**mu**	hair (head); hair (of head)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:60
	ɔ^{31} **mṵ^{33}**	fur	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**mu^{33}**	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.33
	ɔ^{31}**mu^{33}**lu^{33}	feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.33
	ɔ̀-**mu**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	mɛʔ^{54} **mṵ^{33}**	eyebrow	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɯ^{33} tsɭʔ^{54}	beard	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} **mṵ^{33}**	fur	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Banlan)	tsuh˳hkeh: **mvuh:**	hair (head)	Bradley 1979a:89
Lisu (Central)	a^{3}-raw^{3} **mū^{3}**	fleece (sheep's wool); wool (sheep's)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	a^{33}jɔ^{44}**my^{33}**	wool from sheep	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}mɔ^{21} **my^{33}**dzi^{21}	mane	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a^{55}mɔ^{21} **my^{33}**dzø^{21}	mane	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}ɣa^{55}**my^{33}**	chicken feather	Bradley 1994
	du^{21}du^{21}**mu^{33}**	short and bald (V.)	Bradley 1994
	du^{33}læʔ^{21}**mu^{33}**	feather, plume	Bradley 1994
	dzø^{44}**my^{33}**	eagle feather	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	e^{55} **mu̱^{44}**	feather; fur	XU Lin *et al.* 1986; XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	e^{55}**mu^{44}**	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.27
	e^{55}**mu^{44}**du^{44}	feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.27
Lisu (Northern)	hwa^{21}**my^{33}**	wool; woollen cloth (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ji^{55}**mu^{33}**dzø^{21}	mane	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}**my^{33}**	hair; feather (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**my^{33}** su^{21}lu^{21}mu^{33}	hair loose and disorderly	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**my^{33}** ʃu^{21}lu^{21}mu^{33}	strands of hair hanging downwards	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**my^{33}** ɕwa^{21}la^{21}mu^{33}	hang down loosely (of hair)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**my^{33}**dzi^{21}	mane	Bradley 1994
	kɤ^{55}lɤʔ^{21}**mu^{33}**	curly (natural curly hair) (V.)	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}**mu^{33}**	hair of river deer	Bradley 1994
	læʔ^{21}de^{21} khu^{33}**mu^{33}**	hair in armpit	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	mi̱^{44} ku̱^{44} **mu̱^{44}**	eyebrow	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**mū^{3}**	hair, feathers	Luce 1985:T.26
Lisu	**mū^{3}**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**mū^{3}**	hair (body)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**mū^{5}**-tsi^{3}	beard / moustache	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**mū^{5}**-tsi^{3}	beard (n.)	Fraser 1922
	mū^{5}-tsi^{3}	moutache / beard	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**mū^{5}**tsi^{3}	beard	Bradley 1979b:101
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**mū^{5}**tsï^{3}	beard	Luce 1985:V.106
Lisu	**mū^{5}**tsi^{3}	beard	Bradley 1979b:101
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**mū^{5}**tsï^{3}	beard	Luce 1985:V.106
Lisu	myá^{3} kaw^{3}-**mū^{3}**	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	myá^{3} kaw^{3}-**mū^{3}**	eyelash	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**my^{33}**	hair; feather (N.)	Bradley 1994
	my^{33}khwa^{21}	thin hair on human body; foetal hair	Bradley 1994
	mæ^{35}**my^{33}**	fine hair on the human body (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}**my^{33}**dzi^{21}	mane	Bradley 1994
	mɯ^{21}tsi^{33}	beard (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**mɯ^{31}** ts̱^{44}	beard	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**mɯ^{31}**ts̱^{33}	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.40
	mɯ^{31}ts̱^{44}	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.27
Lisu (Putao)	**mɯ^{5}**tsɤ^{3}	beard	Luce 1985:V.106
Lisu (Northern)	na^{33}khu^{33}**my^{33}**	nasal hair	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}dɔʔ^{21}**mɤ^{55}**	peacock feather	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	ṃ^{55} bṵ^{33} **nu^{44}**	mane (mashu)	MA Xueliang 1989:309.3
	ṃ^{55}bu^{33}**no^{44}**	mane	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.6
Yi (Sani)	ṃ^{55}bṵ^{33}**nu^{44}**	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ni^{55}**bɛ^{33}	beard	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ni^{55}tshɯ^{33}	beard	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	no̱^{33}qhɒ^{21}	hair	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	no^{44}	hair; fur	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.4
	nu^{44}	hair (animal)	MA Xueliang 1989:322.1
	nu̱^{44} bi^{33} **no̱^{44}**	nasal hair	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:100.4
	nɑ^{44}bɪ^{33}**no^{44}**	nose hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.4
	n̥^{55} ts^{h}ɤ^{33}	moustache	MA Xueliang 1989:322.9
	n̥^{55}tshɤ^{33}	beard	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.2.1
	pæ^{55}**no^{44}**	female pubic hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.5
	tæ^{33}ɬɑ^{33}mɑ^{33}**no^{44}**	male pubic hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.6
	tɕ^{h}i̱^{21} **no̱^{44}**	wool	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:229.1
	xɤ^{11}	hair, wool	MA Xueliang 1989:329.5
Yi (Sani)	ʐo^{33}**ɬu^{44}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**hṁ**	hair	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	aŋ **hmɨ**	hair (of body)	Beaudouin 1988:14
	ha jàʔ aŋ **hmɨ**	feather	Beaudouin 1988:2
	mɛ̀ khjà ɔ **hmɨ**	eyebrow	Beaudouin 1988:14
Hani	**mo^{31}**	hair	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Dazhai)	**mo^{31}**	fur	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	xɔ^{33}**mu̱^{33}**	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**mju^{31}**	beard	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	tɕa̱^{31} **xṃ^{33}**	fur	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	**mì** tjhy	whiskers	Hansson 1989:537
	mì tshy ?	whiskers	Hansson 1989:55
Hani (Mojiang)	tʃhɳ̄^{31}**xo^{33}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.42
	ɔ^{31}mu^{31}**mṵ^{33}**tsṵ^{33}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.42
Mpi	ʔɑ^{2}**mɯ^{2}**	body hair	Bradley 1979b
Sangkong	maŋ^{31} **mɯ^{31}**	beard	LI Yongsui 1991
	mja̱^{33} **mɯ^{31}**	eyebrow	LI Yongsui 1991
Sila	a21 **mɯ21**	body hair	KATO Takashi 2008:1
Ugong	khu săŋ **(mẹ́ŋ)**	hair of head (= 8.1.1)	Bradley 1993:2.7
	mɪŋ khyîŋ **mẹ́ŋ**	chin hair	Bradley 1993
	náʔphû/phúk kɔŋ **mẹ́ŋ**	underarm hair	Bradley 1993:8.1.3.1
	nà thɛ̂ŋ **mẹ́ŋ**	nose hair	Bradley 1993:3.5.4
	ní **mẹ́ŋ**	male pubic hair	Bradley 1993:10.3.6
	sɛŋ **mẹ́ŋ**	female pubic hair	Bradley 1993:10.4.5
	wŭŋ khjẹ **mẹ́ŋ**	chest hair	Bradley 1993:8.1.3.2

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	**mɯ^{55}**	body hair; feathers	Pelkey 2011:332
Phola	**nɯ^{31}**	body hair; feathers	Pelkey 2011:332
Hlepho Phowa	**ʔṃ^{21}**	body hair; feathers	Pelkey 2011:332

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**hṽ˩**	body hair (of animals); feather	Michaud 2006–2009:249
	ts^{h}ɯ˩**hṽ˩**	wool	Michaud 2006–2009:3851
	ɲi˩**hṽ˩**	body hair (of humans)	Michaud 2006–2009:250
Na (Yongning)	**hṽ˥**	body hair	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁu˧**hṽ˥**	hair	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʑi˩**hṽ˧**	body hair (of humans)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Western)	**fv^{33}**	fur	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**fv^{33}**	hair; fur; feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.28
Naxi	**fṿ^{33}**	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.45
Naxi (Western)	kv^{33}**fv^{33}**	hair (head)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	kv^{33}**fv^{33}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.28
Naxi	kṿ^{33}**fṿ^{33}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	miə^{33}tsɯ^{31}**fv^{33}**	eyebrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:237.28
Naxi	miə^{33}tsɭ^{21}**fṿ^{33}**	eyebrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.45
Naxi (Western)	miə^{55}tsɯ^{33}**fv^{33}**	eyebrow	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**xv^{33}**	hair; fur; feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.29; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.29
Naxi (Eastern)	ɣo^{33}**xu^{33}**	hair (head)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**mie^{21}**	hair; fur; feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.37; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.37
	mi̱e^{21}	fur	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	mu̱^{21}	bark (v.)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tie̱^{21} **mie^{55}**	hair (head)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tie̱^{21} **mie^{55}** pe̱^{ɪ42}	braid (hair) (n.)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	vĩ^{33} **mie̱^{42}**	eyebrow	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ʈe^{21}**mie^{55}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.37
Bai (Dali)	**ma** 7	hair	Dell 1981b:182
	ma^{7}	hair of an animal	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	me^{6} **mɔ^{6}**	eyebrow (cp. no. 220-221)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	mɑ^{21}	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.35
	mu̱^{21}	fur	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tö **ma** 76	hair	Dell 1981b:565
	tø^{7} **ma^{6}**	hair	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	tɯ^{21}**mɑ^{35}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.35
	tɯ̱^{21} **mɑ^{35}**	hair (head)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɯ̱^{21} **mɑ^{35}** pi^{35}	braid (hair) (n.)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ui^{33} **me^{35}**	eyebrow	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	jo^{42}**mɑ^{42}**	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.48
	k^{h}uã^{33} **ma̱^{21}** ts̱^{33}	body hair	ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.1.3.3
	ma̱^{21}	hair (general); fur (of animal); feather (of bird)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.1; ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.1.4; ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.1.5
	mɑ^{21}	hair; fur; feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.36; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.36
	mu̱^{21}	fur	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	mɑ^{42}	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.48
	pi̱^{44} **ma̱^{21}**	female pubic hair	ZHAO Yansun 1990:10.4.5
	pi̱^{44} **ma̱^{21}** ts̱^{33}	female pubic hair	ZHAO Yansun 1990:10.4.5
	tiə^{42}**mɑ^{55}**	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.48
	tu^{33} **ma̱^{21}** ts̱^{33}	male pubic hair	ZHAO Yansun 1990:10.3.6
	tɯ^{21}**mɑ^{55}**	hair of head	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:234.36
	tɯ̱^{21} **ma^{55}**	hair of head	ZHAO Yansun 1990:2.7
	tɯ̱^{21} **ma^{55}** k^{h}ṿ^{31}	cowlick	ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.1.1.1
	tɯ̱^{21} **mɑ^{55}**	hair (head)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɯ̱^{21} **mɑ^{55}** pĩ^{55}	braid (hair) (n.)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ŋui^{33} **me^{55}**	eyebrow	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ŋuĩ^{33} **me^{55}** tɕ^{h}i^{31}	eyelash	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.4.4
	ŋuĩ^{33} **me^{55}** «tṽ^{33}»	eyebrow	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.4.3
	ŋ̃ṽ˩^{21} k^{h}ṿ˩^{44} tɯ̱^{21} **xɯ^{31}** no^{33} ma̱^{21} «tsɯ^{31}	nose hair	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.5.4

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**mi̱ər**/mji	eyebrow	Karlgren 1957:567a-c
	mog / mâu	hair; fur; feathers; hair, fur, feathers	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1137a-b; Karlgren 1957:1137a-b
Chinese (Old)	**maw**	hair / fur	Baxter 1992:1647

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	jier **maur**	eyelash	Sun 1985b:238
	mei	eyebrow	Karlgren 1957:567a-c
	meir maur	eyebrow	Sun 1985b:237
	mao	hair, fur, feathers	Karlgren 1957:1137a-b
	yuu **maur**	feather; feather, quill	Sun 1985b:71; Sun 1985b:776

Chinese comparandum

眉 OC ***mi̱ər*** *GSR* #567a-c; B & S 2011 ***mrər***; Mand. **méi**.
毛 OC ***mog***, *GSR* 1137a-b; B & S 2011 ***C.m^{ʕ}aw***; Mand. **máo**.

(1a) PTB *s-mu-t BEARD / FACIAL HAIR / HAIR

This root is clearly allofamic with PTB ***s/r-mul*** ⩤ ***s-mil*** ⩤ ***s-myal*** HAIR / FUR / FEATHER (§1.6.1), and in fact in some cases it is difficult to tell to which variant a particular reflex should be assigned.

1.1.1. TANI: ***mɯt*** HAIR (OF BODY)

**Tani*	***mɯt**	hair (of body)	Sun 1993a:188

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-**mu**	hair (of body)	Sun 1993a
	à-**mu**	body hair	Sun 1993b
	a-**mu**	body hair; hair; feather (downy∼); fur	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	di-**mu**	hair (of head); hair of head	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja-piŋ a-**mu**	nose hair	Sun 1993b
	^{2}a^{2}**mu**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:586

Bengni	a-**mɯ**	hair (of body); hair	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	dɯ-**mɯ**	hair (of head)	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-**mɯ** hi	shave hair (of head)	Sun 1993b
	ñi: a-**mɯ**	hair (on human skin)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **mɯ**	hair / down (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.24
	a-**mɯ**	hair (of body); down (tiny body hair); fur, hair	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	dum **mɯ**	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.24
	dum-**mɯ**	hair of head	Sun 1993b
	dum-**mɯ** pe	cut (hair of head)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **mɯ**	hair; fur	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:172.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	dum **mɯ**	hair	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	dɯm **mɯ**	hair of head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:234.51
Galo	a **mɤ**	feather; fur	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	ʻa **mə**	hair (body) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻlag **mə**	arm hair; hair (of the arm) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻlə **mə**	hair (leg); leg hair (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻmag **mə**	pubic hair (male) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻnam **mə**	facial hair; beard; moustache (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻruu **mə**	ear hair; hair (ear) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻtɨɨ **mə**	pubic hair (female) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻyuu **mə**	anal hair; pubic hair (anal) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻa **mɤ**	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:586
Nishing	du **mi**	hair	Das Gupta 1969
	du **mí**	hair	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**muit**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	a-**mɯt**	hair (of body)	Sun 1993a
	dum-**muit**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987
	ke-**muit**	hair of chest	Matisoff 1987
	mang-**muit**	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	mâng-**muit**	male pubic hair	Matisoff 1987
	ming-**muit**	lashes; eyelash	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	nâm-**muit**	beard	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	tí-**muit**	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
Damu	maʔ-**mi:**	pubic hair (male)	Sun 1993b
	rok-**mi:**	feather	Sun 1993b
	tɯ-**mi:**	pubic hair (female)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**mi**	hair	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**mi:**	body hair; feather	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Milang	a **ma**	hair	Tayeng 1976
	du-**ma**	hair	Tayeng 1976
	du **ma** ŋat tub cu-**ma**	hair-do (knotting)	Tayeng 1976
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hmûi**-hmul	moustache	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**mučh**	moustache	Sharma 1988:29
	mut shē	moustache	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**muc^{h}**	moustache	Sharma 1982
	mu cha:	goatee	Sharma 1991b:8.1.2.2
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mu** rā:	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	mu ra:	moustache	Glover 1972:2.A.14
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**mu** tthoq	beard / moustache, cornsilk	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	do-**mü** wa	moustache	Rai *et al.* 1984:23
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Magar	**mi**-mur	moustache	Matisoff 1987
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔmo** ʔmə ŋɑ	moustache	Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.1.2.3
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə wam wu ʃno mo **rɲe**	whiskers (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.1.7
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Modern)	**mu** cʻit	beard	Luce 1985:V.106
Burmese (Rangoon)	**moʔ^{4}**she^{4}	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**moʔ^{44}**hseʔ^{44}	beard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.40
Burmese (Written)	**mu'**-chit	beard	Matisoff 1987 [b]
	mut hsit	beard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.39
	mut-chit	beard	Benedict 1976a
	mut-nâ	beard	Benedict 1976a
	mut^{4}shit^{4}	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.26
	mut chit	beard	Marrison 1967
	mu'-chit	beard (< mut-chit)	Benedict 1976a
	mu cʻit	beard	Luce 1985:V.106
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Côông [Phunoi]	ã **hmut^{31}**	body hair	Ferlus 1991:8.1.3
	bàn **hmot**	beard	Matisoff 1987
	bàn **hmut**	beard	Bradley 1979b
	bɑn^{11} **hmot^{33}**	beard	Bradley 1977
	ləkã^{55} **hmut^{31}**	nose hair	Ferlus 1991:3.5.4
	ʔã **hmot**	feathers; body hair	Bradley 1979b; Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ **hmot**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã^{55} **hmot^{33}**	body hair	Bradley 1977

[a] Lit. "ear-hair"
[b] Lit. "goat-beard" (cf. English 'goatee', for a similar semantic association between goats and facial hair).

(1b) PTB *mum CHIN / BEARD

This root seems definitely to stand in an allofamic relationship with PTB ***s/r-mul** ⩙ ***s-mil** ⩙ ***s-myal** HAIR / FUR / FEATHER (§1.6.1), with the final **-m** perhaps due to assimilation to the initial.

The phonological resemblance to PTB ***m-ʔum** ⩙ ***mum** HOLD IN MOUTH / CHEW / EAT / KISS (§1.9.4) seems accidental.

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	the ra **mum**	moustache	Matisoff 1987
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ang tur ang **mum**	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	ing **mum**	beard; moustache	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	ing **mûm**	beard	Grüssner 1979:28
	ing tùr ang **mûm**	moustache	Grüssner 1979:22
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Phom	ču^{55}**mom^{55}**	beard / mustache	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	mom	hair (of body)	Marrison 1967
	mom^{55}	hair (body)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	p^{h}ak^{33}ʃæ^{55}**mom^{55}**	hair (underarm)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**mun** pu	beard	French 1983:500; Marrison 1967
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Thakali (Tukche)	**mohm** ci	chin	Matisoff 1987; Hari 1971:2.A.22
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**mɔn** ca	chin	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.12
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	se-**men**	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	se.**menʔ**	hair (of body) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	se **men**	body hair; hair (body)	Michailovsky 1991:79; Caughley 1972:2.A.9
Chepang (Eastern)	krak **mənʔ**	male pubic hair	Caughley 1990:10.3.6
	menʔ	body hair; feather (of bird)	Caughley 1990:8.1.3; Caughley 1990:8.1.5
	neh **menʔ**	nose hair	Caughley 1990:3.5.4
	tuʔ **menʔ**	female pubic hair	Caughley 1990:10.4.5
Kham	u **mə:h**	whiskers (animal)	Watters & Watters 1989:3.A.49

(2) PL *ʔ-k(r)uk^{H} MANE / LONG HAIR

This morpheme occurs in Loloish compounds with PTB ***s/r-mul** ⩙ ***s-mil** ⩙ ***s-myal** HAIR / FUR / FEATHER (§1.6.1). The medial **-r-** is reconstructed on the basis of the Lahu front velar.

6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	(mɣ^{31}) **kɤ^{44}**	mane (of horse, lion)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:8.1.6
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lipho	mu^{21}**kɯ^{33}**	mane	Chen Kang 1986b:8.1.6
Yi (Nanhua)	mu^{21}**kɯ^{33}**	mane (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.37
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	ɔ̀-**kú**-mu	mane	Benedict 1972:76n232
Lahu (Lancang)	i^{35}mv^{53}**ku^{35}**	mane (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.43
	o^{35}**qo^{11}**mv^{33}	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.43

(3) PTk *hwa HAIR (BODY)

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***hwa**	hair (body)	Mortensen 2012:330
Huishu	ʔa-vɐm-**se**-vej	body hair	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.121
Kachai	ʔa-**fu**	hair (general/body); feather; fur (of animal)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.210
Tusom	ʔi-**ʃi**	hair	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.012
Ukhrul	ʔa-**ha**	hair (on body)	Mortensen 2012

(4) PKar *s-lu HAIR

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	*khu^{B} **slu^{A}**	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***shrúq**	hair (body) / feathers	Jones 1961:39
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***shúʔ**	hair (body) / feathers	Jones 1961:39
Bwe	-khə́ **lú**	hair (of the head) (n.)	Henderson 1997
	-ʃu	hair (of body), fur, feathers (n.)	Henderson 1997
	kha **ʃu**	hair on the legs; pubic hair (n.)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997
	khə^{55}**lu^{55}**	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
	khɛ **ʃu**	beard; moustache; beard, moustache (n.)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997
	khɛ **ʃu**=khɛ phí	whiskers (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ko **thu**	postiche, false hair-piece (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ko **ʃu**	postiche, false hair-piece (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**šu^{2}**	feather / hair (body)	Weidert 1987:897
Bwe	ə-**šù**	feather / hair (body)	Weidert 1987:897
	ʃu^{33}	feather, fur, body hair	Luangthongkum 2013:110
Bwe (Western)	**ʃu^{2}**	hair	Luce 1985:G.114
Geba	ă **s'u^{2}**	hair	Luce 1985:E.18
Karen	a^{31}**tshu^{31}**	hair / down (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.50
	kha^{31}**tshu^{31}**	beard (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0087.50
	kho^{31}**tθø^{55}**	hair (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.50
	nɔ^{33}**tshu^{31}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.50
	tθi^{33}kho^{31}**tθui^{55}**	braid / plait (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0076.50
Kayah	kho^{55}**lo^{11}**	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Kayan	kaʔ^{21} **lu^{33}**	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Kayan (Pekon)	ka **lù**	hair (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	khu^{11}**lu^{33}**	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
	ɕu^{11}	feather, fur, body hair	Luangthongkum 2013:110
Pa-O (Southern)	ka^{33}**lu^{53}**	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Pa-O (Northern)	kaʔ^{45}**lu^{33}**	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Pa-O	kə **lū**	hair, head	Solnit 1989
Paku	**-θu^{1}**	hair	Luce 1985:E.18
	s'u^{3}	hair	Luce 1985:G.114
Palaychi	**shzúq**	hair (body); feathers	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:39
Pwo (Northern)	khu^{33} **su^{35}**	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Pwo (Delta)	**-θu^{4}**	hair	Luce 1985:E.18
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**-θu^{6}**	hair	Luce 1985:E.18
Pwo (Bassein)	khò **θwì**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:728
Pwo (Moulmein)	khó? **θù**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:728
Sgaw	**-θu^{1}**	hair	Luce 1985:E.18
Sgaw (Northern)	kho^{31}~**su^{33}**	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Sgaw (Southern)	khu^{45}**'su^{55}**	hair (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:136
Sgaw	**s'u^{4}**	hair	Luce 1985:G.114
	^{2}shu	feather / hair (body)	Weidert 1987:897
Sgaw (Bassein)	khò **θwí**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:728 [a]
	shù	hair (body); feathers	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:39
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a^{31} **ts^{h}u^{31}**	hair (animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:316
	k^{h}o^{31} **tθui^{55}**	hair (head)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:100
	k^{h}o^{31} **θø^{55}**	hair (head)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:100.1
	nɔ^{33} **ts^{h}u^{31}**	beard	Dai Qingxia 1989k:112
	ts^{h}u^{31}	body hair	Dai Qingxia 1989k:152
	tθi^{33} k^{h}o^{31} **tθui^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:101
Sgaw (Moulmein)	khó? **θú**	hair (head)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:728
	shúʔ	hair (body); feathers	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:39
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	a^{31} **s^{h}u^{31}**	hair (animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:332
	k^{h}o^{31} **θu^{55}**	hair (head)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:100
	mɛ̰ʔ^{31} k^{h}o^{31} **θu^{55}**	eyebrow	Dai Qingxia 1989j:103
	nɔ̰ʔ^{55} **s^{h}u^{31}**	beard	Dai Qingxia 1989j:112

[a] The final **-i** is perhaps suffixal: ***su-y** (cf. **u** ⩙ **wi** variation in Lahu).

	s^{h}u^{31}	body hair	Dai Qingxia 1989j:152
	θi^{31} k^{h}o^{31} **θu^{55}**	braid (hair) (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:101

1.6.1.1 Feather

(1) PTB *s-grwa FEATHER

The Chinese/Tibetan comparison has previously been proposed by Coblin 1986:78 and Gong 2001:#28.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-grwa**	feather	Matisoff 2003a:591

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**To**	feather	Bishop 1989:6.1.9
	trō	feather (of bird)	Bishop 1989:8.1.5
Tibetan (Written)	**sgro**	feather, quill	Sun 1985c:776
	sgro	feather / plume (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.01
	sgro	feather	Coblin 1986:78; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:173.1

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	羽	feather, wing	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3589
	羽毛	feather	Nagano & Prins 2013:1549
Chinese (GSR #)	**0098a**	feather, wing	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3589
"Pre-Chinese"	**gwljagx**	feather	Coblin 1986:78

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gi̯wo/ji̯u:**	feather, wing	Karlgren 1957:98a-b
Chinese (Old)	**gwjagx**	feather	Coblin 1986:78
	ɢ^{w}aʔ {[ɢ]^{w}(r)aʔ}	feather, wing	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3589

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**ju:**	feather	Coblin 1986:78

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**yü**	feather, wing	Karlgren 1957:98a-b
	yuu maur	feather; feather, quill	Sun 1985b:71; Sun 1985b:776

Chinese comparandum

羽 OC **gi̯wo*, *GSR* #98a-b 'feather, wing'; Coblin 86:78 PC ***gwljagx** > OC ***gwjagx**; Schuessler 2007:587 ***waʔ**; B & S 2011: ***ɢ^{w}aʔ {[ɢ]^{w}(r)aʔ}**; Mand. **yǔ**.

1.6.1.2 Mane

(1) PCC *tuaŋ MANE / BRISTLES

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***tuaŋ**	MANE / BRISTLES	VanBik 2009:205
Lai (Hakha)	**tûaŋ**	mane (of a horse), bristles (of a pig)	VanBik 2009:205
Lushai [Mizo]	**túang**	bristles (on the back of a pig) (n.)	VanBik 2009:205

1.6.1.3 Wool

(1) PTani *pjak WOOL

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***pjak**	wool	Sun 1993a:473

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	siŋ-**sak**	cotton	Sun 1993b
	tɯ-**čak**	wool	Sun 1993a
Bokar	(ta **pjak**) ke:	spin (into yarn) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1313.24
	ta **pjak**	wool / fleece (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.24
	ta-**pjak**	wool	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **pjak**	wool	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	ta **cak** eɟʏ	cotton cloth	Das Gupta 1963
	'cag nam	spin (cotton) (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
	'ta **cak**	cotton (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	si **cak**	cotton	Simon 1976
Nishing	sang-**cak**	cotton	Das Gupta 1969
	ta **sak**	cotton	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	ta-**piaʔ**	wool	Sun 1993b

1.6.2 Blood/Bleed

(1a) PTB *s-hywəy-t BLOOD

Chinese shows an allofam with final **-t**.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***shwiʔ**	blood	Coblin 1986:45

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(s-)h(y)wə [:] y**	blood	French 1983:460
	***s-hwiy=s-hywəy**	blood	LaPolla 1987:201
	***s-hwiy**	blood	Chou Fa-kao 1972:410a-c; Weidert 1987:260; Benedict 1972:222
	***s-hwiy(*B)**	blood	Coblin 1986:45
	***s-hywəy**	blood	Chou Fa-kao 1972:410a-c; Weidert 1987:260; Michailovsky 1991:16; Matisoff 2003a:594

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	**ʒai**	blood	Simon 1979

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	**hue^{53}**	blood	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.52

1.1.1. Tani: ***vi:** BLOOD

**Tani*	***vi:**	blood	Sun 1993a:31

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**ji**	blood	Sun 1993a
	à-**jí**	blood	Sun 1993b
	a-**ji**	blood	Sun 1993b
	a-**ji** lin	bleed	Sun 1993b
	hi-**jiŋ**	blood	Sun 1993b
	tà-ke a-**ji**	impure blood	Sun 1993b
	^{2}a^{2}**i**	blood	Weidert 1987:597
Bengni	u:-**vi**	blood	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	u:-**vi** a-fu:	blood vessel	Sun 1993b
Bokar	u **ji:**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.24
	u-**ji:**	blood	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	u **ji:**	blood	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.51
Galo	**ī:**	blood	Weidert 1987:597
	i:	blood	Das Gupta 1963
	'ii	blood (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	u **i**	blood	Simon 1976
Tagin	**oi** to nam	bleeding / cause bleeding	Das Gupta 1983
	o: **i**	blood	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	i-**ji**	blood	Sun 1993a
	i-**yi**	blood	Matisoff 1987
	í-yong	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
Damu	ʔa-**ji:**	blood	Sun 1993b
Milang	at **yi**	blood	Tayeng 1976
	ot-**yi**-le-ma	bleeding	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	i **yi**	blood	Benedict 1972:222

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**xɑ^{31} ɹuɑi^{53}**	blood	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	xɑ^{31}**ɹuɑi^{53}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.22
	xɑ^{31}**ɹuɑi^{53}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.49
Digaro	**həroi ≍ hrwei**	blood	Benedict 1972:222
Kaman [Miju]	ɑ^{31} **ɹui^{35}**	blood	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɑ^{31}**ɹui^{35}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.23
	ɑ^{31}**ɹui^{35}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.48
Idu	**iju**	blood	Pulu 1978
	iju brõga	bleeding	Pulu 1978
	iyu	blood	Anonymous 1962
	i^{55}**ɹu^{55}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.50; Sun Hongkai 1991f:8.7
Yidu	i^{55}**ɹu^{55}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***thii** BLOOD

**Chin*	***thii**	BLOOD	VanBik 2009:375
Chinbok	**siʔ**	blood	Matisoff 1987
Thanphum	**t'i^{5}**	blood	Luce 1985:P.2

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	nihsop **thi**	menstrual blood	Haokip 1998:10.4.7
	thi gui	blood vessel / vein / artery	Haokip 1998:8.7.1
	thi san	blood	Haokip 1998:8.7
Paite	**si**	blood	VanBik 2009:375
Sizang	**chī**	blood	VanBik 2009:375
Thado	**thîi**	blood	VanBik 2009:375
	thí sàn	blood	Thirumalai 1972:68
Tiddim	**si^{1}**	blood	VanBik 2009:375; Bhaskararao 1996:1556
	si^{1} san^{2}	blood ("red blood")	VanBik 2009:692; Bhaskararao 1996:1558
	s'i^{3}	blood	Luce 1985:G.85; Luce 1985:P.2
	ˊsi:	blood; sesamum (n.)	Henderson 1965
	ˊsi:	blood	Matisoff 1987

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	a **t'iˊˊ**	blood	VanBik 2009:375
Asho (Sandoway)	ă**`t'i^{2}**	blood	Luce 1985:P.2
Chinbon	**t^{h}i**	blood	So-Hartmann 1988:97
Cho (Mindat)	**si**	blood	VanBik 2009:375
Daai	**t^{h}í**	blood	So-Hartmann 1988:97
Awa Khumi	ă **t'i^{2}**	blood	Luce 1985:P.2
Khumi	**dei**	blood	Matisoff 1987
	thii	blood	VanBik 2009:375
	t^{h}i	blood	So-Hartmann 1988:97
Khumi (Ahraing)	**t'i^{1}**	blood	Luce 1985:P.2
Matu	**t^{h}i**	blood	So-Hartmann 1988:97
Matupi	**t'i^{4}**	blood	Luce 1985:P.2
Mkaang	**š^{h}i**	blood	So-Hartmann 1988:97
Ngmüün	**š^{h}i**	blood	So-Hartmann 1988:97
Nyhmoye	**t^{h}i**	blood	So-Hartmann 1988:97
Wakung	**t^{h}i**	blood	So-Hartmann 1988:97
Womatu	**sɯ^{1}**	blood	Luce 1985:P.2

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**t'i^{2}**	blood	Luce 1985:P.2
Lai (Hakha)	**thîi**	blood	VanBik 2009:375
Lai (Falam)	**thíi**	blood	VanBik 2009:375
Lai (Hakha)	**t'i^{5}**	blood	Luce 1985:P.2
	ť'i^{5}	blood	Luce 1985:G.85
Laizo	**thi**	blood	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	**thĭ**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
	thi	blood	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	thĭ	blood, menses	VanBik 2009:375
	thi	blood	Bhaskararao 1996:1556; LaPolla 1987:201; Benedict 1972:222
	thi (-shen)	blood	Matisoff 1987
	thi sen	blood	Marrison 1967
	t'i^{3}	blood	Luce 1985:P.2

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	mə **t'i^{1}**	blood	Luce 1985:P.2
Lakher [Mara]	**thi**	blood; menses	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	thí	blood, the menses (n.)	VanBik 2009:375
	thi-sai	blood	Matisoff 1987
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**tsə^{3}**	blood	Luce 1985:P.2
Mera	**t'i^{1}**	blood	Luce 1985:P.2
Tha'oa	**t'i^{2}**	blood	Luce 1985:P.2
Xongsai	**t'i^{2}**	blood	Luce 1985:P.2
Zotung	**čhiʔ**	blood	Matisoff 1987
	c'i^{5}	blood	Luce 1985:P.2

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	pi **sui**	pulse	Toba & Kom 1991:9.3.2
	pon indir **t^{h}i**	menstrual blood	Toba & Kom 1991:10.4.7
	t^{h}i sen	blood	Toba & Kom 1991:8.7
	t^{h}i sen kəsok	bleed (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.7.2
Moyon	lníʔ **sə̀**	menstrual blood	Kosha 1990:10.4.7
	sə̀	blood	Kosha 1990:8.7
Sorbung	a-**t^{h}i**	blood	Brown 1837
	t^{h}ii	blood	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.269

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**hi**	blood	Brown 1837; Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-(h)jəjʔ** BLOOD

**Central Naga*	*a-**(h)jəjʔ**	BLOOD	Bruhn 2014a:III.108
**Ao*	*a-**jəjʔ**	BLOOD	Bruhn 2014a:II.299
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**zəʔ^{1}**	blood (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.299
	a **zü**	blood	Marrison 1967
	zü	blood	Marrison 1967
	^{3}a^{1}**zɯʔ**	blood	Weidert 1987:260

Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **yi**	blood	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**jíʔ**	blood (n.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	a **shü**	blood	Kumar 1973a
	shü	blood	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	a **i**	blood	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	thi **yi**	blood	Marrison 1967
	thi **yih**	blood	Kumar 1973b:39

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	^{2}the^{5}**zie**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
	^{5}u^{5}**zie**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
Angami (Khonoma)	**teza**	blood	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**thezie**	blood	Marrison 1967
	the^{31}zia^{55}	blood	Nienu 1990a:8.7
	the^{31}zia^{55} ro^{55}	blood vessel / vein / artery	Nienu 1990a:8.7.1
Chokri	**thüza**	blood	Marrison 1967
	thü^{31}za^{35}	blood	Nienu 1990b:8.7
	thu^{31}za^{35} ro^{35}	blood vessel / vein / artery	Nienu 1990b:8.7.1
	u **za**	blood	Marrison 1967
Khezha	**žì** rhó	blood vessel / vein / artery	Yabu 1994:8.7.1
	’è **žì**	blood	Yabu 1994:8.7
Mao	o **zhi**	blood	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **zü**	blood	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **jü**	blood	Marrison 1967
	a **zü**	blood	Marrison 1967
Rengma	a **zi**	blood	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	alhakusa **ji**	menstrual blood	Achumi 1998a:10.4.7
	a **ji**	blood	Achumi 1998a:8.7
	a **ji** nhü	blood vessel / vein / artery	Achumi 1998a:8.7.1
	a **zhi**	blood	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	a **ji**	blood	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**tazai**	blood	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **yei**	blood	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**thi**	blood	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**jei**	blood	Marrison 1967
	məi **zə̀y**	blood	Matisoff 1994e
	t^{h}i	blood	Brown 1837
Zeme	he **jei**	blood	Marrison 1967
	he **zai**	blood	Marrison 1967
	^{1}he^{4}**zai**	blood	Weidert 1987:24
Mzieme	**zai**	blood	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *ʃi BLOOD

**Tangkhulic*	*ʃi	blood	Mortensen 2012:346
Champhung	a-**zi**	blood	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-**sik**	blood	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.262
Kachai	ʔa-**sɐ**	blood	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.244
Tangkhul	a **shi**	blood	Marrison 1967
	ā **shi**	blood	Matisoff 1987
	śi	blood	Bhat 1969:85
	^{1}ə^{2}**ši**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
Tankghul (Central)	un-**si**	blood	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-**sɯ**	blood	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	a-**ʃi**	blood	Brown 1837
Tusom	ən-**sɯ**	blood	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.255
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃi**-niŋ	bruised, have darkened blood (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**ʃi**	blood	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**í**	blood	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	ì	blood	Weidert 1987:260
	i	blood	Singh 1991:8.7; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:222
	i-gi utoŋ	blood vessel / vein / artery	Singh 1991:8.7.1
	i-lakpə	menstruate (v.)	Singh 1991:10.4.6
	i-thokpə	bleed (v.)	Singh 1991:8.7.2

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	a-**vi**	blood	Matisoff 1987
	vi	blood	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:222
	vī(ʔ)	blood	Weidert 1987:260
	vi-bong	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(1c)
	wī	blood	Grüssner 1979:217
	wī ke-bú	bleed (v.)	Grüssner 1979:217
	wì-bóng	heart	Grüssner 1979:217

1.6. MRU

Mru	**s‘ɑ^{3}**	blood	Luce 1985:T.27
	wi	blood	Matisoff 1987
	wi^{2}	blood	Luce 1985:Q.69

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	*t**ə**i(ʔ)	blood	Burling 1959:440

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	bi **təy**	menses; clotted blood	Matisoff 1987
	bi **tə́y**	blood, solidified; blood (solidified), menstruation; blood (solidified); mentruation	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
	təiʔ	blood	Matisoff 1987
	tə́y	blood	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	tɤiʔ	blood	Weidert 1987:24
Dimasa	**thi**	blood	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:201
Kokborok	**t^{h}əy**	blood	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**thi** chara	bleed (v.)	Balawan 1965:100
	thi nana	bleed (v.)	Balawan 1965:42
	thiʔ	blood	Balawan 1965:74
	thi sir	artery / vein / blood vessel	Balawan 1965:74
Meche	**tɤiʔ**	blood	Weidert 1987:24

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	anʔ-**ci**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
	an **tśi**	blood	Benedict 1972:222
	an **tsyi**	blood	LaPolla 1987:201
	aʔn-**ci**	blood	Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	a’n-**chi**	blood	Burling 1992 [a]
	ha’n-**chi**	blood	Burling 1992 [b]
	han•-**chi**	blood (n.)	Burling 2003:6.29-II:idx

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**təiʔ**	blood	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	**chí**	blood	Brown 1895:64
	ci-ku-yo	blood relative	Jacquesson 2005
	ci^{2}	blood	Jacquesson 2005
	ci^{2}-yo	blood relative	Jacquesson 2005
	ci^{1}	blood	unknown nd

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: *Ç-həːy BLOOD, *syi BLOOD

**Northern Naga*	*Ç-**həːy**	blood	French 1983:460
	***syi**	blood	French 1983:460

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**he**	blood	Marrison 1967; French 1983:460
	^{2}he(ʔ)	blood	Weidert 1987:260
Tangsa	^{1}ʌ^{1}**hʌi(ʔ)**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
Tangsa (Yogli)	a **hai**	blood	French 1983:460; Marrison 1967
	ʌ **hʌi**	blood	French 1983:460

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**sí**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
	si	blood	Marrison 1967; French 1983:460
Khiamngan	**^{1}sę̊**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
Konyak	**i**	blood	Marrison 1967; French 1983:460
Konyak (Tamlu)	**jiʔ-i**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
Konyak (Wakching)	**i**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
Phom	**i**	blood	Marrison 1967; French 1983:460
	i^{33}	blood	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	a **dzi**	blood	French 1983:460
	a **ji**	blood	French 1983:460
	a **dzi**	blood	Marrison 1967
	a **ji**	blood	Marrison 1967
	ci	blood	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**hsai**	blood	Marrison 1967
	sài	blood	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:210
	sai	blood	LaPolla 1987:201; Benedict 1972:222; Coblin 1986:45
	sài lam	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	sài su	menses	Matisoff 1987
	sài-yun	menses	Matisoff 1987
	sai^{31}	blood	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	sai^{31}	blood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.19
	sai^{31}	blood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:268.47
	sai^{31}lam^{33}	pulse (wrist) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.19
	^{1}shai	blood	Weidert 1987:260
	ə-**sài**	blood	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Ganan	**s‘ɛ^{1}**	blood	Luce 1985:K.63
Kadu	**s‘ɛ^{1}**	blood	Luce 1985:G.85
Kadu (Kantu)	**s‘ɛ^{1}**	blood	Luce 1985:K.63
Lui	**ī**	blood	Matisoff 1987
	shé	blood	Matisoff 1987
Sak	**se**	blood	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:53
	sè	blood	Matisoff 1987
Sak (Bawtala)	**s‘e^{3}**	blood	Luce 1985:K.63
Sak	**thé**	blood	Matisoff 1987
	θe	blood	Matisoff 1987
Taman	**s‘e**	blood	Luce 1985:K.63

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	**šù**	blood	Sharma 1991a:8.7
	śu	blood	Benedict 1972:222; Coblin 1986:45
	šù waŋste	bleed (v.)	Sharma 1991a:8.7.2
	syu	blood	LaPolla 1987:201
Byangsi	**ʃì**	blood (n.)	Sharma 2003:880
	ʃya **ʃi**	relatives (related by blood) (n.)	Sharma 2003:914
Chaudangsi	**ʂi**	blood	Krishan 2003:796
Darma	**ʂi**	blood	Krishan 2003:756
Kanauri	**sī** röṅ	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	śui	blood	Benedict 1972:222; Coblin 1986:45
	syui	blood	LaPolla 1987:201
Pattani [Manchati]	**çui**	blood	Sharma 1982
	šùi	blood	Sharma 1991b:8.7
	šùi hutsi	bleed (v.)	Sharma 1991b:8.7.2
Rongpo	**ʃuĩ**	blood (n.)	Sharma 2003:1229

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Central)	na wung-gi **yi** shole	bleed from the nose (v.)	Egli-Roduner 1987:37 13
	yi	blood	Andvik 1993:22; Egli-Roduner 1987:36 11; Benedict 1972:51n169
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ji**	blood	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:268.7
	ji^{13}	blood	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ʐi**	blood	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ki^{55}**	blood	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ceʔ^{53}**	blood	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:268.6
Motuo Menba	**ji**	blood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.07

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	a-**ví**	blood	Matisoff 1987
	tă-**ví**	menses	Matisoff 1987
	ví	blood	Matisoff 1987
	vi	blood	Benedict 1972:222; Coblin 1986:45
	ví nŭm-nyim-să a-so	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	ví nyo	blood	Matisoff 1987
	vi-t‘yam	blood clot	Matisoff 1987
	vi mân	kin, offspring, relatives (literally flesh and blood) (n.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.5. DHIMAL

Dhimal	**hi** ti	blood	King 1994

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**hi**	blood	Michailovsky 1991:16
Newar (Dolakhali)	**hi**	blood	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**hi**	blood	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**hi**	blood; menstrual blood	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.4.7; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.7
	hi nu(li)	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	hi nu:	blood vessel / vein / artery	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.7.1

[a] [Source Note] (lit: body water).
[b] [Source Note] (lit: body water).

	hi wɔe	bleed (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.7.2

2.3. Kiranti

**SE Kiranti*	***hi**	blood	Michailovsky 1991:16
**Kiranti*	***hi/si**	blood	Opgenort 2011
Dungmali	**hi**	blood	Benedict 1972:222
Lambichong	**həli**	blood	Benedict 1972:222
Waling	**hi**	blood	Benedict 1972:222

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	mak-**khī**	blood	Matisoff 1987
	mak **khi**	blood	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:16
	mak **khiʔ**	blood	Weidert 1987:117
	mak **khī** kumāk	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
Lohorong	**hə** ri	blood	Benedict 1972:222
Yakha	**hɛː** li	blood	Kohn 1990:8.7
	hɛː li loːmma	bleed (v.)	Kohn 1990:8.7.2
	hɛ lɛ keʔma	menstruate (v.)	Kohn 1990:10.4.6

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**hï**	blood	Michailovsky 1991:16; Matisoff 1987
	hU	blood	Rai 1985
	hü	blood	Rai *et al.* 1984:31
Chamling	**hi**	blood	Michailovsky 1991:16; Winter 1985:14
	hi ta-(a)	bleed	Winter 1985:14
Kulung	**hi**	blood	Michailovsky 1991:16; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**hi**	blood	Benedict 1972:222
	hiː	blood	Michailovsky 1991:16; Driem 1993
	hiː lam dɨ	blood vessel. <vein>	Driem 1993
Khaling	**hi**	blood	Michailovsky 1991:16; Matisoff 1987
	hi rip	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
Sampang	**hi**	blood	Benedict 1972:222

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**hu-si**	blood	Benedict 1972:222
	hy-si	blood	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:16
Hayu	**ji**	blood	Michailovsky 1991:16; Matisoff 1987
	no:-**ji**	blood from nosebleed	Matisoff 1987
	noː **yi**	blood coming from the nose (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:reyected 8
	vi	blood	LaPolla 1987:201; Benedict 1972:222; Coblin 1986:45
Sunwar	**hu-si**	blood	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:16
Thulung	**sisi**	blood	Michailovsky 1991:16
	si sī	blood	Matisoff 1987
	si si	blood	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**huy**	blood (WD) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	huyq-sa	blood (v?.)	Michailovsky 1991:16
	huyʔ	blood	Matisoff 1987
	huyʔ-sa	bleed	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.24
	wayʔ	blood	Matisoff 1987
	weiʔ	blood	Weidert 1987:24
	wi	blood (B) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	wi ⋉ wei	blood	Benedict 1972:222; LaPolla 1987:201; Coblin 1986:45
	wəyʔ	blood, red sap (n.)	Caughley 2000
	wəyʔ-sa	bleed	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.24
	wəyʔ.tak-	draw blood, wound (vt.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**wəyʔ**	blood	Caughley 1990:8.7
	wəyʔ naʔ	bleed (v.)	Caughley 1990:8.7.2
Kham	**'jiːh**	blood	Michailovsky 1991:16; Watters & Watters 1989; Matisoff 1987
	'jiːh hu-nya	bleed (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.24
	'kyãːtəo **jiːh**	menstrual blood	Watters & Watters 1989
	jilh tup	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	jiːh tup	vein; blood vessel	Watters & Watters 1989; Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.6
Magar	**hxu**	blood	Matisoff 1987
	hyu	blood	Michailovsky 1991:16; Coblin 1986:45
	hyu [hü]	blood	Benedict 1972:222

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	pe **se**	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989e:12.5
	se	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989e:8.7
	seɦ	blood	Nishida 1964:181-072; Nishida 1964:192

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**ʂo**^{55}	blood	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.18
Guiqiong	**tsə**^{55}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.16
	tsɿ^{53}	blood	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.17
Lyuzu	**ʂu**^{35}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.18
Muya	**sa**^{53}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.15
Muya [Minyak]	**sa**^{53}	blood	Sun Hongkai 1991h:8.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.15
Namuyi	**sɛ**^{33}	blood	Sun Hongkai 1991i:8.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.19
	sæ^{11}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**sɛi**^{35}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**sa**^{13}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sa**^{13}	blood	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**se**^{35}	blood	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.10
Qiang (Longxi)	mà **só** lò	menstruate [m-blood-come]	Evans 1999:146.2
	phì **sà** lò	menstruate [vulva-blood-come]	Evans 1999:146.2
	sà	blood	Evans 1999:160
Qiang (Mawo)	rpə **sɑ**	pus	Sun 1986
	sa	blood	Sun Hongkai 1991g:8.7
	sa(æ)ɣə̥ʴ	blood vessel / vein / artery	Sun Hongkai 1991g:8.7.1
	sa ɬə	bleed (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:8.7.2
	spə **sɑ**	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.8
	sɑ	blood	Sun 1986; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	sɑ	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.08
	sɑ	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.8
	sɑ gwiʴ	blood vessel	Sun 1986
Qiang (Mianchi)	**sà**	blood	Evans 1999:160
Qiang (Taoping)	**sɑ**^{33}	blood	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**sɑ**	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989q:160
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**sai**^{53}	blood	Sun Hongkai 1991n:8.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**si**^{55}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.13
Xumi	**sæ**^{53}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.17
	sɛ^{55}	blood	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ɕhʌ**^{13}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	ndɛ **zɛ**	bleed (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:8.7.2
Ergong (Northern)	nə^{53} **t**^{h}**ie**^{13}	bleed (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.7.2
Ergong (Daofu)	**se**	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.7
	se ga ɬhɑ	bleed (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.7.2
Daofu	**she**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.12
Ergong (Danba)	**she**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.14
Ergong (Northern)	**si**^{53}	blood	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.7
	stə^{53} **si**^{53}	menstrual blood	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.7
	stə^{53} **si**^{53} nə^{53} t^{h}ie^{13}	menstruate (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.6
Ergong (Danba)	**s**^{h}**e**	blood	Sun Hongkai 1991b:8.7
Nyagrong Minyag (Ganzi Xinlong)	**ˉs**^{h}**e**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	**sə̂**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Queyu Gala)	**sai**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	**se**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**se**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**sej**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	**she**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	**si**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	**sje**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**sji**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**sji**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**sə**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**s**^{h}**ə́**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	**s̤i**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong	ta **ʃi**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.12
	ta **ɕi**	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.7
	ta **ɕi** cɛr	blood vessel / vein / artery	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.7.1
	ta **ɕi** kə ut	bleed (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.7.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ta-**ʃi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	ta-**ʂɿ**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	ta22 **ʃi55**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	ta22 **ɕi44**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	ta22 **ɕi44**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	ta22**ʃi22**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	ta^{3}**ɕi**^{3}	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	ta^{3}**ɕi**^{1}	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	ta^{3}**ʂə**^{3}	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	ta^{3}**ʂə**^{3}	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	ta^{3}**ʂə**^{3}	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	ta^{3}**ʂə**^{3}	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	ta^{3}**ʂə**^{3}	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	ta **'ʃe**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	ta **'ʃi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	ta **'ʃi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	ta **'ʃi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	ta **'ʃi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	ta **'ɕi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	ta **'ɕi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	ta **'ɕi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	ta **'ɕi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	ta **'ɕi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	ta **'ɕi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198

rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	ta **'ɕi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	ta **'ɕi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	ta **'ɕi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	ta **'ɕi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	ta **'ɕi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	ta **'ɕi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	ta **'ɕi**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	ta **'ɕiʔ**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	ta **'ɕiʔ**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	ta **'ɕiʔ**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	ta **'ɕiʔ**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	ta **'ɕy**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	ta **'ɕə**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	ta **'ɕə**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (NW)	ta **sa**	blood	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.7
rGyalrong (Northern)	ta **se**	blood	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.7
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **ʃi**	blood	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.7
	ta **ʃi** na k^{h}ʃut	bleed (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.7.2
	ta **ʃi** tʃɐ̯	blood vessel / vein / artery	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.7.1
rGyalrong	tə ɕtu **ɕi**	menstrual blood	Dai Qingxia 1989d:10.4.7
	tə ɕtu **ɕi** kə ɕut	menstruate (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:10.4.6
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	tə **'se**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
Caodeng	tɐ **sɐ**	blood	Sun 1997a
	tɐ **sɐ** ʒnbraʔ	blood vessel	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **ʃi**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tɤ **se**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	´tɐ **ɕə**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	´tʌ **ʃ^{h}əʔ**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGyalrong	da NtseN wa **shi**	menstrual blood	Nagano 1997:10.4.7
	tA Nge wa **shi**	menstrual blood	Nagano 1997:10.4.7
	ta **shi**	blood	Nagano 1997:8.7
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	**seʔ**	blood	Nagano & Prins 2013:0198
rGBenzhen	ta **ʃiʔ**	blood	Sun 1997b
Shili	tá **saχ**	blood	Sun 1997c

4. Nungic

Anong	**śö**	blood	Benedict 1972:222
	syö	blood	LaPolla 1987:201
	ʂɯ^{53}	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.44
Nung	**ʂɯ^{55}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.21
Trung [Dulong]	**šiə^{44}i^{44}**	blood	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	**ɕɯi^{55}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ɕɯi^{55}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**syɯi^{55}**	blood	LaPolla 1987:201
	ɕɯi^{55}	blood	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**syi^{55}**	blood	LaPolla 1987:201
	ɕi^{55}	blood	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***swəy^{2}*** BLOOD

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**sui^{31}**	blood	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**sui^{31}**	blood	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	sui^{31}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.28
	sui^{31}	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.41
Achang (Luxi)	**sui^{55}**	blood	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**sui^{31}**	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989f:155
	sui^{31}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.29
Bola	**sui^{35}**	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989g:155
Bola (Luxi)	**sui^{35}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.32
Burmese (Modern)	**swe:**	blood	Luce 1985:T.27
	swe^{4}	blood	Luce 1985:G.85
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tθwe^{55}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθwe^{55}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**θwe^{4}**	blood	Luce 1985:T.27
Burmese (Written)	saw **swê**-krâw	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	suy	blood	Luce 1985:T.27
	suy^{4}	blood	Luce 1985:Y.35
	swat	blood that collects and tends to putrefaction (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	swè	blood	Weidert 1987:260
	swê	blood; disposition	Hansson 1989:136; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:210; Benedict 1976a
	swè	blood	LaPolla 1987:201; Benedict 1972:222; Coblin 1986:45
	swê-wut	fontanel	Matisoff 1987
	swê-ʔim	placenta ("blood-house")	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	swe:	blood	Marrison 1967
	thwe^{3}	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.39
	tθwe^{3}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.26
	ə-**swê**	blood; disposition	Benedict 1976a
Danu	**θwe^{2}**	blood	Luce 1985:T.27
Hpun (Metjo)	ă **ʃuih^{4}**	blood	Luce 1985:T.27
Hpun (Northern)	ă **ʃwì**, ă **ʃùi**	blood	Henderson 1986
	ă **ʃwì** ʃái, ă **ʃwì** ʃǎi	vein (cp. Blood)	Henderson 1986

[a] Lit. "blood-house".

Langsu (Luxi)	**sa^{35}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.31
Lashi	**sui^{55}**	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.7
	sui^{55} khjo^{33}	blood vessel; vein; artery; pulse	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.7.1; Dai Qingxia 1989m:9.3.2
	sui^{55} thu:ʔ^{55}	bleed (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.7.2
Lashi (Lachhe')	**sɔi^{2}**	blood	Luce 1985:T.27
	sɤ^{3}	blood	Luce 1985:T.27
Leqi (Luxi)	**sui^{55}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.33
Marma	**θwí**	blood	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:53
Maru [Langsu]	**sā**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
	sa^{35}	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.43
	sa^{35} khjɔ^{31}	blood vessel / vein / artery	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.7.1
	sa^{35} thuk^{55}	bleed (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.7.2
Taung-Yo	**θue^{2}**	blood	Luce 1985:T.27
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**sùi**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
	sui^{21}	blood	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	sui^{21}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.30
	sui^{21}	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.42
	swɛ^{4}	blood	Luce 1985:T.27

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***swe^{2}**	blood	Weidert 1987:260; Bradley 1979b:147; Hansson 1989:136
PNL	**swe^{2}**	blood	Chen Kang 1986a:125.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**sɪ^{31}**	blood	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	sɻ^{21}	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.7
	sɻ^{21} to^{53}	bleed (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.7.2
	sɻ^{31}	blood	Mu Shihua 2003
	sɻ^{31}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.47
Lalo	**sì**	blood	Björverud 1994
	si^{21}	blood	Chen Kang 1986a:125.
	sɻ^{21}	blood	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7
	sɻ^{21} gu^{21} tʂa^{33}	blood vessel / vein / artery	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7.1
Lipho	**sɻ^{21}**	blood	Chen Kang 1986a:125.; Chen Kang 1986b:8.7
Nasu	**sɯ^{33}**	blood	Chen Kang 1986a:125.; Chen Kang 1986b:8.7
Neisu	**sy^{33}**	blood	Chen Kang 1986a:125.
Nesu	**si^{33}**	blood	Chen Kang 1986a:125.
	ʂɻ^{33}	blood	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7
Noesu	**dʐu^{33}**	blood vessel	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7.1
	sy^{33}	blood	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7
Nosu	gu^{33}**ʐi^{33}**	blood vessel	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7.1
	si^{33}	blood	Chen Kang 1986a:125.
	sɻ^{33}	blood	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**sui^{55}**	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989o:155.
Nusu (Central)	**sui^{55}**	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989p:155.; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**suĩ^{55}**	blood	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**sui^{55}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**sui^{55}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.45
Nusu (Northern)	**su^{55}**	blood	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ɕi^{33}**	blood	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**sɻ^{33}**	blood	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**si^{21}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**si^{33}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**si^{21}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.24
	ɕi^{21}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**sɻ^{21}**	blood	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.23
Yi (Weishan)	**sɻ^{21}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.36
Yi (Wuding)	**sɯ^{33}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.38
Yi (Xide)	**sɻ^{33}**	blood	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	sɻ^{33}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.35
	sɻ^{33}	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.21
	sɻ^{33}-ŋga^{33}-tɕi^{34}	blood vessel	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɕi^{33}-tɕi^{21}	vein	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	mɑ^{55} **si^{21}**	menstrual blood	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.4.7
	mɑ^{55} **si^{21}** du̱^{33}	menstruate (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.4.6
Lolo (Ni)	**sē**	blood	Luce 1985:T.27
Ahi	**si^{21}**	blood	Chen Kang 1986a:125.; Luo Meizhen 1990:8.7
	si^{21} du̱^{33}	bleed (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.7.2
	si^{21} tʂo^{33}	blood vessel / vein / artery	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.7.1
	sɻ^{21}	blood	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7
	sɻ^{21}tʂo^{33}	blood vessel	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7.1
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{33} **ʃi^{44}**	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989h:160
Jinuo	a^{33}**ɕi^{44}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.34
	a^{44}**ɕi^{44}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃi^{44}**	blood	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**ʃɻ^{33}**	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989i:160
Kucong	a31 **sɤ35**	blood	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***suh_**	blood	Bradley 1979b:147
Lahu	**thi**	blood	Benedict 1972:51n169
	ɔ̌ **sì**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**si^{11}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.43
Lahu (Black)	aw˯ **suh_**	blood	Luce 1985:T.27
	cha-**šɨ́**	menstrual blood	Matisoff 1987
	sa^{35} ts^{h}ɣ^{53}	ulcer, sore	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	šɨ̄	blood	Matisoff 1974:210
	ɔ^{31} **sɻ^{11}**	blood	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.33
	ɔ̀-**šɨ̄**	blood	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**sɨ̄**-câʔ	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**šɨ̄**-ɔ̀-šā	breath / life	Matisoff 1987 [a]
Lahu (Yellow)	**sa^{31}** ts^{h}u^{55}	ulcer, sore	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} **sɻʔ^{21}**	blood	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Banlan)	**suh_**	blood	Bradley 1979a:147
Lisu (Northern)	hwa^{21}**si^{21}**	blood (animal blood used in making a vow) (N.)	Bradley 1994

[a] [Source Note] "blood and flesh".

	hwa^{21}**si^{21}** dɔ^{44}	suck blood wine	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}**si^{21}** dɔ^{44} læ^{21}hɔ^{33}	drink blood wine	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}**si^{21}** tɔ^{33}	pour blood wine in	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}**si^{21}** tɕhɔʔ^{21}	pour blood wine (on the ground)	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}**si^{21}**khu^{55}	blood clot	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**si^{21}**	blood; liver (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**si^{21}** dzæ^{33}dzæ^{33}	bloody	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}khu^{33}**si^{21}**	nasal blood; nosebleed	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}	blood (N.)	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}dzi^{21}	bloody	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}dzæ^{33}dzæ^{33}	dripping with blood	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}dɔ^{44} læ^{21}hɔ^{33}	drink blood wine	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}dʒu^{21}	blood vessel; vein	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}hiʔ^{21} bɤ^{21}di^{33}	blood fluke	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}næ^{33}	purple blood	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}næ^{33}lu^{55}	red blood cell	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}phu^{33}lu^{55}	white blood cell	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}tshæ^{21}læ^{21}mu^{33}	covered with blood	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}tʃhɳ^{21} **si^{21}**byʔ^{21}	extravasated blood	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}tɕhɔʔ^{21}	traditional practice to determine right from wrong in a dispute, in which an incantation is made while wine or water or animal blood is poured onto the ground	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}ʃu^{21}ʃu^{21}	bloody	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**si^{31}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.40
	si^{5}	blood	Bradley 1979b:147
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**si^{5}**	blood	Luce 1985:T.27
Lisu	**si^{5}**	blood	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**si^{5}**	blood	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**si^{5}**-ju^{5}	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Nujiang)	**sɿ^{31}**	blood	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**sɿ^{31}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.27
	šỳ	blood	Weidert 1987:260
Lisu (Putao)	yi^{1}**sɯ^{5}**	blood	Luce 1985:T.27
Lisu (Northern)	ɣa^{33}vu^{55}**si^{21}**	blood of the first chicken in a brood	Bradley 1994
	ʃɿ^{21}	blood (N.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**si^{21}**	blood	Chen Kang 1986a:125.
	si^{55}	blood	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7; Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	si^{55}dǫ^{33}	bleed	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	si^{55}tʂə^{33}	blood vessel	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	si^{55}tʂɑ^{33}	blood vessel	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7.1
	si^{55}ŋɛ^{33}	bleed to death	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**sʐ^{55}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.39
Sani [Nyi]	**sɿ^{55}**	blood	Ma Xueliang 1989:354.1
	sɿ^{55} tʂɑ^{33}	blood vessel	Ma Xueliang 1989:354.2
	sɿ^{55} xɑ^{11}	muscle	Ma Xueliang 1989:354.3

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**shi**-pyeh	spleen	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	shi^{31} pyeh^{55}	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094
	shi˯	blood	Matisoff 1987
	shi˯pyeh˅	spleen	Matisoff 1987
	shi˯**shi**˯ca^	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	shi˯**shi**˯km˅	coagulated blood	Matisoff 1987
	šì	blood	Weidert 1987:260
	sjhì	blood	Hansson 1989:136
Akha (Thai)	**sjhì**	blood	Hansson 1989:136.
Akha (Yunnan)	**sjhì**	blood	Hansson 1989:136.
Akha	**sjhì**-pjhɛ́	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094
Bisu	**šì**	blood	Bradley 1979b
	ʃì	blood	Bradley 199x; Beaudouin 1988:13
Hani (Dazhai)	**sa^{31}** ts^{h}i^{31}	ulcer, sore	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	si̱^{31}	blood	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**sjhỳ/shỳ**	blood	Hansson 1989:136.
	si̱^{31}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.41
Hani (Pijo)	**sjhỳ**	blood	Hansson 1989:136
	ɔ **sjhỳ**	blood	Hansson 1989:136.
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ^{31} **ɕi^{31}**	blood	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**si^{31}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɕi^{31}**	blood	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**siivq**	blood	Hansson 1989:136.
Hani (Shuikui)	**ʃl^{31}**	blood	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.32
Hani (Khatu)	**sjhỳ**	blood	Hansson 1989:136
	sjhỳ ný	blood	Hansson 1989:136.
Hani (Mojiang)	**ʃl^{31}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.42
Mpi	**si^{2}**	blood	Bradley 1979b; Hansson 1989:136; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**sə^{11}**	blood	Bradley 1977
	sə̀	blood	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1987
	sɨ^{31} ʔɔce	bleed (v.)	Ferlus 1991:8.7.2
	sɨ^{31} ʔɔʔɔvja	bleed (v.)	Ferlus 1991:8.7.2
	ʔā́ kù **sə̀**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	ʔɑ̃^{55} ku^{11} **sə^{11}**	vein	Bradley 1977
Pyen	**ʃi31**	blood	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131011
Sangkong	**si̱^{31}**	blood	Li Yongsui 1991
Sila	**ɕi21**	blood	Kato Takashi 2008:4
Ugong	phŭŋ **ʔû**	bloody pus	Bradley 1993
	ʔǫ́ / hoŋ **ʔǫ́**	blood	Bradley 1993:8.7
	ʔǫ́ sên	blood vessel / vein / artery	Bradley 1993:8.7.1

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Southern Muji	i^{33}**ɕi^{55}**	blood	Pelkey 2011:322
Phola	**si^{33}**	blood	Pelkey 2011:322
	si^{33}nɛ^{55}	blood	Pelkey 2011:322
Hlepho Phowa	**sɯ^{55}**	blood	Pelkey 2011:322
Phuza	**si^{33}**	blood	Pelkey 2011:322

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**sɯ**ɬ	blood	Michaud 2006–2009:434
	sɯɬbvɬ	vein	Michaud 2006–2009:436
Na (Yongning)	**sɤ**˥	blood	Michaud 2006–2009
	sɤɬtsi˥	vein	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Western)	**sa^{33}**	blood	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**sa^{33}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**se^{33}**	blood	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**se^{33}**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.29
Naxi	**sæ^{33}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.45

7. Karenic: ***swi^{B}** BLOOD

**Karen*	***swi**	blood	Benedict 1972:139n374
	***swíq**	blood	Jones 1961:50
**Karen (TP)*	***swíq**	blood	Jones 1961:50
**Karen [Burling]*	***swi^{2}**	blood	Luangthongkum 2013:25
**Karen*	***swi^{B}**	blood	Luangthongkum 2013:25
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***θwíq**	blood	Jones 1961:50
**Karen (Pwo)*	***θwíq**	blood	Jones 1961:50
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***θwíʔ**	blood	Jones 1961:50
Bwe	**-θu**	blood (n.)	Henderson 1997
	-θu=chí	blood, bloodstream	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**θu^{2}**	blood	Weidert 1987:888; Luce 1985:G.85
Bwe	**θu^{33}**	blood	Luangthongkum 2013:25
	θwì	blood	Weidert 1987:888
	θwi	blood	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**θwi^{2}**	blood	Weidert 1987:888; Luce 1985:G.85
Bwe	**θwi^{33}**	blood	Luangthongkum 2013:25
Geba	**θwi^{2}**	blood	Luce 1985:G.85
Karen	a^{31}**θui^{31}**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.50
Kayah	**swi^{11}**	blood	Luangthongkum 2013:25
Kayan	**θwi^{11}**	blood	Luangthongkum 2013:25
Kayan (Pekon)	**θwî**	blood (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**su^{11}**	blood	Luangthongkum 2013:25
Pa-O	**swí**	blood	Weidert 1987:888; Solnit 1989; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:50
	swi	blood	Benedict 1972:139n374
	swí phrwī	blood vessel, artery, vein; vein, blood vessel	Solnit 1989; Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**swi^{33}**	blood	Luangthongkum 2013:25
Pa-O (Northern)	**swi^{55}**	blood	Luangthongkum 2013:25
	s'wi^{1}	blood	Luce 1985:G.85
Paku	**θwi^{3}**	blood	Luce 1985:G.85
Palaychi	**twíq**	blood	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:50
Pwo (Northern)	**swi^{33}**	blood	Luangthongkum 2013:25
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**θwi^{1}**	blood	Luce 1985:G.85
Pwo (Delta)	**θwi^{4}**	blood	Luce 1985:G.85
Pwo (Southern)	**θwi^{55}**	blood	Luangthongkum 2013:25
Pwo (Bassein)	khà **xwì**	blood	Weidert 1987:888
	θwì	blood	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:50
Pwo (Moulmein)	khá? **xwí?**	blood	Weidert 1987:888
	θwí?	blood	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:50
Sgaw (Northern)	(ta^{11})**swi$^{31\sim}$**	blood	Luangthongkum 2013:25
Sgaw (Southern)	**swi^{45,}**	blood	Luangthongkum 2013:25
Sgaw	**^{2}θwi**	blood	Weidert 1987:888
	θwi^{4}	blood	Luce 1985:G.85
Sgaw (Bassein)	**θwì**	blood	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:50
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a^{31} **tθui^{31}**	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989k:160
	a^{31} **tθui^{31}** klɛ̰^{55}	blood vessel	Dai Qingxia 1989k:162.1
	da^{31} **tθui^{31}**	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989k:160.1
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**θwí?**	blood	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:50
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	ta^{31} **θui^{31}**	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989j:160

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**suɑ̰^{44}**	blood	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	suɑ^{44}	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.37
Bai (Dali)	**suɑ̰^{44}**	blood	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	suɑ^{44}	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	kɯ̰^{21} **suɑ̰^{44}**	bleed (v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:8.7.2
	suɑ̰^{44}	menstrual blood; blood	Zhao Yansun 1990:10.4.7; Zhao Yansun 1990:8.7
	suɑ̰^{44} mæ̰^{44}	blood vessel / vein / artery	Zhao Yansun 1990:8.7.1
	suɑ̰^{33}	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.48
	suɑ̰^{44}	blood	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	suɑ^{44}	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.36

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**xiwet/xiuet**	blood	Chou Fa-kao 1972:410a-c
	χiwet/χiwet	blood	Karlgren 1957:410a-c
Chinese (Old)	**hwit**	blood	Baxter 1992:1152; Coblin 1986:45
	χiwet	blood	Luce 1985:Y.35

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**xiwet**	blood	Coblin 1986:45

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**hüe**	blood	Karlgren 1957:410a-c
	shiee	blood	Sun 1985b:78
	xiě	blood	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

𠂤 OC ***χiwet**, *GSR* #410a-c 'blood'; Coblin 86:45 ST ***shwi?** > OC ***hwit**; Schuessler 2007:547-8 ***hwît**; B & S 2011: ***m̥ˤik**; Mand. **xiě**.

(1b) PTB *suy MARROW

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***suy**	marrow	Matisoff 2003a:613

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	ru-**su**	marrow	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	ɹu^{53} **su^{53}**	marrow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**hai**	marrow	French 1983:460
	hʌ̀i	marrow	Weidert 1987:103

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	lə **səwi**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	nra lə **səwi**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	^{3}lə^{2}**shui**	marrow	Weidert 1987:103

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	jEq **si**	marrow	Michailovsky 1989b
	jɛʔ **si**	marrow	Michailovsky 1991:115
	luŋ **si**	marrow	Michailovsky 1989b
	se **si**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	sī	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	si:	marrow	Weidert 1987:103

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**'su:**	marrow	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.3
	su:	marrow	Matisoff 1987

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	mɯ^{31} **sĭʔ^{55}**	marrow	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	mɯ[31] **sĭʔ**[55]	marrow	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Southern)	lai[55] **suĩ**[33]	brain	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	nauɯ[55] **suĩ**[55]	brain	Chen Kang 1986d:2.5
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**swiɑ/swiȩ-**	marrow	Karlgren 1957:11h
Chinese (Old)	**swia**	marrow	Matisoff 1983:56
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**sjweX**	marrow	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2681
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	guu **sueir**	marrow	Sun 1985b:474
	suei	marrow	Karlgren 1957:11h
	suǐ	marrow	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2681

Chinese comparandum

髓 OC ***swiɑ***, *GSR* #11h ‘marrow’; Schuessler 2007:485 ***soiʔ***; B & S 2011: ***s-loj?***; Mand. **suǐ**.

(2) PTB *krak BLOOD / RED

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	**tag** ri	blood	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	pa[13] **tʃha**[53]	menstrual blood	Sun Hongkai 1991a:10.4.7
	pɑ[13] **tɕha**[53] nbi[13]	menstruate (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:10.4.6
	tɕha[53]	blood	Sun Hongkai 1991a:8.7
Cuona Menba	**ceʔ**[53]	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**cɕhak**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tɕhak**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**cɕhak**	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.5
	tɕʰag	blood	Sun 1985a:78
Tibetan (Batang)	**tʂhaʔ**[53]	blood	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.7
	tʂhaʔ[55] wõ[55]	bleed (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.7.2
	tʂhɑʔ[53]	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tʂhɑʔ**[53]	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂhaʔ**[53]	blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.2
	tʂha[52]	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**thah**	blood	Bishop 1989:8.7
	thah tengen	bleed (v.)	Bishop 1989:8.7.2
	thah ama	blood vessel / vein / artery	Bishop 1989:8.7.1
Spiti	**ṭhà** tonje	bleed (v.)	Bodh 1991:8.7.2
	ṭhak	blood	Bodh 1991:8.7
Tibetan (Written)	**khrag**	blood	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:78; Benedict 1972:51n168
	khrag	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.01
	khrag	blood	Coblin 1986:123; Zhang Liansheng 1988:59; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:268.1
	kʻrag	blood	Matisoff 1987
	kʻrɑg-čʻɑgs-rtá	horse (’bloodbred’)	Jäschke 1881
	kʻu-**kʻrag**	semen and uterine blood	Matisoff 1987
	sna i-**kʻrag**	nosebleed	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**tɕhaχ**	blood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0129.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**hrók**	blood	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*[B]**ka:**	blood	Mazaudon 1994:13
Chantyal	**ka**	blood	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.7
	ka kha-wa	menstruate; bleed (v.)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:10.4.6; Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.7.2
	ka-ye dfiəyri	blood vessel / vein / artery	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.7.1
Gurung (Ghachok)	**koq**	blood	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972
	koq yuqba	bleed	Glover 1972:2.B.2.24
	koq cā	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	koq ca	blood vessel	Glover 1972:2.A.6
Gurung	**[2]ko**	blood	Mazaudon 1994:13
Manang (Gyaru)	**ga:**[1]	blood	Nagano 1984:053
Manang (Prakaa)	**[2]ka:**	blood	Mazaudon 1994:13
	[1]ka:	blood	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0044
Tamang (Risiangku)	**[2]ka:**	blood (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:8.7
	[2]ka:	blood	Mazaudon 1994:13
Tamang (Sahu)	**’kā**	blood	Matisoff 1987
	’kā.cyāhng	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	’ka:	blood	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.30
	’ka:.cyahŋ	blood vessel	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.6
	kra nyur-cim ’a-’ci:h-pa	faint (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.25
	[2]ka:	blood	Matisoff 1987; Mazaudon 1994:13
Thakali (Marpha)	**[51]ka**	blood	Mazaudon 1994:13
Thakali (Syang)	**[53]ka:**	blood	Mazaudon 1994:13
	[54]ka	blood	Mazaudon 1994:13
Thakali (Tukche)	**kā**	blood	Matisoff 1987
	ka	blood	Hari 1971
	ka ’kʰɔ-lɔ	bleed	Hari 1971:2.B.2.24
	ka ju-lɔ	bleed	Hari 1971:2.B.2.24
	[H]ka	blood	Mazaudon 1994:13
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	sa **gra**	vein	Michailovsky 1991:124
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	**kʰrak** ɤtsa	blood vessel / vein / artery	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.7.1
7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***kha’**	blood	Weidert 1987:888
	***ʔka B**	blood	Weidert 1987:888
Pwo (Bassein)	**khà** xwì	blood	Weidert 1987:888
Pwo (Moulmein)	**kháʔ** xwíʔ	blood	Weidert 1987:888
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	赤	red	Baxter & Sagart 2011:322
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**KHjAk**	red	Baxter 1992:1385
	khrjak	red / blood	Coblin 1986:123
	qʰak {[qʰ](r)Ak}	red	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2532
	qʰək {[qʰ](r)ək}	red	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2545
	qʰˤrak	red, fiery	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1045
	t-**qʰak** {[t-qʰ](r)Ak}	red	Baxter & Sagart 2011:322
	xrak	red / fire-red	Baxter 1992:363b
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**chì**	red	Baxter & Sagart 2011:322

Chinese comparandum

赤 OC ***t’i̱ĭk***, *GSR* #793a-c ‘red’; B & S 2011: ***t-qʰak {[t-qʰ](r)Ak}***; Mand. **chì**.
赫 OC ***χăk***, *GSR* #779a ‘red, fiery; brilliant; majestic, awe-inspiring; frighten’; Schuessler 2007:276 ***hrâk***; B & S 2011: ***qʰˤrak***; Mand. **hè**.
奭 OC ***χi̱ək*** ~ (***śi̱ĭk***), *GSR* #913a ‘majestic, red’; B & S 2011: ***qʰək {[qʰ](r)ək}*** ~ ***qʰak {[qʰ](r)Ak}***; Mand. **shì**.

Comment: The primary comparanda here are 赤 **chì** and 赫 **hè**. OC sources yield conflicting reports as to the exact reconstruction of 奭 **shì**, and whether 赫 and 奭 represent two separate etyma or are graphic substitutes one for another instead (see e.g. Karlgren’s remarks in *GSR* #913a; discussion in Schuessler 2007:188-9). These issues, however, do not detract from the validity and overall usefulness of the comparandum at hand. [SPB]

1.6.2.1 Blood Vessel/Vein/Artery

(1) PKC *tha-ruy ≍ *-hruy VEIN / ARTERY / SINEW

The first syllable of this PKC binome is to be assigned to PTB ***r-sa*** VEIN / SINEW / INTERNAL CHANNEL / PULSE (§1.6.6). The morphemic identity of the second syllable is yet to be determined.

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tha-ruy ≍ -hruy**	VEIN / ARTERY / SINEW	VanBik 2009:418
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**tha-gui**	sinew	VanBik 2009:418
Thado	**thá-gûy**	vein, sinew	VanBik 2009:418
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**tha-gui**	strength, muscle	VanBik 2009:418
Khumi	**athovuuy**	blood vessel, vein, artery	VanBik 2009:418
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tha-hrìi**	vein, artery, sinew (”sinew cords”)	VanBik 2009:418
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**thá-rí**	vein, an artery, the sinews, the nerves (”sinew cords”) (n.)	VanBik 2009:418

1.6.3 Bone

BONE ——— **HARD OBJECT**

Figure 131: 1.6.3 *Bone*

Note that quite a number of Himalayish languages have borrowed Nepali **hāD** (**hāḍ**) ‘bone’ for words for ‘bone’ and ‘rib’. See Turner p. 807, who reconstructs ***haḍḍa-*** (Ass. **hār**; Beng. **hāṛ**) and notes that the “connection with **aṣṭhi** very doubtful”.

(1) PTB *$\begin{matrix}\textbf{s}\\\textbf{m}\\\textbf{g}\end{matrix}$**-rus BONE

A few languages (Jingpho, Ntenyi, Puiron, Rongmei) have developed a nasal prefix in this root. Many others reflect the **s-** prefix, so characteristic of Tibeto-Burman animal and body part names (< PTB **sya**).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***rus**	bone	Weidert 1987:173; Michailovsky 1991:18; LaPolla 1987:153; Benedict 1972:6
	***s/m/g-rus**	bone	Matisoff 2003a:611
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	gom-puɯ a-**lo**	jaw	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-ŋɯ-**rɯ**	ankle	Sun 1993b
	mo-**ru**	cheek	Sun 1993b
	mó-**ru**	cheek	Sun 1993b
Miri, Hill	cok **lo**	jaw	Simon 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	kɑ[31] puŋ[55] **ɹɯ**[31] boŋ[35]	cheekbone	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ru-su	marrow	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	rɯ[31] boŋ[35]	bone	LaPolla 1987:153
	ɹu[53] su[53]	marrow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɹɯ[31] boŋ[35]	bone	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɹɯ[31]boŋ[35]	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.22
Kaman [Miju]	bɹɯp[35] **ɹɑɯ**[53]	cheekbone	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	**jo** mbō	bone	Pulu 1978
	ru ci	bone	Anonymous 1962
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ruʔ** BONE			
**Chin*	***ruʔ**	BONE	VanBik 2009:922
Anal	**ru**	bone	Matisoff 1987
	rú	bone	Weidert 1987:173
Chinbok	**guʔ**	bone	Matisoff 1987
Khoibu	tʰu-**ru**	bone	Brown 1837
Ngawn	**ŋuʔ**	bone	Matisoff 1987
Thanphum	**hru**[5]	bone	Luce 1985:O.17
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	ahkho mit **gu**	ankle bone	Haokip 1998:6.2.5.1
	bieng **gu**	cheekbone / malar bone	Haokip 1998:3.11.1
	gu	bone	Haokip 1998:8.4
	khel **gu**	pelvic girdle / pelvic bone (check g.)	Haokip 1998:5.8
	kieuchong **gu**	elbow bone	Haokip 1998:6.1.4.1
	lieng **gu**	collar bone / clavicle	Haokip 1998:5.2
	mal **gu**	thigh bone / femur	Haokip 1998:6.2.1.1
	nah **gu**	rib	Haokip 1998:5.1.2
	nah **gu** bom	rib cage	Haokip 1998:5.1.1
	ngal **gu**	shin bone / tibia	Haokip 1998:6.2.3.1
	ting **gu**	spine / backbone	Haokip 1998:5.5.4

Paite	**guh**	bone	VanBik 2009:922
Sizang	kūp **ngū**	knee	VanBik 2009:298
	ngū	bone	VanBik 2009:922
Thado	**gù**	bone	Thirumalai 1972:56
	gú	bone	Thirumalai 1972:62
	gùu	bone	VanBik 2009:922
	ā **gù**	bone	Thirumalai 1972:28
Tiddim	-**guʔ**	bone	Matisoff 1987
	guʔ^{3}	bone	Bhaskararao 1996:374
	guʔ^{3} ngeːk^{1}	bone marrow	Bhaskararao 1996:375
	guʔ^{3}	bone	VanBik 2009:922
	naːk^{1} **guʔ**^{3}	rib bone	Bhaskararao 1996:1184
	naːk^{1}**guʔ**^{1}	rib bone	VanBik 2009:829
	ŋguʔ^{4}	bone	Luce 1985:G.61; Luce 1985:O.17
	ɣuʔ^{4}	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
	ɣuʔ^{4}	bone	Luce 1985:O.17
	_guʔ	bone (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	a **yo˝**	bone	VanBik 2009:922
Asho (Sandoway)	ă**`yo**^{1}	bone	Luce 1985:O.17
Cho (Mindat)	**guh**	bone	VanBik 2009:922
Daai	**ɣu**ʔ	bone	VanBik 2009:922
	ɣu^{ʔ}	bone	So-Hartmann 1988:98
Mkaang	**ɣu**ʔ	bone	So-Hartmann 1988:98
Ngmiüün	**ɣu**ʔ	bone	So-Hartmann 1988:98
Nyhmoye	**ju**^{ʔ}	bone	So-Hartmann 1988:98
Wakung	**xu**ʔ	bone	So-Hartmann 1988:98
Womatu	**ru**ʔ^{2}	bone	Luce 1985:O.17

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**ru**ʔ^{1}	bone	Luce 1985:O.17
Lai (Hakha)	hnɑɑk **ruh**	rib (n.)	VanBik 1995–
	ruʔ	bone	Matisoff 1987; VanBik 2009:922
Lai (Falam)	**rùʔ**	bone	VanBik 2009:922
Lai (Hakha)	**ruʔ**^{2}	bone	Luce 1985:G.61; Luce 1985:O.17
Lushai [Mizo]	awm-**ruh**	breastbone / sternum	Matisoff 1987
	dâr-**ruh**	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987
	ir **ruh**	breastbone / sternum	Matisoff 1987
	khing-khang **ruh**	collarbone / clavicle	Matisoff 1987
	lu **ruh**	skull	Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967
	nâk **ruh**	rib	Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967
	naːk **ruh**	rib	Bhaskararao 1996:1184
	ngûm **ruh**	sacrum	Matisoff 1987
	ngûm-fi **ruh**	sacrum	Matisoff 1987
	ru'	bone	Matisoff 1987
	ruh	bone	Marrison 1967
	rùh	bone (n.)	VanBik 2009:922
	ruh	bone	Bhaskararao 1996:374
	ruʔ	bone	Weidert 1987:173; LaPolla 1987:153; Benedict 1972:6
	ruʔ^{4}	bone	Luce 1985:O.17
	zâng-**ruh**	spinal cord	Matisoff 1987
	zâng-**ruh** thling	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
Paangkhua	(**ra**) mìt	ankle	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	[mə] **ru**^{4} pəʔ^{1}	bone	Luce 1985:O.17
Lakher [Mara]	a-**ru** a-rei-pa	skeleton	Matisoff 1987
	caho-**ru**	sacrum	Matisoff 1987
	lo-ko-**ru**	collarbone / clavicle	Matisoff 1987
	lu-**ru**-pa	skull	Matisoff 1987
	ru	bone	Matisoff 1987
	rū	bone (n.)	VanBik 2009:922
	ru-ki	bones (all)	Matisoff 1987
	ru-la	joint	Matisoff 1987
	ru-la-thli	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	ru-pa-sai	skeleton	Matisoff 1987
	ru-sai-ta	skeleton	Matisoff 1987
	zô-**ru**	spinal cord	Matisoff 1987
	zô-**ru** la-thli	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	zô^{1}-**rū**	backbone, the spine (n.)	VanBik 2009:1186
	^{2}**ru**^{3}pə	bone	Weidert 1987:173
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**rvɤ**^{4}	bone	Luce 1985:O.17
Mera	**ʀu'**^{5}	bone	Luce 1985:O.17
Tha'oa	ă **ruʔ**^{1}	bone	Luce 1985:O.17
Xongsai	**ŋgu**^{2}	bone	Luce 1985:O.17
Zotung	**ru**^{1}	bone	Luce 1985:O.17

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	aŋ **ru** pek	shoulder blade / scapula	Toba & Kom 1991:5.3.1
	ke rəko **ru**	thigh bone / femur	Toba & Kom 1991:6.2.1.1
	ke rətui **ru**	ankle bone	Toba & Kom 1991:6.2.5.1
	kemələi **ru**	shin bone / tibia	Toba & Kom 1991:6.2.3.1
	koŋ **ru**	backbone; spine; vertebrae (of spine)	Toba & Kom 1991:5.5.4; Toba & Kom 1991:8.4.2
	kə biŋ **lu**	cheekbone	Toba & Kom 1991:3.11.1
	k^{h}u i̯iŋ **ru**	elbow bone	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.4.1
	lop **ru**	breastbone / sternum	Toba & Kom 1991:5.1.3
	l̥e **ru**	pelvis; pelvic girdle; hipbone	Toba & Kom 1991:5.8; Toba & Kom 1991:5.8.2
	mədi **ru**	pelvis / pelvic girdle	Toba & Kom 1991:5.8
	mə nək **ru**	rib cage	Toba & Kom 1991:5.1.1
	ru	bone	Toba & Kom 1991:8.4
	ru rui	ligament (bone to bone)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.6
	ru t^{h}uk	marrow	Toba & Kom 1991:9.1.2
	rəmei **ru**	tailbone / coccyx	Toba & Kom 1991:5.10.2
	rə t^{h}ik	marrow	Toba & Kom 1991:8.4.3
	i̯iŋ **ru**	collar bone / clavicle	Toba & Kom 1991:5.2
	i̯u kədoŋ	cartilage / grist	Toba & Kom 1991:8.4.4
	sʌ-**rú**	bone	Weidert 1987:173
	ə **ru** ə rəŋ	skeleton	Toba & Kom 1991:8.4.1
Moyon	aŋ **row**	shoulder blade / scapula	Kosha 1990:5.3.1
	darr **row**	thigh bone / femur	Kosha 1990:6.2.1.1
	jæ khí **row**	hipbone	Kosha 1990:5.8.2
	khùnìŋ **ròw** ~ khuniŋ **ròw**	elbow bone	Kosha 1990:6.1.4.1
	kuŋ **row**	backbone / spine	Kosha 1990:5.5.4
	kuŋ **row** ʌhʌ́k	vertebrae (of spine)	Kosha 1990:8.4.2
	l bíŋ **ròw**	cheekbone	Kosha 1990:3.11.1
	reŋ **row**	collar bone / clavicle	Kosha 1990:5.2
	row ~ šʌ̀ròw ~ šʌròw	bone	Kosha 1990:8.4
	rumí **row**	tailbone / coccyx	Kosha 1990:5.10.2
	ru mít	knuckle (joint of digit)	Kosha 1990:7.3
Sorbung	a-**ru**	bone	Brown 1837
	kòoŋ **rúu**	spine; backbone; vertebrae (of spine)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.153; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.265
	lu káaŋ **ruu**	skull	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.029
	mai **rúu**	cheekbone; bone, malar; skull	Mortensen & Keogh 2011; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.117
	mə-k^{h}áa-**ruu**	jawbone; mandible; bone, jaw	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.119
	mə tóo **ruu**	thigh bone; femur	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.192
	ʔə-**rúu**	bone	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.263

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *a-rut BONE

**Central Naga*	*a-**rut**	BONE	Bruhn 2014a:III.188
**Ao*	*t-**ɹət**	BONE	Bruhn 2014a:II.325
Ao (Chungli)	te küm **ret**	jaw	Marrison 1967
	te **ret**	bone	Marrison 1967
	te **saret**	rib	Marrison 1967
	to kolak **ret**, mang ko	skull	Marrison 1967
	tə^{2}-kəm^{3}**ɹət**^{1}	jaw (lower) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tə^{3}-**ɹət**^{3}	bone (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.325
	^{3}tɯ^{3}**rɯt**	bone	Weidert 1987:173
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	tə́-**ɹə́t**	bone (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.325
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	lam **rat**	skull	Marrison 1967
	phu ya **ret**	hip	Marrison 1967
	te **rat**	bone	Marrison 1967
	tü makha **rat**	jaw	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	pha-**ɹət**	jaw (molar teeth) ('tooth' + 'bone') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	sa-**ɹət** khə̀mpaŋ	ivory armlet ('animal' + 'bone' + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**ɹət**	bone (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**ru**ʔ^{3}	bone (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.188
	E yo **ru**	cheekbone	Nienu 1990c:3.11.1
	kyo no **rrü**	rib	Marrison 1967
	MaN kvu **ru**	backbone / spine	Nienu 1990c:5.5.4
	o **rrü**	bone	Marrison 1967
	ó **rù**	bone	Acharya 1975
	o **ryu**	bone	Nienu 1990c:8.4
	^{1}o^{3}**rʏ(ʔ)**	bone	Weidert 1987:173
Sangtam	**rü**	bone	Marrison 1967
	thring **rü**	rib	Marrison 1967
	^{1}a^{2}**rɯ**	bone	Weidert 1987:173
	^{1}gɯm^{2}**rɯ**	jaw; chin	Weidert 1987:201; Weidert 1987:756
Yacham-Tengsa	te **let**	bone	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**ro**	bone	Kumar 1973b:97
	ro reang	bone	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{5}u^{2}**ru**	bone	Weidert 1987:173
Angami (Khonoma)	**ru**	bone	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) bou^{31} ka^{31} **ru**^{31}	collar bone / clavicle	Nienu 1990a:5.2
	(u) chie^{55} se^{55} **ru**^{31}	backbone / spine	Nienu 1990a:5.5.4
	(u) chie^{55} tso^{31} **ru**^{31}	rib	Nienu 1990a:5.1.2
	(u) do^{33} **ru**^{31}	thigh bone / femur	Nienu 1990a:6.2.1.1
	(u) dzo^{33} **ro**^{31}	cheekbone	Nienu 1990a:3.11.1
	(u) **ru**^{31}	bone	Nienu 1990a:8.4
	bou^{31} thu^{35} **ru**^{31}	elbow bone	Nienu 1990a:6.1.4.1
	tie **ru**	rib	Marrison 1967
	u **ru**	bone	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) che^{35} se^{35} **ro**^{31}	backbone / spine	Nienu 1990b:5.5.4
	(u) do^{33} **ro**^{31}	thigh bone / femur	Nienu 1990b:6.2.1.1
	(u) dzo^{33} **ro**^{31}	cheekbone	Nienu 1990b:3.11.1
	(u) **ro**^{31}	bone	Nienu 1990b:8.4
	(u) tho^{31} tsu^{35} **ro**^{31}	tailbone / coccyx	Nienu 1990b:5.10.2
	(u) tsü^{35} tso^{31} **ro**^{31}	rib	Nienu 1990b:5.1.2
	bo^{31} tho^{55} **ro**^{31}	elbow bone	Nienu 1990b:6.1.4.1
	che^{35} **ro**^{31}	vertebrae (of spine)	Nienu 1990b:8.4.2
	mü^{31} tso^{33} **rü**^{31} khro^{33}	lower jaw / mandible	Nienu 1990b:3.13.1
	mu^{31} tso^{33} **rü**^{31} so^{11}	upper jaw / maxilla	Nienu 1990b:3.13.2
	na^{31} ku^{33} **ro**^{31}	backbone / spine	Nienu 1990b:5.5.4
	^{2}**ro**	bone	Weidert 1987:173
Khezha	ketò **ru**	rib	Yabu 1994:5.1.2
	'è **ru**	bone	Yabu 1994:8.4
Mao	o **re**	bone	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **rrü**	bone	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**mawü**	bone	Marrison 1967
Rengma	a **rhu**	bone	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	aghanhe **ghi**	shin bone; tibia; shin	Achumi 1998a:6.2.3; Achumi 1998a:6.2.3.1
	agi **ghü** za	cheekbone / malar bone	Achumi 1998a:3.11.1
	aluko-**ghi**	thigh bone / femur	Achumi 1998a:6.2.1.1
	atsü-ki **ghi**	collar bone / clavicle	Achumi 1998a:5.2
	au-nhe **ghi**	elbow bone	Achumi 1998a:6.1.4.1
	a **ghü**	bone	Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:8.4
	a la u nhe **ghi**	ankle bone	Achumi 1998a:6.2.5.1
	a mkhu **'ghi**	jaw	Marrison 1967
	a mukhu aqhou **ghi**	jaw (lower) / mandible	Achumi 1998a:3.13.1
	a mukhu **ghi**	jaw (general)	Achumi 1998a:3.13
	a mukhu kungu-u **ghi**	jaw (upper) / maxilla	Achumi 1998a:3.13.2

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	ta **ru**	bone	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**maru**	bone	Marrison 1967
	ru	bone	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ma-ru**	bone	Brown 1837
	məi i̯ɔw	bone	Matisoff 1994e
	rou	bone	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *ru BONE

**Tangkhulic*	***ru**	bone	Mortensen 2012:365
Champhung	so-**rɯ**	bone	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-kow-**ruk**	skull	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.027
	ʔa-**ruk**	bone; skeleton	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.256
Kachai	ʔa-ke-**rɐ**	skull	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.025
	ʔa-**rɐ**	bone	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.238
Tangkhul	**rɯ**	bone	Bhat 1969:85
	«^{1}ə ^{3}**rɯ**» ^{2}kui	bone	Weidert 1987:173
Tankghul (Central)	u-**ru**	bone	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-**rɯ**-kau	bone	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	a-**rɯ**	bone	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔɯ-**rɯ**-kuə	bone	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.249
Ukhrul	ʔa-**ru**-kuj	bone	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	kok **ru**	skull	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	k^{h}u **lu**	head(top of)	French 1983:502

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**n-rut** n-ra	bone	Matisoff 1987
	nrut	bone	LaPolla 1987:153; Benedict 1972:6

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**rus** pa	bone	Sharma 1991a:8.4
	rus pa jeʔna	skeleton	Sharma 1991a:8.4.1
Pattani [Manchati]	Drwakān **rhus** pa	skeleton	Sharma 1991b:8.4.1
	rhus pa	bone	Sharma 1991b:8.4
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**ro**^{53} pɑ^{53}	bone	SUN Hongkai 1991a:8.4
	ro^{53} pɑ^{53} kɔ^{35}	marrow	SUN Hongkai 1991a:8.4.3
Tshona (Mama)	cɛ^{13} **ru**^{53}	back	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Cuona Menba	**ru**^{35}ko^{53}	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rə** pæ	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ru**-pæ	bone	Sun 1985a:85
Tibetan (Batang)	**zə**^{55} pa^{55}	bone; skeleton	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.4; DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.4.1
	ʐu^{13}pa^{53}	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**ruː**-bā	bone; skeleton	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ry**^{13}**pə**^{55}	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.02
	ry^{13}tshi^{52}	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.02
	ry^{55}**ko**^{52}	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.02
Sherpa	**'rok**	bone; skeleton	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Spiti	cõŋ to **ri** wa	hipbone	Bodh 1991:5.8.2
	gyap i **ri** wa	backbone / spine	Bodh 1991:5.5.4
	rui wa	bone	Bodh 1991:8.4
Tibetan (Spiti)	**rui** wa	bone	Sharma 1979
Spiti	zui **ḍui** wa	skeleton	Bodh 1991:8.4.1
Tibetan (Written)	'gram **rus**	jaw	Marrison 1967
	braṅ-**rus**	breastbone / sternum	Matisoff 1987
	dpyi-**rus**	hipbone	Matisoff 1987
	ḥgram-**rus**	cheekbone, jawbone; jawbone, cheekbone	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	keng-**rus**	skeleton	Matisoff 1987
	mgo-**rus**	skull	Matisoff 1987
	mig-**rus**	eye-bone	Matisoff 1987
	rkaṅ-**rus**	bone of foot	Matisoff 1987
	rus	bone	Luce 1985:T.36; Luce 1985:X.89
	rus pa	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.01
	rus-krang	skeleton	Matisoff 1987
	rus-pa	bone	Weidert 1987:173; Luce 1985:G.61,T.36,X.89; Matisoff 1987; LaPolla 1987:153; Benedict 1972:6; ZHANG Liansheng 1988:50; Sun 1985c:85; Marrison 1967
	sgal-**rus**	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**rə** pa	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	kən nyaw **lo**	backbone / spine	Noonan *et al.* 1992:5.5.4
Gurung (Ghachok)	**rih** bā	bone	Matisoff 1987
	rih ba	bone	Glover 1972:1.30
Manang (Gyaru)	nɯ^{2} **gri**^{2}	bone	Nagano 1984:054
Manang (Prakaa)	^{1}no **kre**	bone	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0045
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}na **k**^{h}**ru**	bone (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:8.4
	^{3}kram pa-^{1}**ru**	cheekbone (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.11.1
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***ru**	bone	Opgenort 2011
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**yet**	bone	Matisoff 1987
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**jï**-wa	bone	Matisoff 1987
	ji wa	bone	Michailovsky 1991:18
	yU wa	bone	Rai 1985
	yü wa	bone	Rai *et al.* 1984:74
Kulung	ci **rə**	back; spine; backbone	Michailovsky 1991:18; Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	də khlœ-sa**ː lu**	skull (in its entirety)	Driem 1993
	hek sa**ː lu**	sternum	Driem 1993
	khɨri-khɨri-sa**ː lu**	cartilage, gristle.	Driem 1993
	lal sa**ː lu**	sternum, breastbone	Driem 1993
	tsɨm **rɨ**	backbone; backbone, spine, spinal column	Michailovsky 1991:18; Driem 1993
	tsɨm **rɨ**-saːlu	<spine> backbone, vertebral column	Driem 1993
Khaling	'cham **ru**	back; lower back, back; lower back; upper back	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	'cham **ru** mas	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	'kāem nga **lu**	jaw	Matisoff 1987
	cham **ru**	backbone; spine; upper back	Michailovsky 1991:18; Michailovsky 1991:2
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**ry**-se	bone	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:18
Hayu	ere **ru**	coccyx	Matisoff 1987
	ru	bone	Michailovsky 1991:18; Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	**ru**-sy	bone	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:18
	rus ye ā ser	ligament	Matisoff 1987
	rus ye a ser	ligament	Michailovsky 1991:124
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**hrus**.pap	hard wing covers of beetle (n.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	puh **rumʔ**	skull	Caughley 1990:2.4
Kham	'wā:h **rus**	backbone / spine	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.32
	'wa̱h **ruhs**	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	ruhs	bone; skeleton	Michailovsky 1991:18; Watters & Watters 1989:1.30; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ɾjijr**	bone	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5514
	ɾjɨr	bone	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2778
	rir	bone	Nishida 1964:17-12f
	rɪr	bone	Nishida 1964:10-051; Nishida 1964:192
	ɾi̯ə̯^{1}	bone	Sofronov c1978
	ŋvʊr **ʁir**	backbone	Nishida 1964:185
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**rŋ**^{33} ku^{55}	bone	SUN Hongkai 1991d
Guiqiong	tɕhɔ̃^{33}ngɑ^{33}**ri**^{55}	back (direction)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:52.17
	wʉ^{55}**wʉ**^{33}	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.16
	wu^{55} **wu**^{33}	bone	SUN Hongkai 1991e
Muya	mẽ^{55}qhuɐ^{33} **rə**^{33}lə^{53}	ankle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.15
	tɕhue^{55}**rə**^{53}	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.15
Muya [Minyak]	ma^{35}ŋkua^{35}**ruɪ**^{35}luɪ^{35}	ankle bone	SUN Hongkai 1991h:6.2.5.1
	mɑ^{35}ŋk^{h}ua^{35}**ruɪ**^{35}luɪ^{35}	ankle	SUN Hongkai 1991h:6.2.5
Pumi (Lanping)	ʒɛ^{13}**ʐu**^{55}	arm (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	ʒɛ^{13} **ʐu**^{55}	arm	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**rɛ**^{35} ka^{53}	bone	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	ʑɛ^{35} **ru**^{35}	arm	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.10
Qiang (Longxi)	tsù bò-**ɹà** ká	spine [m-bone]	Evans 1999:167
	ɹà ká	bone	Evans 1999:165
	ɹà ká sá	joint	Evans 1999:169
	ɹà kə́ pà tsɨ̀	bone	Evans 1999:165 [a]
	ɹà sà	joint	Evans 1999:169
Qiang (Mawo)	**ɹə** pætʂ χlə	marrow	SUN Hongkai 1991g:9.1.2
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	le^{55} **ru**^{53}	arm	SUN Hongkai 1991n:6.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:253.16
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	huə tɕhə **rei**	skull	DAI Qingxia 1989b:2.4
Ergong (Northern)	rmi^{53} **rʁə**^{13}	tailbone / coccyx	SUN Hongkai 1991c:5.10.2
Ergong (Daofu)	tɕhə **rei**	skeleton	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.4.1
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	tə ɕpa **ru**	cheekbone	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.11.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə k mba **ɕɛru**	cheekbone	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.11.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə rŋe **ɕɛʐə**	cheekbone	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.11.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wuʒ ba **ru**	cheekbone	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.11.1
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	goŋ^{23}**ɹi**^{44}	back	Matisoff 1987
	gɔŋ^{55}**ɹĭʔ**^{55}	back (of body)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:258.46
Dulong	ɑŋ^{55}**ɹɯ**^{55}	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	aŋ^{31} **rɯ**^{55}	bone	LaPolla 1987:153
	gɔŋ^{55} **ɹĭʔ**^{55}	back (of body)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɑŋ^{31} **ɹɯ**^{55}	bone	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	aŋ^{31} **rɯ**^{53}	bone	LaPolla 1987:153
	gɔŋ^{31} **ɹŭʔ**^{55}	back (of body)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɑŋ^{31} **ɹɯ**^{53}	bone	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	jiau^{55}kan^{21}**lu**^{55}ka^{55}	spine / backbone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.49
Tujia (Northern)	**lu1**ga1	bone (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	lu^{1}ga^{1}	bone	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.1
Tujia	**lu**^{55} ka^{55}	bone	CHEN Kang 1986c:8.4
Tujia (Northern)	**lu**^{55} ka^{55}	bone	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**lu**^{55}ka^{55}	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.49
Tujia (Northern)	si3**lu1**ga1	pig's bone (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	si3**lu3**ga3	pig's bone (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	si^{3}**lu**^{1}ga^{1}	pig's bone	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ɣo**^{2}	bone	Weidert 1987:173
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	a^{31} **ź**$^{}$**au**^{35}	bone	LaPolla 1987:153
	ɑ^{31} **ʐɑu**^{35}	bone	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31} **ʐau**^{31}	bone	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:153
	a^{31}**ʐau**^{31}	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.28
	xa^{31}luŋ^{35}**ʐau**^{31}	spine / backbone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.28
Achang (Luxi)	a^{31} **ź**$^{}$**au**^{31}	bone	LaPolla 1987:153
	a^{31} **ʐau**^{31}	bone	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31} **ʐau**^{31}	bone	DAI Qingxia 1989f:159
	a^{31}**ʐau**^{31}	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.29
	tu^{31} tum^{31} **ʐau**^{31}	backbone / spine	DAI Qingxia 1989f:160
	tu^{31}tum^{51} **ʐau**^{31}	spine / backbone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.29
	ʐau^{31} k^{h}ʐaŋ^{31}	rib	DAI Qingxia 1989f:161
	ʐau^{31}khzaŋ^{31}	rib (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.29
Burmese (Modern)	a **rui:**	bone	Luce 1985:T.36
	a **rui**^{4}	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Burmese (Written)	(ə-)**rùi**	bone	Weidert 1987:173
	ă **ruì**	bone	Benedict 1972:16n61
	a **rui:**	bone	Marrison 1967
	a **ruiw**	bone	Luce 1985:T.36
	a **ruiw**^{4}	bone, relic; bone	Luce 1985:M.41; Luce 1985:X.89
	hnyap-**rûi**	collarbone / clavicle	Matisoff 1987
	khaŋ-**rûi**	roof; strip of high ground	Benedict 1976a
	lak-praŋ-**rûi**	shoulder blade / scapula	Matisoff 1987 [b]
	mê-**rûi**	jaw	Matisoff 1987
	nam-**rûi**	rib	Matisoff 1987
	naṁ **rui:**	rib	Marrison 1967
	pâ-khyit-**rûi**	lower jaw	Matisoff 1987
	pâ-**rûi**	cheekbone; upper jaw	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	pāː khuit **rui:**	jaw	Marrison 1967
	poŋ-**rûi**	thigh bone	Matisoff 1987
	raŋ-**rûi**	breastbone / sternum	Matisoff 1987
	rûi	bone	Matisoff 1987
	rûi	bone; stalk; handle; ridge; lineage (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	rûi	bone	LaPolla 1987:153
	ruiw	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
	taṅ pāː **rui:**	hip	Marrison 1967
	taŋ-pâ-**rûi**	hip	Matisoff 1987
	ə-**rûi**	bone; stalk; handle; ridge; lineage (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə-**rûi**-nu'	bone; cartilage	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Danu	ă **yo**^{2}	bone	Luce 1985:T.36
Hpun (Northern)	ă **ʁù**	bone	Henderson 1986
	ă **ʁù** ă sháiŋ/(ă) ʃáiŋ	marrow (lit. = bone-oil)	Henderson 1986
	ă **ʁù** kàp	joint (of bone)	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	ă **ʁuh**^{4}	bone	Luce 1985:T.36
Lashi	**jou**^{33} khjaŋ^{33}	spinal cord; marrow	DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.1.1; DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.1.2

[a] [Source Note] cf. 'horn'.
[b] Lit. "arm-outside-bone".

	jou³³ mjɔʔ³¹	joint	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.9
	jou³³ nə̰:⁵³	cartilage / grist	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.4.4
	lɔʔ³¹ sa̰n³³ **jou³³**	shoulder blade / scapula	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.3.1
	nam³¹ tʃham⁵⁵ **jou³³**	rib cage; rib	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.1.1; Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.1.2
	nuŋ⁵⁵ khuŋ³³ **jou³³**	backbone / spine	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.5.4
	tʃhɜ̆⁵⁵ khuŋ⁵⁵ **jou³³**	hipbone	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.8.2
Maru [Langsu]	au³⁵ ʃŏ³⁵ **ɣuk⁵⁵**	skull	Dai Qingxia 1989l:2.4
	kauŋ³¹ tɔ̃⁵⁵ **ɣuk⁵⁵**	backbone / spine	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.5.4
	lɔʔ³¹ saŋ³¹ **ɣuk⁵⁵**	shoulder blade / scapula	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.3.1
	nɛ³¹ tʃhɛ̃³⁵ **ɣuk⁵⁵**	rib cage; rib	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.1.1; Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.1.2
	tʃhauʔ⁵⁵ pau³¹ **ɣuk⁵⁵**	hipbone	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.8.2
	ɣuk⁵⁵ nɛ̰⁵⁵	cartilage / grist	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.4.4
Pyu [Tircul]	**ru**	bone, relic	Luce 1985:M.41
Atsi [Zaiwa]	nuŋ²¹kuŋ⁵⁵**vui²¹**	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.30
	šò **vùi**	bone	Weidert 1987:173
	vui²¹mjoʔ²¹	joint (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.30
	ʃŏ²¹ **vui²¹**	bone	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ʃŏ²¹**vui²¹**	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.30
	ʃo³¹ **vui³¹**	bone	LaPolla 1987:153
	ʃɔ⁴**we⁴**	bone	Luce 1985:T.36
	ʃɔ⁴**wi⁴**	bone	Luce 1985:T.36

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	*ʃə-**ro²**	bone	Bradley 1979b:136; Hansson 1989:370
Lolopho	mæ⁵⁵ **ɣ̣³¹** kɣ̣³³	tailbone / coccyx	Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.10.2
	no⁴⁴ **ɣ̣³¹**	nose bridge	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.5.1
PNL	**ɣo²**	bone	Chen Kang 1986a:17.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	po³³ lo³³ kɛ³⁵ **ɣ̣³¹** kɯ³⁵	knee cap / patella	Dai Qingxia 1989c:6.2.2.1
Lalo	vu̱⁵⁵ lu̱²¹ kʰu̱⁵⁵ tsɻ²¹ **ʔvu̱²¹** da⁵⁵	knee cap / patella	Chen Kang 1986b:6.2.2.1
	ʔvu²¹	bone	Chen Kang 1986a:17.
	ʔvu̱²¹ da⁵⁵	bone	Chen Kang 1986b:8.4 [a]
	ʔvu̱²¹ da⁵⁵ ku̱⁵⁵	marrow	Chen Kang 1986b:8.4.3
	ʔvu̱²¹ da⁵⁵ ts̄ɻ̄²¹	joint	Chen Kang 1986b:8.9
	ʔvȳ²¹ da⁵⁵ ts̄ɻ̄²¹	knuckle (joint of digit)	Chen Kang 1986b:7.3
Lipho	nɯ⁵⁵**gɯ²¹**	rib	Chen Kang 1986b:5.1.2
	ɣɯ²¹	bone	Chen Kang 1986a:17.
Nasu	dzo̱⁵⁵ **ɣɯ³³**	backbone / spine	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.4
	dzo̱⁵⁵ **ɣɯ³³** ʈu³³	spinal cord	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.5
	tsi̱³³ **ɣɯ³³**	knee	Chen Kang 1986b:6.2.2
	vɯ³³	bone	Chen Kang 1986a:17.
	ɣɯ³³	bone	Chen Kang 1986b:8.4
	ɣɯ³³ tsi̱⁵⁵	knuckle (joint of digit)	Chen Kang 1986b:7.3
	ɣɯ³³ ʈu³³	marrow	Chen Kang 1986b:8.4.3
Neisu	**zɣ³³**	bone	Chen Kang 1986a:17.
Nesu	bɤ²¹ ts̄ɻ̄²¹ **ɣɤ³³**	knee cap / patella	Chen Kang 1986b:6.2.2.1
	dzu̱²¹ ts̄ɻ̄²¹ **ɣɤ³³**	backbone / spine	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.4
	gɤ̱²¹ n̪ɻ̱³³ ʂe³³ **ɣɤ³³**	ankle bone	Chen Kang 1986b:6.2.5.1
	lɪ̱²¹ **ɣɤ³³** po̱²¹	arm	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1
	lɪ̱²¹ n̪i̱³³ me³³ **ɣɤ³³**	elbow bone	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.4.1
	mer³³ **ɣɤ³³**	tailbone / coccyx	Chen Kang 1986b:5.10.2
	ɣɯ³³	bone	Chen Kang 1986a:17.
	ɣɤ³³	bone	Chen Kang 1986b:8.4
	ɣɤ³³ tu⁵⁵	marrow	Chen Kang 1986b:8.4.3
	ɣɤ³³ tɕɪ̱²¹	knuckle (joint of digit); joint	Chen Kang 1986b:7.3; Chen Kang 1986b:8.9
Noesu	ko²¹to³³**ʑɣ³³**	spine	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.4
	la¹³mi³³**ʑɣ³³**	elbow bone	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.4.1
	xo²¹**ʑɣ³³**	bone	Chen Kang 1986b:8.4
Nosu	bu̱³³le³³**vu³³**	thigh bone	Chen Kang 1986b:6.2.1.1
	dzu̱⁵⁵ts̄ɻ̄³³**vu³³**	spine	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.4
	lo⁵⁵ɣa²¹no̱³³**vu³³**	elbow bone	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.4.1
	vu²¹du³³	bone	Chen Kang 1986b:8.4
	vu³³	bone	Chen Kang 1986a:17.
Nusu (Northern)	la̱³¹ **ɹɔ³⁵**	arm	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	lɔ̱³¹ **ɹɑ̃⁵⁵**	arm	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ɣɹɯ⁵⁵**	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.34
	ɣɹɯ⁵⁵tsi̱⁵³	joint (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ɣˈɯ⁵⁵**	bone	Dai Qingxia 1989o:159.
Nusu (Central)	**ɣˈɯ⁵⁵**	bone	Dai Qingxia 1989p:159.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ɣˈɯ⁵⁵** tse̱³¹	joint	Dai Qingxia 1989o:162.
Nusu (Central)	**ɣˈɯ⁵⁵** tsi̱⁵³	joint	Dai Qingxia 1989p:162.
Nusu (Northern)	**ɹɯ³⁵**	bone	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ɹɯ⁵⁵**	bone	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɹɯ⁵⁵**	bone	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	xɔ²¹ **ɣɯ³³**	bone	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Liangshan)	**vu²¹du³³**	bone	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	dzu̱²¹tsi̱⁵⁵**ɣɯ²¹**	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.25
	lɛ³³**ɣɯ²¹**	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.25
Yi (Mojiang)	gɯ²¹**ɣɯ³³**	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.26
Yi (Nanhua)	dzu̱²¹**ɣɯ²¹**	waist	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:261.24
	dzu̱²¹**ɤɯ²¹**	waist (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0098.37
	le̱²¹**ɤɯ²¹**pɑ³³	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.37
	li³³**ɣɯ²¹**	neck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0089.37
	lɛ³³**ɣɯ²¹**	neck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:248.24
	ɤɯ²¹gɑ²¹	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.37
	ɤɯ²¹tɕi̱⁵⁵	joint (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.37
	ʂɯ³³**ɤɯ²¹**dʑæ̱³³	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**u²¹** dɑ⁵⁵	bone	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔvu̱²¹dɑ⁵⁵dzɻ³³**	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.36
	ʔvu̱²¹ts̄ɻ̄²¹	joint (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.36
Yi (Wuding)	ne¹¹**ɤɯ³³**	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.38
	xɯ¹¹**ɤɯ³³**	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.38
	ɤɯ²¹tsi̱⁵⁵	joint (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.38
	ʂɯ̱³³dɤ⁵⁵**ɤɯ³³**	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.38
Yi (Xide)	dʑu⁵⁵-ts̄ɻ̄³³-**vu³³**	back (body)	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	dʑu⁵⁵ts̄ɻ̄³³**vu³³**	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.34
	vu²¹ du³³	bone	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vu²¹-du³³ li³⁴-tɕʰɻ̩³³	bone fracture	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vu²¹-du³³ no⁵⁵-ni³³	flesh and blood	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vu²¹du³³	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	bo²¹ ko̱³³ **ɣɯ²¹**	cheekbone	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.11.1
	dzu̱²¹ tsi̱⁵⁵ **ɣɯ²¹**	waist	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.6
	dzu̱²¹**ɣɯ²¹**	waist	Chen Kang 1986b:5.6
	go̱²¹ bu⁵⁵ **ɣɯ²¹**	ankle bone	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.2.5.1
	ko⁵⁵ lɛ²² **ɣɯ²¹**	nape of neck	Luo Meizhen 1990:4.1.3; Chen Kang 1986b:4.1.3
	le̱²¹ **ɣɯ²¹**	forearm / lower arm	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.1.5
	le̱²¹nɯ̱⁵⁵duɹ²¹**ɣɯ²¹**	elbow bone	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.4.1
	le̱²¹**ɣɯ²¹**po⁵⁵	arm	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1
	lɛ²² **ɣɯ²¹**	neck	Luo Meizhen 1990:4.1; Chen Kang 1986b:4.1
	mo³³tʂɛ²²**ɣɯ²¹**	spine	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.4
	mɑ⁵⁵ **ɣɯ²¹**	tailbone; coccyx; collar bone; clavicle	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.10.2; Luo Meizhen 1990:5.2
	no³³ tʂɛ²² **ɣɯ²¹**	nose bridge	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.5.1; Chen Kang 1986b:3.5.1
	nɯ³³**gu²¹**	rib	Chen Kang 1986b:5.1.2
	nɯ̱³³ **ɣɯ²¹**	rib	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.1.2
	nɯ̱³³ **ɣɯ²¹** bu⁵⁵	rib cage	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.1.1
	nɯ̱³³ **ɣɯ²¹** to²²	backbone / spine	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.5.4
	po²² tsʻi̱²¹ **ɣɯ²¹**	shin bone	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.2.3.1
	pʻɑ²² **ɣɯ²¹**	shoulder blade / scapula	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.3.1
	pʻɑ³³ tsi̱⁵⁵ **ɣɯ²¹**	vertebrae (of spine)	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.4.2
	ɣo²¹ ko̱³³	bone	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.4
	ɣɯ²¹	bone	Chen Kang 1986a:17.
	ɣɯ²¹ ni²¹ zo²¹	cartilage / grist	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.4.4
	ɣɯ²¹ tsi̱⁵⁵	joint	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.9
	ɣɯ²¹ ʈo³³	marrow	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.4.3
	ɣɯ²¹ko̱³³	bone	Chen Kang 1986b:8.4
	ɣɯ²¹tsɻ⁵⁵	joint	Chen Kang 1986b:8.9
	ɣɤ²¹	bone	Matisoff 1987
	ʈhu³³pha³³**ʐɣ³³**	thigh bone	Chen Kang 1986b:6.2.1.1
	ʈʻu²¹ tʂo̱⁵⁵ **ɣɯ²¹**	thigh bone / femur	Luo Meizhen 1990:6.2.1.1
Jinuo	la⁵⁵**ɤ⁴⁴**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.34
Jinuo (Youle)	lɑ⁵⁵ **ɤ⁴⁴**	arm	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ɣɯ⁴⁴ no⁵⁵	marrow	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	ʃo⁴⁴ **ɯ³³**	bone	Dai Qingxia 1989i:165
Jinuo (Youle)	ʃɔ³³ **ɣɯ⁴⁴**	bone	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	ʃə⁴⁴**ɣɤ⁴⁴**	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	ʃɤ⁴⁴ **ɯ⁴⁴**	bone	Dai Qingxia 1989h:165
Lahu	**-ɡ̈ɔ̂**	bone	LaPolla 1987:153
Lahu (Nyi)	awˬ **gʼawˇ**	bone	Bradley 1979a:136
**Common Lahu*	***gʼuh**	bone	Bradley 1979b:136
Lahu (Lancang)	lɑ²¹**ɣɔ⁵³**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.43
Lahu (Black)	khɨ-**ɡ̈ɔ̂**	leg (whole) / shank	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-**ɡ̈ɔ̂**-qwèʔ	whole leg	Matisoff 1987
	khɨ-**ɡ̈ɔ̂**-qɔ̀ʔ	shin	Matisoff 1987
	laʔ²¹ **ɣɔ⁵³**	arm	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	lʌ³¹**ɣɔ⁵³**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.33
	pâ-**ɡ̈ɔ̂**	jaw / cheekbone	Matisoff 1987
	qɔ̄-**ɡ̈ɔ̂**	whole neck (front and back)	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**ɡ̈ɔ̂**	bone, stalk	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	laʔ²¹ **ɣɔ⁵⁵**	arm	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	awˬ **gʼuˇ**kʼuˍ	bone	Bradley 1979a:136
Lahu (Banlan)	**gʼuhˇ** laˆ **gʼuh**ˬ	bone arm	Bradley 1979a:136 Bradley 1979a:108
Lisu (Northern)	ba²¹vy²¹ **ɔʔ²¹**tɔ³³	cheekbone	Bradley 1994
	la²¹ma³³ **ɔʔ²¹**tɔ³³	tiger-bone	Bradley 1994
	la²¹ma³³ **ɔʔ²¹**tɔ³³dʑi⁴⁴	tiger-bone wine	Bradley 1994
	læʔ²¹**vy²¹**	arm	Bradley 1994
Lisu	le̱³¹**vu³¹**	arm (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.40
	o̱³¹to̱³³	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**o̱⁴²** to̱⁴⁴	bone	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
	o̱⁴² to̱⁴⁴ pi̱⁴⁴	marrow	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	tæ³⁵**vu²¹**	upper arm (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tæ³⁵**vu²¹** pu⁵⁵lu³³	arm (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	tɛ³⁵ **vu³¹**	arm	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	tɛ³⁵**vu³¹**	arm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:253.27
Lisu (Putao)	**vʷü³**to³	bone	Luce 1985:T.36
	vʷü⁵to³	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Lisu (Central)	**waw⁵**-taw³	bone	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**waw⁵**-taw⁵	bone	Matisoff 1987
	waw⁵taw³	bone	Bradley 1979b:136
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**waw⁵**taw³	bone	Luce 1985:T.36
	wɑw⁵tɑw³	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Lisu (Northern)	**ɔʔ²¹**tɔ³³	bone (n.)	Bradley 1994
	ɔʔ²¹tɔ³³pi³³	bone marrow; bone and flesh	Bradley 1994
	ɔʔ²¹tɔ³³tsi⁵⁵	joint	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	bɑ²¹ ni⁵⁵ **ɣɯ²¹**	cheekbone	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:24.3
	bɒ²¹ni⁵⁵**ɣɯ²¹**	cheek	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	dzo̱²²tsi⁵⁵**ɣɯ²¹**	spine	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5.4
	dzo̱²¹tsi⁵⁵**ɣɯ²¹**	backbone	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le²²n̪⁵⁵**ɣɯ²¹**	elbow bone	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1.4.1
	le²²ɣɯ²¹pu⁵⁵	arm	Chen Kang 1986b:6.1
	le²¹**ɣɯ²¹**pu⁵⁵	arm, forearm	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	le²**ɣɯ¹¹** le²n̪⁵⁵	arm (forearm and postbrachium) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0105.39
Sani [Nyi]	læ³³ **ɣɯ²¹** tɑ³³	neckbone (jinggu)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:123.2
	læ³³**ɣɯ²¹**	neck	Chen Kang 1986b:4.1
	lɛ³³**ɣɯ²¹**	neck	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	mæ⁵⁵pu³³**ɣɯ²¹**	hipbone	Chen Kang 1986b:5.8.2
	nɯ̱³³**ɣɯ²¹**	rib	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	nɯ̱⁴⁴ **ɣɯ²¹**	rib	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:104.1
	nɤ³³ **ɣɯ¹¹**	rib	Ma Xueliang 1989:322.4
	nɤ³³**ɣɯ²¹**	rib	Chen Kang 1986b:5.1.2
Yi (Sani)	nɤ⁵⁵**ɣɯ¹¹**	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.39
Sani [Nyi]	«**ɣɯ²¹**)tɬu³³	marrow	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɣɯ²¹	bone	Chen Kang 1986a:17.
	ɣɯ²¹ pu³³ **ɣɯ²¹** qɣ̱⁴⁴	skeleton	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:294.1
	ɣɯ²¹pu³³	bone	Chen Kang 1986b:8.4; Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɣɯ²¹pu³³**ɣɯ²¹**qɣ̱³³mɒ³³	skeleton	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɣɯ²¹qho³³	skeleton	Chen Kang 1986b:8.4.1

[a] Lalo **da⁵⁵** 'stalk'.

	ɣɯ²¹tsi⁵⁵**ɣɯ²¹**le²¹	knuckle; joint	Chen Kang 1986b:7.3; Chen Kang 1986b:8.9; Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɣɯ²¹tɬu³³	marrow	Chen Kang 1986b:9.1.2
	ɣɯ¹¹	bone	Matisoff 1987; Ma Xueliang 1989:331.1
	ɣɯ¹¹ pɣ̣³³	bone	Ma Xueliang 1989:331.4
	ɣɯ¹¹ qʰo³³	skeleton	Ma Xueliang 1989:331.2
	ɣɯ¹¹ tɬɳ¹¹	marrow	Ma Xueliang 1989:331.3
Yi (Sani)	**ɣɯ¹¹pɣ̣³³**	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.39
	ɣɯ¹¹tsʐ̩⁵⁵	joint (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.39
Sani [Nyi]	ɬɑ²¹phi⁵⁵**ɣɯ²¹**	thigh bone	Chen Kang 1986b:6.2.1.1

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	daˇ tsuiˆ shaˬ **yoe**ˬ	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	šà **yǒ**	bone	Weidert 1987:173
	shaˬ **yoe**ˬ	bone	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Yunnan)	sjhà **jö**	bone	Hansson 1989:370
Akha (Thai)	sjhà-**jö**	bone	Hansson 1989:370
Akha	sjhà-**jö**	bone	Hansson 1989:370
Hani	**i²¹**	bone	Matisoff 1987
Mpi	lɑ²**ʔɯ²**	arm; classifier for arms	Bradley 1979b; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ʔɑ²**ʔɯ²**	bone	Bradley 1979b; Hansson 1989:370
Côông [Phunoi]	ã jã⁵⁵ **jao**	rib cage	Ferlus 1991:5.1.1
	ʔã´ cɔ̀ **yàu̯**	rib	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã´ tu **yàu̯**	skull	Matisoff 1987
	ʔǎ **jàw**	bone	Bradley 1979b
	ʔǎ **yau̯**	bone	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã⁵⁵ co¹¹ **jɑu¹¹**	rib	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ **jɑu¹¹**	bone	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ tu³³ **jɑu¹¹**	skull	Bradley 1977
Ugong	hăŋ khɔ́ŋ **wú**/ᴜ	rib	Bradley 1993:5.1.2
	lɔ̀ʔ khɛ́ʔ **wú**	shoulder blade / scapula	Bradley 1993:5.3.1
	na/ní **kha** wú/ᴜ	hipbone	Bradley 1993:5.8.2
	wú wú	bone	Bradley 1993:8.4
	wŭŋ phûŋ **wú**/ᴜ	backbone / spine	Bradley 1993:5.5.4

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Southern Muji	ɛ²¹**ɣwa²¹**	bone	Pelkey 2011:309
Phola	ni⁵⁵**ɣɯ³¹**	rib	Pelkey 2011:310
	ɣɯ³¹qi³³di³³	bone	Pelkey 2011:309
Hlepho Phowa	**vɯ²¹**	bone	Pelkey 2011:309
Phuza	ɛ³³**ɣə¹³**	bone	Pelkey 2011:309
	n̥i⁵⁵**ɣə⁵⁵**	rib	Pelkey 2011:310

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	ʟ̃˩	bone	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʟ̃˩hæ˩	cartilage	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʟ̃˩ko˩	shinbone, tibia	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʟ̃˩[ʂæ˩	ankle, joint between the foot and the leg	Michaud 2006–2009

7. Karenic: ***khrwit**ᴰ BONE

**Karen*	***khrwit**ᴰ	bone	Luangthongkum 2013:31
**Karen [Burling]*	***xwi⁴**	bone	Luangthongkum 2013:31
Bwe	**-khwi³³**	bone	Luangthongkum 2013:31
Kayah	**khrwi⁵⁵**	bone	Luangthongkum 2013:31
Kayan	**chwiʔ⁴⁵**	bone	Luangthongkum 2013:31
Kayaw	**chu³³**	bone	Luangthongkum 2013:31
Pa-O (Northern)	**chut²¹**	bone	Luangthongkum 2013:31
Pa-O (Southern)	**chn̥ut²¹**	bone	Luangthongkum 2013:31
Pwo (Northern)	(ʔaʔ²¹) **xei³³**	bone	Luangthongkum 2013:31
Pwo (Southern)	**xwi⁵⁵**	bone	Luangthongkum 2013:31
Sgaw (Southern)	(ta¹¹)**xi⁵⁵**	bone	Luangthongkum 2013:31
Sgaw (Northern)	**xi³³**	bone	Luangthongkum 2013:31

8. Bai

Bai (Jianchuan)	tɕĩ⁵⁵ mĩ⁴² tɕĩ⁵⁵ **ɣɯ³³**	ligament (bone to bone)	Zhao Yansun 1990:8.6

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**guu** sueir	marrow	Sun 1985b:474

[a] [Source Note] This etymon has irregular tone changes in SK, i.e. tone A in Sgaw and tone B in Pwo, while it is still tone D in NK and CK. The final *-t might have been dropped very early; consequently, the tones in Sgaw and Pwo have differently developed.

Chinese comparandum

Same comparanda as for PTB ***g-rus** BONE (§1.6.3).

(1a) PTB *s-rus BONE

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**hiu**	bone	Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. Maraic

Zotung	**hru**	bone	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**sʌ**-rú	bone	Weidert 1987:173
Moyon	row ~ **šʌ̀rò̀w** ~ **šʌrò̀w**	bone	Kosha 1990:8.4

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**tharu**	bone	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	kok-ki **səru**	skull	Singh 1991:2.4 [a]
	leŋban-gi **səru**	collar bone / clavicle	Singh 1991:5.2
	niŋ-gi **səru**	hipbone	Singh 1991:5.8.2
	phəygən-gi **səru**	thigh bone / femur	Singh 1991:6.2.1.1
	saru	bone	Matisoff 1987
	sharu	bone	Marrison 1967
	səru	bone	Singh 1991:8.4
	səru polaŋ	skeleton	Singh 1991:8.4.1
	thə bak-ki **səru**	rib	Singh 1991:5.1.2
	thə bak-ki **səru** polaŋ	rib cage	Singh 1991:5.1.1
	yaŋ len **səru**	backbone; spine; vertebrae (of spine)	Singh 1991:5.5.4; Singh 1991:8.4.2

1.6. Mru

Mru	**hut**	bone	Matisoff 1987
	ʃɛ³ʁoʔ²	bone	Luce 1985:T.36

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Lalung [Tiwa]	iang gul **sir**	backbone / spine	Balawan 1965:30

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**rʰuʂ**	bone	Sharma 1982
	rʰuʂ pa	bone	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**shuru**	bone; skeleton	Michailovsky 1991:18; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	dfiar-ye **fiaar**	hipbone	Noonan *et al.* 1992:5.8.2

[a] Meithei **-ki** is a genitive particle.

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**sa-yü** wa	bone	Rai *et al.* 1984:64
Chamling	**saru** wa	bone	Michailovsky 1991:18
	saru wa*	bone	Winter 1985:32
Kulung	kha **calu**	elbow	Michailovsky 1991:57; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	iːg dəm **saː** lu	coccyx.	Driem 1993
	riː ŋɨm-saːlu	hipbone, hip	Driem 1993
	ritram-**saːlu**	vertebral bone, an individual vertebra.	Driem 1993
	saːlu	bone	Michailovsky 1991:18; Driem 1993
	tsep **saːlu**	fibula ("calf-bone")	Driem 1993
	tsɨm rɨ-**saːlu**	<spine> backbone, vertebral column	Driem 1993
Khaling	**'solu**	bone; skeleton	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	dhong **solu**	skull	Matisoff 1987
	solu	bone	Michailovsky 1991:18

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**'ser**	bone	Michailovsky 1991:18; Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**hrus**	bone	Weidert 1987:173; Michailovsky 1991:18; Matisoff 1987
	hrus	bone; hard matter in animal, tree (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hrus	bone	Caughley 1972:1.30
Chepang (Eastern)	**hrus**	bone	Caughley 1990:8.4
	waʔghorh **hrus**	collar bone / clavicle	Caughley 1990:5.2
Magar	**hyu**	bone	Michailovsky 1991:18; Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	**ʂa⁵⁵**qa⁵⁵	bone	Sun Hongkai 1991i:8.4
	ʂa⁵⁵qa⁵⁵	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ʐɑ¹¹**qɑ⁵⁵	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʐɑ⁵⁵**qɑ¹³	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʐɑ⁵⁵** qɑ¹³	bone	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Taoping)	**ʐɑ³¹** kie³³	bone	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**ʐe̱k** pɑtʂ	bone	Dai Qingxia 1989q:165
Queyu (Xinlong)	rge⁵⁵ na⁵⁵ **ʃə ⁵⁵rə⁵⁵**	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.13
	ʃə⁵⁵rə⁵⁵	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.13
Xumi	**ɕæ⁵⁵əˈ³³**	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.17
	ɕɛ⁵⁵ əˈ³³	bone	Sun Hongkai 1991m
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**xə⁵⁵ʐ̩ə⁵⁵**	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.14
	ɕə⁵⁵ʐ̩ə⁵⁵	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	lu¹³ mə⁵³ **ɕʰɛ³³ rə³³**	ankle bone	Sun Hongkai 1991c:6.2.5.1
	rdʑə⁵³ ŋɛr³³ **ɕʰɛ³³ rə³³**	shin bone / tibia	Sun Hongkai 1991c:6.2.3.1
	ʐ̩ kəu⁵³ **ɕʰɛ¹³ rə³³**	elbow bone	Sun Hongkai 1991c:6.1.4.1
Ergong (Daofu)	**tɕhə** rei	skeleton; bone	Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.4.1; Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.4
Ergong (Danba)	**tɕʰi ʐ̩i**	bone	Sun Hongkai 1991b:8.4
Ergong (Northern)	vla⁵³ **ɕʰɛ³³ rə³³**	thigh bone / femur	Sun Hongkai 1991c:6.2.1.1
	ɕʰɛ³³ rə³³	bone	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.4
Ergong (Daofu)	ʔphuə **tɕhə rei**	thigh bone / femur	Dai Qingxia 1989b:6.2.1.1

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	e jme **ɕɛru**	tailbone / coccyx	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.10.2
	qʰu **ɕɛru**	backbone / spine	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.5.4
rGyalrong	ta ro **ɕɛ rə**	breastbone / sternum	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.1.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta dam **ʃɐre**	shin bone / tibia	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.2.3.1
rGyalrong	ta jmi **ɕɛrə**	tailbone / coccyx	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.10.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta me mɲak **ʃɐre**	ankle bone	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.2.5.1
	ta rnam **ʃɐre**	rib	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.1.2
	ta ro **ʃɐre**	breastbone / sternum	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.1.3
	ta ʐ̩pak **ʃɐre**	shoulder blade / scapula	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.3.1
	ta sop **ʃɐre**	hipbone	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.8.2
rGyalrong	ta sop **ɕɛrə**	hipbone	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.8.2
	tə kru **ɕɛ rə**	elbow bone	Dai Qingxia 1989d:6.1.4.1
	tə mɲa **ɕɛ rə**	knee cap / patella	Dai Qingxia 1989d:6.2.2.1
	tə pʰət pa **ɕɛ rə**	thigh bone / femur	Dai Qingxia 1989d:6.2.1.1
	tə səm msɛm **ɕɛ rə**	ankle bone	Dai Qingxia 1989d:6.2.5.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə kru **ʃɐre**	elbow bone	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.1.4.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə krə ʁu **ɕɛ̱ɾ**	elbow bone	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.1.4.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə mpʰo s **ɕɛru**	hipbone	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.8.2
rGyalrong (NW)	tə mpʰu **ɕɛ̱ɾ**	hipbone	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.8.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə mə mbrok **ɕɛru**	shin bone / tibia	Sun Hongkai 1991k:6.2.3.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə mə mke **ɕɛ̱ɾ**	ankle bone	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.2.5.1
	tə mə mki **ɕɛ̱ɾ**	shin bone / tibia	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.2.3.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə mə səmsəm **ɕɛru**	ankle bone	Sun Hongkai 1991k:6.2.5.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə r **ɕɛ̱ɾə**	breastbone / sternum	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.1.3
	tə rme **ɕɛ̱ɾ**	tailbone / coccyx	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.10.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ro **ɕɛru**	breastbone / sternum	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.1.3
	tə ʐ̩pa **ɕɛru**	shoulder blade / scapula	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.3.1
	tə ʐ̩pa **ɕɛru** ndzom	collar bone / clavicle	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.2
rGyalrong (NW)	tə ʐ̩tot **ɕɛ̱ɾ**	shoulder blade / scapula	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.3.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə stala **ɕɛru**	thigh bone / femur	Sun Hongkai 1991k:6.2.1.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə xpi **ɕɛ̱ɾ**	thigh bone / femur	Sun Hongkai 1991l:6.2.1.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ɣzu̱ **ɕɛru**	elbow bone	Sun Hongkai 1991k:6.1.4.1
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ rnɑm **ʃɐ rə**	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.11
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wupʰətpa **ʃɐre**	thigh bone / femur	Sun Hongkai 1991j:6.2.1.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	ə ro **ɕɛru**	rib cage	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.1.1
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ʃɐ rə**	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.11
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**ʃɐre**	bone	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.4
	ʃɐre kəmde	skeleton	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.4.1
	ʃɐre kənəpu	cartilage / grist	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.4.4
Caodeng	**ʃé-ru**	bone	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**ɕa rə**	bone	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	**ɕɛru**	bone	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.4
rGyalrong (NW)	**ɕɛ̱ɾ**	bone	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.4
	ɕɛ̱ɾ kə mbə	cartilage / grist	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.4.4
	ɕɛ̱ɾ kəmdi	skeleton	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.4.1
rGyalrong	phut pa **sha ru**	thigh bone	Nagano 1997:6.2.11
	sha ru	bone	Nagano 1997:8.4
	ta me mnyak wu **sha ru**	ankle bone	Nagano 1997:6.2.51
	ta rnam **sha rA**	rib	Nagano 1997:5.1.2
	tu kru **sha ru**	elbow bone	Nagano 1997:6.1.41
rGBenzhen	tɐ-zgən **ʃɐ-rə**	spine	Sun 1997b

	ʃɐ-rə	bone	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	daŋ^{31} khɔŋ^{31} **ʃɑ**^{33} **rɯ**^{33}	spine, backbone	LaPolla 2003:151
Anong	**śărö**	bone	Matisoff 1987
Rawang	**ʃɑ**^{33} **rɯ**^{33}	bone	LaPolla 2003:149
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola	**ʃă**^{35}**u**^{31}	bone	DAI Qingxia 1989g:159
Bola (Luxi)	**ʃă**^{35}**u**^{31}	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.32
Burmese (Written)	ʔa **ʔrûi**	bone	Hansson 1989:370
Lashi	wo̠^{55} ʃŏ^{55} **jou**^{33}	skull	DAI Qingxia 1989m:2.4
	ʃŏ^{55} **jou**^{33}	bone; skeleton	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.4; DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.4.1
Maru [Langsu]	**šəɣùk**	bone	Weidert 1987:173
	ʃɔ̆^{35} **ɣuk**^{55}	skeleton; bone	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.4.1; DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.4 [a]
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***šəro**^{2}	bone	Weidert 1987:173
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{31} **ʔu**^{55} qu^{33}	bone	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Dazhai)	**sa**^{31} **jø**^{31}	bone	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**sjhá jö**	bone	Hansson 1989:370
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɕa**^{31} **jø**^{31}	bone	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**saqyyuq**	bone	Hansson 1989:370
Hani (Shuikui)	**ʃɔ**^{31} **ji**^{31}	bone	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
6.2. NAXI			
Naxi (Eastern)	**ʂa**^{33}**ɣə̃r**^{33}	bone	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**ʂo**^{33}**lo**^{33}	bone	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
7. KARENIC			
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**xi**^{55} ki^{31}	marrow	DAI Qingxia 1989j:166.1
	xi^{55} θo^{55}	marrow	DAI Qingxia 1989j:166.2

[a] Maru **-k** is secondary.

(1b) PTB *g-rus BONE

A number of languages have developed a velar prefix in this root. However, Kuki-Chin forms with initial velars (e.g. in Tiddim, Thado, Mindat Cho, etc.) are regular reflexes of PTB ***r** as explained in VanBik 2009:232ff.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Tagin	eŋ kiŋ **galo**	backbone / spine	Das Gupta 1983
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Kohima)	(u) bou^{31} **ka**^{31}**ru**^{31}	shoulder blade / scapula	Nienu 1990a:5.3.1
Chokri	(u) bo^{31} **ka**^{31}**ro**^{31}	shoulder blade / scapula	Nienu 1990b:5.3.1
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	na-**ku**	fishbone	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	bol-**gro**	backbone of a human or animal, ridge pole of a house	Burling 1992
	bol-**gro**	backbone (n.)	Burling 2003:6.28-II:idx
	bol-**gru**	backbone of a human or animal, ridge pole of a house	Burling 1992
	jang-gil bol-**gru**	backbone	Burling 1992
	jang-gil-ni bol-**gru**	backbone	Burling 1992
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Sahu)	na-**khru**	bone	Matisoff 1987
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	bapi **kwoẽ**	rib cage	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.1.1
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	aŋ^{42} **gʴə**^{44}	bone	Matisoff 1987
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Southern)	kʰa^{21} **kɨ**^{21}	bone	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	kʰa^{21} **kɯ**^{21}	bone	CHEN Kang 1986d:8.4
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	ʈ'u^{21} tʂo̠^{55} **gu̠**^{21}	hipbone	LUO Meizhen 1990:5.8.2
Lahu (Black)	ɔ^{31} mɣ̣ʔ^{21} **kɣ̣**^{33}	bone	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{31} ʔu^{55} **qu**^{33}	bone	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Bisu	aŋ **gàɔ**	bone	Beaudouin 1988:13
	aŋ **gàɔ** laŋ	marrow	Beaudouin 1988:15
	ʔaŋ **gàw**	bone	Bradley 199x
7. KARENIC			
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***xí**	bone	Jones 1961:354
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***xìh**	bone	Jones 1961:354
**Karen (Pwo)*	***xwíq**	bone	Jones 1961:354
**Karen (Sgaw)*	*ɣɣ̀ʔ **xí**	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
**Karen (Pwo)*	*ɣɣ̀ʔ **xwíq**	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	*ɣə̀ʔ **xìh**	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
Bwe	**-khwi**	bone (n.)	Henderson 1997
	-khwi₌khwa	bones (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	dɛ^{2}**k'wi**^{2}	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Bwe	kha-ləmè ə-**khwi**	knee-cap (n.)	Henderson 1997
	wè-**khwi**	rib (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ʃímɔ̀-**khwi**	atlas bone (n.)	Henderson 1997
Geba	ă **k'wi**^{2}	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
	dɛ^{2}**k'wi**^{2}	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Karen	a^{31}**xɯ̱i**^{55}	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.50
Pa-O	**chút**	bone	Solnit 1989; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:354
	tśhut	bone	Benedict 1972:147n401
Pa-O (Northern)	[ă **c'ʊt**^{3}**?]**	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Paku	**χʀi**^{1}	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Palaychi	ɣí **xìq**	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
	ʔa-**xi**	bone	Benedict 1972:130n354
	ʔa-**χi**	bone	Benedict 1972:147n401
	ʔàq-**xìq**	bone	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:354
Pwo (Delta)	s'ə̆ **hwi**^{4}	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
	s'ə̆ **χwi**^{1}	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Pwo (Tenasserim)	s'ə^{4}**χwi**^{1}	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Pwo	**χwi**	bone	Benedict 1972:147n401
Pwo (Bassein)	khà **xwì**	chin; jaw	Weidert 1987:889; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:246
	xwì	bone	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:354
	ɣɣ̀ʔ **xwì**	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
Pwo (Moulmein)	kháʔ **xwíʔ**	chin; jaw	Weidert 1987:889; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:246
	xwí	bone	Matisoff 1987
	xwíʔ	bone	Jones 1961:354
	ɣauʔ **xwíʔ**	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
Karen (Sgaw)	**χi**	bone	Benedict 1972:147n401
Sgaw	**χʀi**^{1}	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Sgaw (Bassein)	**xí**	bone	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:354
	ɣɣ̀ʔ **xí**	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a^{31} **xɯ̱i**^{55}	bone	DAI Qingxia 1989k:165
	da^{31} **xɯ̱i**^{55}	bone	DAI Qingxia 1989k:165.1
	ɣu^{33} **xɯ̱i**^{55}	rib	DAI Qingxia 1989k:168
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**xí**	bone	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:354
	ɣɣ̀ʔ **xí**	rib / side	Jones 1961:181
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**xi**^{55}	bone	DAI Qingxia 1989j:165
	ɣu̱ʔ^{55} **xi**^{55}	rib	DAI Qingxia 1989j:168
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**gʷrju**	cheek bone / bones of the fae	Baxter 1992:376
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**guu** tou	bone	Sun 1985b:85
	ruaan **guu**	gristle	Sun 1985b:327

Chinese comparandum

頄 OC ***g'i̯ŭg**, *GSR* #992e 'cheekbone'; B & S 2011: ***gʷru {*[g]ʷru}**; Mand. **qiú**.
頄 OC ***g'i̯wəg**, *GSR* #992e 'cheekbone'; B & S 2011: ***gʷru {*[g]ʷru}**; Mand. **kuí**.
類 OC ***li̯wəd**, *GSR* #529a 'class, category; categorize; resemble, similar, equal'; Schuessler 2007:347 ***rus**; B & S 2011: ***rut-s**; Mand. **lèi**.

(2) PTB *g-r {w/y} a {ŋ/k} BONE / SKELETON

Note the superficial similarity between this genuine TB etymon***g-ryaŋ** and the Nepali word **karang** 'rib'. While Dimasa **sang-khreng** 'rib' and Lalung **krengʔ** 'bone' are descended from ***g-ryaŋ**, Chantyal **kərəŋ** and Yakha **karaŋ** are borrowings from Nepali.

The Karbi forms show preemption by the velar prefix.

The Miji and Darang forms reflect an **s-** prefix.

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	**sɯraʔ**-ljaŋ	rib	Simon 1979
1.1.1. TANI: ***loŋ** BONE			
**Tani*	***loŋ**	bone	Sun 1993a:40
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	(a-**lo**) ja-kʰrju	skeleton	Sun 1993b
	a-kʰrjɯ a-**lo**	rib	Sun 1993b
	a-**lo**	bone	Sun 1993a
	à-**ló**	bone	Sun 1993b
	a-**lo**	bone	Sun 1993b
	a-**ló**	skeleton	Sun 1993b
	gor-bã a-**lo**	shoulder blade	Sun 1993b
	ho aŋ a-**lo**	backbone / spine	Sun 1993b
	ho-ã a-**lo**	backbone; spine	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	lɯ-miŋ a-**lo**	ankle (bone)	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-pʰrja (a-**lo**)	shin; shank; shin (bone)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	soʔ-ko a-**lo**	jawbone	Sun 1993b
	^{1}a ^{2}**lo** (^{2})	bone	Weidert 1987:495
Bengni	a-**loː**	bone	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	hɯŋ-kɯ a-**loː**	backbone / spine	Sun 1993b
	loː-bɯŋ kɯ-lɯk	dislocated (bone)	Sun 1993b
	loː-pum	net-like fibers inside bone	Sun 1993b
	loː-rɯk	joint	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-kɯŋ **loː**	shin	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**loŋ** poŋ	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.24
	loŋ-poŋ	bone	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	loŋ-poŋ pə-niː	marrow	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**loŋ** poŋ	bone	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	loŋ poŋ pɯ niː	marrow	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **lo**	bone	Das Gupta 1963
	a **loo**	bone (n.)	GLDC 2009
	a **loo**-pookoo	stripped clean (bone) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	a **loo**-pookoo	skeleton (n.)	GLDC 2009
	cog **lo**	jaw	Das Gupta 1963
	dum poo-a **loo**	skull (n.)	GLDC 2009
	loo bɨɨ	hunk (of bone) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	loo nii	marrow (n.)	GLDC 2009
	lo ni	marrow	Das Gupta 1963
	u gi-a **lo**	backbone	Das Gupta 1963
	'tɨɨ **loo**	pelvic bone (female) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆa **lo**	bone	Weidert 1987:495
Miri, Hill	kel **lo**	backbone	Simon 1976
Tagin	a **lo**	skeleton	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**long**	bone	Matisoff 1987
	a-**loŋ**	bone	Sun 1993a
	angkeng a **long**	breastbone / sternum	Matisoff 1987
	gí-jí (a **long**)	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	í-**long**	bones of neck	Matisoff 1987
	lé-**long**	shin	Matisoff 1987
	mik-**long**	eyebrow bone	Matisoff 1987
	shog-**long**	lower bone	Matisoff 1987
Damu	geː-tsʰɯk ʔa-**roː**	backbone	Sun 1993b
	ɕok-**roː**	jawbone	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**roː**	bone	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **loŋ**	bone	Tayeng 1976
	mi-a **lo**	skeleton	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**hrak**	rib	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
Kaman [Miju]	**rʌ̂k**	bone	Weidert 1987:173
	ɕiŋ^{55} **ɹɑk**^{55}	bone	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕiŋ^{55}**rɑk**^{55}	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.23
Idu	**rõ** mbo po	skeleton	Pulu 1978
	rũ hã ci	bone	Pulu 1978
	rũ mbõ	bone	Pulu 1978
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	ə ru ə **rəŋ**	skeleton	Toba & Kom 1991:8.4.1
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**kèng** a-dòk-dák arthô	ligament (bone to bone)	Grüssner 1979:41

	keng-ha mbi	bone	Matisoff 1987
	kèng-sartí a-pók	muscle	Grüssner 1979:43
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***gre'ŋ**	bone	Burling 1959:440
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	be-**geŋ** ~ be-**zéŋ**	bone	Matisoff 1987
	be-**geʔŋ**	bone	Matisoff 1987
	be **geŋ**	bone	Bhat 1968
	be **zéŋ**	bone	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	be **gereng**	bone	Marrison 1967
	sang **khreng**	rib	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	bə-**krəin**	bone	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**kreŋʔ**	bone	Balawan 1965:21
	kreŋʔ modom	marrow	Balawan 1965:21
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**greŋ**	bone	Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	**greng**	bone	Burling 1992
	greng	bone (n.)	Burling 2003:6.28-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**gereŋ**	bone	Matisoff 1987
	kereng	bone (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***raːŋ**	bone	French 1983:461
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa	^{1}ʌ^{1}**raŋ**	bone	Weidert 1987:1183
Tangsa (Moshang)	a **raŋ**	bone	French 1983:461
	a **ran**	bone	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**ló**	bone	Weidert 1987:173
	luo	bone	Marrison 1967; French 1983:461
Konyak	tha **wan**	jaw	Marrison 1967
	wan	bone	Marrison 1967; French 1983:461
Konyak (Tamlu)	gaʔ-**ɣɛŋ**	jaw-bone	Weidert 1987:1061
	ɣɛŋ	bone	Weidert 1987:1183
Konyak (Wakching)	**wan**	bone	Weidert 1987:1183
Phom	**vang**	bone	Marrison 1967
	vaŋ	bone	French 1983:461
	ʒæŋ^{33}	bone	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**kereŋ**	bone	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**n-rang**	bone	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Taman	**raŋ**	bone	Luce 1985:K.61
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	rus-**krang**	skeleton	Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	kŭng-**gryóng**	skeleton	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	gā-**grāng**-ngā	skeleton	Matisoff 1987
	ga **graŋ** ŋa	skeleton	Glover 1972:2.A.2
2.2. Newar			
Newar	ba pi **kwoẽ**	rib	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.1.2
	ba pi-**kwaę**	rib	Matisoff 1987
	chyɔ̃ **kwẽ**	skull	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:2.4
	kwaę	bone	Matisoff 1987
	kwẽ	bone	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.4
	pyɔ̃ pə **kwẽ**	hipbone	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.8.2
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**greŋ**-kalık	skeleton	Matisoff 1987
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**yong** ko lā	skeleton	Matisoff 1987
	yoŋ ko la	skeleton	Caughley 1972:2.A.2
Chepang (Eastern)	**yon** ko la	skeleton	Caughley 1990:8.4.1
Magar	**gheng-greng**	skeleton	Matisoff 1987
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**lɑ̃**	bone	Dai Qingxia 1989e:8.4
	rer **lɑ̃**	skeleton	Dai Qingxia 1989e:8.4.1
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	rɟjət^{53} **loŋ**^{33}	ligament (bone to bone)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.6
	ʁri^{13} cç^{h}op^{53}	skeleton	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.4.1
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ta **ro** ɕɛ rə	breastbone / sternum	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.1.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **ro** ʃɐre	breastbone / sternum	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.1.3
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **r** ɕɛr̥ə	breastbone / sternum	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.1.3
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ro** ɕɛru	breastbone / sternum	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.1.3
6.1.1. Burmish			
Hpun (Northern)	pàŋ **xʁàŋ**	side of body (see Rib)	Henderson 1986
	pã **xʁã**, pàŋ xʁàŋ	rib	Henderson 1986

(3) PTB *g-ra-t BONE

There are several Tujia forms with initial velar (e.g. **si^{3}lu^{1}*ga^{1}*** 'pig's bone', **lu^{1}*ga^{1}*** 'bone'), which might belong to this root, if we assume preemption by the prefix. On the other hand, we are considering the Bai forms to descend from this etymon on the strength of the **-w-** medial.

Jingpho has developed a nasal prefix with this root.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-ra**	fishbone / spine	Matisoff 2003a:609
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	sub rup **ra**	rib	Anonymous 1962
	xub rup **ra**	rib	Pulu 1978
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	āŋo soŋ **ra**	spine (upper)	Matisoff 1987
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Sangtam	**trü**	fear (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	pa **rah**	bone	Marrison 1967
Maram	**ra** ghau	bone	Marrison 1967
Zeme	he mei **ra**	bone	Marrison 1967
	pe **ra**	bone	Marrison 1967
	^{5}ma^{3}**ra**	bone [lit. one's bone]	Weidert 1987:495
Mzieme	pe **ra**	bone	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	ā-**ra**	bone	Matisoff 1987
	ā-**ra** ā-**rā**	bones of all sorts	Matisoff 1987
	ā-**ra**-kui	bone	Matisoff 1987
	ā-rāp thiŋ-**ra**	rib	Matisoff 1987
	ākashai **ra**	collarbone / clavicle	Matisoff 1987
	ā khum ren **ra** li kazan	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	ā kui **ra**	skull	Matisoff 1987
	ā mei phāŋ **ra**	pelvis	Matisoff 1987
	a **ra**	bone	Marrison 1967
	ā raŋ phāŋ **ra**	pelvis	Matisoff 1987
	a **ra** kui	bone	Marrison 1967
	khaishāŋ **ra**	thigh bone	Matisoff 1987
	ma thik **ra**	breastbone / sternum	Matisoff 1987
	phei nā-tāŋ **ra**	shinbone ("leg-nose-bone")	Matisoff 1987
	shak shi **ra**	hip	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	a **ra**	bone	French 1983:461; Marrison 1967
	kaʔ-^{2}**ra**	jaw-bone	Weidert 1987:1061
	^{2}**ra(ʔ)**	bone	Weidert 1987:495
	^{2}tam^{2}**ra**^{1}khoŋ	backbone / spine	Weidert 1987:828
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Wancho	ho **ra**	bone	French 1983:461; Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	gə rèp **nra**	rib	Matisoff 1987
	ka rep **nra**	rib	Marrison 1967
	khyun **nra**	lumbar vertebrae	Matisoff 1987
	kəhpàq **nra**	collarbone / clavicle	Matisoff 1987
	mă^{31}ʒuŋ^{33}**n**^{31}**ʒa**^{33}	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.19
	n-rut **n-ra**	bone	Matisoff 1987
	n-ra	bone	Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967
	nra lə səwi	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	n^{31}**ʒa**^{33}	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.19
	n̥^{33} **ʒa**^{33}	bone	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	^{1}**n**^{2}**ra**	bone	Weidert 1987:495
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	ndzɔ^{13} **rɑ**^{53}	hipbone	Sun Hongkai 1991a:5.8.2
Tshona (Mama)	**rɔɔ**^{13} pha^{53}	bone	LaPolla 1987:153
	rɔː^{13} p^{h}A^{53}	bone	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**gra**-ma	fishbone	Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	ah-**răt**	bone	Matisoff 1987
	ăh **răt**	bone	Benedict 1972:17n62
	ʔáh **ret**	bone (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	ne deŋ **yet**	cheekbone	Matisoff 1987
	yet siŋ bā	chin	Matisoff 1987
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ɣo̱**	bone	Nishida 1964:8-081
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	də kæ **ɹə** pætʂ̥ə̥	thigh bone / femur	Sun Hongkai 1991g:6.2.1.1
	rə patʂ	bone	LaPolla 1987:153 [a]
	tsup **əˈ** patʂ	spine / backbone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0134.08
	əˈ patʂ	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.08
	ɹə pætʂ	bone	Sun Hongkai 1991g:8.4
	ɹə patʂ	bone	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ɹə patʂ^{w}	bone	Sun 1986
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	ɔ̀-**ká**-ku	bone	Matisoff 1987
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**quo̱**^{44}	bone	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**k'ua** tö tsɛ 232	knee	Dell 1981b:128
	kuo̱^{44} tɯ̱^{21}	bone	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	k^{h}ua^{2} tœ^{3} tsɛ^{2}	knee	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**kua**^{33}tiə^{42}**ka̱**^{33}	knee (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0101.48
	kua̱^{44} tɯ̱^{21}	bone	Zhao Yansun 1990:8.4
	kua̱^{44} tɯ̱^{21} tɕa̱^{44}	skeleton	Zhao Yansun 1990:8.4.1
	kua̱^{44} ɕuĩ^{33}	marrow	Zhao Yansun 1990:8.4.3
	kuo̱^{33}tiə^{42}	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.48
	kuo̱^{44} tɯ̱^{21}	bone	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	kuo̱^{44} ɕuĩ^{33}	marrow	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984 [b]
	k^{h}uæ^{31} pi^{55} kua̱^{44} tɯ̱^{21}	thigh bone / femur	Zhao Yansun 1990:6.2.1.1
	k^{h}uæ^{31} tsɭ^{33} te̱^{44}	knee	Zhao Yansun 1990:6.2.2
	k^{h}uæ^{31} tsɭ^{33} te̱^{44} k^{h}o^{33}	knee cap / patella	Zhao Yansun 1990:6.2.2.1
	tõ^{31} **kua̱**^{44} ɕui^{33} jɯ̃^{42}	backbone / spine	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.5.4
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gli̱o**/li̱wo:	backbone / spine; pitch-pipe	Karlgren 1957:76a-c

[a] [Source Note] (patʂ 'round').
[b] Jianchuan **ɕuĩ^{33}** loan from Chinese.

Chinese comparandum

呂 / 吕 OC ***gli̱o**, *GSR* #76a-c 'spine; pitchpipe'; Schuessler 2007:367 ***raʔ**; B & S 2011: ***raʔ {[r] aʔ}**; Mand. **lǚ**.
梠 OC ***gli̱o**, *GSR* #76e-f 'beam supporting rafters of a roof'; Schuessler 2007:367 ***raʔ**; B & S 2011: (***raʔ {[r] aʔ}**); Mand. **lǚ**.
旅 OC ***gli̱o**, *GSR* #77a 'arrange in a series; one after another; troops, multitude'; Schuessler 2007:367 ***raʔ**; B & S 2011: ***raʔ {[r] aʔ}**; Mand. **lǚ**.

Comment: The etymon above glossed 'arrange in a series...', etc. is apparently the earliest to be associated with the graph 旅 **lǚ** in Chinese. The same graph, 旅, was later borrowed to represent another, unrelated etymon glossed 'guest, stranger, ... lodging', which is also a comparandum for PTB ***d-gra** STRANGER / ENEMY (§4.4.3).

Note that the graph 膂 (*GSR* #77e), Mand. **lǚ**, is essentially the same etymon as 旅, with the same OC reconstruction.

(4) PTB *g-du(ŋ) BONE

Karbi **kang-duk** 'cartilage' possibly reflects a stopped allofam of this root.

The second syllable of Jingpho **di-rung** 'bridge of nose' looks temptingly similar to this root, although the development of PTB ***d-** > Jingpho **r-** is not otherwise attested.

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	reb-bũ **da:ng**	bone	Matisoff 1987
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	kang-**duk**	cartilage	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	dì-**rūng**	nasal bone, bridge of nose	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	rayko **tung tung**	cartilage / grist	Bishop 1989:8.4.4
Tibetan (Written)	**gduṅ**	bone	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Nanjian)	u^{21} **dɑ**^{55}	bone	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985

Yi (Xide)	vu^{21} **du^{33}**	bone	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vu^{21}-**du^{33}** li^{34}-tɕ^{h}ɭ^{33}	bone fracture	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vu^{21}-**du^{33}** no^{55}-ni^{33}	flesh and blood	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vu^{21}**du^{33}**	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Northern)	ba^{21}vy^{21} ɔʔ^{21}**tɔ^{33}**	cheekbone	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ma^{33} ɔʔ^{21}**tɔ^{33}**	tiger-bone	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ma^{33} ɔʔ^{21}**tɔ^{33}**dʑi^{44}	tiger-bone wine	Bradley 1994
Lisu	o̱^{31}**to̱^{33}**	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	o̱^{42} **to̱^{44}**	bone	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
	o̱^{42} **to̱^{44}** pi̱^{44}	marrow	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Putao)	v^{w}ü^{3}**to^{3}**	bone	Luce 1985:T.36
	v^{w}ü^{5}**to^{3}**	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Lisu (Central)	waw^{5}-**taw^{3}**	bone	Fraser 1922
Lisu	waw^{5}-**taw^{5}**	bone	Matisoff 1987
	waw^{5}**taw^{3}**	bone	Bradley 1979b:136
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	waw^{5}**taw^{3}**	bone	Luce 1985:T.36
	wɑw^{5}**tɑw^{3}**	bone	Luce 1985:G.61
Lisu (Northern)	ɔʔ^{21}**tɔ^{33}**	bone (n.)	Bradley 1994
	ɔʔ^{21}**tɔ^{33}**pi^{33}	bone marrow; bone and flesh	Bradley 1994
	ɔʔ^{21}**tɔ^{33}**tsi^{55}	joint	Bradley 1994

(5) PTB *m-bwaŋ BONE

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	loŋ **poŋ**	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.24
	loŋ-**poŋ**	bone	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	loŋ-**poŋ** pə-ni:	marrow	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	loŋ **poŋ**	bone	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	loŋ **poŋ** pɯ ni:	marrow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	reb **bũ**	bone	NEFA (India) 1963
	reb-**bũ** da:ng	bone	Matisoff 1987
	reb-**bung**	bone	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	rɯ^{31} **boŋ^{35}**	bone	LaPolla 1987:153
	ɹɯ^{31} **boŋ^{35}**	bone	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɹɯ^{31}**boŋ^{35}**	bone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.22
Idu	jo **mbõ**	bone	Pulu 1978
	la ru **mbõ**	elbow	Anonymous 1962
	lɑ^{55}nu^{55}**nbo^{35}**	elbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:254.50
	rũ **mbõ**	bone	Pulu 1978
Yidu	lɑ^{55}nu^{55}**mbo^{35}**	elbow (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0106.25

(6) PL *da^{1} STICK / ELONGATED OBJECT

This root is abundantly attested in Loloish, but has not yet been found elsewhere.

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***da^{1}**	stick (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:586

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Mile)	**dạ^{33}**mo^{33}	stick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:429.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dɯ^{21}**mɯ^{55}	stick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:429.26
Yi (Wuding)	**dq̱^{2}**by^{33}	rod / stick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0586.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	á-**tà**	stick (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:85
Lisu (Central)	si^{2}-**da^{3}**	stick (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	si^{35}**da^{44}**	wooden stick; wooden pole	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	**dá** tjhý	stick, switch	Hansson 1989:31
Akha (Thai)	**dá**-tjhý	stick, switch	Hansson 1989:306
	dju-**dá**	chopstick	Hansson 1989:32
Akha (Yunnan)	dzy **dá** ?	chopstick	Hansson 1989:32
Hani (Lüchun)	**dá** tjhý	stick, switch	Hansson 1989:306
Hani (Dazhai)	**da** tshγ^{55}	stick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:429.31
Hani (Lüchun)	dzú **da**	chopstick	Hansson 1989:32
	dzu **dá**	chopstick	Hansson 1989:32
	da^{55}tshγ^{55}	rod / stick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0586.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**da^{55}**kh$\supset^{31}$	stick	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ddal** cil	stick, switch	Hansson 1989:306
	jjul **ddal**	chopstick	Hansson 1989:32
Hani (Shuikui)	**tɔ^{31}**ty^{55}	stick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:429.32

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Phuza	a^{55}**dɯ^{33}**	stick	Pelkey 2011:225
	a^{55}**ʤɯ^{33}**	stick	Pelkey 2011:225

1.6.3.5 Marrow

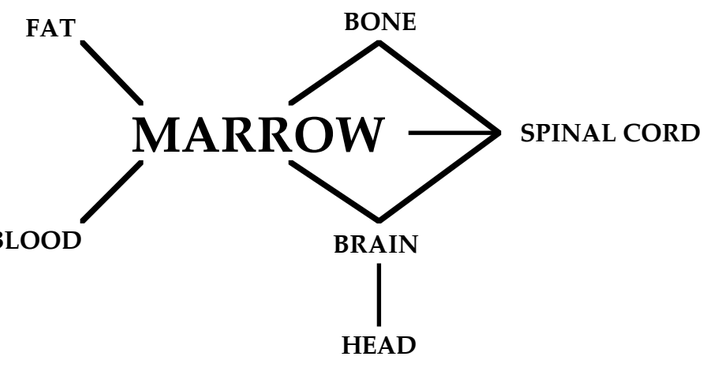


Figure 132: 1.6.3.5 *Marrow*

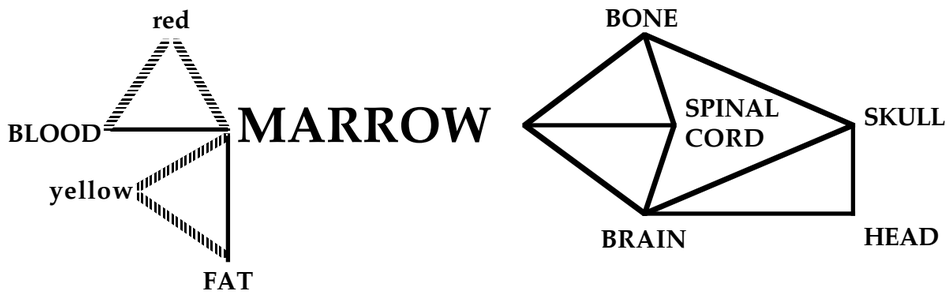


Figure 133: 1.6.3.5 *Marrow*

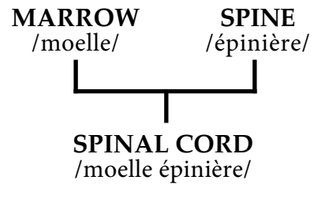


Figure 134: 1.6.3.5 *Marrow*

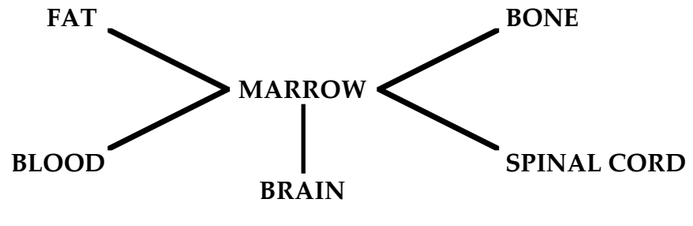


Figure 135: 1.6.3.5 *Marrow*

(1) PTB *r-kliŋ ≍ *r-klyaŋ MARROW / BRAIN

If WT **rkaŋ** is indeed descended from this root, we must assume a radical simplification of the complex ***rkly-*** sequence to **rk-**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(r-)kliŋ**	brain	Weidert 1987:218
	***kliŋ**	marrow	Benedict 1972:126
	***r-kliŋ**	marrow	Michailovsky 1991:7; Benedict 1972:39n128
	***r-kliŋ ≍ r-kl(y)aŋ**	marrow / brain	Matisoff 2003a:596
	***r-kliŋ ≍ r-klyaŋ**	marrow	Matisoff 1983:56

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**xiŋ^{53}**	marrow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***khlik ≍ *khliŋ** MARROW / SAP

**Chin*	***khlik ≍** khliŋ	MARROW / SAP	VanBik 2009:1294

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**hlìn**	brain	Weidert 1987:218
	hlîn	marrow	VanBik 2009:1294

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	a **k'ling**	marrow, sap	VanBik 2009:1294
Cho (Mindat)	**chng**	marrow (in the bone) (n.)	VanBik 2009:1294
Khumi	híw'a **loeeyng**	marrow	VanBik 2009:1294

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thlik**	marrow	VanBik 2009:1294
Lai (Falam)	**thlìk**	marrow	VanBik 2009:1294
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlîng**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	thlĭng	marrow	VanBik 2009:1294
	thliŋ	marrow	Benedict 1972:126

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**chà**-thlí	sap of a tree (n.)	VanBik 2009:1294
	la-**thlí**	brain or spinal cord (n.)	VanBik 2009:1279
	la **thli**	marrow; brain	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	ru-la-**thli**	marrow	Matisoff 1987

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	*t-**liŋ**-la	MARROW	Bruhn 2014a:II.352
Ao (Chungli)	tə^{3}-**nəŋ^{3}**la^{1}	marrow (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.352
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	tə́-**níŋ** là	marrow (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.352
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**liŋ** la	marrow (n.)	Coupe 2007

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{5}u^{2}**ke^{5}li**	brain	Weidert 1987:218

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Zeme	^{1}pe^{4}**kiŋ**	brain	Weidert 1987:218

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***tliŋ** MARROW

**Tangkhulic*	***tliŋ**	marrow	Mortensen 2012:584
Kachai	ʔa-ŋə-**tɐŋ**	marrow	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.252
Tangkhul	āŋa **tiŋ**	marrow; marrow, pulp, spinal cord	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Tusom	ʔɯ-kə-**tsɯə̃**	marrow	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.146

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ar **kleng**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	ar **klèng**	marrow (= 8.4.3); marrow (= 9.1.2)	Grüssner 1979:4; Grüssner 1979:4
	ar **kléŋ**	brain	Weidert 1987:218
	ar **kleŋ**	marrow	Benedict 1972:126

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	bu **thlung**	brain	Marrison 1967
	bu **thluŋ ≍** bi **thlim**	brain	Benedict 1972:126
Lalung [Tiwa]	**thulung?**	brain	Balawan 1965:75

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Moshang)	rɔ́-**thín**	brain	Weidert 1987:218

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	ro^{53} pɑ^{53} **kɔ^{35}**	marrow	Sun Hongkai 1991a:8.4.3
Tsangla (Motuo)	**kaŋ^{55}**	marrow	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hkaŋ**	marrow	Sun 1985a:474
Tibetan (Jirel)	**kāngq**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**kang**	marrow	Bishop 1989:8.4.3
Sherpa	**kāngq**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**kàŋ**	marrow	Bodh 1991:8.4.3
Tibetan (Written)	**rkaṅ**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	rkang	marrow	Sun 1985c:474
	rkaŋ	marrow	Matisoff 1983:56
	rkaŋ-mar	marrow	Matisoff 1983:56 [a]

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	(ă-)**yaŋ** / (ă-)**yóŋ**	brain, marrow	Benedict 1972:39n128
	a-t'yak **yóṅ**	brain	Matisoff 1987
	a-**yăṅ**	brain	Matisoff 1987
	a-**yăṅ**~a-**yóŋ**	marrow	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung (Ghachok)	**Tọ**	marrow	Matisoff 1987

[a] WT **mar** 'butter', loan from Indo-Aryan *marśa-* 'rubbing' (cf. Turner #9896, p. 569). This word spread from Tibetan into other TB languages' words for oil, etc.

	ʈõ	marrow	Glover 1972:2.A.3	
Manang (Gyaru)	**kyi**^{3} ba^{3}	marrow	Nagano 1984:053-01	
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**ʈaŋ**	marrow (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:5.5.5	
	^{1}**ʈaŋ ʈaŋ**	marrow (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.1.2, 8.4	
Tamang (Sahu)	**Tāng**	marrow	Matisoff 1987	
Thakali (Tukche)	**Tāng**	marrow	Matisoff 1987	
	ṭaŋ	marrow	Matisoff 1987	
	ʈaŋ	marrow	Hari 1971:2.A.3	
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI				
Limbu	**luŋ** si	marrow	Michailovsky 1989b	
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI				
Chamling	che che **lung** ma	marrow	Winter 1985:9	
3.3. RGYALRONGIC				
Ergong (Daofu)	**rkɔ** mɑɹ	marrow	DAI Qingxia 1989b:9.1.2	a
3.3.1. RGYALRONG				
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **r̥ka**	marrow	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.4.3	
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔkraŋ**^{1} ⋉ ***ʔkyaŋ**^{1} MARROW				
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔkraŋ**^{1} ⋉ ʔkyaŋ^{1}	marrow	Matisoff 1983:56	
6.1.1. BURMISH				
**Burmese*	***?khr**	marrow	Okell 1971	
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hcin-**	marrow	Okell 1971	
Burmese (Written)	**khraň-**	marrow	Okell 1971	
	khraŋ-	marrow	Benedict 1976a	
	khraŋ-chi	marrow	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1983:56; Matisoff 1974:72	
	khraŋ-tshi	brain; marrow	Weidert 1987:218; Benedict 1972:126	
Lashi	jou^{33} **khjaŋ**^{33}	spinal cord; marrow	DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.1.1; DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.1.2	
Maru [Langsu]	**khyòh**	marrow	Okell 1971	
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH				
Lalo	ʔvṳ^{21} da^{55} **kṳ**^{55}	marrow	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.4.3	
Nesu	ɣɤ^{33} **tu**^{55}	marrow	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.4.3	
Yi (Xide)	a^{34}-**tɕṳ**^{33}	marrow	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979	
	tɕṳ^{34}-**tɕṳ**^{33}	marrow	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979	
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH				
Ahi	ɣɯ^{21} **ʈo**^{33}	marrow	LUO Meizhen 1990:8.4.3	
Lahu (Black)	ɔ̀-**chɔ**-pwɛ	foot; marrow	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:72	
	ɔ̀-**cɔ**-pɔ	foot; marrow	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:72	
7. KARENIC				
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a^{31} **gi**^{31}	marrow	DAI Qingxia 1989k:166	
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	xi^{55} **ki**^{31}	marrow	DAI Qingxia 1989j:166.1	

[a] Ergong **mɑɹ** < WT **mar** 'butter'.

Chinese comparandum

脛 OC ***k'ěng** ~ ***g'ěng**, *GSR* #831q-r 'shank bone (of ox)'; Schuessler 2007:335 ***khrêŋ**; B & S 2011: ***m-k**^{hˤ}**‹r›eŋ**; Mand. **kēng**.
脛 OC ***g'ieng**, *GSR* #831k 'leg, shank'; Schuessler 2007:541 ***gêŋh**; B & S 2011: ***m-k**^{hˤ}**eŋ-s**; Mand. **jìng** ~ **xìng**.
莖 OC ***g'ěng**, *GSR* #831u 'stalk; hilt of sword'; Schuessler 2007:335 ***grêŋ**; B & S 2011: ***m-k-l**^{ˤ}**‹r›eŋ**; Mand. **jīng** ~ **héng**.

(2) PTani *loŋ-kin MARROW

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***loŋ-kin**	marrow	Sun 1993a:251
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**lo-čũ**	marrow	Sun 1993b
	lo-čũ rhyme!	marrow	Sun 1993a
	ló-čùŋ	marrow	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**loː-čin**	marrow	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**long-kin**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	loŋ-kin	marrow	Sun 1993a

1.6.4 Fat/Be Fat

(1) PTB *tsow-s FAT (v.a.) / OMENTUM

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)				
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsow**	fat	Michailovsky 1991:63	
	***tsow**	fat (adj.)	LaPolla 1987:116; Benedict 1972:277	
	***tsow-s**	fat / omentum	Matisoff 2003a:617	
1.1.2. DENG				
Darang [Taraon]	tɑ^{31} **so**^{53}	oil	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980	
Kaman [Miju]	tɑ^{31} **si**^{55}	oil	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980	
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***thu** OIL / GREASE / FAT				
**Central Naga*	***thu**	OIL, GREASE, FAT	Bruhn 2014a:III.071	
**Ao*	***thu**-tsə	OIL	Bruhn 2014a:II.048	
Ao (Chungli)	**tu**^{3}tsə^{3}	oil (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.048	
	^{3}tu^{3}**tsɯ**	fat (n.)	Weidert 1987:98	
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**tu** tsü	oil	Marrison 1967	
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**thu**-tsə	oil (? + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007	
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**thu**^{1}	fat, grease (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.071	
	thu^{1}-tʃəʔ^{3}	kerosene (n.)	Bruhn 2014b	a
	e **thyu**	fat	Murry *et al.* 1978:43	
	E **thyu**	fat	Nienu 1990c:8.3	
	thyu jü	oil	Murry *et al.* 1978:81	
	thyu tchü	oil	Murry *et al.* 1978:81	
Sangtam	**to** ji ki	oil	Kumar 1973a	
	tu ji	oil	Marrison 1967	
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]				
Mikir [Karbi]	ing **thu**	fat (adj.)	Marrison 1967	
	jaŋ **thù**	fat (n.)	Weidert 1987:98	
	kaŋ **tū(ʔ)**	fat (a.)	Weidert 1987:98	
	thu	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967	
	thu	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987	
	thú	fat	Grüssner 1979:101	
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH				
Bunan	**tsho** s	fat around intestines / omentum	Sharma 1991a:8.3.1	
Kanauri	**tshŏ** s	fat (adj.)	Bailey 1911	
	tshŏ s	fat; oil; grease	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:99n281	

[a] [Source Note] fat-water

Pattani [Manchati]	**tshòi**	fat	Sharma 1991b:8.3	
	tsho so	fat around intestines / omentum	Sharma 1991b:8.3.1	
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN				
Tibetan (Written)	**tsho**-ba	fat	Michailovsky 1991:63	
	tsho-ba	fat (adj.)	LaPolla 1987:116; Benedict 1972:277	
2.1.3. LEPCHA				
Lepcha	nŭm-**tsŭ**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987	
2.1.4. TAMANGISH				
**TGTM*	*^{A}**ts**^{h}**o**	fat (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:303	
Chantyal	bo **cha**	fat	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.3	
	ənnara-ye bo **cho**	fat around intestines / omentum	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.3.1	
Gurung (Ghachok)	**c**^{h}**o** baːq	fat	Glover 1972:12.A.34	
Gurung	^{1}**ts**^{h}**o-**	fat (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:303	
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**c**^{h}**u** ku	oil	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0054	
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**ts**^{h}**ju** ku	oil (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:8.3.2	
	^{1}**ts**^{h}**o**	fat (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:303	
Tamang (Sahu)	**cho** pā	stout (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.35	
	c^{h}**o**-pa	stout (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.A.39	
	^{1}**ts**^{h}**o**	healthy / fat / stout (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:303	
Tamang (Taglung)	**ts**^{h}**o**-ba	fat (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:303	
Thakali (Tukche)	**'cju** ku	oil	Hari 1971:7.A.9	
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI				
Limbu	se **so**-t	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987	
	soː t	fat (n.)	Weidert 1987:98	
	soː t	fat	Michailovsky 1991:63	
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI				
Chamling	**chui**	fat	Michailovsky 1991:63	
Kulung	**cho** do wa	grease, fat	Michailovsky 1991:63; Rai *et al.* 1975	
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI				
Khaling	**'cho** do we	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987	
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI				
Thulung	**cheo cheo** ya	<fat> rich (e.g. food containing much ghee)	Allen 1975	
	cheo deowa	animal fat	Michailovsky 1991:63; Allen 1975	
	chyo dyowā	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987	
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG				
Chepang	**chaw**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987	
	chaw mu.ʔo	fat (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.34	
	chəw	fat	Michailovsky 1991:63	
	chəwʔ	fat (n.)	Caughley 2000	
	chəwʔ-	fat (va.)	Caughley 2000	
	c^{h}**əw**	grease	Caughley 1972:1.32	
	c^{h}**əw** mu-ʔo	fat	Caughley 1972:12.A.34	
	ʔenʔ.**chəwʔ**	fat layers (of stomach) (n.)	Caughley 2000	
Chepang (Eastern)	**chəwʔ**	fat	Caughley 1990:8.3	
	ʔenʔ **chəwʔ**	fat around intestines / omentum	Caughley 1990:8.3.1	
3.2. QIANGIC				
Ersu	**zu**^{55}	fat; oil	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.18	
Muya	**tsɐ̰**^{53}	oil (animal) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.15	
Muya [Minyak]	(ʑy^{33})**tsɐ**^{55}	oil / grease	SUN Hongkai 1991h:8.3.2	
	tø^{55}mɛ^{53}	fat; oil	SUN Hongkai 1991h:8.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.15	
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tsɑ**^{35}	oil (animal) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.10	
Pumi (Lanping)	**tshɤ**^{13}	fat (pig)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.09	
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tshɤ**^{13}	fat (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:850.11	
	ts^{h}**ɤ**^{13}	fatty (of meat)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983	
Pumi (Taoba)	**tshə**^{35}mə^{53}	fat (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:849.10	
	ts^{h}**ə**^{35}	fat (person)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983	
Qiang (Longxi)	**tshɨ̀**	fat (of humans); fat (of animals)	Evans 1999:1472; Evans 1999:1473	
Qiang (Mawo)	**stuʴ**	fat	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.3	
	tshû	fat (adj.)	LaPolla 1987:116	
	tshɑːʴ wɛ	fat (pig)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.08	
	tshɤ	fat (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:850.8	
	ts^{h}**aʴ** wa	fat (person)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981	
	ts^{h}**ɤ**	fatty (of meat)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981	
	tɕi n̥ibala **stuʴ**	fat around intestines / omentum	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.3.1	
Qiang (Yadu)	**ts**^{h}**æ** we	fat (person); fat (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989q:1472; DAI Qingxia 1989q:1473	
	zdue	fatty oil (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989q:591	
Xumi	**tshuɛ**^{35}	fat; fat (pig)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.17; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.17	
	tshuɐ^{33}	fat (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:850.20	
3.3. RGYALRONGIC				
Ergong (Northern)	rɟjə^{33} r̥ **ts**^{h}**i**^{53}	fat around intestines / omentum	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.3.1	
Ergong (Daofu)	r **tshei**	fat	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.3	
Ergong (Northern)	**ts**^{h}**ə**^{33}	fat	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.3	
3.3.1. RGYALRONG				
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **tsho**	fat (pig)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.11	
rGyalrong	kə **tsho**	fat (of people); fat (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:849.12; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:850.12	
Caodeng	kə-**ts**^{h}**o**	fat (pig; cow)	Sun 1997a	
rGyalrong (Eastern)	laŋ tʃɐ wa **tʂɐm**	fat around intestines / omentum	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.3.1	a
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə pu **tʃəm**	fat around intestines / omentum	SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.3.1	
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **tʂɐm**	fat	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.3	
Caodeng	ʃe kə-**ts**^{h}**o**	fat meat	Sun 1997a	
rGyalrong (Northern)	n̥i **ts**^{h}**u**	fat	SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.3	
rGyalrong	kA **tsho**	fat	Nagano 1997:155	
4. NUNGIC				
Anong	**su**^{31}ɑ^{31}n̥i^{55}	fat (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:849.44	
Nung	ŋ̍^{31}ɕɑ^{55}**su**^{55}	fat (pig)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.21	
Anong	ɕɑ^{55}**su**^{55}	fat (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:850.44	
Dulong	**su**^{53}	fat (pig)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.20	
Trung [Dulong]	**su**^{53}ɕɑ^{55}	fat (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:850.46	
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**su**^{53} śa^{55}	fat meat	LaPolla 1987:116	b

[a] The final **-m** in rGyalrongic **tʂɐm** is unexplained.
[b] [Source Note] (śa^{55} 'meat').

	su^{53} ɕɑ^{55}	fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. Tujia			
Tujia	si^{21} **ts^{h}e**^{35}	oil; grease (for cooking); fat	Chen Kang 1986d:8.3; Chen Kang 1986d:8.3.2
Tujia (Southern)	si^{21} **ts^{h}e**^{35}	oil	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	sɑ^{31} **tɕhu**^{31}	oil	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	si^{31} **tɕhɔ**^{55}	oil	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tśho^{55}	fat (adj.)	LaPolla 1987:116
	tɕho^{55}	fat (meat); fat (pig)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.41
Achang (Luxi)	sa^{55} **tshu**^{51}	oil	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31} **c^{h}u**^{55}	fatty meat	Dai Qingxia 1989f:558
Bola (Luxi)	**tshu**^{55}	oil (animal) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.32
	tshu^{55}	fat; fat (pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.32; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.32
Bola	**ts^{h}u**^{55}	fat (person); fat (pig); animal oil	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1428; Dai Qingxia 1989g:1429; Dai Qingxia 1989g:560
	ʃă^{35} **ts^{h}u**^{55}	fatty meat	Dai Qingxia 1989g:558
Burmese (Written)	**chu**	fat	Hansson 1989:149; Matisoff 1974:271
	chu	fat, obese (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	c^{h}u	fat	Matisoff 1978a:31
	tshu	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:195
	tshu	fat (adj.)	LaPolla 1987:116; Benedict 1972:277
	tshu	fat	Benedict 1972:53n178
Langsu (Luxi)	**tshau**^{31}	fat; fat (pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.31; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.31
Lashi	**tshu**^{33}	oil; grease (for cooking); fat	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.3; Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.3.2
	u̱^{33} **tshu**^{33}	fat intestines / omentum	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.3.1
Leqi (Luxi)	**tshuː**^{33}	fat; fat (pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.33; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.33
Maru [Langsu]	**tshàu**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:195
	tshaù	fat	Benedict 1972:53n178
	tshau^{31}	fat intestines; omentum; fat; oil; grease (for cooking); fat (of people); fat (meat)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.3; Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.3.1,8.3.2; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.43,849.43; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tshú**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:195
	tshú	fat	Benedict 1972:53n178
	tshu^{51}	fat (meat); oil	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984; Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	tshu^{51}	fat (adj.)	LaPolla 1987:116
	tshu^{51}	oil (animal); oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.30
	tshu^{51}	fat (pig); oil; fat (meat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.42; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***tsu**^{1}	oil; fat (person); fat	Weidert 1987:974; Bradley 1979b:532; Hansson 1989:149
PNL	**tsu**^{1}	fat	Chen Kang 1986a:34.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**tshv**^{33}	fat; fat (pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.47; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.47
	tshɤ^{33}	oil; grease (for cooking); fat	Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.3; Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.3.2
	tshɤ^{33}	oil (animal); oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.47; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.47
	ts^{h}ɣ^{33}	fat (of people) (be v.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	ts^{h}ɣ^{33}	fat (person)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	ɣ^{323} mɤ^{33} **tshɤ**^{33}	fat intestines / omentum	Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.3.1
Lalo	**ts^{h}e**^{55}	oil; grease (for cooking); fat	Chen Kang 1986b:8.3; Chen Kang 1986b:8.3.2
Lipho	**tshɛ**^{33}	oil / grease	Chen Kang 1986b:8.3.2
Nasu	**ts^{h}u**^{33}	fat	Chen Kang 1986b:8.3
	ts^{h}ɵ^{21}	oil; grease (for cooking); fat	Chen Kang 1986b:8.3; Chen Kang 1986b:8.3.2
Nesu	**tʂhu**^{55}	fat	Chen Kang 1986b:8.3
	tʂ^{h}e^{21}	oil; grease (for cooking); fat	Chen Kang 1986b:8.3; Chen Kang 1986b:8.3.2
Noesu	**tshe**^{21}ba^{33}	oil / grease	Chen Kang 1986b:8.3.2
Nusu (Central)	**tshu**^{33}	fat (pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tshu**^{55}ɑ^{55}	oil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.45
Nusu (Central)	**ts^{h}u**^{33}	fat (person); fat (pig)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1428.; Dai Qingxia 1989p:1429.
Nusu (Northern)	**ts^{h}u**^{31}	fat (person)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	ts^{h}u^{31} ɑ^{55}	oil	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ts^{h}u**^{35}	fat (person); fat (pig)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1428.; Dai Qingxia 1989o:1429.
Nusu (Southern)	**ts^{h}u**^{55}	fat (person)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	ts^{h}u^{55}	fat, oil (n.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ts^{h}u**^{55} ɑ^{55}	fat, oil	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	ʂa^{55} **ts^{h}u**^{35}	fatty meat	Dai Qingxia 1989o:558. Dai Qingxia 1989p:558.
Nusu (Central)	ʂa^{55} **ts^{h}u**^{33}	fatty meat	Dai Qingxia 1989p:558.
Yi (Dafang)	**tsha**^{33}	oil from animal	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.22
	ts^{h}a^{33}	oil (animal)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ts^{h}u^{33}	fat (meat); fat (person)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Lishan)	**ts^{h}ɣ**^{55}	fat (of people) (be v.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mojiang)	**tshu**^{55}	fat (of people); fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:849.26; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tshu**^{33}	fat (pig); fat (meat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.37; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**tshɳ**^{55}	fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.23
	ts^{h}ɭ^{55}	fatty (of meat)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	tɕ^{h}e^{55}	fat, oil	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Wuding)	**tshɣ**^{33}	fat (adult); fat (adult pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.38; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.38
Yi (Xide)	**tshu**^{33}	fat (pig); fat (meat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.35; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.21
	ts^{h}u^{33}	fat (fatty meat); fat, corpulent; fatty (of meat)	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ʑo^{21} ʑ]^{33}	fat, oil	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**tsha**^{22}	oil / grease	Chen Kang 1986b:8.3.2
	ts‘ɑ^{22}	oil; grease (for cooking); fat	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.3; Luo Meizhen 1990:8.3.2
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{33} **ts^{h}ɯ**^{44}	fatty meat; animal oil	Dai Qingxia 1989h:588; Dai Qingxia 1989h:591
Jinuo (Youle)	**ts^{h}ɤ**^{44}	fat (meat)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ɑ^{33} **ts^{h}ɤ**^{44}	oil (animal)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	**chū**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:195
**Common Lahu*	***chu:**	fat (person)	Bradley 1979b:532
Lahu (Black)	**chu**	fat (see No. 83); fat	Matisoff 1974:271; Matisoff 1974:83
	nī-**chu**	semen	Matisoff 1974:83
	sa^{11} **ts^{h}ɣ**^{33}	oil (animal)	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	ts^{h}ɣ^{33}	fat (meat); fat (person)	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{33}**tshu**^{33}	oil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.33
	ɔ̀-**chu**-bâ-nâ	roll of fat; wave, ripple; wave	Matisoff 1987:168
	ɔ̀-**c^{h}u** (n.)	fat	Matisoff 1978a:31
Lahu (Yellow)	saʔ^{21} **ts^{h}u**^{33}	oil (animal)	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	ts^{h}u^{33}	fat (meat); fat (person)	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**htsï**^{4}	fat	Bradley 1979b:384
Lisu (Northern)	hwa^{21}**tshɯ**^{33}	lard; fat; oil	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}**tshɤ**^{33} thi^{21} thu^{21}	bucketful of oil	Bradley 1994
Lisu	hwa^{5}-**htsï**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	hwa^{5}-**htsï**^{4}	oil	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tshɯ̱**^{33}	fat (pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.40
	tshɯ^{44}	fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	**ts^{h}ɯ̱**^{44}	fat (meat); fat (person)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986; Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	tɕi^{55}**tshɤ**^{33}	lacquer oil	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	xuɑ^{31} **ts^{h}ɯ̱**^{44}	oil	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	xuɑ^{31}**tshɯ**^{44}	oil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.27
Lisu (Northern)	ŋwa^{55}si^{21}**tshɯ**^{33}	cod-liver oil	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{33}dɔʔ^{21} **tshɯ**^{33}pø^{55}	walnut oil dredge	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{33}dɔʔ^{21}**tshɯ**^{33}	walnut oil	Bradley 1994
	ɔʔ^{21}**tshɯ**^{33}	vegetable oil	Bradley 1994
	ɕɔ^{35}**tshɯ**^{33}	resin	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**tshẓ**^{33}	fat (pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ts^{h}o**^{33} ts^{h}ʅ^{33} du^{33} mɑ^{33}	fat person	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:145.3
	xɑ^{11} **ts^{h}ʅ**^{33}	fatty meat	Ma Xueliang 1989:329.3
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **tshú**	fat, thick	Hansson 1989:149
Akha	sha˯ **tsu˅**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	tshú	fat	Hansson 1989:149
Akha (Thai)	**tshú**	fat, thick	Hansson 1989:149
Akha	**tsú**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:195
Hani (Lüchun)	**tshú**	fat, thick	Hansson 1989:149
Hani (Dazhai)	**tshu**^{55}	fat (of people); fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:849.31; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.31
	ts^{h}u^{55}	fat (person); fatty (of meat)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**tshu**^{55}	fat; fat (pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.41; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.41
Hani (Pijo)	**tjhú**	fat; fat, thick	Hansson 1989:149; Hansson 1989:149
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshɣ**^{55}	fat (of people); fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:849.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.30
	ts^{h}ɣ^{55}	fat (person); fatty (of meat)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} **ts^{h}ɣ**^{55}	oil	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**tshɣ**^{55}	oil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ts^{h}u**^{55}	fat (person); fatty (of meat)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**cul**	fat, thick	Hansson 1989:149
Hani (Shuikui)	**tshɣ**^{55}	fat (of people)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:849.32
	ts^{h}ɣ^{55}	fat (person)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	**tjhú**	fat; fat, thick	Hansson 1989:149; Hansson 1989:149
Hani (Mojiang)	**tshɣ**^{55}	fat; fat (pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.42; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.42
Mpi	**thuʔ**^{3}	fat	Hansson 1989:149
	ʔɑ^{2}-**t^{h}ɯ**^{6} (n.)	fat	Matisoff 1978a:31
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔɑ̃^{55} **teo**^{33}	fat	Bradley 1977
Sila	a21 **tshɯ55**	oil	Kato Takashi 2008:142
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	ta^{31} **θɔ**^{55}	fatty meat	Dai Qingxia 1989j:588
	xi^{55} **θo**^{55}	marrow	Dai Qingxia 1989j:166.2
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**tʂe**^{ɪ55}	oil, fat; oil	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.37

(2) PTB *tsil FAT (n.) / GREASE / OIL

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsil**	fat; grease; oil	Chou Fa-kao 1972:552g; Matisoff 2003a:617; Matisoff 1983:12
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	**ci**	oil	Pulu 1978
	pu ka **ci**	fat	Pulu 1978
	tu **ci**	mustard oil	Anonymous 1962
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	*Ç-**tsi**	oil	French 1983:528
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	tan **t^{h}i**	oil	French 1983:528
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	dut **ci**	oil	French 1983:528
	dut **chi**	oil	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**tsil(h)**	marrow	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**tsìl**	marrow	Sharma 1991b:8.4.3

2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**chhi**	fat; oil; grease	Michailovsky 1991:63; Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	**si**	oil	Andvik 1993:81
Tsangla (Motuo)	**si**	fat, oil; oil	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.7
	si^{55}	oil	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	bin-**tɕin**	fat (meat); fat (person)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986; ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	si	oil	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**si**	oil (vegetable) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.07
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**tshi**	fat (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:850.5
	tʂʰi	fat meat	Sun 1985a:248
Tibetan (Batang)	dʑi^{55} **tʂhei**^{55}	fat intestines / omentum	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.3.1
	tʂhei^{55}	fat	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.3
Tibetan (Jirel)	**chi** lupq	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tshi**^{55}	fat (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:850.3
Sherpa	**'chi** luk	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**tsil** ū	fat around intestines / omentum	Bishop 1989:8.3.1
Spiti	**tsil**	fat around intestines / omentum	Bodh 1991:8.3.1
Tibetan (Written)	grod-**t'sil**	suet (belly fat); fat oil grease	Matisoff 1987:168
	t'sil	fat	Matisoff 1987
	t'sil-bu	fat	Matisoff 1987
	tshil	oil; fat; fat (of body); fat meat	Weidert 1987:728; Matisoff 1983:12; Sun 1985c:248
	tshil lu	oil (animal) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.01
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**tsʰi**	fat / grease	Mazaudon 1994:289
Gurung (Ghachok)	**chiq**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	cʰiq	grease	Glover 1972:1.32
Gurung	^{2}**tsʰi**	grease	Mazaudon 1994:289
Manang (Gyaru)	**ciː**^{1}	grease	Nagano 1984:078
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**cʰi**	fat / grease	Mazaudon 1994:289
	^{1}**cʰi**	fat / grease	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0043
Tamang (Bagmati)	**chi**	fat (of body)	Weidert 1987:728
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**tsʰi**	fat (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:8.3
	^{2}**tsʰi**	fat / grease	Mazaudon 1994:289
Thakali (Marpha)	^{43}**tɕʰi**	fat / grease	Mazaudon 1994:289
Thakali (Tukche)	**chi**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	cʰi	grease	Hari 1971:1.32
	^{H}**tsʰi**	grease	Mazaudon 1994:289
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**ci** kɔ̃	oil / grease (for cooking)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.3.2
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	ca **ci** bɔ:k	fat	Kohn 1990:8.3
	ɔ phɔk ca **ci** bɔ:k	fat around intestines / omentum	Kohn 1990:8.3.1
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Chamling	**chi**	fat	Winter 1985:9
	chuy	fat	Winter 1985:9
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Magar	**si** di	fat (of body)	Weidert 1987:728
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**tsĭõ** wɨʉ	fat	DAI Qingxia 1989e:8.3
3.2. QIANGIC			
Namuyi	ji^{55}**tsʅ**^{33}	fat; oil	SUN Hongkai 1991i:8.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.19
	ji^{53}**tsʅ**^{31}	oil (animal) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.46
	ji^{53}**tsʅ**^{31}fiæ^{ɪ35}	oil (vegetable) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tshɳ**^{35}	fat (pig)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.10
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (NW)	rɟjə me ɻ̊ **tsi**	fat around intestines / omentum	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.3.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	**tsʰan** ju	oil / grease (for cooking)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.3.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**tsʰiŋ** ju	oil / grease (for cooking)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.3.2
rGyalrong (NW)	**tsʰən** ju	oil / grease (for cooking)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.3.2
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	se^{21} **si**^{35}	oil; grease (for cooking); fat	CHEN Kang 1986c:8.3; CHEN Kang 1986c:8.3.2
Tujia (Northern)	se^{21} **si**^{35}	oil	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	se^{3}**si**^{2}	oil	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.5
	se^{3}**si**^{2}ha^{3}	press oil (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.4
	si2	fat (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	si2ku1si3	fat meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	si3ku1tu3	fat (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia	sie^{21}**si**^{35}	oil (animal); oil (vegetable) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.49; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.49
	sie^{21}**si**^{35}	oil	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.38
Tujia (Northern)	**si**^{2}	fat (be v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.3
	si^{2}ku^{1}si^{3}	fat meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
Tujia (Southern)	**si**^{21}	fat (meat); fat (person)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986; TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**si**^{21} tsʰe^{35}	oil; grease (for cooking); fat	CHEN Kang 1986d:8.3; CHEN Kang 1986d:8.3.2
Tujia (Southern)	**si**^{21} tsʰe^{35}	oil	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**si**^{3}ku^{1}tu^{3}	fat (be v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.2
	si^{35}	fat (meat); fat (person)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986; TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**si**^{35}	fat; fat (of people); fat (meat)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.49; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:849.38; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:850.38
	si^{35}ku^{55}thu^{21}	fat (pig)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.49
Tujia (Northern)	tong^{3}se^{3}**si**^{2}	tung oil	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.4
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***tsu**^{1}	fat	Matisoff 1978a:31
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	ă **tshi**	fat	Weidert 1987:728
	ă **tshi**	fat	Benedict 1972:16n55
	chi	oil; fat; lymph	Matisoff 1983:12; Benedict 1976a
	chi-ʔu	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	khraŋ-**tshi**	brain; marrow	Weidert 1987:218; Benedict 1972:126
	lu-**chi**	lymph gland / gland in groin	Matisoff 1987
	məha-**chi**	lymph gland / gland in groin	Matisoff 1987
	tshi	oil	Weidert 1987:728
	ə-**chi**	oil; lymph	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **chi**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***tsi**^{1}	fat	Bradley 1979b:384
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**tsʰʅ**^{55}	fat	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.3
Yi (Nanjian)	**tsʰʅ**^{55}	fat (person)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	a^{34}-**ʑʅ**^{33}	fat, plump	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	tshʅ^{33}	oil (animal) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.35
	tshʅ^{33}	oil from animal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.21
	tshʅ^{34}kʉ̱^{33}	oil (animal) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.35
	tsʰʅ^{33}	fat, grease (oil); fat, oil	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ɕo^{21}-**ʑʅ**^{33}	fat, grease (oil)	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɕʅ^{33}	fat (fatty meat)	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʑo^{21} **ʑʅ**^{33}	fat, oil	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{33} **tsʰɯ**^{44}	oil	DAI Qingxia 1989h:590
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{33} **tsʰɯ**^{44}	oil; animal oil	DAI Qingxia 1989i:590; DAI Qingxia 1989i:591
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{33} **tsʰi**^{31}	oil	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu	**htsi**^{4}	fat (person)	Bradley 1979b:532
Sani [Nyi]	**tshi**^{33}	fat	CHEN Kang 1986a:34.; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.3
	tshi^{33}	fat (n.)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**tshz̩**^{33}	oil (animal) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.39
Sani [Nyi]	tsʰo^{33} **tsʰʅ**^{33} du^{33} mɑ^{33}	fat person	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:145.3
	tsʰʅ^{33}	fat ; oil, fat (adj.)	MA Xueliang 1989:349.7
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Dazhai)	**tshi**^{55}	oil	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.31
	tsʰi^{55}	fat, oil	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tsʰi**^{55}	oil	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ʒv̩^{33} **tsʰi**^{55}	oil	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʒv̩^{33}**tshi**^{55}	oil	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.32
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔɑ̃^{55} **sʰi**^{55}	fat (n.)	Bradley 1977
8. BAI			
Bai (Dali)	**tsi**^{35}	oil, fat	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tsi**^{55}	oil, fat	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tsʅ^{55}	oil; grease (for cooking); fat	ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.3; ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.3.2
	tsʅ^{55} xo^{55}	fat around intestines / omentum	ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.3.1
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**t̂i̯ər/tśi**	fat	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:552g

Chinese comparandum

脂 OC ***t̂i̯ər**, *GSR* #552g 'fat, grease'; B & S 2011: ***kij**; Mand. **zhǐ**.

Initials do not match

(3) PTB *sa:w FAT (n.) / GREASE / OIL / SWEAT

This well-established root has acquired an **-s** suffix of unknown meaning in Magar.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***saɣw**	fat / grease	Coblin 1986:77
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***saːw**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:195
	***saːw**	oil	Weidert 1987:974
	***saːw**	fat (n.)	Weidert 1987:98
	***saːw**	fat; grease; oil; oil, fat, grease; oily, savory	Matisoff 2003a:612; Benedict 1972:272; Coblin 1986:77; French 1983:485
	***sɑːw**	fat (of animal)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1134e
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	a^{31}mi^{55}**so**^{55}	fat	SUN Hongkai 1991f:8.3
	so	fat	Pulu 1978; Anonymous 1962
	ɑ^{31}mi^{55}**so**^{55}	oil	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.50
Yidu	ɑ^{31}mi^{55}**so**^{55}	oil (vegetable) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.25
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***thaaw** FAT / GREASE			
**Chin*	***thaaw**	FAT / GREASE	VanBik 2009:385
Anal	sa-**thɛ**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
Chinbok	**thaü**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
Ngawn	sa-**thau**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Kuki-Chin	mekanna **thao**	oil / grease (for cooking)	Haokip 1998:8.3.2
	thao	fat	Haokip 1998:8.3
Paite	**thau**	fat	VanBik 2009:385
Sizang	**htau**	fat, grease	VanBik 2009:385
Thado	**thàaw**	fat	VanBik 2009:385
	thàu	fat	Thirumalai 1972:20
	tháu	fat	Thirumalai 1972:55
Tiddim	**-thaːu/ˆthaːu**	fat (v.)	Henderson 1965
	thaːu^{2}	fat, grease	VanBik 2009:385
	thaːu^{2}	fat (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1877
	thaːu^{2}	fat	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	a **tʻau**	fat	VanBik 2009:385
Cho (Mindat)	**thau** ⩙ tha	fat, lard	VanBik 2009:385
Khumi	**thauʔ**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	tháw	fat, oil, omentum	VanBik 2009:385
	tʰaːᵘʔ	fat	So-Hartmann 1988:101
Matu	a̰ **tʰaːᵘ**	fat	So-Hartmann 1988:101
Mkaang	a̰ **tʰaːᵘ**	fat	So-Hartmann 1988:101
Ngmüüin	a̰ **tʰaː**	fat	So-Hartmann 1988:101
Nyhmoye	a̰ **tʰáː**	fat	So-Hartmann 1988:101
Wakung	**tʰaː**	fat	So-Hartmann 1988:101
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thăaw**	fat, grease	VanBik 2009:385

Lai (Falam)	**thàaw**	fat, grease	VanBik 2009:385
Lai (Hakha)	**thau**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
Laizo	sa-**thau**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	**thàau**	fat (n.)	Weidert 1987:98
	tháau	fat (v.)	Weidert 1987:98
	thao	fat (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2944
	thau	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thàu	fat, grease	VanBik 2009:385
	thau	fat, grease; fat (v.i.)	Benedict 1972:272
	thau	fat, grease	Coblin 1986:77

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	sa-**thawh**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	thaw	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	thàw ~ thāw	fat, grease	VanBik 2009:385
	^{2}sə^{2}**thɔ**	fat (n.)	Weidert 1987:98
	^{3}ə^{1}**thɔ**	fat (a.)	Weidert 1987:98
Zotung	**thɔ**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**t^{h}əi**	oil / grease (for cooking)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.3.2
	ə ri rəŋ **t^{h}əi**	fat around intestines / omentum	Toba & Kom 1991:8.3.1
	ə **t^{h}əi**	fat	Toba & Kom 1991:8.3

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	sa mo, tü **so**	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
	so r	fat (adj.)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a **su**	fat	Kumar 1973a
	a **su**	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Mao	^{2}o^{5}**tha**	oil / fat (n.)	Weidert 1987:974
	^{1}**tha**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:974
Rengma	**tha** zü, tere zü	oil	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **tha**	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **tha**	fat	Achumi 1998a:8.3
	a **tha**, a mi zü	oil	Marrison 1967
	a **tha**-zü	oil / grease (for cooking)	Achumi 1998a:8.3.2

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	a **sau**	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thao	oil	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **ta**	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	ma **thau**	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thau	oil	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ka **tha**	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thauh, katha, rümtha	oil	Marrison 1967
	t^{h}au	oil	Brown 1837

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***t^{h}aw** FAT

**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}aw**	fat	Mortensen 2012:389
Huishu	kə-**t^{h}ow**	fat (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.124
	ʔa-**t^{h}ow**	fat; grease; oil	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.253
Kachai	ʔa-**t^{h}o**	fat	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.235
Tangkhul	a **thao**	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ā **thao**	fat, suet;oil	Matisoff 1987
	thao	fat, suet; oil	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	thaw	fat	Bhat 1969:89
	^{3}**thau**	fat (n.)	Weidert 1987:98
	^{1}kə^{1}**thau**	fat (a.)	Weidert 1987:98
Tankghul (Central)	**t^{h}au**	oil	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**t^{h}au**	oil	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**t^{h}au**-rɯ	oil	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔɯ-**txɯ**	fat	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.246
Ukhrul	kə-ci-**t^{h}aw**	make fat	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**t^{h}aw**	be(ing?) fat	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**t^{h}aw**	fat (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-mə-**t^{h}aw**	make fat	Mortensen 2012
	sa-**t^{h}aw**	fat (of animal)	Mortensen 2012
	t^{h}aw	oil	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**t^{h}aw**	fat (of person)	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	ma **hâo**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	ma **hau**	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mə rek-mə **haw**	fat	Singh 1991:8.3
	thao	oil	Marrison 1967
	thaw	oil / grease (for cooking)	Singh 1991:8.3.2

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	ga **thau**	sweet to taste, savor (v.)	Benedict 1972:272
	taw	oil	Bhat 1968
	thau	oil	Benedict 1972:272
Dimasa	**thao**	oil	Marrison 1967; Coblin 1986:77
	thau	oil	Benedict 1972:272
Kokborok	**t^{h}auʔ**	oil	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**tau**	fat (n.)	Weidert 1987:98

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***saːw**	fat	French 1983:485

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**ha** bu	fat (adj. and n.), grease	French 1983:485
Konyak	**yao**	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yao	fat	French 1983:528
	ɣau	fat (n.)	Weidert 1987:98
Phom	**čʌɯ**^{31}	fat / grease	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	hkyun **sau**	fatty tissues around kidney	Matisoff 1987
	sau	fat; oil; grease; oil, fat, grease, oily, savory; oil, fat, grease	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:272; Coblin 1986:77
	sau^{33}	fat (meat)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:850.47
	sau^{55}	oil	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	sau^{55}	oil (animal); oil (vegetable) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.19
	sau^{55}	oil	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.47
	sau^{55}wan^{33}	lamp	LIU Lu, ed. 1984 [b]
	^{3}**shau**	oil	Weidert 1987:974
	^{3}**shau**	fat (n.)	Weidert 1987:98
	ə **sau**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	ʔə **sáu**	oil, grease	Matisoff 1974:271

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**so**-ōl	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	raw.**sa**.ti	oil (sp.), of mustard plant (n.)	Caughley 2000
	raw.**sa**.tiʔ	stale (mustard) oil (n.)	Caughley 2000
	rəw.**sa**.ti	oil from first pressing (n.)	Caughley 2000
	rəw.**sa**.tiʔ	oil from first pressing (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sa.tiʔ	oil (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sa ti	oil	Caughley 1972:7.A.9
Chepang (Eastern)	**sa** ti	oil / grease (for cooking)	Caughley 1990:8.3.2
Magar	me-**sos**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	nām-**sos**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	sos-ke	greasy (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.15

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**šĭɔɦ**	sweat	Nishida 1964:181-071
	śjo	sweat, perspiration	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3772

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Longxi)	**sò** í	oil; oil (vegetable)	Evans 1999:590; Evans 1999:592
	sò í-mú-gú	vegetable oil lamp [vegetable.oil-fire-m]	Evans 1999:739
	sò í-χó	sesame oil [oil-fragrant]	Evans 1999:593
	χó-**sò** í	sesame oil [fragrant-oil]	Evans 1999:593
Qiang (Taoping)	**sɑ**^{33} ie^{33}	fat, oil (n.)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	sɑ^{33}ie^{33}	oil	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.9

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**se**^{21} si^{35}	oil; grease (for cooking); fat	CHEN Kang 1986c:8.3; CHEN Kang 1986c:8.3.2
Tujia (Northern)	**se**^{21} si^{35}	oil	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	se^{3}si^{2}	oil	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.5
	se^{3}si^{2}ha^{3}	press oil (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.4
Tujia	**sie**^{21}si^{35}	oil (animal); oil (vegetable) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.49; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.49
	sie^{21}si^{35}	oil	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.38
Tujia (Northern)	tong^{3}**se**^{3}si^{2}	tung oil	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.4

7. KARENIC

**Karen (Sgaw)*	***θó**	oil	Jones 1961:353
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***θòh**	oil	Jones 1961:353
**Karen (Pwo)*	***θóq**	oil	Jones 1961:353
Bwe	dè-**θò**	oil	Weidert 1987:974
Bwe (Western)	**θo**^{2}	oil	Weidert 1987:974
Pa-O	tə́ʔ-**so**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	tə́ʔ **so**	sweat	Jones 1961:610
	tə **sō**	sweat (n.)	Solnit 1989
	tə **sō** thán	sweat (v.)	Solnit 1989
Palaychi	tà **tòq**	oil	Jones 1961:353
Pwo (Bassein)	**θò**	oil	Weidert 1987:974; Jones 1961:353
Pwo (Moulmein)	**θóʔ**	oil	Weidert 1987:974; Jones 1961:353
Sgaw	^{4}**θo**	oil	Weidert 1987:974
Sgaw (Bassein)	**θó**	oil	Jones 1961:353
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**tθo**^{55}	oil	DAI Qingxia 1989k:590
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**θó**	oil	Jones 1961:353
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**θo**^{55}	oil	DAI Qingxia 1989j:590

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	/**sâu**	fat (of animal)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1134e
Chinese (Old)	**sagw**	fat / grease	Coblin 1986:77
	sâu	fat (of animal)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1134e

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**sâu**	fat of swine / dog	Coblin 1986:77

Chinese comparandum

臊 OC ***sûu**, *GSR* #1134e; B & S 2011: ***m-s^{ʕ}aw**; Mand. **sāo**.

(4) PTB *bu(r) FAT / FATTY (MEAT)

The final **-r** in this root is so far only attested in Nungic and Tangkhulic. The reconstruction of the rhyme needs further evaluation. In particular, some of the forms with open syllables might be better assigned to #163.

Note the striking similarity of the Dulong form to Karlgren's OC reconstruction **b'i̯wər**.

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	**pu** ka ci	fat	Pulu 1978

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Ukhrul	ʔa-**p^{h}ur**	belly fat	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.1. BODO

Kokborok	**bɔ**-p^{h}am	fat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	ha **bu**	fat (adj. and n.), grease	French 1983:485

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	**bo** cha	fat	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.3
	ənnara-ye **bo** cho	fat around intestines / omentum	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.3.1

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **pu** tʃəm	fat around intestines / omentum	SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.3.1

4. NUNGIC

Dulong	**bɯɹ**^{53}	fat; fat (pig)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**bŭɹ**^{53}	fat (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:849.46
	bŭɹ^{53}	fat (person)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**bŭɹ**^{55}	fat (person)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	bŭɹ^{55} ɕɑ^{55}	fat (meat)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Xide)	ɣo^{34}-**pu**^{33}	fat; fat, corpulent	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɣo^{44} **pu**^{33}	fat (person)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**pʌ**^{55}	fat (person); fat (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989h:1472; DAI Qingxia 1989h:1473
Jinuo (Baka)	**pʌ**^{55}	fat (person)	DAI Qingxia 1989i:1472

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Shuikui)	ʃɔ^{31} **pɣ̩**^{55} **pɣ̩**^{55}	fatty (of meat)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986

[a] Hutton 1921 (The Sema Nagas), p. 430: 'atha *(fat)*, amizü (*kerosine* [sic.], lit. *"fire-water"*)'.
[b] Lit. "oil-fire".

	ʃɔ[31]**pɣ[55]**	fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.32
Côông [Phunoi]	**bŏ** puɑn[55] biɑ[11] jɑu[33]	fat	Bradley 1977
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**bɔ̲[31]**	fat; fat (pig)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1472; Dai Qingxia 1989k:1473
	bɔ̲[31] bɔ̲[31]	fat	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1472.1
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**bɔ̲[31]**	fat (person); fat (pig)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1472; Dai Qingxia 1989j:1473

Chinese comparandum

肥 OC ***b'i̱wər***, *GSR* #582a 'fat, fertile (soil)'; B & S 2011: ***bər {[b] [ə] r}***; Mand. **féi**.

(5) PTB *tsut FAT / OIL

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**dut** ci	oil	French 1983:528
	dut chi	oil	Marrison 1967
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	a-**šut [šu]**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
2.3. Kiranti			
**SE Kiranti*	***chut**	fat	Michailovsky 1991:63
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**chuT**	fat	Rai 1985
	chut	grease	Rai *et al.* 1984:21
	chuʈ	fat	Michailovsky 1991:63
	tshït	fat	Matisoff 1987
	tshut	fat	Michailovsky 1991:63

(6) PTB *di FAT

This root closely resembles PTB ***tsil*** FAT (n.) / GREASE / OIL (§1.6.4), but Magar **si-di** (where the first syllable is assigned to **tsil**) seems to indicate that two separate roots are involved.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**ti** tchhü	oil	Marrison 1967:511
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**tɪ:** wo	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	tu: wo	fat, grease (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.257
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	raw.sa.**ti**	oil (sp.), of mustard plant (n.)	Caughley 2000
	raw.sa.**tiʔ**	stale (mustard) oil (n.)	Caughley 2000
	rəw.sa.**ti**	oil from first pressing (n.)	Caughley 2000
	rəw.sa.**tiʔ**	oil from first pressing (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sa.**tiʔ**	oil (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sa **ti**	oil	Caughley 1972:7.A.9
Chepang (Eastern)	sa **ti**	oil / grease (for cooking)	Caughley 1990:8.3.2
Magar	si **di**	fat (of body)	Weidert 1987:728
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	**zdi**	fat	Sun 1986 [a]
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**di̱u**/i̱u	fat on belly; intestines; fat; fat on belly, intestines, fat	Chou Fa-kao 1972; Karlgren 1957:126e
	di̱ər/i	fat (over the stomach)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:551

[a]This form bares a suspicious resemblance to Qiang (Mawo) **zda**, which has been assigned to PTB ***s-da*** FAT (§1.6.4). However, since the Qiangic languages have a strong tendency to develop the high front vowel **i** from PTB ***a**, a phenomenon which has been referred to as "brightening", these two Mawo forms may actually one and the same etymon.

(7) PTB *s-n $\frac{u}{a}$ m FAT

This root seems to show vowel gradation. For a similar pattern of variation, see PTB ***b-s(u/a)ŋ*** SMELL / SCENT / FRAGRANT (§1.2.8.5) and PTB ***s-l(a/u)p*** FAT (§1.6.4).

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	(**num**) tɕir	extract (oil) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1781.24
	***num**	oil (vegetable~)	Sun 1993b
	num	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.24
Bokar Lhoba	**num**	fat, oil; oil	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.51
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**n̥ɑm**[35] bɑ[55]	fat (meat)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**num**[53]	oil	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.6
Cuona Menba	**num**[53]	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.06
	pha?[53]**num**[55]	oil (animal) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rn̥əm**	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hnəm**	oil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hnəm**	grease	Sun 1985a:324
	rn̥əm	oil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**n̥ə̃**[55]	oil / grease (for cooking)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.3.2
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**num**[55]	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.02
	num[55]	oil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.2
	num[55]tshi:[55]	oil (animal) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**nūm**	oil / grease (for cooking)	Bishop 1989:8.3.2
Tibetan (Written)	(**snum**) btsir	extract (oil) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1781.01
	snum	suet (belly fat); fat oil grease; grease	Matisoff 1987:168; Sun 1985c:324
	snum	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.01
	snum	oil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.1
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**nŭm**-tsŭ	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	mɔ[33] **nɑ[53]**	fat; oil	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.17
	mə[35]**na[55]**	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.16
	mə[35]**na[55]**dʑɑ[55]	extract (oil) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1781.16
Pumi (Jiulong)	mɑ[55]**nɑ[55]**	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.10
Qiang (Taoping)	**χn̥o[55]**	fat , oil (n.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	ma[35] **na[53]**	fat; oil	Sun Hongkai 1991n:8.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	ma[13]**rna[55]**	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	me[33]**na[55]**	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	mɑ **rnɑ**	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.12
Ergong (Danba)	**snəm**	fat; oil	Sun Hongkai 1991b:8.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (NW)	ka və **n̥am**	fat	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.3
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	ka wu **'n̥am**	fat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0637
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	**snam54**	oil as food	Nagano & Prins 2013:0334
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	**snum**	oil as food	Nagano & Prins 2013:0334
Caodeng	**snəm**	oil	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**snəm**	grease	Nagano & Prins 2013:0337
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	**snəm**	grease	Nagano & Prins 2013:0337
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**snə̂m**	oil as food	Nagano & Prins 2013:0334

(8) PTB *ku FAT / OIL

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	e **khu**	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
	khu tchhü	oil	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Spiti	mar **ku**	oil / grease (for cooking)	Bodh 1991:8.3.2
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]c[h]u **ku**	oil	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0054
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]ts[h]ju **ku**	oil (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:8.3.2
Thakali (Tukche)	'cju **ku**	oil	Hari 1971:7.A.9
2.2. Newar			
Newar	ci **kɔ̃**	oil / grease (for cooking)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.3.2
Newar (Dolakhali)	da **ku**	fat / grease	Genetti 1990b
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	mă[ɹ55]**kuɹ[55]**	oil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	mă[ɹ55] **kuɹ[55]**	oil	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**kɔ̲[21]**	fat (meat)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ko[7]	fat (n.)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	fæ[44] **kæ̲[21]**	fat	Zhao Yansun 1990:8.3

(9) PTB *s-da FAT

2.2. Newar			
Newar	**da:**	fat intestines; omentum; fat	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.3; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.3.1
Newar (Kathmandu)	**daa**	fat / grease	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**dā:**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	dā:l-	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
Newar (Dolakhali)	**da** ku	fat / grease	Genetti 1990b
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	bom **tha**	fat (of baby)	Allen 1975
	hom **te**	fat, plump	Allen 1975 [a]
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Qinghua)	**dʒɑ[13]** ɣa[13]	fat , oil (n.)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Mawo)	**zdɑ**	fat , oil (n.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	zdɑ	oil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**χdɑ[33]**	fat , oil (n.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**zdue**	oil	Dai Qingxia 1989q:590
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Eastern)	**dza[33]**	fatty (of meat)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
7. Karenic			
Bwe	**dè**-θò	oil	Weidert 1987:974
Palaychi	**tà** tòq	oil	Jones 1961:353

[a]Thulung **hom** 'swell'.

(10) PTB *mwa-ŋ FAT

Cf. also PTB ***s-mar*** GOLD / YELLOW / BUTTER / OIL (§1.6.4.1).

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	te **mo**	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	sa **mo**, tü so	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Lalung [Tiwa]	**mo** dom	fat / grease	Balawan 1965:39
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Dolakhali)	**mo** ṭo	fat	Genetti 1990b
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	lə́ʔ **maŋ**	oil	Jones 1961:353

(11) PTB *puŋ FAT

This sparsely attested etymon needs further support. There seems to be variation between medial **-u-** and **-i-** in Northern Naga. It is possible that PKar ***ʔbluŋ[B]*** FAT (adj) (§1.6.4) is related.

1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Lalung [Tiwa]	**phung** aʔ	fat	Balawan 1965:53
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa	[3]**phiŋ**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:323
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak (Wakching)	**puŋ**	fat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:323
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**phuŋ phuŋ** ti	fat	Allen 1975

(12) PTB *dwam FAT / THICK

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Lalung [Tiwa]	mo **dom**	fat / grease	Balawan 1965:39

2.1.4. Tamangish: *B**dum** THICK

**TGTM*	*B**dum**	thick	Mazaudon 1994:519
Thakali	**'tuhm**-pa	thick (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.06
Thakali (Marpha)	44,43**tum**-mo	fat / thick	Mazaudon 1994:519
Thakali (Tukche)	**'tuhm**-pɔ	fat; thick	Hari 1971:12.A.34; Hari 1971:12.C.6.2
	4**tum**	thick	Mazaudon 1994:519

2.2. Newar

Newar (Dolakhali)	mo **ṭo**	fat	Genetti 1990b

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**thum** na	thick (objects)	Ebert 1997
	tum ma	thick (objects)	Ebert 1997

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	cho **do** wa	grease, fat	Michailovsky 1991:63; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	'cho **do** we	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**'dom**-syo	fat (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.34

3.2. Qiangic

Xumi	**du**55	fat	Sun Hongkai 1991m

(13) PTB *ni MARROW / FAT

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	loŋ-poŋ pə-**ni:**	marrow	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	loŋ poŋ pɯ **ni:**	marrow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	lo **ni**	marrow	Das Gupta 1963

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	un-**ne** (adin)	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
Milang	le-**ɲi**	fat	Tayeng 1976
	le-**ɲi**-ru-ŋa-ka	fat	Tayeng 1976

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**ni** ŋa Te	oily (adj.)	Sharma 1991b:8.3.2
	ni ŋi lèi	oil / grease (for cooking)	Sharma 1991b:8.3.2

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**ni:ŋ** ge	oil	Michailovsky 1989b

(14) PTB *laŋ FAT / OMENTUM

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Galo	tu **la**	oil	Das Gupta 1963

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	tu-**lang**	oil	Tayeng 1976

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	ə **laŋ**	fat around intestines / omentum	Toba & Kom 1991:8.3.1

(15) PTB *mi FAT

This sparsely attested root has scattered but convincing reflexes.

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	a31**mi**55so55	fat	Sun Hongkai 1991f:8.3
	ɑ31**mi**55so55	oil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.50
Yidu	ɑ31**mi**55so55	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.25

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	r **mi**	fat (n.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	**ɳi** tsʰu	fat	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.3

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Dafang)	**mi**33	oil (vegetable)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985

(16) PTB *t(y)an FAT

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	sa-**than**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**than**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987

1.6. Mru

Mru	**chan**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**tan** tʰi	oil	French 1983:528

(17) PTB *s-l a/u p FAT

This root displays the same **-a- ≍ -u-** alternation that is found in a few other roots; see PTB ***s-n(u/a)m*** FAT (§1.6.4) and PTB ***b-s(u/a)ŋ*** SMELL / SCENT / FRAGRANT (§1.2.8.5).

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***hlap**	FAT	VanBik 2009:1109
Lai (Hakha)	**hlap**	fat around intestines; omentum (n.)	VanBik 1995–
	hlap	fat (between bowels and the walls of the belly)	VanBik 2009:1109
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlap**	fat around intestines; omentum (n.)	Lorrain 1940
	hlàp	fat and membrane (or great omentum) between the bowels and the walls of the belly (n.)	VanBik 2009:1109

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**lupt**-ɔ ruk **lup** pa	fatten (a pig) (v.) fat (of meat)	Michailovsky 1989b Michailovsky 1989b

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mianchi)	**loù**	fat (of humans); fat (of animals)	Evans 1999:1472; Evans 1999:1473
Qiang (Taoping)	**lu**55	fat (person); fatty (of meat); fat (of people); fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:849.9; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.9

(18) PTB *prəw FAT

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**pʰrəi**	fat, thick	Sharma 1982

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**mrɛ**3 ba	fat	Nagano 1984:127
Manang (Prakaa)	4**mre** pə	fat	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0431

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**pjɑu**31	fat (meat); fat (person)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**pʐau**31	fat (person); fat; fat (of people)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:849.41
Achang (Luxi)	**pjau**51	fat (meat); fat (person)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**pʐau**31	fat (person); fat (pig); fat	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1428; Dai Qingxia 1989f:1429; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.29; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.29
Burmese (Written)	**phrûi**	fat, corpulent, swell up, be convex	Benedict 1976a
	phrûi ≍ phyûi	full in flesh, fat, corpulent; (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:293
	phyûi	fat, corpulent, swell up, be convex	Benedict 1976a

(19) PKar *ʔbluŋB FAT (adj)

It is possible that this root is related to PTB ***puŋ*** FAT (§1.6.4).

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***ʔbluŋ**B	fat (adj.)	Luangthongkum 2013:109
Bwe	**ɓʊ**33	fat (adj.)	Luangthongkum 2013:109
Kayah	**bi**11	fat (adj.)	Luangthongkum 2013:109
Kayan	**bwaŋ**11	fat (adj.)	Luangthongkum 2013:109
Kayaw	**bu**11	fat (adj.)	Luangthongkum 2013:109
Pa-O (Northern)	**pləŋ**55	fat (adj.)	Luangthongkum 2013:109
Pa-O (Southern)	**pwəŋ**33	fat (adj.)	Luangthongkum 2013:109
Pwo (Northern)	**bã**33	fat (adj.)	Luangthongkum 2013:109
Pwo (Southern)	**bõ**55	fat (adj.)	Luangthongkum 2013:109
Sgaw (Northern)	**bɔ**31~	fat (adj.)	Luangthongkum 2013:109
Sgaw (Southern)	**bɔ**45,	fat (adj.)	Luangthongkum 2013:109

(20) PTani *fu FAT (meat) / GREASY

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***fu**	fat (meat) / greasy	Sun 1993a:139

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**hu**	fat (adj.)	Sun 1993b
	hu-	fat (meat) / greasy	Sun 1993a
	hú-ljì	animal fat	Sun 1993b
	hu-lji?	fat (n.)	Sun 1993b
	hu-lji?	lard	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**fu**	fat (meat); greasy; grease	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**fu** ma:-bu:	lean meat	Sun 1993b
	din **fu**-bu:	fat	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**hu:**	fat (meat) / greasy	Sun 1993a
	hu:-po	fat (adj.)	Sun 1993b
	i-din **hu:**-nə	meat (fat~)	Sun 1993b
	ɦu: po	fat; fat (pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɦu:** po	fat (of humans); fat (of people); fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:849.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.51
Galo	a **u**	fat; grease (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a **u**	greasy (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	a **u**	fat	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**u**	fat	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**u**	fat (meat) / greasy	Sun 1993a

(21) PKC *ts o/u m PLUMP / FAT (adj.) / CHUBBY

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tsom** ≍ tsum	PLUMP / FAT / CHUBBY	VanBik 2009:554

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**chum**	plump	VanBik 2009:554

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**chawm**	fat (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	chăwm ≍ chŭm	plump, fat, chubby	VanBik 2009:554

(22) PCC *tuut STOCKY / PLUMP

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***tuut**	STOCKY / PLUMP	VanBik 2009:234
Lai (Hakha)	**tuut**-INV	stocky, be plump (be v.)	VanBik 2009:234
Lushai [Mizo]	**túut**	plump and firm fleshed (be v.)	VanBik 2009:234

1.6.4.1 Oil/Grease

(1) PTB *s-ryak OIL / FAT / GREASE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***ryak**	fluid; juice; grease; grease, oil, juice	Benedict 1972:204; Coblin 1986:82
	***ryɑk**	grease / oil / juice	Chou Fa-kao 1972:800n-o
	***s-ryak**	grease / oil	Matisoff 2003a:611
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	sa-**hriak**	fat; oil; grease; oil, grease (sa flesh); oil, grease	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:204; Coblin 1986:82; Marrison 1967
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**sarik**	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sarik, **tharik**	oil	Marrison 1967
	tʰrik	oil	Brown 1837
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	ē **šə̀k** >	oil, castor	Acharya 1975
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	mə **rek**-mə haw	fat	Singh 1991:8.3
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
*Northern Naga	***rya:k**	oil	French 1983:528
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**ʐø**^{341}	oil / grease (for cooking)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:8.3.2
Tsangla (Motuo)	**dʐak** pa	fat (of humans); fat (of people); fat (meat)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:849.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.7
	tɕak^{13} pa^{55}	fat (meat); fat (person)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**dʑɑk**^{35} pɑ^{55}	fat (person)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**kyak** pa	fat	Bishop 1989:8.3
Tibetan (Written)	(phag) **rgjags** pa	fat (pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.01
	rgiags	full / satiated (V)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:896.1
	rgjags pa	fat; fat (of people); fat (meat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1024.01; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:849.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:850.1
	rgyags-pa	fat person, fatty	Zhang Liansheng 1988:10
	rgyas pa	fat (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	žag	fat, grease (in a liquid state)	Benedict 1972:204
	zhag	fat, grease	Coblin 1986:82
	ẑag	fat	Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**sók**	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**jEq** si	marrow	Michailovsky 1989b
	jɛʔ si	marrow	Michailovsky 1991:115
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**vjjak**^{13}	full / be satiated	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.7.10
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	pân-**rak**	juice of flowers	Benedict 1976a
	pàn-**rak**	juice of flowers	Coblin 1986:82
	pàn-**rak** ≍ wat-**rak**	juice of flowers	Benedict 1972:204
	wat-**rak**	juice of flowers	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Nanjian)	**ʐu**^{55} ɣɯ^{55}	fat, oil	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
9. Sinitic			
"Pre-Chinese"	**riak**	fluid / juice / grease	Coblin 1986:81
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ẓi̯ɑk**/**i̯ɑ̈k**	fluid / moisture	Chou Fa-kao 1972:800n-o
Chinese (Old)	(l)jAk	fluid / liquid	Baxter 1992:1851
	rak	fluid / juice / grease	Coblin 1986:81
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**jiak**	fluid, liquid	Coblin 1986:81

Chinese comparandum

液 OC ***zi̯ɑk**, *GSR* #800n-o; Baxter 92: ***(l)jAk**; B & S 2011: ***N.rak {N.rAk}**; Mand. **yè**.

(2) PTB *s-mar GOLD / YELLOW / BUTTER / OIL

The ***s-** prefix is reconstructed here on the basis of the Newar and the Nusu (Central) forms.

Many forms, especially in Qiangic, Tamangic, and Tani, seem to be borrowings from Tibetan.

Cf. also PTB ***mwa-ŋ** FAT (§1.6.4).

For the semantic connection between YELLOW and BUTTER, cf. Mandarin □□ **huángyóu** 'butter' (literally, "yellow oil").

1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**mə**^{33}**ʐ**ua^{53}	oil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.52
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	***mar**	butter	Sun 1993b
	***mar**-kɯ	oil (vegetable)	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**mɑ**^{31}gɹɯŋ^{53}	extract (oil) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1781.22
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**ma** hâo	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	ma hau	fat (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ma sanoiba	fat (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	mə rek-**mə** haw	fat	Singh 1991:8.3
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Byangsi	**mar** ti	oil, water spring (n.)	Sharma 2003:538
Darma	**mər**-ti	oil	Krishan 2003:496
Kanauri	**măr**	ghi (clarified butter) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	mar mē̃	lamp (temple, burning ghi) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	mar tī	oil	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	kyə **mər**	butter	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**mɑr**^{35}	oil	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**mʌr**^{13}	oil	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ʐu^{13}**mʌr**^{13}	lamp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:463.6
Cuona Menba	**mar**^{35}	butter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0447.06
	ʐu^{35}**mar**^{35}	light / lamp (butter) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0533.06
Zhangzhung	**ma(r)**-sang	yellow (n.)	Matisoff 2001:#23
	mar	gold (n.)	Matisoff 2001:#23
	măr	ghee (n.)	Matisoff 2001:#23
	mar-tsa	goldfish (n.)	Matisoff 2001:#23
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**mar**	butter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0447.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**mær**	butter	Sun 1985a:713
Tibetan (Balti)	**mʌr**	butter	Rangan 1975:76
Tibetan (Batang)	**mɑ**^{13}	butter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0447.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ma:**^{13}	butter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0447.02
	ɕu^{13}**ma**^{15}	lamp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:463.2
	ɕu^{13}**ma:**^{55}	light / lamp (butter) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0533.02
Spiti	**mar** ku	oil / grease (for cooking)	Bodh 1991:8.3.2
Tibetan (Written)	bʑu **mar**	light / lamp (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0533.01
	bʑu **mar**	lamp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:463.1
	mar	oil; butter	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:713
	mar	butter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0447.01
	mar me	lamp	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**mar**	butter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0447.04
2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{B}**mar** GOLD, *^{A}**mar** BUTTER			
TGTM	*^{B}**mar**	gold	Mazaudon 1978:68
	*^{A}**mar**	butter	Mazaudon 1994:756
	*^{B}**mar**	gold	Mazaudon 1994:757
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ma:hr** aq	gold	Glover 1972:8.A.51
	^{4}**ma:r** a	gold	Mazaudon 1978:68
Manang (Gyaru)	**mar**^{1}	butter	Nagano 1984:078-01
	mar^{4}	gold	Nagano 1984:288-04
Manang (Ngawal)	^{4}**mɤr**	gold	Mazaudon 1978:68
Manang (Prakaa)	^{4}**mər**	gold	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0581
	^{4}**mɤr**	gold	Mazaudon 1994:757
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**mar**	butter (clarified) / ghee	Mazaudon 1994:756
	^{4}**mar**	gold	Mazaudon 1978:68
Tamang (Sahu)	**'mahr**	gold	Taylor *et al.* 1972:8.49
	māhr	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
	mahr	grease	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.32
	^{3}**mar**	grease	Mazaudon 1994:756
	^{4}**mar**	gold	Mazaudon 1978:68; Mazaudon 1994:757
Tamang (Taglung)	^{3}**mar**	butter	Mazaudon 1994:756
	^{4}**mar**	gold	Mazaudon 1978:68; Mazaudon 1994:757
Thakali (Marpha)	^{21}**mʌr**	butter	Mazaudon 1994:756
	^{4}**mʌr**	gold	Mazaudon 1978:68
	^{54}**mʌr**	gold	Mazaudon 1994:775
Thakali (Syang)	^{21}**mʌr**	butter	Mazaudon 1994:756
	^{4}**mʌr**	gold	Mazaudon 1978:68
	^{53}**mʌr**	gold	Mazaudon 1994:775
Thakali (Tukche)	**'mɔhr**	gold	Hari 1971:8.A.51 51
	^{4}**mər**	gold	Mazaudon 1994:757
	^{4}**mʌr**	gold	Mazaudon 1978:68
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Kathmandu)	lho **mha**	fat	Genetti 1990c
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Magar	**me**-sos	fat / oil / grease	Matisoff 1987
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**mɔ**^{33} nɑ^{53}	fat; oil	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.17
	mə^{35}na^{55}	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.16
	mə^{35}na^{55}dʑɑ^{55}	extract (oil) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1781.16
Lyuzu	**mæ**^{33}mi^{53}	light / lamp (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0533.18
Muya [Minyak]	tø^{55}**mɛ**^{53}	fat; oil	Sun Hongkai 1991h:8.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.15
Namuyi	**mɛ**^{33}mi^{33}	lamp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:463.19
	mæ^{31}mi^{31}	light / lamp (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0533.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ma**^{35}mi^{55}	light / lamp (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0533.10
	mɑ^{55}nɑ^{55}	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**mɐr** piɛ sɛ	oil (animal) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**má**	oil; oil (from meat)	Evans 1999:590; Evans 1999:591
	miá-**mà**	resin [pine-oil]	Evans 1999:487
	tʂí mà-**má**	sesame oil [b-oil]	Evans 1999:593
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ma**^{35} na^{53}	fat; oil	Sun Hongkai 1991n:8.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ma**^{13}rna^{55}	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**me**^{33}na^{55}	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**mɐr**^{33} nak^{53}	oil / grease (for cooking)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.3.2
Daofu	**mɑ** rnoŋ	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.12
	mɑ rnɑ	oil (vegetable) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0446.12
Nyagrong Minyag (Ganzi Xinlong)	**`ma** ^{h}na	oil as food	Nagano & Prins 2013:0334
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə22 nə33 **mar33**	oil as food	Nagano & Prins 2013:0334
rGyalrong	kə nɛ **mɐr**	oil / grease (for cooking)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.3.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə nɐ **mɐr**	oil as food	Nagano & Prins 2013:0334
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 nə44 **mar44**	oil as food	Nagano & Prins 2013:0334
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	ta-**miar**; dar	oil as food	Nagano & Prins 2013:0334
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	ta^{3}**mjɐr**^{5}	grease	Nagano & Prins 2013:0337
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	ta **'mɐr**	grease	Nagano & Prins 2013:0337
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**mɑ**^{ɪ55}mi?^{55}	lamp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:463.46
	mă^{ɪ55}kɯ^{55}	oil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:397.46
Dulong	tɯ^{31}**mɑɹ**^{53}	oil (animal) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**mă**$_{ɹ}^{55}$ kɯ^{55}	oil	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	tɯ^{31} **mă**$_{ɹ}^{55}$	oil	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	tɯ^{31} **mă**$_{ɹ}^{55}$	oil	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**ma3**ku3	residue (after pressing oil) (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ma^{3}ku^{3}	residue after pressing oil	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.4
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central)	**ʔmɑ̱**^{ɪ35} **ʔmɑ̱**^{ɪ53}	fat (person)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ʔmɑ̱**^{ɪ35}**ʔmɑ̱**^{ɪ53}	fat (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:849.45
6.2. NAXI			
Na (Yongning)	**mæ**ɬɻæ˩	vegetable oil	Michaud 2006–2009
	mɤ˩	animal fat	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˩**mɤ**˩	fat meat	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**mɑ**^{21}	oil (animal) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0445.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**mɑ**^{33}	oil	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.29
Naxi (Western)	**mɑ**^{31}	fat, oil	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mɑ**^{31}	oil; fat (meat)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:397.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:850.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**mɑ**^{13}	fat, oil	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

1.6.5 Skin

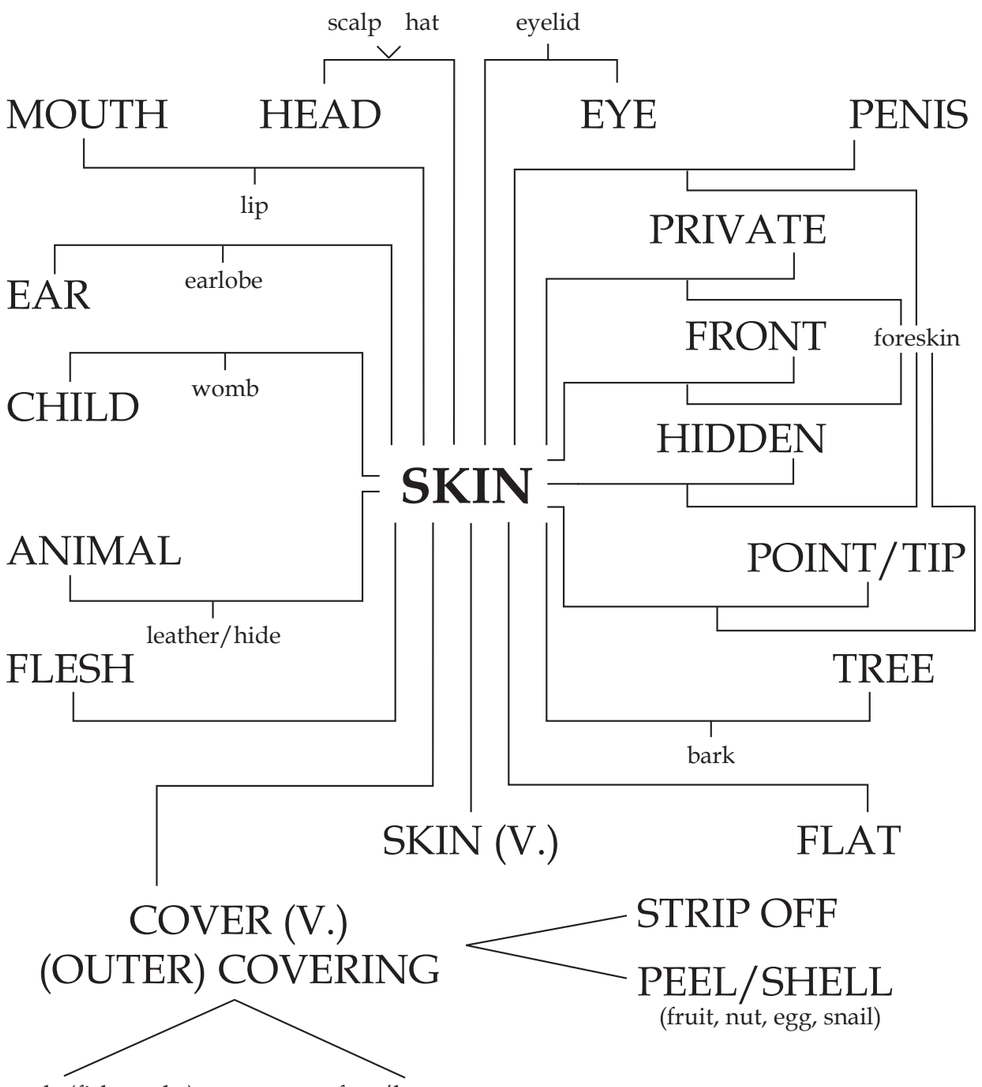


Figure 136: 1.6.5 *Skin*

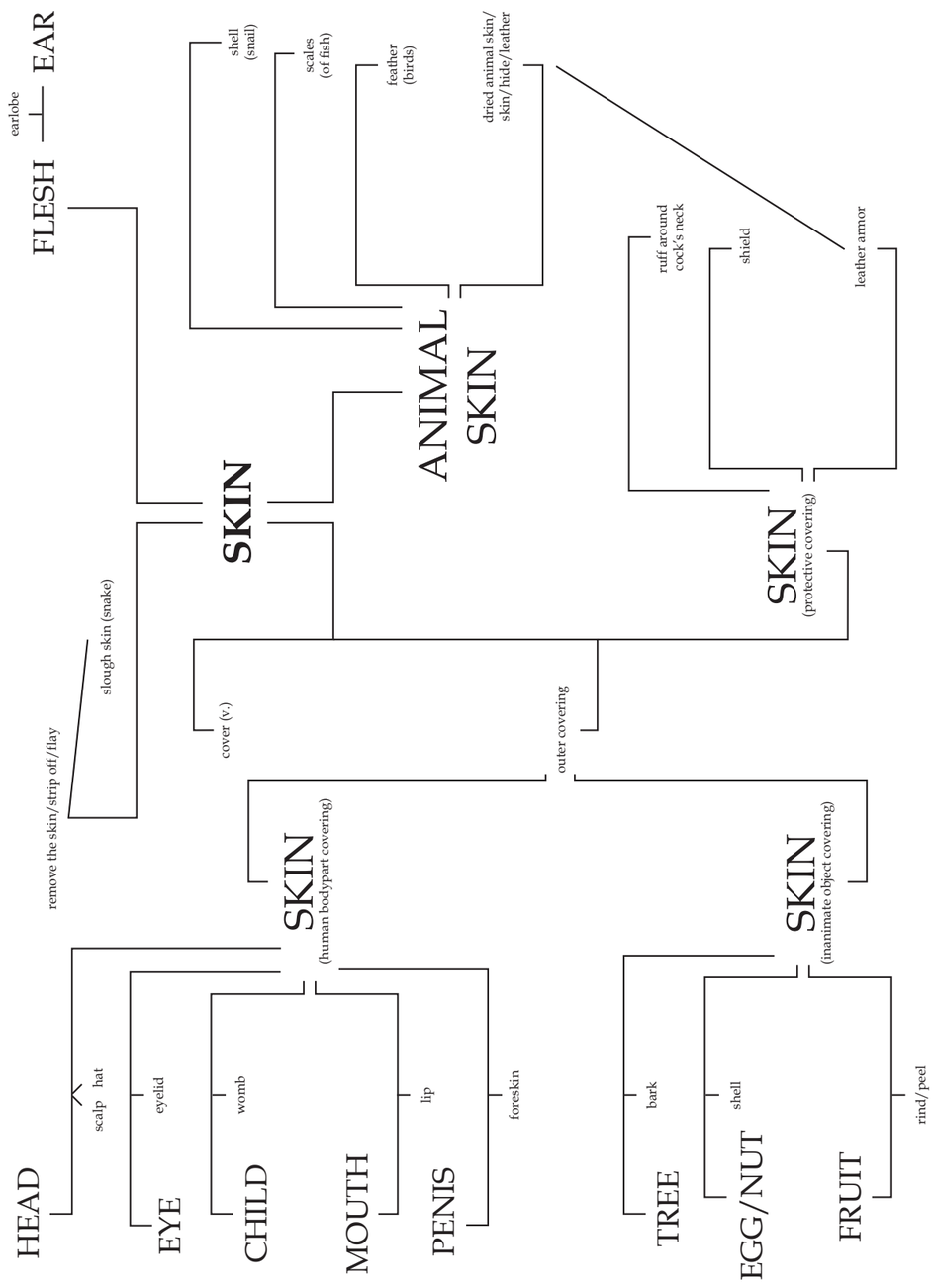


Figure 137: 1.6.5 *Skin*

THE fact that so many roots can be reconstructed for SKIN is undoubtedly due to the wide variety of associations this concept has with other points in semantic space: human, animal, and vegetable. The notion of *outer covering* is equally applicable to the skin of humans, the hide of animals, the bark of trees, the rind of fruits, the husks of corn, or the shells of nuts.* Since several sub-parts of the body have their own skin-like coverings, morphemes for SKIN appear in many compound words for such specialized body-parts as eyelids, lips, and foreskins. A further semantic chain leads from the body-part to the associated verb, TO SKIN/REMOVE THE SKIN. Semantic flowcharts provide a visual representation of SKIN and related concepts; the associations with SKIN are in fact so complex that two flowcharts are given.

Etyma in this semantic area are reconstructed with widely different degrees of certitude, ranging from the rock-solid to the shaky. They are presented below roughly in the order of the strength of their attestations.

(1) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{s}\end{matrix}$ -k-rəy SKIN

The nasal prefix is well-attested in Loloish and Qiangic. It appears overtly in many Northern Loloish languages, and indirectly in e.g. the Lahu voiced initial.

1.1.2. DENG				
Idu	tia^{35}**ndze**^{55}	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.9	*a*
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN				
Tiddim	**ˊci:**	skin (n.)	Henderson 1965	
	ˊci:	skin	Matisoff 1987	
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP				
Angami (Khonoma)	**zhü**	skin	Marrison 1967	
Angami (Kohima)	u **zhü**	skin	Marrison 1967	
Chokri	(u) **yi**^{31}	skin	Nienu 1990b:8.2	
Khezha	ʾè **ži**	skin	Yabu 1994:8.2	
Sema [Sumi]	a **yi** ko	skin	Achumi 1998a:8.2	
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP				
Khoirao	ta **ghi**	skin	Marrison 1967	*b*
Liangmei	pa **gih**	skin	Marrison 1967	
Maram	tu **gi**	skin	Marrison 1967	
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ka **gi**	skin	Marrison 1967	
	məi **g̱i**	skin	Matisoff 1994e	
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC				
Tangkhul	ā-**hui**	skin	Matisoff 1987	
	^{1}ə^{3}**hui**	skin	Weidert 1987:170	*c*
1.6. MRU				
Mru	ʃĕ **ʁɐʔ**^{2}	skin	Luce 1985:S.16	
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN				
Tibetan (Written)	**skyi**	scales; outer skin; skin	Luce 1985:S.16; Luce 1985:X.41	
	skyi-mo	skin	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:49	
2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{A}**ḍi** SKIN				
**TGTM*	*^{A}**ḍi** / (^{A}ḍwi)	skin	Mazaudon 1978:42	*d*
	*^{A}**ḍi**	skin	Mazaudon 1994:408	
Gurung (Ghachok)	mā **diq**	lip	Matisoff 1987	
	ma **diq**	lip	Glover 1972:2.A.25	
	^{3}**ʈu** bi	skin	Mazaudon 1978:42	
Manang (Gyaru)	**ɖiy**^{3}	skin	Nagano 1984:049	
Manang (Ngawal)	^{3}**ʈi**	skin	Mazaudon 1978:42	*e*
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**ʈi**	skin	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0038	
	^{3}**ʈi**	skin	Mazaudon 1994:408	
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**ʈi**	skin	Mazaudon 1978:42	
	^{3}**ʈi**	skin, hide (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:8.2, 8.2.6	

[a] Idu **tia**^{35} occurs also in **tia**^{35}**ɒɹa**^{35} ‘tooth’.
[b] Khoirao **gh** is a voiced velar fricative.
[c] The development posited here is ***kr** > ***hr** > **h**.
[d] Chantyal (Tamangic) **chala** is a borrowng from Indo-Aryan. See also **kəpal-ye chala**, lit. “head-skin”.
[e] We are assuming a Tamangic development of ***kr** > retroflex stop.

* Macadamia nuts have both husks and shells.

	³ʈi	skin / leather	Mazaudon 1994:408
Tamang (Sahu)	**Tih**	skin	Matisoff 1987
	³ʈi	skin	Mazaudon 1978:42; Mazaudon 1994:408
Tamang (Taglung)	³ʈi	skin	Mazaudon 1978:42
	ʈi	skin	Mazaudon 1994:408
Thakali (Marpha)	³ʈi	skin	Mazaudon 1978:42
	³ʈiʱ	skin	Mazaudon 1994:408
Thakali (Syang)	²¹ɖi	skin	Mazaudon 1994:408
	³ʈi	skin	Mazaudon 1978:42
	ᴸʈi	skin	Mazaudon 1994:408
Thakali (Tukche)	**Tih**	skin	Matisoff 1987
	³ʈi	skin	Mazaudon 1978:42
	³ʈi	skin (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:408
	ʈih	skin (n.)	Hari 1971:1.28
	ʈih ʾpli-lɔ	skin (v.)	Hari 1971:3.B.31
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar (Dolakhali)	chyɔu **ri**	skin / bark	Genetti 1990b
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	sũy **gi**	lip	Matisoff 1987
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ndži** (?)	skin	Nishida 1964:297-055
	n **dzɪ**¹	skin	Sofronov c1978
	n **dɪ̯wạ**¹	skin	Sofronov c1978
	ʔu **ndzɪ**	scalp	DAI Qingxia 1989e:2.8
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ndzo**⁵⁵ pi⁵⁵	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.18
	sɻ⁵⁵ mphɑ⁵⁵ **ndzo**⁵⁵ pi⁵⁵	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991d [a]
	sɻ⁵⁵nphɑ⁵⁵**ndzo**⁵⁵pi⁵⁵	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.18
Guiqiong	**ɕi**⁵³	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.17
Lyuzu	**n-gəɹ**³⁵	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.18
	ngaɹ³³pi⁵³	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.18
	ŋu⁵³**ngaɹ**⁵³pe³¹	skin (cattle) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1144.18
Muya	**rə**³³mbɐ⁵³	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ʐɯ**³⁵mbɐ⁵³	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991h:8.2; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.15
Namuyi	əɹ⁵⁵**ʂɿ**³³	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991i:8.2; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.19
	əɹ⁵⁵**ʂɿ**³¹	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	khɯ¹¹ **ʐɻ**⁵⁵ŋ̊ỹ⁵⁵	skin (cattle) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1144.10
	ʐɻ³⁵	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʐɤ**¹³	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʐɤ**¹³	skin	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**rə**⁵³	skin	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.10
Qiang (Longxi)	(**ɹà**) qhú	shed (skin)	Evans 1999:2429
	dè piá-**ɹà** piá	pod [bean-skin]	Evans 1999:559
	zuà-**ɹà**	bran (wheat) [wheat-skin]	Evans 1999:615
	ɹà pià	skin, hide	Evans 1999:331
	ɹà piá	skin (human)	Evans 1999:150
	ɹà piá-phò	leather jacket [skin-clothes]	Evans 1999:632
	ɹà qá	skin (v.)	Evans 1999:1648
	ɹà-χù	body hair [skin-hair]	Evans 1999:152
Qiang (Mawo)	nə **ɹə** pi	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.8; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	qə pa tʂ **ɹa** bi	scalp	SUN Hongkai 1991g:2.8
	ɹa pi	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.2
	ɹə pi	skin	Sun 1986
	ɹɛ piɛ	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.08
	ɹɛ qɛ	skin (cattle) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1144.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	duɛ́-**ʐà**	lip [mouth-skin]	Evans 1999:111
	phò-**ʐà** piá	bark of tree [tree-skin]	Evans 1999:469
	tshé-**ʐà**-phà dʐà	sheepskin vest [sheep-skin-vest]	Evans 1999:647
	ʐà piá	skin, hide	Evans 1999:331
	ʐà piá-phà dʐà	leather jacket (Qiang vest) [skin-vest]	Evans 1999:647
	ʐà piá-phù	leather clothing [skin-clothes]	Evans 1999:632
	ʐá qà	skin (v.)	Evans 1999:1648
Qiang (Taoping)	**tʃhɻ**³¹pa³³	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.9
	tʃʰɻ³¹ pa³³	skin	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ʐa⁵⁵ pa⁵⁵	hide / skin / leather	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**ʐe** pi	skin (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989q:331
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ri**³¹	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991n:8.2; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	ri¹³**riɛ**³³	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.13
Xumi	hĩ⁵³qua³³**tʂɿ**³³	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.17
	re⁵⁵	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.17
	ɣɐ³⁵	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.20
	ɳ̊i⁵⁵ ɕɑ̃³³ **dʐi**³⁵	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991m [b]
	βɛ³³ **rɻ**⁵⁵	hide / leather	SUN Hongkai 1991m
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**dʒə**³³ dʒua³³	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.2
Ergong (Danba)	**dʐi** dʐa	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991b:8.2
Daofu	**ɣɭə**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.12
Ergong (Northern)	ʁo⁵³ **dʐi**³³ dʐua³³	scalp	SUN Hongkai 1991c:2.8
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	mɲɐ **ndzɻ̊** ʈkʰo	eyelid	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.4.1
rGyalrong	ta ko n **dɕi**	scalp	DAI Qingxia 1989d:2.8
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta ko n **dzɻ**	scalp	SUN Hongkai 1991j:2.8
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **ndzɻ**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.11
rGyalrong	tə **ndzɻ**	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.12
	tə **ndʐi**	hide; leather; skin	DAI Qingxia 1989d:8.2; DAI Qingxia 1989d:8.2.6
Caodeng	tə́-**ndʒi**	skin (n.)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ku n **dzɻ**	scalp	SUN Hongkai 1991k:2.8
rGyalrong (NW)	tə ku n **dzə**	scalp	SUN Hongkai 1991l:2.8
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə mtɕʰi **ndzɻ**	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.9
rGyalrong (NW)	tə mɲaŋ **ndʒə**	eyelid	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.4.1
	tə **ndʒə**	hide / leather (dried animal skin)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.2.6
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **ndzɻ**	hide / leather (dried animal skin)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.2.6
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ndzɻ**	hide; leather (dried animal skin); skin	SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.2; SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.2.6
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə ʃno **ndzɻ**	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.9
rGyalrong (NW)	tə ɕe **ndʒə**	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wu ʃan **dzɻ**	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.2
rGyalrong (NW)	ʁaju n **dʒə**	scales (of fish)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.2.5
rGyalrong	tA **Ndru**	skin	Nagano 1997:8.2
Shili	tə-**ndʒə**	skin (n.)	Sun 1997c
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***m-k-rəy**¹ SKIN / OUTER COVERING			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-k-rəy**¹	skin / outer covering	Matisoff 2003a:610
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	nut⁵⁵ **ɯ**⁵⁵	lip	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɑ³¹ **ɯ**⁵⁵	skin	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a³¹ **ʐɻ**⁵⁵	skin	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	a³¹**ʐɻ**⁵⁵	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.28
	a³¹**ʐɻ**⁵⁵	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.41
Achang (Luxi)	a³¹ **ɯ**³¹	skin	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	a³¹ **ʐɻ**⁵⁵	skin; skin (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:147; DAI Qingxia 1989f:315
	a³¹**ʐɻ**⁵⁵	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.29
	ŋ̊ut⁵⁵ **ʐɻ**⁵⁵	lip	DAI Qingxia 1989f:108
	ŋ̊ut⁵⁵**ʐɻ**⁵⁵	lip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.29
Arakanese	**-krì**	scale	Okell 1971
Bola	ŋə̌³¹ **kjɛʔ**⁵⁵	scales (fish)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:409
Bola (Luxi)	ŋə̌³¹**kjɛ̱ʔ**⁵⁵	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.32
Burmese (Modern)	a **re**³	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
Burmese (Rangoon)	ɑ⁵³**je**²²	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.27
	ɑ⁵³**tɕe**⁵⁵	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.27
	ɑ⁵³tθɑ⁵⁵ɑ⁵³**je**²²	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**-ceì**	scale	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken)	ă **ye**³	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ɑ tθɑ⁵⁵ ɑ **je**²²	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.40
Burmese (Written)	(pûn-)liŋ-**ʔəre**-prâ	foreskin	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	-kre:	scale	Okell 1971
	a **re**	skin	Marrison 1967
	a **riy**	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
	ə-**krê**	scales of fish	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**re**	skin (cf. ə-krê)	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ¹**kre**³	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.26
	ɑ¹**re**²	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.26
	ɑ¹thɑ³ɑ¹**re**²	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.39
	ɑ¹tθɑ³ɑ¹**re**²	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.26
	ʔû-khôŋ-**re**	scalp	Matisoff 1987
	ʔə-**krê**	scales (of fish)	Matisoff 1987
	ʔə-paw-sâ-**re**	epidermis, cuticle, scarfskin	Matisoff 1987
	ʔə-**re**	skin	Matisoff 1987
	ʔə-**re**-prâ	skin	Matisoff 1987
Danu	ă **ye**⁴	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
Hpun (Metjo)	ă **ʁih**¹	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
Hpun (Northern)	ă **ʁì'**, ă **ʁí'**	skin	Henderson 1986
Intha	**-cì**	scale	Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	ŋə̌³¹**kjɛ̱ʔ**⁵⁵	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.31
Lashi (Lachhe')	**yeɪ**⁴	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
Marma	ə **krí**	scale (of fish)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:317-2
Maru [Langsu]	ŋə̌³¹ **kjɛ̱ʔ**⁵⁵	scales (of fish)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.2.5
Taung-Yo	ă **ye**⁴	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
Tavoyan	**-ceì**	scale	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	ʃɔ⁴**we**²	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***re**¹	skin	Bradley 1979b:134
Lolopho	**dʐi**³³	skin	DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.2
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**gɯ**⁵⁵	hide; leather (dried animal skin); skin	CHEN Kang 1986a:48.; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.6
Lipho	**dzi**³³	skin	CHEN Kang 1986a:48.
	dzi³³tʂho³³	skin	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2
Nasu	**ndʐi**²¹	skin	CHEN Kang 1986a:48.
	n **dʐʰi**²¹	hide; leather; skin	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.6
Neisu	**ndʐi**²¹	skin	CHEN Kang 1986a:48.
Nesu	**dzɻ**⁵⁵	hide; leather (dried animal skin); skin	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.6
	dʐi²¹	skin	CHEN Kang 1986a:48.
Noesu	**ndʐi**²¹	skin	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2
Nosu	**ndʐi**³³	skin	CHEN Kang 1986a:48.
	ndʐɻ⁴⁴sɯ³³	skin	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2
Nusu (Bijiang)	khu³¹**ɹi**³⁵	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.45
Nusu (Central)	kh̲u⁵³**ɣɹi**³³	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.34
	kʰu³¹ **ɹi**³⁵	skin	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	kʰu³¹ **ɹi**³⁵	skin	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	kʰu̲³¹ **ɣˈi**³³	skin (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:315.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	kʰu̲³¹ **ɣˈi**³⁵	skin; skin (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:147.; DAI Qingxia 1989o:315.
Nusu (Central)	kʰu̲⁵³ **ɣˈi**³³	skin	DAI Qingxia 1989p:147.
Nusu (Northern)	kʰu⁵⁵ **ɻ**³¹	skin	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	mi¹³ **ndʐi**²¹	lip	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ndʐi²¹	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.22; CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Mile)	xo²¹**tɕi**³³	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dʐi**⁵⁵phi⁵⁵	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dʐi**³³	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.37
	xo²¹**dʐi**³³	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**gɯ**⁵⁵ tʂu̲²¹	skin	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	gɯ⁵⁵tʂu̲²¹	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.23

[a] Ersu **sɻ**⁵⁵ **mphɑ**⁵⁵ 'mouth'; **ndzo**⁵⁵ **pi**⁵⁵ 'skin'.
[b] Xumi **ɳ̊i**⁵⁵ and **ɕɑ̃**³³ 'mouth'.

[a] WB **pûn** 'hide (v.)'; **-liŋ-** is a borrowing from Sanskrit **lingam** 'private parts, penis'.

Yi (Weishan)	**gɯ^{55}**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.36
	xɑ^{21}**gɯ^{55}**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ntɕhi^{11}**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.38
	ɳtɕhi^{11}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.38
Yi (Xide)	bu^{55}-**tɕl^{55}**	lip	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	mi^{21}-**ndʑl^{33}**	lip	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ndʑl^{33}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.35
	ndʑl^{34}ʂɯ^{33}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.35
	ndʑl^{44}ʂɯ^{33}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.21
	n **dʑl^{34}**-ʂɯ^{33}	skin	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɳɔ^{33}-**ndʑl^{33}**	eyelid	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʐl^{21}mi^{55}	dirt / filth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0160.35
	ʐl^{21}-mi^{55}	dirt on skin	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	i^{33} **tɕi^{22}**	hide; leather (dried animal skin); skin	LUO Meizhen 1990:8.2; LUO Meizhen 1990:8.2.6
	nɐ^{33} **tɕi^{22}**	eyelid	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4.1
	ni^{21} **tɕi^{22}**	lip	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.9
	ni^{21} **tɕi^{22}** i^{33} tʻu^{33}ᵔɛ^{33} tʻi^{21} ʈo^{55}	lower lip	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.9.2
	ni^{21} **tɕi^{22}** o^{55} kʻɑ^{33} tʻi^{21} ʈo^{55}	upper lip	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.9.1
	o^{55} **tɕi^{22}**	scalp	LUO Meizhen 1990:2.8 [a]
Lolo (Ni)	**tchè**	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
Ahi	**tɕi^{2}**	skin	CHEN Kang 1986a:48.
	xo^{21}**tɕi^{22}**	skin	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	ŋɔ^{44} **kji^{44}**	scales	DAI Qingxia 1989h:433
Jinuo (Baka)	ŋ̊ɔ^{44} **kji^{44}**	scales	DAI Qingxia 1989i:433
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{44} **ki^{44}**	scales	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Nyi)	aw˪ **gui**˪ kʼu^{-}	skin	Bradley 1979a:134
**Common Lahu*	***gui**˪	skin	Bradley 1979b:134
Lahu	mì-**gɨ**	land	Benedict 1972:128
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**gɯ^{31}**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.43
Lahu (Black)	aw˪ **gui**˪	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
	mə̂-**gɨ**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-**gɨ**	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	mɯ^{53} **gɯ^{31}**	lip	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} **gɯ^{31}**	hide; skin	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.33
	ɔ̀-**gɨ**(-qú)	skin	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**gɨ**-mə̂	foreskin	Matisoff 1987 [b]
Lahu (Yellow)	mi^{2}**gɯ^{2}**	land	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɯ^{55} **gɯ^{31}**	lip	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} **gɯ^{31}**	hide; skin	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	aw˪ **geu**˪ kʼu^{-}	skin	Bradley 1979a:134
Lahu (Banlan)	aw˪ **gi**˪ ku^{-}	skin	Bradley 1979a:134
Lisu (Northern)	hwa^{21}**dʑi^{44}**	fur; leather; skin of an animal (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}**dʑi^{44}** ɔ^{55}tʃhu^{21}	fur hat	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}kɔ^{35}**dʑi^{44}**	skin of an animal	Bradley 1994
Lisu	hwa^{5}-**ji^{4}**	skin	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	hwa^{5}-**ji^{4}**	skin	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	hɔ^{21}bi^{44}**dʑi^{44}**	skin of flying squirrel	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ji^{4}**	skin	Bradley 1979b:134
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**ji^{4}**	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
Lisu	**ji^{4}**	skin	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**ji^{4}**	hide (skin of animal) (n.)	Fraser 1922
	ji^{4}	skin	Fraser 1922
Lisu	kaw^{3}-**ji^{4}**	skin	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	kaw^{3}-**ji^{4}**	skin	Fraser 1922
Lisu	kaw^{3}**ji^{4}**	lip	Bradley 1979b:95
Lisu (Nujiang)	ko^{35} **dʒi^{33}**	skin	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	ko^{35}**dʒi^{33}**	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.27
	ko^{35}**dʑi^{33}**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.40
Lisu (Northern)	kɔ^{35}**dʑi^{44}**	skin (N.)	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ma^{33}**dʑi^{44}**	tiger skin	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}**dʑi^{44}**	skin of river deer	Bradley 1994
Lisu	mrgh^{5}-lrghe^{2} kaw^{3}**ji^{4}**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	myá^{3} kaw^{3}-**ji^{4}**	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Nujiang)	mɯ^{31} lɯ^{35} ku^{35} **dʒi^{33}**	lip	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	tʃhʔ^{21}na^{55}**dʑi^{44}**	skin of wether	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	yi^{1}**dje^{4}**	skin	Luce 1985:S.16
Lisu (Northern)	ɣɔ^{44}ge^{33}**dʑi^{33}**	skin of lesser panda	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	qɤ^{55} **tsɥ^{33}**	skin	MA Xueliang 1989:332.3
Yi (Sani)	qɤ^{55}**tsž^{33}**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.39
	tsž^{33}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.39
Sani [Nyi]	**tsɥ^{33}**	skin	MA Xueliang 1989:348.5
	tʂi^{33}	skin; hide, skin	CHEN Kang 1986a:48.; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2; WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ŋ$_{ɪ}^{21}$ **tʂl^{33}**	cow hide	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:281.1
	ɪ^{21} pɪ^{33} qɤ^{55} **tʂl^{33}**	skin of belly	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:313.4

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Dazhai)	sa^{31} **gɯ^{55}**	skin	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.31
Hani (Lüchun)	sa^{31}**gɯ^{55}**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ^{31} **tɕi^{55}**	skin	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**tsi^{55}**	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.30
Hani (Shuikui)	ʃɔ^{31} **ts^{h}l^{55}**	skin	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ʃɔ^{31}**tshɯ^{55}**	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.32
Hani (Mojiang)	ʃɔ^{31}**kɯ^{55}**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.42
	ʃɔ^{31}**tshl^{55}**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.42

[a] Lit. "head-skin".
[b] Lahu **mə̂** 'tip'.

6.2. NAXI

Naxi (Western)	**ɣɯ^{33}**	skin	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**ɣɯ^{33}**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ɣɯ^{33}**phi^{31}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**ɣɯ^{13}**	skin	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɣɯ^{13}**	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.29

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**tɕui^{33}** qɑ^{44}	skin	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	tɕui^{33}qɑ^{55}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.37

(2) PTB * $\frac{s}{r}$ -kawk ≍ * $\frac{s}{r}$ -kwak OUTER COVERING / SKIN / BARK / RIND

See ***kok** *STC* #342 and n. 229. The allofam with medial labial is reconstructed on the basis of the Chourasya, Thulung, and rGyalrong forms. The **r-** prefix is reconstructed based on the rGyalrong forms. The initial reflexes of this etymon vary from **k-** to **h-**.

The WB form cannot descend from the variant with medial ***-wa-**, since that would have given WB **-wa-**.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***khwak**	skin / leather	Coblin 1986:134

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(r-)kwâk**	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	***(r-)kwə̂k**	leather	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:774i
	***kok**	outer covering; bark (n.); rind; skin; bark	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1226a; Weidert 1987:170; Mortensen 2012
	***kok**	outer covering / bark / rind / skin (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:596
	***kok**	bark; covering (outer); skin, bark, rind	Matisoff 1983:33; Benedict 1972:342
	***kwâk**	skin / leather	Coblin 1986:134
	***r-kwa(:)k**	outer covering	Matisoff 2003a:596

1.1.1. TANI: ***kruk** OUTER COVERING

**Tani*	***kruk**	outer covering	Sun 1993a:285

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	(a-lo) ja-**k^{h}rju**	skeleton	Sun 1993b
	a-ji pa-**k^{h}rju**	shell	Sun 1993b
	à-**xu**	skin (of seed)	Sun 1993b
	dī-**k^{h}rju**	skull	Sun 1993b
	pà-pu pa-**xu**	egg shell	Sun 1993b
	pa-**xrju**	outer covering	Sun 1993a [a]
	pa-**xu**	egg shell	Sun 1993b
	tà-no pà-**xu**	snail shell	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ka-**kuk**	outer covering	Sun 1993a [b]
	siŋ-pin **kuk**-lin	peel (e.g. bark)	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-pin **kuk**-lu:	peel and fall off	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-siŋ ka-**kuk**	bark	Sun 1993b
Galo	a **kuk**	bark (of tree); skin (of fruit) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a **kuk**	shell; bark	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	pɨ **kuk**	eggshell (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta mul-mul **kuk**	betelnut husk (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ **kuk**	bark (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'əə-a **kuk**	bamboo husk (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**huk** tu	leather coat armour	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Milang	a **cuk**	bark	Tayeng 1976
	a **cuk** lu-pe-ge-ma	peel	Tayeng 1976

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	**hok^{1}/hoʔ^{3}**	skin (v.)	Bhaskararao 1994
	ho:k^{1}	skin (v.)	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Moyon	mìk **kòʔ**	eyelid	Kosha 1990:3.4.1

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**òk**-rèng	hide / leather	Grüssner 1979:34

1.7.1.1. BODO

Kokborok	**k^{h}oʔ**	peel	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**khok-**	remove (skin, bark, peel, dress etc.) (v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	mjiʔ^{31} **kǫ^{33}** mun^{33}	eyebrow	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	myìʔ **kaw**	brow ridge; supraorbital ridge	Matisoff 1987
	myìʔ **kaw**-mun	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987

2. HIMALAYISH

Chourasya	**kwak**	leather	Matisoff 1987
	kwak-te	skin	Coblin 1986:134
	kwak-te/**kok**-te	skin	Benedict 1972:74n229

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	**xhaʔ^{55}** baʔ^{55}	skin	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.2
	xhaʔ^{55} tsha^{53}	blemish on skin	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.2.3
Tibetan (Jirel)	**kok**-tenq	skin	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Written)	**kog**-pa	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	phyi-**kog**	bark	Benedict 1972:342 [c]
	skog-pa	shell / rind	Weidert 1987:170
	skog-pa ≍ **kog**-pa	skin, bark, rind	Benedict 1972:342

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***kak**	skin, bark	Opgenort 2011
	***kok**	skin	Michailovsky 1991:157
Kharmile	sa **ko**	skin	Weidert 1987:170

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	**hok** wa	skin, bark	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**hok**-rik	skin	Matisoff 1987
	ho: rik	skin, bark; skin	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:157
	hɔk	skin (of a nut, inside the shell); skin (of a nut, inside shell), sheath	Michailovsky 1991:157; Driem 1988
	[ho: rik pa]	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	[ho: riʔ pa]	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	[hu rik]	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	[hu riʔ]	skin	Weidert 1987:170

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	(u-)**hok** wa	skin	Weidert 1987:170

[a] [Source Note] 'shell'.
[b] [Source Note] 'dried bark'.
[c] WT **phyi** 'outside'.

	(u-)**hoʔ** wa	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	hok-wa	skin	Rai *et al.* 1984:29
	houʔ-wa	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	hoʔ-wa	skin; bark	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:157; Rai 1985
	sa-**hok** wa	leather	Rai *et al.* 1984:62
Chamling	**hu** lep pa	skin	Winter 1985:15
Kulung	so **go**	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	so **ko** warə	skin	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**kok**-te	skin	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:342; Michailovsky 1991:157
	kɔk tɛ	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	siŋ-**kok**-te	bark (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	siŋ-**kok**-te	bark	Benedict 1972:74n229
Hayu	**kuk** tsho	skin, bark, husk, peel (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.198
	kuk tsho	skin	Michailovsky 1991:157; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**kok**-	strip <peel>	Allen 1975
	kok-å te	skin	Matisoff 1987
	kok sa	skin on heated milk, crust on cooked food	Allen 1975
	kok te	skin; skin, bark, peel	Michailovsky 1991:157; Allen 1975
	kwok-si/**kok**-si	skin	Benedict 1972:74n229
	kɔk tɛ	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	si **kok** te	lip	Allen 1975
	sī **ko** kaʔ te	lip	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	mp^{h} sɿ^{5} ^{5}ɦə^{ɹ33} **qu**^{55}	lip	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.9
Qiang (Longxi)	ɹà **qá**	skin (v.)	Evans 1999:1648
Qiang (Mianchi)	ʐ̥á **qà**	skin (v.)	Evans 1999:1648
Qiang (Yadu)	zde **ku̥**	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989q:111
Xumi	**ɣɐ**^{35}	skin	Sun Hongkai 1991m

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	tə mbu **r̥q^{h}u**	foreskin	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.3.3
	tə rme ə **r̥q^{h}u**	skin	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tʃi wjo wu **r̥k^{h}o**	scales (of fish)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.2.5
rGyalrong	we **rkhwak**	skin (its-); its skin	Benedict 1972:74n229; Coblin 1986:134

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-guk**^{L}	outer covering / bark / rind / skin (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:596
	***ʔguk**	outer covering / bark / skin / peel	Matisoff 1972b:71(b)
	***ʔkuk**	outer covering / bark / skin / peel	Matisoff 1972b:71(a)
	***ʔkuk/ʔguk**	skin (n.)	Matisoff 1972b:71

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	ɑ^{31} **khok**^{55}	scales	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola	nɔ̱t^{55} **ka̱uʔ**	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989g:108
Bola (Luxi)	nɔ̱t^{55}**ka̱uʔ**^{55}	lip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.32
Bola	ʃă^{35} **ka̱uʔ**^{55}	skin; skin (human or animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:147; Dai Qingxia 1989g:315
Bola (Luxi)	ʃă^{35}**ka̱uʔ**^{55}	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	n̥oʔ^{4}**khã**^{55}	lip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	n̥oʔ^{44}**khã**^{55}	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.40
Burmese (Written)	-**khauk**	skin	Benedict 1972:74n229
	a **khauk**	skin, bark, rind	Benedict 1972:342
	ə **khauk**	skin	Weidert 1987:170
Langsu (Luxi)	na̱t^{55}**ka̱uk**^{55}	lip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.31
	ʃɔ̆^{35}**ka̱uk**^{55}	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.31
Lashi	mjɔʔ^{31} **ku̱k**^{55}	eyelid	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.4.1
	nua̱t^{55} **ku̱k**^{55}	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.9
	ʃŏ^{55} **ku̱k**^{55}	skin	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.2
	ʃə̆^{55} **ku̱k**^{55}	hide / leather	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.2.6
Leqi (Luxi)	nua̱t^{55}**ku̱k**^{55}	lip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.33
	sə̆^{55}**kuk**^{55}	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.33
	ʃŏ^{55}**ku̱k**^{55}	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.33
Maru [Langsu]	na̱t^{55} **ka̱uk**^{55}	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.9; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.43
	thɔʔ^{55} na̱t^{55} **ka̱uk**^{55}	upper lip	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.9.1
	ɔ^{31} na̱t^{55} **ka̱uk**^{55}	lower lip	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.9.2
	ʃɔ̆^{35} **ka̱uk**^{55}	hide / leather	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.2.6
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ku̱ʔ**^{55}	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.30
	nu̱t^{55} **ku̱ʔ**^{55}	lip	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	nu̱t^{55}**ku̱ʔ**^{55}	lip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.30
	nu̱t^{55}**ku̱ʔ**^{55}	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.42
	ʃŏ^{21} **ku̱ʔ**^{55}	skin	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ʃŏ^{21}**ku̱ʔ**^{55}	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.30
	ʃŏ^{21}**ku̱ʔ**^{55}	skin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:266.42

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	me̱^{44} **kɯ**^{55} phæ^{33}	eyebrow	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.4.3 [a]
PNL	**ʔkuk**/ʔguk	skin	Chen Kang 1986a:48.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	ji^{31} tsɿ^{33} sa^{31} **khɯ**^{55}	scalp	Dai Qingxia 1989c:2.8 [b]
	sa^{21} **khɯ**^{55}	skin	Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.2
	sa^{31}**khɯ**^{55}	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.47
	ŋa^{21} **khɯ**^{55}	scales (of fish)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:8.2.5
	ŋa^{31}**khɯ**^{55}	scale (Nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.47
Lalo	àːǹ-**khyq**	scale (fish)	Björverud 1994
Nasu	na̱^{21} **ko̱**^{21}	eyelid	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.1
Nesu	n̥ɪ̱^{33} **kɣ̱**^{33}	eyelid	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.1
Nusu (Central)	**khu̱**^{53}ɣɹi^{33}	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.34
	k^{h}u^{31} ɹi^{35}	skin	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**k^{h}u**^{31} ɹi^{35}	skin	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**k^{h}u̱**^{31} sɿ^{31}	scales	Dai Qingxia 1989o:409.
Nusu (Central)	**k^{h}u̱**^{31} ɣ^{ɹ}i^{33}	skin (animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:315.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**k^{h}u̱**^{31} ɣ^{ɹ}i^{35}	skin; skin (animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:147.; Dai Qingxia 1989o:315.
Nusu (Central)	**k^{h}u̱**^{53} ɣ^{ɹ}i^{33}	skin	Dai Qingxia 1989p:147.
Nusu (Northern)	**k^{h}u**^{55} ɹɿ^{31}	skin	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Xide)	bu̱^{33}-**ku̱**^{33}	scales (fish); skin	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	hɯ^{33}-bu̱^{33}-**ku̱**^{33}	scales	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	hɯ^{33}bu̱^{33}**ku̱**^{33}	scale (Nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.35

[a]See the similar Newar form **mi khā phu si**.
[b]Gazhuo **ji**^{31} **tsɿ**^{33} 'head'.

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **k^{h}o**^{31}	skin; skin (animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:150; Dai Qingxia 1989h:331
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{44} **k^{h}u**^{31}	skin (animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:331
Jinuo (Buyuan)	mi^{44} **k^{h}u**^{44}	lip	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	mø^{44} **k^{h}o**^{31}	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989h:111
Jinuo (Youle)	m̥ø^{44} **k^{h}o**^{42}	lip	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	m̥ø^{44} **k^{h}u**^{31}	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989i:111
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{44} **k^{h}o**^{42}	skin	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{44} **k^{h}u**^{44}	skin	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Nyi)	aw˯ gui˯ **k'u**ˉ	skin	Bradley 1979a:134
Lahu	ɔ̀-**qú**	bark	Benedict 1972:342
Lahu (Black)	làʔ-šɛ̄-**qú**	fingernail	Matisoff 1987
	mɛʔ^{54} **qɣ̩**^{35} mɣ̩^{33}	eyebrow	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛ̂ʔ-**qú**-mu	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	tō-làʔ-**qú** ~ tɔ̄-làʔ-**qú**	wing	Matisoff 1988a:640
	ɔ̀-gì(-**qú**)	skin	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Bakeo)	aw˯ geu˯ **k'u**ˉ	skin	Bradley 1979a:134
Lahu (Banlan)	aw˯ gi˯ **ku**ˉ	skin	Bradley 1979a:134
Lisu	**kaw**^{3}ji^{4}	lip	Bradley 1979b:95
	mrgh^{5}-lrghe^{2} **kaw**^{3}ji^{4}	lip	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Nujiang)	mɯ^{31} lɯ^{35} **ku**^{35} dʒi^{33}	lip	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	ne^{33} **qɤ**^{55}	eyelid	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:95.1; Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	a-**k'o** H-HS	peel / shell	Matisoff 1972b:71(a)
	aˇ-**k'o**ˆ	skin of fruit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	baq-**xoq**	skin	Matisoff 1972b:71(a)
	baˆ **k'o**ˆ	skin, bark	Lewis 1989
Bisu	aŋ **khɔ**	skin	Beaudouin 1988:15
	khɔ̄	outer covering / bark / skin / peel	Matisoff 1972b:71(a)
	ʔaŋ **khɔ**	skin	Bradley 1979b
Hani (Dazhai)	(mja̱^{33}) mja̱^{33} **xo̱**^{33}	eyelid	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Caiyuan)	me^{31} **k^{h}ɣ̩̄**^{33}	lip	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	ɕa^{31} **xo**^{33}	skin	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**ʃɔ**^{31} ts^{h}ɿ^{55}	skin	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Mpi	ʔɑ^{2}**khoʔ**^{4}	skin; hide	Bradley 1979b; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **khɔ45**	skin	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131003
Sangkong	maŋ^{31} **qho̱**^{33}	lip	Li Yongsui 1991
Sila	a21 **khɔ̰33**	skin	Kato Takashi 2008:2
Ugong	**kə̣ʔ̣**	skin	Bradley 1993:8.2

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Southern Muji	ɛ^{21}**ko**^{21}	skin	Pelkey 2011:308

7. Karenic

Bwe	-**kó**	outer covering, skin, shell (n.)	Henderson 1997
	-phe-**kó**	skin, outer covering (n.)	Henderson 1997
	-phe-**kú**	skin, outer covering (n.)	Henderson 1997
Pa-O	thɔ́ʔ **khɔ̀k**	skin of pig, pig hide	Solnit 1989 [a]

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kɛk**	skin, hide, take away	Benedict 1972:74n229
	kɛk/kɛk	skin, hide	Karlgren 1957:931a-b
	k'wâk	leather	Chou Fa-kao 1972:774i
Chinese (Old)	**k'wâk**	leather	Matisoff 1983:33
	khwak	skin / leather	Coblin 1986:134
	kɛk	hide / skin / (flay / peel) / take away (n.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:931a-b
	kɛk	hide, skin	Matisoff 1983:33

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**khwâk**	leather	Coblin 1986:134

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**ko**	skin, hide	Karlgren 1957:931a-b

[a]Pa-O **khɔ̀k** likely a borrowing from Burmese **khauk** 'skin'. Pa-O has glottal stop as the regular reflex of all proto-Karen final stops. Pa-O final oral stops occur largely (though not entirely) in loans from Shan and Burmese.

Chinese comparanda

革 OC ***kɛk**, *GSR* #931a-b 'hide, skin'; WHB-OC #1325; Li 1971: ***krək**; Baxter 1992: ***krɨk** > Mand. **gé** 'leather'.

The reconstructed PTB form has a rounded element, reflected either in the main vowel (***o**) or in the medial (***w**). The Chinese form must be reconstructed without a rounded element. The correspondences of initial consonant, main vowel, and final consonant are regular (including the vowel correspondence PTB ***a** : OC ***ə**).

Generally, we expect to see OC medial ***-r-** corresponding to PTB ***-r-**. However, there are some proposed cognates in which PTB prefixal ***r-** before velars appears to correspond to medial ***-r-** in OC, for example PTB ***r-kang** 'shin': OC 胻 ***grangs** 'shinbone', Mand. **héng** (for more details, see Handel 2009:188, 190-1). Whether this indicates that metathesis has taken place in one or both languages, or that additional variants of the root existed, is not clear.

鞹 OC ***k'wâk**, *GSR* #774h-i 'leather'; Coblin 86:134 ST ***khwak** > OC ***khwak**; Schuessler 2007:341 ***khwâk**; B & S 2011: (***k^{wh}ˤak**); Mand. **kuò**.

(3) PTB *kur ⋉ *kwar SKIN

Bodo-Garo has developed voiced initials in this root, and also shows its typical medial ***-u-** ⋉ ***-i-** alternation, leading to a possible Proto Bodo-Garo reconstruction ***gul** ⋉ ***gil**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***koːr**	peel / husk	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:596

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**kóor**	skin	Weidert 1987:170

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	ʔə **kór**	peel	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.040

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***kor** BARK

**Tangkhulic*	***kor**	bark	Mortensen 2012:519
Huishu	ʔa-t^{h}ɐŋ-**ku**	bark (of tree)	Mortensen 2012:Plants.025
Tangkhul	a **kor**, thing **kor**	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	kor	skin	Bhat 1969:96
Ukhrul	t^{h}iŋ-**kor**	bark	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Barish (East)*	***khoon**	skin	Weidert 1987:170

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	bi?-**gur**	skin	Matisoff 1987
	bi **gúr**	skin, bark	Bhat 1968
	bi **gur**	skin; bark	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	bi **gúr?**	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	gu slay	leave off slough (snake); change the color of the; change the color of skin (children) (v.)	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
	gu slay	slough (snake), change color of skin	Matisoff 1985a:069
	mu sú **gur**	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
Dimasa	bu **gur**	skin	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	bə-**ku**	skin	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**kur**	skin	Balawan 1965:22
	kur le da	skin (n.)	Balawan 1965:89
	mo **kun**	eyelid	Balawan 1965:39
Meche	biŋ **gur**	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	bi **gur**	skin	Weidert 1987:170

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	an? **gil**	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	bi-**gir**	skin	Matisoff 1987
	bi **gil**	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	mik-**gir**	eye / eyelid	Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	bi-**gil**	leather; skin (n.)	Burling 2003:6.29-II:idx
	gil-chrak-a	peel (vt.)	Burling 2003:8.953-II:idx
	gil-gok-a	peel (vi.)	Burling 2003:8.953-II:idx
	gil-si-ri-a	peel; shed skin (vt.)	Burling 2003:4.482-II:idx
	mik-**gil**	eyelid	Burling 1992
	mik-**gil**	eyelid (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**kar-**	peel off (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	kor	skin	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***Ç-k^{h}uar** SKIN

**Northern Naga*	*Ç-**k^{h}uar**	skin	French 1983:549

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	a **k^{h}uon**	bark; skin	French 1983:549; French 1983:549
	a **khuon**	skin	Marrison 1967
	k^{h}o-wan	skin	French 1983:549
	^{1}khoΛn	skin	Weidert 1987:170

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**khon**	skin	Marrison 1967
	khowun	leather	Marrison 1967
	kòn	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	k^{h}o an	leather	French 1983:549
	k^{h}o un	leather	French 1983:549
	k^{h}o wun	leather	French 1983:549
	k^{h}on	skin, bark, leather	French 1983:549
Khiamngan	**^{1}kun**	skin	Weidert 1987:170
Konyak	**šo**	skin	French 1983:549
Phom	p^{h}ai **šu**	leather	French 1983:549
	shu	skin	Marrison 1967
	šu	skin	French 1983:549
Wancho	**kan**	skin	Marrison 1967; French 1983:549
	kuon	skin	French 1983:549

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	chaṅ **khŭl**	womb (child-skin)	Matisoff 1987
	khŭl(h)	skin (of sheep, goats, birds) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	khŭl(h)	skin of sheep, goats, birds	Matisoff 1987
	khŭl khōmig‘	skin (vt.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**khàl**	hide / leather (dried animal s	Sharma 1991b:8.2.6
	k^{h}əl	skin	Sharma 1982

Chinese comparandum

糠 OC ***k’ângs**, *GSR* #746n-o ‘husk, chaff’; Schuessler 2007:332 ***khâŋ**; Mand. **kāng**.

(4) PTB *p^{w} i/u l/n SKIN

Like other roots reconstructed with ***p^{w}-**, the reflexes of this etymon vary between labial stops and **w-**, **v-**, or zero initial.[*] This root also shows the widespread Tibeto-Burman patterns of variation between medial **-i-** and **-u-**, and between final **-l** and **-n**.

A key doublet justifying this reconstruction are the Lushai (Mizo) forms **pil** and **vun**, both cited in Marrison 1967:233.

The Sunwar forms with initial **s-** and final **-l** (**’ku-*sul*** ‘skin’, ***’sul*-cā** ‘feel (by touch)’, **kru*sul*** ‘bark (of tree)’, **ku*sul* ’u:-cā** ‘skin’) might also be related, if we assume an intermediate form like ****s-wul**. Cf. also French’s (1983) Proto-Northern-Naga reconstructions ***wur** SKIN and ***swun** FLESH.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pun ≍ pin**	skin	Matisoff 2003a:607
	***p^{w}ul ≍ p^{w}il**	skin	Matisoff 2003a:608
	***wul ≍ wun**	skin	Matisoff 2003a:619
	***?ul**	skin	Matisoff 2003a:583

1.1.1. Tani: ***puɯn** SKIN

**Tani*	***puɯn**	skin (n.)	Sun 1993a:366

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	a-**pin**	skin (n.)	Sun 1993a
	a-**pin**	skin	Sun 1993b
	a-**pin** di	skin (v.)	Sun 1993b
	a-**pin** si-puɯ	sheepskin boat	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-**pin**	bark	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-**pin** kuk-lin	peel (e.g. bark)	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-**pin** kuk-lu:	peel and fall off	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-siŋ a-**pin**	bark	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(a **pin**)dɯ	shell (peanuts) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1143.24
	a **pin**	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.24
	a-mə a-**pin**	husk	Sun 1993b
	a-**pin**	skin (n.)	Sun 1993a
	a-**pin**	skin	Sun 1993b
	dum **pin**	baldhead (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0205.24
	mik-**pin**	eyelid	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-sɯŋ ə-**pin**	bark (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **pin**	skin; hide, leather	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:266.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	mik **pin**	eyelid	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **pin**	skin	Das Gupta 1963
	dum po-a **pin**	scalp	Das Gupta 1963
	‘a **pin**	skin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘bin **pin**	goatskin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘buu **pin**	ratskin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘dum **pin**	barking deer skin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ho dum-‘a **pin**	deerskin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ho **pin**	mithun skin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ho tə-‘tə **pin**	elephant skin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘kii **pin**	dogskin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘men **pin**	tiger skin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ram **pin**	otter skin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘rok **pin**	chicken skin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘rək **pin**	pigskin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘tum **pin**	bearskin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ə **pin**	cowhide; leather (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘ɲo **pin**	tiger skin; skin (tiger) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘ɲik **pin**	eyelid (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	e **pin**	bark	Simon 1976
	sʏn-e **pin**	bark	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **pin**	skin	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **pin**	skin; bark (of plant)	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
	a **puɯn**	skin	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	mik **pin**-la	close (eye)	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **pan**	skin; skin covering the helmet	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	min^{55} **uŋ^{35}**	eyelid	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	uŋ^{35}	skin	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	uŋ^{35}	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.23
	uŋ^{35}	skin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:266.48

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***wun** SKIN (n.) / LEATHER

**Chin*	***wun**	SKIN / LEATHER (n.)	VanBik 2009:1169
Chinbok	**vun**	skin	Matisoff 1987
Khoibu	**un**	skin	Brown 1837

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**vun**	hide; leather (dried animal skin); skin	Haokip 1998:8.2; Haokip 1998:8.2.6
Sizang	a **vun**	skin, leather	VanBik 2009:1169
Thado	**vûn**	skin (generic)	VanBik 2009:1169
	vún	skin	Thirumalai 1972:47
Tiddim	sa-**vun**	skin	Matisoff 1987
	vun^{1}	skin, leather (hide); skin	VanBik 2009:1169; Bhaskararao 1996:1969

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	u-**ün˝**	skin	VanBik 2009:1169
Chinbon	**wïn**	skin	So-Hartmann 1988:99
Cho (Mindat)	**vun**	skin (living being only)	VanBik 2009:1169
Daai	**wún**	skin	VanBik 2009:1169
	wún	skin	So-Hartmann 1988:99
Matu	**vin**	skin	So-Hartmann 1988:99
Mkaang	**vïn**	skin	So-Hartmann 1988:99
Ngmüün	**vïn**	skin	So-Hartmann 1988:99
Nyhmoye	**wun**	skin	So-Hartmann 1988:99

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**vûn**	skin	VanBik 2009:1169
Lai (Falam)	**vún**	skin	VanBik 2009:1169
Lushai [Mizo]	mit-**vun**	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	pil	skin	Marrison 1967:233
	vun	skin	Marrison 1967:233; Matisoff 1987
	vŭn	skin	VanBik 2009:1169
	vun	skin	Bhaskararao 1996:1969

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	mo-**vo**	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	sā-**vó**	skin, hide, leather	VanBik 2009:1169
	sah-**vo**	skin	Matisoff 1987
	vo	skin	Matisoff 1987
	za-**vo**	foreskin (”penis-skin”)	Matisoff 1987
	za-**vo**-tai	circumcision	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Kom Rem	ǰəŋ **vun**	foreskin (”penis-skin”)	Toba & Kom 1991:10.3.3
	lu **vun**	scalp	Toba & Kom 1991:2.8
	mit **vun**	eyelid	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.1
	sə **vun**	hide / leather (dried animal skin)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.2.6
	vun	skin	Toba & Kom 1991:8.2
Moyon	**vin**	skin	Kosha 1990:8.2

1.3. “Naga” Areal Group

Maring	**un**, **wun**	skin	Marrison 1967
	wun	skin	Brown 1837

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	**mun**	skin	Marrison 1967 [a]

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***hol** SKIN / BARK

**Tangkhulic*	***hol**	skin / bark	Mortensen 2012:506
Champhung	a-**hul**	skin	Brown 1837
Huishu	?a-**hɐŋ**	skin; scales (of fish)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.029
Tankghul (Central)	o-**hoi**	skin	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-**huɯ**	skin	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	a-**hui**	skin	Brown 1837
Tusom	?ɯ-**xui**	skin	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.229
Ukhrul	sa-**huj**	animal skin	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	sə **un**	hide / leather	Singh 1991:8.2.6
	ul	skin	Matisoff 1987
	un, **un** sa	skin	Marrison 1967
	un sa	skin	Singh 1991:8.2

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***s-wun ≍ *wur** SKIN / FLESH

**Northern Naga*	*Ç-**swun**	calf (of leg)	French 1983:466
	***swun**	flesh	French 1983:489; French 1983:p. 489
	***wur**	skin / flesh	French 1983:549

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	na **van**	earlobe	French 1983:480
	na **wan**	lobe of the ear	French 1983:549
Tangsa (Moshang)	ya **vuin**	calf (of leg); calf	French 1983:466; French 1983:489; Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	you **šan**	calf (of leg); calf	French 1983:466; French 1983:489
	you **šun**	calf (of leg)	French 1983:466
	you **shan**	calf (of leg)	Marrison 1967
	yʌu-**šón**	calf (leg)	Weidert 1987:546

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	nè?-**ūm**	foreskin / prepuce	Matisoff 1974:126 [b]

[a] Rare nasal reflex of PTB ***p^{w}(i/u)(l/n)** SKIN (§1.6.5) labial initial.
[b] Final nasal in Jingpho **-ūm** perhaps result of assimilation to preceding round vowel.

[*] See Matisoff 2000, “An Extrusional Approach to ***p-/w-** Variation in Sino-Tibetan.”

2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**phon**	skin	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	’ku-**sul**	skin	Matisoff 1987
	’sul-cā	feel (by touch) (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.51
	kru **sul**	bark (of tree) (n.)	Hale 1973:01.027
	ku **sul** ’u:-cā	skin (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.31
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	narʔ **pun**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	nərʔ **pun**	lip	Caughley 1972:2.A.25
	pun	skin	Matisoff 1987
	pun	skin, bark, outer covering (natural) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	pun	skin	Caughley 1972:1.28
Chepang (Eastern)	mik **pun**	eyelid	Caughley 1990:3.4.1
	nərʔ **pun**	lip	Caughley 1990:3.9
	pun	skin	Caughley 1990:8.2
Kham	**ol**-ko-tā	skin	Matisoff 1987
	ol ko ta	skin	Watters & Watters 1989:1.28
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	ˈ**uɛ** piɛ	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.08
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**wu** scçon	blemish on skin	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.2.3
	wu ʃan dʐi	skin	Sun Hongkai 1991j:8.2
4. Nungic			
Dulong	**pɯn**^{55}	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.20
Trung [Dulong]	šia^{42} **pun**^{44}	skin	Matisoff 1987
	ɑŋ^{31}**pŭn**^{55}	skin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:266.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ɑŋ^{31} **pŭn**^{55}	skin	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ʨɑ^{55} **pɯn**^{55}	leather, hide	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɑŋ^{31} **pin**^{53}	skin	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

(5) PTB *s-graw SKIN / OUTER COVERING

See *STC* #121. (This root was inadvertently omitted from *HPTB*.)

STC #121 assigns the first syllable of WT **gro-ga** ‘thin bark of birch tree’ to this etymon, but Gong (2001:28) considers it rather to reflect PTB ***grwa** BIRCH (§3.1.1).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-graw**	bark of willow; skin	Benedict 1972:121
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	wa: ci **kru**	skin (dry, over sores)	NEFA (India) 1963
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	a **kru**	skin	French 1983:549; Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**śəgrau**	outer skin, as of fruit	Benedict 1972:121
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**dʑo**	feather, quill	Sun 1985a:776
	ʨær **dʑo**	feather	Sun 1985a:71
	^{n}go **dʑo**	hair (on the head)	Sun 1985a:338
Tibetan (Written)	bya.**sgro**	feather	Sun 1985c:71
	mgo.**sgro**	hair (on the head)	Sun 1985c:338
	sgro-ba	bark of willow; skin	Benedict 1972:121
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**kryu**	skin	Matisoff 1987 [a]
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**Tuh**-bi	skin	Matisoff 1987
Gurung	**Tuh** bi plā:bāq	skin (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.31
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ʈuh** bi	skin	Glover 1972:1.28
	ʈu hbi pla: baq	skin (v.)	Glover 1972:3.B.31
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Dolakhali)	**chyɔu** ri	skin / bark	Genetti 1990b
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	kuk **tsho**	skin	Michailovsky 1991:157; Matisoff 1987
7. Karenic			
Palaychi	**shzù**	skin	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:554

[a] Lepcha medial **-y-** frequently descends from prefixal **s-** (***s-kru**). See Benedict 1943, “Secondary infixation in Lepcha.”

(6) PTB *d(y)al LIP / SKIN

See *HPTB* pp. 405-6.

The final liquid in this root is well-attested: directly in Mizo, Garo, Khaling, and Tangut, and indirectly by Jingpho final **-n**.

The first syllables of a pair of forms from the North Assam group (Darang ***thɯ^{55}*** **no^{55}**, Idu ***tia^{35}*** **ndze^{55}** ‘lip’) look rather like the reflexes of this etymon, but they appear to represent a body part prefix which occurs in several other words related loosely to MOUTH: Darang **t^{h}ɯ^{31} liɯŋ^{53} nɑ^{35}** ‘tongue’, **t^{h}ɯ^{31} ɹɯm^{53} m̥^{55}** ‘beard’, **t^{h}ɯ^{31} tiɑ^{55}** ‘chin’, Idu **tia^{35}pɹa^{35}** ‘tooth’.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***d(y)al**	lip	Matisoff 2003a:587
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**dal**	skin	Matisoff 1987
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	cha mun **tai**	lip	Marrison 1967
Maram	ka **tei**	lip	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	khu **jer**	lip	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	ka’-ma-ni ku’-**chil**	lower lip	Burling 1992
	ku’-**chil**	lip	Burling 1992
	ku▪-**chil**	lip (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx
	ri-ku-**chil**	foreskin	Burling 1992
	sak-a-ni ku’-**chil**	upper lip	Burling 1992
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	khu▪ **chul**	lip (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	ning **ten**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	ṅ-**tēn**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	n̥^{31} **tn̥^{33}**	lip	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	n **ten**	lip	Marrison 1967
	sai len n-**ten**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	shing **ten**	lip	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	chhyo **chyā**	lip	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	kon **de**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	mu kon **de**	lower lip	Matisoff 1987
	thāŋ kon **de**	upper lip	Matisoff 1987
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	do si **ja**	lip	Matisoff 1987
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	kwām to **tar**	lip	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	kok-**te**	skin	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:342
Thulung	kok-å **te**	skin	Matisoff 1987
	si kok **te**	lip	Allen 1975
	sī ko kaʔ **te**	lip	Matisoff 1987
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**dɑr**	skin	Dai Qingxia 1989e:8.2
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	**dʐa** pi	hide / leather (dried animal s	Sun Hongkai 1991g:8.2.6
	ɣdʑæ(aʔ)^{ɪ}	lip	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.9
	ɣdʑɑ:^{ɪ}	lip	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	dʒə^{33} **dʒua^{33}**	skin	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.2
Ergong (Danba)	dʐi **dʐa**	skin	Sun Hongkai 1991b:8.2
Ergong (Daofu)	huə **dʐa**	scalp	Dai Qingxia 1989b:2.8
	rədɔ **tɕa**	hide / leather	Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.2.6
Ergong (Northern)	ʁo^{53} dʐi^{33} **dʐua^{33}**	scalp	Sun Hongkai 1991c:2.8
Ergong (Daofu)	ʔmaɪ **dʐa**	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.9

(7a) PTB *kwap SKIN / LIP / SCALES (fish) / SHELL

This etymon is probably related to PTB ***(g/k)wap** HATCH / INCUBATE / COVER (§6.13). Cf. e.g. Ao (Chungli) **si küp** ‘skin’, **küp bang** ‘cover (v.)’. Jingpho **ǹ-gùp** ‘mouth’, despite its resemblance to Kaman **gùp** ‘skin’ and a possible semantic connection with LIP, is only a remote candidate for relationship.

In several putative cognates (see Yakha, Achang, and perhaps Ahi and Lolopho) this etymon means ‘scales of fish’.

See also PTB ***krap** SHELL / SHIELD (§1.6.5) for a phono-semantically similar but probably distinct root.

1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**gùp**	skin	Weidert 1987:170
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao group): ***kəp** SKIN / COVER (n.)			
**Central Naga*	***kəp**	SKIN / COVER (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.155
**Ao*	*t-**kəp**	SKIN, RIND, SHELL	Bruhn 2014a:II.068
Ao (Chungli)	si **küp**	skin	Marrison 1967
	te **kap**	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	tə^{3}-**kəp^{3}**	skin, rind, shell (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.068
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	sung **kap**	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	tü **kap**	skin	Marrison 1967
	wa na **kap**	husk (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	hŋa-**kəp**	fish scale (n.)	Coupe 2007
	paŋ-**kəp**	lip (n.)	Coupe 2007
	səŋ-**kəp**	bark (’wood’ + ’skin’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**kəp**	rind (skin); skin (n.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**-kəp^{2}**	cover (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.155
	tʃo^{3}-**kəp^{2}**	shoe (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.155
	cho **ko**	shell	Marrison 1967
	mén̰ **kēp** >	beak	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	a **küp**	skin	Kumar 1973a
	jing **khüm**	shoe (n.)	Marrison 1967
	kep	skin	Marrison 1967
	pe **küp**	lip	Marrison 1967
	shu **küp**	leather	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	ta **kap**	skin	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**küp**	skin	Kumar 1973b:38
	shi **küp**	leather	Marrison 1967
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***go:p**	shell	French 1983:544
	***k^{h}o:p**	lip	French 1983:515
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	t^{h}un **k^{h}uap**	lip	French 1983:515
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**kop**	shell; shell (used of any hard covering of animals or plants)	Marrison 1967; French 1983:544
	ñek **kop**	eyelid	French 1983:515
	nying ke **kap** tung	snail	Marrison 1967
	ñiŋ ke **kap** tuŋ	snail	French 1983:545
	sam puŋ **kop**	lip	French 1983:515
	sam pung **kop**	lip	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**kap** tuŋ	shell	French 1983:544
	kap tung	shell	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	**khop** tang	skin	Egli-Roduner 1987:36 10
	ming **khop** tang	eyelid	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 3 [a]
Tsangla (Motuo)	**k^{h}op^{55}** taŋ^{55}	skin	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	no^{13} waŋ^{13} **k^{h}op^{55}** taŋ^{55}	lip	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	no waŋ **khop** taŋ	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	no-waŋ-**k^{h}op**-taŋ	lip	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	na saga ɔ **kɔp**	scales (of fish)	Kohn 1990:8.2.5
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	ñi^{44} **kop^{44}**	lip	Matisoff 1987
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	me^{55} **kŏp^{55}**	eyelid	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɯi^{55} **kɔp^{55}**	lip	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Luxi)	ŋa^{55} **kjap^{55}**	scales	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	ŋ̊ŏ^{31} ʂɔ^{31} a^{31} **kɤp^{35}**	scales	Dai Qingxia 1989f:409
Atsi [Zaiwa]	ŋŏ^{21} **kja̱p^{55}**	scales	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ŋŏ^{21}**kja̱p^{55}**	scale (Nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.30
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	**kɤ̱^{44}**	scales (of fish)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:8.2.5
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	ɑ^{33} ŋo^{21} i^{33} **kɯ^{55}**	scales (of fish)	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.2.5

[a] This form shows an interesting semantic association between WING and EYELID, possibly because both of these body parts can flutter.

(7b) PTB *krap SHELL / SHIELD

See also PTB ***kwap** SKIN / LIP / SCALES (fish) / SHELL (§1.6.5) for a phono-semantically similar but probably distinct root.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***krap**	shell / shield	Matisoff 2003a:596
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**khrab**	coat of mail; shield, coat of mail, fish scales	Sun 1985c:144; Coblin 1986:563

Chinese comparandum

甲 OC ***kɑp** 'shell', *GSR* #629a; B & S 2011: ***kˁrap { [k] ˁr [a] p}**; Mand. **jiǎ**.

(8) PTB *kwa SKIN

This root seems independent of PTB ***s/r-kawk ≍ *s/r-kwak** OUTER COVERING / SKIN / BARK / RIND (§1.6.5). Cf. WT **kó-ba** (below) vs. WT **kog-pa** in PTB ***s/r-kawk ≍ *s/r-kwak**. A number of supporting forms for this etymon have fricative initials **h-** or **f-**. Interplay between laryngeal and velar initials is a common phenomenon in TB; see Matisoff 1997:33 ("Primary and secondary laryngeal initials in TB") and *HPTB*:54-58. Cf. e.g. Lisu **ko^{35}dʒi^{33}** and **hwa^{5}-ji^{4}**.

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	a^{33}**kə^{53}**	skin	SUN Hongkai 1993; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.52
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	a-**ha**	skin	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	n̥ok-**ko**	lip	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	blm-**ka**	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	bɯ^{31}lɯm^{55} **ko^{55}**	eyelid	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ka	skin; hide (skin, leather)	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	ka	skin (n.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ka	skin (of fruit)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ko^{55}	skin	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ko^{55}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.22
	ko^{55}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.49
Idu	e **ko ko**	scalp	Pulu 1978
	e lō **ko**	eyelid	Pulu 1978
	ko ko pra	leather	Pulu 1978
	ko^{55}pɹa^{55}	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991f:8.2
	ko^{55}pɹɑ^{55}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.50
	ko li pra	scale(fish)	Pulu 1978
	ko pra	bark; skin	Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978
Yidu	**ko^{55}**pɹɑ^{55}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.25
1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
Anal	**wɔ̀** kɔ̀ɔŋ	skin	Weidert 1987:170
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	mén̥ **fə**	lip	Acharya 1975
	men **fu**	lip	Marrison 1967
	o **fhu**	skin	Marrison 1967
	o **fu**	husk (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **fu**	husks / chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077
	ō **fə**	skin	Acharya 1975
	so **fu**	leather	Marrison 1967
	sō **fə**	leather	Acharya 1975
	tsang **fu**	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Mao	o **hei**	skin	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a yi **khwo**	skin	Marrison 1967
	a yi **ko**	skin	Achumi 1998a:8.2
	^{2}a^{2}i^{1}**ko**	skin	Weidert 1987:170
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	a **hui**	skin	Marrison 1967
	huy	skin	Bhat 1969:96
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	mə **ku**	scales (of fish)	Singh 1991:8.2.5
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**hū**	skin	Grüssner 1979:192
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Kokborok	**huy**	hide	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Wancho	**ho**-lop	skin	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Lui	la **ho**	skin	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	phe^{55}**khu^{53}**	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.6
	p^{h}e^{55} **k^{h}u^{53}**	skin	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Cuona Menba	phe^{55}**khu^{53}**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.06
	phe^{55}**ku^{53}**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	wok **kwa**	skin (leather, hide) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	wak **kwa**	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.4
Tibetan (Batang)	**xha^{55}**pɑ^{53}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.03
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	kha ge **ko** ba	lip	Bishop 1989:3.9 [a]
Sherpa	**ko**-wa	skin	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**kōba** kambū	hide / leather (dried animal skin)	Bishop 1989:8.2.6
	kō ba	scalp; skin	Bishop 1989:2.8; Bishop 1989:8.2
	mē **kō** ba	eyelid	Bishop 1989:3.4.1
	nya **kō** ba	scales (of fish)	Bishop 1989:8.2.5
Spiti	**ku** wa	hide / leather (dried animal s	Bodh 1991:8.2.6
Tibetan (Written)	**kó**-ba	hide, skin	Matisoff 1987
	ko ba	skin	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ko**	skin (leather, hide) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.04
	ʔoχ **kwa**	skin (with hair) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Thakali (Tukche)	sung-**kha**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	suŋ-**k^{h}ɔ**	lip	Hari 1971:2.A.25
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	chen **gu** (li)	skin	Matisoff 1987
	cheŋ **gu:**	hide / leather	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.2.6
	chē **gu:** pi-ye	skin, to	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.2
Newar (Kathmandu)	chyɔŋ **gu**	hide / skin	Genetti 1990c
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	hɛ: rana **wa** rik	hide / leather (dried animal s	Kohn 1990:8.2.6
	i **fiwa** rik	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	ufia rik	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	wəha rik	scalp	Kohn 1990:2.8
	wəha ri:k	skin	Kohn 1990:8.2
	fiwa rik	skin	Weidert 1987:170
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**'kaa**	skin	Michailovsky 1991:157
	sa-**ka**	skin	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	**'ku**-sul	skin	Matisoff 1987
	ku sul 'u:-cā	skin (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.31
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang (Eastern)	**kaw**	scales (of fish)	Caughley 1990:8.2.5
Kham	ol-**ko**-tā	skin	Matisoff 1987
	ol **ko** ta	skin	Watters & Watters 1989:1.28
3.2. QIANGIC			
Namuyi	ɣɯ^{33}**ə^{ɪ33}qa^{55}**	hide / leather	SUN Hongkai 1991i:8.2.6 [a]
	(ə^{ɪ31}) **qa^{53}**	skin (cattle) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1144.46
	ə^{ɪ31}qa^{53}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.46
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	mɲɐ ndzɟi **ʂk^{h}o**	eyelid	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.4.1
rGyalrong	tə mn̥ak **ʂk^{h}o**	eyelid	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.4.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tʃi wjo **wu** ʂk^{h}o	scales (of fish)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.2.5
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	a^{21} la^{55} **kɯe^{21}** lo^{21}	eyelid	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.4.1
	kɯe^{21} lo^{21}	hide; leather (dried animal skin); skin	CHEN Kang 1986d:8.2; CHEN Kang 1986d:8.2.6
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khu^{31}**ɹi^{35}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.45
Yi (Mile)	**xo^{21}**tɕi^{33}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**xo^{21}**dʑi^{33}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.24
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	a^{44}**kho^{42}**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.44
	a^{44}**kho^{42}**	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.34
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{42}**khu^{44}**	skin (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**hwa^{21}**dʑi^{44}	fur; leather; skin of an animal (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}dʑi^{44} ɔ^{55}tʃhu^{21}	fur hat	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}kɔ^{35}dʑi^{44}	skin of an animal	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}my^{33}	wool; woollen cloth (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**hwa^{5}**-ji^{4}	skin	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**hwa^{5}**-ji^{4}	skin	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**kaw^{3}**-ji^{4}	skin	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**kaw^{3}**-ji^{4}	skin	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Nujiang)	**ko^{35}** dʒi^{33}	skin	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**ko^{35}**dʒi^{33}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.27
	ko^{35}dʑi^{33}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.40
Lisu (Northern)	**kɔ^{35}**dʑi^{44}	skin (N.)	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{35}lɤ^{55}	shed skin	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ku^{44}**	molted skin (insect)	MA Xueliang 1989:325.1
	o^{55} **ku^{33}**	scalp	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:325.5; CHEN Kang 1986b:2.8
	qɤ 55	outer covering / bark / skin / peel	Matisoff 1972b:71(b)
	qɤ^{55}	shell, skin; skin, outer covering	MA Xueliang 1989:332.2; WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	qɤ^{55} tsɥ^{33}	skin	MA Xueliang 1989:332.3
Yi (Sani)	**qɤ^{55}**tsz̊^{33}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Côông [Phunoi]	bàn **khò**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	bɑn^{33} **k^{h}o^{33}**	lip	Bradley 1977
	bɑn^{11} **k^{h}o^{11}**	lip	Bradley 1977
Sangkong	aŋ^{33} **hu^{31}**	skin	LI Yongsui 1991

[a] Namuyi **ɣɯ^{33}** 'cattle'.

(9) PTB *s-lip SCALE (OF FISH OR REPTILE)

The Kuki-Chin forms are reconstructed as PNC ***lip** in VanBik 2009:#1048.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-lip**	scale (of fish or reptile)	Matisoff 2003a:600
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	ko **li** pra	scale(fish)	Pulu 1978
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hlip** SCAB / SCALE			[a]
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN: ***lip** SCAB / SCALE			
**Northern Chin*	***lip**	SCAB / SCALE	VanBik 2009:1048
Kuki-Chin	**liip** (nga)	scales (of fish)	Haokip 1998:8.2.5
Thado	**lìp**	scab (of wound)	VanBik 2009:1048
Tiddim	**lip^{3}**	scaly (as of fish), form scales (as leper)	VanBik 2009:1048
	lip^{3}	scaly [as of fish]; form scales [as a leper] (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:958
	lip^{3}	scaly [as of fish]	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	ŋò-**léʔ**	scale (fish)	Weidert 1987:1028
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	phů-**hlip**	scale (fish)	Weidert 1987:1028
	phu-**hlip**	scales (of fish)	Matisoff 1987
	phu-**hlip**	scales (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2796
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	phu-**hlu**(-pa)	scales (of fish)	Matisoff 1987
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	ŋə **rip**	scales (of fish)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.2.5
Moyon	ŋʌ **phrìp**	scales (of fish)	Kosha 1990:8.2.5 [b]
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	ó **lèp** >	skin of the fish	Acharya 1975
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	ka-kha-**lêp**	scale (fish)	Weidert 1987:1028
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ka-**lip**	scale (fish)	Weidert 1987:1028

[a] VanBik 2009: 265: "PKC ***hl-** is retained in Mara, M. Cho and Central Chin languages except Bawm. Northern Chin languages merged PKC ***hl-** and ***l-** into **l-**."

[b] Moyon **phrìp** is evidently a fusional reduction of a compound like ***phu-rip**.

Zeme	[1]he[5]ka[1]**lip**	scale (fish)	Weidert 1987:1028
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***hlip** SCALE (OF FISH)			
**Tangkhulic*	***hlip**	scale (of fish)	Mortensen 2012:533
Tangkhul	[1]ə[1]**rip**	scale (fish)	Weidert 1987:1028
Tusom	si-ŋi ʔɯ-**łxɯ**	scales (of fish)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.244
Ukhrul	ʔa-**rip**	scale (of fish)	Mortensen 2012
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**lip**	scales (of fish)	Matisoff 1987
	lìp	scales (of fish)	Grüssner 1979:184
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Chamling	hu **lep** pa	skin	Winter 1985:15

(10) PTB *syap SCALE (OF FISH OR REPTILE)

Lepcha **a-šî** looks like a possible reflex of this root, but the lack of a final **-p** is a problem. This root was formerly reconstructed as ***sep** (*HPTB*:376).

The final velar in the Limbu form is unexplained.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***sep**	scale (of fish or reptile)	Matisoff 2003a:376
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Chokri	khu[55] **shi[55]**	scales (of fish)	Nienu 1990b:8.2.5
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	nga-**sep**	scales (of fish)	Matisoff 1987
	ŋá-**sèp**	scale (fish)	Matisoff 1974:341
	ŋa[55]**sep[31]**	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.19
	ə-**sep**	scales (of fish)	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	a kə **sáiʔ**	scale (of fish)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:317-2
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**sep[55]**	scales	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**sep**	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.07
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂhəp[52]**	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.02
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	a-**šî**	scales (of fish)	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**se:k**	scale (of a fish)	Michailovsky 1989b
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	(ŋɛ[13]) **tʂ[h]ɛp[53]**	scales (of fish)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.2.5
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	ŋɑ[33] rə **ɕɛʔ**	scale (of fish)	LaPolla 2003:398
Dulong	ɹɯ[55]**sɛʔ[55]**	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ŋɑ[55] plăʔ[55] ɹɯ[31] **sĕʔ[55]**	scales	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***sep[H]**	scale (of fish or reptile)	Matisoff 2003a:612
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	k[h]u̱[31] **ʂl[31]**	scales	DAI Qingxia 1989o:409.
Nusu (Central)	ŋa[55] **ʂi[55]**	scales	DAI Qingxia 1989p:409.
	ŋa[55]**ʂi[55]**	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.34
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Lancang)	ŋɑ[53]**ɕɛ[54]**	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.43
Lahu (Black)	vì-**šêʔ**	scale of snake	Matisoff 2003a:376
	ɔ[31] **sɛʔ[54]**	scales	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ̀-**šêʔ**	scales (of fish); scale (fish)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:341
Sani [Nyi]	**sa̱[44]**	scales	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:164.1
Yi (Sani)	**sɑ[44]**	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.39
Sani [Nyi]	ŋɑ[55] **sa[55]**	scale (of fish); scales	MA Xueliang 1989:328.2; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.5

(11) PTB *p $\frac{r}{y}$ a SKIN

Tamangic points to a possible connection between this etymon and the concept FLAT. Cf. Thakali (Tukche) **'plja-lɔ** 'flatten dough (with roll)'.

The allofam with medial **-y-** is reconstructed because of vowel fronting in several forms (Pattani, Tshona, Lepcha, Thakali). There are two possible Chinese comparanda (see below).

1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	ki **pra** shrega	skin	Pulu 1978
	ko ko **pra**	leather	Pulu 1978
	ko[55]**pɹa[55]**	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991f:8.2
	ko[55]**pɹɑ[55]**	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.50
	ko li **pra**	scale(fish)	Pulu 1978
	ko **pra**	bark; skin	Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978
Yidu	ko[55]**pɹɑ[55]**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.25
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	trà **pRi**	skin	Sharma 1991b:8.2
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**p[h]iu[55]**	skin	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	mig-**be**	eyelid; edges of lid	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung	Tuh bi **plā:bāq**	skin (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.31
Gurung (Ghachok)	ʈu hbi **pla:** baq	skin (v.)	Glover 1972:3.B.31
Thakali (Tukche)	**'plja**-lɔ	flatten dough (with roll)	Hari 1971:7.B.1.9.2
	ʈih **'pli**-lɔ	skin (v.)	Hari 1971:3.B.31
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	n̥i[35] **pɑ[55]** **pɑ[55]**	hide / leather	SUN Hongkai 1991e
Qiang (Mawo)	nə **ɹɑ**	eyelid	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.4.1
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	meɣ[53] **pe[33]**	eyelid	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.4.1
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	ta2**pa4**	skin (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ta[2]**pa[4]**	skin	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.1
Tujia	tha[55]**pha[21]**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.49
	tha[55]**pha[21]**	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.38
	t[h]a[55] **p[h]a[21]**	hide; leather; skin	CHEN Kang 1986c:8.2; CHEN Kang 1986c:8.2.6
Tujia (Northern)	t[h]a[55] **p[h]a[21]**	skin	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	(pûn-)liŋ-ʔəre-**prâ**	foreskin	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	ʔə-re-**prâ**	skin	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Sani [Nyi]	ɪ[21] **pɪ[33]** qɤ[55] tʂl[33]	skin of belly	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:313.4
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**baq**-xoq	skin	Matisoff 1972b:71(a)
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (GSR #)	**b'iɑ**/b'jię	skin, peel, bark	Luce 1985:H.125
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**b'iɑ**/b'jię	skin	Karlgren 1957:25a-c
Chinese (Old)	**b(r)jaj**	skin	Baxter 1992:1057
	b'ia	skin, peel, bark	Luce 1985:H.125
	prja	skin (human)	Baxter 1992:1858
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**pju**	skin	Coblin 1986:134
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**p'i**	skin	Karlgren 1957:25a-c

[a]WB **pûn** 'hide (v.)'; **-liŋ-** is a borrowing from Sanskrit **lingam** 'private parts, penis'.

Chinese comparanda

膚 OC ***pli̱wo**, *GSR* #69g 'skin'; WSC-SH:134; WHB-OC #1367; Schuessler 2007:243. Li 1971 ***pjag**; Baxter 1992: ***prja** > Mand. **fū**.

皮 OC ***b'iɑ**, *GSR* #25a-c 'skin'; WHB-OC:1057; Li 1971: ***bjiar**; Baxter 1992: ***b(r)jaj** > Mand. **pí**.

The form written 膚 likely reflects the Chinese root, with the form written 皮 derived from it by a prefix that voiced the labial initial (as well as by an unexplained change to the coda). The most likely prefix is ***m-**, which is found in a number of OC words for human body parts and is cognate to the PTB prefix ***m-** having a similar function. In their latest system, Baxter and Sagart reconstruct this prefix in words for 'nose', 'belly', 'head', and 'right hand', as well as 'skin'. The OC pronunciation of 皮 can be reconstructed as ***m-pra-j**, with root ***pra**. (See Sagart & Baxter 2010.)

Ignoring the medial ***-j-** (whose existence in OC is increasingly discounted, and which does not correspond regularly to anything in PTB), the correspondences between the variant PTB form ***pra** and the OC root are regular.

ZJH

(12) PTB *l-pak SKIN

Several forms from Tibetan dialects show lenition of the initial to **w-**. For the widespread TB variation between labial stops and **w-**, see Matisoff 2000, "An extrusional approach to ***p-/w-** variation in Sino-Tibetan".

2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	**pʌː[13]** wo[53]	hide	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**wok** kwa	skin (leather, hide) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	kha **xha**	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.4
	wak kwa	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**wok** kwa	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.5
Tibetan (Batang)	dʑɛ[55] **baʔ[53]**	foreskin	DAI Qingxia 1989a:10.3.3
	xhaʔ[55] **baʔ[55]**	skin	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.2
	zə[13] taʔ[53] **baʔ[55]** baʔ[53]	hide / leather	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.2.6
	pɑ[55]**pɑʔ[53]**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**pa[55]**pa[53]	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**pak[53]**pa[53]	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.2
	pak[55]pa[55]	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.02
Spiti	**pa** wo	skin	Bodh 1991:8.2
Tibetan (Spiti)	**pa** wo	skin	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	k'a-**lpags** goṅ-ma	upper lip	Matisoff 1987
	kha-**lpags**	lip	Marrison 1967
	k'a-**lpágs**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	lpags	skin	Matisoff 1987; Coblin 1986:134
	lpags pa	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.01
	mdun-**lpags**	foreskin (vulg.)	Matisoff 1987
	pags pa	skin; skin, peel, bark; foreskin; skin, leather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.1; Luce 1985:H.125; Matisoff 1987; ZHANG Liansheng 1988:2; ZHANG Liansheng 1988:49
	pags-rigs	skin, leather	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:2
	pags pa	skin	Marrison 1967
	sdoms-**lpags**	foreskin	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	ża̱l-**lpags**	lip	Matisoff 1987 [b]
	ɕa **pags**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.01
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	kha[55] **pɑ[55]**	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991e [c]
	kha[55]**pɑ[55]**	lip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.16
	kha[55]**pɑ[55]**	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.17
	pa[55]pa[55]	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.16 [d]
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Shuikui)	mɛ[31] **p[h]a[31]**	lip	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986

[a]WT **sdoms** seemingly derived from **dom** 'private'.
[b]WT **ża̱l** is an honorific form for **kha** 'mouth'.
[c]Loan from Tibetan (cf. WT **kha-lpags**).
[d]Loan from Tibetan (cf. WT **lpags-pa**), not a reduplicated form.

(13) PTB *p(y)ik SKIN / PEEL

Several Bodo-Garo forms begin with a syllable **bi(ŋ)**, which superficially resembles this root. However, R. Burling points out that this is merely a prefix which occurs with many body part terms, e.g. Garo **bi-bik** 'intestines', **bi-bil** 'afterbirth', **bi-gil** 'skin; bark; peel; pod; leather', **bi-gron** 'testicle', **bi-ka** 'liver', **bi-kit** 'gall bladder', **bi-mang** 'body of person or thing; shape, form; middle portion of an object, such as a glass', **bi-rot** 'pimple, boil, pox'; also Meche **biŋgur**, **bigur** 'skin'. See Burling 2003.

The first syllables of Tshona (Mama) ***phe[55]** **khu[53]** 'skin' and WT ***p'yi** **srin** 'vermin living on skin' also superficially resemble this etymon, but are really a different morpheme meaning 'outside'. See Jäschke (1881:348-50). Thus, 'vermin living on skin' means lit. "outside vermin".

A few Karenic forms (Pa-O **'beŋ[1]**, Pho (Delta) **ɓẽ[4]**, Sgaw **ɓẽ[4]** 'skin, bark') point to a final nasal, but these could well reflect a different etymon. The morphemic identity of the second syllables of Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada) **a[31]** ***bę̱[31]*** and **p[h]i[55]** ***bę̱[31]*** 'skin' remains obscure.

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	**p[h]riʔ**	skin	Simon 1979
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	a ka **bi**	lip(lower)	Pulu 1978
1.6. MRU			

Mru	**pei**^{2}	skin	Luce 1985:Q.68
	pei^{4}	skin	Luce 1985:Q.68
	pik	skin	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jili	mə **phik**	skin, bark	Benedict 1972:145n392
Jingpho	a^{31} **phjiʔ**^{31}	skin	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	hpi	skin	Marrison 1967
	hpyi	skin	Matisoff 1987
	myìʔ-**hpyi**	eye socket / eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	ne^{31}**phjiʔ**^{31}	foreskin / prepuce (n.)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	phjiʔ^{31}	skin	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	phjiʔ^{31}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.19
	phjiʔ^{31}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.47
	ə-**hpyi**	skin	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**piq** ba	peel	Glover 1972:7.B.1.13
	p^{h}i **piq** ba	peel	Glover 1972:7.B.1.14 [a]
	Tuh-**bi**	skin	Matisoff 1987
Gurung	Tuh **bi** plā:bāq	skin (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.31
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{3}ʈu **bi**	skin	Mazaudon 1978:42
Gurung	^{1}**p^{h}i**	peel, bark (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:647
Gurung (Ghachok)	ʈuh **bi**	skin	Glover 1972:1.28
	ʈu **hbi** pla: baq	skin (v.)	Glover 1972:3.B.31
Manang (Gyaru)	**pi:**^{1} ba	peel (V.)	Nagano 1984:166
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**p^{h}i:**-	peel	Mazaudon 1994:649
	^{1}**p^{h}i:**-	peel	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0343
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}mi:-^{1}**p^{h}i:**	eyelid (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.1
	^{2}**p^{h}i:**	peel (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:648
	^{1}**p^{h}i:**	bark / peel / skin	Mazaudon 1994:647
	^{1}suŋ-^{1}**p^{h}i:**	lip (n comp.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.9
Tamang (Sahu)	**'p^{h}i:**-pa	peel (to strip skin with ha (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:18.A.14
	sung **phi:**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	suŋ **p^{h}i:**	lip	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.24
	^{2}**p^{h}i:**	peel (to strip skin with ha (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:649
Thakali (Marpha)	^{54}**p^{h}i**	bark / peel / skin	Mazaudon 1994:649
Thakali (Tukche)	**p^{h}i**	husk (corn)	Hari 1971:4.A.28
	p^{h}i-lɔ	peel (potatoes, fruit, etc.); peel (out of shells)	Hari 1971:7.B.1.13 1; Hari 1971:7.B.1.15 1
	^{2}**p^{h}i**	peel (out of shells)	Mazaudon 1994:649
	^{H}**p^{h}i**	bark, peel	Mazaudon 1994:649
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	do-**phe?** wa	lip	Rai *et al.* 1984:24; Matisoff 1987
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	ndzo^{55} **pi**^{55}	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.18
	sɿ^{55} mphɑ^{55} ndzo^{55} **pi**^{55}	lip	SUN Hongkai 1991d [b]
	sɿ^{55}nphɑ^{55}ndzo^{55}**pi**^{55}	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.18
Qiang (Longxi)	ɹà **pià**	skin, hide	Evans 1999:331
	ɹà **piá**	skin (human)	Evans 1999:150
	ɹà **piá**-phò	leather jacket [skin-clothes]	Evans 1999:632
Qiang (Mawo)	dzą **pi**	hide / leather (dried animal s	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.2.6
	nə ɹə **pi**	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.8; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	qə pa tʂ ɹa **bi**	scalp	SUN Hongkai 1991g:2.8
	ɹa **pi**	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.2
	ɹə **pi**	skin	Sun 1986
	ɹɛ **piɛ**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.08
	˧uɛ **piɛ**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	phò-zą **piá**	bark of tree [tree-skin]	Evans 1999:469
	tshé-zą-**phà** dzą	sheepskin vest [sheep-skin-vest]	Evans 1999:647
	zą **piá**	skin, hide	Evans 1999:331
	zą **piá**-phà dzą	leather jacket (Qiang vest) [skin-vest]	Evans 1999:647
	zą **piá**-phù	leather clothing [skin-clothes]	Evans 1999:632
Qiang (Yadu)	zę **pi**	skin (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989q:331
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Lolopho	ʮ^{55} **phi**^{31}	scalp	DAI Qingxia 1989n:2.8
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	ni^{31} na^{323} **piɛ**^{55}	lip	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.9
Lalo	m̩^{21} lɑ^{33} **p^{h}i̱**^{33}	lip	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.9
Nesu	n̩i̱^{21} **pę**^{33}	lip	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.9
Nusu (Southern)	n̩i^{31} **bə**^{55}	lip	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Mojiang)	dʑi^{55}**phi**^{55}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.26
Yi (Nanjian)	mu̱^{21} la^{33} **p^{h}i**^{21}	lip	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Sani [Nyi]	n̩^{55} **p^{h}ɭ**^{33}	lip	MA Xueliang 1989:322.6
6.2. NAXI			
Naxi (Yongning)	nv^{33}**bi**^{33}li^{33}	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.29
Naxi (Eastern)	nv^{33}**bi**^{33}li^{55}	lip	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	nʮ^{55}**bi**^{21}	lip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.45
Naxi (Western)	nv^{55}**bi**^{31}	lip	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	nv^{55}**bi**^{31}	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.28
	ɣɯ^{33}**phi**^{31}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.28
7. KARENIC: *__phe?__^{D} BARK (n.), LEATHER, SKIN			
**Karen*	***phe?**^{D}	bark, leather, skin (n.)	Luangthongkum 2013:12
**Karen [Burling]*	***phiʔ**^{2}	bark, leather, skin (n.)	Luangthongkum 2013:12
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***phiʔ**	skin	Jones 1961:554
**Karen (Pwo)*	***phéʔ**	skin	Jones 1961:554
Bwe	-**phe**	skin, hide, bark, scales (n.)	Henderson 1997
	-**phe**-kó	skin, outer covering (n.)	Henderson 1997
	-**phe**-kú	skin, outer covering (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ko-**phe**	skin of the scalp (n.)	Henderson 1997
	phe^{33}	bark, leather, skin (n.)	Luangthongkum 2013:12
Bwe (Western)	**p'e**^{2}	skin, peel, bark; skin, bark	Luce 1985:H.125; Luce 1985:J.242
	ɓe^{2}	skin, bark	Luce 1985:J.242
Bwe	ə-**phe** də-blɔ̀	skin / hide (portion of)	Henderson 1997
	ə-**phe** tə-ɓe	skin / hide (whole)	Henderson 1997
Geba	**be**^{2}	skin, bark	Luce 1985:J.242
	p'e^{2}	skin, bark	Luce 1985:J.242
	p'e^{3}	skin, peel, bark	Luce 1985:H.125
	θi^{1} **p'i**^{2}	skin, bark	Luce 1985:J.242
Karen	a^{31}**bę**^{31}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.50
	phi^{55}bę^{31}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.50
Kayah	**pha**^{55}	bark, leather, skin (n.)	Luangthongkum 2013:12
Kayaw	**phe**^{33}	bark, leather, skin (n.)	Luangthongkum 2013:12
Pa-O (Northern)	ă **p'eʔ**^{3}	skin, peel, bark	Luce 1985:H.125
	pheʔ^{21}	bark, leather, skin (n.)	Luangthongkum 2013:12
Pa-O	**pì**	skin of human, fruit; skin	Solnit 1989; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:554
	pi	skin, bark	Benedict 1972:145n393
	pì phróʔ	skin, general	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**'beŋ**^{1}	skin, bark	Luce 1985:J.242
Paku	**p'i**^{1}	skin, peel, bark	Luce 1985:H.125
	ɓe^{3}	skin, bark	Luce 1985:J.242
Pwo (Northern)	**phaiʔ**^{45}	bark, leather, skin (n.)	Luangthongkum 2013:12
Pwo (Southern)	**phaiʔ**^{31}	bark, leather, skin (n.)	Luangthongkum 2013:12
Pwo	**phiʔ**	skin, bark	Benedict 1972:145n393
Pwo (Delta)	**p'æʔ**^{1}	skin, peel, bark	Luce 1985:H.125
	ɓẽ^{4}	skin, bark	Luce 1985:J.242
Pwo (Tenasserim)	ă **p'ɑiʔ**^{3}	skin, peel, bark	Luce 1985:H.125
Pwo (Bassein)	**phèʔ**	skin	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:554
Pwo (Moulmein)	**phàiʔ**	skin	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:554
Sgaw (Southern)	**phaiʔ**^{21}	bark, leather, skin (n.)	Luangthongkum 2013:12
Sgaw (Northern)	**phiʔ**^{45}	bark, leather, skin (n.)	Luangthongkum 2013:12
Karen (Sgaw)	**phiʔ**	skin, bark	Benedict 1972:145n393
Sgaw	**p'iʔ**^{2}	skin, peel, bark	Luce 1985:H.125
	ɓẽ^{4}	skin, bark	Luce 1985:J.242
Sgaw (Bassein)	**phiʔ**	skin	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:554
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**p^{h}i**^{55} bę^{31}	skin; skin (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989k:150.1; DAI Qingxia 1989k:315
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**phiʔ**	skin	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:554
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**p^{h}i̱ʔ**^{55}	skin; skin (animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989j:150; DAI Qingxia 1989j:331
8. BAI			
Bai (Dali)	**pe 7**	skin, peel (n.)	Dell 1981b:303
	pe^{21}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.35
	pe^{21}	skin / flay (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:603.35
	pę^{21}	skin	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	pe^{7}	skin (n.)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	tɕui^{33} **pę**^{21}	lip	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ue^{3} **pe**^{7}	eyelid	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**pe**^{21}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.36
	pe^{21}	skin / flay (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:603.36
	pę^{21}	hide; leather (dried animal skin); skin	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.2; ZHAO Yansun 1990:8.2.6
	pe^{42}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.48
	pe^{42} (ŋə^{42}**pe**^{42})	skin (cattle) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1144.48
	tɕui^{33} **pę**^{21}	lip	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	ŋuĩ^{33} **pę**^{21}	eyelid	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.4.1

[a] Gurung **p^{h}i** 'peel, bark (n.)'.
[b] Ersu **sɿ^{55} mphɑ^{55}** 'mouth'; **ndzo^{55} pi^{55}** 'skin'.

(14) PTB *bak STRIP OFF

This root is so far sparsely attested, with support only from Lahu and Chinese. The voiced Lahu initial points to a PLB prenasalized consonant ***mb-**.

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**bàʔ**	slice/cut into lengths; cut into boards	Matisoff 1988a:933; Matisoff 1972b:111(d)
	bàʔ bà ve	slice off (as a strip of bark)	Matisoff 1988a:933 [a]
	bʌ^{21}	cut (firewood)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:604.33
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pŭk**	cut, flay, peel; lay bare	Karlgren 1957:1228a

[a] Lahu **bà** means 'throw away' in isolation, but as an auxiliary verb means 'to perform an action so that something is gotten rid of'. See *HPTB*, p. 231.

Chinese comparandum

剥 OC ***pŭk**, *GSR* #1228a 'cut, flay, peel'; WHB-OC 544; Schuessler 157; Li: ***pruk**; Baxter: ***prok** > Mand. **bō ~ bāo**.

The poor vowel correspondence, and the lack of a directly attested ***-r-** on the TB side,[*] cast doubt on the proposed cognate, but more TB support for the root would be necessary to reconstruct a reliable PTB root and fully evaluate the connection.

Schuessler cites Manomaivibool 1975:120 and relates the Chinese word to Thai **pɔɔk**^{D1} 'to peel' and Thai **lɔɔk**^{D2} 'to skin, peel' ⩤ **plɔɔk**^{D1} 'encasement, slipcover, sheath' < PTai ***dlɔɔk**.

(15) PTB *pu RIND / SHIELD / SKIN (n.)

This root occurs mostly in Kuki-Chin (cf. PKC ***phoo** VanBik 2009:#353), but also apparently in Nungic and Loloish. The semantics of this root are interesting, since the skin is here conceived of as a protection or shield from the outside world.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-po**	shield	Matisoff 2003a:607
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***phoo** RIND / SHIELD / SKIN (n.)			
**Chin*	***phoo**	RIND / SHIELD / SKIN (n.)	VanBik 2009:353
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**phaw**	rind, shield	VanBik 2009:353
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**phòo**	rind, shield, animal skin	VanBik 2009:353
Lai (Falam)	**phôo**	rind, shield, animal skin	VanBik 2009:353
Lai (Hakha)	sa-**phɔ**	skin	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	**phaw**	shield (n.)	Marrison 1967
	phâw	shield, the long feathers or ruff round a cock's neck which stand out like a shield when angry (n.)	VanBik 2009:353
	pho	shield (n.)	Benedict 1972:58
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	veu-**phɔ**	shield (n.)	Benedict 1972:58
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Bete	i **pho**	shield (n.)	Benedict 1972:58
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**phú**-rēng	skin	Grüssner 1979:146
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	sɑ^{55}**pho**^{31}	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.21
Anong	sɑ^{55}**pho**^{31}	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.44
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			

[*] Although **-r-** would leave no trace in Lahu here.

Gazhuo	sa[31]**pɤ[31]**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.47
Yi (Xide)	mi[21] **pu[21]**	lip	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Sani [Nyi]	ni[55]**phu[33]**	lip	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	n̥[55] **pʰv̥[33]**	lip	MA Xueliang 1989:306.3
	n̥[55]**phu[33]**	lip	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.9

(16) PTani *rjo SKIN

This root has been reconstructed for Proto-Tani (J. Sun 1993a), and receives support from the Chepang form.

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***rjo**	skin (n.)	Sun 1993a:367
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	a-ji a-**ljo**	rind	Sun 1993b
	a-**ljo**	skin (n.)	Sun 1993a
	à-**ljò**	skin	Sun 1993b
	a-**ljo**	skin; scale	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-mì mi-**ljo**	eyelid	Sun 1993b
	di-**ljo**	scalp	Sun 1993b
	din-ta a-**ljo**	scalp	Sun 1993b
	ja-sã a-**ljo**	bark (n.)	Sun 1993b
	mí-**ljo**	eyelid	Sun 1993b
	mi?-**ljo**	eyelid	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	a-**jo**	skin (n.)	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**yo**	skin	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**hlyu**-sa	skin	Caughley 1972:3.B.31

(17) PTB *s-yam SKIN / OUTER SURFACE

Despite its rather limited distribution, this looks like a valid etymon. The ***s-*** prefix is reconstructed because of the Nung form.

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	**cəm**	skin	Sharma 1982
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**jim**	old skin	Rai 1985
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**ji**	slough skin (of a snake)	Allen 1975
	jim	slough skin (of a snake)	Allen 1975
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	**sɑm[31]**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.21
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	ʔəpo **yam**	upper layer, outer surface	Judson 1893 [a]
Langsu (Luxi)	ʃɔ̈[35]**jam[55]**	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.31
Maru [Langsu]	au[35] **jam[55]**	scalp	DAI Qingxia 1989l:2.8
	mjoʔ[31] **jam[55]**	eyelid	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.1
	sɔ̈[35]**jam[55]**	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.43
	ʃɔ̈[35] **jam[55]**	skin	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.2

[a] According to Judson, Written Burmese **yam** is a loanword from Pali, meaning 'division; watch of the night' (cf. Lahu **yâ(n)** 'time' < Shan < Burmese), but the other Burmish forms, as well as those from Himalayish languages, suggest that this may actually reflect a PTB root.

(18) PTB *ryaŋ SKIN

This rare root has so far only been attested in Karbi and Chepang. The semantic structure of the Karbi forms meaning 'ear' is unclear.

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	a no ar lo a **reng**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	bùm a-**rèng**	foreskin	Grüssner 1979:160 [a]
	bum a **reng**	foreskin	Matisoff 1987
	bum a **reng** kerot	circumcise	Matisoff 1987
	cheng a **reng**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	mék a-**rèng**	eyelid	Grüssner 1979:167
	mek a **reng**	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	mek kung a **reng**	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	mék-kúng a-**rèng**	eyelid	Grüssner 1979:168
	òk-**rèng**	hide; leather; skin	Grüssner 1979:34; Grüssner 1979:34
	phú-**rēng**	skin	Grüssner 1979:146
	reng	skin	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	rèng	skin	Grüssner 1979:192
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang (Eastern)	təyŋ thyo **reŋ**	foreskin	Caughley 1990:10.3.3

[a] Mikir **bùm** 'penis'.

(19) PTB *rik-s SKIN

The North Assam forms with initial sibilants perhaps point to a variant with prefixal ***s-*** which preempted the root initial.

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**shik**	skin	Matisoff 1987
Damu	mik-**ɕik**	eyelid	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ɕik**	skin	Sun 1993b
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Lui	lök **rök**	skin	Matisoff 1987
	rak	skin	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	pags-**rigs**	skin, leather	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:2
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	hok-**rik**	skin	Matisoff 1987
	ho: **rik**	skin, bark; skin	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:157
	[ho: **rik** pa]	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	[ho: **riʔ** pa]	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	[hu **rik**]	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	[hu **riʔ**]	skin	Weidert 1987:170
Yakha	hɛ: rana wa **rik**	hide / leather (dried animal s	Kohn 1990:8.2.6
	i ɦwa **rik**	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	li: gəu: wə ha **rik**	foreskin	Kohn 1990:10.3.3
	miʔ wə ha **rik**	eyelid	Kohn 1990:3.4.1
	ufia **rik**	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	wəha **rik**	scalp	Kohn 1990:2.8
	wəha **ri:k**	skin	Kohn 1990:8.2
	ɦwa **rik**	skin	Weidert 1987:170

(20) PTB *s-lwa SKIN

This root resembles PTB ***s-lwap*** SKIN (§1.6.5), and Phunoi seems to show variation between an open and a stopped reflex. We tentatively include the Phunoi forms under this open syllable etymon because Phunoi does preserve PTB ***-p***.

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	ă-**là[3]**	skin	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Thakali (Tukche)	ʈih ʾpli-**lɔ**	skin (v.)	Hari 1971:3.B.31
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Southern)	ki[21] **lo[21]**	skin	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	kɯe[21] **lo[21]**	hide; leather (dried animal skin); skin	CHEN Kang 1986d:8.2; CHEN Kang 1986d:8.2.6
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	myak-**hlwa**	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Sani [Nyi]	**ɬu[21]**	skin	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:115.1
Yi (Sani)	**ɬẓ[2]**	skin (cattle) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1144.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ɬŋ[11]**	skin	MA Xueliang 1989:361.1
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔã́ **hlù?**	skin	Matisoff 1987
	ʔấ **hlù**	skin	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã[55] **hlu?[11]**	skin	Bradley 1977

(21) PTB *s-lwap SKIN

The Tamangic and Nungic forms show preemption by the ***s-*** prefix.

This root resembles PTB ***s-lwa*** SKIN (§1.6.5), and perhaps should be merged with it in the future.

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Wancho	ho-**lop**	skin	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*[A]**sjop**	snake skin	Mazaudon 1994:992
Tamang (Taglung)	**ʃjop**	snake skin	Mazaudon 1994:992
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	kɔɹ[55] **sɔp[55]**	scalp	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

(22) PTB *m-bwat SKIN

The reconstruction of a nasal prefix in this poorly attested root is on the basis of the Muya form.

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**bat** si	hide; leather (dried animal skin); skin	Sharma 1991a:8.2; Sharma 1991a:8.2.6
Kanauri	**bod**	skin / bark	Sharma 1988:25
	bod‘	skin of man, dogs, cats; peel / rind (n.)	Bailey 1911
	bŏd‘	skin of people, dogs, cats	Matisoff 1987
	bod‘ khōmig‘	skin / take bark off tree or wand (vt.)	Bailey 1911
	bɔd	skin	Sharma 1988:13
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya [Minyak]	ʐɯ[35]**mbɐ[53]**	skin	SUN Hongkai 1991h:8.2
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Xide)	**bu̱[33]**-ku̱[33]	scales (fish); skin	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	hɯ[33]-**bu̱[33]**-ku̱[33]	scales	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	hɯ[33]**bu̱[33]**ku̱[33]	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.35

(23) PKC *hooŋ BARK (of tree) / COVER / SHELL

This etymon is so far only attested in Kuki-Chin.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hooŋ**	BARK (of tree) / COVER / SHELL	VanBik 2009:698
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**ho:ng2**	bark (of a tree)	VanBik 2009:698
	ho:ng[2]	bark (of a tree)	Bhaskararao 1996:491
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hôoŋ**	bark (of tree), cover, shell	VanBik 1995–:698
Lai (Falam)	**hŏoŋ**	bark, cover, shell	VanBik 2009:698
Lushai [Mizo]	**háwng**	bark, shell (as of eggs, etc)	VanBik 2009:698
	hawng	bark; shell	Bhaskararao 1996:491
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**hỳ**	shell of an egg, the bark of a tree (n.)	VanBik 2009:698

(24) PTB *tsəw SKIN

This tentatively reconstructed root is largely restricted to the final syllables of Loloish compounds, with a possible cognate from Kulung.

Baima **ʃhɑ[53] pɑ[53]** 'skin' (Sun 1991, "Body Parts Questionnaire") and Tamang (Sahu) **grahm-pa-sa** 'lip' and **sya** 'skin' (Taylor et al. 1972: 1.28, 2.24) look suspiciously like Baima **shɑ[13] kɛ[35]** 'flesh, meat' and Tamang (Sahu) **ra sya** 'meat', suggesting that these syllables derive from PTB ***sya-n*** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1), rather than from the present etymon.

Several forms with initial palatal sibilants are assigned by W. T. French to PNN ***Ç-k[h]uar***, which we in turn assign to PTB ***kur ≍ *kwar*** SKIN (§1.6.5).

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Kulung	**so** go	skin	Weidert 1987:170
	so ko warə	skin	Rai *et al.* 1975
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lipho	dzi[33]**tʂho[33]**	skin	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2
Nasu	n̥e̱[55] **tʂ[h]ɵ[33]**	lip	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.9
Nosu	ndʑ̩[44]**sɯ[33]**	skin	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2
Nusu (Northern)	nu[31] **ʂu[55]**	lip	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	n̥ɯ[31] **sui[55]**	lip	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	n̥ɯ[31]**sui[55]**	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.45

Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	ŋ̊ɯ^{55} **sui^{55}**	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989o:108.
Nusu (Central)	ŋ̊ɯ^{55} **ʂui^{55}**	lip	Dai Qingxia 1989p:108.
	ŋ̊ɯ^{55}**ʂui^{55}**	lip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.34
Yi (Nanjian)	gɯ^{55}**tʂu̱^{21}**	skin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:266.23
Yi (Xide)	ndʑ̩^{34}**ʂɯ^{33}**	skin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0120.35
	ndʑ̩^{44}**ʂɯ^{33}**	skin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:266.21
	n dʑ̩^{34}-**ʂɯ^{33}**	skin	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

(25) PTB *kwaŋ SKIN

This root is distinct from PTB ***kur** ≷ ***kwar*** SKIN (§1.6.5). Cf. Lalung **khong?** 'skin' (from the present etymon) vs. **kur** 'skin' and **mokun** 'eyelid' (from ***gul**). Neither does there seem to be a connection between this root and PTB ***s/r-kawk** ≷ ***s/r-kwak*** OUTER COVERING / SKIN / BARK / RIND (§1.6.5). The second syllable of Lahu **mâ-*qɔ*** 'lip' might well be derived from PLB ***ʔgaŋ**, but this syllable also appears in several other words (**mɔ̀ʔ-qɔ** 'mouth', **làʔ = tɔ-qɔ** 'palm of the hand', **mû-lɔ̀ʔ-qɔ** 'daytime; afternoon'), and is glossed 'noun formative of elusive meaning' in Matisoff 1988:250. See PTB ***kwaŋ*** MOUTH (§1.3.1), to which we temporarily assign Lahu 'mouth'.

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Anal	sa-**kɔŋ**	skin	Matisoff 1987
	wɔ̀ **kɔ̀ɔŋ**	skin	Weidert 1987:170

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Lalung [Tiwa]	**khong?**	skin	Balawan 1965:15

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa	^{1}ʌ^{3}**khoŋ**	skin	Weidert 1987:170
Tangsa (Yogli)	a **khaung**	skin	Marrison 1967

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	myak-**khwam**	eyelid	Matisoff 1987	[a]

[a]The final labial WB **khwam** perhaps result of assimilation to the preceding **-w-**.

(26) PTB *taŋ or *tuŋ SKIN

This rather poorly attested root is found in the second syllable of compounds in Bodic and Burmish, as well as in Kiranti, where it apparently occurs independently. No Written Tibetan cognate has yet been identified.

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	khop **tang**	skin	Egli-Roduner 1987:36 10
Tsangla (Motuo)	k^{h}op^{55} **taŋ^{55}**	skin	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Jirel)	kok-**tenq**	skin	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	Na **TUN**	fish scale	Rai 1985	
	TUN	scale (fish, etc.)	Rai 1985	[a]

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	n̥ot^{55}**tuŋ^{55}**	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.41
	n̥ot^{55} **tuŋ^{55}**	lip	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ot^{55}**tuŋ^{55}**	lip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.28
Achang (Luxi)	nut^{55} **tɔŋ^{51}**	lip	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985

[a]This peculiar transcription with capital letters, used by Novel Kishore Rai, represents [ʈuŋ], with an apico-alveolar initial.

(27) PKC *hook PEEL / BARK (v.) / SKIN (v.)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***hook**	PEEL / BARK (v.) / SKIN (v.)	VanBik 2009:729

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**hok^{1}** > ho?^{3}	skin [= ho:k1] (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:476
	hok^{1} > ho?^{3}	peel, to skin off	VanBik 2009:729
	ho:k^{1}	skin [= hok1] (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:485

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**hók**	peel, bark	VanBik 2009:729

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**hôok**-I, hòok-II	peel off, skin	VanBik 2009:729
Lai (Hakha)	**hook**-I, ho?-II	peel off, skin, strip off, unroof	VanBik 2009:729
Lushai [Mizo]	**hâwk**	strip off, to unroof, to take of, to blow off (as thatch or roof, or part of a roof) (v.)	VanBik 2009:729

(28) PKC *khir SCAB / DRY CRUST (nasal mucus)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***khir**	SCAB / DRY CRUST (nasal mucus)	VanBik 2009:456

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**khí?**	scab	VanBik 2009:456

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**khîr** ≷ khêr	scab, dry crust (e.g. hnap khîr 'dry nasal mucus')	VanBik 2009:456
Lushai [Mizo]	**khír**	scab (of wound, sore, etc), a dry crust or encrustation (as of boiled rice, etc), dry scales	VanBik 2009:456

(29) PTB *li $\begin{matrix}\text{n}\\\text{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ SKIN

This root is poorly attested so far, with no more than one putative reflex in any given subgroup.

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	ñiw-**lji**	lip	Simon 1979

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	ṭa-**löṅ**	skin of cattle	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Magar	bur **lin**	lip	Matisoff 1987

(30) PAsak *lak SKIN

This root has so far only been unearthed in the relatively obscure Asakian branch of Tibeto-Burman.

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Ganan	ʃă **le^{1}**	skin	Luce 1985:L.161	[a]
	ʃă **re^{1}**	skin	Luce 1985:L.161	
Kadu	sa-**lê**	skin	Matisoff 1987	
Kadu (Kantu)	s'a **le^{3}**	skin	Luce 1985:L.161	
Lui	**la** ho	skin	Matisoff 1987	
	lök rök	skin	Matisoff 1987	
Sak	a **láʔ**	skin	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:49	
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **lauʔ^{2}**	skin	Luce 1985:L.161	
Sak (Dodem)	**lɑk^{2}**	skin	Luce 1985:L.161	

[a]These Ganan and Kadu forms superficially resemble Loloish reflexes of PTB ***m/s-k-rəy*** SKIN (§1.6.5), but they have been assigned to the present etymon because of their resemblance to other Asakian forms.

1.6.5.2 Scale (of fish, snake)

(1) PKar *s-ʔbeŋ^{B} SCALE (OF FISH)

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***s-ʔbeŋ^{B}**	scale (of fish)	Luangthongkum 2013:247	[a]
Kayah	**ba^{11}**	scale (of fish)	Luangthongkum 2013:247	
Kayan	**be^{11}**	scale (of fish)	Luangthongkum 2013:247	
Kayaw	**be^{11}**	scale (of fish)	Luangthongkum 2013:247	
Pa-O (Southern)	**beŋ^{33}**	scale (of fish)	Luangthongkum 2013:247	
Pa-O (Northern)	**beŋ^{55}**	scale (of fish)	Luangthongkum 2013:247	
Pa-O	ʔə **béŋ**, thá? **béŋ**	scale of fish	Solnit 1989	
Pwo (Southern)	**bɛ̃i^{55}**	scale (of fish)	Luangthongkum 2013:247	
Sgaw (Northern)	**sɔ^{11} bi^{33}**	scale (of fish)	Luangthongkum 2013:247	

[a][Source Note] Only Sgaw has tone A while Pwo (SK), NK and CK have tone B.

1.6.5.3 Skin Blemish/Freckle

(1) PTani *tal CALLUS

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***tal**	callus	Sun 1993a:55

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**-tɯr**	callus	Sun 1993a
	lak-**tɯr**	callus	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-**tɯr**	callus	Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**-tal**	callus	Sun 1993a

(2) PTani *jit LEPROSY

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***jit**	leprosy	Sun 1993a:237

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	ta-**jit**	leprosy	Sun 1993a
	ta-**jit** a-či	leprosy	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta-**it**	leprosy	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	ta **ik**	leprosy (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **yik**	leprosy	Das Gupta 1963

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**tɯt** < ta-it?	leprosy	Sun 1993a

(3) PKC *phaar RASH / LEPROSY / MANGE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***phaar**	RASH / LEPROSY / MANGE	VanBik 2009:351

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	mi-**phak**	leper	VanBik 2009:351
Sizang	a **hpāk**	leper	VanBik 2009:351
Thado	**phá?**	rash	VanBik 2009:351
Tiddim	**pha:k^{2}**	leprous	VanBik 2009:351

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**phâar**	mange, rash	VanBik 2009:351
Lai (Falam)	**phăar**	mange, rash	VanBik 2009:351
Lushai [Mizo]	**pháar**	leprosy, a kind of mange (of goats), a leper	VanBik 2009:351

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**phàw**	leper	VanBik 2009:351

(4) PKar *thuʔ^{D} WART

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***thuʔ^{D}**	wart	Luangthongkum 2013:319
Kayah	**thɨ^{55}**	wart	Luangthongkum 2013:319
Kayaw	**thɨ^{33}**	wart	Luangthongkum 2013:319
Pwo (Northern)	**thauʔ^{45}**	wart	Luangthongkum 2013:319
Pwo (Southern)	**thɔuʔ^{31}**	wart	Luangthongkum 2013:319
Sgaw (Northern)	**thuʔ^{45}**	wart	Luangthongkum 2013:319
Sgaw (Southern)	**thɔuʔ^{21}**	wart	Luangthongkum 2013:319

(5) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\text{r}\\\text{s}\end{matrix}$ -mya-n WEN / MOLE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-men**	mole (blemish); wen; mole	Matisoff 2003a:601; Benedict 1972:104

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	***m̥eja**	mole (on skin)	Sun 1993b

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Khezha	**me** thì	wen, form / lump, form (v.)	Yabu 1994:8.2.3.5

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**men** phru	wart	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**me** wa	mole	Sharma 1991a:8.2.3.3
Pattani [Manchati]	**mo** khab	blemish on skin	Sharma 1991b:8.2.3

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Mama)	**mi^{55}** wa^{53}	mole	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Cuona Menba	**miu^{55}**	mole (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rm̥e**	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.05
Tibetan (Batang)	**m̥ia**^{13}	mole	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.2.3.3
	m̥iɑ^{55}	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**mɛ̃**^{55} (me^{55}wa^{55})	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**me** wah	mole	Bishop 1989:8.2.3.3
Spiti	**mi** yã	mole	Bodh 1991:8.2.3.3
Tibetan (Written)	**rme**-ba	mole on body; speck, mark, mole	Luce 1985:X.58; Benedict 1972:104
	rmen -pa	wen; mole	Matisoff 1987
	rmen-pa ⪤ śa-**rmen**	gland, wen	Benedict 1972:104
	sme ba	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.01
	ŝa-**rmen**	gland; swelling of gland; wen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hme**	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	**mo** so	mole	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.2.3.3
Tamang (Risiangku)	**²mes**	mole (on skin) (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:8.2.3
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mawo)	**rmi** mi	blemish on skin	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.2.3
	ʂpɑj **miɛ**	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.08
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	**me**	mole	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.2.3.3
Ergong (Danba)	**me**	mole	SUN Hongkai 1991b:8.2.3.3
Daofu	**mi**	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.12
Ergong (Northern)	**sme**^{33} wa^{33}	mole	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.2.3.3
	ɣmɛ^{53} k^{h}ɐ^{53}	blemish on skin	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.2.3
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (NW)	**rmɛ** k^{h}e	blemish on skin	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.2.3
	sme ve	mole	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.2.3.3
rGyalrong	**smo** wɛ	mole	DAI Qingxia 1989d:8.2.3.3
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **kmɛs**	blemish on skin	SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.2.3
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Xiandao)	tʂap^{31}**mi**^{31}	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.29
Bola (Luxi)	**mə̌**^{31}va^{31}	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.32
Burmese (Written)	**hmai'**	mole (on skin) (< hmañ')	Benedict 1976a
	hmáń	mole	Benedict 1972:104
	hmañ'	mole (on body) (= hmai')	Benedict 1976a
	hmé	mole	Benedict 1972:79n241
	m̥ɑi^{1}	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.26
Lashi	ŋɔʔ^{31} **mui**^{55}	mole	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.2.3.3
Leqi (Luxi)	ŋɔʔ^{31}**mui**^{55}	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.33
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**mɛ**^{44}na^{42}	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.44
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Mojiang)	tsh$\bar{ɿ}^{31}$tsh$\bar{ɿ}^{31}$**mɛ**^{31}na^{33}	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.42
Mpi	**mɑ**^{6}naŋʔ^{4}	mole (on the face)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Ugong	**mɪŋ**	blemish on skin	Bradley 1993:8.2.3
	mɪŋ ʔɛ	mole	Bradley 1993:8.2.3.3
7. KARENIC: *__hmai__ MOLE (on skin)			
**Karen*	*__hmai__	mole (on skin)	Benedict 1972:136n369
Bwe	**má** θí	mole (on the body) (n.)	Henderson 1997
	má θí	have a mole (v.)	Henderson 1997
Karen	**mɛ̲**^{31}tθu̲^{55}	mole (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0122.50
Pa-O	**má** iʔ	mole on skin	Solnit 1989

1.6.5.5 Itch/Scratch

(1) PTB *g-ya ITCH

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*__g-ya__	itch (v.)	Weidert 1987:286; Benedict 1972:451
	*__g-ya__	itch	Matisoff 2003a:619
1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
**Kuki-Naga-Chin*	*__ya__	itch (v.)	Weidert 1987:286
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *__yaa-I__, *__yaat-II__ ITCH / TICKLE			
**Chin*	*__yaa__-I, yaat-II	ITCH / TICKLE	VanBik 2009:1210
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**za**	irritant	VanBik 2009:1210
Thado	**zâa**-I, záat-II	itch, tickle	VanBik 2009:1210
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ya**	tickle (v.)	VanBik 2009:1210
Khumi	**k'yoo**	tickle	VanBik 2009:1210
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**zâa**-I, zaat-II	itch, tickle	VanBik 2009:1210
Lai (Falam)	**záa**-INV	itch, tickle	VanBik 2009:1210
Lushai [Mizo]	**zǎ**-I, zàt-II	tickle, to itch (v.)	VanBik 2009:1210
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**zá**	tickle	VanBik 2009:1210
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	ha gə **jə**	itch / be itchy (v.)	Singh 1991:8.2.3.10
	ha kə **cə** bə	itch / be itchy (v.)	Singh 1991:8.2.3.10
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**kǎ**^{1} **ja**^{55}	itchy	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	kəyá	itch	Matisoff 1974:317
	kəya	itch (v.)	Benedict 1972:451
	^{1}gə^{3}**ya**	itch (v.)	Weidert 1987:286
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	**c^{h}ʌ**^{53}	itch	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**g-ya**-ba	itch (v.)	Benedict 1972:451
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ke** baq	itch	Glover 1972:2.B.2.28
Manang (Gyaru)	**gyɛ**^{2} mo^{2}	itchy	Nagano 1984:133
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**kye:** pə	itching	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0932
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**kja**	itch (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:8.2.3.10
Thakali (Tukche)	**'ke**-lɔ	itch	Hari 1971:2.B.2.28
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**cā** su	itch / be itchy (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.2.3.10; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.2.3.10
Newar (Kathmandu)	**ca** su wɔl	itchy	Genetti 1990c
	ca su (l)-	itchy	Genetti 1990c
	cya su mwɔ(l)-	scratch / scrape	Genetti 1990c
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Chamling	**ci** thora mu-(u)	scratch	Winter 1985:8
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya [Minyak]	ŋ **gi**^{35} ŋɯ^{55}	itch / be itchy (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:8.2.3.10
Namuyi	n **ts^{h}ɛ**^{33} nt^{h}ɛ^{53}	itch / be itchy (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991i:8.2.3.10
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tʂi**^{55}	scratch (an itch)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	jɯ **ʐɛ**	itch / be itchy (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991b:8.2.3.10
	jɯ **ʐɛ**	itch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.14
Ergong (Northern)	ʐ̊ **cç^{h}a**^{53}	itch (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1.1.1
Ergong (Daofu)	r **tɕha**	itch / be itchy (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.2.3.10
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	kə ra **ja**	itch / be itchy (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:8.2.3.10
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**tśə** kut	itch	Benedict 1972:383
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ʑɑ**^{31}	itchy	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ʑɔ**^{31}	itchy	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**ʑa**^{51}	itchy	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**jɔ**^{31}	itch	DAI Qingxia 1989f:2400
Burmese (Written)	**yà**	itch (v.)	Weidert 1987:286
	yâ	itch	Matisoff 1974:317
	yâ	itch (< O.T. ɣya) (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	yà	itch (v.)	Benedict 1972:451
	yâ-yam	itch	Matisoff 1974:118
	yâ-yaṁ	itch (WB yâ, id.) (v.)	Benedict 1976a
Lashi	**jɔ:**^{33}	itch / be itchy (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.2.3.10
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**jo**^{21}	itchy	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	*__g-ya__^{2}	itch	Bradley 1979b:584A
	*__g-ya__^{2}	itch (v.)	Weidert 1987:286
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**ja**^{21}	itch / be itchy (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:8.2.3.10
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ia**^{55}	itch	DAI Qingxia 1989o:2400.
Nusu (Central)	**ia**^{55}	itch	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2400.
Nusu (Southern)	**iɲ**^{53}	itchy	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**iɑ**^{35}	itchy	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**iɑ**^{55} ɑ^{31}	itchy	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**iɑ**^{55}ɑ^{31}	itch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ʑu**^{33}	itchy	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Bisu	**hjà**	itch	Bradley 199x
	hjà	itch (v.)	Beaudouin 1988:32
8. BAI			
Bai (Dali)	**io**^{3}	itch (v.)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	io^{4}	itch (v.)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	jo̲u^{44}	itchy	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984

(2) PTB *m-sak ITCH

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*__m-sak__	itch (v.)	Weidert 1987:954
	*__m-sak__	itch; itchy; itch, itchy	LaPolla 1987:95; Benedict 1972:465; Matisoff 2003a:612
1.1.1. TANI: *__fak__ ITCH			
**Tani*	*__fak__	itch	Sun 1993a:218
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	á-**ha**	itch	Sun 1993b
	á-**ha** ho-su	scratch	Sun 1993b
	a-**haʔ**	itch	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**haʔ**-ho-su	itch	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**fak**	itch; itchy	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**fak** ǰi-ǰak	very itchy	Sun 1993b
	a-**fak** uk	scratch (itch)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(**ak**) fiok	scratch (an itch) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1530.24
	ak	itch; scratch (to stop an itch)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ak	itch / tickle (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1749.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ak**	itch; scratch	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:555.51; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.51
Galo	'a **ak**	itch (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'a **ak**	itchy (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**ak**-hag-nam	itch	Simon 1976
	a:k	itch	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ak**	itch	Sun 1993a
Milang	a **ha**-ɲi	itch	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**ma:-so**	itch	NEFA (India) 1963
	mɑ^{31} **so**^{53}	itchy	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	**maso**	itch; scabies	Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978; Anonymous 1962
	maso waga	itch	Pulu 1978
	mɑ^{55}**so**^{55}	itch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.50
Yidu	**mɑ**^{55}**so**^{55}	itch / tickle (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1749.25
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *__thak-I__, *__-thaʔ-II__ ITCH / ITCHY			
**Chin*	*__thak__-I, -thaʔ-II	ITCH / ITCHY	VanBik 2009:393
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**thak**	irritant, itch	VanBik 2009:393
Sizang	**chī** htak	itch	VanBik 2009:393
Thado	**thàʔ**-INV	itchy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:393
Tiddim	**thak**^{3} > thaʔ^{3}	itchy	VanBik 2009:393
	t'ak^{4}	itch (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**t'auk**	itch	VanBik 2009:393
Cho (Mindat)	**m**-thak	cause itching (v.)	VanBik 2009:393
Khumi	**ptha**	itch	VanBik 2009:393

Matupi	**t'ɑk²**	itch (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
Womatu	**m`t'ak²**	itch (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thak**-I tha?-II	itch, be itchy	VanBik 2009:393
Lai (Falam)	**thàk**-INV	itch, be itchy	VanBik 2009:393
Lushai [Mizo]	**thàk**	itchy, to have an irritating itching sensation (be v.)	VanBik 2009:393
	thak	itch; be pungent; be hot (as pepper) (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2937
	thak	itch, itchy	LaPolla 1987:95
	thak	itch (v.)	Benedict 1972:465
	t'ak⁴	itch (v.)	Luce 1985:O.7
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pā**-thā	itch (v.)	VanBik 2009:393
	pə **tha**	itch, itchy	LaPolla 1987:95
	pə **tha**	itch (v.)	Benedict 1972:465
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	**nthʌ́k**	itch / be itchy (v.)	Kosha 1990:8.2.3.10
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-sak** ITCH (v.), ***m-ʃak** SCRATCH (v.)			
**Central Naga*	***m-sak**	ITCH (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.243
	***m-ʃak**	SCRATCH (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.244
**Ao*	***m-sak**	ITCH (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.096
Ao (Chungli)	**-sàk**	scratch (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
	mesak	itch (v.)	Benedict 1972:465
	məsak	itch, itchy	LaPolla 1987:95
	mə³sak¹	itchy / promiscuous (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.096
	mʌ́sàk	itch (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
	³mɯ¹sak	be hot (as chili-peppers) / itch (v.)	Weidert 1987:1014
Ao (Mongsen)	**mʌ́sàk**	itch (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:13
	sàk	scratch (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**məsak**	itch [itched] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**ṇ¹-thək²-**	itch, be itchy (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.243
	ṇ¹-ʃak²-	scratch (leaving a mark or wound) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.244
	nshak	scratch	Marrison 1967:619
	Nthuk	rash	Nienu 1990c:8.2.3.9
	nthük a	itch	Murry *et al.* 1978:63
	Nthuk a	itch / be itchy (v.)	Nienu 1990c:8.2.3.10
	¹n(²)tɯk	itch (v.)	Weidert 1987:954
Yimchungrü	a **tak**	burn (v.)	Marrison 1967
	müshak	scratch (v.)	Kumar 1973b:38
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	**²me¹so**	itch (v.)	Weidert 1987:954
Angami (Kohima)	**me³¹ so¹¹**	itch / be itchy (v.)	Nienu 1990a:8.2.3.10
Sema [Sumi]	**mutho**	itch / itchy (v.)	Achumi 1998a:8.2.3.10
	mutho gha	rash; scab	Achumi 1998a:8.2.3.9; Achumi 1998a:8.2.4
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Zeme	³ke¹**n¹cak**	itch (v.)	Weidert 1987:954
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ing **thàk**	itch / be itchy (v.)	Grüssner 1979:22
	iŋ **thak**	itch, itchy	LaPolla 1987:95
	iŋ **thak**	itch (v.)	Benedict 1972:465
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	mə=**tau?**	itchy (be v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**me-sak**-a	irritated skin; itch (vi.)	Burling 2003:8.94-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	ba **sak-**	burn and cause a rash, to cause irritation or itching (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***c^{h}ak**	burn (v.)	French 1983:465
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**məsaʔ**	sharp, biting to the taste, causing an itching sensation (be v.)	Benedict 1972:465
	mə **saʔ**	itch, itchy	LaPolla 1987:95
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**tʃwak** ʂi	scratch (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**sa^{53}**	itch / be itchy (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:8.2.3.10
Tsangla (Motuo)	**sa^{13}**	itch (v.)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	za	itch	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tshona (Wenlang)	**zɑ^{35}** se^{55}	itchy	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Batang)	**sa^{13}** ga^{53}	itch / be itchy (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.2.3.10
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**ják**	itch (v.)	Plaisier 2007
	jak	itch, tickle (v.)	Benedict 1972:465 [a]
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**rak** su-	itch (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:98
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Taoping)	**dzɑ^{31}**	itch	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dzʅ^{31} **zɑ^{231}**	itch	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dzʅ^{31}**zɑ^{241}**	itch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:900.9
4. Nungic			
Anong	bɯ^{31} **sɑŋ^{55}**	itch	Sun Hongkai 1988
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	pɯ^{31} **saʔ^{55}**	itch, itchy	LaPolla 1987:95
	pɯ^{31} **sɑ̆ʔ^{55}**	itchy	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	pɯ^{31} **saʔ^{55}**	itch, itchy	LaPolla 1987:95
	pɯ^{31} **sɑ̆ʔ^{55}**	itchy	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
7. Karenic: ***saʔ^{D}** ITCHY			
**Karen*	***saʔ^{D}**	itchy	Luangthongkum 2013:156
Bwe	**θà**	itch (v.)	Weidert 1987:954
	θa^{33}	itchy	Luangthongkum 2013:156
Kayah	**se^{55}**	itchy	Luangthongkum 2013:156
Kayan	**θaʔ^{45}**	itchy	Luangthongkum 2013:156
Kayaw	**sɔ^{33}**	itchy	Luangthongkum 2013:156
Pa-O (Southern)	**saʔ^{21}**	itchy	Luangthongkum 2013:156
Pa-O (Northern)	**saʔ^{21}**	itchy	Luangthongkum 2013:156
Pwo (Northern)	**saʔ^{45}**	itchy	Luangthongkum 2013:156
Pwo (Southern)	**θaʔ^{21}**	itchy	Luangthongkum 2013:156
Sgaw (Southern)	**saʔ^{21}**	itchy	Luangthongkum 2013:156
Sgaw (Northern)	**saʔ^{45}**	itchy	Luangthongkum 2013:156
Sgaw	**⁴θaʔ**	itch (v.)	Weidert 1987:954
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**tθa̱^{55}**	itch	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2515
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**θa̱ʔ^{55}**	itch	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2515

[a] In Mainwaring's transcription, **j** stands for [ʒ], or as he puts it, "like French j-" (p. 93). Curiously, although both **jak** and **yak** appear in the index (p. 540), neither appears in the body of the dictionary.

(3) PTB *pruk SCRATCH / ITCH

The semantic association between SCRATCH and ITCH occurs also in colloquial English.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pruk**	scratch	Benedict 1972:391
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**phúk-**	itch / be itchy (v.)	Grüssner 1979:146
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**buru**	scratch	Benedict 1972:391
Kokborok	**pru**	scratch	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**brik**	scratch	Benedict 1972:391
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥphrug**-pa	scratch oneself	Benedict 1972:391
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**phrap-**	scratch (v.)	Allen 1975
	phrək-	scratch (v.)	Allen 1975
4. Nungic			
Anong	**bɯ^{31}** sɑŋ^{55}	itch	Sun Hongkai 1988
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**pɯ^{31}** saʔ^{55}	itch, itchy	LaPolla 1987:95
	pɯ^{31} sɑ̆ʔ^{55}	itchy	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**pɯ^{31}** saʔ^{55}	itch, itchy	LaPolla 1987:95
	pɯ^{31} sɑ̆ʔ^{55}	itchy	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**phrok**	scratch, in order to allay itching (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	phyok	scratch, in order to allay itching (v.)	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***m-prak^{H}**	scratch	Bradley 1979b:585
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**pyaˆ**-eu	scratch	Bradley 1979b:585
Hani (Dazhai)	**pja̱^{33}**	scratch (an itch)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Caiyuan)	**phɣ̱^{33}**	scratch (an itch)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**pja̱^{33}**	scratch (an itch)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**p^{h}a^{33}**	scratch (an itch)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Mpi	**phjoʔ^{3}**	scratch	Bradley 1979b:585

(4) PTB *hyak ≍ *hwak SCRATCH

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***hyak**	scratch	Matisoff 2003a:594; Benedict 1972:230
1.1.1. Tani: ***fiok** SCRATCH (to stop an itch)			
**Tani*	***fiok**	scratch (to stop an itch)	Sun 1993a:337
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	á-ha **ho**-su	scratch	Sun 1993b
	a-haʔ-**ho**-su	itch	Sun 1993b
	a-ǰi **hoʔ**	scrape v. (~field)	Sun 1993b
	hoʔ	scratch (to stop an itch)	Sun 1993a
	hoʔ-k^{h}rjo **hoʔ**-ljo	scratch	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-fak **uk**	scratch (itch)	Sun 1993b
	uk	scratch (to stop an itch); scratch, claw; dig with claw (dog)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	(ak) **fiok**	scratch (an itch) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1530.24
	hok	scratch (to stop an itch); scratch; pick, gouge	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	hok-set	scratch	Sun 1993b
Galo	**og** nam	itch (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ok-si-nam	scratch (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ok**	scratch (to stop an itch)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**xak**	itch	Sun 1993b
	fiak	scratch (to stop an itch)	Sun 1993b
Milang	**hok**-ma	scratch	Tayeng 1976
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hiat**	scratch (v.)	Benedict 1972:230
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**ha** gə jə	itch / be itchy (v.)	Singh 1991:8.2.3.10
	ha kə cə bə	itch / be itchy (v.)	Singh 1991:8.2.3.10
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**ak**-brit-a	scratch (v.)	Weidert 1987:701
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**u:k-**	scratch (esp. an itch) (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Taoba)	**xa^{35}** mə^{53}	itch	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**yak**	strike with stroke toward one's self; scratch; strike with a stroke toward one's self, scratch	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:230

(5) PKir *sus ITCH

2.2. Newar			
Newar	cā **su**	itch / be itchy (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.2.3.10; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.2.3.10
Newar (Kathmandu)	ca **su** wɔl	itchy	Genetti 1990c
	ca **su** (l)-	itchy	Genetti 1990c
	cya **su** mwɔ(l)-	scratch / scrape	Genetti 1990c
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***sus-**	itch (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:98
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			

Limbu	**sos- (so)**	itch (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	soːs- (so)	itch (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:98
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**sus-**	itch, to be hot (of chili) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:98
Chamling	**syus**-(a)	itch	Winter 1985:35
	syus-a	itch (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:98
Kulung	**səs**-a	itch (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:98; Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	√**su-**	itch (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:98
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**su-**	itch (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:98
Thulung	**sius-**	itch (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:98; Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**sos**-sa	itch	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.28
Chepang (Eastern)	**sos** na?	itch / be itchy (v.)	Caughley 1990:8.2.3.10

(6) PTB *m-kryat SCRATCH / SCRAPE

This etymon was formerly reconstructed as ***m-kret** (*HPTB*:375).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***kret**	scrape	Coblin 1986:129
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kr(w)et**	scrape, shave	LaPolla 1987:170
	***m-krak**	scratch / rake (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:596
	***m-kret**	scratch / scrape	Matisoff 2003a:375
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin: ***kiat** SCRAPE			
**Northern Chin*	***kiat**	SCRAPE	VanBik 2009:307
Sizang	**kīet** hī	scrape	VanBik 2009:307
Tiddim	**kiat**[1]	scrape	VanBik 2009:307
	kiat[1]	scrape (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:631
	kiat[1]	scrape	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Daai	**kɣʰɔːt**	scratch	So-Hartmann 1988:153
Nyhmoye	**tšʰəːt**	scratch	So-Hartmann 1988:153
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-tʃhət** SHAVE / SCRAPE			
**Ao*	*a-**tʃhət**	SHAVE, SCRAPE	Bruhn 2014a:II.175
Ao (Chungli)	a[3]-**sət**[1]	shave, plane (with plane tool) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.175
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tʃhət**	scrub [scrubbed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃhət ùk	scrape [scraped] (v.)	Coupe 2007
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	kai-**jrit**	scratch (v.)	Weidert 1987:701
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**mat-chrit**-a	scratch (vt.)	Burling 2003:8.955-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**machirit-**	scratch, to be scratched (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	**ji-ri**	scratch (v.)	Jacquesson 2005
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**machyit**	scratch (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mă[31]**khjit**[31]	scratch (an itch) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1530.19
	mă[31]**khjit**[31]	scratch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:555.47
	məkhrèt	scratch	Matisoff 1974:342
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Ganan	ñe[1]**he**[2]	scratch (v.)	Luce 1985:L.288
Kadu (Kantu)	ă **hɛ**[2]	scratch (v.)	Luce 1985:L.288
Sak (Bawtala)	ă[4]**hre**[2]	scratch (v.)	Luce 1985:L.288
	ă[4]**hre**[1]	scratch (v.)	Luce 1985:L.288
Sak	a **hré**	scratch	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:134
2.1.4. Tamangish: *[B]**k**[h]**ret** SCRATCH			
**TGTM*	*[B]**k**[h]**ret**	scratch, gnaw	Mazaudon 1994:129
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]**k**[h]**ret**	scratch, remove with a knife, gnaw	Mazaudon 1994:129
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Chamling	**khrəyd-**	claw, scratch (tiger, V)	Winter 1985
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**ciri?-**	scratch hard surface (esp. of soil) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	hryat-	jag, catch, snag, pull at or out, scratch (thorn) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **khrot**	shave (hairs) / scrape (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1352.11
Caodeng	kɐ-**k**[h]**rət**	scrape	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	kɐ-**k**[h]**rot**	scrape	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Dulong	ɑ[31]**xɔt**[55]	scratch (an itch against sthg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1170.20
	ɑ[31]**xɹɔt**[55]	scratch (an itch against sthg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1170.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**xrɔt**[55]	scrape, shave	LaPolla 1987:170
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**xrɔʔ**[55]	scrape, shave	LaPolla 1987:170
	xɹǒʔ[55]	scrape off	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***Nkret** SCRATCH / SCRAPE / RASP, ***m-krak** SCRATCH			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*(**N**)kret	scrape, shave	LaPolla 1987:170 [a]
	***kret**	scratch[2] / scrape / rasp	Matisoff 1972b:97(a)
	***Nkrak**	scratch	Matisoff 1972b:96(b)
	***Nkret**	scratch[2] / scrape / rasp	Matisoff 1972b:97(b)
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**khzꭓət**[35]	shave (hairs) / scrape (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1352.28
Achang (Xiandao)	**khzꭓɔt**[55]	shave (hairs) / scrape (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1352.29
Bola (Luxi)	**khjɔt**[55]	shave (hairs) / scrape (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1352.32
Burmese (Written)	**khrac**	scrape; mark with the nails, scrape (cf. khrak); mark with the nails, scrape	Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:170
	khrak	scratch with nails (cf. khrac)	Benedict 1976a
	kyac	twist tight and hard; scratch out	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**khjat**[55]	shave (hairs) / scrape (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1352.31
Maru [Langsu]	**khyát**	scrape	Okell 1971
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***m-krak**[H]	scratch	Bradley 1979b:585
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Dafang)	**ꭓu**[33]	itch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:900.22
Yi (Mile)	**ꭓo**[21]	itch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:900.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**zo**[33]	itch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:900.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ꭓo**[21]	itch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:900.24
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**ꭓo**[21] vę̱[33]	itch / be itchy (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.2.3.10
Lahu	**gê?**	rasp, scrape	LaPolla 1987:170
Lahu (Lancang)	**gɛ**[54]**t**ɕ**hi**[53]	shave (hairs) / scrape (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1352.43
	gɑ[54]	scratch (an itch) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1530.43
	kɑ[54]	comb (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1634.43
	pɤ[11]**kɑ**[54]	comb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0481.43
Lahu (Black)	**gâ?**	scratch / rake	Matisoff 1972b:96(b)
	gê?	rasp; scrape; scratch	Matisoff 1974:342; Matisoff 1972b:97(b)
	gʌ[54]	scratch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:555.33
	kʌ[54]	comb (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:654.33
	pə[31]**kʌ**[54]	comb (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:459.33
	pī-**kâ?**	comb	Matisoff 1972b:96(a)
Lahu (Yellow)	**xɛʔ**[54]	itchy	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Yi (Sani)	**gɤ**[44]	scratch (an itch against sthg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1170.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ʐɑ**[55]	itch	Ma Xueliang 1989:345.1
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**jeh** HS	scrape; rake; shave away; scrape, rake, shave away	LaPolla 1987:170; Matisoff 1972b:97(b)
Hani (Pijo)	**tjha**	comb	Hansson 1989:446
	vỳ khì **kha**	comb, harrow	Hansson 1989:446
Haoni	**kha**	comb	Hansson 1989:446
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Southern Muji	**ka**[33]	scratch	Pelkey 2011:914
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**kwɑ**˩	scratch (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3273
Na (Yongning)	**qwæ**˩**qwæ**˥	scratch (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Western)	**ka**[31]**ka**[33]	itch(y)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ka**[31]**ka**[33]	scratch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:555.28
	ka[31]**ka**[31]	itch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:900.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**kuɑ**[31]**kuɑ**[13]	scratch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:555.29
	kuɑ[13] (**kuɑ**[31]**kuɑ**[13])	itch (scrath-)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:900.29
Naxi	**kæ**[21]**kæ**[33]	itch / tickle (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1749.45

Chinese comparandum

契 OC ***k'iɑd**, *GSR* #279b 'notch, engrave'; Coblin 86:129 ST ***kret** > OC ***kriat**; Schuessler 2007: ***khêts**; B & S 2011: ***k**[hs]**et-s** **{** **[k**[h]**]** [s]**et-s}**; Mand. **qì**.
鍥 OC ***k'iɑt**, *GSR* #279f 'cut, cut through'; Schuessler 2007:129 ***khêt**; Mand. **qiè**.
刮 OC ***kwɑt**, *GSR* #302n 'scrape'; Schuessler 2007:264 ***krôt**; B & S 2011: ***k**[ws]**rat** **{** **[k**[s]**]** **r** **[a]** **t}**; Mand. **guā**.

(7) PTB *k $\begin{matrix}\text{i}\\\text{u}\end{matrix}$ t SCRAPE / RULE (LINE) / SCRATCH / ITCH / CUT / CARVE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ku(ː)t**	scrape / carve / scratch	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:597
	***kut**	scrape / scratch / cut / carve	Benedict 1972:383
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***k**[h]**ot** SCRATCH / SCRAPE			
**Tangkhulic*	***k**[h]**ot**	scratch / scrape	Mortensen 2012:546
Kachai	k[h]ə-mə-**k**[h]**ɐ**	scratch / scrape	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.086
Ukhrul	kə-**k**[h]**ot**	scratch / scrape	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**khu**	engrave on wood / stone	Benedict 1972:383
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	ka-**kit**	itch	Benedict 1972:383
	kit	carve	Benedict 1972:383
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***kuːt**	scrape (v.)	French 1983:541
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	a[31]**khut**[31]	scrape	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	khut	scrape, rub	Benedict 1972:383
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	ă-**hut**	scratching; a rake	Benedict 1972:383
	ă-**kut**	strake	Benedict 1972:383
	hut	scratch, as body / earth (v.)	Benedict 1972:383
	kut	rule a line (v.)	Benedict 1972:383
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**kurh**-sa	scratch	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.40
4. Nungic			
Anong	tśə **kut**	itch	Benedict 1972:383
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**khut**	cut (with knife) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	khut	gash, chop, cut, beat (metal); gash, chop, cut, beat (metal); chop (tree)	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:383; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:602.39
	khut[4]	chop; hew; chop down (trees) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1467.26; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1468.26
	kut	scratch; hold fast over shoulders	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:383
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Yi (Sani)	**kɤ**[33]	mow; cut (grass); cut (meat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1339.39; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1342.39

[a] [Source Note] [*TSR* 97].

	kɤ^{33}**tshɻ**^{44}	cut off / sever (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1341.39

(8) PKC *khuat ⩙ *huat SCRATCH

This root bears some resemblance to PKC ***khuat ⩙ *huat** SCRATCH (§1.6.5.5), but is best treated as a separate etymon.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***khuat ⩙** huat	SCRATCH	VanBik 2009:457

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**khuat**	scratch	VanBik 2009:457
Thado	**khûot**-I, khùot-II	scratch	VanBik 2009:457
Tiddim	**khuat**^{1}	scratch, scratch ground (of hens)	VanBik 2009:457
	khuat^{1}	scratch; scratch ground [of hens] (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:842
	khuat^{1}	scratch...	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**huat**-I, hua?-II	scratch	VanBik 2009:457
Lai (Falam)	**hûat**-INV	scratch	VanBik 2009:457

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**háo**	scratch as a dog the ground (v.)	VanBik 2009:457

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Sorbung	**k^{h}uat**	scratch	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.256

(9) PTani *gaŋ SCRATCH (with claws)

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***gaŋ**	scratch (with claws)	Sun 1993a:338

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	**ga:**	scratch (with claws)	Sun 1993a
Galo	**gaa** nam	scratch (vt.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gaŋ**	scratch (with claws)	Sun 1993a

(10) PTk *mow ITCHY

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***mow**	itchy	Mortensen 2012:420
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**mow**	itch; be itchy	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.123
Tusom	kxu-**mo**	itch	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.242
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**muj**	itch, itchy	Mortensen 2012

(11) PCN *a-hnak SCRATCH

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	*a-**hnak**	SCRATCH (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.239
**Ao*	*a-**hnak**	SCRATCH (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.232
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}**nak**^{1}	scratch (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.232
	a **nak**	scratch (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen)	**nàk**	scratch (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
	^{h}**nàk**	scratch (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**nak** shi	scratch (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hnàk**	scratch [scratched] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**nək**^{2}-	scratch (to satisfy an itch) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.239
	e **nak**	scratch	Marrison 1967:619

1.6.6 Obscure Internal Channels

(1) PTB *r-sa VEIN / SINEW / INTERNAL CHANNEL / PULSE

This root is distinct from PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1), although words meaning MUSCLE are sometimes assignable to it, since the bulging contour suggests the meaning FLESH. The general meaning of PTB ***r-sa** VEIN / SINEW / INTERNAL CHANNEL / PULSE (§1.6.6) refers to body parts of rather obscure function that extend throughout the body. (These were referred to as "obscure internal channels and connections" or OICCs in *VSTB*.) The Karbi form **artho**, with meanings including 'vein', 'artery', 'ligament', 'muscle', 'sinew', and 'tendon', well illustrate this point.

Also to be assigned to this etymon is the first syllable of PKC ***tha-ruy ⩙ *-hruy** VEIN / ARTERY / SINEW (§1.6.2.1).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-sa**	vein; root; sinew; muscle, tendon	Michailovsky 1991:124; Benedict 1972:442; Matisoff 2003a:612

1.1.1. TANI: ***fo** SINEW / VEIN

**Tani*	***fo**	sinew / vein	Sun 1993a:359

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	a-**fu:**	sinew; vein	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	u:-vi a-**fu:**	blood vessel	Sun 1993b
Tagin	**au**	vein	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	aí-**sho**-phon	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**sa:**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	sɑ^{55}	muscle	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	e^{55}**sa**^{55}	sinew / tendon (muscle to bone	SUN Hongkai 1991f:8.5
	e **sã**	vein	Pulu 1978
	e **sa** pã	vein	Anonymous 1962
	t^{h}a	muscle	Anonymous 1962
	t^{h}o-aŋgo	muscle	Pulu 1978

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***thaa** SINEW / TENDON / STRENGTH

**Chin*	***thaa**	SINEW / TENDON / STRENGTH	VanBik 2009:409

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**thá**-gûy	sinew	VanBik 2009:409
Tiddim	**tha**^{1}	strength, energy; strength	VanBik 2009:409; Bhaskararao 1996:1854
	ˊtha:	strength (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**tha**-gui	strength, muscle	VanBik 2009:409
Khumi	**athoo**	strength, courage	VanBik 2009:409

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**thàa**	sinew, strength	VanBik 2009:409
Lai (Falam)	**thâa**	sinew, strength	VanBik 2009:409
Lushai [Mizo]	**thâ**	nerve / vein	Weidert 1987:55
	tha	blood vessel; vein; artery; sinew; tendon	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	thâ	sinew, a tendon, strength, power, might, energy, vigour (n.)	VanBik 2009:409
	tha	strength; sinew	Bhaskararao 1996:1854; Benedict 1972:442
	tha-zâm	blood vessel; vein; artery; nerve	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	tha-za:m	veins, arteries, nerves	Benedict 1972:442
	ṭhal bê	lymph gland / gland in groin	Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**tha**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	thá	strength	VanBik 2009:409
	tha-ri	blood vessel; vein; artery; nerve; sinew; tendon	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**rətʰə** rui	blood vessel / vein / artery	Toba & Kom 1991:8.7.1

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-sa?** NERVE, VEIN / POWER, STRENGTH

**Central Naga*	*a-**sa?**	NERVE, VEIN / POWER, STRENGTH	Bruhn 2014a:III.014
Lotha Naga	e-**tho**-tʃak-	upset, downhearted (be v.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	e^{1}-**tho?**^{2}	nerves / power, strength (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.014
	tho^{2}-ʒə?^{2}	sinew, tendon (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.114
	e **tho**	strong; strength	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:118
	E **tho**	muscle	Nienu 1990c:8.8
	tho zhü	sinew	Murry *et al.* 1978:112
	tho zhu	nerve	Murry *et al.* 1978:77
Sangtam	a **su**	power / strength	Kumar 1973a
	su yo	vein	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**süh** müh	power	Kumar 1973b:52

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**artho**	ligament; muscle; nerve; sinew; tendon	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	arthō	blood vessel; vein; artery; ligament (bone to bone)	Grüssner 1979:5; Grüssner 1979:5
	artho	nerve, sinew, vein, muscle	Benedict 1972:442
	arthō-pī	blood vessel / vein / artery	Grüssner 1979:5
	arthō-sō	blood vessel / vein / artery	Grüssner 1979:5
	arthō(?)	nerve / vein	Weidert 1987:55
	kèng a-dòk-dák **arthô**	ligament (bone to bone)	Grüssner 1979:41

1.6. MRU

Mru	**cha**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**rada**	nerve	Matisoff 1987
	roda ⩙ rota	root; sinew, tendon	Benedict 1972:442
	rɤda?	nerve / vein	Weidert 1987:55
Dimasa	**rada**	vein	Benedict 1972:442
Meche	**roda?**	nerve / vein	Weidert 1987:55

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa	^{1}ʌ-**ḍ̪ʌ?**	nerve / vein	Weidert 1987:55

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**hau**	nerve, tendon, vein	Benedict 1972:442
Konyak (Tamlu)	**ɣa?**	nerve / vein	Weidert 1987:55

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	du lə **sa**	lg. sinews of the neck	Matisoff 1987
	lǎ^{3} **sa**^{33}	muscle	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ləsa	tendon, sinew, vein	Benedict 1972:442
	ləsa tawng	tendon; sinew (euph.)	Matisoff 1987
	ləsaw	tendon; sinew (euph.)	Matisoff 1987
	lə **sa**~lə **saw**	sinew / tendon	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	**tà**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Sharma 1991a:8.7.1

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**chā**	nerve	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	**tsa**	vein; artery; nerve	Egli-Roduner 1987:36 7; Egli-Roduner 1987:36 8
Tsangla (Motuo)	**tsa**^{55}	blood vessel; muscle	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986; ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tsɑ**^{55}	muscle	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tsʌ**^{53}	muscle; sinew	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:267.6

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	**tsa**^{53}	blood vessel / vein / artery	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.7.1
	tʂa^{53}	pulse	DAI Qingxia 1989a:9.3.2
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'cāq**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
Sherpa	**'caq**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**tsah**	sinew; tendon (muscle to bone; pulse	Bishop 1989:8.5; Bishop 1989:9.3.2
Spiti	**tsà**	blood vessel; vein; artery; pulse	Bodh 1991:8.7.1; Bodh 1991:9.3.2
Tibetan (Written)	č'u-**rtsa**	sinews; veins	Matisoff 1987
	dbaŋ-**rtsa**	nerve	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:57
	lag **rtsa**	pulse (wrist) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.01
	rluŋ-**rtsa**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	rtsa	vein; artery; pulse;	Matisoff 1987
	rtsa(-ba)	muscle, tendon; vein, root, sinew	Michailovsky 1991:124; Benedict 1972:442
	rtsa-dkár	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	t'od-**rtsa**	vena frontalis	Matisoff 1987

2.1.3. LEPCHA

[a] [Source Note] nerves/strength-break

Lepcha	a-***tsó**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	a-**so**	blood vessel; vein; artery; muscle	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	a-**sóp** (pŭn-prók)	sinew / tendon	Matisoff 1987
	so	veins, fibres of wood	Benedict 1972:442
	ví nŭm-nyim-**să** a-**so**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Chantyal	nə **sa**	sinew; tendon (muscle to bone; nerve; ligament (bone to bone)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.10; Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.5; Noonan *et al.* 1992:8.6
Gurung (Ghachok)	koq **cā**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	koq **ca**	blood vessel	Glover 1972:2.A.6
Thakali (Tukche)	**ca**	nerve	Matisoff 1987
2.2. Newar			
Newar	nɔ **sā**	nerve	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.10
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***sa**	muscle, tendon	Michailovsky 1991:124
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**sa** wet	tendon, ?nerve	Michailovsky 1989b
	sa we:t	tendon, nerve	Michailovsky 1991:124
Yakha	pham na **sa** wa	artery	Kohn 1990:8.7.1
	phim na **sa** wa	vein	Kohn 1990:8.7.1
	sa: ga: musla	muscle	Kohn 1990:8.8
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	no **sə**	muscle, tendon; muscle, muscles	Michailovsky 1991:124; Driem 1993
	no **sə** m	muscle, tendon; muscle, muscles	Michailovsky 1991:124; Driem 1993
Khaling	**sö**	muscle, tendon	Michailovsky 1991:124
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**sa** gra	vein	Michailovsky 1991:124
Thulung	**so:**	muscles, strength	Michailovsky 1991:124; Allen 1975
	so: rip	tendon, vein	Michailovsky 1991:124
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**so?**	nerve; vein; ligament	Weidert 1987:55; Michailovsky 1991:124; Matisoff 1987
	so?	blood vessel, sinew, ligament, nerve (n.)	Caughley 2000
	so?	nerve; blood vessel; ligament	Caughley 1972:2.A.5; Caughley 1972:2.A.6; Caughley 1972:2.A.7
	so?.na.re	blood vessels, sinews, etc. (n.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**so?**	sinew; tendon (muscle to bone; nerve; ligament (bone to bone); blood vessel; vein; artery	Caughley 1990:8.10; Caughley 1990:8.5,8.6; Caughley 1990:8.7.1
Kham	'nā **sā**	ligament	Matisoff 1987
	'nə **sa**	tendon; ligament	Watters & Watters 1989; Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.7
Magar	na **sā**	nerve	Matisoff 1987
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ȥi̱ə**	vein; pulse	Sofronov c1978; Sofronov c1978
	ȥwọ	artery	Sofronov c1978
	ʑɪ̈ə	pulse	Dai Qingxia 1989e:9.3.2
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Jiulong)	**se^{55}**	tendon / sinew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0130.10
Xumi	**sɛ^{55}** tsɑ^{33}	sinew; tendon	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:267.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	cç^{h}ak^{53} **ɻtsa^{53}**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.7.1
Ergong (Daofu)	**rtsɑ**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Dai Qingxia 1989b:8.7.1
Ergong (Northern)	**ɕ^{h}ɛ^{33}** rɟjət^{53}	sinew / tendon (muscle to bone	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.5
	ɕ^{h}ɛ^{53} snak^{33}	muscle	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.8
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐ̩tsa**	sinew / tendon	Sun Hongkai 1991b:8.5
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	k^{h}rak **ɻtsa**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.7.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ɻtse**	blood vessel; vein; artery; ligament (bone to bone)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.7.1
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**tsɑ^{55}**	pulse	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola	sui^{35} **tʃ^{h}a^{55}**	pulse	Dai Qingxia 1989g:157
Lashi	**ʃo^{55}**	muscle	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.8
Maru [Langsu]	**ʃɔ^{35}**	muscle	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.8
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**sɛ^{33}** tʂo^{33}	nerve	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.10
Sani [Nyi]	si^{55}**tʂə^{33}**	blood vessel	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	si^{55}**tʂɑ^{33}**	blood vessel	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7.1
	sʅ^{55} **tʂɑ^{33}**	blood vessel	Ma Xueliang 1989:354.2

(2) PTB *graw OBSCURE INTERNAL CHANNEL

3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**gu^{35}**	tendon / sinew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0130.16
	ku^{35}	sinew; tendon	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:267.17
Namuyi	**gu^{55}**tsɛ^{33}	sinew; tendon	Sun Hongkai 1991i:8.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:267.19
	gu^{55}tsæ^{31}	tendon / sinew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0130.46
Qiang (Mawo)	**gəˈ**	muscle; sinew; nerve	Sun 1986; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai 1991g:8.10
	gəˈ	tendon / sinew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0130.08
	gəˈ	sinew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:267.8
	sa(æ)ɣə̠ˈ	blood vessel / vein / artery	Sun Hongkai 1991g:8.7.1
	sɑ **gwiˈ**	blood vessel	Sun 1986
Qiang (Yadu)	**gə**	muscle	Dai Qingxia 1989q:162
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**grə^{53}**	nerve	Sun Hongkai 1991c:8.10
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ŋ **gru**	nerve	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.10
rGyalrong (NW)	tə ŋ **grə**	nerve	Sun Hongkai 1991l:8.10
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	dɯ^{31} **gɹu^{53}**	muscle	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	dɯ^{31} **gɹu^{53}**	muscle	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	**kɯ^{31}**	muscle	Dai Qingxia 1989f:156
Burmese (Written)	**krô**	nerve, sinew, vein	Benedict 1976a
	le-**krâw**	sinew; tendon; muscle	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	saw swê-**krâw**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	ə-**krô**	muscle, vein, nerve	Benedict 1976a
	ʔa-rum-**krâw**	nerve	Matisoff 1987
	ʔə hmyaŋ-**krâw**	nerve	Matisoff 1987
	ʔə **krâw**	sinew; tendon; muscle	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*(ʃ)-**gru^{2}**	tendon	Bradley 1979b:137
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	sʅ^{21} **gu^{21}** tʂa^{33}	blood vessel / vein / artery	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7.1
Nesu	**dʐu^{33}**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Chen Kang 1986b:8.7.1
Nusu (Southern)	**dʐɯ^{55}**	muscle	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**gɤ^{55}**	muscle	Dai Qingxia 1989o:156.
Nusu (Northern)	**gɹɯ^{35}**	muscle	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**gˈɯ^{55}**	muscle	Dai Qingxia 1989p:156.
Yi (Dafang)	**dʑu^{33}**	muscle	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Nanjian)	**gu̱^{21}** tʂɑ^{33}	muscle / sinew	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	**gu^{33}** ʑi^{33}	muscle / sinew	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	gu^{33}-tɕi^{21}	vein	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	gu^{33}-ɕi^{33}	muscle	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	dzi̱^{21} **tʂo^{33}**	ligament (bone to bone)	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.6
	si^{21} **tʂo^{33}**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.7.1
	sɛ^{33} **tʂo^{33}**	nerve	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.10
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **kju^{44}**	muscle	Dai Qingxia 1989h:162
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{44} **tɕu^{44}**	muscle	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	ɔ^{31} **kɣ^{53}** tsaʔ^{54}	muscle	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ-**ku**-câʔ	blood vessel; vein; artery; muscle; sinew; tendon	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{31} **ku^{33}** tsaʔ^{54}	sinew, muscle	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} **ku^{55}** tsaʔ^{54}	muscle	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Nujiang)	e^{55} **dʒu^{31}**	muscle	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	si^{5}-**ju^{5}**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
Sani [Nyi]	**gu^{21}**	muscle, sinew (jin); sinew, tendon	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:273.2; Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	gu^{21} pɣ̱^{44}	cramps, convulsions (choujin)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:273.3
	gu^{21} tʂo̱^{44}	convulsions (jinglian)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:273.4
	gu^{21}pɣ̱^{33}	cramp	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	gu^{21}tʂɒ^{33}	sinew and bone	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	gɣ^{11}	muscle	Ma Xueliang 1989:327.2
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	sha˪ **gu**˪ sha˪ caˆ	sinew / tendon	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	aŋ **ku**	tendon	Beaudouin 1988:15
	aŋ **kù**	vein	Beaudouin 1988:16
Hani (Dazhai)	sa^{31} **gu^{31}**	muscle / sinew	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ^{31} **kɣ^{31}**	muscle / sinew	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	ɕa^{31} **gu^{31}**	muscle / sinew	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ʃɔ^{31} **kɣ^{31}**	muscle / sinew	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Côông [Phunoi]	ã **ku**	nerve	Ferlus 1991:8.10
	ã **ku^{31}** ca	blood vessel / vein / artery	Ferlus 1991:8.7.1
	lə̆ **kuɑ^{33}**	tendon	Bradley 1977
	lə̆ **kụu**	sinew / tendon	Matisoff 1987
	ʔấ **kù** sə̀	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã^{55} **ku^{11}** sə^{11}	vein	Bradley 1977

(3) PTB *siŋ BLOOD VESSEL / NERVE / LIGAMENT

This promising root requires further confirmation.

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	ā **thiŋ** nei ra	blood vessel; vein; artery; ligament	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	a **thiŋ** nei ra	nerve	Matisoff 1987
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**sing** li	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	siŋ li	blood vessel; vein; artery; nerve	Singh 1991:8.10; Singh 1991:8.7.1
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**sik** pa	muscle / sinew	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

(4) PTB *tsyu OBSCURE INTERNAL CHANNEL / SINEW / NERVE / MUSCLE

2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**c̀'u**-ba	sinew / tendon	Matisoff 1987
	c̀'u-rgyus	sinews; ligaments; nerves	Matisoff 1987
	c̀'u-rtsa	sinews; veins	Matisoff 1987
	nya-**c̀'u**	tendon; sinew	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**chyuq**	ligament	Matisoff 1987
	c^{h}yuq	ligament	Glover 1972:2.A.7
Tamang (Sahu)	**'chyu**	nerve	Matisoff 1987
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	n **t^{h}u**	muscle	Sun Hongkai 1991b:8.8
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Eastern)	dʐv^{33}**tsɯ^{55}**	sinew	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	dʐv^{33}**tsʅ^{55}**	sinew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:267.29

1.6.6.1 Sinew/Tendon/Ligament

(1) PKar *thwaN^{B} TENDON

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***thwaN**^{B}	tendon	Luangthongkum 2013:292
Kayah	**thwa**^{11}	tendon	Luangthongkum 2013:292
Kayan	**thu**^{11}	tendon	Luangthongkum 2013:292
Pwo (Northern)	**thɔ̃**^{33}	tendon	Luangthongkum 2013:292
Pwo (Southern)	**thɔ̃**^{55}	tendon	Luangthongkum 2013:292
Sgaw (Northern)	**thu**$^{31\sim}$	tendon	Luangthongkum 2013:292
Sgaw (Southern)	**thu**^{45,}	tendon	Luangthongkum 2013:292

1.6.6.2 Muscle

(1) PKC *tiit MUSCLE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tiit**	MUSCLE	VanBik 2009:210

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tiit**	muscle	VanBik 2009:210
Lai (Falam)	**tîit**	muscle	VanBik 2009:210

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**pà**-tó	muscle	VanBik 2009:210

1.6.6.2.1 Cramped

(1) PKar * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{t}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ **-hnɔʔ**^{D} **SHIVERING**

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***t/k-hnɔʔ**^{D}	shivering	Luangthongkum 2013:254
Kayah	**tɛ**^{11}**nɛ**^{55}	shivering	Luangthongkum 2013:254
Kayan	**kaʔ**^{21}**nauʔ**^{45}	shivering	Luangthongkum 2013:254
Kayaw	**kɔ**^{11}**no**^{33}	shivering	Luangthongkum 2013:254
Pa-O (Southern)	**ta**^{11}**nəʔ**^{21}	shivering	Luangthongkum 2013:254
Pa-O (Northern)	**taʔ**^{21}**nəʔ**^{21}	shivering	Luangthongkum 2013:254
Sgaw (Southern)	**kə**^{11}**noʔ**^{21}	shivering	Luangthongkum 2013:254
Sgaw (Northern)	**tə**^{11}**nɔʔ**^{45}	shivering	Luangthongkum 2013:254

1.6.6.3 Nerve

(1) PTB *r-g-yuŋ OBSCURE INTERNAL CHANNEL / BLOOD VESSEL / SINEW / MUSCLE

THis root is somewhat speculative, although it seems quite promising.

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	**gɪɑn**^{35}	muscle	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	**jaŋ**^{55}bɹeŋ^{55}	muscle	SUN Hongkai 1991f:8.8

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	sī **röṅ**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**jàŋ**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Sharma 1991b:8.7.1

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	č'u-**rgyus**	sinews; ligaments; nerves	Matisoff 1987
	rgyuṅ-ba	lg. sinew; nerve	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	rgyus-pa	muscle, sinew	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:56

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**tsjaŋ**	vein, blood vessel, nerve, lig	Mazaudon 1991:8.7.1, 8.6
Tamang (Sahu)	ʾkā.**cyāhng**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	ʾkaː.**cyahŋ**	blood vessel	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.6

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**chõ**	sinew / tendon	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.5

3.2. QIANGIC

Muya	**ndzᵲə**^{24}	tendon / sinew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0130.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ndzᵲɯɯ**^{35}	sinew; tendon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:267.15; SUN Hongkai 1991h:8.5
Pumi (Taoba)	**dzᵲu**^{53}	muscle; sinew	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:267.10
Qiang (Taoping)	**dzᵲ**^{241}	sinew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:267.9
	dzᵲ^{231}	muscle / sinew	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tʂy**^{55}	tendon / sinew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0130.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**tʂu**^{13}	tendon / sinew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0130.14

6.1.1. BURMISH

Lashi	sui^{55} **khjo**^{33}	blood vessel / vein / artery	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.7.1
Maru [Langsu]	sa^{35} **khjɔ**^{31}	blood vessel / vein / artery	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.7.1

1.6.6.4 Lymph

(1) PTB *gru SWOLLEN LYMPH NODES

This root has so far only been found in two languages (Eastern Chepang and Qiang [Mawo]), although the phonosemantic fit is extremely good.

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang (Eastern)	**gruʔ**	swollen lymph nodes (in neck); swollen lymph nodes (of groin)	Caughley 1990:4.1.2; Caughley 1990:5.9.1

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Mawo)	p^{h}o **ʁlo**	swollen lymph nodes (in neck)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:4.1.2
	p^{h}ə **ʁlu**	swollen lymph nodes (of groin)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:5.9.1

(2) PTB *bləy SWOLLEN LYMPH NODES

This weakly attested root requires further confirmation.

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**pirəi**	swollen lymph nodes (of groin)	Toba & Kom 1991:5.9.1

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Daofu)	**blə** thɑu	swollen lymph nodes	DAI Qingxia 1989b:5.9.1
Ergong (Northern)	**blɛ**^{53} bə^{33}	swollen lymph nodes (in neck); swollen lymph nodes (of groin)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:4.1.2; SUN Hongkai 1991c:5.9.1

1.7 Internal Organs

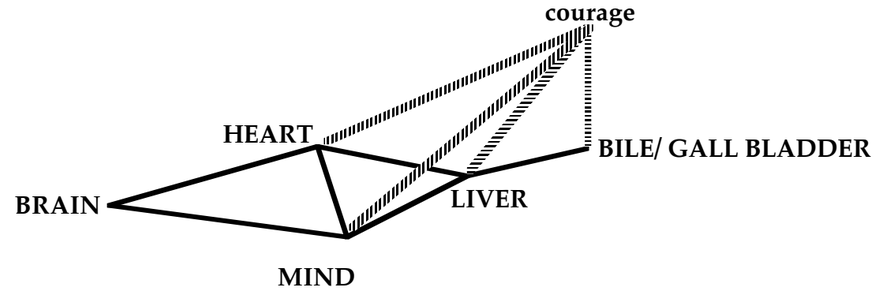


Figure 138: 1.7 *Internal Organs*

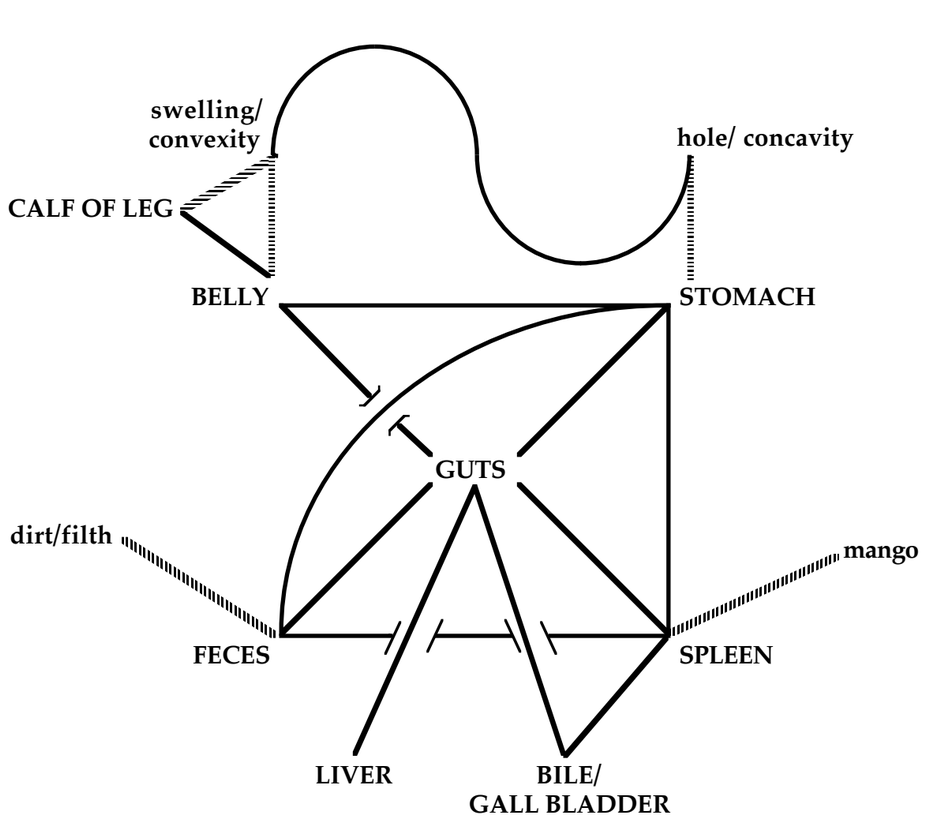


Figure 139: 1.7 *Internal Organs*

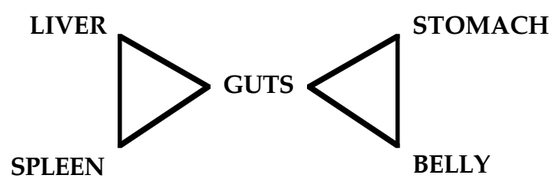


Figure 140: 1.7 *Internal Organs*

1.7.1 Heart

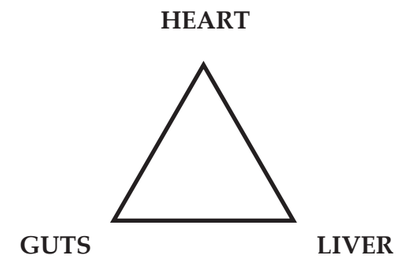


Figure 141: 1.7.1 *Heart*

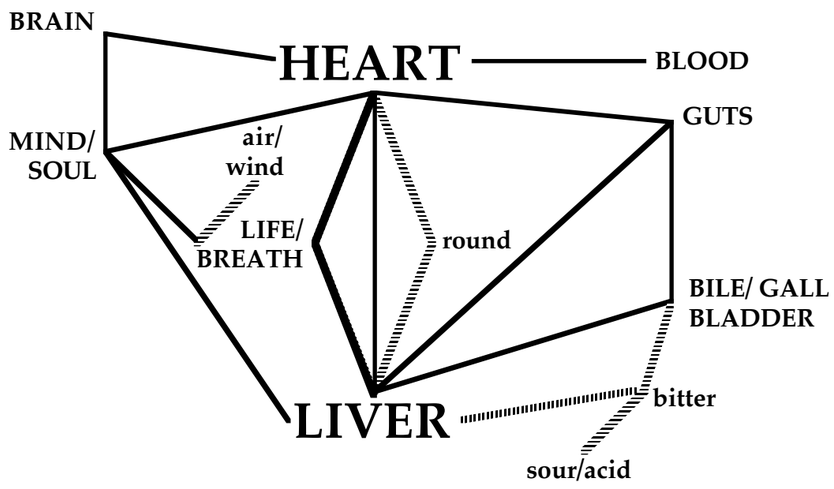


Figure 142: 1.7.1 *Heart*

FOR the possible semantic connection between HEART and NECK, see Chapter 1.4.2.

(1) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{s}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ **-n(y)i-** $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ **HEART / MIND / BRAIN**

(1a) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{s}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ **-niŋ BRAIN / HEART / MIND**

Note the appearance of this root in the Lepcha form for 'sperm': **nyiŋ (bam-lyaṅ)** '(abode of the) soul'.

This root is distinct but closely related to PTB ***s-ni*** HEART / BREAST / CHEST / RIB (§1.7.1) and PTB ***s/k-nik*** HEART / MIND (§1.7.1). In general it is more 'hearty', while PTB ***s-ni*** is more 'chesty'.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

*Sino-Tibetan	*nying	heart / kind	Coblin 1986:92

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*s-niŋ	mind; soul; self; brain; heart; brains; heart, mind	LaPolla 1987:49; Weidert 1987:125,282; Michailovsky 1991:118,119; Matisoff 1978b; Benedict 1972:367
	*s-niŋ ⪤ s-nik	heart / mind / brain	Matisoff 2003a:604

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-ñíŋ	breast	Sun 1993b

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	niŋ	heart	Benedict 1972:367

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	lüng ning	mind; heart	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Zeme	ka ning be	mind	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *niŋ MIND / THINK / SOUL

*Tangkhulic	*niŋ	think; soul; mind	Mortensen 2012:491; Mortensen 2012:767
Huishu	ʔa-nɐŋ	mind / locus of thought	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.349
Kachai	kə-pʰə-nɐŋ	think (v.t.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.017
Tangkhul	ning	mind	Marrison 1967
	niŋ	mind	Bhat 1969:92
Tusom	kʰə-pʰə-nɯə̃	think (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.018
	ʔɯ-nɯə̃	mind	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.343
Ukhrul	kə-pʰə-niŋ	think	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	ning thina	well (adv)	Marrison 1967
	puk ning	mind; heart	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	puk niŋ	heart / locus of personality	Singh 1991:14.3

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	a ning ar lo	chest	Matisoff 1987
	nēng	heart	Grüssner 1979:113
	ning	chest; mind	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	nīng	heart; locus of emotions; breast; mind; locus of thought; bosom	Grüssner 1979; Grüssner 1979:113a,113a,113a; Grüssner 1979:113a
	ning ang mi	chest hair	Matisoff 1987
	ning thang	chest	Matisoff 1987
	niŋ	heart, mind	Matisoff 1978b; LaPolla 1987:49; Benedict 1972:367
	nīŋ(ʔ)	mind; soul; self; heart	Weidert 1987:125; Weidert 1987:282

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	taniŋ	brain	Weidert 1987:125
	tanəŋ	brain	LaPolla 1987:49
	təniŋ	brains	Matisoff 1978b; Benedict 1972:367
Garo (Bangladesh)	sko-ta-ning	brain	Burling 1992
	sku-taning	brain	Burling 1992
	ta-ning	brain	Burling 1992
	ta-ning	brain (n.)	Burling 2003:6.27-II:idx

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	ning^{31} soi^{33}	breath / life	Matisoff 1987

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	stiŋ	heart	Benedict 1972:35n117
Pattani [Manchati]	Tu Niŋ	lap	Sharma 1991b:1.8
	ṭu ṇi	lap	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	neŋ^{55}	heart	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	niŋ^{53}	heart	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.6
Cuona Menba	niŋ^{55}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	rn̥aŋ	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.05
	rn̥aŋ rdʑe	pitiable / pitiful	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1116.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	hn̥aŋ	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	rn̥aŋ	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.5
Tibetan (Balti)	sniŋ	heart	Rangan 1975:77
Tibetan (Batang)	ṇi^{55}	heart; heartbeat	Dai Qingxia 1989a:9.3; Dai Qingxia 1989a:9.3.1
	ṇĩ^{55}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	'nye: pākq	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	ṇin^{55}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	tʂu^{13} ṇiŋ^{55} tø^{132}	want (to go) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1728.02
	ṇiŋ^{55}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.02
	ṇiŋ^{55}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.2
	ṇiŋ^{55}-tɕe^{13}po^{53}	beautiful	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:847.2
	ṇiŋ^{55}tɕe^{13}po^{55}	beautiful / pleasant to the eyes	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1093.02
	ṇiŋ^{55}tɕi^{55}	pitiable / pitiful	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1116.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	ning	heart	Bishop 1989:9.3
Tibetan (Sherpa)	ning ǰe	kindness (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.08
Spiti	ñiŋ	heart	Bodh 1991:9.3
	ñiŋ dapce	heartbeat	Bodh 1991:9.3.1
Tibetan (Written)	sñiṅ	heart	Marrison 1967
	sñiṅ brtse	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sńiŋ	brain	LaPolla 1987:49
	snying	heart, mind	Coblin 1986:92
	snying-rje	kindness / mercy	Matisoff 1993
	snyiŋ	heart; mind; heart, mind	Weidert 1987:125; Luce 1985:X.153; Matisoff 1978b; Benedict 1972:367
	sn̥in rdze po	beautiful	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:847.1
	sn̥iŋ	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.01
	sn̥iŋ	heart	Zhang Liansheng 1988:51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.1
	sn̥iŋ rdʑe	pitiable / pitiful	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1116.01
	sn̥iŋ rdʑe po	beautiful / pleasant to the eyes	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1093.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	hn̥aŋ	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.04
	hn̥aŋ dʑe	pitiable / pitiful	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1116.04

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	nyiŋ (bam-lyaṅ)	semen; sperma genitale viri / mulieris	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	niŋ-wa	heart	Benedict 1972:367

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	nieŋ	heart	Benedict 1972:79n242
	nǐeɦ	heart (psyche)	Nishida 1964:186; Nishida 1964:88-011
	nǐɛ	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989e:9.3
	njij	heart, mind	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2518
	nju (nju)	happy	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1821
	nɻe[1]	heart	Sofronov c1978

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	sʅ^{55} n̥i^{55}	heart	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.18
Namuyi	n̥i^{33}mi^{55}	heart; courage	Sun Hongkai 1991i:9.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:514.19
	n̥i^{33}mi^{55}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.46
	n̥i^{33}mi^{55} ɑ^{33}tsʅ^{55}mu^{55}	careful, be / cautious (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1734.46
	n̥i^{33}mi^{55}nguo^{53}	pain / agony (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0688.46
Xumi	n̥ɛ^{53}mi^{33}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.17
	n̥ɛ^{55} mi^{33}	heart	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	n̥ɛ^{13}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.14
	ʂnɛ^{13}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	'tə sne	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
Caodeng	sni kɐ-zdək	sad	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	te ʂńit	heart	Benedict 1972:79n242
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	tə-ʃnɐ	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	tə33 sɲi44	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə ʃnɐ	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.11
rGyalrong	tə ʃnɐ	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.12
	tə ɕn̥ɐ	heart; heartbeat	Dai Qingxia 1989d:9.3; Dai Qingxia 1989d:9.3.1
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	tə' sne	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	tə' sneʔ	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	tə' sni	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	tə' sni	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	tə' sniʔ	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	tə' sɲi	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	tə' ʃne	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	tə' ʃne	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	tə' ʃne	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	tə' ʃne	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	tə' ʃne	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	tə' ʃne	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	tə' ʃneʔ	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	tə' ʃni	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	tə' ʃni	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	tə' ʃni	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	tə' ʃni	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	tə' ʃni	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	tə' ʃni	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	tə' ʃniʔ	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	tə' ʃnje	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	tə' ʃnje	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	tə' ʃnje	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	tə' ʃnje	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	tə' ʃnjeʔ	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	tə' ʃnə	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	tə' ʃn^{e}i	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	tə' ʃn^{i}e	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	tə' ʃn̥e	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	tə' ʃn̥e	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	tə' ʂʃni	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
Caodeng	tə-sni	heart (organ)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	tə22 ɕne44	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	tə22ʂn̥je44	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	tə^{3}ʃni^{3}	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113

rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	tə^{3}**ʃni^{3}**	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	tə^{3}**ʃni^{3}**	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	tə^{3}**ʃni^{5}**	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	tə^{3}**ʃn̥e^{3}**	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **sne**	heart	SUN Hongkai 1991l:9.3
	tə **sne** kəmp^{h}ar̥	heartbeat	SUN Hongkai 1991l:9.3.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **sni**	heart	SUN Hongkai 1991k:9.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **ʃne**	heart	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.3
	tə **ʃne** kəmtsak	heartbeat	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.3.1
rGyalrong	tə **ʃnᴇ**	courage	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:514.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tɯ **sni**	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	tɪˈ **ʃnʊ**	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	wu35'**ʃni53**	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	ə^{3}**ʃni^{5}**	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	ə^{3}**ʃni^{5}**	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˊme **ʃn̥i**	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊtə **ɕni**	heart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0113
rGBenzhen	tə-**ʃneʔ**	heart	Sun 1997b
Shili	tə́-**sne**	heart (organ)	Sun 1997c

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**ñi^{55}** ɹɯm^{31}	heart	SUN Hongkai 1988
Rawang	**nə** rɯm^{31}	heart	LaPolla 2003:161
Anong	ə **niŋ**	brains; brain	Matisoff 1978b; LaPolla 1987:49; Benedict 1972:367
Nung	**n̥i^{31}**ɹɯm^{31}	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.21
	n̥i^{55}ɳɑŋ^{55}	envy (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1410.21
Anong	**n̥i^{55}**ɹɯm^{31}	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.44
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**nuŋ^{31}** kɯ^{31}lĕʔ^{55}	brain	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nuŋ^{31} kɯ^{31}leʔ^{55}	brain	LaPolla 1987:49

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***s-niŋ^{3}** HEART

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-niŋ**	heart	Matisoff 1972b:146(b)

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**n̥u^{55}** luŋ^{55}	heart	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**n̥a^{55}** lum^{31}	heart	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥a^{55}lum^{31}	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.28
	n̥a^{55}lum^{31}	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.41

6.1.2. LOLOISH

Lolopho	**n̥i̠^{44}** mo^{33}	heartbeat	DAI Qingxia 1989n:9.3.1

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**ŋ̩^{35}**ma^{33}mɛ^{33}	heart	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Nesu	a^{55} **n̥i^{21}**	breast	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.4
Yi (Lishan)	**nɛ̠^{33}** mo^{31}	heart	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	ᴀ^{33}**nɯ^{33}**pi^{55}	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ᴀ^{55}**nɛ^{21}**	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.26
Yi (Nanjian)	**mṳ^{33}** mɑ^{33}	heart	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	m̩(ṳ)^{33}mɑ^{33}	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.23

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**ni-mo 44-22**	heart	Matisoff 1972b:146(a)
Lahu (Black)	**niː** ma [puiː]	breast; chest; heart	Luce 1985:U.9
Sani [Nyi]	A^{33}**ni^{33}**	breast	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	n̩ 44	heart	Matisoff 1972b:146(a)
	n̩^{44} mɑ^{33}	heart	MA Xueliang 1989:323.3
	n̩^{44} mɑ^{33} pɪ^{44} be^{4}	heartbeat	MA Xueliang 1989:323.4
	ɑ^{44} **n̩^{33}** mɑ^{33}	breast	MA Xueliang 1989:368.1
	ɑ^{44}**n̩^{3}**mɑ^{33}	breast	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.4

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	**nɨŋ** ba	heart	Beaudouin 1988:14
	nɯŋ ba	heart	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1972b:146(b)
	nɯŋ ba(sɯ̀)	heart	Bradley 199x

9. SINITIC

"Pre-Chinese"	**njing**	heart / kind	Coblin 1986:92

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old)	**njin**	kind / good	Coblin 1986:92 [a]

[a] Coblin (p.92) argues for the semantic connection between this Chinese etymon and the TB root by citing the English expression 'have a heart.'

Chinese comparandum

仁 OC ***ni̯ĕn**, *GSR* #388fg 'kind, good'; Coblin 1986:92 (Sinitic) ***njing**, (Old Chin.) ***njin**; B & S 2011: ***niŋ {*ni [ŋ] }**; Mand. **rén**.

(1b) PTB * s/k -nik HEART / MIND

This root is distinct but closely related to PTB ***s-ni** HEART / BREAST / CHEST / RIB (§1.7.1) and PTB ***s/k-niŋ** BRAIN / HEART / MIND (§1.7.1). In general it is more 'hearty', while PTB ***s-ni** is more 'chesty' .

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***k-nik**	heart / brains / mind	Matisoff 1978b
	***s-nik**	heart / brains / mind	Matisoff 1978b
	*s-niŋ ⋈ **s-nik**	heart / mind / brain	Matisoff 2003a:604

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Eastern)	**mɲek** ʃe	heart / locus of personality	SUN Hongkai 1991j:14.3

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-nik**	heart	Matisoff 1972b:146(a)

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Luxi)	**nɯk^{55}** lɔm^{35}	heart	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**n̥ɔʔ^{31}** lum^{31}	heart	DAI Qingxia 1989f:172
	n̥ɔʔ^{31}lum^{31}	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.29
Bola	**na̠k^{55}** lam^{31}	heart	DAI Qingxia 1989g:172
Bola (Luxi)	**na̠k^{55}**lam^{31}	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.32
	na̠k^{55}tʃam^{31}ja^{31}	angry, be / take offense (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1621.32
Burmese (Modern)	**nhac**	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
Burmese (Rangoon)	**hnɑ^{53}**lõ^{55}	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.27
Burmese (Spoken)	**hnă**-	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
	hnɪʔ^{2}	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**n̥ɑ^{53}**lõ^{55}	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.40
Burmese (Written)	a **nhac**	heart	Luce 1985:X.153
	hnac	heart	Benedict 1976a
	hnac-lûm	heart	Matisoff 1978b
	hnats	mind; soul; self; heart	Weidert 1987:125; Weidert 1987:282; Benedict 1972:367
	hnə lûm (< **hnac**-lûm)	heart	Matisoff 1974:256
	hnɑ^{1}luṁ^{3}	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.39
	hnɒ^{1}luṁ^{3}	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.26
	nhac	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
Danu	ă **neʔ^{2}** (heartwood)	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
Hpun (Metjo)	**lɛʔ^{5}**lɑŋ^{4}	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
Hpun (Northern)	**lɛ̀ʔ** làŋ	heart	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**na̠k^{55}** jo^{31}	angry, be / take offense (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1621.31
	na̠k^{55}jɔ^{31}	scold (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1514.31
	na̠k^{55}lam^{35}	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.31
	na̠k^{55}mjan^{35}	pitiable / pitiful	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1116.31
Lashi (Lachhe')	**neʔ^{2}**	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
	nək^{3}	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
Lashi	**nə̠k^{55}** lɔm^{33}	heart; heartbeat	DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.3; DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.3.1
Leqi (Luxi)	**nə̠k^{55}**lɔm^{33}	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.33
	nə̠k^{55}mjiːn^{33}	pitiable / pitiful	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1116.33
Marma	ə **hnə** lúŋ	heart	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:35
Maru [Langsu]	**na̠k^{55}** lam^{35}	heart; heartbeat	DAI Qingxia 1989l:9.3; DAI Qingxia 1989l:9.3.1
	na̠k^{55}jɔ^{31}	scold; angry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:708.43; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:728.43
	na̠k^{55}lam^{35}	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.43
	nɑʔ^{2}	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
Taung-Yo	**nă** lo^{2}	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
	neʔ^{1}lõ^{2}	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**neʔ^{2}**	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
	ni̠k^{55} lṵm^{21}	heart	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ni̠k^{55}jo^{21}	angry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:728.42
	ni̠k^{55}lṵm^{21}	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.30
	ni̠k^{55}lṵm^{21}	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.42
	ni̠k^{55}noʔ^{21}	hate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1373.30
	ni̠k^{55}noʔ^{21}kje^{51}	enemy (personal) / antagonizer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0197.30

(1c) PTB *s-ni HEART / BREAST / CHEST / RIB

The semantic center of gravity of this root seems to be HEART / CHEST / BREAST, so that it appears ultimately related to PTB ***s/k-niŋ** BRAIN / HEART / MIND (§1.7.1) and PTB ***s/k-nik** HEART / MIND (§1.7.1).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ni**	heart / brains / mind	Matisoff 1978b

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-**ñi**	breast	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**n̥i^{55}**khɑ^{31}bi^{35}	breast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.22
	n̥i^{55}khɑ^{31}bi^{35}	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.49

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Moyon	**ni**	breast	Kosha 1990:5.4

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Sangtam	**nyi** rü	chest	Marrison 1967

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	**n̥i^{55}** kha^{53}	bosom	DAI Qingxia 1989a:1.9
	n̥i^{55} kha^{53}	chest	DAI Qingxia 1989a:5.1

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang (Sahu)	**nyeh** coh	nipple	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.33

3.2. QIANGIC

Xumi	**n̥i^{53}**mu^{33}ʁʊ^{33}ʑu^{33}	chest (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.17
	n̥ɛ^{55} mi^{33} ʁo^{33} ʐ̥ũ^{35}	chest; bosom	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:257.20

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**n̥i^{31}** sɑi^{31}	chest (of body)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***ni^{3}**	heart	Bradley 1979b:142; Hansson 1989:307
Lolopho	**ne^{44}** tɕhi^{44}	rib	DAI Qingxia 1989n:5.1.2
	n̥i̠^{44} mo^{33}	heart	DAI Qingxia 1989n:9.3
	n̥i̠^{44} mo^{33} tʂ̥o^{33} tse^{31}	chest	DAI Qingxia 1989n:5.1
	n̥i̠^{44} mo^{33} tʂ̥o^{33} tshe^{31}	bosom	DAI Qingxia 1989n:1.9
PNL	**s-nik** ^{L}	heart	CHEN Kang 1986a:174.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**ŋ^{24}**mɑ^{33}	heart	MU Shihua 2003
	ŋ^{35} ma^{33} mɛ^{33}	heart; heartbeat	DAI Qingxia 1989c:9.3; DAI Qingxia 1989c:9.3.1; DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**n**-maq	heart	Björverud 1994
	ʔm̩^{33} tṳ^{55} k^{h}e^{55}	bosom; chest	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.9; CHEN Kang 1986b:5.1
	ʔm̩̠^{21} ma^{21}	heart	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.3
Lipho	**nɯ^{55}**gɯ^{21}	rib	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.1.2
	n̥i̠^{33}	heart	CHEN Kang 1986a:174.
	n̥i̠^{33}mo^{33}	heart	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.3
Luquan	**ni 22s**	heart	Matisoff 1972b:146(a)
Nasu	**ne^{21}** p^{h}a̠^{33}	rib	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.1.2
	ñi 32s	heart	Matisoff 1972b:146(a)
	ni̠^{2}	heart	CHEN Kang 1986a:174.
	n̥i̠^{21} mo̠^{21}	heart	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.3
Neisu	**nɪ^{33}**	heart	CHEN Kang 1986a:174.
Nesu	**n̥i̠^{33}**	heart	CHEN Kang 1986a:174.; CHEN Kang 1986b:9.3
	n̥i̠^{33} mo^{21} po^{33}	bosom; chest	CHEN Kang 1986b:1.9; CHEN Kang 1986b:5.1
Nusu (Southern)	**n̥i^{31}** ʔlɑ^{55}	heart	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**n̥i^{53}** lɔ^{35}	heart	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986

Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**n̥i̱**^{31} lɔ̱^{53}	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989o:172.
Nusu (Central)	**n̥i̱**^{53} lɔ^{53}	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989p:172.
	ʔi̱^{31} lɔ^{53}	heart	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ʔi̱**^{31}lɔ^{55}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ne**^{33} mo^{21}	heart	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ne^{33} tu^{33}	chest (of body)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ne^{33}mo^{21}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.22
	ne^{33}tu^{33}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.22
Yi (Lishan)	**nɛ̱**^{33} mo^{31}	chest	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	**ni̱**^{33}mo^{33}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.25
	ni̱^{33}tɛ̱^{33}gu̱^{21}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ni̱**^{33}mo^{21}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.26
	ni̱^{33}mo^{21}go^{21}de^{21}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**n̥i̱**^{33}mo^{33}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.24
	n̥i̱^{33}mo^{33}tʂo^{33}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**n̥(ɳ)**^{33} du^{55} kɑ^{55}	chest (of body); chest	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.23
Yi (Wuding)	**ne**^{11}ɤɯ^{33}	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.38
Yi (Xide)	**he**^{33} ma^{55}	heart	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.21
	he^{33}mɑ^{55}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.35
	hɛ^{33}-ma^{55}	heart	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	hɛ^{33}-ma^{55} bo^{21}-zɯ^{33}	atrium of heart	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lolo (Ni)	**gn(i)** mà:	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
Ahi	**ni̱**^{33} mo^{22}	heart	Luo Meizhen 1990:9.3
	ni̱^{33} mo^{33}	heart / locus of emotions	Luo Meizhen 1990:14.2
	ni̱^{33} mo^{33} zo^{21}	mind / locus of thought	Luo Meizhen 1990:14.1
	ni̱^{33} tɛ̱^{33} gu̱^{21}	bosom; chest	Luo Meizhen 1990:1.9; Luo Meizhen 1990:5.1
	ni̱^{33} tɛ̱^{33} gu̱^{21}ˆɛ^{33} i^{33} nɯ̱^{33}	chest hair	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.1.3.2
	ni̱^{33} tʂo^{22}	heartbeat	Luo Meizhen 1990:9.3.1
	ni̱^{33} ʐi^{22}	heart / locus of personality	Luo Meizhen 1990:14.3
	ni̱^{33}**mo**^{33}	heart	Chen Kang 1986b:9.3
	nɯ^{33}gu^{21}	rib	Chen Kang 1986b:5.1.2
	nɯ̱^{33} ɣɯ^{21}	rib	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.1.2
	nɯ̱^{33} ɣɯ^{21} bu^{55}	rib cage	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.1.1
	n̥i̱^{33}	heart	Chen Kang 1986a:174.
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{33} **nɛ**^{44}	rib	Dai Qingxia 1989h:168
Jinuo	a^{33}**nɛ**^{55}	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**nɯ**^{31} k^{h}a^{31}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989h:120
	nɯ^{31} sɯ^{44}	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989h:179
Jinuo	**nɤ**^{42}sɤ^{44}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**n̥ə**^{42} k^{h}ɑ^{42}	chest (of body)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	n̥ə^{42} sɤ^{44}	heart	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**n̥ə**^{42}kha^{42}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.34
Jinuo (Baka)	**n̥ɯ**^{31} k^{h}a^{31}	chest	Dai Qingxia 1989i:120
	n̥ɯ^{31} sɯ^{44}	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989i:179
Kucong	**n̥i33** mʌ33 ɕi35	heart (organ)	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**ni**-ma	heart / brains / mind	Matisoff 1978b
**Common Lahu*	***ni:**	heart	Bradley 1979b:142
Lahu (Shehleh)	**ni:** ma: shi_	heart	Bradley 1979a:142
Lahu (Nyi)	**nyi:** ma: shi_	heart	Bradley 1979a:142
Lahu (Lancang)	**ni**^{33}ku^{53}	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.43
	ni^{33}mɑ^{33}ɕi^{11}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.43
Lahu (Black)	**ni**-kû ~ **n̥**-kû	rib	Matisoff 1987
	ni-ma	heart	Matisoff 1972b:146(b)
	ni-ma-pɨ(šī)	chest	Matisoff 1987
	ni-ma-qa-pɨ	chest	Matisoff 1987
	ni^{33} ma^{33} pɯ^{33}	chest (of body)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ni^{33} ma^{33} si^{11}	heart	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ni: ma:	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
	ɔ^{31}**ni**^{33}mʌ^{33}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**n̥i**^{33} pɯ^{33}	chest (of body)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	n̥i^{33} ɕiʔ^{21}	heart	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	**ni:** shi_	heart	Bradley 1979a:142
Lahu (Banlan)	**ni:** ma: shi_	heart	Bradley 1979a:142
Lisu (Northern)	la^{21}ma^{33} **nø**^{33}gu^{21}	tiger's rib	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**nē'**-gu^{5}	rib	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Putao)	**ne**^{3}gu^{5}	side of body, rib	Luce 1985:V.52
Lisu	**ne**^{33}gu^{31}	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.40
Lisu (Central)	**nē**^{1}-gu^{5}	rib (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**nē**^{1}gu^{5}	side of body, rib	Luce 1985:V.52
Lisu (Northern)	**ne**^{44}gu^{21}	rib; chop (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ni**^{2} -ma^{3}	heart; brains; mind	Matisoff 1978b; Matisoff 1972b:146(a)
Lisu (Central)	**ni**^{2}-ma^{3}	heart	Fraser 1922
	ni^{2}-shĭ^{3}	love	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**ni**^{2}ma^{3}	heart	Bradley 1979b:142
Lisu (Putao)	**ni**^{2}ma^{3}	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**ni**^{2}ma^{3}	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
Lisu (Northern)	**ni**^{35}	heart; cf. ni^{35}ma^{33} (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**ni**^{35} mɑ^{33}	heart	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
	ni^{35} nu^{33}	love	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**ni**^{35}khɔʔ^{21}	concern; sympathy; care for; love and protect	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}ma^{33}	centre ; core; heart of the matter; the heart organ; mental, spirit; conscience; psychology; mind; cf. ni^{35} (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}ma^{33} khu^{21}kwa^{33}	heart; bottom of heart; in the pit of stomach	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}ma^{33} kɯ^{33}	bear grudges; always remember in heart; harbour resentment	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}ma^{33} læ^{21}kwa^{33}ty^{35}	heart is in the hand (with	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}ma^{33}fu^{33}	hard of heart; upright and frank; harsh attitude	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}ma^{33}khu^{21}	pit of stomach; chest; bottom of heart	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}ma^{33}tɕe^{33}	nucleus; in the heart; at the bottom of heart	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}ma^{33} tɕɯ^{33}	main artery; heart string; conscience	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ni**^{35}mɑ^{33}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.40
	ni^{35}mɑ^{33}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.27
	ni^{35}nu^{33}	love; like	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.40; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.27
Lisu (Northern)	**ni**^{35}ny^{33}	love; like; enjoy; care for	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}ny^{33}su^{33}	loved one; one at heart	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}phu^{33}	willing; like; enjoy	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}sa^{33} mja^{33}sa^{33}	relaxed and happy	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}tʃhɻ^{21}	heart-broken	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ni**^{35}ʃi̱^{33}	like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.40
	ni^{35}ʃi̱^{33}	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ni**^{35}ʃɻ^{33}	like; enjoy; willing	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}ɤ^{44}	have (idea or ideal) in heart	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**nū**^{4}	like (love)	Fraser 1922
	nū^{4}	love (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	phi^{21}khwa^{33} **ni**^{35}khwa^{33}	evil (ugly in appearance and wicked in heart)	Bradley 1994
	phi^{21} khwa^{33} **ni**^{35} ma^{21} khw	ugly in appearance but kind in heart	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	phjø^{21}khwa^{44} **ni**^{35}khwa^{44}	evil (ugly in appearance and wicked in heart)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	thi^{21} **ni**^{35} thi^{21}wa^{21}	heart and soul; earnestly and sincerely; whole-heartedly	Bradley 1994
	thi^{21} **ni**^{35}ma^{33}	with one heart; think the same	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ni̱**^{33}(mɒ^{33})	heart	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ni̱^{33}tu^{33}qɒ^{33}	chest	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	nɯ̱^{33}ɣɯ^{21}	rib	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	nɯ̱^{44} ɣɯ^{21}	rib	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:104.1
	nɤ^{33} ɣɯ^{11}	rib	Ma Xueliang 1989:322.4
	nɤ^{33}ɣɯ^{21}	rib	Chen Kang 1986b:5.1.2
Yi (Sani)	**nɤ**^{55}ɣɯ^{11}	rib (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0135.39
Sani [Nyi]	**n̥**^{44} tʏ^{44} qɑ^{33}	chest	Ma Xueliang 1989:323.5
	n̥^{44}mɑ^{33}	heart	Chen Kang 1986b:9.3
	n̥^{44}mɑ^{33}pɪ^{44}be^{44}	heartbeat	Chen Kang 1986b:9.3.1
	n̥^{44}tu^{44}qɑ^{33}	chest	Chen Kang 1986b:5.1

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**nui-ma M-M**	heart	Matisoff 1972b:146(b)
	ny	heart	Hansson 1989:307
Akha (Yunnan)	**ny** ma	heart	Hansson 1989:307
Akha (Thai)	**ny**-ma	heart	Hansson 1989:307
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**nu 33**	heart	Matisoff 1972b:146(b)
Hani (Lüchun)	**ny** ma	heart	Hansson 1989:307
Hani (Dazhai)	**nɯ**^{33} ma^{33}	heart	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	nɯ^{33} ɣa^{33}	chest (of body)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	nɯ^{33}ma^{33}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.31
	nɯ^{33}ɣa^{33}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**nɯ**^{33}ma^{33}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.41
Hani (Pijo)	**nə**	heart	Hansson 1989:307
	nə mɔ	heart	Hansson 1989:307
Hani (Caiyuan)	**nɤ**^{31}khɐ̱^{31}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.30
	nɤ̱^{33} mɔ^{33}	heart	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.30
	nɤ̱^{31} k^{h}ɐ̱^{31}	chest (of body)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**nɯ**^{33} ma^{33}	heart	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**nee** ma	heart	Hansson 1989:307
Hani (Shuikui)	**nɯ**^{33} mɔ^{33}	heart	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	nɯ^{33} t^{h}u^{31}	chest (of body)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	nɯ^{33} ɣɔ^{33}	chest (of body)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	nɯ^{33}mɔ^{33}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.32
Hani (Khatu)	**nə**	heart	Hansson 1989:307
	nə mo	heart	Hansson 1989:307
Hani (Mojiang)	**nɯ**^{33}mɔ^{33}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.42
Mpi	**no**^{4}	heart	Hansson 1989:307
	no^{4}wo^{4}	heart	Bradley 1979b

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ni**^{44}mɔ^{33}	heart	Pelkey 2011:315
Southern Muji	**n̥i**^{33}ma^{21}	heart	Pelkey 2011:315
Phola	**ni̱**^{55}ɣɯ^{31}	rib	Pelkey 2011:310
	n̥i^{31}mɔ^{23}	heart	Pelkey 2011:315
Hlepho Phowa	**n̥**^{21}ma^{33}	heart	Pelkey 2011:315
Phuza	**n̥i**^{55}mɔ^{33}	heart	Pelkey 2011:315
	n̥i^{55}ɣə^{55}	rib	Pelkey 2011:310

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ȵi**˩mie˩	heart; also: state of mind	Michaud 2006–2009:336
	ȵi˩mie˩ dzɯ˩	courage	Michaud 2006–2009:1452
	ȵi˩mie˩ q^{h}ɔ˥ gv˥ ts^{h}i˥	remember (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2793
	ȵi˩mjæ˩ hũ˥	worry for someone (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2661
	ȵi˩mjæ˩ q^{h}ɔ˥	chest	Michaud 2006–2009:328
Na (Yongning)	(**nv**˩mi˩) ɖɯ˧-v˧-ni˩gv˩	getting along well	Michaud 2006–2009
	nv˩mi˩	heart; also: state of mind	Michaud 2006–2009
	nv˩mi˩-ki˧ki˩	with similar mood/frame of mind	Michaud 2006–2009
	nv˩mi˩ɖɯ˩	courage	Michaud 2006–2009
	nv˩mi˩t^{h}i˩	weak, worn out	Michaud 2006–2009
	nv˩mi˩ ɖɯ˧-ɭɯ˧ tsɤ˧	in sympathy, in unison	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**ni**^{31}mi^{13}	heart	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**nv**^{33}mi^{13}dɻ^{13}	courage	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:514.29
Naxi	**nv̩**^{55}me^{33}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.45
	nv̩^{55}me^{33}kv̩^{33}	chest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0093.45
	nv̩^{55}me^{33}tɕhi^{55}	sad	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1120.45

Naxi (Western)	**nv**^{55}me^{33}	heart	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**nv**^{55}me^{33}	heart; courage	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:514.28
Naxi (Western)	**nv**^{55}me^{33}kv^{33}	chest (of body)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**nv**^{55}me^{33}kv^{33}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.28

(2) PTB *s-diŋ HEART / LIVER

For the moment, we are reconstructing this root as a separate item from PTB ***s/k-n(y)i-k/ŋ*** HEART / MIND / BRAIN (§1.7.1). However, Kanauri **stiŋ** is a regular reflex of the latter, since the initial sequence ***sn-*** is regularly obstruentized into Kanauri **st-** (see *HPTB* p. 103).

A number of Qiangic forms with complex initials are also provisionally assigned to this root.

It is highly likely that this root is indeed ultimately related to PTB ***s/k-n(y)i-k/ŋ*** HEART / MIND / BRAIN (§1.7.1).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**s-**)**diŋ**	heart / liver	Matisoff 1978b:(2)

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**tin** k^{h}a	bile	Abbi & Mishra 1985

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	phék-**túng**	viscera; guts; entrails; liver	Grüssner 1979:142; Grüssner 1979:142
	phek **tung**	liver	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Lalung [Tiwa]	phi **di**	liver	Balawan 1965:51

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Yogli)	a **din**	liver	French 1983:515; Marrison 1967

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	pē **ṭṭiṅ**	stomach	Matisoff 1987
	stiŋ	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(2)
Pattani [Manchati]	**tiŋ** ña	liver	Sharma 1991b:9.5

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**ḍing**	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(2)
Tsangla (Central)	**thing** lom	heart	Andvik 1993:21
	thing lum	heart	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 11
Tsangla (Motuo)	**thiŋ** lom	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.7
	t^{h}iŋ^{55} lom^{13}	heart	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	t^{h}iŋ lom	heart	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	**t^{h}im**-luŋ	heart	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**thiŋ** lom	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.07

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{A}**tiŋ**	heart	Mazaudon 1978:2; Mazaudon 1994:450
Chantyal	**tiŋ**	heart	Matisoff 1994b
Gurung (Ghachok)	**tĩ**	heart	Glover 1972:1.52
	tĩ ḍug ḍug yahbaq	beat (heart)	Glover 1972:2.B.2.23
	^{1}**tĩ**	heart	Mazaudon 1978:2
Gurung	^{1}**tĩ**	heart	Mazaudon 1994:450
Manang (Gyaru)	**din**^{2}	heart	Nagano 1984:035
Manang (Ngawal)	^{1}**tĩ**	heart	Mazaudon 1978:2
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**tĩ**	heart	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0036
	^{1}**tĩ**	heart	Mazaudon 1994:450
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**tiŋ**	heart	Mazaudon 1978:2
	^{1}**tiŋ**	heart (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.3
	^{1}**tiŋ**	heart	Mazaudon 1994:450
Tamang (Sahu)	**ting**	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(2)
	tiŋ	heart	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.52
	tiŋ t^{h}uhk t^{h}uhk ta-pa	beat (heart) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.23
	^{1}**tiŋ**	heart	Mazaudon 1978:2; Mazaudon 1994:450
Tamang (Taglung)	**tiŋ**	heart	Mazaudon 1994:450
Thakali (Marpha)	^{H}**tin**	heart	Mazaudon 1978:2
	^{54}**tin**	heart	Mazaudon 1994:450
Thakali (Syang)	^{H}**tin**	heart	Mazaudon 1978:2
	^{54}**tin**	heart	Mazaudon 1994:450
Thakali (Tukche)	**tin**	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(2); Hari 1971:1.52.1
	^{H}**tin**	heart	Mazaudon 1978:2; Mazaudon 1994:450

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***diŋ**	liver	Michailovsky 1991:111

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**tïŋ** lem	spleen	Michailovsky 1991:168; Michailovsky 1991:111

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**diŋ**	liver	Michailovsky 1991:111; Matisoff 1978b:(2)
Hayu	**diŋ**	liver (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.246
	diŋ	liver	Michailovsky 1991:111; Matisoff 1978b:(2)
	diŋ dzyot	lung (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.246
Sunwar	au-**di**	liver	Matisoff 1978b:(2); Michailovsky 1991:111
Thulung	**duŋ**	liver	Michailovsky 1991:111; Allen 1975
	dyu-ŋa	liver	Matisoff 1978b:(3)

3.2. Qiangic

Lyuzu	**ti**^{53}mi^{53}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.18
Pumi (Jiulong)	**xuə**^{55}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**skhyɛ**^{55}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**skhyɛ**^{55}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.11
	sk^{h}yɛ^{55}	heart	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	**xuɐ**^{53}	heart	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**ɕi** (mì)-qə	pleased, satisfied [heart-go]	Evans 1999:2170
	ɕi mì	heart	Evans 1999:179
	ɕi mì-à sì	at ease, assured [heart-m]	Evans 1999:1887
	ɕi mì-iá	dote on (child) [heart-ache]	Evans 1999:2392
	ɕi mì-tsá	careful [heart-small (semantic b)]	Evans 1999:2493
	ɕi mì-tɕí	careful [heart-small (semantic b)]	Evans 1999:2493
	ɕì mì-zì	greedy [heart-?]	Evans 1999:2378
	ɕì qó lò	remember	Evans 1999:2019
	ɕì qó	remember	Evans 1999:2019
	ɕì tó	at ease, assured	Evans 1999:1887
	ɕì tshò	lose heart	Evans 1999:1988
	ɕì ʑ	love (for older generation)	Evans 1999:1624
	ɕì ʑ	hope (v.)	Evans 1999:2464
	ɕì ʑ	worry [heart-dry]	Evans 1999:2576
	ɕì-nà	happy [heart-good]	Evans 1999:1588
	ɕì-qə-qə	pleased, satisfied [heart-go-go]	Evans 1999:2170
	ɕì-ʑ	worry, be anxious [heart-dry]	Evans 1999:1867
Qiang (Mawo)	**si** ˈmi	heart	Sun 1986
	sti: mi	heart; courage	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.8; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:514.8; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	sti: nɑ	glad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:908.8
	sti mi	heart	Sun Hongkai 1991g:9.3
	ʈʈɕə kʮ nɑ	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.08
	ʈʈɕə kʮ ɑ nɑ	happy / excited	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1117.08
	ʈʈɕə xʮ liu	want (to go) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1728.08
	ʈʈɕɪj miɛ	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.08
	ʈʈɕɪj miɛ tshɛn pɑ	understand (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1524.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	goù pà **tié**	instep [foot-LOC?-heart]	Evans 1999:129
	mɛ̀ ɕà-**tié**	wick [m-heart]	Evans 1999:740
	qè ɳà-**tié**	fontanel [brain-heart]	Evans 1999:102.1
	tià tiá-**tiè**	stamen, pistil [m-heart]	Evans 1999:473
	tiè dɛ̀ lɛ̂	at ease, assured (tiè = 'heart')	Evans 1999:1887
	tiè nà	happy [heart-good]	Evans 1999:1588
	tiè tshòu	mournful, grieved	Evans 1999:1592
	tiè-qá	inside (of thing) [heart-m]	Evans 1999:1050.1
	tié mù	heart	Evans 1999:179
	tié mù zè	chest	Evans 1999:120
	tié tì	center, hub (tié = 'heart')	Evans 1999:1043
	tié-bʐà	greedy [heart-big]	Evans 1999:2378
	tié-qè-mì-tə	careless, slipshod [heart-m-not-put]	Evans 1999:1613
	tí mì-(tè)-zù lià	nauseous [heart-p-uncomfortable]	Evans 1999:1859
Qiang (Taoping)	**χtie**^{33} mə^{33}	courage	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:514.9
	χtie^{55} mə^{55}	heart	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	χtie^{55}**bʐɑ**^{31}	lazy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:907.9
	χtie^{55}mə^{55}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.9
	χtie^{55}**nɑ**^{33}	like; glad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.9; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:908.9
	χtie^{55}**ɕya**^{55}	intelligent	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:904.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**ʈʈɕi** mi	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989q:179
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**xe**^{55} mø^{53}	heart	Sun Hongkai 1991n:9.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.16

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**zɣia**ˈ	heart	Sun Hongkai 1991b:9.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.14
Ergong (Northern)	**zʑjua**^{33}	heart	Sun Hongkai 1991c:9.3

[a] [Source Note] calque?

(3) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{b}\end{matrix}$ waŋ HEART

The relationship of the Karbi forms to the others remains to be definitely established.

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	vi-**bong**	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(1c)
	wì-**bóng**	heart	Grüssner 1979:217

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Lalung [Tiwa]	kha **mon**	heart	Balawan 1965:12

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***moŋ** (daŋ)	heart / mind	French 1983:502

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**mang** to	heart	Marrison 1967
	maŋ to	heart	French 1983:502

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**mang**	mind	Marrison 1967
	mang bun	heart	Marrison 1967
	maŋ bun	heart, intellect	French 1983:502; French 1983:506
Konyak	**mong**	mind	Marrison 1967
	mong hem	hope (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mong jang	heart	Marrison 1967
	mong lu	wish (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mong meipu	glad (v.i.)	Marrison 1967
	mong meipu	easy	Marrison 1967
	mong mengpu	sorry	Marrison 1967
	mong menpu	sad	Marrison 1967
	mong shibu	angry	Marrison 1967
	mong tei	think	Marrison 1967
	moŋ	mind	French 1983:502
	moŋ jaŋ	heart	French 1983:502
Phom	doi-**moŋ** daŋ	mind	French 1983:502
	mong	heart	Marrison 1967
	mong jamthü	friend	Marrison 1967
	mong lem	hope (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mong mangpü	sorry; sad	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mong ong	glad (v.i.)	Marrison 1967
	mong shivampü	angry	Marrison 1967
	moŋ	heart	French 1983:502
	mɔŋ^{55}**daŋ**^{33}	heart	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	mɔŋ^{55}**mæŋ**^{33}	unhappy / sad ('heart' + 'spoil')	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	mɔŋ^{55}**ɔŋ**^{33}	happy / joyful ('heart' + 'climb, go up')	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	mɔŋ^{55}**ʃi?**^{33}	angry ('heart' + ?)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	thendoi-**mong** dang	mind	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**mong** tik	angry	Marrison 1967

(4) PTB *trwa HEART / LIVER

The medial ***-r-*** in the reconstruction is motivated by the retroflex initials in Gurung and Magar, but other forms (Thulung, Yakha, Kulung, and Kham) reflect an apparent later development to a medial **-y-**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tywa**	heart / liver	Matisoff 1978b:(3)

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**tha**-môi	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	tham moi	heart	Marrison 1967
	thə moy	heart; locus of emotions	Singh 1991:14.2; Singh 1991:9.3
	tʰəm moy	heart	Abbi & Mishra 1985

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung	uiq-**ḍāː**	liver	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
Gurung (Ghachok)	uiq **ḍaː**	liver	Glover 1972:1.53

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***co**	heart	Michailovsky 1991:91

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Yakha	**cuː** waː	heart	Kohn 1990:9.3

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**co** wa	heart	Rai *et al.* 1984:16
Kulung	**cəu**	heart	Michailovsky 1991:91; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**tsu** ba	heart	Driem 1993
Khaling	**'cö**	heart	Michailovsky 1991:91
	'cō	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(3)

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	**theo** mbuk	heart	Michailovsky 1991:90; Allen 1975
	thyo-ma bop	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(3)

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**'yuh**	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	'yũːh	heart	Watters & Watters 1989:1.52
Magar	mi-chi-**ṭa**	gall bladder	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	mi-chi **Ta**	gall bladder	Matisoff 1987

(5) PTB *(t)saːy ⩙ *(d)zaːy TEMPERAMENT / HEART / TALENT / RESOURCES

This root was first reconstructed in *GSTC* (Matisoff 1985) and was discussed in detail in Matisoff 1988 ("Universal semantics and allofamic identification").

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(d)zaːy** ⩙ (t)saːy	talent / aptitude / temperamant	Matisoff 2003a:588
	***(t)saːy** ⩙ (d)zaːy	temperament / aptitude / talent	Matisoff 1985a:106

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**zāi**	temperament, disposition, nature	Matisoff 1985a:106

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**thai**-na	ability	Matisoff 1985a:106
	thai-pa-ki	talent, aptitude, skill	Matisoff 1985a:106

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**sái**	disposition, tendency	Matisoff 1985a:106
	tsái	intellect, wisdom	Matisoff 1985a:106
	zái ~ ə **zái**	intellect, wisdom	Matisoff 1985a:106

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**że**	inclination, affection, heart, mind; volition	Matisoff 1985a:106
	żen-pa	desire, long for, be attached to	Matisoff 1985a:106

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang	a^{41}**tʂai**^{55}	heart	Matisoff 1985a:106
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31} **tʂai**^{55}	heart	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	a^{31}**tʂai**^{55}	temper (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0679.28
	sai^{55}**tʂai**^{55}	hardworking / exerting oneself	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1115.28

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	才	talent, ability	Baxter & Sagart 2011:187
	材	timber	Baxter & Sagart 2011:186
	財	wealth	Baxter & Sagart 2011:188
Chinese (GSR #)	**0943a**	talent, ability	Baxter & Sagart 2011:187
	0943g	timber	Baxter & Sagart 2011:186
	0943h	wealth	Baxter & Sagart 2011:188

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old)	Cə.**dzˤə** {[Cə.dz]ˤə}	timber	Baxter & Sagart 2011:186
	dzʾəg	endowment, ability, talent	Matisoff 1985a:106
	dzˤə {(Cə.)[dz]ˤə}	talent, ability	Baxter & Sagart 2011:187
	dzˤə {[dz]ˤə}	wealth	Baxter & Sagart 2011:188

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**dzʾậi**	endowment, ability, talent	Matisoff 1985a:106
	dzoj	timber; talent, ability; wealth	Baxter & Sagart 2011:186; Baxter & Sagart 2011:187; Baxter & Sagart 2011:188

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**cái**	timber; talent, ability; wealth	Baxter & Sagart 2011:186; Baxter & Sagart 2011:187; Baxter & Sagart 2011:188

Chinese comparandum

Comment: See comparanda for PTB ***tsa-n** CHILD / GRANDCHILD / NEPHEW / NIECE (§4.2.11).

(6) PTB *ma $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\ \mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ GUTS / BELLY / VITAL ORGAN

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***mak**	guts / belly / vital organ	Matisoff 1978b

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Milang	**mak**-pap	abdomen	Tayeng 1976

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Lotha Naga	**NmaN**	stomach	Nienu 1990c:9.10

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	**moŋ**-khui	abdomen; pelvis; abdomen, pelvis; belly	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b; Matisoff 1987

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	san **maŋ**	liver	French 1983:515
	san **mang**	liver	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Tilang)	dʑu-**ma**	intestines	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	pɛː^{13} cem^{55} **mʌʔ**^{53}	spleen	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	dʑo^{55} **ma**^{55}	intestines / bowels	DAI Qingxia 1989a:9.11
Jirel	gyu-**mak**	guts	Matisoff 1978b
Tibetan (Jirel)	gyu **māk**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	cu^{13}**maʔ**^{13}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.2
Sherpa	ge-**mā**	intestines; bowels; guts	Matisoff 1978b; Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	luŋ **ma**	heart	Michailovsky 1991:112
Yakha	kaŋ **ma** buk	pancreas	Kohn 1990:9.9
	luŋ **ma** bɛ ha maŋcəwa	bile	Kohn 1990:9.5.1
	luŋ **maː**	liver	Kohn 1990:9.5

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	lung-**ma(k)**	heart	Rai *et al.* 1984:47
	luN **mak**	heart	Rai 1985
	luŋ-**mak**	heart; heart, liver	Matisoff 1978b; Matisoff 1978b:(1a)
	luŋ **ma**	liver	Michailovsky 1991:112
	luŋ **mak**	liver	Michailovsky 1991:112
Chamling	lung **ma***	liver	Winter 1985:23

3.2. QIANGIC

Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	xe^{55} **mø**^{53}	heart	SUN Hongkai 1991n:9.3

4. NUNGIC

Trung [Dulong]	ɹɯ^{31}**mɔ̌ʔ**^{55}	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.46
Dulong	ɹɯ^{31}**mɛʔ**^{55}	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**mă̆ŋ**^{55} bɔ̆ŋ^{53}	belly	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɹɯ^{31} **mɔ̆ʔ**^{55}	heart	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɹɯ^{31} **mɔ̆ʔ**^{55}	heart	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	lɔʔ^{55} **məʔ**^{31}	pulse (of hand)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985

6.1.2. LOLOISH

Lolopho	xe^{31} **mo**^{33}	stomach	DAI Qingxia 1989n:9.10

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	v̩^{323} **mɤ**^{33}	intestines / bowels	DAI Qingxia 1989c:9.11
Lipho	xe̱^{21}**mo**^{33}	stomach	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.10
Noesu	hi^{21}**mo**^{55}	stomach	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.10
Yi (Liangshan)	i^{21}**mo**^{21}	stomach	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	xi̱^{21}**mo**^{33}	stomach	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:269.25
Yi (Mojiang)	he̱^{21}**mo**^{21}	stomach	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:269.26
Yi (Nanhua)	he^{55}**mo**^{33}	stomach	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:269.24

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	dʑi̱^{21} **mo̱**^{21}	pulse	LUO Meizhen 1990:9.3.2
	xi̱^{21} **mo**^{33}	stomach	LUO Meizhen 1990:9.10; CHEN Kang 1986b:9.10
	ɣo^{22} **mɑ**^{33}	intestines / bowels	LUO Meizhen 1990:9.11
	ɣo^{22}**ma**^{33}	intestines	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11
Jinuo	vu^{33}**mɔ**^{33}	stomach	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:269.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	vu^{44} **mɔ**^{33}	stomach	DAI Qingxia 1989h:185
Jinuo (Youle)	ɣu^{42} **mɔ**^{33}	stomach	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	ɣu^{42}**mɔ**^{33}	stomach (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.44
Lisu (Northern)	hẽ^{21}**ma**^{33} na^{44}	stomachache; stomach trouble	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	he^{31} **mo̱**^{44}	stomach	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	hẽʔ^{21}**ma**^{33}	stomach	Bradley 1994
Lisu	he̱^{31}**mo̱**^{33}	stomach (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.40
	he^{41}**mɑ**^{44}	stomach	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:269.27
Sani [Nyi]	hI-**ma** 22s-33	stomach	Matisoff 1972b:176
	hɪ-**ma**	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1e
	hɪ^{22}**mɑ**^{33}	stomach	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.10
	hɪ̱^{22} **mɑ**^{33}	stomach	MA Xueliang 1989:365.1
	hɪ̱^{21}(**mɒ**^{33})	stomach	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	m̀ **maq**	stomach	Hansson 1989:263
Akha	ù-**máʔ**	abdomen	Matisoff 1978b
	u˯ **maˆ**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Gelanghe)	u^{31} **mą̱**^{33}	belly	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	pu^{33} **mɔ**^{33}	stomach	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986

8. BAI

Bai (Jianchuan)	**mæ̱**^{44}	pulse	ZHAO Yansun 1990:9.3.2

(7) PDeng *yaŋ STOMACH

This root has only been found in a couple of languages of the Deng group, and is in dire need of further confirmation.

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**jiŋ**^{53} kɑ^{31} weŋ^{53}	stomach	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	yang-kaː wē	stomach	Matisoff 1987
Idu	**jaŋ**^{55}poŋ^{55}	stomach	SUN Hongkai 1991f:9.10
	jã ko ɲa ga	stomach ache	Pulu 1978
	jã pũ	stomach	Pulu 1978
	ya pu	stomach	Anonymous 1962

(8) PTani *haŋ HEART

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***haŋ** (-puk)	heart	Sun 1993a:194

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	(a-**ha**) a-hɯ	forget	Sun 1993b
	a-**ha**	heart	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	à-**hà**	heart	Sun 1993b
	à-**hà** a-gɯ	forget	Sun 1993b
	à-**hà** bá	envy	Sun 1993b
	à-**hà** ba-nɯ	jealousy	Sun 1993b
	a-**ha** baŋ-nɯ	hostile	Sun 1993b
	à-**hà** čó	beat (heart)	Sun 1993b
	à-**hà** ď ù	beat (heart)	Sun 1993b
	a-**ha**-ba nɯ	unfriendly	Sun 1993b
	a-**ha**-ba-nɯ mju	enemy	Sun 1993b
	ha-dɯ	anger	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ha-dɯ la ka geʔ	frown	Sun 1993b
	ha-dɯ mú-pa	annoy; offend	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ha-dɯ-nɯ	angry	Sun 1993b
	ha-go	merry	Sun 1993b
	ha-go-nɯ	important	Sun 1993b
	ha-ro	courage; brave	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ha-tɯ	sincere friend	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**haː**-fak	angry	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	haː-pu təː-bu	generous, lenient	Sun 1993b
	haː-puk	heart	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lɯ-ti **haː**-puk	calf (of leg)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**hoŋ**-či	angry	Sun 1993b
	hoŋ-dɯk	hate	Sun 1993b

[a] Milang **-k** possibly due to assimilation to following consonant.

	hoŋ-maŋ	regret	Sun 1993b
	hoŋ-ñek	quick-tempered; rough (temperament)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	hoŋ-puk	heart	Sun 1993a
	huŋ-či	get angry	Sun 1993b
	huŋ-puk	heart	Sun 1993b
	ɦoŋ maŋ	regret (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1376.24
	ɦoŋ puk	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.24
	ɦoŋ tɕi	angry, be; take offense; hate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1373.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1621.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɦoŋ** dɯk	hate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:729.51
	ɦoŋ tɕi	angry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:728.51
	ɦuŋ puk	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**ʻaa** puk	heart (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻhoŋ ak	terrified; frightened (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**ho** puk	heart	Simon 1976
Nishing	**ha** ha~**ha** hak	angry	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**ha** ci nam	angry / angry (v.i.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ha puk	heart	Das Gupta 1983
	ha si-nam	angry / angry (v.i.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	**xaŋ**-ci	hate; angry	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	xaː-ma	pitious	Sun 1993b
	xaː-puk	heart	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ha**-ker	rejoice	Tayeng 1976
	ha-ker-ma	glad; happy	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	ha-tel-ɲi	innocent	Tayeng 1976
	ha-tel-ɲi-ka	honest; dishonest	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	ha-tet-dom-pi-lu-ma	pacify	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**a**-puk	heart	Sun 1993a
	a-puk < aŋ-puk	heart	Sun 1993a

(9) PKar *saʔ^{D} HEART

7. Karenic			
**Karen [Burling]*	***saʔ^{2}**	heart	Luangthongkum 2013:142
**Karen*	***saʔ^{D}**	heart	Luangthongkum 2013:142
Bwe	**θa^{33}**	heart	Luangthongkum 2013:142
Kayah	**se^{55}**	heart	Luangthongkum 2013:142
Kayan	**θaʔ^{45}**	heart	Luangthongkum 2013:142
Kayaw	**sɔ^{33}**	heart	Luangthongkum 2013:142
Pa-O (Northern)	**saʔ^{21}**	heart	Luangthongkum 2013:142
Pa-O (Southern)	**saʔ^{21}**	heart	Luangthongkum 2013:142
Pwo (Northern)	**saʔ^{45}**	heart	Luangthongkum 2013:142
Pwo (Southern)	**θaʔ^{21}**	heart	Luangthongkum 2013:142
Sgaw (Southern)	**saʔ^{21}**	heart	Luangthongkum 2013:142
Sgaw (Northern)	**saʔ^{45}**	heart	Luangthongkum 2013:142

1.7.1.1 Heartbeat/Pulse

(1) PKC *phuu THROB / PULSATE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***phuu**	THROB / PULSATE	VanBik 2009:361
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**phu**	throb	VanBik 2009:361
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**phú**-I, phûuk ~ phût-II	throb, to pulsate, to palpitate (v.)	VanBik 2009:361

1.7.2 Lung

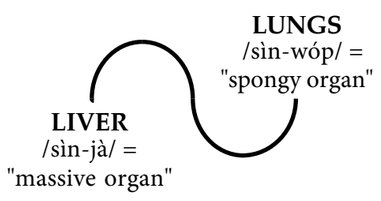


Figure 143: 1.7.2 *Lung*

The flowchart below depicts the semantic relationship between LUNGS and LIVER in Jingpho.

(1a) PTB *tsywap LUNG

As explained at length in *VSTB*:113-123, the root reconstructed as ***tsywap** in *STC* #239, is actually a fused version of a binome ****tsi-wap**, where the first element is the root PTB ***ts(u/i)-t** LUNG (§1.7.2). The original meaning of the second element seems to be 'soft, spongy', which is its meaning in Jingpho. The Jingpho form **sìn-wóp**, literally "spongy organ" is opposed to Jingpho **sin^{31} tʃa?^{31}** 'liver', where the second element means 'hard, firm'. These two organs, dominant in the thoracic and abdominal cavity respectively, are evidently conceived of as antonymous, similar to the Turkish pair **ak-ciğer** 'lung' (lit. 'white liver') and **kara-ciğer** 'liver' (lit. 'black liver').

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*sin-**wap**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1a
	***tsi-wap**	lung	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:617; Matisoff 2003a:618
	***tśwap**	lungs	Weidert 1987:1129
	***tsywap**	lungs; lung	Weidert 1987:990a; Michailovsky 1991:114; Matisoff 2003a:618; Benedict 1972:239
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tsuap** LUNG			
**Chin*	***tsuap**	LUNG	VanBik 2009:547
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**tuap**	lung	VanBik 2009:547
Sizang	**tuap**	lungs	VanBik 2009:547
Thado	**tsûop**	lung	VanBik 2009:547
Tiddim	**tuap^{1}**	lungs	VanBik 2009:547
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**cawp**	lung	VanBik 2009:547
Khumi	**ptaaw**	lung	VanBik 2009:547
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsuap**	lung	VanBik 2009:547
Lushai [Mizo]	**chuap**	lungs; lung	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:2a
	chûap	lungs, the lights (n.)	VanBik 2009:547
	tśuap	lungs	Benedict 1972:239
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	pa-**chao**	lung	Matisoff 1987
	pā-**cháo**	lungs (n.)	VanBik 2009:547
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	ə **čip**	lung	Toba & Kom 1991:9.2
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Khiamngan	^{23}san^{1}**dzǫ̨p**	lung	Weidert 1987:1173
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	sin-**wáwp**	lung	Matisoff 1987
	sìn-**wóp**	lung (=spongy liver)	Matisoff 1978b:1a
	sin^{31} **wop^{55}**	lung	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	sin^{31} **wop^{55}** a^{31} na^{31}	tuberculosis	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	sin^{31}**wop^{55}**	lung (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0143.19
	sin^{31}**wop^{55}**	lung	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:274.47
	^{1}shin-^{3}**wop**	spongy liver; lung	Weidert 1987:1129; Weidert 1987:1173

(1b) PTB *p-wap LUNG

The initial ***pr-** cluster in Khaling seems to be a fusion of PTB ***pwar** LUNG (§1.7.2) with **wap**. The Padam-Mising form also looks like a fusion of these two morphemes, with its syllable initial **r-** from ***pwar**, and the proto-sequence ***wap** becoming the rhyme **-op**.

The final dental in the Chinese comparandum might be due to labial dissimilation from the initial, as in "wind (n.)" 風, which is reconstructed as ***pi̯ŭm** for Old Chinese, but which became **pi̯ung** by the Middle Chinese period. Another explanation is that this Chinese word is under the qusheng (Tone "C"), which arose, according to Haudricourt's famous theory, through the influence of an ***-s** suffix, that could have favored the assimilation of a final labial to apical position.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***p-wa-p**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1c; Matisoff 2003a:619
	***r/s-wap**	lung	Matisoff 2003a:533
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mising [Abor-Miri]	â-**rop**	lung	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:1b
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	ʼswah-**prap**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:ld
	ʼswāh **prāp**	lung	Matisoff 1987
	swaa **praap**	lung	Michailovsky 1991:114
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Shuikui)	a^{31} **p^{h}o^{31}**	lung	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	肺	lung	Baxter & Sagart 2011:700
Chinese (GSR #)	**0501g**	lung	Baxter & Sagart 2011:700
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**p'i̯wăd**/p'i̯wɒi-	lung	Karlgren 1957:501g
Chinese (Old)	**p'iwad**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:ld
	phjots	lung	Baxter 1992:1031
	p^{h}ot-s {p^{h}o[t]-s}	lung	Baxter & Sagart 2011:700
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**phjojH**	lung	Baxter & Sagart 2011:700
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**fei**	lung	Karlgren 1957:501g
	fèi	lung	Baxter & Sagart 2011:700

Chinese comparandum

肺 OC ***p'i̯wăd**, *GSR* #501g 'lung'; Schuessler 2007:233 ***phats** < ***phats** or ***phots** from earlier ***s-pot/ps**; B & S 2011: ***p^{h}ot-s {p^{h}o [t] -s}**; Mand. **fèi**.

(1c) PTB *s-wap LUNG

The ***s-** prefix might well be a reduction of PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1), which appears in many words for parts of the body in various Tibeto-Burman languages.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-wa-p**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1a
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***cop** LUNG			
**Tangkhulic*	***cop**	lung	Mortensen 2012:725
Tusom	ʔɯ-**cu**	lung	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.264
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	ka **sop**	lungs	Benedict 1972:239
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**swạ**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1a
	swạ	lung	Matisoff 1987
2.3. Kiranti			
**BSDTK*	***sop**	lung	Michailovsky 1991:114

(1d) PTB *s-map LUNG

We include these Southern Loloish forms in this word family, even though the change from ***w** to **m** has not yet been discovered elsewhere. Perhaps these forms reflect a doubly-prefixed prototype ***s-m-wap**, which in turn derives from the full disyllable **sin-wap** that we find in Jingpho.

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	aŋ **hmaɔ**	lung	Beaudouin 1988:14
	ʔaŋ-**hmāw**	lung	Matisoff 1987
	ʔaŋ-**hmaw**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1a
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔā-**hmap**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1a
	ʔā́ **hmap**	lung	Matisoff 1987

(1e) PTB *g-lwa-p LUNG

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***k-l-wap**	lungs	Weidert 1987:1129
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar Lhoba	**loː**	lung	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**lo** neʔ	tuberculosis	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lo wa	lung	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:274.7
Tshona (Mama)	**lɔː^{55}**	lung	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:274.6
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Jirel	**lwa**-syakq	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1b
Tibetan (Jirel)	**lwā** syākq	lung	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**lu** a	lung	Bodh 1991:9.2
Tibetan (Written)	**glo**-ba	lung	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:1b; Zhang Liansheng 1988:53
	glo-doṅ	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987
	glo-nad	tuberculosis	Zhang Liansheng 1988:77
	glo-sbubs	windpipe / trachea	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{B}**glwap**/^{A}**glwap** LUNG			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**glwap**/^{A}glwap	lungs	Mazaudon 1978:55

	*[B]**glwap**,[B]glop	lung	Mazaudon 1994:195
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kloh** ba	lung	Glover 1972:2.A.36
	klo bā	lung	Matisoff 1987
	[3]**ɬoba**	lungs	Mazaudon 1978:55
Manang (Ngawal)	[3]**kjoːpa**	lungs	Mazaudon 1978:55
Tamang (Risiangku)	**glap**-sya	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1b
	[4]**klop**	lungs	Mazaudon 1978:55
	[4]**klop** -[1]sja	lung	Mazaudon 1994:195
	[4]**klop**-[1]sja	lung (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.2
	[4]**klo** pu	lung (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.2
Thakali (Marpha)	[3]**ljʌp**	lungs	Mazaudon 1978:55
	[55]**ljʌp**	lung	Mazaudon 1994:195
Thakali (Syang)	[L]**ʃjopʃja**	lungs	Mazaudon 1978:55
Thakali (Tukche)	**lo** ne	tuberculosis	Hari 1971:10.A.31
	[4]**kjəw**	lung	Mazaudon 1994:195
	[4]**kjʌw**	lungs	Mazaudon 1978:55
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**lɯ[55]wɯ[55]**	lung (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0143.16
	lø[55] wu[53]	lung	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:274.17

(2) PTB *ts $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{u}\\\mathbf{i}\end{matrix}$ -t LUNG

The rGyalrong forms with final **-s** might indicate that this root is to be reconstructed with a final dental sibilant rather than a final dental stop.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**t**)sit	lung / exhale	Matisoff 2003a:617
	***tsi**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:2a
	***tsit**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:2b
	***ʔtsut**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:2d
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	diŋ **dzyot**	lung (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.246
	dzot	breathe (vi.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.168
	dzot	lung (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.168
	ɟot	lung	Matisoff 1978b:2d
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**tsụ**	lung	DAI Qingxia 1989e:9.2
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**tshu[55]**	lung	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:274.18
Lyuzu	**ntshɯ[53]**	lung (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0143.18
Muya	**tshə̱[53]**	lung (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0143.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tshɯ̱[53]**	lung	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:274.15
	tsʰɯ̱[33]	lung	SUN Hongkai 1991h:9.2
Namuyi	**ntshu[33]**phu[55]	lung	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:274.19
	ntsʰu[33]pʰu[55]	lung	SUN Hongkai 1991i:9.2
	ntshɯ[35]	lung (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0143.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tshu[55]**	lung (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0143.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tshy[13]**	lung (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0143.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tshy[13]**	lung	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:274.11
	tsʰy[13]	lung	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	**tshø[35]**	lung	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:274.10
	tsʰø[35]	lung	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Longxi)	**tshù**	lung	Evans 1999:178
Qiang (Mawo)	**tshuə**	lung (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0143.08
	tsʰuŋ pɑ	lung	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	tsʰən pʰæ	lung	SUN Hongkai 1991g:9.2
Qiang (Mianchi)	**tshoù**	lung	Evans 1999:178
Qiang (Taoping)	**tshu[55]**	lung	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:274.9
	tsʰu[55]	lung	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tsha[35]**pa[53]	lung	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:274.16
	tsʰa[35] pa[53]	lung	SUN Hongkai 1991n:9.2
Xumi	**tsho[55]**	lung	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:274.20
	tshʊ[55]	lung (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0143.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**tse[55]**pe[55]	lung (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0143.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐ̩tsʰe**	lung	SUN Hongkai 1991b:9.2
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	tə ɾ **tsʰos**	lung	DAI Qingxia 1989d:9.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə ɾ̥ **tsʰos**	lung	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.2
rGyalrong (NW)	tə ɾ̥ **tsʰos**	lung	SUN Hongkai 1991l:9.2
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ɾ̥ **tsʰəs**	lung	SUN Hongkai 1991k:9.2
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	**ɕī[55]** pʰu[55] **tsi[55]**	lung	CHEN Kang 1986c:9.2
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔtsut ≍ tsi2**	lungs	Matisoff 1972b:56
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	a[31] **tɕhot[55]**	lung	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	a[31] **cʰut[55]**	lungs	DAI Qingxia 1989f:171
Burmese (Written)	**chut**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:2d
	ʔə **chut**	lung	Matisoff 1987
Lashi	**tsɔ̱t[55]**	lung	DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.2
Maru [Langsu]	**tsa̱t[55]**	lung	DAI Qingxia 1989l:9.2
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tsʔut**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:2d
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**tsʰɭ[21]** fu̱[21]	lung	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.2
Nasu	**tsʰɯ[55]**	lung	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.2
Nesu	**tʂʰɭ[21]** mo[21]	lung	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.2
Yi (Dafang)	**tɕʰi[55]**	lung	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Nanjian)	**tsʰɭ[21]** fu[21]	lung	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	**tsʰɭ[21]** mo[21]	lung	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	tsʰɭ[21]-mo[21] tɕi[21]-po[21]	windpipe	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʐɯ[21]	tuberculosis	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**tsi[33]** pu[22]	lung	LUO Meizhen 1990:9.2
	tsɿ[44]-pu[22]	lung	Matisoff 1978b:2b
Lahu	ɔ̀-**chî**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:2a
	ɔ̀-**chî**-phôʔ	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1c
Lahu (Black)	ɔ̀-**chî**	lung; lungs	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:56
	ɔ̀-**chî**-phôʔ	lung	Matisoff 1987
Sani [Nyi]	**tsʼʐ̩[11]**-pʼo[33]-ma[33]	lung	Matisoff 1978b:4
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**tsʰv̩**	lung	Michaud 2006–2009:446
Na (Yongning)	**ʈʂʰɻ̩**	lung	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**tʂhəɹ[13]**	lung	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:274.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tʂhəɹ[55]**	lung	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:274.28
Naxi	**tʂhəʳ[55]**	lung (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0143.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**tʂʰər[13]**	lung	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**tʂʰəʳ[55]**	lung	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(3) IA *phokso LUNG

These forms from TB languages of Nepal are from Nepali **phokso**. The second syllable resembles the native TB root PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1), which appears in compounds like Tamang Risiangku [4]**klop** -[1]**sja** 'lung'.

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**poksah**	lung	Bishop 1989:9.2
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	**phwaksa**	lung	Noonan *et al.* 1992:9.2
Tamang (Sahu)	**ʼpʰoksa**	lung	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.34
	phoksā	lung	Matisoff 1987
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**phokso**	lung	Rai *et al.* 1984:60
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	**phokso**	lung	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**ʼphoːsa**	lung	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.36
	ʼpʰoːsa	lung	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.36
	phoːsā	lung	Matisoff 1987
Magar	**phokso**	lung	Matisoff 1987

(4) PKar *p-so[B] LUNG

7. KARENIC				
**Karen*	***p-so[B]**	lung	Luangthongkum 2013:180	*a*
Bwe	**θə[55],** o[55]	lung	Luangthongkum 2013:180	
Kayah	**su[11]**	lung	Luangthongkum 2013:180	
Kayan	**θau[11]**	lung	Luangthongkum 2013:180	
Kayaw	**su[11]**	lung	Luangthongkum 2013:180	
Palaychi	təqˋ **ʔoɁ**	lung	Matisoff 1987	
Pwo (Northern)	**soʔ[45]**	lung	Luangthongkum 2013:180	
Pwo (Southern)	**bu[33]θuʔ[21]**	lung	Luangthongkum 2013:180	
Pwo (Bassein)	**pò-θòʔ**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1a	*b*
	pòʔ-θòʔ	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1c; Matisoff 1987	
Pwo (Moulmein)	**θò**	lung	Matisoff 1987	
Sgaw (Northern)	**pə[33]so[31~]**	lung	Luangthongkum 2013:180	
Sgaw (Southern)	**su[45],**	lung	Luangthongkum 2013:180	
Sgaw (Bassein)	**pəʔθò**	lung	Matisoff 1987	
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**θóʔ**	lung	Matisoff 1987	

[a] [Source Note] Pwo has tone D while CK and Sgaw have tone B.
[b] Pwo final glottal stops indicate creaky voice, a feature of the respective tone.

(5) PTB *pwar LUNG

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pwar**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:3
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**pa**-chao	lung	Matisoff 1987
	pā-cháo	lungs (n.)	VanBik 2009:547
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami Naga	ú **phié**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:3
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***pʰaar** LUNG			
**Tangkhulic*	***pʰaar**	lung	Mortensen 2012:516
Kachai	ʔa-**pʰor**	lung	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.253
Tangkhul	ā-**phār**	lung	Matisoff 1978b:3; Matisoff 1987
Ukhrul	ʔa-**pʰar**	lung; liver	Mortensen 2012
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ing-**phor**	lung	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:3
	ing **phór**	lung	Grüssner 1979:27
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**phwa**	lung	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:3

(6) PTani *haŋ-ru? LUNGS

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***haŋ-ru?**	lungs	Sun 1993a:248
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**há-ru**	lungs	Sun 1993b
	[2]**haː[1]ru**	lungs	Weidert 1987:560
Bengni	**haː-ru**	lungs	Sun 1993a
	haː-ruk	lungs	Sun 1993b
Galo	**aro**	lungs	Das Gupta 1963
	ˋaːro	lungs	Weidert 1987:560
	ˋaːrɤ	lungs	Weidert 1987:560

1.7.3 Liver

LIVER ——— SPLEEN

Figure 144: 1.7.3 *Liver*

(1) PTB *m-sin LIVER / HEART / BILE / BITTER

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***msyin**	bitter / liver	Coblin 1986:44
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***in**	liver / bile / bitter	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	***m-sin**	liver; bile; bitter	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:382a-f; Weidert 1987:440,989; Matisoff 2003a:613; Matisoff 1978b:(1); LaPolla 1987:104; Benedict 1972:234; French 1983:515

	*__m-sin__ (*B)	bitter / liver	Coblin 1986:44
	*__sin__-wap	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1a
*Tibeto-Karen	*__sin__	bitter	Chou Fa-kao 1972:382a-f

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	**mɯ**-t^{h}ɯn	liver	Simon 1979

1.1.1. Tani: *__zin__ liver

**Tani*	*__zin__	liver	Sun 1993a:243

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	pa-__hiŋ__	liver	Sun 1993b
	pa-__ĩ__	liver	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pa-__jiŋ__	liver	Sun 1993b
	^{1}pa ^{2}__hiŋ__(^{2})	liver	Weidert 1987:590
Bengni	__šin__	liver	Sun 1993a
	__sin__	liver	Sun 1993b
Bokar	__jin__	liver	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	__jin__	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.24
Bokar Lhoba	__jin__	liver	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.51
Galo	a __hin__	liver (n.)	GLDC 2009
	a __hin__	liver	Das Gupta 1963
	rok __sin__	chicken liver; liver (chicken) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	`a __sin__	liver	Weidert 1987:590
Miri, Hill	e __sen__	liver ?	Simon 1976
Tagin	__sen__	liver	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	a-__in__	liver	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-__in__	liver	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	a-pi (a __shé__)	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	a-pi (a __shi__)	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	ap-pio (a __shi__)	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	ap-pio (a __tshé__)	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	pui-ing (a __shi__)	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	pui-ing (a __tshé__)	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
Damu	ʔa-__jin__	liver	Sun 1993b
Milang	a __han__	liver	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	a-__sin__	liver	Sun 1993a
	ə __śin__	liver	LaPolla 1987:104; Benedict 1972:234; Coblin 1986:44

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	__hu__	liver	Pulu 1978
	__huŋ__^{53}	liver	Sun Hongkai 1991f:9.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.50
	i __mihũ__	liver	Anonymous 1962
Yidu	__huŋ__^{53}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *__thin__ liver

**Chin*	*__thin__	LIVER	VanBik 2009:397
Thanphum	ă`__t‘i:n__^{5}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	__thin__	liver	Haokip 1998:9.5
	__thin__ buh	gall bladder	Haokip 1998:9.5.2
Paite	__sin__	liver	VanBik 2009:397
Sizang	__chin__	liver	VanBik 2009:397
Thado	__thìn__	liver	VanBik 2009:397
Tiddim	__sin__^{3}	liver	VanBik 2009:397; Bhaskararao 1996:1586
	__s‘ɪn__^{4}	liver	Luce 1985:G.109; Luce 1985:O.20

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	a __t‘in__	liver	VanBik 2009:397
Asho (Sandoway)	an __t‘ɪm__^{1}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20
Chinbon	__ṃt^{h}i:n__	liver	So-Hartmann 1988:88
Cho (Mindat)	__m-sin__	liver	VanBik 2009:397
Daai	__ṃt^{h}in__	liver	So-Hartmann 1988:88; VanBik 2009:397
Khumi	__pthúeng__	liver	VanBik 2009:397
	p^{ə} __t^{h}ïn__	liver	So-Hartmann 1988:88
Khumi (Ahraing)	pă __t‘əm__^{5}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20
Matu	__ṇt^{h}in__	liver	So-Hartmann 1988:88
Matupi	__t‘i:n__^{1}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20
Ngmüün	__ṃš^{h}in__	liver	So-Hartmann 1988:88
Nyhmoye	ṃlu.__ṃt^{h}i:n__	liver	So-Hartmann 1988:88
Wakung	__mə^{ə}t^{h}e^{i}n__	liver	So-Hartmann 1988:88
Womatu	__m`sɯn__^{2}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	__t‘ɪn__^{4}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20
Lai (Hakha)	__thĭn__	liver	VanBik 2009:397
Lai (Falam)	__thìn__	liver	VanBik 2009:397
Lai (Hakha)	__t‘ɪn__^{2}	liver	Luce 1985:G.109; Luce 1985:O.20
Lushai [Mizo]	__thìn__	liver	Weidert 1987:440
	__thin__	liver	Marrison 1967
	__thìn__	liver, the heart (n.)	VanBik 2009:397
	__thin__	liver	Bhaskararao 1996:1586; Benedict 1972:234; Coblin 1986:44
	__thin__-lung	mind	Matisoff 1978b:(1a); Marrison 1967
	__t‘ɪn__^{4}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	pa-__thī__	liver	VanBik 2009:397
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	pă __tsə__^{4}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20
Mera	pă^{5}__t‘i__^{5}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20
Tha’oa	__t‘in__^{2}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20
	__t‘ɪn__^{2}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20
Xongsai	__t‘ɪn__^{2}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20
Zotung	__t‘ī__^{1}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20
	__t‘ī__^{4}	liver	Luce 1985:O.20

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Kom Rem	ə __mət^{h}in__	liver	Toba & Kom 1991:9.5
Sorbung	__mət^{h}ín__	chest (=liver); liver	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.132; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.291

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *__m-sən__ liver

**Central Naga*	*__m-sən__	LIVER	Bruhn 2014a:III.172
**Ao*	*t-__m-sən__	LIVER	Bruhn 2014a:II.112
Ao (Chungli)	te __mesen__	liver	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:118n327
	tə^{2}-__mə^{3}sən__^{1}	liver (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.112
	^{2}tɯ^{3}__mɯ__^{1}__sɯn__	liver	Weidert 1987:68
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te __mesen__	liver	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-__məsən__	liver (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	__ṇ__^{1}__-then__^{3}	liver (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.172
	__ntę__	liver	Benedict 1972:118n327
	__nten__	liver	Marrison 1967
	__nthen__	liver	Murry *et al.* 1978:68
	__Nthen__	liver	Nienu 1990c:9.5
Sangtam	__müsi__	liver	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{5}u^{4}__se__	liver	Weidert 1987:440
Angami (Khonoma)	__se__	liver	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	u __se__	liver	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) __sü__^{55}	liver	Nienu 1990b:9.5
	^{4}u^{5}__sɤ__	liver	Weidert 1987:440
Ntenyi	ke __meshen__	mind	Marrison 1967
	ke __meshen__ sa	wish (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ke __moshen__ sa	desire (v.)	Marrison 1967
	__meshen__	think; understand	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Rengma (Northern)	^{2}__ma^{2}tšĕ^{2}__ka	bile	Weidert 1987:383a
Sema [Sumi]	allo __shi__	liver	Marrison 1967
	a __lo__ shi	liver	Achumi 1998a:9.5
	^{1}a^{1}ti^{2}__thi__	bile	Weidert 1987:383a

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	məi __thìn__	liver	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	^{3}mi^{1}n^{5}__ceu__	liver	Weidert 1987:440

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *__t^{h}in__ liver

**Tangkhulic*	*__t^{h}in__	liver	Mortensen 2012:466
Huishu	ʔa-mə-__t^{h}ɐn__	liver	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.131
Kachai	ʔa-mə-__t^{h}ɐn__	liver	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.264
Tangkhul	a ma __thin__	liver	Marrison 1967
	ā __thi__	bile	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	kha rok āma __thin__	uvula (”throat-liver”)	Matisoff 1987
	^{1}ə ^{1}mə ^{3}__thin__	liver	Weidert 1987:96
Tusom	ən-__ts^{h}ɯə̃__	liver	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.275
Ukhrul	ʔa-mə-__t^{h}in__	liver	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	__məsiŋ__ ga	gall bladder	Singh 1991:9.5.2

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing __thin__	liver; heart	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ing __thín__	heart; locus of emotions; liver; mind; locus of thought	Grüssner 1979:23; Grüssner 1979:23; Grüssner 1979:23
	iŋ __thin__	liver	LaPolla 1987:104; Benedict 1972:234

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *__Ç-sin__ liver

**Northern Naga*	*Ç-__sin__	liver	French 1983:515

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Moshang)	ə __hi__	gall bladder	LaPolla 1987:166

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	__san__ maŋ	liver	French 1983:515
	__san__ mang	liver	Marrison 1967
	__sán__	liver	Weidert 1987:96
Khiamngan	^{23}__san__	liver	Weidert 1987:989
	^{23}__san__^{1}dzǫp	lung	Weidert 1987:1173
Phom	__t^{h}an__^{33}	liver	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	__məsìn__	liver; bile; bitter	Matisoff 1974:212; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	__sin__	liver	Marrison 1967
	__sin__ ≍ __məsin__	liver	Benedict 1972:234
	__sin__-pai	spleen	Matisoff 1987
	__sìn__-pāi	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1974:14
	__sin__-wáwp	lung	Matisoff 1987
	__sìn__-wóp	lung (=spongy liver)	Matisoff 1978b:1a
	__sin__~__məsin__	liver	LaPolla 1987:104
	__sin__^{31} tai^{33}	heart	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	__sin__^{31} taʔ^{31}	chest (of body)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	__sin__^{31} tʃaʔ^{31}	liver	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	__sin__^{31} wop^{55}	lung	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	__sin__^{31} wop^{55} a^{31} na^{31}	tuberculosis	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	__sin__^{31}taʔ^{31}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.47
	__sin__^{31}tʃaʔ^{31}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.19
	__sīn__^{31}tʃaʔ^{31}	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.47
	__sin__^{31}wop^{55}	lung (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0143.19
	__sin__^{31}wop^{55}	lung	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:274.47
	__sin__ da	chest	Marrison 1967
	__sìn__ pāi	spleen	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	__sin__ tu	heart	Marrison 1967
	__sə__ bawn	lung	Matisoff 1987
	__sə__ gri	bile	Matisoff 1987
	__sə__ grì	bile / gall	Matisoff 1974:65
	__šə__ grì≍	bile / gall	Matisoff 1974:65
	__sə__ grì≍__šə__ grì	bile, gall, gall bladder	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	^{1}__mə^{1}shin__	liver	Weidert 1987:96
	^{1}__shin__-^{3}wop	spongy liver; lung	Weidert 1987:1129; Weidert 1987:1173
	^{1}__šə__^{1}gri	bile	Weidert 1987:221
	__ʃă__^{31} kɹi^{31}	gall	Liu Lu, ed. 1984

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Ganan	ă __s‘ɛ̃__^{1}	liver	Luce 1985:L.148
Kadu	ă __s‘ɪn__^{3}	liver	Luce 1985:G.109
Kadu (Kantu)	ă __s‘ɪn__^{3}	liver	Luce 1985:L.148
Sak	áŋ __siŋ__	liver	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:38
Sak (Bawtala)	ā^{3}__s‘e__^{4}	liver	Luce 1985:G.109; Luce 1985:L.148

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	__chin__ pa	liver	Sharma 1991a:9.5
Kanauri	__śin__	liver	LaPolla 1987:104; Benedict 1972:234; Coblin 1986:44
	__s̲h̲iṅ__	liver (n.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	pəŋ __minza__	liver	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	__ndʒo__^{13} nbɑ^{35}	liver	Sun Hongkai 1991a:9.5
Kaike	__thi__-pā	bile	Matisoff 1978b:(3); Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Motuo)	__tɕhiŋ__ pa	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.7
	__tɕ^{h}iŋ__ pa	liver	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	__tʂhis__	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.7
	__tʂ^{h}is__	gall	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	__tʂ^{h}is__^{55}	gall	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	__tin__^{55} po^{55}	liver	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	__tsi__^{55} mo^{53}	liver	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.6
Motuo Menba	__tɕhiŋ__ pa	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.07
	__tʂhis__	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.07
Cuona Menba	__tsi__^{55}mo^{53}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	__ntɕən__ bæ	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.05

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tɕhəm** ba	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**mtɕhən** mba	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.5
	ntɕʰi ɸæ	gall	Sun 1985a:298
	ntɕʰən-nbæ	liver	Sun 1985a:450
Tibetan (Balti)	**čʰin** ma·	liver	Rangan 1975:71
Tibetan (Batang)	**tɕhĩ**^{55} pa^{55}	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989a:9.5
	tɕhĩ^{55}mba^{53}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**Thi:** bāq	bile	Matisoff 1987
Jirel	**ṭhi:** bāq	bile	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tɕhin**^{55}ba^{53}	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tɕhi**^{55}pa^{53}	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.2
	tɕhĩ^{55}pə^{55}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**chiim** ba	liver	Bishop 1989:9.5
	thē ba	bile	Bishop 1989:9.5.1
Sherpa	**Thi** wā	bile	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**chin** ba	liver	Bodh 1991:9.5
Tibetan (Western)	**ṭhigs**-pa	bile	Benedict 1972:412
Tibetan (Written)	**mchin**	liver	Coblin 1986:44
	mchin.pa	liver	Sun 1985c:450
	mc'in-pa	liver	Luce 1985:X.165
	mč'in-pa	liver / bile / bitter	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	mtśhin	liver	LaPolla 1987:104; Benedict 1972:234
	mtʃin-pa	liver	Zhang Liansheng 1988:52
	mtɕhin pa	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.1
	mtɕin pa	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.01
"Pre-Tibetan"	**msyin**	bitter / liver	Coblin 1986:44

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**cin**^{2} ba^{2}	liver	Nagano 1984:038
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**cʰĩ** pə	liver	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0035
	^{3}**ɕə** pə	stomach (animal)	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0507b

2.2. Newar

Newar (Kathmandu)	**sẽ**	liver	Genetti 1990c
Newar (Dolakhali)	**sẽ** la	liver	Genetti 1990b

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**sinh**	liver; kernel (of grain) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sin^{h}	liver	Caughley 1972:1.53
	sin^{ɦ}	liver	Weidert 1987:68; Weidert 1987:96; Weidert 1987:989
Chepang (Eastern)	**sinh**	liver	Caughley 1990:9.5
Kham	**'sen**	liver	Watters & Watters 1989:1.53

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**si**	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989e:9.5
	si^{2}	liver	Sofronov c1978
	siɦ	liver	Nishida 1964:186; Nishida 1964:269-063
	sji	liver	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5273

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**ntshɑ**^{55}	liver	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.18
Lyuzu	**tsha**^{35}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.18
Muya	**zə**^{53}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.15
Muya [Minyak]	**zɯ**^{53}	liver	Sun Hongkai 1991h:9.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.15
Namuyi	**sɻ**^{55}ly^{55}	liver	Sun Hongkai 1991i:9.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.19
	si^{55}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tsu**^{35}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tsyɛ̃**^{55}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tsyɛ̃**^{55}	liver	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tsuẽ**^{53}	liver	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**ɕí** ɹá	liver	Evans 1999:180
Qiang (Mawo)	**si**	liver	Sun 1986; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai 1991g:9.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.8
	sə χɑ	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**sè**	liver	Evans 1999:180 [a]
Qiang (Taoping)	**sie**^{55}	liver	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**sɑ** xɑ	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989q:180
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ze**^{13}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**zɛ**^{35}	liver	Sun Hongkai 1991n:9.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.16
Xumi	**suə̃**^{55}	liver	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.20
	suɛ̃^{53}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**sei**^{33}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.14
	sei^{13}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**she**	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.14
Daofu	**shi**	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.12
Ergong (Danba)	**sʰe**	liver	Sun Hongkai 1991b:9.5
Ergong (Northern)	**sʰə**^{53}	liver	Sun Hongkai 1991c:9.5

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Eastern)	**mdʒi** kri	bile	Sun Hongkai 1991j:9.5.1
Caodeng	tə-**mtsʰi**	liver	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **mdʒi** kri ɻ̥kʰo	gall bladder	Sun Hongkai 1991j:9.5.2
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mtsʰi**	liver	Sun Hongkai 1991l:9.5
	tə **mtsʰi** lbap	spleen	Sun Hongkai 1991l:9.8
Shili	tɤ́-**mtsʰi**	liver	Sun 1997c

4. Nungic

Anong	bɯ^{31} **ɕin**^{55}	liver	Sun Hongkai 1988
Nung	bɯ^{31}**ɕin**^{55}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.21
Anong	bɯ^{31}**ɕin**^{55}	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.44
Rawang	mə **ʃɯn**^{33}	liver	LaPolla 2003:162
Anong	phə **śin**	liver	LaPolla 1987:104; Benedict 1972:234
	sə hi	gall bladder; gall-bladder	Matisoff 1978b:(3); LaPolla 1987:166; Benedict 1972:412; Benedict 1972:412
Rawang	**sə** khi^{53}	gall bladder	LaPolla 2003:164
Dulong	pɯ^{31}**ɕin**^{55}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.20
Trung [Dulong]	pɯ^{31}**ɕin**^{55}	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.46
	tɕi^{31}xɹi^{55}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	pɯ^{31} **śin**^{55}	liver	LaPolla 1987:104
	pɯ^{31} **ɕin**^{55}	liver	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	tśi^{31} xri^{55}	gall bladder	LaPolla 1987:166
	tɕi^{31} xɹi^{55}	gall	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	pɯ^{31} **śin**^{53}	liver	LaPolla 1987:104
	pɯ^{31} **ɕin**^{53}	liver	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	tśhi^{31} khri^{53}	gall bladder	LaPolla 1987:166
	tɕʰi^{31} kʰɹi^{53}	gall	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. Tujia

Tujia	mɯe^{35} **tɕi**^{55}	stomach	Chen Kang 1986d:9.10
	tsi^{35} **tsi**^{35}	gall bladder	Chen Kang 1986c:9.5.2
Tujia (Northern)	**tsi**^{35} **tsi**^{35}	gall	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *sin^{2} ≍ *tsin^{2} LIVER / BITTER

**Lolo-Burmese*	***m**-sin	liver	Matisoff 1978a:49
	***sin**^{2} ≍ tsin^{2}	liver / bitter	Matisoff 2003a:613 [a]

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	khau^{55} **ʂɑ**^{55}	liver	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31} **ʂəŋ**^{31}	liver	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	a^{31}**ʂəŋ**^{31}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.28
	a^{31}**ʂəŋ**^{31}	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.41
	saŋ^{31} tɕhi^{35}	gall bladder	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	saŋ^{31}tɕhi^{35}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.28
	saŋ^{31}tɕhi^{35}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.41
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31} **ʂɯŋ**^{31}	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989f:173
	a^{31}**ʂɯŋ**^{31}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.29
	ʂɯŋ^{31} cʰi^{35}	gall bladder	Dai Qingxia 1989f:177
	ʂɯŋ^{31}chi^{35}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.29
Bola	**saŋ**^{35}	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989g:173
Bola (Luxi)	**saŋ**^{35}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.32
Burmese (Modern)	a **sañ:**	liver	Luce 1985:T.41
	a **sañ**^{4}	liver	Luce 1985:G.109
	sañ:-kre^{3}	gall	Luce 1985:S.12
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tθɛ**^{55}tɕhe^{22}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.27
	ɑ^{53}**tθɛ**^{55}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.27
Burmese (Spoken)	ã **θe**^{4}	liver	Luce 1985:T.41
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθɛ**^{55}tɕhe^{22}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.40
	ɑ **tθɛ**^{55}	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**θɛ**^{4}dje^{3}	gall	Luce 1985:S.12
Burmese (Written)	a **sàń**	liver	LaPolla 1987:104
	ă **sàń**	liver	Benedict 1972:234
	a **sañ̃:**	liver	Marrison 1967
	a **sañ**^{4}	liver	Luce 1985:X.165
	Mod. **[sañ**^{4}**]** k're^{3}	gall, bile	Luce 1985:X.55
	sâi	liver (< sâñ)	Benedict 1976a
	sâñ	liver	Benedict 1976a
	sàñ-khre	gall	Weidert 1987:221
	sâñ-khre	bile; gall	Matisoff 1974:65; Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	sàń-khre	gall	LaPolla 1987:166; Benedict 1972:412
	sâñ-khre-ʔim	bladder / gall	Matisoff 1987
	sâñ-kʰre	gall bladder	Matisoff 1978a:19
	thɑɲ^{3}khre^{2}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.39
	tθɑɲ^{3}khre^{2}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.26
	ə-**sâñ**	liver	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**sàñ**	liver	Coblin 1986:44
	ə **θè**	liver	Benedict 1972:79n241
	ɑ^{1}**thɑɲ**^{3}	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.39
	ɑ^{1}**tθɑɲ**^{3}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.26
	ʔə **sâñ**	liver; bile; bitter	Matisoff 1978a:49; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	ʔə **sâñ**	liver	Matisoff 1974:212
Danu	ă **θe**^{2}	liver	Luce 1985:T.41
	θɛ^{2}che^{4}	gall	Luce 1985:S.12
Hpun (Northern)	ă **ʃaìŋ**	liver	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	ă **ʃɑiŋ**^{4}	liver	Luce 1985:G.109; Luce 1985:T.41
Hpun (Northern)	**sè** xrí; **θèɪ** xí	gall / gall bladder	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	**se**^{4} χih^{4}	gall	Luce 1985:S.12
Langsu (Luxi)	**saŋ**^{35}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.31
Lashi (Lachhe')	**səŋ**^{3}	liver	Luce 1985:T.41
Lashi	**səŋ**^{55}	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989m:9.5
Lashi (Lachhe')	**sə̃**	liver	Luce 1985:T.41
Leqi (Luxi)	**səŋ**^{55}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.33
Marma	ə **θé**	liver	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:38
	θé khri re	bile	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:38A
Maru [Langsu]	**saŋ**^{35}	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989l:9.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.43
Taung-Yo	ă **θe**^{2}	liver	Luce 1985:T.41
	θɛ^{2}ch'e^{4}	gall	Luce 1985:S.12
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**seŋ**^{4}	liver	Luce 1985:T.41
	seŋ^{4}kyi^{2}	gall	Luce 1985:S.12
	siŋ^{21}	liver	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	siŋ^{21}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.30
	siŋ^{21}	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.42
	siŋ^{21} kji^{51}	gall	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	siŋ^{21}kji^{51}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.30
	siŋ^{21}kji^{51}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.42

6.1.2. Loloish: *sin^{2} LIVER

**Loloish*	*(š)-**sin**^{2}	liver	Weidert 1987:989
	*(ʃ)-**sin**^{2}	liver	Bradley 1979b:143
Lolopho	**ʂɯ**^{31} thɒ^{31}	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989n:9.5

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**sì**-tsé	liver	Björverud 1994
	sɻ^{21} tse^{55}	liver	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5
Lipho	**sɻ**^{21}tha^{21}	liver	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5

[a] [Source Note] cf. 'tree, wood'.

[a] *HPTB* p. 31 erroneously gives 1 as the PLB tone for this form.

Nasu	**sɻ^{55}**	liver	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5
Nesu	**ʂer^{21}**	liver	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5
Noesu	**se^{55}**	liver	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5
Nosu	**si^{21}**	liver	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5
Nusu (Northern)	**s^{h}ɐ^{55}**	liver	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tsə̃^{ɪ55}**	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.45
Nusu (Southern)	**tsə^{55}**	liver	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**tsə̃^{ˇ55}**	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989o:173.
Nusu (Central)	**tsə̃^{ˇ55}**	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989p:173.
	tsə̃^{ˇ55}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.34
	ts^{h}ə̃^{ɪ55}	liver	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**sə^{33}**	liver	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**si^{21}**	liver	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	i^{33}**si^{55}**	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.25
	i^{33}**tʂi^{33}**zo^{21}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**sɛ^{21}**	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**se^{21}**	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.37
	sɛ^{21}	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.24
Yi (Nanjian)	dzɻ^{21} **sɻ^{21}**	liver	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.23
Yi (Weishan)	**sɻ^{21}**tsɛ^{55}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.36
Yi (Wuding)	**sɻ^{55}**	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.38
Yi (Xide)	**si^{21}**	liver	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	si^{21}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.35
	si^{21}	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.21
	ts^{h}ɭ^{21}-si^{34}	liver	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	i^{33} **tʂi^{22}** ʑi^{22}	bile	Luo Meizhen 1990:9.5.1
Lolo (Ni)	**sé**	liver	Luce 1985:T.41
Ahi	**sɻ^{55}**;i^{33}kɛ^{33}	liver	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5
	ɣo^{22} **tɕi^{22}** zo^{21}	pancreas	Luo Meizhen 1990:9.9
Jinuo	**tshɤ^{42}**na^{42}	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.44
	tshɤ^{44}khɔ^{44}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ts^{h}ɯ^{31}** na^{31}	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989h:180
Jinuo (Baka)	**ts^{h}ɯ^{31}** na^{31} la^{31}	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989i:180
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33} **ts^{h}ɤ^{44}**	liver	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	ɑ^{33}**tshɯ^{33}**	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.34
Kucong	a31 **sɔ35**	liver	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***sheh_**	liver	Bradley 1979b:143
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**ɕɛ^{11}**	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.43
Lahu (Black)	**sheh**	liver	Luce 1985:T.41
	ɔ^{31} **sɛ^{31}**	liver	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.33
	ɔ̀-**šɛ**	liver	Matisoff 1978a:49
	ɔ̀-**šɛ̄**	liver	Matisoff 1974:212
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{31} **ɕɛʔ^{21}**	liver	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	hwa^{21}**si^{21}**	liver (N.)	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}	liver (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**si^{31}**	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.40
Lisu (Central)	**si^{5}**-hpyá^{1}	liver	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**si^{5}**-hpyɑ^{1}	liver	Luce 1985:G.109
Lisu	**si^{5}**hpyá^{1}	liver	Bradley 1979b:143
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**si^{5}**hpya^{1}	liver	Luce 1985:T.41
Lisu (Putao)	**sɯ^{5}** chɛ^{5}	liver	Luce 1985:T.41; Luce 1985:G.109
Lisu (Nujiang)	**sɻ^{31}**	liver	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**sɻ^{31}**	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.27
Sani [Nyi]	**si^{21}**	liver	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5; Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	si^{21}li^{21}qo^{33}	heart and liver	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**sʐ^{11}**	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.39
Sani [Nyi]	**sɻ^{21}** l̩^{21} qo^{33} lo̲^{44}	liver	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:158.2
	sɻ^{11}	liver	Ma Xueliang 1989:354.6

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	g'aw˪ **si˪**	kidney (dial.)	Matisoff 1987
Akha (Thai)	sjhà-**tshàŋ**	liver	Hansson 1989:409
Bisu	aŋ **tshiŋ**	liver	Beaudouin 1988:14
	ʔaŋ **tshiŋ**	liver	Bradley 1979b
Hani (Dazhai)	**tshɔ^{31}**	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.31
	ts^{h}ɔ^{31}	liver	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**tshɔ^{31}**	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.41
Hani (Pijo)	**tshɣ̀** khí	bile	Hansson 1989:296
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshɳ̄^{31}**tshi^{55}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.30
	ts^{h}ɳ̄^{31} tɕ^{h}i^{55}	gall bladder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} **ts^{h}ɭ^{31}**	liver	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**tshɳ^{31}**	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	ɕa^{31} **ts^{h}aŋ^{31}**	liver	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{31} **ts^{h}u^{31}**	liver	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**tshu^{31}**	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tshɛ̀** tjhí	bile	Hansson 1989:296
Hani (Mojiang)	ɔ^{31}**tshu^{31}**	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.42
Mpi	ʔɑ^{2}-**thɯ^{2}**	liver	Matisoff 1978a:49; Bradley 1979b; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	mì-tchù-**sì**	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	ʔā̆ **sìn**	liver	Bradley 1979b
	ʔā^{55} **sin^{11}**	liver	Bradley 1977
Pyen	ʔa33 **chin31**	liver	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131150
Ugong	hoŋ **sɣ́ŋ**	liver	Bradley 1993:9.5

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**si**ɬ	liver	Michaud 2006–2009:447
Na (Yongning)	**si**ɻ	liver	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Western)	**sər^{55}**	liver	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**səɹ^{55}**	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**sɯ^{13}**	liver	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**sɚ^{55}**	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**sɻ^{13}**	liver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.29

7. Karenic: ***swɨn^{B}** LIVER

**Karen [Burling]*	***sun^{2}**	liver	Luangthongkum 2013:173
**Karen*	***swɨn^{B}**	liver	Luangthongkum 2013:173
	***sýnq**	liver	Jones 1961:47
**Karen (TP)*	***sýnq**	liver	Jones 1961:47
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***θúq**	liver	Jones 1961:47
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***θúʔ**	liver	Jones 1961:47
**Karen (Pwo)*	***θánq**	liver	Jones 1961:47
Bwe	**θu^{55}**θa^{33}	liver	Luangthongkum 2013:173
Karen	a^{31}**tθu̲^{31}**	liver (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0145.50
Kayah	**so^{11}**	liver	Luangthongkum 2013:173
Kayan (Pekon)	p^{h}ú **θyên**	liver (N.)	Manson 2010
	θyên	liver (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**θi^{11}**	liver	Luangthongkum 2013:173
Kayaw	~**βɯ^{11}**	liver	Luangthongkum 2013:173
Pa-O (Southern)	**sụ̂ən^{33}**	liver	Luangthongkum 2013:173
Pa-O	**sýn**	liver	Jones 1961:47
Pa-O (Northern)	**sɨn^{55}**	liver	Luangthongkum 2013:173
Pa-O	**siŋn**	liver	Solnit 1989
	sín thì	gall	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**sɯ̃n^{1}**t'i^{6}	gall, bile	Luce 1985:I.145
Pa-O	**sýn**	liver	Weidert 1987:989
Pa-O (Northern)	**s'ɯn^{1}**	liver	Luce 1985:G.109
Paku	ă **θu^{3}**	liver	Luce 1985:G.109
Palaychi	fvúq **tàq**	liver	Jones 1961:47
Pwo (Northern)	**sũ^{33}**	liver	Luangthongkum 2013:173
Pwo (Tenasserim)	ă **θõ^{1}**	liver	Luce 1985:G.109
Pwo (Delta)	ă **θõ^{4}**	liver	Luce 1985:G.109
Pwo (Southern)	**θõi^{55}**	liver	Luangthongkum 2013:173
Pwo (Bassein)	**θòn**	liver	Weidert 1987:989; Jones 1961:47
Pwo (Moulmein)	**θánʔ**	liver	Weidert 1987:989
	θánʔ	liver	Jones 1961:47
Sgaw (Northern)	**su$^{31~}$**	liver	Luangthongkum 2013:173
Sgaw (Southern)	**su^{45,}**	liver	Luangthongkum 2013:173
Sgaw	**^{2}θu**	liver	Weidert 1987:989
	θu^{4}	liver	Luce 1985:G.109
Sgaw (Bassein)	**θù**	liver	Jones 1961:47
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a^{31} **tθu̲^{31}**	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989k:180
	da^{31} **tθu̲^{31}**	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989k:180.1
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**θúʔ**	liver	Jones 1961:47
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**θu^{31}**	liver	Dai Qingxia 1989j:180

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	ŋɑ^{55} dzɑ̃^{42} **tshṿ^{42}**	stomach	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

Chinese comparandum

辛 OC ***siə̆n**, *GSR* #382a-f 'pungent, bitter; painful'; Coblin 86:44 ST ***msyin** > OC ***sjin**; Schuessler 2007:538 ***sin**; B & S 2011: ***sin { [s] i [n] }**; Mand. **xīn**.

1.7.3.1 Gall/Bile

(1) PTB *b-ka- **n m ŋ** BITTER / SALTY / BILE / LIVER

This root acquired all three nasal codas (***-n**, ***-n**, ***-ŋ**) in various languages, but by far the most common allofam is the open syllable form.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***b-kɑ-n**	liver	Chou Fa-kao 1972:139l

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-ka-n**	bitter / liver	Matisoff 2003a:594; Mortensen 2012
	***ka**	bitter	Weidert 1987:259; Matisoff 1983:5; LaPolla 1987:1; Benedict 1972:8
	***ka** (*B)	bitter / difficult	Coblin 1986:44
	***ka-(m,n,ŋ)**	bitter / bile	Matisoff 1978b:(2)
	***kɑ**	word; speech; bitter	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1q; Chou Fa-kao 1972:49u

1.1.1. Tani: ***ko** ~ ***ka:** BITTER

**Tani*	***ko**~ **ka:**	bitter	Sun 1993a:29

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**ko**-či	bitter	Sun 1993b
	ko-čiʔ	bitter	Sun 1993a
	ko-č^{h}iʔ	bitter	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**kəː**-čak	bitter	Sun 1993b
	kɯː-čak	bitter	Sun 1993a
	kɯː-čak bɯ-rjak	very bitter	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**kaː**-čak	bitter	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	kaː tɕak	bitter	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.24
Bokar Lhoba	**kaː** tɕak	bitter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:889.51
Galo	**ka** cak	bitter	Das Gupta 1963
	pi **ko**	spleen	Das Gupta 1963
	'kaa cak	bitter (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	**kɤ** cak	bitter	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ko**-saŋ	bitter; sour	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993a [a]
Milang	a-**ka**-ɲi	bitter	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**'kaː**	bitter; taste (bitter)	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
Kaman [Miju]	**khɑ^{53}**	bitter	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.23; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:889.48
Idu	**ka**	bitter	Anonymous 1962
	kɑ^{55}	bitter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:889.50
Yidu	**kɑ^{55}**	bitter	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***khaa-I**, ***khaat ≍ *khaak-II** BITTER

**Chin*	***khaa-I**, **khaat ≍ khaak-II**	BITTER	VanBik 2009:425

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**kha**	bitter	VanBik 2009:425
Sizang	**hkā** hī	bitter	VanBik 2009:425
Thado	**khâa-I**, **khâat-II**	bitter	VanBik 2009:425
Tiddim	**kha:^{1}** > kha:k^{1}	bitter	VanBik 2009:425
	kha:^{1} > kha:k^{1}	bitter (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:731
	kha:^{1}/kha:k^{1}	bitter	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊxaː/ˊxaːk	bitter (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**k'ó**	bitter	VanBik 2009:425
Cho (Mindat)	**kha**	bitter (as taste) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:425
Khumi	**khoo**	bitter	VanBik 2009:425

1.2.2. Central Chin

[a] [Source Note] rhyme!

Lai (Falam)	**khâa**-INV	bitter (be v.)	VanBik 2009:425
Lai (Hakha)	**khàa-I**, **khaat-II**	bitter (be v.)	VanBik 2009:425
Lushai [Mizo]	**kha**	bitter	Marrison 1967
	kha	bitter (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2536
	kha	bitter	LaPolla 1987:1; Benedict 1972:8; Coblin 1986:44
	khà-I, khâak-II	bitter (be v.)	VanBik 2009:425

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	hmô **khaw** ti	bile	Matisoff 1987
	khā	bitter	VanBik 2009:425

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**kha**	bitter	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-kha?*** BITTER

**Central Naga*	*a-**kha?**	BITTER (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.010
**Ao*	*a-**kha?**	BITTER (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.074
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**ku?**^{1}	bitter (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.074
	ta **ku**	bitter	Marrison 1967
	^{3}ta^{1}**ku?**	bitter	Weidert 1987:259
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **kha**	bitter	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **khá?**	bitter (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	kha-tsə pha	bitterly afraid ('be bitter' + 'fear') (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	kha ɹa	bitter gourd (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**kho**^{2}-	bitter (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.010
	e **kho** v	bitter	Murry *et al.* 1978:10
	kho a	bitter	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a **kha**	bitter	Marrison 1967
Yacham	**khu** la	bitter	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	^{2}a-(^{2})**kɯ?**	bitter	Weidert 1987:259

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Chokri	kü **khu**	bitter	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**khu**	bitter	Weidert 1987:259
Mao	**kakha**	bitter	Marrison 1967
Rengma	ke **kha**	bitter	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Northern)	^{2}ma^{2}tšĕ^{2}**ka**	bile	Weidert 1987:383a

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	**kakaba**	bitter	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**kakhabu**	bitter	Marrison 1967
Maram	**kha**	bitter	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**khanu**	bitter	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ku** mei	bitter	Marrison 1967
	n-**xŭ**	bitter	Weidert 1987:259

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***k^{h}a*** BITTER

**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}a**	bitter	Mortensen 2012:319
Huishu	kə-**k^{h}e**	bitter	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.144
Kachai	kə-**k^{h}u**	bitter	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.125
Tangkhul	**kakha**	bitter	Marrison 1967
	kha	bitter	Bhat 1969:85
Tusom	kə-**k^{h}i**	bitter	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.163
Ukhrul	kə-**k^{h}a**	bitter (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**khà**	bitter	Weidert 1987:259
	kha ba	bitter	Marrison 1967
	məsiŋ **ga**	gall bladder	Singh 1991:9.5.2
	tin **k^{h}a**	bile	Abbi & Mishra 1985

1.7.1. BODO-GARO: ***bi-ka*** LIVER

**Bodo-Garo*	*bi-**ka**	liver	Burling 1959:442

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	bi-**ka**	liver	Matisoff 1978b:(2)
	bi-**ka?**	liver	Weidert 1987:1129
	ká	bitter (v.)	Bhat 1968
	kalé	taste a little bitter (v.)	Bhat 1968
	kalé	taste a little bitter	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**kha** ba	bitter	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	bə-**k^{h}a**	liver , chest etc.	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	kə-**k^{h}a**	bitter	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**kha?**	heart / chest	Balawan 1965:11
	kha bri	spleen	Balawan 1965:11

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	bi-**ka**	liver	Weidert 1987:1129; Matisoff 1978b:(2)
	ka?-a	bitter	Weidert 1987:259
	kha	bitter	Benedict 1972:8; Coblin 1986:44
	kha-khit	bile; bile, gall	Matisoff 1978b:(2); Matisoff 1978b:(3); LaPolla 1987:166; Benedict 1972:412
Garo (Bangladesh)	bi-**ka**	liver	Burling 1992
	bi-**ka**	liver (n.)	Burling 2003:6.27-II:idx
	ka•-a	bitter (vi.)	Burling 2003:3.682-II:idx

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**ka•**-	bitter (adj1.)	van Breugel 2008
	kha•-	bitter (be v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	ci-**kā^{2}**	liver	unknown nd
	ka bare	bitter	Brown 1895:70

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***ç̣-k^{h}a^{B}*** BITTER

**Northern Naga*	***ç̣-k^{h}a^{B}**	bitter	French 1983:459

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**akha**	bitter	Marrison 1967
	kha?	bitter	Weidert 1987:259
Tangsa	^{1}**kha(?)**	bitter	Weidert 1987:259

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**kha** wükbü	bitter	Marrison 1967
Khiamngan	^{12}a^{3}**kǫ̣^{U}**^{23}sak	bitter	Weidert 1987:259
Konyak	**kha** bu	bitter	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**ka**	bitter	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**kha**	bitter	Marrison 1967
	khá	bitter	Matisoff 1974:286
	kha	bitter	Benedict 1972:8; Coblin 1986:44
	kha^{55}	bitter	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.47
	pù-**hká?**	bladder / gall	Matisoff 1987
	^{3}**kha**	bitter	Weidert 1987:259

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**khā** pā	bitter (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.25
Tsangla (Motuo)	**kha** lu	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.7
	k'a^{55}lu^{13}	bitter	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**kha**-wan	bitter	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**khɑu**^{55}ɣu^{55}	bitter	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**khʌ**^{53}po^{53}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.6
Motuo Menba	**kha** lu	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.07
Cuona Menba	**kha**^{55}ti^{53}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**rka** mo	difficult	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hka** ɣə	difficult	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:879.4
	kha wo	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hkæ**-mo	difficult	Sun 1985a:189
	kha	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.5
	qhæ.wo	bitter (taste)	Sun 1985a:73
	rka mo	difficult	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:879.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**xo·**	bitter	Rangan 1975:74
	xɔ	bitter	Rangan 1975:62
Tibetan (Batang)	**kha**^{55}mu^{53}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**kha?**^{53}ti?^{53}	bitter (N)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.2
	khə^{55}ti^{52}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.02
Tibetan (Written)	**dka**-ba	difficulty	Coblin 1986:44
	dka.bo	difficult	Sun 1985c:189
	dkaſi mo	difficult	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.01
	dka ba	difficult	Marrison 1967
	kha mo	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.01
	kha tig	bitter (N)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.1
	kha-ba	bitter; bitter (taste)	Matisoff 1983:5; LaPolla 1987:1; Benedict 1972:8; Coblin 1986:44; Sun 1985c:73
	kha po	bitter	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hka** mo	difficult	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1067.04
	kha wo	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.04

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{A}**kam**	bitter, bile	Mazaudon 1994:22
Gurung	**kã:**	bile	Weidert 1987:720; Matisoff 1978b:(2)
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kã:**	bile	Glover 1972:2.A.71
	kã:ba:q	bitter	Glover 1972:12.B.25
	kạ̊:	bile	Matisoff 1987
Gurung	**kạ̊:bā:q**	bitter (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.25
	^{1}**kã:**	bile; bitter	Mazaudon 1994:22; Mazaudon 1994:22
Manang (Gyaru)	ga^{2} lɛ:^{2} **ka^{2}** ba	difficult	Nagano 1984:345-02
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**kam**	bile (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.5.1
	^{1}**kam**	gall; bile; bitter	Mazaudon 1994:22; Mazaudon 1994:22
Tamang (Sahu)	^{2}**kam**	bitter	Mazaudon 1994:23
	^{1}**kam**	bile	Matisoff 1987
Tamang (Taglung)	**kam**	bile	Mazaudon 1994:23
Thakali	**kam**	bile	Weidert 1987:720
Thakali (Marpha)	^{51}**kʌm**	bile	Mazaudon 1994:23
	$^{55›44}$**kʌm**-mu	bitter	Mazaudon 1994:23
Thakali (Syang)	^{54}**kʌm**	bile	Mazaudon 1994:23
Thakali (Tukche)	**kam**	bile	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(2)
	kɔm	bile	Hari 1971:2.A.71
	^{2}**kəm**	bitter	Mazaudon 1994:23
	^{H}**kəm**	bile	Mazaudon 1994:23

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**khāyu**	bitter (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.25
Newar (Kathmandu)	**khayu**	bitter	Genetti 1990c
Newar (Dolakhali)	**khayɔu**	bitter	Genetti 1990b

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**kha:kpɨ**	bitter	Driem 1993
	kha: nɨ	bitter, taste bitter (be v.)	Driem 1993
Khaling	**kāe** pāe	bitter (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.25
	khang	bile	Michailovsky 1991:7; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(2)

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**kha** li	spleen;bile	Matisoff 1987
Hayu	**kha**	bitter (be v.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.142,215
Sunwar	**'kā**-syo	bitter (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.25

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**'kāo**	bitter (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.25
	'kā:	bile	Matisoff 1987
	ka:	bile	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.71
Magar	**khā**-ke	bitter (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.25
	me-**khe**	intestines; bowels; guts	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**khɑ^{2}**	intestines	Sofronov c1978

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	ndzŋ^{33}**khuɑ^{55}**	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.18
Guiqiong	**khi^{55}**mu^{55}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.16; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.17
Lyuzu	de^{33}**kha^{53}**	bitter; salty	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.18; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.18
Muya	tshə^{53}**qhə^{33}**	salty	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.15
	tə̲^{33}**qha^{53}**	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.15
Muya [Minyak]	**qha^{35}**	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.15
Namuyi	ji^{33}**qha^{33}**	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.19
	qha^{35}	bitter; salty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:891.19
	ji^{31}**qha^{53}**	buckwheat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0413.46
	luo^{31}**qha^{31}**	bitter; salty; astringent	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1078.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**qhɑ^{11}**tʂl^{55}tʂl^{11}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.10
	qhɑ^{55}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.10
	tshi^{55}**qhɑ^{11}**	salty	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**qhɑ^{13}**	bitter; salty	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.09; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**qhɑ^{13}**	bitter; salty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.11; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:891.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**kha^{35}**mə^{53}	bitter; salty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.10; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:891.10

Qiang (Longxi)	dà **qhà**	have bitter taste in mouth	Evans 1999:1869
	qhà	bitter, salty	Evans 1999:1527
Qiang (Mawo)	**qhɑ**	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.8
	qhɑχ	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.08
	tshə **qhɑ**	salty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:891.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**qhà**	bitter; have bitter taste in mouth ('bitter')	Evans 1999:1527; Evans 1999:1869
	tshì-**qhá**	salty [salt-bitter]	Evans 1999:1530
Qiang (Taoping)	**qhɑ**^{55}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.9
	tshɻ^{55}**qhɑ**^{55}	salty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:891.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tshi^{55}**kha**^{53}	salty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:891.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	tɕhi^{55}tə^{33}**qa**^{55}si^{31}	salty	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	zo̰^{35}**qa**^{55}	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.16
Xumi	**qhɑo**^{55}(sõ^{33})	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.17
	qhɑ^{55}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.20
	tshɛ^{55}**qhɑo**^{33}	salty	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.17
	tshɐ^{55}**qhɑ**^{55}	salty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:891.20
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	**kə** tʃap	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**kə** tʃɑp	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.11
Caodeng	**kə**-q^{h}ʃev	bitter	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**kA** cak	bitter	Nagano 1997:161
rGBenzhen	**kə**-tʃap	bitter	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	guɑ^{31}**khɑ**^{55}	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.44
Nung	**kha**^{55}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.21
Anong	**khɑ**^{55}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.44
Dulong	**kɑ**^{53}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.20
Trung [Dulong]	**kɑ**^{55}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.46
	puɯ^{31}**kɑ**^{55}	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ka**^{55}	bitter	LaPolla 1987:1
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**kha**^{53}	bitter	LaPolla 1987:1
	khɑ^{53}	bitter	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	**ka**^{21} bu^{21} lo^{55}	intestines / bowels	CHEN Kang 1986d:9.11
	kã^{33}	liver	CHEN Kang 1986d:9.5
Tujia (Southern)	**kã**^{33}	liver	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ka**^{2}	BITTER	Matisoff 1988a:276
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**khau**^{55} ʂɑ^{55}	liver	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	khu^{31} tan^{51}	gall	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	khɑ^{31}	bitter	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**xɔ**^{31}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.41
Achang (Luxi)	**kan**^{55}	liver	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	kha^{55}	bitter	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**xɔ**^{31}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.29
Bola (Luxi)	**kha**^{35}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**khɑ**^{55}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**khɑ**^{55}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.40
Burmese (Written)	**khà**	bitter	Weidert 1987:259
	khâ	bitter	Hansson 1989:72
	kha	bitter	Matisoff 1983:5
	khâ	bitter	Matisoff 1974:286; Benedict 1976a
	khà	bitter	LaPolla 1987:1; Benedict 1972:8; Coblin 1986:44
	khā:	bitter	Marrison 1967
	khɑ^{3}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.26; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.39
Hpun (Northern)	**khà**, **khà**-ŋ	bitter	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**khɔ**^{35}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**khɔ:**^{55}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.33
Marma	**khá**	bitter	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:94
Maru [Langsu]	**khó**	bitter	Weidert 1987:259
	khɔ^{35}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khó**	bitter	Weidert 1987:259
	kho^{21}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.42
6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***ka**^{2} BITTER			
**Loloish*	***ka**^{2}	bitter	Weidert 1987:259; Bradley 1979b:550; Hansson 1989:72
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**ka**^{33}	liver	DAI Qingxia 1989c:9.5
	kha^{31}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.47
	kha^{31}si^{33}	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.47
	k^{h}a^{31}	bitter	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	k^{h}ɔ^{31} tɕi^{55}	bile	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**khà**	bitter	Björverud 1994
	khà-sjý	garlic	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Northern)	**kha**^{55}	bitter	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**kha**^{55}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.34
Nusu (Southern)	**khɔ**^{55}	bitter	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khɑ**^{53}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.45
Nusu (Northern)	ɣɑ^{31}**khɑ**^{55}	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	ʔɔ^{31}**khɔ**^{55}	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**khu**^{33}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**khɯ**^{33}	bitter (taste); taste, bitter	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Lishan)	**k^{h}ɔ**^{33}	bitter	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	k^{h}ɔ^{31} tɕi^{55}	gall bladder	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	**khʌ**^{21}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.25
Yi (Mojiang)	go^{33}**khɒ**^{33}	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.26
	khɒ^{33}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.26
Yi (Nanhua)	go^{21}**khʌ**^{21}	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.24
	khɑ^{21}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.37
	khʌ^{33}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**khɑ**^{21}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.23
	ɣɑ^{21}**khɑ**^{21}(ɕe^{21})	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.23
Yi (Weishan)	**khɑ**^{21}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.36
	khɑ^{21}ɕy^{55}	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.36
Yi (Wuding)	**khɒ**^{33}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.38
Yi (Xide)	**khɯ**^{33}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.35; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	a^{33}**khɔ**^{55}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.34
	a^{44}**khɔ**^{44}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{44}**khɔ**^{44}	bitter	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**khʌ31**	bitter	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***hk'aˇ**	bitter	Bradley 1979b:550
Lahu	**ḳhâ**	bitter	Weidert 1987:259
Lahu (Lancang)	**qhɑ**^{53}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.43
Lahu (Black)	**qhâ**	bitter	Matisoff 1974:286
	qhʌ^{53}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.33
	ɣʌ^{53}**qhʌ**^{53}	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**qha**^{3}	bitter	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	guɑ^{31}**khuɑ**^{31}	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.27
Lisu (Northern)	gwa^{21}**khwa**^{21}	bitter buckwheat	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**hka**^{5}	bitter	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**hkwa**^{5}	bitter	Bradley 1979b:550
Lisu (Central)	**hkwa**^{5}	bitter	Fraser 1922
	hkwa^{5}-sye^{4}	garlic (sp.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Luquan)	**kho**^{31}	bitter	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**khuɑ**^{31}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.40; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.27
	khuɑ^{31}se^{44}	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.27
	khwà	bitter	Weidert 1987:259
Lisu (Northern)	**khwa**^{21}	bitter; salty; strong; (of medicine) effective (V.)	Bradley 1994
	khwa^{21} ŋɔ^{21} ma^{21} ŋa^{33}	as bitter as bitter can be	Bradley 1994
	khwa^{21}**khwa**^{21}mu^{33}	bitter; bitter taste	Bradley 1994
	khwa^{21}sø^{33}	garlic (N.)	Bradley 1994
	khwa^{21}sø^{33} ɔ^{55}ɲɔ^{33}	garlic bolt	Bradley 1994
	khwa^{21}sø^{33}baʔ^{21}	garlic clove	Bradley 1994
	khwa^{21}sø^{33}dzi^{33}	garlic shoot	Bradley 1994
	khwa^{21}sø^{33}phja^{21}	garlic leaf	Bradley 1994
	khwa^{21}sø^{33}tʃhɻ^{33}	garlic bulb	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**khɑ**^{31}	bitter	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Yi (Sani)	**qhɒ**^{11}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **xhà**	bitter	Hansson 1989:72
Akha (Thai)	**xhà**	bitter	Hansson 1989:72
Akha	**xhà**	bitter	Hansson 1989:72
Bisu	pɛ **khà** laŋ	gall	Beaudouin 1988:14
	pɛ **k^{h}à** (làŋ)	bile	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ **khà**	bitter	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	**xa**^{31}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.31
	xa^{31}se^{55}	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**xhà**	bitter	Hansson 1989:72
Hani (Dazhai)	ɣa^{31}**xa**^{31}	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**xa**^{31}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.41
	xa^{31}se^{55}	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**khɔ**^{31}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.30
Hani (Pijo)	**khɔ̀**	bitter	Hansson 1989:72
Hani (Gelanghe)	**xa**^{31}	bitter	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**haq**	bitter	Hansson 1989:72
Haoni	**xɔ**^{31}	bitter	Hansson 1989:72
Hani (Shuikui)	**xɔ**^{31}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.32
	xɔ^{31}sɛ^{55}	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.32
	ɣa^{31}**xɔ**^{31}	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.32
Hani (Khatu)	**khò**	bitter	Hansson 1989:72
Hani (Mojiang)	**xɔ**^{31}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.42
	xɔ^{31}sɛ^{55}	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.42
Mpi	**khɑ**^{1}	bitter	Hansson 1989:72
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **kha31**	bitter	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:202006
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	jɑ˧**q^{h}ɑ**˧	buckwheat sp., Fagopyrum tartaricum Gaertn	Michaud 2006–2009:4002
	q^{h}ɑ˧	bitter	Michaud 2006–2009:2169
	ts^{h}e˧**q^{h}ɑ**˧	too salty	Michaud 2006–2009:2171
Na (Yongning)	jɤ˧**q^{h}ɑ**#˥	buckwheat sp., Fagopyrum tartaricum Gaertn	Michaud 2006–2009
	q^{h}ɑ˧	bitter	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧**q^{h}ɑ**˩	too salty	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**khɑ**^{33}	bitter; salty	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**khɑ**^{33}	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**khɑ**^{33}	bitter; salty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.29; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:891.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshe^{33}**khɑ**^{33}	salty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:891.28
Naxi	ə^{55}**khɑ**^{33}	buckwheat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0413.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	ə^{55}**khɑ**^{33}	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.28
Naxi (Yongning)	ʑɑ^{33}**khɑ**^{33}	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.29
7. KARENIC: ***kha**^{B} BITTER			
**Karen*	***kháq**	bitter	Jones 1961:42
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***kháq**	bitter	Jones 1961:42
**Karen (Pwo)*	***kháq**	bitter	Jones 1961:42
**Karen (TP)*	***kháq**	bitter	Jones 1961:42
**Karen [Burling]*	***kha**^{2}	bitter	Luangthongkum 2013:24
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***khá?**	bitter	Jones 1961:42
**Karen*	***kha**^{B}	bitter	Luangthongkum 2013:24
Bwe	**khe**^{33}	bitter	Luangthongkum 2013:24
Karen	**kha**^{31}	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.50

Kayah	**khe**[11]	bitter	Luangthongkum 2013:24
Kayan	**kha**[11]	bitter	Luangthongkum 2013:24
Kayan (Pekon)	**kʰâ**	bitter (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**kha**[11]	bitter	Luangthongkum 2013:24
Pa-O	**khá**	bitter	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:42
Pa-O (Southern)	**kha**[33]	bitter	Luangthongkum 2013:24
Pa-O (Northern)	**kha**[55]	bitter	Luangthongkum 2013:24
Palaychi	**kháq**	bitter	Jones 1961:42
Pwo (Northern)	**kha**[33]	bitter	Luangthongkum 2013:24
Pwo (Southern)	**kha**[55]	bitter	Luangthongkum 2013:24
Pwo (Bassein)	**khà**	bitter	Jones 1961:42
Pwo (Moulmein)	**khá?**	bitter	Jones 1961:42
Sgaw (Northern)	**kha**[31~]	bitter	Luangthongkum 2013:24
Sgaw (Southern)	**kha**[45,]	bitter	Luangthongkum 2013:24
Sgaw (Bassein)	**khà**	bitter	Jones 1961:42
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**khá?**	bitter	Jones 1961:42
8. BAI			
Bai (Bijiang)	khv[33]**ku**[21]	buckwheat (bitter)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:191.37
	qhu[33]	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.37
	qɑ̃[35]	liver	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**khu**[33]	bitter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.35
	kɑ[35]	liver	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**kã**[55]	liver	ZHAO Yansun 1990:9.5
	khu[33]	bitter	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1074.48; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:889.36
	kɑ̃[55]	liver	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kân**	liver	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:139l
	kân/kân	liver	Karlgren 1957:139l
	kʻo	bitter	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:49u
Chinese (Old)	**khagh**	bitter / difficult	Coblin 1986:44
	kha?	bitter	Baxter 1992:1371
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**khwo-**	bitter / difficult	Coblin 1986:44
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**gān**	liver	Evans *et al.* 1991
	gan tzahng	liver	Sun 1985b:450
	kǔ	bitter	Evans *et al.* 1991
	kuu	bitter (taste)	Sun 1985b:73
	kɑn	liver	Karlgren 1957:139l

Chinese comparandum

苦 OC ***kʻo**, *GSR* #49u 'bitter'; Coblin 86: ***khagh**; B & S 2011: ***kʰˤa?**; Mand. **kǔ**.
肝 OC ***kân**, *GSR* #139l 'liver'; B & S 2011: ***s.kˤar {*s.kˤa [r] }**; Mand. **gān**.

(2) PTB * m/s -kri(y)-s GALL (BLADDER) / BILE / SOUR

Care must be taken to distinguish this root from PTB ***ki(ŋ/k)*** GALL / BILE (§1.7.3.1).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(m-)kri-t**	gall; bile; bile, gall; bitter	Weidert 1987:221; Benedict 1972:412; Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	***(s-)krit**	bile, gall / bitter	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	***kri**	bile, gall, gall-bladder / aci	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	***kri(y)**	acid / sour	Benedict 1972:413
	***kriy**	gall bladder	LaPolla 1987:166
	***krəy ≍ m-kri(y)-t-s**	gall / bile / sour	Matisoff 2003a:596
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	[1]a [2]**xrye** ([1])	kidney	Weidert 1987:965

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-sə** BILE / GALL BLADDER

**Central Naga*	*a-**sə**	BILE / GALL BLADDER	Bruhn 2014a:III.092
**Ao*	*t-(a-)**sə**	BILE / GALL BLADDER	Bruhn 2014a:II.102
Ao (Chungli)	ta **sü**-aet	brave (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	t a[3]-**sə**[1]	gall bladder (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.102
	[3]ta[1]**sɯ**	bile	Weidert 1987:383a
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	tə́-**sə̀**	gall bladder (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.102
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**sə**	bile (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**tshəʔ**[3]	gall bladder, bile (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.092
	o **tssü**	bile	Murry *et al.* 1978:10
	[1]o[3]**tsɯ(ʔ)**	bile	Weidert 1987:383a
Sangtam	[1]a[2]**sɯ**	bile	Weidert 1987:383a
Yimchungrü	[2]a[2]sɯ[[1]]	bile	Weidert 1987:383a
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami Naga	[5]u[2]**the**[4]**sie**	bile	Weidert 1987:383a
Khezha	[1]e[2]**tši**	bile	Weidert 1987:383a
Mao	ka **khri**	sour	Marrison 1967
	[2]ka[2]**krhi**	sour	Weidert 1987:741
Rengma (Southern)	[4]n[4]**si**	bile	Weidert 1987:383a
Sema [Sumi]	[1]a[1]**ti**[2]thi	bile	Weidert 1987:383a

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***tʰi** BILE

**Tangkhulic*	***tʰi**	bile	Mortensen 2012:345
Kachai	ʔa-**tʰɐ**	bile	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.265
Tangkhul	[1]ə[3]**thi**	bile	Weidert 1987:383a
Tusom	kə-kʰi-tχa n-**tsɯ**	bile	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.276
Ukhrul	ʔa-**tʰi**	bile	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	bi **klɤ̆ʔ**	bile	Weidert 1987:221
Dimasa	bi **khlu**	gall bladder; bile	LaPolla 1987:166; Benedict 1972:412
	khiri	sour	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:166; Benedict 1972:413
Kokborok	bə=**kʰləʔ**	gall	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	kə=**kʰrəy**	sour	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	kʰrəy	sour (be v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	bi-**klɤ**	bile	Weidert 1987:221
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	kha-**khit**	bile; bile, gall	Matisoff 1978b:(2); Matisoff 1978b:(3); LaPolla 1987:166; Benedict 1972:412
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**khyi-**	sour (adj1.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***krəy**	sour	French 1983:555
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Tangsa (Moshang)	**əhi**	acid	Benedict 1972:413
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**khri**	sour	Marrison 1967
	khrī	sour, acid; acid, sour	Matisoff 1974:95; Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	khri	acid, sour	LaPolla 1987:166; Benedict 1972:413
	khʒi[33]	sour	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:887.47
	khɹi[33]	sour	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	sǎ[31]**kʒi**[31]	gall	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.47
	sə **gri**	bile	Matisoff 1987
	sə **grì**	bile / gall	Matisoff 1974:65
	šə **grì≍**	bile / gall	Matisoff 1974:65
	sə **grì≍**šə grì	bile, gall, gall bladder	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	[1]šə[1]**gri**	bile	Weidert 1987:221
	ʃǎ[31] **kɹi**[31]	gall	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ʃǎ[31]**kʒi**[31]	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.19
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**hrí**	sour	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:94-1
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Tilang)	**kʰris**	gall	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**kli**[55]	gall	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**kli**[53]	gall bladder; gall	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.6
Cuona Menba	**kli**[53]	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**mhkris**-pa	bile, gall	Benedict 1972:17n62
	mkʻris-pa	bile, gall	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	mkhris pa	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.01
	mkhris pa	gall; gall bladder; bile	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.1; LaPolla 1987:166; Benedict 1972:412; Sun 1985c:298
	mkʻris-pa	gall, bile; bile; bladder; gall	Luce 1985:X.55; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**kʼi**-bo	bile	Matisoff 1987
	kri	bitter	Benedict 1972:413
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yamphu	**khiʔ** wæŋ	gall (n.)	Rutgers 1998:550.18
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	ci:Mk **re**	kidney	Michailovsky 1991:99
	cị:k **re**	kidney	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**hi**	bile	Michailovsky 1991:7; Matisoff 1987
Chepang (Eastern)	**hi**	bile; gall bladder	Caughley 1990:9.5.1; Caughley 1990:9.5.2
Magar	mi-**chi**-ṭa	gall bladder	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	mi-**chi** Ta	gall bladder	Matisoff 1987
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**khǐ̯ə** rǐə	bile	DAI Qingxia 1989e:9.5.1
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**tʂo**[55]	gall bladder; gall	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.18
Lyuzu	**kəˑ**[53]	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.18
Muya	**tʂə**[53]	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tʂɯ**[53]	gall bladder; gall	SUN Hongkai 1991h:9.5.2; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.15
Namuyi	**tʂʅ**[33]ly[55]	gall bladder; gall	SUN Hongkai 1991i:9.5.2; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.19
	tʂʅ[31]lɯ[55]	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tʂʅ**[35]	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tʂə**[55]	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tʂə**[55]	gall bladder; gall	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tʂə**[55]	gall bladder; gall	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**tsí**	gall	Evans 1999:183
Qiang (Mawo)	**xtʂə**	gall; bile	Sun 1986; SUN Hongkai 1991g:9.5.1
	xtʂə	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.08
	xtʂə	gall	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.8
	χtʂə	gall bladder	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Mianchi)	**tɕí**	gall	Evans 1999:183
Qiang (Taoping)	**χtʂə**[55]	gall bladder; gall	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**xtʂə**	gall bladder	DAI Qingxia 1989q:183
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tʂhi**[35]pɛ[53]	gall	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tʂhi**[55]kpe[55]	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tʂʰi**[35] pɛ[53]	gall bladder	SUN Hongkai 1991n:9.5.2
Xumi	**tɕɛ**[53]	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.17
	tɕɛ[55]	gall bladder; gall	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ʂtʂʌ**[13]	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**skrə**	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.12
Ergong (Northern)	**skrə**[53]	bile	SUN Hongkai 1991c:9.5.1
	skrə[53] ɕip[53]	gall bladder	SUN Hongkai 1991c:9.5.2
Ergong (Danba)	**skʂɯ**	gall bladder; gall	SUN Hongkai 1991b:9.5.2; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	mdʒi **kri**	bile	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.5.1
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə mdʒə **kri**	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.11
rGyalrong	tə mdʒə **kri**	gall	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.12
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mcɕʰi**	bile	SUN Hongkai 1991k:9.5.1
	tə **mcɕʰi** ʂqʰo	gall bladder	SUN Hongkai 1991k:9.5.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə mdʒi **kri** ʂkʰo	gall bladder	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.5.2
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ʃkrət**	bile	SUN Hongkai 1991l:9.5.1
	tə **ʃkrət** ndʒə	gall bladder	SUN Hongkai 1991l:9.5.2
rGyalrong	mji **gri**	gall bladder	Nagano 1997:9.5.2
rGBenzhen	tə-mdʒik **kriʔ**	gall	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	sə **hi**	gall bladder; gall-bladder	Matisoff 1978b:(3); LaPolla 1987:166; Benedict 1972:412; Benedict 1972:412

Rawang	sə **khi**^{53}	gall bladder	LaPolla 2003:164
Anong	ŋ^{31} dɑ^{31} **k^{h}ɹɪ**^{53}	gall bladder	Sun Hongkai 1988
	ŋ^{31}dɑ^{31}**khɹŋ**^{53}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.44
Nung	ŋ$_{l}$^{31}dɑ^{31}**khɹŋ**^{53}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.21
Dulong	tɯ^{31}**ɕi**^{55}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.20
Trung [Dulong]	tɕi^{31}**xɹi**^{55}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	tśi^{31} **xri**^{55}	gall bladder	LaPolla 1987:166
	tɕi^{31} **xɹi**^{55}	gall	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	tśhi^{31} **khri**^{53}	gall bladder	LaPolla 1987:166
	tɕ^{h}i^{31} **k^{h}ɹi**^{53}	gall	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔkriy**^{1}	gall bladder	Matisoff 1978a:19

6.1.1. Burmish

**Burmese*	***khre**	gall	Okell 1971
Arakanese	**-hkri**	gall	Okell 1971
Bola	**kj̲i̲**^{55}	gall bladder	Dai Qingxia 1989g:177
Bola (Luxi)	**kj̲i̲**^{55}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.32
Burmese (Modern)	sañ:**-kre**^{3}	gall	Luce 1985:S.12
Burmese (Rangoon)	tθɛ^{55}**tɕhe**^{22}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**-jei**	gall	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tθɛ^{55}**tɕhe**^{22}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.40
Burmese (Written)	**-khre**	gall; bile	Okell 1971; Hansson 1989:296
	Mod. [sañ^{4}] **k‘re**^{3}	gall, bile	Luce 1985:X.55
	sàñ-**khre**	gall	Weidert 1987:221
	sâñ-**khre**	bile; gall	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:65; Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	sàń-**khre**	gall	LaPolla 1987:166; Benedict 1972:412
	sâñ-**khre**-ʔim	bladder / gall	Matisoff 1987
	sâñ-**k^{h}re**	gall bladder	Matisoff 1978a:19
	thɑn$_{ꜜ}$^{3}**khre**^{2}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.39
	tθɑn$_{ꜜ}$^{3}**khre**^{2}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.26
Danu	θɛ^{2}**che**^{4}	gall	Luce 1985:S.12
Hpun (Northern)	sè **xʁí**; θèɪ **xí**	gall / gall bladder	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**kj̲i̲k**^{31}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**kj̲e̲i**^{33}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.33
Marma	θé **khri** re	bile	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:38A
Maru [Langsu]	**-kyìt?**	gall	Okell 1971
	kj̲i̲k^{31}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.43
Tavoyan	**-hkei**	gall	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	siŋ^{21} **kj̲i̲**^{51}	gall	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	*C-ʔ-**kre**^{1}	gall; bile	Weidert 1987:221; Bradley 1979b:148; Hansson 1989:296

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	k^{h}ɔ^{31}**tɕi**^{55}	bile	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**ká**	gall bladder	Björverud 1994
	kɯ^{55}	gall bladder	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5.2
Lipho	**tsi**^{55}	gall bladder	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5.2
Nasu	**tɕi**^{33}	gall bladder	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5.2
Nesu	**tsɭ**^{55}	gall bladder	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5.2
	tsɭ^{55} ʑɭ^{21}	bile	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5.1
Noesu	**tɕi**^{13}	gall bladder	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5.2
Nosu	**tɕɭ**^{33}	gall bladder	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5.2
Nusu (Central)	**kɹe**^{33}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.34
	kɹi^{35} ɑ^{55}	gall	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**kɹi**^{35}ɑ^{55}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.45
Nusu (Northern)	**kɹɯ̱**^{31} ɑ^{55}	gall	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**kʰe**^{33}	gall bladder	Dai Qingxia 1989p:177.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**kʰe**^{35}	gall bladder	Dai Qingxia 1989o:177.
Nusu (Southern)	**tʂi**^{35}	gall	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**tɕi**^{33}	gall	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**tɕɭ**^{33}	gall bladder	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Lishan)	k^{h}ɔ^{31} **tɕi**^{55}	gall bladder	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mojiang)	**tɕi**^{55}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tɕi**^{55}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.24
	tɕl̄^{33}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**kɯ**^{55}	gall bladder; gall	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.23
Yi (Weishan)	**kɯ**^{55}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tɕi**^{33}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.38
Yi (Xide)	**tɕɭ**^{33}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.35
	tɕɭ^{44}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	i^{33} **tʂi**^{22} zo^{21}	gall bladder	Luo Meizhen 1990:9.5.2
	i^{33}**tɕi**^{33}zo^{21}	gall bladder	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5.2
Jinuo (Youle)	**k^{h}i**^{42} k^{h}ɔ^{44}	gall	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**k^{h}ji**^{31} k^{h}o^{44}	gall bladder	Dai Qingxia 1989i:183
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ts^{h}ɯ**^{33} k^{h}ɔ^{44}	gall bladder	Dai Qingxia 1989h:183
Lahu (Nyi)	aw$_{ˬ}$ **keu:**	bile	Bradley 1979a:148
**Common Lahu*	***kui:**	bile	Bradley 1979b:148
Lahu	**ɔ̀-kɨ**	bile, gall bladder	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	ɔ̀-kɨ̂	gall bladder	LaPolla 1987:166
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**kʏ**^{33}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.43
Lahu (Black)	ɔ^{31} **kɯ**^{33}	gall	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**kə**^{33}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.33
	ɔ̀-kɨ	bladder; gall; gall bladder; bile	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:19; Matisoff 1974:65
	ɔ̀-kɨ cɔ ve	brave (be v.)	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{31} **kɯ**^{33}	gall	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	aw$_{ˬ}$keu:	bile	Bradley 1979a:148
Lahu (Banlan)	aw$_{ˬ}$ki:	bile	Bradley 1979a:148
Lisu	**ji**^{4}	gall; bile	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(3)
Lisu (Central)	**ji**^{4}	gall	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tʃi̲**^{33}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tʃɭ**^{33}	gall bladder (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**tʃl̄**^{44}	gall	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**tʃɭ**^{44}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.27
Yi (Sani)	**tsz̊**^{44}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.39
Sani [Nyi]	**tsɥ**^{44}	gall bladder	Ma Xueliang 1989:348.4
	tʂi̲^{33}	gall	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂi^{44}	gall bladder	Chen Kang 1986b:9.5.2

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**khý**	bile	Hansson 1989:296
Akha (Yunnan)	pjhà **khý**	bile	Hansson 1989:296
Akha (Thai)	pjhà-**khý**	bile	Hansson 1989:296
Akha	pya **kui**	bile	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
Hani (Dazhai)	phi^{31}**khɯ**^{55}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.31
Hani (Lüchun)	phè **khý**	bile	Hansson 1989:296
Hani (Dazhai)	p^{h}i^{31} **k^{h}ɯ**^{55}	gall bladder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	phi^{31}**khɯ**^{55}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.41
Hani (Pijo)	**khí**	bile	Hansson 1989:296
	tshỳ **khí**	bile	Hansson 1989:296
Hani (Caiyuan)	ts^{h}ɭ̄^{31} **tɕ^{h}i**^{55}	gall bladder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	p^{h}ja^{31} **k^{h}ɯ**^{55}	gall bladder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	piq **keel**	bile	Hansson 1989:296
Hani (Shuikui)	p^{h}ɛ^{31} **k^{h}ɯ**^{55}	gall bladder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	**tjhí**	bile	Hansson 1989:296
	tshà **tjhí**	bile	Hansson 1989:296
Côông [Phunoi]	bŏ **kə**^{11}	bile	Bradley 1977
	bǰ **kà**	bile	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(3)

6.2. Naxi

Naxi	**kɯ**^{21}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.45
Naxi (Western)	**kɯ**^{31}	gall	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**kɯ**^{31}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**kɯ**^{55}	gall	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**kɯ**^{55}	gall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.29

(3) PTB *ki $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ GALL / BILE

Care must be taken to distinguish this root from PTB ***m/s-kri(y)-s*** GALL (BLADDER) / BILE / SOUR (§1.7.3.1).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kik ≍ kiŋ**	bile / bitter	Matisoff 1978b:(4)

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***khiŋ**	bile	Michailovsky 1991:7

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**hig iŋ**	bile	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:7
	khiŋ	bile	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(4)
	khi:ŋ	bile	Michailovsky 1991:7
Yakha	**kiŋ**	gall bladder	Kohn 1990:9.5.2

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**khiŋ**	bile	Michailovsky 1991:7
	khiŋ_	bile	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**kha:k** tip	gall bladder	Driem 1993

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	pik-**kiŋ≍**plik-kiŋ	spleen, bile; bile, spleen	Matisoff 1978b:(2); Matisoff 1978b:(4) [a]
	plk **kIŋ**	bile; spleen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	plIk **kIŋ**	spleen	Matisoff 1987
	pɪx **kɪŋ**	bile, spleen (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.38, 84.
	pɪx **kɪŋ**	bile	Michailovsky 1991:8
Thulung	**khi**	gall bladder	Michailovsky 1991:7; Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Magar	pāl **hi**	spleen	Matisoff 1987

6.1.1. Burmish

Hpun (Metjo)	se^{4} **χih**^{4}	gall	Luce 1985:S.12
Intha	**-hyei**	gall	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	seŋ^{4}**kyi**^{2}	gall	Luce 1985:S.12

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Mpi	**khi**^{6}	bile	Hansson 1989:296
	pi^{2}-**k^{h}i**^{6}	gall bladder	Srinuan Duanghom 1976; Matisoff 1978a:19

[a] Note assimilation of the medial consonants.
[b] The variant with medial **-l-** might be due to confusion with the medial in IA ***p(l/r)i:han*** SPLEEN (§1.7.4).

(4) PTB *m $\begin{matrix}\text{u}\\\text{i}\end{matrix}$ t BILE / GALL

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**mît**	bile	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Kom Rem	ə **mit**	gall bladder	Toba & Kom 1991:9.5.2
Moyon	**mit** bówr	gall bladder	Kosha 1990:9.5.2

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	ka-**mau**	bile	Weidert 1987:383b
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ka-**mâu**	bile	Weidert 1987:383b
Zeme	^{5}ma^{5}**mau**	bile	Weidert 1987:383b

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	a **mut** a lang	bile	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	mut	bladder / gall	Matisoff 1987
	mút	gall bladder	Grüssner 1979:174

1.6. Mru

Mru	ă **muət**^{3}	gall, bile	Luce 1985:R.78
	müt	bile	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	mɤ̈t	bile	Matisoff 1987

(5) IA *pitta BILE

See Turner 1966:462 for this etymology.

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**pit**	bile	Sharma 1991b:9.5.1

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	**bittə**	bile; gall bladder	Noonan *et al.* 1992:9.5.1; Noonan *et al.* 1992:9.5.2

2.2. Newar

Newar	**pitta**	bile	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**pia**	bile	Michailovsky 1991:8

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**pik**-kiŋ≍plik-kiŋ	spleen, bile; bile, spleen	Matisoff 1978b:(2); Matisoff 1978b:(4) [ab]
	plk kIŋ	bile; spleen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	plIk kIŋ	spleen	Matisoff 1987
	pɪx kɪŋ	bile	Michailovsky 1991:8
X.1. NON-TB			
Nepali	**pitta**	bile (n.)	Hale 1973:02a.71
	pitta	bile	Matisoff 1987

[a]Note assimilation of the medial consonants.
[b]The variant with medial **-l-** might be due to confusion with the medial in IA ***p(l/r)i:han*** SPLEEN (§1.7.4).

(6) PTani *pɯ GALL

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***pɯ**	gall	Sun 1993a:172
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	**pi**	gall	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **pɯ**	gall bladder (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.24
	a-**pɯ**	gall	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **pɯ**	gall; gall bladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	a-**pi**	gall	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**pi**	bladder / gall	Matisoff 1987
	ap-**pio**	bladder / gall	Matisoff 1987
	pui-ing	bladder / gall	Matisoff 1987
	pui-ing (a shi)	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	pui-ing (a tshé)	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	pui-ing a lang	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
Damu	ʔa-**pi**	bear's gall (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**pi**	gall bladder	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**pui**-ing	gall bladder	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	pɯ-iŋ	gall	Sun 1993a

1.7.4 Spleen

LIVER ——— **SPLEEN**

Figure 145: 1.7.4 *Spleen*

SPLEEN ——— **GUTS**

Figure 146: 1.7.4 *Spleen*

(1) PTB *r- p/b al SPLEEN

This root is quite similar to PTB ***r-pay*** SPLEEN (§1.7.4), with which it perhaps stands in an allofamic relationship.

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**bal**	spleen	Allen 1975
	bel	spleen	Allen 1975
	u **bal** å	spleen	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Magar	**pāl** hi	spleen	Matisoff 1987
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
Caodeng	tə-**rvəl**-t^{h}je	spleen	Sun 1997a

(2) PTB *lim SPLEEN

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Womatu	**mlim**^{4}	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	a-**lim**	spleen	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**lEm**	spleen	Michailovsky 1989b
	lem	spleen	Matisoff 1987
	lɛm	spleen	Michailovsky 1991:168
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	tïŋ **lem**	spleen	Michailovsky 1991:168; Michailovsky 1991:111

(3) PTB *kyak KIDNEY

This weakly attested root appears in Kiranti and in scattered Tani forms.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Galo	a **kek**	kidney	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻa **kek**	kidney (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆa-**ek**	kidney	Weidert 1987:965
Miri, Hill	a **kek**	kidney	Simon 1976
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***Cik** si	kidney	Michailovsky 1991:99
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**cük** si	kidney	Rai *et al.* 1984:17
	tsïk si	kidney	Michailovsky 1991:99
Kulung	**cik** s	kidney	Michailovsky 1991:99
	cik s_	kidney	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**tsik tsiʔ** ba	kidney	Michailovsky 1991:99
Sunwar	**ci:Mk** re	kidney	Michailovsky 1991:99
	cị:k re	kidney	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**cək** si	kidney	Michailovsky 1991:99; Allen 1975

(4) PTB *r-pay SPLEEN

Care must be taken to distinguish the reflexes of this etymon from those TB forms borrowed from Indo-Aryan; see IA ***p(l/r)i:han*** SPLEEN (§1.7.4).

This root was first reconstructed as ***pay ≍ play*** (*VSTB*: 217-218).

The Jingpho compounds for 'spleen' (**kan-pai ~ kum-pai ~ hkum-pai ~ hkin-pai**) have several initial syllables which seem to serve as body-part classifiers. **kān** means 'stomach' (cf. Dai et al. 1983:362) in isolation, while **kùm ~ hkùm ~ gùm** is a sort of body-part classifier (cf. Dai et al. 1983:263 and our root PTB ***(k/g)um*** BACK / BODY (§1.4.8)).

This root is quite similar to PTB ***r-(p/b)al*** SPLEEN (§1.7.4), with which it perhaps stands in an allofamic relationship.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pay≍play**	spleen	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	***r-pay**	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 2003a:606
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Galo	**pi** ko	spleen	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**pi** (a shé)	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	a-**pi** (a shi)	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	a-**pi** a lang	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	ap-**pio** (a shi)	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	ap-**pio** (a tshé)	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	ap-**pio** a lang	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	tûr-**pe**	spleen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	tûr-**pui**	spleen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:094
1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	**blɑi**^{31} **blɑi**^{53}	liver	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	i̱i **pra**	spleen	Pulu 1978
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	tə^{2}-**pa**^{2}	spleen (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami Naga	ú-**prì**	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1978b:(1) [a]
Chokri	(u) **phe**^{35}	spleen	Nienu 1990b:9.8
Sema [Sumi]	a **pu**	spleen	Achumi 1998a:9.8
	a **pu**-küsü	swollen spleen (illness)	Achumi 1998a:9.8.1
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Huishu	ʔa-**p^{h}a**	spleen	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.289
Tangkhul	ā **pai**	bulb; dross; spleen; pith	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	pei	spleen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	pei katā	liver complaint	Matisoff 1985a:094
	pəy	liver	Bhat 1969:92; Matisoff 1985a:094
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**pəy**	spleen	Singh 1991:9.8
1.6. MRU			
Mru	ă **pɑiʔ**^{3}	spleen	Luce 1985:Q.49
	pai	spleen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Kokborok	**pɔ-li**	spleen	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	kha **bri**	spleen	Balawan 1965:11
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**pilai**	spleen	Weidert 1987:73
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Tangsa	^{1}ʌ^{1}**li(ʔ)**	bile	Weidert 1987:221
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Khiamngan	^{12}a^{23}džɪ^{2}**l̥eɪ**	spleen	Weidert 1987:73
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	kān-**pāi**	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094
	kan-**pāi**	spleen	Matisoff 1974:14
	kan-**pai** ~ kumpai ~ hkumpai ~ hkinpai	spleen	Matisoff 1987:126
	kān **pāi**	spleen	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	khūm-**pāi**	spleen	Matisoff 1974:14
	kūm-**pāi**	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1974:14; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	pāi	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	sin-**pai**	spleen	Matisoff 1987
	sìn-**pāi**	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1974:14; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	ã-**pi**	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1978b:(1); Matisoff 1987
	ɔ: **pi**	liver	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.5
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**pǐu**	spleen	Nishida 1964:186; Nishida 1964:269-092
	pǐə	spleen	DAI Qingxia 1989e:9.8
	pɻe^{2}	spleen	Sofronov c1978
3.2. QIANGIC			
Mɯya [Minyak]	**pɐ**^{53}	spleen	SUN Hongkai 1991h:9.8
Pumi (Qinghua)	s **phɑ**^{13}	spleen	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Longxi)	**phà** ɹà	spleen	Evans 1999:182
Qiang (Mianchi)	**pá**	spleen	Evans 1999:182
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-p(r)ay**^{1} SPLEEN			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-pray**^{1}	spleen	Matisoff 2003a:607
	***ʔpay**^{1}	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Lolopho	**pe**^{44}	spleen	DAI Qingxia 1989n:9.8
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**p^{h}i**^{323}tsɑ^{24}	spleen	MU Shihua 2003
Lipho	**pe**^{33}	spleen	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.8
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **p^{h}e**^{55}	spleen	DAI Qingxia 1989h:182
Lahu	ɔ̀-**pe**	spleen	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
Lahu (Black)	ɔ̀-**pe**	spleen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1974:14
Lisu (Northern)	**pi**^{33}	spleen (N.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	shi-**pyeh**	spleen	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	shi^{31} **pyeh**^{55}	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094
	shi˛**pyeh**˅	spleen	Matisoff 1987
	sjhì-**pjhé**	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094
Bisu	ù **pì**	spleen	Beaudouin 1988:15
Mpi	ʔoʔ^{2}-**phe**^{6}	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**piɯ**^{21}	spleen	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	piɯ^{21} jɯ̃^{42} ts^{h}æ̃^{55}	swollen spleen (illness)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:9.8.1
	piɯ^{21} «jɯ̃^{42}»	spleen	ZHAO Yansun 1990:9.8
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**b'i̯ĕg**/b'jiᵉ	spleen	Karlgren 1957:874h

[a]It is possible that this Angami form is a borrowing from IA ***p(l/r)i:han*** SPLEEN (§1.7.4); however, the **ú-** prefix is evidently of TB origin, occurring in many body-part words.

Chinese (Old)	**b'i̯ĕg**	spleen, tripe	Matisoff 1985a:094
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**b'jie̯**	spleen, tripe	Matisoff 1985a:094
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**p'i**	spleen	Karlgren 1957:874h

Chinese comparandum

脾 OC ***b'i̯ĕg**, *GSR* #874h; Mand. **pí**.

(5) PKar *g-hmaN^{A} SPLEEN

There is a similar-looking Tai root: cf. Siamese **máam**.

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***g-hmaN^{A}**	spleen	Luangthongkum 2013:271
Bwe	**-gəma**	spleen (n.)	Henderson 1997
	gə^{33}ma^{33}	spleen	Luangthongkum 2013:271
Kayah	**mɛ^{33}**	spleen	Luangthongkum 2013:271
Kayaw	**mɔ^{55}**	spleen	Luangthongkum 2013:271
Pwo (Northern)	**mɛ̃^{35}**	spleen	Luangthongkum 2013:271
Pwo (Southern)	**mɔ̃^{53}**	spleen	Luangthongkum 2013:271
Sgaw (Northern)	**kə^{11}mɔ^{33}**	spleen	Luangthongkum 2013:271
Sgaw (Southern)	**mɔ^{55}**	spleen	Luangthongkum 2013:271

(6) IA *p $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{l}{r}$ iːhan SPLEEN

See Turner 1966:506 for this etymology. See especially Bengali **pilihā**, **pilā**.

The TB forms borrowed from this IA etymon are to be distinguished from those which descend from the native PTB root PTB ***r-pay** SPLEEN (§1.7.4).

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	a-**plí-hà**	spleen	Weidert 1987:73
	pli-ha	spleen	Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1978b:(1); Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung (Ghachok)	(**N**)p^{h}iyo	spleen	Glover 1972:2.A.42
	phiyo	spleen	Matisoff 1987
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{2}p^{h}ijo**	spleen (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.18
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yakha	**phiyo**	spleen	Kohn 1990:9.8
	phiyo hɔːmana	swollen spleen (illness)	Kohn 1990:9.8.1
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**phiyo**	spleen	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	**phiyo**	spleen	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**'phis**	spleen	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.42
	'p^{h}is	spleen	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.42
	phis	spleen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1978b:(1)
X.1. NON-TB			
Nepali	**phiyo**	spleen (n.)	Hale 1973:02a.42
	phiyo	spleen	Matisoff 1987

(7) PTB *g-la SPLEEN / KIDNEY

The velar prefix is reflected directly in Khumi, Barish (Kokborok, Meche, Bodo), and Karenic (Bwe, Sgaw). The Loloish forms with voiceless laterals perhaps point to a variant with the **s-** prefix.

The front vowels in several scattered forms (Karenic, Nosu, Ergong) point perhaps to a variant with a palatal suffix, ***la-y** (see Matisoff 1995 "Sino-Tibetan palatal suffixes revisited").

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***la**	kidney / spleen	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***laa** SPLEEN			
**Chin*	***laa**	SPLEEN	VanBik 2009:1052
Thanphum	tə̆ **lɑ^{5}**	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**la**	spleen	VanBik 2009:1052
Tiddim	(ˊ**laː**) **lá**	enlarged spleen	Matisoff 1987
	laː	enlarged spleen	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	lɑ^{3}	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
	ˊ**laː**	song; spleen (enlarged) (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**a'ló**	spleen (n.)	VanBik 2009:1052
Asho (Sandoway)	**ă`lo^{2}**	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
Khumi	**kloo**	internal organ, close to the liver (spleen, gall bladder?)	VanBik 2009:1052
Awa Khumi	k^{w}œ^{3}**laʔ^{2}**	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
Khumi (Ahraing)	**kə̆lo^{1}**	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
Matupi	**lɑ^{4}**	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Khualsim	**lɑ^{1}**	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
Lai (Hakha)	**làa**	spleen	VanBik 2009:1052
Lai (Falam)	**lâa**	spleen	VanBik 2009:1052
Lai (Hakha)	**lɑ^{1}**	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
Lushai [Mizo]	**la**	spleen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	la a tla	enlarged spleen	Matisoff 1987
	lâa	spleen (n.)	VanBik 2009:1052
	lâa	spleen	Löffler 1985
	lɑ^{2}	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
Paangkhua	ma **láa**	spleen	Löffler 1985; Löffler 1985
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lailenpi	məˊtsə̆`**lɑ^{1}**	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
Lakher [Mara]	cha-**law**	spleen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	chā-**láw**	spleen	VanBik 2009:1052
	cha-**law** a tla	enlarged spleen	Matisoff 1987
	cha **law** < calaa	spleen	Löffler 1985
	lô-po	kidney	Matisoff 1987
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	tsə̆`**lɑ^{3}**	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
Mera	tsə̆^{5}**lʌ^{1}**	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
Tha'oa	**lɑ^{4}**	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
Xongsai	**lɑ^{2}**	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
Zotung	**lɔ^{5}**	spleen	Luce 1985:P.9
1.6. MRU			
Mru	**la**	spleen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(3)
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**gila**	kidney	Weidert 1987:81
Kokborok	**gi-la**	kidney	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**gila**	kidney	Weidert 1987:81
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	ngiɛ^{13} **lɐ^{53}**	kidney	SUN Hongkai 1991a:9.6
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	khɛ^{55} **le^{53}**	kidney	DAI Qingxia 1989a:9.6
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	mir kay **lo**	kidney	Noonan *et al.* 1992:9.6
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	ja-**la**-sem	kidney	Matisoff 1978b:(3); Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**leh**	spleen	Michailovsky 1991:168; Matisoff 1987
	leh	spleen (n.)	Caughley 2000
	leh	spleen	Caughley 1972:2.A.42
	le^{ɦ}	spleen	Weidert 1987:73
Chepang (Eastern)	**leh**	spleen	Caughley 1990:9.8
3.3. rGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	rva **le**	kidney	DAI Qingxia 1989b:9.6
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nosu	**ɬe^{33}**	spleen	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.8
Nusu (Central)	**l̥a̠^{53}**	spleen	DAI Qingxia 1989p:175.
Yi (Liangshan)	vo^{55}**ɬɛ^{33}**	spleen, pig's	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬa^{21}ba^{33}	spleen, sheep	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬɛ^{33}	spleen	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	**ɬa^{21}**-ba^{33}	spleen	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɬᴇ^{33}	spleen	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu	ɔ̀-**lâ**-šī	kidney	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
Lahu (Black)	ɔ^{31} **la^{53}** si^{11}	kidney	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ̀-**lâ**-šī∼ɔ̀-lə̂-šī	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**lâ̠**-šī	kidney	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{31} **la^{55}** ɕiʔ^{21}	kidney	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
7. KARENIC: ***k-le^{B}** KIDNEY			
**Karen*	***k-le^{B}**	kidney	Luangthongkum 2013:157
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***lè**	kidney	Jones 1961:12
**Karen (Pwo)*	***lé'**	kidney	Jones 1961:12
**Karen (TP)*	***lé'**	kidney	Jones 1961:12
**Karen [Burling]*	***le^{1}**	kidney	Luangthongkum 2013:157
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***lə̀i**	kidney	Jones 1961:12
**Karen*	***lə́i'**	kidney	Jones 1961:12
Bwe	**-li^{11}**θɛ^{33}	kidney	Luangthongkum 2013:157
	gəlì	kidney	Weidert 1987:936
Kayah	**li^{11}**	kidney	Luangthongkum 2013:157
Kayan	**lai^{11}**	kidney	Luangthongkum 2013:157
Kayaw	**li^{11}**	kidney	Luangthongkum 2013:157
Pa-O	**lê**	kidney	Weidert 1987:936; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:12
Pa-O (Northern)	**le^{53}**	kidney	Luangthongkum 2013:157
Paku	**kə̆le^{3}**	kidney	Luce 1985:I.181
Palaychi	**lì**	kidney	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:12
Pwo (Northern)	**li^{11}¨**	kidney	Luangthongkum 2013:157
Pwo (Southern)	**li^{33}**	kidney	Luangthongkum 2013:157
Pwo (Bassein)	**léʔ**	kidney	Weidert 1987:936; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:12
Pwo (Moulmein)	**lé**	kidney	Weidert 1987:936; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:12
Sgaw (Northern)	**kə^{33}le^{11}¨**	kidney	Luangthongkum 2013:157
Sgaw	**kə^{1}le**	kidney	Weidert 1987:936
Sgaw (Southern)	**kə^{11}le^{31}**	kidney	Luangthongkum 2013:157
Sgaw	**kə̆le^{6}**	kidney	Luce 1985:I.181
Sgaw (Bassein)	**lè**	kidney	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:12
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**lè**	kidney	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:12

1.7.5 Kidney

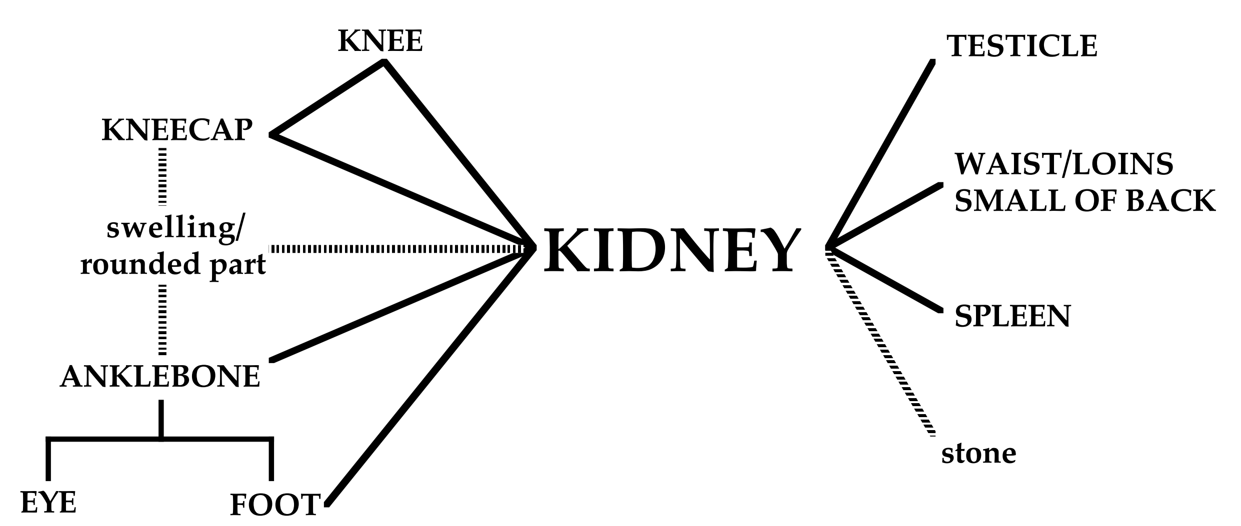


Figure 147: 1.7.5 *Kidney*

(1) PTB *m-di BUTTOCKS / HIPS / FLESHY PART / WAIST / BACK

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	**mədi**	buttocks; hips	Toba & Kom 1991:5.10.1; Toba & Kom 1991:5.8.1
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ka **thei**	back (body)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**di**-mai	tail	Matisoff 1987
	di• mai	tail (n.)	van Breugel 2008
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung	liu̥ **diq**	back (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.17
Gurung (Ghachok)	liũ **diq**	back	Glover 1972:12.C.17
Manang (Gyaru)	go^{1} **dᴇ^{1}**	back	Nagano 1984:040
Manang (Ngawal)	^{3}ko-**^{3}te**	back	Mazaudon 1978:46
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	sɪːM **tɪ**	back	Michailovsky 1991:1
	Sĩː **ti**	back	Matisoff 1987
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya [Minyak]	khø^{35}**dyi^{53}**	back (of body)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:258.15
	k^{h}o^{35}**dyi^{53}**	back	SUN Hongkai 1991h:1.4
	k^{h}ø^{35}**dyi^{53}**	back	SUN Hongkai 1991h:5.5
Qiang (Mawo)	dzə **zdi** gɹu	waist	Sun 1986
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	nuŋ^{55} **tɛ^{55}**	back (side)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Lolopho	**dɯ^{33}** lɯ^{33}	kidney	DAI Qingxia 1989n:9.6

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**dɪ^{55}**	kidney	Chen Kang 1986b:9.6
Nasu	pʰi^{21} **ndʰe^{21}**	hips	Chen Kang 1986b:5.8.1
Nesu	pʰer^{21} **dɪ^{21}**	back	Chen Kang 1986b:1.4
	pʰe^{21} **dɪ^{21}**	back	Chen Kang 1986b:5.5
Nosu	phɳ^{21}**ndi^{21}**	hips	Chen Kang 1986b:5.8.1
Yi (Nanhua)	gɯ^{33}**di^{21}**mo^{33}	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**di^{55}** ɕe^{21}	kidney	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	pʰɭ^{21}**-ndi^{21}**	buttocks	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	mɛ̂ʔ-phû-**dì**	cheek	Matisoff 1987
	pù-**dì**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	qhɛ̂-qhɔ-**dì**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	qhɛ̂-šā-**dì**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	qʰɛ^{53}sʌ^{11}**di^{31}**	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.33
Lisu	kɑ^{44}**tɛ^{44}**	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.27
Sani [Nyi]	tɕʰæ^{33} **dɪ^{33}**	back (body)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:234.1

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	dáŋ-**thé**	back / spine	Hansson 1989:418
Hani (Lüchun)	dó **thé**	back / spine	Hansson 1989:418
Hani (Dazhai)	dɔ^{55} **tʰe^{55}**	back (of body)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	dɔ^{55}**the^{55}**	back (of body)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:258.31
Hani (Wordlist)	ddaol **teil**	back / spine	Hansson 1989:418

(2) PTB *pi $\frac{l}{r}$ KIDNEY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pil ≈ pir**	kidney / small of back	Matisoff 1978b:(2)

1.1.1. Tani: ***krat^{1}-pjɯl** KIDNEY

**Tani*	***krat^{1}-pjɯl**	kidney	Sun 1993a:221

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	**ka pir**	kidney (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0146.24
	ka-pir	kidney	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**kapir**	kidney	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kat-pil**	kidney	Matisoff 1987; Sun 1993a
	kat-pil≈kat-pir	kidney	Matisoff 1978b:(2)
	kat-pir	kidney	Matisoff 1987

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ham-**bi**	kidney, anklebone, kneecap; kidney	Matisoff 1978b:(2); Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu	cɔ̀ʔ-**pɛ̄**-ni	waist / small of back	Matisoff 1978b:(2)
Lahu (Black)	cɔ̀ʔ-**pɛ̄**/cɛ̄-ni	waist	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Banlan)	tcuh˳ **peh_**	waist / back (lower)	Bradley 1979a:118

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**beh** -si	kidney	Matisoff 1978b:(2)
	beh˅ si˩ (si˩)	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	bé-sì	kidney	Matisoff 1985a:094
Bisu	**pè** khà	kidney	Bradley 1979b
	pè-k'à	kidney	Matisoff 1978b:(2)

1.7.6 Stomach

STOMACH ——— BOWELS

Figure 148: 1.7.6 *Stomach*

GUTS ——— STOMACH

Figure 149: 1.7.6 *Stomach*

(1) PTB *d- $\frac{p}{b}$ u-k BELLY / STOMACH / CAVE

This root has many allofams, displaying variation in prefix, voicing or leniting of the initial, alternation between the high vowels **-u-** and **-i-**, and presence or absence of final stop. The reflexes also display considerable variation in meaning, ranging from the body part 'stomach' to other vital organs like 'heart' to hollow natural objects like 'cave'.

See the extended discussion in Matisoff 1978b:124-126 (*VSTB*).

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**wuk** khanga ra	diarrhea (n.)	Marrison 1967

(1a) PTB *p^{w}ik BELLY / STOMACH

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pik**	bowels	Benedict 1972:35
	***p^{w}ik**	intestines / stomach	Matisoff 2003a:608
	***ʔ-bi(:)k**	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1d(b)
	***ʔ-pi(:)k**	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1d(a)
	***ʔwik**	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1e

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Miri, Hill	e **jik**	stomach	Simon 1976

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	a **phék**	intestines	Weidert 1987:965
	a **phek** tung	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	phek	bowels	Matisoff 1978b:1d(a)
	phék	intestines / bowels	Grüssner 1979:142
	phek	bowels	Benedict 1972:35
	phék-pí	large intestine	Grüssner 1979:142
	phék-só	small intestine	Grüssner 1979:142
	phek (so)	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	phek so	intestines	Marrison 1967
	phek ven	intestines; bowels	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	bi-**bik**	intestines; bowels	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:1d(b); Benedict 1972:35

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**phɛ^{13}**	stomach	Sun Hongkai 1991a:9.10

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**pi^{35}** tɔ̃^{33}	intestines; bowels	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.17
Pumi (Lanping)	**pʃi^{55}**	intestine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**pʒi^{55}**	intestines	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tɕyi^{55}**	intestines	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.10
Qiang (Taoping)	**pzɭ^{33}**	intestines	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.9
	pzɭ^{33} pʐe^{33}	large intestines	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Xumi	**by^{55}**	intestines; bowels	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.20

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-wik^{L}**	stomach	Matisoff 2003a:619
	***ʔwik**	stomach	Matisoff 1972b:176

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	**xe^{31}** mo^{33}	stomach	Dai Qingxia 1989n:9.10
PNL	**ʔwik^{L}**	stomach	Chen Kang 1986a:173.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**woi^{35}**	stomach	Dai Qingxia 1989c:9.10
	woi^{35}	stomach (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.47
Lalo	**hi̱^{2}**	stomach	Chen Kang 1986a:173.
	hɪ̱^{21} mɑ^{33} ko^{33}	stomach	Chen Kang 1986b:9.10
	hɪ̱^{21} vu̱^{55}	intestines / bowels	Chen Kang 1986b:9.11
Lipho	**xe̱^{21}**mo^{33}	stomach	Chen Kang 1986b:9.10
	xi̱^{2}	stomach	Chen Kang 1986a:173.
Nasu	**hi̱^{55}**	stomach	Chen Kang 1986a:173.; Chen Kang 1986b:9.10
Neisu	**hi^{13}**	stomach	Chen Kang 1986a:173.
Nesu	**xi̱^{2}**	stomach	Chen Kang 1986a:173.
	xɪ̱^{21}	stomach	Chen Kang 1986b:9.10
Noesu	**hi^{21}**mo^{55}	stomach	Chen Kang 1986b:9.10
Nosu	**hi̱^{55}**	stomach	Chen Kang 1986a:173.
	hi^{55}	stomach	Chen Kang 1986b:9.10
Nusu (Central)	**ie^{35}** ɑ^{55}	stomach	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ie^{35}**ɑ^{55}	stomach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:269.45
Nusu (Southern)	**yɛ^{53}**	stomach	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ʑi^{55}** ɑ^{55}	stomach	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	**hi^{55}**	stomach	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	hi^{55}go^{21}	empty stomach (animal)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	hi^{55}tʂhɯ^{21}	full stomach (animal)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	hi^{55}dʑo^{21}	stomach, big	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	i^{21}mo^{21}	stomach	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**xi̱^{21}**mo^{33}	stomach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:269.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**he̱^{21}**mo^{21}	stomach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:269.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**he^{55}**mo^{33}	stomach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:269.24
	xi̱^{21}	stomach (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ɕi^{21}** ɑ^{33} ko^{33}	stomach	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:269.23
Yi (Weishan)	**hi^{21}**mɑ^{33}**ko^{33}**	stomach (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.36
Yi (Wuding)	**hi̱^{55}**	stomach (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.38
Yi (Xide)	**hi^{55}**	stomach	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	hi^{55}	stomach (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.35
	hi^{55}	stomach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:269.21
	vu^{33}-na^{33} **hi^{55}**-na^{33}	intestinal / stomach illness	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**xi̱^{2}**	stomach	Chen Kang 1986a:173.
	xi̱^{21} mo^{33}	stomach	Luo Meizhen 1990:9.10; Chen Kang 1986b:9.10
Kucong	a31 **fv55** mʌ33	stomach	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Nyi)	aw˯ **fui¯** k'u_	stomach	Bradley 1979a:145
Lahu (Shehleh)	aw˯ **fui¯** k'u_	stomach	Bradley 1979a:145
**Common Lahu*	***fui¯**	stomach	Bradley 1979b:145
Lahu	ɔ́-**fɨ́**-qō	stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1e
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**fɯ^{35}**qo^{11}	stomach (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.43
Lahu (Black)	nû-**fɨ́**-qō	cow's stomach, tripe	Matisoff 1988a:772
	nû-**fɨ́**-qō≈šī	jackfruit	Matisoff 1988a:772
	ɔ^{31} **fɤ^{35}** qu^{11}	stomach	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**fə^{35}**qo^{11}	stomach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:269.33
	ɔ̀-**fɨ́**-qō	stomach	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:176
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{31} **fɤ^{35}** quʔ^{21}	stomach	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	aw˯ **fui¯** k'u_	stomach	Bradley 1979a:145
Lahu (Banlan)	aw˯ **fe¯** ko_	stomach	Bradley 1979a:145
Lisu	**h'i^{6}**-hchi^{6}	stomach; belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b; Matisoff 1978b:1e; Bradley 1979b:145
Lisu (Northern)	**hɛ̃^{21}**gɔ^{21} vu^{33}gɔ^{21}	empty stomach	Bradley 1994
	hɛ̃^{21}ma^{33} na^{44}	stomachache; stomach trouble	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**he^{31}** mɑ̱^{44}	stomach	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**hɛ̃ʔ^{21}**ma^{33}	stomach	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**he̱^{31}**mɑ̱^{33}	stomach (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.40
	he^{41}mɑ^{44}	stomach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:269.27
	h'i6-hchi6	stomach	Matisoff 1972b:176
Lisu (Central)	**h'i^{6}** hchi^{6}	stomach	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**h'i^{6}**-hchi^{6}	belly, womb	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**h'i^{6}**-hchi^{6}	womb	Fraser 1922
Sani [Nyi]	**hI**-ma 22s-33	stomach	Matisoff 1972b:176
	hɪ-ma	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1e
	hɪ^{2}	stomach	Chen Kang 1986a:173.
	hɪ^{22}mɑ^{33}	stomach	Chen Kang 1986b:9.10
	hɪ̱^{22} mɑ^{33}	stomach	Ma Xueliang 1989:365.1
	hɪ̱^{21}(mɒ^{33})	stomach	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɪ^{21} pɪ^{33}	stomach	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:312.1
	ɪ^{21} pɪ^{33} pʰu^{33}	bloated (stomach) (be v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:312.2
	ɪ^{21}pɪ^{33}phu^{33}	swollen stomach (from gas)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Caiyuan)	**ỵ^{55}** mɔ^{33}	stomach	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

7. Karenic

Palaychi	**fvúq**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	fvúq pwí	intestines; bowels	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:180
	pwíq	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
Sgaw	**^{1}pwiʔ**	intestines	Weidert 1987:965
	^{1}pɣiʔ	intestines	Weidert 1987:965
Sgaw (Bassein)	**pɣìʔ**	intestines	Jones 1961:180
	pɤìʔ	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987

Sgaw (Moulmein)	**pɣìʔ**	intestines	Jones 1961:180
	pɤìʔ	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987

8. Bai

Bai (Jianchuan)	jõ^{21} **fv̱**^{44} te̱^{44}	navel	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.7.1
	za̱^{21} **fu̱** te̱^{33}	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.48

(1b) PTB *wuk BELLY / STOMACH

This allofam is most closely related to PTB ***pʷik** BELLY / STOMACH (§1.7.6), since the alternation between medial ***-u-** and ***-i-** is an abundantly attested variational phenomenon in TB.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***wuk**	belly-stomach; belly	Matisoff 1978b:1c; French 1983:457

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**uk**	belly	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:358

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***Vk**	stomach	Burling 1959:444

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**uʔ**-dəi	stomach	Matisoff 1987
	u də́y	stomach	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**ok**	stomach	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***wuk**	belly	French 1983:457

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**vok**	stomach; belly	Weidert 1987:676; Marrison 1967; French 1983:457
Tangsa	**vuk**	stomach	Weidert 1987:676
Tangsa (Moshang)	**vak**	belly	Marrison 1967; French 1983:457
Tangsa (Yogli)	**vuk**	belly	Marrison 1967; French 1983:457

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak (Tamlu)	**ɣɔk**	stomach	Weidert 1987:676
Wancho	**ok**	stomach	Matisoff 1987
	vak	belly	Marrison 1967
	vok	abdomen; belly	French 1983:457; French 1983:457
	vɔk	belly	French 1983:457

7. Karenic

**Karen (TP)*	*(**ɣóʔ**)	stomach	Jones 1961:358
**Karen*	***ɣóʔ**	stomach (see 358.)	Jones 1961:92
**Karen (TP)*	***ɣóʔ**	stomach	Jones 1961:92
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ɣyʔ**	stomach	Jones 1961:92
	***ɣyʔ** kaʔ	stomach, have full (after eating) (v.)	Jones 1961:740
**Karen (Pwo)*	***ɣɔ́ʔ**	stomach	Jones 1961:92
	***ɣɔ́ʔ**-káʔ	stomach, have full (after eating) (v.)	Jones 1961:740
	***ɣɔ́ʔ** phòn	stomach	Jones 1961:358
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ɣə́** phə́	stomach	Jones 1961:358
Pa-O	**hóʔ**	stomach	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:92
Palaychi	**hùq**	stomach	Jones 1961:92
	hùʔ	stomach	Matisoff 1987
Pwo (Bassein)	**ɣɔ̀ʔ**	stomach	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:92
	ɣɔ̀ʔ-phòn	stomach	Weidert 1987:857; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:358
	ɣɔ̀ʔ phòn kàʔ	stomach, have full (after eating) (v.)	Jones 1961:740
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ɣàuʔ**	stomach	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:92
	ɣàuʔ phòn	stomach	Matisoff 1987
Sgaw	^{4}**hø** ^{4}phø	stomach	Weidert 1987:857
Sgaw (Bassein)	**hyʔ**	stomach	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:92
	hə́ phə́	stomach	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:358
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ɣyʔ**	stomach; belly-stomach	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:1e; Jones 1961:92
	ɣyʔ kaʔ	stomach, have full (after eating) (v.)	Jones 1961:740
	ɣə́ phə́	stomach	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:358

(1c) PTB *d-pu:k BELLY / VITALS / HOLLOW OBJECT / CAVE

The dental prefix is attested in Ao, Lepcha, and rGyalrong. The Chepang, Magar, and Maru forms show preemption of the initial by this prefix.

Limbu appears to show an **s-** prefix in this root, but this is apparently a reduction of the full syllable **sap**, of still undetermined meaning.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***puk**~**buk**	cave	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1034l
	***pu:k**~**bu:k**	cave	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1034l

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***buk**	cave / cavity / belly	Coblin 1986:53
	***bu:k**	belly	Weidert 1987:676
	***d-bwak**	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1b-(b)
	***d-puk**	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1b-(a)
	***d-puk** (?)	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1b-(c)
	***pu:k**	cave; cavity; belly	Weidert 1987:676; Weidert 1987:857; Matisoff 2003a:607; Benedict 1972:358; Coblin 1986:53
	***pu:k-**~**buk**	cave; belly	Michailovsky 1991:4; Chou Fa-kao 1972:1034l
	***s-bu:k** [S	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1a-(b)
	***s-pu:k** [S	belly / stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1a-(a)

1.1.1. Tani: ***puk** HEART, ***pɯk** CAVE

**Tani*	*haŋ (-**puk**)	heart	Sun 1993a:194
	***puk**	heart	Sun 1993a:195
	***pɯk**	cave	Sun 1993a:61

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	ja-lã lum-**pɯ**	cave	Sun 1993a
	ja-lã lum-**pɯʔ**	cave	Sun 1993b
	làm-**bɯ**	cave	Sun 1993b
Bengni	haː-**pu** təː-bu	generous, lenient	Sun 1993b
	haː-**puk**	heart	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lɯ-ti haː-**puk**	calf (of leg)	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-**pɯk**	cave	Sun 1993a
Bokar	hoŋ-**puk**	heart	Sun 1993a
	huŋ-**puk**	heart	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ **pɯk**	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.24
	lɯŋ-**pɯk**	cave	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ɦoŋ **puk**	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.24
	ɿɯŋ **pɯk**	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.24
Bokar Lhoba	lɯŋ **pɯk**	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.51
	ɦuŋ **puk**	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	lɯ **pɯk**	cave	Das Gupta 1963
	‘aa **puk**	heart (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ɨlɨɨ-‘aa **puk**	obdurate; stubborn; obstinate; unresponsive (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	ho **puk**	heart	Simon 1976
Tagin	a **puk**	heart	Das Gupta 1983
	ha **puk**	heart	Das Gupta 1983
	leŋ **pɯk**	cave	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**puk**-pɯ	heart	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	rak-**puük**	cave	Benedict 1972:358
	sap-**pɯk**	cave	Sun 1993a
Damu	ləŋ-**pək**	cave	Sun 1993b
	xaː-**puk**	heart	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	a-**puk**	heart	Sun 1993a
	a-**puk** < **aŋ**-puk	heart	Sun 1993a
	sap-**puük**	cave	Benedict 1972:358

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**p‘ù**-kɔ́	belly	Weidert 1987:676

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	tŏl **bɔ́ɔk**	goiter	Matisoff 1987

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**pük**	belly	Benedict 1972:358

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	lung **pûk**	cave	Marrison 1967
	pu:k	cave	Matisoff 1978b:1a-(a); Coblin 1986:53

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***puk** STOMACH, BELLY

**Central Naga*	***puk**	STOMACH, BELLY	Bruhn 2014a:III.261
**Ao*	*t-**puk**	BELLY	Bruhn 2014a:II.011
Ao (Chungli)	**pok** shi	diarrhea (n.)	Marrison 1967
	pok zü tem	bladder	Marrison 1967
	tapok	hole; cave	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1978b:1b-(a); Benedict 1972:358; Coblin 1986:53
	ta^{3}**puk**^{3}	hole (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tepok	belly	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1978b:1b-(a); Benedict 1972:358; Coblin 1986:53
	tə^{3}-**puk**^{3}	stomach, belly (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.011
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**phuk** sen	diarrhea (n.)	Marrison 1967
	pok sak	bladder	Marrison 1967
	tupuk	belly	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	luŋ-**pùk**	cave (’stone’ + STOMACH) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃaŋ-**pùk**	sole of foot (’foot’ + STOMACH) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-tʃha-**pùk**	armpit (’wing’ + STOMACH) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə] -puk làŋ	abdomen, belly (STOMACH + ’bottom’); stomach (the visceral organ) (n.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007
	[tə] -puk wà-pàʔ	diarrhea [diarrhoea] (’stomach’ + ’go’ + NR) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**pok**^{2}	stomach (internal organ) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.261
	pok tʃhoŋ e-rə	guts (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	o **pok**	belly	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**tabuk**	belly	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**buk**	belly	Marrison 1967
	buk ning-**buk**	abdomen, stomach	Kumar 1973b:69
	puk	belly	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**puk**	belly	Marrison 1967
Maram	**puk** la	navel	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**puk**	belly	Matisoff 1978b:1a-(a); Benedict 1972:358
Mzieme	mi **puk**	belly	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***buk** BELLY / STOMACH

**Tangkhulic*	***buk**	belly / stomach	Mortensen 2012:568
Huishu	ʔa-**wuʔ**	belly (exterior); abdomen	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.111
Kachai	**wuk**	belly, stomach	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.274
Tangkhul	**wuk**	abdomen; belly; belly-stomach	Bhat 1969:85; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:1c
Tusom	ʔɯ-**pu**	belly	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.148
Ukhrul	a-**vuk**	belly	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**puk**	belly; abdomen; stomach	Singh 1991:5.7; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:1a-(a); Benedict 1972:358
	puk ning	mind; heart	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	puk niŋ	heart / locus of personality	Singh 1991:14.3

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**pok**	abdomen; belly; stomach	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:1a-(a)
	pók	belly; abdomen; stomach	Grüssner 1979:133; Grüssner 1979:133
	pok	belly	Benedict 1972:358
	pók-tháp	belly / abdomen	Grüssner 1979:133
	pok thap	stomach	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	*bi(ʔ)-**buk**	guts	Burling 1959:441

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	bi-**bú**	guts	Matisoff 1978b:2b(b)
	bi-**buʔ**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	bi **bú**	intestines; bowels; intestine	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
Kokborok	**boʔ**	belly	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	bə=**boʔ**	guts	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	oʔ	belly	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**u**-tu-mɤi	navel	Weidert 1987:15

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	bi **bik**	intestines	Weidert 1987:965
	ok	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1c
Garo (Bangladesh)	bi-**bik**	intestines, inner edge of bamboo (opposite to green ”back” edge)	Burling 1992

[a] [Source Note] stomach-inside-intestines ?

	bi-**bik**	intestines (n.)	Burling 2003:6.27-II:idx
	bik-chrap	membrane of intestine	Burling 1992
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	bi?-**buk**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	pi **puk**	belly, intestines, bowels, stomach (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	puk tyng	small intestine (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Wancho	**puk**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Kadu	**pouk**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
Lui	**phuk**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	puk	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	gyum pug **phug**	nostril	Sharma 1991a:3.5.2
Pattani [Manchati]	**p^{h}ug** tʃa	hole	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**phau**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	**phu** chi	navel	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 13
Tsangla (Motuo)	**pu^{55}** ti^{55} ma	navel	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	p^{h}o^{55} laŋ^{13}	belly	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	p^{h}o laŋ	belly	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	**p^{h}u**-tɕi	belly	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	p^{h}u-tɕi-t^{h}em-poŋ	navel	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**p^{h}ɔ:^{55}** wʌ^{53}	belly	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Batang)	**phu?^{53}**	chisel / bore (a hole) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1777.03
	tʂɑ^{13}**phu?^{53}**	cave; hole; cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.03; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	tʂɑʔ^{31}**phu?^{53}**	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	tʂhaʔ^{13}**phu?^{53}**	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.2
	tʂhə:^{13}**pu^{52}**	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.02
Tibetan (Spiti)	**p^{h}ú**	cave	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	brag **phug**	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.01
	bug	hole, aperture	Matisoff 1987
	bug-pa	hole	Matisoff 1978b:1a-(b); Benedict 1972:77n237; Coblin 1986:53
	p'ug(s)	innermost part	Matisoff 1978b:1a-(a)
	phug	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.01
	phug(s)	innermost part	Benedict 1972:358; Coblin 1986:53
	phug-pa	cavern; cave	Benedict 1972:358; Marrison 1967
	fibug	punch a hole / perforate	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1215.01
	fibug	chisel / bore (a hole) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1777.01
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**bǎk**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	bǎk-ku	navel	Matisoff 1987
	bǎk-lim	navel	Matisoff 1987
	tă-bǎk	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	ta-bǎk-ku	navel	Matisoff 1987
	tă-fük	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	tăbak ≍ tăbok	belly	Benedict 1972:358
	tăbak~tăbok~tăfuk	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1b-(b)
	tăfuk	belly	Benedict 1972:358
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***puk**	belly	Michailovsky 1991:4
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	lum **bhuk**	cave	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**phuk** ko	cave	Michailovsky 1989b
	sap **pok**	belly	Michailovsky 1989b
	sap **po:k**	belly	Michailovsky 1991:15; Michailovsky 1991:4
	sā **po-k**	stomach	Matisoff 1987
	sə **pok**	belly	Matisoff 1978b:1a-(a)
	sə **pok ≍ sə pu**	belly	Benedict 1972:358
	sə **pu**	belly	Matisoff 1978b:2a(a)
Yakha	kaŋ ma **buk**	pancreas	Kohn 1990:9.9
	phok	stomach	Kohn 1990:9.10
	phok su kəli:k	navel	Kohn 1990:5.7.1
	pho:k	belly / abdomen (outer bulge)	Kohn 1990:5.7
	ɔ **phɔk** ca ci bɔ:k	fat around intestines / omentum	Kohn 1990:8.3.1
	ɔ **phɔk** suglik	umbilical cord	Kohn 1990:10.4.12
Yamphu	rum **muk**	cave (n.)	Rutgers 1998:572.27
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**buk**	belly; stomach	Michailovsky 1991:4; Rai 1985; Rai *et al.* 1984:11
	buk-thok	intestines	Rai *et al.* 1984:11
	buk TaN	cave / den	Rai 1985
	cha **buk** la	cave for dead infants' cremation	Rai 1985
	khU **buk**	stomach	Rai 1985
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	theo **mbuk**	heart	Michailovsky 1991:90; Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	lyum?.**puk**	rock shelter, overhanging rock, shallow cave (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lyum **p^{h}uk**	cave	Caughley 1972:5.A.52
	tuk	abdomen; belly; belly-stomach	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:1b-(c); Caughley 1972:1.49
Chepang (Eastern)	**tuk**	belly / abdomen (outer bulge)	Caughley 1990:5.7
Kham	**phu:**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
Magar	mi-**Tuk**	abdomen; belly; belly-stomach	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:1b-(c)
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	'k^{h}a **pok**˺	hole	Nagano & Prins 2013:1580
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	'k^{h}ə **pok**˺	hole	Nagano & Prins 2013:1580
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	kə22 **spɔ44**	hole	Nagano & Prins 2013:1580
Caodeng	kə-**spɔ?**	hole (small)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	kə **'spa**	hole	Nagano & Prins 2013:1580
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	kə **'spa**	hole	Nagano & Prins 2013:1580
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	kə **'spok**˺	hole	Nagano & Prins 2013:1580
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	kə **'sp^{h}ok**˺	hole	Nagano & Prins 2013:1580
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	kə **'ʂpoɣ**	hole	Nagano & Prins 2013:1580
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	kə **'ʂpoɣ**	hole	Nagano & Prins 2013:1580
Caodeng	kɐ-sə-**spɔ?**	drill (hole)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	k^{h}a **pok**˺kə' tə	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	k^{h}e **'pok**˺	hole	Nagano & Prins 2013:1580
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	k^{h}o **'pok**˺	hole	Nagano & Prins 2013:1580
rGyalrong	**pog ~ phog**	guts	Matisoff 1978b:1a-(a)
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**pok** tʃ^{h}u	navel	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.7.1
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	**pok**˺tɕ^{h}i	navel	Nagano & Prins 2013:0128
Caodeng	pra-**p^{h}u?**	cave	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**těpŏk**	belly	Matisoff 1978b:1b-(a); Benedict 1972:358
	ti-pog	stomach	Matisoff 1978b:1a-(a)
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **pok** tʃhu	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.11
rGyalrong	**tə pok**	belly / abdomen	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.7
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tə pok**	belly (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0096.11
rGyalrong	**tə pok**	belly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:260.12
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	tə **ˊbok** tɕɔ$^{?}$	navel	Nagano & Prins 2013:0128
Caodeng	tə-**pó**-k^{h}ja	navel	Sun 1997a
	tə-po	belly	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	tə22**pok44**tɕ^{h}i44	navel	Nagano & Prins 2013:0128
rGyalrong (Northern)	**təpo** tɕ^{h}ak	navel	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.7.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**təpok**	belly / abdomen (outer bulge)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.7
rGyalrong	**təpok** tɕ^{h}u	navel	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.7.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	**təpu** cç^{h}ak	umbilical cord	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.4.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə rna k^{h}a **pok**	ear canal	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.6.4
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	wu35**'pok5**tɕɑ53	navel	Nagano & Prins 2013:0128
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ŋə ˊ**pɔk** tʃɔ$^{?}$	navel	Nagano & Prins 2013:0128
rGyalrong	**pok** chu	belly button	Nagano 1997:5.7.1
	tA vok ku tsu	belly	Nagano 1997:5.7
rGBenzhen	tə-**pok** tʃ^{h}u?	navel	Sun 1997b
	tə-vok kə-ro?	growl (belly)	Sun 1997b
	tə-wɔk	belly	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Anong	luŋ-**pu**	cave	Benedict 1972:358
Rawang	lɔŋ^{53} **bu?**	cave, hole; hole, cave	LaPolla 2003:33; LaPolla 2003:34
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	ɑ^{53}**pɑu?^{4}**	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.27
Burmese (Written)	a **pok**	hole	Marrison 1967
	nâ-**pok**	earhole	Matisoff 1987
	wàm-**puik**	outside of belly	Benedict 1972:358
	ə-**pok**	hole, opening; a drop	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ^{1}**pɔk^{4}**	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.26
	ɑ^{1} **pɔk**	hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.39
Maru [Langsu]	vɛ̃^{35} **tuk^{31}**	belly / abdomen	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.7
	wɛn-**tok**	abdomen, stomach	Matisoff 1978b:4b
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pi̯ôk/pi̯uk**	belly	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1034h; Matisoff 1978b:1a-(a)
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**pjuk**	belly	Coblin 1986:53

Chinese comparandum

腹 OC ***pi̯ôk**, *GSR* #1034h 'belly'; B & S 2011: ***puk {p(r)uk}**; Mand. **fù**.
窡; 'cave'.

(1d) PTB *p^{w}u BELLY / STOMACH / INTESTINE / KIDNEY

This root bears a phono-semantic relationship to PTB ***(p/b)u** URINARY BLADDER / KIDNEY (§1.7.8), but should be kept separate for now.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(s-)bu**	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:2b(b)
	***(s-)pu**	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:2a(a)
	***p^{w}u**	intestines	Matisoff 2003a:608
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***poo** BELLY / STOMACH			
**Chin*	***poo**	BELLY / STOMACH	VanBik 2009:123
Anal	**pù**-lùŋ	intestines	Weidert 1987:749
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**pawi**	belly, stomach, tummy	VanBik 2009:123
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**pŏo**	belly, stomach, tummy	VanBik 2009:123
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**py**	abdomen below ribs	Matisoff 1987
	pȳ	belly, stomach	VanBik 2009:123
	^{2}pə^{1}liə	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**poi**	belly / abdomen (outer bulge)	Toba & Kom 1991:5.7
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Meluri	a **bo** zü	navel	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **pfu** yi	navel	Marrison 1967
	a **pvu**	belly	Marrison 1967
	pfü non	belly	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **pfo** la	navel	Marrison 1967
	a **po**	belly / abdomen	Achumi 1998a:5.7
	a **po** la	navel	Achumi 1998a:5.7.1
1.6. Mru			
Mru	**bu**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Lalung [Tiwa]	**phu** sa	intestines	Balawan 1965:53
	pu sa	intestines	Balawan 1965:57
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	ɑ^{31} **pu̱^{31}**	intestines	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	long **pu**	cave	Marrison 1967
	lùŋ-**pū**	cave	Matisoff 1978b:2a(a)
	pù	intestines; bowels	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:2a(a)

	pù-hpam	stomach	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:4a
	pù-kan	stomach	Matisoff 1987
	pu̲^{31}	intestines	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	wun-**bu**	navel	Matisoff 1987
	ə **pu**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**pho** lang	stomach; belly	Andvik 1993:12; Egli-Roduner 1987:33 12; Egli-Roduner 1987:35 12
Tsangla (Motuo)	kʰi^{55}-**pʰo**^{55} laŋ^{13}	stomach	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	kʰi **po** laŋ	stomach	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	pho laŋ	belly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:260.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**pʰo** loŋ	stomach	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**pʰo**^{55} laŋ^{55}	stomach	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**pʰɔː**^{55}	stomach	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Batang)	**phoʔ**^{13}	stomach	Dai Qingxia 1989a:9.10
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**po** a	stomach	Bishop 1989:9.10
Tibetan (Written)	**p'o**-ba	stomach	Matisoff 1978b:2a(a)
	pho ba	stomach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:269.1
	pho wa	stomach (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.01
	pho-ba	stomach	Zhang Liansheng 1988:54
	p'o-ba	stomach	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{B}**pho** BELLY

**TGTM*	*^{B}**pho**	belly	Mazaudon 1978:19
	* ^{B}**pʰo**	belly	Mazaudon 1994:662
Chantyal	**pho**	stomach	Noonan *et al.* 1992:9.10
	pho bfiəri-wa	full / be satiated	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.7.10
Gurung (Ghachok)	**phoq**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	pʰoq	belly	Glover 1972:1.49
	^{2}**pho**	belly	Mazaudon 1978:19
Gurung	^{2}**pʰo**	belly	Mazaudon 1994:662
Manang (Gyaru)	**po**^{1}	belly	Nagano 1984:036
	po^{1} sya^{1}	stomach	Nagano 1984:037-02
Manang (Ngawal)	^{2}**phwo**	belly	Mazaudon 1978:19
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**pʰwo**	belly	Mazaudon 1994:662
	^{1}**pʰwo**	belly	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0026
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'pho**	belly	Weidert 1987:676
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**pho**	belly	Mazaudon 1978:19
	^{1}**pʰo**	belly (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:5.7, 9.10
	^{1}**pʰo**	belly	Mazaudon 1994:660
Tamang (Sahu)	**'pho**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	'pʰo	belly	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.49
	^{2}**pho**	belly	Mazaudon 1978:19
	^{2}**pʰo**	belly	Mazaudon 1994:662
Tamang (Taglung)	**pʰo**	belly	Mazaudon 1994:662
	^{2}**pho**	belly	Mazaudon 1978:19
	^{1}**pʰo**	belly, stomach	Mazaudon 1994:660
Thakali (Marpha)	^{2}**pho**	belly	Mazaudon 1978:19
	^{54}**pʰo**	belly	Mazaudon 1994:662
Thakali (Syang)	^{2}**pho**	belly	Mazaudon 1978:19
	^{55}**pʰo**	belly	Mazaudon 1994:662
Thakali (Tukche)	**pho**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	pʰo	belly	Hari 1971:1.49
	^{H}**pho**	belly	Mazaudon 1978:19
	^{H}**pʰo**	belly	Mazaudon 1994:662

2.2. Newar

Newar	sɔ**:pu:**	intestines / bowels	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.11

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**bo**	belly	Michailovsky 1991:4; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	mu **pu**	belly; belly, abdomen	Michailovsky 1991:5; Driem 1993
Khaling	mu **phu**	abdomen; belly	Michailovsky 1991:5; Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**'phuː**	stomach	Watters & Watters 1989
	'pʰuː	stomach	Watters & Watters 1989

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**bu**^{55} phɑ^{55}	stomach	Sun Hongkai 1991d
Pumi (Jiulong)	**py**^{55}tɕy^{11}tɕy^{35}	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**bù**	den	Evans 1999:403
	pú tsɨ qà	navel	Evans 1999:123
Qiang (Mawo)	**pu** ʂu̲	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.08
	pu ʂ	navel	Sun 1986 [a]
	pʌ tʃə̲	navel	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.7.1
Qiang (Taoping)	**pu**^{33}	belly	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**pu** tʂu̲	navel	Dai Qingxia 1989q:123
	pə	belly	Dai Qingxia 1989q:122
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**bu**^{55}	belly / abdomen (outer bulge)	Sun Hongkai 1991n:5.7

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	**pʰo**^{53} ka^{33}	stomach	Sun Hongkai 1991c:9.10

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	tə **po**	intestines / bowels	Dai Qingxia 1989d:9.11
	tə **po** kə ktsi	small intestine	Dai Qingxia 1989d:9.11.2
	tə **po** kə ktɛ	large intestine	Dai Qingxia 1989d:9.11.1
	tə **po** lɐŋ tʃɐ	intestines	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **po** nɐŋ tʃɐ	intestine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.11
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **pu**	intestines / bowels	Sun Hongkai 1991k:9.11

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	**pu**^{44} džiə^{44}	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**puɯ**^{31} ɟɯ^{55}	intestines	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɑŋ^{31} **puɯ**^{31} jɯ^{53}	intestines	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. Tujia

Tujia	ka^{21} **bu**^{21} lo^{55}	intestines / bowels	Chen Kang 1986d:9.11

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	u^{55} **phu**^{55}	stomach	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	u^{55} **phu**^{55}	stomach	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	kʰɯ^{31} **pu**^{35}	stomach	Dai Qingxia 1989f:173.1

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Nanjian)	ɕi^{21} **py**^{55}	belly	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	vu^{55} **pʰu**^{44}	belly	Dai Qingxia 1989h:122
Jinuo (Youle)	ɣo^{55} **pʰu**^{44}	belly	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	dzɭ^{53} **fv̩**^{53}	bladder	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**baw** ma (si˩)	stomach	Matisoff 1987
	baw-ma	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:3
Akha (Yunnan)	**bɔ** ma	stomach	Hansson 1989:62
Akha (Thai)	**bɔ**-ma	stomach	Hansson 1989:263
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ^{31} **pʰu**^{31}	belly	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Pijo)	ɔ̀ **phù**	stomach	Hansson 1989:263
Hani (Shuikui)	**pu**^{33} mɔ^{33}	stomach	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Côông [Phunoi]	**po** pon	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	po^{33} pon^{33}	stomach	Bradley 1977
	pɔ pon	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	pᵊ pō^{55}	belly / abdomen (outer bulge)	Ferlus 1991:5.7

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	ʂe˧**bv#**˥	dried meat preserved in intestines	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**bu**^{33}	intestines	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**bv**^{33}	intestines	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**bv**^{33}	intestines	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**bəɹ**^{33}	intestines	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.29

7. Karenic: *$\mathbf{g\text{-}phow}^{A}$ STOMACH

**Karen*	*$\mathbf{g\text{-}phow}^{A}$	stomach	Luangthongkum 2013:281
Bwe	**gɔ̀-phú**	stomach	Weidert 1987:857
	gə^{11} **phu**^{55}	stomach	Luangthongkum 2013:281
Kayah	**pho**^{33}	stomach	Luangthongkum 2013:281
Kayan	**phu**^{53}	stomach	Luangthongkum 2013:281
Kayan (Pekon)	**pʰú** prē	intestines (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**phu**^{55}	stomach	Luangthongkum 2013:281
Pa-O (Northern)	**paʔ**^{45} de$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	navel, umbilical cord	Luangthongkum 2013:200
	pă de^{6}	navel	Luce 1985:F.19
Pa-O	**pəʔ** de	navel	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:143
	pə dè	navel	Solnit 1989
	pə de	navel	Benedict 1972:149n409
Paku	đe^{1}**bɔ**^{2}	navel	Luce 1985:F.19
Palaychi	dìq **bòq**	navel	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:143
Pwo (Northern)	**phou**^{35}	stomach	Luangthongkum 2013:281
Pwo (Southern)	**phou**^{53}	stomach	Luangthongkum 2013:281
Sgaw (Northern)	**kə**^{11}**phɨ**^{33}	stomach	Luangthongkum 2013:281
Sgaw (Southern)	**phɨ**^{55}	stomach	Luangthongkum 2013:281
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a^{31} **gă**^{31} **pʰɯ**^{55}	stomach	Dai Qingxia 1989k:185.1
	da^{31} **gă**^{31} **pʰɯ**^{55}	stomach	Dai Qingxia 1989k:185.2
	di̲^{55} **bɔ**^{33}	navel	Dai Qingxia 1989k:123
	gă^{31} **pʰɯ**^{55}	stomach	Dai Qingxia 1989k:185
	kă^{31} **pʰu**^{55}	stomach	Dai Qingxia 1989k:185.1
	kʰi^{55} **bu**^{33}	anus	Dai Qingxia 1989k:143
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**kă**^{31} **pʰu**^{55}	stomach	Dai Qingxia 1989j:185

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	**fv̄**^{44}	belly	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**fv̄**^{44}	belly	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	fv̩^{44} kʰo^{33}	belly / abdomen (external bulge)	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.7

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**b'i̯u/b'i̯u**	intestines	Matisoff 1978b:2b(b)
	b'i̯u/b'i̯u-	intestines	Karlgren 1957:136o
	pi̯u/pi̯u	bowels	Matisoff 1978b:2a(a)

Chinese comparandum

腑 OC ***b'i̯u***, *GSR* #136o; Mand. **fǔ**.

(1e) PTB *wu BELLY / STOMACH / INTESTINE / KIDNEY

Many Loloish languages have slightly different forms for KIDNEY as opposed to STOMACH. For now, we are attributing this to an alternation at the PLB level between ***wu** and ***ru**, e.g. Ahi **i**^{33} **fu**^{55} **zo**^{21} 'kidney' (< ***wu**) vs. **ɣo**^{2} 'intestines' (< ***ru**). Cf. the PLB reconstruction ***rə-ʔu**^{1} (DL:1130).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***wu**	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:2c

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	a píʔ **wvu** sa	intestines	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:37-1

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**vi̯u**^{2}	intestines (small)	Sofronov c1978
	wĭu	small intestine	Dai Qingxia 1989e:9.11.2
	wĭu dʑer	anus / rectum	Dai Qingxia 1989e:9.12
	wju	intestines	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2926

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**vɛ**^{55} kɑ^{55}	large intestine	Sun Hongkai 1991d
	vɛ^{55} tshi^{55}	small intestine	Sun Hongkai 1991d
	vɛ^{55} n̥o^{55}	intestines; bowels	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.18
Lyuzu	**ɣuo**^{33}n̥u^{53}	intestine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.18
Muya	**və̲**^{33}tɕha^{55}	intestine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.15
Muya [Minyak]	**vi**^{33}tsʰa^{53}	navel	Sun Hongkai 1991h:5.7.1
	vɯ^{33}tɕha^{35}	intestines	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.15
	vɯ^{33}tɕʰa^{35}	intestines / bowels	Sun Hongkai 1991h:9.11
	vɯ^{33}tɕʰa^{35}mbø^{55}mbø^{55}	large intestine	Sun Hongkai 1991h:9.11.1
	vɯ^{33}tɕʰa^{35}tsʰe^{35}tsʰe^{55}	small intestine	Sun Hongkai 1991h:9.11.2
Namuyi	**vu**^{33}n̥i^{55}	intestines; bowels	Sun Hongkai 1991i:9.11; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.19
	vu^{33}n̥i^{55}	intestine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.46
Qiang (Mawo)	stə **qʰua**	stomach	Sun Hongkai 1991g:9.10
	stə **ʰuɑː**	stomach	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	stə **χwɑ**	stomach	Sun 1986

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	se **qʰo**	stomach	Sun Hongkai 1991b:9.10
Ergong (Northern)	**vəu**^{13} tʰya^{13}	umbilical cord	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.12
	vəu^{53} tʰya^{13}	navel	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.7.1
Ergong (Danba)	**wɯ** tɕʰi	navel	Sun Hongkai 1991b:5.7.1

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (NW)	tə **wu** tɕʰak	umbilical cord	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.4.12
	tə **ɣ** tɕʰak	navel	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.7.1

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	pɯ^{31} **ɟɯ**^{55}	intestines	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɑŋ^{31} pɯ^{31} **jɯ**^{53}	intestines	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***wu** ≷ ***ru** INTESTINE / KIDNEY

**Lolo-Burmese*	***wu**^{1}	intestines	Matisoff 2003a:619

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**u**^{55} phu^{55}	stomach	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɑ^{31} **u**^{55}	intestines	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985

[a] This is a contraction of the other Mawo **pʌtʃə̲** 'navel'.

Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31} **u**^{55}	intestines	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	a^{31}**u**^{55}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.28
	a^{31}**u**^{55}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.41
Achang (Luxi)	a^{31} **u**^{35}	intestines	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	u^{55} phu^{55}	stomach	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31} **u**^{55}	intestines	DAI Qingxia 1989f:178
	a^{31}**u**^{55}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.29
Bola	**u**^{55}	intestines	DAI Qingxia 1989g:178
Bola (Luxi)	**u**^{55}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**u**^{22}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**u**^{22}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.40
Burmese (Written)	**ū**	intestines	Marrison 1967
	u	intestines; pith of plant; pulpy part of fruit	Benedict 1976a
	uu^{2}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.26
	u^{2}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.39
	wak-**ʔu**	screw (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:538
	ə-**u**	intestines; pith of plant; pulpy part of fruit	Benedict 1976a
	ʔu	intestines; bowels	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:2c
	ʔu-im	paunch, tripe ('intestine-house')	Matisoff 1987:42
	ʔə **ʔu**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
Hpun (Northern)	**ù** shú(?)	umbilical cord	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	a̱ **u**^{31}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.31
Lashi	**u̱**^{33}	intestines / bowels	DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.11
	u̱^{33} kji:^{33}	large intestine	DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.11.1
	u̱^{33} tshu^{33}	fat intestines / omentum	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.3.1
	u̱^{33} tso^{33}	small intestine	DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.11.2
Leqi (Luxi)	**u̱**^{33}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.33
Marma	**u**	intestines	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:37-1
	əθé.**u**	intestines	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:37
Maru [Langsu]	a̱ **u**^{31}	intestines; bowels	DAI Qingxia 1989l:9.11; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**u**^{51}	intestines	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	u^{51}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.30
	u^{51}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***ʔu**^{1}	intestine	Bradley 1979b:146
Lolopho	**v̩**^{33} go̱^{31}	intestines / bowels	DAI Qingxia 1989n:9.11
	v̩^{33} mo^{33}	large intestine	DAI Qingxia 1989n:9.11.1
	v̩^{33} ʐo^{31}	small intestine	DAI Qingxia 1989n:9.11.2

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**v**^{323}mɤ^{33}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.47
	v^{31}mɤ^{33}zɑ^{31}	small intestine	MU Shihua 2003
	v^{31}mɤ^{33}ɣɤ^{24}	large intestine	MU Shihua 2003
	v̩^{323} mɤ^{33}	intestines / bowels	DAI Qingxia 1989c:9.11
	v̩^{323} mɤ^{33} tshɤ^{33}	fat intestines / omentum	DAI Qingxia 1989c:8.3.1
	v̩^{31}**mɤ**^{33}	intestines	MU Shihua 2003
Lalo	hìq-**vú**	intestines	Björverud 1994
	hɪ̱^{21} **vu̱**^{55}	intestines / bowels	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11
	vu̱^{55}	intestines	CHEN Kang 1986a:41.
Lipho	**vu**^{33}	intestines	CHEN Kang 1986a:41.; CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11
Nasu	**ɣu**^{21}	intestines; bowels	CHEN Kang 1986a:41.; CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11
	ɣu^{21} mo̱^{21}	large intestine	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11.1
	ɣu^{21} na̱^{21}	large intestine	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11.1
	ɣu^{21} tɤ^{33}	appendix	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11.3
	ɣu^{21} zo^{33}	small intestine	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11.2
	ɣu^{33} ne^{33}	small intestine	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11.2
	ɯ^{33}	kidney	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.6
Neisu	**ɣu**^{21}	intestines	CHEN Kang 1986a:41.
Nesu	**vu**^{21}	intestines; bowels	CHEN Kang 1986a:41.; CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11
	vu^{21} mer^{33} mo^{21}	large intestine	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11.1
	vu^{21} tʂ̥^{h}er^{55} ler^{55}	small intestine	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11.2
	ɣ^{33} zo^{33}	kidney	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.6
Nosu	**vu**^{33}	intestines	CHEN Kang 1986a:41.; CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11
	vu^{33}n̥i^{33}	small intestine	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11.2
	vu^{44}no̱^{33}	large intestine	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11.1
Nusu (Central)	**u**^{33}	intestines	DAI Qingxia 1989p:178.
	u^{33}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**u**^{35}	intestines	DAI Qingxia 1989o:178.
Nusu (Central)	**u**^{35} ɑ^{55}	intestines	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**u**^{35}ɑ^{55}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.45
Nusu (Southern)	**u**^{55} t^{h}ɛ^{31}	kidney	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ɣɯ**^{55} t^{h}ə̃ɹ^{31}	kidney	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ɣɯ**^{55} t^{h}ɑ^{55}	kidney	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɦu^{31} ɑ^{55}	intestines	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɦu**^{35}	intestines	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**vu**^{21}	intestines	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**vu**^{33}	intestine	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vu^{33}n̥i^{33}	intestine, small	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vu^{33}tɕ̥ʅ^{55}	intestines, braided sheep	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vu^{34}nɔ^{33}	intestine, large	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ɣo**^{33}mʌ^{33}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**vu**^{21}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**vu**^{33}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.24
	ɤu^{33}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.37
Yi (Nanjian)	ni̱^{21} **vu**^{55}	intestines	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ni̱^{21}**vu**^{21}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.23
Yi (Weishan)	hi^{21}**vu̱**^{55}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ɤv̩**^{11}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.38
Yi (Xide)	**o**^{33}	kidney	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vu^{33}	intestines	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	vu^{33}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.35
	vu^{33}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.21
	vu^{34}-dʑᴇ^{33}	appendix	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vu^{34}-nɔ^{33}	large intestine	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	i^{33} **fu**^{55} zo^{21}	kidney	LUO Meizhen 1990:9.6
	ɣo^{2}	intestines	CHEN Kang 1986a:41.
	ɣo^{22} bu^{21} ts'ɑ^{22}	fat around intestines / omentum	LUO Meizhen 1990:8.3.1
	ɣo^{22} mɑ^{33}	intestines / bowels	LUO Meizhen 1990:9.11
	ɣo^{22} ni^{21} zo^{21}	appendix	LUO Meizhen 1990:9.11.3
	ɣo^{22} tɕi^{22} zo^{21}	pancreas	LUO Meizhen 1990:9.9
	ɣo^{22} zo^{21}	small intestine	LUO Meizhen 1990:9.11.2
	ɣo^{22} ɣɑ^{21}	large intestine	LUO Meizhen 1990:9.11.1
	ɣo^{22}ma^{33}	intestines	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11
	ɣo^{22}ma^{33}bi^{21}ta̱^{21}mo^{33}	large intestine	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11.1
	ɣo^{22}zo^{21}	small intestine	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11.2
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{33} **vu**^{44}	intestines	DAI Qingxia 1989h:184
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{33} **v̩**^{44}	intestines	DAI Qingxia 1989i:184
Jinuo	a^{33}**vu**^{44}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.44
	vu^{33}mɔ^{33}	stomach	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:269.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**vu**^{44} mɔ^{33}	stomach	DAI Qingxia 1989h:185
Jinuo (Youle)	**ɣu**^{42} mɔ^{33}	stomach	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ɣu**^{42}mɔ^{33}	stomach (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{33} **vu**^{31}	intestines	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33} **vu**^{44}	intestines	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	ɑ^{33}**vu**^{33}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.34
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{33}**vu**^{31}	intestines (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	a31 **v31**	intestine	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Shehleh)	aw˯ **vu**˯ tehˆ	intestine	Bradley 1979a:146
**Common Lahu*	***g'u**˯	intestine	Bradley 1979b
Lahu	ɔ̀-**g̈ù**-tɛ̂ʔ	guts	Matisoff 1978b:2c
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**ɣu**^{31}tɛ^{54}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.43
Lahu (Black)	ɔ^{31} **ɣu**^{31} tɛʔ^{54}	intestines	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**ɣu**^{31}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.33
	ɔ̀-**g̈ù**	intestines	Matisoff 1978a:91
	ɔ̀-**qhɔ**-qhɔ̂	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**ɣù**-tɛ̂ʔ	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{31} **ʔu**^{31}	intestines	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	aw˯ **g'u**˯	intestine	Bradley 1979a:146
Lahu (Banlan)	aw˯ **g'u**˯	intestine	Bradley 1979a:146
Lisu (Northern)	hwa^{21}**vu**^{44}	animal intestine; intestine	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**vu**^{33}	intestines	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**vu**^{33}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.40
	vu^{33}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	**vu**^{33} nɛ̱^{44}	large intestines	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**vu**^{44}	intestine (N.)	Bradley 1994
	vu^{44}næ^{33}	large intestine	Bradley 1994
	vu^{44}phu^{33}	small intestine	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**wu**	intestines	Matisoff 1978b:2c
	wu^{4}	intestine; guts	Bradley 1979b:146; Matisoff 1987
Sani [Nyi]	**vu**^{21}ʑɛ^{21}mɒ^{33}	large intestines	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	vu^{33}	intestines	CHEN Kang 1986a:41.; CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11; WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	vu^{33}mɑ^{33}	large intestine	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11.1
	vu^{33}zɑ^{21}	small intestine	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.11.2
	vu^{33}zɒ^{21}	small intsetines	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**v̩**^{33}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.39
Sani [Nyi]	**v̩**^{33} mɑ^{33}	large intestine	MA Xueliang 1989:314.3
	v̩^{33} zɑ^{11}	small intestine	MA Xueliang 1989:314.4
	xɯ^{55}	kidney	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.6; WU Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	baw **uˇ**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	aŋ **ʔú**	intestines	Beaudouin 1988:14
	ʔaŋ **ʔú**	intestine	Bradley 1979b
Hani (Dazhai)	**u**^{55}	intestines	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.31
	ɣo^{31} si^{31}	kidney	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**u**^{55}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ^{31} **v̩**^{55}	intestines	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	bɔ^{33} **u**^{55}	intestines	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{31} **v̩**^{55}	intestines	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.32
Hani (Mojiang)	ɔ^{31}**v̩**^{55}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.42
Mpi	ʔɑ^{2}-**ʔu**^{6}	intestines; intestine	Matisoff 1978a:91; Bradley 1979b; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	ã **ʔu**^{55} ba	large intestine	Ferlus 1991:9.11.1
	ã **ʔu**^{55} ja	small intestine	Ferlus 1991:9.11.2
	ʔã́ **ʔú**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	ʔấ **ʔú**	intestine	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã^{55} **ʔu**^{55}	intestines	Bradley 1977
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **ʔu45**	intestines	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:131155
Sangkong	aŋ^{33} **u**^{55}	intestines	LI Yongsui 1991

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	i^{33}**ɣɵ**^{21}	intestines	Pelkey 2011:314
Phola	**ɣu̱**^{23}tɛ̱^{23}	intestines	Pelkey 2011:314
Hlepho Phowa	**ɣo**^{21}	intestines	Pelkey 2011:314
Phu Kha	i^{33} **wu**^{31}	intestine	Fried 2000
Phuza	ɛ^{33}**vɯ**^{31}	intestines	Pelkey 2011:314

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**hɑ**˩mie˩	belly, abdomen	Michaud 2006–2009:338
	v˧nɑ˥	intestine	Michaud 2006–2009:453
	v˧ɬie˧	dried meat preserved in intestines	Michaud 2006–2009:811
Na (Yongning)	**hu**˧**mi**˥**$**	stomach	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**xo**^{13}mi^{33}	stomach	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**xu**^{55}	stomach	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**xu**^{55}	stomach (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**xu**^{55}	stomach	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:269.28

7. KARENIC			
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***ɣý**	stomach	Jones 1961:92
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ɣàu?**-phòn	stomach	Weidert 1987:857
8. BAI			
Bai (Dali)	**vu̱**^{42}	stomach	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**vu̱**^{42}	stomach	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; ZHAO Yansun 1990:9.10

(1g) PTB *pwa $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{n}\end{matrix}$ BELLY / CENTER

This root strongly resembles PTB ***pʷam** WOMB / PLACENTA / BELLY / STOMACH / NEST (§1.9.6), but we are keeping it separate for now.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pon ~ poŋ**	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:3
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	ki-**po:**	belly	Sun 1993b
	ki-**po:** a-či	stomachache	Sun 1993b
	ki-**po:** bit	have diarrhea	Sun 1993b
	ki-**po:** ki-fɯŋ	have gas in the belly	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ki:-**poŋ**	belly	Sun 1993b
	ki:-**poŋ** be:	flatulent (be v.)	Sun 1993b
	ki: **poŋ**	belly (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0096.24
	lo-**poŋ**	center, middle	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ki: **poŋ**	belly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:260.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lo **poŋ**	center	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tagin	kɯ **po**	belly	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	$t^hɯ^{31}$ **boŋ**^{35}	center	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	**p^{h}o**^{55} ko^{55}	stomach	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	ahā **pũ**	abdomen	Pulu 1978
	ehā **pũ**	belly	Pulu 1978
	eha **pũ**	abdomen	Anonymous 1962
	jaŋ^{55}**poŋ**^{55}	stomach	SUN Hongkai 1991f:9.10
	jā **pũ**	stomach	Pulu 1978
	kh.ɹɑ^{31}**poŋ**^{35}	belly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:260.50
	k^{h}e-ā **põ**	belly	Anonymous 1962
	k^{h}ɹa^{31}**poŋ**^{35}	belly / abdomen (outer bulge)	SUN Hongkai 1991f:5.7
	ya **pu**	stomach	Anonymous 1962
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Matupi	**buŋ**^{4}lɑi^{4}	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	pùm~**pùŋ**	belly	Matisoff 1978b
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Puiron	**bon**	belly	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	ā pai **phon**	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:3
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Tilang)	p^{h}u-tɕi-t^{h}em-**poŋ**	navel	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	**põ** ti	navel	Noonan *et al.* 1992:5.7.1
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	su li **puŋ**	navel	Michailovsky 1991:129
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**'pũ:h** təli	navel	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.38
	bũ: di	stomach (inner)	Watters & Watters 1989
	pũh tali	navel	Matisoff 1987
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	măŋ^{55} **bŏŋ**^{53}	belly	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Pyen	**pawng-pawng**	belly-stomach	Matisoff 1978b:3
Bisu	**pòŋ**-ba	belly-stomach; stomach; belly	Matisoff 1978b:3; Bradley 199x; Beaudouin 1988:13
	pòŋ pòŋ	stomach	Beaudouin 1988:15
Mpi	**puŋ**^{6}	stomach; belly; belly, stomach	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	po **pon**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	po^{33} **pon**^{33}	stomach	Bradley 1977
	pɔ **pon**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	p^{ə} **põ**^{55}	belly / abdomen (outer bulge)	Ferlus 1991:5.7
Sangkong	u^{31} **poŋ**^{33}	belly, stomach	LI Yongsui 1991
	ʑaŋ^{31} u^{31} **poŋ**^{33}	belly, stomach	LI Yongsui 1991
7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***phom**	stomach	Weidert 1987:857
**Karen [Burling]*	***phoŋ**^{4}	stomach	Luangthongkum 2013:281
**Karen (Pwo)*	*ɣɔ́? **phòn**	stomach	Jones 1961:358
**Karen (Sgaw)*	*ɣə́ **phó**	stomach	Jones 1961:358
Pwo (Bassein)	ɣɔ̀?-**phòn**	stomach	Weidert 1987:857; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:358
	ɣɔ̀? **phòn** kàʔ	stomach, have full (after eating) (v.)	Jones 1961:740
Pwo (Moulmein)	ɣàu?-**phòn**	stomach	Weidert 1987:857; Matisoff 1987
Sgaw	^{4}hø ^{4}**phø**	stomach	Weidert 1987:857
Sgaw (Bassein)	hə́ **phó**	stomach	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:358
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	u^{55} **p^{h}ɤ**^{55}	belly	DAI Qingxia 1989k:122
Sgaw (Moulmein)	ɣə́ **phó**	stomach	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:358

(2) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\text{g}\\\text{b}\end{matrix}$ rwat BELLY / STOMACH / INTESTINES

The Karenic forms mostly reflect the variant with initial labial, except for Pwo, where the velar alternate appears.

The Chinese comparandum was first suggested in Coblin 1986:141.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***grwat**	belly; stomach; intestines; guts	Matisoff 2003a:591; Matisoff 1978b
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	**kh.ɹɑ**^{31}poŋ^{35}	belly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:260.50
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tʂø**^{13}pa^{53}	belly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:260.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂho**^{13}ko?^{53}	belly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:260.2
	tʂho^{13}ko^{52}	belly (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0096.02
Spiti	**ṭhut** pa	belly / abdomen (outer bulge)	Bodh 1991:5.7
Tibetan (Written)	**grod** khog	belly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:260.1
	grod pa	belly (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0096.01
	grod-pa	belly; stomach, belly	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b; Coblin 1986:141
	grod-t'sil	suet (belly fat); fat oil grease	Matisoff 1987:168
	grod pa	belly	Marrison 1967
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**cot**	intestines; bowels; guts	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b
7. KARENIC: ***bre?**^{D} INTESTINES			
**Karen*	***bre?**^{D}	intestines	Luangthongkum 2013:154 [a]
	***phrwè?**	intestines	Jones 1961:180
**Karen (TP)*	***phrwè?**	intestines	Jones 1961:180
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***phàh**	stomach	Jones 1961:358
**Karen [Burling]*	***phɣi?**^{1}	intestines	Luangthongkum 2013:154
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***pɣì?**	intestines	Jones 1961:180
**Karen (Pwo)*	***xwè?**	intestines	Jones 1961:180
Bwe	**-bwi**^{11}	intestines	Luangthongkum 2013:154
	-bwì	bowels, intestines (n.)	Henderson 1997
	bwì	intestines	Weidert 1987:965
Kayah	**phra**^{33}	intestines	Luangthongkum 2013:154
Kayan (Pekon)	k^{h}úp^{h}û **prē**	Hawkfoot grass [lit. deer-intestine] (N.)	Manson 2010
	prē	intestines (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**pri?**^{21}	intestines	Luangthongkum 2013:154
Kayan (Pekon)	p^{h}ú **prē**	intestines (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**pre**^{33}	intestines	Luangthongkum 2013:154
Pa-O (Northern)	**phre?**^{45}	intestines	Luangthongkum 2013:154
Pa-O	**phrè?**	intestines; intestine; bowels	Weidert 1987:965; Solnit 1989; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:180
Pa-O (Southern)	**phri?**^{45}	intestines	Luangthongkum 2013:154
Palaychi	**phàq**	stomach	Jones 1961:358
	phà?	stomach	Matisoff 1987
Pwo (Northern)	**xwai?**^{21}	intestines	Luangthongkum 2013:154
Pwo (Southern)	**xwai?**^{45}	intestines	Luangthongkum 2013:154
Pwo (Bassein)	**xwè?**	intestines; bowels	Weidert 1987:965; Matisoff 1987
Pwo (Moulmein)	**xwai?**	intestines; bowels	Weidert 1987:965; Matisoff 1987
Sgaw (Northern)	**phɣi?**^{21}	intestines	Luangthongkum 2013:154
Sgaw (Southern)	**pɣai**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	intestines	Luangthongkum 2013:154
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gi̯wəd**/jwe̯i-	stomach	Karlgren 1957:523a-b
Chinese (Old)	**gwjədh**	stomach / belly	Coblin 1986:141
	gywəd	stomach	Matisoff 1987
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**jwei-**	stomach	Coblin 1986:141
	jwe̯i	stomach	Matisoff 1987
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**wèi**	stomach	Evans *et al.* 1991

[a] [Source Note] Pwo has an unusal onset, xw-.

Chinese comparandum

胃 OC ***gi̯wəd**, *GSR* #523a-b; B & S 2011: ***ɢʷət-s {[ɢ]ʷə[t]-s}**; Mand. **wèi**.

(3) PTB *k(w)a STOMACH

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	jiŋ^{53} **kɑ**^{31} weŋ^{53}	stomach	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	yang-**ka:** wẽ	stomach	Matisoff 1987
Kaman [Miju]	p^{h}o^{55} **ko**^{55}	stomach	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	**ka**-gũan	stomach	Weidert 1987:857
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	ca **khaw**	stomach	Singh 1991:9.10
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**khU** buk	stomach	Rai 1985
Kulung	co **kho** ma	stomach	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**khā** ce pa	stomach	Matisoff 1987
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya [Minyak]	tɯ^{53}**kɯ**^{53}lø^{53}	stomach	SUN Hongkai 1991h:9.10
Qiang (Longxi)	tshà-tè **qhuá**	belly [feces-stomach]	Evans 1999:185
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	p^{h}o^{53} **ka**^{33}	stomach	SUN Hongkai 1991c:9.10
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Xiandao)	**k^{h}ɯ**^{31} pu^{35}	stomach	DAI Qingxia 1989f:173.1
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Nanjian)	ɕi^{21} ɑ^{33} **ko**^{33}	stomach	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:269.23

(4) PTB *kri STOMACH

1.1.1. TANI: ***kri** INTESTINES / BELLY			
**Tani*	***kri**	intestines / belly	Sun 1993a:217
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	a-**k^{h}rjɯ**	belly; stomach; front of body	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**k^{h}rjɯ** a-č^{h}i	stomach-ache	Sun 1993b
	a-**k^{h}rjɯ** a-lo	rib	Sun 1993b
	a-**k^{h}rjɯ**-a-č^{h}i	diarrhea	Sun 1993b
	xrjɯ-ǰã(~ ro)	intestines	Sun 1993a [a]
	xɯ-ǰaŋ	small intestine	Sun 1993b
	xɯ-ǰaŋ **xɯ**-ro	intestines	Sun 1993b
	xɯ-ro	large intestine	Sun 1993b
	^{1}a ^{2}**xɯ**(^{2})	stomach	Weidert 1987:521
	^{1}**xryɯ**^{2}džaŋ	intestines	Weidert 1987:965
Bengni	a-**ki**	intestines	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**ki** a-ra:	viscera	Sun 1993b
	ki-čiŋ	small intestine	Sun 1993b
	ki-po:	belly	Sun 1993b
	ki-po: a-či	stomachache	Sun 1993b
	ki-po: bit	have diarrhea	Sun 1993b
	ki-po: **ki**-fɯŋ	have gas in the belly	Sun 1993b
	ki-ru:	large intestine	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **ki:**	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.24
	a-**ki:**	intestines	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ki:-či-bi	diarrhea	Sun 1993b
	ki:-čiŋ	intestines (small~)	Sun 1993b
	ki:-či: bi	have the runs	Sun 1993b
	ki:-poŋ	belly	Sun 1993b
	ki:-poŋ be:	flatulent (be v.)	Sun 1993b
	ki:-ro	intestines (large~)	Sun 1993b
	ki: poŋ	belly (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0096.24
	ki: tɕi bi(da)	diarrhea, have (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1737.24

[a] [Source Note] rhyme!

Bokar Lhoba	a **ki:**	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ki: poŋ	belly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:260.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **ki**	belly	Das Gupta 1963
	a **ki**-a ci-la	dysentery	Das Gupta 1963
	a **ki**-a ci-nam	gripe (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	a **kii**	belly; guts; innards; stomach (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a **kii**-bin nam	diarrhea (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	a **kii**-jug nam	diarrhea; loose motion/bowels (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	kii jɨɨ	intestine (small); small intestine (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	kii nam	disembowel (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
	kii nə	belly button (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ki bu	entrails	Das Gupta 1963
	'**kii** pok	navel (protruding) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**kii** ro	intestine (large); large intestine (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ŋo **kii**	fish innards (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆa **ki**	stomach	Weidert 1987:521
Miri, Hill	e **ki**	stomach	Simon 1976
Tagin	**kɯ** po	belly	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**ki**	abdomen; belly; abdomen, stomach, guts; intestines	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b; Sun 1993a
	ki-muik	small intestine	Matisoff 1987
	ki-ro	large intestine	Matisoff 1987
Damu	ʔa-**ki** ki	have loose bowels	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ki:**	intestines	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**kay** ya:ng	bowel	NEFA (India) 1963
Yidu	**khɹɑ**^{31}poŋ^{35}	belly (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0096.25
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Sema [Sumi]	^{1}a^{1}**ki**^{3}ve	stomach	Weidert 1987:521
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**k^{h}i**^{55}-p^{h}o^{55} laŋ^{13}	stomach	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Chamling	**kui**	stomach	Michailovsky 1991:3
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Lashi	**khjei**^{55} pham^{55}	stomach	DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.10
Leqi (Luxi)	**khjei**^{55}pham^{55}	stomach (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khji**^{21} pham^{21}	stomach	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	khji^{21}pham^{21}	stomach (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.30
	khji^{21}pham^{21}	stomach	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:269.42

(5) PTB *laŋ STOMACH / INTERNAL ORGAN

This root is of restricted distribution, occurring chiefly in Bodic and rGyalrongic.

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	ə p^{h}um **ləŋ**	pancreas	Toba & Kom 1991:9.9
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Central)	pho **lang**	stomach; belly	Andvik 1993:12; Egli-Roduner 1987:33 12; Egli-Roduner 1987:35 12
Tsangla (Motuo)	k^{h}i^{55}-p^{h}o^{55} **laŋ**^{13}	stomach	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	k^{h}i po **laŋ**	stomach	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	pho **laŋ**	belly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:260.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	p^{h}o **loŋ**	stomach	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	p^{h}o^{55} **lɑŋ**^{55}	stomach	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Manang (Prakaa)	^{4}**lə̃** ku	stomach (human)	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0507a
3.3.1. rGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**laŋ** tʃɐ wa tʂɐm	fat around intestines / omentum	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.3.1 [a]
	ləŋ tʃe kəjpam	large intestine	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.11.1
	ləŋ tʃe kətsi	small intestine	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.11.2
	lɐn we	appendix	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.11.3
rGyalrong	tə po **lɐŋ** tʃɐ	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **laŋ** tʃe	intestines / bowels	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.11
rGyalrong	**lang** ce	intestines	Nagano 1997:9.11
	lang ce ki chem	small intestines	Nagano 1997:9.11.2
	lang ce ki pam	large intestines	Nagano 1997:9.11.1

[a] The final **-m** in rGyalrongic **tʂɐm** is unexplained.

(6) PTk *p^{h}en BELLY

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***p^{h}en**	belly	Mortensen 2012:742
Kachai	ʔa-**p^{h}ɐn**	belly / abdomen (external bulge)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.137
Tangkhul	a **phen**	belly	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	ʔa-**p^{h}en**	belly	Mortensen 2012

1.7.6.1 Gizzard/Crop

(1) PKar *k-hni^{A} CROP (OF FOWL), GIZZARD

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***k-hni^{A}**	crop (of fowl), gizzard	Luangthongkum 2013:67
**Karen [Burling]*	***nin^{4}**	crop (of fowl), gizzard	Luangthongkum 2013:67
Bwe	**kə^{55}ni^{55}**	crop (of fowl), gizzard	Luangthongkum 2013:67
Kayah	**kɛ^{33}ni^{33}**	crop (of fowl), gizzard	Luangthongkum 2013:67
Kayaw	**ki^{11}ni^{55}**	crop (of fowl), gizzard	Luangthongkum 2013:67
Pwo (Northern)	**nei^{35}**	crop (of fowl), gizzard	Luangthongkum 2013:67
Pwo (Southern)	**nei^{53}**	crop (of fowl), gizzard	Luangthongkum 2013:67
Sgaw (Northern)	**kə^{11}ni^{33}**	crop (of fowl), gizzard	Luangthongkum 2013:67
Sgaw (Southern)	**ni^{55}**	crop (of fowl), gizzard	Luangthongkum 2013:67

1.7.7 Intestines/Bowels/Guts

(1) PTB *r-gyu-ŋ GUTS

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-gyu-ŋ**	guts	Matisoff 1978b:(2)
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**gyu** ma	small intestine	Sharma 1991a:9.11.2
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	**cu**^{13} mo^{53}	intestines	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.6
Cuona Menba	**cu**^{35}mo^{53}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rɟjə** mæ	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rɟjə** ma	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.5
Jirel	**gyu**-mak	guts	Matisoff 1978b
Tibetan (Jirel)	**gyu** māk	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**cu**^{13}maʔ^{13}	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.2
	cu^{13}ma^{52}	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.02
Sherpa	**ge** mā	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**gyu** met	small intestine	Bodh 1991:9.11.2
	gyu tod	large intestine	Bodh 1991:9.11.1
Tibetan (Written)	**rgju** ma	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.01
	rgju ma	intestines	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:271.1
	rgyu	guts	Matisoff 1978b:(2)
	rgyú-ma	small intestine	Matisoff 1987
	rgyu-ma	intestine, bowels	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:55
	rgyu-sgrog	caul covering intestine	Matisoff 1987
	rgyu.ma	colon (large intestines); intestines	Sun 1985c:396; Marrison 1967
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**gruŋ**	intestines	Mazaudon 1978:48
Tamang (Bagmati)	**gruŋ**^{ɦ}	intestines	Weidert 1987:749
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**kruŋ**	guts; intestines	Mazaudon 1978:48; Mazaudon 1994:180
Tamang (Sahu)	**kruhng**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	kruhŋ	intestines	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.40
	^{3}**kruŋ**	intestines	Mazaudon 1978:48; Mazaudon 1994:180
Tamang (Taglung)	**hũ**	guts	Mazaudon 1994:180
Thakali (Marpha)	^{3}**kum**	intestines	Mazaudon 1978:48
	^{51}**kum**	guts	Mazaudon 1994:149
Thakali (Syang)	^{21}**gum**	guts	Mazaudon 1994:180
	^{3}**kum**	intestines	Mazaudon 1978:48
	^{41}**gum**	guts	Mazaudon 1994:74
3.3. rGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**rɟjə**^{33} kɛr^{53}	large intestine	SUN Hongkai 1991c:9.11.1
	rɟjə^{33} ma^{53}	intestines / bowels	SUN Hongkai 1991c:9.11
	rɟjə^{33} nak^{53}	small intestine	SUN Hongkai 1991c:9.11.2
	rɟjə^{33} r̥ ts^{h}i̥^{53}	fat around intestines / omentum	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.3.1
3.3.1. rGYALRONG			
Caodeng	**rgjɐ**-me	intestines	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (NW)	**rɟjə** me	intestines / bowels	SUN Hongkai 1991l:9.11
	rɟjə me r̥ tsi	fat around intestines / omentum	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.3.1
	rɟjə me tʃ^{h}uŋ	small intestine	SUN Hongkai 1991l:9.11.2
	rɟjə me tɕ^{h}en	large intestine	SUN Hongkai 1991l:9.11.1
Shili	**rgjə**-me	intestines	Sun 1997c

(2) PTB * g/m -yaŋ LARGE INTESTINE (COLON)

This etymon shows a rather unusual prefixal variation between ***g-** and ***m-**.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	hɯ-**ǰaŋ**	small intestine	Sun 1993b
	xɯ-**ǰaŋ**	small intestine	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ki-**čiŋ**	small intestine	Sun 1993b
Galo	kii **jɨɨ**	intestine (small); small intestine (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	kay **ya:ng**	bowel	NEFA (India) 1963
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	gil^{2} **zang^{2}**	intestine, guts; intestine	VanBik 2009:952; Bhaskararao 1996:350
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	ri **chi**	small intestine,	Matisoff 1987
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Huishu	ʔa-k^{h}ə-**rɐŋ**	guts; intestine; viscera	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.130
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**naŋ** ja	large intestine	Sharma 1991a:9.11.1
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**nang** juh	viscera / guts / entrails (in	Bishop 1989:9.4
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**naŋ**-^{1}sja	viscera, entrails (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.4
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	seit **gyāŋ**	small intestine	Matisoff 1987
	the **gyāŋ**	large intestine	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	bonʔ.**yoŋ**.kliʔ	large intestine (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	dum.**yoŋ**.kliʔ	small intestine (n.)	Caughley 2000
	wirh.**yoŋ**.kliʔ	small intestine; intestine (small) (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	yoŋ.kliʔ	intestine (n.)	Caughley 2000
	yurʔ.**yoŋ**.kliʔ	small intestine (n.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	dum **yoŋ** kliʔ	large intestine	Caughley 1990:9.11.1
	wirh **yoŋ** kli	small intestine	Caughley 1990:9.11.2
3.3. rGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**noŋ**^{13} tɕə^{53}	viscera / guts / entrails	SUN Hongkai 1991c:9.4
Ergong (Daofu)	**nɑŋ** mtɕhə	viscera / guts / entrails	DAI Qingxia 1989b:9.4
3.3.1. rGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə po **nɐŋ** tʃɐ	intestine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.11
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə pu **noŋ** tʃa	viscera / guts / entrails	SUN Hongkai 1991k:9.4

Chinese comparandum

腸 OC ***ȡ'i̯ɑng**, *GSR* #720y 'intestines'; Schuessler 2007:181 ***d-laŋ**; B & S 2011: ***t^{h}aŋ-s** ; Mand. **cháng**.

(3) PTB *ri:l INTESTINES / BOWELS / BELLY / STOMACH

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ri:l**	belly / stomach / intestines	Matisoff 2003a:610
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ril ⋇ *rul** INTESTINES / BOWELS / ENTRAILS			
**Chin*	***ril ⋇ rul**	INTESTINES / BOWELS / ENTRAILS	VanBik 2009:952
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Kuki-Chin	**gil**	intestines / bowels	Haokip 1998:9.11

	gil len	large intestine	Haokip 1998:9.11.1
	gil ngat	small intestine	Haokip 1998:9.11.2
Sizang	**ngīl**	belly	VanBik 2009:952
Thado	**gíl**	intestine	VanBik 2009:952
	gìl	intestine	Thirumalai 1972:58
	gíl kèl	hunger	Thirumalai 1972:49
	gíl kél	hunger	Thirumalai 1972:68
Tiddim	**gil**[2] zang[2]	intestine, guts; intestine	VanBik 2009:952; Bhaskararao 1996:350
	ŋgɪl[1]	bowels	Luce 1985:N.23
	ɣɪl[1]	bowels	Luce 1985:N.23

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**khi** gui	intestines, bowels	VanBik 2009:952
Khumi	**tuyvíí**	small intestine	VanBik 2009:952
Matu	**ŋxil**	intestines	So-Hartmann 1988:87
Matupi	**χʀi:l**[4]	bowels	Luce 1985:N.23
Mkaang	**xɨ**	intestines	So-Hartmann 1988:87

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**ri:l**[3]	bowels	Luce 1985:N.23
Lai (Hakha)	**rîl**	intestines, bowels, entrails	VanBik 2009:952
Lai (Falam)	**rĭl**	intestines, bowels	VanBik 2009:952
Lai (Hakha)	**ril**[5]	bowels	Luce 1985:N.23
Lushai [Mizo]	**rîl**	intestines; bowels	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	ríl	bowels, entrails, intestines (n.)	VanBik 2009:952
	ril	bowels; entrails (n.)	Bhaskararao 1996:347
	ri:l[1]	bowels	Luce 1985:N.23

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**rì**	intestines, the bowels (n.)	VanBik 2009:952
	ri chi	small intestine,	Matisoff 1987
	ri-pi	large intestine	Matisoff 1987
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**rə**[1]	bowels	Luce 1985:N.23
Mera	**ʁi**[6]	bowels	Luce 1985:N.23
Tha'oa	**rɪl**[1]	bowels	Luce 1985:N.23
Xongsai	**ŋgɪl**[3]	bowels	Luce 1985:N.23

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**əri** $k^hə$	small intestine	Toba & Kom 1991:9.11.2
	əri rəŋ	large intestine	Toba & Kom 1991:9.11.1
	ə **ri** rəŋ $t^həi$	fat around intestines / omentum	Toba & Kom 1991:8.3.1
Sorbung	**ʔərʹíi**	intestines; bowels	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.302
	ʔərʹíi lookpaa	large intestine	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.303
	ʔərʹíi nèepaa	small intestine	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.304

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-(h)rə** INTESTINES

**Central Naga*	*a-**(h)rə**	INTESTINES	Bruhn 2014a:III.101
**Ao*	*t-(a-)**hɹə**	INTESTINES	Bruhn 2014a:II.304
Ao (Chungli)	ta **r**	intestines	Marrison 1967
	t **aɹ**[2]	intestines (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.304
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	ta **rü**	intestines	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**hɹə**	intestines; bowels (n.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^1-**rə**[1]	intestines (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.101
	pok tʃhoŋ e-**rə**	guts (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	e **rrü**	intestines	Marrison 1967
	e **rü**	intestine	Murry *et al.* 1978:63
	E **ru**	intestines / bowels	Nienu 1990c:9.11
	ē **rə̄**	intestine	Acharya 1975
	Ru phuii	anus / rectum	Nienu 1990c:9.12
	Ru phvu	buttocks	Nienu 1990c:5.10.1
Sangtam	**ghü**	intestines	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Kohima)	(u) **rie**[33]	intestines / bowels	Nienu 1990a:9.11
	(u) **rie**[31] bo^{55}	large intestine	Nienu 1990a:9.11.1
	u **rie**	intestines	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **ra**[33]	intestines / bowels	Nienu 1990b:9.11
	(u) **ra**[33] ne^{33}	small intestine	Nienu 1990b:9.11.2
	(u) **ra**[31] bo^{35}	large intestine	Nienu 1990b:9.11.1
Khezha	ke **ri**	intestines / bowels	Yabu 1994:9.11
Sema [Sumi]	ake **ghi**	intestines	Marrison 1967
	aki **ghi** aghulou	intestine (small)	Achumi 1998a:9.11.2
	a kho **ghe**	intestine (large)	Achumi 1998a:9.11.1
	a ki **ghi**	intestines / bowels	Achumi 1998a:9.11
	ki **ghi** noli	intestines / bowels	Achumi 1998a:9.11

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ril** INTESTINES

**Tangkhulic*	***ril**	intestines	Mortensen 2012:504
Huishu	ʔa-**ri**	small intestine	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.295
Kachai	ʔa-$k^hə$-**rɐ**	intestines / bowels / stomach	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.275
Tangkhul	ā kha **ri**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	ā **ri** rā	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
Tusom	kə-tuə-pi-ʔɯk^h-**rɯe**	small intestine	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.288
	ʔɯk^h-**rɯe**	intestine	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.286
	ʔɯk^h-**rɯe**-k^hac-ʃu-pi	large intestine	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.287
Ukhrul	ʔa-$k^hə$-**ri**	intestines	Mortensen 2012
	ʔak-**ri**	intestines	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	thi boŋ-thi **rin**	intestines / bowels	Singh 1991:9.11
	əcəwbə thiboŋ-thi **rin**	large intestine	Singh 1991:9.11.1
	əpikpə thiboŋ-thi **rin**	small intestine	Singh 1991:9.11.2

1.6. Mru

Mru	**ria**	bowels	Matisoff 1987

[a] [Source Note] stomach-inside-intestines ?

1.7.8 Bladder

(1a) PTB * b / p wa ŋ / k URINARY BLADDER

This root is quite similar to PTB ***(p/b)um** URINARY BLADDER (§1.7.8), although the difference in point of articulation of the final leads us to keep them separate.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***boːŋ** ~ **poːŋ**	bladder	French 1983:460

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	phi-ing a **bong**	bladder; bladder, urinary	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***poːŋ**	bladder	French 1983:460

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	[1]**poʌŋ**	bladder	Weidert 1987:605

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	ok **poŋ**	bladder	French 1983:457
Khiamngan	[[2]dže̱-[12]**pe̱ŋ**]	bladder	Weidert 1987:147

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	jit-**bāwng**	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987
	kə **bawng**	blister	Matisoff 1987
	shə **bāwng**	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987
	ʃă[31] **poŋ**[33]	bladder	Liu Lu, ed. 1984

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Spiti	**paŋ** pilik	kidney	Bodh 1991:9.6
Tibetan (Written)	lgaṅ-**pʻug**	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987
	lgang.**bug**	bladder	Sun 1985c:76
	pʻug(s)	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987
	pʻug-pa	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987
	sbugs	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**boŋ**[1] ci[1]	bladder	Nagano 1984:042-03

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	thim **bɔŋ**	bladder	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**phu**	bladder	Michailovsky 1991:15
	sa-**phuk**	bladder	Matisoff 1987
	sa **phu**	bladder	Michailovsky 1991:15; Michailovsky 1991:15
	sa **phuk**	bladder	Michailovsky 1991:15

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	sa:**pu**	bladder	Michailovsky 1991:15; Allen 1975
	sa **pu**	bladder	Michailovsky 1991:15

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola	$tʃɔt^{31}$ **pauŋ**[31]	bladder	Dai Qingxia 1989g:179
Atsi [Zaiwa]	$tʃi^{21}$ **poŋ**[55]	bladder	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	$zɻ^{55}$ $tɕɯ^{35}$ **$p^hɔ^{31}$**	bladder	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	$ʔɑ^{31}$ $lɑ^{31}$ **p^ho^{55}**	bladder	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	so^{55} **p^ho^{21}**	bladder	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985

(1b) PTB * p / b um URINARY BLADDER

This root is quite similar to PTB ***(b/p)wa(ŋ/k)** URINARY BLADDER (§1.7.8), although the difference in point of articulation of the final leads us to keep them separate.

The Kham form with nasalized vowel could plausibly be assigned to either root.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	sar-**pu**	bladder; balloon	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	[1]sar [2]**pu**([1])	bladder	Weidert 1987:605
Bokar	šer-**pum**	bladder	Sun 1993a
	ser-**pum**	bladder	Sun 1993b
	ɕar **pum**	bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0150.24
	ɕer **pum**	bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0150.24
Bokar Lhoba	ɕar **pum**	bladder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:276.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	ʻhur **po**	bladder (n.)	GLDC 2009
	¯hur **po**	bladder	Weidert 1987:605

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pum**-shûr	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987
	pum-sur	bladder	Sun 1993a

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	zung-**bawm**	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**bom**-che rang	bladder	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 15
Tsangla (Motuo)	**bum** $tɕ^he$ raŋ	bladder	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	pum[13]-$tɕ^he^{55}$ $raŋ^{13}$	bladder	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	jít šim-**pŭm**	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**pũ:** ci	bladder	Watters & Watters 1989

(1c) PTB * p / b u URINARY BLADDER / KIDNEY

This root bears a phono-semantic relationship to PTB ***p^{w}u** BELLY / STOMACH / INTESTINE / KIDNEY (§1.7.6), but should be kept separate for now.

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**pù**-hká?	bladder / gall	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Taoba)	**pu**[55] $jã^{53}$	kidney	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.10

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	$jiau^{55}$ tsi^{55} **pu**[35] li^{55}	kidney	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	$ʑiau^{55}$ tsi^{55} **pu**[35] li^{35}	kidney	Chen Kang 1986c:9.6

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	sui^{55} **phɑu**[55]	bladder	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	li^{55} **puʔ**[55]	bladder	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	ts^hi^{55} **p^hu^{31}**	bladder	Dai Qingxia 1989f:140.1

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Northern)	$ɑ^{55}$ **bu**[31] **bu**[55] $ɑ^{55}$	bladder	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Youle)	$ʃi^{55}$ **pu**[33] lu^{33}	bladder	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	$ɔ^{31}$ sa^{33} la^{33} **$p^hɣ^{55}$**	bladder	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Nujiang)	$sɻ^{31}$ **p^hu^{31}**	bladder	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	(zi^{21})**phu**[21]si^{21}	bladder	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	$p^hɣ^{11}$ $sɻ^{11}$	bladder	Ma Xueliang 1989:306.4
	$sɻ^{11}$ **$p^hɑ^{33}$** $mɑ^{33}$	bladder	Ma Xueliang 1989:354.8
	$zɻ^{21}$ **bu**[21] du^{21}	bladder	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:169.1

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Dazhai)	su^{55} **p^hu^{31}**	bladder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Caiyuan)	$sɻ^{31}$ **$p^hɣ^{31}$**	bladder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	a^{55} $ɕø^{33}$ $lɛ^{55}$ **p^hu^{31}**	bladder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	$ʃɻ^{31}$ **fɣ**[31]	bladder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

6.2. Naxi

Naxi (Eastern)	**p^ha^{31}**kua^{33}	bladder	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**phu**[55]	bladder	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

Bai (Dali)	ti[55] **pu[33]**	bladder	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**phɛ[55]** u[33]	bladder	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

(2) PTani *sur BLADDER

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***sur**	bladder	Sun 1993a:30

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**sar**-pu	bladder; balloon	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	[1]sar [2]pu([1])	bladder	Weidert 1987:605
Bengni	**sir**-pi	bladder	Sun 1993b
	šur-pi	bladder	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**šer**-pum	bladder	Sun 1993a
	ser-pum	bladder	Sun 1993b
	ʦar pum	bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0150.24
	ʦer pum	bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0150.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ʦar** pum	bladder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:276.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**ʻhur** po	bladder (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻhur up	bladder (n.)	GLDC 2009
	¯hur po	bladder	Weidert 1987:605

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	pum-**shûr**	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987
	pum-**sur**	bladder	Sun 1993a

1.8.1 Sweat/Perspire

(1a) PTB * s/k -lan SWEAT

1. NE Indian Areal Group

**Kuki-Naga-Chin*	***m-sglan**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:471

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***khlan** SWEAT / PERSPIRATION

**Chin*	***khlan**	SWEAT / PERSPIRATION	VanBik 2009:1304
Anal	pì-**trhìm**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:471

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	a **kʻlaw̆**	sweat	VanBik 2009:1304

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thlăn**	sweat, perspiration	VanBik 2009:1304
Lai (Falam)	**thlàn**	sweat	VanBik 2009:1304
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlan**	sweat	Marrison 1967
	thlan	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	thlàn	sweat, perspiration	VanBik 2009:1304
	thlan a sha	sweat (sweat-hot) (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	tlhàn	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:471

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	ma-**thlai**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	mā-**thlāi**	sweat, perspiration	VanBik 2009:1304
	[2]mə[2]**tlhai**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:471

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	rə **lhen**	sweat / perspiration	Toba & Kom 1991:8.2.1
	rʌ **thán**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:471
Lamkang	pʌr **hlèn**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:471

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Khezha	kè **lhi**	sweat / perspire (v.)	Yabu 1994:8.2.1
	kè **lhi** jù̀	sweat / perspiration	Yabu 1994:8.2.1

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**talân**-dui	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:471
	tülün dui	sweat	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Kachai	**sə-lun**-ði	sweat / perspiration	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.219
Tangkhul	**shai-ran**-ra	sweat (n.,v.)	Matisoff 1987
	shairan ra	sweat	Marrison 1967
	śəyron rɯ	sweat	Bhat 1969
	śəyrən rɯ	sweat	Bhat 1969
	[2]**sai[3]lən**-[2]rə	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:471

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Kokborok	**kləŋ**	sweat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	kləŋ-təy	sweat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

Chinese comparandum

汗 OC ***g'ân**, *GSR* #139t 'sweat'; Schuessler 2007:271 ***gâns**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.gˢar-s {Cə. [g] ˢa [r] -s}**; Mand. **hàn**.

(1b) PTB *s-la p/t SWEAT

The final consonant of this root seems to be unstable, although the basic variant seems to be the one with -p. Jingpho (and perhaps Phunoi) point to a variant with -t. Bantawa has a form with initial h- and final -k (**hak**), but it is unclear whether it belongs under this etymon.

This root resembles PTB ***s/k-lan** SWEAT (§1.8.1), and for the moment we consider it to be allofamically related to it.

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**hup** kha-laŋ	sweat (n.,v.)	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**salat**	sweat	Marrison 1967
	să[31]lat[31]	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.19
	să[31]lat[31]	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.47
	să[1] lat[31]	sweat	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	səlat	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**hlap**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	hləp	sweat	Caughley 1972:2.A.74
	hləp-	sweat (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	hləp.(rə.tiʔ)	sweat (n.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**hləp** rə tiʔ	sweat / perspiration	Caughley 1990:8.2.1

(1c) PTB *g-l(y)am SWEAT

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**lâm**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:363

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**galam**	sweat (v.)	Benedict 1972:381
	galam doi	sweat	Benedict 1972:381
	gələm	sweat (v.)	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	gələm dəy	sweat	Bhat 1968
	gələm dəy	sweat (n.)	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987

	gɤlɤm-dɤi	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:363
Dimasa	**gilim** di ~ **gulum** di	sweat	Benedict 1972:381
	gulum di	sweat	Marrison 1967
	lim-ba	illness, sweat	Benedict 1972:381
Lalung [Tiwa]	kor **lom**	sweat (n.)	Balawan 1965:21

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**gram** tśi	sweat	Benedict 1972:381
	gram-ci	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:363
Garo (Bangladesh)	**kram**-chi	sweat, persperation. noun	Burling 1992
	kram-chi	perspiration; sweat (n.)	Burling 2003:6.29-II:idx
	kram-chi-a	perspire; sweat (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.49-II:idx

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***lim**	hot / sweat	French 1983:505

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	[1]rʌŋ[3]**lʌm**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:363
Tangsa	[3]**lim**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:363
	[3]rʌŋ[2]**lim**[3]ʈ̚ʌi	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:363

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**lem** li	sweat	French 1983:505; Marrison 1967
	lâm	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:363
Khiamngan	[2]**lɐ̯m**[12]lʊʔ	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:363
	[12]a̤[21]**lam**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:363
Konyak	wang **lüm**	sweat	Marrison 1967
	waŋ **ləm**	sweat	French 1983:505
Konyak (Tamlu)	ɣaŋˇ-**lum**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:363
Konyak (Wakching)	waŋ-**lúm**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:363
Phom	**lam[55]**ɔ[31]	sweat	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lem o	sweat	French 1983:505; Marrison 1967

(2) PTB *s- k/ŋ rul SWEAT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-krul** ~ **s-ŋrul**	sweat	Matisoff 2003a:597

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**hú**-biŋ	sweat	Sun 1993b
	huʔ-bī	perspire	Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ang-**kir**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Damu	xaŋ-**kər**	sweat	Sun 1993b
	xaŋ-**kər** len	sweat (v.)	Sun 1993b

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	[2]rɯ[2]**krhu**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:471
	[2]rɯ[3]**krhu**	sweat (v.)	Weidert 1987:471
Angami (Kohima)	rü[31] **khrou[33]**	sweat / perspiration	Nienu 1990a:8.2.1
	rü **khru**	sweat	Marrison 1967
Chokri	rü[31] **khrü[33]**	sweat / perspiration	Nienu 1990b:8.2.1
	[2]re[2]**ʈrhɤ**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:471
	[2]re[3]**ʈrhɤ**	sweat (v.)	Weidert 1987:471
Mao	[2]ko[2]**krhɯ**	sweat (v.)	Weidert 1987:471

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**hû** mâng	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	hu maŋ	sweat / perspiration	Singh 1991:8.2.1

1.6. Mru

Mru	pau[2]**kywe[3]**	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
	pau[2]**tjwe[3]**	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**ɳi[53]** tʃu[53]	sweat / perspiration	Sun Hongkai 1991a:8.2.1
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ŋy[35]** pɑ[55]	sweat	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**rŋu** tɕhə	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hŋəl** tɕhə	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rŋu** tɕhə	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ŋỹ[55]** tɕho[53]	sweat / perspiration	Dai Qingxia 1989a:8.2.1
	ŋy[53]tɕhu[53]	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ŋu[55]**se[55]	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ŋy[55]**naʔ[13]	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.2
	ŋy[55]na[52]	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**ŋōl** chu	sweat / perspiration	Bishop 1989:8.2.1
Tibetan (Written)	**rngul**	sweat	Michailovsky 1991:174
	rṅul	sweat	Marrison 1967
	rṅul	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	rŋul	sweat; perspiration, sweat	Luce 1985:X.77; Zhang Liansheng 1988:60
	rŋul nag	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.01
	rŋul nag	sweat ("black sweat")	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hŋu** tɕə	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*[B]**ʈu:** / [B]Hru:	sweat	Mazaudon 1994:378
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]**ʈu**	sweat	Mazaudon 1994:378
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]**ʈu:**	sweat	Mazaudon 1994:378
Tamang (Taglung)	**ʈu:**	sweat	Mazaudon 1994:378
Thakali (Marpha)	[54]**hru**	sweat	Mazaudon 1994:378
Thakali (Syang)	[55]**hru**	sweat	Mazaudon 1994:378

2.2. Newar

Newar (Dolakhali)	**cal** ti	sweat	Genetti 1990b
Newar	**ca:** ti	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	cɔ: ti	sweat / perspiration	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.2.1
Newar (Kathmandu)	**cɔɔ** ti	sweat	Genetti 1990c

2.3. Kiranti

**BSDTK*	***gol**	sweat	Michailovsky 1991:174

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**sal** dim	sweat, perspiration	Driem 1993
	sa pho	sweat, perspiration	Driem 1993
Khaling	**'ghal**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	ghaal	sweat	Michailovsky 1991:174

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**gɔ:** lɔ	sweat	Michailovsky 1991:174
	gɔ lɔ	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**gāl**-a	sweat	Matisoff 1987
	goal	sweat	Michailovsky 1991:174; Allen 1975

3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**fu**^{55} tʃʅ^{33}	sweat	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.17
	hu^{55}tʃə^{31}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.16
Muya [Minyak]	**n̥i**^{33}**tɕu**^{55}	sweat; perspiration	SUN Hongkai 1991h:8.2.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.15
Namuyi	**ku**^{33}**ɬu**^{55}	sweat; perspiration	SUN Hongkai 1991i:8.2.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.19
	ku^{33}**ɬu**^{55}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**skhi**^{55}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**skhi**^{55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.11
	sk^{h}i^{55}	sweat	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	ɕi^{55} **dʐue**^{35}	sweat	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**xtʂuə**	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.08
	xtʂwə	sweat	Sun 1986
	xtʂə	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.8
	χtʂə	sweat	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	χtʂə ɸæq	sweat / perspiration	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.2.1
Qiang (Mianchi)	**tʂhù**	sweat	Evans 1999:190
Qiang (Taoping)	**χtʂuə**^{55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**xtʂu**	sweat	DAI Qingxia 1989q:190
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tɕhu**^{55}ʑi^{55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.16
	tɕ^{h}u^{55} ʑi^{55}	sweat / perspiration	SUN Hongkai 1991n:8.2.1
Xumi	**tʃuɛ**^{55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.20
	tɕyɛ^{53}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.17
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**wɕi**	sweat; perspiration	SUN Hongkai 1991b:8.2.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.14
Daofu	**xɕi**	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.12
Ergong (Daofu)	**ɸɕei**	sweat / perspiration	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.2.1
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	**rŋəɬ** ’tɕ^{h}ə	sweat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0194
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **ʃtʂʁ**	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.11
rGyalrong	tə **ʃtʂʁ**	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **ʃtʂe**	sweat / perspiration	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.2.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ʃtʂe**	sweat / perspiration	SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.2.1
rGyalrong	tə **ɕtʂet**	sweat / perspiration	DAI Qingxia 1989d:8.2.1
rGBenzhen	tə-**ʃtʂe?**	sweat	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	**gɯ.ɹ**^{55}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.20
Trung [Dulong]	**gŭr**^{ı55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.46
	g.ɹəl^{44}a^{32}p‘u^{42}	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**gŭ.ɹ**^{55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**gŭ.ɹ**^{53}	sweat	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**gu1**ce3	sweat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	gu^{1}ce^{3}	sweat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.1
Tujia	**ku**^{55} ts^{h}e^{21}	sweat / perspiration	CHEN Kang 1986c:8.2.1
Tujia (Northern)	**ku**^{55} ts^{h}e^{21}	sweat	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ku**^{55}tshie^{21}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.49
	ku^{55}tshie^{21}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.38
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-grwəy**^{2} SWEAT			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-grwəy**^{2}	sweat	Matisoff 2003a:591; Matisoff 2003a:597
6.1.1. BURMISH			
**Burmese*	***khrwê**	sweat	Okell 1971
Achang (Lianghe)	ɑ^{31} **xɛ**^{55}	sweat	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31} **xə**^{35}	sweat	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	a^{31}**xə**^{35}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.28
	a^{31}**xə**^{35}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.41
Achang (Luxi)	a^{31} **tsui**^{35}	sweat	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Arakanese	**hcwei**	sweat	Okell 1971
	hkwì	sweat	Okell 1971
Bola	pau^{31} **kjø**^{35}	sweat	DAI Qingxia 1989g:183
Bola (Luxi)	pau^{31}**kjø**^{35}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.32
Burmese (Modern)	**k‘rwe:**	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕhwe**^{55}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.27
Burmese (Spoken)	**chwe**^{4}	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hcweì**	sweat	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕhwe**^{55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.40
Burmese (Written)	(**khywe:**)M	sweat	Okell 1971
	khjwe^{3}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.26
	khjwe^{3}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.39
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khruy**	sweat	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khrwê**	sweat	Hansson 1989:235
	khrwê	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	khrwê	sweat	Benedict 1976a
	khywê	sweat	Benedict 1976a
	khywe:	sweat	Marrison 1967
	k‘ruy	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
	k‘ruy^{4}	sweat	Luce 1985:X.77
Danu	**chwe**^{2}	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
Hpun (Northern)	ă **hwàiŋ** thò-ŋ	sweat (cf.EMERGE / ISSUE) (v.)	Henderson 1986
	ă **xwaì**, ă **hwàiŋ**	sweat	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	ă **χwaĩ**^{4}	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
Intha	**hcweì**	sweat	Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	pau^{31}**kjø**^{35}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.31
Lashi	pei^{31} **ky**^{55}	sweat / perspiration	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.2.1
Lashi (Lachhe’)	pweɪ^{4}-**kyi**^{3}	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
Leqi (Luxi)	pei^{31}**ky**^{55}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.33
Marma	**khywé**	sweat	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:51
Maru [Langsu]	**k’yō**	sweat	Okell 1971
	pau^{31} **kjø**^{35}	sweat; perspiration	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.2.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.43
Taung-Yo	**chwe**^{2}	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
Tavoyan	**hkwì**	sweat	Okell 1971
	tjwe	sweat	Okell 1971
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-krwe**^{2}	sweat	Bradley 1979b:151; Hansson 1989:235
Lolopho	**kæ**^{55} vi^{33}	sweat / perspiration	DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.2.1
PNL	**ʔ-krwe**^{2}	sweat	CHEN Kang 1986a:61.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**kɤ**^{55}	sweat; perspiration	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987; DAI Qingxia 1989c:8.2.1; MU Shihua 2003
	kɤ^{55}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.47
	kɤ^{55}tiɛ^{55}	perspiration	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**ke**^{21}	sweat / perspiration	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.1
	kjè	sweat	Björverud 1994
	tɕe^{2}	sweat	CHEN Kang 1986a:61.
Lipho	**kɛ**^{55}	sweat	CHEN Kang 1986a:61.; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.1
Nasu	**tɕɔ**^{55}	sweat	CHEN Kang 1986a:61.
	tɕɵ^{55}	sweat / perspiration	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.1
Neisu	**tɕɛ**^{55}	sweat	CHEN Kang 1986a:61.
Nesu	**tʂa**^{2}	sweat	CHEN Kang 1986a:61.
	tʂɐ̱r^{21}	sweat / perspiration	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.1
Noesu	**tɕe**^{55}	sweat	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.1
Nosu	**ku**^{21}	sweat	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.1
Nusu (Northern)	**kɹɯ̱**^{35}	sweat	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**tʂui**^{55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**xɹi**^{55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	xɹi^{55}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**xɹi**^{55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**x‘i**^{55}	sweat	DAI Qingxia 1989o:183.
Nusu (Central)	**x‘i**^{55}	sweat	DAI Qingxia 1989p:183.
Yi (Dafang)	**kə**^{55}	sweat	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ko**^{21}	perspiration; sweat	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ku^{21}	perspiration; sweat	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tʂʌ**^{55}ʑi^{33}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tsʌ̱**^{21}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ke**^{55}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.37
	kɛ^{55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**tɕe**^{21}ɣɯ^{55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.23
Yi (Weishan)	**cɛ**^{21}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tɕɔ**^{55}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.38
Yi (Xide)	**ku**^{21}	sweat	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ku^{21}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.35
	ku^{21}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.21
	ku^{21}-ma^{33}	beads of sweat	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lolo (Ni)	**kiāi**	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
Ahi	**tʂa**^{55}	sweat; perspiration	CHEN Kang 1986a:61.; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.1; LUO Meizhen 1990:8.2.1
Jinuo	**khi**^{33}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.34
	khi^{44}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**k^{h}i**^{44}	sweat	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**k^{h}ji**^{44}	sweat	DAI Qingxia 1989h:190
Jinuo (Baka)	**k^{h}ji**^{44}	sweat	DAI Qingxia 1989i:190
Kucong	**kɯ35**	sweat	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***kui̱**	sweat	Bradley 1979b:151
Lahu (Lancang)	**kɯ**^{31}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.43
Lahu (Black)	**kui**$_{\check{}}$	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
	kə^{31}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.33
	kī	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	kī-ni	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	kɯ^{31}	sweat	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**kɯ**^{31}	sweat	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Banlan)	a **ke**$_{\underline{\ }}$g’i$_{\check{}}$	sweat	Bradley 1979a:151
Lisu	**chï**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**chï**^{3} daw^{3}	perspire (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**chï**^{1}	sweat	Bradley 1979b:151
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**chï**^{1}	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
Lisu (Central)	**chï**^{1}	sweat (n.)	Fraser 1922
	chï^{1} daw^{3}	sweat (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Putao)	**chɪ**^{1}	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
Lisu (Central)	**ji**^{55}me^{21}	dirt; sweat stain (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**tʃi**^{55} ʒi^{33}	sweat	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**tʃi**^{55}ʒi^{33}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tɕi**^{55}ji^{33}	sweat (n.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tɕi**^{55}**ʑi̱**^{33}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.40
Sani [Nyi]	**tɕæ**^{55}	sweat	CHEN Kang 1986a:61.; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.1; MA Xueliang 1989:336.1
Yi (Sani)	**tɕæ**^{55}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.39
Sani [Nyi]	**tɕæ**^{55} mɪ^{21}	body filth	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:227.2
	tɕæ^{55} sɭ̩^{44} zɑ^{21}	sweat gland	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:227.3
	tɕæ^{55} zɻ̩^{33}	sweat	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:227.4
	tɕɛ^{55}dọ^{33}	sweat (v.)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tɕɛ^{55}kɛ^{55}	sweat	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tɕɛ^{55}ʐi̱^{33}	sweat	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**khɔ̀**	sweat	Hansson 1989:235
Akha (Yunnan)	**khɔ̀** pjhú	perspiration	Hansson 1989:166
Akha (Thai)	**khɔ̀**-pjhú	perspiration	Hansson 1989:235
Hani (Dazhai)	**khɔ**^{31}phju^{55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**khə̀** phú	perspiration	Hansson 1989:235
Hani (Dazhai)	**k^{h}ɔ**^{31} p^{h}ju^{55}	sweat	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**khɔ**^{31}phju^{55}	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.41
Hani (Pijo)	**khì**	sweat	Hansson 1989:235
	khì tshá	perspiration	Hansson 1989:235
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshi**^{31}tsha^{55}	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.30
	tɕ^{h}i^{31} ts^{h}a^{55}	sweat	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**k^{h}u**^{31} p^{h}ju^{55}	sweat	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986

Hani (Shuikui)	**khɯ**^{31}fv̩^{55}	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**koq** piul	perspiration	Hansson 1989:166; Hansson 1989:235
Hani (Shuikui)	**k^{h}ɯ**^{31} fv̩^{55}	sweat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Mojiang)	**khɯ**^{31}fv̩^{55}	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.42
Mpi	ŋ^{4}**khi**^{6}	sweat	Hansson 1989:235
	ŋ^{4}**khi**^{6}luŋ^{4}mo^{4}	sweat; perspiration	Bradley 1979b; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Sangkong	ku^{31} **tɕhǫ**^{31}	sweat	Li Yongsui 1991

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ts$_{\Delta}$**^{45}**ʐi**^{21}	sweat	Pelkey 2011:321
Southern Muji	**tɕi**^{21}**ʐi**^{21}	sweat	Pelkey 2011:321
Phola	**ki**^{33}	sweat	Pelkey 2011:321
Hlepho Phowa	**tsə**^{55}	sweat	Pelkey 2011:321

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ʈʂv**˩	sweat (n.)	Michaud 2006–2009:462
Na (Yongning)	**ʈʂv**˩dʑi˨	sweat	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʈʂv˧	sweat	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tsɯ**^{55}	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.28
Naxi	**tsɿ**^{53}	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**tʂv**^{31}	sweat	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**tʂv**^{13}	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.29
Naxi (Western)	**tʂv**^{55}	sweat	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

7. Karenic

Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**go**^{31} bø^{33}	sweat	Dai Qingxia 1989k:190
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**kă**^{31} pɛ^{33}	sweat	Dai Qingxia 1989j:190

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**g'ə̂n/ɣə̂n-**	sweat	Karlgren 1957:139t

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**hɑn**	sweat	Karlgren 1957:139t

(3) PTB *bəw SWEAT

This sparsely attested morpheme apparently only appears as the first morpheme in disyllables.

The Burmish languages have generally devoiced the PTB *voiced series, hence the reconstruction with ***b-**.

1.6. Mru

Mru	**pau**^{2}kywe^{3}	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
	pau^{2}tjwe^{3}	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola	**pau**^{31} kjø^{35}	sweat	Dai Qingxia 1989g:183
Bola (Luxi)	**pau**^{31}kjø^{35}	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**pau**^{31}kjø^{35}	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.31
Lashi	**pei**^{31} ky^{55}	sweat / perspiration	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.2.1
Lashi (Lachhe')	**pweɪ**^{4}-kyi^{3}	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25
Leqi (Luxi)	**pei**^{31}ky^{55}	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.33
Maru [Langsu]	**pau**^{31} kjø^{35}	sweat; perspiration	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.2.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pui**^{51} pu^{51}	sweat	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	pui^{51}pu^{51}	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.30
	pui^{51}pu^{51}	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.42

(4) PTB *s-ŋar SWEAT

This reconstruction is not found in Sun 1993.

This root seems to overlap with PTB ***hur** ≷ ***hwar** ⋈ ***hir** ≷ ***hyar** SWEAT (§3.2.12). The Lhoba form was attributed to the latter in *HPTB*:399, with the initial explained as due to assimilation to the final of the first syllable. Particularly tricky to interpret are the Bokar form with **w-** and the Hill Miri form with **h-**.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	hoŋ-**ŋar**	sweat	Sun 1993b
	ɦoŋ **ŋar**	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.24
Bokar Lhoba	ɦoŋ **ŋar**	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**ŋɑ**^{21}	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.37
	ŋɑ̯^{21}	sweat	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**ŋɑ**^{21}	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.35
	ŋɑ̯^{21}	sweat	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ŋɑ**^{21}	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.36
	ŋɑ̯^{21}	sweat	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	ŋɑ^{42}	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.48

(5) PTB *maŋ SWEAT

This sparsely attested root has a strange distribution, appearing only in Southern Loloish, Meithei, and perhaps Kaman and Lakher (Mara).

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**mɯn**^{35}	sweat	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	mɯn^{35}	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.23
	mɯn^{35}	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.48

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**ma**-ri	sweaty dirt	Matisoff 1987

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	hû **mâng**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	hu **maŋ**	sweat / perspiration	Singh 1991:8.2.1

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Bisu	**mòŋ** hnʉ̀ɪ	perspiration	Bradley 199x
	mòŋ hnɨ̀	sweat (n.)	Beaudouin 1988:15
Côông [Phunoi]	**mò** hút na	sweat	Bradley 1979b
	mò hút na	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	mõ^{31} hut lã^{55}	sweat / perspiration	Ferlus 1991:8.2.1
	mo^{11} hut^{33} nɑ^{33}	sweat	Bradley 1977
	mo^{11} hut^{55} nɑ^{33}	sweat	Bradley 1977

(6) PTB * m s -nam SWEAT

The allofam with prefixal ***s-** is posited on the basis of the Eastern Kiranti forms with initial **h-**.

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**^{1}nʌm**	sweat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1080

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Khiamngan	^{12}a^{1}**ñam**	sweat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1080

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	^{1}mə^{2}**nam**	sweat (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:1080

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**hām**-rik-wā	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	ho:m brik wa	sweat	Michailovsky 1989b

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Magar	**nām**-sos	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987

(7) PKar *khó'θwè ≷ *kòθwí SWEAT

The meaning of the first syllable in this reconstructed form is unknown.

Another Karenic form for SWEAT, Pa-O **tə̀ʔ-so**, has been assigned to PTB ***saːw** FAT (n.) / GREASE / OIL / SWEAT (§1.6.4).

7. Karenic

**Karen (Pwo)*	***khó'θwè**	sweat	Jones 1961:610
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***kòθwí**	sweat	Jones 1961:610
Pwo (Bassein)	**khóʔ-θwè**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	khóʔθwè	sweat	Jones 1961:610
Pwo (Moulmein)	**khó-θwè**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	khóθwè	sweat	Jones 1961:610
Sgaw (Bassein)	**kò-θwí**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	kòθwí	sweat	Jones 1961:610
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**kò-θwí**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	kòθwí	sweat	Jones 1961:610

1.8.1.2 Body Dirt

(1) PTani *kot^{1} BODY DIRT

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***kot**^{1}	body dirt	Sun 1993a:35

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	ta-**ko**	body filth	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**kit**	body dirt	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta-**ket**	body dirt	Sun 1993a

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**kot**	body dirt	Sun 1993a

Chinese comparandum

淈 OC ***kwət** ~ ***g'wət**, *GSR* #496o 'dirt; to sully'; Schuessler 2007:258 ***kût** ~ ***gût**; B & S 2011: ***k^{ʕ}ut** ~ ***g^{ʕ}ut**; Mand. **gǔ**.

Comment: Also see comparanda for PTB ***ku** DIRT / FILTH (§1.2.7.3).

(2) PL *man^{2} DIRT (on body)

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Nanhua)	**me**^{21}	dirt / filth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0160.37
Yi (Weishan)	**mi**^{21}khɑ^{21}	dirt / filth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0160.36
Yi (Xide)	ʐɻ^{21}**mi**^{55}	dirt / filth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0160.35
	ʐɻ^{21}-**mi**^{55}	dirt on skin	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	**me**^{53}	dirt / filth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0160.43
Lahu (Black)	ɔ̀-**mê**	body dirt	Matisoff 1987
Lisu	e^{55}**mi**^{31}	dirt / filth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0160.40
Lisu (Central)	ji^{55}**me**^{21}	dirt; sweat stain (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}**mi**^{21}	dirt; sweat stain (N.)	Bradley 1994
	me^{21}	dirt (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɔ^{55}**me**^{21}	filth on head	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ɔ^{55}**mi**^{21}	filth on head	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**mɪ**^{11}	dirt / filth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0160.39
Sani [Nyi]	tɕæ^{55} **mɪ**^{21}	body filth	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:227.2

1.8.2 Snot/Nasal Mucus

(1) PTB *s-nak SNOT

We set up this root provisionally as being separate from the much better attested PTB ***s-nap** SNOT / NASAL MUCUS (§1.8.2). The Yimchungrü form is included here because of the velar final, despite its anomalous initial.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hŋak** sák	phlegm (n.)	Coupe 2007
Yimchungrü	(**^{1}**)**heak**	phlegm	Weidert 1987:641

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**hnak**^{55}	snot	LaPolla 1987:187
	n̥ɑk^{55}	snot	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985

(2) PTB *s-nap SNOT / NASAL MUCUS

A few languages have quite similar reflexes, except for a final **-k** instead of **-p**. For the moment, we have assigned these to PTB ***s-nak** SNOT (§1.8.2).

In a couple of languages (Puiron, Kulung), this root has developed the meaning NOSE, although the usual etymon for nose is the allofamically related PTB ***s-na ≷ *s-naːr** NOSE (§1.2.8).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nap**	mucus; snot	Weidert 1987:662; Matisoff 2003a:604; LaPolla 1987:187; Benedict 1972:102
	***s-nyap**	snot	LaPolla 1987:187

1.1.1. Tani: ***nap** ~ ***nop** SNOT

**Tani*	***nap**	snot	Sun 1993a:379
	***nap**~ **nop**	snot	Sun 1993a:380

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	tà-**no**	mucus	Sun 1993b
	ta-**noʔ**	snot; nasal mucus, snot; mucus (nasal)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	^{1}ta ^{2}**no** (^{1})	mucus	Weidert 1987:640

Bengni	**nap**-či **nap**-la:	snot (watery)	Sun 1993b
	nap-ji:	snot (solid)	Sun 1993b
	nap-li	snot	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	nap-li lin	have runny nose	Sun 1993b
	nap-tɯŋ lin	bleed (in the nose)	Sun 1993b
	ta-**nap** fa:	blow nose	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(ta **nap**) fiəŋ ŋaŋ	blow (one's nose) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1738.24
	ta **nap**	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.24
	ta-**nap**	snot	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ta-**nap** hə-ŋaŋ	blow (nose)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **nap**	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	ta-**ñop**	snot	Sun 1993a [a]
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**nyop**-shi	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	ta-**nyop**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**ŋ̊ot**-ba	snot	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-ri: **nap**	smell	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**ñop**-si	snot	Sun 1993a [b]

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**nyáp**	mucus	Weidert 1987:640
	ŋ̊ɑp^{55}	mucus	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ŋ̊ɑp^{55}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.23
	ŋ̊ɑp^{55}	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.48

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hnap*** SNOT / MUCUS (nasal)

**Chin*	***hnap**	SNOT / MUCUS (nasal)	VanBik 2009:906
Thanphum	**hnap**^{5}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**nap**	liquid mucus	Haokip 1998:3.5.6
	nap nit	blow nose (v.)	Haokip 1998:3.5.8
Thado	**nàp**	snot, nasal mucus	VanBik 2009:906
	nā̀p xíʔ	mucus (in the nose)	Thirumalai 1972:36
Tiddim	**-nap**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	nap^{3}	nasal mucus	Bhaskararao 1996:1174
	nap^{4}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2
	_nap	mucus / snot (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho (Sandoway)	ă**hnɔaʔ**^{1}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2
Asho	ə-**hnɔ́ʔ**	mucus	Weidert 1987:640
Cho (Mindat)	**hngap**	nasal mucus	VanBik 2009:906
Khumi	**no**	snot, liquid	VanBik 2009:906
Khumi (Ahraing)	**no**^{5}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2
Matupi	**nʰhap**^{2}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2
Womatu	**hŋap**^{2}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**hnap**^{1}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2
Lai (Hakha)	**hnap**	snot	VanBik 2009:906
Lai (Falam)	**hnàp**	snot	VanBik 2009:906
Lai (Hakha)	**hnap**^{2}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnap**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	hnàp	snot, mucus of the nose	VanBik 2009:906
	hnap	mucus from the nose; snot	Bhaskararao 1996:1174; LaPolla 1987:187; Benedict 1972:102
	hnap hni:t	blow nose (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2428
	hnap^{4}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	məˊ**hnɑʔ**^{4}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2
Lakher [Mara]	**hna**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	hnā	snot, mucus from the nose	VanBik 2009:906
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**hnɑ**^{4}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2
Mera	**hnʌ**^{5}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2
Tha'oa	**hap**^{1}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2
Xongsai	**nap**^{2}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2
Zotung	**naʔ**^{1}	snot	Luce 1985:O.2

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**nəp**	phlegm	Toba & Kom 1991:9.2.5
	nəp k^{h}ir	solid mucus	Toba & Kom 1991:3.5.7
	nəp tui	liquid mucus	Toba & Kom 1991:3.5.6
Moyon	**nʌp** isòwʔ ~ **nàp** ìsòwʔ	blow nose (v.)	Kosha 1990:3.5.8
	nʌp khìr ~ **nàp** kìr	solid mucus	Kosha 1990:3.5.7
	nàp	liquid mucus	Kosha 1990:3.5.6
Sorbung	**nàap**	mucus, liquid	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.061
	nàp-káaŋ	mucus, dry	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.060

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	**nəp**^{1}(tsə^{1})	snot, mucus (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	^{1}nɯp	mucus	Weidert 1987:640

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{5}u^{1}**nha**	mucus	Weidert 1987:640
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **nha**^{31} kha^{55}	solid mucus	Nienu 1990a:3.5.7
	(u) **nha**^{11}	liquid mucus	Nienu 1990a:3.5.6
	(u) **nha**^{11} rho^{11}	blow nose (v.)	Nienu 1990a:3.5.8
Chokri	(u) **nha**^{31} kha^{35}	solid mucus	Nienu 1990b:3.5.7
	(u) **nha**^{11}	liquid mucus	Nienu 1990b:3.5.6
	(u) **nha**^{11} rho^{11}	blow nose (v.)	Nienu 1990b:3.5.8
Khezha	**nha** bé	liquid mucus	Yabu 1994:3.5.6
	nha bé kwé	solid mucus (dried)	Yabu 1994:3.5.7
Sema [Sumi]	a **nha**	mucus (liquid)	Achumi 1998a:3.5.6
	a **nha** ki(pi)ki	mucus (solid)	Achumi 1998a:3.5.7

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	**nap** tong	nose	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***nap*** SNOT

**Tangkhulic*	***nap**	snot	Mortensen 2012:526
Huishu	ʔa-**na**-ʔsu-k^{h}e	blow nose	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.047
	ʔa-**naʔ**	snot; mucus	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.046
Kachai	**nap**-ko	mucus	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.051
Tangkhul	**nəp**	mucus	Bhat 1969:93
Ukhrul	**nɐp**-tiŋ	snot	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	na koŋ **nəp** thi	earwax	Singh 1991:3.6.6
	nəp	mucus; liquid mucus	Abbi & Mishra 1985; Singh 1991:3.5.6
	nəp sitpə	blow nose (v.)	Singh 1991:3.5.8
	nəp thi	solid mucus	Singh 1991:3.5.7

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**náp**	mucus; liquid mucus; solid mucus	Weidert 1987:640; Grüssner 1979:112; Grüssner 1979:112

[a] [Source Note] initial!
[b] [Source Note] initial!

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	a^{31} **nep**^{31}	mucus	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	nep	dried snot	Matisoff 1987
	nep-hkyi	dried snot	Matisoff 1987
	nep^{31}	mucus	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	nep^{31}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.19
	nep^{31}	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.47
	nyèp	soft; mucus (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:389
	^{1}nyap	mucus	Weidert 1987:640
	ə **nep**	dried snot	Matisoff 1987
	ʔə **nèp**	snot	Matisoff 1974:389

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	m **ñap** ti	liquid mucus	Sharma 1991b:3.5.6
	ñap ti	solid mucus	Sharma 1991b:3.5.7
	ñyà bhrutsi	blow nose (v.)	Sharma 1991b:3.5.8

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**nhap**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
Tshona (Wenlang)	**nep**^{55}	mucus	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**nep**^{53}	snot	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.6
Cuona Menba	**nep**^{53}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hnap**	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.4
Tibetan (Balti)	**snʌp**	mucus	Rangan 1975:23
Tibetan (Central)	**ʔnāp**-lukʔ	mucus	Weidert 1987:662
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'nāpq**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ŋ̊ɑʔ**^{53}	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**nap**^{53}tuʔ^{53}	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.2
	nəp^{55}tu^{52}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.02
	nəp^{55}tu^{52} tɕhi^{52}	blow (one's nose) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1738.02
Sherpa	**nāpq**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**nap** shal	liquid mucus	Bishop 1989:3.5.6
Spiti	**nap** luk	liquid mucus	Bodh 1991:3.5.6
Tibetan (Written)	be-**snabs**	vaginal mucus at childbirth	Matisoff 1987
	ṅar-**snabs**	mucus; snivel	Matisoff 1987
	snabs	snot; snot, mucus	Weidert 1987:662; Luce 1985:W.129; Matisoff 1987; LaPolla 1987:187; Benedict 1972:102
	snabs	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.01
	snabs-rtug	nasal mucus, snival	Zhang Liansheng 1988:65 [a]
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hna** tɕə	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**nap**,^{Bh}**nap**	mucus (nasal)	Mazaudon 1994:580
Chantyal	**nap**	liquid mucus	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.5.6
	nap khyala-wa	blow nose (v.)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.5.8
Gurung (Ghachok)	**nāːq**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	naːq	mucus (nasal)	Glover 1972:2.A.66
	naːq waːbaq	blow (nose)	Glover 1972:2.B.2.4
Gurung	**^{2}naː**	mucus (nasal)	Mazaudon 1994:581
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'nap**	mucus	Weidert 1987:662
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{2}nap**	snot (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.5.6
	^{2}nap	snot / mucus (nasal)	Mazaudon 1994:581
	^{2}nap li	dried snot (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.5.7
Tamang (Sahu)	**'nāp**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	'nap	nasal mucus	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.63
	nap 'hiːn-pa	blow nose (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.4
	^{2}nap	nasal mucus	Mazaudon 1994:581
	^{1}nap	blow nose	Mazaudon 1994:580
Tamang (Taglung)	**nap**	snot	Mazaudon 1994:581
Thakali (Marpha)	^{54}**no**	snot / mucus (nasal)	Mazaudon 1994:581
Thakali (Syang)	^{55}**no**	snot / mucus (nasal)	Mazaudon 1994:581
	^{55}**no** (^{54,44}juba)	snot / mucus (nasal)	Mazaudon 1994:581
Thakali (Tukche)	**naw**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	nɔw	mucus (nasal)	Hari 1971:2.A.66
	^{H}**nəw**	mucus (nasal)	Mazaudon 1994:581

2.2. Newar

Newar (Kathmandu)	**nhi**	snot	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**nhi**	nasal catarrh; snot; liquid mucus	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.5.6
	nhi puĩ	solid mucus	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.5.7
Newar (Dolakhali)	**ni**	snot	Genetti 1990b

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yamphu	**na•ʔ** wa	snot (n.)	Rutgers 1998:559.16

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**nap**	nose	Weidert 1987:168; Michailovsky 1991:133
	nap_	nose	Rai *et al.* 1975
	nap mi lamə	nostril	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**noː** bʊ	snot (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:reyected 8

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**nahp**	mucus (nasal)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.66
	nāhp	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	nahp khya-nya	blow (nose) (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.4
	nahp k^{h}ya-nya	blow (nose) (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.4
Magar	**nāp**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**nọ**	mucus; snivel; snot	Nishida 1964:193; Nishida 1964:255-031; Nishida 1964:255-031

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Jiulong)	**ŋ̊ɑ**^{11}bzɻ̃^{55}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**nə**^{13}thu^{55}	blow (one's nose) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1738.09
	ŋ̊ɑ^{13}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**hna**^{13}	snot	LaPolla 1987:187
	ŋ̊ɑ^{13}	snot	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ŋ̊ã**^{55} bzɻ̃^{53}	snot	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**hã**^{55}qa^{55}	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**sna**^{55}pɔ^{55}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.13
Xumi	**nɯi**^{55}	liquid mucus; snot	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.20

[a] Lit. "snot-excrement".

	ɲi̱^{55}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**n̥e^{55}**	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.14
	ʂne^{55}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	**snap^{53}** grə^{33}	liquid mucus	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.5.6
	snap^{53} n̥qʰo^{53}	solid mucus	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.5.7
Ergong (Danba)	**snau**	liquid mucus; snot	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.5.6; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.14
	snau qʰe	solid mucus	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.5.7
Daofu	**snav**	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	kʰɑ **snæp**	phlegm	Nagano & Prins 2013:0045
rGyalrong	tə **ʃnɐm**	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **ʃnɐm** kɑ snɑr	blow (one's nose) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1738.11
Caodeng	tə-**ʃnɐ**-rqʰoʔ	snot (dried)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **ʃnɐp**	liquid mucus	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.5.6
	tə **ʃnɐp** ʃkʰo	solid mucus	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.5.7
rGyalrong (Northern)	ə **ʃnəp**	liquid mucus	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.5.6
rGBenzhen	tə-**ʃnɐʔm**	snot	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Dulong	**nɛp^{55}**	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ɲep^{55}**	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ɲep^{55}**	mucus	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ŋep	snot	LaPolla 1987:187
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ńep**	snot	LaPolla 1987:187
	ɲ̟ep^{55}	mucus	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-nap^{L}*** SNOT

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-nap^{L}**	snot	Matisoff 2003a:604
	***ʔnap**	snot	Matisoff 1972b:152

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**hnap^{55}**	snot	LaPolla 1987:187
	n̥ap^{55}	snot	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ap^{55}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.28
	n̥ap^{55}	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.41
Achang (Luxi)	**nap^{55}**	snot	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:187
Achang (Xiandao)	**n̥ap^{31}** pʰɔŋ^{55}	nose	DAI Qingxia 1989f:103
	n̥ap^{31}phɔŋ^{55}	nose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0080.29
	n̥ap^{55}	mucus	DAI Qingxia 1989f:186
	n̥ap^{55}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.29
Bola	**nɛ̱ʔ^{55}**	mucus	DAI Qingxia 1989g:186
Bola (Luxi)	**nɛ̱ʔ^{55}**	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**hnɑʔ^{4}**	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.27
	n̥ɑʔ^{4}ɲ̟iʔ^{4}	blow (one's nose) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1738.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**n̥ɑʔ^{44}**	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.40
Burmese (Written)	**hnap**	nasal catarrh; snot; mucus of the nose, snot	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:187; Benedict 1972:35n115
	hnɑp	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.39
	hnɑp^{4}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.26
	hnɑp^{4} hɲ̟as^{4}	blow (one's nose) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1738.26
	nhap	snot, mucus	Luce 1985:W.129
Langsu (Luxi)	**nɛ̱ʔ^{55}**	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**nap** ^{55}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.33
Marma	**hnaiʔ**	snot	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:7a
Maru [Langsu]	**nɛ̱ʔ^{55}**	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.43
	nʔeʔ	snot	Benedict 1972:35n115
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nap^{55}**	snot	LaPolla 1987:187
	nap̱^{55}	mucus	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	nap̱^{55}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.30
	nap̱^{55}	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.42
	nʔap	snot	Benedict 1972:35n115

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***s-nap^{L}*** MUCUS

**Loloish*	***s-nap^{L}**	mucus	Bradley 1979b:152

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**ʔnỳq**	nasal mucus	Björverud 1994
	ʔnỹ^{21}	solid mucus	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.7
	ʔnỹ^{21} ɣɯ^{55} gɯ^{55}	liquid mucus	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.6
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**n̥a̱^{31}**	mucus	DAI Qingxia 1989o:186.
Nusu (Central)	**n̥a̱^{53}**	mucus	DAI Qingxia 1989p:186.
	n̥a̱^{53}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.34
Nusu (Southern)	**n̥iɛ̱^{53}**	mucus	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**n̥ɔ̱^{55}**	mucus	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**n̥ɑ^{35}**	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.45
Nusu (Central)	**n̥ɑ^{53}**	mucus	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Nanjian)	**nỹ^{21}**	snot	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	nỹ^{21} tɕʰi^{21}	snot	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	nỹ^{21}; **nỹ^{21}**tɕhi^{21}	snot (clear);snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔny^{21}**	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.36
Yi (Xide)	**n̥a^{21}** bi^{55}	snot; mucus	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.21
	n̥a^{33}	snot	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	n̥ɑ^{21}bi^{55}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Nyi)	**no¯hk'eh˅**	mucus	Bradley 1979a:152
**Common Lahu*	***nu¯**	mucus	Bradley 1979b:152
Lahu (Shehleh)	**nu¯** hk'eh˯	mucus	Bradley 1979a:152
Lahu (Lancang)	**nu^{35}**qhɛ^{53}	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.43
Lahu (Black)	**nú**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	nú-qhê	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	nu^{53}qhɛ^{33}	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.33
Lahu (Bakeo)	**nu¯** hk'aw˅	mucus	Bradley 1979a:152
Lahu (Banlan)	a **nu¯**	mucus	Bradley 1979a:152
Sani [Nyi]	**nɒ^{33}**ŋɤ^{55}	snot	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	nɒ̱^{33}bi^{33}	snot	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**na˯** beh˅	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Caiyuan)	**na^{55}** pi^{55}	snot	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**na^{31}** bɛ^{55}	snot	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**nɔ^{31}** pɛ^{55}	snot	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.32
Côông [Phunoi]	**hnàp**	nasal catarrh; snot; mucus	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1987
	hnap^{31} thĩ^{31}	solid mucus	Ferlus 1991:3.5.7
	hnɑp^{11}	snot	Bradley 1977
Sangkong	**nap^{31}**	snot	LI Yongsui 1991
Ugong	**nă?**	liquid mucus	Bradley 1993:3.5.6

6.2. NAXI

Naxi (Eastern)	**ɲ̟i^{33}**gə^{33}	snot	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**ɲ̟i^{55}**	snot	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**ɲ̟i^{55}**	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ɲ̟i^{55}**	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.28

7. KARENIC

**Karen (Pwo)*	***nà**-thì	snot	Jones 1961:749
Pa-O	**nèʔ** phù bɔ̀k	snot, running snot of infant	Solnit 1989
	nèʔ phù thì	snot, liquid	Solnit 1989
	nèʔ phù ʔé	snot, solid	Solnit 1989
Palaychi	**nàʔ** dèʔ ʔì	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	nàʔ dèʔ ʔìʔ	snot	Jones 1961:749
Pwo (Bassein)	**nàʔ** ì thì	nasal catarrh; snot	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:749
Pwo (Moulmein)	**nàʔ** é thì	nasal catarrh; snot	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:749
Sgaw (Bassein)	**naʔ** è thí	nasal catarrh; snot	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:749
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**nɔ̱^{55}** e̱^{31}	mucus	DAI Qingxia 1989k:193
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**náʔ** éʔ thí	nasal catarrh; snot	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:749

1.8.2.1 Sneeze

(1) PTB * h k a-t(s)ik SNEEZE

Despite the obvious onomatopoetic nature of this root, a binome may confidently be set up at the PTB level.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**ka-ǰi** tē	sneeze	Sun 1993b
	ka-ǰi tī	sneeze	Sun 1993b
	ká-ǰi-tɯ	sneeze	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ka-či**	sneeze	Sun 1993b
Galo	**kaɟi**-nam	sneeze (v.)	Das Gupta 1963

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Milang	**hat-cik-cik**-ma	sneeze	Tayeng 1976

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***haʔ-thiaw*** SNEEZE

**Chin*	***haʔ-thiaw**	SNEEZE	VanBik 2009:739

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**haʔ-thĭaw**-INV	sneeze (v.)	VanBik 2009:739
Lai (Falam)	**hàʔ-thìaw**-INV	sneeze (v.)	VanBik 2009:739
Lushai [Mizo]	**ha-chhiao**	sneeze (v.)	Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**há-thī**	sneeze (v.)	VanBik 2009:739

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Ao (Chungli)	**hachi**	sneeze	Marrison 1967
	ha^{3}tʃi^{1}	sneeze (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**achi**	sneeze	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**atʃhi**	sneeze [sneezed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**haktsia**	sneeze	Nienu 1990c:11.3
	hatsi	sneeze	Marrison 1967
	hətsə̀	sneeze	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**hathi**	sneeze	Marrison 1967

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**hakthi** khənbə	sneeze	Singh 1991:11.3

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**kəhtì**	sneeze (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	kəthì	sneeze	Matisoff 1974:164

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	**ɑ^{13} thi^{53}**	sneeze	SUN Hongkai 1991a:11.3
Tshona (Mama)	**ʔʌk^{55} ts^{h}iu^{55}**	sneeze	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	**achchī** la-wa	sneeze	Noonan *et al.* 1992:11.3

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**hachik** a:	sneeze	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:11.3
	hāchi kā: ta ye	sneeze (v.)	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Yakha	**haʔcim** ba	sneeze	Kohn 1990:11.3

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Chamling	**haNchiuN** mu-(u)	sneeze	Winter 1985:13
Kulung	**hachi**	sneeze	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	**hācchi** lū-ne	sneeze (v.)	Matisoff 1987

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**xɑ^{33} tshɳ^{55}**	sneeze	SUN Hongkai 1991d
Guiqiong	**hø^{33} tshi^{55}** bi^{33}	sneeze	SUN Hongkai 1991e
Qiang (Taoping)	**χa^{55} tshye^{33}** pu^{33}	sneeze	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	**ɛ t^{h}iau**	sneeze	SUN Hongkai 1991b:11.3
Ergong (Northern)	**ɛ^{33} ts^{h}iəu^{53}**	sneeze	SUN Hongkai 1991c:11.3

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	**ha ts^{h}jau**	sneeze	DAI Qingxia 1989d:11.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**xats^{h}iau**	sneeze	SUN Hongkai 1991j:11.3
	xats^{h}iau	sneeze (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.5.8
rGyalrong (NW)	**xats^{h}io**	sneeze	SUN Hongkai 1991l:11.3

6.1.1. BURMISH

Bola	**a^{31} tʃ^{h}u^{51} tʃ^{h}u^{31}**	sneeze	DAI Qingxia 1989g:1720
Lashi	**a^{55} tʃhou^{53} tʃhou^{53}**	sneeze	DAI Qingxia 1989m:11.3
Maru [Langsu]	**a^{55}** khju^{31} khju^{31}	sneeze	DAI Qingxia 1989l:11.3

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***ha**^{1}	sneeze	Bradley 1979b:575-1

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**a**^{24} **thiao**^{35} m̩^{33}	sneeze	Dai Qingxia 1989c:11.3
Lalo	**tɕ**^{h}**i̱**^{33}	sneeze	Chen Kang 1986b:11.3
Nasu	**tɕ**^{h}**i**^{55}	sneeze	Chen Kang 1986b:11.3
Nesu	**a**^{55} **thi̱**^{21} **thi̱**^{21}	sneeze	Chen Kang 1986b:11.3
Noesu	**tɕi**^{55}	sneeze	Chen Kang 1986b:11.3
Nosu	**ha**^{33}**tshɳ̄**^{44}mu^{33}	sneeze	Chen Kang 1986b:11.3
Nusu (Central)	**tʂ**^{h}**ɯ**^{33}	sneeze	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1720.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**t**^{h}**iɯ**^{35}	sneeze	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1720.

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**xɛ**^{21} **t'iu**^{55}	sneeze	Luo Meizhen 1990:11.3
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**xa**^{55} **tʃ**^{h}**i**^{31} m̩^{31}	sneeze	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1782
Jinuo (Baka)	**xa**^{55} **tʃ**^{h}**i**^{31} m̩^{31}	sneeze	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1782
**Common Lahu*	***ha**$^{-}$	sneeze	Bradley 1979b:575-1
Lahu (Black)	**há-thî ≍ hé-thî**	sneeze	Matisoff 1974:164
Lisu (Northern)	**hɑ̃**^{55} **thi**^{21}	sneeze (V.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**a**^{33} **t**^{h}**ɪ**^{55} m̩^{33}	sneeze (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:319.1
	A^{33}**thɪ**^{55}	sneeze (n.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	A^{33}**thɪ**^{55}dɛ^{21}	sneeze (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	a^{44}**thɪ**^{55}dæ^{21}	sneeze	Chen Kang 1986b:11.3
	ɑ^{44} **t**^{h}**ɪ**^{55}	sneeze	Ma Xueliang 1989:368.4

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Bisu	**həʧhə** tʃə̀ŋ	sneeze (v.)	Beaudouin 1988:35
Mpi	**ha**^{6}**tɕhi**^{2}	sneeze (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**hacə̃** sao^{31} ce	sneeze	Ferlus 1991:11.3

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**a**^{44}**t**^{h}**i**^{21}tʌ^{22}	sneeze	Pelkey 2011:908
Southern Muji	**a**^{21}**t**^{h}**i**^{55}	sneeze	Pelkey 2011:908
Phola	**xɑ**^{52}**t**^{h}**i**^{33}mɛ^{33}	sneeze	Pelkey 2011:908
Hlepho Phowa	**a**^{55}**t**^{h}**i**^{21}**t**^{h}**i**^{21}	sneeze	Pelkey 2011:908
Phuza	**a**^{55}**t**^{h}**i**^{31}**(-t**^{h}**i**^{55}**)**	sneeze	Pelkey 2011:908

8. Bai

Bai (Jianchuan)	tɑ̃^{44} **a**^{55} **t**^{h}**uɯ**^{55}	sneeze	Zhao Yansun 1990:11.3

Chinese comparandum

噫 OC ***tied**, *GSR* #415e 'sneeze'; Schuessler 2007: (***tîth**); B & S 2011: ***t**^{ʂ}**it-s {[t]**^{ʂ}**i[t]-s}** (‹***t.l**^{ʂ}**-** ?); Mand. **tì**.

1.8.2.2 Snore

(1) PTB *s-ŋwar SNORE / BREATHE HEAVILY

This root was set up as ***s-ŋor** in *HPTB*:400.

As noted in *HPTB* loc. cit., there is a similar Indo-Aryan etymon (cf. Nepali **ghur-nu**), but this resemblance appears accidental, probably due to the imitative nature of words for snoring.

Chepang **hŋrok naʔ** might be related, but presents problems. Thulung and Khaling **khor-** are perhaps borrowings from Nepali.

There is a possible allofamic relationship between this root and PTB ***s-na ≍ *s-naːr** NOSE (§1.2.8), reminding one of the English "cryptotype" **sm- ≍ sn-** 'action related to the nose or lips'.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ŋor**	snore	Matisoff 2003a:606

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	i-mi iʔ-**ŋɯr**	snore	Sun 1993b
	i-**ŋɯ**-rɯ	snore	Sun 1993b

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**-naːk/ˆnaːk**	breathe (v.)	Henderson 1965
	naːk^{2}	breathe	VanBik 2009:905
	naːk^{2}	breathe (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1185

1.2.2. Central Chin: ***hnaar** SNORE

**Central Chin*	***hnaar**	SNORE	VanBik 2009:905
Lai (Hakha)	**hnâar-I**, **hnăar-II**	snore	VanBik 2009:905
Lai (Falam)	**hnăar-I**, **hnàar-II**	snore	VanBik 2009:905
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnáar**	snore (v.)	VanBik 2009:905
	hnâr	snore (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**nar** rə sə kə suk	snore	Toba & Kom 1991:11.4
Moyon	**nàr** rùšá ~ **nàr** rušá	snore	Kosha 1990:11.4
Sorbung	ŋə **náar**	snore	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.341

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ŋar** SNORE

**Tangkhulic*	***ŋar**	snore	Mortensen 2012:774
Tangkhul	**ngar**	snore (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ŋər	snore	Bhat 1969:97
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**ŋɐr**	snore	Mortensen 2012

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **nàr** dô-	snore	Grüssner 1979:25
	ing **ngar**	snore (v.)	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**gor gor** si	snore	Sharma 1991b:11.4

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**ŋɔ**^{13} pa^{13}	snore	Sun Hongkai 1991a:11.4

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**ŋor** pa kyab gen	snore	Bishop 1989:11.4
Tibetan (Written)	**sn̓ur**	snore (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sŋur-ba	snore	Matisoff 2003a:400
	ŋur-ba	grunt (of pigs and yaks)	Matisoff 2003a:400

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung (Ghachok)	**ŋruh** baq	snore	Glover 1972:2.B.2.18

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**'ngor-**	snore (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:161
	√^{H}**ŋor-**	snore (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:161

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**hrok-**	snore (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	hŋrok-	snore (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	hŋrok-sa	snore	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.18
Chepang (Eastern)	**hŋrok** naʔ	snore (v.)	Caughley 1990:11.4

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (NW)	kə **sŋo̱r̥**	snore	Sun Hongkai 1991l:11.4
rGyalrong	mdʑə **ŋu**	snore	Dai Qingxia 1989d:11.4
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	nə **'sŋor**	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	nə **'sŋu sŋu**	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	nə **'sŋə** ro	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (NW)	**sn̥i** ɣzạ kak ts^{h}im ts^{h}o	pant (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:9.2.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	ta **sŋo** 're	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	tə33 **sŋo44** re33	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	tə33 **sŋo55**	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
Caodeng	tə-**sŋor?**	breath	Sun 1997a
	tə-**sŋor?** kɐ-ts^{h}é-xts^{h}u	pant	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	tə22 **sŋo22** re44	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	tə22 **sŋo22** re44	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	tə **'sŋor**	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	tə **sŋa** ri	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	tə **sŋe** 're	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	tə **sŋo** ra	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **sŋo** ro	breathe (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:9.2.1
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	tə **sŋo** roʔ	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	tə **sŋo** roʔ	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **sn̥i** ɣra	breathe (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:9.2.1
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tɯ **sŋɯ** ro	breathe (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0047
rGyalrong (Northern)	n̥i **sŋər̥**	snore	Sun Hongkai 1991k:11.4

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nasu	**ʑi̱**^{55} ŋɯ^{33} **ŋg**^{h}**ɔ**^{33}	snore	Chen Kang 1986b:11.4
Noesu	**ʑi**^{33}**ŋgo**^{55}	snore	Chen Kang 1986b:11.4

Chinese comparandum

齁 OC (***g'u**), *GSR* (not in #108) 'snore'; Schuessler 2007:279; B & S 2011: ***(q**^{ʂ}**o)**; Mand. **hōu**.

Comment: Cf. forms relating to 'neck, throat' in PTB ***ku** NECK / THROAT (§1.4.2).

(2) PTB *hal SNORE

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***hal**	snore / snort	Coblin 1986:135

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***hal**	snore	Matisoff 2003a:593

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Spiti	**al**	snore	Bodh 1991:11.4
Tibetan (Written)	**hal**-ba	pant, wheeze, snort (v.)	Coblin 1986:136

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**han**	snore / snort	Coblin 1986:135

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**xân**	snore	Coblin 1986:135

Chinese comparandum

鼾 OC ***han/*xân** (not in *GSR*; cf. Coblin 1986 #135); Mand. **hān**.

1.8.3 Spit/Saliva

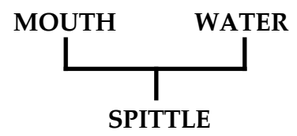


Figure 150: 1.8.3 *Spit/Saliva*

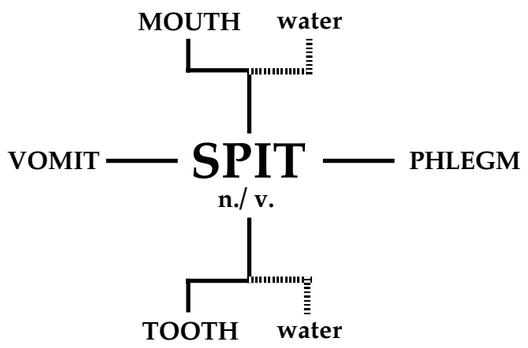


Figure 151: 1.8.3 *Spit/Saliva*

(1) PTB *m-ts $^{y}_{r}$ il SPIT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-ts(y)il**	spit; spittle; saliva	Mortensen 2012; Benedict 1972:231
	***m-ts(y)il ≍ *m-thil**	spittle	LaPolla 1987:118
	***m-ts(y)il ≍ m-tśril**	spit / spittle / saliva	Matisoff 2003a:618
	***m-tśril**	spittle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:979; Benedict 1972:55n184

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tsil** SPITTLE / SALIVA

**Chin*	***tsil**	SPITTLE / SALIVA	VanBik 2009:564

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**chil**	saliva	Haokip 1998:3.7.5
	chil set	spit (v.)	Haokip 1998:3.7.11
Paite	**chil**	spittle	VanBik 2009:564
Sizang	**chil**	spittle, saliva	VanBik 2009:564
Thado	**tsĭl**	saliva, spittle	VanBik 2009:564
Tiddim	**čil**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	cil^{2} sia^{1}	spit (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:179
	tsil^{2}	spittle, saliva	VanBik 2009:564

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**m-si**	saliva	VanBik 2009:564
Daai	**m̩si**	spit	So-Hartmann 1988:112
Khumi	pa-**či**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	pcíi	spittle	VanBik 2009:564

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsîl**	saliva, spittle	VanBik 2009:564
Lai (Falam)	**tsĭl**	saliva, spittle	VanBik 2009:564
Laizo	**tsil**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	**chil**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	chíl	spittle, saliva	VanBik 2009:564
	tsíl	saliva	Weidert 1987:616
	tśil	spittle	Benedict 1972:231
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-**chì**	spittle, saliva	VanBik 2009:564
	^{2}pə^{1}**tsi**	saliva	Weidert 1987:616
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Lamkang	pi-**tíl**	saliva	Weidert 1987:616
Moyon	bʌ **cír**	saliva	Kosha 1990:3.7.5
	bʌ **cír** khæ̀n	saliva (dribbling from mouth)	Kosha 1990:3.7.5
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***m-tʃə** SALIVA, SPITTLE / SPIT (v.)			
**Central Naga*	***m-tʃə**	SALIVA, SPITTLE / SPIT (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.098
**Ao*	***m-tsə**	SALIVA, SPITTLE	Bruhn 2014a:II.184
Ao (Chungli)	**metsü-metsü**	spit (v.)	Marrison 1967
	metsə	spittle	Benedict 1972:118n327
	mə^{2}tsə^{2}	saliva, spittle (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.184
	mə^{2}tsə^{2}-tuk^{3}	spit (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	^{2}mɯ^{3}tsɯ^{3}tuk	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:682
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	**mətsə**	spit (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.184
	mətsə-tʃuk	spit out (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.376
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**metsü**-chuk	spit (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**mətsə**	spittle (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**n̥^{1}-tʃə^{1}**	saliva, spittle (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.098
	njü	saliva	Murry *et al.* 1978:107
	NjU	saliva	Nienu 1990c:3.7.5
	NjU Nchoka	spit (v.)	Nienu 1990c:3.7.11
Sangtam	**müjü**	spit (v.)	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Sema [Sumi]	a **miti**	spit (v.)	Achumi 1998a:3.7.11
	a **mti**-müsüve	spit (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ə **mthi**	spittle	Benedict 1972:118n327
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***cer** SALIVA			
**Tangkhulic*	***cer**	saliva	Mortensen 2012:621
Huishu	ʔa-tsam-**tsɐr**-ruk	spit (n.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.065
Kachai	mə-**cir**-ði	saliva	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.066
	mə-**cir**-ði	spit (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.073
	mə-**tɕir**-ði	spit	Mortensen 2012
Tusom	mə-**tsy**-tsy	saliva	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.074
	mə-tsy-**tsy** k^{h}ə-mə-sxu	spit (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.082
Ukhrul	mə-**cor**-ru	spit	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**tin**	saliva	Singh 1991:3.7.5
	tin sit pə	spit (v.)	Singh 1991:3.7.11
	tin shit	spit (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tin sit pa	spit (v.)	Abbi & Mishra 1985
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**mtɕhi** ma	saliva / spittle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:280.5
Sherpa	**ce** makq	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**che** mung	saliva	Bishop 1989:3.7.5
Spiti	**chi** mak	saliva	Bodh 1991:3.7.5
Tibetan (Written)	**mc'il**-ma	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	mtśhil-ma	spittle	Benedict 1972:30n95
	mtʃhil-ma	saliva, spittle	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:63
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	rø-**tsø**-kø	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**'tihl**	spittle; saliva	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.67; Matisoff 1987
	'tihl-nya	spit (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.6
	tihl-nyā	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (NW)	**ptɕ^{h}i** ɕi	spit (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.7.11
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mtʃe**	saliva	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.7.5
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mtɕ^{h}i**	saliva	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.7.5
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	(**thɯl^{33}**) **thɯl^{33}** ɕi^{31}	spit	LaPolla 2003:1452
Anong	**thil**	spittle	Benedict 1972:231
	thil thil	spit (v.)	LaPolla 1987:118; Benedict 1972:231
Rawang	**thɯl^{33}**	saliva	LaPolla 2003:173
Trung [Dulong]	**cŭl^{55}**	saliva / spittle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:280.46
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**cí**-khî ~ **cí**-ɣî	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987

(2) PTB * m/s -tuːk SPIT

STC suggests a connection between this root and PTB ***twak** BITE / CHEW / PECK AT / HOOK ONTO (§6.8), a key form being Karbi **iŋ-tok** 'to spit, dart, peck, bite (as a snake), spittle'. For now, however, we are treating PTB ***twak** BITE / CHEW / PECK AT / HOOK ONTO (§6.8) as a separate etymon.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(m-)tuk**	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:1081
	***(m-)tuk**	saliva	Weidert 1987:682
	***(s-)duːk**	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:1081
	***(s-)duːk**	saliva	Weidert 1987:682
	***(s-)tuːk**	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:1081
	***(s-)tuːk**	saliva	Weidert 1987:682
	***m-tuk ≋ *s-tuuk ≋ s-duuk**	spit, vomit	LaPolla 1987:45
	***m/s-tuːk**	spit / spew	Matisoff 2003a:615
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**thuk**	spit (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	khā **tok**	phlegm; sputum; saliva; mucus	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ing **thok**	spit (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ing **thok**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	ing **thòk**-	bite (v.)	Grüssner 1979:23
	ing **thòk**-	saliva	Grüssner 1979:23
	ing **thòk**-	spit (v.)	Grüssner 1979:23
	iŋ **thòk**	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:962
	iŋ **thok**	spit, dart, peck, bite, spittle	Benedict 1972:58n189
	iŋ **tok**	spit, vomit; spit; spit, spittle	LaPolla 1987:45; Benedict 1972:58n190; Benedict 1972:75n231
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**stu**	spit	Benedict 1972:58n190
	stu-a	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:304
Garo (Bangladesh)	**stu**-a	spit (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.44-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**dak**-	spit (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***t^{h}oːk**	spit (v.)	French 1983:557
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	a **t^{h}oak**	spit (v.)	French 1983:557
	thoʌk	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:962
	thoʌk-kaʔ	saliva	Weidert 1987:682
Tangsa	^{1}**t̪ho**	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:1081
	^{1}**t̪ho(ʔ)**	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:304
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**tòk**	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:962
	tok	spit (v.)	French 1983:557
	uyok-**tok**	spit (v.)	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**tok**	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:962
	tʌ **lók**	saliva	Weidert 1987:682
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**dyuk**	spittle	Matisoff 1987
	tyak	spit, vomit	LaPolla 1987:45
	tyuk	spit	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:75n231
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	**thuk** ki-wa	spit (v.)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.7.11
Gurung (Ghachok)	**tuq**	spittle; saliva	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:2.A.67
	tuq wāː bāq	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	tuq waː baq	spit (v.)	Glover 1972:2.B.2.6
Gurung	^{2}**tu**	saliva	Mazaudon 1994:501
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***Tuk**-	spit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:167
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**th'weːt**	saliva	Michailovsky 1991:147
	thoːkt-	spit at a distance (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:167
	thoː weːt	saliva	Michailovsky 1991:147
Yakha	**thoːk** maː	spit (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.7.11
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**Thuk**	spit (v.)	Rai 1985
	thukt-	spit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:167
	thukt-	spit / spatter (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:71
	thungs-	spit (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:71
Kulung	**thu** wa	saliva	Michailovsky 1991:147; Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	khi **thu**-ne	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	khi **thu**-	spit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:146
	√**thukt**-	spit (spit) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:167
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**tok**-si	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	tok so	spit	Michailovsky 1991:167
Hayu	**tok**	swallow, spit (vtt, vr.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.55
	tok-	spit, to swallow (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:167
Sunwar	'krāk **tuk** ā	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
	'toːk-si-	spit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:167
	'toːk-si-cā	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	√^{H}**tok**-	spit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:167
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Magar	**thuk**-ke	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	(**h**)tɻu^{1}	saliva	Sofronov c1978
4. NUNGIC			
Anong (Rawang)	**du**	vomit	Benedict 1972:58n190
Rawang	**duʔ** ɛ^{33}	throw up/vomit (vi.)	LaPolla 2003:1385
Nung	**ɖuŋ^{55}**ɛ^{31}	throw up / vomit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.21
Anong	**ɖuŋ^{55}**ɛ^{31}	vomit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:543.44
Dulong	**duʔ^{55}**	throw up / vomit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.20
Trung [Dulong]	**dŭʔ^{55}**	vomit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:543.46
	du^{44}	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**dŭʔ^{55}**	vomit	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	duʔ^{55}	spit, vomit	LaPolla 1987:45
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**dŭʔ^{55}**	vomit	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	duʔ^{55}	spit, vomit	LaPolla 1987:45
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola	**tauʔ^{31}**	vomit	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2117
Maru [Langsu]	**tauk**	spit, vomit	LaPolla 1987:45
7. KARENIC: ***thu^{A}** SPIT (v.)			
**Karen*	*b-**thoʔ**	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:962
	***tho** B	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:962
**Karen [Burling]*	***tho^{2}**	spit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:270
**Karen*	***thu^{A}**	spit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:270 [a]
Bwe	**thù**-ʔwí	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:962
Kayah	**thu^{33}**	spit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:270
Kayan	**thu^{53}**	spit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:270
Pa-O	pə̀ʔ **thóʔ**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Pa-O (Southern)	**thu$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	spit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:270
Palaychi	**thóq** plé	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Pwo (Northern)	**thu^{35}**	spit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:270
Pwo (Southern)	**thu^{53}**	spit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:270
Pwo (Bassein)	**thò** phlèʔ thì	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Pwo (Moulmein)	**thóʔ** phlàiʔ thì	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Sgaw (Northern)	**thuʔ^{45}**	spit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:270
Sgaw (Southern)	**thu^{55}**	spit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:270
Sgaw	^{4}**thuʔ**^{1}pwɛʔ	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:962
Sgaw (Bassein)	**thò** plè thí	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**t^{h}o^{55}** wɛ̱^{31}	spit	DAI Qingxia 1989k:2421
	t^{h}u^{31} p^{h}lɛ̱^{55} t^{h}i^{55}	saliva	DAI Qingxia 1989k:192
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**thóʔ** pɣè thí	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**t^{h}u^{31}**	spit	DAI Qingxia 1989j:2421

[a] [Source Note] N. Sgaw has an irregular tone, i.e. tone D, while the rest has tone A.

(3) PTB *p-lay SPIT

Many reflexes of this etymon begin with a lateral, but several subgroups (Karenic, Qiangic, Jingpho) have a labial initial or a cluster of labial + lateral.

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	kha **lei**	spittle / saliva(p.47)	Matisoff 1987
	kha' **lei**	saliva	NEFA (India) 1963

	kha **lei**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	khɯ^{31}**lɑi**^{35}	saliva (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0156.22
	khɯ^{31}**lɑi**^{35}	saliva / spittle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:280.49
	k^{h}ɯ^{31} **lɑi**^{35}	saliva	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	e **lo** bi du ja(ga)	saliva(falling of)	Pulu 1978
	e **lo lo**	saliva	Pulu 1978
	khɯ^{31}**lɑi**^{35}	saliva / spittle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:280.50
	k^{h}ɯ^{31}**lai**^{35}	saliva	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.7.5
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	hkum **bái**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	khum^{31} **pai**^{55}	saliva	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	thù **lhei**	spit (v.)	Sharma 1991b:3.7.11
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	dʒo^{33} **nphsʅ**^{55}	saliva	Sun Hongkai 1991d
Muya [Minyak]	ʐɐ^{35}**mbɐ**^{53}	saliva	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.7.5
Pumi (Lanping)	khə^{13}**phʃɯ**^{13}	spit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1688.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	khə^{13}**phʒɯ**^{13}	spit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:542.11
	k^{h}ə^{13} **p^{h}ʒɯ**^{13}	spit	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	nɛ **p^{h}ɛ**	spit (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.7.11
Ergong (Daofu)	**phei**	spit (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.7.11
Ergong (Northern)	**p^{h}e**^{53}	spit (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.7.11
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	**lo** ka mi p^{h}ə	spit (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.7.11
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**lɑi**^{53}	spit	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**lɑi**^{53}	spit	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**lo**^{55}	liquid mucus; solid mucus; phlegm	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.5.6; Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.5.7; Dai Qingxia 1989c:9.2.5
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Sani [Nyi]	**le**^{33}	spit (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:120.1
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Côông [Phunoi]	**phìt** dà ɲíʔ	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
7. Karenic			
Palaychi	thóq **plé**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Pwo (Bassein)	thò **phlɛ̀ʔ** thì	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Pwo (Moulmein)	thóʔ **phlài?** thì	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Sgaw	^{4}thuʔ^{1}**pwɛʔ**	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:962
Sgaw (Bassein)	thò **plè** thí	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	t^{h}o^{55} **wɐ̰**^{31}	spit	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2421
	t^{h}u^{31} **p^{h}lɐ̰**^{55} t^{h}i^{55}	saliva	Dai Qingxia 1989k:192
Sgaw (Moulmein)	thóʔ **pɣè** thí	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987

(4) PTB *m-tyur SPIT

So far only scattered reflexes have been found for this etymon, but they are quite convincing.

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**machor** a	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	machor a khamasho	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**dyur**	spittle; saliva	Weidert 1987:616; Matisoff 1987
	dyur	spittle, saliva (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dyur	saliva	Caughley 1972:2.A.67
	dyurʔ hak-	gather up and spit saliva, hoick (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	dyurʔ-	spit (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	dyurʔ-sa	spit	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.6
	dyurʔ.sā	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Chepang (Eastern)	**dyur**	saliva	Caughley 1990:3.7.5
	dyurʔ naʔ	spit (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.7.11
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**cŭl**^{55}	saliva	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

(5) PTB * $\frac{\text{m}}{\text{s}}$ -twa SPIT

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***twa ≍ to**	spit	Matisoff 1983:55
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(m-)twa**	saliva	Weidert 1987:682
	***(m-)twɑ**~(s-)twɑ	spit / spittle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:62d
	***(s-)twa**	saliva	Weidert 1987:682
	***m-twa ≍ s-twa**	spit	Matisoff 1983:55
	***m/s-twa**	spit / spittle / saliva	Matisoff 2003a:616
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	a^{31}**tiu**^{55}k^{h}ɹi^{55}	phlegm	Sun Hongkai 1991f:9.2.5
	a **tu** t^{h}ri	phlegm	Pulu 1978
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**məthá**	spit [spat] (v.)	Coupe 2007
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**thù** lhei	spit (v.)	Sharma 1991b:3.7.11
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**tho**-le 'debs-pa	spit (v.)	Coblin 1986:138
	t'o-le ḥdebs-pa	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**(?)t(h)au**	saliva	Mazaudon 1978:31
	*^{B}**t^{h}wa**	saliva	Mazaudon 1994:501
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{2}**tu**	saliva	Mazaudon 1978:31
Manang (Gyaru)	**ta**^{1}	saliva	Nagano 1984:015
	taː^{2} kyaː^{2} ba	spit (V.)	Nagano 1984:089
Manang (Ngawal)	^{2}**tha**	saliva	Mazaudon 1978:31
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**t^{h}aː**	spit	Mazaudon 1994:501
	^{1}**t^{h}aː**	spit	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0012
	^{1}**t^{h}aː** ^{4}t^{h}i ^{3}lə-	spit (v.)	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0289
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'ʈhwaː**	saliva	Weidert 1987:682
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**tho**	saliva	Mazaudon 1978:31
	^{2}**t^{h}o**	saliva (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.7.5
	^{2}**t^{h}o**	saliva / spittle	Mazaudon 1994:501
Tamang (Taglung)	**t^{h}o**	saliva	Mazaudon 1994:501
Thakali (Marpha)	^{H}**tho**	saliva	Mazaudon 1978:31
	^{55}**t^{h}o**	saliva / spittle	Mazaudon 1994:501
Thakali (Syang)	^{H}**to**	saliva	Mazaudon 1978:31
	^{55}**to**	saliva / spittle	Mazaudon 1994:501
Thakali (Tukche)	**tho**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	thuy	phlegm; sputum; saliva; mucus; spittle	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	thuy 'la-la	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	t^{h}o	saliva	Hari 1971:2.A.67.1
	t^{h}uj	saliva; sputum	Hari 1971:2.A.67.2; Hari 1971:2.A.68.2
	t^{h}uj 'lɔ-lɔ	spit	Hari 1971:2.B.2.6
	^{H}**tho**	saliva	Mazaudon 1978:31
	^{H}**t^{h}o**	saliva	Mazaudon 1994:501
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**ne** khi	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**thou**^{31}	phlegm	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	吐	eject from mouth, spit; vomit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2813; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2815
Chinese (GSR #)	**0062d**	eject from mouth, spit; vomit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2813; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2815
	31m	spit (v.)	Luce 1985:W.70
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**t'wə̂**	spit	Chou Fa-kao 1972:31m
	t'wə̂/t'uə̂-	spit	Karlgren 1957:31m
Chinese (Old)	**t'o**	spit out, vomit	Matisoff 1983:55
	t'wâ	spit	Matisoff 1983:55
	thuarh	spit	Coblin 1986:138
	t^{hʕ}aʔ	eject from mouth, spit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2813
	t^{hʕ}aʔ-s	vomit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2815
	t'o	eject from mouth / vomit / spit out	Chou Fa-kao 1972:62d
	t'wâ	spit (v.)	Luce 1985:W.70
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**thuâ**-	spit	Coblin 1986:138
	thuH	vomit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2815
	thuX	eject from mouth, spit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2813
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	oou **tuh**	vomit	Sun 1985b:573
	tǔ	eject from mouth, spit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2813
	tù	vomit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2815
	t'o	spit	Karlgren 1957:31m

Chinese comparandum

吐 OC ***t'wə̂**, *GSR* #31m 'spit'; Coblin 86: OC ***thuarh**; B & S 2011: ***t^{hʕ}aʔ**; Mand. **tǔ**.
吐 OC ***t'wə̂**, *GSR* #31m 'vomit'; B & S 2011: ***t^{hʕ}aʔ-s**; Mand. **tù**.

(6) PTB *tyat SPIT

The lack of a final stop in Karbi is unexplained. More confirmation of this weakly attested root would be welcome.

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ing **the**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	ing **thè**	saliva	Grüssner 1979:22
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**tel** lem	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	thet	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**thet**-ma	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	thet-nüng-wa	saliva	Rai *et al.* 1984:71

(7) PTani *kjulʔ SPITTLE

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***kjulʔ**	spittle	Sun 1993a:391
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	či-**kɯr**	spittle; saliva	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ču-**kɯr**	spit (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ta-**kɯr**	phlegm	Sun 1993b
	^{1}ci ^{2}**kɯr** (^{1})	saliva	Weidert 1987:616
Bengni	ta-**čɯr**	spittle	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ta-**čɯr čɯr**	spit (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **tɕur**	saliva (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0156.24
	ta-**čur**	spittle; saliva	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **tɕur**	saliva / spittle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:280.51
	ta **tɬ́ur**	spittle	LaPolla 1987:118
	ta **tɕur**	saliva	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**cur** nam	spit (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **cur**	spittle; saliva (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ta **cur-cur**-nam	spit (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **cur:**	saliva	Das Gupta 1963
	ˆta **sur**	saliva	Weidert 1987:616
Miri, Hill	tu **cur**	spittle	Simon 1976
Tagin	ta **cor-cor**-nam	spit (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	ta-**kil**	spittle	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**kil**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	ta-**kir**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Damu	ta-**ciər**	spittle	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	ta-**kir**	spittle	Sun 1993a

(8) PKC *ka- ≍ *kha-ɗii DROOL / DRIBBLE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ka-** ≍ kha-ɗii	DROOL / DRIBBLE	VanBik 2009:78
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**kha**-dìi	drool	VanBik 2009:78
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**kà**-dī	dribble	VanBik 2009:78

(9) PKC *tshaa SPIT OUT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tshaa**	SPIT OUT	VanBik 2009:602
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**m-sa**	spit (saliva), to spit out (v.)	VanBik 2009:602
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tshàa**-I, tshaak-II	spit (as saliva), spit out (as tongue)	VanBik 2009:602

1.8.3.1 Phlegm

(1) PTB *k(r)a:k PHLEGM / SPUTUM / MUCUS

For evidence of the liquid medial, see e.g. Apatani, Idu, Geman, Bahing, Sunwar, Tamang, and Pattani.

This root is perhaps allofamically related to PTB ***kwak*** COUGH (§1.8.3.3) and/or PTB ***ha(:)k*** HAWK / GAG / CHOKE (§1.3.5.7).

This root is much more widespread than the resemblant PTB ***kan*** PHLEGM / SALIVA (§1.8.3.1) and seems distinct from it.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ka:k**	phlegm	Matisoff 2003a:594

1.1.1. TANI: ***kak*** PHLEGM

**Tani*	***kak**	phlegm	Sun 1993a:290

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	ta-**kak**	phlegm; sputum	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **kak**	sputum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0155.24
	ta-**kak**	phlegm	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **kak**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	ʻta **kak**	phlegm (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆta **kak**	phlegm	Weidert 1987:641

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**kak**	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
Damu	ta-**cia?**	phlegm, sputum	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	ta-**kak**	phlegm	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	nɑ^{31} **kʰɑ^{53}**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	nɑ^{31}**khɑ^{53}**	sputum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0155.22
	nɑ^{31}**khɑ^{53}**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.49
Kaman [Miju]	**khɹɑ^{53}**	sputum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0155.23
	khɹɑ^{53}	phlegm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.48
	kʰɹɑ^{53}	phlegm	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kʻrɑ̂?	phlegm	Weidert 1987:1199
Idu	a^{31}nde^{55}**kʰɹe^{55}**	liquid mucus	SUN Hongkai 1991f:3.5.6
	a^{31}tiu^{55}**kʰɹi^{55}**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai 1991f:9.2.5
	a tu **tʰri**	phlegm	Pulu 1978
	ɑ^{31}nde^{55}**khɹe^{55}**	snot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:278.50
	ɑ^{31}tiu^{55}**khɹi^{55}**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.50
Yidu	ɑ^{31}nde^{55}**khɹe^{55}**	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.25
	ɑ^{31}tiu^{55}**khɹi^{55}**	sputum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0155.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***khaak*** PHLEGM / MUCUS

**Chin*	***khaak**	PHLEGM / MUCUS	VanBik 2009:454
Anal	pà-**kháa**	phlegm	Weidert 1987:641

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**khak** suah	mucus, phlegm	VanBik 2009:454
Tiddim	**kha:k**^{1} so?^{3}	phlegm	Bhaskararao 1996:739
	kha:k^{1} so?^{3}	phlegm	VanBik 2009:454

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	no **kha**	phlegm, liquid mucus	VanBik 2009:454

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**khaak**	phlegm	VanBik 2009:454
Lai (Falam)	**khăak**	phlegm	VanBik 2009:454
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhâk**	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	khăak	phlegm	Weidert 1987:641; VanBik 2009:454
	khâk	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
	kha:k	phlegm	Bhaskararao 1996:739; Benedict 1972:323; Coblin 1986:58
	tshâak	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:682

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	da-**khaw**	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
	dà-**kháw**	phlegm	VanBik 2009:454

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	kə **hək**	phlegm	Toba & Kom 1991:9.2.5
Lamkang	pʌ-**khà**	phlegm	Weidert 1987:641
Moyon	bʌ **khá?**	phlegm	Kosha 1990:9.2.5

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	**khā** tok	phlegm; sputum; saliva; mucus	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Tusom	**kʃi**-du	phlegm	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.270

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ching **khak**	phlegm; sputum; saliva; mucus; spittle	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	ing **kròy**	saliva	Grüssner 1979:18

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	ha **gāw**	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	thoʌk-**ka?**	saliva	Weidert 1987:682
Tangsa	^{1}**ṭho**-^{3}xil-xak	phlegm	Weidert 1987:641

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	mă^{31}**kha^{55}**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.47
	mă^{1} **kha^{55}**	phlegm	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mə **hka**	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
	^{1}mə^{3}**kha**	phlegm	Weidert 1987:992

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	**goks**	phlegm	Sharma 1991a:9.2.5
Kanauri	**khra**	phlegm	Sharma 1988:29,34
Pattani [Manchati]	**kab**	phlegm	Sharma 1991b:9.2.5
	kra ti	saliva	Sharma 1991b:3.7.5

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	har^{55} **kʰak^{55}** taŋ^{55}	phlegm	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	har **khak** taŋ	phlegm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.7
	har **kʰak** taŋ	phlegm	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	**kəp**	phlegm	Noonan *et al.* 1992:9.2.5
Tamang (Sahu)	**khre** nyet	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
	kʰre nyet	sputum	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.65
Thakali (Tukche)	**'khā** ne	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
	'kʰa ne	sputum / phlegm	Hari 1971:2.A.68.1
	^{2}**tum**	wrap (things)	Mazaudon 1994:464

2.3. KIRANTI: ***khakma*** SPUTUM

**Kiranti*	***khak** ma	sputum	Michailovsky 1991:169

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**khāk** wā	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
	kha:k waʔ	phlegm	Weidert 1987:641
	kha:q wa	spit, phlegm	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**kharak** pa	phlegm	Weidert 1987:641

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**aʔ** wa	oil	Rai 1985
	khat-nüng-wa	phlegm	Rai *et al.* 1984:39
	ʔak wa	oil	Rai *et al.* 1984:1
Kulung	**khak** ma	sputum	Michailovsky 1991:169; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	**'khāh** mō	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Sunwar	**'krāk** tuk ā	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**kha** so	sputum / phlegm	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.68
	khā so	phlegm; sputum; saliva; mucus	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	kʰa so	sputum / phlegm	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.68

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	tshɛ^{55} **kɑ^{55}**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.18
Namuyi	tsʅ^{33}**qha^{55}**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.19
	tsʅ^{33}**qʰa^{55}**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai 1991i:9.2.5
Pumi (Qinghua)	**qɑ^{13}** ɳɑ^{55}	phlegm	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ga^{35}** ɳ̊ã^{55}	phlegm	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.10
Qiang (Taoping)	tsho^{55}**qhɑ^{33}**χne^{33}	phlegm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.9
	tsʰo^{55} **qhɑ^{33}** χne^{33}	phlegm	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	tʂʰup **qʰɑ**	phlegm	DAI Qingxia 1989q:191
Xumi	**qhɛ^{33}** nɯi^{33}	phlegm	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	qhɛ^{55}nɯi^{33}	phlegm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.20

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Daofu)	**sqhɑɹ**	phlegm	DAI Qingxia 1989b:9.2.5
Ergong (Danba)	**sqʰaˈ**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai 1991b:9.2.5

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Luxi)	khɔŋ^{55} **kjak^{55}**	phlegm	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola	kʰjauŋ^{35} **kjạʔ^{55}**	phlegm	DAI Qingxia 1989g:184
Maru [Langsu]	khjauŋ^{35} **kjo̱ʔ^{55}**	liquid mucus; solid mucus; phlegm	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.5.6; DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.5.7,9.2.5; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	khjuŋ^{21} **kjo̱ʔ^{55}**	phlegm	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	khjuŋ^{21}**kjo̱ʔ^{55}**	sputum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0155.30
	khuŋ^{21}**kjo̱ʔ^{55}**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.42

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Central)	ti^{31} **kʰɑˈ^{55}**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	ti^{31} **kʰɑ^{55}**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ti^{31}**khɑˈ^{55}**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.45
Nusu (Northern)	t̪i^{35} **kʰia^{55}**	phlegm	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	t̪i^{55} **kʰɹɚ^{55}**	phlegm	DAI Qingxia 1989o:184.
Nusu (Central)	ti^{55} **kʰɹɚ^{55}**	phlegm	DAI Qingxia 1989p:184.
	ti^{55}**khɹɚ^{55}**	sputum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0155.34
Yi (Nanjian)	t̪i^{21} **khɑ^{21}**	phlegm	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:279.23
Yi (Weishan)	t̪i^{21}**khɑ^{21}**	sputum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0155.36

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	ɑ^{33} **xe̱^{33}**	phlegm	LUO Meizhen 1990:9.2.5
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	kʰjø^{44} **kʰlʌ^{33}**	phlegm	DAI Qingxia 1989h:191
Jinuo (Baka)	kʰjø^{44} **kʰlʌ^{31}**	phlegm	DAI Qingxia 1989i:191
Jinuo (Youle)	kʰø^{44} **kʰɹə^{42}**	phlegm	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986

(2) PTB *nir PHLEGM

This weakly attested root is not to be confused with the widespread etymon PTB ***s-nap*** SNOT / NASAL MUCUS (§1.8.2).

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	a **nir**	mucus	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	pu-**nen**	phlegm, mucus secreted by snake	Matisoff 1987
	pə **nen**	mucus, phlegm	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983:661

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang (Sahu)	khre **nyet**	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
Thakali (Tukche)	'khā **ne**	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
	'kʰa **ne**	sputum / phlegm	Hari 1971:2.A.68.1

(3) PTB *kan PHLEGM / SALIVA

This root is much less widespread than the resemblant PTB ***k(r)a:k*** PHLEGM / SPUTUM / MUCUS (§1.8.3.1) and seems distinct from it.

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Moyon	bʌ cír **khæ̀n**	saliva (dribbling from mouth)	Kosha 1990:3.7.5

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	bad-**kan**	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	tɕin^{31} **khɑn^{31}**	phlegm	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	tsa^{55} **kan^{55}**	saliva	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	cʰu^{31} **xan^{31}**	phlegm	DAI Qingxia 1989f:184
Burmese (Written)	khywây-**khân**	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
Lashi	ʃə̆^{55} **kạn^{55}**	liquid mucus; solid mucus	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.5.6; DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.5.7
	ʃɛ̆^{55} **kạn^{55}**	phlegm	DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.2.5
Leqi (Luxi)	ʃə̆^{55}**kạn^{55}**	sputum (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0155.33

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	**khàn** laŋ	saliva	Beaudouin 1988:15
Côông [Phunoi]	**khan**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987

Pyen	**kan33** chao31	phlegm	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131083
	khan31	saliva	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131081

(4) PTB *har PHLEGM

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***har**	phlegm	Matisoff 2003a:593

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**har**^{55} k^{h}ak^{55} taŋ^{55}	phlegm	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	har khak taŋ	phlegm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:279.7
	har k^{h}ak taŋ	phlegm	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tshona (Wenlang)	**xɑr**^{55}	phlegm	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**har**^{55}	phlegm	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:279.6

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**hór**	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**hār?**	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
	har?	sputum / phlegm	Caughley 1972:2.A.68
Chepang (Eastern)	**har**	phlegm	Caughley 1990:9.2.5
Magar	Tho **ho**	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987

1.8.3.2 Vomit

(1) PTB *m-p(r)ats VOMIT

This root is not reconstructed in *STC*, but has been reconstructed as **m-pat** in several sources (*LTSR* #124, *GSTC* #26, *HPTB*:330).

A medial ***-r-*** is reconstructed for Proto-Tani and Proto-Karenic, and appears overtly in several other scattered languages (Khezha, Mao, Pattani, Tsangla, Motuo Menba). Final ***-s*** appears instead of ***-t*** in Kanauri and Kiranti languages; in at least two rGyalrongic dialects (Heishui Shashiduo **ka'p^{h}ət**s) and (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji **kamə'p^{h}atz**) a final sequence **-ts** or **-tz** appears, motivating our reconstruction where the stop + sibilant co-occur syntagmatically. Chepang **has** also has final **-s** but the development of a *labial stop to Chepang **h** is not otherwise attested.

The nasal prefix is abundantly attested in Qiangic, rGyalrongic, and Jingpho.

The Chinese comparandum with medial ***-j-*** was originally proposed by Coblin (1986:130).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-pat**	vomit	Matisoff 1985a:026; Matisoff 2003a:606
	***N-pat**	vomit (JAM) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:196

1.1.1. Tani: *b(r)at^{2} VOMIT

**Tani*	***b(r)at**^{2}	vomit	Sun 1993a:449

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**ba**	vomit	Sun 1993a
	bà	vomit	Sun 1993b
	ba(-pa)	vomit	Sun 1993b
	^{2}ba (^{1})	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660; Weidert 1987:585
Bengni	**bəː**(-lin)	vomit	Sun 1993b
	bəː-dit jiː-dit	vomiting and diarrhea	Sun 1993b
	bɯː	vomit	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**baː**	vomit	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	baː	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.24
Bokar Lhoba	**baː**	vomit	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.51
Galo	**ba**-nam	vomit (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ba nam	barf; puke; retch; vomit (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻba lɨɨ	nauseous; queasy (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻba om	gag (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	¯ ba-	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660; Weidert 1987:585
	` ba len-	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:585
Miri, Hill Nishing	**ba** len-nam	vomit	Simon 1976
Tagin	haru **ba**-nam	vomit	Das Gupta 1969
	bɤ-nam	vomit (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	bɤ-nam	vomit	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**bât**	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	bat	vomit	Matisoff 1985a:026; Sun 1993a
Damu	**bø**-duŋ	vomit	Sun 1993b
	bøː-men	feel sick	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **bot**	vomit	Tayeng 1976
	a **bot bot**-ma	vomit	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**phɑt**^{55}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.23
	phɑt^{55}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.48
	p^{h}ɑt^{55}	vomit	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	pʻát	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:1223
	tʌm-**pʻàt**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:1223

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Khezha	^{2}te^{2}**pre**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
Mao	^{1}**pra**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	ma-rui **pât**-	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:477
Zeme	^{1}ke^{1}**pet**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *p^{h}aːt VOMIT

**Northern Naga*	***p^{h}aːt**	vomit (v.)	French 1983:574

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**phat**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	phat	vomit	Matisoff 1985a:026
	p^{h}at	vomit (v.)	French 1983:574
	p^{h}at p^{h}e	vomit (v.)	French 1983:574
Tangsa	^{1}**phai** (?)	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
Tangsa (Yogli)	**phai**	vomit	Matisoff 1985a:026
	p^{h}ai	vomit (v.)	French 1983:574

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Khiamngan	^{12}a^{23}**puʔ**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:1170
Konyak	**phai**	vomit	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:026
	p^{h}ai	vomit (v.)	French 1983:574
Konyak (Tamlu)	**pát**	vomit (n.)	Weidert 1987:660
	pat	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
Phom	**p^{h}ay**^{31}	vomit	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**mhpat**	vomit	Marrison 1967
	n-hpat	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	n-hpat	vomit	Coblin 1986:130
	ǹ-phat	vomit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	ǹ-phàt	vomit	Matisoff 1985a:026; Matisoff 1974:384
	n̥^{31} phat^{31}	vomit	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	^{3}**paʔ**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:1170
	^{1}mə^{1}don^{3}**paʔ**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:1223

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**phas**-migʻ	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	phas migʻ	vomit (v.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**pran** zi	vomit (v.)	Sharma 1982
	prɑ̃ si	vomit (n.)	Sharma 1991b:3.7.12
	prɑ̃ zi	vomit (v.)	Sharma 1991b:3.7.13

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**phros**	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.7
	p^{h}ros	vomit	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	p^{h}ros^{55}	vomit	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**p^{h}ros**	vomit	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**phros**	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.07

2.3. Kiranti

**SE Kiranti*	***pas**-	vomit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:196

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**pe**-mā	vomit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	pEqr-	vomit on (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	pEqs- (pEq)	vomit (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	pɛs sɛ	vomit (n.)	Weidert 1987:660
	pɛʔs- (pɛʔ)	vomit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:196
	pɛʔ maːt	vomit (n.)	Weidert 1987:585
	pɛː ma	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
Lohorong	**pɛp** ma	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	pɛ ruʔk ŋa	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	pɛ rɛ	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
Yakha	**po** seik ʔŋa na	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	po sip ma	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	po si ta	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	po si tu	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	po si twa ŋa ha	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	pɔs ita	vomit (n.)	Kohn 1990:3.7.12
	pɔs it ma / oː maː	vomit (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.7.13

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**pe**	vomit (v.)	Rai 1985
	pes-	vomit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:196; Michailovsky 1991:196
	pes-	vomit (v.i.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:58
	pes aŋ	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	pett-	vomit on (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:196
	pe ma	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	pe se	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	pe ŋa	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
Chamling	**pas**-(a)	vomit	Winter 1985:28
	pas-a	vomit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:196
Kulung	**pas**-a	vomit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:196
	pas o	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	pas tɛ	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**pha pha** ri	vomit	Michailovsky 1991:196
Thulung	**phos**-	vomit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:196

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**hās**	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	has	vomit	Caughley 1972:2.A.70
	hās sā	vomit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	has-sa	vomit	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.29
Chepang (Eastern)	**has**	vomit (n.)	Caughley 1990:3.7.12
	has naʔ	vomit (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.7.13

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**nphsʅ**^{55}	vomit; spit	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:542.18; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.18
Guiqiong	xɑ^{55} **pʉ**^{55} **pʉ**^{55}	vomit	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.17
Lyuzu	**nphi**^{53}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.18
	nphʐi^{53}	spit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1688.18
Muya	tu^{24}**phɐ**^{33}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.15
Muya [Minyak]	tu^{55}**phɐ**^{33}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.15
	tu^{55}**p^{h}ɐ**^{33}	vomit (n.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.7.12
Namuyi	**mphi**^{33}	spit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:542.19
	mphi^{33}pɛ^{33}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.19
	mp^{h}i^{33}	spit (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.7.11
	mp^{h}i^{33}pɛ^{33}	vomit (n.)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.7.12
	mi^{33}**nphiæ**^{33}dæ^{53}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.46
	nphi^{31}	spit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1688.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	tɯ^{55}**phə**^{55}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.10
Pumi (Lanping)	tə^{55}**fphɛ**^{13}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	tə^{55} **sp^{h}ɛ**^{13}	vomit	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	tə^{55}**sphɛ**^{55}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**phø**^{35}	spit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:542.10
	p^{h}ø^{35}	spit	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	**pha**	vomit	Matisoff 1972b:38
Qiang (Mawo)	ta^{ɪ} **p^{h}ə**	spit (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.7.11
Qiang (Taoping)	**phe**^{33}	spit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:542.9
	p^{h}e^{33}	spit	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**p^{h}ə**	spit	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2320
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{35} **p^{h}ø**^{55}	spit (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.7.11
	lə^{35} **p^{h}ø**^{55}	vomit (n.)	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.7.12
	lə^{35}**phø**^{55}	spit; vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:542.16; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**sphɔ**^{55}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.13
Xumi	**phi**^{53}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.17
	phi^{55}	vomit	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**phɛ**^{55}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.14
	ʌ^{55}**nphɛ**^{55}	spit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1688.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**phɛ**	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.12

Ergong (Northern)	**pʰe**^{53}	vomit (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.7.13
Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	**na'pʰa** sə	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	'nəz **pʰat**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	ka **'mpʰaa**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	ka **'məspʰat**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	ka **'pʰəts**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	ka **'łbet**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	ka **'łbet**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	ka **mə'pʰatz**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	ka **mə'pʰaʈ˞**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ka mə **'mpʰas**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	ka mʊ ˈ**mpʰɛʔ**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	ka **n'be**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	ka nə **'mber**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (NW)	kə **mbes**	vomit (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.7.13
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	kə **mi'pʰaʈ**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ mə **mphɐt**	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.11
rGyalrong	kɐ mə **mphɐt**	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.12
	mphat	vomit	Matisoff 1985a:026
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**mɯjphʏt**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	na' **mipʰat**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	na^{3}**pʰit**^{1}	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	nə kə **mi'pʰaʈ**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Eastern)	nɐ mə tə **mpʰɐt**	vomit (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.7.13
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	rə **'pʰi**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	ta **'pʰe**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	tə **mpʰɐt44**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	tə22 **mphət44**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	tə^{5}**mpʰa**^{3}	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	tə **'pe**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	tə **'pʰaʈ˞**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	tə **mpʰat** 'kalat	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	tə **mə'pʰat˞**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	tə **pʰat** 'kalat	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **pʰət**	vomit (n.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.7.12
	tə **pʰət** n̥in gu	vomit (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.7.13
rGyalrong (NW)	va **mbe** ɕɛ vi	vomit (n.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.7.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wu **mpʰɐt**	vomit (n.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.7.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	wu22 **mpʰət44**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388
rGyalrong (NW)	ɕɛ **mbis**	vomit (n.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.7.12
rGyalrong	tA **mphet**	vomit (v.)	Nagano 1997:3.7.13
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**phi**^{35}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.49
	phi^{35}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.38
Tujia (Northern)	**pi2**	vomit (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	pi^{2}	vomit	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.1
Tujia	**pʰi**^{35}	vomit (v.)	Chen Kang 1986c:3.7.13
Tujia (Northern)	**pʰi**^{35}	vomit	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**pʰi**^{55}	vomit (v.)	Chen Kang 1986d:3.7.13
Tujia (Southern)	**pʰi**^{55}	vomit	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***C-pat**^{L} VOMIT			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***C-pat**	send forth; vomit	Matisoff 1972b:38; Coblin 1986:130
	***C-pat**^{L}	vomit	Matisoff 2003a:606
	***phat**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**pha**^{31}	vomit	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**phat**^{55}	vomit	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	phat^{55}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.28
	phat^{55}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.41
Achang (Luxi)	**phat**^{55}	vomit	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**phat**^{55}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.29
Achang (Xiandao)	**phat**^{55}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.29
	pʰat^{55}	vomit	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2117
Burmese (Written)	**phat**	vomit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	phat	vomit	Matisoff 1985a:026; Coblin 1986:130
Lashi	**py:**^{33}	vomit (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.7.13
	py:^{33} ta^{55}	vomit (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.7.12
Leqi (Luxi)	**pha:t**^{55}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.33
Maru [Langsu]	**phø**^{35}	vomit (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.7.13
	phø^{35} ɛ^{31}	vomit (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.7.12
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**phat**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	phat^{55}	vomit	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	phat^{55}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.30
	phat^{55}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***C-pat**^{L}	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
	***C-pat**^{L}	vomit	Bradley 1979b:577
PNL	**C-pat**^{L}	spit vomit	Chen Kang 1986a:95.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**phìq**	vomit / puke	Björverud 1994
	phi̱^{2}	spit vomit	Chen Kang 1986a:95.
	pʰɪ^{21}	vomit (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.13
Lipho	**phe̱**^{21}	vomit	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.13
	phi̱^{2}	spit vomit	Chen Kang 1986a:95.
Luquan	**pʻi 55c**	vomit	Matisoff 1972b:38
Nasu	**phi̱**^{55}	spit vomit	Chen Kang 1986a:95.
	pʰi̱^{55}	vomit (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.13
	pʻi 213	vomit	Matisoff 1972b:38
Neisu	**phi**^{13}	spit vomit	Chen Kang 1986a:95.
Nesu	**phi̱**^{2}	spit vomit	Chen Kang 1986a:95.
	pʰi^{21}	vomit (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.13
Noesu	**phɪ**^{13}	vomit	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.13
Nosu	**phɪ̱**^{55}	spit vomit	Chen Kang 1986a:95.
Nusu (Bijiang)	**phɑ˞**^{55}iɯ^{55}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.45
Nusu (Central)	**phɹɚ˞**^{53}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.34
Nusu (Southern)	**pʰa̱**^{31}	vomit	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**pʰɛ̱**^{55}	vomit	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**pʰɑ˞**^{55} iɯ^{55}	vomit	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**pʰɹɚ̱˞**^{31}	vomit	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2117.
Nusu (Central)	**pʰɹɚ˞**^{53}	vomit	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2117.
Yi (Liangshan)	**phi**^{55}	vomit	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**phi̱**^{21}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**phi̱**^{21}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**phe**^{33}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.24
	phe^{55}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**phi̱**^{21}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.23
	pʰi̱^{21}	vomit	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	tsh̩^{21}; **phi̱**^{21}	spit; spit blood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:542.23
Yi (Weishan)	**phɪ̱**^{21}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.36
Yi (Wuding)	**phi̱**^{55}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**phi 44s**	vomit	Matisoff 1972b:38
	phi̱^{2}	spit vomit	Chen Kang 1986a:95.
	phi̱^{21}	vomit	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.13
	pʻi̱^{21}	vomit (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7.13
	pʻi̱^{21} to^{22}	vomit (n.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7.12
Jinuo	**phø**^{55}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.34
	phœ^{55}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.44
Jinuo (Baka)	**pʰø**^{55}	vomit	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2202
Jinuo (Youle)	**pʰø**^{55}	vomit	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**pʰœ**^{55}	vomit	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2202
	pʰœ^{55} nu^{55}	nauseated	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1859
Jinuo (Baka)	**pʰœ**^{55} n̥ɣ^{55}	nauseated	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1859
Kucong	**phi31**	vomit	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***hpe˄**	vomit	Bradley 1979b:577
Lahu	**phè?**	vomit	Coblin 1986:130
Lahu (Black)	**phe**^{21}bA^{31}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.33
	phè?	vomit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	phè?	vomit	Matisoff 1985a:026; Matisoff 1974:384; Matisoff 1972b:38
	pʰe?^{21}	vomit	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**pʰe?**^{21}	vomit	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**hpē6**	vomit	Matisoff 1972b:38
	hpē^{6}	vomit	Bradley 1979b:577
	hpē^{6}	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**hpē**^{6}	spew / vomit (v.)	Fraser 1922
	hpē^{6}	vomit	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**phe?**^{21}	spit; vomit (V.)	Bradley 1994
	phe?^{21} le^{35}	feel like vomiting; vomit	Bradley 1994
	phe?^{21}hɔ^{33}		
Lisu	**phe̱**^{31}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.40
	phe^{41}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	**pʰe̱**^{42}	vomit	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**phi** 22s	vomit	Coblin 1986:130; Matisoff 1972b:38
	phɪ^{2}	spit vomit	Chen Kang 1986a:95.
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**peh** LS	vomit	Coblin 1986:130; Matisoff 1972b:38
	peh?^{31}	vomit	Matisoff 1985a:026
	u˯ **peh˄ peh˄**-eu	vomit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	pà **phè** phèŋ	vomit (v.)	Beaudouin 1988:36
Hani (Dazhai)	**pe̱**^{31}	vomit	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.31
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**phə 21**	vomit	Matisoff 1972b:38
Hani (Lüchun)	**be̱**^{31}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**phi̱**^{33}t̪ɣ̪^{33}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.30
	pʰi̱^{33} t̪ɣ̪^{33}	vomit	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	ø^{31} **pe̱**^{31} **pe̱**^{31}	vomit	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**phi̱**^{31}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.32
	pʰi̱^{31}	vomit	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Mojiang)	**phi̱**^{31}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.42
Mpi	**phe?**^{1}	spit out / secrete / vomit / throw up (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**phát** ce	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	pʰɑt^{11} ce^{33}	vomit	Bradley 1977
Pyen	ʔo31 **phe31 phe31**	vomit (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:142024
Ugong	**phă pha** khję́ / khlę́	vomit (n.)	Bradley 1993:3.7.12
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**pʰi**^{22}	vomit	Pelkey 2011:610
Southern Muji	**pʰji**^{21}	vomit	Pelkey 2011:610
Phola	**pʰɛ**^{31}	vomit	Pelkey 2011:610
Hlepho Phowa	**pʰl̩**^{33}	vomit	Pelkey 2011:610
Phuza	**pʰji**^{55}	vomit	Pelkey 2011:610
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**pʰie**˩	vomit (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2472
Na (Yongning)	**pʰi**˥˩	vomit (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**phi**^{13}	spit; vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:542.29; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.29

Naxi	**phi**^{55}	spit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1688.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**phi**^{55}	spit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:542.28
Naxi	**phy**^{55}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**phy**^{55}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**pʰi**^{13}	vomit; spit	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985; He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**pʰi**^{55}	spit	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
	pʰy^{55}	vomit	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

7. Karenic: *__prɔʔ__^{D} VOMIT (v.)

**Karen*	*__prɔʔ__^{D}	vomit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:316
Bwe	**pɔ**	vomit (v.)	Henderson 1997
	pɔ-la	vomit, bring up (v.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**pɔ**^{2}	vomit (v.)	Luce 1985:J.301
Bwe	**pɔ**^{33}	vomit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:316
Geba	**pɔ**^{2}	vomit (v.)	Luce 1985:J.301
Karen	**bɔ̲**^{33}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.50
Kayah	**phrɛ**^{55}	vomit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:316
Kayan	**phrauʔ**^{45}	vomit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:316
Kayan (Pekon)	**prạ̈u**	vomit (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà **prạ̈u**	vomit, want to vomit, nauseous (V.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**pro**^{33}	vomit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:316
Pa-O	**prɔʔ**	vomit	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**prɔʔ**^{21}	vomit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:316
Pa-O (Northern)	**prɔʔ**^{21}	vomit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:316
	pʻrɔʔ^{3}	vomit (v.)	Luce 1985:J.301
Paku	**ʾɓu**^{1}	vomit (v.)	Luce 1985:J.301
Pwo (Northern)	**pjoʔ**^{45}	vomit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:316
Pwo (Southern)	**pjuʔ**^{21}	vomit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:316
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**pyuʔ**^{3}	vomit (v.)	Luce 1985:J.301
Pwo (Delta)	**pyuʔ**^{1}	vomit (v.)	Luce 1985:J.301
Sgaw (Southern)	**bɣoʔ**^{21}	vomit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:316
Sgaw (Northern)	**bɣɔʔ**^{45}	vomit (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:316
Sgaw	**ɓʀoʔ**^{2}	vomit (v.)	Luce 1985:J.301
	ɓʀɔ^{2}	vomit (v.)	Luce 1985:J.301
	ɓʀu^{2}	vomit (v.)	Luce 1985:J.301
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**bɔ̲**^{33}	vomit	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2202
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**bɔ̲ʔ**^{55}	vomit	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2202

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pi̱wăt/pi̱wɒt**	throw out (an arrow), shoot, send forth, issue (v.)	Karlgren 1957:275c
Chinese (Old)	**pjat**	send forth; vomit	Baxter 1992:823; Coblin 1986:130

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**pjit**	shoot	Baxter & Sagart 2011:116
	pjwɐt	send forth, shoot, throw out	Coblin 1986:130

Chinese comparandum

發 OC ***pi̱wăt***, *GSR* #275c; B & S 2011: ***Cə.pat***; Mand. **fā**.

(2) PTB *wan NAUSEATED / VOMIT

This root was reconstructed as ***on*** in *STC* #343, and as ***ʔon*** in *HPTB*:292.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***on**	vomit	Benedict 1972:343
	***ʔon**	nauseated / vomit	Matisoff 2003a:583

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	ka-**wør**-duŋ	vomit	Sun 1993b

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**on**	vomit	Chelliah 1997:316
	ong	vomit	Marrison 1967
	o bə	vomit (v.)	Singh 1991:3.7.13
	ə **wo** ba	vomit (n.)	Singh 1991:3.7.12

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	gō-**òn**	nauseated	Matisoff 1974:131
	on-**on** ⪤ go-**on** ⪤ **won**	feel squeamish, nauseated	Benedict 1972:343
	wòn	nauseated	Matisoff 1974:131

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	ó **wá**	vomit	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:88

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**wja**	vomit, throw up	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4585

3.3. rGyalrongic

Nyagrong Minyag (Ganzi Xinlong)	**ˉwjə**	vomit (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0388

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**ɑ̃**^{22}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ɑ̃**^{22}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.40
Burmese (Written)	**an**	retch, vomit	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:343
	ɑṁ^{2}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.26
	ɑṁ^{2}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.39
	ʔan	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	ʔan	retch, vomit	Matisoff 1974:131
Marma	**aiŋ**	vomit	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:88

(3) PTB *ʔaw VOMIT

The Chinese comparandum to the WB form was hesitantly suggested in *STC* n. 491, p. 192.

Since the Chinese form could also mean ‘babble as a child’, it cannot be excluded that this etymon is related to PTB ***ʔur*** MAKE NOISE / HUM / CHAT / BABBLE (§8.5.5).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ʔaw**	vomit	Matisoff 2003a:583

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**aú**	vomit	Benedict 1972:192n491
	o	vomit	Marrison 1967
	o’	vomit (v.)	Luce 1985:Y.18
	úu	vomit	Chou Fa-kao 1972:122i
	ʔawʔ	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	嘔	vomit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2051

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ʔu/ʔə̰u**	vomit	Chou Fa-kao 1972:122i
	ʔu/ʔə̰u:	vomit, babble (as a child)	Karlgren 1957:122i
Chinese (Old)	**·u**	vomit (v.)	Luce 1985:Y.18

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**ʾuwX**	vomit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2051

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**oou** tuh	vomit	Sun 1985b:573
	ou	vomit, babble (as a child)	Karlgren 1957:122i
	ǒu	vomit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2051

Chinese comparandum

嘔 OC ***ʔu***, *GSR* #122i ‘vomit; babble’; Schuessler 2007:595 ***ʔôʔ***; B & S 2011: ***qˤoʔ {qˤ(r)oʔ}***; Mand. **ǒu**.

嘔 OC ***ʔi̱wăt***, *GSR* #346j ‘vomit’; Schuessler 2007:595 ***ʔwat*** or ***ʔot***; Mand. **yuē**.

(4) PBod *s-kyuk VOMIT / EJECT

This root has so far only been discovered in Tibetan dialects.

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**ɕy**^{53} dɐ^{341}	vomit (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.7.13
Kaike	**kyu** pā	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htɕek**	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**htɕəg**	vomit	Sun 1985a:573
	rcɕek	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ɕu**ʔ^{53}	vomit (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.7.13
	ɕuʔ^{55} tʂhə^{53}	vomit (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.7.12
	ɕuʔ^{53}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**kyu:** bāq	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ɕu**ʔ^{53}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**cu**ʔ^{53}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.2
	Cu^{52}	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**kyū** gen	vomit (v.)	Bishop 1989:3.7.13
Sherpa	**kyu** kuq	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**kyu** wa	vomit (n.)	Bodh 1991:3.7.12
	kyu wa **kyuk** ce	vomit (v.)	Bodh 1991:3.7.13
Tibetan (Written)	**skjug**	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.01
	skjug	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.1
	skyug	vomit	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:573
	skyug-pa	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htɕəχ**	throw up / vomit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.04

(5) PrGy *m-kwar VOMIT

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Daofu)	da **ʔkaɹ**	vomit (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.7.13
	da **ʔkaɹ** sei	vomit (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.7.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ŋkhɛ**^{ɪ}	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.14
	ŋkʰɛ^{ɪ}	vomit (n.)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.7.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	tə **ŋkʰor**	vomit (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.7.12

(6) PTB *mwa ⪤ *mya-n SPIT / VOMIT

For now, the reflexes with back vowels are deemed to descend from ***mwa***, while those with front vowels are assumed to come from ***mya-n***.

The Jingpho form seems to incorporate the nominalizing suffix ***-n***. See *HPTB*:439-453. According to Dai 1983:515, there is a minimal pair between **mă**^{33} **jen**^{33} ‘tin’ and **mă**^{33} **jẹn**^{33} ‘spit’, with the latter showing constriction of the vowel of the full syllable. The latter form was interpreted in *HPTB*:115 as being due to a glottal prefix, i.e. Pre-Jingpho ***məʔyen***.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-ʔ-yen**	saliva / spittle	Matisoff 2003a:620

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**ʾme**	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	me^{53}	vomit	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	me^{53}	throw up; vomit; spit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.22; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1688.22
	me^{53}	spit; vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:542.49; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.49
	ʾme	vomit	NEFA (India) 1963
Idu	**me**	vomit	Pulu 1978
	me^{55}	spit; vomit (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.7.11; Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.7.13
	me^{55}	spit; vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:542.50; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.50
Yidu	**me**^{55}	throw up; vomit; spit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1535.25; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1688.25

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**mu** zu	spit (v.)	Bhat 1968
	mu zu	spit	Bhat 1968
	mu zu	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	mu zu kri	spit out small bits (v.)	Bhat 1968

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**məyèn**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	məyèn mə thàw	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	məyèn prat	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987

2.3. Kiranti

**BSDTK*	***mo-**	vomit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:197

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	ʾkhi **mö**	saliva	Michailovsky 1991:146
	ʾkhi **mō**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**me-**	vomit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:197
Sunwar	**me-**	vomit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:197
	me-cā	vomit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	me-syo	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	√^{H}**me** tt-	vomit on (so.) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:197
	√^{L}**me-**	vomit (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:197

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	**mo**^{42}	phlegm; sputum; saliva; mucus; spittle	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Dazhai)	**mjɐ̲**^{33}	spit	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

	mjɐ̱[33]; xa[55]	spit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:542.31

(7) PTB * m s -lwa-k VOMIT

There is an apparent Newar doublet **lhwa** ?≍? **wak**.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***lua-I**, ***luak-II** VOMIT

**Chin*	***lua**-I, luak-II	VOMIT	VanBik 2009:1063

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**luak**	vomit	VanBik 2009:1063
Thado	**lûo**-I, lûoʔ-II	vomit	VanBik 2009:1063
Tiddim	**lua**^{3} > luak^{3}	vomit	VanBik 2009:1063
	lua^{3} > luak^{3}	vomit (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1014
	lua^{3}/luak^{3}	vomit	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**mló**	vomit	VanBik 2009:1063
Chinbon	**m̩lo:k**	vomit	So-Hartmann 1988:118
Daai	**m̩lɔʔ**	vomit	So-Hartmann 1988:118
Khumi	**pleew**	vomit	VanBik 2009:1063
	pᵊlɛᵘ	vomit	So-Hartmann 1988:118
Matu	**lɔ:k**	vomit	So-Hartmann 1988:118
Mkaang	**lɔk**	vomit	So-Hartmann 1988:118
Nyhmoye	**m̩lɔʔ**	vomit	So-Hartmann 1988:118
Wakung	**mᵊlœ**	vomit	So-Hartmann 1988:118

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**lùa**-I, luak-II	vomit	VanBik 2009:1063
Lai (Falam)	**lûak**-INV	vomit	VanBik 2009:1063
Lushai [Mizo]	**lùa**-I, lûak-II	vomit	VanBik 2009:1063
	luak	vomit	Marrison 1967
	luak	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	luak	vomit (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2655
	uak	vomit (v.)	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**məlok**	vomit (n.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.7.12
	məlok	vomit (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.7.13

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

**Naga*	***m-lua**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:477

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**lho** e-gu	vomit (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.7.13	[a]
Newar (Kathmandu)	**lhwa**-ye	vomit	Genetti 1990c	
Newar	**lhwa** ye	vomit (v.)	Matisoff 1987	
	lhwa ye	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987	
Newar (Dolakhali)	**lo** we	vomit	Genetti 1990b	
Newar	**wak** kɔ	vomit (n.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.7.12	
	wak kɔ **wo** e-gu	vomit (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.7.13	[b]

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**waʔ waʔ**	vomit	Driem 1993
	waʔ ye:m	vomit	Driem 1993

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**ʔok**-	vomit (children's talk) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
Magar	**ok**-ke	vomit	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

[a] Newar **-gu** 'nominalizer/relativizer'.
[b] -gu = one which is = relativizing/nominalizing suffix

(8) PTk *lo VOMIT

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***lo**	vomit	Mortensen 2012:777
Huishu	kʰə-mə-**lu**	vomit (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.067
	mə-**lu**-kʰe	vomit	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.066
Tangkhul	kha ma **lao**	vomit [lit. 'make froth']	Matisoff 1987
	ma **lao**	vomit	Marrison 1967
	ro	vomit	Bhat 1969:100
	[1]khə[1]mə[3]**lo**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:477
Tusom	kʰə-mə-**lu**	vomit (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.084
Ukhrul	kʰə-mə-**law**	vomit	Mortensen 2012
	kʰə-mə-**lo**	vomit	Mortensen 2012

(9) PTB *m-ruy VOMIT

This root (originally proposed by Weidert 1987:477) is distinct from PTB ***m/s-lwa-k** VOMIT (§1.8.3.2). Several languages have reflexes from both roots, e.g. Mizo **luak** (PTB ***m/s-lwa-k** VOMIT (§1.8.3.2)) and **lùi** from the present root. Some Tamangic languages have apparently developed a **-t** suffix.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ru(u)y** DRUNK / INTOXICATED / NAUSEATED

**Chin*	***ru(u)y**	DRUNK / INTOXICATED / NAUSEATED	VanBik 2009:932

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	**gu:i**^{3} > gui?^{3}	feel nauseated	VanBik 2009:932

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**pvuy**	get drunk on, get high on	VanBik 2009:932

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**rǐi**-I, riit-II	drunk, intoxicated, tipsy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:932
Lushai [Mizo]	**lùi**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:477
	rùi-I, rùih-II	drunk, drunken, intoxicated, tipsy, giddy, sick (be v.)	VanBik 2009:932

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**pa-li**	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	pā-lí	vomit	VanBik 2009:1063
	pā-rī	drunk, to be intoxicated (be v.)	VanBik 2009:932

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Sorbung	**məlit**	vomit (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.090

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

**Naga*	***m-ruy**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:477

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	[2]**me**[4]**rɯ**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:477
Angami (Khonoma)	**mere**	vomit	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**merü**	vomit	Marrison 1967
	me^{31} **ru**^{31}	vomit (n.)	Nienu 1990a:3.7.12
	me^{31} **rü**^{35}	vomit (v.)	Nienu 1990a:3.7.13
Chokri	**mü**^{31} **rü**^{31}	vomit (n.)	Nienu 1990b:3.7.12
	mü^{31} **rü**^{55}	vomit (v.)	Nienu 1990b:3.7.13
	[2]**me**[5]**rɯ**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:477
	[1]pra[5]**ri**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:660
Khezha	**merɯ**	vomit (v.)	Yabu 1994:3.7.12
Mao	**morü**-hi	vomit	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a ku **mughu**	vomit (n.)	Achumi 1998a:3.7.12
	mughu	vomit (v.)	Achumi 1998a:3.7.13
	mughu ve	vomit	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	**ma-rui** pât-	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:477
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**n-rûi**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:477
Zeme	[1]**n**[5]**rui**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:477

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*[Bh]**rut**	vomit	Mazaudon 1994:862
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ru** qi	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	ru qi	vomit	Glover 1972:2.A.70
	wriq bā	vomit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	wriq ba	vomit (v.)	Glover 1972:2.B.2.29
Gurung	[2]**rui**	vomit	Mazaudon 1994:862
Manang (Gyaru)	**ri:**[2] ba	vomit (V.)	Nagano 1984:088
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]**ri:**-	vomit	Mazaudon 1994:862
	[1]**ri:**-	vomit	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0288
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'rui**	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:702
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]**rut**	vomit, throw up (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.7.13
	[2]**rut**	vomit	Mazaudon 1994:862
Tamang (Sahu)	**'rup**-pā	vomit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	'rup-pa	vomit (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.29
	'rut	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:702
	'rut	vomit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	'rut	vomit	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.67
	[2]**rut**	vomit	Mazaudon 1994:862; Mazaudon 1994:862
Tamang (Taglung)	**rui**-ba	vomit	Mazaudon 1994:862

1.8.3.3 Cough

(1) PTB *suk COUGH

This root bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***səw-t** COUGH (§1.8.3.3). For now, we are assigning reflexes with open syllables or final **-t** to PTB ***səw-t** COUGH (§1.8.3.3), and those with final velars to the present etymon.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***suŋ**	cough	Coblin 1986:58

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bokar Lhoba	**ɕak**	cough	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**sig**-ya-ge-nam	cough (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	i **suk sak**-nam	cough (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**shâg**-ré	cough (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Milang	**cak**-si-**cak**-ma	cough	Tayeng 1976

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**suks**-	cough (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	suŋ mā	cough (v.)	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Kulung	**chuks**-	cough (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:38
	chuks-a	cough (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**sug**	cough	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1222s
Chinese (Old)	**sugh**	cough	Coblin 1986:58

Chinese comparandum

嗽 OC ***sug**, *GSR* #1222s 'cough'; Coblin 86:58 ST ***suɣ** > OC ***sugh**; Mand. **sòu**.

(2) PTB *kwak COUGH

There is a possible relationship between this root and PTB ***k(r)aːk** PHLEGM / SPUTUM / MUCUS (§1.8.3.1), the latter also now being reconstructed with a medial glide. Cf. also PTB ***ha(:)k** HAWK / GAG / CHOKE (§1.3.5.7).

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***khək**	cough	Coblin 1986:58

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kaːk**	cough	Coblin 1986:58
	***kɑːk**	cough up / phlegm	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:937g

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP

Miji	**k**[h]**ɯu**	cough (v.)	Simon 1979

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***khuʔ** COUGH

**Chin*	***khuʔ**	COUGH	VanBik 2009:433
Anal	pì-ì-**khù**	cough (v.)	Weidert 1987:948

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**khuh**	cough	VanBik 2009:433
Thado	**khûu**-I, khûut	cough	VanBik 2009:433
Tiddim	**khuʔ**^{3}	cough	VanBik 2009:433

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	ǹ**k'u**˝	cough	VanBik 2009:433
Cho (Mindat)	m-**khuh**	make (s.o.) cough (v.)	VanBik 2009:433
Khumi	**pkhiw**	cough	VanBik 2009:433

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**khuʔ**-INV	cough	VanBik 2009:433
Lai (Falam)	**khùʔ**-INV	cough	VanBik 2009:433
Lushai [Mizo]	**khuh**	cough (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	khùh	cough (v.)	VanBik 2009:433
	khuʔ	cough (v.)	Weidert 1987:948

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	[2]pə[2]**khu**	cough (v.)	Weidert 1987:948

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	in-**khú**	cough (v.)	Weidert 1987:948
	ən **k**[h]**u**	cough	Toba & Kom 1991:11.1
Lamkang	kʌ-pu-**khú**	cough (v.)	Weidert 1987:948

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-khu(t)** COUGH (v.) [a]

**Central Naga*	*a-**khu(t)**	COUGH (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.082
**Ao*	*a.**khət**	COUGH (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.086
Ao (Chungli)	a[3]**kət**[1]	cough (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.086
	a **ket**	cough	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **khet**	cough	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a **khət**	cough [coughed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e[1]-**khu**[3]-	cough (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.082
	e **khu**	cough	Marrison 1967
	e **khü**	cough	Murry *et al.* 1978:25
	e **khü** a	cough	Murry *et al.* 1978:25

[a] The final ***-t** in this meso-root is unexplained, but we are including it here for now.

	e **khu** a	cough	Nienu 1990c:11.1
Sangtam	**khu**	cough	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **khü**	cough (v.)	Kumar 1973b:38

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	ma-**khû**	cough (v.)	Weidert 1987:948
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	n-**xau**	cough (v.)	Weidert 1987:948

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***k^{h}a** COUGH

**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}a**	cough	Mortensen 2012:324
Kachai	k^{h}ə-mə-**k^{h}u**	cough	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.310
Tangkhul	**kha**	cough	Bhat 1969:87
	kha ma **khā**	cough (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Tusom	k^{h}a-ŋ-**kʃi**	cough	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.322
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**k^{h}a**	cough	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	lok **khu** bə	cough	Singh 1991:11.1
	lok **khu** dokpə	clear throat	Singh 1991:11.8
	lok **khu**	cough	Marrison 1967

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ch-.ing **khák-**	clear throat; cough	Grüssner 1979:67; Grüssner 1979:67
	tśiŋ **khak**	expectorate, clear throat, cough up; phlegm, sputum	Benedict 1972:323

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	**goks**	cough	Sharma 1991a:11.1

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Dzongkha	ʔlo-**khuʔ**	cough (v.)	Weidert 1987:948
Tibetan (Written)	**k'ogs**-pa	cough (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	khogs	cough	Marrison 1967
	khogs(-pa)	cough (v,n.)	Benedict 1972:184n482
	khogs-pa	cough (v.)	Weidert 1987:948

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**'khā** si-nyā	cough (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	kha si-nya	cough (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.26
	k^{h}a si-nya	cough (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.26
Magar	cu-**khe**	cough (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.26
	cu-**khe**	cough (v.)	Matisoff 1987

7. KARENIC: ***kuk^{D}** COUGH (v.)

**Karen*	***kuk^{D}**	cough (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:63
**Karen [Burling]*	***ku^{2}**	cough (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:63
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ku?**	cough	Jones 1961:286
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***kú?**	cough	Jones 1961:286
**Karen (Pwo)*	***kɔ́?**	cough	Jones 1961:286
Bwe	θə-**khù**	cough (v.)	Weidert 1987:948
	θə^{55}**khu^{33}**	cough (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:63
Kayah	**khi^{55}**	cough (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:63
Kayan	**khuʔ^{45}**	cough (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:63
Kayaw	**khi^{33}**	cough (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:63
Pa-O (Northern)	(taʔ^{21}he^{55}) **khuk^{21}**	cough (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:63
Palaychi	ləq **kùq**	cough	Jones 1961:286
Pwo (Northern)	**kauʔ^{45}**	cough (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:63
Pwo (Southern)	**kɔuʔ^{31}**	cough (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:63
Pwo (Bassein)	**kɔ̀?**	cough	Jones 1961:286
Pwo (Moulmein)	**kàuʔ**	cough	Jones 1961:286
Sgaw (Northern)	**kuʔ^{45}**	cough (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:63
Sgaw (Southern)	**kɔuʔ^{21}**	cough (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:63
Sgaw	**^{4}kuʔ**	cough (v.)	Weidert 1987:948
Sgaw (Bassein)	**kuʔ**	cough	Jones 1961:286
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	tθă^{31} **kṵ^{55}**	cough	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2111
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**kuʔ**	cough	Jones 1961:286
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**kṵʔ^{55}**	cough	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2111

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kág**/kʻə̂i	cough	Chou Fa-kao 1972:937g
Chinese (Old)	**khəgh**	cough	Coblin 1986:58

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**khəï-**	cough	Coblin 1986:58

Chinese comparandum

咳 OC ***k'əg**, *GSR* #937g 'cough'; B & S 2011: ***k^{hs}ək-s**; Mand. **ké**.

(3) PTB *səw-t COUGH

This root bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***suk** COUGH (§1.8.3.3). For now, we are assigning reflexes with open syllables or final **-t** to the present etymon, and those with final velars to PTB ***suk** COUGH (§1.8.3.3).

If these two roots were to be combined, it would necessitate a reconstruction like **səw-t ≍ səwk**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***su(w)**	cough	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1222s
	***su(w)**	cough (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:38
	***su(w)**	cough	Benedict 1972:423; Coblin 1986:58
	***səw-t**	cough	Matisoff 2003a:612

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	gu-**su**	cough	Coblin 1986:58; Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:101n288

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	gu-**su**	cough	Coblin 1986:58; Benedict 1972:101n288
Garo (Bangladesh)	bu-**su**-a	cough (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.45-II:idx

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**sud**-pa	cough (v.)	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:423
	sud-pa	cough	Coblin 1986:58

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	**'sō** ki lū-ne	cough (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	sö ki	cough	Michailovsky 1991:38

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**sø** khe	cough	Michailovsky 1991:38
Thulung	**seo** khe	cough	Michailovsky 1991:38
	seo ki	cough	Allen 1975
	soe ki	cough	Michailovsky 1991:38
	syo kī	cough (v.)	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Magar	**cu**-khe	cough (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.26
	cu-khe	cough (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	su	cough (v.)	Benedict 1972:423
	su	cough	Coblin 1986:58

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Wordlist)	**cyuq**	cough	Hansson 1989:342
Côông [Phunoi]	**shàu̱** ce	cough (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	s^{h}ɑu^{11} ce^{33}	cough	Bradley 1977

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**səu-**	cough	Coblin 1986:58

Chinese comparandum

嗽 Cf. #1794 root variation?

1.8.3.5 Hiccup

(1) PTB *ʔik HICCOUGH / BELCH

This obviously onomatopoetic root is quite widespread in the family. Occasionally there are phonological differences in a given languages between HICCUP and BELCH, e.g. Lahu **ɔ̀ʔ ve** 'belch' and **ɔ̂ʔ ve** 'hiccup'.

The PLB reconstruction ***ut** given in *LTSR* #161 is erroneous, as can be seen from the extra-Lolo-Burmese cognates with final **-k**.

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	tɑ^{31}**ɯk^{35}**	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.23
	ɹɯ^{31} **ɑk^{55}**	hiccup	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɹɯ^{31}**ɑk^{55}**	belch (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1245.23

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ʔirʔ** BELCH / SPEW

**Chin*	***ʔirʔ**	BELCH / SPEW	VanBik 2009:466

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	**ib**	burp / belch	Haokip 1998:11.6
	sa **ib**	hiccup	Haokip 1998:11.2
Paite	**ik**	spew	VanBik 2009:466
Sizang	sā **ik** suak hī	belch	VanBik 2009:466
Thado	**íʔ**	belch	Thirumalai 1972:25
	ʔiʔ-INV	belch	VanBik 2009:466
Tiddim	**ik^{3}** > iʔ^{3}	belch (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:518
	ik^{3} > iʔ^{3}	belch	VanBik 2009:466
	ik^{3}/iʔ^{3}	belch	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	tsîŋ **ʔirʔ**-INV	belch, spew	VanBik 2009:466
Lushai [Mizo]	**ir**	belch (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2499
	ir'	belch (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	irh	belch (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	ìrh	belch, to eructate, to spew (v.)	VanBik 2009:466
	irh-fiak	hiccup (v.)	Matisoff 1987

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	chua cha **ua**	hiccup (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	pa-**ua**	belch (v.)	Matisoff 1987

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Sema [Sumi]	**eu**	burp / belch	Achumi 1998a:11.6

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	hai-**ik** kerang	hiccup (v.)	Matisoff 1987

1.6. MRU

Mru	**ör**	belch (v.)	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	ti**•-ik**-a	hiccup (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.44-II:idx

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	gă **e** ~ kə **e**	hiccup (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	gə **e**	hiccup (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	kă^{31}**eʔ^{55}**	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.19
	kə **éʔ**	hiccup (v.)	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Spiti	**ik**	hiccup	Bodh 1991:11.2
Tibetan (Written)	**ʔig** ga rgjag	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.01
	'ig	hiccup, sob	Matisoff 1987

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**ʔəʔ**.phuk	burp, belch (esp. when due to an upset stomach) (n.)	Caughley 2000
Kham	**a** phu	belch (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	ə phu:	belch (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.1
	ə p^{h}u:	belch (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.1

4. NUNGIC

Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	daʔ^{55} **aɹ^{55}**	burp, belch	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	tɯ^{31} **ɯʔ**	hiccup	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Xiandao)	cɤ^{55} kɤk^{55} **ɤk^{55}**	hiccup / belch	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1724
	cɤ^{55}kɤk^{55}**ɤk^{55}**	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.29
Bola	a^{31} **jə̱k^{55}** t^{h}auŋ^{35}	hiccup / belch	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1724
Bola (Luxi)	a^{31}**ə̱k^{55}**thauŋ^{35}	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**a̱k^{55}**thauŋ^{31}	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.31
Lashi	**ə̱k^{55}** thuŋ^{55}	burp; belch; hiccup	Dai Qingxia 1989m:11.2; Dai Qingxia 1989m:11.6
Leqi (Luxi)	**ə̱k^{55}**thuŋ^{55}	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.33
Maru [Langsu]	**a̱k^{55}** thauŋ^{31}	burp; belch; hiccup	Dai Qingxia 1989l:11.2; Dai Qingxia 1989l:11.6

6.1.2. LOLOISH

Lolopho	**ɤ^{31}** phɣ^{31}	burp / belch	Dai Qingxia 1989n:11.6

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**ɣɤ^{35}** ta^{53}	burp; belch; hiccup	Dai Qingxia 1989c:11.2; Dai Qingxia 1989c:11.6
	ɣɤ^{35}ta^{53}	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.47
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**iu̱^{31}**	hiccup / belch	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1724.
Nusu (Central)	**iu̱^{53}**	hiccup / belch	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1724.
	iu̱^{53}	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**o^{21}**li^{21}phu^{21}	belch; nauseated, feel	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**ə^{21}**phə^{21}tə^{33}	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.37
Yi (Weishan)	ɑ^{21}**ɣu^{21}**mɯ^{55}	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ɤ^{11}**	hiccup; belch (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.38; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1245.38
Yi (Xide)	**o^{21}**-li^{21}-p^{h}u^{21}	belch	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	o^{21}li^{21}phu^{21}	belch (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1245.35
	si^{21} **o^{55}**	hiccup	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	si^{21}**o^{55}**	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**xɯ^{33}**to̱^{21}da^{21}	hiccup	Chen Kang 1986b:11.2

	xɯ^{55} ʈo̱^{21} dɑ^{21}	burp; belch; hiccup	Luo Meizhen 1990:11.2; Luo Meizhen 1990:11.6
Jinuo	**ə**^{31}m̩^{44}	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ɤ**^{31} m̩^{31}	hiccup / belch	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1786
Jinuo (Baka)	**ɤ**^{55}	hiccup / belch	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1786
**Common Lahu*	***ui**̂	hiccup	Bradley 1979b:578
	***ui**̬	belch	Bradley 1979b:579
Lahu (Black)	**ə̀ʔ**	belch	Matisoff 1972b:161
	ə̀ʔ ve	belch (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	ə̂ʔ ve	hiccup (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Sani [Nyi]	**ɤ**^{55} tɬe^{33} dæ^{21}	burp, hiccup (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:327.1
	ɤ^{55} tɬɣ̱^{21}	hiccup	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:175.1
Yi (Sani)	**ɤ**^{55}tɬe^{2}	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ɤ**^{55}tɬe^{22}	hiccup	Chen Kang 1986b:11.2

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**eu LS**	belch	Matisoff 1972b:161
Bisu	**ə̀ŋ**	belch	Beaudouin 1988:28
Hani (Mojiang)	**xɯ**^{55}tɤ^{33}tɤ^{33}	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.42
Mpi	**hɤʔ**^{6}ʔɤʔ^{2}khe^{3}	hiccup	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**həʔ** ce	hiccup (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	həʔ^{33} ce^{33}	hiccup	Bradley 1977
	sə^{31} tə^{31} **hə** ce	hiccup	Ferlus 1991:11.2

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**i̱**^{45}tɬɛ^{21}tʌ^{33}	hiccup	Pelkey 2011:909
Phola	**i̱**^{31n}tɑ^{33}	belch	Pelkey 2011:910
Hlepho Phowa	**ə**^{21}(-dɛ^{33})	belch	Pelkey 2011:910

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**hɯ**˥ʈv˥	hiccup (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2479
Moso	**ʌ 11**	belch	Matisoff 1972b:161
Na (Yongning)	**ɑ**˩pʰv˥	belch, burp	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɑ˩pʰv˥	belch (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**ə**^{55}tɯ^{33}	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.45

7. Karenic

Pa-O	tə **ʔí**	hiccup	Solnit 1989
	tə **ʔík**	hiccup (2)	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Moulmein)	khəʔ **ʔèʔ**	belch (v.)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:859
Sgaw (Moulmein)	pəʔ **ʔýʔ**	belch (v.)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:859

8. Bai

Bai (Jianchuan)	khə^{33}**ə**^{42}	belch (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1245.48
	se̱^{44} **ɯ**^{55} tɯ^{55}	burp / belch	Zhao Yansun 1990:11.6
	tɑ̱^{33}**ə**^{55}tə^{55}	hiccup (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1244.48
	ɯ̱^{21} p^{h}u^{31}	hiccup	Zhao Yansun 1990:11.2

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ʔɛg/ʔăi-**	belch	Karlgren 1957:957b

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**yɑi**	belch	Karlgren 1957:957b

Chinese comparandum

噫 OC ***ʔɛg**, *GSR* #957b; Mand. **yī**.

This character is also found in the Shi Jing with the interjectory meaning ‘alas, oh’ and the OC reconstruction ***ʔi̱əg** (*GSR* #957b).

1.8.4 Urine/Piss

(1) PTB *g-ts(y)i- $\begin{matrix}\text{t}\\\text{n}\end{matrix}$ URINE / URINATE

This root exemplifies several typical TB allofamic patterns: variation in initial voicing, affricate/spirant alternation, and alternate suffixations.

The notion of URINATE is often conveyed by an OV cognate object construction, lit. “to urinate urine”: e.g. Jingpho **jìt jí**, Nung **tsi tsi**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-ts(y)i-t/n**	urine	Matisoff 2003a:617
	***ts(y)i**	urine	Weidert 1987:311
	***ts(y)i**	urinate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:193
	***ts(y)i**	urine; urinate	Michailovsky 1991:194; Benedict 1972:77
	***ts(y)i ≍ *ziy**	urine	LaPolla 1987:117
	***tśi**	urine	Weidert 1987:921
	***tśi/źəy**	urinate, urine	Benedict 1972:27n86
	***zəy**	urine	Matisoff 2003a:617

1.1.1. Tani: ***si** URINE

**Tani*	***si**	urine	Sun 1993a:446

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**sí**	urine; urinate	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	siʔ	urine	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	siʔ na	urinate	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-nā lɯ-pa	up till now	Sun 1993b
	^{1}**si** ^{2}i(^{2})	urine	Weidert 1987:621
Bokar	i **ɕi:**	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.24
	i-**ši:**	urine	Sun 1993a
	i-**si:**	urine	Sun 1993b
	i-**si: si:**	urinate	Sun 1993b
	si:-kaŋ	latrine (for man)	Sun 1993b
	ɕi:	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.24
Bokar Lhoba	i **ɕi:**	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	i **ɕi:** ɕi:	urinate	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	ye **si**	urine	Das Gupta 1963
	ye **s:i si**-nam	urinate (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘ya **si**	urine (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ye **si**-hi̱i̱ nam	urinate (v:inc.arg.O.)	GLDC 2009
	¯ ya **si**	urine	Weidert 1987:921; Weidert 1987:621
Miri, Hill	u sum-**si**-nam	urinate	Simon 1976
Tagin	**si** cum	urine	Das Gupta 1983
	si sum **si** nam	urinate (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	je-**si**	urine	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ɕi**-pa	urine	Sun 1993b
	ɕi-pa ɕi-keʔ-bat	piss in the pants	Sun 1993b
	ɕi-pa ɕur	piss in the pants	Sun 1993b
	ɕi-rəp	urinate	Sun 1993b
Milang	ate-**te**-**ma**	urinate	Tayeng 1976
	a **te**	urine	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	ka **cang**	urinate	NEFA (India) 1963
	ka **cang** cei	urine	NEFA (India) 1963
	ka **čang** cei	urine	Matisoff 1987
	kɯ^{31} **tɕɯŋ**^{55}	urinate; urine	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɯ^{31}**tɕɯŋ**^{55}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.22
	kɯ^{31}**tɕɯŋ**^{55}	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.22
	kɯ^{31}**tɕɯŋ**^{55}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.49
Kaman [Miju]	**tsît**	urine	Weidert 1987:311
	tɯ^{31} **ɕit**^{55}	urine	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɯ^{31} **ɕit**^{55} tɑn^{55} din^{31}	urinate	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɯ^{31}**ɕit**^{55}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.23
	tɯ^{31}**ɕit**^{55}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.48
	t^{h}ɑ^{31} **tɕit**^{55}	bladder	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	thɯi^{55}**tɕiŋ**^{55}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.50
	t^{h}e-**ci**	urine	Pulu 1978
	t^{h}ɯi^{55}**tɕiŋ**^{55}	urine	Sun Hongkai 1991f:9.7.1
Yidu	thɯi^{55}**tɕiŋ**^{55}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.25

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ka-**shî**	urine	Weidert 1987:311

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tusom	zam-pi-**tsy**	urine	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.280

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**si**-di	urine, urinate; urine	LaPolla 1987:117; Benedict 1972:77; Marrison 1967 [a]

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***Ç-c^{h}i** URINE

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-c^{h}i**	urine	French 1983:573

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	^{2}**sa(ʔ)**	urine	Weidert 1987:777
Tangsa	^{1}**šaŋ(ʔ)**	urine	Weidert 1987:777
	^{1}**ši**	urine	Weidert 1987:921
	^{1}**ši(ʔ)**	urine	Weidert 1987:311
Tangsa (Yogli)	**ši**	urine	French 1983:573

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**cet**	urine	French 1983:573
	cet cet	pass urine (v.)	French 1983:573
	chet	urine	Marrison 1967
Khiamngan	^{2}**dže̱**	urinate (v.)	Weidert 1987:1161
	^{23}**dže̱ʔ**	urine	Weidert 1987:311
Konyak	**shi** shok	urine	Marrison 1967
	ši	urine	French 1983:573
	ši šok	urine	French 1983:573
Konyak (Tamlu)	**šúʊt**	urine	Weidert 1987:621

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**dží ≍ tší**	urinate	Matisoff 1974:298
	dźit	urine	LaPolla 1987:117
	džit	urine	Benedict 1972:77
	džit dži	urinate (lit. ”urinate urine”)	Benedict 1972:77
	dźit tśyiʔ	urinate	Benedict 1972:59n190
	dźit-tsyi~**dźit**-dźi	urinate	LaPolla 1987:117
	jit	urine	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	jit chyi	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	jit-bāwng	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987
	jìt jí	urinate (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	tʃit^{31}	urine	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tʃit^{31}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.19
	tʃit^{31}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.47
	tʃit^{31} tʃi^{55}	urinate	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tʃi^{55}	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.19
	^{3}**tši**	urinate (v.)	Weidert 1987:311
	^{1}**džit**	urine	Weidert 1987:1161
	^{1}**džit**	urine (n.)	Weidert 1987:311

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Kadu	ă **sɪt**^{3}	urine	Luce 1985:G.78
Kadu (Kantu)	ă **sɪt**^{3}	urine	Luce 1985:L.164

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Baram	**ci**	urine	Kansakar 2010:23
Kanauri	**sẖĕn**-mig‘	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**chàŋ** di	urine	Sharma 1991b:9.7.1
	chàŋ zi	urinate (v.)	Sharma 1991b:9.7.2
	tʃ^{h}aŋ zi	urinate (v.)	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	bom-**che** rang	bladder	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 15
	che rang	urine	Egli-Roduner 1987:37 2
	chhe rang	urine	Andvik 1993:23
Tsangla (Motuo)	bum **tɕ^{h}e** raŋ	bladder	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	pum^{13}-**tɕ^{h}e**^{55} raŋ^{13}	bladder	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	tɕe raŋ wu	urinate	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɕhe raŋ	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.7
	tɕ^{h}e^{55} raŋ^{13}	urine	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	tɕ^{h}e raŋ	urine	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	**tɕ^{h}a**-raŋ	urine	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tɕ^{h}in**^{55}	urine	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tɕhin**^{53}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.6
	tɕ^{h}in^{53}	urine	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɕ^{h}in^{53} ɕeʔ^{53}	urinate	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Motuo Menba	**tɕhe** raŋ	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.07
Cuona Menba	**tɕhin**^{53}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.06
	tɕin^{55} ɕeʔ^{53}ne^{31}	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣccən**	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htɕən**	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɣtɕən**	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**tɕĩ**^{231}	urine	Dai Qingxia 1989a:9.7.1
	tɕĩ^{231} phiʔ^{53}	urinate (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:9.7.2
	tɕĩ^{55}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**cyingq**	urine	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tɕin**^{55}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tɕiŋ**^{55}pə^{55} taŋ^{55}	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.02
	tɕĩ^{55}pa^{53}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.2
	tɕĩ^{55}pə^{55}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**ching**	urine	Bishop 1989:9.7.1

[a] [Source Note] (di ‘water’) (LaPolla 1987).

	ching dangen	urinate (v.)	Bishop 1989:9.7.2
Sherpa	**cingq**	urine	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**chi chi**	urine	Bodh 1991:9.7.1
	cin	urine	Bodh 1991:9.7.1
	cin tanje	urinate (v.)	Bodh 1991:9.7.2
Tibetan (Written)	(**gtɕin**) gtoŋ	piss / pee (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.01
	gci-ba	urine	Luce 1985:X.52
	gɕi-pa	piss	Matisoff 1987
	gcid	urine	Luce 1985:X.52
	gcid-pa	urine	Luce 1985:G.78
	gɕid-pa	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	gcin	urine	Luce 1985:X.52
	gɕin	urine	Matisoff 1987
	gtši-ba	urinate (v.)	Weidert 1987:311
	gtšid-pa	urinate (v.)	Weidert 1987:311
	gtśid-pa ≍ **gtśi**-ba	urinate	Benedict 1972:77; LaPolla 1987:117
	gtšin	urine	Weidert 1987:311
	gtśin	urine	LaPolla 1987:117; Benedict 1972:77
	gtʃin-pa	urine	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:67
	gtɕin	urine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.01
	gtɕin pa	urine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:283.1
	ɣci-ba	urine	Luce 1985:T.23
	ɣcid-pa	urine	Luce 1985:T.23
	ɣcin	urine	Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:T.23
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htɕən**	urine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**jit**	urine	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Gyaru)	boŋ[1] **ci**[1]	bladder	Nagano 1984:042-03

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	**chep** ma tuma	urinate	Ebert 1997
	chep ma(ŋ)	urine	Ebert 1997
	chep ma(ŋ) tuma	urinate	Ebert 1997
Belhare	**chep** ma	urine	Bickel 1995
Limbu	**se**-mā	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	ses-	urinate (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	seʔ ma:(ʔ)	urine	Weidert 1987:147
	seʔ ma:t	urine	Weidert 1987:621
	seʔ ma:tʔ	urine	Weidert 1987:147
	seʔ ma:ʔ	urine	Weidert 1987:777
	seʔ ma:ʔt	urine	Weidert 1987:777
	seʔ r-	urinate on (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:193
	se:s- (se)	urinate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:193
	se:s-(u)	urinate; urine	Weidert 1987:147; Weidert 1987:311
	se: ma	urine	Weidert 1987:311
	se: mat	urine	Michailovsky 1989b
	se māt	urine	Matisoff 1987
	si māt	urine	Matisoff 1987
Yakha	**chipʔ** ma	urine	Weidert 1987:621
	ciʔ ma	urine	Kohn 1990:9.7.1
	ciʔ ma cima	urinate (v.)	Kohn 1990:9.7.2
Yamphu	**se** gu ma	urine (n.)	Rutgers 1998:575.16

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**chep** pa	urine; urine (v.n.)	Michailovsky 1991:194; Rai 1985; Rai *et al.* 1984:19
	tshep-pa	urine	Matisoff 1987; Michailovsky 1991:194 [a]

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	**'cek** mö	urine	Michailovsky 1991:194
	'cek mō	urine	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	**tsɪ**	urinate on sth. or so. (obj.) (vt.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.197
	tsɪ-	urinate on (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:193
	tsɪ: pɪ	urine	Michailovsky 1991:194

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	jiːh-**si**-nyā	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	jiːh **si**-nya	urinate	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.8
	pũː **ci**	bladder	Watters & Watters 1989

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**sị** wo[2]	bladder	Sofronov c1978

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	(e[55]**ʃə**[31]) wu[35] khuɔ[55]	piss / pee (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.16
	e[55]**ʃə**[55]	urine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.16
	ɛ[55] **ʃl̩**[55]	urine	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:283.17
Pumi (Qinghua)	ɬo[13] **tsə**[13]	bladder	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	ɬio[35] **tsə**[35]	bladder	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Mawo)	**tʂhə** ʂ	bladder	Sun 1986
	tʂʰə ʂ	bladder	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**tʂʰə** ʂ	bladder	DAI Qingxia 1989q:179

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	ta **ʃtʃi**	urine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:283.12
	ta **ɕtɕi**	urine	DAI Qingxia 1989d:9.7.1
	ta **ɕtɕi** ka lɛt	urinate (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:9.7.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ta-**ʃtʃi**	urine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0147
	ta-**ʃtʃi** ka-lɐt	urinate (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0149
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	ta22 **ʂtɕi44**	urine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0147
	ta22 **ʂtɕi44** ka44 lat33	urinate (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0149
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **ʃtʃi**	urine	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.7.1
	ta **ʃtʃi** kɛlɐt	urinate (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:9.7.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	tə22 **ɕtɕi44**	urine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0147
	tə22 **ɕtɕi44** kə22 lət44	urinate (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0149
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **ʃtʃi**	urine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.11
	tɑ **ʃtʃi** kɐ lɐt	piss / pee (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	wa22 **ɕtɕi44** na44 lɜt24	urinate (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0149
rGBenzhen	ta-**ʃtʃiʔ** [-ɕtɕiʔ]	urine	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Rawang	**si**[33]	urine	LaPolla 2003:169
	si[33] zi[33] ɛ[33]	urinate	LaPolla 2003:1412
Anong	**tsi**	urine	LaPolla 1987:117; Benedict 1972:77
	tsi tsi	urinate	Benedict 1972:77; LaPolla 1987:117
	ʂɑ[55] **ʂɪ**[31]	urine	SUN Hongkai 1988
	ʂɑ[55]**ʂl̩**[31]	urine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:283.44
Trung [Dulong]	**tšʻi**[44]	urine	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	**tɕi**[55]	urine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.20
Trung [Dulong]	**tɕi**[55]	urine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:283.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**tśi**[55]	urine	LaPolla 1987:117
	tɕi[55]	urine	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	tɕi[55] klăŋ[53]	bladder	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	wă?[55] **tɕi**[55] klăŋ[53]	bladder	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**tɕʰi**[31] klăŋ[53]	bladder	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	wă?[55] **tɕʰi**[31] klăŋ[53]	bladder	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	hhe1**ce1**	urine (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	hhe1**ce1**bo3	urinate (n+vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	hhe[1]**ce**[3]	urine	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.1
	hhe[1]**ce**[1]bo[3]	urinate (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.2
Tujia	**tsʰe**[55] **tsʰe**[35]	urine	CHEN Kang 1986d:9.7.1 [a]
Tujia (Southern)	**tsʰe**[55] **tsʰe**[35]	urine	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**tsʰe**[55] **tsʰe**[35] po[21]	urinate (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986d:9.7.2
Tujia (Southern)	**tsʰe**[55] **tsʰe**[35] pʰaɨ[13]	bladder	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	ɣiɐ[55] **tsʰe**[55]	urine	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	ɣɯe[55] **tsʰe**[55]	urine	CHEN Kang 1986c:9.7.1
	ɣɯe[55] **tsʰe**[55] po[21]	urinate (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986c:9.7.2
	ɣɯe[55]**tshie**[55]	urine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:283.38
	ɤɯe[55]**tshie**[55]	urine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.49

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***N-ts(y)i**[2] ≍ ***z(y)əy**[2] URINE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-(d)zyəy**[2]	urine	Matisoff 2003a:189
	***ziy**	urine	LaPolla 1987:117
	***źəy**	urine	Benedict 1972:30n96

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	tu[31] **tɕhi**[31]	urine	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	kă[31] **tʂhə**[35]	urine	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	kă[31]**tʂhə**[35]	urine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.28
	kă[31]**tʂhə**[35]	urine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:283.41
	tʂhə[31]	piss / pee (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.28
Achang (Luxi)	n̥i[55] **ɕi**[51]	urine	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥i[55] **ɕi**[55] ɔm[35]	bladder	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**tsʰi̱**[55] pʰu[31]	bladder	DAI Qingxia 1989f:140.1
Bola	**i̱**[35]	urine	DAI Qingxia 1989g:181
Bola (Luxi)	**i̱**[35]	urine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.32
Bola	**tʃɔt**[31] pauŋ[31]	bladder	DAI Qingxia 1989g:179
Burmese (Modern)	**se:**	urine	Luce 1985:T.23
	se[4]	urine	Luce 1985:G.78
Burmese (Rangoon)	**shi**[55]	urine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**hsi**[55]	urine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:283.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**θe**[4]	urine	Luce 1985:T.23
Burmese (Written)	**chî**	urine; urine (medical)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:298; Benedict 1976a
	chī:	urine	Marrison 1967
	cʻī[4]	urine	Luce 1985:X.52
	hsi[3]	urine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:283.39
	Mod. **se**[4]	urine	Luce 1985:X.52
	sê	urine; piss (vulgar); urine (vulg.)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:298; Benedict 1976a
	sè	urine	LaPolla 1987:117
	shi[3]	urine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.26
	tshì	urine; urine (polite form)	Weidert 1987:311; LaPolla 1987:117; Benedict 1972:77
	θè	urine	Weidert 1987:311
Danu	**θe**[2]	urine	Luce 1985:T.23
Hpun (Northern)	kă **shì**	urine	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	kă **sʻih**	urine	Luce 1985:T.23
	kă **sʻih**[4]	urine	Luce 1985:G.78
Hpun (Northern)	**shì** sheʔ	urinate (cp. Urine, Dung)	Henderson 1986
Lashi	**jɐi**[55]	urine	DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.7.1
Lashi (Lachhe')	**yeɪ**[3]	urine	Luce 1985:T.23
Leqi (Luxi)	**jɐ̱i**[55]	urine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.33
Marma	**θí**	urine	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:42-4
	θí-pɔʔ	urinate	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:42-5
Maru [Langsu]	**i̱k**[55]	urine	DAI Qingxia 1989l:9.7.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:283.43
Taung-Yo	**θe**[2]	urine	Luce 1985:T.23
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**i**[21]	urine	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	i[21]	urine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.30
	i[21]	urine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:283.42
	i[4]	urine	Luce 1985:T.23
	tʃit[21]	piss / pee (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.30
	tʃi[21] poŋ[55]	bladder	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***m-ji**[2]	urine	Bradley 1979b:149A
	***ši**[2]	urine	Weidert 1987:311
	***ʃi**[2]	urine; urinate	Bradley 1979b:149B; Bradley 1979b:581
Lolopho	**ʑi̱**[31] pi̱[55]	urine	DAI Qingxia 1989n:9.7.1
	ʑi̱[31] pi̱[55] ʂo[31]	urinate (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:9.7.2
PNL	**ʃi**[2]	urine	CHEN Kang 1986a:120.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	i[35] **ʂl̩**[21]	urine	DAI Qingxia 1989c:9.7.1
	i[35]**ʂl̩**[31]	urine (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.47
	ʑi[24]**ʂl̩**[31]	urine	MU Shihua 2003
Lalo	**zì**	urine	Björverud 1994
	zu̱[21]	urine	CHEN Kang 1986a:120.
	zɯ[21]	urine	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.7.1
	zɯ[21] tɕʰi̱[33]	urinate (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.7.2
Lipho	tsha[33]**zi**[21]vi[33]	urinate	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.7.2
	zi[21]	urine	CHEN Kang 1986a:120.; CHEN Kang 1986b:9.7.1

[a] Note assimilation of medial consonants.

[a] Tujia **tsʰe**[35] 'water'.

Nasu	**zi**^{33}	urine	Chen Kang 1986a:120.; Chen Kang 1986b:9.7.1
	zi^{33}	urinate (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:9.7.2
Neisu	**zi**^{33}	urine	Chen Kang 1986a:120.
Nesu	**sɻ**^{55}	urine	Chen Kang 1986b:9.7.1
	sɻ^{55} xo^{21}	urinate (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:9.7.2
	ɕi^{33}	urine	Chen Kang 1986a:120.
Noesu	**zi**^{33}	urine	Chen Kang 1986b:9.7.1
	zi^{33}xo^{33}	urinate	Chen Kang 1986b:9.7.2
Nosu	**zi**^{33}	urine	Chen Kang 1986a:120.
	zɻ^{33}	urine; urinate	Chen Kang 1986b:9.7.1; Chen Kang 1986b:9.7.2
Nusu (Central)	**zi̱**^{55}	urine	Dai Qingxia 1989p:181.; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	zi̱^{55}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.34
	zi̱^{55} tɕɯ^{35} p^{h}ɔ^{31}	bladder	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**zɻ**^{55}	urine	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ʑi**^{53}	urine	Dai Qingxia 1989o:181.
Nusu (Southern)	**ʑi**^{53}	urine	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ʑi**^{55}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ʑi**^{55} ɕa^{35}	urinate	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2194.
Yi (Dafang)	**ʑi**^{33}	urine	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**zɻ**^{33}	urine	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsi^{33}	urinate	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**zi**^{21}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ɕi**^{55}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.26
Yi (Nanjian)	**zɻ**^{21}	urine	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tɕẖɪ**^{33}	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.36
	zɻ̄^{21}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.36
	zɻ^{21}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.36
Yi (Wuding)	**zi**^{33}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.38
	zi^{33}	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.38
Yi (Xide)	ko^{34}**zɻ**^{33}	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.35
	tɕhi^{55}	bladder	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	tɕ^{h}ɭ^{34}-**zɻ**^{33}	excrement and urine	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	zɻ^{33}	urine	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	zɻ^{33}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.35
	zɻ^{33}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lolo (Ni)	**zé**	urine	Luce 1985:T.23
Ahi	**zi**^{21}	urine	Chen Kang 1986a:120.; Luo Meizhen 1990:9.7.1
	zi^{21} xo^{22}	urinate (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:9.7.2
	zɻ^{21}	urine; urinate	Chen Kang 1986b:9.7.1; Chen Kang 1986b:9.7.2
Jinuo (Youle)	e^{42} **ts^{h}ɛ**^{55}	urine	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	ji^{31} **ts^{h}ɛ**^{55}	urine	Dai Qingxia 1989h:188
Jinuo	ji^{42} **tshɛ**^{55} phi^{55}	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.44
	ji^{42}**tshɛ**^{55}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃi**^{55} pu^{33} lu^{33}	bladder	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**dzɻ31** sv55	urine / urinate	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Nyi)	**dzuh**$^{\vee}$	urine	Bradley 1979a:149
Lahu (Shehleh)	**dzuh**$^{\vee}$	urine	Bradley 1979a:149
**Common Lahu*	***dzuh**$^{\vee}$	urine	Bradley 1979b:149A
Lahu	**ji**	urine	LaPolla 1987:117
	jɨ̂	urine, urinate	Benedict 1972:77
Lahu (Lancang)	**dzi**^{53}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.43
Lahu (Black)	**dzɻ**^{53}	urine	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	dzɻ^{53} fɣ^{53}	bladder	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	jɨ̂ pí ve	urinate (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 582
	jɨ̂	urine	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:298
	jɨ̂ pí	urinate ("squirt urine")	Matisoff 1988a:818
	jɨ̂-ɣî	urine	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ^{31}**dzɻ**^{53}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.33
	ɔ̀-**jɨ̂**	urine	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	**tɕ^{h}i**^{55} kɯ^{33}	urine	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	**chi**$^{\vee}$	urine	Bradley 1979a:149
Lahu (Banlan)	**dzuh**$^{\vee}$	urine	Bradley 1979a:149
Lisu	(**rzi**^{5})htu^{4}shï^{3}	urinate	Bradley 1979b:581
	rzì	urine	LaPolla 1987:117
	rzi^{5}	urine	Bradley 1979b:149A
Lisu (Theng-yiieh)	**rzi**^{5}	urine	Luce 1985:T.23
Lisu	**rzi**^{5}	urine	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**rzi**^{5}	urine	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**rzi**^{5} htu^{4}	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	rzi^{5} **shï**^{3}	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**rzi**^{5}-htu^{4}	urinate	Fraser 1922
	rzi^{5}-shï^{3}	urinate	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Nujiang)	**sɻ**^{31} p^{h}u^{31}	bladder	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**tʃi**^{55}	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.40
Lisu (Northern)	**zi**^{21}	urine (N.)	Bradley 1994
	zi^{21} ʃl̩^{35}	urinate	Bradley 1994
	zi^{21}tʃl̩^{55}	urinate	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**zi**^{31}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**zɻ**^{31}	urine	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**zɻ**^{31}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	**zɻ**^{31} tʃl̩^{55}	urinate	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**ʒl̩**^{21}	urine (N.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	(**zi**^{21})phu^{21}**si**^{21}	bladder	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	p^{h}ɣ^{11} **sɻ**^{11}	bladder	Ma Xueliang 1989:306.4
	sɻ^{11} p^{h}ɑ^{33} mɑ^{33}	bladder	Ma Xueliang 1989:354.8
	zi^{21}	urine	Chen Kang 1986a:120.; Chen Kang 1986b:9.7.1
	zi^{21}xɑ^{33}	urinate	Chen Kang 1986b:9.7.2
	zi^{33}(∼**zi**^{21})xɒ^{33}	piss (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	zi^{33}∼**zi**^{21}(**ʑi̱**^{33})	piss (n.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	zɻ^{21} bu^{21} du^{21}	bladder	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:169.1
	zɻ^{21} **zɻ̇**^{33}	urine	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:169.2
	zɻ^{11}	urine	Ma Xueliang 1989:356.2
Yi (Sani)	**ʐ**^{11}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.39
Sani [Nyi]	ɬi^{21}**zi**^{21}xɒ^{33}	relieve nature, shit or piss	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	iˇ **shoi**	urine	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	ì **ʃì**	urine	Beaudouin 1988:16
	ʔɪ́ **šì**	urine	Bradley 1979b
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{55} **dʑe**^{55}	urine	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	a^{55} **dʑe**^{55} **dʑe**^{55}	urinate	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	a^{55}**dʑe**^{55}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.31
	su^{55} p^{h}u^{31}	bladder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	a^{55}**dʑe**^{55}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.41
	dʑe^{55}	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**sɻ**^{31} p^{h}ɣ^{31}	bladder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɤ^{31} **ts^{h}ɤ**^{55}	urine	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɤ^{31}**tshɤ**^{55}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	a^{55} **ɕø**^{33}	urine	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	a^{55} **ɕø**^{33} lɛ^{55} p^{h}u^{31}	bladder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{31} **tʃɛ**^{55}	urine	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.32
	ʃʅ^{31} fɣ^{31}	bladder	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Mojiang)	**tʃɛ**^{55}	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.42
	ɔ^{31}**tʃɛ**^{55}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.42
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔĩˇ chum **ce**	urine	Matisoff 1987
Pyen	**si31** sam45	urinate (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:131162
Sangkong	**i**^{31} si^{55}	urine	Li Yongsui 1991
Ugong	**yí**	urine	Bradley 1993:9.7.1

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Southern Muji	**ʑi**^{13}	urine	Pelkey 2011:328
	ʑi^{13}χa^{33}	urinate	Pelkey 2011:913
Phola	**zi**^{31}ɕɛ^{33}	urinate	Pelkey 2011:913
	ʤi̱^{31}	urine	Pelkey 2011:328
Hlepho Phowa	**zɻ**^{21}	urine	Pelkey 2011:328
	zɻ^{21}χa^{21}	urinate	Pelkey 2011:913
Phu Kha	a^{35} **zɯ**^{53}	urine	Fried 2000
Phuza	**ʤi**^{13}	urine	Pelkey 2011:328
	ʤi^{13}xa^{31}	urinate	Pelkey 2011:913

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**dzi**˥hæ̃˩	urinate (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2473
	dzi˧	urine	Michaud 2006–2009:459
Na (Yongning)	**ʤi̱**˥	urine	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**ʤi̱**^{33}	urine	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʤi̱**^{33}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.29

7. Karenic: ***chej**^{B} URINE

**Karen*	***chej**^{B}	urine	Luangthongkum 2013:314
**Karen (TP)*	***chíq**	urine	Jones 1961:206
**Karen [Burling]*	***chi**^{2}	urine	Luangthongkum 2013:314
**Karen (Pwo)*	***shíq**	urine	Jones 1961:206
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***shí?**	urine	Jones 1961:206
Bwe	dɛ̀-**šì**	urine	Weidert 1987:921
Bwe (Western)	**ši**^{2}	urine	Weidert 1987:921
Bwe	tho **ʃi**	let (a child) urinate (v.)	Henderson 1997
	ʃi	urine (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**ʃi**^{2}	urine	Luce 1985:G.78
Bwe	**ʃi**^{33}	urine	Luangthongkum 2013:314
	ʃi ʃé	urinate (v.)	Henderson 1997
Geba	**ʃi**^{2}	urine	Luce 1985:G.78
Kayah	**chə**^{11}	urine	Luangthongkum 2013:314
Kayan (Pekon)	**s^{h}i̱**	urinate (V.)	Manson 2010
	θá **s^{h}i̱**	urine (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**chi**^{11}	urine	Luangthongkum 2013:314
Pa-O	**chí**	urine	Weidert 1987:921; Solnit 1989; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:206
Pa-O (Northern)	**c'i**^{1}	urine	Luce 1985:G.78
Pa-O (Southern)	**ɕi**^{33}	urine	Luangthongkum 2013:314
Pa-O (Northern)	**ɕi**^{55}	urine	Luangthongkum 2013:314
Paku	**s'i**^{3}	urine	Luce 1985:G.78
Palaychi	shóq-**thíq**	urine	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:206
Pwo (Northern)	**chei**^{33}	urine	Luangthongkum 2013:314
Pwo (Southern)	**chei**^{55}	urine	Luangthongkum 2013:314
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**s'i**^{1}	urine	Luce 1985:G.78
Pwo (Delta)	**s'i**^{4}	urine	Luce 1985:G.78
Pwo (Bassein)	**shì**	urine	Weidert 1987:921; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:206
Pwo (Moulmein)	**shí?**	urine	Weidert 1987:921; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:206
Sgaw (Northern)	**chi**$^{31\sim}$	urine	Luangthongkum 2013:314
Sgaw (Southern)	**chi**^{45,}	urine	Luangthongkum 2013:314
Sgaw	**s'i**^{4}	urine	Luce 1985:G.78
	^{2}shi	urine	Weidert 1987:921
Sgaw (Bassein)	**shì**	urine	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:206
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	da^{31} **tɕ^{h}e**^{31}	urine	Dai Qingxia 1989k:188
	da^{31} **tɕ^{h}e**^{31} ts^{h}a^{55}	urinate	Dai Qingxia 1989k:188.1
	ts^{h}e^{31} ts^{h}a^{55}	urinate	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2286
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**shí?**	urine	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:206
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**s^{h}i̱**^{31}	urine	Dai Qingxia 1989j:188

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	a^{6} **sɻ**^{4}	urinate	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	ɑ^{35} **si**^{33}	urine	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**sɻ**^{55} k^{h}ɣ^{31}	urinate (v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:9.7.2

(2) PTB *tsyar URINE

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	nga-**chīr**-ra	urine	Matisoff 1987

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Kachai	ŋə-**cir**-ði	urine	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.269
	ŋə-**tɕir**-ði	piss	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	ā-ŋa-**chir**	urine	Matisoff 1987
	chir-pai	urine and feces	Matisoff 1987
	cir	urinate	Bhat 1969:99
	kha-ŋa-**chīr**	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	nga **chir** ra	urine	Marrison 1967
	^{1}khə ^{1}ŋə ^{3}**tšir**	urine	Weidert 1987:311
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**cir**	urinate	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**sír**	urinate	Bhat 1968
	sír	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987

2.2. Newar

Newar (Dolakhali)	**co**	piss	Genetti 1990b
Newar	**cwa**	urine	Matisoff 1987
	cwa phā ye	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	cwa pho:cā	urinary bladder	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.7
Newar (Kathmandu)	**cwɔ**	piss	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**cwɔ**	urine	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.7.1
	cwɔ phaegu	urinate (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.7.2
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***cer-**	urinate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:193
	***cer-**	urine	Michailovsky 1991:194
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Chamling	**chAr** pe	urine	Winter 1985:8
	chər pe	urine, penis	Michailovsky 1991:194
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**tsir**-	urinate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:193
	tsir khɨm	urine; urine, piss	Michailovsky 1991:194; Driem 1993
	tsir nɨ	pee, urinate	Driem 1993
	tsir tu nɨ	urinate in a place / onto something.	Driem 1993
Khaling	**cer**-cā	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	√**cer**-	urinate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:193
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**car**-ny-ky	urine	Matisoff 1987
	tsar	urine	Michailovsky 1991:194
	tsars-	urinate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:193
	tsar ny ky	urine	Michailovsky 1991:194
Sunwar	**car**-	urinate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:193
	cār-cā	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	cār-nā-ku	urine	Matisoff 1987
	car na ku	urine	Michailovsky 1991:194
	^{H}**tsar**-	urinate on (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:193
	^{L}**tsar**-	urinate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:193
Thulung	**sar(s)**-	urinate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:193; Allen 1975
	sar ki	urine	Michailovsky 1991:194
	sār ki	urine	Matisoff 1987
	sar ki	urine	Allen 1975
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	zi̥^{55} **tɕɯ^{35}** p^{h}ɔ^{31}	bladder	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986

(3) PTani *sum URINE

This root resembles PTB ***r-tsam** URINE (§1.8.4), but we are keeping it separate for the time being.

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***sum**	urine	Sun 1993a:447
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	u-**šum**	urine	Sun 1993a
	u-**sum**	urine	Sun 1993b
	u-**sum** sit	urinate	Sun 1993b
Miri, Hill	u **sum**	urine	Simon 1976
	u **sum**-si-nam	urinate	Simon 1976
Nishing	u **sum**	urine	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	si **cum**	urine	Das Gupta 1983
	si **sum** si nam	urinate (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

(4) PTB *r-tsam URINE

This root resembles PTani PTani ***sum** URINE (§1.8.4), but we are keeping it separate for the time being.

1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**zəm**-dəi	urine	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	zəm dəy	urine	Bhat 1968
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**jyam**	urine	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**rtsam**-pa	urine	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**tsjam**	urine	Mazaudon 1994:322
Tamang	**'cyam**	urine	Weidert 1987:777
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**tsjam**	urine (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.7.1
	^{2}**tsjam**	urine	Mazaudon 1994:322
Tamang (Sahu)	**'cyam**	urine	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.70
	'cyam 'puŋ-pa	urinate (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.8
	^{2}**tsjam**	urine	Mazaudon 1994:322
	'cyām	urine	Matisoff 1987
	'cyām 'pung-pā	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Tamang (Taglung)	**tsjam**	urine	Mazaudon 1994:322

[a] Bodo **dəi** 'water'.

(5) PTB *kum URINE

This root has so far only been found in TB languages of Nepal.

2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**kum**	urine	Mazaudon 1994:34
Chantyal	**kum**	urine	Noonan *et al.* 1992:9.7.1
	kum piri-wa	urinate (v.)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:9.7.2
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kũ**	urine	Glover 1972:2.A.73
	kũ tõh ba	urinate	Glover 1972:2.B.2.8
	ku̥	urine	Matisoff 1987
	ku̥ to̥h-bā	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Gurung	^{1}**kũ**	urine	Mazaudon 1994:34
Manang (Gyaru)	**gɯn^{2}**	urine	Nagano 1984:042-04
	gɯn^{2} briŋ^{2} ᴄᴇ^{1}	urinate	Nagano 1984:042-05
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**kuŋ**	urine	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0509
	^{1}**kuŋ**	urine	Mazaudon 1994:34
Thakali (Syang)	^{54}**kum**	urine	Mazaudon 1994:34
Thakali (Tukche)	**kum**	urine	Matisoff 1987; Hari 1971:2.A.73
	kum pun-lɔ	urinate	Hari 1971:2.B.2.8
	kum-pun-la	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	^{H}**kum**	urine	Mazaudon 1994:34
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	**chem** luu	urine	Michailovsky 1991:194; Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	tsir **khɨm**	urine; urine, piss	Michailovsky 1991:194; Driem 1993

(6) PTB *C-raŋ URINE

This tentatively reconstructed root shows evidence of both a labial and a velar prefix.

1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	t^{h}ẽ-**pra**	urine	Anonymous 1962
	t^{h}e **pra** ga	urinate	Pulu 1978
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	che **rang**	urine	Egli-Roduner 1987:37 2
	chhe **rang**	urine	Andvik 1993:23
Tsangla (Motuo)	tɕe **raŋ** wu	urinate	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɕhe **raŋ**	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.7
	tɕ^{h}e^{55} **raŋ^{13}**	urine	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	tɕ^{h}e **raŋ**	urine	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	tɕ^{h}a-**raŋ**	urine	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	tɕhe **raŋ**	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.07
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	n̥i^{53} **xɹaŋ^{53}**	urine	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

(7) PTQ *C-bi URINE

3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**bĭei**	urine	Dai Qingxia 1989e:9.7.1
	mbɪ̯e̤i^{1}	urine	Sofronov c1978
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**nbaɹ^{55}**	urine	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.18
Lyuzu	**nbaɹ^{35}**	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.18
Muya	(**bi^{24}**) nɐ^{33}bi^{53}	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.15
	bi^{24}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.15
Muya [Minyak]	**bi^{35}**	urine	Sun Hongkai 1991h:9.7.1
	bi^{35}	urinate (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:9.7.2
	bi^{35}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.15
Namuyi	**mbɛ^{33}**	urine	Sun Hongkai 1991i:9.7.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.19
	(**nbæɹ^{31}**) ti^{53} ti^{53}	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.46
	nbæɹ^{31}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**bẽ^{35}**	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**vbiɛ̃^{55}**	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sbiɛ̃**	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.11
	sbiɛ̃^{55}	urine	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	**bĩ^{53}**	urine	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.10
Qiang (Longxi)	(dà) **bí**	urinate	Evans 1999:2286
	bí	urine	Evans 1999:188
	bí-sò qò	urinary bladder [urine-pocket]	Evans 1999:186
Qiang (Mawo)	**bi**	urine	Sun 1986; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai 1991g:9.7.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.8
	bi yi	urinate (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:9.7.2
	bɪ	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.08
	bɪ ɕɛ	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**bié biè**	urinate	Evans 1999:2286
	biě	urine	Evans 1999:188
	biɛ́-tsì	hold (a urinating child) [urine-hold/support]	Evans 1999:1633
Qiang (Taoping)	**bie^{231}**	urine	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	bie^{241}	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**bi**	urine	Dai Qingxia 1989q:188
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**pe^{53}**	urine	Sun Hongkai 1991n:9.7.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**spɛ^{13}**	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.13
Xumi	**pe^{33}**liæ^{53}	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.17
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**lbi**	urine	Sun Hongkai 1991b:9.7.1
Daofu	**lbi**	urine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0152.12
Ergong (Danba)	**lbi**	urine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:283.14
Daofu	**lbi** lɛ	piss / pee (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.12
Ergong (Northern)	**lbə^{33}**	urine	Sun Hongkai 1991c:9.7.1
Ergong (Daofu)	**ɬbei**	urine	Dai Qingxia 1989b:9.7.1
	ɬbei la	urinate (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:9.7.2
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **lba**	urine	Sun Hongkai 1991l:9.7.1
	tə **lba** tɕ^{h}im	urinary bladder	Sun Hongkai 1991l:9.7
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə rə **mbi**	urine	Sun Hongkai 1991k:9.7.1
	tə rə **mbi** fkəm	urinary bladder	Sun Hongkai 1991k:9.7
	tə rə **mbi** tɕ^{h}uwulɛt	urinate (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:9.7.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tɯ r **mbi**	urine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0147
	tɯ r **mbi** lɤt	urinate (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0149

(8) PKC *tseʔ URINATE / DEFECATE (uncontrollably)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tseʔ**	URINATE / DEFECATE (uncontrollably)	VanBik 2009:575
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**tsèe**-INV	urinate or defecate uncontrollably	VanBik 2009:575
Tiddim	**teʔ^{3}**	defecate or urinate due to fear or uncontrollabili (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1735
	teʔ^{3}	defecate or urinate due to fear or lack of control	VanBik 2009:575
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tseʔ**-INV	urinate or defecate uncontrollably	VanBik 2009:575
Lushai [Mizo]	**chèh**	pass involuntarily (as excreta) (v.)	VanBik 2009:575

(9) PTB *yu ŋ/n URINATE / URINE

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***yuŋ-I**, ***yun-II** URINATE			
**Chin*	***yuŋ-I**, **yun-II**	URINATE	VanBik 2009:1244
Thanphum	pə̆`**yüᵊn^{1}**	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
	pə̆`**yüᵊn^{5}**	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**zūng** hī	urinate	VanBik 2009:1244

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**zûŋ-I, zŭn-II**	urinate	VanBik 2009:1244
Lushai [Mizo]	**zúng-I, zùn-II**	urinate	VanBik 2009:1244

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***ph-juŋ** URINATE / URINE

**Central Naga*	***ph-juŋ**	URINATE / URINE	Bruhn 2014a:III.225
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hjuŋ**-tsə	urine (? + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	hjuŋ tsə **hjùŋ**	urinate [urinated] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**mjoŋ**[1]-	urinate (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.225
	mmyung tjü	urine	Murry *et al.* 1978:130
	myong tchhü	urine	Marrison 1967
	myung a	piss	Murry *et al.* 1978:88
	Nmying a	urinate (v.)	Nienu 1990c:9.7.2
	Nmying tchu	urine	Nienu 1990c:9.7.1
Sangtam	**müyong**	urine	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
	müyong chürosing	urinate	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**phuyung**	urine	Kumar 1973b:70
	phuyung pung	urinate	Kumar 1973b:70

1.8.5 Feces/Shit/Dung/Filth/Excrement

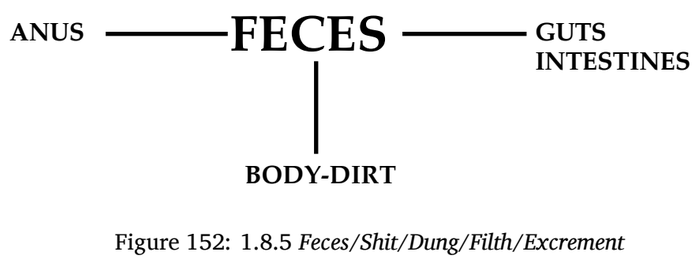


Figure 152: 1.8.5 *Feces/Shit/Dung/Filth/Excrement*

Forms in some Bodic lgs seem to be nursery words. ex. Tibetan **ka-ka**; Bunan **ko-ko**, Spiti **a-ka**.

(1) PTB *kləy BODY DIRT / EXCREMENT

This root is phonosemantically close to PTB ***krəy** DIRT / FILTH (§3.2.11), but must be kept separate, since many languages have distinct reflexes.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**s-**)**kləy**	dung	French 1983:480
	***kliy**	excrement; stool; feces; shit; guts; stomach	Weidert 1987:272; Weidert 1987:801; Michailovsky 1991:68; Matisoff 1978b; Benedict 1972:125
	***klyiy** (*B) (?)	excrement	Coblin 1986:75
	***kləy**	excrement	Chou Fa-kao 1972:561d; Matisoff 2003a:595

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta **kil** shuk	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	ta **kir**	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**kay**-ya:ng	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	kay-ya:ŋ	bowels	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	kleig-ta:plã:	spleen	NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987
	klrih	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	klɑi[53]	shit	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	klɑi[53]	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.22
	klɑi[53]	dung; manure; excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.49; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.49
	kɯ[31] ɬɑi[55]	intestines	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Digaro	**klai**	excrement	Benedict 1972:125; Coblin 1986:75
Kaman [Miju]	tɯ[31] **k**[h]**ɯi**[53]	shit	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɯ[31]**khɯi**[53]	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.23
	tɯ[31]**khɯi**[53]	dung; manure; excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.48; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.48
	t **k'wî**	excrement	Weidert 1987:272
	xɑ[31] lăi[35]	intestines	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	ambe **k**[h]**ɯ**	dung	Pulu 1978
	khɹi[55]	dung; manure; excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.50; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.50
	khɹi[55]pɹi[55]	fart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:284.50
	kɹu[55]	intestines; bowels	Sun Hongkai 1991f:9.11; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.50
	k[h]**ɹi**[55]	feces / shit	Sun Hongkai 1991f:9.12.1
Yidu	**khɹi**[31]ɹu[55]	fertilizer / manure (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0623.25
	khɹi[55]	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.25
	khɹi[55]pɹi[55]	fart (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0153.25
	kɹu[55]	intestine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***mik-khlii** TEARS

**Chin*	*mik-**khlii**	TEARS	VanBik 2009:1306

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	mìt-**thlíi**	tears	VanBik 2009:1306

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	a mĭ-**k'lí**	tear	VanBik 2009:1306

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	mit-**thlîi**	tears	VanBik 2009:1306
Lai (Falam)	mìt-**thlĭi**	tears	VanBik 2009:1306

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	mo-**thli**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mō-**thlì**	tears	VanBik 2009:1306
	na-**i**	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	rai-**thli**	used in song at funeral	Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**kəri**	intestines / bowels	Toba & Kom 1991:9.11

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-khləj?** FECES, EXCREMENT

**Central Naga*	*a-**khləj?**	FECES, EXCREMENT	Bruhn 2014a:III.105
Ao (Chungli)	ki tsung **sü**	lizard	Marrison 1967 [a]
	ku[2]mu[3]**sə**[1]tsə[1]	pus (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	sü	dung	Marrison 1967
	səʔ[1]	feces, excrement (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.105
	tsük **sü**	chaff (n.)	Marrison 1967
	[1]**suʔ**	stool / excrement	Weidert 1987:145
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**tsü**	dung	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	ləphɹu-**tsə́ʔ**	mole (on skin) ('cockroach' + 'faeces') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	na-**tsə́ʔ**	snot, dried ('nose' + 'faeces') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**tsə́ʔ**	feces [faeces] (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**tʃhəʔ**[2]	feces (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.105
	E No **chu**	earwax	Nienu 1990c:3.6.6
	o **chü**	dung	Marrison 1967
	o **chu**	feces / shit	Nienu 1990c:9.12.1
	[1]o[2]**tšhaɯ(ʔ)**	excrement / feces / stool	Weidert 1987:48
	[1]o[2]**tšɯ(ʔ)**	stool / excrement	Weidert 1987:145
Sangtam	**chü**	dung	Marrison 1967
	misü **chü**	dung	Kumar 1973a
	[2]**tšɯ**	excrement	Weidert 1987:272
Yimchungrü	moshi-**khih**	dung	Kumar 1973b:42

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	naw **thi**	meconium / baby shit	Singh 1991:9.12.2
	na koŋ nəp **thi**	earwax	Singh 1991:3.6.6
	thi	feces / shit	Singh 1991:9.12.1
	thi phay bə	defecate (v.)	Singh 1991:9.12.3

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	(a)-**hi**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	bar i **ji**	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	hī	feces / shit	Grüssner 1979:226
	i-**hi**	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	i-**ji**	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	mék-**krí**	tears (n.)	Grüssner 1979:168

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	bi-**klé**	liver	Matisoff 1987
	bi-**klə́**	liver	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	bi **kí**	excrement of fish	Bhat 1968
	bi **ki**	excrement of fish	Bhat 1968
	bi **kí**	exrement of fish	Bhat 1968
	bi **klə́**	liver	Bhat 1968
	daw **kí**	excrement of birds	Bhat 1968
	kí	excrement	Bhat 1968
	kí	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	ki?	excrement; feces; stool	Weidert 1987:272; Weidert 1987:48
	ki bú	anus	Bhat 1968
	ki bə́w	anus	Bhat 1968
	ki bə́w~**ki** bú	anus	Matisoff 1987
	me gón mi **kí**	excrement of the eye	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	**k**[h]**i**	shit	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	k[h]**i**-kor	anus	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	k[h]**i**-lam	buttock	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	mə?-**k**[h]**i**	eye sand	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**ki?**	excrement; feces; stool	Weidert 1987:272; Weidert 1987:48; Weidert 1987:801

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**khi**	excrement	Benedict 1972:125
	ki?-i	excrement	Weidert 1987:272
Garo (Bangladesh)	ging-**ki**	snot	Burling 1992
	ging-**ki**	snot (n.)	Burling 2003:6.29-II:idx
	ki'-sam-bu	anus, butt end of something, filter of a cigarette	Burling 1992
	ki'-sang	buttocks, rump, backside, behind, rump; back end of anything, as a flashlight, bottom, bottom of a basket, glass, or pot	Burling 1992
	ki'-sang-ti	buttock / hind end of an animal	Burling 1992
	ki'-sang-ti **ki'**-ting	hard point at middle back pelvis	Burling 1992
	ki'-ting	hard point at middle back pelvis	Burling 1992
	mik-**ki**	eye sand	Burling 1992
	wa-**ki**	tooth dirt, tartar	Burling 1992

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-kləy**	dung	French 1983:480

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**chi**	dung	Marrison 1967
	chyi	manure	Matisoff 1987
	hkyí	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	jìn-**hkyí**	mucus of vagina	Matisoff 1987
	khji[55]	shit	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	khji[55]	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.19
	khji[55]	dung; manure; excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.47; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.47
	khji[55] nam[31] phun[33]	manure	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	khji[55] ŋji[55]	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.19
	khyí	shit	Matisoff 1974:290
	khyi	excrement	Benedict 1972:125; Coblin 1986:75
	kum[31]ʒa[31]**khji**[55]	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.19
	myì? **hkyi**	eye sand	Matisoff 1987
	ne[31]**khji**[55]	smegma (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	sǎ[55]ku[51]**khji**[55]	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.19
	u-**chyi**	manure	Matisoff 1987
	wa?[31]**khji**[55]	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.19
	[3]**khi**	excrement	Weidert 1987:272
	ŋa[33]**khji**[55]	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.19

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**khö**	excrement	Benedict 1972:125
	khə̄	excrement of dog or bird / wax in ear (n.)	Bailey 1911
	khə̄	shit (of dogs; birds)	Matisoff 1987
	khə	shit	Sharma 1988:21,26
	s **kli**	urine	Sharma 1988:34,37,41
Pattani [Manchati]	**khi**	feces / shit	Sharma 1991b:9.12.1
	khi Tak	fart	Sharma 1991b:11.7
	k[h]**i** p[h]cə	buttocks	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**dʐyɛ**[35]	intestines / bowels	Sun Hongkai 1991a:9.11
Kaike	**khi**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	nan **chya**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	**khi**	feces; stool	Andvik 1993:24; Egli-Roduner 1987:37 3

[a] Clark 1911:304 says "**KITSUNGSỴ**, (house deity dung), the gecko or small house lizard or wall lizard." Coupe (2007: 489), on the other hand, segments the Mongsen cognate **kì-tsəŋ-ti** 'house gecko' as 'house' + INSIDE + 'older sibling'.

	khi-gang	anal opening	Egli-Roduner 1987:34 2
	khi chung	buttock	Egli-Roduner 1987:34 1a
	le	intestines	Egli-Roduner 1987:36 1
Tsangla (Motuo)	**khi**	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.7
	k^{h}i	shit	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	k^{h}i wu	defecate	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	k^{h}i^{55}	shit	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	k^{h}i^{55} tɕuŋ^{55}	buttocks	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	le	intestines	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	le^{13}	intestines	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ɕi**	shit	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**khi**	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.07
	khi gaŋ	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.07
Tashigang	**khi**-gaŋ	anus ("feces-hole")	Weidert 1987:1

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**lca**, **lci** ba	dung	Marrison 1967
	lci-ba	dung	Coblin 1986:75
	lcˋa	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	lcˋi-ba	dung, esp. of cattle	Matisoff 1987
	ltɕ́i-ba	dung	Benedict 1972:125
	ltɕi ba	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.01
"Pre-Tibetan"	**hlyi**	excrement	Coblin 1986:75

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	tă-**klí**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	tə **kli**	entrails, guts; mucus of entrails	Benedict 1972:125

2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{A}**kli** FECES,SHIT

**TGTM*	*^{A}**kli**	feces; stool	Mazaudon 1978:7; Mazaudon 1994:80
Chantyal	**kili**	feces (of humans / carnivores)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:9.12.1
	kili piri-wa	defecate (v.)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:9.12.3
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kli**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	kli	feces	Glover 1972:2.A.72
	kli tõhba	defecate	Glover 1972:2.B.2.7
	kli tọh-bā	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	mi **li**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mi **li**	tears	Glover 1972:2.A.65
	nah **kli**	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	nəh **kli**	earwax	Glover 1972:2.A.64
	^{1}**ɬi**	feces	Mazaudon 1978:7
Gurung	^{1}**ɬi**	feces	Mazaudon 1994:80
Manang (Gyaru)	mi^{1} **gi**^{1}	tears	Nagano 1984:005
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**ki**	feces / stool	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0508
	^{3}mi **ki**	tears	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0006
	^{1}**ki**	feces / stool	Mazaudon 1994:27; Mazaudon 1994:80
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}mi **k^{h}li**	tears (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.6
	^{3}na **k^{h}li**	earwax (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.6.6
	^{1}**kli**	feces	Mazaudon 1978:7
	^{1}**kli**	feces (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.12.1
	^{1}**kli**	feces	Mazaudon 1994:80
	^{1}**kli**-^{4}kal	anus (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.12
Tamang (Sahu)	**kli**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	kli	feces	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.69
	kli 'pung-pā	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	kli 'puŋ-pa	defecate (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.7
	mik-**khli**	tears	Matisoff 1978b
	mik **khli** mā:h	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mik **k^{h}li** ma:h	tears	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.62
	nak-**khli**	earwax	Matisoff 1978b; Matisoff 1987
	nak **k^{h}li**	tears	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.61
	^{1}**kli**	feces	Mazaudon 1978:7; Mazaudon 1994:80
Tamang (Taglung)	**kli**	feces	Mazaudon 1994:80
	k^{h}li	feces	Mazaudon 1994:80
	^{1}**khli**	feces	Mazaudon 1978:7
Thakali (Marpha)	^{1}**hli**	feces	Mazaudon 1978:7
	^{54}**hɬi**	feces	Mazaudon 1994:80
Thakali (Syang)	^{1}**li**	feces	Mazaudon 1978:7
	^{55}**ki**	feces	Mazaudon 1994:27
	^{55}**li**	feces	Mazaudon 1994:80
Thakali (Tukche)	**ki**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	ki	feces	Hari 1971:2.A.72
	ki pun-la	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	ki pun-lɔ	defecate	Hari 1971:2.B.2.7
	nah-**ki**	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	nɔh-**ki**	earwax	Hari 1971:2.A.64
	^{H}**ki**	feces	Mazaudon 1978:7; Mazaudon 1994:27; Mazaudon 1994:80

2.2. Newar

Newar (Dolakhali)	**khi**	shit	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**khi**	shit	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**khi**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	khi	feces; shit; meconium; baby shit	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.12.1; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.12.2
	khi pha-ye	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Newar (Dolakhali)	nɔs pu **ṭi**	earwax	Genetti 1990b

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***khli**	feces	Michailovsky 1991:68
	*na **khli**	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**hi**	feces; cow dung	Michailovsky 1991:68; Matisoff 1987
	hi-e-mā	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	hi-ki	manure	Matisoff 1987
	hiː	feces	Michailovsky 1989b
	nek kho **hī**	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	pi-**hi**	cow dung	Matisoff 1987
	sa **qi**	intestines	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**hiː**	feces / shit	Kohn 1990:9.12.1
	mi? **kwiː**	eye sand	Kohn 1990:3.4.7

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**khï**	feces	Michailovsky 1991:68
	khï	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	na **khï**	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	na **khïa**	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	na **khï** wa	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	na **khU(wa)**	nasal discharge	Rai 1985
Chamling	ci **khli***	intestine	Winter 1985:8
	khi	feces	Michailovsky 1991:68
	khi lam	anus	Winter 1985:20
	khli	feces	Michailovsky 1991:68
	na **khe**	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	na **khle**	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162; Winter 1985:25
Kulung	cis **khil**	intestines	Michailovsky 1991:97
	cis **khilə**	intestines	Rai *et al.* 1975
	khil	feces	Michailovsky 1991:68
	khil_	feces, excrement	Rai *et al.* 1975
	na **khil** wa	snot	Rai *et al.* 1975
	na **kkhi** wa	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**khil**	feces; shit, faeces <feces,excrement>	Michailovsky 1991:68; Driem 1993
	nu **khil**	snot; snot, mucus	Michailovsky 1991:162; Driem 1993
Khaling	'cis **khli**	intestines; bowels; guts	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b
	'ne **khli**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	'nge co **khli**	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	cis **khli**	intestines	Michailovsky 1991:97
	khli	feces	Michailovsky 1991:68
	khli	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	ne **khli**	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**khli**	feces; shit; excrement	Michailovsky 1991:68; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:125; Coblin 1986:75
	ne **khli**	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
Sunwar	**khri**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	khri:	feces	Michailovsky 1991:68
	ki:	intestines; bowels; guts	Michailovsky 1991:97; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b
	ne **khi**	nasal catarrh; snot	Michailovsky 1991:162; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	ci **khli**	intestines	Michailovsky 1991:97; Allen 1975
	khli	feces	Michailovsky 1991:68
	khlī	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	khli	excrement	Allen 1975
	na **khli**	snot	Michailovsky 1991:162
	na **khlī**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	na **khli**	snot, nasal mucus	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	bon?.yoŋ.**kli?**	large intestine (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	dum.yoŋ.**kli?**	small intestine (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kli?	excrement / feces / stool	Weidert 1987:48
	kli?	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	kli?	feces	Caughley 1972:2.A.72
	kli?.dhəm.bə.ray	tree (sp.), medium-sized, smells like dung (n2.)	Caughley 2000
	kli?.dhəm.bə.ray	insect (sp.), Dungbeetle (n1.)	Caughley 2000
	kli?.dhəŋ.gə.ri	insect (sp.), Dungbeetle (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kli?.por	buttocks (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kli?.pur.yaŋ	insect (sp.), fly living on dung (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kli?.syuk	buttocks, anus (n.)	Caughley 2000
	loŋ.**kli?**	intestines (B) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mik-**kli?**	tears	Caughley 1972:2.A.65
	mik.**kli?**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	neh-**kli?**	nasal catarrh; snot; mucus (nasal)	Caughley 1972:2.A.66; Matisoff 1987
	neh.**kli?**	nasal mucus (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	no-**kli?**	earwax	Caughley 1972:2.A.64; Matisoff 1987
	no.**kli?**	earwax (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	puh.**kli?**	brain (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	pu^{ñ}-**khli?**	brain	Weidert 1987:619
	pu **hkli?**	brain	Caughley 1972:2.A.16
	pu **khli?**	brain	Matisoff 1987
	qum.**kliq**	pus	Michailovsky 1991:143
	wirh.yoŋ.**kli?**	small intestine; intestine (small) (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	yong-**kli?**	intestines; bowels	Matisoff 1978b:(1); Matisoff 1987
	yoŋ-**kli?**	intestines	Caughley 1972:2.A.43
	yoŋ.**kli?**	intestine (n.)	Caughley 2000
	yur?.yoŋ.**kli?**	small intestine (n.)	Caughley 2000
	?um-**kli?**	pus	Caughley 1972:2.A.63; Matisoff 1987
	?um.**kli?**	pus (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	dum yoŋ **kli?**	large intestine	Caughley 1990:9.11.1
	kli?	feces / shit	Caughley 1990:9.12.1
	mik **kli?**	tears; eye sand	Caughley 1990:3.4.6; Caughley 1990:3.4.7
	neh **kli**	liquid mucus; solid mucus	Caughley 1990:3.5.6; Caughley 1990:3.5.7
	no **kli?**	earwax	Caughley 1990:3.6.6
	puh **kli**	brain	Caughley 1990:2.5
	puh **kli?**	brain	Caughley 1990:9.1
	tuk **kli?**	viscera / guts / entrails (in	Caughley 1990:9.4
	təyŋ **kli?**	semen	Caughley 1990:10.3.7
	wirh yoŋ **kli**	small intestine	Caughley 1990:9.11.2
	yoŋ **kli?**	intestines / bowels	Caughley 1990:9.11
	?ay laŋ **kli?**	meconium / baby shit	Caughley 1990:9.12.2
	?um **kli?**	pus	Caughley 1990:12.5
Kham	**'kiː**	feces	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.72
	'ki kũː	anus / rectum	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.46
	ki ku	anus	Matisoff 1987
	kli	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**lhjị**	feces, excrement	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2059
	ljɨ (ljị)	excrement, dung	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3499
	lɨ	feces / shit	Dai Qingxia 1989e:9.12.1

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**htʃo**^{33} re^{55}	feces / shit	Sun Hongkai 1991d
	htʃɛ^{55} ku^{55}	anus / rectum	Sun Hongkai 1991d
Lyuzu	**la**^{35}	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.18
Pumi (Jiulong)	**qɛi**^{55}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.10
	qɛi^{55}**py**^{55}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**xqa**^{55}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sqa**^{55}	shit; excrement	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**xe**^{53}	shit; excrement	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**qhà**-iú	anus [feces-m]	Evans 1999:143
Qiang (Mawo)	**q^{h}ʂə**	shit	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	stɤ **xu**^{ɪ}	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.8; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	χʂə	feces / shit	Sun Hongkai 1991g:9.12.1
	χʂə tɕi	fart	Sun Hongkai 1991g:11.7
Qiang (Taoping)	**tʃ^{h}ɭ**^{55}	shit	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981

	χɲi^{55} **tsuə^{33}**	snot	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**xʂə**	feces	Dai Qingxia 1989q:187
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**qhɛi^{55}**	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.16
	qhɛ^{53}	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.16
	q^{h}ɛi^{55}	feces / shit	Sun Hongkai 1991n:9.12.1
Xumi	**qhɛ^{53}**	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.17
	qhɛ^{53}	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.17
	qhɛ^{55}qhɛ^{33}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.17
	qhɐ^{55}	feces; shit; dung; manure	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.20
	qhɑ^{55}	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.20
	qhɑ^{55} huŋ^{33}	anus / rectum	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	ɬɛ^{55} yi^{33} **qhɐ^{55}**	earwax	Sun Hongkai 1991m
Zhaba (Daofu County)	dzo^{33}**lɪ^{55}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.14
	lɪ^{55}	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.14
	tɕhɛ^{33}**lɪ^{33}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.14
	va^{33}**lɪ^{55}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	lɛ **khre**	dung (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.12
	tshɛ **khre**	dung (goat) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.12
	vɛ **khre**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	ta **qe**	feces / shit	Sun Hongkai 1991k:9.12.1
rGyalrong	tə po lɐŋ **tʃɐ**	intestines	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə po nɐŋ **tʃɐ**	intestine (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0149.11
rGyalrong	tə rɲa **p^{h}ɕɛ**	earwax	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.6.6
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə laŋ **tʃe**	intestines / bowels	Sun Hongkai 1991j:9.11
	tə rna **p^{h}ʃe**	earwax	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.6.6
rGyalrong	lang **ce**	intestines	Nagano 1997:9.11
	lang **ce** ki chem	small intestines	Nagano 1997:9.11.2
	lang **ce** ki pam	large intestines	Nagano 1997:9.11.1

4. Nungic

Nung	dʑi^{31} **khi^{55}**u^{31}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.21
	dʑi^{31}**khi^{55}**	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.21
Anong	dʑi^{31}**khi^{55}**	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.44
	tʂ^{h}ɪ^{31}	fart	Sun Hongkai 1988

5. Tujia

Tujia	ẽ^{21} tɕ^{h}e^{35} **se^{21}**	earwax	Chen Kang 1986c:3.6.6
	se^{21}	feces / shit	Chen Kang 1986c:9.12.1
Tujia (Northern)	**se^{21}**	shit	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**se^{35}**	feces / shit	Chen Kang 1986d:9.12.1
Tujia (Southern)	**se^{35}**	shit	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	tsã^{21} pʉ^{55} **se^{35}**	earwax	Chen Kang 1986d:3.6.6

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**khɯ^{31}**	manure; shit	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	n̥zɻaŋ^{31}**tɕhi^{31}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.28
	no^{31}**tɕhi^{31}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.28
	oʔ^{55}**tɕhi^{31}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.28
	paʔ^{55}**tɕhi^{31}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.28
	tɕhi^{31}	shit	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tɕhi^{31}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.28
	tɕhi^{31}	dung; manure; excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.41; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.41
	tɕhi^{31}tuŋ^{31}	buttocks (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.28
	tɕhi^{31}tuŋ^{31}tuŋ^{31}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.28
Achang (Luxi)	**khɯ^{55}**	manure; shit	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**khu^{55}**tuŋ^{31}	buttocks (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0099.29
	khɯ^{31}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.29
	khɯ^{31}ʂɔ^{55}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.29
	khŭ^{31}tuŋ^{31}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.29
	k^{h}u^{55} tuŋ^{31}	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989f:122
	k^{h}ɯ^{31}	feces	Dai Qingxia 1989f:180
	k^{h}ɯ^{31} tsɛt^{35}	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1820
	k^{h}ŭ^{31} tuŋ^{31}	anus	Dai Qingxia 1989f:140
	n̥zɻaŋ^{31} **k^{h}ɯ^{31}**	excrement (horse)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:323
	n̥zɻaŋ^{31}**khɯ^{31}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.29
	no^{31} **k^{h}ɯ^{31}**	excrement (cow)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:312
	no^{31}**khɯ^{31}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.29
	oʔ^{55} **k^{h}ɯ^{31}**	excrement (pig)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:337
	oʔ^{55}**khɯ^{31}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.29
	paʔ^{31} **k^{h}ɯ^{31}**	excrement (sheep)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:329
	paʔ^{31}**khɯ^{31}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.29
Bola (Luxi)	**khji^{35}**	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.32
Bola	**k^{h}ji^{35}**	feces; fart	Dai Qingxia 1989g:180; Dai Qingxia 1989g:182
	k^{h}ji^{35} tʃɔt^{31}	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1820
Bola (Luxi)	mjɔ̃^{31}**khji^{35}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.32
Bola	nɔ̃^{31} **k^{h}ji^{35}**	excrement (cow)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:312
Bola (Luxi)	nɔ̃^{31}**khji^{35}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.32
	ta^{55}**kji^{31}**tui^{31}	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.32
	tʃhɔt^{55}pɛʔ^{55}**khji^{35}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.32
	vaʔ^{31}**khji^{35}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	mjĩ^{55}**tɕhi^{55}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.27
	nɑuʔ^{4}**tɕhi^{55}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.27
	tɕhi^{35}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.27
	tθo^{55}**tɕhi^{55}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.27
	tθã^{22}**dʑi^{55}**tɛʔ^{4}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.27
	tθã^{22}**tɕhi^{55}**	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.27
	wɛʔ^{4}**tɕhi^{55}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hceì**	dung	Okell 1971
	hcì	dung	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕhe^{55}**	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.40
	tɕhi^{55}	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.40
	tθã^{22}**tɕhi^{55}**	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.40
Burmese (Written)	a **khye:**	rust (n.)	Marrison 1967
	htaɰ^{2}**khje^{3}**tɑk^{4}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.26
	khje^{3}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.26
	khje^{3}	dung; manure; excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.39; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.39
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khliy**	dung	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khyè**	stool; excrement	Weidert 1987:145; Weidert 1987:801
	khyê	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	khyê	shit; (prn. khyî) excrement	Matisoff 1974:290; Benedict 1976a
	khyè	excrement	Coblin 1986:75
	khyè ⩙ ă **khyè**	excrement	Benedict 1972:125
	khye:	dung	Marrison 1967; Okell 1971
	kyaŋ-**krî**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	mrɑŋ^{3} **khje** ^{3}	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.26
	nâ-pha-**khyê**	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	nwɑ^{3} **khje^{3}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.26
	tθo^{3}**khje^{3}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.26
	tθaṁ^{2}**khje^{3}**	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.26
	wɑk^{4}**khje^{3}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.26
	ə-**khyê**	dirt, filth, rust	Benedict 1976a
	ə **khye**	stool / excrement	Weidert 1987:145
	ə **khyè**	excrement; stool	Weidert 1987:272; Weidert 1987:801
	ʔə-**khyê** ʔəh-nyaw	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Langsu (Luxi)	pai^{31}nam^{55}**khjik^{55}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.31
	tsɔ̆^{35}**kjik^{55}**	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.31
	vɔʔ^{31}**khjik^{55}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.31
Lashi	**khjei^{55}**	feces / shit	Dai Qingxia 1989m:9.12.1
	khjei^{55} xu:p^{55}	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989m:11.7
	mjɔʔ^{31} **khjei^{55}**	eye sand	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.4.7
	nə̆^{33} **khjei^{55}**	earwax	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.6.6
Leqi (Luxi)	tsə̆^{33}**kjei^{33}**	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.33
	vuʔ^{31}**khjei^{55}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.33
Maru [Langsu]	**khjik^{55}**	feces / shit	Dai Qingxia 1989l:9.12.1
	khjik^{55} tʃik^{35} (silent)	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989l:11.7
	khjik^{55} xap^{35} (noisy)	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989l:11.7
	mjɔʔ^{31} **khjik^{55}**	eye sand	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.4.7
	nə̆^{31} **khjik^{55}**	earwax	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.6.6
	tsɔ̆^{35}**kjik^{55}**	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.43
Tavoyan	**hkleì**	dung	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khji^{21}**	shit	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	pai^{21}nam^{55}**khji^{21}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.30
	tʃhi^{55}um^{51}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.42
	tʃo^{51}**kjit^{55}**	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.42
	tʃo^{51}**kj̱ik^{55}**	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.30
	vaʔ^{21}**khji^{21}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.30

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***kre^{2}**	dirty	Bradley 1979b:558A
	***ʔ/k(l)e^{2}**	excrement; feces	Weidert 1987:272; Bradley 1979b:150
Lolopho	mẹ^{44} **ɕi^{31}**	eye sand	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.4.7
	no^{55} **ɕi^{31}**	earwax	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.6.6
	ɕi^{31}	feces / shit	Dai Qingxia 1989n:9.12.1
	ɕi^{31} dɣ^{31}	anus / rectum	Dai Qingxia 1989n:9.12
	ɕi^{31} puɯ^{33}	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989n:11.7

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	m^{31}**tshŋ^{31}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.47
	tshŋ^{21}	feces / shit	Dai Qingxia 1989c:9.12.1
	tshŋ^{21} ŋɤ^{24} la^{33} ŋa^{53}	anus / rectum	Dai Qingxia 1989c:9.12
	tshŋ^{31}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.47
	tshŋ^{31}	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.47
	tshŋ^{31} sa^{53} pɤ^{35}	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989c:11.7
	tshŋ^{31}ŋɤ^{24}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.47
	tshŋ^{53}**tshŋ^{31}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.47
	ts^{h}ŋ^{31}	shit; shit, excrement	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987; Mu Shihua 2003
	ts^{h}ŋ^{31}ŋɤ^{24}lɑ^{33}ŋɑ^{53}	anus	Mu Shihua 2003
	wa^{53}**tshŋ^{31}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.47
	ŋa^{53} **tshŋ^{31}**	eye sand	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.4.7
Lalo	**khɯ^{21}**	dung	Chen Kang 1986a:123.
	tɕhi^{21}	excrement	Chen Kang 1986a:119.
	tɕ^{h}i^{21}	feces / shit	Chen Kang 1986b:9.12.1
	tɕ^{h}i^{21} k^{h}u̱^{55}	anus / rectum	Chen Kang 1986b:9.12
	ʔnɑ^{21} **k^{h}i^{21}**	earwax	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.6

Lipho	**tshi^{21}**	dung; feces	Chen Kang 1986a:123.; Chen Kang 1986b:9.12.1
Nasu	**tɕhi^{33}**	dung	Chen Kang 1986a:123.
	ɬi^{33}	feces; shit; excrement	Chen Kang 1986a:119.; Chen Kang 1986b:9.12.1
	ɬi^{33}	defecate (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:9.12.3
	ɬi^{33} xo^{33} du^{33}	anus / rectum	Chen Kang 1986b:9.12
Neisu	**tɕhi^{33}**	dung	Chen Kang 1986a:123.
Nesu	lo^{55} pa^{55} **tʰi^{33}**	earwax	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.6
	thi^{33}	feces / shit	Chen Kang 1986b:9.12.1
	tɕhi^{33}	dung	Chen Kang 1986a:123.
Noesu	**tɕhi^{33}**	feces	Chen Kang 1986b:9.12.1
Nosu	**tɕhi^{33}**	excrement	Chen Kang 1986a:119.
	ɕi^{33}	dung	Chen Kang 1986a:123.
	ʂʅ^{33}	feces	Chen Kang 1986b:9.12.1
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khji^{55}**i^{55}	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.45
Nusu (Central)	**khɹi^{55}**	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.34
	khɹi^{55}	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khɹi^{55}**	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.45
Nusu (Central)	**khɹi^{55}**doŋ^{55}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.34
Nusu (Southern)	**kʰi^{55}**	fertilizer	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**kʰɹi^{53}**	feces	Dai Qingxia 1989o:180.
Nusu (Central)	**kʰɹi^{55}**	feces	Dai Qingxia 1989p:180.
	kʰɹi^{55} doŋ^{55}	anus	Dai Qingxia 1989p:140.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**kʰɹi^{55}** dõ^{53}	buttocks; anus	Dai Qingxia 1989o:122.; Dai Qingxia 1989o:140.
Nusu (Central)	**kʰɹi^{55}** dɔŋ^{55}	buttocks	Dai Qingxia 1989p:122.
	mɹə^{55}**khɹi^{55}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.34
	mʲə^{55} **kʰɹi^{55}**	excrement (horse)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:323.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	mʲɤ^{53} **kʰɹi^{55}**	excrement (horse)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:323.
Nusu (Central)	nuɔ^{55} **kʰɹi^{55}**	excrement (cow)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:312.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	nɔ^{55} **kʰɹi^{55}**	excrement (cow)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:312.
Nusu (Central)	**tɕʰi^{35}**	fertilizer	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**tɕʰi^{55}**	fertilizer	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	tɕʰɚ̃^{31} **kʰɹi^{55}**	excrement (sheep)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:329.
Nusu (Central)	tʂhɚ̃^{53}**khɹi^{55}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.34
Nusu (Southern)	**tʂʰi^{53}**	shit	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	tʂʰi^{53} yĩ^{55}	fart	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	tʂʰɚ̃^{53} **kʰɹi^{55}**	excrement (sheep)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:329.
Nusu (Northern)	**tʂʰʅ^{55}**	shit	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	vạ^{31} **kʰɹi^{55}**	excrement (pig)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:337.
Nusu (Central)	vạ^{53} **kʰɹi^{55}**	excrement (pig)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:337.
	vạ^{55}**khɹi^{55}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.34
Yi (Dafang)	nɔ^{33} **tɕʰi^{55}**	mucus	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	tɕhi^{33}	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.22
	tɕʰi^{33}	excrement	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ʈʰi^{33}	shit	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Mile)	**tɕhi^{21}**	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tɕhi^{33}**	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.26
Yi (Nanhua)	mu^{21}**tɕhi^{21}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.37
	tɕhi^{21}	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.24
	vɐ̯^{33}**tɕhi^{21}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.37
	ɳi^{21}**tɕhi^{21}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.37
	ɑ^{55}tʂhĩ^{55} **tɕhi^{21}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.37
	ɕi^{21}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.37
	ɕi^{21}	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.24
	ɕi^{21}du^{21}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.37
	ɕi^{21}ə^{55}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**khɯ^{21}**	dung; manure	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.23
	nỹ^{21} **tɕʰi^{21}**	snot	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	nỹ^{21}; nỹ^{21}**tɕhi^{21}**	snot (clear);snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.23
	tɕhi^{21}	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.23
	tɕʰi^{21}	shit	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Weishan)	**chi^{21}**	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.36
	chi^{21}hɑ^{55}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.36
	chi^{21}khu̯^{55}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.36
	ɑ^{55}m̩^{21}**chi^{21}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.36
	ɑ^{55}n̩^{21}**chi^{21}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.36
	ɑ^{55}tʂhĩ^{21}**chi^{21}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.36
	ɑ^{55}vɪ̯^{21}**chi^{21}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.36
Yi (Wuding)	mɣ^{33}**tɕhi^{33}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.38
	tʂhĩ^{55}hɒ^{11}**tɕhi^{33}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.38
	vɑ̯^{55}**tɕhi^{33}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.38
	ɳi^{33}**tɕhi^{33}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.38
	ɬi^{33}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.38
	ɬi^{33}xu^{33}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.38
Yi (Xide)	lɯ^{33}**tɕhɳ^{33}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.35
	mu^{33}**tɕhɳ^{33}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.35
	ɳa^{33}-**dʑu̯^{33}**	nasal cavity	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	tɕhɳ^{33}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.35
	tɕhɳ^{33}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.35
	tɕhɳ^{33}	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.21
	tɕhɳ^{33}khɯ^{33}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.35
	tɕʰɭ^{33}	shit	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	tɕʰɭ^{34}-zɭ^{33}	excrement and urine	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vo^{55}**tɕhɳ^{33}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.35
	ʂɭ^{33}	dung; manure; excrement	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.21
	ʑo^{34}tɕhɳ^{33}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	no^{55} **ʈʻi^{21}**	earwax	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.6.6
	tɕhi^{21}	dung	Chen Kang 1986a:123.
	ʈʻi^{21}	feces / shit	Luo Meizhen 1990:9.12.1
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{33} **tsɛ^{44}**	body dirt	Dai Qingxia 1989h:196
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{33} **tsɛ^{44}**	body dirt	Dai Qingxia 1989i:196
Jinuo	a^{33}**khɹi^{33}**	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} **kʰli^{44}**	feces	Dai Qingxia 1989h:187
Jinuo (Baka)	a^{44} **kʰli^{44}**	excrement	Dai Qingxia 1989i:333
Jinuo	a^{44}**khri^{44}**	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**kʰjœ^{31}**	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1885
	kʰli^{44}	excrement	Dai Qingxia 1989h:333
Jinuo	mjo^{44}**khri^{44}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.44
	njo^{44}**khri^{44}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.44
	tɕhi^{55}**khri^{44}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.44
	va^{55}**khri^{44}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{33} **tɕʰi^{11}**	shit	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	ɑ^{33}**khɹi^{33}**	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.34
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{33}**tɕhi^{11}**	dung (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{44} **kʰɹi^{44}**	shit; excrement	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986; Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**khiɛ31**	excrement	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***hk'eh˅**	feces	Bradley 1979b:150
Lahu (Shehleh)	**hk'eh˩**	feces	Bradley 1979a:150
Lahu (Nyi)	no˧hk'eh˅	mucus	Bradley 1979a:152
Lahu (Shehleh)	nu˧ **hk'eh˩**	mucus	Bradley 1979a:152
Lahu (Lancang)	i^{35}mv^{53}**qhɛ^{53}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.43
	nu^{31}**qhɛ^{53}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.43
	nu^{35}**qhɛ^{53}**	mucus (nasal) (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0157.43
	qhɛ^{53}	excrement; fart (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0153.43
	qhɛ^{53}mɤ^{53}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.43
	qhɛ^{53}qo^{31}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.43
	vɑ^{21}**qhɛ^{53}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.43
	ʑɔ^{31}**qhɛ^{53}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.43
Lahu (Black)	**khɯ^{53}**	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.33
	nī-**qhê**	smegma; semen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	nú-**qhê**	nasal catarrh / snot	Matisoff 1987
	nu^{53}**qhɛ^{33}**	snot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:278.33
	phî-**qhê**-là?-nɔ	finger (index)	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	qhê	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	qhê tè? ve	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
	qhê-qhɔ	anus; buttock	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	qhê-qhɔ-dì	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	qhê-qhɔ-pɨ	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	qhê-šā-dì	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	qhê-tû	anus	Matisoff 1987
	qhê-tû-qhɔ	anus	Matisoff 1987
	qhɛ^{53}	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.33
	qhɛ^{53}tɛ^{31}	fart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:284.33
	qʰɛ^{53}	shit	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	qʰɛ^{53}sA^{11}di^{31}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.33
	ɔ-**qhê**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	**qʰɔ^{55}**	shit	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	**kh'awˇ**	feces	Bradley 1979a:150
Lahu (Banlan)	**hkuh˅**	feces	Bradley 1979a:150
Lisu (Northern)	bja^{21}**khi^{21}**	bee feces	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**hchi^{5}**	feces	Bradley 1979b:150
	hchi^{5}	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**hchi^{5}**	dung; filth (excrement); excrement; dirt (excrement)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu	**hchi^{5}**-du^{5}	buttock	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**hchi^{5}**-hku^{4}	anus	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**hhi^{5}**-hku^{4}	anus	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}**khi^{21}**	feces (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**tɕhi^{21}**	feces (N.)	Bradley 1994
	khi^{21}	feces; manure; flatulence (N.)	Bradley 1994
	khi^{21}du^{21}	buttocks	Bradley 1994
	khi^{21}khu^{33}	anus	Bradley 1994
	khi^{21}lø^{55}ma^{33}	dung beetle	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**khi^{31}**	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.40
	khi^{31}	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.27
	khi^{31}khi^{31}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.40
	khi^{31}khu̯^{33}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.40
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**khɛ^{31}**	fertilizer / excrement	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986:p.111
Lisu (Nujiang)	**kʰi^{31}**	fart; manure; shit	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986; Xu Lin *et al.* 1986; Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**kʰi^{31}**kʰu^{33}	buttocks	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:262.27
Lisu (Northern)	mja^{33}**khi^{21}**	gum in the eye	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Luquan)	**tʃhi^{31}** ʒi^{33}	fertilizer / excrement	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986:p.111
Lisu (Nujiang)	**tʃʰi^{31}** kʰu̯^{44}	buttocks	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**tɕhi^{31}**; khi^{31}	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.27
Lisu (Northern)	væʔ^{21}**khi^{21}**	pig feces	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	ne^{33} **ɬi̯^{21}**	eye sand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.11
	ne^{33}**ɬi^{21}**	eye sand	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne^{44} **ɬɲ̩^{11}**	eye sand	Ma Xueliang 1989:320.8
	nɑ^{55} **ɬi̯^{21}**	earwax	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:98.4
	nɑ^{55} **ɬɲ̩^{11}**	earwax	Ma Xueliang 1989:321.4
	nɑ^{55}**ɬi^{21}**	earwax	Chen Kang 1986b:3.6.6
	nɒ^{55}**ɬi^{21}**	earwax	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tsʰɥ^{11}	shit	Ma Xueliang 1989:351.2
	tsʰɥ^{11} dɣ^{11}	buttocks	Ma Xueliang 1989:351.3
	tʂhi^{21}	dung; feces	Chen Kang 1986a:123.; Chen Kang 1986b:9.12.1
	tʂhi^{21}du^{21}	buttocks	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂhi^{21}ni^{55}	dung, manure	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂhi^{21}ni^{55}pɪ^{55}	shit (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂʰʅ^{21} du^{21}	anus	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:196.2
	tʂʰʅ^{21} pɤ^{55}	excrement	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:196.1

[a] Literally "dogshit finger", so called because of its size and shape.

	ŋ̩^{21} **tʂʰʅ^{21}**	cow excrement	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:281.2
	ɬi^{21}	excrement	Chen Kang 1986a:119.
	ɬi^{21}(~**tʂhi^{21}**)ʐi̱^{33}mɒ^{33}	shit	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɬi^{21}du^{21}	anus	Chen Kang 1986b:9.12; Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɬi^{21}xɒ^{33}	shit (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɬl̩^{21}	defecation; feces	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:106.1
Yi (Sani)	**ɬʐ̩^{11}**	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.39
	ɬʐ̩^{11}dɣ̩^{11}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.39
	ɬʐ̩^{11}xɒ^{33}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ɬʅ^{11}**	shit	Ma Xueliang 1989:361.2

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	ce˪	dung	Lewis 1989
	daw˪ **ce˪**	dung	Lewis 1989
	daw˪ **ke˪**	dung	Lewis 1989
	ke˪	dung	Matisoff 1987
	nyo˪ **ce˪**	dung of buffalo	Lewis 1989
Hani (Dazhai)	**ɕi^{31}**	shit; excrement; dung; manure	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.31; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.31
Hani (Lüchun)	mo^{31}**ɕi^{31}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.41
	tsi̱^{31}**ɕi^{31}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.41
	ɣa̱^{31}**ɕi^{31}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.41
	ɳu^{31}**ɕi^{31}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.41
	ɕi^{31}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.41
	ɕi^{31} ɕi^{31}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	tshu^{55}**tshi^{31}**	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.30
	ɔ^{31} **tɕʰi^{31}**	shit	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**tshi^{31}**	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tɕʰe^{31}**	shit	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	nɣ̩^{31}**tɕhi^{31}**	dung / manure of cow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.32
	ɔ^{31} **tɕʰi^{33}**	shit	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**tɕhi^{31}**	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.32
Hani (Mojiang)	ja^{31}**tɕhi^{31}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.42
	mu^{31}**tɕhi^{31}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.42
	nɣ̩^{31}**tɕhi^{31}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.42
	tʃhɿ̃^{31}**tɕhi^{31}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.42
	ɔ^{31}**tɕhi^{31}**	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.42
	ɔ^{31}**tɕhi^{31}tɕhi^{31}**	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.42
Mpi	joŋ^{2}/**khi^{2}**	feces	Bradley 1979b
	ŋ^{4}**khi^{5}**	feces	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ʔɑ^{2}**khi^{2}**	dung, animal	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**ʔĭ**	feces	Bradley 1979b
	ʔĭ^{55}	excrement	Bradley 1977
Ugong	cɔ̆ʔ ʔe̤ŋ/ cɔ̆ʔ **khlí**	navel lint	Bradley 1993
	ka **khlí**/ka sḛ̤ŋ	tooth dirt	Bradley 1993

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ɬi^{33}**	excrement	Pelkey 2011:327
Southern Muji	**ɬi^{55}**	excrement	Pelkey 2011:327
Phola	**ɬi^{33}**	excrement	Pelkey 2011:327
Hlepho Phowa	**tɬʰʅ^{55}**	excrement	Pelkey 2011:327
Phuza	**tɬʰi^{55}**	excrement	Pelkey 2011:327

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**qʰæ˥**lʰæ̃˥	defecate (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2474
	qʰæ˥qʰɔ˥	anus	Michaud 2006–2009:408
	qʰæ˥sæ˥pʰv˥mie˥	buttocks	Michaud 2006–2009:349
	qʰæ˦	manure, excrement, dung, dropping, feces	Michaud 2006–2009:458
	qʰæ˦tsʰi˦˥	fart (n.)	Michaud 2006–2009:461
	qʰæ˦ʂwæ˦˥	have diarrhea (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2476
	ʈʂɯ˦ **qʰæ˦** n˦ dze˦	rust (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3089
	ʈʂɯ˦**qʰæ˦**	rust	Michaud 2006–2009:194
	ɬie˦**qʰæ˦** bæ˥	earwax	Michaud 2006–2009:272
Na (Yongning)	bv˩ko˩bv˦**qʰæ˩**	manure, excrement	Michaud 2006–2009
	bv˩ko˩**qʰæ˨**	manure, excrement	Michaud 2006–2009
	bv˩**qʰæ˩**	manure, excrement	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˦lɑ˩**qʰæ˦**	feces	Michaud 2006–2009
	qʰæ˥	excrement, dung, droppings; refuse, garbage	Michaud 2006–2009
	qʰæ˦kʰɯ˩	fart	Michaud 2006–2009
	qʰæ˦tv˦	anus	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬi˦**qʰæ#˥**	earwax	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐwæ˦**qʰæ#˥**	horse manure	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**kha^{33}**	dung; manure; fertilizer	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:470.29; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.29
	kha^{31}	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**kʰa^{33}**	fertilizer; manure	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985; He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
	kʰər^{33}	shit	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tɕhəɹ^{33}**	dung; manure; excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.28
Naxi	**tɕhəˑ^{33}**	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.45
	tɕhəˑ^{33}	dung (cow); dung (horse); dung (goat, sheep); dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.45,0280.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.45
	tɕhəˑ^{33}dəˑ^{21}	fertilizer / manure (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0623.45
	tɕhəˑ^{33}kho^{33}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.45
	tɕhəˑ^{33}lɯ^{55}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.45
Naxi (Western)	**tɕʰər^{33}**	manure; shit	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985; He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
	tɕʰər^{33}ndər^{31}	fertilizer	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

7. Karenic: ***khrej^{B}*** BODY DIRT

**Karen (Sgaw)*	***khí**	buttocks / anus / rear	Jones 1961:752
**Karen*	***khrej^{B}**	body dirt	Luangthongkum 2013:29
**Karen [Burling]*	***xi^{2}**	body dirt	Luangthongkum 2013:29
Bwe	nɛ-**khə́'ɪ**	snot	Henderson 1997
Geba	ă **hwi^{2}**	body-dirt	Luce 1985:G.75
Karen	**khi^{55}**bu^{35}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.50
Kayah	**khrə^{11}**	body dirt	Luangthongkum 2013:29
Kayaw	**ci^{11}**	body dirt	Luangthongkum 2013:29
Pa-O (Southern)	**khri^{33}**	body dirt	Luangthongkum 2013:29
Pa-O (Northern)	**khri^{55}**	body dirt	Luangthongkum 2013:29
Pa-O	khú-**khrí**	body-dirt	Matisoff 1987
Pa-O (Northern)	k'u^{1}**k'ri^{1}**	body-dirt	Luce 1985:G.75
Paku	**gʁi^{3}**	body-dirt	Luce 1985:G.75
	χʁi^{3}	body-dirt	Luce 1985:G.75
Palaychi	**krìq**	body-dirt	Matisoff 1987
Pwo (Northern)	**kei^{33}**	body dirt	Luangthongkum 2013:29
Pwo (Delta)	ă **ki^{4}**	body-dirt	Luce 1985:G.75
Pwo (Southern)	**kei^{55}**	body dirt	Luangthongkum 2013:29
Pwo (Tenasserim)	ə̆ **ki^{1}**	body-dirt	Luce 1985:G.75
Pwo (Delta)	ə̆ **ki^{4}**	body-dirt	Luce 1985:G.75
Pwo (Bassein)	**xì**	body-dirt	Matisoff 1987
Pwo (Moulmein)	**xí?**	body-dirt	Matisoff 1987
Sgaw (Northern)	**xi$^{31~}$**	body dirt	Luangthongkum 2013:29
Sgaw (Southern)	**xi^{45,}**	body dirt	Luangthongkum 2013:29
Sgaw	^{1}mɛʔ^{4}**khli**	eye sand	Weidert 1987:984
	χʁi^{4}	body-dirt	Luce 1985:G.75
Sgaw (Bassein)	**khí**	buttocks; anus; rear	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:752
	xì	body-dirt	Matisoff 1987
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**kʰi^{55}** bu^{33}	anus	Dai Qingxia 1989k:143
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**khí**	buttocks / anus / rear	Jones 1961:752
	xí?	body-dirt	Matisoff 1987

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**tɕhi^{55}**	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.37
Bai (Dali)	**tɕhi^{55}**	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	(**tɕhi^{55}**ɑ^{21}) tsẽ^{33}	pile (of excrement) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0855.48
	jo^{42}**tɕhi^{55}**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.48
	kha^{55}fa^{33}ji̱^{21}ŋue^{33}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.48
	kʰæ^{55} fɣ̩^{33} ti^{55} ʔuĩ^{33}	anus / rectum	Zhao Yansun 1990:9.12
	ma^{33}**tɕhi^{55}**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.48
	tḛ^{21}**tɕhi^{55}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.48
	tɕhi^{55}	dung; manure; excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.36; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.36
	ŋuĩ^{33} **sʅ^{33}**	eye sand	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.4.7
	ŋə^{42}**tɕhi^{55}**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.48

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	eel **shyy**	earwax	Sun 1985b:211

Chinese comparandum

屎 OC ***śi̱ər**, *GSR* #561d 'excrement'; Schuessler 2007:465 ***lhi?**; B & S 2011: ***qʰij?** ; Mand. **shǐ**.

(2) PTB *ya(k) SHIT / FECES / DUNG / EXCREMENT

This widespread etymon seems to have an imitative component.

1. NE Indian Areal Group

**Kuki-Naga*	***e:k**	excrement	Benedict 1972:26n82
	***ek**	dirt, excrement	Benedict 1972:146n399

1.1.1. Tani: ***e:*** EXCREMENT

**Tani*	***e:**	excrement	Sun 1993a:131

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**i**-ljiŋ	anus	Sun 1993b
	í-pa	excrement; defecate	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	i-pa čú-ñi	beetle (species)	Sun 1993b
	i-paʔ	excrement; shit, stool, excrement; dung	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja-ru ru-**ji**	earwax	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**i:**	excrement	Sun 1993a
	ji:	excrement	Sun 1993b
	ji: ji:	shit (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ji:-ku:-pɯ-rɯ:	latrine	Sun 1993b
	ji:-ri-buŋ	anus	Sun 1993b
	ji:-rjum	manure	Sun 1993b
	nap-**ji:**	snot (solid)	Sun 1993b
	pum-**ji:**	snot (solid)	Sun 1993b
	ruŋ-**ji:**	earwax	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-pɯ pɯ	break wind	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-pɯ:	fart (n.)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**e:**	excrement	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	e:	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.24
	e: e:	defecate	Sun 1993b
	e: e:	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.24
	go da: **e:**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.24
	joŋ **e:**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.24
	jək **e:**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.24
	so-**je:**	cow dung	Sun 1993b
	so-joŋ **e:**	dung (of bovines)	Sun 1993b
	ə pə:	fart (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0153.24
	ə-pə:	fart (n.)	Sun 1993a
	ə-pə:	fart	Sun 1993b
	ə-pə: pə:	break wind	Sun 1993b
	ɕo: **e:**	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.24
	ɕə kɯ **e:**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.24
Bokar Lhoba	**e:**	shit; excrement; dung; manure	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.51
	e: e:	defecate	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ruŋ **'e:**	earwax	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ə pə:	fart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:284.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**e**	dung	Das Gupta 1963
	'ee	excrement; poop; shit (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'ee gom	defecate improperly (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'ee hɨɨ	constipated (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'ee jik	diarrhea; loose motion/bowels (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

	‘ee ko	latrine; toilet (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘ee nam	defecate; excrete; shit (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘ee pik	dung (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ee rin	sphincter (anal) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ee yuu	anus (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘əp pə	fart (n.)	GLDC 2009
	`e:	stool / excrement	Weidert 1987:570
Nishing	**e∼i**	stool	Das Gupta 1969
	e∼o	stool (excrement)	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**é**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	je-pə	fart (n.)	Sun 1993a
	ta-**je**	excrement	Sun 1993a
	tai-**é**	excrement; dross; rust	Matisoff 1985a:108
	tai-**é** dut-shu	rust, get rusty; to mess oneself (as a child) (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:108
	tai-**é é**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	yé-pe pe	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
Damu	ʔa-ɕo **ʔe:**-pa	bovine dropping	Sun 1993b
	ʔe:-pa:	excrement	Sun 1993b
	ʔe:-pə:	fart	Sun 1993b
	ʔe:-pɯ pɯ	fart (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ʔe:-rəp	shit (v.)	Sun 1993b

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ʔeek*** EXCREMENT / DUNG / STOOL

**Chin*	***ʔeek**	EXCREMENT / DUNG / STOOL	VanBik 2009:483

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**eh**	feces / shit	Haokip 1998:9.12.1
Paite	**eek**	feces, stool	VanBik 2009:483
Sizang	**eak**	excrement	VanBik 2009:483
Tiddim	**e:k**[1]	excrement	VanBik 2009:483; Bhaskararao 1996:292

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**ĕk**	dung	VanBik 2009:483
Cho (Mindat)	**eek**	dung, stool	VanBik 2009:483
Khumi	**ee**	excrement	VanBik 2009:483

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**ʔeek**	feces, stool, shit	VanBik 2009:483
Lushai [Mizo]	**ê(k)**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	êek	feces, stool	VanBik 2009:483
	êk	dung	Marrison 1967
	êk	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	êk	dung	Matisoff 1987
	e:k	excrement	Bhaskararao 1996:292
	tŭi-**êk**	rust	Matisoff 1985a:108
	tui **êk**	rust (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**i**	manure	Matisoff 1987
	i	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	i	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	sai-**i**	rust, rusty	Matisoff 1985a:108

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Kom Rem	**ek**	feces / shit	Toba & Kom 1991:9.12.1
	kor **ek**	earwax	Toba & Kom 1991:3.6.6
Moyon	**iʔ** ∼ tùrsów? ∼ tòwrsó	feces / shit	Kosha 1990:9.12.1
	nà **íʔ**	earwax	Kosha 1990:3.6.6
Sorbung	**ʔèk**	feces; shit	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.307

1.6. Mru

Mru	**e**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**ok** si	bowels	French 1983:457

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**e** < *pʻyi	excrement of dogs	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	hi-**e**-mā	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**e** kha lam	anus; the way latrin. (v.)	Rai 1985
Chamling	**e**-	shit	Winter 1985:13

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**e:** nɨ	shit, defecate	Driem 1993
	ŋi tso-si **ʔi**	earwax	Driem 1993; Michailovsky 1991:51
Khaling	**e**-ne	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**ex** pi	excrement (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.229
	ex pi	feces	Michailovsky 1991:42
	e ppi	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**eh**-nyā	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987

4. Nungic

Dulong	sɑ **i**[53]	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.20
	sɑ ·**i**[55]	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.20

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**è-è** te ve	[baby-talk] make poo-poo; make caca	Matisoff 1988a:129

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Côông [Phunoi]	**ʔí** kấ ce	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	ʔĭ	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Ugong	**ʔẹ́ŋ** kɔŋ	anus / rectum	Bradley 1993:9.12

7. Karenic: ***ʔéq*** EXCREMENT, ***ʔe***[B] DUNG, EXCREMENT

**Karen [Burling]*	***ʔe**[2]	dung, excrement	Luangthongkum 2013:94
**Karen*	***ʔe**[B]	dung, excrement	Luangthongkum 2013:94
**Karen (Pwo)*	***ʔéq**	dung	Jones 1961:71
**Karen*	***ʔéq**	dung	Jones 1961:71
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***ʔèq**	dung	Jones 1961:71
**Karen (TP)*	***ʔéq**	dung	Jones 1961:71
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ʔéʔ**	dung	Jones 1961:71
Bwe	ʃí **ɪ**	poultry dung, poultry droppings (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ɪ	excretion, excrement, faeces (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**ɪ**[2]	dung	Weidert 1987:917; Luce 1985:E.43
Bwe	**ɪ**[33]	dung, excrement	Luangthongkum 2013:94
Geba	**e**[2]	dung	Luce 1985:E.43
Karen	da[31]**ẹ**[31]	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.50
	ẹ[31]**tsha**[55]	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.50
	gă[31]tθẹ[31]**ẹ**[31]	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.50
	glɔ[31]**ẹ**[31]	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.50
	thọ[55]**e**[31]	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.50
	tθo[55]**ẹ**[31]	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.50
Kayah	**ʔi**[11]	dung, excrement	Luangthongkum 2013:94
Kayan (Pekon)	**ẹ́**	dung, excrement, poo (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**ʔai**[11]	dung, excrement	Luangthongkum 2013:94
Kayaw	**ʔi**[11]	dung, excrement	Luangthongkum 2013:94
Pa-O (Northern)	**e**[1]	dung	Luce 1985:E.43
Pa-O (Southern)	**ʔe**[33]	dung, excrement	Luangthongkum 2013:94
Pa-O (Northern)	**ʔe**[55]	dung, excrement	Luangthongkum 2013:94
Pa-O	**ʔé**	excrement, impolite; dung	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:71
	ʔe	dung	Benedict 1972:146n399
	ʔə rɔ̀	rust	Solnit 1989
Paku	[dɑ[3]] **e**[3]	dung	Luce 1985:E.43
Palaychi	**ʔàq** shzùq	buttocks; anus; rear	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:752
	ʔèq	dung	Jones 1961:71
Pwo (Northern)	**ʔi**[33]	dung, excrement	Luangthongkum 2013:94
Pwo (Tenasserim)	s‘ə̆[4]**ʔé**[1]	dung	Luce 1985:E.43
Pwo (Delta)	s‘ə̆ **ʔé**[4]	dung	Luce 1985:E.43
	s‘ə̆ **ʔi**[4]	dung	Luce 1985:E.43
Pwo (Southern)	**ʔi**[55]	dung, excrement	Luangthongkum 2013:94
Pwo (Bassein)	**ʔè**	dung	Jones 1961:71
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ʔéʔ**	dung	Jones 1961:71
Sgaw	[tɑ[6]] **e**[4]	dung	Luce 1985:E.43
Sgaw (Northern)	**ʔe**[31~]	dung, excrement	Luangthongkum 2013:94
Sgaw (Southern)	**ʔe**[45’]	dung, excrement	Luangthongkum 2013:94
Sgaw (Bassein)	**ʔè**	dung	Jones 1961:71
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a[31] **ẹ**[31]	excrement (animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:333.1
	da[31] **ẹ**[31]	feces; excrement (animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:187; Dai Qingxia 1989k:333
	e[31]	gnaw	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2115
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ʔéʔ**	dung	Jones 1961:71
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**e**[31]	feces; gnaw; excrement (animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:187; Dai Qingxia 1989j:2115; Dai Qingxia 1989j:333

(3) PTB *ba:l SHIT / EXCREMENT / FILTH / BOWELS

The reflexes of this root overlap to some extent with those of PTB ***pya-n/t/s*** FART / SHIT (§1.8.5.2), leading one to suspect that they are ultimately related.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ba:l**	filth / excrement	Matisoff 2003a:584

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	í-**pa**	excrement	Sun 1993b
	i-**paʔ**	excrement; shit, stool, excrement	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	ʔe:-**pa:**	excrement	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	kɯ[31] **bɹɑi**[53]	fart	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**ba:l**[3] > bal?[3]	covered with wet dirt (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:62
	ba:l[3]**/balʔ**[3]	covered with wet dirt	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**bâl**	dirty	Marrison 1967
	ba:l	be or get dirty (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2101

1.3. “Naga” Areal Group

**Naga*	***ba:y**	stool / excrement	Weidert 1987:469

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	[2]the[4]**buo**	stool / excrement	Weidert 1987:469
Angami (Khonoma)	**bo**	dung	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	the **buo**	dung	Marrison 1967
Chokri	thü[31] **bvü**[55]	feces / shit	Nienu 1990b:9.12.1
	[2]the[5]**bwɤ**	stool / excrement	Weidert 1987:469
Khezha	’è **bɵ**	feces / shit / excrement / dung	Yabu 1994:9.12.1
Mao	o **bo**	dung	Marrison 1967
Rengma	a **bu**	dung	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **ba**	feces; shit; dung	Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:9.12.1
	a nga **ba**	meconium / baby shit	Achumi 1998a:9.12.2
	ba	defecate (v.)	Achumi 1998a:9.12.3
	ti zü **ba**	diarrhea (n.)	Marrison 1967
	[1]**ba**	stool / excrement	Weidert 1987:469

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	n-**bûi**	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:411
Zeme	he **ba**	dung	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	chir-**pai**	urine and feces	Matisoff 1987
	pai	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	páy	excrement	Bhat 1969:88
	sei-**pai**	dung	Matisoff 1987; Marrison 1967
	[3]fə-[1]kə[3]**pai**	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:411
	[3]**pai**-[1]kə[3]ta	stool / excrement	Weidert 1987:469
Tusom	ho-kə-**pe**	fart	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.328

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	bar-**pi**	feces	Weidert 1987:61
	bar-**pi**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	bár-**pí**	feces / shit	Grüssner 1979:151
	bár-**pí** -bár-só	feces / shit	Grüssner 1979:151

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**pi**-hi	cow dung	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	ex **pi**	excrement (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.229
	ex **pi**	feces	Michailovsky 1991:42
	e **ppi**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	nə **ʂp**	eye sand	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	mau **spɛ**	eye sand	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.4.7
Ergong (Northern)	meɣ[53] **spa**[33]	eye sand	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.4.7
Ergong (Daofu)	mɑu **spa**	eye sand	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.4.7

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	tə mn̥ak **pʰɕᴇ**	eye sand	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4.7
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə mɲak **pʰʃe**	eye sand	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4.7
rGyalrong (NW)	tə mn̥ak **pa**	eye sand	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.4.7
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**pi^{35}** la^{55}	intestines / bowels	Chen Kang 1986c:9.11
7. Karenic			
Palaychi	fvúq **pwí**	intestines; bowels	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:180
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a^{31} **pui^{33}**	intestines	Dai Qingxia 1989k:184.2
	da^{31} **pui^{33}**	intestines	Dai Qingxia 1989k:184.1
	mi^{33} **pʰe^{55}**	eye sand	Dai Qingxia 1989k:194.1
	pui^{33}	intestines	Dai Qingxia 1989k:184
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**pu̱iʔ^{31}**	intestines	Dai Qingxia 1989j:184

(4) PTB *s-baŋ DUNG

This root seems quite distinct from PTB ***(p/b)waŋ** HIPS / BUTTOCKS / TAIL / ANUS (§1.4.9.2).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-baŋ**	dung	Matisoff 2003a:584
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**sbaŋs**	dung of larger animals	Benedict 1972:p.21
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**bhaŋ**	ordure	Benedict 1972:p.21

(5) PTB * g/b -syaŋ SHIT / FILTH / EXCREMENT / RUST / BLIGHT

This etymon bears a resemblance to PTB ***(t)swa-y** ⪤ ***t(s)wa-y** RUST / DROSS / STAIN / EXCREMENT (§3.2.4), so that it is difficult to assign reflexes in eroded subgroups like Loloish to one or the other. Further microlinguistic work is necessary.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g/b-syaŋ**	excrement / rust / blight	Matisoff 2003a:613
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Ao*	*(a-)**tʃhuŋ**	RUST	Bruhn 2014a:II.171
Ao (Chungli)	**suŋ^{2}**	rust (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.171
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	kho **yöṅ**	rust (n.)	Bailey 1911
	kho **yöṅ** lăgĕnmig‘	rust (vi.)	Bailey 1911
	kho **yöṅ** tupcimig‘	rust (vi.)	Bailey 1911
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ɕaŋ^{55}**lam^{55}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.02
Tibetan (Written)	**bśaŋ**	alvine discharges / excrement	Matisoff 2003a:36
	gśaŋ	alvine discharges / excrement	Matisoff 2003a:36
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***z(y)aŋ^{2}** EXCREMENT / RUST / BLIGHT			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***z(y)aŋ^{2}**	excrement / rust / blight	Matisoff 2003a:36
	***zaŋ^{2}** or *žaŋ^{2}	shit	Matisoff 1987
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	chi^{55}**khʐaŋ^{31}**	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.29
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Southern)	**zo^{53}**	rust	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**zua^{55}**	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.34
	zua^{55}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.34
Nusu (Northern)	**zuɑ^{35}**	rust	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**zuɑ^{53}**	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.45
Yi (Liangshan)	**ndʐu^{55}**	rust	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ndʐu^{55}ʥɯ^{33}	rust, form	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Wuding)	**zɯ^{33}**	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.38
	zɯ^{33}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.38
Yi (Xide)	**ndʐu̱^{55}** dzɯ^{33}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.35
	ndʐu^{55}	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.21
	ndʐu^{55}dzɯ^{33}	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.35
	n̥dʐu^{55}	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	**ʐɔ^{53}**	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.43
	ʐɔ^{53} tɑ^{54}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.43
Lahu (Black)	**yɔ̂**	rust; rot; blight; deteriorati (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 1291
	zɔ^{53}tʌ^{54}	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.33
Lisu (Northern)	**jɔ^{44}**	rancid (V.)	Bradley 1994
	rɔ^{44}	rancid (V.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Sangkong	**ʐaŋ^{31}**	shit	Li Yongsui 1991
	ʐaŋ^{31} qha^{31}	fart	Li Yongsui 1991
	ʐaŋ^{31} u^{31} poŋ^{33}	belly, stomach	Li Yongsui 1991
Ugong	ka khlí/ka **sẹ́ŋ**	tooth dirt	Bradley 1993

(6) PTB *l(y) u/i t SHIT

Lepcha has a doublet **(y)it** and **lŭt**, with the latter probably a loan from Tibetan.

1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**lyu**-pâ pua	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**lid(h)**	dung (horse) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	lid(h)	dung of horses etc.	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**lud**	manure; dung	Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:470
	phag **lud**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.01
	rta **lud**	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.01
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	’a-**yit**	dung	Matisoff 1987
	a-**yit**	manure	Matisoff 1987
	a **yit** tsup	anus	Matisoff 1987
	it	dung; manure	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	jí-**lŭt**	manure	Matisoff 1987
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**ʔot**.sā	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	**lu** ka	anus / rectum	Sun 1986
	lu kæ	anus / rectum	Sun Hongkai 1991g:9.12

(7) PTB * r/s -kya k/ŋ SHIT / EXCREMENT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kyak**	excrement	Benedict 1972:26n82
	***yaŋ**	guts	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	ñik-**jaː**	eye sand	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	kay-**yaːng**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	kay-**yaːŋ**	bowels	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	rhe ko **rog**	earwax	Sharma 1991b:3.6.6
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**tɕɑ^{13}** uɑ^{53}	feces / shit	Sun Hongkai 1991a:9.12.1
	n̥i^{13} **tɕɑ^{53}**	eye sand	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.4.7
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**hcçok** kwa htoŋ	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.05
	ɣcçok kwa	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htɕak**	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**htɕag**-wæ	excrement	Sun 1985a:235
	ɣcçok kwa	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.5
Tibetan (Batang)	miʔ^{55} **tɕaʔ^{53}**	eye sand	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.4.7
	na^{55} **tɕaʔ^{53}**	earwax	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.6.6
	tɕia^{55} pa^{53}	feces / shit	Dai Qingxia 1989a:9.12.1
	phɑ^{55}**tɕɑʔ^{53}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.03
	tɕa^{55}pa^{53}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.03
	tɕa^{55} pa^{53}tõ	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.03
	tɕɑ^{55}	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.03
	tɕɑ^{55}mbʊ^{53}	maggot (dung) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**kyāk**-pāq	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	nām-jyokq-**kyāk**-pāq	earwax	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tɕa^{53}**pa^{53}	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**cak^{13}pa^{55}** taŋ^{55}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.02
	cak^{53}pa^{53}	dung; manure; excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.2; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.2
	cak^{55}pa^{55}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.02
	phak^{55}**ca^{52}**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.02
Sherpa	**hyak** sang	anus	Matisoff 1987
	kyāk-pāq	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**kyak** paq	feces / shit	Bishop 1989:9.12.1
	mē **kya**	eye sand	Bishop 1989:3.4.7
Sherpa	nao **žokq**	earwax	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**kya** kup	anus / rectum	Bodh 1991:9.12
Tibetan (Written)	mig-**skyag**	eye sand	Matisoff 1987
	na-**skyag**	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	rgyag.pa	excrement	Sun 1985c:235
	rkyag(-pa) ~ skyag(-pa)	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	rkyag(-pa) ~ **skyag**(-pa)	dirt, excrement	Benedict 1972:146n399
	rna-**rkyag**	earwax	Matisoff 1987
	skjag pa	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.01
	skjag pa	dung; manure; excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.1
	skjag pa gtoŋ	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.01
	skyag	excreta	Matisoff 1983:30
	skyag-pa	stool, excrements, dung	Zhang Liansheng 1988:66
Tibetan (Xiahe)	haχ **htəχ**	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.04
	htsa ʁaŋ	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.04
	htɕaχ kwa	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.04
	htɕe	dung (cow) (wet) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.04
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	mik tsi **gek**	eye sand	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	pẽː **ki**	body-dirt	Matisoff 1987
	xwak	earwax	Matisoff 1987
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	lŋa^{53} **ɬtɕak^{53}** pa^{53}	meconium / baby shit	Sun Hongkai 1991c:9.12.2
	ɬtɕak^{53} pa^{53}	feces / shit	Sun Hongkai 1991c:9.12.1
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐtɕɔ** pa	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.14
	ʐtɕɔ ɕɯ	feces; shit; dung; manure	Sun Hongkai 1991b:9.12.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.14
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔtɕɔ** pɑ	feces / shit	Dai Qingxia 1989b:9.12.1
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**kjɑŋ^{2}kri^{3}son^{1}**	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.26
	kyaŋ	filth; excrement; dung	Matisoff 1974:56; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:146n399
	kyaŋ-krî	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	kyaŋ-ŋayʔim	’”house of the lesser excrement”	Matisoff 1987:133
Langsu (Luxi)	**khjik^{55}**	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.31
	khjik^{55}ʃɔ^{31}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.31
	tʃhauk^{55}puŋ^{55}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.31
Lashi	**tʃhǒ^{55}** khuŋ^{55} tuaŋ^{33}	anus / rectum	Dai Qingxia 1989m:9.12

Leqi (Luxi)	**khjei**^{55}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.33
	tʃhə̆^{55}khuŋ^{55}tuaŋ^{33}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.33
Marma	**khyí**	shit / excrement	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:42-1
Maru [Langsu]	**khjik**^{55}	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.43
	tʃhauk^{55} puŋ^{55}	anus / rectum	Dai Qingxia 1989l:9.12
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khji**^{21}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.30
	khji^{21}	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.42
	khji^{21}**ʃo**^{51}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.30
	tʃhĭ^{55}toŋ^{21}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.30

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Sani [Nyi]	**ʑe**^{33} **tʂ^{h}ʅ**^{21}	chicken shit	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:251.2

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ga˘** nyi˘ i˘-eu	have a bowel movement	Lewis 1989:168
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔí **kấ** ce	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987

Chinese comparandum

去 OC ***k'i̱ɑb***, *GSR* #642a-b 'go, leave; get rid of, eliminate'; Schuessler 2007:436 ***khah*** ~ ***kha?***; B & S 2011: ***k^{h}a?-s {[k]^{h}(r)a?-s}***; Mand. **qù**.

(8) PTk *paal DEFECATE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***paal**	defecate	Mortensen 2012:502
Kachai	kə-**pwe**	defecate (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.282
Tusom	kə-**pie**	defecate	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.009
Ukhrul	kə-**paj**	defecate	Mortensen 2012

(9) PNC *thaa-I, *thak-II DEFECATE / EXCRETE

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Northern Chin*	***thaa**-I, thak-II	DEFECATE / EXCRETE	VanBik 2009:383
Thado	**thàa**-I, thà?-II	excrete	VanBik 2009:383
Tiddim	**tha:**^{3} > thak^{3}	defecate	VanBik 2009:383

(10) PTB *brun EXCREMENT

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***prjun**	dung / excrement	Coblin 1986:68

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**brun**	dirt; dung; shit; dung, excrement, feces	Matisoff 1987; Coblin 1986:68

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	牛糞	excrement of cattle	Nagano & Prins 2013:0138
	羊糞	excrement of sheep	Nagano & Prins 2013:0137
	马糞	excrement of horse	Nagano & Prins 2013:0139
	驴糞／骡糞	excrement of donkey	Nagano & Prins 2013:0140
"Pre-Chinese"	**prjənh**	dung / excrement	Coblin 1986:68

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**pjənh**	dung / excrement	Coblin 1986:68

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**fehn** biahn	excrement	Sun 1985b:235

Chinese comparandum

糞 OC ***pi̱wən***, *GSR* #472a 'manure; to cleanse (remove soil)'; WT **brun**; Coblin 86: ST ***prjun*** > PC ***prjənh*** > OC ***pjənh***; B & S 2011 ***pur-s {*p[u]r-s}***; Mand. **fèn**.

(11) PTB *s-nyak FILTH(Y) / EXCREMENT

This root was reconstructed as ***n(y)ik*** ⩤ ***s-n(y)ek*** in *STC* #235, but the present reconstruction now seems preferable. The final **-n** in the Bodic forms is perhaps due to assimilation to the nasal initial.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***n(y)ik**	filth; dirt; excrement; shit	LaPolla 1987:59; Benedict 1972:235
	***n(y)ik**~**s-n(y)ek**	filth	Michailovsky 1991:141
	***s-n(y)ik** ⩤ **s-n(y)ek**	filth(y) / excrement	Matisoff 2003a:605

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Rengma (Southern)	^{4}n^{4}**nyũ**	intestines	Weidert 1987:749

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	dži **ni**	dirt	Benedict 1972:235

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	ant **śnek**	dirt	Benedict 1972:235
	snek	sloppy	Benedict 1972:235

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**nyi**	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	nyi ⩤ **nye**	evacuate the intestines	Benedict 1972:235

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	**n̥iŋ**^{35}	shit	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**n̥in**^{13}	shit; excrement	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.6
	n̥in^{55}	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.6
Cuona Menba	pha?^{53}**n̥en**^{53}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.06
	te^{53}**n̥en**^{55}	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.06
	n̥en^{55}	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.06
	n̥in^{35}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.06
	n̥in^{35}**ɕe?**^{53}	empty the bowels (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1488.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	nyag-**nyig**	filth, dirt, excrement	Benedict 1972:235
	snyigs-ma	impure sediment	Benedict 1972:235
	snyigs-pa	degenerated	Benedict 1972:235

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	e: **ni**	shit, defecate	Driem 1993
Khaling	e-**ne**	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**ngāyk**-cā	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	eh-**nyā**	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	ji:h-si-**nyā**	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**nǐaɦ**	excrement / dung	Nishida 1964:137-071
	nie^{2}	excrement	Sofronov c1978
	nji (nja)	dung, excrement	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2015

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Longxi)	à **n̥ì**	dirty	Evans 1999:1542

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**n̥uk**	pile (of excrement) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0855.11

4. Nungic

Rawang	gɯm^{31} raŋ^{31} **ni?**	horse dung	LaPolla 2003:315
Nung	mɛn^{31}**n̥i**^{55}	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.21
Anong	**ni**	shit; excrement	LaPolla 1987:59; Benedict 1972:235
Rawang	**ni?**	excrement	LaPolla 2003:168
	ni? ʃɑ^{33} ɛ^{33}	empty the bowels	LaPolla 2003:1364
	ni^{53} dɯŋ^{31}	anus	LaPolla 2003:130
Anong	**ñi**^{55}	shit; dung	Sun Hongkai 1988; Sun Hongkai 1988
Nung	nun^{31}uɑn^{31}**n̥i**^{55}	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.21
Anong	nu^{31}ŋuɑ^{53}**n̥i**^{53}	dung / manure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.44
Rawang	nə ŋwɑ^{31} **ni?**	cow dung	LaPolla 2003:303
	wɑʔ **ni?**	pig dung	LaPolla 2003:330
Nung	**n̥i**^{31}khu^{55}khuaŋ^{31}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.21
	n̥i^{55}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.21
Anong	**n̥i**^{55}	excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.44
Nung	ʔo^{55}**n̥i**^{55}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.21
Dulong	mɯ^{31}gɯ^{53}**ni**^{55}	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ñi**^{44}	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Dulong	**ni**^{55}	excrement (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0151.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ni**^{55}	dung; manure; excrement	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:282.46; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:471.46
Dulong	nuŋ^{55}wɑ^{53}**ni**^{55}	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.20
	nɯ^{31}ɹɔn^{55}duŋ^{55}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.20
	wɑʔ^{55}**ni**^{55}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.20
	ɑ^{31}tɕit^{55}**ni**^{55}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ni**^{55}	manure; shit	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:59
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ńi**^{53}	shit	LaPolla 1987:59
	n̥i^{53}	shit; manure	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**n̥i?**^{4}pɑʔ^{4}	dirty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1086.27
	ɑ^{53}**n̥i?**^{4}ɑ^{53}tɕe^{55}	dirt / filth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0160.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**n̥i?**^{44}pɑʔ^{44}	dirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:854.40
Burmese (Written)	**ñac**	filthy, dirty	Benedict 1976a
	ńats	dirty; dirty, filthy	LaPolla 1987:59; Benedict 1972:235
	ññac	dirty	Marrison 1967
	ə-**hñi'**	dirt, filth, slime; verdigris; moss	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**ñac**	dirt, filth	Benedict 1976a
	n̥as pat	dirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:854.39
	n̥as^{4}pat^{4}	dirty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1086.26
	ɑ^{1}**n̥as**^{4}ɑ^{1}kre^{3}	dirt / filth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0160.26
Marma	**ŋyɔi?**	dirty (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:351

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ni**^{33}tsɛ^{33}	dirty	Pelkey 2011:965
Phuza	**n̥i**^{55}**tɕ^{h}**i^{55}	dirty	Pelkey 2011:965

Chinese comparandum

敛 OC ***niəp***, *GSR* #670h 'fill up, stop up, obstruct'; Schuessler 2007:401-2 ***nîp*** ~ ***nêp***; Mand. **niè**.
涅 OC ***niet***, *GSR* #404j 'black sediment in dirty water'; Mand. **niè**.
泥 OC ***niər***, *GSR* #563d 'mud, mire; impeded, obstructed'; Schuessler 2007:401-2 ***nîh*** ~ ***nîts***; B & S 2011: ****C.n^{ʕ}əj {C.n^{ʕ}[əj]}*** ~ ****n^{ʕ}əj {n^{ʕ}[ə]j}***; Mand. **nì**.

1.8.5.2 Fart

(1) PTB * $\frac{\text{p}}{\text{b}}$ u FART / ANUS

This root resembles PTB ***p^{w}u*** BELLY / STOMACH / INTESTINE / KIDNEY (§1.7.6) but it is best to keep the two separate.

1.1.1. Tani: ****pəː*** ~ ****pɯ*** FART (n.)

**Tani*	***pəː**~ **pɯ**	fart (n.)	Sun 1993a:138

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**pu**-di	fart	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-di	fart	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ɯ-pɯ pɯ**	break wind	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-pɯː	fart (n.)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	ə **pəː**	fart (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0153.24
	ə-**pəː**	fart (n.)	Sun 1993a
	ə-**pəː**	fart	Sun 1993b
	ə-**pəː pəː**	break wind	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ə **pəː**	fart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:284.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	**pəə** nam	fart (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
	'əp **pə**	fart (n.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	je-**pə**	fart (n.)	Sun 1993a
	yé-**pe pe**	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
Damu	ʔeː-**pəː**	fart	Sun 1993b
	ʔeː-**pɯ pɯ**	fart (v.)	Sun 1993b

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**bu**	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
	hpyet **bu**	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
	pù-shaw	anus	Matisoff 1987
	^{1}phyet^{3}**bu**	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:1193

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**phyu**	fart	Sharma 1991a:11.7
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	khyu **bu** natotyā	anus	Matisoff 1987

(2) PTB *pya-**n t s** **FART / SHIT**

All three apical suffixes (**-s**, **-t**, **-n**) are attested in this interesting root. See *HPTB*:439-479.

The reflexes of this root overlap to some extent with those of PTB ***ba:l*** SHIT / EXCREMENT / FILTH / BOWELS (§1.8.5), leading one to suspect that they are ultimately related.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pyen ≍ pyet**	fart	Matisoff 2003a:609
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	tə́-t **pʻît**	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:1193
	tɯ^{31} **p^{h}it^{55}**	fart (n.)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	t **pʻît**	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:1193
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Sema [Sumi]	^{1}a^{1}**pi**^{2}i	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:411
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	n-**bi**	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:411
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**bɔ́**	stool / excrement	Weidert 1987:469
Zeme	«^{1}n ^{5}**bi**»-^{1}ke^{4}cu	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:411
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**phon** ka-chung	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ke **phé**	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:115
	phe ke-do	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
	phé-	fart	Grüssner 1979:142
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**hpyet** bu	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
	hpyet sun	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
	phjet^{31}	fart (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0153.19
	phjet^{31}	fart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:284.47
	^{1}**phyet**^{3}bu	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:1193
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**p^{h}i**	fart	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tshona (Wenlang)	**p^{h}e^{55}**	fart	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**p^{h}ɛʔ^{53}**	fart	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Spiti	**phen**	fart	Bodh 1991:11.7
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥphyen / phyen**	flatulence	Benedict 1972:99n283
	pʻyen	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Chantyal	**phẽs pi** ri-wa	fart	Noonan *et al.* 1992:11.7
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**p^{h}e:**	fart (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:11.7
Tamang (Sahu)	**phe**	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***pi**- (**ʔpe**-)	fart (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:62
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**phep** mā	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
	pheq mat	fart	Michailovsky 1989b
	pheq r-	fart at (so.) (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	pheʔ r-	fart at (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:62
	phe:s- (phe)	fart (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	phe:s-(u)	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:115
	phe: ma	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:115
Yakha	**pi:ʔ** ma:	fart	Kohn 1990:11.7
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**bhe**	fart (v.)	Rai 1985
	bhes-	fart (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:62
	bhes-	fart (v.i.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:13
	bhett-	fart at (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:62
Chamling	**bhis**-(a)	fart	Winter 1985:6
	bhis-a	fart (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:62
Kulung	**bes**-	fart (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:62
	bes-a	fart (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**pi:**-	fart (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:62
	pi:ʔ khi:m	fart	Driem 1993
	pi: ni	fart	Driem 1993
Khaling	**'pik** mö	fart	Michailovsky 1991:62
	√**pi**-	fart (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:62
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**pis**-	fart (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:62
Hayu	**pet**-	fart (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:62
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang (Eastern)	**pes**	fart (n.)	Caughley 1990:11.7
	peʔ naʔ	fart (v.)	Caughley 1990:11.7
Magar	**ben**	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	ben kā-ke	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	**ɸɕɑ**	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989b:11.7
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	**p^{h}ɕɛ** rbo	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989d:11.7
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **p^{h}e**	fart	Sun Hongkai 1991k:11.7
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wu **p^{h}ʃɐ** rbo	fart	Sun Hongkai 1991j:11.7
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**pi^{44}** del$^{\underline{32}}$	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nasu	**pi̱^{21}**	fart	Chen Kang 1986b:11.7
Nesu	**bi^{21}** thɤ^{21}	fart	Chen Kang 1986b:11.7
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Sani [Nyi]	**bi^{21}**~vi^{21}	fart (n.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	bi^{21}ɬɯ^{21}	fart (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a [a]
	bi^{21}ɬɤ^{21}	fart	Chen Kang 1986b:11.7
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	u◡ k'a◡ **pyeh◡**-eu	flatulent; fart	Matisoff 1987
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	屁	fart	Nagano & Prins 2013:0153

[a] Sani **ɬɯ^{21}** 'to let go, release'.

Chinese comparandum

The Chinese comparandum has not been reconstructed for Old Chinese. However, its semantic content is such that it might not have appeared in ancient literary sources.

(3) PTB *woy FART

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***woy**	fart	Matisoff 2003a:619
1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**væ^{53}**	fart	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:284.52
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***woyʔ ≍ *weyʔ** FART			
**Chin*	***woy**-s	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:411
	***woyʔ ≍ weyʔ**	FART	VanBik 2009:1147
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	**vei** seng	fart	Haokip 1998:11.7
Paite	**veih**	flatus	VanBik 2009:1147
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**veih**	break wind, to fart (v.)	VanBik 2009:1147
Khumi	**vawy**	fart	VanBik 2009:1147
Awa Khumi	**vü^{3}**	fart; to fart	Luce 1985:R.54
Khumi (Ahraing)	**vɔɪ^{1}**	fart; to fart	Luce 1985:R.54
	vɔɪ^{5}	fart; to fart	Luce 1985:R.54
Womatu	**veiʔ^{2}**	fart; to fart	Luce 1985:R.54
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**voyʔ**	fart	VanBik 2009:1147
Lai (Falam)	**vòyʔ**	fart	VanBik 2009:1147
Lai (Hakha)	**vɔiʔ^{2}**	fart; to fart	Luce 1985:R.54
Lushai [Mizo]	**vàwih**	break wind (v.)	VanBik 2009:1147
	voih	break wind	Bhaskararao 1996:1951
	voiʔ	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:115
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	**vow**	fart	Kosha 1990
	vowr	fart	Kosha 1990:11.7
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
**Naga*	***b-woy**	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:411
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**ve** chia	fart	Nienu 1990c:11.7
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	^{2}pe^{4}**vi**	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:115
Angami (Kohima)	pe^{31} **vi^{35}**	fart	Nienu 1990a:11.7
Chokri	bvü^{31} **ve^{55}**	fart	Nienu 1990b:11.7
	^{2}bwɤ^{5}**ve**	fart (v.)	Weidert 1987:411
Khezha	bɯ **we**	fart (n.)	Yabu 1994:11.7
	pfɯ **we**	fart (v.)	Yabu 1994:11.7
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**wĩ**	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989e:11.7
	wiəj	fart, break wind	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5109
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**rve**	fart (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0153.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**wu** p^{h}ʃɐ rbo	fart	Sun Hongkai 1991j:11.7
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nosu	**vu^{21}**bi^{55}	fart	Chen Kang 1986b:11.7
Nusu (Northern)	**vi^{35}**	fart	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**vi^{55}**	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989o:182.
Nusu (Central)	**vi^{55}**	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989p:182.; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	vi^{55}	fart (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0153.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**vi^{55}**	fart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:284.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**vi^{55} vi^{53}**	fart	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1820.
Yi (Liangshan)	**vu^{21}**	fart (intestinal gas); gas, intestinal	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**vʌ^{21}**	fart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:284.25
Yi (Xide)	**vu^{21}**	fart	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vu^{21}	fart (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0153.35
	vu^{21}	fart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:284.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**va^{21}**ʈhi^{21}	fart	Chen Kang 1986b:11.7
	vɑ^{21} tʻi^{21}	fart	Luo Meizhen 1990:11.7
Kucong	**v31** phiɛ31	fart	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Sani [Nyi]	bi^{21}~**vi^{21}**	fart (n.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**vz̩^{11}**	fart (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0153.39
Sani [Nyi]	**vɳ^{11}** ɬɤ^{11}	fart (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:314.2
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**vɛ^{22}**ɬi^{33}	fart	Pelkey 2011:911
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**fu^{42}**	fart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:284.37
Bai (Dali)	**fv^{31}**	fart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:284.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**fa^{21}**	fart (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0153.48
	fu^{31}	fart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:284.36
	fv̩^{31}	fart	Zhao Yansun 1990:11.7

1.8.6.1 Pus/Gleet

(1) PTB *s-na:y PUS

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-na:y**	pus	Matisoff 1985a:105; Matisoff 2003a:604
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	^{2}ta **r^{1}ñe**	pus	Weidert 1987:566
Bokar Lhoba	ta **n̥i**	pus	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	`ta **ñi**	pus	Weidert 1987:566
	`ta **ño**	pus	Weidert 1987:566
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	kuŋ-**nu**	pus	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**nî**	pus	Weidert 1987:153
	ni	pus	Matisoff 1985a:105
	ni^{53}	pus	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hnaay** PUS / SAP			
**Chin*	***hnaay**	PUS / SAP	VanBik 2009:901
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	a **nai**	pus	VanBik 2009:901
Thado	**náay**	pus	VanBik 2009:901
Tiddim	**-na:i**	pus	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:105
	na:i^{2}	form pus, pus, sap	VanBik 2009:901
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**hngai**	pus, matter in a sore	VanBik 2009:901
Khumi	**naáy**	pus	VanBik 2009:901

Womatu	**hnɑi**^{4}	pus	Luce 1985:R.9
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hnâay**	pus	VanBik 2009:901
Lai (Falam)	**hnăay**	pus	VanBik 2009:901
Lai (Hakha)	**hnɑi**^{5}	pus	Luce 1985:R.9
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnáai**	pus	Weidert 1987:153
	hnai	juice	Marrison 1967
	hnāi	juice, sap, pus, exudation; exude, discharge	Matisoff 1985a:105
	hnái	pus, sap, juice, exudation	VanBik 2009:901
	hnai	juice; sap; pus (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2422
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hnia**	pus; pus from a wound, etc.	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:105
	hnìa	pus	VanBik 2009:901
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**náai**	pus	Weidert 1987:153
	ə **nəi**	pus	Toba & Kom 1991:12.5
Lamkang	ʌr-**nàai**	pus	Weidert 1987:153
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-hnaj** PUS			
**Central Naga*	*a-**hnaj**	PUS	Bruhn 2014a:III.043
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a **hna**-tsə	pus (? + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**na**^{2}-tʃə?^{3}	pus (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.043
	e **na** tjü	pus	Murry *et al.* 1978:96
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Khezha	'è **nhɵ**	pus	Yabu 1994:12.5
Sema [Sumi]	a **ni**	pus	Achumi 1998a:12.5
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Zeme	^{1}pe^{5}**nia**	pus	Weidert 1987:153
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***naj** PUS			
**Tangkhulic*	***naj**	pus	Mortensen 2012:380
Huishu	ʔa-**nej**	pus	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.341
	ʔa-sə-**nej**	pus	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.136
Tangkhul	shi **nai**	pus	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:105
	^{1}ši^{2}**nai**	pus	Weidert 1987:153
Tusom	ʔɯ-**ɲue**	pus	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.335
Ukhrul	ʃi-**naj**	pus	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**nay**	pus	Singh 1991:12.5
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	a te **né**	pus	Weidert 1987:153
	te **nè**	pus	Grüssner 1979:86
	te **nè**~teng **ne**	pus, matter	Matisoff 1985a:105
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**nhā**	pus	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	**n̥i**	pus	Egli-Roduner 1987:37 4
Tsangla (Motuo)	**n̥i**	pus	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	n̥i^{13}	pus	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**n̥i**	pus	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**nhi**	pus	Michailovsky 1991:141; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:105; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:12.5
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**ne ne**	pus	Michailovsky 1991:141; Matisoff 1985a:105
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**nwɪ**^{1}	pus	Sofronov c1978

(2) PTQ *s-pa PUS

3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**pe** se	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989e:12.5
	pə^{1}	pus	Sofronov c1978
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya [Minyak]	**pɐ̯**^{35}	pus	Sun Hongkai 1991h:12.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.15
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**pɐ**^{53}	pus	Sun Hongkai 1991n:12.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.16
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	**spa**	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989b:12.5
Ergong (Northern)	**spa**^{53}	pus	Sun Hongkai 1991c:12.5
Daofu	**spə**	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.12
Ergong (Danba)	**spɛ**	pus	Sun Hongkai 1991b:12.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.14

(3) PTB *tswəy ROT / PUS

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tswiy**	pus; decayed, pus	Weidert 1987:1057; Benedict 1972:183
	***tswəy**	rot; pus	Weidert 1987:1057; Matisoff 2003a:617
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	mă^{33}**tsu̱i**^{33}	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.19
	mă^{31}**tsu̱i**^{33}	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.47
	mă^{1} **tsu̱i**^{33}	pus	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	mətsəwi ≍ mətswi	pus	Benedict 1972:183
	mə **tsəwi**	pus	Matisoff 1987
	mə **tsəwī**	pus	Matisoff 1974:165
	^{3}mə^{2}**sui**	pus	Weidert 1987:1057
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**tʃho**^{55}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.18
Lyuzu	ne^{33}**tʂhu**^{53}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.18
Namuyi	bo^{33}**tʂhɳ**^{55}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.19
	bo^{33}**tʂhɳ**^{53}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.46
Pumi (Qinghua)	nə^{13}**bʒi**^{55}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.11
Pumi (Taoba)	xə^{35}**dʑyi**^{53}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**tsə** qɑ	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**tsuə**^{55}qɑ^{55}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.9
Xumi	liɑ^{33}**tshuɐ**^{55}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.20
	lɛ^{33}**tshuɛ**^{53}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	a^{33} phi^{55} **tɕhya**^{33}	damage / spoil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1655.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	nə **tshə**	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.12
Ergong (Danba)	**tshɯ**	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **tʃə**	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.11
rGyalrong	kə **tʃə**	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.12
Caodeng	ká-**tswi**	rot	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	kə-**tʃə**	rot	Sun 1997b
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**dzi**^{13} ts^{h}e^{35}	pus	Chen Kang 1986d:12.5 [a]
Tujia (Southern)	**dzi**^{13} ts^{h}e^{35}	pus	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ze**^{35}	pus	Chen Kang 1986c:12.5
Tujia (Northern)	**ze**^{35}	pus	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**chwê**	decayed, crumbling (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:165
	chwê	decayed, rotten	Benedict 1976a
	tshwè	decayed, crumbling; rotten	Benedict 1972:183
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	sa^{35} **ts^{h}ɣ**^{53}	ulcer, sore	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	sa^{31} **ts^{h}u**^{55}	ulcer, sore	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	sa^{31} **ts^{h}i**^{31}	ulcer, sore	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	qui^{21} le^{21} **tɕhi̱**^{44}	ulcer, sore	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

[a] Tujia **ts^{h}e**^{35} 'water'.

(4) PTB *syu $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{p}\\\mathbf{t}\end{matrix}$ PUS

This weakly attested root has so far been found only in Tani and Himalayish.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**shut**	pus	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	rma-**ɕu**	ulcer	Zhang Liansheng 1988:80
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	tŭk-**sŭp**	pus	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	tŭk-**sŭp**	pus	Matisoff 1987

(5) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{s}\\\mathbf{r}\end{matrix}$ nak PUS

2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**naʔ**	pus	Sharma 1991a:12.5
Kanauri	**stăg**	pus	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	**nhag**	pus	Sharma 1991b:12.5
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**nɑ**^{341}	pus	Sun Hongkai 1991a:12.5
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hnak**	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hnag**	pus	Sun 1985a:792
Tibetan (Batang)	**naʔ**^{53}	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989a:12.5
Tibetan (Central)	**ʔnākʔ**	pus	Weidert 1987:695
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'nākq**	pus	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**naʔ**^{53}	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.2
Sherpa	**'nakq**	pus	Matisoff 1987
Spiti	**nak**	pus	Bodh 1991:12.5
Tibetan (Written)	**rnag**	pus	Weidert 1987:695; Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:792
	rṅag	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.01
	rnag	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hnaχ**	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**noh**	pus	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:2.A.63
Gurung	**no**^{ɦ}	pus	Weidert 1987:566
Manang (Gyaru)	**na:**^{3}	pus	Nagano 1984:050
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**na:**	pus	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0041
Tamang	**na:**^{ɦ}	pus	Weidert 1987:566
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**na:**	pus (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:12.5
Tamang (Sahu)	**nā:h**	pus	Matisoff 1987
Thakali	**na**^{ɦ}	pus	Weidert 1987:566
Thakali (Tukche)	**nāh**	pus	Matisoff 1987
	nah	pus	Hari 1971:2.A.63
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu (Nujiang)	bu̱^{44} **nu̱**^{44}	ulcer, sore	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986

(6) PTB *s-bu PUS

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**bu**	pus	Matisoff 1987
	bu^{55}	pus	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	**bu**	pus	Anonymous 1962
	bu^{55}	pus	Sun Hongkai 1991f:12.5
	bu mbro	pus	Anonymous 1962
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**svu**	pus	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:50
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	so^{55} **pu**^{13}	ulcer, sore	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	so **p^{h}u**	ulcer, sore	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**po**^{1}	ulcer	Sofronov c1978
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**pu**^{55}	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.16
	pu^{53}	pus	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.17
Lyuzu	**pu**^{35}	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.18
Muya	**pɐ̯**^{24}	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**pu**^{55}	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**fpy**^{13}	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.09

Pumi (Qinghua)	**spy**[13]	pus	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.11
Qiang (Longxi)	**pù**	pus	Evans 1999:195
Qiang (Mawo)	**rpə** sɑ	pus	Sun 1986
	spə sɑ	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.8
	ʂpə sɑ	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.08
	ʂpə sa	pus	Sun Hongkai 1991g:12.5 [a]
	ʂpə sɑ	pus	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Mianchi)	**pù**	pus	Evans 1999:195
Qiang (Taoping)	**χpu**[55]	pus	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**ʂpə** sɑ	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989q:195
Queyu (Xinlong)	**spuə**[55]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.13

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	ta **spu**	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.12
rGyalrong (Northern)	ta **spu**	pus	Sun Hongkai 1991k:12.5
rGyalrong (NW)	ta **zɣuə**	pus	Sun Hongkai 1991l:12.5
Caodeng	tɛ́-**spu**	pus	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **spu**	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.11
rGyalrong	ta **spu**	pus	Nagano 1997:12.5
rGBenzhen	ta-**spu**	pus	Sun 1997b

5. Tujia

Tujia (Southern)	ts^{h}o[21] **bo**[21]	ulcer, sore	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

[a] Qiang **sa** 'blood' (cf. Chinese **nong-xie**; Jingpo **sai matsui**).

(7) IA *kun PUS

The Kiranti binomes may well be hybrids of Nepali **kun** 'blood' and PTB ***r/s/g-wa** WATER / RAIN (§1.2.6) (p.c. Boyd Michailovsky).

The Milang **kuŋ-nu** 'pus' might be related to these forms.

2.3. Kiranti: ***kun** PUS

**Kiranti*	***kun** (?)	pus	Michailovsky 1991:142

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**kho** wa-wa	pus	Rai *et al.* 1984:41; Rai 1985; Michailovsky 1991:142
Kulung	**khun** wa	pus	Rai *et al.* 1975; Michailovsky 1991:142

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**khi'ni**	pus (from a wound); Nep. pīp.; pus	Michailovsky 1991:142; Driem 1993
Khaling	**'khūnū** we	pus	Matisoff 1987
	khünü wä	pus	Michailovsky 1991:142

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	kəl-**kən**	pus	Allen 1975
	kən	pus	Michailovsky 1991:142

(8) PTB *ʔum PUS

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**ʔü** wa	pus	Rai *et al.* 1984:7

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**oːM** ga	pus	Michailovsky 1991:143
	õː ga	pus (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.181

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**qum**.kliq	pus	Michailovsky 1991:143
	ʔum-kliʔ	pus	Caughley 1972:2.A.63; Matisoff 1987
	ʔum.kliʔ	pus (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**ʔum** kliʔ	pus	Caughley 1990:12.5

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Bisu	aŋ **ʔúm**	pus	Beaudouin 1988:15
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔɑ́ **ʔúm**	pus	Bradley 1979b
	ʔɑ̌ **ʔúm**	pus	Matisoff 1987
	ʔɑ̃[55] **um**[55]	pus	Bradley 1977

(9) PTB *m-blyan PUS / BOIL

This root is reconstructed as ***pren** in *STC* p. 143 on the basis of only three forms. Actually, this root is abundantly attested in TB as a whole. The present reconstruction replaces ***m-blen**, given in *HPTB*:291.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-blen**	pus / boil (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:291

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	bu **mbro**	pus	Anonymous 1962

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**fren**~**frăn**	boil, ulcer	Benedict 1972:p.143

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**pɛ**[55] **rɛ**[55]	pus	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.18
Namuyi	**mbɛ**[35]	pus	Sun Hongkai 1991i:12.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.19
	nbæ[35]ɦiæ[ɪ55]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.46
Pumi (Taoba)	**pɛ̃**[55]	pus	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.10
Xumi	**bã**[53]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.17
	bɛ̃[53]	pus	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.20

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	sɯ[31] **biɯ**[53]	pus	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-blen**[1]	pus	Matisoff 2003a:584; Matisoff 1978a:26

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**pɯŋ**[55]	pus	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**pʐəŋ**[55]	pus	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	pʐəŋ[55]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.28
	pʐəŋ[55]	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.41
Achang (Luxi)	**pəŋ**[51]	pus	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**pɯŋ**[55]	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989f:188
	pɯŋ[55]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.29
Bola	**pjaŋ**[55] ɣaŋ[31]	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989g:188
Bola (Luxi)	**pjaŋ**[55]ɣaŋ[31]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.32
Burmese (Modern)	**prañ**[3]	pus	Luce 1985:V.73
Burmese (Rangoon)	**pji**[22]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**pji**[22]	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.40
Burmese (Written)	**prañ**	pus	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:26; Benedict 1976a
	prɑɲ[2]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.26
	prɑɲ[2]	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.39
Hpun (Metjo)	ǒŋ[4]**pywɑiŋ**[1]	pus	Luce 1985:G.62
Langsu (Luxi)	**pjaŋ**[31]kjɔʔ[55]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.31
Marma	**pre**	pus	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:50
Maru [Langsu]	**pjaŋ**[31] kjɔʔ[55]	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989l:12.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pjiŋ**[51]	ulcer, sore	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	pjiŋ[51] viŋ[21]	pus	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	pjiŋ[51]viŋ[21]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.30
	pjiŋ[51]viŋ[21]	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.42

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***m-bliŋ**[1]	pus	Bradley 1979b:154
Lolopho	**be**[33] vi[33]	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989n:12.5 [a]

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**tɕɛ**[323]	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989c:12.5
Lalo	**dzl**[55]	pus	Chen Kang 1986b:12.5
Nasu	**ŋɖ^{h}er**[21]	pus	Chen Kang 1986b:12.5
Nesu	**der**[21] ʑl[21]	pus	Chen Kang 1986b:12.5 [b]
Nusu (Central)	**bə̃**[ɪ35]	pus	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**bɐ**[55]	pus	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**bɹə**[55]	pus	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**bɹə̃**[33]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.34
	b^{ɪ}ə̃[33]	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989p:188.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**b^{ɪ}ə̃**[35]	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989o:188.
Yi (Dafang)	**ŋɖe**[21]	pus	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Nanhua)	**bi**[33]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.37
	bi[33]ʑi[33]	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**dzl**[55]	pus	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	**ndʑi**[33]	pus	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**ʈɛ**[22]	pus	Luo Meizhen 1990:12.5
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**plɯ**[31]	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989h:195
Jinuo (Baka)	**plɯ**[31]	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989i:195
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**plʌ**[31]	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989h:195.1
Jinuo	**prɤ**[42]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.44
	pɹɯ[31]	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**pɹɤ**[42]	pus	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**biɛ31**	pus	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***beh˪**	pus	Bradley 1979b:154
Lahu (Lancang)	**bɛ**[31]ɣɯ[31]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.43
Lahu (Black)	**be**[21]ɣɯ[31]	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.33
	bɛ[31] ɣɯ[31]	pus	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986 [c]
	bè	pus	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:26
Lahu (Yellow)	**bɛ2**[21] ɣɯ[31]	pus	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	**beh˅**g'ui˪	pus	Bradley 1979a:154
Lahu (Banlan)	**beh˪**g'i˪	pus	Bradley 1979a:154
Lisu (Central)	**bi**[5]-hchï[4]	matter (pus)	Fraser 1922
	bi[5]-hchï[5]	pus	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**bi**[5]hchï[5]	pus	Bradley 1979b:154 [d]
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**bi**[5]hchï[5]	pus	Luce 1985:V.73
Lisu (Nujiang)	**bɯ**[33] tʃ^{h}l[31]	pus	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**bɯ**[33]tʃhi[31]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.40
	bɯ[33]tʃhi[31]	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.27
Lisu (Putao)	**bɯ**[4]ch'i[5]	pus	Luce 1985:V.73
Sani [Nyi]	**tɬæ**[33]	pus	Chen Kang 1986b:12.5
	tɬɛ[33]	pus	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	ma˅ **byah˅**	pus	Matisoff 1987
	myeh^ **byah˅**	pus	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Dazhai)	**bjɔ**[55]	pus	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**bjɔ**[55]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**pɤ**[55] je[55]	pus	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986 [e]
Hani (Gelanghe)	ma[55] **bjaŋ**[55]	pus	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Mpi	**pj(ɯ/u)**[6]	pus	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	pju[6]**/pjɯ**[6]	pus	Bradley 1979b
	pjɯ[6]~**pju**[6]	pus	Matisoff 1978a:26
Sangkong	aŋ[33] **puŋ**[55]	pus	Li Yongsui 1991
Ugong	**phŭŋ / plŭŋ**	pus	Bradley 1993:12.5
	phŭŋ ʔû	bloody pus	Bradley 1993

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**bæ˩**	pus	Michaud 2006–2009:467
Na (Yongning)	**bæ˨**	pus	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**ba**[13]	pus	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**bɚ**[33]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.45
Naxi (Western)	**mbər**[31]	pus	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mbəɹ**[31]	pus	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:286.28

7. Karenic

Bwe	**-mí**	pus (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	ă **mi**[1]	pus	Luce 1985:G.62
Bwe	**mí**	full of pus (be v.)	Henderson 1997
Geba	**hmi**[1]	pus	Luce 1985:G.62
Karen	a[311]**phɯ**[55]	pus (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0159.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**mêprì**	pus (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O (Northern)	ă **min**[6]	pus	Luce 1985:G.62
Pa-O	ʔə **mìn**	pus	Solnit 1989

[a] Lolopho **vi**[33] 'water'.
[b] Nesu **ʑl**[21] 'water'.
[c] Lahu **ɣɯ**[31] 'water'.
[d] Lisu **hchï**[5] 'water'.
[e] Hani **je**[55] 'water'.

Paku	**p‘i**[1]	pus	Luce 1985:G.62
	p‘yi[1]	pus	Luce 1985:G.62
Pwo (Delta)	**p‘i**[4]	pus	Luce 1985:G.62
Pwo (Tenasserim)	ð **p‘i**[1]	pus	Luce 1985:G.62
Sgaw	**p‘i**[1]	pus	Luce 1985:G.62
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a[31] **p^{h}ɯ**[55]	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989k:195
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**p^{h}i**[55]	pus	Dai Qingxia 1989j:195

(10) PTB *nuŋ PUS

8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**nu̯**[21]	pus	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**nu̯**[21]	pus	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**nu̯**[21]	pus	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	nu̯[21]	pus	Zhao Yansun 1990:12.5
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	脓	pus	Nagano & Prins 2013:0192
	膿	pus	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2037
Chinese (GSR #)	**1005h**	pus	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2037
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**nôn/nuongg**	pus	Karlgren 1957:1005h
Chinese (Old)	C.**n^{ʕ}uŋ**	pus	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2037
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**nowng**	pus	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2037
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**nóng**	pus	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2037
	nung	pus	Karlgren 1957:1005h
	nurng	pus	Sun 1985b:792

Chinese comparandum

Comment: See comparanda for PTB ***s-na:ŋ** HEAVY / THICK (of liquids) / VISCOUS (§7.1.4).

(11) PTB *d-ri-k ROTTEN / PUS / GLEET / FILTH / STENCH

The velar suffix is reconstructed on the basis of the Jingpho final glottal stop, as well as the WB creaky tone. The dental suffix is reconstructed courtesy of the WT and Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri] forms.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-ri(y)**	dirt / filth / ordure / stench	Matisoff 2003a:611
	***ri**	gleet; purulent discharge; rot; decay, rotten	Matisoff 2003a:610; Benedict 1972:263
	***ri(y)**	dirt / odor	Benedict 1972:459
1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***rɯ:**	odor / smell	Sun 1993a:277
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	na-**ru**	odor / smell	Sun 1993a
	na-**ru**	smell (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	na-**ru**	smell	Sun 1993b
	na-**ru** ja-nɯ	putrid	Sun 1993b
	na-**ru** nem-prjo	fragrance; scent	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	na-**ru** neŋ-ka	sniff	Sun 1993b
	na-**ru** neŋ-ka	smell (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	nè-**ru**	odor	Sun 1993b
	ne-**ru**	stink (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	na-**ru**	stinky	Sun 1993b
	na-**ru** ǰi-ǰak	very stinky	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-**rɯ:**	odor; smell; smell, odor	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**rɯ**	odor / smell	Sun 1993a
	ta-**re**	wound	Matisoff 1987
	ta-**rí**	wound	Matisoff 1987
Damu	ʔa-**ri:**	fragrant	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ri:**	smell, taste (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ri:** nap	smell	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	tə **ri**	wound, ulcer, sore	Benedict 1972:263
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Khezha	ke **rhì**	filth	Yabu 1994
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	(ə) **ri**	gleet	Matisoff 1987
	(ə) **rìʔ**	gleet	Benedict 1972:62n198
	ǹ-**yì**	purulent discharge	Matisoff 1974:403
	n **yi** (n-**yi**)	matter, purulent discharge	Benedict 1972:263
	ri	gleet (v.)	Benedict 1972:263
	rìʔ	gleet	Matisoff 1974:403
	ə **ri**	gleet	Benedict 1972:263
	ʔə **rìʔ**	gleet, gonorrhoea, / the like	Matisoff 1974:403
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**dri**(-ma)	dirt, filth, ordure; odor	Benedict 1972:459
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	mə **ri**	dirt	Benedict 1972:459
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**ri** ≍ ə **ri**	odor	Benedict 1972:459
	ri-ku	filth, dirt	Benedict 1972:459
Hayu	**ri**	decay, rotten	Benedict 1972:263
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mianchi)	tò **zɻ́**	body dirt	Evans 1999:196
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	ă **ri**	any slimy discharge	Benedict 1972:263
	rí ~ **yí**	gleet	Benedict 1972:62n198
	ri ≍ **yi**	rotten (of cloth), to gleet (as pus) (be v.)	Benedict 1972:263
	ri’	gleet	Matisoff 1974:403
	ri’	gleet, run, as pus; rotten, as cloth	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1976a
	yi’	gleet	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:403
	ə-**ri’**	any slimy discharge	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **ri’**	gleet, run, as pus from a sore	Matisoff 1974:403
	ʔə **yì**~ʔə **rì**	gleet	Matisoff 1987

1.8.6.2 Abscess/Ulcer

(1) PTB *r-ma-t WOUND / SCAR / INJURY / NETTLE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-ma**	wound	Weidert 1987:1057; Benedict 1972:446a
	***r-ma** ≍ ***r-ma-t**	wound	LaPolla 1987:85
	***r-ma(-t)**	wound	French 1983:583
	***r-ma-t**	wound; injured; nettle	Matisoff 2003a:601; Benedict 1972:446
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**mɑ**[55] lau[53]	ulcer, sore	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hmaa** WOUND / SCAR			
**Chin*	***hmaa**	WOUND / SCAR	VanBik 2009:883
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**mē** mā	wound	VanBik 2009:883
Thado	**máa**	wound	VanBik 2009:883
Tiddim	**ma**	sharp edge of knife, wound	Benedict 1972:110n309
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**a‘ma**-lóng	scar	VanBik 2009:883
Khumi	**tmoó**	open wound, laceration, cut	VanBik 2009:883
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hmâa**	wound	VanBik 2009:883
Lai (Falam)	**hmăa**	wound	VanBik 2009:883
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hma**	wound	Matisoff 1987; LaPolla 1987:85
	hma daw-pa	scar	Matisoff 1987
	hmà ý	wounded	VanBik 2009:883
	[1]mhə	wound (n.)	Weidert 1987:367
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***hma** WOUND, SORE			
**Central Naga*	***hma**	WOUND, SORE	Bruhn 2014a:III.004
**Ao*	*khu-**ma**	WOUND, SORE	Bruhn 2014a:II.076
Ao (Chungli)	ku[2]**mu**[3]sə[1]tsə[1]	pus (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ku[1]**mu**[2]	wound (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.076
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	khù **ma**	wound, sore on skin (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e[1]-**hmo**[1]	sore / old wound (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.004
	e **mho**	sore	Murry *et al.* 1978:113
Sangtam	[1]**ma**[1]tsa	wound (n.)	Weidert 1987:367
Yimchungrü	**mü**	wound	Kumar 1973b:43
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ma** SCAR / WOUND			
**Tangkhulic*	***ma**	scar / wound	Mortensen 2012:744
Huishu	ʔa-k^{h}ə-**mi**	scar	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.246
Tangkhul	(ā) kha **mā**	wound	Matisoff 1987
	kha **ma** ka za̱	wound (n.)	Marrison 1967
	khə **ma**	wound	LaPolla 1987:85
	ma	wound	Bhat 1969:100
	[1]khə[1]**ma**	wound (n.)	Weidert 1987:367
Tusom	k^{h}ə-**mi**	wound	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.078
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**ma** kə-tsu	wound	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***mat**	sharp	Burling 1959:443
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	bu **mai**	wound	Benedict 1972:446a
	ger **ma**	nettle	Benedict 1972:446
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	gil **mat**	nettle	Benedict 1972:446
	mat	wound (v.)	Benedict 1972:446a
Garo (Bangladesh)	**mat**-a	cut; scarred; sharp; wound (vi.)	Burling 2003:3.666-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**mat**-	sharp, to be wounded, to (be able to) wound, to (be able to) cut (be v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**ma** ko	wound	French 1983:583
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**mat** ≍ tsəmat	nettle	Benedict 1972:446
	nma ≍ **numma**	wound, scar	Benedict 1972:446a
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**rma**	wound	Benedict 1972:446a
	rma-ba	wound (v.)	Benedict 1972:446a
	rma-ɕu	ulcer	Zhang Liansheng 1988:80
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hma**	sore / boil (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0123.04
	hma dʑo	scar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0125.04
	hma kha	wound (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0124.04
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Magar	**mhā**	wound (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.20
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**mɑ**[1]	ulcer	Sofronov c1978
4. Nungic			
Anong	**rəmat**	nettle	Benedict 1972:446
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	zi[31] **mɑ**[55]	ulcer, sore	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Youle)	**m̥ɔ**[42] k^{h}ø[44]	ulcer, sore	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ma**[55] ja[55]	ulcer, sore	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ma**[55] ja[55]	ulcer, sore	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**mɔ**[55] nɔ[55]	ulcer, sore	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

(2) PTani *čut[1] ABSCESS

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***čut**[1]	abscess	Sun 1993a:1
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	ta-**čit**	abscess	Sun 1993a
	ta-**čit**	sore (n.)	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**shut**	abscess / ulcer	Matisoff 1987
	ta-**sut**	abscess	Sun 1993a

(3) PTani *un WOUND (n.)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***un**	wound (n.)	Sun 1993a:476
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**u**-ne	wound (n.)	Sun 1993a
	u-ne	wound	Sun 1993b
	ú-nè	wound (n.)	Sun 1993b
	u-ne a-grjɯ	wound (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ú-**nè** čèŋ-xo	scab	Sun 1993b
	u-**ne** gi	hurt	Sun 1993b

	u-ne gɯ	wound (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ú-**nè** gɯ-ko	scar	Sun 1993b
	ú-nè pà-gɯ	wound (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**uŋ**-nɯː	wound (n.)	Sun 1993a
	uŋ-nɯː	wound	Sun 1993b
	uŋ-**nɯː** pa-jiː	scar	Sun 1993b
Galo	**un**-bɤ-i-nam	wound (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	uː ne	wound	Das Gupta 1963
	u ne-pu-sum-nam	dress (wound) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	u nə	wound (n.)	GLDC 2009
	u **un**	wound; lesion (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	u **un**-tarə	wound; injury (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**un**	wound, boil	Simon 1976
	un-pai	scar	Simon 1976
Tagin	**u** ŋe	wound	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	pət-**ŋo**	fifty	Sun 1993b

1.8.7 Speak/Say/Tell

(1) PTB *s-br(w)a $\begin{smallmatrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{smallmatrix}$ SPEAK

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-br(w)aŋ ≍ br(w)ak**	speak	Matisoff 2003a:585

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	aru-**rak**-ma	say	Tayeng 1976
	aru-**raŋ**-ma	speak	Tayeng 1976
	raŋ-tu-kon	tell	Tayeng 1976

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ɓia-I**, ***ɓiak-II** TALK TO / WORSHIP

**Chin*	***ɓia-I**, **ɓiak-II**	TALK TO / WORSHIP	VanBik 2009:49

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**bia-I**, **biak-II**	worship	VanBik 2009:49
Sizang	**bia** hī	worship	VanBik 2009:49
Tiddim	**bia**^{3} > biak^{3}	worship	VanBik 2009:49
	bia^{3} > biak^{3}	worship (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:91
	bia^{3}**/biak**^{3}	worship	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Ngmüün	**pɹen**	speak	So-Hartmann 1988:108

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**bia**-ruuk	secret, confidential	VanBik 2009:49
Lai (Falam)	**bîak**-INV	talk to	VanBik 2009:49
Lushai [Mizo]	**bia**	worship (v.)	Marrison 1967
	bia	speak	Marrison 1967
	bìa-I, **bîak-II**	talk to, to speak to, to worship (v.)	VanBik 2009:49
	biak	worship (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2141

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**bī** rú	secret	VanBik 2009:49

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Mzieme	**rang**	speak; say	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**ray** lay	speak again	Matisoff 1985a:058
	ray-may	speak properly	Matisoff 1985a:065
	ray kne	just begin to speak (v.)	Bhat 1968
	ray lay	speak again (v.)	Bhat 1968
	ray may	speak properly (v.)	Bhat 1968
	ray pəd	speak a little (v.)	Bhat 1968
	ray ru	speak slowly (v.)	Bhat 1968
	ray ti	speak publicly; speak alone (v.)	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**prɨ**	speak	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:184

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**pràì**	speak (v.)	Sharma 1991b:3.8.1
	prəi	speak (v.)	Sharma 1982

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	rdzun-**smra**	lie (deceive) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	smra	say; speak	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	smra	talk (v.)	Marrison 1967
	smraŋ ~ **smreŋ**	word, speech (n.)	Benedict 1972:42
	smre-ba	wail, lament (v.)	Benedict 1972:42

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{B}**paŋ**	speak	Mazaudon 1994:604
Gurung	chenle **poq** bā	speak (a language) (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.03
Gurung (Ghachok)	c^{h}enle **põq** ba	speak	Glover 1972:10.B.1.3
	põq ba	speak	Glover 1972:10.B.1.3
Gurung	**poq** bā	speak (a language) (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.03
	²põ-	speak	Mazaudon 1994:604
Tamang (Risiangku)	**²paŋ**	speak (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.8.1
	²paŋ	tell / speak / talk	Mazaudon 1994:604
Tamang (Sahu)	**'pāng**-pā	speak (a language) (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.03
	'paŋ pa	say (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.71
	'paŋ-pa (choses ensemble)	speak (a language) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.A.3
	the **'pāng** pā	say	Hale 1973:01.071
	²paŋ	say / to speak (a language)	Mazaudon 1994:604
Tamang (Taglung)	**paŋ**-gje	say	Mazaudon 1994:604
Thakali (Tukche)	**²paŋ**	speak	Mazaudon 1994:604

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***blat**- (?)	speak (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:163
**BSDTK*	***brak**- (?)	speak (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:164

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**paːtt-**	say (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**baːt-**	say (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:163
Khaling	√**blatt-**	say (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:163

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**bwāːk**-cā	speak (a language) (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.03
	bwaːk-	speak (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:164

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**gɹɯŋ**^{55}	say	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**hzꞑai**^{55}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.41
	kzꞑai^{55}	speak, talk	LaPolla 1987:175
	kzꞑai^{55}	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.28
Achang (Xiandao)	**kzꞑai**^{55}	tell (story); speak	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1965; Dai Qingxia 1989f:2263
	kzꞑai^{55}	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.29
Bola	**k^{h}ai**^{55}	tell (story)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1965
Burmese (Rangoon)	**pjɔ**^{55}	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**pjɔ**^{55}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.40
Burmese (Written)	**mrwak**	utter, speak	Benedict 1976a
	pro	speak; say	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	prô	say, speak, tell	Benedict 1976a
	prwak	utter (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	prɔ^{3}	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.26
	prɔ^{3}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.39
	ə-mrwak	speech	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**pja**^{31}	speak	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2361
Jinuo	**pjə**^{42}	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.44
	pjɐ^{31}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**pjɑ**^{42}	say	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986

(2) PTB *b-tsyat SPEAK, SAY

This root seems quite valid. However, the Bai forms are probably loans from Chinese, while the rGyalrong forms are probably loans from Tibetan.

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	**ɕɑt**^{55} pu^{55}	say	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ɕʌt**^{53}	say; speak	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.6
Cuona Menba	**ɕat**^{53}	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**wɕat**	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.05
Tibetan (Batang)	**xhɛ**^{53}	speak (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.8.1
	ke^{55}tɕha^{53}**xɛʔ**^{53}	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ɕeʔ**^{53}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ɕɛʔ**^{53}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.2
	ɕɛ^{52}	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.02
Tibetan (Written)	**bɕad**-pa	explain, preach, tell, relate (v.)	Jäschke 1881:567
	bɕad	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.1
	ḥcʻad-pa	explain (v.)	Jäschke 1881:168

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{A}**ɕat**	repeat, say	Mazaudon 1994:985
Gurung	^{1}**se-**	slander smn	Mazaudon 1994:985
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**ɕeː-**	say	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0280
	^{1}**ʃeː-**	say	Mazaudon 1994:985
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**sjat**	repeat, tell (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:985
Tamang (Sahu)	^{1}**sjet**	tell	Mazaudon 1994:985
Tamang (Taglung)	**ʃjeː**-ba	repeat	Mazaudon 1994:985

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**śjwa**	speak	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4761

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**ɕe**^{53}	say; speak	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.17
	ɕe^{55}	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.16
Muya	tu^{33}**ɕɐ**^{53}	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.15
Muya [Minyak]	tu^{33}**ɕɐ**^{53}	speak (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.8.1
	tu^{33}**ɕɐ**^{53}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.15
Namuyi	**ʂo**^{55}	speak (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.8.1
	ʂo^{55}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.19
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	wə^{35} **ɕɛ**^{55}	speak (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.8.1
	wə^{35}**ɕɛ**^{55}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	a^{33}**ɕe**^{55}	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Daofu)	**fɕa**	speak (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.8.1
Daofu	**fɕɛ**	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.12
Ergong (Northern)	**fɕɛ**^{33}	speak (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.8.1
Ergong (Danba)	**vɕɛ**	speak (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.8.1
	vɕɛ	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	kara **'ɕaṭ**ˀ	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	ka^{3}**βʃat**^{5}	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	ka **'βʃat**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	ka **'βʃet**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	kərə **'ʃat** pɑ	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	k^{h}aβdanə **'βʃe**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	na **'βʃat**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	na **'βʃɛ**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	nəra **'βʃe**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	nəˈ**vɕe**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	taw **'ʃat**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	xtam **'βʃa**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	**ʃat**^{3}pa^{5}ko^{3}let^{3}	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	**ʃat**ɲpa ʾkəlatˀ	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	**ʃaṭ** pe ʾkəlaṭˀ	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	**ʃat** ʾpɑ	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901

rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	**ʃat** pa ʾtalat	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	ˈ**fɕə** mi	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	**βʃat**ʾpa	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	**βɕaʈ**ʾpa kəʾlaʈˀ	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	χpǽ **fɕǽ**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong	ka **pshet**	speak (v.)	Nagano 1997:3.8.1
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**sua**^{2}	speak	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
	suɑ^{44}	say	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	suɑ^{44}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**suạ**^{44} «tɕ̃^{21}»	speak (v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.8.1
	suɑ^{33}; tso^{42}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.36
	suɑ̱^{33}	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.48
	suɑ̱^{44}	say	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**shuō**	say	Evans *et al.* 1991

(3) PTB *g-$\begin{smallmatrix}\text{t}\\\text{d}\end{smallmatrix}$am TALK / SPEAK

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***(g-)tâm**~**(g-)dâm**	talk about	Chou Fa-kao 1972:617L
	***gdam/gdəm/dtjam**	speak / talk	Coblin 1986:137
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-tam ≍ g-dam**	talk / speak	Matisoff 2003a:614
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	kɯ^{31} **tɑŋ**^{53}	say	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɯ^{31}**tɑŋ**^{53}	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.23
	kɯ^{31}**tɑŋ**^{53}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.48
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Spiti	lap **taŋ** je	speak (v.)	Bodh 1991:3.8.1
Tibetan (Written)	**gtam**	talk, discourse, speech	Benedict 1972:70n217
	gtom-pa	talk, speak	Benedict 1972:70n217
	gtom-pɑ	talk / speak (v.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:646c
	gtɑm	talk / discourse / speech (n.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:646c
2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{A}**tam** WORD			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**tam**	word, language	Mazaudon 1994:441
Gurung (Ghachok)	**tã:** p^{h}ula	word	Glover 1972:11.A.21
Gurung	^{1}**tã:**	word	Mazaudon 1994:441
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**tam**	language	Mazaudon 1994:441
Tamang (Sahu)	**tam**	word (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:11.23
	tām ʾpāng-pā	talk (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.02
	tam ʾpaŋ-pa	talk (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.A.2
	^{1}**tam**	word	Mazaudon 1994:441
Tamang (Taglung)	**tam**	words, language	Mazaudon 1994:441
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**tɨm** lo	word, affair, matter	Driem 1993
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**dʻəm** / **dʻə̂m**	talk about (v.tr.)	Benedict 1972:69n217
	dʻəm/dʻə̂m	talk about	Chou Fa-kao 1972:646c
	dʻə̂m	talk (v.i.)	Benedict 1972:69n217

Chinese comparandum

談 OC ***dʼâm**, *GSR* #617l ‘speak’; Mand. **tán**.
譚 OC ***dʼəm**, *GSR* #646c ‘speak’; Mand. **tán**.
詹 OC ***t̂ɨ̱am**, *GSR* #619a ‘garrulous’; B & S 2011: ***tam { [t] am}**; Mand. **zhān**.
嚪 OC ***t̂ɨ̱am**, *GSR* #619b ‘talk, chat’; B & S 2011: ***tam { [t] am}**; Mand. **zhān**.

(4) PTB *rey LANGUAGE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***rey**	language / speech	Matisoff 2003a:610
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Kamarupan	**rey**	language	Matisoff 1985a:132
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**rei**	language, tongue, dialect, speech	Matisoff 1985a:132
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	buŋgaseŋ **ray**	language (spoken)	Bhat 1968
	lidgáseŋ **ray**	language (written)	Bhat 1968
	ray	language, speech	Matisoff 1985a:132

(5) PCC *troŋ LANGUAGE / SPEECH

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***troŋ**	LANGUAGE / SPEECH	VanBik 2009:1323
Lai (Falam)	**trôŋ**	language, speech	VanBik 2009:1323
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭawng**	language	Marrison 1967
	ṭâwng	language, speech	VanBik 2009:1323

(6) PTani *gom LANGUAGE / SPEECH

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***gom**	language / speech	Sun 1993a:229
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**gũ**	language; mouth	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**gũ** rhyme!	language / speech	Sun 1993a
	a-**guŋ**	language	Sun 1993b
	à-**guŋ**	language; mouth	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	à-**guŋ** lu-a-nu	dumb	Sun 1993b
	à-**guŋ** lu-či-ma-nu	stammerer	Sun 1993b
	goŋ-jo	small mouth	Sun 1993b
	goŋ-ko	open mouth	Sun 1993b
	^{1}a ^{2}**guŋ**(^{2})	language / mouth	Weidert 1987:508
Bengni	**gam**	language; speech; mouth	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	gam kɯ:	open mouth	Sun 1993b
	gam-sɔ:(pa)	hoarse	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(a-) **gom**	language / speech	Sun 1993a
	gom	language	Sun 1993b
	gom	speech / words (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0651.24
	gom kak	stutterer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0210.24
	gom maŋ	mute (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0211.24
	gom-kak	stutterer	Sun 1993b
	gom-maŋ	dumb	Sun 1993b
	gom-maŋ	mute (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**gom**	speech; language	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:511.51
	gom maŋ	mute; mute person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:302.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	gum puk	mouth	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **gom**	language; speech; word (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a **gom** men-nam	say (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	a **gom**-ai	subject; theme; topic; words (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	gom-	Classifier for vocalisms (clfr.)	GLDC 2009
	gom-ma-na	dumb	Das Gupta 1963
	gom-tɤ-na (a **gom**)	loud (speech)	Das Gupta 1963
	gom-ya-na (a **gom**)	low (speech)	Das Gupta 1963
	gom maa	dumb; mute (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	gom raa	code language; pig latin (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**gom** bəə	word (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**gom** cɨr	morpheme; word (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**gom** jup	close (the mouth) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**gom** jup	closed (mouth) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**gom** uk	language; dialect; intonation; phrasing; sentence (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**goŋ** kak	stammer; stutter (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**goŋ** kak	stutter (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**goŋ** ku	classical language (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘koorɨ̱inam-‘**gom** cɨr	adjective (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nə min-‘**gom** cɨr	noun (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘rɨ̱ nam-‘**gom** cɨr	verb (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘uii-a **gom**	gibberish (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆa **gom**	language / mouth	Weidert 1987:508
Miri, Hill	a **gom**	mouth	Simon 1976
	goŋ-nam	call	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **gam**	mouth	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**gam**	mouth	Das Gupta 1983
	gam kak	dumb (=mute?)	Das Gupta 1983
	gaŋ kak	dumb (=mute?)	Das Gupta 1983
	min-si-nam **gam**	secret talk	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**gom**	language / speech	Sun 1993a
Damu	**gom** dʑap	sleeptalk	Sun 1993b
	gom-ma:	stutterer	Sun 1993b
	gom-ɕum-ra	close (mouth)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**gom**	mouth	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**gom** (gə:-ra)	speech	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	ɑ^{31}**ko**^{55}	language	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:511.50
Yidu	ɑ^{31}**ko**^{55}	speech / words (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0651.25

(7) PTani *$\begin{smallmatrix}\text{b}\\\text{m}\end{smallmatrix}$an SAY / SPEAK

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***ban**~**man**	say / speak	Sun 1993a:335
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**bin**	say; speak	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	bin-dɯr	explain	Sun 1993b
	bin-fjak	err, make a mistake; falsehood	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	bin-ǰak	truth (true words)	Sun 1993b
	bin-ǰi bin-ro:	complain	Sun 1993b
	bin-ku-ma:	stop	Sun 1993b
	bin-lit	argue	Sun 1993b
	bin-lɯ: pɯ:	bet	Sun 1993b
	bin-mi-su	chat	Sun 1993b
	bin-min **bin**-ja:	brag; chat	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	bin-mu **bin**-ma:	talk in the sleep	Sun 1993b
	bin-muk	cut in (interrupt)	Sun 1993b
	bin-pa:	remind	Sun 1993b
	bin-pi:	separate (quarreling people)	Sun 1993b
	bin-pjam	reconcile, bring back together	Sun 1993b
	bin-rap	begin to say	Sun 1993b
	bin-rɯk	answer	Sun 1993b
	bin-si	whisper into so’s ear	Sun 1993b
	bin-sir	teach	Sun 1993b
	bin-tam	tell	Sun 1993b
	bin-ŋak	stutter	Sun 1993b
	biŋ-ŋam	praise	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ben**	say; speak; speak, say; sing	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1184.24
	ben	tell (a story); speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1417.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.24
	ben bi:	tell	Sun 1993b
	ben bi:	tell (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1337.24
	ben di:-lak	clear (< > confusing)	Sun 1993b
	ben lom	frighten / scare (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.24
	ben poŋ moŋ	withhold the facts / conceal (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1759.24
	ben rɯk	answer / reply (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1389.24
	ben tom ben	notify / inform (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1685.24
	ben tər	agree on / arrange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1770.24
	ben-dum	help (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ben-lom	startle (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	ben-lom	scare (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	ben-lom	threaten	Sun 1993b
	ben-mok	say something amiss	Sun 1993b
	ben-mu	sleeptalk	Sun 1993b
	ben-mur	make false charge against	Sun 1993b
	ben-ñir	tease for fun	Sun 1993b
	ben-no:	console, comfort; fawn upon	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b

	ben-puŋ	remind	Sun 1993b
	ben-ra	argue	Sun 1993b
	ben-reː	needle, provoke	Sun 1993b
	ben-rɯk	reply	Sun 1993b
	ben-rɯk [ben-dzɻuk]	answer	Sun 1993b
	ben-tom	instruct	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**ben**	say; speak	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.51
	ben biː	tell	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:698.51
Galo	aɟɤ-**men**-gi-nam	blame (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	a gom **men**-nam	say (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	doyi **men**-nam	narration (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	go-sor-**men**-nam	complain (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-in-ɟi-nam	narrate (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-ka-hin-nam	challenge (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-kam-nam	compel (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-kup-nam	deceive (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-lik-nam	order (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-nam	talk; speak; tell (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	men-pak-nam	deny (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-po-bɤ	easily (of speech)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-ri-hi-na-nam	compare (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-ri-si-nam	distinguish (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-rik-nam	reply; threaten (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	men-ro-nam	whisper (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-sir-nam	instruct (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-sɯr-nam	advise (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-tum-nam	forbid; interfere; obstruct; prevent; stop speaking (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	men-tum-ri-tum-nam	govern (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-yir-nam	advocate (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-yok-nam	appease (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	men-ɟi-nam	explain; report (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	men-ɟɯ-nam	accuse; inform (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	men-ɟɯ-si-nam	introduce (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	nitom **men**-nam	sing (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘**mem** bor	exaggerate (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**mem** mur	misspeak (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**men** dii	repeat (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**men** dik	bother (someone); hassle (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**men** joo	flatter (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**men** kee	blab (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**men** kek	provoke (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**men** na	attribute; blame (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**men** nam	say (vie.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**men** nam	say (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**men** nam	speak (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**men** nam	speak (a language); speak to; chant to (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**men** nam	talk (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**men** nek	taunt; tease (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**men** ree	talk down (to someone) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**men** rik	harass (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**men** rik	answer; respond (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**men** ten	correct (an error); impose (oneself) (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**men** tom	teach (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**men** əə	speak ironically (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**meŋ** gaa	blame (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**meŋ** kak	disclose; reveal (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**meŋ** kek	speak indiscriminately (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**meŋ** ken	easy (to say) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**meŋ** kor	way (of talking) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**meŋ** cek	summarize (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**meŋ** cɨɨ	advise (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**meŋ** jar	flirt (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**meŋ** ji	explain (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**meŋ** jok	exaggerate (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**meŋ** jok	praise (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**meŋ** jup	agree; settle; settle (dispute) (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**meŋ** yoo	belittle; insult (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**men**-nam	call, name, speak, say	Simon 1976
	men-nɤ-me	instruction	Simon 1976
Nishing	**bing**	say / talk	Das Gupta 1969
	bing-mar-to-ku	sorry, be	Das Gupta 1969
	bing-min	song	Das Gupta 1969
	bing-nam	opinion (suggestion)	Das Gupta 1969
	bing-rek	answer	Das Gupta 1969
	bing-tam	inform	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	alɤbɤ **min**-ɟi-nam	explain (speak-give)	Das Gupta 1983
	min-nam	talk; speak (v.)	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
	min-pa-nam	inform (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	min-pa-num	remind / inform (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	min-ser-nam	advice	Das Gupta 1983
	min-si-nam	whisper (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	min-si-nam gam	secret talk	Das Gupta 1983
	min ama tɤ nam	convince	Das Gupta 1983
	min tur nam	obstruct of speech (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ban**	say / speak	Sun 1993a
Milang	lu-**men**-ɲi	accuse	Tayeng 1976

(8) PNN *tʰuːŋ SPEAK

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***tʰuːŋ**	speak (v.)	French 1983:556

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	a **tʰo**	say (v.)	French 1983:556
	tho	speak	Marrison 1967
	thu	say	Marrison 1967
	tʰo	speak	French 1983:556

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	pi **tʰuŋ**	flute	French 1983:556
	pi **thung**	flute	Marrison 1967
	pu **tʰuŋ**	trumpet	French 1983:556
	pu **thung**	trumpet (n.)	Marrison 1967

(9) PTB *grwas SPEAK / WORD

The Tibetan-Chinese comparison is due to Gong 2001:28.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***grwas**	speak / word	Matisoff 2003a:591

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**gros** sdur bjed	consult / discuss (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1608.01

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	話	speak; words	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1107
Chinese (GSR #)	**0302o**	speak; words	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1107

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**gʷˁrat**-s {[g]ʷˁrat-s}	speak; words	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1107

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**hwaejH**	speak; words	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1107

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**huà**	speak; words	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1107

Chinese comparandum

曰 OC ***gi̯wăt***, *GSR* #304a-d ‘say’; Schuessler 2007:595 ***wat***; B & S 2011: ***ɢʷat {[ɢ]ʷat}***; Mand. **yuē**.
話 OC ***gʷˁwɑd***, *GSR* #302o ‘speak, word’; Schuessler 2007:283 ***gwrâ(t)s*** or ***grô(t)s***; B & S 2011: ***gʷˁrat-s {[g]ʷˁrat-s}***; Mand. **huà**.

(10) PKC *tshim TELL / INFORM / TEACH

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tshim**	TELL / INFORM / TEACH	VanBik 2009:604

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**ʻsin**	tell, instruct, direct (v.)	VanBik 2009:604

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**sĭm**-INV	tell, inform, teach	VanBik 2009:604
Lai (Hakha)	**tshĭm**-I, tshim?-II	tell, inform, teach	VanBik 2009:604

(11) PTB * g / k laŋ WORD / LANGUAGE / SPEECH / SOUND

Although there is a similar Tai etymon represented by Shan **khɔɔ**, this now seems to be a genuine PTB root. See Matisoff 2001: #30, ‘The interest of Zhangzhung for comparative Tibeto-Burman’.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***glaŋ ≍ klaŋ**	word / language / speech / sound	Matisoff 2003a:267

2.1.2. Bodic

Zhangzhung	**glang** ~ **klang**	sound / voice	Matisoff 2001:#30

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

**Common Lahu*	***hkuhˇ**	language	Bradley 1979b:418B
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**khɔ**^{53}	sound (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0161.43
Lahu (Black)	tɔ^{33}**khɔ**^{53}	language	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:511.33
	tɔ^{53} **kʰɔ**^{53}	language	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} **kʰɔ**^{53}	sound	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{31} **kʰɔ**^{55}	sound	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986

(12) PTk *tow WORD / SPEECH

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***tow**	word / speech	Mortensen 2012:423
Kachai	**te**	word / speech	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**te**	words / speech / language	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.082
Tangkhul	**tui**	language; word	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	tui pong	speech	Marrison 1967
	tuy	word	Bhat 1969:100
Tusom	ʔɯ-**luə**	words	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.092
Ukhrul	**tuj**	word / speech	Mortensen 2012

(13) PTB *ka WORD / SPEECH / LANGUAGE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ka**	word; speech; language; word, speech	Weidert 1987:234; Matisoff 2003a:594; Matisoff 1983:48; LaPolla 1987:8; Benedict 1972:9

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**ga**	language; speech	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	gà ≍ ə gà	word, speech	Benedict 1972:9
	gà~sə **gà**	word, speech	LaPolla 1987:8
	ka^{31}	speech	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	ka^{31}	speech / words (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0651.19
	ka^{31}	language	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:511.47
	lai^{31}**ka̲**^{33}	word / character	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lai^{31}**ka̲**^{33}	character / word (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0643.19
	lai^{31}**ka̲**^{33}	word / character	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:495.47
	mung **ga**	word	Marrison 1967
	sha **ga**	speak	Marrison 1967
	śə **gà**	speak	Benedict 1972:9
	^{1}**ga**	language	Weidert 1987:234
	^{1}**ka**	language	Weidert 1987:234
	^{1}šə^{2}**ga**	speak / say	Weidert 1987:234

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	b **ka**	word; word, speech	Weidert 1987:234; Matisoff 1983:48; Benedict 1972:9
	b **ka**~skad	word, speech	LaPolla 1987:8

4. Nungic

Nung	(thi^{55}) **kha**^{31}	sentence (of speech) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0862.21
Anong	**kha**	word, speech; speech, language	LaPolla 1987:8; Benedict 1972:9
Rawang	**kha**^{31}	word	LaPolla 2003:716
	khɑ^{31}	speech, words	LaPolla 2003:715
	khɑ^{31}	CL sentence (of speech) (CL.)	LaPolla 2003:913
Nung	**khɑ**^{55}	speech / words (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0651.21
Anong	**khɑ**^{55}	language	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:511.44
Dulong	**kɑ**^{55}	speech / words (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0651.20
	kɑ^{55}	sentence (of speech) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0862.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ka**^{55}	word, speech	LaPolla 1987:8
	kɑ^{55}	speech	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ka**^{55}	word, speech	LaPolla 1987:8

	kɑ[55]	speech	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	ca-**kâ**	word	Benedict 1976a
	ca **kā:**	language; word	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	cə **ka**	word / speech	Matisoff 1983:48
	sɑ[1]**kɑ**[3]	speech / words (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0651.26
	tsa-**ka**	word; speech; word, speech	Weidert 1987:234; LaPolla 1987:8; Benedict 1972:9
Marma	cə **gá**	language	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:183
Atsi [Zaiwa]	lai[21]**kạ**[55]	character / word (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0643.30
	lai[21]**kạ**[55]	word / character	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:495.42

1.8.7.1 Mute/Dumb

(1) PTB *m-ʔa MUTE / DUMB / STUPID

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***ʔɤaɣ**	dumb / mute	Coblin 1986:68
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(m-)a**	dumb	Weidert 1987:321
	***(m-)a**	dumb (vs.)	Benedict 1972:105
	***(m-)a**	dumb (be v.)	French 1983:479
	***(m-)a(*C)**	dumb / mute	Coblin 1986:68
	***(m-)ɑ**	dumb (mute)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:805f
	***m-a**	dumb	Matisoff 1983:3
	***m-ʔa**	mute / dumb / stupid	Matisoff 2003a:583
	***ɑ**-ʔɑ	dumb (mute)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:805f
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**kɑ**[31] pɑ[55]	deaf person; mute person	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	**ka**[55]pa[55]	mute / dumb	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.8.3
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ʔaa-I**, ***ʔaat-II** STUTTER / MUTE			
**Chin*	***ʔaa**-I, ʔaat-II	STUTTER / MUTE	VanBik 2009:510
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**ó**	stutter (v.)	VanBik 2009:510
Khumi	**aa**	stutter, mute	VanBik 2009:510
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**holʔ** ʔàa-I, ʔaat-II	stutter	VanBik 2009:510
Lai (Falam)	**ṭôŋ** ʔáa-I ʔâat-II	stutter	VanBik 2009:510
Lushai [Mizo]	**ă**	dumb	Weidert 1987:321
	a	dumb (vs.)	Benedict 1972:105
	a	dumb	Coblin 1986:68
	ṭâwng ăa-I, âat-II	stutter, to wander in one's talk (v.)	VanBik 2009:510
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***ŋa**[A]	dumb	French 1983:479
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**ŋa** pa	dumb, fool, mad	French 1983:479
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**ma**[31] a[31]	mute person	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	məa	dumb (vs.)	Benedict 1972:105
	məa	dumb	Coblin 1986:68
	[1]mə[1]a	dumb	Weidert 1987:321
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**·o**[2]	dumb / mute	Sofronov c1978
	ʔo	mute / dumb	Dai Qingxia 1989e:3.8.3
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**kɑ**[33] phɑ[55]	mute; dumb	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:302.18
Lyuzu	**ka**[53]ba[53]	mute (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0211.18
Namuyi	a[33]**qa**[55]	mute; dumb	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.8.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:302.19
	a[33]**qa**[55]	mute (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0211.46
4. Nungic			
Anong	**məa**	dumb (vs.)	Benedict 1972:105
	məa	dumb	Coblin 1986:68
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**ka**[21] pa[21]	mute / dumb	Chen Kang 1986c:3.8.3
Tujia (Northern)	**ka**[21] pa[21]	dumb person	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**á**	dumb	Weidert 1987:321
	á	dumb (vs.)	Benedict 1972:105
	á	dumb	Coblin 1986:68
	a'	dumb	Matisoff 1983:3
	ə-a'	dumb	Benedict 1976a
	ʔa'	dumb; mute	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ʔa**[2/3]	dumb	Weidert 1987:321; Bradley 1979b:572
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
**Common Lahu*	***k'a_**	dumb	Bradley 1979b:572
Lahu (Lancang)	tɕhɔ[33]**qɑ**[11]	mute (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0211.43
Lahu (Black)	**qā** ve	dumb / mute	Matisoff 1987
	tshɔ[33]**qa**[11]	mute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:302.33
	ts[h]ɔ[33] **qa**[11]	dumb person	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	na[55] **qa**[31] (ma[33])	dumb person (female)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsa[31] **qa**[31] paʔ[21]	dumb person (male)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**ʔɤʔ**[5]	dumb / mute	Matisoff 1978a:93
Côông [Phunoi]	**l[ə]ka**[55]	mute / dumb	Ferlus 1991:3.8.3
7. Karenic: ***ʔaʔ** MUTE / DUMB			
**Karen (Sgaw)*	*ʔyʔ **ʔaʔ**	mute / dumb	Jones 1961:287
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	*ʔýʔ **ʔáʔ**	mute / dumb	Jones 1961:287
**Karen (Pwo)*	*ʔýʔ **ʔáʔ**	mute / dumb	Jones 1961:287
Pa-O	téʔ **ʔá**	dumb; mute	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:287
Palaychi	ʔùq **ʔàq**	dumb; mute	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:287
Pwo (Bassein)	ʔỳʔ **ʔàʔ**	dumb; mute	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:287
Pwo (Moulmein)	ʔàuʔ **ʔàʔ**	dumb; mute	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:287
Sgaw (Bassein)	ʔyʔ **ʔaʔ**	dumb; mute	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:287
Sgaw (Moulmein)	ʔyʔ **ʔaʔ**	dumb; mute	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:287
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ɣa35**	mute / dumb	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.8.3
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	啞	mute	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3270
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ʔăg**	mute	Karlgren 1957:805f
	ːăg/ːɑ	dumb (mute)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:805f
Chinese (Old)	**ʔăg**	dumb	Matisoff 1983:3
	ʔragx	dumb / mute	Coblin 1986:68
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**'aeX**	mute	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3270
	ʔa:	dumb, mute	Coblin 1986:68
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**yǎ**	mute	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3270
	yaa 'ba	mute	Sun 1985b:623

Chinese comparandum

啞 OC ***ʔăg**, *GSR* #805f 'mute, dumb'; Coblin 86:68 ST ***ʔɤaɣ** > OC ***ʔragx**; Schuessler 2007:550 ***ʔâʔ**; B & S 2011: ***ʔˤraʔ**; Mand. **yǎ**.

(2) PTB *l-kuk MUTE / DUMB

This root seems to be independent of PTB ***m-ʔa** MUTE / DUMB / STUPID (§1.8.7.1).

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Tagin	gam **kak**	dumb (=mute?)	Das Gupta 1983
	gaŋ **kak**	dumb (=mute?)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	**kyak**-ma-ɲi	dumb	Tayeng 1976
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Tilang)	**kuk**-pa	mute person	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**kuk**[55] pa[53]	mute person	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hkəg**-wæ	mute	Sun 1985a:623
Tibetan (Written)	**lkugs**-pa	dumb; mute	Matisoff 1987; Sun 1985c:623
3.2. Qiangic			
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ku**[55] pa[53]	mute; dumb	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.8.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:302.16
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	ta **mk[h]ək**	mute / dumb	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.8.3

1.8.8.1 Laugh/Smile

(1) PTB *m-nwi(y)-k LAUGH

This well-established root shows variation between short and long vowels. A velar suffix is attested in several subgroups of the family.

This root is so wide-spread that it occurs even in Tujia and Karenic.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***mnjwiɣ**	laugh	Coblin 1986:102
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-nwi(y)**	laugh	Benedict 1972:191; Coblin 1986:102
	***m-nwi(y)**	laugh (v.)	French 1983:510
	***m-nwi(y)-k**	laugh	Matisoff 2003a:605
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
**Kuki-Naga-Chin*	***m-nuy**	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:537
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	**nu** ga	smile	Pulu 1978
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***nu(u)y-I**, ***-nuyʔ-II**; ***hnu(u)y-I**, ***hnuyʔ-II** SMILE / LAUGH			
**Chin*	***nu(u)y**-I, -nuyʔ-II; hnu(u)y-I, hnuyʔ-II	SMILE / LAUGH	VanBik 2009:836
**Kuki*	***m-nui**	laugh	Benedict 1972:191
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	**nui**	laugh	Haokip 1998:11.9
	nui	smile (v.)	Haokip 1998:3.9.4
Sizang	zūm **nuī** hī	smile	VanBik 2009:836
Thado	**núi**	smile	Thirumalai 1972:55
	núuy-I, **nùy-II**	smile, laugh	VanBik 2009:836
Tiddim	**-nu:i**/**_nuiʔ**	laugh (v.)	Henderson 1965
	nui[2] > **nuiʔ**[3]	laugh	VanBik 2009:836
	nu:i[2] > **nuiʔ**[3]	laugh (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1268
	nu:i[2]/**nuiʔ**[3]	laugh	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**noi**	laugh	VanBik 2009:836
	nwéi	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:13
Chinbon	**m̩nïʲʔ**	laugh	So-Hartmann 1988:109
Khumi	**pnúy**	laugh, smile, grin	VanBik 2009:836
	pənuʲʔ	laugh	So-Hartmann 1988:109
Matu	**nïʲ**	laugh	So-Hartmann 1988:109
Wakung	**mʰny**	laugh	So-Hartmann 1988:109
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**hnǐi**-I, hnìʔ-II	smile, laugh	VanBik 2009:836
Lai (Hakha)	**nìi**-I, niʔ-II	smile, laugh	VanBik 2009:836
Lushai [Mizo]	**nui**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nui	smile	Marrison 1967
	nui	laugh (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2748
	nui	laugh	Benedict 1972:191; Coblin 1986:102
	núi-I, **nùih-II**	laugh, to giggle, to smile (v.)	VanBik 2009:836
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	pa-**hnèi**	laugh	VanBik 2009:836
	[2]pə[1]**hnei**	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:13
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	in rim **mənui**	smile (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.9.4
	mə nui	laugh	Toba & Kom 1991:11.9
Lamkang	kʌ-pʌ-**nì**	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:13
Moyon	**nnə́**	laugh	Kosha 1990:11.9
	nnə́	smile (v.)	Kosha 1990:3.9.4
Sorbung	**mə-nu̍u̍**	laugh	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.346
	mənu̍u̍	smile (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.106
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-nəj** ≍ ***m-nwi** LAUGH / SMILE			
**Central Naga*	***m-nəj** ≍ **m-nwi**	LAUGH / SMILE	Bruhn 2014a:III.063
**Ao*	***m-nəj**	LAUGH / SMILE	Bruhn 2014a:II.255
Ao (Chungli)	**menü**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mə[2]nə[2]	laugh, smile (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.255
	mūnū	smile (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**meni**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967

	meni ram	smile	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **məni**-mì	humorous ('laugh' + DESID) (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	məni	laugh, smile [laughed, smiled] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	**münyü**	smile	Marrison 1967
	münyü	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	münyü cho	laugh (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	münyü nyü	smile	Kumar 1973a
Yacham-Tengsa	**manü**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**müne**	laugh	Kumar 1973b:96
	müne	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	müne müchih	smile (v.)	Kumar 1973b:82

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{2}**nɯ**	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:13
Angami (Khonoma)	**nü**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nü	smile	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**nü**	smile	Marrison 1967
	nyü	laugh; smile (v.)	Marrison 1967; Nienu 1990a:3.9.4
	nyü^{31}	laugh	Nienu 1990a:11.9
Chokri	**nyi**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nyi^{31}	laugh	Nienu 1990b:11.9
	nyi^{31}	smile (v.)	Nienu 1990b:3.9.4
Khezha	**nɨ̀**	laugh	Yabu 1994:11.9
Mao	**nü**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
Meluri	**nui**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**nyü**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	(aku) **nu**	laugh	Achumi 1998a:11.9
	nu	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nui ya	smile	Marrison 1967
	nu mighe	smile (v.)	Achumi 1998a:3.9.4

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**nui**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
Maram	**nyu**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**manoi**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**nui**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nui məi	laugh	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	**nnui**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}ke^{1}**nui**	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:13
Mzieme	**nui**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***nɨ** LAUGH / MOCK

**Tangkhulic*	***nɨ**	laugh / mock	Mortensen 2012:395
Huishu	kə-mə-**nuk**	laugh	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.135
	k^{h}ə-mə-**nuk**	smile; laugh	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.080
	mə-**nuk**-k^{h}e	mock; smile; laugh	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.108
Kachai	k^{h}ə-mə-**ni**	laugh / smile	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.318
Tangkhul	ma **na**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ma **na**	smile	Marrison 1967
	nɯ	laugh	Bhat 1969:91
	nɯt	laugh	Bhat 1969:91
	^{1}khə^{1}mə^{1}**nə**	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:13
Tusom	k^{h}a-n-**ny**	laugh	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.330
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**nu**	laugh	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-mə-**nɯ**	laugh, mock at	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	mo mon **nok**	smile	Marrison 1967
	nok	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nok	laugh	Benedict 1972:101n289
	nok pə	laugh	Singh 1991:11.9
	nok pə	smile (v.)	Singh 1991:3.9.4

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **nek**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ing **nek**	smile	Marrison 1967
	ing **nèk**- ^{6} ing nì-	laugh	Grüssner 1979:25
	iŋ **nek**	laugh	Benedict 1972:101n289

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Barish*	***m-ni**	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:537
**Bodo-Garo*	***mi-ni**	laugh	Burling 1959:442

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**mini**	laugh; smile (v.)	Weidert 1987:13; Bhat 1968
	mini	laugh	Benedict 1972:191; Coblin 1986:102
	mini káŋ	laugh (v.)	Bhat 1968
	mini kuku	smiling, happy	Bhat 1968
	mini bla	man with a smiling face	Bhat 1968
	mini diya	did not smile	Bhat 1968
	mini gagla	laugh with a loud voice (v.)	Bhat 1968
	mini gla	laugh (v.)	Bhat 1968
	mini gu	laugh much (v.)	Bhat 1968
	mini hara	man with a smiling face	Bhat 1968
	mini klab	laugh (v.)	Bhat 1968
	mini kru	smiling; happy; smiling, happy	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
	mini pa	smile with smn (v.)	Bhat 1968
	mini slud	smile a little (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**mini**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mini	smile; laugh	Marrison 1967; Coblin 1986:102
Kokborok	**mi-ni**	laugh	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**mini** na	laugh	Balawan 1965:38
	mini sum ri na	smile	Balawan 1965:38
Meche	**mini**	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:13

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	thi **mini**-	make someone smile (v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-ni**	laugh (v.)	French 1983:510

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**ngi**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**ŋe**	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:815b
	ŋi	laugh (v.)	French 1983:510
	ŋit	laugh (v.)	French 1983:510
Tangsa (Moshang)	**ni**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967; French 1983:510
Tangsa (Yogli)	**ni**	laugh (v.)	French 1983:510

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**ñi**	laugh (v.)	French 1983:510
	nyi	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**ñi**	laugh (v.)	French 1983:510
	nyi	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
Phom	**ñi**	laugh (v.)	French 1983:510
	ñi^{55}	laugh	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	nyi	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**ñi**	laugh (v.)	French 1983:510
	nyi	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**mani**	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mani	smile	Marrison 1967
	mă^{31}**ni**^{33}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.19
	mă^{31}**ni**^{33}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.47
	mă^{1} **ni**^{33}	laugh	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	məni	laugh	Benedict 1972:191; Coblin 1986:102

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Ganan	**ñi**^{2}	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:L.278
Kadu (Kantu)	**ni**^{2}	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:L.278
Sak (Bawtala)	ă^{4}**ne**^{2}	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:L.278
Sak	a **né**	laugh	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:60

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**net**	laugh	Mazaudon 1994:592
	*^{Bh}**net**	smile, laugh	Mazaudon 1994:594
	*^{Bh}**ɲjot**	laugh	Mazaudon 1994:251
Chantyal	**ne** rə-wa	laugh / smile	Noonan *et al.* 1992:11.9
	ne rə-wa	smile (v.)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.9.4
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ni** herarra labaq	smile (in friendliness, mockery)	Glover 1972:10.B.3.13
	ni k^{h}a baq	smile / amused	Glover 1972:10.B.3.13
	ni syu baq	laugh	Glover 1972:10.B.3.12
Gurung	^{1}**ni**	smile	Mazaudon 1994:592
Manang (Gyaru)	**nyiy**^{1} syor^{2} ba	laugh	Nagano 1984:060
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**ɲiː**-	laugh	Mazaudon 1994:251
	^{1}**ɲiː** ^{3}ɕor-	laugh	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0291b
	^{1}**ɲiː**-	laugh	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0291a
Tamang	**'ŋe** ppa	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:815b
	^{1}**ŋe**-	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:815b
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'neː**	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:815a
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**net**	laugh (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:11.9
	^{2}**net**	laugh	Mazaudon 1994:594
	^{3}tsjum ^{2}**net**-pa	smile (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.9.4
Tamang (Sahu)	'ciːle **'nyep**-pa	smile (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.C.13
	'ikarikle **'nyep**-pa	smile (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.C.13
	'nyep-	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:815a
	'nyep-pa	laugh (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.C.12
	'nyet-na la-pa	cause to laugh, to joke (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.C.12.a
	^{2}**ɲet**	laugh	Mazaudon 1994:594
Tamang (Taglung)	^{2}**ɲeː**-ba	laugh	Mazaudon 1994:594
	ɲeː-ba	laugh	Mazaudon 1994:594
Thakali (Marpha)	^{55,44}**ɲeʌː**-dzi	laugh	Mazaudon 1994:594
Thakali (Tukche)	**ŋje**-lɔ	laugh	Hari 1971:10.B.3.12

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**rett**-e	laugh	Ebert 1997

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	blis-tə **ŋi**-sa	smile	Caughley 1972:10.B.3.13
	ni	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:13
	ni-	laugh, grin (WD) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	niʔ-	grin, giggle, smile, laugh (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	ŋi-	laugh (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103
	ŋi-sa	laugh	Caughley 1972:10.B.3.12
	ŋiʔ-	smile, grin, laugh, giggle, twitter (as shrew) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**niʔ** naʔ	smile (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.9.4
	ŋiʔ na	smile (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.9.4
	ŋiʔ naʔ	laugh	Caughley 1990:11.9
Kham	'sas-**nya**	laugh	Watters & Watters 1989:10.B.3.12

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	**ni**^{33}ri^{55}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ni**^{35}ri^{35}	smile (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.9.4
	ni^{35}ri^{35}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.15
	ni^{35}ɣi^{35}	laugh	Sun Hongkai 1991h:11.9

5. Tujia

Tujia	**ne**^{33}	laugh	Chen Kang 1986d:11.9
	ne^{33}	smile (v.)	Chen Kang 1986d:3.9.4
Tujia (Southern)	**ne**^{33}	laugh	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ne**^{55}	laugh	Chen Kang 1986c:11.9
	ne^{55}	smile (v.)	Chen Kang 1986c:3.9.4
Tujia (Northern)	**ne**^{55}	laugh	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	nie4	smile, laugh (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	nie^{4}	smile, laugh (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.2
Tujia	**n̦ie**^{53}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.49
	n̦ie^{53}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.38

7. Karenic

**Karen (Pwo)*	***ní'**	laugh (v.)	Jones 1961:798
Karen	**ni**^{33}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.50
Palaychi	**ní**	laugh (v.)	Jones 1961:798
Pwo (Bassein)	**níʔ**	laugh (v.)	Jones 1961:798
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ní**	laugh (v.)	Jones 1961:798
Sgaw (Bassein)	**nì**	laugh (v.)	Jones 1961:798
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**ni**^{33}	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2492
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ni**	laugh (v.)	Jones 1961:798
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**ni**^{33}	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2492

Chinese comparandum

唲 OC ***ńi̯ĕg**, *GSR* #873e 'forced laughter, prattle'; Coblin 86: ST ***mnjwɨɣ** > OC ***njəg**; Schuessler 2007:225 ***ne**; B & S 2011: (***ŋe**); Mand. **ér**.

(2) PTB *s-r(y)a-y/s/t LAUGH

This widespread root displays several types of variation. While many languages reflect a **-y-** medial, Lolo-Burmese seems to have metathesized the palatal element to the post-vocalic position (PLB ***ray**^{1}).

A number of Himalayan languages (Written Tibetan, Thebor, Bunan, Magar, Bahing, Khaling, and Nachereng) attest to a dental stop suffix, as do Nung and Idu. An **-s** suffix appears in Written Tibetan and Nachereng, while Bahing shows variation between **-t** and **-s**. It is possible that a sequence of two suffixal elements (**-t-s**) was involved.

An **s-** prefix is reflected in Bunan **sred** < ***s-ryat** and Nachereng **hres**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r(y)ay** ⋉ **r(y)a-t(s)**	laugh	Matisoff 2003a:612
	***rya-t**	laugh (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103
	***rya-t**	joke; laugh; joke, laugh	LaPolla 1987:188; Benedict 1972:202
	***ryɑ-t**	laugh	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1096r-s

1.1. "North Assam"

Aka [Hruso]	**ra**	laugh	Benedict 1972:202
Sulung [Puroik]	**ɣuɛ**^{33}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.52

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	ma:-**ra:**	smile; laugh	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	mɑ^{31} **ɹɑ^{55}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	mɑ^{31}**ɹɑ^{55}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.22
	mɑ^{31}**ɹɑ^{55}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.49
Digaro	mə **ra**	joke, laugh; laugh	LaPolla 1987:188; Benedict 1972:202
Kaman [Miju]	k**ɹit^{55}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	k**ɹit^{55}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.23
	k**ɹit^{55}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.48
Idu	ma^{55}**ɹa^{55}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai 1991f:11.9
	ma^{55}**ɹa^{55}**	smile (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.9.4
	mɑ^{55}**ɹɑ^{55}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.50
Yidu	mɑ^{55}**ɹɑ^{55}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.25
2. Himalayish			
Nachereng	**hres**	laugh	Benedict 1972:202
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**ṣed** de	smile (v.)	Sharma 1991a:3.9.4
	sred	joke, laugh; laugh	LaPolla 1987:188; Benedict 1972:202
Thebor	**rot**	joke, laugh; laugh	LaPolla 1987:188; Benedict 1972:202
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**bzad**-pa	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
	bźad-pa ~ **gźad**-pa	laugh, smile	LaPolla 1987:188
	bžad-pa ≍ **gžad**-pa	laugh, smile	Benedict 1972:202
	bz̀ad-pa	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:W.47
	gźa-ba	sport, joke, play (v.)	LaPolla 1987:188
	gža-ba	sport, joke, play (v.)	Benedict 1972:202
	gžas	play, joke	Benedict 1972:202
	gz̀ad-pa	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:W.47
	ɣzad-pa	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***rit**-	laugh (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	**repma**	laugh	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**eːr**- (**eːt**-)	laugh (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	eːt- (**eːrɛ**/eːt)	laugh (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103
	eːtt-	laugh at (so.); laugh at (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:103
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**i**	laugh (v.)	Rai 1985; Michailovsky 1991:103
	itt-	laugh at (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103
	ʔi-	laugh / smile (v.i.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:3
	ʔi ma-kat-	smile	Rai *et al.* 1984:33
Chamling	**ri**-(a)	laugh	Winter 1985:31
	rit-yu	laugh at (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103
	ry-a	laugh (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**riː**-	laugh (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103
	riː mit nɨ	cause to laugh, make someone laugh	Driem 1993
	riː nɨ	laugh	Driem 1993
Khaling	**ret**	laugh	Benedict 1972:202
	√**ret**-	laugh (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**ris**-	laugh (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103
	rit~**ris**	joke, laugh	LaPolla 1987:188
Hayu	**jɪt**-	laugh (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103
Sunwar	**ʾrit**-	laugh (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103
Thulung	**ris**-	laugh (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103; Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Magar	**ret**	joke, laugh; laugh	LaPolla 1987:188; Benedict 1972:202
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**dǐɛ**	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989e:11.9
	djɨj (djij)	smile, laugh	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1316
	djɨ	smile, laugh	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4612
	lǐẹ	laugh	Nishida 1964:17-12i
	rjijr	smile, laugh	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4335
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**rɻ^{55}**	laugh; smile	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.18
Guiqiong	**ɣi^{35}**	laugh; smile	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai 1991e
	ɣi^{35}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.16
	ɣi^{35}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.17
Lyuzu	**əɹ^{35}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.18
Muya	ni^{33}**ri^{55}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.15
Muya [Minyak]	ni^{35}**ri^{35}**	smile (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.9.4
	ni^{35}**ri^{35}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.15
	ni^{35}**ɣi^{35}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai 1991h:11.9
Namuyi	**dʐ̩^{33}dʐ̩^{55}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai 1991i:11.9
	dʐ̩^{33}dʐ̩^{55}	smile (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.9.4
	dʐ̩^{33}dʐ̩^{55}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.19
	dʐ̩^{33}dʐ̩^{53}	joke / jest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0654.46
	dʐ̩^{33}dʐ̩^{55}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ʂɑ^{11}ʂɑ^{55}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʃɑ^{13}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.09
	ʃɑ^{13}ɬie^{55}	joke / jest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0654.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʃɑ^{13}**	laugh	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʂa^{35}**	laugh	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.10
Qiang (Longxi)	(dá) **zá** ló	laugh	Evans 1999:2492
	dzà-zə mú	joke [smile/laugh-speech]	Evans 1999:935
	zà-zə mú	joke [laugh-speech]	Evans 1999:935
	zá-ló-zə mú	joke [laugh-come-speech]	Evans 1999:935
Qiang (Mawo)	**dʐ̩a**	laugh	Sun Hongkai 1991g:11.9
	dʐ̩ɑ	laugh	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dʐ̩ɑ	smile (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.9.4
	dʐ̩ɑ	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.8
	dʐ̩ɑ ʨtʨə	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.08
	dʐ̩ɑ ʨɛs	joke / jest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0654.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**dʐ̩à**	laugh	Evans 1999:2492
	dʐ̩à thɛ́	joke [laugh-m]	Evans 1999:935
	mɛ̀-**dʐ̩à**-zɨ́	funny [person-laugh-CAUS]; joke [person-laugh-CAUS]	Evans 1999:1561; Evans 1999:935
Qiang (Taoping)	**dʐ̩ɑ^{33}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**dʐ̩ɑ** ʨtʨ	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2380
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**rua^{35}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai 1991n:11.9
	rua^{35}	smile (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.9.4
	rua^{35}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**rə^{13}**ʃə^{55}	joke / jest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0654.13
Xumi	**ra^{33}**be^{55}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.17
	rɛ^{55}	laugh; smile	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**dʐ̩a^{55}**ʂte^{55} ke^{55}tʂha^{55}	joke / jest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0654.14
	dʐ̩ə^{55}ʂte^{55}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ka na **ri**	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989d:11.9
	ka na **ri**	smile (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.9.4
	ka na **ri**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ka na **ri**	laugh	Sun Hongkai 1991j:11.9
	ka na **ri**	smile (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.9.4
rGyalrong (NW)	kɛ nɛ **ri**	laugh	Sun Hongkai 1991l:11.9
	kɛ nɛ **ri**	smile (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.9.4
Caodeng	kɐ-nɐ-**rɐ**	laugh	Sun 1997a
	kɐ-z-nɐ-**rɐ**	cause to laugh	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ nɑ **ri**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.11
rGyalrong (Northern)	ma ʃq^{h}e **re**	smile (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.9.4
Caodeng	ɣjə-və-və kɐ-nɐ-**rɐ**	smile	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Northern)	ɲi nɛ **rɛ**	laugh	Sun Hongkai 1991k:11.9
rGyalrong	ka na **ri**	laugh	Nagano 1997:131
	kA na **ri** mAr mAr	smile (v.)	Nagano 1997:3.9.4
4. Nungic			
Anong	**it**	joke, laugh; laugh	LaPolla 1987:188; Benedict 1972:202
Trung [Dulong]	**ĕt^{55}**ɕɯ^{31}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.46
Dulong	**ɛt^{55}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ĕt^{55}** ɕɯ^{31}	laugh	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**jet^{55}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	yet^{55}	joke, laugh	LaPolla 1987:188
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ray^{1}** LAUGH / SMILE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ray^{1}**	laugh	Matisoff 2003a:612
	***ray^{1}** (?)	laugh	Matisoff 1985a:001
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ɯ^{55}**	laugh	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ʐ̩ə^{55}**	laugh	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ʐ̩ə^{55}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.28
	ʐ̩ə^{55}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ɯ^{31}**	laugh	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ʐɯ^{55}**	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2380
	ʐɯ^{55}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.29
Bola	**ɣəi^{55}**	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989g:2380
Bola (Luxi)	**ɣəi^{55}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.32
Burmese (Modern)	**ray^{3}**	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ji^{22}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ji^{22}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**ui^{3}**	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
Burmese (Written)	**prai**	jest with, put to blush (pra 'show' + rai 'laugh', acc. to Jud.) (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	rai	laugh; (prn. rañ) laugh	Matisoff 1985a:001; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:188; Benedict 1972:202
	ray	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:S.23
	ray	laugh	Hansson 1989:294
	ray^{3}	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:W.47
	rɑj^{2}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.26
	rɑj^{2}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.39
Danu	**yɛ^{4}**	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
Hpun (Metjo)	**ʁih^{1}**	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
Langsu (Luxi)	**ɣə^{31}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.31
Lashi	**jiː^{31}**	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989m:11.9
	jiː^{31}	smile (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.9.4
Lashi (Lachhe')	**yi^{4}**	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
Leqi (Luxi)	**jiː^{31}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.33
Marma	**re**	laugh	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:60
Maru [Langsu]	**ɣə^{31}**	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989l:11.9
	ɣə^{31}	smile (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.9.4
	ɣə^{31}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.43
Taung-Yo	**yi^{4}**	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**vui^{51}**	laugh	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	vui^{51}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.30
	vui^{51}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.42
	wi^{2}	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ray^{1}**	laugh	Bradley 1979b:668; Hansson 1989:294
Lolopho	**væ^{33}**	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989n:11.9
	væ^{33}	smile (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.9.4
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**ji^{323}** sa^{33}	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989c:11.9
	ji^{323} sa^{33}	laugh; smile (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.9.4; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.47

Lalo	**ɣə́**	laugh	Björverud 1994
	ʑe^{55}	laugh	Chen Kang 1986b:11.9
	ʑe^{55}	smile (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.4
Lipho	**vɛ**^{33}	laugh; smile	Chen Kang 1986b:11.9; Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.4
Nasu	**ɣɵ**^{21}	laugh	Chen Kang 1986b:11.9
	ɣɵ^{21}	smile (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.4
Nesu	**ɣɐr**^{21}	laugh	Chen Kang 1986b:11.9
	ɣɐr^{21}	smile (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.4
Noesu	**ɣe**^{13}	laugh; smile	Chen Kang 1986b:11.9; Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.4
Nosu	**ʑɻ**^{33}	laugh; smile	Chen Kang 1986b:11.9; Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.4
Nusu (Central)	**ɣɹe**^{33}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.34
	ɣˈe^{33}	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2380.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ɣˈe**^{35}	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2380.
Nusu (Central)	**ɹe**^{55}	laugh	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɹe**^{55}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.45
Nusu (Southern)	**ɹi**^{55}	laugh	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ɹə**^{55}	laugh	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ɣə**^{21}	laugh	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**dʑɻ**^{34}sɻ^{33}	laugh; smile	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑɻ^{21}**ʑɻ**^{33}	smile	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑɻ^{33}	laugh; smile	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑɻ^{34}ha^{33}	laugh	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ɣʌ**^{33}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ɣɛ**^{21}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ʑe**^{33}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.37
	ʑe^{33}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ʑe**^{55}	laugh	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʑɛ**^{55}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ɣɔ**^{11}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.38
Yi (Xide)	**ʑɻ**^{21} **ʑɻ**^{33}	laugh	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.21
	ʑɻ^{33}	laugh	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʑɻ^{33}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lolo (Ni)	**ghìài**	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
Ahi	**ɣa**^{22}	laugh; smile	Chen Kang 1986b:11.9; Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.4
	ɣɑ^{22}	laugh	Luo Meizhen 1990:11.9
	ɣɑ^{22}	smile (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.9.4
Jinuo	**ɣɯ**^{42}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**ɣɤ**^{42}	laugh	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ɯ**^{31}	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2492
Jinuo (Baka)	**ɯ**^{31}	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2492
Jinuo	**ɯ**^{31}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.34
Kucong	**ɣɯ31**	laugh	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***g'ui**˯	laugh	Bradley 1979b
Lahu	**g̈ì**-li yá	tickle	Benedict 1972:62n199 [a]
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɣɯ**^{31}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.43
Lahu (Black)	**g'ui**˯	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
	g̈ì	laugh	Matisoff 1985a:001
	ɣə^{31}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.33
	ɣɯ^{31}	laugh	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**ɣɯ**^{31}	laugh	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	ba^{21}**hɤʔ**^{21}	smile (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**hɯ**^{42}	laugh	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**hɤʔ**^{21}	smile; laugh (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	**o**^{5}sɛ^{4}	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
Lisu (Northern)	**wa**^{21}se^{33}	laugh (V.)	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}se^{33}dɔ^{33}	laugh	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**wa**^{5}-hrgh^{5}	smile (v.)	Fraser 1922
	wa^{5}-syē^{4}	laugh (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**wa**^{5}syē^{4}	laugh	Bradley 1979b:668
Lisu (Putao)	**wa**^{5}sɛ^{4}	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
Lisu	**xɯ**^{31}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.40
	xɯ^{41}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.27
Lisu (Northern)	**zi**^{33}	laugh at; satire (V.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**jæ**^{33}	laugh (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:340.5
Yi (Sani)	**jæ**^{33}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ʑæ**^{33}	laugh; smile	Chen Kang 1986b:11.9; Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.4
	ʑɛ^{33}	laugh	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ʑɛ^{33}ʂi^{55}	smile	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**ý**	laugh	Hansson 1989:294
Akha (Yunnan)	**ý**	laugh	Hansson 1989:294
Akha	**ý**	laugh	Hansson 1989:294
Bisu	**i**	laugh	Beaudouin 1988:32
	i hmán	smile (v.)	Beaudouin 1988:35
	ʔɯ́	laugh	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**ý**	laugh	Hansson 1989:294
Hani (Dazhai)	**ɯ**^{55}	laugh	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɯ**^{55}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɯ**^{55}	laugh	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**eel**	laugh	Hansson 1989:294
Hani (Shuikui)	**u**^{55} ʃɻ^{55}	laugh	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɣu^{55}ʃɻ^{55}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.32
Hani (Khatu)	**ɣý**	laugh	Hansson 1989:294
Hani (Mojiang)	**u**^{55}ʃɻ^{55}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.42
Mpi	**ʔɯ**^{5}	smile (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ʔɯ^{5}si^{5}	laugh	Hansson 1989:294
	ʔɯ^{6}si^{5}	laugh (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**ʔi**^{55} ɲiʔ^{55}	smile, laugh	Bradley 1977
Pyen	**ʔɯi45**	laugh (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:191003
Sila	**ɯ55**	laugh (v.)	Kato Takashi 2008:208

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ʁa**^{21}	laugh	Pelkey 2011:781
Southern Muji	**ʑi**^{33}	laugh	Pelkey 2011:781
Phola	**ʑi**^{33}	laugh	Pelkey 2011:781
Hlepho Phowa	**ʑɻ**^{21}	laugh	Pelkey 2011:781

[a] The Lahu high-rising tone indicates that this was an originally stopped syllable with some kind of glottalized onset, perhaps ***ʔ-yak**.

Phuza	**ɣjɛ**^{31}**ɬi**^{55}	laugh	Pelkey 2011:781

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɹ˥**	laugh (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3536
Na (Yongning)	**ʐ̟æ˦**	laugh (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐ̟æ˦v˩tʰv˩	joke, to crack a joke (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**za**^{31}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.28
Naxi	**zæ**^{21}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**ʐ̟a**^{33}	laugh	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʐ̟a**^{33}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.29
Naxi (Western)	**ʐ̟a**^{31}	laugh	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

7. Karenic

Bwe	**yè**	smile, laugh (v.)	Henderson 1997
	yè chí	smile at someone (v.)	Henderson 1997
	yè ʃí	smile at someone (v.)	Henderson 1997
	yè θri=yè θrɔ́	laugh heartily, to guffaw; laugh heartily (v.)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997

Chinese comparandum

戲 OC ***χiɑ**, *GSR* #22b 'to sport, joke'; Coblin 86:99 ST ***xyaɬ** > OC ***hjarh**; Schuessler 2007:526 ***haih**; B & S 2011: ***ŋ̊ar-s {ŋ̊(r)ar-s}**; Mand. **xì**.
嘻 C99 200b χi̯an

囅 OC ***t'i̯ər**, *GSR* #455t 'laugh'; Schuessler 2007:184 ***thrəi**; Mand. **chī**.
囅 OC ***t'i̯ən**, *GSR* #455t 'laugh'; Schuessler 2007:184 ***thrən?**; B & S 2011: ***t**$^{\mathrm{h}}$**rər**; Mand. **chěn**.

(3) PTB *ŋ(y)il LAUGH

The second syllable of Phunoi **ʔi**^{55} **ɲiʔ**^{55}looks like a reflex of this root, but it is isolated in Lolo-Burmese, and the resemblance is probably fortuitous. Similarly, Pa-O Karen **ŋàʔ** might also show an accidental resemblance to this root.

1.1.1. Tani: *ŋil laugh

**Tani*	***ŋil**	laugh	Sun 1993a:230

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**ˀŋar**(ˀ)	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:537
	ŋar	laugh	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ŋar-ga-nɯ	jolly	Sun 1993b
	ŋar-ka-nu	smile	Sun 1993b
	ŋar-pa	ridicule	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ñir**	laugh	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ñir-čɯ:	snicker	Sun 1993b
	ñir-kak pɯ-ǰak	laugh loudly, guffaw	Sun 1993b
	ñir-ka:	smile	Sun 1993b
	ñir-mi:	sneer	Sun 1993b
	ñir-si	chuckle	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ben-**ñir**	tease for fun	Sun 1993b
	jum-**ñir**	smile	Sun 1993b
	ñir	laugh	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ñir-jon	sneer	Sun 1993b
	ɲ̟ir	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɲ̟ir**	laugh	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.51
Galo	**-ʻɲ̟ir**	laughable (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻməə **ɲ̟ir**	funny; hilarious (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɲ̟ir-ka-nam	laugh at (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲ̟ir-nam	laugh; smile (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	ɲ̟ir nam	laugh; smile (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɲ̟ir sum	smile (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲ̟ir sum	smiling (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲ̟ir sum-pomum	smile (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲ̟ir sum-pomum	smiling (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆñɯr-	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:537
Miri, Hill	**ɲ̟ir**-nam	laugh	Simon 1976
Nishing	**nyior**	laugh	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	no hugubʏ **nyar**-do-ne	Why do you laugh?	Das Gupta 1983
	nyar-nam	laugh (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**ŋil**	laugh	Sun 1993a
Damu	ka-**ɲ̟ir**	scold	Sun 1993b
	ɲ̟ir-bia?	sneer	Sun 1993b
	ɲ̟ir-ra	laugh	Sun 1993b
	ɲ̟ir-ɕo:	smile	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ŋal**-ka-lu-ka-ma	mock	Tayeng 1976
	ŋal-ma	laugh	Tayeng 1976
	ŋal-yum-cu-ma	smile	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**jir** < ñir	laugh	Sun 1993a

2.1.2. Bodic

Monpa	**ŋár**	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:537
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ŋar**	laugh	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.7
	ŋar^{13}	laugh	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ŋar**	laugh	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**ŋar**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.07
Tashigang	**ŋar** ba	laugh (v.)	Weidert 1987:537

2.2. Newar

Newar	**nhil**	laugh	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:11.9
	nhil e-gu	smile (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.9.4 [a]
Newar (Dolakhali)	**nil**-	laugh	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**nil**-	laugh	Genetti 1990c

7. Karenic

Kayan (Pekon)	**ŋá**	laugh (V.)	Manson 2010
	θà **ŋá**	laugh (Vintr.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**ŋàʔ**	laugh	Solnit 1989
	ŋàʔ	laugh (v.)	Jones 1961:798

[a] Newar **-gu** 'nominalizer/relativizer'.

(4) PTB *s(y)aw LAUGH

This provisionally reconstructed root requires further analysis.

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ɕo:**^{55}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.02
Tibetan (Written)	dgod **ɕor**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.01

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung (Ghachok)	ni **syu** baq	laugh	Glover 1972:10.B.3.12
Gurung	^{1}**sju**-	laugh	Mazaudon 1994:980
Manang (Gyaru)	nyiy^{1} **syor**^{2} ba	laugh	Nagano 1984:060
Manang (Prakaa)	^{1}ɲi: ^{3}**ɕor**-	laugh	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0291b
	^{1}**ʃor**-	laugh	Mazaudon 1994:980

4. Nungic

Rawang	əhuɯ^{33} **ɕi^{31}**	laugh, smile	LaPolla 2003:1481
Anong	ɑ^{31} **xi^{55}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai 1988
Nung	ɑ^{31}**xi^{55}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}**xi^{55}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.44
Trung [Dulong]	ět^{55}**ɕɯ^{31}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ět^{55} **ɕɯ^{31}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɑ^{31} klɑ^{55} **ɕɯ^{31}**	laugh heartily	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Putao)	o^{5}**sɛ^{4}**	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
Lisu (Northern)	wa^{21}**se^{33}**	laugh (V.)	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}**se^{33}**dɔ^{33}	laugh	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	wa^{5}-**syē^{4}**	laugh (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	wa^{5}**syē^{4}**	laugh	Bradley 1979b:668
Lisu (Putao)	wa^{5}**sɛ^{4}**	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
Sani [Nyi]	ʑɛ^{33}**ʂi^{55}**	smile	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Pijo)	kàq **sjhý**	laugh	Hansson 1989:294
Hani (Caiyuan)	k**a̱**^{31} **sɻ^{55}**	laugh	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	k**a̱**^{31}**sɻ^{55}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.30
Hani (Pijo)	**sjhý**	laugh	Hansson 1989:294
Hani (Shuikui)	u^{55} **ʃɻ^{55}**	laugh	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɣu^{55}**ʃɻ^{55}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.32
Hani (Mojiang)	u^{55}**ʃɻ^{55}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.42
Mpi	ʔɯ^{5}**si^{5}**	laugh	Hansson 1989:294
	ʔɯ^{6}**si^{5}**	laugh (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**su^{42}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.37
	sɣ̄^{42}	laugh	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	**so^{31}**	laugh	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.35
	sɔ 4	laugh, to	Dell 1981b:464
	sɔ^{4}	smile	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**so^{21}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.48
	so^{31}	laugh	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.36; Zhao Yansun 1990:11.9

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**zi̯ô̱g**/i̯ə̱u	laugh	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1096r-s

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**xiào**	laugh	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

笑 OC ***si̯ə̱g***, *GSR* #1150a ‘laugh, smile’; Schuessler 2007:536 ***siauh***; B & S 2011: ***s-law-s***; Mand. **xiào**.

(5) PTB * **b d r** **-gwat LAUGH**

Written Tibetan shows variation both in the prefix (**dgod-pa**, **rgod-pa**, **bgad-pa**) and in the nuclear vowel (**-o- ≍ -a-**), motivating the PTB reconstructed rhyme ***-wat**.

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**ga^{341}**	smile (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.9.4
	gɑ^{341}	laugh	Sun Hongkai 1991a:11.9
Tshona (Wenlang)	**git^{35}** t^{h}ɑ^{55} ru^{55}	laugh	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**wgat**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hgal**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ged**	laugh (pf)	Sun 1985a:568
	god	laugh	Sun 1985a:567
	wgal	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ga^{231}**	laugh	Dai Qingxia 1989a:11.9
	nga^{13}	smile (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.9.4
	ga^{13}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.03
	gø^{53}xho^{55}	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ge^{53}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**khɛ^{13}**mo^{13}-**kɛ^{13}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.2
	kɛ^{13}mo^{55} **kɛ^{132}**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**ge** mu kyab gen	laugh	Bishop 1989:11.9
	ke mũ gyapgen	smile (v.)	Bishop 1989:3.9.4
Spiti	**go** ce	laugh	Bodh 1991:11.9
	go ce	smile (v.)	Bodh 1991:3.9.4
Tibetan (Spiti)	**gut**	laugh	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**bgad**	laugh (pf)	Sun 1985c:568
	dgod	laugh (v.)	Marrison 1967
	dgod	laugh	Sun 1985c:567; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.1
	dgod ɕor	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.01
	gad-mo	laugh (v.)	Luce 1985:S.23
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**gol**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.04

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	ʔi ma-**kat**-	smile	Rai *et al.* 1984:33
Kulung	**ges**-a	laugh (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:103; Rai *et al.* 1975

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Daofu)	**qha**	smile (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.9.4
Daofu	**qhɛ**	laugh / smile (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1735.12
Ergong (Danba)	**qhɛn**	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.14
Ergong (Northern)	**q^{h}a^{53}**	laugh	Sun Hongkai 1991c:11.9
	q^{h}a^{53}	smile (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.9.4
Ergong (Danba)	**q^{h}ɛn**	laugh	Sun Hongkai 1991b:11.9
	q^{h}ɛn	smile (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.9.4

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Pijo)	**kàq** sjhý	laugh	Hansson 1989:294
Hani (Caiyuan)	k**a̱**^{31} sɻ^{55}	laugh	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	k**a̱**^{31}sɻ^{55}	laugh	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:717.30

1.8.8.2 Cry/Weep

(1) PTB *krap WEEP

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***khljəp**	weep	Coblin 1986:159

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***krap**	cry; weep (v.)	Weidert 1987:1093; Michailovsky 1991:202
	***krap**	weep	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:596; Benedict 1972:116; Coblin 1986:159
	***krɑp**	weep	Chou Fa-kao 1972:694h

1.1.1. Tani: ***krap** WEEP

**Tani*	***krap**	weep	Sun 1993a:457

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**k^{h}re**	cry	Sun 1993b
	k^{h}rje?	weep; sob; mourn	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	xè	cry	Sun 1993b
	xrje?	weep	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**kap**	weep; cry (weep)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	kap-ŋak	sob	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**kap**	weep; weep, cry	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	kap	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.24
Bokar Lhoba	**kap**	cry, weep; weep	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.51
Galo	**kab**-nam	cry; weep; sob (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	kab nam	cry (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	kab nam	cry (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	kab nam	weep (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill Nishing	**kap**-nam	cry	Simon 1976
	kab	mourn / cry	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**kab**-nam	cry	Das Gupta 1983
	kab-nam	weep (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	no hugubɤ **kab** dne	Why do you cry?	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kap**	weep	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ciap**-duŋ	weep	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**khro**	weep	NEFA (India) 1963
	khro(i)	cry (v.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	khɹo^{53}	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.22
	khɹo^{53}	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.49
	k^{h}ɹo^{53}	cry, weep	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Digaro	**khro ≍ kro**	weep	Benedict 1972:116
Idu	a^{55} **tɕa^{55}**	cry / weep (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.4.8
	gɹɑ^{55}	cry out / yell	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.50
	ɑ^{55}**tɕɑ^{55}**	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.50
Yidu	ɑ^{55}**tɕɑ^{55}**	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***krap-I**, ***kra?-II** WEEP / CRY

**Chin*	***krap**-I, kra?-II	WEEP / CRY	VanBik 2009:1333

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**kap**	cry / weep (v.)	Haokip 1998:3.4.8
Paite	**kap**	cry, weep	VanBik 2009:1333
Siyin	**kap**	weep	Benedict 1972:116
Thado	**ká**	cry	Thirumalai 1972:54
	kà	cry	Thirumalai 1972:61
	kàp-I, kàa-II	cry	VanBik 2009:1333
Tiddim	**kap^{3}** > ka?^{3}	cry; weep (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:556
	kap^{3} > ka?^{3}	cry, weep	VanBik 2009:1333
	kap^{3}/ka?^{3}	cry, weep	Bhaskararao 1994
	kap^{4}	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
	_kap/_ka?	cry (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**kák**	cry, weep (v.)	VanBik 2009:1333
	ká?	cry (v.)	Weidert 1987:1004
Asho (Sandoway)	**kɑ?^{1}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
Chinbon	**ka:p**	weep	So-Hartmann 1988:110
Cho (Mindat)	**krap**	cry, weep	VanBik 2009:1333
Daai	**kɣa^{2}**	weep	So-Hartmann 1988:110
Khumi	**vo**	cry	VanBik 2009:1333
	vo?	weep	So-Hartmann 1988:110
Awa Khumi	**χɑ^{2}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
Matu	**xap**	weep	So-Hartmann 1988:110
Matupi	**χʁɑp^{2}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
Mkaang	**kɣa?**	weep	So-Hartmann 1988:110
Ngmiüün	**kɹa?**	weep	So-Hartmann 1988:110
Nyhmoye	**kɣa?**	weep	So-Hartmann 1988:110
Wakung	**xa?**	weep	So-Hartmann 1988:110
Womatu	**grap^{2}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**ṭap^{1}** [part. ṭa?^{1}]	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
	ṭrap^{1}	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
Lai (Falam)	**ṭàp**-I, ṭâ?-II	weep, cry	VanBik 2009:1333
Lai (Hakha)	**ṭap^{2}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
	trap-I, tra?-II	weep, cry	VanBik 2009:1333
	ṭɑ?^{2}	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
Lushai [Mizo]	**lap**	weep	Benedict 1972:116
	Tap	cry; weep (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2924
	ṭàp-I, ṭàh-II	weep, to cry, to lament (v.)	VanBik 2009:1333
	ṭap^{4}	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
	ṭrap^{4}	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
	ṭ̣ap	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	a´**tsɑ^{4}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
Lakher [Mara]	**chā**	weep, cry	VanBik 2009:1333
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	ă **tsɑ^{4}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
Mera	**tsʌ^{5}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
Tha'oa	**rap^{1}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
Xongsai	**kap^{2}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
Zotung	**ra?^{1}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1
	rɔ'^{1}	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:O.1

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Kom Rem	kə **čəp**	cry / weep (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.8
	kə təp	cry / weep (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.8
Sorbung	**càap**	cry; weep	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.049

1.3. “Naga” Areal Group

Maring	**chap**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	*a-**tʃəp**	CRY, WEEP	Bruhn 2014a:II.156
Ao (Chungli)	**-cúp**	cry (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:7
	a^{3}-**tʃəp^{3}**	cry, weep (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.156
	a **jep**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen)	**cùp**	cry (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**chep**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967

Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tʃə̀p**	cry [cried]; weep [wept] (v.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**kja**[2]-	cry, weep (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	khi	cry (weep) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	khiap	cry (weep) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kyà	cry (imperat.)	Acharya 1975
	kya	cry / weep (v.)	Nienu 1990c:3.4.8
Sangtam	**tra**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**chap**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**trip**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
	zhi	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**kra**	cry (weep) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**kr**	cry (weep) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kra[11]	cry / weep (v.)	Nienu 1990a:3.4.8
Chokri	**kra**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
	kra[11]	cry / weep (v.)	Nienu 1990b:3.4.8
Khezha	**tre**	cry / weep (v.)	Yabu 1994:3.4.8
Mao	**kra**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
	[1]**kra**	cry (v.)	Weidert 1987:1004

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	**kâp**	cry (v.)	Weidert 1987:1004
Puiron	**chap**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**káp**	cry (v.)	Weidert 1987:1004
	kap məi	cry	Matisoff 1994e
	küp	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**hap**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
	[1]ke [1]**hap**	cry (v.)	Weidert 1987:1004
Mzieme	**hap**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *cap CRY / WEEP

**Tangkhulic*	***cap**	cry / weep	Mortensen 2012:529
Huishu	kə-**tsaʔ**	weep	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.040
Kachai	kə-**cap**	cry / weep (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.044
	kə-**tɕap**	weep	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	**chap**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
	chā ra	tears / weep (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	cəp	cry	Bhat 1969:87
	[1]kə[1]**tšəp**	cry (v.)	Weidert 1987:1004
Tusom	kə-**tso**	cry (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.048
Ukhrul	**cɐp**-k[h]ə-mə-ro	weep for someone	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**cap**	weep, cry	Mortensen 2012
	kə-ci-**cep**	cause to weep	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**cɐp**	weep, cry	Mortensen 2012
	k[h]ə-ŋə-**cɐp**	beat one another and cry	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**kap**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
	kəp pə	cry / weep (v.)	Singh 1991:3.4.8

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**che**-.rnàp-	cry / weep (v.)	Grüssner 1979:65
	che-rú-	cry / weep (v.)	Grüssner 1979:65
	chi ru	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**gáb**	weep (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gab gáŋ	cry suddenly due to some fear (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gab gó	weep very much (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gab rú	weep slowly (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gab ruŋ	weep again and again (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gap	cry (v.)	Weidert 1987:1093
	gap ké	pretend to weep (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gap kné	just begin to weep (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gap kraw	cry loudly (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gap kráw	cry loudly (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gap kúna	cry continuously (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gap kúna	person who weeps continuously; to weep continuousl	Bhat 1968
	gap tú	weep slowly (v.)	Bhat 1968
	ruru **gáb**	weep very much continuously (v.)	Bhat 1968
	sa **gáb**	make to weep	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**gara**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**kra**	cry; weep	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988; Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	šə=**kra**	make cry	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**kra** na	cry / weep	Balawan 1965:21
Meche	**gap**	cry (v.)	Weidert 1987:1093

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**grap**	weep	Benedict 1972:116
	grap-a	cry (v.)	Weidert 1987:1093
Garo (Bangladesh)	**grap**-a	cry; wail; weep (vi.)	Burling 2003:7.29-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**kep**-	cry (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	khep-	cry (v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***krəp**	weep (v.)	French 1983:578

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**sap**	cry (weep); weep	Marrison 1967; French 1983:578

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**háp**	cry (v.)	Weidert 1987:1093
	hap	cry (weep); weep	Marrison 1967; French 1983:578
Konyak	**shüp**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
	šəp	weep	French 1983:578
Phom	**thep**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
	t[h]ap[33]	cry / weep	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	t[h]ep	weep	French 1983:578
Wancho	**sap**	cry (weep); weep	Marrison 1967; French 1983:578

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**khrap**	weep	Benedict 1972:116
	khʒap[31]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.19
	khʒap[31]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.47
	khɹap[31]	cry, weep	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	krap	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
	[1]**khrap**	cry (v.)	Weidert 1987:1093

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Ganan	**hɑp**[3]	weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:L.303
Kadu (Kantu)	**hɑp**[3]	weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:L.303
Sak	**hraʔ**	weep	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:61
Sak (Dodem)	**hrɑt**[2]	weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:L.303
Sak (Bawtala)	**hrɑʔ**[3]	weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:L.303

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**kram** mig‘	weep (v.)	Bailey 1911
	kram mig‘ (-bo)	weep / cry / mourn / mew (vi.)	Bailey 1911
	krap	weep	Benedict 1972:116; Coblin 1986:159
	krap shig‘	weep / cry / mourn / mew (vi.)	Bailey 1911
	krap s̲himig‘	weep together / mourn (vi.)	Bailey 1911
	krəb mig	weep	Sharma 1988:34
	s **krap** s̲himig‘	weep together / mourn (vi.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**krap** i	cry / weep (v.)	Sharma 1991b:3.4.8

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**gep**	cry, weep; weep	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.7
	kep[13]	cry, weep	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**gep**	cry, weep	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**gep**	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.07

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*[A]**kraː**, [B]kraː	weep, cry	Mazaudon 1994:66 [a]
Chantyal	**kara**-wa	cry / weep (v.)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.4.8
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kro** baq	cry / weep	Glover 1972:10.B.3.4
Gurung	[1]**kro**-	cry / weep	Mazaudon 1994:66
Manang (Gyaru)	**graː**[2] ba	cry	Nagano 1984:061
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]**kraː**-	weep	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0292
	[1]**kraː**-	weep	Mazaudon 1994:66
	[1]**kye** te-	cry	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0282
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]**kraː**	cry (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.4.8
	[1]**kraː**	weep / cry	Mazaudon 1994:65
Tamang (Sahu)	**kraː**-pa	cry, weep (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.C.4
	[1]**kraː**	cry, to weep	Mazaudon 1994:66
Tamang (Taglung)	**hwa**-ba	cry	Mazaudon 1994:67
Thakali (Marpha)	[54,44]**kjaː**-mu	weep / cry	Mazaudon 1994:67
Thakali (Syang)	[55,54]**kja**-mu	weep / cry	Mazaudon 1994:67
	[55,54]**kjaː**-ba	weep / cry	Mazaudon 1994:67 [b]
Thakali (Tukche)	[2]**ʈa**	cry / weep	Hari 1971:10.B.3.4
	ʈa-lɔ	cry / weep	

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***khrap**-	weep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:202

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**hab**-e	weep	Ebert 1997
	hap-	weep	Ebert 1997
	hap ma	weep	Ebert 1997
Belhare	**hap** ma	cry	Bickel 1995
Limbu	**haːp**-	weep (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:202
	haːp s-	cause to weep (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:202
	haːp t-	mourn for, to miss, to weep for (v.)	Driem 1988
Yakha	**hap** maː	cry / weep (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.4.8

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**khap**	weep	Rai 1985; Rai *et al.* 1984:31
	khap-	weep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:202; Michailovsky 1991:202
	khap-	weep (v.i.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:38
Chamling	**khap**-(u)	weep	Winter 1985:19
	khap-u	weep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:202
	khrap-u	weep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:202
Kulung	**khap**-a	weep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:202; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**khrap**	weep	Benedict 1972:116; Coblin 1986:159
	khrap-	weep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:202; Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**kryap**-	cry, weep (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	rya?-	weep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:202
	rya?-	cry, weep, make a loud noise (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	rya?-sa	cry / weep	Caughley 1972:10.B.3.4
Chepang (Eastern)	**kryap** na?	cry / weep (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.4.8
	rya?	cry / weep (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.4.8
Magar	**hrap**	weep	Benedict 1972:35n114
	hrap ≍ **rap**	weep	Benedict 1972:116

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**qo**[35]	cry; weep	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.17
Pumi (Jiulong)	**kuɛ**[55]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**χquɑ**[55]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**squɑ**[55]	cry, weep; weep	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**xue**[55]	cry, weep; weep	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.10
Xumi	**qua**[55]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.17
	quɛ̃[55]	cry; weep	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.20

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	ka ŋa **kru**	cry / weep (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4.8
	ka ŋa **kru**	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	kə ŋa **kru**	cry / weep (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4.8
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ ŋɑ **kru**	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.11
rGyalrong	kA nga **ruk**	cry (v.)	Nagano 1997:3.4.8

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**kzʑ**[55]	cry out; yell	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.41

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**qho**[44]	cry, weep	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	qho[55]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.37
Bai (Dali)	**k’ɔ** 2	cry, to	Dell 1981b:124
	kho̲[44]	cry, weep	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	kho[44]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.35
	k[h]ɔ[2]	weep	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**kho̲**[33]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.48
	kho̲[44]	cry, weep	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	kho[44]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.36
	k[h]o̲[44]	cry / weep (v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.4.8

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**k‘li̯əp**	weep	Chou Fa-kao 1972:694h
Chinese (Old)	**khljəp**	weep	Coblin 1986:159

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

[a] Only Tukche under tone *B

[b] Tukche alone reflects TGTM proto-tone B

Chinese (Middle)	**khjəp**	weep	Coblin 1986:159

Chinese comparandum

汶 OC ***k'liə̯p**, *GSR* #694h; B & S 2011: ***k-r̥əp**; Mand. **qì**.

(2) PTB *ŋəw WEEP

Proto-Kiranti reflects an allofam with a velar suffix. The Maru form **ŋuk**[31], on the other hand, shows the regular Maru reflex **-uk** of PTB ***-əw**, as discovered by Burling (1966). (In a parallel manner, Maru **-it** is the regular reflex of PTB ***-əy**.)

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***ŋguɣw**	cry / weep	Coblin 1986:60

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***nguw** (*A)	cry / weep	Coblin 1986:60
	***ŋuw**	cry (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:41
	***ŋuw**	weep, cry	LaPolla 1987:27; Benedict 1972:79
	***ŋəw**	weep	Matisoff 2003a:606

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**ŋɑi**[55]	cry, weep	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ŋɑi[55]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.23
	ŋɑi[55]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.48

1.6. Mru

Mru	**ŋoʔ**[2]	weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:S.31

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	dzɻ[341] dzɻ[341] **ŋo**[53] **ŋo**[53]	cry / weep (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.4.8
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ŋru**[35]	cry, weep	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ŋu**[13]	cry, weep; weep	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.6
Cuona Menba	**ŋu**[35]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ŋə**	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ŋə**	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ŋu**	weep (imp / pf)	Sun 1985a:566
	ŋə	weep	Sun 1985a:565; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ŋge**[231]	cry / weep (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.4.8
Tibetan (Jirel)	**ŋgu**-cye-te	weeping (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.23
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ŋu**[31]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ŋu**[13]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.02
	ŋu[13]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**ŋgu**	weeping (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.23
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**ŋu** yen	cry / weep (v.)	Bishop 1989:3.4.8
Tibetan (Spiti)	**u**ɟɔŋ	cry	Sharma 1979
Spiti	**ŋo** je	cry / weep (v.)	Bodh 1991:3.4.8
Tibetan (Written)	**ngu**	weep	Sun 1985c:565
	ngu-ba	weep, roar	Coblin 1986:60
	ngu s	weep (imp / pf)	Sun 1985c:566
	ṅu	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
	ŋu	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.01
	ŋu	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.1
	ŋu-ba	weep, cry; cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:S.31; Luce 1985:X.86
	ŋu-ba	weep, cry	LaPolla 1987:27; Benedict 1972:79
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ŋə**	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.04

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***ŋok**- (?*ŋak-	cry (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:41

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**ŋok**-	weep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:41
	ŋok ni	cry, weep:	Driem 1993
Khaling	√**ŋok**-	cry, to weep (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:41

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**ŋak**-	cry (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:41
Sunwar	**ŋgaːk**-	cry (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:41

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**ngu**	cry / weep (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989e:3.4.8
	ŋwu	cry, wail	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3388

3.2. Qiangic

Lyuzu	**ŋu**[35]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.18
Muya	tə̲[55]**ɴGɐ̲**[53]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.15
Muya [Minyak]	**NGɛ**[35]	cry / weep (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.4.8
	ŋGɐ[35]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.15
Namuyi	**ŋgu**[55]dʑu[55]	cry / weep (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.4.8
	ŋgu[55]dʑu[55]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.19
	ngu[55]ndʑu[53]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.46
Qiang (Longxi)	**ŋú**	cry, weep	Evans 1999:2118
Qiang (Taoping)	**ŋə**[55]	cry, weep; weep	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.9

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	ka **ŋa** kho	cry out / yell	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.12
	ka **ŋa** kru	cry / weep (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.4.8
	ka **ŋa** kru	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.12
rGyalrong (NW)	ka **ŋa** mbri	cry / weep (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.4.8
rGyalrong (Northern)	ku **ŋu**	cry / weep (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.4.8
rGyalrong (Eastern)	kə **ŋa** kru	cry / weep (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4.8
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **ŋɑ** kru	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.11
rGyalrong	kA **nga** ruk	cry (v.)	Nagano 1997:3.4.8

4. Nungic

Anong	**ŋü**	weep, cry	LaPolla 1987:27; Benedict 1972:79
Rawang	**ŋɯ**[33]	cry (vi.)	LaPolla 2003:1361
Anong	**ŋɯ**[55]	cry	Sun Hongkai 1988
Nung	ɑ[31]**ŋɯ**[55]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.21
Anong	ɑ[31]**ŋɯ**[55]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.44
Dulong	**ŋɯ**[53]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ŋɯ**[53]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ŋɯ**[53]	cry, weep; weep, cry	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:27
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ŋɯ**[53]	cry, weep; weep, cry	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:27

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ŋəw**[1] WEEP

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ŋəw**[1]	weep	Matisoff 2003a:606

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**ŋɑu**[55]	cry, weep	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ŋau**[55]	cry, weep	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋau[55]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.28
	ŋau[55]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ŋau**[31]	cry, weep	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ŋau**[55]	cry	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2045
	ŋau[55]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.29
	ŋ̊au[55]	cause to cry	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2045.1
Bola	**ŋau**[55]	cry	Dai Qingxia 1989g:2045
Bola (Luxi)	**ŋau**[55]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.32
Burmese (Modern)	**ŋui**[3]	cry, weep; weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:G.98; Luce 1985:V.17
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ŋo**[22]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ŋo**[22]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**ŋo**[3]	weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:S.31
Burmese (Written)	**ngui**	cry, weep	Coblin 1986:60
	ṅui	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
	ŋo[2]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.26
	ŋo[2]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.39
	ŋui	cry; cry, weep; weep, cry	Hansson 1989:341; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:27; Benedict 1972:79
	ŋuiw	cry, weep; weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:G.98; Luce 1985:V.17
	ŋuiw[3]	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:X.86
Danu	**ŋo**[4]	weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:S.31
Hpun (Northern)	**ŋó**-ŋ	cry / weep (3rd.sg.) / (s)he cries	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	**ŋuh**[1]	cry, weep; weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:G.98; Luce 1985:S.31
Hpun (Northern)	**ŋú?**, **ŋú**-ŋ, **ŋú?**	weep / cry	Henderson 1986
	ŋú?, **ŋú?**, **ŋú**-ŋ	cry / weep	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**ŋuk**[31]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.31
Lashi	**ŋaːu**[31]	cry / weep (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.4.8
Lashi (Lachhe')	**ŋɑu**[4]	weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:S.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ŋaːu**[31]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.33
Marma	**ŋo**	weep	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:61
Maru [Langsu]	**ŋuk**[31]	cry / weep (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.4.8
	ŋuk[31]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.43
Taung-Yo	**ŋo**[4]	weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:S.31
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋau**[51]	cry, weep	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ŋau[51]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.30
	ŋau[51]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.42
	ŋɑu[2]	weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:S.31

6.1.2. Loloish: ***ŋo**[1] CRY

**Loloish*	***ŋo**[1]	cry	Bradley 1979b:670; Hansson 1989:341
Lolopho	**ŋɯ**[33]	cry / weep (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.4.8
PNL	**ŋo**[1]	cry	Chen Kang 1986a:131.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**ŋ**[323]	cry, weep	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	ŋ[323]	cry; weep (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.4.8; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.47
	ŋ˩[323]	cry	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	ŋ˩[323] kɯ[323]	cause to cry	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Lalo	**ŋú**	cry	Björverud 1994
	ŋu̱[55]	cry	Chen Kang 1986a:131.
	ŋu̱[55]	cry / weep (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.8
Lipho	**ŋɯ**[33]	cry; weep	Chen Kang 1986a:131.; Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.8
Nasu	**ŋɯ**[33]	cry	Chen Kang 1986a:131.
	ŋɯ[33]	cry / weep (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.8
Neisu	**ny**[13]	cry	Chen Kang 1986a:131.
Nesu	**ŋɣ**[55]	cry / weep (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.8
	ŋɯ[55]	cry	Chen Kang 1986a:131.
Noesu	**ny**[13]	cry / weep	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.8
Nosu	**ŋo**[33]	cry	Chen Kang 1986a:131.
	ʑi[33]**ŋo**[44]	cry / weep	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.8
Nusu (Central)	**ŋɯ**[33]	cry	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2045.
	ŋɯ[33]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ŋɯ**[35]	cry	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2045.
Nusu (Central)	**ŋɯ**[35]	cry, weep	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ŋɯ**[35]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ŋ**˩[31]	cry, weep	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɣ̃ũ̃**[55]	cry, weep	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ŋɯ**[33]	cry, weep; weep	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ŋo**[33]	cry	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi[33]**ŋo**[34]	cry	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Lishan)	**ŋɯ**[55]	cry	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	ŋɯ[55] bi[31]	cause to cry	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	**ŋɯ**[33]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ŋɯ**[55]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ŋɯ**[33]	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.24
	ŋɯ[55]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ŋu̱**[55]	cry, weep; weep	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ŋu̱**[55]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.36
	ɲu[55]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ŋɯ**[33]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.38
Yi (Xide)	**ŋo**[33]	cry	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ɕi[33]**-ŋo**[34]	cry; cry, weep, sob	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

	ʐi^{33} ŋo^{44}	cry, weep	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ʐi^{33}ŋo^{34}	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.35
	ʐi^{33}ŋo^{44}	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**ŋɯ^{33}**	cry; weep	Chen Kang 1986a:131.; Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.8
	ŋɯ^{33}	cry / weep (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.4.8
Jinuo	**ny^{31}**	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.34
	ny^{42}	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.44
Jinuo (Baka)	**ŋjɣ^{31}**	cry, weep	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2118
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ŋjy^{31}**	cry, weep	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2118
Jinuo (Youle)	**ɲu^{42}**	cry, weep	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu	**ngu^{4}**	cry	Bradley 1979b:670
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**ngu^{4}**	weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:V.17
Lisu (Central)	**ngu^{4}**	weep; cry (v.)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ŋu^{33}**	cry (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**ŋu^{33}**	cry, weep	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**ŋu^{33}**	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.27
Lisu (Northern)	**ŋu^{33}**tɕhɔʔ^{21}nɔ^{33}	sob	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	**ŋu^{4}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:G.98
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**ŋu^{4}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:G.98
Lisu (Putao)	**ŋu^{4}**	weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:S.31
Lisu	**ŋu^{44}**	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.40
Lisu (Putao)	**ŋʊ^{4}**	weep, cry (v.)	Luce 1985:V.17
Sani [Nyi]	**ŋu̱^{33}**	weep	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ŋɯ^{33}	cry	Chen Kang 1986a:131.
	ŋ̍^{44}	cry / weep	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.8
Yi (Sani)	**ŋ̍^{44}**	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ŋ̍^{44}** (v)	cry	Ma Xueliang 1989:329.1

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ŋö**	cry	Hansson 1989:341
Akha (Thai)	**ŋö**	cry, weep	Hansson 1989:341
Akha (Yunnan)	**ŋö**	cry, weep	Hansson 1989:341
Bisu	**úŋ**	cry	Beaudouin 1988:29
	ʔúŋ	cry, weep	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**ŋö**	cry, weep	Hansson 1989:341
Hani (Dazhai)	**ŋø^{55}**	cry, weep; weep	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ŋø^{55}**	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ni^{55}**	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.30
Hani (Pijo)	**njí**	cry; cry, weep; green; finger	Hansson 1989:341; Hansson 1989:341,350; Hansson 1989:354
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ɲi^{55}**	cry, weep	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ŋø^{55}**	cry, weep	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ngyul**	cry, weep	Hansson 1989:341
Hani (Shuikui)	**ɲi^{55}**	cry, weep; weep	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.32
Hani (Khatu)	**ní**	cry; cry, weep	Hansson 1989:341; Hansson 1989:341
Hani (Mojiang)	**ɲi^{55}**	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.42

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ɲy^{21}**	cry	Pelkey 2011:782
Phola	**ŋɯ^{33}**	cry	Pelkey 2011:782
Phuza	**ŋə^{55}**	cry	Pelkey 2011:782

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ŋv꜖**	cry, weep (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3554
Na (Yongning)	**ŋvꜘ**	cry, to weep (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**ŋv^{33}ŋv^{31}**; **ŋv^{33}**	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.29
Naxi (Western)	**ŋv^{31}**	cry, weep	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ŋv^{31}**	weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**ŋv^{13}**	cry, weep	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	**ŋv̩^{21}**	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.45

7. Karenic

Kayan (Pekon)	**ŋə̄**	cry, weep (Vintr.)	Manson 2010
	θà **ŋə̄**	cry (Vintr.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**ŋü**	cry (weep)	Benedict 1972:147n402
Pa-O (Northern)	**ŋɤ^{2}**	cry, weep (v.)	Luce 1985:G.98
Pa-O	**ŋɤ̂**	weep	Solnit 1989

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**ngagw**	cry / weep	Coblin 1986:60

Chinese comparandum

Cf. comparanda for PTB ***ʔaːw*** SHOUT / CRY OUT (§8.5.4).

(3) PTB *kwar WEEP

1.6. Mru

Mru	**kɑr^{1}**	weep (v.)	Luce 1985:Q.367

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Moshang)	a **kwar**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	a **kau**	cry (weep)	Marrison 1967

2.2. Newar

Newar	**khwo** e	cry / weep (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4.8
Newar (Kathmandu)	**khwɔl-**	weep	Genetti 1990c
Newar (Dolakhali)	**khwɔr**	weep	Genetti 1990b

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	cir lə ni bir lə **gəhr**-ny	cry / weep	Watters & Watters 1989:10.B.3.4
	gəhr-nya	cry; weep	Watters & Watters 1989:10.B.3.4; Watters & Watters 1989:10.B.3.4
	ka wã: ci wã: **gəhr**-nya	cry / weep	Watters & Watters 1989:10.B.3.4

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**kwar**	cry, weep, sob	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1029

(4) PQ *s-ra CRY OUT / WEEP

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**rɑ^{55}**	cry out / yell	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.18
Muya [Minyak]	qo^{55}**rɛ^{53}**	cry out / yell	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.15
Pumi (Qinghua)	qo^{55} **ʐɑ^{55}**	cry out; yell; call out, cry out	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.11
Pumi (Taoba)	ko^{55} **ro^{53}**	cry out; yell; call out, cry out	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.10
Qiang (Longxi)	qá **ɻà**	cry out	Evans 1999:1961
	zǎ	cry, weep; cry (bird)	Evans 1999:2118; Evans 1999:2180
Qiang (Mawo)	**zəˈ**	cry / weep (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.4.8
	zʏ ɻʏ	weep; cry, weep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:718.8; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	zɪj	cry; chirp (of birds) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.08; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1521.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**zà**	cry, weep	Evans 1999:2118
	zè	cry (bird)	Evans 1999:2180
Qiang (Taoping)	**zɑ^{33}**	cry, weep	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ʁuə^{33} **ʐɑ^{33}**	cry out; yell; call out, cry out	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**zei**	cry	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2045
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	kua^{55}**ʐe^{33}**	cry out / yell	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.16

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	zjo **ra**	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.12
Ergong (Northern)	**ɕə^{53}**	cry / weep (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.4.8

(5) PTB *kuːk WEEP / WAIL

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kuːk**	weep / wail	Matisoff 2003a:597

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**kuːk**	shriek	Benedict 1972:182n479; Chou Fa-kao 1972:1203a
	kuːk	shriek (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2607

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kʻuk**	lament / weep	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1203a

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**kū**	cry, weep	Evans *et al.* 1991
	ku	weep	Sun 1985b:565
	ku (imp	weep (imp / pf)	Sun 1985b:566

Chinese comparandum

哭 OC ***kʼuk***, *GSR* #1203a; B & S 2011: ***k^{h}^{ʕ}ok { [k^{h}] ^{ʕ}ok}***; Mand. **kū**.

1.8.8.4 Whistle

(1) PTB *s-yu $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{s}\\\mathbf{y}\end{matrix}$ WHISTLE

This etymon evidently has an onomatopoetic component.

Chepang has developed a velar suffix in some forms.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***hyu ≍ huy**	whistle	Matisoff 2003a:594

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Galo	**ʻhu** si	whistle (vt.)	GLDC 2009

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**huy** khoŋ bə	whistle	Singh 1991:11.5

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**yus** pa	whistle	Sharma 1991a:11.5

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**huyk-**	whistle (as in whistle speech when hunting), blow sharply between lips (as when carrying) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	huyk-sa	whistle	Caughley 1972:11.B.1.4
	huyk.sā	whistle (v.)	Hale 1973:11b1.04
	khuyk-	whistle (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	ʔus-	whistle to call, or when puffed (vi.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**huyk** naʔ	whistle (v.)	Caughley 1990:11.5
	huyk naʔ	blow (mouth)	Caughley 1990:9.2.3
	khuyk naʔ	whistle (v.)	Caughley 1990:11.5
	ʔus naʔ	whistle (v.)	Caughley 1990:11.5

7. Karenic

Bwe	**wɪ**	whistle (v.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**wɪ^{2}**	whistle (v.)	Luce 1985:J.231
Geba	**hwɪ^{2}**	whistle (v.)	Luce 1985:J.231
Kayan (Pekon)	**ʍé̱**	whistle (Vintr.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**hjú**	whistle (v.)	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**hyu^{1}**	whistle (v.)	Luce 1985:J.231
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**yu^{1}**	whistle (v.)	Luce 1985:J.231
Pwo (Delta)	**yu^{4}**	whistle (v.)	Luce 1985:J.231

Chinese comparandum

嘯 OC ***siôg***, *GSR* #1028f-g ‘croon, whistle, wail’; Schuessler 2007:536 ***siûh***; B & S 2011: ***s^{ʕ}iw-s {s^{ʕ}iw(k)-s}***; Mand. **xiào**.
簫 OC ***siôg***, *GSR* #1028h ‘flute’; Schuessler 2007:536 ***siâu***; B & S 2011: ***s^{ʕ}iw***; Mand. **xiāo**.
蕭 OC ***siôg***, *GSR* #1028i ‘neigh’; B & S 2011: ***s^{ʕ}iw***; Mand. **xiāo**.

1.9 Reproductive System

MOST of the etyma in this chapter were previously published in *The Tibeto-Burman Reproductive System* (Matisoff 2008).

1.9.1 Egg

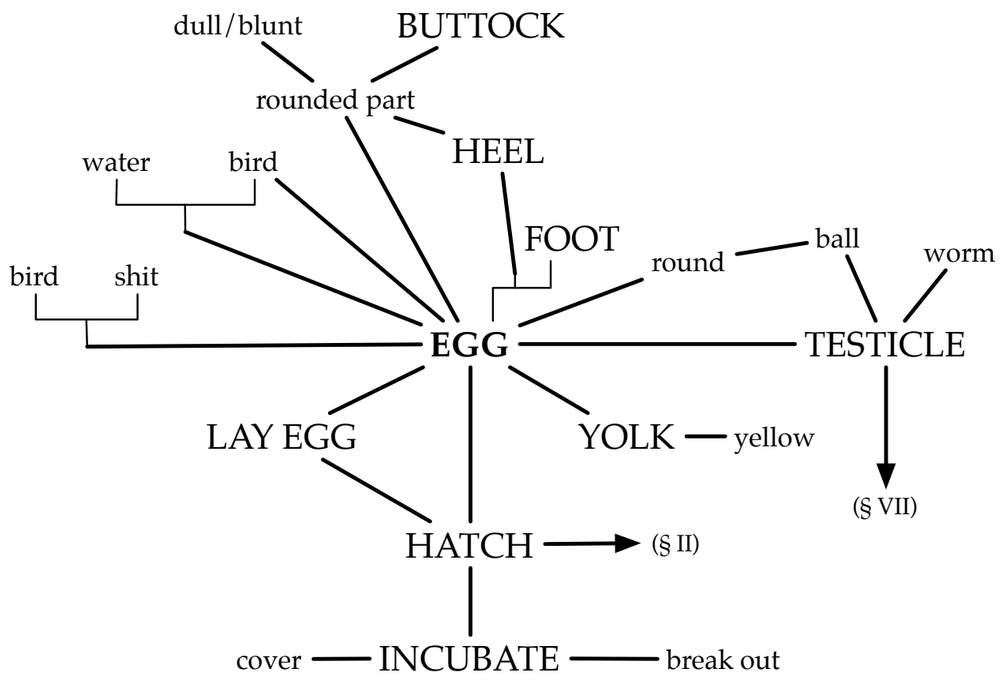


Figure 153: 1.9.1 *Egg*

The English word *yolk* (< OE *geolca*) is an allofam of *yellow* (< OE *geolu*) < PIE ***ghel-** 'shine; shiny object' [*AHD*:2029]. Similarly, TB words for YOLK typically contain a morpheme meaning YELLOW, e.g. Lahu **ɡâʔ-u-ši** 'yolk of hen's egg' < PTB ***k-rak** FOWL / CHICKEN (§2.1.10) + PTB ***ʔu** EGG / BIRD (§1.9.1) + **ši** 'yellow/gold' < PLB ***s-rwəy**[1] ⩙ ***s-rwe**[1] GOLD / YELLOW (§9.4). See *HPTB*:191.

An important associated concept is BIRD, with several distinct roots appearing in compounds for EGG, including PTB ***w(a/u)** BIRD / EGG / WING / FOWL (§1.5.1), PTB ***haːr** BIRD / FOWL / CHICKEN (§2.1.10), PTB ***b(y/r)a** BIRD / BEE (§2.2.4), PTB ***daw** BIRD (§2.1.10), PTB ***s-ŋak** BIRD (§2.2.4). It is sometimes hard to distinguish reflexes of ***wa** and ***haːr**; cf. the first syllable in Wancho **ao-ti**, below. Similarly, it is sometimes hard to distinguish reflexes of ***wa** and ***bya**; cf. the first syllable in Bahing **ʔba-di**.

(1) PTB *pʷu EGG / BIRD / ROUND OBJECT

This is one of over 30 TB etyma showing interchange between ***p-** and ***w-**, including such important roots as AXE, BAMBOO, BELLY, MAN/HUSBAND, PIG, etc. In this volume, see also PTB ***pʷam** WOMB / PLACENTA / BELLY / STOMACH / NEST (§1.9.6). These are reconstructed with ***pw-** clusters in the revised version of *STC* (e.g. ***pak** = ***pwak**; see n. 78, pp. 23-4). I originally preferred to treat the stop component as prefixal (e.g. ***p-wak**), but later abandoned this approach in favor of an "extrusional" interpretation, where the [-w-] is considered to be a mere phonetic perseveration of the preceding stop, e.g. ***pʷak** (see Matisoff 2000a). This extrusion is especially common before the vowel [-a-], but also, as in EGG, occasionally occurs before [-u-]. See also *HPTB*:61-62.

In the following sections, the reflexes of this etymon are presented separately, according to whether they derive from the variant with semivowel (***wu**) or stop (***pu**) initial.

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	**bv**˩	hatch, to incubate (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	**bv**[31]	sit on egg, incubate	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**bv**[31]	sit on egg, incubate	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**bv**[31]	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.28
Naxi	**bv̩**[21]	hatch / incubate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1326.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**bv**[55]	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.29

(1a) PTB *ʔu EGG / BIRD

This etymon is closely related to one for BIRD, set up as PTB ***w(a/u)** BIRD / EGG / WING / FOWL (§1.5.1). The original version of *STC* sets up ***wa** for BIRD (*STC* #99), but this is revised to ***(b)wa** (largely because of Bahing **ba** 'fowl') in the indexes (pp. 209, 211). In some languages (e.g. Jingpho and Kadu) a reflex of PTB ***ʔu** EGG / BIRD (§1.9.1) occurs as a prefix in bird-names (**ù-**). Marrison (p. 459) sets up three Proto-Northern Naga allofams for BIRD: ***C-waw**, ***ua**, and ***wa**. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the reflexes of ***wa** and ***wu**. For example, in the following NE Indian Areal Group forms, the italicized syllables are to be derived from ***wa** ⩙ ***wu** BIRD, with another constituent conveying the meaning EGG: Chang ***ao*kiak**, Chokri **thü*vu*zü**, Konyak ***ao*kiak**, Konyak (Tamlu) ***ʌu*ji**, Ntenyi **a*wüü*-atsü**, Sema ***au*khu**, Tangsa **[1]*vu*[1]ṭʌi**, Tangsa (Moshang) ***wu*di**, Wancho ***ao*-ti/ɔ-ti**, Yacham-Tengsa ***u*-tü**.

These roots have a wide distribution in TB. In Lolo-Burmese (including Jinuo), the root ***wu** is widely attested with the predominant meanings 'egg; lay egg; hatch'. In Bai this root means 'hatch', while in Northern Naga and Qiang (Mawo, Yadu) it generally means 'bird', occurring as the first element in compounds for 'egg' (see below).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ʔu**	egg / sit on eggs	Matisoff 2003a:583

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Chokri	thü **vu** zü	egg	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Phom	**u**[33]	bird (general term) / fowl	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	u[33]dɔ[55]	bird basket / bird cage ('bird'+?)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**u**-khu	owl	Coblin 1986:115
	u[31]khu[55]	owl (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0332.19
	u[31]ʒa[33]	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.19
	u̱[31]la[31]	rooster	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.47
	u khu	owl	Marrison 1967
	u la	cock	Marrison 1967
	u rang	cock	Marrison 1967
	[1]**u**[3]khu-[1]miʔ[3]wak	owl	Weidert 1987:83

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	a kyí **tvu**	testicle	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:42-8

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔu**[3]	egg; sit on eggs	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 2003a:583

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	a[31] **u**[31]	egg	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**u**[35]	lay (egg)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.41
	uʔ[31]	egg	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	uʔ[31]	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.28
	uʔ[31]	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.41
Achang (Luxi)	a[31] **u**[35]	egg	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	u[51]	lay (egg)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	kz̩ɔʔ[55] **u**[31]	chicken egg	Dai Qingxia 1989f:574
	pz̩ap[35] **u**[31]	duck egg	Dai Qingxia 1989f:575
	u[31]	egg	Dai Qingxia 1989f:573
	u[31]	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.29
	u[35]	lay egg	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2363
	ʂan[31] **u**[31]	nit	Dai Qingxia 1989f:418
Bola	pjɛt[55] **u̱**[35]	duck egg	Dai Qingxia 1989g:575
	u̱[35]	egg	Dai Qingxia 1989g:573
Bola (Luxi)	**u̱**[35]	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.32
Bola	ɣaʔ[31] **u̱**[35]	chicken egg	Dai Qingxia 1989g:574
Burmese (Rangoon)	**û**[53]	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**u**[53]	egg; lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.40; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.40
Burmese (Written)	krak **u'**	hen's egg	Marrison 1967
	lə **ʔu**	scrotum	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	thɑn[3]**û**[1]	nit ("louse-egg")	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:163.39
	û[1]	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.26
	û[1]	egg; lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.39; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.39
	u'	egg	Matisoff 1987
	ə-**u'**	egg	Benedict 1976a
	ʔu'	egg	Hansson 1989:493
	ʔə **ʔu'**	egg	Matisoff 1987
Hpun (Northern)	ă **ʔù'**; chó **ʔù'**	egg (cp. Fowl)	Henderson 1986
	lauŋ **ú'**	scrotum; testicles	Henderson 1986; Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**a̱u**[55]	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.31
Lashi	**u̱**[53]	egg (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:10.4.16
Leqi (Luxi)	**u̱**[53]	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.33
Marma	**ŭ**	egg	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:76
Maru [Langsu]	**a̱u**[55]	egg; egg (of animal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.43; Dai Qingxia 1989l:10.4.16
	ʃiŋ[35]**a̱u**[55]	nit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:163.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	a[21] **u**[55]	egg	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	a[21]**u**[55]	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.30
	a[21]**u**[55]	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.42

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***u**[3]	egg	Bradley 1979b:86; Hansson 1989:493
Lolopho	**fv̩**[33]	egg (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:10.4.16

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**fv̩**[33]	lay (egg); egg (of animal)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987; Dai Qingxia 1989c:10.4.16
	fv̩[33]	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.47
Lalo	de-**fu**	testicle	Björverud 1994
	fu	egg	Björverud 1994
	fu̱[33]	egg (of animal)	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.16
Lipho	dɛ[33]**fu**[33]	testicle	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.5
	fu[33]	egg	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.16
Nesu	der[21] **fu**[21]	testicle	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.5
	fu[21]	egg (of animal)	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.16
Nusu (Central)	**u**[33]	lay egg	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2363.
	u[31]	egg	Dai Qingxia 1989p:573.
	u[31]	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**u̱**[31]	egg	Dai Qingxia 1989o:573.
	u̱[31] **u̱**[35]	lay egg	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2363.
Nusu (Northern)	**ɦu**[31]	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɹɑ[31]**ʔu**[31]	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.45
Nusu (Central)	ɹɑ̱[31] **ʔu**[31]	egg	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ʂɑ[55]**u**[31]	nit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:163.45
Nusu (Southern)	**ʔu**[31]	egg	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ʔu**[55]	egg	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ʔu**[55]	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ʔu**[55] ɑ[55]	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ʔu**[55]ɑ[55]	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.45
Yi (Dafang)	**fɒ**[33]	sit on (egg)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Mojiang)	**fu**[21]	egg; lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.26; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**xu**[33]	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.37
	xu[33]	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.24
	xu̱[33]; **fu̱**[33]	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**fu**[33]	egg; lay (egg)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.23; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.23
Yi (Weishan)	**fu̱**[33]	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.36
Yi (Xide)	**vu̱**[33]	hatch	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**vu**[33]	egg	Dai Qingxia 1989h:604
	vu[31]	incubate	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1899
	vu[31] pʰo[44]	incubate	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1899.1
Jinuo (Youle)	**vu**[42]	sit on (egg)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**vu**[44]	hatch (an egg)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	vu[44]	hatch, incubate (v.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**vu**[44]	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.44
Jinuo (Baka)	**v̩**[33]	egg	Dai Qingxia 1989i:604
	v̩[31]	incubate	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1899
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	ʃe[31] **u**[33]	nit	Dai Qingxia 1989h:441
Jinuo (Baka)	ʃl̩[31] **v̩**[33]	nit	Dai Qingxia 1989i:441
Jinuo	ɑ[33]**vu**[33]	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.34
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ[44] **vu**[33]	egg	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	ɣa33 **v33**	(chicken) egg	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***u:**	egg	Bradley 1979b:86
Lahu (Black)	nī-sī-**u**	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	nī-**u**-tɛ́	testicle	Matisoff 1987

[a] Note the reduction to schwa in WB **lə**.

	se^{33}**u**^{33}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.33
	u	egg; lay an egg	Matisoff 1987
	u^{33}	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.33
	v̩^{33}	lay (egg)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} **v̩**^{33}	egg	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ̀-**u**	egg	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-**u u** ve	lay an egg	Matisoff 1988a:135
Lahu (Yellow)	**u**^{33}	lay (egg)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31} **u**^{33}	egg	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a^{21}ɡɤ^{21}ma^{33}**fu**^{33}	egg capsule of mantis	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}ɣa^{55}**fu**^{33}	chicken egg	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	e^{55} **fu̱**^{44}	egg	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	e^{55}**fu**^{44}	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.27
Lisu (Putao)	**fo**^{3}	egg; tuber; testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
Lisu (Northern)	**fu**^{33}	egg; spawn; reproduce (N, V.)	Bradley 1994
	fu^{33}ɡɔ^{21}	rotten egg	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**fu**^{44}	lay (egg)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**fu**^{44}	lay (egg)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:785.27
	hu^{3}	egg	Bradley 1979b:86
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**hu**^{3}	egg; tuber; testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
Lisu (Central)	**hu**^{3}	egg	Fraser 1922
	hu^{3}	lay (as egg) (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	hɤ^{33}**fu**^{33}	egg of a louse	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**fu**^{33}	egg; spawn (N.)	Bradley 1994
	la^{55}**fu**^{33}	testicle (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	xɯ^{44}**fu**^{44}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.27
Lisu (Northern)	ɔ̃^{33}**fu**^{33}	goose egg	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}**fu**^{33}	chicken egg	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}**fu**^{33} kɔ^{55}ɡɔ^{21}	empty shell of chicken egg	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}**fu**^{33}ɡɔ^{21}	bad egg; rotten egg	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}**fu**^{33}kɔ^{55}	shell of chicken egg	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}**fu**^{33}phu^{33}	egg white	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}**fu**^{33}ʃɻ^{33}	egg yolk	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	ja-**uq**	egg	Hansson 1989:493
Akha	leh$_{ˆ}$ **u**^{ˆ}	scrotum	Matisoff 1987
	leh$_{ˆ}$ **u**^{ˆ} leh$_{ˆ}$ si$_{ˇ}$	scrotum	Lewis 1989
	uq	egg	Hansson 1989:493
Akha (Yunnan)	xha **wuq**	egg	Hansson 1989:493 [a]
Akha	ya u^{ˆ} u^{ˆ} **eu**	chicken's egg (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	hlə̌ **ʔu**^{33}	testicles	Bradley 1979b
	lɛ̀ **ʔu**	testicles	Beaudouin 1988:15
	ʔaŋ **ʔu**	egg; egg (animal)	Bradley 199x; Beaudouin 1988:2
	ʔu	egg	Bradley 1979b
Hani (Lüchun)	á **wu**	egg	Hansson 1989:493
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{55} **u̱**^{33}	egg	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.31
	na^{31} **u̱**^{33}	earlobe	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	se^{55}**u̱**^{33}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.31
	u̱^{33}	sit on, hatch (egg); hatch	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.31
Hani (Lüchun)	(xa^{33}) **u̱**^{33}	egg (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	se^{55}**v̩**^{33}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.30
Hani (Pijo)	**vu**	egg	Hansson 1989:493
Hani (Caiyuan)	**v̩**^{33}	egg	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.30
	v̩̄^{33}	sit on, hatch (egg)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	v̱^{33}	hatch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.30
Hani (Pijo)	ɔ̀ **vu**	egg	Hansson 1989:493
Hani (Gelanghe)	**u̱**^{33}	egg; sit on, hatch (egg)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	al **wuv**	egg	Hansson 1989:493 [b]
Hani (Shuikui)	a^{55} **v̩̄**^{33}	egg	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	a^{55}**v̱**^{33}	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.32
	v̩̄$^{33'}$	sit on, hatch (egg)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	v̱^{33}	hatch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.32
	ʃɛ^{55}**v̱**^{33}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.32
Hani (Khatɯ)	à **vu**	egg	Hansson 1989:493
	vu	egg	Hansson 1989:493
Hani (Mojiang)	(xa^{33}) **v̱**^{33}	egg (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.42
Mpi	**ʔuʔ**^{4}	egg	Bradley 1979b; Hansson 1989:493
Côông [Phunoi]	hə-**ʔuʔ**	egg	Matisoff 1987
	hə^{33} **ʔuʔ**^{33}	egg	Bradley 1977
	shɛ̀ **ʔu**	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	s^{h}ɛ^{11} **ʔu**^{33}	testicles	Bradley 1977
	ʔuʔ	egg	Bradley 1979b
Pyen	ja33 **ʔu33**	egg	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:042031
	ʔaŋ33 **ʔu33**	egg	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:022010
Sila	a33 **u̱33**	egg	KATO Takashi 2008:104

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**ɷ**^{33}	egg	Pelkey 2011:158
	ʑɛ^{33}**ɷ**^{33}mɔ^{21}	chicken egg	Pelkey 2011:159
Southern Muji	**ɣə**^{21}	egg	Pelkey 2011:158
	ʑɛ^{33}**ɣə**^{21}	chicken egg	Pelkey 2011:159
Phola	**u**^{33}qɛ^{31}	shell (egg, etc)	Pelkey 2011:241
	u^{55}	egg	Pelkey 2011:158
	ɣɑ^{33}**u**^{55}	chicken egg	Pelkey 2011:159
Phuza	**ɣə**^{33}	egg	Pelkey 2011:158
	ʑi^{55}**ɣə**^{33}	chicken egg	Pelkey 2011:159

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	æ˩ʁvʌ	egg	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	a^{31}**o**^{13}	egg	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Bai (Bijiang)	**ue**^{ɪ44}	hatch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.37
Bai (Dali)	**vu̱**^{44}	sit on (egg)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	v̩u^{44}	hatch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**vu̱**^{44}	sit on (egg)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	vu^{44}	hatch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.36

[a] Akha **xha** 'animal'.
[b] Hani final **-v** is a tonemark in this transcription.

Chinese comparandum

嫗 OC ***ʔi̱u***, *GSR* #122o 'sit on eggs, incubate, warm (v.) with the body'; Schuessler 2007:590 ***ʔoʔ***; B & S 2011: (***qoʔ***); Mand. **yù** ~ **yǔ**.

(1b) PTB *pu EGG

This morpheme appears in cognate object constructions, e.g. Bengni **pɯ-pɯ pɯ** 'lay an egg', where the last element is the verb. The noun looks reduplicated in Bengni, but Apatani has **pa-pu** 'egg', with apparently distinct components. Similar cognate objects are characteristic of PTB ***ʔu*** EGG / BIRD (§1.9.1), e.g. Lahu **ɔ̀-u u ve** 'lay an egg', where the noun appears with a prefix.

This root may well be related to a morpheme with a more general meaning of BALL / EGG / ROUND OBJECT (PTB ***pu***).

1.1.1. TANI: ***pɯ*** EGG

**Tani*	***pɯ***	egg	Sun 1993a:122

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI [a]

Apatani	pa-**pu**	egg	Sun 1993a
	pà-**pu**	egg	Sun 1993b
	pa-**pu**	egg	Sun 1993b
	pa-**pu** a-ljo	white of egg	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	pa-**pu** ha-jã	yolk	Sun 1993b
	pa-**pu** ha-jaŋ	yolk	Sun 1993b
	pà-**pu** pa-xu	egg shell	Sun 1993b
	pù	lay egg	Sun 1993b
	ta-tɯʔ pa-**pu**	frog egg	Sun 1993b
	^{2}pa ^{1}**pu**	egg	Weidert 1987:555
Bengni	pɯ-**pɯ**	egg	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**pɯ** pɯ	lay egg	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(pɯ **pɯ**) **pɯː**	lay (eggs) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1718.24
	a **pɯ**	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.24
	a **pɯ** pɯ	bear (fruit) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1439.24
	a-**pɯ**	fruit	Sun 1993b
	a-**pɯ** pɯ	bear fruit (v.)	Sun 1993b
	gum **pɯ**	uvula (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0140.24
	pɯ **pɯ**	egg (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.24
	pɯ-**pɯ**	egg	Sun 1993a
	pɯ-**pɯː**	egg	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**pɯː** pɯː	lay (egg)	Sun 1993b
	ə-**pɯ**	ball	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **pɯ**	ball	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:501.51
	pɯ **pɯː**	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.51
	pɯː	lay (egg)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:785.51
	pɯ jak	hen's egg	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	pɯ **pɯː**	egg	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	a **pɯ**	fruit	Das Gupta 1963
	a **pɤ**	fruit	Das Gupta 1963
	pi-**pɤ**	egg	Das Gupta 1963
	piː **pi**	egg	Das Gupta 1963
	'a **pə**	fruit (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'a **pə**-'a hee	fruit (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'pɨ **pə**	egg (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ɨk **pə**	louse egg (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆɯt-tum `**a** pɤ	testicle	Weidert 1987:617a
	`pɯ **pɤ**	egg	Weidert 1987:555
Tagin	a **pɯ**	fruit	Das Gupta 1983
	pɯ **pɯ**	egg	Das Gupta 1983
	pɯ **pɯ** pik nam	lay (egg) (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**pui**	egg	Matisoff 1987
	a-**pɯ**	egg	Sun 1993a
	mik-**pui**	eyeball ("eye-egg")	Matisoff 1987
	tum-**pui**	pui = egg 'be with child' ?	Matisoff 1987
Damu	cok-**pɯ** xɯm	lay egg	Sun 1993b
	rok-**pɯ**	egg	Sun 1993b
	təp-**pɯ**	testicle	Sun 1993b

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Moyon	**bʌ** thí	testicle	Kosha 1990:10.3.5

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**bu** ri khaw	testicle	Singh 1991:10.3.5

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***phV**	egg	Opgenort 2011

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Sunwar	bo-**phu**	egg	Matisoff 1987

3.2. QIANGIC

Mɯya [Minyak]	t^{h}ɯ^{31}**bu**^{53}	testicle	SUN Hongkai 1991h:10.3.5
Qiang (Mawo)	**bʌ**^{ɪ}	testicle	SUN Hongkai 1991g:10.3.5
Qiang (Yadu)	**bə**^{ɪ}	testicles	DAI Qingxia 1989q:145

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	ta **bo** ɕi	testicle	DAI Qingxia 1989d:10.3.5

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**phɯe**^{21}	hatch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.38

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**bɯ**^{55} be^{35}	testicles	DAI Qingxia 1989o:142.

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	**pho**^{55}	hatch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.34

7. KARENIC

Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	dɪ̱^{31} **bo̱**^{33}	testicles	DAI Qingxia 1989k:145.1

[a] The first elements in the Bengni, Bokar, Galo, and Tagin forms are either morphemes meaning 'bird' or 'chicken' (cf. Damu **rok-pɯ**, where **rok** clearly < ***k-rak** 'chicken'), or else reduplications of the root.

Chinese comparandum

孵 OC ***p'i̱ôg*** 'to hatch (eggs), incubate' ZJH; not in *GSR* #1233; Li 1971: **(*phjəgw)**; Baxter 1992: **(*ph(r)ju)**; Mand. **fū**.

The earliest attested use of this Chinese character seems to be the Han Dynasty work *Fangyan*. However, it is clearly a later graphic variant of 孚, Mand. **fú**, which is attested writing 'hatch'. Thus although the character may be of later development, the word itself obviously existed at the Old Chinese time period.

Characters with the 孚 phonetic are generally placed in the OC 幽 Yōu rhyme group. However, some members of this phonetic series are found in the Middle Chinese 虞 Yú rhyme, which is not regularly derivable from the OC 幽 Yōu group.

Neither Li nor Baxter specifically discusses the difficulties of reconstructing this set of characters. Baxter (1992:757) does however list a reconstruction for 孚 (square brackets represent irregular development): 孚 **[fú]** < **[phju]** < ***ph(r)ju**. It is treated as an irregular development from the OC 幽 Yōu group into the MC 虞 Yú rhyme. I have therefore provided a parallel reconstruction for 孵 in the systems of Li and Baxter.

Karlgren reconstructs other characters in this phonetic series with ***-ug** (equivalent to the OC 侯 **Hóu** rhyme group), which yields a regular development into MC. However, I have provided a Karlgren-system reconstruction based on the assumption that the word belongs in the 幽 Yōu rhyme group.

The OC-PTB correspondence of finals is regular. PTB ***-u** and ***-əw** phonemically differ only in length, and show identical OC correspondences. In open syllables the long vowel ***-əw** (which could be written /uw/ or /uː/) is more common, and so cognate sets exemplifying this correspondence usually involve that vowel. Examples include 九 'nine' (TB ***d-kəw**, OC ***kjəgw**; Mand. **jiǔ**), 鳩 'dove/pigeon' (TB ***khəw**, OC ***kjəgw**; Mand. **jiū**) and PTB ***r/m-bu** ≷ ***pru** NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA (§1.9.6) (elsewhere in this volume). It is interesting to note that this correspondence seems to be attested only after grave initials.

As for the mismatch in aspiration of the OC and PTB initials, this raises the broader issue of voicing and aspiration within and across Chinese and TB. PTB is reconstructed with a two-way voicing contrast (e.g. ***p** vs. ***b**), while Old Chinese is reconstructed with a three-way voicing and aspiration contrast (e.g. ***p** vs. ***ph** vs. ***b**). Voicing and aspiration correspondences between cognates are notoriously imprecise. This is because of various complex morphological processes, not yet entirely understood, at play in word families on both sides, which can affect voicing and aspiration. On the Chinese side, it has become increasingly clear in recent decades that prefixal elements, such as ***s-** and various nasals, can voice or devoice root initials. (See for example Baxter and Sagart 1998, Sagart 1999, and Gong 2000.) It has also been argued that Chinese aspiration is mostly, or entirely, a secondary feature. (See Schuessler 2007:58ff for a recent articulation of this view.) Similar processes have been observed in various TB languages and posited for PTB. Because not all of these processes are fully understood, and because of the complex history of individual words and word families, it is not always possible to be sure that one is comparing etymological roots, rather than derived forms, in established OC/PTB cognate sets.

For this reason the correspondence of PTB ***p-*** with OC ***ph-***, for the comparison under discussion here, must be considered regular, with the assumption that aspiration in the Chinese form is a secondary development. Similarly, mismatches in voicing or aspiration will not be considered impediments in the proposal of Chinese comparanda for PTB etyma elsewhere in this volume. We assume, ultimately, that PTB voiceless initials correspond to Chinese voiceless initials, and that PTB voiced initials correspond to Chinese voiced initials, and that as our understanding of morphological processes on each side improves, these patterns of correlation will become more evident.
[ZJH]

(1c) PTB *pu BALL / EGG / ROUND OBJECT

These forms are undoubtedly related to those meaning "egg", but have acquired or retained the more general meaning of BALL / SMALL ROUND OBJECT. This morpheme appears in several compound body part terms like "eyeball" and perhaps "head" (cf. PTB ***d-bu-s*** HEAD / CENTER / SENIOR MALE RELATIVE / UNCLE (§1.2.1)). See also the discussion under PTB ***pʷam*** BELLY / STOMACH / WAIST (§1.9.6), where this morpheme occurs as second element in compounds. Also probably reflecting this same etymon is "shoulder" PTB ***baw*** SHOULDER (§1.4.3).

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	ñik-**pɯ**	eyeball	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	mik **pɯ**	eyeball	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	mik-**pɯ**	eyeball	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	**po**^{55}lo^{55}	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.50
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Sema [Sumi]	avela ye **pu**	evening star	Achumi 1998b:2.42
	a ye **pu**	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a ye **pu**	star	Achumi 1998b:2.4
	inaqhe ye **pu**	morning star	Achumi 1998b:2.43
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	lem **phu**	top of head; crown; pate; skull	Singh 1991:2.2; Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**po**^{31}luŋ^{55}	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.47
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**po**^{55}lo^{13}	ball	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	po lo	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**pu**^{55}lu^{55}	ball	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	meʔ^{53} priː^{13} **pu**^{53}	eyeball	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	po^{55}lo^{53}	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.6
	ɬa^{55} **pu**^{53}	eye	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Balti)	**po:lo**·	ball	Rangan 1975:22 [a]
	po lo·	ball	Rangan 1975:54
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**po**^{55}lo^{53}	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**po**^{53}lo^{13}	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.2
Tibetan (Written)	**spo** lo	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.1
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	miq **phu**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	mĩq **pʰũ**	eyeball	Glover 1972:2.A.23
3.2. Qiangic			
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**pa**^{55}lo^{55}	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.16
5. Tujia			
Tujia	a^{35} bo^{55} **bu**^{21}	head	Chen Kang 1986d:2.1
	a^{35} la^{55} **bu**^{21}	eyeball	Chen Kang 1986d:3.4.2
Tujia (Northern)	lo^{35} **pu**^{35}	eye	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	lo^{35} **pu**^{35} pie^{55} tsʰe^{21}	tears	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	lo^{35} **pu**^{55}	eye	Chen Kang 1986c:3.4
	lo^{35} **pu**^{55} pɯe^{55} tsʰe^{21}	tears	Chen Kang 1986c:3.4.6
	lo^{35} **pu**^{55} tʰa^{55} pʰa^{21}	eyelid	Chen Kang 1986c:3.4.1
	lo^{35}**pu**^{55}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.49
	lo^{35}**pu**^{55}	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.38
Tujia (Northern)	luo2**bu1**	eye (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**bɔ**^{55}lõ^{55}	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.40
Maru [Langsu]	**pɔ**^{33}luŋ^{55}	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**po**^{21}luŋ^{51}	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nasu	o^{33} **bu**^{55}	skull	Chen Kang 1986b:2.4
Nusu (Central)	u^{33} **pʰu**^{55} guᴟ^{53}	bald person	Dai Qingxia 1989p:246.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	u^{31} **pʰu**^{55}	head	Dai Qingxia 1989o:96.
Nusu (Central)	u^{31} **pʰu**^{55}	head	Dai Qingxia 1989p:96.; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	u^{31} **pʰu**^{55} tɕʰɚ^{35}	bald person	Dai Qingxia 1989o:246.
Nusu (Central)	u^{31}**phu**^{55}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	u^{31}**phu**^{55}	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.45
Nusu (Northern)	ʔo^{31} **pʰu**^{55}	head	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	ʔo^{31} **pʰu**^{55}	head	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	la^{13} **bɯ**^{21}	shoulder	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.22
Yi (Mojiang)	lɛ^{21}**pʰu**^{33}	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.26
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	nɐ^{33} **bu̱**^{33} tsʻɛ^{22}	eyebrow	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.4.3
	o^{55} kǫ^{33} **bu**^{55}	skull	Luo Meizhen 1990:2.4
Lahu (Black)	mêʔ-qha-**phu**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987:DL 1022
	ú-**phu**	head (in idioms)	Matisoff 1988a:115
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	**pu**ɨ**pu**ɨ	ball	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**pu**^{33}**pu**^{33}	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.29
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	mi^{33} bua^{33} **pʰo**^{55}	eyeball	Dai Qingxia 1989k:104.1
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	ŋuĩ^{33} **pʰǫ**^{44}	eye	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.4

[a] This Balti word is the source of English *polo*!

(2a) PTB *d(w)əy EGG / TESTICLE

Especially in Himalayish and the NE Indian Areal Group, it is often difficult to distinguish ***d(w)əy*** from its probable co-allofam PTB ***d(i/u)l*** EGG / TESTICLE (§1.9.1). Thus, Kulung **wa-di** ("bird + egg") looks like Tangsa (N.Naga) **wu-di**, Karbi **vo-ti**, etc., but other Kiranti languages (e.g. Limbu, Athpare) have reflexes with **-n**, apparently from ***-l***. Kanauri, Lepcha, and Tibetan retain **-l**. For now, we are assigning all Himalayish reflexes of this word-family to ***dil***, though a better Proto-Himalayish reconstruction would be ***di-l***. Similarly, some languages of the NE Indian Areal Group retain overt reflexes of ***-l***, but many have forms with open syllables. Our assignment of some NE Indian forms to PTB ***d(w)əy*** EGG / TESTICLE (§1.9.1) rather than PTB ***d(i/u)l*** EGG / TESTICLE (§1.9.1) remains arbitrary.

Benedict 1939:225 ("Semantic differentiation in Indo-Chinese") analyzed compounds like Lushai (Mizo) **ar-tui** 'egg' as "bird + water". *STC* postulates a connection between ***twəy*** 'egg' (*STC* #168) and a general root ***ti(y)*** 'water; moist' (*STC* #55 and pp. 45, 135, 196). (This latter root should actually be set up as PTB ***m-t(w)əy-n ≍ *m-ti-s*** WATER / FLUID / LIQUID / RIVER / SOAK / SPIT (§1.9.9).[*] The proposed connection between EGG and WATER is complicated by the related forms for EGG with final ***-l***. *STC* (n. 149) admits that Dhimal has different forms for EGG (**tui**) and WATER (**tśi**), and yet a third form in **hna-thi** 'snot'. Elsewhere in *STC* (p. 135, discussing the Karen cognates; and p. 196, in connection with the putative two-tone contrast for PTB), Benedict suggests that the etyma for EGG and WATER do indeed descend from separate allofams, different in both tone and initial at the PTB stage.

There is a further semantic connection between EGG and HEEL (both being smooth and rounded). Cf. Lushai (Mizo) **ar-tui** 'egg' (perhaps "bird-water", **ke-ar-tui** 'heel' ("foot-egg", i.e. "foot-bird-water"). The syllable **-ar-** must be bleached of all avian meaning by the time it gets incorporated into HEEL. See Matisoff 1994 ("How 'dull' can you get?"), which also brings BUTTOCK into the same network of semantic associations as HEEL.

The putative semantic connection between BIRD and WATER is strengthened by compounds of BIRD with other roots for WATER, e.g. < PTB ***r/s/g-wa*** WATER / RAIN (§1.2.6) (Tangkhul **tara** 'water', **har-ra** 'egg' (**har** 'bird'), **hai-ra** 'semen').[*] Less clear, but possibly a parallel formation is Muya **vɑ**^{33} **vɑ**^{55} 'egg' (**vɑ**^{33} 'bird'). Cf. also Maring **wa-yui** 'egg', with the second element < PTB ***rəy*** WATER / LIQUID / BODILY FLUID (§1.9.9).

This root is widely distributed, appearing in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, Jingpho-Asakian, Karen, and Qiangic (including Tangut), and perhaps in a few Loloish forms (Xide, Nosu) where the initial is palatalized to an affricate.

Seven forms from four Luish [Asakian] languages (Sak Bawtala, Sak Dodem, Ganan, Kadu) cited in Luce 1985 (Chart L) have the confusing gloss 'Penis/Testicles'. Since there are two phonologically similar etyma in this area, ***ti*** EGG/TESTICLE and PTB ***ti-k*** PENIS (§1.9.7), these forms have presented serious problems of analysis, and have been reglossed to mean either 'penis' or 'testicle', but not both. See Etymon Note under PTB ***ti-k***, below.

See *HPTB* ***twəy ≍ *dwəy*** 'water; egg', p. 195.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***twiy**	egg	Michailovsky 1991:55
	***twəy**	water / egg / spit	Mortensen 2012
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	ci-**ci**	egg	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	a: **tei**	egg	NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987
	grõ-**ti**	heel	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	gɹoŋ^{53} **ti**^{55}	heel	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	klembab a: **tei**	egg of duck	NEFA (India) 1963
	tyu a: **tei**	egg of hen	NEFA (India) 1963
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ɗu(u)y ≍ *tu(u)y** EGG			
**Chin*	***ɗu(u)y** ≍ tu(u)y	EGG	VanBik 2009:79
Thanphum	tə̆ **dui**^{1}	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	ah **tui**	egg (of animal)	Haokip 1998:10.4.16
Paite	aak **tui**	egg (aak 'chicken')	VanBik 2009:79
Sizang	āk **tuī**	egg	VanBik 2009:79
Thado	**túuy**	egg	VanBik 2009:79
Tiddim	**tui**^{2}	egg	VanBik 2009:79
	tui^{1}	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
	tuːi^{2}	egg	Bhaskararao 1996:1845
	`tuːi	egg (n.)	Henderson 1965
	`tuːi	egg	Matisoff 1987
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**atoi**	egg	VanBik 2009:79
Chinbon	ạ **ti**$^{i?}$	egg	So-Hartmann 1988:47
Cho (Mindat)	**am tui**	egg	VanBik 2009:79
Daai	**ʔtú**^{i}	egg	So-Hartmann 1988:47
Khumi	ák **dúuy**	chicken's egg	VanBik 2009:79
	kduúy	egg	VanBik 2009:79
	kᵊ **du**^{i}	egg	So-Hartmann 1988:47
Awa Khumi	yã^{3}**dü**^{2}	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
Khumi (Bangladesh)	**kduy**	testicles	Peterson 2008
	yaang **kduy**	male genitals ("penis + testicles")	Peterson 2008
Matu	aː^{i} **du**^{i}	egg	So-Hartmann 1988:47
Mkaang	aː^{i} **tu**^{i}	egg	So-Hartmann 1988:47
Ngmüün	am **tu**^{i}**ʔ**	egg	So-Hartmann 1988:47
Nyhmoye	aŋ **tui**	egg	So-Hartmann 1988:47
Wakung	a **dý**	egg	So-Hartmann 1988:47
Womatu	yak^{1}**tui**^{4}	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tîi**	egg	VanBik 2009:79
Lai (Falam)	**tĭi**	egg	VanBik 2009:79
Lai (Hakha)	**ti**^{5}	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
Lushai [Mizo]	ar **tui**	egg	Marrison 1967
	ke-ar-**tui**	heel ("foot-chicken-egg")	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:45n149; Marrison 1967
	ke-aːr-**tui**	heel	Bhaskararao 1996:760
	tui	egg	Matisoff 1987
	túi	egg, spawn	VanBik 2009:79
	tui	egg	Bhaskararao 1996:1845
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lailenpi	a´**ti**^{1}-	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
Lakher [Mara]	**tì**	egg (n.)	VanBik 2009:79
	ti-pao	elephantiasis of testicles	Matisoff 1987
	ti-tla	bereft of testicles	Matisoff 1987
Zotung	**tjui**^{4}	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	ər **tui**	egg (of animal)	Toba & Kom 1991:10.4.16
Moyon	bʌ **thí**	testicle	Kosha 1990:10.3.5
Sorbung	ar-**tɯ**	egg	Brown 1837
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Yacham-Tengsa	u **tü**	egg	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	maka **tui**	egg	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	kə **dui**	egg	Matisoff 1994e
	ma-ka-**tui**	egg	Brown 1837
	roi **dui**	egg	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***di̱** EGG			
**Tangkhulic*	***di̱**	egg	Mortensen 2012:393
Champhung	ŋo-**ri**	egg	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-ho-**pʰə**-ruk	egg	Mortensen 2012:Animals.122
Kachai	har-**ði**	egg (of animal)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.309
Tankghul (Central)	a-**tɯ**	egg	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	ha-**cɯ**	egg	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ha-**rɯ**	egg	Brown 1837
Tusom	uə-**tsy**	egg	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.321
Ukhrul	hɐr-**ru**	egg	Mortensen 2012
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	kèng-**tì**	heel	Grüssner 1979:42
	keng **ti**	heel ("foot-egg")	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	keŋ-**ti**	heel	Benedict 1972:45n149
	ti	egg	Matisoff 1987
	tì	egg (of animal); testicle	Grüssner 1979:88; Grüssner 1979:88

[*] See also PTB ***(r/w)a** SEMEN (§1.9.9).

[*] See also *LTSR* #109 ***N/ʔ-tit/k** 'soak; saturate'.

	vo **ti**	egg	Marrison 1967
	wō a-**tì**	egg (of animal)	Grüssner 1979:217
	wò-**tī**	egg (of animal)	Grüssner 1979:glossary p
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
**Bodo-Garo*	*dauʔ-**dəi**	egg	Burling 1959:441
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	bi-**dəy**	egg	Matisoff 1987; Bhat 1968
	dauʔ-**dəi**	egg	Matisoff 1987
	daw **dáy**	egg; egg (hen's)	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
Dimasa	dao **di**	egg	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	bə-**təy**	egg	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	tauʔ-**təy**	egg	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	tu **di**	egg	Balawan 1965:78
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	doʔ-**ci**	egg	Matisoff 1987; Weidert 1987:1190
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	*(C-)wa(w) **təy**	egg	French 1983
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	(a) **ti**	egg	French 1983:481
	a **ti**	egg	Marrison 1967
	^{1}ʌ^{2}**ti**	its egg; egg	Weidert 1987:1190; Weidert 1987:896
Tangsa	^{1}vu^{1}**ṭʌi**	egg	Weidert 1987:896
Tangsa (Moshang)	wu **di**	egg	French 1983:481; Benedict 1972:45n149; Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	au **tei**	egg ("bird-egg")	French 1983:481; Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	ʌu **ji**	egg	Weidert 1987:896
Phom	a **ti**	egg	French 1983:459; Marrison 1967
Wancho	ao **ti**	egg	Marrison 1967
	tau-**ci**	egg	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ **ti**	egg	French 1983:481
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**di**	egg	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:45n149
	ne-**di**	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	ne^{31}**ti^{31}**	scrotum (n.)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ti	egg	Marrison 1967
	ti^{31}	egg	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ti^{31}	egg (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.19
	ti^{31}	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.47
	^{1}u^{1}**di**	egg	Weidert 1987:896
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Ganan	kăpɔ^{3} **ti^{1}**	testicles	Luce 1985:L.149
	ti^{1}	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
Kadu (Kantu)	kăpɔt^{3} **ti^{1}**	testicles	Luce 1985:L.149
Kadu	**ti^{1}**	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
	u-**di**	egg	Matisoff 1987
Sak (Bawtala)	ă^{1}**tji^{4}**	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
	ă tji^{2} **tu^{4}**	testicles	Luce 1985:L.149
Sak	wa-**tí**	egg	Matisoff 1987
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	l **dai^{1}**	testicle	Sofronov c1978 [a]
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mawo)	**zdi**	hatch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.8
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nosu	**tɕhi^{21}**	egg	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.16
Yi (Xide)	**tɕhi^{21}**	egg (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.35
	tɕhi^{21}	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.21
	tɕ^{h}i^{21}	egg	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979; CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	tɕ^{h}i^{21}-tɕ^{h}u^{33}	egg white	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

7. KARENIC: *ʔdej^{B} EGG

**Karen*	***díq**	egg	Jones 1961:81
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***dìq**	egg	Jones 1961:81
**Karen (Pwo)*	***díq**	egg	Jones 1961:81
**Karen (TP)*	***díq**	egg	Jones 1961:81
**Karen [Burling]*	***di^{2}**	egg	Luangthongkum 2013:99
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***díʔ**	egg	Jones 1961:81
**Karen*	***ʔdej^{B}**	egg	Luangthongkum 2013:99 [b]
	***ʔdi**	egg	Benedict 1972:135n367
Bwe	**-dī^{33}**	egg	Luangthongkum 2013:99
	dè-**ʔdì**	egg	Weidert 1987:896
	đi	egg; testicle (n.)	Henderson 1997
	đi	lay an egg (v.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**đi^{2}**	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
Geba	**di^{2}**	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
Karen	**di̱^{31}**	egg (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.50
	di̱^{31}khli̱^{55}	testicle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0117.50
Kayah	**də^{11}**	egg	Luangthongkum 2013:99
Kayan	**ti^{11}**	egg	Luangthongkum 2013:99
Kayaw	**di^{11}**	egg	Luangthongkum 2013:99
Pa-O	**dí**	egg; lay eggs	Weidert 1987:896; Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:81
	dí khū	testicle	Solnit 1989
	dí póŋ	testicle (3)	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**di^{33}**	egg	Luangthongkum 2013:99
Pa-O (Northern)	**di^{1}**	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
	di^{55}	egg	Luangthongkum 2013:99
Paku	**đi^{3}**	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
Palaychi	**dìq**	egg	Jones 1961:81
Pwo (Northern)	**dei^{33}**	egg	Luangthongkum 2013:99
Pwo (Southern)	**dei^{55}**	egg	Luangthongkum 2013:99
Pwo (Tenasserim)	s'ə̆^{4} **đi^{1}**	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
Pwo (Delta)	s'ə̆ **đi^{4}**	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
Pwo (Bassein)	**dì**	egg	Weidert 1987:896
	díʔ	egg	Jones 1961:81
Pwo (Moulmein)	**díq**	egg	Jones 1961:81
	díʔ	egg	Weidert 1987:896
Sgaw (Northern)	**di$^{31~}$**	egg	Luangthongkum 2013:99
Sgaw (Southern)	**di^{45,}**	egg	Luangthongkum 2013:99
Sgaw	**^{2}ʔdi**	egg	Weidert 1987:896
	đi^{4}	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80
Sgaw (Bassein)	**dì**	egg	Jones 1961:81
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a^{31} **di̱^{31}**	egg	DAI Qingxia 1989k:573.1
	di̱^{31}	egg	DAI Qingxia 1989k:573
	di̱^{31} bo̱^{33}	testicles	DAI Qingxia 1989k:145.1
	di̱^{31} k^{h}li̱^{55}	testicles	DAI Qingxia 1989k:145
	di̱^{55} glo^{31} **di̱^{31}**	castrate	DAI Qingxia 1989k:2303.1 [c]
	ts^{h}ɔ^{55} **di̱^{31}** lɔ^{33}	lay egg	DAI Qingxia 1989k:2468.1
	xu̱^{55} **di̱^{31}**	incubate	DAI Qingxia 1989k:1899.1
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**díʔ**	egg	Jones 1961:81
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**di̱^{31}**	lay egg; egg	DAI Qingxia 1989j:2468; DAI Qingxia 1989j:604
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d'i̱ər/d̂'i**	egg (of an ant)	Karlgren 1957:590m
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**ch'ï**	egg (of an ant)	Karlgren 1957:590m

[a]Note the reduced Tangut **l-**.
[b][Source Note] Kayan has an irregular onset, i.e. t- instead of d-.
[c]The first element **di̱^{55}** must be the verb, since Karen is a VO language.

Chinese comparandum

蚳 OC ***d'i̱ər** *GSR* #590m, 'ant egg'; Li 1971: **(*drjid)**; Baxter 1992: **(*drjɨj)**; Mand. **chí**.

This rare character does not appear in Li or Baxter. However, reconstruction in either system is not in doubt based on reconstruction of other characters with the same phonetic and identical Middle Chinese pronunciation (e.g. Baxter 1992:750 坻 < **drij** < ***drjɨj** (Mand. **chí**)). But it is worth noting that at least one character with the same phonetic is placed in the 微 Wēi group by Baxter and reconstructed with ***-ij**: 鴟 **tsyhij** < ***thjij** (Mand. **chī**), presumably because it is found rhyming with a 微 Wēi group word (*Shijing* 24.3A). If this character is not simply an exception, then according to Baxter's rhyme group division, characters with the same phonetic are spread across the two rhyme groups. In the absence of rhyming evidence, ***drjij** is also a possible reconstruction for 蚳 in Baxter's system.

Assuming the semantics are not problematic,[*] the correspondences are quite sound. Examples of OC ***-id** (Li 1971) corresponding to TB ***-əy** are numerous, and include 死 OC ***sjid** 'die' (Li), TB ***səy**, Mand. **sǐ**; 四 OC ***sjid** 'four' (Li), TB ***b-ləy**, Mand. **sì**; 屎 OC ***hrjid** 'excrement', TB ***kləy**, Mand. **shǐ**. The TB final ***-i** should not be troubling; we would expect this relatively rare PTB final to correspond to OC in the same way as ***-əy** (in parallel to TB ***-əw** and ***-u**; see the discussion of PTB ***pʷu** EGG / BIRD / ROUND OBJECT (§1.9.1)). On the correspondence of OC medial ***-r-**, see the discussion of 中 under PTB ***(t/d)uŋ ≍ *ts(y)u:ŋ** MIDDLE / CENTER / INSIDE / NAVEL (§1.9.3).
[ZJH]

(2b) PTB *d $\begin{matrix}\text{i}\\\text{u}\end{matrix}$ l EGG / TESTICLE

This etymon is sometimes hard to distinguish from PTB ***d(w)əy** EGG / TESTICLE (§1.9.1), above. It is possible that conflation with an Indo-Aryan root is involved. Jäschke (p. 234) says that WT **thul** is "according to Cunningham a Cashmiri word". The TB cognates are indeed confined to Indospheric branches of TB (NE Indian Areal Group and Himalayish).

Some Himalayish forms for HEEL have an element like **-din-** which look as if they could probably come from this etymon for EGG (see the note on Lushai (Mizo) **ke-ar-tui**): these include Kulung **'dhin-di-ri**, and Thulung and Khaling **din-di-ri**. Yet the suspicious similarity among these forms suggest that they might be loans from Nepali.

This is very likely the same etymon as ***r-tul ≍ *r-til** DULL / BUTTOCK / HEEL / ROUNDED PART (*HPTB* p. 419), cf. WT **rtul-po** 'blunt, dull'; Abor-Miri **ko-dun** 'buttock'; Meithei **mə-thun** 'buttock'; Wancho **chi-dun** 'heel' (**chi** 'foot'); Khözha **šú-dò**; Lisu **khi^{21}du^{21}** 'buttock' (**khi^{21}** 'excrement'); Phunoi **pi^{33}tun^{11}** 'heel'. See Matisoff 1994 ("How 'dull' can you get?"), and the Chinese comparanda, below. The allofam with medial **-i-** is represented by Jingpho **šətīn** 'buttock', **ləthīn** 'heel', and also perhaps by WT ***rtiŋ*-pa** 'heel'.

Benedict apparently had a different theory. He implies a connection between Lushai (Mizo) **til** 'testicle' and Thado **til** 'earthworm; testicle' (cf. also PLB ***di** 'worm' > WB **ti**, Lisu **bi-*di***), which he reconstructs as PTB ***zril** 'worm' (*STC*, n.121, p. 37). Several Chinese comparanda meaning WORM are offered (n.457, p. 171). It must be said, however, that the semantic association between TESTICLE and WORM is a bit obscure.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	ar-**tiŋ**	testicle	Sun 1993b
	ar-**tiŋ** kù	castrate	Sun 1993b
	^{1}ar^{2}**tiŋ**	testicle	Weidert 1987:617a
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *til TESTICLE / SCROTUM			
**Chin*	***til**	TESTICLE / SCROTUM	VanBik 2009:238
Anal	à-**dál**	testicle	Weidert 1987:617b
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**chil** [tsil]	scrotum	VanBik 2009:238
Thado	**tîl**	testicle	VanBik 2009:238
	tíl	testicle	Thirumalai 1972:31
	til cáŋ	testicle	Thirumalai 1972:30
Tiddim	**cil^{1}**	testicle	VanBik 2009:238
	tjɪl^{3}	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
	tsĭl-táŋ	testicle	Weidert 1987:617a
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Matupi	**ti:l^{4}**	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Khualsim	**tɪl^{2}**	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
Lai (Falam)	**tíl**	testicle	VanBik 2009:238
Lai (Hakha)	**til**	testicle	VanBik 2009:238
	til deʔ	fart around lazily	VanBik 1995– [a]
	til^{5}	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
Lushai [Mizo]	**tĭl**	testicle	Weidert 1987:617b
	til	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	tĭl	testicle, scrotum	VanBik 2009:238
	til-mu	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	tɪl^{3}	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**tì**	testicle	VanBik 2009:238
	ti hmô	scrotum	Matisoff 1987
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**θɤ^{3}**-	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
	θɤ^{1}-	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
Mera	**ti^{6}**	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
Tha'oa	**til^{2}**	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
Xongsai	**tɪl^{2}**	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	ǰəŋ **kəti** mu	testicle	Toba & Kom 1991:10.3.5
	kəti kok	scrotum	Toba & Kom 1991:10.3.4
	kəti sem	castrate (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:10.3.9
Moyon	i **tír**	testicle	Kosha 1990:10.3.5
	i **tír** koʔ	scrotum	Kosha 1990:10.3.4
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	mai-**tiŋ**-kha	testicle	Weidert 1987:617a
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**tì** a-thijā	scrotum	Grüssner 1979:88
	ti athija	scrotum	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Lalung [Tiwa]	tu ki ku **thi**	testicle	Balawan 1965:78
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	ri-sip-**il**	testicles	Burling 1992
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	kŏ **ṭöl**	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	kŏ **ṭöl** ŭ pŏṭō	testicle	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	li^{53} **dɐ^{341}**	testicle	SUN Hongkai 1991a:10.3.5
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Balti)	**t^{h}ul**	egg	Rangan 1975:41
	ɣo **t^{h}ul**	testicle	Rangan 1975:59

[a]Literally, "play with one's testicles".

[*]R. S. Cook (1995:63) offers much evidence that the real meaning of *GSR* 590m is 'scorpion'. [JAM]

Tibetan (Written)	**thul**	egg, tuber, testicles; egg	Luce 1985:G.80; Matisoff 1987 [a]

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	a-**tí**	egg	Matisoff 1987
	a-**t'ól**	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	ʔá **tí**	egg (n.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.5. DHIMAL

Dhimal	**tui**	egg	Benedict 1972:45n149

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***diːn**	testicle	Weidert 1987:617b
	***tin**	egg	Michailovsky 1991:55
	***ʔtin**	egg	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	le wa **d̪in**	testicle	Weidert 1987:617b
	thim ma	lay (egg)	Ebert 1997
	thin	egg	Ebert 1997
Limbu	le **thim** ba	testicle	Michailovsky 1989b [b]
	lɛ **dhiːm** ba	testicle ("penis-egg")	Weidert 1987:142; Weidert 1987:617b
	thiːn	egg	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:55
	wā **thin**	egg	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**din**	egg, testicle; egg	Michailovsky 1991:55; Matisoff 1987
	Din	egg	Rai 1985
	din	egg	Rai *et al.* 1984:23
	li-wa-**din**	testicle	Rai *et al.* 1984:46 [c]
	l Ua **Din**	testicle	Rai 1985
	siT **Din**	nit, egg, of louse	Rai 1985
	wa-**din**	chicken egg / egg	Rai *et al.* 1984:72
	wa **Din**	egg of hen	Rai 1985
	wa **d̪in**	chicken egg	Michailovsky 1991:55
	d̪in	egg	Michailovsky 1991:55
Chamling	**daî**	egg	Michailovsky 1991:55
	dAyN	egg	Winter 1985:10
	duî	egg	Michailovsky 1991:55
	wa- **daî** ma	chicken egg	Michailovsky 1991:55
	wa **dAy** ma	chicken egg	Winter 1985:38
Kulung	wa **di**	egg	Michailovsky 1991:55; Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**tiː**	egg, testicle	Michailovsky 1991:55
Khaling	ser **ti**	louse egg (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.088
	ti	egg	Michailovsky 1991:55; Matisoff 1987
	ti mū-ne	lay egg (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.14

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**din**	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	ɓa-**di**	egg	Matisoff 1987
	ʔba **di**	egg	Michailovsky 1991:55
Thulung	**Di**	egg	Allen 1975
	le koak **ti**	testicle	Allen 1975
	d̪i	egg	Michailovsky 1991:55

[a] Jäschke (p. 234) says that "according to Cunningham [this is] a Cashmiri word".
[b] Note assimilation of the medial consonants in Limbu **thim ba**.
[c] Literally "penis + bird + egg" (cf. Athpare **le wa d̪in** 'testicle').

Chinese comparanda

There are several likely Chinese comparanda (*HPTB*:422, 504), including:

臀 OC ***d'wən**, *GSR* #429b-c 'buttocks'
殿 OC ***tiən**, *GSR* #429d 'rear of an army'
沌 OC ***d'wən**, *GSR* #427h 'confused / stupid'
鈍 OC ***d'wən**, *GSR* #427i 'dull'
頓 OC ***twən**, *GSR* #427j 'worn / dull / spoiled'.
[JAM]

As noted above, if this PTB root is related to ***r-tul** ≍ ***r-til** DULL / BUTTOCK / HEEL / ROUNDED PART, then it can be compared to the following Chinese word family (see Coblin 1986:67-68; Gong 1995 #154; *HPTB*:422, 504):

臀 OC ***d'wən**, *GSR* #429b-c 'buttocks'; Li 1971: ***dən**; Baxter 1992: ***dun**; Mand. **tún**.
殿 OC ***tiən**, *GSR* #429d 'rear of army'; Li 1971: ***tiənh**; Baxter 1992: ***tɨns**; Mand. **diàn**.
沌 OC ***d'wən**, *GSR* #427h 'confused, stupid'; Li 1971: ***dənx**; Baxter 1992: ***dunʔ**; Mand. **dùn**.
鈍 OC ***d'wən**, *GSR* #427i 'dull'; Li 1971: ***dənh**; Baxter 1992: ***duns**; Mand. **dùn**.
頓 OC ***twən**, *GSR* #427j 'worn, dull, spoiled'; Li 1971: ***tənh**; Baxter 1992: ***tuns**; Mand. **dùn**.

The correspondence between PTB ***-l** and OC ***-n** is regular (see Gong 1995 for numerous examples). The initials and vowels also match well. The voicing alternation and suffixation seen in the Chinese word family are typical, although in this case the morphological function is not clear.
[ZJH]

The following comparanda are offered for PTB ***zril** EARTHWORM in *STC* p. 171:

蟺 OC ***d̂i̯ɑn**, *GSR*# 148p; Mand. **shàn**
蚓 OC ***di̯ĕn**, *GSR*# 371c; Mand. **yǐn**
蠕 OC ***di̯ən**, *GSR* #450j; Mand. **yǐn**

[JAM]

蟺 OC ***d̂i̯ɑn**, *GSR* #148p 'earthworm'; Li 1971: ***djanx**; Baxter 1992: ***djanʔ**; Mand. **shàn**.
蚓 OC ***di̯ĕn**, *GSR* #371c 'earthworm'; Li 1971: ***rinx**; Baxter 1992: ***ljinʔ**; Mand. **yǐn**.
蠕 OC ***di̯ən**, *GSR* #450j 'earthworm'; Li 1971: ***rənx ʔ**; Baxter 1992: ***ljɨ/inʔ**; Mand. **yǐn**.

Benedict (*STC* p.37 note 121 and p. 171 note 457) argues that all three Chinese words are related and 'point... to an original initial such as ***zr-**'. These in turn are compared to TB ***zril** 'worm'.* Based on this and a handful of other comparisons, Benedict argues for the following developments from PST to Chinese: ***zr-** > ***źr-** > ***d̂i̯** * varying with ***zr-** > ***zy-** > ***y-** > ***di̯**.

Based on our current understanding of Old Chinese, Benedict's hypothesis is no longer sustainable, at least not in full. *GSR* #148 is a dental series while *GSR* #371 and #450 are lateral series. This and the vowel difference indicate that 蟺 **shàn** is not an allofam of 蚓 **yǐn** and 蠕 **yǐn**.* As for the latter two, the reconstruction in both Li's and Baxter's systems is difficult. The Middle Chinese forms might be descended from either OC ***i** or OC ***ə** (Li)/***ɨ** (Baxter). Li and Baxter agree that *GSR* #371 has main vowel ***i**, but the reconstruction of *GSR* #450 is ambiguous.

Schuessler 2007:574 explicitly relates 蚓 **yǐn** and 蠕 **yǐn**, indicating that they are variant graphs used to write the same morpheme. He reconstructs OC ***lə/inʔ** or ***jə/inʔ**. While various attested binomial forms for 'earthworm' suggest that ***i** is the OC vowel, Min dialect forms point to ***ə**.

As for the initial, it is now generally agreed that it should be ***l** or ***j**, not ***r**.

Looking again at Benedict's comparison with PTB ***zril**, we note that the vowel and coda correspondences are regular. A comparison of PTB ***zr-** with OC ***l-** or ***j-** looks doubtful on phonetic grounds, but cannot be dismissed out of hand. Since ***zr-** is so rare in TB, it is difficult to establish regularity of correspondence.

Whatever the fate of that comparison, Benedict's claim that these Chinese words are ultimately connected to PTB ***d(i/u)l** EGG / TESTICLE (§1.9.1) now seems quite unlikely to be true.
[ZJH]

(3) PTB * m/s -tow EGG

This etymon appears in the NE Indian Areal Group (Idu), Loloish, and Qiangic, and looks safe to set up for PTB. There is evidence for both a nasal (Loloish) and a sibilant (Qiangic) prefix.

* It is in footnote 121 that Benedict seems to relate TB ***zril** to Lushai (Mizo) **til** 'testicles', the TB etymon currently under discussion in this volume.
* *d̂i̯* is mistakenly written *d'i* in *STC*; in Karlgren's reconstruction *d* with an inverted breve above is distinct from *d* followed by an apostrophe, but as far as I can tell Benedict transcribes them identically, perhaps due to typographic limitations.
* Peiros and Starostin 1996 v2:156 set 570 relate Chinese 蟺 **shàn** to Lushai (Mizo) **tāl** 'to struggle, wriggle, writhe'. See also Schuessler 2007:453.

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	e **to**-cu	egg	Anonymous 1962; Pulu 1978
	e **to** cu lo	egg (white)	Pulu 1978
	e **to** cu mi	egg (yolk)	Pulu 1978
	e **to** cu roka	egg (shell)	Pulu 1978

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**tsɛ^{55}**	egg	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.18
Pumi (Qinghua)	skhi^{55}**tsə^{55}**	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.11
	sk^{h}i^{55} **tsə^{55}**	egg	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Mawo)	tɕi wə **st**	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.8; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	wu **stə̯**	egg (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:10.4.16
Qiang (Taoping)	**χtə^{55}**	egg	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.9
Qiang (Yadu)	wə **s**	egg	DAI Qingxia 1989q:604 [a]

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Daofu)	rɑ **stu**	egg (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:10.4.16
Ergong (Danba)	zɐ̯a **stu**	egg (of animal); egg	SUN Hongkai 1991b:10.4.16; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.14

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nasu	**ʈ^{h}o̱^{21}**	egg (of animal)	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.16
Noesu	**ndo^{55}**	egg	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.16
Yi (Dafang)	**ndo^{55}**	egg; lay (egg)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.22
Yi (Mile)	i^{33}**ʈho^{33}**	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.25

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	dɑ^{33}**tho^{22}**	testicle	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.5
	dɑ^{33} **ʈ'o^{22}**	testicle	LUO Meizhen 1990:10.3.5
	i^{33} **ʈ'o^{22}**	egg (of animal)	LUO Meizhen 1990:10.4.16
	ʈho^{22}	egg	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.16

[a] Comparison with other Qiangic forms indicates that the final **-s** in Yadu is a truncated verson of **stə** or **stu**. This apocopation of the vowel of second elements in compounds is characteristic of Qiangic. See Benedict (1983), "Qiang monosyllabization: a third phase in the cycle" (*LTBA* 7.2:113-4).

(4) PTB *dz(y)u EGG

This etymon seems confined mostly to the NE Indian Areal Group, with a likely Himalayish cognate in Kham. The Idu form **e-to-cu** proves that this root is distinct from PTB ***m/s-tow** EGG (§1.9.1).

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	e to-**cu**	egg	Anonymous 1962; Pulu 1978
	e to **cu** lo	egg (white)	Pulu 1978
	e to **cu** mi	egg (yolk)	Pulu 1978
	e to **cu** roka	egg (shell)	Pulu 1978

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***tʃə** EGG

**Central Naga*	***tʃə**	EGG	Bruhn 2014a:III.096
**Ao*	*(a-)hɹu-**tsə**	NIT	Bruhn 2014a:II.186
	*hən-**tsə**	EGG	Bruhn 2014a:II.185
Ao (Chungli)	aen **tzü**	egg	Marrison 1967
	a^{1}-ɹu^{2}**tsə^{2}**	nit (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.186
	ən^{2}**tsə^{2}**	egg (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.185
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	an **sü**	egg	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	hən **sə**-làsì	passionfruit (probably 'egg' + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	hən **tsə**	egg (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**tʃə^{1}**	egg (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.096
	e^{1}-**tʃə^{1}**-	hatch (egg) (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	hrə(k)^{2}-**tʃə^{1}**	nit (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	e **jü**	egg	Murry *et al.* 1978:36
	E **ju**	egg (of animal)	Nienu 1990c:10.4.16
	hon o-e **tchhü**	egg	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	**dzü**	egg	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**dzü**; thevü **dzü**	egg	Marrison 1967
	khu^{55}nuo^{31}**dzü^{33}**	egg (of animal)	Nienu 1990a:10.4.16
	pe^{31}ra^{31}**dzü^{33}**	egg (of animal)	Nienu 1990a:10.4.16
Chokri	(u) **dzü^{33}**	testicle	Nienu 1990b:10.3.5
	dzü^{33}	egg (of animal)	Nienu 1990b:10.4.16
	thü vu **zü**	egg	Marrison 1967
Khezha	me **jɯ**	egg (of animal)	Yabu 1994:10.4.16
	'e **jú**	testicle	Yabu 1994:10.3.5
Mao	ho **dzü**	egg	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a wüü-a **tsü**	egg	Marrison 1967
Rengma	tero **zü**	egg	Marrison 1967

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	'bā-**zu**-ri:	egg	Matisoff 1987
	'ba **zu** ri:	egg (non-human)	Watters & Watters 1989:1.33
	zuh ri:	testicles	Watters & Watters 1989

[a] [Source Note] louse-egg

(5) PTB * r/l um EGG

This root is attested in the NE Indian Areal Group, Nungish, and perhaps Qiangic, as well as in Himalayish (Hayu, Tshona). The proto-initial seems to have been ***r-**, though some reflexes have **l-**. It is possible that there is a connection with ***s-lum** or ***z-lum** 'round' (*STC* #143).

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"

Sulung [Puroik]	mə^{33}**ri^{33}**	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.52
	ri^{33}	lay (egg)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:785.52

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	a roi **ghum**	egg	Marrison 1967

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	mə **rum**	egg (of animal)	Singh 1991:10.4.16 [a]
	ye **rum**	egg	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. BODIC

Tshona (Wenlang)	k^{h}ɑ^{55} **lum^{55}**	egg	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	khA?^{53}**lum^{53}**	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.6
	k^{h}A?^{53} **lum^{53}**	egg	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

3.2. QIANGIC

Namuyi	fiɐ̯^{55}**ɣo^{55}**	egg (of animal); egg	SUN Hongkai 1991i:10.4.16; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.19
Xumi	rɛ^{33} **ʁo^{35}**	egg	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.20

4. NUNGIC

Nung	**lim^{55}**	egg (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.21
Anong	**lim^{55}**	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.44
Rawang	**lɯm^{31}**	egg	LaPolla 2003:529
Trung [Dulong]	kɑ^{55}**lŭm^{53}**	egg	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.46
Dulong	ɑŋ^{31}**lɯm^{53}**	egg (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	kɑ^{55} **lŭm^{53}**	egg	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

[a] Note that the Sulong form has the same **mə-** prefix as in Meithei.

Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	$k^hɑ^{31}$ **lŭm**^{53}	egg	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	a1**lie1**	egg (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia	a^{21}**le**^{55}	egg (of animal)	Chen Kang 1986d:10.4.16
Tujia (Northern)	a^{1}**lie**^{1}	egg	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2
	a^{55} **le**^{55}	egg	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	a^{55}**le**^{55}	egg (of animal)	Chen Kang 1986c:10.4.16
	a^{55}**lie**^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.49
	a^{55}**lie**^{55}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.38
Tujia (Northern)	ra3**lie3**	hen's egg (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ra^{3}**lie**^{3}	egg	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2
	sa4**lie1**	duck's egg (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	sa^{4}**lie**^{1}	duck's egg	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2
	si1si1a1**lie1**	nit (louse egg) (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	si^{1}si^{1}a^{1}**lie**^{1}	nit (louse egg)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa^{21} **le**^{55}	egg	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**lwân/luân:**	egg	Karlgren 1957:179a
Chinese (Old)	**C-ron?**	egg	Baxter 1992:949
	g-ron?	egg	Baxter 1992:557
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**luǎn**	egg	Karlgren 1957:179a

Chinese comparandum

卵 OC ***lwân**, *GSR* #179a 'egg; testicle'; Li 1971: ***luanx**; Baxter 1992 #557: ***g-ron?**; Mand. **luǎn**.

In Baxter's system, MC **l-** is always derived from OC ***C-r-**, that is, an initial **r** with a prefixed consonant (to be distinguished from ***Cr-** in which **r** functions as a medial). In other systems, MC **l-** may descend from simple initial ***r-**. Baxter 1992 gives two separate reconstructions for this word: ***g-ron?** (#557) and ***C-ron?** (#949, with ***C** unspecified). There is some reason to suppose that if the prefix ***C-** is to be reconstructed it would be a velar (Baxter 1992:387).

The correspondence between PTB ***r-** and Middle Chinese **l-** is well-attested. Although both the Chinese and PTB forms have a rounded vowel and a nasal final, the correspondences are problematic. No generally accepted OC/PTB cognates show an ***-n**/***-m** correspondence. OC ***ua** (Li 1971) / ***o** (Baxter 1992) generally corresponds to PTB ***o**, not ***u**; for example, 脫 OC ***hluat** 'remove' (Li 1971); PTB ***hlot**; Mand. **tuō**. We would expect PTB rhyme ***-um** to correspond to OC ***-əm** (Li 1971); see examples in Gong 1995.

Gong 1995 #41 compares Chinese 卵, which he reconstructs ***ruanx**, with Written Tibetan **sro-ma** 'nit' (see PTB ***s-row** EGG / NIT (§1.9.1), below), following Benedict 1976:190 ("Sino-Tibetan: another look"). Schuessler 2007:369 makes the same comparison, citing PTB ***(s-)rwa** rather than ***s-row**. For this comparison to hold, a nominalizing ***-n** suffix must be posited for the Chinese form (Schuessler 2007:74-75).
[ZJH]

(6) PTB *si $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{r}\\\mathbf{t}\end{matrix}$ EGG

This root is not widely attested, though identical reflexes occur as the last syllables of compounds in Kaman [Miju] and Hayu. The Tsangla forms in **-r** are of uncertain affiliation, since **-r** and **-t** do not usually cooccur in TB word-families.

1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	krɛ́-**sît**	egg	Weidert 1987:1190
	kɹai^{55}**sit**^{55}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.48
	kɹɑi^{55} **sit**^{55}	egg	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɹɑi^{55}**sit**^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.23
	thɑn^{53}kɹɑi^{55}**sit**^{55}	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.48
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ser** k^{h}um	egg	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tshona (Mama)	**sir**^{55} **sir**^{55} mo^{53}	egg	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

(7) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{s}\\\mathbf{r}\end{matrix}$ -gwa-ŋ EGG / TESTICLE

This reconstruction has been revised from **s/r-go-ŋ** in TBRS #7.

WT has a doublet with and without the final nasal. It looks as if the nasal-finalled variant is due to assimilation to a following syllable **-ŋa** PTB ***s-ŋa** EGG / HATCH (§1.9.1) in WT, but other languages have a nasal final even before other consonants (Tsangla [Monpa] **khong-lung**, Hayu **kuŋ-luŋ**). This etymon also appears in Qiangic, but some of these forms may be loans from Tibetan. The rGyalrong forms in **-m** are of uncertain affiliation. The **-m** makes them look somewhat like the second syllables of some Monpa Tsangla forms with dental initials, though we are referring these to PTB ***t-lam** EGG / TESTICLE (§1.9.1). This root also occurs in Bai (where it means 'testicle'), in scattered languages of the NE Indian Areal Group, and in Lolo-Burmese.

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Sema [Sumi]	au **khu**	egg	Marrison 1967
	a wu **khu**	egg (of animal)	Achumi 1998a:10.4.16
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Lalung [Tiwa]	tu ki **ku** thi	testicle	Balawan 1965:78
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	**go** tham	egg	Andvik 1993:87
	khong lung	testicle (m.)	Egli-Roduner 1987:34 4
Tsangla (Motuo)	**go**-tham	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.7
	go t^{h}am	egg	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ko^{13} ham^{55}	egg	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ko^{13} t^{h}am^{55}	egg	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ser **k^{h}um**	egg	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	**goi**-t^{h}am	egg	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ḥgoŋ** wa	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**goŋ**-wæ	egg	Sun 1985a:218
	rgoŋ ŋwa	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**gõ**^{231}ŋa^{13}	egg (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:10.4.16
	gũ^{13}ŋɑʔ^{53}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**go**-ngā	egg	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**go**^{13}ŋa^{53}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	(**ko**^{13}ŋa^{13})taŋ^{55}	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.2
	ko^{13}ŋa^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.02
	ko^{13}ŋɑ^{13}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.2
Spiti	**gõ**-ŋa	egg (of animal)	Bodh 1991:10.4.16
Tibetan (Written)	**sgo** ŋa	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.01 [a]
	sgo ŋa	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.1
	sgo ŋa gtoŋ	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.1
	sgo-ṅa ~ **sgoṅ** (-ṅa)	egg	Matisoff 1987
	sgo-ŋa	egg	Zhang Liansheng 1988:6
	sgo.nga	egg	Sun 1985c:218
	sgo ṅa	egg	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**goŋ** ŋa	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.04
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**gwa**	Clf. for round objects	Malla 2007
	mikh ā-**gwa(l)**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**kɔ** lɔ	egg; testicle	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987 [a]
Hayu	**kuŋ**-luŋ	egg	Matisoff 1987
	kuŋ luŋ	egg (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.229
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya [Minyak]	**kuɯ**^{53}	testicle	Sun Hongkai 1991h:10.3.5
Pumi (Jiulong)	ʐɑ^{11}**qu**^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**qu**^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.09
	ʐa^{13}**qu**^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.09
Pumi (Taoba)	rɐ^{35} **ku**^{55}	egg	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.10
Qiang (Longxi)	tsì **gú**	nit	Evans 1999:441
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**gõ**^{35}ŋa^{53}	egg (of animal); egg	Sun Hongkai 1991n:10.4.16; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**rgə**^{13}ŋa^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ʂkui**^{13}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**lʁo**^{33}	testicle	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.3.5
	lʁo^{33} ɕip^{53}	scrotum	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.3.4
	zgo^{33}ŋa^{33}	egg (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.16
Daofu	**zgə** ŋa	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	pa'ʔ **gwem**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	pa' **gam**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	pa' **gom**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	pa' **gom**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	pa' **gom**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	pa' **gom**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	pa' **gom**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	pa' **xgam**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	pa5' **gom53**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	pa^{3} **gom**^{1}	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	pa^{3} **gom**^{1}	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	pa^{3} **gom**^{5}	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	pa^{3} **gom**^{53}	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	pa^{1} **gwam**^{1}	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	po' **gom**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	po^{3} **gwam**^{5}	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	pə44**goŋ44**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	**rgoŋ'** ŋa	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong	ta **gam**	egg (of animal); egg	Dai Qingxia 1989d:10.4.16; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.12
	ta **ngam** kɐ lɐt	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	ta' **ⁿgam**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	ta' **ⁿka**^{m}	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	ta' **gam**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	ta' **gam**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	ta' **gam**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	ta' **gam**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	ta' **gom**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	ta' **gom**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	ta' **gom**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ta' **gom**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	ta' **Gəm**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	ta' **Gəm**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	ta' **ɣam**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	ta' **ɣam**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	ta' **ⁿka**^{m}	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (NW)	tan **gum**	egg (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.4.16
rGyalrong (Northern)	taŋ **gom**	egg (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.4.16
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **gam**	egg (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.4.16
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	ta **kom**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	te' **rgoŋ**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	tə22 **ŋgəm33** kə44 lət44	lay an egg (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1562
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	tə33 **ŋgəm55**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	tə22 **ŋgam44**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326

[a] The first syllable of WT **sgo-pur** 'foreskin (vulg.)' does not appear to descend from this etymon, but seems rather to mean 'door; aperture, outlet'. However, Jäschke does not include this under compounds with **sgo** 'door' (114-6), but rather lists it as a separate head-entry (p. 116). The meaning of the second syllable **-pur** is unclear, though there might be a connection with **ḥp'ur-ba** 'wrap up, envelop'.

[a] Bahing **lɔ** 'stone'.

rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **rgo**	testicle	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.3.5
	tə **rgo** pok cço	scrotum	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.3.4
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **rgu**	testicle	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.3.5
	tə **rgu** tɕʰim	scrotum	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.3.4 [a]
Caodeng	tɐ-**ngəm?**	egg	Sun 1997a
	tɐ-**ngəm?** mə-rqʰoʔ	egg-shell	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **gɑm**	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tɤ **ŋgɯm**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	**zgoŋ'** ŋa	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	**zgə'** ŋa	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	**zgə'** ŋa	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**zgə'** ŋa	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˉpa **ɣom**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊpa ʱ**gom**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong	kA mbyam **gam**	egg	Nagano 1997:12.12
	ta **Ngam**	egg of animal	Nagano 1997:10.4.16
	ta **Ngam** ka skam	sit on egg	Nagano 1997:12.15
	ta **Ngam** na let	lay egg	Nagano 1997:12.14
rGBenzhen	ta-**ngam?**	egg	Sun 1997b
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**gwe**^{55}se^{53}	testicle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0117.27
Burmese (Written)	**gwe**^{3}se^{1}	testicle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0117.26
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Mile)	**ko**^{33}	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.25
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Ugong	ní **khû**	testicle	Bradley 1993:10.3.5
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Yongning)	**ko**^{55}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.29
Naxi (Western)	**kv**^{33}	egg	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**kv**^{33}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**kv**^{31}	lay (egg)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**kv**^{31}	lay (egg)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**kv**^{31}	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.28
Naxi	**kv̩**^{21}	lay (eggs) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1718.45
	kv̩^{33}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.45
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**kuã**^{33}	testicle	Zhao Yansun 1990:10.3.5
	kuã^{33} lo̰^{21}	scrotum	Zhao Yansun 1990:10.3.4

[a] Literally "testicle" + "house".

(8) PTB *s-ŋa EGG / HATCH

This root is confined to Tibetan, where it always seems to occur in binomes after reflexes of PTB ***s/r-gwa-ŋ*** EGG / TESTICLE (§1.9.1). It also appears in Qiangic, although these forms look like loans from Tibetan.

2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	ḥgoŋ **wa**	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	goŋ-**wæ**	egg	Sun 1985a:218
	rgoŋ **ŋwa**	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.5
Tibetan (Batang)	gõ^{231}**ŋa**^{13}	egg (of animal)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:10.4.16
	gü^{13}**ŋɑʔ**^{53}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	go-**ngā**	egg	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	go^{13}**ŋa**^{53}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.3
	ɲa^{13}	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	(ko^{13}**ŋa**^{13})taŋ^{55}	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.2
	ko^{13}**ŋa**^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.02
	ko^{13}**ŋɑ**^{13}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.2
Spiti	gõ-**ŋa**	egg (of animal)	Bodh 1991:10.4.16
Tibetan (Written)	sgo **ŋa**	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.01 [a]
	sgo **ŋa**	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.1
	sgo **ŋa** gtoŋ	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.1
	sgo-**ṅa** ~ sgoṅ (-**ṅa**)	egg	Matisoff 1987
	sgo-**ŋa**	egg	Zhang Liansheng 1988:6
	sgo.**nga**	egg	Sun 1985c:218
	sgo **ṅa**	egg	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	goŋ **ŋa**	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.04
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**nge**^{1}	testicle	Sofronov c1978
3.2. Qiangic			
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	gõ^{35}**ŋa**^{53}	egg (of animal); egg	Sun Hongkai 1991n:10.4.16; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	rgə^{13}**ŋa**^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.13
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	zgo^{33}**ŋa**^{33}	egg (of animal)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.16
Daofu	zgə **ŋa**	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐŋa**	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	rgoŋ' **ŋa**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	zgoŋ' **ŋa**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	zgə' **ŋa**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	zgə' **ŋa**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	zgə' **ŋa**	egg	Nagano & Prins 2013:0326

[a] The first syllable of WT **sgo-pur** 'foreskin (vulg.)' does not appear to descend from this etymon, but seems rather to mean 'door; aperture, outlet'. However, Jäschke does not include this under compounds with **sgo** 'door' (114-6), but rather lists it as a separate head-entry (p. 116). The meaning of the second syllable **-pur** is unclear, though there might be a connection with **ḥp'ur-ba** 'wrap up, envelop'.

(9) PTB *t-lam EGG / TESTICLE

This root is attested in Himalayish (including Tsangla), Abor-Miri-Dafla, and also perhaps in Chang Naga. The Lepcha and rGyalrong forms are good evidence for prefixal **t-**, which seems to have preempted the root-initial in all the other forms.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**tum**-čur ki-fa:	castrate	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**tum**	testicle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0117.24
	tum-lit	castrate	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**tum** lit	castrate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:610.51
Galo	ɨt **tum**	scrotum; testicles (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ˆɯt-**tum** `a pɤ	testicle	Weidert 1987:617a
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	'et-**tum**	testes and scrotum	Matisoff 1987
	tum-bung	have swollen test.	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**təp**-pɯ	testicle	Sun 1993b
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**tam** laŋ	testicle	French 1983:540
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	khuar **tum**	egg (of animal)	Sharma 1991a:10.4.16
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	go **tham**	egg	Andvik 1993:87
Tsangla (Motuo)	go-**tham**	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.7
	go **t^{h}am**	egg	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ko^{13} **ham**^{55}	egg	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ko^{13} **t^{h}am**^{55}	egg	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	goi-**t^{h}am**	egg	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**tălam**	scrotum, testicles	Matisoff 1987
	tălam să tăblyóṅ	scrotum	Matisoff 1987
	tălam să tăblyoŋ	scrotum	Matisoff 1987
	tălam t'yeṅ	testicle	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	tălam pot	testicle	Matisoff 1987 [b]
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	**tə lɛm**	scrotum	Dai Qingxia 1989d:10.3.4
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**təlam** ndzi̱	foreskin	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.3.3
	təlam tʃi	semen	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.3.7

[a] According to Mainwaring/Grünwedel 1898:164, **t'yeṅ** means 'the chief or most precious part', as in **să-bŭr t'yeṅ** 'the musk bag or gland of the musk-deer'.
[b] Lepcha **pot** 'fruit, ball'.

(10) PTB *k $\begin{matrix}\text{r}\\\text{w}\end{matrix}$ ak EGG / TESTICLE

This etymon appears in only a few NE Indian Areal Group and Himalayish languages. Thulung reflects medial ***-w-*** rather than ***-r-***. This root is quite distinct from the coincidentally nearly homophonous etymon PTB ***k-rak*** FOWL / CHICKEN (§2.1.10) (cf. Bokar **po-rok** 'chicken', WB **krak** 'id.'), despite the fact that many languages have an association between 'chicken' and 'penis' (cf. Spanish *polla* 1. 'chicken' 2. [*Slang*] 'penis').

1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	du-**jã**	egg	Jacquesson 2005
	du-**jã**^{2}	egg	unknown nd
	du **ja**	egg	Brown 1895:65
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	ao **kiak**	egg	Marrison 1967
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	le **koak** ti	testicle	Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang (Eastern)	**krak**	testicle	Caughley 1990:10.3.5
	krak pun	scrotum	Caughley 1990:10.3.4

(11) PTB *p^{w}um EGG / SIT ON EGGS / HATCH / TESTICLE

This well-attested etymon occurs in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, Jingpho, and Nungic, with a variety of ovoid meanings.

The Hill Miri and Sunwar forms reflect a variant ***pup***, perhaps to be explained in terms of assimilation to the initial.

A couple of other Himalayish languages, Magar and Manang (Prakaa), seem to reflect still another variant, ***puŋ***. The zero (**ʔ-**) initial in Chepang is unexplained.

It is not clear whether this root is to be related to PTB ***p^{w}u*** EGG / BIRD / ROUND OBJECT (§1.9.1).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***p^{w}um**	lay eggs / hatch / incubate	Matisoff 2003a:608
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Miri, Hill	**pɯp**	egg	Simon 1976
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	marui **bum**	egg	Marrison 1967
Zeme	nrui **bum**	egg	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**phum**^{55}	sit on, hatch (egg); hatch	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.47
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	kā **pum**	egg	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Motuo)	**buŋ**	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.7 [a]
	puŋ^{13}	sit on (egg)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**p^{h}um**	egg; lay (eggs)	Mazaudon 1994:653; Mazaudon 1994:654
Gurung (Ghachok)	**phuq**	egg	Matisoff 1987 [b]
Gurung	**phụq phụq**-bā	lay egg (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.14
Gurung (Ghachok)	**p^{h}ũq**	egg	Glover 1972:1.33
	p^{h}ũq p^{h}ũqba	lay (egg)	Glover 1972:3.B.14
Gurung	^{2}**p^{h}ũ**	egg	Mazaudon 1994:653
Manang (Gyaru)	gar^{3} **bɯm**^{2}	testicles	Nagano 1984:042-08
	pɯm^{2}	egg	Nagano 1984:076
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**p^{h}uŋ**	egg	Mazaudon 1994:653
	^{1}**p^{h}uŋ**	egg	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0061
Tamang	**'phum**	egg	Weidert 1987:555
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**p^{h}um**	testicle (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:10.4.16

[a] The final **-ŋ** in this form in unexplained.
[b] Gurung **-q** is a tone mark.

	²**pʰum**	egg / testicle	Mazaudon 1994:653
Tamang (Sahu)	’mi: **phum**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	’phum	egg	Matisoff 1987
	’phum	lay egg (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.14
	’phum-pā(m)		
	’pʰum	egg	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.33; Taylor *et al.* 1972:7.11
	’pʰum ’pʰum-pa	lay (egg) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:14.14
	’pʰum ki ’mar	yolk	Taylor *et al.* 1972:7.12
	²**pʰum**	egg	Mazaudon 1994:653
Thakali	**phum phum**-la	lay egg (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.14
Thakali (Syang)	⁵⁴**pʰum**	egg	Mazaudon 1994:653
	⁵⁵**pʰum**	egg	Mazaudon 1994:653
Thakali (Tukche)	naka **pʰum**	egg	Hari 1971:7.A.10
	phum	egg	Matisoff 1987
	pʰum	egg	Hari 1971:1.33
	pʰum nahŋ-ri-we tɔr	egg white	Hari 1971:7.A.12
	pʰum nahŋ-ri-we ur	yolk (egg)	Hari 1971:7.A.11
	pʰum pʰum-lɔ	lay (egg)	Hari 1971:3.B.14
	pʰum-e pʰi	shell (egg)	Hari 1971:7.A.13
	ᴴ**pʰum**	egg	Mazaudon 1994:653
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**pup**-cā	brood (hens) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.16
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**ʔum**	egg	Matisoff 1987
	ʔum	egg (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ʔum	egg; egg (louse)	Caughley 1972:1.33; Caughley 1972:3.A.88
	ʔum ʔot-sa	lay (egg)	Caughley 1972:3.B.14
	ʔum ʔot.sā	lay egg (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.14
	ʔum-	lay egg (vt.)	Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**ʔum**	egg (of birds, insects)	Caughley 1990:10.4.16
Kham	**pum**-nyā	brood (hens) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.16
Magar	**pung**-khe	brood (hens) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.16
4. Nungic			
Anong	**bɯm**³¹	hatch	Sun Hongkai 1988
	bɯm³⁵	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.44
Trung [Dulong]	sɯ³¹**bɯm**⁵⁵	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	sɯ³¹ **bɯm**⁵⁵	sit on (egg)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**bɯm**⁵³	sit on (egg)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	pɔm⁵⁵	birth, give (to child)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**phuṁ**	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967
	phûṁ	cover, cover up	Benedict 1976a
	phuṁ	cover / hide from view (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1794.26
	ə-**phûṁ**	cover of a vessel	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ¹**phuṁ**³	lid / cover (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0547.26
Marma	**phúŋ**	cover (v.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:227
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**phɛ**⁵³	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.33 [a]

[a]This Lahu form in **-ɛ** shows the regular reflex of the ***-um** rhyme, but the meaning is basically ‘release, come forth’ rather than ‘cover, incubate’. The same seems to be true of the Bwe form (**phɛ-tha**). For now we include them here, however.

(12) PTB * p/b ay BREAK OUT / BREAK OFF / HATCH

The basic meaning of this etymon seems to be ‘break out’. It is reconstructed in *STC* #254 as ***be ~ *pe** ‘broken; break’, though the present reconstruction with ***-ay** seems preferable.

The Mizo form with final glottal stop suggests a secondary allofam with the **-s** suffix.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***be**	broken (off)	Weidert 1987:319
	***be ≍ *pe**	break / broken	LaPolla 1987:75 [a]
	***be-s ≍ pe-s**	break off a piece	Matisoff 2003a:584
	***be≍pe**	broken	Benedict 1972:254
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**pe?**	break; be broken; broken (off); broken	Weidert 1987:319; Matisoff 1985a:074; LaPolla 1987:75
	pe?	break / be broken (v.)	Benedict 1972:254
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**bai**	break (v.)	Marrison 1967
	bai	break; broken; break, get broken	LaPolla 1987:75; Benedict 1972:254
	do-**phai**	break with an instrument; break with some instrument	Matisoff 1985a:074; Benedict 1972:254
	ga **bai**	broken	Matisoff 1985a:074; Benedict 1972:254
	phai	hatch	Matisoff 1985a:074; Benedict 1972:254
	sa **bai**	break (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sa **bai**	break	Matisoff 1985a:074; Benedict 1972:254
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**be**	break; broken	Matisoff 1985a:074; LaPolla 1987:75
	be	break; broken (be v.)	Benedict 1972:254
	be?-a	broken (off)	Weidert 1987:319
	pe	break down	Matisoff 1985a:074; Benedict 1972:254
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	**phay**-nyā	hatch (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.17
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**pái**	break / broken	LaPolla 1987:75
	pai	broken off, chipped (vs.)	Benedict 1972:254
	phaí	break off a small piece...	Weidert 1987:319
	phai	break off a small piece from a larger, crumble	Benedict 1972:254
	phai’	break off a small piece from a larger; crumble; break off a piece	Matisoff 1985a:074; Benedict 1976a
7. Karenic			
Bwe	**phɛ**	open up, to hatch out (v.)	Henderson 1997
	phɛ-tha	hatch out, to open up (v.)	Henderson 1997

[a][Source Note] (*bay ≍ *pay [G&C 74]).

Pa-O	ʔə **pé** páʔ	hatch	Solnit 1989

(13) PTB *s-mu HATCH / BROOD ON EGGS / SIT ON

This root is most abundantly attested in Loloish, with likely cognates in Galo, Bodo-Garo, and Chepang. The very-low tone in Lahu **mū** (Matisoff 1988, *The Dictionary of Lahu*, p. 1005), as well as the Lalo form **ʔmò**, point to a Proto-Loloish ***ʔ-** prefix, ultimately from prefixal ***s-**.

The constriction in Yi Mojiang is perhaps due to the ***ʔ-** prefix.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	**muɯ**-nam	brood (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**mu•**-	stay, to sit (be in sitting position), to sit down, to be at, to live somewhere (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	mu•dap-	sit on (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	mu ra	stool (to sit on) (n.)	van Breugel 2008
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**mu**-sa	sit (stay)	Caughley 1972:6.B.3.8
	mu-ʔo	stationary / sit (MM)	Caughley 1972:12.C.38
Magar	Tokorok **mu**-ke	sit	Hale 1973:01.068
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*ʔ-**mu**²	brood / incubate	Matisoff 2003a:602
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*ʔ-**mu**²	hatch	Matisoff 1993
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**ʔmò**	incubate / sit on egg	Björverud 1994
Yi (Mile)	**mu**⁵⁵	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**mu̱**³³	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**muɯ**⁵⁵	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**mu̱**²¹	sit on, hatch (egg)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	m̩(u̱)²¹	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.23
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**mū**	brood; sit on eggs	Matisoff 1988a:1005
	mɣ̀³¹	hatch (a chick)	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɣ̀**¹¹	hatch (a chick)	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**mū**⁴	hatch (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Nujiang)	**mu**⁵⁵	sit on (egg)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**mu**⁵⁵	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.27
Lisu (Northern)	**mɣ**⁵⁵	hatch (V.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**mɣ**⁵⁵	sit on (eggs) (fuluan) (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:309.1

(14) PKir *gli m/p BROOD / INCUBATE (eggs)

This root is attested mainly in Himalayish. The Jinuo and Bola forms also look related, though more evidence is needed to establish this etymon for Lolo-Burmese.

2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**gɨm** nɨ	brood (eggs)	Driem 1993
Khaling	**glam**-ne	brood (hens) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.16
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**ghleom**-	brood; to hatch; to keep sthg warm (v.)	Allen 1975
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola	**kʰja**³⁵	lay egg	Dai Qingxia 1989g:2363
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baka)	**kʰlo**⁴⁴	lay egg	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2468
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**kʰlɔ**⁴⁴	lay egg	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2468

(15) PTB * p/b uk HATCH (egg)

This etymon, which appears quite distinct from PTB ***pu** EGG (§1.9.1), seems to be confined to Himalayish. It is perhaps to be identified with PTB ***(p/b)(i/u)k** BORN / GIVE BIRTH (§1.9.2).

The cognacy of the Ao and Tangkhul forms remains speculative.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**-mùk**	hatch (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**huk**	hatch	Bhat 1969:90
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**’pu:k**-cā	hatch (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.17
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**bhyuk**-	hatch (egg) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	bhyuk.sā	hatch (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.17
	bʰyuk-sa	hatch	Caughley 1972:3.B.17

(16) TGTM *du BROOD / INCUBATE (eggs)

This root, like TGTM ***naŋ** BROOD / INCUBATE (eggs) (§1.9.1), seems confined to the Tamang-Gurung-Thakali branch of Himalayish.

2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*ᴬ**du:**	brood	Mazaudon 1994:514
Tamang (Sahu)	’nakca **Tʰo**-pa	hatch (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:14.17
Thakali	**tun**-la	brood (hens) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.16
Thakali (Tukche)	**tuh**-lɔ	brood	Hari 1971:3.B.16
	³**tu**-lə	brood	Mazaudon 1994:514

(17) PTB *ʔa HATCH / LAY EGG

This beautifully minimalist root (minimal both from the point of view of its phonological shape and the paucity of languages in which it is attested) seems unimpeachable, occurring both in the NE Indian Areal Group and Loloish with exactly the same meaning.

This root was first reconstructed in Matisoff 1997, “Primary and secondary laryngeal initials in Tibeto-Burman”.

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**ɑ**⁵³	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.49
Idu	ɑŋ⁵⁵**ɑ**⁵⁵	hatch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:786.50
	ɑ⁵⁵	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.50
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	ʔu⁵⁵ **ɑ**⁵⁵	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ʔu⁵⁵**ɑ**⁵⁵	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.45

(18) TGTM *naŋ BROOD / INCUBATE (eggs)

This root, like TGTM ***du**, is confined to the Tamang-Gurung-Thakali branch of Himalayish. It may well be related to PTB ***naŋ** GIVE BIRTH (§1.9.2), below.

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{Bh}**naŋ**	press down/brood	Mazaudon 1994:576
Gurung (Ghachok)	naqga **nõq** ba	brood	Glover 1972:3.B.16
Gurung	nāqgā **nọq** bā	brood (hens) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.16
	^{2}**nõ-**	brood	Mazaudon 1994:576
Thakali	cahca **nāng**-la	hatch (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.17
Thakali (Tukche)	cɔhcɔ **naŋ**-lɔ	hatch	Hari 1971:3.B.17

(19) PTB *s-row EGG / NIT

This etymon is set up in *STC* #278 (and note 201), where the Tibetan, Jingpho, and rGyalrong forms are cited.

Possibly to be compared with this etymon is Chinese 卵 (Mand. **luǎn**) 'ovum; egg; spawn', perhaps with the collective ***-n*** suffix. See note under PTB ***(r/l)um*** EGG (§1.9.1) for an alternative etymology.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(s-)row**	nit	Benedict 1972:278
	***s-row**	nit	Matisoff 2003a:611

1.1.1. Tani: ***rɯ*** NIT

**Tani*	***rɯ**	nit	Sun 1993a:275

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	fɯk-**ri**	nit	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	hɯk-**rɯː**	nit	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	juk **rɯː**	nit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.24
Bokar Lhoba	fiɯk **rɯː**	nit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:163.51

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ɯk-**rɯ**	nit	Sun 1993a
Damu	jək-**rɯ**	nit	Sun 1993b

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**hrū**	egg	Lorrain 1940:186

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	*(a-)**hɹu**-tsə	NIT	Bruhn 2014a:II.186
Ao (Chungli)	a^{1}-**ɹu**^{2}tsə^{2}	nit (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.186

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**rɯ**	egg	Bhat 1969:88

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	tsíʔ-**rù**	nit	Benedict 1972:278

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Central)	**sro**-ma	nit	Benedict 1972:278
Tibetan (Western)	**sro**-ma	nit	Benedict 1972:278

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung	nyiq **ri**	louse egg (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.088
Gurung (Ghachok)	nyiq **ri**	egg (louse)	Glover 1972:3.A.88
Thakali (Tukche)	ne **ʈi**	egg (louse)	Hari 1971:3.A.88

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Magar	mi-**rhu**	egg	Matisoff 1987
	rhu-ke	lay egg (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.14

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	tshə^{55}**rə^{53}**	nit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.15
Muya [Minyak]	tshɐ^{55}**rɯ^{53}**	nit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:163.15
Namuyi	ʂu^{55}fiɛ^{ɪ55}**ʁo^{55}**	nit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:163.19
	fiæ^{ɪ55}**ʁuo^{55}**	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.46
	ʂu^{55}æ^{ɪ55}**ʁuo^{55}**	nit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.46
Qiang (Mawo)	xtʂu **ʐu̱**	nit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.08
Xumi	ra^{33}**ʁu^{55}**	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.17
	ɕæ^{55}**ʁu^{53}**	nit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.17

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	dʐə **ru**	egg (louse)	Benedict 1972:64n201
Caodeng	ndʒu-**rú**-ʃot	nit-comb	Sun 1997a
	ndʒu-**ruʔ**	nit	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	ndʒə **ru**	nit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.11
rGyalrong	ndʒə **ru**	nit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:163.12
Caodeng	tə-koʔ-ndʒ **ruʔ**	nit in hair	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	Nju **ru**	nit	Nagano 1997:15.101
rGBenzhen	ndʒə-**ruʔ**	nit	Sun 1997b

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Wuding)	**ɬu̱^{2}**	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.38

1.9.2 Birth

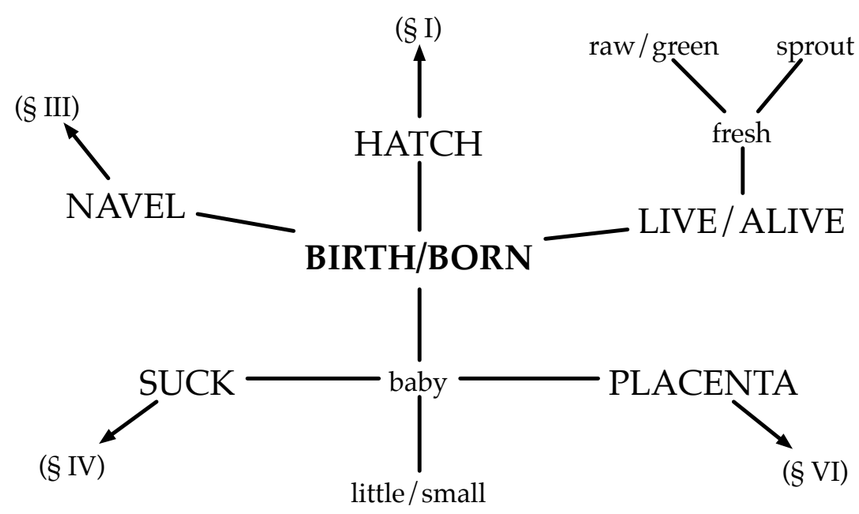


Figure 154: 1.9.2 *Birth*

(1) PTB *braŋ BORN / BIRTH

This well-attested root occurs in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, and Lolo-Burmese, and probably in Karenic and Qiangic as well. It is reconstructed in *STC* #135, which only lists the WT and Lushai (Mizo) forms. The Jingpho forms **pràt**, **šəpràt** 'bear, give birth' do not belong in this set, since **-ŋ ≍ -t** is not an established pattern of variation in TB word-families.[*]

The Himalayish forms with high vowels (Tamangic **-u/-i**, Pattani **-i**) are tentatively assigned to this etymon.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***braŋ**	give birth	Matisoff 2003a:585
	***braŋ**	born, give birth (be v.)	Benedict 1972:135

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**bro**	give birth to (of animals)	NEFA (India) 1963
Idu	**bɹa^{55}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai 1991f:10.4.15
	bɹɑ^{55}	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.50
Yidu	**bɹɑ^{55}**	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***piaŋ-I**, ***pian-II** BORN (be)

**Chin*	***piaŋ**-I, pian-II	BORN (be)	VanBik 2009:129

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**piang** sak	procreate	VanBik 2009:129
Thado	**píeŋ**-I, pìen-II	born (be v.)	VanBik 2009:129
Tiddim	**piang^{2}** > pian^{3}	come into existence; formed; happen; occur (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1384
	pian^{2} > pian	come into existence, formed	VanBik 2009:129
	piaŋ^{2}/pian^{3}	come into existence...	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**tpieng**	give birth, be born (for both humans and animals)	VanBik 2009:129

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**pĭang**-I, pìan-II	born (be v.)	VanBik 2009:129
Lushai [Mizo]	**piang**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
	píang-I, pìan-II	born (be v.)	VanBik 2009:129
	piaŋ	born, be (vs.)	Benedict 1972:135

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**pì**	born (be v.)	VanBik 2009:129

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ke **plang**	birth, give	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	zir **p^{h}i**	born, be / to rise (vs.)	Sharma 1982

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**ḥbraŋ**-ba	birth, give (v.)	Benedict 1972:135

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**poːŋ** maʔ	born, be	Driem 1988:491

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	e^{ɪ33}**ba^{35}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai 1991i:10.4.15
	ə^{ɪ33}**ba^{35}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.19
	ə^{ɪ31} **ba^{35}**	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.46
Qiang (Mawo)	**pæ^{ɪ}** (ʔæ ʐ̩æ pæ^{ɪ})	birth, give	Sun Hongkai 1991g:10.4.15

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***b(r)aŋ^{3}**	born / birth (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p.857 [a]

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Xiandao)	**pɔ^{35}**	birth, give; birth, give to (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2227; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.29
	p^{h}o^{31}	birth, give (pig)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2362

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nesu	**ba^{21}**	birth, give	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.15
Nusu (Southern)	**p^{h}a̱^{53}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	ɑ^{33} bɑ̱^{55} zo^{21} **bu^{33}**	birth, give	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.4.15
**Common Lahu*	***paw:**	born, be (be v.)	Bradley 1979b:597
Lahu (Lancang)	**pɔ^{33}**	birth, give to; birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.43
Lahu (Black)	**pɔ**	born, be; give birth to	Matisoff 1988a
	pɔ^{33}	birth, give	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.33

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**baw**-eu	born (be v.)	Lewis 1989:73-74
	bɔ	born, be (be.)	Hansson 1989:265
Hani (Gelanghe)	**bɔ^{33}**	birth, give	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**pɣ^{33}**	birth, give	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

7. Karenic

Bwe	ɔ **phlɛ**	born, be (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	ɔ **phlɛ**-la	born, be (be v.)	Henderson 1997
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	o̱^{31} **p^{h}lɛ^{31}** a^{31} p^{h}o^{55}	birth, give (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2320
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	o̱^{31} **p^{h}lɛ^{31}**	birth, give (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2320

[a] This etymon is mistakenly reconstructed as Proto-Loloish ***baw^{3}** in Bradley 1979 (DB-PL) #597, on the basis of WB **paw** 'to appear'.

(2) PTB *hu BORN / BIRTH / REAR

This excellent root, with a relatively rare laryngeal proto-initial, appears in the NE Indian Areal Group, Lolo-Burmese, and Qiangic, with a range of meanings including 'be pregnant'; 'give birth'; 'bring up, rear (a child)'; 'nourish, feed', covering the whole range of parental responsibility from conception to childhood. It is reconstructed in Matisoff 1985, 'God and the Sino-Tibetan copula' (note 69, p. 38) and in Matisoff 1988, *The Dictionary of Lahu* (p. 1071), and discussed in the context of TB laryngeal-initial etyma in general in Matisoff 1997 "Primary and secondary laryngeal initials in TB" (section 5.3).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***hu**	rear (offspring) / raise (to maturity) / nourish	Matisoff 2003a:593

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	**hoː**	birth, give (v.)	Sun 1993b
	fiɔː	birth, give to; birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.24

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**u**	raise (child)	Matisoff 1993 [a]

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	ə ŋaŋ **u** nə bə	birth, give (v.)	Singh 1991:10.4.15

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	**χu**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.8

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	za^{21} ni^{24} za^{21} **fɣ^{33}**	birth, give	Dai Qingxia 1989c:10.4.15
Lipho	**xo^{33}**	birth, give	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.15
Luquan	**ʔhɣ^{11}**	raise, bring up (child)	Ma Xueliang 1948
Yi (Nanjian)	**hu^{55}**	birth, give	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	**hu^{55}**	birth, give	Matisoff 1993

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	cê **hu** ve	raise animals (ov.)	Matisoff 1988a:1072
	hu	support; nourish; rear	Matisoff 1988a:1071
	yâ **hu** ve	be pregnant, raise a child (be.)	Matisoff 1988a:1259

[a] J. H. Lorrain (1907:229) glosses this word as 'to bring up; to tend; to rear; to keep; to support; to feed (as child, etc.).'

[*] As a longshot, we might relate these Jingpho forms to PTB ***(p/b)rat** BREAK / WEAN (§1.9.4), below.

Lisu	**h'ū**^{4}	born, be (be v.)	Bradley 1979b:597
Lisu (Nujiang)	**he**^{33}	birth, give (human)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**hẽ**^{33}	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.40
	he^{33}	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.27
	hę^{31}	birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**hę**^{42}	birth, give (animal)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**hĩ**^{33}gu^{33}	birth place	Bradley 1994 [a]
Lisu (Central)	**hỹ**^{33}gu^{44}	birth place	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**hõ**^{33}	birth, give ; support; feed and educate; raise (V.)	Bradley 1994
	hõ^{33}gu^{33}	birth place	Bradley 1994
	hõʔ^{21}la^{33}	birth, give	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**h'ū**^{4}	birth, give (v.t.)	Fraser 1922
	h'ū^{4} ta^{1} law^{3}	born, be	Fraser 1922

9. Sinitic

Chinese (GSR #)	**1044a**	good	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1021
	1044a	love, like (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1023

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**q**^{hs}**u**ʔ	good	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1021
	q^{hs}**u**ʔ-s	love, like (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1023
	xu(ʔ)s	love (v.)	Baxter 1992:737b
	xuʔ	good	Baxter 1992:1566

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**xawH**	love, like (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1023
	xawX	good	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1021

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**hǎo**	good	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1021
	hào	love, like (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1023

[a]The nasalization in some of the Lisu forms is due to rhinoglottophilia. See Matisoff 1975 ("Rhinoglottophilia").

Chinese comparanda

好 OC ***χôg**, *GSR* #1044a 'good' ≍ 'love, like'[*]; Li 1971: ***həgwx**/***həgwh**; Baxter 1992: ***xu**ʔ/ ***xu(ʔ)s** (737); Mand. **hǎo** 'good' ≍ **hào** 'love, like'.

The word for 'love, like' is a putative form derived from 'good' through ***-s** suffixation. This presents some semantic difficulty for the OC-PTB comparison, since the basic meaning of the PTB root is closer to that of the derived Chinese transitive verb.

Corroborated as it is by other etyma (e.g. PTB ***p**^{w}**u** EGG / BIRD / ROUND OBJECT (§1.9.1), PTB ***r/m-bu** ≍ ***pru** NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA (§1.9.6)), the correspondence TB ***-u** with OC ***-əgw** (Li)/***-u** (Baxter) is well attested. The initial correspondence is difficult to evaluate because there are so few proposed cognates involving words with OC ***h-** (Li)/***x-** (Baxter) or PTB ***h-**. Of these several (such as Gong 1995 #142 comparing OC 鼾 ***xan** 'snore' (Mand. **hān**) to PTB ***hal** 'snore') are clearly onomatopoetic. In other cases Gong has derived OC ***x-** from earlier ***skh-**, facilitating comparison with Written Tibetan forms having initial velars (see Gong 2000). Nevertheless, there is no specific reason to doubt the validity of the initial correspondence.
[ZJH]

畜 OC ***χi̯ôk**, *GSR* #1018a 'raise (animals); bring up; cultivate'; Schuessler 2007:194 ***huks**; B & S 2011: ***q**^{h}**uk-s**; Mand. **xù**.
畜 OC ***t̂'i̯ôk**, *GSR* #1018a 'livestock; (domesticated animal'; Schuessler 2007:194 ***rhuk**; B & S 2011: ***q**^{h}**‹r›uk**; Mand. **chù**.

(3) PTB *ʔ-bu ≍ *pu BORN / BIRTH / BUD / BLOOM

The basic meaning of this root seems to be 'bloom, open up (as a flower), bud', thence 'give birth'. It is reconstructed in *STC* #260 as 'open, bud', with reflexes offered from WT, Nung, Jingpho, WB, and Karbi. The semantic connection between this root for 'open, bloom' and 'bear a child' was first suggested by W. T. French (1983:455), who reconstructs Proto-Northern Naga ***ʔ-bəw**. *STC* reconstructs both voiceless-initial and voiced-initial allofams (***bu** ≍ ***pu**), which we can now interpret as reflecting a simplex/causative opposition ('bloom' vs. 'cause to bud' [i.e. 'give birth']). A PLB reconstruction ***ʔpu**^{2} (equivalent to ***ʔbu**^{2}) is given in Matisoff 1988, *The Dictionary of Lahu* (p. 831), with the glottalization inferred from the very-low tone of the Lahu reflex **pū**. This reinforces French's PNN reconstruction with ***ʔ-**, as does the *a-chung* [ḥ] in the WT reflex (**ḥbu**). The Phom form **bəʔ** cited by French (*loc. cit.*) has been reanalyzed as belonging under PTB ***(p/b)(i/u)k** BORN / GIVE BIRTH (§1.9.2) [q.v.].

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***bu**	bud / swell	Weidert 1987:264
	***bu ≍ pu**	open / bud	Benedict 1972:260
	***pu**	bud / swell	Weidert 1987:264
	*s-**bu**	bud / open	Matisoff 2003a:585

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**pú**	blossom	Sun 1993b
	o-**bu**	birth, give (v.)	Sun 1993b
	o-**bu**-nɯ	birth	Sun 1993b
	ó-hó **bu**	birth, give	Sun 1993b
	pù	bloom	Sun 1993b
Galo	ao **be**-nam	birth (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ao-**be**-na	fertile (of animal)	Das Gupta 1963

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	**pu** pəm-	bud, be about to bloom (v.)	Bruhn 2014b

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Chokri	**pü**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**pfüa**	birth, give	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	iŋ **pú**	bud / swell	Weidert 1987:264
	iŋ **pu**	open, dilate	Benedict 1972:260
	phu	bud	Benedict 1972:260

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***ʔ-bəw**	bear a child (v.)	French 1983:455

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**pu**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
	pu	birth, give (v.)	French 1983:455

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**pu**	bloom, bud (v.)	Benedict 1972:260
	pu̱^{31}	flower (blossom of fruit)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	pu̱^{31}	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.19
	pu̱^{31}	bloom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:789.47
	^{1}pu	bud / swell	Weidert 1987:264
	ə **pu**	blossom, bud	Benedict 1972:260

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**ḥbu**-ba	open (of flowers)	Benedict 1972:260

2.2. Newar

Newar	**bu**-ye	born (be v.)	Matisoff 1993

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	**'bu**-ne	birth, give (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.46

3.2. Qiangic

Xumi	**bu**^{35}	bloom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:789.20

[a]Apatani preserves reflexes of both the voiceless and voiced allofams of this etymon (**pù** 'bloom'; **bu** 'give birth').

4. Nungic

Anong	nam-**phu**	blossom, bud	Benedict 1972:260
Trung [Dulong]	**pɯ**^{31}ju^{53}	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.46

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	kha^{55}**phu**^{55}	flower	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	kha^{55}**phu**^{55}	flower (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.49
	kha^{55}**phu**^{55}	flower	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:228.38
Tujia (Northern)	kha^{55}**phu**^{55}**phu**^{21}	bloom	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**phu**^{21}	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.49
	phu^{21}	bloom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:789.38
Tujia (Southern)	tsu^{33}**pu**^{35}do^{55}	bloom	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔbu**^{2}	bloom	Matisoff 1988a:831

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	ɑ^{31}**po**^{31}**po**^{31}	bloom	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**pɔ**^{35}	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	ɑ^{53}**phu**^{55}	bud (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0381.27
Burmese (Written)	ă **phù**	bud, swelling	Benedict 1972:260
	a **phū:**	bud (n.)	Marrison 1967
	phù	bud / swell into protuberance	Weidert 1987:264
	phû	bud, swell into protuberance	Benedict 1976a
	phù	bud / swell into protuberance (v.)	Benedict 1972:260
	ə-**phû**	bud; a pimple, boil (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ^{1}**phu**^{3}	bud (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0381.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**pu**^{55}	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.31
Maru [Langsu]	**pu**^{55}	bloom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:789.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pau**^{21}	birth, give	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.42
	po^{55}	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.30
	po^{55}	bloom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:789.42

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Noesu	**bo**^{21}	birth, give	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.15
Yi (Mile)	**bu**^{33}	birth, give (taboo)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.25

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**bu**^{22}	birth, give	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.15
Jinuo (Youle)	**po**^{33}	bloom	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**pɔ**^{33}	bloom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:789.34
Lahu (Black)	**pū**	bloom	Matisoff 1988a:831
Lisu	**bu**^{21}	bloom	Matisoff 1988a:831
Sani [Nyi]	a^{21} nɯ̱^{44} **bu**^{21}	birth, give	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:25.4
	bu^{21}	birth, give	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani	**by**^{21}	bloom	Matisoff 1988a:831

7. Karenic

Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	o̱^{31} p^{h}lɛ^{31} a^{31} **p**^{h}**o**^{55}	birth, give (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2320
	p^{h}**ui**^{55}	birth, give (to piglet)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:2467
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**p**^{h}**ui**^{55}	birth, give (pig)	Dai Qingxia 1989j:2467

Chinese comparandum

阜 OC ***b'i̯ôg**, *GSR* #1108a-c 'big mound; big, fat; abundant; wealth'; Schuessler 2007:244-5 ***bu**ʔ ; B & S 2011: ***bu**ʔ **{ [b] (r)u**ʔ**}**; Mand. **fù**.

(4) PTB *s-kya-y BORN / GIVE BIRTH

This newly established root seems quite solid. The Barish forms (esp. Dimasa, Kokborok) point to a diphthongal prototype, while most Loloish (including Jinuo) and Qiangic forms seem to reflect a monophthong. (***-a** > **-i** is a common Qiangic development.) The Himalayish evidence is mixed: Bantawa has **-a**, but WT and Pattani have **-e** (presumably from ***-ay**). There is evidence from Bahing for alternation between voiced and voiceless initial stops, reflecting a distinction between simplex ('be born') vs. causative ('give birth').

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	ha **dźai**	birth, give	Benedict 1972:65n206
	ha **jai**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	a-**čay**	born, be (be v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	chonja ha **je** na	birth, give (twins) (v.)	Balawan 1965:85
	ha **je** o sa	birth, give (v.)	Balawan 1965:27
	ha **je** na	born, be (vs.)	Balawan 1965:27

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	at **tśi**	birth, give	Benedict 1972:65n206

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**je**	born, be	Brown 1895:72
	je^{1}	born, be (be v.)	unknown nd

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**ze** pi	birth	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**ke**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣcç**	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htɕe**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rcɕe**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**xhɛʔ**^{53}	birth, give (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:10.4.15
	ɕe^{55}kɑ^{55}	birthday (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0682.03
	ʔa^{55} kɑʔ^{53} **ɕeʔ**^{53}	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ɕe**^{53}	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ceʔ**^{53}	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.2
	ce^{55}	birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.02
	ce^{55}ka:^{55}	birthday (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0682.02
	pu^{55}ku^{55} **ce**^{55}	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.02
Spiti	ṭu **ke** ze	birth, give	Bodh 1991:10.4.15
Tibetan (Written)	(phag phrug) **skje**	birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.01
	(phru gu) **skje**	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.01

[*]This comparison is correctly cited in *HPTB* (p. 58), although by an unfortunate error the Chinese character 愛 is given instead of 好. [JAM]

	skje	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htɕe**	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.04
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**cha** tokt-	birth, give (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:18
	chas-	birth, give	Rai *et al.* 1984:18
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**’giy**-cā	birth, give (animals?) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.46
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**dzɻ^{55}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.18
Lyuzu	de^{33}**dzɻ^{53}**	birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.18
	de^{33}**tsɻ^{53}**	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.18
Pumi (Lanping)	khə^{13}**dzᵲə^{55}**	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	khə^{13}**dzᵲə^{55}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.11
	k^{h}ə^{13} **dzᵲə^{55}**	birth, give	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	khə^{35}**ʑɛ^{35}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.10
	k^{h}ə^{35} **ʑɛ^{55}**	birth, give	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Yadu)	ʔi **tɕi**	birth, give (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2227
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tə^{35} **tɕe^{53}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai 1991n:10.4.15; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	tə^{55}**tɕe^{55}**	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.13
Xumi	**ji^{35}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**vɟjə^{53}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.15
Ergong (Danba)	**ɳʑɛ**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai 1991b:10.4.15; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.14
Ergong (Daofu)	ɬŋɑ **ʔʑa**	birth, give	Dai Qingxia 1989b:10.4.15
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	cɕ^{h}o **scɕi**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.4.15
rGyalrong	kə **scɕə**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	nɐ **scɕi**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.4.15
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**tjhỳ**	birth, give (of animals)	Björverud 1994
Noesu	**ʑɛ^{33}**	birth, give	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.15
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**tsa^{55}**	birth, give (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2227.
	tsa^{55}	birth, give (to piglet)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2362.
Nusu (Central)	**tsa^{55}**	birth, give (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2227.
	tsa^{55}	birth, give (to piglet)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2362.
	tsa^{55}	birth, give to; birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.34; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.34
Nusu (Northern)	**tsɯ̲^{35}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Mojiang)	**tshɛ^{55}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dzᵲA^{33}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**tɕ^{h}y^{21}**	birth, give	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Weishan)	**tɕhy^{21}**	birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.36
Yi (Xide)	a^{34}-**dzi^{33}**	birth, give (v.)	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**tʃa^{31}**	birth, give (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2320
	tʃa^{31}	birth, give (to piglet)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2467
Jinuo (Baka)	**tʃa^{31}**	birth, give (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2320
	tʃa^{31}	birth, give (to piglet)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2467
Jinuo	**tʃa^{42}**	birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.44
	tʃa^{42}	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.34
	tʃə^{42}	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**tʃɑ^{42}**	birth, give	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**ɕɛ33**	give birth; give birth to (of animals)	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009; Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Yellow)	**dʑa^{55}**	birth, give	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi	**tɕi^{33}**hə^{21}	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.45
Naxi (Western)	**tɕi^{33}**xə^{31}	birth, give	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tɕi^{33}**xə^{31}	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.28

(5) PTB *b-na BEAR A CHILD / BORN

This root is widespread in Naga languages, where it is always accompanied by a labial prefix. The Tamangic cognates show no evidence of the prefix. This etymon seems unrelated to PTB ***naŋ** GIVE BIRTH (§1.9.2).

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	**peno**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**penuo**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
	pe^{31}nuo^{33}	birth, give	Nienu 1990a:10.4.15
Chokri	**mü^{31}nou^{33}**	birth, give	Nienu 1990b:10.4.15
Mao	**mono**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**punu**	birth, give	Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:10.4.15
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Mzieme	**mna**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**na**	born, be	Mazaudon 1994:537
Gurung (Ghachok)	**-ne**	be (v.)	Glover 1972:13.B.29
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**nə-**	born, be	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0395
	^{3}**nɤ-**	born, be	Mazaudon 1994:537
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**na**	put down (e.g. a load); give birth, be born; care for (a child); raise, rear; put down (a load); birth, give / born, be	Mazaudon 1994:537; Mazaudon 1994:537
Tamang (Sahu)	^{2}kola ^{3}**na**-pa	birth, give (animals?) (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:537
Thakali	**nah**-la	birth, give / lay down	Hale 1973:03b.46
Thakali (Marpha)	**na^{ɦ11}**-wa^{11}	birth, give; born, be; birth, give (animals)	Mazaudon 1994:541
Thakali (Tukche)	**nɔh**-lɔ	birth, give	Hari 1971; Hari 1971:2.B.2.11; Hari 1971:3.B.46
	nɔh-lɔ tɔn-lɔ	birth, give	Hari 1971:2.B.2.11a
	^{3}**nə**-lə; **nɔh**-lɔ	birth, give	Mazaudon 1994:537

(6) PTB *mun GIVE BIRTH / CONCEIVE / CREATE

This root is reconstructed for Proto-Kiranti by Michailovsky (1991). The Burmese form definitely appears cognate. It is possible that this etymon should be reconstructed with the PTB rhyme ***-ul**, as suggested by apparently parallel examples: PTB ***s/r-mul ⩤ *s-mil ⩤ *s-myal** HAIR / FUR / FEATHER (§1.6.1) (> WB **mwê**); PTB ***s-b/m-ru:l** SNAKE (§2.1.6.1) (> WB **mrwe**).

2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***mun-**	created (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:39
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**mun-**	birth, give (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:39
Chamling	**mun**-a	originate, to be born (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:39
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**mɨn-**	conceived (of a child) (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:39
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**mun-**	conceived (of a child) (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:39
Thulung	**mun-**	created (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:39
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mwe^{55}**	birth, give to; birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.27; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mwe^{55}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.40
Burmese (Written)	**mwê**	bear, bring forth	Benedict 1976a
	mwe:	birth, give	Marrison 1967
	mwe^{3}	birth, give to; birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.26; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.26
	mwe^{3}	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.39
	mwe^{3}ne^{1}	birthday (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0682.26

(7) PLB *pwa^{2} BORN / BIRTH

This root is solidly established for Lolo-Burmese. The Pa-O (Karenic) form may be a borrowing from Burmese.

6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Luxi)	**pa^{31}**	birth, give (to child)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Written)	**phwâ**	bear, bring forth	Benedict 1976a
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**vo^{55}**	birth, give (child)	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984 [a]
	vo^{55}	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.30
	vo^{55}	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Bijiang)	**phuɔ^{ɹ53}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.45
Nusu (Central)	**p^{h}uɔ^{ɹ53}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	**phwā**	birth, give (humans only); born, be	Solnit 1989; Solnit 1989

[a] Zaiwa (1984) treats the labial stop in this etymon as a prefix, so that it reflects an immediate prototype ***wa**.

(8) PTB *g-sow REAR / BEAR (child)

The WT form is the key to this reconstruction, although no other Himalayish cognates have been found so far. This etymon seems to be widespread in Loloish, with probable reflexes also in Northeast India, Nungish (Dulong), and Qiangic (Muya).

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	miu-**cu**-ma	birth of a boy	Tayeng 1976
	or-mi **cu**-ma	birth of a girl	Tayeng 1976
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***su(ʔ)** BE BORN / GIVE BIRTH			
**Central Naga*	***su(ʔ)**	BE BORN / GIVE BIRTH	Bruhn 2014a:III.084
**Ao*	*a-**su(ʔ)**	BE BORN / GIVE BIRTH	Bruhn 2014a:II.099
Ao (Chungli)	**-sù**	born (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
	a^{3}-**su^{1}**	be born / give birth (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.099
	a **so**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**so**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**sùʔ**	bear (give birth) [bore (gave birth)] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**sù**-pàʔ	birth (NZP + ’bear’ + NR (n.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	**su** ro	birth, give	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**zü** pe	birth, give	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**gso**-ba	feed, nourish; bring up, rear (v.)	Jäschke 1881:590
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya [Minyak]	mɯ^{55}**zɯ^{55}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai 1991h:10.4.15; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.15
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	pɯ^{31}**ɟu^{53}**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.46
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ʂu^{31}**	birth, give (to child)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nasu	**ʑo̲^{21}**	birth, give	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.15
Nosu	**ʑu̲^{33}**	birth, give	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.15
Yi (Dafang)	a^{33}ŋa^{55} **ʑo^{33}**	birth, give	Matisoff 1993 [a]
	ʑɔ^{33}	born, be (be v.)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ʑɔ^{33}	grow (up); birth, give	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.22
Yi (Mile)	**ʐu̲^{33}**	birth, give (polite term)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.25
Yi (Xide)	**ɕu̲^{33}**	birth, give (v.)	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʑu̲^{33}	birth, give	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ʑu̲^{33}	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.35
	ʐu̲^{33}	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.21
	ʐu̲^{33}ɳi^{21}	birthday (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0682.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**ʐu̲^{33}**	birth, give	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.15
Sani [Nyi]	kɯ^{33} **ʐo̲^{44}**	born, be (be v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:263.2
	ʐo̲^{33}	birth, give	Matisoff 1993
	ʐo̲^{44}	birth, give	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.15
	ʐu̲^{44}	grow, be born (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:346.1
Yi (Sani)	**ʐu̲^{44}**	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsu^{55}**	birth, give	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.30

[a] Yi **a^{33}ŋa^{55}** ‘child’ (cf. PTB ***m/s-ŋa-y** SMALL / INFERIOR / OFFSPRING (§1.9.2)).

6.2. NAXI

Naxi (Yongning)	**dʐu**^{13}	birth, give	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:774.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**tɕu**^{31}	birth, give	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985

Chinese comparandum

Comment: Cf. 夙 **sù**, comparandum for PTB ***s(y)u-ŋ/k*** WAKE UP / MORNING / CLEAR-HEADED / SOBER UP (§1.1.4).

(9) PTB *naŋ GIVE BIRTH

This root is attested in a few widely separated languages: Kaman [Miju], Guiqiong (Qiangic), and Tujia. It is perhaps to be related to TGTM ***naŋ*** BROOD / INCUBATE (eggs) (§1.9.1), but seems quite distinct from PTB ***b-na*** BEAR A CHILD / BORN (§1.9.2).

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	xɑ^{31}**nɑŋ**^{55}	birth, give to; birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.23; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.23
	xɑ^{31}**nɑŋ**^{55}	birth, give	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:774.48

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	ə **ŋaŋ** pok pə	birth, give (v.)	Singh 1991:10.4.15 [a]
	ə **ŋaŋ** u nə bə	birth, give (v.)	Singh 1991:10.4.15

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	(e^{55}le^{55}tsə^{33}) **nɑ̃**^{31}	birth, give to (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.16
	(pha^{55}tsi^{55}tsi^{55}) **nɔ̃**^{31}	birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.16
	nɔ̃^{35}	birth, give	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:774.17

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**nũ**^{55}	birth, give	CHEN Kang 1986c:10.4.15
Tujia (Northern)	**nũ**^{55}	birth, give (to child)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

[a] Meithei **ə ŋaŋ** 'child' (cf. Lhoba **aŋaː**, Yi (Dafang) **a**^{33}**ŋa**^{55}, as well as set PTB ***m/s-ŋa-y*** SMALL / INFERIOR / OFFSPRING (§1.9.2)).

(10) PTB * p b i u k BORN / GIVE BIRTH

This root may well be related to PTB ***(p/b)uk*** HATCH (egg) (§1.9.1).

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	(kuː) **bɯŋ**	birth, give	Sun 1993b [a]

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***puk*** SPRING FORTH / ORIGINATE / BE BORN

**Central Naga*	***puk**	SPRING FORTH / ORIGINATE / BE BORN	Bruhn 2014a:III.260
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**puk**^{3}	originate, spring forth (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.260
Lotha Naga	**pok**^{2}-	be born (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.260
	pok	birth, give (v.)	Marrison 1967
	pok cho	born	Murry *et al.* 1978:11

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**pok**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
	ə ŋaŋ **pok** pə	birth, give (v.)	Singh 1991:10.4.15 [b]

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**puk**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
Phom	**büh**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
	bəʔ	birth, give (v.)	French 1983:455 [c]
	bɯʔ^{33}	give birth	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	**phok**	bloom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:789.7
	p^{h}ek^{55}	birth, give (of an animal) (v.)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**puk**-	birth, give (medical) (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:59
Chamling	**puk**-(a)	birth, give (animal) (v.)	Winter 1985:29

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**bɨk** nɨ	birth, give (of non-humans) (v.)	Driem 1993

6.1.1. BURMISH

Hpun (Northern)	ăsă **phóʔ**	birth, give	Henderson 1986 [d]

[a] Bengni **-ŋ** is unexplained.
[b] Meithei **ə ŋaŋ** 'child' (cf. Lhoba **aŋaː**, Yi (Dafang) **a**^{33}**ŋa**^{55}, as well as set PTB ***m/s-ŋa-y*** SMALL / INFERIOR / OFFSPRING (§1.9.2)).
[c] W.T. French (1983:455) assigned Phom **bəʔ** to PNN ***ʔ-bəw***; see PTB ***ʔ-bu*** ≍ ***pu*** BORN / BIRTH / BUD / BLOOM (§1.9.2).
[d] **ăsă** means "child".

(11) PTB *wat GIVE BIRTH

This splendid little root is well-established in Himalayish (Chepang, Dumi), with likely cognates in Barish (Lalung) and Karenic.

1.7.1.1. BODO

Lalung [Tiwa]	ha je **o** sa	birth, give (v.)	Balawan 1965:27

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	ku-hiŋ **wEt**	alive	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**waːt** nɨ	bear (children, offspring); yean, calve, whelp (v.)	Driem 1993

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	coʔ **ʔo**.sa	birth, give (animals?) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.46
	coʔ-**ʔo**-sa	birth, give	Caughley 1972:3.B.46
	ʔot-sa	birth, give	Caughley 1972:2.B.2. 11.
	ʔum **ʔot**.sā	lay egg (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.14
Chepang (Eastern)	coʔ **ʔot** naʔ	birth, give	Caughley 1990:10.4.15

7. KARENIC

Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**o̲**^{31} p^{h}lɛ^{31} a^{31} p^{h}o^{55}	birth, give (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989k:2320
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**o̲**^{31} p^{h}lɛ^{31}	birth, give (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989j:2320

(12) PTB *ra GIVE BIRTH

This etymon is so far attested only in Tangkhulic and Burmish (Bola, Maru).

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***ra*** BORN

**Tangkhulic*	****ra***	born (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:317
Huishu	kə-pə-**re**	born (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.133
Tangkhul	pha **ra**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	kə-p^{h}ə-**ra**	born; give birth to a child (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

6.1.1. BURMISH

Bola	**ɣa**^{35}	birth, give (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2227
Bola (Luxi)	**ɣa**^{35}	birth, give to (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**ɣɔ**^{55}	birth, give to; birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.31
Maru [Langsu]	**ɣɔ**^{55}	birth, give	DAI Qingxia 1989l:10.4.15; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:774.43

(13) PTB *sut GIVE BIRTH

This etymon is worth setting up, even though it only occurs for sure in two widely separated languages, one Himalayish (Yakha) and one Burmish (Lashi). The affiliation of the Karen form is uncertain, though it possibly reflects an allofam ***sit***.

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Yakha	**sut** keːri	birth, give	Kohn 1990:10.4.15

6.1.1. BURMISH

Lashi	**suːt**^{55}	birth, give	DAI Qingxia 1989m:10.4.15
Leqi (Luxi)	**suːt**^{55}	birth, give to (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.33

7. KARENIC

Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**si̲ʔ**^{55} sa^{31}	birth, give (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989j:2320.1

(14) PTB * k g ak BORN / BREATH / LIFE

This root has so far been discovered only in Tangkhulic, Lepcha, and Kiranti (Thulung). The Thulung allofams with voiced vs. voiceless initials reflect a simplex/causative distinction: 'be born' (with **g-**) / 'give birth' (with **k-**).

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***k^{h}ak*** BREATH

**Tangkhulic*	****k^{h}ak***	breath	Mortensen 2012:552
Huishu	ʔa-**k^{h}oʔ**	breath	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.272
Kachai	ʔa-**k^{h}ak**	breath	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.254
Tangkhul	**khak**	breath; life; breathe	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	khak-kasui	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	khak-khā	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	khək	breath	Bhat 1969:85
Tusom	ʔə-**k^{h}a**	breath	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.265
Ukhrul	**k^{h}ak**-suj	breath	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**k^{h}ak**	breath	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**k^{h}ɐk**	breath	Mortensen 2012

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**gek**	born (be v.)	Plaisier 2007

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	**gəks**-	born, be	Allen 1975
	gək siu ma	childbirth, woman in	Allen 1975
	kəks-	birth, give	Allen 1975

(15) IA *yaN GIVE BIRTH

This is an Indo-Aryan root, borrowed into several TB languages of Nepal. Cf. Nepali **jan-ma** 'birth', **jan-manu** 'be born'.

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	nani **yã**-wã	birth, give	Noonan *et al.* 1992:10.4.15
Tamang (Sahu)	'kola **yaŋ**-pa	birth, give (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.11.a
	nah **'yahm**-pa	conceive (become pregnant) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.12

X.1. NON-TB

Nepali	**jan** manu	born, be (v.)	Hale 1973:02b2.11

(16) PTB * m s -ŋa-y SMALL / INFERIOR / OFFSPRING

This etymon has a range of meanings from 'small' to 'child' to 'give birth'. Most reflexes descend from a diphthongal prototype in ***-ay***, but occasionally from monophthongal ***-a*** (e.g. Yi Dafang **a**^{33} **ŋa**^{55} [see ***g-sow*** above], and Bokar Lhoba **a-ŋaː**), so that this is a good candidate for a putative PTB palatal suffix, one of the functions of which is to mark diminutives. See Matisoff 1995 and DL:783-784.

Chinese 兒 'child' (Mand. **ér**) is a plausible comparandum.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	****ŋay***	small; inferior; offspring	Matisoff 1985a:111; Matisoff 2003a:606; LaPolla 1987:211 [a]

1.1.1. TANI: ***ŋaː*** BABY

**Tani*	****ŋaː***	baby	Sun 1993a:11

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	à-**ŋa**	baby; small child	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ə-**ŋa**	infant	Sun 1993b
	ə-**ŋa** gɯ	carry on back / pregnant	Sun 1993a
	ə-**ŋa**-gɯ-nɯ	pregnant	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**ŋa**	infant	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**ŋá**-gɯ	pregnancy	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**ŋɯː**	baby; infant	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **ŋaː** a ken	orphan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0252.24
	a-**ŋaː**	baby; child (small~)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**ŋaː** a-ken	orphan	Sun 1993b
	ŋaː tɕiŋ	baby (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0170.24
	ŋəː-jĭŋ	baby	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **ŋaː**	child	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	'ta **ŋaa**	child (last) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'uŋ **ŋaa**	baby; infant (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Damu	ʔa-**ŋaː**	baby	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ŋaː** ʔa n̥i xo dɯŋ	twin	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ŋa**-**ŋa**	baby	Tayeng 1976

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***[h] ŋaj*** BABY, CHILD

**Central Naga*	****[h] ŋaj***	BABY, CHILD	Bruhn 2014a:III.045
Lotha Naga	**ŋa**^{3}-roʔ^{3}	child, baby (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.045
	nga ro	baby; child	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:16; Murry *et al.* 1978:8
	Nga ro chu	meconium / baby shit	Nienu 1990c:9.12.2
	Nga ro ho	baby tooth	Nienu 1990c:3.10.5
	ŋá rò	baby	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	a khu **nga**	baby	Marrison 1967
	^{1}a^{2}ku^{2}**ŋa**	baby	Weidert 1987:375
Yimchungrü	khu **nga** rü	baby; child	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

[a] [Source Note] [G&C 111] (LaPolla 1987).

	[1]ku[1]**ŋa**[1]rɯ	baby	Weidert 1987:375
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Ntenyi	a **nga**	baby	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **nga**	baby	Marrison 1967
	a **nga** ba	meconium / baby shit	Achumi 1998a:9.12.2
	a **nga** pola	umbilical cord	Achumi 1998a:10.4.12
	a **nga**-hu	baby tooth	Achumi 1998a:3.10.5
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	ə-**ŋaŋ**	child	Singh 1991:10.4.15 [a]
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	ma **ŋáy**	small	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1985a:111; LaPolla 1987:211
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	chi **ngai**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
	šə **ŋài**	birth, give (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:111
	ʃa[31] **ŋai[31]**	bear children (v.)	LaPolla 1987:211
	ʃă[31] **ŋai[31]**	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.19
	ʃă[31]**ŋai[31]**	birthday (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0682.19
	ʃă[31]**ŋai[31]**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.47
	ʃa[1] **ŋai[31]**	birth, give (to child)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	ʔŋāi	birth, give (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:111
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (NW)	ta lŋa **k[h]ŋɛ** t[h]i	birth, give	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.4.15
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ŋɛ[55]**	small	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:211
Achang (Luxi)	**ŋəi[31]**	small	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:211
Bola (Luxi)	**ŋai[55]**	small (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0965.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ŋɛ[22]**	small (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0965.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ŋɛ[22]**	small	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:801.40
Burmese (Written)	**ṅay**	small	Marrison 1967
	nây	small	Hansson 1989:120
	ŋai	small, little, inferior	Matisoff 1985a:111; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:211
	ŋai cañ toŋ kyê	since childhood	Matisoff 1985a:111
	ŋai-**ŋai** kəthañ ka	since childhood	Matisoff 1985a:111
	ŋɑj[2]	small (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0965.26
	ŋɑj[2]	small	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:801.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**ŋai[31]**	small (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0965.31
	ŋai[31]	young	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1059.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ŋɛː[31]**	small (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0965.33
Maru [Langsu]	**ŋai[31]**	small	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:801.43
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***nay[2]**/[1]	young	Bradley 1979b:534
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Dafang)	a[33]**ŋa[55]**	child	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:295.22
Yi (Mojiang)	**ŋɛ[55]**	small	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:801.26
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**ngje**	child; son	Baxter 1992:1452; Baxter 1992:352
	ŋe	child	Baxter & Sagart 2011:635

[a] Meithei **-ŋ** perhaps result of assimilation to the syllable initial.

Chinese comparandum

兒 OC ***ńi̱ĕg**, *GSR* #873a-d 'child'; Li 1971: ***ngrjig**; Baxter 1992 #1452: ***ngje**; Mand. **ér**.

In Li's system, ***-rj-** is reconstructed to account for the palatalization of the velar initial in Middle Chinese. This palatalizing medial is no longer accepted by most scholars today. In Baxter's system, medial ***-r-** blocks palatalization, and must be omitted.

The TB/Chinese correspondences look good. We would expect ***a** vocalism in Chinese, but ***i** (Li) / ***e** (Baxter) could be the result of an original ***a** fusing irregularly with the palatal suffix. As seen in PTB ***s-tay** NAVEL / ABDOMEN / CENTER / SELF (§1.9.3) and PTB ***ŋ-(w)aːy** COPULATE / MAKE LOVE / LOVE / GENTLE (§1.9.8)), TB ***-ay** may correspond to OC ***-əd** (Li) / ***-i̱j** (Baxter), and there is some evidence that OC ***-ig** (Li) / ***-e** (Baxter) also can correspond to this same TB final. Consider, for example, 'crab' (*STC* #51), TB ***d-kay**, which is likely cognate to 蟹 OC ***grigx** 'crab' (Li), Mand **xiè** (see *STC* p. 166, *GSR* #861d).

Schuessler (2007:225) believes that this is an area word, with connections to forms in Austroasiatic and Miao-Yao.
[ZJH]

(17) PTB *kruŋ LIVE / ALIVE / BORN / GIVE BIRTH / GREEN / SPROUT

This root is reconstructed in *STC* #382, which cites the WT, Jingpho, Bodo, and Dimasa forms. The Bai and Lolo-Burmese forms look cognate, but the relationship of the Jinuo form to this set is uncertain. The semantic range of this etymon, which extends from the notion of birth to that of sprouting, greenness, freshness, is parallelled by another root PTB ***s-riŋ ⩵ *s-r(y)aŋ** LIVE / ALIVE / GREEN / RAW / GIVE BIRTH (§1.9.2) (q.v.).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kruŋ**	born; give birth; alive; green	Matisoff 2003a:597; Benedict 1972:382
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	ga **khraŋ**	green	Benedict 1972:382
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**khruŋ**	live, be alive	Benedict 1972:382
	mə **kruŋ**	fresh sprouts, new twigs	Benedict 1972:382
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**k[h]roŋ[55]**	birth, give (to child) (v.)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**khroŋ[53]**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.6
Cuona Menba	**khroŋ[53]**	birth, give to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥkhruŋ**-ba	be born; shoot, sprout, grow (of seeds and plants) (be v.)	Benedict 1972:382
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**jhuŋ**-sa	born, be (be v.)	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.11
	jhuŋ-sa	born, be	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.11
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola	**kɔ̃[55]**	life; life-span	Dai Qingxia 1989g:193; Dai Qingxia 1989g:194
Bola (Luxi)	**kɔ̃[55]**	life; life span (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0163.32; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.32
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	**gɣ[33]** lɣ[44]	alive / be living	Dai Qingxia 1989n:1.12
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a[44] **k[h]ʌ[44]**	life	Dai Qingxia 1989h:201
Jinuo (Baka)	a[44] **k[h]ʌ[44]**	life	Dai Qingxia 1989i:201
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**kɣ̣[42]**	alive / be living	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.12

(18) PTB *s-riŋ ⩵ *s-r(y)aŋ LIVE / ALIVE / GREEN / RAW / GIVE BIRTH

This etymon constitutes a large set in *STC* (#404), where it was originally reconstructed with ***-a-** ⩵ ***-i-** variation at the PTB level: ***s-riŋ** ⩵ ***s-raŋ**. Benedict later changed the reconstruction to ***śriŋ** (n. 252, n.128), explaining the **-a-** in WB **hraŋ** as being 'conditioned by the initial cluster'. I find this revision unconvincing, and prefer to posit vocalic variation at the proto-level. (This is similar to the ***-ya-** ⩵* **-i-** variation found in several roots, notably EYE and PHEASANT. See *STC* pp. 84-5, *VSTB* pp. 40-1.) There is an excellent Chinese comparandum, 生, reconstructed in *GSR* #812a-d as OC ***sĕng**/MC **ṣɒng**; Mand. **shēng**. But here too Karlgren notes an irregular vocalic development from OC to MC (one would have expected MC **ṣɛng**). The semantic fit between the TB forms and Chinese is extraordinarily good.

This root is perhaps to be reconstructed ***tsiŋ** at the PLB level (cf. Lahu **chê**).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***sring**	live / bear	Coblin 1986:104
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-raŋ**	live (v.)	Weidert 1987:199
	***s-ring(*A)**	live / bear	Coblin 1986:104
	***s-riŋ**	live (v.)	Weidert 1987:199
	***s-riŋ** ~ **s-raŋ**	live / alive / green / raw	Benedict 1972:404
	***s-riŋ** ~ **s-rɑŋ**	live / bear / be born / fresh (e.g. greens) (v.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:812a-d
	***s-riŋ ⩵ s-r(y)aŋ**	alive / green / raw / give birth / be born	Matisoff 2003a:610
	***śriN**	live (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:109
	***śriŋ**	live / alive / green / raw	Chou Fa-kao 1972:812a-d
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	**ɟuŋ**-dom-pi	live	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ɑ[31] **sɯŋ[55]**	alive, live	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɑ[31]**sɯŋ[55]**	birth, give to; birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.22; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.22
	ɑ[31]**sɯŋ[55]**	birth, give	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:774.49
Kaman [Miju]	kɯ[31] **ɹɑ̆ŋ[35]**	alive, live	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	**sɯŋ[55]**	alive / be living	Sun Hongkai 1991f:1.12
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hriŋ-I**, ***hrin-II** GREEN / ALIVE / FRESH			
**Chin*	***hriŋ**-I, hrin-II	GREEN / ALIVE / FRESH	VanBik 2009:1085
Anal	**rhìn**	fresh / green / unripe	Weidert 1987:199
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**hing** hī	fresh, alive	VanBik 2009:1085
Thado	**híng**-I, hìn-II	alive	VanBik 2009:1085
Tiddim	**hing[2]** > hing[3]	green (fresh, alive)	VanBik 2009:1085
	hing[2] > hin[3]	alive; exert pressure during defecation or deliv (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:467
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**m-ghin**	give life, make live; to nourish, entertain life (v.)	VanBik 2009:1085
Daai	**xin**	live	VanBik 2009:1085
Khumi	**hóeyng**	live, living, alive, green	VanBik 2009:1085
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hrîŋ**-I, hrĭn-II	green, alive	VanBik 2009:1085
Lai (Falam)	**hríŋ**-I, hrìn-II	green, alive	VanBik 2009:1085
Lushai [Mizo]	**hrìn**	fresh, green, unripe	Weidert 1987:199
	hring	green; fresh (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2472
	hring	fresh, green	Coblin 1986:104
	hríng-I, hrìn-II	green, (in colour), to be fresh (as milk or fish) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1085
	hríŋ	fresh / green / unripe	Weidert 1987:199
	hriŋ	fresh, green	Benedict 1972:404
	hriŋʔ	birth, give (v.)	Benedict 1972:404
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hrò**	live (as life), green (as wood) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1085
	[3]ə[1]**hrɒ**	fresh / green / unripe	Weidert 1987:199
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	ə kə **riŋ**	alive / be living	Toba & Kom 1991:1.12
Moyon	**lríŋ**	alive / be living	Kosha 1990:1.12
	nǎ̀ **nríŋ**	birth, give	Kosha 1990:10.4.15
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Yimchungrü	a **rhang**	live (to be alive); life	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	[2]**hri**	live (v.)	Weidert 1987:199
	[2]ke[3]**hri**	life (n.)	Weidert 1987:199
Angami (Khonoma)	**rhi**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	ke **lhou**	life	Marrison 1967
	ke **rhei**	life	Marrison 1967
	lhou[31]	alive / be living	Nienu 1990a:1.12
	rhei ba	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	ke **rhü**	life	Marrison 1967
	lhü[31]	alive / be living	Nienu 1990b:1.12
	rhü, **lhü**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
Khezha	**lhì**	alive / be living	Yabu 1994:1.12
	rhi	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
Mao	ka **hrü**	life	Marrison 1967
	lei, **hrü**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
	[1]**hrɯ**	live (v.)	Weidert 1987:199
Rengma	ke **rhüng**	life	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Northern)	[1]ga[3]**hã**	live (v.)	Weidert 1987:199
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	**ring**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**ring**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
Maram	**ring**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**ring**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ringh**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
	ringh mei	life	Marrison 1967

Zeme	ke **ring** be	life	Marrison 1967
	ring	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}ke^{1}**riŋ**	fresh / green / unripe	Weidert 1987:199
Mzieme	ke **ring** ria	life	Marrison 1967
	ring	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***hriŋ** ALIVE			
**Tangkhulic*	***hriŋ**	alive	Mortensen 2012:487
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**rɐŋ**	alive; be living	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.018
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**rɐŋ**	alive / be living	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.014
Tangkhul	**ring**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
	ring lakha	life	Marrison 1967
	riŋ	alive; careful	Bhat 1969:84; Bhat 1969:86
Tusom	kə-**hrɯə̃**	alive (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.016
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**riŋ**	alive (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**hing**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
	hiŋ	alive (be v.)	Benedict 1972:404
	hiŋ bə	alive / be living	Singh 1991:1.12
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**reŋ**	live, come to life (v.)	Benedict 1972:404
	reŋ-seŋ	green, verdant	Benedict 1972:404
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**haŋ**-sur	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**raŋ**-sit-	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	**rang•**-du-a	breathe deeply (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.45-II:idx
	rang•-sip-it-a	breathe (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.45-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**rang•** set-	breathe (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	raŋ-sət-	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***criŋ** ALIVE, ***C-raŋ** ALIVE			
**Northern Naga*	***criŋ**	alive	French 1983:449 [a]
	***C̥-raŋ**	alive	French 1983:449
	***C̥-rin**	alive	French 1983:450
	***ryəŋ**	alive	French 1983:449
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**hiŋ**	live (v.)	French 1983:449
	^{1}ʌ^{2}**hin(ʔ)**	green (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:199
Tangsa (Moshang)	a ta **roŋ**	live (v.)	French 1983:449
	a ta **rong**	live (to be alive)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**laŋ**	live, living (v.)	French 1983:449
	sʌ̀ŋ-dúŋ-	green (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:199
Khiamngan	^{12}a^{3}**saŋ**^{21}ña	green (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:199
Konyak	a **yin**	life	French 1983:450; Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	kʌ-**húŋ**	green (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:199
Konyak (Wakching)	ʌ-**húŋ**	green (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:199
Phom	**yem** ñu	live (v.)	French 1983:450
	yem (bəm)	life	French 1983:450
	yem büm	life	Marrison 1967
Wancho	a **raŋ**	alive; raw	French 1983:449
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**tsiŋ**	grass; grassy; fresh; live	Benedict 1972:108n304; Benedict 1972:404
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	kə **tsiŋ**	fresh, green, raw, unripe	Benedict 1972:404
	riṅsā	breath (n.)	Bailey 1911
	riṅ sā	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	sā **söṅ**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	sa **səṇ**	breath	Sharma 1988:30
	śöng	live, alive	Coblin 1986:104
	śöŋ	live, be alive	Benedict 1972:404
Pattani [Manchati]	**çin** mi	live (v.)	Sharma 1982
	šiŋ mi	alive / be living	Sharma 1991b:1.12
	sring	live, alive	Coblin 1986:104
	sriŋ	live, be alive	Benedict 1972:404
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**sik**	birth, give	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:774.7
	siŋ^{55}	birth, give (to child) (v.)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**sik**	birth, give to (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1620.07
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Chamba Lahuli	**sriŋ** ⪤ **śiŋ**	live, be alive	Benedict 1972:404
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Thakali (Tukche)	mih **li**	life	Hari 1971:10.A.12
2.3. KIRANTI: ***hiŋ-** LIVE			
**SE Kiranti*	***hiŋ-**	live (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:109
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**hiŋ-**	live (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:109
	ku-**hiŋ** wEt	alive	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	wə **hiŋ** glik	alive / be living	Kohn 1990:1.12
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**hïŋ-**	alive (be v.)	Michailovsky 1991:109
	hUN	alive (be v.)	Rai 1985
Chamling	**hing**-a	sit, to rest, to remain, to (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:109
Kulung	**hiŋŋ**-u	care for; care for (children) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:109; Rai *et al.* 1975
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	mə **śiŋ**	green (color)	Benedict 1972:404
	śin	grass	Benedict 1972:404
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***tsiŋ**^{2} LIVE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***tsiŋ**^{2}	live	Matisoff 1993
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola	ŋji^{55} **jɛʔ**^{55}	life	DAI Qingxia 1989g:976
Burmese (Written)	**hrang**	live, alive	Coblin 1986:104
	hraŋ	live; live, be alive (v.)	Weidert 1987:199; Benedict 1976a
	hraŋ	alive; live, be alive	Benedict 1972:39n128; Benedict 1972:404
	hrɑŋ^{2}	alive, become / active (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1396.26
	hrɑŋ^{2}	alive	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:781.39
	ə-**hraŋ**	alive	Benedict 1976a
Lashi	tə^{31} **tsə**^{55}	alive / be living	DAI Qingxia 1989m:1.12
Marma	**hraŋ**	alive (be v.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:126
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**sɣ̩**^{24}	alive / be living	DAI Qingxia 1989c:1.12
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**chê**	live, dwell, stay	Matisoff 1988a:542-3
Sani [Nyi]	**sɿ**^{44}	alive	MA Xueliang 1989:354.4

[a] W.T. French (1983:449-50) sets up no fewer than four allofams of this root at the Proto-Northern Naga level.

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Dazhai)	**zi**^{55}	life	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**zi**^{55}	life span (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.41
	zi^{55}	lifetime (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0915.41
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{31} **zi**^{55}	life	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Mojiang)	**zi**^{55}	lifetime (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0915.42
	ɔ^{31}**zi**^{55}	life span (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.42
Côông [Phunoi]	hnã^{55} **ce**^{11} ɲiʔ^{55}	live	Bradley 1977 [a]
	ʔã^{55} **cɑ**^{33}	live	Bradley 1977
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**xæ̃**^{55}	alive / be living	ZHAO Yansun 1990:1.12
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**sĕŋ**	live / bear / be born / fresh (e.g. greens) (v.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:812a-d
	śrĕŋ	live / bear / be born / fresh (e.g. greens) (v.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:812a-d
	sring	live / bear	Coblin 1986:104
	srjeng	born; live, be alive; be fresh (be v.)	Baxter 1992:130; Baxter 1992:1497,1912,303; Baxter 1992:573
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**ṣɐng**	live, life, bear, be born	Coblin 1986:104
	ṣ̥ɒŋ	live / bear / be born / fresh (e.g. greens) (v.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:812a-d

[a] The cognacy of these two Phunoi forms is uncertain, but **ce**^{11} ⪤ **ca**^{33} perhaps reflects *-**iŋ** ⪤ *-**aŋ**.

Chinese comparandum

生 OC ***sěng** *GSR* #812a, 'live; bear, born; fresh'; Li 1971: ***sring**; Baxter 1992 #130: ***srjeng**; Mand. **shēng**.

For the reconstruction of ***-j-** in Baxter's system, see Baxter 1992:580-581. The development to Middle Chinese is regular in Baxter's system, while it is irregular in Li's system.

This is a long-recognized cognate (see e.g. *STC* #404). The Chinese initial and coda correspond to the Tibeto-Burman. In Li's reconstruction, the main vowel ***i** is also a perfect match for the TB vowel. Baxter's OC system does not permit a final ***-ing** reconstruction. Baxter postulates developments ***-ing** > ***-in** and ***-ing** > ***-eng** (depending on dialect) predating the Old Chinese period (1992:299,563). In this case the comparative evidence points to ***-ing** > ***-eng**, and Baxter's reconstruction is also a perfect match for the Tibeto-Burman.

Other Chinese members of the word family (such as 青 'green; color of living things', Mand. **qīng**) apparently reflect PST allofams with vowel ***a** and/or lacking medial ***r**. See Schuessler (2007:431, 459-460) for tables comparing Chinese and Tibeto-Burman allofams.

= =

性 姓 生 蒼

Schuessler (2007:76, 460) further argues that this etymon derives from PST ***sri** 'to be, exist'.
[ZJH]

A better match for TO BE / EXIST is PTB ***s-ri-t** ⪤ ***s-rut** BE / EXIST / COPULA (§1.1.2.3), [JAM]

(19) PKC *hriŋ-I, *hrin-II BEAR (child) / GIVE BIRTH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hriŋ**-I, hrin-II	BEAR (child) / GIVE BIRTH	VanBik 2009:1074
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**hìn**-INV	bear (a child), give birth	VanBik 2009:1074
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hrîŋ**-I, hrǐn-II	bear (a child), give birth	VanBik 2009:1074
Lai (Falam)	**hrǐŋ**-I, hrìn-II	bear (a child), give birth	VanBik 2009:1074
Lushai [Mizo]	**hring**	bring forth; beget; bear (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2471
	hríng-I, hrìn-II	bear, to bring forth, to give birth to, to beget (v.)	VanBik 2009:1074

(20) PTB *pay CARRY (close to the body) / BE PREGNANT

This root is well established in Kuki-Chin and Jingpho-Asakian.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***paay** ⪤ ***pooy** CONCEIVE / CARRY (close to the body)			
**Chin*	***paay** ⪤ **pooy**	CONCEIVE / CARRY (close to the body)	VanBik 2009:135
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**páay-I**, **pày-II**	carry something on the side of the body	VanBik 2009:135
Tiddim	**pa:i**^{2}	conceive, to carry something on one's body covered by something (e.g. carry in a pocket or under the shirt) (v.)	VanBik 2009:135
	pa:i^{1}	conceive; carry something on one's body covered by (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1350
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**pâay** ⪤ **pôoy-I**, **pǎay** ⪤ **pǒoy-II**	conceive, be pregnant (i.e. carry child) (v.)	VanBik 2009:135
Lai (Falam)	**páay-I pàay-II**	conceive, carry (close to body)	VanBik 2009:135
Lushai [Mizo]	**pǎi**	conceive, to have in one's inside or below the skin (v.)	VanBik 2009:135
	pai	conceive; have one's inside or below the skin (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2762
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**phai**^{33}	carry on shoulder	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	phai^{33}	lift up; carry; shoulder; carry (sthg.) with a pole on t (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1659.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1676.19

	phai[33]	carry on shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:593.47
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Ganan	**p'e**[2]	carry on shoulder (v.)	Luce 1985:L.259
Kadu (Kantu)	**p'ɛ**[3]	carry on shoulder (v.)	Luce 1985:L.259
Sak	**phé**	carry on shoulder	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:207-1
Sak (Bawtala)	**p'e**[3]	carry on shoulder (v.)	Luce 1985:L.259
	p'e[1]	carry on shoulder (v.)	Luce 1985:L.259

(21) PKC *raay CONCEIVE / PREGNANT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***raay**	CONCEIVE / PREGNANT	VanBik 2009:926
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**gai**	conceive	VanBik 2009:926
Sizang	**ngai** hī	pregnant	VanBik 2009:926
Thado	**gáay**-I, gày-II	pregnant	VanBik 2009:926
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**m**-gai	pregnant (for animal especially) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:926
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**râay**-I, răay-II	conceive, be pregnant (used for animal)	VanBik 2009:926
Lai (Falam)	**răay**-I, ràay-II	conceive, be pregnant	VanBik 2009:926
Lushai [Mizo]	**rái**	become pregnant, to conceive, to be with child (v.)	VanBik 2009:926

1.9.3 Navel

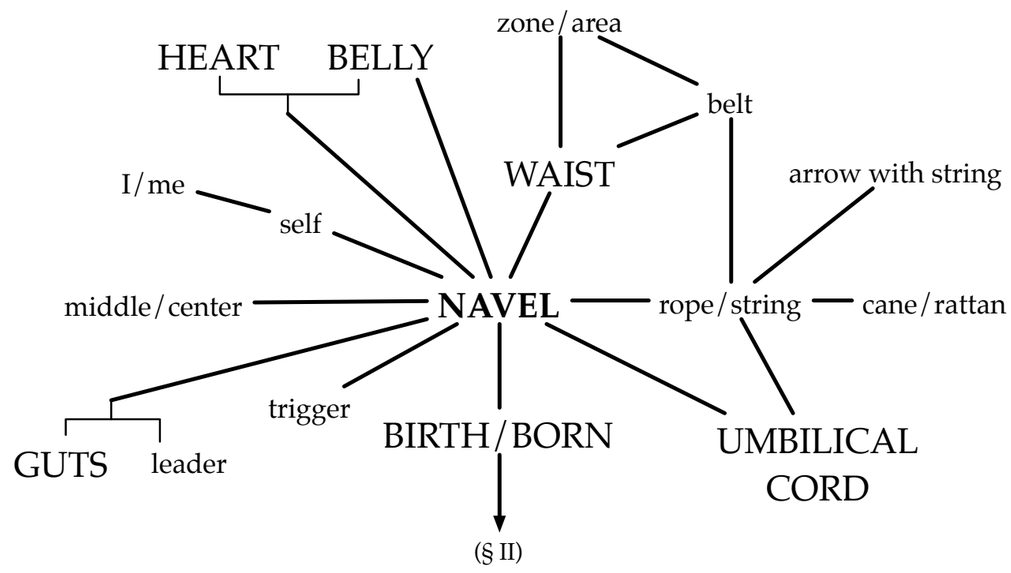


Figure 155: 1.9.3 *Navel*

(1) PTB * $^{m}_{s}$ -la(:)y ⩙ *s-tay NAVEL

A root ***la:y** is set up in *STC* #287 with the meaning MIDDLE/CENTER, on the basis of WB **ălai** and Lushai (Mizo) **lai**.[*] Elsewhere, *STC* presents two additional roots: ***s-tay** 'navel' (*STC* #299), based on WT **lte-ba**, Jingpho **dài ~ šədāi**, Garo **ste**; and ***tay** 'self' (*STC* #284), based on Jingpho **dāi** (also **dāidāi**) and Lushai (Mizo) **tei**. Yet Benedict himself implies by a cross-reference (p. 65) that these latter two roots are really one and the same. I wish to go a step further to claim that all three *STC* roots (#284, #287, #299) are co-allofamic.

The interchange of **l-** with dental stops occurs in several other TB roots, including TONGUE and ARROW (and this phenomenon is known from other language families as well, notably Indo-European, where by coincidence TONGUE is also one of the best examples (cf. Latin *lingua* vs. pGmc **tuŋgōn-*), alongside TEAR (cf. Latin *lacrima* vs. pGmc **tahr-* ⩙ **tagr-*), BROTHER-IN-LAW (cf. Latin *lēvir* vs. Lithuanian *dieverìs*), etc.[*]

There is strong evidence for both a nasal and a sibilant prefix with this root (occasionally with both together, as in the Ashö Sandoway form **ă'hmlai**[1] 'navel' < ***s-m-la:y**). However, the appearance of a cluster like **tl-** in TB words for SELF or NAVEL does not by itself indicate the co-allofamy of the stop and lateral prototypes, since **tl-** is frequently the reflex of ***sl-** (especially in Kuki-Chin and other languages of the NE Indian Areal Group), so that these forms could be referred directly to ***s-la:y**. See the Lakher (Mara), Miju, Bantawa, and Kham forms below.

In forms like Ao **[2]tɯ [2]pɯ [2]la**, Rengma **[1]a [2]bvɯ [3]li**, it might be plausible to treat the second syllables like dimidiations (syllabizations) of the labial prefix ***bV-** ⩙ ***mV-**, since in that position many other languages have elements with unstressed vowels (transcribed **pə-**, **mə-**, **pü-**, etc.). On the other hand, when the quality of the vowel in such a syllable is clearly [**u**], it seems preferable to analyze this element as descending from PTB ***d-pu:k** BELLY / VITALS / HOLLOW OBJECT / CAVE (§1.7.6) or PTB ***pwa(ŋ/n)** BELLY / CENTER (§1.7.6). This is especially clear in Himalayish: cf. the Bantawa and Kham reflexes.

Both the lateral- and stop-initialled variants of this etymon are widely attested in TB. In the following sections, the reflexes are divided between the two allofams.

The semantic scope of this etymon is already quite broad, but I would like to claim that there is also a genuine phonosemantic connection with a root meaning BELT / ZONE / WAIST (see below).

There is an interesting Dumi compound **sa: khil tɨm** 'navel' composed of **sa: khil** 'viscera, guts' < **khil** 'feces', plus **tɨm** 'head, leader': i.e. the navel is viewed in Dumi as the leader of the intestines. See van Driem 1993:415.

See *HPTB* ***la:y** ⩙ ***m/s-ta:y**, pp. 52, 210.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***la:y** ⩙ **s-tay**	navel / middle / center	Matisoff 2003a:599
	***m/s-ta:y**	belt / zone / waist	Matisoff 2003a:615

(1a) PTB * $^{m}_{s}$ -la(:)y NAVEL / CENTER / SELF

Reflexes of this allofam occur in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, and Lolo-Burmese, as well as in Tujia.

The initial nasals of the Bodo-Garo forms are presumably due to prefix preemption.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***la:y**	navel; middle, center	Weidert 1987:214; Matisoff 1985a:062; Benedict 1972:287
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ai**	self	Matisoff 1985a:071 [a]

[a] For now we are including this Abor-Miri form for 'self' with zero-initial in this set, along with several zero-initial forms meaning 'I/me' from Naga languages. One can imagine a scenario whereby the ***s-l** cluster became a voiceless lateral ***hl-**, thence a plain ***h-**, then zero. (Such was the fate, e.g. of the voiceless PLB resonants ***hl-**, ***hr-**, ***hy-**, which all became **h-** in Lahu. Cf. also the Tangkhul reflexes in **h-**.)

[*] This root, widespread in Chin languages, is also used in an ethno-geographical sense. The glossonym *Lai* is used broadly for a group of languages in the *central* subdivision of the Chin area in Burma, and more narrowly for the language of Hakha, its most important town.

[*] See Matisoff 2013 ("The dinguist's dilemma"). See also the discussion in *HPTB*, pp. 50-53.

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	**pɑ^{31} tɯ^{31} lɑi^{55}**	center	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tlái	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214 [a]

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *laay CENTER / MIDDLE / NAVEL

**Chin*	***laay**	CENTER / MIDDLE / NAVEL	VanBik 2009:1000
Thanphum	**nɑi^{1}**nũ^{3}	navel	Luce 1985:N.16

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	keng kho **lai**	middle toe	Haokip 1998:7.2.3
	khut **lai**	middle finger	Haokip 1998:7.1.2
	lai vom	navel	Haokip 1998:5.7.1
Sizang	a **lai**	navel	VanBik 2009:1000
Thado	**láay**	navel	VanBik 2009:1000
Tiddim	**-laːi**	middle (na.)	Henderson 1965
	lai^{2}	navel	VanBik 2009:1000; Bhaskararao 1996:873
	laːi^{2}	middle	Bhaskararao 1996:892
	lɑi^{1}	navel; middle	Luce 1985:N.16

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**mlaih**	navel	VanBik 2009:1000
Asho (Sandoway)	ă**`hmlɑi^{1}**	navel	Luce 1985:N.16 [b]
Cho (Mindat)	**lai**	navel	VanBik 2009:1000
Khumi	**lay** líiwng	navel	VanBik 2009:1000
Awa Khumi	**lɛ^{3}**lun^{4}	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
Khumi (Ahraing)	**lɑɛ^{2}**	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
	lɑɛ^{4} [lɛũ^{4}]	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
Matupi	buŋ^{4}**lɑi^{4}**	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
Womatu	**lɑi^{4}**	navel	Luce 1985:N.16

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Khualsim	**lɑi^{3}**	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
Lai (Hakha)	**lâay**	center, middle, navel	VanBik 2009:1000
Lai (Falam)	**lăay**	center, middle	VanBik 2009:1000
Lai (Hakha)	**lɑi^{5}**	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
Lushai [Mizo]	**láai**	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214
	lai	navel; middle; center	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:062
	lái	center, middle, the navel (n.)	VanBik 2009:1000
	lai	middle; center; navel	Bhaskararao 1996:873; Bhaskararao 1996:892; Benedict 1972:287
	lɑi^{1}	navel	Luce 1985:N.16

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lailenpi	mə́**pɔ̆lɛ^{4}**ri^{1}	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
Lakher [Mara]	(pa-)**lia**-ri	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987
	ku-**lia**	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	lìa	middle, center	VanBik 2009:1000
	lia-pi	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	palia	navel	Matisoff 1987
	phei-**lia**-py	middle toe	Matisoff 1987
	tlai	oneself, self	Matisoff 1985a:071
	^{2}pə^{1}**liə**	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**pɔ̆`liɛ^{1}**	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
Mera	**pɔ̆^{5}lɛ^{6}**	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
Tha'oa	**lɑi^{1}**	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
Xongsai	**lɑi^{3}**	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
Zotung	**la^{5}**rwi^{4}	navel	Luce 1985:N.16

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	ke **ləi**	middle toe	Toba & Kom 1991:7.2.3
	kut **ləi**	middle finger	Toba & Kom 1991:7.1.2
	mələi	navel	Toba & Kom 1991:5.7.1
	mʌláai	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214
	nəi **mələi** rui	umbilical cord	Toba & Kom 1991:10.4.12

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**palai**	navel	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): *ph-laj NAVEL, BELLY BUTTON

**Central Naga*	***ph-laj**	NAVEL, BELLY BUTTON	Bruhn 2014a:III.051
**Ao*	*t-**ph-la [j]**	NAVEL	Bruhn 2014a:II.345
Ao (Chungli)	te **pela**	navel	Marrison 1967
	tə^{2}-**pə^{2}la^{2}**	navel, belly button (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.345
	^{2}tɯ^{2}**pɯ^{2}la**	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **püla**	navel	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**phəla**	navel (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**n̩^{1}-la^{1}**	navel, belly button (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.051
	Nla	navel	Nienu 1990c:5.7.1
	nna	navel	Marrison 1967
	^{1}n^{1}la	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	^{5}u^{3}**luo**	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214
Angami (Khonoma)	**lo**	navel	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **lou^{33}**	navel	Nienu 1990a:5.7.1
	u **lo**	navel	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **lou^{33}**	navel	Nienu 1990b:5.7.1
Khezha	**pəlé**	navel	Yabu 1994:5.7.1
Mao	**ai**	I	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**nnu**	navel	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Northern)	^{1}a^{2}**bvɯ^{3}li**	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214
Rengma (Southern)	**^{4}n^{4}lu**	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214
Sema [Sumi]	a pfo **la**	navel	Marrison 1967
	a po **la**	navel	Achumi 1998a:5.7.1

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	cha **la**	navel	Marrison 1967
Maram	puk **la**	navel	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**la**	navel	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mi **la** ria	navel	Marrison 1967
	^{3}mi^{1}**n^{1}la**	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *laj NAVEL

**Tangkhulic*	***laj**	navel	Mortensen 2012:383
Huishu	ʔa-pu-**le**	navel	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.112
Kachai	ʔa-uk-**le**	navel	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.138
Tangkhul	**hai** zo	navel	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987 [c]
	hay zo	navel	Matisoff 1985a:071
Tusom	ʔi-p^{h}-**lie**	navel	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.149

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	khut **yay**	middle finger	Singh 1991:7.1.2
	khu **yai**	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	ma **yai**	middle	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	a **máy** tu	navel	Bhat 1968
	a **má** tu	navel	Bhat 1968
	a **má** tu∼a **máy** tu	navel	Matisoff 1987 [a]
Dimasa	ho tha **mai**	navel	Marrison 1967
Meche	u-tu-**mɤi**	navel	Weidert 1987:15

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Khiamngan	**^{23}lɪʔ**	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	**rè**	umbilical cord	Sharma 1991a:10.4.12
Pattani [Manchati]	**re**	navel	Sharma 1991b:5.7.1
	ré(h)	navel	Sharma 1982

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Sherpa	**lhyeq**	navel	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	chum buy **tli**	navel	Weidert 1987:214 [b]
	chum bu **li**	middle; navel	Weidert 1987:214; Rai *et al.* 1984:21
	tshum-bu **li**	navel	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	su **li** puŋ	navel	Michailovsky 1991:129

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**ləyʔ**	self	Caughley 1972:13.B.28
Kham	ʼpũːh **təli**	navel	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.38
	pũh **tali**	navel	Matisoff 1987

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta jɐk **la**	middle finger	SUN Hongkai 1991j:7.1.2
	ta me **la**	middle toe	SUN Hongkai 1991j:7.2.3
rGyalrong	tə **la**	middle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:56.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **lɑ**	middle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0708.11
rGBenzhen	tə-**laʔ**	middle	Sun 1997b

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	lo^{35} **li^{55}**	center	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	mɯe^{21} t^{h}i^{55} k^{h}u^{55} **li^{55}**	navel	CHEN Kang 1986c:5.7.1

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	ɑ^{53}**lɛ^{22}**	middle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0708.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ɑ **lɛ^{22}**	middle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:56.40
Burmese (Written)	ă **lai**	middle, center, navel	Benedict 1972:287
	a **lay**	middle	Marrison 1967
	a **lay^{3}**	middle / navel	Luce 1985:Y.14
	lɑk^{4}khɑ^{1}**lɑj^{2}**	finger (middle) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0111.26
	ə-**lai**	navel; center; middle, center	Benedict 1976a; Weidert 1987:214
	ɑ^{1}**lɑj^{2}**	middle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0708.26
	ɑ^{1}**lɑj^{2}**	middle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:56.39
	ʔə **lai**	middle, center	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:062

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	khâʔ-**le**	trigger of crossbow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p.369 [c]
	khâʔ-**le**	trigger of crossbow	Matisoff 1985a:062
	le	trigger	Matisoff 1985a:062
	nâʔ-**le**	trigger (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p.751
	nâʔ-**le**	trigger of gun	Matisoff 1985a:062

[a] Nasal initials in Bodo **máy** presumably due to prefixal preemption.

[b] For Bantawa **tl-**, cf. Lakher [Mara] and Miju forms with similar reflexes of PTB ***m/s-la(ː)y** NAVEL / CENTER / SELF (§1.9.3).

[c] The trigger is, as it were, the navel of a gun or crossbow. See Matisoff 1988, *The Dictionary of Lahu*, p. 1373.

(1b) PTB *s-tay NAVEL / ABDOMEN / CENTER / SELF

I regard this root as a co-allofam of PTB ***m/s-la(ː)y** NAVEL / CENTER / SELF (§1.9.3). Both *STC* #299 ***s-tay** 'navel' and *STC* #284 ***tay** 'self' are to be subsumed under this stop-initialled allofam. Reflexes occur widely in TB: NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, Jingpho, Karenic, Qiangic (including Tangut), Bai, and Tujia, as well as occasionally in Loloish.

A comparison with Chinese 臍 OC ***dz'iər**, *GSR* #593f; Mand. **qí**, perhaps < ***s-tay** via ****zday**, has been suggested several times, including by Weidert (1987) #843. However, it seems clear that this root is related rather to PTB ***s-daːy** WAIST / BELT / ZONE / FLAT EXPANSE (§1.4.6), so that the true Chinese cognate is 帶 OC ***tûd**, *GSR* #315a 'girdle, sash; carry at the girdle'; Mand. **dài** (the modern word also means 'zone; area', e.g. 熱帶 **rèdài** 'torrid zone').

Note the near homophony between the Jingpho words for 'heart' (**sin^{31} tai^{33}**) and 'navel' (**^{1}šə^{2}dai**), undoubtedly due to the widespread metaphorical extension of both of these concepts to CENTER, MOST IMPORTANT PART.

Written Tibetan has acquired a lateral prefix with this root.

See *GSTC* #62 and #71, and *HPTB* pp. 52, 208, 217.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-tay**	navel	Weidert 1987:738
	***s-tăy**	self / navel	Matisoff 1985a:071
	***s-tay**	navel, abdomen	Benedict 1972:299
	***s-ta [ː] y**	navel, abdomen	French 1983:525
	***tay**	self	Matisoff 2003a:614; Benedict 1972:284

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**tei**	self	Benedict 1972:284

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Mzieme	ka **tei**	self	Marrison 1967

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ce **tè**	navel; center	Weidert 1987:15; Weidert 1987:214
	che **te**	navel	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
	che **tè**	navel	Grüssner 1979:60
	che **tè** a-charàng	umbilical cord	Grüssner 1979:60 [a]
	che **te** acharang	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987

1.6. MRU

Mru	**dai**	navel	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:071

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	u **dɑ́y**	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**ste**	abdomen	Matisoff 1985a:071; Benedict 1972:96n276

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***taːy**	navel	Matisoff 1985a:071; French 1983:525

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	po **te**	navel	French 1983:525; Matisoff 1985a:071

[a] Mikir **charang** 'pipe, tube' (Walker 1925:24).

	[2]po[1]**te**	navel	Weidert 1987:15
	[3]po[1]**te**	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**dāi**	navel; self	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:071
	dai	self	Benedict 1972:284
	dài ~ **śədāi**	navel	Matisoff 1985a:071 [a]
	dai ⩤ śədai	navel, abdomen	Benedict 1972:299
	dāi-dāi	self	Matisoff 1987
	shadai	navel	Marrison 1967
	shədāi	navel	Matisoff 1987
	sin[31] **tai[33]**	heart	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	śədai	navel	Benedict 1972:96n276
	[1]**šə**[2]**dai**	navel; center	Weidert 1987:214; Weidert 1987:843
	ʃă[31]tai[33]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.19
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	por **tsi**	navel	Sharma 1991a:5.7.1
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**tɛ[13] tɛ[35]**	navel	SUN Hongkai 1991a:5.7.1
Bumthang	**ti** wit	navel	Weidert 1987:738
Kaike	**Tya**	navel	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	phu **chi**	navel	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 13
Tsangla (Motuo)	pu[55] **ti[55]** ma	navel	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Dzongkha	**ti**-u:	navel	Weidert 1987:738
Sakka Trokpa	**tī**-a	navel	Weidert 1987:738
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**htɛ**	navel	Sun 1985a:627
Tibetan (Balti)	**ɬ̪ti** ya·	navel	Rangan 1975:77
Tibetan (Batang)	**tia[55]**	navel	DAI Qingxia 1989a:5.7.1
Tibetan (Jirel)	**teq**	navel	Matisoff 1987
Jirel	**teq**	navel	Matisoff 1985a:071
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**tē** gah	navel	Bishop 1989:5.7.1
Spiti	**tiya**	navel	Bodh 1991:5.7.1
Tibetan (Written)	**lte**	navel	Matisoff 1987
	lte ba	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.01
	lte-ba	navel; center; abdomen	Weidert 1987:214; Weidert 1987:738; Matisoff 1985a:071; Benedict 1972:299,96n276; Sun 1985c:627; Marrison 1967 [b]
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	põ **ti**	navel	Noonan *et al.* 1992:5.7.1
Gurung (Ghachok)	pa **diq**	navel	Matisoff 1987; Glover 1972:2.A.38
Manang (Gyaru)	bi[1] **dɛ[1]**	navel	Nagano 1984:039
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]pi **te**	navel	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0027
Tamang (Bagmati)	pe **te**	navel	Weidert 1987:738
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]pe **te**	navel, umbilical cord (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:5.7.1, 10.
Tamang (Sahu)	’pe **te**	navel; umbilical cord	Weidert 1987:738; Matisoff 1987; Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.36; Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.37
	-Ti	to / (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.E.29
2.1.5. DHIMAL			
Dhimal	bo **dhi**	navel	King 1994
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar (Dolakhali)	**ṭẽ** bu ri	navel	Genetti 1990b
Newar	**te** pu	navel	Matisoff 1987
Newar (Kathmandu)	**te** pu ca	navel	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**te** pu ca	navel-(diminutive)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.7.1 [c]
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**toi**	navel	Weidert 1987:15
	toy	navel	Weidert 1987:738
	toy.(ghaŋ)	navel (n.)	Caughley 2000
	toy?	navel	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:071; Caughley 1972:2.A.38
	toy?-ru	umbilical cord	Caughley 1972:2.A.39; Matisoff 1987
Chepang (Eastern)	**toy**	navel	Caughley 1990:5.7.1
Magar	me-pe **de**	navel	Matisoff 1987
	me-pe **ɹe**	navel	Weidert 1987:738
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	(ɣɔfi) **tefi**	navel	Nishida 1964:191
	tefi	navel	Nishida 1964:106-061
	tɪn[2]	navel	Sofronov c1978
	ʔo **tĩ**	navel	DAI Qingxia 1989e:5.7.1
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Southern)	tu[35] **di[21]** ŋã[33]	navel	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nosu	tɕho[21]bu[21]**di[33]**	navel	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.7.1
Yi (Liangshan)	tɕhɔ[33]bu[21]**di[33]**	navel	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	tɕhɔ[33]bu[21]**di[33]**	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.35
	tɕ[h]ɔ[33]-bu[21]-**di[33]**	navel	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
7. KARENIC: ***ʔde[A]*** NAVEL, UMBILICAL CORD			
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***dé**	navel	Jones 1961:143
**Karen (Pwo)*	***dè’**	navel	Jones 1961:143
**Karen (TP)*	***dè’**	navel	Jones 1961:143
**Karen [Burling]*	***de[3]**	navel, umbilical cord	Luangthongkum 2013:200
**Karen*	***dəi’**	navel	Jones 1961:143
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***dəih**	navel	Jones 1961:143
**Karen*	***ʔde[A]**	navel, umbilical cord	Luangthongkum 2013:200
Bwe	**-đí** mú	navel (n.)	Henderson 1997
	-đĩ[55]mʊ[55]	navel, umbilical cord	Luangthongkum 2013:200
Bwe (Western)	**đɪ[1]**	navel	Luce 1985:F.19
Bwe	**ʔdí**-phlɔ́	navel	Weidert 1987:843
Geba	ă **di[1]**	navel	Luce 1985:F.19
Karen	**di̱[55]**bɔ[33]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.50
Kayah	**di[33]**	navel, umbilical cord	Luangthongkum 2013:200
Kayan	**dai[53]**	navel, umbilical cord	Luangthongkum 2013:200
Kayan (Pekon)	p[h]ú **dé**	navel [lit. belly-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**di[33]**	navel, umbilical cord	Luangthongkum 2013:200
Pa-O (Southern)	**de[31··]**	navel, umbilical cord	Luangthongkum 2013:200
Pa-O (Northern)	paʔ[45] **de[31··]**	navel, umbilical cord	Luangthongkum 2013:200
	pă **de[6]**	navel	Luce 1985:F.19
Pa-O	pə́ʔ **de**	navel	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:143
	pə **dè**	navel	Solnit 1989
	pə **de**	navel	Benedict 1972:149n409
Paku	**đe[1]**bɔ[2]	navel	Luce 1985:F.19
Palaychi	**di-**	navel	Benedict 1972:149n409
	dìq bòq	navel	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:143
Pwo (Northern)	**di[55]**	navel, umbilical cord	Luangthongkum 2013:200
Pwo	**dé**	navel	Weidert 1987:843
Pwo (Southern)	**di[31··]**	navel, umbilical cord	Luangthongkum 2013:200
Pwo (Tenasserim)	ə̆ **đe[5]**	navel	Luce 1985:F.19
Pwo (Delta)	ə **đi[2]**	navel	Luce 1985:F.19
Pwo (Bassein)	**dé**	navel	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:071; Jones 1961:143
Pwo (Moulmein)	**de**	navel	Weidert 1987:843; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:071; Jones 1961:143
Sgaw (Northern)	**de[33]**	navel, umbilical cord	Luangthongkum 2013:200
Sgaw (Southern)	**de[55]**	navel, umbilical cord	Luangthongkum 2013:200
Sgaw	**đe[1]**	navel	Luce 1985:F.19
	[4]ʔde	navel	Weidert 1987:843
Sgaw (Bassein)	**dé**	navel	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:143
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**di̱[55]** bɔ[33]	navel	DAI Qingxia 1989k:123
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**dé**	navel	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:143
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**de̱[55]**	navel	DAI Qingxia 1989j:123
	de̱[55] bo̱[55]	umbilical cord	DAI Qingxia 1989j:148
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	jo̱[21] fv̩[44] **te̱[44]** za̱[21] fu̱ **te̱[33]**	navel (n.)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:5.7.1 HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.48
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**dz’iər**/dz’iei	navel	Karlgren 1957:593f
Chinese (Old)	**dz‘iei**	navel	Weidert 1987:843
	dz‘ier	middle / navel	Luce 1985:Y.14
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**ts’i**	navel	Karlgren 1957:593f

[a] The sibilant prefix might be a reduction of PTB ***sya*** ‘flesh; animal’. This prefix occurs productively with body parts in a number of other TB languages (e.g. Nung **sərö** ‘bone’, WT **skra** ‘hair’, Dimasa **salai** ‘tongue’, WT **snabs** ‘snot’, etc.).

[b] The **lt-** cluster in the WT form looks like a metathesized version of the **tl-** cluster found in Kham, Bantawa, Lakher (Mara), and Miju (PTB ***m/s-la(:)y*** NAVEL / CENTER / SELF (§1.9.3)), further justifying the treatment of ***s-lay*** and ***s-tay*** as co-allofams of the same etymon.

[c] K. P. Malla (p.c. 2007) analyzes this form as consisting of **te** ‘navel’, **pu** ‘seed, round thing’, **ca** (preferably **chaa**) ‘DIMINUTIVE; child’. Newar **chaa** appears in compounds like **ma-chaa** ‘a child’ and **khi-chaa** ‘a dog’.

Chinese comparanda

臍 OC ***dz’iər***, *GSR* #593f ‘navel’; Li 1971: ***dziəd***; Baxter 1992: ***dzɨj***; Mand. **qí**.

The initial correspondence of OC ***dz-*** to PTB ***s-t-*** could be explained by metathesis, as discussed in Bodman 1969[*]. Baxter 1992:229-30 allows for the general developments ***St-*** > **ts-** and ***Sd-*** > **dz-**, where ***S*** is a metathesizing prefix. This prefix is usually reconstructed when phonetic series evidence suggests an original stop initial. Within *GSR* #593, however, there is no evidence for original dental stops. Nevertheless, Schuessler 2007:421 admits the possibility, suggesting possible pre-Old Chinese forms ***dz(l)əi*** < ***s-d(l)əi***.

On the apparent mismatch between the voiceless PTB initial and the voiced OC initial, see the discussion under PTB ***pu*** EGG (§1.9.1).

For a discussion of the correspondence between OC ***-ɨj*** and TB ***-ay***, see PTB ***ŋ-(w)a:y*** COPULATE / MAKE LOVE / LOVE / GENTLE (§1.9.8).
[ZJH]

There also seems to be a phonosemantic connection between the stop-initialled allofam ***s-tay*** and a PTB root ***ta:y*** meaning BELT/ZONE/WAIST, first reconstructed in Matisoff 1985a (*GSTC* #95) on the basis of WT **sde** ‘part, portion (e.g. of a country), province, district, territory, zone’, Lahu **de** ‘belt of land between the high rain-forest and the plains; large expanse of terrain’, Luquan Lolo **nt[h]e[11]** ‘plain, flat expanse’, Lushai (Mizo) **tai** ‘waist’, Karbi **daykha** ‘middle, intermediate’. This implies that WT **lte-ba** ‘navel’ is a co-allofam of WT **sde** ‘zone’.

A very likely Chinese comparandum is 帶 OC ***tûd*** ‘girdle, sash’, Mand. **dài** ‘belt, zone’. For the semantics, cf. Eng. *zone* < Gk. *zōnē* ‘girdle’ < PIE ***yōs-nā*** (***yōs*** ‘to gird’).
[JAM]

帶 OC ***tûd***, *GSR* #315a ‘belt, sash’; Li 1971: ***tadh***; Baxter 1992:753 ***tats***; Mand. **dài**.

This word is reconstructed with a final stop by both Baxter and Li. As Schuessler (2007:72) notes, there is reason to think that some of the words reconstructed by Baxter in ***-ts*** should be revised to ***-s***. 帶 is one of the words that Schuessler so revises, supporting the comparison made here (Schuessler 2007:203).

The comparison of PTB ***-ay*** with either OC ***-as*** or ***-ats*** is still problematic, as I know of no other examples of such a correspondence. It must be noted, however, that a regular pattern of correspondence between OC and PTB ***-ay*** has not yet emerged. The most commonly attested correspondences are with OC ***-aj*** or ***-ɨj*** on the one hand (as with 臍, above), and OC ***-e*** on the other (see PTB ***m/s-ŋa-y*** SMALL / INFERIOR / OFFSPRING (§1.9.2)).
[ZJH]

(2) PTB *kyak NAVEL / UMBILICAL CORD / ROPE

This root is abundantly attested in Lolo-Burmese and in Qiangic. It is reconstructed as PLB ***ʔkyak*** in *LTSR* #58, with the meaning ROPE/STRING; *LTSR* also tentatively assigns several forms for NAVEL to this etymon.

There are two Chinese candidates for relationship to this etymon: 弋 ***dɨ̣ək/ɨ̣ək***, *GSR* #918a-b ‘shoot with arrow with string attached; such an arrow’ ⩤ 繳 OC ***t̂ɨ̣ak/tśɨ̣ak***, *GSR* #1258e [OC form not cited in *GSR*] ‘string attached to arrow’. *STC* (p. 176) attempts to relate these Chinese words to PTB ***b-la*** ‘arrow’ [*STC* #449], via a hypothetical intermediate form ****pl̥ak***. I consider this to be far-fetched phonologically and unsatisfying semantically. The semantic association between an umbilical cord and an arrow with string attached is irresistible. The metaphor is still alive today, e.g. in spacecraft, where the lifeline attaching a space-walking astronaut to the mother ship is commonly called an *umbilical cord*. For more discussion of these Chinese words, see ZJH’s note below.

See *HPTB*, pp. 318, 319.

1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	i **ci**-be	navel	Anonymous 1962
	i **ci** bɤ	navel	Pulu 1978
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	**cha** la	navel	Marrison 1967
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**cə** niŋ	navel	Singh 1991:5.7.1
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya [Minyak]	vi[33]**ts[h]a[53]**	navel	SUN Hongkai 1991h:5.7.1
Qiang (Mawo)	pu **ʂu̩**	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.08
	pu **ʂ**	navel	Sun 1986 [a]
	pʌ **tʃə̩**	navel	SUN Hongkai 1991g:5.7.1
Qiang (Yadu)	pu **tʂu̩**	navel	DAI Qingxia 1989q:123
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	vəu[13] **t[h]ya[33]**	umbilical cord	SUN Hongkai 1991c:10.4.12
	vəu[53] **t[h]ya[13]**	navel	SUN Hongkai 1991c:5.7.1
Ergong (Danba)	wɯ **tɕ[h]i**	navel	SUN Hongkai 1991b:5.7.1
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	pok **tʃ[h]u**	navel	SUN Hongkai 1991j:5.7.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	təpo **tɕ[h]ak**	navel	SUN Hongkai 1991k:5.7.1
rGyalrong	təpok **tɕ[h]u**	navel	DAI Qingxia 1989d:5.7.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	təpu **cç[h]ak**	umbilical cord	SUN Hongkai 1991k:10.4.12
rGyalrong (NW)	tə wu **tɕ[h]ak**	umbilical cord	SUN Hongkai 1991l:10.4.12
	tə ɣ **tɕ[h]ak**	navel	SUN Hongkai 1991l:5.7.1
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-kyak[H]*** ROPE / CORD / NAVEL			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***kyak[H], ʔkyak[H]**	navel	Matisoff 1978a:75

[a] This is a contraction of the other Mawo **pʌtʃə̩** ‘navel’.

[*] “Tibetan *sdud* ‘folds of a garment’, the character 夲, and the ***st-*** hypothesis.” *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*, Academia Sinica 39:327-45.

	*?-kyak[H]	rope / cord / navel	Matisoff 2003a:598
	*?klak	rope / string	Matisoff 1972b:58
	*?kyak	rope; string; navel	Matisoff 1972b:58; Matisoff 1972b:58
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese	*khyak	navel	Okell 1971
Achang (Lianghe)	tshɑʔ[55]	navel	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	tɕhi[31] tɔt[55]	navel	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tɕhi[31]tɔt[55]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.28
Achang (Luxi)	tɕha[51]	navel	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	tʂhɔʔ[55]thoŋ[31]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.29
	tʂʰɔʔ[55] tʰoŋ[31]	navel; umbilical cord	DAI Qingxia 1989f:120; DAI Qingxia 1989f:145
Arakanese	hco'	navel	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	tʃhaʔ[55]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.32
Bola	tʃʰaʔ[55]	navel; umbilical cord	DAI Qingxia 1989g:120; DAI Qingxia 1989g:145
Burmese (Modern)	k'yak	navel	Luce 1985:V.118
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	hce'	navel	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	khyak	navel	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:75; Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a
	khyak-krûi	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987
	k'yak	navel	Luce 1985:V.118
Hpun (Northern)	shèʔ shú, shè əshú	navel	Henderson 1986
Intha	hye'	navel	Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	tʃhɔʔ[55]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.31
Lashi	tʃhɔʔ[55]	navel	DAI Qingxia 1989m:5.7.1
Leqi (Luxi)	tʃhɔʔ[55]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.33
Marma	khyaʔ	navel	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:39
Maru [Langsu]	chó'	navel	Okell 1971
	tʃhɔʔ[55]	navel	DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.7.1
Tavoyan	hyi'	navel	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	tʃhoʔ[55]	navel	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	tʃhoʔ[55]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.30
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Loloish	*(C-k)yak[H]	navel	Bradley 1979b:120A
Lolopho	tshe̱[44] dɣ[31]	navel	DAI Qingxia 1989n:5.7.1
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	tv[24]tsʰl̩[24]ʐɛ[31]	navel	MU Shihua 2003
	tv[35]tshŋ[35]jɛ[323]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.47
	tɣ[35] tshŋ[35] jɛ[323]	navel	DAI Qingxia 1989c:5.7.1
Lalo	hí-tshí	rope	Björverud 1994
	tɕʰi[33] pɑ[33] tʂɑ[33]	umbilical cord	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.12
	tɕʰi̱[33] mɑ[33] dɥ[21]	navel	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.7.1
	ʂɑ[55] kɥ[55] tʂɑ[33]	backbone / spine	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.5.4 [a]
Lipho	tshe[55]du[21]	navel	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.7.1
Luquan	tʂa 22s	rope / string	Matisoff 1972b:58
Nasu	tsʰa̱[21] bi[21] du[33]	navel	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.7.1
	tʂa 32s	rope / string	Matisoff 1972b:58
	tʂʰa̱[21]	umbilical cord	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.12
Nesu	tsʰl̩[33] bi[21] tu[55]	navel	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.7.1
Noesu	tʂha[33]bi[21]du[33]	navel	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.7.1
Nosu	tɕhǫ[21]bu[21]di[33]	navel	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.7.1
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	tsʰe̱[31]	navel	DAI Qingxia 1989o:120.
	tsʰɛ̱[1]	umbilical cord	DAI Qingxia 1989o:145.
Nusu (Bijiang)	tɕhi[55]tɕhɑ[31]	self	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:979.45
Nusu (Central)	tʂha̱[53]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.34
	tʂʰa̱[53]	navel; umbilical cord	DAI Qingxia 1989p:120.; DAI Qingxia 1989p:145.
Yi (Dafang)	tsa[33]	rope	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:422.22
Yi (Liangshan)	tɕhɔ[33]	navel; umbilical cord	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tɕhɔ[33]bu[21]di[33]	navel	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	ni̱[55]tɕɐ̱[33]	rope	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:422.25
Yi (Mojiang)	tɕɐ̱[33]	rope	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:422.26
Yi (Nanhua)	tɕhɐ̱[33]mɐ̱[21]du[21]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.37
	tʂʌ̱[33]vɛ̱[21]	rope	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:422.24
Yi (Nanjian)	pɑ[33]tɕe[33]	rope	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:422.23
Yi (Weishan)	tʂhl̄[33]mɑ[33]du[21]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.36
Yi (Wuding)	tʂhɯ̱[4]bi̱[2]dɣ[33]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.38
Yi (Xide)	tɕhɔ[33]bu[21]di[33]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.35
	tɕʰɔ[33]-bu[21]-di[33]	navel	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	tše 44	rope / string	Matisoff 1972b:58
	tɕhe̱[33]bu[21]dɯ[55]lɯ[55]	navel	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.7.1
	tʂ'i̱[21] bɥ[21] dɯ[55] lɯ[55]	navel	LUO Meizhen 1990:5.7.1
Jinuo	tʃha[42]to[44]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	tʃʰa[31] to[44]	navel; umbilical cord	DAI Qingxia 1989h:123; DAI Qingxia 1989h:148
	tʃʰa[31] to[44] lo[44]	umbilical cord	DAI Qingxia 1989h:148.1
Jinuo (Youle)	tʃʰɑ[42] to[44] lo[44]	navel	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	câʔ	rope / string	Matisoff 1972b:58
	ɡ̈û(~ɡ̈ɔ̂)-tu-câʔ	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1988a:1138
	ɔ[31] kɣ[53] tsaʔ[54]	muscle	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ̀-ku-câʔ	blood vessel; vein; artery; muscle; sinew; tendon	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-pi-câʔ	strap; sash; belt (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 817
	ɣû-tu-šī-câʔ	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1988a:1129
Lahu (Yellow)	tsa[6]khɛ[1]	rope	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ[31] ku[33] tsaʔ[54]	sinew, muscle	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ[31] ku[55] tsaʔ[54]	muscle	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	chi[1]-hchya[5]	self	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Putao)	ch'ɛ[2]du[5]	navel	Luce 1985:V.118
Lisu (Central)	hchi[3] ra[5]	rope	Fraser 1922
Lisu	hchi[3]-ra[5]	rope / string	Matisoff 1972b:58
Lisu (Central)	hchya[4]-du[5]	navel (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	hchya[4]du[5]	navel	Bradley 1979b:120A
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	hchya[4]du[5]	navel	Luce 1985:V.118
Lisu (Nujiang)	tʃʰɛ[35] du[31]	navel	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	tɕhæ[35]du[21]	navel (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tɕhɛ[35]du[31]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.40
Lisu (Northern)	tɕi[55]tɕhæ[21]	self; individual (P.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	tše 44	rope / string	Matisoff 1972b:58
	tɕhe[33]bu[21]du[55]	navel	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tɕhe[33]tʂɒ[33]	umbilical cord	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a [a]
	tɕhe[44]bu[21]du[55]	navel	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.7.1
Yi (Sani)	tɕhe[44]bɣ[11]dɣ[55]ɚ[55]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.39
Sani [Nyi]	tɕhe[44]tʂɑ[33]	umbilical cord	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.12
	tɕʰe[33] tʂɑ[33]	umbilical cord	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:233.1
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	á tjaq / á tsaq	rope	Hansson 1989:451
Akha	a-ca H-HS	rope / string	Matisoff 1972b:58
Akha (Thai)	á tjáq	rope, string, cord	Hansson 1989:451
Akha	caˆ tahˇ	navel	Matisoff 1987
	caˆ uˇ	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987
	shaˇguˇ shaˇ caˆ	sinew / tendon	Matisoff 1987
	tjaq	rope	Hansson 1989:451
Hani (Lüchun)	à tjaq	rope	Hansson 1989:451
Hani (Dazhai)	a[55]tsa̱[33]	rope	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:422.31
Hani (Lüchun)	tɕha[55]be[55]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.41
Hani (Pijo)	tjhɔ	rope	Hansson 1989:451
	tə̀ tjhɔ	rope	Hansson 1989:451
Hani (Gelanghe)	a[55]tɕa̱[33]	rope	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	al zav	rope	Hansson 1989:451
Hani (Shuikui)	a[55]tʃha[33]	rope	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:422.32
Hani (Khatu)	tjhɔ	rope	Hansson 1989:451
	tsỳ tjhɔ	rope	Hansson 1989:451
Hani (Mojiang)	tʃha[31]mɔ[33]pi[33]li[33]	navel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.42
Mpi	tɕeʔ[4]-thuŋ[2]	navel	Matisoff 1978a:75; Bradley 1979b; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	ã ku[31] ca	blood vessel / vein / artery	Ferlus 1991:8.7.1
	mə̆ chàʔ	navel	Matisoff 1987
	mə chà	navel	Bradley 1979b
	mə cʰɑʔ[11]	navel	Bradley 1977
Ugong	cə̆ʔ	navel	Bradley 1993:5.7.1
	cə̆ʔ ʔéŋ/ cə̆ʔ khlí	navel lint	Bradley 1993
Woni	ts'a 33	rope / string	Matisoff 1972b:58
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Phola	tʂʰɑ[33]mɔ[23]	navel	Pelkey 2011:312
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	tɕʰɤ˥pu˩	navel	Michaud 2006–2009:340
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	îi̯ak/tśi̯ɑk	string attached to arrow	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1258e

[a] The Sani forms **tɕhe[33]tʂɒ[33]**, **tɕhe[44]tʂɑ[33]**, **tɕʰe[33] tʂɑ[33]** are puzzling, since either syllable is a plausible reflex of this root. Perhaps two Sani variants have developed, one (with aspirated initial) < ***kyak**, meaning 'navel'; and the other (with unaspirated initial) < ***gyak**, meaning 'cord'.

Chinese comparanda

弋 OC ***diə̯ək** *GSR* #918a, 'shoot arrow (with string attached)'; Li 1971: ***rək**; Baxter 1992 #467: ***ljɨk**; Mand. **yì**.

There is considerable disagreement about the reconstruction of words with MC initial **j-** which appear in phonetic series with words having dental initials. While Karlgren's ***d-** (*GSR*) is no longer accepted, variations of ***r-**, ***l-**, and ***j-** are proposed by a number of scholars.

This Chinese word does not appear to be directly cognate to the PTB form, as there is no evidence of a velar initial. Gong (2001) revives Benedict's (*STC* p. 176) comparison with PTB ***b-la** 'arrow', reconstructing OC ***blək**, with the regular development ***bl-** > ***l-**. Gong's system would also admit the possibility of reconstructing ***glək**.

A more likely candidate for cognacy is 繳 (Mand. **zhuó**); see below.

Cf. 射 OC ***mljaks** Baxter 1992 #1357, 1393, 'shoot with bow' (Mand. **shè**), with revision of ***L-** to ***ml-**. This may also be etymologically related to 弋 and/or PTB ***b-la**.

繳 OC (see below), *GSR* #1258e 'string attached to arrow'; Li 1971: **(*krjakw?)** Baxter: **(*kjewk?)**; Mand. **zhuó**.

This character has two Middle Chinese readings, one with velar initial and no coda, and one with palatal initial and velar coda. Based on internal Chinese evidence, the Old Chinese reconstruction cannot be determined with certainty. Karlgren placed this word in series #1258, which is not a phonetic series at all but a collection of words that Karlgren deemed unreconstructible for lack of evidence. Other characters that appear to have the same phonetic element appear in *GSR* #1162, all of which are reconstructed as open syllables with velar initial.

The character 激 'dam up and cause (water) to rush up' (Mand. **jī**), found in *GSR* #1162 and apparently sharing a phonetic element with 繳 **zhuó**, is reconstructed ***kewk** by Baxter 1992 and ***kiakw** by Li 1971, suggesting that in Baxter's system, 繳 should be reconstructed ***kjewk** and ***kewʔ** to account for the two Middle Chinese pronunciations. An ***a** vocalism in Baxter's system cannot be completely discounted, but it would make it difficult to explain the subsequent palatalization of the initial velar in one of the Middle Chinese forms.

All of the possible Old Chinese reconstructions present problems in terms of the Chinese/PTB vowel correspondence. Old Chinese coda ***-kw** (Li)/***-wk** (Baxter) regularly corresponds to TB rounded vowels.

Given the difficulty of determining the Old Chinese reconstruction of 繳, this proposed cognate set must be considered tentative.
[ZJH]

(3) PTB *du NAVEL / UMBILICAL CORD

The stronghold of this etymon is Lolo-Burmese (including Jinuo), but cognates also occur in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, and Tujia.

The second syllable of the Kaman [Miju] form **pɑ[31] tɯ[31] lɑi[55]** is probably just a reflex of the ***s-** prefix in PTB ***m/s-la(:)y** NAVEL / CENTER / SELF (§1.9.3), above. See the note on Kaman [Miju] **tlái** under that etymon.

1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	khoi dou	navel	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	a máy tu	navel	Bhat 1968
	a má tu	navel	Bhat 1968
	a má tu~a máy tu	navel	Matisoff 1987
Meche	u-tu-mɤi	navel	Weidert 1987:15
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	gan-du-ri	navel, belly button	Burling 1992
	gan-du-ri	navel (n.)	Burling 2003:6.245-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	gan dy rui	bellybutton, navel (n.)	van Breugel 2008
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung (Ghachok)	thu	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987
	tʰu	umbilical cord	Glover 1972:2.A.39
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	mɯe[13] tɕi[55] dɯ[35]	navel	CHEN Kang 1986d:5.7.1 [a]

[a] Tujia **mɯe[13] tɕi[55]** 'belly'.

Tujia (Southern)	**tu**^{35} dɨ^{21} ŋã^{33}	navel	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	tshe̠^{44} **dv̩**^{31}	navel	Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.7.1
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**tv**^{24}tsʰɿ^{24}ʑɛ^{31}	navel	Mu Shihua 2003
	tv^{35}tshɿ^{35}jɛ^{323}	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.47
	tv̩^{35} tshɿ^{35} jɛ^{323}	navel	Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.7.1
Lalo	tɕʰi̠^{33} mɑ^{33} **du̠**^{21}	navel	Chen Kang 1986b:5.7.1
Lipho	tshe^{55}**du**^{21}	navel	Chen Kang 1986b:5.7.1
Nasu	tsʰa̠^{21} bi^{21} **du**^{33}	navel	Chen Kang 1986b:5.7.1
Nesu	tsʰɿ^{33} bi^{21} **tu**^{55}	navel	Chen Kang 1986b:5.7.1
Noesu	tʂha^{33}bi^{21}**du**^{33}	navel	Chen Kang 1986b:5.7.1
Yi (Nanhua)	tɕhe̠^{33}me̠^{21}**du**^{21}	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.37
Yi (Weishan)	tʂhɿ̄^{33}mɑ^{33}**du**^{21}	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.36
Yi (Wuding)	tʂhɑ̠^{4}bi̠^{2}**dv̩**^{33}	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	tɕhe̠^{33}bu^{21}**dɯ**^{55}lɯ^{55}	navel	Chen Kang 1986b:5.7.1
	tʂʻi̠^{21} bu̠^{21} **dɯ**^{55} lɯ^{55}	navel	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.7.1
Jinuo	tʃha^{42}**to**^{44}	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	tʃʰa^{31} **to**^{44}	navel; umbilical cord	Dai Qingxia 1989h:123; Dai Qingxia 1989h:148
	tʃʰa^{31} **to**^{44} lo^{44}	umbilical cord	Dai Qingxia 1989h:148.1
Jinuo (Youle)	tʃʰɑ^{42} **to**^{44} lo^{44}	navel	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	fv55 **dv31**	navel	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Nyi)	g’awˇ **tu:** shi_	navel	Bradley 1979a:120
Lahu (Shehleh)	g’u˯ **tu:**	navel	Bradley 1979a:120
**Common Lahu*	***tu:**	navel	Bradley 1979b:120B
Lahu (Lancang)	ɣu^{53}**tu**^{33}ɕi^{11}	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.43
Lahu (Black)	ɣ̈û(∼ɣ̈ɔ̂)-**tu**-câʔ	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1988a:1138
	ɣ̈û(∼ɣ̈ɔ̂)-**tu**-šī	navel	Matisoff 1988a:1138
	ɣû-**tu**-šī-câʔ	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1988a:1129
	ɣu^{53} **tv̩**^{33} si^{11}	navel	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	ʔu^{55} **tu**^{33} ɕiʔ^{21}	navel	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	g’uˇ **tu:** shi_	navel	Bradley 1979a:120
Lahu (Banlan)	uˇ **tu:** shi_	navel	Bradley 1979a:120
Lisu (Putao)	ch‘ɛ^{2}**du**^{5}	navel	Luce 1985:V.118
Lisu (Central)	hchya^{4}-**du**^{5}	navel (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	hchya^{4}**du**^{5}	navel	Bradley 1979b:120A
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	hchya^{4}**du**^{5}	navel	Luce 1985:V.118
Lisu (Nujiang)	tʃʰɛ^{35} **du**^{31}	navel	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	tɕhæ^{35}**du**^{21}	navel (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tɕhɛ^{35}**du**^{31}	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.40
Sani [Nyi]	tɕhe^{33}bu^{21}**du**^{55}	navel	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tɕhe^{44}bu^{21}**du**^{55}	navel	Chen Kang 1986b:5.7.1
Yi (Sani)	tɕhe^{44}bv̩^{11}**dv̩**^{55}ɚ^{55}	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.39
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Western)	**dv**^{31}me^{33}	belly	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dv**^{31}me^{33}	belly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:260.28
Naxi	**dv̩**^{21}me^{33}	belly (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0096.45
	dv̩^{21}u^{33}	bloated, feel (of the stomach) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1788.45

Chinese comparandum

肚 OC ***d’o** ‘stomach’; *GSR*: not in #62; Li 1971: ***dagx**; Baxter 1992: ***laʔ** or ***daʔ**; Mand. **dù**.

There is also a variant with a voiceless initial, meaning ‘animal stomach used as food’. *GSR* #62 is reconstructed as a lateral-initial series by Baxter, but since the character is not attested until late, it is possible that this word had a dental initial, and that the character used to write it was created after the change ***l-** > ***d-** had taken place, making 土 ***hlaʔ** > ***thaʔ**, Mand. **tǔ** a suitable phonetic element.

The difficulty with this comparison lies in the vowel, as we would expect to find PTB ***a** corresponding with OC ***a**, as in Chinese 吾 ‘first person pronoun’ ***ngag** (Li)/***nga** (Baxter), Mand. **wú** and PTB ***ŋa** (*STC* #406); and Chinese 魚 ‘fish’ ***ngjag** (Li)/***ng(r)ja** (Baxter), Mand. **yú** and PTB ***ŋya** (*STC* #189). [ZJH]

(4) PTB *nin NAVEL

This relatively rare root appears in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, and Nungish. It is quite possible that it is related to PTB ***s/k-niŋ** BRAIN / HEART / MIND (§1.7.1), *STC* #367. The Dulong compounds look as if they could mean “belly-heart”, although the usual Dulong word for ‘heart’ is **ɹɯ**^{31} **mɔ̆ʔ**^{55}. Cf. also Meithei **puk-ning** ‘heart’ (Marrison 1967:120), where BELLY + HEART apparently means ‘heart’, not ‘navel’.

The second element of the Tani binome PTani ***kri-ni** NAVEL (§1.9.3) looks as if it might be related to this root.

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Thanphum	nɑi^{1}**nʊ̃**^{3}	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	cə **niŋ**	navel	Singh 1991:5.7.1
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**nim**-rōk	navel	Matisoff 1987
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	pu^{44} **ñin**^{42}	navel	Matisoff 1987
	pu^{55}**ɲin**^{55}	navel	Matisoff 1987
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	pu^{55} **ɲin**^{55}	navel	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

(5) PTB * t/d uŋ ⋉ *ts(y)uːŋ MIDDLE / CENTER / INSIDE / NAVEL

This etymon was originally set up as ***tsyuːŋ** in *STC* #390, on the basis of Lushai (Mizo), Bodo, and Dimasa forms. Benedict later revised this to ***tuːŋ** (*STC* n. 63, p.17), and specifically banished WT **gźuŋ** as probably not cognate. This reconstruction was also adopted in *HPTB* pp. 287, 310. It seems clear that the most ancient version of this root had a simple or palatalized dental stop, as witnessed by the certain Chinese cognate 中 *GSR* #1007a-e **ti̯ông/t̂i̯ung** ‘middle’ (see below). From an early date, however, many languages developed a sibilant or affricate initial before this medial vowel **-u-**, in a manner reminiscent of a phenomenon in modern Japanese, where the phonemic syllable /tu/ has come to be pronounced [tsɯ]. The same variation between stop and (af)fricate initials before **-u-** is to be found in ‘mortar’ PTB ***(t)sum**, with most reflexes pointing unambiguously to PTB ***tsum** (e.g. WB **chum**, Lahu **chɛ**, Lushai (Mizo) **sum**), while Jingpho **thùm** reflects ***tum**. See also PTB ***(t)sum** NAVEL (§1.9.3).

For convenience I am here assigning the reflexes of this etymon into two allofamic roots, according to whether they have retained a stop initial (PTB ***(t/d)uŋ** ⋉ ***(t/d)waŋ**) or have undergone initial frication (PTB ***ts(y)uːŋ**).

The semantic range of this word-family includes the notion of CENTER (as does the phonologically unrelated root PTB ***m/s-la(:)y** NAVEL / CENTER / SELF (§1.9.3) [q.v.]).

The ***-u-** ⋉ ***-wa-** variation posited for this root is paralleled in several other etyma, e.g. PTB ***nu-(ŋ/k)** ⋉ ***nwa-(ŋ/k)** HORN (§1.2.2), PTB ***tuk** ⋉ ***twak** HEAD / SKULL / NECK (§1.4.2), and PTB ***s-kyuːr** ⋉ ***s-kywaːr** SOUR / BE ACID (§7.1.4). (See *HPTB*:513-514.) This variation parallels the ***-i-** ⋉ ***-ya-** alternation found in a number of roots, notably PTB ***s-myak** ⋉ ***s-mik** EYE (§1.2.6).

(5a) PTB * t/d uŋ ⋉ * t/d waŋ MIDDLE / NAVEL

To this more conservative allofam we assign reflexes with dental stop initials.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tuːŋ**	inside	Benedict 1972:82n248
	***tuuŋ**	middle	LaPolla 1987:208
	***tuːŋ**	inside; middle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1007a-e; Matisoff 2003a:615
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	hay **toŋ**	navel	Matisoff 1985a:071
	kui **tuŋ** yāŋ	center of skull	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**toŋg**	inside	Sharma 1982
4. Nungic			
Anong (Rawang)	mə **duŋ**	perpendicular, straighten (be v.)	Benedict 1972:17n63
	ə **duŋ**	in, middle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1007a-e; LaPolla 1987:208; Benedict 1972:17n63
Rawang	ə **dəŋ**^{31} lɑp	inside	LaPolla 2003:781
Nung	ʔi^{55}**duŋ**^{55}	inside (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.21
Anong	ʔi^{55}**duŋ**^{55}	inside	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.44
Trung [Dulong]	a **tuŋ**	middle	LaPolla 1987:208; Benedict 1972:17n63
Dulong	ɑ^{31}**duŋ**^{53}	middle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0708.20
	ɑ^{31}**duŋ**^{55}	inside (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31}**duŋ**^{55}	middle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:56.46
	ɑ **tuŋ**	middle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1007a-e
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	a^{31} **duuŋ**^{55}	middle	LaPolla 1987:208
	ɑ^{31} **duŋ**^{55}	middle	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	a^{31} **duuŋ**^{55}	middle	LaPolla 1987:208
	ɑ^{31} **duŋ**^{55}	middle	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	tʂhɔʔ^{55}**thoŋ**^{31}	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.29
	tʂʰɔʔ^{55} **tʰoŋ**^{31}	navel; umbilical cord	Dai Qingxia 1989f:120; Dai Qingxia 1989f:145
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ɑ **twĩ**^{55}	inside	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.40
Burmese (Written)	**twaṅ**	in	Marrison 1967
	twaŋ	in	Benedict 1972:17n63
	ə-**twâŋ**	inside, inner part of thing	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ^{1}**twɑŋ**^{3}	inside	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.39
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-doŋ**^{1}	navel	Bradley 1979b:120B
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	caˆ **tah**˯	navel	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	sa **tɔ̀ŋ**	navel	Bradley 1979b [a]
	ʃa **tɔŋ**	navel	Beaudouin 1988:15
	ɕa **tɔŋ**	navel	Beaudouin 1988:15
	ɕa **tɔ̀ŋ** sàj	umbilical cord	Beaudouin 1988:16 [b]
Mpi	tɕeʔ^{4}-**thuŋ**^{2}	navel	Matisoff 1978a:75; Bradley 1979b; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ti̯ôŋ** / **t̂i̯uŋ**	middle	Benedict 1972:17n63
	ti̯əŋ/t̂i̯uŋ	middle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1007a-e
	tjôŋ	middle	LaPolla 1987:208
	t̂juŋ	middle	LaPolla 1987:208
Chinese (Old)	**k-ljung**	middle	Baxter 1992:1641
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**jong** jian	middle	Sun 1985b:485

[a] Bisu **sa** probably means “flesh” (cf. PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1)).

[b] Bisu **sàj** is a borrowing from Thai **săaj** ‘cord, string’. This morpheme, interestingly enough, occurs in reduced form in the Thai word for ‘navel’, **sədɨɨ** (cf. Li Fang Kuei 1977:92).

Chinese comparandum

中 OC ***ti̯ông**[*], *GSR* #1007a-e ‘middle, center’; Li 1971: ***trjəngw**; Baxter 1992:477, 1641: ***k-ljung**; Mand. **zhōng**.

There are at least two competing etymologies for this Chinese word, one relating it to Tibetan **gźung** ‘middle, midst’ (e.g. Bodman 1980:123 set 240, Coblin 1986:53) and the other the one proposed here (e.g. *STC* p. 182).

Baxter (1992:525) follows Bodman, reconstructing ***k-l-** rather than ***trj-** to match Tibetan **gźung** and to explain the use of the character as a sound gloss for 宫 ***k(r)jung**, Mand. **gōng** in the Eastern Han.

The original comparison in *STC* seemed suspect because of the irregular correspondence between the stop initial in Chinese and the sibilant initial in Tibeto-Burman, but the revised PTB etymon makes a good match. If we consider the possibility of reconstructing ***r-tjung**, as proposed in Handel 1998, then there is no mismatch in the medial.

For another example of the same final correspondence, cf. PTB ***(g/k)uŋ** HOLE / ORIFICE / INNER PART (§3.2.7) 孔, Mand. **kǒng**.
[ZJH]

(5b) PTB *ts(y)uːŋ NAVEL / CENTER

[*] *HPTB* pp. 287, 310 incorrectly cites *GSR*’s reconstruction as ***ti̯əŋ**. This was corrected in L. Sagart’s review of *HPTB* (2006:217) to ***t̂i̯uŋ**, which is also incorrect: this is Karlgren’s MC form. [JAM]

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsyuːŋ**	inside	Benedict 1972:390

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tshuŋ** INSIDE / WITHIN / HOUSEHOLD

**Chin*	***tshuŋ**	INSIDE / WITHIN / HOUSEHOLD	VanBik 2009:590

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**sung**	inside	VanBik 2009:590
Thado	**sùŋ**	inside	VanBik 2009:590
Tiddim	**-suŋ**	inside / in (na.)	Henderson 1965
	sung[2]	inside	VanBik 2009:590; Bhaskararao 1996:1640
	suŋ	inside; middle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1007a-e; LaPolla 1987:208; Benedict 1972:17n63

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**thiíwng**	inside, among	VanBik 2009:590

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**sŭŋ**	inside	VanBik 2009:590
Lai (Hakha)	**tshûŋ**	inside, during (”within a time span”), within, household (”insiders”)	VanBik 2009:590
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhúng**	inside (of anything), the interior, the area within the bounds, space, duration perion, or term (of time) (n.)	VanBik 2009:590
	chhûng ah	in	Marrison 1967
	chhuːng	inside	Bhaskararao 1996:1640
	tśhuːŋ	inside (of anything); inside	Benedict 1972:17n63; Chou Fa-kao 1972:1007a-e; Benedict 1972:390
	tsyhuŋ	inside (of anything)	LaPolla 1987:208

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**chhô**[1]	inside, household	VanBik 2009:590

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	ki **tsung** sü	lizard	Marrison 1967	*a*
	te **tsung** da	middle	Marrison 1967	
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te **tsung** ko	within	Marrison 1967	
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	kì-**tsəŋ**	family (’house’ + INSIDE) (n.)	Coupe 2007	
	kì-**tsəŋ**-ti	house gecko (’house’ + INSIDE + ’older sibling’) (n.)	Coupe 2007	
	kì-**tsəŋ**-əɪ	relative (’house’ + INSIDE +ANOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007	
	phaŋ-**tsəŋ**	pit (’cover’ + INSIDE) (n.)	Coupe 2007	
Lotha Naga	(o-)**tʃhoŋ** i	inside (post.)	Bruhn 2014b	
	pok **tʃhoŋ** e-rə	guts (n.)	Bruhn 2014b	*b*
Yimchungrü	**-chhing**	in	Marrison 1967	

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Mao	to **tsü**	middle	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**siŋ**	middle; inside; inside, within	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1007a-e; LaPolla 1987:208; Benedict 1972:17n63; Benedict 1972:390
Dimasa	**-bising**	in; among	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	bising ha	within	Marrison 1967
	bisiŋ	inside; within; middle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1007a-e; LaPolla 1987:208; Benedict 1972:17n63; Benedict 1972:390
Kokborok	**bəˑšəin**	inside	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	u-**jũ**[2]	navel	unknown nd
	u **jũ**	navel, umbilical chord [ujũ, ujuŋ]	Jacquesson 2005

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***dzuːŋ**	navel	French 1983:525

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**shung**	navel	Marrison 1967
	šuŋ	navel	French 1983:525
Wancho	**sung**	navel	Marrison 1967
	suŋ	navel	French 1983:525

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	bar **ʐuŋ**	center	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**gźuŋ**	middle	Benedict 1972:17n63

[a]Clark 1911:304 says ”**KITSUNGSẎ**, (house deity dung), the gecko or small house lizard or wall lizard.” Coupe (2007: 489), on the other hand, segments the Mongsen cognate **kì-tsəŋ-ti** ‘house gecko’ as ‘house’ + INSIDE + ‘older sibling’.
[b][Source Note] stomach-inside-intestines ?

(6) PTB *(t)sum NAVEL

This root is virtually confined to Himalayish. The Konyak form with initial **h-** is also probably related. Note the two Thulung forms, which may be co-allofams; **theom** seems to fit better phonologically, despite the semantic divergence.

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**hum** bo	navel	Marrison 1967

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	nā **sum** bro	navel	Matisoff 1987
	sām brok pā	navel	Matisoff 1987
Yakha	phok **su** kəliːk	navel	Kohn 1990:5.7.1

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**chum** buy tli	navel	Weidert 1987:214	*a*
	chum bu li	middle; navel	Weidert 1987:214; Rai *et al.* 1984:21	
	tshum-bu li	navel	Matisoff 1987	
	tshum bu ri	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987	

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**sʊ** li pʊŋ	navel	Michailovsky 1991:129
Thulung	byu **syu** ma	navel	Matisoff 1987
	theom	belly	Michailovsky 1991:90; Allen 1975

[a]For Bantawa **tl-**, cf. Lakher [Mara] and Miju forms with similar reflexes of PTB ***m/s-la(ː)y** NAVEL / CENTER / SELF (§1.9.3).

(7) PTB *bryam ≍ *brim NAVEL / UMBILICAL CORD

This etymon is mostly confined to Himalayish, though there is an excellent Moyon cognate. The initial labial stop may be a reduction of one of several etyma for ‘belly’ that begin with a labial (probably PTB ***d-puːk** BELLY / VITALS / HOLLOW OBJECT / CAVE (§1.7.6)), as illustrated by the disyllabic Moyon doublet and the Lepcha form, so that this root should perhaps be reconstructed ***b-ryam ≍ *b-rim**.

This etymon seems to be quite independent from PTB ***bliŋ** STRING / THREAD / CORD (§5.11.6).

1.2.4. ”Old Kuki”

Moyon	**brǽ ~ bʌrǽ**	navel	Kosha 1990:5.7.1

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**por** tsi	navel	Sharma 1991a:5.7.1

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	bǎk-**lim**	navel	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Thakali (Tukche)	**’prih**-khum	navel	Matisoff 1987
	’prih-k[h]um	navel	Hari 1971:2.A.38

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**birim**	navel	Michailovsky 1991:130
	birim_	navel	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	**’baram**	navel	Michailovsky 1991:130
	baram	navel; umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	sy **pym**	navel	Michailovsky 1991:129; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**biurium**	navel, umbilical cord	Michailovsky 1991:130; Allen 1975

(8) PTB *br(w)ak NAVEL

This etymon appears fairly solid, though it has so far been unearthed only in three scattered languages (Himalayish, Karenic, and Qiangic).

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	nā sum **bro**	navel	Matisoff 1987
	nim-**rōk**	navel	Matisoff 1987
	sām **brok** pā	navel	Matisoff 1987

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Eastern)	pəktʃʰu **sprak**	umbilical cord	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.4.12

7. Karenic

Bwe	ʔdí-**phlɔ́**	navel	Weidert 1987:843

(9) NEIA *koy NAVEL

This root has only been discovered in two NE Indian Areal Group languages of Manipur, Meithei and Puiron, but the semantic and phonological correspondence is perfect. However, since Meithei (also known as Manipuri) is the dominant TB language of Manipur, the Puiron form may well be borrowed from it.

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	**koi**	navel	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**khôi**	navel	Matisoff 1987
	khoi dou	navel	Marrison 1967

(10) PTB *zu CORD / UMBILICAL CORD / NAVEL

This root is of restricted distribution, but the Lepcha form certainly looks related to the Meluri and Tangkhul ones, which might be enough to set it up for PTB.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	ō **zó**	navel, place below	Acharya 1975
	o **zu**	rope (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	ke **ro**	rope (n.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	ke **ro**	rope (n.)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	kü **ro**	rope (n.)	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a bo **zü**	navel	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	hai **zo**	navel	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987	*a*
	hay **zo**	navel	Matisoff 1985a:071	

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	’a yeń-**zo**	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987	*b*

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	toyʔ-**ru**	umbilical cord	Caughley 1972:2.A.39; Matisoff 1987

[a]Tangkhul **h-** apparently descends from the lateral cluster ***s-l** (cf. Abor-Miri and Naga forms with zero initials).
[b]Lepcha **’a yeń** ‘child’.

(11) PTB *bi STRING / STRAP / BELT

This etymon basically means ‘string, strap, belt’, but also occurs in compounds for UMBILICAL CORD. It has been discovered in Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese, and languages of Northeast India.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	rí-**bí**, ri-**bui**	creeper of any sort; cane, wire, rope, string	Matisoff 1985a:053

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-phi** BELT, STRAP, ROPE (WEAVER’S)

**Central Naga*	*a-**phi**	BELT, STRAP, ROPE (WEAVER’S)	Bruhn 2014a:III.060
**Ao*	*a-**phi**	BELT, STRAP (FOR WEAVING)	Bruhn 2014a:II.018
Ao (Chungli)	a[3]-**pi**[1]	belt, strap (for weaving) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.018
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	a-**phì**	belt, strap (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.018
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **phi**	belt (for weaving)	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	e[1]-**phiʔ**[3]	belt, strap, rope for weaving (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.060
	e **phi**	belt (for weaving)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	agha **phi**	belt (for weaving)	Marrison 1967

2.2. Newar

Newar	**pi**	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.4.12

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang (Eastern)	**payʔ** ra	umbilical cord	Caughley 1990:10.4.12
Kham	**bi** kha	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987
	bi khə	umbilical cord	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.39
	bi k[h]ə	umbilical cord	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.39

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	tʃo[55]tshɯ[44]a[44]**phi**[35]	belt / girdle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0476.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ[44]**phi**[33]	belt / ribbon	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	gú-**pi**	string coiled around an object (Bn.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 817

	ɡ̈ò?-**pi**	needle and thread	Matisoff 1988a:p.817
	ɔ̀-**pi**-câ?	strap; sash; belt (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 817

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Pijo)	lɔ̀ **phfi**	belt	Hansson 1989:410
	lɔ̀ **phi**	belt	Hansson 1989:410
	lɔ̀ **psjhi**	belt	Hansson 1989:344

(12) PTB *r $^{\mathbf{u}}_{\mathbf{i}}$ p CORD / STRING

This root requires further confirmation.

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung (Ghachok)	**ruq**	string	Glover 1972:8.A.34
Thakali (Tukche)	**r^{h}up**	string	Hari 1971:8.A.34 34

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	hi **rip**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	so: **rip**	tendon, vein	Michailovsky 1991:124

Chinese comparandum

(繫 'rope, tether, bind'; B & S 2011: ***t‹r›ip***; Mand. **zhí**.)

(13) PTB *rey ≍ *s-rwi(y) OBSCURE INTERNAL CHANNEL / CORD / STRING / CREEPER / CANE / RATTAN

The basic meaning of this etymon seems to be 'cord, string'. It also appears in a large number of compounds referring to "OICC's" (obscure internal channels and connections), such as NERVE, VEIN, MUSCLE, SINEW. In addition it appears in compounds for UMBILICAL CORD, thence by extension to NAVEL itself. For the concept of "OICC's", see *VSTB* pp. 184-5.

STC sets up two roots with the meaning 'cane, rattan', *STC* #478 ***rey*** and *STC* #201 ***s-rwi(y)***, which I am collapsing into a single set. The meaning of this etymon ranges from 'string, cord' to 'OICC' to the specific plants 'cane, rattan'.

Several Himalayish forms which look superficially as if they descend from this morpheme are actually loans from Sanskrit *nālī* ~ *nāḍī* 'any tubular vessel or vein of the body' (Monier-Williams:537): Sunwar **nā:ri** 'nerve', Newar **hi *nu(li)*** 'blood vessel; vein; artery' (**hi** 'blood' < PTB ***s-hywəy***),* Bahing **sā:*ti*** 'vein, blood vessel', Bantawa **tshum-bu*ri*** 'umbilical cord', Khaling **'sö ri** 'nerve'. A couple of Barish forms, Bodo **na-ri** and Lalung **na-ti** 'navel' (Balawan 1965:42), are also probably borrowings from this Sanskrit word, despite the semantic difference. Note that **r** and **t/d** are frequently confused in Barish languages. (Cf. the language name *Bodo* ~ *Boro*).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***rey**	cane; rattan; rope; string, thread; rattan, cane	Weidert 1987:754; Matisoff 1985a:053; Matisoff 2003a:610; LaPolla 1987:151; Benedict 1972:478
	***rwi(y)**	cane (plant)	Benedict 1972:201
	***s-rwi(y)**	cane / rattan / rope	Matisoff 2003a:611

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**rí**-bí, **ri**-bui	creeper of any sort; cane, wire, rope, string	Matisoff 1985a:053
	tə **rü**	cane plant	Benedict 1972:201

1.1.2. DENG

Digaro	**tərui ≍ təroi**	cane plant	Benedict 1972:201

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ruy ≍ *hruy** ROPE / CORD / STRING / RATTAN

**Chin*	***ruy** ≍ hruy	ROPE / CORD / STRING / RATTAN	VanBik 2009:967
**Kuki*	***hrwi**	cane plant	Benedict 1972:201

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**gui**	rope, cord	VanBik 2009:967

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**gui**	rope, string	VanBik 2009:967
Daai	**ɣɨ**^{1}	cord	VanBik 2009:967
Khumi	**vuuy**	vine type with thorns, used to make baskets; string on a zither	VanBik 2009:967

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hrîi**	rope, cord, rattan	VanBik 2009:967
Lai (Falam)	**hríi**	rope, cord	VanBik 2009:967
Lushai [Mizo]	**hrŭi**	rope, cord, cane, string, a creeper	VanBik 2009:967
	hrwi	cane plant	Benedict 1972:201

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lailenpi	mə́ pəlɛ^{4}**ri**^{1}	navel	Luce 1985:N.16
Lakher [Mara]	(pa-)lia-**ri**	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987
	khàw-hrí	cord, string	VanBik 2009:967
	tha-**ri**	blood vessel; vein; artery; nerve; sinew; tendon	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Zotung	la^{5}**rwi**^{4}	navel	Luce 1985:N.16

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	məti **rui**	sinew / tendon (muscle to bone)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.5
	ru **rui**	ligament (bone to bone)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.6
	rəlhə **rui**	nerve	Toba & Kom 1991:8.10
	rət^{h}ə **rui**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Toba & Kom 1991:8.7.1
Moyon	šiŋ **rí**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Kosha 1990:8.7.1

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-(h)rəj** CANE, RATTAN

**Central Naga*	*a-**(h)rəj**	CANE, RATTAN	Bruhn 2014a:III.110
**Ao*	*a-**hɹə**	CANE, RATTAN	Bruhn 2014a:II.303
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**ɹə**^{1}	cane, rattan (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.303
	a **rer**	creeper	Marrison 1967
	^{3}a^{1}**r**	cane	Weidert 1987:927
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **rü**	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **rü**	creeper	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**hɹə**	cane, rattan (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**rəʔ**^{3}	cane, rattan (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.110
	o **rru**	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **rü**	cane	Murry *et al.* 1978:14
	rə phà	roll of cane	Acharya 1975
	^{1}o^{3}**rɯ**	cane	Weidert 1987:927
Yacham-Tengsa	a **lhu**	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	^{2}ti ^{2}**re** [^{1}]	cane	Weidert 1987:101

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	ke **re**	rope (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ke **re**	creeper	Marrison 1967
	ke **ro**	creeper	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	ke **rie**	creeper	Marrison 1967
Rengma	te **ra**	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	^{1}tʌ^{3}**ri**	cane	Weidert 1987:754
Sema [Sumi]	ake **ghi**	thread	Marrison 1967
	ake **ghi**	rope (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	sa **rui**	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**rui**	cane	Weidert 1987:754
	rui	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	bung **rui**	creeper	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***hroj** ROPE / STRING / THREAD NEEDLE

**Tangkhulic*	***hroj**	rope / string / thread needle	Mortensen 2012:756
Tangkhul	khə **rùy**	string flowers	Matisoff 1985a:176
	ruy	string	Bhat 1969:98
	rɯ	creeper	Bhat 1969:87
	^{1}khə^{2}**rə**	cane	Weidert 1987:101
	^{1}mə^{1}thi^{2}**rə**	cane	Weidert 1987:101
Tusom	ʔə-**hrɯ**	rope	Mortensen 2012:Implements.027
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**ruj**	thread a needle to string flowers	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**li**	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sing **li**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	siŋ **li**	blood vessel; vein; artery; nerve	Singh 1991:8.10; Singh 1991:8.7.1

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	**rai**	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
	rai	rattan, cane	Matisoff 1985a:053; LaPolla 1987:151

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**re**	string, thread	LaPolla 1987:151
Garo (Bangladesh)	gan-du-**ri**	navel, belly button	Burling 1992
	gan-du-**ri**	navel (n.)	Burling 2003:6.245-II:idx

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	gan dy **rui**	bellybutton, navel (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***rey**	cane; rattan; rope	Matisoff 1985a:053; French 1983:466

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**ri**	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ri	cane / rattan / rope	Matisoff 1985a:053
Tangsa (Moshang)	**ri**	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ri	cane / rattan / rope	Matisoff 1985a:053
	tag **ri**	blood	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**li**	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
	li	cane / rattan / rope	Matisoff 1985a:053
Konyak	**wei**	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
	wei	cane / rattan / rope	Matisoff 1985a:053
Wancho	**re**	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
	re	cane; rattan; rope; reed	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:053

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	gin **ri**	fine thread	LaPolla 1987:151
	ri	rattan, cane, cord, string	LaPolla 1987:151
	sum^{33}**ʒi**^{33}	rope	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:422.47
	sum **ri**, śiŋ-**ri**	rope, cord (n.)	Marrison 1967

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	kəm **ri** səm	moustache	Driem 1993

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Magar	**ri**	cane	LaPolla 1987:151

3.2. QIANGIC

Namuyi	**ʐ̩ʅ**^{55}	rope	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:422.19
	ʐɿ^{55}	rope / string (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0619.46
Qiang (Taoping)	sia^{33} **li**^{55}	string, thread	LaPolla 1987:151
	siɑ^{33}**li**^{55}	thread	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:421.9
Xumi	**re**^{55}	rope / string (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0619.17
	rɐ^{35}	rope	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:422.20

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	sɯ **ʐi**	rope	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:422.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Caodeng	sɐ-fko-**ri?**	carry strap	Sun 1997a

4. NUNGIC

Anong	ban-**ri**	rope, string	LaPolla 1987:151
	sə **ri**	thread	LaPolla 1987:151
	thə **ri**	cane	LaPolla 1987:151
Anong (Rawang)	tə **ri**	cane	Benedict 1972:56n185
Anong (Rawang/Lungmi)	tə **rụ**	cane	Benedict 1972:56n185
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	tsɯ^{31} **ri**^{55}	string, thread	LaPolla 1987:151
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	pɯ^{31} **ɻi**^{53}	navel	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	tsɯ^{31} **ri**^{53}	string, thread	LaPolla 1987:151

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Xide)	gu^{33} **ʑi**^{33}	muscle / sinew	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	gu^{33}-**ɕi**^{33}	muscle	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

7. KARENIC: ***re**^{B} RATTAN

**Karen*	***re**^{B}	rattan	Luangthongkum 2013:235
**Karen [Burling]*	***ɣe**^{1}	rattan	Luangthongkum 2013:235
Kayah	**ri**^{11}	rattan	Luangthongkum 2013:235
Kayan	**rai**^{11}	rattan	Luangthongkum 2013:235
Kayan (Pekon)	rō **rē**	krait, banded cane snake [lit. snake-rattan] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**ri**^{11}	rattan	Luangthongkum 2013:235
Pa-O (Northern)	**re**^{53}	rattan	Luangthongkum 2013:235
Pa-O (Southern)	**re**^{55}	rattan	Luangthongkum 2013:235
Pwo (Northern)	**ɣi**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	rattan	Luangthongkum 2013:235
Pwo (Southern)	**ɣi**^{33}	rattan	Luangthongkum 2013:235
Sgaw (Southern)	**re**^{31}	rattan	Luangthongkum 2013:235
Sgaw (Northern)	**ɣe**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	rattan	Luangthongkum 2013:235
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a^{31} **ɣi**^{31}	muscle	DAI Qingxia 1989k:162
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**ɣi**^{31}	muscle	DAI Qingxia 1989j:162

Chinese comparandum

纍/累/縲 OC ***lḭwər***, *GSR* #577f, r-s 'wind around, bind, rope'; Schuessler 2007:346 ***rui***; B & S 2011: ***roj {[r]oj}***; Mand. **léi**.
蘽/藟 OC ***lḭwər***, *GSR* #577e, g 'creeping plant'; Schuessler 2007:346 ***rui?***; Mand. **lěi**.
綸 OC ***lḭwən***, *GSR* #470e 'woof; twist a thread; cord'; Schuessler 2007:370 ***run***; B & S 2011: ***k.run {k.ru[n]}***; Mand. **lún**.

(14) PCN *a-luŋ CENTER / MIDDLE

*See *HPTB*:194.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

*Central Naga	*a-**luŋ**	CENTER, MIDDLE	Bruhn 2014a:III.230
*Ao	*t-**juŋ**	CENTER, MIDDLE	Bruhn 2014a:II.286
Ao (Chungli)	tə^{2}-**juŋ**^{2}	center, middle (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.286
	t **iong**	middle	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	ti **yung** ko	middle	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	thi **juŋ**	center [centre]	Coupe 2007 [a]
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**loŋ**^{1}-o^{1}	center, middle (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.230
	o **long** o	center; middle	Murry *et al.* 1978:15; Murry *et al.* 1978:73
	ō **lōŋ**	center	Acharya 1975
	o **nung** o	middle	Marrison 1967
	YiNg ro **loNg** o	middle finger	Nienu 1990c:7.1.2
Sangtam	a **long** la	middle	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	afu **lung**	center	Kumar 1973b:36
	phu **lung**	middle	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	a **lung** la	middle	Marrison 1967
	ruŋ	middle	Bhat 1969:92
	ruŋ-ho	finger (middle)	Matisoff 1987
	ruŋ hó	middle finger	Matisoff 1987

[a]Coupe revises this to **tijuŋ** (/**tə-juŋ**/) (p.c. Daniel Bruhn, 2013).

(15) PTani *kri-ni NAVEL

The first element in this compound seems to reflect PTB ***kri*** STOMACH (§1.7.6), while the second element no doubt descends from PTB ***nin*** NAVEL (§1.9.3).

1.1.1. Tani

*Tani	***kri-ni**	navel	Sun 1993a:268

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**k^{h}rjɯ-nə**	navel	Sun 1993b
	k^{h}rə-nə	navel	Sun 1993b
	xrjɯ-nɯ	navel	Sun 1993a
	xɯ-nɯ	navel	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ki-ni**	navel; umbilical cord	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ki:-ni:**	navel	Sun 1993a
	ki:ni:	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.24
Galo	**kiinə**	navel (n.)	GLDC 2009
	kiinə-abuu	umbilical cord (n.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ki-ni**	navel	Matisoff 1987; Sun 1993a
	ki-nyo	navel	Matisoff 1987

1.9.4 Breast

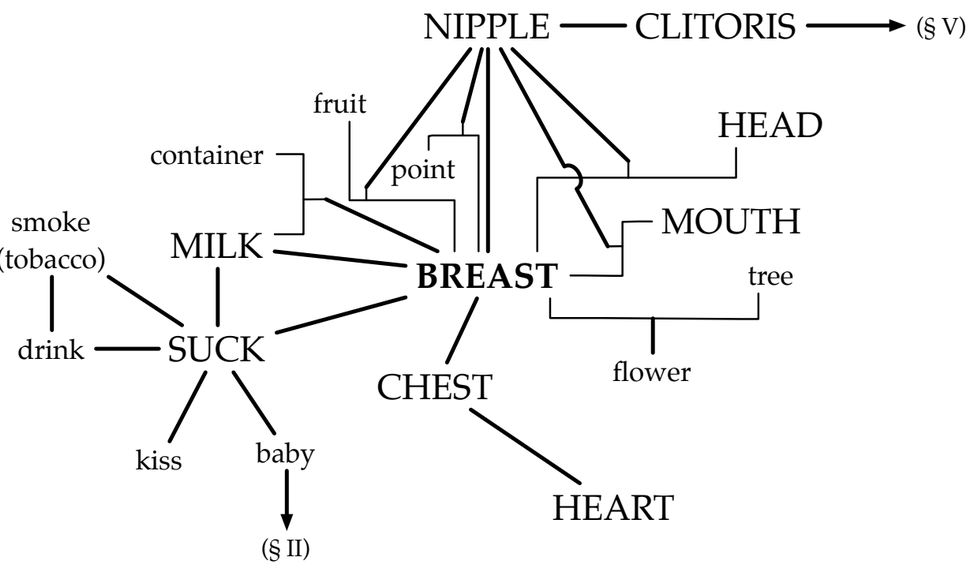


Figure 156: 1.9.4 *Breast*

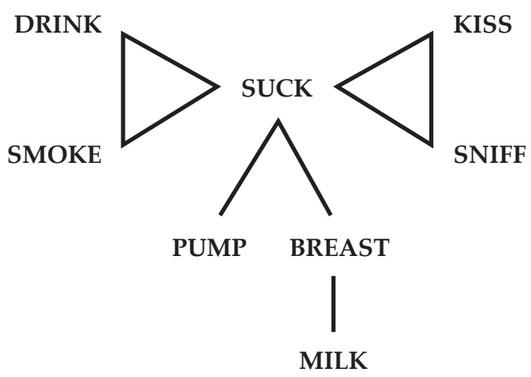


Figure 157: 1.9.4 *Breast*

The roots in this chapter refer primarily to the female breast as part of the reproductive system, rather than BREAST in the sense of CHEST (but see PTB ***b(y)at*** BREAST / CHEST (§1.9.4), below).

(1a) PTB *dz(y)wap ≍ *ts(y)wap SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

*Sino-Tibetan	***tsop** ~ **dzop**	suck	Coblin 1986:144

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	***dz(y)o:p ≍ ts(y)o:p**	suck / kiss / breast / milk	Matisoff 2003a:589
	***dzo:p**	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:963; Michailovsky 1991:171
	***dzo:p**	suck, kiss; suck	Benedict 1972:69; Coblin 1986:144

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tusom	ʔɯ-**zu**	breast	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.135

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

*Bodo-Garo	***sVp**	suck	Burling 1959:444

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**sə́b**	suck; smoke (v.)	Bhat 1968
	sɤp	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:1114
Dimasa	**džop**	suck, kiss	Benedict 1972:69
	dźop	suck, kiss	Coblin 1986:144
	job ji	suck	Marrison 1967
Lalung [Tiwa]	khu **jub** a	suck	Balawan 1965:88 [a]
Meche	**cop**	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:1114

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**yup-**	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:170

[a]Lalung **-b** represents an unreleased (not truly voiced) stop.

(1b) PTB *m-ts(y) $^{u}_{i}$ p SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK

Many forms descending from this etymon have voiced initials, a fact which we might capture by setting up a separate allofam ***m-dz(y)up ≍ *m-dz(y)ip***. Some of these cases can be ascribed to the influence of the nasal prefix. However, since there is so much variation in voicing even within a single subgroup, we have chosen to group all the reflexes under the prototype with voiceless root initial.

This widespread etymon is set up as ***dzo:p*** in *STC* #69, on the basis of forms from four Barish and Kuki-Chin languages: (Barish) Dimasa **dźop** and (Kuki-Chin) Lushai (Mizo) **fo:p**, Thado **tsop**, and Siyin **tuop** 'suck; kiss'. (Cf. also Kom Rem **məǰop**, Tiddim **to:p**, and Lai Chin **doop**.) However, the rhymes ***-op** and ***-o:p** are extremely rare in TB, with virtually no other examples (see *HPTB*, pp. 381-2), and it seems preferable to consider these forms with **-o(:)-** vocalism to reflect a localized secondary development. (On the other hand, there is a parallel form in NW rGyalrong **kants^{h}rop**, alongside Ma'erkang rGyalrong **kɑ mə scçup**.) The vast majority of the reflexes point to a high proto-vowel, either ***-u-*** or ***-i-***. The alternation between these two vowels is especially frequent in the environment of labial consonants, and indeed this is one of the best attested patterns of variation in TB, as well as in Chinese. (See *VSTB* pp. 41-2, *HPTB* pp. 493-505. See also PTB ***m-pup ≍ *pip*** KISS / SUCK / SUCKLE (§1.9.4) and PTB ***(t)s(i/u)p*** NEST / WOMB / SCROTUM (§1.9.6), below.) Several languages show internal variation between these vowels (e.g. Dimasa **dźop** 'suck' ≍ **sep** 'milk'; Tiddim **te:p**^{1} 'suck' ≍ **to:p**^{1} 'kiss').

The nasal prefix ***m-*** has been added to the reconstruction since it occurs in many languages of the NE Indian Areal Group (e.g. Sema **mtsü**, Ao Mongsen **mechep**, Kom Rem **məǰop**, Moyon **njúp**, etc.), as well as in Qiangic (e.g. Ergong **ndʑip**^{53}, Namuyi **ntshu**^{53}), and WT **ḥjib(s)-pa**, where *a-chung* "ḥ" is interpreted as a nasal prefix (see *HPTB* pp. 115-6).

Reflexes of the allofam with ***-u-*** vocalism are presented in PTB ***m-ts(y)(u/i)p*** SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4), and those from the ***-i-*** variant in PTB ***m-ts(y)(u/i)p*** SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4).

I also recognize an opened-syllable allofam ***dz(y)əw* MILK/BREAST**, treated separately below PTB ***dzy(ə/o)w*** SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4).

A few languages show secondary variants with final stops other than ***-p***. Jingpho has a doublet, one with the expected **-p** (**tšùp** 'suck, kiss, absorb'), and one that reflects final ***-k*** (**tšúʔ** 'breast'; **-ʔ** is the regular Jg. reflex of ***-k***). Similar forms appear in several other languages: Sherpa (Helambu) **chuk pekin** 'kiss', Tamang (Sahu) **cyok-pa** 'kiss', Lashi **tʃu̱:k**^{55} 'nurse; suckle', Bisu **tʃhɔ̀k** 'suck'. All these languages seem to have doublets with both **-p** and **-k**. WB has an aberrant form with a final dental (**cut** 'suck'), paralleled by Dulong **tsut**^{55} 'suckle' and Tamang (Sahu) **nyeh *c^{h}uT* Tai' ti-pa**.[*]

For other etyma with similar variation in final position, cf. PTB ***m-pup ≍ *pip*** KISS / SUCK / SUCKLE (§1.9.4) and PTB ***(t)s(i/u)p*** NEST / WOMB / SCROTUM (§1.9.6).

The semantic connection between SUCK and KISS is paralleled by the vulgar English expression *suck face* for 'kiss'.

There is a possible Chinese comparison, 噬 (Mand. **cǎn, zǎn**); this character has two OC readings, ***ts'əm*** 'have in the mouth' and ***tsəp*** 'bite; sting and suck (as a mosquito)' [*GSR* #660f, #660o]; see also Coblin 1986:144. TB also shows some variation between final stop and nasal in this etymon: cf. Sunwar **cim-cā** 'milk a cow' ≍ **yup-** 'suck'; Tsangla (Motuo) **jum** 'suck (milk)' ≍ **tɕup**^{55} **a**^{55} 'kiss'. The final nasal in the Milang form **ɟim-ma** seems clearly to be due to assimilation of the initial to the suffix. See the discussion by ZJH, below.

An undoubtedly related root (not in *STC* or *HPTB*) is PTB ***(t)sy(i/u)p ≍ *(t)swap*** SQUEEZE / WRING / CRUMPLE (§9.5), the semantic connection being the squeezing action required to express milk from a breast or udder. See DL:557-8.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	***dzyup ≍ dzyip**	suck / kiss / breast / milk	Matisoff 2003a:589
	***tsyup ≍ tsyip**	suck / kiss / breast / milk	Matisoff 2003a:618

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	mó-**čù**	kiss	Sun 1993b
	mo-**ču** (sú)	kiss	Sun 1993b
	mo-**č^{h}uʔ** (sú)	kiss	Sun 1993b
Bokar	bjuŋ **tɕop**	suck (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.24
	bjuŋ-**čup**	suck	Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	**dʑup**-ra	suck	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ɟim**-ma	suck	Tayeng 1976 [a]

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**jip**^{55}	suck (milk)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	jip^{55}	suck (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.23
	tá-**yə̀p**	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:963
	yə̀p	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:963
	yə́p	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:1221

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***θeep*** SUCK / SMOKE (v.)

*Chin	***θeep**	SUCK / SMOKE (v.)	VanBik 2009:632

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**tsêep**-I, tsèep-II	drink with straw, suck, smoke	VanBik 2009:632
Tiddim	**te:p**^{1}	suck fluids (e.g. water; smoke), smoke (tobacco)	VanBik 2009:632
	te:p^{1}	suck fluids [e.g. water; smoke] (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1761
	te:p^{1}	suck fluids	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**m-htep**	suck (v.)	VanBik 2009:632

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**feep**-I, feʔ-II	suck (e.g. sugar cane)	VanBik 2009:632
Lushai [Mizo]	**fêep**-I, fèh-II	suck (as sugarcane)	VanBik 2009:632
	fe:p	suck [as sugarcane] (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2322

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	**cùp** ~~cuu~~	milk	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.144
	cúup	breast	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.141

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**chup**	kiss	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-tshəp*** SUCK / KISS

*Central Naga	***m-tshəp**	SUCK / KISS	Bruhn 2014a:III.156

[a]Note assimilation of the medial consonants.

[*]Cf. *LTSR* #73, which contains several typos corrected in *VSTB*, p. 32 and p. 239, n. 41.

**Ao*	***m-tʃhəp**	SUCK / KISS	Bruhn 2014a:II.172
Ao (Chungli)	**mesep**	suck	Marrison 1967
	mə^{3}səp^{1}	suck, kiss (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.172
	mʊ́sʊ̀up	sip/suck (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
	tebang-**mesap**	kiss	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen)	**mʊ́ʊc^{h}ʊ̀up**	suck (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:13
	mʊ́sʊ̀up	suck (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:13
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**mechep**	kiss; suck	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**mətʃhəp**	kiss [kissed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	mátʃhép	suck [sucked] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**n̥^{1}-tsəp^{2}-**	kiss, suck (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.156
	ntsap	suck	Marrison 1967
	ntssüpb a	suck	Murry *et al.* 1978:119
	Ntsup	kiss	Nienu 1990c:3.9.5
	ntsüp a	kiss	Murry *et al.* 1978:65
	Ntsup a	suck	Nienu 1990c:5.4.5
Sangtam	**müthsep** yecho	suck (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	müthsüp	kiss	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**müthsüp**	kiss (v.)	Kumar 1973b:46
	müthsüp	suck	Kumar 1973b:46

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Rengma	**sü shi**	suck	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a ke **chi**	breast	Marrison 1967
	a ke **chi** zü	milk	Marrison 1967
	mtsü	kiss; suck	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**chup**	kiss	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**chap**	suck	Marrison 1967
	chup	kiss	Marrison 1967
	cup pə	kiss (v.)	Singh 1991:3.9.5

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **jup**	kiss	Marrison 1967
	ing **jùp-**	suck (v.)	Grüssner 1979:20
	ing **sip**	suck	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**sep**	milk	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	caʔ-**sip**-a	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:1114
Garo (Bangladesh)	**-srip-**	slurp, swirl with the mouth	Burling 2003:154

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *C_{VD}-**c^{h}up** KISS, *C_{VD}-**cu:p** SUCK

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-cu:p**	suck (v.)	French 1983:561
	***Ç-c^{h}up**	kiss (v.)	French 1983:561

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	a **cup**	kiss (v.)	French 1983:561
	a **cup (jok)**	kiss (v.)	French 1983:561
	tšup	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:963

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**šep**	kiss; suck (v.)	French 1983:561; French 1983:561
	shap, **ship**	suck	Marrison 1967
	shep	kiss	Marrison 1967
	šʌ̀p	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:1114
Khiamngan	^{12}a^{23}**dž̯ɐɪʔ**	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:1114
	^{12}a^{12}**tš̯ɐp**	kiss (v.)	Weidert 1987:1114
	^{12}a^{12}**tš̯ɐp**	kiss / suck (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:1144
Konyak	**hüp**	suck	Marrison 1967
	həp	suck (v.)	French 1983:561
	jep	kiss	Marrison 1967
	jep	kiss (v.)	French 1983:561
Konyak (Tamlu)	**jup**	suck / kiss (v.)	Weidert 1987:1114
Phom	**jüp**	kiss	Marrison 1967
	jəp	kiss (v.)	French 1983:561

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	chu, **chyup**	suck	Marrison 1967
	chup	kiss	Marrison 1967
	chyup	suck, as through a straw	Hanson 1906:92
	tʃu̲p^{31}	suck up, absorb	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:98
	^{1}**tšup**	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:1114
	^{1}**tšup**	kiss / suck (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:1144
	ʃup^{31}	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.47

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Ganan	**tsup^{3}**	suck (v.)	Luce 1985:L.294
	tsɔ^{4}	suck (v.)	Luce 1985:L.294
Kadu (Kantu)	**soʔ^{1}**	suck (v.)	Luce 1985:L.294
	s‘up^{1}	suck (v.)	Luce 1985:L.294
Sak (Dodem)	**su^{3}**	suck (v.)	Luce 1985:L.294
	tsôʔ^{2}	suck (v.)	Luce 1985:L.294
Sak (Bawtala)	**tsô^{4}**	suck (v.)	Luce 1985:L.294

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	cug **tʃ^{h}i**	suckle, suck (v.)	Sharma 1982
	cəpu	kiss (n.)	Sharma 1982
	cəpu rənḍri	kiss (v.)	Sharma 1982
	tsip tsi	suck	Sharma 1991b:5.4.5
	Tùn **ḍẓi**	nurse / suckle (v.)	Sharma 1991b:5.4.6

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	pɛ^{53} **tɕi^{13}**	kiss (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.9.5
Bumthang	**zip**	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:664
Kurtöp	**džip**	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:664
Tsangla (Motuo)	**jum**	suck (milk)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980 [a]
	tɕup^{55} a^{55}	kiss	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	tɕup ʔa	kiss	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tshona (Mama)	**ʤip^{13}**	suck (milk)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ʔo^{55} **ʧ^{h}ɔp^{53}**	kiss	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Cuona Menba	**dzip^{35}** pa^{53}	suck (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Dzongkha	**džup**	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:664
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**jip** ken	suck	Bishop 1989:5.4.5
	jip ken	nurse / suckle (v.)	Bishop 1989:5.4.6
Spiti	**jip** ce	suck	Bodh 1991:5.4.5
Tibetan (Written)	**’jibs**	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:171
	’jibs-pa	suck	Marrison 1967
	bźibs	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:664
	bzip	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:664
	ɦidʑib	suck (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.01
	ɦijib(s)-pa	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:664

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Bagmati)	**’sip**	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:664
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**sip**	suck (milk, fingers) (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:5.4.5

[a] The final nasal in this form is unexplained, but is perhaps due to assimilation to a now-lost suffix with nasal initial (cf. Milang **ɟim-ma**).

2.2. Newar

Newar	**cup**-ā na-ye	kissed (”eat a kiss”) (be v.)	Malla 2007
	cup ā-nala	kissed (he kissed) (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.51
	cup pa nɔ	kiss (”have a kiss”) (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.9.5

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**tsup** mEtt-	kiss (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**cup** pa cok ma	kiss	Kohn 1990:3.9.5

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**chUp**	suck up	Rai 1985
	cup ma	kiss	Rai 1985

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

**Dum-Thu-Kha*	***chip-**	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:171
Khaling	**cūp** mū-ne	kiss (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.51

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**cim**-cā	milk a cow (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.41
Thulung	**chip-**	suck (marrow); suck (marrow), to encroach (on another’s land) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:171; Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Magar	**cip**-ke	milk a cow (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.41

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**ndǐuɦ**	kiss / suck	Nishida 1964:255-122
	Tǐu̯	suckle / breastfeed / nourish	Nishida 1964:7-145

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**tsʅ^{55}**	nurse / suckle	Sun Hongkai 1991d
	tʃɛ^{33}	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.18
Guiqiong	(ni^{55}ni^{55}) **ntʃhə^{55}**	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.16
	ntʃhʅ^{55}	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.17
	tsy^{55} tsy^{33}	kiss; suck	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai 1991e
Muya [Minyak]	**nɐ^{33}tsyi^{35}**	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.15
Namuyi	**ntshu^{53}**	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.19
	tʂu^{55}tʂu^{55}mɯ^{55}	kiss (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.9.5
Pumi (Qinghua)	**nə^{13}tsə^{55}**	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**nə^{35}tsi^{53}**	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**tshí**	suck (milk)	Evans 1999:2360
Qiang (Mawo)	**tsəp**	milk	Sun 1986; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.4.3
	tsəp	milk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.08
	tsəp	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.8
	tʂhi tʂhi	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.8
	tʂhə	suck / inhale	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	tʂhɛ	suck (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.08
	tʂ^{h}ə (**tʂ^{h}ə** la)	suck (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.4.5
Qiang (Mianchi)	(**tʂhɛ̀**) ŋaò thá	refine (milk) [m-b(boil)-s]	Evans 1999:2141
	tsù tsú (pù)	kiss (v.)	Evans 1999:2256
Qiang (Taoping)	ɲ̟y^{55} ɲ̟y^{55} **tsuə^{33}**	milk	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ɲ̟y^{55}ɲ̟y^{55}**tsuə^{55}**	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**tʂ^{h}e**	suck (milk)	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2262
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{35}**dʐe^{53}**	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.16
Xumi	**tshu^{33}**	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.20

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Northern)	**ndʐip^{53}**	suck (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.4.5
Ergong (Danba)	**ntʂhɛ**	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.14
	wɯ **mtsɯ mtsi**	suck (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:5.4.5
Ergong (Daofu)	**ɕhuə**	milk	Dai Qingxia 1989b:5.4.3
Ergong (Danba)	**ɕhɯ**	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.14
	ɕ^{h}ɯ	milk	Sun Hongkai 1991b:5.4.3
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔtsɑu**	suck (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:5.4.5

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (NW)	ka **nts^{h}rop**	suck (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.4.5
rGyalrong	kə mə **scup**	suck (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.4.5
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ mə **scçup**	suck (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.11

4. Nungic

Anong	ɑ^{31}tʂhu^{55}**tʂhʮ^{31}**	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.44

5. Tujia

Tujia	**tɕi^{21}**	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.38

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔcup^{H}** ≍ ****ʔjup^{L}** ≍ ****C-cup^{L}** SUCK / MILK

**Lolo-Burmese*	***C-cup**	suck / milk	Matisoff 1972b:73(c)
	***C-tšup^{L}**	suck / kiss / breast / milk	Matisoff 2003a:589
	***ʔcup**	suck / milk	Matisoff 1972b:73(a)
	***ʔcup^{H}** ≍ **ʔjup^{L}** ≍ **C-cup^{L}**	suck / milk	Matisoff 1972b:69a
	***ʔjup**	suck / milk	Matisoff 1972b:73(b)

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**tʂɔp^{55}**	suck (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.28
Achang (Xiandao)	**ʂuʔ^{55}**	suck (milk)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:2262
	ʂuʔ^{55}	suck (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.29
Bola	**tʃa̲p^{55}**	suck (milk)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:2262
Hpun (Northern)	ă nù’ **s(h)ù’**	suck (the breast)	Henderson 1986
	s(h)àʔ	suck	Henderson 1986
Lashi	**ʃɛ̰:^{33}**	suck (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.4.5
Maru [Langsu]	**tʃa̲p^{55}**	suck (as babe at breast)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:add3
	tʃa̲p^{55}	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.43
	ʃɛ^{31}	suck (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.4.5
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃu̲p^{55}**	suck; milk (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.42

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	**tʂhɯ̲^{31}**	nurse; suckle; suck (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.4.5; Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.4.6

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**sʮ^{24}**	suck (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.4.5
Lalo	**tsʮ^{55}**	kiss (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.5
	tʂ^{h}ʮ̄^{21}	suck (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.5
	ɑ^{55} **tʂʮ̄^{33}**	milk	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.3
	ɑ^{55} **tʂʮ̄^{33}** bɪ̲^{33}	breast	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4
	ɑ^{55} **tʂʮ̄^{33}** bɪ̲^{33} y^{21} dy^{55}	nipple	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.1 [a]
Lipho	pa̲^{21}**dzɻ^{33}**	breast	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4
	pa̲^{21}**dzɻ^{33}**vi^{33}	milk	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.3
	tʂhɿ̄^{21}	suck	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.5

[a] Literally “breast-head”.

Nasu	**tʂʅ 44**	suck / milk	Matisoff 1972b:73(b)
	tʂʅ̄^{55}	suck (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.4.5
Nesu	**tʂʅ́**^{21}	suck (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.4.5
Noesu	**tʂɤ**^{13}	suck	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.4.5
Nosu	bu^{55}**tɕʅ̄**^{55}	kiss	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.9.5
	tɕʅ̄^{55}	suck	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.4.5
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tsɔ**^{53}	milk (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:611.45
Yi (Liangshan)	bu^{55}**tɕʅ**^{55}	kiss	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**tɕi**^{21}	milk (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:611.26
Yi (Nanhua)	bɯ^{33}**dzi̱**^{33}	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.24
	bɯ̱^{33}**dzi̱**^{33}ʑi^{33}	milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.24
Yi (Nanjian)	a^{55} **tʂʅ̄**^{33} pi̱^{33}	breast	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	a^{55} **tʂʅ̄**^{33}	milk	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	a^{55}**tʂʅ̄**^{33}	milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.23
	a^{55}**tʂʅ̄**^{33}pi^{33}	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.23
	ɕỹ^{33}	milk (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:611.23
Yi (Xide)	**tshi**^{33}	milk (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:611.21
	tɕʅ^{55}-ɕo^{55}	suck	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**tʂi̱**^{55}	nurse / suckle (v.)	LUO Meizhen 1990:5.4.6
	tʂʅ 55	suck / milk	Matisoff 1972b:73(b)
	tʂʅ̄^{55}	suck	CHEN Kang 1986b:5.4.5
	ɑ^{33} nɯ^{33} **tʂi̱**^{55}	suck (v.)	LUO Meizhen 1990:5.4.5
Jinuo	**tʃhu**^{55}	suck (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**tʃ^{h}u**^{55}	suck (milk)	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2360
Jinuo (Baka)	**tʃ^{h}ɣ**^{55}	suck (milk)	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2360
**Common Lahu*	***chaw**ˆ/htsuhˆ	suck	Bradley 1979b:633
	***cu**¯	milk	Bradley 1979b:155A
Lahu (Black)	cha-**cú**-ni	clitoris	Matisoff 1988a:517
	chɔ̀?	suck; kiss	Matisoff 1978a:42; Matisoff 1972b:73(c)
	cú	milk	Matisoff 1972b:73(b) [a]
	cú phâ?	wean	Matisoff 1988a:p.466
	cú-phô	breast	Matisoff 1993
	cú-phû	breast	Matisoff 1993
	dzɣ^{35} fɣ^{53}	breast	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsu^{35}fu^{33}	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.33
	tsu^{35}ɣɯ^{31}	milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.33
	tsɣ^{35} ɣɯ^{31}	milk	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**tsɣ**^{35} pɛʔ^{54}	breast	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsɣ^{35} ɣɯ^{31}	milk	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	**cu**¯ pehˆ	breast	Bradley 1979a:119
Lahu (Banlan)	**cu:** g'iˬ	milk	Bradley 1979a:155
	cu: pehˆ	breast	Bradley 1979a:119
Lisu (Central)	a^{5}-**chï**^{2}	milk	Fraser 1922
Lisu	a^{5}**chï**^{2}	milk	Bradley 1979b:155A
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}**tʃʅ**^{35}	milk (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**tʃʅ**^{35} ɔ^{55}dy^{33}	nipple	Bradley 1994 [b]
	a^{55}**tʃʅ**^{35}hɤ^{21}	milk powder	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	**ch'ɪʔ**^{6}	suck (v.)	Luce 1985:V.108
Lisu	**hchï**^{6}	suck	Bradley 1979b:633
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**hchï**^{6}	suck (v.)	Luce 1985:V.108
Lisu	**hchï**^{6}	suck	Matisoff 1972b:73(c)
Lisu (Central)	**hchï**^{6}	suck (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tshʅ**^{35}	milk (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:611.27
	tʃhi̱^{31}	suck (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tʃhʅ2**^{21}	breathe in; suck (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**tʃhʅ̄**^{42}	suck	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
	ɑ^{55} **tʃʅ**^{35}	breast; milk	XU Lin *et al.* 1986; XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	ɑ^{55}**tʃʅ**^{35}	breast; milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.27; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.27
Sani [Nyi]	**tʂz̩ 55**	suck / milk	Matisoff 1972b:73(b)
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**cu HS**	suck up (e.g. bird sucking nectar, / vampire)	Matisoff 1972b:73(a)
	cu LS	suck up (e.g. through small bamboo tube) / kiss	Matisoff 1972b:73(b)
	cuˆ	suck / kiss	Matisoff 1978a:42
Bisu	**kjū**	suck / milk	Matisoff 1972b:73(a)
	tšù ~ kjù	suck / milk	Matisoff 1972b:73(b)
	tʃhù	suck at the breast	Beaudouin 1988:35
	tʃup	kiss (v.)	Beaudouin 1988:32
Hani (Hu T'an)	**tsu 33c**	suck / milk	Matisoff 1972b:73(a)
Hani (Lüchun)	**tsu̱**^{33}	suck (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.41
Hani (Shuikui)	a^{55} **tʃɣ̄**^{33}	breast	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	a^{55} **tʃɣ̄**^{33}	milk	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	a^{55}**tʃɣ̱**^{33}	breast; milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.32; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.32
	tʃhɤ^{31}	milk (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:611.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**tʃhɣ**^{31}	suck (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.42
Mpi	**siʔ**^{3}	smoke / suck on (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	tɕhiʔ^{3}	suck by using a straw	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	tɕhuʔ^{1}	suck; kiss	Matisoff 1978a:42; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
6.2. NAXI			
Naxi	**tɕhi**^{55}	suck (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.45
8. BAI			
Bai (Dali)	**tsue**^{44}	milk (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:611.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	pa̱^{42} **tɕi̱**^{44}	breast	ZHAO Yansun 1990:5.4
	tɕi̱^{33}	suck (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.48
	tɕi̱^{44}	suck (v.)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:5.4.5
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**tsəp**	suck	Coblin 1986:144
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**tsəp**	sting and suck (sc. mosquito)	Coblin 1986:144

[a] Lahu **cú**, despite its non-checked tone synchronically, reflects a PLB prototype with final stop, ***ʔjup**; the high-rising tone is the result of "glottal dissimilation", which occurred in pre-Lahu syllables that had both a *glottalized initial and a *final stop (which was reduced to **-ʔ** in Lahu). For a detailed account of this phenomenon, see Matisoff 1970, 1972a #73b.

[b] Literally "breast-head".

Chinese comparandum

嚼 OC ***ts'əm/tsəp**, *GSR* #660f, 660o 'have in mouth; bite; sting'; Li 1971: **(*tshəm/p)**; Baxter 1992: **(*tshɨm/p)**; B & S 2011: ***ts^{ʕ}əp {ts^{ʕ} [ə] p}**; Mand. **cǎn**, **zǎn**.

Neither Li nor Baxter (1992) reconstructs this word. As Baxter notes (1992:555), this phonetic series presents unusual difficulties for OC reconstruction. Baxter reconstructs some words with ***o** and others with ***i/ɨ**.

It is not clear why Karlgren lists the character twice in *GSR* #660. At *GSR* #660f he reconstructs ***ts'əm** for the meaning 'have in mouth' and ***tsəp** for the meaning 'bite', while at *GSR* #660o he reconstructs ***tsəp** meaning 'sting and suck'. Karlgren's usual practice in *GSR* is to group multiple readings of a single character together, listing that character only once.

On the apparent mismatch between the voiceless PTB initial and the voiced OC initial, see the discussion under PTB ***pu** EGG (§1.9.1).

Vowel correspondences between OC and PTB before labial codas are difficult to pin down. In Li's system, OC ***-ə-** regularly corresponds to TB ***-u-** and/or ***-i-**. Examples include 三 OC ***səm** 'three', PTB ***gsum**, Mand. **sān**; 入 OC ***njəp** 'enter/sink', PTB ***nup ≍ *nip**, Mand. **rù**; and 寢 OC ***tshjəm** 'sleep', WT **gzim**, Mand. **qǐn** (Coblin 1986:134). Using Baxter's system, however, where six vowels (as opposed to just ***a**, ***ə** in Li's system) occur before bilabial consonants, correspondences are less regular. This is in part because in many cases there is ambiguity in the reconstruction of vowels before bilabial codas in his system. At the present state of our knowledge, the proposed cognate set is viable. [ZJH]

(1c) PTB *dzyut SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzyut**	suck / kiss / breast / milk	Matisoff 2003a:589
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**tsut**^{55}	suckle (milk)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**tɕ^{h}ŭʔ**^{55}	breast; milk	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Modern)	**cut**	suck (v.)	Luce 1985:V.108
Burmese (Written)	(**cut**)	suck / kiss	Matisoff 1978a:42
	cut	suck; suck, absorb, imbibe; suck, imbibe, absorb	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***C-cut**^{L}	suck	Bradley 1979b:633

Chinese comparandum

啐 OC ***ts'wəd**, *GSR* #490e 'taste, drink'; Schuessler 2007:636-7 ***tshûts**; B & S 2011: ***ts^{hʕ}ut-s {[ts^{h}] ^{ʕ}u [t] -s}**; Mand. **cuì**.

醉 OC ***tsi̱wəd**, *GSR* #490h 'drink one's fill; drunk'; Schuessler 2007:636 ***tsuts**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.tsut-s {Cə. [ts] u [t] -s}**; Mand. **zuì**.

(1d) PTB *tsyuk ≍ *dzyuk SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK

A different Proto-Karenic form is suggested in PKar ***sh(u/ɔ)ʔ** SUCKLE / NURSE (§1.9.4). Both may ultimately be related.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzyuk**	suck / kiss / breast / milk	Matisoff 2003a:589
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN: ***zuu-I**, ***zuuk-II** SUCK / SMOKE (v.)			
**Central Chin*	***zuu**-I, zuuk-II	SUCK / SMOKE (v.)	VanBik 2009:1239
Lai (Hakha)	**zùu**-I, zuuk-II	smoke (as cigar)	VanBik 2009:1239
Lushai [Mizo]	**zùu**-I, zûuk	drink (by sucking through a tube), to smoke (as a pipe)	VanBik 2009:1239
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**chu**	breast; milk	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967 [a]
	chu, chyup	suck	Marrison 1967
	chyu	breasts of a female	Hanson 1906:90
	tšú?	breast	Matisoff 1972b:#73
	tʃu̱ʔ^{55}	breast; suck; milk	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983:96; LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.47; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.47
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	**cug** tʃ^{h}i	suckle, suck (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**chuk** pekin	kiss	Bishop 1989:3.9.5
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**tsjo:**	kiss (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.9.5
Tamang (Sahu)	**cyok**-pā	kiss (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.51
	nyeh **c^{h}uT** Tai' ti-pa	wean (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:17.B.3 [b]
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***tšuk**^{L}	suck / kiss / breast / milk	Matisoff 2003a:618
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Lashi	**tʃu̱:k**^{55}	nurse / suckle (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:5.4.6
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	fâ?-**cú**-šī	wart ("rat-nipple")	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Bisu	**tʃhɔ̀k**	suck (v.)	Beaudouin 1988:35
7. KARENIC: ***cwiK**^{D} SUCK			
**Karen*	***cwiK**^{D}	suck	Luangthongkum 2013:284
Kayah	**cwi**^{55}	suck	Luangthongkum 2013:284
Kayan	**cwiʔ**^{45}	suck	Luangthongkum 2013:284
Kayaw	**ci**^{33}	suck	Luangthongkum 2013:284
Pa-O (Northern)	**cuk**^{21}	suck	Luangthongkum 2013:284
Pa-O (Southern)	**cuʔ**^{21}	suck	Luangthongkum 2013:284
Pwo (Southern)	**θə**^{11} **waiʔ**^{31}	suck	Luangthongkum 2013:284
Sgaw (Northern)	**sə**^{11} **wiʔ**^{45}	suck	Luangthongkum 2013:284

[a] These Jingpho forms are transcribed as if they were open syllables in Hanson (and sources which recopied his data), but they really have a final glottal stop **-ʔ** (< ***-k**), as noted in ZMYYC and other more modern sources.

[b] Final consonant in Sahu **c^{h}uT** evidently due to assimilation to the initial of the following syllable.

(1e) PTB *dzy $^{ə}_{o}$ w SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK

This root frequently occurs reduplicated, for obvious hypocoristic reasons, occasionally with voicing of the second reduplicate (cf. the Lalung form). This root is allofamically connected to PTB ***m-ts(y)(u/i)p** SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4). It is sometimes difficult to distinguish reflexes of the various allofams, especially in branches like Loloish that have reduced final consonantism. Many languages have allofamic doublets in any case.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dz(y)əw**	suck / kiss / breast / milk	Matisoff 2003a:589
	***dzyow**	suck / kiss / breast / milk	Matisoff 2003a:589
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	a-**ču**	breast; milk	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**ču** it	milch	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-**ču**	breast	Sun 1993b
	a-**ču:**	breast	Sun 1993b
	dʐu:	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.24
	ǰu:	milk (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **tɕu:**	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.51
	dʐu:	milk (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:611.51
	tɕu rə	milk dregs	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980 [a]
Galo	a **co**	breasts	Das Gupta 1963
	a **co** cu: cir:	nipple	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill Tagin	o **ci**	milk	Simon 1976
	a **cu**	breast	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	no ci e **co** ga	suckle	Pulu 1978
	nu **ci**	milk	Pulu 1978
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	**ču ču**	breast	Toba & Kom 1991:5.4

[a] Bokar Lhoba **tɕu rə** a loanword from Tibetan, referring actually to a kind of dried cheese (cf. WT **ru-ma** 'curdled milk, used as a ferment' (Jäschke 1881/1958:531)).

	ču ču mur	nipple	Toba & Kom 1991:5.4.1
Moyon	**cu cu?**	breast	Kosha 1990:5.4

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**chu chu**	breast	Marrison 1967
	chu chu yui	milk	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	ma ma **tzü**	milk	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	nu **dzü**	milk	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	nou^{31} **dzü**^{55}	milk	Nienu 1990a:5.4.3
	nu **dzü**	milk	Marrison 1967
Chokri	no^{31} **dzü**^{35}	milk	Nienu 1990b:5.4.3
	tho no **zü**	milk	Marrison 1967
Khezha	me **tsɯ́**	suck (v.)	Yabu 1994:5.4.4
Mao	o ne **dzü**	milk	Marrison 1967
Rengma	nyu **ju**	breast	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ju*** KISS

**Tangkhulic*	***ju**	kiss	Mortensen 2012:616
Tusom	k^{h}a-mə-**zɯ**	kiss	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.102
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**ju**	kiss	Mortensen 2012

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**chu**	suck	Marrison 1967
	chū-	suck (v.)	Grüssner 1979:74
	chù-bōng	breast	Grüssner 1979:74
	chù-bōng-chethè	nipple	Grüssner 1979:74 [a]
	chū-lāng	milk	Grüssner 1979:74
	mók ke-**chū**-	suck (v.)	Grüssner 1979:172

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Lalung [Tiwa]	**chu ju**	breast	Balawan 1965:9
	chu ju cha na	suck breast (v.)	Balawan 1965:9
	chu ma	kiss (n.)	Balawan 1965:9
	chu ma cha na	kiss (v.)	Balawan 1965:9

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**ce**^{2}	milk (v.)	unknown nd
	che	milk (v.)	Brown 1895:73

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak (Bawtala)	ă **tsô**^{2}	breasts	Luce 1985:L.146

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	pel **tsi**	milk	Sharma 1991a:5.4.3
Kanauri	**ču ču**	nipple	Sharma 1988:29
Pattani [Manchati]	**cu cu**	breast (f.)	Sharma 1982
	cu cu	breast	Sharma 1991b:5.4

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**tɕ^{h}u** ra	milk dregs	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980 [b]
Tshona (Wenlang)	**jo**^{35}	milk	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**jo**^{13}	milk	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.6
	tɕ^{h}u^{55} ru^{53}	milk dregs	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Balti)	**ču ču**·	nipple	Rangan 1975:67
Tibetan (Written)	**bʑo**	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.1 [c]
	ḥjo-ba	milk (v.)	Jäschke 1881:179 [d]
	ʒo	milk	Marrison 1967

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**tsju**-^{1}**tsju**	milk (baby-talk) (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:5.4.3

2.2. Newar

Newar	**cu cu** pyae gu	suck (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.4.5

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	ny **tsy**	milk	Michailovsky 1991:117
Hayu	**tshux** tsu	breast, nipple (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.171
	tshux tsu	breast	Michailovsky 1991:28

4. Nungic

Anong	ɑ^{31}**tʂhu**^{55}	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.44
	ɑ^{31}**tʂhu**^{55}tʂhɿ^{31}	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.44

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	nau^{35} **tʂu**^{35}	breast	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	nau^{35}**tʂu**^{35}	breast (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.28
	nau^{35}**tʂu**^{35}	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.41
Burmese (Written)	**cui'**	suck	Marrison 1967
Maru [Langsu]	**tʃa̱uk**^{55}	nurse / suckle (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.4.6 [e]

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***co**^{1}	milk	Bradley 1979b:155A

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**ɕo**^{33} pʏ^{35}	breast	Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.4
Yi (Dafang)	**tsɒ**^{13} mo^{21}	breast	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	tsɒ^{13} ʑi^{21}	milk	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	tsɒ^{13}mo^{21}	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.22
	tsɒ^{13}ʑi^{21}	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.22

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	a◡ **coeˇ**	breast; milk	Lewis 1968:50
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{31} **tɕ^{h}u**^{55}	breast; milk	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	a^{31}**tɕhu**^{55}	breast; milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.31; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.31
Hani (Gelanghe)	a^{31} **tɕ^{h}ø**^{55}	milk	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	a^{31} **tɕ^{h}ø**^{55} bɛ̱^{33}	breast	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Côông [Phunoi]	lɑ̃^{55} **cu**^{11} ɲi?^{55}	suck	Bradley 1977
Sangkong	loŋ^{33} **tɕhø**^{55}	breast milk	Li Yongsui 1991

[a] Karbi **chethè** is defined as 'life, breath, stature; pipe' in Walker 1925:31, as in **chethè ari** 'larynx, windpipe'. Thus this form seems to mean 'breast-pipe'. For reasons of space, this semantic association is not diagrammed in the chart at the beginning of this chapter.

[b] Tsangla (Motuo) **tɕ^{h}u ra** is a loanword from Tibetan, referring to a kind of dried cheese (cf. Bokar Lhoba **tɕu rə**).

[c] WT **bʑo** is the future form of the verb, whose principal parts are **ḥjo-ba** (Pres.). **bźos** (Perf.), **bźo** (Fut.), **ḥjos** (Impv.) (see, Jäschke 1881/1958:179).

[d] These WT forms reflect the allofam ***dzyow*** (see, *HPTB*:224, 382).

[e] Note the secondary final velar, the regular Maru reflex of the rhyme ***-əw***. See note under PTB ***s-nəw*** BREAST / MILK / SUCK (§1.9.4).

(2) PTB *s-nəw(-) BREAST / MILK / SUCK

This root is reconstructed as ***nəw*** in *STC* #419, on the basis of forms from WT, Tsangla, WB, and Lushai (Mizo). (The rhyme ***-əw*** in *STC* is equivalent to Benedict's earlier reconstruction ***-uw***.) The ***s-*** in our reconstruction is reflected in the voiceless nasals in Kuki-Chin and Barish languages (including the Lushai (Mizo) form **hnu-te** cited in *STC* #419), the **tă-** prefix in Awa Khumi, and directly in Thanphum **ʃə̆nũ**^{5} and WT **snun-pa** 'suckle'.

This root has been frequently combined with dental and velar suffixal elements, both nasals and stops. The reflexes are presented in the following sections according to the particular allofam they represent: the unsuffixed root ***s-nəw*** in PTB ***s-nəw***; forms with dental suffixes (***s-nəwt***, ***s-nəwn***) in PTB ***s-nəw(t/n)***; and forms with velar suffixes (***s-nəwk***, ***s-nəwŋ***) in PTB ***s-nəw(k/ŋ)***.

This etymon is very widely distributed in ST, appearing in Chinese, the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese, Karenic, and Qiangic (including Tangut). Many languages have reduplicated forms (e.g. Ergong **nu-nu**), as is to be expected in such a hypocoristic concept as BREAST.

Somewhat similar phonologically is the root ***s-nye-n***, which is here treated as a separate etymon, below PTB ***s-nya-n***.

(2a) PTB *s-nəw BREAST / MILK / SUCK

Despite the phonological similarity of the Newar forms **nu gɔr** (Dolakhali) and **nu gɔ:** (Kathmandu) 'heart' to other Himalayish reflexes of this etymon, K. P. Malla denies their cognacy.

In fact, the semantic connection, between BREAST (of female) and HEART has yet to be demonstrated for Tibeto-Burman.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***njuɣ**	breast / nipple / milk	Coblin 1986:48

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***nuw**	milk; breast; breast, milk	Weidert 1987:327; Weidert 1987:926; Michailovsky 1991:117; Benedict 1972:419
	***nuw*C**	breast / nipple / milk	Coblin 1986:48
	***nəw**	breast; milk	Chou Fa-kao 1972:135a; Weidert 1987:327,926; Matisoff 2003a:604

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	**no** bra	nipple	Pulu 1978
	no ci e co ga	suckle	Pulu 1978
	no ci bra	nipple	Pulu 1978
	nu ci	milk	Pulu 1978
	nu pũ	breasts	Anonymous 1962
	ɳo^{55}bi^{35}	breast	Sun Hongkai 1991f:5.4; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.50
	ɳo^{55}bɹa^{55}	milk	Sun Hongkai 1991f:5.4.3
	ɳo^{55}bɹɑ^{55}	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.50
Yidu	**ɳo**^{55}bi^{35}	breast (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.25
	ɳo^{55}bɹɑ^{55}	milk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hnooy*** BREAST

**Chin*	***hnooy**	BREAST	VanBik 2009:886

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	bong **noi**	milk	Haokip 1998:5.4.3
	noi	breast	Haokip 1998:5.4
	noi muh	nipple	Haokip 1998:5.4.1
	noi twi	milk	Haokip 1998:5.4.3
Sizang	**noi**	breast	VanBik 2009:886
Thado	**nôoy**	breast	VanBik 2009:886
Tiddim	**no:i**^{1}	breast	VanBik 2009:886; Bhaskararao 1996:1238
	ˊnɔ:i	nipple / breast / milk (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Awa Khumi	**tănu**^{4}	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17
Khumi (Ahraing)	kə̆ **nu**^{1}	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17

1.2.2. Central Chin

Khualsim	**hnɔ̃i**^{1}	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17
Lai (Falam)	**hnôoy**	breast	VanBik 2009:886
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnu**-te	breast, milk	Benedict 1972:419; Coblin 1986:48 [a]
	hnu-te:	bosom; breasts; udder; milk	Bhaskararao 1996:1238
	hnùu	breast / milk	Löffler 1985
	hnu tê	breast	Marrison 1967
	hnu te tui	milk	Marrison 1967
	hnu^{4}tɛ^{3}	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17
Paangkhua	ra **nuù**	breast / milk	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	mə̆ **hnɑu**^{1} bɛʔ^{1}	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17
Lakher [Mara]	**hnó**-bía	breasts, the udder (n.)	VanBik 2009:886
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	ă **hnũ**^{3}	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17
Mera	**hnəu'**^{1}	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Chiru	ru **nu**	milk / breast	Weidert 1987:327
Moyon	**næ** thén	milk	Kosha 1990:5.4.3

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Sangtam	**nyi** ki	milk	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	(^{1})**ñu?** ^{1}ge	milk / breast	Weidert 1987:327
	niu	breast	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{5}u^{1}**ñu**	breast; milk	Weidert 1987:131; Weidert 1987:327
Angami (Khonoma)	**nu**	breast; suck	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	nu dzü	milk	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **nou**^{11}	breast	Nienu 1990a:5.4
	(u) **nou**^{11} tia^{33}	nipple	Nienu 1990a:5.4.1
	nou^{31} dzü^{55}	milk	Nienu 1990a:5.4.3
	nu, **nyu**	suck	Marrison 1967
	nu dzü	milk	Marrison 1967
	pe^{31} **nou**^{11}	nurse / suckle (v.)	Nienu 1990a:5.4.6
	u **nu**	breast	Marrison 1967
Chokri	(u) **no**^{11}	breast	Nienu 1990b:5.4
	(u) **no**^{11} she^{55}	nipple	Nienu 1990b:5.4.1
	(u) **no**^{11} ta^{33}	nipple	Nienu 1990b:5.4.1
	mü^{31} **no**^{11}	nurse / suckle (v.)	Nienu 1990b:5.4.6
	no^{31} dzü^{35}	milk	Nienu 1990b:5.4.3
	tho **no** zü	milk	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**no**	milk / breast	Weidert 1987:327
Khezha	**ňu** jɯ́	milk	Yabu 1994:5.4.3
	ňu ké	nipple	Yabu 1994:5.4.1
	^{1}e ^{2}**ñu**	milk / breast	Weidert 1987:327
	ʾè **ňu**	breast	Yabu 1994:5.4
Mao	o **ne** dzü	milk	Marrison 1967
	^{2}o^{4}**ne**	milk / breast	Weidert 1987:327
Rengma	**nyu** ju	breast	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	**n** dui, bui **na** dui	milk	Marrison 1967 [b]
Maram	ta **na** dui	milk	Marrison 1967
Puiron	se **nu**	breast	Marrison 1967
	se **nu** tui	milk	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**nau** dui	milk	Marrison 1967
	nou	breast	Marrison 1967
	nouh'	suck	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***nu*** BREAST

**Tangkhulic*	***nu**	breast	Mortensen 2012:366
Huishu	ʔa-**nə**-nuk	breast, udder	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.101
Kachai	**nɐ**-tɐ	breast	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.124
Tangkhul	**nɯ**	breast	Bhat 1969:85
Ukhrul	a-**nu**	breast	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**nu**	breast	Mortensen 2012

[a] This Lushai (Mizo) form was miscopied from *STC* #419 in Coblin 1986:48, where it is attributed to Written Burmese.

[b] Note the reduction of PTB ***s-nəw*** BREAST / MILK / SUCK (§1.9.4) to a syllabic nasal in Liangmei **n dui**.

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**ñu?**-[1]po	milk; breast	Weidert 1987:327; Weidert 1987:131
	ŋ̃u po	milk	French 1983:490
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Khiamngan	**[1]ñaʊ?**	milk / breast	Weidert 1987:327
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**nu** ni	nipple	Sharma 1988:12
Pattani [Manchati]	pa: **nu**	milk	Sharma 1991b:5.4.3
	pa **nu**	milk	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**no**[35] ne[13] ne[35]	milk	SUN Hongkai 1991a:5.4.3
	ro[13] **nɔ**[53]	bosom	SUN Hongkai 1991a:1.9
Tsangla (Central)	**nu**	milk	Andvik 1993:90
	nu	breast (f.)	Egli-Roduner 1987:33 11
	nu	milk	Benedict 1972:419; Coblin 1986:48
	nu ma	breast (woman's)	Andvik 1993:11
Tsangla (Motuo)	**nu**	milk; breast	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.7; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.7
	nu[13]	breast; milk	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986; ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**nu**	breast; milk	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986; ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**nə** ma	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**nə** ma	breast	Sun 1985a:96; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ȵə**[13] ngo[55]	nipple	DAI Qingxia 1989a:5.4.1
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**nu**[13]ma[53]	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.3
Tibetan (Written)	**nu** ma	breast; breasts, nipple; breasts; to suckle; breast, milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.1; Luce 1985:G.53,U.9,W.75; Benedict 1972:419; Coblin 1986:48
	nu-ša	chest / thoracic muscle	Matisoff 1987
	nu-tog	nipple	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:47
	nu.ma	breast	Sun 1985c:96; Marrison 1967
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**nu**~nut	suck (v.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*[A]**new**	milk	Mazaudon 1994:561
Chantyal	**nu nu**	bosom; breast	Noonan *et al.* 1992:1.9; Noonan *et al.* 1992:5.4
	nu nu khwaya-wa	nurse / suckle (v.)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:5.4.6
	nu nu-ye kəpal	nipple	Noonan *et al.* 1992:5.4.1 [a]
Thakali (Marpha)	[11]**ɲu**[ɦ]	milk	Mazaudon 1994:561
2.1.5. DHIMAL			
Dhimal	du du **no** si	nipple	King 1994
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**nu**	breast, udder, milk	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:117
	nu:	breast / milk	Weidert 1987:131
	nu seq	nipple	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**nu:**	breast	Kohn 1990:5.4
	nu: uŋme?	nurse / suckle (v.)	Kohn 1990:5.4.6
	nu: ga ɔ cam	nipple	Kohn 1990:5.4.1
	nu: pi? me?mana	nurse / suckle (v.)	Kohn 1990:5.4.6
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**ny** tsy	milk	Michailovsky 1991:117
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**nwi:**	breast	Watters & Watters 1989:1.51
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**new** mbụo	breast	DAI Qingxia 1989e:5.4
	neɯ[1]	breast	Sofronov c1978
	nəw	milk	Nishida 1964:204-09y
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ɲo**[33] **ɲo**[33]	suck	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	ɲo[55] **ɲo**[55]	breast; milk	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.18; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.18
Guiqiong	(**ni**[55]**ni**[55]) ntʃhə[55]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.16
	ni[55] **ni**[55]	milk; breast	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai 1991e
	ni[55]**ni**[55]	breast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.16
	ni[55]**ni**[55]	breast; milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.17; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.17
	ɲi[55] **ɲi**[55] wĩ[55] jɛ̃[55]	nipple	SUN Hongkai 1991e
Muya	**nə**[33]nø[24]	breast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.15
Muya [Minyak]	k[h]ɯ[55]**nɯ**[55]	suck (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:5.4.5
	nɯ[33]nø[53]	breast	SUN Hongkai 1991h:5.4; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.15 [b]
	nɯ[35]nø[35]	nipple	SUN Hongkai 1991h:5.4.1
Namuyi	**ɲy**[33]**ɲy**[55]	breast; milk	SUN Hongkai 1991i:5.4; SUN Hongkai 1991i:5.4.3
	ɲy[33]**ɲy**[55]	suck (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991i:5.4.5
	ɲy[33]**ɲy**[55]	breast; milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.19
	ɲy[33]**ɲy**[55]ʁo[55]ba[55]	nipple	SUN Hongkai 1991i:5.4.1
	khuæ[31]æ[ɹ31]**ɲu**[33]**ɲu**[55]	milk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.46
	ɲʉ[33]**ɲʉ**[55]	breast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.46
	ɲʉ[33]**ɲʉ**[55]	suck (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ny**[35]	breast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.10
	nɛi[35]	milk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**nɑ**[13]	milk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.09
Pumi (Taoba)	**nɛ**[35]	milk	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.10
Qiang (Longxi)	mà í **ɲà ɲá**	cow milk	Evans 1999:328
	ɲà ɲá	breast; milk (=breast)	Evans 1999:121; Evans 1999:161
Qiang (Mianchi)	ŋò **ɲà ɲá**	cow milk	Evans 1999:328
	ɲà ɲá	breast; milk (=breast)	Evans 1999:121; Evans 1999:161
Qiang (Taoping)	**ɲy**[55] **ɲy**[55]	breast	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ɲy[55] **ɲy**[55] tsuə[33]	milk	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ȵɣ[55]**ȵɣ**[55]	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.9
	ȵɣ[55]**ȵɣ**[55]tsuə[55]	milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**nu**[53]	breast	SUN Hongkai 1991n:5.4; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.16
	nu[53] tɕ[h]i[53]	milk	SUN Hongkai 1991n:5.4.3
	nu[53]tɕhi[53]	milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**nɯ**[13]**nɯ**[55]	breast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.13
Xumi	**niɛ**[55]	milk	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.20
	ɲu[53]**ɲu**[33]	breast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.17
	ɲu[55] **ɲu**[33]	breast; nipple	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**nə**[55]**nə**[55]	breast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	**nu** ma	nipple	DAI Qingxia 1989b:5.4.1
Ergong (Danba)	**nu nu**	breast	SUN Hongkai 1991b:5.4
Daofu	**nu nu**	breast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.12
Ergong (Danba)	**nu nu**	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.14
Ergong (Daofu)	**nu nu** da phra	wean	DAI Qingxia 1989b:5.4.7
	nu nu sthei	nurse / suckle (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:5.4.6
Ergong (Northern)	**nəu**[53]	breast	SUN Hongkai 1991c:5.4
	nəu[53] tok[53]	nipple	SUN Hongkai 1991c:5.4.1
	nə[33]	suck (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:5.4.5
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Northern)	kə **nu nu**	suck (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:5.4.5
rGyalrong	tə **nu**	breast	DAI Qingxia 1989d:5.4.0
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **nu**	breast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.11
rGyalrong	tə **nu**	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.12
Caodeng	tə-**nu**-ko?	breast (tit)	Sun 1997a
	tə-**nu?**	breast	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **no**	breast	SUN Hongkai 1991j:5.4
	tə **no** ko	nipple	SUN Hongkai 1991j:5.4.1
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **noɣ**	breast	SUN Hongkai 1991l:5.4
	tə **noɣ** ku	nipple	SUN Hongkai 1991l:5.4.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **nu**	breast	SUN Hongkai 1991k:5.4
	tə **nu** ku	nipple	SUN Hongkai 1991k:5.4.1
rGyalrong	tə **nu** wa ko	nipple	DAI Qingxia 1989d:5.4.1
	tA **nu**	breast	Nagano 1997:5.4
rGBenzhen	tə-**nu?**	breast	Sun 1997b
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***nəw**[3]	milk / breast	Weidert 1987:327
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**nau**[35]	milk	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.41
	nau[35] tʂu[35]	breast	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	nau[35]tʂu[35]	breast (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.28
	nau[35]tʂu[35]	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.41
	ŋ̊o[31]**ɲau**[35]	milk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.28
Achang (Xiandao)	no[31] **nau**[31]	milk (cow's)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:311
	no[31]**nau**[31]	milk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.29
Bola	**nau**[35]	breast	DAI Qingxia 1989g:118
	nŏ[31] **nau**[35]	milk (cow's)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:311
Burmese (Modern)	**nui?**	breasts	Luce 1985:U.9
	nui'[1]	breasts, nipple	Luce 1985:G.53
Burmese (Spoken)	**no'**[2]	breasts	Luce 1985:U.9
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**no**[53]	milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.40
	no[53]õ[22]	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.40
Burmese (Written)	**no**[1]	milk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.26
	no[1]	milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.39
	no[1]uṁ[2]	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.39
	nuí	milk, breast	Weidert 1987:327; Benedict 1972:419
	núi	breast, milk	Coblin 1986:48
	nui.	breast	Marrison 1967 [a]
	nuiw'	breasts; nipple; to suckle	Luce 1985:G.53; Luce 1985:U.9; Luce 1985:W.75
	nui'	breast; milk	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a
Danu	**noʔ**[2]	breasts	Luce 1985:U.9
Hpun (Northern)	ă **nù** ʀaíŋ	milk ('breast liquid')	Henderson 1986
	ă **nù**, ă **nú**	breast	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	ă **nuh**[4]	breasts; nipple	Luce 1985:G.53; Luce 1985:U.9
Hpun (Northern)	ă **nù'** s(h)ù'	suck (the breast)	Henderson 1986
Lashi	**nou**[55]	breast; udder (of cow, goat)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:5.4; DAI Qingxia 1989m:5.4.2
	nou[55] jiŋ[31]	milk	DAI Qingxia 1989m:5.4.3
	nou[55] sl̩[55]	nipple	DAI Qingxia 1989m:5.4.1
Lashi (Lachhe')	**nɑu**[2]	breasts	Luce 1985:U.9
	nɑu[1]	breasts	Luce 1985:U.9
Maru [Langsu]	**noʔ**[2]	breasts	Luce 1985:U.9
	nuk[55]	breast; udder (of cow, goat); milk	DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.4; DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.4.2; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.43; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.43 [b]
	nuk[55] xək[55]	colostrum	DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.4.4
	nuk[55] ɣək[31]	milk	DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.4.3 [c]
	nuk[55] ʃ[35]	nipple	DAI Qingxia 1989l:5.4.1
	nú kàm	milk / breast	Weidert 1987:327
Taung-Yo	**noʔ**[1]	breasts	Luce 1985:U.9
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nāu**	milk / breast	Weidert 1987:327
	nau[55]	breast; milk	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984; XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.42; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.42
	nɑu[1]	breasts	Luce 1985:U.9
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***no**[3]	milk; breast	Weidert 1987:327; Bradley 1979b:119B; Bradley 1979b:155B

[a] Chantyal **-ye** 'GENITIVE'; **kepal** 'head', loan from Nepali.

[b] Muya **nɯ**[33] likely derived from PTB ***s-nəw*** BREAST / MILK / SUCK (§1.9.4), since PTB ***-əw*** most often becomes Muya **-ɯ**, e.g. 'steal' PTB ***r-kəw*** > WT **rku**, WB **khûi**, Muya **kɯ**[55]; 'sky' PTB ***r-məw*** > WT **rmu-ba** 'fog', WB **mûi(gh)**, Muya **mɯ**[55].

[a] Final period is in original.

[b] Maru final **-k** is secondary; **-uk** is the regular Maru reflex of ***-əw***, as first noted in the original version of *STC* (p. 60 in the published version, 1972) and for the first time in print by Burling 1966 (*Language* 42.3). Thus this form is not to be referred to the stop-finalled allofam PTB ***s-nəw(k/ŋ)*** BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4). Burling's correct observation about the secondariness of the velar stop in the Maru rhyme **-uk** (which is paralleled by the secondary **-t** in Maru **-it** < PTB ***-əy**), was attacked by Roy Andrew Miller "Once again, the Maru final stops" (1968 paper presented at ICSTLL #1, Yale University). This attack was in turn refuted in *STC*, in the new note 193 (added in 1972).

[c] Maru **ɣək**[31] < PLB ***rəy**[1] 'water; liquid' (PTB ***rəy*** WATER / LIQUID / BODILY FLUID (§1.9.9)). Final ***-əy*** regularly becomes **-it** in the Maru dialect described in Burling 1966. The unreleased final stop evidently sounds more like a velar in the dialect recorded by Dai Qingxia, who transcribes this rhyme as "**-ək**".

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	a^{24} **ŋ^{33}**	milk	Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.4.3 [a]
Nusu (Central)	nuɔ^{55} **nɯ^{33} nɯ^{33}**	milk (cow's)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:311.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	nɔ^{55} **nɯ^{35} nɯ^{31}**	milk (cow's)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:311.
Nusu (Northern)	**nə̃^{31} nə̃^{55}**	breast	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**nɯ^{33} nɯ^{31}**	breast	Dai Qingxia 1989p:118.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**nɯ^{35} nɯ^{31}**	breast	Dai Qingxia 1989o:118.
Nusu (Central)	**nɯ^{55} nɯ^{31}**	breast	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**nɯ^{55} nɯ^{31}**	breast	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	nɯ^{55} nɯ^{31} ɹə̱^{55}	milk	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**nɯ^{55}nɯ^{31}**	breast; milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.45; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.45
Yi (Mile)	a^{33}**nɯ^{33}**	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.25

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	a^{33}**nɯ^{33}**	milk	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.3
	a^{33}**nɯ^{33}**o^{55}dɯ^{33}	nipple	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.1
	a^{33}**nɯ^{33}**pi^{55}	breast	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4
	ɑ^{33} **nɯ^{33}**	milk	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.4.3
	ɑ^{33} **nɯ^{33}** ni^{21}	nipple	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.4.1
	ɑ^{33} **nɯ^{33}** pi^{55}	breast	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.4
	ɑ^{33} **nɯ^{33}** ŋɯ^{55}	wean	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.4.7
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{31} **nɑ^{11}**	milk	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu	na^{3} **naw^{3}**	breast	Bradley 1979b:119A
Lisu (Putao)	**no^{2}**nuʔ^{6}	breasts, nipple; breasts	Luce 1985:G.53; Luce 1985:U.9
Lisu (Northern)	**nɔ^{35}**nɔʔ^{21}	milk; breast (N.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	ɑ^{44} **n̩^{33}**	milk (from breast)	Ma Xueliang 1989:368.2

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Caiyuan)	na^{55} **nv̩^{33}**	breast; milk	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.30
Côông [Phunoi]	**nù** lɑ́	milk	Bradley 1979b
Ugong	**nù**	breast	Bradley 1993:5.4
	nù wŭŋ	milk	Bradley 1993:5.4.3
	nù ʔa lɛ	nipple	Bradley 1993:5.4.1

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɳæ˦**	milk	Michaud 2006–2009:331
Na (Yongning)	**nju**˩bi˨	breast	Michaud 2006–2009
	nju˨	milk	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**na^{31}**	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.29
Naxi	**no^{33}**	milk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**no^{33}**	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**ɳ̟u^{31}**bi^{33}	breast	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɳ̟u^{31}**bi^{33}	breast; milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.29; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.29

7. Karenic: ***nu^{B}*** BREASTS, ***nu'*** BREAST

**Karen*	***nu'***	breast	Weidert 1987:926
**Karen (Pwo)*	***nú'***	breast	Jones 1961:23
**Karen*	***nu^{B}***	breasts	Luangthongkum 2013:35
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***nỳ***	breast	Jones 1961:23
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***nỳ***	breast	Jones 1961:23
**Karen [Burling]*	***ny^{1}***	breasts	Luangthongkum 2013:35
Bwe	**-nu**	breast (n.)	Henderson 1997
	dɛ **nu** chi	milk (n.)	Henderson 1997
	nù	breast	Weidert 1987:926
	nu-chi	milk	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	**nu^{2}**	breast	Weidert 1987:926
	nũ^{2}	breasts, nipple	Luce 1985:G.53
Bwe	**nu^{33}**	breasts	Luangthongkum 2013:35
Geba	**nũ^{2}**	breasts, nipple	Luce 1985:G.53
Kayah	(ʔi^{11})**nu^{11}**	breasts	Luangthongkum 2013:35
Kayan	**nu^{11}**	breasts	Luangthongkum 2013:35
Kayaw	**nu^{11}**	breasts	Luangthongkum 2013:35
Paku	**nu^{3}**	breasts, nipple	Luce 1985:G.53
	nɤ^{3}	breasts, nipple	Luce 1985:G.53
Palaychi	**nù**	breast	Jones 1961:23
Pwo (Northern)	**nə̱u$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	breasts	Luangthongkum 2013:35
Pwo (Southern)	**nu^{33}**	breasts	Luangthongkum 2013:35
Pwo (Delta)	**nu^{1}**	breasts, nipple	Luce 1985:G.53
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**nu^{4}**	breasts, nipple	Luce 1985:G.53
Pwo (Bassein)	**núʔ**	breast	Jones 1961:23
Pwo (Moulmein)	**nú**	breast	Weidert 1987:926; Jones 1961:23
Sgaw (Southern)	**nu^{31}**	breasts	Luangthongkum 2013:35
Sgaw (Northern)	**nu$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	breasts	Luangthongkum 2013:35
Sgaw	**nɤ^{6}**	breasts, nipple	Luce 1985:G.53
	^{1}nü	breast	Weidert 1987:926
Sgaw (Bassein)	**nỳ**	breast	Jones 1961:23
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	da^{31} **ny^{31}** t^{h}i^{55}	milk	Dai Qingxia 1989k:161
	ny^{31}	breast	Dai Qingxia 1989k:121
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**nỳ**	breast	Jones 1961:23
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	ta^{31} **nu^{31}** t^{h}i^{55}	milk	Dai Qingxia 1989j:161

9. Sinitic

Chinese (GSR #)	**0699d**	go to meet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3513; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3521

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ńi̱u/ńźi̱u:**	breast, nipple, milk, suckle, hatch	Karlgren 1957:135a
Chinese (Old)	**ñi̱u**	breasts, nipple; breasts; to suckle	Luce 1985:G.53; Luce 1985:U.9; Luce 1985:W.75
	njugx	breast / nipple / milk	Coblin 1986:48

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**ngjaeng**	go to meet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3513
	ngjaengH	go to meet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3521
	ńźju:	nipple, milk, suckle	Coblin 1986:48

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**naai**	milk	Sun 1985b:486
	yíng	go to meet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3513
	yìng	go to meet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3521

[a] Gazhuo **-u** has been completely swallowed up by the nasal initial in **ŋ^{33}**, a phenomenon which is typical of Loloish: e.g. the Lahu phonemic syllable /**mu**/ is pronounced as a syllabic labiodental nasal [m̩] (see Matisoff 1973, *The Grammar of Lahu*, pp. 3-4).

Chinese comparandum

乳 OC ***ńi̱u**, *GSR* #135a 'breast'; Li 1971: ***njugx**; Baxter 1992: ***njoʔ**; Mand. **rǔ**.

This is a long-recognized cognate (see Shafer IST 1966:38; *STC* p. 184; Bodman 1980:171 #444; Coblin 1986:48; Gong 1995 #16, #70; Schuessler 2007:446).

The correspondence of TB final ***-əw** (or ***-u**) to OC ***-ug** (Li)/***-o** (Baxter) is regular. For example:

頭 OC ***dug** 'head'; (Li)/***do**; Baxter, TB ***d-bu**; Mand. **tóu**
霧 OC ***mjugh** 'fog'; (Li)/***m(r)jos** (Baxter); TB ***r-məw**; Mand. **wù**
寇 OC ***khugs** 'steal', (Li)/***kh(r)os** (Baxter), TB ***r-kəw**; Mand. **kòu**.

This TB final also corresponds to OC ***-əgw** (Li)/***-u** (Baxter), as seen in #1733.

[ZJH]

(2b) PTB *s-nəw $^{\mathbf{t}}_{\mathbf{n}}$ BREAST / MILK / SUCK

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a **nyun**	breast milk	Matisoff 1987

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Thanphum	**ʃə̆nũ^{5}**	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**nõi^{3}**	breasts, nipple; breasts	Luce 1985:G.53; Luce 1985:P.17

1.2.3. Maraic

Xongsai	**nõi^{2}**	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Rengma	**nyun**	chest	Marrison 1967

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**nud**-pa	breasts, nipple; breasts; to suckle	Luce 1985:G.53; Luce 1985:U.9; Luce 1985:W.75
	snun-pa	suckle	Benedict 1972:p.100

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	nu~**nut**	suck (v.)	Plaisier 2007

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Lanping)	**niãu^{13}**po^{13}	breast (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**niãu^{13}**	milk	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.11
	niãu^{13} po^{13}	breast	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.11

(2c) PTB *s-nəw $^{\mathbf{k}}_{\mathbf{ŋ}}$ BREAST / MILK

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**nyuk**	breast milk	Matisoff 1987
Milang	a **ɲuŋ**	breast	Tayeng 1976
	ɲun-pi	nipple	Tayeng 1976 [a]

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hnʊk^{1}**	breasts, nipple; breasts	Luce 1985:G.53; Luce 1985:P.17

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Huishu	ʔa-nə-**nuk**	breast, udder	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.101

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**nyog^{1}** ro^{1} nyɛː^{4}	breast (woman)	Nagano 1984:034 [b]
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{2}ɲok** ro:	breast	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0025

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Taoba)	**ɳ̟õ^{35}**	breast	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.10 [c]

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	**nuŋ^{55}**	breast; milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.46; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**nuŋ^{55}**	breast; milk	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Putao)	no^{2}**nuʔ^{6}**	breasts, nipple; breasts	Luce 1985:G.53; Luce 1985:U.9
Lisu (Northern)	nɔ^{35}**nɔʔ^{21}**	milk; breast (N.)	Bradley 1994

7. Karenic: ***náun'** BREAST

**Karen*	***náun'***	breast	Jones 1961:23 [d]
**Karen (TP)*	***náun'***	breast	Jones 1961:23
Pwo (Bassein)	**núʔ**	breast	Weidert 1987:926

[a] Despite the final dental nasal in Milang **ɲun-**, it is assigned to PTB ***s-nəw(k/ŋ)*** BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4) because of the doublet with **ɲuŋ**.

[b] This Manang form proves the independence of etyma PTB ***s-nəw(k/ŋ)*** BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4) (**nyog^{1}**) and PTB ***s-nya-n*** BREAST / MILK / SUCK (§1.9.4) (**nyɛː^{4}**).

[c] This form is rather arbitrarily assigned to this set, rather than to PTB ***s-nəw(t/n)*** BREAST / MILK / SUCK (§1.9.4).

[d] These Karenic forms are assigned to this set because of the final glottal stop in Weidert's Pwo (Bassein) form.

(3) PTB *s-nya-n BREAST / MILK / SUCK

This etymon, which frequently occurs reduplicated, may have a hypocoristic (baby-talk) flavor. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish reflexes of this etymon from those of PTB ***s-nəw** BREAST / MILK / SUCK (§1.9.4), which also often appear reduplicated. Particularly problematic are the Qiangic forms, many of which have front vowels, but which after much vacillation I have finally assigned to PTB ***s-nəw** BREAST / MILK / SUCK (§1.9.4) instead of to the present set. Both PTB ***s-nəw(-)** BREAST / MILK / SUCK (§1.9.4) and PTB ***s-nya-n** BREAST / MILK / SUCK (§1.9.4) occasionally take a nasal suffix, which further complicates the picture (cf. the *Tamang, Chepang, Hayu, and Pa-O forms, below).

A couple of Himalayish languages (Gurung, Thakali) have a velar initial, which appears to be a secondary development from the palatal nasal ***ny-**. A pair of other forms with voiceless nasals (Lushai [Mizo], E. Chepang) reflect the ***s-** prefix.

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	a^{33}**niɛ^{11}**	breast	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.52
	mə^{33}**niɛ^{11}**	milk	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.52

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**ñi**	milk	Sun 1993b
	a-**ñi** hiʔ	milk (v.)	Sun 1993b
	à-**ñi ñi**-pe	nipple	Sun 1993b
	à-**ñim**-pjú-nɯ	milkman	Sun 1993b
	a-**ñíŋ**	milk	Sun 1993b
	à-**ñiŋ** gá-nɯŋ	milk (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	ñim-pɯr	nipple	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	ma: cap **nye** cei	milk of cow	NEFA (India) 1963
	nye cei	breast milk	Matisoff 1987
	nye cei	milk (n.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	nye ma: cei	milk (n.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	nye ma: cei	breast milk	Matisoff 1987

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**nɔ́i** mùʔ	nipple	Thirumalai 1972:66

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**hne**	suck	Marrison 1967

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Moyon	**ni**	nipple	Kosha 1990:5.4.1
	ni mówr	nipple	Kosha 1990:5.4.1

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Mao	**ne**	suck	Marrison 1967
	o **ne**	breast	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**ni**	suck	Marrison 1967
	ni	suck (v.)	Achumi 1998a:5.4.5

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**ni** po	breast	French 1983:490

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	nu **ni**	nipple	Sharma 1988:12

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	**ne^{13} ne^{35}**	breast	Sun Hongkai 1991a:5.4

	ne[13] po[35]	breast	Sun Hongkai 1991a:5.4
	no[35] **ne**[13] **ne**[35]	milk	Sun Hongkai 1991a:5.4.3
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Batang)	**ȵə**[13]	suck (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:5.4.5
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*[A]**ne:**	milk	Mazaudon 1994:555
Chantyal	**nfie**	milk	Noonan *et al.* 1992:5.4.3
Gurung	[3]**ŋẽ**	breasts	Mazaudon 1994:213
	[3]**ŋe**	milk	Mazaudon 1994:561
	[3]**ŋe**-	milk (cow) (v.t.)	Mazaudon 1994:561
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ŋẽh**	breasts	Glover 1972:1.51
	ŋeh	milk	Glover 1972:7.A.16
	ŋeh pip ba	wean	Glover 1972:6.B.2.3
	ŋeh tīq ba	nurse	Glover 1972:6.B.2.1
	ŋeh ba	milk (cow) (v.t.)	Glover 1972:3.B.41
	ŋeh kra	nipple	Glover 1972:2.A.35
Manang (Gyaru)	nyog[1] ro[1] **nyɛ:**[4]	breast (woman)	Nagano 1984:034
	nyɛ:[3] ba	suck (V.)	Nagano 1984:087
	nyɛ:[1]	milk	Nagano 1984:079
	nyɛ:[4] bɯn[1]	nipple	Nagano 1984:034-01
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]**ɲe:**	milk	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0528
	[3]**ɲe:**	milk	Mazaudon 1994:561
	[4]**ɲe:**-	suck	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0287
Tamang (Risiangku)	[3]**ne**-[2]t[h]un	nipple	Mazaudon 1991:5.4.1
	[3]**ne:**	breast, udder, milk (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:5.4, 5.4.2
	[3]**ne:**	breast / teat / milk	Mazaudon 1994:555
Tamang (Sahu)	**nyeh** c[h]uT Tai' ti-pa	wean (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:17.B.3 [a]
	[3]**ɲe**	milk; milk (a cow)	Mazaudon 1994:561; Mazaudon 1994:561
Tamang (Taglung)	[3]**ɲe**	milk	Mazaudon 1994:561
	[3]**ɲe**-ba	milk	Mazaudon 1994:561
Thakali (Syang)	[L]**nje**	milk	Mazaudon 1994:561
Thakali (Tukche)	[3]**ŋje**	breasts	Mazaudon 1994:561
	ŋjeh	breasts	Hari 1971:1.51
	ŋjeh	milk (n.)	Hari 1971:7.A.16
	ŋjeh coh	nipple	Hari 1971:2.A.35
	ŋjeh k[h]a-lɔ	nurse (v.)	Hari 1971:6.B.2.1
	ŋjeh pi-la	wean	Hari 1971:6.B.2.3
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**nE**	nipple	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**nyen**	breast milk	Matisoff 1987
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**nyon?**-sa	suck	Caughley 1972:6.B.2.2
Chepang (Eastern)	**hnyonh** na?	suck	Caughley 1990:5.4.5
	nyon? na?	suck	Caughley 1990:5.4.5
Kham	**nwi:** səy	nipple	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.35
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**nẹ**[2]	breast	Sofronov c1978
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya	nə[33]**nø**[24]	breast (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.15
Muya [Minyak]	nɯ[33]**nø**[53]	breast	Sun Hongkai 1991h:5.4; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.15
	nɯ[35]**nø**[35]	nipple	Sun Hongkai 1991h:5.4.1
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ȵɛ̃**[31]	breast; milk	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**ȵɛn**[31]	breast; milk	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ɲɔn**[35]	breast	Dai Qingxia 1989f:118
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nesu	a[55] **ȵi**[21] **ʑ**[21]	nipple	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.1
	a[55] **ȵi**[21] **ʑ**[21]	milk	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.3
Nosu	a[44]**ne**[33]	breast; milk	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4; Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.3
	a[44]**ne**[33]ma[44]ma[33]	nipple	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.1
Nusu (Northern)	**nə̃**[31] **nə̃**[55] ɻɯ[35] ɑ[55]	milk	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Mile)	**nę**[33]	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**nį**[33]	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.26
	A[55]**nɛ**[21]**ʑi**[21]	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ȵi**[55]	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.24
Yi (Xide)	a[34]-**nɛ**[33]	breasts, milk	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	a[34]-**nɛ**[33] ma[34]-ma[33]	nipple	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	a[34]-**nɛ**[33] to[21]	breast feed	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	a[44] **ne**[33]	milk; breast	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.21; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.21
	ȵi[21]	breasts, milk	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lolo (Ni)	a **gni**	breasts	Luce 1985:U.9
Ahi	ɑ[33] nɯ[33] **ni**[21]	nipple	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.4.1
Jinuo	**ȵɛ**[55]	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.34
Lahu (Black)	**ni**[35]	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.33
Sani [Nyi]	A[33]**ni**[33]	milk	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	A[33]**ni**[33]to[33]	nurse (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ɑ[44] **ȵ**[33] o[55] qo[11]	nipple	Ma Xueliang 1989:368.3 [b]
	ɑ[44]**ȵ**[33]	milk	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.3
	ɑ[44]**ȵ**[33]o[55]qo[21]	nipple	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.1
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Côông [Phunoi]	lɑ̃[55] cu[11] **ɲiʔ**[55]	suck	Bradley 1977
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Eastern)	**ȵi**[31]bi[33]	milk	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**ȵi**[55]**ȵi**[33]	milk	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
7. Karenic			
Pa-O (Northern)	**nɛn**[2]	breasts, nipple	Luce 1985:G.53
Pa-O	**nên**	breast	Jones 1961:23
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**ne**[35]pɑ[42]	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.37
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	**pu**-**pu**-ti[1]	breast of a female	unknown nd
	pu-**pu**[2]	breast of male	unknown nd
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**pa pa**	breast; nipple	Sharma 1982; Sharma 1991b:5.4.1
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**phə**	nipple	Dai Qingxia 1989e:5.4.1
	phə[2]	nipple	Sofronov c1978
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	**pa pa**	breast	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.4
	pa pa qəsti	nipple	Sun Hongkai 1991g:5.4.1
	pɑ pɑ	breast (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.08
	pɑ pɑ	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.8; Sun 1986; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**pɑ pə**	breast	Dai Qingxia 1989q:121
6.1.2. Loloish			
Lolopho	**pɒ**[31] **pɒ**[31]	breast; milk	Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.4; Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.4.3
	pɒ[31] **pɒ**[31] ɣ[55] dɯ[33]	nipple	Dai Qingxia 1989n:5.4.1
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lipho	**pa̱**[21]dʐ̩[33]	breast	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4
	pa̱[21]dʐ̩[33]vi[33]	milk	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.3
Nasu	a[55] **pa̱**[21]	breast	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4
	a[55] **pa̱**[21] ȵẹ̄[55]	nipple	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.1
	a[55] **pa̱**[21] ʑi[21]	milk	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.3
Noesu	**pa**[55]	breast; milk	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4; Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.3
	po[55]mo[55]	nipple	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.1
Yi (Nanhua)	**bɯ**[33]dzi̱[33]	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.24
	bɯ[33]dzi̱[33]ʑi[33]	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.24
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	m[4]**poʔ**[4]	breast	Bradley 1979b
	m[4]**poʔ**[4]ʔɯ[6]	milk	Bradley 1979b
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Western)	ə[55]**po**[31]	breast	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	ə[55]**po**[31]	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.28
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**pɑ̱**[42]	breast; milk	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	pɑ[42]	breast; milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.37; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.37
Bai (Dali)	**pɑ̱**[42]	breast	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	pɑ̱[42] tsi̱[44]	milk	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	pɑ[42]	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.35
	pɑ[42]tsi[44]	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**pa̱**[42]	milk	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.4.3
	pa̱[42] tu[55] tsʅ[33]	nipple	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.4.1
	pa̱[42] tɯ̱[21] pǭ[21]	nipple	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.4.1
	pa̱[42] tɕi̱[44]	breast	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.4
	pɑ̱[42]	breast	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	pɑ̱[42] tsɛ̱[44]	milk	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	pɑ[42]	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.36
	pɑ[42]tsɛ[44]	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.36

[a] Final consonant in Sahu **c[h]uT** evidently due to assimilation to the initial of the following syllable.
[b] Literally "breast-head".

Chinese comparandum

嬭 OC ***niər**, *GSR* #359d-f 'mother; breasts, milk'; Schuessler 2007:395 ***nêʔ**; Mand. **nǎi**.

(4) PTB *pa BREAST / NIPPLE / MILK

This root appears mostly in Lolo-Burmese, Qiangic, and Baic. It frequently occurs reduplicated, and its simple phonological shape makes it likely that it is hypocoristic in origin. (The same may be said for PTB ***mam** BREAST (§1.9.4), below.) Some Lolo-Burmese and Bai forms have been recorded with vowel constriction, but it is not yet clear whether these reflect an allofam with final stop.

(5) PTB *m-pup ≍ *pip KISS / SUCK / SUCKLE

This etymon displays the same ***-u-** ≍ ***-i-** variation found with PTB ***m-ts(y)(u/i)p** SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4), as well as a similar variation in the position of articulation of the final stop: compare Bengni **mu:-pup**, Rongmei **ka-pút**, and Sunwar **'pu:k pu 'pā-cā**. Weidert 1987 (#651, #1017) sets up "Kuki-Naga-Chin" ***m-but**, and J. Sun 1993 reconstructs Proto-Tani ***pup ≍ *puk**, but in TB generally **-p** seems to be the most widespread final consonant.

The two labials (initial and final) in this root have an imitative flavor, apparently mimicking the labial activity involved in sucking and kissing.

This allofam with **-u-** vocalism is more common, and so far it is only before this variant that the nasal prefix is attested. This prefix should be set up for PTB as a whole, since it occurs in Himalayish (Bunan) **a mbok də ca** and Qiangic (rGyalrong) **kəwu nəpok**, as well as widely in Naga languages. This variant frequently occurs in compounds after reflexes of PTB ***m-ʔum ≍ *mum** HOLD IN MOUTH / CHEW / EAT / KISS (§1.9.4), below (e.g. Milang **mum-pup-ma**), and this may in fact be the source of the prefixal ***m-** in my reconstruction.

The allofam **pip** has so far only been found in Himalayish.

Some reflexes show final **-t** or **-k**. For similar variability of the final consonant, see PTB ***m-ts(y)(u/i)p** SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4), PTB ***dzyut** SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4), PTB ***tsyuk ≍ *dzyuk** SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4). The variation in position of articulation of the final consonant seems clearly to have been caused by the influence of suffixal material. Cf. the consonantal sequences across morpheme boundary in forms like Bantawa **phïpt-** and Chamling **pips-**, which seem to lie behind forms like Limbu **pi:tt-**, where the labial final has been assimilated to an earlier dental suffix. Note also the variation between final stop and nasal in Thulung.

1. NE Indian Areal Group			
**Kuki-Naga*	***m-but**	kiss (v.)	Weidert 1987:1017
**Kuki-Naga-Chin*	***m-but**	kiss / suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:651
1.1.1. Tani: *pup ~ *puk KISS			
**Tani*	***pup ~ puk**	kiss	Sun 1993a:224
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	mu:-**pup**	kiss	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-**pup**	kiss	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**buu** jin	suck dry (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	buu nam	slurp; suck (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	bu:-nam	sucking (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	mum-**puk**-nam	kiss (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'muu **puk**	kiss (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'muu **puk**-dotak	kiss.and.cluck.mouth (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	a nɤɤ ku mo **pup** do	Mother kisses the child	Das Gupta 1983
	mo **pup**-nam	kiss (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	mam-**puk**	kiss	Sun 1993a [a]
Damu	ʔa-**put**-nə	kiss	Sun 1993b
Milang	mum-**pup**-ma	kiss	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**bɯp**[55]	kiss	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	[2]**me**[1]**bo**	kiss (v.)	Weidert 1987:1017
Angami (Khonoma)	**mebo**	kiss	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**mebo**	kiss	Marrison 1967
	me[31] **bo**[11]	kiss	Nienu 1990a:3.9.5
Chokri	**bo**	kiss	Marrison 1967

[a] The first syllable of this form looks like PTB ***mam** BREAST (§1.9.4), but the gloss 'kiss' shows that it belongs in PTB ***m-ʔum ≍ *mum** HOLD IN MOUTH / CHEW / EAT / KISS (§1.9.4).

	mü^{31} bo^{11}	kiss	Nienu 1990b:3.9.5
	m^{31} bo^{11}	kiss	Nienu 1990b:3.9.5
Rengma	**bo**	kiss	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	**^{1}n^{2}bo**	kiss (v.)	Weidert 1987:1017
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	ka-**pût**	kiss (v.)	Weidert 1987:1017
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ka-**pút**	kiss (v.)	Weidert 1987:1017
	kü **put**	kiss	Marrison 1967
Zeme	ke **put**	kiss	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**pùp**	kiss	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	a **mbok** də ca	kiss	Sharma 1991a:3.9.5
Pattani [Manchati]	**pok**	kiss, love	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Balti)	**pipi**·	breast	Rangan 1975:47
Spiti	**po** lenje	kiss	Bodh 1991:3.9.5
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***Pip**-	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:170
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**pi:tt**-	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:170
Yakha	**pi:?** ma:	suck	Kohn 1990:5.4.5
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**phïpt**-	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:170 [a]
	phïpţ-	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:170
	phUp	suck / sip	Rai 1985
	phüpt-	suck / absorb (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:60
Chamling	**pibd**-(u)	suck	Winter 1985:28
	pibd-yu	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:170
	pips-(u)	suck	Winter 1985:28
	pips-yu	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:170
Kulung	**phipp**-u	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:170; Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**phip**-	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:170
	phip nɨ	suck, draw (through a straw)	Driem 1993
Khaling	√**phəp**-	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:170
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**bip**-	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:170
Hayu	**pip**	suck, nurse, smoke (tobacco) (vt, vr.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.15
	pip-	suck, to nurse, to smoke (t (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:170
Sunwar	**'pu:k** pu 'pā-cā	kiss (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.51
Thulung	**phim**-	suck (v.)	Allen 1975
	phip-	suck (v.)	Allen 1975
	phip-/**phim**-	suck (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:170
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	**pi**-nya	suck (v.)	Watters & Watters 1989:6.B.2.2
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	**bo** pa	kiss (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.9.5
Ergong (Danba)	**bo** pa	kiss (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.9.5
Ergong (Northern)	pau^{53} (**pɔk^{53}**)	kiss (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.9.5
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	kəwu **nəpok**	kiss (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.9.5
rGyalrong	po **pok** kapa	kiss (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:3.9.5
rGyalrong (NW)	**pox**	kiss (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.9.5
rGyalrong (Eastern)	po **pot**	kiss (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.9.5
6.1.1. Burmish			
Maru [Langsu]	**pɲ^{31}**	kiss (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.9.5
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nasu	**bo̱^{55}**	kiss (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.5
Noesu	**bie^{13}**	kiss	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.5
Nosu	**bu^{55}**tɕi̱^{55}	kiss	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.5
Yi (Liangshan)	**bu^{55}**	kiss	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	bu^{55}tɕi̱^{55}	kiss	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**bu̱^{21}**	kiss	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.5
	bu̱^{21}	kiss (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.9.5
Lisu (Central)	**baw^{6}**	kiss (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**bɔʔ^{21}**	kiss (N.)	Bradley 1994
	bɔʔ^{21} læ^{21}hɔ^{33}	kiss	Bradley 1994
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**bu**˦**bu**˦	kiss (a child) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3507
Na (Yongning)	**bu**˩	kiss (a child) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009

[a] Note the internal Bantawa vocalic variation between **-ï-** and **-ü-**.

(6) PTB *m-bawŋ BREAST / MILK

This root is solidly attested in the NE Indian Areal Group. There is also an excellent match between the Kaman reflex and the reconstructed Tangut form, on the basis of which we set up a nasal prefix for the etymon. W.T. French (1983:490-1) suggests that this root shows an association in Northern Naga between BREAST and FLOWER ("flower" = tree + breast).

1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	tɕin^{55}**mphɑuŋ^{53}**	breast (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.23
	tɕin^{55}**mphɑuŋ^{53}**	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.48
Idu	nu **pũ**	breasts	Anonymous 1962
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	chù-**bōng**	breast	Grüssner 1979:74
	chù-**bōng**-chethè	nipple	Grüssner 1979:74
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**bun** dəy	breast milk	Matisoff 1987
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***puːŋ** BREAST / FLOWER			
**Northern Naga*	***puːŋ**	breast / flower	French 1983:490
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Yogli)	**paung**	breast	Marrison 1967
	pauŋ	breast	French 1983:490
	pil **pauŋ**	flower	French 1983:490
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	sam **puŋ**	flower / (breast)	French 1983:490
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	new **mbụo**	breast	Dai Qingxia 1989e:5.4

(7) PTB *mam BREAST

This root is evidently hypocoristic in origin (see also PTB ***pa** BREAST / NIPPLE / MILK (§1.9.4), above), and in fact is practically identical to the Indo-European root **mā-* 'mother; breast' (> e.g. Latin *mamma*), of which the *American Heritage Dictionary* (1981:1527) says "An imitative root derived from the child's cry for the breast (a linguistic universal found in many of the world's languages, often in reduplicated form)." The final nasal in this etymon might have arisen through the reduction of an earlier reduplicated form ***ma-ma** (as in Ao, Sangtam, and Bunan).

There is a phonologically similar but apparently unrelated root PTB ***m-ʔum ≋ *mum** HOLD IN MOUTH / CHEW / EAT / KISS (§1.9.4), below.

1.2.2. Central Chin			
Paangkhua	**ma** 'ír	breast	Löffler 1985
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**ma ma**	breast	Marrison 1967
	ma ma tzü	milk	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ma ma**	breast	Marrison 1967
	ma ma tzü	milk	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**mama**	breast (n.)	Coupe 2007
	mama-tsə	milk ('breast' + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	**ma ma**	breast	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**mam** tü	milk	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Phom	am^{55}**mæ^{55}**	breast; milk	Burling & Amon Phom 1998; Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	am^{55}**mæ^{55}**ču^{55}	nipple (am^{55}mæ^{55} 'breast'; ču^{55} 'mouth')	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	a **ma**	breast	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**ma ma**	breast	Sharma 1991a:5.4
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**man^{21}**	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.38
	man^{21}tshie^{21}	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.38
	mã^{21}	breast	Chen Kang 1986c:5.4
Tujia (Northern)	**mã^{21}**	milk	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**mã^{21}** pu^{35} li^{55}	nipple	Chen Kang 1986c:5.4.1
Tujia (Northern)	**mã^{21}** p^{h}ɨe^{21}	breast	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**mã^{21}** ts^{h}e^{21}	milk	Chen Kang 1986c:5.4.3
	mã^{55}	breast	Chen Kang 1986d:5.4
	mã^{55} ts^{h}e^{35}	milk	Chen Kang 1986d:5.4.3
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mɛ^{44}** po^{31}	breast	Dai Qingxia 1989h:121
Jinuo (Youle)	**mɛ^{44}** po^{42}	breast	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**mɛ^{44}**ji^{33}	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.34
	mɛ^{44}po^{42}	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.34

(8) PTB *s(y)awk BREAST / SUCK / DRINK

This root is quite widespread, and covers a broad semantic range, from BREAST to SUCK to DRINK (any liquid). By a relatively recent extension of meaning, this root is also used for SMOKE (tobacco), and thence for TOBACCO itself (as in Lahu).*

There is a promising Chinese comparandum 欶, Mand. **shuò** proposed by Coblin (1986:144). In Matisoff 1970 (#57) I suggested that WB **sok** (also transcribable as **sauk**) 'drink, smoke' and Lahu **šú** 'tobacco' were cognate. I still believe that to be correct, even though in Matisoff 1988:1192 (*The Dictionary of Lahu*) I entertained an alternative comparison with WB **hrup** 'snuff up; sniff; sip; sup'. It now looks as if WB **hrup** might be related rather to Chinese 呷 (OC ***hrap**, Mand. **xiā**) 'to drink in with a sucking movement', cited in Coblin 1986:43. This seems preferable semantically and phonologically to Coblin's comparison of the Chinese form to WB **hap** 'bite at' < PTB ***hap** [*STC* #89].

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***sr**+uk	suck / drink	Coblin 1986:144
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Matupi	**s'uk^{2}**	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17
Womatu	**soʔ^{3}**	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17
1.2.3. Maraic			
Tha'oa	**s'uk^{4}**	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	cho-**sòk**-	suck (v.)	Grüssner 1979:73
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**sok**	breast; man's nipple	Burling 1992
	sok-bit-chi	breast milk; mother's milk	Burling 1992
	sok-kit-ti	nipple	Burling 1992
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**jok**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Ganan	**sɔʔ^{4}**ʃi^{1}	breasts	Luce 1985:L.146
Kadu (Kantu)	**sôk^{3}**ʃi^{3}	breasts	Luce 1985:L.146
Sak (Dodem)	ă **suʔ^{2}**	breasts	Luce 1985:L.146
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**thruk** ca	nurse / suckle (v.)	Sharma 1991a:5.4.6
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**soN**	drink in a gulp	Rai 1985
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**syuŋʔ**-sa	suck	Caughley 1972:6.B.2.2
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ka mə **scçok**	suck (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.4.5
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**suʔ^{55}**	drink	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ʂoʔ^{55}**	drink	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ʂoʔ^{55}	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.28
	ʂo̱ʔ^{55}	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.41
Achang (Luxi)	**suʔ^{55}**	drink	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ʂuʔ^{55}**	drink	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1895
	ʂuʔ^{55}	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.29
Bola	**ʃauʔ^{55}**	drink	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1895
Bola (Luxi)	**ʃauʔ^{55}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tθɑuʔ^{4}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθɑuʔ^{44}**	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.40
Burmese (Written)	**sauk**	drink	Benedict 1972:76n232
	sok	drink; suck in; drink, smoke (v.)	Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:Y.58; Benedict 1976a
	sok	drink	Coblin 1986:144
	thɔk	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.39
	tθɔk^{4}	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.26
	ə-**sok**-	drink, smoke (v.)	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	**ʃò?**	drink	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**ʃauk^{55}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.31

* The extension of 'drink/suck' to 'smoke (tobacco)' is common in the world's languages. Cf. e.g. Japanese *nomu* 'drink', *tabako wo nomu* 'smoke a cigarette'.

Lashi	**ʃu:k**^{55}	drink (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.7.7
Leqi (Luxi)	**ʃu:k**^{55}	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.33
Marma	**θɔʔ**	drink	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:86
Maru [Langsu]	**ʃauk**^{55}	drink (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.7.7
	ʃauk^{55}	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ʃuʔ**^{55}	drink	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ʃuʔ^{55}	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.30
	ʃuʔ^{55}	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.42

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***C-ʃuk**^{L}	tobacco	Bradley 1979b:406B

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɕhu̱**^{55}	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.45
Nusu (Southern)	**ɕu**^{31}	drink	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ɕu̱**^{31}	drink	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1895.
Nusu (Central)	**ɕ^{h}u̱**^{55}	drink	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	ʂu̱^{53}	drink	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1895.
	ʂu̱^{53}	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ʂu̱**^{55}	drink	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**šú**	tobacco	Matisoff 1988a:1192
	su^{35}	tobacco	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:217.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**su**^{4}	tobacco	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**shuˆ**	sniff up (as salt water for runny nose)	Lewis 1968
	sjuq	sniff; smell; suck	Hansson 1989

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**sruk**	suck / drink	Coblin 1986:144

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**ṣåk**	suck, inhale	Coblin 1986:144

Chinese comparanda

欶 OC ***sŭk**, *GSR* #1222o 'suck'; Li 1971: ***sruk**; Baxter 1992: ***srok**; Mand. **shuò**.

Gong 1995 #279 reconstructed ***rsuk**. In Li's system another possibility is ***sthruk**, by analogy with 束 'bundle', Mand. **shù** which is reconstructed ***sthjuk** to account for the presence in this series of 諫 / 促 'urge on', Mand. **cù** < ***tshjuk**. Schuessler 1987:567 reconstructed 束 **shù** 'bundle' as ***?-juk** to indicate that the initial is uncertain, and in 2007:473 suggests a pre-Old Chinese form ***C-sok**.

This comparison is made in Coblin 1986:144.

The vowel correspondence is problematic. OC ***-uk** (Li)/***-ok** (Baxter) normally corresponds to PTB ***-uk**, as in 曲 'bend/crooked', PTB ***guk**~***kuk**, OC ***khjuk** (Li)/***kh(r)jok** (Baxter), Mand **qū, qǔ**. [ZJH]

呷 OC ***χap** (not in *GSR* #629), 'to drink with a sucking movement'; Li 1971: ***hrap**; Baxter 1992: ***xrap**; Mand. **xiā**.

The Middle Chinese vocalism dictates an Old Chinese reconstruction with medial ***-r-**, but Schuessler 2007:526 has ***hap**, arguing that the MC vocalism may be due to "sound symbolism or archaistic colloquialism". This enables him to make a comparison with PTB ***hap** [*STC* #89] as well as with Austroasiatic forms of similar shape.

Matisoff's proposal that 呷 **xiā** is instead cognate to WB **hrup** 'snuff up; sniff; sip; sup' provides a better match for Chinese ***-r-**, but the vocalism is problematic. We would expect a Burmese cognate in **-ap** < PTB ***-ap**. Of course, given the likelihood of sound symbolism in words with these semantics, irregular correspondences are to be expected. It is therefore not an easy matter to decide if Chinese 呷 **xiā** is better compared to PTB ***hap** or WB **hrup**, or if the similarity of phonological shape is not due to cognacy at all. [ZJH]

(9) PTB *s-lwaŋ BREAST

This root appears mainly in Southern Loloish. It is reconstructed as PLB ***loŋ**^{2} in Bradley 1979, #119A. The putative Womatu (Kuki-Chin) cognate with voiceless lateral leads me to reconstruct this etymon as ***s-loŋ** at the PTB level. This etymon bears some resemblance to ***b-raŋ** CHEST, but we are keeping them separate for now, despite the similarity between, e.g. WB **raŋ-pat** 'chest' and Bisu **lɔŋ-pét** 'breast', where the second syllables are both assigned to PTB ***b(y)at** BREAST / CHEST (§1.9.4).

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Miji	**loŋ**-k^{h}juʔ	chest	Simon 1979

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Womatu	**hlo?**^{3}	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***loŋ**^{2}	breast	Bradley 1979b:119A

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Bisu	**lɔŋ** pɛ́t	breast	Bradley 1979b
	lɔŋ pɛt	breast	Beaudouin 1988:13
	lɔŋ pɛt láŋ	milk	Beaudouin 1988:15
Côông [Phunoi]	**lã** sì	breast	Bradley 1979b
	lõ si^{31}	breast	Ferlus 1991:5.4
	lɑ̃^{33} si^{11}	breast	Bradley 1977
	lɑ̃^{55} cu^{11} ɲi?^{55}	suck	Bradley 1977
Sangkong	**loŋ**^{33} tɕhø^{55}	breast milk	Li Yongsui 1991

(10) PTB *wa SUCKLE / MILK / BREAST

This etymon is particularly well attested in Himalayish. Most of the NE Indian Areal Group forms (especially those with **-ma** as final syllable) look like loans from Tibetan. The root also occurs in Baic. There are several possible explanations for the final **-m** in certain Himalayish forms (Bantawa, Chamling, Hayu), as well as the nasalization in Bai **ũ** 'nurse; suckle': (a) they could be due to rhinoglottophilia* because of the zero or glottal-stop initial; (b) they could have arisen by assimilatory epenthesis to the initial **p-** of the following syllable; or (c) they could have been metanalyzed from the initial of the second syllable of the binome ***o-ma**, which might originally have been borrowed from Tibetan as a unit before being reduced to a single syllable in the new Bantawa/Chamling compounds. The development of ***wa** > WT **o** is regular, e.g. ***swa** TOOTH > WB **swâ**/WT **so**; ***g-lwat** ≷ ***s-lwat** LOOSEN / FREE > WB **lwat/hlwat** ≷ **kywat/khywat**/WT **glod-pa** ≷ **hlod-pa**.

This root appears principally in Himalayish and contiguous languages of the NE Indian Areal Group, but also in Bai, so that it must be set up for PTB.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	***o**-ma	milk	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**o** ma	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Miri, Hill	**o** ci	milk	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	**ʔu**-ma	milk	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**wo**^{31} mɑ^{55}	milk	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	wo^{31}mɑ^{55}	milk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.22
	wɑ^{31}mɑ^{55}	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.49

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**o** ma	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**o** ma	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.5
	o-mæ	milk	Sun 1985a:486
Tibetan (Batang)	**ɣo**^{13} ma^{55}	milk	Dai Qingxia 1989a:5.4.3
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**o**^{13}ma^{53}	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**o**^{13}ma^{13}	breast; milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.2; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**ō** ma	milk	Bishop 1989:5.4.3
Spiti	**o** ma	milk	Bodh 1991:5.4.3
Tibetan (Written)	**'o** ma	milk	Marrison 1967
	o-ma	milk	Zhang Liansheng 1988:61; Sun 1985c:486
	ɦo ma	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.1

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**ʔom** pi yang ma	milk	Rai *et al.* 1984:5
Chamling	**om** pAy ma	milk	Winter 1985:27
	om pi yang ma	milk	Winter 1985:27

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**ʔoh**	breasts	Caughley 1972:1.51
	ʔoh-sayʔ	nipple	Caughley 1972:2.A.35
Chepang (Eastern)	**ʔoh** (lay) tiʔ	milk	Caughley 1990:5.4.3
	ʔoh sayʔ	nipple	Caughley 1990:5.4.1

8. Bai

Bai (Jianchuan)	**o**^{55}	nurse / suckle (v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.4.6
	ũ^{33}	nurse / suckle (v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:5.4.6

(11) PTB *kwam BREAST / MILK

This root has so far been identified only in a few languages of the NE Indian Areal Group, though there is a possible Dumi (Himalayish) cognate. Several languages (Kom Rem, Meithei, Moyon) have compounds where this root occurs as second element, after a syllable **səŋ-/sʌŋ-**. This latter element bears a resemblance to PTB ***syaŋ** VAGINA / CLITORIS (§1.9.5), below.

This root was reconstructed as ***kom** in TBRS: #64.

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	səŋ **k^{h}om**	milk	Toba & Kom 1991:5.4.3	
Moyon	sʌŋ **ŋom**	milk	Kosha 1990:5.4.3	*a*

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**khom**	breast; udder (of cow, goat); milk	Singh 1991:5.4; Singh 1991:5.4.2,5.4.3; Marrison 1967	
	khôm	breast milk	Matisoff 1987	
	khom khaynə bə	wean	Singh 1991:5.4.7	*b*
	khom pi thək pə	nurse / suckle (v.)	Singh 1991:5.4.6	
	khom-pi	nipple	Matisoff 1987	
	khom jin	nipple	Singh 1991:5.4.1	
	san **gom**	milk	Marrison 1967	
	səŋ **gom**	milk	Singh 1991:5.4.3	

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**kúm** bú	breast (poetic)	Grüssner 1979:50

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	di dhi **kwam**	nipples (human)	Driem 1993

[a] Note assimilation of the medial consonants.
[b] Meithei **khaynə** 'to part, to separate'.

(12) PTB *b(y)at BREAST / CHEST

The semantic range of this etymon is similar to that of English 'breast'; i.e. it can refer to the general thoracic area (like 'chest'), or specifically to a woman's mammary gland. In Southern Loloish this root typically occurs after PTB ***s-lwaŋ** BREAST (§1.9.4) [q.v.]. The phonological resemblance of this root to PTB ***b(y)at** VAGINA (§1.9.5) [q.v.] seems entirely fortuitous.

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**bit**^{35}niŋ^{55}	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.48

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	mə̆ hnɑu^{1} **bɛʔ**^{1}	breasts	Luce 1985:P.17

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	sok-**bit**-chi	breast milk; mother's milk	Burling 1992

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yakha	nu: **piʔ** meʔmana	nurse / suckle (v.)	Kohn 1990:5.4.6

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	ʁɑ˧**pv**˧	chest	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	ɣɑ^{33}**pv**^{33}	chest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:257.29
Naxi (Eastern)	ɑ^{13}**pv**^{33}	chest (of body)	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

(13) PTB *tsyir ≷ *tsyu:r WRING / SQUEEZE

This etymon is set up as ***tsyur** (= ***tśur**) in *STC* #188 with the proto-gloss SQUEEZE/WRING, on the basis of the Bahing, Bunan, Hakha, and Kanauri forms, the latter glossed as 'to milk'. There does not seem to be any allofamic connection between this root and PTB ***dzy(ə/o)w** SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsyir ≷ tsyu:r**	wring / squeeze	Matisoff 2003a:618
	***tsyur**	wring / squeeze	Benedict 1972:188

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	jum-**fɯr**	squeeze (with hands)	Sun 1993b
	vit-**fɯr**	wring, twist (till dry)	Sun 1993b
Galo	a co cu: **cir:**	nipple	Das Gupta 1963

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**tɕin**^{55}	milk (n.)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.23; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.48
	tɕin^{55}mphɑuŋ^{53}	breast (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.23
	tɕin^{55}mphɑuŋ^{53}	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.48

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***shuur ≷ *shoor** SQUEEZE / MILK (v.) / WRING / RAIN (v.)

**Chin*	***shuur ≷** shoor	SQUEEZE / MILK (v.) / WRING / RAIN (v.)	VanBik 2009:694

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**suuk**	milk (v.)	VanBik 2009:694

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**hlui**	squeeze the liquid out of, to press, to milk (v.)	VanBik 2009:694

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**sŏor**-I, sòor-II	squeeze, milk	VanBik 2009:694
Lai (Hakha)	**śur**	wring	Benedict 1972:188
	sûur/sŭur	squeeze, milk; rain	VanBik 2009:694

* See Matisoff 1975.

Lushai [Mizo]	ruah a **shu:r**	rain (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2863
	sawr	squeeze; wring (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2886; Bhaskararao 1996:2887
	súur	rain, to shower down, to come down (as rain) (v.)	VanBik 2009:694
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**sào**	squeeze, wring	VanBik 2009:626
	sùa	rain (v.)	VanBik 2009:694
	vā á **sùa**	rain (v.)	VanBik 2009:964
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Ao*	*m-**tʃhən**	WRING, SQUEEZE	Bruhn 2014a:II.177
Ao (Chungli)	mə^{2}**sən**^{2}	wring, squeeze, strangle (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.177
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mə **tʃhən**	twist [twisted]; wring [wringed] (variant of tʃhən) (v.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007
	tʃhən	wring [wringed] (variant of mətʃhən) (v.)	Coupe 2007
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**sur** tit	squeeze	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	kə-ci-**sur**	make to squeeze	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**sur**	squeeze	Mortensen 2012
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**sor**	squeeze	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**sér**	squeeze / milk (v.)	Bhat 1968
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	**dir** bu	milk (human)	Brown 1895:67
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**tśhur**	squeeze out	Benedict 1972:188
Kanauri	**tsür**	milk (v.)	Benedict 1972:188
Pattani [Manchati]	**tʃur** tʃi	squeeze (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Mama)	**tɕir**^{55}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.6
	tɕir^{55}	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.6
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tɕi**	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ptsər**	milk (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:611.5
	ɣtɕə	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.5
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tɕu**^{53}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tsir**^{55}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.2
Tibetan (Written)	**btsir**	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.1
	o-ma **ḥtshir**-ba	milk (v.)	Jäschke 1881:459
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**dzjor**	squeeze (juice)	Mazaudon 1994:375
Gurung (Ghachok)	**cyuhr** ba	squeeze (juice)	Glover 1972:7.B.1.19
	cyuhr i ba	wring (cloth)	Glover 1972:7.B.3.16
Gurung	^{3}**tsjur**-	squeeze (juice)	Mazaudon 1994:375
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**tsjor**	express / squeeze (fruit) / twist	Mazaudon 1994:375
Tamang (Sahu)	**cyohr**-pa	squeeze (juice); wring (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:18.A.19; Taylor *et al.* 1972:19.16
	^{3}**tsjor**	squeeze (juice) / to wring	Mazaudon 1994:375
Tamang (Taglung)	^{3}**tsjor**-ba	squeeze water out	Mazaudon 1994:375
Thakali (Tukche)	**cjohr**-lɔ	squeeze (juice); wring	Hari 1971:7.B.1.19 1; Hari 1971:7.B.3.16 1
	^{3}**tsjor**	squeeze (juice)	Mazaudon 1994:375
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**tśyur**	wring	Benedict 1972:188
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	tup-ti **cyur**-sa	squeeze	Caughley 1972:7.B.1. 19
	yur-	squeeze out, express; blackmail, extort (met.) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	**stir**	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.8

(14) PQ *s-lu MILK

This root so far seems to be confined to Qiangic (including Tangut). The ***s-*** prefix is reconstructed on the basis of the voiceless liquids in Ergong, NW rGyalrong, and (Sofronov's) Tangut. The aspirated dental stops in Ergong and NW rGyalrong appear to be secondary "extrusions" of the previous liquids. There is no apparent connection with PTB ***s-lwaŋ*** BREAST (§1.9.4), which always means BREAST, not MILK.

3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**lhi̯u**^{1}	milk	Sofronov c1978
	ȥi̯u^{2}	milk	Sofronov c1978
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya [Minyak]	**lɐ**^{35}	milk	Sun Hongkai 1991h:5.4.3
	lɐ̱^{35}	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.15
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**ɬtʰə**^{53}	milk	Sun Hongkai 1991c:5.4.3
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	ta **lu**	milk	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.4.3
rGyalrong (NW)	ta **ɾ̥tʰə**	milk	Sun Hongkai 1991l:5.4.3
rGyalrong (Northern)	ta ʃtok **lu**	colostrum	Sun Hongkai 1991k:5.4.4 [a]
rGyalrong	tə **lo**	milk	Dai Qingxia 1989d:5.4.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **lo**	milk	Sun Hongkai 1991j:5.4.3

[a] Colostrum is the thin secretion produced by the mother of a newborn for a few days before actual milk is produced.

(15) IA *du-t MILK / BREAST

This etymon is certainly of Indo-Aryan origin, from a root *duh-* (cf. Nepali **dudh** 'milk', Hale 1973, p.166). See the series of entries beginning with *dugdhá-* in Turner 1966 (*A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*), pp. 365-6.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	(**duɯ**)-bjuŋ	suck	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	(gakir) **tut**-ma	milk	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**du**^{55}	suck (milk)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	du^{55}	suck (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.22
Idu	**do** ga	suck; kiss	Pulu 1978; Pulu 1978; Anonymous 1962
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	a **tu** thui	milk	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	**du**	milk	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
2.1.5. Dhimal			
Dhimal	**du du**	breast	King 1994
	du du no si	nipple	King 1994
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Kathmandu)	**du**-**du**-pwa-(la)	breast	Malla 2007 [a]
Newar (Dolakhali)	**du du**	vagina / breast / milk	Genetti 1990b [b]
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**di dhi** kwam	nipples (human)	Driem 1993
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**diu diu**	milk	Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**dut**-say?	nipple	Caughley 1972:2.A.35
Chepang (Eastern)	**dut**	breast; milk	Caughley 1990:5.4; Caughley 1990:5.4.3
	dut.say?	nipple	Caughley 1990:5.4.1

[a] Lit. "milk-container"; Newar **pwala** 'round object, container'.

[b] According to K. P. Malla (p.c. 2007), the basic meaning of this form is 'breast', although it is also used euphemistically for 'vagina'. He is doubtful that the same word is used for all three glosses.

(16) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{s}\end{matrix}$ **-tuŋ DRINK / SUCKLE**

This widespread etymon is attested all over TB (NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese, Qiangic). It comprises both a simplex and a causative variant, i.e. DRINK (with underlying nasal prefix) vs. GIVE TO DRINK (with underlying ***s-*** prefix), and by extension SMOKE (tobacco) vs. GIVE TO SMOKE. (Cf. Japanese *tabako wo nomu* 'smoke ("drink") tobacco'.)

The nasal prefix is clearly reflected in Himalayish (Baima, Amdo Tibetan), Qiangic (Namuyi, Tangut), and Loloish (e.g. Yi Dafang, Luquan, Nasu, Xide), sometimes with an actual nasal segment, sometimes more indirectly (as in Lahu **dɔ̀**, where the voiced initial is a reliable reflex of PLB *prenasalization).

There is a phonologically excellent Chinese comparandum with the meaning MILK: 湩 [*GSR* 1188c]. See below.

Loloish has a simplex/causative alternation in this root: cf. Lahu **dɔ̀** 'drink' ⨯ tɔ 'give to drink'.

1.1.1. Tani: ***tɯŋ** DRINK			
**Tani*	***tɯŋ**	drink	Sun 1993a:111
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	o-**tã**-gɯ-nɯ	drunkard; drunkenness, intoxication	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	o-**tã**-nɯ	drunk	Sun 1993b
	o-**tã**-nɯ mju	drunkard	Sun 1993b
	o-**taŋ**-gɯ	intoxicate	Sun 1993b
	o-**taŋ**-gɯ-nɯ	intoxicate	Sun 1993b
	tã	drink	Sun 1993a
	tà	drink	Sun 1993b
	tã	drink	Sun 1993b
	tà-gé	sober	Sun 1993b
	tan-sa	drink (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	(**tɯŋ**)-kjum	drunk	Sun 1993a
	tɯŋ	drink	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	(**tɯŋ**)-kum	drunk	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	tɯŋ	drink	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	tɯŋ	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.24
Bokar Lhoba	**tɯŋ**	drink	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.51
	tɯŋ kum	drunk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:779.51
Galo	do nam-**tii̱** nam	sustenance (n.)	GLDC 2009
	i si-**tɯ**-li-na	thirsty	Das Gupta 1963
	tii̱ kaa	sip (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	tii̱ kum	drunk; drunk (from liquor); stoned (from inhaling something) (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	tii̱ nam	drink; imbibe; smoke (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	tii̱ ŋər	hangover (n.)	GLDC 2009
	tɯ-nam	drink; drinking (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	'tii̱ jen	drinking buddy (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'tii̱ ken	delicious (to drink or smoke) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'tii̱ lii̱	thirsty (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'tii̱ pak	out-drink (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	i sh'-**tɯ**-nam	drink water	Simon 1976
	i sh'-**tɯ**-ne	thirsty	Simon 1976
	tɯ-kum-nam	druken (be v.)	Simon 1976
	tɯ-nam	drink, pluck	Simon 1976
Tagin	**teŋ**-nam	drink (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	teŋ-nam	drink	Das Gupta 1983
	tiŋ-niŋ	thirsty / drink water (adj.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**tɯŋ**	drink	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ta:**	drink	Sun 1993b
	ta:-pyo-nə	beverage; drinkable	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**tim**	take (drink); drink	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	tim^{35}	drink (yin)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tim^{35}	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.22
	tim^{35}	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.49
Kaman [Miju]	**tauŋ**^{55}	drink	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tauŋ^{55}	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.23
	tauŋ^{55}	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.48
	tán-**t'àuŋ**	drink (v.)	Weidert 1987:812
	t'àuŋ	drink (v.)	Weidert 1987:812
Idu	**tioŋ**^{55}	drink (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.7.7
	tioŋ^{55}	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.50
	tõ	drink	Anonymous 1962
	tõ ga	drink	Pulu 1978
Yidu	**tioŋ**^{55}	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.25
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Zeme	**tung**	suck	Marrison 1967
	tung dui	milk	Marrison 1967
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**thək** pə	drink (v.)	Singh 1991:3.7.7 [a]
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**tong**	suck	Marrison 1967

[a] Note assimilation of the medial consonants.

	tòng-	suck (v.)	Grüssner 1979:90
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**tuŋ** re	drink (v.)	Sharma 1991a:3.7.7
Byangsi	**tuŋ** mo	drink (vt.)	Sharma 2003:969
Chaudangsi	**tuŋ** mo	drink (v.)	Krishan 2003:834
Darma	**tuŋ**-mo	drink, smoke (v.)	Krishan 2003:825
Kanauri	**tuṅ** ran mig‘	give to drink (v.)	Bailey 1911
	tuṅ mig‘	drink / smoke (vt.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**Tùn** ḍẓi	nurse / suckle (v.)	Sharma 1991b:5.4.6
	tuŋg mi	drink, smoke (v.)	Sharma 1982
	tuŋ mi	drink (v.)	Sharma 1991b:3.7.7
Raji	**tuŋ**-	drink (v.)	Krishan 2003:744
Rongpo	**tũ**-	drink (vt.)	Sharma 2003:1289
2.1.2. BODIC			
Baima	**ndo**^{35}	drink (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:3.7.7
Kaike	**thung** chye	drink (v.)	Hale 1973:01.054
Tshona (Wenlang)	**t^{h}oŋ**^{55} ŋɑ^{55}	drink	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**toŋ**^{55}	drink	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.6
Cuona Menba	**toŋ**^{55}	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Dzongkha	**thũ:**	drink (v.)	Weidert 1987:812
Tibetan (Alike)	**thoŋ**	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**thoŋ**	drink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**nthoŋ**	drink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.5
	nt^{h}oŋ	drink	Sun 1985a:544
Tibetan (Batang)	**thõ**^{13}	drink (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.7.7
	thú^{55}	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.03
Tibetan (Central)	**thũŋ**-	drink (v.)	Weidert 1987:812
Tibetan (Jirel)	**thung**-gi-dukq	drink (v.)	Hale 1973:01.054
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**thuŋ**^{53}	drink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**thuŋ**^{55}	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.02
	thuŋ^{55}	drink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**thung**-gu-wi	drink (v.)	Hale 1973:01.054
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**thung** en	drink (v.)	Bishop 1989:3.7.7
Spiti	**thuŋ** je	drink (v.)	Bodh 1991:3.7.7
Tibetan (Written)	**’thuṅ**	drink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	’thuṅ-ba	suck	Marrison 1967
	thung	drink	Sun 1985c:544
	ɦthuŋ	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.01
	ɦthuŋ	drink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.1
	ɦthuŋ-ba	drink (v.)	Weidert 1987:812
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**thoŋ**	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.04
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**thóng**	drink (v.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**t^{h}uŋ**	drink	Mazaudon 1994:492
Chantyal	**thũ**-wa	drink (v.)	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.7.7
Gurung	**thụq**-m	drink (v.)	Hale 1973:01.054
Gurung (Ghachok)	**tĩq** ba	give drink (v.)	Glover 1972
	t^{h}ũq-m	drink	Glover 1972:1.54
	t^{h}ũq ba	drink	Glover 1972:7.B.2.28
Gurung	**^{2}t^{h}ũ**-	drink	Mazaudon 1994:492
Gurung (Ghachok)	ŋeh **tĩq** ba	nurse	Glover 1972:6.B.2.1
Manang (Gyaru)	**tɯŋ^{2}** ba	drink (V.)	Nagano 1984:086
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{2}t^{h}uŋ**-	drink	Mazaudon 1994:492
	^{1}t^{h}uŋ-	drink	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0329
	^{1}t^{h}uŋ pə	drink (n.)	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0525
Tamang (Bagmati)	**’thuŋ**	drink (v.)	Weidert 1987:812
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{2}t^{h}uŋ**	drink (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:3.7.7; Mazaudon 1994:492
Tamang (Sahu)	**’t^{h}uŋ**-pa	drink (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:18.B.28; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.54
	the **’tung** pā	drink (v.)	Hale 1973:01.054
	^{2}t^{h}uŋ	drink	Mazaudon 1994:492
Tamang (Taglung)	**t^{h}uŋ**-ba	drink	Mazaudon 1994:492
Thakali	**thung**-pa	drink (v.)	Hale 1973:01.054
Thakali (Marpha)	**^{44,43}t^{h}uŋ**-dzi	drink (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:492
Thakali (Syang)	**^{55,55}t^{h}uŋ**-o	drink (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:492
Thakali (Tukche)	**t^{h}uŋ**-lɔ	drink	Hari 1971:7.B.2.28.1
	t^{h}uŋ-pɔ	drink	Hari 1971:1.54
	^{2}t^{h}uŋ	drink	Mazaudon 1994:492
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**ton** e	drink (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.7.7
Newar (Kathmandu)	**twan**-e	drink	Malla 2007
Newar (Dolakhali)	**twɔn**-	drink	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**twɔn**-	drink	Genetti 1990c
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***tuŋ**-	drink (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:49
	***ʔtuŋ**-	drink	Opgenort 2011
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**thuŋs**-ue	drink	Ebert 1997
	thuŋ ma	drink	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**thuŋ**-	drink (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:49
	thuŋ s-	cause to drink, to entertai; cause to drink, to give drink to (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:49; Driem 1988
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**DuN**	drink	Rai 1985
	duŋ-	drink (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:49
Chamling	**ding**-u	drink (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:49
	dung-	drink	Winter 1985:11
	dung-u	drink (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:49
Kulung	**duŋŋ**-	drink (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:49
	duŋŋ-u	drink (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**tɨŋ**-	drink (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:49
	tɨŋ nɨ	drink; smoke	Driem 1993
Khaling	**tu**-ne	drink (v.)	Hale 1973:01.054
	√**tuŋ**-	drink (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:49
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**tuŋ**-	drink (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:49
Hayu	**tun**	drink (except water) (vr, vt.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.245
	tun-	drink (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:49
Sunwar	**tu:**-cā	drink (v.)	Hale 1973:01.054
	tu:-	drink (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:49
Thulung	**Du(ŋ)**-	drink (v.)	Allen 1975
	ɖu(ŋ)-	drink (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:49
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**tung**.sā	drink (v.)	Hale 1973:01.054
	tuŋ	drink (v.)	Weidert 1987:7
	tuŋ-	drink, imbibe, suck fruit, smoke (cigarette, etc.) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	tuŋ-sa	drink	Caughley 1972:1.54
	tuŋ.ga	drink (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	tuŋ.gu.liŋ	drink (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**tuŋ** naʔ	drink (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.7.7
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ndeɦ**	drink; drink water	Matisoff 1978a:70; Nishida 1964:181-08a [a]
	ndĩ	drink (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989e:3.7.7
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**tshɛ**^{55}	drink	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.18
Guiqiong	**tɕhɑ**^{35}	drink	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.17
Lyuzu	**tɕhi**^{53}	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.18
Muya	ɦiæ^{33}**tɕhə**^{53}	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tɕhyɯ**^{53}	drink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.15
	tɕ^{h}yɯ^{53}	drink (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991h:3.7.7
Namuyi	**ndʐ**^{35}	drink (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991i:3.7.7
	ndʐ^{35}	drink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.19
	dʐ^{35}	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**thɛ̃**^{55}	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**thiɛ̃**^{55}	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**thiɛ̃**^{55}	drink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.11
	t^{h}iɛ̃^{55}	drink	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	**thiɛ̃**^{53}	drink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.10
	t^{h}iɛ̃^{35}	drink	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Longxi)	**tɕhí**	smoke (a cigarette) (drink); drink	Evans 1999:1729; Evans 1999:1964
Qiang (Mawo)	**sti**	nurse / suckle (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:5.4.6
	thi	drink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.8
	tɕhə	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.08
	t^{h}i	drink	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	t^{h}i	drink (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.7.7
Qiang (Mianchi)	**thié ~ thiè**	drink, suck, smoke (tobacco)	Evans 1999:1964
Qiang (Taoping)	**thie**^{33}	drink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.9
	t^{h}ie^{33}	drink	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	**tɕ^{h}ə**	drink	DAI Qingxia 1989q:1964
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	kə^{35} **t^{h}ũ**^{55}	drink (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991n:3.7.7
	kə^{35}**thũ**^{55}	drink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	ɣɯ^{13}**tho**^{55}	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.13
Xumi	**tɕhĩ**^{35}	drink	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.20
	tɕhĩ^{35}ɕĩ^{55}	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	kʌ^{33}**thɪ**^{55}	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Daofu)	nu nu **sthei**	nurse / suckle (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:5.4.6
Ergong (Northern)	**st^{h}ə**^{33}	nurse / suckle (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:5.4.6
Daofu	**thi**	drink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.12
Ergong (Northern)	**t^{h}ə**^{13}	drink (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.7.7
Ergong (Danba)	**wthi**	drink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:534.14
	wt^{h}i	drink (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991b:3.7.7
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔthu**	drink (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.7.7
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	ju’ **t^{h}i**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	jə **’t^{h}i**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (NW)	ka **t^{h}i**	drink (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.7.7
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	ka’ **t^{h}i**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	ka’ **t^{h}i**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	ka’ **t^{h}i**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	ka44 **t‘i33**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	ku’ **t^{h}i**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	kə’ **t^{h}i**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Northern)	kəwu **ʃt^{h}i**	nurse / suckle (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:5.4.6
	kə wu **t^{h}i**	drink (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.7.7
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	kə wu’ **t^{h}i**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
Caodeng	kɐ-nɐ-wɔ́-**t^{h}i**	drink (booze)	Sun 1997a
	ké-**t^{h}i** (ní-t^{h}i)	drink	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	o^{l} **t^{h}i**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Queyu Gala)	**t^{h}e**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**t^{h}e**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**t^{h}é**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**t^{h}i**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**t^{h}ə**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	wə^{l} **t^{h}i**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	ʁə’ **t^{h}i**	drink (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0383
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***m-daŋ^{1}** ≍ ***m-doŋ^{1}** DRINK			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-daŋ^{1}** ≍ **m-doŋ^{1}**	drink	Matisoff 2003a:586
	***m-doŋ^{1}** ≍ **m-daŋ^{1}**	drink	Matisoff 2003a:587
	***ndaŋ^{1}** ≍ **ʔdaŋ^{1}**	drink	Matisoff 1978a:70
6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***m-daŋ^{1}** DRINK, ***ʔdaŋ^{1}** GIVE TO DRINK			
**Loloish*	***m-daŋ^{1}**	drink	Bradley 1979b:631; Hansson 1989:245

[a] This form is originally from Nishida 1964-66:415.

Lolo	**ntʻɒ**	drink	Benedict 1972:22n76
Lolopho	**dɒ^{33}**	drink (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.7.7

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**to^{213}**	drink	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	to^{323}	drink (v.)	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991; Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.7.7; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.47
	to^{33}	drink	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	to^{33}	nurse / suckle (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:5.4.6
Lalo	**dó**	drink	Björverud 1994
	du^{55}	drink (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.7
	tu^{33}	nurse / suckle (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.6
Lipho	**da^{33}**	drink	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.7
	ta^{33}	nurse	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.6
Luquan	**ntʻɐ^{11}**	drink	Matisoff 1978a:70
Nasu	**dʼɔ^{13}**	drink	Matisoff 1978a:70
	dʼɔ	drink	Benedict 1972:22n76
	nd^{h}ɔ^{21}	drink; swallow (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.7; Chen Kang 1986b:4.2.3
	tɔ^{21}	nurse / suckle (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.6
Nesu	**da^{21}**	drink; swallow (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.7; Chen Kang 1986b:4.2.3
Noesu	**ndo^{13}**	drink	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.7
	to^{21}	nurse	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.6
Nosu	**ndo^{33}**	drink	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.7
	to^{21}	nurse	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.6
Yi (Dafang)	**ndɔ^{21}**	drink	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ndɔ^{21}	swallow (v.t.)	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ndɔ^{21}	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ndo^{33}**	devour; drink; smoke (tobacco)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	to^{21}	breastfeed; drink, cause to	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	to^{34}	offer (drink or smoke)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂo^{21}ndo^{33}	drink up	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Lishan)	**dɔ^{31}**	drink	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	**tu^{33}**	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dɒ^{21}**	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dɑ^{33}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.37
	dʌ^{33}; tʌ^{31}	drink; drink (caus.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.24
	tɑ^{33}	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**du^{55}**	drink	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.23
Yi (Weishan)	**du^{55}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.36
Yi (Wuding)	**nthɒ^{11}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.38
Yi (Xide)	a^{34}-nɛ^{33} **to^{21}**	breast feed	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ndo^{33}	drink	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979; Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	ndo^{33}	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.35
	ndo^{33}	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**tu^{22}**	drink; nurse	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.7; Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.6
	tu^{22}	drink (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7.7
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	pi^{44} **tʌ^{44}**	make drink	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1964.1
Jinuo (Baka)	pi^{44} **tʌ^{44}**	make drink	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1964.1
Jinuo (Youle)	**tə^{42}**	drink	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tə^{42}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.44
	tɐ^{42}	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**tʌ^{31}**	drink	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1964
Jinuo (Baka)	**tʌ^{31}**	drink	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1964
Kucong	**dɔ31**	drink (v.)	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***daw˯**	drink ([Sem:R].)	Bradley 1979b
Lahu	**dɔ̀**	drink	Benedict 1972:22n76
Lahu (Lancang)	**dɔ^{31}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.43
Lahu (Black)	**dɔ^{31}**	drink	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.33
	dɔ̀	drink	Matisoff 1978a:70
	šú **dɔ̀** ve	smoke tobacco	Matisoff 1988a:1193
	tɔ	give to drink; give to smoke	Matisoff 1988a:649
	tɔ	give drink (v.)	Matisoff 1978a:70
Lahu (Yellow)	**dɔʔ^{21}**	drink	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**daw^{4}**	drink	Bradley 1979b:631
Lisu (Central)	**daw^{4}**	drink (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Nujiang)	**do^{33}**	drink	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**do^{33}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.40
	do^{33}	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.27
	do^{33}kɯ^{55}	cup	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:450.27
Lisu (Northern)	dza^{21}du^{33} **dɔ^{44}**du^{33}	food and drink; beverage; food	Bradley 1994
	dza^{21}dze^{21} **dɔ^{44}**dze^{21}	leftover food and drink	Bradley 1994
	dza^{21}lɔ^{33} **dɔ^{44}**lɔ^{33}	food and drink	Bradley 1994
	dza^{21}ʃ^{21} **dɔ^{44}**ʃ^{21}	food; food and drink	Bradley 1994
	dɔ^{44}	drink; eat (V.)	Bradley 1994
	dɔ^{44}phja^{35}	drink with no restraint	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}si^{21} **dɔ^{44}**	suck blood wine	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}si^{21} **dɔ^{44}** læ^{21}hɔ^{33}	drink blood wine	Bradley 1994
	pæ^{35}**dɔ^{44}**	drink together (Two people drink from the same wine glass, with cheeks touching) (V.)	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}**dɔ^{44}** læ^{21}hɔ^{33}	drink blood wine	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	A^{33}ni^{33}**to^{33}**	nurse (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	to^{33}	nurse	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.6
	tʂi^{55}	drink	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.7; Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tʂʅ^{55}	drink, smoke (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:341.1
Yi (Sani)	**tʂz̩^{55}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**dɔ́**	drink	Hansson 1989:245
Akha (Yunnan)	**dɔ́**	drink	Hansson 1989:245
Akha	**dɔ́**	drink	Hansson 1989:245
Bisu	**táŋ**	drink (v.)	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**dó**	drink	Hansson 1989:245
Hani (Dazhai)	**do^{55}**	drink	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**do^{55}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.41
Hani (Pijo)	**tú**	drink	Hansson 1989:245
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tu^{55}**	drink	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dɔ^{55}**	drink	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ddol**	drink	Hansson 1989:245
Haoni	**tɣ^{55}**	drink	Hansson 1989:245
Hani (Shuikui)	**tɣ^{55}**	drink	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tú**	drink	Hansson 1989:245
Hani (Mojiang)	**tɣ^{55}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.42
Mpi	**toŋ^{5} (taŋ^{5}**	drink (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	toŋ^{5}/taŋ^{5}	drink	Hansson 1989:245
	taŋ^{5}	drink (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**tɑ̃^{55}** sə^{11}	drink	Bradley 1977
Pyen	**taŋ45**	drink (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:132029
Sangkong	**taŋ^{55}**	drink	Li Yongsui 1991
Sila	**do55**	drink (v.)	Kato Takashi 2008:46

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Southern Muji	**də^{33}**	drink	Pelkey 2011:599
Phola	**^{n}tɔ^{33}**	drink	Pelkey 2011:599
	^{n}tɔ^{33}pi^{31}	give to drink	Pelkey 2011:600
Hlepho Phowa	**^{n}dɐ^{21}**	drink	Pelkey 2011:599
Phuza	**dʌ^{31}**	drink	Pelkey 2011:599

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	**[^{h}ɯ˩**	drink (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**thɯ^{21}**	drink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1370.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**thɯ^{33}**	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**thɯ^{31}**	drink	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:534.28
Naxi (Eastern)	**t^{h}ɯ^{31}**	drink	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Western)	**t^{h}ɯ^{31}**	drink	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tḭung/tḭwong-**	milk	Karlgren 1957:1188c
	tung/tung-	milk	Karlgren 1957:1188c

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**tung**	milk	Karlgren 1957:1188c

Chinese comparandum

潼 OC ***tḭung/*tung**, *GSR* #1188c 'milk'; Li 1971: ***tjungh/*tungh**; Baxter 1992: ***tjongs/*tongs**; Mand. **dòng ~ zhòng**.

The correspondences are a perfect match. OC ***u** (Li)/***o** (Baxter) regularly corresponds to PTB ***u** before velar codas.

However, there is a competing etymology suggesting that this word is an early borrowing from a Central Asian language (Pulleyblank 1962:250ff). This etymology is supported by the fact that this is not the ordinary Chinese word for 'milk'; early glosses define it as 'milk (of cows and mares)'. The Chinese themselves did not drink such milk, so it would not be surprising if this word were borrowed from nomadic peoples.
[ZJH]

(17) PKir *pil MILK (v.) / SQUEEZE / PRESS OUT

This etymon has so far been identified only in Himalayish.

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**pel** tsi	milk	Sharma 1991a:5.4.3

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**phi:nt-**	milk (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**bitt-**	milk (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:10
	ʔom **pi** yang ma	milk	Rai *et al.* 1984:5
Chamling	om **pAy** ma	milk	Winter 1985:27
	om **pi** yang ma	milk	Winter 1985:27
Kulung	**bill**-u	milk (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	**pal**-ne	milk a cow (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.41

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**pi:**-nyā	milk a cow (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.41

(18) PTani *bruŋ SUCK

This root is set up for "Proto-Tani" (part of the traditional "Mirish" or "Abor-Miri-Dafla" group) by Jackson T. Sun (1993). The possible Kanauri cognate suggests that it might actually be more widely distributed in TB.

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***bruŋ**	suck	Sun 1993a:406

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**bju**	suck	Sun 1993b
	brju	suck; suckle	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	²bryu: (²)	suck	Weidert 1987:651
Bengni	(dɯ)-**bjuŋ**	suck	Sun 1993b
	bjuŋ	suck	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**bjuŋ**	suck	Sun 1993a
	bjuŋ	suck (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.24
	bjuŋ tɕop	suck (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.24
	bjuŋ-čup	suck	Sun 1993b
Galo	**ˆbu:**-	suck	Weidert 1987:651
Miri, Hill	**bu**-nam	suck	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**bu**	suck	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	**pɹoŋ^{35}**	nurse / suckle (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:5.4.6
	n̥o^{55}**bɹɑ^{55}**	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.50

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	khe **rəṅ**	milk	Sharma 1988

(19) PTB *m-ʔum ⩙ *mum HOLD IN MOUTH / CHEW / EAT / KISS

This root frequently occurs in compounds in Northeast Indian languages before PTB ***m-pup ⩙ *pip** KISS / SUCK / SUCKLE (§1.9.4) (e.g. Milang **mum-pup**). In fact several of the forms treated under PTB ***m-pup ⩙ *pip** as having prefixal ***mV-** (e.g. Angami **me^{31}bo^{11}**) might be better analyzed as compounds with ***mum** as the first constituent.

STC reconstructs a root ***um** (#108), later changed to ***(m)-u·m** 'hold in the mouth/mouthful' on the basis of a group of zero/glottal stop-initialled forms like WT **(ʔ)um** and the prefixed Jingpho form **məūm**. These have been combined with a group of NE India forms meaning 'kiss' to form the present set.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
Sino-Tibetan	***ʔum**	hold in the mouth	Coblin 1986:95
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
Tibeto-Burman	***(m-)u:m**	put in mouth; hold in mouth; hold in mouth, mouthful	Benedict 1972:142n384; Chou Fa-kao 1972:614
	***m-ʔu:m**	hold in the mouth	Matisoff 2003a:583
	***um**	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:54
	***um**	hold in the mouth	Benedict 1972:108; Coblin 1986:95
	***ʔu:m**	mouthful	Matisoff 2003a:583
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**mó**-čù	kiss	Sun 1993b
	mo-ču (sú)	kiss	Sun 1993b
	mo-čʰuʔ (sú)	kiss	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**mu:**-pup	kiss	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**mum**-puk-nam	kiss (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻmuu nam	suck (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻmuu puk	kiss (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻmuu puk-dotak	kiss.and.cluck.mouth (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	**mo** pup-nam	kiss (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**mam**-puk	kiss	Sun 1993a [a]
Milang	**mum**-pup-ma	kiss	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**um**-bom	hold (as inside the mouth)	Benedict 1972:108
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**hmawm**	put and keep s.th. in the mouth (without biting nor swallowing) (v.)	VanBik 2009:875
1.2.2. Central Chin: ***hmoom** HOLD (in the mouth)			
Central Chin	***hmoom**	HOLD (in the mouth)	VanBik 2009:875
Lai (Hakha)	**hmoom**	hold in the mouth	VanBik 1995–
	hmôom-I, hmŏom-II	hold something in mouth (e.g. sweets, tobacco)	VanBik 2009:875
Lushai [Mizo]	**hmâwm**	put into the mouth (v.)	VanBik 2009:875
	hmuam	hold in the mouth; suck; chew	Lorrain 1940:164 [b]
	hmuam	chew (as tobacco); suck in the mouth; retain in th (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2412
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**m̥om**	hold in mouth (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.7.14
Sorbung	**mùam**	hold in mouth (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.091
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Yimchungrü	a **man** ji	kiss	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Mao	**momu**	kiss	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**mun** rui	kiss	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**mam**	kiss	Marrison 1967 [c]
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**um** bə	hold in mouth (v.)	Singh 1991:3.7.14
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**om**	chew, mouthful; mouthful	Benedict 1972:108; Coblin 1986:95
	òm-	chew (v.)	Grüssner 1979:35
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	mǎ[1] **um**[33]	hold in mouth	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	məum	hold, as water or smoke in the mouth	Benedict 1972:108
	mə **ʔūm**	hold in the mouth	Matisoff 1974:128
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**jum**	hold in mouth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.7
	jum[55]	hold in mouth, suck	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**um**	kiss	Michailovsky 1991:54
	um	kiss (n.)	Coblin 1986:95
	ʔum	kiss (n.)	Benedict 1972:108
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**ŭm**	receive into mouth without swallowing; hold in mouth	Benedict 1972:108; Benedict 1972:75n231
	ŭm	receive into the mouth without swallowing	Coblin 1986:356
2.3. Kiranti			
Kiranti	***um**-	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:54
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	**u:m** ma:	hold in mouth (v.)	Kohn 1990:3.7.14
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**um** t-	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:54
Chamling	**up**-s-yu	eat (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:54
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang (Eastern)	**ʔumh** naʔ	hold in mouth (v.)	Caughley 1990:3.7.14
4. Nungic			
Anong	**im**	mouthful	Benedict 1972:108; Coblin 1986:95
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**mam**[31]	chew	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	om[55]	hold in mouth	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**mam**[31]	chew	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1971
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**ʔm̩**[21]	hold in mouth (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.14
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Youle)	**mo**[42]	hold in mouth	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	**mɛ**[31]	hold in mouth	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.33
	mɛ̀	hold in mouth	Matisoff 1988a:1017
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɔ**[31]	hold in mouth	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	**ɔ**[31]	hold in mouth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**m(u)m̩**[55]	hold in mouth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**mu**[31]	hold in mouth	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:538.32
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	**ʔòm**	hold in mouth	Solnit 1989
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**ʔəmx**	hold in the mouth	Coblin 1986:95
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**ʔəm:**	hold in the mouth	Coblin 1986:95

[a] The first syllable of this form looks like PTB ***mam** BREAST (§1.9.4), but the gloss 'kiss' shows that it belongs in PTB ***m-ʔum** ≍ ***mum** HOLD IN MOUTH / CHEW / EAT / KISS (§1.9.4).

[b] The Lushai (Mizo) and Lai forms with voiceless nasals reflect a variant with the ***s-** prefix.

[c] Mzieme **mam** looks like PTB ***mam** BREAST (§1.9.4), but the gloss 'kiss' shows that it belongs here.

Chinese comparanda

A Chinese comparandum was recognized already in *STC* #181 as 唵 ***ʔəm**, Mand. **ǎn**. This form does not occur in *GSR* #614, but is to be found in Karlgren 1923 (*Analytic Dictionary*, set #238, p. 96). [JAM]

唵 **ǎn** 'hold in the mouth, put in the mouth'

GSR: not in *GSR* #614 Karlgren: ***·əm** Li: ***·əm** Baxter: ***ʔɨ/umʔ**

In Baxter's system the vowel cannot be determined from the Middle Chinese vocalism, and in this case there is also insufficient rhyming or phonetic-series evidence.

The correspondence between OC ***ə** (Li)/***ɨ/u** (Baxter) and PTB ***u** before labials is regular. See under PTB ***m-ts(y)(u/i)p** SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4) for examples. [ZJH]

(20) PTB *dum KISS / SUCK

This root is firmly established for the NE Indian Areal Group, with cognates in the Northern Naga and Barish subgroups. There are also convincing but so far isolated cognates in Himalayish (Chepang) and Loloish (Nesu).

1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	ku **dúmʔ**	kiss (v.)	Weidert 1987:35
Dimasa	khu **dum**	kiss	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**tum**	kiss	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**den**	suck	Marrison 1967
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**tumʔ**	kiss (v.)	Weidert 1987:35
	tumʔ-sa	kiss	Caughley 1972:10.B.1.51
	tumʔ.sā	kiss (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.51
Chepang (Eastern)	**tumʔ** naʔ	kiss	Caughley 1990:3.9.5
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nesu	**du**[21]	kiss (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.9.5

(21) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{p}\\\mathbf{b}\end{matrix}$ **i ROUNDED PART / NIPPLE / FOREHEAD / SHOULDER**

This root typically occurs as the last syllable in compounds for such bodyparts as CHEST / BREAST, SHOULDER, FIST, FOREHEAD, and BUTTOCK (cf. Lahu **ni-ma-qa-pɨ**, **làʔ-qá-pɨ**, **làʔ-chîʔ-pɨ**, **nā-qā-pɨ**, and **qhê-qhɔ-pɨ**, respectively).

Hayu **phi** and the Jinuo forms with aspirated initials may descend from a separate root, especially since these morphemes do not occur as the final member in compounds.

This etymon resembles, but seems distinct from, PTB ***pu** BALL / EGG / ROUND OBJECT (§1.9.1), which also refers to a variety of rounded body parts. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish these two roots in Lolo-Burmese, perhaps due to insufficient phonemicization in the sources.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	à-ñi ñi-**pe**	nipple	Sun 1993b
Galo	lʏ **bi**	shoulder	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	ɲun-**pi**	nipple	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	n̥i[55]khɑ[31]**bi**[35]	breast (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.22
	n̥i[55]khɑ[31]**bi**[35]	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.49
Idu	n̥o[55]**bi**[35]	breast	Sun Hongkai 1991f:5.4; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.50
Yidu	n̥o[55]**bi**[35]	breast (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0094.25
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Mao	ka **phe**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	khom-**pi**	nipple	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**pi**-**pi**	nipple / teat	Jäschke 1881:323
2.2. Newar			
Newar	duru **pi** **pi** ca	nipple	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.4.1 [a]
Newar (Kathmandu)	**pi**-**pi**	nipple	Malla 2007
	pi-**pi**-li	nipple (archaic)	Malla 2007
	pi-si	breast	Malla 2007
Newar (Dolakhali)	**pi** ci	breast, milk; (euph.) vagina	Genetti 1990b
2.3. Kiranti			
BSDTK	*kup **pi**	forehead	Michailovsky 1991:77
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	ʼkūp **phi**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	küp **phi**	forehead	Michailovsky 1991:77
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	ky **pi**	forehead	Michailovsky 1991:77
Sunwar	kup **phi**	forehead	Michailovsky 1991:77
	kūp **phi**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	kup **pi**	forehead	Michailovsky 1991:77; Allen 1975
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	vɛ[33] **bi**[55]	shoulder	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.18
Qiang (Taoping)	lɑ[31] χɑ[55] **pi**[33]	shoulder	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.9
Qiang (Yadu)	ji **pi**	shoulder	Dai Qingxia 1989q:117
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	ɕo[33] **pʏ**[35]	chest	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987 [b]
Nesu	n̥i[33] mo[21] **po**[33]	chest	Chen Kang 1986b:5.1
Yi (Mile)	ʌ[33]nɯ[33]**pi**[55]	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.25
Yi (Nanjian)	a[55]tʂl̄[33]**pi**[33]	breast	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:259.23
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	a[33]nɯ[33]**pi**[55]	breast	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4
	ɑ[33] nɯ[33] **pi**[55]	breast	Luo Meizhen 1990:5.4
Jinuo	**phi**[33]tha[55]	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.34

[a] Newar **duru** 'milk' is a loan from Skt. *dugdha-* (cf. IA ***du-t** MILK / BREAST (§1.9.4)); **ca** DIMINUTIVE.

[b] Gazhuo **ɕo**[33] and Shuikui **ɕiō**[33] are probably loans from Chinese 胸 (Mand. **xiōng**) 'chest'.

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**pʰi**^{31} tʰa^{55}	shoulder	DAI Qingxia 1989h:117
Jinuo (Youle)	**pʰi**^{42}tʰɑ^{55}	shoulder	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	la31 **phi33** pa55	shoulder	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	na55 ka31 **phv33**	forehead	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	*hpeh:/**pui:**	shoulder	Bradley 1979b:107
Lahu (Lancang)	nɑ^{11}qɑ^{21}**pɯ**^{33}	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.43
Lahu (Black)	làʔ-chîʔ-**pɨ**	fist	Matisoff 1987
	làʔ-qá-**pɨ**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	lʌ^{21}tshɿ^{54}**pə**^{33}	fist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:252.33
	nā-qā-**pɨ**	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	na^{31} qa^{31} **pɯ**^{33}	forehead	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ni-ma-**pɨ**(šī)	chest	Matisoff 1987
	ni-ma-qa-**pɨ**	chest	Matisoff 1987
	ni^{33} ma^{33} **pɯ**^{33}	chest (of body)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	niː ma **[puiː]**	breast; chest; heart	Luce 1985:U.9
	nʌ^{31}qʌ^{21}**pə**^{33}	forehead	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:233.33
	pɛ^{31}**pɯ**^{33}	chest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:257.33 [a]
	qhɛ̂-qhɔ-**pɨ**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
Lahu (Yellow)	na^{31} qa^{31} **pɯ**^{33}	forehead	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	n̥i^{33} **pɯ**^{33}	chest (of body)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	lá^{6}-**hprgh**^{4}	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	lá^{6}-**hprgh**^{4}	arm; shoulder	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922 [b]
Lisu	lá^{6}**hprgh**^{4}	shoulder; arm	Bradley 1979b:107; Bradley 1979b:108
Lisu (Northern)	læʔ^{21}**phɤ**^{33}	shoulder	Bradley 1994
	læʔ^{21}**phɤ**^{33} nɔ^{55}du^{33}	shoulder pad	Bradley 1994
	læʔ^{21}**phɤ**^{33}phi^{21}	shoulder blade	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	lɛ^{31} **pʰɯ**^{33}	shoulder	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	lɛ^{31}**pʰɯ**^{44}	shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:250.27
	lɛ̠^{31}**phɯ**^{33}	shoulder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.40
Sani [Nyi]	n̩^{44} mɑ^{33} **pɪ**^{44} be^{4}	heartbeat	MA Xueliang 1989:323.4
	n̩^{44}mɑ^{33}**pɪ**^{44}be^{44}	heartbeat	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.3.1
	tɕɪ̠^{44} **pu**^{21}	forehead	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:226.1
	tɕɪ^{44} **pʰv̩**^{11}	forehead	MA Xueliang 1989:306.5
	tɕɪ^{44}**phu**^{21}	forehead	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.2
Yi (Sani)	tɕɪ^{44}**phv̩**^{11}	forehead (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0077.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Shuikui)	ɕiõ^{33}**phv̩**^{31}	chest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:257.32
Sangkong	n̥i^{31} **phu**^{31}	forehead	LI Yongsui 1991
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Hlepho Phowa	n̩^{21}**pə**^{55}	forehead	Pelkey 2011:250
Phuza	n̥i^{55}**pə**^{33}	forehead	Pelkey 2011:250
6.2. NAXI			
Na (Yongning)	njuɹ**bi**˩	breast	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	n̥u^{31}**bi**^{33}	breast	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	n̥u^{31}**bi**^{33}	breast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:259.29

[a] This form is also cited in DL:852 as **pè-pɨ** 'crop of bird; (human) breast, chest'. It is co-allofamic with **pè-pì(-qu)** 'chicken's breast' (cf. also **pè-qu** 'goiter').

[b] The trigraph **-rgh** was described by Fraser as representing "the sound of involuntary retching", and seems to have represented the high central vowel **ɨ**.

(22) PTB * p/b rat BREAK / WEAN

Jingpho **pràt**, **šə pràt** 'bear, give birth' are probably to be assigned to this etymon, the semantic connection being the separation of the child from the mother.

See ***brat** ⪤ ***prat** 'cut apart, cut open', *HPTB*:330,334.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***brat** ⪤ **prat**	cut apart / cut open	Matisoff 2003a:585
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**pràt**	bear, give birth	Matisoff 1993
	šə **pràt**	bear, give birth	Matisoff 1993
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mawo)	**pʰɹæ**	wean	SUN Hongkai 1991g:5.4.7
3.3.1. rGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ka **pr̥ɛt**	wean	DAI Qingxia 1989d:5.4.7
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ka sə **pʰʃit**	wean	SUN Hongkai 1991j:5.4.7
rGyalrong (Northern)	no **prət**	wean	SUN Hongkai 1991k:5.4.7
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***(ʔ-)brat** ⪤ **C_{VD}-prat**	cut (open)	Matisoff 1985a:027
	*C-**prat**^{L} ⪤ ʔ-**brat**^{L}	cut apart / cut into	Matisoff 2003a:585
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	nui' **phrat**	wean	Matisoff 1993
	phjɑt^{4}	cut off / sever (transitive) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1341.26
	phrat	cut (with knife) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	phrat	cut something in two (causative); cut in two	Matisoff 1985a:027; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:169
	phrɑt^{4}	cut (paper, cloth)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1167.26
	pjɑt^{4}	cut off / sever (intransitive) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1341.26
	prat	cut in two (simplex); cut in two (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:027; Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**pèʔ**	split, crack, get cracked	Matisoff 1988a:1072
	phèʔ	cut open; perform a surgical operation	Matisoff 1985a:027 [a]
	phʌ^{54}	cut open (fish)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:636.33

[a] The Lahu expression **cú phâʔ** means 'to wean', but the second syllable descends from PLB ***pak** 'take apart; dismantle; separate from' (*LTSR* #64), not from ***prat**. (The regular Lahu reflex of ***-at** is **-eʔ**.)

Chinese comparanda

別 OC ***pi̯ɑt**, *GSR* #292a 'divide, separate'; Li 1971: ***pjiat**; Baxter 1992: ***prjat**; Mand. **bié**.

There is a related Chinese word with voiced initial, *GSR* ***b'i̯ɑt** (*ibid.*), also written 別, meaning 'to be different'. This voicing alternation is a common Old Chinese morphological process seen in transitive/intransitive verb pairs. Although the TB etymon also has a voicing alternation, this is likely to be an independent phenomenon.

The Chinese and PTB forms correspond perfectly. This cognate set has been proposed by Gong (1995 #209). Gong 2001 reconstructs the intransitive Chinese verb as ***N-brjat** > ***brjat** and the transitive counterpart as ***s-brjat** > ***s-prjat** > ***prjat**.

列 OC ***li̯ɑt**, *GSR* #291a 'divide, distribute, arrange, rank'; Li 1971: ***ljat**; Baxter 1992: ***C-rjat**; Mand. **liè**.

裂 OC ***li̯ɑt**, *GSR* #291f 'tear asunder, divide'; Li 1971: ***ljat**; Baxter 1992: ***C-rjat**; Mand. **liè**.

These two homophonous Chinese words are clearly related. Gong (2001) relates 裂 **liè** to the two words written with 別 **bié**, while Schuessler (2007:167) says that 別 **bié** is probably cognate to 列 **liè**.[*] Gong reconstructs 裂 **liè** as ***brjat** > ***rjat**, treating it as the root from which the two words written with 別 **bié** are derived.

On Baxter's ***C-r-**, see the discussion under PTB ***(r/l)um** EGG (§1.9.1). The relationship to 別 **bié** suggests that in Baxter's reconstruction the consonant represented by ***C** would most likely be reconstructed as ***b**.

[ZJH]

[*] Schuessler gives the Baxter system reconstruction of 別 as ***prjet**. While this is a possible reconstruction, ***prjat** is more likely given the word-family connections.

(23) PKC *θoop KISS / SUCK

This root is perhaps to be assigned to PTB ***s-rup** SNUFF UP / SIP / SUCK (§6.6).

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***θoop**	KISS / SUCK	VanBik 2009:621
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Kuki-Chin	**chawp**	kiss (v.)	Haokip 1998:3.9.5
	chep	suck (v.)	Haokip 1998:5.4.5
Siyin	**tuop**	suck, kiss	Benedict 1972:69; Coblin 1986:144
Thado	**cóp**	kiss	Thirumalai 1972:57
	cɔ́p	kiss	Thirumalai 1972:57
	cɛ̀p	suck	Thirumalai 1972:57
	tsôop-I, tsòop-II	suck, kiss	VanBik 2009:621
	tsop	suck, kiss	Benedict 1972:69; Coblin 1986:144
Tiddim	**toːp**^{1}	kiss	VanBik 2009:621
	toːp^{1}	kiss (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1800
	toːp^{1}	kiss	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**pcaaw**	kiss	VanBik 2009:621
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**doop**	suck	VanBik 1995–
Lai (Falam)	**fôop**-INV	kiss, suck	VanBik 2009:621
Lushai [Mizo]	**fâwp**	kiss	Marrison 1967
	fawp	kiss; suck (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2320
	fâwp-I, fàwh-II	kiss, to give a kiss, to suck, to pull at or suck at (as a pipe) (v.)	VanBik 2009:621
	foːp	suck, kiss	Benedict 1972:69; Coblin 1986:144
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	mə **čop**	suck	Toba & Kom 1991:5.4.5
	mə **ǰop**	kiss	Toba & Kom 1991:3.9.5
Moyon	**cu cuʔ** mówr	nipple	Kosha 1990:5.4.1
	n **jup**	suck	Kosha 1990:5.4.5
	n **jup** ~ n **júp**	kiss	Kosha 1990:3.9.5
Sorbung	mə-**júp**	suck (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.145
	mə-**júup**	kiss (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.107

(24) PKar *sh ú/ɔ)ʔ SUCKLE / NURSE

This etymon may well be subsumable under PTB ***tsyuk** ⪤ ***dzyuk** SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4).

7. KARENIC			
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***shuʔ**	suckle / nurse (v.)	Jones 1961:562
**Karen (Pwo)*	***shɔ́ʔ**	suckle / nurse (v.)	Jones 1961:562
Bwe	á-**džù**	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:963
Pa-O	**cóʔ**	suckle / nurse (v.)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:562
Palaychi	**có**	suckle / nurse (v.)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:562
Pwo (Bassein)	**shɔ̀ʔ**	suckle / nurse (v.)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:562
Pwo (Moulmein)	**shàuʔ**	suckle / nurse (v.)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:562
Sgaw	^{4}**shuʔ**	suck (v.)	Weidert 1987:963
Sgaw (Bassein)	**shuʔ**	suckle / nurse (v.)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:562
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**shuʔ**	suckle / nurse (v.)	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:562

1.9.5 Vagina

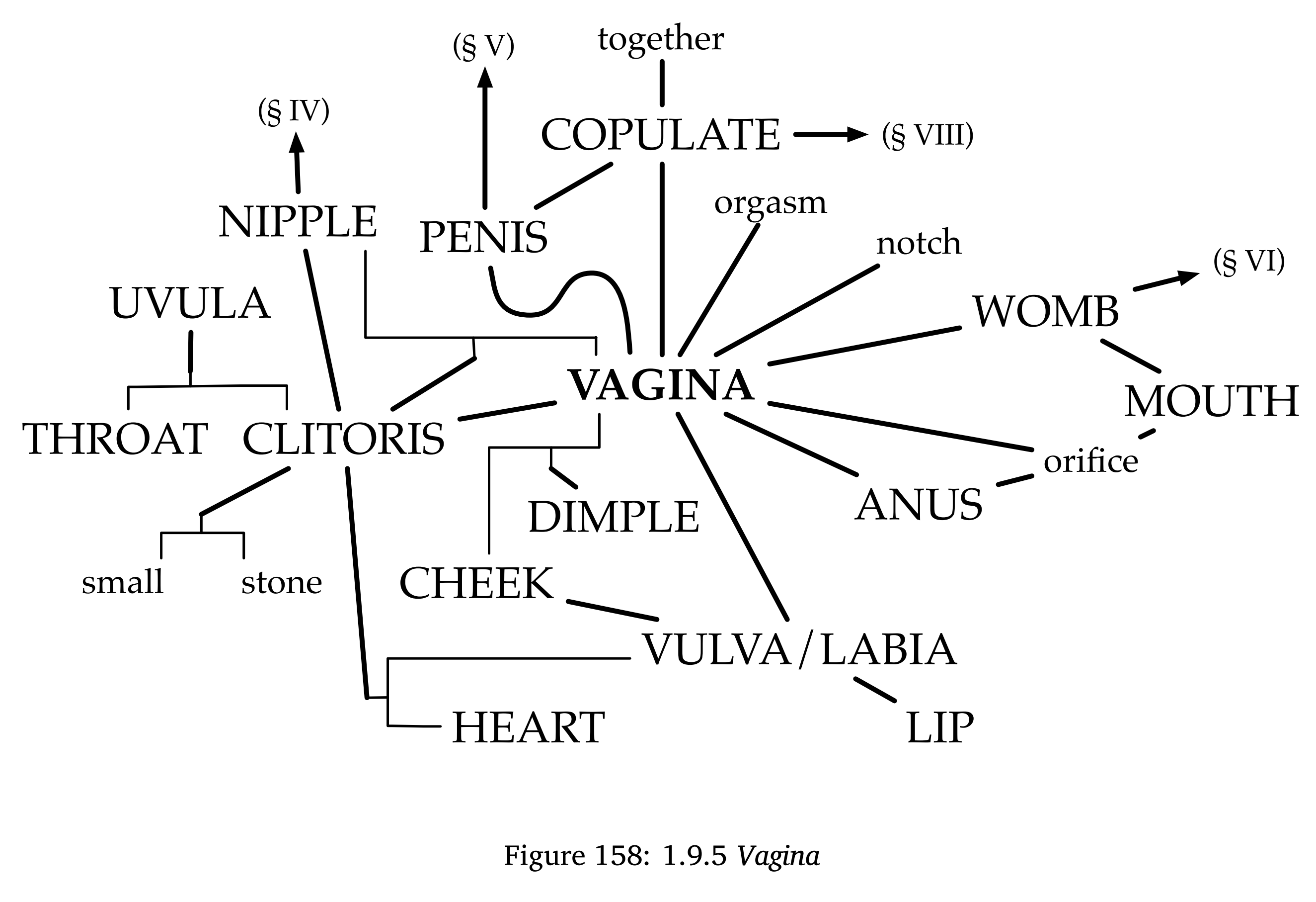


Figure 158: 1.9.5 *Vagina*

ETYMA for VAGINA and PENIS show frequent interchange and/or phonological similarity, by a phenomenon felicitously dubbed "genital flipflop" by Benedict.[*] The roots where this interchange is most evident include: PTB ***s-tu** VAGINA / VULVA (§1.9.5) : PTB ***k-tu-k** PENIS (§1.9.7); PTB ***li-n** VAGINA (§1.9.5) : PTB ***m-ley** ⪤ ***m-li** PENIS (§1.9.7); PTB ***s/m-ti** CLITORIS / VAGINA (§1.9.5) : PTB ***ti-k** PENIS (§1.9.7); NEIA ***mo** VAGINA (§1.9.5) : PTB ***maːk** PENIS / MALE / SON-IN-LAW. This relationship is indicated by a *yin-yang* curve in the semantic diagram.

ROOTS for VAGINA also show interchange with etyma for MOUTH. See especially PTB ***dzyuk** ⪤ ***tsyuk** VULVA (§1.9.5); PTB ***si(ŋ/k)** MOUTH / LIP (§1.9.5); and PTB ***tsyin** VAGINA / CLITORIS / MOUTH / LIP (§1.9.5).

There is also an association between VAGINA and ANUS (see, e.g. PTB ***huŋ** HOLE (§1.9.5) and PTB ***kwar** HOLE / ORIFICE / INNARDS (§3.2.7)).

AN association between CLITORIS and UVULA is shown by Mizo **daŋ-mɔn** 'uvula', literally "palate-clitoris". See *VSTB*, p. 67.

WE are not including roots for FEMALE/WOMAN in this chapter, since they seem quite independent of etyma for the "female organs". (Apparent exceptions are a few forms from rGyalrong, e.g. NW rGyalrong **tə stə** 'female' < PTB ***s-tu** VAGINA / VULVA (§1.9.5); but these may be misglossed.) On the other hand, words for MALE do frequently interchange with words for the male genitals; some of these etyma are accordingly discussed in Chapter 1.9.7 below.

(1) PTB *s-tu VAGINA / VULVA

This is by far the best-attested root for VAGINA in TB, with reflexes in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese, Karenic, and Qiangic. While most of the supporting forms point to a prefixal ***s-** plus ***t-** root-initial, a few reflexes seem to have undergone metathesis, e.g. Hayu **pep-tshu**, Lakher (Mara) ^{3}**tshu**, etc.

[*] Benedict 1979, "A note on Karen genital flipflop" (*LTBA* 5.1:21-24); 1981 "A further (unexpurgated) note on Karen genital flipflop" (*LTBA* 6.1:103); 1991 "Genital flipflop: a Chinese note" (*LTBA* 14.1:143-6).

Some of the reflexes are transcribed with high front vowel **-i** instead of **-u**, but this fronting seems to be secondary. Compare, e.g. the Abor-Miri, Apatani, and Galo forms; or the Chepang, Dumi, and Bantawa reflexes, etc.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-tu**	vagina / vulva	Matisoff 2003a:615

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	a^{31} **tɯi^{55}**	vagina	Matisoff 1993

1.1.1. Tani: ***tɯ** VULVA / VAGINA

**Tani*	***tɯ**	vulva / vagina	Sun 1993a:450

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**tú**	vagina	Sun 1993b
	^{2}a^{2}**tu**	vagina	Weidert 1987:526
Bengni	**tiː**	vulva / vagina	Sun 1993a
Galo	ɨt **tə**	vagina (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆɯt-**tɤ**	vagina	Weidert 1987:526

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ít-**tí**	vulva	Matisoff 1987
	tí-muit	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	ɯt-**tɯ**	vulva / vagina	Sun 1993a
Damu	**tɯ**-miː	pubic hair (female)	Sun 1993b
	ʔɯt-**tɯ**	vulva	Sun 1993b

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tshuu** VULVA / VAGINA

**Chin*	***tshuu**	VULVA / VAGINA	VanBik 2009:609

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**su**	vagina	Haokip 1998:10.4.1
	su mul	female pubic hair	Haokip 1998:10.4.5
Sizang	**sū**	vagina	VanBik 2009:609
Thado	**sûu**	vagina	VanBik 2009:609
Tiddim	**sú**	vagina	Weidert 1987:526
	su^{1}	vulva	VanBik 2009:609

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**su**	vulva	VanBik 2009:609
Khumi	**thuu**	vulva, vagina	VanBik 2009:609

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	bêel-**tshùu**	dimple (lit. "cheek vagina")	VanBik 1995–
Lai (Falam)	**sûu**	vulva, vagina	VanBik 2009:609
Lai (Hakha)	**tshùu**	vagina	VanBik 2009:609
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhu**	vulva	Matisoff 1987
	chhû	vulva, private parts (of a female)	VanBik 2009:609
	tshû	vagina	Weidert 1987:526
	tśhu	vulva / notch (v.)	Benedict 1972:53n178 [a]

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**chhú**	vulva	VanBik 2009:609
	chhu-khao	vulva	Matisoff 1987
	^{3}**tshu**	vagina	Weidert 1987:62

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**su**	vagina	Toba & Kom 1991:10.4.1
	su-də	hymen	Toba & Kom 1991:10.4.3
	su-mih	female pubic hair	Toba & Kom 1991:10.4.5
	su-mət^{h}er	clitoris	Toba & Kom 1991:10.4.4
	su-ner	vulva / labia	Toba & Kom 1991:10.4.2
Moyon	**sòw**	vagina	Kosha 1990:10.4.1
	sòw khùr ~ **sowr** khùr	vulva / labia	Kosha 1990:10.4.2
	sòw mòwr ~ **sow** mòwr	female pubic hair	Kosha 1990:10.4.5

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	^{1}o^{2}**šɯ(ʔ)**	vagina	Weidert 1987:526
Yimchungrii	(^{1})**tšuʔ**	vagina	Weidert 1987:526

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**thù**	vagina	Weidert 1987:62; Matisoff 1987
	thu ban	vulva / labia	Singh 1991:10.4.2
	thu məkhun	vagina	Singh 1991:10.4.1

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Meche	ki **ʈuʔ**	vagina	Weidert 1987:62

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	^{1}**thu**	vagina	Weidert 1987:526

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Khiamngan	^{12}**taʊʔ**	vagina	Weidert 1987:62
Phom	**ʃɯʔ**^{33}	vagina	Matisoff 1993

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	pha **šu**	vagina	Sharma 1991a:10.4.1
Kanauri	s̲h̲ik **ts**	vagina	Matisoff 1987 [b]
Pattani [Manchati]	pha **ʂu**	vagina	Sharma 1991b:10.4.1
	p^{h}ə **ʂu**	vagina	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**thu**	vagina (f.)	Egli-Roduner 1987:34 5

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Spiti	**tu**˜ kup	vagina	Bodh 1991:10.4.1
Tibetan (Written)	**stu**	vagina; orifice of vagina (vulg.)	Michailovsky 1991:195; Matisoff 1987

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**tŭ**	pudenda muliebria	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**dɯ**^{1}	vulva	Nagano 1984:042-09
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}tsjum **ʈu**	vagina, vulva (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:10.4.4
Tamang (Sahu)	^{2}cjum-**ʈ̰u**	vagina	Matisoff 1987
Thakali (Tukche)	**tu**-cham	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	tu-c^{h}ɔm	hair (pubic, female)	Hari 1971:2.A.10.2

2.1.5. Dhimal

Dhimal	**cu cu**	vagina	King 1994

2.3. Kiranti: ***tu** VAGINA

**Kiranti*	***tu**	vagina	Michailovsky 1991:195

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**tsu** tsup ma	<penis,vagina> child's sex organ	Driem 1988

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**dhi**	vagina	Michailovsky 1991:195
	dhï	vagina	Michailovsky 1991:195; Matisoff 1987
	DhU	vagina	Rai 1985
	dhü	vagina	Rai *et al.* 1984:27
	phu ci **dhü**	vagina	Rai *et al.* 1984:60
	ɖhï	vagina	Michailovsky 1991:195

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	ka: **diʔ**	vagina	Michailovsky 1991:195; Driem 1993 [a]

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	teor **ciu**	vagina	Allen 1975
	thiu	vagina	Michailovsky 1991:195
	thiu	vagina (?.)	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**tuʔ**	vagina	Weidert 1987:62
Chepang (Eastern)	**tuʔ**	genitalia / pudenda (female)	Caughley 1990:10.1
	tuʔ bleŋ	vulva / labia	Caughley 1990:10.4.2
	tuʔ ghaŋ	vagina	Caughley 1990:10.4.1
	tuʔ menʔ	female pubic hair	Caughley 1990:10.4.5

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**tẹ**^{1}	vulva	Sofronov c1978

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**stə**	genitals (female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0118.12
Ergong (Northern)	**stə**^{53}	vagina	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4
	stə^{53} k^{h}ɐ^{13}	vulva / labia	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.2
	stə^{53} no^{13}	vagina	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.1
	stə^{53} qrə^{53}	hymen	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.3
	stə^{53} si^{53}	menstrual blood	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.7
	stə^{53} si^{53} nə^{53} t^{h}ie^{13}	menstruate (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.6
	stə^{53} sqrə^{53}	clitoris	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.4

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	tə **ʦtu**	genitalia; pudenda; vagina	Dai Qingxia 1989d:10.1; Dai Qingxia 1989d:10.4.1
	tə **ʦtu** ʨi	menstrual blood	Dai Qingxia 1989d:10.4.7
	tə **ʦtu** ʨi kə ʨut	menstruate (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:10.4.6
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **stə**	female; female organ	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.4
	tə **stə** ku	vagina	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.4.1
	tə **stə** mtʨ^{h}i	vulva / labia	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.4.2
	tə **stə** rme	female pubic hair	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.4.5
	tə **stə** tʨ^{h}im	hymen	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.4.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **ʃtu**	female; female organ	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ʃtu**	female; female organ	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.4
	tə **ʃtu** k^{h}uɳ du	vagina	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.4.1
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə **ʃtu** mor	female pubic hair	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.4.5
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **ʃtu** rme	female pubic hair	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.4.5
	tə **ʃtu** ʐ̊q^{h}u	vulva / labia	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.4.2

6.1.1. Burmish

Hpun (Northern)	**tsù** má?	vulva	Henderson 1986

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	**tʂ**^{55} bi^{31}	vagina	Dai Qingxia 1989n:10.4.1
	tʂ^{55} mɯ^{33}	female pubic hair	Dai Qingxia 1989n:10.4.5

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**tù**	vagina	Björverud 1994
	tu̱^{21}	vagina	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.1
	tu̱^{21} tʨ^{h}y^{55}	female pubic hair	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.5
Lipho	**tu**^{55}bi^{21}	vagina	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.1
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**tɯ**^{55}	vagina	Dai Qingxia 1989o:143.

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**to**^{55} bi̱^{21}	genitalia / pudenda (general)	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.1
	to^{55} bi̱^{21} ne̱^{33} ba^{55}	vagina	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.4.1
	to^{55} bi̱^{21} ni^{21}	vulva / labia	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.4.2 [b]
	to^{55} bi̱^{21} tʂ'ɛ^{22}	copulate (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.2
	to^{55} lo^{22} zo^{21}	clitoris	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.4.4
	to^{55} nɯ̱^{33}	female pubic hair	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.4.5
	to^{55} tɕi^{22} zo^{21}	hymen	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.4.3
	to^{55}bi̱^{21}	vagina	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.1
	to^{55}bi̱^{21}nɯ̱^{33}	female pubic hair	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.5
Lisu	**tu**^{1}-bi^{6}	vagina; vulva	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:5
Lisu (Central)	**tu**^{1}-bi^{6}	vagina	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tu**^{1}bi^{6}	vulva	Bradley 1979b:123
Lisu (Northern)	**tɔ**^{55}bi^{21}	pudenda (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tɔ^{55}khu^{33}	vagina; orifice (N.)	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Bisu	**tɔ** hɔ́ŋ	vagina	Beaudouin 1988:16
	tɔ pɛ́	vulva	Beaudouin 1988:16
	tɔ tshìŋ	clitoris	Beaudouin 1988:13
Mpi	**to**^{2}phe^{2}	vagina	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	pə̀ **tò**	vulva	Matisoff 1987

7. Karenic

Palaychi	**zu**	vagina	Matisoff 1987
	zù	vagina	Jones 1961:17

[a] For the front vowel in Dumi **diʔ**, cf. the variously transcribed Bantawa forms, probably actually with [ɨ].
[b] Ahi **ni^{21}** is the same as the first syllable of Ahi **ni^{21} tɕi^{22}** 'lip'.

Chinese comparandum

Comment: Cf. comparanda for PTB ***tuk ≍ *(t/d)wa(k/ŋ)** MEET (§6.13), in particular the etyma 屬 **zhǔ** and 屬 **shǔ**.

(2) PTB *dzyuk ≍ *tsyuk VULVA / VAGINA / MOUTH / LIP

(2a) PTB *dzyuk ≍ *tsyuk VULVA

This etymon ranges semantically between VAGINA/VULVA and MOUTH/LIP. Reflexes with the latter meanings are assembled separately below as PTB ***tsyuk** MOUTH / LIP (§1.9.5). Another root with similar semantic range is PTB ***si(ŋ/k)** VAGINA (§1.9.5) [q.v.].

This etymon is well-attested in Burmish, with good-looking but scattered cognates in Loloish, the NE Indian Areal Group, and Himalayish. It seems best to reconstruct this root with a palatal (rather than dental) affricate, as demonstrated in Matisoff 1969 (cf. the discussion in *STC*, n. 178 (p. 53)). Some reflexes of this etymon are cited in Bauer's far-ranging article (Bauer, R. 1991. "Sino-Tibetan *vulva", *LTBA* 14.1:147-172).

See TBRS #77, #77a, #77b.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzyuk**	vulva / vagina	Matisoff 2003a:589

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**su·k**	vulva	Benedict 1972:53n178

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**tsŭk** s̲h̲i	copulate	Matisoff 1987

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***dźuk**	vulva	Benedict 1972:53n178

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Xiandao)	**cuʔ**^{55}	vagina	Dai Qingxia 1989f:143
Bola	**tʃauʔ**^{31}	vagina	Dai Qingxia 1989g:143
Burmese (Written)	**cok**	vagina; female private parts (vulg.)	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a
	cok-ce'	vagina	Matisoff 1987
	cok-khôŋ	female urethra	Matisoff 1987

[a] *STC* tentatively assigns Lushai (Mizo) **tśhu** to ***tsyuk** (below, PTB ***dzyuk ≍ *tsyuk** VULVA (§1.9.5)), though I prefer the present analysis.
[b] Notice the reduction of the vowel to zero in Kanauri **ts**.

	cok-khyê	vagina	Matisoff 1987
	cok-pat	vagina	Matisoff 1987
	cok-phut	vagina	Matisoff 1987
	tsauk	vulva	Benedict 1972:53n178
Hpun (Northern)	**só?**	vagina	Henderson 1986
	zʊ̀?-mà	vagina / vulva	Henderson 1986
Lashi	**tʃu?**^{31}	genitalia / pudenda	Dai Qingxia 1989m:10.1
Maru [Langsu]	**dźok**	vulva	Benedict 1972:53n178
	tʃauk^{31}	genitalia / pudenda	Dai Qingxia 1989l:10.1
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**dźu?**	vulva	Benedict 1972:53n178

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nasu	**tʂo̲**^{21} pi̲^{21}	vagina	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4.1

(2b) PTB *tsyuk MOUTH / LIP

This is undoubtedly the same etymon as PTB ***dzyuk** ⩙ ***tsyuk** VULVA (§1.9.5), with obvious semantic connections. Reflexes with meanings like MOUTH or LIP have so far been found in the NE Indian Areal Group (including Barish [Atong] and the outlying Sulung language), Himalayish (including Bodic [Tshona] and Kiranti), and Burmese (which has homophonous forms with both the VAGINA and MOUTH meanings).

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	**ɕək**^{33}	mouth	Sun Hongkai 1993; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.52

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	ku-**cuk**	mouth	Matisoff 1987

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	**tɕ^{h}uŋ**^{55} min^{55}	lip	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***cok** siŋ	lip	Michailovsky 1991:108 [a]

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	kəm **tsok** si	lips (human); mouth (buccal cavity) and lips; beak, bill,	Driem 1993; Driem 1993
	tsok si	lip	Michailovsky 1991:108; Driem 1993

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	ʔa-**cok**	bottom of mouth	Matisoff 1987

[a] Kiranti **cok siŋ** demonstrates the independence of PTB ***tsyuk** MOUTH / LIP (§1.9.5) from PTB ***si(ŋ/k)** MOUTH / LIP (§1.9.5).

(3) PTB *si ŋ/k VAGINA

This etymon is also best attested in Himalayish, with some support from the NE Indian Areal Group, and perhaps from Qiangic.

For the moment it seems best to keep this set of forms distinct from PTB ***si(ŋ/k)** MOUTH / LIP (§1.9.5). In spite of the plausible phonosemantic association between these etyma, the reflexes are different in languages like Garo (Bangladesh), Kokborok, Bahing, Bantawa, and Chepang [qq.v.].

Evidence for a final velar consonant comes from Barish (especially Lalung), Hayu, and Kanauri.

Complicating the picture is the fact that in some languages the putative cognate is an open syllable that occurs as the second element of compounds with PTB ***pu** VAGINA (§1.9.5) or PTB ***b(y)at** VAGINA (§1.9.5). In such forms, it is possible that the second syllable may actually represent PTB ***sey** FRUIT / ROSE / ROUND OBJECT (§1.2.6). (Cf. e.g. Bantawa **si** 'bear fruit', Newar **maa-si** 'vagina; breast; milk', **si** 'morpheme in fruit names', Lahu **cha-ši** 'vagina'.)

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Kokborok	**ši**-paʔ	vagina	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	**she?**	vagina	Balawan 1965:63

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	**si**	vagina	Burling 1992
	si'-	vagina	Burling 1992
	si'-i	vagina	Burling 1992

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**sh̲ik** ts	vagina	Matisoff 1987 [a]

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	ti **si**	clitoris	Noonan *et al.* 1992:10.4.4
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}pit **si**	vagina (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:10.4.1
Tamang (Sahu)	^{1}pi-**ci**	vagina	Matisoff 1987

2.2. Newar

Newar (Dolakhali)	pi **ci**	breast, milk; (euph.) vagina	Genetti 1990b

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yakha	**si:**	vagina	Kohn 1990:10.4.1

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	phu **ci**	vagina; vulva; vagina (baby talk)	Rai 1985; Rai *et al.* 1984:60
	phu **ci** dhü	vagina	Rai *et al.* 1984:60

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	pi-**si**	vagina	Matisoff 1987
Hayu	pu-**tsing**	vagina	Matisoff 1987 [b]

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	ti **si:**	clitoris	Watters & Watters 1989

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Yadu)	p^{h}o **ʂ**	vagina	Dai Qingxia 1989q:146 [c]

[a] Notice the reduction of the vowel to zero in Kanauri **ts**.

[b] Note the variation between final velar nasal and zero-final in the Hayu forms. See also the similar Hayu reflexes of PTB ***si(ŋ/k)** MOUTH / LIP (§1.9.5).

[c] Qiang **ʂ** looks like the fused initial consonant of the second syllable of an original compound, descended from PTB ***si(ŋ/k)** VAGINA (§1.9.5). Fusion of compounds into monosyllables is a striking characteristic of the Qiangic languages (e.g. Benedict 1983, "Qiang monosyllabization: a third phase in the cycle", *LTBA* 7.2:113-4).

(4) PTB *si ŋ/k MOUTH / LIP

This etymon is best attested in Himalayish, with some support also from the NE Indian Areal Group and Asakian, and perhaps Qiangic and/or WB. The reflexes have either simple sibilant or affricate initials. I presume the proto-initial to have been ***s-**, in view of the natural tendency to develop secondary affrication before **-i-**.

It is very possible that this etymon belongs together with PTB ***si(ŋ/k)** VAGINA (§1.9.5), in a single word-family, in view of the similar semantic range of PTB ***dzyuk** ⩙ ***tsyuk** VULVA / VAGINA / MOUTH / LIP (§1.9.5).

A particularly interesting form is Newar **mhu tu si**, where **mhu tu** means 'mouth', and **si** means 'corner (of the mouth)'. The basic meaning of **si** is 'border, margin, bank', as in **khu-si** 'riverbank', **mi-kha-pu-si** 'eyebrow' (K. P. Malla, p.c.). Thus Newar **si** has nothing to do with the present etymon.

This etymon seems quite distinct from TGTM ***suŋ** MOUTH (§1.3.1), which so far has been attested only in Himalayish.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	caŋ-**ci**	mouth	Tayeng 1976
	caŋ-**ci**-ci-ma	spit	Tayeng 1976
	cip-pa	beak / bill	Tayeng 1976 [a]

[a] Note assimilation of the medial consonants.

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Rengma	meng **si**	lip	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a ki **chi**	mouth	Marrison 1967; Achumi 1998a:3.7

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ci**	lip	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Kokborok	k^{h}oʔ-**či**	lip	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	ku-**sik**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	ku'-**sik**	mouth; language; opening of a pot, etc.	Burling 1992
	ku**•-sik**	mouth (n.)	Burling 2003:6.22-II:idx

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	áng-**sí**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	ang-**sy**	mouth	Matisoff 1987
Sak (Bawtala)	ɑŋ^{3}**sɤ**^{3}	mouth	Luce 1985:K.54

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	lep **chi**	lip	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 14

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	sɯŋ^{2} man^{2} **ji**^{2}	lip	Nagano 1984:011
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}mə̃ **ci**	lip	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0010

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	*cok **siŋ**	lip	Michailovsky 1991:108
	***siŋ** (?*ciŋ)	lip	Michailovsky 1991:107

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**si** daŋ ba	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:121
	wɔ **se**	lip	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	do **si** ja	lip	Matisoff 1987
	Do **si** wa	lip	Rai 1985

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	kəm tsok **si**	lips (human); mouth (buccal cavity) and lips; beak, bill,	Driem 1993; Driem 1993
	tsok **si**	lip	Michailovsky 1991:108; Driem 1993

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**sœ**	mouth	Michailovsky 1991:121
Hayu	kum **tshiŋ**	lip	Matisoff 1987
	kum **tsiŋ**	lip	Michailovsky 1991:107; Michailovsky 1991:122
Thulung	**si**	mouth; mouth, beak, edge of basket, entry of bridge	Michailovsky 1991:121; Allen 1975
	si kok te	lip	Allen 1975
	sī ko kaʔ te	lip	Matisoff 1987
	si seom	moustache (AS.)	Allen 1975
	si syom a	moustache	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang (Eastern)	**səyk**	beak / bill	Caughley 1990:3.9.3

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**sɻ**^{55} mpha^{55} ndzo^{55} pi^{55}	lip	Sun Hongkai 1991d [a]
	sɻ^{55} npha^{55}	mouth	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:242.18
	sɻ^{55}npha^{55}ndzo^{55}pi^{55}	lip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:243.18
Namuyi	mp^{h} **sɻ**^{5} ^{5}ɦə^{ɪ33} qu^{55}	lip	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.9

6.1.1. Burmish

Langsu (Luxi)	**tʃɛʔ**^{55}	narrow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.31

[a] Ersu **sɻ**^{55} **mpha**^{55} 'mouth'; **ndzo**^{55} **pi**^{55} 'skin'.

(5) PTB *tsyin VAGINA / CLITORIS / MOUTH / LIP

This etymon, with final dental nasal, seems so far to be relatively rare; yet its occurrence in widely separated languages like Jingpho, Meithei, and Chepang require us to set it up for PTB. Like PTB ***dzyuk** ⩙ ***tsyuk** VULVA / VAGINA / MOUTH / LIP (§1.9.5), PTB ***si(ŋ/k)** MOUTH / LIP (§1.9.5), PTB ***si(ŋ/k)** VAGINA (§1.9.5), the semantic range of the present etymon includes both VAGINA and MOUTH/LIP; but all of these etyma, despite their phonosemantic similarity, may well be independent.

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**chim** ban	lip	Marrison 1967 [a]
	chin	mouth	Marrison 1967
	chin bân	lip	Matisoff 1987
	cin	mouth	Singh 1991:3.7
	cin ban	lip	Singh 1991:3.9
	məkhathəŋbə **cin** ban	lower lip	Singh 1991:3.9.2
	məthəkthəŋbə **cin** ban	upper lip	Singh 1991:3.9.1
	mə **cin**	beak / bill	Singh 1991:3.9.3

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**jìn**	vagina	Matisoff 1987
	jìn-bāw	nymphae clitoris	Matisoff 1987
	jìn-dì	vagina	Matisoff 1987
	jìn-hkū	vaginal canal	Matisoff 1987
	jìn-hkyí	mucus of vagina	Matisoff 1987
	jìn-kāu	orifice of vagina	Matisoff 1987
	jìn-mūn	female pubic hair	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	jìn-sìn	nymphae clitoris	Matisoff 1987 [b]
	jìn-tī	labia pudenda	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang (Eastern)	**cin**	clitoris	Caughley 1990:10.4.4

[a] Note the optional assimilation of the medial consonants.

[b] Literally "heart of vulva".

(6) PTB *b(y)at VAGINA

This root is quite widely distributed in TB, appearing in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese (including Jinuo), and Bai. It was reconstructed as PLB ***b(y)et** in Matisoff 1972b #5 (*The Loloish Tonal Split Revisited*) and *HPTB* p. 375, but that has been revised here to ***b(y)at** to accommodate those reflexes that have **-a-** vocalism (e.g. WB, Kokborok, Bunan). Bradley's (1979) PLB reconstruction without medial glide, ***bat**, does not account for certain Loloish reflexes with front vowels (e.g. Lahu **cha-pè?**, since the regular Lahu reflex of ***-at** is **-e?**). Bauer 1991 (*LTBA* 14.1) treats this etymon as part of a binome ***dzu(k)-byet** (see PTB ***dzyuk** ⩙ ***tsyuk** VULVA (§1.9.5) for the first element), and adduces parallels in Hmong-Mien languages and Chinese. Benedict (1990) hypothesizes a "Proto-Austro-Kadai" binome ***tu-pi** (for the first element see PTB ***s-tu** VAGINA / VULVA (§1.9.5)). These freewheeling proposals remain to be evaluated by future generations. There does not seem to be any connection between this etymon and PTB ***pu** VAGINA (§1.9.5), which is confined mostly to Himalayish, and whose reflexes have back vowels.

The Bai forms listed below may well be loans from Chinese.

K. P. Malla suggests that the first syllable of Newar (Dolakhali) **pi-ci** 'vagina' really means 'breast' (see Kathmandu Newar **pi-si** 'breast' under PTB ***(p/b)i** ROUNDED PART / NIPPLE / FOREHEAD / SHOULDER (§1.9.4) above), but can be used euphemistically to mean 'vagina'. In the other Himalayish forms cited here, however, this morpheme does definitely seem to mean 'vagina'.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
Tibeto-Burman	*__b(y)et__	vulva / vagina	Matisoff 2003a:586
1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	kɯ^{31}__biɑt__^{55}	love; like	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.23; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:719.48 [a]
	__pɑʔ__	vulva / vagina	Matisoff 2003a:375
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Zeme	^{1}__pe__^{5}mu	vagina	Weidert 1987:474
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	seŋ __bi__	clitoris	Singh 1991:10.4.4
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Kokborok	ši-__paʔ__	vagina	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Ganan	__pɑʔ__^{4}	vulva	Luce 1985:L.150
Kadu (Kantu)	__pɑʔ__^{3}	vulva	Luce 1985:L.150
Sak (Bawtala)	ă __pau__^{2}	vulva	Luce 1985:L.150
Sak (Dodem)	ă __pɛt__	vulva	Luce 1985:L.150
Sak (Bawtala)	ă __pɑʔ__^{2}	vulva	Luce 1985:L.150
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	__pha__ šu	vagina	Sharma 1991a:10.4.1
Kanauri	__phɛ:ts__	vulva	Bauer 1991
Pattani [Manchati]	__pha__ ʂu	vagina	Sharma 1991b:10.4.1
	__p^{h}ə__ ʂu	vagina	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	__pi__^{55} __pi__^{53}	vagina	DAI Qingxia 1989a:10.4.1
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}__pit__ si	vagina (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:10.4.1 [b]
Tamang (Sahu)	^{1}__pi__-ci	vagina	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	__pi__-si	vagina	Matisoff 1987
Hayu	__bi__ mli	genitals	Michailovsky 1991:138; Matisoff 1987 [c]
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
Lolo-Burmese	*__b(y)et__	vulva ((LOW).)	Matisoff 1972b:5
	*__b(y)et__	vulva	Matisoff 1972b:5
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	cok-__pat__	vagina	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Loloish	*__bat__^{L}	vulva	Bradley 1979b:123
Lolopho	tɣ^{55} __bi__^{31}	vagina	DAI Qingxia 1989n:10.4.1
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	__pi__^{21} __pi__^{53} mɛ^{33}	genitalia / pudenda	DAI Qingxia 1989c:10.1
Lipho	tu^{55}__bi__^{21}	vagina	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.1
Nasu	tʂo^{21} __pi̱__^{21}	vagina	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.1
Nesu	__pi__^{55}	vagina	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.1
Noesu	__pe__^{33}	vagina	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.1
	__pe__^{33}ɬɪ^{33}	copulate	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.2
Yi (Southern)	__pi__^{55}	vulva	Bauer 1991
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	to^{55} __bi̱__^{21}	genitalia / pudenda (general)	LUO Meizhen 1990:10.1
	to^{55} __bi̱__^{21} nɐ̱^{33} ba^{55}	vagina	LUO Meizhen 1990:10.4.1
	to^{55} __bi̱__^{21} ni^{21}	vulva / labia	LUO Meizhen 1990:10.4.2 [d]
	to^{55} __bi̱__^{21} tʂ‘ɛ^{22}	copulate (v.)	LUO Meizhen 1990:10.2
	to^{55}__bi̱__^{21}	vagina	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.1
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	tso^{55} __pɛ__^{55}	vagina	DAI Qingxia 1989h:146
*Common Lahu	*__peh__ˆ	vulva	Bradley 1979b:123
Lahu (Black)	cha(-__pèʔ__)	vagina; vulva	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:5
	__pèʔ__	horny, randy (to be) (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 856
Lisu	tu^{1}-__bi__^{6}	vagina; vulva	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:5
Lisu (Central)	tu^{1}-__bi__^{6}	vagina	Fraser 1922
Lisu	tu^{1}__bi__^{6}	vulva	Bradley 1979b:123
Lisu (Northern)	tɔ^{55}__bi__^{21}	pudenda (N.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	__pæ__^{55}	vagina	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.1; MA Xueliang 1989:303.4
	__pæ__^{55}no^{44}	female pubic hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.5
	__pɛ__^{55}	vulva, female genitals	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	__pɛ__^{55}qhɪ^{33}	copulate	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	a-__beh__ L-LS	vulva	Matisoff 1972b:5
	aˬ __beh__ˆ	vulva (impolite child’s term)	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	tɔ __pɛ́__	vulva	Beaudouin 1988:16
Mpi	to^{2}__phe__^{2}	vagina	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	__pà__ tò	vulva	Matisoff 1987
6.2. NAXI			
Moso (Weixi)	__pi__^{35}	vulva	Bauer 1991
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	__pi̱__^{44}	vulva / labia	ZHAO Yansun 1990:10.4.2
	__pi̱__^{44} mɑ̱^{21}	female pubic hair	ZHAO Yansun 1990:10.4.5
	__pi̱__^{44} mɑ̱^{21} tsɻ^{33}	female pubic hair	ZHAO Yansun 1990:10.4.5
	__pi̱__^{44} ɕĩ^{55} tɯ̱^{21}	clitoris	ZHAO Yansun 1990:10.4.4
	__pi̱__^{44} ʔuĩ^{33}	vagina	ZHAO Yansun 1990:10.4.1
	__hay__(-khur)	vulva	Matisoff 1985a:184
Tusom	ʔi-__ʃie__	vagina	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.305
Ukhrul	__haj__	vagina / vulva	Mortensen 2012
1.6. MRU			
Mru	__kai__	vagina; vulva	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:184
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Meche	__ki__ ţuʔ	vagina	Weidert 1987:62
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	__hi__-rā	vulva	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:184 [a]
	__hi__-rā-hong	vagina	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:184
	__hi__-rā-mu-rik	female pubic hair	Matisoff 1987
	__hi__ ra	vagina	Michailovsky 1989b

[a]The semantic association VAGINA ⟷ love has not been noted elsewhere, but the phonological fit of this form with the present etymon is perfect.
[b]Tamang ^{1}__pit__ is of key importance in establishing the __-t__ final for Himalayish.
[c]This is an antonymic compound meaning literally “vagina-penis”.
[d]Ahi __ni__^{21} is the same as the first syllable of Ahi __ni__^{21} __tɕi__^{22} ‘lip’.

Chinese comparandum

According to H. Stimson 1966,* the taboo word 屄 (Mand. **bī**) does not appear in dictionaries until the 17th century. Benedict 1988* posits OC ***b’iĕt**, underlying such modern dialect forms as Hakka **piet**^{8} and Min Kienyang (建陽) **pie**^{7}. This Chinese word may well be the source of the Baic and some of the Loloish forms listed above.
[JAM]

Chinese dialect forms of this word point to both open and closed-syllable ancestral forms, for example Schuessler 2007:161 notes Amoy (= Xiamen) **tsi**^{A1}**-pai**^{A2}. This suggests early Chinese variants ***pe** and ***pet**, the latter of which corresponds well to PTB ***byat**. (For the correspondence between OC ***e** and PTB ***ya**, cf. /\ OC ***pret** (Baxter) ‘eight’, PTB ***b-ryat**, Mand. **bā**. However Schuessler believes that this word is derived from ‘to open’ (PST ***pe**), with the addition of ***-t** marking “nouns of naturally occurring objects”. See Schuessler 2007:161, 414. This hypothesis could also explain the etymology of the PTB etymon under discussion here.
[ZJH]

(7) PTB * h k ay VAGINA

This root seems fairly well attested, although it shows an unusual alternation between initial ***k-** and ***h-**, which is perhaps paralleled in PTB ***r-ka** EARTH / GROUND / SOIL (§3.2.11) and PTB ***r-kəw** ⩤ ***hu** STEAL (§6.21). See Matisoff 1997* and *HPTB* p. 57.

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***haj** VAGINA			
*Tangkhulic	*__haj__	vagina	Mortensen 2012:385
Tangkhul	__hai__ khur	vulva	Matisoff 1987
	__hai__ ra	semen	Matisoff 1987 [a]

[a]Tangkhul **hai ra** certainly looks like a case of “genital flipflop”, i.e. semen is viewed as “vagina-semen”, since that is its destination.

*Hugh Stimson, “A tabu word in the Peking dialect” (*Language* 42.2:285-294). Cited in Bauer 1991:150.
*Untitled manuscript circulated as a handout at ICSTLL #21, Lund, Sweden.
*“Primary and secondary laryngeal initials in Tibeto-Burman.”

	__hay__(-khur)	vulva	Matisoff 1985a:184
Tusom	ʔi-__ʃie__	vagina	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.305
Ukhrul	__haj__	vagina / vulva	Mortensen 2012
1.6. MRU			
Mru	__kai__	vagina; vulva	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:184
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Meche	__ki__ ţuʔ	vagina	Weidert 1987:62
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	__hi__-rā	vulva	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:184 [a]
	__hi__-rā-hong	vagina	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:184
	__hi__-rā-mu-rik	female pubic hair	Matisoff 1987
	__hi__ ra	vagina	Michailovsky 1989b

[a]The first syllable **hi-** is a lookalike of the vulgar Siamese word **hĭi**.

(8) PTB *tsya VAGINA / COPULATE

This etymon is so far sparsely attested, with the best putative cognates occurring in Loloish (Lahu, Jinuo), Chin (Lakher [Mara]), and perhaps West Himalayish (Pattani).

1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	__cha__ nô-tao	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	__cha__-ku	copulate	Matisoff 1987
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	tə^{3}-__tʃi__^{1}	vagina (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	tsek __tsa__	clitoris	Sharma 1991b:10.4.4 [a]
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	__ca__ kə	vagina	Watters & Watters 1989 [b]
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	__tso__^{55} pɛ^{55}	vagina	DAI Qingxia 1989h:146
Lahu	__cha__-šī	vagina	Matisoff 1987–
Lahu (Black)	__cha__ pàʔ ve	copulate with a woman	Matisoff 1988a:517,814
	__cha__ thû	feel sexual desire (woman); lubricate	Matisoff 1988a:681
	__cha__(-pèʔ)	vagina; vulva	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:5
	__cha__-cú-ni	clitoris	Matisoff 1988a:517
	__cha__-mâ	labia	Matisoff 1987
	__cha__-ɣì	vaginal secretion	Matisoff 1987

[a]Pattani **tsa** bears a resemblance to PTB ***tsaŋ** CLITORIS (§1.9.5), but the usual Pattani reflex of ***-aŋ** is **-aŋ** (e.g. **hraŋ** ‘horse’ < PTB ***s/m-raŋ** HORSE (§2.1.7) ***s-raŋ**; ***maŋ-api** ‘dream’ < PTB ***s/r-ma(ŋ/k)** DREAM (§1.1.4.2) ***maŋ**).
[b]The analysis of Kham **ca** is tentative.

(9) PTB *li-n VAGINA

This root is confined mostly to Karenic, with possible cognates in the NE Indian Areal Group and Himalayish. The Lotha form with nasal prefix makes this root look very much like PTB ***m-ley** ⩤ ***m-li** PENIS (§1.9.7), suggesting that this might be yet another example of “genital flipflop” (see Benedict 1979, *LTBA* 5.1). For the moment, the final nasal in some Karenic forms is regarded as suffixal.

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	__Nre__	vagina	Nienu 1990c:10.4.1
2.1.5. DHIMAL			
Dhimal	__li__	vagina	King 1994
	__li__ muī	woman’s pubic hair	King 1994
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	phu __ri__	vagina	Rai 1985
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	pə __re:__	vagina	Watters & Watters 1989
7. KARENIC: ***lin**^{B} VAGINA			
Karen (Pwo)	*__lén’__	vagina	Jones 1961:17
Karen (Sgaw)	*__lì__	vagina	Jones 1961:17
Karen [Burling]	*__lin__^{1}	vagina	Luangthongkum 2013:315
Karen	*__lin__^{B}	vagina	Luangthongkum 2013:315
Karen (TP)	*__ljén’__	vagina	Jones 1961:17
Karen	*__ljén’__	vagina (cf. PEN.)	Jones 1961:17
Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)	*__ljì__	vagina	Jones 1961:17
Bwe (Western)	__li__^{2}	vagina	Luce 1985:I.192
Geba	ɑ^{2}__li__^{2}	vagina	Luce 1985:I.192
Kayah	__li__^{11}	vagina	Luangthongkum 2013:315
Kayaw	__li__^{11}	vagina	Luangthongkum 2013:315
Pa-O (Southern)	__lim__^{55}~__lin__^{55}	vagina	Luangthongkum 2013:315
Pa-O	__lîn__	vagina	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:17
Pa-O (Northern)	__lin__^{2}	vagina	Luce 1985:I.192
	__lin__^{53}	vagina	Luangthongkum 2013:315
Paku	__li__^{3}	vagina	Luce 1985:I.192
Pwo (Northern)	__lãi__^{11}	vagina	Luangthongkum 2013:315
Pwo (Delta)	__lẽ__^{1}	vagina	Luce 1985:I.192
Pwo (Tenasserim)	__lẽ__^{4}	vagina	Luce 1985:I.192
Pwo (Southern)	__lẽi__^{33}	vagina	Luangthongkum 2013:315
Pwo (Bassein)	__lén?__	vagina	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:17
Pwo (Moulmein)	__lén__	vagina	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:17
Sgaw (Southern)	__li__^{31}	vagina	Luangthongkum 2013:315
Sgaw (Northern)	__li__$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	vagina	Luangthongkum 2013:315
Sgaw	__li__^{6}	vagina	Luce 1985:I.192
Sgaw (Bassein)	__lì__	vagina	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:17
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	__li__^{33}	vagina	DAI Qingxia 1989k:146
Sgaw (Moulmein)	__lì__	vagina	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:17

(10) PTB *pu VAGINA

This root appears mostly in Himalayish, with a possible cognate from Qiangic. The second syllable of Karbi **mak-phu** ‘mons Veneris’ seems unrelated. In view of the gloss it probably means something like ‘swelling; protuberance’. It bears a resemblance to other reflexes of the well-attested root ***bwam** ⩤ ***pwam** PLUMP / SWOLLEN (*STC* #172; *HPTB* pp. 249, 252, 341, 518).

2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	ku __pu__	vagina	Noonan *et al.* 1992:10.4.1
	ku __pu__-ye gala	vulva / labia	Noonan *et al.* 1992:10.4.2 [a]
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	__phu__ ci	vagina; vulva; vagina (baby talk)	Rai 1985; Rai *et al.* 1984:60
	__phu__ ci dhü	vagina	Rai *et al.* 1984:60
	__phu__ ri	vagina	Rai 1985
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	__pu__-tsing	vagina	Matisoff 1987
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	__pə__ re:	vagina	Watters & Watters 1989
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Yadu)	__p^{h}o__ ʂ	vagina	DAI Qingxia 1989q:146 [b]

[a]Chantyal **gala** ‘cheek’; **-ye** GENITIVE. Lit. “vagina’s cheeks”.
[b]Qiang **ʂ** looks like the fused initial consonant of the second syllable of an original compound, descended from PTB ***si(ŋ/k)** VAGINA (§1.9.5). Fusion of compounds into monosyllables is a striking characteristic of the Qiangic languages (e.g. Benedict 1983, “Qiang monosyllabization: a third phase in the cycle”, *LTBA* 7.2:113-4).

(11) NEIA *mo VAGINA

This root is confined strictly to the Naga languages with the meaning VAGINA. Several of the reflexes in this set resemble forms that have been assigned to PTB ***ma:k** SON-IN-LAW / GENITALS / PENIS / MALE / VAGINA (§1.9.7) [q.v.], a root which also has several reflexes that mean 'vagina'.

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	^{5}u^{2}**mie**	vagina	Weidert 1987:474	[ab]
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **mie^{31}**	vagina	Nienu 1990a:10.4.1	
	(u) **mie^{31}** mia^{55}	female pubic hair	Nienu 1990a:10.4.5	
Khezha	^{1}e^{2}**mo**	vagina	Weidert 1987:474	
Mao	^{2}o^{5}**mo**	vagina	Weidert 1987:474	
Rengma (Southern)	^{5}a^{1}**mo**	vagina	Weidert 1987:474	
Sema [Sumi]	^{1}a^{1}**mo**	vagina	Weidert 1987:474	

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	ka-**mo**	vagina	Weidert 1987:474
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**mæ̀u**	vagina	Weidert 1987:474
Zeme	^{1}pe^{5}**mu**	vagina	Weidert 1987:474

[a]Angami **^{5}u** is a general body-part prefix.

[b]The vowel of Angami **^{2}mie** seems an unlikely reflex of ***-o** (< NEIA ***mo** VAGINA (§1.9.5)); yet the alternative of assigning this form to PTB ***ma:k** SON-IN-LAW / GENITALS / PENIS / MALE / VAGINA (§1.9.7) seems no better, since the regular Angami reflex of ***-ak** seems to be **-o** (e.g. WEAVE ***dak** > Ang. **do**; ANT ***-rwak** > Ang. **cho**).

(12) PTB *tsyum VAGINA / COPULATE

This etymon has been found in a few Himalayish languages (Bantawa, Lepcha, Tamang, and perhaps Newar), as well as in the NE Indian Areal Group. The basic meaning seems to be 'come together'. There is a perfect fit between the Karbi and Lepcha forms. The analysis of the Karbi form is as follows: **i** 'sleep' + **rap** 'befriend; be together' (see PTB ***lyap** ≍ ***rap** COPULATE / LOVE (§1.9.6)) + **chom** 'suffix indicating action performed together' (Walker 1925:37).

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	kha ŋa **shām**	copulate	Matisoff 1987

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	i rap-**chom**	copulate	Matisoff 1987

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**ch'o**	harmonize; be congruous with	Mainwaring 1898:92	
	ch'o da	lie together	Mainwaring 1898:92	[a]
	ch'om	have carnal connection with women	Mainwaring 1898:92	

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**tsjum** ʈu	vagina, vulva (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:10.4.4
Tamang (Sahu)	^{2}**cjum**-ʈ̊u	vagina	Matisoff 1987

2.2. NEWAR

Newar (Dolakhali)	**cũ**	vagina / breast / milk	Genetti 1990b	[b]

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	sen **com**	vagina	Rai 1985

[a]Lepcha **da** is a reflexive morpheme (cf. Lahu **dàʔ** < PTB ***m-dak**). See *HPTB* pp. 318, 320.

[b]Although Newar **cũ** resembles reflexes of PTB ***dzy(ə/o)w** SUCK / KISS / BREAST / MILK (§1.9.4), the nasalization of the vowel leads me to include it in the present set.

(13) PTB *wyan VAGINA

This is a speculative root, occurring only in Karbi, Tangut, and Bai.

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**ven**-the	vagina	Matisoff 1987	
	wen the	vagina	Grüssner 1979:217	

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	tɪ **wẹ^{1}**	vagina?	Sofronov c1978	[a]

8. BAI

Bai (Jianchuan)	pi̱^{44} **ʔuĩ^{33}**	vagina	ZHAO Yansun 1990:10.4.1

[a]According to M. V. Sofronov 1978 there is some doubt as to the exact meaning of the Tangut graph he reconstructs here.

(14) PTB *syaŋ VAGINA / CLITORIS

This root, though so far sparsely attested, seems certainly to occur in three separate branches of TB: NE Indian Areal Group (Meithei), Himalayish (Bantawa), and Lolo-Burmese (Ugong), and perhaps in Baic as well.

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**seŋ** bi	clitoris	Singh 1991:10.4.4

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**sen** com	vagina	Rai 1985

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Ugong	**sɛŋ** kɔŋ	vagina	Bradley 1993:10.4.1
	sɛŋ ʔa lɛ	clitoris	Bradley 1993:10.4.4

8. BAI

Bai (Jianchuan)	pi̱^{44} **ɕĩ^{55}** tɯ̱^{21}	clitoris	ZHAO Yansun 1990:10.4.4

(15) PTB *tsaŋ CLITORIS

This root apparently occurs in three branches of TB: NE Indian Areal Group (Karbi), Himalayish (Limbu), and Lolo-Burmese (Bisu), with the consistent meaning of CLITORIS.

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **chàng**	clitoris	Grüssner 1979:19

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	nāp-**coŋ**	clitoris	Matisoff 1987	
	nep **caŋ**	clitoris	Driem 1988:478	
	nEp **tsɔŋ**	clitoris	Michailovsky 1989b	[a]

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	tɔ **tshìŋ**	clitoris	Beaudouin 1988:13
Darang [Taraon]	a:-**teb**	vagina	Matisoff 1987

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ven-**the**	vagina	Matisoff 1987
	wen **the**	vagina	Grüssner 1979:217

1.7.1.1. BODO

Lalung [Tiwa]	khin **di**	clitoris	Balawan 1965:14

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	ro'ng-**ti** pi'-sa	clitoris	Burling 1992	[b]
	sok-kit-**ti**	nipple	Burling 1992	

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	jìn-**dì**	vagina	Matisoff 1987
	jìn-**tī**	labia pudenda	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	**ti** si	clitoris	Noonan *et al.* 1992:10.4.4

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	ne:t **ti**	clitoris (n.)	Driem 1988:p. 477

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**ti** si:	clitoris	Watters & Watters 1989

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**tɪ** wẹ^{1}	vagina?	Sofronov c1978	[c]

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Mawo)	khə **sti**	clitoris	Sun 1986
	k^{h}æ **sti**	clitoris	SUN Hongkai 1991g:10.4.4

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mdzis**	clitoris	SUN Hongkai 1991l:10.4.4
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mdzək**	clitoris	SUN Hongkai 1991k:10.4.4

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**t^{h}e^{21}**	vagina	CHEN Kang 1986c:10.4.1
	t^{h}e^{35}	vagina	CHEN Kang 1986d:10.4.1

8. BAI

Bai (Jianchuan)	pi̱^{44} ɕĩ^{55} **tɯ̱^{21}**	clitoris	ZHAO Yansun 1990:10.4.4

[a]The final labial stop is unexplained.

[b]According to Burling (1992), the literal meaning of this word is "small stone"; it can also refer to the smaller of the two grindstones in a ricemill.

[c]According to M. V. Sofronov 1978 there is some doubt as to the exact meaning of the Tangut graph he reconstructs here.

(17) PTB *huŋ HOLE

This root has so far been uncovered only in a few widely separated languages, which paradoxically seems to assure that it can be reconstructed for PTB. The basic meaning seems to be HOLE/ORIFICE, which is the gloss of the Limbu cognate syllable in isolation.

This root may be allofamically related to PTB ***(g/k)uŋ** HOLE / ORIFICE / INNER PART (§3.2.7).

The Karbi form **kehot** 'glans penis' is not related to this root; the morpheme **hot** is glossed as 'niche, groove' in Walker 1925, p. 57. Cf. Lahu **nī-qhèʔ** 'penis', where the second syllable means 'notch (as a stick); chip; break off a piece'. The semantic association lies evidently in the notched appearance of the glans.

2.3. Kiranti: ***hoŋ** HOLE

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	hi-rā-**hong**	vagina	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:184
	le **hoŋ**	hole of penis; meatus urinarius	Matisoff 1987
	ne bo **hoŋ**	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	nE bu **hoŋ**	nostril	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	na bu? ka: ɔ **hɔŋ**	nostril	Kohn 1990:3.5.2

3.2. QIANGIC

Xumi	qha^{55} **huŋ^{33}**	anus / rectum	SUN Hongkai 1991m

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	tɔ **hɔ́ŋ**	vagina	Beaudouin 1988:16
Ugong	**ḥoŋ**-dŭŋ-yɛ́	placenta	Bradley 1993

(18) PKir *rik PUBIC HAIR

This curious etymon has so far been found only in a couple of Kiranti languages, Limbu and Hayu. The meaning seems to be specifically PUBIC HAIR (of either sex). It seems to bear no relationship to any etymon reconstructed with the general meaning BODY HAIR. It is included in this section for convenience, since Limbu **hi-rā-mu-rik** contains VAGINA as its first element.

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	hi-rā-mu-**rik**	female pubic hair	Matisoff 1987
	le mu **rik**	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987

1.9.6 Womb

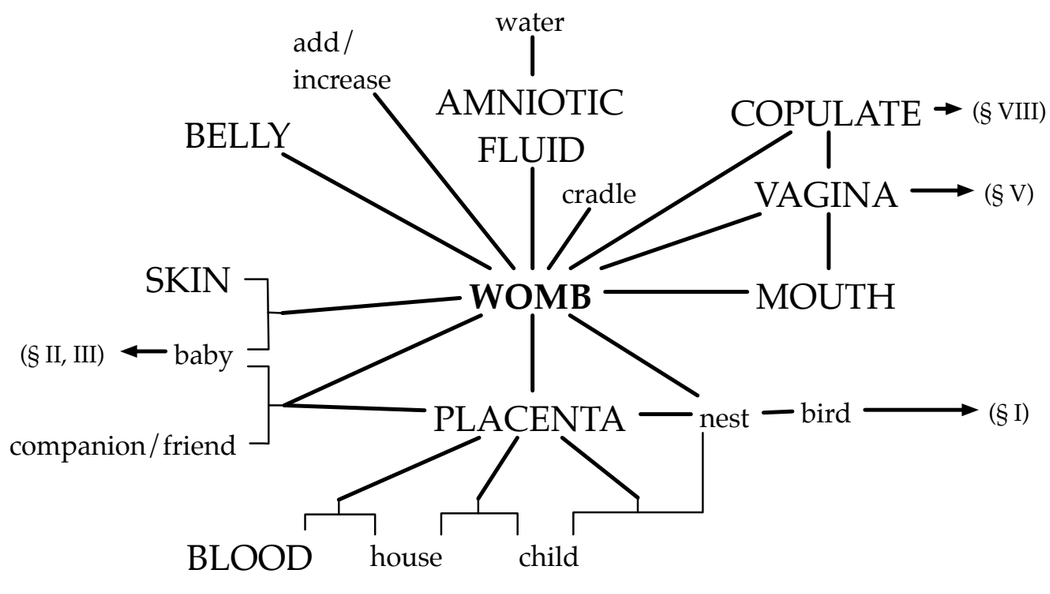


Figure 159: 1.9.6 *Womb*

WORDS for WOMB or PLACENTA are frequently associated with notions of NEST, HOUSE, or BELLY. A slightly different metaphor is exemplified by Kanauri **chaŋ khŭl**, lit. "child skin", with the second element < PTB ***kur** ≍ ***kwar** SKIN (§1.6.5).

(1) PTB *s-b-rum WOMB / PLACENTA

This etymon is not reconstructed in *STC*, but appears in *VSTB* pp. 225-6 and Matisoff 1983* #52.

This root occurs in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, and perhaps Lolo-Burmese (Ugong). There are possible Chinese comparanda (below). WT shows variation between **-r-** and **-l-**. The **b-** has been treated as a prefix and dropped everywhere but in WT and Chinese. For a similar doubly prefixed form set up for PTB, cf. ***s-b-rul** SNAKE. WT **hlums** reflects an alternant ***s-lum**. This ***s-** prefix seems to have preempted the initial consonant in Tsangla **shum**, **wak tsa ṣum** 'placenta'.

We now consider this etymon to be independent of PTB ***s-lam** WOMB / PLACENTA (§1.9.6), even though they were treated as allofams in *VSTB* and Matisoff 1983.

*"Translucent insights: a look at Proto-Sino-Tibetan through Gordon H. Luce's *Comparative Wordlist*." *BSOAS* 46.3:462-76.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*s-brum	pregnant	Matisoff 2003a:585
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	rəm	afterbirth; placenta	Bhat 1969:84; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Central)	shum	placenta	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 16
Tsangla (Motuo)	wak tsa ɕum	placenta	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	rəm	hatch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.4
Tibetan (Written)	hlums	womb (resp.)	Matisoff 1983:52
	lhums	womb	Luce 1985:X.213; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b
	rum	womb	Luce 1985:X.213; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1983:52; Matisoff 1978b
	sbrum-pa	pregnant	Matisoff 1978b; Marrison 1967 [a]
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Ugong	lɛ̰ŋ yɛ́ʔ	placenta	Bradley 1993:10.4.11
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	範	casting mold	Baxter & Sagart 2011:662
Chinese (GSR #)	0626d	casting mold	Baxter & Sagart 2011:662
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	b'i̱wăm	mould, matrix	Matisoff 1983:52 [b]
	bomʔ {[b](r)omʔ}	casting mold	Baxter & Sagart 2011:662
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	bjomX	casting mold	Baxter & Sagart 2011:662
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	fàn	casting mold	Baxter & Sagart 2011:662

[a]The word-family relationship between WT **rum** 'womb' and **sbrum-pa** 'pregnant' was already recognized by W. Simon (1975:250).

[b]The credit for recognizing the cognacy of this Chinese word with forms in Tibetan belongs to G.H. Luce (1981). See Matisoff 1983 #52. The labial initial is paralleled in WT **sbrum-pa** 'pregnant'.

Chinese comparanda

Luce 1981 ("A Comparative Word-List of Old Burmese, Chinese, and Tibetan") compares this root with 範 OC ***b'i̱wăm**, Mand. **fàn**, glossed by him as 'mould, matrix'. See Matisoff 1983: #52 ("Transclucent insights"). For the semantic connection, cf. Latin and English *matrix* 'womb; a situation or surrounding substance in which something originates', ult. < *mater* 'mother'.

範 OC ***b'i̱wăm**, *GSR* #626d 'mould; rule, law'; Li 1971: ***bjamx**; Baxter 1992: **(*bjamʔ / *b(r)jomʔ)**; Mand. **fàn**.

Baxter does not reconstruct this word. There are several possible reconstructions in his system, as indicated above. The Chinese word 範 may be related to 凡 'general rule, pattern', Mand. **fán** and 法 'law, model', Mand. **fǎ**, reconstructed ***b(r)jom** and ***pjap** respectively by Baxter.
[ZJH]

妊 OC ***ńi̱əm**, *GSR* #667i 'pregnant'; Li 1971: ***njəmh**; Baxter 1992: ***nji̱ms**; Mand. **rèn**.

Gong (1995 #368) proposed that this Chinese word was cognate to WT **sbrum** < ***smrum**. However, the vowel and initial correspondences are not regular, and the comparison is not found in Gong's later publications. Schuessler 2007:441 treats 妊 **rèn** 'pregnant' as an internal Chinese derivation from 任 **rèn** 'carry on the shoulder, to load'.
[ZJH]

(2) PTB *s-lam WOMB / PLACENTA

This etymon is now considered be a separate etymon from the phonologically similar root PTB ***s-b-rum** WOMB / PLACENTA (§1.9.6). See *VSTB* pp. 224-227; TBRS #97; *HPTB* p. 250.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*s-lam	womb / placenta	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:599
	*s-lum ≍ s-lam ≍ s-rum ≍ s-ram	womb / placenta	Matisoff 1978b
	*s-lwam ≍ s-rwam	womb / placenta	Matisoff 1978b
	*s-rum ≍ s-lum ≍ s-ram ≍ s-lam	womb / belly	Matisoff 1983:52
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *hlam PLACENTA / AFTERBIRTH			
*Chin	*hlam	PLACENTA / AFTERBIRTH	VanBik 2009:1116
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	lam	placenta	Matisoff 1978b
	`lam	placenta	Matisoff 1987
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	hlâm	placenta, the afterbirth	VanBik 2009:1116
Lushai [Mizo]	hlam	placenta	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b
	hlàm	placenta, the afterbirth	VanBik 2009:1116
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	hlā	placenta (n.)	VanBik 2009:1116
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *laam PLACENTA			
*Tangkhulic	*laam	placenta	Mortensen 2012:770
Huishu	ʔa-now-lam	amniotic sac / bag of waters / placenta / afterbirth	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.322
Tusom	ʔə-lɯ̃ə	placenta / afterbirth	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.315
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a[33] lo[44]	placenta	DAI Qingxia 1989h:147
Lahu	ɔ̀-lò	womb	Matisoff 1978b
Lahu (Black)	ɔ̀-lò	womb; placenta	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:89 [a]
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Mpi	loʔ[6]	womb / placenta	Matisoff 1978a:89
7. KARENIC			
*Karen (Pwo)	*dən' lán'	womb	Jones 1961:442
*Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)	*də hlɔ̀	womb	Jones 1961:442
*Karen (Sgaw)	*dɔ́ lɔ̀	womb	Jones 1961:442
Palaychi	dèq-lɔ̀	womb	Matisoff 1978b; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:442
Pwo (Bassein)	dɔ́n-lánʔ	womb	Matisoff 1978b; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:442
Pwo (Moulmein)	dən-lán	womb	Matisoff 1978b; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:442
Karen (Sgaw)	dɔ́-lɔ̀	womb	Matisoff 1978b
Sgaw (Bassein)	dɔ́ lɔ̀	womb	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:442
Sgaw (Moulmein)	dɔ́ lɔ̀	womb	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:442

[a]Lahu **-o** is the regular reflex of PTB and PLB ***-am**.

(3) PTB *pʷam WOMB / PLACENTA / BELLY / STOMACH / NEST

The most general form of this complex word family is reconstructed as PTB ***s-bʷa(m/p)** SWELL / SWOLLEN / FAT / THICK / ROUNDED PART (§1.1.5.2).

Like PTB ***pʷu** EGG / BIRD / ROUND OBJECT (§1.9.1), some of the reflexes of ***pʷam** have initial **w-** PTB ***wam**, while others have an initial labial stop or derivative thereof PTB ***pam**. All these forms meaning 'womb / placenta / nest / belly' clearly represent the same etymon as ***p-wam** BELLY, presented separately as PTB ***pʷam**. A further group of forms with nasal initials PTB ***mam** may also be brought into this word family. Finally, there is a strong likelihood that PTB ***s-lam** WOMB / PLACENTA (§1.9.6) is also allofamically related.

Some languages (e.g. Jingpho, Lashi, Zaiwa) show internal variation between stop and semivowel. The semantic association between WOMB and BELLY is too obvious to belabor. *Belly* was used frequently in early Mod. Eng. to mean WOMB: "As yet my wife hath not laid her belly" (*Plumpton Correspondence* 1549-50); "My belly did not blab, so I was still a Mayde" (William Warner, *Albion's England*, 1592); "Why, she may plead her belly at worst" (John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*, 1728).[*]

Still another related form is PTB ***pum** BODY / BELLY (§1.1.1), found especially in Kuki-Chin, with a meaning which goes beyond the visceral / gastric area to cover the whole body.

Cf. also PTB ***pwa(ŋ/n)** BELLY / CENTER (§1.7.6).

(3a) PTB *wam BELLY / WOMB / PLACENTA / NEST

2.3. KIRANTI			
*BSDTK	*wam	placenta	Michailovsky 1991:139
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	a-wam	placenta	Matisoff 1987
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	wäm	placenta	Michailovsky 1991:139
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	wam	placenta	Michailovsky 1991:139; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b
Thulung	wam	placenta	Michailovsky 1991:139
	wām	placenta	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b
	wam	placenta	Allen 1975
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	wam	womb / belly	Matisoff 1983:52
	wam:	belly	Marrison 1967
	wam: kyanā	diarrhea (n.)	Marrison 1967
	wam[4]	womb	Luce 1985:X.213

(3b) PTB *pam WOMB / PLACENTA / NEST

The same semantic association between PLACENTA and NEST is found in many TB languages, e.g. Lahu **yâ-phɨ(-tɛ)** literally, "child-nest" (PTB ***kʷəy** NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA (§1.9.6)).

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *bəm UTERUS / WOMB			
*Tangkhulic	*bəm	uterus / womb	Mortensen 2012:710
Huishu	ʔa-now-vəm	uterus / womb	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.319
Tangkhul	nao-pam	womb	Matisoff 1987
Tusom	nɯ-bõ	uterus	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.312
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	naw phəm	placenta	Singh 1991:10.4.11
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Lalung [Tiwa]	pum ba	womb	Balawan 1965:56
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Pyen	hai33 ja31 pam31	bird's nest	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:060006
Sangkong	pam[31]	nest	LI Yongsui 1991

(3c) PTB *pʷam BELLY / STOMACH / WAIST

Several languages have compounds for BELLY where the first element is from ***wam** and the second apparently from PTB ***pu** BALL / EGG / ROUND OBJECT (§1.9.1): Hani (Caiyuan) **ɔ[31] pʰu[31]**, Jinuo (Baya/Banai) **vu[55] pʰu[44]**, Jinuo (Youle) **ɣo[55] pʰu[44]**, and Karen **u[55] pʰɤ[55]**.

See the long discussion of this etymon in *VSTB* pp. 124-7.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*pam	belly; stomach	Matisoff 1978b:4a
	*pʷam	belly	Matisoff 2003a:608
	*wam	belly; stomach	Matisoff 1978b:4b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	mak-pap	abdomen	Tayeng 1976 [a]
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	von a śor	diarrhea	Matisoff 1978b:4b
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	a-vy cha-ki	stomach (second) of ruminants	Matisoff 1987
	a-vy khi-tla	join of intestines and stomach (n.)	Matisoff 1987:42
	a-vy; pa-vy	stomach	Matisoff 1978b:4b
	pa-vy	stomach	Matisoff 1987
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	ā phur ā phām	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	ā phur ā pham	belly	Matisoff 1978b:4a
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	vam	loins; waist; loin	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:4b
	wám	groin; loins; waist	Grüssner 1979:215; Grüssner 1979:215
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Konyak (Tamlu)	hwum	belly	Matisoff 1978b:4b
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	pù-hpam	stomach	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:4a
	wàm-pūm	stomach complaint	Matisoff 1974:247
	wun-bu	navel	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	um	waist	Sharma 1982; Sharma 1991b:5.6
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	pwa:	stomach	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.10
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	hom	waist	Rai *et al.* 1984:30
Kulung	pum lu	lower back	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	pām	waist	Matisoff 1987
	pam	waist	Caughley 1972:2.A.37
Chepang (Eastern)	pam/hemh/hwoyŋh	waist	Caughley 1990:5.6
Kham	'wā:h	waist; lower back; back (lower)	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.31; Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.37
	'wā:h rus	backbone / spine	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.32
	'wa̱h	waist	Matisoff 1987
	'wa̱h ruhs	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	(ɣɔɦ) tefi	navel	Nishida 1964:191
	ʔo	belly / abdomen	DAI Qingxia 1989e:5.7
	ʔo tĩ	navel	DAI Qingxia 1989e:5.7.1
3.2. QIANGIC			
Mɯya [Minyak]	vu[35]lø[53]	belly; abdomen	SUN Hongkai 1991h:5.7; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:260.15
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	vəu[53]	belly / abdomen (outer bulge)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:5.7

[a]Milang **-k** possibly due to assimilation to following consonant.

[*]In former times, a pregnant female criminal condemned to death was allowed to bring the baby to term before being executed. This practice was known as "pleading one's belly". See *OED* 1971:789.

Ergong (Danba)	**vɛu**	belly / abdomen	Sun Hongkai 1991b:5.7
Ergong (Daofu)	**vɑu**	belly / abdomen	Dai Qingxia 1989b:5.7
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***p-wam²**	belly / stomach	Matisoff 2003a:618
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**oŋ³¹** tʂɑ³¹	full, satiated	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ɔm³¹** tau³¹	belly	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**ɔm⁵¹** tau⁵¹	belly	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɔm⁵¹ tsa⁵¹	full, satiated	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola	**vɛ³¹** tau³¹	belly	Dai Qingxia 1989g:119
	vɛ̃³¹ pɔt⁵⁵	pregnant	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1912
Burmese (Written)	**wâm**	abdomen; belly	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:247; Matisoff 1978b:4b; Benedict 1976a
	wâm-pân	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
Lashi	khjei⁵⁵ **pham⁵⁵**	stomach	Dai Qingxia 1989m:9.10
	wɔm³³ pu:t³¹	pregnant (be v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:10.4.14
	wɔm³³ tou³³	belly / abdomen	Dai Qingxia 1989m:5.7
Leqi (Luxi)	khjei⁵⁵**pham⁵⁵**	stomach (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.33
Maru [Langsu]	**vɛ̃³⁵** pat⁵⁵	pregnant (be v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:10.4.14
	vɛ̃³⁵ tuk³¹	belly / abdomen	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.7
	wɛn	belly	Matisoff 1978b:4b
	wɛn-tok	abdomen, stomach	Matisoff 1978b:4b
Atsi [Zaiwa]	khji²¹ **pham²¹**	stomach	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	khji²¹**pham²¹**	stomach (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.30
	khji²¹**pham²¹**	stomach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:269.42
	vàm	belly	Matisoff 1978b:4b
	vam²¹	belly	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***wam²**	belly	Bradley 1979b:133
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Bijiang)	**uɑ³¹**lɔ⁵³	belly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:260.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**va³¹** lɔ̰⁵³	belly	Dai Qingxia 1989o:119.
Nusu (Central)	**va³¹** lɔ⁵³	belly	Dai Qingxia 1989p:119.
	va³¹lɔ⁵³	belly (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0096.34
Nusu (Northern)	**vɔ³⁵**	belly	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**vɑ³¹** lɔ⁵³	belly	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**yɛ³¹** dzo̰⁵⁵	full, satiated	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ɣɔ¹³** mo⁵⁵	belly	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:260.22
Yi (Xide)	**vu⁵⁵**-dʑi²¹ ko³³	belly	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vu⁵⁵-ȵi³³	pregnant (be v.)	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**vu⁴²** mɔ⁴⁴	belly	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**vu⁵⁵** pø³³	pregnant	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1981
	vu⁵⁵ pʰu⁴⁴	belly	Dai Qingxia 1989h:122
Jinuo (Youle)	**ɣo⁵⁵** pø⁴⁴	pregnant (be v.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ɣo⁵⁵ pɾɤ³³	full, satiated	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ɣo⁵⁵ pʰu⁴⁴	belly	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Nyi)	**g'awˇ** tu: shi_	navel	Bradley 1979a:120
**Common Lahu*	***g'oˇ**	belly	Bradley 1979b:133
Lahu (Shehleh)	**g'u**˳ tu:	navel	Bradley 1979a:120
Lahu	**g̈ô**-pè	belly	Matisoff 1978b:4b
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɣu⁵³**tu³³ɕi¹¹	navel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0097.43
Lahu (Black)	**g̈ô**-	belly	Matisoff 1974:247
	g̈û(~**g̈ɔ̂**)-tu-câʔ	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1988a:1138
	g̈û(~**g̈ɔ̂**)-tu-šī	navel	Matisoff 1988a:1138
	ɣô-pè~**ɣû**-pè	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
	ɣû-tu-šī-câʔ	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1988a:1129
	ɣu⁵³ pe³¹	belly	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣu⁵³ tɣ̰³³ si¹¹	navel	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**ʔu⁵⁵** piʔ²¹	belly	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ʔu⁵⁵ tu³³ ɕiʔ²¹	navel	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	**g'uˇ** tu: shi_	navel	Bradley 1979a:120
Lahu (Banlan)	**uˇ** tu: shi_	navel	Bradley 1979a:120
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**ù**-máʔ	abdomen	Matisoff 1978b
	u˳ maˆ	abdomen / belly	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Dazhai)	**u³¹** de³¹	belly	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ɔ³¹** pʰu³¹	belly	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**u³¹** ma̱³³	belly	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**ɣu³¹** mɔ³³	belly	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**u⁵⁵** pʰɤ̰⁵⁵	belly	Dai Qingxia 1989k:122

(3d) PTB *mam WOMB / PLACENTA / NEST

This etymon probably also stands in an allofamic relationship with PTB ***pʷam** WOMB / PLACENTA / BELLY / STOMACH / NEST (§1.9.6), in view of the identical rhymes that they share. Perhaps these forms with initial **m-** descend from fusions with the bodypart prefix ***mi-** (< ***mi-n** 'person') PPC ***r-mi(y)-n** PERSON / MAN (§4.4.1), i.e. ***mi-wam** or ***mi-pam**.

1.1.1. Tani: ***mam** PLACENTA			
**Tani*	***mam**	placenta	Sun 1993a:295
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	nɯ-**mam**	placenta; fontanel	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	nə **ma**	placenta (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0119.24
	nə-**mam**	placenta; womb	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	nə **mam**	placenta	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Galo	nə **mam**	placenta (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	a-**mam**	placenta	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a **mam**	placenta	Matisoff 1987
	mam-ruk	womb	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Mama)	**nam¹³** naŋ⁵⁵	placenta	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**mon**	placenta	Matisoff 1987 [a]
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	tsat-**nom**-ri	placenta; womb	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987 [b]
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Magar	**mim**	nest (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.013

[a] Bantawa **mon** apparently shows dissimilation of the second nasal.
[b] Hayu **-nom-** seems to show dissimilation of the first nasal (cf. Tshona (Mama) **nam¹³**; contrast Bantawa).

(4) PTB * b/p a(:)y WOMB / PLACENTA / PREGNANT

This root has been identified in the NE Indian Areal Group and Himalayish. The reconstructed rhyme ***-ay** is directly reflected by the Mru, Tiddim, Mizo, and Chepang reflexes, and indirectly by Written Tibetan and Karbi **-e**, which are also the regular reflexes of ***-ay**. See Matisoff 1985a #140 and *HPTB* pp. 206-219 for many corroborative cognate sets. The Lakher (Mara) word for 'add; increase' is tentatively included in this set, since the same association between WOMB/PLACENTA and ADD/INCREASE is found in PTB ***tsat** WOMB / PLACENTA / NEST (§1.9.6).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pa:y**	conceive / pregnant	Matisoff 2003a:606
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**ˊpa:i**	conceive / pregnant	Matisoff 1985a:140
	ˊpa:i/ˆpa:i	conceive / pregnant / carry a child (v.)	Henderson 1965
	ˋpa:i	conceive / pregnant	Matisoff 1985a:140
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**păi**	conceive / pregnant	Matisoff 1985a:140
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tusom	ʔɯ-nɯ-kə-**pʰõ**	conceive	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.126
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	o so-a **pe**	placenta	Matisoff 1987
	pe	womb	Matisoff 1987
1.6. Mru			
Mru	a⁴**bɑi²**	placenta, afterbirth	Luce 1985:Q.73
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**pi** sá kó	womb	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**bi**-bil	womb	Burling 1992
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Batang)	**bi¹³** khõ⁵⁵	womb	Dai Qingxia 1989a:10.4.8 [a]
	bi¹³ tsho⁵³	amniotic fluid	Dai Qingxia 1989a:10.4.10
Tibetan (Written)	**be**-snabs	vaginal mucus at childbirth	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	sāi **be**-rā	placenta	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	sara **phe**	womb	Michailovsky 1989b
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang (Eastern)	**payʔ**	placenta	Caughley 1990:10.4.11

[a] Batang **khõ⁵⁵** probably means 'house' (cf. WT **khaŋ-pa** 'house').

(5) PTB * m/l -ŋal WOMB / PLACENTA

This etymon is well-represented in Himalayish (with the ***m-** prefix in WT) and in Qiangic (with a lateral prefix in Ergong and rGyalrong). The root-initial ***ŋ-** has become **n-** in several languages.

The first syllables of Meithei **naw phəm** 'placenta' and Tangkhul **nao-pam** 'womb' are apparently not cognate, since ***-al** > Meithei **-al** or **-an** (cf. ***m-kal** ≍ ***s-gal** SMALL OF BACK > Meithei **nam-gal** ~ **nam-gan**) and > Tangkhul **-ay** (cf. ***ba:l** FILTH / EXCREMENT > Tangkhul **páy**). S. Imoba 2004 (*Manipuri to English Dictionary*, p. 202) records **-naw** 'small, little', **naw-wà** 'baby', **nawsum** 'cradle', and **nawpu-bə** 'gestation, pregnancy'.

2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**ŋal**	womb	Sharma 1991a:10.4.8
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**mṅal**	womb	Matisoff 1987
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	siŋ **nā**	womb	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**ŋe** le	womb	Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang (Eastern)	so **nalʔ**	womb	Caughley 1990:10.4.8
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	**lŋa⁵³** jo¹³	womb	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.8
	lŋa⁵³ ɕip⁵³	amniotic sac / bag of waters	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.9
Ergong (Daofu)	**ɬŋɑ** tɕho	pregnant (be v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:10.4.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (NW)	tə **lŋa** ktɕʰim	amniotic sac / bag of waters	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.4.9
	tə **lŋa** sa scɕe	womb	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.4.8

(6) PTB *tsat WOMB / PLACENTA / NEST

This root is well distributed among the subgroups of TB, with strong (though rather scattered) cognates in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese, Jingpho, and Karenic. The basic meaning of this etymon may be 'add, increase; breed, bear young', since that is the meaning of the free Jingpho verb **jàt** (Hanson, p. 206; Dai Qingxia et al. 1983:345), as well as of the Thulung form.

1.2.3. Maraic			
Tha'oa	**tat¹**	womb	Luce 1985:O.13
	tat⁴	womb	Luce 1985:O.13
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**jàt**	add, increase, augment; breed, bear young, multiply (of beasts)	Hanson 1906:206
	pū-**jàt**	snake's nest	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:673
	pù-**jàt**	womb	Matisoff 1987
	pə **jàt**	womb	Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	a yeṅ **čot**	placenta	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**tsat**-nom-ri	placenta; womb	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**cat**-	add, put on top (v.)	Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**chyut**	nest; nest (of bird), pile of rubbish (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.013; Caughley 2000
	cʰyut	nest	Caughley 1972:3.A.13
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	**tʂʰɔʔ⁵⁵**	placenta	Dai Qingxia 1989f:144
Bola	**tʃauʔ³¹** tui⁵⁵	womb	Dai Qingxia 1989g:146
	ŋa̱ʔ⁵⁵ **sɔt⁵⁵**	bird's nest	Dai Qingxia 1989g:380
Bola (Luxi)	ŋa̱ʔ⁵⁵**sɔt⁵⁵**	nest (bird) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.32

Burmese (Rangoon)	ŋɛʔ⁴**tθɑiʔ⁴**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.27
Burmese (Written)	kŋɑk⁴**tθok⁴**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.26
	thok	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.39
Hpun (Northern)	ă **ʃàʔ**	hive / nest	Henderson 1986
	ŋùʔ sà ă **ʃá**	nest (cp. Bird, Hive)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	ŋɔ̱ʔ⁵⁵**sat⁵⁵**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.31
Lashi	tso³³ **sɔ̱t⁵⁵**	womb	DAI Qingxia 1989m:10.4.8
Leqi (Luxi)	ŋɔ̱ʔ⁵⁵**sɔt⁵⁵**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.33
Maru [Langsu]	tsɔ³⁵ **sat⁵⁵**	womb	DAI Qingxia 1989l:10.4.8
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	i³³ **tɕʻe̱³³**	placenta	LUO Meizhen 1990:10.4.11
	i³³**tɕhe̱³³**	placenta	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.11
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Bisu	aŋ-**jàt**-ja-húm	womb	Beaudouin 1988:16
7. KARENIC			
Karen	la⁵⁵**tθa̱³¹**	placenta (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0119.50
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	la̱⁵⁵ **tθa̱³¹**	placenta	DAI Qingxia 1989k:147

(7) PTB * $\begin{matrix} \mathbf{r} \\ \mathbf{m} \end{matrix}$ -bu ≍ *pru NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA

This etymon is quite widely distributed, appearing in the NE Indian Areal Group, Lolo-Burmese, Jingpho, Nungic, Qiangic, and Karenic, with a key Himalayish cognate in Written Tibetan.

There is a good Chinese comparandum, 胞 *GSR* #1113b (see below).

The root shows metathetic variants, with the ***r-*** treated either as a prefix (***r-bu**; cf. the Aimol, Kom Rem, and Moyon reflexes) or as a post-initial glide (***pru**; cf. the WT reflex). This is similar to PTB ***r-ku ≍ *kru** NEST / UTERUS / AMNIOTIC SAC (§1.9.6), below. It also shows variation in the voicing of the initial consonant, both in TB and in Chinese (*GSR* gives two OC readings, ***pộg** and ***p'ộg**).

In passing, *STC* (p. 102) gives a few forms meaning NEST from Kuki-Chin languages, without offering any reconstruction. See also PTB ***bu** CHILD (§4.2.11), quite distinct from the present etymon.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***prəɣw/phrəɣw**	womb	Coblin 1986:161
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pru(w)**	womb	Matisoff 2003a:607
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	pa ro **pu**-wa	nest (hen's)	Sun 1993b
	pa ro **puɪ**-a	nest (hen's)	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	mi-**bu**	placenta	Matisoff 1987
	mib-**bo**	placenta	Matisoff 1987
	mib-**bu**	placenta	Matisoff 1987
Damu	**bu**-la	placenta	Sun 1993b
	pu-ra	placenta	Sun 1993b
Milang	ta-**pyu**-ap	nest	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	ɑ⁵⁵ **po⁵⁵**	placenta	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Kaman [Miju]	**mphău⁵³**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.23
	mphău⁵³	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.48
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ɓuu** NEST / DEN			
**Chin*	***ɓuu**	NEST / DEN	VanBik 2009:38
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**bu**	nest	VanBik 2009:38
Sizang	**bū**	nest	VanBik 2009:38
Thado	**bûu**	nest	VanBik 2009:38
	ā **bú**	nest	Thirumalai 1972:59
Tiddim	**bu¹**	nest	VanBik 2009:38; Bhaskararao 1996:119
	buː¹ > buːt¹	build a nest (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:146
	buː¹/buːt¹	build a nest	Bhaskararao 1994
	¯vă-să´ **buː**	nest (bird's) (n+n+n.)	Henderson 1965; Henderson 1965
	´buː	nest (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	a-**bü´´**	nest (n.)	VanBik 2009:38
	ə **bü**	nest	Benedict 1972:p.102
Cho (Mindat)	a ng' **bu**	nest	VanBik 2009:38
Khami	tə **bu**	nest	Benedict 1972:p.102
Awa Khumi	ă tă **buʔ²**	womb / placenta	Luce 1985:O.13
Khumi	**tbuu**	nest (bird or snake), den (of jungle boar)	VanBik 2009:38
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	(vàa)-**bŭu**	bird-nest	VanBik 2009:38
Lai (Falam)	**bûu**	nest	VanBik 2009:38
Lai (Hakha)	**bu**·θ	build a nest	Benedict 1972:p.102 [a]
	ə **bu**	nest	Benedict 1972:p.102
Lushai [Mizo]	**bu**	nest	Marrison 1967
	bû	nest, group	VanBik 2009:38
	bu	nest	Bhaskararao 1996:119; Benedict 1972:p.102
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**bú**	nest	VanBik 2009:38
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Aimol	**rəbu**	nest	Benedict 1972:p.102
Kom Rem	nəi **rəbu**	placenta; womb	Toba & Kom 1991:10.4.11; Toba & Kom 1991:10.4.8
Moyon	næ **rubów**	womb	Kosha 1990:10.4.8
Sorbung	ʔə-waa-**búu**	nest	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.121
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**bou**	nest	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	**bu** thup	nest	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**bə**-tʰɔ	nest	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**pù**-jàt	womb	Matisoff 1987
	pə jàt	womb	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	(ḫ)phru-ba	uterus; placenta	Coblin 1986:161
	(ḫ)pʻru-ma	womb of animals	Matisoff 1987
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**mbu¹**	womb	Sofronov c1978
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya	**βu⁵³**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.15
Muya [Minyak]	**wu⁵³**	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.15
Qiang (Longxi)	ỳ (tshá) **bù**	nest	Evans 1999:405
Qiang (Mawo)	wuk nəːˈ **bu**	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	ì **bú**	chicken shed (bú = 'nest')	Evans 1999:700
	ì tshè **bú**	nest	Evans 1999:405
	tʂhà ʂì **bú**	spiderweb (bú = 'nest')	Evans 1999:445
Qiang (Taoping)	i³¹tshie⁵⁵**χbu²⁴¹**	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.9
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ta **pu** ktɕɛm	womb	DAI Qingxia 1989d:10.4.8
rGyalrong (Northern)	ta **po** tso fkəm	womb	SUN Hongkai 1991k:10.4.8
	ta **po** tso ʁ̥qʰu	amniotic sac / bag of waters	SUN Hongkai 1991k:10.4.9
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **pu** wan dzɻ	placenta	SUN Hongkai 1991j:10.4.11
	ta **pu** kəstʃiwutʂitətʃi	amniotic fluid	SUN Hongkai 1991j:10.4.10
	ta **pˈ** sta	amniotic sac / bag of waters	SUN Hongkai 1991j:10.4.9
	ta **pˈ** tʃʰem	womb	SUN Hongkai 1991j:10.4.8
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	**puɪ³¹**tɕiʔ⁵⁵dăŋ⁵³	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.46
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**pao³³**	placenta	DAI Qingxia 1989c:10.4.11 [a]
Lipho	**po⁵⁵**lo³³	placenta	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.11
Nasu	**bɤ³³**	placenta	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.11
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Yi (Sani)	ŋe³³**bɤ³³**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Bisu	ʔaŋ **pʰò**	nest	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	**buɪ³¹**	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.31
Hani (Lüchun)	dzi⁵⁵**buɪ³¹**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.41
7. KARENIC			
Pa-O	**pò** kháŋ lâm	uterus	Solnit 1989
	pò khròŋ	uterus	Solnit 1989
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	ji⁵⁵ **pao⁵⁵**	placenta / afterbirth	ZHAO Yansun 1990:10.4.11 [b]
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pộg/pɑu**	womb	Karlgren 1957:1113b
	pʻộg/pʻɑu	womb	Karlgren 1957:1113b
Chinese (Old)	**phrəgw**	womb	Coblin 1986:161
	prəgw	womb	Coblin 1986:161
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**pau**	womb	Coblin 1986:161
	phau	womb	Coblin 1986:161
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**pɑo**	womb	Karlgren 1957:1113b
	pʻɑo	womb	Karlgren 1957:1113b

[a] Hakha Lai **θ** is from suffixal ***-t** (see *STC* pp. 102-3).

[a] Gazhuo **pao³³** evidently a loan from Chinese (cf. Mandarin 胞 bāo).
[b] Cf. Gazhuo **pao³³** 'placenta'.

Chinese comparandum

胞 OC ***pộg**, *GSR* #1113b 'womb'; Li 1971: ***prəgw**; Baxter 1992: ***pru**; Mand. **bāo**.

This cognate set is in Bodman 1980:142 #310, Coblin 1986:161, Gong 1995 #61, and Schuessler 2007:157.

The regular correspondence between OC final ***-əgw** (Li), ***-u** (Baxter) and TB ***-əw** (or ***-u**) is well-attested. Examples include:

九 'nine' TB ***d-kəw**; OC ***kjəgw** (Li) / ***kʷjuʔ** (Baxter)
鳩 'dove/pigeon' TB ***khəw**, OC ***kjəgw** (Li) / ***k(r)ju** (Baxter); Mand **jiū**

also, PTB ***pu** EGG (§1.9.1) (elsewhere in this volume).

The TB final also corresponds to OC ***-ug** (Li) / ***-o** (Baxter), as seen in PTB ***s-nəw** BREAST / MILK / SUCK (§1.9.4).
[ZJH]

(8) PTB *tsaŋ NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA

This root seems solidly established for Himalayish, where it means mostly NEST, but sometimes CRADLE, CAGE, or WOMB. However, many of these forms may be loans from Tibetan. The etymon also clearly appears in Lolo-Burmese, where it means WOMB/PLACENTA, and in at least one Qiangic language (Queyu), where it means NEST.

2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**chāng**	nest (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.013
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tshɑŋ⁵⁵**	nest	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tshʌŋ⁵⁵**	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.6
Cuona Menba	**tshaŋ⁵⁵**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**tshaŋ**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tshaŋ**	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**tshaŋ**	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.5
	tʂʰaŋ	nest	Sun 1985a:635
Tibetan (Batang)	ɕy¹³**tshõ⁵⁵**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**chāngq**	nest; cradle (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.013; Hale 1973:06a.38
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tshɑŋ⁵³**	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tshaŋ⁵⁵**	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.2
	tɕha¹³**tshaŋ⁵⁵**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**čhāng**	nest (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.013
	chāng	cradle (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.38
Tibetan (Written)	bja **tshaŋ**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.01
	bjefiu **tshaŋ**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.01
	tshaṅ	nest	Marrison 1967
	tshang	nest	Sun 1985c:635
	tshaŋ	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.1
	tshaŋ-ŋu	cradle	Jäschke 1881:444
Tibetan (Xiahe)	ɕi **tshaŋ**	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{A}**dzaŋ** NEST			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**dzaŋ**	nest	Mazaudon 1978:43; Mazaudon 1994:348
Gurung (Ghachok)	**cõh**	nest	Glover 1972:3.A.13
Gurung	**cọh**	nest (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.013
Gurung (Ghachok)	**³cõ**	nest	Mazaudon 1978:43
Gurung	**³tsõ**	nest	Mazaudon 1994:348

Manang (Gyaru)	**dzaŋ**^{2}	nest	Nagano 1984:318
Manang (Ngawal)	^{3}**tsaŋ**	nest	Mazaudon 1978:43
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**tsaŋ**	nest	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0066
	^{3}**tsaŋ**	nest	Mazaudon 1994:348
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**tsaŋ**	nest	Mazaudon 1978:43; Mazaudon 1994:348
Tamang (Sahu)	**cāhng**	nest (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.013
	cahŋ	nest	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.13
	^{3}**caŋ**	nest	Mazaudon 1978:43
	^{3}**tsaŋ**	nest	Mazaudon 1994:348
Tamang (Taglung)	**tsaŋ**	nest	Mazaudon 1994:348
	^{3}**tsaŋ**	nest	Mazaudon 1978:43; Mazaudon 1994:348
Thakali	’neme **cāhng**	nest (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.013
Thakali (Marpha)	^{3}**tsaŋ**	nest	Mazaudon 1978:43
	^{11}**dzaŋ**	nest	Mazaudon 1994:348
Thakali (Syang)	^{3}**tsaŋ**	nest	Mazaudon 1978:43
	^{31}**tsaŋ**, ^{31}tsa^{fi}ŋ	nest	Mazaudon 1994:348
Thakali (Tukche)	’neme **cahŋ**	nest; cage	Hari 1971:3.A.13; Hari 1971:6.A.12
	^{3}**caŋ**	nest	Mazaudon 1978:43
	^{1}neme ^{3}**tsaŋ**	nest	Mazaudon 1994:348

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**tsaʔ** nomri	womb (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.23,35

3.2. Qiangic

Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tshã**^{53}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.16

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola	ŋji^{55} **tʃ^{h}ɔ̃**^{35}	placenta	Dai Qingxia 1989g:144
Burmese (Written)	**chaṅ**-ʔim	womb	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Bisu	**tʃhàŋ tʃhàŋ**	placenta	Beaudouin 1988:15

(9) PTB *r-ku ⩙ *kru NEST / UTERUS / AMNIOTIC SAC

This root is set up on slender but rather convincing evidence, if we are willing to admit relationship via metathesis between Angami forms with **kr-**, and Qiangic forms with **ɹaq-**. (For another etymon that shows a similar metathesis of prefixal and medial **-r-**, cf. PTB ***r/m-bu ⩙ *pru** NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA (§1.9.6), above. The semantic scope of the Qiangic forms extends to AMNIOTIC SAC. In many TB languages, as in English, the amniotic fluid is referred to simply by the word for WATER (cf. Eng. “Her water broke”), e.g. Maru **ɣək**^{31} ‘water; amniotic fluid’ (< PTB ***rəy** WATER / LIQUID / BODILY FLUID (§1.9.9), below), Baima **ʃuɛ**^{35} ‘amniotic fluid’ (< Chinese; cf. Mand. 水 **shuǐ** ‘water’).

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	pera **kru**	nest	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**kru**	nest	Marrison 1967

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	tʃə **ɹaqu**	amniotic sac / bag of waters	Sun Hongkai 1991g:10.4.9
	tʂə **ɹaqu**	womb	Sun 1986

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	ta po tso **ɻq^{h}u**	amniotic sac / bag of waters	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.4.9

(10) PTB *tsyul ⩙ *tsywal WOMB / PLACENTA / UMBILICAL CORD

Some reflexes of this etymon have simple sibilant initials (e.g. Paangkhua **sùul**, Kham **sal**), while some have dental or palatal affricates, others have dental stops (e.g. Matupi and Maru) or even prefixed affricates (e.g. Pumi **stʃuɑ**^{55}). The vocalism of the reflexes ranges from **-u-** to **-wa-** to **-o-** to **-a-**. Semantically, this etymon varies in meaning from WOMB/PLACENTA to NEST and UMBILICAL CORD. This etymon is found throughout Chin and sporadically elsewhere in the NE Indian Areal Group (Mru); it also appears in Himalayish (often with the meaning UMBILICAL CORD and with **-a-** vocalism), and is also solidly attested in Qiangic. Inclusion of the Bai form is speculative.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tshuul** WOMB / UTERUS

**Chin*	***tshuul**	WOMB / UTERUS	VanBik 2009:610
Thanphum	ă`**t‘u:n**^{1}	womb	Luce 1985:O.13

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**sul**	womb, uterus	VanBik 2009:610
Sizang	**sūl**	womb	VanBik 2009:610
Thado	**sùul**	womb	VanBik 2009:610
Tiddim	**su:l**^{3}	womb	VanBik 2009:610; Bhaskararao 1996:1651
	s‘ul^{4}	womb	Luce 1985:O.13

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Matupi	**t‘ul**^{2}	womb	Luce 1985:O.13

1.2.2. Central Chin

Hwalngau	**s‘u:l**^{4}	womb	Luce 1985:O.13
Khualsim	**s‘u:l**^{4}	womb	Luce 1985:O.13
Lai (Falam)	**sùul**	womb, uterus	VanBik 2009:610
Lai (Hakha)	**s‘ul**^{2}	womb	Luce 1985:O.13 [a]
	tshŭul	womb, uterus	VanBik 2009:610
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhûl**	womb; placenta	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	chhùul	womb, the uterus, the placenta, the afterbirth (n.)	VanBik 2009:610
	chhu:l	womb	Bhaskararao 1996:1651
	chul	womb	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b
	ch‘u:l^{4}	womb	Luce 1985:O.13
	tshùul	womb	Weidert 1987:487; Löffler 1985
Paangkhua	ma **sùul**	womb	Löffler 1985
	sùul-ìn	womb	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. Maraic

Lailenpi	mə́**c‘uʔ**^{4}	womb	Luce 1985:O.13
Lakher [Mara]	**chhi** < **tshuul**	womb	Löffler 1985 [b]
	^{2}**tshi**	womb	Weidert 1987:487
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**tsə**^{4}	womb	Luce 1985:O.13
	ts‘ɤ^{4}	womb	Luce 1985:O.13
Mera	ă **ts‘iʔ**^{1}	womb	Luce 1985:O.13
	ă **ts‘iʔ**^{5}	womb	Luce 1985:O.13
Zotung	**s‘wɛ**^{5}	womb	Luce 1985:O.13 [c]

1.6. Mru

Mru	**thua**	womb	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**šwal**	placenta; umbilical cord	Sharma 1991b:10.4.11; Sharma 1991b:10.4.12

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**śa**-ma	placenta, afterbirth	Jäschke 1881:556 [d]

[a] It is not clear what phonetic feature Luce was attempting to transcribe with his symbol <**s’**> (e.g. in Hakha, Hwalngau, Khualsim, Tiddim, and Zotung); a Hakha consultant in Berkeley pronounces this word with what sounds like an ordinary [**s**]. In general, PTB ***s-** > Proto-Chin ***t(h)-**, while PTB ***ts-** > Proto-Chin ***s-**.

[b] Contra Löffler 1966, I do not assign the Lushai (Mizo) and Mru forms to PTB ***s-tu** VAGINA / VULVA (§1.9.5).

[c] Luce gives another Zotung form **ʃuɯ**^{1} for WOMB that I include under PTB ***(t)s(i/u)p** NEST / WOMB / SCROTUM (§1.9.6).

[d] The cognacy of WT **śa** is not certain, since WT does preserve final ***-l**. The first syllable is homophonous with **śa** (< PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1)), though Jäschke (p.556) does not include it under that lemma, evidently considering it to be a separate morpheme. The Newar form **sa:** ‘placenta’ apparently means “house”, but Newar **swạ** ‘nest’ seems to be a genuine reflex of ***tsywal**.

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	a yeṅ **tyól**	placenta	Matisoff 1987
	bam-**tyól** mat	copulate	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	kŭp-**t‘or**	womb	Matisoff 1987 [b]
	tă-a’yŭ **tyól**	menses	Matisoff 1987 [c]

2.1.4. Tamangish

Chantyal	**sal**	placenta	Noonan *et al.* 1992:10.4.11
Thakali (Tukche)	**sāl**	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987
	sal	umbilical cord	Hari 1971:2.A.39

2.2. Newar

Newar	**swạ/swạn-**	nest (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.013

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**sāi** be-rā	placenta	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**’sāl**	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987
	sal	umbilical cord	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.39

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	xuɑi^{55}**ntʂhɛ**^{55}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.18
Pumi (Qinghua)	**stʃuɑ**^{55}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.11
	tsy^{55} **tsuɑ̃**^{55}	placenta	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʂua**^{53}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**tsʌ**	amniotic fluid	Sun Hongkai 1991g:10.4.10
Qiang (Mianchi)	ì **tshè** bú	nest	Evans 1999:405
Qiang (Taoping)	i^{31}**tshie**^{55}χbu^{241}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.9
Xumi	**dʐyɛ**^{33}khuɐ^{55}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.20

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**mdʐo**	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.14 [d]
Ergong (Northern)	**tɕ^{h}ə**^{53}	placenta	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.4.11

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	ta **lɟja**	placenta	Dai Qingxia 1989d:10.4.11

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	tso^{55}**tshe**^{ɪ42}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.37

[a] Lepcha **bam-tyól** ‘concubine’ (Mainwaring 1898, p. 255).

[b] This Lepcha syllable **-t’or** may in fact descend from a separate etymon than Lepcha **-tyól** (cf. Karbi **tar** ‘nest’).

[c] Lepcha **tă-a’yŭ** ‘female’.

[d] Qiangic shows evidence both for a nasal prefix (Ergong **mdʐo**, Ersu **xuɑi**^{55}**ntʂhɛ**^{55}) and prefixal ***s-** (Pumi Jinghua **stʃuɑ**^{55}).

(11) PTB *twaŋ NEST / WOMB

This sparsely attested and speculative etymon rests on the Jingpho, Nungic, and Tujia forms. Apparently distinct is Bahing **dzok-** ‘nest’. The WB form “**thok**” cited in ZMYYC #368 appears to be spurious.

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	hkrì **tung**	womb; abdomen	Matisoff 1987

4. Nungic

Rawang	sɑ^{33} **dɑŋ**^{31}	bird’s nest	LaPolla 2003:373
Nung	tɕhɑ^{55}**ɖɑŋ**^{31}	nest (bird) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.21
Anong	tɕhɑ^{55}**ɖɑŋ**^{31}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.44
Dulong	pɯ^{31}tɕiʔ^{55}**dɑŋ**^{53}	nest (bird) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.20
Trung [Dulong]	pɯ^{31}tɕiʔ^{55}**dăŋ**^{53}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	pɯ^{31}tɕhŭʔ^{55}**dăŋ**^{53}	nest	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	nie2bi1**tong4**	bird’s nest (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	nie^{2}bi^{1}**tong**^{4}	bird’s nest	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3
	thũ^{55}	nest	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	tong4	nest, lair (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	tong^{4}	nest, lair, spider’s web	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3
Tujia	n̥ie^{35}pi^{55}**thoŋ**^{55}	nest (bird) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.49
	n̥ie^{35}pi^{55}**thoŋ**^{55}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.38
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa^{33}**tɯ**^{33}	nest	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.1. Burmish

Marma	hŋaʔ **táŋ**	nest (lit. bird-nest)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:318

(12) PTB *(t)s $\begin{matrix}\text{i}\\\text{u}\end{matrix}$ p NEST / WOMB / SCROTUM

This etymon displays the most pervasive variational pattern in TB vowels, between ***-u-** and ***-i-** (see Wolfenden 1929:114-5, *STC* pp. 80-4, *VSTB* pp. 41-2, *HPTB* pp. 493-505).[*] It is well distributed, occurring widely in the NE Indian Areal Group (but not in Chin), with convincing cognates in Himalayish, Jingpho, and Qiangic. The Burmish cognates point to different final consonants: WB has **-k**, while Achang and Zaiwa have **-t**. W.T. French (1983:526) suggests an etymology (which appears fanciful), deriving this root from a compound ***sa-yip** ANIMAL + SLEEP (< PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1) and PTB ***s-y(i/u)p** SLEEP (§1.1.4.1)).

1.1.1. Tani: ***sup** NEST / LAIR

**Tani*	***sup**	nest / lair	Sun 1993a:271

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**si?**	nest / lair	Sun 1993a
	à-**sɯ**	nest	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-ta-a-**si?**	bird’s-nest; nest (bird’s)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**sup**	nest, den	Sun 1993b
	di:-**sup**	underground den	Sun 1993b
	ta:-**šup**	nest / lair	Sun 1993a
	ta:-**sup**	bird’s-nest	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **ɕup**	nest (bird) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.24
	a-**šup**	nest / lair	Sun 1993a
	a-**sup**	nest; lair	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **ɕup**	hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.51
Galo	a **hup**	nest (n.)	GLDC 2009
	lii **hup**	fleas’ nest (nce.)	GLDC 2009
	pɤ ta-a **sup**	nest	Das Gupta 1963
	talii-lii **hup**	fleas’ nest (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	ta **sep**	nest	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**sup**	nest / lair	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**ɕup**	nest	Sun 1993b
Milang	ta-pyu-**ap**	nest	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	ɑ^{31}**jɯ**^{55}	nest (bird) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.22
	ɑ^{31}**jɯ**^{55}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.49
Kaman [Miju]	sɑ^{55} **sɑp**^{55}	placenta	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	**su**^{55}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.50
Yidu	**su**^{55}	nest (bird) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.25

1.2.3. Maraic

[*] For other etyma with similar variation, see e.g. PTB ***m-dzup ⩙ *m-dzip** SUCK / SUCKLE / MILK / KISS (§1.9.4), PTB ***k-y(i/u)m** HOUSE (§1.9.6), PTB ***s-y(i/u)p** SLEEP (§1.1.4.1).

Zotung	**ʃɯ**[1]	womb	Luce 1985:O.13

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-sap** NEST / WEB

**Central Naga*	*a-**sap**	NEST / WEB	Bruhn 2014a:III.152
**Ao*	*t-**səp**	NEST / WEB (OF SPIDER)	Bruhn 2014a:II.103
Ao (Chungli)	su[1]ɹak[1] **səp**[1]	spider web (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	te **sep**	nest	Marrison 1967
	tə[3]-**səp**[1]	web, nest (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.103
	[2]tɯ[1]**sɯp**	nest	Weidert 1987:630
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	tə́-**sə̀p**	web, nest (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.103
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **sep**	nest	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**ʃəp**[2]	nest (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.152
	o **shab**	nest	Marrison 1967
	o **shüp**	nest	Murry *et al.* 1978:77
	ō **šə̀p** >	nest	Acharya 1975
	wo ro **shüp**	nest	Murry *et al.* 1978:77
	[1]o-**šɯp** = [1]o [(2)]**šɯp**	nest	Weidert 1987:630
Sangtam	a **süp**	nest	Marrison 1967
	[1]a[(2)]**sɯp**	nest	Weidert 1987:630
Yimchungrü	**sap**	nest	Marrison 1967
	[2]a [(2)]**sap** = [(1)]**sap**	nest	Weidert 1987:630

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Rengma	a **se**	nest	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	pü **sü**	nest	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	pa **sib**	nest	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**chip**	nest	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**tsip**	nest	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	a **thip**	nest	Marrison 1967
	thip	nest	Bhat 1969:93

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	bu **thup**	nest	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	bə-**tʰɔ**	nest	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	bi-**tip**	nest	Burling 2003:24
	bi-**tip**	cocoon; nest (n.)	Burling 2003:4.475-II:idx
	ri-**sip**-il	testicles	Burling 1992
	sa'-**tip**	womb, uterus	Burling 1992

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***siup**	nest	French 1983:526

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	a **rup**	nest	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**hap**	nest	Marrison 1967
Konyak	ü **lep**	nest	Marrison 1967
Phom	**jep**	nest	Marrison 1967
Wancho	ao **zap**	nest	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**tsip**	nest	Marrison 1967
	u[31]**ts̲ip**[55]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.19
	u̲[31]**ts̲ip**[55]	nest	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.47

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**hap**	nest	Michailovsky 1989b

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**'sip**	nest (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.013
	'za **sip**	womb	Watters & Watters 1989

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	lŋa[53] **ɕip**[53]	amniotic sac / bag of waters	SUN Hongkai 1991c:10.4.9
	lʁo[33] **ɕip**[53]	scrotum	SUN Hongkai 1991c:10.3.4

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta pu wan **dzi̱**	placenta	SUN Hongkai 1991j:10.4.11

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	ɑ[31]**sut**[31]	nest	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	m̥ɔʔ[55]**sut**[55]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.28
	sut[55]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.41
Achang (Luxi)	**sut**[55]	nest	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	ŋ̊ɔʔ[55] **sut**[55]	bird's nest	DAI Qingxia 1989f:380
	ŋ̊ɔʔ[55]**sut**[55]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.29
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθɑiʔ**[44]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.40
Burmese (Written)	a **suik**	nest	Marrison 1967
	ə-**suik**	nest (of bird or beast)	Benedict 1976a
Atsi [Zaiwa]	ŋo̱ʔ[55]**sut**[55]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.30
	ŋŏ̱ʔ[55]**sut**[55]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.42

6.1.2. Loloish: ***(d)zyi** PLACENTA / NEST [a]

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**ʑi**[33]	placenta	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.11
Nosu	pha[55]**ʑi**[33]	placenta	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.11
Yi (Xide)	he[33]**ts̱ʮ**[33]khɯ[34]po[33]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.35
	he[33] **ts̱ʮ** khɯ[44] khɯ[33]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.21
	pʰa[55]-**ɕi**[33]	placenta, afterbirth	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	jo[44] **sɯ**[55]	womb	DAI Qingxia 1989h:149

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Pijo)	ja **sjhí**	chicken nest	Hansson 1989:303
	sjhí	nest	Hansson 1989:303
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ[55]**ʒu**[55]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.32

[a]This etymon is tentatively set up for PTB on rather shaky evidence: several forms from Loloish, and a single putative cognate from Qiangic (rGyalrong).

(13) PTB *kʷəy NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA

Besides Lolo-Burmese, where it is widely attested (even in Jinuo), this etymon has solid reflexes in Qiangic (Shixing) and Bai. The suggested NE Indian Areal Group cognate (in Mao) is uncertain; this form might better be assigned to PTB ***r-ku ≍ *kru** NEST / UTERUS / AMNIOTIC SAC (§1.9.6) (above), like Angami **kru**. This root was reconstructed for PLB in Matisoff 1978b:6 ("Mpi and Lolo-Burmese microlinguistics"); cf. also Matisoff 1988a:917-8. This is a good example of the development of *labiovelar initials into Lahu labials, as also in DOG (PTB ***kʷəy** > Lahu **phî**); see also *STC* n. 83 (p. 26). Note the doublets in Hani (Khatu) and Naxi (Lijiang); the Naxi forms clearly show alternative labial and velar reflexes of the complex *labiovelar initial. Compounds for WOMB/PLACENTA typically have the structure CHILD + NEST. Compounds for SCROTUM have the structure TESTICLE + NEST.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kʷəy**	nest	Matisoff 2003a:598

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Mao	o **kre**	nest	Marrison 1967

3.2. QIANGIC

Xumi	dʑyæ[33]**khuɛ**[53]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.17
	dʑyɛ[33]**khuɐ**[55]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.20

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***kʷiy**[1]	nest	Matisoff 1978a:7
	***kʷəy**[1]	nest	Matisoff 2003a:598

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Dafang)	ŋa[33]**tɕhy**[33]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**khɯ**[33]	nest; roost (of birds)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khɯ[34]**khɯ**[33]	nest	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	(xe[33]zo[21])i[33]**tɕhi**[33]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.25
Yi (Nanhua)	ŋa̱[33]**tɕhi**[33]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.24
	ŋæ̱[33]**tɕhi**[33]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**khɯ**[55]ty[55]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.23
Yi (Xide)	he[33]ts̱ʮ[33]**khɯ**[34]po[33]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.35
	he[33] ts̱ʮ **khɯ**[44] **khɯ**[33]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	a[33]**khɯ**[33]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.34
	ŋa[44]zɔ[44]a[33]**khɯ**[44]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ŋ̊ɑ[42]zɔ[44]**khɤ**[44]	nest	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	ŋɑ[54]**phɯ**[33]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.43
Lahu (Black)	nī-sī-**phɨ**	scrotum	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987 [a]
	phɯ[33]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.33
	yâ-**phɨ**(-tɛ)	placenta ("child-nest")	Matisoff 1987
	zɑ[53] **phɯ**[33]	placenta	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ̀-**pʰɨ**	nest	Matisoff 1978a:7
Lahu (Yellow)	**phɯ**[1]	nest	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a[55]næ[55]**khɤ**[33]	nest of crow	Bradley 1994
	ji[55]**khɤ**[33]	lair; nest (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**khɯ**[33]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.27
Lisu (Northern)	**khɤ**[33]	nest; brood (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	nyá[2]-**hkrgh**[5]	nest (bird's)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	ra[5] **hkrgh**[5]	womb	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	ra[5] **hkrgh**[5]	womb	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	tɕæ[33]mæ[35]ɣɔʔ[21] **khɤ**[33]	swallow's nest	Bradley 1994
	za[21]**khɯ**[33]	womb	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**gý**	nest	Hansson 1989:303
Akha (Thai)	ja-**gý**	chicken nest	Hansson 1989:303
Akha (Yunnan)	xha **gý**	chicken nest	Hansson 1989:303
Hani (Lüchun)	xha **gý**	chicken nest	Hansson 1989:303
Hani (Khatu)	**khý/tjhí**	nest	Hansson 1989:303
	xha **khý**	chicken nest	Hansson 1989:303
Mpi	**khɯ**[6]	nest	Hansson 1989:303
	ʔɑ[2]-**kʰɯ**[6]	nest	Matisoff 1978a:7
	ʔɑ[2]**khɯ**[6]	nest (n.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**kʰɯ**˥	nest	Michaud 2006–2009:3877
Na (Yongning)	v˩dze˩**kʰv**˨	nest	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**khv**[13]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**khɯ**[31]; **phy**[31]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.28 [b]
Naxi	kɣ[21]**khə**[55]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.45

7. KARENIC

Kayan (Pekon)	**pwi̱**	nest (N.)	Manson 2010
	tʰó̱ **pwi̱**	bird's nest [lit. bird-nest] (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	wâ **pwì**	nest	Solnit 1989

8. BAI

Bai (Dali)	tso[44]**khv**[31]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**khv**[31]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.36

[a]Lahu **phɨ** occurs in many other Lahu compounds, including **á-thɔ-phɨ** 'scabbard; sheath' ("knife-nest"), **ú-gê-phɨ** 'pillow-case', **khá-cè-phɨ** 'quiver for arrows', **yì?-phɨ** 'bed' ("sleep-nest"), **lì?-phɨ** 'envelope', etc.

[b]Note the alternation between velar and labial initials, not surprising in view of the proto-labiovelar ***kʷ-** reconstructed for this root.

Chinese comparandum

窠 'burrow, nest'; *GSR*: not in #351; Li 1971: **(*khwar)**; Baxter 1992: **(*kʷhaj)**; Mand. **kē**.

This character is not in *GSR* and is not reconstructed by either Li or Baxter. Based on its phonetic element and its Middle Chinese reading, however, its OC reconstruction is not in doubt. The word occurs in the *Shuowen Jiezi*, attesting to its existence in the first century AD. The *Shuowen* entry reads 空也。從穴。果聲。一曰鳥巢也。在樹曰巢。在穴曰窠。 ("Empty. [The character is formed] from [semantic element] 穴 and 果 is the phonetic. Another meaning is bird's nest. When in a tree it is called **cháo**, in a cave it is called **kē**.") The element 果 depicts an object in a tree and is part of the pictograph in 巢, Mand. **cháo** 'nest'. In 窠 it may be serving as a semantic as well as a phonetic element.

The connection with PTB was proposed by Handel (1998). It establishes a correspondence between PTB labiovelar initials and Chinese labiovelar initials. The vowel correspondence, however, is problematic, since PTB final ***əy** usually corresponds to OC ***-id** (Li)/***-əj** (Baxter); see the examples under the discussion for PTB ***d(w)əy** EGG / TESTICLE (§1.9.1).
[ZJH]

(14) PTB *k-yaŋ UTERUS / PLACENTA / CRADLE / NEST

This etymon is firmly reconstructible for PTB on the basis of the excellent fit between the Himalayish and Lolo-Burmese cognates. The velar prefix is reconstructed to accommodate the WB and Pa-O forms, as well as a group of Himalayish forms that mean CRADLE. For a similar association with CRADLE see PTB ***tsaŋ** NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA (§1.9.6), below.

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	'a **yeń**-zo	umbilical cord	Matisoff 1987	[a]
	a **yeń** čot	placenta	Matisoff 1987	
	a **yeń** tyól	placenta	Matisoff 1987	

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang (Sahu)	**kohyong**	cradle (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.38

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Yakha	pica: **yaŋ** dɔŋ	placenta	Kohn 1990:10.4.11	[b]

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	wa **yaN**	nest (n.)	Rai 1985
Chamling	**yON**	nest	Winter 1985:40,63
Kulung	**yoŋ_**	nest	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	**yāng**	nest (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.013

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**khoyong**	cradle (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.38
	kʰoyoŋ	cradle	Caughley 1972:6.A.38
Magar	**koyo**	cradle (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.38

[a]Lepcha **'a yeń** 'child'.

[b]Yakha **-dɔŋ** matches well with the middle syllable **-dŭŋ-** of Ugong 'placenta', though there is still insufficient data to etymologize them.

6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	ə-**khyâŋ**	afterbirth	Benedict 1976a [a]
	ʔə **khyâng**	placenta	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Ugong	ḥoŋ-dŭŋ-**yé**	placenta	Bradley 1993
	lə̆ŋ **yéʔ**	placenta	Bradley 1993:10.4.11
7. KARENIC			
Pa-O	pò **khròŋ**	uterus	Solnit 1989

[a] There is a homophonous WB word **ʔəkhyâŋ** 'one who is connected with another', cognate to Lahu **ɔ̀-chɔ̂** 'friend' (*HPTB* p. 265). it is possible that there is a genuine semantic assocation between these two WB words, with the placenta conceived of as the "child's friend".

(15) PTB *s-nwat ⩵ *s-nut MOUTH / VESSEL / WOMB

This reconstruction replaces ***s-not ⩵ *s-nut** (*HPTB*:381) and ***s-not** (*STC*:144-145, 150).

The variational pattern adduced here between medial ***-wa-** and ***-u-** parallels the better known alternation between ***-ya-** and ***-i-** to be found in etyma like PTB ***s-myak ⩵ *s-mik** EYE (§1.2.6). We cannot assume a single prototype ***s-nwat**, since that would have yielded WB **hnwat**.

This etymon is widely distributed with the meaning MOUTH in Burmish and Karenic, with good-looking cognates in Qiangic (Pumi) and Bai. The Tibetan cognate gives a clue to its more general meaning of VESSEL; the expression **snod drug** 'the six vessels' refers in traditional Tibetan anatomy to the gall-bladder, stomach, small and large intestines, urinary bladder, and uterus (in females) or spermatic vessels (in males) (see Jäschke 1881/1958, p. 319). The Tibetan compound **bu-snod**, literally "child-vessel", refers specifically to the womb. See *STC* (pp. 144, 145, 150) for references to the Burmese, Karen, and Tibetan cognates.

The Burmish (see especially Lashi) forms bear a strong surface resemblance to Siamese **nùat** (< Proto-Tai ***hn-**) 'beard', suggesting that this is a loan from Burmish into SW Tai. This word is not widely distributed in Tai. "Except Tay (a Central Tai dialect) nuôt D1L this word seems restricted to the SW dialects" (Li Fang Kuei 1977:116). The Northern and Central Tai dialects generally have forms descending from Proto-Tai ***mum** (*HCT* pp. 72-73), which bears an apparently coincidental resemblance to PTB ***mum** CHIN / BEARD (§1.6.1).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-not ⩵ s-nut**	womb / mouth / vessel	Matisoff 2003a:605
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Spiti	pui **net**	womb	Bodh 1991:10.4.8
Tibetan (Written)	bu-**snod**	womb	Matisoff 1987
	snod	vessel	Jäschke 1881:319
3.2. QIANGIC			
Pumi (Taoba)	**n̥ɐ**^{35} pu^{35} la^{53}	lip	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə wam wu **ʃno** mo rɲe	whiskers (of animal)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.1.7
	ʃno mo rɲe	beard	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.1.2.1
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	**nô̤**-sil	lips (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:415
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**nut**^{55} ɯ^{55}	lip	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ut^{55}	mouth	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ut^{55} tshɑʔ^{55}	tongue	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**n̥ot**^{55}tuŋ^{55}	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.41
	n̥ot^{55}	mouth	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ot^{55} mui^{31}	beard	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ot^{55} tuŋ^{55}	lip	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ot^{55}mui^{31}	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.28
	n̥ot^{55}mui^{31}	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.41
	n̥ot^{55}tuŋ^{55}	lip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.28
Achang (Luxi)	**nut**^{55}	mouth	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	nut^{55} tɔŋ^{51}	lip	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**n̥ut**^{55}	mouth	DAI Qingxia 1989f:107
	n̥ut^{55} mui^{31}	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989f:109
	n̥ut^{55} ʐ̩^{55}	lip	DAI Qingxia 1989f:108
	n̥ut^{55}mui^{31}	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.29
	n̥ut^{55}ʐ̩^{55}	lip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.29
	n̥ɔt^{55} mui^{31}	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989f:109.1
Bola	**nɔ̱t**^{55}	mouth	DAI Qingxia 1989g:107
	nɔ̱t^{55} kə̱uʔ	lip	DAI Qingxia 1989g:108
	nɔ̱t^{55} mø^{31}	beard; whiskers	DAI Qingxia 1989g:109; DAI Qingxia 1989g:110
Bola (Luxi)	**nɔ̱t**^{55}kə̱uʔ^{55}	lip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.32
	nɔ̱t^{55}mø^{31}	beard; moustache; goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0087.32
Burmese (Modern)	**nhut**	mouth, snout	Luce 1985:V.109
Burmese (Rangoon)	**n̥oʔ**^{4}khã^{55}	lip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**n̥oʔ**^{44}khã^{55}	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.40
Burmese (Written)	**hnut**	mouth; womb	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a
	hnut khɑm^{3}	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.39
	hnut-khâm	lip	Matisoff 1987
	hnut-khâm	lip, brim / upper edge of vessel (n.)	Matisoff 1974:185
	hnut-khàm	lip	Benedict 1972:329
	hnut^{4}khɑm^{3}	lip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.26
	nhut	mouth, snout	Luce 1985:V.109
	nhut kham:	lip	Marrison 1967
	nut-sî	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987
Langsu (Luxi)	**nɑ̱t**^{55}kə̱uk^{55}	lip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.31
	nɑ̱t^{55}mɔi^{31}	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.31
Lashi	**nuɑ̱t**^{55}	beak; bill; mouth	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.7; DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.9.3
	nuɑ̱t^{55} kụk^{55}	lip	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.9
	nuɑ̱t^{55} mou^{55}	moustache; whiskers (of animal)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.2.3; DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.7
	nuɑ̱t^{55} mə^{33}	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.2.1
	vuʔ^{31} **nǫ̱**^{33}	snout (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.5.5
Leqi (Luxi)	**nuɑ̱t**^{55}kụk^{55}	lip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.33
	nuɑ̱t^{55}mə^{33}	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.30
Maru [Langsu]	**nɑ̱t**^{55}	beak; bill; mouth	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.7; DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.9.3
	nɑ̱t^{55} kə̱uk^{55}	lip	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.9
	nɑ̱t^{55} muk^{55}	whiskers (of cat)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.7
	nɑ̱t^{55} mɔi^{31}	beard; moustache	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.2.1; DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.2.3
	nɑ̱t^{55}kə̱uk^{55}	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.43
	nɑ̱t^{55}mɔi^{31}	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.43
	thɔʔ^{55} **nɑ̱t**^{55} kə̱uk^{55}	upper lip	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.9.1
	vɔʔ^{31} **nɔ̱**^{31}	snout (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.5.5
	ɔ^{31} **nɑ̱t**^{55} kə̱uk^{55}	lower lip	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.9.2
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nu̱t**^{55}	mouth	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	nu̱t^{55} kụʔ^{55}	lip	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	nu̱t^{55} mui^{21}	beard	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	nu̱t^{55} mui^{21}	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.30
	nu̱t^{55}kụʔ^{55}	lip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0085.30
	nu̱t^{55}kụʔ^{55}	lip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:243.42
	nu̱t^{55}mui^{21}	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.42
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	bo^{21} **nu̱**^{33}	beard / moustache	LUO Meizhen 1990:8.1.2
Lisu (Putao)	mɯ^{5}**nɯ**^{2}	mouth, snout	Luce 1985:V.109
7. KARENIC			
**Karen (Pwo)*	***nòʔ**	beak; bill; mouth	Jones 1961:668; Jones 1961:691
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***nɔʔ**	mouth	Jones 1961:668
	***nɔ̀ʔ**	beak / bill	Jones 1961:691
Pwo (Bassein)	**nòʔ**	beak; bill; mouth	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:668; Jones 1961:691
	nò‘	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987
Pwo (Moulmein)	**noʔ**	beak; bill; mouth	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:668; Jones 1961:691
Sgaw (Bassein)	**nɔʔ**	mouth	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:668
	nɔ̀ʔ	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:691
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**nɔ**^{33} ts^{h}u^{31}	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989k:112
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**nɔʔ**	mouth	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:668
	nɔ̀ʔ	beak / bill	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:691
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**nɔ̱ʔ**^{55} p^{h}oʔ^{55}	lip	DAI Qingxia 1989j:111
	nɔ̱ʔ^{55} s^{h}u^{31}	beard	DAI Qingxia 1989j:112
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**nę̱**^{21}	mouth	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.7

Chinese comparandum

須 / 鬚 OC ***sɨ̨u**, *GSR* #133a-c, d 'beard'; Schuessler 2007:544 ***sno**; B & S 2011: ***s.no** ; Mand. **xū**.

(16) PTB *k-y $\begin{matrix}\text{i}\\\text{u}\end{matrix}$ m HOUSE

This etymon is extremely widespread in TB with the meaning HOUSE (see *STC* #53). It appears as second element in compounds meaning WOMB / PLACENTA, where the first element means CHILD.

This root shows vocalic variation between ***-u-** and ***-i-**. Some languages have reflexes with initial velar stop, but others (e.g. Lushai [Mizo], WB) point to a variant beginning with **y-** or **i-**; that is, some languages have treated the velar as a prefix.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***khyim**	pit / house	Coblin 1986:119
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***k-yim ⩵ k-yum**	house	Matisoff 2003a:620
	***kim**	house	Weidert 1987:196; Benedict 1972:53
	***kyim ⩵ *kyum**	house	LaPolla 1987:182
	***kyim**~**kyum**	house	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1006a-d
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Mishing [Miri]	ə **kum**	house	LaPolla 1987:182; Benedict 1972:53
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ʔim** HOUSE			
**Chin*	***ʔim**	HOUSE	VanBik 2009:492
Chinbok	**im**	house	Benedict 1972:53
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**in**	house	VanBik 2009:492
Thado	**ín**	house	Thirumalai 1972:67
	ʔîn	house	VanBik 2009:492
Tiddim	bi^{1} **in**^{1}	thatched house	Bhaskararao 1996:90
	in^{1}	abode, dwelling house; house	VanBik 2009:492; Bhaskararao 1996:519
	in^{1} hik^{3}	house lizard	Bhaskararao 1996:521
	in^{1} khum^{1}	house roof	Bhaskararao 1996:525
	in^{1} ku:n^{1}	back of house	Bhaskararao 1996:524
	ˊin	house (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**in**	house (n.)	VanBik 2009:492
Chinbon	**im**	house	So-Hartmann 1988:189
Cho (Mindat)	**im**	house	VanBik 2009:492
Daai	**ím**	house	So-Hartmann 1988:189
Khumi	**ï:m**	house	So-Hartmann 1988:189
	ueeng	house	VanBik 2009:492
Matu	**im**	house	So-Hartmann 1988:189
Mkaang	**ím**	house	So-Hartmann 1988:189
Ngmüün	**ím**	house	So-Hartmann 1988:189
Nyhmoye	**ím**	house	So-Hartmann 1988:189
Wakung	**ĩn**	house	So-Hartmann 1988:189
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔîn**	house	VanBik 2009:492
Lai (Falam)	**ʔín**	house	VanBik 2009:492
Lushai [Mizo]	**ĭn**	house	Weidert 1987:196
	in	house	Marrison 1967
	ĭn	house (n.)	VanBik 2009:492
	in	house	Bhaskararao 1996:519; Benedict 1972:142n384
Paangkhua	sùul-**ìn**	womb	Löffler 1985
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**ó**	house, a residence (n.)	VanBik 2009:492
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Sorbung	**jin**	house	Brown 1837
	ʔin	house	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:People.088
	ʔin pù	host (house owner)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:People.057
1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP			
Maring	**chim**	house	Marrison 1967

	cim	house	Brown 1837

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-jam*** HOUSE / VILLAGE

**Central Naga*	*a-**jam**	HOUSE / VILLAGE	Bruhn 2014a:III.135
**Ao*	*(a-)**jəm**	VILLAGE	Bruhn 2014a:II.292
Ao (Chungli)	**im**	village	Marrison 1967
	jəm^{2}	village (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.292
	jəm^{3}ɹa^{1}	flu, influenza (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.300
	ki ok tsü	broom	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **yim**	village; country	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	yim kung	village	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**im**-laŋ məphu	ward, lower (’village’ + ’bottom’ + ’ward’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	im-paŋ məphu	ward, upper (’village’ + ’mouth’ + ’ward’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	im-tuŋ	road (main) (’village’ + ’stem/trunk’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	jim-hju-thaŋ-la	fine (of a pig) (’village’ + ’word’ + ’sever’ + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	jim-əɹ	villager (’village’ + ANOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	jim sə	custom (n.)	Coupe 2007
	mi-**jim**-tʃàɹ	humankind (possibly ’person’ + ’village’ + ’child’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃùŋlì-**jim**-ti	village name (Chungliyimti) (’Chungli’ + ’village’ + ’be big’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**jim**	village (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**jim** ku li-(ə)ɹ	villager (’village’ + LOC + ’stay’ +ANOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**jan**^{1}	village (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.135
	o **yan**	village	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:133
Sangtam	**yang**	village; town	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**yam**	village	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	lung **yam**	cave	Marrison 1967
	moli **yam**	hospital	Kumar 1973b:25
	thi **yam**	home; house	Kumar 1973b:43; Marrison 1967
	thi **yam** khim	door	Marrison 1967
	thsü mutsü **yam**	prison	Marrison 1967
	yam	house	Marrison 1967
	yam hing rü	neighbor	Marrison 1967
	yam la rü	servant	Marrison 1967
	^{2}ti^{2} **yam** [^{1}]	house	Weidert 1987:196

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	^{5}**ki**	house	Weidert 1987:196
Angami (Khonoma)	**ki**	house	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**ki**	house	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**che**	house	Marrison 1967
Khezha	e **kie**	house	Marrison 1967
Mao	o **chü**	house	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**ka**	house	Marrison 1967
	kha	house	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **ki**	house	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Maram	a **ke**	house	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**in**	house	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**in**	house	Brown 1837
Zeme	he **ki**	house	Marrison 1967
	^{3}**ki**	house	Weidert 1987:80
Mzieme	**ki**	house	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***ʃim*** HOUSE

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃim**	house	Mortensen 2012:448
Kachai	ʔa-**ʃim**	house	Mortensen 2012:People.072
Tangkhul	**shim**	house	Marrison 1967
	ś́im	house	Bhat 1969:91
	^{2}**šim**	house	Weidert 1987:80
Tankghul (Central)	**ʃin**	house	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**ʃin**	house	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**ʃim**	house	Brown 1837
Tusom	**sɯ̃ə**	house	Mortensen 2012:People.076
Ukhrul	**ʃim**	house	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**yum**	house	Abbi & Mishra 1985; Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:53

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	arlo a **hem**	womb	Matisoff 1987
	hem	house; womb	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b; LaPolla 1987:182; Benedict 1972:53 [a]
	hēm(ʔ)	house	Weidert 1987:196
	o sô a-**hêm**	placenta / afterbirth	Grüssner 1979:36
	o so-a **hem**	placenta	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b

1.6. MRU

Mru	**kim**	house	LaPolla 1987:182; Benedict 1972:53

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***kium**	house	French 1983:505

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**hum**	house	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:53
	^{1}**hum**	house	Weidert 1987:80
Tangsa	^{3}**him**	house	Weidert 1987:196
Tangsa (Moshang)	**yim**	house	Marrison 1967
	yim ≍ yüm	house	Benedict 1972:53
	yüm	house	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**him**	house	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**cham**	house	Marrison 1967
	chüm	house	Marrison 1967
	jàm	house	Weidert 1987:196
Phom	**shem**	house	Marrison 1967
	ʃam^{55}	house	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ʃam^{55}a^{33}dɔk^{33}	roof (’house’ + ? + ’back’)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ʃam^{55}mʌy^{55}	rich / wealthy (’house’ + ’good’)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ʃam^{55}yoŋ^{55}	lake (’house’ + ’water’)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**ham**	house	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Andro	**kem**	house	Benedict 1972:53
Chairel	**him**	house	Benedict 1972:53
Kadu	**tyem**	house	Benedict 1972:53

[a] Karbi **hem** has nothing to do with PTB ***s-b-rum*** WOMB / PLACENTA (§1.9.6), contra *VSTB*, pp. 226-7.

Sak	**kíŋ**	house	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:96

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**kim**	house (n.)	Bailey 1911
	kim s̱ẖū	house-god	Bailey 1911
	kim tsō	house	Bailey 1911

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**yim**	house (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.06
Tshona (Wenlang)	**khem**^{55}	house; home	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986; LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**chem**^{53}	house; home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.6; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.6
Cuona Menba	**chem**^{53}	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tɕhəm** tshaŋ	home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**tɕ^{h}əm**	home	Sun 1985a:764
Tibetan (Written)	**khyim**	house; home	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:764; LaPolla 1987:182; Benedict 1972:53
	k‘yim byɑ	domestic fowl / cock / hen / poultry	Jäschke 1881

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**khyum**	house	LaPolla 1987:182
	khyŭm	house	Benedict 1972:25n82

2.1.4. TAMANGISH: ***^{B}dim*** HOUSE

**TGTM*	***^{B}dim**	house	Mazaudon 1978:62
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{4}**dĩ**	house	Mazaudon 1978:62
Manang (Ngawal)	^{4}**thĩ**	house	Mazaudon 1978:62
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**tim**	house	Mazaudon 1978:62
Tamang (Sahu)	^{4}**tim**	house	Mazaudon 1978:62
Thakali (Marpha)	^{4}**tin**	house	Mazaudon 1978:62
Thakali (Syang)	^{L}**dim**	house	Mazaudon 1978:62
Thakali (Tukche)	^{4}**tim**	house	Mazaudon 1978:62

2.2. NEWAR

Newar (Dolakhali)	**chẽ**	house	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**chẽ**	house	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**cheˌ**	house (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.06

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***ʔkim/khim**	house	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**him**	house	Weidert 1987:196; Michailovsky 1989b; Benedict 1972:53
Yamphu	**khim**	house (n.)	Rutgers 1998:549.24

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**khim**	house (n.)	Rai 1985
	luN **khim**	stone house	Rai 1985
Kulung	**khim_**	house, home	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**ki:m**	house	Driem 1993
	ki:m-mu	house mother.	Driem 1993
	mori-**ki:m**	womb, uterus.	Driem 1993
Khaling	’po **kam**	house (hog) (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.10
	kam	house (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.06
	phō **kam**	house (chicken) (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.11

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**khyim ≍ khim**	house	Benedict 1972:53; LaPolla 1987:182
Hayu	**kim ≍ kem**	house	Benedict 1972:53; LaPolla 1987:182

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**kim**	house (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.06
	kim	house	Weidert 1987:80
	kim	house, dwelling, building (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kim	house	Caughley 1972:6.A.6
	kim.waʔ	Domestic Fowl (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kyim ≍ tim	house	Benedict 1972:53
Kham	**’zihm**	house (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.06
Magar	**im**	house (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.06
	im ≍ yum	house	Benedict 1972:53

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**ji**^{55}	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.18
Guiqiong	**tɕhɔ̃**^{33}	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.17
	tɕhɑ̃^{55}	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.16
Muya	**tɕe**^{53}	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tɕe**^{53}	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.15
	tɕe^{55}khu^{53}	home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.15
Namuyi	**jy**^{55}ly^{55}	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.19
	jy^{55}qo^{33}	home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.19
	jʉ^{55}lʉ^{53}	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tɕĩ**^{35}	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tʃə̃**^{55}	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tʃə̃**^{55}	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.11
	tʃə̃^{55}miɛ^{55}	home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tɕø̃**^{55}	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.10
	tɕø̃^{55}me^{53}	home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.10
Qiang	**tśi ~ tśye**	house	Benedict 1972:25n82
Qiang (Longxi)	**kè ké**	house	Evans 1999:683
	ké	house; home	Evans 1999:683; Evans 1999:80
	tɕé kù	house	Evans 1999:683
Qiang (Mawo)	**tśi**	house	LaPolla 1987:182
	tɕi	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.8
	tɕɪ	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	(**tɕí**) tàn thà [house-b-s]	rent (house)	Evans 1999:2617
	dzò lò-**tɕí** [millstone-house]	flour mill (mo fang)	Evans 1999:694
	tɕí	home	Evans 1999:80
	tɕí ~ tɕì qó	house	Evans 1999:683
	tɕí-tìN pò [house-tip]	roof	Evans 1999:684
	tɕí-tshè pù [home-neighbor?]	neighbor	Evans 1999:82
Qiang (Taoping)	**tśi**^{33}	house	LaPolla 1987:182
	tɕi^{33}	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.9
	tɕi^{55}ko^{33}	home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**jɛ**^{55}	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.16
	jɛ^{55}ku^{55}	home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʑe**^{13}	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.13
Xumi	**dʑõ**^{33}hõ^{55}	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.17

	dʑɑ^{33}hũ^{35}	house; home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.20; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**jɪ^{13}**	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**jo**	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Caodeng	**k^{h}e**	house	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	ta pu **ktɕɛm**	womb	DAI Qingxia 1989d:10.4.8
rGyalrong (Northern)	ta po tso **fkəm**	womb	SUN Hongkai 1991k:10.4.8
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta pʲ **tʃ^{h}em**	womb	SUN Hongkai 1991j:10.4.8
rGyalrong	**tʂam**	house	Benedict 1972:25n82
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **tʃəm**	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.11
rGyalrong	tə **tʃəm**	house; home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.12; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **tʃəm** wu rmɛ	surname / name (family) (lit. 'house name') (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0686.11
rGyalrong (NW)	tə lŋa **ktɕ^{h}im**	amniotic sac / bag of waters	SUN Hongkai 1991l:10.4.9
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tʃɐm**	household (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0067.11
rGyalrong	tA **gyem**	house	Nagano 1997:105
rGBenzhen	kə-**tʃem**	clf (house)	Sun 1997b
	tə-**dʒim** ka-stʃeʔ	move house	Sun 1997b
	tə-**dʒəm** rme	house-name	Sun 1997b
	tə-**dʒəmʔ**	house	Sun 1997b
	tʃemʔ	home; household	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Rawang	(**tɕhɯn^{31}**) ətoŋ^{33} [ətɔ^{33} ŋɛ^{33}]	fall down/collapse (of a house)	LaPolla 2003:1195
	(**tɕhɯn^{31}**) əŋɑʔ ɛ^{33}	fall down/collapse (of a house)	LaPolla 2003:1196
Anong	**kyim ~ tśim ~ tśum**	house	Benedict 1972:53; LaPolla 1987:182
	tɕhim^{31}	house; home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.44; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.44
Nung	**tɕhim^{31}**khuɑŋ^{55}	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.21
Rawang	**tɕhɯm^{31}**	house	LaPolla 2003:577
	tɕhɯm^{31} dɯt	house mouse	LaPolla 2003:366
Dulong	**cim^{53}**	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.20
Trung [Dulong]	**cŭm^{53}**	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.46
	cŭm^{53}dɔ^{31}	home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.46
	tśiəm	house	LaPolla 1987:182; Benedict 1972:25n82
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**śɯm^{53}**	house	LaPolla 1987:182
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**tśɯm^{53}**	house	LaPolla 1987:182
	tɕŭm^{53}	house; home	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***yim^{1}** HOUSE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***yim^{1}**	house	Matisoff 1978a:90

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**ʑin^{55}**	house; home	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**in^{55}**	household; house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0067.28; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.28
	in^{55}	house; home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.41; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ʑin^{35}**	house; home	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**in^{55}**	household; house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0067.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.29
Bola (Luxi)	a^{31}**jạm^{55}**	household (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0067.32
	jạm^{55}	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ẽ^{22}**	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.27
	ẽ^{22}tɕhe^{22}	household (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0067.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ẽ^{22}**	house; home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.40; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.40
Burmese (Written)	chaṅ-**ʔim**	womb	Matisoff 1987
	im	house	Weidert 1987:196; Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:182; Benedict 1972:53
	im^{2}	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.26
	im^{2}	house; home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.39; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.39
	im^{2}khre^{2}	household (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0067.26
	sâ-**im**	child-house	Matisoff 1987
	swê-**ʔim**	placenta ("blood-house")	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	ʔim	house	Matisoff 1978a:90
	ʔu-**im**	paunch, tripe ('intestine-house')	Matisoff 1987:42
	ʔə ca-**ʔim**	food-house	Matisoff 1987
Hpun (Northern)	**aíŋ**	house	Henderson 1986
	aíŋ mù	roof (cp. House)	Henderson 1986
	aíŋ tíʔ	house-site	Henderson 1986
	aíŋ khó	rafter (bamboo) (cp. House)	Henderson 1986
	nó **aíŋ**	your house	Henderson 1986
	ŋáʾ **aíŋ**	my house	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**jạm^{31}**	household; house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0067.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**jọm^{33}**	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.33
Maru [Langsu]	**jạm^{31}**	house; home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.43; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.43
	yàm	house	Weidert 1987:196
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**jum^{51}**	house	LaPolla 1987:182
	jụm^{51}	household; house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0067.30; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.30
	jụm^{51}	house; home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.42; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.42
	yúm	house	Weidert 1987:196

[a] Lit. "blood-house".

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***yim^{1}** HOUSE

**Loloish*	***yim^{1}**	house	Weidert 1987:196; Bradley 1979b:341

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Liangshan)	**ʑi^{33}**	house	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{33}go^{34}	house, vacant	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{33}gu^{34}**ʑi^{33}**lɯ^{34}	house, near the	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{33}ȵi^{34}a^{21}bo^{33}	man of the house	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{33}ȵi^{34}a^{21}mo^{21}	woman of the house	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{33}ʂl^{55}	house, new	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{34}li^{33}	house, old	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{34}po^{33}	house size	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{34}vu^{33}ka^{34}ʂa^{33}	house, narrow	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{34}tshu^{33}	build (a house)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{55}khu^{33}**ʑi^{55}**ʂl^{33}	house, inside the	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**xe^{21}**	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.26
	xe^{21}; ɣɯ^{33}	home;home (use as M.W.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**hɛ^{33}**	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.24
	xi^{33}	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.37
	xi^{33}pɑ^{33}	move (house)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1138.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**hi^{55}**	house; home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.23; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.23
Yi (Weishan)	**hi^{55}**	household; house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0067.36; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.36
Yi (Wuding)	**hɚ^{11}**	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.38
Yi (Xide)	**ʑi^{33}**	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.35
	ʑi^{33}ka^{33}	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu	**yɛ̀**	house	LaPolla 1987:182; Benedict 1972:53
	yɛ̌	house	Weidert 1987:196
Lahu (Lancang)	**ʐɛ^{31}**	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.43
Lahu (Black)	**yɛ̀**	house	Matisoff 1978a:90
	zɛ^{53}	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ʐɛ^{5}**	house	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**hĩ^{33}**	house; home; C classifier for houses (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**hi^{33}**	house; home	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.27; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:349.27
Lisu (Northern)	**hĩ^{33}** ka^{33}tæ^{33}	on top of the house	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33} thi^{21} **hĩ^{33}**	house; a school; a shop	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}be^{21}	old house	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}dʑi^{21}hɤ^{35}	side board (wooden planks in the walls of the house)	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}gaʔ^{21} **hĩ^{33}**dʑi^{33}	around the house	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}gaʔ^{21}dʑæ^{33}	around the house; beside the house	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}gɔ^{21}	vacant house	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}je^{33}	build a house; mend a house	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}khu^{21} fu^{33}su^{33}	house keeper; house attendant	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}khu^{21} fu^{35}je^{21}	household sideline occupation	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}khwa^{33}	in the house; in the family; in the room	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}kwa^{33}	at home; in the room	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}ly^{33}	old house	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}pha^{21}tɕæ^{33}	big house	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}ɔ^{55}dy^{33}	roof; top of house	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}ʃl̩ʔ^{21}	new house	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}ɕa^{35}	build a house; mend a house	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}ɕa^{35} mɔ^{21}gwa^{21}	Song of Building a House (name of a long poem)	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}ɕa^{35}su^{33}	one who builds a house	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**h'i^{4}**	abode (house) (n.)	Fraser 1922
	h'i^{4}	dwelling (house); house; home	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	aŋ-jàt-ja-**húm**	womb	Beaudouin 1988:16
Mpi	**ʔiŋʔ^{6}**	house	Matisoff 1978a:90
	ʔiŋʔ^{6}	house (n.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**jum45**	house	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:060007
	jum45 choi45	build a house (v.)	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:062001

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**xɛ^{21}**	house	Pelkey 2011:424
	xɛ^{21}tɕi^{22}ŋi^{33}	in front of house	Pelkey 2011:1118
Southern Muji	**ʐɛ^{21}**	house; home	Pelkey 2011:424; Pelkey 2011:425
Phola	**ʐɛ^{23}**	house	Pelkey 2011:424
Hlepho Phowa	**hɛ^{21}**	house	Pelkey 2011:424
	hɛ^{21}də^{55}	home	Pelkey 2011:425
	hɛ^{21}kə^{33}	home	Pelkey 2011:425
Phu Kha	**hɛ^{31}**	house	Fried 2000
Phuza	**ʐɛ^{31}**	house; home	Pelkey 2011:424; Pelkey 2011:425

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	**ʑi**˧dv˧	house building (entire farm)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʑi˧dv˧i˧hĩ˧ ʈʂ^{h}ɯ˧v˧	person in charge of the house	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʑi˧kv˧u˧	roof	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʑi˧q^{h}wɤ˧	building; houses	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʑi^{33}**khuɑ^{33}	house	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:348.29

7. KARENIC: ***hyi [m]** HOUSE

**Karen*	***hyi [m]**	house	Benedict 1972:138n371
Karen	**xi^{31}**	house (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0494.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**hyân**	house, home (N.)	Manson 2010
	hyân bwê	house owner [lit. house-lord] (N.)	Manson 2010
	hyân kó	family, household [lit. house-in] (N.)	Manson 2010
	hyân kó p^{h}ò	family [lit. house-in-DIM] (N.)	Manson 2010
	hyân krə̄n	building material [lit. house-decorate] (N.)	Manson 2010
	hyân k^{h}lón	gutter [lit. house-half.section] (N.)	Manson 2010

	hyân lān	land for housing (part of the inheritance) [lit. house-place] (N.)	Manson 2010
	hyân lą̣	area under a house [lit. house-under] (N.)	Manson 2010
	hyân pʰán	house and paddy (Ncoord.)	Manson 2010
	hyân pʰò pʰán pʰò	family [lit. house-DIM-storage-DIM] (Nelab.)	Manson 2010
	hyân sʰí kʰlí	ship [lit. house-boat] (N.)	Manson 2010
	tʰân **hyân** θə́ɨ	(new) house dedication (N.)	Manson 2010
	ù **hyán** ù pʰán	look after your house [lit. look-house-look-paddy store] (Velab.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**lâm**	house	Solnit 1989

Chinese comparandum

坽 OC ***k'i̱əm***, *GSR* #651i 'pit'; Coblin 86:119 ST ***khyim*** > OC ***khjəmx***; Schuessler 2007:430 ***khəm?***; B & S 2011: ***(kʰəm?***; Mand. ***qǐn***.
宮 OC ***ki̱ôŋ***; *GSR* #1006a-d 'dwelling, house, palace'; B & S 2011: ***kuŋ {k(r)uŋ}***; Mand. ***gōng***.

(17) PTB *lyap ⩙ *rap COPULATE / LOVE

This etymon is attested in the NE Indian Areal Group and Himalayish, with a possible cognate in Loloish (Bisu). The initial shows variation between **l-** and **r-**. This root seems to be quite distinct from PTB ***la*** COPULATE / LOVE (§1.9.8), below. The final **-t** in the Tangkhul forms is unexplained. See TBRS 151.

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**lyeb**-ga:	copulate	Matisoff 1987
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	kha ŋa **rāt**	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	rat	copulate	Bhat 1969:86
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	do **rap rap**	copulate	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	i **rap**-chom	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	i **rap-rap**	copulate	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	sem **lep** i	love (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**rāp**-sā	love (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.52
	rap-sa	love	Caughley 1972:10.B.1.52
Magar	**ro**-ke	love (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.01
	ro-ke	love (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.52
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Bisu	aŋ **làp** ʔmbā	genitals	Beaudouin 1988:14

[a]The basic meaning of Karbi **rap** is 'to befriend; to be together'. It occurs as an auxiliary after other verbs (e.g. **do** 'be; exist', **i** 'sleep'), meaning 'to V together'.

(18) NEIA * p/b wam LOVE / DESIRE / COPULATE

This root is solidly attested in the NE Indian Areal Group (Chin [Lai], Naga [Lotha, Phom] and Meithei), but so far it has not been discovered anywhere else.

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**pom**	copulate, make love	Matisoff 1987:D.Van Bik
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	chi **pon**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**pam**	desire; love (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	**bam**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967

(19) PKC *tsi(i)ŋ-I, *tsi(i)n-II BARREN / CHILDLESS

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tsi(i)ŋ**-I, tsi(i)n-II	BARREN / CHILDLESS	VanBik 2009:521
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**chiing**	barren	VanBik 2009:521
Thado	**tsíiŋ**-I, tsìin-II	barren, impotent, childless	VanBik 2009:521
Tiddim	**cing**^{2} > cin^{3}	barren, impotent	VanBik 2009:521
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**toeéyng**	infertile, barren (of a woman or female animal)	VanBik 2009:521
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**tsĭiŋ**-I, tsìin-II	barren, childless (be v.)	VanBik 2009:521
Lai (Hakha)	**tsîŋ**-I, tsĭn-II	barren, childless (be v.)	VanBik 2009:521
Lushai [Mizo]	**chĭŋ**-I, chìn-II	barren, impotent, childless (be v.)	VanBik 2009:521
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**chò**	barren, unfruitful, childless (be v.)	VanBik 2009:521

1.9.7 Penis

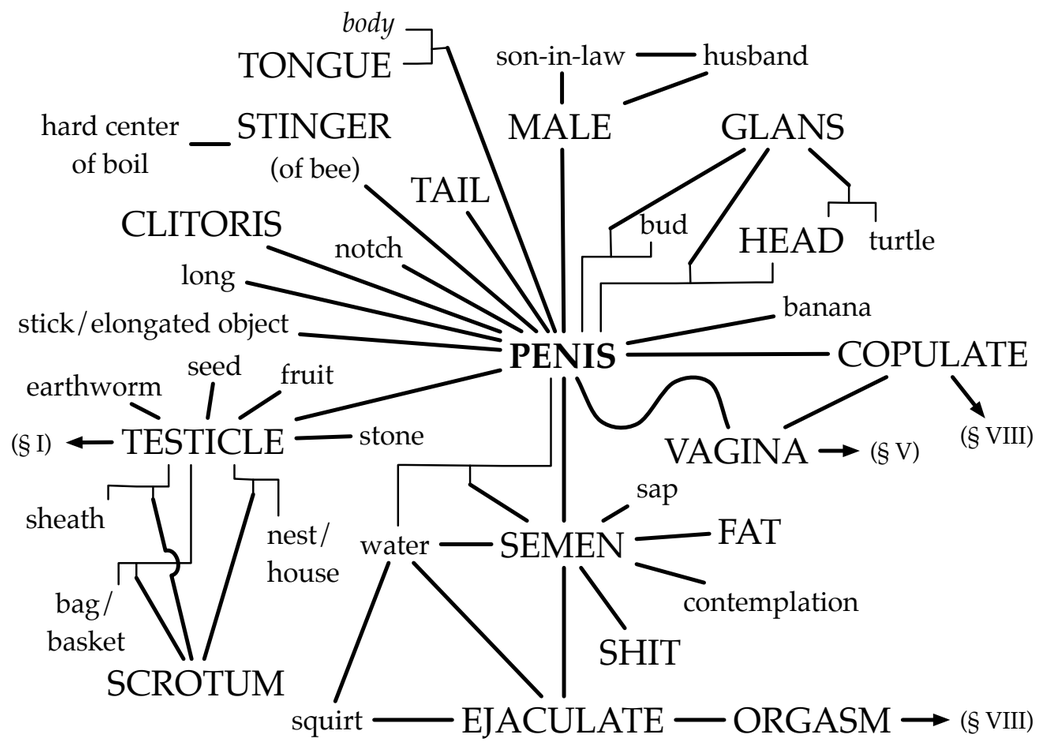


Figure 160: 1.9.7 *Penis*

THE various components of the male genitalia show semantic associations with a number of other bodyparts, as well as with a wide range of objects in other semantic fields. Some of these associations are widespread or universal in the world's languages; others seem more idiosyncratic to ST or the SEA'n linguistic area.

Among the universal semantic associations we may list the following:

(1) PENIS ⟷ TAIL: The English word *penis* itself is from Lat. *pēnis* 'tail' (cf. also Fr. *queue* < Lat. *cauda* 'tail'), among countless other examples. The widespread TB etymon for TAIL PTB ***r-may ⩙ *m-ray*** ***may ⩙ *mey ⩙ *mi*** (cf. also Chinese 尾 OC ***mi̱wər***) has similar associations, e.g. Jingpho **mài**, **ǹ-mài** 'tail; a euphemistic name for the male private parts' (Hanson 1906/1954, p. 400).

(2) PENIS ⟷ BANANA: This connection is made explicitly in Kokborok **tʰa-li** (see PTB ***m-ley ⩙ *m-li*** PENIS (§1.9.7) below) and in Newar **mwā-e** 'banana; penis'.

(3) GLANS PENIS ⟷ PENIS + HEAD: This is a universal association (cf. WT **mje-mgo**; Lahu **nī-ó-qō**; Lisu (Northern) **ɔ^{55}dy^{33}** 'head', **hɔ̃^{21}ɔ^{55}dy^{33}** 'penis'; Yakha **tu khəruk** 'head', **li: go: u tu kəruk** 'glans'; Qiang (Mawo) **qạ pætʂ** 'head', **li qạ pætʂ** 'glans'; Eng. *dick-head*).

(4) TESTICLE ⟷ EGG: This is also a universal association (cf. e.g. Russian *jajtsy* 'eggs; testicles', Hebrew *beytsim* 'id.'). The same etymon may have some reflexes meaning EGG and others meaning TESTICLE. Several TB etyma showing this association have been treated above under EGG (Chapter 1.9.1); others will be treated below in this chapter. Alternatively a language may have a compound word for TESTICLE of the structure PENIS + EGG.

(5) TESTICLE ⟷ FRUIT / BALL / ROUNDED OBJECT: TB compounds for TESTICLE frequently take the form PENIS + FRUIT/ROUND OBJECT, e.g. Lahu **nī-šī** 'testicle' (2nd syll. < PTB ***sey*** FRUIT / ROSE / ROUND OBJECT (§1.2.6)).[*]

Cf. also Newar **kwaa-si** 'testicles' (lit. "hot-fruit"), reminiscent of the vulgar English simile "hot as balls".

(6) TESTICLE ⟷ STONE: Also a widespread association in the world's languages, including archaic English slang. In TB, cf. formations like Monpa **khong-lung** 'testicle' (**lung** 'stone').

(7) SCROTUM ⟷ BASKET / BAG / POUCH / NEST: This obvious association occurs in Lat. *scrōtum* < *scrautum* 'leather pouch for arrows', and is also found in TB, e.g. Lahu **nī-sī-phɨ** 'scrotum', **phɨ** 'nest; receptacle' < PTB ***k^{w}əy*** NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA (§1.9.6). Cf. also PTB ***s-blwaŋ*** SCROTUM / POUCH / MALE (of animals) (§1.9.7), PTB ***ʔip ⩙ *ʔi:t*** BAG / SCROTUM (§1.9.7).

(8) SEMEN ⟷ PENIS + LIQUID: Cf. Nesu **le̱r^{33} ʐɻ^{21}** and Noesu **ɬu^{55}ʐi^{21}**, where the second element < PTB ***rəy*** WATER / LIQUID / BODILY FLUID (§1.9.9), and WB **lî-rañ**.

SEMANTIC associations that seem more peculiar to the SEA'n linguistic area include the following:

(9) PENIS ⟷ VAGINA: Many etyma have some reflexes which refer to the male organ, but others which refer to the female counterpart, a phenomenon that has been dubbed 'genital flipflop' (see chapter note under VAGINA). Etyma like this should perhaps be assigned the gender-neutral gloss GENITALS at the proto-level. Several have been treated under VAGINA (Chapter 1.9.5, above); others will be treated below in this chapter.

(10) PENIS ⟷ BODY + TONGUE: Cf. Garo **maŋ-sre** 'penis' < PTB ***s-maŋ*** BODY / CORPSE (§1.1.6.1) + PTB ***s/m-l(y)a-t *s-lya* TONGUE**. This form was cited in Benedict 1979:24.

(11) TESTICLE ⟷ SEED: Cf. WB **lî-ce'**, lit. "penis-seed".

(12) GLANS ⟷ NOTCH: Cf. WB **lî-thac** 'corona glandis', lit. "penis-notch", and Lahu **nī-qhɛ̀?** 'penis', where the second syllable means 'notch (as a stick); chip; break off a piece'.

(13) GLANS ⟷ BUD: Cf. WB **lî-ŋum** 'glans', lit. "penis-bud".

(14) GLANS ⟷ TURTLE: While Latin *glāns* means 'acorn', Mandarin **guī-tóu** 'glans penis' means literally "turtle-head". (For obvious reasons, this formation is especially appropriate for the uncircumcised organ.) The data is so far insufficient to establish whether this same metaphor occurs in TB languages.

(15) SEMEN ⟷ SHIT: A few languages associate semen with SHIT / BODY DIRT / EXCRETION. Cf. Lahu **nī-qhê** "penis-shit", Chepang **təyŋ-kli?** 'id.', and Bantawa **lü-khü-wa** (**khü** 'stool, excreta'). In Jingpho **ne^{31}khji^{55}**, however, this combination of morphemes means SMEGMA.

(16) SEMEN ⟷ FAT: Cf. Lahu **nī-chu** 'semen' (lit. "penis-fat").

Few monomorphemic etyma are reconstructible for SEMEN, with three possibilities offered below in Chapter 1.9.9: PTB ***(r/w)a*** SEMEN (§1.9.9), PTB ***ŋya*** SEMEN (§1.9.9), and PKC ***(ɓ/p)oo*** SPERM / SEMEN (§1.9.9).

Words for FORESKIN/PREPUCE, naturally enough, are compounds of PENIS + SKIN (see Chapter 1.6.5).

Expressions for COPULATE frequently involve PENIS plus a verb. See Chapter 1.9.8.

(1) PTB *m- l/n ey ⩙ *m-li PENIS

This is by far the most widely attested etymon for PENIS in TB, occurring in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese (including Jinuo), and Qiangic. (See *STC* #262, which cites reflexes from the first three of these groups.) The nasal prefix is well-established, appearing e.g. in WT and other Himalayish languages. This prefix has caused nasalization of the root-initial lateral in several languages (e.g. Meithei and Jingpho), or even driven out or "preempted" the root-initial entirely (as in Chang Naga or Lahu). Those forms which have developed a secondary nasal root-initial are presented separately below as set PTB ***m-ney*** PENIS (§1.9.7). A couple of Loloish languages (Lalo, Lisu) have reflexes in **h-**. It is possible that these point to an alternant with sibilant prefix, ***s-ley*** (as is reflected more directly in Phunoi **hle^{11}** and Lepcha **săli**). Several Loloish languages (Lalo, Lipho, Lolopho, Nesu, Sani/Nyi) have words for PENIS and TESTICLE with initial **d-**. Since it is true that there is much interplay between **l-** and **d-** in ST,[*] and it is also the case that palatalized labial initials are sometimes dentalized in Loloish languages like Sani,[*] it might seem reasonable to assign these reflexes in **d-** to ***m-ley*** if we posit an intermediate palatalized prototype like ***myey***. However, Lalo has forms with both **d-** and **h-** (**de^{33}se^{21}** 'testicle', **he^{21}** 'penis'), which suggests that two separate etyma are involved. I am therefore assigning the reflexes in **d-** to PTB ***ti-k*** PENIS (§1.9.7), below.

Several languages have forms that resemble reflexes of this etymon, but which are really loans from Indo-Aryan (cf. Skt. *lingam*): WB ***lin*-khu'** 'scrotum', Kanauri **liṅ** 'penis (polite)'.

[*]Note that TESTICLE ⟷ NUT is not characteristic of SEA, since languages in this region generally lack a word for NUT distinct from FRUIT. Cf. Chinese 果 (Mand. **guǒ**), used equally well for FRUIT (more specifically 水果 Mand. **shuǐguǒ** "water-fruit") and NUT, e.g. 開心果 Mand. **kāixīnguǒ** 'pistachio' (lit. "open-heart-fruit").

[*]See the note under PTB ***m/s-la(:)y ⩙ *s-tay*** NAVEL (§1.9.3), above.

[*]E.g. PTB/PLB ***my-*** > Sani **n-** (e.g. PTB ***s-myak ⩙ *s-mik*** EYE (§1.2.6) > Sa. **ne^{44}**); ***by-*** > Sani **dl-** (e.g. PTB ***b(y/r)a *bya*** BEE > Sa. **dla-ma**); ***py-*** > Sa. **tl-** (e.g. PTB ***(p/b)yam*** FLY (v.) (§6.7.5) > Sa. **tlö**); see *STC*, n. 93, p. 29.

(1a) PTB *m-ley ⩙ *m-li PENIS

There is apparently a slight variation in the rhyme of this etymon between ***-ey*** and ***-i***, although the reflexes of these two rhymes are not distinguishable for many TB languages at present. *STC* (#262 and note 197) recognizes "vowel gradation" in this root, assigning Kanauri **kut-li**, Bahing **bli**, WB **lî**, Garo **ri-gaŋ**, and Dimasa **li** to PTB ***li**, but WT **mdźe** to ***m-ley**. For convenience, we are grouping all the reflexes of this etymon with lateral initials together in PTB ***m-ley ⩙ *m-li**, regardless of the precise proto-rhyme to which they may eventually be assigned.

See also *HPTB* ***m-ley ⩙ *m-li**, pp. 47, 49, 153, 219, 509.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***li**	penis	Benedict 1972:262
	***li** ~ **m-ley**	penis	Michailovsky 1991:138
	***m-ley**	penis	Weidert 1987:142
	***m-ley ⩙ li**	penis	Matisoff 1985a:049
	***m-ley ⩙ m-li**	penis	Matisoff 2003a:599
	***m-ləy ⩙ m-ley**	earth	Matisoff 1985a:152
	***mlye**	penis	Weidert 1987:142

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	bu **ri** khaw	testicle	Singh 1991:10.3.5

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**li**	penis	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:049; Benedict 1972:262
Kokborok	**bələy**	penis	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	t^{h}a-**li**	banana	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988 [a]

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**ri**	penis	Weidert 1987:142
	ri-gaŋ	penis	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:049; Benedict 1972:262
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ri**-gong	penis	Burling 1992
	ri-ku-chil	foreskin	Burling 1992
	ri-sim-ang	male pubic hair	Burling 1992
	ri-sip-il	testicles	Burling 1992

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	kut-**li**	penis	Matisoff 1985a:049; Benedict 1972:262
	kut **lī**	penis (less polite)	Matisoff 1987
	les	penis	Sharma 1988:27 [b]

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	kha^{13} **ndzɻ^{53}**	penis	Sun Hongkai 1991a:10.3.1
	li^{53} dɐ^{341}	testicle	Sun Hongkai 1991a:10.3.5

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ndʑe**	penis	Sun 1985a:743
	ndʑe ^{n}go	glans penis	Sun 1985a:304
Tibetan (Balti)	**že**·	penis	Rangan 1975:74
Tibetan (Batang)	**dʑɛ^{55}** baʔ^{53}	foreskin	Dai Qingxia 1989a:10.3.3
	dʑɛ^{55} ngo^{53}	glans penis	Dai Qingxia 1989a:10.3.2
Tibetan (Written)	gsaṅ-**mje**	penis (resp.)	Matisoff 1987 [c]
	mdźe	penis	Matisoff 1985a:049
	mje	penis	Luce 1985:X.35; Sun 1985c:743
	mje mgo	glans penis	Sun 1985c:304
	mje	penis	Matisoff 1987
	mje-mgo	glans penis	Matisoff 1987
	mje-rlig	penis and testicles	Matisoff 1987

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**săli** krik	penis	Matisoff 1987 [d]

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{A}**mle:**	penis	Mazaudon 1994:768
Chantyal	mfio **le**	penis	Noonan *et al.* 1992:10.3.1
Manang (Gyaru)	**mlɛ^{1}**	penis	Nagano 1984:042-07
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{2}mle**	penis	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0510
	^{3}mle	penis	Mazaudon 1994:768
Tamang	**mle^{fl}**-ka	penis	Weidert 1987:631
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{3}mlẽ** ka	penis (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:10.3.1
Tamang (Sahu)	**mlẽ**-ka	penis	Matisoff 1987
Thakali (Syang)	**^{51}mle**	penis	Mazaudon 1994:768
Thakali (Tukche)	**mleh**-cham	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	mleh-c^{h}ɔm	hair (pubic, male)	Hari 1971:2.A.10.1
	^{3}mle	penis	Mazaudon 1994:768
	^{3}mle-^{H}ts^{h}əm	pubic hair (male)	Mazaudon 1994:768

2.3. Kiranti

**BSDTK*	***bli**	penis	Michailovsky 1991:138

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**le** wa ɖin	testicle	Weidert 1987:617b
Belhare	**li**	penis	Bickel 1995
Limbu	**le**	penis; top of penis	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:138; Matisoff 1987
	le hoŋ	hole of penis; meatus urinarius	Matisoff 1987
	le:	penis	Weidert 1987:142
	le bong	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	lE dwa	glans penis	Michailovsky 1989b
	le hek	top of penis	Matisoff 1987
	lE khaŋ	glans penis	Michailovsky 1989b
	le mu rik	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	lE nt-	glans penis	Michailovsky 1989b
	lE suŋ	male genitals	Michailovsky 1989b
	le thim ba	testicle	Michailovsky 1989b
	le wā	semen	Matisoff 1987
	lɛ dhi:m ba	testicle ("penis-egg")	Weidert 1987:142; Weidert 1987:617b
Yakha	**li:**	penis	Kohn 1990:10.3.1
	li: geŋ	testicle	Kohn 1990:10.3.5
	li: go: u muŋ	male pubic hair	Kohn 1990:10.3.6
	li: go: u tu kəruk	glans penis	Kohn 1990:10.3.2
	li: gəu: wə ha rik	foreskin	Kohn 1990:10.3.3

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

**Kul-Cham-Ban*	***li**	penis	Michailovsky 1991:138
Bantawa	**li**	penis	Michailovsky 1991:138; Matisoff 1987; Rai 1985; Rai *et al.* 1984:45
	li-wa-din	testicle	Rai *et al.* 1984:46 [e]
	lü-khü-wa	semen	Rai *et al.* 1984:47
	lU khU wa	semen	Rai 1985
	l Ua Din	testicle	Rai 1985

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**li:**	penis	Michailovsky 1991:138; Driem 1993
Khaling	**'li** swām	hair (pubic)	Matisoff 1987
	li	penis	Michailovsky 1991:138

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**bli**	penis	Michailovsky 1991:138; Benedict 1972:262
Hayu	bi **mli**	genitals	Michailovsky 1991:138; Matisoff 1987 [a]
Thulung	**ble**	penis	Michailovsky 1991:138; Allen 1975
	le-	copulate	Allen 1975
	le koak ti	testicle	Allen 1975

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**be le**	penis	Dai Qingxia 1989e:10.3.1
	l dai^{1}	testicle	Sofronov c1978 [b]

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Longxi)	**lià** χù	male pubic hair	Evans 1999:144.1
Qiang (Mawo)	**liq**	penis	Sun 1986
	li hu̯	pubic hair(male)	Sun 1986
	li hu̯ŋ	male pubic hair	Sun Hongkai 1991g:10.3.6
	li qə̯ pætʂ	glans penis	Sun Hongkai 1991g:10.3.2 [c]
Qiang (Yadu)	**læq**	penis	Dai Qingxia 1989q:144

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	*(**n**)-li^{2}	penis	Weidert 1987:142

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Xiandao)	**li^{55}** tsi^{31}	testicles	Dai Qingxia 1989f:142
Burmese (Written)	**lî**	penis; penis (vulgar)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:049; Matisoff 1974:260; Benedict 1976a
	lì	penis	Benedict 1972:262
	lî khyôŋ	glans penis	Matisoff 1987
	lî-ce'	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	lî-chan	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	lî-rañ	semen	Matisoff 1987
	lî-thac	corona glandis	Matisoff 1987
	lî-ŋum	glans penis	Matisoff 1987 [d]
	lī^{4}	penis	Luce 1985:X.35
	lə ʔu	scrotum	Matisoff 1987 [e]

6.1.2. Loloish: *(**n**)-li^{2} PENIS

**Loloish*	*(**n**)-li^{2}	penis	Weidert 1987:294; Bradley 1979b:122

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**hè**	penis	Björverud 1994
	he^{21}	penis	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.1
Nesu	**le̱r^{33}** ʑɭ^{21}	semen	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.7
Noesu	**ɬu^{55}**ʑi^{21}	semen	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.7

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**li^{55}** tsɻ^{33}	testicles	Dai Qingxia 1989h:145
Lisu	**h'aw^{5}**	penis	Bradley 1979b:122; Matisoff 1985a:049
Lisu (Northern)	**hɔ̃^{21}**ɔ^{55}dy^{33}	glans penis	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**h'aw^{5}**	penis	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**la^{55}**fu^{33}	testicle (N.)	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	beuˆ **leuˆ**	penis (polite)	Lewis 1989 [f]
Bisu	**hlè**	penis	Bradley 1979b [g]
	hlə̆ ʔu^{33}	testicles	Bradley 1979b
	lè thɛ	penis	Beaudouin 1988:15
	lè ʔu	testicles	Beaudouin 1988:15
Mpi	tɕhɑ^{2}**lɑʔ^{4}**	penis	Bradley 1979b [h]

[a] This is an antonymic compound meaning literally "vagina-penis".
[b] Note the reduced Tangut **l-**.
[c] Qiang (Mawo) **qə̯ pætʂ** 'head'.
[d] WB **ŋum** 'flower bud'.
[e] Note the reduction to schwa in WB **lə**.
[f] The stopped tone in the second syllable is unexplained. Note, however, the final **-q** in some Qiang forms, such as Qiang (Mawo) **liq** 'penis'.
[g] The voiceless lateral in Bisu **hlè** reflects an ***s-*** prefix (cf. Lepcha **săli**).
[h] According to Bradley (1979:304-5), this form coexists with Mpi **ne^{2}**; see PTB ***m-ney*** PENIS (§1.9.7).

(1b) PTB *m-ney PENIS

This etymon is obviously an allofam of PTB ***m-ley ⩙ *m-li*** PENIS (§1.9.7). The reflexes in this set arose through assimilation of the lateral root-initial to the nasal prefix. In some cases (e.g. Jingpho, Meithei) the prefix still co-occurs with the secondary nasal root-initial. In other languages (e.g. Lahu) the prefix has disappeared as such, after supplanting the original root-initial ("prefix preemption").* This allofam occurs in Jingpho, and is widely attested in Lolo-Burmese; there are also a few scattered reflexes in languages of the NE Indian Areal Group (Chang, Meithei, Mru).

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**mənu**	penis	Singh 1991:10.3.1

1.6. Mru

Mru	**nia-**	penis	Matisoff 1987
	niɑ^{1}	penis	Luce 1985:Q.51
	niɑ^{4}	penis	Luce 1985:Q.51

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**nè**	penis	Weidert 1987:294

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**mənē**	penis	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:260
	mənè~mənéʔ	penis	Matisoff 1985a:049
	nē	penis	Matisoff 1987
	ne-di	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	ne-rú-rú	masturbation	Matisoff 1987
	ne-zu	semen	Matisoff 1987
	ne^{31}kha?^{55}	corona glandis (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}khji^{55}	smegma (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}kjo̱^{31}	sexually dysfunctional male (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}laŋ^{33}	penis (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}mun^{33}	male pubic hair (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}phji?^{31}	foreskin / prepuce (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}pot^{31}	penis shaft (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}si^{33}	impotence (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}tan^{31}	large penis (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}than^{33}	glans penis (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}ti^{31}	scrotum (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}tsu^{33}	semen (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}tu̱m^{33}	testicles (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}tʃin^{31}	circumcised penis (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}up^{55}	uncircumcised penis (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}ʒaŋ^{33}	sexually potent male (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	ne^{31}ʒuʔ^{55}	masturbation (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	nèʔ-ūm	foreskin / prepuce	Matisoff 1974:126 [a]
	^{1}mə^{1}nye	penis	Weidert 1987:294

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Xiandao)	**n̥i^{31}**	penis	Dai Qingxia 1989f:141
Bola	**ŋ̊jī^{35}**	penis	Dai Qingxia 1989g:141

[a] Final nasal in Jingpho **-ūm** perhaps result of assimilation to preceding round vowel.

* For the first use of the term "prefix preemption" see Matisoff 1972, "Tangkhul Naga and comparative TB".

	ŋji̱^{35} tʃʅ^{35}	testicles	Dai Qingxia 1989g:142	
Lashi	**ŋji̱**^{55} tʃei^{55}	testicle	Dai Qingxia 1989m:10.3.5	
Maru [Langsu]	**nʔyī**	penis	Weidert 1987:294; Matisoff 1985a:049	
	ŋji̱^{35} tʃi̱k^{55}	testicle	Dai Qingxia 1989l:10.3.5	
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nʔyì**	penis	Weidert 1987:294; Matisoff 1985a:049	
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish				
**Common Lahu*	***ni_**	penis	Bradley 1979b:122	
Lahu (Shehleh)	**ni_** hk'eh‸	penis	Bradley 1979a:122	
Lahu (Nyi)	**nyi_** hk'eh‸	penis	Bradley 1979a:122	
Lahu (Black)	**nī** thû	have an erection; be aroused	Matisoff 1988a:681; Matisoff 1988a:769	
	nī(-qhɛ̀ʔ)	penis	Matisoff 1987	
	nī-chu	semen	Matisoff 1974:83	
	nī-ó-qō	glans penis	Matisoff 1987	a
	nī-qhɛ̀ʔ	penis	Matisoff 1985a:049; Matisoff 1974:260	b
	nī-qhɛ̂	smegma; semen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987	
	nī-šī	testicle	Matisoff 1987	
	nī-sī-phɨ	scrotum	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987	
	nī-sī-u	testicle	Matisoff 1987	
	nī-u-tɛ́	testicle	Matisoff 1987	
Lahu (Bakeo)	**ni_** hk'eh‸	penis	Bradley 1979a:122	
Lahu (Banlan)	**ni_**	penis	Bradley 1979a:122	
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish				
Mpi	**ne**^{2}	penis	Bradley 1979b	c
Côông [Phunoi]	**nè**	penis	Bradley 1979b	
Ugong	**ní**	penis	Bradley 1993:10.3.1	
	ní khû	testicle	Bradley 1993:10.3.5	
	ní kɔŋ	penis hole	Bradley 1993	
	ní wŭŋ	semen	Bradley 1993:10.3.7	

[a] Literally "penis-head".
[b] Lahu **qhɛ̀ʔ** 'to be notched'; probably so called because of the notched appearance of the corona glandis.
[c] According to Bradley (1979:304-5), this form coexists with Mpi **tɕhɑ**^{2}**lɑʔ**^{4}; see PTB ***m-ley ⪤ *m-li**.

(2) PTB *m-yaŋ PENIS / TESTICLE / STINGER (of bee)

This etymon has so far been uncovered almost exclusively in the NE Indian Areal Group, where it is widely attested. The Lailenpi and Lotha forms point to a prototype with nasal prefix, ***N-yaŋ**. Many of the daughter languages have developed initial **z-** in this etymon. In several languages, the meaning of this word extends to 'stinger of bee', which perhaps is the original meaning. For the stinging semantics, cf. vulgar English *prick*.

An excellent extra-NE Indian candidate for cognacy is Jingpho **rāŋ** 'to be concupiscent; to be driven by sexual desires; to burn with lust' (Hanson 1906/1954:564), recorded as **ʒaŋ**^{33} in Dai, et al. 1983:684, where it is glossed 性冲动 'sexual impulse'. See the compound **ne**^{31} **ʒaŋ**^{33} 'sexually potent male', under PTB ***m-ney** PENIS (§1.9.7), above.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani				
Milang	**ɲaŋ**-ke	male	Tayeng 1976	a
1.1.2. Deng				
Darang [Taraon]	**sã:** brã	scrotum	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987	
	sha: brẽ	scrotum	Matisoff 1987	
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***yaŋ** PENIS / STINGER (of bee)				
**Chin*	***yaŋ**	penis; stinger (of bee); PENIS; STINGER (of bee)	VanBik 2009:1224; VanBik 2009:1224	
Thanphum	**ʒɑŋ**^{5}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin				
Kuki-Chin	**jang** mul	male pubic hair	Haokip 1998:10.3.6	
Sizang	**zang**	penis	VanBik 2009:1224	
Thado	**záŋ**	penis	VanBik 2009:1224	
Tiddim	**zang**^{1}	penis	VanBik 2009:1224	
	zaŋ^{3}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin				
Asho (Sandoway)	ă`**yaʊŋ2**	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
Cho (Mindat)	**yang**	penis	VanBik 2009:1224	
Awa Khumi	ă **yã**^{2}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
Khumi	**jaang**	penis; stinger (of bee)	VanBik 2009:1224	
Awa Khumi	**yã**^{3}dü^{2}	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13	
Khumi (Ahraing)	**yã**^{1}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
Khumi (Bangladesh)	**yaang** kduy	male genitals ("penis + testicles")	Peterson 2008	
Matupi	**yɑŋ**^{4}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
Womatu	**yak**^{1}tui^{4}	testicles	Luce 1985:P.13	b
	yaŋ^{1}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
1.2.2. Central Chin				
Khualsim	**zaŋ**^{2}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
Lai (Hakha)	**zâŋ**	penis; stinger (of bee)	VanBik 2009:1224	
Lai (Falam)	**záŋ**	penis; stinger (of bee)	VanBik 2009:1224	
Lai (Hakha)	**zaŋ**^{5}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
Lushai [Mizo]	**zang**	penis	Matisoff 1987	
	zang tan	circumcise	Matisoff 1987	
	zăŋ	penis; stinger (of bee)	VanBik 2009:1224	
	zaŋ^{3}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
1.2.3. Maraic				
Lailenpi	mə **yə'**^{1}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
Lakher [Mara]	**zá**	penis	VanBik 2009:1224	
	za-vo	foreskin ("penis-skin")	Matisoff 1987	
	za-vo-tai	circumcision	Matisoff 1987	
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**yuə**^{3}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
	ʒuə^{3}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
Mera	**zɑ'**^{1}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
Tha'oa	**yaŋ**^{2}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
Xongsai	**zaŋ**^{2}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
	ʒaŋ^{2}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
Zotung	**zɑ̃**^{5}	penis	Luce 1985:P.20	
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"				
Kom Rem	**ǰəŋ**	penis	Toba & Kom 1991:10.3.1	
	ǰəŋ kəti mu	testicle	Toba & Kom 1991:10.3.5	
	ǰəŋ mih	male pubic hair	Toba & Kom 1991:10.3.6	
	ǰəŋ mət^{h}er	glans penis	Toba & Kom 1991:10.3.2	
	ǰəŋ vun	foreskin ("penis-skin")	Toba & Kom 1991:10.3.3	
Moyon	**jʌŋ**	penis	Kosha 1990:10.3.1	
	jʌŋ bów	semen	Kosha 1990:10.3.7	
	jʌŋ bów isòwʔ	ejaculate (v.)	Kosha 1990:10.3.8	
	jʌŋ brí	glans penis	Kosha 1990:10.3.2	
	jʌŋ brí khùm	foreskin	Kosha 1990:10.3.3	
	jʌŋ mówr	male pubic hair	Kosha 1990:10.3.6	
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)				
Lotha Naga	**Njo**	penis	Nienu 1990c:10.3.1	
	Njo hum	male pubic hair	Nienu 1990c:10.3.6	
	njo tsung	testicle	Nienu 1990c:10.3.5	
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ʃaŋ** PENIS				
**Tangkhulic*	***ʃaŋ**	penis	Mortensen 2012:480	
Huishu	ʔa-**so**	penis	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.303	
Tangkhul	**shaŋ** hon	ring on the penis; corona glandis	Matisoff 1987	
	shaŋ khā	testicle	Matisoff 1987	
	shaŋ kui	penis	Matisoff 1987	a
Tusom	ʔə-**sχã**	penis	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.296	
Ukhrul	**ʃɐŋ**-kuj	penis	Mortensen 2012	
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang				
Phom	**daŋ**^{33}	penis	Matisoff 1993	
1.7.3.1. Jingpho				
Jingpho	ne^{31}**ʒaŋ**^{33}	sexually potent male (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983	

[a] Milang **ɲ-** looks like a fusion of the nasal prefix plus the root-initial **y-**.
[b] Note the denasalization before a voiceless stop of Womatu **yak**^{1} (< PTB ***m-yaŋ** PENIS / TESTICLE / STINGER (of bee) (§1.9.7)).

[a] Tangkhul **kui** is homophonous with **kui** 'head', though this seems to be fortuitous, since **shaŋ kui** does not mean 'glans'.

(3a) PTB *k-tu-k PENIS

This root, which has allofams both with and without a final velar stop, is found in several different subgroups of TB: NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, Asakian, Qiangic (including Xixia), and Baic. It has so far not been discovered in Lolo-Burmese or Karenic.

This root resembles PTB ***tsu** PENIS (§1.9.7). The possibility that these two etyma might be one and the same is reinforced by the natural tendency of /**t**/ to become affricated before /**u**/, as witnessed by Japanese, where /**tu**/ is realized as [tsɯ].

This etymon also bears a perhaps accidental resemblance to PTB ***s-tu** VAGINA / VULVA (§1.9.5).

An apparently prefixal **k-** is attested in Kham and Spiti. Cf. also the Tangut binome **khĭu̯ thu**.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani				
Damu	mak-**tuk**	penis	Sun 1993b	
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group				
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **tho**^{55}	penis	Nienu 1990a:10.3.1	
Chokri	**thü**^{31} la^{31}	penis	Nienu 1990b:10.3.1	
	^{2}u^{2}**tho**^{2}la	penis	Weidert 1987:142	
1.7.1.1. Bodo				
Lalung [Tiwa]	**tu** dar	penis	Balawan 1965:78	a
	tu khi sha la	scrotum	Balawan 1965:78	
	tu ki ku thi	testicle	Balawan 1965:78	
2.1.2.1. Tibetan				
Spiti	**koto**	penis	Bodh 1991:10.3.1	
2.1.5. Dhimal				
Dhimal	**tau**	penis	King 1994	
	ta muĩ	man's pubic hair	King 1994	
	ta tui	penis	King 1994	
2.2. Newar				
Newar (Dolakhali)	**tuk** la	penis	Genetti 1990b	
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang				
Kham	**katu**	penis; penis (child's)	Watters & Watters 1989; Watters & Watters 1989	
3.1. Tangut				
Tangut [Xixia]	khĭu̯ **thu**	penis	Dai Qingxia 1989e:10.3.1	
	thu^{2}	penis	Sofronov c1978	
	Tu	penis	Nishida 1964:269-052	
3.3.1. rGyalrong				
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə sk^{h}ər **dok**	testicle	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.3.5	
8. Bai				
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tu**^{33}	penis	Zhao Yansun 1990:10.3.1	
	tu^{33} tɯ̱^{21} po̱^{21} k^{h}o^{33}	glans penis	Zhao Yansun 1990:10.3.2	b

[a] A Lalung subtlety should be noted: the first elements of **tu-dar** 'penis' and **tu ki ku-thi** 'testicle' are to be assigned to PTB ***k-tu-k** PENIS (§1.9.7); on the other hand, the first element of Lalung **tu-di** 'egg' is from PTB ***daw** BIRD (§2.1.10) 'bird'. This is somewhat confusing, since PTB ***d(w)əy** EGG / TESTICLE (§1.9.1) sometimes means 'testicle' rather than 'egg'.
[b] Bai **tɯ̱**^{21} **po̱**^{21} 'head'.

(3b) PTB *tsu PENIS

This allofam is only shakily attested. The Spiti and Ergong forms look parallel, and it is possible that the latter is a borrowing from a western Tibetan dialect (no similar form has been uncovered in Written Tibetan). The fit between the Hayu form and the others is excellent.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	^{2}ta^{3}**tsɯ**^{3}tšaŋ	testicle	Weidert 1987:617a
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Spiti	bu **tsu**	penis	Bodh 1991:10.3.1
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	pə **tsə**	penis	Dai Qingxia 1989b:10.3.1

(4) PTB *ti-k PENIS

This etymon is well-attested in Karenic and apparently also in Lolo-Burmese (see note above under PTB ***m-ley ⪤ *m-li** PENIS (§1.9.7)), with scattered but good-looking cognates in the NE Indian Areal Group (Meithei), Himalayish, and Asakian (Jingpho-Asakian).

In Chart L (Sak-Luish Group) of Luce 1985, under the confusing gloss "Penis/Testicles", two forms are given from Bawtala Sak, one from Dodem Sak, two from Ganan, and two from Kadu (Kantu). Where two forms are given from the same language, separated by a semicolon, I have assumed that the first one means 'penis' and the second one 'testicles', and have reglossed them accordingly. Under this interpretation, some syllables are assigned to the present root; while others, phonologically quite similar, are taken to mean 'testicle', and are assigned to PTB ***d(w)əy** EGG / TESTICLE (§1.9.1), above [q.v.].

Rather arbitrarily, I assign reflexes with stop initials to this root and those with fricated or palatalized initials to PTB ***dzi** PENIS (§1.9.7).

Like the previous etymology PTB ***k-tu-k** PENIS (§1.9.7), some reflexes of this root have a final **-k**.

The resemblance to English *dick* appears entirely accidental.

1.4. Meithei				
Meithei	**ti**	penis	Singh 1991:10.3.1	
1.7.3.2. Asakian				
Kadu (Kantu)	**ti**^{1}	penis	Luce 1985:L.149	
Sak	a **kyí**	penis	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:42-7	
	a **kyí** tvu	testicle	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:42-8	
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **tji**^{2}	penis	Luce 1985:L.149	
Sak (Dodem)	ă **tji**^{4}	penis	Luce 1985:L149	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Bunan	**tig** pa	testicle	Sharma 1991a:10.3.5	
2.1.2.1. Tibetan				
Tibetan (Written)	**t'ig**-le	semen virile; contemplation	Matisoff 1987	a
2.1.3. Lepcha				
Lepcha	**t'ik**-ṅak	glans penis	Mainwaring 1898:151	

[a] This curious form receives four glosses in Jäschke, p. 231: (1) 'spot (as on a leopard)'; (2) 'zero, naught'; (3) '*semen virile*'; (4) 'contemplation'. Jäschke remarks that the last two senses are "mystically connected with each other" in Buddhist thought. (The sense of 'naught' seems like a recent extension of 'spot', since a small zero looks like a dot.) On *a priori* semantic grounds, another WT word, **t'igs-pa** 'drop (of liquid)' also looks like it might be related; but in other Himalayish languages similar forms have no liquid associations, e.g. Bunan **tig-pa** 'testicle' and Lepcha **t'ik** 'penis'. It looks as if 'spot/zero' and 'semen/contemplation' are mere homophones.

	t'ik-uṅ	sperma genitale; semen	Mainwaring 1898:151
	t'ik	penis	Matisoff 1987

6.1.2. LOLOISH

Lolopho	**dæ**^{33} mɯ^{33}	male pubic hair	DAI Qingxia 1989n:10.3.6
	dæ^{33} sæ^{31}	testicle	DAI Qingxia 1989n:10.3.5
	dæ^{33} vi^{33}	semen	DAI Qingxia 1989n:10.3.7
	dæ^{33} v̩^{55} dɯ^{33}	glans penis	DAI Qingxia 1989n:10.3.2
	dæ^{33} z̩o^{31}	penis	DAI Qingxia 1989n:10.3.1

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**de**-fu	testicle	Björverud 1994
	de^{33} tɕ^{h}y^{55}	male pubic hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.6
	de^{33}se^{21}	testicle	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.5
Lipho	**dɛ**^{33}	penis	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.1
	dɛ^{33}fu^{33}	testicle	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.5
	dɛ^{33}vi^{33}	semen	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.7
Nesu	**der**^{21} fu^{21}	testicle	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.5

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Sani [Nyi]	**dæ**^{33}	penis	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:78.1
	dæ^{33} ɬɑ^{33} n̩^{44} mɑ^{33}	testicles	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:78.2
	dɛ^{33}	penis	CHEN Kang 1986b
	dɛ^{33}ɬɒ^{33}ni̱^{33}mɒ^{33}	testicles	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	tæ^{33} ɬɑ^{33} mɑ^{33}	penis	MA Xueliang 1989:314.5
	tæ^{33} ɬɑ^{33} n̩^{44}	testicles	MA Xueliang 1989:314.6
	tæ^{33}ɬɑ^{33}mɑ^{33}	penis	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.1
	tæ^{33}ɬɑ^{33}mɑ^{33}no^{44}	male pubic hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.6
	tæ^{33}ɬɑ^{33}n̩^{44}	testicle	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.5

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	lɛ̀ **thɛ**	penis	Beaudouin 1988:15

7. KARENIC: *__te__^{B} PENIS, *__théq__ PENIS, *__thé?__ PENIS

**Karen*	*__te__^{B}	penis	Luangthongkum 2013:216
**Karen (Pwo)*	*__théq__	penis	Jones 1961:531
**Karen [Burling]*	*__the__^{2}	penis	Luangthongkum 2013:216
**Karen (Sgaw)*	*__thé?__	penis	Jones 1961:531
Bwe (Western)	**c'ɪ**^{2}	penis	Luce 1985:J.220
Geba	**ă t'i**^{2}	penis	Luce 1985:J.220
Kayah	**thi**^{11}	penis	Luangthongkum 2013:216
Kayan	**thai**^{11}	penis	Luangthongkum 2013:216
Kayaw	**thi**^{11}	penis	Luangthongkum 2013:216
Pa-O	**tê**	penis	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:531
Pa-O (Southern)	**te**^{33}	penis	Luangthongkum 2013:216
Pa-O (Northern)	**te**^{1}	penis	Luce 1985:J.220
	te^{55}	penis	Luangthongkum 2013:216
Paku	**t'e**^{3}	penis	Luce 1985:J.220
Pwo (Northern)	**thi**^{33}	penis	Luangthongkum 2013:216
Pwo (Southern)	**thi**^{55}	penis	Luangthongkum 2013:216
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**t'e**^{1}	penis	Luce 1985:J.220
Pwo (Delta)	**t'e**^{4}	penis	Luce 1985:J.220
Pwo (Bassein)	**thè**	penis	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:531
Pwo (Moulmein)	**thé?**	penis	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:531
Sgaw (Northern)	**the**$^{31\sim}$	penis	Luangthongkum 2013:216
Sgaw (Southern)	**the**^{45,}	penis	Luangthongkum 2013:216
Sgaw	**t'e**^{4}	penis	Luce 1985:J.220
Sgaw (Bassein)	**thè**	penis	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:531
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**t^{h}e**^{31}	penis	DAI Qingxia 1989k:144
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**thé?**	penis	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:531

(5) PTB *dzi PENIS

This etymon seems solid enough, though it has a rather strange distribution, occurring in scattered languages of the Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese (including Jinuo), and Asakian groups, as well as in the unclassified Tujia. There is not yet enough evidence to decide whether to reconstruct either a *voiced or *voiceless initial, or both *voiced and *voiceless allofams.

This root looks as if it might stand in an allofamic relationship with PTB ***ti-k*** PENIS (§1.9.7). Note, however, that the reflexes of PTB ***ti-k*** and the present root are quite different in Nesu and Sani.

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak (Bawtala)	ă **tji**^{2} tu^{4}	testicles	Luce 1985:L.149

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	**tsɪ:**$^{\circ}$ pɪ	urine, penis (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:72.1.109,

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**zi**^{21}	penis	CHEN Kang 1986c:10.3.1
	ʐi^{35}	penis	CHEN Kang 1986d:10.3.1

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nasu	**dzi**^{21}	penis	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.1
Nesu	**dzi**^{21}	penis	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.1
Nosu	**dze**^{21}ɲe^{33}	male pubic hair	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.6

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	a^{55}**ɕi**^{21}	penis	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.1
	dzi^{33}	penis	LUO Meizhen 1990:10.3.1
	ɑ^{55} **ɕi**^{21}	glans penis	LUO Meizhen 1990:10.3.2
	ɑ^{55} **ɕi**^{21} i^{33} tɕi^{22}	foreskin	LUO Meizhen 1990:10.3.3
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**tʃ^{h}ɤ**^{55} lɤ^{31}	penis	DAI Qingxia 1989h:144
Sani [Nyi]	**dzi**^{33}	penis	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	dzɻ^{33}	penis	MA Xueliang 1989:351.5

(6) PTB *m-bay PENIS

On the basis of the data so far available, this etymon has a fairly wide though scattered distribution, with reflexes in a single Himalayish language (Hayu), a few closely related Loloish languages (Noesu, Nosu, Nusu), and a couple of Qiangic languages (rGyalrong and Xixia). It is noteworthy that the nasal prefix is overtly attested in Hayu, rGyalrong, and Xixia, so that it may confidently be set up for PTB. This etymon is quite distinct from the most widely attested root for PENIS with nasal prefix, PTB ***m-ley*** ⩙ ***m-li*** PENIS (§1.9.7) above, as proven e.g. by the Hayu reflexes: ***m-ley*** > Hayu **mli**, ***m-be*** > Hayu **-(m)be**.

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	khõ**: be**	penis	Matisoff 1987	
	kho **mbe**	penis	Michailovsky 1991:138	
	tsɪ:$^{\circ}$ **pɪ**	urine, penis (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:72.1.109,	[a]

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**mbefi**	penis	Nishida 1964:211-112
	mbɪn^{2}	penis	Sofronov c1978

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mbi**	penis	SUN Hongkai 1991l:10.3.1
	tə **mbi** ku	glans penis	SUN Hongkai 1991l:10.3.2
	tə **mbi** ɻt^{h}ə	semen	SUN Hongkai 1991l:10.3.7
	tə **mbi** ɻt^{h}ə kətə	ejaculate (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:10.3.8
	tə **mbi** tɕ^{h}im	foreskin	SUN Hongkai 1991l:10.3.3
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **mbu** ndzom	glans penis	SUN Hongkai 1991k:10.3.2
	tə **mbu** ɻq^{h}u	foreskin	SUN Hongkai 1991k:10.3.3
	tə **mbu** tɕi	semen	SUN Hongkai 1991k:10.3.7

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Noesu	**be**^{33}	penis	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.1
Nosu	**be**^{33}	penis	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3.1
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**bɯ**^{55}	penis	DAI Qingxia 1989o:141.

[a] The relationship between the apparent Hayu doublet, **-pɪ** and **-(m)be**, is not clear.

(7) PTB *pwat PENIS

This etymon is of very restricted distribution, occurring only in the Jingpho-Asakian group. It appears unrelated to the equally restricted etymon PTB ***pwak***. A Lepcha form **tălam-pót** 'testicles' is not to be brought in here, since the last element (**pót**, **a-pót**) means 'fruit; ball', and recurs in other bodypart compounds like **nyen-pót** 'woman's breast; cow's udder' and **anyor-pót** 'dewlap'.

This etymon was reconstructed as ***pot*** TBRS: #120.

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	ne^{31}**pọt**^{31}	penis shaft (n.)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Ganan	**kăpɔ**^{3} ti^{1}	testicles	Luce 1985:L.149
	kăpɔ^{1} **pɔ?** krɔʔ^{4}	penis	Luce 1985:L.149
Kadu (Kantu)	**kăpɔt**^{3} ti^{1}	testicles	Luce 1985:L.149

(8) PTB *pwak SCROTUM

This root has only been found in a few languages, two Himalayish (Dumi, Tamang) and one Qiangic (rGyalrong), though the phonological and semantic fit among them is excellent. See TBRS #121.

There is a probably fortuitous resemblance between this root and PTB ***pwat*** PENIS (§1.9.7).

This root was reconstructed as ***pok*** in TBRS: #121.

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**pak** si	testicle (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:10.3.5

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**phok** sɨ	scrotum	Driem 1993

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə rgo **pok** cço	scrotum	SUN Hongkai 1991j:10.3.4

(9) PTB *tyaŋ PENIS / CLITORIS / LONG

This etymon has been discovered in Himalayish (Chepang and Lepcha) and the NE Indian Areal Group (Karbi). A pair of superficially resemblant forms must be banished from this etymon:

Garo **go'l-teng** 'penis' is analyzed by Burling as STICK + LONG. The gloss of **go'l** or **gol dik** as 'stick' is confirmed in K. W. Momin's *English-Achikku Dictionary* (n.d.:227). I have no independent evidence that **teng** means 'long' in Garo, although several other NE Indian Areal Group languages have similar forms with that meaning: Khoirao **ka tang ba**, Liangmei **ka-theŋ-bu**, Maram **tang**, Karbi **ke ding**, Rengma **ka thong**, Tangkhul **ka sang**, etc.

Lepcha **tălam t'yeṅ** 'testicle' must also be rejected. According to Mainwaring/Grünwedel (1898:164), the second element **t'yeṅ** actually means 'the chief or most precious part', as in **să-bŭr t'yeṅ** 'the musk bag or gland of the musk-deer'. The true Lepcha cognate is probably the first syllable of **čeṅ pă-tiṅ**.

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **teng**	clitoris	Matisoff 1987

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**čeṅ** pă-tiṅ	penis	Matisoff 1987	[a]

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**təiŋ**	penis	Weidert 1987:617a
Chepang (Eastern)	**təyŋ**	genitalia; pudenda (male); penis	Caughley 1990:10.1; Caughley 1990:10.3.1
	təyŋ kliʔ	semen	Caughley 1990:10.3.7
	təyŋ ta laŋ	glans penis	Caughley 1990:10.3.2
	təyŋ thyo reŋ	foreskin	Caughley 1990:10.3.3
	təŋ	penis	Caughley 1990:10.3.1

[a] Lepcha **pă-tiṅ**, seems to mean 'small stick, switch' (Mainwaring, pp. 127-8).

(10) PTB *ma:k SON-IN-LAW / GENITALS / PENIS / MALE / VAGINA

This etymon seems basically to belong in masculine semantic space, since most TB reflexes mean PENIS. The likely Chinese comparandum 牡, Mand. **mǔ**, means MALE (of certain birds and animals; see below), and this sense also occurs in TB (see Taraon **mau-a**, below), implying that MALE is the more original meaning.

Benedict 1979[*] suggests a connection with PTB ***ma:k*** (better ***s-ma:k***) 'son-in-law' [*STC* #324; *HPTB* p. 325]: cf. WT **mag-pa**, Lepcha **myok**, Dhimal **hma-wa**, Miri **mak-bo** ~ **mag-bo**, Jingpho **dà-má?**, WB **səmak**, Lahu **ɔ̀-má-pā**, Lushai [Mizo] **ma:k-pa**. The long vowel is supported by the Mizo form, and the ***s-*** prefix is evidenced indirectly by Lepcha (where **-y-** < ***s-**), and directly by Dhimal and WB. This ***s-*** prefix is in turn undoubtedly a reduction of PTB ***za*** SON / CHILD.

Nevertheless, this root has undergone an enantiodromic shift or "genital flipflop" to mean VAGINA in both Karbi and (probably) Newar (neither of these forms was cited in Benedict 1979), so that it was evidently reinterpreted in some areas as 'genitals (of either sex)'. This makes one wonder whether the root NEIA ***mo*** VAGINA (§1.9.5), reconstructed on the basis of forms from Naga languages, might also be somehow related to the present etymon.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__ma:k__	son in law; son-in-law	Weidert 1987:696; Benedict 1972:324
	*__s-ma:k__	son-in-law	Matisoff 2003a:601

1.1.1. TANI: ***mak-bo*** SON-IN-LAW

**Tani*	*__mak-bo__	son-in-law	Sun 1993a:384

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**mà-bo**	son-in-law	Sun 1993b
	maʔ-bo	son-in-law; brother-in-law	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**mak-bu:**	son-in-law	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ma:-bo**	son-in-law	Sun 1993b
	ma:bo	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ma: bo**	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.51
Galo	**magbo**	son-in-law; daughter's husband (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	magbo-ayaa	son-in-law (younger); brother-in-law (younger) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	magbo-kai	son-in-law (elder); brother-in-law (elder) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	**ma:g**-re:k	man's girdle or belt	Lorrain 1907	
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**mak-bo**	son-in-law	Sun 1993a	
	mâng-mî	semen	Matisoff 1987	[a]
Damu	**maʔ-bo**	son-in-law	Sun 1993b	
Mishing [Miri]	**mak-bo** ⩙ **mag-bo**	son-in-law	Benedict 1972:324	
	ma:k-bo ~ **ma:g-bo**	cousin; son-in-law; brother-in-law	Lorrain 1907	[b]

[a] Note assimilation of the medial consonants.

[b] A cousin is a prospective brother-in-law in cross-cousin marriages.

[*] "A note on Karen genital flipflop", *LTBA* 5.1:22-23, n. 36.

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**mau**-a:	male (human)	NEFA (India) 1963
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *__maak__ SON-IN-LAW			
**Chin*	*__maak__	SON-IN-LAW	VanBik 2009:792
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**maːk**^{1} (pa^{1})	daughter's husband	VanBik 2009:792
	ˊmaːk	son-in-law; brother-in-law (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	sə-**máʔ**	son in law	Weidert 1987:696
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**mak**-pa	son-in-law	Bhaskararao 1996:1065
	maːk-pa	son-in-law	Benedict 1972:324
	mɑ̊ak pà	son-in-law	VanBik 2009:792
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): *__a-mjak__ IN-LAW			
**Central Naga*	*a-**mjak**	IN-LAW	Bruhn 2014a:III.235
**Ao*	*(a-)**hnak**	SON-IN-LAW / BROTHER-IN-LAW	Bruhn 2014a:II.234
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**nək**^{1}	brother-in-law / son-in-law (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.234
	^{3}a^{1}**nɯk**^{2}la	son-in-law	Weidert 1987:1045
	^{3}ta^{3}**miʔ**	penis	Weidert 1987:142
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[t(ə)]-əm **hnak**	son-in-law (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**mjak**^{2}-o^{2}	in-law relative (male) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.235
	o^{1}-**mjak**^{2}-uʔ^{3}	in-law relative (female) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.235
Yimchungrü	^{2}dzɯʔ $^{(2)}$**meak** [^{1}]	son-in-law	Weidert 1987:633
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *__maak__ BROTHER-IN-LAW			
**Tangkhulic*	*__maak__	brother-in-law	Mortensen 2012:414
Huishu	ʔu-**maʔ**	brother-in-law	Mortensen 2012:People.036
Kachai	ʔa-**mok**-u	brother-in-law of male (younger)	Mortensen 2012:People
Tusom	k^{h}ə-**mɯə**	brother-in-law	Mortensen 2012:People.039
Ukhrul	ʔi-**mak**	brother-in-law	Mortensen 2012
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**mak**	os Veneris (female pubic bone)	Walker 1925:98
	mák	vulva; labia; vagina	Grüssner 1979:160; Grüssner 1979:160
	mak-phu	mons Veneris	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	dà-**máʔ**	son (in law)	Matisoff 1974:365
	da-**maʔ**	son-in-law	Benedict 1972:324
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**mak** pa	son-in-law living in father-in-law's house (n.)	Bailey 1911
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**mak**^{55}pa^{55}	son-in-law	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	mak pa (Ch.)	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**mak**-pa	son-in-law	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**mɑk**^{35}po^{55}	son-in-law	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**mɑk**^{13}pu^{53}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.6
Motuo Menba	**mak** pa	son-in-law (comes calling) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.07
Cuona Menba	**mak**^{35}pa^{53}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣmok** kwa	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**mak** kwa	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɣmak** kwa	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**mʌq** pa·	son-in-law	Rangan 1975:75
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ma**^{53}pa^{53}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**mak**^{55}pa^{55}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.02
Tibetan (Written)	**mag** pa	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.01
	mag pa	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.1; Benedict 1972:324
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hmoχ** kwa	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.04
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**myók**	son in law (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	myok	son-in-law	Benedict 1972:324
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**maː**	son in law	Mazaudon 1994:747
Chantyal	**mfio** le	penis	Noonan *et al.* 1992:10.3.1
Tamang (Bagmati)	**maːʱ**	son in law	Weidert 1987:696
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**maː**	son-in-law / sister's husband	Mazaudon 1994:747
Tamang (Taglung)	^{3}**maː**	son in law	Mazaudon 1994:747
Thakali (Syang)	^{11}**maː**	son-in-law (of man or woman)	Mazaudon 1994:747
	^{L}**ma**	son-in-law (of man or woman)	Mazaudon 1994:747
2.1.5. DHIMAL			
Dhimal	**hma**-wa	son-in-law	Benedict 1972:324
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar (Kathmandu)	**maa** si	vagina / breast / milk	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**mā** si	vulva; labia; vagina	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.4.1; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.4.2
2.3. KIRANTI			
Dungmali	**mak**-cha	son in law	Weidert 1987:696
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Lohorong	**mak**-sa	son in law	Weidert 1987:696
Yamphu	**mak** sa	son-in-law; husband of a younger sister (n.)	Rutgers 1998:554.21
Yamphe	**mak**-sa	son in law	Weidert 1987:696
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**mak**-cha	son in law; son-in-law	Weidert 1987:696; Rai 1985
Kulung	**mok** si	son-in-law	Rai *et al.* 1975
	mos	son in law	Weidert 1987:696
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Sampang	**mak**-ca	son in law	Weidert 1987:696
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**mạ**	son-in-law, husband	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4820
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**mo**^{33}pa^{55}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.18
Lyuzu	**mo**^{53}pæ^{53}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.18
Pumi (Lanping)	**m̥i**^{13}bu^{55}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**m̥i**^{13}bu^{55}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.11
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	tsɯ-**me**	son-in-law	Matisoff 1972b:153
	tsɯ-**mja**	son-in-law	Matisoff 1972b:153
Qiang (Longxi)	tɕi̊ **mià**	son-in-law	Evans 1999:280
Qiang (Mawo)	tʃɪ **miɛ**	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	tsi̊ **mià**	son-in-law	Evans 1999:280
Qiang (Taoping)	tʃ^{55}**ma**^{31}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.9
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	**mo**	penis	DAI Qingxia 1989d:10.3.1
	tə **nmak**	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **nmɑk**	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.11
Caodeng	té-**nma**	son-in-law	Sun 1997a
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	**mɛ**^{55}vu^{31}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.21
Anong	**mɛ**^{55}vu^{31}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.44
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**ma2**	son-in-law (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ma^{2}	son-in-law	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.4
Tujia	**ma**^{35}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.49
	ma^{35}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.38
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-mak** > ʔmak	son-in-law	Matisoff 1972b:153
	***ʔ-mak**^{L}	son-in-law	Matisoff 2003a:601
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	tsɑ^{31}**mɑ**^{31}	son-in-law	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	tsɔ^{31}**mɔʔ**^{31}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.41
	tsɔ^{31}**mɔʔ**^{31}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.28
Achang (Luxi)	tsaʔ^{31}**maʔ**^{31}	son-in-law	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	ts ɔ^{31}**mɔʔ**^{55}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.29
Bola (Luxi)	tă^{31}**maʔ**^{55}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	tθɑ^{55}**mɛʔ**^{4}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tθɑ^{55}**mɛʔ**^{44}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.40
Burmese (Written)	sa-**mak**	son-in-law	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:324
	thɑ^{3} **mɑk**	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.39
	tθɑ^{3}**mɑk**^{4}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.26
Langsu (Luxi)	tsɔ̆^{35}**mɔʔ**^{31}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.31
Leqi (Luxi)	tsə̆^{33}**mɔʔ**^{55}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.33
Maru [Langsu]	tsɔ̆^{35}**mɔʔ**^{31}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	tso^{21}**moʔ**^{55}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.30
	tsŏ^{21}**moʔ**^{55}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.42
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**ʔmìq**-vú	son-in-law	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Northern)	za^{53}**mɑ̱**^{53}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	za^{55}**mɑ̱**^{53}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.34
Nusu (Southern)	zɔ^{53}**mɔ**^{53}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	zɑ^{55}**mɑ**^{31}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.45
Yi (Nanhua)	**mɐ̱**^{55}ɣɯ^{33}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**mi̱**^{21}ɣu^{55}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔmi̱**^{21}u^{55}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.36
Yi (Xide)	a^{21}**m̩(ɭ)**^{33}sa^{55}vu^{33}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu	ɔ-**má**-pā	son-in-law	Benedict 1972:324
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**mɑ**^{35}pɑ^{11}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.43
Lahu (Black)	**má**	son-in-law	Matisoff 1972b:153
	ɔ^{31}**mʌ**^{53}pʌ^{11}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.33
	ɔ̀-**má**	son (in law); son-in-law	Matisoff 1974:365; Matisoff 1972b:153
	ɔ̀-**má**-pā	son-in-law	Matisoff 1972b:153
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{2}**ma**^{4}~ɔ^{2}**ma**^{4}pa^{5}	son-in-law	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**mæ**^{55}vy^{33}	son-in-law (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**mɛ**^{55}vu^{33}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.27
Yi (Sani)	æ^{11}**mæ**^{11}sɒ^{55}ɣɯ^{44}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Pijo)	jà **mà**	son-in-law	Hansson 1989:100
Hani (Caiyuan)	ja^{31}**ma**^{31}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.30
Hani (Khatu)	jà **mà**	son-in-law	Hansson 1989:100
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**mæ**ɬvˀ	son-in-law	Michaud 2006–2009:648
Naxi	**mu**^{55}ɣɯ^{33}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mu**^{55}ɣɯ^{33}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.28
Naxi (Yongning)	zo^{33}**mɑ**^{13}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.29
7. KARENIC: *__maʔ__^{D} SON-IN-LAW			
**Karen [Burling]*	*__maʔ__^{1}	son-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:267
**Karen*	*__maʔ__^{D}	son-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:267
	*__màʔ__	son-in-law	Jones 1961:182
Bwe	**ma**^{11}	son-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:267
Karen	**ma**^{33}pho^{55}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.50
Kayah	**me**^{33}	son-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:267
Kayan	**maʔ**^{21}	son-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:267
Kayan (Pekon)	**mą̱** k^{h}ó	son-in-law [lit. son.in.law-male] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**mɔ**^{33}	son-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:267
Pa-O (Northern)	**maʔ**^{45}	son-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:267
Pa-O (Southern)	**maʔ**^{45}	son-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:267
Pa-O	**màʔ**	son-in-law	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Southern)	**maʔ**^{45}	son-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:267
Sgaw (Southern)	**ma**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	son-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:267
Sgaw (Northern)	**maʔ**^{21}	son-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:267

Chinese comparandum

A likely Chinese comparandum has been suggested by Benedict 1979, pp. 22-23 and n. 36: 牡 OC ***môg**/***mə̣u** [irreg.], *GSR* #1063a 'male (quadruped)'; Li 1971: ***məgwx**; Baxter 1992: ***m(r)juʔ**; Mand. **mǔ** [JAM].

The Middle Chinese reflex of this word has irregular vocalism: ***mə̣u**. This accounts for the discrepancy between Baxter's reconstruction (with medial ***-j-**) and Li's (without medial ***-j-**). The presence of ***-j-** in Baxter's form accounts regularly for vocalic development, but the medial itself must then be assumed to drop irregularly in Middle Chinese.

The proposed connection to PTB ***maːk** presents some difficulties. The Chinese vocalism would normally correspond to a rounded PTB vowel. (See examples in Gong 1995 #61-69.) Although those open syllables in OC reconstructed with ***-g** by Karlgren and Li sometimes correspond to syllables with coda ***-k** in PTB, more generally we find OC ***-k** corresponding to PTB ***-k** and open syllables corresponding to open syllables.

Schuessler 2007:391 argues that the Chinese word is related to Austroasiatic forms meaning 'male ani-

mal’.
[ZJH]

(11) PTB *s-nyak ≍ *s-nik PENIS / COPULATE

This root seems basically to mean PENIS, with extensions into the meaning COPULATE. Some reflexes resemble those of PTB ***m-ney** PENIS (§1.9.7), although Jingpho has distinct reflexes of both: **mənè ~ mənyè** ‘penis’ vs. **nè? ~ nyè?** ‘copulate’. Evidence for the ***s-** prefix is to be found in Lakher (Mara), Kom Rem, and Moyon.

Some likely reflexes have initial laterals, rather than nasals. Most of the Tani forms cited in J. Sun 1993:131 have labial rather than dental nasal clusters, but it seems more plausible to assign them to this etymon than to any other.

In *GSTC* #172, I compared the Lakher (Mara) and Jingpho forms, but offered no reconstruction.

1.1. “North Assam”

Bangru	mə^{33}**lɔʔ^{53}**	penis	Sun 1993a:334
Sherdukpen	**lak**	penis	Sun 1993a:334
Sulung [Puroik]	a^{33} **laʔ^{53}**	penis	Sun 1993a:334

1.1.1. Tani: ***mrak** PENIS [a]

**Tani*	***mrak**	penis	Sun 1993a:289

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	à-**mja**	penis	Sun 1993b
	^{1}a^{2}**mrya**	penis	Weidert 1987:631
Bengni	**ñak**	penis	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**mok**	penis	Sun 1993a:131
	mok	genitals (male) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0116.24
Galo	**mag**-bak	venereal	Das Gupta 1963
	‘mac cuu	penis (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘mag laa	semen; sperm (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘mag mə	pubic hair (male) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘mag yum	penis buncher (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘mak cuu	penis (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘mak kup	penis shield (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ə **mak**	penis (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆɤ **mak**	penis	Weidert 1987:631
Tagin	(a-)**mlak**	penis	Sun 1993a:131
Yano	**mlak**	penis	Sun 1993a:131

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	e **mâk**	penis	Matisoff 1987
	mait	penis	Matisoff 1987
	mâk-pop	male pubes	Matisoff 1987
	mâk-shik	foreskin / prepuce; skin; to hide, shelter	Matisoff 1987:84
	ə-**mak**	penis	Sun 1993a
Damu	**mak**-tuk	penis	Sun 1993b

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**hnei**	copulate	Matisoff 1985a:172

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Kom Rem	ə **nho**	copulate	Toba & Kom 1991:10.2
Moyon	**ŋho?**	copulate	Kosha 1990:10.2

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	^{3}**ni**^{3}tɯp	copulate (v.)	Weidert 1987:155
Yimchungrü	^{1}**ne**	copulate (v.)	Weidert 1987:155

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{4}**na**	copulate (v.)	Weidert 1987:155
Angami (Kohima)	ke^{31} **na^{33}**	copulate	Nienu 1990a:10.2
Chokri	kü^{31} **na^{55}**	copulate	Nienu 1990b:10.2
Khezha	ke **ne**	copulate (v.)	Yabu 1994:10.2

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**na** nə bə	copulate (v.)	Singh 1991:10.2

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**ne^{31}**	copulate (v.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	nè? ~ nyè?	copulate	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:172 [b]

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	a-**ńak**	penis	Matisoff 1987
	gar-**nek**	penis	Matisoff 1987 [c]
	t’ik-**ńak**	glans penis	Mainwaring 1898:151

2.2. Newar

Newar (Kathmandu)	**na** ku	penis	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**nā** ku	penis	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.3.1 [d]
	nā ku gwārā	glans penis	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.3.2

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**nik**-t(u)	copulate (v.)	Weidert 1987:155
	nik ma	copulate (v.)	Weidert 1987:155
	nik t-	copulate with (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	le-**ne**	copulate	Matisoff 1987

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang (Eastern)	luʔ **naʔ**	copulate	Caughley 1990:10.2
Kham	**neːh**-nya	copulate	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.13
	neːh-nyā	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	neːʱ-nyā	copulate (v.)	Weidert 1987:155

[a]This Proto-Tani form also resembles PTB ***ma:k** SON-IN-LAW / GENITALS / PENIS / MALE / VAGINA (§1.9.7), so its precise affiliation remains uncertain.

[b]The *Jinghpo-Chinese Dictionary* (Dai, et al. 1983:566) cites the form **ne^{31}** ‘性交 [have sexual congress]’ with no final glottal stop, making it look identical to the word for ‘penis’.

[c]The first syllable of this form resembles the second syllable of Kham **or-’kal** ‘penis’. However, according to Mainwaring/Grünwedel 1898:53, the morpheme **gar** actually means ‘curved, crooked at one end, bent’.

[d]According to K. P. Malla (p.c. 2007), Newar **-ku** serves as a classifier for “a piece with some magnitude in girth or depth”.

(12) PTB *$\begin{matrix}\textbf{b}\\\textbf{m}\end{matrix}$-laŋ PENIS / MALE / HUSBAND

This etymon has been identified in Himalayish, Jingpho, and Qiangic, though more support from the latter group would be welcome. The PTB root initial is taken to have been a *lateral, with both a labial nasal and a labial stop prefix attested.

According to K. P. Malla, the second syllable of Newar **mi jõ** ‘male’ is from Skt. *jana-* ‘man’, not from the present root. The first syllable is from the widespread TB morpheme PPC ***r-mi(y)-n** PERSON / MAN (§4.4.1).

J. Sun 1993:131 reconstructs Proto-Tani ***mrak**, but the forms he cites are better assigned to PTB ***s-nyak ≍ *s-nik** PENIS / COPULATE (§1.9.7), above.

This root seems distinct from PTB ***la** MALE (§1.9.7).

Also to be brought into this etymon is WB **lâŋ**, which (as suggested in Matisoff 1995:52-3 [“Sino-Tibetan palatal suffixes revisited”]) is to be compared with Chinese 郎 (Mand. **láng**) [WHB ***C-rāŋ**], now meaning ‘young man; bridegroom; clf. for sons’. This word is glossed only as ‘place name (Tso); double roof, one roof above the other’ in *GSR* #735r. However, it would be rash to infer that the synchronic meaning did not exist at all in spoken OC.

See the remarks by Handel, below.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	mi-**long**	husband; masculine suffix	Benedict 1941/2008:129
Mishing [Miri]	mil-**bong**	husband	Benedict 1941/2008:129 [a]

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**mlõ**	penis	Matisoff 1987

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	ka-**lɛ̃**	penis	Weidert 1987:142

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	ne^{31}**laŋ^{33}**	penis (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla	**long**	penis	Das Gupta 1968:67
Tsangla (Central)	**long**	penis (m.)	Egli-Roduner 1987:34 3

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	tyang-mo **long**	male elephant	Benedict 1941/2008:137

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**byɯŋ^{2}**	male	Nagano 1984:147

3.2. Qiangic

Mɯya [Minyak]	**ʁo^{35}**	male	Sun Hongkai 1991h:10.3

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (NW)	tə **ʁʐa**	male	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.3

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**laṅ**	husband	Marrison 1967
	lâŋ	husband	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1976a
	laŋ^{2}	husband (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0247.26
	laŋ^{2}	husband	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:337.39

[a]Benedict 1941/2008:129 observes that this form “appears to be metathesized”, implying an earlier form **mi-b-long**.

Chinese comparandum

郎 OC ***lâng**, *GSR* #735r ‘husband, young man’ ; Li 1971: ***lang**; Baxter 1992: ***C-rang**; Mand. **láng**.

The meaning ‘husband, young man’ is not attested until quite late. It appears to be derived from the basic sense ‘veranda or corridor (of a palace or mansion)’ via ‘official (doing duty there)’, making it an improbable cognate to PTB roots meaning ‘male’, cf. Schuessler 2007:344.* Furthermore, nearly all scholars are now in agreement that Middle Chinese **l-** derives from earlier ***r-**, and does not normally correspond to PTB ***l-**.
[ZJH]

(13) PTB *gaŋ PENIS / MALE

This etymon has solid reflexes in the NE Indian Areal Group (Garo, Karbi) and Himalayish (Lepcha, Manchati). Several Chinese comparanda suggest themselves: 雄 OC ***gi̯ŭŋ**, *GSR* #887l ‘male’; Mand. **xióng**, and/or 犅 OC ***kâng**, *GSR* #697f-g, ‘bull’; Mand. **gāng**. A less plausible comparison is with 公 OC ***kung**, *GSR* #1173a-f ‘father; prince’; Mand **gōng** (although Karlgren notes that ‘some of these forms seem to suggest a phallic interpretation’). *STC* (n. 488, p. 190) suggests comparing this last Chinese morpheme to TB forms like Rawang **əkhaŋ** ‘grandfather’; WB **pha’-khaŋ** ‘father’, **mi’-khaŋ** ‘mother’, **khaŋ-pwân** ‘spouse’, and **khaŋ-bhya** ‘sir; madam’. It seems unlikely, however, that this group of forms has anything specifically to do with maleness; it seems rather to have been an honorific appellation for an elder or respected relative of either sex.

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	chò-**kàng**	penis	Grüssner 1979:69

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	ri-**gaŋ**	penis	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:049; Benedict 1972:262
Garo (Bangladesh)	ri-**gong**	penis	Burling 1992

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**gàŋ** mì	male	Sharma 1991b:10.3

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	suṅ-**gaṅ**	penis	Matisoff 1987

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	雄	male	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3176
Chinese (GSR #)	**887l**	male	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3176

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gi̯ŭŋ/ji̯ung**	male	Karlgren 1957:887l
Chinese (Old)	**wjiŋ**	male of birds and small animals	Baxter 1992:1348
	ɢʷəŋ {[ɢ]ʷəŋ}	male	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3176

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**hjuwng**	male	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3176

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**xióng**	male	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3176

Chinese comparanda

雄 OC ***gi̯ŭŋ**, *GSR* #887l ‘male’; Li 1971: ***gwjəng**; Baxter 1992 #1348: ***wjiŋ**; Mand. **xióng**.

This proposed cognate is doubtful. The OC labialized initial plus schwa vocalism would normally correspond to a rounded vowel in PTB.
[ZJH]

犅 OC ***kâng**, *GSR* #697f-g ‘bull’; Li 1971: ***kang**; Baxter 1992: ***kang**; Mand. **gāng**.

The proposed cognacy works phonetically, but one must also note a competing etymology with equally persuasive semantics that relates this Chinese word to WT **glang** ‘cow, elephant’. (Gong 1995 and 2001 instead relate WT **glang** to OC ‘elephant’ 象 ***gljangx** > ***ljangx**.)

Schuessler (2007:251) suggests that 犅 may come from earlier ***klaŋ**, and posits a relationship with Mru **klaŋ** ‘male’ and Lushai (Mizo) **tlaŋ** ‘male’, as well as with WT **glang**. He proposes a PTB root ***laŋ** with animal prefix ***s-** or ***k-**.*

Note the parallel etymology with a homophonous member of the same phonetic series 岡 ‘ridge’ (Mand. **gāng**), which has been compared to WT **sgang** ‘hill, spur’ and WB **khang** ‘strip of high ground’ (see for example Coblin 1986:94-2).*
[ZJH]

(14) PTB *s-kyu MALE / PENIS

This etymon is represented by convincing cognates in Himalayish (Bunan, Kanauri) and Qiangic (rGyalrong, Xixia), though it is so far sparsely represented in TB as a whole.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**ku**	penis (n.)	Coupe 2007

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	shaŋ **kui**	penis	Matisoff 1987 [a]

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**khyua**	male	Sharma 1991a:10.3
Kanauri	**skyo**	male	Sharma 1988:37,41

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang (Eastern)	**goyʔ** coʔ	male	Caughley 1990:10.3

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**khǐu̯** thu	penis	Dai Qingxia 1989e:10.3.1
	khi̯u^{2}	penis	Sofronov c1978
	kǐuɦ	penis	Nishida 1964:269-052

[a]The second syllable is homophonous with Tangkhul **kui** ‘head’, though this seems to be fortuitous, since the form does not mean ‘glans’.

*Schuessler suggests that WB **laŋ** ‘husband’ is actually a loan from Chinese, though this seems unlikely in view of the paucity of Chinese loanwords in Burmese. [JAM]

*See the previous etymon PTB ***b/m-laŋ** PENIS / MALE / HUSBAND (§1.9.7).

*See also *HPTB*:266, 303. [JAM]

3.3.1. rGyalrong				
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə **sku**	penis	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.3.1	

(15) PTB *səw-t TESTICLES / PENIS / VIRILITY / SEMEN

This etymon is firmly established in Lolo-Burmese (Burmese itself has reflexes of both the stopped and non-stopped allofams) and Jingpho. The first syllable of Kham **zuh-ri:** 'testicle' is probably to be assigned to PTB ***dz(y)u** EGG (§1.9.1) rather than to the present root, in view of the 2nd syllable of the compound **'ba-zu-ri:** '(non-human) egg', where the first syllable means 'bird'. Palaychi (Karenic) **shóq** 'penis' seems unrelated.

The semantic center of the root seems to be VIRILITY. It occurs especially in compounds for intact (as opposed to castrated) male animals, with extensions into SEMEN, TESTICLES, and PENIS. This root was reconstructed for PLB in Matisoff 1988a:1225.

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group				
Khezha	'è **sò**	penis	Yabu 1994:10.3.1	
Sema [Sumi]	aphi-**zü**	semen / sperm	Achumi 1998a:10.3.7	
1.7.3.1. Jingpho				
Jingpho	ne-**zu**	semen	Matisoff 1987	
	ne^{31}**tsu**^{33}	semen (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983	
	zū	semen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:83	
	ə **zu**	semen	Matisoff 1987	
4. Nungic				
Rawang	ŋan^{31} **ʃɯ**^{31}	bull	LaPolla 2003:301	
6.1. Lolo-Burmese				
**Lolo-Burmese*	***səw**^{1}/^{2}	testicles / virility	Matisoff 2003a:612	
6.1.1. Burmish				
Burmese (Written)	**sui**	penis; penis (of animals)	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a	[a]
	sut	semen	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1976a	
	ʔə **sûi**	testicle	Matisoff 1987	
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish				
Lahu (Black)	g̈âʔ-phu-**šɔ̄**	uncastrated cock	Matisoff 1988a:1225	
	í-mû-**šɔ̄**	stallion	Matisoff 1988a:1225	
	nû-**šɔ̄**	bull	Matisoff 1988a:1225	
	nû-ɔ̀-pā-**šɔ̄**	bull	Matisoff 1987	
	vàʔ-**šɔ̄**	uncastrated boar	Matisoff 1988a:1225	
	ɔ̀-pā-**šɔ̄**	intact male animal	Matisoff 1988a:1225	
	ɔ̀-phu-**šɔ̄**	intact male	Matisoff 1987	
	ɔ̀-**šɔ̄**-tɔ̂	castrated animal	Matisoff 1987	
Lisu (Central)	ɲi^{21}**ʃɿ**^{55}	bull kept for stud	Bradley 1994	

[a] This form goes back to PLB Tone *1. It is the allofam **sûi** (< PLB Tone *2) which is directly cognate to Lahu **šɔ̄**.

(16) PTB *r-lik TESTICLE / EGG / PENIS

This etymon was already set up in Matisoff 1972a #170 as PLB ***r-lek**, on the basis of a single Loloish form (Akha) and WT **rlig-pa**. It is solidly attested in Himalayish, with possible cognates in Xixia and the NE Indian Areal Group (esp. Karbi).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)				
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-lik**	penis / testicles	Matisoff 2003a:600	
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]				
Mikir [Karbi]	che **lèk**	glans penis; penis	Grüssner 1979:64; Grüssner 1979:64	
2.1.1. Western Himalayish				
Kanauri	**lik** pā	penis (polite)	Matisoff 1987	
	liṭ	egg	Sharma 1988:28	[a]
	lī̤ṭ(h)	egg (n.)	Bailey 1911	
	lī̤ṭ(h)	egg	Matisoff 1987	
	li:ṭ	egg	Sharma 1988:29	
Pattani [Manchati]	Tig **lhig**	egg (of animal)	Sharma 1991b:10.4.16	
	ṭig **lʰig**	egg, boil (sore)	Sharma 1982	
2.1.2.1. Tibetan				
Spiti	**lik** pa	testicle	Bodh 1991:10.3.5	
Tibetan (Written)	gsaṅ-**rlig**	testicle (hon.)	Matisoff 1987	
	mǰe-**rlig**	penis and testicles	Matisoff 1987	
	rlig-bu	scrotum	Matisoff 1987	
	rlig-pa	testicle	Matisoff 1987	
	rlig-ṡubs	scrotum	Matisoff 1987	[b]
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti				
Belhare	la **lik**	semen, sperm	Bickel 1995	
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang				
Kham	zuh **ri:**	testicles	Watters & Watters 1989	
3.1. Tangut				
Tangut [Xixia]	**le**	testicle	Dai Qingxia 1989e:10.3.5	
	Le	testicle	Nishida 1964:269-111	
6.1. Lolo-Burmese				
**Lolo-Burmese*	*(**r-**)**lek**	testicle	Matisoff 1972b:170	
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish				
Nasu	**ɬo̠**^{21}	testicle	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.5	
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish				
Akha	**leh LS**	testicle	Matisoff 1972b:170	
	leh‸ uˆ	scrotum	Matisoff 1987	
	leh‸ uˆ **leh**‸ si˯	scrotum	Lewis 1989	

[a] The relationship of Kanauri **liṭ** 'egg' to **lik pā** 'penis (polite)' is uncertain.
[b] WT **ṡubs** 'case, covering, sheath'.

(17) PTB *syan TESTICLE / EGG

This etymon is still not well established, with only scattered reflexes in Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese, Karenic, and Baic. The final nasal is reconstructed on the basis of the vowel nasalization in some Bai dialects.

2.1.5. Dhimal				
Dhimal	**syeq**, **syeq** guli	testicle	King 1994	
2.3.4. Western Kiranti				
Hayu	**se:** thoŋ	testicle	Matisoff 1987	[a]
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish				
Nosu	**sɿ**^{21}pa^{33}	testicle	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.5	
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish				
Côông [Phunoi]	**shɛ̀** ʔu	testicle	Matisoff 1987	
	sʰɛ^{11} ʔu^{33}	testicles	Bradley 1977	
7. Karenic				
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**s'ə̆**^{4} đi^{1}	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80	
Pwo (Delta)	**s'ə̆** đi^{4}	egg, tuber, testicles	Luce 1985:G.80	
8. Bai				
Bai (Bijiang)	**sẽ̠**^{42}	egg	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984	
	sẽ^{42}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.37	
Bai (Dali)	ke **sɛ** 65	egg (chicken)	Dell 1981b:36	
	ke^{6} **sɛ**^{5}	chicken egg	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169	
	se̠^{42}	egg	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984	
	se^{42}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.35	
	sɛ 5	egg	Dell 1981b:409	
	sɛ^{5}	egg	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169	
Bai (Jianchuan)	(ke^{55}) **sẽ̠**^{21}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.48	
	sẽ̠^{42}	egg; egg (of animal)	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Zhao Yansun 1990:10.4.16	
	sẽ^{42}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.36	

[a] It is possible that Hayu **se:** is rather < PTB ***sey** FRUIT / ROSE / ROUND OBJECT (§1.2.6).

(18) PTB *s-blwaŋ SCROTUM / POUCH / MALE (of animals)

This root has only been identified in three languages (Darang, Lepcha, and Bai), though the semantic and phonological fit is good among them. The basic meaning of the etymon is 'purse, small pouch' (cf. French *la bourse* 'purse; stock market', *les bourses* 'testicles'). The resemblance to PTB ***b/m-laŋ** PENIS / MALE / HUSBAND (§1.9.7) is due to chance.

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	sã: **brã**	scrotum	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	sha: **brẽ**	scrotum	Matisoff 1987
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***puŋ** MALE (OF ANIMALS)			
**Central Naga*	***puŋ**	MALE (OF ANIMALS)	Bruhn 2014a:III.216
Ao (Chungli)	nashi-**pung** chi	bull	Marrison 1967
	na^{1}si^{1} **puŋ**^{2}tʃiʔ^{2}	bull (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tə^{3}-**puŋ**^{3}	male (of animal) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.216
	^{3}ti^{3}**puŋ**	male	Weidert 1987:606a
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	masü-**bong** tsü	bull	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	han^{1}-**poŋ**^{3}	rooster (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.165
	maŋ^{3}sə^{3}-**poŋ**^{3}	bull (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.216
	mangsü-o **pong**	bull	Marrison 1967
	o **pong**	male	Murry *et al.* 1978:70
	^{1}o^{3}**buŋ(ʔ)**	male	Weidert 1987:606a
Sangtam	hana **pong**	cock	Kumar 1973a
	hüna **pong**	cock	Marrison 1967
	misü **bong**	bull	Marrison 1967
	^{1}a^{2}**buŋ**	male	Weidert 1987:606a
Yimchungrü	khih nu **pung**	dog	Kumar 1973b:35
	moshi **bung**	bull	Marrison 1967
	pung	male	Kumar 1973b:80
	^{1}**buŋ**	male	Weidert 1987:606a
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Ntenyi	amesü-se **pung**	bull	Marrison 1967
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	tă-**blyoŋ**	purse, pouch	Matisoff 1987
	tălam să **tăblyóŋ̊**	scrotum	Matisoff 1987
	tălam să **tăblyoŋ**	scrotum	Matisoff 1987
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	kuã^{33} **lõ̠**^{21}	scrotum	Zhao Yansun 1990:10.3.4

(19) PTB *s-mu SEED / TESTICLE / ROUND OBJECT

This etymon appears to be confined to the NE Indian Areal Group and Monpa (Mama Tshona), with the basic meaning 'ball; round object', appearing in such transparent compounds as Lushai (Mizo) **mit-mu** 'eyeball' and **til-mu** 'testicle'. Several Loloish forms also seem to be related.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***muu** SEED			
**Chin*	***muu**	SEED	VanBik 2009:786
Anal	wɔ̀-**hmú**	seed	Weidert 1987:299
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**mûu**	seed	VanBik 2009:786
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**muu**	seed	VanBik 2009:786
	mú	seed	So-Hartmann 1988:35
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**mùu**	seed	VanBik 2009:786
Lai (Falam)	**mûu**	seed	VanBik 2009:786
Lushai [Mizo]	mit-**mu**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	mû	seed	Weidert 1987:299
	mu	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mûu	seed (n.)	VanBik 2009:786
	til-**mu**	testicle	Matisoff 1987
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	mo **hmô**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	ti **hmô**	scrotum	Matisoff 1987
	^{2}ə^{3}**hmou**	seed	Weidert 1987:299
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	ǰəŋ kəti **mu**	testicle	Toba & Kom 1991:10.3.5
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	a **mū(ʔ)**	seed	Weidert 1987:299
	mék a-**mū**	eyeball	Grüssner 1979:167
	mek a **mu**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	mu	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	bu **mu**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Mama)	sir^{55} sir^{55} **mo**^{53}	egg	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Nanhua)	ʂi^{55}**mo**^{33}	seed	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:220.24
	ʂɿ^{55}**mo**^{33}	seed (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.37
Yi (Wuding)	ʂɿ^{55}**mu**^{11}	seed (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Yi (Sani)	ʂʐ̩^{55}**mɒ**^{33}	seed (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	ʔaŋ **hnɯ**	seed	Bradley 199x

(20) PTB *dzəy SEED / TESTICLE / ROUND OBJECT

The basic meaning of this etymon seems to be SEED, with extensions into SMALL ROUND OBJECT, and thence to TESTICLE.

This morpheme frequently occurs as the last syllable in words for EYE, as does the semantically similar root PTB ***sey** FRUIT / ROSE / ROUND OBJECT (§1.2.6).

PTB ***dzəy** SEED / TESTICLE / ROUND OBJECT (§1.9.7) is quite distinct from PTB ***sey** FRUIT / ROSE / ROUND OBJECT (§1.2.6), as witness the WB forms **sî** 'fruit' vs. **ə-ce'** 'seed'.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzəy**	seed	Matisoff 2003a:588
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tsii** SEED / CROP, ***khlaay-tsii** SEED / CROP			
**Chin*	***khlaay-tsii**	SEED / CROP	VanBik 2009:1298
	***tsii**	SEED / CROP	VanBik 2009:560
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			

Paite	**khai chi**	crop	VanBik 2009:1298
Sizang	**htai** chī	seed	VanBik 2009:560; VanBik 2009:1298
Thado	**kháay-tsîi**	seed, crop	VanBik 2009:1298
	tsîi	seed	VanBik 2009:560
Tiddim	**tsǐ**	seed	Weidert 1987:148b
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**tii**	seed used for planting	VanBik 2009:560
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thlâay tsìi**	seeds, crops	VanBik 2009:1298
	tsìi	seeds, crops	VanBik 2009:560
Lai (Falam)	**tsîi**	seeds, crops	VanBik 2009:560
Lushai [Mizo]	**chi**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
	chî	seeds	VanBik 2009:560
	tsî	seed	Weidert 1987:148b
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chí**	seed	VanBik 2009:560
	^{2}ə^{3}**tsi**	seed	Weidert 1987:148b
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***ma-tʃəjʔ** SEED			
**Central Naga*	*ma-**tʃəjʔ**	SEED	Bruhn 2014a:III.107
Ao (Chungli)	me **tsü**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mə^{3}**tsəʔ**^{3}	seed (for planting) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.107
Lotha Naga	mo^{1}-**tʃəʔ**^{2}	seed (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.107
	mó **cà**	seed	Acharya 1975
	mo **jü**	seed	Murry *et al.* 1978:110
Sangtam	ma **jü**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **ji**	seed	Kumar 1973b:75
	moli **jih**	pill	Kumar 1973b:42
	mük **chi**	eye	Marrison 1967
	mulung **jih**	heart	Kumar 1973b:80
	mu **ji**-i	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mü **jih** hiukhi	sow	Kumar 1973b:76
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	**tsa**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**tsie**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**tsa**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a ma **chü**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rengma	yhü **tye**	eye	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	^{2}n^{2}yhʌ^{4}**tø**	eye	Weidert 1987:1009
Sema [Sumi]	a nhye **ti**	eye	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***t^{h}a** SEED			
**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}a**	seed	Mortensen 2012:660
Tusom	ʔi-**cʃi**	seed	Mortensen 2012:Plants.011
Ukhrul	ʔa-**t^{h}a**	seed	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***c(aʔ)**-li	seed	Burling 1959:443
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**tei**	sow (v.)	Marrison 1967
Phom	**šei**	sow	Matisoff 1985a:114
	šei-li	seed	Matisoff 1985a:114
	shei	sow (v.)	Marrison 1967
	shei li	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	gyəl mo **tsi**	eyeball	Sharma 1991a:3.4.2
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	n̥i^{13} **ndzɐ^{35}**	eye	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.4
	n̥i^{13} **ndzɐ^{35}** nɔ^{53} dʒuɛ^{35}	tears	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.4.6
Tshona (Mama)	**tɕu^{13}**	seed	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:220.6
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	mik **tsi** gek	eye sand	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	mi-**tśi**	eye	LaPolla 1987:88; Benedict 1972:402
Sunwar	mi:k **ci**	eye	Michailovsky 1991:58; Matisoff 1987
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mianchi)	**zuì**	pit, stone; bullet	Matisoff 1993
	zuì zuí	testicles	Matisoff 1993
	zuì	pit, stone (also 'testicle'); bullet	Evans 1999:475; Evans 1999:899 [a]
Xumi	n̥e^{33} **ji^{55}**	eye	Sun Hongkai 1991m
	n̥ɛ^{33}**jĩ^{55}**	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.17
	n̥ɛ^{33}**ji^{55}**	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.20
5. Tujia			
Tujia	a^{21} la^{55} **tɕi^{35}**	eye	Chen Kang 1986d:3.4
	lo^{35} **ts^{h}i^{55}** li^{55}	eyeball	Chen Kang 1986c:3.4.2
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	n̥ɑ^{31} **tɕi^{31}**	eye	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	n̥ɔʔ^{55} **tsiʔ^{31}**	eye	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n̥ɔʔ^{55}**tsiʔ^{31}**	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.28
	n̥ɔʔ^{55}**tsiʔ^{31}**	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.41
Achang (Luxi)	n̥aʔ^{31} **tɕiʔ^{55}**	eye	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	li^{55} **tsi^{31}**	testicles	Dai Qingxia 1989f:142
	ɲɔʔ^{55} **tsi^{31}**	eyeball	Dai Qingxia 1989f:101.3
Bola	ŋji^{35} **tʃì^{35}**	testicles	Dai Qingxia 1989g:142
Burmese (Rangoon)	mjo^{55}**si^{53}**	seed (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	mjo^{55}**si^{53}**	seed	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:220.40
Burmese (Written)	a **ce'**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
	hwê-**ce'** ~ gwê-**ce'**	testicles	Matisoff 1987
	hwê-**ce'**-ʔit	scrotum	Matisoff 1987
	lañ-**ce'**	Adam's apple / larynx / glottis	Matisoff 1987
	lî-**ce'**	testicle	Matisoff 1987
	mjo^{3}**se^{1}**	seed (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.26
	mjo^{3}**se^{1}**	seed	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:220.39
	myak-**ci'**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	myak **ci**	eye	Marrison 1967
	myui:ce'	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ə-**ce'**	seed (n.)	Benedict 1976a
Lashi	ŋji^{55} **tʃei^{55}**	testicle	Dai Qingxia 1989m:10.3.5
Maru [Langsu]	mjɔʔ^{31} **tʃik^{35}**	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.4
	mjɔʔ^{31} **tʃik^{35}** tʃhɛʔ^{55}	eyeball	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.4.2
	mjɔʔ^{31}**tʃik^{55}**	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.43
	ŋji^{35} **tʃik^{55}**	testicle	Dai Qingxia 1989l:10.3.5
Atsi [Zaiwa]	mjoʔ^{21} **tʃi^{55}**	eye	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	mjoʔ^{21}**tʃi^{55}**	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.30
	mjoʔ^{21}**tʃi^{55}**	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	n̥a^{53} **tsɛ^{24}**	eye	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987; Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	ʔmi̱^{33} **tse^{21}**	eye	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4
Nusu (Southern)	miɑ̱^{31} **tʂi^{55}**	eye	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	miɑ^{53} **dʐi^{31}**	eye	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	miɑ^{53}**dʐi^{31}**	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.45
Nusu (Central)	mɹa̱^{53}**dʐi̱^{31}**	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	mˈa̱^{31} **dzi^{31}**	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989o:101.
Nusu (Central)	mˈa̱^{53} **dzɻ̱^{31}**	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989p:101.
Nusu (Northern)	n̥ɑ̱^{53} **dzɻ^{55}**	eye	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Xide)	n̥ɔ^{33} **dzɿ^{21}**	eye	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	n̥ɔ^{33}**dzɿ^{21}**	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.35
	n̥ɔ^{33}**dzɿ^{21}**	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.21
	n̥ɔ^{33}**dzɿ^{21}**m̥(ĩ)^{33}	close (eye)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:530.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	a^{33}**tsi^{44}**	seed	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:220.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	li^{55} **tsɿ^{33}**	testicles	Dai Qingxia 1989h:145
	mja^{31} **sɯ^{44}**	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989h:104
Jinuo (Baka)	mja^{31} **sɯ^{44}**	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989i:104
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	mja^{31} **tsɿ^{33}**	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989h:104.1
Jinuo (Baka)	mja^{31} **tsɿ^{44}**	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989i:104.1
Jinuo	mja^{42} **tsi^{44}**	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.44
	mja^{42}**tsi^{44}**	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.34
Jinuo (Youle)	mjɑ^{42} **sɤ^{44}**	eye	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	mjɑ^{42} **tsi^{33}**	eye	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	tʃɤ^{35}	seed	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{44}**tsi^{33}**	seed (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu (Putao)	mya^{3} (myɛ^{3}**sɤ^{5}**)	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	mya^{3}**sï^{5}**	eye	Luce 1985:U.31
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Pijo)	à **tzy**	seed	Hansson 1989:368
Hani (Caiyuan)	a^{31}**tsɿ^{33}**	seed	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:220.30
Hani (Pijo)	maq **tzy**	eye	Hansson 1989:468
Hani (Caiyuan)	ma̱^{33} **tsɿ̱^{33}**	eye	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.30
Hani (Wordlist)	al **ssyuq**	seed	Hansson 1989:368
Hani (Shuikui)	ma^{33} **tsi̱^{33}**	eye	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.32
Hani (Khatu)	à **tzy**	seed	Hansson 1989:368
	mja **tzy** ?	eye	Hansson 1989:468
Hani (Mojiang)	ma^{33}**tsi̱^{33}**	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.42
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi	**dzy^{21}**	seed of Chinese prickly ash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0448.45
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**tsv^{33}**	seed	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:220.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tsṽ^{33}**	seed	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:220.36

[a] [Source Note] cf. 'pit/stone', 'testicles' (Evans 1999).

(21) PTB *ka BALL / EGG / TESTICLE / EYEBALL

This root seems basically to have meant 'ball', with natural extensions to EGG / TESTICLE and EYEBALL. A number of Himalayish compounds meaning PENIS have similar-looking morphemes (e.g. Baima ***kha^{13}*** **ndzɻ^{53}**, Bunan/Manchati ***kha*-ṭa**, Tamang **mlĕ-*ka***) though the semantic development BALL → TESTICLE → PENIS is improbable, and these syllables must be assumed to reflect a separate etymon.

The Newar form **kwaa-si** does not belong in this set. According to K. P. Malla, it means literally "hot-fruits" (**si** < PTB ***sey** FRUIT / ROSE / ROUND OBJECT (§1.2.6)). The true Newar cognate is represented by the second syllable of **mi-kha** 'eyeball', below.

1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	mai-tiŋ-**kha**	testicle	Weidert 1987:617a
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	shaŋ **khā**	testicle	Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	myìʔ **hka**	eye-socket; eye-lid	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**kā** pum	egg	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Central)	ming **khu**	pupil	Egli-Roduner 1987:32 4
Tshona (Wenlang)	**k^{h}ɑ^{55}** lum^{55}	egg	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**khAʔ^{53}**lum^{53}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.6
	k^{h}ʌʔ^{53} lum^{53}	egg	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
2.2. Newar			
Newar	mi-**khā**	eyeball	Malla 2007
Newar (Dolakhali)	mi **kha**	eye	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	mi **kha**	eye	Genetti 1990c
Newar	mi **khā**	eye; eyeball	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4.2
	mi **kha** phiti phiti yae	blink (v.)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4.5
	mi **khā** phu si	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4.3
	mi **kha** pili	iris	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4.2.1
	mi **khā** sā	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mi **khā** syā	eye disease (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.38
	mi **kha** ya khu:	eye sand	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:3.4.7
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	mi? **ka:** makurna	iris	Kohn 1990:3.4.2.1
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	mī **ka** sī	eye	Matisoff 1987
3.1. Tangut			[a]
Tangut [Xixia]	**kạɯ**	eye	Dai Qingxia 1989e:3.4
	kạɯ^{1}	eye	Sofronov c1978
	khạ^{2}	eye socket	Sofronov c1978
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya [Minyak]	mi^{55}**kɯ^{33}**lø^{35}	eyeball	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.4.2
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**kɑ^{55}**lŭm^{53}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**kɑ^{55}** lŭm^{53}	egg	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**k^{h}ɑ^{31}** lŭm^{53}	egg	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	n̥ɑ^{53}sɻ^{31}**ko^{323}**	eyeball	Mu Shihua 2003

[a] In Tangut this morpheme has apparently become a general word for EYE, alongside **mej** (see PTB ***s-myak** EYE (§1.2.6)).

Lalo	ʔmɻ̱[33] ɑ[55] **ɣɯ[33]**	eyeball	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.2
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	miɛ33 **khʌ33**	eye	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Black)	mɛ̂ʔ-**qha**-lɛ̂	eyeball	Matisoff 1987:DL 1022
	mɛ̂ʔ-**qha**-phu	eyeball	Matisoff 1987:DL 1022
Lahu (Bakeo)	mehˆ **hk'a**ˬ	eye	Bradley 1979a:92
Sani [Nyi]	ne[33] sɻ[21] **ko[33]** n̤[44] mɑ[33]	eyeball	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:94.3
	ne[33]si[21]**ko[33]**mɒ[33]ne[33]	pupil	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne[33]si[21]**ko[33]**ni̱[33]mɒ[33]	eyeball	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	nɑ[33]si[33]**qɔ[55]**	eyeball	Pelkey 2011:256
7. Karenic			
Bwe	-mù-**ká** tə́wì	pupil of the eye (n.)	Henderson 1997
	mù-**ká**	face; eye (n.)	Henderson 1997; Henderson 1997
	mù-**ká** ə-phlú-θɛ	eyeball (n.)	Henderson 1997
	mù-ɖo=mù-**ká**	face (n.)	Henderson 1997
Pa-O	mɛ̀ʔ **khū**	eyeball	Solnit 1989
	mɛ̀ʔ **khū** bwà	white of eye	Solnit 1989
	mɛ̀ʔ **khū** phrêŋ	pupil of eye	Solnit 1989
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	ŋuĩ[33] **kæ[55]** ɕĩ[55] k^{h}o[33]	eyeball	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.4.2

(22) PTB *kuk POUCH / BASKET / SCROTUM

This root was reconstructed as meaning 'bag; basket; receptacle' in *STC* #393. It seems to refer often to a pannier, or hanging basket for transporting goods on an animal's back.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kuk**	basket; pouch; pouch, little bag	Matisoff 2003a:597; LaPolla 1987:3; Benedict 1972:393
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	kəti **kok**	scrotum	Toba & Kom 1991:10.3.4
Moyon	i tír **koʔ**	scrotum	Kosha 1990:10.3.4
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**hok**	small hanging basket	Benedict 1972:393
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***k(o)k**	basket	Burling 1959:440
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	baiŋ-**kho**	basket carried on a load	Benedict 1972:393
	bo **kho**	receptacle	Benedict 1972:393
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**khok**	basket	LaPolla 1987:3; Benedict 1972:393
Garo (Bangladesh)	**kok**	basket (n.)	Burling 2003:5.852-II:idx
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***Ç-k^{h}uk**	bag	French 1983:454
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	chi **khok**	small basket	French 1983:454
Tangsa (Moshang)	ya **khak**	bag (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	ni **khok**	bag (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ni **khok**	bag	French 1983:454
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**k^{h}əg** mæ	bag (small)	Sun 1985a:39
Tibetan (Written)	**khug**-ma	pouch; pouch, little bag; bag (small)	LaPolla 1987:3; Benedict 1972:393; Sun 1985c:39
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	kóm ba-**guk**	purse	LaPolla 1987:3
	kóm ba-**gŭk**	purse	Benedict 1972:393 [a]
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Longxi)	pá **kù**	large basket	Evans 1999:870

[a] Lepcha **kóm** 'silver; money'.

(23) PTB *ʔip ≍ *ʔi:t BAG / SCROTUM

This etymon is firmly attested in the NE Indian Areal Group and Burmese, and may be confidently set up for PTB. The basic meaning seems to be 'bag, pouch'. The variation between final **-p** and **-t** is unexplained, but is paralleled in a number of other roots with high front vowels. Cf., e.g., Lai Chin **ʔit** 'sleep', from PTB ***s-y(i/u)p** SLEEP (§1.1.4.1), and Mizo **mit** 'eye', from PTB ***s-mik** EYE (§1.2.6).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ʔip ≍ ʔi:t**	bag / sack	Matisoff 2003a:583
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	**ˆɯt**-tum `a pɤ	testicle	Weidert 1987:617a
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**'et**-tum	testes and scrotum	Matisoff 1987
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ʔip** BAG / SACK			
**Chin*	***ʔip**	BAG / SACK	VanBik 2009:465
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**ip**	bag	VanBik 2009:465
Tiddim	**ip**[3]	bag; pocket; bag, pocket	VanBik 2009:465; Bhaskararao 1996:531
	ip[3] pi[1]	sack	Bhaskararao 1996:533
	thung[1] **ip**[3]	shoulder bag	Bhaskararao 1996:1904
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔip**	bag	VanBik 2009:465
Lushai [Mizo]	**ip**	bag (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ìp	sack, a bag (any kind of bag which is not carried like a satchel) (n.)	VanBik 2009:465
	ip	sack; pocket	Bhaskararao 1996:531
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	hwê-ce'-**ʔit**	scrotum	Matisoff 1987
	it	bag (n.)	Marrison 1967
	it	bag	Benedict 1976a
	kap-pay-**ʔit**	scrotum	Matisoff 1987

(24) PTB *la MALE

This etymon is very well attested in the NE Indian Areal Group, Lolo-Burmese, and Jingpho, with possible cognates also in Himalayish. *STC* (p. 96) recognizes a 'masculine suffix' ***-la**, "used with words for animals (in Tsangla, Digaro, Nung, Kachin, Burmese-Lolo, Konyak, Garo-Bodo, Mikir, and Meithei)".

Strangely enough, there is a homophonous root PTB ***la(:)** FEMALE / DAUGHTER (§1.9.12) with the antonymous meaning FEMALE / DAUGHTER. Cf. Benedict 1981, 1991.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***-la**	masc. gender suffix	Benedict 1972:p.96
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Tagin	nyi **lo**	male	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	pa:ra ta: **la:**	pigeon (male)	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	ta: **la:**	male (suffix)	NEFA (India) 1963
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Chokri	thü[31] **la[31]**	penis	Nienu 1990b:10.3.1
	[2]u[2]tho[2]**la**	penis	Weidert 1987:142
Khezha	[1]e[2]**lɯ**	male	Weidert 1987:288
Mao	[1]**lo**	male	Weidert 1987:288
Rengma (Southern)	[2]**lø**	male	Weidert 1987:288
Sema [Sumi]	[2]a[2]**li**	male	Weidert 1987:288
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ka-**lû**	male	Weidert 1987:288
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**la** bə	male	Abbi & Mishra 1985
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	aw **la**	business man; artist	Bhat 1968
	bal **la**	widower	Bhat 1968
	bardáw **la**	male going in search of a lover; term of abuse	Bhat 1968
	ga **la**	male with ugly face	Bhat 1968
	jɤ **la**	male	Weidert 1987:288
	ordáw **la**	sexy (a term of abuse–male)	Bhat 1968
	tap **la**	lazy (male)	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	čə-**la**	male	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	la	male suffix	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	šəy-**la**	male dog	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***la[A]**	male (of animals)	French 1983:520
	***la[B]**	male	French 1983:519
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	da **la**	male	French 1983:531
	de **la**	husband	French 1983:531; Marrison 1967
	vak **la**	male pig	French 1983:520
	[2]**la(ʔ)**	male	Weidert 1987:288
	[1]dʌ[1]**la**	male	Weidert 1987:288
Nocte (Namsang)	de-**la**	husband	Benedict 1941/2008:243
Tangsa	[1]**la(ʔ)**	male	Weidert 1987:288
Tangsa (Moshang)	gui-hē **la**	male dog	Benedict 1941/2008:243
	gui hen **la**	male dog	French 1983:520
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	kei **lo**	male dog	French 1983:520
	ok **lo** šou	domestic boar	French 1983:520
Khiamngan	[2]mẹ̤[1]**lo̤ʊ**	male	Weidert 1987:288
Konyak (Tamlu)	**la**	male	Weidert 1987:288
Tableng	kui-**la**	male dog	Benedict 1941/2008:243
Wancho	vak **la**	boar	French 1983:520
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**là**	male	Matisoff 1974:249
	[2]**la**	male	Weidert 1987:288
	ʔə **là**	male	Matisoff 1974:249
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Ganan	**-lɑ[1]**	male of animals	Luce 1985:K.39
Kadu (Kantu)	**-lɑ[1]**	male of animals	Luce 1985:K.39
Sak (Bawtala)	ă **lɑ[3]**	male of animals	Luce 1985:K.39
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Dolakhali)	tuk **la**	penis	Genetti 1990b
4. Nungic			
Nung (Rawang)	nang-**la**	husband; male	Benedict 1941/2008:166
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	n̥o[31]**lɔ[31]**	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.28
Achang (Xiandao)	no[31]**lɔ[31]**	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.29
Bola (Luxi)	nɔ̆[31]**la[31]**	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.32
Burmese (Written)	**là**	male	Weidert 1987:288 [a]
	ə-**lâ**	not castrated	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **lâ**	not castrated	Matisoff 1974:249
Langsu (Luxi)	nŭŋ[35]**lɔ[35]**	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.31
Lashi	**lo[33]**	male	Dai Qingxia 1989m:10.3
Leqi (Luxi)	nɔ̆[33]**lo[33]**	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.33
Maru [Langsu]	**lɔ[35]**	male	Dai Qingxia 1989l:10.3
Atsi [Zaiwa]	à **lò**	male	Weidert 1987:288
	nŏ[21]**lo[21]**	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.30
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	nuɔ[55]**la[53]**	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.34
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	njo[44]**lɔ[44]**	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	tʃ^{h}ɤ[55] **lɤ[31]**	penis	Dai Qingxia 1989h:144
Lisu	**la[5]**htsaw[4]	man	Bradley 1979b:161

[a] This word is not to be found in the dictionaries of Judson 1893/1953/1966 or Bernot 1978-92.

(25) PTB *m- t/d un FOREPART / FORESKIN

This root has the general meaning of FOREPART. In combination with etyma for TOOTH it means FRONT TOOTH/INCISOR. In combination with SKIN it can mean FORESKIN (cf. WT **mdun-lpags**). The Lepcha form requires special comment (see note).

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	kə **tu** hə	tooth (incisor)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.10.1
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**du** suà	tooth (incisor)	Sharma 1991a:3.10.1
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Spiti	**dun** sò	tooth (incisor)	Bodh 1991:3.10.1
Tibetan (Written)	**mdun**	before; at; to	Marrison 1967
	mdun	front (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0712.01
	mdun	front	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:51.1
	mdun-lpags	foreskin (vulg.)	Matisoff 1987
	mdun-n̂os	front of body	Matisoff 1987
	mdun-so	tooth (front)	Matisoff 1987
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	a **t'un**	foreskin	Matisoff 1987 [a]
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			

[a] Lepcha **t'un** means 'skin; hide' in isolation (GBM-Lepcha p. 154), though the prefixed form **a-t'un** is glossed either 'skin' (pp. 154, 532) or 'foreskin' (p. 491).

Chepang (Eastern)	**junʔ** səyk	tooth (incisor)	Caughley 1990:3.10.1

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Mawo)	ʂə **zdu**	tooth (incisor)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.10.1

(26) PTB *tsyaŋ ROUND OBJECT / SEED / NUT / TESTICLE

This root has so far only been found in a few Naga and Kuki-Chin languages.

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	tīl **cáŋ**	testicle	Thirumalai 1972:30
Tiddim	tsǐl-**táŋ**	testicle	Weidert 1987:617a

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***tsaŋ** SEED, NUT

**Central Naga*	***tsaŋ**	SEED, NUT	Bruhn 2014a:III.202
**Ao*	*(t-)**tʃaŋ**	SEED, NUT	Bruhn 2014a:II.151
Ao (Chungli)	in **jang**-tulu	bullet	Marrison 1967
	kwei **jang**	betel (nut)	Marrison 1967
	lijak **jang**	arrow	Marrison 1967
	mi **jang**	charcoal	Marrison 1967
	song **jang** lijang	bush	Marrison 1967
	te **jang**	fruit	Marrison 1967
	te mulung **jang**	heart	Marrison 1967
	tə²-mu²luŋ² **tʃaŋ²**	heart (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.361
	tə³-**tʃaŋ³**	seed, nut (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.151
	zə³lu¹**tʃaŋ¹**	letter (of alphabet) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	²ta³tsɯ³**tšaŋ**	testicle	Weidert 1987:617a
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te **jüng**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tongti **chang**	kidney	Marrison 1967
	tü **chang**	fruit	Marrison 1967
	tü mulung **chang**	heart	Marrison 1967
	yin **chang**	bullet	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	hju-**tʃaŋ**	letter of alphabet ('word' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	in-**tʃaŋ**	bullet ('iron' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	li tʃak-**tʃaŋ**	arrow ('catapult/bow' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	mi-**tʃàŋ**	population ('person' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	mənti-**tʃaŋ**	corn seed (n.)	Coupe 2007
	səŋ-**tʃàŋ**	fruit ('wood' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tsə-**tʃaŋ**	water, drop of ('water' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃaŋ	seed (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃhən-**tʃàŋ**	price ('money' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-məluŋ-**tʃaŋ**	heart ('be willing' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o¹-**tsəŋ³**	seed, pit (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.202
	njo **tsung**	testicle	Nienu 1990c:10.3.5
	o **tsüng**	seed	Murry *et al.* 1978:110
	tshüng thi **tsüng**	nut	Murry *et al.* 1978:79
Yacham-Tengsa	ta **chang**	fruit	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**¹tšʌŋ**	testicles; testicle	Weidert 1987:16; Weidert 1987:617a

[a] Cf. Clark (1911:660): "**SONGZANG-LIZANG**, all kinds of seeds, fruits, grains, nuts or berries. All kinds of little trees, brush, sprouts, shrubs, etc."

1.9.8 Copulate

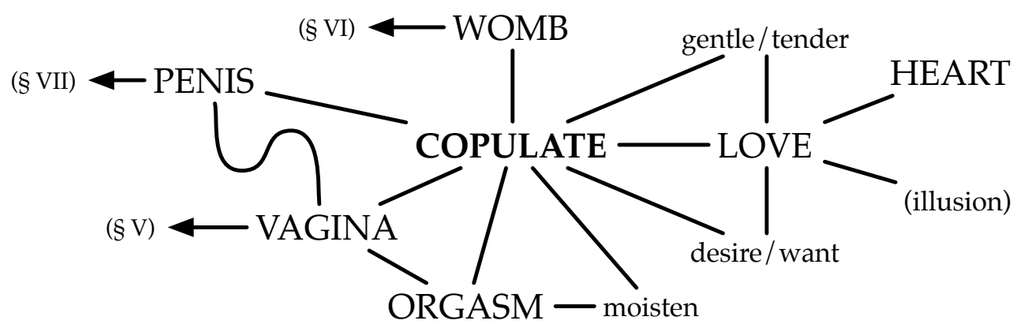


Figure 161: 1.9.8 *Copulate*

IT should come as no surprise that verbs meaning COPULATE are closely associated with notions of LOVE and DESIRE. Most etyma in this chapter have a semantic range which encompasses both the physical act of love and its emotional concomitant. At least one root makes an overt connection between COPULATE and PENIS (cf. PTB ***s-nyak** ≍ ***s-nik** PENIS / COPULATE (§1.9.7), above). Innumerable euphemisms for the act of sexual congress occur, but most of these are best treated in a separate study devoted to verbs. Typical verbs extended to a sexual sense include: PUSH (Karbi **dòy** 'push', **che-dōy** 'copulate'); DO (Jingpho **dī** 'do, make, form, fashion; be guilty of illicit intercourse'); MEET (Jingpho **khrúm** 'meet, converge; have sexual intercourse'), etc.

(1) PTB *ŋ-(w)a:y COPULATE / MAKE LOVE / LOVE / GENTLE

This root is well-attested in TB, occurring in the NE Indian Areal Group, Lolo-Burmese, Jingpho, Karenic, and Baic. There is an excellent Chinese comparandum, 愛 'love' [*GSR* 508a]. *STC* (pp. 150, 192) compares Proto-Karen ***ʔai** to the Chinese word, but does not cite any other TB forms. In Matisoff 1985a (*GSTC*) #126, I reconstructed PTB ***ŋ-(w)ay**, on the basis of forms from Jingpho, Tiddim, Lushai (Mizo), and Tangkhul. Another set of forms, reconstructed separately in *STC* #315 as ***ŋoy**, with the gloss GENTLE / QUIET / MODERATE, I believe to be allofamically related to the present etymon (see *GSTC* #92).

There is a look-alike in Proto-Tai: ***ŋaay**^{B2} 'easy' (*HCT*:204) > Siamese **ŋâay**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ŋ-(w)ay**	love; make love	Matisoff 1985a:126; LaPolla 1987:206 [a]
	***ŋ-(w)a:y**	love / make love	Matisoff 2003a:619
	***ŋoy**	gentle; quiet; moderate	Matisoff 1985a:092; Matisoff 2003a:606; Benedict 1972:315

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ngi**	comfort, soothe, cheer, console, pacify (as a child) (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:092

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	**we^{55}**thu^{55}	love	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:719.50
	wu t^{h}u **wu** ga	love	Pulu 1978

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ŋaay** LOVE / LONG FOR

**Chin*	***ŋaay**	LOVE / LONG FOR	VanBik 2009:861

[a] [Source Note] [G&C 126] (LaPolla 1987).

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**ngáay**-I ngày-II	love, like	VanBik 2009:861
Tiddim	**-ŋa:i**	love	LaPolla 1987:206
	-ŋaiʔ	love; fall in love	Matisoff 1985a:126
	-ŋa:i	love; fall in love	Matisoff 1985a:126
	-ŋa:i/_ŋaiʔ	love / fall in love (v.)	Henderson 1965
	nga:i^{3} > ngaiʔ^{3}	love and like (v.)	VanBik 2009:861
	ŋa:i^{2}/ŋaiʔ^{3}	love; listen	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊŋɛ:i	tenderly	Matisoff 1985a:126

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**ngáy**	love, want, like	VanBik 2009:861

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Bawm	**ngàai**	love (v.)	Löffler 1985
Lai (Falam)	**ŋǎay**-I, ŋày-II	long for	VanBik 2009:861
Lai (Hakha)	**ŋâay**-I, ŋayʔ-II	long for	VanBik 2009:861
Lushai [Mizo]	hma **ngaih**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
	in **uai**	clasp one another and be reluctant to leave	Matisoff 1985a:126
	in **uai** lung-leng	make love to one another	Matisoff 1985a:126
	in-**ngai**	copulate; long for one another	Matisoff 1987
	ngáai/ngàiʔ	love (v.)	Löffler 1985
	ngai	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	ngãi	long for, miss, feel earnest desire for; copulate (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:126
	ngái-I, ngàih-II	long for, miss (as anyone or anything from which one is separated)	VanBik 2009:861
	uai	hang on to (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:126
	uai	hang on to, make love	LaPolla 1987:206
	ŋoi	quiet, silent	Benedict 1972:315
	ŋuai	listless, quiet, silent	Benedict 1972:315
	ŋui	downhearted, sad	Benedict 1972:315
Paangkhua	ra **ngáai**	love (v.)	Löffler 1985; Löffler 1985

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	khə **ŋáy**	desire	Matisoff 1985a:126; LaPolla 1987:206
	ngai lon	gentle	Matisoff 1985a:126
	sa-**ngai** kachi	desire	Matisoff 1985a:126
	sa-**ŋai** kachi	that which one likes to do	LaPolla 1987:206

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***Ç-ŋuay** EASY

**Northern Naga*	***C-ŋuay**	easy	Matisoff 1985a:092
	***Ç-ŋuay**	easy	French 1983:481

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**ńwái**	respect, love; love	Matisoff 1985a:126; LaPolla 1987:206
	ŋwì	gentle, mild, peaceful, quiet	Benedict 1972:315
	ə **ŋwi**-śa ≍ ə **ŋoi**-śǎ	gently, peace-fully, moderately	Benedict 1972:315

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Luxi)	**ai^{35}**	love	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Written)	**ŋwé**	appear in small measure; gentle, moderate	Benedict 1972:315
Hpun (Northern)	**ŋweʔ**	copulate	Henderson 1986

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	mo^{44}**e^{33}**	love	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:719.34
Sani [Nyi]	**vɪ^{44}**mo^{55}	copulate	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.2

7. KARENIC: ***ʔai** LOVE, ***wéʔ** COPULATE

**Karen (Sgaw)*	***wéʔ**	copulate	Jones 1961:474
**Karen*	***ʔai**	love; make love	Matisoff 1985a:126; Benedict 1972:192n491
**Karen (TP)*	***ʔáiq**	love (v.t.)	Jones 1961:72
**Karen*	***ʔáiq**	love	Jones 1961:72
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***ʔwèq**	copulate	Jones 1961:474
	***ʔèq**	love (v.t.)	Jones 1961:72
**Karen (Pwo)*	***ʔéq**	love (v.t.)	Jones 1961:72
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ʔéʔ**	love (v.t.)	Jones 1961:72
Karen	**ʔɑi**	love	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:508a
Pa-O	**ʔái**	love (v.t.)	Jones 1961:72
	ʔe	love	Benedict 1972:149n409
	ʔwe	copulate	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:474
Palaychi	**ʔwèq**	copulate	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:474
	ʔə	love	Benedict 1972:149n409
	ʔèq	love (v.t.)	Jones 1961:72
Pwo	**ai**	love / make love	Matisoff 1985a:126
Pwo (Bassein)	**ʔài**	love (v.t.)	Jones 1961:72
	ʔwè	copulate	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:474
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ʔwéʔ**	copulate	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:474
	ʔéʔ	love (v.t.)	Jones 1961:72
Sgaw	**ɛ**	love / make love	Matisoff 1985a:126
Sgaw (Bassein)	**wè**	copulate	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:474
	ʔè	love (v.t.)	Jones 1961:72
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**wéʔ**	copulate	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:474
	ʔéʔ	love (v.t.)	Jones 1961:72

8. BAI

Bai (Dali)	**e^{44}**	love	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:719.35

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**əd/ə̂i**	love	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:508a
Chinese (Old)	**əd**	love	Matisoff 1985a:126
	ʔɨts	love / grudge	Baxter 1992:1160
	ʔɨts	love / grudge (v.)	Baxter 1992:337

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**ə̂i**	love	Matisoff 1985a:126

Chinese comparandum

愛 OC ***ʔəd**, *GSR* #508a 'love'; Li 1971: *·**ədh**; Baxter 1992 #337: ***ʔɨts**; Mand. **ài**.

The Chinese form most closely resembles the Karen form **ʔai**. Because we expect OC ***ʔ-** to correspond to PTB ***Ø-** and OC ***ŋ-** to correspond to PTB ***ŋ-**, the Chinese form must be assumed to relate to a PTB allofam lacking initial ***ŋ-**.

Baxter reconstructs ***ʔɨts**, but a reconstruction of ***ʔɨjs** is also possible, as rhyming evidence does not definitvely indicate the presence of a stop coda.

The correspondence between TB final ***-ay** and OC final ***-əd** (Li), ***-ɨj** (Baxter) is attested, for example in the word for 'tail', TB ***r-may**; 尾 OC ***mjədx** (Li); ***mjɨjʔ** (Baxter); Mand. **wěi**. Elsewhere in this volume, PTB ***s-tay** NAVEL / ABDOMEN / CENTER / SELF (§1.9.3) offers additional support for this correspondence.
[ZJH]

(2) PTB * r m d s -ga COPULATE / LOVE / WANT

This etymon is extremely well attested, occurring in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese, Nungish, Qiangic, and probably Baic. Its range of meanings extends from WANT/DESIRE to LOVE to COPULATE. This root is notable for the large number of prefixes that it has acquired in various branches of TB: ***r-** (in Qiangic [rGyalrong, Ergong] and Amdo Tibetan); ***N-** (in Loloish and perhaps Meluri); ***d-** (in Written Tibetan), and ***s-** (in Qiangic [Pumi]).

This etymon has been grammaticalized in Lahu, where it now functions as a desiderative particle, e.g. **qay gâ** 'want to go', **dɔ̀ gâ** 'want to drink', etc. See Matisoff 1988a:399-400.

We have tentatively grouped Loloish forms with initial velar stops with those with initial labial or velar nasals, assuming that the former descend from the unprefixed root while the latter show preemption of the root initial by the nasal prefix.

1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**ɣei**^{33}	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.52
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	**ge:**	want; need (v.)	Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ge:**	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.51
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	hɑ^{31}**kɑu**^{55}	like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.50
	wu t^{h}u wu **ga**	love	Pulu 1978
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Meluri	**ngü**	want (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	kha ma **kha**	copulate	Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	**ga**	copulate	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**go** s̲h̲i	copulate	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Tilang)	**gra**	love	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	do^{35}**go**^{55}	want	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	dɔ^{13}**gɔ**^{53}	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.6
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rga** ɣə	happy / excited	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1117.05
	rga ɣə	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.05
	rgo	want / need (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.05
	rgæ	love; like; like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.05; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hga**	like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.4
	ko kə	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**gæ**-wæ	happy	Sun 1985a:343
	rga	love; like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.5
	rgo	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ga**^{231}	love; like; like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.03; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.03
	ga^{13}	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.03
	gø^{55}	want / need (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.03
	gɑ^{13}tsho^{53}	happy / excited	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1117.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**gā** 'lā-bā-te	happy (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.44
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ga**^{31}	love; like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.3
	gø^{55}	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ka**^{13}	love; like; like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.02; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.02
	ka^{13}	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.02
	ka^{13}po^{53}-tɕhɛʔ^{13}	love; like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.2; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.2
	ka^{13}po^{55}	happy / excited	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1117.02
	ka^{13}po^{55} tɕhe^{132}	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.02
	ka^{13}tsho:^{55}	happy / excited	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1117.02
	ko^{13}	want / need (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.02
	koʔ^{13}	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**gā**	happy (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.44
Tibetan (Written)	**dga**	like	Sun 1985c:586
	dga.ba	happy	Sun 1985c:343
	dgaɲ	love; like; like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.01
	dgaɲ	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.01
	dgaɲ	love; like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.1 [a]
	dgaɲ po	glad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:908.1
	dgaɲ fitshor	happy / excited	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1117.01
	dga ba	glad (vi.)	Marrison 1967
	dgos	want; need (v.)	Marrison 1967; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.01
	dgos	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.1 [b]
	dgos pa	necessary	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ga**	happy; excited; love; like; like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1117.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.04
	ga	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.04
	go	want / need (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**gó**	happy, rejoice, be glad (be v.)	Plaisier 2007
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**gɑ**^{55}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.18
	jɑ^{33}**gɑ**^{55}	like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.18
Lyuzu	**giæ**^{31}	love; like; like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.18; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.18
	giæ^{35}	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.18
Muya	**gæ**^{33}**gæ**^{55}	love; like; like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.15; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ŋguɯ**^{53}	like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ga**^{35}	like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.10
	ga^{35}	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**giɯ**^{13}	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.09
	zgiɑ^{55}	love; like; like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.09; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**giɯ**^{13}	like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.11
	sgiɑ^{55}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**giu**^{35}	like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.10
	ɣiɛ^{35}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ga**^{35}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.16
	ga^{35}rə^{53}	like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**rga**^{13}**rga**^{55}	happy / excited	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1117.13
	rgo^{13}	love; like; like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.13; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.13
	rgo^{55}	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ga**^{55}	love; like; like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.14; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.14
	ga^{55}	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**rga**	love / like	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.12
Ergong (Northern)	**rgə**^{33}	copulate (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991c:10.2
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐgia** ʐɛ	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ka **rga**	like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.12
4. Nungic			
Dulong	**gɯ**^{55}	want / need (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.20
Trung [Dulong]	**gɯ**^{55}	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**gɯ**^{55}	want	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***m-ga**^{2} WANT / THINK / LOVE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-ga**^{2}	want / think / love	Matisoff 2003a:589
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***m-ga**^{2}	want (v.)	Bradley 1979b:827A
PNL	**m-ga**^{2}	want	Chen Kang 1986a:56.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**gà**	long for / think of	Björverud 1994
Lipho	**ŋo**^{55}	want	Chen Kang 1986a:56.
Nasu	**ŋɔ**^{33}	want	Chen Kang 1986a:56.
Neisu	**ŋo**^{33}	want	Chen Kang 1986a:56.
Nesu	**ŋa**^{33}	want	Chen Kang 1986a:56.
Nosu	**ŋo**^{33}	want	Chen Kang 1986a:56.
Nusu (Bijiang)	**gɯ**^{35}ɑ^{55}	like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.45
	m̩^{35}	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.45
Nusu (Central)	**nɯ**^{33}	want; need; want (to go) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1728.34; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.34
Nusu (Northern)	**nɯ̃**^{31}	want	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**gɯ**^{21}	like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.22
Yi (Mile)	**ŋu**^{55}	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**gɯ**^{21}sɛ^{21}	like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.26
	ŋɒ^{33}	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**gɯ**^{33}	love / like	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.37
	gɯ^{33}go^{33}	like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.24
	gɯ^{33}ʂ$_{l}^{33}$	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.37
Yi (Wuding)	**ŋɒ**^{33}	want / need (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.38
Yi (Xide)	**ŋgu**^{33}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**ŋu**^{55}	want	Chen Kang 1986a:56.
Jinuo	**mœ**^{55}	want to eat (meat) badly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1180.44
	mɯ^{31}	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**m̩**^{42}	want	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**m̩**^{44}	want / need (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.44
Lahu (Lancang)	**gɑ**^{53}	like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.43
Lahu (Black)	**gâ**	desiderative particle; want to V	Matisoff 1988a:399-400
Lahu (Yellow)	**ga**^{3}	like	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**nu**^{33}	want / need (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.40
	nu^{33}	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.27
Lisu (Central)	**nū**^{4}	want (=love) (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ny**^{33}	want; need (V, M.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ŋo**^{55}	want	Chen Kang 1986a:56.
Yi (Sani)	**ŋo**^{55}	want; need; want (to go) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1728.39; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Thai)	**gà**	think of, love, hear	Hansson 1989:10
Akha (Yunnan)	**ɣö**	like, be friendly with	Hansson 1989:365
Akha (Thai)	**ɣö**	like, be friendly with	Hansson 1989:365
Hani (Lüchun)	**gà**	think of, love, hear	Hansson 1989:10
Hani (Dazhai)	**ga**^{31}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ga**^{31}	love / like	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.41
	ɣø^{55}	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**gɣ̱**^{31}	want	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ggaq**	think of, love, hear	Hansson 1989:10
Haoni	**kɔ**^{31}	think of, love, hear	Hansson 1989:10
Hani (Mojiang)	**ko**^{31}	like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.42
	kɔ^{31}ʃ$_{l}^{55}$	love / like (one's child)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.42
	ɣæ^{55}	love / like	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.42
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**ŋɯ**^{45}	want	Pelkey 2011:741
Southern Muji	**ŋa**^{55}	want	Pelkey 2011:741
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi	**ko**^{21}	love / like	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.45

[a] WT **dgaɲ** is glossed by Jäschke (pp. 82-3) as 'rejoice; like, be willing; intend, wish'.

[b] Although WT **dgos** implies 'necessity as well as want' (Jäschke p. 87), it looks like an allofam of **dgaɲ** 'rejoice; like, be willing'.

8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**ko**^{21}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.37
	n̥u^{42}	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.37
Bai (Dali)	**n̥o**^{44}	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ko**^{21}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.36
	ɲo̱^{33}	want / need (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.48

(3) PTB *m-dza-k LOVE

This etymon was reconstructed as PTB ***m-dza** in *STC* #67, on the basis of forms from Written Tibetan, Jingpho, and Written Burmese (with a note that the Jingpho form actually ends in glottal stop, so that it "may be distinct"). There is in fact ample reason to set up both open-syllabled and stop-finalled allofams for this root: ***m-dza** ⋉ ***m-dzak**. The latter allofam is attested not only in Jingpho, but in Yi Nanhua (note the constricted vowel), and directly in NW rGyalrong (Qiangic group). The nasal prefix is directly reflected in WT, Yi (Dafang), and Jingpho.

The Hayu form has apparently acquired the -n suffix.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-dza**	love	Benedict 1972:67
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**ndža**	show love; affectionate	Benedict 1972:67
	ndźaʔ	show love	Benedict 1972:118n328
	ndžáʔ	love	Benedict 1972:28n89
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	xha **tsha**	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.4
Tibetan (Written)	**mdza**-ba	love (v.)	Benedict 1972:67
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	**tshan**	love (vtt.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.57,58,2
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**tʂ̥ha**^{55}gi^{55}	love; like; like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.16; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.16
	tʂ̥hɑ^{55}gi^{33}	love; like	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.17; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:720.17
Namuyi	**dʐ̥a**^{55}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.19
	dʐ̥a^{53}	like (to eat)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.46
	dʐ̥ɑ^{53}	love / like	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.46
Qiang (Mawo)	**χtɕ̥i**	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.8
Xumi	**tshi**^{33}ku^{55}	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.17
	tshi^{55}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.20
	tshi^{55}wɛ^{55}	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.17
	tshɪ^{53}	love / like	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.17
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (NW)	ndot **tɕ̥ʰak**	copulate (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:10.2
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**ca**	have tender regard for	Benedict 1976a
	tsa	have tender regard for another	Benedict 1972:67
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Dafang)	**ndʐ̥u**^{33}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.22
Yi (Nanhua)	n̥e̱^{33}**dʐ̥ʌ̱**^{33}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.24

(4) PTB *kri k/ŋ LOVE / COPULATE

This root is well attested in the NE Indian Areal Group and Burmish, with an excellent cognate in Written Tibetan. The correspondence of WT **-ig** to WB **-ac** is perfectly regular. (Cf. *HPTB* pp. 343-348). The Maring form points to an allofam with final nasal.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**kì**	love	Sun 1993b
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**karing**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	**khre**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**khrie**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**khrü**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
Mao	**khro**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḫ̥k'rig**-pa	copulate	Matisoff 1987 [a]
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	kɛ^{55}**kik**^{55}	love	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Arakanese	**hcat**	love	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕ̥hiʔ**^{44}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.40
Burmese (Written)	**khjɑs**	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.39
	khjɑs^{4}	love / like	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.26
	khyac	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
	khyac	love	Okell 1971
	khyac	love (v.)	Benedict 1976a
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khyat**	love	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	ə-**khyac**	love, affection	Benedict 1976a
Intha	**hyi'**	love	Okell 1971
Maru [Langsu]	**c'ít**	love	Okell 1971
Tavoyan	**hyi'**	love	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃi̱t**^{55}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.42
	tʃi̱t^{55}tap^{21}	love / like	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.30

[a] Jäschke (p. 61) notes that this word is "the usual, not exactly obscene, yet not euphemistic term for it". It also has the non-sexual meanings 'cohere, stick together' and 'be cloudy, overcast (of the sky)'.

(5) PTB *ləw-k COPULATE

This etymon is fairly well attested in TB as a whole, especially in Himalayish and Chin, but also in Lolo-Burmese (Burmese), and Qiangic (rGyalrong). Judging from the Burmese gloss in Judson 1893/1966, it seems to be connected with the notion of piercing or penetrating.

The allofam with final **-k** is attested not only in the Form-II of verbs in several Chin languages, but also in Chepang. The Form-I of Chin verbs, as well as the Kiranti and Burmese forms, reflect the open-syllable allofam.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***luu-I**, ***luuk-II** COPULATE / INTERCOURSE			
**Chin*	***luu ⋉ luuk**	copulate	VanBik 2009:1003
	***luu**-I, luuk-II	COPULATE / INTERCOURSE	VanBik 2009:1003
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**lûu ∼ lûʔ**	copulate	VanBik 2009:1003
Tiddim	**luː**^{1} ∼ **luːk**^{1}	copulate	VanBik 2009:1003
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**luk ∼ luuk**	penetrate sexually, possess a woman	VanBik 2009:1003
Khumi	**liiw**	have intercourse with	VanBik 2009:1003
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	in-**lu**-khung	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	lu	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	lùu ∼ lûuk	copulate	VanBik 2009:1003
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**lu**	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	lū	copulate	VanBik 2009:1003
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**lhù** ṣi	copulate	Sharma 1991b:10.2
	lui	copulate	Sharma 1982
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***lu-**	copulate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:37
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**lï-**	copulate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:37
	lü ma	copulate	Rai *et al.* 1984:47
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
**Dum-Thu-Kha*	***le-**	copulate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:37
Khaling	**le-**	copulate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:37 [a]
	le-ne	copulate	Matisoff 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**lu-**	copulate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:37
Sunwar	**luː-**	copulate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:37
	luː-cā	copulate	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	**le-**	copulate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:37
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**luʔ**-sa	copulate	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.13
	luʔ .sā	copulate	Matisoff 1987
Chepang (Eastern)	**luʔ** naʔ	copulate	Caughley 1990:10.2
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ta **lu** ka pa	copulate (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:10.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **lu** ka pa	copulate (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.2
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ləw**^{2} COPULATE / PENIS			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ləw**^{2}	copulate / penis	Matisoff 1993
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**luî**	pierce in coitus (from Ak. sheet)	Matisoff 1987:85
	lûi	pierce in coitus (vulg.)	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	a̬ **loe̬**	penis	Matisoff 1987 [b]

[a] Khaling has **-e** where other Kiranti languages have **-u** in at least two other roots: COME/BRING DOWN Hayu **ju(t)-**, Bahing **ju(t)-**, Kulung **yuw-**, **yutt-**; but Khaling **ye(n)-**. STEAL Hayu **khu(t)-**, Bahing **ku(s)-**, Thulung **khu-**, Kulung **kuss-**; but Khaling **khe-**. See Michailovsky 1991, *Proto-Kiranti*, pp. 15, 34.

[b] This Akha reflex is to be referred to the present etymon, rather than to PTB ***m-ley** ⋉ ***m-li** PENIS (§1.9.7), since Akha **-oe** is the regular reflex of PTB ***-əw** (e.g. STEAL ***r-kəw** > Akha **k'oe̬** ; WEEP ***ŋəw** > Ak. **ngoeˇ**). For the Akha reflex of PLB ***r-lik** 'testicle', see **leh̬**, above PTB ***r-lik** TESTICLE / EGG / PENIS (§1.9.7). See also the note on Akha **beuˆ leuˆ** 'penis (polite)', above PTB ***m-ley** ⋉ ***m-li** PENIS (§1.9.7).

(6) PTB *duk ⋉ *tu LOVE / DESIRE / WANT

This etymon is well-attested in the NE Indian Areal Group, with good-looking cognates in Himalayish and Loloish. Two allofams should be reconstructed, one with and one without final ***-k**. The Idu and Loloish forms point to an allofam with *voiceless initial, while the Moyon form reflects an evidently secondary nasal prefix.

1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	we^{55}**thu**^{55}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.50
	wu **tʰu** wu ga	love	Pulu 1978
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ɗuʔ** WANT / CRAVE / LACK			
**Chin*	***ɗuʔ**	WANT / CRAVE / LACK	VanBik 2009:116
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**duh**	crave, like	VanBik 2009:116
Tiddim	**duʔ**^{3}	desire food (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:280
	duʔ^{3}	desire food	VanBik 2009:116; Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**du**	destitute, in want, needy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:116
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**duʔ**	want, crave, like, lack	VanBik 2009:116
Lai (Falam)	**dùʔ**	want, crave, like	VanBik 2009:116
Lushai [Mizo]	**duh**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
	dùh	want, wish, need, require, desire, like	VanBik 1995–:116
	dùh	want, wish, need, require, desire, like (v.)	VanBik 2009:116
	duh	want (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2293
	duk	desire (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**dū**	love (by grandmother)	VanBik 2009:116
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	**ntu**	copulate	Kosha 1990:10.2
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**do**^{35}go^{55}	want	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**dɔ**^{13}gɔ^{53}	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.6
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Sahu)	**tuːh** 'ti-pa	mourn (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.A.53
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Nanjian)	**thu**^{21}	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.23
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	cha **thû**	feel sexual desire (woman); lubricate	Matisoff 1988a:681
	nī **thû**	have an erection; be aroused	Matisoff 1988a:681; Matisoff 1988a:769
	thû	feel sexual desire; be horny (man or woman) (be v.)	Matisoff 1987

(7) PTB *ywa COPULATE

This root was reconstructed for Proto-Tani by J. Sun (1993), but seems to have a wider distribution, both elsewhere in the NE Indian Areal Group (Konyak) and in Himalayish. The Konyak, Baima, and Spiti compounds look like they all have the same morphemic structure, with PTB ***yaŋ** LOVE / DESIRE / COPULATE (§1.9.8) [see below] as their second element.

1.1.1. Tani: ***yo** COPULATE			
**Tani*	***jo**	copulate	Sun 1993a:81
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			

Apatani	**í**	copulate	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ju**	copulate	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**jo**	copulate	Sun 1993a
	jo-ra:	have sex	Sun 1993b
Galo	a **ya**-nam	love (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**jo**	copulate	Sun 1993a
	yo	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	yo-shu	copulate	Matisoff 1987 [a]
Damu	**jo:**	have sex	Sun 1993b
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**ya** yiang	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**ʒɔ**[13] iɔ[13]	copulate (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:10.2 [b]
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Spiti	**jo** je	copulate	Bodh 1991:10.2

[a] Abor-Miri **-shu** 'REFLEXIVE'.

[b] The binomial roots Spiti **jo je** 'copulate' and Konyak **ya yiang** 'love (v.)' suggest that Baima **ʒɔ**[13] belongs with PTB ***ywa** COPULATE (§1.9.8), while **iɔ**[13] descends rather from PTB ***yaŋ** LOVE / DESIRE / COPULATE (§1.9.8).

(8) PTB *yaŋ LOVE / DESIRE / COPULATE

This etymon is fairly well established, occurring in the NE Indian Areal Group, Baic, and Himalayish. This root is independent of PTB ***ywa** COPULATE (§1.9.8) above, with which it occurs in binomes (Konyak, Baima, Spiti). There is a longshot Chinese comparandum, 癢 OC ***zi̱aŋ** 'itch', *GSR* #732r, Mand. **yǎŋ**, though the semantic association is doubtful.

The root PTB ***ywa** COPULATE (§1.9.8) strongly resembles the present etymon, but the Konyak binome **ya yiang** seems to show that the roots are independent of each other.

1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Miji	luŋ-**ʒaŋ**	love; be kind to (adj.)	Simon 1979
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	a-**jaŋ**	love; genial, kind, gentle (loving); like	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.24
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	a-**yan**-ma	love; dear (beloved)	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	a-**yan**-myaŋ-pok-ɟak-ke	sympathize	Tayeng 1976
	a **yan**-cu-pok-ma	pity	Tayeng 1976
	a **yan**-ma	beloved; loving	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	a **yan**-ma-nu	beneficient deity	Tayeng 1976
	a **yan**-ɲi-ka	pious	Tayeng 1976
	a **yan**-ɟak-ce	kind	Tayeng 1976
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	nri **ye**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	ya **yiang**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	ʒɔ[13] **iɔ**[13]	copulate (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:10.2 [a]
Tsangla (Motuo)	**jaŋ**	want	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:674.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ʑiŋ**[35]	love	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Spiti	jo **je**	copulate	Bodh 1991:10.2
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**jæ̃**[44]	copulate (v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:10.2

[a] The binomial roots Spiti **jo je** 'copulate' and Konyak **ya yiang** 'love (v.)' suggest that Baima **ʒɔ**[13] belongs with PTB ***ywa** COPULATE (§1.9.8), while **iɔ**[13] descends rather from PTB ***yaŋ** LOVE / DESIRE / COPULATE (§1.9.8).

Chinese comparandum

癢 'itch' ⪤ 痒 'disease', OC ***zi̱aŋ**, *GSR* #732i,732r; Li 1971: ***rang(x)**; Baxter 1992: ***(l)jang(ʔ)**; Mand. **yǎng** 'itch', **yáng** 'disease'.

Setting aside the question of semantics, this is a plausible comparison.

For other members of this phonetic series, Baxter reconstructs ***z(l)ang**, ***k(l)ang** and ***kh(l)ang**. The presence of medial ***-l-** ties the pronunciation of these words together; but the medial is given in parentheses because it does not affect subsequent development and Baxter is probably doubtful about its presence. Li's initial ***r-** has been revised to ***l-** by most scholars. Handel 1998 and Schuessler 2007 both reconstruct initial ***j-** in this situation.

This proposal parallels the comparison of Chinese 羊 ***jang** 'sheep' (Mand. **yáng**) with PTB ***g-yaŋ**. [ZJH]

(9) PTB *m-brel COPULATE / CONNECT

The basic meaning of this etymon seems to be 'hang together; cohere; be connected; come together; meet, join' (see the range of meanings in WT, Jäschke p. 402). It is attested chiefly in Himalayish, with apparently excellent Qiangic cognates. The nasal prefix is reflected by the WT a-chung (**ḥ-**), and directly by the Northern rGyalrong form. It is of course quite possible that the rGyalrong and Ergong forms are borrowings from Tibetan.

2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥbrel**-ba	copulate / join / be connected	Matisoff 1987
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Chantyal	**pfie**-wa	copulate	Noonan *et al.* 1992:10.2
Gurung (Ghachok)	mehq **bral** diba	copulate (animals), have sexual intercourse (cows)	Glover 1972
	preh ba	copulate (animals), have sexual intercourse (animals)	Glover 1972
	prxe-ba	copulate	Matisoff 1987 [a]
Tamang (Risiangku)	**[4]pja**	copulate (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:10.2
	[4]pja	copulate (of males)	Mazaudon 1994:702
Tamang (Sahu)	**ˊpyāh** pā	copulate	Matisoff 1987
Thakali (Tukche)	**peh**-la	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	peh-lɔ	copulate	Hari 1971:2.B.2.13
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔphə phə**	copulate (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:10.2
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ka **mbrə mbro**	copulate (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:10.2

[a] Gurung **prxe-ba** is cited in Noonan's (1999) *Chantyal Dictionary and Texts* under 'have sex'.

(10) PTB *m-ba $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ COPULATE / LOVE / WOMB

This etymon, which seems to cover quite an unusual semantic range, including COPULATE / LOVE, and WOMB / NEST, is fairly broadly distributed, with likely reflexes in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, Loloish, and Tangut (Xixia). Allofams with final velar stop and final velar nasal both occur. The nasal prefix is directly attested in Moyon, Bisu, and Tangut.

1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	a[33]**pak**[11]	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.52
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**pak**	love	Sun 1993b
Galo	**pag** nam	love (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	**pak** nam	love, fall in	Das Gupta 1983
	pak-nam	love (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	**mpúʔ**	copulate	Kosha 1990:10.2
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**bàŋ**	womb	Sharma 1991b:10.4.8
	baŋg	nest	Sharma 1982
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	tă-**bǎk**	womb	Matisoff 1987
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**mbə̂**[2]	copulate	Sofronov c1978
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	cha **pàʔ** ve	copulate with a woman	Matisoff 1988a:517,814
	pàʔ	copulate	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	aŋ làp **ʔmbã**	genitals	Beaudouin 1988:14
Mpi	**poʔ**[4]	womb	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	poʔ[4] muŋʔ[1]	womb	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

(11) NEIA * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{h}\end{matrix}$ uŋ LOVE / COPULATE

This root has been found only in the NE Indian Areal Group, where it shows variation between initial **k-** and **h-**. (This variation is paralleled in a number of other etyma, including PTB ***(h/k)ay** VAGINA (§1.9.5); see the note under that reconstruction, Chapter 1.9.5 above.) The final **-n** in the Konyak and Bodo forms is unexplained.*

1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**kung**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**kung**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**hung**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**hung**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**kang** hon	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**kón**	copulate	Matisoff 1987
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**kün**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967

(12) PTB *(t)si COPULATE / LOVE

This root has scattered but good-looking reflexes in the NE Indian Areal Group (Maram, Meithei), Himalayish (Kanauri, Manchati), Loloish (Ahi, Nesu), Nungish (Dulong), Qiangic (Muya), and Tujia. Most reflexes have a simple sibilant fricative initial, but the Loloish and Tujia forms have affricates. There does not seem to be any connection with PTB ***ti-k** PENIS (§1.9.7) or PTB ***dzi** PENIS (§1.9.7).

1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	a lung **si**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	nung **si**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	go **s̱hi**	copulate	Matisoff 1987
	tsŭk **s̱hi**	copulate	Matisoff 1987
Pattani [Manchati]	lhù **ṣi**	copulate	Sharma 1991b:10.2
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya	**si**[33]**si**[53] nɐ[33]βə[33]	like / love (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.15
Muya [Minyak]	**si**[33]**si**[55]	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.15
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	ŋi[55]**ɕi**[31]	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ŋi[55] **śi**[31]	love	LaPolla 1987:206
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ńi[55] **śi**[31]	love	LaPolla 1987:206
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	a[35]**tshi**[55]	love	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	a[35]**tshi**[55]	love	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:719.38
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa[21]**tshi**[21]	love	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nesu	**tɕɪ**[33]	copulate (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:10.2
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**tʂhɛ**[33]	copulate	Chen Kang 1986b:10.2

(13) PTB *la COPULATE / LOVE

This root was set up in TBRS 154, but several of the supporting forms from Tamangic were spurious (p.c., M. Mazaudon, 2014). For the correct analysis of Gurung (Ghachok) **mrĩ la baq** 'copulate', see TGTM ***mriŋ** WIFE (§4.7.4).

The only remaining support for this etymon is furnished by Tangkhul and Dumi, but these two forms are also subject to reevaluation.

This shaky root seems quite distinct from PTB ***lyap** ⪤ ***rap** COPULATE / LOVE (§1.9.6).

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	kha **lā**	copulate	Matisoff 1987
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**la** li kha	love	Driem 1993

(14) PTB *saw LOVE

This promising root, of limited distribution, has been found in the NE Indian Areal Group, with an apparent cognate in Himalayish (Chepang). Some reflexes have **-a**, others have a back vowel (**-u** or **-o**); the rhyme is reconstructed as ***-aw** on the testimony of Dimasa.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	hen-**sú**	love	Sun 1993b
	hén-**su**-nɯ	love	Sun 1993b
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Rengma	**so**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	lung **sa**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	jin **so**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967

* It is remotely possible that these two forms are related to the second Karbi syllable **hon**, from a separate root ***kon** ⪤ ***hon**.

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	kha **sao**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**sa** nou	love (v.)	Marrison 1967

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	rāp-**sā**	love (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.52
	rap-**sa**	love	Caughley 1972:10.B.1.52

(15) PTk *wot COPULATE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***wot**	copulate	Mortensen 2012:709
Huishu	kə-kə-**woʔ**	copulate / have intercourse (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.302
Tusom	kə-k-**we**	copulate / have intercourse (v.)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.295

1.9.9 Body Fluids

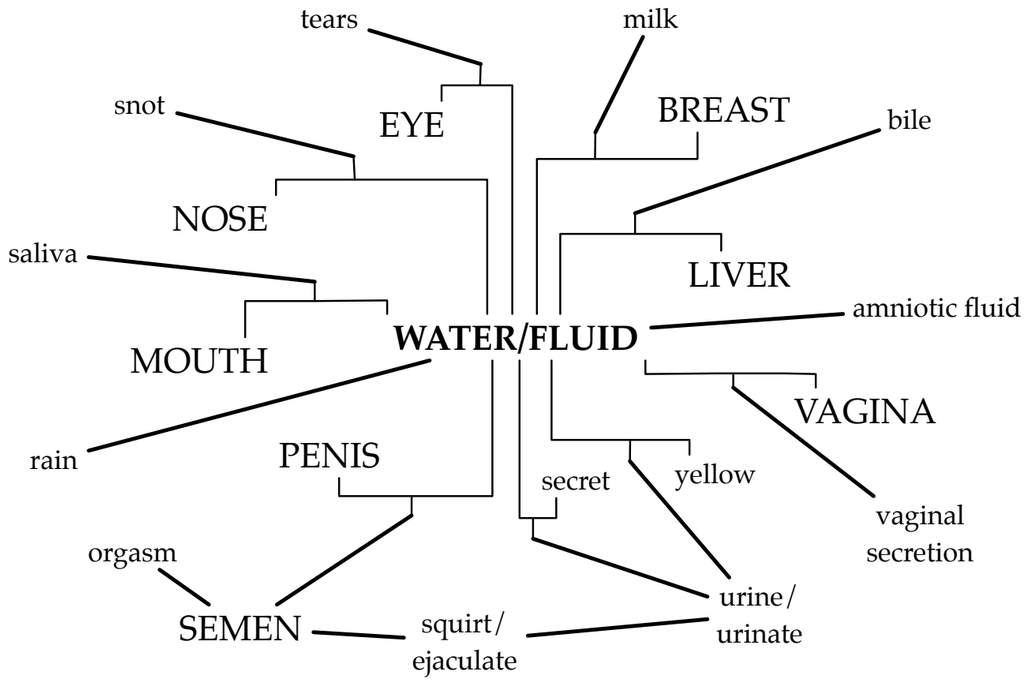


Figure 162: 1.9.9 *Body Fluids*

In Sino-Tibetan languages, the words for the various liquids produced by or contained in the body tend to be transparent compounds where the last element is a morpheme meaning 'water; liquid'.* Of the many body fluids,* only a few relate directly to the reproductive system (AMNIOTIC FLUID, MILK, SEMEN, VAGINAL SECRETIONS). In this chapter, however, in order to illustrate the scope of the various ST roots for WATER, I include a generous sampling of compounds referring to non-reproductive body fluids.*

(1) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{r}\\\mathbf{w}\end{matrix}$ **a SEMEN**

There is no single widespread root for SEMEN to be reconstructed for PTB, though several promising local candidates are attested here and there. Many forms for this concept are euphemistic (e.g. words that otherwise simply mean 'water'); many others are compounds of the structure PENIS + WATER (e.g. Tangkhul **shaŋ-ra**). Other "sementic" associations include SEMEN ⟷ SAP (Akha **aˇ dzi˳** means both [Lewis p.35]); SEMEN ⟷ SHIT (Lahu **nī-qhê**); SEMEN ⟷ FAT (Lahu **nī-chu**); SEMEN ⟷ CONTEMPLATION (WT **t'ig-le** [Jäschke p. 231]). The present root appears in the NE Indian Areal Group, Himalayish, and Qiangic.

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	hai **ra**	semen	Matisoff 1987	[a]
	pha̱ **ra**	semen	Matisoff 1987	
	shaŋ **ra**	semen	Matisoff 1987	

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	pe **da**	semen	Matisoff 1987	[b]

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Belhare	**la** lik	semen, sperm	Bickel 1995
Limbu	le **wā**	semen	Matisoff 1987

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	lü-khü-**wa**	semen	Rai *et al.* 1984:47
	lU khU **wa**	semen	Rai 1985

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	ro**: rɨ**	semen, sperm, seed	Driem 1993	[c]

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**la** sa	semen	Allen 1975

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	rĭɑr **rĭe**	semen	Dai Qingxia 1989e:10.3.7

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	**ʁliə**[1]	semen	Sun 1986

[a] Lit. "vagina-semen". This certainly looks like a case of "genital flipflop", i.e. semen is viewed as "vagina-semen", since that is its destination.

[b] The **-d-** in Bodo **da** is a plausible intervocalic reflex of ***-r-**. The name of this language itself is often transcribed as "Boro". See Bhat 1968.

[c] Dumi **ro: rɨ** looks exactly parallel to Tangut **rĭɑr rĭe**.

(2) PTB *ŋya SEMEN

This root has so far been found only in a few Himalayish languages.

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**ñya** ri	semen	Sharma 1991b:10.3.7
	ñya ri hut si	ejaculate (v.)	Sharma 1991b:10.3.8

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]**ŋja**	semen (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:10.3.7
Tamang (Sahu)	[1]**ŋja**	semen	Matisoff 1987

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**yā** rimbā	semen	Matisoff 1987

(3) PKC * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{ɓ}\\\mathbf{p}\end{matrix}$ **oo SPERM / SEMEN**

This etymon has so far been found only in a few Kuki-Chin languages.

* Exceptions are BLOOD, URINE, SWEAT, and sometimes BILE, which are usually monosyllabic words.

* That is, AMNIOTIC FLUID, BILE, BLOOD, MILK, PHLEGM, PUS, SALIVA, SEMEN, SNOT, SWEAT, TEARS, VAGINAL SECRETIONS.

* The numerous roots for water (over ten at last count) in the STEDT database merit a separate study. Words for WATER seldom seem to be used by themselves in ST languages to mean URINE, unlike e.g. English, where *make water* is a common euphemism for 'urinate'; for an exception see the WT form **č'u** below.

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ɓoo ≍ poo**	SPERM / SEMEN	VanBik 2009:47

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	**bo** tui	semen / sperm	Haokip 1998:10.3.7
	bo tui pot	ejaculate (v.)	Haokip 1998:10.3.8
Paite	**bo**	sperm	VanBik 2009:47
Tiddim	**bo:**[1] (tui[1])	semen	VanBik 2009:47; Bhaskararao 1996:107

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**bó**	sperm	VanBik 2009:47

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**bŏo**	sperm	VanBik 2009:47
Lushai [Mizo]	**baw**	semen	Matisoff 1987
	bâw	semen, seminal fluid	VanBik 2009:47
	baw	semen	Bhaskararao 1996:107

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**pū** tí	sperm	VanBik 2009:47

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	ə **bo**	semen	Toba & Kom 1991:10.3.7
Moyon	jʌŋ **bów**	semen	Kosha 1990:10.3.7
	jʌŋ **bów** isòwʔ	ejaculate (v.)	Kosha 1990:10.3.8

(4) PL *ʔ-bik SQUIRT / EJACULATE

This is only one of a large number of verbs than can be used to mean EJACULATE.* This particular root has so far been identified only in a couple of Loloish languages. In Ahi it means specifically 'eject semen', while the Lahu cognate is used to mean 'squirt urine'. Although this etymon had a *stopped final in Proto-Loloish (as indicated by the Ahi constriction and the Lahu high-rising tone), it was not reconstructed in Matisoff 1972a.

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	**ẕi̱**[31] **p̱i̱**[55] **ʂo**[31]	urinate (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:9.7.2

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**pi**[35]	piss; pee; urinate (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:9.7.2; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1596.47

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**p̱i̱**[55]	ejaculate (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.3.8
Lahu (Black)	jɨ̂ **pí** ve	urinate (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 582
	jɨ̂ **pí**	urinate ("squirt urine")	Matisoff 1988a:818
	pí	spurt; squirt out	Matisoff 1988a:818

(5) PTB *tsyu WATER / LIQUID / BODY FLUID

The Na and Qiangic forms with affricate initials are assigned to this root, even though their vocalism seems closer to PTB ***rəy** WATER / LIQUID / BODILY FLUID (§1.9.9).

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-tʃə** WATER

**Central Naga*	*a-**tʃə**	WATER	Bruhn 2014a:III.097
**Ao*	*(a-)**tsə**	WATER	Bruhn 2014a:II.182
	*thu-**tsə**	OIL	Bruhn 2014a:II.048
	***tsə**-pwaʔ	WELL, POND	Bruhn 2014a:II.372
Ao (Chungli)	ajung **tzü**	dew	Marrison 1967
	a sen **tzü**	sweat	Marrison 1967
	külüp **tzü**	tea	Marrison 1967
	ku[2]mu[3]sə[1]**tsə**[1]	pus (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ma[2]ma[2]**tsə**[3]	milk (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ma ma **tzü**	milk	Marrison 1967
	moji **tsü**	honey	Marrison 1967
	mu[1]tʃi[2]**tsə**[3]	molasses (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	na[1]**tsə**[1]	urine (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	na **tzü**	urine	Marrison 1967
	nuk **tzü**	tears (weeping)	Marrison 1967
	su[1]**tsə**[1]	broth (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	to **tzü**	oil	Marrison 1967
	tsə[2]tu[2]	marsh (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tsə[3]puʔ[1]	pond, well (water) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.372
	tsə[3]ɹa[1]	thirst, be thirsty (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tsə[1]	water (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.182
	tsə[1]lu[1]	paddy field (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tsə[1]ma[1]	Assam (lit. water-plain) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tsù	water	Temsunungsang 2009:p.14
	tu[3]**tsə**[3]	oil (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.048
	tzü	river	Marrison 1967
	tzü	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tzü	juice	Marrison 1967
	tzü atendak	ford (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tzü-atsung-bang	flood (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tzü-chigo	wash (self) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tzü bu	well (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tzü ji	mud	Marrison 1967
	tzü küm	bank (edge)	Marrison 1967
	tzü ra r	thirsty	Marrison 1967
	tzü su	mist (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tzü yim	sea	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	anah-nakhu **tsü**	honey	Marrison 1967
	a sen **tsü**	sweat	Marrison 1967
	a **tsü**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **tsü**-wa	swim	Marrison 1967
	en **tsü**	juice	Marrison 1967
	nik **tsü tsü**	tears (weeping)	Marrison 1967
	phung **tsü**, sun **tsü**	urine	Marrison 1967
	tsü ma li	plains (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsü rü	thirsty	Marrison 1967
	tsü sü	mist (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsü ten chen	ford (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsü tsung	lake	Marrison 1967
	tsü tsung	pool (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tu **tsü**	oil	Marrison 1967
	ying **tsü**	dew	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) mə **tsə**	wet (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	asən-**tsə̀**	sweat [sweated] (? + 'water') (v.)	Coupe 2007
	a hna-**tsə**	pus (? + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	hjuŋ-**tsə**	urine (? + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	hjuŋ **tsə** hjùŋ	urinate [urinated] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	hwa̱-**tsə**	bamboo sap ('bamboo' + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	hŋa-**tsə**-laj	tadpole ('fish' + 'water' + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	mama-**tsə**	milk ('breast' + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	na-kù-**tsə**	honey (probably 'bee' + 'hole' + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007

* Another such verb is ***m-tis** 'be wet'. See below, PTB ***m-t(w)əy-n ≍ *m-ti-s** WATER / FLUID / LIQUID / RIVER / SOAK / SPIT (§1.9.9).

	na-**tsə**	snot, watery ('nose' + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	sə̀ŋ-**tsə̀**	sap ('wood' + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	thu-**tsə**	oil (? + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tsə-mə lu	water, boiled ('water' 'boil') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tsə-pàʔ	well ('water' + NR); pond ('water' + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007
	tsə-thàʔ	marsh ('water' + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tsə-tʃaŋ	water, drop of ('water' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tsə hɹə̀	thirsty (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	tsə muŋ	gaur (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**tsə**	water (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**tsə** wa̱ʔ	swim [swam] ('water' + 'slice') (v.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**tsə** [t]-àtʃhə̀t-pàʔ mà.ɹùk	water dipper ('water' + 'ladle' + NR + 'bamboo cup') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-na^{2}-**tʃəʔ^{3}**	pus (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.043
	o^{1}-**tʃəʔ^{3}**	water (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.097
	thu^{1}-**tʃəʔ^{3}**	kerosene (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tʃə^{3}-so^{2}-liʔ^{3}	field (irrigated) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	emhen **tchhü**	mist (n.)	Marrison 1967
	e na **tjü**	pus	Murry *et al.* 1978:96
	E san **tchu**	sweat / perspiration	Nienu 1990c:8.2.1
	e shang **tchhü**	sweat	Marrison 1967
	e sü **tchhü**	tears (weeping)	Marrison 1967
	E su **tsu**	tears	Nienu 1990c:3.4.6
	kako **tchhü**	ink	Marrison 1967
	khu **tchhü**	oil	Marrison 1967
	myong **tchhü**	urine	Marrison 1967
	Nmying **tchu**	urine	Nienu 1990c:9.7.1
	ó **cə̀**	water	Acharya 1975
	o **tchhü**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **tchhü**	juice	Marrison 1967
	o **tchhü**-hu	swim	Marrison 1967
	o **tchü**-ntüng	flood (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **tjü**	water	Murry *et al.* 1978:135
	shi ro **tchhü**	milk	Marrison 1967
	Sho ro **tchu**	milk	Nienu 1990c:5.4.3
	tchhi cham	bladder	Marrison 1967
	tchhü kau	pool; well (n.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	tchhü mangi	sea	Marrison 1967
	tchhü tsen	bank (edge)	Marrison 1967
	thyu **jü**	oil	Murry *et al.* 1978:81
	thyu **tchü**	oil	Murry *et al.* 1978:81
	ti **tchhü**	oil	Marrison 1967:511
	tsak e **tchhü**	honey	Marrison 1967
	tsang **tchhü**	sugar	Marrison 1967
	tsang **tchhü**-nchü	sugar-cane	Marrison 1967
	yen **chü**	dew	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	to **ji** ki	oil	Kumar 1973a
	tu **ji**	oil	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	**dzü**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	dzü vü	swim	Marrison 1967
	ma kwi **dzü**	honey	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**dzü**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	dzü vü	swim	Marrison 1967
	me pfi **dzü**	honey	Marrison 1967
	mhi^{31} **dzü^{55}**	tears	Nienu 1990a:3.4.6
Chokri	mhü^{31} **dzü^{33}**	tears	Nienu 1990b:3.4.6
	mü khwi **zü**	honey	Marrison 1967
	zü	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
Khezha	e **jü**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ňu **jʉ́**	milk	Yabu 1994:5.4.3
Mao	o **dzü**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **dzü**-da	swim	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **chu**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a nyi khu **tsuü**	honey	Marrison 1967
	a **tsü**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **tsü** kedi	sea	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**dzü**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	dzü vü	swim	Marrison 1967
	khu **dzuü**	honey	Marrison 1967
	tha **zü**, tere **zü**	oil	Marrison 1967
	zü	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	ai **zü**	pool (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ai **zü** kucho	lake	Marrison 1967
	akhikechi **zü**	honey	Marrison 1967
	akichhi **zü** atighiu	colostrum	Achumi 1998a:5.4.4
	anhe-**zü**	tear (n.)	Achumi 1998a:3.4.6
	apuki **zü**	spring water	Achumi 1998b:5.14
	azüghi-**zü**	sea / ocean / large body of salt water	Achumi 1998b:5.2
	a ke chi **zü**	milk	Marrison 1967
	a kha ti **zü**	juice	Marrison 1967
	a kichi **zü**	milk	Achumi 1998a:5.4.3
	a mtsa **zü**	saliva	Achumi 1998a:3.7.5
	a tha, a mi **zü**	oil	Marrison 1967
	a tha-**zü**	oil / grease (for cooking)	Achumi 1998a:8.3.2
	a **zu**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **zü**	water	Achumi 1998b:5.1
	a **zü** kikhi	well	Achumi 1998b:5.71
	a **zü** kikide	rapids	Achumi 1998b:5.43
	a **zü** kucho	puddle; lake	Achumi 1998b:5.11; Achumi 1998b:5.3
	a **zü** küka	current	Achumi 1998b:5.42
	a **zü** kuqo	flood (n.)	Achumi 1998b:5.9
	a **zü** nhethi	spring	Achumi 1998b:5.7
	a **zü** phapha	waterfall	Achumi 1998b:5.5
	a **zü** puki	spring water	Achumi 1998b:5.13
	a **zü**-pulu	boil (v.)	Marrison 1967
	a **zü** kiki	well (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **zü** puki	spring	Achumi 1998b:5.7
	kaku **zü**	ink	Marrison 1967
	kini **zü**	milk	Achumi 1998a:5.4.3
	ti **zü** ba	diarrhea (n.)	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	khu **cu**	semen	Sharma 1991a:10.3.7

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	n̡i^{53} **tʃu^{53}**	sweat / perspiration	SUN Hongkai 1991a:8.2.1
Kaike	kha **jyu**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tɕhu^{55}**	water (v.)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	kha **tɕhə**	saliva (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0156.05
	rŋu **tɕhə**	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.05
	tɕhə	water (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.05
	tɕhə ngo	spring (water) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.05
	tɕhə rgot	water (boiled) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	hŋəl **tɕhə**	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.4
	hn̡ək **tɕhə**	tear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:239.4
	kha **tɕhə**	saliva / spittle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:280.4
	tɕhə	water	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:10.4
	tɕhə ngo	spring (water)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:23.4
	tɕhə tʂaŋ	water (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:599.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	rŋu **tɕhə**	sweat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:277.5
	tɕhə	water	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:10.5
	tɕhə ngo	spring (water)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:23.5
	tɕ^{h}ə zɔ	water pail (wooden)	Sun 1985a:726
	ɣn̡ək **tɕhə**	tear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:239.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**čhu**·	water	Rangan 1975:31
	č^{h}u·	water	Rangan 1975:71
Tibetan (Batang)	kha^{55} **tɕho^{53}**	saliva	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.7.5
	miʔ^{55} **tɕho^{53}**	tears (n.)	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.4.6
	ŋỹ^{55} **tɕho^{53}**	sweat / perspiration	DAI Qingxia 1989a:8.2.1
	kha^{55}**tɕhʊ^{53}**	saliva (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0156.03
	tɕhʊ^{53}	water (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.03
	tɕhʊ^{53}khy^{55}	water (boiled) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.03
	tɕhʊ^{53}lē^{13}	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.03
	tɕhʊ^{55}miʔ^{53}	spring (water) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.03
	ŋy^{53}**tɕhʊ^{53}**	sweat (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	kho **jyuq**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	mik **cyukq**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	kha^{53}**ɕu^{53}**	saliva / spittle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:280.3
	tɕhu^{53}	water	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:10.3
	tɕhu^{53}miʔ^{53}	spring (water)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:23.3
	tɕhu^{53}tɑŋ^{53}	water (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:599.3
	n̡i^{55}**tɕhu^{53}**	tear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:239.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	(**tɕhu^{55}**) tɕu^{55}	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.02
	kha^{53}**tɕhu^{53}**	saliva / spittle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:280.2
	khə^{55}**tɕhu^{55}**	saliva (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0156.02
	mik^{53}**tɕhu^{53}**	tear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:239.2
	tɕhu^{53}	water	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:10.2
	tɕhu^{53}khɔ^{55}	mill (water-powered)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:434.2
	tɕhu^{53}miʔ^{53}	spring (water)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:23.2
	tɕhu^{53}taŋ^{55}	water (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:599.2
	tɕhu^{55}	water (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.02
	tɕhu^{55} Cu^{132}	flow (of water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1502.02
	tɕhu^{55} Cɛ^{132}	go up (water level) / rise (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1787.02
	tɕhu^{55} lē^{13}	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.02
	tɕhu^{55}khø^{55}	water (boiled) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.02
	tɕhu^{55}mi^{52}	spring (water) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.02
	tɕhu^{55}taŋ^{55} (ca^{132})	water / sprinkle / irrigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1422.02
	tɕhu^{55}təm^{55}	pot / jar / tin (water) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0557.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'chuq**	water (n.)	Hale 1973:01.075
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	mē **zhū**	tears	Bishop 1989:3.4.6
Sherpa Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	mik **cur**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	ŋōl **chu**	sweat / perspiration	Bishop 1989:8.2.1
Tibetan (Spiti)	**c^{h}ú**	water	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	(**tɕhu**) btɕu	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.01
	(**tɕhu**) gtoŋ	fill (with water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1359.01
	(**tɕhu**) len	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.01
	(**tɕhu**) rgjag	water / sprinkle / irrigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1422.01
	(**tɕhu**) rgjug	flow (of water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1502.01
	(**tɕhu**) fibrub	go up (water level) / rise (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1787.01
	(**tɕhu**) fidug	there is (water in the bowl) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1768.01
	chu	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	chu.bye	duck (wild)	Sun 1985c:205
	chu.zo.ba	water pail (wooden)	Sun 1985c:726
	č'u	water; water in the body; euph. for urine	Matisoff 1987
	č'u-byi	rat (water)	Jäschke 1881
	č'u-byá	bird (water)	Jäschke 1881
	č'u-sbrúl	snake (water)	Jäschke 1881
	č'u-sbúr	beetle (water)	Jäschke 1881
	č'u-ser	pus	Matisoff 1987
	č'u-sky	coot / water-hen	Jäschke 1881
	č'u-skyɑr	duck / bittern	Jäschke 1881
	č'u-srín	monster living in water	Jäschke 1881
	k'a-**č'ú**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	kha **tɕhu**	saliva (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0156.01
	kha **tɕhu**	saliva / spittle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:280.1
	mig **tɕhu**	tear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:239.1
	mig-**č'u**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mig-**tʃhu**	tears	ZHANG Liansheng 1988:62
	tɕhu	water (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.01
	tɕhu	water	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:10.1
	tɕhu btaŋ	water (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:599.1
	tɕhu mig	spring (water) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.01
	tɕhu mig	spring (water)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:23.1
	tɕhu fikhol	water (boiled) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.01
	tɕhu fikhor	millstones (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0631.01

[a] [Source Note] fat-water
[b] [Source Note] water-lead(v.)-field
[c] Hutton 1921 (The Sema Nagas), p. 430: 'atha *(fat)*, amizü (*kerosine* [sic.], lit. *"fire-water"*)'.

[a] See also WT **gsaň-ć'ab** 'urine (resp.)', lit. "secret-water". **ć'ab** is the respectful form for **č'u** 'water'.
[b] Literally "yellow water".

	tɕhu ɦkhor	mill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:434.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	hŋu **tɕə**	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.04
	kha **tɕə**	saliva (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0156.04
	tɕhə	water (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.04
	tɕhə len	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.04
	tɕhə ŋgo	spring (water) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.04
	tɕhə n̥əχ	spring (water) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.04

2.1.4. Tamangish: * ^{B}kjui WATER

**TGTM*	*^{B}**kjui**	water	Mazaudon 1978:27
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{2}**kju**	water	Mazaudon 1978:27
Manang (Ngawal)	^{2}**kjy**	water	Mazaudon 1978:27
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**kʮi**	water	Mazaudon 1978:27
Tamang (Sahu)	khā **cyo**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	k^{h}a **cyo**	saliva	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.64
	^{2}**ki**	water	Mazaudon 1978:27
Tamang (Taglung)	^{2}**kju**	water	Mazaudon 1978:27
Thakali (Marpha)	^{2}**kju**	water	Mazaudon 1978:27
Thakali (Syang)	^{H}**kju**	water	Mazaudon 1978:27
Thakali (Tukche)	'mi-**kju**	tears	Hari 1971:2.A.65
	'mi-**kyu**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	chap-**kyu**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	c^{h}ɔp-**kju**	sweat	Hari 1971:2.A.74
	^{H}**kju**	water	Mazaudon 1978:27

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**tʂu^{55}**	sweat	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.18
Guiqiong	(**tʃə^{55}**) mi^{35}ɬã^{55}	fill (with water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1359.16
	(**tʃə^{55}**) ta^{35}	go up (water level) / rise (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1787.16
	(**tʃə^{55}**) wu^{35}ʃue^{55}	water / sprinkle / irrigate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1422.16
	(**tʃə^{55}**)dʉ^{31}	boiling, be (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1462.16
	fu^{55} **tʃʅ^{33}**	sweat	Sun Hongkai 1991e; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.17
	hu^{55}**tʃə^{31}**	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.16
	tʃə^{55}	water (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.16
	tʃə^{55}phɵ^{55}	water (boiled) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.16
	tʃʅ^{53}	water	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:10.17
Lyuzu	**tʂʉ^{53}**ə^{ɹ53}	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.18
Muya	mi^{55}**tɕə^{53}**	tears (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.15
	tɕu^{24}	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.15
Muya [Minyak]	mi^{53}**tɕɯ^{53}**	tears	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.4.6
	n̥i^{33}**tɕu^{55}**	sweat; perspiration	Sun Hongkai 1991h:8.2.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.15
Namuyi	**ndʐʅ^{55}**	water; soup	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:10.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:401.19
	ndʐʅ^{55}pu^{33}	barrel / pail / bucket	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:443.19
	ndʐʅ^{55}qhɛ^{33}	river; spring (water)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:18.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:23.19
	ndʐʅ^{55}xie^{35}	pond	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:21.19
	ndʐʅ^{55}ɣə^{33}	water buffalo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:110.19
	ndʐʅ^{55}ɬa^{55}qha^{33}sʅ^{33}po^{55}	willow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:182.19
	dʐʅ^{53}bu^{31} qa^{33}zi^{55}	bucket (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0561.46
	dʐʅ^{53}dʐu^{35}	swim (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1763.46
	dʐʅ^{53}qæ^{35} jo^{31}qhuo^{31}mi^{55}	ladle (gourd) / dipper (wooden) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0564.46
	ndʐʅ^{53}	water (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.46
	ndʐʅ^{53}tsi^{31}	water (boiled) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.46
Qiang (Longxi)	**tsù**	sweat	Evans 1999:190

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	rŋəɬ **'tɕ^{h}ə**	sweat	Nagano & Prins 2013:0194

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**dze**˧li˧	paddy field	Michaud 2006–2009:145
Na (Yongning)	**dʑi**˧mi#˥	buffalo	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˧mi˧	large river	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˧q^{h}v˧	well	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩	river, waterways; water	Michaud 2006–2009; Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩gv˩	water trough; large barrel where drinking water is kept	Michaud 2006–2009; Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩k^{h}i˩	water's edge	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩nɑ˩hæ̃˩t^{h}ɑ˩˥	water-mill	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩pɤ˩kv˧hĩ˩	spring	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩pɤ˩q^{h}v˩˥	spring	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩pɤ˩tv˩q^{h}v˥˩	spring	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩p^{h}æ˩	ice	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩q^{h}wɤ˩-lv˩˥	marsh, bog, swamp	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩q^{h}æ˩	cold water	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩so˩	wave	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩ts^{h}i˩	boiled water, hot water	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩ts^{h}i˩ʈ^{h}ɯ˩di˩˥	small container for hot water (for 1 person)	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩tɤ˩ɻ˧	moist, wet, damp, humid	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩zo˩	brook, rivulet	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩ʐv˩˥	swim, to float (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dze^{33}**kho^{33}	well	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:22.28
Naxi	**dʑi^{21}**	water (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.45
	dʑi^{21}bv̩^{21}	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.45
	dʑi^{21}bɚ^{21}	water (boiled) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.45
	dʑi^{21}dʐɚ^{33}	swim (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1763.45
	dʑi^{21}go^{21}zɑ^{21}	go up (water level) / rise (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1787.45
	dʑi^{21}gv̩^{33}	vat / jar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0560.45
	dʑi^{21}kho^{33}	well; spring (water) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0035.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.45
	dʑi^{21}lɯ^{55}	paddy fields (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**dʑi^{33}**	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.29
Naxi	**dʑi^{33}**dɑ^{21}	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**dʑi^{33}**khəɹ^{33}	pond; well	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:21.29; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:22.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dʑi^{33}tse^{31}pɑ^{55}**	washbasin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:445.28
Naxi	**dʑi^{33}**tshe^{21}	cape (for rain, of straw or palm bark) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0493.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dʑi^{33}**tshe^{31}	raincoat (of leaves, hemp fibe	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:378.28
Naxi	**dʑi^{33}**xo^{21}	river (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0030.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dʑi^{33}**xo^{31}	river	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:18.28
	dʑi^{31}	water	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:10.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**dʑi^{31}**	water; river	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:10.29; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:18.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dʑi^{31}**lɯ^{33}	field	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:27.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**dʑi^{31}**ɭ^{33}	field	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:27.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dʑi^{31}**ndəɹ^{33}	pond	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:21.28
	dʑi^{31}ɣɯ^{33}	water buffalo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:110.28

Chinese comparandum

斗 OC ***tu** ~ ***t̂i̯u**, *GSR* #116a 'ladle (n); name of a constellation (i.e. 'big dipper')'; Coblin 86:101 ST ***tyuɣ** > OC ***tugx** ~ ***tjugx**; Schuessler 2007:627-8 ***tɒʔ** ~ ***toʔ**; B & S 2011: ***tˤoʔ** ~ ***toʔ**; Mand. **dǒu** ~ **zhǔ**.
注 OC ***ti̯u** ~ ***t̂i̯u**, *GSR* #129c 'conduct (water); be led to, flow to; be touched by; apply'; Coblin 86:101 ST ***tyuɣ** > OC ***tjugh** ~ ***trjugh**; Schuessler 2007:627-8 ***toh** ~ ***troh**; B & S 2011: ***tro-s {tro(ʔ)-s}**; Mand. **zhù**.

(6) PTB *m-t(w)əy-n ⪤ *m-ti-s WATER / FLUID / LIQUID / RIVER / SOAK / SPIT

This is a rather complex word family in which all three dental suffixes /**-t, -s, -n**/ are attested. Reflexes include Kanauri **this** 'wet', Jingpho **mədìt** 'moisten sthg; wet, damp', Lalo **tíq** 'steep, soak', Kanauri **ti** 'water', Jingpho **mədī** 'moist, damp, wet', Lahu **dì** 'moisten due to sexual excitement (of a woman), ejaculate (of a man)'. The nasal prefix is reflected directly in Jingpho, and indirectly by the voiced Lahu initial.

Note the Kanauri form **thiss**, where the **-s** perhaps reflects the source of the **-t** to be found in other languages.

There is sometimes confusion between this root and PTB ***d(w)əy** EGG / TESTICLE (§1.9.1), as in compounds of BIRD + WATER > EGG. Note the Kom Rem forms **mit ɣətui** 'eyeball' and **nəi tui** 'amniotic fluid', where the second element definitely means 'egg' in the former, but 'liquid' in the latter.

This root seems certainly to underlie PTB ***twəy** FLOW / SUPPURATE (§6.6), which shows a semantic extension towards the notion of flowing, as from a wound.

See *STC* #55 and Matisoff 1988a p. 705. *STC* #55, #167, and #168 should be combined as one root.

See *HPTB* ***twəy**, p. 194; ***twəy** ⪤ ***dwəy**, p. 195; ***twəy-n**, p. 451; ***ti(y)**, pp. 193, 194, 471; ***m-ti-s**, pp. 434, 351.

There are several likely Chinese comparanda, the best of which is probably 涕 OC ***t'iər** 'weep, tears', *GSR* #591m. In Mandarin, this word now means either 'tears' or 'snot' (**tì**). Cf. also 水 OC ***śi̯wər** 'water' *GSR* #576a-e, Mand. **shǔi**, and 川 'river' Mand. **chuān**, the latter pointing to an allofam with a nasal final: ***m-twəy-n**.

This root seems independent of PKC ***ɗaay** DEW (§3.2.1).

Cf. also PTB ***b-ləy-k** TEARS (§1.2.6.7).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***mthiid**	tears / snot	Coblin 1986:146

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(snɑ-)**ti(y)A**	snot	Chou Fa-kao 1972:551f
	***m-ti-s**	wet / soak	Matisoff 2003a:616
	***ti(y)**	wet; water	Matisoff 2003a:616; Benedict 1972:45n149; Benedict 1972:55
	***twiy**	spit, water, egg	Benedict 1972:168
	***twəy**	water	Chou Fa-kao 1972:462a
	***twəy ⪤ dwəy**	water / egg / spit	Matisoff 2003a:616
	***twəy**-n	water / river	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:616

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	te^{55}**tɕhi^{55}**	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.50
	te^{55}**tɕ^{h}i^{55}**	sweat / perspiration	Sun Hongkai 1991f:8.2.1
	ti **ci**	sweat	Pulu 1978; Anonymous 1962
	ti **ci** brõ ga	sweat	Pulu 1978
Yidu	te^{555}**tɕhi^{55}**	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tuy** WATER / FLUID / LIQUID

**Chin*	***tuy**	WATER / FLUID / LIQUID	VanBik 2009:243

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	bo **tui**	semen / sperm	Haokip 1998:10.3.7
	bo **tui** pot	ejaculate (v.)	Haokip 1998:10.3.8
Paite	**tui**	liquid, water	VanBik 2009:243
Sizang	dai **tuī**	dew	VanBik 2009:66; VanBik 2009:75
	tuī	water	VanBik 2009:243
Thado	**túi** hám	otter ("water otter")	VanBik 2009:1091
	tûy	water	VanBik 2009:243
Tiddim	bo:^{1} (**tui^{1}**)	semen	VanBik 2009:47; Bhaskararao 1996:107
	khi^{1} **tui^{1}**	tear	Bhaskararao 1996:784
	tu:i^{1}	water	VanBik 2009:243; Bhaskararao 1996:1843

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**tu**˝-i	water	VanBik 2009:243
Cho (Mindat)	**tui**	water, liquid	VanBik 2009:243
	tui hram	otter ("water otter")	VanBik 2009:1091
Daai	**tu**´i	water	So-Hartmann 1988:16
Khumi	**tui**	water	So-Hartmann 1988:16
	tuuy	water	VanBik 2009:243
Matu	tam.**tu**ⁱ t^{h}a	spit	So-Hartmann 1988:112
	tuⁱ	water	So-Hartmann 1988:16
Mkaang	si **tu**ⁱ	spit	So-Hartmann 1988:112
	tu´i	water	So-Hartmann 1988:16
Ngmüün	**tu**´i	water	So-Hartmann 1988:16
Nyhmoye	**tu**´i	water	So-Hartmann 1988:16

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tîi**	liquid, water	VanBik 2009:243
Lai (Falam)	**tíi**	liquid, water	VanBik 2009:243
Lushai [Mizo]	hnu te **tui**	milk	Marrison 1967
	mit-**tui**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	tui	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tui	juice	Marrison 1967
	tŭi	water, fluid, serum, juice, broth	VanBik 2009:243
	tui	water; egg	Bhaskararao 1996:1843; Benedict 1972:168

1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	sa-pi-**ti**	breast milk	Matisoff 1987
	ti	water, egg	Matisoff 1987
	tí	water, fluid, juice	VanBik 2009:243
	^{3}ti	water	Weidert 1987:93
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	mit **rət^{h}i**	tears	Toba & Kom 1991:3.4.6
	nəi **tui**	amniotic fluid	Toba & Kom 1991:10.4.10
	tui suh	amniotic sac / bag of waters	Toba & Kom 1991:10.4.9
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Yacham-Tengsa	mam **tü**	milk	Marrison 1967
	tü	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	a tu **thui**	milk	Marrison 1967
	dui	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**ma-thui**	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:304
	n **dui**, bui na **dui**	milk	Marrison 1967
	ta **duih**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
Maram	ta na **dui**	milk	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**dui**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	se nu **tui**	milk	Marrison 1967
	tui	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**dui**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	dui	water	Matisoff 1994e
	nau **dui**	milk	Marrison 1967
	talân-**dui**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:471
	tui	water	Brown 1837
	tülün **dui**	sweat	Marrison 1967
Zeme	he **dui**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	nnup **dui**	sweat	Marrison 1967
	tung **dui**	milk	Marrison 1967
	^{4}dui	water	Weidert 1987:93
Mzieme	**dui**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *dɨ WATER			
**Tangkhulic*	***dɨ**	water	Mortensen 2012:396
Champhung	t^{h}a-**ri**	water	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-**ruk**	water	Mortensen 2012:Nature.079
Kachai	tuŋ-**ði**	water	Mortensen 2012:Nature.079
Tangkhul	**rɯ**	water	Bhat 1969:100
Tankghul (Central)	tɯn-**dɯ**	water	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	ai-**cɯ**	water	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ta-**rɯ**	water	Brown 1837
Tusom	n-**tsy**	water	Mortensen 2012:Nature.079
Ukhrul	ha-**ru**	egg (hàr 'chicken' + -ru 'water')	Mortensen 2012
	mə-co-**ru**	saliva (-co 'spit' + -ru 'water')	Mortensen 2012
	ta-**ru**	water	Mortensen 2012
	tɐ-**ru**	water	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-t^{h}ej-**ru**	juice (they 'fruit' + ru 'water')	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
**Bodo-Garo*	***dəi**	water	Burling 1959:444
	*ku-**dəi**	saliva	Burling 1959:443
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	bun **dəy**	breast milk	Matisoff 1987
	dəy	water	Bhat 1968
	dəy metká	metka (kind of, growing in water or marshy place)	Bhat 1968
	dəy zrizí	small current of water	Bhat 1968
	dəy blaw	swim inside water (v.)	Bhat 1968
	dəy bo	pond (deep, where the water does not dry up)	Bhat 1968
	dəy mu	spring (of water)	Bhat 1968
	dəy sraŋ	place full of water	Bhat 1968
	dəy to	deep water	Bhat 1968
	dəy tó	sea / deep waters	Bhat 1968
	dəy zá	have some decaying between fingers due to water (v.)	Bhat 1968
	dəy za	have some decay between the fingers due to water	Bhat 1968
	galam **doi**	sweat	Benedict 1972:381
	ga ga **dəy**	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
	gu zu **dəy**	phlegm / sputum / saliva / mucus	Matisoff 1987
	gələm **dəy**	sweat	Bhat 1968
	gələm **dəy**	sweat (n.)	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	gɤlɤm-**dɤi**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:363
	ha gá **dɤ́iʔ**	phlegm	Weidert 1987:641
	ku **dɤ́y**	saliva	Bhat 1968
	ku gá **dəy**	spittle; saliva	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1987
	mə **dɤ́y** ~ mi **dɤ́y**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
Dimasa	**di**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	di khau	draw water	Benedict 1972:336
	gilim **di** ⩙ gulum **di**	sweat	Benedict 1972:381
	gulum **di**	sweat	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	kləŋ-**təy**	sweat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	məʔ-**təy**	tears	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	təy	water	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	təy-k^{h}auʔ	scoop up water	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	wa-**təy**	rain	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	khu-**tśi**	saliva	Benedict 1972:45n149
	ku-**ci**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	tśi	water	Benedict 1972:45n149
Garo (Bangladesh)	ku'-**chi**	saliva, bubbles	Burling 1992
	ku•-**chi**	bubbles; saliva (n.)	Burling 2003:6.29-II:idx
	sok-bit-**chi**	breast milk; mother's milk	Burling 1992
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	ku-**dəi**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	tyi	water; fruit juice (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyi bek	traditional bottle for drinking water (made of a dried vegetable also called tyibek) (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyi gat	place in a river or at the end of a water pipe to get drinking water, take a bath, wash clothes and dishes (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyi gum	metal water container shaped like a big vase (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyi khal	river (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyi mong	main river (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyi nok	place in the kitchen where water pots (tyigum) and other utensils are stored (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyi phek	tributary river, the smaller one of two rivers that flow together (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyi ru-	bathe, to take a bath, to wash oneself (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyi ryw-	bathe, to take a bath, to wash oneself (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyi sam	river bank, edge of the water (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyi si-	wet (be v.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyi surung	rainwater that streams over the ground (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	tyi thai	water scoop made of a hollow, dried gourd (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***təy**	water	French 1983:576
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**dei**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	dʌ̀i	water	Weidert 1987:93
	san **tei**	milk	Marrison 1967
	tei	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
Wancho	cham **ti**	milk	Marrison 1967
	hu-**ci**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	tsam **ti**	milk	French 1983:462
	tzam **ti**	milk	French 1983:462
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**madi**	wet (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	ma^{31} tho^{55}	spit (v.)	LaPolla 1987:118
	mă^{31}ti^{33}	wet	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1029.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:865.47
	mă^{1} tho^{55}	spit	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mă^{1}ti^{33}	wet	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mədī	moist (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:337
	mədi	wet (v.i.)	Benedict 1972:16n59
	mədi	wet; moist, damp, wet	Benedict 1972:45n149; Benedict 1972:55
	mədit	wet (v.tr.)	Benedict 1972:16n59
	mədit	wet, dampen; wet, damp, moist (v.)	Benedict 1972:55
	məthwi	spit (v.)	Benedict 1972:168
	mə̀thwí	spit	Matisoff 1974:291
	^{1}mə^{3}thui	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:304
2. HIMALAYISH			
Toto	**ti**	water	Benedict 1972:45n149
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	mik **ti**	tears	Sharma 1991a:3.4.6
	thi	wet	Benedict 1972:55
Byangsi	**thi:mo**	get wet (vi.)	Sharma 2003:987
	thi:tɛ	wet, watery (adj.)	Sharma 2003:991
	thi:ʃimo	wet oneself (vi.)	Sharma 2003:989
Chaudangsi	**thi** mo	wet (to get) (v.)	Krishan 2003:855
	thi tə	wet	Krishan 2003:857
Darma	**thi**-mo	wet (to get) (v.)	Krishan 2003:847
	thi-nu	wet	Krishan 2003:849
Kanauri	dŭs-**tī**	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	dus **ti**	sweat	Sharma 1988:39,60
	mig **sti**	tears	Sharma 1988:60
	mĭt **tī**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	röṅ **tī**	water flowing very gently (n.)	Bailey 1911
	röṅ **tī**	water (very gently flowing)	Bailey 1911
	thăṅ **tī**	tea-water with leaves extracted (n.)	Bailey 1911
	thi-ss	wet	Benedict 1972:16n59
	thi ss	wet (adj.)	Bailey 1911
	thi ss	wet	Benedict 1972:99n281
	tī	water / rain / juice / sap (n.)	Bailey 1911
	ti	water	Benedict 1972:55
Pattani [Manchati]	mig **ti**	tears	Sharma 1982
	mik **ti**	tears	Sharma 1991b:3.4.6
	ti	water	Sharma 1982; Benedict 1972:55
Rongpo	**thi:də**	wet (adj.)	Sharma 2003:1308
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**chhi** ma	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Spiti	**chi** ma	tears	Bodh 1991:3.4.6
Tibetan (Written)	**mchi**-ma	tears; tears (weeping)	Coblin 1986:147; Marrison 1967
	mc'i-ma	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mi-ma	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	mtɕhi ma	tears (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.01
"Pre-Tibetan"	**mthyi**	tears / snot	Coblin 1986:147
2.1.5. DHIMAL			
Dhimal	hi **ti**	blood	King 1994
	hna-**thi**	snot	Benedict 1972:168n449
	hnɑ-**thi**	snot	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:551f
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	plik **ti**	tears	Michailovsky 1991:178
Hayu	pe ku **ti**	tears	Michailovsky 1991:178
	pe ku **ti**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	ti	water (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.250
	ti	water	Benedict 1972:55
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**tiʔ**	water (n.)	Hale 1973:01.075
	tiʔ	water	Weidert 1987:93
	tiʔ	water, rain, clear fluid, sap (n.)	Caughley 2000
	tiʔ	water	Caughley 1972:1.75
	tiʔ bhes-	rain very heavily, be cloudburst (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	tiʔ ca-sa	boil (water)	Caughley 1972:7.B.2.1
	tiʔ lya-	slightly warm, tepid, lukewarm (water) (va.)	Caughley 2000

	ti? pliŋh-	sparkle (water) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	ti? priŋʔ-	ripple, be wavy, patterned (moving water) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	ti? tawʔ-	clear off after rain (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	ti?-wa-sa	rain	Caughley 1972:5.B.12
	ti?.bhi.riŋ	insect (sp.), Giant Water-bug (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ti?.bhəw.ri	rippling, surging (water) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ti?.cayʔ	grass (sp.), growing near water; grass (sp.), grows near river (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	ti?.gwam.ya	insect (sp.), midge, very small, greenish, seen on top of puddles; insect (sp.), midge, very small, greenish, seen on top of brackish puddles (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	ti?.hlor.muh	algae, growing in layers on rocks in water (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ti?.hlyor.muh	algae, growing in layers on rocks in water (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ti?.jeʔ.sa.hi.diŋ	spirit (sp.) living in water (nn.)	Caughley 2000
	ti?.kawʔ.raŋ	spring, watering-place (esp. one with a water shute); spring, water-source (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	ti?.maŋ.ka.le	late wet season (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ti?.raŋ.məyʔ	people living by water (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ti?.surh	wet season (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ti?.syuyh	wet, shaded and mossy side of a tree (i.e. to north); wet side (north) of tree (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	ti?.wa	shower of rain, rainfall (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ti?.yo	insect (sp.), Water-boatman, a surface skimmer; insect (sp.), Water-boatman or surface-skimmer (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	hləp rə **ti?**	sweat / perspiration	Caughley 1990:8.2.1
	mik **ti?**	tears	Caughley 1990:3.4.6
	ʔoh (lay) **ti?**	milk	Caughley 1990:5.4.3
Magar	**di**	water (n.)	Hale 1973:01.075
	di	water	Benedict 1972:55
	mik **Di**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987

3.2. QIANGIC

Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	nu^{53} **tɕʰi^{53}**	milk	SUN Hongkai 1991n:5.4.3
	nu^{53}**tɕhi^{53}**	milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.16

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (NW)	tə **mtʃʰə** me	tears	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.4.6

4. NUNGIC

Rawang	(**thi^{31}**) bat ɛ^{33} [bɑʔ nɛ^{33}]	freeze, ice up (of water)	LaPolla 2003:1339
	(**thi^{31}**) dəʃu^{33}	boil (water) (vt.)	LaPolla 2003:1523
	(**thi^{31}**) dɯm^{33}	block up, plug (water)	LaPolla 2003:1273
	(**thi^{31}**) khap ɕi^{31} ɛ^{33}	fetch/draw (water)	LaPolla 2003:1236
	(**thi^{31}**) əyɯ^{33}	flow (of water)	LaPolla 2003:1369
	(**thi^{31}**) ʃal^{53} ɕi^{31} ɛ^{33}	fetch/draw (water)	LaPolla 2003:1235
	(**thi^{31}**) ʃu^{33}	boiling (water) (vi.)	LaPolla 2003:1349
Nung	(**thi^{55}**) thuŋ^{55}	bucket (of water) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0856.21
Anong	**thi**	water	Benedict 1972:55
Rawang	**thi^{31}**	water	LaPolla 2003:58
	thi^{31} si^{53} se^{31}	spring (of water)	LaPolla 2003:60
	thi^{31} ʃu^{33}	boiled water	LaPolla 2003:532
Anong	**thi** su	boiling water	Benedict 1972:275

5. TUJIA

Tujia	a^{21} la^{55} **ts^{h}e^{35}**	tears	CHEN Kang 1986d:3.4.6
Tujia (Northern)	lo^{35} pu^{35} pɪe^{55} **ts^{h}e^{21}**	tears	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	lo^{35} pu^{55} pɯe^{55} **ts^{h}e^{21}**	tears	CHEN Kang 1986c:3.4.6
	man^{21}**tshie^{21}**	milk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:281.38
	mã^{21} **ts^{h}e^{21}**	milk	CHEN Kang 1986c:5.4.3
	mã^{55} **ts^{h}e^{35}**	milk	CHEN Kang 1986d:5.4.3
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa^{21}la^{55} **ts^{h}e^{35}**	tears	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***m/ʔ-tit^{H}** WET / SOAK

**Lolo-Burmese*	***m/ʔ-tit^{H}**	wet / soak	Matisoff 2003a
	***Ntit**	soak / saturate	Matisoff 1972b:109(a)
	***ʔtit**	soak / saturate	Matisoff 1972b:109(b)

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang	**ti**	water	Benedict 1972:55
Achang (Longchuan)	**ti^{55}**	water (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.28
	ti^{55}	water	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:10.41
	ti^{55}mut^{55}	spring (water) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.28
	ti^{55}mut^{55}	spring (water)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:23.41
	ti^{55}su^{55}	water (boiled) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.28
Achang (Xiandao)	**ti^{55}**	water (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.29
	ti^{55}cam^{55}	conduit (open, for water) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0625.29
	ti^{55}kɤ^{55}	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.29
	ti^{55}pu^{55}	water (boiled) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.29
Burmese (Modern)	**t'we^{4}**	spit (v.)	Luce 1985:V.38
Burmese (Rangoon)	**thwe^{55}**	spit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1688.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**htwe^{55}**	spit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:542.40
Burmese (Written)	**htwe^{3}**	spit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:542.39
	tam-**thwê**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
	tam-**thwe**	spit	Matisoff 1983:55
	tam-**thwè**	saliva, spittle	Benedict 1972:168
	tam-**twê**	spit (n.)	Matisoff 1974:291
	thwè	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:304
	thwê	spit (v.)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:291; Benedict 1976a
	thwè	spit (v.)	Benedict 1972:168
	thwe:	spit (v.)	Marrison 1967
	thwe^{3}	spit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1688.26
	t'uy	spit (v.)	Luce 1985:V.38
	t'uy^{4}	spit (v.)	Luce 1985:W.70
Lashi (Lachhe')	pǰ^{4}-**tjwi^{2}**	sweat	Luce 1985:T.25

6.1.2. LOLOISH

PNL	**ti(y)**	water	CHEN Kang 1986a:47.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	kɤ^{55}**tiɛ^{55}**	perspiration	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	ȵa^{53} ji^{323} **tiɛ^{24}**	tears (n.)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	ȵa^{53}ji^{323}**tiɛ^{24}**	tears	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**thi**	scalded by water	Björverud 1994
Nasu	nạ^{33} **nɖ^{h}ɯ^{33}**	tears (n.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.6
Yi (Dafang)	na^{33} **ŋɖie^{33}**	tears	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985
	te^{33}	soak / immerse(e.g. seed)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:767.22
Yi (Mile)	**ti^{33}**	soak / immerse(e.g. seed)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:767.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ti^{33}**	soak / immerse(e.g. seed)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:767.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ti^{33}**	soak / steep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1444.37
	ti^{33}	soak / immerse(e.g. seed)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:767.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ti^{33}**	soak / immerse(e.g. seed)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:767.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ti^{33}**	soak / steep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1444.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ti^{2}**	soak / steep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1444.38
Yi (Xide)	**tsɿ^{33}**	soak / immerse(e.g. seed)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:767.21
	ʑɿ^{34}**tsɿ^{33}**tɑ^{33}	soak / steep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1444.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Youle)	**tɕe^{33}**	soak / immerse	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tɕe^{33}**	soak / immerse(e.g. seed)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:767.34
Kucong	**ti33**	soak, immerse	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**ti^{54}**	soak / steep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1444.43
Lahu (Black)	**dì**	have an orgasm (man or woman); ejaculate (man)	Matisoff 1988a:705; Matisoff 1972b:109(a)
	ti^{33}	soak / immerse(e.g. seed)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:767.33
	tî?	moisten; soak	Matisoff 1974:337; Matisoff 1972b:109(b)
Lahu (Yellow)	**ti^{6}**	soak / immerse	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**dzei^{33}**	soak / steep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1444.40
Lisu (Northern)	**dzø^{44}**	infuse; soak (V.)	Bradley 1994
	thi^{21}	soak (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**thi^{31}**	water (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:599.27
	ti^{2}	immerse	Matisoff 1972b:109(b)
Lisu (Central)	**ti^{2}**	soak (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ti^{35}**	soak; steep (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ti^{35}**	soak / immerse(e.g. seed)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:767.27
Yi (Sani)	**tɪ^{44}**	soak / steep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1444.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**dui HS**	soak in water	Matisoff 1972b:109(a)
	dyq	soak	Hansson 1989:564
Akha (Thai)	**dyq**	soak	Hansson 1989:564
Akha (Yunnan)	**dyq**	soak	Hansson 1989:564
Hani (Lüchun)	**dyq**	soak	Hansson 1989:564
Hani (Dazhai)	**dɯ^{33}**	soak / immerse(e.g. seed)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:767.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dɯ^{33}**	soak / steep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1444.41
Hani (Pijo)	**təq**	soak	Hansson 1989:564
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dɯ^{33}**	soak / immerse	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ddeev**	soak	Hansson 1989:564
Hani (Shuikui)	**tɤ^{33}**	soak / immerse(e.g. seed)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:767.32
Hani (Khatu)	**təq**	soak	Hansson 1989:564
Hani (Mojiang)	**tɤ^{33}**	soak / steep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1444.42
Mpi	**tɯʔ^{3}**	soak (rice)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Ugong	**thi**	water	Benedict 1972:55

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**ti^{33}**	soak; pickle	Pelkey 2011:848; Pelkey 2011:894
Southern Muji	**ti^{33}**	soak; pickle	Pelkey 2011:894
	ʑi^{21}**ti^{33}**	soak	Pelkey 2011:848
Phola	**ti^{31}**	soak; pickle	Pelkey 2011:848; Pelkey 2011:894
Hlepho Phowa	**ti^{21}**	soak; pickle	Pelkey 2011:848; Pelkey 2011:894
Phuza	**ti^{55}**	soak; pickle	Pelkey 2011:848; Pelkey 2011:894

7. KARENIC: ***thej^{A}** WATER

**Karen (Pwo)*	*nà-**thì**	snot	Jones 1961:749
**Karen*	***thej^{A}**	water	Luangthongkum 2013:324
**Karen [Burling]*	***thi^{4}**	water	Luangthongkum 2013:324
Bwe	**chi^{55}**	water	Luangthongkum 2013:324
	dɛ nu **chi**	milk (n.)	Henderson 1997
	mo **chí**	tears (n.)	Henderson 1997
	nu-**chi**	milk	Henderson 1997
Kayah	**thə^{33}**	water	Luangthongkum 2013:324
Kayan	**thi^{53}**	water	Luangthongkum 2013:324
Kayaw	**thi^{55}**	water	Luangthongkum 2013:324
Pa-O	nèʔ phù **thì**	snot, liquid	Solnit 1989
	thì	water	Solnit 1989
	thì khâm lɔ́ŋ	water, rain, collected	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**thi$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	water	Luangthongkum 2013:324
Pa-O (Southern)	**thi$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	water	Luangthongkum 2013:324
Pwo (Northern)	**thei^{35}**	water	Luangthongkum 2013:324
Pwo (Southern)	**thei^{53}**	water	Luangthongkum 2013:324
Pwo (Bassein)	nàʔ ì **thì**	nasal catarrh; snot	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:749
Pwo (Moulmein)	nàʔ é **thì**	nasal catarrh; snot	Matisoff 1987; Jones 1961:749
Sgaw (Northern)	**thi^{33}**	water	Luangthongkum 2013:324
Sgaw (Southern)	**thi^{55}**	water	Luangthongkum 2013:324
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a^{31} ny^{31} **t^{h}i^{55}**	milk (cow's)	DAI Qingxia 1989k:328.1

	da[31] ny[31] **tʰi[55]**	milk; milk (cow's)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:161; Dai Qingxia 1989k:328.2
	glɔ[31] ny[31] **tʰi[55]**	milk (cow's)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:328
	mi[33] **tʰi[55]**	tears	Dai Qingxia 1989k:194
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	mɛʔ[31] **tʰi[55]**	tears	Dai Qingxia 1989j:194
	ta[31] nu[31] **tʰi[55]**	milk	Dai Qingxia 1989j:161
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	pɑ[42] **tsi[44]**	milk	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984 [a]
	pɑ[42]**tsi[44]**	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	pɑ[42] **tsɛ[44]**	milk	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	pɑ[42]**tsɛ[44]**	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.36
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	洟	mucus from the nose	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2762
	涕	tears (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2763; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2765
Chinese (GSR #)	**0551f**	mucus from the nose	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2762
	0591m	tears (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2763; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2765
"Pre-Chinese"	**thiədx**	tears / snot	Coblin 1986:146
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**di̯ər/i**	mucus from the nose	Karlgren 1957:551f
	t'iər/t'iei-	mucus from the nose	Karlgren 1957:551f
	t'iər/t'iei:~t'iei-	weep, tears	Karlgren 1957:591m
Chinese (Old)	**l̥ˤəj**-s {[l̥]ˤ[ə]j-s}	mucus from the nose	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2762
	l̥ˤəjʔ {[l̥]ˤ[ə]jʔ}	tears (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2765
	l̥ˤəjʔ-s {[l̥]ˤ[ə]jʔ-s}	tears (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2763
	thidx	tears / snot	Coblin 1986:146
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**thejH**	mucus from the nose	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2762
	thejH	tears (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2763
	thejX	tears (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2765
	thiei-	tears / snot	Coblin 1986:146
	thiei:	tears, snot (especially that which flows during weeping)	Coblin 1986:146
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	bí **tì**	snivel, mucus; snot	Evans *et al.* 1991; Matisoff 1987
	tì	mucus from the nose	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2762
	tì	tears (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2763; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2765
	t'i	mucus from the nose; weep, tears	Karlgren 1957:551f; Karlgren 1957:591m
	yi	mucus from the nose	Karlgren 1957:551f

[a]The second syllable of the Bai (Bijiang) form **vĩ[33] ɕui[33]** is an obvious loan from Chinese (cf. Mand. **shuǐ**), although the other Bai forms listed seem to reflect the present etymon.

Chinese comparanda

涕 OC ***t'iər***, *GSR* #591m 'weep, tears'; Li 1971: **(*thidx)**; Baxter 1992:792 ***thij?***; Mand. **tì**.

The Middle Chinese reading would permit an Old Chinese reconstruction in either the OC 脂 Zhī rhyme group (***-id*** (Li)/***-ij*** (Baxter)) or the OC 微 Wēi rhyme group (***-əd*** (Li)/***-ij*** (Baxter)). Li does not reconstruct this word, but he assigns other words in *GSR* #591 to the 脂 Zhī group. Words in *GSR* #591 are reconstructed some with one vowel, some with the other by Baxter (see 1992:457ff for an explanation), but 涕 is reconstructed with ***-ij*** because it rhymes unambiguously with a number of 脂 Zhī group words in *Shījīng* #203. Still, it is possible that in Baxter's system the word goes back to earlier ***thɨj?***, with vowel fronting occurring early in the dialect on which the *Shījīng* poem was based. Baxter proposes just such a development for other words in the phonetic series.

If the OC vowel is reconstructed as ***i***, the vowel correspondence with the proposed TB cognate is regular (see PTB ***d(w)əy*** EGG / TESTICLE (§1.9.1) for examples). A 微 Wēi group reconstruction of ***-əd*** (Li)/***-ɨj*** (Baxter) does not jeopardize the comparison, but this Chinese rhyme seems to correspond to TB ***-ay*** more often than to TB ***-əy***. It may be that the correspondence with ***-ay*** is regular while that with ***-əy*** is irregular but not uncommon. See PTB ***s-tay*** NAVEL / ABDOMEN / CENTER / SELF (§1.9.3) and PTB ***ŋ-(w)a:y*** COPULATE / MAKE LOVE / LOVE / GENTLE (§1.9.8), but note also 'hungry' 飢 OC ***krjɨj*** (Baxter), TB ***b-kri-(n/s)***; Mand. **jī**.

On the aspiration mismatch in the initials, see the discussion under PTB ***pu*** EGG (§1.9.1).
[ZJH]

水 OC ***śi̯wər***, *GSR* #576a-e 'water, river'; Li 1971: –; Baxter 1992 #1239: ***h [l] juj?***; Mand. **shuǐ**.

Gong 1995 #133 reconstructs ***hljədx*** and compares to WT **chu** 'water, brook, river', presumably assuming that the latter derives from an earlier form with a lateral initial. The comparison is, however, not tenable given the reconstruction of the PTB root PTB ***tsyu*** WATER / LIQUID / BODY FLUID (§1.9.9).

This Chinese word is most likely related to PTB ***lwi(y)*** 'flow, stream' (see *STC* #210), as proposed by Coblin (1986:158) and discussed in Handel (1998). A relationship with PTB ***m-t(w)əy-n*** ≍ ***m-ti-s*** WATER / FLUID / LIQUID / RIVER / SOAK / SPIT (§1.9.9) seems unlikely because of the mismatch of initial consonants.
[ZJH]

川 OC ***t'i̯wən***, *GSR* #462a 'river'; Li 1971: ***thjiən ?***; Baxter 1992 #1126: ***KHju/on***; Mand. **chuān**.

The reconstruction of this Chinese word is problematic. As Karlgren (*GSR* #462a) notes, the Middle Chinese form is probably irregular. The Old Chinese rhyme group is uncertain, which is why Baxter gives two possibilities for the vowel. Baxter's capital ***KH*** indicates a velar initial that palatalized irregularly in the development of Middle Chinese. Handel (1998) reconstructs ***khlun*** and Schuessler (2007:195) ***k-hlun***, because *GSR* #462 looks like a lateral series. Schuessler further suggests that the Chinese word is related to PTB ***klu:ŋ*** 'river / valley', which has areal connections with Austroasiatic and Tai. However, this does not explain the ***-n*** coda in Chinese.

The proposed PTB comparison in this volume depends on an Old Chinese reconstruction like Li's with a dental initial, which in Baxter's system would look like ***thjun***. However, the vowel correspondence is still irregular, and the comparison further requires positing an ***-n*** suffix not found in Tibeto-Burman.
[ZJH]

(7) PTB *ku SEMEN / BODY FLUID

2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**khu** cu	semen	Sharma 1991a:10.3.7
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**kʻu**-ba	semen virile	Matisoff 1987
	kʻu-ba byin-pa	ejaculate (semen)	Matisoff 1987
	kʻu-kʻrag	semen and uterine blood	Matisoff 1987
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	lü-**khü**-wa	semen	Rai *et al.* 1984:47
	lU **khU** wa	semen	Rai 1985
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	pe **ku** ti	tears	Michailovsky 1991:178
	pe **ku** ti	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	prek **ku**	tears	Michailovsky 1991:178
	prek **ku**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
Thulung	bri **ko**	tears	Michailovsky 1991:178; Allen 1975

(8) PTB *rəy WATER / LIQUID / BODILY FLUID

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***rəy**	water	Matisoff 2003a:610
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Moyon	mìk **rʌ̀** tsə̀	tears	Kosha 1990:3.4.6
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	chu chu **yui**	milk	Marrison 1967
	jui	water	Brown 1837
	wa-**jui**	egg	Brown 1837
	wa **yui**	egg	Marrison 1967
	yui	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	shai-ran-**ra**	sweat (n.,v.)	Matisoff 1987
	shairan **ra**	sweat	Marrison 1967
	śəyron **rɯ**	sweat	Bhat 1969
	śəyrən **rɯ**	sweat	Bhat 1969
	²sai³lən-**²rə**	sweat (n.)	Weidert 1987:471
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	ñya **ri**	semen	Sharma 1991b:10.3.7
	ñya **ri** hut si	ejaculate (v.)	Sharma 1991b:10.3.8
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	ming-**ri**	tears	Egli-Roduner 1987:36 12
	ri	water	Andvik 1993:46
Tsangla (Motuo)	miŋ[13] **ri[13]**	tears	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	miŋ **ri**	tears	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	miŋ **ri**	tear (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:239.7
	ri	water	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:10.7
	ri lam	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.7
	ri-tsaŋ	spring (water)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:23.7
	ri[13]	water	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ri[13] naŋ[13] sop[55]	thirsty	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ri[13]lam[13]	ditch	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ri naŋ sop	thirsty; thirsty (V)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ri**	water	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ri-lam	ditch	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**ri**	water (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.07
	ri la	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.07
	ri lam	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.07
	ri naŋ sop	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.07
	ri tsaŋ	spring (water) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.07
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya [Minyak]	**ʐɯ[53]**	amniotic sac / bag of waters	Sun Hongkai 1991h:10.4.9 [a]
Namuyi	miɛ[55]**ɦɛ[ʲ33]**	tears	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.4.6
	miɛ[55]**ɦɛ[ʲ33]**	tear (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:239.19
Qiang (Mawo)	mə **ʁe**	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.8
	mə **ʁe[ʲ]**	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.8
	mə **əɹ** dɑ ɹɑ	fall (rain) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.08
	mə **ə[ʲ]**	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	m **ʐi̤**	rain [< mu (weather) + ʐi̤] (n.)	Evans 1999:12
	m **ʐi̤**-ʂɛ̀-tɕò	rain [rain-p-come] (v.)	Evans 1999:2469
	m **ʐi̤-ʐɨ́**	hail [rain-dry] (n.)	Evans 1999:15
Qiang (Taoping)	ma[31]**ʐi[55]**	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.9
	mi[55] **ʁo[33]**	tears	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Queyu (Xinlong)	(**ʒi[13]**) tə[55]rʒi[13]	go up (water level) / rise (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1787.13
	(**ʒi[13]**) tə[55]tʂha[33]	boiling, be (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1462.13
	(**ʒi[55]**) ptə[55]	water / sprinkle / irrigate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1422.13
	(**ʒɿ[13]**) lɛ[13]ji[55] pʃi[55]	flow (of water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1502.13
	(**ʒɿ[13]**) tə[55]	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tɕhu[55]**ʑi[55]**	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.16
	tɕʰu[55] **ʑi[55]**	sweat / perspiration	Sun Hongkai 1991n:8.2.1
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʒi[13]**	water (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.13
	ʒi[13] qo[55]	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.13
	ʒi[13]ri[55]	spring (water) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.13
	ʒi[13]tʂha[55]	water (boiled) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	ɳe[55] **ʑi[53]**	tears	Sun Hongkai 1991n:3.4.6
	ʑi[35]	water	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:10.16
	ʑi[35]re[53]	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.16
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	quɛ **ʐɛ**	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.14
Daofu	ɣrə **rɛ**	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ʑe**	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.14
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***rəy[1]** WATER			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***rəy[1]**	water	Matisoff 2003a:610
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**re**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	re	water	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:15n54
	re ~ **ri**	water	Benedict 1972:30n95
	re ŋat	thirst for water	Matisoff 1985a:034
	re²	water (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.26
	re²	water	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:10.39
	re²khɑp⁴	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.26
	re²kri³	go up (water level) / rise (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1787.26
	re²nwe³	water (boiled) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.26
	re²tɑm̀²hljɔk⁴	conduit (open, for water) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0625.26
	re² ŋɑt	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.39
	re² ŋɑt⁴	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.26
	re ǹat	thirsty	Marrison 1967
	riy	water	Luce 1985:S.15
Hpun (Northern)	ă nù **ʁaíŋ**	milk ('breast liquid')	Henderson 1986
Marma	**ri**	water	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:277-1; Huziwara Keisuke 2008:80
	ri=khaiʔ	draw / scoop water	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:116-1
	rə bu	hot water	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:80-1
	rə myaʔ	spring (of water)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:276-1
	θé khri **re**	bile	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:38A
Maru [Langsu]	nuk[55] **ɣək[31]**	milk	Dai Qingxia 1989l:5.4.3 [b]

[a]Cf. Muya **tɕɯ[53]** 'water' (ZMYYC #10), assigned to PTB ***tsyu*** WATER / LIQUID / BODY FLUID (§1.9.9).

[b]Maru **ɣək[31]** < PLB ***rəy[1]** 'water; liquid' (PTB ***rəy*** WATER / LIQUID / BODILY FLUID (§1.9.9)). Final ***-əy*** regularly becomes ***-it*** in the Maru dialect described in Burling 1966. The unreleased final stop evidently sounds more like a velar in the dialect recorded by Dai Qingxia, who transcribes this rhyme as "***-ək***".

	ɣək^{31}	amniotic fluid; water	Dai Qingxia 1989l:10.4.10; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:10.43
	ɣək^{31}lɔ̃^{31}	river	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:18.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**vui^{51}** ʃit^{55}	thirsty	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	vui^{51}sit^{55}	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.30
	vui^{51}ʃit^{55}	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.42

6.1.2. Loloish: ***re^{1}** water

**Loloish*	***re^{1}**	water	Bradley 1979b:336A-1
Lolopho	dæ^{33} **vi^{33}**	semen	Dai Qingxia 1989n:10.3.7

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**ji^{323}**tɕa^{53}sɻ^{35}	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.47
	ji^{31} tɕa^{53} sɻ^{35}	thirsty (be v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.7.8
	tsɛ^{55}**ji^{323}**	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.47
	n̥a^{53} **ji^{24}**	tears (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	n̥a^{53} **ji^{323}**	tears (n.)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:3.4.6
	n̥a^{53} **ji^{323}** tiɛ^{24}	tears (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1987
	n̥a^{53}**ji^{323}**tiɛ^{24}	tears	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	tjỳ-**ɣə́**	dew	Björverud 1994
	zjə̀q-**ɣə́**	semen	Björverud 1994
	ɣə́	water	Björverud 1994
	ɣə́-dù	well of water	Björverud 1994
	ɣə́-khà	ditch	Björverud 1994
	ɣə́-tsí-baq	boiled water	Björverud 1994
	ɣɯ^{55}	water	Chen Kang 1986a:47.
	z̥a^{21} **ɣɯ^{55}**	semen	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.7
	ʔmī^{33} **ɣɯ^{55}**	tears (n.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.6
Lipho	dɛ^{33}**vi^{33}**	semen	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.7
	pa̱^{21}dẕɻ^{33}**vi^{33}**	milk	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.3
Nasu	a^{55} pa̱^{21} **ʑi^{21}**	milk	Chen Kang 1986b:5.4.3
	tɕ^{h}a̱^{55} **ʑi^{21}**	semen	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.7
Nesu	le̱r^{33} **ʑɻ^{21}**	semen	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.7
	n̥ɻ^{33} **ʑɻ^{33}**	tears (n.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.6
Noesu	ɬu^{55}**ʑi^{21}**	semen	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.7
	ʑi^{21}sɪ^{13}	thirsty (be v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.8
Nosu	bɻ^{21}**ʑi^{33}**	semen	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.7
	ʑɻ^{33}sɻ̃^{55}	thirsty (be v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.8
Nusu (Northern)	nə̃^{31} nə̃^{55} **ɹɯ^{35}** ɑ^{55}	milk	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	nɯ^{55} nɯ^{31} **ɹə̱^{55}**	milk	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ɣɹi^{33}**khɹa^{33}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.34
Yi (Dafang)	tsɒ^{13} **ʑi^{21}**	milk	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.22
	ʑi^{21}sɻ^{33}	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.22
Yi (Liangshan)	tʂɯ^{55}**ʑɻ^{33}**	dew	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑɻ^{33}bo^{34}	canal, irrigation; ditch (channel); irrigation canal	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑɻ^{33}ga^{33}	ditch (channel)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑɻ^{33}sɻ^{55}	thirsty	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑɻ^{33}sɻ^{55}mu^{33}sɻ^{55}	thirsty	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	tɕi^{55}**ʑi^{33}**	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.25
	tʂʌ^{55}**ʑi^{33}**	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.25
	ʑi^{33}tʂo^{33}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.25
Yi (Mojiang)	tsɯ^{21}**ʑi^{21}**	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.26
	ʑi^{21}tho^{33}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.26
	ʑi^{21}ɕe^{55}	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.26
	ʌ^{55}nɛ^{21}**ʑi^{21}**	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.26
Yi (Nanhua)	bu̱^{33}dẕi̱^{33}**ʑi^{33}**	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.24
	tʂi^{55}**ʑi^{33}**	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.24
	tʂə^{55}**ʑi^{33}**	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.37
	ʑi^{33}ɕo^{21}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.37
	ʑi^{33}ɕo^{21}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.24
	ʑi^{33}ʂi^{33}	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.24
	ʑi^{33}ʂə^{33}	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.37
Yi (Nanjian)	mi̱^{33} dzɻ^{55} **ɣɯ^{55}**	tears	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
	tɕe^{21}**ɣɯ^{55}**	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.23
	tɕy^{21}**ɣɯ^{55}**	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.23
	ɣɯ^{55}	water	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:10.23
	ɣɯ^{55}kha^{21}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.23
Yi (Weishan)	(**ɣɯ^{55}**) ʔm̩^{21}	fill (with water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1359.36
	tʂy̱^{21}**ɣɯ^{55}**	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.36
	ɣɯ^{55}	water (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.36
	ɣɯ^{55}bi^{21}	conduit (open, for water) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0625.36
	ɣɯ^{55}du^{21}	well (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0035.36
	ɣɯ^{55}du̱^{21}	spring (water) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.36
	ɣɯ^{55}khu^{21}	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.36
	ɣɯ^{55}kha^{21}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.36
	ɣɯ^{55}tsɻ^{55}ba^{33}	water (boiled) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.36
	ɣɯ^{55}tʂha^{21}	wet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1029.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ji^{11}**	water (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0047.38
	ji^{11}du̱^{2}	well; spring (water) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0035.38; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.38
	ji^{11}lɒ^{33}	conduit (open, for water) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0625.38
	ji^{11}se^{33}	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.38
	ji^{11}tha̱^{2}	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.38
	ji^{11}ɬu^{33}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.38
	ji^{11}ŋɑ̱^{2}	water (boiled) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.38
	tʂl^{55}**ji^{11}**	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.38
Yi (Xide)	(**ʑɻ^{33}**)sɻ^{55}	thirsty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:898.21
	tʂɯ^{55} **ʑɻ^{33}**	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.35
	ʑɻ^{33} sɻ^{55}	thirsty	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʑɻ^{33}ga^{33}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.21
	ʑɻ^{33}gɑ^{33}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.35
	ʑɻ^{33}sɻ^{55}	thirsty, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1478.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	la̱^{33}**ʑi^{22}**	semen	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.7
	lɑ̱^{33} **ʑi^{22}**	semen	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.3.7
	ne̱^{33} **ʑi^{22}**	tears (n.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.4.6
	ni^{21} **ʑi^{22}**	saliva	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.7.5; Chen Kang 1986b:3.7.5
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	mja^{31} **ji^{31}**	tears	Dai Qingxia 1989h:194
Jinuo (Baka)	mja^{31} **ji^{31}**	tears	Dai Qingxia 1989i:194
Jinuo (Youle)	mjɑ^{42} **e^{42}**	tears	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	mɛ^{33} **e^{44}**	milk	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	mɛ^{44} po^{31} a^{33} **ji^{44}**	milk	Dai Qingxia 1989h:161
Jinuo	mɛ^{44}**ji^{33}**	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.34
Kucong	mɯ31 **ɣɯ31**	saliva	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
	tsɻ35 **ɣɯ31**	dew	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
	ɣɯ31 bɯ31	boiled water	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
	ɣɯ31 khʌ31	ditch; channel	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
	ɣɯ31 nv31	water buffalo	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**ɣi** tú	pit, hole, cave	Benedict 1972:169
Lahu (Lancang)	pu^{11}**ɣɯ^{31}**	spring (water) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.43
	pɑ^{53}**ɣɯ^{31}**	saliva (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0156.43
	tɕi^{31}**ɣɯ^{31}**	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.43
	ɣɯ^{31}bɑ^{53}	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.43
	ɣɯ^{31}qhɑ^{53}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.43
Lahu (Black)	cha-**ɣɨ**	vaginal secretion	Matisoff 1987
	cɨ-**g̈ɨ**	dew (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:465
	g̈ɨ-bâ	wave; a ripple; wave (in water) (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p929; Matisoff 1988a:p929
	g̈ɨ-bâ(=nâ)	wave (in water) (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p929
	g̈ɨ-šo-lo	otter	Matisoff 1974:143
	g̈ɨ-tû	spring (n.)	Matisoff 1974:202
	g̈ɨ-tɔ̃	river-bed	Matisoff 1974:202
	g̈ɨ=bâ-nâ	wave; ripple (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p929
	mɛʔ^{54} **ɣɯ^{31}**	tears	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɛ̂?-**ɣɨ**	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987
	tsi^{31}**ɣə^{31}**	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.33
	tsi^{35} **ɣɯ^{53}**	saliva; spittle	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:280.33
	tsu^{35}**ɣɯ^{31}**	milk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:281.33
	tsʏ^{35} **ɣɯ^{31}**	milk	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣɨ-bâ-nâ	roll of fat; wave, ripple; wave	Matisoff 1987:168
	ɣɯ^{31}phɯ^{53}	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.33
	ɣɯ^{31}qhʌ^{53}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.33
Lahu (Yellow)	mɛʔ^{54} **ɣɯ^{31}**	tears	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɯ^{55} **ɣɯ^{31}**	saliva	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsʏ^{35} **ɣɯ^{31}**	milk	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣɯ^{2}fa^{6}	otter	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣɯ^{2}qha^{3}	ditch	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Banlan)	a ke_**g'i**˯	sweat	Bradley 1979a:151
	cu: **g'i**˯	milk	Bradley 1979a:155
Lisu (Central)	(mrgh^{5} **rghe^{4}**) ti^{1}	spit (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**e̱^{33}**khuɑ^{31}tɕɯ^{35}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.40
	e^{44}khuɑ^{31}tʃɯ^{35}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.27
Lisu (Northern)	hɔ̃^{21}**ʒɭ^{33}**	semen	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ji^{33}**khwa^{21}tɕø^{35}	ditch; irrigation ditch	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**ji^{33}**khwa^{21}tɕɤ^{35}	ditch; irrigation ditch	Bradley 1994
	ji^{33}khɔ^{55}	ditch; irrigation ditch	Bradley 1994
Lisu	mrgh^{5}-**rghe^{4}**	spittle / saliva	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	mrgh^{5}-**rghe^{4}**	saliva / spittle	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Nujiang)	mɯ^{31} **ɣɯ^{33}**	saliva	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	mɯ^{31}**ɣɯ^{33}**	saliva / spittle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:280.27
Lisu (Northern)	mɤ^{21}**ɤ^{44}**	saliva; mouth water (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	tʃi^{55} **ʒi^{33}**	sweat	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	tʃi^{55}**ʒi^{33}**	dew; sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.27; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.27
Lisu (Northern)	tɕi^{55}**ji^{33}**	sweat (n.)	Bradley 1994
	tɕi^{55}**ji^{33}**	dew (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tɕi^{55}**ʑi̱^{33}**	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.40
	tɕi^{55}**ʑi̱^{33}**	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.40
Sani [Nyi]	lA̱^{33}**ʐi^{33}**	semen	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	la^{44}**ʐi^{33}**	semen	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.7
	ne^{33}**ʐi^{33}**	tears	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	ne^{44} **ʐɥ^{33}**	tears	Ma Xueliang 1989:320.5
Yi (Sani)	tsž^{55}**ž^{33}**	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.39
Sani [Nyi]	tɕæ^{55} **ʐɻ^{33}**	sweat	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:227.4
	tɕɛ^{55}**ʐi^{33}**	sweat	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**ż^{33}**kɒ^{33}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ʐɥ^{33}** sɻ^{22}	thirsty	Ma Xueliang 1989:355.1
Yi (Sani)	**ž^{33}**ʂɤ^{44}	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	ù **jé jé**	rain	Hansson 1989:230
Akha (Thai)	ù **jé jé**	rain	Hansson 1989:230
Akha (Yunnan)	**ý** sjhḿ/ **ý** shḿ	otter	Hansson 1989:395
	ý xhè	irrigation ditch	Hansson 1989:225
Akha (Thai)	**ý**-sjhḿ	otter	Hansson 1989:395
	ý-xhè	irrigation ditch	Hansson 1989:225
Hani (Lüchun)	mja **ý**	tears	Hansson 1989:129
	ò **jé**	rain	Hansson 1989:230
	ý dì (or ý tì ?)	otter	Hansson 1989:395
	ý xhè	irrigation ditch	Hansson 1989:225
Hani (Dazhai)	**ze^{55}**	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.31
	ɔ^{31}**ze^{55}**	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.31
	ɯ^{55}sɔ^{55}	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.31
Hani (Lüchun)	ɔ^{31}**ze^{55}**	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.41
	ɔ^{31}**ze^{55}ze^{55}**	fall (rain) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.41
	ɯ^{55}sɔ^{55}	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.41
Hani (Pijo)	**ý** ku	irrigation ditch	Hansson 1989:225
	ɣý sjhí	otter	Hansson 1989:395
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ɤ^{55}**khɔ^{31}; lu^{55}kaŋ^{33}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.30
	ɤ^{55}se^{55}	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	u^{31}**jɛ^{55}**	rain	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	u^{31}**jɛ$^{55}jɛ$^{55}**	rain (v.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

	ɯ^{55}xɛ^{31}	ditch	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɯ^{55}ɕm̩^{55}	otter	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**eel** saol	otter	Hansson 1989:395
Hani (Shuikui)	**jɛ**^{55}(ɣu^{31}**jɛ**^{55})	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.32
	u^{31}**jɛ**^{55}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.32
	ɣɯ^{55}kɔ^{55}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.32
	ɣɯ^{55}ʃu^{55}	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.32
Hani (Khatu)	**ý** ku	irrigation ditch	Hansson 1989:225
Hani (Mojiang)	**jɛ**^{55}**kɯ**^{55}	cape (for rain, of straw or palm bark) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0493.42
	u^{31}**je**^{55}**je**^{55}	fall (rain) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.42
	u^{31}**jɛ**^{55}	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.42
	ɯ^{55}ʃu^{55}	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.42
Mpi	m^{4}po?^{4}**?ɯ**^{6}	milk	Bradley 1979b

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ʐi**^{21}tsɔ^{21}	ditch	Pelkey 2011:26
	ts̩i^{45}**ʐi**^{21}	dew	Pelkey 2011:16
Southern Muji	**ʐi**^{21}ka^{13}	ditch	Pelkey 2011:26
	tɕi^{21}**ɕi**^{33}	dew	Pelkey 2011:16
Phola	tɕi^{23}**ʐi**^{23}	dew	Pelkey 2011:16
Hlepho Phowa	tsə^{33}**zɿ**^{21}	dew	Pelkey 2011:16
Phu Kha	**ɯ**^{33} za^{31}	ditch	Fried 2000
Phuza	m̩^{31}nʌ^{55}**ʐi**^{31}	dew	Pelkey 2011:16

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	mi^{42} **ji**^{42}	tears	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

(9) PTB *laŋ WATER / FLUID / RIVER / VALLEY

1.1.1. Tani: ***laŋ*** SOUP [a]

**Tani*	***laŋ***	soup	Sun 1993a:387

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**la**	soup	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**lá**	juice	Sun 1993b
	mí-**la**	tears	Sun 1993b
	mi?-**la**	tears	Sun 1993b
	ñá-ñi a-**lá**	honey	Sun 1993b
	ta-ju a-**la**	honey	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**la:**	soup	Sun 1993a
	a-**lɯ:**	soup	Sun 1993b
	ñik-**la:**	tears	Sun 1993b
	ñik-**la:** čo:/bi	shed tears	Sun 1993b
	ñik-**la:** lin	shed tears	Sun 1993b
	ruk-**la:**	resin	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **laŋ**	soup (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0451.24
	a **laŋ**	watery; thin (porridge); soup; thin (liquid)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1031.24; Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	i-si a-**laŋ**	soup (watery)	Sun 1993b
	mik **laŋ**	tears (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0158.24
	mik-**laŋ**	tears	Sun 1993b
	mik-**laŋ** dɯ-get	shed (tears) (in drops)	Sun 1993b
	mik-**laŋ** len(-kap)	shed (tears)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **laŋ**	soup	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:401.51
	mik **laŋ**	tear (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:239.51
Galo	a **la**	soup	Das Gupta 1963
	a **laa**	soup; juice (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	paa **laa**	juice (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋig **la**	tears	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	ŋik-**la**	tears	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **la**	soup	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**laŋ**	soup	Sun 1993a
	a-pi a **lang**	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	ap-pio a **lang**	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
	pui-ing a **lang**	bile	Matisoff 1987:JHL-AM p.255
Damu	ʔa-**ra**	soup	Sun 1993b
Milang	au a **lo**	soup	Tayeng 1976

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	lí **lhò**	valley	Acharya 1975

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	hup kha-**laŋ**	sweat (n.,v.)	Matisoff 1987

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	pi **raŋ**	tears (n.)	Singh 1991:3.4.6

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	a mut a **lang**	bile	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	bùm a-**lāng**	semen	Grüssner 1979:159
	bum a **lang**	semen (”penis-water”)	Matisoff 1987
	chū-**lāng**	milk	Grüssner 1979:74
	lang	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mók-**lāng**	milk	Grüssner 1979:172
	mok **lang**	milk; breast milk	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**lang**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yei **lang**	storm (n.)	Marrison 1967

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	u ba **la?**	bile	Matisoff 1987

3.2. Qiangic

Lyuzu	**luo**^{33}ku^{53}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.18

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***laŋ***^{1} RIVER / VALLEY

**Lolo-Burmese*	***laŋ***^{1}	river / valley	Matisoff 2003a:599

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Luxi)	tɕi^{31}**laŋ**^{31}	river	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**lɔ̃**^{31}khauŋ^{35}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.32
	lɔ̃^{55}	classifier for river (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0837.32
	ɣəi^{55}**lɔ̃**^{55}	river (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0030.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**lɔ̃**^{31}	classifier for river (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0837.31
	lɔ̃^{35}khauŋ^{21}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.31
	ɣək^{31}**lɔ̃**^{31}	river (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0030.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**laŋ**^{31}	classifier for river (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0837.33
Maru [Langsu]	ɣək^{31}**lɔ̃**^{31}	river	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:18.43

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***laŋ***^{1}	river	Bradley 1979b:314; Hansson 1989:288

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Liangshan)	**lo**^{33}	ravine; ravine [classifier]; valley; valley [classifier]	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lo^{33}gu^{34}la^{33}da^{33}	ravine	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{34}**lo**^{33}	ravine; valley	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**lo**^{33}	river	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:18.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**lɑ**^{33}dʐɑ^{21}	river (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0030.37
	lɑ^{33}khu^{21}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.37
Yi (Weishan)	**lu**^{55}tʂy^{55}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.36
Yi (Xide)	**lɑ**^{33}dɑ^{33}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.35
	mu^{34}**lo**^{33}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**lə**^{44}	classifier for river (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0837.44
Kucong	**lɔ31**	river	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**lɔ**^{31}	river (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0030.43
	lɔ^{31}	classifier for river (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0837.43
	lɔ^{31}qɑ^{35}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.43
Lahu (Black)	**lɔ**^{31}	river	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:18.33
	lɔ̀	river; valley	Matisoff 1988a:1401-2
	lɔ̀-qá	river, stream	Matisoff 1988a:1402
	lɔ̀-qhòʔ	valley; dry riverbed	Matisoff 1988a:1402
Lahu (Yellow)	**lɔ**^{2}	river	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	de^{21}ma^{21}**lɔ**^{44}	Drung River valley	Bradley 1994
	ji^{33}dʐæ^{33}**lɔ**^{44}	creek; river valley; river	Bradley 1994
	jiʔ^{21}ma^{33}**lɔ**^{44}	river valley; mountain stream	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**law**^{4}-hku^{5}	valley; ravine	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu	**lo**^{33}kho^{31}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.40
Lisu (Northern)	**lɔ**^{33}khu^{21}	mountain valley (N.)	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}khɔ^{21}	mountain valley; gully; ravine (N.)	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}khɔ^{21} **lɔ**^{33}mi^{44}	ravine	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{44}	ravine (N.)	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{44}khɔ^{21} thi^{21}**lɔ**^{44}	narrow strip of valley (n.)	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{44}ma^{44}	mountain valley; ravine	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{44}vu^{55}	north; upper reach of river; beginning of ravine	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{44}za^{21}	small ravine	Bradley 1994
	mi^{21}tɕeʔ^{21} **lɔ**^{44}tɕeʔ^{21}	create valley	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	my^{21}tɕeʔ^{21} **lɔ**^{44}tɕeʔ^{21}	create valley	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	wa^{21}tɕe^{33} **lɔ**^{33}khɔ^{21}	mountain valley; ravine	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**lɔ́**	river	Hansson 1989:288
Akha (Yunnan)	**lɔ́** bà	river	Hansson 1989:54
Akha (Thai)	**lɔ́**-bà	river	Hansson 1989:288
Bisu	khàn **laŋ**	saliva	Beaudouin 1988:15
	láŋ	water	Bradley 199x
	láŋ ba	river	Bradley 199x
	láŋ bɛ	thirsty (be v.)	Beaudouin 1988:27
	láŋ ʃám	otter	Bradley 199x
	lɔŋ pɛt **láŋ**	milk	Beaudouin 1988:15
	pɛ khà **laŋ**	gall	Beaudouin 1988:14 [a]
	pɛ k^{h}à **(làŋ)**	bile	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**ló** bà	river	Hansson 1989:288
Hani (Dazhai)	**lo**^{55}ba^{31}	river	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:18.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**lo**^{55}	classifier for river (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0837.41
	lo^{55}ba^{31}	river (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0030.41
Hani (Pijo)	**lú**	river	Hansson 1989:288
	lú mɔ	river	Hansson 1989:288
Hani (Caiyuan)	**lu**^{55}pɔ^{31}	river	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:18.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**lɔ**^{55}ba^{31}	river	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**lol** bbaq	river	Hansson 1989:288
Hani (Shuikui)	**lu**^{55}pɔ^{31}	river	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:18.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**lu**^{55}pɔ^{31}	river (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0030.42
	lu^{55}xu^{31}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.42
Côông [Phunoi]	**lɑ̃**^{55} bɑt^{11} de^{33}	thirsty	Bradley 1977
	mõ^{31} hut **lɑ̃**^{55}	sweat / perspiration	Ferlus 1991:8.2.1
	nù **lɑ́**	milk	Bradley 1979b
Pyen	**laŋ45**	water	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:012032
	laŋ45 kɯŋ45	(water) clear	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:012044
	laŋ45 lɔŋ45	boiling water	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:045001
	laŋ45 ʃen31 ne45	water (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:036021
	nam31 **loŋ45**	river	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:012064
Ugong	nù **wŭŋ**	milk	Bradley 1993:5.4.3

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	**lo**˦ʂu˩-hi˩nɑ˦mi˦ **lo**˩	Lugu lake mountain valley	Michaud 2006–2009 Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**lo**^{21}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.45

[a] “While the cited forms all mean ‘soup’, this PT root has a more general meaning ‘thick liquid’ and appears also in such words as ‘honey’, ‘tears’, ‘resin’, and ‘mucus’. Cf. Mikir **a-lang** ‘juice’. Cf. PTB ***laŋ*** ‘water, river, valley’ (Prof. Matisoff, p.c.)” Sun 1993a: 120.

[a] Bisu **pɛ khà** ‘liver’ (cf. Garo **bi-ka** ‘liver’).

Chinese comparandum

The primary comparandum here is:

浪 OC ***lâng***, *GSR* #735k ‘name of a river’; B & S 2011: ***r^{ˤ}aŋ {* [r]^{ˤ}aŋ}***; Mand. **(làng)**.

The entry for 浪 **làng** in 說文 Shuō Wén says simply ”滄浪河南入江”, where 滄浪河 **Cánglàng Hé** is the name of a river, purportedly in Central China. Early on, 浪 appears in other toponyms as well, e.g. 莊浪 **Zhuānglàng**, a county in Gansu prov., 康浪 **Kānglàng**, a river in Shandong prov. At the very least, we are justified in treating 浪 as a hydronym in the above cases; however, we would further argue that 浪 was originally a more general, Sinitic term for ‘river, stream, flow’. A useful analogy can be found in European toponyms such as Aberdour (Scotland), Durance (France), Dora (Italy), which may not immediately appear to be related to each other, but all of which are posited as deriving from a Celtic element ***dur**, a generic term for ‘water’.

Also attested early on for 浪 is the meaning ‘excessive, dissolute’, cited by Karlgren in *GSR* #735k, but as a separate etymon. Likewise, the meaning ‘wave, breaker’ the usual hydrologic sense of 浪 in Modern Chinese, may be a separate development; it is not cited in *GSR* #735, and is apparently not attested earlier than MC.
[SPB]

1.9.10 Genitals/Pudenda

(1) PTB *m-tsan MARK / BADGE / GENITALS

The rGyalrong form is likely to be a borrowing from Tibetan.

The putative semantic connection between Kuki-Chin GENERATION / ERA and the Tibetan form rests on the idea that a particular generation is marked by a certain characteristic.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tshan** GENERATION / ERA

**Chin*	***tshan**	GENERATION / ERA	VanBik 2009:589
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**sàn**	generation, era	VanBik 2009:589
Lai (Hakha)	**tshăn**	generation, era	VanBik 2009:589
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chhā**	generation	VanBik 2009:589
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	mo **mtshan**	genitals (female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0118.01
	mo-**mt'san**	vagina	Matisoff 1987
	mtshan-ma	mark, token, badge, symptom (n.)	Jäschke 1881:454
	p'o-**mt'san**	membrum virile (male-token; badge)	Matisoff 1987:85
	pho **mtshan**	genitals (male) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0116.01
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**ts^{h}an** pa	genitalia / pudenda (general)	Sun Hongkai 1991j:10.1

1.9.12 Female

(1) PTB *mi FEMALE / GIRL / FEMININE SUFFIX

This etymon evidently took a sibilant prefix in various languages (cf. Daofu **sme**, Ergong **smɛ ŋa**), which seems to have arisen as a reduction of PTB ***za-n** CHILD (§4.2.11). Cf. binomes like Lahu **yâ-mî** 'daughter'.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***mi**	female / girl	Matisoff 2003a:602
1.1.1. Tani: ***mji-mə:** WOMAN, ***mi-fVŋ?** WIFE			
**Tani*	***mi-fVŋ?**	wife	Sun 1993a:461
	***mji-mə:**	woman	Sun 1993a:471
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	mi-lo ĩ-nɯ **ñi-mũ**	woman (married)	Sun 1993b
	mi-lo-bu-ku-nɯ **ñi-mu**	married woman	Sun 1993b
	mi-hi	wife	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	mi-hi a-ǰã	wife (junior~)	Sun 1993b
	mi-hi bu-ku-nɯ mju	man (married); married man	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	mi-hi la-bú	marry	Sun 1993b
	mi-hi la-nɯ	married (woman)	Sun 1993b
	mi-hi la-sú	marry	Sun 1993b
	mi-hi la-su (pa-su)	wed	Sun 1993b
	mi-hi nə-tə	wife (first~)	Sun 1993b
	ñi-m(ũ)	woman	Sun 1993b
	ñi-mũ	woman	Sun 1993a
	ni-mũ	young woman	Sun 1993b
	ñi-mũ	young woman (past puberty); female	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ñi-mũ a-ǰã	virgin	Sun 1993b
	ñi-mũ a-tu	daughter; girl	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ni-mũ mi-ha har-gɯ sú	elope	Sun 1993b
	ñi-mũ mũ-ǰã	girl	Sun 1993b
	ñi-mũ mũ-xa	puberty (of a girl)	Sun 1993b
	ñi-mũ so	court (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ñi-mũ-a-tu	child (female~)	Sun 1993b
	ñì-mu-xa	adult girl	Sun 1993b
	ñì-mùŋ	young girl	Sun 1993b
	ñì-muŋ a-ǰaŋ	young girl (8-12 years)	Sun 1993b
	ñì-muŋ à-xa	adult girl	Sun 1993b
	ñì-muŋ muŋ-ǰaŋ	young girl (8-12 years)	Sun 1993b
	ñì-mɯ	girl	Sun 1993b
	ñim bu-tũ	virgin	Sun 1993b
	ñim'-mrja-har-gɯ-sú	elope	Sun 1993b
	ñim'-o	daughter	Sun 1993b
	ñim-bu-tũ	spinster, maiden	Sun 1993b
	ñim-ta-rɯ	blouse	Sun 1993b
	ó-hó **ñì-mɯ**	daughter	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ni-fɯŋ**	wife	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ñi-mɯ:	woman	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**me jaŋ**	wife (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.24
	me-jaŋ	wife	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	me-jaŋ loŋ	marry (a wife)	Sun 1993b
	me-jaŋ me-lo	spouse	Sun 1993b
	ñe-mə:	woman	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ɲe mə:	woman (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.24
Bokar Lhoba	**me jaŋ**	wife	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:338.51
	ɲe mə:	woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:291.51
Galo	'a nə-**ɲaməə**	married woman; middle-aged woman; woman (middle-aged) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɲi-mɤ	wife	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲim la-nam	marry (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲim-la-ma-na	bachelor	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲim-la-na	married man	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲim-ta-ma-nam	virgin (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲimə	wife (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲimə-'koodaa	women's balcony (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲimə-'rab go	women's doorway (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**ɲim**	wife, woman	Simon 1976
	ɲime	woman	Simon 1976
Nishing	**nyi-hang**	wife	Das Gupta 1969
	nyi-me~**ni-me**	wife	Das Gupta 1969
	nyimé	woman; girl	Das Gupta 1969; Das Gupta 1969
	nyime	girl	Das Gupta 1969
	nyime la-nam	marry (girl, take)	Das Gupta 1969
	nyimé mé-tang	women	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	doŋ ne ku **nyime**	niece / sister's daughter	Das Gupta 1983
	ku **nyime**	daughter	Das Gupta 1983
	ku **nyimɤ**	grandson / daughter's son	Das Gupta 1983
	nyime kamnɤ	bachelor	Das Gupta 1983
	nyime ta:nam	divorce by a male	Das Gupta 1983
	nyime yamɤ	bridegroom	Das Gupta 1983
	nyimɤ do-ne	married	Das Gupta 1983
	ruŋ ɟinɤ **nyimɤ**	deaf woman	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	**mi-mə**	woman	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ɳe-mə:** ʔa-ken	woman (single)	Sun 1993b
Milang	ma-**mi**	female	Tayeng 1976
	ma-**mi**-miu-ka	girl (hood)	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**mi-eŋ**	wife	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	**mi^{55}**juŋ^{55}	woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:291.50
	mi jā	female	Pulu 1978
Yidu	**mi^{55}**juŋ^{55}	woman (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.25
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Chokri	thü^{31} no^{55} **mi^{11}**	female:	Nienu 1990b:10.4
	thü no **mi**	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
Khezha	nichü **mi**	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	ili **mi**	young woman	Marrison 1967
	thopu **mi**	old woman	Marrison 1967
	toti **mi**	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
	toti **mi**	female	Achumi 1998a:10.4
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	sanui **mi**	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	mpui **mi**	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	sok-**me**	woman's breast	Burling 1992
	sok-**mi**	woman's breast	Burling 1992
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**mi** sā	female	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.4
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yakha	**me** ca yaʔ mi	female	Kohn 1990:10.4
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	lumdi **mi**	(of a married female) second born (offspring / sibling)	Driem 1993 [a]
	me:ʔ **mi**	Missus, formal term of address for a married woman	Driem 1993
	mikir **mi**	(of a married female) fifth born (offspring / sibling)	Driem 1993
	milir **mi**	(of a married female) sixth born (offspring / sibling)	Driem 1993
	mi tsɨm	female, woman	Driem 1993
	mi tsɨm-puma	female, woman	Driem 1993
	parkir **mi**	(of a married female) third born (offspring / sibling)	Driem 1993
	sibir **mi**	(of a married female) youngest born (offspring / sibling)	Driem 1993
	takir **mi**	(of a married female) fourth born (offspring / sibling)	Driem 1993
	to: **mi**	(of a married female) first born (offspring / sibling)	Driem 1993
	tsalir **mi**	(of a married female) fourth born (offspring / sibling)	Driem 1993
	tsekir **mi**	(of a married female) seventh born (offspring / sibling)	Driem 1993
	tsenir **mi**	(of a married female) fifth born (offspring / sibling)	Driem 1993
	wakir **mi**	(of a married female) third born (offspring / sibling)	Driem 1993
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	kho **mi**	sow, female pig	Allen 1975
	ŋa: **mi**	old woman	Allen 1975
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	tshə^{31}**mi^{55}**	daughter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0222.16
	tshə^{31}**mi^{55}**ɳa^{31}	woman; girl (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.16; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0176.16
	tshʅ^{33}**me^{53}**	young woman; daughter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.17; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:340.17
	tshʅ^{33}**me^{55}**ɳɑ^{33}	woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:291.17
Namuyi	**mi^{35}**	female	Sun Hongkai 1991i:10.4
	ntʂhʅ^{55}**mi^{55}**	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.19
	zʅ^{33}**mi^{55}**	woman; young woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:291.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.19
	zʅ^{53}**mi^{55}**	daughter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:340.19
	zɻ^{33}**mi^{55}**	granddaughter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:346.19
	bu^{55}**mi^{53}**	yak (female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.46
	ntʂhʅ^{55}**mi^{55}**	daughter-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.46
	zu^{55}ɣə^{31}**mi^{53}**	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed, female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.46
	zʅ^{33}**mi^{55}**	woman; girl; daughter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.46; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0176.46; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0222.46
	zʅ^{33}**mi^{55}** vu^{33}dzɻ^{55}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.46
	zʅ^{33}**mi^{55}** zɻ^{33}ʁuo^{31}	granddaughter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0225.46
	zʅ^{33}**mi^{55}**læ^{55}mæ^{55}	nun (Buddhist) (female lama) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0190.46
	ɣə^{31}**mi^{55}**	cattle (common, female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**m̥i^{11}**tsø^{55}	girl; daughter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0176.10; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0222.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**mi^{13}**do^{55}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.09
	mi^{13}ji^{55}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.09

[a] Cf. Idu **a-lampaga** 'rebirth.'

	m̥i^{13}by^{55}bɑ^{13}	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.09
	m̥i^{55}	daughter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0222.09
	m̥i^{55}tsy^{13}	girl (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0176.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	i^{55}tsə^{55}**m̥i**^{55}	granddaughter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:346.11
	m̥i^{13}by^{55}bɑ^{13}	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.11
	m̥i^{55}	daughter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:340.11
	m̥i^{55}tsy^{13}	young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.11
Pumi (Taoba)	i^{55}tsə^{55}**m̥ə**^{53}	granddaughter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:346.10
	m̥ə̃^{35}ba^{35}	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.10
	m̥ə̃^{35}dz̩ɑ^{35}li^{53}	young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.10
Qiang (Longxi)	dù-pù-**mí**	poison cat (kind of witch) [ghost-do-female]	Evans 1999:962.1
	ỳ **mì**	pheasant (female)	Evans 1999:419
Qiang (Mawo)	khsɛ **miɛ**	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.08
Xumi	a^{55}**mɪ**^{53}	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.17
	bo^{33}**mi**^{53}	yak (female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.17
	li^{55}phɛ^{55}; li^{55}**mi**^{55}	roebuck(male);roebuck(female)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:131.20
	lɛ^{55}**mi**^{53}	granddaughter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0225.17
	mi^{53}zæ^{33}	girl (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0176.17
	mi^{53}ʑæ^{33}	daughter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0222.17
	mi^{55}	female	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	mi^{55}	marry (a woman) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1578.17
	my^{55}ʑyɛ^{33}ə^{ɹ55} **mi**	young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.20
	tɕhyɛ^{53}**mi**^{33}	daughter-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.17
	wu^{55}**mi**^{33}	cattle (common, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.17
	zi^{35}**mi**^{33}	granddaughter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:346.20
	ɑ^{33}**mi**^{55}ə^{ɹ55}**mi**^{55}	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	ji^{33}**mi**^{55}	cattle (common, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.14
	mi^{33}wo^{55}	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	lo tɕhaŋ **smɛ** ŋa	young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.14
	mɛ	female	SUN Hongkai 1991b:10.4
Daofu	**sme**	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.12
Ergong (Danba)	**smɛ** ŋa	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.14
Ergong (Daofu)	s **me**	female	DAI Qingxia 1989b:10.4

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **mi**	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.11
rGyalrong	tə **mi**	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.12
Caodeng	tɜ́-**mej**	woman	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	tə-**mi?**	woman	Sun 1997b

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***m(y)i-n**^{2} WIFE

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**ɲi**^{31}ŋɑ^{31}	wife	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ɲi**^{31}mɔʔ^{31}	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.28
	ɲi^{31}mɔʔ^{31}	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.41
Achang (Luxi)	**mjiʔ**^{31}ma^{35}	elder paternal uncle's wife	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	mjiʔ^{31}ʑɛ^{51}	wife	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ni**^{55}mɔ^{31}	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.29
Bola (Luxi)	jauʔ^{31}**mi̲**^{35}	aunt <mother's brother's wife> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0239.32
	jõ^{31}**mi**^{31}	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.32
Hpun (Northern)	**mí** sà(ʔ), **mí** zà	wife (cp. Woman)	Henderson 1986
	mí zà' ló	husband and wife	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	a^{31}**mji̲**^{55}	aunt <wife of father's younger brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0233.31
	jauk^{31}**mji̲**^{55}	aunt <mother's brother's wife> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0239.31
	mji^{35}	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.31
	mji̲^{55}mɔ^{55}	aunt <wife of father's elder brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0231.31
Lashi	**mji̲**^{53}	female	DAI Qingxia 1989m:10.4
Leqi (Luxi)	juʔ^{31}**mji̲**^{53}	aunt <mother's brother's wife> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0239.33
	lat^{31}**mji**^{53}	aunt <wife of father's younger brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0233.33
	mji^{33}	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.33
	mji^{33}ji^{33}	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.33
	mo^{55}**mji̲**^{53}	aunt <wife of father's elder brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0231.33
Maru [Langsu]	a^{31}**mji̲**^{55}	aunt (wife of younger paternal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:324.43
	jauk^{31}**mji̲**^{55}	aunt (wife of maternal uncle)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:328.43
	mji^{35}	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.43
	mji^{35}ɣɛ^{35}	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.43
	tsɔ̌^{35}**mji**^{35}	young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mji**^{21}	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.30
	mji^{21}ve^{21}	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.42
	mji^{21}ve^{21}	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.30
	tsŏ^{21}**mji**^{21}	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.42
		young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***C-mi**^{2} WOMAN

**Loloish*	***C-mi**^{2}	woman	Bradley 1979b:162

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	màq-**ʔnýˊ**	wife	Björverud 1994
	ze^{21} **me**^{21} zɑ^{21}	female	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4
Lipho	zo^{21}**mɛ**^{21}	female	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4
Nusu (Central)	**mi**^{31}	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.34
Nusu (Southern)	**mi**^{31}mɯ^{55}	elder paternal uncle's wife	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mi**^{31}ɑ^{31}	woman; wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.45; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.45
	mi^{31}ɑ^{31}lu^{55}ɹɑ^{35}biɑ^{35}	young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.45
Nusu (Southern)	**mi**^{35}	woman / female	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**mi**^{35}zɑ^{55}	woman / female	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**mi**^{55}	wife	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**mi**^{55}a^{31}	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mi**^{55}ɑ^{31}xɹɑ^{35}	marry (a woman)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:697.45
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{21}**m̥i**^{33}	cousin, female cross; sister-in-law	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	a^{21}**m̥i**^{33}a^{33}za^{55}	cousins, female cross; sisters-in-law	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mo^{21}**ɲi**^{33}	aunt (father's brother's wife); aunt (mother's sister); stepmother	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{21}**ni**^{33}	wife; woman (derogatory)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mŋ^{21}	matron; wife; woman	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mŋ^{21}zɯ^{33}	family, immediate; wife and children	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mŋ^{21}ʑu̲^{33}	husband and wife	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**mɛ**^{21}	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mæ**^{21}zo^{21}	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.37
	ɑ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}mo^{33}ʑæ^{21}	aunt <mother's brother's wife> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0239.37
	ʌ^{33}**mi**^{33}ʑɛ^{55}	aunt (wife of younger paternal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:324.24
	ʌ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}mo^{33}	aunt (wife of maternal uncle)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:328.24
Yi (Nanjian)	mɑ^{21}**ny**^{55}	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.23
Yi (Weishan)	mɑ^{21}**ʔny**^{55}	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.36
Yi (Wuding)	**g̲**^{55}**me**^{33}ɣɔ^{33}	aunt <wife of father's elder brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0231.38
	g̲^{55}**me**^{33}ŋɔ^{33}	aunt <wife of father's younger brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0233.38
Yi (Xide)	mo^{21}**ɲi**^{33}	aunt <wife of father's elder brother>; aunt <wife of father's younger brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0231.35; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0233.35
	mo^{21}**ɲi**^{33}	aunt (wife of younger paternal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:324.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	a^{33}**mɯ**^{44}	aunt (wife of younger paternal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:324.34
	a^{44}**mɯ**^{33}	aunt <wife of father's younger brother>; aunt <mother's brother's wife> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0233.44; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0239.44
	mi^{33}khɔ^{33}	young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**mi**^{44}khɔ^{44}	young woman	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ɑ^{44}**mɤ**^{33}	younger paternal uncle's wife; maternal uncle's wife	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986; GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	a33 **mi33**	father's younger brother's wife	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	miɛ35 mʌ33	sister-in-law (older brother's wife)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	zʌ31 **mi31** zʌ31	woman	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***mi˘**	woman	Bradley 1979b:162
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**mi**^{53}mɑ^{33}	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.43
	ʑɑ^{53}**mi**^{53}mɑ^{33}	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.43
Lahu (Black)	mɛ̂ʔ-yâ-**mî**	pupil ("eye-daughter")	Matisoff 1987
	yâ-**mî**-ɔ̀-lî	menses	Matisoff 1987
	zʌ^{53}**mi**^{53}mʌ^{35}	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.33
	zʌ^{53}**mi̲**^{53}xʌ^{35}	young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.33
	ɔ^{31}**mi**^{53}mʌ^{33}	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.33
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{2}**mi**^{3}	wife	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ʑa^{1}**mi**^{3}	woman / female	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ʑa^{1}**mi**^{3}xa^{4}	young woman	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}**mɤʔ**^{21}ma^{33}	mother of one's children (used by husband to address wife) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mɤʔ^{21}vu^{21}ma^{33}	first wife	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}**mɤ**^{21}	second marriage (remarry after first spouse's death or (for man) marry a second wife)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ra^{5}-**mrgh'**^{4}	wife	Fraser 1922
	ra^{5}-**mrgh'**^{4} hwa^{3}	wed / take wife (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	za^{21}gu^{44} za^{21}**mɤ**^{44}	husband and wife	Bradley 1994
	za^{21}**mɤ**^{44}	wife (N.)	Bradley 1994
	zaʔ^{21}**mɤ**^{33}tʃhŋ^{21}	woman; female person; wife (N.)	Bradley 1994
	zaʔ^{21}**mɤʔ**^{21}zaʔ^{21}	woman; wife	Bradley 1994
Lisu	zɑ^{31}**mɯ**^{33}	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.27
Lisu (Central)	ɲi^{21}**mɤ**^{21}	second marriage (remarry after first spouse's death or (for man) marry a second wife)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ɑ^{31}**ɲi**^{33}	aunt (wife of maternal uncle)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:328.27
Yi (Sani)	**mæ**^{11}	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	à **my**	father's / brothers.'s wife	Hansson 1989:317
Akha (Thai)	à **my**	father's / brothers.'s wife	Hansson 1989:317
Akha (Yunnan)	**mì** zà	wife	Hansson 1989:98
Akha (Thai)	**mì**-zà	wife	Hansson 1989:98
Hani (Lüchun)	à **my**	father's / brothers.'s wife	Hansson 1989:317
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{31}**mɯ**^{33}	aunt (wife of younger paternal; aunt (wife of maternal uncle)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:324.31; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:328.31
	mi^{31}da̲^{31}	young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.31
	mi^{31}za^{31}	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.31
	za^{31}**mi**^{31}	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.31
Hani (Lüchun)	a^{31}**mɯ**^{33}	aunt <wife of father's younger brother>; aunt <mother's brother's wife> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0233.41; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0239.41

	mi[31]za[31]	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.41
	mi[31]za[31] sɤ[31]	marry (a woman) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1578.41
	za[31]**mi**[31]za[31]	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	a[55]ɯɔ[33]**ni**[55]	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.30
	jɔ[31]**mi**[31]	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	a[31]**mɯ**[33]	younger paternal uncle's wife; maternal uncle's wife	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	mi[31]dạ[31]	young woman (unmarried)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	mi[31]za[31]	wife	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	za[31]**mi**[31]	woman / femae	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	aq **mee**	father's / brothers.'s wife	Hansson 1989:317
	miq ssaq	wife	Hansson 1989:98
Hani (Shuikui)	xɔ[31]**mi**[31]	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.32
	zɔ[31]**mi**[31]	woman; young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.32; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.32
Hani (Mojiang)	xɔ[31] **mi**[31] khẏ[55]	marry (a woman) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1578.42
	xɔ[31]**mi**[31]	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.42
	zɔ[31]**mi**[31]	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.42

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	a[33]**n̥i**[13]	father's brother's wife	Pelkey 2011:404
Phola	**mi**[55]	wife	Pelkey 2011:394
Hlepho Phowa	**mi**[33]ʤə[21]	wife	Pelkey 2011:394
Phu Kha	**mi**[33] jɛ[31]	wife	Fried 2000
Phuza	**mɛ**[33]	wife	Pelkey 2011:394

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	bv˥**mie**˥	female yak	Michaud 2006–2009:3915
	ɑ˧jɤ˧**mie**˥	elderly woman	Michaud 2006–2009:520
Na (Yongning)	bv˧**mi**˧	female yak	Michaud 2006–2009
	bɤ˧**mi#**˥	Pumi woman	Michaud 2006–2009
	hu˩**mi**˩	female pheasant	Michaud 2006–2009
	i˩**mi**˩	cow (female)	Michaud 2006–2009
	mi˩zɯ˩	woman	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧**mi**˧	woman	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˩bæ˧**mi**˩	fool, idiot (female)	Michaud 2006–2009
	si˧bv˧**mi#**˥	evil spirit (female)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts[h]ɯ˧**mi**˧to˧qɑ˥	goat (male and female)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬi˧bv˧**mi#**˥	Bai woman	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**mi**[31]zəɹ[13]	young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.29
Naxi	**mi**[55]	woman; daughter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0222.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mi**[55]	daughter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:340.28
	mi[55]tɕhy[33]	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.28
Naxi	**mi**[55]zy[55]	girl (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0176.45

7. KARENIC: *hmɨ[B] FEMALE, WOMAN

**Karen*	***hmɨ**[B]	female, woman	Luangthongkum 2013:112
	***mwýq**	female (human)	Jones 1961:58
**Karen (TP)*	***mwýq**	female (human)	Jones 1961:58
**Karen*	***mwə́'**	female (nonhuman)	Jones 1961:19
**Karen (TP)*	***mwə́'**	female (nonhuman)	Jones 1961:19
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***mýq**	female (human)	Jones 1961:58
**Karen (Pwo)*	***mýq**	female (human)	Jones 1961:58
**Karen [Burling]*	***my**[2]	female, woman	Luangthongkum 2013:112
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***mý?**	female (human)	Jones 1961:58
Bwe	**mo**[33]	female, woman	Luangthongkum 2013:112
Kayah	**mɔ**[11]	female, woman	Luangthongkum 2013:112
Kayan	**mɨ**[11]	female, woman	Luangthongkum 2013:112
Kayaw	**mɨ**[11]	female, woman	Luangthongkum 2013:112
Pa-O	**mŷ**	female (nonhuman)	Jones 1961:19
Pa-O (Southern)	**mɨ**[33]	female, woman	Luangthongkum 2013:112
Pa-O (Northern)	**mɨ**[53]	female, woman	Luangthongkum 2013:112
Palaychi	ʔàqvóq **mýq**	female (human)	Jones 1961:58
Pwo (Northern)	**mə̨ɨ**[33]	female, woman	Luangthongkum 2013:112
Pwo (Southern)	**mɨ**[55]	female, woman	Luangthongkum 2013:112
Pwo (Bassein)	**mỳ**	female (human)	Jones 1961:58
Pwo (Moulmein)	**my?**	female (human)	Jones 1961:58
Sgaw (Northern)	**mɨ**[31~]	female, woman	Luangthongkum 2013:112
Sgaw (Southern)	**mɨ**[45,]	female, woman	Luangthongkum 2013:112
Sgaw (Bassein)	**mỳ**	sun; female (human)	Jones 1961:18; Jones 1961:58
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**mỳ**	sun	Jones 1961:18
	mý?	female (human)	Jones 1961:58

Chinese comparandum

妹 OC ***mwəd**, *GSR* #531k-m 'younger sister'; Schuessler 2007:378 ***mês** ~ ***mîs**; B & S 2011: ***C.m[ʕ]ət-s {C.m[ʕ]ə[t]-s}**; Mand. **mèi**.

(2) PTB *ma FEMALE / MOTHER / PRINCIPAL PART / FEMININE SUFFIX

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*-**ma**	fem. gender suffix	Benedict 1972:p.96
	*-**mɑ**	fem. suffix	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:40
	***ma**	mother	Benedict 1972:487
	***ma**-n	mother / feminine suffix	Matisoff 2003a:601
	***mɑ**	mother	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:40

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Milang	**ma**-mi	female	Tayeng 1976
	ma-mi-miu-ka	girl (hood)	Tayeng 1976

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**ma**-doi	mother's sister	Benedict 1972:309
Kokborok	**ma**	female suffix	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	**mo**[53]	female	SUN Hongkai 1991a:10.4
	mɑ[53]	female	SUN Hongkai 1991a:10.4
Cuona Menba	**mɔ**[53]phaʔ[53]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	hɔ-**mæ**	pregnant woman	Sun 1985a:783
Tibetan (Batang)	**mʊ**[13]phɑʔ[53]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.03
Tibetan (Written)	pho.ba.**ma**	pregnant woman	Sun 1985c:783
Tibetan (Xiahe)	haχ **ma**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.04
	mo haχ	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	ʔá **mú**	mother (n.)	Plaisier 2007

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	bak **ma ma**	sow (n.)	Rai 1985

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**ma** dhɨm	female of an animal species.	Driem 1993

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	a[55]**ma**[55]	mother	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:320.18
	i[33]zɑ[55]lɛ[55]**ma**[55]	daughter-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:341.18
	lɑ[33]phɛ[55]; lɑ[33]**ma**[55] **ma**[55]	roebuck(male);roebuck(female)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:131.18
		female	SUN Hongkai 1991d
Guiqiong	a[55]**ma**[33]	mother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.16
	ɑ[55]**mɑ**[33]	mother	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:320.17
Lyuzu	a[33]**ma**[53]	mother (reference) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.18
	hĩ[33]**mæ**[53]	yak (female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.18
	la[33]**mæ**[53]	deer (river) (female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.18
	le[33]**mæ**[53]	daughter-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.18
	ma[53]	mother (address) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.18
	ndzuo[33]**mæ**[53]	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.18
	æ[33]**mæ**[53] kɯ[33]kɯ[31]	aunt <mother's sister> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0241.18
	ŋu[33]**mæ**[53]	cattle (common, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.18
	ɣu[33]**mæ**[53]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.18
Muya	rə[33]**mɑ**[53]	yak (female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.15
	zi[53]zə[33]**mɑ**[53]	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.15
	æ[33]**mɐ**[55]	mother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.15
	ŋuə[53] (**mɑ**[53])	cattle (common, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.15
	βə[33]**mɐ**[53]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mɐ**[35]	female	SUN Hongkai 1991h:10.4
	tɑ[55]**mɐ**[55]	thumb	SUN Hongkai 1991h:7.1.5
	ɛ[55]**mɐ**[53]	mother	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:320.15
Namuyi	væ[33]**mi**[35]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	ɑ[11]**mɑ**[55]	mother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**mɑ**[55]	mother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.09
	phʃɑ[13]**ma**[55]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**mɑ**[55]	mother	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:320.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ma**[55]	mother	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:320.10
	ma[55]**ma**[55]	mother-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:332.10
Qiang (Longxi)	á **mà**	mother	Evans 1999:276
	pià **mià**	sow	Evans 1999:356
Qiang (Mawo)	a **ma**	mother; mother-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:320.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:332.8
	mɑ:	mother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	á **mà**	mother (direct)	Evans 1999:276.1
	pià **miá**	sow (n.)	Evans 1999:356
Qiang (Taoping)	**ma**[33]; **mɑ**[55]**mɑ**[55]	mother	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:320.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	a[55]**ma**[33]	mother-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:332.16
	a[55]**ma**[53]	mother	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:320.16
	lo[33]tɕhõ[55]**ma**[33]	young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**mo**[13]pha[55]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tʂhə[35]**ma**[55]	daughter-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:341.16
Xumi	a[55]**ma**[55]	mother (reference) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.17
	bi[33]**mi**[53]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.17
	mɑ[55]**mɑ**[55]	mother	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:320.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	a[55]**me**[55]	mother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.14
	ma[55]**ma**[55]	mother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.14
	va[33]**mi**[33]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	a **mə**	mother; mother-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.12; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0246.12
Ergong (Danba)	a **mɛ**	mother	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:320.14
Ergong (Northern)	t[h]a[13] **ma**[53] cç[h]a[13]	thumb	SUN Hongkai 1991c:7.1.5
Daofu	vɛ **lmɛ**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.12
Ergong (Daofu)	ʑa **ma**	thumb	DAI Qingxia 1989b:7.1.5
Ergong (Danba)	ʑɛ **mɛ**	thumb	SUN Hongkai 1991b:7.1.5

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Caodeng	pá-**mo**	sow (n.)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	pɑk **mo**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.11
	tə **mo**	mother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.11
rGyalrong	tə **mo**	mother; mother-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:320.12; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:332.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **mo** tɛ	aunt <mother's older sister> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0241.11
Caodeng	tá-**mo**	mother	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	ŋə **mo**	mother-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0246.11
rGyalrong	pak **mo**	sow	Nagano 1997:3.12
rGBenzhen	pak-**moʔ**	sow	Sun 1997b
	tə-**mo**	mother	Sun 1997b
Shili	a-**mo**	mother	Sun 1997c

4. NUNGIC

Rawang	wɑʔ **mɑ**[31]	sow	LaPolla 2003:328
Nung	ʔo[55]**mɑ**[31]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.21
Dulong	wɑʔ[55]**mɑ**[53]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.20

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**ma**[21] **ma**[21] te[55]	female	CHEN Kang 1986c:10.4

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	wɛʔ[4]**mɑ**[53]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.27

Burmese (Written)	lak-**maʔ**	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	mîn-**ma'**	woman	Benedict 1976a
	wɑk^{4}**mɑ^{1}**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.26
	ə-**ma'**	female; brood, swarm	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2. LOLOISH: *C-ma^{3} FEMALE SUFFIX

**Loloish*	***C-ma^{3}**	female suffix	Bradley 1979b:174
Lolopho	ɒ^{55} bɒ^{31} **mo^{33}**	thumb	DAI Qingxia 1989n:7.1.5

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**ma^{33}**	female	DAI Qingxia 1989c:10.4
	wa^{53}**ma^{33}**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.47
Lalo	lɪ̱^{21} ɳ^{55} **mɑ^{33}** ko^{33}	thumb	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.1.5
Nesu	lɪ̱^{21} **mo^{21}** tʂʅ^{55}	thumb	CHEN Kang 1986b:7.1.5
Nusu (Central)	vạ^{53}**mi^{31}**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.34
Yi (Liangshan)	vo^{55}**mo^{21}**	sow (pig)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}xo^{33}**mo^{34}**	sow (pig), young	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	ve̱^{21}**mo^{33}**ge^{33}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.37
Yi (Weishan)	ɑ^{55}vɪ̱^{21}**mɑ^{33}**ko^{33}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.36
Yi (Wuding)	vu̱^{55}**mu̱^{2}**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.38
Yi (Xide)	lo^{55}-**mo^{21}**	thumb	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vo^{55}-**mo^{21}** tɕ^{h}ɛ^{33}	spay(ed) sow	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vo^{55}**mo^{21}**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Baka)	la^{55} **mo^{33}**	thumb	DAI Qingxia 1989i:136
Jinuo	va^{55}**mɔ^{33}**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.44
Kucong	a31 bi35 **mʌ33**	old woman	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	khɯ31 **mʌ33**	son's wife, daughter-in-law	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	miɛ35 **mʌ33**	sister-in-law (older brother's wife)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***ma:**	thumb; female suffix	Bradley 1979b:114; Bradley 1979b:174
Lahu (Lancang)	vɑ^{21}**mɑ^{33}**qu^{33}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.43
	ɔ^{31}mi^{53}**mɑ^{33}**	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.43
	ɔ^{31}u^{33}**mɑ^{33}**	aunt <mother's brother's wife> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0239.43
	ɔ^{31}ɑ^{35}ɕu^{11}**mɑ^{33}**	aunt <wife of father's younger brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0233.43
	ʑɑ^{53}mi^{53}**mɑ^{33}**	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.43
Lahu (Black)	làʔ-**ma**-pə̄	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	zʌ^{53}mi^{53}**mʌ^{35}**	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.33
	ɔ^{31}mi^{53}**mʌ^{33}**	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.33
	ɔ̀-ni-**ma**	younger sister	Matisoff 1985a:146
	ɔ̀-šɛ̄-**ma**	body (female)	Matisoff 1987
	ʌ^{33}phʌ^{53}**mʌ^{33}**	aunt (wife of maternal uncle)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:328.33
	ʌ^{33}su^{31}**mʌ^{33}**	aunt (wife of younger paternal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:324.33
Lisu (Central)	a^{1}-vá^{6}-**ma^{3}**	sow (female pig)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}mɤʔ^{21}**ma^{33}**	mother of one's children (used by husband to address wife) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}ɣɔ^{21}**ma^{33}**	father's elder brother's wife; mother's sister (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hĭ^{33}si^{33}**ma^{33}**	wife; hostess; landlady	Bradley 1994
Lisu	lā^{6}-**ma**	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	ma^{3}	female suffix	Bradley 1979b:174
Lisu (Northern)	miʔ^{21}**ma^{33}**	female monkey	Bradley 1994
	miʔ^{21}**ma^{33}**my^{55}	old female monkey; old ape	Bradley 1994
	miʔ^{21}**ma^{33}**mɔ^{21}	ape	Bradley 1994
	mɤʔ^{21}vu^{21}**ma^{33}**	first wife	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}**ma^{33}**	wife	Bradley 1994
	tʃhʔ^{21}**ma^{33}**mɤ^{44}	female sheep that does not reproduce	Bradley 1994
	tɕæ^{35}miʔ^{21}**ma^{33}**	female monkey	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}**ma^{33}**	sow	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}**ma^{33}**lø^{33}	sow (which has not yet reproduced)	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}**ma^{33}**my^{55}	old sow	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}**ma^{33}**mɤ^{44}	sow (those which do not reproduce)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}ɔʔ^{21}**ma^{33}**	father's elder brother's wife; mother's sister (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɲi^{21}**ma^{33}** la^{21}tshɔ^{33}	husband and wife; couple	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}**ma^{55}**ji^{33}	young cow (which has not yet given birth)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	le̱^{22} tʂʅ^{44} **mɑ^{33}**	thumb	MA Xueliang 1989:362.12.
Yi (Sani)	ve^{2}**mɒ^{33}**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	la^ **ma** (ma)	thumb	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	aŋ **ba**	female (animal)	Beaudouin 1988:2
Hani (Lüchun)	ɣa̱^{31}**ma^{33}**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.41
Hani (Mojiang)	ja^{31}**mɔ^{33}**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.42

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	wɤ˩**mie**˩	sow (n.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3780
Na (Yongning)	bu˩**mi**˧	sow	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	bu^{21}**me^{33}**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.45

7. KARENIC: *mə^{B} MOTHER, FEMALE (OF ANIMALS)

**Karen*	***mə^{B}**	mother, female (of animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:194
Bwe	**-mo^{33}**	mother, female (of animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:194
Karen	thọ^{55}**mo^{31}**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.50
Kayah	**mo^{11}**	mother, female (of animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:194
Kayan	**məi^{11}**	mother, female (of animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:194
Kayaw	**mə^{11}**	mother, female (of animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:194
Pa-O (Northern)	**mə^{53}**	mother, female (of animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:194
Pa-O (Southern)	**mə^{55}**	mother, female (of animals)	Luangthongkum 2013:194

8. BAI

Bai (Jianchuan)	sɯ^{33} lo̱^{21} **mo^{33}**	thumb	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	sɯ^{33} tɯ̱^{21} **mo^{33}** kʰo^{33}	thumb	ZHAO Yansun 1990:7.1.5
	te̱^{21}**mo^{33}**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.48

Chinese comparandum

GSR #40 (not)

(3) PTB * k / m -na MOTHER / FEMALE

The velar prefix is attested in Jingpho.

The present root seems to overlap somewhat with PTB ***nya-ŋ/k*** WOMAN (§1.9.12) and PTB ***n(y)u*** FEMALE / MOTHER (§1.9.12), and further microlinguistic work will be necessary to separate them out.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(m-)na**	woman / lady / girl	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:94a-e
	***m-na**	mother	Matisoff 2003a:603

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	i-**na**	mother	Benedict 1972:187n487

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	a-**no**	older sister	Benedict 1972:187n487
	a **nou**	sister (elder)	Marrison 1967
	ɑ-**no**	older sister	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:94a-e

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	kǎ^{31}**na^{33}**	sister (elder)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:334.47
	kǎ^{1}**na^{33}**	elder sister	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ka **na**	sister (elder)	Marrison 1967
	na	sister (elder); older sister	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:187n487
	na̱^{33}	elder sister (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0227.19
	nɑ	woman / lady / girl	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:94a-e

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Byangsi	**n5a**	mother (n.)	Sharma 2003:656
	n5a gɛ	mother's (n.)	Sharma 2003:653
	n5a na	mother (term of address) (n.)	Sharma 2003:655
	na	mother	Benedict 1972:187n487
	nɑ	mother	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:94a-e
	po **nà:**	father's eldest brother's wife, mother's elder sister (n.)	Sharma 2003:706
	pu-**na**	aunt	Benedict 1972:187n487

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**mna**-ma	daughter in law; daughter-in-law	Benedict 1972:187n487; Sun 1985c:174
	mnaɦi ma	daughter-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.01
	mnaɦi ma	daughter-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:341.1
	mnɑ-nɑ	daughter-in-law	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:94a-e

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Murmi	**nɑ-nɑ**	woman / lady / girl	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:94a-e

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Mianchi)	á **ɲà**	mother (direct)	Evans 1999:276.1

(4) PTB *n(y)u FEMALE / MOTHER

This root has frequently grammaticalized as a suffix in nouns denoting large or important objects. See Matisoff 1991, "The mother of all morphemes".

The present root seems to overlap somewhat with PTB ***nya-ŋ/k*** WOMAN (§1.9.12) and PTB ***k/m-na*** MOTHER / FEMALE (§1.9.12), and further microlinguistic work will be necessary to separate them out.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***n(y)u**	mother	Matisoff 2003a:605

1.1.1. TANI: *nə MOTHER

**Tani*	***nə**	mother	Sun 1993a:262

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	(a-ki) ki-**nə**	bitch	Sun 1993b
	(laʔ-čʰiʔ) laʔ-**nə**	thumb	Sun 1993b
	(pa-jeʔ)jeʔ-**nə**	duck (female)	Sun 1993b
	(pa-ro) ro-**nə**	hen	Sun 1993b
	à-kì kí-**nɯ**	bitch	Sun 1993b
	a-**nə**	mother; woman	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**nə** a-kʰrja	old woman; woman (old)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	à-**nɯ**	mother	Sun 1993b
	à-**nɯ** à-ba	parents	Sun 1993b
	à-**nɯ** à-xa	old woman	Sun 1993b
	à-**nɯ**-či	stepmother	Sun 1993b
	à-**nɯ**-ǰa	great-grandmother	Sun 1993b
	bin-**nə**	goat (female)	Sun 1993b
	gu-ri ri-**nə**	mare	Sun 1993b
	ku-**nə**	pigeon / dove (female)	Sun 1993b
	men-dɯʔ dɯʔ-**nə**	buffalo, female	Sun 1993b
	mi-**nə**	cat, female	Sun 1993b
	mi-hi **nə**-tə	wife (first~)	Sun 1993b
	pa-ró ró-**nɯ**	hen	Sun 1993b
	si-bi-bi-**nə**	monkey (female)	Sun 1993b
	su-bu sɯ-**nə**	mithun (cow)	Sun 1993b
	sɯ (hɯ-**nə**)	cow	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-re-ra-**nə**	boar (wild hog), female	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**nɯ:**	mother	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**nɯ:** či:	stepmother	Sun 1993b
	bi:-**nɯ:**	monkey (female)	Sun 1993b
	fɯk-**nɯ:**	louse (big)	Sun 1993b
	jak-**nɯ:**	yak (female)	Sun 1993b
	ja:-**nɯ:**	sheep (female)	Sun 1993b
	ki-**nɯ:**	bitch	Sun 1993b
	ki:-**nɯ:**	mare	Sun 1993b
	kɯ r-**nɯ:**	leopard (female)	Sun 1993b
	lak-**nɯ:**	thumb	Sun 1993b
	li-**nɯ:**	cat (female)	Sun 1993b
	nɯ-bɯŋ	wet nurse	Sun 1993b
	pa-tɯ: a-**nɯ:**	tigress	Sun 1993b
	ra-**nɯ:**	wild boar (female)	Sun 1993b

	rjɯk-**nɯː**	sow (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ruː-**nɯː**	goat (female)	Sun 1993b
	si-**nɯː**	dzo (female)	Sun 1993b
	ši-rɯː ra-**nɯː**	wild boar	Sun 1993a
	su-ru-**nɯː**	wild goat	Sun 1993b
	su-ru-**nɯː** kuː	kid of wild goat	Sun 1993b
	tɯː-**nɯː**	quail (female)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **nə**	mother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.24
	a **nə nə** ɕo	aunt <wife of father's elder brother>; aunt <wife of father's younger brother>; stepmother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0231.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0233.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0249.24
	a-**nə**	mother	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**nə nə**-so	stepmother	Sun 1993b
	ba-laŋ laŋ-**nə**	cattle (female)	Sun 1993b
	bu-**nə**	yak (female)	Sun 1993b
	bɯ **nə**	yak (female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.24
	jək **nə**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.24
	kɯ **nə**	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.24
	kɯ-**nə**	mare	Sun 1993b
	laŋ **nə**	cattle (female, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.24
	laŋ-**nə**	milch cow	Sun 1993b
	lok **nə**	thumb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0110.24
	lok-**nə**	thumb	Sun 1993b
	ñam-**nə**	bride; daughter-in-law	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	nə ɕo	stepmother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0249.24
	nə-so	mother's sister	Sun 1993b
	pak-**nə**	slave (female)	Sun 1993b
	rok **nə**	hen (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.24
	rok-**nə**	hen	Sun 1993b
	ɳam **nə**	daughter-in-law; sister-in-law <elder brother's (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0237.24
Bokar Lhoba	a **nə**	mother	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:320.51
	lok **nə**	finger	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	rok **nə**	hen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:137.51
	ɳam **nə**	daughter-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:341.51
Galo	a **nɤ**	mother	Das Gupta 1963
	duː **ne**	bride	Das Gupta 1963
	gure re-**nɤ**	mare	Das Gupta 1963
	i kɯ kɯ-**nɤ**	bitch	Das Gupta 1963
	kuri ri-**nɤ**	pussy cat	Das Gupta 1963
	mi ɟik-ɟik-**nɤ**	buffalo cow	Das Gupta 1963
	paŋ-**nɤ**	slave (female)	Das Gupta 1963
	po rok roŋ-**nɤ**	hen	Das Gupta 1963
	reŋ-**nɤ**	sow	Das Gupta 1963
	roŋ-**ne ne** ɟirː	chicken (female)	Das Gupta 1963
	sote te-**nɤ**	tusker	Das Gupta 1963
	so bin bin-**nɤ**	she goat	Das Gupta 1963
	so bɤ so **nɤ**	mithun cow	Das Gupta 1963
	so **nɤ** ne ɟirː	mithun calf (female)	Das Gupta 1963
	ta ki ki-**nɤ**	pigeon (female)	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻa **nə**	mother (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻa **nə**	female (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻa **nə**-a bo	predecessors; parents; ancestors (recent); forebears (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻa **nə**-gɨɨtuu	leaning pillar (women's) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻa **nə**-ɲaməə	married woman; middle-aged woman; woman (middle-aged) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻa **nə**-ɲindum	mother (n:poet.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻbər **nə**	sister-in-law (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻbə **nə**	road (main); main road; trunk road (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻcər **nə**	doe (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻcəə **nə**	thumb (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻdum **nə**	barking deer doe; doe (barking deer) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻhin **nə**	red jungle fowl hen (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻho **nə**	mithun cow (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻjab **nə**	duck (female) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻjig **nə**	buffalo cow (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻkii **nə**	bitch; dog (female) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻkin **nə**	child's spouse's mother (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻlag **nə**	thumb (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻlə **nə**	toe (big); big toe (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻlɨɨ **nə**	boulder (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**nə** buk	calf (female, adolescent) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**nə** dəə	brother's wife (fourth) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**nə** ii	wife (brother's, last); brother's wife (last) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻ**nə** jir	calf (female, young) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**nə** koo	brother's wife (third) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**nə** roo	brother's wife (second) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**nə** tə	brother's wife (first) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻpag **nə**	slave (female) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻra **nə**	sow (boar); boar sow (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻree **nə**	mare (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻrog **nə**	hen (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻrɨg **nə**	wife's sister (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻtə **nə**	elephant cow (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻə **nə**	cow; cattle cow (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻɨg **nə**	louse (mature) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	ʼki-**nʼ**	bitch	Simon 1976
	ʼki-**nɤ**	bitch	Simon 1976
	a **ne**	mother	Simon 1976
	a **nɤ**	mother	Simon 1976
	dɯŋ-**nɤ**	female buffalo	Simon 1976
	e rek-he **ne**	sow	Simon 1976
	he-**nɤ**	cow	Simon 1976
	hɤ-**nɤ**	sow	Simon 1976
	laŋ-**nɤ**	thumb	Simon 1976
	reŋ-**nɤ**	maternal aunt	Simon 1976
	ri-**ne**	mare	Simon 1976
	roŋ-**ne**	hen	Simon 1976
	so-**nɤ**	cow mithun	Simon 1976
	ŋin-**nɤ**	fruit	Simon 1976
	ɯl lɯ-kai-**ne**	boulder [large]	Simon 1976
	ɯl lɯ-put-**ne**	rock	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **né**	mother	Das Gupta 1969
	a **ne**	mother	Das Gupta 1969
	a **né**-sik	grandmother	Das Gupta 1969
	bing-**né**	she goat	Das Gupta 1969
	heng-**né**	sow	Das Gupta 1969
	kí-**né**	bitch	Das Gupta 1969
	rok-**né**	hen	Das Gupta 1969
	sé he **né**	cow	Das Gupta 1969
	se-**né**	cow (mithun)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **nɤ**	mother	Das Gupta 1983
	a **nɤɤ** ku mo pup do	Mother kisses the child	Das Gupta 1983
	doŋ **ne** ku nyime	niece / sister's daughter	Das Gupta 1983
	doŋ **nɤ** ku	nephew / sister's son	Das Gupta 1983
	lak-**ne**	thumb	Das Gupta 1983
	papum gɤ **ne**	bride	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	an-**nə**	mother	Sun 1993a
	an-**nə** (ə-jo)	grandmother	Sun 1993a
	si-mño~ ño-**nə**	tiger	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	lâng-**ne**	thumb	Matisoff 1987
	lé-**ne**	big toe	Matisoff 1987
Damu	(ʔa-ji) ʔa-**niː**	father's brother's wife	Sun 1993b
	jik-**nə**	brother (younger)'s wife; brother (elder)'s wife	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	laʔ-**nə**	thumb	Sun 1993b
	nə-muŋ	hen (young)	Sun 1993b
	rok-**nə**	hen	Sun 1993b
	xəː-**nə**	female	Sun 1993b
	ɳam-**nə**	daugher-in-law; daughter-in-law	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɳam-**nə** ʔa	marry (a wife)	Sun 1993b
	ɳam-**nə** ʔin-ni	marry (daughter)	Sun 1993b
	ɕo **nə**	milch cow	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**niː**	husband's mother; mother's brother's wife; wife's mother; father's elder brother's wife	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	a-**nă**	mother	Benedict 1972:187n487
	a-**nə**, na-**nə**	mother	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. DENG

Yidu	**nɑ**^{55}bɑ^{55}ɑ^{31}	uncle <mother's sister's husband> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0240.25
	nɑ^{55}jɑ^{55}	grandmother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0217.25
	nɑ^{55}ni^{55}	mother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.25
	ɑ^{31}**nɑ**^{55}ɑ^{31}	aunt <mother's brother's wife>; aunt <mother's sister> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0239.25; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0241.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***nuu** FEMALE, ***nuu** MOTHER, ***nu-ŋaak ≈ *ŋaak-nuu** MAIDEN / BELLE / WOMAN (unmarried)

**Chin*	***nu**-ŋaak ≈ ŋaak-**nuu**	MAIDEN / BELLE / WOMAN (unmarried)	VanBik 2009:862
	***nuu**	FEMALE; MOTHER	VanBik 2009:814; VanBik 2009:820

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	**nu** mei	female	Haokip 1998:10.4
Paite	**nu** ngak	belle	VanBik 2009:862
Sizang	ngāk **nū**	virgin	VanBik 2009:862
	nū	female; mother	VanBik 2009:814; VanBik 2009:820
Thado	**nu**-ŋáʔ	girl	Weidert 1987:152
	nùu	female	VanBik 2009:814
	nûu	mother	VanBik 2009:820
Tiddim	**nu**^{3} mei^{3}	female person	VanBik 2009:814
	nu^{1}	mother	VanBik 2009:820

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**nü˝**	female	VanBik 2009:814
Cho (Mindat)	hmei-**nu**	widow	VanBik 2009:882
	nu	mother	VanBik 2009:820
Khumi	**nuu**	female	VanBik 2009:814

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**nu**-hmày	widower	VanBik 2009:882
Lai (Hakha)	**nu**-ŋaak ≈ ŋaak-**nŭu**	belle, unmarried woman	VanBik 2009:862
	nŭu	female	VanBik 2009:814
Lai (Falam)	**nùu**	female	VanBik 2009:814
Lai (Hakha)	**nûu**	mother	VanBik 2009:820
Lai (Falam)	**nûu**	mother	VanBik 2009:820
Lushai [Mizo]	**nû**	mother (n.)	VanBik 2009:820
	nu la	young woman	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-nō	woman, female	VanBik 2009:814
	nó	mother	VanBik 2009:820

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**nù**-ŋàak	girl	Weidert 1987:152
	nu n̥ei	female	Toba & Kom 1991:10.4

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	ra mei **no**	widow	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***ɲəː**w BIG / MOTHER

**Northern Naga*	***ɲəː**w	mother	French 1983:523

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	a **nyu**	mother	Marrison 1967
	lìt-**ñú**	moon	Weidert 1987:328
	lit **nyu**	moon	Marrison 1967
	pi **nyu**	snake	Marrison 1967
	sàu-**ñú**	tiger	Weidert 1987:60
	sau **nyu**	tiger	Marrison 1967
	thu **ñu**	elephant	French 1983:458
	thu **nyü**	elephant	Marrison 1967
	tʰu[n] **ñu**	elephant	French 1983:524
Konyak	lin **nyu**	moon	Marrison 1967
	sha **nyu**	tiger; leopard	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	let **ñɯ**	moon	Weidert 1987:328
	ša**ʔ**-**ñɯ**	tiger	Weidert 1987:60

[a]Note assimilation of the medial consonants.

Konyak (Wakching)	le-**ñu**	moon	Weidert 1987:328
	ša?-**ñu**	tiger	Weidert 1987:60
Phom	bʌ^{55}**ñɯ^{33}**bɯm^{31}	trunk (of tree) ('tree' + 'mother' + ?)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	len^{31}**ñɯ^{33}**	moon ('month' + 'mother')	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lin **nyü**	moon	Marrison 1967
	mʌy^{31}**ñɯ^{33}**	elephant	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	mʌy^{31}**ñɯ^{33}**p^{h}æ^{31}	tusk (elephant)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	nyü	mother	Marrison 1967
	ñæʔ^{33}**ñɯ^{33}**	bee	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ñɯ^{33}	mother	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ñɯ^{33}hæ^{55}	woman	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ñɯ^{33}hæ^{55}naɯ^{55}	girl	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	yeüh **nyuh** pa	teacher	Marrison 1967
	yeəʔ **ñuʔ** pa	teacher	French 1983:509
	yoŋ^{55}**ñɯ^{33}**	river (large)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ʃaʔ^{33}**ñɯ^{33}**	tiger	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ʒam^{55}**ñɯ^{33}**	widow	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ʒɯ^{31}**ñɯ^{33}**	old woman	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	cha **nu**	tiger	Marrison 1967
	le **nu**	moon	Marrison 1967

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**nu-nu**	woman / lady / girl	Chou Fa-kao 1972:94a-e

(5) PTB *mow WOMAN / FEMALE RELATIVE / FEMININE SUFFIX

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***mow**	woman; female relative; woman, bride	Chou Fa-kao 1972:947a-e; Matisoff 2003a:602; Benedict 1972:297

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Galo	a o-ɲi-**mɤ**	daughter; girl	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	nyi **mɤ**	female	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**mowa:** kanang miya:	woman (married)	NEFA (India) 1963
	mowa:-kanang	marry (of woman)	NEFA (India) 1963
	mowa:-kanang-ím miya:	virgin (unmarried woman)	NEFA (India) 1963
	mowa:-kanang-ím-iya:rab	maid (unmarried woman)	NEFA (India) 1963

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***maw** BRIDE / GROOM

**Chin*	***maw**	BRIDE / GROOM	VanBik 2009:754

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**mou**	bride	VanBik 2009:754
Sizang	**mō** nu	son's wife	VanBik 2009:754
Thado	**mau**	woman	Benedict 1972:297
	mów	bride or groom	VanBik 2009:754
Tiddim	**mo^{2}**	son's wife	VanBik 2009:754

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**màw**	bride or groom	VanBik 2009:754
Lai (Falam)	**măw**	bride or groom	VanBik 2009:754
Lushai [Mizo]	**mó**	bride, a daughter-in-law, a sister-in-law, a brother's wife (n.)	VanBik 2009:754
	mou	bride, son's / brother's wife	Benedict 1972:297

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**myù**	bride	VanBik 2009:754

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**imau**	daughter-in-law	Benedict 1972:297

2.1.2. Bodic

Baima	mo^{53}	female	Sun Hongkai 1991a:10.4
	mɑ^{53}	female	Sun Hongkai 1991a:10.4
Tsangla (Motuo)	**mo^{13}**-jak^{13}tsa^{55}	woman / female	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	mo jak tsa	woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:291.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**mo^{55}**	female	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	ɕɑr^{55}**mo^{55}**	young woman	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	ɕʌr^{55}**mo^{53}**	young woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.6
Motuo Menba	**mo** jak tsa	woman (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	mdzo **mo**	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed, female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**mo**	woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:291.4
	ɕə **mo**	young woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**mo** sər	young woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.5
	wo **mo**	woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:291.5
Tibetan (Balti)	bo **mo·**	girl	Rangan 1975:53
	con **mo·**	wife of the slave	Rangan 1975:67
Tibetan (Batang)	**mo^{13}** ndɛ^{55} tɕhaʔ^{53}	female	Dai Qingxia 1989a:10.4
	ndzʊ^{55}**mʊ^{53}**	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed, female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**mo^{53}**shɑ^{55}	young woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.3
	na^{13}**mo^{53}**	woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:291.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**mo^{13}**ɕõ^{15}	young woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.2
	tso^{13}**mo^{55}**	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed, female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.02
Tibetan (Spiti)	gyal **mo**	queen	Sharma 1979
	no **mo**	younger sister	Sharma 1979
Spiti	on **mo**	deaf woman	Bodh 1991:3.6.8
	po **mo**	female	Bodh 1991:10.4
Tibetan (Spiti)	pò **mo**	girl	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	'bri-**mo**	tame female yak (female)	Coblin 1986:163
	bé-**mo**	calf (cow) / calf	Jäschke 1881
	bja **mo**	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.01
	bja **mo**	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.1
	bóŋ-**mo**	ass (female)	Jäschke 1881
	bu **mo**	young woman	Marrison 1967
	bya **mo**	hen	Marrison 1967
	byá-**mo**	bird (female, any kind) / hen /	Jäschke 1881
	dgó-bɑ-**mo**	antelope (female) living on	Jäschke 1881
	dré-**mo**	mule (female)	Jäschke 1881
	dréd-**mo**	bear (female)	Jäschke 1881
	glaŋ-**mo**	elephant (female)	Jäschke 1881
	glá-**mo**	musk-deer (female)	Jäschke 1881
	ḥbrí-**mo**	yak (female)	Jäschke 1881
	ḥbri-**mo**	yak (tame female)	Jäschke 1881
	ḥgár-**mo**	cattle (mixed breed, female)	Jäschke 1881
	k'yi-**mo**	dog (female)	Jäschke 1881
	mdzo **mo**	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed, female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.01
	mo	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mo	woman, female	Benedict 1972:297
	mo gsar	young woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.1
	mo mtshan	genitals (female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0118.01
	mo-bóŋ	ass (female)	Jäschke 1881
	mó-dre	mule (female	Jäschke 1881
	mo-mt'san	vagina	Matisoff 1987
	mɑ-he-**mo**	buffalo (female)	Jäschke 1881 [a]
	pí-**mo**	cat (female)	Jäschke 1881
	rgad **mo**	old woman	Marrison 1967
	ri-bóŋ-**mo**	hare (female)	Jäschke 1881
	rtól-**mo**	bastard (female)	Jäschke 1881
	rŋɑ-**mo**	camel(female) / camel	Jäschke 1881
	spré-**mo**	monkey (female)	Jäschke 1881
	sprá-**mo**	monkey (female)	Jäschke 1881
	spyáŋ-**mo**	wolf (female)	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	je **mo**	deer (female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.04
	ndzo **mo**	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed, female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Prakaa)	**²mwo**	female	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0543

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**mo** ciu	woman	Allen 1975

3.2. Qiangic

Lyuzu	ʑuo^{53}**mo^{53}**	girl (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0176.18
Muya	**mo^{33}**ɳo^{53}	woman (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mo^{55}**ɳo^{53}	woman; young woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:291.15; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.15

3.3.1. rGyalrong

Caodeng	mdzo-**mo**	dzo (female)	Sun 1997a
	mo	female	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**mo** sɐr	young woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.12
Caodeng	**mo**-sri	demon (female)	Sun 1997a
	qɐ-gji-**mo**	sheep (female)	Sun 1997a
	ts^{h}ét-**mo**	goat (female)	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	nbro-**moʔ**	horse (female)	Sun 1997b
	sər-**mo**	demon (female)	Sun 1997b
	ʂta-**mo**	horse (female)	Sun 1997b

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	**mo^{33}**	female	Dai Qingxia 1989n:10.4

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**mo^{33}**	female	Chen Kang 1986a:179.
Lipho	**mo^{33}**	female	Chen Kang 1986a:179.
Nasu	**mo^{21}** ne^{33}	female	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4
	mo^{2}	female	Chen Kang 1986a:179.
Neisu	**mo^{33}**	female	Chen Kang 1986a:179.
Nesu	**mo^{33}**	female	Chen Kang 1986a:179.
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{21}**mo^{21}**	animal, female; female (animal); wife	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	a^{21}**mo^{21}**vu^{33}	matron; woman	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khɯ^{21}**mo^{21}**	bitch (dog); dog, female	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mo^{21}	female; girl	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mo^{21}ti^{33}	woman, single	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mo^{21}ɳ̊i^{33}ɳ̊i^{34}**mo^{21}**	cousin, female parallel	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mo^{34}	woman (aunt/mother/daughter) [classifier]	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{21}**mo^{21}**	horse, female; mare	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɳ̊i^{21}**mo^{21}**za^{55}**mo^{21}**	matron; woman	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	o^{33}ɳ̊i^{33}**mo^{34}**	cousin, female cross	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	o^{33}ɳ̊i^{33}**mo^{34}**a^{34}bo^{33}zɯ^{33}	cousins, male/female cross	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	pha^{55}vu^{33}ɳ̊i^{34}**mo^{21}**	cousin, female parallel	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	pha^{55}vu^{33}vu^{55}**mo^{21}**	cousin, female parallel	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tʂhɳ^{55}khɔ^{33}**mo^{21}**	goat, young female	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vɳ^{55}**mo^{21}**	sister, older [female speaker]	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{33}ɳ̊i^{34}a^{21}**mo^{21}**	woman of the house	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	mʌ^{21}tʂɛ^{33}**mo^{33}**	woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:291.25
Yi (Nanhua)	mu^{21}**mo^{33}**ge^{33}	mare (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.37
	tshɑ^{33}**mo^{33}**ge^{33}	woman (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.37
	tshʌ^{33}**mo^{33}**	woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:291.24

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	i^{33} **mo^{33}**	female	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.4
	ma^{21}tʂɛ^{22}**mo^{33}**	female	Chen Kang 1986b:10.4
	mo^{33}	female	Chen Kang 1986a:179.
Jinuo	khɔ^{33}**mɔ^{44}**	woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:291.34
Jinuo (Youle)	khɔ^{44}**mɔ^{33}**	woman / female	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	khɔ^{44}**mɔ^{33}**	woman (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.44

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Pijo)	jù **mo** ?	old woman	Hansson 1989:274
	jù **mɔ**	old woman	Hansson 1989:99
Hani (Caiyuan)	siau^{31}xɔ^{31}**mɔ^{33}**	young woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.30
Hani (Shuikui)	tsʮ^{31}pɔ^{31} ;tsʮ^{31}**mɔ^{3}**	stupid (male; female)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:905.32
Hani (Khatu)	jà **mo**	old woman	Hansson 1989:274; Hansson 1989:99
Hani (Mojiang)	mu^{31}**mɔ^{33}**	mare (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.42
	tsʮ^{31}**mɔ^{33}**	fool / blockhead (female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0208.42
	tsʮ^{31} **mɔ$^{3\dot{3}}$**	mute (female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0211.42
Mpi	kho^{2}**mo^{4}**	female / wife / woman	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

7. Karenic: ***mu^{B}** FEMALE (HUMANS), MOTHER

**Karen*	***mo**	mother / female	Chou Fa-kao 1972:947a-e
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***mò**	female (nonhuman)	Jones 1961:19
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***mò**	female (nonhuman)	Jones 1961:19
**Karen (Pwo)*	***mó'**	female (nonhuman)	Jones 1961:19
**Karen [Burling]*	***mo^{1}**	female (humans), mother	Luangthongkum 2013:113
**Karen*	***mu^{B}**	female (humans), mother	Luangthongkum 2013:113

[a] The first two syllables are a loan from Indo-Aryan, cf. *mahiṣá* 'buffalo' (Turner 1962:573).

Bwe	bo[11] **mu[55]**	female (humans), mother	Luangthongkum 2013:113
Kayah	**mu[11]**	female (humans), mother	Luangthongkum 2013:113
Kayan	**mu[11]**	female (humans), mother	Luangthongkum 2013:113
Kayaw	**mu[11]**	female (humans), mother	Luangthongkum 2013:113
Pa-O	**mú**	female (human)	Jones 1961:58
Pa-O (Northern)	**mu[53]**	female (humans), mother	Luangthongkum 2013:113
Pa-O (Southern)	**mu[55]**	female (humans), mother	Luangthongkum 2013:113
Palaychi	**mò**	female (nonhuman)	Jones 1961:19
Pwo (Northern)	**mu[11]**	female (humans), mother	Luangthongkum 2013:113
Pwo (Southern)	**mu[33]**	female (humans), mother	Luangthongkum 2013:113
Pwo (Bassein)	**mó?**	female (nonhuman)	Jones 1961:19
Pwo (Moulmein)	**mó**	female (nonhuman)	Jones 1961:19
Sgaw (Northern)	**mo[11‥]**	female (humans), mother	Luangthongkum 2013:113
Sgaw (Southern)	**mu[31]**	female (humans), mother	Luangthongkum 2013:113
Sgaw (Bassein)	**mò**	female (nonhuman)	Jones 1961:19
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**mò**	female (nonhuman)	Jones 1961:19
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	nio **mɔ** 63	woman	Dell 1981b:258
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	母	mother	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1964
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**məg/mə̨u:**	mother	Karlgren 1957:947a-e
	mə̨u	mother	Chou Fa-kao 1972:947a-e
Chinese (Old)	**mə?** (? or *mˤoʔ)	mother	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1964
	mə̨u	mother	Chou Fa-kao 1972:947a-e
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**muwX**	mother	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1964
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**mǔ**	mother	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1964
	mǔ qīn	mother	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

母 OC ***mə̨u***, *GSR* #947a-e ‘mother’; Schuessler 2007:392 ***mə̂ʔ***; B & S 2011: ***məʔ*** (? or ***mˤoʔ***); Mand. **mǔ**.

(6) PTB *la(:) FEMALE / DAUGHTER

This root occurs in several sub-branches of the NE Indian areal group.

Strangely enough, there is a homophonous root PTB ***la*** MALE (§1.9.7) with the antonymous meaning MALE. Cf. Benedict 1981, 1991.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***laa*** FEMALE (adolescent stage)

**Chin*	***laa**	FEMALE (adolescent stage)	VanBik 2009:1018
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	bóoŋ **láa**	unmated female cow	VanBik 2009:1018
Tiddim	**la²**	adolescent stage of an animal	VanBik 2009:1018
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	ng-**la**	unmarried woman, a girl (n.)	VanBik 2009:1018
Khumi	ang **lóo**	girl old enough to marry (15-20 years old)	VanBik 2009:1018
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	fa-**lăa**	female (adolescent stage), unmarried young woman	VanBik 2009:1018
Lai (Hakha)	**lăa**	female (adolescent stage)	VanBik 2009:1018
Lushai [Mizo]	**lá**	young and mature, full grown (used of female animals, poultry, etc)	VanBik 2009:1018
	nu **la**	young woman	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***la*** FEMALE, WOMAN

**Central Naga*	***la**	FEMALE, WOMAN	Bruhn 2014a:III.034
**Ao*	*-**la**	FEMININE SEMANTIC GENDER (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.341
Ao (Chungli)	-**la²**	FEMININE SEMANTIC GENDER (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.341
	ja **la**	daughter	Marrison 1967
	kən[1]tən[2]-**la²**	singer (female) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	la r	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
	taniok **la**	bride	Marrison 1967
	tʃa[2]**la²**	daughter (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	u[2]tʃa[3](**la²**)	mother, Mom (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**la** yadi	young woman	Marrison 1967
	tü ti **la**	sister (younger)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**la** zatì	unmarried woman, maiden (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tsə **la**	horned wild animal, female (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃà **la**	daughter (’offspring’ + F) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	-**lo[1]**	female suffix (proper names) (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.034
	e[1]-**lo[1]**-eʔ[3]	female, woman / wife (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.034
	tso[2] **lo** v[3]	daughter (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	E **lo** e	female	Nienu 1990c:10.4
	e **lo** e-engala	married	Marrison 1967
	ē **ló** y	female	Acharya 1975
	e **lu** e	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
	e **lu** e	woman	Marrison 1967:867
	e **lu** e roro	girl	Marrison 1967
	la ngo	daughter	Marrison 1967
	lo ro e	young woman	Marrison 1967
	o yi **lo**	sister (younger)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	ashi **la** rü	old woman	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
	la za rü	young woman	Marrison 1967
	shari **la**	spider	Marrison 1967
	tsu **la** tpü	daughter	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Meluri	awi **la**	hen	Marrison 1967
	a **la**	grandmother	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	gha **la**	girl	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***la*** DAUGHTER			
**Tangkhulic*	***la**	daughter	Mortensen 2012:602
Kachai	ŋə-**lu**-no	daughter	Mortensen 2012:People.031
Tangkhul	a nao nga **la** va	daughter	Marrison 1967
	nga **la** nao	young woman; girl	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	ŋə-**la**-naw	daughter	Mortensen 2012
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***ɕ̰-gla[B]*** FEMALE			
**Northern Naga*	*ɕ̰-**gla[B]**	female	French 1983
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Phom	**la**	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ne **la**	young woman	French 1983:486
	ne **la** ñə	girl	French 1983:486
	ne **la**	young woman	Marrison 1967
	ne **la** nyü	girl	Marrison 1967
	nɛ[33]**læ[55]**	adolescent girl	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	tʰe[55]hi[33]**læ[55]**	young people / youth (cf. ’adolescent boy, girl’)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

(7) PTB *$\begin{matrix}\textbf{y}\\\textbf{ʔ}\end{matrix}$ay MOTHER / GRANDMOTHER / MATERNAL AUNT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**y**)ay	mother / grandmother / aunt (maternal)	Matisoff 1985a:100
	***yay ⩤ ʔay**	mother / grandmother / maternal aunt	Matisoff 2003a:620
1.1.1. Tani: ***jo*** GRANDMOTHER			
**Tani*	***jo**	grandmother	Sun 1993a:180
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**jo**	grandmother	Sun 1993a
	à-**jò**	grandmother	Sun 1993b
	a-**jo**	grandmother	Sun 1993b
	a-**jo jo**-kũ-ǰa	ancestor (female)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**ju:**	grandmother	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **jo**	grandmother (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0217.24
	a-**jo**	grandmother	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ja:-**jo**	grandmother	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **jo**	grandmother	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:318.51
Galo	‘a **yo**	grandmother (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	a **jo**	grandmother, mother-in-law	Simon 1976
Tagin	a **yu**	grandmother; maternal grandmother; paternal grandmother	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	an-nə (ə-**jo**)	grandmother	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**yai**	grandmother	Matisoff 1985a:100
	yai-a	grandmother	Matisoff 1985a:100
	yai-o	grandmother	Matisoff 1985a:100
Mishing [Miri]	(j)**a**-jo	grandmother	Sun 1993a
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***ja*** MOTHER			
**Central Naga*	***ja**	MOTHER	Bruhn 2014a:III.029
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**ja**	mother (common) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**jo?[1]**	mother (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.029
	ai **yo**	mother	Marrison 1967
	ō **yò**	mother	Acharya 1975
	o **yo**	mother	Murry *et al.* 1978:76
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	a **yi**	grandmother	Marrison 1967
	ā **yi**	grandmother; mother’s brother’s wife	Matisoff 1985a:100
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**áy**	mother	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1985a:100
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nasu	**jɛ[33]**	mother	Matisoff 1985a:100
Nusu (Central)	a[55]**ia[31]**	grandmother (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0217.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**iɑ[55]iɑ[31]**	grandmother	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:318.45
	iɑ[55]m̩[31]	mother	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:320.45
Nusu (Southern)	ʔɑ[55]**ia̱[31]**	grandmother	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	ne[21]**e[33]**	mother (reference) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.43
	ɔ[31]**e[33]**	mother (address) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.43
Lahu (Black)	**e**	mother	Matisoff 1985a:100
	ɔ[31]**e[33]**	mother	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:320.33
	ɔ̀-**e**	mother	Matisoff 1985a:100
Lahu (Red)	a-**e**	mother	Matisoff 1985a:100
	ay-ma	earth mother; fertility goddess	Matisoff 1985a:100
Lahu (Yellow)	a-**ye**	mother	Matisoff 1985a:100
Lisu (Northern)	a[55]**jæ[21]**	grandmother; spouse’s grandmother (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ɑ[55]**ʒɛ[31]**	grandmother	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:318.27
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Khatu)	à **jo**	grandmother	Hansson 1989:126
Hani (Mojiang)	ɔ[55]**jɔ[31]**	grandmother (used by women of her gen.) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0217.42
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Southern Muji	a[21]**jɛ[21]**ma[21]	GP mother	Pelkey 2011:383

(8) PTB *nya- $\begin{matrix}\textbf{ŋ}\\\textbf{k}\end{matrix}$ WOMAN

There is evidently an allofam with final velar, reflected by WT **nyag-mo** ‘woman’ and Chinese 孃 / 娘 ‘lady, woman, mother’, OC **nia̱ng** (not in *GSR* #730); AD 541 reconstructs **nia̱ng** for MC.

HPTB:173 errs in relating Chinese 女 both to the present root and to PTB ***k/m-na*** MOTHER / FEMALE (§1.9.12). In addition, a wrong *GSR* citation is given under ***nya***.

In any case, there seems to be considerable overlap among this root, PTB ***k/m-na*** MOTHER / FEMALE (§1.9.12), and PTB ***n(y)u*** FEMALE / MOTHER (§1.9.12), and further work will be needed to clarify their interrelationship.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***nya**	woman	Matisoff 2003a:605
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**nya**-ma	mistress of the house, housewife (n.)	Jäschke 1881:184
	nyag-mo	woman	Matisoff 2003a:174

[a] [Source Note] /tso[2]-lo[3]-u?[3]/ ?

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	女	female	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2047
	姑娘	young lady	Nagano & Prins 2013:0725
Chinese (GSR #)	**0094a**	female	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2047

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ni̯o/ni̯wo**	woman / lady / girl	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:94a-e [a]
Chinese (Old)	**ni̯ang**	lady, woman, mother	Matisoff 2003a:174 [b]
	nraʔ	female	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2047
	nrjaʔ	female	Baxter 1992:1855

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**ni̯ang**	lady, woman, mother	Karlgren 1923:541
	nrjoX	female	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2047

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**nǚ**	female	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2047

[a] *HPTB*, p. 173 gives a wrong *GSR* number "74a".
[b] [Source Note] (Not in *GSR* #730)

Chinese comparandum

女 OC ***ni̯o**, *GSR* #94a-e 'woman, lady, girl'; Coblin 86:161 ST ***nɨyak** > OC ***nrjakx**; B & S 2011 ***nraʔ**; Mand. **nǚ**.

1.9.13 Male

(1) PTB * p/b a MALE / FATHER / 3p PRONOUN

This root is an obvious conformity with a linguistic universal.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**p**)wa	man, person, husband	Benedict 1972:24n78
	*(**p**)wɑ	man / person / husband	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:101a-b

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	kɹɑi^{55}ɑ^{31}**pǎi**^{35}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.23
	kɹɑi^{55}ɑ^{31}**pǎi**^{35}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.48

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***paa** FATHER, ***paa** MALE

**Chin*	***paa**	FATHER; MALE	VanBik 2009:145; VanBik 2009:154

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**pa**	father	VanBik 2009:145
Sizang	**a** pā	male	VanBik 2009:154
	pā	father	VanBik 2009:145
Thado	**pâa**	father	VanBik 2009:145
	pàa	male	VanBik 2009:154
Tiddim	**nu**^{3} pa^{3} kop^{3}	couple	VanBik 2009:154
	pa^{1}	father	VanBik 2009:145

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**apó**	father	VanBik 2009:145
	pa ~ pǒ	male	VanBik 2009:154
Cho (Mindat)	**pa**	father	VanBik 2009:145
Khumi	**ampoo**	father, one's own	VanBik 2009:145

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**pâa**	father	VanBik 2009:145
Lai (Falam)	**pâa**	father	VanBik 2009:145
Lai (Hakha)	**pǎa**	male	VanBik 2009:154
Lai (Falam)	**pàa**	male	VanBik 2009:154
Lushai [Mizo]	ar **pa**	cock	Marrison 1967
	pâ	father	VanBik 2009:145
	pà chál	denoting the masculine gender	VanBik 2009:154

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-pāw	male, masculine affix	VanBik 2009:154
	páw	father	VanBik 2009:145

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	a **pa**	father	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***pa** HE / SHE (3sg.)

**Central Naga*	***pa**	HE, SHE (3SG)	Bruhn 2014a:III.001
**Ao*	***pa**	HE, SHE (3SG)	Bruhn 2014a:II.001
	*ʃə-**paʔ**	WHO?	Bruhn 2014a:II.004
Ao (Chungli)	**pa**	he	Marrison 1967
	pa^{2}	3sg (he/she) (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.001
	si^{3}**paʔ**^{3}	who? (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.004
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**pa**	he	Marrison 1967
	tü **ba**	father	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**pá**-nu-za-paʔ	father's younger brother ('father' + 'younger sibling' + DIM + M) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**pá**-záʔ	husband ('father' + DIM?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**pá**-zəm-paʔ	father's older brother ('father' + 'be senior' + M) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	(o)**m**^{3}-poʔ^{3}	he, she (3sg) (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.001
	e^{1}-**po**^{1}-eʔ^{3}	male, man / husband (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:p.184
	mpò	he	Acharya 1975
	n̥pò	she	Acharya 1975
Yacham-Tengsa	**pa**	he	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	**po**	he	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**puo**	he	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**pu**	he	Marrison 1967
Khezha	**pu**	he	Marrison 1967
Mao	**pfo**	he	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	u **pa**	husband	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**pa**	he	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	**pah**	he	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**pa**	he	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**pa**	he	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***ba** FATHER / MALE

**Tangkhulic*	***ba**	father / male	Mortensen 2012:595
Champhung	i-**bo**	father	Brown 1837
Kachai	hi-**vu**	uncle (mother's brother)	Mortensen 2012
Tankghul (Central)	o-**pa**	father	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-**pa**	father	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	a-**va**	father	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔə-**pi**	father	Mortensen 2012:People.008
Ukhrul	a-**va**	father	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	do•-bi-**pa**	cock; rooster (n.)	Burling 2003:4.43-II:idx

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Phom	**ba** ha	man (male), husband	French 1983:531
	ba^{33}hæ^{55}	man (male person)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ba^{33}hæ^{55}naɯ^{55}	boy	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ba ha	man (male)	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	**phɑ**^{13}	male	SUN Hongkai 1991a:10.3
Kaike	kā' **pā**	rooster (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.002

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	*-**pa**	(male gender suffix)	Opgenort 2011
	*khli **pa**	dog	Opgenort 2011
	***pa**	father, male	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	jop **pa**	boar (uncastrated male pig)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Chamling	wa **pa**	rooster	Winter 1985

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	be **pha**	boar, male pig	Allen 1975

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**mphɑ**^{33}	male	SUN Hongkai 1991d
Lyuzu	la^{33}**nphæ**^{53}	deer (river) (male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0315.18
Qiang (Longxi)	á **pà**	father	Evans 1999:275
	biè **phà**	man (male person); young man	Evans 1999:215; Evans 1999:217
Qiang (Mawo)	a **pa**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.8
	ɑ **pɑ**	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	à **pà**	grandfather (direct)	Evans 1999:273.1
	à **pà**-sé	god [grandfather-god]	Evans 1999:961
	ʁuè **pà**	grandfather	Evans 1999:273
Xumi	a^{33}**bɛ**^{53}	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.17
	phɐ^{55}	male	SUN Hongkai 1991m
	rɛ̃^{55}**phɐ**^{33}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.20
	ɑ^{33}**bɐ**^{55}	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.20

3.3. rGYALRONGIC

Daofu	a **pe**	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.12

5. TUJIA

Tujia	no^{55} **pa**^{55}	male	CHEN Kang 1986c:10.3
Tujia (Northern)	za^{21}**pa**^{21}	rooster	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	za^{21}**pa**^{21}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.49
	za^{21}**pa**^{21}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.38

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	tɕɑ^{31}**phɑ**^{31}	rooster	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	kjaʔ^{31}**phaʔ**^{55}	rooster	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	ɣaʔ^{31}**pha**^{35}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	tɕɛʔ^{4}**phɑ**^{53}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tɕɛʔ^{44}**phɑ**^{53}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.40
Burmese (Written)	krak **pha**	cock	Marrison 1967
	krɑk^{4}**pha**^{1}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.26
Hpun (Northern)	choʔ-**phà**	cock / rooster	Henderson 1986

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***ʔ-pa**^{2}	male suffix	Bradley 1979b:173

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**pa**^{55}	male	DAI Qingxia 1989c:10.3
	ŋ^{31}**pa**^{55}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.47
	ɣa^{53}**pa**^{55}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.47
Lalo	ʐo^{21} **pa**^{33}	male	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3
Nusu (Central)	ɣɹa̠^{53}**pha**^{31}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɹɑ̠^{31}**phɑ**^{31}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.45
Nusu (Northern)	ɹɑ̠^{53}**phɑ**^{55}	rooster	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Weishan)	ɑ^{55}ʐ̩̱^{33}fi^{55}**pa**^{21}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.36

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

**Common Lahu*	***pa_**	male suffix	Bradley 1979b:173
Lahu (Lancang)	nu^{53}**pɑ**^{11}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.43
Lahu (Black)	nû-ɔ̀-**pā**-šɔ̄	bull	Matisoff 1987
	pā	male, masculine noun suffix	Matisoff 1988a:811
	phâ	man, male person; fellow; guy (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p.882
	šɛ̄-**phâ**	masculine agentive nominalizer	Matisoff 1988a:p.1216
	ɔ^{31}zʌ^{53}**pʌ**^{11}	son	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.33
	ɔ̀-ni-**pā**	younger brother	Matisoff 1985a:146
	ɔ̀-**pā**-šɔ̄	intact male animal	Matisoff 1988a:1225
	ɔ̀-šɛ̄-**phâ**	body (male)	Matisoff 1987
	ɣʌ^{54}**pʌ**^{11}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.33
Lahu (Yellow)	ʑa^{3}**pa**^{5}	son	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	a^{1}-rgha^{1} **hpa**^{5}	cock	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}na^{21}**pa**^{55}	male dog	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**hpa**^{5}	male suffix	Bradley 1979b:173
Lisu (Northern)	tɕæ^{35}miʔ^{21}**pa**^{55}	male monkey	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}**pa**^{55}	boar; fat pig	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}**pha**^{21}	cock	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**pɑ**^{55}	male (of animals)	MA Xueliang 1989:303.5
Yi (Sani)	ŋ̩^{11}**pɒ**^{55}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Lüchun)	n̥u^{31}**pha**^{31}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.41

7. KARENIC: ***pha**^{A} MALE (OF ANIMALS), FATHER

**Karen*	***phàh**	male (animal)	Jones 1961:159
	***pha**^{A}	male (of animals), father	Luangthongkum 2013:182
**Karen [Burling]*	***pha**^{4}	male (of animals), father	Luangthongkum 2013:182
Bwe	**-phɛ́**	male (animal) (n.)	Henderson 1997
	ə-**phɛ́**	male of animals	Henderson 1997

Karen	tshɔ^{55}**pha**^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.50
Kayah	**phe**^{33}	male (of animals), father	Luangthongkum 2013:182
Kayan	**pha**^{53}	male (of animals), father	Luangthongkum 2013:182
Kayaw	**pha**^{55}	male (of animals), father	Luangthongkum 2013:182
Pa-O (Southern)	**pha**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	male (of animals), father	Luangthongkum 2013:182
Pa-O (Northern)	**pha**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	male (of animals), father	Luangthongkum 2013:182
Pwo (Northern)	**pha**^{35}	male (of animals), father	Luangthongkum 2013:182
Pwo (Southern)	**pha**^{53}	male (of animals), father	Luangthongkum 2013:182
Sgaw (Northern)	**pha**^{33}	male (of animals), father	Luangthongkum 2013:182
Sgaw (Southern)	**pha**^{55}	male (of animals), father	Luangthongkum 2013:182

Chinese comparandum

父 OC ***bi̯wo***; *GSR* #102a-e 'father'; B & S 2011: ***N-paʔ { [N-p] (r)aʔ}***; Mand. **fù**.

(2) PTB *pu MALE / MASCULINE SUFFIX

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pu**	male / father / grandfather	Matisoff 2003a:607

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	ha^{33}ku^{33}**pu**^{11}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.52

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	bim-**po**	goat (male); billy goat	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ku-**po**	pigeon / dove (male)	Sun 1993b
	lji-**po**	pig (male)	Sun 1993b
	lji?-**po**	pig (male); boar	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	mi-**po**	cat; cat, male, tomcat	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	bi:-**pu:**	monkey (male)	Sun 1993b
	ja:-**pu:**	sheep (male)	Sun 1993b
	ki:-**pu:**	stallion	Sun 1993b
	kɯ r-**pu:**	leopard (male)	Sun 1993b
	li-**pu:**	cat (male)	Sun 1993b
	ra-**pu:**	wild boar (male)	Sun 1993b
	ru:-**pu:**	goat (male)	Sun 1993b
	tu:-**pu:**	quail (male)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	du **po**	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed, male) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.24
	du-**po**	dzo (male)	Sun 1993b
	jak **po**	yak (male) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.24
	jak-**po**	yak (male)	Sun 1993b
	pak-**po**	slave (male)	Sun 1993b
	rok **po**	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.24
	rok-**po**	rooster	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	rok **po**	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.51
Galo	a **po**	male (animal) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	kuri ri-**po**	tom cat	Das Gupta 1963
	po rok rok-**po**	cock	Das Gupta 1963
	rek-**po**	pig (male)	Das Gupta 1963
	rok **po po**-di:	chicken (male)	Das Gupta 1963
	ta ki ki-**po**	pigeon (male)	Das Gupta 1963
	yek-**po**	pig (male)	Das Gupta 1963
	'jap **po**	duck (male) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'rok **po**	rooster (n.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	rik-**pu**	pig (male)	Das Gupta 1969
	rok-**pu**	cock	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	rok-**po**	rooster	Sun 1993b

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	E **po** e	male	Nienu 1990c:10.3
	e **pu** e	man (male)	Marrison 1967
	o tso e-e **pu** e	son	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Khezha	**pfü** jü	cock	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	go wa la **po**	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.7
	ko^{13}wa^{13}la^{13}**po**^{55}	rooster	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	kha^{55}la^{55}**po**^{55}	rooster	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	p^{h}o^{55}	male	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**pu**^{13}	man (male person)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:290.6
Motuo Menba	go wa la **po**	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	wɕa **wo**	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.5
Tibetan (Balti)	by$_{\Lambda}$ **fo**·	cock	Rangan 1975:32
	fu l$_{\Lambda}$qs	ram	Rangan 1975:29; Rangan 1975:32
Tibetan (Batang)	**pho**^{55} ndɛ^{55} tɕhaʔ^{53}	male	Dai Qingxia 1989a:10.3
	ɕa^{13}**pho**^{53}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	ɕa^{13}**pho**^{53}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	tɕha^{13}**pho**^{53}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.2
	tɕha^{13}**pho**^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.02
Spiti	**phu** tsa	male	Bodh 1991:10.3
Tibetan (Spiti)	**pù** tsa	boy	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	bja **pho**	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.01
	bja **pho**	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.1
	bóŋ-**p'o**	ass (male)	Jäschke 1881
	bya **pho**	cock	Marrison 1967
	byɑ-**p'o**	cock / bird (male, any kind)	Jäschke 1881
	byá-**po**	cock / fowl (male, domestic)	Jäschke 1881
	p'o-mt'san	membrum virile (male-token; badge)	Matisoff 1987:85
	pho mtshan	genitals (male) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0116.01
	p'o-bóŋ	ass (male)	Jäschke 1881
	skyár-**po**	snipe / wood-cock	Jäschke 1881

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	-**bu**	male of animals (sf.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**p^{h}wo**	male	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0542

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	pa wœm **pu**	<chicken> cockerel, cock, rooster	Driem 1993

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	byā **pho**	bull (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.033
Thulung	grok **pu**	cock	Allen 1975
	kər **po**	cock, wild	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**phuh**.waʔ	first cock to crow in morning (n.)	Caughley 2000

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	ɑ^{33}**pu**^{55}	grandfather	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:317.18
Guiqiong	a^{35}**pu**^{55}	grandfather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.16
	na^{31}**phu**^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.16
	nɑ^{53}**nphu**^{53}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.17
	ɑ^{55}**pu**^{53}	grandfather	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:317.17
Lyuzu	æ^{33}**phu**^{53}	grandfather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.18
	æ^{33}**pu**^{53}	grandfather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.18
Muya	βæ^{33}**βə**^{53}	grandfather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.15
Muya [Minyak]	vɛ^{33}**vɯ**^{53}	grandfather	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:317.15
Namuyi	**mp^{h}u**^{53}	male	Sun Hongkai 1991i:10.3
	ɛ^{55}**vu**^{55}	grandfather	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:317.19
	a^{55}**vu**^{55}	grandfather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.46
	ɦæ^{ɹ53}**phu**^{31}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	a^{11}**py**^{55}	grandfather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.10
	ʐɘ^{11}**phy**^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.10
Pumi (Lanping)	a^{55}**pu**^{55}	grandfather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.09
	ʐɑ^{13}**pu**^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	a^{55}**pu**^{55}	grandfather	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:317.11
	ʐɑ^{13}**pu**^{55}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.11
Pumi (Taoba)	a^{55}**pu**^{53}	grandfather	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:317.10
	ra^{35}**pu**^{53}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.10
Queyu (Xinlong)	**pho**^{55}bʑa^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**pho**^{55}ʑa^{53}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	(x) ʃo^{55} **pu**^{55}	cattle (common, male) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.14
	a^{33}**po**^{55}	grandfather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.14
	ptsia^{33}**phu**^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**phu** bja	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.12
	tɛ **pu**	goat (male) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

Caodeng	pa-**p^{h}o**	boar (male pig)	Sun 1997a
	pə-ɣɐ-**p^{h}o**	rooster	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**p^{h}o**	male	Dai Qingxia 1989d:10.3
Caodeng	**p^{h}o**	male	Sun 1997a
	p^{h}o-sɐr	youngster (male)	Sun 1997a
	rtɐ-**po**	horse (male)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	ta **wu**	grandfather	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:317.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **wu**	grandfather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.11
rGyalrong	fka **pho**	male chicken	Nagano 1997:3.41
	fka **pho** gyi ka fcot	cock	Nagano 1997:3.44
	rta **pho**	male horse	Nagano 1997:2.51

4. Nungic

Nung	nu^{31}uɑn^{31} **phɯ**^{31}	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.21

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Xiandao)	kzɔʔ^{55}**phɔ**^{31}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.29
Burmese (Written)	krɑk **phɑ**^{1}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.39
Langsu (Luxi)	ɣɔʔ^{31}**phɔ**^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.31
Leqi (Luxi)	kjoʔ^{31}**pho**^{53}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.33
Maru [Langsu]	ɣɔʔ^{31}**phɔ**^{55}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	no^{21}**phuʔ**^{51}	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.30
	voʔ^{21}**pho**^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.30
	voʔ^{21}**pho**^{55}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.42

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	**po**^{55}	male	Dai Qingxia 1989n:10.3

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Southern)	ɹɔ̲^{53}**phɔ̲**^{31}	rooster	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	ɣa^{33}**phu**^{33}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.22
Yi (Liangshan)	va^{33}**pu**^{33}	rooster	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	zo^{21}**pho**^{21}	man (male person)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:290.25
	ʑɐ̲^{33}**phu**^{33}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ʑɐ̲^{33}**phu**^{33}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.26
Yi (Nanhua)	tsh$_{\Lambda}$^{33}**pho**^{21}	man (male person)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:290.24
	ʑɐ̲^{33}**phɯ**^{33}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.24
	ʑi̲^{33}**phɯ**^{33}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.37
Yi (Wuding)	ɣɑ̲^{2}**pɣ**^{33}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.38
Yi (Xide)	va^{33}**pu**^{33}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.21
	vɑ^{33}**pu**^{33}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	i^{33} **p'u**^{22}	male	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.3
	zo^{21}**pho**^{21}	male	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3
Jinuo	ja^{42}**phɔ**^{44}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.44
	ja^{44}**phɔ**^{33}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.34
Jinuo (Youle)	jɑ^{42}**phɔ**^{44}	rooster	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	khɔ^{33}**phɔ**^{33}	man (male person)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:290.34
Jinuo (Youle)	khɔ^{44}**phɔ**^{44}	man / male	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	ɣɑ^{54}**phu**^{33}qɑ^{11}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.43
Lahu (Black)	ɡâʔ-**phu**-šɔ̄	uncastrated cock	Matisoff 1988a:1225
	phu	male	Matisoff 1988a:p.895
	ɔ-**phu**-šɔ̄	intact male	Matisoff 1987

Lahu (Yellow)	ɣa^{6}**phɣ**^{1}	rooster	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}ɣa^{55} **phy**^{33}ti^{33}	big rooster; cock	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}hə̃^{21}**phu**^{21}	rat with short and thick tail, big belly, grey hair	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}**phu**^{33}	cock; rooster	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}**phu**^{33}ti^{33}	big rooster	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ɣɑ^{33}**phu**^{44}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.27
Yi (Sani)	je^{44}**phɣ**^{33}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Dazhai)	xa^{33}**phø**^{55}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.31
Hani (Lüchun)	xa^{33}**phø**^{55}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	ja^{33}**phø**^{55}	rooster	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	tsɣ^{31} **p^{h}ɔ**^{31}	mute person (male)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Mojiang)	nɣ^{31}**phɔ**^{31}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.42
	tsɣ^{31}**phɔ**^{31}	fool; blockhead (male); mute (male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0208.42; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0211.42
	tsɣ^{31}**phɔ**^{31}	stupid (male)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1100.42
Mpi	ko^{2}**pho**^{2}	male / man / husband	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
6.2. NAXI			
Naxi	æ^{21}**phɔ**^{21}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.45
7. KARENIC			
Pa-O	**phô**	ox, bovid	Solnit 1989
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	ke^{55}**po**^{55}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.48
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	丈夫	husband	Nagano & Prins 2013:0766
	夫	man	Baxter & Sagart 2011:732
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pi̯wo/pi̯u**	man; husband	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:101a-b; Karlgren 1957:101a-d
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**pju**	man	Baxter & Sagart 2011:732
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**fū**	man	Baxter & Sagart 2011:732
	zhàng **fū**	husband, man	Evans *et al.* 1991

1.10 Mind

(1) PTB * m/b -yit HEART / LIVER / MIND

This etymon was reconstructed as **b-yet ≍ m-yet** in *VSTB*:211, but was inadvertently omitted from *HPTB*.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-yet ≍ m-yet**	heart / liver / mind	Matisoff 1978b
1.1.1. TANI: ***mit-pran** FORGET			
**Tani*	***mit**-pran	forget	Sun 1993a:165 [a]
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	**mit** pen	forget (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1704.24
	mit-pen	forget	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**mik** pen	forget	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:726.51
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**mit**-pan	forget	Sun 1993a
Damu	**mip**-pan-to-mit	forget	Sun 1993b
	mit-pan-duŋ	forgetful	Sun 1993b
	mit-pan-ɟeʔ	forget	Sun 1993b
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**myit**	think; mind	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	myìt	mind, seat of emotions	Matisoff 1978b
	myìt phràŋ	clear-headed	Matisoff 1974:203
	myìt thèn	discouraged	Matisoff 1974:99
	myìt thùm	exhausted in mind, discouraged	Matisoff 1974:37
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**yid**	mind; soul, mind	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1978b; Benedict 1972:51n168
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	a-**byet**	liver	Matisoff 1978b
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Risiangku)	**net**	liver	Matisoff 1978b
	^{4}**net**	liver (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:9.5
	^{4}**net**	liver	Mazaudon 1994:556
Tamang (Taglung)	**ɲe**	liver	Mazaudon 1994:590
Thakali (Marpha)	^{54}**ɲe**	liver	Mazaudon 1994:590
Thakali (Syang)	^{23}**ɲe**	liver	Mazaudon 1994:556
	^{45}**ɲe**	liver	Mazaudon 1994:590
Thakali (Tukche)	**'ŋjeh**	liver	Hari 1971:1.53
	^{4}**ŋje**	liver	Mazaudon 1994:556
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	nari **bet**	heart	Matisoff 1978b
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**mit/nit**	mind, temper	Benedict 1972:29n93
	mit~nit	mind, temper	Matisoff 1978b
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Langsu (Luxi)	**mjik**^{31}	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**mji:t**^{31}	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.33
Maru [Langsu]	**mjik**^{31}	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mjit**	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.42
	mjit^{21}	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.30
	myit^{31}	think, remember	LaPolla 1987:92

[a] [Source Note] (see 'orphan').

(2) PTani *ja-lo SOUL

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ja-lo**	soul	Sun 1993a:385
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**ja-lo**	soul	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ja-lu**	soul	Sun 1993a
	ja-lu-bu:	soul	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ja lo**	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.24
	ja-lo	soul; spirit	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**ja lo**	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.51
Galo	ayik **yalo**	soul	Das Gupta 1963
	yaji-**yalo**	soul (n.)	GLDC 2009
	yalo	soul (n.)	GLDC 2009
	yalo-gog nam	call (soul) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	yasi **yalo**	soul	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Mishing [Miri]	**ja-lo**	soul	Sun 1993a

Volume 2

Animals and Animal Verbs

2.0 Animals and Animal Verbs

(1) PKC *tsal MALE ANIMAL

This root perhaps underlies the PKC binome PKC ***pa-sal*** HUSBAND (§4.7.4).

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tsal**	MALE ANIMAL	VanBik 2009:548
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**tsál**	male animal	VanBik 2009:548
Tiddim	**tal²**	be a male adult animal	VanBik 2009:548
	tal²	be a male adult animal (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1674
	tal²	male adult animal	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	a m-**ca**	male bovine, bull	VanBik 2009:548
Khumi	**ptaáy**	male	VanBik 2009:548
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsăl**	male animal	VanBik 2009:548
Lushai [Mizo]	**chal**	man (male)	Marrison 1967
	chàl	fully matured male, an old male (n.)	VanBik 2009:548

2.1.1 Rodents

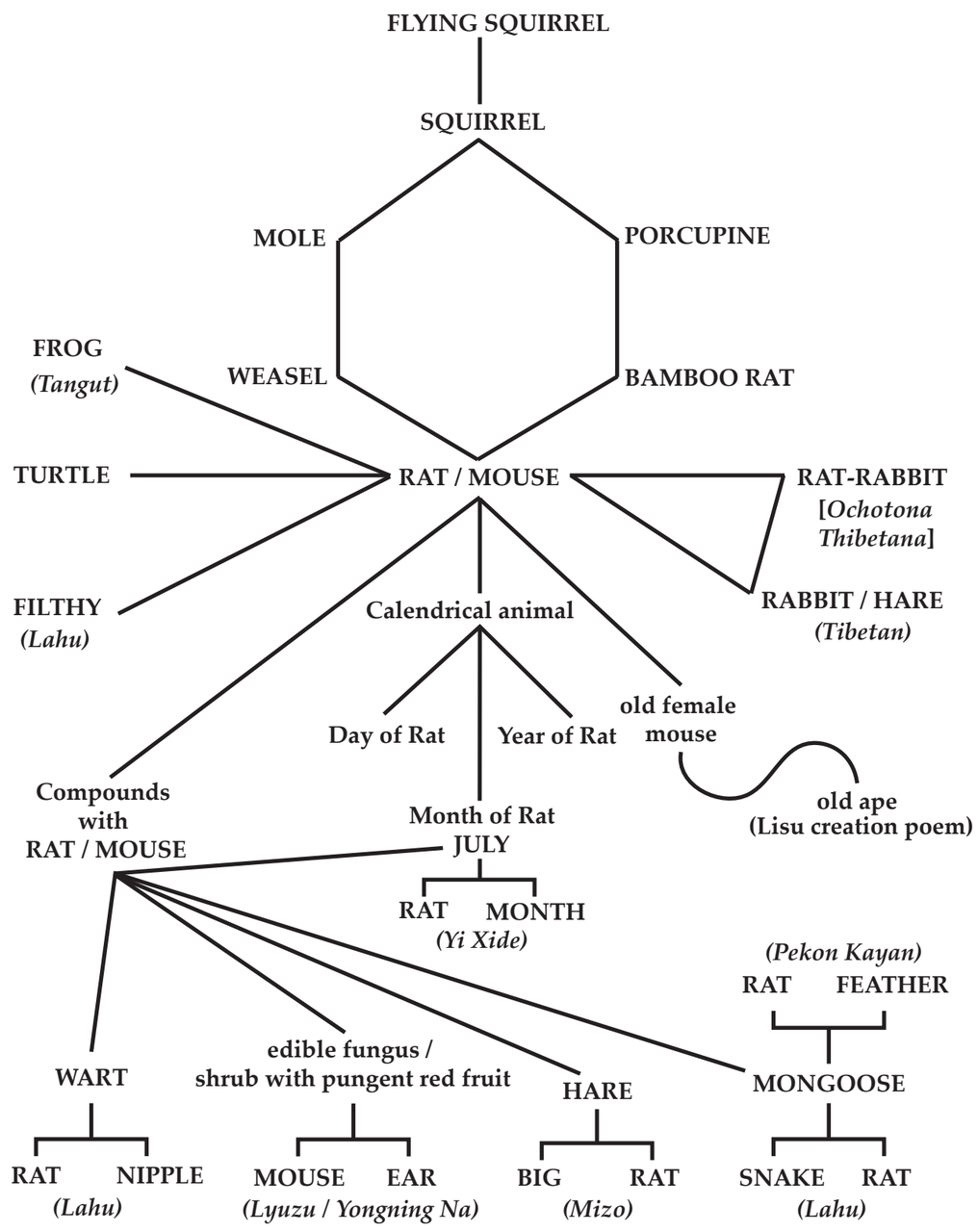


Figure 163: 2.1.1 *Rodents*

(1) PTB *rwak RAT

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***hrjwak**	rat	Coblin 1986:122
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***k-rwak**	rat	Benedict 1972:2n4
	***r-wak**	rat	Matisoff 2003a:618; Coblin 1986:122
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	ku-**xa**	rat (species)	Sun 1993b
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***rwok** RAT / RODENT			
**Tangkhulic*	***rwok**	rat / rodent	Mortensen 2012:567
Huishu	ʔa-pʰə-**juʔ**	rat / rodent	Mortensen 2012:Animals.076
Kachai	ʃim-**rɐk**	rat / rodent	Mortensen 2012:Animals.075
Ukhrul	ʃi-**ok**	rat, rodent	Mortensen 2012
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**tsə** ɣə	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.04
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**rek**	animal (sp.), Bamboo Rat (n.)	Caughley 2000
	rok-yu	rat	Benedict 1972:2n4; Coblin 1986:122
	rok.yuʔ	rat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.050; Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	rok yuʔ	rat	Caughley 1972:3.A.50
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**xjwa̱**	rat, mouse	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3958
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**gu**^{55}phɑ^{55}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.18
Guiqiong	**tshui**^{53}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.17
	tshyi^{55}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.16
Lyuzu	**ɣuo**^{33} (lʉ^{53})	year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.18
	ɣuo^{33}jʉ^{53}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.18
	ɣuo^{33}jʉ^{53} na^{53}pi^{53}	fungus (edible) (lit. 'mouse's ear') (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.18
Muya	**tshuə̱**^{24}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tshuɯ**^{35}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.15
Namuyi	**xa**^{35}**tsʮ**^{55}**tsʮ**^{55}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.19 [a]
	χa^{31} (lʉ^{55}sʉ^{33})	year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.46
	χa^{31}tsʮ^{33}tsʮ^{55}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**wo**^{35}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.10
	ɣo^{35}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ɣo**^{55}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ɣo**^{55}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɣo**^{53}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**zɨ kú**	1st earthly branch (rat); rat, mouse	Evans 1999:1104; Evans 1999:397 [b]
Qiang (Mawo)	zə **xu̱**^{ɪ}	mouse; year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.08; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.08
	zə **ʂkuə**	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	dzɛ́ **kuè** ~ dzè kuè	1st earthly branch (rat)	Evans 1999:1104 [c]
	dzɛ́ **kuè**	rat, mouse	Evans 1999:397
Qiang (Taoping)	zʅ^{31}**kuə**^{33}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**xua**^{55}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**xue**^{55}	mouse; year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.13; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.13
Xumi	**xu**^{55}	year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.17
	xu^{55}mi^{33}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.20
	xu^{55}mi^{55}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.17
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**ftɕə**	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.12
Ergong (Danba)	**vtɕɯ**	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.14
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**re3**	rat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	re3si3	rat meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	re^{3}	rat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3
	re^{3}si^{3}	rat meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***k-r-wak**	rat / rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188
	***k-r-wak**^{H}	rat	Matisoff 2003a:618
6.1.1. BURMISH			
**Burmese*	***kr**	rat	Okell 1971
Achang (Lianghe)	**kuɑ**^{31}	rat / mouse	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**kʐo?**^{55}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.28
	kʐo?^{55}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.41
	kʐo?^{55} (n̥ək^{55})	year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.28
Achang (Luxi)	**kua?**^{31}	rat / mouse	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**kʐo?**^{55}	mouse; year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.29
Arakanese	**krwo'**	rat	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**ɣɔ?**^{31}naʔ^{31}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.32
	ɣɔ?^{31}**naʔ**^{31} (tɛ̃^{55}vɛʔ^{55})	year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕwɛ?**^{4}	mouse; year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**cwe'**	rat	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕwɛ?**^{44}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.40
Burmese (Written)	**krwak**	mouse; rat	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Hansson 1989:452; Okell 1971
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**krwak**	rat	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**krwak**	rat, mouse; rat	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:107n301,2n4; Coblin 1986:122
	krwɑk	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.39
	krwɑk^{4}	mouse; year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.26
Hpun (Northern)	**kăʀù?**, khăʀò?	rat	Henderson 1986
Intha	**cwe'**	rat	Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	**ɣuk**^{31}nɔʔ^{31}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.31
	ɣuk^{31}**nɔ?**^{31} (tsəŋ^{31})	year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.31
Marma	**krwɔ?**	rat / mouse	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-16
Maru [Langsu]	**ruk**	rat	Benedict 1972:107n301; Coblin 1986:122
	yùk	rat	Okell 1971
	ɣuk^{31}nɔʔ^{31}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.43
Tavoyan	**kwa'**	rat	Okell 1971
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***(k)-rwak**^{H}	rat	Bradley 1979b:31; Hansson 1989:452
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**xa**^{55}mɛ^{33}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.47
Lalo	á-**haq**	rat	Björverud 1994
	haq-thoq-loq	rabbit	Björverud 1994
Luquan	**han 22s**	rat / rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188
Nasu	**xan 43**	rat / rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188
Nusu (Central)	**ɣɹuə̱**^{53}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ɹuɋ**^{31}pɔ^{55}ɑ^{55}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɹuɑ**^{53}pɔ^{31}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.45

[a] Loan from Chinese, cf. Chinese **hàozi** 耗子 'rat, mouse'.
[b] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).
[c] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).

Nusu (Southern)	**ɹu̱**^{53}	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**hua**^{33}	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:134.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{34}**hɛ**^{33}	mouse; rat	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	hɛ^{33}	mouse; rat	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	hɛ^{33}du^{33}mbu^{33}	rat	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	hɛ^{33}**ʤu̱**^{33}	mouse hole	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lo^{34}**hɛ**^{33}	mouse, field	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**hᴀ̱**^{33}; **xɛ̱**^{33}	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:134.24
	xæ̱^{33}	mouse; year of the mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.37; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.37
Yi (Nanjian)	a^{55}**hɑ**^{33}	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:134.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ha**^{55}	year of the mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.36
	ɑ^{33}**hɑ**^{55}	mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.36
Yi (Wuding)	**hɻ̱**^{2}	mouse; year of the mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.38; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.38
Yi (Xide)	a^{44}**he**^{33}	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:134.21
	he^{33}	year of the mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.35
	ɑ^{34}**he**^{33}	mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**xo**^{33}tʃhɑ^{33}	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:134.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**xo**^{42}phu^{42}	porcupine	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**xo**^{42}**tʃha**^{55}	mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.44
Kucong	**fa33**	rat / mouse	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**fâʔ**	rat	Benedict 1972:107n301; Coblin 1986:122
Lahu (Lancang)	**fɑ**^{54}	year of the mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.43
	fɑ^{54}pu^{33}	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.43
	fɑ^{54}tɕhɑ^{21}	mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.43
Lahu (Black)	**fâʔ**	rat / rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188
	fâʔ-chàʔ	rat; rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188; Matisoff 1972b:26
	fâʔ-cú-šī	wart (”rat-nipple”)	Matisoff 1987
	fâʔ-cú-sī	wen	Matisoff 1987
	fâʔ-pu	porcupine	Matisoff 1978a:25
	fâʔ-pɛ́	brush-tailed porcupine (a rock-dwelling species) [Atherurus macrourus]	Matisoff 1988a:1307
	fâʔ-šū	great flying squirrel	Matisoff 1974:320
	fâʔ-šwɛ	red-cheeked ground squirrel; long-nosed tree squirrel	Matisoff 1985a:151
	fᴀ^{54}	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:134.33
	vì-**fâʔ**	mongoose	Matisoff 1988a:1339
Lahu (Yellow)	**fa**^{6}	zodiac year (Rat)	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	fa^{6}phu^{1}	porcupine	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	fa^{6}tsha^{5}	rat / mouse	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣɯ^{2}**fa**^{6}	otter	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	gwa^{33}**hæ̃**^{35}	grey-bellied rat (living in bamboo bush or conifer forest on high mountains, with greyish-white belly, lives in large groups) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}	mouse; rodent (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}bi^{44}	black and white flying squirrel (head as big as a squirrel’s, body as big as a cat’s, with grey-hair and webbed claws; its fur is valuable)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**hæ̃**^{35}bjø^{44}	black and white flying squirrel (head as big as a squirrel’s, body as big as a cat’s, with grey-hair and webbed claws; its fur is valuable)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**hæ̃**^{35}dɔʔ^{21}	zinc phosphate (rat poison)	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}hə̃^{21}phu^{21}	rat with short and thick tail, big belly, grey hair	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}khi^{35}	kind of rodent (as big as beaver, dark grey in colour, living in mountain hollows with heavy foliage)	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}khɔʔ^{21}	year of the rat	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}khɔʔ^{21}su^{33}	person born in the year of the rat	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}la^{21}hi^{55}	long-nosed house mouse, Mus musculus homourus	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}ma^{33}my^{55}	old female mouse (parallel to the old ape in the Lisu creation poem)	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}na^{33}pɔ^{33}	ear of a mouse	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}ni^{33}	day of the rat	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}phɤ^{21}	house mouse; rat	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}sɤ^{33}lɤ^{33}	kind of rodent, Sorex araneus	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}thɔʔ^{21}la^{33}	Tibetan pika ’rat-rabbit’, Ochotona thibetana (living in coniferous forests in Biluo Snow Mountains and Gaoligong Mountains)	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}ɔ^{55}bø^{44}	grey-bellied rat (with grey hair and a head a bit bigger than that of rat, living on Biluo Snow Mountains)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**hæ̃**^{35}ɲi^{33}	day of the rat	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**hɔ**^{21}bi^{44}	flying rat; flying squirrel (cf. hæ̃^{35}) (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**hɛ**^{35}phɯ^{31}	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:134.27
	hɛ̃^{35}	year of the mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.40
Lisu (Northern)	**hɯ̃**^{33}la^{21}	rodent (sp.) , Martes flavig (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**h‘á2**	rat / rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188
Lisu (Central)	**h’á**^{2}	rat	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{33}dʑæ^{33}**hæ̃**^{35}	webfooted rat (the size of a mouse, living on river banks, with long and thick hair)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{33}**hæ̃**^{35}	water rat (living on river banks, with greyish-yellow hair)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}**hæ̃**^{35}	bamboo rat	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{21}thæ^{33} **hæ̃**^{35}phɤ^{21}	kind of rodent rattus flavipectus	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}**hæ̃**^{35}	grass rat (kind of rat which nests in thick grass)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**he 44**	rat / rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188
Yi (Sani)	**he**^{44}	mouse; year of the mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.39; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ho**-ca M-LS	rat; rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188; Matisoff 1972b:26
Akha (Thai)	**ho**-tjàq	rat	Hansson 1989:191; Hansson 1989:452
Akha	**ho**-tjàq	rat	Hansson 1989:452
Akha (Yunnan)	**xho** tjàq ?	rat	Hansson 1989:191
Akha (Thai)	**xoq**-tjàq	rat	Hansson 1989:191
Akha	**xoq**-tjàq	rat	Hansson 1989:452
Akha (Thai)	**xoq**-tjaq	rat	Hansson 1989:452
Akha	**xō?**-cā? HS-HS	rat / rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188
Bisu	**hɔ̄**-tam	rat / rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188
	hɔ tàm	rat	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**fu** tjàq	rat	Hansson 1989:452
Hani (Dazhai)	**xu**^{33}ts$\underline{a}$^{31}	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:134.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**xu**^{33}	year of the mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.41
	xu^{33}phju^{55}	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.41
	xu^{33}ts$\underline{a}$^{31}	mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.41
Hani (Pijo)	**fu** tshà	rat	Hansson 1989:452; Hansson 1989:452
Hani (Caiyuan)	**fv̩**^{33}tsh$\underline{a}$^{31}	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:134.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**xo**^{33}tɕ$\underline{a}$^{31}	rat / mouse	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**fv̩**^{33}tʃha^{31}	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:134.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**hu** zavq	rat	Hansson 1989:452
Hani (Khatu)	**xho** tshà	rat	Hansson 1989:452
	xho tshà ?	rat	Hansson 1989:452
Hani (Mojiang)	**fv̩**^{33}	year of the mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.42
	fv̩^{33}tʃha^{31}	mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.42
Mpi	**ha**^{4}p^{h}ju^{6}	porcupine	Matisoff 1978a:25
	ho?^{4}phju^{6}	porcupine	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ho?^{4}tɕha^{2}	rat	Hansson 1989:452
	ko^{4}tɕha^{2}	rat	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**ho33** tam21	mouse	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:021022
Sila	**ɔ33** tɕha̱21	mouse	Kato Takashi 2008:101
Woni	**fu 55**	rat / rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Southern Muji	**χa**^{33}ɕɛ^{33}	rat; mouse	Pelkey 2011:107

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	**k^{h}v˧sɯ˧sɯ˩**	shrub with pungent, red fruit (Chinese: ”mouse ear”)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**fv̩**^{55}	mouse; year of the mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**fv**^{55}	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:134.28

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**hrjagx**	rat	Coblin 1986:122

(2) PTani *ku-buŋ RAT (GENERIC)

The two syllables in this binome seem to occur in either order in Tani languages.

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***ku-buŋ**	rat (generic)	Sun 1993a:316

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**bú-ko**	rat (big, black)	Sun 1993b
	bu-ko	rat; rodent	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	bu-ku	rat	Sun 1993b
	ku-bu	rat	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ku-bu~ **bu-ku**	rat (generic)	Sun 1993a
	ú-dé **ku-bu**	house rat	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ku-buŋ**	rat (generic); rat	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ku buŋ**	mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.24
	ku-buŋ	rat (generic); rat	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	kə-buŋ	mouse / rat	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**ku buŋ**	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:134.51
Galo	**kobu**	rat	Das Gupta 1963
	‘kobuu	rat; mouse; rodent (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘uii-**‘kobuu**	rat (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	**kubung**	mouse	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**boŋkɤ**	rat (residing in house)	Das Gupta 1983
	kobuŋ	rat; rat (cannot gallop)	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
	kubuŋ	rat	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kə-buŋ**	rat (generic)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**buŋ-ka**	mouse	Sun 1993b

(3) PTB *s-$\begin{matrix}\mathbf{l}\\\mathbf{r}\end{matrix}e\begin{matrix}\mathbf{y}\\\mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ SQUIRREL / WEASEL

The unusual ***-y** ≍ ***-ŋ** alternation in coda may also be interpreted as an instance of a nasal suffix (***s-ley-N** ≍ ***s-rey-N**), although such a suffix is usually reconstructed for the dental point of articulation.

The first syllable of the Kuki-Chin binomes is obviously from a general root for rodents, PTB ***b-yəw-n** RAT / RABBIT / HARE (§2.1.1).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ley ≍ s-leŋ ≍ s-rey ≍ sreŋ**	squirrel / weasel	Matisoff 1985a:151

	*s-ley/ŋ ≍ s-rey/ŋ	squirrel / weasel	Matisoff 2003a:599
	*sre [ŋ]	weasel / squirrel	Chou Fa-kao 1972:812t
1.2. Kuki-Chin: *yu-lay SQUIRREL, *thia-hlay SQUIRREL			
*Chin	*thia-hlay	SQUIRREL	VanBik 2009:413
	*yu-lay	SQUIRREL	VanBik 2009:1053
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	te-lē	squirrel	VanBik 2009:413
Thado	zú-lày	squirrel	VanBik 2009:1053
Tiddim	zu[1] lei[1]	squirrel	VanBik 2009:1053
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	a ‘le˝	squirrel	VanBik 2009:413
Khumi	kthie	squirrel	VanBik 2009:413
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	thìa-hlăy	squirrel	VanBik 2009:413
	zu-lây	squirrel	VanBik 2009:1053
Lushai [Mizo]	the-hlĕi	squirrel	VanBik 2009:413
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	zā-léi	squirrel	VanBik 2009:1053
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *lej SQUIRREL			
*Tangkhulic	*lej	squirrel	Mortensen 2012:408
Huishu	ʔa-ku-lu	squirrel	Mortensen 2012:Animals.079
Kachai	kʰə-li	squirrel	Mortensen 2012:Animals.078
Tusom	kʰ-la	squirrel	Mortensen 2012:Animals.079
Ukhrul	kʰə-lej	squirrel	Mortensen 2012
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	iŋ ren	mongoose	Matisoff 1985a:151; Benedict 1972:79n241
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	ʂe moŋ	weasel (yellow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0322.05
Tibetan (Lhasa)	tʂe[55]moŋ[55]	weasel (yellow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0322.02
Tibetan (Written)	sre mo	weasel (yellow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0322.01
	sre-mo(ŋ)	weasel	Matisoff 1985a:151; Benedict 1972:79n241
	sre-móŋ	weasel	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	ʂe moŋ	weasel (yellow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0322.04
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	hrañ	squirrel	Matisoff 1985a:151
	hráń	squirrel	Benedict 1972:79n241
	hrañ’	squirrel	Benedict 1976a
	hrɑɲ[1]	squirrel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0321.26
	rhañ̃ñ	squirrel	Marrison 1967
7. Karenic: *hli[B] SQUIRREL			
*Karen	*hli[B]	squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:276 [a]
*Karen [Burling]	*li[2]	squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:276
Bwe	li[11]	squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:276
Pa-O (Southern)	li[33]	squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:276
Pa-O (Northern)	li[55]	squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:276
Pwo (Northern)	lei[33]	squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:276
Pwo (Southern)	lei[55]	squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:276
Sgaw (Northern)	liʔ[45]lu[11‥]	squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:276
Sgaw (Southern)	li[45,]	squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:276
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	sḭĕŋ/sḭäŋ	weasel	Karlgren 1957:812t; Karlgren 1957:812u
	srḭĕŋ/sḭäŋ	weasel	Chou Fa-kao 1972:812t
Chinese (Old)	srḭĕŋ	weasel	Matisoff 1985a:151
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	sḭäŋ	weasel	Matisoff 1985a:151

[a] [Source Note] N.Sgaw has tone D while the other Karenic languages have tone B.

Chinese comparandum

狌 OC ***sḭĕng***, *GSR* #812t; Mand. **shēng**.
鼬 OC ***sḭĕng***, *GSR* #812u; Mand. **shēng**.

(4) PTB *bwəy RAT (BAMBOO RAT)

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*bwiy	rat, mouse	Benedict 1972:173
	*bwəy	bamboo rat	Matisoff 2003a:585
1.2. Kuki-Chin: *ɓuy ≍ *puy MOUSE / RAT (bamboo) / MOLE			
*Chin	*ɓuy ≍ puy	MOUSE / RAT (bamboo) / MOLE	VanBik 2009:36
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	-bui	bamboo-rat (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	a-bó-i	mole (animal) (n.)	VanBik 2009:36
Cho (Mindat)	bui	bamboo-rat	VanBik 2009:36
Khumi	tha(ng) búuy	bamboo rat	VanBik 2009:36
Ngmüün	pu[i]	rat	So-Hartmann 1988:58
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	zu-bŭy	mouse, bamboo rat	VanBik 2009:36
Lai (Hakha)	zu-bûy	mouse, bamboo rat	VanBik 2009:36
Lushai [Mizo]	búi	bamboo rat	VanBik 2009:36
	bui	bamboo rat	Benedict 1972:173
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	zā-bí	mouse, rat	VanBik 2009:36
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tusom	ʔu-ci-bo-ra	shrew	Mortensen 2012:Animals.087
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	pui-ta	rabbit (n.)	Burling 2003:4.419-II:idx
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Balti)	byu-a	rat, mouse	Benedict 1972:93
Tibetan (Sherpa)	pye	rat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.050
Tibetan (Written)	bji ba	mouse; year of the mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.01
	byi-ba	rat, mouse	Benedict 1972:173
	byí-bɑ	rat / mouse / var. other animals	Jäschke 1881
	byi-bɑ-rkɑŋ-ríŋ	rabbit	Jäschke 1881
	byi-dkár	hare (white)	Jäschke 1881
	byi-p‘rúg	mouse (young)	Jäschke 1881
	byi ba	rat; mouse	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	byi u	bird(little); bird; alpine hare; rat	Chou Fa-kao 1972:468s; Jäschke 1881
	byi u < byi-ba	rat	Benedict 1972:32n103
	byi u [byu]	alpine hare	Benedict 1972:93
	č‘u-byi	rat (water)	Jäschke 1881
	dba’-byi	water-rat? (n.)	Jäschke 1881:p.386
	dŋul-byi	rabbit (white)	Jäschke 1881
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	pwê	bamboo rat	Benedict 1976a
	pwè	bamboo rat	Benedict 1972:173
Hpun (Northern)	tà’ pyì, tă pyì	rat (bamboo)	Henderson 1986
	tà’ pyì, tp̆yì	bamboo rat / mole	Henderson 1986
6.1.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	*pi[2]	bamboo rat	Bradley 1979b:33

(5) PTB *b-yəw-n RAT / RABBIT / HARE

A suffixal element **-n** appears in several languages, including WB, Jingpho, Galo, and Chinese, interpreted as a collective suffix in *STC* (notes 103, 284).

A closely similar root, ***bwəy***, has been reconstructed with the meaning ‘bamboo rat’ #2186 (*STC* #173), so that it is often quite difficult to assign a particular reflex to one or the other.

There are two Chinese comparanda, one with an open syllable (鼠 ‘mouse, rat’ OC ***śi̱o***) and one with the final collective suffix ***-n*** (‘hare’ OC ***tsi̱wən ≍ *ts‘i̱wən***).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
*Sino-Tibetan	*yəw + śɑ	animal (prefix) + rat	Chou Fa-kao 1972:92d
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*b-yuw	rat; rat, rabbit	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1079d; Benedict 1972:93
	*b-yəw	rat; rabbit	Chou Fa-kao 1972:468s; Benedict 1972:2n4
	*b-yəw-n	rat / rabbit / hare	Matisoff 2003a:620
	*sya-yəw	rat	Matisoff 2003a:620
	*syow	rat	Matisoff 2003a:614
1.1. “North Assam”			
Sulung [Puroik]	a[33]buɛ[53]	rat / mouse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:134.52
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	bu-ǰe	rat (species)	Sun 1993b
	dem-pjo	rat (species)	Sun 1993b
	ku-ǰe	rat (species)	Sun 1993b
Galo	‘buin	rat (n:poet.)	GLDC 2009
	‘buo	mouse (baby) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘buu cuu	mouse (baby) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘buu lii	plague (of rats) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘buu pii	rat (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘buu pin	ratskin (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.2. Kuki-Chin: *yuu MOUSE / RAT			
*Chin	*yuu	MOUSE / RAT	VanBik 2009:1219
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	zu nam	mouse	VanBik 2009:1219; VanBik 2009:898
Thado	yu-tśa	rat, rabbit	Benedict 1972:93
	zú-lày	squirrel	VanBik 2009:1053
	zûu	mouse	VanBik 2009:1219
	zū cà	mouse	Thirumalai 1972:29
	zú cà	mouse	Thirumalai 1972:63
	zú pì	rabbit	Thirumalai 1972:35
Tiddim	zu[1] lei[1]	squirrel	VanBik 2009:1053
	zu[1] sa[1]	mouse	VanBik 2009:1219; Bhaskararao 1996:2062
	¯zŭ´ sa:	rats and mice / vermin (n + n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	p‘a-yü˝	rat	VanBik 2009:1219
Chinbon	je[i]	rabbit	So-Hartmann 1988:59
Daai	jɛ	rabbit	So-Hartmann 1988:59
	ʔpɣ[h]u	rat	So-Hartmann 1988:58
Khumi	jɛ[u]ŋ	rabbit	So-Hartmann 1988:59
	pjuu	mouse (house mouse)	VanBik 2009:1219
	p[ə]ju	rat	So-Hartmann 1988:58
Matu	š[h]u	rat	So-Hartmann 1988:58
Nyhmoye	ju:m	rabbit	So-Hartmann 1988:59
Wakung	juŋ	rabbit	So-Hartmann 1988:59
	m[ə] ju	rat	So-Hartmann 1988:58
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	zu-bŭy	mouse, bamboo rat	VanBik 2009:36
Lai (Hakha)	zu-bûy	mouse, bamboo rat	VanBik 2009:36
	zu-lây	squirrel	VanBik 2009:1053
	zùu	mouse, rat	VanBik 2009:1219
Lai (Falam)	zûu	mouse	VanBik 2009:1219
Lushai [Mizo]	sà-zû	rat	VanBik 2009:1219
	sa-zu	rat; rat, rabbit	Bhaskararao 1996:2062; Benedict 1972:93
	sa-zu-pui	hare (= big rat)	Benedict 1972:99n284
	sa zu	rat; mouse	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	sa zûu	rat	Löffler 1985
	sɑ-zu	rat	Chou Fa-kao 1972:92d
Paangkhua	ma zúu	rat	Löffler 1985; Löffler 1985
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-zú	rat	VanBik 2009:1219
	pazu < pazuu	rat	Löffler 1985
	zā-léi	squirrel	VanBik 2009:1053
1.3. “Naga” Areal Group			
Maring	yu pu	rat	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a yi	rat	Marrison 1967
	a yi za	mouse	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	ʒə[2]ro?[3]	rat (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	zi ro	rat	Marrison 1967
	zi ro ro	mouse	Marrison 1967
	[2]žu[3]ro(?)	rat	Weidert 1987:56
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	the zu	rat	Marrison 1967
	zu che	mouse	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	the zu	rat; mouse	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Meluri	ame zü	rat	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	ma yeu	rat	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ju kingso	mouse	Marrison 1967
	ju pi	rat	Marrison 1967
	ju vur	mouse	Marrison 1967
	phidžu	rat, rabbit	Benedict 1972:93
	phiju	rat	Marrison 1967
	phijū(?)	rat	Weidert 1987:56
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-yəw**	rat	French 1983:536
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**ju** pu	rat	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**yi** buk	rat; mouse	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Konyak	**yu**	mouse; rat	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	yu ha	mouse	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**yɯʔ**	rat	Weidert 1987:56
Phom	**yɯp**^{33}hɯʔ^{33}	rat	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**ju**	rat	Marrison 1967
	yu	mouse	Marrison 1967
	zu	rat	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	a **yu**	mouse	Marrison 1967
	ju^{55}	rat / mouse	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ju^{55}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.19
	ju^{55}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.47
	yu	rat	Marrison 1967
	yu / yun	rat	Benedict 1972:99n284
	yu ⩙ yun	rat, rabbit	Benedict 1972:93
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**yuŋ**	rabbit	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-15
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**piu**	rat, rabbit	Benedict 1972:93
	pĭū(h)	mouse (n.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**piu** tʃa	mouse	Sharma 1982
	p^{h}iwa	rabbit like animal (n.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**yu**	rat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.050
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ʐu**^{35}	rat / mouse	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**byi**-dur-mɑ	porcupine	Jäschke 1881
	byi thur	porcupine	Marrison 1967
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**myu** ma	rat	Ebert 1997
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	cU? **yU** (T)	rat / mouse	Rai 1985
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**yö**	rat, rabbit	Benedict 1972:93
Sunwar	**'yi** cu	rat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.050
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	rok-**yu**	rat	Benedict 1972:2n4; Coblin 1986:122
	rok.**yuʔ**	rat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.050; Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	rok **yuʔ**	rat	Caughley 1972:3.A.50
	tom.**(yuʔ)**	mouse (n.)	Caughley 2000
	tom.**yuʔ**	mouse (n.)	Caughley 2000
	yuk.kras	louse of rodent hole (n.)	Caughley 2000
	yuʔ	rat	Weidert 1987:56
	yuʔ	animal (sp.), rodent - mouse, rat (n.)	Caughley 2000
	yuʔ.kras	louse (sp.), of rodent hole (n.)	Caughley 2000
	yuʔ.meʔ.la	plant (sp.), vine - thin like rat's tail (n.)	Caughley 2000
Magar	**byu**	rat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.050
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**pia**	mouse	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2293
	pię	frog; turtle; rat	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0499
	piə (xjwi)	mouse, rat	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3859
3.2. QIANGIC			
Lyuzu	ɣuo^{33}**jʉ**^{53}	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.18
Qiang (Longxi)	**zú**	4th earthly branch (rabbit)	Evans 1999:1107
	zɨ kú	1st earthly branch (rat); rat, mouse	Evans 1999:1104; Evans 1999:397 [a]
Qiang (Mawo)	**zə** xu^{ɪ}	mouse; year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.08; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.08
	zə ʂkuə	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**dzé** kuè ~ dzè kuè	1st earthly branch (rat)	Evans 1999:1104 [b]
	dzé kuè	rat, mouse	Evans 1999:397
Qiang (Taoping)	**zɻ**^{31}kuə^{33}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.9
	ʐi^{241}	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**zɻ**^{35}ko^{55}	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.16
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**bji** va (lu)	year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	**pe źiu**	rabbit	Benedict 1972:111n310
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**pə ju**	mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.11
rGyalrong	**pə ju**	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.12
Caodeng	**vgju**	mouse	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**pu gyu**	mouse	Nagano 1997:8.1
	pu gyu kok tu	rat	Nagano 1997:8.12
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**yu** ⩙ yi [yü]	rat, rabbit	Benedict 1972:93
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**ze**^{21}	rat / mouse	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Southern)	**ze**^{35}	rat / mouse	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**zie**^{21}	mouse; year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.49; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.49
	zie^{21}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.38
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**jun**^{2}	rabbit; year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.26
	jun^{2}	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.39
	yun	rabbit; hare	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:468s; Benedict 1972:111n310,158n428,167n448,32n103; Benedict 1972:99n284
Marma	**yuŋ**	rabbit	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-15
7. KARENIC: ***jow^{B}** MOUSE, RAT			
**Karen*	***jow^{B}**	mouse, rat	Luangthongkum 2013:195
	***jú'**	rat	Jones 1961:25
**Karen (TP)*	***jú'**	rat	Jones 1961:25
**Karen (Pwo)*	***jú'**	rat	Jones 1961:25
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***jỳ**	rat	Jones 1961:25
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***jỳ**	rat	Jones 1961:25
**Karen [Burling]*	***ŋy**^{1}	mouse, rat	Luangthongkum 2013:195
Bwe	**ju**^{11}	mouse, rat	Luangthongkum 2013:195
Karen	**jy**^{31}	mouse; year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0320.50; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.50
Kayah	**jo**^{11}	mouse, rat	Luangthongkum 2013:195
Kayan (Pekon)	**zū**	rat, mouse, rodent (N.)	Manson 2010
	zū dǫ́	house mouse [lit. rodent-big] (N.)	Manson 2010
	zū s^{h}wán	mongoose [lit. rodent-feather] (N.)	Manson 2010
	zū θaban	kind of rodent [lit. rodent-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	zū θak^{h}án	large bamboo rat [lit. rodent-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	zū θak én	spotted squirrel with a spindly tail [lit. rodent-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	zū θak wan	bamboo rat [lit. rodent-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	zū θa hà	lesser bamboo rat [lit. rodent-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**ɉu**^{11}	mouse, rat	Luangthongkum 2013:195
Kayaw	**ju**^{11}	mouse, rat	Luangthongkum 2013:195
Pa-O	**jû**	rat	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:25
	jû dô	gnaw a hole, as mouse	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**ju**^{53}	mouse, rat	Luangthongkum 2013:195
Pa-O (Southern)	**ju**^{55}	mouse, rat	Luangthongkum 2013:195
Palaychi	**jù**	rat	Jones 1961:25
Pwo (Northern)	**jou**^{11}	mouse, rat	Luangthongkum 2013:195
Pwo (Southern)	**jou**^{33}	mouse, rat	Luangthongkum 2013:195
Pwo (Bassein)	**júʔ**	rat	Jones 1961:25
Pwo (Moulmein)	**jú**	rat	Jones 1961:25
Sgaw (Southern)	**jɨ**^{31}	mouse, rat	Luangthongkum 2013:195
Sgaw (Northern)	**jɨ**$^{11..}$	mouse, rat	Luangthongkum 2013:195
Sgaw (Bassein)	**jỳ**	rat	Jones 1961:25
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**jỳ**	rat	Jones 1961:25
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**śi̯o/śi̯wo**	rat	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:92d
	śi̯o/śi̯wo:	rat	Karlgren 1957:92a
	tsi̯wən / tsi̯uěn ~ ts'i̯wən / ts'i̯uěn	hare	Benedict 1972:32n103
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**śjwo:**	rat	Coblin 1986:122
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	láo **shǔ**	rat	Evans *et al.* 1991
	laur **shuu**	rat	Sun 1985b:612

[a] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).
[b] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).

Chinese comparandum

鼠 OC ***śi̯o**, *GSR* #92a-d 'rat'; Mand. **shǔ**.
豲 OC ***ts'i̯wən'*****tsi̯wən**, *GSR* #468s 'hare, marmot'; Schuessler 2007:438 ***tsiun**; Mand. **jùn**.

Benedict derives this last form from a hypothetical binome ***sya-yəw** (where the first element is PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1)) as the source of Chinese 鼠 'mouse, rat' (OC ***śi̯o** *GSR* #92d; Mand. **shǔ**).

(6a) PTani *kret PORCUPINE

The allofamic relationship between this root and PTani ***krə** SQUIRREL (GENERIC) (§2.1.1) is not suggested in Sun 1993:133, 135, although it seems extremely likely.

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***kret**	porcupine	Sun 1993a:303
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	sú-**k^{h}rjɯ**	quill	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**k^{h}rjɯ**	porcupine; quill	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**xrjɯ**	porcupine	Sun 1993a
	sɯ-**xɯ**	porcupine	Sun 1993b
	xɯ-bu	quill (porcupine)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	si-**čit** lu-po:	porcupine	Sun 1993b
	ši-**kit**	porcupine	Sun 1993a
Bokar	šə-**ket**	porcupine	Sun 1993a
	sə-**ket**	porcupine	Sun 1993b
	ɕə ket	porcupine (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.24

(6b) PTani *krə SQUIRREL (GENERIC)

The allofamic relationship between this root and PTani ***kret** PORCUPINE (§2.1.1) is not suggested in Sun 1993:133, 135, although it seems extremely likely.

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***krə**	squirrel (generic)	Sun 1993a:395
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**k^{h}rjɯ**-lã	squirrel	Sun 1993b
	ta-**k^{h}rjɯ**	squirrel	Sun 1993b
	ta-**xrjɯ**	squirrel (generic)	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**kjɯ**-luŋ	squirrel (red)	Sun 1993b
	kjɯ-muk	squirrel (big)	Sun 1993b
	ta-**kjɯ:**	squirrel (generic); squirrel	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **kə**	squirrel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0321.24
	ta-**kə**	squirrel (generic); squirrel	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**kə** l̥i̥	red squirrel; squirrel (red) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ta **kə**	squirrel (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **kɤ**	squirrel	Das Gupta 1963
	'kə koo	squirrel (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	ta **kɤ**	squirrel (big)	Das Gupta 1983

(7) PKar *(jow^{B})khan^{A} BAMBOO RAT

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	*(**jow^{B}**)khan^{A}	bamboo rat	Luangthongkum 2013:9
Bwe	**khɛ**^{55}	bamboo rat	Luangthongkum 2013:9
Kayan	**ɉu**^{11}**khaŋ**^{53}	bamboo rat	Luangthongkum 2013:9
Kayaw	(**ju**^{11})khɔ^{55}	bamboo rat	Luangthongkum 2013:9
Pa-O (Northern)	(**ju**^{55})khan$^{31..}$	bamboo rat	Luangthongkum 2013:9
Pwo (Northern)	**khɛ̃**^{35}	bamboo rat	Luangthongkum 2013:9
Pwo (Southern)	**khɔ̃**^{53}	bamboo rat	Luangthongkum 2013:9
Sgaw (Northern)	**khɔ**^{33}	bamboo rat	Luangthongkum 2013:9
Sgaw (Southern)	**khɔ**^{55}	bamboo rat	Luangthongkum 2013:9

(8) PKC *hnam MOUSE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hnam**	MOUSE	VanBik 2009:898
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	zu **nam**	mouse	VanBik 2009:1219; VanBik 2009:898
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Nyhmoye	ʔpɣʰu.**ɴa:m**	rat	So-Hartmann 1988:58
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	zǐiŋ **hnàm**	mouse	VanBik 2009:898

(9) IA *cuhā MOUSE / RAT

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**kwi** ya	mouse; rat	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Tilang)	**chu**	rat / mouse	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Dolakhali)	**chũ**	rat	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**chũ**	rat	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**chũ**	mouse / rat	Genetti 1990a
	chũ-bikara	snake (rat)	Genetti 1990a
	chụ	rat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.050
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**cU?** yU (T)	rat / mouse	Rai 1985
Kulung	**chuwi**	rat <mouse>	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	ʾyi **cu**	rat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.050

(10) IA *endur MOUSE / RAT

1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**enzor**	rat	Bhat 1968
	enzor buŋga	rat (kind of, big)	Bhat 1968

(11) PKC *sha-ku? PORCUPINE

The first syllable of this binome is from PTB ***sya-n*** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1), a common prefix to animal names in Kuki-Chin.

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***sha-ku?**	PORCUPINE	VanBik 2009:305
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**sa kū**	porcupine	VanBik 2009:305
Tiddim	**sa^{1} ku?^{3}**	porcupine	Bhaskararao 1996:1492
	sa^{1}ku?^{3}	porcupine	VanBik 2009:305
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	a-**ku˝**	porcupine	VanBik 2009:305
Cho (Mindat)	**kuh**	porcupine	VanBik 2009:305
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**sa-ku?**	porcupine (”porcupine animal”)	VanBik 2009:305
Lushai [Mizo]	**sa-kùh**	porcupine, a quill (of porcupine) (n.)	VanBik 2009:305
	sa-kuh	porcupine	Bhaskararao 1996:1492; Marrison 1967
1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Sorbung	**sə-kúu**	porcupine	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.082
1.3. “Naga” Areal Group			
Maring	**serkhu**	porcupine	Marrison 1967

(12) PKar *sun^{B} PORCUPINE

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***sun^{B}**	porcupine	Luangthongkum 2013:222
Bwe	**θu^{33}**	porcupine	Luangthongkum 2013:222
Karen	**tθu^{31}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.50
Kayah	**sɨ^{11}**	porcupine	Luangthongkum 2013:222
Kayan	**θwaŋ^{11}**	porcupine	Luangthongkum 2013:222
Kayan (Pekon)	**θwân**	large porcupine (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**su^{11}**	porcupine	Luangthongkum 2013:222
Pa-O	**sún**	porcupine	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**sun^{55}**	porcupine	Luangthongkum 2013:222
Pa-O (Southern)	**suo̱m^{33}**∼**suo̱n^{33}**	porcupine	Luangthongkum 2013:222
Sgaw (Southern)	**su^{45}ʾ**	porcupine	Luangthongkum 2013:222

(13) PTB *s-byak PORCUPINE (BRUSH-TAILED∼)

This is a rock-dwelling species, *Atherurus macrourus*.

3.2. Qiangic			
Xumi	**pɛ^{53}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.17
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	fâʔ-**pɛ́**	brush-tailed porcupine (a rock-dwelling species) [Atherurus macrourus]	Matisoff 1988a:1307
7. Karenic: ***s-ʔba^{A}** PORCUPINE (BRUSH-TAILED)			
**Karen*	***s-ʔba^{A}**	porcupine (brush-tailed∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:223
Kayah	**se^{33}be^{33}**	porcupine (brush-tailed∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:223
Kayaw	**sa^{55}ba^{55}**	porcupine	Luangthongkum 2013:223
Pa-O	**təbà**	porcupine, small with flat spi	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Southern)	**θə^{55}ba$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	porcupine (brush-tailed∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:223
Sgaw (Northern)	**ba^{33}**	porcupine (brush-tailed∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:223
Sgaw (Southern)	**ba^{55}**	porcupine (brush-tailed∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:223

(14) PTB *s-blu PORCUPINE / HEDGEHOG

This root is extremely well-attested in Lolo-Burmese-Naxi, and has solid cognates and Qiangic, West Himalayish, and Nungic.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-blu**	porcupine	Matisoff 2003a:584

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***sha-phruu** ANTEATER / PANGOLIN			
**Chin*	***sha-phruu**	ANT-EATER / PANGOLIN	VanBik 2009:1337
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**sâa-phú?**	anteater, pangolin	VanBik 2009:1337
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**sphruu**	scaly anteater, pangolin	VanBik 2009:1337
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**sa-phùu**	anteater, pangolin	VanBik 2009:1337
Lushai [Mizo]	**sà-phú**	pangolin or the scaly ant-eater (n.)	VanBik 2009:1337
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**sā-phú**	scaley ant-eater (n.)	VanBik 2009:1337
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Meluri	a kha **prü**	porcupine	Marrison 1967
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	sa **bu**	porcupine	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Byangsi	**bo** chab	porcupine (n.)	Sharma 2003:56
Chaudangsi	**boə**	porcupine	Krishan 2003:50
Darma	**buo**	porcupine	Krishan 2003:49
Kanauri	s̲hā **phō**	porcupine (n.)	Bailey 1911
3.2. Qiangic			
Lyuzu	ʂæ^{55}**phʐu^{53}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.18
Namuyi	**pu^{31}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**pzɻ^{35}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**pʂə^{55}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.09
4. Nungic			
Nung	**bɹu^{33}**	porcupine	Matisoff 2003a:184
	hɑŋ^{35}**pu^{31}**	hedgehog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0319.21
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-blu^{1}** PORCUPINE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-blu^{1}**	porcupine	Matisoff 2003a:584
	***ʔplu^{1}**	porcupine	Matisoff 1978a:25
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**phzo^{55}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.28
Achang (Luxi)	**pu^{35}**	porcupine	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**phʐu^{55}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.29
Bola (Luxi)	**pju̱^{55}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**phju^{22}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.27
	phju^{22}ŋɛ^{22}	hedgehog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0319.27
Burmese (Written)	**phrū**	porcupine	Marrison 1967
	phru	porcupine	Benedict 1976a
	phru^{2}	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.26
	phru^{2}ŋɑj^{2}	hedgehog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0319.26
	p^{h}ru	porcupine	Matisoff 1978a:25
Hpun (Northern)	tă **phyú?**, tà **phyú?**	porcupine	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**pju̱^{31}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.31
Leqi (Luxi)	lə̆^{31}**pju̱^{33}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pju̱^{51}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.30
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-plu^{2}**	porcupine	Bradley 1979b:30
PNL	**ʔplu^{1}**	porcupine	Chen Kang 1986a:108.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lipho	**pu^{33}**	porcupine	Chen Kang 1986a:108.
Nasu	**pu^{33}**	porcupine	Chen Kang 1986a:108.
Neisu	**pu^{13}**	porcupine	Chen Kang 1986a:108.
Nesu	**pu^{55}**	porcupine	Chen Kang 1986a:108.
Nosu	**pu^{33}**	porcupine	Chen Kang 1986a:108.
Nusu (Central)	**bɹu^{33}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**pu^{33}**	hedgehog; porcupine	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**pu̱^{33}**	porcupine; hedgehog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.37; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0319.37
Yi (Wuding)	**pʏ^{33}**	hedgehog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0319.38
	pʏ^{33}vi^{55}	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.38
Yi (Xide)	**pu^{33}**nɔ^{33}	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.35
	pu^{34}	hedgehog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0319.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**po^{33}**	porcupine	Chen Kang 1986a:108.
Jinuo (Youle)	xo^{42}**phu^{42}**	porcupine	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	χo^{42}**phu^{31}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.44
Lahu (Lancang)	fɑ^{54}**pu^{33}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.43
Lahu (Black)	fâʔ-**pu**	porcupine	Matisoff 1978a:25
Lahu (Yellow)	fa^{6}**phu^{1}**	porcupine	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**pu^{3}**	porcupine	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**py^{33}**	porcupine (N.)	Bradley 1994
	py^{33}da^{44}	quill of porcupine (those that have fallen off)	Bradley 1994
	py^{33}khu^{33}	burrow of porcupine	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**pu^{33}**	porcupine	Chen Kang 1986a:108.
Yi (Sani)	**pʏ^{44}**dzʐ^{11}	hedgehog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0319.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Lüchun)	xu^{33}**phju^{55}**	porcupine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.41
Mpi	ha^{4}**p^{h}ju^{6}**	porcupine	Matisoff 1978a:25
	ho?^{4}**phju^{6}**	porcupine	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Southern Muji	**pɯ^{33}**tɕi^{33}	porcupine	Pelkey 2011:106
Phola	**pɯ^{55}**	porcupine	Pelkey 2011:106
6.2. Naxi			

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**pv**˦	hedgehog	Michaud 2006–2009:3945
Naxi	**py**^{21}	hedgehog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0319.45
	py^{21}**l**y^{33}	porcupine (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0318.45

2.1.2 Bovine

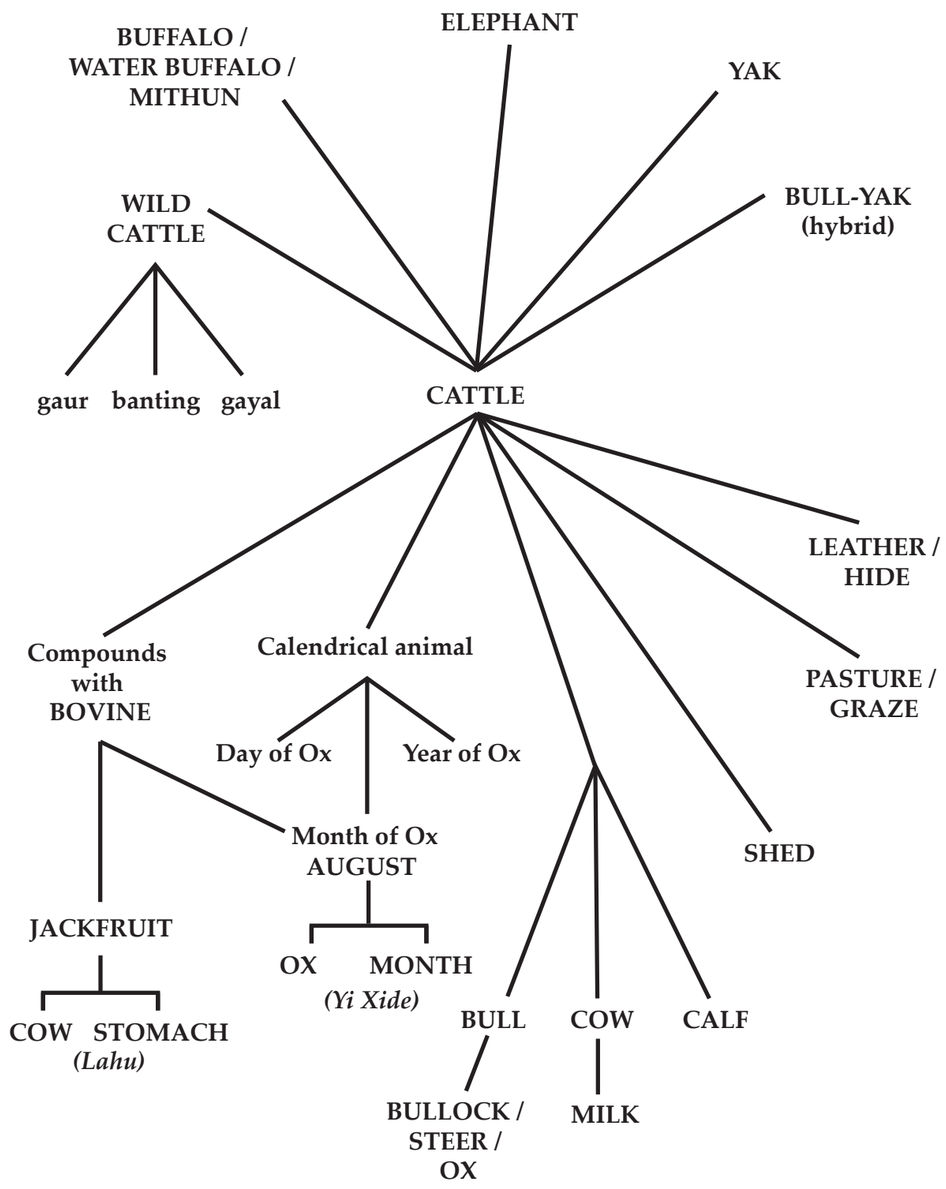


Figure 164: 2.1.2 *Bovine*

(1) PTB *ŋwa CATTLE

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

***Sino-Tibetan*	***ngwjəɣ**	cattle / ox	Coblin 1986:52

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

***Tibeto-Burman*	***ngwa(*B)**	cattle / ox	Coblin 1986:53
	***ŋwa**	cattle	Weidert 1987:240; Matisoff 2003a:606; LaPolla 1987:28; Benedict 1972:215

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

***Northern Naga*	***Ç-ŋa^{B}**	mithun	French 1983:522

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**^{3}ŋa**	cattle	Weidert 1987:240
Tangsa	**^{2}ŋa^{3}**kha	cattle	Weidert 1987:240
Tangsa (Moshang)	**nga**	buffalo	Marrison 1967
	ŋa	cattle	LaPolla 1987:28; Benedict 1972:215

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**ŋʌ̂u**	cattle	Weidert 1987:240
Khiamngan	**^{2}ŋo̰u**	cattle	Weidert 1987:240
Phom	**ñæ**^{31}	mithun (water buffalo)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**nga**	cattle	Coblin 1986:53
	nga wu	cattle	Marrison 1967
	nga wu la	bull	Marrison 1967
	^{2}ŋa	cattle	Weidert 1987:240
	ŋā	cattle	Matisoff 1974:224
	ŋa	cattle	LaPolla 1987:28; Benedict 1972:215
	ŋā-lōi	buffalo	Matisoff 1985a:075; Matisoff 1974:262
	ŋā-ʔàn	young bull (n.)	Matisoff 1974:132
	ŋa^{33}	cattle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.19
	ŋə lōi	buffalo	Matisoff 1985a:075
	ŋə loi	buffalo	LaPolla 1987:130; Benedict 1972:208

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Xiahe)	hlaŋ **ŋə**	cattle (common, male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.04

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	sa **ŋgwa**	buffalo	Ebert 1997
	sa **ŋwa**	buffalo	Ebert 1997
Limbu	sa**:** **ŋwa**	water buffalo	Michailovsky 1989b
Yamphu	sa **ŋa**	buffalo (n.)	Rutgers 1998:574.03

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**ŋwe**	cattle	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0395

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	dʒo^{33}**ŋua^{ɪ33}**	water buffalo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:110.18
	ŋua^{ɪ33}	bovine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:109.18
	ŋua^{ɪ33}ɲi^{55}	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.18
Guiqiong	**ɲi^{35}** pɑ^{55} pɑ^{55}	hide / leather	SUN Hongkai 1991e
Lyuzu	**ŋu^{33}**mæ^{53}	cattle (common, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.18
	ŋu^{33}zu^{53}	cattle (common, male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.18
	ŋu^{53}	cattle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.18
	ŋu^{53} (lu^{53})	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.18
	ŋu^{53}gi^{53}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.18
	ŋu^{53}nga^{ɪ53}pe^{31}	skin (cattle) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1144.18
Muya	**ŋuə^{53}** (mɑ^{53})	cattle (common, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.15
Namuyi	**ɣə^{33}**	bovine; cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:109.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.19
	zu^{55}**ɣə^{31}**	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed, male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.46
	zu^{55}**ɣə^{31}**mi^{53}	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.46
	ɣə^{31}	cattle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.46
	ɣə^{31} (lu^{31}su^{53})	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.46
	ɣə^{31} tɕɑ^{55}ta^{53}	yoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0599.46
	ɣə^{31}hĩ^{53}	calf (common or bull-yak crossbreed) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0259.46
	ɣə^{31}mi^{55}	cattle (common, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.46
	ɣə^{31}tshɻ^{35}	put out to pasture (cows) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1316.46
	ɣə^{31}ŋuo^{31}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**kuɐ^{35}**	cattle (common) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.10
Pumi (Lanping)	dzo^{13}**quɑ^{55}**	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.09
	m̥iɑ^{13}**quɑ^{55}**	cattle (common) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.09
	quɑ^{13}mo^{55}	cow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0261.09
	quɑ^{55}	cattle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.09
	quɑ^{55}tɑ̃u^{13}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	m̥iɑ^{13}**quɑ^{55}**	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.11
	quɑ^{55}	bovine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:109.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**kuɐ^{53}**	bovine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:109.10
	kuɐ^{53}lõ^{55}	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.10
	tɕi^{53}**ŋuɐ^{35}**ʐi^{35}	water buffalo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:110.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**guà**	team (of cattle)	Evans 1999:1329
	ŋò mià	cow (female)	Evans 1999:327
Qiang (Mawo)	**ŋuə**	cattle (common, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.08
	ŋuə	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**ŋò**	2d earthly branch (cow); cow, bovine	Evans 1999:1105; Evans 1999:316 [a]
	ŋò mià	cow (female)	Evans 1999:327
	ŋò n̥à n̥á	cow milk	Evans 1999:328
	ŋò ʐ̩é	cow shed	Evans 1999:696
	ŋò-mià-n̥ə́-kì	huangniu cow [cow-female-red-NOM]	Evans 1999:318
Qiang (Taoping)	zɻ^{31}**ŋu^{33}**	bovine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:109.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ŋu^{55}**ʐ̩i^{53}	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.16
Xumi	**wɛ^{33}**khuɛ^{53}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.17
	wɛ^{35}	cattle; year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.17; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.17
	ɦuɛ^{35}	bovine; cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:109.20; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.20

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**ŋə** mɛ	cattle (common, female) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.12

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**ngwa~nwa**	cattle	Coblin 1986:53
Nung	nu^{31}**uɑn^{31}** phɯ^{31}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.21
	nuŋ^{55}**ŋuɑ^{31}**	cattle; cattle (common) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.21; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.21
Anong	nuŋ^{55}**ŋuɑ^{31}**	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.44
Nung	nuŋ^{55}**ŋuɑ^{31}**dʑɑ^{31}xɑm^{55}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.21
Rawang	nə **ŋwɑ^{31}** tɕhɯm^{31}	cowshed, ox fence	LaPolla 2003:586
	ŋan^{31} ʃɯ^{31}	bull	LaPolla 2003:301
Anong	**ŋwa ⩙ ŋa ⩙ nwa**	cattle	Benedict 1972:215
	ŋwa~ŋa	cattle	LaPolla 1987:28
Dulong	nuŋ^{55}**wɑ^{53}**	cattle; year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.20
	nuŋ^{55}**wɑ^{53}**pɑ^{31}tɔʔ^{55}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.20
	nuŋ^{55}**wɑ^{53}**ɑŋ^{55}gu^{55}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.20
	nuŋ^{55}**ŋwɑ^{53}**ɕɑŋ^{53}	cattle (common) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.20
Trung [Dulong]	ŋuŋ **ŋua**	cattle	Benedict 1972:50n165
	ŋɯ^{31}lɔ̃i^{53}	water buffalo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:110.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ŋɯ^{31}** lɔi^{53}	buffalo	LaPolla 1987:130
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	lɔŋ^{53}~nuŋ^{55}**ŋwɑ^{53}**	common cattle	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nuŋ^{55} **ŋwa^{53}**	cattle	LaPolla 1987:28
	ŋɯ^{31} lɔi^{53}	buffalo	LaPolla 1987:130
	ŋɯ^{31}lɔ̃i^{53}	water buffalo	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

***Lolo-Burmese*	***nwa^{2}**	cattle	Matisoff 2003a:605

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**no^{31}**lui^{31}	water buffalo	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	no^{31}tʂuŋ^{31}	common cattle	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**no^{31}** (n̥ək^{55})	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.28
	no^{31}tʂɔŋ^{35}; kă^{31}tʂɔŋ^{35}	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.41
	n̥o^{31}	cattle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.28

[a] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).

	n̥o^{31}lɔ^{31}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.28
	n̥o^{31}tʂɔŋ^{35}	cattle (common) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.28
Achang (Luxi)	**nua**^{51}lui^{51}	water buffalo	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	nua^{51}tsɔŋ^{51}	common cattle	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**no**^{31}	cattle; cattle (common); year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.29
	no^{31} nau^{31}	milk (cow's)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:311
	no^{31}koʔ^{35}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.29
	nŏ^{31}lui^{31}	buffalo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.29
	no^{31}lɔ^{31}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.29
	no^{31}mɔ^{31}	cow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0261.29
	no^{31}nau^{31}	milk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.29
Bola	**nŏ**^{31} nau^{35}	milk (cow's)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:311
Bola (Luxi)	**nɔ**^{31}	cattle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.32
	nɔ̌^{31} (tɛ̃^{55}vɛʔ^{55})	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.32
	nɔ̌^{31}khap^{55}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.32
	nɔ̌^{31}la^{31}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.32
	nɔ̌^{31}lui^{31}	buffalo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.32
	nɔ̌^{31}tʃauŋ^{55}	cattle (common) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**nwɑ**^{55}	cattle; cattle (common) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.27
	nwɑ^{55}thi^{55}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.27
	nwɑ^{55}tī^{55}koʔ^{4}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**nwɑ**^{55}	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.40
Burmese (Written)	**nwà**	cattle	Weidert 1987:240
	nwâ	cattle; bull, ox, cow	Matisoff 1974:224; Benedict 1976a
	nwà	cattle	LaPolla 1987:28; Benedict 1972:215; Coblin 1986:53
	nwā:	cattle	Marrison 1967
	nwā: ma	cow	Marrison 1967 [a]
	nwā: thī:	bull	Marrison 1967
	nwɑ^{3}	cattle; cattle (common) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.26
	nwɑ^{3}	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.39
	nwɑ^{3}mɑ^{1}	cow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0261.26
	nwɑ^{3}no^{1}	milk (cow's) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.26
	nwɑ^{3}tɑŋ^{3}kup^{4}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.26
	nwɑ^{3} thi^{3}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**nuŋ**^{35} (tsəŋ^{31})	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.31
	nŭŋ^{35}khap^{55}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.31
	nŭŋ^{35}lɔi^{35}	buffalo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.31
	nŭŋ^{35}lɔ^{35}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**no**^{33}	cattle; year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.33
	nɔ̌^{33}khɔm^{33}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.33
	nɔ̌^{33}lo^{33}	cattle (common); bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.33
	nɔ̌^{33}lə^{33}	buffalo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.33
Marma	**nwá**	cattle / cow	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-3
Maru [Langsu]	**nŭŋ**^{35}lɔi^{35}	water buffalo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:110.43
	nūŋ lōi	buffalo	Weidert 1987:239
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nò**	cattle	Weidert 1987:240
	no^{21}	cattle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.30
	no^{21} (tsan^{51})	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.30
	nŏ^{21}khup^{55}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.30
	nŏ^{21}lo^{21}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.30
	nŏ^{21}lui^{21}	buffalo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.30
	nŏ^{21}lui^{21}	water buffalo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:110.42
	no^{21}phuʔ^{51}	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.30
	nŏ^{21}tʃuŋ^{51}	cattle (common) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.30
	nŏ^{21}tʃuŋ^{51}	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.42
	nò lùi	buffalo	Weidert 1987:239

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***nwa**^{2}	cattle	Weidert 1987:240; Bradley 1979b:9A

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**ŋ**^{31}pa^{55}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.47
	ŋ^{31}xɤ^{33}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.47
Nusu (Central)	**nuɔ**^{55}	cattle; cattle (common) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.34; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.34
	nuɔ^{55} nɯ^{33} nɯ^{33}	milk (cow's)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:311.
	nuɔ^{55}bɔ^{33}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.34
	nuɔ^{55}la^{53}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.34
	nuɔ^{55}mi^{31}	cow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0261.34
Nusu (Northern)	**nuɑ**^{35}	common cattle	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**nɔ**^{55}	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**nɔ**^{55} nɯ^{35} nɯ^{31}	milk (cow's)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:311.
Yi (Dafang)	**nɯ**^{55}n̥i^{33}	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**nɔ**^{33}n̥i^{33}	ox	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	n̥i^{21}mo^{21}	cow	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	n̥u^{33}	cow; ox	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	n̥ɛ^{34}bu̱^{33}	cow; ox	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**n̥i**^{21}	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.37
	n̥i^{21}bɯ^{33}xi^{33}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.37
	n̥i^{21}mo^{33}to^{33}	cow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0261.37
Yi (Weishan)	ɑ^{55}**n̥**^{21}	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.36
	ɑ^{55}**n̥**^{21}by^{55}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.36
	ɑ^{55}**n̥**^{21}lɑ^{21}vɪ̱^{33}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.36
Yi (Wuding)	**n̥i**^{33}	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.38
	n̥i^{33}bɤ^{33}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.38
	n̥i^{11}mu̱^{2}	cow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0261.38
Yi (Xide)	**nɔ**^{33}n̥i^{33}	cattle (common) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.35
	nɔ^{33}n̥i^{33}	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.21
	n̥i^{21}mo^{21}	cow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0261.35
	n̥i^{33}	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	**njo**^{31}pə^{44}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.44
	njo^{44}lɔ^{44}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.44
	njo^{44}mɔ^{33}	cow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0261.44
Kucong	**nv31** n̥i33	ox; cattle	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**nu**^{53}	cattle; cattle (common); year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.43
	nu^{53}khɔ^{54}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.43
	nu^{53}pɑ^{11}	bull (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.43
	nu^{53}qhɔ^{54}kɔ^{31}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.43
	nu^{53}tɔ^{53}	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.43
Lahu (Black)	**nû**	cattle	Matisoff 1974:224
	nû-šɔ̄	bull	Matisoff 1988a:1225
	nû-ɔ́-pā-šɔ̄	bull	Matisoff 1987
	nû-fɨ́-qō	cow's stomach, tripe	Matisoff 1988a:772
	nû-fɨ́-qō-šī	jackfruit	Matisoff 1988a:772
	nu^{53}	cattle (common)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:111.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**n̥iu**^{3}	zodiac year (Ox)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	a^{1}-**nyi**^{5}	ox	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}**ni**^{21}	ox; cow (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ni**^{21} gaʔ^{21}tɕɔ^{55}phi^{55}	ox-whip	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ni**^{21} tshaʔ^{21}bɔ^{33}	salt for an ox	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ni**^{21} ɔ^{55}tɕhi^{33}	ox horn; horn of ox (also ɔ^{55}tʃhɻ^{33})	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ni**^{21}by^{33}	crest of an ox	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ni**^{21}hɤ^{33}	ox louse	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ŋa**^{21}kɔ^{55}	wild ox	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a^{55}**ɲi**^{21}	ox; cow (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɲi**^{21} a^{55}mɔ^{55}	ox-horse (swearing term)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɲi**^{21} gaʔ^{21}tɕɔ^{55}phi^{55}	ox-whip	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɲi**^{21} tshaʔ^{21}bɔ^{33}	salt for an ox	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɲi**^{21} ɔ^{55}tɕhi^{33}	ox horn	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɲi**^{21}by^{33}	crest of an ox	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɲi**^{21}hɤ^{33}	ox louse	Bradley 1994
Lisu	kuɑ^{35}dzu^{33}ɑ^{55}**n̥i**^{31}	yak (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.40
Lisu (Northern)	la^{21}**ni**^{35}tʃhɻ^{21}	green ox	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}dzi^{21}	ox (for use as currency in exchange)	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}kɔ^{55}	wild bull	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}li^{33}ɣɔʔ^{21}	ox yoke (rope connecting neck and yoke)	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}ʃɻ^{55}	bull kept for stud	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33}ma^{21}**ni**^{21}	farming animal; farming ox (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ɲi**^{21}	cattle, bull; cf. a^{55}ni^{21} (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}dzi^{21}	ox (for use as currency in exchange)	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}kɔ^{55}	wild bull	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}kɔ^{55} ɕa^{55}ŋɤ^{35}	bull not used in farming	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}li^{33}ɣɔʔ^{21}	ox yoke (rope connecting neck and yoke)	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}ma^{33}	cow	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}ma^{33} za^{21}dzɔ^{33}	cow (that is still nursing young)	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}ma^{33}mɤ^{44}	infertile cow	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}ma^{55}ji^{33}	young cow (which has not yet given birth)	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}mɔ^{21}	old cow	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}ʃɻ^{55}	bull kept for stud	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{33}ma^{21}**ni**^{21}	farming animal; farming ox (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**n̥i**^{31}	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.40
Lisu (Northern)	ɕa^{55}**ŋɯ**^{35}	ox not being used (not tamed)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ŋ̍**^{21}	castrated bull	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:281.4
	ŋ̍^{21} o^{55}	cow's head	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:281.5
	ŋ̍^{21} tʂʮ^{33}	cow hide	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:281.1
	ŋ̍^{21} xɯ^{33} tɤ^{55}	castrate a bull	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:281.3
	ŋ̍^{21} ɬ̩^{21}	cow excrement	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:280.1
Yi (Sani)	**ŋ̍**^{11}	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.39

[a] The form is quite difficult to read in the source.

	ŋ̩^{11} ɬz̩^{11}	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.39
	ŋ̩^{11}bɤ^{33}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.39
	ŋ̩^{11}mɒ^{33}	cow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0261.39
	ŋ̩^{11}pɒ^{55}	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.39
	ŋ̩^{11}ɒ^{44}n̩^{33}	milk (cow's) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0095.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Lüchun)	**n̥u**^{31}ku̠^{33}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.41
	n̥u^{31}pha^{31}	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.41
	n̥u^{53}	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.41
Hani (Mojiang)	**nɣ̩**^{31}	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.42
	nɣ̩^{31}phɔ^{31}	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.42
	nɣ̩^{31}ʒu^{55}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.42
Mpi	**ɲ**^{4}**ɲo**^{5}	cow / bull	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	a^{31} **ny**^{31} tʰi^{55}	milk (cow's)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:328.1
	da^{31} **ny**^{31} tʰi^{55}	milk (cow's)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:328.2
	glɔ^{31} **ny**^{31} tʰi^{55}	milk (cow's)	Dai Qingxia 1989k:328
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**ngö** mɔ 73	cow	Dell 1981b:281
	ngö to 76	bull	Dell 1981b:282
Bai (Jianchuan)	tsɔ̃^{55}**ŋə**^{42}	cattle (common) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.48
	tsɯ^{55}**ŋɯ**^{55}	cattle (common)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:111.36
	ŋə^{42}	cattle; year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.48; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.48
	ŋə^{42}mo^{33}	cow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0261.48
	ŋə^{42}pi^{42}ɕĩ^{55}ɲə̠^{21}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.48
	ŋə^{42}ɣu^{21}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.48
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**ngwjəg**	cattle / ox	Coblin 1986:52
	ngʷjɨ	ox; bull; cow	Baxter 1992:1562; Baxter 1992:795
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**ngjəu**	ox, bull, cow	Coblin 1986:52

Chinese comparandum

A very likely Chinese comparandum is 牛 OC ***ngi̯ŭg**, *GSR* #998a-c; Coblin 86:52 ST ***ngwjəɣ** > OC ***ngwjəg**; B & S 2011: **ŋʷə {[ŋ] ʷə}** (<*uvular?); Mand. **niú**.

(2) PTB *glaŋ OX / BULLOCK / ELEPHANT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***glaŋ**	elephant	Matisoff 2003a:590
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	ba-**laŋ laŋ**-nə	cattle (female)	Sun 1993b
	laŋ bu	cattle (common, male) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.24
	laŋ nə	cattle (common, female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.24
	laŋ tɕin	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.24
	laŋ-čin	elephant	Sun 1993b
	laŋ-nə	milch cow	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-bu	common cattle	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**laŋ** bu	bull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:111.51
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	bɔ-**lɔʔ**	ox	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***C̥-gla:ŋ** ELEPHANT			
**Northern Naga*	*C̥-**gla:ŋ**	elephant	French 1983:482
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Khiamngan	^{21}**lo̥n**	buffalo	Weidert 1987:239
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	wă^{55} **loŋ**^{51}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.19
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**laṅ**	cow (n.)	Bailey 1911
2.1.2. Bodic			
Motuo Menba	**laŋ**	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.07
Cuona Menba	**laŋ**^{55}wu^{31}	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣloŋ** wə tɕhə	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hlaŋ** tɕhe	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hlaŋ** wo tɕe	elephant	Sun 1985a:226
	wa **ɣlaŋ**	cattle (common)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:111.5
	ɣloŋ ŋo tɕhe	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**lõ**^{55}	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.03
	lõ^{55}mbʊ^{53}tɕhe^{53}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**lāngq**	bull (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.033
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**luŋ**^{55}bo^{55}tɕhen^{53}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.3
	pa^{13}**lɑŋ**^{55}	cattle (common)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:111.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**laŋ**^{55}	bull; year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.02; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.02
	laŋ^{55}koʔ^{53}	bull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:111.2
	laŋ^{55}ko^{52}	cattle (common, male) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.02
	laŋ^{55}tɕhẽ^{55}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.2
	laŋ^{55}tɕhĩ^{55}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	'pa **lang**	cow (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.034
	lāngq	bull (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.033
	lang bu	elephant (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.054
Tibetan (Spiti)	**laŋ** do	ox	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	ba **glaŋ**	cattle (common)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:111.1
	bá-**ɣlaŋ**	ox / bull	Jäschke 1881
	glaṅ	elephant	Marrison 1967
	glang.po.ce	elephant	Sun 1985c:226
	glaṅ thug	bull	Marrison 1967
	glaŋ	cattle (common, male); year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.01
	glaŋ tɕhen	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.01
	glaŋ tɕhen	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.1
	glɑŋ	ox / bullock / elephant	Jäschke 1881
	glɑŋ óg-čɑn	bull	Jäschke 1881
	glɑŋ-bu	bullock (young)	Jäschke 1881
	glɑŋ-č'én	elephant	Jäschke 1881
	glɑŋ-mo	elephant (female)	Jäschke 1881
	glɑŋ-po-č'é	elephant	Jäschke 1881
	glɑŋ-p'rúg	elephant (young of one)	Jäschke 1881
	glɑŋ-túg	bull	Jäschke 1881
	glɑ́ŋ-po-če	elephant (mad)	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hlaŋ**	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.04
	hlaŋ ŋə	cattle (common, male) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.04
	laŋ wo tɕhe	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	bík **lóng**	ox (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	bík **lóng** cúng	young bull (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	bí **klóng** bop	bullock, castrated male bovine (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	lóng	ox, steer (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	lóng bo	bull (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	lóng cúng	young bull (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*ᴮ**glap**	ox	Mazaudon 1994:190 [a]
Gurung	^{4}**ɬa:**	bull	Mazaudon 1994:190
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**klap**	ox / bullock / steer	Mazaudon 1994:190
Tamang (Taglung)	**kʰlap**	ox	Mazaudon 1994:190
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**khjwar**	old ox	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1607
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**lɑ̃**^{55}	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.16
Lyuzu	**laŋ**^{53} (lʉ^{53})	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.18
Muya	**lɑ**^{53} (ɣu^{24})	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**lɑ̃**^{55}	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**lɑ̃**^{55}ɣu^{55}	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.09
Qiang (Mawo)	ʂə (dzə/**ʁlɑŋ** bu tɕi kə ʂə)	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.10.6
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	tɕhə **ɣloŋ**	buffalo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.12
	ʁloŋ (lu)	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.12
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔlɑŋ** bə tɕhe ɕə	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.10.6
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**lɔŋ**^{53}	cattle (common)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:111.46
Dulong	nɯ^{31}**lɛn**^{55}tɕɑt^{55}nuŋ^{55}wɑ^{53}	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**lɔŋ**^{53}~nuŋ^{55}ŋwɑ^{53}	common cattle	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔlaŋ**^{1}/^{3} ELEPHANT			
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Southern)	**hɑ̃**^{55}mɑ^{55}	elephant	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**xɔ**^{21}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**la**^{21}bu^{33}	cow; ox	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lɯ^{33}	bull; cow; ox	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lɯ^{33}n̥i^{21}	milk, cow's	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**xo**^{33}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**lo**^{21}bɯ̠^{33}mɑ^{21}	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.37
	xo^{33}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.37
	xo^{33}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.24
Yi (Wuding)	**xu̠**^{2}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.38
Yi (Xide)	**lɯ**^{33}xo^{33}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.35
	lɑ^{21}bu^{33}	bull (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0260.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	**hɔn**	elephant	Benedict 1972:91n264
Lahu (Lancang)	**xɔ**^{33}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.43
Lahu (Black)	**xɔ**^{33}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.33
Lisu (Northern)	**la**^{21}dʑæʔ^{21}	variegated ox	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ma^{21}mi^{44}	land ploughed with ox (that can be ploughed with ox)	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ni^{35}tʃhʅʔ^{21}	green ox	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}næ^{33}	black ox	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}si^{21}	yellow ox	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ti^{55}	single ox (plough with one ox)	Bradley 1994
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi	nɑ^{21}**ɣɯ**^{33}	cattle (common) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0255.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	nɑ^{31}**ɣɯ**^{33}	cattle (common)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:111.28
Naxi	**ɣɯ**^{33}	cattle; year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0254.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.45
	ɣɯ^{33}by^{21}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ɣɯ**^{33}by^{31}	enclosure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:367.28
Naxi	**ɣɯ**^{33}ɯe^{33}	cow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0261.45
	ɣɯ^{33}n̥i^{55}tɣ̩^{21}	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʅ**^{31}ʑi^{13}	cattle (common)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:111.29
7. Karenic			
Karen	**glɔ**^{31}	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.50

[a] The final **-p** in these Tamangic forms in unexplained.

	glɔ^{31}a^{31}lɔ^{31}	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.50
	glɔ^{31}e̱^{31}	dung (cow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0262.50

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**li̱əg/lji**	ox (long-haired)	Karlgren 1957:979j
Chinese (Old)	(**b**)ljəg	yak / ox	Coblin 1986:162

Chinese comparandum

犛 OC ***li̱əg***, *GSR* #979j ‘ox’; Schuessler 2007:348; Mand. **lí, máo**.
needs revision ≠ glang ox

(3) PTB *lwa:y BUFFALO

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***lwaay**	buffalo	LaPolla 1987:130
	***lwa:y**	buffalo	Weidert 1987:239; Matisoff 1985a:075; Matisoff 2003a:600; Benedict 1972:208

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin: ***looy** BUFFALO

**Northern Chin*	***looy**	BUFFALO	VanBik 2009:996
Siyin	**loai**	buffalo	Matisoff 1985a:075; LaPolla 1987:130; Benedict 1972:208
Sizang	**law**-ī	buffalo	VanBik 2009:996
Thado	**lóoy**	buffalo	VanBik 2009:996
Tiddim	**-lɔ:i**	buffalo (n.)	Henderson 1965
	lo:i^{2}	buffalo	VanBik 2009:996; Bhaskararao 1996:995

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**lâwi**	buffalo	Marrison 1967
	loi	buffalo	Matisoff 1985a:075; Bhaskararao 1996:995; LaPolla 1987:130; Benedict 1972:208

1.3. “Naga” Areal Group

Maring	**lui**	buffalo	Marrison 1967
	na **lui**	buffalo	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	a **lui**	buffalo	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **lui**	buffalo	Marrison 1967
Puiron	sa **loi**	buffalo	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***loj** WATER BUFFALO

**Tangkhulic*	***loj**	water buffalo	Mortensen 2012:431
Champhung	ŋa-**luɯi**	buffalo	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-sə-**lu**	water buffalo	Mortensen 2012:Animals.014
Kachai	si-**li**	water buffalo	Mortensen 2012:Animals.014; Mortensen 2012:Animals.014
Tangkhul	si **lui**	buffalo	Matisoff 1985a:075
	si **ruy**	buffalo	Matisoff 1985a:075
Tangkhul (Standard)	si-**loi**	buffalo	Brown 1837
Tusom	sə-**ly**	buffalo	Mortensen 2012:Animals.014
Ukhrul	si-**luj**	water buffalo, mithun; water buffalo	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	*C-**lua:y**	buffalo	Matisoff 1985a:075
	*Ç̊-**lua:y**	buffalo	French 1983:464

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa	**^{3}loi**	buffalo	Weidert 1987:239

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Wancho	**lui**	buffalo	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	sǎ^{33}**loi^{33}**	water buffalo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:110.47
	wǎ^{3}**loi^{33}**	water buffalo	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	wǎ^{33}**loi^{33}**	buffalo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.19
	wu **loi**	buffalo	Marrison 1967
	^{2}u^{2}**loi**	buffalo	Weidert 1987:239
	ŋā-**lōi**	buffalo	Matisoff 1985a:075; Matisoff 1974:262
	ŋə **lōi**	buffalo	Matisoff 1985a:075
	ŋə **loi**	buffalo	LaPolla 1987:130; Benedict 1972:208
	ʔū-**lōi**	buffalo	Matisoff 1985a:075; Matisoff 1974:262

4. Nungic

Rawang	ə **lɛ^{31}**	water buffalo	LaPolla 2003:298
Nung	ɑ^{31}**li^{31}**	buffalo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}**lu^{31}**nuŋ^{55}ŋuɑ^{31}	water buffalo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:110.44
Trung [Dulong]	ŋɯ^{31}**lɔ̃i^{53}**	water buffalo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:110.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ŋɯ^{31} **lɔi^{53}**	buffalo	LaPolla 1987:130
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ŋɯ^{31} **lɔi^{53}**	buffalo	LaPolla 1987:130
	ŋɯ^{31}**lɔ̃i^{53}**	water buffalo	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	no^{31}**lui^{31}**	water buffalo	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	nua^{51}**lui^{51}**	water buffalo	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	nŏ^{31}**lui^{31}**	buffalo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.29
Bola (Luxi)	nɔ̌^{31}**lui^{31}**	buffalo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.32
Burmese (Written)	kywai **(<klwai)**	buffalo	Benedict 1972:208
	k**jwɑi^{3}**	buffalo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.26
	k **lwài**	water buffalo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:110.39
	k **lwài**	buffalo	Weidert 1987:239
Burmese (Inscriptional)	k **lwai**	buffalo	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	k **ywài**	buffalo	Weidert 1987:239
	k **ywai**	buffalo	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:075; Okell 1971
	k **ywâi**	buffalo	Benedict 1976a
	k **ywai**	buffalo	LaPolla 1987:130
	k **ywai** (<*k-**lwai**)	buffalo	Matisoff 1974:262
		buffalo	Matisoff 1974:262
Langsu (Luxi)	nŭŋ^{35}**lɔi^{35}**	buffalo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.31
Leqi (Luxi)	nə̌^{33}**lə^{33}**	buffalo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.33
Maru [Langsu]	nŭŋ^{35}**lɔi^{35}**	water buffalo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:110.43
	nūŋ **lōi**	buffalo	Weidert 1987:239
Atsi [Zaiwa]	nŏ^{21}**lui^{21}**	buffalo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0256.30
	nŏ^{21}**lui^{21}**	water buffalo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:110.42
	nò **lùi**	buffalo	Weidert 1987:239

(4) PTB *brawŋ WILD YAK / BUFFALO

This etymon was formerly reconstructed as ***broŋ**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***broŋ**	wild yak; buffalo; wild yak, buffalo	Matisoff 2003a:585; Benedict 1972:136

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**bóoŋ** láa	unmated female cow	VanBik 2009:1018
	bɔ́ŋ càl	bull	Thirumalai 1972:30; Thirumalai 1972:39
	bɔ́ŋ nú	cow	Thirumalai 1972:40
	bɔ̄ŋ	cow	Thirumalai 1972:21
Tiddim	**bo:ng^{2}**	cattle	Bhaskararao 1996:115
	bo:ng^{2} bu:k^{1}	cattle pen	Bhaskararao 1996:116
	bo:ng^{2} pi^{1}	cow	Bhaskararao 1996:117
	bo:ng^{2} tal^{2}	ox	Bhaskararao 1996:118

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**bâwng**	cattle	Marrison 1967
	bawng	cattle	Bhaskararao 1996:115
	bâwng notê	calf (of cow)	Marrison 1967
	bâwng nu	cow	Marrison 1967
	bâwng pa	bull	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **pang**	buffalo	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	tsə **muŋ**	gaur (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**paŋ**	buffalo (water) (n.)	Coupe 2007

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**brung**	buffalo	Andvik 1993:89

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	byáŋ-kʻɑi **ḥbroŋ**	yak (of Jang-thang)	Jäschke 1881
	ḥbroŋ	wild yak, buffalo	Benedict 1972:136
	ḥbroŋ	yak (wild)	Jäschke 1881
	ḥbroŋ-ḥbri	yak (wild female) / cow	Jäschke 1881

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	**bu^{53}**	yak (male) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.46
	bu^{55}mi^{53}	yak (female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.46
	bu^{55}zi^{53}	calf (yak) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0259.46
Qiang (Mianchi)	**bó** (zɨ) ~ **bò** zí	yak, pianniu (male)	Evans 1999:320
	mià **bó**	yak, pianniu (female)	Evans 1999:322
Xumi	**bo^{33}**mi^{53}	yak (female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.17
	bõ^{33}ra^{33}wu^{53}	yak (male) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.17

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	**bruŋ33**	wild yak	Nagano & Prins 2013:1459
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	**brɔŋ33**	wild yak	Nagano & Prins 2013:1459
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**mbroŋ**	wild yak	Nagano & Prins 2013:1459
rGyalrong	**Nbrung**	wild cattle	Nagano 1997:2.3

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**prauŋ**	buffalo, bison	Benedict 1972:136
	proŋ	buffalo, bison	Benedict 1976a

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**bv**˥	yak	Michaud 2006–2009:3913
	bv˥mie˥	female yak	Michaud 2006–2009:3915
Na (Yongning)	**bv**˧mi˧	female yak	Michaud 2006–2009
	bv˩ʂwæ˩	male yak	Michaud 2006–2009
	bv˨	yak	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**bɔ̃^{21}**	yak (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.45

Chinese comparandum

犎 OC (***pi̱ung**), *GSR* (not in #1197) ‘wild, humped bovine’; Schuessler 2007:237 ***poŋ**; B & S 2011: (***poŋ**); Mand. **fēng**.

(5) PKC *sial BUFFALO / BISON / MITHUN

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***sial**	BUFFALO / BISON / MITHUN	VanBik 2009:641

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**síel**	buffalo, bison	VanBik 2009:641
Tiddim	**sial^{2}**	mithun; Mithun	VanBik 2009:641; Bhaskararao 1996:1571
	za:ng^{2} **sial^{2}**	wild Mithun	Bhaskararao 1996:2011

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Chinbon	**s^{h}ɔ**	cow	So-Hartmann 1988:64
Daai	**s^{h}ɛ**	cow	So-Hartmann 1988:64
Khumi	**š^{h}i**	cow	So-Hartmann 1988:64
Matu	**s^{h}ɛl**	cow	So-Hartmann 1988:64
Mkaang	**s^{h}ɛ**	cow	So-Hartmann 1988:64
Ngmüün	**s^{h}e**	cow	So-Hartmann 1988:64
Nyhmoye	**s^{h}ɛ**	cow	So-Hartmann 1988:64

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**sîa**	buffalo, bison	VanBik 2009:641
Lai (Falam)	**sĭa**	buffalo	VanBik 2009:641
Lushai [Mizo]	ram-**shial**	wild gayal (n.)	Bhaskararao 1996:304
	sial	mithan (gayal, bos fontalis)	Marrison 1967
	síal	domestic gayal or mithan (n.)	VanBik 2009:641

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**sì** ≈ sèi	baffalo	VanBik 2009:641
	^{3}sə	animal / meat(1) / cattle(1) / deer(1)	Weidert 1987:41

Chinese comparandum

兕 OC ***dzi̱ər**, *GSR* #556a ‘water buffalo; rhinoceros’; Schuessler 2007:479 ***s-jəi?**; B & S 2011: ***s.ɢij?** **{[s.ɢ]ij?}**; Mand. **sì**.

(6) PKC *naa BUFFALO

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***naa**	BUFFALO	VanBik 2009:804

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Chinbon	m̩ **no**	buffalo	So-Hartmann 1988:63
Cho (Mindat)	m-**na**	buffalo	VanBik 2009:804
Daai	m̩ **ná**	buffalo	So-Hartmann 1988:63
Khumi	paɣ **nóo**	water buffalo	VanBik 2009:804
	paˈ **nó**	buffalo	So-Hartmann 1988:63
Matu	pə **na**	buffalo	So-Hartmann 1988:63
Mkaang	m̩ **ná**	buffalo	So-Hartmann 1988:63
Ngmüün	m̩ **ná**	buffalo	So-Hartmann 1988:63
Nyhmoye	m̩ **ná:**	buffalo	So-Hartmann 1988:63
Wakung	mˀ **ná**	buffalo	So-Hartmann 1988:63

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**nàa**	buffalo	VanBik 2009:804
Lai (Falam)	**náa**	buffalo	VanBik 2009:804

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**náw**	buffalo	VanBik 2009:804

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**na** lui	buffalo	Marrison 1967

(7) PTB *muk CATTLE

This root is quite promising, but further confirmation would be welcome.

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	sə-**mùk**	cattle	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.009
	sə-**mùk**-mòo-sa	cattle, female; cow	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.011
	sə-**mùk**-paa-saa	cattle, male; bull	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.010

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	na **muk**	cattle	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *muk CATTLE

**Tangkhulic*	***muk**	cattle	Mortensen 2012:759
Champhung	ʃe-**muk**	cow	Brown 1837
Huishu	sə-**muʔ**	cattle / cow	Mortensen 2012:Animals.011
Kachai	si-**muk**	cattle	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012:Animals.009
Tankghul (Central)	sa-**muk**	cow	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	sa-**muk**	cow	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	si-**muk**	cow	Brown 1837
Ukhrul	si-**muk**	cattle	Mortensen 2012

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	sə **muʔ**	cattle / cow	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:304-3

(8) PTk *se CATTLE / BUFFALO

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***se**	cattle / buffalo	Mortensen 2012
Kachai	**si**-li	water buffalo	Mortensen 2012:Animals.014; Mortensen 2012:Animals.014
Tangkhul	**si** lui	buffalo	Matisoff 1985a:075
	si ruy	buffalo	Matisoff 1985a:075
Tankghul (Central)	**ʃi**	buffalo	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**ʃi**	buffalo	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**si**-loi	buffalo	Brown 1837
Tusom	**ʃi**	cattle	Mortensen 2012:Animals.009
Ukhrul	**si**-luj	water buffalo, mithun; water buffalo	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012

(9) PKar *boᴮ OX, BULL, COW

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***boᴮ**	ox, bull, cow	Luangthongkum 2013:209
Bwe	**bo**^{33}	ox, bull, cow	Luangthongkum 2013:209
Kayah	**pu**^{11}	ox, bull, cow	Luangthongkum 2013:209
Kayan	**pau**^{11}	ox, bull, cow	Luangthongkum 2013:209
Kayaw	**pu**^{11}	ox, bull, cow	Luangthongkum 2013:209
Pa-O (Northern)	**pho**^{53}	ox, bull, cow	Luangthongkum 2013:209
Pa-O (Southern)	**po**^{55}	ox, bull, cow	Luangthongkum 2013:209

(10) PKar * p/b -naᴮ BUFFALO

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***p/b-naᴮ**	buffalo	Luangthongkum 2013:37
**Karen [Burling]*	***pəʔ**^{2}**na**^{1}	buffalo	Luangthongkum 2013:37
Bwe	**bə**^{33}**ne**^{33}	buffalo	Luangthongkum 2013:37
Kayah	**pe**^{55}**ne**^{11}	buffalo	Luangthongkum 2013:37
Kayan	**buʔ**^{45}**na**^{11}	buffalo	Luangthongkum 2013:37
Kayaw	**pa**^{33}**na**^{11}	buffalo	Luangthongkum 2013:37
Pa-O (Northern)	**paʔ**^{21}**na**^{53}	buffalo	Luangthongkum 2013:37
Pa-O (Southern)	**paʔ**^{21}**na**^{55}	buffalo	Luangthongkum 2013:37
Pwo (Northern)	**paʔ**^{21}**nɛ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	buffalo	Luangthongkum 2013:37
Pwo (Southern)	**pəʔ**^{21}**na**^{33}	buffalo	Luangthongkum 2013:37
Sgaw (Northern)	**pə**^{33}**na**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	buffalo	Luangthongkum 2013:37
Sgaw (Southern)	**pə**^{11}**na**^{31}	buffalo	Luangthongkum 2013:37

(11) TGTM *ᴮme cow

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	***ᴮme**	cow	Mazaudon 1978:65
Gurung (Ghachok)	**⁴me**	cow	Mazaudon 1978:65
Manang (Ngawal)	**⁴mie**	cow	Mazaudon 1978:65
Tamang (Risiangku)	**⁴me**	cow	Mazaudon 1978:65
Tamang (Sahu)	**⁴me**	cow	Mazaudon 1978:65
Tamang (Taglung)	**⁴me**	cow	Mazaudon 1978:65
Thakali (Marpha)	**⁴me**	cow	Mazaudon 1978:65
Thakali (Syang)	**⁴me**	cow	Mazaudon 1978:65
Thakali (Tukche)	**⁴me**	cow	Mazaudon 1978:65

(12) PCN *tshə MITHUN / GAYAL (Bos frontalis)

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	***tshə**	MITHUN, GAYAL (BOS FRONTALIS)	Bruhn 2014a:III.094
**Ao*	*(a-)**tʃhə**	MITHUN	Bruhn 2014a:II.178
Ao (Chungli)	**sü**	mithan (gayal, bos fontalis)	Marrison 1967
	sə^{2}	mithun (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.178
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **tsü**	mithan (gayal, bos fontalis)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**tshə**	mithun (Bos frontalis) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**tshə**^{1}-roʔ^{3}	mithun, gayal (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.094
	tshə̄ rò	mithun	Acharya 1975
	tsi ro	mithan (gayal, bos fontalis)	Marrison 1967
	tsə̄ ró	mithun	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**thsü** za	mithan (gayal, bos fontalis)	Marrison 1967

2.1.3 Feline

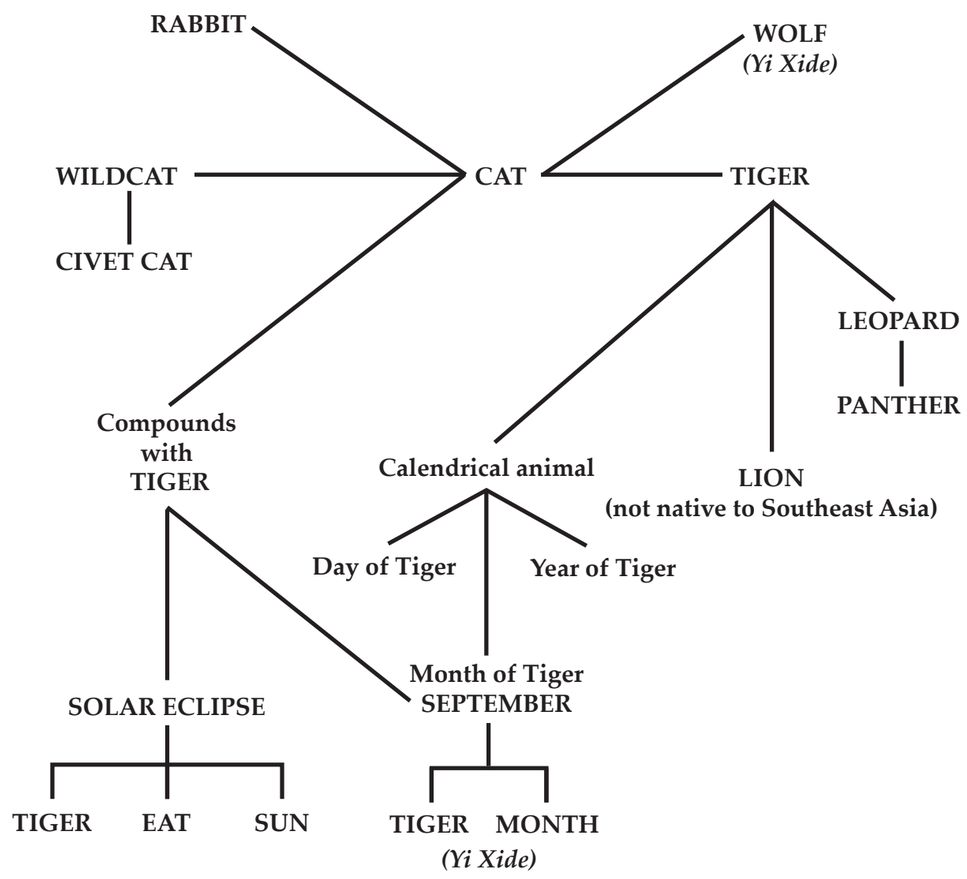


Figure 165: 2.1.3 *Feline*

(1) PTB * m/s -rwaŋ CAT / WILDCAT / TIGER

This ***s-*** prefix with this root is undoubtedly a reduction of PTB ***sya-n*** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1).

This root was formerly reconstructed as ***s/k-roŋ***, although the ***k-*** prefix is restricted to Lolo-Burmese. For a discussion of the "Lolo-Burmese velar animal prefix", see *HPTB*:138-139.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s/k-roŋ**	cat / wildcat	Matisoff 2003a:611

1.1.1. Tani: *mjo TIGER

**Tani*	***mjo**	tiger	Sun 1993a:433

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	**ño**-reː	leopard	Sun 1993b
	šo-**mjo**	tiger	Sun 1993a
	so-**mjo**	tiger	Sun 1993b
	ɲo reː	leopard / panther (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.24
	ɕo **mjo**	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɲo** rɛː	leopard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.51
	ɕo **m jo**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.51
Galo	ho men-**ʻɲo** kə	black panther; panther (black) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ho men-**ʻɲo** tə	tiger; Panthera tigris (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻho **ɲo**	tiger; Panthera tigris (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻhɨɨ bo-**ʻɲo** ree	clouded leopard; leopard (clouded); Neofelis nebulosa (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻta **ɲo**	tiger (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲo kə	panther (black) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲo pin	tiger skin; skin (tiger) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻɲo ree	striped big cat (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲo tə	lion; tiger (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɲo-tɤ̂	tiger	Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	**nyo** duŋ	tiger teeth on the cross belt	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	si-**mño**~ **ño**-nə	tiger	Sun 1993a
Damu	ɕi-**myo**	tiger	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	ši-**mjo**	tiger	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	taː **mya**	tiger	NEFA (India) 1963
	taː **myo** haːgom	leopard	NEFA (India) 1963
	tɑ^{31}**miɑŋ**^{55}	leopard / panther (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.22
	tɑ^{31}**miɑŋ**^{55}	leopard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.49
Idu	a **mra**	tiger	Anonymous 1962
	a **mra** lã̄	belt of tiger's teeth	Anonymous 1962
	jɑ^{55}**mɹɑ**^{55}	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.50
Yidu	jɑ^{55}**mɹɑ**^{55}	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.25

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**mɛ́ŋ** cà	cat	Thirumalai 1972:30; Thirumalai 1972:39

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**meng**	cat	Marrison 1967
	meng kalu	cat	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Kokborok	a-**məin**	cat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**meng**-gong	cat (n.)	Burling 2003:5.35-II:idx
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***miaŋ**	cat	French 1983:467
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**miang**	cat	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	nga **myeng**	cat	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Wancho	**mia**	cat	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**roŋ** / śə **roŋ** / śə **ro**	tiger, leopard	Benedict 1972:107n301
	sha **raw**	tiger	Marrison 1967
	sha **raw** ningten	leopard	Marrison 1967
	šə **rō**	tiger	Matisoff 1974:145
	ʃă^{31}**ʒo**^{33} (ʃă^{31}niŋ^{33})	year of the tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.19
	ʃă^{31}**ʒo**^{33}; **ʒoŋ**^{31}kok^{31}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.47
	ʃă^{31}**ʒo**^{33}; **ʒoŋ**^{31}pa^{31}	tiger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:124.47
	ʃă^{1}**ʒo**^{33}	tiger; leopard	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ʒoŋ^{31}kok^{31}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.19
	ʒoŋ^{31}pa^{31}	tiger	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ʒoŋ^{31}pa^{31}	tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.19
Jingpho (Hkauri)	šə **rōŋ**	tiger	Matisoff 1974:145
2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{B}**maŋ** TIGER			
**TGTM*	***^{B}maŋ**	tiger	Mazaudon 1994:754
Thakali (Marpha)	^{54}**maŋ**	tiger	Mazaudon 1994:754
Thakali (Syang)	^{11}**maŋ**	tiger	Mazaudon 1994:754
	^{51}**maŋ**	tiger	Mazaudon 1994:754
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**meoŋ** ma	cat	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**mijɔŋ**	cat	Michailovsky 1989b
	mujɔŋ	cat	Michailovsky 1989b
3.2. QIANGIC			
Pumi (Lanping)	**ɣo**^{13}	tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ɣo**^{13}	tiger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:124.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɣo**^{35}	tiger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:124.10
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***k-roŋ**^{1} CAT / WILDCAT			
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Arakanese	**kraun**	cat	Okell 1971
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕãu**^{22}	cat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0291.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**caun**	cat	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕɑũ**^{22}	cat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:120.40
Burmese (Written)	**krauŋ**	cat	Benedict 1972:107n301
	kroṅ	cat	Marrison 1967
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**kron**	cat	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**kroṅ**	cat	Okell 1971
	kroŋ	cat	Matisoff 1974:145; Benedict 1976a
	krɔŋ^{2}	cat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0291.26
	krɔŋ^{2}	cat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:120.39
Hpun (Northern)	aìŋkɔ̀ŋ **chóŋ**	wildcat ('jungle cat')	Henderson 1986
	chɔ̀ŋ, **chaúŋ**	cat	Henderson 1986
Intha	**con**	cat	Okell 1971
Marma	**krɔŋ**	cat	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-1
Maru [Langsu]	**rauŋ**	cat (wild-)	Benedict 1972:107n301
	yaùng	cat	Okell 1971
Tavoyan	**con**	cat	Okell 1971
6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***k-roŋ**^{1} CAT, LEOPARD			
**Loloish*	***k-roŋ**^{1}	leopard cat	Bradley 1979b:16
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**jo**^{31}mɛ^{44}	cat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0291.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**jo**^{42}mɛ^{33}	cat	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**jɔ**^{31}mɛ^{44}	cat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:120.34
Lahu	**ɣɔ̀**	cat	Benedict 1972:107n301
Lahu (Black)	**ɡ̈ɔ̀**	wildcat	Matisoff 1974:145
Lisu (Northern)	**ɣɔ**^{44}tʃhɻ^{33}	wildcat	Bradley 1994

(2) PTk *mi CAT

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***mi**	cat	Mortensen 2012:636
Tangkhul	la **mi**	cat	Marrison 1967
Tankghul (Central)	tu-**mi**	cat	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	la-**me**	cat	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	la-**mi**	cat	Brown 1837
Tusom	la-**mɯ̃**	cat	Mortensen 2012:Animals.047
Ukhrul	la-**mi**	cat	Mortensen 2012

(3) PKar *thu^{B} CIVET CAT

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***thu**^{B}	civet cat	Luangthongkum 2013:51
Bwe	**thu**^{33}	civet cat	Luangthongkum 2013:51
Kayan	**thu**^{11}	civet cat	Luangthongkum 2013:51
Kayaw	**thu**^{11}	civet cat	Luangthongkum 2013:51
Pwo (Southern)	**thu?**^{21} thõ$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	civet cat	Luangthongkum 2013:51
	thu^{55}thõ^{11}	civet cat	Luangthongkum 2013:51

(4) PTB *g-zik LEOPARD

Several languages with **-a-** vocalism (Chepang, Lepcha, Bantawa) might point to an allofam ***zyak**. This variational pattern is well-attested in TB, the best example being PTB ***s-myak** ≷ ***s-mik** EYE (§1.2.6).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-zik**	leopard	Matisoff 2003a:621
	***zik**	leopard	LaPolla 1987:106; Benedict 1972:61 [a]
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Mishing [Miri]	**si**-ke	species of civet cat	Matisoff 1985a:052; Benedict 1972:462
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	mo **sá**	tiger	Bhat 1968
	mə **sá**	tiger	Bhat 1968
	mɤ **sa?**	tiger	Weidert 1987:60
	putkí ma **sa**	leopard	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	mi **si**	tiger	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:107n301
	mi **si** dao	leopard	Marrison 1967
	mi **si** hatrai	leopard	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	mə-**ša**	tiger	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	mo **ca?**	tiger	Weidert 1987:60
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	mat **tśa**	tiger	Benedict 1972:107n301
Garo (Bangladesh)	mat-**cha**	leopard; tiger (n.)	Burling 2003:4.416-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	mat **sa**	tiger (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	mat **sa** du	creature which is human during the day and becomes a tiger at night (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.1.4. DEORI			
Deori/Deuri	me **sa**	tiger, Panthera tigris L.; tiger	Jacquesson 2005; Brown 1895:69
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	ru **sa**	leopard	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Wancho	**cha** nak	leopard	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**zik**	leopard	LaPolla 1987:106; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**zik**^{35}	leopard	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**zik**^{13}	leopard	LaPolla 1987:106; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.6
Motuo Menba	**zik**	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.07
Cuona Menba	**zik**^{35}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣzək**	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hzək**	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**zəg**	leopard	Sun 1985a:440
	ɣzək	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**zi?**^{53}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**zi?**^{31}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**si**^{132}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.02
	si?^{13}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'jik**	tiger (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.063
Tibetan (Written)	**gzig**	leopard	Sun 1985c:440; LaPolla 1987:106; Benedict 1972:61
	gzig	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.01
	gzig	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.1
	ɣzig	leopard	Marrison 1967; Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**zəχ**	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.04
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	sa **cák**	leopard (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**sak** sUNma	tiger	Rai 1985
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**sa:?** lɨm	lord of the jungle, Panthera tigris, the tiger	Driem 1993
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	baŋ.kar.**ja?**	Jungle Cat or Wild Cat, with black and brown stripes (n.)	Caughley 2000
	chak.**ja?**	animal (sp.), (myth.), black feline animal haunting grave area - comes from the ghost of a dead person (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dza?	tiger	Weidert 1987:60
	ja?	wild animal of cat family, esp. a panther or leopard (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ja?	leopard	Caughley 1972:3.A.64
	jā?, malung.**jā?**	leopard (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.064
	kar-**ja?**	cat	Caughley 1972:3.A.48
	kār.**jā?**	cat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.048
	kar.**ja?**	animal (sp.), Jungle Cat (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kar.**ja?**. kə.yu	variety of this plant (n.)	Caughley 2000
	karyam?-**ja?**	otter	Weidert 1987:157; Weidert 1987:30
	kar?.**ja?**	Jungle Cat or Wild Cat (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lya.kar?.**ja?**	animal (sp.), Jungle Cat (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ma-**ja?**	tiger	Caughley 1972:3.A.63
	ma.(luŋ).**ja?**	animal (sp.), Tiger; animal (sp.), tiger or large feline (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	mā.**jā?**	tiger (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.063
	syaluŋ-**ja?**	leopard	Caughley 1972:3.A.64
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**zewr**	leopard; end; leopard, panther	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5480; Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5768
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ndzɻ**^{33}nuɑ^{55}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.18
Guiqiong	**zɜ**^{35}na^{55}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.16
	zɻ^{55}nɑ^{55}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.17
Lyuzu	**dzɻ**^{33}mu^{53}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.18
Muya	**ndzi**^{53}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ndzi**^{53}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.15
Namuyi	**zɻ**^{33}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.19
	zæ^{31}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**sui**^{55}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**syi**^{55}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.09

[a] [Source Note] [*TSR* 122] (LaPolla 1987).

Pumi (Qinghua)	**syi**^{55}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**sui**^{53}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.10
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	**si**	leopard	Matisoff 1972b:122
Qiang (Longxi)	**ɕì**	leopard, panther	Evans 1999:383
Qiang (Mawo)	**sə**	leopard	LaPolla 1987:106
	sə	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.08
	sə	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**sì**	leopard, panther	Evans 1999:383
Qiang (Taoping)	**si**^{55}	leopard	LaPolla 1987:106; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**rzi**^{13}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**zi**^{35}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.16
Xumi	**tsʅ**^{55}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.17
	tsʅ^{55}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ʐe**^{55}mei^{55}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**rzo**	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐɛu**	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **ʃtʃək**	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.11
rGyalrong	kə **ʃtʃək**	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.12
Caodeng	ká-**xse**	leopard	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	kA **cik**	leopard	Nagano 1997:4.4
rGBenzhen	kə-**rtʃək**	leopard	Sun 1997b
Shili	ku-**sa**	leopard	Sun 1997c
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	khaŋ-**zi**	leopard	LaPolla 1987:106; Benedict 1972:61
Rawang	khɑŋ^{31} **zə** laŋ^{31}	leopard, panther	LaPolla 2003:355
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**zɯʔ**	leopard	LaPolla 1987:106
	zŭʔ^{55}	leopard	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***zik**	leopard	Matisoff 1972b:122
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	tɕɑ^{55}**tθiʔ**^{4}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tɕɑ^{55}**tθiʔ**^{44}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.40
Burmese (Written)	khyê-**sac**	leopard cat; leopard cat (local)	Matisoff 1974:162; Benedict 1976a
	khye-**sats**	leopard cat (local)	Benedict 1972:116n324
	kjɑ^{3}**tθɑs**^{4}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.26
	kjɑ^{3} **thɑs**	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.39
	kyā:sac	leopard	Marrison 1967
	sac	leopard; small animal of tiger genus	Hansson 1989:321; Benedict 1976a
	sats	leopard; small animal of the tiger genus	LaPolla 1987:106; Benedict 1972:61
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	*k-**zik**^{L}	leopard	Bradley 1979b:14; Hansson 1989:321
PNL	**zik**^{L}	leopard	CHEN Kang 1986a:94.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**zìq**-pàq	panther	Björverud 1994
	zi̱^{2}	leopard	CHEN Kang 1986a:94.
Lipho	**zi̱**^{2}	leopard	CHEN Kang 1986a:94.
Luquan	**zI 55c**	leopard	Matisoff 1972b:122
Nasu	**zi 55**	leopard	Matisoff 1972b:122
	zi̱^{55}	leopard	CHEN Kang 1986a:94.
Neisu	**zi**^{13}	leopard	CHEN Kang 1986a:94.
Nesu	**ʑi̱**^{2}	leopard	CHEN Kang 1986a:94.
Nosu	**zi̱**^{55}	leopard	CHEN Kang 1986a:94.
Yi (Dafang)	**ze**^{13}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.22
Yi (Mile)	**zi̱**^{21}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ʑi̱**^{21}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**zi̱**^{21}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.24
	zi̱^{33}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**zʅ**^{21}pa^{21}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.23
Yi (Weishan)	**zɿ̄**^{21}pa^{21}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.36
Yi (Wuding)	**zi̱**^{55}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.38
Yi (Xide)	**zʅ**^{55}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.35
	zʅ^{55}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**zi̱**^{2}	leopard	CHEN Kang 1986a:94.
	zʅ 44s	leopard	Matisoff 1972b:122
Lahu (Black)	mɔ̀ʔ-**yìʔ**	cloudy leopard [Felis nebulosa]	Matisoff 1988a:1035
Lisu (Northern)	ɔ^{33}**tʃhʅ**^{33}	leopard cat; wildcat (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ^{44}**tʃhʅ**^{33}	wildcat	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**zi**^{2}	leopard	CHEN Kang 1986a:94.
	ʐ̱ 22s	leopard	Matisoff 1972b:122
Yi (Sani)	**ʐ̱**^{2}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	xhà **zỳ**	leopard	Hansson 1989:321
Akha (Thai)	xhà-**zỳ**	leopard	Hansson 1989:321
Akha	xhà-**zỳ**	leopard	Hansson 1989:321
Hani (Dazhai)	xa^{31}**zʅ**^{31}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.31
Hani (Lüchun)	xha **zỳ**	leopard	Hansson 1989:321
Hani (Hu T'an)	**zʅ 21c**	leopard	Matisoff 1972b:122
Hani (Lüchun)	xa^{31}**zʅ**^{31}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	xa^{31}**zɯ**^{31}	leopard	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	haq **ssiq**	leopard	Hansson 1989:321
Haoni	xa^{31}**zʅ**^{31}	leopard	Hansson 1989:321
	xɔ^{21}**zʅ**^{21}	leopard	Hansson 1989:321
Hani (Shuikui)	xɔ^{31}**zʅ**^{31}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.32
Hani (Mojiang)	xɔ^{31}**zʅ**^{31}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.42
Woni	**ndzɻɯ 33**	leopard	Matisoff 1972b:122
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Southern Muji	a^{21}**ʐi**^{21}	leopard; panther	Pelkey 2011:98
Phola	**zi**^{33}	leopard; panther	Pelkey 2011:98
Hlepho Phowa	**zʅ**^{33}	leopard; panther	Pelkey 2011:98
	zʅ^{33}ba^{21}go^{21}	leopard; panther	Pelkey 2011:98
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ʐæ**˥	leopard, panther	Michaud 2006–2009:3889
	ʐæ˦bv˥	male leopard	Michaud 2006–2009:3891
	ʐæ˦mie˥	female leopard	Michaud 2006–2009:3890
Na (Yongning)	**ʐæ**˨	leopard, panther	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**dʐ̩**^{33}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndzɻɯ**^{33}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʐa**^{31}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.29

(5) IA *siṁhá LION

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	***sɯŋ-gi**	lion	Sun 1993b
	ɕɯŋ gi	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.24
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**sɯŋ**^{55}**gi**^{55}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.22
Kaman [Miju]	**sɯŋ**^{55}**gi**^{55}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.23
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mulu **tsəŋi**	lion (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**hìŋhò**	lion	Acharya 1975
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**kiŋgo**	lion	Bhat 1968
	kiŋho	lion	Bhat 1968
	siŋha	lion	Bhat 1968
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**singho**	lion (n.)	van Breugel 2008
2.1.2. BODIC			
Motuo Menba	**seŋ ge**	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.07
Cuona Menba	**seŋ**^{55}**ke**^{53}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**shaŋ ke**	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**s^{h}aŋ "ge**	lion	Sun 1985a:446
Tibetan (Batang)	**sẽ**^{55}**ŋge**^{53}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**seŋ**^{55}**ke**^{55}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.02
Tibetan (Written)	**seng.ge**	lion	Sun 1985c:446
	seŋ ge	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.01
	séŋ-ge	lion	Jäschke 1881
	siŋ-ge	lion (W.)	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**shaŋ ŋge**	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.04
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**sĩga**	lion	Genetti 1990a
	sĩŋa	lion	Genetti 1990a
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**sə**^{55}**ŋge**^{55}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.16
Lyuzu	**sʅ**^{53}**ngi**^{53}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.18
Muya	**si**^{55}**ŋgi**^{53}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**si**^{55}**ŋgi**^{55}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**sẽ**^{55}**ge**^{55}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.09
Queyu (Xinlong)	**si**^{55}**ŋgi**^{55}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.13
Xumi	**sʅ**^{33}**ngi**^{55}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**se**^{55}**ngi**^{55}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**sə ngi**	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
Caodeng	**se-nge**	lion	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**sə ŋgə**	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.11
rGyalrong	**seng ge**	lion	Nagano 1997:4.5
rGBenzhen	**sɐ-ngə**	lion	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	**khɑŋ**^{31} khi^{31}	lion	LaPolla 2003:350
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**xaŋ**^{31}si^{31}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.28
Arakanese	**hkron-**	lion	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**khaŋ**^{31}khji^{31}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕhĩ**^{22}tθe^{53}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hcin**-dhei	lion	Okell 1971
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khraň**-siy	lion	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khraň** se.	lion	Okell 1971
	khraŋ-	lion	Benedict 1976a
	khraŋ-sé	lion	Benedict 1972:163n439
	khraŋ-se'	lion	Matisoff 1974:34
	khrɑŋ-sé	lion	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:559
	khraŋ^{2}tθe^{1}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.26
	khyaŋ-	lion	Benedict 1976a
	khyaŋ-se'	lion	Matisoff 1974:34
	sin	lion (< Pali)	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	**chĩ** sé?	lion	Henderson 1986
Intha	**hyen**-	lion	Okell 1971
Leqi (Luxi)	**kə̱ŋ**^{55}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.33
Marma	**khraŋ** θí	lion	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-8
Maru [Langsu]	**khàng** khì	lion	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khaŋ**^{21}khji^{21}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.30

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Mpi	**siŋ⁴to²**	lion	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

(6) PTB *d-k e ə y TIGER

A number of Tani and Naga forms for 'leopard' appear to be TIGER with an -r suffix, cf. Angami and Chokri, which have the root #2308 in both 'tiger' and 'leopard'.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-key ≍ d-kəy**	tiger	Matisoff 2003a:595
	***d-key**	tiger	Matisoff 1985a:052; Benedict 1972:462

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"

Sulung [Puroik]	**kə** r^{33}tə^{33}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.52

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	ta-**ke** r	leopard	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**kɯ** r-nɯː	leopard (female)	Sun 1993b
	kɯ r-puː	leopard (male)	Sun 1993b
	kɯ r-tɯː	leopard	Sun 1993b
	kɯ r-wuː	leopard (young)	Sun 1993b
Galo	ho men-ta **ka** r	leopard; Panthera pardus (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ta **ka** rː	leopard	Das Gupta 1963

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Damu	ta-**ka** r	leopard	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	si-**ke**	species of civet cat	Matisoff 1985a:052; Benedict 1972:462

1.1.2. DENG

Idu	**kɯ^{55}**tɕi^{55}	leopard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:126.50
Yidu	**kɯ^{55}**tɕi^{55}	leopard / panther (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kay** TIGER

**Chin*	***kay**	TIGER	VanBik 2009:317

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	kʌ́m **kéi**	tiger	Thirumalai 1972:43
Tiddim	kaːm^{3} **kei²**	leopard	Bhaskararao 1996:565

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Chinbon	t **še^{i}**	tiger	So-Hartmann 1988:62
Daai	**ʔke^{i}**	tiger	So-Hartmann 1988:62
Khami	tə **kei**	tiger	Benedict 1972
Khumi	t^{ə} **kaː^{i}**	tiger	So-Hartmann 1988:62
	t **káay**	tiger	VanBik 2009:317
Matu	**kaː^{i}**	tiger	So-Hartmann 1988:62
Nyhmoye	s^{h}a **ʔei**	tiger	So-Hartmann 1988:62
Wakung	t^{ə} **kɛ́**	tiger	So-Hartmann 1988:62

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	tsa-**kǎy**	tiger	VanBik 2009:317
Lai (Hakha)	tsa-**kây**	tiger	VanBik 2009:317
Lushai [Mizo]	**kei**-teː	leopard	Bhaskararao 1996:565
	kei tê	leopard	Marrison 1967
	sa̱-**kéi**	tiger	Weidert 1987:104
	sa-**kei**	tiger	Matisoff 1985a:052
	sà-**kéi**	tiger	VanBik 2009:317
	sa **kei**	tiger	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	chā-**kèi**	tiger	VanBik 2009:317
	tśə **kei**	tiger	Benedict 1972
	²tsə¹**kei**	tiger	Weidert 1987:104

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Bete	i **kei**	tiger	Benedict 1972

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**kei** yang-la cha	leopard	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Ao (Chungli)	**keyi**	tiger; leopard	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **khu**	leopard	Marrison 1967
	a **kwu**	tiger	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	tʃuŋraŋ **khù**	leopard (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**khu**	tiger (n.)	Coupe 2007
Yacham-Tengsa	**khü**	tiger	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	**kwi** ha	leopard	Marrison 1967
	te **khu**	tiger	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**khu** r hü	leopard	Marrison 1967
	te **khu**	tiger	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**kho** r hanu	leopard	Marrison 1967
	tü **kho**	tiger	Marrison 1967
Mao	**khe** do	leopard	Marrison 1967
	o **khe**	tiger	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	**khu** bui	tiger	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	cha **kui**	leopard; tiger	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	kwi rukna	leopard	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **kau**	tiger	Marrison 1967
	kau tau	leopard	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**kei** jang la	leopard	Marrison 1967
	ta **khu**	tiger	Marrison 1967
Zeme	heria **kau**	leopard	Marrison 1967
	ma **kau**	tiger	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***k^{h}u** TIGER

**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}u**	tiger	Mortensen 2012:715
Champhung	a-**k^{h}u**-bi	tiger	Brown 1837
Tangkhul	**kui** rang	leopard	Marrison 1967
	shang **kha**	tiger; leopard	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	śəŋ **khɯ**	tiger	Matisoff 1985a:052
Tankghul (Central)	sa-**kwi**	tiger	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	sa-**k^{h}wɯ**	tiger	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	saŋ-**k^{h}u**	tiger	Brown 1837
Ukhrul	ʃaŋ-**ku**	tiger	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	kabo **kei**	leopard	Marrison 1967
	kai	tiger	Marrison 1967
	kəbo **kəy**	leopard	Matisoff 1985a:052

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	te **kè**	tiger	Weidert 1987:104
	te **ke**	tiger	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:116n324

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***key**-ba	tiger	Matisoff 1985a:052; Benedict 1972:462

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	**ki** ba	tiger	Ebert 1997
Balali	**kö**-ba	tiger	Benedict 1972:462
Limbu	**keh**-va	tiger	Matisoff 1985a:052; Benedict 1972:462
	keː ba	tiger	Michailovsky 1989b
	keː baʔ	tiger	Weidert 1987:104
	si **geː** ba	tiger	Weidert 1987:104
Lohorong	**ki**-ba	tiger	Benedict 1972:462
Yamphu	**ki•** ba	tiger (n.)	Rutgers 1998:546.05

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**ki** wa	tiger	Rai 1985

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Sampang	**ki**-pa	tiger	Benedict 1972:462

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**khyê**-sac	leopard cat; leopard cat (local)	Matisoff 1974:162; Benedict 1976a
	khye-sats	leopard cat (local)	Benedict 1972:116n324

7. KARENIC: ***ke^{A}** TIGER

**Karen*	***ke^{A}**	tiger	Luangthongkum 2013:303
**Karen [Burling]*	***khe^{4}**	tiger	Luangthongkum 2013:303
Bwe	**khi^{55}**	tiger	Luangthongkum 2013:303
Karen	**khe^{55}**ju^{31}	lion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.50
Kayah	**khi^{33}**	tiger	Luangthongkum 2013:303
Kayan	**khai^{53}**	tiger	Luangthongkum 2013:303
Kayan (Pekon)	**k^{h}é**	tiger (N.)	Manson 2010
	k^{h}é s^{h}wî	leopard [lit. tiger-vine] (N.)	Manson 2010
	k^{h}é θè	lion [lit. tiger-horse] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**khi^{55}**	tiger	Luangthongkum 2013:303
Pa-O	**kè** ràu, **kè** cə ràu	leopard cat	Solnit 1989
	kè, **kè** tàn	tiger	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**ke$^{31¨}$**	tiger	Luangthongkum 2013:303
Pa-O (Southern)	**ke$^{31¨}$**	tiger	Luangthongkum 2013:303
Pwo (Northern)	**khi^{35}**	tiger	Luangthongkum 2013:303
Pwo	**khe**	tiger	Matisoff 1985a:052
Pwo (Southern)	**khi^{53}**	tiger	Luangthongkum 2013:303
Sgaw	**khe**	tiger	Matisoff 1985a:052
Sgaw (Northern)	**khe^{33}ji$^{11¨}$**	lion	Luangthongkum 2013:303

(7) PTB *pa TIGER

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**pá**-tɯ	tiger	Sun 1993b
	pat	tiger	Sun 1993b
	pat-h	tiger	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**pa**-tɯː	tiger	Sun 1993b
	pa-tɯː a-nɯː	tigress	Sun 1993b
	pa-tɯː a-puː	tiger (male)	Sun 1993b
Miri, Hill	a **pa**	tiger	Simon 1976
Nishing	**pa** te	tiger	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Milang	**pa**-ti	tiger	Tayeng 1976

(8) PTB *k-la TIGER

This root is undoubtedly an early loan from Mon-Khmer; cf. Mon kula, Munda kul(a).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***k-la**	tiger	Matisoff 2003a:599

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***C-gya** TIGER [a]

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-gya^{B}**	tiger	French 1983:569

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**sa**	tiger	Marrison 1967
	saʔ	tiger	Weidert 1987:60
Tangsa	**tšhaʔ**	tiger	Weidert 1987:60
Tangsa (Moshang)	**cha**	tiger	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**cha**	tiger	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**sàu**-ñú	tiger	Weidert 1987:60
	sau nyu	tiger	Marrison 1967
	sau yang	tiger	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**sha** nyu	tiger; leopard	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**šaʔ**-ñɯ	tiger	Weidert 1987:60
Konyak (Wakching)	**šaʔ**-ñu	tiger	Weidert 1987:60
Phom	**ʃaʔ^{33}**ñɯ^{33}	tiger	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**cha** nu	tiger	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	**khaila**	tiger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:124.7
	k'ai^{55}la^{13}	tiger	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**khai la**	tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.07

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**'lāː**	tiger (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.063

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**lɑ^{55}**	tiger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:124.18
Lyuzu	**læ^{33}**phæ^{53}	tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.18
	læ^{53} (lʉ^{53})	year of the tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.18
Namuyi	**la^{55}**	tiger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:124.19
	la^{55} (lʉ^{55}sʉ^{31})	year of the tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.46
	tshuo^{33}dzɻ^{31}**la^{55}**	tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.46
Qiang (Taoping)	**pzɻ^{31}**dɑ^{33}	tiger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:124.9
Xumi	**la^{55}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.17; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.17
	lɑ^{55}	tiger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:124.20

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	**ɮi**	tiger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:124.14

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***(k-)la** TIGER [b] [c]

**Lolo-Burmese*	***(k-)la**	tiger	Benedict 1972:177n472
	***(k-)lɑ**	tiger	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:57b-e

6.1.1. BURMISH

[a] French says, "Cf. Burmese-Lolo (***k-)la** (> WB **kyà**), which Benedict identifies as "ultimately a loan from Austro-Asiatic ***k(u)la**" (*STC* 177-178, n.472); the Khasi is **u-kla** (Robinson). This is probably also the source of the NN form, with the development of medial **-y-** < ***-l-** paralleled in Burmese, and NN ***C-** < PTB ***s-** 'animal prefix' " (1983: 569).

[b] Old Burmese **klâ** developed into later Written Burmese **kyâ**, which is the source of modern Burmic forms with affricated initials.

[c] There is a Chinese comparandum 虎 (*GSR* 57b-e **xo**, revised to **xlo** in *STC*:107, 178).

Achang (Lianghe)	kuɑ^{31}**lɑ^{35}**	cat	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɑ^{31}	tiger; leopard	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	kǎ^{31}**lɔ^{31}**	cat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0291.28
	kǎ^{31}**lɔ^{31}**	cat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:120.41
	lɔ^{31}	leopard; panther; tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.28; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.28
	lɔ^{31}	tiger; leopard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.41; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.41
	lɔ^{31} (n̥ək^{55})	year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.28
Achang (Luxi)	**laʔ^{31}**mjau^{35}	cat	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	la^{51}	leopard	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	kz̥ɔʔ^{55}**lɔ^{31}**	cat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0291.29
	lɔ^{31}	leopard; panther; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.29; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.29
	lɜ̆^{31}mɔ^{31}mut^{35}	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.29
Arakanese	**cà**	tiger	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**la^{31}**	leopard; panther; tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.32; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.32
	lă^{31} (tɛ̃^{55}vɛʔ^{55})	year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.32
	lə̆^{31}ŋjau^{35}	cat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0291.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕɑ^{55}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.27; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.27
	tɕɑ^{55}tθiʔ^{4}	leopard / panther (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕɑ^{55}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.40
	tɕɑ^{55}tθiʔ^{44}	leopard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.40
Burmese (Written)	**kjɑ^{3}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.26; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.26
	kjɑ^{3}	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.39
	kjɑ^{3}tθɑs^{4}	leopard / panther (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.26
	kjɑ^{3} thɑs	leopard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.39
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**klā**	tiger	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**klya / kyà**	tiger	Benedict 1972:41n134
	kyâ	tiger	Hansson 1989:75; Benedict 1976a
	kyà	tiger	Benedict 1972:107n301; Benedict 1972:26n83
	kyā:	tiger	Marrison 1967; Okell 1971
	kyā:sac	leopard	Marrison 1967
Hpun (Northern)	**kălà**	tiger	Henderson 1986
Samong	**kəla**	tiger	Benedict 1972:107n301
Langsu (Luxi)	**lɔ^{35}**	leopard; panther; tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.31; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.31
	lɔ^{35} (tsəŋ^{31})	year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.31
	lə̆^{31}ŋjau̱^{35}	cat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0291.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**lo^{33}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.33; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.33
	lə̆^{33}mo^{55}	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.33
	lə̆^{33}pu̱^{55}ti̱^{55}	leopard / panther (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.33
	lə̆^{31}ŋjo̱u^{33}	cat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0291.33
Marma	**kyá**	tiger	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:304-9
Maru [Langsu]	**lō**	tiger	Okell 1971
	lɔ	tiger	Benedict 1972:107n301
	lɔ^{35}	tiger; leopard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.43; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.43
	lə̆^{31}ŋjau̱^{35}	cat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:120.43
Tavoyan	**klà**	tiger	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lă^{21}**ŋjau̱^{55}	cat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0291.30
	lă^{21}ŋjau̱^{55}	cat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:120.42
	lo^{21}	leopard / panther (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.30
	lo^{21}	leopard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.42
	lo^{21} (tsan^{51})	year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.30
	lo^{21}mo^{55}	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.30
	lo^{21}mo^{55}	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.42

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***k-la^{2}**	tiger	Bradley 1979b:13; Hansson 1989:75
PNL	**(k-)la**	tiger	Chen Kang 1986a:58.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**la^{31}**	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.47
	la^{31} (kho^{53})	year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.47
Lalo	**là**-pàq	tiger	Björverud 1994
	la^{2}	tiger	Chen Kang 1986a:58.
Lipho	**lo^{55}**	tiger	Chen Kang 1986a:58.
Luquan	**lu̱^{55}**	tiger	Ma Xueliang 1948
Nasu	**lo^{55}**	tiger	Chen Kang 1986a:58.
Neisu	**lu^{55}**	tiger	Chen Kang 1986a:58.
Nesu	**lo^{2}**	tiger	Chen Kang 1986a:58.
Nosu	**la^{55}**	tiger	Chen Kang 1986a:58.
Nusu (Central)	**la^{55}**	leopard; panther; tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.34; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.34
	la^{55}khɹu̱^{53}	year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.34
Nusu (Southern)	**lɔ̱^{53}**	tiger; leopard	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**lɛ^{35}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	lɛ^{35}shɑ^{35}	leopard	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**lɑ^{31}**sɑ^{35}	leopard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.45
	lɑ^{55}	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.45
Yi (Dafang)	**lu^{55}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**la^{55}**	tiger	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	la^{55}khuɯ^{33}	tiger's lair	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	la^{55}mo^{21}	tiger; wolf	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**lo^{55}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**lo̱^{21}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**lo^{21}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.37; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.37
	lo^{21}	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**la^{21}**pa^{21}	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.23
Yi (Weishan)	**lɑ^{21}**	year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.36
	lɑ^{21}pa^{21}	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.36
Yi (Wuding)	**lu^{55}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.38; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.38
Yi (Xide)	**la^{55}**mo^{21}	wolf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.21
	la^{55}ɬɯ^{21}	September (tiger month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:84.21
	lɑ^{55}	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.35
	lɑ^{55}mo^{21}	wolf (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.35
	lɑ^{55}n̥i^{33}	lion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.35
	tsho^{44}dzɯ^{33}**la^{55}**mo^{21}	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**lo^{55}**	tiger	Chen Kang 1986a:58.
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**lɔ^{44}**mɔ^{33}	tiger (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**lɔ^{44}**mɔ^{33}	tiger	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**lɔ^{44}**mɔ^{33}	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**lɔ^{44}**mɯ^{33}	leopard	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**lɔ^{44}**mɯ^{44}	tiger; leopard (=tiger)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.34; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.34
	lɔ^{44}mɤ^{33}	leopard / panther (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.44
Kucong	**lʌ31**	tiger	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**lɑ^{53}**	leopard; panther; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0310.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.43
	lɑ^{53}qhɑ^{53}pɯ^{33}	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.43
	lɑ^{53}tɕɑ^{31}ɕi^{35}	lion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0305.43
Lahu (Black)	**lâ**-bùʔ	leopard	Matisoff 1972b:89(a)
	lʌ^{53}	leopard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.33
	lʌ^{53}qhʌ^{53}pə^{33}	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**cà**-mɛ	tiger	Matisoff 1988a:453
	la^{3}	zodiac year (Tiger)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsa^{2}mɛ^{1}ga^{5}**la^{5}**	leopard	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	kɔ^{33}**laʔ^{21}**ma^{33}	tiger on high mountains	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}	tiger (N.)	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}khɔʔ^{21}	year of the tiger	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}khɔʔ^{21} dzø^{33}ɲɔ^{35}	Song of Tiger Biting and Eagle Snatching (ancient Lisu poem)	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}khɔʔ^{21}su^{33}	born in the year of the tiger	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ku^{35} dzɛ^{33}ku^{35}ŋɔ^{21}	Song of Separating the Tiger and Eagle (name of Lisu poem)	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ma^{33}	tiger	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ma^{33} khaʔ^{21}bæʔ^{21}	tiger's mouth	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ma^{33} mɤ^{21}tsi^{33}	tiger's whiskers	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ma^{33} nø^{33}gu^{21}	tiger's rib	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ma^{33} ɔʔ^{21}tɔ^{33}	tiger-bone	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ma^{33} ɔʔ^{21}tɔ^{33}dʑi^{44}	tiger-bone wine	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ma^{33}dʑi^{44}	tiger skin	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ni^{33}	day of the tiger	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}pha^{21}	man of tiger clan	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}pha^{21} thi^{21} ɣɔʔ^{21}	branch of the Tiger clan	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}sa^{55}	(Temminck's cat) Felis temminc	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}sæ^{35}	lion	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}ɔ^{55}dy^{21}	leopard	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**la^{21}**ɲi^{33}	day of the tiger	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**la^{21}**ʃl^{21}	clan of the tiger	Bradley 1994
	laʔ^{21}ma^{33} thi^{21} ma^{33}	tiger (n.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**la^{5}**-ma^{3}	tiger (n.)	Fraser 1922
	la^{5}-wu^{1}-du^{5}	leopard	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**lɑ^{31}**	year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.40
	lɑ^{31}mɑ^{44}	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.27
	lɑ^{31}sɑ^{55}	leopard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.27
Lisu (Northern)	thɔ^{21}ɤ^{21} **laʔ^{21}**ma^{33}	paper tiger	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**la^{55}**	tiger	Chen Kang 1986a:58.
Yi (Sani)	**lɒ^{55}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.39; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	xhà **là**	tiger	Hansson 1989:75
Akha	xhà-**là**	tiger	Hansson 1989:75
Akha (Thai)	xhà-**là**	tiger	Hansson 1989:75
Bisu	tsʰà **là**	tiger	Bradley 199x
	tsʰà **là** ʔaŋ kàw	leopard	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	xa^{31}**la^{31}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.31
Hani (Lüchun)	xhà **là**	tiger	Hansson 1989:75
	xa^{31}**la^{31}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.41; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**lɔ^{31}**me^{31}	leopard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.30
	lɔ^{31}mɔ^{33}	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.30
Hani (Pijo)	**lɔ̀**	tiger	Hansson 1989:75
	lɔ̀ mì	leopard	Hansson 1989:321
	lɔ̀ mɔ	tiger	Hansson 1989:75
Hani (Gelanghe)	xa^{31}**la^{31}**	tiger	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	haq **laq**	tiger	Hansson 1989:75
Hani (Shuikui)	xɔ^{31}**l̥ɔ^{31}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.32
Hani (Khatu)	**lò**	tiger	Hansson 1989:75
	lò mì	leopard	Hansson 1989:321
Hani (Mojiang)	xɔ^{31}**l̥ɔ^{31}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.42; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.42

Mpi	**lo²**	tiger	Hansson 1989:75; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	sa33 **la31**	tiger	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:021002
Sila	**lɛ21** tɕhạ21	tiger	Kato Takashi 2008:99
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**lɑ**˥k^{h}v˩	year of the tiger	Michaud 2006–2009:1642
	lɑ˧	tiger	Michaud 2006–2009:3887
	lɑ˧mie˧	female tiger	Michaud 2006–2009:3888
Na (Yongning)	**lɑ**˧	tiger	Michaud 2006–2009
	lɑ˧k^{h}v˥	year of the tiger	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**lɑ^{33}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lɑ^{33}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**lɑ^{33}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.29

Chinese comparandum

虎 OC ***xo**, *GSR* #57b-e ‘tiger’; *STC*:107, 178 ***xlo**; B & S 2011: ***q^{hs}ra?**; Schuessler 2007:281 ***hlâ**; Mand. **hǔ**.

(9) PTB *kwaŋ TIGER

3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**khuŋ**	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.11
rGyalrong	**khuŋ**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.12
	khung	tiger	Nagano 1997:4.3
rGBenzhen	**k^{h}uŋ?**	tiger	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Anong	**khaŋ**-zi	leopard	LaPolla 1987:106; Benedict 1972:61
Rawang	**khaŋ^{31}**	tiger	LaPolla 2003:349
	khaŋ^{31} zə laŋ^{31}	leopard, panther	LaPolla 2003:355
Nung	ɑ^{31}**khaŋ^{31}**	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}**khaŋ^{31}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.44
Dulong	**kaŋ^{53}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.20; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.20
Trung [Dulong]	**kaŋ^{53}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.46
	kaŋ^{53}dʑi^{53}	leopard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**khaŋ^{53}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

(10) TGTM *^{A}tsjan TIGER / LEOPARD

2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**tsjan**	tiger	Mazaudon 1994:319
Gurung (Ghachok)	**cẽ**	tiger	Glover 1972:3.A.63
Gurung	**cẹ**	tiger (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.063
	^{1}**tsẽ**	tiger	Mazaudon 1994:319
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**tsjan**	tiger	Mazaudon 1994:319
Tamang (Sahu)	**cen**	leopard (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.064
	cen	leopard	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.64
	^{1}**tsen**	leopard	Mazaudon 1994:319
Tamang (Taglung)	**tsjan**	tiger	Mazaudon 1994:319
Thakali	**cyen**	tiger; leopard (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.063; Hale 1973:03a.064
Thakali (Syang)	**tsjɐn**	tiger	Mazaudon 1994:319
Thakali (Tukche)	**cjen**	tiger; leopard	Hari 1971:3.A.63; Hari 1971:3.A.64
	^{H}**tsjen**	leopard	Mazaudon 1994:319

(11) PBod *s-tag TIGER / YEAR OF TIGER

This is basically a Tibetan root, with loan extensions in Tamangic and Qiangic.

2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Tilang)	gong-**tak**	tiger	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tɑ^{55}**	tiger	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tʌʔ^{53}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.6
Cuona Menba	**taʔ^{53}**	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.06
	taʔ^{53}wu^{31}	year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rtak**	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htak**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rtak**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**st̲ʌq** bu·	tiger's cub	Rangan 1975:72
Tibetan (Batang)	**tɑʔ^{53}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.03; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tɑʔ^{53}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**taʔ^{53}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.2
	ta^{52}	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.02; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'takq**	leopard (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.064
Tibetan (Written)	rgyɑ-**stág**	tiger (Bengal)	Jäschke 1881
	stag	tiger	Marrison 1967
	stag	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.01
	stag	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.1
	stɑg	tiger	Jäschke 1881
	stɑg-p'rúg	tiger (young)	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htaχ**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.04
2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{A}**ta:** TIGER (YEAR)			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**ta:**	tiger (year)	Mazaudon 1994:430
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**ta^{55}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.16; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.16
	tɑ^{55}	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.17
Muya	**tɑ^{53}**	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.15
	tɑ^{53} (ɣu^{24})	year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tɑ^{53}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tɑ^{55}**	year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.10
Qiang (Mianchi)	pì **dá**	3d earthly branch (tiger); tiger	Evans 1999:1106; Evans 1999:377 [ab]
Qiang (Taoping)	pzɻ^{31}**dɑ^{33}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**sta^{55}**	tiger; year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.13; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ta^{53}**	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ʂta^{55}**	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**stɑ**	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.12

[a] [Source Note] s2 in wild animal names (Evans 1999).
[b] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).

(12) PKC *sha-hŋar WILDCAT

The first element in this binome is PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1).

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	*__sha-hŋar__	WILDCAT	VanBik 2009:918
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**sa^{1} nga:k^{2}**	wildcat; wild cat	VanBik 2009:918; Bhaskararao 1996:1495
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**sa-hŋâr**	wildcat	VanBik 2009:918
Lushai [Mizo]	**sà-nghár**	wildcat	VanBik 2009:918
	sa-nghar	wild cat	Bhaskararao 1996:1495

(13) PTani *so WILDCAT

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	*__so__	wild cat	Sun 1993a:463
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**so**-me	wild cat; cat, wild	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**so**	civet cat; civet	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**šo**-mjo	tiger	Sun 1993a
	so-mjo	tiger	Sun 1993b
	ta-**šo**	wild cat	Sun 1993a
	ta-**so**	wildcat	Sun 1993b
	ɕo mjo	tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0304.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɕo** m jo	tiger	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:124.51
Galo	ho ləə-'ta **so**	civet (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **so**	wildcat	Das Gupta 1963
	'ta **so**	marbled cat; wildcat (small); Felis marmorata (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**so**	wild cat	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ɕi**-myo	tiger	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**ši**-mjo	tiger	Sun 1993a

2.1.4 Lagomorphs

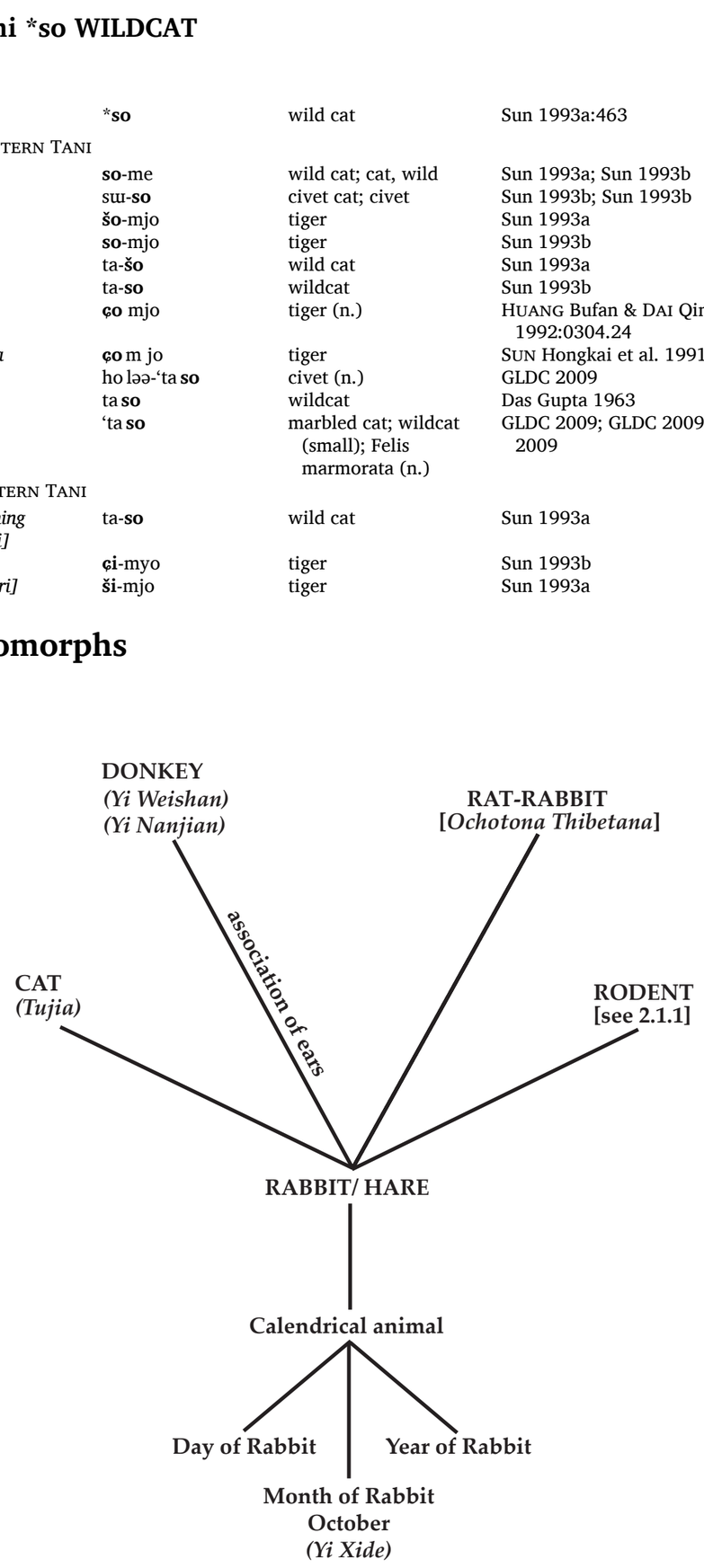


Figure 166: 2.1.4 *Lagomorphs*

(1a) PTB *tow-la RABBIT / HARE

This binome, used both for the actual animal and as a sign of the zodiac, is here set up for convenience as a PTB etymon, but it seems really to be a borrowing from Chinese to languages in several different areas of the Sinosphere. It apparently is derived from a compound meaning RABBIT-DONKEY, the point of comparison being the long ears of both species. Cf. Chinese 兔 **tù** 'rabbit', 驢 **lyú** 'donkey', and 騾 **luó** 'mule'. Some forms in TB languages are more recently borrowings from the Mandarin binome **tùzi**, with the suffixal morpheme 子 **zi** as second element.

The same semantic association between DONKEY and RABBIT is to be found in PTB ***(b/g)waŋ** DONKEY / ASS / RABBIT (§2.1.7), and has been well-attested in Indo-Aryan; see IA ***kharāyō** HARE / RABBIT (§2.1.4) and IA ***khara-gośa** HARE / RABBIT (§2.1.4).

This morpheme was evidently borrowed into Qiangic before the "brightening" of earlier ***a** to Qiangic **i** took place.

The Tujia forms **mao^{3} tao^{2}** and **mau^{21} tho^{55} li^{55}** look as if they have incorporated Mandarin **māo** 'cat', with the tertium comparationis this time being the whiskers common to both species. On the other hand, the Achang word for 'donkey', **m̥ʐaŋ^{31} mau^{31} ɲiʔ^{31}**, where the first syllable definitely means HORSE, has the same cat-like morpheme as the second syllable.

In Nungish, Bai, Lisu, and several Yi dialects, the words for DONKEY seem to be compounds consisting of this binome as first element followed by a root meaning HORSE, even though the independent words for 'horse' in these languages are somewhat different.

In Lalo (Western Loloish), the present binome means both 'rabbit' and 'donkey'. The fuller form, **haq-thoq-loq**, literally "rat-rabbit" disambiguates the word in favor of RABBIT. Alternatively, this Lalo compound might refer to a different species, the pika, as in Northern Lisu **hæ̃^{35} thɔʔ^{21} la^{33}** 'Tibetan pika'.

In short, there seems to have been a good deal of interplay, not to say confusion, among morphemes referring to several different animal species. See the semantic diagrams.

3.2. QIANGIC

Namuyi	**tho^{55}li^{55}**	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.19
	thuo^{55}li^{53}	rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.46
	thuo^{55}li^{55} (lɯ^{55}sɯ^{31})	year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.46
Pumi (Taoba)	**tho^{35}li^{53}**	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.10
Xumi	**thu^{53}lu^{33}**	rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.17
	thu^{55}lu^{33}	year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.17
	thy^{55}ly^{55}	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.20

4. NUNGIC

Nung	**tho^{31}lɑ^{55}**mu^{31}	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.21
Anong	**tho^{31}lɑ^{55}**mu^{31}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.44
Nung	**thu^{31}lɑ^{31}**	rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.21
Anong	**thu^{31}lɑ^{55}**	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.44
Dulong	**tɔ^{31}lɑ^{55}**mɔ^{53}	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.20

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	mao3**tao2**	rabbit (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	mao^{3}**tao^{2}**	rabbit	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3
	mau^{21}thau^{55}li^{55}~**mau^{21}ɬhu^{55}li^{55}**		TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	mau^{21}**tho^{55}li^{55}**	rabbit; year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.49; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.49
	mau^{21}**tho^{55}li^{55}**	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.38
Tujia (Northern)	**tao1li1**	rabbit (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	ʂao^{55}**thʏ^{35}**	rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.47
Lalo	haq-**thoq-loq**	rabbit	Björverud 1994
	lo^{33}	rabbit	CHEN Kang 1986a:182.
	thoq-loqːǹ	donkey	Björverud 1994
Lipho	**lo^{33}**	rabbit	CHEN Kang 1986a:182.
Nusu (Central)	**tha^{33}la^{31}**	rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.34
	tho^{31}la^{33}mo^{31}	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.34
Nusu (Northern)	**tho^{31}lɑ^{55}**	rabbit	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**thɔ^{55}lɔ^{31}**	rabbit	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	thɔ^{55}lɔ^{31}ʔmiɛ^{35}	donkey	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**thɑ^{31}lɑ^{31}**miɯ^{31}	donkey	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**thɑ^{31}lɑ^{55}**miɑ^{ɹ31}zɑ^{55}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.45
	thɑ^{55}lɑ^{31}	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.45
Yi (Liangshan)	**thɯ^{21}ɬɯ^{21}**	rabbit	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**thɒ^{55}**sǫ^{21}	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**thɑ^{21}li^{55}**mæ^{21}	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.37
	thɑ^{21}lo^{33}	rabbit; year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.37; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.37
	thʌ^{21}lo^{33}	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.24
	thʌ^{21}lo^{33}mɛ^{21}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**tha^{33}la^{33}**	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.23
	tha^{33}la^{33}m̩(ụ)^{21}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tho^{33}lo^{33}**	rabbit; year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.36; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.36
	tho^{33}lo^{33}m̩^{21}	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.36
Yi (Wuding)	**thɑ^{11}ɬu̱^{2}**	year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.38
Yi (Xide)	**thɯ^{21}ɬɯ^{21}**	year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Kucong	**thu31 la31**	rabbit	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**thɔ^{54}lɑ^{31}**	year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.43
Lahu (Yellow)	**thɔ^{3}**	zodiac year (Rabbit)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**htaw^{5}-la^{4}**	hare; rabbit	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	hæ̃^{35}**thɔʔ^{21}la^{33}**	Tibetan pika 'rat-rabbit', Ochotona thibetana (living in coniferous forests in Biluo Snow Mountains and Gaoligong Mountains)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**thǫ^{31}lǫ^{33}**	year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.40
	tho^{41}lɑ^{33}	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.27
	tho^{41}lɑ^{33}mo^{31}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.27
Lisu (Northern)	**thɔʔ^{21}la^{33}**	rabbit (N.)	Bradley 1994
	thɔʔ^{21}la^{33}khu^{33}	rabbit hole	Bradley 1994
	thɔʔ^{21}la^{33}kɔ^{55}	hare	Bradley 1994
	thɔʔ^{21}la^{33}mɔ^{21}	donkey (N.)	Bradley 1994
	thɔʔ^{21}la^{33}ni^{33}	day of rabbit	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**tho^{11}ɬɒ^{33}**	year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Dazhai)	**tho^{31}la^{33}**	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tho^{31}la^{33}**	rabbit; year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.41; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**thɔ^{31}lɔ^{33}**	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.30
Hani (Shuikui)	**thʏ^{31}l̥ɔ^{33}**	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**thʏ^{31}l̥ɔ^{33}**	rabbit; year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.42; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.42

6.2. NAXI

Naxi	**tho^{33}le^{33}**	rabbit; year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tho^{33}le^{33}**	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**tho^{33}le^{33}**	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.29

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**tho^{55}lo^{33}**me^{55}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.37
	tho^{55}lo^{44}	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.37
Bai (Dali)	**tho^{55}lo^{44}**	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.35
	tho^{55}lo^{55}me^{ɹ21}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tho^{55}lǫ^{33}**	rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.48
	tho^{55}lo^{44}	rabbit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:121.36
	tho^{55}lo^{55}miɛ^{21}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.36

Chinese comparandum

兔 OC ***t'o**, *GSR* #63a 'rabbit'; B & S 2011: ***l̥^{ʕ}a-s**; Mand. **tù**.

(1b) PTB *la DONKEY / ASS / MULE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***laa** DONKEY / ASS / MULE

**Chin*	***laa**	DONKEY / ASS / MULE	VanBik 2009:1012

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**lā**	mule	VanBik 2009:1012
Tiddim	**la^{3}**	ass	VanBik 2009:1012; Bhaskararao 1996:871
	`la:	mule (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**la**	mule	VanBik 2009:1012

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**lăa**	donkey, ass, mule	VanBik 2009:1012

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**ā là**	donkey, a mule (n.)	VanBik 2009:1012

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**lo^{31}**kuŋ^{33}	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.19
	lo^{31}kuŋ^{33}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.47

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	waŋ **lə**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	oŋ **lə**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	oŋ **lə**	donkey	Sun 1985a:195
	ʈʂi **lə**	mule	Sun 1985a:617
	woŋ **lə**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.5
Tibetan (Xiahe)	ʔoŋ **lə**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.04

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	**la** pki	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**lɑ** pki	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.11
Caodeng	poŋ-**luʔ**	donkey	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	**lɐp**-kiʔ	donkey	Sun 1997b

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**lo^{35}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.49
	lo^{35}	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.38
	mau^{21}**li^{21}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.49
	mau^{21}**li^{21}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.38

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	m̥ʑaŋ^{31}mau^{31}**ʅiʔ^{31}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.28
Burmese (Rangoon)	**lɑ^{55}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**lɑ^{55}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.40
Burmese (Written)	**lâ**	mule	Benedict 1976a
	lô	sp. of mule (cf. lâ)	Benedict 1976a
	lɑ^{3}	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.26
	lɑ^{3}	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.39
Hpun (Northern)	**là**	mule	Henderson 1986

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	* **[lɔ^{21}]**	mule	Bradley 1979b:7

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Mojiang)	**lɒ^{55}**mɛ^{33}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.26
Yi (Wuding)	**lʏ^{55}**mʏ^{33}	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.38

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	ma^{42}**lo^{55}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.44
	mɔ^{42}**le^{33}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.34
Lahu (Lancang)	**lɔ^{11}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.43
	pi^{35}**lɑ^{31}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.43
Lahu (Black)	**lɔ^{11}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.33
	pi^{35}**lʌ^{31}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.33

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Shuikui)	mɔ^{33}**li^{33}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.32
Hani (Mojiang)	mɔ^{33}**li^{33}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.42

(1c) CH *luózi MULE

A borrowing from Mandarin 騾子 **luózi** 'mule'.

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**lo^{31}tse^{31}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.19
	lo^{31}tse^{31}	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.47

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**lo^{55}tsʅ^{55}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.17
	lɔ^{31}tsə^{55}	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.16
	qu^{55}**lu^{55}tsi^{33}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.17
Lyuzu	ku^{33}**liu^{53}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.18
Qiang (Longxi)	**lò tsɨ**	mule {b}	Evans 1999:351

4. NUNGIC

Nung	**lo^{55}tsɯ^{31}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.21
Anong	**lo^{55}tsɯ^{31}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.44
Rawang	**lɔ^{31} zɛ^{31}**	mule; donkey	LaPolla 2003:323; LaPolla 2003:324

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Xiandao)	**lɔʔ^{31}tsʅ^{31}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.29
Bola (Luxi)	**lɔ^{31}tsɛ^{31}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**lɔ^{31}tsɛ^{31}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.31
Maru [Langsu]	**lɔ^{31}tsɛ^{31}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lo^{21}tse^{21}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.30

	lo^{21}tse^{21}	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.42
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**lo^{35}tsɭ^{31}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.47
Nusu (Northern)	**lo^{35}tsɯ^{31}**	mule	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**lo^{55}tsɯ^{31}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.45
Nusu (Southern)	**lo^{55}tsɭ^{55}**	mule	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Mile)	**lo̱^{21}tsi^{33}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**lɒ^{55}tsi^{33}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**lo^{33}tsɭ^{33}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.37
	lo̱^{21}tsi^{33}	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**la^{55}tsɭ^{33}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.23
Yi (Weishan)	**lɑ^{55}ts̄ɭ̄^{33}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.36
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Youle)	**lo^{42}tsi^{33}**	mule	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu (Central)	(a^{1} mu^{5}) **law^{6}-tsï^{3}**	mule	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}mɔ^{21} **lɔ^{33}tsɤ^{33}**	mule	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**lo^{33}tsɯ^{44}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.27
Lisu (Northern)	**lɔ^{33}tsɯ^{33}**	mule (N.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Dazhai)	**la^{55}dzɭ^{33}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**la^{55}dzɭ^{33}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.41
	la^{55}dzɭ^{33}a^{31}da^{33}	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.41
Hani (Shuikui)	**lo^{35}tsɭ^{33}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**lo^{35}tsɭ^{33}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.42
8. BAI			
Bai (Bijiang)	**lo^{33}tʂi^{33}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.37
Bai (Dali)	**lo^{35}tsi^{44}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.35
	lɔ tsw 62	mule	Dell 1981b:160
Bai (Jianchuan)	**lo^{55}tsi^{33}**	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.36
	lo^{55}tsɭ^{33}	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.48

(2) PKC *sha-wi? RABBIT / HARE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***sha-wi?**	RABBIT / HARE	VanBik 2009:1164
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	m-**vi ≍ vi**	rabbit, hare	VanBik 2009:1164
Matu	**səvɛ^{ʔ}**	rabbit	So-Hartmann 1988:59
Ngmüün	**wi**	rabbit	So-Hartmann 1988:59
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**sa-vi? ≍ -ve?**	rabbit, hare	VanBik 2009:1164

(3) IA *khara-gośa HARE / RABBIT

From Bengali **kharagōśa**, borrowed from Persian **xar-guš** 'hare' (lit. 'donkey-ear').

1.7.1.1. BODO			
Kokborok	**k^{h}ɔr-ga**	rabbit	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**kor-gus**	rabbit (n.)	Burling 2003:4.419-II:idx

(4) IA *kharāyō HARE / RABBIT

The basic meaning of this root in Indo-Aryan was 'donkey' (**khara-**), with the word for the formerly exotic lagomorph 'rabbit' expressed by the Old Indo-Aryan compound **kharabhaka-** (lit. 'long-eared like a donkey') (Turner 1966). Tibeto-Burman languages have borrowed this IA etymon in both senses. Cf. Nepali **kharāyō** 'rabbit' (Schmidt 1993), the source of Newar **kharāyo**, as opposed to the meaning 'donkey' in many other TB languages.

The Guiqiong forms look like IA + Chinese hybrids. Cf. CH ***luózi** MULE (§2.1.4).

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	**ku ru**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.24
	ku-ru	donkey; horse (5 years old)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**kuru**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.51
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**gɯ^{31}ɹɑu^{55}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.22
	gɯ^{31}ɹɑu^{55}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.49
Kaman [Miju]	**gɯ^{31}ɾɯu^{55}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.48
	gɯ^{31}ɹɯu^{55}	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.23
Idu	**gɯ^{31}ɹɑu^{55}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.50
Yidu	**gɯ^{31}ɹɑu^{55}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.25
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	**ku^{55}ru^{53}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ku^{13}ru^{53}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.3
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**kharāyo**	rabbit	Genetti 1990a
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ku^{55}ə^{ɹ55}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.18
Guiqiong	**ku^{55}ʐu^{55}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.16
	qu^{55}lu^{55}tsi^{33}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.17
Lyuzu	**ku^{33}**liu^{53}	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.18
Namuyi	**ku^{33}ə^{ɹ55}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.19
	ku^{33}ə^{ɹ35}	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.46
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ko^{55}rə^{53}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ku^{55}ʐu^{33}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.14
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	**ku^{31}ɹɯ^{53}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.20
Trung [Dulong]	**kɯ^{31}ɹɯ^{53}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.46

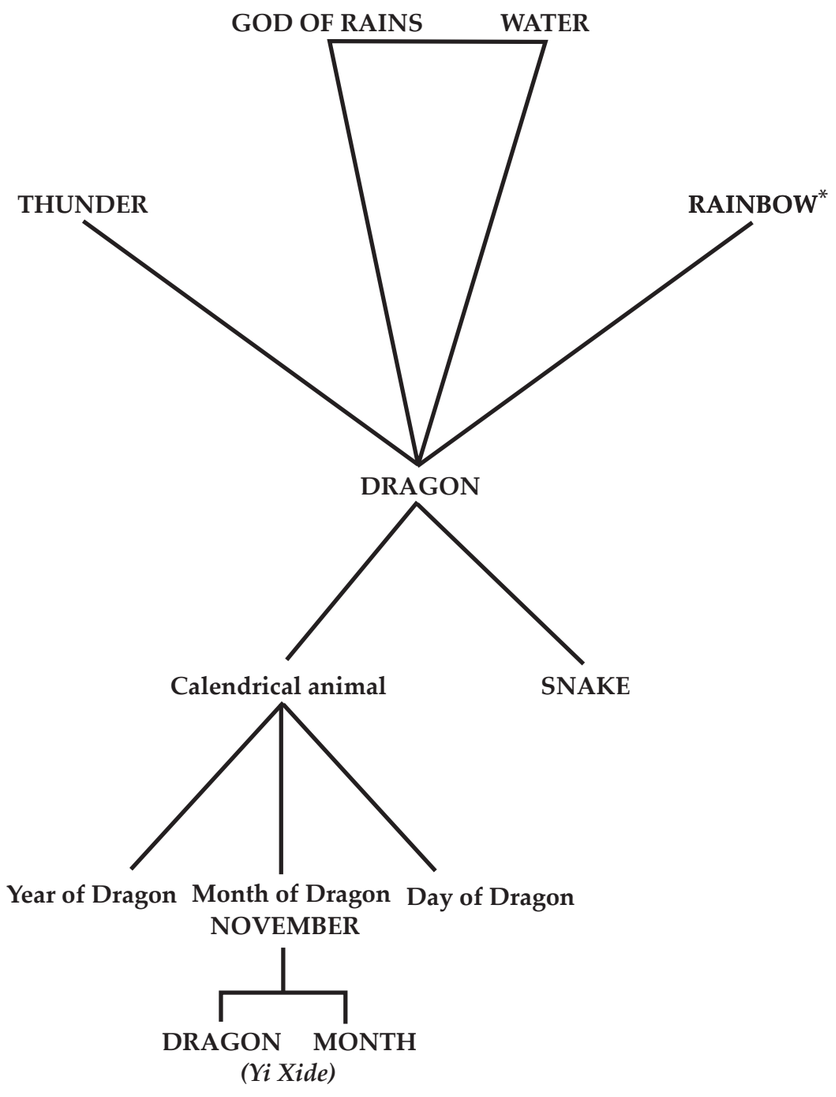
(5) IA *śaśa HARE / RABBIT

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**sosa**	rabbit	Ebert 1997

(6) PKar *p-ʔdɛ^{A} RABBIT, HARE

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***p-ʔdɛ^{A}**	rabbit, hare	Luangthongkum 2013:233
Bwe	**pə^{33}dɛ^{33}**	rabbit, hare	Luangthongkum 2013:233
Kayah	**dɛ^{33}**	rabbit, hare	Luangthongkum 2013:233
Kayan	**dɛ^{53}**	rabbit, hare	Luangthongkum 2013:233
Kayaw	**dɛ^{55}**	rabbit, hare	Luangthongkum 2013:233
Pwo (Northern)	**pa^{33}dɛ^{55}**	rabbit, hare	Luangthongkum 2013:233
Pwo (Southern)	**pə^{31}¨dɛ^{33}**	rabbit, hare	Luangthongkum 2013:233
Sgaw (Northern)	**pə^{11}dɛ^{33}**	rabbit, hare	Luangthongkum 2013:233

2.1.5 Dragon



*Unlike in Western lore, the dragon does not seem ever to have been associated with the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.

Figure 167: 2.1.5 *Dragon*

(1) PTB *m-bru $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ DRAGON / THUNDER

This mythical animal has been associated with WATER, RAINBOW, and THUNDER. Some forms which look as if they might descend from this root should actually be assigned to PTB ***mu:ŋ ≍ *r/s-mu:k** FOGGY / DARK / SULLEN / MENACING / THUNDER (§3.2.1).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-bruŋ ≍ m-bruk**	thunder / dragon	Matisoff 2003a:585
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**bu^{31}ɹɯɑ^{35}**	dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.22
	bu^{31}ɹɯɑ^{35}	dragon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:122.49
	bɯ^{31}ɹɯɑ^{31}	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.49
	bɯ^{31}ɹɯɑ^{35}	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.22
	bɯ^{31}ɹɯɑ^{35}khɹɑ^{53}	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.22; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.49
Idu	**bɯ^{31}ɹɯɑ^{35}**	dragon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:122.50
	bɯ^{31}ɹɯɑ^{35}mbo^{53}	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.50
	bɯ^{31}ɹɯɑ^{35}mbo^{53}	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.50
Yidu	**bɯ^{31}ɹɯɑ^{35}**	dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.25
	bɯ^{31}ɹɯɑ^{35}mbo^{53}	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.25
	bɯ^{31}ɹɯɑ^{35}mbo^{53}	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.25
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**bru?**	dragon (sky)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:122.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**brung**	thunder	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**bruk^{35}**	dragon; thunder	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986; LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	bruk^{35}dir^{35}	thunder (v.)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**bru?^{53}**	dragon; thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:122.6; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.6
	bru?^{53}koŋ^{13}	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.6
Motuo Menba	**bru?**	dragon (sky); year of the dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.07; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.07
Cuona Menba	**bru?^{53}**	thunder; dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.06; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.06
	bru?^{53}koŋ^{35}	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.06
	bru?^{53}wu^{31}	year of the dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**mdzu̱k** ççak	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.05
	ndzu̱k	thunder; dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.05; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.05

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ndzɻək**	dragon; thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.4; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.4
	ndzɻək tɕak	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**mdzɻək**	dragon; thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.5
	mdzɻək ccak	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.5
	ndzɻəg	dragon	Sun 1985a:198
Tibetan (Batang)	**ndzɻuʔ**[53]	thunder; dragon; year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.03; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.03; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.03
	ndzɻuʔ[53] tʂɑʔ[231]	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ndzɻuʔ**[53]	dragon; thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.3
	ndzɻuʔ[53]**tʂɑʔ**[31]	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	(**tʂuʔ**[13]**kɛʔ**[53])cap[13]	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.2
	tʂu[13]**kɛ**[52] Ca[132]	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.02
	tʂu[132]	dragon; year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.02; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.02
	tʂu[132] (kɛ[52])	thunder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.02
	tʂuʔ[13]	dragon (sky)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.2
	tʂuʔ[13]**kɛʔ**[53]	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.2
Tibetan (Written)	**'brug**	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
	brug	dragon	Sun 1985c:198
	ɦbrug	thunder; dragon; year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.01
	ɦbrug	dragon (sky)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.1
	ɦbrug sgra sgrog	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.01
	ɦbrug skad	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ndzɻəχ**	thunder; dragon; year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.04
	ndzɻəχ tɕaχ	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Gyaru)	mo[2] **brɯ**[2] lo[2]	thunder	Nagano 1984:254
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**ndzɻu**[35]	dragon; year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.16; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.16
	ndzɻu[35]	dragon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.17
Muya	**ndzɻu**[53]	thunder; dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.15; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.15
	ndzɻu[53] (ɣu[24])	year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.15
	ndzɻu[53]**tə**[33]**su**[33]	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ndzɻu**[35]	dragon; thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.15; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.15
Namuyi	ə[ɹ55]**dzɻa**[33]	dragon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.19
	ə[ɹ55]dzɻa[31] (**lɯ**[55]**sɯ**[31])	year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.46
	łuo[31]**dzɻa**[31]pu[31]	god of rain / Dragon King (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0671.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**bzɻu**[55]tɛi[55]	year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**bzɻə**[13] ta[55]ɣu[13]	year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.09
	bzɻə[13]dɑ[55]ɣu[55]	year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.09
Pumi (Taoba)	**bzo**[55]	dragon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**bú**	dragon	Evans 1999:379
Qiang (Mawo)	**bəˈk**	dragon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.8
	zbə	year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**bú**	5th earthly branch (dragon); dragon	Evans 1999:1108; Evans 1999:379 [a]
	bú-zè	Dragon King [dragon-king]	Evans 1999:964 [b]
Queyu (Xinlong)	**mdzɻu**[13]	year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.13
	mdzɣ[13]	dragon; year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.13; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.13
	mdzɣ[13] qa[55]	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ndzɻu**[35]**tʂa**[53]	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.16
	ndzɻu[53]	dragon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.16
Xumi	me[33]**dʑyɛ**[53]	dragon; year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.17; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.17
	mɛ[33]**dʑyɛ**[53]	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.17
	mɐ[33]**dʒuɛ**[55]	dragon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**mdzɅ**[13]lu[55]	year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.14
	mtʂə[55]	dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**mbru** nGɑ di	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.12
Ergong (Danba)	**mbzɻu**	dragon; thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.14; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.14
Daofu	**mdzɻu** (lu)	year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.12
	nbru	dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.12
	ndzɻu	dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ntɕhɛ** dzɷ	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Caodeng	**nbru**-lɔʔ	dragon	Sun 1997a
	nbru-lɔʔ kə-pe	thunder (v.)	Sun 1997a
4. Nungic			
Rawang	**bɯ**[31] **rin**[31]	dragon	LaPolla 2003:351
	bɯ[31] **rin**[31] khɔʔ kham[53]	Dragon King (the god of rain)	LaPolla 2003:737
Dulong	**bɯ**[53]tɑi[55]	dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.20
	bɯ[53]**ɹɛn**[53]	god of rain; Dragon King; year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0671.20; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.20
Trung [Dulong]	**dʐŭʔ**[55]	dragon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.46
	mŭt[55]**dɯ**[31]**ɹŭŋ**[53]	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	mŭʔ[55]**dɯ**[31]**ɹŭŋ**[53]	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	mŭʔ[55]**dɯ**[31]**ɹŭŋ**[53]	thunder	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Southern)	**pho**[21]	dragon	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**phu**[35]	dragon	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**phu**[35]	dragon; year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.49; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.49
	phu[35]	dragon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.38
Tujia (Northern)	**pu2**	dragon (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	pu2meng3	legendary 'dragon horse' (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	pu[2]	dragon	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3
	pu[2]meng[3]	dragon horse	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**mɯŋ**[31]	dragon	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**mzɻui**[55]tʂuŋ[31]	dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.28
	mzɻui[55]tʂuŋ[31]	dragon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.41
Achang (Luxi)	**muŋ**[51]tɕuŋ[51]	dragon	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**mzɻui**[55]tʂuŋ[31]	dragon; year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.29; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.29
Bola (Luxi)	**mɔ̃**[55]tʃauŋ[31]	dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.32
	mɔ̃[55] tʃauŋ[31] (tɛ̃[55]vɛʔ[55])_	year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.32
Burmese (Written)	nɑ[1]gɑ[3]**mɑŋ**[3]	god of rain / Dragon King (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0671.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**mɔ̃**[31]tʃauŋ[35]	dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.31
	mɔ̃[31]tʃauŋ[35] (tsəŋ[31])	year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**man**[31]tʃuŋ[33]	dragon; year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.33; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.33
Maru [Langsu]	**mɔ̃**[31]tʃauŋ[35]	dragon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**man**[51]tʃum[51]	dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.30
	man[51]tʃum[51]	dragon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.42
	man[51]tʃum[51] (tsan[51])	year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.30
	man[51]tʃuŋ[51]tsau[21]	god of rain / Dragon King (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0671.30

[a] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).
[b] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).

Chinese comparandum

龍 OC ***liu̯ŋ***, *GSR* #1193a-e 'dragon'; Gong 2001:24 ***m-bruŋ** / ***m-bruk**; B & S 2011: ***mə-roŋ {[mə]-roŋ}***; Mand. ***lóng***.
隆 OC ***gliu̯ôŋ***, *GSR* #1015f 'thunder, sound of thunder'; Schuessler 2007:363 ***ruŋ***; B & S 2011: ***ruŋ {[r]uŋ}***; Mand. ***lóng***.
雹 OC ***b'ộk***, *GSR* #1113n 'hail'; B & S 2011: ***C.bˤruk {C.[b]ˤruk}***; Mand. ***báo***.

Gong 2001:24 and *HPTB* #585 compare the current etymon, PTB ***m-bru(ŋ/k)*** 'dragon; rain', with Chinese 龍 ***lóng*** 'dragon'. Both these etyma may be allofamic with 雹 ***báo*** 'hail', as suggested by the latter's reconstruction as ***C.bˤruk*** in B & S 2011.

[SPB]

2.1.6 Reptiles and Amphibians

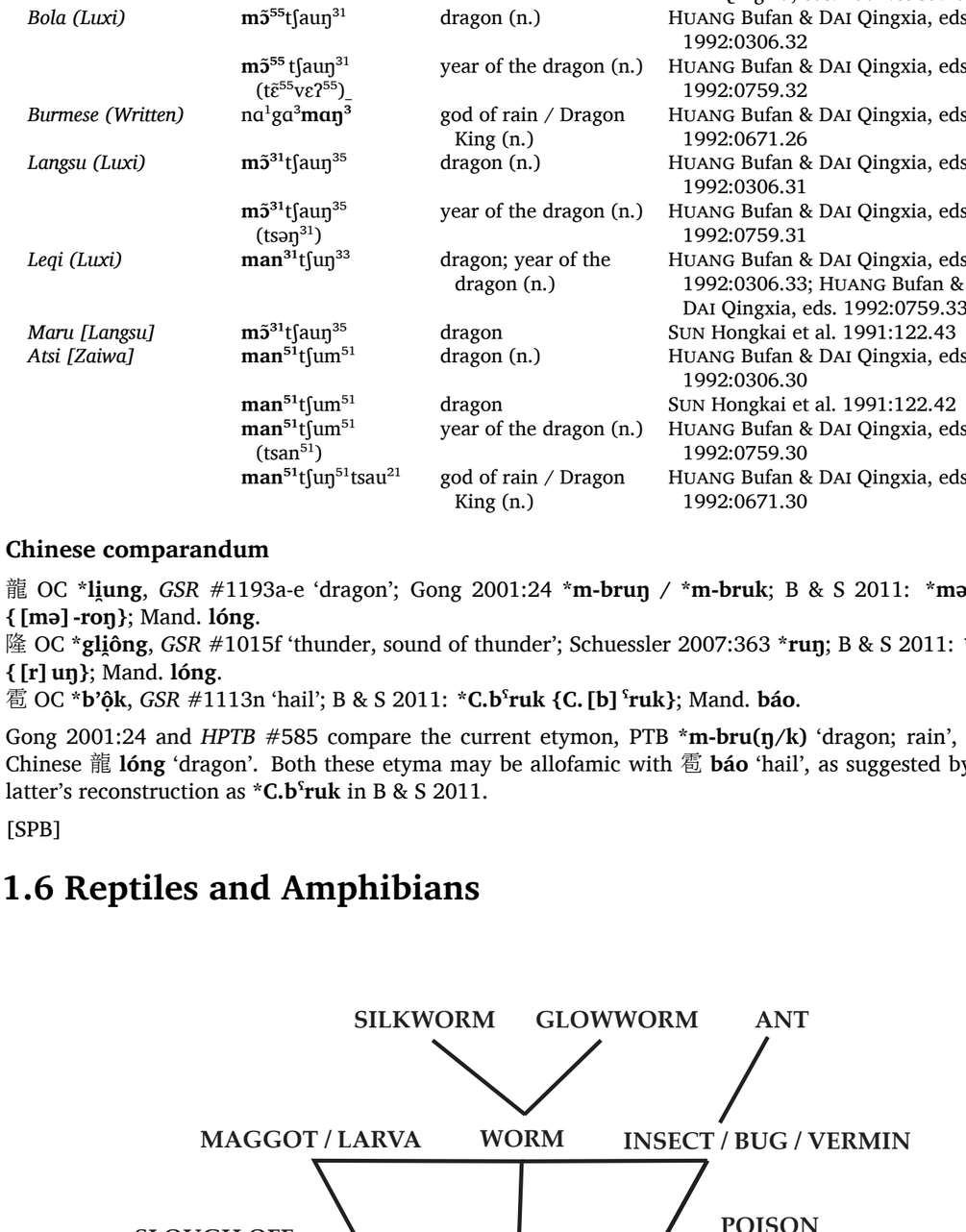


Figure 168: 2.1.6 *Reptiles and Amphibians*

(1) PKar *s-hma[B] CROCODILE

7. KARENIC			
**Karen [Burling]*	***ma**^{2}	crocodile	Luangthongkum 2013:66
**Karen*	***s-hma**^{B}	crocodile	Luangthongkum 2013:66
Bwe	**θə**^{33}**mɛ**^{33}	crocodile	Luangthongkum 2013:66
Kayaw	**ma**^{11}	crocodile	Luangthongkum 2013:66
Pwo (Northern)	**ma**^{33}	crocodile	Luangthongkum 2013:66
Pwo (Southern)	**ma**^{55}	crocodile	Luangthongkum 2013:66
Sgaw (Southern)	**ma**^{45,}	crocodile	Luangthongkum 2013:66
Sgaw (Northern)	**sə**^{33}**ma**$^{31\sim}$	crocodile	Luangthongkum 2013:66

(2) PTani *raŋ-kop TORTOISE

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***raŋ-kop**	tortoise	Sun 1993a:438
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**ra-ko**	tortoise	Sun 1993b
	sa-mī **ra-ko?**	tortoise	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**'raakop**	tortoise; turtle (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**raŋ-kop**	tortoise	Sun 1993a

(3) PTB *k-lip TURTLE / TORTOISE

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	tə **li?**	turtle	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:305a
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**lip**	tortoise, turtle	Benedict 1976a
7. KARENIC: ***kli?**^{D} TORTOISE			
**Karen [Burling]*	***khli?**^{2}	tortoise	Luangthongkum 2013:309
**Karen*	***khlé?**	turtle	Jones 1961:89
	***kli?**^{D}	tortoise	Luangthongkum 2013:309
Bwe	**khli**^{33}	tortoise	Luangthongkum 2013:309
Kayah	**khli**^{55}	tortoise	Luangthongkum 2013:309
Kayan	**khli?**^{45}	tortoise	Luangthongkum 2013:309
Kayan (Pekon)	**k^{h}lù**	turtle (N.)	Manson 2010
	k^{h}ù	turtle (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**khli**^{33}	tortoise	Luangthongkum 2013:309
Pa-O (Northern)	**kle?**^{21}	tortoise	Luangthongkum 2013:309
Pa-O	**klé?**	turtle	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**kli?**^{21}	tortoise	Luangthongkum 2013:309
Pwo (Northern)	**khlai?**^{45}	tortoise	Luangthongkum 2013:309
Pwo (Southern)	**khlai?**^{31}	tortoise	Luangthongkum 2013:309
Sgaw (Southern)	**khlai?**^{21}	tortoise	Luangthongkum 2013:309
Sgaw (Northern)	**khli?**^{45}	tortoise	Luangthongkum 2013:309
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**li̯ɑp/li̯ə̆p**	turtle (kind of)	Karlgren 1957:637e

Chinese comparandum

獵 OC ***li̯ɑp**, *GSR* #637e; Mand. **liè**.

Citations of 獵 'tortoise; turtle' are seen in 爾雅 Er Ya and 周禮 Zhou Li. While it doesn't affect the validity of the comparandum, we should point out that the character 獵 most often represents a different etymon in OC, i.e. 'to hunt (prey)' (*GSR* #637e); this is the only commonly recognized sense of 獵 **liè** in modern standard Chinese. Karlgren (*GSR* #637e) notes that 獵 **liè**, when used to mean 'turtle', is a phonetic loan for another character, now obsolete, perhaps attested as the Zhou dynasty pictograph shown in *GSR* #637b. [SPB]

2.1.6.1 Snake

(1) PKC *ŋaan COBRA / POISONOUS SNAKE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ŋaan**	COBRA / POISONOUS SNAKE	VanBik 2009:848
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ngan**	coral snake, king snake	VanBik 2009:848
Khumi	**tha(ng)ngaá(ng)**	cobra of some sort (light-colored, extremely poisonous snake species)	VanBik 2009:848
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ŋâan**	king cobra, poisonous snake	VanBik 2009:848

(2) PTB *bəw INSECT / SNAKE / VERMIN / BUG

See also the semantically and phonologically similar root #2623 **s-b/m-ru:l** 'snake'.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***buw**	insect; snake; worm; insect, snake; snake, insect	Weidert 1987:249; Weidert 1987:819; LaPolla 1987:71; Benedict 1972:27
	***bəw**	insect; vermin; bug; snake	Weidert 1987:819; Matisoff 2003a:584
1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Aka [Hruso]	**beü ~ bü**	snake	Benedict 1972:27
1.1.1. TANI: ***bɯ** SNAKE, ***bɯ-rem** PYTHON			
**Tani*	***bɯ**	snake	Sun 1993a:378
	***bɯ**-rem	python	Sun 1993a:312
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**bu**-di (**bu**-rũ)	python	Sun 1993b
	bu-rũ	python	Sun 1993a
	bu-sã	snake (green)	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-po dó-xo	snake (species)	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-pɯ	snake (species)	Sun 1993b
	ja-si **bu**-ri	snake (water); water snake	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ta-**bu**	snake	Sun 1993a
	tà-**bu**	snake	Sun 1993b
	ta-**bu**	snake; serpent	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ta-**bu** so-miŋ	snake (species, non-poisonous)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**bɯ**-bɯk	snake (with silvery rings)	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-di:	python	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-dɯ:	snake (with golden rings)	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-ram	python	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ta-**bɯ**	snake	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**bɯ-bɯ**	snake (silver-ringed snake)	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-bɯk	snake (poisonous)	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-tə	snake (gold-ringed snake)	Sun 1993b
	ta **bɯ**	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.24
	ta-**bɯ**	snake	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ŋər-**bə**	python; boa	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **bɯ**	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.51
Galo	**bɨ** doo	snake (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	bɨ hɨ̈	snake (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	bɨ kɨ̈	snake (variety); cobra (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	bɨ kɨ̈-**bɨ** rɨ̈	cobra (n.)	GLDC 2009
	bɨ lɨ̈	snake (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	bɨ pɨk	snake (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	bɨ rəm	python (n.)	GLDC 2009
	bɨ rɨ̈	snake (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **be**	serpent	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **bə**	snake (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **bə**-dumii	snake (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'bɨ ci	snake (small) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'bɨ tə	snake (variety); king cobra (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'i si-**'bɨ** ci	snake (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill Nishing Tagin	tʏ **by**	snake	Simon 1976
	ti **bí**	snake	Das Gupta 1969
	com dik do ne ta **bɯ**-go	poisonous snake	Das Gupta 1983
	ta **bu**	snake	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**bɯ**-rem	python	Sun 1993a
	ta-**bɯ**	snake	Sun 1993a
Damu	**pɯ**-jiŋ	snake (green)	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-ta	snake (poisonous)	Sun 1993b
	tə-**bɯ**	snake	Sun 1993b
Milang	da **bi**	serpent	Tayeng 1976
	ta **bi**	serpent	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	tə **buü**	snake	Benedict 1972:27
1.1.2. DENG			
Digaro	tə **bo ~ bu**	snake; insect, snake	Benedict 1972:27; LaPolla 1987:71
Yidu	jɑ^{55}**bu**^{55}	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.25
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	mini zi **bəw**	snake (kind of, harmless)	Bhat 1968
	pona zi **bəw**	snake (kind of, poisonous, appearing like an earth	Bhat 1968
	zi **bəw**	snake	Bhat 1968
	zi **bəw** daras	snake (kind of)	Bhat 1968
	zi **bəw** dondra	snake (kind of, non-poisonous)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	ju **bu**	snake	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	či-**bo?**	snake	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	tśi **pu**	snake	LaPolla 1987:71; Benedict 1972:27
Garo (Bangladesh)	chip-**pu**	snake (n.)	Burling 2003:4.443-II:idx
1.7.1.4. DEORI			
Deori/Deuri	du **bu**	snake	Jacquesson 2005; Brown 1895:69
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***?-bəw**	snake	French 1983:554
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**pu**	snake	Marrison 1967
	^{3}**pu**	snake / worm	Weidert 1987:84
Tangsa (Moshang)	**pu**	snake	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**po**	snake	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Konyak	**pu**	snake	Marrison 1967
Phom	**bü**	snake	Marrison 1967
	büh	snake	Marrison 1967
	bɯ^{31}	snake	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**pu**	snake	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	lă^{33}**pu̱**^{33}	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.19
	lă^{33}**pu̱**^{33} (ʃă^{31}niŋ^{33})	year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.19
	lă^{31}**pu̱**^{33}	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.47
	la^{1}**pu̱**^{33}	snake	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	la **pu**	snake	Marrison 1967
	lə **pū**	snake / vermin	Matisoff 1974:155
	pū	snake	Matisoff 1974:155
	pu ~ lə **pu**	snake	Benedict 1972:27
	pū-jàt	snake's nest	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983:673
	pu~lə **pu**	insect, snake	LaPolla 1987:71
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Kadu	kə **phu**	snake	Benedict 1972:27
Sak	kə **hvú**	snake	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:311
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**bu**	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.7
	luŋ^{13}**pu**^{13}	maggot	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	luŋ **bu**	maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**bu**	insect / worm	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**bu**	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.07
	luŋ **bu**	maggot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.07
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**mbə**	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**nbə**	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.4
	xha **nbə**	maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**mbə**	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.5
	mbə loŋ	maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.5
	xæ **nbə**	maggot	Sun 1985a:465
Tibetan (Batang)	**mbʊ**^{53}	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.03
	tɕɑ^{55}**mbʊ**^{53}	maggot (dung) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.03
	xha^{55}**mbʊ**^{53}	maggot (meat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'bu**	grub (insect) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.078
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**nbu**^{31}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.3
	xha^{55}**nbu**^{53}	maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.3
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**bu**	grub (insect) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.078

Tibetan (Spiti)	**bu**	insect	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Western)	**ḥbu**-riŋ	snake	Benedict 1972:27
Tibetan (Written)	**'bu**	worm; insect; worm, insect	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:71
	'bu riṅ	snake	Marrison 1967
	bu	bug, worm	Sun 1985c:392
	ḥbu	worm, insect	Benedict 1972:27
	ḥbu	worm; insect; any small vermin; vermin	Jäschke 1881; Jäschke 1881
	ḥbu-srin	worm / insect / any small vermin	Jäschke 1881
	sha.**bu**	maggot	Sun 1985c:465
	skjag **ɦibu**	maggot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.01
	sril / srin(-**bu**)	worm; silkworm; worm (silk-worm)	Benedict 1972:15n53; Benedict 1972:37n121
	srin-**bu**	insect / worm / vermin	Jäschke 1881
	srín-**bu** me-ḥkʻyér	worm (glow)	Jäschke 1881
	srin-**ḥbu**	worm / insect / any small vermin	Jäschke 1881
	srin **bu**	worm	Marrison 1967
	šá-**ḥbu**	maggot	Jäschke 1881
	ʂa **ɦibu**	maggot (meat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.01
	ʂa **ɦibu**	maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.1
	ɦibu	worm; insect	Weidert 1987:249; Weidert 1987:819
	ɦibu	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.01
	ɦibu	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**mbə**	insect; worm; maggot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.04; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.04
	mbə tɕaχ ma	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**bu**	snake, worm (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	bŭ	reptile, worm	LaPolla 1987:71
	bŭ	reptile, worm	Benedict 1972:27

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung	**puh** lụh	grub (insect) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.078
Manang (Prakaa)	**²pu** luŋ	worm / insect	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0083
Thakali	**puh** lung	grub (insect) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.078

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	taŋ **bu**	short, blind snake (n.)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**pU**	snake	Rai 1985
Chamling	**pu** cho	snake	Winter 1985
	tÕ **pu**	snake (a blind snake)	Winter 1985
Kulung	**pu**	snake	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**bu**-sa	insect, snake; snake	LaPolla 1987:71; Benedict 1972:27
Thulung	gik **pu**	poisonous snake (n.)	Allen 1975

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**bə**	insect, maggot	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1888
	bə̱	maggot	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5270

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**bɛ^{33}**dzɻ^{55}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.18
	bɛ^{33}ə^{ɹ55}	maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.18
	ʂɛ^{33}**bɛ^{55}**ra^{55}	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.18
Guiqiong	**bu^{33}**xɑ^{53}	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.17
	bu^{55}lu^{55}	insect; worm; maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.17; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.17
	mbu^{35}ha^{55}	insect; worm (crawling); ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.16
	mbu^{35}sə^{33}	insect / worm (flying) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.16
	mə^{35}sə^{55}**mbu^{35}**ʐu^{55}	maggot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.16
Lyuzu	**be^{33}**dʑi^{53}	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.18
Muya	**mbə^{33}**tʂɑ^{24}	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.15
	mbə^{55}ʁo^{33}	maggot (meat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.15
	ʂə^{53}**mbə^{33}**tʂɑ^{33}	maggot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mbɯ^{55}**tʂɑ^{55}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.15
	mbɯ^{55}ʁo^{35}	maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.15
Namuyi	**bu^{55}**dzɻ^{55}	insect; worm; ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.19
	bu^{55}dʑi^{31}	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.46
	bu^{55}tsɻ^{55}	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**bu^{35}**	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.10
	bu^{11}zɸ^{55}	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**bu^{55}**	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.09
	by^{55}zgie^{13}	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**bu^{55}**	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.11
	by^{55}sgie^{13}	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**bu^{55}**ɣio^{55}	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.10
	bu^{55}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**bù** iù-tɕhú quà	bee barrel/hive [bee-barrel.shape]	Evans 1999:455
	bù ló	bug; maggot	Evans 1999:437; Evans 1999:443
	bù tshɨ́	honey	Evans 1999:605
	bù-iù	honeybee [bug-bee]	Evans 1999:455
	bù-lià	snail [bug-bark?]	Evans 1999:464
	bù-tshɨ́	honey [bug-sweet]	Evans 1999:464
	bà tɕhá-**bà** lò	bedbug [m-bug]	Evans 1999:438
	zuà-**bù** ló	earthworm [earth-bug]	Evans 1999:448
Qiang (Mawo)	**bu** lu	insect; worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.8; LaPolla 1987:146
	bə l	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.08
	qhʂə **bu** lu	maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.8
	qhʂə **bə** l	maggot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.08
	qhʂə **bu** lu	maggot	LaPolla 1987:146
Qiang (Mianchi)	**bè** ì	honey	Evans 1999:605
	bià-**bù**	wasp [wild-bug]	Evans 1999:455
	bò lò	bug; maggot (bug); locust, praying mantis (bug); caterpillar (bug)	Evans 1999:437; Evans 1999:443,456; Evans 1999:460
	bù-ʐoú	honeybee [bug-bee]	Evans 1999:455
	mè tsì-**bò** lò	scorpion [m-bug]	Evans 1999:447
Qiang (Taoping)	**bə^{31}**dʑa^{31}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.9
	tʃhŋ^{31}**bə^{31}**dʑɑ^{31}	maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**bu^{35}dzo^{35}ma^{55}**	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.16
	bu^{35}tɕa^{53}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.16
	b rõ^{35}	maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**pu^{55}**rlo^{55}	maggot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.13
	pu^{55}rye^{55}a^{55}n̥e^{55}	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.13
	pu^{55}tʃa^{31}	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.13
Xumi	**bɛ^{33}**lɛ^{55}	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.17
	bɛ^{55}ly^{33}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.20

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**ba** bə	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.12
Ergong (Danba)	**bɯ** ʐo	insect; worm; maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.14; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.14

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**bö**	insect, snake; snake	LaPolla 1987:71; Benedict 1972:27
Rawang	**bə** lɯŋ^{33}	insect, worm; worm, insect	LaPolla 2003:399; LaPolla 2003:400
	bɯ^{31}	snake	LaPolla 2003:393
Nung	**bɯ^{31}**	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.21
Anong	**bɯ^{31}**	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.44
	bɯ^{31}lɯŋ^{55}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.44
Nung	**bɯ^{55}**lɯŋ^{55}	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.21
Trung [Dulong]	**bɯ^{31}**liŋ^{55}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.46
Dulong	**bɯ^{53}**	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.20
	bɯ^{53}ɪɛn^{53}	year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.20
Trung [Dulong]	**bɯ^{55}**	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.46
Dulong	**bɯ^{55}**liŋ^{55}	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**bɯ^{55}**	insect, snake	LaPolla 1987:71
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**bɯ^{31}**lɯŋ^{55}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	bɯ^{53}	snake; insect, snake	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:71

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *bəw^{2} INSECT / VERMIN / BUG / SNAKE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***bəw^{2}**	insect / vermin / bug / snake	Matisoff 2003a:584

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**pɑu^{31}**	insect / worm	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**pau^{31}**	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.28
	pau^{31}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.41
Achang (Luxi)	khɯ^{55}**pɑu^{51}**	maggot	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	pau^{51}	insect / worm	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**pau^{31}**	insect; worm; maggot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.29
Bola (Luxi)	**pau^{31}**	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**lɑu?^{4}**	maggot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.27
	po^{55}	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**po^{55}**	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.40
Burmese (Written)	**po^{3}**	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.26
	po^{3}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.39
	pùi	insect	Weidert 1987:249
	pûi	insect; silkworm; bug, invertebrate	Matisoff 1974:155; Benedict 1976a
	puì	insect	LaPolla 1987:71; Benedict 1972:27
	pui: koṅ	insect	Marrison 1967
Hpun (Northern)	nai **pù** táŋ	silkworm ('silk insect')	Henderson 1986
	p(h)ù taŋ	insect	Henderson 1986
	pú chèɪ	snake	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	**pou^{33}**	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.33
Marma	**pú**	insect	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:303
	pú cəgrú	firefly / glow worm	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:303b
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pàu**	insect / snake / worm	Weidert 1987:249
	pau^{21}	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.30
	pau^{21}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.42
	pau^{51}vo?^{55}	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.30
	pau^{51}vo?^{55}	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***bi**	insect / snake / worm	Weidert 1987:249
	***bi/bo^{2}**	insect	Bradley 1979b:71
	***bo^{2}**	insect / snake / worm	Weidert 1987:249
PNL	**bi/bo^{2}**	insect	CHEN Kang 1986a:114.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lipho	**bɯ^{21}**	insect	CHEN Kang 1986a:114.
Nasu	**bu^{33}**	insect	CHEN Kang 1986a:114.
Neisu	**bi^{33}**	insect	CHEN Kang 1986a:114.
Nesu	**bu^{33}**	insect	CHEN Kang 1986a:114.
Nosu	**bu^{33}**	insect	CHEN Kang 1986a:114.
Yi (Dafang)	**bu^{33}**	insect; worm; maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.22; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.22
	bu^{33}va^{55}	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**bu^{21}**di^{33}	insect; wasp; worm	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	bu^{33}ɬu^{33}zɯ^{33}	larva; maggot	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	bu^{55}vu^{21}	ant	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**bu^{21}**zo^{21}	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**bu^{33}**	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.26
	bɯ^{55}xɯ^{21}	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**bə^{21}**lu^{33}	butterfly (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.37
	bə^{21}mɯ^{33}	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.37
	bə^{21}ʐo^{33}	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.37

	bɯ²¹lɯ³³; **bu²¹**lu³³	butterfly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:154.24
	bɯ²¹ʑo³³	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.24
	bɯ³³mɛ⁵⁵	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**vi²¹**lu³³	butterfly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:154.23
Yi (Weishan)	**vɪ²¹**lu̱³³	butterfly (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.36
Yi (Wuding)	**bv̩³³**	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.38
	bv̩¹¹lv̩¹¹	butterfly (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.38
Yi (Xide)	**bu²¹**di³³	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.21
	bu²¹ɬ(u)²¹	butterfly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:154.21
	bu²¹ɬu²¹	butterfly (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.35
	bu³³	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.35
	bu³³ɬ(u̱)³³zɯ³³	maggot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:168.21
	bu³³ɬu̱³³zɯ³³	maggot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.35
	bu⁵⁵vu²¹	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.35
	bu⁵⁵vu²¹	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**bu²¹**	insect	CHEN Kang 1986a:114.
Jinuo	**pu³³**ɬo³³pu³³tʃɯ³³	butterfly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:154.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**pu⁴⁴**ɬu⁴²	butterfly	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**pu⁴⁴**ɬu⁴²	butterfly (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.44
Kucong	**pv31** lv31	butterfly	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	pɔ31 mɯ55	insect	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	pɔ31 ɣɔ35	ant	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**pû**	insect, snake	LaPolla 1987:71
Lahu (Lancang)	**bu³¹**lu³³qɑ¹¹	butterfly (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.43
	pɤ²¹mɤ²¹	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.43
Lahu (Black)	**pù**-lú-qā	butterfly	Matisoff 1974:122; Matisoff 1972b:186
	pu³¹lu⁵⁵qᴀ¹¹	butterfly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:154.33
	pə³¹mə¹¹	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**pɛ³**qu²lu²	butterfly	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	pɯ⁵mɯ⁵	insect	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**bi⁵**-di⁴	insect	Fraser 1922
	bu⁵-lu⁴	moth; butterfly	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**bɯ²¹**di⁴⁴	insect; worm (N.)	Bradley 1994
	bɯ²¹di⁴⁴ læ³⁵di⁴⁴	insect; worm	Bradley 1994
	bɯ²¹læ²¹thy³³	looper (kind of insect) (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**bɯ³¹**di³³	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.27
Lisu (Luquan)	**bɯ³¹**ʒo³³	ant (n.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**bɤ²¹**di³³ fu³³	insect eggs	Bradley 1994
	bɤ²¹di³³ ji⁵⁵fu³³	insect spawn	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**bu²¹**	insect	CHEN Kang 1986a:114.
Yi (Sani)	**bv̩¹¹**pɪ⁵⁵	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**bɔ̀**	insect / snake / worm	Weidert 1987:249
Hani (Dazhai)	**bø³¹**za³¹	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**bø³¹**za³¹	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.41
Mpi	**pi²**lu⁴	butterfly	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	nɛ²¹**bɯ³³**	maggot	Pelkey 2011:155
Hlepho Phowa	nɔ²¹**bɯ¹³**	maggot	Pelkey 2011:155
Phuza	**bɯ³¹**nɯ⁵⁵	maggot	Pelkey 2011:155
	bɯ¹³	insect; worm	Pelkey 2011:135; Pelkey 2011:156
	bɯ¹³ɣə⁵⁵	ant	Pelkey 2011:136

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	**bv**˩	insect, worm	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˩**bv**˩	jumping insect (not a frog)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**bər³³**	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.29

Chinese comparandum

蜉 OC ***b'i̯ôg***, *GSR* #1233n 'mayfly'; Schuessler 2007:242 ***bu***; B & S 2011: ***bu {[b](r)u}***; Mand. **fú**.

(3) PTB *g-lya $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ PYTHON

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***liŋ²* ≍ *lik^L*** PYTHON

**Lolo-Burmese*	***liŋ²* ≍ *lik^L***	python	Matisoff 2003a:600

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	m̥i⁵⁵**lɑŋ⁵⁵**	snake	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**lɔ̃⁵⁵**mø⁵⁵	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.32
	lɔ̃⁵⁵mø⁵⁵ (tɛ̃⁵⁵vɛʔ⁵⁵)	year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.32
Burmese (Written)	**lâŋ**-	bat; squirrel; rat snake	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**lɔ̃³¹**mɔi³¹	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.31
	lɔ̃³¹mɔi³¹ (tsəŋ³¹)	year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**lɑ̱ŋ³³**mju³¹	snake; year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.33
Maru [Langsu]	**lɔ̃³¹**mɔi³¹	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lɑ̱ŋ⁵¹**mui⁵¹	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.30
	lɑ̱ŋ⁵¹mui⁵¹	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.42
	lɑ̱ŋ⁵¹mui⁵¹ (tsan⁵¹)	year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.30
	lʔáŋ mûi	snake	Weidert 1987:215

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***lay¹/²***	python	Bradley 1979b:64
	laŋ¹	snake	Bradley 1979b:60B; Hansson 1989:289

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	**lê**	python	Matisoff 2003a:281
Lahu (Yellow)	**lɛ³**	python	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	á **lɔ́**	snake	Hansson 1989:289
Akha (Thai)	á **lɔ́**	snake	Hansson 1989:289
Akha	**lìq**	python	Matisoff 1988a:p.1390
	lɔ́	snake	Hansson 1989:289
Bisu	ʔú **láŋ** (DP ʔúɪ láŋ)	snake	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	ó **lú**	snake	Hansson 1989:289
Hani (Dazhai)	o⁵⁵**lo⁵⁵**	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.31
Hani (Lüchun)	o⁵⁵**lo⁵⁵**	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.41
Hani (Pijo)	**lú**	snake	Hansson 1989:289
	ý **lú**	snake	Hansson 1989:289
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɤ⁵⁵**lu⁵⁵**	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	a⁵⁵**lɔ⁵⁵**	snake	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	ol **lol**	snake	Hansson 1989:289
Hani (Shuikui)	ɣɯ⁵⁵l̥**u⁵⁵**	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.32
Hani (Khatu)	**xhú**	snake	Hansson 1989:289
	ý **xhú**	snake	Hansson 1989:289
Hani (Mojiang)	ɯ⁵⁵l̥**u⁵⁵**	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.42
Mpi	**liŋ²**	python	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

7. KARENIC: ***g-laŋ*** PYTHON

Bwe (Western)	**gă²lɑ²**	python	Luce 1985:E.5
Geba	**gɑ²lɑ²**	python	Luce 1985:E.5
Pa-O (Northern)	tă **lɑŋ⁶**	python	Luce 1985:E.5
Paku	kə̆ **lɔ²**	python	Luce 1985:E.5
Sgaw	kə̆ **lɔ³**	python	Luce 1985:E.5

Chinese comparandum

蟒 OC ***mwâng***, *GSR* #709 'python [i.e. python molurus]'; Schuessler 2007:375 ***mâŋ*** < ***mlâŋ***; Mand. **mǎng**.

(4) PTB *s- $\begin{matrix}\text{b}\\\text{m}\end{matrix}$ -ru:l SNAKE

This root is easily confused with another etymon #2178 ***bəw*** that has a range covering both INSECT/VERMIN and SNAKE.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-ru:l***	snake	Weidert 1987:215; Benedict 1972:447
	s-b/m-ru:l	snake	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:611

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"

Sulung [Puroik]	**pɯh⁵³**	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.52
	pɯh⁵³ɕa⁵³	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.52

1.1.1. TANI: ***bɯr-taŋ*** POISONOUS SNAKE / VIPER

**Tani*	***bɯr-taŋ***	poisonous snake / viper	Sun 1993a:301

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	**bɯr-ta:**	poisonous snake; viper; snake (poisonous)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**bɯr-toŋ**	poisonous snake; viper	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**bərtaa**	snake (variety); viper (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	tɑ³¹**bu³⁵**	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.22
	tɑ³¹**bu⁵⁵**	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.49
Kaman [Miju]	**rə̀**	snake; worm	Weidert 1987:819; Weidert 1987:84
	ɹuɯl³⁵	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.23
	ɹuɯl³⁵	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.48
Idu	jɑ⁵⁵**bu⁵⁵**	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.50

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ruul*** SNAKE

**Chin*	***ruul***	SNAKE	VanBik 2009:975
Anal	**pùrʊ̀l**	snake	Weidert 1987:215
Khoibu	**pʰu-run**	snake	Brown 1837

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**gul**	snake	VanBik 2009:975
Thado	**gúl**	snake	Thirumalai 1972:62
	gúul	snake	VanBik 2009:975
Tiddim	**-gu:l**	snake (n.)	Henderson 1965
	be¹ **gu:l²**	snake gourd	Bhaskararao 1996:71
	gu:l²	snake	VanBik 2009:975; Bhaskararao 1996:393

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Chinbon	**pʰɔ́**	snake	So-Hartmann 1988:57
Daai	**pɣʰuʔ** pɣʰaːⁱ	snake	So-Hartmann 1988:57
Khami	**məgui**	snake	Benedict 1972:447
Khami (Northern)	**pəwi**	snake	Benedict 1972:447
Khumi	**pvúuy**	snake	VanBik 2009:975
	pᵊvuːⁱ	snake	So-Hartmann 1988:57
Matu	**xul**	snake	So-Hartmann 1988:57
Mkaang	**ɣuⁱ**	snake	So-Hartmann 1988:57
Ngmüün	**pɣʰu**	snake	So-Hartmann 1988:57
Nyhmoye	**ʔpɣʰú**	snake	So-Hartmann 1988:57
Wakung	**mᵊxuⁱʔ**	snake	So-Hartmann 1988:57

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**rûul**	snake	VanBik 2009:975
Lai (Falam)	**rŭul**	snake	VanBik 2009:975
Lushai [Mizo]	**ru-l**	snake	Benedict 1972:447
	rûl	snake	Marrison 1967
	rúul	snake, serpent, viper; snake	VanBik 2009:975; Löffler 1985
	rú:l	snake	Weidert 1987:215
	ru:l	snake	Bhaskararao 1996:71
Paangkhua	**marúul**	snake	Löffler 1985
	rúul	snake	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**pā**-rì	snake	VanBik 2009:975
	pari < paruul	snake	Löffler 1985
	²pə¹ri	snake	Weidert 1987:215

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**pharul**	snake	Marrison 1967
	pʰ-rul	snake	Brown 1837

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***ph-rə*** SNAKE

**Central Naga*	***ph-rə***	SNAKE	Bruhn 2014a:III.100
Ao (Chungli)	**per**	snake	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:447
	pəɹ¹²	snake (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.100
	¹pɯ²r	snake	Weidert 1987:215
	əpeyü ≍ əpeyi	snake	Benedict 1972:447
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **phi**	snake	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	**n̥¹-rə¹**	snake (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.100
	ndrü	snake	Marrison 1967
	nrü	snake	Murry *et al.* 1978:113
	¹n¹rɯ	snake	Weidert 1987:215

Sangtam	**mürü**	snake	Marrison 1967
	mürü king king	rainbow	Marrison 1967
	^{1}mɯ^{1}rɯ	snake	Weidert 1987:215
Yacham-Tengsa	**phalü**	snake	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**phuru**	snake	Marrison 1967
	phuru to	snake	Kumar 1973b:93
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Khezha	**^{2}lo^{3}pfɯ**	snake / worm	Weidert 1987:84
Mao	in **gho**	snake	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**peri**	snake	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **poghü**	snake	Marrison 1967
	pəwi	snake	Benedict 1972:447
	^{1}a^{1}la^{3}pu	snake; worm	Weidert 1987:819; Weidert 1987:84
	^{1}a^{1}pi^{3}ɣi	snake	Weidert 1987:215
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	**marun**	snake	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ma-run**	snake	Brown 1837
	nrui	snake	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *ruul SNAKE			
**Tangkhulic*	***ruul**	snake	Mortensen 2012:507
Huishu	**ʔa-p^{h}ə-rɐŋ**	snake	Mortensen 2012:Animals.110
Kachai	**kəp^{h}-wi**	snake	Mortensen 2012:Animals.109
Tangkhul	**phara**	snake	Marrison 1967
	phərə	snake	Benedict 1972:447
	rɯ	snake	Bhat 1969:97
	^{1}phə^{1}rə	snake	Weidert 1987:215
Tankghul (Central)	**p^{h}rɯi**	snake	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**p^{h}rɯ**	snake	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**p^{h}a-rɯ**	snake	Brown 1837
Tusom	**rɯ**-tā	snake	Mortensen 2012:Animals.110
Ukhrul	**p^{h}a-ru**	snake	Mortensen 2012
	p^{h}ə-ru	snake	Mortensen 2012
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**phirūi**	snake	Weidert 1987:215
	phirui	snake	Marrison 1967
	phorūi	snake	Weidert 1987:215
	phurūi(ʔ)	snake	Weidert 1987:215
	phurul ≍ phurui	snake	Benedict 1972:447
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa	**^{2}pʌu**	snake / worm	Weidert 1987:84
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**pi** nyu	snake	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**pu**-nen	phlegm, mucus secreted by snake	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Baram	**pəi** hu	snake	Kansakar 2010:96
Thebor	**brul**	snake	Benedict 1972:447
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**bu** len	snake (big) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.069
Tsangla (Central)	**bu** chhi la	snake	Andvik 1993:95
Tsangla (Motuo)	**bu** tɕhi la	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.7
	pu^{13}tɕ‘i^{55}la	snake	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**bu** chi-la	snake	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**mu^{35}ri^{55}**	snake	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**bre:^{13}**	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.6
Motuo Menba	**bry**	year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.07
	bu tɕhi la	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.07
Cuona Menba	**bre:^{35}**	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.06
	bre:^{55}wu^{31}	year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rbu**	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ru**	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ru**	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**dzɣ^{55}**	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.03
	dzɣ̃^{55}	year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**rul**	snake (big); snake (small) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.069; Hale 1973:03a.070
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ru^{53}**	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂy^{13}**	snake; year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.02; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.02
	tʂy^{15}	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**’rul**	snake (small) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.070
	’rul wuǰe	snake (big) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.069
Tibetan (Written)	(**sbrul** pags) brdʑe	slough off (of a snake) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1693.01
	bye.**sbrul**	lizard	Sun 1985c:452
	č‘u-**sbrúl**	snake (water)	Jäschke 1881
	ḥbu-ríŋ	snake	Jäschke 1881
	ḥbu-skyógs	snail	Jäschke 1881
	sbrul	serpent; snake	Weidert 1987:215; Marrison 1967; Jäschke 1881; Matisoff 1983:44; Benedict 1972:447
	sbrul	snake; year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.01
	sbrul	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ru**	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung	**’pu** ri	snake	Weidert 1987:819
Manang (Gyaru)	**bɯ^{2}** kri^{2}	snake	Nagano 1984:311
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{2}pu** kri:	snake	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0082
Tamang (Bagmati)	**’pu** khri	snake	Weidert 1987:819
Thakali	**pu** Ti	snake (big); snake (small) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.069; Hale 1973:03a.070
Thakali (Tukche)	**pu** ṭi	snake (big); snake (small)	Hari 1971:3.A.69; Hari 1971:3.A.70
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yamphu	**pu** sæ•ʔ	snake (n.)	Rutgers 1998:567.02
	saŋ ge **bu** sæ•ʔ	species of snake (n.)	Rutgers 1998:574.07
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**bus** su	snake (big); snake (small) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.069; Hale 1973:03a.070
Thulung	**blo**	snake	Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	ʔāyalā.**ru**	snake (python) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.069
baŋ.sapə.**ru**	snake (sp.), a viper (n.)	Caughley 2000	
hem.bayʔ.**ru**	snake (sp.) (n.)	Caughley 2000	
ru	snake (small); snake (gen.) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.070; Caughley 2000	
ru	snake (small)	Caughley 1972:3.A.70	
sa.khən.də.**ru**	snake (sp.), a viper, large (about 2m. long), whitish stripes on black (n.)	Caughley 2000	
sam.bhya.**ru**	snake (sp.), red and white banded (n.)	Caughley 2000	
sip-**ru**	snake / worm	Weidert 1987:84	
sip.**ru**	snake (sp.), King Cobra (n.)	Caughley 2000	
su.baŋ.**ru**	snake spirit (sp.) (nn.)	Caughley 2000	
tupu.li.**ru**	worm (sp.), snake-shaped, reddish, fast moving (Blindworm snake?) (n.)	Caughley 2000	
tək.**ru**	snake (sp.), viper, olive green with red patch at back of neck (n.)	Caughley 2000	
waʔ.cəwʔ.**ru**	snake (sp.), grey, lies under a bird’s perch to catch it (n.)	Caughley 2000	
ʔayəla-**ru**	snake (big)	Caughley 1972:3.A.69	
Magar	**bul**	snake	Benedict 1972:447
	kārhāng-ca **bul**	snake (big) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.069
	mār-cha **bul**	snake (small) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.070
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**phio**	snake	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0080
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**bɛ^{33}ɾɻ^{55}**	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.18
Guiqiong	**tʂu^{35}**	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.16
	tʂu^{53}	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.17
Lyuzu	**bɯ^{33}**ɣɯ^{ɪ35} (lʉ^{53})	year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.18
	bɯ^{33} ɣɯ$^{ɪ\ 35}$	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.18
Muya	**ro^{53}**	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ʐo^{53}**	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.15
Namuyi	**bə^{ɪ53}**	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.19
	bəə$^{ɪ\ 53}$	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.46
	bəə$^{ɪ\ 53}$ta^{55}tsɻ^{55}	lizard (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0348.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**bu^{11}**ʐɛi^{55}	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.10
	bʐu^{55}tɑ^{55}	year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**bɐ^{13}** ʐɑ	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**bɐ^{13}**ʐɑ^{55}	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**bɐ^{35}**re^{53}	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**bù** (tsè)	6th earthly branch (snake)	Evans 1999:1109 [a]
	bù tshì	snake	Evans 1999:428
Qiang (Mawo)	**bəs**	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.8
	bəs(1); **bɹɛ** gɛ (2)	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.08
	bɹɛ gɛ	year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**bzɛ̌**	6th earthly branch (snake); snake	Evans 1999:1109; Evans 1999:428 [b]
Qiang (Taoping)	**bə^{31}**guə^{241}	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**bru^{53}**	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**pə^{55}**rɛ^{55}	snake; year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.13; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.13
Xumi	**bə^{33}ru^{53}**	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.17
	bɛ^{33}ru^{53}	year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.17
	bɑ^{33}ro^{55}	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	tʂʌ^{33} **(p) tʂɿ^{55}**	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**mphri**	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.12
Ergong (Danba)	**mphʂi**	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.14
Daofu	**mtʂhi**	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.12
	vdzʐi (lu)	year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kha **brɛ**	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.11
rGyalrong	kha **brɛ**	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.12
Caodeng	qa-**preʔ**	snake	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	kha **pre**	snake	Nagano 1997:11.9
rGBenzhen	k^{h}ɐ-**priʔ**	snake	Sun 1997b
Shili	ʁa-**ptʂi**	snake	Sun 1997c
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	**wo4**	snake (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	wo4si3	snake meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	wo^{4}	snake	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3
	wo^{4}si^{3}	snake meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
Tujia	**wo^{53}**	snake; year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.49; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.49
	wo^{53}	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.38
Tujia (Northern)	**wo^{55}**	snake	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *m-r-wəy^{1} SNAKE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-r-wəy^{1}**	snake	Matisoff 2003a:619
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**mʐui^{55}**	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.28
	mʐui^{55}	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.41
	mʐui^{55} (n̥ək^{55})	year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.28
Achang (Luxi)	**mui^{31}**	snake	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985

[a] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).
[b] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).

Achang (Xiandao)	**mʐui**^{55}	snake; year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mwe**^{22}	snake; year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mwe**^{22}	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.40
Burmese (Written)	(**mrwe**)	snake	Hansson 1989:289
	mrwe	snake	Weidert 1987:215; Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1983:44; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:15n55
	mrwe^{2}	snake; year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.26
	mrwe^{2}	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.39
Samong	**moiŋ**	snake	Benedict 1972:15n55
Langsu (Luxi)	lɔ̃^{31}**mɔi**^{31}	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.31
	lɔ̃^{31}**mɔi**^{31} (tsəŋ^{31})	year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.31
Leqi (Luxi)	la̱ŋ^{33}**mju**^{31}	snake; year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.33
Marma	**mrwiŋ**	snake	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:311
Maru [Langsu]	lɔ̃^{31}**mɔi**^{31}	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.43
	mòi	snake	Weidert 1987:215
Atsi [Zaiwa]	la̱ŋ^{51}**mui**^{51}	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.30
	la̱ŋ^{51}**mui**^{51}	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.42
	la̱ŋ^{51}**mui**^{51} (tsan^{51})	year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.30
	lʔáŋ **mûi**	snake	Weidert 1987:215

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***m-rwe**^{1}	snake	Weidert 1987:215; Bradley 1979b:60A

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**zɳ**^{24}	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.47
	zɳ^{24} (kho^{53})	year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.47

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Kucong	**vɤ31**	snake	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**vɯ**^{31}	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.43
Lahu (Black)	**və**^{31}	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.33
	vì	snake (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1338-1339
	vì-fâʔ	mongoose	Matisoff 1988a:1339
	vì-šɛ̂ʔ	scale of snake	Matisoff 2003a:376
Lahu (Yellow)	**vɤ**^{2}	snake	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**fu**^{33}	snake (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**fu**^{33}	year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.40
Lisu (Northern)	**fu**^{33}khɔʔ^{21}	year of snake	Bradley 1994
	fu^{33}khɔʔ^{21}su^{33}	one who was born in the year of snake	Bradley 1994
	fu^{33}ni^{33}	day of the snake; green bamboo snake (kind of venomous snake)	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**fu**^{33}ɲi^{33}	day of the snake; green bamboo snake (kind of venomous snake)	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
Lisu	**fu**^{44}	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.27
Lisu (Central)	**hu**^{3}	snake	Fraser 1922

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Shuikui)	**ɣɯ**^{55}l̥u^{55}	snake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:152.32
Hani (Khatu)	**ý** xhú	snake	Hansson 1989:289
Hani (Mojiang)	**ɯ**^{55}l̥u^{55}	snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.42

7. KARENIC: ***row**^{B} SNAKE

**Karen*	***row**^{B}	snake	Luangthongkum 2013:266
	***rú'**	snake (see 425.)	Jones 1961:9
**Karen (TP)*	***rú'**	snake	Jones 1961:9
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***rỳ**	snake	Jones 1961:9
**Karen (Pwo)*	***ɣú'**	snake	Jones 1961:9
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ɣỳ**	snake	Jones 1961:9
**Karen [Burling]*	***ɣy**^{1}	snake	Luangthongkum 2013:266
Bwe	**ʁu**^{33}	snake	Luangthongkum 2013:266
Kayah	**ro**^{11}	snake	Luangthongkum 2013:266
Kayan (Pekon)	**rō**	snake (N.)	Manson 2010
	rō blân ʍé̱	cobra [lit. snake-again-whistle] (N.)	Manson 2010
	rō lạ̀n	reticulated python [lit. snake-descend] (N.)	Manson 2010
	rō rē	krait, banded cane snake [lit. snake-rattan] (N.)	Manson 2010
	rō t^{h}à	iron snake (small snake that is difficult to cut, not aggressive but if it bites you, you will die) [lit. snake-iron] (N.)	Manson 2010
	rō t^{h}ǫ́	long-nosed bird snake [lit. snake-bird] (N.)	Manson 2010
	rō θyán	green pit viper (tail not red) [lit. snake-green] (N.)	Manson 2010
	rō θyán lé̱ ka mē	red-tailed green pit viper [lit. snake-green-red-tail] (N.)	Manson 2010
	rō θɨ̀	viper [lit. snake-prickle] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**rəu**^{11}	snake	Luangthongkum 2013:266
Kayaw	**ru**^{11}	snake	Luangthongkum 2013:266
Pa-O	**rû**	snake	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:9
Pa-O (Northern)	**ru**^{53}	snake	Luangthongkum 2013:266
Pa-O (Southern)	**ru**^{55}	snake	Luangthongkum 2013:266
Palaychi	**rù**	snake	Jones 1961:9
Pwo (Northern)	**ɣou**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	snake	Luangthongkum 2013:266
Pwo (Southern)	**βou**^{33}	snake	Luangthongkum 2013:266
Pwo (Bassein)	**ɣú?**	snake	Jones 1961:9
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ɣú**	snake	Jones 1961:9
Sgaw (Southern)	**ɣɨ**^{31}	snake	Luangthongkum 2013:266
Sgaw (Northern)	**ɣɨ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	snake	Luangthongkum 2013:266
Sgaw (Bassein)	**ɣỳ**	snake	Jones 1961:9
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ɣỳ**	snake	Jones 1961:9

Chinese comparandum

虵 OC ***χi̯wər**, *GSR* #572a 'snake brood, snake'; Schuessler 2007:287 ***hmui?**; B & S 2011: ***r̥uj?** **{[r̥] u [j] ʔ}** (dial. **r̥-** > **x-**); Mand. **huǐ**.

(5) PTB *hwam SNAKE

This root cries out for further support.

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Pattani [Manchati]	**om** ɖra	snake	Sharma 1982

2.1.6.2 Frog/Toad

(1) PTB *s-bal FROG

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-bal**	frog	Weidert 1987:277; Matisoff 2003a:584

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**pa:** hõa	frog	NEFA (India) 1963
	pɑ^{31}ɹɑi^{53}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.22
	pɑ^{31}ɹɑi^{53}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.49
	ta: **pa:**	frog	NEFA (India) 1963
Idu	**pɑ**^{55}ɹɑi^{55}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.50
Yidu	**pɑ**^{55} ɹɑi^{55}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.25

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**bāl** pā	frog (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.066
Tshona (Mama)	**bɛ:**^{13}pʌ^{53}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.6
Cuona Menba	**bɛ:**^{35}pa^{53}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Jirel)	**'bāl** bāk	frog (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.066
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**bal** wā	frog (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.066
Tibetan (Written)	nágs-**sbɑl**	frog (tree)	Jäschke 1881
	sbal ba	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.01
	sbal ba	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.1
	sbal-pa	frog	Weidert 1987:277; Benedict 1972:16n55; Sun 1985c:293
	sbal mig	bud (n.)	Marrison 1967 [a]
	sbal pa	frog	Marrison 1967
	sbɑl-č'uŋ	lizard (vulg.)	Jäschke 1881
	sbɑl-č'ùŋ	frog (young) / tadpole	Jäschke 1881
	sbɑl-lčoŋ	frog (young); tadpole; lizard	Jäschke 1881; Jäschke 1881
	sbál-bɑ	frog	Jäschke 1881
	sbál-pɑ	frog	Jäschke 1881
	sbál-pɑ dkár-po	frog (large sp. of)	Jäschke 1881
	ɦbaɦi koŋ	snail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0371.01

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Gyaru)	**pol**^{4} ba^{3}	frog	Nagano 1984:320-31
Tamang (Sahu)	**pāhl** pā	frog (ground) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.066
	pahl pa	ground frog	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.66

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**bi**^{35}pʉ^{55}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.16
	bi^{55}pʉ^{53}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.17
Lyuzu	**pi**^{33}mæ^{53}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.18
Muya	mbə^{53}**mbɑ**^{33}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.15
Muya [Minyak]	mbo^{35}**mbɑ**^{33}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.15
Namuyi	**pa**^{33}mi^{55}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.19
	pa^{33}mi^{33}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.46
	pa^{33}mi^{55}æ^{ɪ55}ʁuo^{55}	tadpole (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0350.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**pɐ**^{55}de^{55}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**fpɑ**^{55}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**spɑ**^{55}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**pa**^{55}diɛ^{33}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.10
Qiang (Longxi)	zò **piá**-tsù	tadpole [frog-small]	Evans 1999:431
	zò-**piá**	frog	Evans 1999:430
Qiang (Mawo)	dzu **pi**	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.8
	dzu **piɛ**	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	dzò-**piá**	frog	Evans 1999:430
Qiang (Taoping)	dzuɑ^{31}**pu**^{55}mɑ^{33}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**pɛ**^{33}pa^{53}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**spa**^{13}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.13
Xumi	**pɔ**^{55}mi^{33}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.20
	pu^{55}mi^{33}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**pi**^{33}tɕe^{55}kə^{33}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	kha **ʃpa**	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	khɑ **ʃpɑ**	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.11
Caodeng	qɐ-**ʃpe**	frog; toad	Sun 1997a; Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	kha **shi pa**	frog	Nagano 1997:11.1
rGBenzhen	k^{h}a-**ʃpa**	frog	Sun 1997b

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-ba**^{2}	frog	Matisoff 2003a:583
	***ʔpa**^{2}	frog	Matisoff 1978a:73

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**pho**^{31}ok^{31}	frog	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**phɔ**^{31}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.28
	phɔ^{31}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.41
Achang (Luxi)	**pa**^{55}kuat^{55}	frog	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985

[a] The literal meaning of this compound is "frog-eye."

Achang (Xiandao)	**phă**^{31}cak^{35}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.29
Bola (Luxi)	**pa̱**^{35}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**pha**^{55}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**phɑ**^{55}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.40
Burmese (Written)	**bhà**	frog	Weidert 1987:277
	bhâ	frog	Benedict 1976a
	bhà (phà)	frog	Benedict 1972:15n54(a)
	bhâ-prup	toad (bhâ = 'frog')	Benedict 1976a
	phâ	frog	Hansson 1989:47; Matisoff 1978a:73; Benedict 1976a
	phā:	frog	Marrison 1967
	phɑ^{3}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.26
	phɑ^{3}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.39
Hpun (Northern)	tă **phà**, tă **pà**	frog	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**pɔ̱**^{35}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**pɑ̱**^{55}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.33
Marma	**phá**	frog	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:311-1a
Maru [Langsu]	**pɔ̱**^{35}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pǒ̱**^{21}kje̱k^{55}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.30
	pǒ̱^{21}kje̱k^{55}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.42
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	ó-**pàq**-ń-tjəq	frog	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Southern)	**pɔ**^{55}	frog	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**pɔ**^{55}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**pɑ**^{55}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.45
Yi (Dafang)	**pu**^{55}tsa^{21}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**pa**^{33}	frog	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɔ^{34}**pa**^{33}	frog; toad	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɔ^{34}**pa**^{33}a^{33}vu^{55}	toad; tree toad	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɔ^{34}**pa**^{33}nɔ^{33}ŋgɯ^{33}	frog	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɔ^{34}**pa**^{33}tɕhi^{33}n̥i^{33}	frog	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	ʌ^{33}**po**^{55}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ʌ^{55}**po**^{33}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.26
Yi (Nanjian)	u^{55}**pa**^{21}n̥(ɭ)^{55}tʂ̄^{33}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.23
Yi (Weishan)	ʔu^{55}**pa**^{21}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.36
Yi (Wuding)	u^{55}**pu**^{33}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.38
Yi (Xide)	ɔ^{34}**pɑ**^{33}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.35
	ɔ^{44}**pa**^{33}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**phɔ**^{33}kɛ^{55}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.34
	phɔ^{33}ny^{44}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**phɔ**^{44}thɛ^{33}lɛ^{33}	frog	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	phɔ^{44}n̥u^{44}	frog	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**pa35** tiɛ33 liɛ33	frog	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**pɑ**^{11}tɛ^{54}nɛ^{54}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.43
Lahu (Black)	**pā**	frog	Matisoff 1978a:73
	pā-té-nê?	frog	Matisoff 1972b:158(b)
	pʌ^{31}tɛ^{33}nɛ^{54}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**pa**^{5}	frog	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	pa^{5}la^{5}du^{4}	frog (sp.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	o^{55}**pɑ**^{55}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.27
Lisu (Central)	wu^{1}-**pa**^{1}	frog	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	ɔ^{55}**pa**^{55}	frog; toad; cf. ɔ^{55}ly^{33}za?^{21} (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}**pa**^{55} la^{21}tɕæ^{33}	kind of frog, Bufo melanostictus	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}**pa**^{55} ni^{35}tʃhɻʔ^{21}	tree toad	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}**pa**^{55}fu^{33}	toad egg	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	ɒ^{44}**pɒ**^{55}mɒ^{33}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**phà**	frog	Hansson 1989:47
Akha (Yunnan)	xhà **phà**	frog	Hansson 1989:77
Akha (Thai)	xhà-**phà**	frog	Hansson 1989:77
Hani (Dazhai)	xa^{31}**pha**^{31}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.31
Hani (Lüchun)	xha **phà**	frog	Hansson 1989:77
	xa^{31}**pha**^{31}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.41
Hani (Pijo)	**phà**	frog	Hansson 1989:47
	phà ŋɛq	frog	Hansson 1989:77
Hani (Caiyuan)	**phɔ**^{31}ne̱^{33}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	xa^{31}**pha**^{31}	frog	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	haq **paq**	frog	Hansson 1989:47; Hansson 1989:77
Hani (Shuikui)	xɔ^{31}**phɔ**^{31}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.32
Hani (Khatu)	**phà**	frog	Hansson 1989:47
	phà phfu	frog	Hansson 1989:77
Hani (Mojiang)	xɔ^{31}**phɔ**^{31}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.42
Mpi	**pho**^{2}	frog	Hansson 1989:47
	pho^{2}-ʔe^{6}	frog	Matisoff 1978a:73
	pho^{2}ne?^{6}soŋ^{4}	frog (small, green)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	pho^{2}ʔe^{6}	frog	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Sila	**phɛ21** nɯ21	frog	KATO Takashi 2008:122
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	a^{21}**pɲ**^{45}	frog	Pelkey 2011:125
	a^{21}**pɲ**^{45}kʌ^{22}li^{22}tɕi̱^{45}	toad	Pelkey 2011:126
Southern Muji	**pa**^{21}ɕi^{33}(-a^{21})	toad	Pelkey 2011:126
	pa^{21}tɕi^{33}	frog	Pelkey 2011:125
Phola	**pɑ̱**^{33ŋ}kji^{31}k^{h}i̱^{33}	toad	Pelkey 2011:126
	ɔ^{55}**pɑ̱**^{33}	frog	Pelkey 2011:125
Hlepho Phowa	a^{55}**pa**^{33}	frog	Pelkey 2011:125
	a^{55}**pa**^{55}kɔ^{21}ts^{h}o^{21}	toad	Pelkey 2011:126
Phuza	a^{33}**pa**^{33}	frog	Pelkey 2011:125
	a^{33}**pa**^{33}lɛ^{13}kʌ^{33}ts^{h}ʌ^{31}	toad	Pelkey 2011:126
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**pɤ**˧mie˧	frog	Michaud 2006–2009:3856
Na (Yongning)	**pɤ**˩mi˩	frog	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**pə**^{31}mi^{13}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.29
Naxi	**pɑ**^{33}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**pɑ**^{33}tɕə^{33}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.28

(2) PTB *t $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{u}\\\mathbf{i}\end{matrix}$ k FROG

Note that the ***-u-*** ⩤ ***-i-*** variation occurs within Tani, as well as across different subgroups.

R.S. Cook (p.c., 2002) has noted the similarity of these forms to the reflexes of PTB ***s-di:k*** SCORPION / CRAB / SHRIMP (§2.2.6), another 'verminous / venomous species'.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tuk*** ⩤ ***tik***	frog	Matisoff 2003a:615
1.1.1. TANI: ****tɯk*** FROG			
**Tani*	****tɯk***	frog	Sun 1993a:168
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	da-ñí ta-**tɯ** a-nɯ-nɯ	solar eclipse	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi-mi ta-**tɯʔ** ar-nɯ bu	solar eclipse	Sun 1993b
	pú-lo-mi ta-**tɯʔ** ar-nɯ bu	lunar eclipse	Sun 1993b
	tà-**tɯ**	frog	Sun 1993b
	ta-**tɯʔ**	frog	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ta-**tɯʔ** pa-pu	frog egg	Sun 1993b
	ta-**tɯʔ**-ar-nɯ-bu-do	eclipse	Sun 1993b
	tɯ-ri tà-tu	toad	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**tɯk**	frog	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	tɯk-rɯ:	toad	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **tɯk**	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.24
	ta-**tɯk**	frog	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **tɯk**	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.51
Galo	ta **tik**	frog	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **tɨk**	frog (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	te **tɯk**	frog	Simon 1976
Tagin	ta **tɤk**	frog	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**tɯk**~ tik	frog	Sun 1993a
Damu	**tək**-ta(?)	frog	Sun 1993b
Milang	pu-**duk**	frog	Tayeng 1976
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Sahu)	kal **Tek Tek**	frog (water) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.066
	kal **Tek Tek**	water frog	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.66
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**tik**	frog (sp.), small (3cm. long), black and white striped, water-living (n.)	Caughley 2000
	tik	frog	Caughley 1972:3.A.66
3.2. QIANGIC			
Pumi (Jiulong)	pɐ^{55}**de**^{55}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.10
Pumi (Taoba)	pa^{55}**diɛ**^{33}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.10
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	**dɯ**^{31}ɹi^{53}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.46
Dulong	**dɯ**^{55}ɹi^{53}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**dɯ**^{31}ɹi^{53}	frog	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Youle)	phɔ^{44}**thɛ**^{33}lɛ^{33}	frog	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	pa35 **tiɛ33** liɛ33	frog	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	pɑ^{11}**tɛ**^{54}nɛ^{54}	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.43
Lahu (Black)	pā-**té**-nê?	frog	Matisoff 1972b:158(b)
	pʌ^{31}**tɛ**^{33}nɛ^{54}	frog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:150.33
7. KARENIC: ****ʔde^{B}sow^{B}*** TOAD, ****ʔde^{B}*** FROG			
**Karen [Burling]*	****de^{2}***	frog	Luangthongkum 2013:126
**Karen*	****dìG***	frog	Jones 1961:195
	****ʔde^{B}***	frog	Luangthongkum 2013:126
	****ʔde^{B}sow^{B}***	toad	Luangthongkum 2013:305
Bwe	**di^{33}θu^{33}**	toad	Luangthongkum 2013:305
	ɗi̱^{33}	frog	Luangthongkum 2013:126
Karen	**de̱^{31}**	frog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0349.50
Kayah	**di^{11}**	frog	Luangthongkum 2013:126
	di^{11}so^{11}	toad	Luangthongkum 2013:305
Kayan	**dai^{11}**	frog	Luangthongkum 2013:126
	dai^{11}θu^{11}	toad	Luangthongkum 2013:305
Kayan (Pekon)	**dé̱**	frog (N.)	Manson 2010
	dé̱ naθâ	type of frog that lives amongst weeds [lit. frog-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**di^{11}**	frog	Luangthongkum 2013:126
	di^{11}su^{11}	toad	Luangthongkum 2013:305
Pa-O	**dé**	frog	Solnit 1989
	dé ljɔ̄	frog, k. of (Thai khiat lew)	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**de^{33}**	frog	Luangthongkum 2013:126
	de^{33}su^{33}	toad	Luangthongkum 2013:305
Pa-O (Northern)	**de^{55}**	frog	Luangthongkum 2013:126
	de^{55}su^{55}	toad	Luangthongkum 2013:305
Pwo (Northern)	**di^{33}**	frog	Luangthongkum 2013:126
	di^{33}sou^{33}	toad	Luangthongkum 2013:305
Pwo (Southern)	**di^{55}**	frog	Luangthongkum 2013:126
	di^{55}sou^{55}	toad	Luangthongkum 2013:305
Sgaw (Northern)	**de$^{31\sim}$**	frog	Luangthongkum 2013:126
	de$^{31\sim}$sɨ$^{31\sim}$	toad	Luangthongkum 2013:305
Sgaw (Southern)	**de^{45,}**	frog	Luangthongkum 2013:126
	di^{45,}sɨ^{45,}	toad	Luangthongkum 2013:305

(3) PKC *ʔuu FROG / TOAD

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
**Kuki-Naga*	****u**-p(h)rok*	toad	Benedict 1972:p.41
1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	****ʔuu***	FROG / TOAD	VanBik 2009:487
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**u** phok	toad	VanBik 2009:487
Thado	**ú** phôʔ	frog, toad (on land, can go in water for short while)	VanBik 2009:487
	u-phoʔ	toad	Benedict 1972:p.41
	ū phɔ̀ʔ	frog	Thirumalai 1972:35
Tiddim	**ui^{1}** phuk^{3}	frog	VanBik 2009:487; Bhaskararao 1996:1915
	u^{1} ke:ng^{1}	toad	Bhaskararao 1996:1909
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**u-u˝**	frog	VanBik 2009:487
Khumi	**t'u**	frog species	VanBik 2009:487
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔu**-tlak	frog, toad	VanBik 2009:487
Lushai [Mizo]	**ú** ṭawk	toad (n.)	VanBik 2009:487
	u-ṭok	toad	Benedict 1972:p.41
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	chā-**ʔú**	tree frog (n.)	VanBik 2009:487

(4) PTB *prwak TOAD

This root was reconstructed as the binome ***u-p(h)rok*** for "Proto-Kuki-Naga" in *STC* p. 41. The putative Thakali cognate makes it possible to reconstruct the second syllable for PTB. For the first syllable, see the PKC root PKC ***ʔuu*** FROG / TOAD (§2.1.6.2).

1. NE Indian Areal Group

**Kuki-Naga*	*u-**p(h)rok**	toad	Benedict 1972:p.41

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***prok** TOAD

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	u **phok**	toad	VanBik 2009:487
Thado	ú **phôʔ**	frog, toad (on land, can go in water for short while)	VanBik 2009:487
	u-**phoʔ**	toad	Benedict 1972:p.41
	ū **phɔ̀ʔ**	frog	Thirumalai 1972:35
Tiddim	ui[1] **phuk**[3]	frog	VanBik 2009:487; Bhaskararao 1996:1915

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	u-**ṭok**	toad	Benedict 1972:p.41

2.1.4. Tamangish

Thakali	**poh** To	toad (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.067
Thakali (Tukche)	**poh** ṭo	toad	Hari 1971:3.A.67

2.1.6.3 Lizard

(1) PKar *kwi[B] CHAMELEON

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***kwi**[B]	chameleon	Luangthongkum 2013:45
Bwe	**khwi**[33]	chameleon	Luangthongkum 2013:45
Kayah	**khwi**[11]	chameleon	Luangthongkum 2013:45
Kayan	**khwi**[11]	chameleon	Luangthongkum 2013:45
Kayaw	**khi**[11]	chameleon	Luangthongkum 2013:45
Pa-O (Southern)	**kwi**[33]	chameleon	Luangthongkum 2013:45
Pa-O (Northern)	**kwi**[55]	chameleon	Luangthongkum 2013:45
Pwo (Northern)	**khwi**[33]	chameleon	Luangthongkum 2013:45
Pwo (Southern)	**khwi**[55]	chameleon	Luangthongkum 2013:45
Sgaw (Northern)	**khwi**[31~]	chameleon	Luangthongkum 2013:45
Sgaw (Southern)	**khwi**[45,]	chameleon	Luangthongkum 2013:45

(2) PTB *r-saŋ LIZARD

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-saŋ**	lizard	Weidert 1987:200; Matisoff 2003a:612; Benedict 1972:70

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**so**-miŋ	lizard (species)	Sun 1993b
	so-pĩ	lizard	Sun 1993b
	só-piŋ	lizard	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**soː**-jɯŋ **soː**-pin	lizard	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**soŋ**-kəŋ	lizard	Sun 1993b
	ɕoŋ kəŋ	lizard (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0348.24

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	**ɕoŋ**-ke ɕo-tɕər	lizard	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ɟong**-keb	lizard	Tayeng 1976

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**tàŋ**	lizard	Weidert 1987:200; Thirumalai 1972:64
	tʌ̀ŋ	lizard	Thirumalai 1972:67
Tiddim	**than**[3] kik[3]	red tailed lizard	Bhaskararao 1996:1866

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**tang** kâwng	lizard	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***ʃaŋ-** LIZARD

**Central Naga*	***ʃaŋ-**	LIZARD	Bruhn 2014a:III.200
**Ao*	***saŋ-**	LIZARD	Bruhn 2014a:II.097
Ao (Chungli)	**sang** ken	lizard	Marrison 1967
	saŋ[2]kən[2]	lizard (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.097
	[2]**saŋ** [2]kɯn	lizard	Weidert 1987:200
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**shang** kung	lizard	Marrison 1967
	shan pita	lizard	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**sàŋ** phila	lizard (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**səŋ**[1]rəm[1]	lizard with long tail, colorful head (green/blue) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.200
	süng rhüm	lizard	Murry *et al.* 1978:68
	[1]**sɯŋ** [1]rɯm	lizard	Weidert 1987:200

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**so** kru	lizard	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**so** kru	lizard	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***Ç-saːŋ** LIZARD

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-saːŋ**	lizard	French 1983:515

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa	[2]**tsʌŋ**-rat	lizard sp.	Weidert 1987:200
	[3]**tsʌŋ** [3]khʌu	lizard	Weidert 1987:200

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**sa** li mang	lizard	Marrison 1967
	su	lizard	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	kă[33]**saŋ**[33]son[31]	lizard (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0348.19
	kə **sāŋ** sòn	jungle lizard	Matisoff 1974:207
	nsaŋ son	jungle lizard	Benedict 1972:70
	n̄-sāŋ sòn	lizard	Matisoff 1974:207

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**rtsaŋs**-pa	lizard	Weidert 1987:200; Benedict 1972:70
	rtáŋs-pɑ	lizard	Jäschke 1881

3.2. Qiangic

Lyuzu	**taŋ**[33]tshɻ[53]	lizard (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0348.18
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tã**[55]tsɻ[55]pu[55]li[11]	lizard (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0348.10

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**saŋ**-kyau	skink	Benedict 1972:70
	sâŋ-kyô	large brown earth lizard; skink	Matisoff 1974:207
	saŋ-lip	species of skink	Benedict 1972:70
Langsu (Luxi)	**tʃɔ̃**[31]kjauŋ[31]	lizard (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0348.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tsaŋ**[31]kjuŋ[31]	lizard (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0348.33

(3) PNN *wat LIZARD

This sparsely attested root has so far only been attested in Northern Naga.

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**at**	lizard	Marrison 1967
Wancho	ha **ot**	lizard	Marrison 1967

(4) PTB *g-riŋ LIZARD

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***deŋ** LIZARD

**Tangkhulic*	***deŋ**	lizard	Mortensen 2012:642
Tusom	sɯen-ti-**tã**	house lizard	Mortensen 2012:Animals.104
Ukhrul	ci-**reŋ**	lizard	Mortensen 2012

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	u **reng**	lizard	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	a-**ring**-ga	lizard (n.)	Burling 2003:4.441-II:idx

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Western)	ḥbu-**riŋ**	snake	Benedict 1972:27
Tibetan (Written)	ʾbu **riṅ**	snake	Marrison 1967
	ḥbu-**ríŋ**	snake	Jäschke 1881
	rgyɑb-**ríŋ**	serpent / snake	Jäschke 1881

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung	ʾpu **ri**	snake	Weidert 1987:819
Manang (Gyaru)	bɯ[2] **kri**[2]	snake	Nagano 1984:311
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]pu **kri:**	snake	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0082
Tamang (Bagmati)	ʾpu **khri**	snake	Weidert 1987:819
Thakali	pu **Ti**	snake (big); snake (small) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.069; Hale 1973:03a.070
Thakali (Tukche)	pu **ṭi**	snake (big); snake (small)	Hari 1971:3.A.69; Hari 1971:3.A.70

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yamphu	koŋ **griŋ**	species of colored lizard (n.)	Rutgers 1998:546.2

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	bɛ[33]**rɻ**[55]	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.18
Lyuzu	bɯ[33]**ɣɯ**[ɪ35] (lu[53])	year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.18
	bɯ[33] **ɣɯ**[ɪ 35]	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.18
Pumi (Jiulong)	bu[11]**ʐɛi**[55]	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.10
Pumi (Lanping)	bɐ[13] **ʐɑ**	snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	bɐ[13]**ʐɑ**[55]	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.11
Pumi (Taoba)	bɐ[35]**re**[53]	snake	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:152.10
Queyu (Xinlong)	pə[55]**rɛ**[55]	snake; year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0347.13; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.13

(5) PTB *kwa $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ LIZARD

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	soŋ-**kəŋ**	lizard	Sun 1993b
	ɕoŋ kəŋ	lizard (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0348.24

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	**ɕoŋ-ke** ɕo-tɕər	lizard	Sun 1993b

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	**kan**-chi-dik	house lizard; lizard (n.)	Burling 2003:4.441-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**kang** kylek	type of lizard with red neck, said to drink human blood (n.)	van Breugel 2008

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yamphu	**koŋ** griŋ	species of colored lizard (n.)	Rutgers 1998:546.2

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Chamling	**kok** ole	lizard	Winter 1985
Kulung	**kok** cili	lizard	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**kok** teː	lizard	Driem 1993
Khaling	**kok** co lap	lizard (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.065

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**kuk** di-waʔ mi	gekko, house lizard (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.198
	kuk lɯŋ	lizard (n df.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.198
	kuʔ lɯŋ	kind of lizard (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.184
Sunwar	**kho** te	lizard (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.065

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Longxi)	**kòŋ** dzɨ́	lizard {b?}	Evans 1999:429

(6) PTB *ki $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{ŋ}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ LIZARD

This root somewhat resembles #6104 **g-riŋ**, but there is so far insufficient evidence to determine whether they are co-allofams.

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	in[1] **hik**[3]	house lizard	Bhaskararao 1996:521
	than[3] **kik**[3]	red tailed lizard	Bhaskararao 1996:1866

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	lai **king**	lizard	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	u **king**	lizard	Marrison 1967

(7) PKar *khwoʔ[D] MONITOR LIZARD (LAND~)

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***khwoʔ**[D]	monitor lizard (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:190
Kayah	**khwɔ**[55]	monitor lizard (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:190
Kayan	re[33]**khɔʔ**[45]	monitor lizard (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:190
Pwo (Northern)	**khauʔ**[45]	monitor lizard (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:190
Pwo (Southern)	**khɔuʔ**[31]	monitor lizard (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:190
Sgaw (Northern)	**khuʔ**[45]	monitor lizard (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:190
Sgaw (Southern)	**khɔuʔ**[21]	monitor lizard (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:190

(8) PKar *tre[A] MONITOR LIZARD (WATER~)

7. Karenic

**Karen [Burling]*	***reŋ**[3]	monitor lizard (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:191	
**Karen*	***tre**[A]	monitor lizard (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:191	[a]

[a] [Source Note] Only N.Sgaw has tone D instead of A.

Bwe	**tre**^{55}	monitor lizard (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:191
Kayah	**re**^{33}	monitor lizard (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:191
Kayaw	**tre**^{55}~**te**^{55}**re**^{55}	monitor lizard (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:191
Pwo (Southern)	**ɣei**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	monitor lizard (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:191
Sgaw (Northern)	**kreʔ**^{45}	monitor lizard (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:191
Sgaw (Southern)	**re**^{55}	monitor lizard (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:191

(9) PKar *blɛʔ^{D} SKINK

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	*__blɛʔ__^{D}	skink	Luangthongkum 2013:260
**Karen [Burling]*	*__phlɛʔ__^{1}	skink	Luangthongkum 2013:260
Bwe	**bli**^{11}ca^{55}	skink	Luangthongkum 2013:260
Kayah	**pla**^{33}	skink	Luangthongkum 2013:260
Kayan	**plɛʔ**^{21}	skink	Luangthongkum 2013:260
Kayaw	**ple**^{33}	skink	Luangthongkum 2013:260
Pa-O (Southern)	**plɛʔ**^{45}	skink	Luangthongkum 2013:260
Pa-O (Northern)	**plɛʔ**^{45}	skink	Luangthongkum 2013:260
Pwo (Northern)	**phleʔ**^{21}	skink	Luangthongkum 2013:260
Pwo (Southern)	**phleʔ**^{45}	skink	Luangthongkum 2013:260
Sgaw (Northern)	**phlɛʔ**^{21}	skink	Luangthongkum 2013:260
Sgaw (Southern)	**plɛ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	skink	Luangthongkum 2013:260

2.1.7 Equine

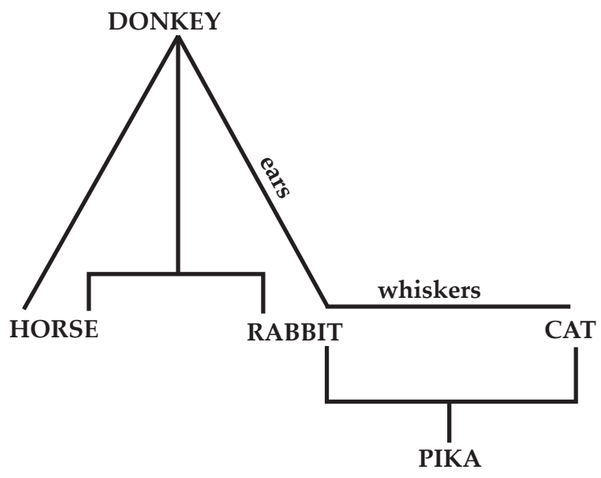


Figure 169: 2.1.7 *Equine*

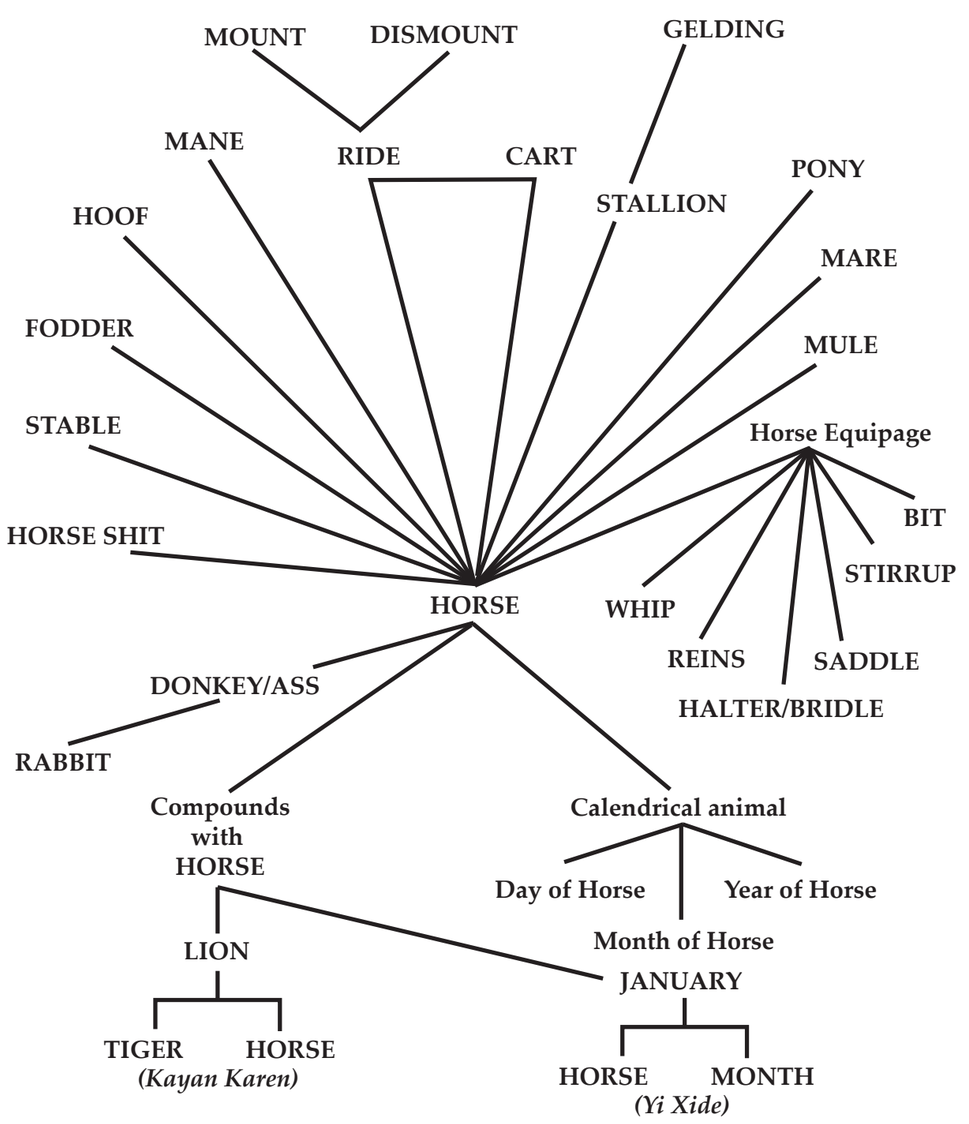


Figure 170: 2.1.7 *Equine*

(1) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{s}\\\textbf{m}\end{matrix}$ -raŋ HORSE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__k-m-raŋ ≍ s-raŋ__	horse	Matisoff 2003a:609
	*__m-raŋ__	horse	Weidert 1987:284
	*__s-raŋ__	horse	Weidert 1987:284
	*__s-raŋ ≍ m-raŋ__	horse	Benedict 1972:145
	*__s-rɑŋ~m-rɑŋ__	horse	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:40a-e
	*__s/m-ra-ŋ__	horse	Matisoff 2003a:609

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**mɑ**^{31}**ɹoŋ**^{35}tɑ^{31}plo^{53}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.22
	mɑ^{31}**ɹoŋ**^{35}tɑ^{31}thɑ^{53}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.22
	mɑ^{31}**ɹoŋ**^{35}ŋ^{35}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.22
	mɑ^{31}**ɹoŋ**^{55}	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.22
	mɑ^{31}**ɹoŋ**^{55}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.49
Kaman [Miju]	**pɑ**^{31}**xoŋ**^{35}	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.23
	pɑ^{31}**xoŋ**^{35}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.48
	pɑ^{31}**xoŋ**^{35}bɯi^{35}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.23
	pɑ^{31}**xoŋ**^{35}dɑk^{55}bɹɑ̆ŋ^{53}	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.48
	pɑ^{31}**xoŋ**^{35}tɑ^{31}sɯŋ^{35}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.23
	pɑ^{31}**xoŋ**^{35}ɕɑt^{53}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.23
Idu	**marõ**	horse / pony	Anonymous 1962
	ma^{31}bu^{53}	mane (of horse, lion)	SUN Hongkai 1991f:8.1.6
	mɑ^{55}**ɹoŋ**^{53}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.50
Yidu	**mɑ**^{55}**ɹoŋ**^{53}	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.25
	mɑ^{55}**ɹoŋ**^{53}oŋ^{35}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *__raŋ__ HORSE

**Chin*	*__raŋ__	HORSE	VanBik 2009:949

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ràŋ**	horse	VanBik 2009:949
Lai (Falam)	**ráŋ**	horse	VanBik 2009:949
Lai (Hakha)	**raŋ**	horse	Benedict 1972:145

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	ā **rā**	horse	VanBik 2009:949

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa	^{3}kim^{3}**raŋ**	horse	Weidert 1987:284
Tangsa (Moshang)	gim **rang**	horse	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Wancho	**man**	horse	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	gùm-**rà**	horse	Matisoff 1974:229
	gùm-**ràŋ**	horse	Matisoff 1974:229
	kum^{31}**ʒa**^{31}	horse	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	kum^{31}**ʒa**^{31}	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.19
	kum^{31}**ʒa**^{31}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.47
	kum^{31}**ʒa**^{31} (ǰă^{31}niŋ^{33})	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.19
	kum^{31}**ʒa**^{31} loŋ^{31}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.19
	kum^{31}**ʒa**^{31}kă^{31}nu^{31}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.19
	kum^{31}**ʒa**^{31}khji^{55}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.19
	kum^{31}**ʒa**^{31}wă^{55}la^{51}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.19
	kum **ra**	horse	Marrison 1967
	kum **ra ≍** kum **raŋ**	horse	Benedict 1972:145
	kum **raŋ**	horse	Benedict 1972:43n139
	ma^{31}lau^{33}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.19
	^{1}kum^{1}**ra**	horse	Weidert 1987:284
Jingpho (Hkauri)	khàm-**ràŋ**	horse	Matisoff 1974:229

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak	**məráŋ**	horse	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-2

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	**śraŋ** s	horse	Benedict 1972:145
Kanauri	**raŋ** i	horse	Benedict 1972:145
	raɴ	horse (n.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**hraŋ**	horse	Benedict 1972:145
	mà gri	mane (of horse, lion)	Sharma 1991b:8.1.6
	r^{h}əŋg	horse	Sharma 1982

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**sěraŋ**	horse	Benedict 1972:145

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**nbo**^{33}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.18
	nbo^{55}kɑ^{55}tɑ^{55}	whip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:430.18
	nbo^{55}zɑ^{55}	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.18
Guiqiong	**mbu**^{35}	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.16
	mbu^{35}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.17
	mbu^{35}nɔ̃^{55}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.16
	mbu^{35}pi^{55}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.16
	mbu^{35}tshɔ̃^{55}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.16
	mbu^{35}ŋi^{55}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.16
Lyuzu	**mbo**^{ɪ53}tʂhua^{53}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.18
	nbo^{ɪ33} (lʉ^{53})	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.18
	nbo^{ɪ33}gu^{53}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.18
	nbõ^{ɪ33}gæ^{53}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.18
	nbo^{ɪ33}mæ^{53}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.18
	nbo^{ɪ33}pu^{53}	reins (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0596.18
	nbo^{ɪ33}wa^{53}	bit (for horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.18
	nbo^{ɪ33}ɣua^{53}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.18
	nbo^{ɪ35}	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.18
	nbo^{ɪ53}gi^{53}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.18
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ʐuẽ**^{35}	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.10
	ʐuẽ^{11}mi^{55}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.10
	ʐuẽ^{11}my^{55}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.10
	ʐuə^{11}mi^{55}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.10

	ʐu^{11}qu^{55}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.10
	ʐu^{11}tshi^{55}	bit (for horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.10
	ʐu^{11}tɕi^{35}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.10
	ʐu^{11}ʑẽ^{35}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**zgyɛ̃^{13}**fpa^{55}	horseshoe (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0593.09
	zgyɛ̃^{13}mo^{55}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.09
	zgyɛ̃^{13}po^{55}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.09
Qiang (Longxi)	**ʁò**	7th earthly branch (horse); horse	Evans 1999:1110; Evans 1999:335 [a]
	ʁò dò	stallion	Evans 1999:337
	ʁò dʑí	belly bend [horse-belt]	Evans 1999:828
	ʁò gò tɕhuà	horse shoe	Evans 1999:832
	ʁò kú tɕà	stirrup	Evans 1999:829
	ʁò mià	mare	Evans 1999:338
	ʁò qú	bit (horse)	Evans 1999:830
	ʁò tì	horse fodder	Evans 1999:617
	ʁò tshú	stirrup	Evans 1999:829
	ʁò zù	horse fodder	Evans 1999:617
	ʁò zú	saddle	Evans 1999:825
	ʁò-bəì	reins [horse-rope]	Evans 1999:836
	ʁò-ió	Mongolian gazelle [horse-sheep]	Evans 1999:387
	ʁò-iuà kù ~ **ʁó**-iuá kù	horse shed [horse-b]	Evans 1999:698
	ʁò-lòŋ thoù	halter, bridle [horse-b]	Evans 1999:826
	ʁò-tsoù-sà ɲì	halter [horse-m-string]	Evans 1999:827
	ʁó ká χú	horse's mane [horse-POSS?-body.hair]	Evans 1999:339
Qiang (Mawo)	**ɹu**	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.08; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.08
	ɹu	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.8
	ɹu liɑu	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.08
	ɹu miɛ	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.08
	ɹu stu	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.8
	ɹu tshu ʈʂu	reins (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0596.08
	ɹu tɕɑːˈ	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.08
	ɹu χu̯	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.08
	ɹu χʂ	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**ʐo̱ù** qóu	stallion	Evans 1999:337
	ʐo̱ù sí	horse fodder	Evans 1999:617
	ʐo̱ù-duɛ́	bit (horse) [horse-mouth?]	Evans 1999:830
	ʐo̱ù-duɛ́-lòŋ tsì	halter, bridle [horse-mouth-b]	Evans 1999:826
	ʐo̱ù	7th earthly branch (horse); horse	Evans 1999:1110; Evans 1999:335 [b]
	ʐo̱ù miá	mare	Evans 1999:338
	ʐo̱ù ʐɛ́	horse shed	Evans 1999:698
	ʐo̱ù-khueí-bà	horse shed [horse-v-m]	Evans 1999:698
Qiang (Taoping)	**ʐu^{55}**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**bra^{13}**tshi^{55}	bit (for horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.13
	bre^{13}	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.13; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.13
	bre^{13} li^{13} tha^{55}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.13
	bre^{13}puə^{55}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.13
	bri^{13}rga^{55}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.13
Xumi	**rõ^{33}**khuɛ^{53}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.17
	rõ^{33}lu^{55}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.17
	rõ^{33}mi^{33}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.17
	rõ^{33}tɕi^{53}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.17
	rõ^{35}	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.17; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.17
	rõ^{55}qõ^{33}	pony (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0269.17
	rɔ̃^{35}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.20
	thõ^{33}**rõ^{53}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.17
	thɔ̃^{33}**rɔ̃^{35}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**dʐo^{33}**mi^{55}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.14
	mbʐo^{13}	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.14
	mdʐo^{33} ntsh i^{55}	bit (for horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.14
	mdʐo^{13}	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**rɛ** zvə	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.12
Ergong (Danba)	**zɣi**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (NW)	**mbra** rme	mane (of horse, lion)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.1.6
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**mbro**	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.11
rGyalrong	**mbro**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**mbro** lwɑ	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.11
	mbro phʃʁ	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.11
rGyalrong (Northern)	**mbro** rwa	mane (of horse, lion)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:8.1.6
Caodeng	**nbri**	horse	Sun 1997a
	nbri-jmɐ	tail of horse	Sun 1997a
	nbrɐ-rgju	horse-race	Sun 1997a
	nbrɐ-zgeʔ	saddle	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**Nbro**	horse	Nagano 1997:2.5
	Nbro ta pa	intact male horse	Nagano 1997:2.54
rGBenzhen	**nbro**-moʔ	horse (female)	Sun 1997b
	nbroʔ	horse	Sun 1997b
Shili	**ndzɻɐ**	horse	Sun 1997c

4. NUNGIC

Rawang	gɯm^{31} **rɑŋ^{31}**	horse; stallion; mare	LaPolla 2003:310; LaPolla 2003:312; LaPolla 2003:313
	gɯm^{31} **rɑŋ^{31}** am^{53} phɑ^{31}	fodder, horse feed	LaPolla 2003:539
	gɯm^{31} **rɑŋ^{31}** niʔ	horse dung	LaPolla 2003:315
Nung	**mɛn^{31}**	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.21
	mɛn^{31}dzɑ^{55}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.21
	mɛn^{31}dʐɑ^{31}xɑm^{55}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.21
	mɛn^{31}gu^{55}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.21
	mɛn^{31}khɛŋ^{55}dɛm^{55}	whip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0597.21
	mɛn^{31}min^{55}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.21
	mɛn^{31}mɑ^{55}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.21
	mɛn^{31}nɛn^{55}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.21
	mɛn^{31}n̥i^{55}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.21
Anong	**mɛ^{31}**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.44
	mɛ^{31}khɑŋ^{55}dɛm^{55}	whip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:430.44
	mɛ^{31}nɛn^{55}	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.44
Nung	tho^{31}lɑ^{55}**mu^{31}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.21
Anong	tho^{31}lɑ^{55}**mu^{31}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.44
Dulong	**mɯ^{31}**gɯ^{31}pɑ^{31}tɔʔ^{55}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.20
	mɯ^{31}gɯ^{53}	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.20
Trung [Dulong]	**mɯ^{31}**gɯ^{53}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.46
Dulong	**mɯ^{31}**gɯ^{53}dʐɑ^{55}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.20
	mɯ^{31}gɯ^{53}ni^{55}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.20
	mɯ^{31}gɯ^{53}ɑŋ^{55}gu^{55}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.20
	mɯ^{31}gɯ^{53}ɑŋ^{55}mɑ^{53}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.20
	tɔ^{31}lɑ^{55}**mɔ^{53}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.20

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**ma^{53}**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.38
	ma^{53}sie^{21}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.49
	ma^{53}si^{21}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.49
	ma^{53}si^{35}ka^{55}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.49
	ma^{53}tsho^{55}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.49
Tujia (Northern)	**ma^{55}**	horse	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	meng3	horse (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia (Southern)	**mo^{13}**	horse	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	pu2**meng3**	legendary 'dragon horse' (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	pu^{2}**meng^{3}**	dragon horse	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***mraŋ^{2}** HORSE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***mraŋ^{2}**	horse	Matisoff 2003a:602

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	(**m̥jɑŋ^{31}**) khɯ^{55}	hoof (horse)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	m̥jɑŋ^{31}	horse	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ma^{55}**liau^{35}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.28
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.28
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.41
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31} (n̥ək^{55})	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.28
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}kok^{55}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.28
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}ma^{31}lɔʔ^{31}	mule	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:112.41
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}tseŋ^{35}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.28
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}tsuŋ^{31}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.28
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}tɕhi^{31}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.28
	m̥ʐəŋ^{31}an^{31}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.28
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}lɔ^{31}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.28
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}mau^{31} ɻiʔ^{31}	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.28
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}ma^{31}lɔʔ^{31}	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.28
Achang (Luxi)	(**mjaŋ^{51}**) khɯ^{35}	hoof (horse)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	mjaŋ^{51}	horse	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**maʔ^{31}**liau^{35}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.29
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.29
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31} kʰɯ^{31}	excrement (horse)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:323
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31} tʂɯŋ^{55}	mane (horse)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:322
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}khɯ^{31}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.29
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}koʔ^{35}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.29
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}lɔ^{31}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.29
	m̥ʐaŋ^{31}mɔ^{31}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.29
Bola	**ma^{31}** tsuŋ^{31}	mane (horse)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:322
Bola (Luxi)	**ma^{31}**tsuŋ^{31}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.32
	mjõ^{31}	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.32

[a] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).
[b] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).

	mjɔ̃³¹ (tɛ̃⁵⁵vɛʔ⁵⁵)	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.32
	mjɔ̃³¹khap⁵⁵	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.32
	mjɔ̃³¹khji³⁵	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.32
	mjɔ̃³¹la³¹	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.32
	mjɔ̃³¹mɛ̰³⁵	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.32
	mjɔ̃³¹pɛʔ³¹və̆⁵⁵sɛ³¹	whip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0597.32
	mjɔ̃³¹taŋ⁵⁵	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mjĩ⁵⁵**	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.27
	mji⁵⁵	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.27
	mjĩ⁵⁵	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.27
	mjĩ⁵⁵kõ⁵⁵	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.27
	mjĩ⁵⁵lɛ²²shã²²	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.27
	mjĩ⁵⁵mɑ⁵³	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.27
	mjĩ⁵⁵sɑ²²	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.27
	mjĩ⁵⁵thi⁵⁵	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.27
	mjĩ⁵⁵tɕhi⁵⁵	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.27
	mjĩ⁵⁵zɑ̃u⁵⁵	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mjĩ⁵⁵**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.40
	mji⁵⁵	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.40
	mjĩ⁵⁵kõ⁵⁵	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.40
Burmese (Written)	**mrâi**	ass (< mrâñ) (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	mrâñ	ass (= mrâi) (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	mraṅ:	horse	Marrison 1967
	mràŋ	horse	Weidert 1987:284
	mrâŋ	horse	Hansson 1989:436; Matisoff 1974:229; Benedict 1976a
	mràŋ	horse	Benedict 1972:145
	mrɑn³thi³	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.26
	mrɑŋ³	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.26
	mrɑŋ³	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.39
	mrɑŋ³kun³	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.26
	mrɑŋ³kun³	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.39
	mrɑŋ³lɑɲ²shɑṁ²	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.26
	mrɑŋ³mɑ¹	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.26
	mrɑŋ³sɑɑ²	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.26
	mrɑŋ³zɔŋ³	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.26
	mrɑŋ³ khje ³	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.26
	mrɑɲ³	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.26
	mrɑɲ³	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.39
Hpun (Northern)	**myò**	horse	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**mjɔ̃³¹**lɔ³⁵	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.31
	mjɔ̃³⁵	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.31
	mjɔ̃³⁵ (tsəŋ³¹)	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.31
	mjɔ̃³⁵khap⁵⁵	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.31
	mjɔ̃³⁵khjik⁵⁵	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.31
	mjɔ̃³⁵tsaŋ³¹	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.31
	mjɔ̃³⁵tshɛ̃³¹	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.31
Lashi	(**mjaŋ³³**) tsham³³	mane (of horse, lion)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.1.6
Leqi (Luxi)	**mjaŋ³³**	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.33
	mjaŋ³³khɔm³³	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.33
	mjaŋ³³tsham³³	stallion; mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.33
	mjaŋ³³tso³¹	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.33
	mjaŋ³³tsəŋ³¹	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.33
Marma	**mráŋ**	horse	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-2
Maru [Langsu]	**mjɔ̃³⁵**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.43
	mjɔ̃³⁵ tshɛ̃³¹	mane (of horse)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.1.6
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mjaŋ²¹**	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.30
	mjaŋ²¹	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.42
	mjaŋ²¹ (tsan⁵¹)	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.30
	mjaŋ²¹khji²¹	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.30
	mjaŋ²¹khup⁵⁵	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.30
	mjaŋ²¹lo²¹	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.30
	mjaŋ²¹mɑ̰n²¹	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.30
	mjaŋ²¹tsiŋ⁵¹	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.30
	mjaŋ²¹ m	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.30

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***mraŋ²**	horse	Weidert 1987:284; Bradley 1979b:6; Hansson 1989:436
Lolopho	(**mvʏ³¹**) kʏ⁴⁴	mane (of horse, lion)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.1.6
PNL	**mraŋ²**	horse	CHEN Kang 1986a:111.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**m³¹**	horse	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	m³¹	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.47
	m³¹ (kho⁵³)	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.47
	m³¹ mo³⁵ tsʏ̣³³	mane (of horse, lion)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:8.1.6
	m³¹ma³³	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.47
	m³¹mo³⁵tsv³³	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.47
	m³¹pa⁵⁵	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.47
	m³¹tshɿ³¹	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.47
	m³¹xʏ³³	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.47
Lalo	á-**mò**	horse	Björverud 1994
	mu̱²¹	horse	CHEN Kang 1986a:111.
Lipho	**mu²¹**	horse	CHEN Kang 1986a:111.
	mu²¹kuɯ³³	mane	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.6
Nasu	**mu³³**	horse	CHEN Kang 1986a:111.
Neisu	**mu³³**	horse	CHEN Kang 1986a:111.
Nesu	**mo³³**	horse	CHEN Kang 1986a:111.
Noesu	**mu³³**dzu²¹	mane	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.6
Nosu	**mu³³**	horse	CHEN Kang 1986a:111.
	mu³³li⁴⁴m̥o³³	mane	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.6
Nusu (Southern)	**mɹə⁵³**	horse	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**mɹə⁵⁵**	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.34
	mɹə⁵⁵bɔ³³	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.34
	mɹə⁵⁵dza⁵⁵	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.34
	mɹə⁵⁵khɹu̱⁵³	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.34
	mɹə⁵⁵la⁵³	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.34
	mɹə⁵⁵mi³¹	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.34
	mɹə⁵⁵m̥e⁵⁵	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.34
Nusu (Northern)	**mɹɯ³¹**bɛ⁵⁵gu³⁵ɑ⁵⁵	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɹɯ³¹**lɑ⁵⁵	saddle	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**mɹɯ³⁵**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.45
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɹɯ⁵⁵**bəɹ³¹gu³⁵	horse	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	mɹɯ⁵⁵n̥ɔ̃³¹pɹɑ⁵⁵	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.45
Nusu (Central)	**mˈə⁵⁵** kʰɻi⁵⁵	whip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:430.45
	mˈə⁵⁵ m̥e⁵⁵	excrement (horse)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:323.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**mˈʏ⁵³** kʰɻi⁵⁵	mane (horse)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:322.
	mˈʏ⁵³ m̥e⁵⁵	excrement (horse)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:323.
Nusu (Central)	tho³¹la³³**mo³¹**	mane (horse)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:322.
Nusu (Southern)	thɔ⁵⁵lɔ³¹**ʔmiɛ³⁵**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.34
Nusu (Northern)	thɑ³¹lɑ³¹**miɯ³¹**	donkey	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	thɑ³¹lɑ⁵⁵**miɑ³¹**zɑ⁵⁵	donkey	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**m̥(u)³³**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.45
	m̥(u)³³nɔ²¹du²¹	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.22
	m̥(u)³³ɣo²¹	whip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:430.22
Yi (Liangshan)	lo³⁴**mu³³**	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.22
	mu²¹ko²¹	horse, wild	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu²¹mo²¹	horse, race; race horse	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu²¹pa⁵⁵	horse, female; mare	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu³³	horse; horse, male; stallion	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu³³li²¹to³³	horse	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu³³ŋgo³⁴tʂhɯ³³	bag, horse's feed; feed bag, horse's	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu³³ɣa⁵⁵	cart, horse	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu³³ɣɯ²¹n̥i²¹	saddle, riding	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu³³ɣɯ²¹ɬu³³	hitch (connected to horse cart)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu³³ʁ̩³³kha³³	saddle blanket	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu³³ʂɯ³³	saddle lining	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɻ̱³³**mu³³**	horse hoof	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʤ̱ɻ³³**mu³³**	meat, horse	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tɕɛ³³**mu³³**	cart, horse	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**mo²¹**	horse, saddle; saddle horse	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mo²¹ɣo³³kǫ̱³³	horse, pack; packhorse	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**mo³³**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.25
	mo³³ɣǫ̱²¹	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**mu²¹**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.26
	mu²¹	horse; year of the horse (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.26
	mu²¹	horse	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.37; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.37
	mu²¹bɯ³³xi³³	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.24
	mu²¹kɯ³³	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.37
	mu²¹lio⁵⁵	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.37
	mu²¹lo⁵⁵dɯ³³	whip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.37
	mu²¹mo³³ge³³	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0597.37
	mu²¹po⁵⁵	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.37
	mu²¹tɕhi²¹	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.37
	mu²¹tɕo²¹tsɻ³³	bit (for horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.37
	mu²¹xo⁵⁵	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.37
	thɑ²¹li⁵⁵**mæ̱²¹**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.37
	thʌ²¹lo³³**mɛ̱²¹**	donkey	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.37
Yi (Nanjian)	a⁵⁵**m̥(u̱)²¹**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.24
	tha³³la³³**m̥(u̱)²¹**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.23
Yi (Weishan)	tho³³lo³³**m̥²¹**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.23
	ɑ⁵⁵**m̥²¹**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.36
	ɑ⁵⁵**m̥²¹**by⁵⁵	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.36
	ɑ⁵⁵**m̥²¹**chi²¹	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.36
	ɑ⁵⁵**m̥²¹**lio⁵⁵	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.36
	ɑ⁵⁵**m̥²¹**mɑ³³ko³³	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.36
	ɑ⁵⁵**m̥²¹**pa²¹	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.36
	ɑ⁵⁵**m̥²¹**tso³³	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.36
		mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.36

	ɑ^{55}**ṃɑ^{21}**	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.36
Yi (Wuding)	lṿ^{55}**mṿ^{33}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.38
	mṿ^{33}	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.38; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.38
	mṿ^{33}bɤ^{33}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.38
	mṿ^{33}tɕe^{55}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.38
	mṿ^{33}tɕhi^{33}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.38
	mṿ^{33}tʂhe^{33}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.38
	mṿ^{33}ȵɐ̱^{55}ȵɤ̱^{2}	bit (for horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.38
	mṿ^{33}ɤu̱^{2}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.38
	mṿ^{11}mɒ^{11}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.38
	mṿ^{11}tu̱^{2}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.38
	thɒ^{33}**mṿ^{33}**	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.38
Yi (Xide)	**mu^{21}**mo^{21}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.35
	mu^{21}pɑ^{55}	horse; stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.35; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.35
	mu^{33}	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.35
	mu^{33} tɕɭ^{55} du^{33}	whip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0597.35
	mu^{33}li^{34}ṃo^{33}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.35
	mu^{33}tɕhɭ^{33}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.35
	mu^{33}xo^{33}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.35
	mu^{33}ɣɑ^{55}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.35
	mu^{33}ʂɯ^{33}khɯ^{33}	bit (for horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.35
	mu^{33}ʐɭ^{33}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.35
	ṃ(u)^{33}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.21
	ṃ(u)^{33}ɬɯ^{21}	January (horse month)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:76.21
	ṃ(u)^{33} tɕɭ^{55} (Ch.)	whip for horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:430.21
	ṃ(u)^{33} ɣa^{55} (Ch.)	saddle for horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.21
	ʑo^{33}**ṃ(u)^{33}**tɕɭ^{22}tɕɭ^{33}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.21
	ʑo^{34}**mu^{33}**tɕɭ^{34}tɕɭ^{33}	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**mo^{21}**	horse	CHEN Kang 1986a:111.
Jinuo	**ma^{42}**lo^{55}	mule (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.44
	mjo^{33}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.34
	mjo^{33}tsɔ^{44}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**mjo^{44}**	horse	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**mjo^{44}** phɔ^{44}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**mjo^{44}** ts^{h}ɛ^{44}	mane (horse)	DAI Qingxia 1989h:339
Jinuo	**mjo^{44}**khri^{44}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.44
	mjo^{44}mɔ^{33}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.44
	mjo^{44}pə^{44}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.44
	mjo^{44}tha^{42}	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.44
	mjo^{44}tshɛ^{44}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**mju^{44}**	horse (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**mɔ^{42}**le^{33}	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.34
Kucong	**mu31**	horse	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	i^{35}**mu^{53}**liɔ^{35}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.43
	i^{35}**mu^{53}**thi^{35}	bit (for horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.43
	i^{35}**mu^{53}**ɑ^{33}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.43
	i^{35}**mv^{53}**	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.43
	i^{35}**mv^{53}**khɔ^{54}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.43
	i^{35}**mv^{53}**ku^{35}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.43
	i^{35}**mv^{53}**mɑ^{33}qu^{33}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.43
	i^{35}**mv^{53}**pɑ^{11}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.43
	i^{35}**mv^{53}**qhɛ^{53}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.43
	mv^{53}	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.43
Lahu (Black)	**í-mû**	horse	Matisoff 1974:229
	í-mû-šɔ̃	stallion	Matisoff 1988a:1225
	i^{35}**mu^{53}**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**mṿ^{3}**	horse; zodiac year (Horse)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	(a^{1}-**mu^{5}**) hchi^{3}-hpá^{2}	hoof (horse)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	a^{21}gɔ^{44} a^{55}**mɔ^{21}**	hoe-horse (top part of hoe)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a^{1}-**mu^{5}**	horse (n.)	Fraser 1922
	a^{1}-**mu^{5}** htsye^{2}	stallion (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	a^{55}**mo^{31}**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.27
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}**mɔ^{21}**	horse (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**mɔ^{21}** my^{33}dzi^{21}	mane	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a^{55}**mɔ^{21}** my^{33}dzø^{21}	mane	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}**mɔ^{21}** thi^{21} tɕhi^{33}	horse	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**mɔ^{21}** ʃɭ^{55}ʃɭ^{33}	horse-tail-grass (also known as horse-plait-grass; herbal medicine)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**mɔ^{21}**kɔ^{55}	wild horse; violent horse	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**mɔ^{21}**sæ^{35}	mane	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**mɔ^{21}**tɕhæ^{55}	horse-drawn cart	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**mɔ^{21}**ʃɭ^{55}	horse fodder	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}ni^{21} a^{55}**mɔ^{21}**	ox-horse (swearing term)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a^{55}ɲi^{21} a^{55}**mɔ^{55}**	ox-horse (swearing term)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{5}-tsong^{3}	mane	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**mo^{31}**	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.40
	mo^{31}ɛ̃^{35}	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.27
Lisu (Northern)	**mɔ^{21}**dʑi^{21}hɤ^{35}	horse girth	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}gi^{55}li^{55}	horse bell	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}khɔʔ^{21}	year of horse	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}khɔʔ^{21}su^{33}	born in the year of horse	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}kɔ^{55}	violent horse	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}kɔ^{55}tɔ^{55}	long mane on top of horse's head	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}la^{21}taʔ^{21}	loading basket on horse back	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}mɣ^{33}dzi^{21}	mane	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}na^{55}	spay a mare	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}ni^{33}	day of horse	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}ni^{35}tɕhiʔ^{21}	dark green horse	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}næ^{33}	black horse	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}nɔ^{55}du^{33}	cushion for horse	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}pa^{55}	stallion	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}phu^{33}	white horse	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}si^{21}	red horse	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}æ̃^{35}	horse saddle	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**mɔ^{21}**ɲi^{33}	day of horse	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**mɔ^{21}**ɤ^{44}za^{21}	horse utensils	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tho^{41}lɑ^{33}**mo^{31}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.27
	ɑ^{55}**mo^{31}**	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.40
Sani [Nyi]	**mu^{21}**	horse	CHEN Kang 1986a:111.
Yi (Sani)	**ṃ^{55}**	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.39; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ṃ^{55}** bṿ^{33} nu^{44}	mane (mashu)	MA Xueliang 1989:309.3
	ṃ^{55} qa^{55}	geld (horse)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:38.2
	ṃ^{55}bu^{33}no^{44}	mane	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.1.6
Yi (Sani)	**ṃ^{55}**bṿ^{33}nu^{44}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.39
	ṃ^{55}bɤ^{33}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.39
	ṃ^{55}gɒ^{11}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.39
	ṃ^{55}mɒ^{33}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.39
	ṃ^{55}ȵ^{55}kɒ^{55}tṿ^{33}	bit (for horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.39
	ṃ^{55}pɒ^{55}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.39
	ṃ^{55}ɣɒ^{33}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.39
	ṃ^{55}ɬʐ^{11}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	**màŋ**	horse	Hansson 1989:436
Akha	**màŋ** / **mɔ̀**	horse	Hansson 1989:436
Akha (Yunnan)	**mɔ̀**	horse	Hansson 1989:436
Bisu	ʔa **mɔ̀ŋ**	horse	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	**mo^{31}**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.31
	**mo$^{31}**ɣa̱^{33}	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**mɔ̀**	horse	Hansson 1989:436
	**me$^{31}**kǫ̱^{31}	bit (for horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.41
	mo^{31}	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.41; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.41
	**mo$^{31}**ku̱^{33}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.41
	**mo$^{31}**lɔ^{55}bja^{31}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.41
	**mo$^{31}**ma^{33}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.41
	**mo$^{31}**pha^{31}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.41
	**mo$^{31}**tshe^{55}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.41
	**mo$^{31}**ɣa̱^{33}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.41
	**mo$^{31}**ɕi^{31}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.41
Hani (Pijo)	**mò**	horse	Hansson 1989:436
Hani (Caiyuan)	**mu^{31}**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.30
	**mu$^{31}**aŋ^{33}tsɭ^{31}	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**maŋ^{31}**	horse	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**moq**	horse	Hansson 1989:436
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{31}**mu^{31}**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.32
Hani (Khatu)	**mjù**	horse	Hansson 1989:436
Hani (Mojiang)	**mu^{31}**	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.42
	**mu$^{31}**mɔ^{33}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.42
	**mu$^{31}**phɔ^{31}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.42
	**mu$^{31}**tʃhɛ^{55}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.42
	**mu$^{31}**tɕhi^{31}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.42
	**mu$^{31}**ɣã^{33}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.42
	**mu$^{31}**ʒu^{55}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.42
	**mɛ$^{31}**kho^{31}	bit (for horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.42
	ɔ^{31}**mu^{31}**	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.42
	ɔ$^{31}**mu$^{31}**mu̱^{33}tsu̱^{33}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.42
Mpi	**mjuŋ^{2}**	horse	Hansson 1989:436; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	**mjuŋ$^{2}**ʔaŋ^{6}	saddle	Bradley 1979b
Pyen	ʔa33 **mɔŋ31**	horse	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:023016
Sila	**mjo21**	horse	KATO Takashi 2008:109

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	**ʐwæ**˥	horse	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐwæ˧˩bv˥	stable	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐwæ˧˩hɑ#˥	horse food	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐwæ˧˩k^{h}v˩	year of the horse	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐwæ˧˩p^{h}æ˧˩di˥	donkey, ass	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐwæ˧˩q^{h}æ#˥	horse manure	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐwæ˧˩sɯ˩	stallion	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐwæ˧˩zo#˥	colt, pony, filly, foal	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐwæ˧˩zɯ#˥	horse hay	Michaud 2006–2009

	ʐwæ˧ɭɯ#˥	horse fodder	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐwæ˧ʁu˩	castrated horse	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐwæ˩mi˩	mare	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	the^{21}**ʐuɑ^{33}**	donkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	the^{31}**ʐuɑ^{33}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.28
Naxi (Yongning)	thɑ^{31}**ʐua^{33}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.29
	tɕi^{21}; **ʐua^{31}**tɕi^{13}	saddle;saddle for horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.29
	ʐua^{33}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.29
Naxi	**ʐuɑ^{33}**	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʐuɑ^{33}**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.28
Naxi	**ʐuɑ^{33}**by^{31}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.45
	ʐuɑ^{33}kho^{33}ʂu^{21}	horseshoe (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0593.45
	ʐuɑ^{33}khɯ^{33}zo^{33}	pony (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0269.45
	ʐuɑ^{33}ko^{33}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.45
	ʐuɑ^{33}me^{33}	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.45
	ʐuɑ^{33}nv̩^{55}tv̩^{21}	bit (for horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.45
	ʐuɑ^{33}tɕi^{55}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʐuɑ^{33}**tɕi^{55}	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.28
Naxi	**ʐuɑ^{33}**tʂua^{55}dzo^{33}	stirrup (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0592.45

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**mo^{33}**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.37
	tho^{55}lo^{33}**me^{55}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.37
Bai (Dali)	**meɹ^{33}**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.35
	meɹ^{33}piɑ^{35}	whip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:430.35
	meɹ^{33}ɑ^{35}	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.35
	moe 3	horse	Dell 1981b:209
	tho^{55}lo^{55}**meɹ^{21}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ma^{33}**	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.48
	ma^{33}ɣu^{21}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.48
	ma^{33}ɕɑ̱^{33}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.48
	mɛ^{33}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.36
	tho^{55}lo^{55}**miɛ^{21}**	donkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:114.36

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**må** / mɑ	horse	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:40a-e
	må / mɑ:	horse	Karlgren 1957:40a-e
Chinese (Old)	**mraʔ**	horse	Baxter 1992:1373

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**mǎ**	horse	Evans *et al.* 1991
	maa	horse	Sun 1985b:371
	maa tzung	mane (of a horse)	Sun 1985b:372
	muu **maar**	mare	Sun 1985b:471
	shahng **maa**	mount (a horse)	Sun 1985b:663
	shiah **maa**	dismount (a horse)	Sun 1985b:664
	shiah **maa** (imp)	dismount (a horse) (imp)	Sun 1985b:665
	shiah **maa** (pf)	dismount (a horse) (pf)	Sun 1985b:666

Chinese comparandum

馬 OC ***må**, *GSR* #40a-e 'horse'; Schuessler 2007:373 ***mrâʔ**; B & S 2011: **mˤraʔ**; Mand. **mǎ**.

Cf. discussion in Schuessler 2007:32-33 regarding incompatibility between TB final **-*ŋ** and OC final **-*ʔ** in certain OC tone ***B** words.

(2) PTB *r-ta HORSE

This root, perhaps of extra-TB origin, seems to be centered in Tibetan dialects, from which it has apparently been borrowed by other languages in the Tibetosphere.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	ga-**taː**	donkey	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ta** raː	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.24
	ta tɕaː	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.24
	ta-čaː	fodder	Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Damu	***ta**	horse	Sun 1993b

2.1.2. BODIC

Baima	**tɑ^{53}** tʃɔ^{53} lɐ^{53}	mane (of horse, lion)	SUN Hongkai 1991a:8.1.6
Kaike	**Tā**	horse (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.044
Tsangla (Motuo)	kur^{55}**ta^{55}**	horse	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	kur **ta**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	kur **ta**	horse	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**te^{55}**	horse	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	te^{55}tɕɑ^{55}	whip	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**te^{53}**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.6
	tɛː^{53}che^{53}	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.6
	tɛː^{55}tɕʌʔ^{53}	whip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:430.6
Motuo Menba	kur **ta**	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.07
	ta	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.07
Cuona Menba	mɔ^{53}**te^{53}**	mare (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.06
	phɔ^{53}**te^{53}**	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.06
	te^{53}	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.06
	te^{53} tsaŋ^{55}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.06
	te^{53}tɕaʔ^{53}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.06
	te^{53}wu^{31}	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.06
	tɛː^{55}che^{53}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**rta** ra	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.05
	rta rgæ	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.05
	rta rtɕaŋ	whip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0597.05
	rtæ	horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hta**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.4
	htar tɕak	whip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:430.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**htæ**	horse	Sun 1985a:371
	htæ ɕon	mount (a horse)	Sun 1985a:663
	htæ ʁoŋ ni nbæb	dismount (a horse)	Sun 1985a:664
	htæ ʁoŋ ni wob	dismount (a horse) (imp)	Sun 1985a:665
	htæ ʁoŋ ni wæb	dismount (a horse) (pf)	Sun 1985a:666
	htær htɕag	whip	Sun 1985a:374
	htær hŋog	mane (of a horse)	Sun 1985a:372
	rta	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.5
	rta rtɕak	whip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:430.5
Tibetan (Balti)	sef **ṣṯa·**	stallion	Rangan 1975:34
	ṣṯa·	horse	Rangan 1975:73
Tibetan (Batang)	**ta^{53}**	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.03; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.03
	ta^{55}ga^{53}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.03
	ta^{55}phʊ^{53}	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.03
	ta^{55}ra^{53}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.03
	ta^{55}ɭyʔ^{53}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ta^{53}**	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.3
	ta^{53}ga^{53}	saddle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:431.3
	ta^{53}tɕɑʔ^{53}	whip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:430.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	pho^{55}**ta^{55}**	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.02
	ta^{53}	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.2
	ta^{55}	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.02; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.02
	ta^{55}ra^{55}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.02
	ta^{55}tɕha^{52}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.02
	tə^{55}tʂəp^{52}	bit (for horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.02
	tɛ^{55}ka^{55}	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.02
	tɛ^{55}paŋ^{52}	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.02
	tɛ^{55}se^{55}	mane (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0272.02
	tɛ^{55}tɕaʔ^{53}	whip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:430.2
	tɛ^{55}tɕɑ^{52}	whip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0597.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**taq**	horse (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.044
Tibetan (Spiti)	**tá**	horse	Sharma 1979
	ta ʈe	mule	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	k'rɑg-č'ɑgs-**rtá**	horse ('bloodbred')	Jäschke 1881
	mó-**rtɑ**	mare	Jäschke 1881
	rlúŋ-**rtɑ**	horse (airy)	Jäschke 1881
	rta	horse	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:371; Benedict 1972:32n102
	rta	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.01; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.01
	rta	horse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:113.1
	rta bkag sa	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.01
	rta ltɕag	whip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0597.01
	rta ltɕag	whip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:430.1
	rta lud	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.01
	rta pho	stallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.01
	rta ra	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.01
	rta sga	saddle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.01
	rta.dmag	cavalry	Sun 1985c:123
	rta.gong.nas.bab	dismount (a horse); dismount (a horse) (pf)	Sun 1985c:664; Sun 1985c:666
	rta.gong.nas.bobs	dismount (a horse) (imp)	Sun 1985c:665
	rta.lcag	whip	Sun 1985c:374
	rta.rngog	mane (of a horse)	Sun 1985c:372
	rta.zhon	mount (a horse)	Sun 1985c:663
	rtɑ	horse	Jäschke 1881
	rtɑ rgód-mɑ	mare	Jäschke 1881 [a]
	rtɑ-bséb	stallion	Jäschke 1881
	rtɑ-mč'og	horse (best horse)	Jäschke 1881
	rtɑ-po	horse	Jäschke 1881
	rtɑ-rgód-mɑ	mare	Jäschke 1881
	rtɑ-ɣsár	horse (not yet broken in or	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hta**	horse; year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.04; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.04
	hta tɕhe	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.04
	hta ʁaŋ	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.04
	htar htɕaχ	whip (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0597.04
	htə lə	dung (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.04

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{B}**ta**	horse	Mazaudon 1978:20; Mazaudon 1994:428
Gurung	^{1}**ta**	horse	Mazaudon 1994:425 [b]
Manang (Gyaru)	**da^{1}**	horse	Nagano 1984:304-02
Manang (Ngawal)	^{2}**tɤ**	horse	Mazaudon 1978:20
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**tɤ**	horse	Mazaudon 1994:428
	^{1}**tə**	horse	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0098
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**ta**	horse	Mazaudon 1978:20; Mazaudon 1994:428
Tamang (Sahu)	**'tā** pu	horse (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.044
	'ta pu	horse	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.44
	^{2}**ta** pu	horse	Mazaudon 1978:20
Tamang (Taglung)	**ta**	horse	Mazaudon 1994:425; Mazaudon 1994:428
	^{2}**ta**	horse	Mazaudon 1978:20
Thakali	**ta**	horse (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.044
Thakali (Marpha)	^{2}**tʌ**	horse	Mazaudon 1978:20
	^{51}**tʌ**	horse	Mazaudon 1994:425; Mazaudon 1994:428

[a] WT **rgód** may mean "wild" (Jäschke 81:104), cf. **byɑ-rgód** "vulture, bird of prey"; **mdzo-rgód** "cattle (wild)"; **p'ɑg-rgód** "boar (wild)", **rŋɑ-rgód** "camel (wild)"; **rɑ-rgód** "goat (wild)"; and **ɣyɑg-rgód** "yak (wild) / ox (wild)".

[b] only used in 'year of the horse', otherwise Nepali loan used. irregular tone because it is probably a Tibetan loan.

Thakali (Syang)	**tʌ**	horse	Mazaudon 1994:425; Mazaudon 1994:428
	^{2}**tʌ**	horse	Mazaudon 1978:20
	^{54}**tʌ**	horse	Mazaudon 1994:425; Mazaudon 1994:428
Thakali (Tukche)	**tɔ**	horse	Hari 1971:3.A.44
	tɔ pun-lɔ	ride (on horse)	Hari 1971:3.B.44
	tɔ p^{h}e pucu	whip	Hari 1971:8.A.14 14
	^{H}**tə**	horse	Mazaudon 1994:425; Mazaudon 1994:428
	^{H}**tʌ**	horse	Mazaudon 1978:20

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**tə**^{55}	year of the horse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.16
Lyuzu	**tæ**^{53}	mule; year of the horse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.18; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.18
	tæ^{53}tʂhua^{53}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.18
Muya	**thɐ**^{24}	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.15
	tɐ^{53} (ɣu^{24})	year of the horse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.15
	tɐ^{55} khø^{55}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.15
	tɐ^{55}tɕhɑ^{53}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.15
Muya [Minyak]	**thɐ**^{35}	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ta**^{55}tʃha^{55}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.10
	tə̃^{35}py^{55}	donkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.10
	tə^{55}	year of the horse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.10
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʂta**^{55}tɕha^{55}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ta**^{55} khũ^{55}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.14
	ta^{55}phu^{33}	stallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.14
	ta^{55}tɕha^{55}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**ʂta** tɕhɑ	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**rtɐ** khɐŋ	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.11
Caodeng	**rtɐ**-po	horse (male)	Sun 1997a
	rtɐ-rkjaŋ	horse (brown)	Sun 1997a
	rtɐ-zgeʔ	saddle	Sun 1997a
	rtɐ-zgrɔʔ ~ zgrɔʔ	horse-fetters	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**rtɑ** mo	mare (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.11
	rtɑ pho	stallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.11
rGyalrong	**ta** lwa	mane (of horse, lion)	Dai Qingxia 1989d:8.1.6
	ta ʃno	saddle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:431.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tɐ** rkɐ	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.11
rGyalrong	**tɐ** rkɐ	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tɐ** tshək	bit (for horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.11
Caodeng	**tɐ**-rkɐ	mule	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tɑ** ʃno	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.11
rGyalrong	Nbro **ta** pa	intact male horse	Nagano 1997:2.54
	rta mo	mare	Nagano 1997:2.52
	rta pho	male horse	Nagano 1997:2.51
	ta rke	donkey	Nagano 1997:2.6
rGBenzhen	**ta**-ʃnoʔ	saddle	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**tɑ**^{55}	horse	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

(3) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{b}\\\textbf{g}\end{matrix}$ **waŋ DONKEY / ASS / RABBIT**

The obvious semantic connection between DONKEY and RABBIT is the length of the ears in both species. Chundra Cathcart points out that the same semantic association exists in Iranian, e.g. Modern Persian **xar-goš** "hare, rabbit, literally 'donkey-ears'". See IA ***kharāyō*** HARE / RABBIT (§2.1.4) and IA ***khara-gośa*** HARE / RABBIT (§2.1.4).

For the same DONKEY-RABBIT association, see PTB ***tow-la*** RABBIT / HARE (§2.1.4).

In many languages, the word for 'rabbit' is a binome with the first syllable meaning 'mountain, wild' < PTB ***ri*** MOUNTAIN (§3.2.5).

In several languages (the Deng group, Cuona, Lhasa Tibetan, and Dulong/Trung), the second syllable of these binomes begins with a velar rather than a labial. It is possible that this points to a *labiovelar onset to this syllable. However, it is at least equally possible that a separate morpheme is involved.

The doublet in Caodeng rGyalrong **poŋ-luʔ** 'donkey' and **re-waŋ** 'rabbit' is some evidence for the medial ***-wa-*** in the reconstruction.

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	**puŋ**^{33}di^{11}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.52

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**puŋ**-dik	rabbit	Sun 1993b
Bokar	*rɯ-**goŋ**	rabbit	Sun 1993b
	rə **poŋ**	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.24
Bokar Lhoba	rɯ **poŋ**	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.51

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	ɹɯ^{31}**goŋ**^{55}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.22
	ɹɯ^{31}**goŋ**^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.49
Kaman [Miju]	ɹɯ^{31}**guŋ**^{55}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.23
	ɹɯ^{31}**guŋ**^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.48
Idu	ɹi^{31}**goŋ**^{35}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.50
Yidu	ɹi^{31}**goŋ**^{35}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.25

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**bon** mō	ass (animal) (nf.)	Bailey 1911
	gyā **bön̈**	ass (male) (n.)	Bailey 1911

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**boŋ** bu	donkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:114.7
	ri^{13}**poŋ**^{13}	rabbit	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ri **boŋ**	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**buŋ**^{35}bu^{55}	donkey	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	ri^{35}**boŋ**^{55}	rabbit	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**puŋ**^{13}pu^{53}	donkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:114.6
	re^{13}**koŋ**^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.6
Motuo Menba	**boŋ** bu	donkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.07
	ri **boŋ**	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.07
Cuona Menba	**puŋ**^{35}pu^{53}	donkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.06
	re^{35}**koŋ**^{55}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.06
	re^{35}**koŋ**^{55}wu^{31}	year of the rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	rə **ɣoŋ**	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	rə **ɣoŋ**	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	rə **ɣoŋ**	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.5
	rə **ʁoŋ**	hare	Sun 1985a:345
Tibetan (Balti)	**boːŋ** bu·	donkey	Rangan 1975:53
	ri **yoŋ**	rabbit	Rangan 1975:40
Tibetan (Batang)	zɻ^{55}**ɣũ**^{55}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	ri^{13}**ɣoŋ**^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**phuŋ**^{13}ku^{55}	donkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.02
	phuŋ^{15}ku^{13}	donkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:114.2
	re^{13}**koŋ**^{15}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.2
	ri^{13}**koŋ**^{55}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**pung** ā	donkey (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.045
Tibetan (Written)	**boŋ** bu	donkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.01
	boŋ bu	donkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:114.1
	bóŋ-bo	ass	Jäschke 1881
	bóŋ-bu	ass	Jäschke 1881
	bóŋ-mo	ass (female)	Jäschke 1881
	bóŋ-pʻo	ass (male)	Jäschke 1881
	boŋ-pʻrúg	colt / foal (of an ass)	Jäschke 1881
	pʻo-**bóŋ**	ass (male)	Jäschke 1881
	ri **boŋ**	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.01
	ri **boŋ**	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.1
	ri-**bóŋ**	hare	Jäschke 1881
	ri.**bong**	hare	Sun 1985c:345
Tibetan (Xiahe)	rə **ʁoŋ**	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	ri^{1} **bɯn**^{2}	hare	Nagano 1984:304-15
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}ri **puŋ**	hare / rabbit	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0534b
	^{2}ru **puŋ**	hare / rabbit	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0534a
Tamang (Sahu)	**'puhng** ku	donkey (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.045
	'puhŋ ku	donkey	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.45
Thakali	**'puhm** pu	donkey (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.045
Thakali (Tukche)	**'puhm** pu	donkey	Hari 1971:3.A.45

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	jy^{33}bə^{53} (**ɣu**^{24})	year of the rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.15
	ri^{33}**βø**^{53}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.15
Muya [Minyak]	zɻ^{35}**vø**^{53}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.15
Pumi (Lanping)	zɻ^{13}**ɣõ**^{55}ɣu^{55}	year of the rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.09
Queyu (Xinlong)	**po**^{13}**ŋgɯ**^{55}	donkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0282.13

3.3.1. rGyalrong

Caodeng	**poŋ**-luʔ	donkey	Sun 1997a
	re-**waŋ**	rabbit	Sun 1997a

4. Nungic

Dulong	ɹɯ^{31}**guŋ**^{55}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɹɯ^{31}**guŋ**^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.46
Dulong	ɹɯ^{55}**guŋ**^{55}	year of the rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɹɯ^{31}**guŋ**^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

(4) PTB *ts $\begin{matrix}\textbf{y}\\\textbf{r}\end{matrix}$ **i MULE**

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	*ta-**tʂeː**	mule	Sun 1993b
	ta **tʂeː**	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.24
Bokar Lhoba	ta **tʂeː**	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.51

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**tsi**^{35}	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.22
	tsi^{35}	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.49
Kaman [Miju]	**tsi**^{35}	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.23
	tsi^{35}	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.48
Idu	**tsi**^{35}	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.50
Yidu	**tsi**^{35}	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.25

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ptʂi**	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tʂi**	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ptʂi**	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.5
	tʂi lə	mule	Sun 1985a:617
Tibetan (Batang)	**tʂy**^{13}	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tʂi**^{13}	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂhe**^{15}	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.2
	tʂheː^{13}	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.02
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**tʂi**	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.04

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Jiulong)	**tʂy**^{35}	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.10
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tʂi**^{13}	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tʂi**^{35}	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.10
Qiang (Mawo)	kɛ **tʃɛ**	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.08
	tʂə	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	kè **tì**	mule	Evans 1999:351
	kè **tì**-tsù	mule foal [mule-small]	Evans 1999:351
Qiang (Taoping)	ke^{31}**tɕe**^{33}	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tʂe**^{13}	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tʂi**^{35}	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.16

Xumi	**tui**^{55}	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.20
	tyi^{53}	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**tʂʅ**^{13}	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**dzi̱**	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.14

(5) PKar *θe HORSE

7. Karenic

Bwe (Western)	**θɪ**^{2}rɪ^{2}	horse	Luce 1985:E.42
Geba	**θi**^{2}ri^{2}	horse	Luce 1985:E.42
Karen	gă^{31}**tθe̱**^{31}	horse; year of the horse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.50; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.50
	gă^{31}**tθe̱**^{31}a^{31}lɔ^{31}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.50
	gă^{31}**tθe̱**^{31}e̱^{31}	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.50
	gă^{31}**tθe̱**^{31}tsha^{31}	fodder / feed (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0460.50
	gŏ^{31}**tθe̱**^{31}mo^{31}	mare (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.50
	gŏ^{31}**tθe̱**^{31}pha^{55}	stallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.50
Kayan (Pekon)	kʰé **θè**	lion [lit. tiger-horse] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θè	horse (<Mon?) (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**sè**	horse	Solnit 1989
	sè cám dí	stallion	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**s'e**^{6}	horse	Luce 1985:E.42
Pa-O	thôm **sè**, phrì, kā	ride horse, boat, car, bicycle	Solnit 1989
Paku	kă **θe**^{3}	horse	Luce 1985:E.42
Pwo (Tenasserim)	kă **θé**^{1}	horse	Luce 1985:E.42
Pwo (Delta)	**θé**^{4}	horse	Luce 1985:E.42
Sgaw	kă **θe**^{4}	horse	Luce 1985:E.42

(6) PBod *drel MULE

This root occurs primarily in Tibetan, with loan extensions in Lepcha and Qiangic.

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**dze̱**	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**dze̱**^{35}	mule	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**dze̱**	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**dre**	mule	Jäschke 1881
	dré-mo	mule (female)	Jäschke 1881
	dré-p'o	mule (male)	Jäschke 1881
	drel	mule	Jäschke 1881
	drel	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.01
	drel	mule	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:112.1
	drel.li(?)	mule	Sun 1985c:617
	dreu	mule	Jäschke 1881
	mó-**dre**	mule (female	Jäschke 1881
	p'ó-**dre**	mule (male)	Jäschke 1881

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**tre**	mule (n.)	Plaisier 2007

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Lanping)	**dze̱**^{13}	mule (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0281.09

(7) PKar *k-sre^{T} HORSE

This Karenic etymon seems to be a loan from Mon-Khmer. Cf. PMK ***ʔseh** > Old Mon **kṣeḥ**, Mod Mon **cheḥ**, Old Khmer **seḥ**, Mod Khmer **seh**. See Shorto 2006:#2089.

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***k-sre**^{T}	horse	Luangthongkum 2013:149	[a]
**Karen [Burling]*	***se**^{2}	horse	Luangthongkum 2013:149	
Bwe	**θrɪ**^{33}	horse	Luangthongkum 2013:149	
Kayah	**si**^{55}	horse	Luangthongkum 2013:149	
Kayan	**θiʔ**^{45}	horse	Luangthongkum 2013:149	
Kayaw	**si**^{33}**ri**^{33}	horse	Luangthongkum 2013:149	
Pa-O (Southern)	**se**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	horse	Luangthongkum 2013:149	
Pa-O (Northern)	**se**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	horse	Luangthongkum 2013:149	
Pwo (Northern)	**kaʔ**^{21}**si**^{33}	horse	Luangthongkum 2013:149	
Pwo (Southern)	**kə**^{11}**θi**^{55}	horse	Luangthongkum 2013:149	
Sgaw (Northern)	**kə**^{33}**se**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	horse	Luangthongkum 2013:149	
Sgaw (Southern)	**kə**^{11}**se**^{45,}	horse	Luangthongkum 2013:149	

[a] [Source Note] The PK tone cannot be reconstructed due to the fact that NK, CK and SK have tones A, D and B, respectively. This etymon is an Austroasiatic loanword. The reconstructed form for 'horse' in Proto-Monic is *ksɛh (Diffloth, 1984).

(8) IA *ghoḍā HORSE

Cf. Sanskrit **ghoṭa** (Monier-Williams:379).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kor**	horse	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:596

1.1.1. Tani: ***kɯ** HORSE

**Tani*	***kɯ**	horse	Sun 1993a:208

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	***go-ra**	horse	Sun 1993b
	***go-ra**-mi-lo-bo	horse	Sun 1993b
	go-ra-ñi-m(ũ)	mare	Sun 1993b
	gu-ri ri-nə	mare	Sun 1993b
	gɯ-ri	horse	Sun 1993b
	gɯ-ri a-tu	foal	Sun 1993b
	ri-po	horse	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ki:**-nɯ:	mare	Sun 1993b
	ki:-pu:	stallion	Sun 1993b
	ki:-wu:	colt	Sun 1993b
	ši-**ki:**	horse	Sun 1993a
	si-**ki:**	horse	Sun 1993b
	si-**ki:** pɯr-sin	mane (of horse)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**kɯ** nə	mare (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0271.24
	kɯ po	stallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0270.24
	kɯ fio	pony (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0269.24
	kɯ-mjo	tail (of horse)	Sun 1993b
	kɯ-nə	mare	Sun 1993b
	šə-**kɯ**	horse	Sun 1993a
	sə-**kɯ**	horse	Sun 1993b
	sə-**kɯ kɯ**-wo	colt	Sun 1993b
	ɕə **kɯ**	horse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0268.24
	ɕə **kɯ** eː	dung (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0273.24
Bokar Lhoba	**kɯ'** mjo	hair of horse's tail	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕə **kɯ**	horse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:113.51
Galo	**gure**	pony	Das Gupta 1963
	gure re-bo	horse	Das Gupta 1963
	gure re-nʏ	mare	Das Gupta 1963
	guree	horse (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ho **kə**	horse (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ho **kə**-ho lar	livestock (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ree bo	stallion (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ree lii	stud (horse); breeding horse (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'ree nə	mare (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**gura**	horse	Simon 1976
	guri	horse	Simon 1976
	ri-ne	mare	Simon 1976
	ri-pe	horse [stallion]	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	**gure**	horse	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**gar-ri**	horse	NEFA (India) 1963
	garri-kru	mare	NEFA (India) 1963

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	sā **kòl**	horse	Thirumalai 1972:26
Tiddim	sa^{1} **kol**^{3}	horse	Bhaskararao 1996:1491
	sa^{1} **kol**^{1} kha:u^{2}	whip	Bhaskararao 1996:1490

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	sa-**kor**	horse	Bhaskararao 1996:1491
	sa **kawr**	horse	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	**kor**	horse	Marrison 1967
	kuɹ^{1}	horse (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:p.11
Lotha Naga	**ku**^{1}**rə**^{1}	horse (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:p.11
	korrü	horse	Marrison 1967
	kur	horse	Murry *et al.* 1978:56
	kúrə	horse	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**kuri**	horse	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**kuri**	horse	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**kwirü**	horse	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**kierü**	horse	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**gura**	horse	Marrison 1967
Mao	**korü**	horse	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**keru**	horse	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**kuru**	horse	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Maram	ta **koi**	horse	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***kol** HORSE

**Tangkhulic*	***kol**	horse	Mortensen 2012:505
Champhung	sa-**gol**	horse	Brown 1837
Huishu	sɐŋ-**kɐŋ**	horse	Mortensen 2012:Animals.019
Kachai	si-**kwe**	horse	Mortensen 2012:Animals.019
Tankghul (Central)	sa-**koi**	horse	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	sa-**koi**	horse	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	si-**kwi**	horse	Brown 1837
Tusom	sə-**kue**	horse	Mortensen 2012:Animals.019
Ukhrul	si-**kuj**	horse	Mortensen 2012
	si-**kwi**	horse	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	sa **gol**	horse	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**goray**	horse	Bhat 1968
	goray zɔ́	mare	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**gorai**	horse	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**kɔ-ray**	horse	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	**go-ra**	horse (n.)	Burling 2003:5.35-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**gorai**	horse (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	gore	horse (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**ghora**	horse	Brown 1895:66
	gura	horse; bridge of stringed instrument [As.]	Jacquesson 2005
	guri	horse	Brown 1895:66

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***ko:y** HORSE

**Northern Naga*	***ko:y**	horse	French 1983:505

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**kuri**	horse	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**koi**	horse	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**gor** burennig'	jump about (horse) (vi.)	Bailey 1911

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Jirel)	**gorā**	horse (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.044

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung (Ghachok)	(**N**)gohɖaːq	horse	Glover 1972:3.A.44
Gurung	**gohDāːq**	horse (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.044

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	**ghora**	horse (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.044

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**kohDā:**	horse (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.044

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**'gohrā**	horse (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.044
Magar	**ghoDā**	horse (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.044

X.1. Non-TB

Nepali	**ghoDā**	horse (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.044

Chinese comparandum

駒 OC ***kiŭ**, *GSR* #108r-s 'colt, young horse'; Schuessler 2007:322 ***ko**; Mand. **jū**.

2.1.8 Ovine and Hircine

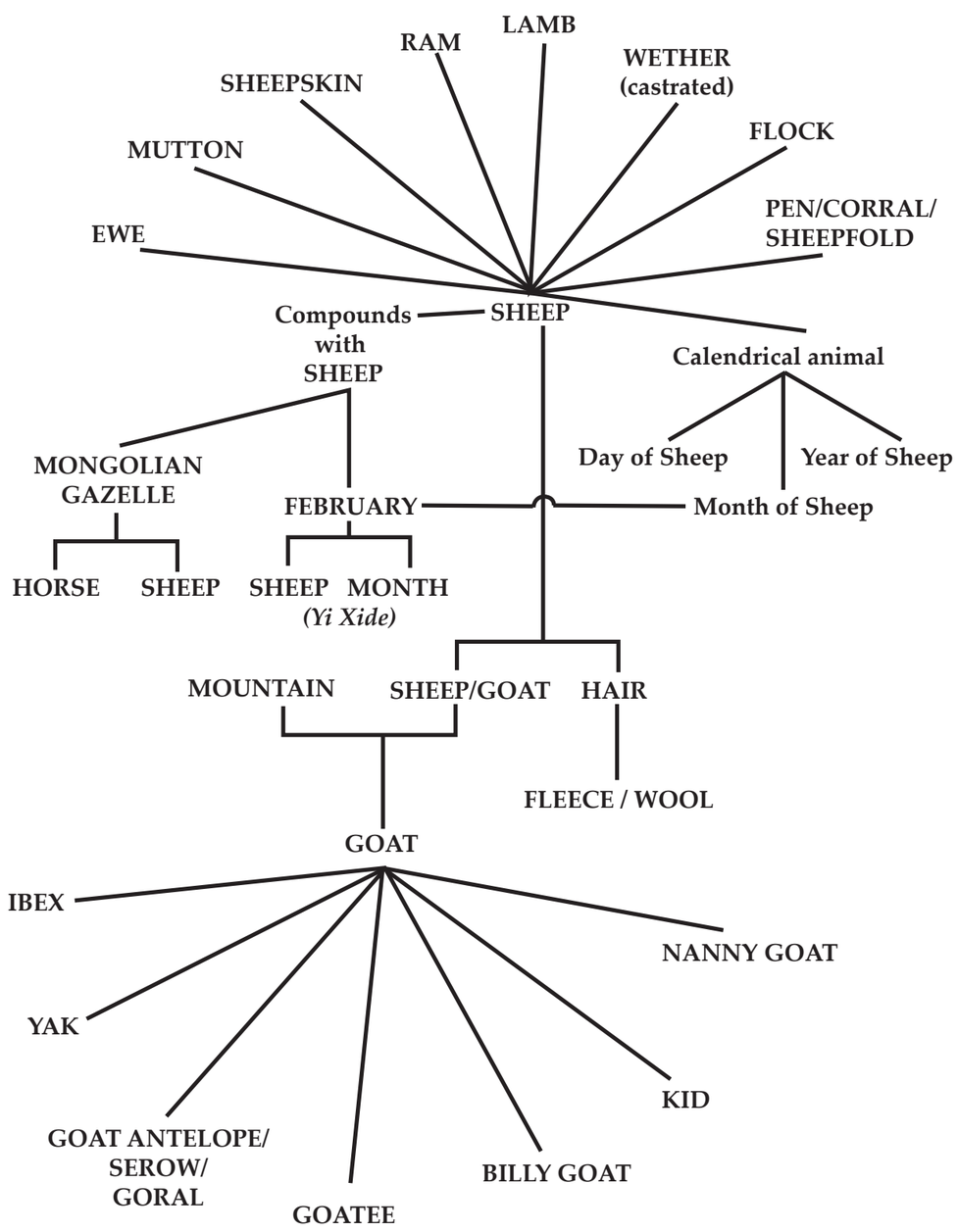


Figure 171: 2.1.8 *Ovine and Hircine*

(1) PTB *r-tsit GOAT / BEARD / GOATEE / YAK-HAIR

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsit**	goat (mountain)	LaPolla 1987:122
	***tsiːt**	goat	Matisoff 1985a:042; Matisoff 2003a:617

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	kɯ^{31} **tśi^{53}**	goat (mountain)	LaPolla 1987:122
	kɯ^{31}**tɕi^{53}**	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.22
	kɯ^{31}**tɕi^{53}**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.49
	kɯ^{31}**tɕi^{53}**ɑ^{55}	lamb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0277.22
Kaman [Miju]	kɯ^{31} **tśi^{53}**	goat (mountain)	LaPolla 1987:122
	kɯ^{31}**tɕi^{53}**	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.23
	kɯ^{31}**tɕi^{53}**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.48
	kɯ^{31}**tɕi^{53}**sɑ^{55}	lamb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0277.23
Yidu	kɯ^{31}**tɕi^{55}**	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.25
	kɯ^{31}**tɕi^{55}**ɑ^{55}	lamb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0277.25

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**tɕhə** ra	goat (male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	men **htsəd**	goatee	Sun 1985a:311
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'ci** muq	nanny goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.038
Tibetan (Written)	man.**rtsid**	goatee	Sun 1985c:311
	rtsid-pa	long hair of the yak	Matisoff 1987:J. 439

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**tjij**	sheep	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0939
	tjij	goat, wild goat	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1104
	tshjij	sheep	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3454
	tshjɨ	goat	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2367

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**tshi^{55}**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.18
	tshi^{55}jo^{55}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.18
Guiqiong	**tɕhi^{53}**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.17
	tɕhi^{55}	sheep (general); goat; wool; fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.16
	tɕhi^{55}nɔ̃^{31}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.16
	tɕhi^{55}tsi^{55}	lamb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0277.16
Lyuzu	(**tshe^{53}**ɳ̣u^{53}) khe^{33}gi^{53}	pen in (sheep) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1357.18
	tshe^{33}dʐɻ^{53}	wool / fleece (goat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.18
	tshe^{33}jɻ^{53}	lamb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0277.18
	tshe^{35}	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.18
	tshe^{53}ɳ̣u^{53}	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.18
Muya	(tɐ^{33}) **tshe^{53}**	flock (of sheep) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0867.15
	tshə^{53}	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.15
	tshə^{55}tɕe^{55}	lamb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0277.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tshɯ^{53}**tɕha^{53}	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.15
	tshɯ^{55}ʁa^{35}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.15
Namuyi	jo^{55}**tshŋ^{35}**	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.19
	tshŋ^{35}	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.19
	tshŋ^{31}ŋuo^{53}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.46
	tshŋ^{35}	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.46
	tshŋ^{35}hũ^{53}	wool / fleece (goat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.46
	tshŋ^{35}tshŋ^{53}	put out to pasture (sheep) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1316.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tshŋ^{11}**tɕi^{35}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.10
	tshŋ^{55}	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.10
	tshŋ^{55}ʒõ^{55}	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.10
	tshŋ^{55}ʑẽ^{35}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tshɤ^{55}**	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.09
	tshɤ^{55}li^{55}	lamb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0277.09
	tshɤ^{55}pu^{55}	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.09
	tshɤ^{55}ʒɛ̃^{13}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.09
	tshɤ^{55}ʒɑ̃u^{55}	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tshɯ^{55}**	goat	LaPolla 1987:122
	tshɤ^{55}	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.11
	tshɤ^{55}ʒɑ̃u^{55}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tshə^{55}**ʐą̃^{55}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.10
	tɕhĩ^{35}dʐą^{35}	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.10
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	**tšhe**	goat	Matisoff 1972b:27
Qiang (Longxi)	**tɕhà**	8th earthly branch (sheep); goat	Evans 1999:1111; Evans 1999:344 [a]
	tɕhà dò	billy goat {b?}	Evans 1999:345
	tɕhà mià	nanny goat	Evans 1999:346
	tɕhà χù	wool	Evans 1999:350
	tɕhá piá tshɨ̀	mutton	Evans 1999:586
	tɕhá ɕý	billy goat	Evans 1999:345
	tɕhá-iuá kù	sheep shed [sheep-b]	Evans 1999:699
Qiang (Mawo)	**tsa**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.8
	tsha	goat	LaPolla 1987:122
	tsha ɳ̣u	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.8
	tshɛ	goat; year of the ram (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.08; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0762.08
	tshɛ tɕɑː^{1}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.08
	tshɛ χʂ	dung (goat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.08
	ts^{h}æk ɣdʒæ hu̯ŋ	goatee	SUN Hongkai 1991g:8.1.2.2
Qiang (Mianchi)	**tshè** dʑè	billy goat	Evans 1999:345
	tshè mià	nanny goat	Evans 1999:346
	tshè-pì-tsú	kid [goat-m-small]	Evans 1999:349
	tshé-ʐą̀-phà dʐą̀	sheepskin vest [sheep-skin-vest]	Evans 1999:647
	tshè	8th earthly branch (sheep); goat	Evans 1999:1111; Evans 1999:344 [b]
	tshè ʐé	sheep shed	Evans 1999:699
	tshé tshè	mutton	Evans 1999:586
	tshé-mù	wool [goat-hair]	Evans 1999:350
Qiang (Taoping)	**tshie^{55}**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tsha^{55}**ra^{55}	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tshɛ^{53}**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.16
	tshɛ^{53}ji^{55}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tshɛ^{55}**	sheep (general); goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.13; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.13
	tshɛ^{55}li^{13}tha^{55}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.13
	tshɛ^{55}ʒə^{55}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.13
Xumi	(**tshŋ^{55}**) tɪ^{33}	pen in (sheep) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1357.17
	tshŋ^{53}	goat; year of the ram (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.17; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0762.17
	tshŋ^{53}sũ^{33}	wool / fleece (goat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.17
	tshŋ^{53}ʂõ^{33}	lamb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0277.17
	tshŋ^{55}	goat; sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.20; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.20
	tshŋ^{55}khuɛ^{33}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	(**tɛ^{55}**) mə^{55}	flock (of sheep) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0867.14
	tɕhɛ^{33}lɪ^{33}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.14
	tɕhɛ^{13}	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.14
	tɕhɛ^{13}gu^{13}	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Daofu)	**tsha** ʔmɑ rmei	goatee	DAI Qingxia 1989b:8.1.2.2
Daofu	**tshɛ**	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.12
Ergong (Danba)	**tshɛ**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.14
Daofu	**tshɛ** khre	dung (goat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.12
	tshɛ ko	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.12
Ergong (Danba)	**tshɛ** ɣi	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.14
Ergong (Northern)	**ts^{h}e^{53}** k^{h}ɐ^{33} spə^{53}	goatee	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.2.2

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Caodeng rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ts^{h}ét**-mo	goat (female)	Sun 1997a
	tʃhət	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.11
rGyalrong	**tʃhət**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**tʃ^{h}et** wu ʃno mo rɲe	goatee	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.1.2.2
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tʂho** gu	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.11
rGyalrong	**chut**	goat	Nagano 1997:3.2

4. NUNGIC

[a] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).
[b] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).

Rawang	daŋ^{31}**tɕhɛ^{31}**	goat	LaPolla 2003:318
Trung [Dulong]	a-**tśit**	goat	LaPolla 1987:122
	a^{12}-**tšit^{44}s**	goat	Matisoff 1985a:042
Dulong	ɑ^{31}**tɕit^{55}**	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31}**tɕĭt^{55}**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.46
Dulong	ɑ^{31}**tɕit^{55}**mɯn^{55}	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.20
	ɑ^{31}**tɕit^{55}**ni^{55}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.20
	ɑ^{31}**tɕit^{55}**pɑ^{31}tɔʔ^{55}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	a^{31} **tśit^{55}**	goat	LaPolla 1987:122
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**tśhit^{55}**	goat (mountain)	LaPolla 1987:122
	tɕhĭt^{55}	mountain goat	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***V-ci:t^{L}** GOAT / SHEEP [a]

**Lolo-Burmese*	***C-tši:t^{L}**	goat	Matisoff 2003a:617
	***tsit** [88] ⋉ ***V-cit**	goat (mountain)	LaPolla 1987:122 [b]
	***V-ci:t**	goat	Matisoff 1972b:27

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Luxi)	**tshək^{55}**	goat / sheep	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**tʃhɔt^{55}pɛʔ^{55}**	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.32
	tʃhɔt^{55}pɛʔ^{55}khji^{35}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.32
	tʃhɔt^{55}pɛʔ^{55}mau^{35}	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.32
	tʃhɔt^{55}pɛ̰ʔ^{55} khap^{55}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.32
Bola	**tʃʰɔt^{55}** pɛʔ^{55} mau^{35}	wool	DAI Qingxia 1989g:328
Burmese (Modern)	mu **cʻit**	beard	Luce 1985:V.106
Burmese (Rangoon)	moʔ^{4}**sheʔ^{4}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.27
	sheʔ^{4}	sheep (general); goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**hseʔ^{44}**	goat; sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.40; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.40
	moʔ^{44}**hseʔ^{44}**	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.40
Burmese (Written)	**chit**	goat	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:042; Benedict 1976a
	hsit	goat; sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.39; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.39
	mu'-**chit**	beard	Matisoff 1987 [c]
	mut **hsit**	beard	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:246.39
	mut-**chit**	beard	Benedict 1976a
	mut^{4}**shit^{4}**	beard / moustache / goatee (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0086.26
	mut **chit**	beard	Marrison 1967
	mu'-**chit**	beard (< mut-chit)	Benedict 1976a
	mu **cʻit**	beard	Luce 1985:V.106
	shit^{4}	sheep (general); goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.26
	tshit	goat (mountain)	LaPolla 1987:122
Langsu (Luxi)	**tʃhat^{55}pɛ̰ʔ^{55}**	sheep (general); sheep; goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tshɔt^{55}**pat^{31}khjei^{55}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.33
	tshɔt^{55}pat^{31}mou^{55}	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.33
	tʃhɔt^{55}pat^{31}khɔm^{33}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.33
	tʃhɔt^{55}pat^{31}nu^{55}	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.33
	tʃhɔt^{55}pat^{31}tsəŋ^{31}	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.33
Marma	**choiʔ**	goat	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-5
	θáŋ phwá **choiʔ**	sheep	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-4
Maru [Langsu]	**tʃhat^{55}pɛ̰ʔ^{55}**	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.43

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	*(**k)-cit^{L}**	goat	Bradley 1979b:4
	***ʔ-tsit^{H}**	beard	Bradley 1979b:101
Lolopho	a **tśöʔ**	goat	LaPolla 1987:122
PNL	**V-ci:t^{L}**	goat	CHEN Kang 1986a:176.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**tshʅ^{53}**	sheep (general); sheep; goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.47; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.47; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.47
	tshʅ^{53}tshʅ^{31}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.47
	tshʅ^{53}xɤ^{33}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.47
	tshʅ^{53}n̥o^{35}	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.47
Lalo	á-**thjə̀q**	goat	Björverud 1994
	tʂhi̠^{2}	goat	CHEN Kang 1986a:176.
Lipho	**tʂhʅ̠^{2}**	goat	CHEN Kang 1986a:176.
Luquan	**tʂʻI 55c**	goat	Matisoff 1972b:27
Nasu	**tšʻi 55**	goat	Matisoff 1972b:27
	tʂhʅ^{55}	goat	CHEN Kang 1986a:176.
Neisu	**tʂhi^{13}**	goat	CHEN Kang 1986a:176.
Nesu	**tɕhi̠^{2}**	goat	CHEN Kang 1986a:176.
Nosu	**tʂhi̠^{55}**	goat	CHEN Kang 1986a:176.
Nusu (Southern)	**tɕhə̠^{53}**	goat	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**tɕʰə̠̃˞^{31}** kʰɹi^{55}	excrement (sheep)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:329.
	tɕʰə̠̃˞^{31} m̥e^{55}	wool	DAI Qingxia 1989o:328.
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tʂhə̃ɹ^{55}**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.45
Nusu (Northern)	**tʂhə̠^{53}**	goat	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**tʂhə̠̃˞^{53}**	sheep (general); goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.34; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.34
	tʂhə̠̃˞^{53}bɔ^{33}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.34
	tʂhə̠̃˞^{53}khɹi^{55}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.34
	tʂhə̠̃˞^{53}m̥e^{55}	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.34
	tʂʰə̠̃˞^{53} kʰɹi^{55}	excrement (sheep)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:329.
	tʂʰə̠̃˞^{53} me^{55}	wool	DAI Qingxia 1989p:328.
Yi (Dafang)	**tshe^{13}**	goat; sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.22; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**tʂhʅ^{55}**	goat	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tʂhʅ^{55}bu^{33}	goat, billy	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tʂhʅ^{55}khɔ^{33}mo^{21}	goat, young female	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tʂhʅ^{55}mo^{21}	goat, nanny	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tʂhʅ^{55}thɔ^{33}bu^{33}	goat, young male	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tʂhʅ^{55}zɯ^{33}	kid (goat)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tʂhʅ^{55}ʂa^{33}	goat, castrated	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tɕhi̠^{21}**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.25
	tɕhi̠^{21}; di^{21}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ᴀ^{55}**tɕhi̠^{21}**	goat; sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.26; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tɕhi^{21}**	flock (of sheep) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0867.37
	ɑ^{55}**tʂhʅ̄^{55}**	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.37
	ɑ^{55}**tʂhʅ̄^{55}** tɕhi^{21}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.37
	ɑ^{55}**tʂhʅ̄^{55}**mə^{33}	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.37
	ɑ^{55}tʂhʅ^{55}bɯ^{33}xi^{33}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.37
	ᴀ^{33}**tʂhi̠^{55}**	goat; sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.24; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.24
Yi (Nanjian)	a^{55}**tʂhʅ̄^{21}**	goat; sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.23; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.23
Yi (Weishan)	ɑ^{55}**tʃhʅ̄^{21}**	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.36
	ɑ^{55}**tʂhʅ̄^{21}**	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.36
	ɑ^{55}**tʂhʅ̄^{21}**chi^{21}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.36
	ɑ^{55}**tʂhʅ̄^{21}**tɕhy^{55}	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tshʅ̄^{55}**mv̩^{11}	wool / fleece (goat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.38
	tʂhʅ̄^{55}	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.38
	tʂhʅ̄^{55}hɒ^{11}	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.38
	tʂhʅ̄^{55}hɒ^{11}tɕhi^{33}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.38
	tʂhʅ^{55}bɤ^{33}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.38
Yi (Xide)	**tʂhʅ^{55}**	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.35
	tʂhʅ^{55}	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.21
	tʂhʅ^{55}ʑo^{33}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lolo (Ni)	o **tsʻè**	hair of head	Luce 1985:S.34
Ahi	o^{55} **tsʻi^{22}**	hair of head	LUO Meizhen 1990:2.7
	tšhi 44s	goat	Matisoff 1972b:27
	tɕhi̠^{2}	goat	CHEN Kang 1986a:176.
Jinuo (Youle)	m̥ø^{44} m̥ɤ^{44} (mø^{44} **tɕʰi̥^{42}**)	beard	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	tʃhi^{55}pɛ^{33}lɛ^{33}	goat	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tɕhi^{44}pɛ^{42}**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.34
	tɕhi^{55}khri^{44}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.44
	tɕhi^{55}mɯ^{44}	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.44
	tɕhi^{55}pə^{44}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.44
	tɕhi^{55}pɛ^{42}	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.44
	tɕɛ^{33}a^{33}mɔ^{33}	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.34
Kucong	**tshʅ31**	goat	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	tshʅ31 zʌ31 bi55	kid (baby goat)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	á-**chèʔ**	goat	Benedict 1972:121n335; LaPolla 1987:122
Lahu (Lancang)	ɑ^{35}**tɕhe^{21}**	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.43
Lahu (Black)	á-**chèʔ**	goat	Matisoff 1985a:042; Matisoff 1974:357; Matisoff 1972b:27
	ᴀ^{35}**tshe^{21}**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.33
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{1}**tshɤ^{2}**	goat	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	a1-**hchï6**	goat	Matisoff 1972b:27
Lisu (Central)	a^{1}-**hchï^{6}**	goat	Fraser 1922
	a^{1}-**hchï^{6}**-ra^{5}	kid	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}**tʃhʅʔ^{21}**	goat (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**tʃhʅʔ^{21}** mu^{21}khu^{21}	orchid-smoke (lit. goat smoke)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}tʃhʅʔ^{21}bø^{33}	sheep pen	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}tʃhʅʔ^{21}dʑi^{33}	sheepskin	Bradley 1994
Lisu	a **tśhîʔ**	goat	LaPolla 1987:122
	mū^{5}**tsi^{3}**	beard	Bradley 1979b:101
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	mū^{5}**tsï^{3}**	beard	Luce 1985:V.106
Lisu (Nujiang)	mɯ^{31} **tsʅ̄^{44}**	beard	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Putao)	mɯ^{5}**tsɤ^{3}**	beard	Luce 1985:V.106
Lisu (Northern)	**tʃhʅʔ^{21}** ni^{21}tsɯ^{35}	dwarf sheep	Bradley 1994
	tʃhʅʔ^{21}be^{21}	male sheep (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tʃhʅʔ^{21}bø^{44}	sheep pen	Bradley 1994
	tʃhʅʔ^{21}dzu^{44}	flock of sheep	Bradley 1994
	tʃhʅʔ^{21}gɔ^{55}lɔ^{55}	thin sheep (legendary sheep)	Bradley 1994
	tʃhʅʔ^{21}lɔ^{55} rɔ^{33}lɔ^{55} mɔ^{2}	Song of Herding Sheep (name of a long Lisu poem)	Bradley 1994
	tʃhʅʔ^{21}ma^{33}	female sheep	Bradley 1994
	tʃhʅʔ^{21}ma^{33}lø^{33}	female sheep in the period of feeding lambs milk	Bradley 1994
	tʃhʅʔ^{21}ma^{33}mɤ^{44}	female sheep that does not reproduce	Bradley 1994
	tʃhʅʔ^{21}næ^{33}	black goat	Bradley 1994
	tʃhʅʔ^{21}phu^{33}	white goat	Bradley 1994
	tʃhʅʔ^{21} dzu^{44} **tʃhʅʔ^{21}** mæʔ	flock of sheep	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ɑ^{55}**tʃhʅ^{41}**	goat; sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.27; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.27
Sani [Nyi]	**tshi**	goat	LaPolla 1987:122
	tšhi 22s	goat	Matisoff 1972b:27
	tɕhi^{2}	goat	CHEN Kang 1986a:176.
Yi (Sani)	**tɕhi^{2}**	sheep (general); goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.39; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.39
	tɕhi^{2} ɬʐ̩^{11}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.39
	tɕhi^{2}bɤ^{33}hæ^{33}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.39

[a] Vowel length is reconstructed at the PLB level because of WB **chit**, since the short rhyme ***-it** developed into WB **-ac** (thus merging with PLB ***-ik**).

It is necessary to reconstruct a voiced prefix at the PLB level to account for the low stopped tone in Loloish. This was symbolized by the arbitrary element **V-** in *LTSR*, but perhaps the LOW tone is an indirect reflection of a much earlier ***r-** prefix found in Tibetan.

[b] [Source Note] [*TSR* 27].

[c] Lit. "goat-beard" (cf. English 'goatee', for a similar semantic association between goats and facial hair).

Sani [Nyi]	**tɕʰi̱²¹** nọ⁴⁴	wool	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:229.1
	tɕʰi̱²¹ tʂ̱ʅ³³	sheepskin	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:229.3

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ci LS**	goat	Matisoff 1972b:27
Hani (Lüchun)	a **tjhì**	sheep	Hansson 1989:282
Hani (Hu T'an)	a-**tsi** 21-21c	goat	Matisoff 1972b:27
Hani (Dazhai)	a³¹**ts̱i̱³¹**	goat; sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.31; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.31
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**tshi 21**	goat	Matisoff 1972b:27
Hani (Lüchun)	a³¹**ts̱i̱³¹**	sheep (general); goat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.41; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.41
	ts̱i̱³¹kʉ̱⁵⁵	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.41
	ts̱i̱³¹ɕi³¹	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshɳ̄³¹**	goat; sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tɕi̱³¹mjɛ̱³¹**	goat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	a³¹**tʃhɳ̄³¹**	goat; sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.32; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.32
	tʃhɳ̄³¹ʒɣ⁵⁵	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.32
Hani (Mojiang)	a³¹**tʃhɳ̄³¹**	sheep (general); goat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.42; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.42
	tʃhɳ̄³¹tɕhi³¹	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.42
	tʃhɳ̄³¹xo³³	wool / fleece (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.42
	tʃhɳ̄³¹ʒu⁵⁵	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.42
	tʃhɳ̄³¹ʒɣ⁵⁵	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.42

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**tsʰɯ**˩	goat (male or female)	Michaud 2006–2009:3836
	tsʰɯ˩bv˩	male goat	Michaud 2006–2009:3839
	tsʰɯ˩hṽ˩	wool	Michaud 2006–2009:3851
	tsʰɯ˩tʰu˩	kid (child of the goat)	Michaud 2006–2009:3844
Na (Yongning)	**tsʰɯ**˧mi˥to˩qɑ˩	male goat	Michaud 2006–2009
	tsʰɯ˧mi˧to˧qɑ˥	goat (male and female)	Michaud 2006–2009
	tsʰɯ˧ʂwæ˥	castrated goat	Michaud 2006–2009
	tsʰɯ˥˧	goat (male or female)	Michaud 2006–2009
	tsʰɯ˧ hṽ˥$	wool	Michaud 2006–2009
	tsʰɯ˧ mi˥$	nanny goat; ewe	Michaud 2006–2009; Michaud 2006–2009
	tsʰɯ˧ zo˥$	kid (child of the goat)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**tshəɹ¹³**	goat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tshɯ⁵⁵**	goat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.28
	tshɯ⁵⁵ʐu³¹	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.28
Naxi	**tshɳ⁵⁵**	goat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.45
	tshɳ⁵⁵tho³³	lamb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0277.45
	tshɳ⁵⁵y²¹	sheep (general) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.45
Naxi (Yongning)	ʐu³¹;**tshəɹ⁵⁵**ʐu¹³	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.29

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	**tsi³⁵**jou²¹	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.35

(2) PTB * k g yal GOAT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ke:l**	goat	Benedict 1972:339
	***kye:l** ≈ **kyi:l**	goat	Matisoff 2003a:598

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *keel GOAT

**Chin*	***keel**	GOAT	VanBik 2009:286

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**keal**	goat	VanBik 2009:286
Thado	**kèel**	goat	VanBik 2009:286
	kél cà	goat	Thirumalai 1972:49
	kél ŋói	sheep	Thirumalai 1972:50
	kēl cà	goat	Thirumalai 1972:30
Tiddim	gam² **ke:l**¹	wild goat	Bhaskararao 1996:304
	ke:l³	goat	VanBik 2009:286; Bhaskararao 1996:590

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**kèel**	goat	VanBik 2009:286
	kêl	goat	Marrison 1967
	ke:l	goat	Bhaskararao 1996:590; Benedict 1972:339

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	**kel**	goat	Marrison 1967
	ken	goat	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *gyal GOAT

**Northern Naga*	***gial**	goat	French 1983:496

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**kien**	goat	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jili	tə **khyen**	goat	Benedict 1972:339

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	s **kyin**	goat (wild mountain)	Jäschke 1881; Benedict 1972:73n228 [a]

2.2. Newar

Newar	ban **cil** ā	goat (wild)	Genetti 1990a
	cil ā	goat (general)	Genetti 1990a
	cil cā	goat (kid)	Genetti 1990a
	mā **cil** ā	goat (female)	Genetti 1990a

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	tsaŋ **gir**	goat	Driem 1993
	tsaŋ **gir** pu	billy goat	Driem 1993

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGBenzhen	**tʃʰən**	goat	Sun 1997b

[a] WT generally preserves final *-**l** as such, though there are several roots which show final **-l** ~ **-n** alteration, and a couple where the final has simply developed into **-n**. See *STC* p. 15, note 53.

(3) PTB *luk SHEEP

Coblin (1986:131) cites a Chinese comparandum reconstructed as ***rug**.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***lug**	sheep	Coblin 1986:131

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***luk**	sheep	Matisoff 2003a:600

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**lɯuk⁵⁵**	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.23
	lɯuk⁵⁵	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.48
	lɯuk⁵⁵sɑ⁵⁵	kid (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.23

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	o **lyu**	sheep	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	i **lu**	goat	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**lhu**	sheep (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.040
Cuona Menba	**luk³⁵ma⁵³**	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Sakka Trokpa	**lu̱k?**	sheep	Weidert 1987:686
Tibetan (Alike)	**luk**	sheep (general) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.05
	luk ra	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.05
	lək ɣə	kid (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**lək**	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.4
	ra **lək**	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**lək**	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.5
	ra **lək**	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.5
Tibetan (Balti)	fu **lʌqs**	ram	Rangan 1975:29; Rangan 1975:32
	luk	sheep (female)	Rangan 1975:41
	lu wʌq	sheep	Rangan 1975:43
Tibetan (Batang)	**lu¹³ra⁵³**	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.03
	luʔ²³¹	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.03
	lʊ¹³ɣʊ⁵³	kid (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.03
	ʐa̱¹³**luʔ⁵³**	sheep (general) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.03
Tibetan (Central)	**lu̱kʔ**	sheep	Weidert 1987:686
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'luk**	sheep (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.040
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**luʔ³¹**	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.3
	ra¹³**luʔ³¹**	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**luk¹³** tshaŋ⁵⁵	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.02
	luk¹³tʂ̱hu⁵²	kid (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.02
	lu¹³ku⁵⁵	kid (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.02
	lu¹³²	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.02
	luʔ¹³	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.2
	ra¹³**luʔ¹³**	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.2
	rə¹³**lu⁵²**	sheep (general) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'luk**	sheep (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.040
Tibetan (Written)	bsád-**lug**	sheep for slaughter (W.)	Jäschke 1881
	ḍó-**lug**	sheep for slaughter (W.)	Jäschke 1881
	lu gu	kid (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.01
	lug	sheep	Weidert 1987:686; Marrison 1967; Jäschke 1881
	lug	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.01
	lug	sheep	Coblin 1986:131; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.1
	lug bkag sa	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.01
	lúg-kʻyu	sheep (flock of)	Jäschke 1881
	lúg-šig	louse (sheep) / tick	Jäschke 1881
	ra **lug**	sheep (general) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.01
	ra **lug**	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.1
	rɑ-**lúg**	goats and sheep	Jäschke 1881
	rɑ-mɑ-**lúg**	goats and sheep	Jäschke 1881
	šʻí-**lug**	sheep for slaughter (W.)	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ləχ**	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.04
	ləχ ra	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.04
	ra **ləχ**	sheep (general) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.04

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**lúk**	sheep (n.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*[B]**gju**	sheep	Mazaudon 1994:168
Gurung	**kyuhq**	sheep (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.040
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kyuhq**	sheep	Glover 1972:3.A.40
Gurung	[4]**kju**	sheep	Mazaudon 1994:168; Mazaudon 1994:169
Manang (Gyaru)	**kyɯː**[1]	sheep	Nagano 1984:304-04
Manang (Prakaa)	[4]**kʰju**	sheep	Mazaudon 1994:168; Mazaudon 1994:169
	[4]**kʰyu**	sheep	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0097
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'gyuː**[ñ]	sheep	Weidert 1987:686
Tamang (Risiangku)	[4]**kju**	sheep	Mazaudon 1994:168
Tamang (Sahu)	**'gyuh** sya	mutton	Taylor *et al.* 1972:7.16
	'kyu:h	sheep (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.040
	'kyu:h	sheep	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.40
	[4]**kjuː**	sheep	Mazaudon 1994:169
Thakali	**'kyuh**	sheep (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.040
Thakali (Marpha)	[545]**kjuː**	sheep	Mazaudon 1994:168; Mazaudon 1994:169
Thakali (Syang)	[21]**kju**	sheep	Mazaudon 1994:168; Mazaudon 1994:169
Thakali (Tukche)	**'kjuh**	sheep	Hari 1971:3.A.40
	[4]**kju**	sheep	Mazaudon 1994:168; Mazaudon 1994:169

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**luː**	sheep (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.040

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	ra **lu**	sheep (general) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.12

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**rug**	sheep	Coblin 1986:131

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**jiu**	sheep	Coblin 1986:131

Chinese comparandum

犢 OC ***d'uk**, *GSR* #1023l 'calf'; Schuessler 2007:217 ***lôk**; B & S 2011: *l[ˤ]**ok**; Mand. **dú**.
羭 OC ***diu̯**, *GSR* #125k 'ewe; goodness'; Coblin 86:131 ST ***lug** > OC ***rug**; Schuessler 2007:217 ***lo**; B & S 2011: ***lo**; Mand. **yú**.

(4) PTB *g-ya k ŋ SHEEP / YAK

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
Tibeto-Burman	***g-yak**	sheep / yak	Matisoff 2003a:620
	***yaŋ**	sheep / yak	Matisoff 2003a:620
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	**ja**-ruː	goat	Sun 1993b
	jak-nɯː	yak (female)	Sun 1993b
	jaː-mɯ	wool (on sheep's body)	Sun 1993b
	jaː-nɯː	sheep (female)	Sun 1993b
	jaː-puː	sheep (male)	Sun 1993b
	rik-**ǰuŋ**	kid (young goat)	Sun 1993b
	si-**jak**	yak (male)	Sun 1993b
	si-**jaː**	sheep	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**jak** po	yak (male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.24
	jak-po	yak (male)	Sun 1993b
	joŋ eː	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.24
	joŋ ɦo	kid (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.24
	joŋ-ho	lamb	Sun 1993b
	so-**jon** i-din	mutton	Sun 1993b
	so-**joŋ**	sheep	Sun 1993b
	so-**joŋ** eː	dung (of bovines)	Sun 1993b
	ɕo **joŋ**	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.24
Bokar Lhoba	ɕo **joŋ**	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.51
Nishing	**ya** bing	goat	Das Gupta 1969
	ya bing-biu	kid	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	kɯ^{31}**joŋ**^{35}	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.22
	kɯ^{31}**joŋ**^{35}	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.49
	kɯ^{31}**joŋ**^{35}ɑ^{55}	kid (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.22
Idu	kɯ^{31}**joŋ**^{35}	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.50
Yidu	kɯ^{31}**joŋ**^{35}	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.25
	kɯ^{31}**joŋ**^{35}ɑ^{55}	kid (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.25
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Sorbung	**jau**	sheep	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.032
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Sangtam	mi **za**	goat	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	**yao**	sheep	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**yao**	sheep	Marrison 1967
	yaw	sheep	Bhat 1969:96
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**yao**	sheep	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Konyak	**yon**	goat	Marrison 1967
Phom	**yom**	goat	Marrison 1967
	yom^{55}	goat	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**yagʻ**	yak (n.)	Bailey 1911
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**jeŋ**^{35}	sheep	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	rɑ^{35}**jeŋ**^{35}	goat / sheep (general term)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**jeŋ**^{13}	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.6
	rA^{13}**jeŋ**^{13}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.6
Cuona Menba	dzɻ^{35}**jaʔ**^{53}	yak (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.06
	jeŋ^{35}	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.06
	ra^{35} **jeŋ**^{35}	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	mdzɻə **ɣjak**	yak (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.05
Tibetan (Batang)	**jõ**^{55}**kɑ**^{55} ɲuʔ^{231}	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.03
	jɑʔ^{53}	yak (male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'yākq**	yak (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.046
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ja**^{52}	yak (male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'yak**	yak (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.046
Tibetan (Written)	pʻo-**ɣyág**	yak (male)	Jäschke 1881
	pʻɑ-**ɣyág**	yak (uncastrated male)	Jäschke 1881
	žol-**ɣyág**	yak-bull	Jäschke 1881
	ɣyɑg	yak	Jäschke 1881
	ɣyɑg-rgód	yak (wild) / ox (wild)	Jäschke 1881
	ɣyɑg-rgod	yak (wild)	Jäschke 1881
	ɣyɑg-rog-žol-čʻén	yak (very long-haired, shaggy)	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hjaχ**	yak (male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.04
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**yók**	yak (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**jaː**	yak (male)	Mazaudon 1994:810
	*^{Bh}**jaː**	yak	Mazaudon 1994:823
Tamang (Sahu)	**'yāːh**	yak (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.046
	'yaːh	yak	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.46
	^{4}jaː	yak	Mazaudon 1994:810
Thakali	**'yāh**	yak (male) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.046
Thakali (Marpha)	^{545}**ja**	yak	Mazaudon 1994:823
	^{55}**ja**	yak	Mazaudon 1994:823
Thakali (Syang)	^{545}**ja**	yak	Mazaudon 1994:823
Thakali (Tukche)	**'jah**	yak (male)	Hari 1971:3.A.46.1
	^{4}ja	yak (male)	Mazaudon 1994:810
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yamphu	**yæ•** su ba	goat (n.)	Rutgers 1998:594.05
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**gjwã**	goat	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1189
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**jo**^{55}	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.18
	tshi^{55}**jo**^{55}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.18
Guiqiong	**ja**^{55}	yak; calf (yak) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0259.16
	tɕhɑ̃^{31}tshɔ̃^{31}	wool / fleece (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.16
Namuyi	**jo**^{55}	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.19
	jo^{55}tshŋ^{35}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.19
	jo^{53} (lʉ^{53}sʉ^{31})	year of the ram (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0762.46
	jo^{55}	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.46
	jo^{55}su^{53}	wool / fleece (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.46
	jo^{55}zi^{53}	lamb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0277.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	tshŋ^{55}**ʒõ**^{55}	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.10
	ʒõ^{35}	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.10
	ʒõ^{35}**ʑẽ**^{35}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**jo**^{55}	yak (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.09
	tshɤ^{55}**ʒɑ̃u**^{55}	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.09
	ʒɑ̃u^{55}	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.09
	ʒɑ̃u^{55}li^{55}	kid (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.09
	ʒɑ̃u^{55}tɑ̆u^{13}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	tshɤ^{55}**ʒɑ̃u**^{55}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.11
	ʒɑ̃u^{55}	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.11
Pumi (Taoba)	tshə^{55}**ʐɑ̃**^{55}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.10
	ʐɑ̃^{55}	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**iò** dò	ram	Evans 1999:342
	ió	sheep	Evans 1999:341
	ió mù tsù	lamb	Evans 1999:348
	ʁò-**ió**	Mongolian gazelle [horse-sheep]	Evans 1999:387
Qiang (Mianchi)	**ioù** dʑé	ram	Evans 1999:342
	ioù-lù-tsú	lamb [sheep-soft-small]	Evans 1999:348
	ioù-miá	ewe [sheep-female]	Evans 1999:343
	ioú	sheep	Evans 1999:341
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ji**^{55}	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.16
	tshɛ^{53}**ji**^{55}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʁja**^{55}	yak (male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.13
	ʑe^{13}	sheep; year of the ram (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.13; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0762.13
	ʑe^{13}**ʒə**^{55}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.13
Xumi	**giæ**^{53}	cattle (bull-yak crossbreed, male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0258.17
	ɛ̃^{55}	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.20
	ʔɛ̃^{53}	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.17
	ʔɛ̃^{53}sũ^{33}	wool / fleece (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.17
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**ʁjɑ**	yak (male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0257.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**jo**^{44} pʰʃɐ	excrement of sheep	Nagano & Prins 2013:0137
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **ʑjo24**	sheep	Nagano & Prins 2013:1462
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **jo**	sheep (general); sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.11; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.11
rGyalrong	kə **jo**	goat; sheep (generic); sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.12; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **jo** phʃɐ	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**jo**^{44}	sheep	Nagano & Prins 2013:1462
Caodeng	qɐ-**gjí**-mo	sheep-herder	Sun 1997a
	qɐ-**gji**-mo	sheep (female)	Sun 1997a
	qɐ-**gji**-pu	lamb	Sun 1997a
	qɐ-**gjiʔ**	sheep	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	¯kə **joˀ**	sheep	Nagano & Prins 2013:1462
	¯kə **joˀ** pʰɕi	excrement of sheep	Nagano & Prins 2013:0137
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	´kə **jɐ** pʰi	excrement of sheep	Nagano & Prins 2013:0137
	´kə **jɐ** ʃu	wool	Nagano & Prins 2013:0262
rGyalrong	kA **gyo**	sheep	Nagano 1997:3.3
rGBenzhen	kə-**dʒɔʔ**	sheep	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	a^{31}**iɑŋ**^{31}tɕhɛn^{31}	kid (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.21
Rawang	ə **yaŋ**^{31}	sheep (general); sheep	LaPolla 2003:316; LaPolla 2003:317
	ə **yaŋ**^{31} mɯl^{33}	wool, fleece	LaPolla 2003:321
	ə **yaŋ**^{31} niʔ	sheep dung	LaPolla 2003:322
	ə **yaŋ**^{31} sɛ^{31}	kid	LaPolla 2003:320
	ə **yaŋ**^{31} waŋ^{53}	sheepfold, sheep pen	LaPolla 2003:588
Nung	ɑ^{31}**iɑŋ**^{31}	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}**iɑŋ**^{31}	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.44
Dulong	ɑ^{31}**jɔ**^{55}	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31}**ɟɑ̆ŋ**^{53}	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**jɑ̆ŋ**^{53}	sheep	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	jɑ̆ʔ^{55}	bull-yak hybrid	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**ruo2**	sheep, goat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ruo2ang1a1	sheep's liver (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ruo2si3	sheep/goat meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ruo^{2}	sheep	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2
	ruo^{2}si^{3}	sheep/goat meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
Tujia (Southern)	**zo**^{21}	goat / sheep	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**zo**^{35}	goat / sheep	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**zo**^{35}	sheep (general); goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.49; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.49

	zo^{35}	goat; sheep (generic); sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.38; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.38; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.38
	zo^{35}**sie**^{21}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.49
	zo^{35}si^{35}ka^{55}	wool / fleece (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.49
	zo^{35}tsho^{55}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.49

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola (Luxi)	**jɔ̃**^{55}	goat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.32
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**yò**	goat (wild)(1)	Weidert 1987:314

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***ʒo**^{1}	sheep	Bradley 1979b:5; Hansson 1989:282
PNL	**ʒo**^{1}	sheep	Chen Kang 1986a:46.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	á-**zjó**	sheep	Björverud 1994
	ʐu^{55}	sheep	Chen Kang 1986a:46.
Lipho	**ʐa**^{33}	sheep	Chen Kang 1986a:46.
Nosu	**ʐo**^{33}	sheep	Chen Kang 1986a:46.
Nusu (Central)	**iɔ̃**^{33}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.34
Nusu (Southern)	**iɔ̃**^{35}	sheep	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**iɑ̃**^{55}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ʑi**^{31}	sheep	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	lo^{34}**ʐo**^{33}	sheep, wild	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ȵi^{33}**ʐo**^{33}	sheep	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{21}ndʑ̩^{33}	cape, sheepskin	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{21}ndʑ̩^{33}ʂɔ^{33}mo^{21}	cape, goat skin	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐo^{21}l̩^{21}	sheep, late	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐo^{21}ɬ̩^{55}	bag, sheepskin	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐo^{33}	sheep	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐo^{33}ndʑ̩^{33}	leather, sheep; skin, sheep	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐo^{33}ʐ̩^{33}	sheep, early	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐo^{34}ndʑ̩^{33}	sheepskin	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐɔ^{21}ŋa^{55}	sheep, neutered	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐɔ^{33}l̥a^{33}	ram (sheep)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ʐu**^{33}mɛ^{21}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**ʐɑ**^{33}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.37
	ʐʌ^{33}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.24
Yi (Nanjian)	a^{55}**ʐu**^{55}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.23
Yi (Weishan)	ɑ^{55}**ʐu**^{55}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.36
	ɑ^{55}**ʐu**^{55}by^{55}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.36
Yi (Xide)	**ʐo**^{33}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.35
	ʐo^{33}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.21
	ʐo^{33}xo^{33}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.35
	ʐo^{33}ɬɯ^{44}	February (sheep month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:77.21
	ʐo^{34}tɕhŋ^{33}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**ʐu**^{2}	sheep	Chen Kang 1986a:46.
Lahu (Lancang)	**ʐɔ**^{31}	sheep (general); sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.43
	ʐɔ^{31}khɔ^{54}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.43
	ʐɔ^{31}mv^{33}	wool / fleece (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.43
	ʐɔ^{31}qhɛ^{53}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.43
	ʐɔ^{31}ɛ^{35}	kid (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.43
Lahu (Black)	**zɔ**^{31}	goat; sheep (generic); sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.33; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**zɔ**^{2}	zodiac year (Sheep)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a^{33}**jɔ**^{44}	sheep (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{33}**jɔ**^{44}dʑi^{33}	sheepskin	Bradley 1994
	a^{33}**jɔ**^{44}my^{33}	wool from sheep	Bradley 1994
	jɔ^{44}	sheep; (in animal cycle) goat (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ɑ^{44}**ʒo**^{33}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.27
Sani [Nyi]	**ʐo**^{33}	sheep	Chen Kang 1986a:46.
Yi (Sani)	**ʐo**^{33}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.39
	ʐo^{33}nu^{44}	wool / fleece (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.39
	ʐo^{33}zɒ^{11}	kid (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**jɔ́**	sheep	Hansson 1989:282
Akha	**jɔ́**	sheep	Hansson 1989:282
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{31}**jo**^{55}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.31
Hani (Lüchun)	a^{31}**jo**^{55}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**jɣ**^{55}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.30
Hani (Pijo)	**ʒú**	sheep	Hansson 1989:282
Hani (Gelanghe)	**jɔ**^{55}	sheep	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	aq **yol**	sheep	Hansson 1989:282
Hani (Shuikui)	tʃhɿ̄^{31}**ʒɣ**^{55}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.32
Hani (Mojiang)	tʃhɿ̄^{31}**ʒɣ**^{55}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.42
Mpi	**jɯŋ**^{2}	goat-antelope / serow / nemorhaedus (sp.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Phola	**ʐɒ**^{23}	sheep	Pelkey 2011:89

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**y**˥lk^{h}v˩	year of the goat	Michaud 2006–2009:1647
	y˧	sheep	Michaud 2006–2009:3845
	y˧bv˧	ram	Michaud 2006–2009:3847
	y˧zɑ˧hu˥	lamb	Michaud 2006–2009:3850
Na (Yongning)	**ju**˩	sheep	Michaud 2006–2009
	ju˩k^{h}v˩	year of the goat	Michaud 2006–2009
	ju˩ʂwæ˩	castrated ram	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshɯ^{55}**ʑu**^{31}	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.28
Naxi	tshŋ^{55}**y**^{21}	sheep (general) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.45
	y^{21}	sheep; year of the ram (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0762.45
	y^{21}ʂ̩^{33}	wool / fleece (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʑu**^{33}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʑu**^{31}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʑu**^{31};tshəɹ^{55}**ʑu**^{13}	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.29

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	**io** 7	sheep	Dell 1981b:926
	jou^{21}	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.35
	tsi^{35}**jou**^{21}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.35
	xɯ^{44}**jou**^{21}	goat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**jõ**^{21}	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.36
	jo^{42}mɑ^{42}	wool / fleece (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.48
	jo^{42}tɕhi^{55}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.48
	ko^{21}**jõ**^{21}	goat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.36

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ʑi̯ɑng/i̯ɑng**	sheep / ram	Karlgren 1957:732a-d

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	mián **yáng**	sheep	Evans *et al.* 1991
	shan **yang**	goat	Sun 1985b:310

Chinese comparandum

羊 OC ***ʑi̯ɑng**, *GSR* #732a-d 'sheep'; Schuessler 2007:557 ***jaŋ** ~ ***laŋ**; B & S 2011: ***ɢaŋ**; Mand. **yáng**.

(5) PTB *d-ŋwa GOAT

This weakly attested root has been discussed in the context of Angami Naga's labio-dental initials. See JAM 1980 "Stars, moon, and spirits", Weidert 1981 "Reply to JAM (*LTBA* 6.1:1-38)", and JAM 1982 "Proto-languages and proto-Sprachgefühl" (*LTBA* 6.2:1-64).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-ŋwa**	goat	Matisoff 2003a:606

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**thenü**	goat	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**themvü**	goat	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**tunyü**	goat	Marrison 1967

(6) PTani *brɯ MOUNTAIN GOAT / GOAT ANTELOPE / SEROW

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***brɯ**	serow (goat antelope)	Sun 1993a:344

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	sɯ-**brjɯ**	serow (goat antelope); deer	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	ja-**ru:**	goat	Sun 1993b
	ru:-nɯ:	goat (female)	Sun 1993b
	ru:-pu:	goat (male)	Sun 1993b
	ši-**bi**	serow (goat antelope)	Sun 1993a
	su-**ru**-nɯ:	wild goat	Sun 1993b
	su-**ru**-nɯ: ku:	kid of wild goat	Sun 1993b
Bokar	šɯ-**bɯ**	serow (goat antelope)	Sun 1993a

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	si-**bɯ**	serow (goat antelope)	Sun 1993a
Damu	ɕy-**by**	antelope	Sun 1993b

(7) PTB *ra GOAT

Two possible prefixes are attested with this root: ***b-** in Bodo-Garo, and ***s-** underlying the voiceless rhotics in Tamang and Kaike.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	**ra**	sheep / goat (generic)	Sun 1993b
	ra	goat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.24
	ra fio	lamb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0277.24
	sə-**rə**	goat	Sun 1993b
	ɕə **rə**	sheep (general); goat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ra**	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.51
	ɕə **rə**	goat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.51

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	**la**-ga	goat	Sun 1993b

1.2.2. Central Chin

Paangkhua	**ra** záa	goat (wild)(1); goat (wild)	Weidert 1987:151; Löffler 1985

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	mi **ria**	sheep	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	be **ra**	sheep; dull-headed	Bhat 1968
	pe **bra**	sheep	Bhat 1968
	pe **ra**	sheep	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	be-**ra**	sheep	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	be-**ra**	sheep (n.)	Burling 2003:5.35-II:idx

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**rŏ** möṅ	hair (of goat) (n.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**lá**	goat	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**rā**	goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.036
	rā dong	billy goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.037
	ra mā	nanny goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.038
	rha jā	kid (goat) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.039
Tsangla (Central)	**ra** ba	goat	Andvik 1993:93
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ra**^{13}**pa**^{13}	goat	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ra ba	goat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ra**-wa	goat	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**rɑ**^{35}	goat	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	rɑ^{35}jeŋ^{35}	goat / sheep (general term)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**rʌ**^{13}	goat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.6
	rʌ^{13}jeŋ^{13}	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.6
Motuo Menba	**ra** ba	goat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.07
Cuona Menba	**ra**^{35}	goat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.06
	ra^{35} jeŋ^{35}	sheep (general) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.06
	ra^{35} tsaŋ^{55}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ræ** mæ	goat (female) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.05

	tɕhə **ra**	goat (male) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ra** lək	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.4
	ra ma	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ra**	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.5
	ra lək	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.5
	ræ-mæ	goat	Sun 1985a:310
Tibetan (Balti)	**re** wʌq	goat-she	Rangan 1975:50
Tibetan (Batang)	**ʐa**^{231}	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.03
	ʐa^{13}luʔ^{53}	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.03
	ʐa^{13}**tuʔ**^{53}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'rā**	goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.036
	ro bo	billy goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.037
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ra**^{13}	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.3
	ra^{13}luʔ^{31}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ra**^{13}	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.02
	ra^{13}	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.2
	ra^{13}luʔ^{13}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.2
	ra^{13}**tshaŋ**^{55}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.02
	rə^{13}lu^{52}	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'ra** wu	billy goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.037
	're ruk	kid (goat) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.039
	're rum, **'re** ruk	nanny goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.038
	ra	goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.036
Tibetan (Spiti)	**rá**	goat	Sharma 1979
	ʂa **ɹa**	he-goat	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	(**ra**) figog	pen in (sheep) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1357.01
	pʻá-**rɑ**	goat (male)	Jäschke 1881
	ra	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.01
	ra	goat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:117.1
	ra lug	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.01
	ra lug	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.1
	ra sdug	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.01
	ra.ma	goat	Sun 1985c:310; Marrison 1967
	rɑ	goat / she-goat	Jäschke 1881
	rɑ-lúg	goats and sheep	Jäschke 1881
	rɑ-mɑ-lúg	goats and sheep	Jäschke 1881
	rɑ-po-čʻé	goat (wild)	Jäschke 1881
	rɑ-pʻó	goat (gelded male)	Jäschke 1881
	rɑ-rgód	goat (wild)	Jäschke 1881
	rɑ-skyés	goat (gelded male)	Jäschke 1881
	rɑ-tʼúg	goat (male)	Jäschke 1881
	rɑ-tʻóŋ	goat (male of two years) /	Jäschke 1881
	rá-gu	goat (young) / kid	Jäschke 1881
	rá-mɑ	goat / she-goat	Jäschke 1881
	rá-mɑ žól-mo	goat (long-haired)	Jäschke 1881
	rá-pʻo	goat (castrated)	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ra** ləχ	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.04
	ra ma	goat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.04
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	să-**ro**	the long-haired goat of Tibet (n.)	Mainwaring 1898:400 [a]
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**ra**	goat	Mazaudon 1978:16; Mazaudon 1994:852
Gurung	**rā**	goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.036
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ra**	goat	Glover 1972:3.A.36
	ra mõmãː	goat (nanny)	Glover 1972:3.A.38
Gurung	**rā** mọmạ̄ː	nanny goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.038
	ra jāh jāq	kid (goat) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.039
Gurung (Ghachok)	**rə** jah jaq	goat (kid)	Glover 1972:3.A.39
	^{1}**ra**	goat	Mazaudon 1978:16
Gurung	^{1}**ra**	goat	Mazaudon 1994:852
Manang (Gyaru)	**ra**^{2} rɛ^{3}	goat	Nagano 1984:304-05
Manang (Ngawal)	^{1}**ʒɤ**	goat	Mazaudon 1978:16
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**ra**	goat	Mazaudon 1978:16; Mazaudon 1994:852
Tamang (Sahu)	**rā**	goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.036
	rā māmā	nanny goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.038
	rā pikhā	billy goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.037
	ra pohka	billy, male goat	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.37
	ra.mama	nanny, female goat	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.38
	rā tcā	kid (goat) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.039
	ra tca	kid, baby goat	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.39
	^{1}**ra**	goat	Mazaudon 1978:16; Mazaudon 1994:852
Tamang (Taglung)	**ra**	goat	Mazaudon 1994:852
	^{1}**ra**	goat	Mazaudon 1978:16; Mazaudon 1994:852
Thakali	**ra**	goat; billy goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.036; Hale 1973:03a.037
	ra 'momo	nanny goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.038
	ra cah ca	kid (goat) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.039
Thakali (Marpha)	^{1}**rʌ**	goat	Mazaudon 1978:16
	^{51}**rʌ**	goat	Mazaudon 1994:852
Thakali (Syang)	^{H}**rʌ**	goat	Mazaudon 1978:16
	^{55}**rʌ**	goat	Mazaudon 1994:852
Thakali (Tukche)	**rɔ**	goat	Hari 1971:3.A.36
	rɔ cɔh cɔ	kid	Hari 1971:3.A.39
	^{H}**rə**	goat	Mazaudon 1994:852
	^{H}**rʌ**	goat	Mazaudon 1978:16
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**rā:h**	goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.036
	rāh 'pā	billy goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.037
	rhā 'mā	nanny goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.038
Magar	**rhā**	goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.036
	rhā man	nanny goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.038
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya	**ʁa**^{33}tɕe^{53}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.15
	ʁa^{53}	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.15
	ʁə̠^{33}ta^{55}	pen in (sheep) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1357.15
	ʁɐ̠^{33}**tɕe**^{55}	kid (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.15
Muya [Minyak]	tshɯ^{55}**ʁa**^{35}	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.15
	ʁɑ^{35}	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.15
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	lɑ **ʁɑ**	sheep (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.12
	ra lu	sheep (general) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.12
Ergong (Danba)	tshɛ **ɣi**	goat / sheep (generic)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:116.14
	ɣi	sheep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:118.14
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	**ɹɑ**^{55}	flock (of sheep) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0867.20
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lisu (Central)	a^{3}-**raw**^{3}	sheep	Fraser 1922
	a^{3}-**raw**^{3} mū^{3}	fleece (sheep's wool); wool (sheep's)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**rɔ**^{44}	sheep; goat (in the calendrical cycle) (N.)	Bradley 1994

[a] Lepcha **să-ro** is the origin of English *serao* or *serow* 'wild mountain goat'.

Chinese comparandum

羌 OC ***d'i̯o**, *GSR* #84f 'five month-old lamb'; Schuessler 2007:627 ***draʔ**; Mand. **zhù**.

(8) PKC *sha-thaar MOUNTAIN GOAT / GOAT ANTELOPE / SEROW

The Chepang forms possibly indicate that this root is attested beyond Kuki-Chin

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	*sha-**thaar**	ANTELOPE / GOAT (wild) / SEROW	VanBik 2009:372
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	sa^{1} **thak**^{1}	wild goat	Bhaskararao 1996:1499; VanBik 2009:372
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	sa-**thâar**	antelope, wild goat	VanBik 2009:372
Lushai [Mizo]	**sà-tháar**	name of a species of wild goat, a serow (n.)	VanBik 2009:372
	sa-thar	wild goat	Bhaskararao 1996:1499
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	sāw-**záw**	ibex	VanBik 2009:1208
1.6. MRU			
Mru	(ŋə) **yàʔ**	goat (wild)(1)	Weidert 1987:151
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	mʌy^{31}**yaʔ**^{33}	mountain goat	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	^{3}**ya**	goat (wild)(1)	Weidert 1987:151; Weidert 1987:63
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**yoʔ**.syaʔ	Serow, a goat-antelope; animal (sp.), Serow or Goat Antelope (large) (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	*ʔ-**ya**^{2}	goat (wild)(1)	Weidert 1987:314
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu	**hâ**	goat (wild)(1)	Weidert 1987:314 [a]
Lisu	**hyà**	goat (wild)(1)	Weidert 1987:314
7. KARENIC: ***jaj**^{A} SEROW, MOUNTAIN GOAT			
**Karen*	***jaj**^{A}	serow, mountain goat	Luangthongkum 2013:249
Bwe	**ji**^{33}	serow, mountain goat	Luangthongkum 2013:249
Kayah	**je**^{11}	serow, mountain goat	Luangthongkum 2013:249
Kayan	**jai**^{33}	serow, mountain goat	Luangthongkum 2013:249
Kayan (Pekon)	**zạ̀**	mountain goat, serow (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**ji**^{33}	serow, mountain goat	Luangthongkum 2013:249
Pa-O (Northern)	**jai**^{33}	serow, mountain goat	Luangthongkum 2013:249

[a] This is evidently a loan into Lahu; the high falling tone is anomalous, since it does not occur after /h/ in native words. Furthermore, the rhyme ***-ya** should yield Lahu **-ɛ**.

(9) PTB *hya MOUNTAIN GOAT / GOAT ANTELOPE / SEROW

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	na-**ja:**	wild goat	Sun 1993b
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***sha-yaa** IBEX / WILD GOAT			
**Chin*	*sha-**yaa**	IBEX / WILD GOAT	VanBik 2009:1208
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	sa **za**	ibex	VanBik 2009:1208
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	say-p-**yoo**	wild goat	VanBik 2009:1208
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	sà-**zâ**	wild goat	VanBik 2009:1208
Lai (Hakha)	sa-**zàa**	ibex	VanBik 2009:1208
Lushai [Mizo]	sạ̀-**zâ**	goat (wild)(1)	Weidert 1987:151; Weidert 1987:63
	sà-**zâ**	wild goat	VanBik 2009:1208
	zâa	goat (wild)	Löffler 1985
Paangkhua	ra **záa**	goat (wild)(1); goat (wild)	Weidert 1987:151; Löffler 1985
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	sāw-**záw**	ibex	VanBik 2009:1208
1.6. MRU			
Mru	(ŋə) **yàʔ**	goat (wild)(1)	Weidert 1987:151
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	mʌy^{31}**yaʔ**^{33}	mountain goat	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	^{3}**ya**	goat (wild)(1)	Weidert 1987:151; Weidert 1987:63
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**yoʔ**.syaʔ	Serow, a goat-antelope; animal (sp.), Serow or Goat Antelope (large) (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	*ʔ-**ya**^{2}	goat (wild)(1)	Weidert 1987:314
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu	**hâ**	goat (wild)(1)	Weidert 1987:314 [a]
Lisu	**hyà**	goat (wild)(1)	Weidert 1987:314
7. KARENIC: ***jaj**^{A} SEROW, MOUNTAIN GOAT			
**Karen*	***jaj**^{A}	serow, mountain goat	Luangthongkum 2013:249
Bwe	**ji**^{33}	serow, mountain goat	Luangthongkum 2013:249
Kayah	**je**^{11}	serow, mountain goat	Luangthongkum 2013:249
Kayan	**jai**^{33}	serow, mountain goat	Luangthongkum 2013:249
Kayan (Pekon)	**zạ̀**	mountain goat, serow (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**ji**^{33}	serow, mountain goat	Luangthongkum 2013:249
Pa-O (Northern)	**jai**^{33}	serow, mountain goat	Luangthongkum 2013:249

[a] This is evidently a loan into Lahu; the high falling tone is anomalous, since it does not occur after /h/ in native words. Furthermore, the rhyme ***-ya** should yield Lahu **-ɛ**.

(10) PTB *buŋ GOAT

This weakly attested root occurs in only a few TB languages of NE India.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	sɯ-**buŋ**	sheep	Sun 1993b
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	na^{1}**puŋ**^{1}	goat (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	na **bong**	goat	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	na **pong**	goat	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	nà **pùŋ**	goat (n.)	Coupe 2007
Yacham-Tengsa	na **bung**	goat	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Kokborok	**poŋ**-k^{h}an	goat meat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

(11) PTB *bi-ŋ GOAT

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	sɯ-**bĩ** a-tu	kid	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**bĩ** jo	mutton	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**biŋ** a-tu	lamb	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ma: **bi**	goat	NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **bi** ka:ri	goat (billy)	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **bi**-kru	goat (she)	NEFA (India) 1963
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**bi**	goat	Marrison 1967
	bī	sheep; goat	Matisoff 1985a:169
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**bài** nām	goat	Matisoff 1985a:169
	pai^{31}nam^{33}	goat	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	pai^{31}nam^{33}	goat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.19
	pai^{31}nam^{33}	goat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.47
	pai^{31}nam^{33}loŋ^{31}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.19
	pai nam	goat	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	kə **ɓiʔ**	goat	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:304-5
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**byaṅ** kar(h) khăss	sheep (Tibetan) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	byaṅ khăss	sheep (Tibetan)	Bailey 1911

(12) PTB *s-gu SHEEP

The initial element is evidently the “animal prefix”, ult. < PTB ***sya**.

1.1. “North Assam”			
Sulung [Puroik]	sə^{33}**ɣu**^{33}	goat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.52
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	te **ko**	sheep	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	te **kuo**	sheep	Marrison 1967
Chokri	tü **ko**	sheep	Marrison 1967
Mao	**ko** latu	sheep	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	sǎ^{5}**ku**^{31}	sheep	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	sǎ^{55}**ku**^{51}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.19
	sǎ^{55}**ku**^{51}	goat; sheep (generic); sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.47; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.47
	sǎ^{55}**ku**^{51} pǎ^{55}nep^{55}	blanket (felt) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0488.19
	sǎ^{55}**ku**^{51}kǎ^{31}ʃa^{31}	lamb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0277.19
	sǎ^{55}**ku**^{51}khji^{55}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.19
	sǎ^{55}**ku**^{51}mun^{33}	wool / fleece (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.19
	sha **gu**	sheep	Marrison 1967
2.2. Newar			
Newar	du **gu**	billy goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.037
	du **gu**-cā	kid-(diminutive) (goat) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.039
	du **ku**	goat (male, uncastrated)	Genetti 1990a
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Taoping)	**χgy**^{33}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.9
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**gu**^{55}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.14
	gu^{55} mə^{55}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.14
	tɕhɛ^{13}**gu**^{13}	sheep (general) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.14

(13) PNN *C-ruan SHEEP / GOAT

1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Mzieme	meu **rün**	sheep	Marrison 1967
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***Ç̣-ruan**	goat	French 1983:496
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**luan**	goat; sheep	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	min ke **luan**	sheep	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**roan**	goat	Marrison 1967

(14) PCN *san SHEEP

According to Clark 1911, Ao (Chungli) **san** is frequently pronounced **sain**. Temsunungsang 2009 posits an underlying form **sajin**.

The rime in **san** is unusual for Sangtam, indicating a possible borrowing.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**san**	sheep	Marrison 1967
	sàn̄ [sàjīn]/[sàĩn]	sheep	Temsunungsang 2009:1a
Ao (Mongsen)	**sàn̄** [sàjīn]/[sàĩn]	sheep	Temsunungsang 2009:1a
Lotha Naga	**tsháṇ** sə̀	wool	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**san**	sheep	Marrison 1967

(15) PTB *nyu GOAT

The Meluri, Konyak, and Mao forms end in **-i**. It is still unclear whether they belong with the other forms which have a high back vowel. The final **n** in the Ntenyi forms is also unexplained.

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Mao	o **nghi** to	goat	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **nyi** ni	goat	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **nyün nyün**	goat	Marrison 1967
	kha **nyün nyün**	sheep	Marrison 1967
Rengma	ta **nyü**	sheep	Marrison 1967
	te **nü**	goat	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **nyeh**	goat	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**nyi**	sheep	Marrison 1967
3.2. Qiangic			
Lyuzu	(tshe^{53}**ȵu**^{53}) khe^{33}gi^{53}	pen in (sheep) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1357.18
	tshe^{53}**ȵu**^{53}	sheep (general) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.18
	ȵu^{33}–	wool / fleece (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.18
	ȵu^{33}gi^{53}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.18
	ȵu^{35}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.18
Qiang (Mawo)	tsha **ȵu**	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.8
	ȵu	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.08
	ȵu	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.8
	ȵu wɛ^{ɪ}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.08
	ȵu xu̱	wool / fleece (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.08
	ȵu χṣ	dung (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.08
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	qo^{42}**ȵo**^{21}	goat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:117.37
	tʂe^{ɪ55}**ȵo**^{21}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.37
	ȵo^{21}	goat / sheep (generic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:116.37
Bai (Jianchuan)	kɔ̃^{21}**ɲo**^{42}	goat (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0276.48
	ɲo^{42}	sheep (general) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0274.48
	ɲo^{42}ɣu^{21}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.48

(16) PTB *ri-k KID / SHEEP

This weakly attested root resembles PTB ***ra** GOAT, but appears to be an independent morpheme.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**rik**-ǰuŋ	kid (young goat)	Sun 1993b
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Balti)	**riu**·	kid	Rangan 1975:18
Tibetan (Jirel)	**’riu**	kid (goat) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.039
Tibetan (Written)	**rí**-gu	goat (young) / kid	Jäschke 1881
	ri-gu	goat (young) / kid (col.)	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ri** ɣə	kid (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.04

(17) PTB *səw SHEEP

6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tθo**^{55}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.27
	tθo^{55}mwe^{55}	wool / fleece (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.27
	tθo^{55}tɕhi^{55}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.27
	tθo^{55}tɕhɑ̃^{22}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθo**^{55}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.40
Burmese (Written)	**sûi**	sheep; hat	Hansson 1989:282; Benedict 1976a
	sui:	sheep	Marrison 1967
	tho^{3}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.39
	tθo^{3}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.26
	tθo^{3}khje^{3}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.26
	tθo^{3}khrɑm̀^{2}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.26
	tθo^{3}mwe^{55}	wool / fleece (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.26
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**sau**^{21}mji̱^{55}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.30
	sau^{21}mji̱^{55}	sheep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:118.42
7. Karenic: ***so**^{A} SHEEP			
**Karen*	***so**^{A}	sheep	Luangthongkum 2013:253 [a]
Bwe	**θu**^{55}	sheep	Luangthongkum 2013:253
Bwe (Western)	**θu**^{1}	sheep	Luce 1985:E.37
Geba	**θo**^{2}	sheep	Luce 1985:E.37
Karen	**tθo**^{55}	sheep (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0275.50
	tθo^{55}a^{31}lɔ^{31}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.50
	tθo^{55}e̱^{31}	dung (goat, sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0280.50
	tθo^{55}tshu^{31}	wool / fleece (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0279.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**θú**	sheep (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**θɔ**^{33}	sheep	Luangthongkum 2013:253
Kayaw	**so**^{55}	sheep	Luangthongkum 2013:253
Pa-O (Southern)	**so**^{33}	sheep	Luangthongkum 2013:253
Pa-O (Northern)	**sə**^{55}	sheep	Luangthongkum 2013:253
Pa-O	**sɤ̃**	sheep	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**s‘ɤ**^{5}	sheep	Luce 1985:E.37
Paku	**θu**^{1}	sheep	Luce 1985:E.37
Pwo (Southern)	**-θu**^{55}	sheep	Luangthongkum 2013:253
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**θo**^{1}	sheep	Luce 1985:E.37
Pwo (Delta)	**θu**^{1}	sheep	Luce 1985:E.37
Sgaw (Northern)	**so**^{33}	sheep	Luangthongkum 2013:253
Sgaw (Southern)	**su**^{55}	sheep	Luangthongkum 2013:253
Sgaw	**θo**^{1}	sheep	Luce 1985:E.37
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**tθo**^{55} ts^{h}u^{31}	wool	Dai Qingxia 1989k:350

[a] [Source Note] It is noticeable that the Chirstian Karen seem to remember the word ‘sheep’ quite well. However, this word has tone A in CK and Sgaw while it has tone B in NK and Pwo.

(18) PTB *mey GOAT

This etymon evidently has an onomatopoetic component.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***mee** GOAT			
**Chin*	***mee**	GOAT	VanBik 2009:769
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**me**	goat	VanBik 2009:769
Khumi	**míe’** iee	goat	VanBik 2009:769
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**me**-heʔ	goat	VanBik 2009:769
Lai (Falam)	**mée**	goat	VanBik 2009:769
Lushai [Mizo]	**mè** mè	Lushai call for goats (n.)	VanBik 2009:769
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**mi**	goat	VanBik 2009:769
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Yimchungrü	**mi** nu	goat	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Khezha	e **mü**	goat	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	ka **mi**	goat	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	ka **mih**	goat	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **mi**	goat	Marrison 1967
Zeme	ke **mei**	goat	Marrison 1967
	ke **mei** me li	sheep	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	he **meu**	goat	Marrison 1967
	meu rün	sheep	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***mej** GOAT			
**Tangkhulic*	***mej**	goat	Mortensen 2012:598
Champhung	a-**mɯ**	goat	Brown 1837
Tangkhul	**me**	goat	Marrison 1967
Tankghul (Central)	**mi**-k-re	goat	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**mi**	goat	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**me**	goat	Brown 1837
Tusom	**ma**-k-ri	goat	Mortensen 2012:Animals.031
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	ha **meng**	goat	Marrison 1967 [a]
1.7.1.4. DEORI			
Deori/Deuri	**mẽ**	goat (as a sacrificial animal in a temple)	Jacquesson 2005
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	**mi**	sheep	Marrison 1967
	mi^{55}	sheep	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Baram	**mi** chja	goat	Kansakar 2010:94
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yamphu	**mæ•ʔ** ma	goat (n.)	Rutgers 1998:555.36

[a]The final nasals in Meithei and Deuri are perhaps due to assimilation to the syllable initial.

(19) PTB *tu SHEEP / GOAT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***tuu** SHEEP			
**Chin*	***tuu**	SHEEP	VanBik 2009:225
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**tu**	sheep	VanBik 2009:225
Tiddim	**tu**^{3}	sheep	VanBik 2009:225; Bhaskararao 1996:1809
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**tùu**	sheep	VanBik 2009:225
Lai (Hakha)	**tŭu**	sheep	VanBik 2009:225
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**du** gu	billy goat (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.037
	du gu-cā	kid-(diminutive) (goat) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.039
	du ku	goat (male, uncastrated)	Genetti 1990a
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**thu**	sheep; wool (of sheep) (?)	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5716; Nishida 1964:96-091

(20) PTani *b(r)en TAKIN (Budorcas taxicolor)

The takin (/ˈ**tɑːkɪn**/; *Budorcas taxicolor*; Tibetan: □□□□, Wylie: ra rgya), also called cattle chamois or gnu goat, is a goat-antelope found in the eastern Himalayas. Mitochondrial research shows the takin is related to sheep; its similarity to the muskox is an example of convergent evolution. The takin is the national animal of Bhutan. [*]

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ben**~ **bren**	takin (Budorcas taxicolor)	Sun 1993a:417
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**bim**-po	goat (male); billy goat	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	bin-nə	goat (female)	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**bĩ**	takin (Budorcas taxicolor); goat	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**biŋ**	goat	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ši-**bin**	takin (Budorcas taxicolor)	Sun 1993a
	si-**bin**	takin	Sun 1993b
Bokar	šə-**ben**	takin (Budorcas taxicolor)	Sun 1993a
	sə-**ben**	wild goat (yellow, mountain)	Sun 1993b
Galo	**bem** bo	takin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	so **bin**	goat	Das Gupta 1963
	so **bin** ao	kid	Das Gupta 1963
	so **bin bim**-bo	billy goat	Das Gupta 1963
	so **bin bin**-nɤ	she goat	Das Gupta 1963
	'bin lii	breeding goat (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'biŋ cuu	kid (baby goat) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ho **bin**	Capra; goat (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**bim**-pe	he goat	Simon 1976
	si **bin**	goat, sheep	Simon 1976
Nishing	**bing**-né	she goat	Das Gupta 1969
	bing-pu	billy goat	Das Gupta 1969
	so **bing**	goat	Das Gupta 1969
	so **bing**-biu	kid	Das Gupta 1969
	ya **bing**	goat	Das Gupta 1969
	ya **bing**-biu	kid	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	so-**ben**	takin (Budorcas taxicolor)	Sun 1993a
Milang	**ben**-bu	billy goat	Tayeng 1976
	ben-ɟi	she-goat	Tayeng 1976
	so-**ben**	goat	Tayeng 1976

2.1.9 Simian

[*] cited from Wikipedia: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Takin

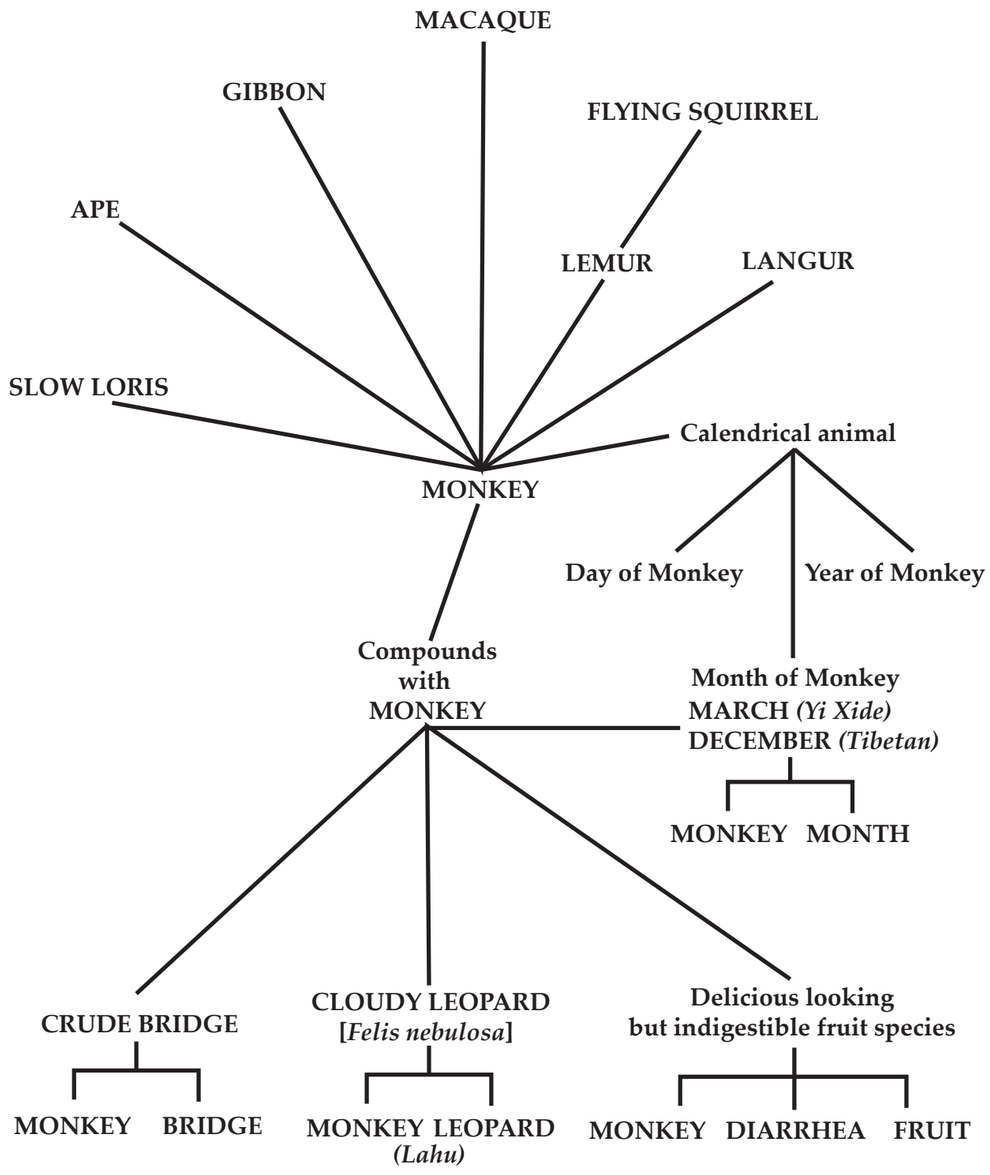


Figure 172: 2.1.9 *Simian*

(1) PTB *m $\frac{\text{y}}{\text{r}}$ uk MONKEY

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)				
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-ruk**	monkey	Matisoff 2003a:611	[a]
	***m-yuk**	monkey	Matisoff 2003a:620	
	***mruk**	monkey	Matisoff 2003a:602	[b]
1.1.2. DENG				
Digaro	tə **myu**	monkey	Benedict 1972:112n314	
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)				
Lotha Naga	**yak** so	monkey (generic); monkey	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:75	
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE				
Shangge	**yok**-vi	monkey	LaPolla 1987:210; Benedict 1972:314	
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH				
Baram	pəi **huk**	monkey	Kansakar 2010:97	
	pə **yuk**	monkey	Benedict 1972:112n314	
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN				
Tibetan (Jirel)	**moro**	monkey (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.053	
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'rhyuq**	monkey (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.053	
2.1.4. TAMANGISH				
Gurung	ti **myu**	monkey	Benedict 1972:112n314	
Manang (Gyaru)	ʈi^{2} **myɯw**^{2}	monkey	Nagano 1984:304-14	
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}tyu **mũ**	monkey	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0540	
Tamang (Sahu)	ti **mnyu**	monkey (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.053	
	ti **mnyu**	monkey	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.53	
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI				
Bahing	**moro**	monkey	Benedict 1972:112n314	
Sunwar	**moro**	monkey (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.053	
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG				
Chepang	**yuk**	monkey, Macaque (n.)	Caughley 2000	
	yuk	monkey	Caughley 1972:3.A.53; Benedict 1972:112n314	
	yuk, glay	monkey (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.053	
Kham	**yu:h**	monkey (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.053	
3.2. QIANGIC				
Ersu	**mi**^{33}	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.18	
Guiqiong	**ŋo**^{35}	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.17	
	ŋyɔ^{35}	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.16	
Lyuzu	**mi**^{33} (lɯ^{31}sɯ^{53})	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.18	
	mi^{35}	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.18	
Namuyi	**mi**^{31} (lɯ^{31}sɯ^{53})	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.46	
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***myuk**^{L} MONKEY				
**Lolo-Burmese*	***myok**^{L}	monkey	Matisoff 1972b:133	
	***myuk**^{L}	monkey	Matisoff 2003a:603	
	*s-**myuk**^{H}	monkey	Matisoff 2003a:603	[c]
6.1.1. BURMISH				
Achang (Longchuan)	**ŋ̍u**ʔ^{55}	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.28	

[a]This is a root where some of the reflexes point to a unitary cluster of ***m** + **y**, while others have evidently treated the ***m-** as a prefix, yielding forms with initial **y-**.

[b]Although *STC* sets up this root with ***-r-**, the evidence favors the reconstruction of ***-y-**. The only evidence for ***-r-** offered in *STC* is Bahing **moro** and the Intha dialect of Burmese (**mrok** ~ **mlok**) (see also Sunwar and Jirel **moro**). These Himalayish forms bear some resemblance to Nepali **mākul**, though they show no trace of a velar.

[c]This allofam, poorly attested, was reconstructed in *HPTB*:39 on the basis of Bisu **mjò**, since plain nasals generally developed into Bisu stops.

	ɲu²⁵⁵	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.41
	ɲu²⁵⁵ (ŋ̥ək⁵⁵)	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.28
Achang (Xiandao)	**ɲu²⁵⁵**	monkey; year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.29
Bola (Luxi)	**mjauʔ³¹**	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.32
	mjauʔ⁵⁵ (tɛ̃⁵⁵vɛʔ⁵⁵)	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mjɑuʔ⁴**	monkey; year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mjɑuʔ⁴⁴**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.40
Burmese (Written)	**mjɔk**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.39
	mjɔk⁴	monkey; year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.26
	myauk	monkey	Benedict 1972:112n314
	myauk-hlauŋ	loris, slow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1397
	myok	monkey (generic); monkey	Marrison 1967; Hansson 1989:510; Benedict 1976a
Intha	**mrok** / **mlok**	monkey	Benedict 1972:112n314
Langsu (Luxi)	**mjauk³¹**	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.31
	mjauk³¹ (tsəŋ³¹)	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**mjuk³¹**	monkey; year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.33
Marma	**myɔʔ**	monkey	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-14
Maru [Langsu]	**mjauk³¹**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mjuʔ²¹**	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.30
	mjuʔ²¹	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.42
	mjuʔ²¹ (tsan⁵¹)	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.30

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***myok**ᴸ	monkey	Bradley 1979b:23; Hansson 1989:510
PNL	**myok**ᴸ	monkey	CHEN Kang 1986a:161.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	a³⁵**ɲo⁵³**	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.47
	a³⁵**ɲo⁵³** (kho⁵³)	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.47
Lalo	á-**mòq**	monkey	Björverud 1994
	mo̱²	monkey	CHEN Kang 1986a:161.
Lipho	**mu̱²**	monkey	CHEN Kang 1986a:161.
Luquan	**ɲu 55c**	monkey	Matisoff 1972b:133
Nasu	**mɔ** 34 ~ nu 44	monkey	Matisoff 1972b:133
	ŋo̱⁵⁵	monkey	CHEN Kang 1986a:161.
Neisu	**ŋe¹³**	monkey	CHEN Kang 1986a:161.
Nesu	**nu̱²**	monkey	CHEN Kang 1986a:161.
Nosu	**ɲu̱⁵⁵**	monkey	CHEN Kang 1986a:161.
Nusu (Northern)	**miu̱³¹**	monkey	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**miu̱⁵³**	monkey	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**miu̱⁵³**	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.34
	miu̱⁵³khɻu̱⁵³	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ʔmiu⁵⁵**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ŋɔ¹³**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a³³**ɲu⁵⁵**	monkey	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɲu⁵⁵	monkey	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɲu⁵⁵zɯ³³	monkey	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	ᴀ³³**nu̱⁵⁵**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ᴀ⁵⁵**nu̱²¹**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.26
Yi (Nanhua)	li³³kᴀ³³bo²¹; ᴀ⁵⁵**miu̱²¹**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.24
Yi (Nanjian)	a⁵⁵**mo²¹**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.23
Yi (Weishan)	**mo²¹**	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.36
	ɑ⁵⁵**mo²¹**	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.36
Yi (Wuding)	ɑ³³**ŋu̱⁵⁵**	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.38
	ŋu̱⁵⁵	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.38
Yi (Xide)	a³³**ɲu⁵⁵**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.21
	ɲu⁵⁵	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.35
	ɲu⁵⁵ɬɯ²¹	March (monkey month)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:78.21
	ɑ³³**ɲu⁵⁵**	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**nu 55**	monkey	Matisoff 1972b:133
	nu̱²	monkey	CHEN Kang 1986a:161.
Kucong	a55 **mɔ31**	monkey	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**mɔ²¹**	monkey; year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.43
Lahu (Black)	**mɔ²¹**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.33
	mɔ̀ʔ	monkey	Matisoff 1972b:133
	mɔ̀ʔ-lɔ-twɛ́	loris, slow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1397
	mɔ̀ʔ-yìʔ	cloudy leopard [Felis nebulosa]	Matisoff 1988a:1035
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɔ⁵**	monkey; zodiac year (Monkey)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	chya2-**mye6**	monkey	Matisoff 1972b:133
Lisu (Central)	chya²-**mye⁶**	monkey	Fraser 1922
Lisu	džia-**mi 45-11**	monkey	Matisoff 1972b:133
Lisu (Northern)	**miʔ²¹**bø⁴⁴	monkey cage (for catching monkeys)	Bradley 1994
	miʔ²¹dɔ⁴⁴	monkey gong (legendery)	Bradley 1994
	miʔ²¹khɔʔ²¹	year of monkey	Bradley 1994
	miʔ²¹khɔʔ²¹su³³	born in the year of monkey	Bradley 1994
	miʔ²¹ma³³	female monkey	Bradley 1994
	miʔ²¹ma³³my⁵⁵	old female monkey; old ape	Bradley 1994
	miʔ²¹ma³³mɔ²¹	ape	Bradley 1994
	miʔ²¹ni⁴⁴	day of monkey	Bradley 1994
	miʔ²¹phy³³	male monkey	Bradley 1994
	miʔ²¹si²¹	rhesus monkey	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**miʔ²¹**thɔ²¹tɕhø³⁵	leaf monkey	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**miʔ²¹**thɔ²¹tɕhɤ³⁵	leaf monkey	Bradley 1994
	miʔ²¹ti⁵⁵	single monkey	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**miʔ²¹**ɲi⁴⁴	day of monkey	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**mi̱³¹**	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.40
	tʃɛ³⁵**mi⁴¹**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.27
Lisu (Northern)	tɕæ³⁵**miʔ²¹**	monkey (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tɕæ³⁵**miʔ²¹** a⁵⁵da²¹ ʃɿ²¹	Dance of Monkey Playing the Finger Game (name of Lisu dance)	Bradley 1994
	tɕæ³⁵**miʔ²¹** khɤ²¹ɕa³³ khɔ³	Dance of Monkey Breaking off Corn (name of Lisu dance)	Bradley 1994
	tɕæ³⁵**miʔ²¹** tɔ⁵⁵si²¹	monkey knot (Adam's apple)	Bradley 1994
	tɕæ³⁵**miʔ²¹**ma³³	female monkey	Bradley 1994
	tɕæ³⁵**miʔ²¹**pa⁵⁵	male monkey	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**no²**	monkey	CHEN Kang 1986a:161.
	nu 55	monkey	Matisoff 1972b:133
Yi (Sani)	**nu⁵⁵**	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.39
	ɒ⁴⁴**nu⁵⁵**	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	á **mjòq**	monkey	Hansson 1989:510
Akha (Thai)	á **mjòq**	monkey	Hansson 1989:510
Akha	**mjòq**	monkey	Hansson 1989:510
	mjòq-láŋ	loris, slow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1397
	myo LS	monkey	Matisoff 1972b:133
Bisu	**mjò**	monkey	Matisoff 1972b:133
Hani (Lüchun)	á **mỳq** ?	monkey	Hansson 1989:510
Hani (Dazhai)	a⁵⁵**mju̱³¹**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.31
Hani (Hu T'an)	**mju 21c**	monkey	Matisoff 1972b:133
Hani (Lüchun)	a⁵⁵**mju̱³¹**	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.41
	mju̱³¹	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.41
Hani (Pijo)	á **mỳq**	monkey	Hansson 1989:510
Hani (Caiyuan)	a⁵⁵**mɣ̱³¹**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.30
Hani (Pijo)	**mỳq**	monkey	Hansson 1989:510
Hani (Gelanghe)	a⁵⁵**mjo̱³¹**	monkey	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	al **miuvq**	monkey	Hansson 1989:510
Hani (Shuikui)	a⁵⁵**mɣ̱³¹**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.32
Hani (Khatu)	á **mjòq**	monkey	Hansson 1989:510
	mjòq	monkey	Hansson 1989:510
Hani (Mojiang)	a⁵⁵**mɣ̱³¹**	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.42
	mɣ̱³¹	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.42
Woni	**mu 33**	monkey	Matisoff 1972b:133

6.2. NAXI

Naxi (Yongning)	ʐi³¹**mu⁵⁵**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.29

7. KARENIC: ***joʔ**ᴰ MONKEY

**Karen*	***joʔ**ᴰ	monkey	Luangthongkum 2013:192
Bwe	**jo¹¹**	monkey	Luangthongkum 2013:192
Kayah	**jɔ³³**	monkey	Luangthongkum 2013:192
Kayan	**jɔʔ²¹**	monkey	Luangthongkum 2013:192
Kayan (Pekon)	**zó̱**	monkey (N.)	Manson 2010
	zó̱ bó	gibbon [lit. monkey-white] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**jə³³**	monkey	Luangthongkum 2013:192
Pa-O (Northern)	**joʔ⁴⁵**	monkey	Luangthongkum 2013:192
Pa-O	**jòʔ**	monkey	Solnit 1989
	jòʔ khjá	monkey, long-tailed k., good e	Solnit 1989
	jòʔ kúʔ ká	gibbon	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**juʔ⁴⁵**	monkey	Luangthongkum 2013:192

(2) PTB * b/g -woy-n MONKEY

Suffixal ***-n** is set up on the basis of the Chinese comparandum 猿 OC **gi̯wăn** *GSR* #256c, Mand. **yuán** 'ape'.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**b**)woy	monkey	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:256c
	***b-woy**	monkey	Matisoff 1985a:091; Matisoff 2003a:619
	***d/g-woy-n**	monkey	Matisoff 2003a:619 [a]
	***k-woy**	monkey	LaPolla 1987:210
	***woy**	monkey	Benedict 1972:314
	***woy**-(**b**)**woy**	monkey	LaPolla 1987:210

1.1.1. TANI: ***be:** MONKEY

**Tani*	***be:**	monkey	Sun 1993a:256

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**bi**-bo	monkey (leader)	Sun 1993b
	bi-dɯ	lemur	Sun 1993b
	bi-dɯʔ	monkey (tailless)	Sun 1993b
	bi-ga	monkey (leader)	Sun 1993b
	bì-sa-rɯ	monkey	Sun 1993b
	bi-sɯr	monkey (grey)	Sun 1993b
	si-**bi**	monkey	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	si-**bi**-**bi**-nə	monkey (female)	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**bi**	monkey	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**bi:**-nɯ:	monkey (female)	Sun 1993b
	bi:-pu:	monkey (male)	Sun 1993b
	bi:-wu:	monkey (young)	Sun 1993b
	ši-**bi:**	monkey	Sun 1993a
	si-**bi:**	monkey	Sun 1993b
Bokar	šə-**be**	monkey	Sun 1993a
	sə-**be**	monkey	Sun 1993b
	ɕə **be**	monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.24
Bokar Lhoba	ɕə **be**	monkey	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:128.51
Galo	**bee** dəə	macaque (n.)	GLDC 2009
	bee luu	monkey (crowd); crowd (of monkeys) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	bee tum	monkey (bachelor) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	bee ti̱i̱	monkey (crowd); crowd (of monkeys) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ho **bee**	monkey (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ho **bee**-rii	Nycticebus; loris (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ho **bee**-'koo tar	buttocks (monkey) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	so **be**	monkey	Das Gupta 1963
	'bee hor	golden langur; langur (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'be o	monkey (baby) (nce.)	GLDC 2009
	'be o-'koo li̱i̱	monkey (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009

[a] Several Northern Loloish and Burmish languages have developed dental nasals from the original ***my-**.

[a] The ***d-** prefix was set up for PTB in *HPTB* on the basis of forms like Angami **te kwi**, but this is undoubtedly of more recent origin.

Nishing	si **bi**	monkey	Das Gupta 1969
	si **bi bi**-tang	monkeys	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	sɯ **bi**	monkey	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	si-**be**	monkey	Sun 1993a
Damu	ɕy-**bø:**	monkey	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **be**	monkey	Tayeng 1976
	be ga	monkey	Tayeng 1976
	be yu	monkey	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	si-**be**	monkey	Benedict 1972:68n213
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	te **kwi**	monkey (macaque)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	te **pfi**	monkey (macaque)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	tü **kwi**	monkey (macaque)	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **kwi** tewa	monkey (generic); monkey (macaque)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***wo:y** MONKEY			
**Northern Naga*	***wo:y**	monkey	Matisoff 1985a:091; French 1983:522
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**ve**	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
Shangge	yok-**vi**	monkey	LaPolla 1987:210; Benedict 1972:314
Tangsa (Moshang)	**vi**-sil	monkey; monkey (generic)	LaPolla 1987:210; Benedict 1972:314; Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jili	tə **we**	monkey	LaPolla 1987:210; Benedict 1972:314
Jingpho	**we**	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
	woi	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
	woi ≍ we	monkey	Benedict 1972:314; LaPolla 1987:210
	woi^{33}	monkey	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	woi^{33}	monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.19
	woi^{33}	monkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:128.47
	woi^{33} (ʃă^{31}niŋ^{33})	year of the monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.19
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Kadu	**kwe**	monkey	LaPolla 1987:210; Benedict 1972:314
Sak	**kəvúɪ**	monkey	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:304-14
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hwi**	monkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:128.4
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**χwi**	monkey; year of the monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.04
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	·**wjị** (wjị)	monkey, beast, animal	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5303
4. Nungic			
Anong	ə **wc**	monkey	Benedict 1972:314
	ə **wɛ**	monkey	LaPolla 1987:210
Trung [Dulong]	a-**koi**	monkey	LaPolla 1987:210; Benedict 1972:68n213
Dulong	ɑ^{31}**gɔi**^{53}	monkey; year of the monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.20; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31}**gɔi**^{53}	monkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:128.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	a^{31} **gɔi**^{53}	monkey	LaPolla 1987:210
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	**hhe4**	monkey (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	hhe4jing1	monkey demon (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	hhe^{4}	monkey	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3
	hhe^{4}jing^{1}	monkey demon	Brassett *et al.* 2006:5.4
Tujia (Southern)	**ɣie**^{13}	monkey	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**ɣie**^{55}	monkey	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ɣɯe**^{53}	monkey; year of the monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.49; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.49
	ɣɯe^{53}	monkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:128.38

Chinese comparandum

猿 OC ***gi̯wăn**, *GSR* #256c ‘ape’; Schuessler 2007:593-4 ***wan**; Mand. **yuán**.
猨 OC ***gi̯wăn**, *GSR* #255d ‘ape’; B & S 2011: ***ɢʷan {[ɢ]ʷa[n]}**; Mand. **yuán**.

(3) PTB *ywaŋ MONKEY

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***yooŋ** MONKEY			
**Chin*	***yooŋ**	MONKEY	VanBik 2009:1217
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**zawng**	monkey	VanBik 2009:1217
Thado	**jɔ̀ŋ**	monkey	Thirumalai 1972:17
	zóoŋ	monkey	VanBik 2009:1217
	zɔ̀ŋ	monkey	Thirumalai 1972:68
Tiddim	**zo:ng**^{2}	monkey	VanBik 2009:1217; Bhaskararao 1996:2054
	zo:ng^{2} ku?^{1}	fully grown monkey	Bhaskararao 1996:2057
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**yón**	monkey	VanBik 2009:1217
Chinbon	**jo:ŋ**	monkey	So-Hartmann 1988:60
Cho (Mindat)	**yawng**	monkey	VanBik 2009:1217
Daai	**jɔ:ŋ**	monkey	So-Hartmann 1988:60; VanBik 2009:1217
Matu	**jo:ŋ**	monkey	So-Hartmann 1988:60
Ngmüün	**jɔ:ŋ**	monkey	So-Hartmann 1988:60
Nyhmoye	**jó:ŋ**	monkey	So-Hartmann 1988:60
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zôoŋ**	monkey	VanBik 2009:1217
Lai (Falam)	**zǒoŋ**	monkey	VanBik 2009:1217
Lushai [Mizo]	**zawng**	monkey (macaque)	Marrison 1967
	zâwng	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
	záwng	monkey (n.)	VanBik 2009:1217
	zawng	monkey	Bhaskararao 1996:2054
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**zỳ**	monkey	VanBik 2009:1217
1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Sorbung	**jooŋ**	monkey	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.065
	joŋ	monkey	Brown 1837
1.3. “Naga” Areal Group			
Maring	**juŋ**	monkey	Brown 1837
	yeang	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
	yung	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Rengma	te **pfwong**	monkey (huluk)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	ka **jong**	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**jong** hom	monkey (huluk)	Marrison 1967
	ta **jwang**	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
Maram	sa **yong**	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	ka **yong**	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***joŋ** MONKEY			
**Tangkhulic*	***joŋ**	monkey	Mortensen 2012:494
Champhung	k^{h}a-**jo**	monkey	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-**ju**	monkey	Mortensen 2012:Animals.065
Tangkhul	na **yong**	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
Tankghul (Central)	na-**joŋ**	monkey	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	na-**joŋ**	monkey	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	na-**joŋ**	monkey	Brown 1837
Tusom	nə-**zõ**	monkey	Mortensen 2012:Animals.065
Ukhrul	na-**joŋ**	monkey	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**yong**	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**yuo**	monkey (langur)	Marrison 1967

(4) PTB *ŋa:w APE / MONKEY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ŋa:w**	ape	Matisoff 2003a:606
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
**Kuki-Naga*	***ŋa:w**	ape, monkey	Benedict 1972:192n491
	***ŋɑ:w**	ape / monkey	Chou Fa-kao 1972:124a-b
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ŋaaw** MONKEY (long tail / grey)			
**Chin*	***ŋaaw**	MONKEY (long tail / grey)	VanBik 2009:863
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**ŋáaw**	long-tail grey monkey	VanBik 2009:863
Tiddim	**-ŋa:u**	ape (n.)	Henderson 1965
	ngau^{2}	long-tail monkey	VanBik 2009:863
	nga:u^{2}	long-tailed monkey	Bhaskararao 1996:1284
	ŋa:u	ape	Benedict 1972:192n491
	ŋɑ:u	ape	Chou Fa-kao 1972:124a-b
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**ŋǎaw**	long-tail monkey	VanBik 2009:863
Lai (Hakha)	**ŋâaw**	long-tail monkey	VanBik 2009:863
Lushai [Mizo]	**ngao**	grey monkey	Bhaskararao 1996:1284
	ngau	monkey (langur)	Marrison 1967
	ngáu	grey monkey	VanBik 2009:863
	ŋau	monkey (gray)	Benedict 1972:192n491
	ŋɑu	gray monkey	Chou Fa-kao 1972:124a-b
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***ŋa** MONKEY			
**Central Naga*	***ŋa**	MONKEY	Bruhn 2014a:III.011
**Ao*	*ʃa-**ŋa**	MONKEY	Bruhn 2014a:II.267
Ao (Chungli)	shi **ngo**	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
	si^{1}**ŋu**^{1}	monkey (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.267
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	sa **nga**	monkey (generic)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	sà **ŋa** tʃa	macaque (Assamese, pig-tailed) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Yimchungrü	shih **ngü**	langur	Kumar 1973b:86
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	te **ngo**	monkey (huluk)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	te **nuo**	monkey (huluk)	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **ngu**	monkey (langur)	Marrison 1967
Rengma	te **nyu**	monkey (macaque)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **ngu**	monkey (langur)	Marrison 1967
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ŋi̯u**	monkey	Chou Fa-kao 1972:124a-b

Chinese comparandum

禺 OC ***ŋgi̯u**, *GSR* #124a-b ‘monkey’; Schuessler 2007:617 ***ŋoh**; B & S 2011: (***ŋo-s**); Mand. **yù**.

(5) PBod *s-pra MONKEY

This morpheme has so far only been attested in Tibetan dialects.

2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**prɑ**^{55}	monkey	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**prʌ**^{53}	monkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:128.6
Cuona Menba	**pra**^{53}	monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.06
	pra^{53}wu^{31}	year of the monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rpi**	monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.05
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**piu**^{55}	monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.02
	piu^{55}	monkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:128.2
Tibetan (Written)	**spra**	monkey (generic); langur	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:430
	spre	monkey (grayish yellow brown	Jäschke 1881
	spré-mo	monkey (female)	Jäschke 1881
	spre-p‘rúg	monkey (young)	Jäschke 1881
	sprel	year of the monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.01
	spreu.?	monkey	Sun 1985c:594
	spreu.zla	December	Sun 1985c:600
	spre u	monkey (grayish yellow brown,	Jäschke 1881
	spre u-žár-mɑ	monkey (blind female)	Jäschke 1881
	spre fiu	monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.01
	spre fiu	monkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:128.1
	sprɑ	monkey (large, dark-gray, long	Jäschke 1881
	sprɑ-p‘rúg	monkey (young)	Jäschke 1881
	sprá-mo	monkey (female)	Jäschke 1881

(6) PKar * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{p}\\\mathbf{b}\end{matrix}$ **le?^{D} LEMUR (FLYING~) / FLYING SQUIRREL**

7. Karenic				
**Karen [Burling]*	***phli?**^{1}	lemur (flying~), flying squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:163	
**Karen*	***ple?**^{D}**/ble?**^{D}	lemur (flying~), flying squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:163	[a]
Bwe	**bli**^{33}	lemur (flying~), flying squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:163	

[a] [Source Note] Some Karenic languages have tone D12 which suggests *pl-, e.g. N.Pa-O, Bwe and some varieties of Sgaw. However, both N.Pwo and S.Pwo have the D3 tone which indicates a plain voiced *bl-.

Kayah	**pla**^{33}	lemur (flying~), flying squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:163
Kayaw	**ple**^{33}	lemur (flying~), flying squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:163
Pa-O (Northern)	**phliʔ**^{21}	lemur (flying~), flying squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:163
Pwo (Northern)	**phlaiʔ**^{21}	lemur (flying~), flying squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:163
Pwo (Southern)	**phlaiʔ**^{45}	lemur (flying~), flying squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:163
Sgaw (Northern)	**phliʔ**^{45}	lemur (flying~), flying squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:163
Sgaw (Southern)	**plai**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	lemur (flying~), flying squirrel	Luangthongkum 2013:163

(7) PKar *k-chVN^{A} LORIS

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***k-ch( )N^{A}**	loris	Luangthongkum 2013:177
Kayah	**chɔ**^{33}	loris	Luangthongkum 2013:177
Kayan	**chəŋ**^{53}	loris	Luangthongkum 2013:177
Kayaw	**chə**^{55}	loris	Luangthongkum 2013:177
Pwo (Northern)	**chãi**^{35}	loris	Luangthongkum 2013:177
Pwo (Southern)	**kə**^{11}**chɛ̃i**^{53}	loris	Luangthongkum 2013:177
Sgaw (Northern)	**kə**^{11}**che**^{33}	loris	Luangthongkum 2013:177
Sgaw (Southern)	**ta**^{11}**chi**^{55}	loris	Luangthongkum 2013:177

(8) PLB *ʔ-loŋ^{1} LORIS, SLOW

This is a small nocturnal arboreal primate, *Nycticebus coucang*.

A slightly different reconstruction is given in DL:1397: PLB ***s-loŋ**^{1}. The initial element is undoubtedly from the PTB "animal prefix", ult. from PTB ***sya**. (At the Proto-Loloish level, it is difficult to distinguish between prefixal ***s-** and ***ʔ-**.)

6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-loŋ**^{1}	loris	Matisoff 2003a:600
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	myauk-**hlauŋ**	loris, slow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1397
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***C-loŋ**^{1}	loris	Bradley 1979b:28
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lahu (Red)	a-**lɔ**-phɛ̂	loris, slow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1397
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**lɔ**	loris, slow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1397
	mɔ̀ʔ-**lɔ**-twɛ́	loris, slow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1397
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	mjòq-**láŋ**	loris, slow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1397
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	líŋ **lóm**	loris, slow	Solnit 1989

(9) PDeng *m $\begin{matrix}\text{i}\\\text{u}\end{matrix}$ N MONKEY

This root is confined to a few languages of the Deng group. All three nasals are attested in final position, motivating the reconstruction with a neutral capital ***-N**. The variation between medial **-i-** and **-u-** is a well-established TB pattern.

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ta:**mím**	monkey; ape	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	tɑ^{31}**min**^{53}	monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.22
	tɑ^{31}**min**^{53}	monkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:128.49
Kaman [Miju]	ɑ^{31}**muŋ**^{35}	monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.23
	ɑ^{31}**muŋ**^{35}	monkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:128.48
Idu	jɑ^{55}**mi**^{55}	monkey	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:128.50
Yidu	jɑ^{55}**mi**^{55}	monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0308.25

2.1.10 Fowl (i.e. Domestic Birds)

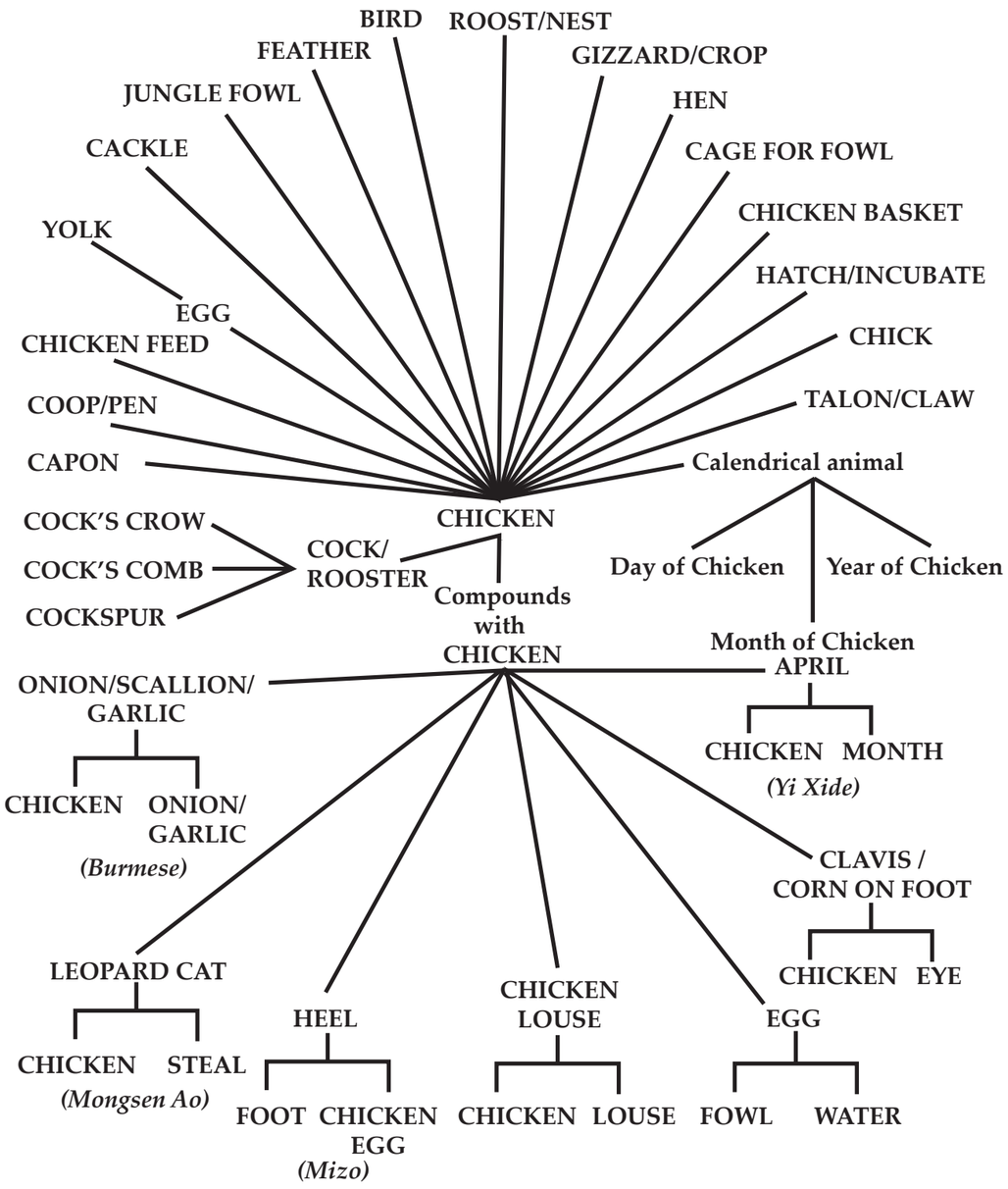


Figure 173: 2.1.10 *Fowl (i.e. Domestic Birds)*

(1) PTB *k-rak FOWL / CHICKEN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***k-rak**	fowl; chicken	Matisoff 2003a:609; LaPolla 1987:198
	***rɑk**	cock (rooster) (calendrical term)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1096a-g
1.1.1. Tani: ***rok** CHICKEN			
**Tani*	***rok**	chicken	Sun 1993a:65
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	(pa-**ro**) **ro**-nə	hen	Sun 1993b
	(pa-**ro**) **ro**-po	cock, rooster	Sun 1993b
	pa-**ro**	poultry; fowl, domestic; fowl	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	pa-**ro** (pa-ču)	chicken	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pa-**ro** a-du	cackle	Sun 1993b
	pa-**ro** a-pi	feed chicken	Sun 1993b
	pa-**ró ró**-nɯ	hen	Sun 1993b
	pa **ro** pu-wa	nest (hen's)	Sun 1993b
	pa **ro** pɯ-a	nest (hen's)	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**ro**	cage for fowl	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**rò**	hen	Sun 1993b
Bengni	pu-**ruk**	chicken	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ruk-bak	chick (with changed hair)	Sun 1993b
	ruk-jum	fence in (livestock)	Sun 1993b
	ruk-rɯː	chicken coop	Sun 1993b
Bokar	po **rok**	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.24
	po-**rok**	chicken	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	po-**rok** lə-tok	spur (of chicken)	Sun 1993b
	rok nə	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.24
	rok po	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.24
	rok fio	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.24
	rok-ho	chick	Sun 1993b
	rok-nə	hen	Sun 1993b
	rok-po	rooster	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	po **rok**	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.51
	pɯ **jak**	hen's egg	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	rok nə	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.51
	rok po	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.51
Galo	po **rok**	chicken (n.)	GLDC 2009
	po **rok rok**-po	cock	Das Gupta 1963
	po **rok** roŋ-nɤ	hen	Das Gupta 1963
	po **rok**-ape gup-nam	hatch (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	po **rok**-apɤ-pi-ɤ-nam	lay egg (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	po **rok**-lugo	cockscrow (n.)	GLDC 2009
	rog lii	breeding fowl (n.)	GLDC 2009
	rok po po-diː	chicken (male)	Das Gupta 1963
	rok sin	chicken liver; liver (chicken) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	roŋ-ne ne **ɟ**iːr	chicken (female)	Das Gupta 1963
	'**rog** mə	chicken feather; feather (chicken) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'**rog** nə	hen (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**rok** pin	chicken skin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**rok** po	rooster (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**rok** pəə	chicken feed (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	po **rok**	fowl	Simon 1976
	po **rok**-lub [-em]	cockcrow; at first dawn	Simon 1976

	po **rok**-ro	chick	Simon 1976
	rok-pe	cock	Simon 1976
	roŋ-ne	hen	Simon 1976
Nishing	po **rok**	cock	Das Gupta 1969
	po **rok**-ru	chicken	Das Gupta 1969
	pu **ruk**	cock	Das Gupta 1969
	pu **ruk** rok-tang	cocks	Das Gupta 1969
	rok-né	hen	Das Gupta 1969
	rok-pu	cock	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	po **rok** puttor	basket for keeping hen	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	pə-**rok**	chicken	Sun 1993a
Damu	pa-**rok**	chicken	Sun 1993b
	rok-*ɕa:	chicken (meat)	Sun 1993b
	rok-mi:	feather	Sun 1993b
	rok-nə	hen	Sun 1993b
	rok-po	rooster	Sun 1993b
	rok-puɯ	egg	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	po-**rok**	chicken	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**krɛ́**-sît	egg	Weidert 1987:1190
	kɹai^{55}sit^{55}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.48
	kɹai^{35}pit^{55}	duck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.23
	kɹai^{35}pit^{55}	duck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:138.48
	kɹai^{55}	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.23
	kɹai^{55}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.48
	kɹai^{55} sit^{55}	egg	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kɹai^{55}buɯi^{35}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.23
	kɹai^{55}nauŋ^{35}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.23
	kɹai^{55}nauŋ^{35}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.48
	kɹai^{55}sit^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.23
	kɹai^{55}sa^{55}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.23
	kɹai^{55}a^{31}pǎi^{35}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.23
	kɹai^{55}a^{31}pǎi^{35}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.48
	than^{53}**kɹai**^{55}sit^{55}	lay (egg)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:785.48
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Mkaang	**ɣa**	bird	So-Hartmann 1988:43
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	wa **ro**	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	wa **ru**	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	a **roi** ghum	egg	Marrison 1967
	ram **roi**	bird	Marrison 1967
	roi	bird	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**roi** dui	egg	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**nrui** bum	egg	Marrison 1967
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**grok** pu	cock	Allen 1975
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**rɑ**^{55}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.18
	rɑ^{55}ma^{55}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.18
	rɑ^{55}phɛ^{55}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.18
	xuɑi^{55}	bird	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:142.18
	xuɑi^{55}ntʂhɛ^{55}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.18
Lyuzu	bʐe^{33}**xua**^{53}	bird (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.18
	xua^{33}ntʂhu^{53}	nest (bird) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.18
	ɣua^{33}gi^{53}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.18
	ɣua^{33}ju^{53}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.18
	ɣua^{33}mæ^{53}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.18
	ɣua^{33}phe^{53}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.18
	ɣua^{33}phe^{53} ŋɯ^{53}ŋɯ^{53}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.18
	ɣua^{33}tɕu^{53}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.18
	ɣua^{35}	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.18
Muya	u^{55}**ɣi**^{33}	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.15
	u^{55}**ɣi**^{33} tɕue^{24}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.15
Muya [Minyak]	u^{53}**ɣi**^{35}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ʐo**^{35}	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.10
	ʐo^{11}tsø^{55}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.10
	ʐo^{11}tɕĩ^{35}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.10
	ʐə^{11}phy^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.10
	ʐɑ^{11}mɑ^{55}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.10
	ʐɑ^{11}qu^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʐa**^{13}qu^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.09
	ʐo^{55}	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.09
	ʐo^{55}tshã^{55}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.09
	ʐɑ^{13}ma^{55}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.09
	ʐɑ^{13}pu^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.09
	ʐɑ^{13}wu^{55}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʐo**^{55}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.11
	ʐɑ^{13}mɑ^{55}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.11
	ʐɑ^{13}pu^{55}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ra**^{35}ma^{53}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.10
	ra^{35}pu^{53}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.10
	ro^{53}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.10
	rɐ^{35} ku^{55}	egg	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.10
Queyu (Xinlong)	**rdʐa**^{13}bʐa^{55}	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.13
	rdʐa^{13}bʐa^{55}pɕe^{13}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.13
Xumi	**ra**^{33}khuɛ^{53}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.17
	ra^{33}mi^{53}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.17
	ra^{33}ɬũ^{53}	feather / plume (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.17
	ra^{33}ʁu^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.17
	ra^{35}	chicken; year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.17; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.17
	ra^{55}phɛ^{33}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.17
	ra^{55}tsɻ^{33}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.17
	rɛ^{33} ʁo^{35}	egg	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.20
	rɛ̃^{33}mi^{55}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.20
	rɛ̃^{35}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.20
	rɛ̃^{55}phɐ^{33}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**ɣra**	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.12
	ɣra ru re	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ʁo** ʒja	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.14
	ʐa vɛ	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Caodeng	pə-**ɣe**	fowl	Sun 1997a
	pə-**ɣe**-p^{h}o	rooster	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Northern)	pə **ɣa** ndzuru	talon (of bird)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:7.4.4
	pə **ɣa** rme	feather (of bird)	Sun Hongkai 1991k:8.1.5
Caodeng	p **ɣe**	bird	Sun 1997a
	rgjɐ-pə-**ɣe**	chicken	Sun 1997a
	rgjɐ-p **ɣeʔ**-lɔʔ	chicken coop	Sun 1997a
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	**ra3**	hen (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ra3gu3cuo4	hen coop (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ra3lie3	hen's egg (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ra3ni3ga3	hen (female) (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ra3si3	chicken meat (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ra^{3}	chicken	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2
	ra^{3}gu^{3}cuo^{4}	hen coop	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2
	ra^{3}lie^{3}	egg	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2
	ra^{3}ni^{3}ga^{3}	hen	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.2
	ra^{3}si^{3}	chicken meat	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.4
Tujia	**za**^{21}pa^{21}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.49
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***k-rak**	chicken; fowl	Matisoff 1983:74; Matisoff 1972b:184
	***k-rak**^{H}	fowl / chicken	Matisoff 2003a:609
6.1.1. Burmish			
**Burmese*	***kr**	fowl	Okell 1971
Achang (Lianghe)	**tɕɑ**^{31}	chicken	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tɕɑ^{31}tsɯŋ^{55}	hen	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**kuaʔ**^{55}kok^{55}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.28
	kʐaʔ^{55} (ŋ̩ək^{55})	year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.28
	kʐuaʔ^{55}	chicken	LaPolla 1987:198
	kʐuaʔ^{55}	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.28
	kʐuaʔ^{55}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.41
	kʐuaʔ^{55}phʐuaʔ^{31}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.41
	kʐuaʔ^{55}tseŋ^{35}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.28
	kʐuaʔ^{55}tseŋ^{55}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.41
	kʐuaʔ^{55}tsɔ^{31}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.28
Achang (Luxi)	**kjaʔ**^{31}	chicken	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:198
	kjaʔ^{31}miʔ^{31}	hen	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	kjaʔ^{31}phaʔ^{55}	rooster	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**kʐɔʔ**^{55}	chicken; year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.29; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.29
	kʐɔʔ^{55} u^{31}	chicken egg	Dai Qingxia 1989f:574
	kʐɔʔ^{55}koʔ^{35}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.29
	kʐɔʔ^{55}phɔ^{31}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.29
	kʐɔʔ^{55}tsɔ^{31}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.29
	kʐɔʔ^{55}tʂɯŋ^{55}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.29
Arakanese	**kro'**	fowl	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**ɣaʔ**^{31} (tɛ̃^{55}vɛʔ^{55})	year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.32
Bola	**ɣaʔ**^{31} a̲p^{55}	incubate	Dai Qingxia 1989g:1834
	ɣaʔ^{31} tʃaʔ^{31} pjɛn^{31}	cockscomb	Dai Qingxia 1989g:346
	ɣaʔ^{31} u̲^{35}	chicken egg	Dai Qingxia 1989g:574
Bola (Luxi)	**ɣaʔ**^{31}kju̲^{35}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.32
	ɣaʔ^{31}pha^{35}	chicken; cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.32; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.32
	ɣaʔ^{31}tʃaʔ^{31}pjɛn^{31}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕɛʔ**^{4}	chicken; year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.27; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.27
	tɕɛʔ^{4}ẽ^{22}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.27
	tɕɛʔ^{4}mji^{55}pauʔ^{4}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.27
	tɕɛʔ^{4}mauʔ^{4}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.27
	tɕɛʔ^{4}mɑ^{53}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.27
	tɕɛʔ^{4}tθũ^{22}meʔ^{4}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.27
	tɕɛʔ^{4}tθũ^{22}phju^{22}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**ce'**	fowl	Okell 1971
	ce' thun	onion	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕɛʔ**^{44}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.40

	tɕɛʔ^{44}mɑ^{53}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.40
	tɕɛʔ^{44}phɑ^{53}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.40
	tɕɛʔ^{44}tθũ^{22}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.40
	tɕɛʔ^{44}tθũ^{22}phju^{22}	garlic	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:210.40
Burmese (Written)	**krak**	fowl	Matisoff 1983:74
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**krak**	fowl	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**krak**	fowl	Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:198; Benedict 1972:107n301
	krak'swan	onion	Okell 1971
	krak-swan	onion; garlic	Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:99
	krak-tak	cockspur (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:601
	krak kale:	chicken	Marrison 1967
	krak ma	hen	Marrison 1967
	krak pha	cock	Marrison 1967
	krak swan	onion	Marrison 1967
	krak swan phrū	garlic	Marrison 1967
	krak u'	hen's egg	Marrison 1967
	krûi-**kra**	crane (bird) (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	krɑk	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.39
	krɑk mɑ^{1}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.39
	krɑk phɑ^{1}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.39
	krɑk thon^{2}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.39
	krɑk-swɑn	onion	Chou Fa-kao 1972:175b
	krɑk^{4}	chicken; year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.26; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.26
	krɑk^{4} tθon^{2} mrit^{4}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.26
	krɑk^{4}im^{2}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.26
	krɑk^{4}mri^{3}pɔk^{4}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.26
	krɑk^{4}mɔk^{4}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.26
	krɑk^{4}mɑ^{1}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.26
	krɑk^{4}pha^{1}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.26
	krɑk^{4} tθon^{2} phru^{2}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.26
	krɑk thon^{2} phru^{2}	garlic	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:210.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**ɣoʔ^{31}**nau^{55}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.31
	ɣɔ^{31}tsaŋ^{31}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.31
	ɣɔʔ^{31}	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.31
	ɣɔʔ^{31} (tsəŋ^{31})	year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.31
	ɣɔʔ^{31}khap^{55}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.31
	ɣɔʔ^{31}phɔ^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.31
Lashi	**kjɔʔ^{31}** pjɛn^{33}	comb (of rooster)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:2.9
Leqi (Luxi)	**kjoʔ^{31}**pho^{53}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.33
	kjɔʔ^{31}	year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.33
	kjɔʔ^{31}khɔm^{33}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.33
	kjɔʔ^{31}nu^{55}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.33
	kjɔʔ^{31}pho^{53}	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.33
	kjɔʔ^{31}tsəŋ^{31}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.33
Marma	**kraʔ**	fowl / chicken	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:304-7
	kraʔ θwaiŋ	onion	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:73-1
	kraʔ θwaiŋ phru	garlic	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:73-1a
Maru [Langsu]	**rɔ**	chicken; fowl	LaPolla 1987:198; Benedict 1972:107n301
	tʃɔʔ^{31} pjɛn^{35}	comb (of rooster)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:2.9 [a]
	ɣɔʔ^{31}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.43
	ɣɔʔ^{31} əm^{31} phɛ̃^{35}	gizzard / crop of bird	Dai Qingxia 1989l:4.2.4
	ɣɔʔ^{31}phɔ^{55}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.43
	ɣɔʔ^{31}tsaŋ^{31}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**voʔ**	chicken	LaPolla 1987:198
	voʔ^{21}	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.30
	voʔ^{21}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.42
	voʔ^{21} (tsan^{51})	year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.30
	voʔ^{21}khup^{55}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.30
	voʔ^{21}mji̱^{55}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.30
	voʔ^{21}mji̱^{55}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.42
	voʔ^{21}pho^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.30
	voʔ^{21}pho^{55}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.42
	voʔ^{21}tso^{21}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.30
	voʔ^{21}tʃo^{21}pan^{21}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.30

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***k-rak^{H}**	chicken	Bradley 1979b:50
Lolopho	**zɐ^{44}** kɤ^{44}	comb (of rooster)	Dai Qingxia 1989n:2.9
PNL	**k-rak^{H}**	chicken	Chen Kang 1986a:63.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**ɣa^{53}**	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.47
	ɣa^{53} (kho^{53})	year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.47
	ɣa^{53} tso^{35} to^{31}	comb (of rooster)	Dai Qingxia 1989c:2.9
	ɣa^{53} woi^{35} mɛ^{33}	gizzard / crop of bird	Dai Qingxia 1989c:4.2.4
	ɣa^{53}ma^{33}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.47
	ɣa^{53}pa^{55}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.47
	ɣa^{53}xɤ^{33}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.47
	ɣa^{53}za^{31}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.47
	ɣ^{53}tso^{35}to^{31}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.47
Lalo	á-**jiq**-kjé	cock's comb	Björverud 1994
	ɑ^{55} **ʑɪ̱^{33}** ke^{55}	comb (of rooster)	Chen Kang 1986b:2.9
	ʑi̱^{33}	chicken	Chen Kang 1986a:63.
Lipho	**ʑɐ̱^{33}**	chicken	Chen Kang 1986a:63.
	ʑɐ̱^{33}kɯ^{33}	comb(of rooster)	Chen Kang 1986b:2.9
Luquan	**ɣa** 22s ~ ja 33	chicken / fowl	Matisoff 1972b:184
Nasu	**ɣa 32s**	chicken / fowl	Matisoff 1972b:184
	ɣa^{2}	chicken	Chen Kang 1986a:63.
	ɣa̱^{21} tɕe^{33}	comb (of rooster)	Chen Kang 1986b:2.9
Neisu	**ɣa^{33}**	chicken	Chen Kang 1986a:63.
Nesu	**ʑɐ̱^{33}**	chicken	Chen Kang 1986a:63.
	ʑ^{33} tɕɪ^{55} bu^{33}	comb (of rooster)	Chen Kang 1986b:2.9
Nosu	**va^{4}**	chicken	Chen Kang 1986a:63.
Nusu (Southern)	**hɔ̃^{53}**	bird	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**hɑ̃^{53}**	bird	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:142.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**xã^{31}** ɱe^{55}	feathers	Dai Qingxia 1989o:348.
Nusu (Central)	**ɣɹa̱^{53}**	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.34
	ɣɹa̱^{53} bɔ^{33}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.34
	ɣɹa̱^{53}khɹu̱^{53}	year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.34
	ɣɹa̱^{53}mi^{31}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.34
	ɣɹa̱^{53}pha^{31}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.34
	ɣɹa̱^{53}viɚ^{55}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.34
	ɣɹa̱^{53}za^{55}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ɣˈa̱^{31}** dạ^{31}	cockscomb	Dai Qingxia 1989o:346.
Nusu (Central)	**ɣˈa̱^{53}** viɚ^{55}	cockscomb	Dai Qingxia 1989p:346.
Nusu (Southern)	**ɹɔ̱^{53}**	chicken	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	ɹɔ̱^{53}mi^{31}	hen	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	ɹɔ̱^{53}phɔ̱^{31}	rooster	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɹɑ^{31}**ʔu^{31}	egg	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.45
	ɹɑ̱^{31}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.45
Nusu (Central)	**ɹɑ̱^{31}** ʔu^{31}	egg	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɹɑ̱^{31}**mi^{31}ɑ^{31}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.45
	ɹɑ̱^{31}phɑ^{31}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ɹɑ̱^{53}**	chicken	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	ɹɑ̱^{53}mi^{55}	hen	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	ɹɑ̱^{53}phɑ^{55}	rooster	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ɣa^{33}**	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.22
	ɣa^{33}mo^{21}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.22
	ɣa^{33}phu^{33}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**va^{33}**	chicken	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	va^{33}hi^{55}	gizzard, chicken	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	va^{33}ma^{55}	hen	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	va^{33}pu^{33}	rooster	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	va^{33}ʂɯ^{55}	rooster, neutered	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑɛ^{33}	chicken	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ʑɐ̱^{33}**; ɣo^{21}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.25
	ʑɐ̱^{33}mo^{33}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ʑɐ̱^{33}**	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.26
	ʑɐ̱^{33}mo^{21}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ʑɐ̱^{33}**	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.24
	ʑɐ̱^{33}mo^{33}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.24
	ʑi̱^{33}	chicken; year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.37; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.37
	ʑi̱^{33}bɯ^{33}xi^{33}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.37
	ʑi̱^{33}kɯ^{21}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.37
	ʑi̱^{33}mo^{33}ge^{33}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.37
	ʑi̱^{33}zo^{21}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.37
Yi (Nanjian)	a^{55}**ʑi̱^{33}**	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.23
	a^{55}**ʑi̱^{33}**ma^{33}ko^{33}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.23
Yi (Weishan)	ɑ^{55}**ʑi̱^{33}** mɑ^{33}ko^{33}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.36
	ɑ^{55}**ʑɪ̱^{33}**	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.36
	ɑ^{55}**ʑɪ̱^{33}**by^{55}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.36
	ɑ^{55}**ʑɪ̱^{33}**cɛ^{55}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.36
	ɑ^{55}**ʑɪ̱^{33}**zɑ^{21}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.36
	ʑɪ̱^{33}	year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ɣɑ̱^{2}**	chicken; year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.38; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.38
	ɣɑ̱^{2}mu̱^{2}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.38
	ɣɑ̱^{2}pʏ^{33}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.38
	ɣɑ̱^{2}tɕe^{33}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.38
	ɣɑ̱^{2}zu^{33}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.38
	ɤɑ̱^{2}bɤ^{33}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.38
Yi (Xide)	**he^{33}**ts$\bar{ɭ}^{33}$	bird (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.35
	he^{33}ts$\bar{ɭ}^{33}$	bird	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:142.21
	he^{33}ts$\bar{ɭ}^{33}$khɯ^{34}po^{33}	nest (bird) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.35
	he^{33} ts$\bar{ɭ}$ khɯ^{44} khɯ^{33}	nest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:368.21
	va^{33}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.21
	va^{33}-bu^{21}-ɬu^{55}	chicken crop	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	va^{33}-hi^{55}	chicken gizzard	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	va^{33}-ndzu^{21}	cockscomb	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	va^{33}-ŋɔ^{33} ndi^{55}	chicken breast	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	va^{33}-ɕl^{33}-do^{55}	cockspur	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	va^{33}-ɕl^{34}-si^{33}	chicken foot	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	va^{33}ma^{55}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.21
	va^{33}pu^{33}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.21
	va^{55}ɬɯ^{21}	April (chicken month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:79.21
	vɑ^{33}	chicken; year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.35
	vɑ^{33}khɯ^{33}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.35
	vɑ^{33}mɑ^{55}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.35
	vɑ^{33}ndzu^{21}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.35
	vɑ^{33}pu^{33}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.35

[a] Maru **tʃɔʔ^{31}** perhaps a word-family variant of forms with **ɣ-**.

	vɑ^{33}tsɿ̄^{33}	chick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**je** 44	chicken / fowl	Matisoff 1972b:184
	ʑe̱^{33}	chicken	CHEN Kang 1986a:63.
	ʑe̱^{33} o^{55} kɯ^{22}	comb (of rooster)	LUO Meizhen 1990:2.9
Jinuo	**ja**^{42}	chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.44
	ja^{42}	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.34
	ja^{42}mɔ^{33}	hen (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.44
	ja^{42}pə^{44}	pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.44
	ja^{42}tɕhi^{42}	chick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**jɑ**^{42}	chicken	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	jɑ^{42}mɔ^{33}	hen	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**jɑ**^{42}mɔ^{44}	hen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:137.34
Kucong	**ɣa33**	chicken	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	ɣa33 v33	(chicken) egg	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**g̈âʔ**	chicken	LaPolla 1987:198
	ɣâʔ	fowl	Benedict 1972:107n301
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɣɑ**^{54}	chicken; year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.43
	ɣɑ^{54}mɑ^{33}qu^{33}	hen (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.43
	ɣɑ^{54}nɑ^{11}dzi^{33}	cockscomb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.43
	ɣɑ^{54}phu^{33}qɑ^{11}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.43
	ɣɑ^{54}phɯ^{33}tɛ^{33}	pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.43
	ɣɑ^{54}ɛ^{35}	chick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.43
Lahu (Black)	**g̈âʔ**-mu cîʔ ve	pluck a chicken's feathers	Matisoff 1985a:033
	g̈âʔ-phu-šɔ̄	uncastrated cock	Matisoff 1988a:1225
	g̈âʔ-nā-jɨ	cockscomb (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1121
	ɣâʔ	chicken / fowl	Matisoff 1972b:184
	ɣaʔ^{54} na^{31} bzɿ^{33}	cockscomb	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣʌ^{54}	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.33
	ɣʌ^{54}mʌ^{33}qu^{33}	hen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:137.33
	ɣʌ^{54}pʌ^{11}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ɣaʔ**^{54} na^{31} dzɿ^{33}	cockscomb	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣa^{6}	zodiac year (Cock); chicken	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣa^{6}phy̩^{1}	rooster	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣa^{6}pɤ^{5}	hen	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	a-**ɯa** 55-55	chicken / fowl	Matisoff 1972b:184
	a1-**rgha1**	chicken / fowl	Matisoff 1972b:184
Lisu (Central)	a^{1}-**rgha**^{1}	fowl	Fraser 1922
	a^{1}-**rgha**^{1} hpa^{5}	cock	Fraser 1922
	a^{1}-**rgha**^{1}-ma^{3}	hen	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55}	chicken (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55} kɔ^{55}tɔ^{55}	chicken feather-hat (feather going upwards on top of chicken's head)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55} ma^{33}ti^{33}	big hen	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55} mja^{33}sɤ^{21}	chicken's eye; clavus / corn	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55} phy^{33}ti^{33}	big rooster; cock	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55} thi^{21} ma^{33}	bird	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55} tɕhi^{33}dæʔ^{21}	distance that chickens will	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55} tɕhi^{33}ni^{33}	chicken claw	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55} tɕhi^{33}sø^{21}	claws of chicken feet	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55} tɕhi^{33}tɔ^{35}	chicken gizzard	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55} tɕhi^{33}ɲi^{33}	chicken claw	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55}fu^{33}	chicken egg	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55}kɔ^{33}	cockscomb	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55}kɔ^{55}	red jungle fowl, Gallus gallus (can be found in forests in west and south of Yunnan province)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55}lu^{55}	crop of chicken	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55}ma^{33}	hen	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55}my^{33}	chicken feather	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55}tshɤ^{33}	chicken fat	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55}tshɤ^{33} my^{33}	chicken fat mushroom	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**ɣa**^{55}za^{21}	small chicken; chick	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}	chicken (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}bø^{44}	chicken coop	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}fu^{33}	chicken egg	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}fu^{33} kɔ^{55}gɔ^{21}	empty shell of chicken egg	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}fu^{33}gɔ^{21}	bad egg; rotten egg	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}fu^{33}kɔ^{55}	shell of chicken egg	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}fu^{33}phu^{33}	egg white	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}fu^{33}ʃɿ^{33}	egg yolk	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}hwa^{21}næ^{33}	black-boned chicken	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}hɔ^{35}di^{33}	small chicken (smallest in one brood)	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}hɤ^{33}	chicken louse	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}kha^{35}	depression in nest where the egg is laid	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}khɔ^{21}mɤ^{21}	domesticated chicken	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}kɔ^{55}	wild chicken (with wild nature)	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}kɔ^{55}tɔ^{55}	chicken crest	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}lɔ^{33}tɔ^{33}	abnormal chicken (e.g. hens cackle and roosters crow at night, etc.)	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}ma^{33}	hen	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}ma^{33}lø^{33}	hen which has never laid eggs	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}ma^{33}my^{55}	hen laying eggs	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}ma^{33}ti^{33}	big hen	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}mɔ^{21}	old hen	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}na^{33}hɤ^{33}	chicken pest	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}ni^{44}	day of the rooster (first	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}pha^{21}	cock	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}phu^{33}	cock; rooster; white chicken	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}phu^{33}ti^{33}	big rooster	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}vu^{21}tʃhu^{33}	large sized chicken	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}vu^{55}	first chicken hatched out in a brood	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}vu^{55}si^{21}	blood of the first chicken in a brood	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ɣa**^{33}ɲi^{44}	day of the rooster (first	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**ɣa**^{33}ɕa^{55}	chicken coop; chicken stand	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ɣɑ**^{33}phu^{44}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.27
	ɣɑ̱^{33}	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.40
Lisu (Nujiang)	**ɣɑ̱**^{44} nɑ^{55}	caponized cock	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**ɣɑ**^{44}mɑ^{44}	hen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:137.27
Lisu (Nujiang)	ɑ^{55} **ɣɑ**^{55} ko̱^{44}	cockscomb	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	ɑ^{55}**ɣɑ**^{55}	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.27
Sani [Nyi]	**je 44**	chicken / fowl	Matisoff 1972b:184
Yi (Sani)	**je**^{44}	chicken; year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.39; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.39
Sani [Nyi]	**je**^{44} qɤ^{55}	cockscomb	MA Xueliang 1989:332.4
	je^{44} ɬɑ^{33} mɑ^{33}	egg (chicken)	MA Xueliang 1989:340.1
	je^{44} ɬɑ^{33} ɬɿ^{33}	egg white	MA Xueliang 1989:340.3
Yi (Sani)	**je**^{44}bɤ^{33}	pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.39
	je^{44}phæ^{11}	hen (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.39
	je^{44}qɤ^{55}	cockscomb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.39
	je^{44}zɒ^{11}	chick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ʑe**^{33} pɪ^{33} lɪ^{33}	chicken crop	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:250.1
	ʑe^{33} qɤ^{33}	cockscomb; cock's comb	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:251.3; WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:300.1
	ʑe^{33} tʂʰɿ^{21}	chicken shit	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:251.2
	ʑe^{33} ɬɑ^{33} mɑ^{33}	chicken egg	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:250.4
	ʑe^{44}	chicken	CHEN Kang 1986a:63.

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	à-**xha**	chicken	Hansson 1989:92
Akha (Thai)	**ja**-gý	chicken nest	Hansson 1989:303
	ja-tjiq	chicken nest; chicken	Hansson 1989:303; Hansson 1989:92
	ja-uq	egg	Hansson 1989:493
Akha (Yunnan)	**xha** gý	chicken nest	Hansson 1989:303
Akha	**ya** cî da‸	spur on a cock/rooster (n.)	Lewis 1989:642
	ya M	chicken / fowl	Matisoff 1972b:184
	ya uˆ uˆ eu	chicken's egg (v.)	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	**ha** jàʔ aŋ hmɨ̀	feather	Beaudouin 1988:2
	hja	chicken	Bradley 199x
	hjā	chicken / fowl	Matisoff 1972b:184
	hja pa tà	spur (animal) (n.)	Beaudouin 1988:4
	hja tu bɔ́k	comb (rooster)	Beaudouin 1988:1
Hani (Lüchun)	à-**xha**	chicken	Hansson 1989:92
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{31}**xa**^{33}	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.31
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**xa 33**	chicken / fowl	Matisoff 1972b:184
Hani (Dazhai)	**xa**^{33}ma^{33}	hen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:137.31
	xa^{33}phø^{55}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.31
	xa^{33}n̥ɔ^{55}	feather (chicken)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Lüchun)	**xha** gý	chicken nest	Hansson 1989:303
	a^{31}**xa**^{33}	chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.41
	xa^{33}	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.41
	xa^{33}da̱^{31}	claw / talon (chicken's rear claws) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.41
	xa^{33}ku̱^{33}	pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.41
	xa^{33}ma^{33}	hen (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.41
	xa^{33}phø^{55}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.41
	xa^{33}za^{31}	chick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.41
Hani (Pijo)	**ja**	chicken	Hansson 1989:92
	ja sjhí	chicken nest	Hansson 1989:303
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ja̱**^{33}	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.30
	ja̱^{33}mɔ^{33}	hen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:137.30
	ja̱^{33}phi^{55}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ja**^{33}ma^{33}	hen	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ja^{33}phø^{55}	rooster	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ja^{33}tɕi̱^{33}	chicken	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	a-**qha**	chicken	Hansson 1989:92
Hani (Shuikui)	a^{31}**xa**^{33}	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.32
	xa^{33}mɔ^{33}	hen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:137.32
	xa^{33}phi^{55}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.32
	xɔ^{31}tʃɿ^{55}	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.32
Hani (Khatu)	**xha**	chicken	Hansson 1989:92
	xha khý	chicken nest	Hansson 1989:303
	xha tjhí	chicken nest	Hansson 1989:303
Hani (Mojiang)	a^{31}**xa**^{33}	chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.42
	xa^{33}	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.42
	xa^{33}mɔ^{33}	hen (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.42
	xa^{33}zɔ^{31}	chick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.42
	xa^{33}ʒu^{55}	pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.42
	xɔ^{31}tʃɿ^{55}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.42
	χa^{33}ta^{31}	claw / talon (chicken's rear claws) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0307.42
Côông [Phunoi]	(**hja**) tu bot^{55}	comb (of rooster)	Ferlus 1991:2.9
	hə-ʔuʔ	egg	Matisoff 1987
	hə^{33} ʔuʔ^{33}	egg	Bradley 1977
Pyen	**hai33** ja31	bird	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:022001
	hai33 ja31 pam31	bird's nest	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:060006
Sila	**a̰33**	chicken	KATO Takashi 2008:112
Woni	**xa 55**	chicken / fowl	Matisoff 1972b:184

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**ʑɛ**^{33}kɨ^{33}	cockscomb	Pelkey 2011:166
Southern Muji	**χa**^{33}(-mjɛ^{55})	bird	Pelkey 2011:113
Phola	**xɑ**^{52}	bird	Pelkey 2011:113
	ɣɑ^{33}	chicken	Pelkey 2011:108
	ɣɑ^{33}u^{55}	chicken egg	Pelkey 2011:159
	ɣɑ^{33}ʥɔ^{31}nɑ^{55}	cockscomb	Pelkey 2011:166
Phu Kha	**haj**^{31} mjɛʔ^{35}	bird	Fried 2000
Phuza	**ʑi**^{55}ʥɯ^{13}	cockscomb	Pelkey 2011:166

(2) PTB *daw BIRD

STC p.192 expressed uncertainty about the rhyme of this etymon, saying it was either ***-aw** or ***-ow**. *STC* and *HPTB* p. 227 wrongly assumed that this root was confined to Bodo-Garo.

STC loc. cit. suggested an association with Proto-Kuki-Chin ***m-tsow** FLY (n.).

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

*Sino-Tibetan	*tow~dow	bird	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1116a
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*daw or dow	bird	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:586
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *ta BIRD			
*Tangkhulic	*ta	bird	Mortensen 2012:714
Champhung	ŋu-t^{h}e	bird	Brown 1837
Tankghul (Central)	o-ta	bird	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-ta	bird	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔin-ti	bird	Mortensen 2012:Animals.120
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
*Bodo-Garo	*dauʔ	bird	Burling 1959:440
	*dauʔ-dəi	egg	Burling 1959:441
	*d [a,o] w	bird	Benedict 1972:192n491
	*d [ɑ,o] w	bird	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1116a
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	dag dáw	bird (kind of, black)	Bhat 1968
	dau-leng-a	eagle	Coblin 1986:76
	dau-leŋ-a	eagle	Benedict 1972:333
	dauʔ-dəi	egg	Matisoff 1987
	dáw	bird	Bhat 1968
	dáw apa	bird (kind of, small crying)	Bhat 1968
	dáw beŋgi	bird (kind of, black, living in thorny bamboo thic	Bhat 1968
	dáw diŋgla	bird (kind of)	Bhat 1968
	dáw dublá	bird (kind of, flying in groups)	Bhat 1968
	dáw dugru	bird (kind of, brown , living in bushes or thorny	Bhat 1968
	dáw gedeb	bird (kind of, aquatic)	Bhat 1968
	dáw guldub	bird (kind of, aquatic)	Bhat 1968
	dáw gurkya	bird (kind of)	Bhat 1968
	dáw hotté	bird (kind of, spotted, crying hotté hotté)	Bhat 1968
	dáw hudu	bird (kind of big)	Bhat 1968
	dáw kamzuŋ	bird (kind of)	Bhat 1968
	dáw kuká	bird (kind of)	Bhat 1968
	dáw kulúd	woodpecker (kind of, small, green)	Bhat 1968
	dáw kurka	eagle (kind of)	Bhat 1968
	dáw kutlú	woodpecker (kind of, small green)	Bhat 1968
	dáw məyna	bird (kind of)	Bhat 1968
	dáw pagla	bird (kind of)	Bhat 1968
	dáw perensu	bird (kind of, considered to be the king of all bi	Bhat 1968
	dáw piləw	bird (kind of, snake-eating)	Bhat 1968
	dáw pisá	chicken	Bhat 1968
	dáw rani	bird (kind of, yellow)	Bhat 1968
	dáw rena	bird (kind of, small)	Bhat 1968
	dáw siki	bird (kind of, crying siki siki)	Bhat 1968
	dáw soka	sparrow (house)	Bhat 1968
	dáw tippə́w	bird (kind of, small, sitting by the side of water	Bhat 1968
	dáw topi	bird, kind of small singing	Bhat 1968
	daw bú zoglá	crane (kind of, big)	Bhat 1968
	daw ká donda	bird (kind of, big)	Bhat 1968
	daw kázan	crow (kind of, large)	Bhat 1968
	daw kúka	bird (kind of, small brown)	Bhat 1968
	daw ma	big bird	Bhat 1968
	daw má	bird (big)	Bhat 1968
	daw másar	fowl (kind of, wild)	Bhat 1968
	daw ray	bird (kind of, talking)	Bhat 1968
	daw ráy məkrí	embroidery (kind of, like bird)	Bhat 1968
	daw ríŋgaw	bird (kind of, bad omen)	Bhat 1968
	daw sá	bird (small)	Bhat 1968
	daw síŋdaw	bird (kind of, singing)	Bhat 1968
	daw srí gubəy	sparrow (kind of, big, house)	Bhat 1968
	daw sri habraŋ	sparrow (kind of, big)	Bhat 1968
	daw tíb	bird (kind of, very small)	Bhat 1968
	daw zlá daw	cock	Bhat 1968
	dɑu-leŋ-ɑ	eagle	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:890c
	guldub dáw	bird (kind of)	Bhat 1968
	kanzúŋ dáw	bird (kind of, with a comb-like thing on its head)	Bhat 1968
	piláw daw	bird (kind of)	Bhat 1968
	zezlí dáw	bird (kind of, small, that weaves a small basket-l	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	dao	bird	Marrison 1967
	dao dai	peacock	Marrison 1967
	dao di	egg	Marrison 1967
	dao jela	cock	Marrison 1967
	dao kha	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
	dao khu	owl	Marrison 1967
	dao ling	eagle	Marrison 1967
	dao ling-hakhri	hawk	Marrison 1967
	dao ma	hen	Marrison 1967
	dao phlamdu	duck	Marrison 1967
	dao phri	pigeon	Marrison 1967
	dao rakhal	bat (animal)	Marrison 1967
	dao sa	chicken	Marrison 1967
	dao thu	dove	Marrison 1967
	dao yang	hornbill	Marrison 1967
	dau-liŋ	kite	Benedict 1972:333
Kokborok	tauʔ	bird	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	tauʔ-k^{h}an	chicken meat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	tauʔ-k^{h}oŋ	duck	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	tauʔ-la	cock	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	tauʔ-təy	egg	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	tu di	egg	Balawan 1965:78
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	do-grik	black pheasant	Benedict 1972:403
	do-reng	falcon, kite	Coblin 1986:76
	do-reŋ	falcon; kite; falcon, kite	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:890c; Benedict 1972:333
	doʔ-ci	egg	Matisoff 1987; Weidert 1987:1190
Garo (Bangladesh)	do·-	bird (n.)	Burling 2003:4.43-II:idx
	do·-bi-pa	cock; rooster (n.)	Burling 2003:4.43-II:idx
	do·-chi-dik	bird coop; chicken coop (n.)	Burling 2003:5.852-II:idx
	do·-gep	duck (n.)	Burling 2003:4.43-II:idx
	do·-gring	bird basket (n.)	Burling 2003:5.852-II:idx
	do·-ja-rak	duck (n.)	Burling 2003:4.43-II:idx
	do·-reng	hawk (n.)	Burling 2003:4.43-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	daw·-	bird (bound form taw· 'chicken, bird') (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	daw·blok	bulbul bird (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	daw·gep	duck (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	daw· gamdot	eagle (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	daw· phylgym	type of big eagle (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	daw· reng	eagle (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw·	bird, chicken (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw·gylyk	type of jungle bird (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw·pynchyrep	type of small bird (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw·reksyrup	banana bird (lit. 'banana tree sucking bird') (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw· gurung	nest (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw· karang	bird's wing (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw· khasi	capon, castrated rooster/cock (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw· kurung	nest of a chicken (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw· nok	chicken cove, coop (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw· palyng	jungle fowl (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw· thup	nest (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.1.4. DEORI			
Deori/Deuri	bota-dua	paddy-bird [As. baũtā "sower"]	Jacquesson 2005
	cĩyã-nĩyã dua	bird which picks fish (generic)	Jacquesson 2005
	du	fowl	Brown 1895:66
	du-jã	egg	Jacquesson 2005
	du-jã^{2}	egg	unknown nd
	du-pisa	chicken, hen's chicks	Jacquesson 2005
	dua	bird	Brown 1895:64
	duwa	bird [dua, duwa]	Jacquesson 2005
	du ja	egg	Brown 1895:65
	peŋ=du-ri	perched (bird) [As. peŋā] [peŋ = du-ri, peõ du-ri]	Jacquesson 2005
	takoy dua	keteki (As.) bird, cuckoo, Cuculus sp. [≠ durõ]	Jacquesson 2005
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Wancho	tau-ci	egg	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Liangshan)	du^{33}ndi^{55}	fowl	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
7. KARENIC: *tho^{B} BIRD			
*Karen	*tho	bird	Benedict 1972:128n350
	*tho-ti	bird-water	Benedict 1972:135n367
*Karen [Burling]	*tho^{2}	bird	Luangthongkum 2013:22
*Karen	*tho^{B}	bird	Luangthongkum 2013:22 [a]
	*to	bird	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1116a; Benedict 1972:192n491
Bwe	tho^{33}	bird	Luangthongkum 2013:22
Karen	tho^{33}bɔ^{55}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.50
	tho^{33}bɔ^{55}a^{31}xi^{31}	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.50
	tho^{33}da^{33}	goose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0301.50
	tho^{33}di^{31}	duck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.50
Kayah	thu^{11}	bird	Luangthongkum 2013:22
Kayan (Pekon)	rō t^{h}ó	long-nosed bird snake [lit. snake-bird] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	thau^{11}	bird	Luangthongkum 2013:22
Kayan (Pekon)	t^{h}ó	bird (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó bó	egret [lit. bird-white] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó byá nbé	scarlet sunbird [lit. bird-??] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó kalò	woodpecker [lit. bird-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó k^{h}én	greater hornbill (Buceros bicornis) [lit. bird-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó k^{h}okabà̰i	stork [lit. bird-??] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó k^{h}ṵ̀	parrot [lit. bird-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó k^{h}wán	smaller hornbill (Anthracoceros albirostris) [lit. bird-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó lwilə	pigeon [lit. bird-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó lwimədó	imperial pigeon [lit. bird-??-big] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó nankwê	wagtail [lit. bird-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó pâ	barn owl (eats insects) [lit. bird-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó prá̰	peacock [lit. bird-?] (< Mon?) (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó pwḭ̀	bird's nest [lit. bird-nest] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó p^{h}ò	baby bird, small bird [lit. bird-DIM] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó rwè	quail [lit. bird-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó ryāu	sparrow [lit. bird-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó sè	pheasant [lit. bird-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó talètètyá̰u	kind of bird [lit. bird-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó tapyán	hoopoe [lit. bird-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}ó θap^{h}â	black drongo (Dicrurus macrocercus) [lit. bird-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	thu^{11}	bird	Luangthongkum 2013:22
Pwo (Northern)	thu^{33}	bird	Luangthongkum 2013:22
Pwo (Southern)	thu^{55}	bird	Luangthongkum 2013:22
Sgaw (Northern)	tho$^{31\sim}$	bird	Luangthongkum 2013:22

[a] [Source Note] The words meaning 'bird' in N.PO and S.PO are wa^{53}(B3) and wa^{55}(B3) respectively.

Sgaw (Southern)	**thu**^{45,}	bird	Luangthongkum 2013:22
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**tso**^{55}	bird	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:142.37
Bai (Dali)	**tso**^{44}	bird	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:142.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tso̱**^{33}tsʮ^{33}khua^{21}	nest (bird) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.48
	tso^{44}tsi^{33}	bird	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:142.36
	ts^{h}u^{31} k^{h}o^{33}	gizzard / crop of bird	Zhao Yansun 1990:4.2.4
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tiog/tieu**	bird	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1116a
	tiôg/tieu:	bird	Karlgren 1957:1116a
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**niǎo**-zǔi	beak / bill	Sun 1985b:52

Chinese comparandum

鳥 OC ***tiôg***, *GSR* #1116a ‘bird’; Schuessler 2007:401 ***tiû?***; Mand. **niǎo**.
雕/鵰 OC ***tiôg***, *GSR* #1083t-u ‘eagle’; B & S 2011: ***t^{ʂ}iw***; Mand. **diāo**.

The irregular initial **n-** in the Mandarin pronunciation **niǎo** for the word 鳥 BIRD (Karlgren called it “quite a riddle,” *GSR* #1116a) is usually attributed to pernicious homophony with a dental stop initial word meaning PENIS.

(3) PTB *haːr BIRD / FOWL / CHICKEN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***ʔaːr** or **haːr**	fowl / chicken / quail	Matisoff 2003a:583
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ʔaar** FOWL / CHICKEN			
*Chin	***ʔaar**	FOWL / CHICKEN	VanBik 2009:486
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**aak** tui	egg (aak ’chicken’)	VanBik 2009:79
Sizang	**āk** luī	cock	VanBik 2009:1104
	āk nō	chicken	VanBik 2009:486
Thado	**á?** pì	hen	Thirumalai 1972:19
	?á?	fowl, chicken	VanBik 2009:486
Tiddim	**-aːk**	fowl (n.)	Henderson 1965
	aːk^{2}	chicken	VanBik 2009:486; Bhaskararao 1996:28
	aːk^{2} gil^{1}	chicken roost	Bhaskararao 1996:29
	aːk^{2} lui^{2}	cock	VanBik 2009:1104; Bhaskararao 1996:30
	aːk^{2} pa^{1}	wild chicken	Bhaskararao 1996:31
	aːk^{2} pi^{1}	hen	Bhaskararao 1996:32
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**ai**	domestic fowl	VanBik 2009:486
Khumi	**áa**	chicken	VanBik 2009:486
	à	chicken	So-Hartmann 1988:54
Matu	**aː**^{i}	chicken	So-Hartmann 1988:54
	ləpa^{iʔ} **aː**^{i}	duck	So-Hartmann 1988:55
Mkaang	**aː**^{i} s^{h}á	chicken	So-Hartmann 1988:54
Ngmüün	**aː**^{i} sá	chicken	So-Hartmann 1988:54
Nyhmoye	**aː** s^{h}á	chicken	So-Hartmann 1988:54
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**?âar**	fowl, chicken	VanBik 2009:486
Lai (Falam)	**?ăar**	fowl, chicken	VanBik 2009:486
Lushai [Mizo]	**áar**	fowl, a domestic fowl, poultry (n.)	VanBik 2009:486
	âr notê	chicken	Marrison 1967
	ar pa	cock	Marrison 1967
	ar tui	egg	Marrison 1967
	aːr	fowl	Bhaskararao 1996:28
	ke-**ar**-tui	heel (”foot-chicken-egg”)	Matisoff 1987; Benedict 1972:45n149; Marrison 1967
	ke-**aːr**-tui	heel	Bhaskararao 1996:760
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	rà-**àw**	jungle fowl	VanBik 2009:486
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***haːn-a** CHICKEN			
*Central Naga	***haːn-a**	CHICKEN	Bruhn 2014a:III.165
*Ao	*a-**hən**	CHICKEN	Bruhn 2014a:II.140
	***hən**-tsə	EGG	Bruhn 2014a:II.185
Ao (Chungli)	**aen**-te bong	cock	Marrison 1967
	aen-te cha nu	chicken	Marrison 1967
	aen te tzü	hen	Marrison 1967
	aen tzü	egg	Marrison 1967
	an^{2}	chicken (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.140
	an^{2} ti^{2}-puŋ^{3}	rooster (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	āñ [āhən]	hen	Temsunungsang 2009:1a
	^{2}an	chicken	Weidert 1987:832
	ən^{2}tsə^{2}	egg (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.185
Ao (Mongsen)	**āñ** [āhən]	hen	Temsunungsang 2009:1a
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**an**	chicken	Marrison 1967
	an sü	egg	Marrison 1967
	an te bong	cock	Marrison 1967
	an tsü	hen	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hən**-sələj	leopard cat (’chicken’ + ’take stealthily’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	hən sə-làsì	passionfruit (probably ’egg’ + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	hən tsə	egg (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**hən**	domestic fowl, chicken (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**hən** təpuŋ	rooster, cock (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**hən**-sàʔ	chicken meat (’chicken’ + ’meat’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**hən**-za	domestic fowl chick (’chicken’ + DIM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**han**^{1}-kjuʔ^{3}	hen (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.165
	han^{1}-poŋ^{3}	rooster (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.165
	han^{1}-puʔ^{3}	mother hen (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.165
	ho^{1}**noʔ**^{3}	chicken (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.165
	ham pong	cock	Marrison 1967
	han khü	hen	Marrison 1967
	han pvü	hen	Murry *et al.* 1978:54
	hōn̰ ò	hen	Acharya 1975
	hon o-e tchhü	egg	Marrison 1967
	hon oro	chicken	Marrison 1967
	^{1}ho^{3}no	chicken	Weidert 1987:832
Sangtam	**hana** kyü	egg	Kumar 1973a
	hana pong	cock	Kumar 1973a
	hana za	chicken	Kumar 1973a
	hüna pong	cock	Marrison 1967
	hün a	hen	Marrison 1967
	hün aza	chicken	Marrison 1967
	^{1}hɯ^{2}na	chicken	Weidert 1987:832
Yacham-Tengsa	**an**	chicken	Marrison 1967
	an shu	chicken	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**thunu**	cock; hen	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	thunu jipjip	chicken	Kumar 1973b:46
	thunu trieto	hen	Kumar 1973b:82
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	**an**	hen	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ar** FOWL			
**Tangkhulic*	***ar**	fowl	Mortensen 2012:511
Huishu	ʔa-**ho**	chicken / fowl (general term)	Mortensen 2012:Animals.034
Kachai	ʔa-**har**	chicken / fowl (general term)	Mortensen 2012:Animals.034
Tangkhul	**har**-ra	fowl-water	Matisoff 1987
	har nao	chicken	Marrison 1967
	har ra	egg	Marrison 1967
	har va	cock; hen	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	hər	hen	Bhat 1969:90
Tusom	**uə**	chicken	Mortensen 2012:Animals.034
Ukhrul	**ha**-ru	egg (hàr ’chicken’ + -ru ’water’)	Mortensen 2012
	har	chicken	Mortensen 2012
	hɐr	fowl	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**yen** ba	cock	Marrison 1967
	yen nao	chicken	Marrison 1967
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**·ja̱r** (·jar)	chicken	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4546
3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	**ɦiɛ̱**^{55}ɣo^{55}	egg (of animal); egg	Sun Hongkai 1991i:10.4.16; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:170.19
	ɦiɛ^{53}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.19
	ɦiɛ^{53}mi^{55}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.19
	ɦiɛ^{53}phu^{33}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.19
	ɦiæ^{ɹ53}	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.46
	ɦiæ^{ɹ53}hũ^{31}	feather / plume (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.46
	ɦiæ^{ɹ53}mi^{55}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.46
	ɦiæ^{ɹ53}mu^{33}mu^{31}	cockscomb (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0297.46
	ɦiæ^{ɹ53}phu^{31}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.46
	ɦiæ^{ɹ55}tsʮ^{55}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.46
	ɦiæ^{ɹ55}ŋuo^{31}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.46
	ɦiæ^{ɹ55}ʁuo^{55}	egg (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.46
6.2. Naxi			[a]
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**læ˥**	chicken	Michaud 2006–2009:3613
	læ˥pjæ˩˩˦	chicken stomach	Michaud 2006–2009:451
	læ˧mie˥	hen	Michaud 2006–2009:3615
	læ˧mjæ˥ʁɔ˥	egg	Michaud 2006–2009:825
	læ˧mjæ˥ʁɔ˥ ku˧p^{h}v˥	egg white, albumen	Michaud 2006–2009:828
	læ˧mjæ˥ʁɔ˥ qɔ˧ʂɯ˥	yolk	Michaud 2006–2009:827
	læ˧p^{h}v˥	rooster	Michaud 2006–2009:3614
	u˩˩˦i˩˩˦**læ˧**mie˥	quails, rails; turnix, coturnix, crex	Michaud 2006–2009:3635
Moso	**æ 11**	chicken / fowl	Matisoff 1972b:184
Na (Yongning)	**æ˧**ʂwæ˥	rooster	Michaud 2006–2009
	æ˩˩˦bv˨	poultry yard	Michaud 2006–2009
	æ˩˩˦k^{h}v˧˦	year of the cock	Michaud 2006–2009
	æ˩˩˦mi˧	hen	Michaud 2006–2009
	æ˩˩˦ʁv˩	egg	Michaud 2006–2009
	æ˩	chicken	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**a**^{31}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.28
	a^{31}me^{33}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**a**^{31}mi^{33}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**a**^{31}o^{13}	egg	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**a**^{31}phəɹ^{31}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**a**^{31}zo^{33}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.29
	a^{13}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.29
Naxi	**æ**^{21}	chicken; year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.45
	æ^{21}khɯ^{21}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.45
	æ^{21}**me**^{33}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.45
	æ^{21}phɚ^{21}	cock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.45
	æ^{21}tsɚ^{13}	chick (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.45

[a] Laze forms like **læ˥** bear a certain resemblance to Naxi forms with zero initial, but it would be speculative to assign them either to the present root or to PTB ***k-rak** FOWL / CHICKEN (§2.1.10).

Chinese comparandum

鵪 OC ***ʔɑn***, *GSR* #146g ‘quail’; Schuessler 2007:556 ***ʔrâns***; B & S 2011: ***ʔ^{ʂ}‹r›ar-s {ʔ^{ʂ}‹r›a [r] -s}***; Mand. **yàn**.
鶉 OC ***ʔɑn***, *GSR* #146i ‘quail’; Schuessler 2007:556 ***ʔrâns***; Mand. **yàn**.

(4) PTB *kak CHICKEN

It is possible that this root is actually an allofam of ***k-rak**, with pre-emption by the prefix, although there is little evidence of any rhotic element, with the possible exception of the Nungish forms with retroflex **ɖ**.

2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**kā’** pā	rooster (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.002
Tshona (Wenlang)	**khɑ**^{55}	chicken	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	khɑ^{55}lɑ^{55}po^{55}	rooster	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	khɑ^{55}mɑ^{55}	hen	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**khʌʔ**^{53}	chicken	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:135.6
	khʌː^{55}mʌ^{53}	hen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:137.6
	khʌː^{55}ri^{53}	rooster	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:136.6
Cuona Menba	**khaʔ**^{53}	chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.06
	khaʔ^{53} tsaŋ^{55}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.06
	khaʔ^{53}wu^{31}	year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.06
	khaː^{55}ma^{53}	hen (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.06
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**khā**	chicken / fowl (general)	Genetti 1990a
	kha pa	comb (of rooster)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:2.9
	khā-cā	chick (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.004

	khā-cā	chick	Genetti 1990a
	khā-ga(l)	house (chicken) (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.11
	mā-**khā**	hen (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.003
	mā **khā**	hen	Genetti 1990a
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	**khɑ^{33}**	chicken	LaPolla 2003:335
	khɑ^{33} bit	duck	LaPolla 2003:343
	khɑ^{33} mɑ^{31}	hen	LaPolla 2003:338
	khɑ^{33} si^{53} sɛ^{31}	chick	LaPolla 2003:339
	khɑ^{33} tɕhɯm^{31}	chicken pen	LaPolla 2003:589
Nung	**khɑ^{31}**dɛm^{55}	shed (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.21
	khɑ^{31}tɕhɛn^{31}	chick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.21
	khɑʔ^{55}	chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.21
Anong	**khɑʔ^{55}**	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.44
Nung	**khɑ^{55}**mɑ^{31}	hen (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.21
Anong	**khɑ^{55}**mɑ^{31}	hen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:137.44
Rawang	ti **khɑ^{33}** bit	duck	LaPolla 2003:343
Anong	**ɖɑ^{31}**gu^{55}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.44
Trung [Dulong]	**dǎʔ^{55}**ɑŋ^{31}gu^{55}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.46
Dulong	**kɑʔ^{55}**	chicken; year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.20
	kɑʔ^{55}dɑŋ^{53}	pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.20
	kɑʔ^{55}kɔp^{55}	pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.20
	kɑʔ^{55}mɑ^{55}	hen (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.20
	kɑʔ^{55}tɕɑn^{53}	chick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.20
Trung [Dulong]	**kǎʔ^{55}**	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.46
	kǎʔ^{55}ɑŋ^{31}mɑ^{53}	hen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:137.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**kaʔ^{55}**	chicken	LaPolla 1987:198
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**khaʔ^{55}**	chicken	LaPolla 1987:198
	khɑ^{31}mɑ^{55}	hen	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	khǎʔ^{55}	chicken	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

(5) PTani *taŋ BIRD

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***taŋ**	bird	Sun 1993a:27
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	pɯ-**ta**	bird	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**ta**-a-si?	bird's-nest; nest (bird's)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ta-pũ	swallow (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ta-rĩ	woodpecker	Sun 1993b
	tá-riŋ	woodpecker	Sun 1993b
Bengni	dɯ-bɯː pɯ-**taː**	cuckoo	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**taː**	bird	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	taː-čak	sparrow	Sun 1993b
	taː-sup	bird's-nest	Sun 1993b
Bokar	pə **taŋ**	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.24
	pə-**taŋ**	bird	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	taŋ kɯ	turtledove (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0342.24
	taŋ pu	owl (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0332.24
	taŋ ren	woodpecker (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0343.24
	taŋ-kɯ	dove; pigeon; turtledove	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	taŋ-pu	owl	Sun 1993b
	taŋ-ren pə-taŋ	woodpecker	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	pə **taŋ**	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.51
Galo	doo lo-**taa** ci	bird (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	dɨ cɨɨ-pə **taa**	bird (variety); blackheaded shrike; Lanius schach tricolor (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	pə **taa**	bird (n.)	GLDC 2009
	pə **taa**-'kobuu	microfauna (n.)	GLDC 2009
	pɨrɨk-**taa** kuu	game bird (n.)	GLDC 2009
	pʏ **ta**	bird	Das Gupta 1963
	pʏ **ta**-a sup	nest	Das Gupta 1963
	pʏ **te**	bird	Das Gupta 1963
	taa kuu	bird (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'rɨg bin-'**taa** kə	bird (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	pa **ta** ta-tang	birds	Das Gupta 1969
	pa **ta**~pé **ta**	bird	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	pət-**taŋ**	bird	Sun 1993a
Damu	**taŋ**-ŋet	gizzard	Sun 1993b

(6) PTB *ŋa-n GOOSE

STC (e.g., pp. 99, 158) considers the final **-n** in this root to originally have been a "collective suffix," since wild geese tend to fly in large flocks.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***ngr** + **an**	goose	Coblin 1986:87
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ŋa-n**	goose	Matisoff 2003a:605
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Daai	**ŋá**	duck	So-Hartmann 1988:55
1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP			
Maring	**ngaun**	duck	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	**háŋə**	goose	Acharya 1975
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**nga** nu	duck	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Byangsi	**ŋaŋ** ba:	duck (n.)	Sharma 2003:645
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ŋaŋ** wa	goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:139.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ŋaŋ** wa	goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:139.5
	ŋaŋ-wæ	goose	Sun 1985a:317
Tibetan (Written)	ja tse (**ŋaŋ** pa)	duck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.01
	ngangŋ.pa	goose	Sun 1985c:317
	ŋaŋ pa	goose (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0334.01
	ŋaŋ pa	wild goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:144.1
	ŋaŋ(-pa,-ma)	goose (wild-)	Benedict 1972:99n284
	ŋɑŋ	goose (wild)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:186a
	ŋáŋ-mɑ	goose	Jäschke 1881
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Longxi)	**ŋa^{35}** ʁò	wild goose {b?}	Evans 1999:412
Qiang (Mianchi)	**ŋæ^{35}** uò	wild goose {b?}	Evans 1999:412
Qiang (Taoping)	**ŋan^{13}**ʁo^{31}	wild goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:144.9
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	**ŋu^{53}**	goose (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0334.20
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**ŋo^{21}**	goose	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Southern)	**ŋo^{21}**	goose	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ŋo^{21}**	goose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0301.49
	ŋo^{21}	goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:139.38
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Luxi)	pəi^{51}**ŋɔŋ^{51}**	goose	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Rangoon)	tɔ^{55}**ŋã^{55}**	goose (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0334.27
	ŋã^{55}bɛ^{55}	goose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0301.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tɔ^{55}**ŋã^{55}**	wild goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:144.40
	ŋã^{55}bɛ^{55}	goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:139.40
Burmese (Written)	**ngàn**	goose	Coblin 1986:87
	tɔ^{3}**ŋan^{3}**	goose (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0334.26
	tɔ^{3}**ŋɑn^{3}**	wild goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:144.39
	ŋân	goose	Matisoff 1974:228; Benedict 1976a
	ŋàn	goose	Benedict 1972:99n284
	ŋɑn^{3}bhɑi^{3}	goose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0301.26
	ŋɑn^{3}bhɑi^{3}	goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:139.39
	ŋàn	goose (wild)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:186a
Hpun (Northern)	**hán**	goose	Henderson 1986
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	á-**ný**	goose	Björverud 1994
Yi (Dafang)	**ŋɔ^{21}**	goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:139.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**go^{21}**	wild goose	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	gu^{21}	goose, wild	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	gu^{21}ʂl^{33}	goose, swan	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{1}**ŋa^{1}**	goose	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Dazhai)	o^{31}**ŋø^{55}**	goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:139.31
Hani (Lüchun)	dze^{55}**ŋø^{55}**	goose (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0334.41
	o^{31}**ŋø^{55}**	goose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0301.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	a^{51}**ŋa^{55}**	goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:139.30
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{31}**ŋɔ^{55}**	goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:139.32
	ɣu^{31}ɔ^{31}**ŋɔ^{55}**	wild goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:144.32
Hani (Mojiang)	u^{31}ɔ^{31}**ŋɔ^{55}**	goose (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0334.42
	ɔ^{31}**ŋɔ^{55}**	goose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0301.42
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	ʑɛ^{33}**ŋɔ^{21}**	goose	Pelkey 2011:112
Southern Muji	ʑɛ^{33}**ŋa^{21}**	goose	Pelkey 2011:112
Phola	**ŋɔ^{33}**mɔ^{23}	goose	Pelkey 2011:112
Phu Kha	ja^{31} **ŋa^{33}**	goose	Fried 2000
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ngɑn/ngɑn-**	goose (wild)	Karlgren 1957:186a-b
	ngâ/ngâ	goose	Karlgren 1957:2p
	ŋɑn	goose (wild)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:186a
	ŋâ	goose (domestic)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:2p
Chinese (Old)	**ngranh**	goose	Coblin 1986:87
	ngrans	goose (wild)	Baxter 1992:877
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**ngan-**	wild goose	Coblin 1986:87
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**eel**	goose	Sun 1985b:317

Chinese comparandum

鵝~鵝 OC ***ngâ**, *GSR* #2p 'goose (wild)'; Schuessler 2007:222 ***ŋâi**; B & S 2011: ***ŋˤar {ŋˤa [r] }**; Mand. **é**.
雁 OC ***ngɑn**, *GSR* #186a-b 'goose (wild)'; Coblin 86:87 ST ***ngran** > OC ***ngranh**; B & S 2011: ***C.ŋˤrar-s {*C. [ŋ] ˤrar-s}**; Mand. **yàn**.

(7) PTani *ǰap DUCK

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ǰap**	duck	Sun 1993a:115
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	(pa-**jeʔ**) **jeʔ**-po	drake	Sun 1993b
	(pa-**jeʔ**)**jeʔ**-nə	duck (female)	Sun 1993b
	pà-**ǰè**	duck	Sun 1993b
	pa-**ǰeʔ**	duck	Sun 1993a
	pa-**jeʔ**	duck	Sun 1993b
	pa-**jeʔ pa**-ču	duckling	Sun 1993b
Bengni	pəː-**čap**	wild duck	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**ǰap**	duck	Sun 1993a
Galo	pe **ɟap** ape	duck egg	Das Gupta 1963
	'i si-'pə **jap**	duck (wild) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'jab lii	breeding duck (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'jab nə	duck (female) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'jap po	duck (male) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'pə **jap**	duck (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɟap-ne	duck	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	pɯ **ɟap**	duck	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	pə-**ǰap**	duck	Sun 1993a

Chinese comparandum

鴨 OC (***ʔɑp**), *GSR* (not in #629) 'duck'; Schuessler 2007: (***ʔrâp**); B & S 2011: (***qˤrap**); Mand. **yā**.

(8) IA *bhāle COCK / ROOSTER

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung (Ghachok)	(**N**)ba:hleq	rooster	Glover 1972:3.A.2
Gurung	**bā:hleq**	rooster (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.002
Tamang (Sahu)	'nākā **'phā:** hle	rooster (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.002
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	**bhale**	rooster (< Nep.)	Ebert 1997
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	**bhale**	rooster (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.002
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**phā:le**	rooster (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.002
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**bhal**.ya.(waʔ)	rooster (<N) (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	wāʔ.**bhālya**	rooster (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.002
Magar	gwā, **bhālyā**	rooster (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.002
X.1. Non-TB			
Nepali	kukhurā-**ko** bhāle	rooster (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.002

(9) PKC *hluy COCK / ROOSTER

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hluy**	COCK / ROOSTER	VanBik 2009:1104
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	āk **luī**	cock	VanBik 2009:1104
Tiddim	a:k^{2} **lui^{2}**	cock	VanBik 2009:1104; Bhaskararao 1996:30
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**a** hlui	male, cock (fowls, birds)	VanBik 2009:1104
Khumi	**alúuy**	cock, rooster	VanBik 2009:1104
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔâar** hlĭi	cock ("chicken cock")	VanBik 2009:1104
Lushai [Mizo]	**ár** hlúi sén	red cock (n.)	VanBik 2009:1104

(10) IA *kukhurā CHICKEN

2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**kukhrī** chaṅts	chicken	Bailey 1911

(11) PKar *chjaN^{A} CHICKEN

7. Karenic				
**Karen*	***chjaN^{A}**	chicken	Luangthongkum 2013:47	[a]
**Karen [Burling]*	***chjaN^{4}**	chicken	Luangthongkum 2013:47	
Bwe	**ʃi^{55}**	chicken	Luangthongkum 2013:47	
Kayah	**cha^{33}**	chicken	Luangthongkum 2013:47	
Kayan	**ɕi^{53}**	chicken	Luangthongkum 2013:47	
Kayaw	**ɕi^{55}**	chicken	Luangthongkum 2013:47	
Pa-O (Southern)	**ɕja$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	chicken	Luangthongkum 2013:47	
Pa-O (Northern)	**ɕja$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	chicken	Luangthongkum 2013:47	
Pwo (Northern)	**chɛ̃^{35}**	chicken	Luangthongkum 2013:47	
Pwo (Southern)	**chɔ̃^{53}**	chicken	Luangthongkum 2013:47	
Sgaw (Northern)	**chɔ^{33}**	chicken	Luangthongkum 2013:47	
Sgaw (Southern)	**chɔ^{55}**	chicken	Luangthongkum 2013:47	

[a] [Source Note] Proto-Monic: *tyaaŋ, Proto-Mon: *caiɲ (Diffloth, 1984)

(12) PLB *bay$_{2}$ DUCK

WB **bhâi** (< Tone *2); Lahu **á-pè** (< Tone *1); Mpi **tɕa^{2}pe?^{4}** seems to reflect a prototype with final stop. The unusual WB initial (Bradley #53a reconstructs **ʔ-b**) adds to the impression that this is a loanword, and in fact a Southeast Asian areal etymon. Cf. PTai ***pet***. Benedict reconstructs Proto Austro-Tai ***bets*** (1975a, p. 276).

This root appears primarily in Lolo-Burmese, with perhaps a couple of scattered borrowings in Qiangic.

Other areal words for DUCK that have been borrowed into TB are Indo-Aryan IA ***battakh*** DUCK (§2.1.10), Nepali IA ***hāṣ*** DUCK (§2.1.10), and Mandarin CH ***yāzi*** DUCK (§2.1.10).

3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**bə**	mandarin duck	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3301
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Taoba)	**ba^{35}**	duck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:138.10
Xumi	ɦiõ^{33}**ba^{53}**	duck (mallard) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.17
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***bay$^{1/2}$**	duck	Matisoff 1985a:158
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**pɛ^{31}**	duck	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	pɛ^{31}tɕɑŋ^{31}	goose	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**pi^{31}**	duck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.28
	pi^{31}	duck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:138.41
Achang (Luxi)	**pəi^{51}**	duck	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	pəi^{51}ŋɔŋ^{51}	goose	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Rangoon)	**bɛ^{55}**	duck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.27
	ŋɑ̃^{55}**bɛ^{55}**	goose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0301.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**bɛ^{55}**	duck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:138.40
	ŋɑ̃^{55}**bɛ^{55}**	goose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:139.40
Burmese (Written)	**bhai**	duck	Marrison 1967
	bhâi	duck	Matisoff 1985a:158; Benedict 1976a
	bhaì	duck	Benedict 1972:15n54(c)
	bhɑi^{3}	duck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.26
	bhɑi^{3}	duck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:138.39
	wam: **bhai**	duck	Marrison 1967
	ŋɑn^{3}**bhɑi^{3}**	goose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0301.26
	ŋɑn^{3}**bhɑi^{3}**	goose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:139.39
Marma	**bé**	duck	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:305-4
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-bay^{2}**	duck	Bradley 1979b:53A
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**be^{31}**	goose (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0334.34
Yi (Dafang)	**bə^{55}**	duck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:138.22
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	a31 **piɛ31**	duck	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	ɑ^{33}**pɛ^{31}**	duck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.43
	ɑ^{33}**pɛ^{31}**lo^{35}	goose (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0301.43
Lahu (Black)	á-**pè**	duck	Matisoff 1985a:158
	ɣə^{31}A^{33}**pe^{31}**	wild goose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:144.33
	ʌ^{33}**pɛ^{31}**	duck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:138.33
	ʌ^{33}**pɛ^{31}**lo^{35}	goose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:139.33
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{1}**pɛ^{2}**	duck	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ^{31}**pe^{55}**	duck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:138.30
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{31}**pɛ^{55}**	duck	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:138.32
Hani (Mojiang)	ɔ^{31}**pɛ^{55}**	duck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.42
Mpi	tɕa^{2}**pe?^{4}**	duck	Matisoff 1985a:158
	tɕa^{2}**pe?^{4}**	duck (n.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	tɕɑ^{2}**pe?^{4}**	duck (n.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	ʑɛ^{33}**pi^{44}**	duck	Pelkey 2011:111
Southern Muji	ʑi^{21}**pi^{21}**ɬi^{21}a^{21}	wild duck	Pelkey 2011:121
	ʑɛ^{33}**bi^{21}**	duck	Pelkey 2011:111
Phu Kha	ja^{31} **pjɛ^{33}**	duck	Fried 2000
Phuza	a^{33}**pɛ^{55}**	duck	Pelkey 2011:111
	a^{33}**pɛ^{55}**tɬ^{h}a^{55}wɔ^{33}	wild duck	Pelkey 2011:121
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**bæ**ɬmieɬ	duck	Michaud 2006–2009:3617
Na (Yongning)	**bæ**ɬmiɬ	duck	Michaud 2006–2009
7. Karenic			
Kayan (Pekon)	**bē**	duck (N.)	Manson 2010
X.1. Non-TB			
**Austro-Tai*	***bets**	duck	Matisoff 1985a:158
**Tai*	***pet**	duck	Matisoff 1985a:158

Chinese comparandum

鴨 OC (***p'i̯ĕt**), *GSR* (not in #408) 'duck'; Schuessler 2007:413 ***phit**; B & S 2011: ***p^{h}it {p^{h}i[t]}**; Mand. **pǐ**.

(13) IA *battakh DUCK

This word is ultimately from Arabic **batṯax**, from which it was borrowed into many Indo-Aryan languages, and from there into TB. This disyllabic root has been monosyllabized in various ways in TB languages, but has sometimes survived as a disyllable.

Other areal words for DUCK that have been borrowed into TB are Nepali IA ***hāṣ*** DUCK (§2.1.10), Mandarin CH ***yāzi*** DUCK (§2.1.10), and Austro-Tai PLB ***bay$^{1/2}$*** DUCK (§2.1.10).

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Chinbon	**papak**	duck	So-Hartmann 1988:55
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	va-**rak**	duck	Benedict 1972:107n301
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Sorbung	kùm **p^{h}ék**	duck	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.039
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**padak**	duck	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**phatak**	duck	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**phàtàk**	duck (<Hindi batakh) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	phàtàk-saʔ	duck meat ('duck' + 'meat') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**photük**	duck	Murry *et al.* 1978:35
	potak	duck	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**bhatak**	duck	Kumar 1973a
	phatak	duck	Kumar 1973a
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	to **pha**	duck	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	to **pha**	duck	Marrison 1967
Chokri	tu **pha**	duck	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**pak** mak	duck	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**phatak**	duck	Marrison 1967
Phom	**bat^{55}æk^{55}**	duck	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	patak	duck	Marrison 1967
Wancho	ao **pak**	duck	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	khai^{33}**pjek^{55}**	duck	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:138.47
	khai^{33}**pjɛk^{55}**	duck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.19
	khai **pyek**	duck	Marrison 1967
	u **pyek**	duck	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Chaudangsi	**bətək**	duck	Krishan 2003:69
Kanauri	**bŏtŏk**	duck (n.)	Bailey 1911
Raji	**bətək**	duck	Krishan 2003:103 [a]
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	**beʔ** wa	duck	Ebert 1997

[a] [Source Note] (IA).

(14) IA *hāṣ DUCK

This is a Nepali form which appears as a loan in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages. Other areal words for DUCK that have been borrowed into TB are Indo-Aryan IA ***battakh*** DUCK (§2.1.10), Mandarin CH ***yāzi*** DUCK (§2.1.10), and Austro-Tai PLB ***bay$^{1/2}$*** DUCK (§2.1.10).

2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**hā'sa**	duck (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.006
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'hāsq**	duck (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.006
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	(**N**)hã:sa:q	duck	Glover 1972:3.A.6
Gurung	**hā:sā:q**	duck (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.006
Tamang (Sahu)	**hāngsā**	duck (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.006
	haŋsa	duck	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.6
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**hã̄s**	duck	Genetti 1990a
	hạe, **hạs**-	duck (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.006
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	**hāngs**	duck (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.006

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	**hā̤:s**	duck (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.006
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Magar	**hā̤s**	duck (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.006
X.1. NON-TB			
Nepali	**hā̤s**	duck (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.006

(15) CH *yāzi DUCK

This is a Mandarin loan which appears in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages. Other areal words for DUCK that have been borrowed into TB are Indo-Aryan IA ***battakh** DUCK (§2.1.10), Nepali IA ***hā̤s** DUCK (§2.1.10), and Austro-Tai PLB ***bay**$^{1/2}$ DUCK (§2.1.10).

2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	**jʌ^{13}tse^{53}**	duck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:138.6
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	**jɑ^{13}tsɪ^{53}**	duck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ja^{13}tse^{53}**	duck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:138.2
	ja^{13}tse^{55}	duck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.02
	jə^{55}tsi^{55}	duck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.02
Tibetan (Written)	**ja tse** (ŋaŋ pa)	duck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.01
	ja tse	duck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:138.1
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**ja^{55}tsə^{31}**	duck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.16
	jɑ^{55}tsʅ^{55}	duck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:138.17
Muya [Minyak]	**jɑ^{35}tsɯ^{53}**	duck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:138.15
Qiang (Longxi)	**ià tsì**	duck {b}	Evans 1999:372
Qiang (Mawo)	**jats**	duck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:138.8
	jɑs	duck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**iá tsì** ~ ià tsɨ	duck {b}	Evans 1999:372
Qiang (Taoping)	**iɑ^{33}tsʅ^{31}**	duck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:138.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ja^{35}tsi^{53}**	duck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:138.16
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**jɑ dzə**	duck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**jɑ tsə**	duck (domestic) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.11
rGBenzhen	**ja-tsə**	duck	Sun 1997b
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Southern)	**jia^{55}tsi^{21}**	duck	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**yatz** (yiee)	duck (wild)	Sun 1985b:205

2.1.11 Canine

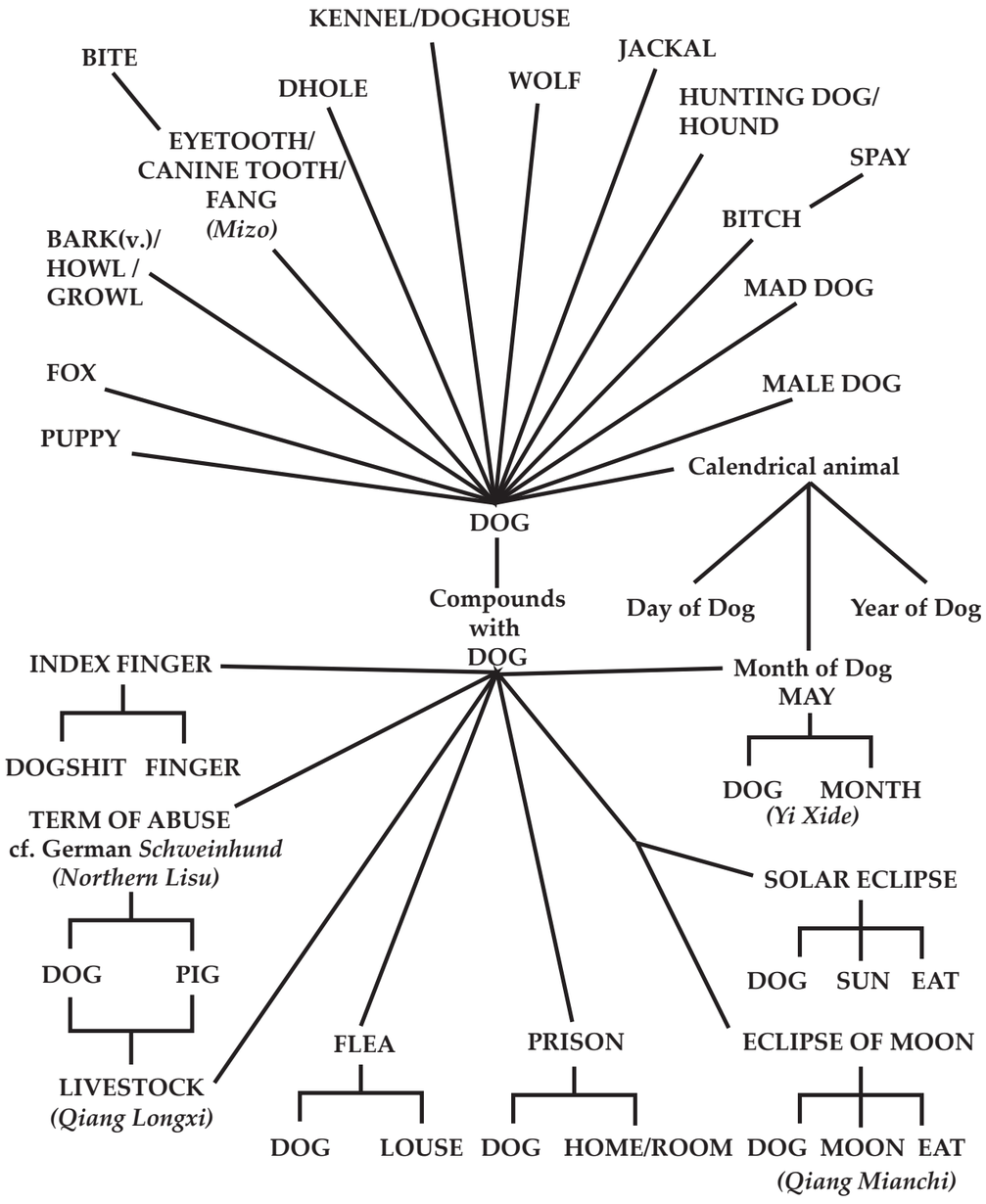


Figure 174: 2.1.11 *Canine*

(1) PTB *d-k^{w}əy-n DOG

Interesting reflexes of this etymon with labiovelar initial include the labial-initial Lahu form, the dental-initial Karenic forms, and the zero-initial Chin forms, the last two of which indicate that the velar-initial was sometimes treated as a prefix.

The nasal suffix is reconstructed on the basis of the Chinese comparandum.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-k^{w}əy-n**	dog	Matisoff 2003a:598; Mortensen 2012
	***kwiy**	dog	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:479a-d; Weidert 1987:269; Matisoff 1983:14; Benedict 1972:159
	***kwiy**=*kwəy ≍ **d-k-wiy	dog	LaPolla 1987:13
	***kwəy**	dog	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:108d; Weidert 1987:269
1.1.1. TANI: ***kwi:** DOG			
**Tani*	***kwi:**	dog	Sun 1993a:108
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	(a-**ki**)**ki**-nə	bitch	Sun 1993b
	a-**ki**	dog	Sun 1993a
	à-**kì**	dog	Sun 1993b
	a-**ki**	dog	Sun 1993b
	à-**kì** a-ji	tooth (canine)	Sun 1993b
	à-**kì** a-mi	dog tail	Sun 1993b
	à-**kì** a-si	bamboo cage for dogs	Sun 1993b
	à-**kì** á-tù	puppy	Sun 1993b
	à-**kì** du-la	stick for driving away dogs	Sun 1993b
	à-**kì kí**-bo	dog (male)	Sun 1993b
	à-**kì kí**-nɯ	bitch	Sun 1993b
	à-**kì** rù-nɯ	mad dog	Sun 1993b
	à-**kì** tà-laŋ	dog (brown)	Sun 1993b
	à-**kì** tà-pu	dog (white)	Sun 1993b
	à-**kì** tà-xé	dog	Sun 1993b
	a-**ki**-a-tu	puppy	Sun 1993b
	kí-bo	dog (male)	Sun 1993b
	ki-bo	dog (male)	Sun 1993b
	ki-bo-**ki**-lo	puppy	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ki**-čuŋ	puppy	Sun 1993b
	ki-min	hunting dog	Sun 1993b
	ki-nɯ:	dog (male); bitch	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ñu-ru: ɯ-**ki**	wolf	Sun 1993b
	ə-**ki**	dog	Sun 1993a
	ɯ-**či**	dog	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**ki** pu	bark (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(i-**ki:**) če:	bark (v.)	Sun 1993b
	i **ki:**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.24
	i-**ki:**	dog	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ki:-men	hunting dog	Sun 1993b
	ki: men	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.24
Bokar Lhoba	i **ki:**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.51
Galo	i **kɯ kɯ**-bo	dog	Das Gupta 1963
	i **kɯ kɯ**-cu	pup	Das Gupta 1963
	i **kɯ kɯ**-nɤ	bitch	Das Gupta 1963
	‘i **kii**	dog (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘kii bo	dog (male) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘kii cuu	puppy (dog) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘kii lee	dog (sacrificial) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘kii men	dog (hunting); hunting dog (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘kii nə	bitch; dog (female) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘kii pin	dogskin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘kii tir	pack (of dogs) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**’ki**-n’	bitch	Simon 1976
	’ki-nɤ	bitch	Simon 1976
	i **ki**	dog	Simon 1976
Nishing	i **kí**	dog	Das Gupta 1969
	kí-bu	dog (male)	Das Gupta 1969
	kí-né	bitch	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	i **kɯ**	dog	Das Gupta 1983
	i **kɯ**-a paȷam-to	Patted the dog	Das Gupta 1983
	ya kɤ-nɤ ɯ **kɯ**	black dog	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	e-**ki**	dog	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**ke:**	dog	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ke:** pyo	bark (v.)	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **ke**	dog	Tayeng 1976
	a **ke** aȷi	dog (female)	Tayeng 1976
	a **ke ke** bu	dog (male)	Tayeng 1976
	ke-yu	puppy	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**kuaɯ^{53}**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.22
	kuaɯ^{53}	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.49
	kuaɯ^{53} laŋ^{35}	tooth (canine)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	tɑ^{31}bɹeŋ^{55}**kuaɯ^{53}**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.22
Digaro	**nkwi**	dog	LaPolla 1987:13; Benedict 1972:159
Kaman [Miju]	**kui^{55}**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.23
	kui^{55}	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.48
	kui^{55} si^{55}	tooth (canine)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	kwí	dog	Weidert 1987:135
	ȼin^{53}kɯ^{31}poi^{53}**kui^{55}**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.23
Idu	i **ku**-ari	dog	Anonymous 1962
	i **ku**-kru	bitch	Anonymous 1962
	mi^{55}**ku^{55}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.50
Yidu	mi^{55}**ku^{55}**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.25
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ʔuy** DOG			
**Chin*	***ʔuy**	DOG	VanBik 2009:476
**Kuki*	***wi**	dog	Benedict 1972:121n332
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**ui**	dog	VanBik 2009:476
Siyin	**ʔwi**	dog	Benedict 1972:26n83
Sizang	**wi**	dog	VanBik 2009:476
Thado	**úi**	dog	Thirumalai 1972:55
	ʔûy	dog	VanBik 2009:476
Tiddim	**ŭi**	dog	Weidert 1987:135
	ui^{1}	dog	VanBik 2009:476; Bhaskararao 1996:1913
	ui^{1} sa^{1} siam^{1}	hunting dog	Bhaskararao 1996:1916
	ˊʔwi:	dog (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**ú˝-i**	dog	VanBik 2009:476
Chinbon	**ï^{i}**	dog	So-Hartmann 1988:52
Cho (Mindat)	**ui**	dog	VanBik 2009:476
Khumi	**uuy**	dog	VanBik 2009:476
	u:^{i}	dog	So-Hartmann 1988:52
Matu	**u^{i}**	dog	So-Hartmann 1988:52
Mkaang	**ú^{i}**	dog	So-Hartmann 1988:52
Ngmüün	**ú^{i}**	dog	So-Hartmann 1988:52
Nyhmoye	**úi**	dog	So-Hartmann 1988:52
Wakung	**y**	dog	So-Hartmann 1988:52

1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔûy**	dog	VanBik 2009:476
Lai (Falam)	**ʔúy**	dog	VanBik 2009:476
Lushai [Mizo]	ha **ui** ngho	tooth (canine)	Matisoff 1987
	ŭi	dog	Weidert 1987:135
	ui	dog	Marrison 1967
	ŭi	dog	VanBik 2009:476
	ui	dog	Bhaskararao 1996:1913; LaPolla 1987:13; Benedict 1972:159
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**í**	dog (n.)	VanBik 2009:476
	³i	dog	Weidert 1987:269
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**ui** hə	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Toba & Kom 1991:3.10.3
Sorbung	ràm **ʔúu**	dhole; wolf; fox	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.044; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.045; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.046
	ɯ	dog	Brown 1837
	ʔɯɯ	dog	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:ToneMin.019
	ʔúu	dog (Canis familiaris)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.043
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**ui**	dog	Marrison 1967
	wi	dog	Brown 1837
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *khjəj DOG			
**Central Naga*	***khjəj**	DOG	Bruhn 2014a:III.104
**Ao*	*a-**jəj**	DOG	Bruhn 2014a:II.298
Ao (Chungli)	a³-**zə¹**	dog (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.298
	a **zü**	dog	Marrison 1967
	³a¹**zɯ**	dog	Weidert 1987:269
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **yi**	dog	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**ji**	dog (domestic) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**ji**-sàʔ	dog meat ('dog' + 'meat') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**fə³**-roʔ³	dog (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.104
	ran¹-**fəʔ³**	wolf (large) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.123
	fhu rro	dog	Marrison 1967
	fü ro	dog	Murry *et al.* 1978:34
	fə rò	dog	Acharya 1975
	ran **fü**	wolf	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:137
Sangtam	**fü** za	dog	Marrison 1967
	rang **pü**	wolf	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	(²)**kiʔ** ¹nu	dog	Weidert 1987:269
	khih nu pung	dog	Kumar 1973b:35
	khi nu	dog	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	²te⁵**fɯ**	dog	Weidert 1987:269
Angami (Khonoma)	te **fü**	dog	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	te **fü**	dog	Marrison 1967
Chokri	tü **shi**	dog	Marrison 1967
Khezha	e **tsü**	dog	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **fü**	dog	Marrison 1967
Rengma	te **nhyi**	dog	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **tsü**	dog	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	**thi**	dog	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**wi**	dog	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	asa **shi**	jackal	Marrison 1967
	shi	dog	Marrison 1967
	si	dog	Matisoff 1994e
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *hwɨ DOG			
**Tangkhulic*	***hwɨ**	dog	Mortensen 2012:392
Huishu	ʔa-**huk**	dog (Canis familiaris)	Mortensen 2012:Animals.043
Kachai	ʔa-**hwi**	dog (Canis familiaris)	Mortensen 2012:Animals.043
Tangkhul	**fa**	dog	Marrison 1967
	hɯ	dog	Bhat 1969:88
	ram **fa**	wolf; jackal	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	²fə	dog	Weidert 1987:135
	²fɯ	dog	Weidert 1987:269
Tusom	**y**	dog	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.014
Ukhrul	**fu**	dog	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**hùi**	dog	Weidert 1987:27
	hui	dog	Marrison 1967
	huy	dog	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	huy-ya	eyetooth / canine tooth	Singh 1991:3.10.3
	lam **hui**	jackal	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**hi**	dog	Benedict 1972:159
	hi jai	jackal	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**si**	dog	Benedict 1972:159
	si sa	dog	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**šəy**	dog	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	šəy-la	male dog	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. Garo			
**Garo dialects*	***kui**	dog	Benedict 1972:159
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**kyi•**	dog (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	kyi• wa	canine teeth (n.)	van Breugel 2008
Koch	**kui**	dog	Benedict 1972:159
Rabha	**ki**	dog	Benedict 1972:159
Ruga	**kui**	dog	Benedict 1972:159
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	**shí**	dog	Brown 1895:65
	sĩ	dog	Jacquesson 2005
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *kuəy (kreːŋ) DOG			
**Northern Naga*	***kuəy** (kreːŋ)	dog	French 1983:479
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**hu**	dog	Marrison 1967; French 1983:479
	²hu(ʔ)	dog	Weidert 1987:27
Tangsa	**¹hi(ʔ)**	dog	Weidert 1987:269
Tangsa (Moshang)	**gui** hen	dog	French 1983:479
	gui hen kru	bitch	French 1983:486
	gui-hē la	male dog	Benedict 1941/2008:243
	gui hen	dog	Marrison 1967
	gui hen la	male dog	French 1983:520
Tangsa (Yogli)	**hi** khen	dog	French 1983:479
	hi kheng	dog	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**gái**	dog	Weidert 1987:269
	kei	dog	Marrison 1967; French 1983:479
	kei lo	male dog	French 1983:520
Khiamngan	**²³džɪ**	dog	Weidert 1987:161
Konyak	**kui**	dog	Marrison 1967; French 1983:479
Konyak (Tamlu)	**hu** ha	dog	Weidert 1987:269
Konyak (Wakching)	**goi**	dog	Weidert 1987:269
Phom	**shi**	dog	Marrison 1967
	si	dog	French 1983:479
	ʃi³³	dog	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Tableng	**kui**-la	male dog	Benedict 1941/2008:243
Wancho	**hi**	dog	Marrison 1967; French 1983:479
	hi an	jackal	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jili	tə **kwi**	dog	LaPolla 1987:13; Benedict 1972:159
Jingpho	**gùi**	dog	Matisoff 1974:183
	gwi	dog	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:121n332
	khə ləwi ≍ **khə** lai	flea	Benedict 1972:440
	kui	dog	LaPolla 1987:13
	kui³¹	dog	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	kui³¹	dog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.19
	kui³¹	dog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:119.47
	kui³¹ (ʃă³¹niŋ³³)	year of the dog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.19
	¹gui	dog	Weidert 1987:269
	ʃan³¹ʃă³¹tʃu̱t⁵⁵**kui³¹**	hound (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.19 [a]
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**kvu**	dog	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:304
	məlíŋ **kvu**	wolf	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:304-11
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Baram	a **kja**	dog	Kansakar 2010:95
Kanauri	ca **kŭī**	dog (large Tibetan) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	ku chaṅts	puppy	Bailey 1911
	kŭī	dog (n.)	Bailey 1911
	kui	dog	Benedict 1972:159
Pattani [Manchati]	**kʰui**	dog	Sharma 1982
Thebor	**khui**	dog	Benedict 1972:159
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**khyu**	dog	Hale 1973:01.021
Tsangla (Central)	**khu**	dog	Andvik 1993:94
Tsangla (Motuo)	**khu**	dog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:119.7
	kʻu⁵⁵	dog	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**khu**	dog	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**khi⁵⁵**	dog	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**chi⁵³**	dog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:119.6
Motuo Menba	**khu**	dog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.07
Cuona Menba	**chi⁵³**	dog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.06
	chi⁵³wu³¹	year of the dog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.06
	ɕa⁵³**chi⁵³**	hound (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**tɕhə** lək dzə	hound (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.05
	tɕhə ɣə	dog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tɕhə**	dog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:119.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**cɕhə**	dog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:119.5
	tɕʰə-Gə	dog	Sun 1985a:194
Tibetan (Balti)	**kʰipʰru**·	puppy	Rangan 1975:56
	kʰi·	dog	Rangan 1975:65
	kʰi mo·	bitch	Rangan 1975:54
	kʰi pšʌŋ	jackal	Rangan 1975:28
Tibetan (Batang)	**tɕhɪ⁵³**	dog; year of the dog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.03; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.03
	xha⁵⁵**tɕhɪ⁵³**	hound (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'kiq**	dog	Hale 1973:01.021
	kip cyāngq	fox; jackal (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.059; Hale 1973:03a.060
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tɕhi⁵³**	dog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:119.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**chip⁵⁵**tɕaŋ⁵⁵	jackal (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.02 [b]
	chi⁵³	dog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:119.2
	chi⁵⁵	dog; year of the dog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.02; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.02
	ɕə⁵⁵**chi⁵⁵**	hound (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'kiq**	dog	Hale 1973:01.021
	ci peangq	jackal (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.060
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**kē** soh	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Bishop 1989:3.10.3
Tibetan (Spiti)	**kʰí**	dog	Sharma 1979
	kʰí tuk	pup	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**ce** spyaṅ	jackal	Marrison 1967
	ḥkʻyáṁ-**kʻyi**	dog (vagrant)	Jäschke 1881
	khji	dog; year of the dog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.01
	khji	dog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:119.1
	khyi	dog	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1983:14; LaPolla 1987:13; Benedict 1972:124n340
	khyi.gu (?)	dog	Sun 1985c:194
	kʻyi	dog; dog (mad)	Jäschke 1881; Jäschke 1881
	kʻyi-brú	dog (vicious, biting)	Jäschke 1881
	kʻyi-gu	puppy	Jäschke 1881
	kʻyi-mo	dog (female)	Jäschke 1881
	kʻyi-pʻo	dog (male)	Jäschke 1881
	kʻyi-rgá n	dog (old)	Jäschke 1881
	kʻyi-smyón-pɑ	dog (mad)	Jäschke 1881
	kʻyi-spyáŋ	jackal	Jäschke 1881
	liŋs-**kʻyi**	hound	Jäschke 1881
	šɑ-**kʻyí**	dog (shaggy) / poodle	Jäschke 1881
	ɕa **khji**	hound (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**tɕhə**	year of the dog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.04

[a] Literally, "animal-chase-dog."
[b] This form has apparently been meta-analyzed from an earlier **chi⁵⁵ ptɕaŋ⁵⁵**.

	tɕhə ɣə	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.04
	xha **tɕhə**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**kajú**	dog (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	kajú tâng	fat male dog (n.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	na **ku**-ye swa	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.10.3
Manang (Gyaru)	nɯ^{4} **gyɯ^{2}**	dog	Nagano 1984:304
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}ɲu **kyu**	dog	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0094a
	^{3}ɲə **kyu**	dog	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0094b
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}na **k^{h}i** ^{1}sjoi	tooth (canine)	Mazaudon 1991:3.10.3
Tamang (Sahu)	nā **ki**	dog	Hale 1973:01.021
	na **ki**	dog	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.21
Thakali (Tukche)	ʾnɔ **kju**	dog	Hari 1971:1.21

2.2. NEWAR

Newar (Kathmandu)	**khi** ca	dog	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**khi** cā	dog (Canis familiaris)	Genetti 1990a
Newar (Dolakhali)	**khi** ra	dog	Genetti 1990b
Newar	**khy** cā	dog	Hale 1973:01.021

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***khli**	dog	Opgenort 2011
	***khli** pa	dog	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**khi**-a	dog	Benedict 1972:159
	khya: ba	dog	Weidert 1987:135
	ko: cuʔ	dog	Weidert 1987:135
	ko: tso:	dog	Michailovsky 1989b
	[khya:-ba-ʔ]	dog	Weidert 1987:161
	[ko: cuʔ]	dog	Weidert 1987:161
Yamphu	**huʔ** wa	dog (n.)	Rutgers 1998:540.12

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**ku** tiwa	dog	Rai 1985
Chamling	**khi** pa	dog	Winter 1985

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**khi:** bu	dog, hound	Driem 1993
	khi: bɨ	dog, hound	Driem 1993
	sambɨ-**khi:** bɨ	Tibetan mastiff, <dog>	Driem 1993

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**khli**-tśa	dog	Benedict 1972:159
Hayu	u **ri**	dog	Benedict 1972:159
	ʊ: **ri**	dog (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.33
Sunwar	**ku** cum	dog	Hale 1973:01.021
Thulung	**khle** ya liu	tooth (canine)	Allen 1975
	ku tiu ma	puppy dog	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**kuiʔ**	dog	Weidert 1987:27
	kuy	dog	Benedict 1972:56n185
	kuyʔ	dog	Hale 1973:01.021
	kuyʔ	dog (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kuyʔ	dog	Caughley 1972:1.21
	kuyʔ.gan.thi	plant (sp.), shrub with large green leaves, flower curled like a mating dog (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kuyʔ.hawh.bən	grass (sp.), smells like a panting dog (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kuyʔ.səyk	canine tooth; tooth (sp.), canine (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	kwi	dog	Benedict 1972:159
	parʔ.**kuyʔ**	Wild Dog, Dhole; animal (sp.), Dhole or Wild Dog (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
Chepang (Eastern)	**kuyʔ** səyk	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Caughley 1990:3.10.3
Kham	**kā:h**	dog	Hale 1973:01.021
	kah yu:	eyetooth	Watters & Watters 1989
Magar	**cyu**	dog	Hale 1973:01.021

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**khjwɨ**	dog	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1200

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**tʂho^{55}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.18
Guiqiong	**khu^{53}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.17
	khu^{55}	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.16
Lyuzu	**tɕhu^{53}**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.18
	tɕhu^{55} (lu^{53})	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.18
	ɳi^{33} tʂæ^{53} (/ sæ^{33}) **tɕhu^{53}**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.18
Muya	**khuə^{53}**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.15
Muya [Minyak]	**khuɯ^{53}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.15
Namuyi	**tʂhɳ^{33}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.19
	hĩ^{55}**tʂhɳ^{53}**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.46
	tʂhɳ^{31}	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.46
	tʂhɳ^{31} (lu^{31}su^{53})	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**khi^{55}**	dog; year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.10; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.10
	pɛ̃^{11}**khi^{55}**	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tʂhə^{13}**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tʂhə^{13}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**khɯ^{35}**dʐa^{35}	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**khù**	11th earthly branch (dog); dog, hound	Evans 1999:1114; Evans 1999:358 [a]
	khù bù lá	puppy	Evans 1999:361
	khù dò	dog (male)	Evans 1999:359
	khù mià	dog (female)	Evans 1999:360
	khù ɕỳ	dog (male)	Evans 1999:359
	khù-ɕí-mù̩	hunter [dog-fang-AGT]	Evans 1999:243
	khú-piá ~ **khù**-pià	livestock [dog-pig]	Evans 1999:315
Qiang (Mawo)	**khuə**	dog; year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.08; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.08
	khuə	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.8
	khuə dʑɛ	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.08
	khuɛ tɕɪ	prison (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0068.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**khuà** là tsú	puppy	Evans 1999:361
	khuè-pià-tiù-mú ~ **khuè**-pià-tiú-mù	animal herder [dog-pig-v-AGT]	Evans 1999:235
	khuè-pià-tiú	put to pasture [dog-pig-m]	Evans 1999:1882
	khuè-tɕí	prison [dog-home/room]	Evans 1999:88
	khuè-χó-mù	hunter [dog-hunt-AGT]	Evans 1999:243
	khuè	11th earthly branch (dog); dog	Evans 1999:1114; Evans 1999:358 [a]
	khuè dʐú	dog (male)	Evans 1999:359
	khuè mià	dog (female)	Evans 1999:360
	khuè-lə-dzè	eclipse of moon [dog-moon-eat]	Evans 1999:2549
	khuè-mè nə-dzè	eclipse of sun [dog-sun-eat]	Evans 1999:2275
	khuè-mè sí-dzè	eclipse of sun [dog-sun-eat]	Evans 1999:2275
	sè **(khué)**	jackal	Evans 1999:400
	χó-**khuè**	hound [hunt-dog]	Evans 1999:362
Qiang (Taoping)	**khuə^{55}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tɕhɯ^{53}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	ʃe^{33}**tʃhi^{55}**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.13
	ʃ **tʃhi^{55}**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.13
Xumi	**diɛ^{55}**	fox	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:132.20
	khuɛ^{53}	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.17
	khuɛ^{53}n̥i^{33}	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.17
	khuɛ^{55}n̥i^{33}	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.20
	tɕi^{55}**khuɛ^{33}**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.17
	ʂõ^{55}**khuɛ^{33}**	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**khʌ^{13}**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.14
	piɛ̃^{55}**nkhu^{55}**	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**kə** ta	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.12
Ergong (Danba)	**kɯ** ta	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	**khə** na	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**khə** nɑ	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.11
rGyalrong	kə **thui**	fox	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:132.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **thwi**	fox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.11
Caodeng	**k^{h}e**-ze-mo	bitch	Sun 1997a
	k^{h}e-zeʔ	dog	Sun 1997a
	k^{h}jə-mo	bitch	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɐ rwɐk **khə**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.11
rGyalrong	**khA** na	dog	Nagano 1997:4.1
	ku **thuy**	fox	Nagano 1997:4.13
rGBenzhen	**kə**-por	wild dog	Sun 1997b
	kə-**t^{h}ui**	fox	Sun 1997b
	k^{h}ə-naʔ	dog	Sun 1997b
	spjɐŋ-**kə**	wolf	Sun 1997b
	tɐ-rvɐk **k^{h}ə**	hunting dog	Sun 1997b
Shili	ʁa-**tsuj**	fox	Sun 1997c

4. NUNGIC

Anong (Rawang/Lungmi)	a **gụ**	dog	Benedict 1972:56n185
Anong (Rawang)	**dəgi**	dog	Benedict 1972:56n185
Nung	**dɛ^{31}gɻ^{55}**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.21
Anong	**dɛ^{31}gɻ^{55}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.44
Rawang	**gi^{31}** loŋ^{31}	hunting dog	LaPolla 2003:332
	khɯ^{31} ɑ^{53}	jackal	LaPolla 2003:369
Anong	**təgi**	dog	LaPolla 1987:13; Benedict 1972:159
Rawang	ə **gi^{31}**	dog	LaPolla 2003:331
Nung	ɕɑ^{31}kuɑn^{53}**dɯ^{31}gi^{53}**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.21
Trung [Dulong]	**dəgei**	dog	Benedict 1972:56n185
Dulong	**dɯ^{31}gɯi^{55}**	dog; year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.20
Trung [Dulong]	**dɯ^{31}gɯi^{55}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.46
Dulong	ɕɑ^{55}kuɑt^{55}**dɯ^{31}gɯi^{55}**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**dɯ^{31} gɯi^{55}**	dog	LaPolla 1987:13
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**dɯ^{31} gi^{55}**	dog	LaPolla 1987:13; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Southern)	**tshe^{55}**	dog	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***k^{w}əy^{2}*** DOG

**Lolo-Burmese*	***k^{w}iy^{2}**	dog	Matisoff 1978a:6
	***k^{w}əy^{2}**	dog	Matisoff 2003a:598

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**khui^{31}**	dog	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	khuɑ^{31}lɑi^{31}	flea	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**kui^{31}** (n̥ək^{55})	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.28
	pum^{55}**xui^{31}**	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.28
	pum^{55}**xui^{31}**	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.41
	xui^{31}	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.28
	xui^{31}	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.41
Achang (Luxi)	**khui^{55}**	dog	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	khui^{55}lɯ^{55}	flea	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɔm^{51}**khui^{35}**	wolf	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**fui^{31}**	dog; year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.29

[a] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).

	fu³¹lai³¹	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.29
	pum⁵⁵**fui³¹**	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.29
Bola (Luxi)	**khui³⁵**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.32
	khui³⁵ (tɛ̃⁵⁵vɛʔ⁵⁵)	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.32
	khə̆³¹lu̱i³⁵	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.32
	mjaŋ⁵⁵**khui³⁵**	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.32
	ʃə̆⁵⁵khɛʔ⁵⁵**khui³⁵**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**khwe⁵⁵**	dog; year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.27
	khwe⁵⁵ɑ⁵³	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.27
	mje²²**khwe⁵⁵**	fox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.27
	ɑ⁵³mɛ⁵⁵lɑiʔ⁴**khwe⁵⁵**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**khwe⁵⁵**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.40
	mje²²**khwe⁵⁵**	fox	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:132.40
Burmese (Written)	**khwè**	dog	Weidert 1987:269
	khwê	dog	Hansson 1989:299
	khwe	dog	Matisoff 1983:14
	khwê	dog	Matisoff 1974:183; Benedict 1976a
	khwè	dog	LaPolla 1987:13; Benedict 1972:159
	khwè-hlè	flea	Weidert 1987:246
	khwê-hlê	flea; flea (cf. khwê 'dog')	Matisoff 1978a:94; Matisoff 1974:254; Benedict 1976a
	khwe:	dog	Marrison 1967
	khwe: a	jackal	Marrison 1967
	khwe³	dog; year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.26
	khwe³	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.39
	khwe³ɑ¹	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.26
	kʰwê	dog	Matisoff 1978a:6
	mre²**khwe³**	fox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.26
	mre²**khwe³**	fox	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:132.39
	to **khwe:**	wolf	Marrison 1967
	ɑ¹mɑi³lok⁴**khwe³**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.26
Hpun (Northern)	tă **khwì'**	dog	Henderson 1986
	wéɪ **khwì**	dog (wild)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**khə̆³¹**la̱³⁵	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.31
	lə̆³¹**kha³⁵**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.31
	lə̆³¹**kha³⁵** (tsəŋ³¹)	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.31
	mjaŋ³¹**kha³⁵**	jackal; wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.31
Lashi	**khui⁵⁵** tsɻ³¹	eyetooth / canine tooth	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.10.3
Leqi (Luxi)	**khui⁵⁵**	dog; year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.33
	khuk⁵⁵le̱i⁵⁵	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.33
	wɔm³¹**khui⁵⁵**	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.33
Marma	**khé** wa	fox	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-12
	khé wagyá	wolf	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-11
	khwí	dog	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304
Maru [Langsu]	**khə̆³¹**la̱³⁵	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.43
	la **khā**	dog	Weidert 1987:269
	lə̆³¹**kha³⁵**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.43
	mjaŋ³¹**kha³⁵**	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khě⁵⁵**la̱i²¹	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.30
	khě⁵⁵la̱i²¹; vaʔ²¹**khě⁵⁵**	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.42
	khùi	dog	Weidert 1987:269
	khui²¹	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.30
	khui²¹	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.42
	khui²¹ (tsan⁵¹)	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.30
	mjiŋ⁵¹**khui²¹**	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.42
	vam⁵¹**khui²¹**	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.30
	vam⁵¹**khui²¹**mo⁵⁵	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.30
	ʃo²¹khat⁵¹**khui²¹**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.30

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***kwe²**	dog	Weidert 1987:269; Bradley 1979b:18; Hansson 1989:299

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**tshɳ³¹**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.47
	tshɳ³¹ (kho⁵³)	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.47
	tshɳ³¹sɛ³³	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.47
Lalo	á-**khə̀**	dog	Björverud 1994
Nesu	**tsʰɳ³³** dzɻer²¹	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.10.3
Nusu (Southern)	**khui⁵⁵**	dog	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**khui⁵⁵**	dog	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**khui⁵⁵**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khui⁵⁵**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.45
Nusu (Central)	**khui⁵⁵**khɹu̱⁵³	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.34
Nusu (Southern)	liõ³¹**khui⁵⁵**	fox	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	lio³¹**khui⁵⁵**	fox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	liu³¹**khui⁵⁵**	fox	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:132.45
Nusu (Central)	ʂa⁵⁵tɕɔ̃³³**khui⁵⁵**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.34
Yi (Dafang)	**tɕhy³³**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.22
	tɕhy³³ɲi⁵⁵	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.22
	tɕhy³³ɕi³³mo⁵⁵	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**khɯ²¹**mo²¹	bitch (dog); dog, female	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khɯ²¹zɯ³³	dog, puppy; puppy	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khɯ³³	dog	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khɯ³³mu³³	dog, hunting	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khɯ³³vu³³	dog, rabid	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khɯ³³vɛ³³	dog, hunting	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khɯ³³ʂɯ³³	flea	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	la⁵⁵**khɯ³³**	dog, guard	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	zɻ⁵⁵**khɯ³³**	dog, hunting	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ³⁴**khɯ³³**	dog, hunting; hunting dog	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tɕhi²¹**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.25
	tɕhi²¹vi³³; **tʂhɛ̱²¹**lɛ̱²¹	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tɕhi³³**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.26
	tɕhi³³ɕe²¹	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**khu²¹**ɕi³³	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.24
	khu²¹ɕi⁵⁵	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.37
	tʂhɑ̱²¹lɑ̱²¹; vi³³	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**khɯ²¹**ɕi⁵⁵	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.23
	ɑ⁵⁵**khɯ²¹**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.23
Yi (Weishan)	**khɯ²¹**	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.36
	khɯ²¹ɕi⁵⁵	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.36
	tʂhɻ⁵⁵dzu̱²¹ɑ⁵⁵**khɯ²¹**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tɕhe³³**ɕe³³	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.38
	tɕhi³³	dog; year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.38; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.38
	ʂɯ³³**tɕhi³³**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.38
Yi (Xide)	**khɯ³³**	dog; year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.35; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.35
	khɯ³³	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.21
	khɯ³³ɬɯ²¹	May (dog month)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:80.21
	khɯ³³ʂɯ³³	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.35
	khɯ³³ʂɯ³³	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.21
	ʂɯ³³**khɯ³³**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**tɕʻi²¹** tʂɑ²²	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.10.3
Jinuo	**khɯ³³**jo³³	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.34
	khɯ³³ʃe⁴⁴	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.44
	khɯ³³ɕe³³	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.34
	khɯ⁴⁴jo⁴⁴	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.44
	khɯ⁴⁴ka⁵⁵	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**khɤ³³**ɕe⁴⁴	flea	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	khɤ⁴⁴jo⁴⁴	dog	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**phɯ31**	dog	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**phî**	dog	Benedict 1972:26n83
Lahu (Lancang)	**phɯ⁵³**	dog; year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.43
	phɯ⁵³ɕe³³	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.43
	xɛ³³**phɯ⁵³**	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.43
	ɕɑ¹¹ɣɑ²¹**phɯ⁵³**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.43
Lahu (Black)	**phî**	dog	Matisoff 1974:183
	phî-ghû	mad dog (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:920
	phî-qhê-làʔ-nɔ	finger (index)	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	phɯ⁵³	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.33
	phɯ⁵³se³³	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.33
	pʰî	dog	Matisoff 1978a:6
	ɣɯ³¹**phɯ⁵³**	otter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:133.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**phɯ³**	dog; zodiac year (Dog)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	phɯ³sɯ¹	flea	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**khɯ³¹**	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.40
	khɯ³¹xɯ⁴⁴tɯ³⁵	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.27
Lisu (Northern)	**khɤ²¹**	dog (N.)	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹ga?²¹	hunting dog	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹hɤ³³tɤ³⁵	louse (N.)	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹khɔʔ²¹	fiery dog; year of dog	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹khɔʔ²¹su³³	person born in the year of the rat	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹ma³³	bitch	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹ma³³mɤ⁴⁴	infertile bitch	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹mæ³⁵	mad dog	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹na⁴⁴hɤ³³	mangy dog (curse for dog, also a dog disease)	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹na⁵⁵	spayed dog	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹ni³³	day of dog	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹ni³⁵tʃhɻʔ²¹	dark blue dog	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹næ³³	black dog	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹pa⁵⁵	male dog	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹pha²¹	large male dog	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹phu³³	white dog	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹si²¹	yellow dog	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹vu⁵⁵	leading dog (hound)	Bradley 1994
	khɤ²¹vy⁴⁴	mad dog	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**khɤ²¹**ɲi⁴⁴	day of dog	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**kʰɯ**	dog	Matisoff 1978a:6
	ɑ⁵⁵nɑ³¹; **khɯ³¹**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.27
Yi (Sani)	**tshž¹¹**	dog; year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.39; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.39
	tshž̊¹¹ɕe³³mo³³	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.39
Sani [Nyi]	**tsʰɥ¹¹** ʏ¹¹ mɑ³³	rabid dog	MA Xueliang 1989:350.10
	tʂʰʅ²¹ tʂʅ³³	tooth (canine) / incisor	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:195.2
Yi (Sani)	ɬæ⁴⁴tɬɪ³³**tshž̊¹¹**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	à **khỳ**	dog	Hansson 1989:299

[a] Literally "dogshit finger", so called because of its size and shape.

Akha (Thai)	à **khỳ**	dog	Hansson 1989:299
Akha	**khỳ**	dog	Hansson 1989:299
Bisu	**k^{h}ùɯ**	dog	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	a **khỳ**	dog	Hansson 1989:299
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{31}**khɯ^{31}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.31
	khɯ^{31}se^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.31
Hani (Lüchun)	a^{31}**khɯ^{31}**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.41
	khɯ^{31}	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.41
	khɯ^{31}se^{55}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.41
	sa^{31}le^{31}a^{31}**khɯ^{31}**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.41
Hani (Pijo)	**khỳ**	dog	Hansson 1989:299
Hani (Caiyuan)	**khɤ^{31}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.30
	khɤ^{31}se^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	a^{31}**khɯ^{31}**	dog	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	khɯ^{31}ɕɛ^{55}	flea	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	aq **keeq**	dog	Hansson 1989:299
Hani (Shuikui)	**khɯ^{31}**ʃɛ^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.32
	ɔ^{31}**khɯ^{31}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.32
Hani (Khatu)	**khỳ**	dog	Hansson 1989:299
Hani (Mojiang)	**khɯ^{31}**	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.42
	khɯ^{31}ʃɛ^{55}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.42
	ɔ^{31}**khɯ^{31}**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.42
	ʃɔ^{31}lɛ^{31}ɔ^{31}**khɯ^{31}**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.42
Mpi	**khɯ^{2}**	dog; word to chase away dogs	Hansson 1989:299; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	k^{h}ɯ^{2}	dog	Matisoff 1978a:6
Pyen	**khɯ31**	dog	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:023020
Sila	ma55 **khɯ21**	dog	KATO Takashi 2008:110

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**tɕ^{h}i^{33}**	dog	Pelkey 2011:90
	tɕ^{h}i^{33}ɕɛ^{21}	flea	Pelkey 2011:149
Southern Muji	**tɕ^{h}i^{55}**	dog	Pelkey 2011:90
	tɕ^{h}i^{55}ɕɛ^{33}	flea	Pelkey 2011:149
Phola	**k^{h}ji^{23}**	dog	Pelkey 2011:90
	tɕ^{h}i^{33}ɕi^{55}	flea	Pelkey 2011:149
Hlepho Phowa	**ts^{h}ɭ^{55}**	dog	Pelkey 2011:90
	ts^{h}ɭ^{55}sɻ^{33}	flea	Pelkey 2011:149
Phuza	**ts^{h}i^{33}**	dog	Pelkey 2011:90
	tɕ^{h}i^{55}ɕi^{33}	flea	Pelkey 2011:149

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**k^{h}ɯ**˥k^{h}v˥	year of the dog	Michaud 2006–2009:1650
	k^{h}ɯ˦	dog	Michaud 2006–2009:3809
	k^{h}ɯ˦mie˥	she-dog	Michaud 2006–2009:3811
	k^{h}ɯ˦ʂɯ˥	flea	Michaud 2006–2009:3713
	ɖʐɯ˥dze˥ ɭɔ˩ hĩ˩ **k^{h}ɯ**˦	shepherd dog, collie	Michaud 2006–2009:3815
Na (Yongning)	**k^{h}v**˦bv˥	kennel, doghouse	Michaud 2006–2009
	k^{h}v˦k^{h}v˩	year of the dog	Michaud 2006–2009
	k^{h}v˦ʂæ˥	hunt (leading a dog) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	k^{h}v˩mi˩	dog	Michaud 2006–2009
	k^{h}v˩tsɤ˩mi˦	she-dog	Michaud 2006–2009
	to˩**k^{h}v**˩mi˦	male dog	Michaud 2006–2009
	tse˩ʈʂ^{h}v˩-**k^{h}v**˦	derogatory term of address for a dog	Michaud 2006–2009
	tɕ^{h}i˩di˩**k^{h}v**˦mi˩	hunting dog, hound	Michaud 2006–2009
	tɕ^{h}i˩di˩**k^{h}v**˩	hunting dog, hound	Michaud 2006–2009
	ũ˩dv˦-**k^{h}v**˥mi˩	wolf-dog	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	dy^{55}**khɯ^{33}**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**khv^{31}**mi^{13}	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.29
Naxi	**khɯ^{33}**	dog; year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**khɯ^{33}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.28
Naxi	**khɯ^{33}**mu^{33}	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**khɯ^{33}**ʂu^{33}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.28
Naxi	**khɯ^{33}**ʂɚ^{21}	hunt	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1230.45
	khɯ^{55}ʂu^{33}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.45
	phɑ^{21}**khɯ^{33}**	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	phɑ^{31}**khɯ^{33}**	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.28

7. KARENIC: *__thwi__^{B} DOG, *__thwíʔ__ DOG, *__thwi__^{B}__mi__^{A} FOX, WOLF [a] [b]

**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	*__thwíq__	dog	Jones 1961:31
**Karen (TP)*	*__thwíq__	dog	Jones 1961:31
**Karen (Pwo)*	*__thwíq__	dog	Jones 1961:31
**Karen*	*__thwíq__	dog (cf. PIG.)	Jones 1961:31
**Karen [Burling]*	*__thwi__^{2}	dog	Luangthongkum 2013:87
**Karen (Sgaw)*	*__thwíʔ__	dog	Jones 1961:31
**Karen*	*__thwi__^{B}	dog	Luangthongkum 2013:87
	*__thwi__^{B} mi^{A}	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
Bwe	**thwi^{33}**	dog	Luangthongkum 2013:87
Karen	**thui^{31}**	dog; year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.50; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.50
	thui^{31}hɔ^{31}kho^{31}	fox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.50
	thui^{31}mi^{33}	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.50
Kayah	**thwi^{11}**	dog	Luangthongkum 2013:87
	thwi^{11} mi^{11}	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
Kayan	**thwi^{11}**	dog	Luangthongkum 2013:87
	thwi^{11} mi^{33}	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
Kayan (Pekon)	**t^{h}wî**	dog (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}wî hân	dhole, wild dog [lit. dog-earth] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}wî myạ̀	wild dog [lit. dog-forest] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**thi^{11}**	dog	Luangthongkum 2013:87
	thi^{11} mi^{33}	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
Pa-O	**thwí**	dog	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:31
	thwí mī	fox, jackal	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**thwi^{33}**	dog	Luangthongkum 2013:87
	thwi^{33} mi^{53}	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
Pa-O (Northern)	**thwi^{55}**	dog	Luangthongkum 2013:87
	thwi^{55} mi^{33}	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
Palaychi	**thwíq**	dog	Jones 1961:31
Pwo (Northern)	**thwi^{33}**	dog	Luangthongkum 2013:87
Pwo (Southern)	**thwi^{55}**	dog	Luangthongkum 2013:87
	thwi^{55} mei$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
Pwo (Bassein)	**thwì**	dog	Jones 1961:31
Pwo (Moulmein)	**thwíʔ**	dog	Jones 1961:31
Sgaw (Northern)	**thwi$^{31\sim}$**	dog	Luangthongkum 2013:87
	thwi^{11} mi^{33}	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
Sgaw (Southern)	**thwi^{45,}**	dog	Luangthongkum 2013:87
	thwi^{45,} mi^{33}	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
Sgaw (Bassein)	**thwì**	dog	Jones 1961:31
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**thwíʔ**	dog	Jones 1961:31

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**qhõ^{33}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.37
Bai (Dali)	**k'ua** 3/4	dog (general)	Dell 1981b:129
	k'ua mɔ 33	dog (f.)	Dell 1981b:130
	k'ua to 36	dog (m.)	Dell 1981b:131
	khuɑ^{33}	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**khuã^{33}**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.48
	khuã^{33}	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.36
	khuã^{33} ŋɛ̲^{21}	tooth (canine)	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	kuã^{33}	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.48
	k^{h}uã^{33} ts̪ʅ^{33} pa̲^{44}	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.10.3
	tɕi̲^{21}su̲^{21}**khuã^{33}**	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.48

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ku**/kạu	dog	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:108d
	ku/kạu:	dog	Karlgren 1957:108d
	k'iwən/k'iwɛn	dog	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:479a-d
	k'iwən/k'iwen:	dog	Karlgren 1957:479a-d
Chinese (Old)	**k'i̯wən**	dog	Matisoff 1983:14
	ku	dog	Matisoff 1983:14
	k^{w}hi/enʔ	dog	Baxter 1992:374

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**quǎn**-yá	tooth (canine); tooth (fang)	Sun 1985b:118; Sun 1985b:243

Chinese comparandum

Two Chinese forms are considered to descend from this etymon:

狗 OC ***ku**, *GSR* #108d; B & S 2011: ***Cə.k^{ʕ}roʔ {Cə.[k]^{ʕ}roʔ}**; Mand. **gǒu**
犬 OC ***k'iwən**, *GSR* #479a-d; B & S 2011: ***k^{whʕ}enʔ {[k]^{whʕ}[e] [n]ʔ}**; Mand. **quǎn**.

OC ***ku** reflects the unsuffixed root, while OC ***k'iwən** bears the "collective" nasal suffix.

(2) PTB *na DOG

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Chantyal	**na** ku-ye swa	eyetooth / canine tooth / fang	Noonan *et al.* 1992:3.10.3
Gurung	**nā** gi	dog	Hale 1973:01.021
Gurung (Ghachok)	**na** gi	dog	Glover 1972:1.21
Manang (Gyaru)	**nɯ^{4}** gyɯ^{2}	dog	Nagano 1984:304
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{3}ɲu** kyu	dog	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0094a
	^{3}ɲə kyu	dog	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0094b
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{1}na** k^{h}i ^{1}sjoi	tooth (canine)	Mazaudon 1991:3.10.3
Tamang (Sahu)	**nā** ki	dog	Hale 1973:01.021
	na ki	dog	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.21
Thakali	**'na** kyn	dog	Hale 1973:01.021
Thakali (Tukche)	**'nɔ** kju	dog	Hari 1971:1.21

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**na**	dog	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0573
	njij	dog	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5147

3.2. QIANGIC

Lyuzu	**ɳi^{33}** tʂæ^{53} (/ sæ^{33}) tɕhu^{53}	hound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0290.18
Xumi	khuɛ^{53}**ɳi^{33}**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.17
	khuɐ^{55}**ɳi^{33}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.20

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	khə **na**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	khə **nɑ**	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.11
rGyalrong	khA **na**	dog	Nagano 1997:4.1
rGBenzhen	k^{h}ə-**naʔ**	dog	Sun 1997b

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Bijiang)	**nɑ^{31}**	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.45
Nusu (Southern)	**ɳɚ̲^{53}**	wolf	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	tɕhy^{33}ɳi^{55}	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.22
Yi (Nanhua)	ɑ^{55}**nu^{55}**	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.37
	ɑ^{55}**nu^{55}**dzæ^{21}	dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0289.37
	ʌ^{33}**nu̲^{55}**	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.24

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Yellow)	mɯ^{1}**na^{6}**	wolf	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	a^{1}-**na^{5}**	dog	Fraser 1922
	a^{1}-**na^{5}**-ra^{5}	pup / puppy (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}**na^{21}**	dog (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**na^{21}** a^{55}væʔ^{21}	dog-pig (a curse)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**na^{21}** la^{33}be^{21}	long-hair dog (big dog with long hair)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**na^{21}**kɔ^{55}	wolf	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**na^{21}**ma^{33}	bitch (a curse)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**na^{21}**mɤ^{55}	dog's tail	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**na^{21}**mɤ^{55} ze^{21}	white-tailed dog	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**na^{21}**pa^{55}	male dog	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**na^{21}**zaʔ^{21}	puppy	Bradley 1994
	khɤ^{21}**na^{44}**hɤ^{33}	mangy dog (curse for dog, also a dog disease)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ɑ^{55}**nɑ^{31}**; khɯ^{31}	dog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:119.27

8. BAI

Bai (Jianchuan)	**nɑ̲^{21}**	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.48

(3) PTB *s-k-ywal WILD DOG / JACKAL / DHOLE / WOLF

This PTB root was borrowed into Indo-Aryan at an early date; cf. Sanskrit **śṛgāla-**. Later on, such an Indic form was borrowed into many TB languages, especially in Nepal. This is an excellent example of a "backloan": TB > IA > TB. See "Toward a Eurasian Bestiary", part II: JACKAL in Sino-Tibetan and Indo-European (Matisoff 2010).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__kywal__	jackal; wolf; dhole; wild dog	Matisoff 1985a:017; Matisoff 2003a:598

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	**kɑl^{33}**	fox	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:132.48
	kɑl^{55}	wolf; fox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.23; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.23

[a] Root-initial ***k-** in PTB ***d-k^{w}əy-n** DOG (§2.1.11) reanalyzed as prefix, then replaced by **t(h)-** (cf. Karen **thọ̲^{55}** < PTB ***p^{w}ak** PIG (§2.1.12)).

[b] The second element in the Karenic compounds for FOX / WOLF seem to derive from PTB ***m-l(e/ə)y** EARTH / COUNTRY / GROUND / MUD / SOIL (§3.2.11).

	kɑl[55]	wolf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.48
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**sihal**	jackal	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	hi **jai**	jackal	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**si·**-ol	jackal (n.)	Burling 2003:4.419-II:idx
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***C-khyual** WOLF			
**Northern Naga*	***C-khyual**	wolf	Matisoff 1985a:017
	***Ç-k^{h}yual**	wolf	French 1983:580
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**sho**	wolf	Marrison 1967
	šo	wolf	Matisoff 1985a:017
	šuo	wild dog	Matisoff 1985a:017
	šo	wolf	French 1983:580
	šuo	wild dog	French 1983:580
Konyak	**sho**	wolf	Marrison 1967
	šo	wolf	Matisoff 1985a:017
	šo	wolf	French 1983:580
Phom	**sho**	wolf	Marrison 1967
	so	wolf	Matisoff 1985a:017
	šo	wolf	French 1983:580
	ʃɔ[55]	wolf	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**šan**	wolf	Matisoff 1985a:017
	shan	wolf	Marrison 1967
	šan	wolf	French 1983:580
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**čəkhyōn**	fox, wolf, wild dog	Matisoff 1985a:017
	tʃă^{3}khjon[33]	wolf	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tʃă[33]**khjon**[33]	wolf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.47
	tʃa̱[33]**khjon**[33]	jackal; wolf (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.19; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.19
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**syelā**	jackal (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.060
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	(**N**)selaːq	jackal	Glover 1972:3.A.60
Gurung	**selā:q**	jackal (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.060
Thakali	**'syala**	jackal (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.060
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**syāl**	jackal	Genetti 1990a
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**siwā:r**	jackal (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.060
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**syal**	jackal (<N) (n.)	Caughley 2000
Kham	**'syāl**	jackal (n.)	Hale 1973:Hale 73 CSD
Magar	rā̱ **silā**	jackal (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.060
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***wan**[1] JACKAL / WOLF / DHOLE / WILD DOG			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***wan**[1]	jackal / wolf / dhole / wild dog	Matisoff 2003a:598; Matisoff 2003a:618
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***k-wan**[1]	dhole	Bradley 1979b:19
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Northern)	de[35]**vɛ**[31]	wolf	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**vi**[21]	dhole, jackal	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.22
Yi (Mojiang)	**ve**[21]	wolf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ve**[33]	wolf (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.37
Yi (Weishan)	**vi**[55]pa[21]	wolf (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ve**[11]	jackal (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.38
Yi (Xide)	**vi**[33]n̥i[33]	jackal (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**ø**[31]	wolf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.34
	ø[4]	dhole / wolf / wild dog	Matisoff 1985a:017
Jinuo (Youle)	**ø**[42]	wolf	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ø**[42]	jackal; wolf (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.44; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.44
Lahu (Lancang)	**ve**[31]	wolf (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.43
Lahu (Black)	**vè**	dhole (Cuon javanicus)	Matisoff 1985a:017
	ve[31]	wolf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.33
Lisu	**ve**[33]tho[35]	wolf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.27
Lisu (Northern)	**ve**[44]	wolf (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ve[44]thɔ[35]	jackal and wolf	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**vɪ**[33]	wolf (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.39
	vɪ[33]ʂz̩[44]zɒ[11]	jackal (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	k'a[31]**yeh**[55]	dhole / wolf / wild dog	Matisoff 1985a:017
	xhà-**jɛ́**	wolf	Matisoff 1985a:017

(4) PTB *gwa FOX

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***gwaɣ**	fox	Coblin 1986:84
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gwa**	fox	Matisoff 2003a:592; Coblin 1986:84
	***gwɑ**	fox	Chou Fa-kao 1972:41i
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**wa**-mu:	fox	Sun 1993b
Bokar	*o-**wa**	fox	Sun 1993b
	o **wa**	fox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.24
Bokar Lhoba	o **wa**	fox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:132.51
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**goa**-nu / **gwa**-nu	fox	Benedict 1972:34n111
	goa-nu~**gwa**-nu	fox	Coblin 1986:84
	gŭa	fox	Coblin 1986:84
Pattani [Manchati]	**guha**	fox	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**wɑ**[35]mo[55]	fox	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ʔo:**[55]mo[53]	fox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:132.6
Cuona Menba	**ʔo:**[55]mo[53]	fox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Lahuli	**gŭa**	fox	Benedict 1972:34n111
Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣa**	fox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ɣa**	fox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:132.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**gaa**	fox	Benedict 1972:34n111
	ɣa	fox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:132.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**wɑ**[13]	fox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**wa**[31]	fox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:132.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**wa**[15]mo[13]	fox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:132.2
	waː[13]mo[55]	fox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.02
Tibetan (Spiti)	**a** mo	fox	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**wa**	fox	Sun 1985c:286; Benedict 1972:34n111
	wa	fox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.01
	wa	fox	Coblin 1986:84
	wa mo	fox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:132.1
	wɑ	fox	Jäschke 1881
	wɑ-gró	fox (bluish)	Jäschke 1881
	wɑ-nág	fox (blackish)	Jäschke 1881
	wɑ-p'rug	fox (young) / cub	Jäschke 1881
	wɑ-rgán	fox (old)	Jäschke 1881
	wɑ-róg	fox (black)	Jäschke 1881
	wɑ́-mo	fox (she-)	Jäschke 1881
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	thāo̱ **hwā̱**	fox (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.059
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**wə**[35]	fox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.16
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ʐyə**[35]	fox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**guɐ**[13]po[55]	fox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sgyɛ**[13]	fox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:132.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**guə**[53]	fox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:132.10
Qiang (Longxi)	qhà **guà**	fox	Evans 1999:402
Qiang (Mawo)	**rgua**	fox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:132.8
	ʐguɛ	fox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	qhá **guə̀**	fox	Evans 1999:402
Qiang (Taoping)	qhɑ[33]**χguə**[33]	fox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:132.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**wa**[35]	fox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:132.16
6.1.1. Burmish			
Marma	khé **wa**	fox	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:304-12
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	zɭ[42]**ɣuʌi**[11]	fox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:132.33
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**g'wo**	fox	Chou Fa-kao 1972:41i
	g'wo/**ɣwo**	fox	Karlgren 1957:41i
Chinese (Old)	**gwag**	fox	Coblin 1986:84
	g^{w}a	fox	Baxter 1992:1360
	g^{wˤ}a {[g]^{wˤ}a}	fox	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1078
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**ɣwo**	fox	Coblin 1986:84

Chinese comparandum

狐 OC ***g'wo**, *GSR* #41i 'fox'; Coblin 86:84 ST ***gwaɣ**; B & S 2011: ***g^{wˤ}a {[g]^{wˤ}a}**; Mand. **hú**.

(5) PKC *tsiŋ-hŋia FOX / DHOLE / WOLF / WILD CANINE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tsiŋ-hŋia**	FOX / DHOLE / WOLF / WILD CANINE	VanBik 2009:539
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**ngia**[1]	fox	VanBik 2009:539; Bhaskararao 1996:1291
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**ng-hngei** ≍ ei-hngei	grey-wolf, sort of jungle dog	VanBik 2009:539
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsîŋ-hŋìa**	fox	VanBik 2009:539
Lai (Falam)	**tsìŋ-hŋía**	fox	VanBik 2009:539
Lushai [Mizo]	**chíng-hnĭa**	wolf, the wild dog	VanBik 2009:539
	chinghnia	wolf	Marrison 1967
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**cha-ngí**	wolf (Canis dhola) (n.)	VanBik 2009:539

(6) PTB *s-pjaŋ WILD DOG

1.1.1. Tani: ***pjaŋ** WILD DOG			
**Tani*	***pjaŋ**	wild dog	Sun 1993a:464
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	sɯ-**pja**	wild dog	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ši-**ča:**	wild dog	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**tɕaŋ** ku	wolf (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.24
Bokar Lhoba	**tɕaŋ** ku	wolf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.51
Miri, Hill	so **ca**	wolf	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	si-**pjaŋ**	wild dog	Sun 1993a
Damu	ɕi-**pia**	wolf	Sun 1993b
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**çən** k^{h}u	hyaena	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Mama)	**ɕʌŋ**[55]ku[53]	wolf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.6
Cuona Menba	**ɕaŋ**[55]ku[53]	wolf (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**wcçaŋ** khə	wolf (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htɕaŋ** khə	wolf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**wcçaŋ** khə	wolf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.5
Tibetan (Balti)	k^{h}i **pšʌŋ**	jackal	Rangan 1975:28
Tibetan (Batang)	**ɕõ**[55]khu[53]	wolf (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	kip **cyāngq**	fox; jackal (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.059; Hale 1973:03a.060
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ɕɑŋ**[55]khu[53]	wolf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	chip[55]**tɕaŋ**[55]	jackal (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.02 [a]
	tɕaŋ[55]ku[53]	wolf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:130.2
	tɕəŋ[55]ku[55]	wolf (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.02

[a] This form has apparently been meta-analyzed from an earlier **chi**[55] **ptɕaŋ**[55].

Tibetan (Sherpa)	ci **peangq**	jackal (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.060
Tibetan (Written)	ce **spyaṅ**	jackal	Marrison 1967
	dúr-**spyɑŋ**	jackal	Jäschke 1881
	kʻyi-**spyáŋ**	jackal	Jäschke 1881
	pʻɑr-**spyáŋ**	wolf	Jäschke 1881
	spjaŋ khu	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.01
	spjaŋ ki	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.1
	spyaṅ ki	wolf	Marrison 1967
	spyáŋ-ki	wolf	Jäschke 1881
	spyáŋ-mo	wolf (female)	Jäschke 1881
	spyáŋ-pʻrúg	wolf (young)	Jäschke 1881
	wá-mɑ-**spyɑŋ**	jackal	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htɕaŋ** kə	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.04
3.2. QIANGIC			
Pumi (Jiulong)	**pɛ̃**^{11}khi^{55}	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.10
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɕoŋ**^{55}khɯ^{55}	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**piɛ̃**^{55}nkhu^{55}	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**spiɔŋ** kɯ	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.14
Daofu	**spjoŋ** kə	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
Caodeng	**spjaŋ** ku	wolf	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**spjɐŋ** kə	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**spjɑŋ** kə	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.11
rGyalrong	**spyang** ku	wolf	Nagano 1997:4.12
rGBenzhen	**spjɐŋ**-kə	wolf	Sun 1997b

(7) PTB *m-par ≍ *pra WILD DOG / WOLF

We are positing a rare instance of metathesis in this root. The well-attested etymon for EIGHT, **b-r-gyat ≍ (b-)g-ryat**, is assumed to illustrate a similar variational pattern.

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	tɑ^{31}**pɹɯ**^{35}	wolf; fox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.22; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0325.22
	tɑ^{31}**pɹɯ**^{35}	wolf; fox	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.49; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:132.49
Idu	ɑ^{55}**pɹɯ**^{55}**pɹɯ**^{55}	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.50
Yidu	ɑ^{55}**pɹɯ**^{55}**pɹɯ**^{55}	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.25
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**pheru**	fox (n.)	van Breugel 2008
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**phara**	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**phɑ**^{55}**rɑ**^{55}	wolf	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**pha ra**	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.07
Cuona Menba	**pha**^{55}**ra**^{53}	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**np^{h}ær**-æ	hill dog (Cuon primoevus)	Sun 1985a:362
Tibetan (Batang)	**pha**^{55}**ra**^{53}	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.03
Tibetan (Written)	**phar**.ba	hill dog (Cuon primoevus)	Sun 1985c:362
	pʻɑr-bɑ	wild dog / wolf	Jäschke 1881
	pʻɑr-spyáŋ	wolf	Jäschke 1881
	fiphar	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**pha ra**	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.04
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**bəri**	wild dog (obsol.)	Allen 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**par?**.kuy?	Wild Dog, Dhole; animal (sp.), Dhole or Wild Dog (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
Kham	**par**	jackal (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.060
3.2. QIANGIC			
Pumi (Lanping)	pɔ^{55}**phʂə̃**^{55}	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	pɔ^{55}**phʐə̃**^{55}	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.11
Queyu (Xinlong)	**par**^{55}	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**phra**^{53}	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.16
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**mpha ra**	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **pɑr**	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.11
Caodeng	qɐ-**pe?r**	wild dog	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	kə-**por**	wild dog	Sun 1997b
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**p^{h}ɑ**˥	wolf	Michaud 2006–2009:3894
Naxi	**phɑ**^{21}	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.45
	phɑ^{21}khɯ^{33}	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**phɑ**^{31}khɯ^{33}	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.28
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**srieŋ** / **sieŋ**	bark (v.)	Benedict 1972:80n245
	srieŋ/**sị̈eŋ**	bark (v.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:812z

Chinese comparandum

猩 OC ***srieng***, *GSR* #812z ‘bark (v.)’; Mand. **xīng**.

(2) PTB *wu HOWL / WHINE / BARK

This etymon, which undoubtedly has an imitative component, is very likely related to PTB ***ʔur*** MAKE NOISE / HUM / CHAT / BABBLE (§8.5.5).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***u**	whine; howl; bark; howl (dog)	Weidert 1987:224; Benedict 1972:261
	***wu**	howl / grumble	Matisoff 2003a:619
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**ŭ**	whine (as a dog)	Weidert 1987:224
	u	whine (as a dog)	Benedict 1972:261
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	iŋ-**ū(ʔ)**	howl (dog)	Weidert 1987:224
	iŋ **u**	bark (as a dog), grumble, growl	Benedict 1972:261
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**wau**^{55}	bark (v.)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.47
	wu	murmur, mumble, mutter	Benedict 1972:261
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**u**-ye	bark (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.01
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**u**^{22}	howl (of wolves) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1436.27
Burmese (Written)	**o**	cry out, bawl, howl	Benedict 1976a
	u	howl (dog)	Weidert 1987:224
	u	howl (onomat. ?) ; to be much (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	u	howl (as a dog)	Benedict 1972:261
	u^{2}	howl (of wolves) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1436.26
Marma	**u**	cry (of animal) / bark	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:320-1
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Liangshan)	**vo**^{55}	bark (dog); crow	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	**vo**^{55}	bark	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vo^{55}	bark (v.)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.35; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.21
7. KARENIC			
Bwe	**o**	bark(of dogs);to call a dog (v.)	Henderson 1997
	o bo	bark (never to call a dog) (v.)	Henderson 1997
Kayan (Pekon)	**ù**	crow, bark, used of animals (V.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**ʔú**	bark, crow	Solnit 1989

(3) PTB *laŋ BARK (v.)

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***laŋ**	bark (as dog)	Matisoff 2003a:599
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	**rũ** ga	bark	Pulu 1978
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**lăŋ**	bark (v.)	Benedict 1972:80n245
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	**luŋ**^{55}	bark (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.21
Anong	**luŋ**^{55}	bark (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.44
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**ʔlu**	bark (v.)	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Northern)	**lõ**^{31}	bark (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**lɔ̃**^{35}	bark (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**lɔ̃**^{35}	bark (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.45
Yi (Nanhua)	**lu**^{33}	bark (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.37; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**lu**^{33}	bark (v.)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔlu**^{33}	bark (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.36
Yi (Wuding)	**lv̩**^{33}	bark (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**ɬo**^{33}	bark (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ɬo**^{31}	bark (dog)	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2048
Jinuo	**ɬo**^{31}	bark (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**ɬo**^{42}	bark (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**ɬu**^{55}	bark (dog)	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2048
**Common Lahu*	***law**ˬ	bark	Bradley 1979b
Lahu (Black)	**lɔ**^{31}	bark (v.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	lɔ^{53}	bark (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**lɔ**^{31}	bark (v.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Nujiang)	**lo**^{55}	bark (v.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**lo**^{55}	bark (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.40; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.27
	lu^{1}	bark	Bradley 1979b:674
Lisu (Central)	**lu**^{1}	bark (as dog) (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**lɔ**^{55}	bark, cry (of animal) (V.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**tɬæ**^{55}	bark (v.)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:174.1
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Pijo)	**lú**	bark (of dogs)	Hansson 1989:521
Hani (Caiyuan)	**lu**^{55}	bark (v.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.30
Mpi	**luŋ**^{5}	bark (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Phola	**lɔ**^{23}**lɔ**^{23}	bark (v.)	Pelkey 2011:858
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**lv**˥	bark (a dog barks) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2832
Na (Yongning)	**lv**˩	bark (a dog barks) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009

2.1.11.1 Bark (of dog)

(1) PTB *priŋ ≍ *b-riŋ BARK (as dog)

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-riŋ**	bark (as dog); bark	Matisoff 2003a:610; Benedict 1972:112n315
	***priŋ**	bark (as dog)	Matisoff 2003a:607
	***priŋ**	bark (v.)	Benedict 1972:377
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	**biriŋ ≍ buruŋ**	bark, call (as an animal) (v.)	Benedict 1972:377
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**phriŋ**	bark (v.)	Benedict 1972:377; Benedict 1972:80n245
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**məríŋ**	cry (of animal) / bark	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:320-1
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			

Naxi (Eastern)	**lua**^{13}	bark (v.)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**lua**^{13}	bark (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.29
Naxi (Western)	**lv**^{31}	bark (v.)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lv**^{31}	bark (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.28
Naxi	**lɣ**^{21}	bark (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.45

(4) PTB *haw $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ BARK (v.)

Bradley (1979, no. 674) reconstructs Proto-Loloish ***h/loŋ**^{1} on the basis of forms like Black Lahu **lɔ̀** and WB **hoŋ**. However, I believe two separate roots are involved: PTB ***laŋ** BARK (v.) (§2.1.11.1) and PTB ***haw(ŋ/k)** BARK (v.) (§2.1.11.1).

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***huuk** ≍ ***hook** BARK (deer)			
**Chin*	***huuk** ≍ hook	BARK (deer)	VanBik 2009:699
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**hawk**	roar (as a barking deer) (v.)	VanBik 2009:699
Chinbon	a̱ **hok**	bark	So-Hartmann 1988:31
Daai	**hɔk**	bark	So-Hartmann 1988:31
Khumi	**haaw**	make the sound of a deer	VanBik 2009:699
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**huuk** ≍ hook-INV	bark (e.g. deer) (v.)	VanBik 2009:699
Lushai [Mizo]	**hŭuk**	bark (as the barking deer) (v.)	VanBik 2009:699
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-**háo**	bark as a barking deer (v.)	VanBik 2009:699
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	**huŋ**^{31}	bark (dog)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**hɔːs**- (hɔ)	bark (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**huk**	bark (v.)	Rai 1985
Chamling	**huk**-	bark	Winter 1985
Kulung	**hukk**-a	bark (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**huːk** nɨ	bark (of dog)	Driem 1993
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**huk**- (IE)	bark (v.)	Allen 1975
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**hoŋ**	bark (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	hɔŋ^{2}	bark (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.26; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Bisu	**hóŋ**	bark (of dogs)	Bradley 199x
Hani (Khatu)	**hú**	bark (of dogs)	Hansson 1989:521

(5) PTB *zu $\begin{matrix}\text{k}\\\text{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ BARK (v.)

The relationship of the Loloish forms to this root is somewhat speculative. The Barish reflexes point to a variant with final velar nasal.

1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**sə́ŋ**	ask; bark (v.)	Bhat 1968
	sʏŋʔ	bark (v.)	Weidert 1987:674
Kokborok	**šəŋ**	bark (of a dog) (v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**cuŋʔ**	bark (v.)	Weidert 1987:674
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**tšhok**	bark (v.)	Weidert 1987:674
Tangsa	^{1}**so(ʔ)**	bark (v.)	Weidert 1987:674
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	**ʃɔ**^{55}	bark	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**suk**^{13}	bark (v.)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	zuk	bark (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**zuk**	bark (v.)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**suk**	bark (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**sək**	bark (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.4
Tibetan (Written)	**zug**	bark (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.1
	zug-pa	bark, to (v.)	Jäschke 1881:488
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**səχ**	bark (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung	**chuq** bā	bark (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.01
Gurung (Ghachok)	**c^{h}uq** ba	bark	Glover 1972:3.B.1
Manang (Prakaa)	^{1}**c^{h}e**-	bark (v.)	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0758
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'cuː**	bark (v.)	Weidert 1987:674
Thakali	**cu**-la	bark (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.01
Thakali (Tukche)	**cu**-lɔ	bark (v.)	Hari 1971:3.B.1
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Thai)	**tsèq**	bark (of dogs)	Hansson 1989:521
Akha (Yunnan)	**tsèq**	bark (of dogs)	Hansson 1989:521
Hani (Dazhai)	**ts̲ɛ**^{31}	bark (v.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tsèq**	bark (of dogs)	Hansson 1989:521
	ts̲ɛ^{31}	bark (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ts̲ɛ**^{31}	bark (v.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**tsh̲i**^{31}	bark (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:783.32
	ts^{h}i̲^{31}	bark (v.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**zeivq**	bark (of dogs)	Hansson 1989:521
Hani (Mojiang)	**tsh̲i**^{31}	bark (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.42
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**zɯ**^{44}	bark (v.)	Pelkey 2011:858
Phuza	**ts^{h}ʌ**^{55}	bark (v.)	Pelkey 2011:858

(6) PKC *ŋi(i)r ≍ *ŋu(u)r GROWL

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ŋi(i)r** ≍ ŋu(u)r	GROWL	VanBik 2009:857
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**ngik**	growl	VanBik 2009:857
Thado	**ngíeʔ**-I ngìeʔ-II	growl	VanBik 2009:857
Tiddim	**ngiːk**^{3}	growl	VanBik 2009:857
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ngü**	growling, grunting (as dog preparing to bite) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:857
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ŋìir**-I, ŋǐir-II	growl	VanBik 2009:857
Lushai [Mizo]	**ngùr**	growl, to snarl, to grumble (v.)	VanBik 2009:857

2.1.12 Porcine

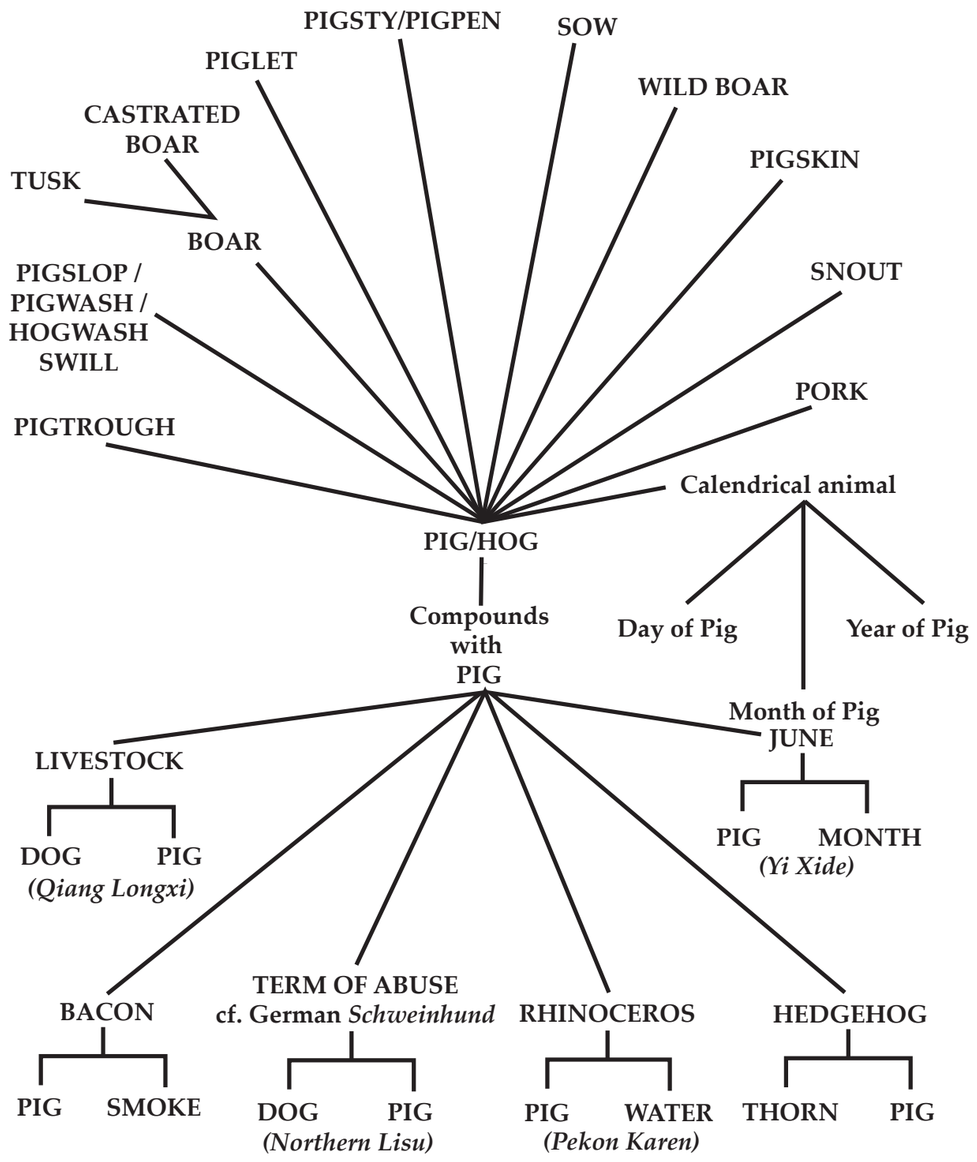


Figure 175: 2.1.12 *Porcine*

(1) PTB *p^{w}ak PIG

This etymon is a prime example of the alternation between labial stop and semi-vowel, motivating the reconstruction of an "extrusional" proto-cluster **p^{w}**. Cf. Matisoff 2000, "An extrusional approach to *p-/w- variation in Sino-Tibetan." Language and Linguistics (Taipei) 1.2:135-186.

Several Tibetan dialects (e.g. Alike, Amdo Zeku, Xiahe) have developed initial **h-** in this word; some Naga languages have gone further, and have zero-initial. The development of ***p-** to **h-** is also characteristic of Japanese; Irish **aithir** from PIE **pətér** has gone the whole way from **p-** to zero.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***pr** + **wag**	pig	Coblin 1986:117
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***p-wak**	pig	Matisoff 1983:29
	***pak**	pig	Weidert 1987:693; Benedict 1972:43
	***pwak**	sow; pig	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:39d; Weidert 1987:693; LaPolla 1987:163; Coblin 1986:118
	***p^{w}ak**	pig	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:608
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	***p^{h}ak**-kaŋ	pigsty	Sun 1993b
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***wok** PIG			
**Chin*	***wok**	PIG	VanBik 2009:1162
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**vok**	pig	VanBik 2009:1162
Thado	**vòʔ**	pig	VanBik 2009:1162
	vóʔ	pig	Thirumalai 1972:14
	vóʔ cʌ̀l	pig	Thirumalai 1972:30
	vɔ́ʔ	pig	Thirumalai 1972:47
Tiddim	gam^{2} **vok**^{1}	wild boar	Bhaskararao 1996:309
	saːi^{2} **vok**^{1}	big boar	Bhaskararao 1996:1526
	vok^{3}	pig	VanBik 2009:1162; Bhaskararao 1996:1961
	_vok	pig (n.)	Henderson 1965
	_vok `gɔːl	fence (pig) (n + n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**wŏ**	pig	VanBik 2009:1162
Chinbon	**wok**	pig	So-Hartmann 1988:53
Cho (Mindat)	**vawk**	pig	VanBik 2009:1162
Daai	**wɔk**	pig	VanBik 2009:1162
Khumi	**ew**	pig	VanBik 2009:1162
	ɛ^{u}k	pig	So-Hartmann 1988:53
Matu	**ok**	pig	So-Hartmann 1988:53
	wok	pig	So-Hartmann 1988:53
Mkaang	**vɔk**	pig	So-Hartmann 1988:53
Ngmüün	**wɔk**	pig	So-Hartmann 1988:53
Nyhmoye	**vɔk**	pig	So-Hartmann 1988:53
Wakung	**ɔ**^{2}	pig	So-Hartmann 1988:53
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**vok**	pig	VanBik 2009:1162

Lai (Falam)	**vòk**	pig	VanBik 2009:1162
Lushai [Mizo]	**vawk**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
	vàwk	domestic pig, a pig, swine (n.)	VanBik 2009:1162
	vok	domestic pig; pig; swine, pig	Bhaskararao 1996:1961; LaPolla 1987:163; Coblin 1986:117

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**vāo**	pig, domestic pig (n.)	VanBik 2009:1162

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**vok** hə	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.10.6

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**hok**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	**ak**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
	ak^{31}	pig (domestic) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **ok**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**áwk**-sàʔ	pork ('pig' + 'meat') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**úk**	pig, domestic (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**úk** təhla	pig, domestic boar (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**úk** [tə]-ji	pig, domestic sow ('pig' + 'mother') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**wók** ò	pig	Acharya 1975
	wok oro	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967 [a]
Yacham-Tengsa	**ak**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **po**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	the **ro**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967 [b]
Angami (Kohima)	the^{31} **vo**^{11} nhü^{31}	snout	Nienu 1990a:3.5.5
	the **ro**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	thü^{31} **vo**^{11} hü^{31} tso^{35}	snout	Nienu 1990b:3.5.5
	thü **vo**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Khezha	e **vo**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Mao	o **vo**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **vu**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **vü**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Rengma	te **bwa**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **wo**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**wok**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	ka **bak**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **wak**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**bok**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	gə **wàk**	pig	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	gə **bak**	pig	Benedict 1972:43
	ke **bak**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	he **bak**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***hwok*** PIG

**Tangkhulic*	***hwok**	pig	Mortensen 2012:566
Champhung	a-**vak**	hog	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-**huʔ**	pig	Mortensen 2012:Animals.026
Kachai	ʔa-**fak**	pig	Mortensen 2012:Animals.026
Tangkhul	**hok**	pig; pig (domestic)	Bhat 1969:94; Marrison 1967
Tankghul (Central)	**hok**	hog	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**hok**	hog	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**hok**	hog	Brown 1837
Tusom	**xu**	pig	Mortensen 2012:Animals.026
	xu-pvɯ	pig, female	Mortensen 2012:Animals.028
Ukhrul	**hok**	pig	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**ok**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**phak**	pig (domestic); pig; swine, pig	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:163; Coblin 1986:117
	phak leng	pig (wild)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***wak**	pig	Burling 1959:443

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Kokborok	**wauʔ**	pig	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	wauʔ-k^{h}an	pork	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**wak**	pig; swine, pig	LaPolla 1987:163; Coblin 1986:117
Garo (Bangladesh)	**wak**	pig (n.)	Burling 2003:5.35-II:idx
	wak be•-en	pork (n.)	Burling 2003:5.401-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**wak**	pig, pork (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wak nok	domestic pig (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wak nol	pigsty (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wak palyng	wild pig (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***wak*** PIG

**Northern Naga*	***wak**	pig	French 1983:532

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**vak**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
	vak la	male pig	French 1983:520
Tangsa (Moshang)	**vak**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**vak**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**ok**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
	ok p^{h}e	pork	French 1983:522
	ok lo šou	domestic boar	French 1983:520
Konyak	**ak**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
Phom	**ok**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
	ok^{55}	pig	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**vak**	pig (domestic)	Marrison 1967
	vak la	boar	French 1983:520

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jili	tə **wak**	pig	Benedict 1972:14n50; Benedict 1972:43
Jingpho	**wa**	pig (domestic); pig	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:14n50
	wáʔ	pig	Matisoff 1974:374
	waʔ	pig; swine, pig	LaPolla 1987:163; Coblin 1986:117
	waʔ^{31}	pig	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	waʔ^{31}	pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.19
	waʔ^{31}	pig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.47
	waʔ^{31} (ʃă^{31}niŋ^{33})	year of the pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.19
	waʔ^{31} loŋ^{31}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.19
	waʔ^{31}kă^{31}nu^{31}	sow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.19
	waʔ^{31}kă^{31}ʃa^{31}	piglet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.19
	waʔ^{31}khji^{55}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.19
	waʔ^{31}la^{31}	boar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.19
	waʔ^{31}tu^{31}	boar	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	waʔ^{31}tu^{31}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.19
	waʔ^{31}tu^{31}	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.47
	waʔ^{31}ʃat^{31}	feed	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	waʔ^{31}ʃat^{31}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.19
	wa du	pig (wild)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**vaʔ**	pig	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:304-6
	vaʔ + ʃi + roŋ	brown (lit. pig-feces-color)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:338a

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**phak** pa	pig	LaPolla 1987:163; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.7 [a]
	p'ak^{55}pa^{55}	pig	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ri^{13}**p'ak**^{55}pa^{55}	boar	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ri ɕi-**phak** pa	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**phak**-pa	pig	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	peŋ^{55}**phɑk**^{55}	boar	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	phɑ^{55}	pig	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**phaʔ**^{53}	pig	LaPolla 1987:163
	phʌʔ^{53}	pig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.6
	ri^{13}**phʌʔ**^{53}	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.6
Motuo Menba	**phak** pa	pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.07
	phak pa tɕur kaŋ	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.07
	phaʔ	year of the pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.07
	ri ɕi **phak** pa	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.07
Cuona Menba	mɔ^{53}**phaʔ**^{53}	sow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.06
	phaʔ^{53}	pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.06
	phaʔ^{53} tsaŋ^{53}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.06
	phaʔ^{53}tɕaʔ^{53}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.06
	phaʔ^{53}tʂuʔ^{53}	piglet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.06
	phaʔ^{53}ɳen^{53}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.06
	phɔ^{53}**phaʔ**^{53}	boar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.06
	ri^{35}**phaʔ**^{53}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**hak**	pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.05
	hak ra	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.05
	rə **hak**	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hak**	pig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.4
	hak gol	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hag**	pig	Sun 1985a:749
	hag god	boar	Sun 1985a:81
	hak	pig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.5
	hak gol	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**phaʔ**^{55} n̥a^{55}	snout (pig)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:3.5.5
	(**phɑʔ**^{53}) dʑɑ^{55}pa^{53}	fat (pig)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.03
	mu^{13}**phɑʔ**^{53}	sow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.03
	pha^{55}tʂuʔ^{53}	piglet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.03
	phɑʔ^{53}	pig; year of the pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.03; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.03
	phɑ^{55}gøʔ^{53}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.03
	phɑ^{55}tshõ^{55}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.03
	phɑ^{55}tɕhɛ^{55}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.03
	phɑ^{55}tɕɑʔ^{53}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.03
	phu^{53}**phɑʔ**^{53}	boar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.03
Tibetan (Central)	**phāk** pa	pig	Weidert 1987:693
Tibetan (Jirel)	'ri + **phāk** pāq	boar (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.042
	phāk-pāq	hog (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.041
	phāk p-eq khorq	house (hog) (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.10
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**phɑʔ**^{53}	pig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.3
	phɑ^{55}gø^{53}	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**phak**^{53}pa^{53}	pig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.2
	phak^{55}ca^{52}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.02
	phak^{55}pa^{55}	pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.02
	phak^{55}to^{55}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.02
	phak^{55}tshaŋ^{55}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.02
	pha:^{55}kø^{52}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.02
	pha:^{55}**mo**^{55} (mo^{13}pha^{52})	sow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.02
	pha^{52}	year of the pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.02
	pho^{55}**pha**^{52}	boar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.02
	phək^{55}tʂhu^{52}	piglet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.02
	ri^{13}**phaʔ**^{53}	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.2
	ri^{13}**pha**^{52}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	'**phok** p-i khangbā	house (hog) (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.10
	pang-i **phak** pā	boar (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.042
	phak pā	hog (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.041

[a] Lotha **-roʔ** means 'small', so this is actually 'piglet'.

[b] The apparently strange Angami initial **r-** seems to have developed from an earlier labiodental **w-** or **v-** (cf. Chokri **thü-vo**).

[a] It is difficult to say whether Bodic forms like Tsangla **phak** are truly cognate to Tibetan **phag**, or rather loans from it.

Tibetan (Written)	(**phag** phrug) skje	birth, give to (piglets) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1717.01
	(**phag** skad) rgjag	grunt (of pigs) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1433.01
	(**phag**) rgjags pa	fat (pig)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.01
	lúŋ-**pʻɑg**	hog (tame) (W.)	Jäschke 1881
	mo **phag**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.01
	mó-**pʻɑg**	sow	Jäschke 1881
	phag	pig (domestic); pig	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1983:29; Sun 1985c:749; LaPolla 1987:163
	phag	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.01; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.01
	phag	swine, pig	Coblin 1986:117
	phag lto	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.01
	phag lud	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.01
	phag pa	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.1
	phag phrug	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.01
	phag rgod	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.01
	phag tshaŋ	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.01
	phag.rgod	boar	Sun 1985c:81
	pho **phag**	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.01
	pʻag-mčʻe	tusk (of boar)	Matisoff 1987
	pʻó-**pʻɑg**	boar (castrated)	Jäschke 1881
	pʻɑg	swine / hog / pig	Jäschke 1881
	pʻɑg-mo	sow	Jäschke 1881
	pʻɑg-mɑ	hog (gelded)	Jäschke 1881
	pʻɑg-pʻrúg	pig (young)	Jäschke 1881
	pʻɑg-rgód	boar (wild)	Jäschke 1881
	pʻɑg-šɑ	pork	Jäschke 1881
	pʻɑg-tʻúŋ	boar (large) (?)	Jäschke 1881
	pʻá-**pʻɑg**	boar (not castrated)	Jäschke 1881
	pʻág-pɑ	swine / hog / pig	Jäschke 1881
	ri **phag**	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.1
	rí-**pʻɑg**	boar (wild) (W.)	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**haχ**	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.04; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.04
	haχ gol	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.04
	haχ hto	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.04
	haχ htəχ	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.04
	haχ khaŋ	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.04
	haχ ma	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.04
	haχ tʂəχ	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.04
	ho **haχ**	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.04
	mo **haχ**	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.04

2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *[B]**ɖwa** PIG

**TGTM*	*[B]**ɖwa**	pig	Mazaudon 1994:422
Manang (Gyaru)	**ta:**[4]	pig	Nagano 1984:304-06
Tamang (Bagmati)	**ba:**[fi]	pig	Weidert 1987:693 [a]
Tamang (Risiangku)	[4]**ʈwa**	pig	Mazaudon 1994:422
Tamang (Taglung)	[4]**ʈwa**	pig	Mazaudon 1994:422

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	ban **phā**	pig (wild)	Genetti 1990a
	cicā ban **phā**	hog (pygmy)	Genetti 1990a
	phā	hog (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.041
Newar (Dolakhali)	**pha**	pig	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**pha**	pig	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**phā**	pig	Genetti 1990a
	phā-ga(l)	house (hog) (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.10

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***ʔpak**	pig	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	chuŋ-**phak**	small pig (only ritual?)	Ebert 1997
	nam **bhak**	boar (cf. phak)	Ebert 1997
	phak	pig	Ebert 1997
	phak-khora	pig-sty	Ebert 1997
	phak cilet	piglet	Ebert 1997
	phak sa	pork	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**phak**	pig	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**pak** ka u na buʔ	snout	Kohn 1990:3.5.5
Yamphu	**ak** ma	pig (n.)	Rutgers 1998:524.13
	ak ma sa	pork (n.)	Rutgers 1998:524.16
	ak pa sa	piglet, small pig (n.)	Rutgers 1998:524.18

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**bak**	pig	Rai 1985
	bak aikhuN	pig trough	Rai 1985
	bak ma ma	sow (n.)	Rai 1985
	bak sa	pork	Rai 1985
Chamling	**bo**	hog	Winter 1985
	bok hOr	pigsty	Winter 1985
	bo se	hog	Winter 1985
	pak hÕ	pig fodder	Winter 1985
Kulung	**bo**	pig	Rai *et al.* 1975
	bok khoŋ_	pig trough	Rai *et al.* 1975
	bok sa	pork <pig>	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**poko**	pork; suŋgur-ko māsu	Driem 1993
	poʔo	pig, swine	Driem 1993
	poʔo su	pork; suŋgur-ko māsu	Driem 1993
Khaling	**ʼpo**	hog (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.041
	ʼpo kam	house (hog) (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.10

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	**pʊk**	pig (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.198
Sunwar	**po:**	hog (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.041
	po: ā kho:r	house (hog) (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.10
Thulung	**be** pha	boar, male pig	Allen 1975
	boa	pig	Allen 1975
	boa jam	pig-food	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**pyāk**	hog (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.041
	pyak	pig (n.)	Caughley 2000
	pyak.sat.poŋ	insect (sp.), said to cause the death of a pig if it climbs on it; insect (sp.), said to cause the death of pigs (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	pyək	hog	Caughley 1972:3.A.41
Kham	**ʼu:**	hog (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.041
	ʼu: ʼkhor	house (hog) (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.10
Magar	**hwak** / wak	pig	Benedict 1972:35n114
	wāk	hog (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.041
	wāk khor	house (hog) (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.10

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**wa**	pig, hog, swine	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0294

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**vɛ**[55]	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.18
	vɛ[55]tsʮ[55]	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.18
Guiqiong	**pha**[55]	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.16
	pha[55]gui[55]	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.16
	pha[55]nɔ̃[31]	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.16
	pha[55]pi[55]	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.16
	pha[55]tsi[55]tsi[55]	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.16
	pha[55]zi[55]	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.16
	pha[55]ŋi[55]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.16
	phɑ[53]	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.17
	phɑ[55]gui[55]	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.17
Lyuzu	**pha**[33]	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.18
	pha[31]	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.18
	ɣu[33]ju[53]	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.18
	ɣu[33]khæ[53]	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.18
	ɣu[33]mæ[53]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.18
	ɣu[33]nphæ[53]	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.18
	ɣu[35]	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.18
	ɣu[35] (lu[53])	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.18
	ɣu[35]tɕi[53]	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.18
	ɣu[53]gi[53]	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.18
Muya	**phɑ**[55]gø[53]	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.15
	βə[24]rə[55]qo[53]	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.15
	βə[33]mɐ[53]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.15
	βɐ[33]tɕe[53]	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.15
	βɐ[33]ʁo[53]	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.15
	βɐ[53]	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.15
Muya [Minyak]	**phɑ**[55]gø[53]	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.15
Namuyi	**va**[33]	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.19
	va[33]ɳu[55]	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.19
	væ[33] (lu[31]su[53])	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.46
	væ[33]mi[35]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.46
	væ[33]nphu[53]	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.46
	væ[33]ŋuo[31]	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.46
	væ[31]	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.46
	væ[31]dzæ[55]	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.46
	væ[31]ɳu[55]	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**phɑ**[55]	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**pa**[13]ʐa[13]	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.09
	phʃɛ[13]ɳø[55]	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.09
	phʃɑ[13]	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.09
	phʃɑ[13]ma[55]	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.09
	phʃɑ[13]po[55]	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.09
	phʃɑ[13]tɑ̃u[13]	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.09
	phʃɑ[13]tʂu[55]	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.09
	phʃɑ[13]ʒɛ̃[13]	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.09
	phɑ[55]ɣu[55]	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**phʒɛ**[13]ɳø[55]	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.11
	phʒɑ[13]	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.11
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	**pje**	pig	Matisoff 1972b:168
Qiang (Longxi)	khuà **pià** tshì	fatty meat	Evans 1999:588
	khú-**piá** ~ khù-**pià**	livestock [dog-pig]	Evans 1999:315
	pè **pià**	snow pig	Evans 1999:394
	pià	12th earthly branch (pig); pig	Evans 1999:1115; Evans 1999:354 [a]
	pià dò	boar	Evans 1999:355
	pià mià	sow	Evans 1999:356
	pià tshì khuà	fatty meat	Evans 1999:588
	pià ɕỳ	boar	Evans 1999:355
	pià χó	wild pig	Evans 1999:385
	pià-tshì	meat [pig-flesh]	Evans 1999:584
	piá piá tshì	pork	Evans 1999:587
	piá ɹá	pigskin	Evans 1999:331
	piá-iuá kù	pig shed [pig-b]	Evans 1999:697
	piè-tì	pig slop, hogwash [pig-dinner]	Evans 1999:616
	pié tshoù	pig trough {b?}	Evans 1999:843
	tɕhí-**pià**	hedgehog [thorn-pig]	Evans 1999:395
Qiang (Mawo)	**pi**	pig	LaPolla 1987:163; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.8
	piɛ	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.08; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.08

[a] This form with initial **b-** might be a loan from Tibetan, since all the other Tamangic forms have dental or retroflex initials.

[a] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).

	piɛ stə	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.08
	piɛ tɕɑː^{ɪ}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.08
	piɛ χu	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.08
	piɛ s	flesh; muscle; meat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0128.08; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0443.08
	piɛ ɕ	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.08
	piɛ χʂ	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.08
	piɑ χu	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.8
	pi kə stəq	snout (pig)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.5.5
	pi s	flesh; meat, flesh; meat	Sun 1986; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai 1991g:1.11; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	khuè-**pià**-tiù-mú ∼ khuè-**pià**-tiú-mù	animal herder [dog-pig-v-AGT]	Evans 1999:235
	khuè-**pià**-tiú	put to pasture [dog-pig-m]	Evans 1999:1882
	pià	12th earthly branch (pig); pig	Evans 1999:1115; Evans 1999:354 [a]
	pià ké	boar	Evans 1999:355
	pià là tsú	piglet	Evans 1999:357
	pià miá	sow (n.)	Evans 1999:356
	pià tshɛ̀	pork	Evans 1999:587
	pià ʐé	pig shed	Evans 1999:697
	pià χá	wild pig	Evans 1999:385
	pià-khuɛ̀	bacon [pig-smoke?]	Evans 1999:584.2
	pià-té	pig slop, hogwash [pig-dinner]	Evans 1999:616
	pià-tshɛ̀	meat [pig-flesh]	Evans 1999:584
	piá tshə̥̀u̥	pig trough {b?}	Evans 1999:843
Qiang (Taoping)	**pa**^{33}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.9
	pa^{33}χa^{55}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**pie** fu	fatty meat	DAI Qingxia 1989q:588
	pie s	flesh; meat	DAI Qingxia 1989q:159; DAI Qingxia 1989q:584
Queyu (Xinlong)	mo^{13}**pha**^{55}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**pha**^{55}kɯ^{53}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**pha**^{55}rge^{55}	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.13
	pho^{55}**pha**^{55}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.13
	ve^{13}	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.13; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.13
	ve^{13}li^{13}tha^{55}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.13
	ve^{13}mdy^{55}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.13
	ve^{13}pɕe^{55}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.13
	ve^{13}ʒə^{55}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**we**^{55}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.16
Xumi	**bie**^{35}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.20
	bi^{33}hɑo^{53}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.17
	bi^{33}khuɛ^{53}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.17
	bi^{33}mi^{53}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.17
	bi^{33}zɿ^{53}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.17
	bi^{35}	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.17; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.17
	biɛ^{33} tshɛ^{55}	flesh; meat	SUN Hongkai 1991m; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:399.20
	bi^{55}wu^{55}	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**pha**^{33}go^{55}	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.14
	pha^{33}lu^{55}	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.14
	va^{33}lɪ^{55}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.14
	va^{33}mi^{33}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.14
	va^{33}mə^{55}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.14
	va^{33}pi^{33}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.14
	va^{33}tsi^{55}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.14
	va^{33}tsə^{55}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.14
	va^{55}	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	phu **phɑ**	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.12
	phɑ lu	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.12
	phɑ rgu	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.12
Ergong (Danba)	qa **va**	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.14
Daofu	**va**	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.12
Ergong (Danba)	**va**	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.14
Daofu	**va** thi	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.12
Ergong (Northern)	**va**^{53} snə^{53}∼**va**^{53} m̥tɕ^{h}e^{53}	snout (pig)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:3.5.5
Daofu	**ve** ze	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.12
	vɛ khre	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.12
	vɛ ko	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.12
	vɛ lmɛ	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.12
Ergong (Daofu)	**vɑ** snei	snout (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989b:3.5.5

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Caodeng	**pa**	pig	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**pa** rŋa	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.12
rGyalrong (NW)	**pa** vəsn̩i	snout (pig)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:3.5.5

[a] [Source Note] calque (Evans 1999).

Caodeng	**pa**-kə́-lo	pig-herder	Sun 1997a
	pá-mo	sow (n.)	Sun 1997a
	pá-ngor	dried pork	Sun 1997a
	pa-p^{h}o	boar (male pig)	Sun 1997a
	pa-ʃe	pork	Sun 1997a
	pa-χtseʔ-pu ∼ pa-χtsɐ-pu ∼ pak-tse	piglet	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**pak**	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.12
	pak wu mtɕ^{h}i	snout (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.5.5
rGyalrong (Eastern)	**pak** wu ʃna	snout (pig)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.5.5
rGyalrong (Northern)	**pak** ʃna	snout (pig)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:3.5.5
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**pɑ** rŋɑ	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.11
	pɑk	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.11
	pɑk mo	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.11
	pɑk phʃᴇ	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.11
	pɑk tsɑ	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.11
	pɑk tɑ wɑ	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.11
	pɑk tʂhᴇ	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.11
	pɑk zɐ	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.11
rGyalrong	**pag** yo	male pig	Nagano 1997:3.11
	pak	pig	Nagano 1997:3.1
	pak gyi ka fcot	boar	Nagano 1997:3.14
	pak ka fcot	castrated pig	Nagano 1997:3.13
	pak ka rtsa	castrated pig	Nagano 1997:3.13
	pak mo	sow	Nagano 1997:3.12
rGBenzhen	**pa**-rŋaʔ	wild pig	Sun 1997b [a]
	pak	pig	Sun 1997b
	pak-moʔ	sow	Sun 1997b
	pak-ndzɐ	pig's food	Sun 1997b
	pak-tʂ^{h}e	pigsty	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Rawang	**wɑʔ**	pig	LaPolla 2003:326
	wɑʔ am^{33} phɑ^{31}	pig feed, pigwash	LaPolla 2003:538
	wɑʔ lɑ^{53}	boar	LaPolla 2003:327
	wɑʔ mɑ^{31}	sow	LaPolla 2003:328
	wɑʔ niʔ	pig dung	LaPolla 2003:330
	wɑʔ sɛ^{31}	piglet	LaPolla 2003:329
	wɑʔ tɕhɯm^{31}	pigsty, hogpen	LaPolla 2003:587
	wɑʔ zɑ^{53}	pig feed, pigwash	LaPolla 2003:538
	wɑʔ ʃaŋ^{31}	wild boar	LaPolla 2003:357
Nung	**ʔo**^{55}	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.21
	ʔo^{55}dʑɑ^{31}xɑm^{35}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.21
	ʔo^{55}mɑ^{31}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.21
	ʔo^{55}phɯ^{31}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.21
	ʔo^{55}tɕɛn^{31}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.21
	ʔo^{55}n̩i^{55}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.21
Anong	**ʔu**^{55}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.44
Dulong	**wɑʔ**^{55}	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.20
	wɑʔ^{55}duŋ^{55}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.20
	wɑʔ^{55}dʑɑ^{55}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.20
	wɑʔ^{55}mɑ^{53}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.20
	wɑʔ^{55}ni^{55}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.20
	wɑʔ^{55}pɑ^{31}tɔʔ^{55}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.20
	wɑʔ^{55}tɕɑn^{53}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.20
Trung [Dulong]	**wǎʔ**^{55}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.46
	wɑ^{55}dzɑ^{55}	feed (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:407.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**waʔ**^{55}	pig	LaPolla 1987:163
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**waʔ**^{55}	pig	LaPolla 1987:163
	wǎʔ^{55}	pig	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	wɑ^{55}zɑ^{55}	feed (n.)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***wak**^{L} PIG

**Lolo-Burmese*	***wak**	pig	Matisoff 1972b:168; LaPolla 1987:163 [b]

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	tsɯŋ^{31}**wɑ**^{31}	boar	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	wa^{31}	pig	LaPolla 1987:163
	wɑ^{31}	pig	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**oʔ**^{55}	pig	LaPolla 1987:163
	oʔ^{55}	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.28
	oʔ^{55}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.41
	oʔ^{55} (n̥ək^{55})	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.28
	oʔ^{55}kok^{55}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.28
	oʔ^{55}lɔ^{31}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.28
	oʔ^{55}tsɔ^{31}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.28
	oʔ^{55}tɕhi^{31}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.28
	oʔ^{55}tɕɔ^{55}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.28
	o^{55}tseŋ^{35}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.28
Achang (Luxi)	tsəŋ^{51}**waʔ**^{31}	boar	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	waʔ^{31}	pig	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:163
Achang (Xiandao)	**oʔ**^{55}	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.29
	oʔ^{55} k^{h}ɯ^{31}	excrement (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:337
	oʔ^{55}cɔ^{55}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.29

[a] rGBenzhen **-rŋaʔ** possibly cognate to PKC ***ŋal** ⋉ ***hŋal** BOAR / PIG (wild) (§2.1.12).
[b] [Source Note] [*TSR* 168] (LaPolla 1987).

	oʔ^{55}khɯ^{31}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.29
	oʔ^{55}khʐam^{55}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.29
	oʔ^{55}lɔ^{31}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.29
	oʔ^{55}tsɔ^{31}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.29
	oʔ^{55}tʂɯŋ^{55}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.29
	oʔ^{55}xau^{55}	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.29
Bola (Luxi)	**vaʔ^{31}**	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.32
	vaʔ^{31}khap^{55}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.32
	vaʔ^{31}khji^{35}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.32
	vaʔ^{31}nɔ^{35}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.32
	vaʔ^{31}taŋ^{55}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.32
	vaʔ^{31}ta^{55}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.32
	vaʔ^{31}tʃauŋ^{55}	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.32
	vaʔ^{31}tʃhaʔ^{55}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.32
	vɔʔ^{31} (tɛ̃^{55}**vɛʔ^{55}**)	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	tɔ^{55}**wɛʔ^{4}**	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.27
	wɛʔ^{4}	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.27
	wɛʔ^{4}kɑ^{53}le^{55}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.27
	wɛʔ^{4}mɑ^{53}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.27
	wɛʔ^{4}sɑ^{22}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.27
	wɛʔ^{4}thi^{55}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.27
	wɛʔ^{4}tɕhi^{55}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.27
	wɛʔ^{4}tɕhã^{22}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tɔ^{55}**wɛʔ^{44}**	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.40
	wɛʔ^{44}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.40
Burmese (Written)	tɔ^{3}**wɑk^{4}**	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.26
	tɔ^{3} **wɑk**	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.39
	wak	pig (domestic); pig; hog; swine, pig	Marrison 1967; Hansson 1989:479; Matisoff 1983:29; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:163; Benedict 1972:87n256; Coblin 1986:117
	wak-ʔu	screw (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:538
	wɑk	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.39
	wɑk^{4}	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.26
	wɑk^{4}khje^{3}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.26
	wɑk^{4}khrɑm̀^{2}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.26
	wɑk^{4}kɑ^{1}le^{3}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.26
	wɑk^{4}mɑ^{1}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.26
	wɑk^{4}sɑɑ^{2}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.26
	wɑk^{4}thi^{3}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.26
Hpun (Northern)	tă **wùʔ**, tă **vwù**	pig	Henderson 1986
Phön	tə **wo**	pig	Benedict 1972:43
Langsu (Luxi)	**vɔʔ^{31}**	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.31
	vɔʔ^{31} (tsəŋ^{31})	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.31
	vɔʔ^{31}khap^{55}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.31
	vɔʔ^{31}khjik^{55}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.31
	vɔʔ^{31}lɔ^{35}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.31
	vɔʔ^{31}nau^{55}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.31
	vɔʔ^{31}tsaŋ^{31}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.31
	vɔʔ^{31}tsɔ^{31}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.31
	vɔʔ^{31}tʃauŋ^{31}	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.31
Lashi	**vuʔ^{31}** nɔ̲^{33}	snout (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.5.5
Leqi (Luxi)	**vuʔ^{31}**	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.33
	vuʔ^{31}khjei^{55}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.33
	vuʔ^{31}khɔm^{33}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.33
	vuʔ^{31}nu^{55}	boar; piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.33
	vuʔ^{31}tɨ̲^{55}	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.33
	vuʔ^{31}tso^{31}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.33
	vuʔ^{31}tsəŋ^{31}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.33
Marma	**wɔʔ**	pig	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-6
Maru [Langsu]	**vɔʔ^{31}**	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.43
	vɔʔ^{31} nɔ̲^{31}	snout (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.5.5
	vɔʔ^{31}tʃauŋ^{31}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**vaʔ^{21}**	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.30
	vaʔ^{21}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.42
	vaʔ^{21}khji^{21}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.30
	vaʔ^{21}khup^{55}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.30
	vaʔ^{21}tɛ̲^{21}	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.30
	vaʔ^{21}tɛ̲^{21}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.42
	vaʔ^{21}tsaŋ^{21}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.30
	vaʔ^{21}tsiŋ^{51}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.30
	vaʔ^{21}tso^{21}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.30
	vaʔ^{21}tuŋ^{21}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.30
	vaʔ^{31}	pig	LaPolla 1987:163
	vɔʔ^{21} (tsan^{51})	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.30

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***wak^{L}**	pig	Bradley 1979b:21; Hansson 1989:479
Lolopho	**vɛ̲^{31}** nɣ^{44} gɣ^{33}	snout (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.5.5
PNL	**wak^{L}**	pig	CHEN Kang 1986a:83.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**wa^{53}**	pig	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	wa^{53}	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.47
	wa^{53} (kho^{53})	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.47
	wa^{53} na^{35} khɣ^{33}	snout (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.5.5
	wa^{53}ma^{33}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.47
	wa^{53}pa^{55}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.47
	wa^{53}sɻ^{323}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.47
	wa^{53}tshɻ^{31}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.47
	wa^{53}xɤ^{33}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.47
	wa^{53}za^{31}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.47
	wa^{53}zɻ^{31}	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.47
Lalo	á-**vìq**	pig	Björverud 1994
	vɨ̲^{2}	pig	CHEN Kang 1986a:83.
Lipho	**vɛ̲^{2}**	pig	CHEN Kang 1986a:83.
Luquan	**va 55c**	pig	Matisoff 1972b:168
	vaꓶ ~ puꓶ	pig	Matisoff 1979:38n21
Nasu	**va 55**	pig	Matisoff 1972b:168
	va̲^{55}	pig	CHEN Kang 1986a:83.
Neisu	**va^{13}**	pig	CHEN Kang 1986a:83.
Nesu	**vɛ̲^{2}**	pig	CHEN Kang 1986a:83.
Nosu	**vo̲^{55}**	pig	CHEN Kang 1986a:83.
Nusu (Northern)	de^{35}**vɑ̲^{53}**	boar	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	de^{55}**va̲^{53}**	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	de^{55}**vɑ̲^{55}**	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.45
Nusu (Southern)	**uɔ̲^{53}**	pig	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**va̲^{31}** kʰɻi^{55}	excrement (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:337.
Nusu (Central)	**va̲^{53}**	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.34
	va̲^{53} kʰɻi^{55}	excrement (pig)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:337.
	va̲^{53}bɔ^{33}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.34
	va̲^{53}doŋ^{55}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.34
	va̲^{53}dza^{55}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.34
	va̲^{53}khɻu̲^{33}	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.34
	va̲^{53}mi^{31}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.34
	va̲^{53}za^{55}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.34
	va̲^{55}khɻi^{55}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.34
Nusu (Northern)	**vɑ̲^{31}**	pig	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**vɑ̲^{53}**	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.45
Nusu (Southern)	ɹə^{31}**uɔ̲^{53}**	boar	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**va^{13}**	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.22
	va^{13}n̥i^{55}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**vi^{55}**	pig	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}	pig	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}bu^{33}zɯ^{33}	piglet	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}i^{34}po^{33}	pig bladder	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}la^{33}	boar	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}mo^{21}	sow (pig)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}n̥i^{33}	pork slab	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}pa^{33}	pig, fattened	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}si^{21}	pig, wild; liver, pork	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index; MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}tho^{33}	pig, whole	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}xo^{33}mo^{34}	sow (pig), young	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}xo^{34}thɔ^{33}	pig, young male	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}n̥i^{33}	pig, wild	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{55}ɬɛ^{33}	spleen, pig's	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**vɛ̲^{21}**	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.25
	vɛ̲^{21}ni^{33}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**vɛ̲^{21}**	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.26
	vɛ̲^{21}nɯ^{55}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**vɛ̲^{21}**	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.37; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.37
	vɛ̲^{21}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.24
	vɛ̲^{21}bɯ^{33}xi^{33}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.37
	vɛ̲^{21}dzo^{33}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.37
	vɛ̲^{21}mo^{33}ge^{33}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.37
	vɛ̲^{21}po^{55}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.37
	vɛ̲^{21}zo^{21}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.37
	vɛ̲^{33}tɕhi^{21}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.37
	n̥i̲^{55}vɛ̲^{21}	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.37
	n̥i^{55}vɛ̲^{21}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.24
Yi (Nanjian)	a^{55}**vɨ̲^{21}**	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.23
	i̲^{21}vi^{21}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.23
Yi (Weishan)	**vɪ̲^{21}**	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.36
	ɑ^{55}**vɪ̲^{21}**	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.36
	ɑ^{55}**vɪ̲^{21}** by^{55}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.36
	ɑ^{55}**vɪ̲^{21}**chi^{21}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.36

	a^{55}**vɪ^{21}**dzɑ^{55}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.36
	a^{55}**vɪ^{21}**mɑ^{33}ko^{33}	sow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.36
	a^{55}**vɪ^{21}**pa^{21}	boar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.36
	a^{55}**vɪ^{21}**zɑ^{21}	piglet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.36
	ʔɪ^{21}**vɪ^{21}**	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.36
Yi (Wuding)	**vɑ^{55}**	pig; year of the pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.38; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.38
	vɑ^{55}bɤ^{11}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.38
	vɑ^{55}dzu^{11}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.38
	vɑ^{55}mu^{2}	sow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.38
	vɑ^{55}pu^{33}	boar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.38
	vɑ^{55}tɕhi^{33}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.38
	vɑ^{55}zu^{33}	piglet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.38
	vɑ^{55}ɳɯ^{33}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.38
Yi (Xide)	**vo^{55}**	pig; year of the pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.35
	vo^{55}	pig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.21
	vo^{55} gu^{55}	spay(ed) hog	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vo^{55}-mo^{21} tɕ^{h}ɛ^{33}	spay(ed) sow	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vo^{55}bu^{33}zɯ^{33}	piglet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.35
	vo^{55}mo^{21}	sow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.35
	vo^{55}pɑ^{33}	boar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.35
	vo^{55}tɕhɳ^{33}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.35
	vo^{55}xo^{33}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.35
	vo^{55}ɳi^{33}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.35
	vo^{55}ɳi^{33}	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.21
	vo^{55}ɬɯ^{21}	June (pig month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:81.21
	vɑ^{55}dzɑ^{33}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**vɐ̱^{2}**	pig	Chen Kang 1986a:83.
	vie 44s	pig	Matisoff 1972b:168
Jinuo	**va^{33}**tsɔ^{55}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.44
	va^{44}ni^{44}	pig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.34
	va^{44}thɯ^{31}	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.34
	va^{55}	pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.44
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**va^{55}** ni^{55} a^{44} ʃɔ^{44}	pork	Dai Qingxia 1989h:587
Jinuo	**va^{55}**khri^{44}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.44
	va^{55}mɔ^{33}	sow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.44
	va^{55}phe^{55}	boar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.44
	va^{55}pə^{44}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.44
	va^{55}thə^{31}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.44
	va^{55}zɔ^{44}	piglet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**vɑ^{55}**	pig (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**vɑ^{55}**	pig	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	vɑ^{55}thɤ^{33}	boar	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**va31**	pig	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
	va31 ti35	wild boar	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**vɑ^{21}**	pig; year of the pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.43
	vɑ^{21}khɔ^{54}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.43
	vɑ^{21}mɑ^{33}qu^{33}	sow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.43
	vɑ^{21}pɑ^{11}	boar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.43
	vɑ^{21}qhɛ^{53}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.43
	vɑ^{21}ɔ^{11}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.43
	vɑ^{21}ɛ^{35}	piglet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.43
	xɛ^{33}**vɑ^{21}**	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.43
Lahu (Black)	hɛ-**vàʔ** ~ hɛ́-**vàʔ**	wild boar (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1085
	vàʔ	pig	Matisoff 1974:374; Matisoff 1972b:168
	vàʔ-šɔ̄	uncastrated boar	Matisoff 1988a:1225
	vᴀ^{21}	pig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.33
	xɛ^{33}**vᴀ^{21}**	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.33
	ɔ̀-**vèʔ**	screw (v.)	Matisoff 1988a
Lahu (Yellow)	**va^{5}**	pig; zodiac year (Pig)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	xɛ^{1}**va^{5}**	boar	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{5}~**va^{5}**ɔ^{5}	feed (for pig) (n.)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	á2-**vá6**	pig	Matisoff 1972b:168
Lisu (Central)	á^{2}-**vá^{6}**	pig	Fraser 1922
	a^{1}-**vá^{6}**	hog / pig	Fraser 1922
	a^{1}-**vá^{6}**-hwa^{5}	pork	Fraser 1922
	a^{1}-**vá^{6}**-ma^{3}	sow (female pig)	Fraser 1922
	á^{1}-**vá^{6}**-ti^{1}	pig, wild	Fraser 1922
	a^{1}-**vá^{6}**-ti^{1}	boar (wild)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}na^{21} a^{55}**væʔ^{21}**	dog-pig (a curse)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**væʔ^{21}**	pig; cf. væʔ^{21} (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**væʔ^{21}** my^{33}	pig bristle	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**væʔ^{21}** thi^{21} ma^{33}	pig (n.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**væʔ^{21}**dza^{44}	pig feed; swill	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**væʔ^{21}**khɤ^{33}	pig-sty	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**væʔ^{21}**za^{21}	piglet	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}	pig (N.)	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21} ma^{33}ti^{33}	big sow	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}khi^{21}	pig feces	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}khɔʔ^{21}	year of pig	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}khɔʔ^{21}mɤ^{21}	domesticated pig	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}khɔʔ^{21}su^{33}	born in the year of pig	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}kɔ^{55}	wild boar	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}ma^{33}	sow	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}ma^{33}lø^{33}	sow (which has not yet reproduced)	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}ma^{33}my^{55}	old sow	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}ma^{33}mɤ^{44}	sow (those which do not reproduce)	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}ni^{33}	day of pig	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}næ^{33}	black pig	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}pa^{55}	boar; fat pig	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}pa^{55}ti^{55}	big boar	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}phu^{33}	white pig	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}ti^{55}	wild boar	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}tɕe^{33}	pig pancreas	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**væʔ^{21}**tɕø^{33}	thin pig	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}tɕø^{33} **væʔ^{21}**la^{55}gɔ^{35}	thin pig	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**væʔ^{21}**tɕɤ^{33}	thin pig	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}tɕɤ^{33} **væʔ^{21}**la^{55}gɔ^{35}	thin pig	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**væʔ^{21}**ɲi^{33}	day of pig	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**væʔ^{21}ʃl^{35}ʃl^{33}**	grey pig	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}ʃl^{55}	boar kept for breeding	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**vɐ̱^{31}**	year of the pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.40
	vɛ^{41}ti^{55}	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.27
	ɑ^{55}**vɛ^{41}**	pig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.27
Sani [Nyi]	**ve 22s**	pig	Matisoff 1972b:168
	ve^{2}	pig	Chen Kang 1986a:83.
Yi (Sani)	**ve^{2}**	pig; year of the pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.39; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.39
	ve^{2}bɤ^{33}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.39
	ve^{2}dzɒ^{11}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.39
	ve^{2}mɒ^{33}	sow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.39
	ve^{2}pɒ^{55}	boar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.39
	ve^{2}zɒ^{11}	piglet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ve^{21}** xɯ^{33} tɤ^{55}	castrate (pig)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:53.1
Yi (Sani)	**ve^{2}**ɲu^{33}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.39
	ve^{2}ɻz^{11}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.39
Sani [Nyi]	**vɐ̱^{22}** xɯ^{55}	pig's kidney	Ma Xueliang 1989:313.2

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	à **ɣàq**	pig	Hansson 1989:479
Akha	a-**za L-LS**	pig	Matisoff 1972b:168
Akha (Thai)	à **zàq**	pig	Hansson 1989:479
Akha	**zàq**	pig	Hansson 1989:479
Akha (Thai)	**zàq** thè	wild boar	Hansson 1989:184
Akha (Yunnan)	**ɣà** thè	wild boar	Hansson 1989:184
Bisu	tsɔ̀ŋ kɔ̀ **wà** **wà**	wild boar pig	Bradley 199x Bradley 199x; Matisoff 1972b:168
Hani (Lüchun)	a **ɣàq**	pig	Hansson 1989:479
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{31}**ɣɐ̱^{31}**	pig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.31
Hani (Hu T'an)	**ɣa 21c**	pig	Matisoff 1972b:168
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɣa** thè	wild boar	Hansson 1989:184
Hani (Dazhai)	**ɣɐ̱^{31}**the^{31}	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.31
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**βa 21**	pig	Matisoff 1972b:168
Hani (Lüchun)	a^{31}**ɣɐ̱^{31}**	pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.41
	ɣɐ̱^{33}dza^{55}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.41
	ɣɐ̱^{31}	year of the pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.41
	ɣɐ̱^{31}kɥ^{33}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.41
	ɣɐ̱^{31}ma^{33}	sow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.41
	ɣɐ̱^{31}pha^{31}	boar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.41
	ɣɐ̱^{31}the^{31}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.41
	ɣɐ̱^{31}za^{31}	piglet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.41
	ɣɐ̱^{31}ɕi^{31}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.41
Hani (Pijo)	**và**	pig	Hansson 1989:479
	và thỳ	wild boar	Hansson 1989:184
Hani (Caiyuan)	**vɐ̱^{31}**	pig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.30
	vɐ̱^{31}thɤ^{31}	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	a^{31}**jɐ̱^{31}**	pig	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	jɐ̱^{31}the^{31}	boar	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	a^{31}**ja^{31}**	pig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:115.32
Hani (Wordlist)	a **qhhavq**	pig	Hansson 1989:479
Hani (Shuikui)	**ja^{31}**thi^{31}	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.32
Hani (Khatu)	**wà** **wà** thỳ	pig wild boar	Hansson 1989:479 Hansson 1989:184
Hani (Mojiang)	a^{31}**ja^{31}**	pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.42
	ja^{31}	year of the pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.42
	ja^{31}mɔ^{33}	sow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.42
	ja^{31}phɔ^{31}	boar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.42
	ja^{31}thi^{31}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.42
	ja^{31}tsɔ^{55}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.42
	ja^{31}tɕhi^{31}	dung (pig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.42
	ja^{31}zɔ^{31}	piglet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.42
	ja^{31}ʒu^{55}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.42
Mpi	**wa^{2}**	pig	Hansson 1989:479; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**va^{31}** ban^{31} põ ãflə^{55}	snout (pig)	Ferlus 1991:3.5.5
Pyen	**wa31**	pig	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:023008
	wa31 sa31	pork	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:042009
Sila	**wɐ̱21**	pig	Kato Takashi 2008:108
Woni	**ma 33**	pig	Matisoff 1972b:168

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**wɤ**˧mi˧tsv˧t^{h}ie˥dy˥hī˥	fat part above the pig's tail	Michaud 2006–2009:801

	wɤ˧ɬu˥	meat of the pig’s body, with bones	Michaud 2006–2009:803
	wɤ˩	pig	Michaud 2006–2009:3778
	wɤ˩dze˩	pig feed, swill	Michaud 2006–2009:853
	wɤ˩kʰv˩	year of the pig	Michaud 2006–2009:1651
	wɤ˩mie˩	sow (n.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3780
	wɤ˩sy˩	boar	Michaud 2006–2009:3781
	wɤ˩ʈɯ˩	wild boar	Michaud 2006–2009:3786
Na (Yongning)	**bu**˩bi˧mi˧	meat of the pig’s belly	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩bv˧˩	pigsty, pigpen	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩**hɑ**˥	pig feed, swill	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩kʰv˧˥	year of the pig	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩kʰɯ˧	dried meat preserved in the skin of the pig’s foot	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩mi˧	sow	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩mæ˧qv˩	pig’s tail	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩mɤ˧˩	lard	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩pʰv˧	boar	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩tv˥	wild boar	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩ɯ˧	pigskin, hogskin	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩ʈʂʰæ˧˩	boneless, fleshless preserved pork	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩ɬo˧˩	pork ribs	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩ɬɑ˧	boar	Michaud 2006–2009
	bu˩˥	pig	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**bu**^{21}	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.45
	bu^{21}me^{33}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.45
	bu^{21}phy̩^{33}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.45
	bu^{21}tɕi^{33}	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.45
	bu^{21}xɑ^{33}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**bu**^{31}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.28
	bu^{31}tɕi^{33}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.28
	bu^{31}xɑ^{33}	feed (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:407.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**bu**^{31}xɑ^{33}	feed (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:407.29
	bu^{13}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.29
	bv^{31}tv^{33}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.29

7. KARENIC: ***thɔʔ**^{D} PIG, ***thɔʔ** / tháuʔ PIG, ***thɔʔ**^{D}**mi**^{A} BOAR (WILD∼) [a] [b]

**Karen*	***tháuʔ**	pig (cf. DOG.)	Jones 1961:85
**Karen [Burling]*	***thoʔ**^{2}	pig	Luangthongkum 2013:218
**Karen*	***thɔʔ**^{D}	pig	Luangthongkum 2013:218
	***thɔʔ**^{D} mi^{A}	boar (wild∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
	***thɔʔ**	pig	Benedict 1972:133n365
Bwe	**thɔ** θómɛ̀	boar’s tusk (n.)	Henderson 1997
	thɔ^{33}	pig	Luangthongkum 2013:218
Karen	**tho̠**^{55}	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.50; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.50
	tho̠^{55}di^{31}	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.50
	tho̠^{55}e^{31}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.50
	tho̠^{55}mo^{31}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.50
	tho̠^{55}pha^{55}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.50
	tho̠^{55}pho^{55}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.50
	tho^{55}tsha^{31}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.50
	thɔ^{31}a^{31}lɔ^{31}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.50
Kayah	**thɛ**^{55}	pig	Luangthongkum 2013:218
	thɛ^{55} mi^{11}	boar (wild∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Kayan	**thauʔ**^{45}	pig	Luangthongkum 2013:218
	thauʔ^{45} mi^{33}	boar (wild∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Kayan (Pekon)	**tʰàu**	pig (N.)	Manson 2010
	tʰàu myə̰ɨ	wild pig [lit. pig-grass] (N.)	Manson 2010 [c]
	tʰàu sʰɨ́	rhinoceros [lit. pig-water] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**tho**^{33}	pig	Luangthongkum 2013:218
	tho^{33} mi^{33}	boar (wild∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Pa-O (Southern)	**thɔʔ**^{21}	pig	Luangthongkum 2013:218
Pa-O (Northern)	**thɔʔ**^{21}	pig	Luangthongkum 2013:218
	thɔʔ^{21} mi^{33}	boar (wild∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Pa-O (Southern)	**thɔʔ**^{21} mi^{53}	boar (wild∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Pa-O	**thɔ́ʔ**	pig	Solnit 1989
	thɔ́ʔ cwɛ́	tusk of pig (2)	Solnit 1989
	thɔ́ʔ khɔ̀k	skin of pig, pig hide	Solnit 1989 [d]
	thɔ́ʔ mī	boar, wild	Solnit 1989
	thɔ́ʔ mī ’wild boar’	wild? in cpd	Solnit 1989
	thɔ́ʔ tə mɛ́t	tusk of pig	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**thoʔ**^{45}	pig	Luangthongkum 2013:218
	thoʔ^{45} mei^{55}	boar (wild∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Pwo (Southern)	**thuʔ**^{21}	pig	Luangthongkum 2013:218
	thuʔ^{21} mei^{31}	boar (wild∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Sgaw (Southern)	**thɔʔ**^{21}	pig	Luangthongkum 2013:218
	thɔʔ^{21} mi^{33}	boar (wild∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Sgaw (Northern)	**thɔʔ**^{45}	pig	Luangthongkum 2013:218
	thɔʔ^{45} mi^{33}	boar (wild∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:27

8. BAI: ***te** PIG [e]

Bai (Bijiang)	**te**^{42}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.37
	te^{42}ɕɑ̃^{55}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.37
Bai (Dali)	jeɹ^{31}**te**^{42}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.35
	te^{42}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.35
	te^{42}tsi^{44}	feed (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:407.35
	tɛ 8	pork	Dell 1981b:530
	tɛ ka 86	liver (pork)	Dell 1981b:531
	tɛ koe 87	meat (pork)	Dell 1981b:532
	tɛ tsɛ 88	tongue (pork)	Dell 1981b:533
	tɛ ue 8 3/4	pigsty	Dell 1981b:535
Bai (Jianchuan)	(**te̠**^{21}tiə^{42}) fa̠^{33}	fat (pig)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1025.48
	te̠^{21}	pig; year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.48; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.48
	te̠^{21}mo^{33}	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.48
	te̠^{21}po^{55}	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.48
	te̠^{21}tsa̠^{33}	feed (pig) / pigwash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0459.48
	te̠^{21}tsɿ^{33}te̠^{21}ɲə^{33}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.48
	te̠^{21}tɕhi^{55}	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.48
	te̠^{21}ɣu^{21}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.48
	te̠^{21}ɕɑ̃^{55}	boar (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.48
	te^{42}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.36
	tso^{42}**te**^{42}	boar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:127.36

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**på**/pɑ	sow / pig	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:39d; Karlgren 1957:39d
Chinese (Old)	**prag**	pig	Coblin 1986:117

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**pa**	sow, pig	Coblin 1986:117

Chinese comparandum

豝 OC ***på**, *GSR* #39d ‘sow, pig’; Coblin 86:117 ST ***pɍwag** > OC ***prag**; B & S 2011: ***pˤra**; Mand. **bā**.

Comment: Cf. *STC*, p. 189, note 488.

(2) PTani *rjek PIG

“This root cannot possibly be related to the predominant PTB ‘pig’ root ***pwak** (*STC* #43). Rather, it is probably a loanword from Mon-Khmer. Cf. Proto-Waic ***lik** (Diffloth 1980:120); Lamet **lik** (Lindell et al. 1978: 17); Danaw **kǎ-lék**^{3}; Mon **cli̱k** (Luce 1965:108) ‘pig’.” (Sun 1993:217).

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***rjek**	pig	Sun 1993a:293

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-**ljì**	pig	Sun 1993b
	a-**ljì** **lji**-nɯ	boar	Sun 1993b
	a-**ljiʔ**	pig	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**ljiʔ** a-tu	piglet	Sun 1993b
	a-**ljiʔ** cʰu	piglet	Sun 1993b
	lji-po	pig (male)	Sun 1993b
	ljiʔ-jo	pork	Sun 1993b
	ljiʔ-po	pig (male); boar	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**rjɯk**-ǰuŋ	piglet	Sun 1993b
	rjɯk-nɯː	sow (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ə-**rjɯk**	pig	Sun 1993a
	ɯ-**rjɯk**	pig	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**rjɯk** gum-pɯr	pigsty	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**jək** eː	dung (pig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0288.24
	jək nə	sow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0286.24
	jək po	boar (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0285.24
	jək ɦo	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.24
	jək-čuŋ	piglet	Sun 1993b
	ə **jək**	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.24
	ə **jək** pa raŋ	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.24
	ə-**jək**	pig	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ə-**jək** pa-raŋ	pigsty	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ə **jək**	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.51
Galo	e **rek**	pig	Das Gupta 1963
	e **yek**	pig	Das Gupta 1963
	rek-cu	pigling	Das Gupta 1963
	rek-po	pig (male)	Das Gupta 1963
	reŋ-nɤ	sow	Das Gupta 1963
	rəg lii	breeding pig (n.)	GLDC 2009
	yek-po	pig (male)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘rək cuu	piglet (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘rək pin	pigskin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ə **rək**	pig (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	e **rek**	pig	Simon 1976
	e **rek**-e din	pork	Simon 1976
	e **rek**-he ne	sow	Simon 1976
Nishing	e **rek**	pig	Das Gupta 1969
	e **rek** **rek**-tang	pigs	Das Gupta 1969
	e **rik**	pig	Das Gupta 1969
	i **rík** i din	pork	Das Gupta 1969
	i **rik**∼e rek	pig	Das Gupta 1969
	rik-pu	pig (male)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **rɯk**	pig	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	e-**ek**; **jek**	pig	Sun 1993a
Damu	*ʔa-**jək** ɕa tɕet-na	castrate (pig)	Sun 1993b
	jək-*ɕaː	pork	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**jək**	pig	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**jək** broŋ-nə	castrate (pig)	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **yek**	pig	Tayeng 1976
	a **yek** aɟi	pig (female)	Tayeng 1976
	yek-bu	pig (male)	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	bɯ^{31}**liɑi**^{55}	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.22
	bɯ^{31}**liɑi**^{55}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.49
	bɯ^{31}**liɑi**^{55}ŋ^{35}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.22
	bɯ^{31}**liɑi**^{55}ɑ^{55}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.22
Kaman [Miju]	**li**^{55}	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.23
	li^{55}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.48
	li^{55} xuŋ^{55} bɯl^{35}	pig bristles	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	li^{55}bɯi^{35}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.23
	li^{55}sɑ^{55}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.23
Idu	bi^{55}**li**^{55}	pig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:115.50
	i **li**-ari	pig	Anonymous 1962
	i **li**-kru	sow	Anonymous 1962
Yidu	bi^{55}**li**^{55}	pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0284.25
	bi^{55}**li**^{55}oŋ^{35}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.25
	bi^{55}**li**^{55}ɑ^{55}	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.25

(3) PTani *ra WILD BOAR

This may well be a loan from Indo-Aryan (cf. Sanskrit *varāha-*).

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***ra**	wild boar	Sun 1993a:462

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

[a] These Karenic forms reflect a secondary dental prefix (cf. the anomalous Karenic forms for PTB ***d-kʷəy-n** DOG (§2.1.11)).
[b] The second element in the Karenic word for WILD BOAR is from PTB ***m-l(e/ə)y** EARTH / COUNTRY / GROUND / MUD / SOIL (§3.2.11).
[c] Kayan **myə̰ɨ** most likely ‘forest’, not ‘grass’, as the author recognizes it in **tʰwî myə̰** ‘wild dog’ and **sʰə́ɨ myə̰ɨ** ‘wild chicken’.
[d] Pa-O **khɔ̀k** likely a borrowing from Burmese **khauk** ‘skin’. Pa-O has glottal stop as the regular reflex of all proto-Karen final stops. Pa-O final oral stops occur largely (though not entirely) in loans from Shan and Burmese.
[e] The initial dentals in these Baic forms are similar to the first element in Tamangic and Karenic, suggesting a prefixal dental, something like ***d-wak**.

Apatani	sɯ-dĩ-sɯ-**re**	animal, wild	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**re**	boar (wild hog); pig (wild)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**re ra**-nɯ	wild boar	Sun 1993a
	sɯ-**re-ra**-nə	boar (wild hog), female	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**rɯ**	wild boar	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**rɯ** hí-rɯŋ	wild boar (male)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ra**-nɯː	wild boar (female)	Sun 1993b
	ra-puː	wild boar (male)	Sun 1993b
	ra-wuː	wild boar (young)	Sun 1993b
	si-**rɯː**	wild boar	Sun 1993b
	ši-**rɯː ra**-nɯː	wild boar	Sun 1993a
Bokar	a tiː ɕə **rə**	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.24
	a-diː sə-**rə**	boar	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a tiː ɕə **rə**	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.51
Galo	**ʻra** nə	sow (boar); boar sow (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	si-**ra**	wild boar	Sun 1993a

(4) PKC *ŋal ≍ *hŋal BOAR / PIG (wild)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ŋal** ≍ hŋal	BOAR / PIG (wild)	VanBik 2009:847

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**ngal**	boar	VanBik 2009:847
Thado	**ŋál**	wild pig	VanBik 2009:847
Tiddim	**ngal**^{3}	wild boar	VanBik 2009:847; Bhaskararao 1996:1275
	`ŋal	pig (wild) (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	m-**nga**	wild boar	VanBik 2009:847
Khumi	su(ng) **ngáy**	jungle boar species	VanBik 2009:847

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**ŋàl**	boar, wild pig	VanBik 2009:847
Lai (Hakha)	**ŋâl**	boar, wild pig	VanBik 2009:847
Lushai [Mizo]	**nghal**-mal	large male wild boar (n.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1275
	sà-**nghàl**	wild pig	VanBik 2009:847
	sa **nghal**	pig (wild)	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**ngia**	wild boar	VanBik 2009:847

Chinese comparandum

豕 OC ***ŋi̯əd**, *GSR* #516a-b ‘enraged boar’; Schuessler 2007: ***ŋəs** ~ ***ŋəih** < ***ŋəls**; B & S 2011: ***ŋət-s** {[ŋ]ə[t]-s}; Mand. **yì**.
毅 OC ***ŋi̯əd**, *GSR* #516c ‘bold, resolute, persistent’; Schuessler 2007: ***ŋəs** ~ ***ŋəih** < ***ŋəls**; B & S 2011: (***ŋət-s**); Mand. **yì**.

2.2.1 Pachyderms

(1) PTB *m-gwi(y) ELEPHANT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-gwi(y)**	elephant	Chou Fa-kao 1972:27a-e; Matisoff 2003a:592

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ɓuy ≍ *wuy** ELEPHANT

**Chin*	***ɓuy≍ wuy**	ELEPHANT	VanBik 2009:23
**Kuki (Southern)*	***m-wi**	elephant	Benedict 1972:168n449
Yawdwin	**mwi**	elephant	Benedict 1972:121n332

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	ə **mui**	elephant	Benedict 1972:121n332
Cho (Mindat)	**m-bui ≍ m-vui**	elephant	VanBik 2009:23

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**vûy**	elephant	VanBik 2009:23
Lai (Falam)	**vŭy**	elephant	VanBik 2009:23
Lai (Hakha)	**wi**	elephant	Benedict 1972:121n332

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***m-pu** ELEPHANT

**Tangkhulic*	***pu**	elephant	Mortensen 2012:608
Huishu	**mə-huk**	elephant	Mortensen 2012:Animals.091
Kachai	**ma-fu**	elephant	Mortensen 2012:Animals.090
Tangkhul	**mafa**	elephant	Marrison 1967
	məhvü	elephant	Benedict 1972:121n332
Tangkhul (Northern)	**ma-p^{h}ɯ**	elephant	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**ma-vɯ**	elephant	Brown 1837
Ukhrul	**mə-fu**	elephant	Mortensen 2012
	mɐ-fu	elephant	Mortensen 2012

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Phom	**mʌy**^{31}ñɯ^{33}	elephant	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	mʌy^{31}ñɯ^{33}p^{h}æ^{31}	tusk (elephant)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**gwi / məgwi**	elephant	Benedict 1972:168n449
	magwi	elephant	Marrison 1967
	mă^{31}**kui**^{33}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.19
	mă^{31}**kui**^{33}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.47
	mă^{1}**kui**^{33}	elephant	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	məgwi	elephant	Benedict 1972:121n332

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	wvu **kvú**	elephant	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:304-17

4. Nungic

Anong (Rawang)	**məgö**	elephant	Benedict 1972:168n449
Rawang	**məgui**^{31}	elephant	LaPolla 2003:354

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gwiɑ/ywiᵹ**	elephant	Chou Fa-kao 1972:27a-e

Chinese comparandum

爲 OC ***gwiɑ**, *GSR* #27a-e ‘elephant’; Mand. **wéi**.

“The earliest form shows a hand at the head of an elephant (possibly referring to the handicraft in ivory, so prominent in Yin time?)” (*GSR* #27a-e).

(2) PLB *tsaŋ ELEPHANT

This root appears in several TB subgroups, including Lolo-Burmese and Karenic, but is certainly an areal word; cf. Thai **cháaŋ** and Mandarin 象 **xiàng**.

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**tso**	elephant	Marrison 1967
	tsu	elephant	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**cho**	elephant	Marrison 1967
	tso^{55} kie^{11}	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Nienu 1990a:3.10.6
Rengma	**chung**	elephant	Marrison 1967

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**tyang**-mo long	male elephant	Benedict 1941/2008:137

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**tɕhaŋ**^{55}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.28
	tɕhaŋ^{55}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.41
Achang (Luxi)	**tshan**^{35}	elephant	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**chaŋ**^{55}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.29
	c^{h}aŋ^{55} cui^{55}	tusk (of elephant)	Dai Qingxia 1989f:359
Bola (Luxi)	**tshɔ̃**^{55}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.32
Bola	**ts^{h}ɔ̃**^{55} tui^{55}	tusk (of elephant)	Dai Qingxia 1989g:359
Burmese (Rangoon)	**shĩ**^{22}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**shĩ**^{22}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.40
Burmese (Written)	**chaṅ**	elephant	Marrison 1967
	chaŋ	elephant	Benedict 1976a
	hsɑŋ^{2}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.39
	shɑŋ^{2}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.26
Hpun (Northern)	**k(h)ăʃó** ăshwí	tusk (of elephant)	Henderson 1986
	kăʃó	elephant	Henderson 1986
	kăʃó sàŋsʊ̀ŋ	rhinoceros (cp. Elephant)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**tshɛ̃**^{31}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.31
Lashi	**tshaŋ**^{33} tsʅ^{31}	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.10.6
Leqi (Luxi)	**tshaŋ**^{33}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.33
Marma	**chaŋ**	elephant	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:304-17
Maru [Langsu]	**tshɛ̃**^{31}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.43
	tshɛ̃^{31} tsɔi^{31}	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.10.6

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ʐoŋ**^{55} sua^{55}	tusk (of elephant)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:359.

6.2. Naxi

Naxi	**tsho**^{21}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tsho**^{31}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.28

7. Karenic: ***k-chaŋ**^{A} ELEPHANT

**Karen*	***chàŋh**	elephant	Jones 1961:166
**Karen [Burling]*	***chaŋ**^{4}	elephant	Luangthongkum 2013:102
**Karen*	***k-chaŋ**^{A}	elephant	Luangthongkum 2013:102
Bwe	**(gə) ʃa**^{55}	elephant	Luangthongkum 2013:102
	gəʃá ə-phe-kú	elephant’s hide	Henderson 1997
	gəʃá ə-θru tə-ɓɔ́	elephant’s trunk	Henderson 1997
Karen	**gă**^{31}**tshɔ**^{55}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.50
Kayah	**chɛ**^{33}	elephant	Luangthongkum 2013:102
Kayan	**chaŋ**^{53}	elephant	Luangthongkum 2013:102
Kayan (Pekon)	**s^{h}án**	elephant (N.)	Manson 2010
	s^{h}ɔ́i **s^{h}án**	turkey [lit. chicken-elephant] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**rɔ**^{11}**chɔ**^{55}	elephant	Luangthongkum 2013:102
Pa-O	**chàŋ**	elephant	Solnit 1989
	chàŋ cwɛ́	tusk of elephant	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**chaŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	elephant	Luangthongkum 2013:102
Pa-O (Southern)	**chaŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	elephant	Luangthongkum 2013:102
Pa-O	**tshaŋ**	elephant	Benedict 1972:133n362
	tśhaŋ	elephant	Benedict 1972:142n384
Palaychi	**shɔ**	elephant	Benedict 1972:133n362
Pwo (Northern)	**ka**^{11}**chɛ̃**^{35}	elephant	Luangthongkum 2013:102
Pwo (Southern)	**kə**^{11}**chɔ̃**^{53}	elephant	Luangthongkum 2013:102
Sgaw (Northern)	**kə**^{11}**chɔ**^{33}	elephant	Luangthongkum 2013:102
Sgaw (Southern)	**kə**^{11}**chɔ**^{55}	elephant	Luangthongkum 2013:102

(3) PTB *s-ya ELEPHANT

This root is found mostly in Loloish, with a likely cognate in Karenic.

6.1.2. Loloish: ***ʔ-ya**^{3} ELEPHANT

**Loloish*	***ʔ-ya**^{3}	elephant	Bradley 1979b:11; Hansson 1989:93

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**ɕɑ**^{35}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.47
Lalo	**xa**	elephant	Björverud 1994
Nasu	**xo̱**^{33} dzɵ^{33}	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Chen Kang 1986b:3.10.6
Yi (Mojiang)	A^{55}p$\underline{\text{A}}^{33}$**xɒ**^{21}mo^{21}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.26
Yi (Nanjian)	**xɑ**^{33}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.23
Yi (Weishan)	**hɑ**^{33}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.36

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Buyuan)	**jɔ**^{33}	elephant (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**jɔ**^{33}	elephant	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**jɔ**^{33}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.34
	jɔ^{44}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.44
Lahu (Yellow)	**ʑa**^{1}	elephant	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	**ya**-ma	elephant	Bradley 1979a
Lisu (Central)	(**h’a**^{4}-ma^{3}) si^{5}-hchi^{3}	tusk (elephant’s)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**hã**^{33}ma^{33}	elephant; big elephant (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**hɑ**^{33}mɑ^{44}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.27
Lisu (Central)	**h’a**^{4}-ma^{3}	elephant	Fraser 1922
Yi (Sani)	**χɒ**^{33}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ja**	elephant	Hansson 1989:93
Akha (Yunnan)	**ja** ma	elephant	Hansson 1989:93
Akha (Thai)	**ja**-ma	elephant	Hansson 1989:93
Bisu	**ɧja** ba	elephant	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**ja** ma	elephant	Hansson 1989:93
Hani (Dazhai)	**za**^{33}ma^{33}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**za**^{33}ma^{33}	elephant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.41
Hani (Pijo)	**jɔ**	elephant	Hansson 1989:93
	jɔ mɔ	elephant	Hansson 1989:63
	jɔ mɔ ?	elephant	Hansson 1989:93
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ja**^{33}ma^{33}	elephant	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**jɔ**^{33}mɔ^{33}	elephant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:123.32
Hani (Khatu)	**jɔ**	elephant	Hansson 1989:93
	jɔ mɔ ?	elephant	Hansson 1989:93

Hani (Mojiang)	**jɔ**^{33}mɔ^{33}	elephant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0309.42
Mpi	**jo**^{4}	elephant	Hansson 1989:93; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**j**^{ə}ba sə c**ɨ**^{55}	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Ferlus 1991:3.10.6
Pyen	**ja33** ba33	elephant	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:021010
Sila	**ju33** wɛ33	elephant	KATO Takashi 2008:100
7. KARENIC			
Pa-O	**jà** hù?	elephant, tuskless, formerly a	Solnit 1989

(4) PKC *saay ELEPHANT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***saay**	ELEPHANT	VanBik 2009:649
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Kuki-Chin	**sai** haphu	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Haokip 1998:3.10.6
Sizang	**sai**	elephant	VanBik 2009:649
Thado	**sáay**	elephant	VanBik 2009:649
Tiddim	**-saːi**	elephant (n.)	Henderson 1965
	saːi	elephant	Matisoff 1985a:143
	saːi^{2}	elephant	VanBik 2009:649; Bhaskararao 1996:1524
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**ksáay**	elephant	VanBik 2009:649
	k^{ə}**s**^{h}**áːi**	elephant	So-Hartmann 1988:65
	k^{ə}**s**^{h}**áːi**.ho	elephant tusk	So-Hartmann 1988:66
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**sâay**	elephant	VanBik 2009:649
Lai (Falam)	**sǎay**	elephant	VanBik 2009:649
Lushai [Mizo]	**sai**	elephant	Marrison 1967
	sāi	elephant	Matisoff 1985a:143
	sái	elephant (n.)	VanBik 2009:649
	sai	elephant	Bhaskararao 1996:1524
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	mā-**sīa**	elephant	VanBik 2009:649
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	**səi** pui hə	tusk (of elephant, boar)	Toba & Kom 1991:3.10.6
Sorbung	**sai**	elephant	Brown 1837
	ʔə-**sái**	elephant	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.091
1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP			
Maring	**sai**	elephant	Brown 1837; Marrison 1967

(5) PTB *b-sey RHINOCEROS

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***bsɨd**	rhinoceros	Coblin 1986:125
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-sey**	rhinoceros	Matisoff 2003a:612
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**bse**	unicorn; rhinoceros; antelope; rhinoceros, antelope, unicorn	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:596a-b; Jäschke 1881; Benedict 1972:193n491; Coblin 1986:125
	bse-ru	unicorn / rhinoceros / antelope	Jäschke 1881
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**siər/siei**	rhinoceros	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:596a-b
Chinese (Old)	**sid**	rhinoceros	Coblin 1986:125
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**siei**	rhinoceros	Coblin 1986:125

Chinese comparandum

犀 OC ***siər**, *GSR* #596a-b; B & S 2011: ***s.l**^{ʕ}**əj**; Mand. **xī**.

2.2.2 Cervidae

(1) PTB *tswat ANTELOPE / SAMBAR DEER

As indicated in *HPTB* p. 380, it is sometimes quite difficult to distinguish the Loloish reflexes of the present root from those of PTB ***d-kəy** BARKING DEER / DEER (§2.2.2). For now, we are assigning most forms with front vowels to PTB ***d-kəy** BARKING DEER / DEER (§2.2.2) and most of the others to PTB ***tswat** ANTELOPE / SAMBAR DEER (§2.2.2).

The sambar (or sambhur) deer is a large species, *Cervus unicolor*.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***tsot**	deer (sambar)	Matisoff 1985a:023
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsot**	deer (sambar); antelope; Tibetan antelope	Matisoff 2003a:617; Benedict 1972:344
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**btsod**~**gtsod**	Tibetan antelope	Matisoff 1985a:023
	gtsod ≍ **btsod**	Tibetan antelope	Benedict 1972:344
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ts**^{33}bu^{55}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.18
Muya	**tsɐ**^{53}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tsɐ**^{53}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.15
Namuyi	**ntshɛ**^{35}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.19
	ntshæ^{35}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tsə**^{35}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tsɐ**^{55}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tsɐ**^{55}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tsɐ**^{53}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʨtʨɛ**	muntjac / deer (barking) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0314.08
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tsɔ**^{55}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tsɐ**^{53}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.16
Xumi	**tsho**^{35}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.20
	tshʊ^{55}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ʂtsɛ**^{13}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	**ʁtsa**^{53} qrə^{33}	antler (of deer)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:2.11
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐʈsɛ**	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **rtshɐs**	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.11
rGyalrong	kɐ **rtshɐs**	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.12
rGyalrong (Eastern)	k^{h}a **ʁtsʰɐs** ru	antler (of deer)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:2.11
Caodeng	qá-**rtse**	deer	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Northern)	qa **ʁtsʰə** ʁru	antler (of deer)	SUN Hongkai 1991k:2.11
Caodeng	qɐ-**rtsé**-q^{h}ru	deer-antler	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (NW)	**ʁastses** ʁʐə	antler (of deer)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:2.11
rGyalrong	ka **rtshes**	sambhur	Nagano 1997:5.1
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	**tshe**^{35}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.21
Anong	**tshe**^{53}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.44
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***tsat**	deer / sambar	Matisoff 1972b:10
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**chat**	deer (sambar); deer, sambhur	Matisoff 1985a:023; Benedict 1976a
	tshat	sambhur	Benedict 1972:344
Langsu (Luxi)	**tshɛʔ**^{55}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.31
Lashi	**tshat**^{55} khjou^{33}	antler (of deer)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:2.11
Leqi (Luxi)	**tshat**^{55}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.33
Maru [Langsu]	**tshɛʔ**^{55}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.43
	tshɛʔ^{55} khjuk^{31}	antler (of deer)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:2.11
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tshat**^{55}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.30
	tshat^{55}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.42
6.1.2. LOLOISH: *(k)-tsat^{L} SAMBHAR DEER			
**Loloish*	*(**k**)-**tsat**^{L}	sambhar deer	Bradley 1979b:3
Lolopho	**tɕhi̱**^{44} khɯ^{33}	antler (of deer)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:2.11
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ʈʂ**^{h}**æ˩**bv˥	deer	Michaud 2006–2009:3803
	ʈʂ^{h}**æ˩**mie˥	roe deer	Michaud 2006–2009:3804
Na (Yongning)	**ʈʂ**^{h}**æ˥**	red deer	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʈʂha**^{13}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.29
Naxi	**ʈʂhuɑ**^{55}	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʈʂhuɑ**^{55}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.28

(2) PTani *dum BARKING DEER

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***dum**	barking deer	Sun 1993a:16
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	su-**diŋ**	barking deer	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**dī**	barking deer	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**dī**-sɯ-re	animal, wild	Sun 1993b
Bengni	šu-**dum**	barking deer	Sun 1993a
	su-**dum**	barking deer	Sun 1993b
Bokar	šu-**dum**	barking deer	Sun 1993a
	su-**dum**	deer	Sun 1993b
	ʨu **dum**	muntjac / deer (barking) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0314.24
Galo	so-**dum**	deer	Das Gupta 1963
	‘**dum** bo	barking deer buck; buck (barking deer) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**dum** cuu	hog deer (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**dum** nə	barking deer doe; doe (barking deer) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**dum** pin	barking deer skin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ho **dum**	barking deer; Muntiacus var.; muntjac (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘ho **dum**-horə	big game (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ho **dum**-talii	tick (round) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ho **dum**-‘a pin	deerskin (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	si **dum**	deer	Simon 1976
Nishing	su **dum**	deer	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	sɤ **dom**	deer	Das Gupta 1983
	sɤ **dum**	deer	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	si-**dum**	barking deer	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʨu-**dum**	deer (Moschus chinensis)	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **dum**	deer	Tayeng 1976

(3) PTB *d-kəy BARKING DEER / DEER

As indicated in *HPTB* p. 380, it is sometimes quite difficult to distinguish the Loloish reflexes of the present root from those of PTB ***tswat** ANTELOPE / SAMBAR DEER (§2.2.2). For now, we are assigning most forms with front vowels to PTB ***d-kəy** BARKING DEER / DEER (§2.2.2) and most of the others to PTB ***tswat** ANTELOPE / SAMBAR DEER (§2.2.2).

The barking deer is a small species (*Cervulus muntjac*), renowned as the best eating in the jungle.

The first syllable of the Kuki-Chin binome reflects PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-kəy**	deer (barking)	Matisoff 2003a:595
	***d-kiy**	barking deer; deer	Weidert 1987:188; Weidert 1987:726; Benedict 1972:54
	***d-kəy**	deer	Weidert 1987:726
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *sha-khii DEER			
**Chin*	***sha-khii**	DEER	VanBik 2009:437
**Kuki (Southern)*	***d-khi**	barking deer	Benedict 1972:54
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**sa-khi**	deer	VanBik 2009:437
Sizang	**sa-hkī**	barking deer	VanBik 2009:437
Thado	**sâ-khíi**	deer	VanBik 2009:437
	sa-xì	barking deer	Weidert 1987:188
	sā xí	deer	Thirumalai 1972:27
Tiddim	**sa**^{1} **khi**^{2}	barking deer	VanBik 2009:437; Bhaskararao 1996:1494
	¯**sǎ**-xi:	deer (barking) (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**skhií**	deer (small, reddish color, female has no antlers)	VanBik 2009:437
Mkaang	**s**^{h}**aʔk̂**^{h}**i**	deer	So-Hartmann 1988:61
Ngmüün	**s**^{h}**aʔk̂**^{h}**i**	deer	So-Hartmann 1988:61
Nyhmoye	**s**^{h}**a**^{ʔ}**tš**^{h}**i**	deer	So-Hartmann 1988:61

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**sa-khîi**	deer	VanBik 2009:437
Lai (Falam)	**sà-khĭi**	deer	VanBik 2009:437
Lushai [Mizo]	**sḁ-khí**	barking deer	Weidert 1987:188
	sa-khí	barking deer	VanBik 2009:437
	sa-khi	barking deer; deer (barking)	Bhaskararao 1996:1494; Benedict 1972:54; Marrison 1967

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**sā-khì**	barking deer	VanBik 2009:437

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**sʌ-khí**	barking deer	Weidert 1987:188

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Kohima)	**chü** zhie	deer (barking)	Marrison 1967
	c^{h}ü^{31} zie^{33} kie^{11}	antler (of deer)	Nienu 1990a:2.11

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***caw** DEER

**Tangkhulic*	***caw**	deer	Mortensen 2012:387
Huishu	ʔa-**tsow**	deer (generic)	Mortensen 2012:Animals.055
Kachai	ʔa-**co**	deer	Mortensen 2012:Animals.055
	ʔa-**tɕo**	deer	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	**caw**	deer (barking)	Bhat 1969:84
	chao	deer (barking)	Marrison 1967
Tusom	sə-**cɯ**	deer (generic)	Mortensen 2012:Animals.055
Ukhrul	**caw**	deer	Mortensen 2012

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**khyī**	deer (barking)	Matisoff 1974:76
	khyi ⋉ tsyəkhyi ⋉ **śiktśi**	barking deer	Benedict 1972:54

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Modern)	**k'ye^{3}**	barking deer	Luce 1985:S.10
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕhe^{22}**	muntjac / deer (barking) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0314.27
Burmese (Spoken)	**dji^{3}**	barking deer	Luce 1985:S.10
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**ji**	deer (barking)	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**gyi**	barking deer	Weidert 1987:188
	gyī	deer (barking)	Marrison 1967
	gyi	barking deer	Benedict 1976a
	khje^{2}	muntjac / deer (barking) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0314.26
	khye	barking deer; deer (barking)	Weidert 1987:188; Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a
	khye ⋉ **gyi**	barking deer; deer (barking)	Benedict 1972:54; Matisoff 1974:76
Maru [Langsu]	**tse**	deer (barking)	Okell 1971
Taung-Yo	**k'le^{4}**	barking deer	Luce 1985:S.10
Tavoyan	**hkei**	deer (barking)	Okell 1971

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***kye^{1}**	barking deer	Weidert 1987:188; Bradley 1979b:2

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Luquan	**ts'i 22s**	deer / sambar	Matisoff 1972b:10
Nusu (Northern)	**tshɛ^{55}**	deer	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tshɑ˞^{55}**	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.45
Nusu (Southern)	**tshɑ^{55}**	deer	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**tshɚ^{55}**	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**tshɛ^{33}**	deer	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tshɛ^{33}ndʑɛ^{33}	deer	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**tshɯ^{33}**mʌ^{21}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.24
	tshɿ^{33}mɑ^{33}	muntjac / deer (barking) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0314.37
Yi (Xide)	**tshe^{33}**	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.35
	tshe^{33}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Youle)	**tshe^{33}**	deer	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tshe^{33}**	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.44
	tshe^{33}	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.34
Lahu	**chī**	barking deer	Weidert 1987:188
Lahu (Lancang)	**tshi^{33}**pi^{35}qɔɛ^{21}	muntjac / deer (barking) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0314.43
Lahu (Black)	**chɨ**	deer (barking)	Matisoff 1974:76
Lisu	**chȳ**	barking deer	Weidert 1987:188
Lisu (Central)	**hchï^{4}**	deer (barking)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**htsye2**	deer / sambar	Matisoff 1972b:10
	htsye^{2}	deer (sambar)	Matisoff 1985a:023
Lisu (Central)	**htsye^{2}**	deer (large)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**tshe^{35}**	red deer (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tshe^{35}**	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tshe^{35}**ma^{33}	female deer	Bradley 1994
	tshe^{35}phy^{33}	male deer	Bradley 1994
	tshe^{35}tɕhi^{33}	antelope deer	Bradley 1994
	tʃhɿ^{33}	Muntjac deer; skin of Muntjac deer (N.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**tshz̥̍^{33}**	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.39
	tshz̥̍^{33} lɒ^{11}mɒ^{33}	muntjac / deer (barking) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0314.39
Sani [Nyi]	**tshɯ 44**	deer / sambar	Matisoff 1972b:10

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**cí** hà	barking deer	Weidert 1987:188
	tseh HS	deer / sambar	Matisoff 1972b:10
	tsehʔ^{33}	deer (sambar)	Matisoff 1985a:023
	tsehˆ	deer	Matisoff 1974:328
Bisu	**tshɛ̄**	deer / sambar	Matisoff 1972b:10
Hani (Hu T'an)	**tse 33c**	deer / sambar	Matisoff 1972b:10
Hani (Dazhai)	xe^{31}**tse̱^{33}**	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tɕhi^{55}za^{31}**	muntjac / deer (barking) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0314.41
	xe^{31}**tse̱^{33}**	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	khɔ^{31}**tshe^{33}**	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.30
Hani (Shuikui)	xa^{31}**tshi̱^{33}**	deer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:129.32
Hani (Mojiang)	xa^{31}**tshi̱^{33}**	deer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0313.42
Pyen	**che33**	deer	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:021012

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Phola	**ts^{h}ɛ̱^{31}**	muntjak deer	Pelkey 2011:104
Hlepho Phowa	a^{21}**ts^{h}ɿ^{21}**	muntjak deer	Pelkey 2011:104
Phu Kha	a^{33} **t͡s^{h}ɯ^{31}**	barking deer	Fried 2000
Phuza	a^{55}**ts^{h}i^{33}**	muntjak deer	Pelkey 2011:104

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ts^{h}i**˥	muntjac (Barking Deer)	Michaud 2006–2009:3884
Na (Yongning)	**tɕ^{h}i**˩	muntjac (barking deer)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**tɕhi^{21}**	muntjac / deer (barking) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0314.45

7. KARENIC: ***d-khej^{A}** DEER (BARKING~)

**Karen*	***d-khej^{A}**	deer (barking~)	Luangthongkum 2013:79
Bwe	**do^{11}khi^{55}**	deer (barking~)	Luangthongkum 2013:79
Kayah	**khə^{33}**	deer (barking~)	Luangthongkum 2013:79
Kayan	**khɨ^{53}**	deer (barking~)	Luangthongkum 2013:79
Kayaw	**khi^{55}**	deer (barking~)	Luangthongkum 2013:79
Pa-O	**khì**	muntjac, barking deer	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**khi^{31}**¨	deer (barking~)	Luangthongkum 2013:79
Pa-O (Northern)	**khi^{31}**¨	deer (barking~)	Luangthongkum 2013:79

Chinese comparandum

麂 OC (***ki̯ɛr**), (not in *GSR* #602) 'muntjac'; Schuessler 2007:297 ***kriʔ**; Mand. **jǐ**.

(4) TGTM *^{A}pho deer

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{A}**pho**	deer	Mazaudon 1978:1
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{1}**pho**	deer	Mazaudon 1978:1
Manang (Ngawal)	^{1}**phwo**	deer	Mazaudon 1978:1
Thakali (Marpha)	^{1}**pho**	deer	Mazaudon 1978:1
Thakali (Syang)	^{H}**pho**	deer	Mazaudon 1978:1
Thakali (Tukche)	^{H}**pho**	deer	Mazaudon 1978:1

(5) PKar *t-khroʔ^{D} DEER (SAMBHAR)

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***t-khroʔ^{D}**	deer (sambha ~)	Luangthongkum 2013:80 [a]
Bwe	**kho^{33}**	deer (sambha ~)	Luangthongkum 2013:80
Kayah	**khrɔ^{55}**	deer (sambha ~)	Luangthongkum 2013:80
Kayan	**khjɔʔ^{45}**	deer (sambha ~)	Luangthongkum 2013:80
Kayan (Pekon)	**kyọ̤**	Sambar deer (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**khə^{33}**	deer (sambha ~)	Luangthongkum 2013:80
Pa-O (Southern)	**khjoʔ^{21}**	deer (sambha ~)	Luangthongkum 2013:80
Pa-O (Northern)	**khjoʔ^{21}**	deer (sambha ~)	Luangthongkum 2013:80
Pa-O	**khjóʔ**	deer, sambhur	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**ta^{33}xɔ^{55}**	deer (sambha ~)	Luangthongkum 2013:80
Pwo (Southern)	**chə^{33}xo^{31}**¨	deer (sambha ~)	Luangthongkum 2013:80
Sgaw (Northern)	**ta^{33}xɔ^{33}**	deer (sambha ~)	Luangthongkum 2013:80
Sgaw (Southern)	**thɔ^{33}xɔ^{55}**	deer (sambha ~)	Luangthongkum 2013:80

[a] [Source Note] In SK, the rhyme *-oʔ^{D} has become -ɔ^{A} (SG, N.PW) and -o^{A} (S.PW).

(6) PTB *d-yuk DEER (SAMBHUR / SAMBAR)

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-yuk**	deer (sambar); deer (sambhur)	Matisoff 2003a:620; Benedict 1972:386

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***sha-yuk** DEER (male) / ANTLER

**Chin*	*sha-**yuk**	DEER (male) / ANTLER	VanBik 2009:1195

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	sâ-**zûʔ**	deer (big sp.with multiple horns)	VanBik 2009:1195
Tiddim	sa^{1} **zuk^{3}**	big deer	VanBik 2009:1195; Bhaskararao 1996:1501

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Matu	s^{h}ə **juˀ**	deer	So-Hartmann 1988:61

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	sa-**zuk**	deer (male), antler	VanBik 2009:1195
Lushai [Mizo]	sà-**zùk**	sambar deer or Indian elk (n.)	VanBik 2009:1195
	sa-**zuk**	sambar deer; deer (sambhur); deer (generic)	Bhaskararao 1996:1501; Benedict 1972:386; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	thi **džok**	deer (sambhur)	Benedict 1972:386

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	mo **so**	deer (sambhur)	Benedict 1972:386

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	mat **tśok**	deer	Benedict 1972:107n301
	mat **tśok** ⋉ mat **tśak**	deer (sambhur)	Benedict 1972:386
Garo (Bangladesh)	mat-**chok**	deer (n.)	Burling 2003:4.419-II:idx

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	ma **chok**	type of large deer (n.)	van Breugel 2008

2.2.3 Ursine

(1) PTB *d-wam BEAR (animal)

A number of languages (Tani, Tibetan, Lepcha, Lahu) show preemption of the initial by the dental prefix. Jingpho has acquired the homorganic stop in this root.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***dɣwjəm**	bear (n.)	Coblin 1986:40

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-wam**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210; Matisoff 2003a:618; Matisoff 1983:20
	***d-wam**	bear	Benedict 1972:461
	***d-wam(*A)**	bear (n.)	Coblin 1986:40
	***d-wɑm**	bear	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:674a-b

1.1.1. TANI: ***tum** BEAR (animal)

**Tani*	***tum**	bear (animal)	Sun 1993a:20

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	si-**tĩ**	bear (animal)	Sun 1993a
	si-**tĩ**	bear (n.)	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**tiŋ**	bear (n.)	Sun 1993b
	^{1}sɯ^{2} **tiŋ** (^{2})	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:718
Bengni	šu-**tum**	bear (animal)	Sun 1993a
	su-**tum**	bear (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	šu-**tum**	bear (animal)	Sun 1993a
	su-**tum**	bear (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ɕu **tum**	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.24
Bokar Lhoba	ɕu **tum**	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.51
Galo	hot **tum**	bear (n.)	GLDC 2009
	hot **tum**-horə	wild animal (n.)	GLDC 2009
	hot **tum-tum** ruu	bear den; den (bear) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	so **tum**	bear	Das Gupta 1963
	'tum cik	bear (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'tum pin	bearskin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆho **tum**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:718
Tagin	si **tom**	bear (n.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	si-**tum**	bear (animal)	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʂi-**tum**	bear (n.)	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	si-**tum**	bear (n.)	Benedict 1972:461
	si-**tum**	bear	Coblin 1986:40

1.1.2. DENG

Digaro	**təham ≍ təhum**	bear (n.)	Benedict 1972:461
	tə **ham**~tə **hum**	bear	Coblin 1986:40

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***wom** BEAR (animal)

**Chin*	***wom**	BEAR (animal)	VanBik 2009:1132
Anal	**tɔ̀ɔm**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**vom** pi	bear	VanBik 2009:1132
Sizang	**vom**	bear	VanBik 2009:1132
Thado	**vóm**	bear	VanBik 2009:1132
	vóm pì	bear	Thirumalai 1972:43
Tiddim	**vom**^{2} pi^{1}	bear	VanBik 2009:1132; Bhaskararao 1996:1964

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**tvóeeng**	bear (Helarctos malayanus or Selenarctos thibetanus, black with a whitish V on the chest)	VanBik 2009:1132

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**vôm**	bear	VanBik 2009:1132
Lushai [Mizo]	sà-**váwm**	bear, the Himalayan black bear (n.)	VanBik 2009:1132
	sa-**vom**	bear (n.)	Benedict 1972:461
	sa **vawm**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-vỳ	bear (n.)	VanBik 2009:1132

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	kʌ-**vóm**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210
Sorbung	ʔə-**wám**	bear (Selenarctos thibetanus)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.061

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Ao (Chungli)	**shim**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	i **rem**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	i **ɹəm**	bear (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	se **van**	bear (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	se **va**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967
	se **van**	bear	Murry *et al.* 1978:9
	sē **váṇ**	bear	Acharya 1975

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Khezha	^{1}e^{2}**we**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210
Mao	o **vu**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967
	^{2}o^{1}**vu**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210
Meluri	a **wi**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	te **gwe**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **va**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	cha **wom**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	chah **wam**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967
Maram	sa **hom**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***him** BEAR, ***ŋom** BEAR

**Tangkhulic*	***him**	bear	Mortensen 2012:658
	***ŋom**	bear	Mortensen 2012:444
Huishu	ʔa-**hɐm**	bear, Tibetan/Himalayan bear (Selenarctos thibetanus)	Mortensen 2012:Animals.061
Kachai	ci-**him**	Tibetan / Himalayan bear (Selenarctos thibetanus)	Mortensen 2012:Animals.060
	tɕi-**him**	bear	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	si **ngom**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}si^{2}**ŋom**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210
	^{1}si^{1}**ŋom**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210
Tusom	sə-**ŋõ**	bear	Mortensen 2012:Animals.061
Ukhrul	ʃi-**ŋom**	bear	Mortensen 2012

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	(thok-)**wam**	bear (n.)	Benedict 1972:461
	thok-**vám**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210
	thok-**võm(ʔ)**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210
	thok **vam**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	lə **wap**	bear (n.)	Benedict 1972:461

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**hom**	bear (n.)	Bailey 1911; Benedict 1972:461
Thebor	**hom**	bear (n.)	Benedict 1972:461
	hom	bear	Coblin 1986:40

2.1.2. BODIC

Bumthang	**wam**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:718
Kaike	**wom**	bear (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.062
Kurtöp	**dom**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:718
Tsangla (Motuo)	**om**^{55}ɕa^{55}	bear	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ʔom ɕa	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**om**-sha	bear	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**wom**^{35}	bear (n.)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ɔm**^{13}	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.6
Motuo Menba	**ʔom** ɕa	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.07
Tashigang	**ʔom**-ša	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:718
Cuona Menba	**ɔm**^{35}	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Dzongkha	**d$^{\text{n}}$om:**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:718
Tibetan (Alike)	**tom**	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tom**	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**tom**	bear (brown); bear (n.)	Sun 1985a:54; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.5
Tibetan (Jirel)	**thom**	bear (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.062
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**toŋ**^{13}	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**thom**^{13} (**tom**^{13})	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.02
	thom^{15}	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'tom**	bear (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.062
Tibetan (Written)	**dom**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:718
	dom	bear (animal); bear (brown)	Marrison 1967; Jäschke 1881
	dom	bear; bear (brown) (n.)	Matisoff 1983:20; Sun 1985c:54; Benedict 1972:461; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.01
	dom	bear	Coblin 1986:40
	dom	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.1
	dóm-bu	dog (sp. of black) resembling a bear; cub (bear)	Jäschke 1881:259; Jäschke 1881:259
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**tom**	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	sə **tum**	wolf	Benedict 1972:461

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang (Bagmati)	**tɑwɑm**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:718
Tamang (Sahu)	**tāwām**	bear (small red) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.062
	tawam	small, red bear	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.62
Thakali	**tom**	bear (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.062
Thakali (Tukche)	**tom**	bear	Hari 1971:3.A.62
	$^{\text{H}}$**tom**	bear	Mazaudon 1994:442

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**wam**	bear (n.)	Benedict 1972:461
	wam	bear	Coblin 1986:40
Sunwar	**wạ:**	bear (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.062

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	bhə.li.**yom**	Himalayan Black Bear; Himalayan Black bear (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	siŋʔ.tyamh.**yom**	Sloth bear; Sloth-bear (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	tok.ci.**yom**	bear (ch); woman (met.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	yom	bear (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.062; Weidert 1987:3; Caughley 2000
	yom	bear	Caughley 1972:3.A.62
	yom.bonʔ	vine (sp.), with thorns like a bear's claw - cut to get drinking water (n.)	Caughley 2000

3.2. QIANGIC

Muya	re^{33}**we**^{55}	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.15
Muya [Minyak]	ʐɐ̯^{35}**we**^{55}	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.15
Namuyi	**vu**^{55}	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**uẽ**^{55}	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**uə̃**^{55}	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.11
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**wua**^{35}	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**wɐr**^{13}	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.13

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**dəm**	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.12
Ergong (Danba)	**wo**	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	**tu33 wam33**	bear	Nagano & Prins 2013:1474
rGyalrong	**twǒm**	bear (n.)	Benedict 1972:461
	twǒm	bear	Coblin 1986:40
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**təwɑm**	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.11
rGyalrong	**towam**	Himalayan bear	Nagano 1997:6.1
rGBenzhen	**tə-wamʔ**	bear (black)	Sun 1997b
Shili	**tom**	bear (black)	Sun 1997c

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***d-wam**$^{1/2}$ BEAR

**Lolo-Burmese*	***d-wam**$^{1/2}$	bear (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:618
	***wam**^{1}	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**ɔm**^{55}	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**om**^{55}	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.29
Bola (Luxi)	**vɛ̃**^{55}	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**wũ**^{22}	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.27
	wũ^{22}pu^{53}lwe^{22}	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.27
	wɛʔ^{4}**wũ**^{22}	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**wũ**^{22}pu^{53}lwe^{22}	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.40
	wɛʔ^{44}**wũ**^{22}	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.40
Burmese (Written)	(wak-)**wam**	bear	Coblin 1986:40
	wak-**wam**	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210; Benedict 1972:461
	wak **waṁ**	bear (animal)	Marrison 1967
	wak **wam**	bear	Hansson 1989:390
	wam	bear (n.)	Matisoff 1983:20
	waṁ	bear (= wak-waṁ) (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	waṁ-pu'-lwe	wolf	Benedict 1976a
	wam-pú lwe	wolf	Benedict 1972:461
	waṁ^{2}pu^{1}lwe^{2}	wolf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:130.39
	wɑk **wɑṁ**^{2}	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.39
	wɑṁ^{2}	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.26
	wɑṁ^{2}pu^{1}lwe^{2}	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.26
Hpun (Northern)	**tăwé, tăwéɪ**	bear (animal)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**vɛ̃**^{31}	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**wɔm**^{31}	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.33
	wɔm^{31}khui^{55}	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.33
Marma	**waiŋ**	bear (n.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:304-10
Maru [Langsu]	**vɛ̃**^{31}	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.43
	wìn	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**vam**^{51}	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.42
	vam^{51}khui^{21}	jackal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0323.30
	vam^{51}khui^{21}mo^{55}	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.30

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***k-d-wam**[1] BEAR

**Loloish*	***k-d-wam**[1]	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210
	***k-d-wam**[1]	bear	Bradley 1979b:12; Hansson 1989:390

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Southern)	khui[55]**uɛ**[35]	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	khui[55]**uɑ**[35]	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.45
Nusu (Central)	**ua**[33]	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ɦo**[31]	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ɣɯ**[21]	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ɣo**[33]	bear (animal)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**ɣə̲**[33]	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.37
	ɣɯ[33]mʌ[21]	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.24
Yi (Xide)	**ɣo**[33]	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.35; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	a[33]**ø**[44]	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.34
	a[44]**ø**[44]	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ[33]**ø**[44]	bear (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	yɛ̀-mí-**tɔ̃**	bear (n.)	Benedict 1972:461 [a]
Lahu (Lancang)	ʑɛ[31]mi[35]**tɔ**[11]	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.43
Lahu (Black)	zɛ[31]mi[35]**tɔ**[31]phɯ[53]	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.33
Lisu (Northern)	**væ2**[21]ɣɔ[44]	brown bear (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**waw**[4]	bear (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**wɔ̄** phà	bear (n.)	Weidert 1987:210
Lisu (Northern)	**wɔ**[44]	bear (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ɣo**[33]	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.27
Lisu (Northern)	**ɣɔ**[44]	bear; brown bear (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]dʑi[44] tɕhæ[35]pu[55]	quiver made of bear skin	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]ge[33]dʑi[33]	skin of lesser panda	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]læ[21]phæ[35]	bear's paw	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]læʔ[21]duʔ[21]	elbow skin of bear (good for making quiver)	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]ma[33]	female bear	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]næ[33]	black bear	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]pha[21]	male bear	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]phu[33]	white bear	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]phy[33]	male bear	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]tshɯ[33]	fat of bear	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]tɕhi[33]phæ[35]	bear's paw (from hind-leg)	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]tɕi[33]	gallbladder of bear (formerly wɔ[44]tʃʐ[33])	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]ʃʅ[21]	surnamed 'bear' (name of Lisu clan)	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[44]ɤ[35]	bear (the kind that shakes its head when sitting and walking)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**ɣɯ**[33]	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	xhà **hḿ** (..ɣḿ ?)	bear	Hansson 1989:71
Akha (Thai)	xhà-**hḿ**	bear	Hansson 1989:390
Akha	xhà-**hḿ**	bear	Hansson 1989:390
Akha (Thai)	xhà-**hḿ**	bear	Hansson 1989:71
Bisu	ʔu **wám**	bear	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	xa[31]**ɔ**[55]	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.31
Hani (Lüchun)	xhà **ɔ́**	bear	Hansson 1989:390
	xɔ[31]**ɔ**[55]	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	xa[31]**xm̩**[55]	bear (n.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	xɔ[31]**ɣ**[55]	bear (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:125.32
Hani (Mojiang)	xɔ[31]**ɣ**[55]	bear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0311.42
Pyen	ʔa33 **vam45**	bear	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:021015

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**u**˧	bear (n.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3823
	u˧bv˧	male bear	Michaud 2006–2009:3825
	u˧mie˧	female bear	Michaud 2006–2009:3824
	u˧tsi˩	gall secretion of a bear	Michaud 2006–2009:3828

7. KARENIC: ***tham**[A] BEAR (animal)

**Karen*	***thàmh**	bear (animal) (n.)	Jones 1961:163
	***tham**[A]	bear (animal)	Luangthongkum 2013:15
**Karen [Burling]*	***tham**[4]	bear (animal)	Luangthongkum 2013:15
Bwe	**thɛ**[55]	bear (animal)	Luangthongkum 2013:15
Kayah	**the**[33]	bear (animal)	Luangthongkum 2013:15
Kayan	**thaŋ**[53]	bear (animal)	Luangthongkum 2013:15
Kayan (Pekon)	**tʰán**	black bear (N.)	Manson 2010
	tʰán kʰwḛ́	sun bear [lit. bear-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**thɔ**[55]	bear (animal)	Luangthongkum 2013:15
Pa-O	**thàm**	bear	Solnit 1989
	tham	bear	Benedict 1972:142n384
Pa-O (Northern)	**tham**[31··]	bear (animal)	Luangthongkum 2013:15
Pa-O (Southern)	**tham**[31··]	bear (animal)	Luangthongkum 2013:15
Pwo (Northern)	(phɨ[11··]) **thɔ̃**[35]	bear (animal)	Luangthongkum 2013:15
Pwo (Southern)	(phou[53])**thɔ̃**[53]	bear (animal)	Luangthongkum 2013:15

[a] The second syllable of this form is probably from Tai (cf. Siamese **mǐi**).

Chinese comparandum

熊 OC ***d-wɑm**, *GSR* #674a-b 'bear'; Coblin 86:40 ST ***dɣwjəm** > OC ***gwjəm**; Schuessler 2007:542 ***wəm**; B & S 2011: ***C.ɢʷəm {C.[ɢ]ʷ(r)əm}**; Mand. **xióng**.

2.2.4 Birds (in general)

(1) PTB *s-ŋak BIRD

HPTB p. 317 cites a WT form **sŋag** glossed as 'voice/sing', but this form does not appear as such in Jäschke 1881, where a verb **sŋak-pa** glossed 'to sing praises' is cited (p. 136).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ŋak**	bird	Matisoff 2003a:606

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	**n-gek**	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**nggak** pui	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hŋak**	voice	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:512.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**nag** te	pheasant	Sun 1985a:747
Tibetan (Written)	**nags**.de	pheasant	Sun 1985c:747

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Gyaru)	**na**[1] ga[1]	cock	Nagano 1984:304-07
Manang (Prakaa)	[1]**nə** kə	fowl / hen / cock	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0062
Thakali (Tukche)	**ŋo**	bird trap	Hari 1971:8.A.30 30

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	**ŋark** uwa	migrant bird (crane – bm)	Allen 1975

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**na**[31]	chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.16
	na[31]phu[55]	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.16
	na[31]tsi[55]	chick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.16
	na[31]ŋi[55]	hen (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.16
	na[31]ʃə[55]	egg (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0450.16
	nɑ[33] ʃʅ[53]	egg	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:170.17
	nɑ[53]	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.17
	nɑ[53]nphu[53]	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.17
	nɑ[53]ŋi[53]	hen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:137.17

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	**ne**[35]pi[35]	bird	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	ni2bi1	bird (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	nie2bi1	bird (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	nie2bi1tong4	bird's nest (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	nie[2]bi[1]	bird	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3
	nie[2]bi[1]tong[4]	bird's nest	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3
	ni[2]bi[1]	bird	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.3
Tujia	**n̥ie**[35]pi[55]	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.49
	n̥ie[35]pi[55]	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.38
	n̥ie[35]pi[55]thoŋ[55]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.49
	n̥ie[35]pi[55]thoŋ[55]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.38

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***s-ŋ(y)ak**[H] BIRD

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-ŋ(y)ak**[H]	bird	Matisoff 1978a:77
	***s-ŋak**	bird	Matisoff 1972b:141

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**ŋ̊ɑʔ**[55]	bird	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**m̥ɔʔ**[55]	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.28
	m̥ɔʔ[55]	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.41
	m̥ɔʔ[55]sut[55]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.28
Achang (Luxi)	**ŋaʔ**[55]	bird	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**noʔ**[31]joŋ[55]	peacock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0345.29
	ŋ̊ɔʔ[55]	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.29
	ŋ̊ɔʔ[55] sut[55]	bird's nest	DAI Qingxia 1989f:380
	ŋ̊ɔʔ[55]sut[55]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.29
Bola (Luxi)	**ŋa̲ʔ**[55]	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.32
Bola	**ŋa̲ʔ**[55] sɔt[55]	bird's nest	DAI Qingxia 1989g:380
Bola (Luxi)	**ŋa̲ʔ**[55]sɔt[55]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ŋ̊ɛʔ**[4]	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.27
	ŋ̊ɛʔ[4]tθɑiʔ[4]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ŋ̊ɛʔ**[44]	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.40
Burmese (Written)	cā **ṅhak**	sparrow	Marrison 1967
	cèi-**hŋeʔ**	parrot	Weidert 1987:141
	hŋak	bird	Matisoff 1978a:77
	hŋak	bird (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	hŋɑk	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.39
	hŋɑk[4]	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.26
	kŋɑk[4]tθok[4]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.26
	ṅhak	bird	Marrison 1967
	ŋôŋ	kind of bird	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	**ŋùʔ** sà ă ʃá	nest (cp. Bird, Hive)	Henderson 1986
	ŋùʔ sà; **ŋà**	bird	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**ŋo̲ʔ**[55]	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.31
	ŋo̲ʔ[55]sat[55]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ŋo̲ʔ**[55]	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.33
	ŋo̲ʔ[55]sɔt[55]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.33
Marma	**hŋaʔ**	bird	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:301
	hŋaʔ táŋ	nest (lit. bird-nest)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:318
Maru [Langsu]	**ŋo̲ʔ**[55]	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋo̲ʔ**[55]	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.30
	ŋo̲ʔ[55]	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.42
	ŋǒ̲ʔ[55]khjik[55]	pheasant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0340.30
	ŋǒ̲ʔ[55]khjik[55]	pheasant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:141.42
	ŋo̲ʔ[55]sut[55]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.30
	ŋǒ̲ʔ[55]sut[55]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	*s-**ŋyak**[H]	bird	Bradley 1979b:48

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**ŋa**[35]mɛ[33]	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.47
	ŋa[35]tshʮ[33]tshʮ[33]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.47
Lalo	á-**niq**	bird	Björverud 1994
Luquan	**ŋa** 22s ~ ny 22s ~ na 11	bird	Matisoff 1972b:141
Nasu	**ŋa 32s**	bird	Matisoff 1972b:141
Nusu (Central)	**ŋ̊a̲**[53]	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.34
	ŋ̊a̲[53]sɯ̲[53]	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ŋ̊ɑ**[55]	bird	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	a[33]**ŋa**[33]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.22
	ŋa[33]	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.22
	ŋa[33]tɕhy[33]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.22
	ŋa[33]tɕi[33]	pheasant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:141.22
Yi (Liangshan)	tɕhʅ[33]mi[21]**ŋo**[55]	thrush (bird)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**ŋA̲**[33]; n̥ɛ[33]	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.24
	ŋA̲[33]tɕhi[33]	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.24
	ŋA̲[33]ʂu[55]	pheasant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:141.24
	n̥æ̲[33]	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.37

	ŋæ̱^{33}tɕhi^{33}	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.37
Yi (Wuding)	**ŋɑ̱**^{2}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.38
	ŋɑ̱^{2}tɕhi^{33}thɣ^{11}	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.38
	ŋɑ̱^{33}dʐu^{33}	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.38

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	**ŋa**^{42}zɔ^{44}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.44
	ŋa^{44}zɔ^{44}a^{33}khɯ^{44}	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**ŋɑ**^{33}jɔ^{33}	bird (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ŋɑ^{33}jɔ^{44}	bird (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ŋɑ**^{33}zɔ^{33}	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.34
	ŋɑ^{31}**zɔ**^{33}	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**ŋ̊ɑ**^{42}zɔ^{44}	bird	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ŋ̊ɑ^{42}zɔ^{44}khɤ^{44}	nest	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**ŋa33**	sparrow; bird	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009; DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**ŋɑ**^{54}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.43
	ŋɑ^{54}phɯ^{33}	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.43
Lahu (Black)	**nâ**	perch, as a bird	Matisoff 1974:311
	ŋâ?	bird	Matisoff 1978a:77; Matisoff 1972b:141
	ŋê?	bird	Matisoff 1978a:77
	ŋ$_{A}$^{53}	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ŋa**^{6}	bird	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	bø^{33}**ɲa**^{35} dʑæ?^{21}læ?^{21}	kind of bird, Leiothrix lutea lutea red-billed leiothrix (red-billed, living in tropical bushes) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	bɤ^{33}ji^{33} **ɲa**^{35}tsæ?^{21}	kind of bird, Leiothrix lutea lutea red-billed leiothrix (red-billed, living in tropical bushes) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	na^{55}**ɲa**^{35}	bird that eats long-grain rice	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33}**na**^{55}	sit (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**nyá2**	bird	Matisoff 1972b:141
Lisu (Central)	**nyá**^{2}	bird	Fraser 1922
	nyá^{2}-hkrgh^{5}	nest (bird's)	Fraser 1922
	nyi^{2}-**na**^{1}	sit	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	tsɯ^{55}**ɲa**^{35}	kind of bird, Sosterops japonica simplex (living in shrubs) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tʃhɳ^{33}**næ**^{33}	kind of bird, Elaphodus cephalophus (living in shrubs or grass land on snow mountains 2200-3200m above sea-level) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}**ɲa**^{35}	migratory bird (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ỹ^{35}**na**^{55}	sit	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}**ɲa**^{35}ma^{33}	rufous-bellied nittava 'brown-bellied-celestrial-gentleman' niltava sundara (flycatcher bird living in shrubs on snow mountains)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}	bird (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}ba^{21}ʃl^{33}	yellow-face bird (living in shrubs)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}dɔ?^{21}	peacock	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}dɔ?^{21}mɤ^{55}	peacock feather	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ɲa**^{35}dʑø?^{21}	pheasant	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**ɲa**^{35}dʑɤ?^{21}	pheasant	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}khɔ?^{21}na^{33}	blackbreasted parrotbill, ('yellow-beaked crow-tit') Paradoxornis flavirostris (bird living in shrubs on hillside)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}kɔ^{33}	crest of bird	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}kɔ^{55}	Chinese babax Babax lanceolatus (bird living in shrubs on hillside)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}kɔ^{55}tsu^{33}	babbler with grass lines Yuhinia flavicollis whiskered yuhinia (bird living in shrubs on hillside)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}mɤ^{21}ne^{33}	kind of bird, red-beaked Corvus monedula dauuricus (living in shrubs)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}mɤ^{55} wa^{33}la^{33} tɕhe^{33}	fantail, Rhipidura vigors (flycatcher bird living in forests in ravines)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}ne^{21}	grey-spotted pheasant (living in Biluo Snow Mountains and Gaoligong Mountains)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}ne^{21}tsɯ^{35}	mythical bird (According to Lisu legends, in the time of the flood this was that only kind of bird that survived)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}**si**^{21}	kind of bird, Ithaginis cruentus	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}tʃhɳ^{21}ɕɤ^{33}	olive tree-pipit anthus hodgsoni (bird living in shrubs)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}wa^{33} thi^{21} ɣɔ?^{21}	set of bird-knots (trap to catch birds) (A.)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}wa^{33}tsɤ^{35} thi^{21} ɣɔ?^{21}	trap used in catching birds (n.)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}za^{21}	little bird	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35} kɔ^{33} hæ̃^{35} kɔ^{33} tɤ^{33} ŋɔ	Song of Wearing Bird Crest	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɲi^{33}**na**^{55}	sit (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ɲɛ**^{35}	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.27
Sani [Nyi]	**ŋe 44**	bird	Matisoff 1972b:141
Yi (Sani)	**ŋe**^{33}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.39
	ŋe^{33}bɤ^{33}	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ŋæ**^{33}	sound, call (bird, cow, sheep, horse) (v.)	MA Xueliang 1989:328.1

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**ŋa 55**	bird	Matisoff 1972b:141
Hani (Pijo)	**ŋa** jɔ̀	bird	Hansson 1989:116
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ŋa**^{33}xe^{55}	nest	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:368.30
	ŋa̱^{33}jɔ^{31}	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.30
Hani (Khatu)	**ŋa** jɔ̀	bird	Hansson 1989:116
Mpi	**ɲaŋ?**^{4}-lo^{2}	bird	Matisoff 1978a:77; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**hija** ban põ^{31}	beak / bill	Ferlus 1991:3.9.3

Chinese comparandum

譌 OC *__ngûk__, *GSR* #788k 'speak frankly'; B & S 2011: *__ŋ__^{ʕ}__ak__; Mand. **è**.
語 OC *__ngi̱o__, *GSR* #58t-u 'speak'; Schuessler 2007: 588 *__ŋaʔ__; B & S 2011: *__ŋaʔ {ŋ(r)aʔ}__; Mand. **yǔ**.
言 OC *__ngi̱ăn__, *GSR* #251a-d 'speak, speech, talk'; Schuessler 2007:588 *__ŋan__; B & S 2011: *__ŋan {ŋa[n]}__; Mand. **yán**.

(2) PTB *b $\frac{\text{y}}{\text{r}}$ a BIRD / BEE

The Central Loloish languages Ahi and Sani have interesting reflexes of the palatalized labial-initial cluster, **d-** and **dl-** respectively.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***bya**	bee / bird	Matisoff 2003a:585
	***bya = bya ≍ bra**	bee, bird	Benedict 1972:177

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	há-**bju**	back (of bird)	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	mɑ^{31}tɕi^{53}**piɑ**^{53}	duck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.22
	mɑ^{31}tɕi^{53}**piɑ**^{53}	duck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:138.49
	piɑ^{53}kɯŋ^{35}	goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:139.49
	piɑ^{53}kɯŋ^{55}	goose (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0301.22
	piɑ^{53}tɑ^{31}pi^{55}	wild goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:144.49
	piɑ^{55}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.22
	piɑ^{55}	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.49
	pya:	bird	NEFA (India) 1963
	pya: a:yí	nest	NEFA (India) 1963
	pya: sag	nest	NEFA (India) 1963
Idu	mu^{55}**bɹa**^{55}	feather (of bird)	SUN Hongkai 1991f:8.1.5
	mu^{55}**bɹɑ**^{55}	feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.50
	piɑ^{55}tʂuŋ^{55}	wild goose	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:144.50
	pɹɑ^{55}ɑ^{55}	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.50
Yidu	mu^{55}**bɹɑ**^{55}	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.25
	piɑ^{55}tʂuŋ^{55}	goose (wild) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0334.25
	pɹɑ^{55}ɑ^{55}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.25
	thoŋ^{55}**bɹɑ**^{55}	hair (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0075.25

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Kohima)	**pe**^{31}**ra**^{31} tia^{33}	beak / bill	Nienu 1990a:3.9.3
Chokri	**mü**^{31}**ra**^{31} ta^{33}	beak / bill	Nienu 1990b:3.9.3

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**beré** má	bee (honey)	Bhat 1968
	beré mədáy	honey	Bhat 1968
	beré mə dəm	hive (bee)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**bere** di	honey	Marrison 1967
	bere yung	bee	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Chaudangsi	nə-**pya**	bird	Krishan 2003:521
Darma	**pya**	bird	Krishan 2003:614
	ŋak-**pya**	duck	Krishan 2003:509
Kanauri	hicu **pyā**	bird (small), name of (n.)	Bailey 1911
	lama **pyā**	bird (red), a (n.)	Bailey 1911
	lan **pyā**	bird (kind of, as large as a crow) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	lī **pyā**	bird about as large as a crow (n.)	Bailey 1911
	pyā	bird (n.)	Bailey 1911
	pya ts	bird (little)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**pya**	bird	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. BODIC

Tshona (Wenlang)	**ʑɑ**^{35}	bird	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tɕ**$_{A}$^{13}	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.6
Motuo Menba	**dʑa**	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.07
Cuona Menba	**tɕa**^{35}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**wɕæ**	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	hop **ɕa**	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.4
	ndap **tɕhak**	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.4
	tɕhəp **ɕa**	duck	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:138.4
	ɕa wo	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**wɕa**	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.5
	wɕa wo	chicken; rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.5; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.5
	ɕæ	bird (larger)	Sun 1985a:69
Tibetan (Balti)	**bi**·	bird	Rangan 1975:47
	by$_{\Lambda}$ fo·	cock	Rangan 1975:32
	by$_{\Lambda}$ p^{h}o·	bird	Rangan 1975:55
	by$_{\Lambda}$ p^{h}ru·	chicken	Rangan 1975:56
Tibetan (Batang)	**ɕa**^{231}	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.03
	ɕa^{13}	chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.03
	ɕa^{13}pho^{53}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.03

	ɕa^{13}tshõ^{55}	pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ɕa**^{13}	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.3
	ɕa^{13}pho^{53}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tɕha**^{13}	bird; year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.02; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.02
	tɕha^{13}	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.2
	tɕha^{13}pho^{53}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.2
	tɕha^{13}pho^{55}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.02
	tɕha^{13}te^{13}	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.2
	tɕha^{13}te^{55}	chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.02
	tɕha^{13}tshaŋ^{55}	nest (bird); pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.02; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.02
	tɕhə^{13}pu^{55}	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.02
Tibetan (Written)	**bi**	bird / fowl / hen	Jäschke 1881
	biu	bird / fowl / hen	Jäschke 1881
	bja	chicken; bird; year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.01; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.01; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.01
	bja	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.1
	bja de	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.1
	bja pho	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.01
	bja pho	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.1
	bja tshaŋ	nest (bird); pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.01; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.01
	bjefiu	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.01
	bjefiu tshaŋ	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.01
	bya	bird; bird (larger); bird, fowl	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:69; Benedict 1972:177
	bya-rkaṅ	vein (bird-foot)	Matisoff 1987
	bya-t'al	dung of birds (bird ashes)	Matisoff 1987
	bya.ma.byeu	flying fox	Sun 1985c:287
	bya.rgod	hawk (that feeds on corpses at bird-burials)	Sun 1985c:3
	bya.sgro	feather	Sun 1985c:71
	bya mo	hen	Marrison 1967
	bya pho	cock	Marrison 1967
	bya phrug	chicken	Marrison 1967
	bya poskapo	sparrow	Marrison 1967
	byeu	bird (little); bird (smaller)	Jäschke 1881; Sun 1985c:70
	byɑ	bird / fowl / hen	Jäschke 1881
	byɑ-gág	duck (sp.) / gray duck	Jäschke 1881
	byɑ-nág	raven / some similar bird	Jäschke 1881
	byɑ-p'o	cock / bird (male, any kind)	Jäschke 1881
	byɑ-p'rug	bird(young) / fowl(young) /	Jäschke 1881
	byɑ-rgód	vulture; bird of prey	Jäschke 1881; Jäschke 1881
	byɑ-rgyál	vulture; bird of prey	Jäschke 1881; Jäschke 1881
	byɑ-wáŋ	hawk (night) / goat-sucker / bat	Jäschke 1881
	byá-mo	bird (female, any kind) / hen /	Jäschke 1881
	byá-mɑ	bird (female) / hen / brood-hen	Jäschke 1881
	byá-po	cock / fowl (male, domestic)	Jäschke 1881
	chu.**bye**	duck (wild)	Sun 1985c:205
	č'u-**byá**	bird (water)	Jäschke 1881
	dur.**bya**	hawk (large, resembling an eagle)	Sun 1985c:4
	gso.**bya**	poultry	Sun 1985c:781
	k'yim **byɑ**	domestic fowl / cock / hen / poultry	Jäschke 1881
	lchags.**bya**	airplane	Sun 1985c:9 [a]
	rma-**bya**	peacock	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:738
	srin-**byá**	owl / nocturnal bird	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ɕa**	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.04
	ɕa khaŋ	pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.04
	ɕa wo	chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.04

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**ɓa**-di	egg	Matisoff 1987
	ʔba di	egg	Michailovsky 1991:55
Sunwar	**byā** pho	bull (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.033

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**'bā**-zu-ri:	egg	Matisoff 1987
	'ba zu ri:	egg (non-human)	Watters & Watters 1989:1.33

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**pjạ**	[bird name]	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5641

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**bzɻ**^{33}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.18
Lyuzu	**bi**^{35}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.18
	bʐe^{33}xua^{53}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.18
	pʐæ^{33} (lʉ^{53})	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.18
Muya	m **bə**^{33}**lø**^{53}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.15
Namuyi	n **dzɻ**^{53}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.19
	n **bzɻ**^{53}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.46
	n **dzɻ**^{53}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**bi**^{35}lĩ^{55}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**bʒɛ**^{13}tʃə^{55}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**bʒɛ**^{13}tʃə^{55}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.11
Qiang (Mawo)	**bə**	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.08
	bə	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**bə**^{31}dzy^{33}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	mo^{13}**bʐa**^{55}	hen (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	mo^{55}**ʐa**^{53}	hen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:137.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	pho^{55}**bʐa**^{55}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	pho^{55}**ʐa**^{53}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	rdʑa^{13}**bʐa**^{55}	chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.13
	rdʑa^{13}**bʐa**^{55}pɕe^{13}	chick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.13
	ɕe^{55}**bʐi**^{13}	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ʐa**^{53}	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ptsia**^{33}	chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.14
	ptsia^{33} mʌ^{55}mʌ^{55}	feather / plume (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0299.14
	ptsia^{33} pʌ^{33}ɟjʌ^{55}	chick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.14
	ptsia^{33}mu^{55}	hen (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0295.14
	ptsia^{33}phu^{55}	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.14
	ptsia^{33}ptsi^{55}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.14
	ptsia^{33}ʂkə^{55}	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.14
	ptsia^{55} və^{55}	pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.14
	ptsie^{13}lu^{33}	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.14
	tɕhu^{33}**ptsia**^{55}	duck (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	phu **bja**	cock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0294.12
Ergong (Northern)	**ʁbio**^{33} rmo^{53}	feather (of bird)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.1.5
	ʁbio^{33} χɕok^{53} pa^{33}	wing (of bird)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1.9
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	ɣbjêm **bjá**	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	**mba** mbu	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**mbɑ** mbu	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.11
rGyalrong (NW)	**pia** kue ndzəru	talon (of bird)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:7.4.4
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	**pja**	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	**pja**	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	**pja** 'ge	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438
rGyalrong	**pra**-khu	owl	Benedict 1972:164n441
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**ɣbjow**	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	**ʒbja** 'ʒbjəɬ	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438

4. NUNGIC

Nung	**tɕhɑ**^{55}	bird (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0326.21
Anong	**tɕhɑ**^{55}	bird	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:142.44
Nung	**tɕhɑ**^{55}ɖɑŋ^{31}	nest (bird) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0327.21

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	**za**^{21}	chicken	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**za**^{21}	chicken; year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0293.49; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.49
	za^{21}	chicken	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:135.38
Tujia (Northern)	**za**^{21} k^{h}ũ^{55} nũ^{55} p^{h}ɨe^{55}	crop (of chicken)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	za^{21}pa^{21}	rooster	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**za**^{21}pa^{21}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.38
	za^{21}tsho^{55}	pen (chicken) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.49

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***bya**^{2} BEE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***bya**^{2}	bee	Matisoff 2003a:586

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**pjɑ**^{31}	wasp	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tɕɑ^{31}phɑ^{31}	rooster	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**pja**^{51}wui^{51}	wasp	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	pja^{51}ʐaŋ^{51}	honeybee	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**pja**^{31}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**pjɑ**^{55}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**pjɑ**^{55}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.40
Burmese (Written)	**bha** yoṅ:	wax	Marrison 1967
	pjɑ^{3}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.26
	pjɑ^{3}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.39
	pyâ	bee; honeybee	Hansson 1989:42; Benedict 1976a
	pyà	bee, bird	Benedict 1972:177
	pyà < byà	bee	Benedict 1972:29n93
	pyā:	bee	Marrison 1967
Langsu (Luxi)	**pjɔ̃**^{35}jɔ̃^{31}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**pjĭ**^{33}jaŋ^{33}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.33
Marma	**pyá**	honeybee	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:306-2
Maru [Langsu]	**pjɔ̃**^{35}jɔ̃^{31}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.43
	yò'	fowl	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pjŏ**^{21}jaŋ^{21}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.30
	pjŏ^{21}jaŋ^{21}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***bya**^{2} BEE

**Loloish*	***bya**^{2}	bee	Bradley 1979b:77; Hansson 1989:42
Lolopho	**byo**	bee, bird	Benedict 1972:177

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**bà**-sjò	beeswax	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	**bia**^{55}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.34

[a] Lit. "iron bird."

Nusu (Southern)	**biɔ**^{55}	bee sugar; honeybee	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**biɑ**^{35}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	biɑ^{35}ɹi^{31}	bee sugar	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**biɑ**^{55}ɬɔ^{35}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.45
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʤi**^{21}ʂu^{33}	bee's wax	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**bio**^{21}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.37
	do^{21}ɕa^{21}; **bio**^{21}ɕa^{21}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.24

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**do**	bee, bird; bee	Benedict 1972:177; Benedict 1972:29n93
Jinuo	**ja**^{44}phɔ^{33}	rooster	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:136.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**jɑ**^{42}phɔ^{44}	rooster	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**pjɔ**^{33}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**pjɔ**^{33}ʃɤ^{44}	wasp	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**pjɔ**^{44}jə^{44}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**pjə**^{44}jə^{44}	honeybee	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu (Central)	(**byá**^{5})-si^{2}-htu^{5}	hive (bee)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**bja**^{21}	bee, wasp (N.)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}by^{21}	bee mite (worm that gets into beehives to eat chrysalis and honey)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}dzi^{21}ma^{33}	queen bee	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}dzi^{21}za^{21}	queen bee chysalis (when mature, it establishes a hive of its own)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}dɔ^{33}ze^{21}	ground wasp (wild wasp that builds its nest in caves)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}dʒu^{21}du^{21}	bee-rock (where wild bees build comb)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}ha^{35}	small wasp (collective name for small yellow wasp, green wasp and red wasp that do not make honey)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}ha^{35} ni^{35}tʃhɳʔ^{21}	small green wasp	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}ha^{35}si^{21}	small red wasp	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}ha^{35}ʃ^{33}	small yellow wasp	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}ji^{33}	honey	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}ji^{33} thi^{21} phe^{35}	spoonful of honey (n.)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}ji^{33} thi^{21} thu^{21}	bottle of honey	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}jɔ^{21}	bee	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}kha^{35}	wasp camp (many combs gathering on one rock)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}khi^{21}	bee feces	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}khɔ^{33} wa^{21}phe^{21}	mountain pass that bees often fly through	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}mi^{21}ʃu^{55}	beeswax of wood bees	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}mɤ^{21}	wood bee (comb is built in tree hollows, smaller than domestic bees, honey very sweet)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}mɤ^{21}ji^{33}	honey of wood bees	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}na^{33}tʃhu^{21}	wasp	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}na^{55}bɔ^{21}	male bee	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}næ^{33}	wood bee (lit. black bee)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}phø^{33}	wasp 'bottle-gourd'	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}si^{33}za^{21}	worker bee	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}sø^{33}	beehive (made with tree hollows)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}tshɯ^{33}kha^{35}	honey (refined)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}tɕhɯ^{33}	wax-cell in a honeycomb	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}tɕi^{55}	honey-juice (oozes from trees that bees suck)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}ve^{33}	bee colony (separated from the main hive)	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}zi^{21}	bee venom	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}ʃu^{55}	yellow wax; beeswax	Bradley 1994
	bja^{21}ʃɭ^{33}	wasp (whose nest is built on shrub stalks, does not make honey)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**byá**^{5} (raw^{3})	bee	Fraser 1922
	byá^{5} shaw^{1}	beeswax; wax (bees')	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
	byá^{5}-tu^{3}	wasp	Fraser 1922
	byá^{5}-wu^{5}-yi^{4}	honey	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**byæ**	bee, bird	Benedict 1972:177
	dʒɛ^{31}; **biɛ**^{31}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.27
Lisu (Northern)	sa^{33}khwa^{33} **bja**^{21}	nocturnal bee	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}**bja**^{21}	rock bee	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}**bja**^{21} dʒɭ^{21}tɤ^{55}	rock where rock bees usually build honeycomb	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}**bja**^{21}ji^{33}	honey of rock bee	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}**bja**^{21}ʃu^{55}	beeswax of rock bee	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**dla**-ma	bee, bird; bee	Benedict 1972:177; Benedict 1972:29n93
	dlɑ^{11} pɤ^{33}	honeycomb	MA Xueliang 1989:358.2
	dlɑ^{11} zɥ^{33}	honey	MA Xueliang 1989:358.1
Yi (Sani)	**dlɒ**^{11}mɒ^{33}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**bjà**	bee	Hansson 1989:42
Akha (Thai)	**bjà**	bee	Hansson 1989:42
Akha (Yunnan)	**bjà**	bee	Hansson 1989:42
	bjà bàŋ	bee pupa	Hansson 1989:360
Akha (Thai)	**bjà bjà** ý	honey	Hansson 1989:293
	bjà bö	bee pupa	Hansson 1989:360
Akha (Yunnan)	**bjà** sjhàŋ	beeswax	Hansson 1989:442
	bjà ý	honey	Hansson 1989:293
Akha (Thai)	**bjà**-sjhàŋ	beeswax	Hansson 1989:442
Bisu	**pjà**	bee	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**bjà** bö	bee pupa	Hansson 1989:360
	bjà shɔ̀	beeswax	Hansson 1989:442
Hani (Dazhai)	**bja**^{31}si^{55}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**djà**	bee	Hansson 1989:42
	djà ý	honey	Hansson 1989:293
	bja^{31}si^{55}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.41
	dze^{55}**phja**^{33}	sparrow hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**pɔ**^{31}; **pɔ**^{31}mɔ^{33}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.30
Hani (Pijo)	**pɔ̀**	bee	Hansson 1989:42
	pɔ̀ pjì ?	bee pupa	Hansson 1989:360
	pɔ̀ ɣý	honey	Hansson 1989:293
Hani (Gelanghe)	**bja**^{31}jɔ^{31}	honeybee	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**bbiaq**	bee	Hansson 1989:42
	bbiaq bbyuq	bee pupa	Hansson 1989:360
	bbiaq eel	honey	Hansson 1989:293
	bbiaq saoq	beeswax	Hansson 1989:442
Haoni	**pɔ**^{31}	bee	Hansson 1989:42
Hani (Shuikui)	**pɔ**^{31}tʃhɳ^{55}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.32
Hani (Khatu)	**pjò**	bee	Hansson 1989:42
	pjò pjì	bee pupa	Hansson 1989:360
	pjò tshý	honey	Hansson 1989:293
Hani (Mojiang)	**pɔ**^{31}tʃhɳ^{55}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.42
Mpi	**pho**^{2}	bee	Hansson 1989:42
	pjo^{2}	bee	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	wa^{4}**pjo**^{2}	wasp	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Pyen	hai33 **ja31**	bird	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:022001
	hai33 **ja31** pam31	bird's nest	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:060006
	pja31	bee	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:024008
Sila	**bjɛ21**	bee	KATO Takashi 2008:114

7. KARENIC

Bwe (Western)	**ʃɪ**^{1}	fowl	Luce 1985:E.21
Bwe	**ʃí** ə-ʃu	chicken's feathers	Henderson 1997
Geba	**ʃi**^{1}	fowl	Luce 1985:E.21
Kayan (Pekon)	t^{h}o̰ **byá** nbé	scarlet sunbird [lit. bird-??] (N.)	Manson 2010

(3) PTB *ka-n CROW (n.)

The nasal suffix is set up on the testimony of WB, and perhaps reflects the "collective" suffix that appears in several other animal names (see *STC* pp. 157-158, no. 428; also *HPTB* p. 447).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ka**	crow	LaPolla 1987:2
	***ka-n**	crow (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:594

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Lotha Naga	**ka** shak	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
	ká šə̀k >	crow	Acharya 1975
	^{1}**gya**(^{2})šak	crow (n.)	Weidert 1987:725

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Sema [Sumi]	a **gha**	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Champhung	**k^{h}a**-la	crow	Brown 1837
Tangkhul	hang **kha**	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}həŋ^{2}**kha**	crow (n.)	Weidert 1987:725
Tankghul (Central)	hoŋ-**k^{h}a**	crow	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	k^{h}uŋ-**k^{h}a**	crow	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	haŋ-**k^{h}a**	crow	Brown 1837

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	daw **ká**	crow	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	tauʔ-**k^{h}a**	crow	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	do•-**ka**	crow (n.)	Burling 2003:4.43-II:idx

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	daw•kha	black crow (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	du-**ka**	crow [As. pāti kāuri]; crow	Jacquesson 2005; Brown 1895:64

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	*$\mathbf{k^{h}a^{A}}$	crow	French 1983:474

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	va **kha**	crow; crow (bird)	French 1983:459; Marrison 1967
	^{1}vʌ^{1}**kha**	crow (n.)	Weidert 1987:725
Tangsa	^{1}vu^{3}**kha**	crow (n.)	Weidert 1987:725
Tangsa (Moshang)	wu **kha**	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Khiamngan	^{12}mɤ^{3}**kǫu**	crow (n.)	Weidert 1987:725
Konyak (Tamlu)	ʌu-**kaʔ**	crow (n.)	Weidert 1987:725
Wancho	ao **ka**	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	kă^{3}**kha**^{33}	crow (n.)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	kha	crow	LaPolla 1987:2; Benedict 1972:100n284
	ku **kha**	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967
	kǔ^{33}**kha**^{33}	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.19
	u^{33}**kha**^{33}	crow (n.)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.19
	u̱^{33}**kha**^{33}	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.47
	^{2}ku^{2}**kha**	crow (n.)	Weidert 1987:725

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak	u **há**	crow (n.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:305-6

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**khā**	crow (bird) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.016

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**kha** ta	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**kha** ta	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**kha** ta	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.5
Tibetan (Jirel)	**khā** dākq	crow (bird) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.016
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**kha**^{53}da^{53}	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**kha**^{55}ta^{55}	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.02
Tibetan (Written)	**kha**-tha	crow, raven	LaPolla 1987:2; Benedict 1972:100n284
	kha.ta	crow; crow (bird)	Sun 1985c:166; Marrison 1967
	kā-kɑ	crow	Jäschke 1881
	k'á-tɑ	crow	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**kha** ta	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.04

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**kā**.wāʔ	crow (bird) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.016

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**kɑ**^{33}ə^{55}	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.18
Guiqiong	**ka**^{35}li^{55}	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.16

	kɑ[33]li[53]	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.17
Muya	**qa**[33]ra[53]	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.15
Muya [Minyak]	**qɛ**[55]zɛ[53]	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.15
Namuyi	la[55]**qa**[33]	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.19
Pumi (Jiulong)	**qɑ**[11]lɛi[55]	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**go**[13]i[13]	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**go**[13]i[13]	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**kuɐ**[35]jo[35]	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ka**[55]lo[53]	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**qa**[33]lə[55]	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.13
Xumi	**qho**[55]lɑ[33]	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.20
	qhu[55]la[33]	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**kha**[55]ji[33]	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**kɑ** ʁe	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.12
Ergong (Danba)	**qa** ɣe	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ki**	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.11
rGyalrong	**ki**	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.12
Caodeng	**qɐ**-rɐ ~ qɐj	crow (n.)	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	**ki**ʔ	crow	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	dʑɑ[31]**khɑ**[55]	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.21
Anong	dʑɑ[31]**khɑ**[55]	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.44
Rawang	saŋ[31] **khɑ**[53]	crow (n.)	LaPolla 2003:385
Anong (Rawang)	thaŋ-**kha**	crow	LaPolla 1987:2; Benedict 1972:100n284
Trung [Dulong]	tak-**ka**	crow	LaPolla 1987:2; Benedict 1972:100n284
	tăk[55]**kɑ**[55]	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.46
Dulong	tɑŋ[31]**kɑ**[55]	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	tak[55] **ka**[55]	crow	LaPolla 1987:2
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	taŋ[31] **kha**[55]	crow	LaPolla 1987:2
	tɑŋ[31]**khɑ**[55]	crow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**ka**[21]	crow	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ka**[21]	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.49; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.38
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	tɕi[55]**kā**[55]	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.27
Burmese (Written)	khì-**kàn**	crow	LaPolla 1987:2
	kji[3]**kɑn**[3]	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.26; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.39
	kyì-**kàn**	crow	Benedict 1972:99n284
	kyī: **kan:**	crow (bird)	Marrison 1967

Chinese comparandum

烏 OC ***ʔo**, *GSR* #61a ‘crow, raven’; Schuessler 2007:217 ***ʔâ**; B & S 2011: ***q**ˤ**a**; Mand. **wū**.
鴉 OC ***ʔå**, *GSR* #37h ‘crow, raven’; Schuessler 2007:217 ***ʔa**; B & S 2011: ***q**ˤ**ra**; Mand. **yā**.
鴽 OC ***zi̯o**, *GSR* #89k ‘jackdaw’; B & S 2011: ***m-qa-s {m-q(r)a-s}**; Mand. **yù**.

(4) NEIA *a(:)k CROW / RAVEN

1.1.1. TANI: ***ak** CROW (bird)

**Tani*	***ak**	crow (bird)	Sun 1993a:87
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	po-**à**	crow (n.)	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**waʔ**	crow (bird)	Sun 1993a
	pɯ-**waʔ**	crow (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	pu-**wak**	crow (bird)	Sun 1993a
	pu-**wak**	crow (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	po **ak**	crow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0339.24
	po-**ak**	crow (bird)	Sun 1993a
	po-**ak**	crow (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	po **ak**	crow (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:145.51
Galo	p **a:k**	crow	Das Gupta 1963
	‘ag bee	crow (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ak tiɨ	crow (flock of); flock (of ravens); raven (flock of) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘pa **ak**	raven (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	p **ak**	crow	Simon 1976
Tagin	po **ak**	crow	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	pɯ-**ak**	crow (bird)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ʔak**-ka:	crow (bird)	Sun 1993a
	ʔak-ka:	crow (n.)	Sun 1993b
Milang	pi-**yak**	crow	Tayeng 1976
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ʔaak** RAVEN / CROW (n.)			
**Chin*	***ʔaak**	RAVEN / CROW (n.)	VanBik 2009:499
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**va**-aak	raven	VanBik 2009:499
Sizang	**vā** āk	crow	VanBik 2009:499
Thado	**vá**-ʔâʔ	crow	VanBik 2009:499
Tiddim	va[1] **a:k**[1]	crow	VanBik 2009:499; Bhaskararao 1996:1925
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**o’á**	crow, raven	VanBik 2009:499
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**lăŋ**-ʔâak	raven	VanBik 2009:499
Lushai [Mizo]	chò-**âak**	crow, a raven (n.)	VanBik 2009:499
1.3. “NAGA” AREAL GROUP			
Maring	**ak**	crow; crow (bird)	Brown 1837; Marrison 1967

(5) PKar *(tho[B])lwi[B] DOVE

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	*(**tho**[B])lwi[B]	dove	Luangthongkum 2013:89
Bwe	**lwi**[33]	dove	Luangthongkum 2013:89
Kayah	**lwi**[11]	dove	Luangthongkum 2013:89
Kayan	**lwi**[11]	dove	Luangthongkum 2013:89
Kayaw	**li**[11]	dove	Luangthongkum 2013:89
Pa-O (Northern)	**lwi**[53]	dove	Luangthongkum 2013:89
Pa-O (Southern)	**lwi**[55]	dove	Luangthongkum 2013:89
Pwo (Northern)	**lei**[11¨]	dove	Luangthongkum 2013:89
Pwo (Southern)	**lwi**[33]	dove	Luangthongkum 2013:89
Sgaw (Southern)	**lwi**[31]	dove	Luangthongkum 2013:89
Sgaw (Northern)	**lwi**[11¨]	dove	Luangthongkum 2013:89

(6) PTB *m-k(r)əw DOVE / PIGEON

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***kjəɣw**	pigeon / dove	Coblin 1986:118
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kruw**	pigeon; dove	Weidert 1987:250; Benedict 1972:118
	***kuw**	pigeon; turtledove	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:992n; Benedict 1972:495
	***kuw** (*A)	pigeon / dove	Coblin 1986:118
	***m-k(r)əw**	dove	Matisoff 2003a:596
	***m-krəw**	dove	Benedict 1972:38n123
1.1. “NORTH ASSAM”			
Sulung [Puroik]	o[33]mo[33]**ko**[33]	pigeon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:140.52
1.1.1. TANI: ***kɯ** DOVE / PIGEON			
**Tani*	***kɯ**	dove / pigeon	Sun 1993a:110
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**ku**-nə	pigeon / dove (female)	Sun 1993b
	ku-po	pigeon / dove (male)	Sun 1993b
	pa-**ku**	dove / pigeon	Sun 1993a
	pà-**ku**	pigeon	Sun 1993b
	pa-**ku**	pigeon; dove	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	pɯ-**kɯ**	dove / pigeon	Sun 1993a
	pɯ-**kɯ** [pɯk]	dove	Sun 1993b
Bokar	taŋ **kɯ**	turtledove (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0342.24
	taŋ-**kɯ**	dove; pigeon; turtledove	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**ki** ar	speckled wood pigeon (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **ki**	pigeon	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **ki** ao	young pigeon	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **ki ki**-nɤ	pigeon (female)	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **ki ki**-po	pigeon (male)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘ki ji	pigeon (variety); bird (variety); Chalcophaps (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘ki koo	bird (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ki lum	maroonbacked imperial pigeon; bird (variety); Ducula badia (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘ki tə	paternal aunt’s husband (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	‘taa **kə**	dove; rufous turtle dove; Streptopelia orientalis (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	pə-**kɯ**	dove / pigeon	Sun 1993a
Damu	pa-**kɯ** pa-to	pigeon	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	pə **kü**	pigeon	Coblin 1986:118
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	pɪɑ[55]tɯ[31]**kɯ**[55]	pigeon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:140.50
Yidu	pɪɑ[55]tɯ[31]**kɯ**[55]	dove (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0302.25
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***khruu** DOVE			
**Chin*	***khruu**	DOVE	VanBik 2009:1343
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	va **hkū**	dove	VanBik 2009:1343
Thado	vâa **khúu**	dove	VanBik 2009:1343
Tiddim	va[1]-**khu**[2]	dove	VanBik 2009:1343
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	waw̆-**k‘ó**	dove	VanBik 2009:1134; VanBik 2009:1343
Khami	ing mə **khu**	pigeon	Coblin 1986:118
	məkhru	dove	Matisoff 1978a:65; Benedict 1972:118
Khumi	**cangbuhuú**	dove	VanBik 2009:1343
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thru**-răw	dove	VanBik 2009:1343
Lushai [Mizo]	**thu**-mi	pigeon	Benedict 1972:118
	thu-rou	dove	Benedict 1972:118
	và-**ṭhú**	dove, the generic name for doves (n.)	VanBik 2009:1343
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	vā-**chhù**	dove	VanBik 2009:1343
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	ki **metsü**	dove	Marrison 1967
	kutur	pigeon	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	kì **mətshə**	dove, spotted (n.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	mü **müthrü**	dove	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami Naga	**mekru**	dove	Matisoff 1978a:65; Benedict 1972:118
Angami (Khonoma)	**kru** lino	dove	Marrison 1967
	mekru	dove	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**mekhru**	dove	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	n **khü** tsü	dove	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **mikhi**	dove	Marrison 1967
	kutuli	pigeon	Marrison 1967
	mekedu	dove	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***ʃu** DOVE			
**Tangkhulic*	***ʃu**	dove	Mortensen 2012:706
Huishu	ʔa-mə-**tsuk**	dove / pigeon (general term)	Mortensen 2012:Animals.143
Tusom	nõ-**sɯ**-le	dove	Mortensen 2012:Animals.143
Ukhrul	na-**ʃu**	dove	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**khu**-nu	pigeon	Coblin 1986:118
	kunu	pigeon	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	doʔ-**kru**	pigeon	Weidert 1987:250
	kru	dove	Benedict 1972:118

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa	^{1}vu^{3}**xʌu**	pigeon	Weidert 1987:250

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**khrū**	dove / pigeon	Matisoff 1974:194
	khru	dove	Benedict 1972:118
	^{2}**krhu**^{1}du	pigeon	Weidert 1987:250

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	mu^{13}**xhu^{53}**	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	aŋ^{15}**ku^{53}**	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.2
Tibetan (Written)	ɦiaŋ **gu**	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.1

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**kubi**	green pigeon	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**ku**-waʔ	pigeon	Caughley 1972:3.A.7

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	**gu^{55}**ji^{55}	dove (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0302.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ŋgu^{53}**ji^{33}	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**gu^{55}**ʐɐ̃^{55}	dove (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0302.10
Pumi (Taoba)	**gu^{35}**ɣuɛ̃^{55}	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.10
Qiang (Longxi)	ỳ **gù**	dove, pigeon [bird-b]	Evans 1999:374
Qiang (Mawo)	**gu^{ɪ} gu^{ɪ}**	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.8
	gu^{ɪ} gu̱^{ɪ}	dove (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0302.08

5. Tujia

Tujia (Southern)	**ko^{21}tsi^{21}**	pigeon	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-kruw**	dove	Matisoff 1978a:65
	***m-krəw^{2}**	dove	Matisoff 2003a:596

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**kɑ^{31}**tu^{31}	pigeon	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**kho^{22}**	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.40
Burmese (Written)	**kho^{2}**	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.39
	khruì	pigeon	Weidert 1987:250
	khrûi	dove / pigeon	Matisoff 1974:194
	khruì ⩵ khyuì	dove	Benedict 1972:118
	khui	pigeon; pigeon (cf. khrûi)	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a; Coblin 1986:118
	khyuì	pigeon	Weidert 1987:250

6.1.2. Loloish: ***m-krəw^{2}** DOVE

**Loloish*	*k-**ʔ**-ko^{2}	pigeon	Weidert 1987:250; Bradley 1979b:51A

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu	**gú**	dove	Benedict 1972:118
	gû	dove	Benedict 1972:38n123
Lahu (Lancang)	**gu^{53}**	dove (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0302.43
Lahu (Black)	**gû**	dove; pigeon	Matisoff 1978a:65; Matisoff 1974:194
	gu^{53}	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.33
Lisu	ɑ^{55}**gu^{31}**	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.27

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Shuikui)	**xu^{31}xu^{31}**	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.32
Mpi	**ŋ^{2}khi^{2}**	dove	Matisoff 1978a:65; Srinuan Duanghom 1976

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	tɕi^{55}**kɯ^{55}**	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.37
Bai (Dali)	tɕi^{55}**kɯ^{55}**	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	tɕi^{55}**kɯ^{55}**	pigeon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:140.36

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kn̥ôg**	pigeon / turtledove	Chou Fa-kao 1972:992n
Chinese (Old)	**k(r)ju**	pigeon	Baxter 1992:796
	kjəgw	pigeon / dove	Coblin 1986:118

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**kjəu**	pigeon, name of various birds	Coblin 1986:118

Chinese comparandum

鳩 OC ***kn̥ôg**, *GSR* #992n 'pigeon, turtledove'; Coblin 86:118 ***kjəɣw**; B & S 2011: ***ku {[k](r)u}**; Mand. **jiū**.

(7) PCC *va-zuun DRONGO (bird)

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***va**-zuun	DRONGO (bird)	VanBik 2009:1197
Lai (Hakha)	**va**-zŭun-I, zŏr-II	drongo bird	VanBik 2009:1197
Lushai [Mizo]	**va-zúun**	name of a bird with a long tail (n.)	VanBik 2009:1197

(8) PTB *s-məw EAGLE, HAWK

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***muw**	eagle; eagle, hawk, kite	LaPolla 1987:86; Benedict 1972:257
	***məw**	eagle / hawk	Matisoff 2003a:602

1.1.1. Tani: ***mɯ** EAGLE / HAWK

**Tani*	***mɯ**	eagle / hawk	Sun 1993a:116

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**mú**-či(k^{h}rjã)	hawk	Sun 1993b
	mə-či(k^{h}rjã)	hawk	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-či	hawk	Sun 1993b
	pa-**mu**	eagle; hawk; kite	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	pɯ-**mɯ**	eagle; hawk	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	pa **mɯ**	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.24
	pa-**mɯ**	eagle / hawk	Sun 1993a
	pə-**mɯ**	eagle	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	pa **mɯ**	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.51

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	pə-**mɯ**	eagle / hawk	Sun 1993a
Damu	**mɯ**-čɯk	kite	Sun 1993b
	pa-**mɯ**	eagle	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	pə **muü**	eagle; eagle, hawk, kite	LaPolla 1987:86; Benedict 1972:257

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***muu ⩵ *hmuu** HAWK / BIRD OF PREY

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Chin*	***muu ⩵** hmuu	HAWK / BIRD OF PREY	VanBik 2009:771
Sizang	**mū**	hawk	VanBik 2009:771
Thado	**múu**	hawk	VanBik 2009:771
	mú thí	hawk	Thirumalai 1972:33
	mū thí	hawk	Thirumalai 1972:63
Tiddim	**mu^{2}**	bird of prey	VanBik 2009:771; Bhaskararao 1996:1139
	mu^{1} si^{1}	hawk	Bhaskararao 1996:1137

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	a'**mú**	hawk, falcon	VanBik 2009:771
	ə **hmü**	eagle; eagle, hawk, kite	LaPolla 1987:86; Benedict 1972:257
Cho (Mindat)	**hmu**	hawk	VanBik 2009:771
Khami	ə **hmo**	eagle, hawk, kite	Benedict 1972:257
	ə **homo**	eagle	LaPolla 1987:86

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**mu**-pîi	hawk	VanBik 2009:771
Lai (Falam)	**mu**-píi	hawk	VanBik 2009:771
Lushai [Mizo]	**mú**	eagle	Weidert 1987:107
	mu	hawk	Marrison 1967
	mú	hawk, a kite, a falcon (n.)	VanBik 2009:771
	mu	hawk; eagle; eagle, hawk, kite	Bhaskararao 1996:1139; LaPolla 1987:86; Benedict 1972:257
	mu-chhia	name of a hawk	Bhaskararao 1996:1137
	mu-va:n-lai	kind of hawk which eats snakes (n.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1138
	mu pui	eagle	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	pə **hmo**	eagle; eagle, hawk, kite	LaPolla 1987:86; Benedict 1972:121n332; Benedict 1972:257
	^{3}pə^{1}**hmou**	hawk	Weidert 1987:10

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	màar-**mú**	hawk	Weidert 1987:10

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**hmu**	eagle (n.)	Coupe 2007
Yimchungrü	**mü** leang	eagle	Marrison 1967
	^{2}**mɯ** ^{2}leaŋ [^{2}]	eagle	Weidert 1987:243

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	re-**mu ⩵ mu**-vi	eagle, hawk, kite; eagle	Benedict 1972:257; LaPolla 1987:86
	^{2}rɯ^{3}**mu**	hawk	Weidert 1987:10
Angami (Khonoma)	**mu** vi	hawk	Marrison 1967
	re **mu**	hawk	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**mu** vi	hawk	Marrison 1967
	re **mu**	hawk	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Northern)	^{1}a^{3}**mu^{3}mu**	hawk	Weidert 1987:10

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**mou** kana	hawk	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	vo-**mu**	eagle; eagle, hawk, kite; hawk	LaPolla 1987:86; Benedict 1972:257; Marrison 1967
	vo **mu** lang lopi	eagle	Marrison 1967

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yamphu	**mu** a	hawk (n.)	Rutgers 1998:557.23

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**muu**	hawk (? "eagle")	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**mu**-aʔ	hawk	Weidert 1987:10
	mu-waʔ	hawk	Caughley 1972:3.A.21
	mu.wāʔ	hawk (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.021
Magar	**mo** lo	hawk (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.021

4. Nungic

Nung	thi^{31}**mɯ^{31}**	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.21
Anong	thi^{31}**mɯ^{31}**	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.44
	thə **mö**	eagle; eagle, hawk, kite	LaPolla 1987:86; Benedict 1972:257
Anong (Rawang)	thə **mö**	eagle, hawk, kite	Benedict 1972:77n236
Rawang	thə **mɯ^{31}**	black-eared kite, hawk	LaPolla 2003:377
Trung [Dulong]	tɯ^{31}**mɯ^{53}**	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.46
Dulong	tɯ^{55}**mɯ^{53}**	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	tɯ^{31} **mɯ^{53}**	eagle	LaPolla 1987:86
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	tɯ^{31} **mɯ^{53}**	eagle	LaPolla 1987:86; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

(9) TGTM *^{B}grwat EAGLE, KITE, VULTURE

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{B}**grwat**	eagle	Mazaudon 1978:54
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{4}**krwe**	vulture	Mazaudon 1978:54
Manang (Ngawal)	^{1}**hřʌ**	eagle	Mazaudon 1978:54
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**kwat**	eagle	Mazaudon 1978:54
Tamang (Sahu)	^{2}**wet**	eagle	Mazaudon 1978:54
Thakali (Marpha)	^{3}**tʃjʌ**	eagle	Mazaudon 1978:54
	^{1}**khja**	falcon	Mazaudon 1978:54a
Thakali (Syang)	^{2}**khjʌ**	falcon	Mazaudon 1978:54a

	ᴸtʃjʌ	eagle	Mazaudon 1978:54
Thakali (Tukche)	ᴴtʰa	hawk	Mazaudon 1978:54a
	⁴ʈe	vulture	Mazaudon 1978:54

(10) PTB *g-la ŋ / k FALCON, VULTURE, EAGLE, KITE, HAWK, BIRD OF PREY

This root seems certainly to be an old loanword from Mon-Khmer. For details, see *STC* p. 72, n. 225. It has also been borrowed into Chinese and Hmong-Mien. See *HPTB* p. 263.

Both Karenic and Jingpho have binomes of the form **laŋ** + **da**, the latter element of obscure origin.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-laŋ ≍ g-lak**	eagle / vulture / falcon / bird of prey	Matisoff 2003a:599
	***glaŋ**	eagle / vulture / falcon / bird of prey	Matisoff 2003a:590
	***lang** (*B)	falcon / eagle	Coblin 1986:76
	***laŋ**	vulture; hawk; falcon; eagle	Weidert 1987:243; Benedict 1972:333
	***lɑŋ**	eagle / falcon	Chou Fa-kao 1972:890c

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**glɑ̆ŋ**[53]	kite (black-eared); hawk; sparrow hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.23; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.23

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**kalang**	hawk	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	ka-**lẽŋ**	eagle	Weidert 1987:243
	ka **leng**	eagle	Marrison 1967
Maram	**lang** mau	hawk	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***laaŋ** raptor

**Tangkhulic*	***laaŋ**	raptor	Mortensen 2012:613
Tangkhul	**lang** pop	hawk	Marrison 1967
	[1]khə[1]**laŋ**	eagle	Weidert 1987:243
Tusom	kʰ-**lɯə̃**	eagle	Mortensen 2012:Animals.138
Ukhrul	kʰə-**leŋ**	eagle	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	te **lang** a	hawk	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	vo mu **lang** lopi	eagle	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	dau-**leng**-a	eagle	Coblin 1986:76
	dau-**leŋ**-a	eagle	Benedict 1972:333
	dɑu-**leŋ**-ɑ	eagle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:890c
Dimasa	dau-**liŋ**	kite	Benedict 1972:333

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	do-**reng**	falcon, kite	Coblin 1986:76
	do-**reŋ**	falcon; kite; falcon, kite	Chou Fa-kao 1972:890c; Benedict 1972:333
Garo (Bangladesh)	do**•-reng**	hawk (n.)	Burling 2003:4.43-II:idx

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***laːŋ**	eagle / hawk	French 1983:480

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**la**	eagle; hawk	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	[1]**la**	eagle	Weidert 1987:243
Tangsa	[3]**laŋ**	eagle	Weidert 1987:243

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	au **lu**	hawk	Marrison 1967
Konyak	au **lan**	hawk	Marrison 1967
	lang ta	eagle	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	ʌuˇ-**lɛŋ**	eagle	Weidert 1987:243
Phom	a[33]**læŋ**[55]	eagle	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lang ta	eagle	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**gəlaŋ**	eagle, kite, hawk	Benedict 1972:333
	gəlɑŋ	eagle / kite / hawk	Chou Fa-kao 1972:890c
	kalang	hawk	Marrison 1967
	kă[3]**la**[33]	eagle	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	kă[33]**la**[33]	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.47
	ka **lang**	eagle	Marrison 1967
	kə **lāŋ**	eagle / vulture	Matisoff 1974:238
	lang	bird of the falcon family	Coblin 1986:76
	lang da	eagle	Marrison 1967
	laŋ	bird of the falcon family	Benedict 1972:333
	laŋ-da ≍ **laŋ**-daŋ	vulture	Benedict 1972:333
	laŋ[31]mut[31]	sparrow hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.19
	laŋ[31]ta[31]	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.19
	lɑŋ	bird of falcon family	Chou Fa-kao 1972:890c
	[1]gə[2]**laŋ**	eagle	Weidert 1987:243

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**láŋ** dá	hawk	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:305-1b

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣlak**	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hlag**	eagle	Sun 1985a:208
Tibetan (Batang)	**laʔ**[53]	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**la**[52]	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.02
	tɕhap[13]**la**[52]	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.02
Tibetan (Written)	byɑ-**glɑ́g**	eagle / vulture	Jäschke 1881
	glag	eagle; eagle, vulture	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:208; Benedict 1972:72n225
	glag	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.01
	glag	eagle, vulture	Coblin 1986:69
	glɑg	eagle / vulture	Jäschke 1881
	rgyɑb-**glɑ́g**	eagle	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hlaχ**	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.04

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**'gā:**	hawk (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.021

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**hkɛ**[55]	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.18
Guiqiong	**xɑ**[53]	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.17
Muya [Minyak]	**tɕɔ**[55]gi[53]	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.15
Namuyi	**kɑ**[35]	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.19
	kæ[33]na[53]	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**la**[13]dzi[13]khɛ[13]	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tʂɑ**[13]	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tʂɛ**[35]	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**χlu**	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	á tʂhì **là**	sparrow hawk	Evans 1999:407
	là	kite, hawk	Evans 1999:406
	là bzɻ̀ kí	eagle, vulture	Evans 1999:408
	lá (bzɻ̀)	eagle, vulture	Evans 1999:408
Qiang (Taoping)	**χuɑ**[55]	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tʂhɛ**[53]	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**xɕe**[55]	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.13
Xumi	**ke**[55]	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.20

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	wu **la**	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.14
Daofu	**ɣla**	sparrow hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.12

4. Nungic

Rawang	**laŋ**[31] gi[53] sɯn[33]	sparrow hawk	LaPolla 2003:378
	laŋ[31] dɑ[31]	black-eared kite, hawk	LaPolla 2003:376

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**lĩ**[55]jõ[22]	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.27
	lĩ[55]tɑ[53]	vulture (cinereous) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0331.27
Burmese (Written)	hrwe-**làng**-tá	eagle	Coblin 1986:76
	hrwe-**làŋ**-tá	eagle	Benedict 1972:333
	hrwe-**lɯ̀ŋ**-tɯ̀	eagle (=golden vulture)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:890c
	làng-tá	vulture	Coblin 1986:76
	lâŋ-	vulture; heron; bird	Benedict 1976a
	làŋ-tá	vulture	Weidert 1987:243; Benedict 1972:333
	lâŋ-ta'	eagle / vulture	Matisoff 1974:238
	làŋ-yun	species of hawk	Benedict 1972:333
	lɑŋ[3]jun[2]	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.26
	lɑŋ[3]tɑ[1]	vulture (cinereous) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0331.26
	lɯ̀ŋ-tɯ̀	vulture	Chou Fa-kao 1972:890c
	lɯ̀ŋ-yun	species of hawk	Chou Fa-kao 1972:890c
Hpun (Northern)	**làŋ** tà, **nàŋ** tà	vulture	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	**laŋ**[33]tɐ̲[33]	sparrow hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.33
Marma	**láŋ** dă	hawk	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:305-1b
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**laŋ**[21]ta[21]	eagle; vulture; vulture (cinereous) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0331.30

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**qɑ**˥nɑ˧mie˥	eagle	Michaud 2006–2009:3652
Na (Yongning)	**kʏ**˩nɑ˧mi˧	eagle	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**kə**[31]nɑ[33]mi[33]	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.29

7. Karenic: ***hlaŋ**[A/B] k-daʔ[D] VULTURE

**Karen*	***hlaŋ**[A/B] **k-daʔ**[D]	vulture	Luangthongkum 2013:317
**Karen [Burling]*	***laN**[4]**kaʔ**[2]**thaʔ**[1]	vulture	Luangthongkum 2013:317
Bwe	**lə**[33]**da**[55]	vulture	Luangthongkum 2013:317
Kayah	**lɛ**[11]**ta**[33]	vulture	Luangthongkum 2013:317
Kayaw	**la**[11]**ta**[33]	vulture	Luangthongkum 2013:317
Pa-O (Southern)	**lɔŋ**[33]**taʔ**[45]	vulture	Luangthongkum 2013:317
Pa-O (Northern)	**lɛŋ**[55]**taʔ**[45]	vulture	Luangthongkum 2013:317
Pwo (Northern)	**lɛ̃**[35]**kaʔ**[21]**thaʔ**[21]	vulture	Luangthongkum 2013:317
Pwo (Southern)	**lɔ̃**[53]**kaʔ**[21]**thaʔ**[45]	vulture	Luangthongkum 2013:317
Sgaw (Southern)	**lɔ**[33]**kə**[11]¨**ta**[11]¨	vulture	Luangthongkum 2013:317
Sgaw (Northern)	**lɔ**[33]**kə**[11]**taʔ**[21]	vulture	Luangthongkum 2013:317

Chinese comparandum

鷹 OC ***ʔi̯əng**, *GSR* #890a-c 'eagle, falcon'; Coblin 86:76 ***lang**; Schuessler 2007:574 ***ʔəŋ**; B & S 2011: ***qəŋ {[q](r)əŋ}**; Mand. **yīng**.

There is an apparent Chinese doublet with stopped final: OC ***di̯ək** ~ ***i̯ək** 'hawk, kite' (see *STC* n. 225, p. 72). Cf. also PKar ***lek**[D] HAWK / EAGLE (§2.2.4.1).

(11) PTB *hwar HAWK

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***hwar**	hawk	Matisoff 2003a:593

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	**al** hok hu	hawk	Marrison 1967

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**hór**-pɑ dkár-po	hawk (sp.)	Jäschke 1881

6.2. Naxi

Naxi	**uə**[21]	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**uə**[31]	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.28

(12) PTB *dzwan HAWK / KITE

This root occurs primarily in Lolo-Burmese, with a good Chinese comparandum.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzwan**	hawk / kite (bird of prey)	Matisoff 2003a:588

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***dzwan**[1] HAWK / KITE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***dzwan**	hawk; kite; hawk, kite	Chou Fa-kao 1972:230a; Benedict 1972:169n453
	***dzwan**[1]	hawk; kite; kite (bird of prey)	Matisoff 1985a:006; Matisoff 2003a:588; Matisoff 1978a:35

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Luxi)	**tsun**[31]	eagle	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**cun**[31]mɔ[31]	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.29
Bola (Luxi)	**tsɔn**[55]	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.32
	tsɔn[55]kjɔ̲[35]	sparrow hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.32
	tsɔn[55]pap[55]	eagle / vulture (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**sũ**[22]	kite (black-eared); hawk; sparrow hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.27; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**sũ**[22]	eagle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:143.40
Burmese (Written)	**cwan**	hawk; kite	Hansson 1989:178; Matisoff 1985a:006; Matisoff 1978a:35

	son^{2}	kite (black-eared); hawk; sparrow hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.26
	son^{2}	eagle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:143.39
	tswan	kite, hawk (in comp.)	Benedict 1972:49n162
Langsu (Luxi)	**tsum**^{51}	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tsɔn**^{31}	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.33
Maru [Langsu]	**tsum**^{31}	eagle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:143.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tsûn**	hawk / kite	Matisoff 1985a:006
	tsun^{51}	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.30
	tsun^{51}	eagle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:143.42
	tsun^{51}mui^{55}	sparrow hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.30

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	*(k)-**dzwan**^{1}	hawk	Bradley 1979b:49; Hansson 1989:178

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Central)	**dzuɔ**^{33}	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**dzuəˈ**^{35}	eagle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:143.45
Nusu (Southern)	**dzuɑ**^{35}	eagle	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	**tɕo**^{55}	eagle	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tɕo^{55}nɔ^{21}	eagle	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**dzi̱**^{33}**zo**^{21}	sparrow hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.37
Yi (Weishan)	tɑ^{21}**dzŋ**^{55}zo^{21}	sparrow hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.36
Yi (Wuding)	ɑ^{33}**dze**^{33}	sparrow hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.38
Yi (Xide)	**tɕo**^{55}	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.35
	tɕo^{55}nɔ^{21}	eagle; vulture; vulture (cinereous) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.35; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0331.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	**tsø**^{33} phrœ^{31}	sparrow hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.44
	tsø^{33}mɔ^{44}	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.44
	tsø^{33}mɔ^{44}**tsø**^{33}tɯ^{44}	eagle / vulture (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.44
	tsø^{31}mɔ^{33}	eagle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:143.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**tsø**^{42}mɔ^{33}	eagle	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tsø**^{5}-mɔ^{3}	hawk / kite	Matisoff 1985a:006
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**tɕi**^{31}**phjɛ**^{33}	sparrow hawk (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	á-**cè**	kite	Benedict 1972:49n162
Lahu (Lancang)	ɑ^{35}**tɕe**^{31}	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.43
	ɑ^{35}**tɕe**^{31} tɕu^{33}	sparrow hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.43
	ɑ^{35}**tɕe**^{31}nɑ^{31}bɤ^{31}	vulture (cinereous) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0331.43
	ɑ^{35}**tɕe**^{31}qɑ^{11}	eagle / vulture (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.43
Lahu (Black)	á-**cè**	hawk; kite	Matisoff 1985a:006; Matisoff 1978a:35
	A^{35}**tse**^{31}	eagle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:143.33
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{1}**tɕe**^{5}	eagle	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**dze**^{33}	eagle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:143.27
	dzye	hawk, eagle, kite (in comp.)	Benedict 1972:49n162
	dzyē^{4}	hawk / kite	Matisoff 1985a:006
Lisu (Central)	**dzyē**^{4}	hawk; eagle; vulture	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**dzø**^{44}	eagle (N.)	Bradley 1994
	dzø^{44}ma^{33}	female eagle	Bradley 1994
	dzø^{44}my^{33}	eagle feather	Bradley 1994
	dzø^{44}pha^{21}	male eagle	Bradley 1994
	dzø^{44}phu^{33}	white eagle	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}khɔʔ^{21} **dzø**^{33}ɲɔ^{35}	Song of Tiger Biting and Eagle Snatching (ancient Lisu poem)	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	xhà **dzé**	hawk, eagle	Hansson 1989:178
Akha (Thai)	xhà-**dzé**	hawk, eagle	Hansson 1989:178
Akha	xhà-**dzé**	hawk; kite	Hansson 1989:178; Matisoff 1985a:006
Bisu	**tsán** ba	hawk, eagle	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	xa^{31}**dze**^{55}	eagle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:143.31
Hani (Lüchun)	xhà **dzé**	hawk, eagle	Hansson 1989:178
	dze^{55}phja^{33}	sparrow hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.41
	xa^{31}**dze**^{55}	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.41
	xa^{31}**dze**^{55}**dze**^{55}bu^{31}	eagle / vulture (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0330.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tse**^{55}mɔ^{33}	eagle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:143.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	xa^{31}**dze**^{55}	eagle	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	haq **zzeil**	hawk, eagle	Hansson 1989:178
Hani (Shuikui)	xɔ^{33}**tsɛ**^{55}	eagle	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:143.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**tsɛ**^{55}pha^{33}	sparrow hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.42
	xɔ^{31}**tsɛ**^{55}	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.42
Mpi	**te**^{6}-mo^{4}	hawk; kite	Matisoff 1985a:006; Matisoff 1978a:35; Hansson 1989:178; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.2. NAXI

Naxi	**tshŋ**^{33}**lɯ**^{21}	sparrow hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.45

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**di̯wɑn/i̯wän**	hawk / kite	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:230a; Karlgren 1957:230a
Chinese (Old)	**di̯wan**	hawk / kite	Matisoff 1985a:006

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**i̯wän**	hawk / kite	Matisoff 1985a:006

Chinese comparandum

鳶 OC ***di̯wɑn**, *GSR* #230a; Mand. **yuān**.

(13) PKC *wa-kok ⩙ *-ʔok HORNBILL

The first element in this binome is PTB ***w(a/u)** BIRD / EGG / WING / FOWL (§1.5.1).

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***wa**-kok ⩙ -ʔok	HORNBILL	VanBik 2009:292

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**váa**-kòʔ	hornbill	VanBik 2009:292

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**cóekeew**	Indian pied hornbill	VanBik 2009:292

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**va**-kok	hornbill	VanBik 2009:292
Lushai [Mizo]	**và-àwk**	name of a species of hornbill (n.)	VanBik 2009:292

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**vā**-kāo	species of hornbill (n.)	VanBik 2009:292

(14) PTani *graŋ HORNBILL

"This word usually takes the bird prefix ***pa-**. This may be a loanword from Mon-Khmer, cf. Lawa **khraŋ** 'hornbill' (Mitani 1972)" (J. Sun 1993:135).

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***graŋ**	hornbill	Sun 1993a:206

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	pə-**grja**	hornbill	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**gja**	hornbill	Sun 1993b
Galo	pə **gaa**	great pied hornbill; bird (variety); Buceros bicornis (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'gaa ree	hornbill (wreathed); wreathed hornbill; bird (variety); Rhyticeros undulatus (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'pihik-pə **gaa**	hornbill (n.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	pə-**gaŋ**	hornbill	Sun 1993a

(15) PTB * g / k u OWL

This root is very well attested, both in TB and Chinese.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gu**	owl	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1067c-e; Benedict 1972:494
	***gu ⩙ ku**	owl	Matisoff 2003a:591; CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1070m
	***ku ~ gu**	owl	Coblin 1986:115

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	^{2}və^{3}**ku**	owl	Weidert 1987:83

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **khu**	owl	Coblin 1986:115
	vo-ing **hu**	owl	Marrison 1967
	vo-iŋ **hū(ʔ)**	owl	Weidert 1987:83

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	u-**khu**	owl	Coblin 1986:115
	u^{31}**khu**^{55}	owl (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0332.19
	u **khu**	owl	Marrison 1967
	^{1}u^{3}**khu**-^{1}miʔ^{3}wak	owl	Weidert 1987:83

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**kŭgʻ (kŭkhʻ)**	owl (n.)	Bailey 1911 [a]
	kŭkhʻ	owl (n.)	Bailey 1911

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Longxi)	**ỳ khù**	owl	Evans 1999:410
Qiang (Mianchi)	kuì tòŋ **khò**	owl	Evans 1999:410

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	pra-**khu**	owl	Benedict 1972:164n441

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**khu**	owl	Coblin 1986:115
Tavoyan	**khu**	owl	Benedict 1972:494

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lisu	**gu**	owl	Coblin 1986:115
Lisu (Northern)	**gu**^{35}**gu**^{33}	owl (N.)	Bradley 1994

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	鴞	owl	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3107
Chinese (GSR #)	**1041t**	owl	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3107
"Pre-Chinese"	**gwjəgwh**	owl	Coblin 1986:115

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gi̯ŏg/ji̯ŭu**	owl;bird (small);bird of unknown kind	Karlgren 1957:1041t
	gʻi̯ug/gʻi̯əu	owl	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1067c-e
	kiog/kieu	kind of bird (owl?)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1070m
	kiôg/kieu	bird (kind of, owl?)	Karlgren 1957:1070m
	xi̯ôg/xi̯əu	owl	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1070i
	χi̯ôg/χi̯ə̯u	owl	Karlgren 1957:1070i
Chinese (Old)	**gwjəgh**	owl	Coblin 1986:115
	kiəgw	owl	Coblin 1986:115
	ɢʷaw {[ɢ]ʷ(r)aw}	owl	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3107

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**gjəu**	owl-like bird (n.)	Coblin 1986:115
	hjew	owl	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3107
	kieu	owl-like bird (n.)	Coblin 1986:115

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**xiāo**	owl	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3107

[a] *STC* surmises (p.185) that the Kanauri forms arose through reduplication. Cf. Northern Lisu **gu**^{35}**gu**^{33}.

Chinese comparandum

鴞 OC ***gi̯ŏg**, *GSR* #1041t 'owl, small bird'; B & S 2011 ***ɢʷaw {[ɢ]ʷ(r)aw}**; Mand. **xiāo**.
梟 OC ***kiôg**, *GSR* #1070m 'unfilial bird; owl'; Mand. **xiāo**.
鵂 OC ***χi̯ôg**, *GSR* #1070i 'owl'; Mand. **xiū**.
舊 OC ***gʻi̯ug**, *GSR* #1067c-e 'owl'; Mand. **jiù**.

(16) PKC *tshim-ɓuu OWL

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tshim-ɓuu**	OWL	VanBik 2009:594

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	**sim**^{3}**-bu**^{3}	owl (big)	VanBik 2009:594

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tshĭm-bûu**	owl	VanBik 2009:594

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	vā-chhō-**chā-bū**	species of large owl (n.)	VanBik 2009:594

(17) PTB *m-dwaŋ PEACOCK

This morpheme frequently occurs as the second element in compounds beginning with PTB ***w(a/u)** BIRD / EGG / WING / FOWL (§1.5.1). This first element varies from an unreduced form of the shape **wa** and a prefixized version **u-**.

Besides the normal initial reflex with dental stop, this etymon shows a puzzling variation among **h-**, **y-**, and **w-**, which remains to be explained.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	***doŋ**	peacock	Benedict 1972:341
	***m-daŋ ≍ m-doŋ**	peacock / partridge / pheasant	Matisoff 2003a:586

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	u[55]**diu**[55]	peacock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0345.23

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	vā **hóŋ**	peacock	Thirumalai 1972:46
Tiddim	u[1] **tong**[2]	peacock	Bhaskararao 1996:1912

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	a **rong**	peacock	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	wa **hong**	peacock	Marrison 1967
Zeme	u **weng**	peacock	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	wa **hong**	peacock	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	u **weng**	peacock	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	u-**doŋ**	peacock	Benedict 1972:341
	u[31]**tǫŋ**[33]	peacock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0345.19
	wu **tawng**	peacock	Marrison 1967
	ʔù-**tōŋ**	peacock	Matisoff 1974:187

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Sherpa)	**dāng** an	pheasant (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.008
Tibetan (Written)	**mdoŋs**	eye in peacock's feather	Benedict 1972:341
	mdóŋs-mtɑ-čɑn	turkey-hen	Jäschke 1881

2.1.4. Tamangish

Thakali	**Tohng** nākā	pheasant (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.008
Thakali (Tukche)	**ʈohŋ** naka	pheasant	Hari 1971:3.A.8

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Xiandao)	no?[31]**joŋ**[55]	peacock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0345.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	**dãu**[55]	peacock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0345.27
Burmese (Written)	**doṅ:**	peacock	Marrison 1967
	doŋ	peacock (= u'-dôŋ)	Benedict 1976a
	dɔŋ[3]	peacock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0345.26
	mâŋ-**dôŋ**	pheasant (cf. u'-dôŋ)	Benedict 1976a
	ú-**daùŋ**	peacock	Benedict 1972:341
	ʔu'-**dôŋ**	peacock	Matisoff 1974:187
Hpun (Northern)	ú **tɔŋ**	peacock	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	wo[33]**tǫŋ**[33]	peacock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0345.33
Marma	ŭ **dóŋ**	peacock	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:305-7a
Atsi [Zaiwa]	ŭ[55]**tǫŋ**[55]	peacock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0345.30

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Mpi	no?[4]**juŋ**[2]	peacock	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

7. Karenic

Pa-O	wâ **tɔ̄ŋ**	peacock	Solnit 1989

Chinese comparandum

孔 OC ***k'ung**, *GSR* #1174a-b 'peacock'; Schuessler 2007:335 ***khôŋʔ**; B & S 2011: ***k^{hs}oŋʔ { [k] ^{hs}oŋʔ}**; Mand. **kǒng**.

(18) PTB *s-rik ≍ *s-ryak PHEASANT / PARTRIDGE

A subroot of the allofam **s-ryak** is provided by PLB **rwak**, which underlies e.g. the Lahu and Akha forms.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	***s-rik ≍ s-ryak**	pheasant; partridge	Matisoff 2003a:610; Benedict 1972:403
	***s-rik∼s-ryɑk**	pheasant (?.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:560e-h

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***rik ≍ *hrik** PHEASANT

*Chin	***rik** ≍ hrik	PHEASANT	VanBik 2009:961

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	va-**lik**	pheasant	VanBik 2009:961
Thado	vâa **gît**	pheasant	VanBik 2009:961

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	hók**'yet**	pheasant	VanBik 2009:961

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	va-**rit**	pheasant	VanBik 2009:961
Lushai [Mizo]	và-**hrìt**	black pheasant (n.)	VanBik 2009:961
	va-**hri:t**	black pheasant	Benedict 1972:403

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	do-**grik**	black pheasant	Benedict 1972:403
	grik	pheasant	Benedict 1972:403

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	u-**ri**	pheasant	Benedict 1972:403

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Western)	**śrag**-pa	pheasant	Benedict 1972:403
Tibetan (Written)	**sreg**-pa	pheasant	Benedict 1972:403

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	kə **hryak** fo	kaliy-pheasant	Benedict 1972:403

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mawo)	wə **ri**	pheasant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:141.8

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ʃə ru**	pheasant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0340.11
rGyalrong	**ʃə ru**	pheasant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:141.12
	shi ru	pheasant	Nagano 1997:12.2
rGBenzhen	**ʃruʔ**	pheasant	Sun 1997b

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***rwak**^{L} PHEASANT

*Lolo-Burmese	***rwak**^{L}	pheasant	Matisoff 2003a:611

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**rac**	pheasant	Hansson 1989:572; Benedict 1976a
	rats	pheasant	Benedict 1972:403
	rɑs	pheasant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:141.39
	rɑs[4]	pheasant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0340.26
Atsi [Zaiwa]	ŋǒʔ[55]**khjik**[55]	pheasant (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0340.30
	ŋǒʔ[55]**khjik**[55]	pheasant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:141.42

6.1.2. Loloish: ***k-rök**^{H} PHEASANT

*Loloish	*k-**rök**^{H}	pheasant	Hansson 1989:572

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**g̈ɔ̀ʔ**	pheasant	Matisoff 1988a:1141

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**gèq**	pheasant	Hansson 1989:572
Akha (Yunnan)	**gèq**	pheasant	Hansson 1989:572
Akha	**gèq**	pheasant	Hansson 1989:572

7. Karenic: ***(tho^{B})reʔ^{D}** PHEASANT

*Karen	*(**tho^{B}**)reʔ^{D}	pheasant	Luangthongkum 2013:217
Kayah	**ra**[33]	pheasant	Luangthongkum 2013:217
Kayaw	**-re**[33]	pheasant	Luangthongkum 2013:217
Pwo (Northern)	**ɣaiʔ**[21]	pheasant	Luangthongkum 2013:217
Pwo (Southern)	**ɣaiʔ**[45]	pheasant	Luangthongkum 2013:217
Sgaw (Southern)	**ɣai**[11ˑˑ]	pheasant	Luangthongkum 2013:217
Sgaw (Northern)	**ɣiʔ**[21]	pheasant	Luangthongkum 2013:217

Chinese comparandum

雉 OC ***d'i̱ər**, *GSR* #560e-h 'pheasant'; Schuessler 2007:621 ***driʔ**; Mand. **zhì**.
翟 OC ***d'iok**, *GSR* #1124a-b 'pheasant'; Schuessler 2007:632 ***lêwk**; B & S 2011: ***l^{s}ewk**; Mand. **dí**.

(19) PKC *wa-huy PIGEON

The first element in this binome is PTB ***w(a/u)** BIRD / EGG / WING / FOWL (§1.5.1).

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	***wa**-huy	PIGEON	VanBik 2009:730

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**va** hui	green pigeon	VanBik 2009:730
Khumi	**bhuú**	domestic pigeon	VanBik 2009:730

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**va**-hûy	pigeon	VanBik 2009:730
Lushai [Mizo]	**và**-húi	wood pigeon (n.)	VanBik 2009:730

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**vā**-hí	small wood pigeon (n.)	VanBik 2009:730

(20) PKC *miim ≍ *hmiim QUAIL

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	***miim** ≍ hmiim	QUAIL	VanBik 2009:782

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**va** mīm	quail	VanBik 2009:782
Thado	**vâa** míim	quail	VanBik 2009:782
Tiddim	va[1] **mim**[1]	quail	VanBik 2009:782; Bhaskararao 1996:1928

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**thewmúeng**	quail	VanBik 2009:782

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**mîim** tèe	quail	VanBik 2009:782
Lushai [Mizo]	**và** hmìim	quail (n.)	VanBik 2009:782

(21) PKC *riit SPARROW

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	***riit**	SPARROW	VanBik 2009:976

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	kawl **git**	sparrow	VanBik 2009:976
Thado	**gît** tsàa	sparrow	VanBik 2009:976
Tiddim	ko:l[2] **gi:t**[1]	sparrow	VanBik 2009:976

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**riit**	riit	VanBik 2009:976

2.2.4.1 Particular birds

(1) PKar *pla $^{A}_{B}$ BAT

This Karenic root bears a strong resemblance to the Kuki-Chin binome PKC ***paa-laak** BAT (§2.2.7).

7. Karenic

*Karen	*pla$^{A/B}$	bat	Luangthongkum 2013:13	[a]
Bwe	**plɛ**[11]	bat	Luangthongkum 2013:13	
Kayah	**plɛ**[11]	bat	Luangthongkum 2013:13	
Kayan	**bla**[11]	bat	Luangthongkum 2013:13	
Kayaw	**pla**[11]	bat	Luangthongkum 2013:13	
Pa-O (Northern)	**pla**[31ˑˑ]	bat	Luangthongkum 2013:13	
Pa-O (Southern)	**pla**[31ˑˑ]	bat	Luangthongkum 2013:13	
Pwo (Northern)	**phla**[33]	bat	Luangthongkum 2013:13	
Pwo (Southern)	**phla**[55]	bat	Luangthongkum 2013:13	
Sgaw (Northern)	**bla**[33]	bat	Luangthongkum 2013:13	
Sgaw (Southern)	**bla**[55]	bat	Luangthongkum 2013:13	

[a] [Source Note] Pa-O and Sgaw have tone A while C.Karen (CK) languages and Pwo have tone B. *pl- has become bl- in Sgaw.

(2) PKar *lek^{D} HAWK / EAGLE

This Karenic etymon is probably to be identified with PTB ***g-la(ŋ/k)** FALCON, VULTURE, EAGLE, KITE, HAWK, BIRD OF PREY (§2.2.4), which is of Mon-Khmer origin. See *STC* n. 225, p. 72. The final stop is paralleled in the Chinese comparandum mentioned in *STC*, *loc. cit.*

7. Karenic

*Karen	*lek^{D}	hawk, eagle	Luangthongkum 2013:139
Bwe	**lɛ**[11]	hawk, eagle	Luangthongkum 2013:139
Karen	**le**[33]pha[55]dǫ[31]	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.50
Kayah	**la**[33]	hawk, eagle	Luangthongkum 2013:139
Kayan	**liʔ**[21]	hawk, eagle	Luangthongkum 2013:139
Kayaw	**le**[33]	hawk, eagle	Luangthongkum 2013:139
Pa-O (Southern)	**lek**[45]∼**lik**[45]	hawk, eagle	Luangthongkum 2013:139
Pa-O (Northern)	**leʔ**[45]	hawk, eagle	Luangthongkum 2013:139
Pa-O	**lèʔ**	hawk, raptor	Solnit 1989
	lèʔ mɔ̀t	hawk	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**laiʔ**[21]	hawk, eagle	Luangthongkum 2013:139
Pwo (Southern)	**laiʔ**[45]	hawk, eagle	Luangthongkum 2013:139
Sgaw (Southern)	**lai**[11ˑˑ]	hawk, eagle	Luangthongkum 2013:139
Sgaw (Northern)	**liʔ**[21]	hawk, eagle	Luangthongkum 2013:139

(3) PKar *s-raN^{B} MYNAH

7. Karenic

*Karen	***s-raN^{B}**	mynah	Luangthongkum 2013:196	[a]
Bwe	**θə**[33]**rɛ**[33]	mynah	Luangthongkum 2013:196	

[a] [Source Note] Irregular vowels in CK, i.e. the vowel changes behave like the *-a rhyme pattern, not the *-aŋ one.

Kayan	**raŋ**[11]	mynah	Luangthongkum 2013:196
Kayaw	**sa**[11]**ra**[11]	mynah	Luangthongkum 2013:196
Pa-O (Southern)	**ran**[33]	mynah	Luangthongkum 2013:196
Pa-O (Northern)	**ran**[55]	mynah	Luangthongkum 2013:196

(4) PTB *gyəy PARROT / PARAKEET

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	vạ-**kǐ**	parrot	Weidert 1987:141
	va-**ki**	parrot	Bhaskararao 1996:638
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Sorbung	bə-**kíi**	parrot	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.145
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami Naga	[2]ke[5]**kie**	parrot	Weidert 1987:169
Mao	[1]ka[3]**kei**	parrot	Weidert 1987:141
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***ci** PARROT			
**Tangkhulic*	***ci**	parrot	Mortensen 2012:753
Ukhrul	hut-**ci**	parrot	Mortensen 2012
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***gyəy**[2] PARROT			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***cei**[2]	parrot	Weidert 1987:141
	***gyəy**[2]	parrot	Matisoff 2003a:592
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola (Luxi)	khauŋ[35] **tʃʅ**[31]	parrot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0341.32
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**ceì**	parrot	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**cèi**-hŋeʔ	parrot	Weidert 1987:141
	key:	parrot	Okell 1971
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**kiy**	parrot	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**kyè**	parrot	Weidert 1987:293
	kyê	parrot	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	khauŋ[31]**tʃik**[31]	parrot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0341.31
Maru [Langsu]	**cìt**	parrot	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**cì**	parrot	Weidert 1987:141
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***jei**[2]	parrot	Weidert 1987:141
	*k-**gye**[2]	parrot	Weidert 1987:293; Bradley 1979b:54
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**jɛ**[33]kv[33]	parrot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0341.47
	jɛ[33]kɤ[33]	parrot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0341.47
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʤʅ**[21]mu[33]	parrot	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Weishan)	dɻ[21]**tʂʅ**[21]	parrot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0341.36
Yi (Xide)	**ʤʅ**[21]mu[33]	parrot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0341.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**tʃi**[44]zə[44]	parrot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0341.44
Lahu (Lancang)	pɛ[11]**tsi**[53]	parrot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0341.43
Lisu (Northern)	a[55]**dʒʅ**[21]	parrot (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a[55]**dʒʅ**[21] mɯ[21]lɯ[35]	parrot-beak (medicinal herb)	Bradley 1994
	a[55]**dʒʅ**[21]sa[55]	wild parrot (living in farming area on corn and lacquer seeds, smaller than a[55]dʒ̱[21])	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Lüchun)	**ji**[55]ko[55]	parrot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0341.41
Hani (Mojiang)	**jī**[33]ko[33]	parrot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0341.42
7. KARENIC: ***(tho**[B]**)ki**[B] PARROT / PARAKEET			
**Karen*	*(**tho**[B])ki[B]	parrot, parakeet	Luangthongkum 2013:212
**Karen [Burling]*	***ki**[2]	parrot, parakeet	Luangthongkum 2013:212
Bwe	**ki**[33]~**khi**[33]	parrot, parakeet	Luangthongkum 2013:212
Kayah	**khi**[11]	parrot, parakeet	Luangthongkum 2013:212
Kayan	**khi**[11]	parrot, parakeet	Luangthongkum 2013:212
Kayaw	**ki**[11]	parrot, parakeet	Luangthongkum 2013:212
Pa-O (Northern)	**ki**[55]	parrot, parakeet	Luangthongkum 2013:212
Pwo (Northern)	**kei**[33]	parrot, parakeet	Luangthongkum 2013:212
Pwo (Southern)	**kei**[55]	parrot, parakeet	Luangthongkum 2013:212
Sgaw (Southern)	**ki**[45,]	parrot, parakeet	Luangthongkum 2013:212

(5) IA *mayūra PEACOCK

1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	dáw **moyra**	peacock	Bhat 1968
	məyra	peacock	Bhat 1968
1.7.1.4. DEORI			
Deori/Deuri	**moyra** dua	peacock [As. mowra, see dudi]	Jacquesson 2005
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Balti)	**mʌñja**·	peacock	Rangan 1975:32; Rangan 1975:40
Tibetan (Batang)	**mɑu**[55]**ʑa**[53]	peacock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0345.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**mujur**	peacock (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.009
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung (Ghachok)	(**N**)mũqjura:	peacock	Glover 1972:3.A.9
Gurung	**mụqjurā:**	peacock (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.009
Thakali	**mucur**	peacock (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.009
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**mujur**	peacock	Genetti 1990a
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**mọjar**	peacock (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.009
Magar	**majur**	peacock (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.009
X.1. NON-TB			
Nepali	**maiur**, **mujur**	peacock (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.009

(6) PKar *(tho[B])braʔ[D] PEACOCK

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	*(**tho**[B])braʔ[D]	peacock	Luangthongkum 2013:214
**Karen [Burling]*	***phɣaʔ**[1]	peacock	Luangthongkum 2013:214
Bwe	**ba**[11]	peacock	Luangthongkum 2013:214
Kayah	**phre**[33]	peacock	Luangthongkum 2013:214
Kayan	**praʔ**[21]	peacock	Luangthongkum 2013:214
Kayaw	**prɔ**[33]	peacock	Luangthongkum 2013:214
Pwo (Northern)	**sjaʔ**[21]	peacock	Luangthongkum 2013:214
Pwo (Southern)	**ɕaʔ**[45]	peacock	Luangthongkum 2013:214
Sgaw (Northern)	**bɣaʔ**[21]~**phɣaʔ**[21]	peacock	Luangthongkum 2013:214
Sgaw (Southern)	**pɣa**[11,,]	peacock	Luangthongkum 2013:214

(7) PKar *(tho[B])hrwiʔ[D] QUAIL

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	*(**tho**[B])hrwiʔ[D]	quail	Luangthongkum 2013:232 [a]
Kayah	**rwi**[55]	quail	Luangthongkum 2013:232
Kayan	**rwiʔ**[45]	quail	Luangthongkum 2013:232
Kayaw	**ri**[33]	quail	Luangthongkum 2013:232
Pa-O (Northern)	**riʔ**[45]	quail	Luangthongkum 2013:232
Pwo (Northern)	phu[33]**wei**[33]	quail	Luangthongkum 2013:232
Pwo (Southern)	**wei**[55]	quail	Luangthongkum 2013:232
Sgaw (Northern)	pə[11]**wi**[33]	quail	Luangthongkum 2013:232
Sgaw (Southern)	pə[11]**wi**[55]	quail	Luangthongkum 2013:232

[a] [Source Note] The SK languages have irregular tone changes, i.e. Sgaw has tone A while Pwo has tone B.

(8) PTB *m-tsa SPARROW

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-tsa**	sparrow	Matisoff 2003a:616
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	gîit **tsàa**	sparrow	VanBik 2009:976
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	u[31]**tsa̱**[33]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.19
	u̱[31]**tsa̱**[33]	sparrow	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.47
	u **tsa**	sparrow	Marrison 1967
	ʔù-**tsā**	sparrow	Matisoff 1974:13
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**tshə**[55]tsə[31]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.16
	tshŋ[55]**tshŋ**[33]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.17
Namuyi	ɣa[55]**ndzɻ**[55]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.19
Pumi (Jiulong)	wə[11]**tsi**[55]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.10
Pumi (Lanping)	gɯ[55]**ʂɑ**[13]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	gɯ[55]**ʂɑ**[13]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.11
Pumi (Taoba)	guɛ[35]**tɕi**[35]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.10
Qiang (Longxi)	ì **tshá**	sparrow	Evans 1999:415
Qiang (Mianchi)	ì **tshé**	sparrow	Evans 1999:415
Qiang (Taoping)	i[31]**tshie**[55]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tʂha**[55]	sparrow hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.13
Xumi	**dʑyæ**[33]mi[53]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.17
	dʑyɛ[33]mi[55]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.20
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	pa **tsa**	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	pɑ **tsɑ**	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.11
rGBenzhen	ka-**tsaʔ**	sparrow	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	lɑ[55]**dzŋ**[55]so[55]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.21
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***Ndža**[1] SPARROW			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***Ndža**[1]	sparrow	Matisoff 1988a
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**sɑ**[22]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**sɑ**[22]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.40
Burmese (Written)	**ca**	sparrow	Matisoff 1974:13; Benedict 1976a
	cā ṅhak	sparrow	Marrison 1967
	sɑ[2]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.39
	sɑɑ[2]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.26
Hpun (Northern)	kă **s(h)áʔ**	sparrow	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	**tʃo**[31]khjaŋ[53]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.33
Maru [Langsu]	**tʃɔ**[31]khjɔ̃[55]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃo**[51]khjaŋ[55]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.30
	tʃo[51]khjaŋ[55]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.42
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***m-ja**[1]	sparrow	Bradley 1979b:55
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**tsa**[323]za[33]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.47
Nusu (Central)	**dzɻa**[33]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.34
	dzɻa[33]tʂu̱[53]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.34
Nusu (Southern)	**ʤɔ**[31]tɕhɯ̱[53]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ʤɑ**[31]tɕhu[55]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	khɯ[33]**dzɻa**[33]	sparrow	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	A[55]**tʂo**[33]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.25
Yi (Mojiang)	A[55]**dzo**[55]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dzɻ**[33]gɑ[33]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.37
	dzɻ̱[33]mi[55]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**dʑe**[55]m̩(ụ)[21]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.23
Yi (Weishan)	**dzɻɑ**[55]m̩[21]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.36
Yi (Wuding)	ŋɑ̱[33]**dzɻu**[33]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.38
Yi (Xide)	khɯ[33]**dzɻa**[33]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.21
	khɯ[33]**dzɻɑ**[33]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Buyuan)	tsɔ[31]jɑ[55]	sparrow (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	tʃo[42]ja[42]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.44
Jinuo (Youle)	tʃo[42]ɕɑ[55]	sparrow	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	**dʑɑ**[11]mɤ[53]	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.43
Lahu (Black)	**dzʌ**[31]mə[53]	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.33
	jà-mâ	sparrow	Matisoff 1978a:46
Lahu (Yellow)	a[1]**tsa**[2]pi[4]	sparrow	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**dzi**[21]ŋa[35]	sparrow (those that live on hemp seeds)	Bradley 1994

Lisu	**dʒɛ**^{33}tʃhɛ^{31}	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.27
Lisu (Northern)	**dʐæ**^{35}æʔ^{21}	sparrow (N.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	ɒ^{11}**tʂɑ**^{33}mɒ^{33}	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**djá**-tsəq	sparrow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a
Hani (Dazhai)	xa^{31}dza^{55}na^{31}bo^{31}	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.31
Hani (Lüchun)	xa^{31}**dza**^{55}	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsa**^{55}tsu^{55}	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dʐa**^{55}tsɤ̱^{33}	sparrow	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**jɔ**^{55}tʃɔ^{55}	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**jɔ**^{55}tʃɔ^{55}	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.42

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	a^{44}tʂa^{21}kɯ^{44}	sparrow	Pelkey 2011:115
Hlepho Phowa	a^{55}**dʑa**^{33}ma^{33}	sparrow	Pelkey 2011:115
Phuza	ga^{13}**dʑa**^{33}gɯ^{31}	sparrow	Pelkey 2011:115

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	**dʐ̩wæ**˧lɑ˧ʁu˧dʐ̩ɯ˧˥	kind of sparrow with white and black body	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʐ̩wæ˧mi˧	sparrow	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**dzæ**^{33}zo^{33}	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**dʐ̩ua**^{33}mi^{33}	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndza**^{33}zo^{33}	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.28

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	lo^{55}**dzo**^{21}tso^{55}	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.37
Bai (Dali)	lo^{35}**tsɯ**^{31}tso^{44}	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.35
	tsɔ2	sparrow	Dell 1981b:679
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tso̱**^{33}tsɿ^{33}	sparrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0336.48
	tso^{44}tsi^{33}	sparrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:148.36

2.2.5 Fish and Mollusks

(1) PTB *d-k(y)aːy ⪤ *d-k(y)an CRAB

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*d-k(y)aːy ⪤ **d-k(y)an**	crab	Matisoff 2003a:598

(1a) PTB *d-k(y)aːy CRAB

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-k(y)aːy** ⪤ d-k(y)an	crab	Matisoff 2003a:598
	***d-kaːy**	crab	Benedict 1972:51
	***d-kɑːy**	crab	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:861d

1.1.1. TANI: ***ke** ∼ ***kjo** CRAB

**Tani*	***ke∼ kjo**	crab	Sun 1993a:83

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	tà-**či**	crab	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**čiː** kə-riː	crab	Sun 1993a
	ta-**čiː** kɯ-riː	crab	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta-**če** paŋ-tɯr	crab	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	‘moo **ci**	crab (jungle) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ta **ci**	crab (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	ta **ci**	crab	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**ke**	crab	Sun 1993a
Damu	ɕi-go ta-**ki**	crab (species with tail!)	Sun 1993b

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kaay-** ⪤ ***ŋaay-kuaŋ** LOBSTER / CRAB / SHRIMP, ***ʔaay** CRAB

**Chin*	***kaay-** ⪤ ŋaay-kuaŋ	LOBSTER / PRAWN / SHRIMP	VanBik 2009:299
	***ʔaay**	CRAB	VanBik 2009:472

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**ai**	crab	VanBik 2009:472
	kai-kuang	lobster	VanBik 2009:299
Sizang	**ai** sā	land crab	VanBik 2009:472
Thado	**kàay-kúoŋ**	shrimp, lobster	VanBik 2009:299
	ʔâay	crab	VanBik 2009:472
Tiddim	**ai**^{1} sa^{1}	crab	VanBik 2009:472
	kai^{3} **kuang**^{2}	prawn	VanBik 2009:299

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	ng-**ai**	crab	VanBik 2009:472
Khami	tə **ai**	crab	Benedict 1972:51
Khumi	t’ **aay**	crab	VanBik 2009:472

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**kàay kǔaŋ**	lobster, prawn	VanBik 2009:299
Lai (Hakha)	tsǎŋ-**ʔâay**	crab	VanBik 2009:472
	ŋǎay-kûaŋ	lobster, prawn	VanBik 2009:299
Lai (Falam)	**ʔáay**	crab	VanBik 2009:472
Lushai [Mizo]	**ai**	crab	Matisoff 1985a:004
	ǎi	crab (n.)	VanBik 2009:472
	ai ⪤ cha **kai**	crab	Benedict 1972:51
	kài-kúaŋ	prawn, a fresh water prawn (n.)	VanBik 2009:299

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-á	name of a crab (n.)	VanBik 2009:472

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	tśə **yai**	crab	Benedict 1972:51

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	**khai**-reu	crab	Matisoff 1985a:004; Benedict 1972:51

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	tśe **he**	crab	Benedict 1972:116n324

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	(tśyə-)**khan**	crab	Benedict 1972:25n81; Benedict 1972:99n284
	cha **khan**	crab	Marrison 1967
	tšə **khân**	crab	Matisoff 1985a:059

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	tă **hi**	crab	Benedict 1972:51

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu	á-**ci**-ku	crab	Benedict 1972:25n81
Lahu (Black)	á-**ci**-ku	crab	Matisoff 1985a:004

7. KARENIC: ***chwɛ**^{B} CRAB

**Karen [Burling]*	***chwɛ**^{2}	crab	Luangthongkum 2013:64
**Karen*	***chwɛ**^{B}	crab	Luangthongkum 2013:64
Bwe	**ʃwɛ**^{33}	crab	Luangthongkum 2013:64
Kayah	**chwa**^{11}	crab	Luangthongkum 2013:64
Kayan	**chwɛ**^{11}	crab	Luangthongkum 2013:64
Kayaw	**chɛ**^{11}	crab	Luangthongkum 2013:64
Pa-O (Southern)	**chwɛ**^{33}	crab	Luangthongkum 2013:64
Pa-O (Northern)	**chwɛ**^{55}	crab	Luangthongkum 2013:64
Pwo (Northern)	**chwɛ**^{33}	crab	Luangthongkum 2013:64
Pwo (Southern)	**chwɛ**^{55}	crab	Luangthongkum 2013:64
Sgaw (Northern)	**chwɛ**$^{31\sim}$	crab	Luangthongkum 2013:64
Sgaw (Southern)	**chwɛ**$^{45’}$	crab	Luangthongkum 2013:64

Chinese comparandum

蟹 OC ***g’ĕg**, *GSR* #861d ‘crab’; Schuessler 2007:538 ***grêʔ**; B & S 2011: ***m-kˤreʔ** ; Mand. **xiè**.

(2) PTB *s-ŋya FISH

A few languages (Anal, Kokborok, Xumi, Yi Nanjian) have developed initial **h-** or **Ø** from this root.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***ngyaɣ**	fish	Coblin 1986:80
	***ŋyɑ**	fish	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:79a-c

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ngya** (*B)	fish	Coblin 1986:80
	***s-ŋya**	fish	Matisoff 2003a:606
	***ŋya**	fish	Weidert 1987:275
	***ŋya**	fish (n.)	Weidert 1987:763
	***ŋya**	fish	Matisoff 1983:7; LaPolla 1987:24; Benedict 1972:189
	***ŋyɑ**	fish	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:79a-c

1.1.1. TANI: ***ŋo** FISH

**Tani*	***ŋo**	fish	Sun 1993a:152

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	ku-le **ŋi**	river fish	Sun 1993b
	ŋi	fish	Sun 1993b
	ŋi sɯ-pe-rɯ	fish pond	Sun 1993b
	ŋi ta-sì-rɯ	fish trap	Sun 1993b
	ŋú-i a-le(ʔ)	fin	Sun 1993b
	ŋúi-ku-do	fishing	Sun 1993b
	ŋú i	fish	Sun 1993b
	ŋú i ha-sĩ-nɯ	dried fish	Sun 1993b
	ŋú i ha-sĩ (nɯ)	fish (dry)	Sun 1993b
	ŋú i la	fish (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ŋú i to-ŋa	fish shoal	Sun 1993b
	ŋú i-ku	fish (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ŋú i-pa-pu	fish spawn, roe	Sun 1993b
	ŋɯ-i rhyme!	fish	Sun 1993a
	ŋɯ-ljaŋ	fish (species)	Sun 1993b
	ŋɯ-me	fish (species)	Sun 1993b
	ŋɯ-ra	fish (species, small)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ŋu**-čak	fish (small silvery)	Sun 1993b
	ŋu-i	fish	Sun 1993a
	ŋu-pik	eel	Sun 1993b
	ŋu-riŋ	carp	Sun 1993b
	ŋu-tak	catfish	Sun 1993b
	ŋui čam-ǰam	gill	Sun 1993b
	ŋui la-pɯr	fin	Sun 1993b
	ŋu i /ŋu-i/	fish	Sun 1993b
	ŋu i puː-puː	fish bladder	Sun 1993b
Bokar	o **ŋoː**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.24
	o-**ŋoː**	fish	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	o-**ŋoː** a-pɯ	fish bladder	Sun 1993b
	o-**ŋoː** ña-ruŋ	gill	Sun 1993b
	ŋoː-pɯ	loach	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	o **ŋoː**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.51
Galo	‘**ŋo** gə	fish (variety); mahasheer; Neolissochilus hexagonolepis (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**ŋo** muk	fish (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**ŋo** pə	fish (variety); mountain carp (variety); Psilorhynchus spp. (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**ŋo** pə-pɨ ree	fish (variety); mountain carp (variety); Psilorhynchus spp. (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**ŋo** raa	fish (variety); mountain carp (variety) (nce.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**ŋo** raa-‘pak kaa	fish (variety); mountain carp (variety); Psilorhynchus spp. (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ŋo-sen	dry meat	Das Gupta 1963
	ŋo bə	Anguilla bengalensis; eel; fish (variety); Indian mottled eel (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ŋo co	fish (variety); mahasheer; Tor tor (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ŋo cər	fish (variety); Glyptothorax (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ŋo i	fish	Das Gupta 1963
	ŋo i la-nam	fishing (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ŋo i tapo	spawn	Das Gupta 1963
	ŋo ii	fish (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋo ii-a lap	fin (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋo kii	fish innards (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋo lum	fish (boiled, liquified) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋo pii	carp; fish (variety); Labeo dero; mori (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ŋo pii-pii lik	mori minnow (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋo rik	Bagarius bagarius; fish (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ŋo ruu	fish (variety); Garra spp. (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ŋo rɨɨ	fish (variety); Schizothorax spp.; snow trout (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

	ŋo tup	fish (variety); Garra gotyla (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ŋo yaa	fish (fermented) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋo yaa-**ŋo** lum	fish (fermented, boiled, liquified) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋo yoo	fish (variety); Garra sp. (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**ŋu** i	fish	Simon 1976
Nishing	**ngu** i	fish	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	sin tarnɤ **ŋu** i	fish, dry	Das Gupta 1983
	ya nɤ **ŋu** i	rotten fish	Das Gupta 1983
	ŋui so-nam	fishing	Das Gupta 1983
	ŋu i	fish (n.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ŋu i	fish	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	ə-**ŋo**	fish	Sun 1993a
Damu	(meat) ʔə-**ŋo ŋo** ɕa:	fish	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ŋo** gaŋ-taʔ	bladder (fish)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa:-**ŋo**	fish	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **ŋu**	fish	Tayeng 1976
	a **ŋu**-coŋ kep	baskets for fish	Tayeng 1976
	ŋu-ci	fish	Tayeng 1976
	ŋu-kar	hook	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	o-**ŋo**	fish	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	ɑ^{31}**ŋɑ**^{55}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.23
	ɑ^{31}**ŋɑ**^{55}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.48
	ʔŋâ	fish	Weidert 1987:275
Idu	a **nga**	fish	Anonymous 1962
	a **ŋa**	fish	Anonymous 1962
	a **ŋa** acu	fish (spawn)	Pulu 1978
	ɑ^{55}**ŋɑ**^{55}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.50
Yidu	ɑ^{55}**ŋɑ**^{55}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *ŋaa ~ *hŋaa FISH

**Chin*	***ŋaa** ~ hŋaa	FISH	VanBik 2009:853
Anal	**há**	fish	Weidert 1987:275

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	liip **(nga)**	scales (of fish)	Haokip 1998:8.2.5
Sizang	**ngā** sā	fish	VanBik 2009:853
Thado	**ngâa**	fish	VanBik 2009:853
	ŋá	fish	Thirumalai 1972:21
Tiddim	**nga**^{1}	fish	VanBik 2009:853
	nga^{1} (sa^{1})	fish	Bhaskararao 1996:1271
	¯ŋă´sa:	fish / fishes (n + n.)	Henderson 1965
	´ŋa:	fish (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**ngó**	fish	VanBik 2009:853
	ŋò-lé?	scale (fish)	Weidert 1987:1028
Chinbon	**ŋo**	fish	So-Hartmann 1988:56
Cho (Mindat)	**nga**	fish	VanBik 2009:853
Khumi	**ngoo**	fish	VanBik 2009:853
	ŋɔ́	fish	So-Hartmann 1988:56
Matu	**ŋa**	fish	So-Hartmann 1988:56
Mkaang	**ŋá**	fish	So-Hartmann 1988:56
Ngmüün	**ŋá**	fish	So-Hartmann 1988:56
Nyhmoye	**ŋá**	fish	So-Hartmann 1988:56

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ŋàa**	fish	VanBik 2009:853
Lai (Falam)	**ŋâa**	fish	VanBik 2009:853
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnga**	fish	Coblin 1986:80
	hŋa	fish	LaPolla 1987:24; Benedict 1972:189
	ngha	fish	Bhaskararao 1996:1271
	sa̯-**hŋâ**	fish	Weidert 1987:275
	sa-**hŋa**	fish	Benedict 1972:136n369
	sà-**nghâ**	fish (n.)	VanBik 2009:853
	sa **ngha**	fish	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**ngá**	fish	VanBik 2009:853
	^{3}**ŋə**	fish	Weidert 1987:49

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	**ŋə** kədəŋ	gill (of fish)	Toba & Kom 1991:9.2.4
	ŋə mət^{h}iŋ	fin (of fish)	Toba & Kom 1991:6.1.8
	ŋə rip	scales (of fish)	Toba & Kom 1991:8.2.5
Moyon	**ŋa** bʌthá	fin (of fish)	Kosha 1990:6.1.8
	ŋʌ phrìp	scales (of fish)	Kosha 1990:8.2.5 [a]
Sorbung	**ŋa**	fish	Brown 1837
	ŋaa	fish	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:ToneMin.009
	ŋà míi	fish, flying	Mortensen & Keogh 2011
	ʔə **ŋaa**, **ʔŋaa**	fish (general)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.153
	ʔə **ŋaa** cúu̶, **ʔŋaa** cúu̶	roe; eggs, fish	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.154
	ʔə **ŋà** míi	fin; scale of fish; scales (of fish)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.187; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.258

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**hnga**	fish	Marrison 1967
	hŋa	fish	Brown 1837
	ta **nga**	fish	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): *a-hŋaʔ FISH

**Central Naga*	*a-**hŋaʔ**	FISH	Bruhn 2014a:III.013
**Ao*	*a-**hŋaʔ**	FISH	Bruhn 2014a:II.265
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**ŋuʔ**^{1}	fish (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.265
	a **ngo**	fish	Marrison 1967
	^{3}a^{1}**ŋuʔ**	fish	Weidert 1987:275
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	á-**ŋàʔ**	fish (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.265
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **nga**	fish	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hŋa**-kəp	fish scale (n.)	Coupe 2007
	hŋa-tsə-laj	tadpole ('fish' + 'water' + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	hŋà pàʔ	gills (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**hŋáʔ**	fish (generic term) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**ŋoʔ**^{2}	fish (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.013
	ŋo^{2}-tsok^{2}-phen^{3}	basket for trapping fish (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [b]
	ngo tso phen	net (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **ngo**	fish	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:45
	ō **ŋò**	fish	Acharya 1975
	^{1}o^{2}**ŋo(ʔ)**	fish	Weidert 1987:275
Sangtam	**ngu**	fish	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	a **ngu**	fish	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	thü **ngü**	fish	Marrison 1967
	thü **ngüh**	fish	Kumar 1973b:79
	^{2}tɯ (^{2})**ŋɯʔ**	fish	Weidert 1987:275

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Meluri	a **nga**	fish	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **nga**	fish	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Puiron	**nga**	fish	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ŋa**	fish	Brown 1837

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *ŋa FISH

**Tangkhulic*	***ŋa**	fish	Mortensen 2012:637
Tankghul (Central)	sa-**ŋa**	fish	Brown 1837
Tusom	si-**ŋi**	fish	Mortensen 2012:Animals.153

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**nga**	fish	Marrison 1967
	ŋà	fish	Weidert 1987:49

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	***na?**	fish	Burling 1959:441

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**ná**	fish	Bhat 1968
	ná bətí	fish (kind of)	Bhat 1968
	ná dapklá	fish (kind of flat, big)	Bhat 1968
	ná kursá	fish (kind of small)	Bhat 1968
	ná sraŋ	fish (kind of small, round which jumps like a frog	Bhat 1968
	ná tapolo	fish (kind of)	Weidert 1987:49
	naʔ	fish	Weidert 1987:49
	na kú	fish bone; bone (fish)	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
	ŋa~na	fish	Benedict 1972:189
Dimasa	**na**	fish	Marrison 1967
	na-thu	shrimp / scorpion	Matisoff 2003a:496
Kokborok	**a**	fish	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**naʔ**	fish	Weidert 1987:49

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**na**-tik	shrimp	Benedict 1972:56
	na-tök	fish	Benedict 1972:189
	naʔ tok	fish	Weidert 1987:275
Garo (Bangladesh)	**na•**-kam	dried fish (n.)	Burling 2003:5.401-II:idx
	na•-tok	fish (n.)	Burling 2003:4.454-II:idx

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**na•**	fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• garang	type of electric fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• gungphel	type of fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• jek	type of fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• kha	type of fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• lam	type of blue, purple river fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• matsa	type of fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• pat	type of fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• phok	type of fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• rong	type of fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• ru	type of fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• rym	type of fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• rym khu	type of fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• sak	type of red fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• saw	fermented fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• wachak	type of fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na• wak	type of fish (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***ŋya**^{B}	fish	French 1983:489

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**nga**	fish	Marrison 1967
	ŋaʔ	fish	Weidert 1987:49
Tangsa	**ŋaʔ**	fish	Weidert 1987:49
Tangsa (Moshang)	**nga**	fish	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**nga**	fish	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**ngau**	fish	Marrison 1967
	ŋàu	fish	Weidert 1987:275
Khiamngan	^{1}**ŋo̯uʔ**	fish	Weidert 1987:275
Konyak	**nya**	fish	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**ñaʔ**	fish	Weidert 1987:275
Phom	**nyah**	fish	Marrison 1967
	ñæʔ^{33}	fish	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ñæʔ^{33}ʒæn^{31}	dried fish ('fish' + 'dry')	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**nya**	fish	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**nga**	fish	Marrison 1967; Coblin 1986:80
	nga-sep	scales (of fish)	Matisoff 1987
	^{3}**ŋa**	fish	Weidert 1987:275
	ŋá	fish	Matisoff 1974:310
	ŋa	fish	Benedict 1972:189
	ŋá-sèp	scale (fish)	Matisoff 1974:341
	ŋa^{55}	fish	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ŋa^{55}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.19
	ŋa^{55}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.47
	ŋa^{55}sep^{31}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.19
	ŋo	fish	LaPolla 1987:24

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Baram	**nəŋa**	fish	Kansakar 2010:86

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**ngā**	fish	Hale 1973:01.019
Tsangla (Central)	**nga**	fish	Andvik 1993:85; Coblin 1986:80
	ŋa	fish	Benedict 1972:189
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ŋa**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.7
	ŋa^{13}	fish	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**nga**	fish	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ŋɑ**^{35}	fish	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ŋʌ**^{13}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.6
Motuo Menba	**ŋa**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.07
	ŋa tɕak tɕu phi	fish (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1276.07
Cuona Menba	**ŋa**^{35}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.06
	ŋa^{35}ra^{35}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**ŋæ**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ŋa**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.4

[a] Moyon **phrìp** is evidently a fusional reduction of a compound like ***phu-rip**.
[b] [Source Note] fish-trap-INSTR

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ŋa**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.5
	ŋæ	fish	Sun 1985a:263
Tibetan (Balti)	**ñya·**	fish	Rangan 1975:76
Tibetan (Batang)	(**ŋa**^{231}) gũ^{55}	fish (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1276.03
	ŋa^{231}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'nyā**	fish	Hale 1973:01.019
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ŋa**^{13}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ŋa**^{13}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.02
	ŋa^{13}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.2
	ŋə^{13}ri^{52}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**ngya**	fish	Hale 1973:01.019
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**nya** kō ba	scales (of fish)	Bishop 1989:8.2.5
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ɲa**	fish	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	(**na**) dgum	fish (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1276.01
	hya-sag	scales (of fish)	Matisoff 1987
	ña	fish	Marrison 1967
	ńa	fish	Matisoff 1983:7; LaPolla 1987:24
	nha	fish	Sun 1985c:263
	nya	fish	Luce 1985:W.5; Benedict 1972:124n340; Coblin 1986:80
	nya-sag	fish-scale	Jäschke 1881:p.184
	nya-skyogs	gills	Matisoff 1987
	nya-ŝa	flesh of fish	Jäschke 1881:p.184
	nyɑ	fish	Jäschke 1881
	nyú-mo	fish (female?)	Jäschke 1881
	ŋa	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.01
	ŋa	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ŋa**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**ngú**	fish (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	ŋo	fish	Benedict 1972:189
	ŋo-gon	fin of a fish	Mainwaring 1898:58

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung	'ta **ŋa**	fish (n.)	Weidert 1987:763
Manang (Gyaru)	dar^{2} **ŋa**^{2}	fish	Nagano 1984:302
	dar^{1} **ŋa**^{1}	fish	Nagano 1984:075-01
Manang (Prakaa)	^{1}tə **rŋə**	fish	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0089
Tamang (Bagmati)	'ta r **ŋa**	fish (n.)	Weidert 1987:763
Tamang (Sahu)	'tā **rngā**	fish	Hale 1973:01.019
	'ta **rŋa**	fish	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.19; Taylor *et al.* 1972:7.19
Thakali	ta **rnga**	fish	Hale 1973:01.019
Thakali (Tukche)	tɔ r **ŋɔ**	fish	Hari 1971:1.19

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**nyā**	fish	Hale 1973:01.019
Newar (Kathmandu)	**nya**	fish	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**nya** kwẽ	scales (of fish)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:8.2.5
	nyā ya pɔpu:	gill (of fish)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.2.4
Newar (Dolakhali)	**ŋa**	fish	Genetti 1990b
Newar	**ŋā**	fish (general)	Genetti 1990a

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***ŋa**	fish	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	**ŋa** sa	fish	Ebert 1997
	ŋa sa-ka set pa	fisherman	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**na:**	fish	Weidert 1987:138
	ŋa	fish	Michailovsky 1989b
	ŋEk **ŋa**	fish (n.)	Michailovsky 1989b
Yakha	**na:** sa:ga: u:lap	fin (of fish)	Kohn 1990:6.1.8
	na saga u:nabak	gill (of fish)	Kohn 1990:9.2.4
	na saga ɔ kɔp	scales (of fish)	Kohn 1990:8.2.5
Yamphu	ceʔ læʔ **ŋa**	species of fish (n.)	Rutgers 1998:530.13
	hæŋ **ŋa**	species of fish (n.)	Rutgers 1998:537.02
	ŋæ· **ŋa**	species of fish (n.)	Rutgers 1998:561.11

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**Na**	fish (n.)	Rai 1985
	Na lap	fin (of a fish)	Rai 1985
	Na TUN	fish scale	Rai 1985
Chamling	**nga** sa	fish	Winter 1985
Kulung	**ŋa**	fish	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**ŋɨ**	fish	Driem 1993
	ŋɨ-kɨr-nɨ	<basket> a piktsim / bamboo wicker creel used for carrying	Driem 1993

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	**ŋo:**	fish	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	baŋ.hle.be?.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), a catfish, clings to underside of rocks, Pseudocheneis sulcatus? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	baŋ.hlyo.be?.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), a catfish, clings to underside of rocks, Pseudocheneis sulcatus? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	bele.**ŋaʔ**.(duŋ)	fish (sp.), medium-sized whitish flat, edible (n.)	Caughley 2000
	bhe.ti.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	biʔ.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), catfish, very large, with long barbels, Bagarius bagarius (n.)	Caughley 2000
	biʔ.**ŋaʔ**.duŋ	fish (sp.), catfish, very large, with long barbels, Bagarius bagarius (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	bu.du.na.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), small black, Garra gotyla (<Nbuduna + ŋaʔ) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	coʔ.**ŋaʔ**	fish fry, fingerlings (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dah.rya.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), spotted, genus Botia (<N dahre tooth + ŋaʔ) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	du.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), freshwater Minnow, Nemachilus (beavani?) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dyop.ʔa.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), clings to rocks with sucker, Pseudocheneis sulcatus (or a Glyptothorax species?) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	gal.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), large black, Sciaena (coitor?) or Labeo (rohita?) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hlyoʔ.beʔ.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), clings to underside of rocks, Pseudecheneis sulcatus (n.)	Caughley 2000
	jaʔ.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), medium-sized (about 50cm. long), long barbels, large mouth (like a tiger's), Barilius jalkapoorii or Seudeutropius murius? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	jyu.ga.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), about 20cm. long, caught with net, Garra gotyla (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ka.ri.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), medium-sized, Aspidoparia (morar?) (<N kərəŋi) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	khiʔ.**ŋaʔ**.(duŋ)	fish (sp.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kho.**ŋaʔ**	fish-trap (sp.), triangular, woven, put at end of a v-shaped dam (n.)	Caughley 2000
	khun.da.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), medium-sized, Semiplotus (semiplotus?) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kryus.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), Catfish, with wide, flattened head, Chacha chacha? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lə.tar.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), very large (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ma.cha.ra.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), large (<N macha fish) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	moʔ.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), Eel, Amphipnous chucia (n.)	Caughley 2000
	neʔ.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), small, with stinging spines near mouth, edible (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ngāʔ	fish	Hale 1973:01.019
	pəy.sa.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), with coin-like spots, genus Puntius (n.)	Caughley 2000
	pəŋh.**ŋaʔ**	fish (gen.), trapped in pool (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ra.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), flat circular with dorsal and ventral spines, tasty flesh, Colisa fasciatus (n.)	Caughley 2000
	re.wa.ji.**(ŋaʔ)**	fish (sp.), Tor (tor?) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ru.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), Eel, with pointed snout, genus Mastacembelus (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ruʔ.**ŋaʔ**	fish (gen.), killed by poison (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ryumh.**ŋaʔ**	dried fish (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sawʔ.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), about 40cm. long, edible, genus Tor (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sawʔ.**ŋaʔ**.duŋ	fish (sp.), about 40cm. long, edible, genus Tor, (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	saŋ.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.) (ch.), medium-sized whitish flat, edible (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sə.hər.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), genus Tor (<N səhər) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	thuŋ.gi.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), long beak-like jaws -teeth used to treat mud sores Xenentodon regan? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ti.rya.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.).with coin-like spots, genus Pontus? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ya.**ŋaʔ**	fish (sp.), small tail, short barbels, Wallago attu? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ya.**ŋaʔ**.duŋ	fish (sp.), small tail, short barbels, Wallago attu? (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	yul.**ŋaʔ**.(duŋ)	fish (sp.), like stickleback, makes round nest of grass (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ŋa ≍ nya	fish	Benedict 1972:189
	ŋa~ ńa	fish	LaPolla 1987:24
	ŋaʔ	fish	Weidert 1987:49
	ŋaʔ	fish (gen.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ŋaʔ	fish	Caughley 1972:1.19
Kham	**'ngā:h**	fish	Hale 1973:01.019

3.2. QIANGIC

Lyuzu	**ŋæ**^{35}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.18
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ŋa**^{13}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.13
	ŋa^{13} zo^{55}qa^{55} ro^{55}	fish (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1276.13
Xumi	**o**^{55}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.20
	ʔu^{55}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.17

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	(**ŋɐ**^{13}) tʂ^{h}ɛp^{53}	scales (of fish)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:8.2.5

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**ŋa**	fish	LaPolla 1987:24; Benedict 1972:189
Nung	**ŋuɑ^{55}**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.21
Anong	**ŋuɑ^{55}**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.44
Rawang	**ŋɑ^{33}**	fish	LaPolla 2003:397
	ŋɑ^{33} mit khɛ^{33} ɛ^{33}	fish (vi.)	LaPolla 2003:1265
	ŋɑ^{33} rə ɕɛʔ	scale (of fish)	LaPolla 2003:398
Dulong	**ŋɯ^{55}**tɕi^{55}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ŋɑ^{55}**pŋăʔ^{55}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ŋa^{55}** plaʔ^{55}	fish	LaPolla 1987:24
	ŋɑ^{55} plăʔ^{55} ɹɯ^{31} sĕʔ^{55}	scales	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**nă̱m^{31}** plăʔ^{55} sun^{55}	scales	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ŋa^{2}**	fish	Matisoff 2003a:606
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ŋ̊ɑ^{31}**ʂɑ^{31}	fish	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	kă^{31}ʂua^{31}; **ŋa^{31}**ʂua^{31}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.41
	ŋa^{31}ʂua^{31}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.28
Achang (Luxi)	**ŋa^{55}** kjap^{55}	scales	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ŋa^{55}sa^{55}	fish	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ŋ̊ă^{31}** ʂɔ^{31} a^{31} kɤp^{35}	scales	DAI Qingxia 1989f:409
	ŋ̊ă^{31}ʂɔ^{31}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.29
	ŋ̊ă^{31}ʂɔ^{31}a^{31}kɤp^{35}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.29
Bola	**ŋə̆^{31}** kjɛ̱ʔ^{55}	scales (fish)	DAI Qingxia 1989g:409
Bola (Luxi)	**ŋə̆^{31}**kjɛ̱ʔ^{55}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.32
	ŋə̆^{31}ta^{31}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ŋɑ^{55}**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ŋɑ^{55}**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.40
Burmese (Written)	**ṅā:**	fish	Marrison 1967
	ngà	fish	Coblin 1986:80
	ŋà	fish	Weidert 1987:275
	ŋâ	fish	Hansson 1989:14
	ŋa	fish	Matisoff 1983:7
	ŋâ	fish	Matisoff 1974:310; Benedict 1976a
	ŋà	fish	LaPolla 1987:24; Benedict 1972:189
	ŋā^{4}	fish	Luce 1985:W.5
	ŋɑ^{3}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.26
	ŋɑ^{3}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.39
Hpun (Northern)	tă **ŋà'**, tă **ŋàh**	fish	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**ŋə̆^{31}**kjɛ̱ʔ^{55}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.31
	ŋə̆^{31}tsɔ^{31}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.31
Lashi	**ŋə̆^{31}** pjɛ̱n^{33}	scales (of fish)	DAI Qingxia 1989m:8.2.5
Leqi (Luxi)	**ŋə̆^{31}**pjɛ̱n^{33}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.33
	ŋə̆^{31}tso^{33}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.33
Marma	**ŋá**	fish	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:302
	ŋə pǐ	fish sauce	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:77c
Maru [Langsu]	**ŋō**	fish	Weidert 1987:275
	ŋə̆^{31} kjɛ̱ʔ^{55}	scales (of fish)	DAI Qingxia 1989l:8.2.5
	ŋə̆^{55}tsɔ^{31}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋa**	fish	Benedict 1972:54n181
	ŋŏ^{21} kjạp^{55}	scales	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	ŋŏ^{21}kjạ̄p^{55}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.30
	ŋŏ^{21}tso^{21}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.30
	ŋŏ^{21}tso^{21}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.42
	ŋò tsò	fish	Weidert 1987:275
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***ŋa^{2}**	fish	Weidert 1987:275; Bradley 1979b:70; Hansson 1989:14
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**ŋa^{21}** khɯ^{55}	scales (of fish)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:8.2.5
	ŋa^{31}khɯ^{55}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.47
	ŋa^{31}mɛ^{44}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.47
Nasu	**ŋo^{33}** du^{21} la̱^{55}	fin (of fish)	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.8
	ŋo^{33} se̱r^{21}	scales (of fish)	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.5
Nusu (Central)	**ŋa^{55}**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.34
	ŋa^{55} ʂi^{55}	scales	DAI Qingxia 1989p:409.
	ŋa^{55}dza^{55}	otter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.34
	ŋa^{55}ʂi^{55}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ŋɑ^{35}**	fish	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ŋɑ^{55}**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ŋɔ^{33}**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.22
Yi (Mile)	A^{33}**ŋo^{21}**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ŋo^{33}**zo^{33}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ŋo^{55}**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.37
	ŋo^{55}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.24
	ŋo^{55}ku^{33}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ɑ^{21}**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.23
Yi (Wuding)	**nu̱^{2}**	fish (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1276.38
	ŋu^{33}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	ɑ^{33} **ŋo^{21}** i^{33} kɯ^{55}	scales (of fish)	LUO Meizhen 1990:8.2.5
Jinuo	**ŋɔ^{33}**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ŋɔ^{44}** kji^{44}	scales	DAI Qingxia 1989h:433
Jinuo	**ŋɔ^{44}**tɕi^{33}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**ŋɔ^{44}**tɤ^{31}	fish (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ŋɔ^{44}**ʃɔ^{44}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.44
Jinuo (Baka)	**ŋ̊ɔ^{44}** kji^{44}	scales	DAI Qingxia 1989i:433
Jinuo (Youle)	**ŋ̊ɔ^{44}**ʃɔ^{44}	fish	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**ŋʌ31**	fish	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**ŋâ**	fish	Weidert 1987:275
Lahu (Lancang)	**ŋɑ^{53}**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.43
	ŋɑ^{53}ɕɛ^{54}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.43
Lahu (Black)	**ŋâ**	fish	Matisoff 1974:310
	ŋʌ^{54}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ŋa^{3}**	fish	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**ngwa^{1}**	fish	Fraser 1922
	ngwa^{1}-hchï^{5}	fish (rotten)	Fraser 1922
	ngwa^{1}-hu^{3}	spawn (of fish)	Fraser 1922
	ngwa^{1}-ju^{3}	fish (salted and dried)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**nɑ^{55}**	fish (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1276.40
Lisu (Luquan)	**ŋo^{55}**	fish (n.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**ŋuɑ^{55}**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.27
	ŋuɑ^{55}lɑ^{31}	otter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:133.27
	ŋwá	fish	Weidert 1987:275
Lisu (Northern)	**ŋwa^{55}**	fish (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55} ji^{55}fu^{33}	caviar; fish eggs	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55} la^{21}	otter (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55} li^{55} ma^{33}	four fish	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55} na^{55}	fish	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}baʔ^{21}	fish gill	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}dɔʔ^{21}	fish poison (used on fish)	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}dʒu^{33}	dried fish	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}dʒl^{21}du^{33}	fish spear	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}dʑi^{21}hɤ^{35}	belt fish	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}hwa^{21}	fish meat	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}hwa^{33}	catch fish	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}hɔ^{35}ɣɔʔ^{21}	kind of fish, Rumex madaio	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}ka^{33}la^{33}	hereditary skin disease which looks like fish scale	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}ka^{35}thu^{33}	fish basket	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}kɔ^{35}tɕhɯ^{35}	fish scale	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}la^{21}my^{33}	otter hair; velveteen	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}lɔ^{55}	rock over which water falls (fish cannot get over)	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}phu^{33}	open-bellied fish; whitefish (living in Nu River)	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}tshɔ^{35} pɔ^{33}tɕwa^{33}	string for tying fish	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}tʃl^{55}du^{21}	fishing ground (where fish often gather)	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}tɕhæ^{35}pu^{55}	air bladder of fish	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}wa^{33}	fish-knot	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**ŋɑ^{55}**	fish (n.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**ŋɑ^{55}** sa^{55}	scale (of fish); scales	MA Xueliang 1989:328.2; CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.5
Yi (Sani)	**ŋɒ^{55}**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**ŋà**	fish	Weidert 1987:275; Hansson 1989:14
Akha (Yunnan)	**ŋà** sjhà	fish	Hansson 1989:14
Akha (Thai)	**ŋà**-sjhà	fish	Hansson 1989:14
Hani (Lüchun)	**ŋà** sjhà/**ŋà** shà	fish	Hansson 1989:14
Hani (Dazhai)	**ŋa^{31}**de^{55}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ŋa^{31}**ɣo̱^{33}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.41
	ŋɑ^{31}de^{55}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ŋɔ^{31}**sɔ^{31}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.30
Hani (Pijo)	**ŋɔ̀**	fish	Hansson 1989:14
	ŋɔ̀ sjhɔ̀	fish	Hansson 1989:14
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ŋa^{31}**ɕa^{31}	fish	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ngaq** ddeil	fish	Hansson 1989:14
Hani (Shuikui)	**ŋɔ^{31}**sɔ^{31}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.32
Hani (Khatu)	**ŋò**	fish	Hansson 1989:14
	ŋò shɔ̀	fish	Hansson 1989:14
Hani (Mojiang)	**ŋɔ^{31}**ɣo^{33}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.42
	ŋɔ^{31}ʃɔ^{31}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.42
Mpi	**ŋo^{2}**	fish	Hansson 1989:14; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Sila	**ŋa21** dɯ55	fish	KATO Takashi 2008:119
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	a^{33}**ŋɔ^{22}**	fish	Pelkey 2011:127
Southern Muji	**ŋa^{55}**mjɛ^{55}	fish	Pelkey 2011:127
Phola	**ŋɑ^{31}**zɻ^{23}	fish	Pelkey 2011:127
Hlepho Phowa	**ŋa^{33}**gɯ^{21}	fish	Pelkey 2011:127
Phu Kha	**ŋaʔ^{35}**	fish	Fried 2000
Phuza	**ŋa^{33}**za^{33}	fish	Pelkey 2011:127
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɲi**ɻze˥	fish	Michaud 2006–2009:3861
	ɲiɻze˥ lɑ˩	fish (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2541
Na (Yongning)	**ɲi**˧ʒo#˥	fish	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**ɲi^{33}**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ɲi^{33}**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.28
Naxi	**ɲi^{33}**kho^{55}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɲi^{33}**zo^{33}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.29
7. KARENIC			
Karen	**ɲa^{31}**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.50
	ɲa^{31}tθă^{31}bɯ^{31}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.50
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**ɲa^{31}** tθă^{31} bɯ^{31}	scales	DAI Qingxia 1989k:409
8. BAI			
Bai (Bijiang)	**ŋu^{55}**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.37
Bai (Dali)	kv **ngv** 66	fish (sp., Schizopygetaliensis)	Dell 1981b:104
	ngv 6	fish	Dell 1981b:291
	ŋv^{35}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ŋo^{55}**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.48
	ŋv^{55}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.36
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ngi̯o/ngi̯wo**	fish (n.)	Karlgren 1957:79a-c

	ngi̯o/ngi̯wo	fish (v.)	Karlgren 1957:79g-l,m-n
	ŋi̯o/ŋi̯wo	fish	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:79a-c
Chinese (Old)	**ng(r)ja**	fish	Baxter 1992:1854
	ngyag	fish	Coblin 1986:80
	ŋi̯o	fish	Luce 1985:W.5; Matisoff 1983:7
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**ngjwo**	fish	Coblin 1986:80
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**yú**	fish	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

魚 OC ***ngi̯o**, *GSR* #674a-f 'fish'; Coblin 86:80 ST ***ngyaɣ** > OC *; Schuessler 2007:586-7 ***ŋa**; B & S 2011: ***ŋa { [ŋ] (r)a}}**; Mand. **yú**.

(3) PKar *ku $^{A}_{B}$ CATFISH

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	*~**ku**^{A}/^{B}	catfish	Luangthongkum 2013:42 [a]
Kayah	**ku**^{11}	catfish	Luangthongkum 2013:42
Kayan	**ku**^{53}	catfish	Luangthongkum 2013:42
Kayaw	**ku**^{11}	catfish	Luangthongkum 2013:42
Pa-O (Southern)	**khu**$^{31..}$	catfish	Luangthongkum 2013:42
Pa-O (Northern)	**khu**$^{31..}$	catfish	Luangthongkum 2013:42
Pwo (Southern)	**ku**^{55}	catfish	Luangthongkum 2013:42
Sgaw (Southern)	**ku**$^{45'}$	catfish	Luangthongkum 2013:42

[a] [Source Note] NK and Kayan (CK) have tone A while the rest has tone B.

(4) PTk *rew CRAB

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***rew**	crab	Mortensen 2012:411
Huishu	ʔa-k^{h}ej-**row**	crab	Mortensen 2012:Animals.164
Kachai	k^{h}u-**ri**	crab	Mortensen 2012:Animals.163
Ukhrul	k^{h}aj-**rew**	crab	Mortensen 2012

(5) PKar *daʔ^{D} FISH

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***daʔ**^{D}	fish	Luangthongkum 2013:115
Bwe	**da**^{11}-pho^{33}	fish	Luangthongkum 2013:115
Kayah	**te**^{33}	fish	Luangthongkum 2013:115
Kayan	**taʔ**^{21}	fish	Luangthongkum 2013:115
Kayaw	**tɔ**^{33}	fish	Luangthongkum 2013:115
Pa-O (Northern)	**thaʔ**^{45}	fish	Luangthongkum 2013:115
Pa-O (Southern)	**thaʔ**^{45}	fish	Luangthongkum 2013:115
Pa-O	**thàʔ** pé	fish	Solnit 1989
	təkhwè **thàʔ** pé	fish (v.)	Solnit 1989

(6) PQ *r-dzwa FISH

This recently reconstructed root has so far not been found outside of Qiangic / rGyalrongic.

3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**zu**^{55}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.18
Muya [Minyak]	**ʁuɯ**^{53}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.15
Namuyi	**zu**^{55}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.19
	zu^{55}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.46
	zu^{55}ʂʅ^{31}æ˞^{55}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**dʑɯ**^{35}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**dʒə**^{55}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.09
	dʒə^{55}rə^{55}	scale (Nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0352.09
	dʒə^{55}tsũe^{55}	fish (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1276.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**dʒə**^{55}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**dʑi**^{53}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**zà**	fish (CL.)	Evans 1999:1234
	ʁà	fish	Evans 1999:432
	ʁué	fish (v.t.)	Evans 1999:1825
Qiang (Mawo)	(**ʁdzək**) ɣzi ɣuæ˞	fin (of fish)	SUN Hongkai 1991g:6.1.8
	(**ʁzə**) χtʂɛ	fish (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1276.08
	ʁdzə	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.8
	ʁzə	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**dʑ̨í**	fish (CL.)	Evans 1999:1234
	tsuè-**dʑɛ̀**-dzɛ̀-mú	otter [water-fish-eat-AGT]	Evans 1999:392
	tsuɛ̀-**dʑɛ̀**	fish [water-fish]	Evans 1999:432
Qiang (Taoping)	**dzʅ**^{33}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ʐ̨ũ**^{35}	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**dʑy**^{13}	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.14
3.3. rGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Northern)	grə^{33} **ʁjo**^{33} χɕok^{53} pa^{33}	fin (of fish)	SUN Hongkai 1991c:6.1.8
Ergong (Danba)	**ʁa jɯ**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.14
Daofu	**ʁjə**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.12
3.3.1. rGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	pʃəu **jo**	fish (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0351.11
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tʃi **wjo** war̥k^{h}am	fin (of fish)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:6.1.8
	tʃi **wjo** wu r̥k^{h}o	scales (of fish)	SUN Hongkai 1991j:8.2.5
rGyalrong	tʃu **jo**	fish	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:151.12
rGyalrong (NW)	**ʁaju** n dʒə	scales (of fish)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:8.2.5
	ʁaju rme	fin (of fish)	SUN Hongkai 1991l:6.1.8

(7) PTk *k^{h}aj FISH / AQUATIC CREATURE

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	**khai**	fish	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	cha **kha**	fish	Marrison 1967
	ka-**kha**-lêp	scale (fish)	Weidert 1987:1028
Maram	a **ka**	fish	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ka**-lip	scale (fish)	Weidert 1987:1028
	kha	fish	Marrison 1967
Zeme	he **ka**	fish	Marrison 1967
	^{1}he^{5}**ka**^{1}lip	scale (fish)	Weidert 1987:1028
Mzieme	he **ka**	fish	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***k**^{h}**aj**	fish / aquatic creature	Mortensen 2012:375
Champhung	a-**k**^{h}**ai**	fish	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-**k**^{h}**e**-se **k**^{h}**ə**-ni	gill (of fish)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.276
	ʔa-**k**^{h}**e**-se nə-se	fin (of fish)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.188
	ʔa-**k**^{h}**ej**-ʃe	fish (general)	Mortensen 2012:Animals.153
	ʔa-**k**^{h}**ə**-le	fish trap	Mortensen 2012
Kachai	ʔa-**k**^{h}**we**	fish (general)	Mortensen 2012:Animals.152
Tangkhul	**khai**	fish	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:004; Benedict 1972:51
	khai hor	scales (of fish)	Matisoff 1987
	kháy	fish	Bhat 1969:89
Tangkhul (Northern)	**k**^{h}**i**	fish	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**k**^{h}**ai**	fish	Brown 1837
Tusom	**k**^{h}**ie**-fy	frog	Mortensen 2012:Animals.101
Ukhrul	kə-**k**^{h}**aj**	fish with a basket, to ladle out	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}**aj**	fish	Mortensen 2012

(8) PTB *kroy SHELLFISH

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***kwroy**	snail / shellfish	Coblin 1986:135
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kroy**	shell; shellfish; shellfish, shell	Matisoff 1985a:088; Matisoff 2003a:597; Benedict 1972:311
	***kroy (*A)**	snail / shellfish	Coblin 1986:135
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**khoi**	shellfish, shell	Benedict 1972:311; Coblin 1986:135
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mianchi)	pæŋ^{35}-**khə̀˞**	freshwater clam [b-m]	Evans 1999:462
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**krwe**	sp. of shellfish, cowrie; shellfish, cowry; shellfish, shell	Matisoff 1974:94; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:311; Coblin 1986:135

Chinese comparandum

蝸 OC ***kwɑ**, *GSR* #18c 'snail'; Coblin 86:135 ST ***kwroy** > OC ***kwrar**; Schuessler 2007:515 ***krôj**~***C-rôj**; B & S 2011: ***k.r**^{ʕ}**oj** (dial. › ***k**^{ʕ}**roj**); Mand. **wō, guā**.
螺 OC (***lwâr**), *GSR* (not in #577) 'snail'; Schuessler 2007:515 ***krôj**~***C-rôj**; B & S 2011: ***k.r**^{ʕ}**oj**; Mand. **luó**.

(9) PTB *bwap SNAIL

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	ta: **ba:b**	snake	NEFA (India) 1963
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	lă^{55}**po̱p**^{55}	snail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0371.19
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	pa **pap** ma	snail	Rai 1985
Kulung	**pau**	snail, slug	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**bop**	snail; snail, mollusc (gen.) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.071; Caughley 2000
	bop	snail	Caughley 1972:3.A.71
	grayʔ.baŋ.**bop**	snail (sp.) (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	jyo.nyo.ri.**bop**	snail (sp.), large, conical, found in lowland rivers (n.)	Caughley 2000
	jyoy.nyo.riʔ.**bop**	snail (sp.), large, conical, of lowland rivers, eaten by Tharus (n2.)	Caughley 2000
3.2. QIANGIC			
Pumi (Jiulong)	**bo**^{35}ʐ̨ɑ̃^{55}thɑ^{11}	snail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0371.10
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**pɑu**^{31}khu^{31}	snail	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**pau**^{55}khu^{31}	snail	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	tʂhɔʔ^{55}**pap**^{55}	snail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0371.29
Bola (Luxi)	nɔ̆^{31}**pɛʔ**^{31}	snail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0371.32
Langsu (Luxi)	nŭŋ^{35}**pɛʔ**^{31}	snail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0371.31
Leqi (Luxi)	nə̆^{55}**pap**^{31}	snail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0371.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	nŏ^{55}**pap**^{21}	snail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0371.30
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lisu (Northern)	**bɯʔ**^{21}nɯʔ^{21}	snail; clam (N.)	Bradley 1994
	bɯʔ^{21}nɯʔ^{21}kɔ^{55}	shell of snail	Bradley 1994

Chinese comparandum

貝 OC ***pwâd**, *GSR* #320a-e 'cowrie shell; currency'; Schuessler 2007:159 ***pâts** < ***pops**; Mand. **bèi**.

(10) PTB *k-ru ⋉ *k-rwa SNAIL

The medial consonant should perhaps be reconstructed as ***-l-** on the basis of the Karen forms.

The cognacy of the Central Naga forms is open to question.

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	**küpra**	snail	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	kü **küre** sü	snail	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**spru**	snail (n.)	Burling 2003:4.458-II:idx
3.3.1. rGYALRONG			
Caodeng	ndzə-mlɐ-**q**^{h}**rú**-**q**^{h}**ru**	snail	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	ʔɑ mbə **ru ru**	snail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0371.11
rGyalrong	a bu **ru ru**	snail	Nagano 1997:14.6
rGBenzhen	ɐ-nbə **ru-ruʔ**	snail	Sun 1997b
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	kha **rú**	snail	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:14b; Benedict 1972:132n356
	khă **rú**	snail	Benedict 1972:187n487
	khɑ^{1}**ru**^{1}pɑk^{4}kji^{1}	snail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0371.26

Marma	khə **rŭ**	snail	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:305b
7. KARENIC: ***khlo** SNAIL, ***khlo**^{B} SNAIL (LAND~)			
**Karen*	***khlo**	snail	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:18c; Benedict 1972:187n487
	***khlo**^{B}	snail (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:264
Bwe	**khlo**^{33}	snail (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:264
Karen	**khlo**^{31}pe̱^{33}e̱^{31}	snail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0371.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**kʰló̤**	land snail (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O (Northern)	**khlo**^{31}¨	snail (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:264
Palaychi	**khlo**	snail	Benedict 1972:132n356
Pwo (Northern)	**khlu**^{33}	snail (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:264
Pwo	**khlo**	snail	Benedict 1972:132n356
Pwo (Southern)	**khlu**^{55}	snail (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:264
Karen (Sgaw)	**khlo**	snail	Benedict 1972:132n356
Sgaw (Northern)	**khlo**^{31}˜	snail (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:264
Sgaw (Southern)	**khlu**^{45}'	snail (land~)	Luangthongkum 2013:264
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	*/**kwɑi**	snail	Karlgren 1957:18c
	glwâ/luâ	snail	Karlgren 1957:18c
	klwa / kwa ~ glwâ / luâ	snail	Benedict 1972:132n356
	klwɑ~glwâ/kwɑ~luâ	snail	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:18c
	kwɑ/kwɑ	snail	Karlgren 1957:18c
	lwâ/luâ:	wasp (small) / mollusk (kind of)	Karlgren 1957:14b
Chinese (Old)	**kwrar**	snail / shellfish	Coblin 1986:135
	kʷraj	snail	Baxter 1992:654
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**kwa**	snail	Coblin 1986:135

Chinese comparandum

蠃 OC ***lwâ**, *GSR* #14b; B & S 2011: ***rˤojʔ { [r] ˤo [j] ʔ}**; Mand. **luǒ**.
蝸 OC ***kwɑ**, *GSR* #18c; B & S 2011: ***k.rˤoj (dial. › kˤroj)**; Mand. **wō**.

(11) PTB *nyu SNAIL

1.1.1. TANI: ***n(y)o** SNAIL			
**Tani*	***no~ ño**	snail	Sun 1993a:377
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	ta-**no** gor-go	snail	Sun 1993a
	tà-**nó** gòr-go	snail	Sun 1993b
	ta-**no** gor-go	snail	Sun 1993b
	tà-**no** pà-xu	snail shell	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**nu:**	snail	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ta-**nu:** ku-kɯr	snail (edible kind)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **no** gor bə	snail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0371.24
Galo	'tahɨr-'ta **ɲo**	snail (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ta **no**	snail (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**ño**	snail	Sun 1993a
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Khonoma)	ti **nhiü**	snake	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	ti **nyhü**	snake	Marrison 1967
Chokri	tü **nhi**	snake	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	ka **niu**	snake	Marrison 1967
Zeme	he **neu**	snake	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	he **nei**	snake	Marrison 1967
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**njɤ**˧kɤ˥sy˩	snail	Michaud 2006–2009:3760

(12) PKC *tseŋ-kol SNAIL (water)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tseŋ-kol**	SNAIL (water)	VanBik 2009:563
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**te:ng**^{3} **kol**^{1}	water snail	VanBik 2009:563; Bhaskararao 1996:1760
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**tiengbúu**	small round shelled snail (edible)	VanBik 2009:563
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsêŋ kòl**	water snail	VanBik 2009:563
Lushai [Mizo]	**chèng kăwl**	generic name for all water snails: a water snail, a winkle, a whelk (n.)	VanBik 2009:563
	chêngkawl	snail	Marrison 1967
	che:ng-kol	water snail	Bhaskararao 1996:1760

(13) PKar *s-ŋwi^{B} SNAIL (WATER~)

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***s-ŋwi**^{B}	snail (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:265
Bwe	**θə**^{55}**mi**^{33}	snail (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:265
Kayan	**ŋwi**^{11}	snail (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:265
Kayan (Pekon)	**ŋwî**	water snail (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**si**^{11}**mi**^{11}	snail (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:265
Pa-O (Southern)	**ŋwi**^{33}	snail (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:265
Pa-O (Northern)	**ŋwi**^{55}	snail (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:265

2.2.6 Insects, Arachnids, and Worms

(1) PTB *pur ⋊ *pwar BUTTERFLY

This root is very probably related to PTB ***byar** ⋊ ***p(i/u)r** FLY (v.) (§6.7.5).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pur ⋊ pwar**	butterfly	Matisoff 2003a:608

(1a) PTB *pur BUTTERFLY

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	po-**pɯr**	butterfly	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	paŋ **pur**	butterfly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:154.51
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	dʑo-**por**	butterfly	Sun 1993b
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	**pʰər** pʰi tig	butterfly	Sharma 1982
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	khoŋ-**phr**	moth	Benedict 1972:398

(1b) PTB *pwar BUTTERFLY

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**bua**^{33}pit^{33}	butterfly	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:154.52
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	po-**par**	butterfly	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	**phɑl**^{55}tɕoŋ^{35}	butterfly (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.23

(2) PTani *ru k / p ANT

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ruk~ rup**	ant	Sun 1993a:6
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	tà-**rù**	ant	Sun 1993b
	ta-**ruʔ**	ant	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**rup**-či	ant (small)	Sun 1993b
	ta-**rup**	ant	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ruk**-ka:	ant (black)	Sun 1993b
	ta **ruk**	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.24
	ta-**ruk**	ant	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **ruk**	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.51
Galo	ta **ruk**	ant	Das Gupta 1963
	'rug dam-'paatə	ant (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ruk cɨɨ	ant (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ruk cɨɨ-mee lɨɨ	ant (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ruk sɨr	ant (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ta **ruk**	ant (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ta **ruk**-'diicup	anthill (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ta **ruk**-**'ruk** pum	ant nest (n.)	GLDC 2009
Nishi [Dafla]	to **rub**	ant	LaPolla 1987:152; Benedict 1972:199
Nishing	ta **rup**	ant	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	ta pum ta **rap**	ant	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	ta-**ruk**	ant	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ruk**-ɕo	ant (large black species)	Sun 1993b
	ta-**ruk**	ant	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	tə **ruk**	ant; lac, insect	LaPolla 1987:152; Benedict 1972:199; Benedict 1972:74n230

(3) PTB * k / p / s -rwak ANT

No fewer than three prefixes are attested for this interesting root: ***k-** (e.g., WT **grog-ma**), ***s-** (e.g., Anong **sərɔ**) and ***p-** (e.g., WB **pərwak**). This velar prefix occurs in several other Lolo-Burmese animal terms: CAT, RAT, CHICKEN, TIGER, and LEECH (see *HPTB* p. 138). The sibilant prefix is a reduction of PTB ***sya-n** FLESH / MEAT / GAME ANIMAL (§1.1.1). The labial prefix is a reduction of PTB ***bəw** INSECT / SNAKE / VERMIN / BUG (§2.1.6.1).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*-**rwak**	ant	Matisoff 1983:42
	***g-rwak**	ant	French 1983:451
	***g/p-rwak**	ant	Matisoff 2003a:611
	***rwak**	ant	LaPolla 1987:152; Benedict 1972:199
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**hráʔ**	white ant	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:306a [a]
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**cçok** mæ	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tɕok** ma	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**cçɔk** ma	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.5
	tɕog mæ	ant	Sun 1985a:14
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂho**^{13}maʔ^{13}	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.2
	tʂho:^{13}ma^{55}	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.02
Tibetan (Written)	**grog** ma	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.01
	grog ma	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.1; Matisoff 1983:42; LaPolla 1987:152; Benedict 1972:199
	gróg-mo	ant	Jäschke 1881
	gróg-mɑ	ant	Jäschke 1881
	grog.ma	ant	Sun 1985c:14
Tibetan (Xiahe)	mbə **tɕaχ** ma	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.04
2.3. KIRANTI			
Lambichong	**khorok**	ant	LaPolla 1987:152; Benedict 1972:199
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	poŋ **gorok**	ant (big species)	Ebert 1997
Lohorong	**khorok**	ant	LaPolla 1987:152; Benedict 1972:199
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	bu^{33}**xɑ**^{53}	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.17
	mbu^{35}**ha**^{55}	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.16
Muya	**tʂuɑ**^{24}	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tʂuɑ**^{35}	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.15
Pumi (Taoba)	bʉ^{55}**ɣio**^{55}	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	bu^{35}dʐo^{35}ma^{55}	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.16
Xumi	tshɛ^{53}**ru**^{33}	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.17
	tshɑ^{55}**ro**^{33}	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.20
3.3. rGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**skhro**	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.12
3.3.1. rGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**kho rok**	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.11

[a] The original /hraʔ/ is corrected.

rGyalrong	**kho rok**	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.12
	korok	ant	LaPolla 1987:152
	körŏk	ant	Benedict 1972:199
Caodeng	**qrɔ**	ant	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**kha ro** Nbu	ant	Nagano 1997:15.2
rGBenzhen	**k^{h}ə-rok**	ant	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**sərɔ**	ant	Benedict 1972:199

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***k-rwak**	ant	Matisoff 1972b:183(b)
	***p-rwak**	ant	Matisoff 1972b:183(a)
	***p-rwak^{H}**	ant	Matisoff 2003a:611
	***s-rwak**	ant	Matisoff 1972b:183(c)

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**parwak**	ant	LaPolla 1987:152
	părwak	ant	Benedict 1972:199
	parwak chit	ant (generic)	Marrison 1967
	pu^{1}rwɑk hsip	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.39
	pərwak	ant	Matisoff 1983:42
	pɑ^{1}rwɑk^{4}shit^{4}	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.26

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***p-rwak^{H}**	ant	Bradley 1979b:73

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Central)	la^{55}**ɣɹua̠^{53}**	ant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0365.34
Nusu (Southern)	la^{55}**ɹu^{55}**	ant	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	lɑ^{31}**ɹuɑ̠^{35}**	ant	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	lɑ^{55}**ɹuɑ^{31}**	ant	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:157.45

Chinese comparandum

蟻 OC ***ngiɑ**, *GSR* #2x 'ant'; Schuessler 2007:567 ***ŋaiʔ**; B & S 2011: ***m-q^{h}ajʔ {m-q^{h}(r)ajʔ}**; Mand. **yǐ**.
螘 OC ***ngi̯ər**, *GSR* #548i 'ant'; Schuessler 2007:567 ***ŋəiʔ**; B & S 2011: ***m-q^{h}əjʔ** / ***m-q^{h}ajʔ {m-q^{h}(r)ajʔ}**; Mand. **yǐ**.

(4) PTk *liŋ ANT

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***liŋ**	ant	Mortensen 2012:617
Tangkhul	cha **ling**	ant (generic)	Marrison 1967
Tangkhul (Northern)	**laŋ**-za	ant	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ca-**liŋ**	ant	Brown 1837
Tusom	za-**lɯə̃**	snail	Mortensen 2012:Animals.173
Ukhrul	ca-**liŋ**	ant	Mortensen 2012

(5) PKar *dəŋ^{B} ANT

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***dəŋ^{B}**	ant	Luangthongkum 2013:2
Bwe	**do^{33}**	ant	Luangthongkum 2013:2
Red Karen	**tö**	ant	Benedict 1972:144n389
Kayah	**tɔ^{11}**	ant	Luangthongkum 2013:2
Kayan	**tə^{11}**	ant	Luangthongkum 2013:2
Kayan (Pekon)	**tə̄n**	ant (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**tə^{11}**	ant	Luangthongkum 2013:2
Pa-O	**thuŋ**	ant	Benedict 1972:144n389
	thɤ̂ŋ	ant	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**təŋ^{53}**	ant	Luangthongkum 2013:2
Pa-O (Southern)	**təŋ^{55}**	ant	Luangthongkum 2013:2
Pwo (Northern)	**thã^{11}̤**	ant	Luangthongkum 2013:2
Pwo	**thṳ̈**	ant	Benedict 1972:144n389
Pwo (Southern)	**thə̃i̯^{33}**	ant	Luangthongkum 2013:2
Karen (Sgaw)	**tö**	ant	Benedict 1972:144n389
Sgaw (Southern)	**tə^{31}**	ant	Luangthongkum 2013:2
Sgaw (Northern)	**tə^{11}̤**	ant	Luangthongkum 2013:2

(6) PTani *b{ə/a} BEDBUG

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***bə~ ba**	bedbug	Sun 1993a:24

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	ta-**bu**	bedbug	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**bɯː**	bedbug	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	ta **baa**	bedbug (n.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	tab-**bə**	bedbug	Sun 1993a
Damu	ta-**ba**	bedbug	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. DENG

Yidu	kɑ^{55}**bɑ^{55}**	bedbug (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0354.25

(7) PKar *gram^{A} BEDBUG

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***gram^{A}**	bedbug	Luangthongkum 2013:16
Kayah	**khrɛ^{11}**	bedbug	Luangthongkum 2013:16
Kayan	**caŋ^{33}**	bedbug	Luangthongkum 2013:16
Kayaw	**cɔ^{33}**	bedbug	Luangthongkum 2013:16
Pa-O (Northern)	**sam^{33}~ɕam^{33}**	bedbug	Luangthongkum 2013:16
Pa-O (Southern)	**sam^{53}~saŋ^{53}**	bedbug	Luangthongkum 2013:16
Sgaw (Northern)	**xɔ^{33}**	bedbug	Luangthongkum 2013:16
Sgaw (Southern)	**xɔ^{33}**	bedbug	Luangthongkum 2013:16

(8) PCN *tʃhak BEE

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	***tʃhak**	BEE	Bruhn 2014a:III.251
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**tshak^{2}**	bee (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.251
	o **tsak**	bee	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:9
	tsak e tchhü	honey	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**thsa**	bee	Marrison 1967

(9) PKar *k-hne^{A} BEE (Apis dorsata)

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***k-hne^{A}**	bee (Apis dorsata)	Luangthongkum 2013:18
Bwe	**(gə) nɪ^{33}**	bee (Apis dorsata)	Luangthongkum 2013:18
Karen	**gă^{31}ne̠^{55}**	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.50
Kayah	**ni^{33}**	bee (Apis dorsata)	Luangthongkum 2013:18
Kayan	**nai^{53}**	bee (Apis dorsata)	Luangthongkum 2013:18
Kayan (Pekon)	**né**	large bee (N.)	Manson 2010
	né s^{h}ɨ́	honey [lit. bee-water] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**ni^{55}**	bee (Apis dorsata)	Luangthongkum 2013:18
Pa-O (Northern)	**ne^{31}̤**	bee (Apis dorsata)	Luangthongkum 2013:18
Pa-O (Southern)	**ne^{31}̤**	bee (Apis dorsata)	Luangthongkum 2013:18
Pa-O	tə **nè**	bee, big honey-	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**ni^{35}**	bee (Apis dorsata)	Luangthongkum 2013:18
Pwo (Southern)	**ni^{53}**	bee (Apis dorsata)	Luangthongkum 2013:18
Sgaw (Northern)	**kə^{11}nɛ^{33}**	bee (Apis dorsata)	Luangthongkum 2013:18
Sgaw (Southern)	**nɛ^{55}**	bee (Apis dorsata)	Luangthongkum 2013:18

(10) PTB *{k/g}waːy ⪤ *{k/g}wa BEE (dammer)

Karenic has developed a dental suffix of this root.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***k/gwaːy**	bee (dammer)	Mortensen 2012
	***kwa ⪤ gwa ⪤ k/gwaːy**	bee (dammer)	Matisoff 2003a:598
	***kwaay**	bee	LaPolla 1987:191
	***kwaːy**	bee	Weidert 1987:237; Benedict 1972:157
	***kwaːy ⪤ gwaːy**	bee	Matisoff 1985a:076
	***kwaːy(*B)**	bee / wasp	Coblin 1986:41

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***khuay** BEE, ***khuay-waʔ** HONEYBEE, ***khuay-lul ⪤ *-hlul** BEESWAX / WASP, ***khuay-ŋal** HORNET (bee)

**Chin*	***khuay**	BEE	VanBik 2009:423
	***khuay**-lul ⪤ -hlul	BEESWAX / WASP	VanBik 2009:990
	***khuay**-waʔ	HONEYBEE	VanBik 2009:1153
	***khuay**-ŋal	HORNET (bee)	VanBik 2009:859

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**khuai**	bee	VanBik 2009:423
Sizang	**hkwē**	bee	VanBik 2009:423
Thado	**khoi ⪤ khui**-va	bee	Benedict 1972:157; LaPolla 1987:191 [a]
	khoi~**khui**(-va)	bee	Coblin 1986:41
	khoi~**khui**-va	bee	Matisoff 1985a:076
	khúay vàa	honey bee	VanBik 2009:1153
	khúay ŋál	hornet	VanBik 2009:859
	khúoy	bee	VanBik 2009:423
	khúoy-lúu	beeswax, wasp	VanBik 2009:990
Tiddim	**khuai^{2}**	bee	VanBik 2009:423; Bhaskararao 1996:829
	khuai^{2} baːl^{1}	middle portion between honey comb and beehive whic	Bhaskararao 1996:830
	khuai^{2} zu^{2}	honey	Bhaskararao 1996:834
	khuai^{2} zu^{1} luːm^{1}	honey comb	Bhaskararao 1996:833

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**k'ó̋-i**	bee	VanBik 2009:423
	k'ő-i-'ló-i	wasp	VanBik 2009:990
Cho (Mindat)	**khawi**	bee, wasp, hornet	VanBik 2009:423
	khawi m-nga	big hornet, nesting in earth	VanBik 2009:859
Khumi	**kháawy**	bee	VanBik 2009:423
	kháwy'uuy	beeswax	VanBik 2009:990

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**khûay**	bee	VanBik 2009:423
Lai (Falam)	**khǔay**	bee	VanBik 2009:423
Lai (Hakha)	**khûay vaʔ**	honey bee	VanBik 2009:1153
	khûay ŋàl	hornet (ground bees)	VanBik 2009:859
	khûay-lùl	beeswax	VanBik 2009:990
Lushai [Mizo]	**khawi** zu	honey	Marrison 1967
	khuai	bee	Marrison 1967; Bhaskararao 1996:829
	khúai ⪤ kháwi	bee, a wasp, a hornet (n.)	VanBik 2009:423
	khuai ⪤ khoi	bee	Benedict 1972:157
	khuai~ **kho**	bee	LaPolla 1987:191
	khuai~**khoi**	bee	Matisoff 1985a:076; Coblin 1986:41

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**khei**	bee	Matisoff 1985a:076
	khèi	bee, wasp	VanBik 2009:423
	khèi-pā-ngìa	hornet, the name of a species of red wasp (n.)	VanBik 2009:859
	khèi-hló	bee wax (hard)	VanBik 2009:990
	khèi-vā	honey bee (n.)	VanBik 2009:1153
	^{2}ə^{1}**khei**	bee	Weidert 1987:106
	əkha	bee	Matisoff 1985a:076; LaPolla 1987:191; Benedict 1972:157

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	ma **kwi**	bee (Khonoma dial.)	Matisoff 1985a:076
	mè **pfí**	bee (Kohima dial.)	Matisoff 1985a:076
	^{2}me^{3}**pfhi**	bee	Weidert 1987:237
Angami (Khonoma)	ma **kwi**	bee	Marrison 1967
	ma **kwi** dzü	honey	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	me **pfi**	bee	Marrison 1967
	me **pfi** dzü	honey	Marrison 1967
Chokri	mü **khwi**	bee	Marrison 1967
	mü **khwi** zü	honey	Marrison 1967
	^{2}me^{3}**fi**	bee	Weidert 1987:237

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	**khui** dui	honey	Marrison 1967
	ma **khui**	bee	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ng **khoi**	bee	Marrison 1967
	ng **khoi** dui	honey	Marrison 1967
Zeme	ng **kui** di	honey	Marrison 1967
	ng **kui** pui	bee	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***k^{h}oj** BEE

**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}oj**	bee	Mortensen 2012:424
Kachai	ʔa-**k^{h}i**	bee	Mortensen 2012:Animals.175
Tangkhul	**khui**	bee	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:076; LaPolla 1987:191; Benedict 1972:157
	khui ra	honey	Marrison 1967
	khuy	bee	Bhat 1969:85
	^{1}**khui**	bee	Weidert 1987:106
Tusom	**kxui**	bee	Mortensen 2012:Animals.176
	kxui-tsy-kuə	honey	Mortensen 2012:Animals.177

[a] [Source Note] (va 'bird') (LaPolla 1987).

Ukhrul	**k^{h}uj**	bee	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**khoi**	bee	Marrison 1967
	khoi hi	honey	Marrison 1967
	khoi ru	wax	Marrison 1967
	khoy	bee	Matisoff 1985a:076
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	*C-**guay**	bee	Matisoff 1985a:076
	*Ç-**guay**	bug / bee (B.)	French 1983:464
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Wancho	ve-**koi**	bug	Matisoff 1985a:076; Marrison 1967
2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{B}**gwai** BEE			
**TGTM*	***gway**	bee	Matisoff 1985a:076
	*^{B}**gwai**	bee	Mazaudon 1994:198
Gurung	**kwe**	bee	Matisoff 1985a:076; Benedict 1972:44n144
	kwehq	bee (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.098
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kwehq**	bee	Glover 1972:3.A.98
Gurung	**^{4}kwe**	bee	Mazaudon 1994:198
Thakali	**'kohy**	bee; honey (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.098; Hale 1973:03a.100
	koy	bee	Matisoff 1985a:076; Benedict 1972:44n144
Thakali (Marpha)	**^{52}kwe**	bee (?)	Mazaudon 1994:198
Thakali (Syang)	**^{11}goi**	bee	Mazaudon 1994:198
Thakali (Tukche)	**'kohj**	honey; bee	Hari 1971:3.A.100 10; Hari 1971:3.A.98
	^{4}koj	bee	Mazaudon 1994:198
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**gwas**	bee (sp.), large lowland type, with round nest hanging from tree (B) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kwai	bee	Weidert 1987:106
	kway	bee (sp.), small black forest bee, nests in tree hole, honey-producing (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kway	bee	Caughley 1972:3.A.98
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**kha**	bee; bee (domesticated)	Matisoff 1985a:076; LaPolla 1987:191; Benedict 1972:157
Nung	**khuɑ^{55}**tʂhɥ^{31}	sugar (honey) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0449.21
Rawang	**kwa^{53}** (mədɯŋ^{31})	bee	LaPolla 2003:415
Nung	ʂɥ^{55}**khuɑ^{55}**	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.21
Anong	ʂɥ^{55}**khuɑ^{55}**	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.44
Dulong	**kuɑ^{55}**	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**khwa^{31}** me^{53}	bee	LaPolla 1987:191
	khwɑ^{31}me^{53}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**kwài**	dammer bee	Weidert 1987:237
	kwâi	dammer bee; dammer bee (cf. na-kyai 'wasp')	Matisoff 1985a:076; Benedict 1976a
	kwai	dammer-bee	LaPolla 1987:191
	kwaì	dammer-bee	Benedict 1972:157
	kwài	dammer bee	Coblin 1986:41
7. KARENIC: *^{D}**kwat** BEE (Apis cerana)			
**Karen*	*^{D}**kwat**	bee (Apis cerana)	Luangthongkum 2013:17 [a]
Bwe	**wɛ^{33}**~θə^{55}**kwɛ^{55}**	bee (Apis cerana)	Luangthongkum 2013:17
Kayah	**wɛ^{55}**	bee (Apis cerana)	Luangthongkum 2013:17
Kayan	**hwɛʔ^{45}**	bee (Apis cerana)	Luangthongkum 2013:17
Kayan (Pekon)	p^{h}ú **ʍè**	tripe [lit. belly-bee] (N.)	Manson 2010
	ʍè	small bee (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**hwɛ^{33}**~**khwɛ^{33}**	bee (Apis cerana)	Luangthongkum 2013:17
Pa-O	tə **wát**	bee, honey-, k. of	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**wat^{21}**	bee (Apis cerana)	Luangthongkum 2013:17
Pa-O (Southern)	**wat^{21}**	bee (Apis cerana)	Luangthongkum 2013:17
Pwo (Northern)	**kwɛ^{55}**	bee (Apis cerana)	Luangthongkum 2013:17
Pwo (Southern)	**kwɛ$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	bee (Apis cerana)	Luangthongkum 2013:17
Sgaw (Northern)	**kwɛʔ^{45}**	bee (Apis cerana)	Luangthongkum 2013:17
Sgaw (Southern)	**kwɛ^{55}**	bee (Apis cerana)	Luangthongkum 2013:17

[a] [Source Note] This etymon has irregular tone change, i.e. *D has become tone A in S.Sgaw and Pwo. Perhaps, the final *-t had been dropped much earlier, then the *D tone became the *A tone.

Chinese comparandum

蜾/蠃 OC ***klwâr**, *GSR* #351c/352c 'small wasp'; Coblin 86:41 ST ***kway** > OC ***kwarx** (< ***kwarx-gwlarx**); Schuessler 2007:269 ***kôi**~***k-(r)ōjʔ**; B & S 2011: ***k^{s}or?-r^{s}or?** (redup. infixation < ***k^{s}or?**); Mand. **guǒ**.
蠃 OC ***lwâ**, *GSR* #14b 'wasp (small)'; Coblin 86:41 ***gwlarx**; Schuessler 2007:269 ***rôi?**; B & S 2011: ***r^{s}oj? {[r]^{s}o[j]ʔ}**; Mand. **luǒ**.

(11) PTB *was BEE / HONEY

This root has so far only been found in Himalayish. The usual Tibeto-Burman word for HONEY is a compound meaning "bee-juice".

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***was**	bee / honey	Matisoff 2003a:619
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***khuay-waʔ** HONEYBEE			
**Chin*	*khuay-**waʔ**	HONEYBEE	VanBik 2009:1153
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	khúay **vàa**	honey bee	VanBik 2009:1153
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	khûay vaʔ	honey bee	VanBik 2009:1153
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	khèi-vā	honey bee (n.)	VanBik 2009:1153
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**wăs**	honey (n.)	Bailey 1911
	wăs	honey	Benedict 1972:17n62
	wăs yaṅṭh	bee	Bailey 1911
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**vót**	honey-bee (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	vot < **wat**	bee	Benedict 1972:17n62
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	siŋ-**wo** < -wa	bee	Benedict 1972:17n62

(12) PTB *plyum BEE / WASP

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***plyum**	bee / wasp	Matisoff 2003a:607
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**plium**	hornet <wasp>	Allen 1975
7. KARENIC: *^{A}**phɹiN** HORNET, *^{A1}**pɹi̱um** HORNET			
**Karen*	*^{A}**phɹiN**	hornet	Luangthongkum 2013:148 [a]
Bwe	**phlu^{55}**	hornet	Luangthongkum 2013:148
Kayah	**phlɹ^{33}**	hornet	Luangthongkum 2013:148
Kayan	**phrɹ^{53}**	hornet	Luangthongkum 2013:148
Kayan (Pekon)	**p^{h}ryə́n** mən	bee hive [lit. bee-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**phrɹ^{55}**	hornet	Luangthongkum 2013:148
Pa-O	**phrùm**	wasp, paper	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**phrɹm$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	hornet	Luangthongkum 2013:148
Pa-O (Southern)	**phrɹn$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	hornet	Luangthongkum 2013:148
Pa-O	**phrɹ̀m**	wasp, paper (2)	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**phlɑ̃^{35}**	hornet	Luangthongkum 2013:148
Pwo (Southern)	**phlə̃ɹ^{53}**	hornet	Luangthongkum 2013:148
Sgaw (Northern)	**phlə^{33}**	hornet	Luangthongkum 2013:148
Sgaw (Southern)	**phlɹ^{55}**	hornet	Luangthongkum 2013:148
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	蜂	bee	Baxter & Sagart 2011:716
	蜜蜂	honey-bee	Nagano & Prins 2013:1517
Chinese (GSR #)	**1197s**	bee	Baxter & Sagart 2011:716
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**p'i̱ung/p'i̱wong**	bee / wasp / wasp-stung	Karlgren 1957:1197s-t
Chinese (Old)	**p^{h}oŋ** {p^{h}(r)oŋ}	bee	Baxter & Sagart 2011:716
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**phjowng**	bee	Baxter & Sagart 2011:716
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**feng**	bee	Sun 1985b:59
	fēng	bee	Baxter & Sagart 2011:716
	mì **fēng**	bee	Evans *et al.* 1991

[a] [Source Note] In SK *phr- has become phl-.

Chinese comparandum

Note WT **bung** 'bee' ≠ WT **sbrang** 'bee, fly' (Coblin).
蜂 OC ***p'i̱ung**, *GSR* #1197s-t 'bee'; B & S 2011: ***p^{h}oŋ {p^{h}(r)oŋ}**; Mand. **fēng**.

(13) PTB *s-kryap BUG / ANT / INSECT (LAC) / COCHINEAL

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***krep**	bug, ant	Benedict 1972:347
	***s-krep**	bug / ant / insect (lac) / cochineal	Matisoff 2003a:596
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**krép** ⩙ śə **krép**	bug, ant: bedbug	Benedict 1972:347
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***khrep**	bug, ant	Benedict 1972:347
4. NUNGIC			
Anong (Rawang)	**rap**	lac, insect	Benedict 1972:74n230
	rip	flying ant; ant (flying-)	Benedict 1972:141n382; Benedict 1972:74n230
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-grip^{L}**	bug / ant / insect (lac) / cochineal	Matisoff 2003a:591
	***ʔgrip**	lac / pine resin	Matisoff 1972b:46
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hcei'**	lac	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khrip**	lac	Matisoff 1974:355; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:74n230
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khrit**	lac	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khrit**	lac	Okell 1971
	khyip	lac	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	**xaì?**	lac (cp. Creeper)	Henderson 1986
	xàì? ní?	creeper (cp. Lac)	Henderson 1986
Maru [Langsu]	**yàp?**	lac	Okell 1971
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***C-grip^{L}**	lac / pine	Bradley 1979b:311A
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Kucong	a33 **kɯ55**	pine resin	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	a-**kɨ́**	lac	Benedict 1972:74n230
Lahu (Black)	a-**kɨ́**	kind of pine-tree; pine-torch; pitch-pine	Matisoff 1974:355; Matisoff 1972b:46
	a-**kɨ́**-cɨ̂	lac / pine resin / cochineal	Matisoff 1972b:46

Chinese comparandum

蠟 OC (***lûp**), (not in *GSR* #637) 'wax'; Schuessler 2007:342 ***rap**; B & S 2011: ***k.r^{s}ap**; Mand. **là**.
S614 汁

(14) PCN *phi BUTTERFLY

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	chu **bi**	butterfly	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	süsan-**phi** yue	butterfly	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	pho **phi**	butterfly	Marrison 1967

(15) NEIA *ywaŋ CATERPILLAR

See Matisoff 1997, Section 8.0 ("Primary and secondary laryngeal initials in Tibeto-Burman").

1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	**yung** si ma	caterpillar	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**jong·**-sip-in	caterpillar (n.)	Burling 2003:4.467-II:idx
	jong·-su	caterpillar (n.)	Burling 2003:4.467-II:idx
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**yang**	caterpillar	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**yong** wan	caterpillar	Marrison 1967

(16) PKar *siʔ^{D} CATERPILLAR

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***siʔ^{D}**	caterpillar	Luangthongkum 2013:41 [a]
Bwe	**θa^{33}**	caterpillar	Luangthongkum 2013:41
Kayah	**si^{55}**	caterpillar	Luangthongkum 2013:41
Kayan	**θiʔ^{45}**	caterpillar	Luangthongkum 2013:41

[a] [Source Note] N.Pwo has tone A which is irregular.

Kayan (Pekon)	**θɨk** wî	caterpillar, worm (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**si**^{33}	caterpillar	Luangthongkum 2013:41
Pa-O (Northern)	**sɛʔ**^{21}	caterpillar	Luangthongkum 2013:41
Pa-O	**séʔ**	caterpillar, hairy	Solnit 1989
	séʔ ló	caterpillar	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**siʔ**^{21}	caterpillar	Luangthongkum 2013:41
Pwo (Northern)	**si**^{35}	caterpillar	Luangthongkum 2013:41
Pwo (Southern)	**θaiʔ**^{21}	caterpillar	Luangthongkum 2013:41
	θeiʔ^{21}	caterpillar	Luangthongkum 2013:41
Sgaw (Southern)	**saiʔ**^{21}	caterpillar	Luangthongkum 2013:41
Sgaw (Northern)	**siʔ**^{45}	caterpillar	Luangthongkum 2013:41

(17) PKar * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{t}\\\mathbf{d}\end{matrix}$ **aʔ**^{D}**ʔbaŋ**^{A} CENTIPEDE

7. KARENIC

**Karen [Burling]*	***daʔ**^{2}**baŋ**^{3}	centipede	Luangthongkum 2013:44
**Karen*	***t/daʔ**^{D}**ʔbaŋ**^{A}	centipede	Luangthongkum 2013:44
Kayan	**ta**^{11}**baŋ**^{53}	centipede	Luangthongkum 2013:44
Pa-O (Southern)	**taʔ**^{45}**baŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	centipede	Luangthongkum 2013:44
Pa-O (Northern)	**taʔ**^{45}**baŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	centipede	Luangthongkum 2013:44
Pwo (Southern)	**daʔ**^{45}**bɔ̃**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	centipede	Luangthongkum 2013:44
Sgaw (Southern)	**da**^{11}**bɔ**^{55}	centipede	Luangthongkum 2013:44
Sgaw (Northern)	**daʔ**^{45}**bɔ**^{33}	centipede	Luangthongkum 2013:44

(18) PKar *ŋjaj^{A} CICADA

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***ŋjaj**^{A}	cicada	Luangthongkum 2013:50
Kayah	**ja**^{11}	cicada	Luangthongkum 2013:50
Kayan	**ji**^{33}	cicada	Luangthongkum 2013:50
Pa-O	tə **ŋjā**	cicada	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**ŋja**^{33}	cicada	Luangthongkum 2013:50
Pwo (Northern)	**jai**^{55}	cicada	Luangthongkum 2013:50
Pwo (Southern)	**jai**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	cicada	Luangthongkum 2013:50
Sgaw (Northern)	**je**^{33}	cicada	Luangthongkum 2013:50
	ze^{33}	cicada	Luangthongkum 2013:50

(19) PKC *thee CICADA / INSECT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***thee**	CICADA / INSECT	VanBik 2009:378

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**the**	cicada	VanBik 2009:378
Tiddim	**the**^{3}	cicada	Bhaskararao 1996:1879
	`thɛː	cicada (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	sa-**thèe**	cicada, insect	VanBik 2009:378

(20) PKar *s-ki^{A} CRICKET

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***s-ki**^{A}	cricket	Luangthongkum 2013:65 [a]
Kayah	**ki**^{33}	cricket	Luangthongkum 2013:65
Kayan	**ki**^{53}	cricket	Luangthongkum 2013:65
Kayaw	(dɛ^{11}) **ki**^{55}	cricket	Luangthongkum 2013:65
Pa-O (Northern)	**ki**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	cricket	Luangthongkum 2013:65
Pa-O (Southern)	**ki**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	cricket	Luangthongkum 2013:65
Sgaw (Northern)	**sə**^{11}**ki**^{33}	cricket	Luangthongkum 2013:65
Sgaw (Southern)	**tə**^{11}**ki**^{55}	cricket	Luangthongkum 2013:65

[a] [Source Note] ki^{53} in Kayan is a kind of grub.

(21) PKC *tsaŋ-tsel EARTHWORM

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tsaŋ**-tsel	EARTHWORM	VanBik 2009:535

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**tang** tel	earth worm, angle worm	VanBik 2009:535
Sizang	**tang** teal	earth worm	VanBik 2009:535
Tiddim	**tang**^{1} tel^{1}	earthworm	VanBik 2009:535

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tsâŋ**-tsêl	earth worm	VanBik 2009:535
Lai (Falam)	**tsáŋ**-tsèl	earth worm	VanBik 2009:535

(22) PTani * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{t}\\\mathbf{d}\end{matrix}$ **ol EARTHWORM**

This root resembles the second element of PKC ***tsaŋ-tsel*** EARTHWORM (§2.2.6), but we are keeping it separate for now. See also PTB ***zril*** WORM (§2.2.6) for another wormy root with final ***-l***.

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***tol**~**dol**	earthworm	Sun 1993a:119

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**dor**-gi	earthworm; worm	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**tur**	earthworm	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **tor**	earthworm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0363.24
	ta-**tor**	earthworm	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **tor**	earthworm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:166.51
Galo	**dor** ka	earth-worm	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **dor:**	earth-worm	Das Gupta 1963
	'dor kaa	earthworm (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'dor kaa-laabuu	earthworm (footlong) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ta **dor**	earthworm (n.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**dor**-kaŋ	earthworm	Sun 1993a
Damu	ta-**tor**	earthworm	Sun 1993b

(23) PKar *jɛʔ^{D} EARTHWORM

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***jɛʔ**^{D}	earthworm	Luangthongkum 2013:96
Kayah	**ja**^{33}	earthworm	Luangthongkum 2013:96
Kayan	**jɛʔ**^{21}	earthworm	Luangthongkum 2013:96
Kayaw	**je**^{33}	earthworm	Luangthongkum 2013:96
Pa-O (Southern)	**jɛʔ**^{45}	earthworm	Luangthongkum 2013:96
Pa-O (Northern)	**jɛʔ**^{45}	earthworm	Luangthongkum 2013:96

(24) PTB *s-ləy FLEA

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-liy**	flea	Weidert 1987:246; LaPolla 1987:141; Benedict 1972:440
	***s-ləy**	flea	Weidert 1987:246; Matisoff 2003a:600

1.1.1. TANI: ***fi** FLEA

**Tani*	***fi**	flea	Sun 1993a:155

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	ta-**xi**	flea	Sun 1993a
Bengni	ta-**fi**	flea	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	te-**i**	flea	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	te **i**	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.24
Bokar Lhoba	te **i**	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.51

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**i**-po	flea	Sun 1993a
Damu	te-**i**	flea	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**i**-po	flea	LaPolla 1987:141; Benedict 1972:440

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ʔuy-hlii** FLEA

**Chin*	***ʔuy-hlii**	FLEA	VanBik 2009:1110

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**wī lī**	flea	VanBik 2009:1110
Thado	**ʔúy-hlíi**	flea	VanBik 2009:1110
Tiddim	**ui**^{1} **li**^{2}	flea	VanBik 2009:1110

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**ú˝- î-lí˝**	louse (of dog)	VanBik 2009:1110
Khumi	**uy soeé**	flea	VanBik 2009:1110

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ʔûy-hlĭi**	flea	VanBik 2009:1110
Lushai [Mizo]	**ui hlí**	flea (n.)	VanBik 2009:1110
	ui-hli	flea	Benedict 1972:440

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**í hlì**	flea (n.)	VanBik 2009:1110

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-hləj(ʔ)** FLEA

**Central Naga*	***a-hləj(ʔ)**	FLEA	Bruhn 2014a:III.115
**Ao*	***a-hləj**	FLEA	Bruhn 2014a:II.331
Ao (Chungli)	**a**^{1}**-zə**^{2}puŋ^{3}	flea (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.331
	ra **zü** bong	flea	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ali**	flea	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**[a] -hli**	flea (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	te^{1}**ʒəʔ**^{1}	flea (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.115
	te **zhü**	flea	Murry *et al.* 1978:45
	te **zü**	flea	Marrison 1967
	^{1}de^{1}**žɯ**	flea	Weidert 1987:246
Sangtam	a **shü** ti	flea	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	^{2}te ^{3}**lhie**	flea	Weidert 1987:246

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	tśik **li**	flea	Benedict 1972:440

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	khə **ləwi** ≍ khə **lai**	flea	Benedict 1972:440

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**ldži**-ba ≍ **dži**-ba	flea	Benedict 1972:440

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	ntsho^{55}**ɬo**^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.18
Guiqiong	**ʒə**^{35}wu^{33}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.16
	zɻ^{55}wu^{53}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.17
Lyuzu	**ɬe**^{33}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.18
Muya	**rə**^{33}tshi^{53}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.15
Muya [Minyak]	**zɯ**^{35}tshi^{53}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.15
Namuyi	nthuo^{33}**zɻ**^{31}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ɬɛi**^{55}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ɬa**^{55}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ɬa**^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɬe**^{53}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.10
Qiang (Taoping)	tsu^{55}**lu**^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**sɬɯ**^{13}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɬai**^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɬlɯ**^{13}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.13
Xumi	**le**^{55}mi^{33}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.20

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**zʁu**	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ʁɯu**	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.14

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**səli**	flea	Benedict 1972:440

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-liy**^{2} FLEA

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-liy**^{2}	flea	Matisoff 1978a:94

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	khuɑ^{31}**lɑi**^{31}	flea	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**l̥i**^{31}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.28
	l̥i^{31}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.41
Achang (Luxi)	khui^{55}**lɯ**^{55}	flea	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	fu^{31}**lai**^{31}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.29
Bola (Luxi)	khɜ̆^{31}**l̪ui**^{35}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.32

[a] The first element in these Kuki-Chin forms means DOG, from PTB ***d-kʷəy-n*** DOG (§2.1.11).

Burmese (Rangoon)	**łe**^{55}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**łe**^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.40
Burmese (Written)	**hle**^{3}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.26
	hle^{3}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.39
	hwè-**hlè**	flea	Benedict 1972:440
	khwè-**hlè**	flea	Weidert 1987:246
	khwê-**hlê**	flea; flea (cf. khwê 'dog')	Matisoff 1978a:94; Matisoff 1974:254; Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	khă^{31}**l̲a**^{35}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.31
Leqi (Luxi)	khuk^{55}**l̲ei**^{55}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.33
Maru [Langsu]	khă^{31}**l̲a**^{35}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.43
	kəla	flea	Benedict 1972:440
Atsi [Zaiwa]	khĕ^{55}**l̲ai**^{21}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.30
	khĕ^{55}**l̲ai**^{21}; va?^{21}khĕ^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.42
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central)	**l̥i**^{55}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.34
Nusu (Southern)	**łi**^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**łi**^{55}ɑ^{31}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.45
Nusu (Northern)	**łi**^{55}ɑ^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
7. KARENIC: *__kli__^{A} ≍ *__kliʔ__^{D} FLEA			[a]
**Karen*	*__kli__^{A}/__kliʔ__^{D}	flea	Luangthongkum 2013:119 [b]
Bwe	**kle**^{33}	flea	Luangthongkum 2013:119
Kayah	**kla**^{55}	flea	Luangthongkum 2013:119
Kayan	**khliʔ**^{45}	flea	Luangthongkum 2013:119
Kayaw	**kle**^{33}	flea	Luangthongkum 2013:119
Pa-O (Northern)	**khli**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	flea	Luangthongkum 2013:119
Pwo (Northern)	**khlei**^{35}	flea	Luangthongkum 2013:119
Pwo (Southern)	**khlei**^{53}	flea	Luangthongkum 2013:119
Sgaw (Northern)	**kliʔ**^{45}	flea	Luangthongkum 2013:119
	kli^{55}	flea	Luangthongkum 2013:119
Sgaw (Southern)	**kli**^{55}	flea	Luangthongkum 2013:119

[a] The initial velar in the Karenic forms seems to be a reduction of the general root PTB *__d-kʷəy-n__ DOG (§2.1.11), even though the modern Karenic word for DOG has acquired a different initial, *__thwi__^{B}.

[b] [Source Note] S.Pa-O, Pwo and some varieties of Sgaw have tone A, while CK has tone D.

(25) PTB *m-tow FLY (n.)

This root seems to occur mostly in Kuki-Chin, with a possible Naga cognate.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*__m-tow__	fly (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:615
1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
**Kuki-Naga*	*__m-tow__	fly (n.)	Benedict 1972:121n332; Benedict 1972:192n491
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *__thaw__ FLY (n.) / MOSQUITO / MAGGOT			
**Chin*	*__thaw__	FLY / MOSQUITO / MAGGOT (n.)	VanBik 2009:386
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**thou**	maggot	VanBik 2009:386
Thado	**thou**	fly (n.)	Benedict 1972:121n332
	thòw kâaŋ	mosquito	VanBik 2009:386
Tiddim	**thou**^{3} ka:ng^{1}	mosquito	VanBik 2009:386; Bhaskararao 1996:1890
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khami (Northern)	pə **thau**	fly (n.)	Benedict 1972:121n332
Khami (Southern)	mə **thaut**	fly (n.)	Benedict 1972:121n332
Khumi	**pthaw**	fly	VanBik 2009:386
	p^{ə}**t**^{h}**a**^{u}	fly (n.)	So-Hartmann 1988:72
Wakung	**m**^{ə}**t**^{h}**a**^{u}	fly (n.)	So-Hartmann 1988:72
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thăw**	flies, mosquito	VanBik 2009:386
Lai (Falam)	**thàw**	flies	VanBik 2009:386
Lushai [Mizo]	**tho**	fly	Marrison 1967
	thò	fly, a house fly (n.)	VanBik 2009:386
	tho	fly	Bhaskararao 1996:1889
	thòu	fly	Löffler 1985
	thou	fly (n.)	Benedict 1972:121n332
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**mathyu** < **mathou**	fly	Löffler 1985
	mə **theu**-pa	fly (n.)	Benedict 1972:121n332
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Sema [Sumi]	ə **muthu**	fly (n.)	Benedict 1972:121n332

(26) PTani *jiŋ FLY (n.)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	*__jiŋ__	fly (n.)	Sun 1993a:160
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	ta-**jiŋ**	fly (n.)	Sun 1993a
	tā-**jiŋ**	fly	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **jiŋ**	fly (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0358.24
	ta-**jiŋ**	fly (n.)	Sun 1993a
	tə-**jiŋ**	fly (green)	Sun 1993b
Galo	ta **yɨ̄**	fly (nce.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **yɨ̄**-ta maa	fly; housefly (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	yɨ̄ ji	garbage fly (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'yɨ̄ pii	fly (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'yɨ̄ pə-roodoo	fly (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	ta **riŋ**	fly (n.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**iŋ**	fly (n.)	Sun 1993a

(27) PTB *s-b-$\frac{\text{r}}{\text{y}}$aŋ FLY (n.) / BEE

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	*__yəng__	fly (n.)	Coblin 1986:82
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*__(s-)brəŋ__	fly / bee	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:892a
	*__s-braŋ__	fly / bee (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:585
	*__yang__ (*A)	fly (n.)	Coblin 1986:82
	*__yaŋ__	fly, bee	Benedict 1972:492
	*__yɑŋ__	fly	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:892a
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	ta-**jaŋ**	wasp	Sun 1993b
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Tangsa (Moshang)	**yan**	bee	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	wăs **yaṅṭh**	bee	Bailey 1911
	yăṅ	fly / bee (n.)	Bailey 1911
	yăng	bee, fly	Coblin 1986:82
	yaṅṭh	fly / bee (n.)	Bailey 1911
	yaṅṭh	fly / bee	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	yəma **yaŋ** za	bee	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**waŋ** mæ	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hbaŋ** ma	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hwaŋ** htsə	honey	Sun 1985a:368
	hwaŋ-mæ	bee	Sun 1985a:59
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'syi:rangq** + 'khwāq	honey (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.100
	'syi:rāngq + amu	bee (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.098
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**roŋ**^{55}bu^{53}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.3
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**širangq**	bee (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.098
Tibetan (Written)	**sbrang**.ma	bee	Sun 1985c:59
	sbrang.rtsi	honey	Sun 1985c:368
	sbraṅ ma	bee; fly	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	sbran rtsi	honey	Marrison 1967
	sbraŋ	fly, bee	Benedict 1972:176n469
	sbraŋ bu	fly (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:164.1
	sbraŋ nag	fly (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0358.01
	sbraŋ nor bu	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.1
	sbraŋ fibu	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.01
	sbráŋ-bu	fly / similar insects w / o sting	Jäschke 1881
	sbráŋ-mɑ	fly / bee	Jäschke 1881
	šɑ-**sbráŋ**	fly (flesh) / blue-bottle-fly	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**woŋ** ma	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.04
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	sum-**bryoŋ**	fly	Benedict 1972:176n469
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	tɕi^{31}**ʑɑŋ**^{31}	honeybee	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	pja^{51}**ʑaŋ**^{51}	honeybee	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	tʂɔ^{31}**jaŋ**^{31}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.29
Burmese (Written)	**yang**	fly, insect	Coblin 1986:82
	yankoṅ	fly	Marrison 1967
	yaŋ	fly, insect; fly, bee	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:183n482
Langsu (Luxi)	**jɔ̃**^{31}khauŋ^{35}	fly (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0358.31
	pjɔ̆^{35}**jɔ̃**^{31}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**jaŋ**^{31}khuŋ^{55}	fly (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0358.33
	pjĭ^{33}**jaŋ**^{33}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.33
Marma	**yaŋ**	fly (insect)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:308
Maru [Langsu]	**jɔ̃**^{31}khauŋ^{35}	fly (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:164.43
	pjɔ̆^{35}**jɔ̃**^{31}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**jaŋ**^{51}khuŋ^{21}	fly (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0358.30
	jaŋ^{51}khuŋ^{21}	fly (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:164.42
	pjŏ^{21}**jaŋ**^{21}	bee (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.30
	pjŏ^{21}**jaŋ**^{21}	honeybee	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:153.42
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Southern)	**pɹ̄**^{53}	fly (n.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**pɹ̄**^{53}	fly (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0358.34
Nusu (Northern)	**pɹ̄**^{55}	fly (n.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**pˈɹ̄**^{53}	fly (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:164.45

Chinese comparandum

蠅 OC *__diə̯ng__, *GSR* #892a 'fly (n.)'; Coblin 86:82 *__rəng__; B & S 2011: *__m.rəŋ__; Mand. **yíng**.
𧑐 OC *__măng__, *GSR* #742*s* 'horsefly'; B & S 2011: *__mˤraŋ__; Mand. **méng**.

(28) PKC *klip GADFLY

This root bears a phonological resemblance to PTB *__s-lyap__ LIGHTNING / FLASH / GLITTER / BUTTERFLY (§3.2.1), although the semantics present problems.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	*__klip__	GADFLY	VanBik 2009:1261
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**síel** hlìp	gadfly	VanBik 2009:1261
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tlip**	gadfly	VanBik 2009:1261
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlìp**	horse-fly, a gadfly (n.)	VanBik 2009:1261

(29) PTani *jup GADFLY

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	*__jup__	gadfly	Sun 1993a:171
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	ta-**jup**	gadfly	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**jup**	gadfly	Sun 1993a

(30) PTani *mit GNAT

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	*__mit__	gnat	Sun 1993a:176
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	ta-**miʔ**	gnat	Sun 1993a
	ta-**miʔ**	fly (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**ñit**	gnat; midge	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **mit**	fly (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0358.24
	ta-**mit**	gnat	Sun 1993a
	ta-**mit**	fly (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **mit**	fly (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:164.51
Miri, Hill	te **mik**	fly	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**mik** rhyme!	gnat	Sun 1993a

(31) PTani *kom GRASSHOPPER

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***kom**	grasshopper	Sun 1993a:181
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**k**(o-)wa	grasshopper	Sun 1993b
	ko-ha	grasshopper	Sun 1993b
	ko-waʔ	grasshopper	Sun 1993a
Bengni	ta-**kam**	grasshopper	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ta-**kam** paː-rju	mantis	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **kom**	locust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0368.24
	ta-**kom**	grasshopper; mole cricket	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Galo	ta **kom**	grasshopper (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **kom**-dummaa	grasshopper (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **kom**-yamə	insect (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**kom** ci	grasshopper (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**kom** lee	grasshopper (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**kom**	grasshopper	Sun 1993a
Damu	ta-**kom**	grasshopper	Sun 1993b
Milang	ta-**kom**	grasshopper	Tayeng 1976
	ta-**kom**-ta-ruk	insect	Tayeng 1976

(32) PKar *ʔdwɛ^{B} GRASSHOPPER

7. Karenic				
**Karen*	***ʔdwɛ^{B}**	grasshopper	Luangthongkum 2013:132	[a]
Bwe	**ɗɛ^{33}**	grasshopper	Luangthongkum 2013:132	
Kayan	**dwɛ^{11}**	grasshopper	Luangthongkum 2013:132	
Kayaw	**dɛ^{11}**	grasshopper	Luangthongkum 2013:132	
Pa-O (Southern)	**dwɛ^{33}**	grasshopper	Luangthongkum 2013:132	
Pa-O (Northern)	**dwɛ^{55}**	grasshopper	Luangthongkum 2013:132	
Pwo (Northern)	**thwɛ^{11}**	grasshopper	Luangthongkum 2013:132	
Pwo (Southern)	**thwe^{33}**	grasshopper	Luangthongkum 2013:132	
Sgaw (Northern)	**dwɛ$^{31\sim}$**	grasshopper	Luangthongkum 2013:132	
Sgaw (Southern)	**dwɛ^{45,}**	grasshopper	Luangthongkum 2013:132	

[a] [Source Note] The initial th- and tone B3 in Pwo suggest a plain voiced *d- in PK. Probably, *ɗ- in PK had become *d- in Pwo and then *d- became th-.

(33) PTB *kaw GRASSHOPPER / LOCUST

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kaːw**	grasshopper	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:595
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***khaaw** GRASSHOPPER			
**Chin*	***khaaw**	GRASSHOPPER	VanBik 2009:445
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	á **khuu**	locust, grasshopper (n.)	VanBik 2009:445
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**khăaw**-bok	grasshopper	VanBik 2009:445
Lushai [Mizo]	mím **khàu**	name of an edible grasshopper (n.)	VanBik 2009:445
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	tʃhaŋ **kú**	grasshopper (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**kho^{3}**moŋ^{3}	grasshopper (common term) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ko mung	locust	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	khing **khyu**	locust; grasshopper	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	tang **kho**	grasshopper; locust	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	te **ku**	grasshopper	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**ku** prie	locust	Marrison 1967
	te **ku**	grasshopper	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**ko**	locust; grasshopper	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Rengma	se **khu**	grasshopper	Marrison 1967
	tse **khvu**	locust	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	thla **ku**	locust	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	n-**kou**	locust; grasshopper	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Zeme	ting **kau**	locust; grasshopper	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***k^{h}aw** GRASSHOPPER			
**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}aw**	grasshopper	Mortensen 2012:390
Huishu	ʔa-kuŋ-**kow**	grasshopper	Mortensen 2012:Animals.185
Tangkhul	**khao**	locust; grasshopper	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	kháw	grasshopper	Bhat 1969:90
Tusom	**kxɯ**	grasshopper	Mortensen 2012:Animals.185
	kxɯ-prõ	grasshopper, giant	Mortensen 2012:Animals.186
Ukhrul	**k^{h}aw**	grasshopper	Mortensen 2012

(34) PTani *ŋut^{2} HONEY BEE

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***ŋut^{2}**	honey bee	Sun 1993a:204
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**ŋu** a-ru	honeycomb	Sun 1993b
	ta-**ŋu**	honey bee; bee, wild	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	tà-**ŋú**	honeybee	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ŋu**-ña:	honey bee	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	du-**ŋu**	honey	Sun 1993b
	tu **ŋu**	bee (Nanim.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0367.24
	tu-**ŋu**	honey bee	Sun 1993a
	tu **ŋ**	bee, honey bee	Sun 1993b
Nishing	tu **ngu**	bee	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	ta **ŋu**	bee	Das Gupta 1983
	ta **ŋu** gola	honey	Das Gupta 1983
	ta **ŋu** ti	honey	Das Gupta 1983
	ŋu-rip	wax	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**ŋut**	honey bee	Sun 1993a
Damu	ta-**ŋyː**	honey	Sun 1993b

(35) PTani *gaŋ HORNET

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***gaŋ**	hornet	Sun 1993a:207
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	ta-**gaː**	hornet; wasp (large)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta-**gaŋ**	hornet	Sun 1993b
	ta-**gaː**	hornet	Sun 1993a
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**gaŋ**	hornet	Sun 1993a

(36) PTk *k^{h}u INSECT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}u**	insect	Mortensen 2012:369
Huishu	ʔa-**k^{h}u**-ke	insect / bug / vermin	Mortensen 2012:Animals.170
Kachai	ʔa-**k^{h}ɐ**	insect / bug / vermin	Mortensen 2012:Animals.169
Ukhrul	ʔa-**ku**	insect / bug / vermin	Mortensen 2012

(37) PKar *gra^{B} INSECT

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***gra^{B}**	insect	Luangthongkum 2013:153
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***xà**	insect (gen.)	Jones 1961:8
**Karen (Pwo)*	***xá’**	insect (gen.)	Jones 1961:8
**Karen (TP)*	***xá’**	insect (gen.)	Jones 1961:8
**Karen [Burling]*	***xa^{1}**	insect	Luangthongkum 2013:153
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***xrà**	insect (gen.)	Jones 1961:8
**Karen*	***xrá’**	insect (gen.)	Jones 1961:8
Kayah	**khre^{11}**	insect	Luangthongkum 2013:153
Kayan	**ca^{11}**	insect	Luangthongkum 2013:153
Kayaw	**ca^{11}**	insect	Luangthongkum 2013:153
Pa-O	**sâ**	insect (gen.)	Jones 1961:8
Pa-O (Northern)	**sa^{53}**	insect	Luangthongkum 2013:153
Pa-O	thā **sâ**	animal? insect?	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**ɕa^{55}**	insect	Luangthongkum 2013:153
Palaychi	tà **krà**	insect (gen.)	Jones 1961:8
Pwo (Northern)	**xa$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	insect	Luangthongkum 2013:153
Pwo (Southern)	**xa^{33}**	insect	Luangthongkum 2013:153
Pwo (Bassein)	**xáʔ**	insect (gen.)	Jones 1961:8
Pwo (Moulmein)	**xá**	insect (gen.)	Jones 1961:8
Sgaw (Southern)	**xa^{31}**	insect	Luangthongkum 2013:153
Sgaw (Northern)	**xa$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	insect	Luangthongkum 2013:153
Sgaw (Bassein)	**xà**	insect (gen.)	Jones 1961:8
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**xà**	insect (gen.)	Jones 1961:8

(38) PTB *dyuŋ INSECT / BUG

This root has so far only been discovered in Bodo-Garo and Chinese.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dyuŋ**	insect / bug	Matisoff 2003a:587
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***dyuŋ**	insect	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1009c; Benedict 1972:169n452; Benedict 1972:34n109
	***joʔŋ**	worm	Burling 1959:445
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**dyung**	insect	Coblin 1986:98
	yung	insect	Marrison 1967; Coblin 1986:98
	yung maidi	worm	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**yoŋ**	bug, worm	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**dźong**	insect	Coblin 1986:98
	dźoŋ	insect	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1009c; Benedict 1972:182n479
Garo (Bangladesh)	**jong•**-	bug; insect; worm (n.)	Burling 2003:4.461-II:idx
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d‘i̯ôŋ / d‘i̯uŋ**	insect	Benedict 1972:34n109
	d‘i̯ôŋ/d̂‘i̯uŋ	insect	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1009c
	d’i̯ông/d̂i̯ung	insect;reptile / creature (scaly);animal (generally)	Karlgren 1957:1009c
Chinese (Old)	**drjəngw**	insect	Coblin 1986:98
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**d̡jung**	insect, bug	Coblin 1986:98

Chinese comparandum

蟲/虫 OC ***d’i̯ông**, *GSR* #1009c ‘insect, reptile’; Mand. **chóng**.

(39) PTB *k-r-p^{w}at LEECH

Lepcha has an interesting doublet: **fot** < ***wat** ≍ **rot** < ***r-wat**.

The WB form contains the “Lolo-Burmese velar animal prefix” (see *HPTB* §4.4.4(3)).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***k-r-p^{w}at**	leech	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:608
	***r-pat**	leech	LaPolla 1987:69; Benedict 1972:45
	***r-pat ≍ p-wat ≍ k-r-wat**	leech	Matisoff 1985a:019
1.1. “North Assam”			
Sulung [Puroik]	kə^{33}**vat^{53}**	leech (mountain)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:167.52
1.1.1. Tani: ***pat^{1}** LEECH (land)			
**Tani*	***pat^{1}**	leech (land)	Sun 1993a:233
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	ta-**pe**	leech	Sun 1993b
	ta-**peʔ**	leech (land); leech	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	tɯ-**pé**	leech	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**pit**	leech (land); leech	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **pet**	leech (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.24
	ta-**pet**	leech (land); leech	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**pet** tak	leech (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **pek**	leech	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**pat**	leech (land)	Sun 1993a
Milang	ta-**pat**	leech	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ka: **pey**	leech	NEFA (India) 1963
	kɑ^{31}**pe^{53}**	leech (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.22

	kɑ^{31}**pe**^{53}	leech (mountain)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.49
Kaman [Miju]	tɯ^{31}**wɑt**^{53}	leech (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.23
	tɯ^{31}**wɑt**^{53}	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.48
Idu	kɑ^{31}**pi**^{53}	leech (mountain)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.50
Yidu	kɑ^{31}**pi**^{53}	leech (mountain, arid area) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***wat** ⋉ ***wot** ⋉ ***wut** LEECH (land)

**Chin*	***wat** ⋉ **wot** ⋉ **wut**	LEECH (land)	VanBik 2009:1158

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**vot**	leech	VanBik 2009:1158
Thado	**vòt**	leech	VanBik 2009:1158
	vɔ́t	leech	Thirumalai 1972:47

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**a wot**	leech	VanBik 2009:1158
Khumi	**tvaw**	land leech	VanBik 2009:1158

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	sàŋ-**vùt**	land leech	VanBik 2009:1158
Lai (Hakha)	tsǎaŋ-**vut** ⋉ **vat**	land leech	VanBik 2009:1158
Lushai [Mizo]	vàng **vàt**	land leech (n.)	VanBik 2009:1158
	vang **vat**	leech	Marrison 1967
	vàt	land-leech	Löffler 1985
	vaŋ-**vat**	leech	Matisoff 1985a:019; LaPolla 1987:69; Benedict 1972:45
Paangkhua	ra **vòt**	land-leech	Löffler 1985
Rangkhol	er **vot**	leech	Matisoff 1985a:019; Benedict 1972:45

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	chā-**vàw**	land leech (n.)	VanBik 2009:1158

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**vaʔ**^{2}	leech (land) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ē **vá**	leech	Acharya 1975

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	**reva**	leech	LaPolla 1987:69; Benedict 1972:45
Angami (Khonoma)	**reva**	leech	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**reva**	leech	Marrison 1967
Mao	e **ve**	leech	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **wü**	leech	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	m-**bât**	leech (land)(1)	Weidert 1987:698
	ta **bad**	leech	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	m **büt**	leech	Marrison 1967
	n-**bát**	leech (land)(1)	Weidert 1987:698
Zeme	tim **bat**	leech	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***hwut** LEECH

**Tangkhulic*	***hwut**	leech	Mortensen 2012:548
Tusom	me-**he**	leech	Mortensen 2012
Ukhrul	mə-**hut**	leech	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	tin **pha**	leech	Marrison 1967

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **phat**	leech	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:019
	iŋ **phat**	leech	Benedict 1972:121n332

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	lu **wád**	leech	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	ru-**wa**	leech	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	wa-**vot**~sa-**vot**	leech	Matisoff 1985a:019
	^{1}sʌ-**vʌt**	leech (land)(1)	Weidert 1987:698
Tangsa (Moshang)	ta **wat**	leech	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:019

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**wat**	leech	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:019
Wancho	**vat**	leech	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:019

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**wawt**	leech	Marrison 1967
	wòt	leech	Matisoff 1985a:019; Matisoff 1974:393
	wot	leech	Benedict 1972:24n78
	wot^{31}	leech (water) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.19
	wot^{31}pjin^{31}	leech	LIU Lu, ed. 1984

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	**pat**^{55}pa^{55}	leech (land)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	pat pa	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**pat**-pa	leech (land)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**pʌʔ**^{53}	leech (mountain)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.6
Motuo Menba	**pat** pa	leech (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.07

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**pad** pa	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.1
	pad-ma	leech	Matisoff 1985a:019
	pad-pa	leech	LaPolla 1987:69
	srin-bu **pad**-ma	leech	Benedict 1972:45
	srin-bu **pád**-mɑ	leech	Jäschke 1881
	srín-bu **pád**-mɑ	leech	Jäschke 1881

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**fot**	leech	LaPolla 1987:69
	rot	leech	Benedict 1972:45

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang (Sahu)	'ti **pit**	leech, land; leech, water (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.076; Hale 1973:03a.077
	'ti **pit**	leech (land)(1); land leech; water leech	Weidert 1987:698; Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.76; Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.77
	tang **pet**	leech, tree (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.077
	taŋ **pet**	tree leech	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.77
Thakali	kyu ti **pi**	leech, water (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.077
	ti **pi**	leech, land (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.076
Thakali (Tukche)	kju ti **pi**	leech (water)	Hari 1971:3.A.77
	ti **pi**	leech (land)	Hari 1971:3.A.76

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	lak **phet**	leech	Ebert 1997
Limbu	laːk **phEt**	leech (land)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**pat** iː	leech, land (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.076
Magar	lā **wāt**	leech, land (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.076
	ləwat	leech	LaPolla 1987:69; Benedict 1972:45

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**bu**^{55}sɿ^{55}	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.17
Lyuzu	**nbi**^{35}	leech (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.18
Muya	tsæ^{55}**mbø**^{55}	leech (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.15
Namuyi	**mbi**^{33}	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.19
Pumi (Jiulong)	**phɛ**^{35}	leech (water) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.10
Pumi (Taoba)	**phiɛ**^{35}	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**bu** lu	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.8
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**phã**^{55}	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.16
Xumi	**bɛ**^{53}	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.20
	mbi^{33}	leech (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.17

3.3.1. rGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	smon **mbɐ** kə lu	leech (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.11
rGyalrong	smon **mbɐ** kə lu	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.12

4. NUNGIC

Rawang	də **phat**	leech	LaPolla 2003:411
Trung [Dulong]	mɯ^{31}**pǎt**^{55}	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	mɯ^{31} **pat**^{55}	leech	LaPolla 1987:69

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***k-r-wat**^{L} LEECH

**Lolo-Burmese*	***k-r-wat**	leech	Matisoff 1972b:167

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**krwat**	leech	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:019; Matisoff 1974:393
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**krwat**	leech	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**krwat**	leech	Okell 1971; LaPolla 1987:69; Benedict 1972:107n301
Marma	**krwaiʔ**	mountain (land) leech	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:310c
Maru [Langsu]	**v'é**	leech	Okell 1971
	y'úp-**v'é'**	leech	Okell 1971

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**vi̠**^{2}	leech	CHEN Kang 1986a:96.
Nasu	**vi̠**^{55}	leech	CHEN Kang 1986a:96.
Neisu	**vi**^{13}	leech	CHEN Kang 1986a:96.
Nesu	**vi̠**^{2}	leech	CHEN Kang 1986a:96.
Yi (Dafang)	**ve**^{13}	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.22
Yi (Mile)	sʌ^{21}**vi̠**^{21}	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ʌ^{21}**vi̠**^{21}	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.26
Yi (Nanhua)	ʑi^{33}**ve̠**^{21}	leech (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.37
	ʑi^{33}**ve̠**^{21}	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.24
Yi (Weishan)	ɣɯ^{55}**vɪ̠**^{21}	leech (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.36
Yi (Wuding)	bu^{33}**vi̠**^{55}	leech (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.38

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**vi̠**^{2}	leech	CHEN Kang 1986a:96.
Kucong	**vi31**	leech	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**vèʔ**	leech	LaPolla 1987:69; Benedict 1972:45
Lahu (Lancang)	**ve**^{21}	leech (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.43
Lahu (Black)	**ve**^{21}	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.33
	vèʔ	leech	Matisoff 1985a:019; Matisoff 1974:393; Matisoff 1972b:167
Lahu (Yellow)	**ve**^{5}	leech	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**vé6**	leech	Matisoff 1972b:167
Lisu (Northern)	**veʔ**^{21}	leech (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ve**^{41}	leech	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:167.27
Lisu (Central)	**vé**^{6}	leech	Fraser 1922
Yi (Sani)	sz̩^{11}**vɪ**^{2}	leech (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0364.39
Sani [Nyi]	**vɪ**^{2}	leech	CHEN Kang 1986a:96.

7. KARENIC: ***s-waʔ**^{D} LEECH (land)

**Karen*	***s-waʔ**^{D}	leech (land∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:159	[a]
**Karen [Burling]*	***waʔ**^{1}	leech (land∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:159	
Kayah	**swa**^{55}	leech (land∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:159	
Kayan	**θuʔ**^{45}	leech (land∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:159	
Kayaw	**su**^{33}	leech (land∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:159	
Pa-O	tə **wáʔ**	leech, land	Solnit 1989	
	tə **waʔ**	leech (land-)	Benedict 1972:132n356	
Pa-O (Southern)	**waʔ**^{21}	leech (land∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:159	
Pa-O (Northern)	**waʔ**^{21}	leech (land∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:159	
Pwo (Northern)	**waʔ**^{21}	leech (land∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:159	
Pwo (Southern)	**waʔ**^{45}	leech (land∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:159	
Pwo	**waʔ** ∼ θə waʔ	leech (land-)	Benedict 1972:132n356	
Sgaw (Northern)	**suʔ**^{45}	leech (land∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:159	
Sgaw (Southern)	**sɔuʔ**^{21}	leech (land∼)	Luangthongkum 2013:159	

[a] [Source Note] NK, CK and Sgaw (SK) have tone D12; however, it is D3 in both N.Pwo and S.Pwo.

(40) PTB *m-liːt LEECH (water-, horse-)

This root is totally distinct from PTB ***k-r-p**^{w}**at** LEECH (§2.2.6).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**m-)liːt**	water leech; leech (water-)(1)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:413; Weidert 1987:699; Benedict 1972:396
	***m-liːt**	horse-leech	Matisoff 2003a:600

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***liit** ⋉ ***hliit** LEECH (water)

**Chin*	***liit** ⋉ **hliit**	LEECH (water)	VanBik 2009:1029

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**liit**	leech, herudin	VanBik 2009:1029
Tiddim	**liːt**^{1}	leech	VanBik 2009:1029; Bhaskararao 1996:968

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**m-lit**	water leech	VanBik 2009:1029
Khumi	**tuypluee**	water leech	VanBik 2009:1029

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**liit**	water leech	VanBik 2009:1029
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlîit**	water leech (n.)	VanBik 2009:1029
	hliːt	leech; water leech	Bhaskararao 1996:968; Benedict 1972:396

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***m-lVt** LEECH (water)

**Central Naga*	***m-lVt**	LEECH (WATER)	Bruhn 2014a:III.193
**Ao*	***m-lət**	LEECH (WATER)	Bruhn 2014a:II.368
Ao (Chungli)	**melet**	horse-leech	Benedict 1972:396
	mə^{3}**lət**^{3}	leech (water) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.368
	^{3}**mi**^{3}**lɯt**	leech (in water)	Weidert 1987:1020
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**mənət**	leech, water (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**n̩**^{1}**-laʔ**^{2}	leech (water) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.193

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	iŋ **lit**	water leech	Benedict 1972:396
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**lip**	speceis of horse-leech	Benedict 1972:396
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**hlet**-bŭ	water leech; leech	Benedict 1972:396; Benedict 1972:75n231
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'mli:**	leech (water)	Weidert 1987:699
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**mlit**	leech (water)	Mazaudon 1994:805
Tamang (Sindhuli)	**'mlit**	leech (water)	Weidert 1987:699
Tamang (Taglung)	**mli**	large leech	Mazaudon 1994:805
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Kulung	**li**	water leech	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**'lə**	leech	Allen 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**lit**	leech, water; leech (sp.), water leech (or horse-leech) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.077; Caughley 2000
	lit	leech (water)	Caughley 1972:3.A.77; Benedict 1972:2n4
7. KARENIC: ***k/s-lej^{A}** LEECH (water)			
**Karen*	***k/s-lej^{A}**	leech (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:160
**Karen [Burling]*	***li^{3}**	leech (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:160
Bwe	**gə^{33}lɪ^{33}**	leech (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:160
Kayaw	**su^{11}li^{33}**	leech (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:160
Pwo (Northern)	**lei^{55}**	leech (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:160
Pwo (Southern)	**lei$^{31¨}$**	leech (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:160
Sgaw (Northern)	**sə^{11}li^{33}**	leech (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:160
Sgaw (Southern)	**tə^{11}li^{33}**	leech (water~)	Luangthongkum 2013:160

Chinese comparandum

蛭 OC (***t̂i̯ĕd**), (not in *GSR* #413) 'leech'; Schuessler 2007:618 PC ***m-lhits** > OC ***tits**; B & S 2011: (***tit-s {ti [t] -s}**); Mand. **zhì**.

(41) PTB *s-r(y)ik LOUSE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-rik**	louse	Benedict 1972:439
	***s-r(y)ik**	louse	Matisoff 2003a:612
	***s-rik**	louse	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:506a; Weidert 1987:700
	***s-rik** -?/TC-II LI: B	louse	Weidert 1987:124
	s-rik**=śrik**	louse	LaPolla 1987:203
	***śrik**	louse	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:506a; Coblin 1986:106
1.1.1. TANI: ***fɯk** LOUSE (head)			
**Tani*	***fɯk**	louse (head)	Sun 1993a:247
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	ta-**k^{h}rjẽ**	louse, head	Sun 1993b
	ta-**k^{h}rjɯʔ**	louse, hair	Sun 1993b
	ta-**xrjɯʔ**	louse (head)	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**fɯk**-či	louse (small)	Sun 1993b
	fɯk-nɯː	louse (big)	Sun 1993b
	fɯk-ri	nit	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ta-**fɯk**	louse (head); louse	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**hɯk**-rɯː	nit	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	jɯk rɯː	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.24
	ta **jɯk**	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.24
	ta-**jɯk**	louse (head); louse	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **jik**	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.51
	fɯk rɯː	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.51
Galo	ta **yuk**	louse	Das Gupta 1963
	'ta **ɨk**	head louse; louse (head); Pediculus humanus capitis (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'ɨg nə	louse (mature) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ɨk ci	louse (baby) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ɨk pen	louse (medium-sized) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ɨk pə	louse egg (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	t **ɯk** < ta-ɯk	louse (head)	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	t **ik**	louse	Benedict 1972:439
	ɯk-rɯ	nit	Sun 1993a
Damu	**jək**-rɯ	nit	Sun 1993b
	ta-**jək**	louse	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **cek**	louse	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	ta-**ik**	louse (head)	Sun 1993a
	tə **ik**	louse	Benedict 1972:439
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***hrik** LOUSE (head) / BACTERIA			
**Chin*	***hrik**	LOUSE (head) / BACTERIA	VanBik 2009:1088
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**hik**	lice, bacteria	VanBik 2009:1088
Sizang	**hik**	lice	VanBik 2009:1088
Thado	**hìt**	louse, lice	VanBik 2009:1088
Tiddim	**hi:k^{3}**	louse, lice	VanBik 2009:1088
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**hèk**	louse (ordinary) (n.)	VanBik 2009:1088
Cho (Mindat)	**ghik**	head lice	VanBik 2009:1088
Daai	**xik**	louse	VanBik 2009:1088
Khumi	**hoey**	louse	VanBik 2009:1088
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hrik**	head lice, bacteria	VanBik 2009:1088
Lai (Falam)	**hrìk**	head lice, bacteria	VanBik 2009:1088
Lushai [Mizo]	**hri**	louse	Benedict 1972:439
	hrìk	louse (pl. lice) (n.)	VanBik 2009:1088
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**hrī**	louse (n.)	VanBik 2009:1088
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-hr(j)ak** LOUSE, LICE			
**Central Naga*	*a-**hr(j)ak**	LOUSE, LICE	Bruhn 2014a:III.256
**Ao*	*a-**tshək**	LOUSE	Bruhn 2014a:II.202
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**tsək^{1}**	louse, lice (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.202
	a **tsük**	louse	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **tsak**	louse	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**tshək**	louse (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**hrə(k)^{2}**-tʃə^{1}	nit (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	o^{1}-**hrək^{2}**	louse, lice (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.256
	o **hrak**	louse	Marrison 1967
	o **rhük**	louse	Murry *et al.* 1978:69
	^{1}o-**rhɯk** = ^{1}o $^{(2)}$**rhɯk**	louse	Weidert 1987:629
Sangtam	a **gha**	lice	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	ku **rheak**	lice	Kumar 1973b:51
	^{2}dri^{2}tre[^{1}]	louse	Weidert 1987:124
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	**charik**	louse	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**rik**	louse	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***hrik** LOUSE			
**Tangkhulic*	***hrik**	louse	Mortensen 2012:560
Huishu	ʔa-**ro?**	louse	Mortensen 2012:Animals.195
Kachai	ʔa-**rɐk**	louse	Mortensen 2012:Animals.194
Tangkhul	**rik**	louse	Marrison 1967
Tusom	ʔɯ-kuə-**hruə**	headlouse	Mortensen 2012:Animals.195
Ukhrul	**rik**	louse	Mortensen 2012
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**rek**	louse	Benedict 1972:108n304
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**tik**	louse	Benedict 1972:108n304
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***sri(ː)k**	louse	French 1983:516
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**tsiʔ**	louse	LaPolla 1987:203; Benedict 1972:108n304; Benedict 1972:439
	tsíʔ-rù	nit	Benedict 1972:278
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**śrig**	louse	Benedict 1972:108n304
Kanauri	**rik**	louse	Benedict 1972:108n304
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**śig**	louse	Benedict 1972:108n304
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**śak**	louse	Benedict 1972:439
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	ʂɛ^{33}**tsɛ^{33}**	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.18
Guiqiong	**ʃə^{31}**	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.16
	ʃl̩^{53}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.17
Lyuzu	ʂu^{33}pe^{53}**tshe^{31}**	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.18
Namuyi	ʂu^{55}**ɦiɛ^{ɹ55}**ʁo^{55}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.19
	ʂu^{55}**æ^{ɹ55}**ʁuo^{55}	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ɕi^{11}**tsl̩^{11}zɑ^{55}qu^{11}	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.10
	ɕi^{55}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʃi^{55}**	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʃi^{55}**	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɕi^{53}**	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.10
	ɕi^{55}tsi^{53}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**tsì** gú	nit	Evans 1999:441
	tsí	louse	Evans 1999:440
Qiang (Mawo)	**xtʂu** zu̱	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.08
	xtʂə	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.08
	xtʂə	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**dzú̱**	nit	Evans 1999:441
	tʂì	louse	Evans 1999:440
Qiang (Taoping)	**χdzə^{31}**	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.9
	χtʂi^{33}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**su^{55}**zi^{55}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʃi^{55}**	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɕi^{55}**	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	sʌ^{33}**tsi^{55}**	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**wɕɯ**	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.14
Daofu	**ɕə**	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
Caodeng	**ndʒu**-rú-ʃot	nit-comb	Sun 1997a
	ndʒu-ruʔ	nit	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ndʒə** ru	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.11
rGyalrong	**ndʒə** ru	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.12
Caodeng	tə-koʔ-**ndʒ** ruʔ	nit in hair	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**Nju** ru	nit	Nagano 1997:15.101
rGBenzhen	**ndʒə**-ruʔ	nit	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**śi**	louse	LaPolla 1987:203
	sí	louse	Benedict 1972:439
Rawang	**ɕiʔ**	louse	LaPolla 2003:403
Dulong	**ɕiʔ^{55}**	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ɕĭʔ^{55}**	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**śiʔ^{55}**	louse	LaPolla 1987:203
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**śɯʔ^{55}**	louse	LaPolla 1987:203
	ɕŭʔ^{55}	louse	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

[a] [Source Note] louse-egg

Chinese comparandum

蝨 / 虱 OC ***ṣiɛt**, *GSR* #506a 'louse'; Coblin 86:106 TB ***śrik**; Schuessler 2007:461 ***srit**; B & S 2011: ***srit {sri [t] }**; Mand. **shī**.

(42) PTB *s(y)ar LOUSE

There is a rather similar-looking but unrelated PTB root PTB ***s-r(y)ik** LOUSE (§2.2.6).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s(y)ar**	louse	Matisoff 2003a:613
	***sar**	louse	Matisoff 1985a:007
	sɑr**~śɑr**	louse	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:506a
2.3. KIRANTI: ***seri** LOUSE			
**Kiranti*	***seri**	louse	Opgenort 2011
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ʂɛ^{33}**	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.18
	ʂɛ^{33}tsɛ^{33}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.18
Lyuzu	**ʂu^{33}**mæ^{53}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.18

	ʂu^{33}pe^{53}tshe^{31}	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.18
Muya	**tshə**^{55}mɑ^{53}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.15
	tshə^{55}rə^{53}	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tshɐ**^{55}mɐ^{55}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.15
	tshɐ^{55}rɯ^{53}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.15
Namuyi	**ʂu**^{55}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.19
	ʂu^{55}ɦiɛ^{ɪ55}ʁo^{55}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.19
	ʂu^{55}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.46
	ʂu^{55}æ^{ɪ55}ʁuo^{55}	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.46
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʂsi**^{13}	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.13
Xumi	**ɕæ**^{55}mi^{55}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.17
	ɕæ^{55}ʁu^{53}	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.17
	ɕɛ^{55}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.20
	ɕɛ^{55}mi^{33}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**sʌ**^{33}tsi^{55}	nit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.14
	ɕha^{13}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	**wɕau**	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.14
Daofu	**ɕo**	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	**sar**	louse	Benedict 1972:84n251
Caodeng	**ser**	louse	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**sor**	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.11
rGyalrong	**sor**	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.12; Nagano 1997:15.10
rGBenzhen	**sor**	louse	Sun 1997b
	sor-tsaʔ	louse (small)	Sun 1997b

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *$\mathbf{san^{1/2}}$ LOUSE

**Lolo-Burmese*	*$\mathbf{san^{1/2}}$	louse	Matisoff 1985a:007; Matisoff 2003a:612

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**ʂɛn**^{31}	louse	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ʂan**^{31}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.28
	ʂan^{31}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.41
Achang (Luxi)	**sən**^{55}	louse	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ʂan**^{31}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.29
	ʂan^{31} u^{31}	nit	DAI Qingxia 1989f:418
Bola (Luxi)	**ʃɔn**^{35}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tθã**^{55}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθã**^{55}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.40
Burmese (Written)	**sân**	louse	Matisoff 1985a:007; Benedict 1976a
	sàn	louse	Benedict 1972:84n251
	san:	louse	Marrison 1967
	thɑn^{3}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.39
	thɑn^{3}û^{1}	nit ("louse-egg")	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.39
	tθɑn^{3}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**ʃiŋ**^{35}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ʃɐn**^{55}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.33
Marma	**θáiŋ**	louse	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:310
Maru [Langsu]	**śin**	louse	Benedict 1972:84n251
	ʃiŋ^{35}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.43
	ʃiŋ^{35}a̱u^{55}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ʃin**^{21}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.30
	ʃin^{21}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	*$\mathbf{xan^{1}}$	louse	Bradley 1979b:74
PNL	**san**$^{1/2}$	louse	CHEN Kang 1986a:134.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	ma^{24}**sɛ**^{33}	bedbug (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0354.47
	sɛ^{33}	louse	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	sɛ^{33}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.47
	tshɻ^{31}**sɛ**^{33}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.47
Lalo	má-**sjí**	bedbug	Björverud 1994
	sjí	louse	Björverud 1994
	ɕi^{55}	louse	CHEN Kang 1986a:134.
Lipho	**ɕe**^{33}	louse	CHEN Kang 1986a:134.
Nasu	**ɕe**^{21}	louse	CHEN Kang 1986a:134.
Neisu	**ɕi**^{21}	louse	CHEN Kang 1986a:134.
Nesu	**ɕe**^{21}	louse	CHEN Kang 1986a:134.
Nosu	**ʂɯ**^{33}	louse	CHEN Kang 1986a:134.
Nusu (Southern)	**ɕɑ**^{55}	louse	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ʂhə**^{55}	louse	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ʂɑ**^{ɪ55}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.45
	ʂɑ^{ɪ55}u^{31}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.45
Nusu (Central)	**ʂɚ**^{55}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.34
Yi (Dafang)	tɕhy^{33}**ɕi**^{33}mo^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.22
	ɕi^{33}mo^{55}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.22
Yi (Liangshan)	khɯ^{33}**ʂɯ**^{33}	flea	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ^{21}tɕhi^{34}	nit (egg of a louse)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ^{33}	louse	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	mo^{33}**ɕi**^{33}	bedbug	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:160.25
	ɕi^{33}**mo**^{33}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.25
Yi (Mojiang)	mo^{55}**ɕe**^{55}	bedbug	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:160.26
	tɕhi^{33}**ɕe**^{21}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.26
	ɕe^{21}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.26
Yi (Nanhua)	khu^{21}**ɕi**^{33}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.24
	khu^{21}**ɕi**^{55}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.37
	mo^{33}**ɕi**^{33}	bedbug	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:160.24
	mo^{55}**ɕi**^{55}	bedbug (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0354.37
	ɕe^{55}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.37
	ɕi^{33}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.24
Yi (Nanjian)	khɯ^{21}**ɕi**^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.23
	mɑ^{55}**ɕi**^{55}	bedbug	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:160.23
	ɕi^{55}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.23
Yi (Weishan)	khɯ^{21}**ɕi**^{55}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.36
	ma^{55}**ɕi**^{55}	bedbug (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0354.36
	ɕi^{55}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.36
Yi (Wuding)	mɣ^{33}**ɕe**^{33}	bedbug (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0354.38
	tɕhe^{33}**ɕe**^{33}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.38
	ɕe^{11}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.38
Yi (Xide)	khɯ^{33}**ʂɯ**^{33}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.35
	khɯ^{33}**ʂɯ**^{33}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.21
	tʂho^{44}**ʂɯ**^{33}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.21
	ʂɯ^{33}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**ɕi**^{2}	louse	CHEN Kang 1986a:134.
Jinuo	khɯ^{33}**ʃe**^{44}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.44
	khɯ^{33}**ɕe**^{33}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.34
Jinuo (Youle)	khɤ^{33}**ɕe**^{44}	flea	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**si**^{42}phjɑ^{42}	louse (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ʃe**^{31} u^{33}	nit	DAI Qingxia 1989h:441
Jinuo	**ʃe**^{44}phru^{33}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃi**^{42}mɔ^{33}	head louse	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ʃi^{44}phɹu^{44}	body louse	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baka)	**ʃɻ**^{31} ɣ^{33}	nit	DAI Qingxia 1989i:441
Jinuo	**ɕɛ**^{33}phɹo^{33}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.34
Kucong	**sɻ33**	louse	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**śe**	louse	Benedict 1972:84n251
Lahu (Lancang)	phɯ^{53}**ɕe**^{33}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.43
	ɑ^{35}po^{21}**ɕe**^{33}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.43
Lahu (Black)	phɯ^{53}**se**^{33}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.33
	še	louse	Matisoff 1985a:007
	se^{33}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.33
	se^{33}u^{33}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.33
Lahu (Yellow)	phɯ^{3}**sɯ**^{1}	flea	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	sɯ^{1}	louse; louse (head)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}ni^{21}**hɤ**^{33}	ox louse	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a^{55}ɲi^{21}**hɤ**^{33}	ox louse	Bradley 1994
	hrgh^{4}	louse	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**hü**	louse	Benedict 1972:84n251
Lisu (Northern)	**hɤ**^{33}	louse (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hɤ^{33}fu^{33}	egg of a louse	Bradley 1994
	hɤ^{33}ma^{33}	louse	Bradley 1994
	hɤ^{33}næ^{33}	black louse	Bradley 1994
	hɤ^{33}phu^{33}	white louse	Bradley 1994
Lisu	khɯ^{31}**xɯ**^{44}tɯ^{35}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.27
Lisu (Northern)	khɤ^{21}**hɤ**^{33}tɤ^{35}	louse (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}**hɤ**^{33}	bedbug	Bradley 1994
Lisu	mɑ^{44}**xɯ**^{33}	bedbug	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:160.27
Lisu (Northern)	tsɯ^{35}**hɤ**^{33}	ox louse (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**xɯ**^{44}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.27
	xɯ^{44}fu^{44}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.27
Lisu (Northern)	ɣa^{33}**hɤ**^{33}	chicken louse	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	mɒ^{44}**ɕɪ**^{33}mɒ^{33}	bedbug (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0354.39
	tshž^{11}**ɕe**^{33}mo^{33}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ɕɪ**^{33}	louse	CHEN Kang 1986a:134.
Yi (Sani)	**ɕɪ**^{33}mɒ^{33}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**shé**-mɔ̀	louse	Matisoff 1985a:007
Akha (Yunnan)	**sjhé** mɔ́	louse	Hansson 1989:227
Akha (Thai)	**sjhé**-mɔ́	louse	Hansson 1989:227
Hani (Dazhai)	khɯ^{31}**se**^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.31
	se^{55}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.31
	se^{55}u̱^{33}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**shé**	louse	Hansson 1989:227
	khɯ^{31}**se**^{55}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.41
	se^{55}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	khɤ^{31}**se**^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.30
	se^{55}phɣ^{55}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.30
	se^{55}ɣ^{33}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.30
Hani (Pijo)	**sjhí** phu	louse	Hansson 1989:227
Hani (Gelanghe)	khɯ^{31}**ɕɛ**^{55}	flea	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɕɛ^{55}mɔ^{55}	louse	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	khɯ^{31}**ʃɛ**^{55}	flea	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:161.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**seil**	louse	Hansson 1989:227
Hani (Shuikui)	**ʃɛ**^{55}fɣ^{55}	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.32
	ʃɛ^{55}ɣ̱^{33}	nit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:163.32
Hani (Khatu)	**sjhí** phú	louse	Hansson 1989:227
Hani (Mojiang)	khɯ^{31}**ʃɛ**^{55}	flea (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.42
	ʃɛ^{55}fɣ^{55}	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.42
Mpi	**se**^{6}	louse	Matisoff 1985a:007
Côông [Phunoi]	**sə́n**	louse (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1197
Pyen	**sen45**	louse	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:024049
Sila	**he55** phju55	louse	KATO Takashi 2008:187
	o21 **he55**	louse	KATO Takashi 2008:187

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**ɕɛ**^{21}ɬɞ^{21}	louse (clothing)	Pelkey 2011:150
	tɕ^{h}i^{33}**ɕɛ**^{21}	flea	Pelkey 2011:149
Southern Muji	**ɕɛ**^{33}	louse (clothing)	Pelkey 2011:150
	tɕ^{h}ɪ^{55}**ɕɛ**^{33}	flea	Pelkey 2011:149
Phola	**ɕi**^{55}mɔ^{23}	louse (clothing)	Pelkey 2011:150
	tɕ^{h}i^{33}**ɕi**^{55}	flea	Pelkey 2011:149
Hlepho Phowa	**sɭ**^{55}ma^{33}	louse (clothing)	Pelkey 2011:150
	ts^{h}ɭ^{55}**sɭ**^{33}	flea	Pelkey 2011:149
Phuza	**ɕi**^{55}gɯ^{33}	louse (clothing)	Pelkey 2011:150
	tɕ^{h}i^{55}**ɕi**^{33}	flea	Pelkey 2011:149

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	k^{h}ɯ˧ʂɯ˥	flea	Michaud 2006–2009:3713
	qɔ˧ʂɯ˧	bedbug	Michaud 2006–2009:3717
	ʂɯ˥ʂɯ˥ʁɔ˥	nit, egg of louse	Michaud 2006–2009:3716

	ʂɯ˦mie˦	louse	Michaud 2006–2009:3714
Na (Yongning)	kv˦ʂe˥$	flea	Michaud 2006–2009
	kwæ˦**ʂe**#˥	bedbug	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˦mi˦	louse	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˩ʂv˩	nit, egg of louse	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	khu^{33}**ʂu^{33}**	flea	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:161.28
Naxi	khu^{55}**ʂu^{33}**	flea (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0355.45
Naxi (Yongning)	kua^{33}**ʂe^{33}**	bedbug	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:160.29
	ku^{33}**ʂe^{33}**	flea	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:161.29
Naxi	tʂuɑ^{33}**ʂu^{33}**	bedbug (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0354.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	tʂuɑ^{33}**ʂu^{33}**	bedbug	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:160.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʂe^{33}**mi^{33}	louse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:162.29
Naxi	**ʂu^{33}**	louse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʂu^{33}**	louse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:162.28
Naxi	**ʂu^{33}**ly^{33}	nit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.45

7. Karenic: ***swɨN^{B}** louse (head)

***Karen [Burling]*	***sun^{2}**	louse (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:179
**Karen*	***swɨN^{B}**	louse (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:179
	***sən**	louse	Benedict 1972:147n401
	***sə́nq**	louse	Jones 1961:48
**Karen (TP)*	***sə́nq**	louse	Jones 1961:48
Bwe	**θo^{11}**	louse (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:179
Kayah	**so^{11}**	louse (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:179
Kayan	**θi^{11}**	louse (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:179
Kayaw	**sɨ^{11}**	louse (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:179
Pa-O (Southern)	**sɨ^{33}**	louse (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:179
Pa-O (Northern)	**sɨ^{55}**	louse (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:179
Pwo (Northern)	**sɑ̃^{33}**	louse (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:179
Pwo (Southern)	**θɑ̃i̯^{55}**	louse (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:179
Pwo (Bassein)	**θàn**	louse	Jones 1961:48
Pwo (Moulmein)	**θán?**	louse	Jones 1961:48
Sgaw (Northern)	**su$^{31~}$**	louse (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:179
Sgaw (Southern)	**su^{45,}**	louse (head~)	Luangthongkum 2013:179

(43) PKC *khra? LOUSE (body)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***khra?**	LOUSE (body)	VanBik 2009:1346

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**khàa**	body lice	VanBik 2009:1346
Tiddim	**kha?^{3}**	louse, lice	VanBik 2009:1346

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**kʻá**	louse in clothes	VanBik 2009:1346
Cho (Mindat)	**m**-chah	body lice	VanBik 2009:1346

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**ṭhà?**	body lice	VanBik 2009:1346
Lai (Hakha)	**thra?**	body louse	VanBik 2009:1346

(44) PKar *(chjaN^{A})gra^{B} LOUSE (chicken) / INSECT

7. Karenic

**Karen*	*(**chjaN^{A}**)gra^{B}	louse (chicken~), insect	Luangthongkum 2013:178
Kayah	**cha^{33}khre^{11}**	louse (chicken~), insect	Luangthongkum 2013:178
Kayan	**ɕi^{53}ca^{11}**	louse (chicken~), insect	Luangthongkum 2013:178
Kayaw	**ɕi^{55}ca^{11}**	louse (chicken~), insect	Luangthongkum 2013:178
Pa-O (Northern)	**ɕja$^{31¨}$sa^{53}**	louse (chicken~), insect	Luangthongkum 2013:178
Pa-O (Southern)	**ɕja$^{31¨}$ɕa^{55}**	louse (chicken~), insect	Luangthongkum 2013:178
Pwo (Northern)	**chɛ̃^{35}xa$^{11¨}$**	louse (chicken~), insect	Luangthongkum 2013:178
Pwo (Southern)	**chɔ̃^{53}xa^{33}**	louse (chicken~), insect	Luangthongkum 2013:178
Sgaw (Northern)	**chɔ^{33}xa$^{11¨}$**	louse (chicken~), insect	Luangthongkum 2013:178
Sgaw (Southern)	**chɔ^{55}xa^{31}**	louse (chicken~), insect	Luangthongkum 2013:178

(45) PNC *than MAGGOT

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Northern Chin*	***than**	MAGGOT	VanBik 2009:400
Paite	**than**	maggot	VanBik 2009:400
Sizang	**htan**	maggot	VanBik 2009:400
Thado	**thàn**	maggot	VanBik 2009:400
Tiddim	**than^{3}**	maggot	VanBik 2009:400; Bhaskararao 1996:1865
	`than	maggot (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mə **sən**	maggot, larva (n.)	Coupe 2007

(46) PTB *s-lu $\begin{matrix}\text{k}\\\text{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ MAGGOT / BUTTERFLY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-luk ≍ s-luŋ**	maggot	Matisoff 2003a:600
	***s-luŋ ≍ s-luk**	maggot	Matisoff 2003a:600

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	gɑ^{55}**klɑuŋ^{55}**	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.23
	gɑ^{55}**klɑuŋ^{55}**	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.48
	klauŋ	insect	LaPolla 1987:172
	klɑuŋ^{55}	insect / worm (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.23
	klɑuŋ^{55}	insect / worm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:169.48

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***luŋ** MAGGOT / WORM

**Chin*	***luŋ**	MAGGOT / WORM	VanBik 2009:1034

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**lung**	worm	VanBik 2009:1034
Thado	**lûŋ**	worm, maggot	VanBik 2009:1034
	lúŋ	worm	Thirumalai 1972:48
Tiddim	**lung^{1}**	worm	VanBik 2009:1034; Bhaskararao 1996:1023
	na:i^{2} **lung^{1}**	silk worm	Bhaskararao 1996:1181

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**alün**-heng	maggot	VanBik 2009:1034
Khumi	**kliiwng**	maggot; grub species (from a tree, eaten fried with salt and turmeric)	VanBik 2009:1034

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**lûŋ**	maggot, worm	VanBik 2009:1034
Lushai [Mizo]	**lŭng**	maggot	Löffler 1985
	lung	maggot	Bhaskararao 1996:1023
	lŭŋ	maggot (n.)	VanBik 2009:1034
	luŋ	maggot	LaPolla 1987:146
Paangkhua	(ra) **lùng**	maggot	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**lô^{3}**	maggot	VanBik 2009:1034

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	**lung** ben	worm	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***gluŋ** INSECT / WORM

**Northern Naga*	***gluŋ**	insect / worm	French 1983:506

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Phom	**long** thü	worm	Marrison 1967
	lɔŋ^{33}	worm	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**luŋ^{13}**pu^{13}	maggot	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	luŋ bu	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.7
Motuo Menba	**luŋ** bu	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	mbə **loŋ**	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.5

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung	puh **lụh**	grub (insect) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.078
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}pu **luŋ**	worm / insect	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0083
Thakali	puh **lung**	grub (insect) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.078

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	bu^{55}**lu^{55}**	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.17
	mə^{35}sə^{55}mbu^{35}**ʐu^{55}**	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.16
Muya	mbə^{55}**ʁo^{33}**	maggot (meat) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.15
Muya [Minyak]	mbɯ^{55}**ʁo^{35}**	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.15
Namuyi	**lu^{35}**	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.19
	lu^{35}	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**liõ^{35}**	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.10
Pumi (Taoba)	**lõ^{53}**	maggot	LaPolla 1987:146; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.10
Qiang (Longxi)	bù **ló**	maggot	Evans 1999:443
Qiang (Mawo)	qhʂə bu **lu**	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.8
	qhʂə bə **l**	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.08
	qhʂə bu **lu**	maggot	LaPolla 1987:146
Qiang (Mianchi)	bò **lò**	maggot (bug)	Evans 1999:443
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	b **rõ^{35}**	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	pu^{55}**rlo^{55}**	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.13
Xumi	**rũ^{35}**	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.20
	rũ^{53}	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**lo^{13}**	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **lu**	insect / worm (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.11
rGyalrong	kə **lu**	insect / worm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:169.12
Caodeng	qɐ-**ju**	bug; insect	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə phʃɛ kə **lu**	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.11
rGyalrong	ʃa kə **lu**	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.12
Caodeng	ʃa-**ʁju**	maggot	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	chang ra ku **lu**	maggot	Nagano 1997:19.3
	ku **lu**	insect	Nagano 1997:15.1
	ku **lu** kA may ku	crawling insect	Nagano 1997:15.12
	ku **lu** kA Nbyam	flying insect	Nagano 1997:15.11
rGBenzhen	kə-**lu?**	insect; bug	Sun 1997b; Sun 1997b
	tə-pʃe kə-**lu?**	maggot	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Rawang	bə **lɯŋ^{33}**	insect, worm; worm, insect	LaPolla 2003:399; LaPolla 2003:400
Anong	bɯ^{31}**lɯŋ^{55}**	insect / worm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:169.44
Nung	bɯ^{55}**lɯŋ^{55}**	insect / worm (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.21
Trung [Dulong]	bɯ^{31}**liŋ^{55}**	insect / worm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:169.46
Dulong	bɯ^{55}**liŋ^{55}**	insect / worm (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	bɯ^{31}**lɯŋ^{55}**	insect / worm	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	tshi^{31} **lɔŋ^{53}**	maggot	LaPolla 1987:146; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***k-luk ≍ *k-luŋ** MAGGOT

**Lolo-Burmese*	***k-luk ≍ k-luŋ**	maggot	Matisoff 1972b:186
	***k-luŋ ≍ *k-luk**	maggot	LaPolla 1987:146 [a]

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**lu^{31}**	maggot	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:146
Bola (Luxi)	**lau?^{31}**	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.32
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**lɑu?^{44}**	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.40
Burmese (Written)	**lok**	maggot	Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:146
	lɔk	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.39
	lɔk^{4}	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**lauk^{31}**	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**luk^{31}**	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.33
Marma	**lɔ?**	maggot	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:310d
Maru [Langsu]	**lauk^{31}**	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.43
	lòk	maggot	LaPolla 1987:146
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lu?^{21}**	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.30
	lu?^{21}	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.42
	lu?^{31}	maggot	LaPolla 1987:146

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	**l̥u̱^{53}**	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.34

[a] [Source Note] [*TSR* 186].

Nusu (Southern)	**ɬu̱**^{53}	maggot	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ɬu̱**^{55}ɑ^{55}	maggot	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɬu**^{53}ɑ^{31}	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.45
Yi (Liangshan)	bu^{33}**ɬu̱**^{33}zɯ^{33}	larva; maggot	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ɬu̱**^{33}	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**fu̱**^{33}	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.26
Yi (Nanhua)	bə^{21}**lu**^{33}	butterfly (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.37
	bɯ^{21}**lɯ**^{33}; bu^{21}**lu**^{33}	butterfly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:154.24
Yi (Nanjian)	vi^{21}**lu**^{33}	butterfly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:154.23
Yi (Weishan)	vɪ^{21}**lu̱**^{33}	butterfly (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.36
Yi (Wuding)	bʮ^{11}**lʮ**^{11}	butterfly (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.38
Yi (Xide)	bu^{21}**ɬ(u)**^{21}	butterfly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:154.21
	bu^{21}**ɬu**^{21}	butterfly (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.35
	bu^{33}**ɬ(u̱)**^{33}zɯ^{33}	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.21
	bu^{33}**ɬu̱**^{33}zɯ^{33}	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**lo**^{42}mɔ^{44}	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.34
	pu^{33}**ɬo**^{33}pu^{33}tʃɯ^{33}	butterfly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:154.34
Jinuo (Youle)	pu^{44}**ɬu**^{42}	butterfly	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ɬo**^{42}	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.44
Kucong	**ɬɔ**^{42}mɔ^{33}	maggot	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.44
	lɔ33	maggot	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
	pv31 **lv31**	butterfly	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	bu^{31}**lu**^{33}qɑ^{11}	butterfly (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.43
Lahu (Black)	pù-**lú**-qā	butterfly	Matisoff 1974:122; Matisoff 1972b:186
	pu^{31}**lu**^{55}qA^{11}	butterfly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:154.33
Lahu (Yellow)	pɛ^{3}qu^{2}**lu**^{2}	butterfly	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	bu^{5}-**lu**^{4}	moth; butterfly	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Sani [Nyi]	**lhu 44**	maggot	Matisoff 1972b:186
Yi (Sani)	**ɬu**^{44}	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**lu**-tah HS-L	maggot	Matisoff 1972b:186
Akha (Yunnan)	**luq** thàŋ	maggot	Hansson 1989:415
Akha (Thai)	**luq**-thàŋ	maggot	Hansson 1989:501
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**hlu**-tʻu 33-32	maggot	Matisoff 1972b:186
Hani (Dazhai)	**lu̱**^{33}thɔ^{31}	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.31
Hani (Lüchun)	sjhá **luq**	maggot	Hansson 1989:415
	sjhá **luq** ?	maggot	Hansson 1989:501
	lu̱^{33}thɔ^{31}	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.41
Hani (Pijo)	**lʮ**	maggot	Hansson 1989:501
Hani (Caiyuan)	**lʮ**^{33}	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**lu̱**^{33}thaŋ^{31}	maggot	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**luv** taoq	maggot	Hansson 1989:501
Mpi	pi^{2}**lu**^{4}	butterfly	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Phola	pi^{33}**lo̱**^{31}	maggot	Pelkey 2011:155

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	mu˧kʰv˥˧**lv**˥˧	maggot	Michaud 2006–2009:3747
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lv**^{33}	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.28
Naxi	**lʮ**^{55}	maggot (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**lɳ**^{33}	maggot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:168.29

7. Karenic: *hloŋB maggot

**Karen*	*hloŋB	maggot	Luangthongkum 2013:181
**Karen (Pwo)*	*lónq	maggot	Jones 1961:56
**Karen*	*lóŋq	maggot	Jones 1961:56
**Karen (TP)*	*lóŋq	maggot	Jones 1961:56
**Karen [Burling]*	*loŋ^{2}	maggot	Luangthongkum 2013:181
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	*láq	maggot	Jones 1961:56
**Karen (Sgaw)*	*lə́ʔ	maggot	Jones 1961:56
Bwe	**lo**^{33}	maggot	Luangthongkum 2013:181
Kayah	**lɔ**^{11}	maggot	Luangthongkum 2013:181
Kayan	**lo**^{11}	maggot	Luangthongkum 2013:181
Kayaw	**lə**^{11}	maggot	Luangthongkum 2013:181
Pa-O	**lóŋ**	maggot	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:56
Pa-O (Southern)	**loŋ**^{33}	maggot	Luangthongkum 2013:181
Pa-O (Northern)	**loŋ**^{55}	maggot	Luangthongkum 2013:181
Pwo (Northern)	**lãu**^{33}	maggot	Luangthongkum 2013:181
Pwo (Southern)	**lõu**^{55}	maggot	Luangthongkum 2013:181
Pwo (Bassein)	**lòn**	maggot	Jones 1961:56
Pwo (Moulmein)	**lón?**	maggot	Jones 1961:56
Sgaw (Northern)	**lə**$^{31\sim}$	maggot	Luangthongkum 2013:181
Sgaw (Southern)	**lə**^{45,}	maggot	Luangthongkum 2013:181
Sgaw (Bassein)	**lə**	maggot	Jones 1961:56
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**lə́ʔ**	maggot	Jones 1961:56

Chinese comparandum

蟲/虫 OC ***d'i̱ôŋ***, *GSR* #1009c 'insect, reptile'; Coblin 86: ST ***dɨyəngw*** > OC ***drjəngw***; Schuessler 2007:189 ***druŋ***; B & S 2011: ***C.lruŋ***; Mand. **chóng**.

(47) PKar * k/s -wɛj A/B MILLIPEDE

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***k/s-wɛjA/B**	millipede	Luangthongkum 2013:187	[a]
Kayah	**si**^{55}**kɔ**^{55}**wi**^{11}	millipede	Luangthongkum 2013:187	
Kayan	**θaʔ**^{21}**kə**^{11}**wi**^{33}	millipede	Luangthongkum 2013:187	
Kayaw	**te**^{11}**we**^{33}	millipede	Luangthongkum 2013:187	
Pa-O (Southern)	**cɔ**^{11}**wɛ**^{53}	millipede	Luangthongkum 2013:187	
Pa-O (Northern)	**cɔ**^{55}**wɛ**^{33}	millipede	Luangthongkum 2013:187	
Pwo (Northern)	**wai**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	millipede	Luangthongkum 2013:187	
Pwo (Southern)	**wai**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	millipede	Luangthongkum 2013:187	
Sgaw (Northern)	**siʔ**^{45}**wɔ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$de^{33}	millipede	Luangthongkum 2013:187	
Sgaw (Southern)	**si**^{55}**wa**^{31}de^{55}	millipede	Luangthongkum 2013:187	

[a] [Source Note] NK, CK and S.Pwo have tone A while Sgaw and N.PWO have tone B.

(48) PTB *kraŋ MOSQUITO

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kraŋ**	mosquito; firefly	Weidert 1987:227; Matisoff 2003a:596; LaPolla 1987:172; Benedict 1972:322

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**káŋ** kàl	mosquito net	Thirumalai 1972:39
	thòw **kâaŋ**	mosquito	VanBik 2009:386
Tiddim	thou^{3} **ka:ng**^{1}	mosquito	VanBik 2009:386; Bhaskararao 1996:1890

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	**kang**	mosquito	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *caaŋ MOSQUITO

**Tangkhulic*	***caaŋ**	mosquito	Mortensen 2012:607
Champhung	ha-**caŋ**	mosquito	Brown 1837
Tankghul (Central)	hai-**ceaŋ**	mosquito	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	ha-**ceaŋ**	mosquito	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ha-**caŋ**	mosquito	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʃi-**cɯə̃**	mosquito	Mortensen 2012:Animals.190

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**kang**	mosquito	Marrison 1967
	kàŋ	mosquito	Weidert 1987:227

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	tim-**kraŋ**	mosquito	LaPolla 1987:172; Benedict 1972:322 [a]
	tim **krang**	mosquito	Marrison 1967
	tím **kràŋ**	mosquito	Weidert 1987:227

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	dži-**groŋ**	mosquito	Benedict 1972:322

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	*kʔyaŋ^{1}	mosquito	Weidert 1987:227

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Xiandao)	caŋ^{31}**khzaŋ**^{55}	mosquito (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0360.29
Arakanese	**hkron**	mosquito	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**kjɔ̃**^{55}	mosquito (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0360.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕhĩ**^{22}	mosquito (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0360.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hcin**	mosquito	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕhĩ**^{22}	mosquito	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:165.40
	tɕhĩ^{22}htɑũ^{22}	mosquito net	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:384.40
Burmese (Written)	**khraṅ**	mosquito	Marrison 1967
	khraṉ	mosquito	Okell 1971
	khraŋ	mosquito	Weidert 1987:227; Matisoff 1974:68; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:322
	khrɑŋ^{2}	mosquito (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0360.26
	khrɑŋ^{2}	mosquito	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:165.39
	khrɑŋ^{2}htɔŋ^{2}	mosquito net	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:384.39
Intha	**hcen**	mosquito	Okell 1971
	hyen	mosquito	Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	**kjɔ̃**^{31}	mosquito (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0360.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**kjaŋ**^{33}	mosquito (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0360.33
Marma	**khraŋ**	mosquito	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:307
	khraŋ thɔŋ	mosquito net	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:307a
Maru [Langsu]	**k'yòñ**	mosquito	Okell 1971
	kjɔ̃^{31}la̱uŋ^{55}	mosquito net	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:384.43
	kjɔ̃^{31}	mosquito	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:165.43
	kʔyà	mosquito	Weidert 1987:227
Tavoyan	**hcin**	mosquito	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kjaŋ**^{51}	mosquito (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0360.30
	kjaŋ^{51}	mosquito	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:165.42
	kjaŋ^{51}sut^{55}	mosquito net	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:384.42
	kyaŋ^{51}	mosquito	LaPolla 1987:172
	kʔyáŋ	mosquito	Weidert 1987:227

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	**kɯ̃**^{33}	mosquito (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0360.34
Nusu (Northern)	**kɯ̃**^{55}	mosquito	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986

7. Karenic

Pa-O	jʴŋ **khjáŋ** thɔ̃ŋ	hang up mosquito net	Solnit 1989
	khjáŋ thɔ́ŋ	mosquito net	Solnit 1989

[a] [Source Note] (tim 'gnat, midge') (LaPolla 1987).

(49) PTani *ruŋ MOSQUITO

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***ruŋ**	mosquito	Sun 1993a:261

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	ta-**ru**	mosquito	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**ruŋ** gam-buŋ	mosquito	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	ta **ru**	mosquito	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **ruu**	mosquito (n.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	ta **rung**	mosquito	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	ta **roŋ**	mosquito	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**ru** suŋ-gu	mosquito	Sun 1993a
Milang	ta-**ro**-sung-gu	mosquito	Tayeng 1976

(50) PTB *s-di:k SCORPION / CRAB / SHRIMP

R.S. Cook (p.c., 2002) has noted the similarity of these forms to the reflexes of PTB ***t(u/i)k*** FROG (§2.1.6.2), another 'verminous / venomous species'.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**s-**)**di:k**	scorpion	Benedict 1972:56
	***s-di:k**	scorpion / crab / shrimp	Matisoff 2003a:586

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**ti:t**	scorpion	Benedict 1972:56

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	na-**thu**	shrimp / scorpion	Matisoff 2003a:496

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	na-**tik**	shrimp	Benedict 1972:56

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**sdig**-pa	scorpion	Benedict 1972:56
	sdig-srin	crab, crawfish	Benedict 1972:56

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**dik** lăŋ jik	scorpion	Benedict 1972:56

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mianchi)	mè **tsì**-bò lò	scorpion [m-bug]	Evans 1999:447

(51) PKC *maay-mom SPIDER

The second syllable of this binome bears a fortuitous similarity to the second syllable of Thai **məlɛɛŋ-mum** 'spider', literally "corner bug."

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	***maay-mom**	SPIDER	VanBik 2009:793
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**mai-mom**	spider	VanBik 2009:793
Sizang	**mom**	spider	VanBik 2009:793
Thado	**môm**	spider	VanBik 2009:793
Tiddim	**maːi²** **mom¹**	spider	VanBik 2009:793; Bhaskararao 1996:1064
	mom¹ pi¹	webless spider	Bhaskararao 1996:1130
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**máay-môm**	spider	VanBik 2009:793
Lai (Hakha)	**măay-mom?**	spider	VanBik 2009:793
Lushai [Mizo]	**măi màwm**	spider	VanBik 2009:793
	mai-mom	spider	Bhaskararao 1996:1064
	maimawm	spider	Marrison 1967

(52) PTani *rum SPIDER

1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	***rum**	spider	Sun 1993a:390
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	(**ri**-mi)tar-sũ	cobweb	Sun 1993b
	pá-tɯ **rim**-bi	spider (species)	Sun 1993b
	ri-mi	spider	Sun 1993b
	ri-mi < rim-bi	spider	Sun 1993a
	rím-bi	spider	Sun 1993b
	rím-bi ù-suŋ	cobweb	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **rum**	spider (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0361.24
	ta **rum** ɕo oŋ	centipede (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0362.24
	ta-**rum**	spider	Sun 1993a
	tə-**rum**	spider	Sun 1993b
	tə-**rum** so-hoŋ	cobweb	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **rum**	spider	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:159.51
Galo	**rum** be tasor	cobweb	Das Gupta 1963
	taktum be **rum**	spider	Das Gupta 1963
	‘tatum-‘bee **lum**	spider (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	ta-**rum**	spider	Sun 1993a
Milang	po-pu-ta-**ram**	spider	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	ta-**rum** bu-ti	spider	Sun 1993a

(53) PTk *ran SPIDER

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Kachai	ʃim-tɕon-p^{h}ə-**ron**	spider	Mortensen 2012

(54) PTB *m-gu SPIDER

6.1.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	***m-gu¹**/m-ga²	spider	Bradley 1979b:79B
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	na-**gù**-na-gá-pɛ̄	weave / spin	Matisoff 1972b:192(d)
7. Karenic			
Bwe	ga^{11}-**gu^{11}**	spider	Luangthongkum 2013:269

(55) PTB *k(w)aŋ ⩙ *p^{w}aŋ SPIDER / SPIN / SPINDLE

The reflexes of this richly attested root range from velar stops to labial stops to **w-**, pointing to a complex allofamic reconstruction. The TB languages show much variation in the names of insects and other small creatures, which often run to four or more syllables. The large degree of variation to be found in such words can plausibly be ascribed to the tendency of successive generations of children to create new forms.

The nasal prefix in the PLB reconstruction accounts for the voicing of the Lahu initial.

Clearly related are PTB ***m-ga** SPIN / CARD FIBERS (§6.24) and PTB ***m-gu** SPIDER (§2.2.6), also with voiced initials in Lahu. Polysyllabic Lahu forms like **na-gù-na-gá-pɛ̄** demonstrate that these two roots are separate.

Also possibly related is PLB ***ʔ-gyaŋ¹** SPIN / ROTATE / TOP (toy) (§6.7.6).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***kaŋ ⩙ waŋ**	spider / spin	Matisoff 2003a:595
	***m-kaŋ**	spider	Matisoff 2003a:595
	***paŋ**	spindle	Benedict 1972:48
	***paŋ** = ***pwaŋ**	spindle	LaPolla 1987:68
	***p^{w}aŋ**	spin / spindle	Matisoff 2003a:608
1.1. “North Assam”			
Sulung [Puroik]	**wuoŋ^{33}**	spider	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:159.52
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	ta-**po**	spindle	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**poː**	spindle	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta-**poŋ**	spindle	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **poŋ**	spindle	LaPolla 1987:68
Galo	taː **pɤ**	spindle	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ɲa^{31} **boŋ^{35}**	spindle	LaPolla 1987:68
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Daai	**waːm** wɔ	spider	So-Hartmann 1988:69
Mkaang	**vom** vaʔ	spider	So-Hartmann 1988:69
Nyhmoye	**vɔ^{ʌ}m** va	spider	So-Hartmann 1988:69
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
*Ao	***paŋ**	SPINDLE	Bruhn 2014a:II.006
Ao (Chungli)	**pang** tong	spindle (cotton)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **pang**	spindle (cotton)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**paŋ** thəm ɹu	spindle (n.)	Coupe 2007
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**gu-ang**	spider (n.)	Burling 2003:4.464-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**gawang**	spider (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	gawang syryng	spider web (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	guwang	spider (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***ʔ-paŋ** SPINDLE			
*Northern Naga	***ʔ-paŋ**	spindle	French 1983:557
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**phang**	spindle (cotton)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	ka **bang**	spindle (cotton)	Marrison 1967
	kə **baŋ**	hand spindle; hand-spindle	LaPolla 1987:68; Benedict 1972:48
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Thebor	**phaŋ**	spindle	LaPolla 1987:68; Benedict 1972:48
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**pheŋ** a	spindle	LaPolla 1987:68
Tshona (Wenlang)	**kɑŋ^{55}**prɑ^{55}mo^{55}	spider	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**pheŋ^{53}**	spindle	LaPolla 1987:68
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Balti)	**p^{h}ʌŋ**	spindle	Rangan 1975:77
Tibetan (Written)	**phaŋ ⩙ ḥphaŋ**	spindle	Benedict 1972:48
	phaŋ~’**phaŋ**	spindle	LaPolla 1987:68
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Sahu)	**wāhng wāhng**	spider (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.081
	wāhng wāhng ki cāhng	web (of spider) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.082
	wahŋ wahŋ	spider	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.81
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**ghaN ghaN** ma	spider	Rai 1985
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**goŋ** ga yoŋ ma	daddy-long-legs <spider>	Allen 1975
	gəːŋ ga yum	daddy-long-legs <spider>	Allen 1975
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	śap^{55} **paŋ^{53}**	spindle	LaPolla 1987:68
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***g-waŋ¹** SPIDER / SPIN / SPINDLE, ***m-kaŋ** SPIDER			
*Lolo-Burmese	***waŋ²**	spin / spindle	Matisoff 2003a:619
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	**koŋ^{31}** kau^{31} a^{31} in^{55}	spider’s web	Dai Qingxia 1989f:423
	koŋ^{31}kau^{55}	spider (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0361.29
Bola	**kɔ̃^{31}** mja^{35} sɔt^{55}	spider’s web	Dai Qingxia 1989g:423
Bola (Luxi)	phi^{31}**kɔ̃^{31}**	spider (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0361.32
Burmese (Written)	ă **waŋ**	spindleful of thread	Benedict 1972:48
	waṅ	spin (cotton) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	waṅ rui:	spindle (cotton)	Marrison 1967
	waŋ	spin	Hansson 1989:277
	wáŋ	swing around; spin; swing around, spin	LaPolla 1987:68; Benedict 1972:48
	waŋ-rûi	spindle	Benedict 1976a
	waŋ-ruì	spindle	LaPolla 1987:68; Benedict 1972:48
	waŋ’	swing around; spin; boast	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	phjɔ̆^{31}**kɔ̃^{35}**	spider (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0361.31
Leqi (Luxi)	laʔ^{31}**kaŋ^{33}**	spider (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0361.33
Marma	páŋ **khuŋ**	spider	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:306-1
Maru [Langsu]	phjĭ^{31}**kɔ̃^{35}**	spider	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:159.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	a^{55}**kaŋ^{21}**	spider (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0361.30
	a^{55}**kaŋ^{21}**	spider	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:159.42
	lă^{21}**kaŋ^{21}**	spider (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0361.30
6.1.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	***baŋ³**	spider	Bradley 1979b:79A
	***g-waŋ¹**	spin	Bradley 1979b:729; Hansson 1989:277
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	la^{55}**bą̱^{53}**mɹe^{33}	spider (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0361.34
Nusu (Northern)	lɑ^{31}**bɑ̱^{35}**	spider	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	lɑ^{55}**bɑ̱^{53}**ɑ^{31}	spider	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:159.45
Nusu (Southern)	**põ^{31}**	spin (yarn)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**põ^{31}**	spin (into yarn) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1313.34
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	a-**gɔ̀**-a-lí-pɛ̀	spider (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:69
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**paŋ^{5}**	spin (thread, yarn) / twirl (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	phaŋʔ^{5}	turn / rotate / spin (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
7. Karenic: ***gaŋ^{A}** SPIDER			
*Karen	***gaŋ^{A}**	spider	Luangthongkum 2013:269 [a]
Bwe	**ga^{11}**-gu^{11}	spider	Luangthongkum 2013:269
Kayan	**kaŋ^{33}**	spider	Luangthongkum 2013:269
Kayaw	**kɔ^{33}**	spider	Luangthongkum 2013:269
Pa-O	jàu **kâŋ**	spider (2)	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	jɔŋ^{31}**kaŋ^{53}**	spider	Luangthongkum 2013:269
Pa-O (Northern)	kuŋ^{33}**kaŋ^{33}**	spider	Luangthongkum 2013:269
Pwo (Northern)	pu^{11}**khɛ̃^{55}**	spider	Luangthongkum 2013:269
Pwo (Southern)	**khɔ̃$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	spider	Luangthongkum 2013:269

[a] [Source Note] Bwe has an irregular tone, i.e. tone 11 (D3) instead of tone 33 (A3) as in the other Karenic languages.

Chinese comparandum

紡 OC ***pʼi̯wɑŋ**, *GSR* #740r ‘twist, spin’; Schuessler 2007:232 ***phaŋʔ**; B & S 2011: ***p^{h}aŋʔ**; Mand. **fǎng**.

(56) PKar *b-ʔwaN^{A} TERMITE

7. Karenic			
*Karen	***b-ʔwaN^{A}**	termite	Luangthongkum 2013:293
Kayah	**phu^{55}wa^{33}**	termite	Luangthongkum 2013:293
Kayan	**baʔ^{21}ʔu^{53}**	termite	Luangthongkum 2013:293
Pa-O (Southern)	**pi^{33}ʔwa$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	termite	Luangthongkum 2013:293
Pa-O (Northern)	**pi^{55}ʔwa$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	termite	Luangthongkum 2013:293
Pwo (Northern)	**paʔ^{21}ʔɔ̃^{55}**	termite	Luangthongkum 2013:293
Pwo (Southern)	**pu^{33}ʔɔ̃$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	termite	Luangthongkum 2013:293
Sgaw (Northern)	**pə^{11}ʔuʔ^{45}**	termite	Luangthongkum 2013:293
Sgaw (Southern)	**pə^{11}ʔɔuʔ^{21}**	termite	Luangthongkum 2013:293

(57) PKar *bi^{B} TERMITE (winged)

7. Karenic			
*Karen	***bi^{B}**	termite (winged~)	Luangthongkum 2013:294 [a]
Karen [Burling]	***phin¹**	termite (winged~)	Luangthongkum 2013:294
Bwe	**pə^{33}ʔi^{33}**	termite (winged~)	Luangthongkum 2013:294
Kayah	**pi^{11}**	termite (winged~)	Luangthongkum 2013:294
Kayan	**pi^{11}**	termite (winged~)	Luangthongkum 2013:294
Kayaw	**pi^{11}ʔi^{11}**	termite (winged~)	Luangthongkum 2013:294
Pa-O (Northern)	**phi^{53}**	termite (winged~)	Luangthongkum 2013:294
Pa-O (Southern)	**pi^{55}**	termite (winged~)	Luangthongkum 2013:294
Pwo (Northern)	**phai$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	termite (winged~)	Luangthongkum 2013:294

[a] [Source Note] Pwo vowels are irregular, i.e. ai and ɛi instead of ei.

Pwo (Southern)	**phɛi**[33]	termite (winged~)	Luangthongkum 2013:294
Sgaw (Southern)	**pi**[31]	termite (winged~)	Luangthongkum 2013:294
Sgaw (Northern)	**pi**[11ˣˣ]	termite (winged~)	Luangthongkum 2013:294

(58) PTani *pi TICK

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***pi**	tick	Sun 1993a:432

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	**pi**-rjap	tick; tick (cattle ~)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	šə-rə ta-**pi:**	tick	Sun 1993a
	sə-rə ta-**pi:**	tick (cattle~)	Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**pi**	tick	Sun 1993a

Chinese comparandum

蜱 OC ***b'i̱ĕr** ~ ***b'i̱ĕg**, *GSR* #874u 'tick'; Schuessler 2007: (***be**); B & S 2011: (***be**); Mand. **pí**.
蜌 OC (***b'i̱ər**), *GSR* (not in #566) 'tick'; Schuessler 2007: (***pê**); B & S 2011: (***pᶴe**); Mand. **bī**.

(59) PKar *khej[B] TICK

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***khej**[B]	tick	Luangthongkum 2013:301
**Karen [Burling]*	***khi**[2]	tick	Luangthongkum 2013:301
Bwe	**khi**[33]	tick	Luangthongkum 2013:301
Kayah	**khə**[11]	tick	Luangthongkum 2013:301
Kayan	**khi**[11]	tick	Luangthongkum 2013:301
Kayaw	**khi**[11]	tick	Luangthongkum 2013:301
Pwo (Northern)	**khei**[33]	tick	Luangthongkum 2013:301
Pwo (Southern)	**khei**[55]	tick	Luangthongkum 2013:301
Sgaw (Northern)	**khi**[31~]	tick	Luangthongkum 2013:301
Sgaw (Southern)	**khi**[45ʼ]	tick	Luangthongkum 2013:301

(60) PLB *s-yawŋ[2] WAX / BEESWAX

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	bha **yoṅ:**	wax	Marrison 1967
Hpun (Northern)	tă **ʃɔ̀ŋ**	beeswax	Henderson 1986

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	bà-**sjò**	beeswax	Björverud 1994
Yi (Liangshan)	ʤi[21]**ʂɯ**[33]	bee's wax	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lisu (Northern)	bja[21]mi[21]**ʃu**[55]	beeswax of wood bees	Bradley 1994
	bja[21]**ʃu**[55]	yellow wax; beeswax	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	byá[5] **shaw**[1]	beeswax; wax (bees')	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	ji[33]**ʃu**[55]	wax (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɣa[55]bja[21]**ʃu**[55]	beeswax of rock bee	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	bjà **sjhàŋ**	beeswax	Hansson 1989:442
Akha (Thai)	bjà-**sjhàŋ**	beeswax	Hansson 1989:442
Hani (Lüchun)	bjà **shɔ̀**	beeswax	Hansson 1989:442
Hani (Wordlist)	bbiaq **saoq**	beeswax	Hansson 1989:442
Mpi	**suŋ**[2]	bees / wax	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

(61) PKar *roŋ[B] WEEVIL

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***roŋ**[B]	weevil	Luangthongkum 2013:328
Kayah	**rɔ**[11]	weevil	Luangthongkum 2013:328
Kayan	**ro**[11]	weevil	Luangthongkum 2013:328
Kayaw	**rə**[11]	weevil	Luangthongkum 2013:328
Pa-O (Northern)	**roŋ**[53]	weevil	Luangthongkum 2013:328
Pa-O (Southern)	**roŋ**[55]	weevil	Luangthongkum 2013:328
Pwo (Northern)	**ɣãu**[11]	weevil	Luangthongkum 2013:328
Pwo (Southern)	**βõu**[33]	weevil	Luangthongkum 2013:328
Sgaw (Northern)	**ɣə**[11ˣˣ]	weevil	Luangthongkum 2013:328
Sgaw (Southern)	**ɣɨ**[31]	weevil	Luangthongkum 2013:328

(62) PTB *zril WORM

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***zril**	worm	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:148p; Matisoff 2003a:621

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**til**	earthworm	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:148p; Benedict 1972:171n457

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	dár-**srin**	worm (silk)	Jäschke 1881
	ḥbu-**srin**	worm / insect / any small vermin	Jäschke 1881
	kʻoŋ-**srín**	worm (intestinal)	Jäschke 1881
	rgyu-**srín**	worm (intestinal)	Jäschke 1881
	sril	worm (silk)	Jäschke 1881
	sril / **srin**(-bu)	worm; silkworm; worm (silk-worm)	Benedict 1972:15n53; Benedict 1972:37n121
	srin-bu	insect / worm / vermin	Jäschke 1881
	srín-bu me-ḥkʻyér	worm (glow)	Jäschke 1881
	srin-ḥbu	worm / insect / any small vermin	Jäschke 1881
	srin bu	worm	Marrison 1967

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	**ti**[22]	earthworm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0363.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ti**[22]	earthworm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:166.40
Burmese (Written)	**ti**	earthworm	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:148p; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:171n457
	ti[2]	earthworm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0363.26
	ti[2]	earthworm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:166.39

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**di̱ĕn**/i̱ĕn	earthworm	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:371c
	di̱ĕn/i̱ĕn:	earthworm	Karlgren 1957:371c
	di̱ən/i̱ĕn	earthworm	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:450j
	di̱ən/i̱ĕn:	earthworm	Karlgren 1957:450j
	d̂i̱ɑn/źi̱ɑ̈n:	worm	Karlgren 1957:148p
	d̂i̱ɑn/źi̱ɑ̈n	earthworm	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:148p

Chinese comparandum

蟺 OC ***d̂i̱ɑn**, *GSR* #148p; Mand. **shān**;
蟫 OC ***di̱ən**, *GSR* #450j; B & S 2011: ***m-qər? {[m-q](r)ə[r]?}**; Mand. **yīn**;
蚓 OC ***di̱ĕn**, *GSR* #371c; B & S 2011: ***m-qər? {[m-q](r)ə[r]?}**; Mand. **yīn**.

(63) PTani *pum WORM / INSECT

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***pum**	worm / insect	Sun 1993a:475

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	ta-**pum**	worm; insect	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **pum**	insect; worm; maggot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0359.24
	ta-**pum**	worm; insect; insect, worm	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **pum**	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.51
Galo	ta **pum**	insect (terrestrial) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **pum**	worm	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **pum**-'ta loo	insect (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	to **pum**	insect	Simon 1976
Tagin	ta **pum** ta rap	ant	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**pum**	worm / insect	Sun 1993a
Damu	ta-**pəm**	insect	Sun 1993b
Milang	ta-**pim**	worm	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	ta: **pum**	insect	NEFA (India) 1963
	tɑ[31]**pum**[55]	insect / worm (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0353.22
	tɑ[31]**pum**[55]	insect / worm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:169.49

(64) TGTM *[B]ʃjat louse

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*[B]**ʃjat**	louse	Mazaudon 1978:37
Gurung (Ghachok)	[2]**se**	louse	Mazaudon 1978:37
Manang (Ngawal)	[2]**ʃje**	louse	Mazaudon 1978:37
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]**ʃjat**	louse	Mazaudon 1978:37
Tamang (Sahu)	[2]**sjet**	louse	Mazaudon 1978:37
	[1]**sjai**	louse	Mazaudon 1978:37
Tamang (Taglung)	[2]**ʃje:**	louse	Mazaudon 1978:37
Thakali (Marpha)	[2]**ʃje**	louse	Mazaudon 1978:37
Thakali (Syang)	[2]**ʃje**	louse	Mazaudon 1978:37
Thakali (Tukche)	[H]**sje**	louse	Mazaudon 1978:37

2.2.7 Other Mammals

(1) PKC *paa-laak BAT

This Kuki-Chin binome bears a strong relationship to the monosyllabic root PTB ***ba:k** BAT (animal) (§2.2.7), which is also attested in Chin languages.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***paa**-laak	BAT	VanBik 2009:122

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**palak**	bat	VanBik 2009:122
Khumi	**pha(ng)lá**	bat	VanBik 2009:122

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**pàa**-laak	bat	VanBik 2009:122

(2) PTB *ba:k BAT (animal)

This root appears mostly in the NE Indian areal group, but also in Kiranti.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***pjək** ~ **bjək**	bat	Coblin 1986:39

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ba:k**	bat	Weidert 1987:675; Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:584
	***ba:k**	bat (n.)	Benedict 1972:325
	***bɑ:k**	bat	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:933

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ɓaak** BAT

**Chin*	***ɓaak**	BAT	VanBik 2009:6

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**baak**	bat	VanBik 2009:6
Sizang	**bāk**	bat	VanBik 2009:6
Thado	**bâʔ**	bat	VanBik 2009:6
	bàʔ	bat (bird)	Thirumalai 1972:60
Tiddim	**ba:k**[1]	bat (animal)	VanBik 2009:6; Bhaskararao 1996:57
	ʹba:k	bat (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**bǎak**	bat	Weidert 1987:675; VanBik 2009:6
	bâk	bat (animal)	Marrison 1967
	ba:k	bat	Bhaskararao 1996:57
	ba:k	bat (n.)	Benedict 1972:325

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**bā** lā pā	bat (n.)	VanBik 2009:6

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***paak** BAT

**Tangkhulic*	***paak**	bat	Mortensen 2012:724
Tusom	**buə**	bat	Mortensen 2012:Animals.100

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	do-**bak**	bat (n.)	Benedict 1972:325

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***Ç-bak** BAT

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-bak**	bat	French 1983:454

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**phak** arang	bat (animal)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**bʌ́k**	bat	Weidert 1987:675
	pak	bat (animal)	Marrison 1967
Konyak	ou **pak**	bat (animal)	Marrison 1967
Phom	ap[33]**bak**[33]	bat (animal)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	ao **pak**	bat (animal)	Marrison 1967
	pak pi	bat (animal)	Marrison 1967

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	**'pāk** ti	bat (animal, large); bat (animal, small) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.024; Hale 1973:03a.025

Chinese comparandum

蝙蝠 OC (***pi̱ŭk**), *GSR* (not in #933) 'bat (animal)'; Schuessler 2007:165 ST ***p/bək**; B & S 2011: (***pək**); Mand. **fú**.

Comment: In Chinese, 蝙 **fú** is usually found in the compound 蝙蝠, Mand. **biānfú**, which is the common word for 'bat (animal)'. The compound itself is of quite ancient origin (cf. *Shuowen*).

(3) PTani *pon BAT / FLYING FOX

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***pon**	bat / flying fox	Sun 1993a:17
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	kà-mo tà-**puŋ**	bat (small)	Sun 1993b
	tà-**pùŋ**	bat	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**pin**-či [pinč]	bat	Sun 1993b
	pin-tɕi	bat / flying fox	Sun 1993a
Bokar	ta **pen**	bat (Nanim.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0337.24
	ta-**pen**	bat; flying fox; bat (animal)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **pen**	bat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:149.51
Galo	ta **pen**	bat; flying fox (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ta **pen**-**pen** ruu	batcave (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	ta **pɤn**	bat	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pon**-sik	bat / flying fox	Sun 1993a
Damu	**pon**-dɯ	bat (animal)	Sun 1993b

(4) PTB *rŋa-mwaŋ CAMEL

The first syllable of this binome apparently means TAIL / BACK (cf. PTB ***r-ŋa*** TAIL / BACK (§1.4.10.1)), possibly because of the dramatic appearance of a camel's back.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	***aŋmuŋ**	camel	Sun 1993b
	aŋmuŋ	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.24
2.1.2. BODIC			
Cuona Menba	**ŋa^{53}mo^{53}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rŋamaŋ**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hŋæmoŋ**	camel	Sun 1985a:116
Tibetan (Balti)	**ʂŋa:boŋ**	camel	Rangan 1975:40; Rangan 1975:76
Tibetan (Batang)	**ŋa^{55}muʔ^{53}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**a^{55}mo:^{55}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.02
Tibetan (Written)	**rnga.mong**	camel	Sun 1985c:116
	rŋamoŋ	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.01
	rŋɑ-bóŋ	camel	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hŋamoŋ**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.04
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**ŋa^{55}mʉ^{55}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.16
Lyuzu	**ŋæ^{33}mu^{53}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.18
Muya	**ŋɐ^{55}mu^{33}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ŋə^{55}my^{55}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ŋa^{55}mo^{55}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.09
Queyu (Xinlong)	**rŋa^{55}mu^{55}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ŋa^{33}mʊ̃^{55}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**rŋɛmu**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.12
Nyagrong Minyag (Ganzi Xinlong)	**ˉrŋa mru**	camel	Nagano & Prins 2013:1491
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	**raŋ muŋ**	camel	Nagano & Prins 2013:1491
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	**rŋa22 mu44**	camel	Nagano & Prins 2013:1491
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	**rŋa44 moŋ44**	camel	Nagano & Prins 2013:1491
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**rŋamoŋ**	camel	Nagano & Prins 2013:1491
Caodeng	**rŋɐ-moŋ**	camel	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	**rŋɐ22 moɴ44**	camel	Nagano & Prins 2013:1491
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**rŋɐmuŋ**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.11
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	**rŋɑmoŋ**	camel	Nagano & Prins 2013:1491
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	**ˉŋɐ moˀŋ**	camel	Nagano & Prins 2013:1491
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	**ˊrŋʌ moŋ**	camel	Nagano & Prins 2013:1491
rGBenzhen	**rŋa-moŋ**	camel	Sun 1997b
6.2. NAXI			
Na (Yongning)	**njɤ˧mv˥**mi˩	camel	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**ŋə^{33}mu^{33}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.45

(5) IA *uṣṭra- CAMEL

This Indo-Aryan loanword is set up as **uṣṭra-**, but the Tibeto-Burman forms are binomes from Sanskrit **kúla-** 'Indian' and **uṣṭra-** 'camel', with **kúla-** indicating that this is not a native word.

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**ko^{33}la^{33}uk^{55}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.19
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	**gɔ^{33} lɑ^{53} wuʔ**	camel	LaPolla 2003:325
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ku^{53}lɑ^{55}oʔ^{4}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.27
Burmese (Written)	**ku^{1}lɑ^{3}up^{4}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.26
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Lancang)	**kɑ^{21}lɑ^{21}o^{54}**	camel (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0283.43
7. KARENIC			
Pa-O	**kəlà ʔòk**	camel	Solnit 1989

(6) PKar *(jow^{B})wi^{A} MOLE

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	*(**jow^{B}**)wi^{A}	mole	Luangthongkum 2013:188
**Karen [Burling]*	***wi^{3}**	mole	Luangthongkum 2013:188
Bwe	**wi^{33}**	mole	Luangthongkum 2013:188
Kayah	**jo^{11}wi^{11}**	mole	Luangthongkum 2013:188
Kayaw	**ju^{11}wi^{33}**	mole	Luangthongkum 2013:188
Pa-O (Northern)	**ju^{53}wi^{33}**	mole	Luangthongkum 2013:188
Pa-O (Southern)	**ju^{55}wi^{53}**	mole	Luangthongkum 2013:188
Pwo (Northern)	**wei^{55}**	mole	Luangthongkum 2013:188
Pwo (Southern)	**wei$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	mole	Luangthongkum 2013:188
Sgaw (Southern)	**wi^{33}**	mole	Luangthongkum 2013:188
Sgaw (Northern)	**wi^{33}**	mole	Luangthongkum 2013:188

(7) PTani *pit PANGOLIN

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***pit**	pangolin	Sun 1993a:287
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	si-**pi**	pangolin	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	ši-**čit** lo-po:	pangolin	Sun 1993a
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	si-**pit**	pangolin	Sun 1993a

(8) PKar *jo^{A} PANGOLIN, ANTEATER

7. KARENIC				
**Karen*	***jo^{A}**	pangolin, anteater	Luangthongkum 2013:211	[a]
Bwe	**jo^{33}**-θo^{33}	pangolin, anteater	Luangthongkum 2013:211	
Kayah	**ju^{11}**	pangolin, anteater	Luangthongkum 2013:211	
Kayan	**ɟau^{33}**	pangolin, anteater	Luangthongkum 2013:211	
Kayaw	**ju^{33}**	pangolin, anteater	Luangthongkum 2013:211	
Pa-O (Northern)	**ju^{33}**	pangolin, anteater	Luangthongkum 2013:211	
Pwo (Northern)	**ju$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**~	pangolin, anteater	Luangthongkum 2013:211	
Pwo (Southern)	**ji$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	pangolin, anteater	Luangthongkum 2013:211	
Sgaw (Northern)	**jo^{33}** hɔ$^{31\sim}$	pangolin, anteater	Luangthongkum 2013:211	
Sgaw (Southern)	**ju^{33}**	pangolin, anteater	Luangthongkum 2013:211	

[a] [Source Note] S.Pwo has an irregular vowel, i.e. it should be u not i.

2.2.7.1 Otter

(1) PTB *sram OTTER

Written Burmese **phyam** has always presented a puzzle (see *STC* 107, n. 302). In Matisoff 2010 ("Toward a Eurasian Bestiary"), I surmised that the labial initial arose through a reduction of a Mon-Khmer etymon (see Mon-Khmer ***bheʔ***, Shorto 2006:#260).

Lisu **pu̱^{33}** and Hani (Khatu) **pjá tɔ̃** seem clearly to be loans from Burmese.

After much hesitation, *STC* chose to treat the initial combination ***sr-*** as an intrinsic cluster rather than as a sequence of prefix plus root initial. This analysis is buttressed by forms like Mizo **sa-hram**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ram**	otter	Weidert 1987:229; Matisoff 2003a:609; Matisoff 1983:19; Benedict 1972:438
	s-ram**=sram**	otter	LaPolla 1987:154
	***sram**	otter	Benedict 1972:42n135
	***sram or s-ram**	otter	Matisoff 2003a:613
1.1.1. TANI: ***ram** OTTER			
**Tani*	***ram**	otter	Sun 1993a:283
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	sɯ-**rĩ**	otter	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	si-**ram**	otter	Sun 1993b
	šɯ-**ram**	otter	Sun 1993a
Bokar	šə-**ram**	otter	Sun 1993a
	sə-**ram**	otter	Sun 1993b
	ɕə **ram**	otter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.24
Bokar Lhoba	ɕ́ə **ram**	otter	LaPolla 1987:154
	ɕə **ram**	otter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:133.51
Galo	ho **ram**	otter; Amblonyx cinereus concolor (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻram pin	otter skin (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	si-**ram**	otter	Sun 1993a
Damu	ɕi-**ram**	otter	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	si-**ram**	otter	LaPolla 1987:154; Benedict 1972:438
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	xɑ^{31}**ɹɯŋ**^{35}	otter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.22
	xɑ^{31}**ɹɯŋ**^{35}	otter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:133.49
Kaman [Miju]	**ram**^{35}	otter	LaPolla 1987:154
	ɹɑm^{35}	otter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.23
	ɹɑm^{35}	otter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:133.48
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***hram** OTTER			
**Chin*	***hram**	OTTER	VanBik 2009:1091
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	sa **ham**	otter	VanBik 2009:1091
Thado	túi **hám**	otter ("water otter")	VanBik 2009:1091
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**ahăn**	otter	VanBik 2009:1091
Cho (Mindat)	tui **hram**	otter ("water otter")	VanBik 2009:1091
Khumi	**sahaang**	otter-like animal, small (stiped fur, lives in the river, eats fish)	VanBik 2009:1091
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	sàay-**hrĕm**	otter	VanBik 2009:1091
	sai-**hrem**	otter	VanBik 1995–
Lushai [Mizo]	sa-**hrăm**	otter (n.)	VanBik 2009:1091
	sa-**hram**	otter	LaPolla 1987:154; Benedict 1972:108n304,438; Marrison 1967
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	sìa-**hrá**	otter	VanBik 2009:1091
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***ra:m** OTTER			
**Central Naga*	***ra:m**	OTTER	Bruhn 2014a:III.124
Ao (Chungli)	**shirem**	otter	Marrison 1967
	sim^{3}	otter (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	^{3}ši^{1}m	otter	Weidert 1987:229

Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	**tʃíɹə́m**	otter (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**chiram**	otter	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**siɹəm**	otter (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	te[1]-**ran**[3]	otter (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.124
	te **ran**	otter	Murry *et al.* 1978:82
	[1]de[3]**ran(ʔ)**	otter	Weidert 1987:229
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	[2]khuo[5]**rha**	otter	Weidert 1987:229
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	a-**ram**	otter	Weidert 1987:30
Zeme	[1]he[4]**ram**	otter	Weidert 1987:30
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ram** OTTER			
**Tangkhulic*	***ram**	otter	Mortensen 2012:438
Huishu	ʃə-**ram**	otter	Mortensen 2012:Animals.099
Ukhrul	si-**rɐm**	otter	Mortensen 2012
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**serim**	otter	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:154; Benedict 1972:108n304
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	ma **tham**	otter	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:154; Benedict 1972:107n301; Benedict 1972:438
Kokborok	ma-**t[h]am**	otter	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	mo **ʈam**	otter	Weidert 1987:157
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	mat-**ram**	otter	Weidert 1987:157; LaPolla 1987:154; Benedict 1972:108n304; Benedict 1972:438
Garo (Bangladesh)	mat-**ram**	otter (n.)	Burling 2003:4.419-II:idx
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***(Ç-)rom** OTTER			
**Northern Naga*	***(Ç-)rom**	otter	French 1983:530
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**lám**	otter	Weidert 1987:30
	lam	otter	Marrison 1967
Khiamngan	[1]**yam**	otter	Weidert 1987:30
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**saram**	otter	Marrison 1967
	šərām	otter	Matisoff 1974:143
	śəram	otter	LaPolla 1987:154; Benedict 1972:108n304; Benedict 1972:438
	ʃă[31]ʒam[33]	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.19
	ʃă[31]ʒam[33]	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.47
	ʃă[1]ʒam[33]	otter	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**sam**	otter	LaPolla 1987:154; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tsɑm[55]**	otter	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tʂam[53]**	otter	LaPolla 1987:154
	tʂam[53]	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.6
Motuo Menba	**sam**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.07
Cuona Menba	**tʂam[53]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ʂam**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ʂam**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ʂam**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.5
	ʂæm	otter	Sun 1985a:720
Tibetan (Batang)	**sɑ̃[55]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**sɑŋ[55]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂam[55]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.02
	tʂam[55]	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.2
Tibetan (Written)	brɑg-**srám**	rock-otter? / sable?	Jäschke 1881
	č'u-**srɑm**	otter? / beaver?	Jäschke 1881
	nyá-**srɑm**	otter / fishes and otters	Jäschke 1881
	sram	otter	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1983:19; Matisoff 1974:143; Sun 1985c:720; LaPolla 1987:154; Benedict 1972:108n304
	sram	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.01
	sram	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.1
	srɑm	otter	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ʂam**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**saryom**	otter	LaPolla 1987:154
	săryom	otter	Benedict 1972:438
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	tʃhə[55]**sɑ̃[55]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.16
Lyuzu	**ʂe[35]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.18
Muya	**dʑuə[24]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.15
Muya [Minyak]	**dʑyɐ[35]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ʂẽ[55]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**skhɛ̃[55]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**skhɛ̃[55]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**xĩ[55]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**ɣdzi̱**	otter	LaPolla 1987:154; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.8
	ɣdzi̱əə[1]	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.08
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**sõ[53]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʂsɛ[55]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.13
Xumi	**ʂɛ̃[55]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.17
	ʂɛ̃[55]	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	tʌ[33]**ʂi[33]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**szɻm**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.14
Daofu	**ʂsəm**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Caodeng	**srɐm**	otter	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tʃhə **srɑm**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.11
rGyalrong	tʃə **ʃram**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.12
	sram	otter	Nagano 1997:10.5
rGBenzhen	**ʃram**	otter	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Anong	**iəram**	otter	Benedict 1972:438
	səram	otter	LaPolla 1987:154
Rawang	**ʃəram[31]**	otter	LaPolla 2003:362
Trung [Dulong]	**suɯ[31]ɹăm[53]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.46
Dulong	**ɕɯ[31]ɹɑm[53]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**suɯ[31] ram[53]**	otter	LaPolla 1987:154
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**suɯ[31] ram[53]**	otter	LaPolla 1987:154
	suɯ[31]ɹɑ̆m[53]	otter	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***sram[1]** OTTER			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***sram**	otter	Weidert 1987:157; LaPolla 1987:154; Benedict 1972:438
	***sram[1]**	otter	Matisoff 2003a:613
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**sam[55]**	otter	LaPolla 1987:154
	sam[55]	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.28
	sam[55]	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ʑam[35]**	otter	LaPolla 1987:154
	ʑam[35]	otter	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**xɛ̃[55]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.32
Hpun (Northern)	**ʃɛ́**	otter	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**xɛ̃** [31]	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ʃa̱m[33]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.33
Maru [Langsu]	**xɛ̃[31]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.43
	χrɛn	otter	Benedict 1972:438
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**xam[51]**	otter	LaPolla 1987:154
	xam[51]	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.30
	xam[51]	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ʃ-/ʔp-yam[1]**	otter	Weidert 1987:157; Bradley 1979b:29; Hansson 1989:395
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Northern)	**kɹɔ[31]**	otter	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**xɹɛ[35]**	otter	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**xɹɑ[35]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.45
Nusu (Central)	ŋa[55]**dza[55]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.34
Yi (Dafang)	**ʑi[21]ʂ[33]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʂo[34]**nd**ʑ**[33]	skin, otter	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂo[34]z**ɯ**[33]	otter	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**ʑi[21]ɕe[55]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ʑi[33]ʂi[33]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.24
	ʑi[33]ʂə̱[33]	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.37
Yi (Wuding)	**ji[11]se[33]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.38
Yi (Xide)	**ʂo[33]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.35
	ʂo[33]	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**ʃɛ[44]**a[44]**m**ɔ[44]	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.44
	ɕɛ[42]	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**ɕɛ[42]**ɑ[44]**m**ɔ[44]	otter	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	**šo**	otter	Benedict 1972:108n304
Lahu (Black)	ɡì-**šo**-lo	otter	Matisoff 1974:143
Yi (Sani)	ž[33]**ʂɤ[44]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**sjhɱ́**	otter	Hansson 1989:395
Akha (Yunnan)	ý **sjhɱ́**/ ý **shɱ́**	otter	Hansson 1989:395
Akha (Thai)	ý-**sjhɱ́**	otter	Hansson 1989:395
Bisu	láŋ **ʃám**	otter	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	ɯ[55]**sɔ[55]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.31
Hani (Lüchun)	ɯ[55]**sɔ[55]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.41
Hani (Pijo)	**sjhí**	otter	Hansson 1989:395
	ɣý **sjhí**	otter	Hansson 1989:395
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɤ[55]**se[55]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	ɯ[55]**ɕɱ[55]**	otter	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	eel **saol**	otter	Hansson 1989:395
Hani (Shuikui)	ɣɯ[55]**ʃu[55]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.32
Hani (Khatu)	**pjá** tɔ̃	otter	Hansson 1989:395
Hani (Mojiang)	ɯ[55]**ʃu[55]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.42
Côông [Phunoi]	**sam**	otter	Benedict 1972:438
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ʂɹ̩**	otter	Michaud 2006–2009:3875
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʂua[33]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.29
Naxi	**ʂu[21]**	otter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0317.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʂu[31]**	otter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:133.28

Chinese comparandum

猵 OC ***piɑn**, *GSR* #246i 'otter'; Schuessler 2007:165 ***pên**; Mand. **biān**.

Comment: Cf. discussion in *STC* 107, n. 302, also Matisoff (2010). Forms with initial **p-** for 'otter' are apparently rare across TB languages except for Written/Spoken Burmese (WB **phyam**) and possibly Sak and Marma (both **phaing**).

2.3 Associated Animal Terms

(1) PKC *pluŋ ANTHILL

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***pluŋ**	ANTHILL	VanBik 2009:1247
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**tung[1]** tu:n[1]	white anthill; white-ant hill	VanBik 2009:1247; Bhaskararao 1996:1838
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**blüng**	anthill	VanBik 2009:1247

Cho (Mindat)	ng-**plung**	white anthill	VanBik 2009:1247
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**sèn** tlúŋ	white anthill	VanBik 2009:1247
Lai (Hakha)	**tshŭun**-tlûŋ	white anthill	VanBik 2009:1247
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chhō**-tlô^{3}	anthill, clay formed by white ants (n.)	VanBik 2009:1247

(2) PNC *khuay-kaay BEEHIVE

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
**Northern Chin*	***khuay**-kaay	BEEHIVE	VanBik 2009:256
Sizang	**hkwē** kai	beehive	VanBik 2009:256
Thado	**khúoy**-káay	beehive	VanBik 2009:256
Tiddim	**khuai**^{2} ka:i^{2}	beehive	VanBik 2009:256

(3) PTB *s-rap BIT (FOR HORSE)

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	**tʂap**	bit (for horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.24
	tʂap ta	reins (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0596.24
2.1.2. Bodic			
Motuo Menba	**tʂap**	bit (for horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.07
Cuona Menba	**tsap**^{53}	bit (for horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ʂæp**	bit (for horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.05
Tibetan (Batang)	**sɑu?**^{53}	bit (for horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	tə^{55}**tʂəp**^{52}	bit (for horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.02
Tibetan (Written)	**srab**	bit (for horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ʂap**	bit (for horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.04

(4) PKar *kɨ^{A} CARAPACE / SHELL

7. Karenic				
**Karen*	***kɨ**^{A}	carapace, shell	Luangthongkum 2013:43	[a]
Bwe	**ko**^{55}	carapace, shell	Luangthongkum 2013:43	
Kayah	ʔa^{11}**kɔ**^{33}	carapace, shell	Luangthongkum 2013:43	
Kayan	**ko**^{53}	carapace, shell	Luangthongkum 2013:43	
Kayaw	ʔa^{11}**kɨ**^{55}	carapace, shell	Luangthongkum 2013:43	
Pwo (Northern)	ʔa^{11}**kọu**^{55}	carapace, shell	Luangthongkum 2013:43	
Pwo (Southern)	**ku**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	carapace, shell	Luangthongkum 2013:43	
Sgaw (Northern)	**kɨʔ**^{45}	carapace, shell	Luangthongkum 2013:43	
Sgaw (Southern)	**kɨ**^{55}	carapace, shell	Luangthongkum 2013:43	

[a] [Source Note] Kayan has irregular vowel, i.e. o, instead of ɨ. N.Sgaw also has irregular tone, i.e. tone D.

(5) PKC *ŋooy FISH-TRAP

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ŋooy**	FISH-TRAP	VanBik 2009:854
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**ŋóoy**	fish-trap netting across a river (n.)	VanBik 2009:854
Tiddim	**ngo:i**^{2}	fishing basket	VanBik 2009:854
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**ngáwi**	fish-trap, a fishing-dam or weir (n.)	VanBik 2009:854

(6) PKC *θek SPUR (of fowl)

This root resembles PTB ***dak*** COCKSPUR / HOOF (§1.5.10.4), although the initial consonant correspondence presents a problem.

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***θek**	SPUR (of fowl)	VanBik 2009:629
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**tsèʔ**	spur of bird	VanBik 2009:629
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	a **shet**	spur (of a fowl) (n.)	VanBik 2009:629
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**fek**	spur of bird	VanBik 2009:629

(7) PKar *ploŋ^{B} TERMITE MOUND

This root seems to be allofamically related to PKar ***phloŋ**^{B} CLASSIFIER FOR ROUND OBJECTS (§10.1.3).

7. Karenic				
**Karen*	***ploŋ**^{B}	termite mound	Luangthongkum 2013:295	[a]
Bwe	**plo**^{33}	termite mound	Luangthongkum 2013:295	
Kayah	**plɔ**^{11}	termite mound	Luangthongkum 2013:295	
Kayan	**bləu**^{11}	termite mound	Luangthongkum 2013:295	
Kayaw	**plə**^{11}	termite mound	Luangthongkum 2013:295	
Pa-O (Northern)	**phloŋ**^{55}	termite mound	Luangthongkum 2013:295	
Pa-O (Southern)	**ploŋ**^{33}	termite mound	Luangthongkum 2013:295	
Pwo (Northern)	**phlãu**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	termite mound	Luangthongkum 2013:295	
Pwo (Southern)	**phlõu**^{33}	termite mound	Luangthongkum 2013:295	
Sgaw (Northern)	**blə**$^{31\sim}$	termite mound	Luangthongkum 2013:295	

[a] [Source Note] Pwo has tone B3 which suggests a voiced onset *bl-.

(8) PKC *nor TRUNK (elephant)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***nor**	TRUNK (elephant)	VanBik 2009:843
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**náw**	trunk (of an elephant)	VanBik 2009:843
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**nŏr**	elephant trunk	VanBik 2009:843
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**nào**	elephant trunk	VanBik 2009:843

2.4 Other Verbs Pertaining to Animals

(1) PKC *khuaŋ-I, *khuan-II; *huaŋ-I, *huan-II CROW (v.)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***khuaŋ-I**, **khuan-II**; **huaŋ-I**, **huan-II**	CROW (v.)	VanBik 2009:435
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**khúoŋ-I**, **khùon-II**	crow (fowl)	VanBik 2009:435
Tiddim	**huang**^{3} > **huan**^{3}	crow like a cock	VanBik 2009:435
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**khawng**	crow, as the cock crows (v.)	VanBik 2009:435
Khumi	**kheéwng**	crow (of rooster)	VanBik 2009:435
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**khûaŋ-I**, **khŭan-II**	crow (fowl)	VanBik 2009:435
Lushai [Mizo]	**khuang**	crow as a cock (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2575
	khúaŋ-I, **khùan-II**	crow as cock (v.)	VanBik 2009:435
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**khò**	crow as a cock (v.)	VanBik 2009:435

(2) PTani *krok CROW (v.)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***krok**	crow (v.)	Sun 1993a:88
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**k^{h}rjo**	crow (v.)	Sun 1993b
	xò	crow (v.)	Sun 1993b
	xrjo	crow (v.)	Sun 1993a
	^{2}xryo? (^{2})	crow (v.)	Weidert 1987:690
Bengni	**kuk**	crow (v.)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	kuk	roar	Sun 1993b
Galo	**kog** nam	crow (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆkog-	crow (v.)	Weidert 1987:690
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kok**	crow (v.)	Sun 1993a

(3) PTB *groy CROW / HOWL / SCREECH / SCREAM

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***groy**	crow / howl (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:591
	***groy**	howl; scream; crow; scream, bark	LaPolla 1987:175; Benedict 1972:310
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**gɹɑ**^{53}	bark (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:783.49
Idu	**gɹɑ**^{35}	bark (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:783.50
Yidu	**gɹɑ**^{35}	bark (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.25
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	wa **hɹu**	crow, raven (n.)	Coupe 2007
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**goi**	crow, as a cock, squeak	Benedict 1972:310
	mə **groi**	howl, scream; howl, scream, crow	LaPolla 1987:175; Benedict 1972:310
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**gɹu**^{53}	bark (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:783.46
Dulong	**gɹu**^{55}	bark (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1432.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**gru**^{53}	bark	LaPolla 1987:175
	gɹu^{53}	bark (v.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**gru**^{53}	bark	LaPolla 1987:175
	gɹu^{53}	bark (v.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**krwê**	call out, shout	Benedict 1976a
	krwè ~ **kywè**	call out, halloo, shout; screech and scream in large numbers, as birds; call out, hallow, shout	Benedict 1972:310; LaPolla 1987:175
	kywê	call out, shout	Benedict 1976a

(4) PCC *vul? REAR (animal) / DOMESTICATE

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***vul?**	REAR (animal) / DOMESTICATE	VanBik 2009:1166
Lai (Hakha)	**vul?**	rear (animal), domesticate	VanBik 2009:1166
Lushai [Mizo]	**vùlh**	keep or rear (as domestic animals or poultry) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1166

(5) PTB *w $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{u}\\\mathbf{i}\end{matrix}$ l TEND (grazing animals) / WATCH OVER

This etymon is perhaps allofamic with PTB ***s-r-way*** LEAD (v.) / TEND / WATCH / GUARD (§6.2.2).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***wul**	tend grazing animals	Matisoff 2003a:619
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***wil** WATCH / LOOK AFTER / CARE FOR			
**Chin*	***wil**	WATCH / LOOK AFTER / CARE FOR	VanBik 2009:1179
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**vil** hī	watch (as a sentry)	VanBik 2009:1179
Tiddim	**vil**^{3}	watch and look, keep watch (as a sentry)	VanBik 2009:1179
	vil^{3}	watch and look (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1958
	vil^{3}	watch and look	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**vĭl**	watch over, to look after, to tend, to care for, to take care of (v.)	VanBik 2009:1179
	vul	keep or rear (domestic animals)	Benedict 1972:p.83
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**vi**	tend, graze (flocks)	Benedict 1972:p.83

2.4.2 Sting

(1) PCN *tak STING

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***tak**	STING	Bruhn 2014a:III.236
**Ao*	*m-**tak**	STING	Bruhn 2014a:II.027
Ao (Chungli)	me **tak**	sting (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mə^{3}**tak**^{3}	sting (vt.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.027
	mú **ták**	sting (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:10
Ao (Mongsen)	mú **ták**	sting (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:12
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	me **tak**	sting (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mə **tak**	sting [stung] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-mə **tak**-paʔ	sting (’sting’ (v.) + NR) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**tək**^{2}-	sting (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.236
	tak	sting (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tük a	sting	Murry *et al.* 1978:117
	ṭ̲ək à	sting (as bee)	Acharya 1975
	ṭ̲ək ù	sting (as bee) (v.)	Acharya 1975
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Mama)	**tak**^{53}	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.6

2.4.3 Animal Qualities

(1) PKC *hraaŋ-I, *hraan-II WILD / FRANTIC / ANGRY

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hraaŋ**-I, hraan-II	WILD / FRANTIC / ANGRY	VanBik 2009:1101
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**hang**	frantic	VanBik 2009:1101
Sizang	sa **hāng**	tiger	VanBik 2009:1101
Thado	**háaŋ**-I, hàan-II	wild, fierce, mad, crazy	VanBik 2009:1101
Tiddim	sa^{1} **haːng**^{2}	tiger (”wild animal”)	VanBik 2009:1101; Bhaskararao 1996:1488
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**haáng** sa	get angry (of an animal)	VanBik 2009:1101
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hrâaŋ**-I, hrăan-II	wild, frantic, get angry (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1101
Lai (Falam)	**hrăaŋ**-I, hràan-II	wild, frantic (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1101
Lushai [Mizo]	sà **hráang**	a term applied to the larger and more wild animals, e.g. bear, elephant, wild gayal, wild pig	VanBik 2009:1101
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hrà**	savage	VanBik 2009:1101

Volume 3

Natural Objects, Plants, Foods

3.1.0 Plants

(1) PTB *dziŋ PLANT (n.) / TREE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dziŋ**	plant / tree (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:588

4. NUNGIC

Anong	sɻ^{55}**dzɯn**^{31}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.44

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	saŋ^{31}**tseŋ**^{55}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.28
	saŋ^{31}**tseŋ**^{55}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.41

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	siq-**dzí**	tree	Björverud 1994
	thò-**dzí**	pine tree	Björverud 1994
	ʔnýˊ-**dzí**	China fir	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Northern)	she^{31}**dzə**^{35}	fir	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	shuɑ^{ɪ35}**dzə̃**^{ɪ35}	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.45
	thɔ̃^{31}**dzə̃**^{ɪ35}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.45
Nusu (Southern)	thɔ̃^{55}**dzə**^{35}	pine	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	thɔ̃^{55}**dzə̃**^{33}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.34
Nusu (Northern)	thə̃^{55}**dzə**^{35}	pine	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	ʑu^{31}**dzə**^{35}	fir	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	thɒ^{33}**dʑe**^{21}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.22
Yi (Mile)	ŋɯ^{33}**tsɛ**^{33}	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.25
	ʂu^{55}**tsɛ**^{33}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.25
Yi (Mojiang)	thɒ^{33}**dzɛ**^{21}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.26
Yi (Nanhua)	thɑ^{21}**dzɻ**^{33}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.37
	thʌ^{21}**dzɯ**^{33}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.24
	ŋɯ^{33}**dzɯ**^{33}	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.24
	ŋɯ^{33}**dzɻ**^{33}	fir (China) (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.37
Yi (Nanjian)	a^{55}ʐi^{33}lɑ^{33}te^{55}**dzɻ**^{55}	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.23
	sɻ̃^{33}**dzɻ**^{55}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.23
	thu^{21}**dzɻ**^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.23
Yi (Weishan)	thu^{21}**dzɻ**^{55}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.36
	ʔɲu^{55}**dzɻ**^{55}	fir (China) (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.36

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	a^{33}**tsɯ**^{33}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.34
	sɯ^{44}**tsɯ**^{31}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33}**tsɤ**^{44}	tree	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	thv31 **tɕɛ31**	pine tree	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Black)	(ɔ-)**cè**	plant (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:158,484
	šɨʔ-**cè**	tree ("wood-plant")	Matisoff 1988a:484
Lisu (Central)	(yi^{1})-**dzi**^{3}	trunk (of tree)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	a^{21}phi^{21}**dzi**^{33}	water-hemp tree (shrub growing on riverbanks) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}da^{21} ɕɯ^{55}**dzi**^{33}	kind of tree, Viburnum cylindricum (over 3m high with shiny feathery leaves, and black nuts like sorghum which may be used as dyestuff) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	bu^{21}dza^{44}**dzi**^{33}	mulberry tree	Bradley 1994
	dzi^{21}ʃɻ^{55}**dzi**^{33}	seed-bearing hemp (female hemp plant kept for seeds)	Bradley 1994
	dzi^{33}	a tree; cf. si^{35} (S, C.)	Bradley 1994
	dʑe^{44}**dzi**^{33}	palm tree	Bradley 1994
Lisu	e^{55}**dzɻ**^{33}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.27
Lisu (Northern)	fu^{33}ni^{33}**dzi**^{33}	kind of tree, Camptotheca acuminata (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	fu^{33}ɲi^{33}**dzi**^{33}	kind of tree, Camptotheca acuminata (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hchya^{2}-htsa^{2}-**dzi**^{3}	fig tree	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	hĩ^{33}hɤ^{33}**dzi**^{33}	kind of tree (used as building material)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	htaw^{5}-**dzi**^{3}	pine (sp.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{33}si^{35}**dzi**^{33}	kind of tree, oleander-leaf Rapanea	Bradley 1994
	jæʔ^{21}na^{33}**dzi**^{33}	tong tree (N.)	Bradley 1994
	kaʔ^{21}la^{21}**dzi**^{33}	olive tree (N.)	Bradley 1994
	khɤ^{21}sɯ^{21}**dzi**^{33}	fig tree	Bradley 1994
	khɤ^{21}tʃhɻ^{55}**dzi**^{33}	tree of Syzygium cumini	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}tɕa^{55}**dzi**^{33}	tea plant	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}kɔ^{33}**dzi**^{33}	red sandalwood tree (evergreen, reddish hard wood)	Bradley 1994
	lɤ^{44}**dzi**^{33}	cherry tree	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	lɤ^{44}tɕhø^{35}**dzi**^{33}	variety of cherry tree (n.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	lɤ^{44}tɕhɤ^{35}**dzi**^{33}	variety of cherry tree (n.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	mi^{33}tɕø^{44}**dzi**^{33}	banyan tree (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	mi^{33}tɕɤ^{33}**dzi**^{33}	banyan tree (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mæ^{35}**dzi**^{33}	mao-tree (shrub with fine fibre, often used to make wooden bowls and ladles) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{21}nø^{55}**dzi**^{33}	camphorwood tree	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}bɯ^{33}**dzi**^{33}	kind of hydrangea, Hydrangea macrophylla (lit. 'disgusting tree')	Bradley 1994
	ni^{55}**dzi**^{33}	kind of pine tree, Alnus tinctoria (N.)	Bradley 1994
	phæʔ^{21}**dzi**^{33}	white oak tree	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	si^{2}-**dzi**^{3}	tree (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	si^{21}dʑø^{33}**dzi**^{33}	evergreen dogwood, Cornus capitata (tree with fruit like lychee) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}le^{21}**dzi**^{33}	peach tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}pe^{55}**dzi**^{33}	wild jujube plant (shrub) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}tʃhɻ^{33}**dzi**^{33}	pear tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}**dzi**^{33}	tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}**dzi**^{33} ku^{33}si^{33}	under the tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}mɔ^{21}**dzi**^{33}	old tree; ancient tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}phy^{33}**dzi**^{33}	male tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}sɤ^{21}**dzi**^{33}	fruit tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}væʔ^{21}**dzi**^{33}	tree of caryotaurens	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tho^{31}**dzɻ**^{44}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.27
Lisu (Northern)	thɔ^{21}**dzi**^{33}	pine tree	Bradley 1994
	tsɯ^{55}**dzi**^{33}	chestnut tree	Bradley 1994
	tsɯ^{55}ma^{33}**dzi**^{33}	chestnut tree	Bradley 1994
	tʃhɻ^{33}dza^{44}**dzi**^{33}	chinaberry tree	Bradley 1994
	tʃhɻ^{33}dza^{44}la^{21}**dzi**^{33}	chinaberry tree, Melia azedarach (with edible fruit) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tɕhæ^{35}si^{35}**dzi**^{33}	mulberry wood; mulberry tree	Bradley 1994
	tɕhæ^{35}sɤ^{35}**dzi**^{33}	grind-crossbow-tree (tree with hard abrasive leaves good for polishing wooden objects and crossbows)	Bradley 1994
	tɕhæʔ^{21}ma^{55}**dzi**^{33}	kind of tree, Rhus chinensis (with edible fruit) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tɕi^{55}**dzi**^{33}	lacquer tree	Bradley 1994
	tɕi^{55}ma^{33}**dzi**^{33}	lacquer tree (that which blossoms and bears fruits)	Bradley 1994
	tɕi^{55}phy^{33}**dzi**^{33}	lacquer tree (which blossoms but does not bear fruit)	Bradley 1994
	ŋa^{44}**dzi**^{33}	bajiao banana tree	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{33}dɔʔ^{21}**dzi**^{33}	walnut tree	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɲi^{55}**dzi**^{33}	kind of pine tree, Alnus tinctoria (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ʃo^{44}pɑ^{44}**dzɻ**^{44}	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.27
Lisu (Northern)	ɕɔ^{33}pa^{33}**dzi**^{33}	China fir	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Caiyuan)	thɔ^{31}mɔ^{33}ni^{55}**tsɻ**^{55}	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.30
	thɔ^{31}**tsɻ**^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.30

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Phola	tʰɔ^{55}**tsɛ**^{55}	pine tree	Pelkey 2011:168
	ŋɨ^{55}**tsɛ**^{33}	fir tree	Pelkey 2011:169

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	tʰo˧˩**dzi**˩	pine tree	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**dzɤ**^{21}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndzəɹ**^{31}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.28
Naxi (Yongning)	sɻ^{33}**dzɻ**^{33}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.29
	zɻ^{31}**dzɻ**^{33}	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.29

8. BAI

Bai (Dali)	**tsö** 3/4	tree	Dell 1981b:666
	tsɯ^{31}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	mạ^{33} (**tsɻ**^{21})	climb up (a tree) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1539.48
	tsɯ^{31}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.36
	tsɻ^{21}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.48

3.1.1 Names of trees and shrubs

(1) PKC *ɓ $\overset{o}{u}$ ŋ BANYAN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ɓoŋ** ~ ɓuŋ	BANYAN	VanBik 2009:4

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**bung** sing	banyan	VanBik 2009:4

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**beewng**	banion tree species	VanBik 2009:4

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**bŭŋ**	banyan tree	VanBik 2009:4
Lai (Hakha)	**bûŋ** kuuŋ	banyan tree	VanBik 2009:4
Lushai [Mizo]	**búng**	banyan tree	Löffler 1985
	búŋ	Indian fig tree akin to banyan	VanBik 2009:4
Paangkhua	ra **búng**	banyan tree	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**ʔà** bô^{1} kó	banyan tree	VanBik 2009:4

(2) PKC *hmooŋ ~ *hmuuŋ BANYAN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***hmooŋ** ~ hmuuŋ	BANYAN	VanBik 2009:872

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**mawng** kūng	banyan tree	VanBik 2009:313; VanBik 2009:872
Thado	**móoŋ**	banyan tree	VanBik 2009:872
Tiddim	**mo:ng**^{2}	banyan tree	VanBik 2009:872; Bhaskararao 1996:1134

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hmôoŋ**	banyan tree	VanBik 2009:872
Lai (Falam)	**hmŭuŋ**	banyan tree	VanBik 2009:872
Lushai [Mizo]	**hmáwng**	banyan, a species of Indian fig tree (n.)	VanBik 2009:872
	hmawng	species of Indian fig tree	Bhaskararao 1996:1134

(3) PKC *rii BANYAN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***rii**	BANYAN	VanBik 2009:920

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**ng**- gi	banyan tree	VanBik 2009:920

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**rìi** ràaŋ	banyan tree	VanBik 2009:920

(4) PKC *hriaŋ BIRCH TREE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	*hriaŋ	BIRCH TREE	VanBik 2009:1075
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	hiang²	birch tree	VanBik 2009:1075; Bhaskararao 1996:461
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	hrîaŋ	birch tree	VanBik 2009:1075
Lushai [Mizo]	hríang	birch tree (a species of Betulaceae) (n.)	VanBik 2009:1075
	hriang	birch tree	Bhaskararao 1996:461

(5) PTB *grwa BIRCH

This comparison is from Gong 2001:28, but the OC reconstruction ***g'wå*** is JAM's guess based upon the other characters in *GSR* #44; the Chinese character is not in AD #94 and not in *GSR* #44.

STC assigns the first syllable of WT **gro-ga** rather to PTB ***s-graw*** SKIN / OUTER COVERING (§1.6.5).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***grwa**	birch	Matisoff 2003a:591
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**gro**-ga	thin bark of birch tree	Benedict 1972:121
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	樺	kind of birch	Matisoff 2003a:175
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**g'wå**	kind of birch	Matisoff 2003a:175

Chinese comparandum

樺 OC (***g'wå**), (not in *GSR* #44) 'birch'; Schuessler 2007:283 ***(g)wrâh**; B & S 2011: (***q**$^{wh\varsigma}$**ra-s**); Mand. **huà**.

(6) PKC *paaŋ COTTON

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	***paaŋ**	COTTON	VanBik 2009:137
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tŭm** pâaŋ	cotton (raw)	VanBik 2009:137
Lushai [Mizo]	**páang**	name of a thorny species of the cotton tree which grows to a great size (n.)	VanBik 2009:137

(7) PKar *thəN^{A} DIPTEROCARPUS

7. KARENIC				
*Karen	***thəN**^{A}	Dipterocarpus tuberculatus Roxb	Luangthongkum 2013:85	[a]
Kayah	**thɔ**^{33}	Dipterocarpus tuberculatus Roxb	Luangthongkum 2013:85	
Kayan	**thə**^{53}	Dipterocarpus tuberculatus Roxb	Luangthongkum 2013:85	
Kayaw	**thə**^{55}	Dipterocarpus tuberculatus Roxb	Luangthongkum 2013:85	
Pa-O (Northern)	**təŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	Dipterocarpus tuberculatus Roxb	Luangthongkum 2013:85	
Pwo (Northern)	**thɑ̃**^{55}	Dipterocarpus tuberculatus Roxb	Luangthongkum 2013:85	
Sgaw (Southern)	**thɔ**^{55}	Dipterocarpus tuberculatus Roxb	Luangthongkum 2013:85	
Sgaw (Northern)	**thə**^{33}	Dipterocarpus tuberculatus Roxb	Luangthongkum 2013:85	

[a] [Source Note] In N.Pwo, it is an irregular tone change, i.e. tone 55 (A23) instead of tone 35 (A1) like in Sgaw, NK and CK.

(8) PKC *θaar PINE (tree) / FIR

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	***θaar**	PINE (tree) / FIR	VanBik 2009:625
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**tak** sing	fir	VanBik 2009:625
Sizang	**tak** ching	pine	VanBik 2009:625
Thado	**tsá?** thîŋ	pine wood	VanBik 2009:625
Tiddim	**-ta:k**	pine tree (n.)	Henderson 1965
	ta:k²	pine tree	VanBik 2009:625; Bhaskararao 1996:1710
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**htai**	pine	VanBik 2009:625
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**fâar**	pine	VanBik 2009:625
Lai (Falam)	**fâar**	pine	VanBik 2009:625
Lushai [Mizo]	**fáar**	pine tree (pinus Khasya) (n.)	VanBik 2009:625
	far	pine tree	Bhaskararao 1996:1710

(9) PTB * m/s -r a/o w PINE / FIR

The m- prefix is attested in Jingpho, while the s- prefix is attested in Nungic.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*(**s-**)**row**	pine, fir	Benedict 1972:320
	***row**	pine, fir	LaPolla 1987:158
	***row ≈ raw**	pine / fir	Matisoff 2003a:611
1.1.1. TANI: ***ru** FIR / PITCH PINE			
*Tani	***ru**	fir / pitch-pine	Sun 1993a:146
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	**ruk**-la:	resin	Sun 1993b
	ta-**ru**	fir / pitch-pine	Sun 1993a
	ta-**ruk**	fir	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **ru**	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.24
	ta **ru**	torches (pine) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0388.24
	ta **ru ru** je:	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.24
	ta-**ru**	fir; pitch-pine; wood for lighting a fire	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ta-**ru** sɯŋ-nə	pine tree	Sun 1993b
	ta-**ru: ru**-je:	resin	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **ru**	pine; pine, fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.51; LaPolla 1987:158
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	mă^{31}**ʒau**^{33}phun^{55}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.19
	mă^{31}**ʒau**^{33}sau^{55}	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.19
	mă^{1}**ʒau**^{33}phun^{55}	pine	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mə **rāu**	pine / fir	Matisoff 1974:243
	mə **rau**	pine, fir	LaPolla 1987:158; Benedict 1972:320
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**śəru** thiŋ	pine, fir	LaPolla 1987:158; Benedict 1972:320
Rawang	**ʃəru**^{33} ɕi^{53}	pine cones	LaPolla 2003:437
	ɕəru^{33} ʃu^{53}	resin, colophony	LaPolla 2003:436
	ɕəru^{33} ɕɯŋ^{53}	pine	LaPolla 2003:435
Trung [Dulong]	**sɯ**^{31}**ɹu**^{55}ɕiŋ^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.46
Dulong	**ɕɯ**^{55}**ɹu**^{55}	torches (pine) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0388.20
	ɕɯ^{55}**ɹu**^{55}tɑŋ^{55}dʑuʔ^{55}	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.20
	ɕɯ^{55}**ɹu**^{55}ɕiŋ^{55}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**sɯ**^{31} **ru**^{55} śiŋ^{55}	pine, fir	LaPolla 1987:158
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**sɯ**^{31} **ru**^{55} śɯŋ^{55}	pine, fir	LaPolla 1987:158
	sɯ^{31}**ɹu**^{55}ɕɯŋ^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	thī^{55}**ju**^{55}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	htī^{55}**ju**^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.40
Burmese (Written)	htɑŋ^{3}**ru**^{3}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.39
	thâŋ-**rû**	pine / fir	Matisoff 1974:243
	thâŋ-**rû**	pine or fir (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	thàŋ-**rù**	pine, fir	LaPolla 1987:158
	tháŋ-**ru**	fir, pine	LaPolla 1987:39
	thàŋ-**rù**	pine, fir	Benedict 1972:320; Benedict 1972:69n215
	thaŋ:-**ru:**	pine, fir	Matisoff 1983:50
	thɑŋ^{3}**ru**^{3}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.26
	thɑŋ^{3}**ru**^{3}mi^{3}tut^{4}	torches (pine) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0388.26
	thɑŋ^{3}**ru**^{3}tsi^{2}	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.26
	tɑ^{1}rutphɑ^{3}htɑŋ^{3}**ru**^{3}	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.39

(10) PTB *taŋ PINE / FIR

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***taŋ**	pine; fir, pine	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:614; LaPolla 1987:39
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	**ta:**-dik	fir	Sun 1993b
Galo	**'ta** ko	Himalayan screw pine (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	***t^{h}aŋ** ɕiŋ	pine	Sun 1993b
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***taŋ** PINE (TREE)			
*Tangkhulic	***taŋ**	pine (tree)	Mortensen 2012:481
Kachai	ŋə-**ta**	pine	Mortensen 2012:Plants.230
Tangkhul	ma **taŋ** thiŋ roŋ	fir, pine	LaPolla 1987:39
Ukhrul	mə-**tɐŋ**	pine	Mortensen 2012
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**thaŋ** lo	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.4
	thaŋ xhaŋ	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**thaŋ** xhəŋ	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**thõ**^{55}tɕhu^{53}	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**thoŋ**^{55}ɕhin^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**thaŋ**^{55}ɕiŋ^{55}	fir (China) (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.02
	thaŋ^{55}ɕiŋ^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.2
	thəŋ^{55}tɕhu^{55}	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.02
	thəŋ^{55}ɕiŋ^{55}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.02
Tibetan (Written)	**thaŋ** tɕhu	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.01
	thaŋ ɕiŋ	fir (China) (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.01
	thaŋ ɕiŋ	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.1
	thaŋ-śiŋ	fir, pine	Matisoff 1983:50; LaPolla 1987:39; Benedict 1972:69n215
	thaŋ-tśhu	resin, gum	Benedict 1972:69n215
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**thaŋ** ti	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.04
	thaŋ tɕə	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.04
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**thoŋ**	fir, pine; pine	LaPolla 1987:39; Benedict 1972:69n215
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**thɔ̃**^{55}kɑ^{33}ʐɑ^{33}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.17
	thɔ̃^{55}nɑ^{55}	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.17
	thɑ̃^{55}ka^{55}ʐa^{55}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.16
	thɑ̃^{55}kə^{55}	fir (China) (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.16
	thɑ̃^{55}na^{55}	fir (China) (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.16
Muya	**thɑ**^{53}	torches (pine) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0388.15
	thɑ^{53}pho^{53}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.15
	thɑ^{53}tshə^{33}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.15
Muya [Minyak]	**thɑ**^{35}pho^{35}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.15
Namuyi	**tho**^{33}po^{33}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.19
	thuo^{31}po^{31}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**thiẽ**^{11} bũ^{55}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.10
Pumi (Lanping)	sɛ^{13}**tho**^{55}phʂə^{55}	torches (pine) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0388.09
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ta**^{35}pi^{53}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.16
Xumi	**thõ**^{55}ga^{33}	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.17

	thũ^{53}sĩ^{33}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.17
	thɔ̃^{55}zɔ̃^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**tho**^{33}pu^{55}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.14
	tho^{33}tɕʌ^{55}	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**stha**^{ɪ} si	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.14
Daofu	**thõ** lə	pine (said by youth) (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tho** lo	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.11
	tho lo tʂho	torches (pine) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0388.11
rGBenzhen	**t^{h}o**-loʔ	pine	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	śəru **thiŋ**	pine, fir	LaPolla 1987:158; Benedict 1972:320
Trung [Dulong]	**tɑŋ**^{53}	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.46
Dulong	**tɑŋ**^{53}ɕiŋ^{55}	fir (China) (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.20
	ɕɯ^{55}ɹu^{55}**tɑŋ**^{55}dʑuʔ^{55}	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**taŋ**^{53}	fir, pine	LaPolla 1987:39
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**taŋ**^{31} xai^{53}	fir, pine	LaPolla 1987:39
	tɑŋ^{31}xɑi^{53}	fir	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***taŋ**^{2} FIREWOOD / PINE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***taŋ**^{2}	firewood / pine	Matisoff 1983:50
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**thĩ**^{55}ju^{55}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**htĩ**^{55}ju^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.40
Burmese (Written)	**htɑŋ**^{3}ru^{3}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.39
	thàŋ	firewood	Benedict 1972:69n215
	thâŋ-	pine, fir	Benedict 1976a
	thâŋ-rû	pine / fir	Matisoff 1974:243
	thâŋ-rû	pine or fir (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	thàŋ-rù	pine, fir	LaPolla 1987:158
	tháŋ-ru	fir, pine	LaPolla 1987:39
	thàŋ-rù	pine, fir	Benedict 1972:320; Benedict 1972:69n215
	thaŋ:-ru:	pine, fir	Matisoff 1983:50
	thɑŋ^{3}ru^{3}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.26
	thɑŋ^{3}ru^{3}mi^{3}tut^{4}	torches (pine) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0388.26
	thɑŋ^{3}ru^{3}tsi^{2}	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.26
	tɑ^{1}rutphɑ^{3}**htɑŋ**^{3}ru^{3}	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**thaŋ**^{55}xu^{31}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**thaŋ**^{55}fu̲^{33}	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.33
	thaŋ^{55}fu̲^{33}kam^{31}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.33
Maru [Langsu]	**thaŋ**^{55}xu^{31}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**thaŋ**^{21}mo^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.42
	thaŋ^{21}mo^{55}kam^{51}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.30
	thaŋ^{21}mo^{55}kji^{21}	resin / colophony (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0387.30
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***taŋ**^{2}	pine	Bradley 1979b:311B
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**thò**-dzí	pine tree	Björverud 1994
	thu^{21}	pine	CHEN Kang 1986a:11.
Lipho	**tha**^{21}	pine	CHEN Kang 1986a:11.
Nasu	**thɔ**^{33}	pine	CHEN Kang 1986a:11.
Neisu	**tho**^{33}	pine	CHEN Kang 1986a:11.
Nesu	**tha**^{33}	pine	CHEN Kang 1986a:11.
Nosu	**tho**^{33}	pine	CHEN Kang 1986a:11.
Nusu (Bijiang)	**thɔ̃**^{31}dzɔ̃^{ɪ35}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.45
Nusu (Southern)	**thɔ̃**^{55}dzə^{35}	pine	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**thɔ̃**^{55}dzɔ̃^{33}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.34
Nusu (Northern)	**thə̃**^{55}dzə^{35}	pine	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**thɒ**^{33}dʑe^{21}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**thɯ**^{33}	pine tree; tree, pine	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	thɯ^{33}bo^{33}	pine tree; tree, pine	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	thɯ^{33}ndʑ^{33}	pine resin	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	thɯ^{33}sʅ^{33}po^{21}li^{21}	pine cone; pine nut	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**thɒ**^{33}dzɛ^{21}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**thɑ**^{21}dzʅ^{33}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.37
	thʌ^{21}dzɯ^{33}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**thu**^{21}dzʅ^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.23
Yi (Weishan)	**thu**^{21}dzʅ^{55}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.36
Yi (Wuding)	**thɒ**^{33}si̲^{2}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.38
Yi (Xide)	**thɯ**^{33}bo^{33}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.35
	thɯ^{33}bo^{33}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**tho**^{21}	pine	CHEN Kang 1986a:11.
Jinuo	**tho**^{33}ɕo^{33}a^{33}tsɯ^{33}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.34
	thɔ^{44}ʃu^{44}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.44
	thɔ^{44}ʃu^{44}	torches (pine) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0388.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**thə**^{44}ʃu^{33}tsɤ^{44}	pine	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**thv31** tɕɛ31	pine tree	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**thɔ̂**	firewood / pine	Matisoff 1983:50
	thɔ̂-cɛ̀	fir, pine	LaPolla 1987:39
Lahu (Lancang)	**thɔ**^{53}si^{54}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.43
Lahu (Black)	**thɔ**^{53}sʅ^{54}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**thɔ**^{3}	pine	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	thɔ^{3}phɣ^{1}	fir	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**tho**^{31}dzʅ^{44}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.27
Lisu (Northern)	**thɔ**^{21}dzi^{33}	pine tree	Bradley 1994
	thɔ^{21}mi^{44}	pine forest	Bradley 1994
	thɔ^{21}my^{33}	pine mushroom, Armillaria matsutake	Bradley 1994
	thɔ^{21}phi^{21}	pine board	Bradley 1994
	thɔ^{21}phja^{21}	pine leaf	Bradley 1994
	thɔ^{21}sø^{33}	broad-leafed pine	Bradley 1994
	thɔ^{21}sɤ^{21}	pine cone	Bradley 1994
	thɔ^{21}ʃl̥^{55}	pine nut	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**thɔ**^{21}	pine	CHEN Kang 1986a:11.
Yi (Sani)	**tho**^{11}sʐ̩^{44}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Dazhai)	**thɔ**^{31}su^{31}a^{55}bo^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**thɔ**^{31}su^{31}a^{55}dǫ^{31}	torches (pine) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0388.41
	thɔ^{31}su^{31}su^{31}bo^{55}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**thɔ**^{31}mɔ^{33}ni^{55}tsʅ^{55}	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.30
	thɔ^{31}tsʅ^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.30
Hani (Shuikui)	**thɣ**^{31}ʃɣ^{55}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**thɣ**^{31}ʃɣ^{55}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.42
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**t^{h}u**^{33}si^{44}	pine tree	Pelkey 2011:168
Phola	**t^{h}ɔ**^{55}tsɛ^{55}	pine tree	Pelkey 2011:168
Phuza	**t^{h}ʌ**^{33}mʌ^{33}	pine tree	Pelkey 2011:168
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**t^{h}u**˧si˧	pine tree	Michaud 2006–2009:4084
Na (Yongning)	sɤ˧**t^{h}o**˥	wide pine	Michaud 2006–2009
	t^{h}o˧dzi˩	pine tree	Michaud 2006–2009
	t^{h}o˩ʁæ˩	pine resin; colophony	Michaud 2006–2009
	t^{h}o˩ʂv˩	pine needles	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**tho**^{33}	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**tho**^{33}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tho**^{33}ndzəɹ^{31}	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.28

Chinese comparandum

蒸 OC ***tə̂ŋ̍ěng**, *GSR* #896k 'firewood'; Schuessler 2007:612 ***təŋ**; B & S 2011: ***təŋ**; Mand. **zhēng**.

(11) PTB *ri(:)m RATTAN / CANE

STC sets up this root with a long vowel without explanation, probably because of the retention of the original vowel in the Lepcha form, since Lepcha tends to lower short *high vowels in closed syllables.

The WB form seems to reflect a **k-** prefix unattested elsewhere.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ri(:)m**	cane / rattan	Matisoff 2003a:610
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**rim**	cane, rattan	Benedict 1972:107n301 [a]
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**rim**	cane (Calamus flagellum)	Benedict 1972:107n301
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**krim**	cane, rattan	Benedict 1972:107n301
Maru [Langsu]	**wram** / **ram**	cane, rattan	Benedict 1972:107n301
7. KARENIC			
**Karen (TP)*	***ré'**	cane / rattan	Jones 1961:10
**Karen*	***rə̀i'**	cane / rattan	Jones 1961:10
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ɣè**	cane / rattan	Jones 1961:10
**Karen (Pwo)*	***ɣé'**	cane / rattan	Jones 1961:10
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***ɣə̀i**	cane / rattan	Jones 1961:10
Kayan (Pekon)	**rē**	cane, rattan (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**rê**	cane / rattan	Jones 1961:10
	re	rattan	Benedict 1972:149n408
	rê mî	rattan	Solnit 1989
Palaychi	**ɣì**	cane / rattan	Jones 1961:10
	ɣi	rattan	Benedict 1972:149n408
Pwo (Bassein)	**ɣéʔ**	cane / rattan	Jones 1961:10
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ɣé**	cane / rattan	Jones 1961:10
Sgaw (Bassein)	**ɣè**	cane / rattan	Jones 1961:10
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ɣè**	cane / rattan	Jones 1961:10

[a] This is a bound form in Jingpho, occurring in the name of particular rattan species like **rīm-khá**, **rīm-šàt**, **rīm-šīn**. The free form for rattan is an open syllable, **rī** < ***rey**.

(12) PTani *soŋ RATTAN / CANE

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***soŋ**	rattan / cane	Sun 1993a:317
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	ja-**so**	rattan; cane; rope	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja-**so**-gjo-nɯ	canework	Sun 1993b
	ja-**so**-ha-go	canework	Sun 1993b
Bengni	u-**šo:**	rattan / cane	Sun 1993a
	u-**so:**	rattan	Sun 1993b
Bokar	kər ku o **ɕoŋ**	cane / vine (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0390.24
	kər-ku o-**šoŋ**	rattan / cane	Sun 1993a
	kər-ku o-**soŋ**	rattan	Sun 1993b
	o-**soŋ**	rattan skin	Sun 1993b
	o-**soŋ** ta-kum	rainhat of bamboo splints	Sun 1993b
	so:-om	bridge (rattan~)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	o **ɕoŋ** takum	hat (bamboo)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:371.51
Galo	o **ho**	cane	Das Gupta 1963
	o **ho** po-nam	cane-work (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	o **hoo**	cane (rope); rope (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	o **so**	cane	Das Gupta 1963
	o **so** po-nam	cane-work (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'ho mee	cane (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	o **so**	cane, cane string / rope	Simon 1976
Nishing	o **so**	cane; rope	Das Gupta 1969; Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	o **so**	cane	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ə-**soŋ**	rattan / cane	Sun 1993a

(13) PTB *si $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ TREE / WOOD / FIREWOOD

This etymon is a prime example of the alternation between homorganic stop and nasal. Most subgroups reflect the *nasal, while Lolo-Burmese attests to the *stop.

Galo seems to have an interesting doublet **sɯ** ≍ **'hɨɨ**. Note also the Trung [Dulong] doublet **śiŋ** ≍ **śik**.

LTSR 118(a-b) also reconstructs two allofams, with the nasal-final variant attested in Bisu **tsùŋ**.

As suggested in DL p. 1221, the poetic Lahu form **šɔ̂** might be from the nasal-final variant, although it is tonally aberrant.

The Chepang forms with final **-ŋʔ** suggest a stage intermediate between a final nasal and a final stop.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

Sino-Tibetan	***siŋ**	tree / wood	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:382n
	***sying**	wood / firewood / tree	Coblin 1986:161

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

Tibeto-Burman	***siŋ**	tree; wood; firewood; tree, wood	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:382n; Weidert 1987:315,762; LaPolla 1987:103; Benedict 1972:233
	***siŋ ≍ sik**	tree; wood	Matisoff 2003a:613; Matisoff 1983:23

1.1.1. TANI: *sɯŋ WOOD / TREE

Tani	***sɯŋ**	wood / tree	Sun 1993a:472

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	(ja-**sã**)mú-ri	charcoal	Sun 1993b
	a-ji (a-mɯr) **san**	fruit tree	Sun 1993b
	a-ji bo-**sa**-nɯ	fruit tree	Sun 1993b
	àm-**sa**-nɯ	mango tree	Sun 1993b
	ja-**sã**	wood; tree; fuel, firewood; firewood; wooden	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja-**sã** a-ljo	bark (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ja-**sã** ke-ha	tray (for drying wood)	Sun 1993b
	pù-sa **sà**-nɯ	pine tree	Sun 1993b
	sà-nɯ	tree	Sun 1993b
	sà-nɯ à-hà	branch	Sun 1993b
	sà-nɯ à-po	trunk	Sun 1993b
	sà-nɯ há-lo	branch	Sun 1993b
	sà-nɯ lɯ-ma	root	Sun 1993b
	san	tree	Sun 1993b
	san a-ha	branch	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	san tu-gĩ	trunk (tree~)	Sun 1993b
	san-ǰe	timber	Sun 1993b
	sàn-ǰe	wood	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**siŋ**	wood; firewood	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	siŋ -da:	trunk (of tree)	Sun 1993b
	siŋ -kjo:	rolling pin	Sun 1993b
	siŋ -li:	firewood (wet)	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-da:	stick	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-lak	branch	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-nɯ	tree	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-pin	bark	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-pin kuk-lin	peel (e.g. bark)	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-pin kuk-lu:	peel and fall off	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-po	log	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-sak	cotton	Sun 1993b
	šiŋ-ši:	fruit	Sun 1993a
	siŋ-si:	fruit	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-si: ra-jiŋ	kernel	Sun 1993b
	ta-um **siŋ**-nɯ	pine tree	Sun 1993b
	ta-um ɯ-**siŋ**	pine (wood)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**siŋ**	wood	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**siŋ** su-gu:	bridge (a single log)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**siŋ** a-fa:	rootage	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**siŋ** a-pin	bark	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**siŋ** fɯŋ-bu	carpenter	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**siŋ** ka-kuk	bark	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**siŋ** pi:-nɯ:	saw (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**siŋ** u-tuŋ	barrel	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**šɯŋ**	wood / tree	Sun 1993a
Bokar	(ɯ-**šɯŋ**) a-nə	leaf	Sun 1993a
	duŋ ɯ-**sɯŋ**	fir (Ch. shān)	Sun 1993b
	ǰar-bə ɯ-**sɯŋ**	cypress, cedar	Sun 1993b
	pe-to ɯ-**sɯŋ**	oak	Sun 1993b
	saŋ-maŋ (ɯ-**sɯŋ**)	willow	Sun 1993b
	sɯŋ-ken	indigo plant	Sun 1993b
	sɯŋ-nə	trunk (tree)	Sun 1993b
	sɯŋ-so:	carpenter	Sun 1993b
	sɯŋ-tuŋ-pu-ruk	sparrow	Sun 1993b
	ta-ru **sɯŋ**-nə	pine tree	Sun 1993b
	tɯr-kam **sɯŋ**-nə	peach tree	Sun 1993b
	ɯ **ɕɯŋ**	tree; firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.24
	ɯ **ɕɯŋ** a nə ako	classifier for leaves (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0860.24
	ɯ **ɕɯŋ** gə:	gather (firewood) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1239.24
	ɯ-**šɯŋ**	wood / tree	Sun 1993a
	ɯ-**sɯŋ**	tree; wood; firewood	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**sɯŋ** pɯ-rɯ	bowl (wooden)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**sɯŋ** ə-pin	bark (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ **ɕɯŋ**	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.24
	ɕaŋ maŋ ɯ **ɕɯŋ**	willow (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0382.24
	ɕɯŋ nə	trunk (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0373.24
	ɕɯŋ ɕo:	carpenter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.24
Bokar Lhoba	ɯ **ɕɯŋ**	tree; firewood; wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.51; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.51; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.51
	ɕɯŋ maŋ ɯ **ɕɯŋ**	willow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:182.51
	ɕɯŋ ɕo:	carpenter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:305.51
Galo	**si** nɤ	tree	Das Gupta 1963
	sɯ tu	stump	Das Gupta 1963
	'hɨɨ bo	treetop; tree; canopy (of tree) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ bo-'ɲo ree	clouded leopard; leopard (clouded); Neofelis nebulosa (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ coo	branch (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ cir	tree (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ daa	stick (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ dii	tree (juvenile); offshoot (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ hee-ra bee	tree (fruit-bearing) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ ji	tree (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ jo	tree (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ kaa	plant (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ koo	skewer (wood) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ kuk	bark (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ l-baa bo	tree (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ lok	tree (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ lum	tree (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ luu	grove (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ luu-raa luu	virgin forest (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ ləə	tree (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ maa	root (nce.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ nə	tree; plant (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ nə-i ŋin	cassava (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ nə-**'hɨɨ** bo	tree; plant (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ pik	mithun pen (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ pin	citrus (variety); plant (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ poo	log (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ pə	wood (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ pir	root (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ pir-**'hɨɨ** maa	root (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ rek	banyan (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ rə	ambush platform; platform (for ambush-hunting) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ tak	pole (wooden) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ tuu	stump (of a tree) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ tuu-ta in	mushroom (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨɨ yaa	rotten wood; wood (rotten) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'ɨ **hɨɨ**	wood; firewood (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɯ **hɯ**	fuel	Das Gupta 1963
	ɯ **sɯ**	fuel	Das Gupta 1963
	ɯ **sɯ** ak se	branch	Das Gupta 1963
	ɯ **sɯ** ane	leaves	Das Gupta 1963
	ɯ **sɯ** a pir:	root	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**sen**	tree	Simon 1976
	si-da	timber, tree trunk, wood	Simon 1976
	si cak	cotton	Simon 1976
	sɯ tak	plank	Simon 1976
	sɤn	tree	Simon 1976
	sɤn-e pin	bark	Simon 1976
	ɯ **sɯ**	wood	Simon 1976
Nishing	cang da~**sang** da	stick	Das Gupta 1969
	e **seng**~e **sang**	fuel	Das Gupta 1969
	sang-cak	cotton	Das Gupta 1969
	sang-ko	bark	Das Gupta 1969
	seng-ne	tree	Das Gupta 1969; Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a u **siŋ**-nɤ	tall tree	Das Gupta 1983
	e **siŋ**	timber; fuel	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
	e **siŋ** ɤ i si sulo ɟa-kirr-do	Wood floats on water	Das Gupta 1983
	seŋ nɤ	tree	Das Gupta 1983
	ɟiɟa-nɤ e **siŋ**	wet fuel	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ə-**siŋ**	wood / tree	Sun 1993a
Damu	*t^{h}aŋ **ɕiŋ**	pine	Sun 1993b
	***ɕiŋ** dzo	carpenter	Sun 1993b
	kia ʔa-**ɕiŋ**	tea tree	Sun 1993b
	ta-kom ʔa-**ɕiŋ**	peach	Sun 1993b
	ɕiŋ tar-mu	woodpecker	Sun 1993b
	ɕiŋ-jam ʔa-**ɕiŋ**	oak	Sun 1993b
	ɕiŋ-nə	trunk (of tree)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ɕiŋ**	tree; wood; firewood	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Milang	**haŋ**-da	wood	Tayeng 1976
	haŋ-pa	timber	Tayeng 1976
	haŋ-pa ager	carpentry	Tayeng 1976
	haŋ-ɲi	tree	Tayeng 1976
	haŋ-ɲi air	shrub	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	ö-**śiŋ**	tree, wood	Benedict 1972:233

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	(ma: **sa:ng**) ha:r-ra	branch	NEFA (India) 1963
	kapey **sang**	cotton plant	NEFA (India) 1963
	ku^{55}ɕu^{53}mɑ^{31}**sɯŋ^{53}**	fir (China) (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.22
	ku^{55}ɕu^{53}mɑ^{31}**sɯŋ^{53}**	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.49
	ma:-**sa:ng**-ka	bark (of tree)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **sa:ng**	tree; wood	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **sa:ng** dara:ng	tree (big)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **sa:ng** ja:k shyu	climb tree in play	NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **sa:ng** tyang	trunk of tree	NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **sa:ng**-a:	tree (small)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **sa:ng**-ka	bark (of tree)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **sa:ng**-na:	leaf (of tree)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **sa:ng**-pri-ya:	wood (burnt)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **sa:ng**-tyang	trunk of tree	NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **sang** ha: dam	bush	NEFA (India) 1963
	mɑ^{31}**sɯŋ^{53}**	wood; log; firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.22; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.22
	mɑ^{31}**sɯŋ^{53}**	firewood; wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.49; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.49
	mɑ^{31}**sɯŋ^{53}**bɑ^{53}jɑ^{31}me^{35}	carpenter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.22
	mɑ^{31}**sɯŋ^{53}**kɯ^{31}le^{55}	tray (wooden) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0562.22
	mɑ^{31}**sɯŋ^{53}**xɑ^{31}ɳɯŋ^{35}	plane (tool) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0611.22
	mɑ^{31}**sɯŋ^{55}**	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.22
	mɑ^{31}**sɯŋ^{55}**	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.49
	mɑ^{31}**sɯŋ^{55}**bɑ^{53}jɑ^{35}me^{35}	carpenter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:305.49
	sɯŋ^{53}kɑ^{31}pɑi^{55}	willow (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0382.22
	sɯŋ^{53}kɑ^{31}pɑi^{55}	willow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:182.49
	tshu^{53}mɑ^{31}**sɯŋ^{53}**	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.22
	tshu^{53}mɑ^{31}**sɯŋ^{53}**	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.49
	tɯ^{31}wɑŋ^{53}**sɯŋ^{55}**	tobacco	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:217.49
	tɑ^{31}lɯi^{35}mɑ^{31}**sɯŋ^{53}**	oak	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:180.49
Kaman [Miju]	jɑm^{55}**sǎŋ^{35}**	willow (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0382.23
	jɑm^{55}**sǎŋ^{35}**	willow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:182.48
	ku^{55}ɕu^{55}**sǎŋ^{35}**	fir (China) (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.23
	ku^{55}ɕu^{55}**sǎŋ^{35}**	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.48
	ruŋ^{53} **saŋ^{35}**	pine, fir	LaPolla 1987:158
	sə̃ˆ	wood / tree	Weidert 1987:315
	sǎŋ^{35}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.23
	sǎŋ^{35}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.48
	sǎŋ^{35}gok^{35}	tray (wooden) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0562.23
	sǎŋ^{35}khliŋ^{55}	wood; log; firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.23; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.23
	sǎŋ^{35}khliŋ^{55}	firewood; wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.48; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.48
	sǎŋ^{35}kɯ^{55}pɑm^{55}tsoŋ^{35}	carpenter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:305.48
	sǎŋ^{35}tɑŋ^{55}son^{35}	plane (tool) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0611.23
	sʌ̀ŋ	wood / tree	Weidert 1987:315
	tɑ^{31} li^{35} **sǎŋ**	oak	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:180.48

	ɹuŋ[53]**sǎŋ**[35]	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.23
	ɹuŋ[53]**sǎŋ**[35]	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.48
Idu	mɑ[55]**seŋ**[55]	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.50
	mɑ[55]**seŋ**[55]boŋ[35]	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.50
	mɑ[55]**seŋ**[55]me[55]	carpenter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:305.50
	mɑ[55]**seŋ**[55]pɹɑ[55]	board / plank	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:359.50
Yidu	mɑ[55]**seŋ**[55]	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.25
	mɑ[55]**seŋ**[55]boŋ[35]	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.25
	mɑ[55]**seŋ**[55]me[55]	carpenter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *thiŋ TREE / WOOD

**Chin*	*thiŋ	TREE / WOOD	VanBik 2009:417

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	bung **sing**	banyan	VanBik 2009:4
	sing	tree	VanBik 2009:417
	tak **sing**	fir	VanBik 2009:625
Sizang	**ching** luang	trunk	VanBik 2009:417
Thado	**thîŋ**	tree, wood	VanBik 2009:417
	thíŋ	tree	Thirumalai 1972:63
	thíŋ bà?	branch (of a tree)	Thirumalai 1972:39
Tiddim	ko:l[2] **sing**[1]	guava	Bhaskararao 1996:668
	sing[1]	wood, tree; wood	VanBik 2009:417; Bhaskararao 1996:1587

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Chinbon	**t^{h}eiŋ**	tree	So-Hartmann 1988:28
	t^{h}eiŋ kəŋ	branch	So-Hartmann 1988:37
Cho (Mindat)	**sing**	wood	VanBik 2009:417
Daai	**t^{h}iŋ**.mtɔ́n	branch	So-Hartmann 1988:37
	t^{h}iŋ.ɗuŋ	tree	So-Hartmann 1988:28
Khumi	**thoeeyng**	wood	VanBik 2009:417
Matu	**t^{h}iŋ** kuŋ	tree	So-Hartmann 1988:28
Mkaang	**tš^{h}iŋ**.xiŋ	tree	So-Hartmann 1988:28
Ngmüün	**s^{h}ɨŋ**.šin	tree	So-Hartmann 1988:28
	s^{h}ɨŋ tɔn	branch	So-Hartmann 1988:37
Nyhmoye	**t^{h}é^{i}ŋ**.ɗuŋ	tree	So-Hartmann 1988:28
	t^{h}e^{iʔ} tš^{h}ɔːŋ	branch	So-Hartmann 1988:37

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**thîŋ**	tree, wood	VanBik 2009:417
Lai (Falam)	**thíŋ**	tree, wood	VanBik 2009:417
Lushai [Mizo]	**thing**	tree; wood (timber); wood; wooden	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Bhaskararao 1996:1587; Bhaskararao 1996:195
	thing buk	bush	Marrison 1967
	thing rem	box (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thing zaina	saw (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thing zâr	branch (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thĭŋ	tree, wood, firewood, fuel, log (n.)	VanBik 2009:417
	thiŋ	tree, wood	LaPolla 1987:103; Benedict 1972:233

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**thó**	tree, wood (n.)	VanBik 2009:417

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**hing**	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
	hing bal	tree	Marrison 1967
	hing kor	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	hiŋ-bal	tree	Brown 1837

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): *siŋ WOOD

**Central Naga*	*siŋ	WOOD	Bruhn 2014a:III.211
**Ao*	*(a-)**səŋ**	WOOD	Bruhn 2014a:II.115
Ao (Chungli)	**song**	stick (n.)	Marrison 1967
	song den	box (n.)	Marrison 1967
	song jang lijang	bush	Marrison 1967 [a]
	song kung	drum	Marrison 1967
	song o	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	song rüng tsü	saw (n.)	Marrison 1967
	song sang	branch (n.)	Marrison 1967
	süng	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
	süng dong	tree	Marrison 1967
	səŋ[1]	wood (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.115
	səŋ[1]səm[1]	sprout (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	səŋ[1]tuŋ[2]	tree (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	səŋ[1]u[1]	tea (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	[1]**suŋ**[2]tuŋ	tree	Weidert 1987:826
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **sung**	tree; wood (timber)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	a **süng**	stick (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sung a wa	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sung chang	fruit	Marrison 1967
	sung changya	bush	Marrison 1967
	sung kap	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	sung sang	branch (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sung ten	box (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sung tung	tree	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**səŋ**-kəp	bark ('wood' + 'skin') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	səŋ-nik	knot in wood ('wood' + 'eye') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	səŋ-pak	plank ('wood' + 'be flat') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	səŋ-tʃàŋ	fruit ('wood' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	səŋ khàm	village gate (probably 'wood' + 'precipice') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	sàŋ-tsà	sap ('wood' + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	sàŋ-ɹi	gnarly wood ('wood' + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	sàŋ àwà	leaf (n.)	Coupe 2007
	sàŋ tuŋ	tree ('wood' + 'stem, trunk') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**sáŋ**	wood (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**tshəŋ**[3]	wood (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.211
	ts(h)əŋ[3]-fəʔ[2]	bark (of tree) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [b]
	tshəŋ[3]-thiʔ[3]	fruit (edible) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [c]
	o **tsang**	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
	o **tsang**	stick (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **tsang**-thrüphen	saw (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **tshüng**	wood	Murry *et al.* 1978:138
	tsang fu	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	tsang thi	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tshüng thi tsüng	nut	Murry *et al.* 1978:79
	tsüng thi	fruit	Murry *et al.* 1978:48
	[1]o[3]**tsɯŋ(ʔ)**	wood / tree	Weidert 1987:315
Sangtam	**sing**	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
	sing dang	floor	Marrison 1967
	sing dong	tree	Marrison 1967
	sing hasing	saw (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sing khep	creeper	Marrison 1967
	sing si	fruit	Marrison 1967
	sing tüm pi	stick (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sing va	tea	Marrison 1967
	sing va	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	[2]**siŋ**[1]duŋ	tree	Weidert 1987:826
Yacham-Tengsa	**sang** tung	tree	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**sang**	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
	sang-lüh	bow	Kumar 1973b:62
	sang a so	fruit	Kumar 1973b:71
	sang kong	boat	Marrison 1967
	sang tung	tree	Marrison 1967
	[1]**saŋ**	wood / tree	Weidert 1987:315
	[1]**saŋ**[1]lɯʔ	bow (for arrows) (n.)	Weidert 1987:256
	[1]**saŋ** [2]duŋ [[2]]	tree	Weidert 1987:826
	[1]**saŋ** [2]guŋ [[2]]	boat	Weidert 1987:160

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Ntenyi	a **chang**	tree	Marrison 1967
	chang tong	tree	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**sang** bin	tree	Marrison 1967
	süng	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
	te **süng**	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **sü**	tree; wood (timber)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	a **sü** koza	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	a **sing**	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
	sing bang	tree	Marrison 1967
	thing dan	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	a **sing** gi	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	shing bang	tree	Marrison 1967
	shing pon	bud (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ta **shing**	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **ting**	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
	a **ting** bang	tree	Marrison 1967
	ting gi	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	ting na	branch (n.)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**thing**	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
	thing go	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	thing kung	tree	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**thing**	tree; wood (timber)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	thing büng	tree	Marrison 1967
	thing gabang	saw (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thing gi	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	thing ning	gum (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	thing thai	fruit	Marrison 1967
	thing thai dui	juice	Marrison 1967
	thiŋ un	piece of wood	Matisoff 1994e
	t^{h}iŋ baŋ	tree	Matisoff 1994e
	t^{h}iŋ-kuŋ	tree	Brown 1837
Zeme	**ching** gei	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	he **ching**	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
	[4]**ciŋ**	wood / tree	Weidert 1987:315
Mzieme	**tsing**	tree	Marrison 1967
	tsing bang	tree	Marrison 1967
	tsing kiak	branch (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *t^{h}iŋ WOOD

**Tangkhulic*	*t^{h}iŋ	wood	Mortensen 2012:492
Champhung	a-**siŋ**	tree	Brown 1837
Huishu	**t^{h}ɐŋ**-ruŋ	tree / wood	Mortensen 2012:Plants.024
	ʔa-**t^{h}ɐŋ**-ku	bark (of tree)	Mortensen 2012:Plants.025
Kachai	**t^{h}ɐŋ**-kɐ	bark (of tree)	Mortensen 2012:Plants.025
	t^{h}ɐŋ-p^{h}o	branch / bough	Mortensen 2012:Plants.029
	ʔa-**t^{h}ɐŋ**	tree / wood / stick	Mortensen 2012:Plants.031
Tangkhul	a kor, **thing** kor	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	ma taŋ **thiŋ** roŋ	fir, pine	LaPolla 1987:39
	thing	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
	thing na	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thing phang	branch (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thing rong	tree	Marrison 1967
	thiŋ	tree	Bhat 1969:99
	thiŋ-tap	wood	Matisoff 2003a:337
	[2]**thiŋ**	wood / tree	Weidert 1987:315
Tankghul (Central)	**t^{h}iŋ**-baŋ	tree	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**t^{h}iŋ**-baŋ	tree	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**t^{h}iŋ**-roŋ	tree	Brown 1837
Tusom	**t^{h}ɯm**-pa	tree	Mortensen 2012:Plants.024
Ukhrul	**t^{h}iŋ**	tree; wood; stick	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012
	t^{h}iŋ-roŋ	tree	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**theng**	wood (timber)	Marrison 1967
	theng ri	tree	Marrison 1967
	theŋ	firewood; tree, wood	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:382n; Benedict 1972:180n476; Benedict 1972:233
	thēŋ(?)	wood / tree	Weidert 1987:315

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Baram	**siŋ**	firewood	Kansakar 2010:29
Kanauri	**śiŋ**	tree, wood	LaPolla 1987:103; Benedict 1972:233

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Central)	miga-**shing**	firewood	Andvik 1993:29
	shing	tree	Andvik 1993:61
	shing-shaba	leaf	Andvik 1993:62
	shing-tsa	root	Andvik 1993:63a
Tsangla (Motuo)	tok[13]**ɕiŋ**[55]	pole (inside house)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	tuŋ[13]**ɕiŋ**[55]	beam	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	waŋ[13]**ɕiŋ**[55]	fir	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	waŋ **ɕiŋ**	fir	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:181.7
	ɕiŋ	tree; firewood; wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.7; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.7; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.7
	ɕiŋ[55]	tree; firewood	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986; ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ɕiŋ[55]-so[13]pa[55]	carpenter	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ɕiŋ zopa	carpenter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:305.7
	ɕuk[55] **ɕin**[55] naŋ	pine	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ɕuk **ɕiŋ** naŋ	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	len-chong **shing**	Chinese pine	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	shing	tree; firewood	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986; ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	shing shawa	leaf	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	shing-da	branch	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	shing-ra	root	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	shing-tho-na-ka	fruit	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	xro[55]**ɕeŋ**[55]	pine	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	zuŋ[35]**ɕeŋ**[55]	fir	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	ɕeŋ[55]	tree	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	ɕeŋ[55]duŋ[35]	wood	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ɕeŋ**[55]	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.6

[a] Cf. Clark (1911:660): "**SCONGZANG-LIZANG**, all kinds of seeds, fruits, grains, nuts or berries. All kinds of little trees, brush, sprouts, shrubs, etc."
[b] [Source Note] wood-skin
[c] [Source Note] wood-fruit

	ɕeŋ^{55}mʌ^{53}	tree	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:178.6
	ʂo^{55}**ɕeŋ**^{55}	pine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:179.6
Motuo Menba	waŋ **ɕiŋ**	fir (China) (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.07
	ɕiŋ	wood; log; tree; firewood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.07; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.07; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.07
	ɕiŋ la	gather (firewood) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1239.07
	ɕiŋ zo pa	carpenter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.07
	ɕuk **ɕiŋ** naŋ	pine (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.07
Cuona Menba	**ɕeŋ**^{55}	wood / log (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.06
	ɕeŋ^{55}ma^{53}	tree (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.06
	ɕeŋ^{55}toʔ^{53}	fruit (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.06
	ʂo^{55}**ɕeŋ**^{55}	pine (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**xhaŋ**	wood / log (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.05
	xhaŋ lep	plank / board (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	thaŋ **xhaŋ**	fir	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:181.4
	we **xhaŋ**	oak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:180.4
	xhaŋ	wood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:469.4
	xhaŋ lep	board / plank	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:359.4
	xhaŋ zo	carpenter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:305.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	thaŋ **xhəŋ**	pine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:179.5
	wan **xhaŋ**	board / plank	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:359.5
	xhaŋ	firewood; wood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:468.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:469.5
	xhaŋ cçak	ladder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:456.5
	xhaŋ wzo	carpenter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:305.5
	xhəŋ rdoŋ	tree	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:178.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**šiŋ**	wood	Rangan 1975:72
Tibetan (Batang)	dʐø̃^{13}**xhĩ**^{55}	pine (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.03
	thõ^{55}**xhĩ**^{55}	fir (China) (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.03
	xhĩ^{55}	wood; log; firewood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.03; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.03
	xhĩ^{55}leʔ^{53}	plank / board (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.03
	xhĩ^{55}ndze^{55}	wedge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.03
	xhĩ^{55}ta^{53}ko^{55}tɑuʔ^{53}	woodpecker (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0343.03
	xhĩ^{55}thoʔ^{53}	fruit (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.03
	xhĩ^{55}thoʔ^{53}ʔa^{55}ma^{53}	persimmon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0395.03
	xhĩ^{55}zo^{53}	carpenter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	thoŋ^{55}**ɕhin**^{55}	pine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:179.3
	ɕhin^{55}	firewood; wood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:468.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:469.3
	ɕhin^{55}dze^{55}	wedge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:413.3
	ɕhin^{55}khen^{55}	carpenter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:305.3
	ɕhin^{55}leʔ^{53}	board / plank	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:359.3
	ɕhin^{55}phu^{53}	tree	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:178.3
	ɕhin^{55}tho^{53}	fruit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:213.3
	ɕhin^{55}tho^{53}ʔa^{55}ma^{53}	persimmon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:215.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	me^{13}**ɕiŋ**^{55}	firewood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:468.2
	mi^{13} (phy^{13}) **ɕiŋ**^{55} thu^{35}	gather (firewood) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1239.02
	mi^{13}**ɕiŋ**^{55}	firewood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.02
	thaŋ^{55}**ɕiŋ**^{55}	fir (China) (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.02
	thaŋ^{55}**ɕiŋ**^{55}	pine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:179.2
	thəŋ^{55}**ɕiŋ**^{55}	pine (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.02
	tɕəm^{55}**ɕiŋ**^{55}	rafter (of building) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0519.02
	tɕəŋ^{55}**ɕiŋ**^{55}	willow (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0382.02
	tʂhək^{55}**ɕiŋ**^{55}	pole (carrying / shoulder) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0618.02
	ɕiŋ^{55}	wood / log (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.02
	ɕiŋ^{55}	tree; wood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:178.2; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:469.2
	ɕiŋ^{55} lep^{52}	plank / board (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.02
	ɕiŋ^{55}na^{52}	forest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0050.02
	ɕiŋ^{55}paŋ^{55}	plank / board (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.02
	ɕiŋ^{55}se^{15}	wedge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:413.2
	ɕiŋ^{55}seː^{55}	wedge (wooden) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.02
	ɕiŋ^{55}soʔ^{13}	carpenter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:305.2
	ɕiŋ^{55}so^{52}	carpenter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.02
	ɕiŋ^{55}toʔ^{53}	fruit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:213.2
	ɕiŋ^{55}to^{52}	fruit (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.02
	ɕiŋ^{55}to^{52}a^{55}ma^{55}	persimmon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0395.02
	ɕiŋ^{55}tuŋ^{55}	tree (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.02
	ɕiŋ^{55}tỹ^{55}	pestle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0628.02
	ɕiŋ^{55}tʂu^{55}	raft (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0603.02
Tibetan (Written)	(**ɕiŋ** phrug) ɦdzugs	plant (trees) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1774.01
	(**ɕiŋ** sdoŋ) ɦdug	there are (trees on the mountain) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1766.01
	(**ɕiŋ**) ɦkhur bu(gaŋ)	load (of firewood) on the back (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0876.01
	(**ɕiŋ**) ɦt hu	gather (firewood) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1239.01
	me **ɕiŋ**	firewood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:468.1
	sgron **ɕiŋ**	pine (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.01
	shing.bzo	carpenter	Sun 1985c:121
	shing.thog	fruit	Sun 1985c:496
	śiŋ	wood; tree; tree, wood	Matisoff 1983:23; LaPolla 1987:103; Benedict 1972:233
	sra **ɕiŋ**	poplar (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0383.01
	thaŋ **ɕiŋ**	fir (China) (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.01
	thaŋ **ɕiŋ**	pine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:179.1
	thaŋ-**śiŋ**	fir, pine	Matisoff 1983:50; LaPolla 1987:39; Benedict 1972:69n215
	ʃiṅ	tree	Marrison 1967
	ʃiṅ-sdoṅ	tree	Marrison 1967
	ʃiṅ tog	fruit	Marrison 1967
	ɕiŋ	wood / log (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.01
	ɕiŋ	wood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:469.1
	ɕiŋ bzo ba	carpenter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.01
	ɕiŋ bzo ba	carpenter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:305.1
	ɕiŋ gzer	wedge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:413.1
	ɕiŋ leb	plank / board (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.01
	ɕiŋ mkhan	carpenter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.01
	ɕiŋ nags	forest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0050.01
	ɕiŋ phuŋ	tree (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.01
	ɕiŋ sdoŋ	tree (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.01
	ɕiŋ sdoŋ	tree	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:178.1
	ɕiŋ thog ʔa ma	persimmon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0395.01
	ɕiŋ tog	fruit (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.01
	ɕiŋ tog	fruit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:213.1
	ɕiŋ tog ʔa mra	persimmon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:215.1
	ɕiŋ ɦdzer	wedge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.01
	ɦbud **ɕiŋ**	firewood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**shi** toχ	fruit (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.04
	xhaŋ lep	plank / board (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.04
	xhaŋ mbəχ	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.04
	xhaŋ nbəχ	drill / auger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0609.04
	xhaŋ zo	carpenter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.04
	xhaŋ ŋgə htɕa wa	raft (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0603.04

2.1.4. Tamangish: ***^{B}siŋ** TREE

**TGTM*	*^{B}**siŋ**	tree	Mazaudon 1994:945
Gurung (Ghachok)	**sĩq**	wood	Glover 1972:4.A.7
	sĩq dũhq	stump	Glover 1972:4.A.11
	sĩq nẽmãː	woodpecker	Glover 1972:3.A.18
	sĩq tihq	kindling	Glover 1972:6.A.55
Gurung	^{2}**sĩ**	wood	Mazaudon 1994:945
Manang (Gyaru)	**syiŋ**^{1} toŋ^{2}	tree	Nagano 1984:289
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**ʃĩ**	tree	Mazaudon 1994:945
	^{1}**ɕĩ**	tree	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0118
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**siŋ**	wood / firewood	Mazaudon 1994:945
	^{1}paŋ ^{2}**siŋ**	logs (large, wooden)	Mazaudon 1994:602
Tamang (Sahu)	kreːh **siŋ**	rafter	Taylor *et al.* 1972:6.18
	^{2}**sjiŋ**	wood	Mazaudon 1994:945
Tamang (Taglung)	**ʃiŋ**	wood	Mazaudon 1994:945
Thakali	**sin**-tur	beam; rafter (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.18; Hale 1973:06a.19
Thakali (Marpha)	**ɕin**	wood	Mazaudon 1994:945
Thakali (Syang)	**ʃin**	wood	Mazaudon 1994:945
Thakali (Tukche)	**sin**	wood	Hari 1971:4.A.7
	sin prɔhpa	kindling	Hari 1971:6.A.55
	sin-e k^{h}uku	sap	Hari 1971:4.A.8
	sin-tur	beam; rafter	Hari 1971:6.A.18; Hari 1971:6.A.19

2.2. Newar

Newar (Dolakhali)	**sĩ**	wood	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**sĩ**	wood	Genetti 1990c

2.3. Kiranti: ***siŋ** TREE

**Kiranti*	***siŋ**	tree	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**siŋ**	wood	Ebert 1997
	siŋ cep ma	cut wood (with axe)	Ebert 1997
	siŋ upuŋma	tree	Ebert 1997
Balali	**siŋ**-bak	leaf	Benedict 1972:40
Limbu	heː **siŋ** ba	near-chestnut (n.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	hoq dok **siŋ** ma	plant used by shaman (bijuwa)	Michailovsky 1989b
	jak keːk-**siŋ** ma	plant (n.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	jaŋ **siŋ** ba	tree (n.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	jaŋ **siŋ** ma	tree (n.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	letti **siŋ** ma	tree (n.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	siŋ	tree, wood	Michailovsky 1989b
	siŋ-thɔkthɔkwa pu	woodpecker	Michailovsky 1989b
	siŋ buŋ	tree	Michailovsky 1989b
	siŋ mut	tree stump	Michailovsky 1989b
	sɔ **siŋ**	sal tree	Michailovsky 1989b
	tErE **siŋ**	willow	Michailovsky 1989b
	toːli **siŋ** ma	agave	Michailovsky 1989b
	tsaŋdhan **siŋ** (ma)	plant (n.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	tsEmbhja **siŋ** (ma)	tree (n.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	tɔŋ **siŋ**	pole erected temporarily to signal the end of a period	Driem 1988
	uŋ **siŋ** jaŋ	plant (n.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	ɔruk **siŋ** ma	maple (n.)	Michailovsky 1989b
Yamphu	**siŋ** bu	tree; tree trunk (n.)	Rutgers 1998:577.1
	siŋ ji ra	wood and leaves (n.)	Rutgers 1998:577.12
	yaŋ **siŋ** bhu	species of tree (Schima wallichii) (n.)	Rutgers 1998:593.07
	yik **siŋ** bu	species of tree (n.)	Rutgers 1998:594.3

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**siŋ_**	wood	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**sɨŋ** khoʔ	mortar made out of a large hollowed out log ot tree stump for	Driem 1993
Khaling	**sāng**	tree	Hale 1973:01.023

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**siŋ**	tree, wood	LaPolla 1987:103; Benedict 1972:233
	siŋ-kok-te	bark (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	siŋ-kok-te	bark	Benedict 1972:74n229
Hayu	**siŋ**	tree, wood	LaPolla 1987:103; Benedict 1972:233
Thulung	**səŋ**	tree, wood	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	blāng.**sing?**	door (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.27
	blaŋ-**siŋ?**	door	Caughley 1972:6.A.27
	blaŋh.**(siŋ?)**	plank, door (n.)	Caughley 2000
	bop.rayk.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), with yellow seed pods, leaves used for ripening bananas, Albizia juilbrissu? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	brin.duŋ.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), with yellow flowers and small sweet yellow fruit (in April) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	bəw.dham.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), large circular leaves, used as timber (n.)	Caughley 2000
	cya.di?.**(siŋ?)**	trees (gen.) (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dhon.dər.**(siŋ?)**	hollow log (n.)	Caughley 2000
	diŋ hləy?.**siŋ?**	(spirit) ladder between world and the underworld (n.)	Caughley 2000
	do.li.**siŋ?**	wood projecting out over spirit world - a dead person's spirit walks on it and is tipped off by shaman (n.)	Caughley 2000
	doŋ.gəl?.**siŋ?**	stick (sp.) for carrying by persons at each end, horizontal stick (n.)	Caughley 2000
	du.dhyat.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), with small white flowers (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dyun?.**(siŋ?)**	backlog, keeping-log of fire, firebrand (n.)	Caughley 2000
	gal.dam.**(siŋ?)**	tree (sp.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ghak.**siŋ?**	forked stick (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ghyal?.**siŋ?**	log, fallen tree (n.)	Caughley 2000
	glos.**siŋ?**	ramp (made of log) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	gləy.thum.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), Acacia with small feathery leaves, used as fodder (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hləy?.**siŋ?**	ladder (notched tree trunk); notched pole, ladder (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	hrənh.**siŋ?**	leafless tree (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hu.dyu.ryu?.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), large, with small yellow flowers, fine leaves used as fodder (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hŋol?.**siŋ?**	trap part (sp.), horizontal stick of deer trap trigger (taking the pull of the sprung noose) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ja.dam.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), hardwood, with thorns, small leaves, fine yellow flowers (n.)	Caughley 2000
	jer.**(siŋ?)**	kindling wood (n.)	Caughley 2000
	jher-**siŋ?**	kindling	Caughley 1972:6.A.55
	jhunh.**siŋ?**	dry, rubbishy wood (n.)	Caughley 2000
	jəy.te?.te?.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), sweet smelling (Cinnamon?) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ka.li.kat.**(siŋ?)**	tree (sp.), large (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kal?.**siŋ?**.(raŋ)	forest; uncut, virgin jungle; clearing in jungle (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kal?.**siŋ?**.raŋ	thick forest, jungle (uncut) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kaŋ.**siŋ?**	part of deer trap, upright part of trigger (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kho.**siŋ?**	wood of walls (n.)	Caughley 2000
	khəy.?ər.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), from which gum is extracted, Acacia catechu (<N) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	klaw.di.**(siŋ?)**	tree (sp.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kla?.bhər?.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), small yellow flowers, red fruit, bark used to make netbags (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kloŋ.**(siŋ?)**	large horizontal tree or branch (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kolh.**siŋ?**	split log (esp. one used by an evil spirit as a chopping block) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kop.**(siŋ?)**	sticks used to clamp thatch to rafters (n.)	Caughley 2000
	koŋ.ka.**siŋ?**	trap part - upright hooked sticks of trigger (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kum?.**siŋ?**	pillow block (wooden), headrest (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kuy?.hawh.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kə.thə.ri.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), large timber tree (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kə.rəw.**(siŋ?)**	rafter (<N kərəŋ) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	k^ho-**siŋ?**	wall	Caughley 1972:6.A.13
	lhəy.**siŋ**	ladder (B) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ma.dham.**(siŋ?)**	tree (sp.), thorny with very long (3-4cm.) spines - used to pierce nose, ears (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ma.**siŋ?**	large tree (gen.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mu.khun.də.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), lowland, bark used for hair rinse (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nap-**siŋ?**	beam	Caughley 1972:6.A.18
	nap.**siŋ?**	lengthwise timber in roof or wall (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nəl.gal.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), large, with blue flowers, bark used for rope (n.)	Caughley 2000
	phə.rim.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), large, edible seed - used for intestinal problems (<N) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ra.ni.**siŋ**.ka	plant (sp.), fine leaves, small white flowers Dunstaedtia appendiculata? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ram.ghak.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), large, with yellow flowers - leaves used as tobacco or medicine for cattle sores, Wrightia tormentosa (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ri.tha.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.) - bark used as hair rinse, seeds for shaman's beads, Sapindus mukorossi (<N rittha) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ruk.ham.**siŋ?**	tree (gen.) (ch.) (<N rukh) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	si.hal?.**siŋ?**	tree planted on grave - glows at night (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sing?	tree	Hale 1973:01.023
	siŋ?	firewood	Weidert 1987:762
	siŋ?	wood (gen.), timber, tree (gen.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	siŋ?	tree; wood	Caughley 1972:1.23; Caughley 1972:4.A.7
	siŋ?-ko pun	bark	Caughley 1972:1.27
	siŋ?.dorh.wa?	bird (sp.), a woodpecker (n.)	Caughley 2000
	siŋ?.je?.poŋ	insect (sp.), grub (of wood borer) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	siŋ?.kloŋ	leaning tree trunk (n.)	Caughley 2000
	siŋ?.ko? pun	bark (n.)	Caughley 2000
	siŋ?.ko? so?	fibres of wood (n.)	Caughley 2000
	siŋ?.min	termite species (n.)	Caughley 2000
	siŋ?.pas.ro	plant (sp.), orchid (gen.), (flowering varieties) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	siŋ?.raŋ	forest; forest, woodland, jungle (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	siŋ?.rop.si	tree (sp.), large, used for timber (n.)	Caughley 2000
	siŋ?.syul?.wa?	bird (sp.), Fulvous-Breasted Woodpecker (n.)	Caughley 2000
	siŋ?.tom.pər?.?i	untouched fruits of jungle, first-fruits (n.)	Caughley 2000
	siŋ?.tyamh.yom	Sloth bear; Sloth-bear (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	so.gaŋ.**siŋ?**	pole for hoisting burning leaves (to burn out wasp nest) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	syak.**siŋ?**	green wood (n.)	Caughley 2000
	səhə.**siŋ?**	pole for carrying dead body (n.)	Caughley 2000
	te?.rəw?.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), medium-sized, bark used as fish poison, also for hair rinse (n.)	Caughley 2000
	thak.**siŋ?**	stake, tentpeg (n.)	Caughley 2000
	thep.**siŋ?**	trap part, spring stick (n.)	Caughley 2000
	tok.co.rok.**(siŋ?)**	tree (sp.), fruit eaten by pigeons (n.)	Caughley 2000
	tok.?ol?.**siŋ?**	chopping block (for cutting meat on) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	toko.na.**siŋ?**	chopping block (n.)	Caughley 2000
	tu.ni.**siŋ?**	tree (sp.), very large, Cedrela toona (<N tuni) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	tyəwh.**siŋ?**	trap part, spring stick (n.)	Caughley 2000
	wa?.toy.ru.**(siŋ?)**	tree (sp.), medium-sized, blue flowers (n.)	Caughley 2000
	?ot.hok.**siŋ?**	dry and light rotten wood or tree (n.)	Caughley 2000
Magar	**sing**	tree	Hale 1973:01.023
	śiŋ	tree, wood	LaPolla 1987:103; Benedict 1972:233

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	bzŋ^{55}**si^{55}**	oak	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:180.18
	gɛ^{55}**si^{55}**	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.18
	si^{33}ntshɑ^{33}su^{55}	carpenter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:305.18
	si^{55}	firewood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.18
	si^{55}kɑ^{33}lɛ^{55}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.18
	si^{55}pu^{55}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.18
	si^{55}sɛ^{55}	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.18
	si^{55}tshɑ^{55}	leaf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:224.18
Guiqiong	(**sã^{31}**) phɑ^{55}	chop (firewood) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1552.16
	sã^{31}	firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.16
	sã^{31}pu^{55}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.16
	sɛ̃^{33}po^{53}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.17
	sɛ̃^{53}	firewood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.17
	sɛ̃^{55}kuɑ̃^{55}	rod / stick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0586.16
Lyuzu	**se^{33}**kæ^{53}li^{31}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.18
	se^{33}nbɯ^{53}	root (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0375.18
	se^{33}ntshæ^{53}sʉ^{31}	carpenter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.18
	se^{33}phʑæ^{53}	leaf (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.18
	se^{33}pu^{53}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.18
	se^{33}sʅ^{53}	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.18

	se^{35}	wood; log; firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.18; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.18
Muya	**tshə^{33}**rø^{53}	firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.15
	tshə^{55}rø^{53}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tshɯ^{55}**rø^{35}	firewood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.15
	ʨĩ^{55}thõ^{53}	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.15
Namuyi	**sɻ^{33}**po^{55}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.19
	sɻ^{35}	firewood; wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.19
	(**sɻ^{31}**) gi^{55}	gather (firewood) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1239.46
	si^{35}	wood; log; firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.46
	sɻ^{33}phsɻ^{53}	leaf (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.46
	sɻ^{33}po^{55}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.46
	sɻ^{33}po^{55} kæ^{31}læ^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.46
	sɻ^{33}po^{55} pæˈ^{31}	root (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0375.46
	sɻ^{31}nbu^{55}	rod / stick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0586.46
	sɻ^{35}læ^{31}ku^{55}mu^{55}sɯ^{53}	carpenter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.46
	sɻ^{35}mi^{55}su^{31}	charcoal (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0059.46
	sɻ^{55}pu^{31}	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.46
	sɻ^{55}pu^{31}quo^{31}	pit / stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0379.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**sẽ^{11}**bũ^{55}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.10
	sẽ^{11}dzu^{55}mi^{11}	carpenter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.10
	sẽ^{11}sy^{55}	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.10
	sẽ^{55}	firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**siɛ̃^{13}**	wood; log; firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.09; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.09
	siɛ̃^{13}dzu^{55}	gather (firewood) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1239.09
	siɛ̃^{13}vbõ^{55}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**siɛ̃^{13}**	firewood; wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.11; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.11
	siɛ̃^{13}sbõ^{55}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**sẽ^{35}**	firewood; wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.10; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.10
	sẽ^{35}bõ^{35}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.10
	sẽ^{35}khuẽ^{53}	carpenter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:305.10
	sẽ^{35}sɯ^{53}	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.10
Qiang (Longxi)	(**ʨì**) phù	tree	Evans 1999:465
	(**ʨì**) ʨà té	firewood knife	Evans 1999:893
	ʨì	firewood	Evans 1999:744
	ʨì kə mà	branch	Evans 1999:467
	ʨì tò	wood, timber	Evans 1999:707
	ʨì zɨ-pù-mù	carpenter [wood-do-AGT]	Evans 1999:236
	ʨì-tò	tree trunk [m-firewood]	Evans 1999:466
	ʨì-fiù	get firewood [wood-get]	Evans 1999:1775
Qiang (Mawo)	**si**	firewood; wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.8
	sə	firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	mià-**sé**	pine (wood) [pine-firewood]	Evans 1999:485
	quà-**sé**	grove [forest-firewood]	Evans 1999:57
	sè	wood, timber, firewood	Evans 1999:707
	sè tshuá	get firewood (tshuá = 'cut wood')	Evans 1999:1775
	sè ʨà	split (firewood)	Evans 1999:2223
	sè ʐà piá	bark of firewood	Evans 1999:469
	nฺò **sé**	firewood	Evans 1999:744
Qiang (Taoping)	**sie^{33}**	firewood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	(**se^{55}**) ʃi^{55}	gather (firewood) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1239.13
	(**se^{55}**ɣa^{33}) mdʐar^{13}	climb up (a tree) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1539.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**se^{53}**	firewood; wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.16; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**se^{55}**	tree; firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.13; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**se^{55}**	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**se^{55}**qha^{55}	chop (firewood) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1239.13
	se^{55}ʂtse^{55}	root (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0375.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ʨĩ^{55}**tu^{53}	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.16
Xumi	(**sĩ^{55}**) kuɛ^{33}	gather (firewood) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1239.17
	sẽ^{33}sy^{35}	fruit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:213.20
	sĩ^{53}	firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.17
	sĩ^{55}ja^{33}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.17
	sĩ^{55}jyæ^{33}	leaf (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.17
	sĩ^{55}khe^{33}	root (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0375.17
	sĩ^{55}põ^{33}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.17
	sĩ^{55}zu^{33}	carpenter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.17
	sə̃^{55}	firewood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.20
	sə̃^{55}tsɑ^{33}qhɑ^{33}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.20
	sə̃^{55}yɛ^{33}	leaf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:224.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**shɛ^{33}** kʌ^{55}	gather (firewood) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1239.14
	shɛ^{33}pu^{55}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.14
	shɛ^{33}ʨʌ^{55}	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.14
	shɛ^{13}	wood; log; firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.14; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	mə **si**	firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.12
Ergong (Danba)	**si**	firewood; wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.14; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.14
	sqhɛ **si**	oak	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:180.14
	stha^{ɪ} **si**	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.14
	sɯ zau	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.14
	sɻ pho	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.14
	sɻ va^{ɪ}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.14
Daofu	**ʨhõ** tho	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	**ʃoŋ** tʃɐ	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.12
Caodeng	**ʃoŋ**-tʃe	wood	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ʃᴇ**	wood; log; firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.11; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.11
rGyalrong	**ʃᴇ**	firewood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.12

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**śiŋ** śi	fruit	LaPolla 1987:102; Benedict 1972:57
	śiŋ ≍ thiŋ	tree, wood	Benedict 1972:233
	śiŋ-byen	plank	Benedict 1972:138
Anong (Rawang)	**śiŋ**-wat	bud	LaPolla 1987:161
**Nungish*	***śiŋ**-wat	bud / flower	Benedict 1972:24n78
Anong	**śiŋ~thiŋ**	tree, wood	LaPolla 1987:103
Nung	xo^{31}bi^{31}**sɯŋ^{55}**	tinder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0537.21
Rawang	ʨəru^{33} **ʨɯŋ^{53}**	pine	LaPolla 2003:435
	ʨɯŋ^{53}	tree	LaPolla 2003:421
	ʨɯŋ^{53} gɔŋ^{31}	tree	LaPolla 2003:421
	ʨɯŋ^{53} wat	flower	LaPolla 2003:429
	ʨɯŋ^{53} ʨi^{53}	fruit	LaPolla 2003:431
Anong	**ʨɯŋ^{55}**di^{31}khɔʔ^{55}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.44
Nung	**ʨɯŋ^{55}**di^{31}khɑŋ^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.21
	ʨɯŋ^{55}tɔn^{55}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.21
Anong	**ʨɯŋ^{55}**tɔn^{55}	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.44
Nung	**ʨɯŋ^{55}**vɛn^{55}	flower (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.21
Anong	**ʨɯŋ^{55}**vɛn^{55}	flower	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.44
Nung	**ʨɯŋ^{55}**vɛn^{55}gɑ^{35}	bud (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0381.21
	ʨɯŋ^{55}ʂʅ^{31}	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.21
Trung [Dulong]	**śiŋ**	tree	Benedict 1972:79n242
	śiŋ / **śik**	firewood	Benedict 1972:79n242
	śiŋ-lap	leaf	Benedict 1972:79n242
	śiŋ-uat	flower	Matisoff 1985a:020
	śiŋ-wat	flower	LaPolla 1987:161; Benedict 1972:79n242
	sɯ^{31}ɹu^{55}**ʨiŋ^{55}**	pine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:179.46
Dulong	tɑŋ^{53}**ʨiŋ^{55}**	fir (China) (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0384.20
	ʨiŋ^{55}	tree; firewood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ʨiŋ^{55}**	tree; firewood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.46; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:468.46
Dulong	**ʨiŋ^{55}**bjɛn^{55}	plank / board (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ʨiŋ^{55}**dzu^{55}wɑ^{53}ɑ^{31}tsǎŋ^{53}	carpenter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:305.46
Dulong	**ʨiŋ^{55}**gɑm^{55}	chest; box; trunk; cupboard; cabinet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0527.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0528.20
	ʨiŋ^{55}kɔʔ^{55}	trunk (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0373.20
	ʨiŋ^{55}lɑ · ŋ^{55}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.20
	ʨiŋ^{55}lɑŋ^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ʨiŋ^{55}**lăp^{55}	leaf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:224.46
Dulong	**ʨiŋ^{55}**plɑ^{55}	forest (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0050.20
	ʨiŋ^{55}pɯɹ^{55}	tray (wooden) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0562.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ʨiŋ^{55}**tuŋ^{55}	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.46
Dulong	**ʨiŋ^{55}**wɑt^{55}	flower (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.20
	ʨiŋ^{55}wɑt^{55}jɔʔ^{55}	multicolored / patterned (cloth)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1098.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ʨiŋ^{55}**wăt^{55}	flower; multicolored	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.46; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:843.46
Dulong	**ʨiŋ^{55}**wɑ^{53}	gather (firewood) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1239.20
	ʨiŋ^{55}wɑ^{53}pu^{55}dʐi^{55}	carpenter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.20
	ʨiŋ^{55}xɹɛt^{55}	saw (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0608.20
	ʨiŋ^{55}ɑ^{31}nɔʔ^{55}	soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ʨiŋ^{55}**ɑŋ^{31}kɔ̆ʔ^{55}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.46
Dulong	**ʨiŋ^{55}**ʨi^{55}	fruit (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0378.20
	ʨiŋ^{55}ʨɔt^{55}	plane (tool) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0611.20
	ʨu^{55}pɑ^{55}**ʨiŋ^{55}**	cypress (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0386.20
	ʨɯ^{55}ɹu^{55}**ʨiŋ^{55}**	pine (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0385.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**śiŋ^{55}**	tree, wood	LaPolla 1987:103
	śiŋ^{55} aŋ^{31} kɔʔ^{55}	branch	LaPolla 1987:9
	śiŋ^{55} lap^{55}	leaf	LaPolla 1987:136 [a]
	śiŋ^{55} wat^{55}	flower	LaPolla 1987:161
	śiŋ^{55} wat^{55} wat^{55}	bloom	LaPolla 1987:161
	sɯ^{31} ru^{55} **śiŋ^{55}**	pine, fir	LaPolla 1987:158
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	sɯ^{31} ru^{55} **śɯŋ^{55}**	pine, fir	LaPolla 1987:158
	sɯ^{31}ɹu^{55}**ʨɯŋ^{55}**	pine	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	śɯŋ^{55}	tree, wood	LaPolla 1987:103
	śɯŋ^{55} aŋ^{31} kɔʔ^{55}	branch	LaPolla 1987:9
	ʨɯŋ^{55}	tree	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ʨɯŋ^{55}wăt^{55}wăt^{55}	bloom	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ʨɯŋ^{55}ɑŋ^{31}kɔ̆ʔ^{55}	branch	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***sik^{H}** ≍ ***siŋ** TREE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***sik**	tree / wood	Matisoff 1972b:118(a)

[a] [Source Note] (śiŋ^{55} 'tree').

	*sik^{H}	tree	Matisoff 2003a:613
	*siŋ	tree / wood	Matisoff 1972b:118(b)

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	ʂɯk^{55}	tree	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ʂɯk^{55}tʂhɑ^{55}	branch	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	ʂək^{55}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.28
	ʂək^{55}	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.41
	ʂək^{55}kzɻaŋ^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.28
	ʂək^{55}kzɻaŋ^{55}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.41
Achang (Luxi)	sək^{55}	tree	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	sək^{55}kaʔ^{55}	branch	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	sək^{55}siɛ^{55}	board / plank	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	sək^{55}u^{55}nɔŋ^{55}	carpenter	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	ʂɯk^{55}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.29
	ʂɯk^{55}xɔʔ^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.29
Bola (Luxi)	sak^{55}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.32
	sak^{55}kaʔ^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.32
	sak^{55}luŋ^{31}	plank / board (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.32
	sak^{55}tam^{35}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	tθiʔ^{4}pĩ^{22}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.27
	tθiʔ^{4}tõ^{55}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tθiʔ^{44}pĩ^{22}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.40
	tθiʔ^{44}tθɑ^{55}	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.40
Burmese (Written)	sac	wood; tree; wood, timber	Matisoff 1983:23; Benedict 1976a
	sac ce:	gum (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	sac paṅ	tree	Marrison 1967
	sats	wood; tree; tree, wood	Weidert 1987:315; Benedict 1972:233
	thɑs pɑŋ	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.39
	thɑs thɑ^{3}	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.39
	tθɑs^{4} tuṁ^{3}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.26
Langsu (Luxi)	sak^{55}luŋ^{31}	plank / board (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.31
	sak^{55}thauŋ^{35}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.31
	sa̱k^{55}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.31
	sa̱k^{55}kɔ̱ʔ^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.31
Leqi (Luxi)	sa̱k^{55}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.33
	sa̱k^{55}kɔ̱ʔ^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.33
	sa̱k^{55}luaŋ^{33}	plank / board (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.33
	sa̱k^{55}tɔ̱m^{53}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.33
Maru [Langsu]	sak^{55}luŋ^{31}	board / plank	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:359.43
	sák tsàŋ	wood / tree	Weidert 1987:315
	sa̱k^{55}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.43
	sa̱k^{55}kɔ̱ʔ^{55}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.43
	sa̱k^{55}thauŋ^{35}	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	sik^{55}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.30
	sik^{55}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.42
	sik^{55} tu̱m^{55}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.30
	sik^{55}kja̱ŋ^{51}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.30
	sik^{55}kja̱ŋ^{51}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.42
	sik^{55}loŋ^{21}	plank / board (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.30
	sik^{55}loŋ^{21}	board / plank	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:359.42
	sik^{55}thuŋ^{21}	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.42
	sik hâm	wood / tree	Weidert 1987:315

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	*sik^{H}	wood; tree	Weidert 1987:315; Bradley 1979b:303A
PNL	sik	tree	CHEN Kang 1986a:78.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	sɿ^{35}	plank / board (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.47
	sɿ^{35}tsha^{35}tsha^{35}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.47
	sɿ^{35}tsɤ^{323}tsɤ^{323}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.47
	sɿ^{35}tsɿ^{53}la^{35}jo^{35}	carpenter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.47
Lalo	siq-dá-tsiq	wood	Björverud 1994
	siq-dzí	tree	Björverud 1994
	si̱^{33}	tree	CHEN Kang 1986a:78.
Lipho	si̱^{33}	tree	CHEN Kang 1986a:78.
Nasu	si 32s	tree / wood	Matisoff 1972b:118(a)
	si̱^{2}	tree	CHEN Kang 1986a:78.
Neisu	sɪ^{33}	tree	CHEN Kang 1986a:78.
Nesu	ɕi̱^{33}	tree	CHEN Kang 1986a:78.
Nosu	si̱^{4}	tree	CHEN Kang 1986a:78.
Nusu (Southern)	si^{31}tʂɔ̃^{55}	branch	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	si^{35}phiɑ^{ɪ35}	board / plank	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:359.45
Nusu (Southern)	si̱^{31}tu^{31}	wood	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	si̱^{53}dzə^{35}	tree	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	si̱^{53}dzə̃^{ɤ33}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.34
	si̱^{53}dɔ^{55}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.34
	si̱^{53}ka̱^{53}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.34
	si̱^{53}phiə^{ɤ33}	plank / board (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	si^{53}dzə̃^{ɤ35}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.45
	si^{53}kɑ̱^{53}lɑ^{53}ɑ^{31}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.45
	si^{53}ɑ^{31}	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.45
Nusu (Northern)	sɿ̄^{55}dzə^{35}	tree	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	sɿ̄^{55}tɔ^{35}	wood	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	sɿ^{55}ka^{55}	branch	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	se^{33}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.22
	se^{33} phu^{55}ʈa^{21}	board / plank	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:359.22
	se^{33}ka^{13}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.22
	se^{33}ʏe^{13}phu^{55}	carpenter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:305.22
Yi (Liangshan)	sɿ̱^{33}	firewood (kindling); kindling (wood); tree	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}bo^{33}	tree	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}da^{33}	trunk (tree)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}di^{21}	log (wood)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}dʐɯ^{55}	wood chips	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}ko^{55}	branch (tree)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}lo^{55}	branch (tree)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}ʑo^{55}	plane, carpenter's	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}ʑo^{55}pɛ^{33}	wood shavings	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}ʤo^{21}	log (wood)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}tso^{55}	graft (tree branch)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}tsɿ^{55}lɻ^{55}ku̱^{33}	carpenter	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}ʧhi^{33}	leaf (tree)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}ʧɕɛ^{33}	beam, wooden; trunk (tree)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	si^{33}tsi̱^{55}pho^{21};mu^{21}tɕa̱^{21}	carpenter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:305.25
	si̱^{33} phi^{21}	board / plank	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:359.25
	si̱^{33}thɯ^{33}	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.25
	si̱^{33}tsɛ^{33}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.25
	si̱^{33}tɕe̱^{55}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ɕi̱^{33}dzɛ^{21}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.26
	ɕi̱^{33}dʑe^{33}mu^{21}pho^{21}	carpenter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:305.26
	ɕi̱^{33}ko̱^{21}le̱^{21}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.26
Yi (Nanhua)	se̱^{33}dzɯ^{33}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.24
	ɕi̱^{33} phi^{21}	board / plank	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:359.24
	ɕi̱^{33}do^{33}	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.24
	ɕi̱^{33}dzɻ^{33}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.37
	ɕi̱^{33}də^{21}lə^{21}mo^{33}	trunk (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0373.37
	ɕi̱^{33}kɑ^{55}le̱^{21}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.37
	ɕi̱^{33}kɑ̱^{55}le̱^{21}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.24
	ʭ̄^{33}do^{33}lo^{33}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.37
	ʭ̄^{33}phe^{21}	plank / board (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.37
Yi (Nanjian)	sʅ̄^{33}dzɻ^{55}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.23
	sʅ̄^{33}ta^{55}	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.23
Yi (Weishan)	sʅ̄^{33}dzɻ^{55}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.36
	sʅ̄^{33}dɑ^{55}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.36
	sʅ̄^{33}phɑ^{21}li̱^{21}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.36
Yi (Wuding)	si̱^{2}	wood; log; tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.38; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.38
	si̱^{2}kɑ̱^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.38
	si̱^{2}mɣ^{33}lɑ̱^{55}kɯ̱^{33}	carpenter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.38
	si̱^{2}phi^{55}	plank / board (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.38
Yi (Xide)	si^{33}	limb, branch	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	sɿ^{33}bo^{33}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.21
	sʅ̄^{33}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.35
	sʅ̄^{33}bo^{33}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.35
	sʅ̄^{33}l(u̱)^{33}sʅ̄^{33}tɕe^{33}	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.21
	sʅ̄^{33}lo^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.35
	sʅ̄^{33}lo^{55}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.21
	sʅ̄^{33}phi^{21}	plank / board (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.35
	sʅ̄^{33}phi^{21}	board / plank	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:359.21
	sʅ̄^{33}tsɿ^{55} l̥^{55}ku̱^{33}	carpenter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.35
	sʅ̄^{33}tsɿ^{55}l̥(ɻ)^{55}ku̱^{33}	carpenter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:305.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	si 44 ~ sɿ 44	tree / wood	Matisoff 1972b:118(a)
	si̱^{33}	tree	CHEN Kang 1986a:78.
Jinuo	sɯ^{44}tsɯ^{31}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.44
Kucong	sɤ33 la31 ka55	tree branch	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	sɤ33 tɕɛ31	tree	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	si^{54}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.43
	si^{54}phi^{53}	plank / board (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.43
	si^{54}qɑ^{35}	branch / twig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.43
	si^{54}te^{33}pɑ^{11}	carpenter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.43
	si^{54}tɛ^{53}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.43
Lahu (Black)	kɛ^{54}lɛ^{54}sɿ^{54}	oak	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:180.33
	šɨʔ	tree / wood	Matisoff 1972b:118(a)
	šɨʔ-bá	plank	Matisoff 1972b:111(d)
	šɨʔ-thɛ(-qu)	log of wood (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:687
	šɨʔ-té-qu ⩙ šɨʔ-tê-qu	fallen tree trunk; big log (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1243
	sɿ^{54}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.33
	sɿ^{54}qʌ^{35}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.33
	sɿ^{54}te^{33}pʌ^{11}	carpenter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:305.33
	sɿ^{54}tɛ^{53}	wood	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:469.33
	šɨʔ-cɛ̀	tree ("wood-plant")	Matisoff 1988a:484
Lahu (Yellow)	sɿ^{6}	tree	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	sɿ^{6}ba^{4}	board / plank	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	sɿ^{6}qa^{4}	branch	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	sɿ^{6}te^{1}pa^{5}	carpenter	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	ši 33 ~ ši 45	tree / wood	Matisoff 1972b:118(a)
	si2	tree / wood	Matisoff 1972b:118(a)
	si2-hpyá1	plank	Matisoff 1972b:111(b)
	si2-lá6-ka3	branch	Matisoff 1972b:43
Lisu (Central)	si^{2}-chaw^{3}	wood (firewood)	Fraser 1922
	si^{2}-da^{3}	stick (n.)	Fraser 1922
	si^{2}-da^{4}	wood (timber)	Fraser 1922
	si^{2}-dzi^{3}	tree (n.)	Fraser 1922
	si^{2}-hpyá^{1}	board; plank (n.)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
	si^{2}-kaw^{2}-ji^{4}	bark (of tree) (n.)	Fraser 1922
	si^{2}-lá^{6}-ka^{3}	branch	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	si^{21}	first syllable of compounds for wood or tree (N.)	Bradley 1994

Lisu (Central)	**si**^{21}dʑø^{33}dzi^{33}	evergreen dogwood, Cornus capitata (tree with fruit like lychee) (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**si**^{21}dʑɤ^{33}dzi^{33}	evergreen dogwood, Cornus capitata (tree with fruit like lychee) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}le^{21} tshɯ^{21}hɤ̃^{21}	peach glue (oozes from peach tree branches)	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}le^{21} zɔʔ^{21}lɔʔ^{21}	parasitic plant on peach tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}le^{21}dzi^{33}	peach tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}tʃhŋ^{33}dzi^{33}	pear tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}	first syllable of compounds for wood or tree (N.)	Bradley 1994
	si^{35} thi^{21} ɤ^{44}	backload of fire wood	Bradley 1994
	si^{35} ɲɔ^{33}	top of tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}be^{44}	knot in the tree; lump of timber; gall	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}da^{44}	wooden stick; wooden pole	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}dzi^{33}	tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}dzi^{33} ku^{33}si^{33}	under the tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}dø^{21}	timber; wood	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}dʒu^{33}da^{33}	dead tree trunk; dead tree	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**si**^{35}dɑ^{33}	wood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:469.27
Lisu (Northern)	**si**^{35}gɔ^{44}	crooked tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}khwa^{55}bɤ^{21}	pieces of firewood; split bamboo or chopped wood	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}kwa^{33}tsø^{33}	tree branch	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}kɯʔ^{21}tɯʔ^{21}	(species of Japanese eurya, hard wood)	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}li^{21}	cut wood (used to keep records)	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}læ^{21}ka^{55} thi^{33} ka^{55}	tree branch (n.)	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}læʔ^{21}ka^{55}	tree branch	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}mɔ^{21}dzi^{33}	old tree; ancient tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}mɤ^{55} khu^{55}lu^{33}	tree knot	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}mɤ^{55}du^{21}	tree stump	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}phi^{21}	plank; board; piece of wood (used for stirring)	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
	si^{35}phja^{21}	tree leaf	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}phu^{21}læ^{33}	kind of tree, Rhus chinensis (with edible fruit)	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}phy^{33}dzi^{33}	male tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}pɤ^{33}dʑɤʔ^{21}	crushed wood pieces	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**si**^{35}pɤ^{33}tɕøʔ^{21}	crushed wood pieces	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**si**^{35}sɤ^{21}dzi^{33}	fruit tree	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}thɔ^{35}thi^{33}	wood block	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}thɔ^{55}	log (chopped up)	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}ti^{55}	single piece of wood	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}tsi^{55}	nodal wood	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}tʃhŋ^{21}	rotten wood	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}tʃhŋ^{21} bɤ^{21}di^{33}	insect that eats books, clothes or wood	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}væʔ^{21}	kind of palm tree, Caryotaurens	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}væʔ^{21}dzi^{33}	tree of caryotaurens	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}ŋɔ^{55} khu^{55}lu^{33}	tree stump	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}ɲɔ^{33}	tree top	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**sɿ**^{35}mi^{31}ʒe^{33}su^{44}	carpenter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:305.27
	sɿ^{35}ɕɑ^{35}phɑ^{31}	carpenter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.40
Sani [Nyi]	**si**^{44}	tree	Chen Kang 1986a:78.
	sʐ 44	tree / wood	Matisoff 1972b:118(a)
Yi (Sani)	**sʐ̱**^{44}	wood; log; tree (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.39; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.39
	sʐ̱^{44}kʮ^{33} tsho^{33}	carpenter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.39
	sʐ̱^{44}phʐ^{11}	plank / board (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.39
	sʐ̱^{44}qe^{55}	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Bisu	**tsɯŋ** chɛ́(~é)	root, base	Bradley 199x
	tsɯŋ tsɯ́ŋ	tree	Bradley 199x
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**sə 21**	tree / wood	Matisoff 1972b:118(b)
Hani (Caiyuan)	**sɿ̄**^{33}tsɿ^{55}	tree	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:178.30
Sila	**sɯ33** dzɯ55	tree	Kato Takashi 2008:126
Woni	**ʂɿ 33**	tree / wood	Matisoff 1972b:118(a)

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**si**^{44}	wood	Pelkey 2011:223
	si^{44}pɛ^{44}	branch	Pelkey 2011:219
	si^{44}p^{h}ɛ^{22}	tree leaf	Pelkey 2011:226
	si^{44}ɬɔ^{33}	tree leaf	Pelkey 2011:226
	si^{44}ʑy^{22}	tree trunk	Pelkey 2011:227
	si^{44}tsɛ^{21}	tree	Pelkey 2011:167
	si^{44}ts^{h}a^{44}	fork (of tree branch)	Pelkey 2011:229
	si^{44}tɕi^{21}kɔ^{45}	tree bark	Pelkey 2011:228
	t^{h}u^{33}**si**^{44}	pine tree	Pelkey 2011:168
	ʑi^{21}li^{45}**si**^{44}	willow tree	Pelkey 2011:170
Southern Muji	**ɕi**^{33}do^{21}ma^{21}	tree trunk	Pelkey 2011:227
	ɕi^{33}ka^{21}lɛ^{33}	branch	Pelkey 2011:219
	ɕi^{33}ma^{21}	tree; wood	Pelkey 2011:167; Pelkey 2011:223
	ɕi^{33}ma^{21}ji^{21}ko^{21}	tree bark	Pelkey 2011:228
	ɕi^{33}ɬa^{33}	tree leaf	Pelkey 2011:226
Phola	**si**^{31}	wood	Pelkey 2011:223
	si^{31}kɑ^{33}	fork (of tree branch)	Pelkey 2011:229
	si^{31}**lɑ**^{33}**kɑ**^{31}	branch	Pelkey 2011:219
	si^{31}p^{h}ɑ^{23}	tree leaf	Pelkey 2011:226
	si^{31}tɑ^{31}	tree trunk	Pelkey 2011:227
	si^{31}tsɛ^{33}	tree	Pelkey 2011:167
	si^{31ŋ}ki^{23}tʂ^{h}ɑ^{33}	tree bark	Pelkey 2011:228
Hlepho Phowa	sa^{55}**sɯ**^{13}	fir tree	Pelkey 2011:169
	so^{55}mo^{55}**sɿ**^{21}	pine tree	Pelkey 2011:168
	sɿ^{21}ka^{33}	branch; fork (of tree branch)	Pelkey 2011:219; Pelkey 2011:229
	sɿ^{21}lɛ^{21}	branch	Pelkey 2011:219
	sɿ^{21}ma^{33}	tree	Pelkey 2011:167
	sɿ^{21}ma^{33}ʤɛ^{55}	tree trunk	Pelkey 2011:227
	sɿ^{21}p^{h}ɛ^{33}	tree leaf	Pelkey 2011:226
	sɿ^{21}t^{h}ɔ^{33}	wood	Pelkey 2011:223
	sɿ^{21n}ʤɻ^{33}kɔ^{55}lɔ^{55}	tree bark	Pelkey 2011:228
Phuza	sa^{33}**sɯ**^{31}	fir tree	Pelkey 2011:169
	si^{55}li^{55}	branch	Pelkey 2011:219
	si^{55}mʌ^{33}	tree	Pelkey 2011:167
	si^{55}mʌ^{33}a^{55}ka^{13}	fork (of tree branch)	Pelkey 2011:229
	si^{55}mʌ^{33}kə^{55}lə^{55}	tree bark	Pelkey 2011:228
	si^{55}mʌ^{33}ɣɛ^{31}	tree trunk	Pelkey 2011:227
	si^{55}p^{h}i^{55}	tree leaf	Pelkey 2011:226
	si^{55}t^{h}ʌ^{33}	wood	Pelkey 2011:223

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**si**˥ k^{h}wɤ˥	wooden plate	Michaud 2006–2009:1135
	si˥qɑ˥lɑ˩	branch	Michaud 2006–2009:4239
	si˩	wood	Michaud 2006–2009:966
	si˩dze˩dze˩ hĩ˥	small stick insect	Michaud 2006–2009:3771
	si˩dzi˩	tree	Michaud 2006–2009:4072
	si˩gv˩hĩ˩	carpenter	Michaud 2006–2009:716
	si˩li˥	China fir cone	Michaud 2006–2009:4285
	si˩pv˥	large fir cone	Michaud 2006–2009:4286
	si˩pɤ˩ʈv˩	tree stump	Michaud 2006–2009:4290
	si˩p^{h}æ˥	wood plank	Michaud 2006–2009:969
	si˩tse˩lu˥	wood basin	Michaud 2006–2009:1165
	si˩u˩ɑ˥li˥	fruit	Michaud 2006–2009:3979
	si˩ɑ˩ts^{h}ɯ˥	root	Michaud 2006–2009:4234
	si˩ʐɯ˩	sap	Michaud 2006–2009:4243
	t^{h}u˩**si**˩	pine tree	Michaud 2006–2009:4084
	ʐv˩**si**˩	willow tree	Michaud 2006–2009:4090
Na (Yongning)	**si**˥	wood	Michaud 2006–2009
	si˩dzi˩-mv˩tsɯ#˥	small root	Michaud 2006–2009
	si˩dzi˩	tree	Michaud 2006–2009
	si˩dʐi˥	firewood	Michaud 2006–2009
	si˩kɤ˥	branch	Michaud 2006–2009
	si˩nɑ˥	deep forest	Michaud 2006–2009
	si˩q^{h}wæ˩	chop wood, to split wood (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	si˩ɕi˥	forest	Michaud 2006–2009
	si˩ʁu#˥	fruit	Michaud 2006–2009
	si˩**ʁu**˩**si**˩**lɯ#**˥	fruit	Michaud 2006–2009
	si˩ʁæ˩bæ˥	wooden plate	Michaud 2006–2009
	si˩ts^{h}ɤ˩	leaf	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**səɹ**^{33}	firewood; wood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:468.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:469.28
	səɹ^{33}ndɑ^{55}pɯ^{55}dʐɯ^{31}	carpenter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:305.28
Naxi	**sɤ̃**^{33}	firewood (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0534.45
	sɤ̃^{33}dɑ^{55}pɯ^{55}dʐ̩^{21}	carpenter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0185.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**sɿ**^{33}	firewood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:468.29
	sɿ^{33}dzɻ^{33}	tree	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:178.29
	sɿ^{33}dzɻ^{33}kə^{31}lo^{31}	branch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:225.29
	sɿ^{33}gv^{33}	trunk / box	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:457.29
	sɿ^{33}lv^{33}	wood	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:469.29
	sɿ^{33}o^{33}**sɿ**^{33}lv^{33}	fruit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:213.29

7. Karenic

Geba	**θi**^{1} p‘i^{2}	skin, bark	Luce 1985:J.242
Kayan (Pekon)	**θân**	tree (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân bímé	kind of tree [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân bón	tree trunk [lit. tree-long/trunk] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân ké	cherry [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân klâ	kind of tree that grows in the lowlands [lit. tree-forest] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân kló	log [lit. tree-roll] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân kû	wooden stick, bat [lit. tree-rod] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân kə̀ɨ	split wood [lit. tree-half] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân k^{h}àu	mango [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân k^{h}ɔ́	log, tree trunk of a fallen tree [lit. tree-corpse] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân lâ	tree leaf [lit. tree-leaf] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân mé	kind of tree [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân mú	plum [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân mən	tree [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân né	kind of tree with red heartwood [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân nó	pine tree [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân pên	tree bark [lit. tree-skin] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân pə̀	floor / plank [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân pə̀k^{h}ó	wooden floor [lit. tree-?-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân pù	kind of tree [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân p^{h}án	tree branch [lit. tree-branch] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân p^{h}è	tree bark [lit. tree-skin] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân sú	teak [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân tą́	kind of tree whose shoots are used as offerings [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân tą́mən	kind of tree [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân tə̀	tree base, usually used for trees with striated trunks [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân t^{h}ù	type of tree [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân t^{h}wân	post, especially those used in house construction [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân t^{h}án	kind of tree with leaves used for thatching [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân θâ	fruit [lit. tree-fruit] (N.)	Manson 2010
	θân θə́	kind of tree with sap used to seal baskets and boats [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010

Pa-O	**séŋ**	tree	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:49
	seŋ	tree	Benedict 1972:142n384
	séŋ khrôŋ	log, fallen tree, stump; clf f	Solnit 1989
	séŋ pàŋ khá	crotch of tree	Solnit 1989
	séŋ tənjá	red tree, mai daeng	Solnit 1989
Palaychi	**tə́q**	tree	Jones 1961:49
Pwo (Bassein)	**θèn**	tree	Jones 1961:49
Pwo (Moulmein)	**θénʔ**	tree	Jones 1961:49
Karen (Sgaw)	**θe**	tree; tree, wood	Benedict 1972:144n388; Benedict 1972:180n476
Sgaw (Bassein)	**θè**	tree	Jones 1961:49
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**θéʔ**	tree	Jones 1961:49

Chinese comparandum

新 OC ***si̯ĕn**, *GSR* #382k-m 'new'; Schuessler 2007:538 ***sin**; B & S 2011: ***C.sin {C.si [n] }**; Mand. **xīn**. 薪 OC ***si̯ĕn**, *GSR* #382n 'firewood'; Coblin 86:161 ST ***sying** > PC ***sjing** > OC ***sjin**; Schuessler 2007:538-9 ***sin**; B & S 2011: ***sin {si [n] }**; Mand. **xīn**.

(14) PTB *glaŋ WILLOW / POPLAR

This etymology is due to Gong Hwang-cherng.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***glaŋ**	willow / poplar	Matisoff 2003a:590

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**glaŋ**-ma	large kind of alpine willow	Gong Hwang-cherng 2001:31

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**di̯ɑng/i̯ɑng**	poplar	Karlgren 1957:720q

Chinese comparandum

楊 OC ***di̯ɑng**, *GSR* #720q; B & S 2011: ***laŋ**; Mand. **yáng**.

3.1.2 Plant parts and types

(1) PTani *ɦəː BAMBOO (large species)

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***ɦəː**	bamboo (large species)	Sun 1993a:14

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**ɯː**	bamboo (large species); bamboo (thick)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**eː**	bamboo	Das Gupta 1963
	'əə-a kuk	bamboo husk (n.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**eŋ**	bamboo (large species)	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**ɦəː**	bamboo (big)	Sun 1993b
Milang	a-**hu**	bamboo	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976

(2) PKar *ʔbaŋ^{B} BAMBOO SHOOT

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***ʔbaŋ**^{B}	bamboo shoot	Luangthongkum 2013:11
Bwe	**ɓa**^{33}	bamboo shoot	Luangthongkum 2013:11
Bwe (Western)	**ɓɑ**^{2} [ɪ^{1}]	bamboo shoots	Luce 1985:E.48
Geba	**bɑ**^{2}	bamboo shoots	Luce 1985:E.48
Kayah	**bɛ**^{11}	bamboo shoot	Luangthongkum 2013:11
Kayan	**baŋ**^{11}	bamboo shoot	Luangthongkum 2013:11
Kayaw	**bɔ**^{11}	bamboo shoot	Luangthongkum 2013:11
Pa-O	**báŋ**, wá **báŋ**	bamboo shoot	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**baŋ**^{33}	bamboo shoot	Luangthongkum 2013:11
Pa-O (Northern)	**baŋ**^{55}	bamboo shoot	Luangthongkum 2013:11
	bɑŋ^{1}	bamboo shoots	Luce 1985:E.48
Pwo (Northern)	**bɛ̃**^{33}	bamboo shoot	Luangthongkum 2013:11
Pwo (Southern)	**bɔ̃**^{55}	bamboo shoot	Luangthongkum 2013:11
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**ɓɑ̃**^{1}	bamboo shoots	Luce 1985:E.48
Pwo (Delta)	**ɓɑ̃**^{4}	bamboo shoots	Luce 1985:E.48
Sgaw (Northern)	**bɔ**$^{31\sim}$	bamboo shoot	Luangthongkum 2013:11
Sgaw (Southern)	**bɔ**$^{45'}$	bamboo shoot	Luangthongkum 2013:11
Sgaw	**ɓɔ**^{4}	bamboo shoots	Luce 1985:E.48

(3) PTB *{r, g, s}-p^{w}a BAMBOO

The Qiangic languages attest both of the principal roots for BAMBOO, the present root and PTB ***ma** BAMBOO (§3.1.2).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	*(**g-**)**pwɑ**	kind of bamboo	Chou Fa-kao 1972:39s
	***pr + waɣ**/br + waɣ	bamboo	Coblin 1986:38

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-p^{w}a ⪤ r-p^{w}a**	bamboo	Matisoff 2003a:608
	***g-pa**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257; Benedict 1972:44
	***g-pwa**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257
	***g-pɑ**	bamboo	Chou Fa-kao 1972:39c
	***g-p^{w}a**	bamboo	Mortensen 2012
	***r-wa**	bamboo	Matisoff 2003a:618

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***rua** BAMBOO

**Chin*	***rua**	BAMBOO	VanBik 2009:919

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**ngūa**	bamboo	VanBik 2009:919
Thado	**gúo**	bamboo	VanBik 2009:919
Tiddim	**-gua**	bamboo (n.)	Henderson 1965
	gúa	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257
	gua^{2}	bamboo	VanBik 2009:919; Bhaskararao 1996:376

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**yó**	bamboo	VanBik 2009:919
Cho (Mindat)	**gaw**	bamboo	VanBik 2009:919

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**rûa**	bamboo	VanBik 2009:919
Lai (Falam)	**rŭa**	bamboo	VanBik 2009:919
Lushai [Mizo]	**rúa**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257
	rua	bamboo	Marrison 1967
	rúa	bamboo (n.)	VanBik 2009:919
	rua	bamboo	Bhaskararao 1996:376; Benedict 1972:44

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**rā**-màw	bamboo	VanBik 2009:750
	ra-màw	true bamboo (n.)	VanBik 2009:919

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**kowa**	bamboo	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***pwa/pu** BAMBOO, ***r-hwaʔ** BAMBOO

**Central Naga*	***pwa/pu**	BAMBOO	Bruhn 2014a:III.038
	***r-hwaʔ**	BAMBOO	Bruhn 2014a:III.028
**Ao*	*a-**hwaʔ**	BAMBOO	Bruhn 2014a:II.274
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**uʔ**^{1}	bamboo (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.274
	a **o**	bamboo	Marrison 1967
	^{3}a^{1}**uʔ**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **u**	bamboo	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hwa̰**-tsə	bamboo sap ('bamboo' + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**hwá̰ʔ**	bamboo sp. (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**u**	bamboo sp. (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	ve^{2}-**puʔ**^{3}	bamboo (large species) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.038
	pu hrü	bamboo	Marrison 1967
	ve **pfu**	bamboo	Marrison 1967
	ve **pvü** tsintsan	bamboo	Murry *et al.* 1978:8
	^{2}ve-^{3}**pfɯ**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:884
Sangtam	**gho**	bamboo	Kumar 1973a
	ghu	bamboo	Marrison 1967
	^{2}**po**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:130
	^{2}**xu**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257
Yimchungrü	**hüh**	bamboo	Kumar 1973b:74
	hɯʔ	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257
	$^{(1)}$**hɯʔ**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:884

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	a **po**	bamboo	Marrison 1967
	^{1}a^{2}**pho**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:130

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	**rua**	bamboo	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***hwa** BAMBOO

**Tangkhulic*	***hwa**	bamboo	Mortensen 2012:316
Huishu	k^{h}-**we**-t^{h}ɐŋ	bamboo	Mortensen 2012:Plants.097
Kachai	kə-**fu**-t^{h}ɐŋ	bamboo	Mortensen 2012:Plants.097
Tusom	**sɯ**-t^{h}ɯə̃	bamboo	Mortensen 2012:Plants.097
Ukhrul	kə-**ha**-t^{h}iŋ	bamboo	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**wa**	bamboo	Abbi & Mishra 1985; Marrison 1967

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***waʔ**	bamboo	Burling 1959:440

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	u **wá**	bamboo	Bhat 1968
	u **wá** burka	bamboo full of knots	Bhat 1968
	u **wá** gubəy	bamboo found in hills	Bhat 1968
	u **wá** ri	caste representing the suppliers of bamboo to king; caste name–suppliers of bamboo to the king	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
	u **wá** tay	bamboo found in hills	Bhat 1968
	zati u **wá**	bamboo (kind of, used for mats, fence etc.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**wah**	bamboo	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**wa**	bamboo	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	wa-roʔ	bamboo splinter /; bamboo splits	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988; Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	wa-šoŋ	bamboo tube	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**waʔ**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:130

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**waʔ**-a	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257
Garo (Bangladesh)	**wa•**-	bamboo (n.)	Burling 2003:4.637-II:idx
	wa•-si	split bamboo (n.)	Burling 2003:5.638-II:idx
	wa•-si-ri	split bamboo (n.)	Burling 2003:5.639-II:idx
	wa•-sing	cup, bamboo; tube, bamboo (n.)	Burling 2003:5.438-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**wa•**	bamboo (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• chun	length of one bamboo stick (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• da	type of bamboo of which each culm comes out of the ground individually instead of in a bush (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• dokolong	water pipe made of bamboo (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• gat	bamboo shoulder yoke (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• gatram	shoulder, literally: 'the place where you put the bamboo shoulder yoke' (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• gydok	water pipe made of bamboo (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• jong	type of bamboo (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• kai	type of big bamboo (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• khaw•	one long half of a bamboo split lengthwise (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• khyntha	type of bamboo (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• phuk	white half of a strip of bamboo used to make rope (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• rung	young bamboo (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• sung	bamboo cylinder used as container and used to cook (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• syl	green half of a strip of bamboo used to make rope (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• thok	hollow bamboo stick (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• thyrai	type of bamboo (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wa• tyng	bamboo strip used to make baskets, and other woven utensils as well as rope (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**kawa**	bamboo	Marrison 1967
	kă̠^{5}**wa**^{55}	bamboo	Liu Lu, ed. 1984

	kă^{55}wa^{55}	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.47
	kă^{55}wa^{55}	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.19
	kəwá	bamboo	Matisoff 1974:313
	kəwa≍wa	bamboo	Benedict 1972:44
	^{3}kə^{3}wa	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257
2.1.2. BODIC			
Motuo Menba	**pa**	cane / vine (herba fibraureae recisae) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0390.07
	pa laŋ	section of bamboo used as container (for water) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.07
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ba^{13}**si^{53}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.3
	ba^{13}ʔi^{53}	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.3
Tibetan (Spiti)	**p^{h}ú**	cane	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	gliŋ **bu**	flute (bamboo, vertical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0664.01
	spa	cane (n.)	Marrison 1967
	spa ≍ sba	cane	Benedict 1972:44
3.2. QIANGIC: ***s-pu ≍ *m-pu** BAMBOO			
Muya	**rə^{33}**mbə^{55}tɕø^{53}	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ʐɯ^{35}**mbɯ^{53}tɕø^{53}	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.15
	ʐɯ^{35}mbɯ^{53}tɕø^{53}pɐ^{55}pɐ^{53}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.15
Pumi (Lanping)	**mzɐ^{13}**pu^{55}	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.09
	mzɐ^{13}tiu^{55}	steamer (of bamboo, for food) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0548.09
	mzɐ^{55}	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**mzɐ^{13}**qɑ^{13}ʐɑ^{13}	hat (bamboo)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:371.11
	mzɐ^{55}	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.11
	mzɐ^{55}ʂə^{13}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.11
Qiang (Longxi)	**pò** (tí)	bamboo [bamboo-straight]	Evans 1999:491
	pò tí tsí	bamboo shoot	Evans 1999:492
Qiang (Mawo)	dɑ **ʂpu**	split up (bamboo pole) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1557.08
	ʂpu	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.08
	ʂpu	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.8
	ʂpu l	flute (bamboo) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0663.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	(**pù**) ʂè dʐ̩	broken (bamboo)	Evans 1999:2231
	pù	bamboo	Evans 1999:491
	pù lè	bamboo shoot	Evans 1999:492
	pù tòu	grain measure (1 dl) (pù = 'bamboo'?)	Evans 1999:796
	pù-thòŋ thóŋ	barrel (bamboo) [bamboo-b]	Evans 1999:789
Qiang (Taoping)	**χpu^{55}**	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.9
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**wzɯ**	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.14
	wzɯ sqha	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.14
Daofu	**ʁʁə**	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
Caodeng	**ndʒwe**-lvaʔ	bamboo leaf	Sun 1997a
	ndʒwe-roʔ	bamboo stick	Sun 1997a
	ndʒweʔ	bamboo	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**nɟjo**	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.12
	nɟjo tʃək	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ɟjo**	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.11
	ɟjo thuŋ thuŋ	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.11
rGyalrong	**gyo**	bamboo	Nagano 1997:96
rGBenzhen	**dʒoʔ**	bamboo	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	səmi^{33} məsɯ^{53} thə **wɑ^{33}** thɑn^{33}	tube (bamboo) for blowing on a fire	LaPolla 2003:648
	thə **wɑ^{33}**	bamboo	LaPolla 2003:438; LaPolla 2003:479
	ə **wɑ^{31}**	bamboo	LaPolla 2003:438; LaPolla 2003:480
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***wa^{2}** BAMBOO			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***wa^{2}**	bamboo	Matisoff 2003a:618
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**wɑ^{31}**pɑŋ^{31}	bamboo	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**o^{31}**	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.28
	o^{31}	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.41
Achang (Luxi)	**waʔ^{55}**	bamboo	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	waʔ^{55}mjit^{31}	bamboo shoot	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**o^{31}**	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.29
Bola (Luxi)	**va^{31}**	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**wɑ^{55}**	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.27
	wɑ^{55}tɕi^{22}tɑuʔ^{4}	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**wɑ^{55}**	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.40
Burmese (Written)	**wà**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257
	wâ	bamboo	Matisoff 1974:313; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:44
	wā:	bamboo	Marrison 1967
	wɑ^{3}	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.26
	wɑ^{3}	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.39
	wɑ^{3}kjɑn̥^{2}tɔk^{4}	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.26
Hpun (Northern)	tă **wà**	bamboo	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**vɔ^{35}**	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.31
	vɔ̆^{35}thauŋ^{31}	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**wo^{33}**	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.33
	wo^{33}thuk^{55}	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.33
Marma	**wá**	bamboo	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:299-1
Maru [Langsu]	**vɔ^{35}**	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.43
	wō	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**và**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257
	va^{21}	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.30
	va^{21}	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.42
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***wa^{2}**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257; Bradley 1979b:295A
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central)	**va^{55}**	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**vɑ^{55}**	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.45
	vɑ^{55}mi̱^{35}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.45
Yi (Nanjian)	**vɑ^{21}**dzɻ^{55}; mɑ^{55}dzɻ^{55}	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.23
	vɑ^{21}m̩(u̱)^{21}bɯ^{33}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.23
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**vɔ^{33}**	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**vɔ^{44}**	bamboo	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**vɔ^{44}**	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**vɔ^{44}**pɪu^{55}	bamboo shoot	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**vʌ31** tɕɛ31	bamboo	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**vâ**	bamboo	Weidert 1987:257
Lahu (Lancang)	**vɑ^{53}**	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.43
	vɑ^{55}pɑ^{33}	fence (bamboo / twig) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0521.43
Lahu (Black)	**vâ**	bamboo	Matisoff 1974:313
	vâ-ne	bamboo strip	Matisoff 1985a:130
	vâ-thɛ(-qō)	section of bamboo (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:687
	vʌ^{53}	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.33
	vʌ^{53}tu^{33}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**va^{3}**	bamboo	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	va^{3}nɔ^{4}~**va^{3}**tu^{1}	bamboo shoot	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Mpi	**wo^{2}**	bamboo	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	wo^{2}m^{4}phai^{6}	bamboo	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Phola	**vɑ^{31}**liɛ^{52}	bamboo shoot	Pelkey 2011:172
	vɑ^{31}tsɛ^{23}	bamboo	Pelkey 2011:171
7. KARENIC: ***hwa^{B}** BAMBOO, ***hwa** BAMBOO			
**Karen*	***hwa**	bamboo	Matisoff 2003a:618; Benedict 1972:139n374
	***hwa^{B}**	bamboo	Luangthongkum 2013:8
	***wáq**	bamboo	Jones 1961:63
**Karen (Pwo)*	***wáq**	bamboo	Jones 1961:63
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***wáq**	bamboo	Jones 1961:63
**Karen (TP)*	***wáq**	bamboo	Jones 1961:63
**Karen [Burling]*	***wa^{2}**	bamboo	Luangthongkum 2013:8
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***wáʔ**	bamboo	Jones 1961:63
Bwe	**hʊ^{33}**	bamboo	Luangthongkum 2013:8
Karen	**wa̱^{31}**	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.50
Kayah	**we^{11}**	bamboo	Luangthongkum 2013:8
Kayan	**hwa^{11}**~**hau^{11}**	bamboo	Luangthongkum 2013:8
Kayan (Pekon)	**ʍâ**	bamboo (N.)	Manson 2010
	ʍâ blân	kind of bamboo (used for cooking rice) [lit. bamboo-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	ʍâ bó	kind of bamboo (used to make arrows) [lit. bamboo-white] (N.)	Manson 2010
	ʍâ kû	bamboo stick (N.)	Manson 2010
	ʍâ sǫ̣n	bamboo clump (N.)	Manson 2010
	ʍâ θá	kind of bamboo (good for making bamboo strips) [lit. bamboo-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	ʍâ θon	kind of bamboo (used to make flutes) [lit. bamboo-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	báŋ, **wá** báŋ	bamboo shoot	Solnit 1989
	wá	bamboo	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:63
	wá bók	bamboo container, not for wate	Solnit 1989
	wá ké tɔ̀k	bamboo water container	Solnit 1989
	wá sà	bamboo splint	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**wa^{33}**	bamboo	Luangthongkum 2013:8
Pa-O (Northern)	**wa^{55}**	bamboo	Luangthongkum 2013:8
Palaychi	**wáq**	bamboo	Jones 1961:63
Pwo (Northern)	**wa^{33}**	bamboo	Luangthongkum 2013:8
Pwo (Southern)	**wa^{55}**	bamboo	Luangthongkum 2013:8
Pwo (Bassein)	**wà**	bamboo	Jones 1961:63
Pwo (Moulmein)	**wáʔ**	bamboo	Jones 1961:63
Sgaw (Northern)	**wa$^{31~}$**	bamboo	Luangthongkum 2013:8
Sgaw (Southern)	**wa^{45,}**	bamboo	Luangthongkum 2013:8
Sgaw (Bassein)	**wà**	bamboo	Jones 1961:63
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**wáʔ**	bamboo	Jones 1961:63

Chinese comparandum

笆 OC (***pǎ**), (not in *GSR* #39) 'thorny bamboo; bamboo basketry; bamboo fence'; Coblin 86:38 ST ***pɾwaɣ** > OC ***prag**; Schuessler 2007:152 (***prâ**); B & S 2011: (***pʿra**); Mand. **bā**.

(4) PKC *maaw BAMBOO

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***maaw**	BAMBOO	VanBik 2009:750
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**mau**	bamboo	VanBik 2009:750
Thado	**măaw**	bamboo (small sp.)	VanBik 2009:750
Tiddim	**-ma:u**	bamboo (kind of) (n.)	Henderson 1965
	ma:u^{2}	bamboo (variety)	VanBik 2009:750; Bhaskararao 1996:1076
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**mâaw**	bamboo	VanBik 2009:750
Lai (Falam)	**măaw**	bamboo	VanBik 2009:750
Lushai [Mizo]	**mao**	bamboo (variety)	Bhaskararao 1996:1076
	mau	bamboo	Marrison 1967
	máu	bamboo, the generic name of a number of different species of bamboo (n.)	VanBik 2009:750

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	rā-**màw**	bamboo	VanBik 2009:750
	ra-**màw**	true bamboo (n.)	VanBik 2009:919

(5) PTB *ma BAMBOO

The Qiangic languages attest both of the principal roots for BAMBOO, the present root and PTB ***r/g/s-p^{w}a** BAMBOO (§3.1.2).

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**ma^{1}**	bamboo	Nagano 1984:299-01

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**mo**	bamboo (sp.), with thin, dark green stems, found at higher altitudes - used to make baskets, Arundinaria intermedia (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mo	bamboo	Caughley 1972:4.A.59
	mo.ma.duŋ	plant (sp.), bamboo (sp.) Arundinaria intermedia (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000

3.2. Qiangic: ***m(y)a** BAMBOO

Guiqiong	(**mɛ^{55}**) wu^{35}phɑ^{55}	split up (bamboo strips) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1555.16
	me^{53}	bamboo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:183.17
	me^{53}ʐɻ^{55}	bamboo shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:184.17
	mɛ^{55}	bamboo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.16
Lyuzu	**n̥i^{53}**	bamboo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.18
Muya	rə^{33}**mbə^{55}**tɕø^{53}	bamboo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.15
Muya [Minyak]	ʐɯ^{35}**mbɯ^{53}**tɕø^{53}	bamboo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:183.15
	ʐɯ^{35}**mbɯ^{53}**tɕø^{53}pɐ^{55}pɐ^{53}	bamboo shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:184.15
Namuyi	**ma^{35}**	bamboo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:183.19
	ma^{35}qo^{55}qo^{33}	bamboo shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:184.19
	ma^{33}tsæ^{53}	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.46
	ma^{35}	bamboo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**mɐ^{35}**	bamboo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.10
Pumi (Taoba)	**ma^{53}**khiɛ^{35}liɛ^{35}	hat (bamboo)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:371.10
	mɐ^{53}	bamboo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:183.10
	mɐ^{53}ba^{53}	bamboo shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:184.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**mɐ^{53}**	bamboo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:183.16
	mɐ^{53}sø^{53}	bamboo shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:184.16
Xumi	**miæ^{55}**	bamboo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.17
	miɛ^{55}	bamboo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:183.20
	miɛ^{55}zɑ̃^{33}	bamboo shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:184.20
	miɛ^{55}ʁɔ̃^{33}hɔ̃^{35}	hat (bamboo)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:371.20
	mɛ^{55}ta^{55}ʔũ^{55}	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**mɛ^{55}**	bamboo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.14
	mɛ^{55} tu^{33} tu^{33}	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	ʁli **və**	flute (bamboo, vertical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0664.12

6.1.2. Loloish: ***ma^{1}** BAMBOO

**Loloish*	***ma^{1}**	bamboo	Bradley 1979b:295B
PNL	**ma^{1}**	bamboo	Chen Kang 1986a:28.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**má**-dzí	bamboo	Björverud 1994
	ma^{55}	bamboo	Chen Kang 1986a:28.
Lipho	**mo^{33}**	bamboo	Chen Kang 1986a:28.
Nasu	**mo^{33}**	bamboo	Chen Kang 1986a:28.
Neisu	**mu^{13}**	bamboo	Chen Kang 1986a:28.
Nesu	**mo^{55}**	bamboo	Chen Kang 1986a:28.
Nosu	**ma^{33}**	bamboo	Chen Kang 1986a:28.
Nusu (Central)	**m̥a^{33}**	bamboo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.34
Nusu (Northern)	**m̥ɑ^{31}**dzə^{35}	bamboo	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**mo^{33}**do^{33}	bamboo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:183.22
	mɔ^{33}me^{33}	bamboo shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:184.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ma^{21}**mɻ^{55}	bamboo shoots	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{33}	bamboo	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{33}bo^{33}	bamboo	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{33}da^{33}	pole, bamboo	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{33}dz̩o^{55}	fence, woven	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{33}ko^{55}	fence, bamboo	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{33}ȵɛ^{55}	bamboo strips	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{33}tsɻ^{33}	bamboo, slender	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{33}tɕɛ^{33}	bamboo stick	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{34}ni^{33}	bamboo skin	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{34}po^{33}	ladle, bamboo	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{34}tʂha^{33}xo^{21}ʑi^{21}	fence, bamboo	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{34}ŋgo^{33}	bamboo strips	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{34}tɕɔ^{33}	bamboo forest	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mo^{21}ȵi^{21}	bamboo, young	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**mo^{33}**nɯ^{21}; **mo^{33}**d̪i^{33}	bamboo shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:184.25
	mo^{33}to^{33}	bamboo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:183.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**mo^{55}**	bamboo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:183.26
	mo^{55}dɯ^{33}	bamboo shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:184.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mo^{33}**	bamboo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.37
	mo^{33}bi^{33}	bamboo shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:184.24
	mo^{33}do^{33}	bamboo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:183.24
	mo^{33}tɕ̄ɻ^{33}thu^{21}	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.37
Yi (Nanjian)	vɑ^{21}dzɻ^{55}; **mɑ^{55}**dzɻ^{55}	bamboo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:183.23
Yi (Weishan)	**mɑ^{55}**dzɻ^{55}	bamboo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.36
Yi (Wuding)	**mu^{33}**	bamboo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.38
	mu^{33}pʏ^{33}	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.38
	mu^{33}tu̱^{55}mɯ̱^{2}dʏ^{33}	tube (bamboo) for blowing on a fire (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0567.38
Yi (Xide)	**ma^{21}**m̩(ɻ)^{55}	bamboo shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:184.21
	ma^{33}	bamboo	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:183.21
	mɑ^{33}	bamboo (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.35
	mɑ^{33}bɑ^{33}dzo^{34}	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.35
	mɑ^{33}ʑi^{33}	fence (bamboo / twig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0521.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**mo^{33}**	bamboo	Chen Kang 1986a:28.
Lisu (Central)	(**ma^{4}**-ju^{5}) hchi^{3}-ni^{3}	sandal (bamboo bark)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ma^{33}**ba^{21}	whittle bamboo	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}be^{21}le^{21}	thin mao bamboo	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}be^{33}	bamboo pipe bowl; bamboo stem	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}bɤ^{21}	bamboo piece	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}bɤ^{21}hĩ^{33}	house made with bamboo pieces	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}da^{21}tɕɔ^{55}	bunch of dry bamboo	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}da^{33}	bamboo	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}da^{33} ji^{55}tsi^{55}	bamboo joint	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}da^{33}kɔʔ^{21}	bamboo forest	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}da^{33}ɣɔʔ^{21}	root of Chinese thorowax; bamboo-leaf-vegetable	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}da^{33}ɲa^{35}	brown parrotbill ('brown crow-tit') Paradoxornis uinicolor (bird living in bamboo groves)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}da^{55}ø^{21}	bamboo stick	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}dyʔ^{21}	leaf of bamboo shoot	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}dɔʔ^{21}	type of bamboo with longer sections (n.)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}dʒu^{21}	bamboo fibre	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}dʒu^{21} pɔ^{33}tɕwa^{33}	bamboo fibre rope	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}dʒu^{21} tɕhi^{33}ne^{33}	bamboo fibre shoe	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}dɤ^{21}	raised bamboo house	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}dɤ^{21}tɕæ^{33}	bamboo slat (flattened piece used as floor)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}gɔ^{33} dʑɔ^{21}ma^{33}	mouth organ (made of bamboo)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}hĩ^{33}	mao bamboo (with long section and tough outer layer)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}hæ̃^{35}	bamboo rat	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}ka^{33}	iron walnut (kind of bamboo)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}khwa^{21}	dragon bamboo	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}khwa^{21} bɯ^{21}di^{33}	bamboo worm	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}khwa^{21} ji^{55}phi^{21}	piece of 'dragon-bamboo' (n.)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}khwa^{21} la^{55}tɕhi^{55}	bamboo worm (on dragon bamboo)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}khwa^{21}bɤ^{21}	piece of dragon bamboo	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}kʰwa^{21}lø^{21}	dragon bamboo stick	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}khwa^{21}meʔ^{21}	dragon bamboo shoot	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ma^{33}**khwa^{21}myʔ^{21}	dragon bamboo shoot	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**ma^{33}**khwa^{21}næ^{33}	green dragon bamboo (with long section, long thin fibre)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}khwa^{21}pɔ^{33}	dragon bamboo grove	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}khwa^{21}tɕæ^{35}	mao bamboo (wild dragon bamboo)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}kɔ^{35}ve^{33}	mao bamboo (with strong fibre)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}kɔʔ^{21}	bamboo forest	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}meʔ^{21}	bamboo shoot	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ma^{33}**myʔ^{21}	bamboo shoot	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**ma^{33}**ne^{21}	bamboo strip; rind of bamboo; outer cuticle of a bamboo stem	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}ne^{21} si^{21}khi^{21}	inner skin of bamboo stem	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}ni^{35}tɕhiʔ^{21}	green bamboo	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}phe^{33}	square-bottomed bamboo basket; grain bin	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}phi^{21}	bamboo piece	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}phu^{21}læ^{33}	white hollow-centred bamboo (with long hollow sections)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}phu^{33}	hollow centred bamboo	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}pɔ^{33}	bamboo grove	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}si^{35}	kind of bamboo, Phyllostachys sulphurea (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}sæ^{35}	solid bamboo	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}sɤ^{21}	bamboo bud	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}thu^{21}	bamboo tube	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}thu^{21} ni^{35}tʃhɻʔ^{21}	green bamboo tube	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}thɔ^{21}ɤ^{21}	thin film inside bamboo	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}tsi^{33}thɔ^{21}	solid bamboo (type of bamboo)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}tsi^{55}	bamboo joint	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}tsi^{55}be^{44}	kind of bamboo with thick joints	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}tʃhu^{21}	thorny bamboo	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}tɕɔ^{55}fe^{55}	thin bamboo stick	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}ɣaʔ^{21} thɔ^{21}ɤ^{21}	bamboo book; bamboo slips and silk; bamboo slip	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}ɲɔ^{35}	bamboo clips; fire tongs	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}ʃɻ^{55}	thin bamboo (growing on top of snow mountaina, can be used to make broom)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}ɤʔ^{21}ɲa^{35}	tit (yellow beaked; long tailed, greyish yellow feathered, living in bamboo forest on high mountains)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ma^{4}**-da^{4}	tube; bamboo	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ma^{44}**da^{33} ni^{35}tʃhɻʔ^{21}	green bamboo	Bradley 1994
	ma^{44}da^{33} sa^{33} thɤ^{35}	three bamboo sticks	Bradley 1994
	ma^{44}da^{33} thi^{21} thɔ^{55}	section of bamboo (n.)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{44}da^{33}tsi^{55}	bamboo joint; knot	Bradley 1994
	ma^{55}lu^{21}	bamboo water duct (N.)	Bradley 1994

Lisu	**mɑ**^{44}dɑ^{33}	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.27
	mɑ^{44}mi^{41}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.27
Sani [Nyi]	**ma**^{33}	bamboo	CHEN Kang 1986a:28.
Yi (Sani)	**mɒ**^{44}pʏ^{55}	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.39
	mɒ^{44}tɒ^{33}	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Sila	**ma21** ja33	bamboo	KATO Takashi 2008:130

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**mɔ**^{33}nɨ^{22}	bamboo shoot	Pelkey 2011:172
	mɔ^{33}tsɛ^{21}	bamboo	Pelkey 2011:171
Southern Muji	**ma**^{33}**ma**^{21}	bamboo	Pelkey 2011:171
Hlepho Phowa	**ma**^{33}	bamboo	Pelkey 2011:171
	ma^{33}m^{33}	bamboo shoot	Pelkey 2011:172
Phu Kha	la^{33} **ma**^{33}	bamboo	Fried 2000
Phuza	**mʌ**^{33}	bamboo	Pelkey 2011:171
	mʌ^{33}mi^{55}	bamboo shoot	Pelkey 2011:172

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**mæ**˩	large bamboo	Michaud 2006–2009:4110
	mæ˩ tʰæ˥tɕi˥hĩ˥	little bamboo	Michaud 2006–2009:4113
	mæ˩dɑ˥	weave (bamboo) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3338
Na (Yongning)	**mi**˩ǂi˩	large bamboo	Michaud 2006–2009
	mi˩ǂi˩ʁu˩bv˧	bamboo shoot	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**mi**^{31}ɬɐ^{31}	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.29
Naxi	**mɯ**^{55}	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mɯ**^{55}	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.28
	mɯ^{55}dəɹ^{33}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.28

(6) PKC *tuay BAMBOO-SHOOT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tuay**	BAMBOO-SHOOT	VanBik 2009:177

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**túoy**	bamboo shoot	VanBik 2009:177
Tiddim	go^{1} **tuai**^{2}	bamboo shoot	VanBik 2009:177; Bhaskararao 1996:355

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**a(ng)taáwy**	bamboo shoot (eaten in curry); soft, very young bamboo plant	VanBik 2009:177

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tûay**	bamboo-shoot	VanBik 2009:177
Lushai [Mizo]	raw-**tuai**	edible shoots of bamboo	Bhaskararao 1996:355

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**tèi**	edible bamboo shoots	VanBik 2009:177

(7) PTB *s-m(y)ik CANE / SPROUT

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-m(y)ik**	bamboo sprout; sprout	Matisoff 2003a:603; Matisoff 1983:58; Benedict 1972:237

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***yiik** TIP / TOP / EDGE / SPROUT

**Chin*	***yiik**	TIP / TOP / EDGE / SPROUT	VanBik 2009:1241

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**zîʔ**	vegetable tip	VanBik 2009:1241

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ziik**	tip (of vegetable), sprout, new shoot, top (of a tree), edge (of a branch)	VanBik 2009:1241
Lushai [Mizo]	**zîik**	sprout, shoot	VanBik 2009:1241

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**nik** sə̀m	sprout (n.)	Coupe 2007

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	bi **mik**	sprout, germ, blade	Benedict 1972:237

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**rn̥uk** mæ	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hn̥ək** ma	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.4
	hn̥ək ɣə	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hn̥əg** mæ	bamboo	Sun 1985a:42
	rn̥ək ma	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.5
	rn̥ək shən	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.5
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**n̥uk**^{53}sø̃^{55}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.2
Tibetan (Western)	**mig**-tśǎn	having seeds / grains	Benedict 1972:237
Tibetan (Written)	**smjug** ma	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.01
	smjug ma	bamboo	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:183.1
	smjug ril	section of bamboo used as container (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0568.01
	smjug son	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.1
	smyig-ma ~ **smyug**-ma	cane, bamboo	Matisoff 1983:58; Benedict 1972:237
	smyug.ma	bamboo	Sun 1985c:42
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hn̥ɯx** ma	bamboo (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0389.04

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**mjɛ**^{31}	bamboo shoot	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**n̥ek**^{55}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.41
Achang (Luxi)	waʔ^{55}**mjit**^{31}	bamboo shoot	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**m̥jiʔ**^{44}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.40
Burmese (Written)	**hmjɑs**	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.39
	hmyac	bamboo sprout	Matisoff 1983:58; Benedict 1976a
	hmyats	bamboo sprout	Benedict 1972:237
Hpun (Northern)	tă **màiʔ**	bamboo shoots	Henderson 1986
Marma	**hmɔiʔ**	bamboo shoot	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:299-1A
Maru [Langsu]	**mak**^{31}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mjik**^{21}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***s-myet**$^{L/H}$	bamboo shoot	Bradley 1979b:296

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Southern)	**mi̱**^{53}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**mi̱**^{55}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	mɔ^{33}**me**^{33}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.22
Yi (Liangshan)	ma^{21}**mŋ**^{55}	bamboo shoots	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	ma^{21}**m̩(ŋ)**^{55}	bamboo shoot	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:184.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lisu (Northern)	ma^{33}**meʔ**^{21}	bamboo shoot	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ma^{33}**myʔ**^{21}	bamboo shoot	Bradley 1994

(8) PTB *s-nam EAR / SPIKE OF GRAIN

3.2. QIANGIC

Pumi (Jiulong)	**n̥ẽ**^{55}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**n̥iə**^{55}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**n̥iə**^{55}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**n̥i**^{53}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ʂa**^{35}**n̥e**^{53}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.16
Xumi	**hɑ**^{55}**nɯi**^{33}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.20

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-nam**^{1}	ear (grain)	Matisoff 2003a:604

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**hnaṁ**	ear, spike of grain	Benedict 1976a
	sɑ^{1}pɑ^{3}**hnɑṁ**^{2}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.26
	ə-**hnaṁ**	ear, spike of grain	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ^{1}**hnaṁ**^{2}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.39

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	tshɛ^{33}**nɛ**^{24}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.47
Nusu (Central)	**n̥a**^{33}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.34
Nusu (Southern)	**n̥ɛ**^{35}	ear of grain	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**n̥ɑ**^{35}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.45
Yi (Dafang)	**nɯ**^{33}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.22
Yi (Mojiang)	**ne**^{55}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**nɯ**^{33}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.24
	tɕhe^{33}**nɯ**^{33}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ny**^{55}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔny**^{55}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.36
	ʔy^{55}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ne**^{33}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.38
Yi (Xide)	**n̥i**^{33}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.21
	tʂhɯ^{33}**n̥i**^{33}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	a^{44}**nɛ**^{44}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.44
	ko^{33}**nɛ**^{44}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.34
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33}**n̥ɛ**^{44}	ear of grain	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	zi^{33}ɔ^{31}**nu**^{33}tɔ^{54}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.43
Lahu (Black)	ɔ^{31}**nu**^{33}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.33
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{2}**nu**^{1}	ear of grain	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	e^{55}**ni**^{33}; e^{55}**ne**^{33}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.27
Lisu (Northern)	**ne**^{44}	ear of grain (N.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**nʏ**^{44}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Dazhai)	a^{55}**nɔ**^{55}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.31
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ^{31}**ne**^{55}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.30
Hani (Mojiang)	tʃhɛ^{55}**nʏ**^{55}	ear / spike (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0407.42

6.2. NAXI

Naxi (Yongning)	**n̥u**^{31}	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.29

(9) PTB *m-da FERN / BRACKEN

This root has so far been attested mainly in Loloish, with a likely Kanauri cognate.

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**dɶ**	fern (kind of) (n.)	Bailey 1911

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-da**^{1}	fern / bracken	Matisoff 2003a:586

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***m-da**^{1} FERN

**Loloish*	***m-da**^{1}	fern	Bradley 1979b:300-1

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Luquan	**nt'u**^{11}	fern (n.)	MA Xueliang 1948
Yi (Liangshan)	**nda**^{34}bo^{33}	fern	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nda^{34}n̥i^{33}	fern	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	**dà**	fern (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p700
Lisu (Northern)	**da**^{33}ʏɔʔ^{21}	brake (fern) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	da^{33}ʏɔʔ^{21} khɔ^{35}gi^{55}	kind of fern, Pteridium aquilinum (tender ones) (N.)	Bradley 1994

	da[33]ɣɔʔ[21] lɔ[35]be[21]	kind of fern, Abacopteris multilineata (N.)	Bradley 1994
	da[33]ɣɔʔ[21] na[55]gi[55]	kind of fern, Pteridium aquilinum (tender ones) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	da[33]ɣɔʔ[21] si[35]dzi[33]	kind of fern, Sago cycas (N.)	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	a[33]**ta**[21](-ma[21])	fern	Pelkey 2011:244
Phola	[n]**tɔ**[33]pɛ[23]	fern	Pelkey 2011:244
Hlepho Phowa	a[33][n]**da**[21]	fern	Pelkey 2011:244
Phuza	a[55]**da**[33]bi[33]	fern	Pelkey 2011:244

(10) PTani *kre: ? GINGER

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***kre:** ?	ginger	Sun 1993a:174

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	ta-**ki**	ginger	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**ki:**	ginger	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **ke:**	ginger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0425.24
	ta-**ke:**	ginger	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **ke:**	ginger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:211.51
Galo	ta **ke**	ginger	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **kee**	ginger (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	ta **ki**	ginger	Simon 1976
Tagin	ta **kɯ**	ginger	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**ke**	ginger	Sun 1993a
Damu	ta-**ke:**	ginger	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ka**-kir	ginger	Tayeng 1976
	ta-**ka**	ginger	Tayeng 1976

(11) PTk *hol GINGER

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***hol**	ginger	Mortensen 2012:736
Tusom	**xue**-ẽ	ginger	Mortensen 2012
Ukhrul	**huj**	ginger	Mortensen 2012

(12) PTB *kyaŋ GINGER

This is actually a Southeast Asian *Wanderwort*, probably of Austronesian origin. Cf. Proto-Indonesian ***táʔaŋ** from PAN ***saqaŋ**; Proto-Tai **xiŋ** (Li Fang Kuei 1977:208, 210-11); Proto-Kam-Sui ***siŋ** (Li Fang Kuei 1965); Hlai **khüöŋ**; Proto-Hmong (Mortensen) ***qhiŋ**; Khasi **s'ing/sying** 'ginger' (Singh 1906: 203). See Benedict (ATLC):303.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kyaŋ**	ginger	Matisoff 2003a:598

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***thiiŋ** GINGER

**Chin*	***thiiŋ**	GINGER	VanBik 2009:388

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**sing**	ginger	VanBik 2009:388
Sizang	**chīng** kō	ginger	VanBik 2009:388
Thado	**thíiŋ**	ginger	VanBik 2009:388
Tiddim	**si:ng**[2]	ginger	VanBik 2009:388; Bhaskararao 1996:1600

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**sing**	ginger (plant)	VanBik 2009:388

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**thîiŋ**	ginger	VanBik 2009:388
Lai (Falam)	**thĭiŋ**	ginger	VanBik 2009:388
Lushai [Mizo]	sàwh-**thíing**	ginger	VanBik 2009:388
	sawh-**thi:ng**	ginger	Bhaskararao 1996:1600
	saw **thîng**	ginger	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***ʃiŋ** GINGER

**Central Naga*	***ʃiŋ**	GINGER	Bruhn 2014a:III.213
**Ao*	***səŋ**.muk	GINGER	Bruhn 2014a:II.117
Ao (Chungli)	**song** muk	ginger	Marrison 1967
	səŋ[3]muk[3]	ginger (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.117
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **sung**	ginger	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**sáŋ** múk	ginger (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**səŋ**[1]	ginger (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.213
	o **sang**	ginger	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**shing**	ginger	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**shing**	ginger	Kumar 1973b:23

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**sing**	ginger	Marrison 1967

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	*(hai?)-**cVŋ**	ginger	Burling 1959:441

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	ha **jing**	ginger	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***ɟiːŋ** GINGER

**Northern Naga*	***ɟiːŋ**	ginger	French 1983:494

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**ching**	ginger	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	**chinke**	ginger	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**si**	ginger	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**ting**	ginger	Marrison 1967
Phom	**hɯŋ**[55]	ginger	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Mawo)	sɛŋ **tɕɑŋ**	ginger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0425.08
Qiang (Taoping)	sən[55]**tɕɑŋ**[55]	ginger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:211.9

4. NUNGIC

Nung	li[55]**dʑuŋ**[31]	ginger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0425.21
Anong	li[55]**dʑuŋ**[31]	ginger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:211.44
Rawang	lɔŋ[53] **zɯŋ**[31]	ginger	LaPolla 2003:506

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**tshɑŋ**[31]	ginger	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tɕhaŋ**[31]	ginger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0425.28
	tɕhaŋ[31]	ginger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:211.41
Achang (Luxi)	**tɕhaŋ**[55]	ginger	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**tʂhaŋ**[31]	ginger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0425.29
Burmese (Written)	**gjɑŋ**[3]	ginger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0425.26
	khjɑŋ[3]	ginger	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:211.39
	khyaṅ:	ginger	Marrison 1967
	khyaṅ:	ginger	Okell 1971
	khyâŋ	ginger	Benedict 1976a
Marma	**khyáŋ**	ginger	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:72-1m

7. KARENIC: ***ʔeŋ**[A] GINGER

**Karen [Burling]*	***ʔeŋ**[3]	ginger	Luangthongkum 2013:130
**Karen*	***ʔeŋ**[A]	ginger	Luangthongkum 2013:130
Bwe	θə[55]**e**[55]	ginger	Luangthongkum 2013:130
Kayah	**ʔa**[33]	ginger	Luangthongkum 2013:130
Kayan	**ʔe**[53]	ginger	Luangthongkum 2013:130
Kayaw	**ʔe**[55]	ginger	Luangthongkum 2013:130
Pa-O (Northern)	**ʔeŋ**[31··]	ginger	Luangthongkum 2013:130
Pa-O (Southern)	**ʔeŋ**[31··]	ginger	Luangthongkum 2013:130
Pwo (Northern)	**ʔãi**[55]	ginger	Luangthongkum 2013:130
Pwo (Southern)	**ʔẽi**[31··]	ginger	Luangthongkum 2013:130
Sgaw (Northern)	sə[11]**ʔe**[33]	ginger	Luangthongkum 2013:130
Sgaw (Southern)	**ʔi**[55]	ginger	Luangthongkum 2013:130

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kɨ̱ɑng**	ginger	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:710d
Chinese (Old)	**k(l)jang**	ginger	Baxter 1992:310

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**jiang**	ginger	Sun 1985b:301

Chinese comparandum

薑 OC ***kɨ̱ɑng**, *GSR* #710d 'ginger'; Schuessler 2007:307 ***kaŋ**; B & S 2011: ***kaŋ**; Mand. **jiāng**.

(13) PTB *pwa:y HUSKS / SHAVINGS / CHAFF

An ***r-** prefix is attested in Qiangic/rGyalrongic. The final velar in Proto-Northern Naga is unexplained.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pwaay**	chaff	LaPolla 1987:212	[a]
	***pwa:y**	husks; chaff; husk; husks, chaff	Weidert 1987:285; Matisoff 1985a:077; Matisoff 2003a:608; Benedict 1972:170	

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***waay** HUSK / CHAFF

**Chin*	***waay**	HUSK / CHAFF	VanBik 2009:1155
Pankhu	**phəwai**	husks; chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077; Benedict 1972:170

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	tang **vai**	husk	VanBik 2009:1155
Thado	**váay**	husk	VanBik 2009:1155
	wai	husks; chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077; Benedict 1972:170
Tiddim	**-vaai**	chaff	LaPolla 1987:212
	-va:i	husks / chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077
	bu?[3] **va:i**[2]	rice husk	Bhaskararao 1996:128
	bu?[3] **va:i**[2]	rice husk	VanBik 2009:1155

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	fa-**vǎay**	husk, chaff	VanBik 2009:1155
Lai (Hakha)	fa-**vâay**	husk, chaff	VanBik 2009:1155
Lushai [Mizo]	**phuai**	shavings	Matisoff 1985a:077; Benedict 1972:170
	vái	husks of grain, chaff (n.)	VanBik 2009:1155
Rangkhol	**śəbai** ~ səvai	husks	Benedict 1972:170
	śəbai~**śəvai**	husks / chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**pai**	scattered, disperse; emigrate, migrate (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:077

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Ao*	***waj**	CHAFF, HUSK	Bruhn 2014a:II.269
Ao (Chungli)	**wa**[2]nu[2]	chaff, husk (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.269
	wa nu	chaff (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**wa** na kap	husk (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**wa** na	husk (n.)	Coupe 2007

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	**pha**	husk; chaff (n.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**pha**	husk; chaff (n.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Chokri	**pha** kukoi	husk (n.)	Marrison 1967
Mao	u **pfai**	husks; chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077; Benedict 1972:170
	[2]o[3]**phi**	husk	Weidert 1987:285

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	cha **phai**	husk (n.)	Marrison 1967
	cha **phai**	husks / chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077
	ka-**phą̄i**	husk	Weidert 1987:285
Maram	a **pei**	husk (n.)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**bai**	husk (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**phai**	husk	Weidert 1987:285
	phai	husk (n.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**kepai**	husks / chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077
	ke **pai**	husk (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	**həy**	husk	Bhat 1969:91

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**wai**	husk	Weidert 1987:285
	wai	husk (n.)	Marrison 1967
	way	husks / chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**phe**-ke	husks; chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077; LaPolla 1987:212
	phe ke	chaff; husk (n.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***C-we:k** HUSK / HUSKS / CHAFF [b]

**Northern Naga*	***C-we:k**	husks / chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077
	***Ç̊-we:k**	husk	French 1983:506

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**ek**	husk (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ek	husks / chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077
Konyak	**wek**	husk (n.)	Marrison 1967

[a] [Source Note] [G&C 77].

[b] From French 1983 (p.506): "Probably to be referred to PTB ***pwa:y** 'husks, chaff' via a compound like Mk. **phe ke**, id., accounting for the final **-k**. Cf. FRUIT(2), PTB ***sey** but NN ***sek**."

	wek	husks / chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**pōi**	blown, airborne, as fine chaff; be carried away by the wind (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:077
	šə **pói**~šə **pōi**	let scatter, cause to float in air	Matisoff 1985a:077
3.2. QIANGIC			
Lyuzu	**pha**^{53}	chaff; bran; wheat bran (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0457.18; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0458.18
Muya [Minyak]	**pɐ**^{35}vɐ^{35}	bran	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:405.15
Namuyi	**phɻ**^{ɹ33}a^{33}tshu^{55}	bran	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:405.19
	phɻ^{ɹ33}da^{55}bo^{33}	husk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:406.19
	phæ^{ɹ31}	chaff; bran; wheat bran (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0457.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0458.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**ba**^{13}tshu^{55}	wheat bran (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0458.09
	ba^{55}	chaff / bran (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0457.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ba**^{13}si^{13}	bran	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:405.11
	ba^{13}tshu^{55}	husk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:406.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**be**^{55}da^{35}	bran	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:405.10
	be^{55}dʐu^{35}	husk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:406.10
Qiang (Longxi)	zuà **pú**	chaff, bran	Evans 1999:614
Qiang (Mawo)	dzəχ **pɑ** χɑ	chaff / bran (highland barley) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0457.08
	pa	chaff; bran; husk	LaPolla 1987:212; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:405.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:406.8
	ʁlə **pɑ** χɑ	chaff / bran (wheat) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0457.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	dzuɛ̀ **pú**	chaff, bran	Evans 1999:614
	í mè-**pù pù** ~ í mè-**pú pù**	chaff, bran [b(maize)-m]	Evans 1999:614
	lɛ̀ **pú pù**	chaff, bran [wheat-bran-bran]	Evans 1999:614
Qiang (Taoping)	**pə**^{31}	chaff	LaPolla 1987:212
	pə^{31}bʐɑ^{33}	husk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:406.9
	pə^{31}tsʅ^{33}	bran	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:405.9
Xumi	dzʅ^{55}**phu**^{53}	wheat bran (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0458.17
	phu^{35}	chaff / bran (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0457.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	tʂo^{33}**pa**^{53}	wheat bran (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0458.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	dʐu **ɬpɑ**	chaff; bran; wheat bran (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0457.12; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0458.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **rpɐ**	chaff / bran (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0457.11
rGyalrong	tə **rpɐ**	bran	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:405.12
Caodeng	tɐ-**ɣve?**	bran	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **pɑi** ndʐo	wheat bran (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0458.11
Caodeng	ʃɔ-**χpe**	buckwheat-bran	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	tə-**rpe**	bran	Sun 1997b
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *__pway__^{2} HUSK / CHAFF			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*__pway__^{2}	husk / chaff	Matisoff 2003a:608
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**phwaì**	husks / chaff	Weidert 1987:285
	phwâi	husks, chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:212
	phwaì	husks, chaff	Benedict 1972:170
	phwây	husks	Hansson 1989:311
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	*__pway__	husks	Hansson 1989:311
	*__pway__^{2}	husk	Weidert 1987:285
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Bijiang)	**phe**^{53}ɪi^{53}ɑ^{53}	husk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:406.45
Nusu (Northern)	**phɯe**^{55}	husk (n.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**phɯe**^{55}	husk (n.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Nanhua)	**phɛ**^{21}se̲^{33}	husk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:406.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**phe**^{21}	husk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:406.23
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	và?-**phî**	husks / chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077
Lisu	**phɯ**^{31}**sɛ**^{35}	husk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:406.27
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**phỳ**	husks	Hansson 1989:311
Akha (Yunnan)	xhà **phà**	husks	Hansson 1989:311
Akha (Thai)	xhà-**phỳ**	husks	Hansson 1989:311
Hani (Lüchun)	xha **phỳ**	husks	Hansson 1989:311
Hani (Pijo)	khɔ **phỳ**	husks	Hansson 1989:311
	phỳ	husks	Hansson 1989:311
Hani (Khatu)	khà **phỳ**	husks	Hansson 1989:311
	phỳ	husks	Hansson 1989:311
Mpi	ko?^{2}**phɯ**^{2}	husks / chaff	Matisoff 1985a:077
	phɯ^{2}	husks	Hansson 1989:311
7. KARENIC: *__phe__^{A} BRAN, CHAFF			
**Karen*	*__phe__^{A}	bran, chaff	Luangthongkum 2013:34
**Karen [Burling]*	*__phe__^{4}	bran, chaff	Luangthongkum 2013:34
Karen	**phe**^{55}gă^{31}mu^{31}	chaff / bran (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0457.50
Kayah	**phi**^{33}	bran, chaff	Luangthongkum 2013:34
Kayan	**phai**^{53}	bran, chaff	Luangthongkum 2013:34
Kayan (Pekon)	**p^{h}é**	husk, chaff, bran (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**phi**^{55}	bran, chaff	Luangthongkum 2013:34
Pa-O	**phè**	husk of rice	Solnit 1989
	phe	chaff, husks	Benedict 1972:149n409
Pa-O (Southern)	**phe**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	bran, chaff	Luangthongkum 2013:34
Pa-O (Northern)	**phe**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	bran, chaff	Luangthongkum 2013:34
Pwo (Northern)	**phi**^{35}	bran, chaff	Luangthongkum 2013:34
Pwo (Southern)	**phi**^{53}	bran, chaff	Luangthongkum 2013:34
Sgaw (Northern)	**phe**^{33}	bran, chaff	Luangthongkum 2013:34
Sgaw (Southern)	**phe**^{55}	bran, chaff	Luangthongkum 2013:34

Chinese comparandum

秕 OC *__piə̯r__, *GSR* #0566q 'chaff'; Schuessler 2007:162 *__pi?__; B & S 2011: *__pij?__; Mand. __bǐ__.

Comment: Also see 播 **bò**, a comparandum for PTB *__bwar__ THROW AWAY / CAST / SOW / TOSS (§6.12).

(14) PTB *g-ram INDIGO

This root has been borrowed into Proto-Tai (*__graam__^{A}) from Chinese.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*__g-ram__	indigo	Matisoff 2003a:609
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ræm**	indigo	Sun 1985a:386
Tibetan (Written)	**rams**	indigo	Sun 1985c:386; Benedict 1972:156n421; Benedict 1972:26n82
	rɑms	indigo	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:609k
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**ryom**	indigo	Benedict 1972:156n421
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	藍	indigo	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1625
Chinese (GSR #)	**0609k**	indigo	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1625
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	/**glâm**	indigo	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:609k
Chinese (Old)	**g-ram**	indigo	Baxter 1992:127; Baxter 1992:1708,263; Baxter 1992:538
	glâm	indigo	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:609k
	N-**k.r^{ˤ}am**	indigo	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1625
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**lam**	indigo	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1625
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**lán**	indigo	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1625

Chinese comparandum

藍 OC *__glâm__, *GSR* #609k; B & S 2011: *__N-k.r^{ˤ}am__; Mand. __lán__.

(15) PKC *thiŋ-luaŋ LOG

The first syllable of this binome is PTB *__si(ŋ/k)__ TREE / WOOD / FIREWOOD (§3.1.1).

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	*__thiŋ__-luaŋ	LOG	VanBik 2009:1033
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**ching** luang	trunk (stranded log)	VanBik 2009:1033
Thado	**lúong**	log (on the ground)	VanBik 2009:1033
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**t'en˝**-lóńg	log (n.)	VanBik 2009:1033
Khumi	**lewngthoeeyng**	log portion of a falling-log trap	VanBik 2009:1033
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thîŋ**-lûaŋ	log	VanBik 2009:1033
Lushai [Mizo]	**thĭng** lúang	long log of wood, a fallen tree, a prostrate tree (n.)	VanBik 2009:1033

(16) PTB *tum ≍ *dum LOG / HUNK OF WOOD / SECTION OF SOMETHING LONG

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *__tum__ BLOCK (n.)			
**Chin*	*__tum__	BLOCK (n.)	VanBik 2009:180
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**sing** tum	log	VanBik 2009:180
Thado	**tùm**	block (of wood)	VanBik 2009:180
Tiddim	**tum**^{3}	piece of solid long thing	VanBik 2009:180; Bhaskararao 1996:1832
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tŭm**	block	VanBik 2009:180
Lai (Falam)	**tŭm**	block	VanBik 2009:180
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**tō**	block	VanBik 2009:180
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	tθiʔ^{4}**tõ**^{55}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.27
Burmese (Written)	tθɑs^{4} **tuṁ**^{3}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.26
	ə-**tûṁ**	log, block, lump	Benedict 1976a
Leqi (Luxi)	sə̲k^{55}**tə̲m**^{53}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	sik^{55} **tu̲m**^{55}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.30
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	m^{323}**thɛ**^{33}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.47
Yi (Nanhua)	ɕi̲^{33}**də**^{21}lə^{21}mo^{33}	trunk (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0373.37
	ɕl̄^{33}**do**^{33}lo^{33}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.37
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Lancang)	si^{54}**tɛ**^{53}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.43
Lahu (Black)	šɨ̂?-**thɛ**(-qu)	log of wood (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:687
	šɨ̂?-**té**-qu ≍ šɨ̂?-**tê**-qu	fallen tree trunk; big log (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1243
	vâ-**thɛ**(-qō)	section of bamboo (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:687
Lisu (Northern)	si^{35}**thɔ**^{55}	log (chopped up)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	**dm̀** ma	log	Hansson 1989:386
Akha (Thai)	**dm̀**-ma	log	Hansson 1989:386
Hani (Lüchun)	**dɔ̀** ma	log	Hansson 1989:386
	dɔ^{31}ma^{33}	wood / log (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0511.41
Hani (Wordlist)	**ddaoq** ma	log	Hansson 1989:386
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Southern Muji	ɕi^{33}**do**^{21}ma^{21}	tree trunk	Pelkey 2011:227
Phola	si̲^{31}**tɑ̲**^{31}	tree trunk	Pelkey 2011:227

(17) PKC *mim MAIZE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	*__mim__	MAIZE	VanBik 2009:775
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**vai**-mim	maize	VanBik 2009:775
Thado	**mím**	maize	VanBik 2009:775
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**vàay**-nĭm	maize	VanBik 2009:775
Lushai [Mizo]	**vái**-mím	Indian corn, maize	VanBik 2009:775

(18) PTani *fior PANJI (pointed spike)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	*__fior__	panji (pointed spike)	Sun 1993a:288
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	**hɯr**-rɯŋ	trap	Sun 1993b
	u-**hɯr**	panji (pointed spike); pointed spike (used in trap)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**or**	panji (pointed spike)	Sun 1993a

(19) PTani *puɪr? ROOT

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***puɪr?**	root	Sun 1993a:329
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	pa **puɪr**	root (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0375.24
	pa-**puɪr**	root	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	pa **puɪr**	root	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:222.51
Galo	a **pɨr**	root (n.)	GLDC 2009
	a **pɨr**-a maa	root (n.)	GLDC 2009
	raa **pɨr**	root (n.)	GLDC 2009
	raa **pɨr**-raa maa	root (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻhɨɨ **pɨr**	root (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻhɨɨ **pɨr**-ʻhɨɨ maa	root (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɯ suɯ a **pir:**	root	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**puɪr**; le-**puɪr**	root	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**pər**	root	Sun 1993b
Milang	ta-**pir**	root; roots(medicinal)	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976

(20) PKar *rwi^{B} ROOT

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***rwi^{B}**	root	Luangthongkum 2013:241
Bwe	**wi^{33}**	root	Luangthongkum 2013:241
Kayah	**rwi^{11}**	root	Luangthongkum 2013:241
Kayan	**rwi^{11}**	root	Luangthongkum 2013:241
Kayaw	**ri^{11}**	root	Luangthongkum 2013:241
Pa-O (Northern)	**rwi^{53}**	root	Luangthongkum 2013:241
Pa-O (Southern)	**rwi^{55}**	root	Luangthongkum 2013:241
Pwo (Northern)	**ɣei$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	root	Luangthongkum 2013:241
Pwo (Southern)	**wei^{33}**	root	Luangthongkum 2013:241
Sgaw (Southern)	**ɣi^{31}**	root	Luangthongkum 2013:241
Sgaw (Northern)	**ɣi$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	root	Luangthongkum 2013:241

(21) PTB * b/p ul ROOT / STUMP / TREE

It is possible that this root is related to PTB ***bwal** LEG / FOOT / HOOF (§1.5.2), the semantic association residing in the notion of something grounded in the earth.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***bul ≍ pul**	stump; tree; root	Matisoff 2003a:585; CHOU Fa-kao 1972:440a
	***pul**	stump / tree / root	Mortensen 2012
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ɓul** STUMP / BASE			
**Chin*	***ɓul**	STUMP / BASE	VanBik 2009:48
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**bul**	base	VanBik 2009:48
Sizang	a **bul**	stump	VanBik 2009:48
Thado	**bùl**	stump (of tree)	VanBik 2009:48
Tiddim	**bul**	bottom, base	Benedict 1972:166n443
	bul[1]	stump	VanBik 2009:48; Bhaskararao 1996:139
	ˊbul	bottom / base / foot (e.g. of a building) (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**bùl**	stump, base (e.g.of a tree)	VanBik 2009:48
Lai (Falam)	**búl**	stump, base	VanBik 2009:48
Lushai [Mizo]	**bul**	cause / beginning / root / stump / foot (of tree) / lower end (of stick, post, etc.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:440a
	bul	root (n.)	Marrison 1967
	bŭl	stump, base	VanBik 2009:48
	bul	stump; cause, beginning, root, stump	Bhaskararao 1996:139; Benedict 1972:166n443
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	thá-**by**	stump, the base of anything	VanBik 2009:48
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***pal** TRUNK (OF TREE)			
**Tangkhulic*	***pal**	trunk (of tree)	Mortensen 2012:674
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
**Bodo-Garo*	***bVl**	tree	Burling 1959:444
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Kokborok	**bɔ**-p^{h}aŋ	tree	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**bol**	tree	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:440a; Benedict 1972:166n443
Garo (Bangladesh)	**bol**-bi-pang	tree (n.)	Burling 2003:4.630-II:idx
	bol-dail	branch; limb (n.)	Burling 2003:4.671-II:idx
	bol-kam-bi	tree top (n.)	Burling 2003:4.671-II:idx
	bol-pang	tree (n.)	Burling 2003:4.630-II:idx
	bol-pek-chrap	fork of tree (n.)	Burling 2003:4.671-II:idx
	bol-sal	sal tree (n.)	Burling 2003:4.632-II:idx
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***pul**	tree	French 1983:570
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Tangsa	^{3}**pul**-džʌk	leaf	Weidert 1987:1126
Tangsa (Moshang)	**pu:l**	tree	Benedict 1972:166n443
	pul	tree	Marrison 1967
	pu:l	tree	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:440a
Tangsa (Yogli)	**pul** chung	tree	Marrison 1967
	pul khaung	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**pu**	tree	Marrison 1967
	pu khon	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
	pu phyek	branch (n.)	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**pi**	tree	Marrison 1967
	pi kui	branch (n.)	Marrison 1967
	pi sho	bark (of tree)	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**bun**-yak	leaf	Weidert 1987:1126
Phom	**pü**	tree	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**phun**	tree; bush; stalk; wood	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:440a; Marrison 1967
	phún	tree	Matisoff 1974:302
	phun	tree, bush, stalk, wood	Benedict 1972:166n443
	phun^{55}	tree	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	phun^{55}	tree (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0372.19
	phun^{55}	tree	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:178.47
	phun^{55}lă^{31}kjin^{31}	branch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:225.47
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	本	tree trunk	Baxter & Sagart 2011:76
Chinese (GSR #)	**0440a**	tree trunk	Baxter & Sagart 2011:76
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pwən/puən**	root / trunk	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:440a
Chinese (Old)	C.**p^{ʕ}ən?** {C.p^{ʕ}ə[n]ʔ}	tree trunk	Baxter & Sagart 2011:76
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**pwonX**	tree trunk	Baxter & Sagart 2011:76
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**běn**	tree trunk	Baxter & Sagart 2011:76

Chinese comparandum

本 OC ***pwən**, *GSR* #440a ‘root; (tree) trunk’; Schuessler 2007:160 ***pên?**; B & S 2011: ***C.p^{ʕ}ən? {C.p^{ʕ}ə [n] ʔ}**; Mand. **běn**.

(22) PKC *phel SLIVER / SPLINTER

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***phel**	SLIVER / SPLINTER	VanBik 2009:355
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**a** phel	sliver	VanBik 2009:355
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**phêl**	sliver, splinter	VanBik 2009:355
Lushai [Mizo]	**phél**	split, to cut in halves (v.)	VanBik 2009:355

(23) PKC *θuŋ STICK / STALK / STEM

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***θuŋ**	STICK / STALK / STEM	VanBik 2009:630
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**htung**	stick, staff, stem, stalk	VanBik 2009:630
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**fûŋ**	stick	VanBik 2009:630
Lai (Falam)	**fúŋ**	stick	VanBik 2009:630
Lushai [Mizo]	**fúŋ**	stick (n.)	VanBik 2009:630
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**ma**-sô[1]	piece of stick (n.)	VanBik 2009:630

(24) PKC *θuu SUGAR CANE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***θuu**	SUGAR CANE	VanBik 2009:633
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**Kawl** tu	sugar cane	VanBik 2009:633
Thado	**kóol** tsúu	sugar cane	VanBik 2009:633
	kól hà	sweet potato	Thirumalai 1972:49
Tiddim	**ko:l^{2}** ka:i^{1}	sweet potato	Bhaskararao 1996:666
	ko:l^{2} tu^{2}	sugar cane	VanBik 2009:633; Bhaskararao 1996:669
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**m**-htu-bei	sugar cane	VanBik 2009:633
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Bawm	**fùu**	sugar cane	Löffler 1985
Lai (Hakha)	**fûu**	sugar cane	VanBik 2009:633
Lai (Falam)	**fŭu**	sugar cane	VanBik 2009:633
Lushai [Mizo]	**fú**	sugar cane	VanBik 2009:633
	fu	sugar cane	Bhaskararao 1996:669
	fúu	sugar cane	Löffler 1985
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**bá**-sù	sugar cane	VanBik 2009:633

(25) PTk *ʃat THORN

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***ʃat**	thorn	Mortensen 2012:578
Huishu	ʔa-kə-**ʃe**	thorn (prick)	Mortensen 2012:Plants.009
Kachai	kə-**se**	thorn	Mortensen 2012:Plants.009
Tangkhul	ka **shat**	thorn	Marrison 1967
	kə **sui**	thorn	Benedict 1972:276
Tusom	kõ-**se**	thorn	Mortensen 2012:Plants.009
Ukhrul	ku-**ʃat**	thorn	Mortensen 2012

(26) PKC *hliŋ THORN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hliŋ**	THORN	VanBik 2009:1124
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**ling**	thorn	VanBik 2009:1124
Thado	**líŋ**	thorn	VanBik 2009:1124
Tiddim	**ling^{2}**	thorn	VanBik 2009:1124
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**aʻling**	thorn (n.)	VanBik 2009:1124
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-hling	thorn (tree)	VanBik 2009:1124
Khumi	**aloeéyng**	thorn	VanBik 2009:1124
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hlîŋ**	thorn	VanBik 2009:1124
Lai (Falam)	**hlĭŋ**	thorn	VanBik 2009:1124
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlíng**	thorn, a prickle, a splinter, a spine (n.)	VanBik 2009:1124

(27) PKC *ɗo(o)ŋ TIP / END / SPROUT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɗo(o)ŋ**	TIP / END / SPROUT	VanBik 2009:112
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**do:ng^{1}**	newly emerging branches or shoots	VanBik 2009:112

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	m-**dawng**	tip, point, head of anything that is pointed, angular (n.)	VanBik 2009:112
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dòŋ**	tip, end, sprout	VanBik 2009:112
Lushai [Mizo]	**dăwng**	new shoot or branch (n.)	VanBik 2009:112
	dawng	shoot out a new branch (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2279

(28) PTB *ku:ŋ TREE / BRANCH / STEM

Coblin (1986: 47) suggests a relationship between this PTB root and Chinese 弓 (Mand. *gōng*) 'bow', the semantic connection residing in the shape of a bent tree branch. Cf. Written Burmese **ə-kuing** 'stalk, branch', **kuing** 'hang over in a curve', **ə-kùing** 'large branch, bough of tree'.

Jingpho has forms with medial **-ji-** (**lă^{31}*kjiŋ^{31}*** 'branch / twig' [TBL], **phun^{55}lă^{31}*kjiŋ^{31}*** 'branch' [ZMYYC]), which are perhaps related to the present root.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***kjəngw**	bow / (bent) tree branch	Coblin 1986:47
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ku:ŋ**	tree; branch; stem; tree, branch, stem	Chou Fa-kao 1972:901a-d; Weidert 1987:263; Matisoff 2003a:597; Benedict 1972:359
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ku(u)ŋ** STALK / TREE / TRUNK			
**Chin*	***ku(u)ŋ**	STALK / TREE / TRUNK	VanBik 2009:313
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**kung**	stipe	VanBik 2009:313
Sizang	mawng **kūng**	banyan tree	VanBik 2009:313; VanBik 2009:872
Thado	**kûŋ**	stalk	VanBik 2009:313
Tiddim	**kung^{1}**	tree	VanBik 2009:313; Bhaskararao 1996:695
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**kiiwng**	tree, bush; tree trunk; plant in general, stem	VanBik 2009:313
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**kúuŋ**	stalk, trunk	VanBik 2009:313
Lushai [Mizo]	**kûng**	tree	Marrison 1967
	kûung	trunk of a tree, the stem of a plant (n.)	VanBik 2009:313
	ku:ng	tree; plant	Bhaskararao 1996:695
	ku:ŋ	plant	Benedict 1972:359
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**kô^{3}**	tree	VanBik 2009:313
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**kuŋ^{2}**saŋ^{2}	branch (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**kóŋ**	stem	Bhat 1969:98
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**kuŋ**	branch; a branch (v.)	Benedict 1972:359
	lă^{31}**kjiŋ^{31}**	branch / twig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0374.19
	lă^{1}**kjiŋ^{31}**	branch	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	la **kying**	branch (n.)	Marrison 1967
	lə **kuŋ**	limb, branch	Benedict 1972:359
	^{1}lə^{1}**kuŋ**	branch	Weidert 1987:263
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	a **kuŋ**	bush	Benedict 1972:359
	kóng	branch (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	kúng	tree (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	kúng bóng	tree stump (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	kuŋ	tree, branch, stem	Benedict 1972:359
	palák **kúng**	palák tree, Ostodes paniculata (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	samál **kúng**	toon tree, Cedrela toona (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	tít-re **kúng**	tamarind tree (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	tukpó **kúng**	peach tree (n.)	Plaisier 2007
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	ă **khuiŋ**	stalk, branch	Benedict 1972:182n479
	a **kuiṅ:**	branch (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ă **kuìŋ**	branch (large-), bough; large branch, bough	Benedict 1972:182n479; Benedict 1972:359
	kûiŋ	hang over in a curve	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**khuiŋ**	stalk, branch	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**kûiŋ**	large branch, bough of tree	Benedict 1976a
	ə **khuiŋ**	stalk / branch	Weidert 1987:263
	ə **kuìŋ**	branch	Weidert 1987:263
	ă **khuiŋ**	stalk / branch	Chou Fa-kao 1972:901a-d
	ă **kuiŋ**	large branch / bough	Chou Fa-kao 1972:901a-d
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	弓	bow (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:868
	弓	bow	Nagano & Prins 2013:0701
Chinese (GSR #)	**0901a**	bow (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:868
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**kjəngw**	bow / (bent) tree branch	Coblin 1986:47
	k^{w}əŋ	bow (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:868
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**kjuwng**	bow (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:868
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**gōng**	bow (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:868
	gung	bow	Sun 1985b:91

Chinese comparandum

弓 OC ***kɨ̆ŭng***, *GSR* #901a-d 'bow (n.)'; Coblin 86:47 ST ***kjəngw*** > OC ***kjəngw***; Schuessler 2007:255 ***kwəŋ***; B & S 2011: ***k^{w}əŋ***; Mand. **gōng**.

(29) PKar *məŋ^{B} TRUNK (OF A TREE), FIRE WOOD

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***məŋ^{B}**	trunk (of a tree), fire wood	Luangthongkum 2013:311
Kayah	**mɔ^{11}**	trunk (of a tree), fire wood	Luangthongkum 2013:311
Kayan	**mə^{11}**	trunk (of a tree), fire wood	Luangthongkum 2013:311
Kayaw	**mə^{11}**	trunk (of a tree), fire wood	Luangthongkum 2013:311
Pa-O (Southern)	**məŋ^{55}**	trunk (of a tree), fire wood	Luangthongkum 2013:311
Pa-O (Northern)	**mɨŋ^{53}**	trunk (of a tree), fire wood	Luangthongkum 2013:311
Pwo (Northern)	**mɑ̃$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	trunk (of a tree), fire wood	Luangthongkum 2013:311
Sgaw (Northern)	**mɨ$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	trunk (of a tree), fire wood	Luangthongkum 2013:311

(30) PCN *th-ləjʔ VINE / VEIN / SINEW

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	*th-**ləjʔ**	VINE / VEIN / SINEW	Bruhn 2014a:III.114
**Ao*	*(t-)**hləj**	VINE / VEIN	Bruhn 2014a:II.330
Ao (Chungli)	tə^{2}-**zə^{2}**	vein, vine (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.330
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hli**	vine (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**hli**	vein (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	tho^{2}-**ʒəʔ^{2}**	sinew, tendon (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.114
	só **zə**	muscle	Acharya 1975
	tho **zhü**	sinew	Murry *et al.* 1978:112
	tho **zhu**	nerve	Murry *et al.* 1978:77
Yimchungrü	thi **yih** ru	vein	Kumar 1973b:63

3.1.3 Leaves

(1) PNC *teʔ LEAF

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
**Northern Chin*	***teʔ**	LEAF	VanBik 2009:204
Sizang	ching **te**	leaf	VanBik 2009:204
Tiddim	**teʔ^{3}**	leaf	VanBik 2009:204

(2) PTB *s-nas LEAF

This root is well attested in the NE Indian areal group, but has so far not been found elsewhere.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nas**	leaf	Matisoff 2003a:604
1.1.1. Tani: ***nə** LEAF			
**Tani*	***nə**	leaf	Sun 1993a:231
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	(j)**a**-nə	leaf	Sun 1993b
	(j)**a**-nɯ	leaf	Sun 1993a
	à-**nɯ́**	leaf	Sun 1993b
	à-pu a-**nɯ**	petal	Sun 1993b
	a-pu ja-**nə**	petal	Sun 1993b
	è-**nɯ**	paddy leaf	Sun 1993b
	i-ŋe a-**nə**	arum leaf	Sun 1993b
	ja-**nə** a-ǰã	twig	Sun 1993b
	jà-**nɯ**	leaf	Sun 1993b
	mu-ku a-**nə**	tobacco (~leaf)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ku:**-nɯ:**	plantain leaf	Sun 1993b
	na-**nɯ:**	leaf	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	(ɯ-šɯŋ) a-**nə**	leaf	Sun 1993a
	a **nə**	leaf (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0376.24
	a-**nə**	leaf	Sun 1993b
	ɯ ɕɯŋ a **nə** ako	classifier for leaves (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0860.24
Bokar Lhoba	a **nə**	leaf	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:224.51
Galo	a **nə**	leaf (n.)	GLDC 2009
	a **nə**	Classifier for plants (n:clf.)	GLDC 2009
	nə yaa	leaf (rotten) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'aa **nə**	tea leaf (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'a **nə**	Classifier for stems (n:clf.)	GLDC 2009
	'a **nə**	stem (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hen **nə**	leaf (dried) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'nə-	Classifier for stems (clfr.)	GLDC 2009
	'nə rii	stem (lower portion) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'pag **nə**	banana leaf (n.)	GLDC 2009
Nishi [Dafla]	na-**ne**	leaf (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:432
Nishing	na **ne**	leaf	Das Gupta 1969
	ne-mang	leaf	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **nɤ**	leaf	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	an-**nə**; na-**nə**	leaf	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**nɯ**	leaf	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ne**-yaŋ	betel leaf	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**na:**	leaf	NEFA (India) 1963
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hnaʔ-tsaŋ** BANANA LEAF / PLANTAIN, ***hnaʔ** LEAF / FOLIAGE			
**Chin*	***hnaʔ**	LEAF / FOLIAGE	VanBik 2009:896
	***hnaʔ-tsaŋ**	BANANA LEAF / PLANTAIN	VanBik 2009:520
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**nah tang**	banana	VanBik 2009:520
Thado	**nàa**	leaf	VanBik 2009:896
	nàa tsáŋ	banana leaf	VanBik 2009:520
Tiddim	**naʔ^{3} tang^{1}**	banana	VanBik 2009:520
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hnaʔ**	leaf	VanBik 2009:896
Lai (Falam)	**hnàʔ**	leaf	VanBik 2009:896
Lai (Hakha)	**hnaʔ-tsâŋ**	banana, banana leaf	VanBik 2009:520
Lai (Falam)	**hnàʔ-tsăŋ**	banana, banana leaf	VanBik 2009:520
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnàh**	leaf, leaves, foliage (n.)	VanBik 2009:896
	hnàh cháng	leaves of wild plantains and also of cultivated banana (n.)	VanBik 2009:520
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hnā**	leaf	VanBik 2009:896
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**na**	leaf	Brown 1837
	na	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Sema [Sumi]	a **ni** ka	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			

Khoirao	a **na**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **no**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**na**	leaf	Brown 1837
Zeme	**peneu**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**penei**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***na** LEAF

**Tangkhulic*	***na**	leaf	Mortensen 2012:343
Champhung	siŋ-**nu**	leaf	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-**ni**	leaf	Mortensen 2012:Plants.002
Kachai	ʔa-**nɐ**	leaf	Mortensen 2012:Plants.002
Tangkhul	**na**	leaf	Bhat 1969:91
Tankghul (Central)	t^{h}i-**na**	leaf	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	t^{h}i-**na**	leaf	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**na**	leaf	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔi-**nə**-ʃi	leaf	Mortensen 2012:Plants.002
Ukhrul	a-**na**	leaf	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**na**	leaf	Mortensen 2012

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa (Moshang)	**na** yok	leaf	French 1983:500
	na yok	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967

Chinese comparandum

箬 OC ***ńi̱ɑk**, *GSR* #777g-h ‘skin of bamboo’; Schuessler 2007:448 (***nak**); B & S 2011: (***nak**); Mand. **ruò**.

(3) PCN *a-wa LEAF

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	*a-**wa**	LEAF	Bruhn 2014a:III.026
**Ao*	*t-**wa**	LEAF	Bruhn 2014a:II.273
Ao (Chungli)	song **o**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	$sə ŋ^{1} u^{1}$ t **u^{3}**	leaf (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.273
	t **o**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	t **u^{3}**	leaf, feather (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.273
	t **ú**	leaf	Temsunungsang 2009:p.14
	^{3}tu^{3}**u**	leaf	Weidert 1987:123
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	pati **wa**	betel (leaf)	Marrison 1967
	sung a **wa**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	to **wa**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	to **wa**	feather; hair (of body)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	tü ma ko **wa**	beard	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	sə ŋ **àwà**	leaf (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**voʔ^{3}**	leaf (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.026
	o **vo**	leaf	Murry *et al.* 1978:66
	ō **wó**	leaf	Acharya 1975
	o **wo**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}o^{3}**yo(ʔ)**	leaf	Weidert 1987:123
Sangtam	a **va**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sing **va**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}a^{2}**va**	leaf	Weidert 1987:123
Yimchungrü	a **yü**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{2}a^{2}ɯ[^{1}]	leaf	Weidert 1987:123

(4) PTB *lay LEAF / PAPER

This etymon is derived from the Indo-Aryan root *LIKH* ‘scratch, write’ (Turner 1966: 640-641). Compare Skt. *likhá-* ‘writer’ with Jingpho **làikā** ‘book’.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***lay**	leaf / paper	Matisoff 1985a:123; Matisoff 2003a:599

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	**`la:i**	paper, letter	Matisoff 1985a:123

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	**lai** rik	book	Matisoff 1985a:123

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**lai** lik	book	Matisoff 1985a:123

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**lái**	leaf	Matisoff 1985a:123
	lay zab	book	Matisoff 1985a:123
Dimasa	ba-**lai**	leaf	Matisoff 1985a:123

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***lay** LEAF / BOOK

**Northern Naga*	***lay**	leaf; book; leaf, book	Matisoff 1985a:123; French 1983:510

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**lie**	leaf (n.)	Marrison 1967
	lie	leaf, book	Matisoff 1985a:123
Konyak	**lai**	book	Matisoff 1985a:123
Phom	**lai**	book	Matisoff 1985a:123

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**lài** kā	book	Matisoff 1985a:123

(5) TGTM *^{A}ba: leaf

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	***^{A}ba:**	leaf	Mazaudon 1978:39
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{3}**po**	leaf	Mazaudon 1978:39
Manang (Ngawal)	^{3}**pa**	leaf	Mazaudon 1978:39
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**pa:**	leaf	Mazaudon 1978:39
Tamang (Sahu)	^{3}**pa:**	leaf	Mazaudon 1978:39
Tamang (Taglung)	^{3}**pa:**	leaf	Mazaudon 1978:39
Thakali (Marpha)	^{3}**pa**	leaf	Mazaudon 1978:39
Thakali (Syang)	^{3}**ba**	leaf	Mazaudon 1978:39
Thakali (Tukche)	^{3}**pa**	leaf	Mazaudon 1978:39

3.1.4 Seeds and flowers, nuts

(1) PTB *ba:r BLOOM / FLOWER

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ba:r**	bloom; flower; bloom, flower	Weidert 1987:247; Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:584; Benedict 1972:1

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***paar** FLOWER

**Chin*	***paar**	FLOWER	VanBik 2009:147

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**paak**	flower	VanBik 2009:147
	paak bawk	nosegay	VanBik 2009:12
Sizang	**pāk**	flower	VanBik 2009:147
Thado	**páʔ**	flower, bloom; flower	VanBik 2009:147; Thirumalai 1972:65
Tiddim	**-pa:k**	flower (n.)	Henderson 1965
	pa:k^{2}	flower	VanBik 2009:147; Bhaskararao 1996:1354
	pa:k^{2} ngu:m^{1}	bud	Bhaskararao 1996:1355

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**p‘a˝**	flower, bloom	VanBik 2009:147
Cho (Mindat)	**pai**	flower	VanBik 2009:147
Daai	**pa:^{i} pa:^{i}**	flower	So-Hartmann 1988:32
Khumi	kseewng **(páw)**	flower	VanBik 2009:147
	kəšɛ^{u}ŋ **pa^{uʔ}**	flower	So-Hartmann 1988:32
Matu	xa^{i} **pa:^{i}**	flower	So-Hartmann 1988:32
Mkaang	ɣï^{i} **pa:^{i}**	flower	So-Hartmann 1988:32
Ngmüiin	**pa^{i}**	flower	So-Hartmann 1988:32
Nyhmoye	k^{h}ə^{i} **pa:**	flower	So-Hartmann 1988:32
Wakung	a̱ **pa^{uʔ}**	flower	So-Hartmann 1988:32

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**pâar**	flower	VanBik 2009:147
	pâr bòr (< pâr bôr)	bunch of flowers (n.)	VanBik 2009:12
Lushai [Mizo]	**páar**	flower, a blossom, a bloom (n.)	VanBik 2009:147
	pang **pâr**	flower (n.)	Marrison 1967
	pàŋ-**páar**	flower	Weidert 1987:247
	pa:r	flower	Bhaskararao 1996:1354
	pa:r	blossom; flower, blossom (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2761; Benedict 1972:1

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**paw**-pí	flower	VanBik 2009:147

1.3. “NAGA” AREAL GROUP

Maring	**par**	flower	Brown 1837
	par	flower (n.)	Marrison 1967
	par poma	bud (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Ao (Chungli)	te **ben**	flower; bud (n.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **pen**	flower (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	^{3}nie^{2}**pu**	flower	Weidert 1987:247
Khezha	^{1}e^{2}**pa**	flower	Weidert 1987:247
Mao	o **pa**	flower (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{2}o^{4}pro^{5}**pa**	flower	Weidert 1987:247

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	**pan**	flower (n.)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	pa **pen**	flower (n.)	Marrison 1967
	shing **pon**	bud (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***bon** FLOWER

**Tangkhulic*	***bon**	flower	Mortensen 2012:469
Champhung	a-**bun**	flower	Brown 1837
Huishu	a-və-**vɐŋ**-re	flower	Mortensen 2012:Plants.013
Kachai	ʔa-**vɐn**	flower	Mortensen 2012:Plants.013
Tangkhul	a **won**	flower (n.)	Marrison 1967
	won	flower	Bhat 1969:89
Tankghul (Central)	**pie**	flower	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**pie**	flower	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**won**	flower	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔɯ-**pɯə**	flower	Mortensen 2012:Plants.013
Ukhrul	ʔa-**wan**	flower	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**won**	flower	Mortensen 2012

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	aŋ **phàr**	flower	Weidert 1987:247
	aŋ **phar**	catkin, inflorescence, flower	Benedict 1972:1
	pang **phar**	flower (n.)	Marrison 1967
	par	petal	Benedict 1972:1

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	***bar**	flower	Burling 1959:441

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**bar**	blossom (v.)	Bhat 1968
	bar sikár	flower (kind of, used as a vegetable)	Bhat 1968
	bar to	begin to blossom (v.)	Bhat 1968
	bi **bár**	flower	Bhat 1968
	bi **bár?**	flower	Weidert 1987:247
Dimasa	**bar**-guru	blossom (v.)	Benedict 1972:1
Kokborok	bo-**bar**	flower	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	bi **bar**	flower	Weidert 1987:247

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	(bi) **bal**	flower	Weidert 1987:247
	bi **bal**	flower	Benedict 1972:1
Garo (Bangladesh)	**bal**-a	bloom; pop (vi.)	Burling 2003:4.691-II:idx
	bi-**bal**	blossom; flower (n.)	Burling 2003:4.676-II:idx

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Wancho	**pan** puŋ	flower	French 1983:490

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	nàm-**pān**	flower	Matisoff 1974:149
	nam^{31} **pa̱n^{33}**	smallpox; flower (ornamental)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	nam^{31}**pa̱n^{33}**	flower (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.19
	nam^{31}**pa̱n^{33}**	flower	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.47
	nam **pan**	flower (n.)	Marrison 1967
	nam **pan** majawn	bud (n.)	Marrison 1967
	pan	flower	Benedict 1972:1
	^{1}nam^{2}**pan**	flower	Weidert 1987:247

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**ḥbar**-ba	begin bloom, blossom (v.)	Benedict 1972:1

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**búr**	flower, bloom (v.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.5. DHIMAL

Dhimal	**bar**	flower (v.)	Benedict 1972:1

3.2. QIANGIC [a]

Guiqiong	**phe^{55}**	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.16
	phe^{55}	bloom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:789.17
Namuyi	**ba^{35}**	bud (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:788.19
	ba^{55}	seedling; bud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:221.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:226.19
	ba^{55}	seedling (rice) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0406.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	(**pɐ^{11}**ts$_{ɿ}^{11}$) tɯ^{55}**pɐ^{55}**	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.10
	pɐ^{11}bø^{55}lø^{11}	bud (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0381.10

[a] These Qiangic forms have been assigned to PTB ***ba:r** BLOOM / FLOWER (§3.1.4), although it cannot yet be ruled out that they descend rather from PTB ***b/s-wat** FLOWER (§3.1.4).

	pɐ^{11}tsɻ^{55}	flower (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**bɑ**^{13}	seedling (rice) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0406.09
	pɐ^{13}tsə^{55}	flower (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**bɑ**^{13}	seedling	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:221.11
	pɐ^{13}tsə^{55}	flower	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.11
	tə^{55}**pɐ**^{55}	bloom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:789.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ba**^{35}	seedling	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:221.10
	pɐ^{35}tsə^{53}	flower	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.10
	tə^{55}**pɐ**^{53}	bloom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:789.10
Qiang (Longxi)	(tə̀) **pá**	open (flower)	Evans 1999:2094; Evans 1999:2094
	pá tsù	flower	Evans 1999:472
	pá tsù (qò) tɕý	bud	Evans 1999:477
	pá tsù-tsí	stamen, pistil [flower-DIM]	Evans 1999:473
	pá tsù̩	colorful (=flower)	Evans 1999:1567
Qiang (Mawo)	**pa**	bloom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:789.8
	pə **pa**	bud (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:788.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**pè**	open (flower)	Evans 1999:2094
Qiang (Taoping)	**pɑ**^{31}tʂuə^{55}	flower	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.9
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**pàn**	flower	Weidert 1987:247
	pân	flower	Matisoff 1974:149; Benedict 1976a
	pàn	flower	Benedict 1972:15n54(b)
	pân-rak	juice of flowers	Benedict 1976a
	pàn-rak	juice of flowers	Coblin 1986:82
	pàn-rak ≍ wat-rak	juice of flowers	Benedict 1972:204
	pan:	flower (n.)	Marrison 1967
Leqi (Luxi)	**pan**^{33}	flower (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.33
	pan^{33}tʃu^{55}	bud (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0381.33
Marma	**páiŋ**	flower	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:296
Maru [Langsu]	**pəŋ**^{35}	flower; smallpox	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.43; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:287.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pàn**	flower	Weidert 1987:247
	pan^{21}	smallpox	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
	pan^{21}	flower (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.30
	pan^{21}	flower; smallpox	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.42; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:287.42
	pan^{21}tʃuɒ^{55}	bud (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0381.30

Chinese comparandum

葩 OC (***p'å**), *GSR* (not in #38) 'flower'; Schuessler 2007:408 (***phrâ**); B & S 2011: (*$\mathbf{p^{hs}ra}$); Mand. **pā**.

(2) PTB *mu:m BUD

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***mu:m**	bud	Benedict 1972:364; Matisoff 2003a:603
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	a-**mum**	bud, sprout (Ch. yá)	Sun 1993b
	a-**mum** len	bud (v.)	Sun 1993b
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	kuh-**mu:m**	bud	Bhaskararao 1996:1355
	kuh **mum**	bud (n.)	Marrison 1967
	kuʔ-**mu:m**	bud; bud (v.) (v.)	Benedict 1972:364
	mu-m	close (as a flower)	Benedict 1972:364
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**mū-ūm**	bud (v.)	Matisoff 1974:126
	mu-um / **məum**	bud (v,n.)	Benedict 1972:78n239
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	a **mum**	incipient bud	Benedict 1972:364
	muṁ	begin to form, as bud (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	mum	begin form, as a bud (v.)	Benedict 1972:364
	mum (<*mu-ʔum?	bud (v.)	Matisoff 1974:126
	ə-**muṁ**	incipient bud (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**ŋuṁ**	quantity taken into the mouth at once; a flower bud (n.)	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			[a]
Nusu (Central)	**n̥u̱**^{53}	sprout / shoot (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0380.34
Nusu (Southern)	**n̥u**^{55}	bud	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Mile)	i^{33}**nɯ**^{21}	bud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:226.25
	nɯ^{21}	bud (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:788.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**nə**^{33}	germinate / sprout (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1307.37
	nɯ^{33}	bud (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:788.24
	ɕi̱^{33}**nɯ**^{33}	bud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:226.24
	ɕi̱^{33}**n̥ɹɔ**^{33}	sprout / shoot (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0380.37

[a] We are assuming that these Northern Loloish forms with initial **n-** or **n̥-** descend from this root, with secondary dentalization of the nasal.

(3) PTB *r-moy BUD / BLOSSOM / BLOSSOMING

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**r-**)**moy**	bud, blossom	Benedict 1972:305
	***r-moy**	bud / blossoming	Matisoff 2003a:602
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**moi**	beginning form in the bud (as rice) (adj.) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2688
	moi	beginning to form in the bud (as rice)	Benedict 1972:305
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**məy** túr	flower bud	Bhat 1968
	məy tər	flower bud	Bhat 1968
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**nmoi**	blossoms, as of grain; spikes, spikelets	Benedict 1972:305

(4) PKC *ɓor BUNCH (flower)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɓor**	BUNCH (flower)	VanBik 2009:12
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	paak **bawk**	nosegay	VanBik 2009:12
Thado	**bôʔ**	bunch of flower	VanBik 2009:12
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**bǒr**	bunch or cluster (of flowers) (n.)	VanBik 2009:12
Lai (Hakha)	pâr **bòr** (< pâr bôr)	bunch of flowers (n.)	VanBik 2009:12
Lushai [Mizo]	**báwr**	bunch or cluster (n.)	VanBik 2009:12

(5) PTB * $\mathbf{\frac{b}{s}}$ -wat FLOWER

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b/s-wat**	flower	Matisoff 2003a:619
	***bwat**	flower	Matisoff 1985a:020; LaPolla 1987:161
	*$\mathbf{b^{w}at}$	flower	Matisoff 2003a:585
1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**buaɬ**^{33}	bloom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:789.52
	mə^{33}**buat**^{53}	flower	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.52
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ta **pat**	flower	LaPolla 1987:161; Benedict 1972:24n78
rGBenzhen	tɐ-**pɐt**	flower	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Anong (Rawang)	śiŋ-**wat**	bud	LaPolla 1987:161
**Nungish*	*śiŋ-**wat**	bud / flower	Benedict 1972:24n78
Rawang	ɕɯŋ^{53} **wat**	flower	LaPolla 2003:429
Trung [Dulong]	śiŋ-**uat**	flower	Matisoff 1985a:020
	śiŋ-**wat**	flower	LaPolla 1987:161; Benedict 1972:79n242
Dulong	**wɑt**^{55}	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.20
Trung [Dulong]	**wă̱t**^{55}	bloom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:789.46
Dulong	ɕiŋ^{55}**wɑt**^{55}	flower (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɕiŋ^{55}**wă̱t**^{55}	flower	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	śiŋ^{55} **wat**^{55}	flower	LaPolla 1987:161
	śiŋ^{55} **wat**^{55} **wat**^{55}	bloom	LaPolla 1987:161
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɕɯŋ^{55}**wă̱t**^{55}**wă̱t**^{55}	bloom	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***s-wat**^{H} BLOOM / FLOWER			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-wat**^{H}	bloom / flower	Matisoff 2003a:619
	***sə-wat**	flower	Matisoff 1972b:185
	***wat**	flower	LaPolla 1987:161; Benedict 1972:24n78
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	pân-rak	juice of flowers	Benedict 1976a
	pàn-rak	juice of flowers	Coblin 1986:82
	pàn-rak ≍ **wat**-rak	juice of flowers	Benedict 1972:204
	wat	blossom; flower	Hansson 1989:538; Benedict 1976a
	wat-rak	juice of flowers	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***k-wat**^{H}	flower; blossom	Bradley 1979b:301; Hansson 1989:538
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**vi**^{53}	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.47
	vi^{53}li^{35}	flower (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.47
Lalo	**viq**	blossom	Björverud 1994
	vi̱^{33}	blossom	CHEN Kang 1986a:79.
Lipho	**vi̱**^{33}	blossom	CHEN Kang 1986a:79.
Nasu	**vi 32s**	flower	Matisoff 1972b:185
	vi̱^{2}	blossom	CHEN Kang 1986a:79.
Neisu	**vɪ**^{33}	blossom	CHEN Kang 1986a:79.
Nesu	**vi̱**^{33}	blossom	CHEN Kang 1986a:79.
Nosu	**vi̱**^{4}	blossom	CHEN Kang 1986a:79.
Nusu (Southern)	**uɑ̱**^{53}	flower	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	uɑ̱^{53}	bloom (flower) (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**vɛ̱**^{31}	bloom (flower) (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	vɛ̱^{31}ɑ^{55}	flower	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**bi**^{13}	bud (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:788.22
	ve^{33}lo^{21}	flower	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**vɛ**^{33}	bloom; flower	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vɛ^{34}**vɛ**^{33}	flower	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**vi̱**^{33}	flower	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**ve̱**^{33}lu^{33}	flower (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.37
	ve̱^{33}lu̱^{33}	flower	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.24
	ve̱^{33}phe^{55}	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.37
Yi (Weishan)	**vɪ̱**^{33}	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.36
Yi (Wuding)	**vi̱**^{2}	flower (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.38
	vi̱^{2}	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.38
Yi (Xide)	**ve**^{33}	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.35
	ve^{33}	bloom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:789.21
	ve^{33}bu^{21}	bud (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0381.35
	ve^{33}go^{55}dzi^{33}	wither (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1272.35
	ve^{34}**ve**^{33}	flower (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.35
	ve^{44}**ve**^{33}	flower	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:228.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**vi 44**	flower	Matisoff 1972b:185
	vi̱^{33}	blossom	CHEN Kang 1986a:79.
Kucong	a31 **vi33**	flower	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	vi33	bloom	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	si^{35}**ve**^{54}	bud (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0381.43
	ve^{54}	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.43
	ɔ^{31}**ve**^{54}	flower (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.43
Lahu (Black)	ší-**vêʔ**	flower	Matisoff 1985a:020; Matisoff 1972b:185

	vê?	flower	Matisoff 1985a:020
	ve^{54}	bloom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:789.33
	ɔ^{21}**ve^{54}**	flower	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:228.33
	ɔ̀-**vê?**	flower	Matisoff 1972b:185
	ɔ̀-**vê?** cɪ̂?-ɡ̈ɔ̀ ve	pluck a flower	Matisoff 1985a:033
Lahu (Yellow)	**ve^{6}**	bloom	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ve^{6} (ɔ^{2}**ve^{6}ve^{6}**)	bloom (flower) (v.)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{2}**ve^{6}**	flower	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	(e^{55})**ve^{44}**	flower	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:228.27
Lisu (Central)	(yi **vē^{3}**) **vē^{3}**	blossom	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	dɔʔ^{21}tsheʔ^{21} ji^{55}**ve^{33}**	pea flower	Bradley 1994
	dɔʔ^{21}**ve^{33}**	flower of kusnezoff monkshood	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{21}hwa^{33} si^{35}**ve^{33}**	lotus flower (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{35}phu^{33}**ve^{33}**	lily flower	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**ve^{33}**	flower; pattern; flora; blush (N.)	Bradley 1994
	lɤ^{44}**ve^{33}**	cherry flower	Bradley 1994
	mæ^{35}bɔ^{33}**ve^{33}**	small azalea flower (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mæ^{35}la^{21}**ve^{33}**	azalea flower (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mæ^{35}**ve^{33}**	flower of mao-tree; azalea (N.)	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}**ve^{33}**	silver flower	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}**ve^{33}** ʃl̩^{33}**ve^{33}**	gold flower and silver flower	Bradley 1994
	phy^{21}**ve^{33}**	melon flower	Bradley 1994
Lisu	si2-**vé3**	flower	Matisoff 1972b:185
	si^{2}-**vé^{3}**	flower	Matisoff 1985a:020
Lisu (Northern)	si^{21}le^{21}**ve^{33}**	peach flower	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}le^{21}**ve^{33}** dʑi^{44}	peach blossom wine	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}le^{21}**ve^{33}** hã^{33}dzi^{33}	spring rain (lit. 'peach flower rain')	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	si^{3}-**vé^{3}**	flower	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	si^{35}sɔ^{55}**ve^{33}**	flower of Litsea pungens (used as spice in cooking)	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}**ve^{33}**	flower; cf. ve^{33} (N.)	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}**ve^{33}**bø^{44}	flower garden	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}**ve^{33}**	salt flower (cf. tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ve 33**	flower	Matisoff 1972b:185
Lisu (Northern)	**ve^{33}**	bloom (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ve^{33}	flower (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ve^{33}si^{21}	red flower	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**vę^{33}**	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.40
	ve^{44}	bloom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:789.27
Lisu (Northern)	ŋa^{44} **ve^{33}**thu^{21}	bud of bajiao banana	Bradley 1994
	ʃl̩^{55}ʃl̩^{33}**ve^{33}**	flower of Chinese goldthread	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**vi 44**	flower	Matisoff 1972b:185
	vɪ^{44}	blossom	Chen Kang 1986a:79.
Yi (Sani)	**vɪ^{44}**	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.39
	vɪ^{44}ɚ^{33}	flower (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.39
	vɪ^{44}ɚ^{33}mɤ^{33}	bud (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0381.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	**wɛ̄**	flower	Matisoff 1972b:185
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	i^{22}**vi^{22}vi^{22}**	bloom; blossom	Pelkey 2011:863
	vi^{33}lœ^{21}	flower	Pelkey 2011:222
Southern Muji	i^{21}**vi^{33}vi^{33}**	bloom; blossom	Pelkey 2011:863
	vi^{33}ljɛ^{33}jɛ^{21}	bloom; blossom	Pelkey 2011:863
	vi^{33}lɯ^{21}	flower	Pelkey 2011:222
	ɛ^{21}**vi^{33}**	flower	Pelkey 2011:222
Phola	si^{31}**vɛ^{55}**	flower	Pelkey 2011:222
	u^{33}**vɛ^{33}vɛ^{33}**	bloom; blossom	Pelkey 2011:863
Hlepho Phowa	ɛ^{33}**vi^{21}vi^{21}**	bloom; blossom	Pelkey 2011:863
Phu Kha	i^{53} **vi^{31}**	flower	Fried 2000
Phuza	**vi^{33}**lɯ^{31}	flower	Pelkey 2011:222
	ɛ^{33}**vi^{55}vi^{55}**	bloom; blossom	Pelkey 2011:863
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**væ˥**	flower	Michaud 2006–2009:4258
	væ˩	bloom (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2666
Na (Yongning)	**bæ˩**	bloom (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	bæ˩bæ˩	flower	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**ba^{31}**	bloom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:789.29
	ba^{13}	flower	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:228.29
Naxi	**bɑ^{21}**	flower (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.45
	bɑ^{21}	classifier for flowers (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0861.45
	bɑ^{21}	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.45
	bɑ^{21}ly^{33}	bud (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0381.45
	bɑ^{21}ti^{55}li^{33}	bud (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0381.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**bɑ^{31}**	flower	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:228.28
	bɑ^{31}bɑ^{31}	bloom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:789.28

(6) PTani *pun FLOWER

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***pun**	flower	Sun 1993a:158
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**pú**	flower	Sun 1993b
	a-**pu** (la-lu)	flower	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	à-**pu** a-nɯ	petal	Sun 1993b
	a-**pu** ja-nə	petal	Sun 1993b
	kɯ-pa a-**pu**	banana flower	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**pjuŋ**	flower	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b [a]
	do:-ñi a-**pjuŋ**	sunflower	Sun 1993b
	pjuŋ lin	bloom	Sun 1993b
	pjuŋ-jup-pak	wither	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**puŋ** pin	flower (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.24
	puŋ pin	multicolored / patterned (cloth)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1098.24
	puŋ pin a pɯ	bud (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0381.24
	puŋ pin pin	blossom (of flowers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1463.24
	puŋ-pin	flower; multicolored, piebald	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	puŋ-pin a-pɯ	bud (flower~)	Sun 1993b
	puŋ-pin pin	bloom (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**puŋ** pin	flower	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:228.51
Galo	a **pu**-a na	flower	Das Gupta 1963
	a **puu**	flower (n.)	GLDC 2009
	puu nam	bloom; sprout (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	o **pu**	flower	Simon 1976
	u **pu**	flower	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **pu** angi	flower	Das Gupta 1969
	a **pung** angi	flower	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **puŋ**	flower	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ap-**pun**	flower	Sun 1993a
Milang	ap **pun**	flower	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Yidu	ɑ^{55}**pe^{55}**	flower (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.25

[a] [Source Note] initial! (Sun 1993a).

(7) PKar *phɔ^{A} FLOWER

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***phɔ^{A}**	flower	Luangthongkum 2013:121
**Karen [Burling]*	***phɔ^{4}**	flower	Luangthongkum 2013:121
Bwe	**phɔ^{55}**	flower	Luangthongkum 2013:121
Karen	**phɔ^{55}**	flower (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0377.50
Kayah	**pho^{33}**	flower	Luangthongkum 2013:121
Kayan	**phau^{53}**	flower	Luangthongkum 2013:121
Kayan (Pekon)	**p^{h}áu**	flower (N.)	Manson 2010
	p^{h}áu	flower (CLFa.)	Manson 2010
	p^{h}áu k^{h}âmən	bitter-flower plant [lit. flower-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	p^{h}áu pə̀n	vase [lit. flower-pot] (N.)	Manson 2010
	p^{h}áu t^{h}ân s^{h}û	roses [lit. flower-ascend-thorn] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**pho^{55}**	flower	Luangthongkum 2013:121
Pwo (Northern)	**phɔ^{35}**	flower	Luangthongkum 2013:121
Pwo (Southern)	**phɔ^{53}**	flower	Luangthongkum 2013:121
Sgaw (Northern)	**phɔ^{33}**	flower	Luangthongkum 2013:121
Sgaw (Southern)	**phɔ^{55}**	flower	Luangthongkum 2013:121

(8) PKC *huum GRAIN (of unhusked rice and millet)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***huum**	GRAIN (of unhusked rice and millet)	VanBik 2009:718
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	tang **hum**	paddy	VanBik 2009:718
Thado	tsáaŋ **hùum**	paddy grain	VanBik 2009:718
Tiddim	bu?^{3} **hu:m^{3}**	rice with husk	Bhaskararao 1996:122
	bu?^{3} **hu:m^{3}**	rice with husk	VanBik 2009:718
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**huum**	unpounded rice or millet, empty grain	VanBik 2009:718
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hŭum**	unhusked or unpounded rice or millet	VanBik 2009:718
Lai (Falam)	**hùum**	unhusked or unpounded rice or millet	VanBik 2009:718
Lushai [Mizo]	**hùum**	unhusked (as rice), unginned (as cotton)	VanBik 2009:718

(9) PKC *θaŋ GRAIN / SEED

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***θaŋ**	GRAIN / SEED	VanBik 2009:619
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**a** tang	seed	VanBik 2009:619
	tang	ear of grain	VanBik 2009:619
Thado	**tsâŋ**	grain, unit	VanBik 2009:619
Tiddim	**tang^{1}**	seed	VanBik 2009:619; Bhaskararao 1996:1688
	ˊtaŋ	seed (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**fâŋ**	grain, clf. for seed, unit (for money)	VanBik 2009:619
Lai (Falam)	**fáŋ**	clf. for seed, unit (for money)	VanBik 2009:619
Lushai [Mizo]	**făng**	grain, a drop, a single one (n.)	VanBik 2009:619

(10) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{b}\end{matrix}$ **rəw GRAIN / SEED / LINEAGE**

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***mruw**	seed; grain, seed	Weidert 1987:299; Benedict 1972:150
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**myu ⩤ ə myu**	kind, sort, tribe	Benedict 1972:150
	ʔə **myú**	kind / sort	Matisoff 1974:312
2.1.2. Bodic			
Cuona Menba	**bru^{53}**	pit / stone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0379.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥbru**	grain, seed	Benedict 1972:150
	ɦbru	seed	Weidert 1987:299
	ɦbru gu	stone / pit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:227.1
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung	**pluhq**	seed (n.)	Hale 1973:01.024
Gurung (Ghachok)	**pluhq**	seed	Glover 1972:1.24
	pluh baq	scatter (seed)	Glover 1972:6.B.1. 17
Gurung	**^{4}plu**	seed	Mazaudon 1994:738
Manang (Gyaru)	**blɯ^{3}**	seed	Nagano 1984:075
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{4}pl̥u**	seed	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0127
	^{4}p^{h}̥lu	seed	Mazaudon 1994:738
Tamang (Risiangkʉ)	**^{4}plu**	seed	Mazaudon 1994:738
Tamang (Sahu)	**'pluh**	seed (n.)	Hale 1973:01.024
	'pluh	seed	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.24
	^{4}plu	seed	Mazaudon 1994:738
Tamang (Taglung)	**^{4}plu**	seed	Mazaudon 1994:738
Thakali	**'pluh**	seed (n.)	Hale 1973:01.024
Thakali (Marpha)	**^{54}plu**	seed	Mazaudon 1994:738
Thakali (Syang)	**^{21}plu**	seed	Mazaudon 1994:738
Thakali (Tukche)	**'pluh**	seed	Hari 1971:1.24
	'pluh t^{h}ɔm-pɔ	seed bed	Hari 1971:4.A.62

	[3]**mo**	cloud	Mazaudon 1994:762
	[4]**plu**	seed	Mazaudon 1994:738
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Longxi)	**ʁə̀**	wheat, barley, etc	Evans 1999:524
	ʁə̀ χé	awn of wheat	Evans 1999:525
	ʁə̀ χó	awn of wheat	Evans 1999:525
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Luxi)	a[31]**mjau**[31]	seed	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	a[31]**ɲau**[51]	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.29
Bola (Luxi)	a[31]**mjuŋ**[31]	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mjo**[55]si[53]	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mjo**[55]si[53]	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.40
Burmese (Written)	ă **myuì**	race, lineage; kind, class, sort	Benedict 1972:150
	mjo[3]se[1]	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.26
	mjo[3]se[1]	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.39
	myuì	seed / grain	Weidert 1987:299
	myûi	seed, seed grain	Benedict 1976a
	myuì	seed	Benedict 1972:150
	myui:ce'	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
Langsu (Luxi)	**mjuk**[55]	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.31
Leqi (Luxi)	a[33]**mjou**[33]	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.33
Maru [Langsu]	**mjuk**[55]	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	a[21]**mji**[21]	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.30
	a[21]**mji**[21]	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.42
6.2. NAXI			
Na (Yongning)	**ɻæɻ**	grain	Michaud 2006–2009

Chinese comparandum

物 OC ***mi̱wət**, *GSR* #503h 'variety, sort, class, thing; to sort'; Schuessler 2007:520 ***mət**; B & S 2011: ***C.mut**; Mand. **wù**.

(11) PTani *ñat[1] MILLET (Job's tear)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ñat**[1]	millet (job's tear)	Sun 1993a:255
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	ta-**ñit**	millet (job's tear)	Sun 1993a
Galo	'ta **ɲək**	Job's tear millet; Coix lachryma (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**ñat**	millet (job's tear)	Sun 1993a

(12) PTani *jak MILLET (fox-tail)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***jak**	millet (fox-tail)	Sun 1993a:254
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	ta-**jak**	millet	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **jak**	millet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0417.24
	ta-**jak**	millet (fox-tail)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	'ta **ek**	millet (variety); pearl millet (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**jak**	millet (fox-tail)	Sun 1993a
Damu	ta-**jak**	millet (fox-tail); millet	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b

(13) PKC *θaaŋ MILLET / RICE PADDY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***θaaŋ**	MILLET / RICE PADDY	VanBik 2009:624
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**taang**	millet	VanBik 2009:624
Thado	**tsáaŋ**	rice paddy, uncooked rice	VanBik 2009:624
Tiddim	**ta:ng**[2]	millet	VanBik 2009:624
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**htang**	decorticated millet	VanBik 2009:624
Khumi	**cátaang**	rice variety (white colored outside; long grain; white color when cooked)	VanBik 2009:624
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**fâaŋ**	millet, rice paddy	VanBik 2009:624
Lai (Falam)	**făaŋ**	millet, rice paddy	VanBik 2009:624
Lushai [Mizo]	**fáang**	rice (This is an old poetical word used in Lushai songs)	VanBik 2009:624
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**sà**	rice, grain	VanBik 2009:624

(14) PTB *bay PEA / BEAN / SMALL WEIGHT OR COIN

This is definitely an areal word, found in Mon-Khmer and Tai as well as in TB and perhaps Chinese. The meaning ranges from 'small weight or coin' to 'bean, pea'. Shorto 2006 (#1489, p. 400) reconstructs Proto-Mon-Khmer ***ɓa(a)y** 'bean; small weight or coin' (cf. Mon **boa** 'bean, pea, 1/16 tical'); also Thai **p[h]ay** '1/32 tical'.

Shorto also suggests a connection with Amoy/Hokkien **pè** or **poè** 貝 (cf. Mand. **bèi**).

The present PTB reconstruction is a revision of *STC* #253, where the root is reconstructed ***be**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***be**	bean; legume; peas, beans, lentils	Weidert 1987:258; Matisoff 2003a:584; Benedict 1972:253
1.1.1. TANI: ***pe:** BEANS			
**Tani*	***pe:**	beans	Sun 1993a:19
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	a-mu **pe**-ruŋ	cow pea	Sun 1993b
	a-xó **pé**-ruŋ	beans (species, round)	Sun 1993b
	ha-ljã **pe**-rũ	green bean	Sun 1993b
	ma-ta **pé**-ruŋ	beans	Sun 1993b
	pe-rũ	beans; bean	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pé-rùŋ	green pea	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**pi:**-muk	black bean	Sun 1993b
	pi:-ruɯn	mung bean	Sun 1993b
	ta-**pi:**	beans; bean	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**pe:**-ka:	black beans	Sun 1993b
	pe:-muk	bean flour	Sun 1993b
	pe:-ren	mung beans	Sun 1993b
	pe:-sor	flat beans)	Sun 1993b
	pe:- po:	maize	Sun 1993b
	pe: jak	soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.24
	pe: muk	flour (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0442.24
	pe: po:	maize / corn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0416.24
	ta **pe:**	pea / bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0430.24
	ta-**pe:**	beans	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ta-**pe:** ka:-jaŋ	black beans	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**pe:** muk	flour	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:391.51
	pɛ: po:	maize	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:193.51
	ta **pɛ:**	beans	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:201.51
Galo	**pee** ren	bean (long); long bean; string bean (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'pe yak	soybean (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**pe** ren	beans	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	**pe**-ron	beans	Sun 1993a
Mishing [Miri]	**pe**-ret	beans	Sun 1993a
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ɓee** BEAN / PEA			
**Chin*	***ɓee**	BEAN / PEA	VanBik 2009:7
Anal	à-**bɛ́**	bean	Weidert 1987:258
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**be**	bean	VanBik 2009:7
Sizang	**be**	bean	VanBik 2009:7
Thado	**bêe**	bean, pea	VanBik 2009:7
Tiddim	**be:**[1]	bean; bean (generic name)	VanBik 2009:7; Bhaskararao 1996:82
	ˊbɛ:	bean (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**be** ⩙ bei	beans	VanBik 2009:7
Khumi	kháwy **biee**	bean species (short and fat)	VanBik 2009:7
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**bèe**	bean, pea	VanBik 2009:7
Lai (Falam)	**bêe**	beans	VanBik 2009:7
Lushai [Mizo]	**bê**	bean; beans, generic names for all kind of beans	Weidert 1987:258; Marrison 1967; VanBik 2009:7
	be	peas, beans, lentils	Benedict 1972:253
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	ʔā-**bí**	beans	VanBik 2009:7
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	sa **bai**	peas, beans, lentils	Benedict 1972:253
3.2. QIANGIC			
Xumi	jĩ[55]tshi[33]nu[33]**mbæ**[55]	soya bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0431.17
	nu[33]**nbæ**[55]	pea / bean (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0430.17
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**paì**	peas, beans, lentils	Benedict 1972:253
7. KARENIC			
Bwe (Western)	θɪ[1]**ɓɪ**[1]	beans	Luce 1985:E.16
Geba	ki[2]**bi**[1]	beans	Luce 1985:E.16
	tji[2]**bi**[1]	beans	Luce 1985:E.16
Kayan (Pekon)	**bé** s[h]wê	mung beans (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**bè** sèŋ	beans, fermented	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**be**[6]	beans	Luce 1985:E.16
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**pɛ**[6]	beans	Luce 1985:E.16
Pwo (Delta)	**ɓɑĩ**[2]	beans	Luce 1985:E.16
Sgaw	**pɛ**[1]	beans	Luce 1985:E.16

(15) PTk *saam RICE (HULLED)

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***saam**	rice (hulled)	Mortensen 2012:446
Kachai	ʔa-**som**	rice (hulled)	Mortensen 2012
Tusom	zɯ-**sxɯə̃**	husked rice	Mortensen 2012:Plants.153
Ukhrul	**sam**	rice (hulled)	Mortensen 2012

(16) PTani *pim RICE (cooked)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***pim**	rice (cooked)	Sun 1993a:323
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	a-**pĩ**	rice (cooked); rice	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	á-**piŋ**	cooked rice; meals	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	á-**piŋ** ga-jiŋ	riceball	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**čin**	rice (cooked)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	a **cin**	cooked rice; rice (cooked) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a **cin**	boiled rice	Das Gupta 1963
	a **cin** pergo-nam	warm (rice) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	a **cin**	rice, boiled	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	a-**pim**	rice (cooked)	Sun 1993a
Mishing [Miri]	a-**pin**	rice (cooked)	Sun 1993a

(17) PCN *a-tsaŋ RICE (husked, uncooked)

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Central Naga*	*a-**tsaŋ**	RICE (HUSKED, UNCOOKED)	Bruhn 2014a:III.203
**Ao*	*(a-)**tʃaŋ**	RICE (HUSKED, UNCOOKED)	Bruhn 2014a:II.152
Ao (Chungli)	**jang**	rice (uncooked)	Marrison 1967
	tʃaŋ[1]	rice (husked, uncooked) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.152
	tʃaŋ[1]puŋ[2]	rice bin (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **chang**	rice (uncooked)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	masu **tʃaŋ**	sticky rice (uncooked) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**tʃaŋ**	rice (husked, uncooked) (n.)	Coupe 2007

Lotha Naga	o[1]-**tsəŋ**[3]	rice (husked, uncooked) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.203
	o **tsang**	rice (uncooked)	Marrison 1967
	ó **tsə̀ŋ**	rice (uncooked)	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**tsang**	rice (cooked)	Marrison 1967
	tsang kech	cooked rice	Kumar 1973a
	tse	rice; rice (uncooked)	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**chang**	rice (uncooked)	Marrison 1967

(18) PTani *am-bɯn RICE (uncooked)

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***am-bɯn**	rice (uncooked)	Sun 1993a:324

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**em-bĩ**	rice (uncooked); rice	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ém-biŋ	uncooked rice	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**am-bin**	rice (uncooked)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**ambin**	rice	Das Gupta 1963
	‘ambin	rice (uncooked) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**embin**	uncooked rice	Simon 1976
Nishing	**ambing**	rice (uncooked); paddy	Das Gupta 1969; Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**ambin**	rice	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**am-bɯn**	rice (uncooked)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ʔam-ben**	rice (uncooked)	Sun 1993b

(19) PTB *bu RICE

This root has so far only been discovered in Kuki-Chin and Karenic.

While the Chin forms refer to cooked rice, the Karenic forms seem to have a broader reference, referring both to the plant in the field and to cooked rice.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ɓuʔ** RICE (cooked)

**Chin*	***ɓuʔ**	RICE (cooked)	VanBik 2009:44

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**buh**	rice	VanBik 2009:44
Thado	**bùu**	meal, food, rice	VanBik 2009:44
Tiddim	**buʔ**[3]	rice	VanBik 2009:44

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**bü´**	rice (cooked)	VanBik 2009:44
Cho (Mindat)	**buh**	boiled rice	VanBik 2009:44
Daai	**ɓuʔ**	cooked rice	VanBik 2009:44

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**buʔ**	cooked rice	VanBik 2009:44
Lai (Falam)	**bùʔ**	cooked rice	VanBik 2009:44
Lushai [Mizo]	**bùh**	rice	VanBik 2009:44

7. Karenic: ***ɓɯ**[B’] RICE

**Karen*	***bỳh**	plants (rice)	Jones 1961:176
Karen	**bɯ̲**[55]tθa̲[31]	rice (paddy) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0403.50
	bɯ[55]pho[55]	seedling (rice) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0406.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**bɨ̀**	paddy rice (<Mon?) (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**bü**	rice plant	Benedict 1972:147n402
	bɨ̀	rice (plant), grain (in cpd)	Solnit 1989
	bɨ̀ khû	rice, unhusked	Solnit 1989
	bɨ̀ mî	rice plant	Solnit 1989
	bɨ̀ ʔɛ̀n	sticky rice	Solnit 1989
	là **bɨ̀**	winnow rice by pouring from a	Solnit 1989
	lwè **bɨ̀**	mill rice; grind rice in handmill	Solnit 1989; Solnit 1989
	póʔ **bɨ̀**	thresh rice	Solnit 1989
	rɛ̀ʔ **bɨ̀**, ʔərɛ̀ʔ **bɨ̀**	cut w / sickle, harvest rice	Solnit 1989
	t̃hɔ̂ŋ **bɨ̀**	pound rice	Solnit 1989

(20) PTB *ma-y ≍ *mey RICE / PADDY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ma-y**	rice / paddy	Matisoff 2003a:601
	***ma-y ≍ mey**	rice / paddy	Matisoff 2003a:601
	***may ≍ *mey**	rice / paddy	LaPolla 1987:190 [a]
	***may ≍ mey**	rice / paddy	Matisoff 1985a:057

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ma** RICE (IN FIELD)

**Tangkhulic*	***ma**	rice (in field)	Mortensen 2012:746
Huishu	ʔa-**mi**-low	rice field / swidden / upland field	Mortensen 2012:Plants.149
Tangkhul	**ma**	rice (paddy)	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	**ma**	rice (in fields/unhulled)	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***mai’**-roŋ	rice, uncooked	Burling 1959:443
	***m [a,e] y**	rice	Benedict 1972:192n491
	***m [a/e] y**	rice / paddy	Matisoff 1985a:057
	***mɑy~mey**	rice	Chou Fa-kao 1972:598a-c

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**may** bra	paddy (kind of, whose rice becomes sticky when boi	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**mai**	rice (paddy); rice, paddy; rice; paddy	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:057; LaPolla 1987:190; Benedict 1972:65n206
	mai rong	rice (uncooked)	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**may**	cooked rice	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	may-roŋ	husked rice	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**me**	rice / paddy	Matisoff 1985a:057
	mi	rice; paddy; rice, paddy	Matisoff 1985a:057; Benedict 1972:65n206
	mi~ **me**-	rice / paddy	LaPolla 1987:190
Garo (Bangladesh)	**me**-rong	husked rice (n.)	Burling 2003:5.25-II:idx
	me•-dik	rice pot (n.)	Burling 2003:5.432-II:idx
	mi	rice plant (n.)	Burling 2003:5.25-II:idx
	mi-mil	sticky rice (n.)	Burling 2003:5.25-II:idx
	mi-mit-im	sticky rice (n.)	Burling 2003:5.25-II:idx
	mi-sam	rice and curry (n.)	Burling 2003:5.403-II:idx
	mi-si-sam-si	rice and curry (n.)	Burling 2003:5.403-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**mai**	rice (cooked) (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	mai chek	cold rice (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	mai chyk	cold rice (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	mai dan	new rice (just harvested) (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	mai kholnang	unpeeled rice (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	mai khyt	burned rice (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	mai kung	second rice harvest (in November) (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	mai rong	husked rice, uncooked rice (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	mai sen	sticky rice in a banana leaf (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	mai tyk	pot for cooking rice (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**ma**[33]~mam[33]	rice (plant)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984

3.2. Qiangic

Muya [Minyak]	**mi**[33]vu[55]	rice (plant)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:186.15
Namuyi	**mi**[33]ngi[31]	transplant (rice seedlings)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1172.46

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**ma**[35]	grain (of rice) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0845.47
	mi[33]	cooked, be (rice) / done (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.47
Nusu (Central)	**me**[33]**me**[31]	rice (paddy); rice (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0403.34; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0439.34
Yi (Nanhua)	**mi**[33]	cooked, be (rice) / done (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.37

7. Karenic: ***may** RICE / PADDY

**Karen*	***may**	rice; paddy	Matisoff 1985a:057; Benedict 1972:192n491
	***mɑy**	rice (paddy)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:598a-c
Karen	**me**[33]	rice (cooked) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0440.50
	mi̲[55]	cooked, be (rice) / done (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.50
Palaychi	**mə**	rice (cooked)	Benedict 1972:149n408
Pwo	**me**	boiled rice	Matisoff 1985a:057; LaPolla 1987:190
Sgaw	**me**	rice; paddy; boiled rice	Matisoff 1985a:057; LaPolla 1987:190

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**mi**[33]	rice (uncooked)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:390.37
Bai (Dali)	**me** 3	hulled rice	Dell 1981b:184
	me[33]	rice (uncooked)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:390.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**me**[33]	rice (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0439.48
	me[33]	rice (uncooked)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:390.36

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	米	rice grains, dehusked and polished	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1899
Chinese (GSR #)	**0598a**	rice grains, dehusked and polished	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1899

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**miei**	rice / paddy	LaPolla 1987:190
	miər	rice / paddy	LaPolla 1987:190
	miər/miei	rice (paddy)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:598a-c
Chinese (Old)	C.**mˤij?**	rice grains, dehusked and polished	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1899
	miər	rice / paddy	Matisoff 1985a:057

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**mejX**	rice grains, dehusked and polished	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1899
	miei:	rice / paddy	Matisoff 1985a:057

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**mǐ**	rice grains, dehusked and polished	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1899

Chinese comparandum

米 OC ***miər**, *GSR* #598a-c; B & S 2011: ***C.mˤij?**; Mand. **mǐ**.

(21) PTB *li SEED

1.1.1. Tani: ***li** SEED

**Tani*	***li**	seed	Sun 1993a:340

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	à-**lí**	seed	Sun 1993b
	e-**li**	paddy seed	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**li**	seed	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	um **li:**	seed (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.24
	um-**li:**	seed	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	um **li:**	seed	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:220.51
Galo	a **li**	seed; clan	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963 [a]
	a **lii**	seed (heirloom); seed; clan; lineage; breeder; heritage; stud (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a **lii**-a nə	seeds (n.)	GLDC 2009
	a **lii**-a ŋoo	generation (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ho **lii**	breeding mithun (n.)	GLDC 2009
	pə **lii**	seed corn/maize (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ree **lii**	stud (horse); breeding horse (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	rog **lii**	breeding fowl (n.)	GLDC 2009
	rum tum-a **lii**	clan (n.)	GLDC 2009
	rəg **lii**	breeding pig (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘bin **lii**	breeding goat (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ə **lii**	breeding cow (n.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	a-**li**~ am-**li**	seed	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**re:**	seed	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **li**	seed	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	xɑ[31]**lɯi**[35]	seed (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.23
	xɑ[31]**lɯi**[35]	seed	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:220.48
Idu	**lĩ**	seed	Anonymous 1962

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Zeme	he **lai**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	he **leu**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

[a] **lii** appears in the words for various breeding animals in Galo: **ho lii** ‘breeding mithun’, **rog lii** ‘breeding fowl’, **rəg lii** ‘breeding pig’, **bin lii** ‘breeding goat’, **jab lii** ‘breeding duck’, and **ə lii** ‘breeding cow’. It also appears in **a lii**, which has a number of apparently related glosses: “heritage”, “clan”, “seed (heirloom)”, “seed”, “lineage”, and “breeder”. lii also appears in the compounds **lii luk** “reborn”, **lii nam** “fruit (v.i.)”, **lii nam** “propagate”. **-lii** is glossed as “new (adj.)”; this may be related to the morpheme that appears in the words for breeding animals. **lii** also appears in various words for easily spread diseases: **ci lii-ram lii** “epidemic”, “virus”, **hi lii** “plague”,**buu lii** “plague (of rats)”, **rɨ lii** “plague”, “communicable disease”, “epidemic” ; this may be related to the “propagate” sense of **lii**. [Liberty Lidz]

[a] [Source Note] [G&C 57].

Mikir [Karbi]	chi **li**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
**Bodo-Garo*	*c(a?)-**li**	seed	Burling 1959:443
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***li**	seed	French 1983:542
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**li** la	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
Konyak	ü **li**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
Phom	šei-**li**	seed	Matisoff 1985a:114
	shei **li**	seed (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**li**^{33}	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.19
	li^{33}	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.47
	li^{33}∼n̩^{33}**li**^{33}	seed	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**le**^{13}	pit / stone	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	li	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.7
	li^{13}	seed	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**li**	seed	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**li**	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.07
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	thám **lí**	seed (n.)	Plaisier 2007
3.2. QIANGIC			
Pumi (Jiulong)	**lɛi**^{35}	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.10
Pumi (Qinghua)	**la**^{55}	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**le**^{35}	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**lø**^{53}	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**rlɯ**^{55}	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.13
Xumi	hɑ^{55}**lye**^{33}	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.20
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa^{33}**le**^{33}	seed	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Liangshan)	**lɻ**^{21}	seed	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{21}**lɻ**^{33}	hemp seed	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tʂhɯ^{33}**lɻ**^{34}	rice seed	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	dzɑ^{33}**l̩**^{34}	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.35
	l̩(ɻ)	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.21

(22) PTB *yəw SEED

The stronghold of this root is Loloish, with some support from Nungish.

4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	ɑŋ^{31}**yɯ**^{31}	seed	LaPolla 2003:490
Dulong	ɑŋ^{55}**jɯ**^{53}	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɑŋ^{31}**jɯ**^{53}	seed	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***yəw**^{2} SEED			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***yəw**^{2}	seed	Matisoff 2003a:620
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***je**^{3}	seed	Bradley 1979b:308B
	***yo**^{2}	seed	Bradley 1979b:308A
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	ɔ^{31}**zɔ**^{53}	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.33
	ɔ̀-**yɔ̂**	seed	Matisoff 1988a:1292
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{2}**z**ɻ^{3}	seed	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	á **jö**	seed	Hansson 1989:368
Akha (Thai)	á **jö**	seed	Hansson 1989:368
Hani (Lüchun)	á **jö**	seed	Hansson 1989:368
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{55}**zø**^{31}	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.31
Hani (Lüchun)	a^{55}**zø**^{31}	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	a^{55}**jø**^{31}	seed	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{55}**ji**^{31}	seed	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:220.32
Hani (Mojiang)	ɔ^{55}**ji**^{31}	seed (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0405.42
Sangkong	aŋ^{33} **ʑø**^{31}	seed	Matisoff 2003a:35

(23) PKC *tshii SESAME SEED

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tshii**	SESAME SEED	VanBik 2009:597
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**sîi**	sesame seed	VanBik 2009:597
Lai (Hakha)	**tshìi**	sesame seed	VanBik 2009:597
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**chhí**	sesame seed	VanBik 2009:597

(24) PTB *s-nam SESAME

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nam**	sesame	Weidert 1987:300; Matisoff 2003a:604; Benedict 1972:435
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	**nam**-pe	sesame	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**nam**-duŋ	sesame	Benedict 1972:435
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**nem**-po	sesame	Benedict 1972:435
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**snem**	sesame	Weidert 1987:300
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**^{2}nʌm(ʔ)**	sesame	Weidert 1987:300
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	tʃiŋ^{55}**nam**^{51}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.19
2.1.2. BODIC			
Motuo Menba	**nam** dʑur	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.07
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**nam** bɔːŋ	white variety of sesame	Weidert 1987:300
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**sənam**	sesame	Benedict 1972:435
Rawang	**ʃənam**^{33}	sesame	LaPolla 2003:514
Dulong	**sɯ**^{31}**nɑm**^{55}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.20
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***s/ʔ-nam**^{2} SESAME			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***s/ʔ-nam**^{2}	sesame	Matisoff 2003a:604
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Luxi)	**nam**^{55}pji^{51}	sesame	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**n̥am**^{31}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	**n̥ã**^{55}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.27
Burmese (Written)	**hnàm**	sesame	Weidert 1987:300
	hnâm	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
	hnàm	sesame	Benedict 1972:435
	hnɑm^{3}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**nɐ̱**^{35}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**nạ̱m**^{55}ləŋ^{55}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nạ̱m**^{21}pji̱^{51}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.30
	nʔàm	sesame	Weidert 1987:300
6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***s-nam**^{2} SESAME			
**Loloish*	***s-nam**^{2}	sesame	Weidert 1987:300; Bradley 1979b:289; Hansson 1989:388
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Kucong	**mɯ33** ɕi35	sesame	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**nu**^{11}ɕi^{11}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.43
Lahu (Yellow)	**nu**^{5}ɕi^{5}	sesame	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**nø**^{55}hɔ^{55}	sesame (N.)	Bradley 1994
	nø^{55}hɔ^{55}tshɤ^{33}	sesame oil	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**nm̀**	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
Akha (Yunnan)	**nm̀** sjhì	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
Akha (Thai)	**nm̀**-shì	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
Hani (Lüchun)	**nɔ** shì	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
	nɔ^{31}si^{31}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.41
Hani (Pijo)	**nỳ**	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
	nỳ sjhí	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
Hani (Wordlist)	**naoq** seil	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
Hani (Khatu)	**nì**	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
	nì sjhɛ́	sesame	Hansson 1989:388
Hani (Mojiang)	**nɣ**^{31}ʃɛ^{55}	sesame (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0435.42
Pyen	**nam31** tan45	sesame (Sesamum indicum D.C.)	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:034049
Sila	**nɛ21** hø55 lø55	sesame	KATO Takashi 2008:133
7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***hna [m]**	sesame	Benedict 1972:136n369
Pa-O	**nàm**	sesame, darker	Solnit 1989

(25) TGTM *^{A}kan food (cooked rice)

2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**kan**	food (cooked rice)	Mazaudon 1978:5
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{1}**kaẽ**	food (cooked rice)	Mazaudon 1978:5
Manang (Ngawal)	^{1}**kjɛ̃**	food (cooked rice)	Mazaudon 1978:5
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**kan**	food (cooked rice)	Mazaudon 1978:5
Tamang (Sahu)	^{1}**ken**	food (cooked rice)	Mazaudon 1978:5
Thakali (Marpha)	^{H}**kʌn**	food (cooked rice)	Mazaudon 1978:5
Thakali (Syang)	^{H}**kʌn**	food (cooked rice)	Mazaudon 1978:5
Thakali (Tukche)	^{H}**kʌn**	food (cooked rice)	Mazaudon 1978:5

(26) TGTM *^{B}grw $\frac{\textbf{a}}{\textbf{A}}$ grwa wheat

2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**grwa**/^{A}grwa	wheat	Mazaudon 1978:53
Manang (Ngawal)	^{4}**ʃɔ**	wheat	Mazaudon 1978:53
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**kwa**	wheat	Mazaudon 1978:53
Tamang (Sahu)	^{3}**wa**	wheat	Mazaudon 1978:53
Tamang (Taglung)	^{4}**hwa**	wheat	Mazaudon 1978:53
Thakali (Marpha)	^{4}**ko**	wheat	Mazaudon 1978:53
Thakali (Syang)	^{4}**ko**	wheat	Mazaudon 1978:53
Thakali (Tukche)	^{3}**to**	wheat	Mazaudon 1978:53
	^{4}**to**-sim	wheat	Mazaudon 1978:53

3.1.5 Fruits and vegetables

(1) PTani *ko-pak BANANA

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ko-pak**	banana	Sun 1993a:15
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	(kɯ-pa) **ko-pa**	banana	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ku-pak**	banana	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**'kopak**	banana (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**kopak**	banana	Simon 1976
Tagin	**kopak**	banana	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ko-pak**	banana	Sun 1993a

(2) PKC *ɓan-hlaa BANANA

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɓan-hlaa**	BANANA	VanBik 2009:3
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**ban lā**	banana	VanBik 2009:3
Tiddim	**bân-lăa**	banana	VanBik 2009:3
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**sbaang**	jungle banana species	VanBik 2009:3
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**băn-hlâa**	banana, plantain	VanBik 2009:3
Lushai [Mizo]	**bàl-hlă ≍ bàn-hlă**	banana	VanBik 2009:3
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**bā hlá**	banana, plantain	VanBik 2009:3

(3) PTB *mow-t BANANA

This root is firmly established for Tangkhulic, but the putative cognates are scattered and require confirmation.

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**mut** hai	banana	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***mot*** BANANA			
**Tangkhulic*	***mot***	banana	Mortensen 2012:545
Huishu	ʔa-**mo**-t^{h}u	banana	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**moʔ**-t^{h}u	banana	Mortensen 2012:Plants.068
Tangkhul	**mo**	banana	Bhat 1969:84
	mot	banana	Bhat 1969:84
	mot thei	banana	Marrison 1967
Tankghul (Central)	**mot**-t^{h}ai	plantain	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**mot**-t^{h}ai	plantain	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔə-**me**-tχa	banana	Mortensen 2012:Plants.068
Ukhrul	**mo**-t^{h}ej	banana	Mortensen 2012
	mot-t^{h}ej	plantain, banana	Mortensen 2012
2. Himalayish			
Thangmi	**mui**	banana	Weidert 1987:704
4. Nungic			
Rawang	tɕhɔŋ^{31} **mu**^{33}	banana	LaPolla 2003:449
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔmo**^{33}tʂhɿ̄^{21}	banana (plantain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0398.36

(4) PKC *ɓok-ɓoon ⩙ *ɓuk-ɓu BRINJAL / EGGPLANT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɓok***-ɓoon ⩙ ɓuk-ɓu	BRINJAL / EGGPLANT	VanBik 2009:10
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**bok**-bawn	brinjal	VanBik 2009:10
Tiddim	**bòk** bô:n	eggplant	VanBik 2009:10
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**buk**-bun	brinjal	VanBik 2009:10
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**bok**-bôon	brinjal, eggplant	VanBik 2009:10
Lai (Falam)	**bòk**-bòon	brinjal, eggplant	VanBik 2009:10
Lushai [Mizo]	**bawk** bâwn	brinjal (bengan, eggplant)	Marrison 1967

(5) PKC *man-taat BRINJAL / EGGPLANT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***man***-taat	BRINJAL / EGGPLANT	VanBik 2009:755
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**man**^{3} ta:^{2}	brinjal	VanBik 2009:755
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**míetaaw**	eggplant	VanBik 2009:755
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**mân** taat	brinjal	VanBik 2009:755
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**mai**-tyu	brinjal, egg fruit	VanBik 2009:755

(6) PKC *ʔan-kram CABBAGE / MUSTARD / GREENS

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ʔan***-kram	CABBAGE / MUSTARD / GREENS	VanBik 2009:1315
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**an** kam	cabbage	VanBik 2009:1315
	an kam te	mustard plant	VanBik 2009:1315
Thado	**ân** kàm	Chinese mustard green	VanBik 2009:1315
Tiddim	**an**^{1}**kam**^{1} teʔ^{3}	mustard leaves	VanBik 2009:1315
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**an**	vegetables, leaf (of plants)	VanBik 2009:1315
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔân**-trăm	cabbage, mustards, greens	VanBik 2009:1315
Lushai [Mizo]	**ăn**	generic name for all edible leaves and green food-stuff (n.)	VanBik 2009:1315

(7) PKar *haK^{D} CHILI PEPPER / PUNGENT

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***haK***^{D}	chili pepper, pungent	Luangthongkum 2013:48 [a]
Bwe	**hɛ**^{33}	chili pepper, pungent	Luangthongkum 2013:48
Kayah	**hɛ**^{55}	chili pepper, pungent	Luangthongkum 2013:48
Kayan	**hɛʔ**^{45}	chili pepper, pungent	Luangthongkum 2013:48
Kayaw	**hɛ**^{33}	chili pepper, pungent	Luangthongkum 2013:48
Pa-O (Southern)	**hap**^{21}	chili pepper, pungent	Luangthongkum 2013:48
Pa-O (Northern)	**hat**^{21}	chili pepper, pungent	Luangthongkum 2013:48
Pwo (Southern)	**ɣɛ**^{55}	chili pepper, pungent	Luangthongkum 2013:48
Sgaw (Northern)	**hɛ**^{33}	chili pepper, pungent	Luangthongkum 2013:48
Sgaw (Southern)	**hɛ**^{55}	chili pepper, pungent	Luangthongkum 2013:48

[a] [Source Note] NK and CK have tone D while SK languages have irregular tone changes, i.e. *D > A in Sgaw but > B in Pwo.

(8) PTani *kuŋ CUCUMBER

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***kuŋ***	cucumber	Sun 1993a:89
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	tà-**kú**	cucumber	Sun 1993b
	ta-**kuʔ**	cucumber	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	me **ku**	cucumber	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻməə **kuu**	cucumber; Cucumis (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Tagin	mɤ **kuŋ**	cucumber	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	ma-**kuŋ**	cucumber	Sun 1993a

(9) PKC *yil CUCUMBER

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***yil***	CUCUMBER	VanBik 2009:1193
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**panyí**	cucumber	VanBik 2009:1193
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zîl**	cucumber	VanBik 2009:1193

(10) PKar *ʔdej^{A} CUCUMBER

7. Karenic			
**Karen [Burling]*	***di***^{3}	cucumber	Luangthongkum 2013:72
**Karen*	***ʔdej***^{A}	cucumber	Luangthongkum 2013:72 [a]
Bwe	**dĩ**^{55}	cucumber	Luangthongkum 2013:72
Kayah	**də**^{33}	cucumber	Luangthongkum 2013:72
Kayaw	**di**^{55}	cucumber	Luangthongkum 2013:72
Pa-O (Southern)	**di**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	cucumber	Luangthongkum 2013:72
Pwo (Northern)	**thei**^{55}	cucumber	Luangthongkum 2013:72
Pwo (Southern)	**thei**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	cucumber	Luangthongkum 2013:72
Sgaw (Northern)	**di**^{33}	cucumber	Luangthongkum 2013:72
Sgaw (Southern)	**di**^{55}	cucumber	Luangthongkum 2013:72

[a] [Source Note] Pwo has an irregular initial, i.e. it should be d- instead of th-.

(11) PTani *braŋ-jom EGGPLANT

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***braŋ-jom***	eggplant	Sun 1993a:123
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**bja-jam**	eggplant	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**baŋ-jum**	eggplant	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**bayom**	brinjal (=eggplant)	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻbaayom	eggplant (n.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	**bayam**	brinjal / tomato	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**bɤyam**	brinjal (=eggplant)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ba-jom**	eggplant	Sun 1993a
Milang	**bayom**	brinjal (=eggplant)	Tayeng 1976

(12) PKar *s-gaN^{A} EGGPLANT

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***s-gaN***^{A}	eggplant	Luangthongkum 2013:100
Kayah	**kɛ**^{11}	eggplant	Luangthongkum 2013:100
Kayan	**kaŋ**^{33}	eggplant	Luangthongkum 2013:100
Kayaw	**-kɔ**^{33}	eggplant	Luangthongkum 2013:100
Sgaw (Southern)	**kɔ**^{33}	eggplant	Luangthongkum 2013:100
Sgaw (Northern)	**sə**^{11}**kɔ**^{33}	eggplant	Luangthongkum 2013:100

(13) IA *laśuna- GARLIC

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	***losun***	garlic	Sun 1993b
Miri, Hill	**losun**	garlic	Simon 1976
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**lasung**	garlic	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**lashaw**	garlic	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	saŋtəm **lasəŋ**	garlic, red ('Sangtam tribe' + 'garlic') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tsə̀mà-ɪ **lasəŋ**	garlic, white (Allium sativum) ('Assam Plain' + ANOM + 'garlic') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**lasen**	garlic	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**arsun** kelok	garlic	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ro-sun** gip-bok	garlic (n.)	Burling 2003:5.23-II:idx
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**lasung**	garlic	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**la**^{31}**son**^{33}	garlic	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:210.47
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Baram	**ləsun**	garlic (Nepali/Sanskrit loan)	Kansakar 2010:77
Kanauri	**lŏstöṅ**	garlic (n.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**l**^{h}**əsən**	garlic	Sharma 1982
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**losuna**	garlic	Rai 1985
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**la**^{31}**suɑn**^{55}	garlic	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**laʔ**^{31}**suan**^{35}	garlic	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**laʔ**^{31}**sɔn**^{35}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.29
Bola (Luxi)	**la**^{31}**sɔn**^{35}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**la**^{31}**sɔn**^{35}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**la**^{31}**sɒ̱n**^{33}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.33
Maru [Langsu]	**la**^{31}**sɔn**^{35}	garlic	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:210.43
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**la**^{31}**suɑ̃**^{55}	garlic (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**la**^{42}**sũa**^{35}	garlic	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:210.34

(14) PKar *srɔ^{B} HEMP

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***srɔ***^{B}	hemp	Luangthongkum 2013:144
Bwe	**θrɔ**^{33}	hemp	Luangthongkum 2013:144
Kayah	**so**^{11}	hemp	Luangthongkum 2013:144

Kayan	**θau**^{11}	hemp	Luangthongkum 2013:144
Kayaw	**so**^{11}	hemp	Luangthongkum 2013:144
Pa-O (Northern)	**sau**^{55}	hemp	Luangthongkum 2013:144
Pa-O (Southern)	**ɕau**^{33}	hemp	Luangthongkum 2013:144
Pwo (Northern)	**ɕjɔ**^{33}	hemp	Luangthongkum 2013:144
Pwo (Southern)	**θo**^{55}	hemp	Luangthongkum 2013:144
Sgaw (Northern)	**ɕɣɔ**$^{31\sim}$	hemp	Luangthongkum 2013:144
Sgaw (Southern)	**ɕɣɔ**$^{45'}$	hemp	Luangthongkum 2013:144

(15) PKC *seer LEMON / LIME (sour)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***seer**	LEMON / LIME (sour)	VanBik 2009:660
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**sek**	lemon	VanBik 2009:660
Sizang	**seak**	lime fruit	VanBik 2009:660
Thado	**sèʔ**	lemon	VanBik 2009:660
Tiddim	**seːk**^{3}	sour lime	VanBik 2009:660; Bhaskararao 1996:1549
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**sěer**	lemon	VanBik 2009:660
Lai (Falam)	**sèer**	lemon	VanBik 2009:660
Lushai [Mizo]	**sèer**	lemon, a lime, a citron (n.)	VanBik 2009:660
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**sȳ**-ká-thū	lemon plant (n.)	VanBik 2009:660

(16) PKar *khɔʔ^{D} MANGO

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***khɔʔ**^{D}	mango	Luangthongkum 2013:184
Kayah	**khɛ**^{55}	mango	Luangthongkum 2013:184
Kayan	**khauʔ**^{45}	mango	Luangthongkum 2013:184
Kayan (Pekon)	**k^{h}àu**	mango (N.)	Manson 2010
	θên **k^{h}àu**	mango [lit. tree-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**kho**^{33}	mango	Luangthongkum 2013:184
Pa-O (Northern)	**khɔʔ**^{21}	mango	Luangthongkum 2013:184
Pa-O (Southern)	**khɔʔ**^{21}	mango	Luangthongkum 2013:184
Pa-O	tə **khɔ́ʔ**	mango	Solnit 1989
	tə **khɔ́ʔ** khū	mango seed	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**khoʔ**^{45}	mango	Luangthongkum 2013:184
Pwo (Southern)	**khuʔ**^{21}	mango	Luangthongkum 2013:184
Sgaw (Southern)	**khoʔ**^{21}	mango	Luangthongkum 2013:184
Sgaw (Northern)	**khɔʔ**^{45}	mango	Luangthongkum 2013:184

(17) NEIA *haːy MANGO

Like many names for fruit, this root has possibly been borrowed into Tibeto-Burman from another source.

1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Kamarupan	**haːy**	mango	Matisoff 1985a:136
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***haay** MANGO			
**Chin*	***haay**	MANGO	VanBik 2009:726
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**hai**	mango	VanBik 2009:726
Sizang	**hai**	mango	VanBik 2009:726
Thado	**háay**	mango	VanBik 2009:726
Tiddim	**-haːi**	mango (n.)	Henderson 1965
	-haːi	mango	Matisoff 1985a:136
	haːi^{2}	mango	VanBik 2009:726; Bhaskararao 1996:413
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**ahoi**	mango	VanBik 2009:726
Cho (Mindat)	ng-**hai**	mango	VanBik 2009:726
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hâay**	mango	VanBik 2009:726
Lai (Falam)	**hǎay**	mango	VanBik 2009:726
Lushai [Mizo]	**hai**-favaːng	species of mango (n.)	Bhaskararao 1996:413
	thěi **hái**	mango	VanBik 2009:726
	thei **hai**	mango	Marrison 1967
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	nauwa **hei**	mango	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	**hei** nau	mango	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**hei** na thei	mango	Marrison 1967
	həy khá thəy	kind of fruit	Matisoff 1985a:136
	həy maŋ thəy	cardamom	Matisoff 1985a:136
	həy nɯ thəy	mango	Matisoff 1985a:136
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**hei** nou	mango	Marrison 1967

(18) PCC *vul MEDLAR / WILD APPLE

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***vul**	MEDLAR / WILD APPLE	VanBik 2009:1160
Lai (Hakha)	**vûl**	wild apple	VanBik 2009:1160
Lushai [Mizo]	**vúl**	Indian medlar (a deciduous European tree (Mespilus germanica) having white flowers and edible apple-shaped fruit)	VanBik 2009:1160

(19) PTB *b-tsuŋ ONION

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***btshong**	onion	Coblin 1986:114
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-tsoŋ**	onion	Matisoff 2003a:617
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	dʑa **ɕoŋ**	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.24
	ǰa-**soŋ**	green onion	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	dʑa **ɕoŋ**	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.51
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	**tɕom**-bu	garlic	Sun 1993b
	tɕuŋ-bu	green onion	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**tsoŋ**^{55}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.22
	tsoŋ^{55}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.49
Idu	**tsoŋ**^{55}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.50
Yidu	**tsoŋ**^{55}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.25
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**súŋ**	onion	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:73-1
	súŋ phro	garlic	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:73-1a
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Tilang)	**cong**	green onion	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tsoŋ**^{55}	green onion	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tsɔŋ**^{55}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.6
Cuona Menba	**tsɔŋ**^{55}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**tsoŋ**	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tsoŋ**	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**tsoŋ**	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**coŋ**	onion	Rangan 1975:67
Tibetan (Batang)	**tsû**^{55}mbo^{53}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tsoŋ**^{55}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tsoŋ**^{55}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.02
	tsoŋ^{55}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.2
Tibetan (Written)	**btsoṅ**	onion	Marrison 1967
	btsoŋ	onion	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1199g-h
	tsoŋ	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.01
	tsoŋ	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**tsoŋ**	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.04
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**tsoŋ**	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.12
Ergong (Danba)	**tsoŋ**	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tshuŋ** tsə	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.11
4. Nungic			
Nung	**tsho**^{55}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.21
Anong	**tsho**^{55}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.44
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**tshuŋ**^{31}	green onion	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	fɛ^{33}**tsho**^{33}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.47
Nusu (Northern)	**tsho**^{53}	green onion	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**tsho**^{53}	green onion	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**tsho**^{55}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tsho**^{55}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.45
Yi (Dafang)	**tshɔŋ**^{55}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.22
Yi (Mile)	ᴀ^{33}**tsho**^{33}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tsho**^{55}bɛ^{21}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tshu**^{33}ɣɑ^{21}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.37
Yi (Wuding)	**tshv̩**^{55}pv̩^{33}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu	**tsho**^{55}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tshɔ**^{55}	spring onion/scallion (N.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	ɒ^{44}**tshẓ**^{44}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.39
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ts'uŋ**	onion	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1199g-h

Chinese comparandum

蔥 OC ***ts'ung**, *GSR* #1199g-h; B & S 2011: ***ts^{hʕ}oŋ { [ts] ^{hʕ}oŋ}**; Mand. **cōng**.

(20) PTB *swa-n ONION / GARLIC

This root is well-attested in Tibeto-Burman and Chinese, but has a fortuitous resemblance to an Indo-Aryan root (Skt. *laśuna-*, Hindi *lahsun*, Nepali *lasun*). In fact, many Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. Maru **la**^{31}**sɔn**^{35}, Chang **lasung**, Lotha **lasen**, Bantawa **losuna**, and Jingpho **la**^{31}**son**^{33}) have borrowed the Indic root. In a couple of cases, a compound seems to be an Indic-TB hybrid, e.g. Achang **lɑ**^{31}**suɑn**^{55}.

Compound formations with this etymon show an interesting range of semantic associations, including BITTER (e.g. Lisu), CHICKEN (e.g. Burmese), WHITE (e.g. Burmese), and SMELLY (e.g. Lahu).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***swa-n**	onion; garlic	Matisoff 2003a:613; LaPolla 1987:99 [a]
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	kha-**tshuan**	onion, garlic (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:302
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**fu**^{55}	garlic	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:210.18
	fu^{55}bu^{55}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.18
Guiqiong	**su**^{53}	garlic	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:210.17
	ʂu^{55}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.16
Lyuzu	**fu**^{33}bu^{53}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.18
	fu^{33}khuæ^{53}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.18
Namuyi	**fu**^{33}	garlic	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:210.19
	fu^{31}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.46
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɕy**^{55}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.13
4. Nungic			
Nung	khuɑ^{31}**sui**^{55}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.21
Anong	khuɑ^{31}**sui**^{55}	garlic	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:210.44
Dulong	**su**^{53}	onion / scallion (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.20
Trung [Dulong]	**su**^{53}	garlic	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:210.46
	su^{53}dɔŋ^{55}	onion (green)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:209.46
Dulong	**sɔ**^{55}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**su**^{53}	garlic	LaPolla 1987:99
	su^{53} dɔŋ^{55}	green onion	LaPolla 1987:99
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**su**^{31} dɔŋ^{55}	green onion	LaPolla 1987:99; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

[a] [Source Note] [G&C p.10] (LaPolla 1987).

	su[53]	garlic	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:99
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	kă[31]**sun**[35]	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.28
	kă[31]**sun**[35]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.41
Burmese (Rangoon)	tɕɛʔ[4]**tθũ**[22]meʔ[4]	onion / scallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.27
	tɕɛʔ[4]**tθũ**[22]phju[22]	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	ce' **thun**	onion	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tɕɛʔ[44]**tθũ**[22]	onion (green)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:209.40
	tɕɛʔ[44]**tθũ**[22]phju[22]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.40
Burmese (Inscriptional)	ka **swan**	onion	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	krak'swan	onion	Okell 1971
	krak-**swan**	onion; garlic	Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:99; Marrison 1967
	krak **swan** phrū	garlic	Marrison 1967
	krɑk **thon**[2]	onion (green)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:209.39
	krɑk-**swɑn**	onion	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:175b
	krɑk[4] **tθon**[2] mrit[4]	onion / scallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.26
	krɑk[4] **tθon**[2] phru[2]	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.26
	krɑk **thon**[2] phru[2]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.39
Hpun (Northern)	kǰwè, kă **ʃwè** phyú (=w	garlic / onion (cf. WHITE)	Henderson 1986
Marma	kraʔ **θwaiŋ**	onion	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:73-1
	kraʔ **θwaiŋ** phru	garlic	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:73-1a
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***swan**[1/2]	garlic / onion	Bradley 1979b:286
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	kha[31]**si**[33]	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.47
Lalo	khà-**sjý**	garlic	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Southern)	**xu**[55]	garlic	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**zu**[35]	garlic	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**zu**[55]	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**zu**[55]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.45
Yi (Dafang)	kɯ[33]**sɯ**[33]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.22
Yi (Liangshan)	ka[33]**si**[33]	garlic	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ʂo**[55]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**so**[55]bɛ[21]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.26
Yi (Nanhua)	khɯ[21]**sɿ**[33]	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.37
	ʂu[55]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.24
	ʂu[55]phu̱[21]tɛ[33]	onion (green)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:209.24
Yi (Nanjian)	khɯ[21]**ɕy**[55]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.23
Yi (Weishan)	khɑ[21]**ɕy**[55]	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.36
Yi (Xide)	ka[33]**si**[33]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.21
	kɑ[33]**si**[33]	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu	**śū**-phu	onion	LaPolla 1987:99
	śū-phu-nù	garlic	LaPolla 1987:99 [a]
Lahu (Lancang)	phɯ[53]**ɕu**[11]	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.43
Lahu (Black)	phɯ[53]**su**[11]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.33
Lisu (Central)	hkwa[5]**-sye**[4]	garlic (sp.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	khuɑ[31]**se**[44]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.27
Lisu (Northern)	khwa[21]**sø**[33]	garlic (N.)	Bradley 1994
	khwa[21]**sø**[33] ɔ[55]ɲɔ[33]	garlic bolt	Bradley 1994
	khwa[21]**sø**[33]baʔ[21]	garlic clove	Bradley 1994
	khwa[21]**sø**[33]dzi[33]	garlic shoot	Bradley 1994
	khwa[21]**sø**[33]phja[21]	garlic leaf	Bradley 1994
	khwa[21]**sø**[33]tʃhɻ[33]	garlic bulb	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**ʂʐ̩**[55]mɒ[33]	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Dazhai)	**se**[55]bɔ[31]	onion (green)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:209.31
	xa[31]**se**[55]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**se**[55]bɔ[31]	onion / scallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.41
	xa[31]**se**[55]	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	kɔ[31]**se**[55]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.30
	se[55]pu[31]	onion (green)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:209.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**sɛ**[55]bo[31]bo[55]	green onion	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	sɛ[55]phu[55]	garlic	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**sɛ**[55]pu[31]	onion (green)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:209.32
	xɔ[31]**sɛ**[55]	garlic	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:210.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**sɛ**[55]pu[31]	onion / scallion (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0423.42
	xɔ[31]**sɛ**[55]	garlic (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.42
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**ʂɑ**[45]	garlic	Pelkey 2011:198
Southern Muji	a[55]**ɕɛ**[33]bi[55]	garlic	Pelkey 2011:198
Phola	ᵑqɑ[31]**sɛ**[55]	garlic	Pelkey 2011:198
Hlepho Phowa	**so**[55]mɑ[33]	garlic	Pelkey 2011:198
Phuza	**sɯ**[33]mʌ[33]	garlic	Pelkey 2011:198
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**fv**ㅏ	garlic	Michaud 2006–2009:3970
	fvㅏlu˥tu˥	garlic root	Michaud 2006–2009:4202
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**suân**	garlic	LaPolla 1987:99
	swân	garlic	LaPolla 1987:99
	swân	garlic	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:175b
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	dah **suahn**	garlic	Sun 1985b:299

[a] Contra DL:1195, Lahu **-phu-** in this compound seems to mean WHITE rather than the homophonous morpheme BULBOUS OBJECT.

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蒜 OC ***swân**, *GSR* #175b; Mand. **suàn**.

(21) PKC *may-tay PEACH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***may**-tay	PEACH	VanBik 2009:778
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**mei**-tei	peach	VanBik 2009:778
Tiddim	**mei**[2] tei[2]	peach; plum	Bhaskararao 1996:1097
	mei[2] thei[2]	peach	VanBik 2009:778
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**mày**-tăy	peach	VanBik 2009:778

(22) PTB *s-ŋak PLANTAIN / BANANA

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ŋak**	plantain / banana	Matisoff 2003a:606
	***ŋak**	plantain	Benedict 1972:477
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	***ŋak**-paʔ	banana	Sun 1993b
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**naʔ**[3] tang[1]	banana	Bhaskararao 1996:1161
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***ŋaːk**	plantain	French 1983:532
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Tangsa (Moshang)	yam **ŋa**	plantain	French 1983:462
	yam **nga**	banana	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**ŋa** ~ lə **ŋa** ~ lə **ŋu**	plantain	Benedict 1972:477
2. HIMALAYISH			
Nachereng	li-**ŋak**-si	plantain	Benedict 1972:477
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***ŋak**	plantain	Benedict 1972:477
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	bhoNga	banana flower	Rai 1985
	Naksi	banana	Rai 1985
	NaksiTaN	banana tree	Rai 1985
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	le-**ŋak**-si	plantain	Benedict 1972:477
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola (Luxi)	**ŋaʔ**[31]mjauʔ[31]	banana (plantain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0398.32
Burmese (Written)	**hŋak**	plantain, banana; plantain	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:477
	hŋak-pyaw-sî	banana	Matisoff 1978a:84 [a]
Langsu (Luxi)	**ŋɔʔ**[31]mjauk[31]	banana (plantain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0398.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ŋɔʔ**[55]mju̱k[55]	banana (plantain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0398.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋoʔ**[55]mjuʔ[21]	banana (plantain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0398.30
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central)	**ŋa̱**[53]	banana (plantain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0398.34
Yi (Nanhua)	**ɳæ̱**[33]pɯ̱[33]lɯ̱[33]ɱ[21]	banana (plantain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0398.37
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**ŋa**[42]sɯ[44]	banana (plantain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0398.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**ŋɑ**[33]tsi[33]	banana (sp.) (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu	**nga3**-sï5	banana	Matisoff 1972b:139
Lisu (Central)	**nga**[3]-sï[5]	plantain	Fraser 1922
Yi (Sani)	**ŋe**[44]phe[2]	banana (plantain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0398.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**nga** M (<Tone *3)	banana	Matisoff 1972b:139
Akha (Yunnan)	**ŋa** djɛq	wild banana	Hansson 1989:524
Akha (Thai)	**ŋa**-djɛq	wild banana	Hansson 1989:524
Hani (Lüchun)	**ŋá** djɛq	wild banana	Hansson 1989:524
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**ŋa**-tsu 55-33	banana	Matisoff 1972b:139
Hani (Mojiang)	**ŋa**[33]ɕi[31]	banana (plantain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0398.42
Mpi	**ɲaŋʔ4** sɯ2	banana	Matisoff 1972b:139
	ɲaŋʔ[4]-sɯ[2]	banana; bananas	Matisoff 1978a:84; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ɲaŋʔ[4]tu[4]	banana bud	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ɲaŋʔ[4]tɕeʔ[4]	banana tree stalk	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ɲaŋʔ[4]**tɕeʔ**[4]**t**[26]	banana trees	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ɲaŋʔ[4]tɕhe[6]	banana (sp.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ɲ[4]tɕeʔ[4]	banana tree stalk	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Phuza	**ŋa**[55]mɔ[33]	banana	Pelkey 2011:206
7. KARENIC			
Pa-O	**ŋa**	plantain	Benedict 1972:477
	ŋàʔ	banana	Solnit 1989
	ŋàʔ báŋ châ, ʔəbáŋ châ	shoot of banana plant	Solnit 1989
	ŋàʔ bòŋ	banana flower	Solnit 1989
	ŋàʔ kèn	banana stem heart, edible	Solnit 1989
	ŋàʔ mî	banana tree	Solnit 1989
Pwo	**yaʔ**	plantain	Benedict 1972:477
Karen (Sgaw)	**yaʔ**	plantain	Benedict 1972:477

[a] WB **hŋak-pyaw-sî** has been interpreted as "bird-happy-fruit", although this is very likely a folk etymology (cf. WB **hŋak**).

(23) PKar *luN[B] PUMPKIN (ashy)

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***luN**[B]	pumpkin (ash~)	Luangthongkum 2013:227
Bwe	**lu**[11]	pumpkin (ash~)	Luangthongkum 2013:227
Kayah	**li**[11]	pumpkin (ash~)	Luangthongkum 2013:227
Kayan	**lwaŋ**[11]	pumpkin (ash~)	Luangthongkum 2013:227
Kayaw	**lu**[11]	pumpkin (ash~)	Luangthongkum 2013:227
Pwo (Northern)	**lɑ̃**[11‥]	pumpkin (ash~)	Luangthongkum 2013:227
Pwo (Southern)	**lõ**[33]	pumpkin (ash~)	Luangthongkum 2013:227
Sgaw (Southern)	**lu**[31]	pumpkin (ash~)	Luangthongkum 2013:227
Sgaw (Northern)	**lu**[11‥]	pumpkin (ash~)	Luangthongkum 2013:227

(24) PTB *maːy PUMPKIN / GOURD

This root has been discovered in Kuki-Chin and Loloish.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***maːy**	pumpkin	Matisoff 2003a:601
1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Kamarupan	**maːy**	pumpkin	Matisoff 1985a:141
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***maay** PUMPKIN			
**Chin*	***maay**	PUMPKIN	VanBik 2009:781
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**mai**	pumpkin	VanBik 2009:781
Thado	**măay**	pumpkin	VanBik 2009:781
	mài	pumpkin	Thirumalai 1972:67
Tiddim	**-maːi**	pumpkin (golden) (n.)	Henderson 1965
	maːi	golden pumpkin	Matisoff 1985a:141

	ma:i²	pumpkin	VanBik 2009:781; Bhaskararao 1996:1063
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**a'moi**	pumpkin (n.)	VanBik 2009:781
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-mai	pumpkin	VanBik 2009:781
Khumi	**amaáy** athay	pumpkin	VanBik 2009:781
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**hlàm** hmăay	pumpkin	VanBik 2009:781
Lai (Hakha)	**mâay**	pumpkin	VanBik 2009:781
Lushai [Mizo]	**mai**	pumpkin	Marrison 1967
	māi	pumpkin (red)	Matisoff 1985a:141
	mái	red pumpkin	VanBik 2009:781
	mai	pumpkin	Bhaskararao 1996:1063
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**mai** hei	pumpkin	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ma** phu	pumpkin	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**má** phú?	pumpkin (n.)	Coupe 2007
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**mai** ko	gourd	Marrison 1967
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**ma**^{44}pa^{33}	pumpkin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:203.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**mɑ**^{44}pɑ^{44}	pumpkin	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	phɯ^{53}**mɯ**^{35}ɕi^{11}	pumpkin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0428.43
Lahu (Black)	p^{h}ə^{21}**mə**^{35}si^{11}	pumpkin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:203.33
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{33}**mu**^{55}	bottle gourd	Bradley 1994
	ji^{33}**mu**^{55}bø^{44}	bottle gourd (variety with long, thin top and big bottom)	Bradley 1994
	phy^{21}**mi**^{44}tɕwa^{33}	wax gourd vine	Bradley 1994
	phy^{21}**mɤ**^{44}	wax gourd	Bradley 1994
	phy^{21}**mɤ**^{44}ʃɻ^{55}	wax gourd seed	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	o^{55}phɣ^{11}**mɒ**^{33}	pumpkin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0428.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Yunnan)	**má** dɛ	pumpkin	Hansson 1989:59
Akha (Thai)	**má**-dɛ	pumpkin	Hansson 1989:209
Hani (Lüchun)	**má** dɛ á shì	pumpkin	Hansson 1989:209; Hansson 1989:59
Hani (Dazhai)	**ma**^{55}de^{33}	pumpkin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:203.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ma**^{55}de^{33}	pumpkin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0428.41
Hani (Pijo)	**má** tɛ	pumpkin	Hansson 1989:209
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ma**^{55}teŋ^{33}	pumpkin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:203.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ma**^{55}dɛ^{33}	pumpkin	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**mal** ddei	pumpkin	Hansson 1989:209
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	a^{44}p^{h}y^{22}**mɔ**^{21}	gourd	Pelkey 2011:191
	a^{44}ŋɛ^{33}**mɔ**^{21}	pumpkin; squash	Pelkey 2011:190
Southern Muji	a^{55}p^{h}ə^{33}**ma**^{21}ŋa^{33}	gourd reed-organ	Pelkey 2011:586
Phu Kha	ap^{35} k^{h}u^{53} **ma**^{31}	pumpkin	Fried 2000
Phuza	a^{33}p^{h}ə^{31}**mɛ**^{33}lɛ^{33}	gourd reed-organ	Pelkey 2011:586
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Thai)	í-**phù**	bottle gourd	Hansson 1989:167
Akha	**phù**	gourd	Hansson 1989:167
Akha (Yunnan)	ú **phù**	bottle gourd	Hansson 1989:167
Hani (Lüchun)	xhó **phù**	bottle gourd	Hansson 1989:167
Hani (Pijo)	**phfù**	gourd	Hansson 1989:167
	ú **phfù**	bottle gourd	Hansson 1989:167
Hani (Khatu)	**phm̀**	gourd	Hansson 1989:167
	ú **phm̀**	bottle gourd	Hansson 1989:167
Mpi	tɕho?^{5}**phu**^{5}	gourd	Hansson 1989:167
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	a^{44}**p**^{h}**y**^{22}mɔ^{21}	gourd	Pelkey 2011:191
Southern Muji	a^{55}**p**^{h}**ə**^{21}	gourd	Pelkey 2011:191
	a^{55}**p**^{h}**ə**^{33}ma^{21}ŋa^{33}	gourd reed-organ	Pelkey 2011:586
Phola	^{ŋ}kɥ^{23}**p**^{h}**u**^{23}	gourd	Pelkey 2011:191
Hlepho Phowa	a^{21}**p**^{h}**ə**^{55}	pumpkin; squash	Pelkey 2011:190
	a^{21}**p**^{h}**ə**^{55}ko^{21}lo^{21}	gourd	Pelkey 2011:191
Phuza	a^{33}**p**^{h}**ə**^{31}mɛ^{33}lɛ^{33}	gourd reed-organ	Pelkey 2011:586
	a^{55}**p**^{h}**ɛ**^{33}	gourd	Pelkey 2011:191

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匏 OC ***b'ộg***, *GSR* #1113f 'gourd'; Schuessler 2007:409 ***brû***; B & S 2011: ***b^{ʂ}ru {(Cə.) [b] ^{ʂ}ru}***; Mand. **páo**.
瓢 OC ***b'i̯og***, *GSR* #1157k 'gourd'; Schuessler 2007: (***biau***); B & S 2011: ***bew {(Cə.) [b] ew}***; Mand. **piáo**.

(25) PLB *pu PUMPKIN / GOURD

6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***pu²**	pumpkin / gourd	Matisoff 2003a:607
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**bhû**	gourd	Hansson 1989:167; Benedict 1976a
	bù < bhù	gourd	Benedict 1972:22n75
Hpun (Northern)	è **phù**	gourd	Henderson 1986
	è **phù** pà?	gourd creeper	Henderson 1986
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*(?ə) **pu²**	gourd (water carrier); gourd	Bradley 1979b:247; Hansson 1989:167
	***pe²**/³	pumpkin	Bradley 1979b:293
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	á-**phỳ**	pumpkin	Björverud 1994
	bý	lusheng / gourd pipe	Björverud 1994
Yi (Mile)	ʌ^{55}**p**^{h}**u**^{21}	pumpkin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:203.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ʌ^{55}**p**^{h}**ɯ**^{21}	pumpkin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:203.26
Yi (Nanjian)	ɑ^{55}**p**^{h}**y**^{21}	pumpkin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:203.23
Yi (Weishan)	ɑ^{55}**phy**^{21}	melon; gourd; pumpkin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0427.36; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0428.36
Yi (Wuding)	u^{33}**phy̩**^{55}	melon / gourd (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0427.38
	u^{33}**phy̩**^{55}ŋe^{11}thɒ^{11}	pumpkin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0428.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**phü** / **phö**	gourd	Benedict 1972:22n75
Jinuo	ji^{42}tʃho^{55}**pu**^{44}khui^{44}	ladle (gourd) / dipper (wooden) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0564.44
Lahu (Lancang)	**phɯ**^{53}mɯ^{35}ɕi^{11}	pumpkin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0428.43
Lahu (Black)	**p**^{h}**ə**^{21}mə^{35}si^{11}	pumpkin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:203.33
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{1}ka^{6}**phy̩**^{3}ɕi^{5}	bottle gourd	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	a^{1}-**hpū**^{5}	pumpkin	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}næ^{55} a?^{21}**py**^{33}	Chinese trichosanthes gourd (with vine, fruit and root used as herbal medicine) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**phu**^{21} tsɔ^{35}mɤ^{44}	base of a pumpkin	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**phy**^{21}	pumpkin; melon (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**phy**^{21} ni^{35}ma^{33}	pumpkin seed; pumpkin pulp	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**phy**^{21}mɔ^{21}	old pumpkin	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**phy**^{21}ʃɻ^{55}	pumpkin seed for sowing	Bradley 1994
Lisu	a **phü**	gourd	Benedict 1972:22n75
Lisu (Northern)	**phy**^{21}mi^{44}tɕwa^{33}	wax gourd vine	Bradley 1994
	phy^{21}mɤ^{44}	wax gourd	Bradley 1994
	phy^{21}mɤ^{44}ʃɻ^{55}	wax gourd seed	Bradley 1994
	phy^{21}tɕhɯ^{33}	bottle gourd	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ɑ^{55}**p**^{h}**u**^{31}	pumpkin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:203.27
Yi (Sani)	m̩^{55}**phe**^{44}	ladle (gourd) / dipper (wooden) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0564.39
Sani [Nyi]	o-**phu**-ma	gourd	Benedict 1972:22n75
Yi (Sani)	o^{55}**phy̩**^{11}	melon / gourd (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0427.39
	o^{55}**phy̩**^{11}mɒ^{33}	pumpkin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0428.39

(26) PLB *blum² TARO

6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***blum²**	taro	Matisoff 2003a:585
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**pɹɛ**^{33}vu^{33}	taro	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:196.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**pɹɛ**^{44}~**pɹɛ**^{44}vu^{33}	taro	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	**pɛ**^{53}si^{11}phu^{33}	taro	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:196.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**pɛ**^{3}ɕi^{5}	taro	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Luquan)	**be**^{31}	taro (n.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**bi**^{41}	taro	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:196.27
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**bi**^{55}	taro (n.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**bỳm**-ma	taro (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:850
Hani (Dazhai)	**bø**^{31}si^{31}	taro	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:196.31
Hani (Caiyuan)	**pe**^{31}y̩^{33}	taro	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:196.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**bjm̩**^{31}ma^{33}	taro	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**pɛ**^{31}ɕi^{31}	taro	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:196.32
Côông [Phunoi]	**pḿ**-sì	taro (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:850
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	a^{33}**tɬɛ**^{22}	taro	Pelkey 2011:208
Southern Muji	a^{33}**dʒo**^{55}	taro	Pelkey 2011:208
Phola	**ɬæ**^{31n}ti^{33}	taro	Pelkey 2011:208
Hlepho Phowa	a^{55}**tɬɛ**^{55}	taro	Pelkey 2011:208
Phu Kha	a^{13} **dlɛʔ**^{35}	taro	Fried 2000
Phuza	a^{33}**tɬɛ**^{33}	taro	Pelkey 2011:208

(27) PKC *ɓaal TARO / ARUM

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɓaal**	TARO / ARUM	VanBik 2009:50
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**bâal**	taro	VanBik 2009:50
Tiddim	**ba:l**^{1}	taro	VanBik 2009:50; Bhaskararao 1996:61
	ʼba:l	taro (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**baay**	generic term for kochu	VanBik 2009:50
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**băal**	generic name for edible arum bulbs and the plants on which they grow, the taro of the Pacific island (n.)	VanBik 2009:50
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**bal**	taro	Marrison 1967

(28) PTB * $\frac{g}{s}$ -rwa TARO / YAM / TUBER

The Written Tibetan comparison with *GSR* #97o is due to Gong 2001 #28, who reconstructs PST ***grwa**. *STC* reconstructs 薯 as PTB ***źra**, which he regards as a doublet of his PTB ***śra**, reconstructed in *STC* #434 (but mistakenly listed as ***s-ra** in the Index p. 207).

We are regarding both Chinese forms cited as allofamically related.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***grwa**	taro / potato	Matisoff 2003a:173, 174
	***s-r(y)a**	yam / potato	Matisoff 2003a:78, 173
	***s-ra**	potato, yam	Benedict 1972:434
	***śrɑ**	potato / yam	Chou Fa-kao 1972:45
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hraa** YAM / POTATO			
**Chin*	***hraa**	YAM / POTATO	VanBik 2009:1102
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**ha** kai	yam	VanBik 2009:1102
Thado	**háa**	yam	VanBik 2009:1102
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**gha**	yam, Indian potato	VanBik 2009:1102
Khumi	**hóo**	jhum potato	VanBik 2009:1102
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	ba-**hrâa**	yam	VanBik 2009:1102
Lushai [Mizo]	ba-**hra**	potato, yam; yam	Benedict 1972:434; Marrison 1967
	hrá kài	name of a species of wild edible yam (n.)	VanBik 2009:1102
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**ha**	potato, yam	Benedict 1972:434
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**tha**	potato, yam	Benedict 1972:108n304; Benedict 1972:434
	tha rem	yam	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**tha**	potato, yam	Benedict 1972:108n304; Benedict 1972:434

1.7.1.4. DEORI			
Deori/Deuri	**ta**	yam	Brown 1895:69
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**gró**-ma	medicinal herb, potato	Jäschke 1881:p.78
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**di̱o**/źi̱wo	bulb / tuber / potato	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:45
	d'i̱o / źi̱wo	potato, bulb, tuber	Benedict 1972:108n304

Chinese comparandum

薯 OC ***d'i̱o***, not in *GSR* #45; Mand. **shǔ**.
芋 OC ***gi̱wo*** 'taro', *GSR* #97o; B & S 2011: ***ɢʷa-s {[ɢ]ʷ(r)a-s}***; Schuessler 2007:589 ***wah***; Mand. **yù**.

(29) PTani *lap WILD GREEN ONION

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***lap**	wild green onion	Sun 1993a:465
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	ta-**le**	wild green onion	Sun 1993a
	tà-**le**	wild green onion	Sun 1993b
	ta-**le**	onion; leek	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**lap**	wild green onion; wild vegetable	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	ta **lap**	onion	Das Gupta 1963
	'ta **lap**	onion (wild); spring onion; Allium; scallion (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Nishing	ta **lap**	onion	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	ta **lop**	onion	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**lap**	wild green onion	Sun 1993a
Milang	de-**lap**	onion	Tayeng 1976

(30) PTB *kywəy YAM

Mpi seems to have developed a doublet from this complex initial group.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kywiy**	yam	LaPolla 1987:14; Benedict 1972:238
	***kywəy**	yam	Matisoff 2003a:598; Benedict 1972:51n169
1.1.2. DENG			
Digaro	**gi**	yam	Benedict 1972:238
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**skyi**-ba	medicinal plant; potato	LaPolla 1987:14; Benedict 1972:238
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***k(w)i**	yam	Benedict 1972:238
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Balali	**khu**	yam	Benedict 1972:238
Limbu	**khe**	yam, potato; yam	Michailovsky 1989b; Benedict 1972:238
	khe:	arum / yam	Weidert 1987:129
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Kulung	tel **khe**	yam	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**ki**	yam	Benedict 1972:238
	ki:	tuber / radish / potato	Driem 1993
Sampang	**khi**	yam	Benedict 1972:238
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Longxi)	**kà** pú	root	Evans 1999:470
Qiang (Mianchi)	(phò) **kè kè**	root	Evans 1999:470
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**gi**	yam; yam, root	LaPolla 1987:14; Benedict 1972:238
Anong (Rawang)	**gi**	yam, root	Benedict 1972:56n185
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**gui**^{55}	yam	LaPolla 1987:14
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**kywè**	arum / yam	Weidert 1987:129
	kywê	wild yam	Benedict 1976a
	kywè	yam; wild yam	LaPolla 1987:14; Benedict 1972:238
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lisu (Northern)	a^{21}**jæ**^{33}	glutinous yam (N.)	Bradley 1994
	thɔ^{35}**jæ**^{33}	kind of wild taro, Amorphophallus rivieri (N.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Mpi	**kwai**^{4}	taro (sp.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ŋ^{2}**kjo**^{4}	potatoes, sweet	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

(31) PTk *paj YAM

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***paj**	yam	Mortensen 2012:597
Champhung	**pa**-t^{h}ai	yam	Brown 1837
Tangkhul	ha **pai**	yam	Marrison 1967
Tankghul (Central)	**ber**-ha	yam	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**ber**-ha	yam	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	la-suk-**pai**	yam	Brown 1837
Ukhrul	kə-**paj** kə-tha	yam	Mortensen 2012

(32) PKC *ɓaa YAM

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɓaa**	YAM	VanBik 2009:59
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ba**	yam	VanBik 2009:59
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**bâa**	yam	VanBik 2009:59
Lai (Falam)	**báa**	yam	VanBik 2009:59
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**bà**-bá-hrà	yam	VanBik 2009:59

(33) PTB *m-n(w)ay YAM / TARO

Forms with initial ***m-*** are e.g. Lahu **mə̄** show preemption by the nasal prefix.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-n(w)ay**	yam	Matisoff 1985a:165; Matisoff 2003a:215, 217
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Ao*	*(a-)**məj**	TARO	Bruhn 2014a:II.223
Ao (Chungli)	(**ma**^{3})**nə**^{1}	taro (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.223
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **mi**	taro	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**mi** jasə̀?	yam, fermented (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**mi**	yam (n.)	Coupe 2007 [a]
Lotha Naga	**ma**^{3}**ni?**^{3}	taro (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	mani	taro; yam	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mání	yam	Matisoff 1985a:165
	mani	taro	Murry *et al.* 1978:122
Sangtam	pa **nu**	taro	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**ni** chang	taro	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**nai**	yam	Marrison 1967
	nai^{31}	taro	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:196.47
	nài	yam	Matisoff 1985a:165
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**mui**^{31}	taro	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:196.41
Achang (Luxi)	**mui**^{51}	taro	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Maru [Langsu]	**mɔi**^{35}	taro	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:196.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mui**^{21}	taro	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:196.42
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Northern)	**muɛ**^{35}	taro	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**muɛ**^{55}	taro	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:196.45
Nusu (Southern)	**muɯi**^{55}	taro	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**mə̄**	yam	Matisoff 1985a:165
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**mɔ̄**	yam	Matisoff 1985a:165
7. KARENIC: ***hnwɛ**^{B}* YAM, POTATO			
**Karen*	***hnwɛ**^{B}	yam, potato	Luangthongkum 2013:337
**Karen [Burling]*	***mwɛ**^{2}	yam, potato	Luangthongkum 2013:337
**Karen*	***nwéq**	yam (white)	Jones 1961:61
**Karen (TP)*	***nwéq**	yam (white)	Jones 1961:61
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***nwéq**	yam (white)	Jones 1961:61
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***nwé?**	yam (white)	Jones 1961:61
**Karen (Pwo)*	***néq**	yam (white)	Jones 1961:61
Bwe	**nwɛ**^{33}	yam, potato	Luangthongkum 2013:337
Kayan	**nwɛ**^{11}	yam, potato	Luangthongkum 2013:337
Kayaw	**nɛ**^{11}	yam, potato	Luangthongkum 2013:337
Pa-O	**nwé**	yam; yam (white)	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:61
	nwe	yam (white)	Benedict 1972:149n409
Pa-O (Southern)	**nwɛ**^{33}	yam, potato	Luangthongkum 2013:337
Pa-O (Northern)	**nwɛ**^{55}	yam, potato	Luangthongkum 2013:337
Palaychi	**nwɛ**	yam	Benedict 1972:149n409
	nwèq	yam (white)	Jones 1961:61
Pwo (Northern)	**nɛ**^{33}	yam, potato	Luangthongkum 2013:337
Pwo (Southern)	**nɛ**^{55}	yam, potato	Luangthongkum 2013:337
Pwo (Bassein)	**nài**	yam (white)	Jones 1961:61
Pwo (Moulmein)	**né?**	yam (white)	Jones 1961:61
Sgaw	**nwɛ**	yam	Matisoff 1985a:165
Sgaw (Northern)	**nwɛ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	yam, potato	Luangthongkum 2013:337
Sgaw (Southern)	**nwɛ**^{45,}	yam, potato	Luangthongkum 2013:337
Sgaw (Bassein)	**nwè**	yam (white)	Jones 1961:61
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**nwé?**	yam (white)	Jones 1961:61

[a] Coupe revises this gloss to 'taro' (p.c. Daniel Bruhn 2013).

(34) TGTM *^{B}no: garlic

2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**no:**	garlic	Mazaudon 1978:66
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{3}**nu**	garlic	Mazaudon 1978:66
	^{4}**nu**	garlic	Mazaudon 1978:66
Manang (Ngawal)	^{4}**no**	garlic	Mazaudon 1978:66
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**no**	garlic	Mazaudon 1978:66
Tamang (Sahu)	^{4}**no:**	garlic	Mazaudon 1978:66
Tamang (Taglung)	^{4}**no:**	garlic	Mazaudon 1978:66
Thakali (Marpha)	^{4}**no**	garlic	Mazaudon 1978:66
Thakali (Syang)	^{4}**no**	garlic	Mazaudon 1978:66
Thakali (Tukche)	^{4}**no**	garlic	Mazaudon 1978:66

3.1.6 Extracts and processed forms

(1) PKC *taay BEER RESIDUE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***taay**	BEER RESIDUE	VanBik 2009:179
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**tâay**-tsèe	beer residue	VanBik 2009:179
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**tai**	beer residue	VanBik 2009:179
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tâay**	beer residue	VanBik 2009:179

(2) PKC *ɗaay BIRD-LIME

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɗaay**	BIRD-LIME	VanBik 2009:61
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**dǎay**	bird-lime	VanBik 2009:61
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	vāw-**dia**	bird-lime	VanBik 2009:61

(3) PKC *me? ≍ *hme? CURRY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***me? ≍** hme?	CURRY	VanBik 2009:760
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**meh**	curry	VanBik 2009:760
Thado	**mèe**	curry	VanBik 2009:760
Tiddim	**me?**^{3}	curry	VanBik 2009:760
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**meh** hmeh vä	distribute the meat (v.)	VanBik 2009:760
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			

Lai (Falam)	**hmè?**	curry, dish	VanBik 2009:760
Lai (Hakha)	**me?**	curry, dish	VanBik 2009:760
Lushai [Mizo]	**hmèh**	one's rice or principal food - such as meat, fish, curry, etc.)	VanBik 2009:760

(4) TGTM *ᴮkʰu CURRY / SIDE DISH

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*ᴮ**kʰu**	vegetable or meat dish, curry	Mazaudon 1994:110
Gurung	²**kʰu**	soup / broth	Mazaudon 1994:109
Tamang (Risiangku)	²**kʰu**	vegetable or meat dish	Mazaudon 1994:110
Tamang (Sahu)	ʾ**kʰu**	cooked vegetable	Taylor *et al.* 1972:4.45
	²**kʰu**	cooked vegetable	Mazaudon 1994:109
Tamang (Taglung)	**hu**	side-dish	Mazaudon 1994:109
Thakali (Syang)	⁵³**kʰu**	vegetable dish	Mazaudon 1994:110
Thakali (Tukche)	ᴴ**kʰu**	soup / broth	Mazaudon 1994:109

(5) PTB *h(y)an CURRY / VEGETABLE DISH

For a phonosemantically similar root, see PTB ***h(w)aŋ** RICE / CURRY (§3.1.6).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***h(y)an**	curry / vegetable dish	Matisoff 2003a:594

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ʔan** VEGETABLES / PLANT (edible)

**Chin*	***ʔan**	VEGETABLES / PLANT (edible)	VanBik 2009:516

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**an**	vegetables, leaf (of plants)	VanBik 2009:516

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**ʔân**-hnaʔ	vegetables, edible plants	VanBik 2009:516
Lushai [Mizo]	**ăn**	generic name for all edible leaves and green food-stuff (n.)	VanBik 2009:516

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-haːn** CURRY

**Central Naga*	*a-**haːn**	CURRY	Bruhn 2014a:III.164
**Ao*	*(a-)**hən**	CURRY	Bruhn 2014a:II.141
Ao (Chungli)	**an**	curry (n.)	Marrison 1967
	an³	curry (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	a³-**un**³	curry (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.141
	á **ún** [áwún]	curry	Temsunungsang 2009:1b
	a **on**	vegetable	Marrison 1967
	³a³**un**	soup / curry	Weidert 1987:38
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**en** so	vegetable	Marrison 1967
	en tsü	juice	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**ən** tʃhu	curry (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o¹-**han**³	curry (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.164
	o¹-jo³-**han**²	vegetable (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	o **han**	curry (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **han**	vegetable; curry	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:26
	o yo **han**	vegetable	Murry *et al.* 1978:132
	yolan **han** lan	vegetable	Murry *et al.* 1978:132
	¹o³**han(ʔ)**	soup / curry	Weidert 1987:38
Sangtam	**hi**	curry (n.)	Marrison 1967
	hi tsukiyong	vegetable	Kumar 1973a

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ɣan**	soup; curry	Weidert 1987:38; Matisoff 1994e

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***han** CURRY / GREEN VEGETABLE

**Tangkhulic*	***han**	curry / green vegetable	Mortensen 2012:459
Kachai	**hɐn**-cuŋ-**hɐn**	mustard greens	Mortensen 2012:Plants.107
	hɐn-ro	vegetable (general)	Mortensen 2012:Plants.106
	hɐn-tɕuŋ-**hɐn**	mustard greens	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**hɐn**	curry	Mortensen 2012:Plants.168
Tangkhul	**hən**	curry	Bhat 1969:87
	kayang **han**	mustard	Marrison 1967
	²**hən**	soup / curry	Weidert 1987:38
Tusom	ʔə-**hẽ**	curry	Mortensen 2012:Plants.169
Ukhrul	**hɐn**	curry	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**han** gam	mustard	Marrison 1967
	yen caŋ	curry	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	yen chang	curry (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**han**	vegetable	Marrison 1967
	han	curry (n.)	Marrison 1967
	han jang	mustard	Marrison 1967

[a] [Source Note] leaf-curry

(6) PNC *vuy FLOUR

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Northern Chin*	***vuy**	FLOUR	VanBik 2009:1148
Sizang	tāng **vūi**	flour	VanBik 2009:1148
Tiddim	buʔ³ **vui**²	rice flour	VanBik 2009:1148

(7) PKC *tshaŋ FLOUR / BREAD

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tshaŋ**	FLOUR / BREAD	VanBik 2009:588

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**sang**	flour, bread	VanBik 2009:588

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**sàŋ**	flour, bread	VanBik 2009:588
Lai (Hakha)	**tshăŋ**	flour, bread	VanBik 2009:588
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhang**	bread	Marrison 1967
	chhàng	bread, a glutinous dumpling	VanBik 2009:588
	chhang phut	flour	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**vìa**-chhā	bread	VanBik 2009:588

(8) PL *raŋ² GREEN VEGETABLE / CABBAGE / MUSTARD

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**ɡ̈ɔ̂**-cá	vegetable / greens / mustard / cabbage	Matisoff 1972b:49
	ɣɔ⁵³tsᴀ³⁵phu³³	cabbage (Chinese)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:207.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ɣɔ**³na⁶qu⁷	mustard greens	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣɔ³tsa⁴	Chinese cabbage	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**o**-tše 11-55	vegetable / greens / mustard / cabbage	Matisoff 1972b:49

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ɣɔ̀**	cabbage	Hansson 1989:279
Akha (Yunnan)	**ɣɔ̀** pàq	cabbage	Hansson 1989:470
Akha (Thai)	**ɣɔ̀**-pàq	cabbage	Hansson 1989:470
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɣo** pàq	cabbage	Hansson 1989:470
Hani (Pijo)	**kò**	cabbage	Hansson 1989:279
	kò njí	cabbage	Hansson 1989:279
	kù ní	cabbage	Hansson 1989:470
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɣɔ**³¹phju⁵⁵	Chinese cabbage	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**hhoq** bavq	cabbage	Hansson 1989:470
Hani (Khatu)	**kù**	cabbage	Hansson 1989:279
	kù njí	cabbage	Hansson 1989:470

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ɣu**²²pʰɛ²¹tɕɛ⁴⁵	cabbage greens	Pelkey 2011:196
	ɣu̱⁴⁵tʰɔ³³pu̱⁴⁵	cabbage (or baicai)	Pelkey 2011:195
Phola	**ɣɔ**³¹kʰi⁵⁵ɬu⁵⁵	cabbage (or baicai)	Pelkey 2011:195
	ɣɔ³¹n̥u⁵⁵	cabbage greens	Pelkey 2011:196
Hlepho Phowa	**hə**⁵⁵pʰɛ³³tɕɛ⁵⁵	cabbage greens	Pelkey 2011:196
	hə⁵⁵tɕɛ²¹	cabbage (or baicai)	Pelkey 2011:195
	hə⁵⁵tɕɛ²¹pʰɛ³³	cabbage greens	Pelkey 2011:196
	hə⁵⁵tɕɛ²¹tʰʰa⁵⁵sɔ³³	cabbage (or baicai)	Pelkey 2011:195
Phuza	**wɔ**³³pʰɛ³¹	cabbage greens	Pelkey 2011:196

(9) PTB *yəw LIQUOR

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***yu(w)**	liquor; liquor, wine, beer	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1096a-g; Benedict 1972:94
	***yəw**	liquor	Matisoff 2003a:620

1.1.2. Deng

Digaro	**yu**	liquor, wine, beer	Benedict 1972:94

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***yuu** BEER / LIQUOR

**Chin*	***yuu**	BEER / LIQUOR	VanBik 2009:1188

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**zúu**	beer	VanBik 2009:1188
Tiddim	**zu**²	rice beer	VanBik 2009:1188

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**a** yü˝	beer	VanBik 2009:1188
Cho (Mindat)	**yu**	beer	VanBik 2009:1188

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**zûu**	beer, liquor	VanBik 2009:1188
Lai (Falam)	**zŭu**	beer	VanBik 2009:1188
Lushai [Mizo]	**zú**	beer or any fermented liquor	VanBik 2009:1188
	zu	liquor, wine, beer	Benedict 1972:94

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Yimchungrü	**you**	rice-beer	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**yu**	liquor, wine, beer	Benedict 1972:94

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**zəw** garan	beer (rice, filtered, very pungent)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**džu**	liquor, wine, beer	Benedict 1972:94

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**tśu**	liquor, wine, beer	Benedict 1972:94

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Thebor	**yu**	liquor, wine, beer	Benedict 1972:94

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**yu**	liquor, wine, beer	Benedict 1972:94

2.1.5. Dhimal

Dhimal	**yu**	liquor, wine, beer	Benedict 1972:94

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	酒	wine	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1468; Nagano & Prins 2013:0353

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tsi̱ôg**/tsi̱ə̯u	spirits / wine	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1096k
	zi̱ôg/i̱ə̯u	wine-must (wine vessel)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1096a-g

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**jiŭ**	liquor	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

酉 OC ***zi̱ôg**, *GSR* #1096a 'spirits, wine'; Schuessler 2007:581 ***juʔ**; B & S 2011: ***m.ruʔ** ; Mand. **yǒu**.
酒 OC ***tsi̱ôg**, *GSR* 1096k 'spirits, wine'; Schuessler 2007:321 ***tsju(ʔ)**; B & S 2011: ***tsuʔ**; Mand. **jiŭ**.

(10) PTani *poŋ LIQUOR

J. Sun regards this reconstruction as somewhat questionable, because of the irregular Bokar reflex.

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***poŋʔ**	liquor	Sun 1993a:241

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**o**	liquor	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	o(a-la)	liquor, beer	Sun 1993b
Bengni	am-kur u-**poː**	barley wine	Sun 1993b
	poː-laː	rice wine	Sun 1993b
	poː-nɯː	fermented rice in rice wine	Sun 1993b
	tɯ-puː u-**poː**	maize wine	Sun 1993b
	u-**poː**	liquor; wine	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	u-**poː**-dɯk	drunk	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**oː**	liquor	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	oː kəŋ	brew (liquor)	Sun 1993b
	poŋ-eː	wine lees	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**oː**	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.51
Galo	o **po**	beer	Das Gupta 1963
	po ka	beer	Das Gupta 1963
	po pur:	strainer for pressing beer	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻi si-ʻo **poo**	drink (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻo **poo**	liquor; rice beer (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻ**poo** bor	filter (rice beer, large) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**poo** daa	rice beer (prime) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**poo** kaa	rice beer (black) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**poo** kik	sediment (in rice beer) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**poo** nə	fermented rice; rice (fermented) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

	‘poo pur	filter (for rice beer) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘poo ro	rice beer (black) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘poo rɨɨ	rice beer (second) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	o **po**	beer; wine	Das Gupta 1969; Das Gupta 1969
	o **po** ling-to	brew (rice-beer)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	o **po**	spirit (liquor) (n.)	Das Gupta 1983
	o **po** dek-nam	intoxicate (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	po bɯm	basket for keeping country liquor	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**poŋ**	liquor	Sun 1993a
Damu	**po:**-nə	wine lees	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**poŋ**	wine yeast	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**po:**	liquor (beer)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**po:** dok	drunk	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**po:** kɯ	strong (of wine)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**po:** ləm-nə	brew wine	Sun 1993b

(11) PTB *m-dzəy LIQUOR

This root seems to be independent from PTB ***yit** DRUNK (§1.3.5.9).

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	**ji²**	rice beer (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.122

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**bzi**	drunk	Sun 1985c:545
	bzi	drunk, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1818.01
	bzi	drunk	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:779.1

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***m-dzəy¹** LIQUOR

**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-dzəy¹**	liquor	Matisoff 2003a:588

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***ji¹**	liquor	Bradley 1979b:287; Hansson 1989:117
Lolo	**ntʂ‘ʐ**	liquor	Benedict 1972:38n123

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**djə́**	liquor	Björverud 1994
Nasu	**dʐ‘i**	liquor	Benedict 1972:38n123
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ʐɻ^{55}**	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ʐɭ^{31}**	liquor	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ʐi^{35}**	liquor	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ndzɻ^{21}**	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ndzɭ^{33}**	alcohol (liquor); liquor; wine	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ndzɭ^{33}ʑɭ^{33}	liquor, grain	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ndzɭ^{33}tɕɭ^{33}	liquor [literary]	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tɕi^{33}**	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dzi^{21}**	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dʐi^{33}**bɛ^{21}	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**dʐɭ^{55}**	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.23
Yi (Xide)	**ndʐɭ^{33}**	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Youle)	**tɕe^{42}**phɤ^{44}	liquor	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tɕɛ^{42}**p^{h}ɯ^{33}	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.34
Kucong	**dzɤ31**	liquor	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**jɨ**	liquor	Benedict 1972:38n123
Lahu (Black)	**dzɻ^{31}**	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**dzɻ^{5}**	liquor	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**dʐi^{33}**p^{h}ɯ^{31}	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.27
Lisu (Central)	**ji^{4}**-hprgh^{5}	spirits; liquor (brewed); liquor (brewed, liquid)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
	ji^{4}-hpu^{4}	liquor (brewed, solid)	Fraser 1922
	li^{5}-**chi^{3}**	spirits; liquor (distilled)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	py^{55}**dʐi^{44}**	rum; liquor	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**djí**	liquor	Hansson 1989:117
Akha (Yunnan)	**djí** bà	liquor	Hansson 1989:117
Akha (Thai)	**djí**-bà	liquor	Hansson 1989:117
Hani (Dazhai)	**dzi^{55}**ba^{31}	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dzý** bà	liquor	Hansson 1989:117
Hani (Pijo)	**tjý**	liquor	Hansson 1989:117
	tjý pɔ̀	liquor	Hansson 1989:117
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsɻ^{55}**pɔ^{31}	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dʐi^{55}**ba^{31}	liquor	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**tʃɻ^{55}**pɔ^{31}	liquor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:402.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**zzil** bbaq	liquor	Hansson 1989:117
Hani (Khatu)	**tsý**	liquor	Hansson 1989:117
	tsý pò	liquor	Hansson 1989:117
Mpi	**tɑ^{4}**phɯ^{5}	liquor	Hansson 1989:56

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**tɕi^{21}**	liquor	Pelkey 2011:474
Southern Muji	na^{21}**ʐi^{33}**	liquor	Pelkey 2011:474
	za^{21}**tɕi^{33}**	liquor	Pelkey 2011:474
	tɕi^{21}k^{h}a^{33}	liquor	Pelkey 2011:474
Phola	**dʐi^{23}**	liquor	Pelkey 2011:474
Hlepho Phowa	i^{55n}**dʐɻ^{21}**	liquor	Pelkey 2011:474
Phu Kha	**d͡zɯ^{31}**	liquor (wine)	Fried 2000
Phuza	**dzi^{31}**k^{h}ɛ^{33}	liquor	Pelkey 2011:474

(12) PTB * $\frac{\text{d}}{\text{t}}$ uk POISON

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***dəkw**	poison	Coblin 1986:120

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***duk ≍ tuk**	poison	Matisoff 2003a:587; Matisoff 1983:34
	***duk ≍ tuk**	poisonous (be v.)	Benedict 1972:472
	***duk∼tuk**	poison / poisonous	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1016a

1.1.1. Tani: ***duɯk** POISON (generic)

**Tani*	***duɯk**	poison (generic)	Sun 1993a:300

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	dɯ-**duɯk**	poison (generic); poison	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**duɯk**	poison (generic)	Sun 1993a
Galo	cum-**dik**-gɤ-na	poisonous	Das Gupta 1963
	‘dig na-‘koo na	poison (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	cum-**duɯk**	poison	Simon 1976
	cum **duɯk**-do-n’	poisonous	Simon 1976
	cum **duɯk**-do-ne	poisonous	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**dik**	poison (generic)	Sun 1993a
Milang	**dik**-pi-ɲi	poisonous	Tayeng 1976
	dik-ɲi	poison	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**tha:ik**	poison	NEFA (India) 1963
	thɑi^{53}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.22
	thɑi^{53}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.49
Kaman [Miju]	**tɑu^{53}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.23
	tɑu^{53}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.48
Idu	**duɯ^{35}**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.50
Yidu	**duɯ^{35}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.25

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	**thü** ghü	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**tak**	poison	Bhat 1969:94
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**tak**	kill worms as in paddy field by putting poison	Mortensen 2012

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	n^{31}**tu̱k^{55}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.19
	n^{31}**tu̱k^{55}**; niŋ^{31}**tu̱k^{55}**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.47
	túk	poison	Matisoff 1974:358

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Byangsi	**d5o**	poison (n.)	Sharma 2003:215
Chaudangsi	**duo**	poison	Krishan 2003:185
Darma	**duo**	poison	Krishan 2003:164

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**Dhu**	poison (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.41
Tsangla (Motuo)	**duʔ**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**do^{35}**	poison	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tu^{13}**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.6
Motuo Menba	**duʔ**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.07
Cuona Menba	**tuk^{35}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣduk**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tək**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**dəg**	poison	Sun 1985a:761
	tuk	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**t̠uk**	poison	Rangan 1975:59
	t^{h}uk	poison	Rangan 1975:61
Tibetan (Batang)	**tuʔ^{231}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tuʔ^{31}**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**thu^{132}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.02
	thuʔ^{13}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**’tuk**	poison (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.41
Tibetan (Written)	**dug**	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967
	dug	poison	Matisoff 1983:34; Benedict 1972:76n232
	dug	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.01
	dug	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.1
	gdug	poison	Sun 1985c:761
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**təχ**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**dɯk^{2}**	poison	Nagano 1984:135-02
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{4}tuk**	poison	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0517

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**’du:k** ci	poison (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.41

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**dhuk-**	cause nausea or appetite loss, poison (vt.)	Caughley 2000
Kham	**tu:**	poison (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.41

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**do**	poison; poison, toxin	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0008; Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3699

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**dzu^{55}**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.18
Guiqiong	**du^{35}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.16
	ndʐo^{33}wu^{55}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.17
Lyuzu	**dʐy^{35}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.18
Muya	**tu^{24}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tu^{35}**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.15
Namuyi	**du^{33}**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.19
	du^{31}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**du^{35}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tu^{13}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tu^{13}**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tu^{35}**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**dù**	poison	Evans 1999:911
Qiang (Mawo)	**duə**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.08
	də	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.8
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tu^{35}**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tu^{55}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.13
Xumi	**du^{35}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.17
	du^{35}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**tu^{55}**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**du**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.12
Ergong (Danba)	**dɛu**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	**dəɤx**	poison	Nagano & Prins 2013:0669
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**dɑ́ɣ**	poison	Nagano & Prins 2013:0669

rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	ta22 **ndok44**	poison	Nagano & Prins 2013:0669
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	**tuʔ22**	poison	Nagano & Prins 2013:0669
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tək**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.11
rGyalrong	**tək**	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.12
Caodeng	**təɣ**-smɐn	poison	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tɤ **ndɤɣ**	poison	Nagano & Prins 2013:0669
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˆtʌ **do[ʕ]k**	poison	Nagano & Prins 2013:0669
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊtɐ **do[ʕ]k** / ¯**tə[ʕ]k**	poison	Nagano & Prins 2013:0669
rGyalrong	ta **Ndok**	poison	Nagano 1997:48
rGBenzhen	ta-**ndok**	poison	Sun 1997b
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**tu**^{21}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.38
	tu^{35}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.49
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***dok**	poison (n.) / poison (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:113(a)
	***Ndok**	poison (n.) / poison (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:113(c)
	***ʔdok**	poison (n.) / poison (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:113(b)
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**tauk**	poison	Benedict 1972:76n232
	tok	poison	Hansson 1989:xxx; Matisoff 1983:34
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***dok**^{L}	poison	Bradley 1979b:391; Hansson 1989:xxx
PNL	**ʔdok**^{L}	poison	Chen Kang 1986a:91.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**tv**^{24}jo^{24}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.47
Lalo	**dòq**	poison	Björverud 1994
	dọ^{2}	poison	Chen Kang 1986a:91.
	tòq	poison	Björverud 1994
Lipho	**dụ**^{2}	poison	Chen Kang 1986a:91.
Luquan	**tu 55c**	poison / poison (v.,n.)	Matisoff 1972b:113(b)
Nasu	<**to**^{55}>	poison	Chen Kang 1986a:91.
Neisu	<**te**^{13}>	poison	Chen Kang 1986a:91.
Nesu	**dụ**^{2}	poison	Chen Kang 1986a:91.
Nosu	**dụ**^{55}	poison	Chen Kang 1986a:91.
Nusu (Central)	**dụ**^{53}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**dụ**^{55}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.45
Yi (Liangshan)	**du**^{55}	poison	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	du^{55}ʐ̩^{33}ʑi^{55}ʐ̩^{33}	poison	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**dụ**^{21}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tụ**^{21}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dụ**^{21}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.24
	tu^{21}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**to**^{21}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.23
Yi (Weishan)	**to**^{21}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.36
Yi (Wuding)	**dụ**^{55}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.38
Yi (Xide)	**du**^{55}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.35
	du^{55}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**dụ**^{2}	poison	Chen Kang 1986a:91.
Jinuo	**to**^{55}tshi^{44}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.44
	tu^{33}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.34
Lahu	ɔ̀ **tɔ̀ʔ**	poison	Benedict 1972:76n232
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɔ**^{21}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.43
Lahu (Black)	nâʔ-**tɔ́**	poison / poison (v.,n.)	Matisoff 1972b:113(b)
	tɔ^{21}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.33
	tɔ̀ʔ-nà ve	revolted by the thought of eating; be unable to stand food (be v.)	Matisoff 1988a:667
	ɔ̀-**tɔ̀ʔ**	poison	Matisoff 1974:358
	ɔ̀-**tɔ̀ʔ**-ma	poison / poison (v.,n.)	Matisoff 1972b:113(a)
Lisu	**daw6**	poison / poison (v.,n.)	Matisoff 1972b:113(a)
Lisu (Luquan)	**do**^{31}	poison (n.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**do**^{41}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.27
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**do**^{55}	poison (n.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**dɔʔ**^{21}	poison; kusnezoff monkshood; monkshood (N.)	Bradley 1994
	dɔʔ^{21} dza^{21}	take poison	Bradley 1994
	dɔʔ^{21}dzi^{21}	poison (which is rubbed on to arrows as soon as dug out)	Bradley 1994
	dɔʔ^{21}gɔ^{44}	poison has shown effect	Bradley 1994
	dɔʔ^{21}næ^{33}si^{21}	kind of herb, used as poison, Alangium sp.	Bradley 1994
	dɔʔ^{21}thu^{21}	venomous insect tube; poison tube	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}**dɔʔ**^{21}	zinc phosphate (rat poison)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**dɔʔ**^{21}	toxin; poison (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}**dɔʔ**^{21}	fish poison (used on fish)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**do**^{2}	poison	Chen Kang 1986a:91.
Yi (Sani)	**tu**^{55}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**do LS**	poison / poison (v.,n.)	Matisoff 1972b:113(a)
	dòq	poison	Hansson 1989:xxx
Hani (Hu T'an)	**du 21c**	poison / poison (v.,n.)	Matisoff 1972b:113(a)
Hani (Dazhai)	**dụ**^{31}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dụ**^{31}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tụ**^{31}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.30
Haoni	**tɣ**^{35}	poison	Hansson 1989:xxx
Hani (Shuikui)	**tɣ**^{35}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**tɣ**^{35}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.42
Mpi	**toʔ**^{2}	poison	Hansson 1989:xxx
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**tɯ**^{22}ʑɔ^{21}	poison	Pelkey 2011:590
Southern Muji	**tɯ**^{21}tɕ^{h}i^{55}	poison	Pelkey 2011:590
Phola	**dɯ**^{31}ʑɔ^{31}	poison	Pelkey 2011:590
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɖv**˩	poison	Michaud 2006–2009:1357
Na (Yongning)	**dv**ɻ	poison	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**dɣ**^{21}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**tv**^{33}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tv**^{31}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.28
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**dɯ**^{33}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.37
Bai (Dali)	**tv**^{53}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tu**^{55}	poison	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:510.36
	tɐ̯^{21}	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.48
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d'ôk/d'uok**	poison / poisonous	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1016a
Chinese (Old)	**d'ôk**	poison	Matisoff 1983:34
	duk	poison	Baxter 1992:1888
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**dur** (yauh)	poison	Sun 1985b:761

Chinese comparandum

毒 OC ***d'ôk**, *GSR* #1016a; B & S 2011: ***d**^{ʕ}**uk {[d]**^{ʕ}**uk}**; Mand. **dú**. This Chinese character contains the graph for 'mother' (母, Mand. **mǔ**), which seems to suggest that the original meaning might have been "be revolted by food, as a pregnant woman". Cf. Lahu **tɔ̀ʔ**, which means both 'poison' and 'be revolted by food'.

(13) PTB *pʷu POISON

1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	a **phu**	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**hu**	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**hu**	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	la **pu**	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	kom **pu**	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967
	pu tei	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**wu**	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**pɤ**^{5}	poison (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

(14) PKC *tuur POISON

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tuur**	POISON	VanBik 2009:217
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**tui**	poison (to death) (v.)	VanBik 2009:217
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**tûr**	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967
	túur	poison, venom, virus (n.)	VanBik 2009:217

(15) PKC *ruu POISON / POTION

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ruu**	POISON / POTION	VanBik 2009:962
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**ngū**	poison	VanBik 2009:962
Thado	**gûu**	poison	VanBik 2009:962
	ā **gú**	poison	Thirumalai 1972:62
Tiddim	**gu**^{1}	poison	VanBik 2009:962; Bhaskararao 1996:372
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**rùu**	potent, fiery (as alcoholic spirit)	VanBik 2009:962
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	ka **reu**	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**ru**	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967

(16) PKar *throʔ^{D} RESIN

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***throʔ**^{D}	resin	Luangthongkum 2013:237
Bwe	**thro**^{33}	resin	Luangthongkum 2013:237
Kayah	**thɔ**^{55}	resin	Luangthongkum 2013:237
Kayan	**thɔʔ**^{45}	resin	Luangthongkum 2013:237
Kayaw	**thə**^{33}	resin	Luangthongkum 2013:237
Pwo (Northern)	**thauʔ**^{45}	resin	Luangthongkum 2013:237
Pwo (Southern)	**thɔuʔ**^{31}	resin	Luangthongkum 2013:237
Sgaw (Southern)	**thɔuʔ**^{21}	resin	Luangthongkum 2013:237
Sgaw (Northern)	**thɨʔ**^{45}	resin	Luangthongkum 2013:237

(17) PTB *h(w)aŋ RICE / CURRY

Interestingly, this root can either mean RICE or THAT WHICH IS EATEN WITH RICE. Cf. the basic distinction made in Siamese between **khâaw** 'rice' amd **kàp-khâaw** 'accompaniment to rice'.

For a phonosemantically similar root, see PTB ***h(y)an** CURRY / VEGETABLE DISH (§3.1.6).

1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**aŋ**^{33}	rice (plant)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:186.52
	aŋ^{33}biɲ^{33}	rice (uncooked)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:390.52
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***haaŋ** JUICE / CURRY			
**Chin*	***haaŋ**	JUICE / CURRY	VanBik 2009:724
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	t'en˝-**haung˝**	juice	VanBik 2009:724
Khumi	**haáng**	juice	VanBik 2009:724
Khumi (Bangladesh)	**ang**^{1}	curry	Peterson 2008
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hâaŋ**	juice, curry	VanBik 2009:724
Lai (Falam)	**hăaŋ**	juice, curry	VanBik 2009:724
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			

Chang	**ang**	rice (uncooked)	Marrison 1967
	aŋ	rice	French 1983:538
Konyak	**wong**	rice (uncooked)	Marrison 1967
	woŋ	uncooked rice	French 1983:538
3.2. Qiangic			
Xumi	**hɑo**^{53}	rice (cooked) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0440.17
	hɑ^{55}	rice (cooked)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:392.20
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**haṅ:**	curry (n.)	Marrison 1967
	hâŋ	curry	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɔ**^{11}	rice (cooked) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0440.43
Lahu (Black)	**ɔ**^{11}	rice (cooked)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:392.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ɔ**^{5}	rice (cooked)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Thai)	**hɔ̀**	boiled rice	Hansson 1989:276
	hɔ̀ tsuq	rice ball	Hansson 1989:496
Akha	**hɔ̀/xhɔ̀**	cooked rice	Hansson 1989:276
Akha (Yunnan)	**xhɔ̀**	boiled rice	Hansson 1989:276
	xhɔ̀ tsuq	rice ball	Hansson 1989:496

(18) PKC *ʔaay SPICE / TURMERIC / YELLOW

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ʔaay**	SPICE / TURMERIC / YELLOW	VanBik 2009:504
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**ai** eng	spice	VanBik 2009:504
Thado	**ʔáay** ʔêŋ	spice	VanBik 2009:504
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-ai	yellow (be v.)	VanBik 2009:504
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔâay**-hrèe	spice, turmeric, yellow (color)	VanBik 2009:504
Lushai [Mizo]	**ái** éng	turmeric ("yellow spice")	VanBik 2009:504
	ai eng	turmeric	Marrison 1967
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**ai** tunsan	turmeric	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	**ai** rim	turmeric	Marrison 1967

(19) PCN *m-(w)a STRAW

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**mo** nü	straw	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ma** tong	straw	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	**mo** thong	straw	Marrison 1967
	mo vü	straw	Marrison 1967

(20) PNC *bii THATCH

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
**Northern Chin*	***bii**	THATCH	VanBik 2009:52
Sizang	**bī**	thatch	VanBik 2009:52
Thado	**bíi**	thatch	VanBik 2009:52
Tiddim	**bi**^{1}	thatch	VanBik 2009:52

(21) PKC *(ŋaay-)dîi THATCH

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ŋaay-dîi**	THATCH	VanBik 2009:870
	***dîi**	THATCH	VanBik 2009:111
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**di**	roof a house (v.)	VanBik 2009:111
Cho (Mindat)	m-**di**	thatch	VanBik 2009:111
Khumi	**pdíi**	thatching grass	VanBik 2009:111
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**dîi**	thatch	VanBik 2009:111
Lai (Hakha)	**dîi** ~ **ŋǎay-dîi**	thatch	VanBik 2009:111
	dîi ≈ **ŋǎay-dîi**	thatch	VanBik 2009:870
Lushai [Mizo]	**dí**	sungrass, thatching grass	VanBik 2009:111
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**ngīa-dì**	thatch	VanBik 2009:870

(22) PTB *r-tsa:l VEGETABLE

This root is reconstructed with a final lateral on the testimony of Written Tibetan. There is a closely similar comparandum in Chinese 菜 **ts'âi'**, although Karlgren (1923) only gives a Middle Chinese form. The Qiangic, Tujia, Baic, and Loloish forms may well be borrowings from either Tibetan or Chinese, although the Mizo form seems to reflect a genuine TB root.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-tsa:y**	curry; vegetable; dish (eat with rice)	Matisoff 1985a:161; Matisoff 2003a:616
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlai**	vegetable	Marrison 1967
	_tlha:i	vegetable	Matisoff 1985a:161
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tshe** ra	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.4
	tsho ma	vegetable	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:206.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	ɣo̝o **tshe**	vegetable	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:206.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**tshei**^{13}	vegetable (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0420.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tshɛ**^{55}	vegetable	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:206.3
	tshɛ^{55}jin^{55}	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tshɛ**^{55}	vegetable	LaPolla 1987:19
	tshɛ^{55}	vegetable (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0420.02
	tshɛ^{55}ɕiŋ^{15}	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.2
	ŋop^{53}**tshɛ**^{55}	vegetable	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:206.2
Tibetan (Written)	(**tshal**) gtub	cut up (vegetable) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1574.01
	(**tshal**) slelpo (gaŋ)	basketful (of vegetable) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0875.01
	sŋo **tshal**	vegetable (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0420.01
	sŋo^{53} **tshal**	vegetable	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:206.1
	tshal ʑiŋ	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**tsho** ma	vegetable (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0420.04
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya	**tshe**^{33}ɣuæ^{33}	garden (plot) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.15
	ŋo^{55}**tshæ**^{53}	vegetable (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0420.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tshɛ**^{35}	vegetable	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:206.15
	tshɛ^{35}ɣuɛ^{35}	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.15
Qiang (Taoping)	**tshie**^{55}kie^{33}	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tshɛ**^{55}	vegetable	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:206.16
	tshɛ^{55}yɛ̃^{33}	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	tʂhi^{13}**tʂhɛ**^{55}	cut up (vegetable) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1574.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**tshɛ**^{13}	vegetable (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0420.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**tshẽ**	vegetable (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0420.12
Ergong (Danba)	**tshɛ** yɛn tsɻ	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.14
	tshɛ ʐɲɯ	vegetable	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:206.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGBenzhen	**ts**^{h}**ɐi**ʔ	vegetable	Sun 1997b
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**tshie**^{55}jian^{21}	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.38
Tujia (Northern)	xa^{55}**tshe**^{55}	vegetable	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	xa^{55}**tshie**^{55}	vegetable (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0420.49
	xa^{55}**tshie**^{55}	vegetable	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:206.38
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Liangshan)	**tshi**^{55}ʐo^{21}	oil, vegetable	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanjian)	**tshɑi**^{55}yĩ^{21}; tɕhy^{55}	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.23
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	ɔ̄-**chî**	dish to eat with rice	Matisoff 1985a:161 [a]
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**tshɛ̀**	food (except rice)	Matisoff 1985a:161
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**tshɯ**^{42}	vegetable	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:206.37
	tshɯ^{42}suã^{55}	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.37
Bai (Dali)	**tshɯ**^{31}	vegetable	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:206.35
	tshɯ^{31}suɑ^{35}	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	(**tshŋ**^{21}ɑ^{21}) tiə^{55}	basketful (of vegetable) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0875.48
	(**tshŋ**^{21}ɑ^{21}) tshuo̱^{33}	bunch / bundle (of vegetable) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0852.48
	tshɯ^{31}sv^{55}	vegetable	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:206.36
	tshŋ^{21}kuo̱^{33}	vegetable (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0420.48
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**ts'âi'**	vegetables; things plucked	Matisoff 1985a:161 [b]

[a] Lahu **-chî** was previously identified (cf. DL:221) with the verb **chî** 'to lift up, exalt' since curries or vegetable dishes 'lift up' the taste of plain rice; most Lahu consultants endorse this analysis), but Akha has both **tjhì** [ILH] 'lift up' and **tshɛ̀** 'food (except rice)', which might indicate that two separate morphemes are involved (cf. PTB ***kyi** LIFT / RAISE / AWAKE (§1.1.4)).

[b] This is really a Middle Chinese form.

(23) PTani *ɦo: VEGETABLE / CURRY

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***ɦo:**	vegetable / curry	Sun 1993a:448
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	gjã **ha**-mã	mustard	Sun 1993b
	ha-mã	vegetable; curry	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b [a]
	ha-maŋ sa-nɯ	vegetable	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**u:**	vegetable / curry	Sun 1993a
Galo	**oo**	curry; vegetable; dish (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	oo-gɨyɨɨ	mustard (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	o gɯyi	mustard leaf	Das Gupta 1963
	ɨɨjɨɨ-oo	vegetable (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**o**	vegetable, curry	Simon 1976
	o-kobi	cabbage	Simon 1976; Simon 1976
Tagin	**u:**	vegetable	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**o**-jiŋ	vegetable / curry	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**ɦo:**	vegetable	Sun 1993b

[a] [Source Note] rhyme! (Sun 1993a).

(24) PL *ʔgyak VEGETABLE / GREENS / MUSTARD / CABBAGE

6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔgyak**	vegetable / greens / mustard / cabbage ((LOW);.)	Matisoff 1972b:49
	***ʔgyak**	vegetable; greens; mustard; cabbage	Matisoff 1972b:49; LaPolla 1987:19 [a]
6.1.2. Loloish			
PNL	**ʔgyak**	vegetable	Chen Kang 1986a:19.
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	ɡ̊ɔ̂-**cá**	vegetable / greens / mustard / cabbage	Matisoff 1972b:49
	ɣɔ^{53}**tsa**^{35}phu^{33}	cabbage (Chinese)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:207.33
Lahu (Yellow)	ɣɔ^{3}**tsa**^{4}	Chinese cabbage	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	o-**tše** 11-55	vegetable / greens / mustard / cabbage	Matisoff 1972b:49
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	ɣu^{22}p^{h}ɛ^{21}**tɕɛ**^{45}	cabbage greens	Pelkey 2011:196
Hlepho Phowa	hə^{55}p^{h}ɛ^{33}**tɕɛ**^{55}	cabbage greens	Pelkey 2011:196
	hə^{55}**tɕɛ**^{21}	cabbage (or baicai)	Pelkey 2011:195
	hə^{55}**tɕɛ**^{21}p^{h}ɛ^{33}	cabbage greens	Pelkey 2011:196
	hə^{55}**tɕɛ**^{21}ʜ^{h}a^{55}sɔ^{33}	cabbage (or baicai)	Pelkey 2011:195
Phu Kha	i^{33} **t͡ɕa**^{31} ɬu^{33} ma^{33}	cabbage green	Fried 2000

[a] [Source Note] [*TSR* 49] (LaPolla 1987).

(25) PTani *pop YEAST

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***pop**	yeast	Sun 1993a:481

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	ì-**pó**	yeast (wine)	Sun 1993b
	i-**poʔ**	yeast	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	poʔ-na	rice(fermented)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**pap**	yeast; wine yeast	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	oː-***pop**	yeast (for making wine)	Sun 1993b
	oː-**pop**	yeast	Sun 1993a
Galo	ʻo **pop**	fermentation starter (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	o **pop**	yeast	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ə-**pop**	yeast	Sun 1993a

(26) TGTM *[A]bap beer-mash

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*[A]**bap**	beer-mash	Mazaudon 1978:40
Gurung (Ghachok)	[2]**paː**	beer-mash	Mazaudon 1978:40
Manang (Ngawal)	[3]**pe**	beer-mash	Mazaudon 1978:40
Tamang (Risiangku)	[3]**pap**	beer-mash	Mazaudon 1978:40
Thakali (Marpha)	[3]**po**	beer-mash	Mazaudon 1978:40
Thakali (Syang)	[3]**po**	beer-mash	Mazaudon 1978:40

(27) TGTM *[B]taŋ dish, plate, pot

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*[B]**taŋ**	dish, plate	Mazaudon 1978:21
Gurung (Ghachok)	[2]**tõ**	dish, plate	Mazaudon 1978:21
Manang (Ngawal)	[2]**taŋ**	dish, plate	Mazaudon 1978:21
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]**taŋ**	dish, plate	Mazaudon 1978:21
Tamang (Sahu)	[2]**taŋle**	dish, plate	Mazaudon 1978:21
Tamang (Taglung)	[2]**taŋ**	dish, plate	Mazaudon 1978:21
Thakali (Marpha)	[2]**taŋ**	dish, plate	Mazaudon 1978:21
Thakali (Syang)	[H]**taŋ**	dish, plate	Mazaudon 1978:21
Thakali (Tukche)	[H]**taŋ**	dish, plate	Mazaudon 1978:21

3.1.7 Fungi

(1) PTk *waar MUSHROOM

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	*-**waar**	mushroom	Mortensen 2012:517
Huishu	ʔa-**va**	mushroom / fungus	Mortensen 2012:Plants.239
Kachai	**hor**-tsɐ	mushroom	Mortensen 2012:Plants.238
Tusom	**puə**-tuə	mushroom species	Mortensen 2012:Plants.240
Ukhrul	**var**	mushroom	Mortensen 2012

(2) PTB *g-r $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{u}\\\mathbf{i}\end{matrix}$ n MUSHROOM / FUNGUS

This root has so far only been identified in the Tani group of TB, but appears to have a good Chinese comparandum.

1.1.1. Tani: ***jin** MUSHROOM

**Tani*	***jin**	mushroom	Sun 1993a:265

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	dɯ-dɯ ta-**jiŋ**	mushroom (poisonous kind)	Sun 1993b
	ta-**jĩ**	mushroom; fungus	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b [a]
	ta-**jiŋ**	fungus	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**jiŋ**-kɯr	edible fungus	Sun 1993b
	ta-**jin**	mushroom	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **jin**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.24
	ta-**jin**	mushroom	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **jin**	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.51
Galo	ta **in**	mushroom (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **in-in** dəə	fungus (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻeepik-ta **in**	mushroom (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻhɨɨ tuu-ta **in**	mushroom (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻuii-ta **in**	mushroom (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**in** de	mushroom	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	**ʔɯn**-dəː	mushroom	Sun 1993b

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	菌	mushroom	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1531
Chinese (GSR #)	**0485c**	mushroom	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1531

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gʼi̯wɛn/gʼi̯wĕnː**	mushroom	Karlgren 1957:485c
Chinese (Old)	**grjunʔ**	mushroom	Baxter 1992:610
	grunʔ { [g] runʔ}	mushroom	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1531

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**gwinX**	mushroom	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1531

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**jùn**	mushroom	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1531

[a] [Source Note] = ʻfungusʼ (Sun 1993a).

Chinese comparandum

菌 OC ***gʼi̯wɛn**, *GSR* #485c; B & S 2011 ***grunʔ { [g] runʔ}**; Mand. **jùn** ʻmushroomʼ, **jūn** ʻmicrobeʼ.

(3) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{g}\\\mathbf{s}\end{matrix}$ -məw MUSHROOM / FUNGUS

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-muw**	mushroom; mushroom, fungus	Weidert 1987:474; Benedict 1972:455
	***g/s-məw**	mushroom	Matisoff 2003a:602

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**kimu**	mushroom, fungus	Benedict 1972:455

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	mu-**khmu**	mushroom, fungus	Benedict 1972:455

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	me-**gumu**	mushroom, fungus	Benedict 1972:455

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**kəmu**	mushroom	Weidert 1987:202
	kəmū	mushroom	Matisoff 1974:112
	kəmu	mushroom, fungus	Benedict 1972:455

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	ɕa[55]**mu[55]**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.16
Muya	kø[33]**mi[55]**	mushroom (white) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.15
	mi[33]tɕha[53]	mushroom (yellow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mi[33]**ntɕha[53]	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.15
Namuyi	**mu[33]**tʂha[55]	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.19
	mu[31]tʂha[55]	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**mɤ̃[35]**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**mzɻ[13]**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**mzɻ[13]**	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**mi[35]**	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**mə ɚ**	mushroom	Evans 1999:566
Qiang (Mawo)	**muy**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**mɛ̀** ʐú	mushroom	Evans 1999:566
Qiang (Taoping)	**mɑ[31]**ʐu[33]	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**lmɯ[55]**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.13
	rmɯ[55]	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	ɕa[55]**mu[55]**	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.16
Xumi	**mu[35]**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.17
	mu[35]	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**m̥ʌ[13]**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**lmo**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.12
Ergong (Danba)	**lmɛu**	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

Caodeng	kə-pé-**jmo**	mushroom	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	tɐ **jmok**	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.12
	tay **mok**	mushroom	Nagano 1997:49

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-məw[1]** MUSHROOM

**Lolo-Burmese*	*ʔ-**məw[1]**	mushroom	Matisoff 2003a:601

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**mɑu[55]**	mushroom	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**mau[55]**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.28
	mau[55]	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.41
	mau[55]kun[51]	fungus (edible) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.28
Achang (Luxi)	**mau[31]**	mushroom	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**mau[55]**cun[31]	fungus (edible) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.29
Bola (Luxi)	**mau[55]**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.32
	mau[55]kjɔn[31]	fungus (edible) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**hmo[22]**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**m̥o[22]**	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.40
Burmese (Written)	**hmo[2]**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.26
	hmo[2]	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.39
	hmui	mushroom	Weidert 1987:202
	hmûi	mushroom	Hansson 1989:389
	hmui	mushroom; mold; fungus; fungus, mushroom; mushroom, fungus	Matisoff 1978a:101; Matisoff 1974:112; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:455
Hpun (Northern)	tà **mú**	mushroom	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**mau[51]**kjiŋ[21]	fungus (edible) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.31
	muk[31]	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**mou[31]**kjun[33]	fungus (edible) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.33
	mou[31]lu[31]	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.33
Marma	**hmo**	mushroom	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:299-2
Maru [Langsu]	**mùk**	mushroom	Weidert 1987:202
	muk[31]	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mâu**	mushroom	Weidert 1987:202
	mau[51]	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.42
	mau[51]kjon[21]	fungus (edible) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.30
	mau[51]lu[51]	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.30

6.1.2. Loloish: ***s-mo[1]** MUSHROOM

**Loloish*	***s-mo[1]**	mushroom	Weidert 1987:202; Bradley 1979b:288; Hansson 1989:389
PNL	**s-mo[1]**	mushroom	Chen Kang 1986a:117.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**m[24]ɤ[31]**	fungus (edible) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.47
Lalo	**mi[55]**	mushroom	Chen Kang 1986a:117.
	ʔmó	mushroom	Björverud 1994
Lipho	**mɯ[33]**	mushroom	Chen Kang 1986a:117.
Nasu	**mu[33]**	mushroom	Chen Kang 1986a:117.
Neisu	**mi[13]**	mushroom	Chen Kang 1986a:117.
Nesu	**mu[55]**	mushroom	Chen Kang 1986a:117.
Nosu	**m̩u[33]**	mushroom	Chen Kang 1986a:117.
Nusu (Northern)	**m̩ə̃[31]**	mushroom	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**m̥ɯ[33]**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.34
Nusu (Southern)	**m̥ɯ[35]**	mushroom	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**m̥ɯ[35]**	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.45
Yi (Dafang)	**m̩(u)[33]**pa[55]	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**m̥u[21]**l̩[21]	chicken-foot fungus	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	m̥u[33]	mushroom	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**mo[33]**lo[33]	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**mɯ[55]**lɯ[55]	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mə[55]**	mushroom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.37
	mɯ[33]	mushroom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:219.24
	m̩[33]ne̱[33]	fungus (edible) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.37

Yi (Nanjian)	ɕiɑŋ^{33}ɕyĩ^{55}; **m̩(u̩)^{55}**	mushroom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:219.23
Yi (Weishan)	**m̩^{55}**l̩^{21}hɑ^{21}	fungus (edible) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.36
Yi (Wuding)	**mɣ̩^{33}**	mushroom (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.38
Yi (Xide)	**m̩(u)^{33}**	mushroom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:219.21
	m̩u^{33}	mushroom (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**mo^{33}**	mushroom	CHEN Kang 1986a:117.
Jinuo	**mø^{33}**lu^{33}	mushroom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:219.34
	mø^{44}lu^{44}	mushroom (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**m̩u^{44}**lu^{44}	mushroom	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**mɔ31**	mushroom	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	mɔ31 na55 kv33	wood ear fungus	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**mǐ**	mushroom	Weidert 1987:202
Lahu (Lancang)	**khɯ^{53}mv^{31}**	mushroom (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.43
	mv^{31}nɑ^{35}qo^{54}	fungus (edible) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.43
Lahu (Black)	**mù**	mushroom; mold; fungus	Matisoff 1978a:101; Matisoff 1974:112 [a]
	mu^{11}	mushroom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:219.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɣ̩^{2}**	mushroom	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɣ̩^{2}la^{5}bɛ^{6}	fungus (edible)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}ni^{21} **mɤ^{33}**tʃhɳ^{21}	kind of wild mushroom, Boletus (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}ɣa^{55} tɕhi^{33}**my^{33}**	twig of the coral mushroom shrub	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}ɣa^{55}tshɤ^{33} **my^{33}**	chicken fat mushroom	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a^{55}ɲi^{21} **mɤ^{33}**tʃhɳ^{21}	kind of wild mushroom, Boletus (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	bæ^{21}hæ̃^{21}**my^{33}**	kind of fungus, Collybia albuminosa (speciality in Yunnan)	Bradley 1994
	bɔʔ^{21}lɔ^{33}**my^{33}**	ant-fungus (also known as 'white-peak-fungus', speciality of Yunnan)	Bradley 1994
	bɯ^{33}dʑæ^{33} **mɤ^{33}**tʃhɳ^{21}	straw mushroom (N.)	Bradley 1994
	dzø^{44}**my^{33}**	devil's pen, Phallus (poisonous umbrella mushroom) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	fu^{33}**mɤ^{33}**tʃhɳ^{21}	kind of fungus Phallus spp. (poisonous) (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**mi^{3}**-hchï^{5}	mushroom	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**mi^{33}**dza^{33}dʑæ^{33}	kind of fungus, Calcareous algae (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mi^{33}næ^{33}kɔ^{35}	cymbal-hole mushroom (also called 'eight-load firewood')	Bradley 1994
	mi^{33}phæʔ^{21}phu^{33}	kind of wild mushroom pleurotus (edible) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mæ^{35}**my^{33}**si^{21}	red mushroom (red lactarius piperatus) (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**mɯ^{33}**tʃ^{h}i^{31}	mushroom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:219.27
Lisu (Northern)	**mɤ^{33}**ne^{21}	pleated fungus; white ginseng (also known as 'tiger-palm white fungus') (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{33}ni^{35}by^{33}	kind of wild mushroom, Lactarius piperatus (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{33}tʃhɳ^{21}	fungus; mushroom (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{44}ɕa^{33}lɔ^{33}	stinky yellow mushroom (kind of mushroom) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}mɤ^{33}tʃhɳ^{21}	kind of mushroom, Polyporus (N.)	Bradley 1994
	thɔ^{21}**my^{33}**	pine mushroom, Armillaria matsutake	Bradley 1994
	tsɯ^{55}**my^{33}**	dried mushroom, Lentinus edodes; (picked in winter) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tʃhɳ^{33}**my^{33}**	kind of wild mushroom, Lactarius piperatus (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi^{33}**my^{33}**	kind of wild mushroom, Lactarius piperatus (N.)	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}**my^{33}**	kind of mushroom, Russula virescens (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}pa^{55} **mɤ^{33}**tʃhɳ^{21}	kind of poisonous mushroom, Amanita	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}khɤ^{21}**my^{33}**	grass-fungus (kind of mushrrom)	Bradley 1994
	ɕɔ^{33}khwa^{21}**my^{33}**	kind of mushroom, Hericium erinaceus () (N.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**mu^{33}**	mushroom	CHEN Kang 1986a:117.
Yi (Sani)	**m̩^{44}**ɚ^{33}	mushroom (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0437.39
	m̩^{44}ɚ^{33}nɒ^{55}po^{44}	fungus (edible) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0438.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	á **xhḿ**	mushroom	Hansson 1989:389
Akha (Thai)	á **hḿ**	mushroom	Hansson 1989:389
Akha	**hḿ/xhḿ**	mushroom	Hansson 1989:389
Hani (Caiyuan)	**me^{55}**lu^{55}	mushroom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:219.30
Hani (Pijo)	**mí**	mushroom	Hansson 1989:389
	mí lú	mushroom	Hansson 1989:389
Hani (Gelanghe)	a^{55}**xm̩^{55}**	mushroom	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	**mí**	mushroom	Hansson 1989:389
Mpi	**m^{2}**pja^{4}pja^{4}	mushroom (sp.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	mɯ^{4}	mushroom; mold; fungus	Matisoff 1978a:101; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	m^{4}phe?^{5}**m^{4}**pha^{5}	mushroom (wild)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	m^{4}phɑ^{5}	mushroom	Hansson 1989:389
	n^{4}sɯ^{5}	mushroom (sp.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**my^{44}**	mushroom	Pelkey 2011:214
Southern Muji	a^{55}**m̩^{33}**ts^{h}u^{21}	mushroom	Pelkey 2011:214
Phola	**mu^{55}**	mushroom	Pelkey 2011:214
Hlepho Phowa	**m̩^{33}**lɯ^{33}	mushroom	Pelkey 2011:214
Phuza	**mɯ^{33}**pa^{55}	mushroom	Pelkey 2011:214

(4) PKC *paa MUSHROOM / FUNGUS / TOADSTOOL

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***paa**	MUSHROOM / FUNGUS / TOADSTOOL	VanBik 2009:157

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	ngal **pā**	mushroom	VanBik 2009:157
Thado	**pâa**	mushroom	VanBik 2009:157
Tiddim	**pa^{1}** te?^{3}	mushroom	Bhaskararao 1996:1330
	pa^{1} teʔ^{3}	mushroom	VanBik 2009:157

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	a **po˝**	mushroom, toadstool	VanBik 2009:157
Cho (Mindat)	**pa**	mushroom	VanBik 2009:157
Khumi	a(ng)t **pho** páw	mushroom (general term), (tree) fungus	VanBik 2009:157

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**pâa**	mushroom	VanBik 2009:157
Lai (Falam)	**páa**	mushroom	VanBik 2009:157
Lushai [Mizo]	**pa**	mushroom	Bhaskararao 1996:1330
	pă̂a	mushroom, fungus	VanBik 2009:157

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**paw**	mushroom, toadstool	VanBik 2009:157

3.1.8 Other wild plants

(1) PKC *yuun CREEPER / ROPE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***yuun**	CREEPER / ROPE	VanBik 2009:1192

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	a **yún**	creeper	VanBik 2009:1192

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**zŭun**	creeper, rope	VanBik 2009:1192

(2) TGTM *^{A}tʃhi FODDER / GRASS

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{A}**tʃhi**	fodder	Mazaudon 1978:3
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{1}**chi**	fodder	Mazaudon 1978:3
Manang (Ngawal)	^{1}**tshi**	fodder	Mazaudon 1978:3
Tamang (Sahu)	^{1}**chi**	fodder	Mazaudon 1978:3
Tamang (Taglung)	^{1}**tɕhe**	fodder	Mazaudon 1978:3
Thakali (Marpha)	^{H}**tʃhi**	fodder	Mazaudon 1978:3
Thakali (Syang)	^{1}**tʃhi**	fodder	Mazaudon 1978:3
Thakali (Tukche)	^{H}**chi**	fodder	Mazaudon 1978:3

(3) PTB *r-tswa-n GRASS

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-tswa-n**	grass	Matisoff 2003a:617

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-ʒa(ʔ)** GRASS

**Central Naga*	*a-**ʒa(ʔ)**	GRASS	Bruhn 2014a:III.016
**Ao*	*a-**ʒa(ʔ)**	GRASS	Bruhn 2014a:II.119
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**jiʔ^{3}**	grass (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.119
	a **ei**	grass	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **za**	grass	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**za**	grass (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**ro^{3}**-joʔ^{3}	lawn, patch of grass (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e^{1}-**roʔ^{3}**	grass (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.016
	e **ro**	grass	Murry *et al.* 1978:5
	e **ro** yo	grass	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**za** nu	grass	Marrison 1967

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**rtsæ**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tsa**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**htsæ**	grass	Sun 1985a:322
	rtsa	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**rtswa**	grass	Benedict 1972:49n161
Tibetan (Batang)	**tsa^{53}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tsa^{53}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tsa^{53}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.2
	tsa^{55}	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.02
Purik	**stswa**	grass	Benedict 1972:49n161
Tibetan (Spiti)	**sa**	grass	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**rtswa**	grass	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:322; Benedict 1972:158n428,170n455; Benedict 1972:49n161
	rtswa	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.01
	rtswa (rtswa)	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.1
	rtswɑ	grass	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:432b
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htsa**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.04

3.2. QIANGIC

Pumi (Jiulong)	**ʐə̃^{35}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.10
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʐã^{35}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**dʐu**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**dʐo^{241}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.9
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**tʂu^{13}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.14

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**dzʻwən / dzʻuən ~ dzʻiən / dzʻien**	grass, herb	Benedict 1972:49n161

[a] For a list of some thirty Black Lahu names for particular species of mushrooms, see DL:1004-1005.

	ts‘ôg / ts‘âu	grass	Benedict 1972:49n161
	ts‘ôg/ts‘ău	grass	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1049b-c
Chinese (Old)	**dzins**	grass / herb	Baxter 1992:1136

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**cǎo**	thatch grass	Evans *et al.* 1991
	tsaau	grass	Sun 1985b:322

Chinese comparandum

There are two good Chinese comparanda, one with an open syllable and one with a nasal final:

草 OC ***ts’ôg**, *GSR* #1049b-c ‘grass, plants, herbs’; B & S 2011: ***ts$^{h\varsigma}$u? {[ts^{h}]$^{\varsigma}$u?}**; Mand. **cǎo**. S176 tshu?
荐 OC ***dz’ien**, *GSR* #432b ‘grass, herb’; B & S 2011: ***N-ts$^{\varsigma}$ən-s {N-ts$^{\varsigma}$ə[n]-s}**; Mand. **jiàn**.

(4) PTB *s-yəy GRASS

3.2. QIANGIC

Lyuzu	**ʐu^{35}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.18
Namuyi	**ʐu^{55}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.19
	(**ʐu^{55}**)qhuo^{53}	mow / cut (grass) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1342.46
	ʐu^{55}	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.46
Qiang (Longxi)	**zù**	field	Evans 1999:44
	zù mù ɕù	burn grass in field	Evans 1999:2310
	zù ɜ́	dry field [field-dry]	Evans 1999:46
Qiang (Mianchi)	**sì**	grass	Evans 1999:562
	sì kú	mow grass	Evans 1999:1924
	sì-phìŋ phíŋ	grassland [grass-b(flat)]	Evans 1999:43
	sì-ué sì	grassland [grass-place.for.growing]	Evans 1999:43
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʁry**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ʐu^{35}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.16
Xumi	**ʑe^{55}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.20
	ʑɪ^{55}	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.17

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	**si3**	grass (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia	**si^{21}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.49
	si^{21}	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.38
Tujia (Northern)	**si^{21}**~**si^{21}**kha^{21}tsha^{21}	grass	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	si^{3}	grass	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.4
	si^{3}bu^{2}li^{1}	grass seed	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.4
	si^{3}ka^{3}ca^{3}	grass used as fodder	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.4
	xi3	grass (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	xi3bu2li1	grass seed (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	xi3pie4	pull up grass (n + vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	xi^{3}pie^{4}	pull up grass (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.3

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-yəy^{2}**	grass	Matisoff 2003a:620

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**sa^{55}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.28
	sa^{55}	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**sa^{55}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.29
Leqi (Luxi)	**jo^{31}**ŋɛː^{53}	burn the grass on wasteland (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1610.33

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***ze^{2}**	thatch	Bradley 1979b:299

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**zɤ^{53}**sa^{35}	mat (grass, straw) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0491.47
	zɤ^{53}xo^{31}	mat (woven bamboo) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0491.47
	zɪ^{31}	thatch grass	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	zŋ^{31}	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.47
Lalo	**sjə̀**	grass	Björverud 1994
Yi (Dafang)	**sɻ^{33}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.22
Yi (Liangshan)	bu^{55}**zɯ^{33}**	grass, tender	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	thu̱^{33}**ʐ^{33}**	grass, thatch	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐ^{33}	grass	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐ^{33}bo^{33}	grass, dry and tall; hay; straw	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐ^{33}ho^{21}	rope, grass fiber	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ɕi^{55}**; **ɕi^{55}**bi^{21}	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ɕi^{33}**be^{21}	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ʂi^{55}**bA̱^{21}	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.24
	ʂŋ^{55}	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.37
	ʂŋ^{55}bɑ^{21}	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ʂŋ^{21}**ku^{21}	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʂŋ^{21}**bɯ^{21}	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ʂŋ^{33}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.38
Yi (Xide)	**ʐ^{33}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.35
	ʑŋ^{55}	mow / cut (grass) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1342.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Youle)	**sɔ^{44}**tʃhɑ^{55}	grass	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ʃɔ^{44}**tʃha^{55}	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.44
Kucong	**zʌ33** pv55	grass	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**zi^{53}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.43
Lahu (Black)	**zŋ^{53}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.33
Lisu (Northern)	kɔ^{33}**ʃl^{55}** se?^{21}	grass and trees turn brown (indicating the beginning of winter) (V.)	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}**si^{33}**	cogon grass (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	la^{5} **si^{1}**	grass (thatching)	Fraser 1922
	shï^{1}	grass (thatching); grass	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ʃl^{55}**	grass; wild grass (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ʃl^{55}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.27
Lisu (Northern)	**ʃl^{55}** thi^{21} ty^{35}	bundle of grass	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}da^{21} thø^{21}	divination with grass (by folding grass leaves)	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}dɔʔ^{21}	poisonous grass	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}hæ̃^{35}	grass rat (kind of rat which nests in thick grass)	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}khɤ^{21}	grass (the kind used in making ornaments)	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}khɤ^{21} jæ^{35}	lots of dew on the grass	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}khɤ^{21} thø^{21}	make grass knots (as signal or marker)	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}khɤ^{21}my^{33}	grass-fungus (kind of mushrrom)	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}la^{21}gwa^{35}	kind of grass, Indocalamus	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}mi^{44}	grass land	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}pa^{33}phu^{21}	reed; kind of grass (Chinese ’10 foot wild old grass’)	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}phɤ^{21}lɤ^{21}	grass ends	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}pø^{55}	billion-dollar grass	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}pø^{55} khɔ^{21}dɔ^{33}	grass mat	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}puɯʔ^{21}lɤʔ^{21}	ten-thousand-link grass (kind of grass)	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}sɤ^{21}	barnyard grass	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}tsha^{33}phu^{21}	water cat-tail grass (kind of grass)	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}tshu^{21}	fur-grass (kind of grass)	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}ty^{35}	bundle of grass	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}tɕhi^{33}nø^{33}	grass sandal	Bradley 1994
	ʃl^{55}ɤʔ^{21} ŋɔ^{21}	Story of Cuting the Grass (name of Lisu story)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**sž^{55}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	ù **djí**	thatch grass	Hansson 1989:145
Akha (Yunnan)	ù **djí**	thatch grass	Hansson 1989:114
Akha (Thai)	ù **djí**	thatch grass	Hansson 1989:114
Hani (Lüchun)	ə̀ **djí**	thatch grass	Hansson 1989:114
	ə́ **djí**	thatch grass	Hansson 1989:145
Hani (Wordlist)	eq **jjil**	thatch grass	Hansson 1989:145
Mpi	sɑ^{2}**ʔi^{2}**	straw / thatch	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	lɯ^{45}**sį^{45}**	thatch (cogon grass)	Pelkey 2011:212
	ʂi^{45}	grass	Pelkey 2011:211
Southern Muji	la^{21}**ɕi^{33}**	thatch (cogon grass)	Pelkey 2011:212
Phola	lɑ^{31}**xji^{33}**	thatch (cogon grass)	Pelkey 2011:212
	xji^{33}pɛ̨^{31}	grass	Pelkey 2011:211
	xji^{33}ɕu^{55}	thatch (cogon grass)	Pelkey 2011:212
Hlepho Phowa	la^{33}**sŋ^{55}**	grass	Pelkey 2011:211
	sŋ^{55}tɬo^{33}ma^{33}	thatch (cogon grass)	Pelkey 2011:212
Phu Kha	la^{31} **ʃiʔ^{35}**	cogon grass	Fried 2000
Phuza	la^{33}**si^{55}**	grass	Pelkey 2011:211
	si^{55}dʓɯ^{55}wʌ^{33}	thatch (cogon grass)	Pelkey 2011:212
	si^{55}tɬɛ^{55}wʌ^{33}	thatch (cogon grass)	Pelkey 2011:212

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**zɯ**˥ts^{h}ɯ˥	harvest grass, cut grass (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2357
	zɯ˧	wheat straw; grass	Michaud 2006–2009:4028
Na (Yongning)	**zɯ**˥	grass	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**zɻ^{33}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.28
Naxi	**zɻ^{33}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**zɻ^{33}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.29

(5) PTB *m(r) $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{u}\\\mathbf{a}\end{matrix}$ k GRASS / WEEDS

This etymon was formerly divided between two separate etyma, one meaning GRASS and the other meaning WEEDS / DETRITUS. The latter was reconstructed both in *STC* #363 and in *HPTB*:360 as ***mu:k**. However, despite the WB doublet **mrak** ‘grass’ and **ăhmuik** ‘refuse, dust’, we have now decided to combine them into a single etymon.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-lyak**	grass	Matisoff 2003a:601; Benedict 1972:120n331
	***mruk ≍ mrak**	grass / weeds	Matisoff 2003a:602
	***mu:k**	detritus; dust; weeds; weeds, rubbish, dust	Matisoff 2003a:602; Matisoff 2003a:602; Benedict 1972:363

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Mishing [Miri]	pö **muk**	dust	Benedict 1972:363

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**myag**	grass	Benedict 1972:149
	myag‘	grass (kind of) (n.)	Bailey 1911

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**ḥdźag**-ma (< *a-lyag)	grass	Benedict 1972:43n142

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**muk**	weeds, rubbish, dust	Benedict 1972:363

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***muk**	weeds, grass	Benedict 1972:78n238

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	**mjɛʔ^{4}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mjɛʔ^{44}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.40
Burmese (Written)	ă **hmuik**	refuse, dust (n.)	Benedict 1972:363
	mrak	grass	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:149
	mrɑk	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.39
	mrɑk^{4}	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.26
Hpun (Northern)	tă **myò’**, tă **myù?**	grass	Henderson 1986
	tă **myò’**; ʃɔ̀ŋpɔ̀ŋ	weeds / bushes (cp. Grass, Jungl	Henderson 1986
Marma	**mraʔ**	grass	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:290

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***(C)-mruk^{L}** GRASS

**Loloish*	***(C)-mruk^{L}**	grass	Bradley 1979b:302

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**mòq**	weed w. hands	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	**mɹą̱^{53}**	grass (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0436.34
Nusu (Southern)	**mɹɔ̱^{53}**	grass	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**mɹɑ̱^{53}**	grass	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986

Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɹɑ̱^{53}**	grass	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:218.45
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**mùʔ**	weed / grass / weeds (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:138
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɣ^{5}**	grass	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**maw6**	weed / grass / weeds (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:138
Lisu (Central)	**maw^{6}**	grass	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**mù** c	weed / grass / weeds (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:138
Lisu (Northern)	**mɔʔ^{21}**	grass; V to weed (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mɔʔ^{21}ba^{33}	kind of grass, Galinsoga parviflora (often grown on roadside, also known as mɔʔ^{21}la^{35}dzɤʔ^{21}, kɔ^{33}tse^{33}le^{33})	Bradley 1994
	mɔʔ^{21}ni^{35}tɕhiʔ^{21}	green grass	Bradley 1994
	mɔʔ^{21}nu^{21}	tender grass	Bradley 1994
	mɔʔ^{21}phu^{33}	kind of grass, Arctia caja	Bradley 1994
	mɔʔ^{21}næ^{33}		
	mɔʔ^{21}zaʔ^{21} ʃl^{55}zaʔ^{21}	grass (general)	Bradley 1994
	mɔʔ^{21}ʃl^{55}	grass seed	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**mo LS**	weed / grass / weeds (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:138

(6) PCC *ram ≍ *hram GRASS / WEEDS

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***ram ≍** hram	GRASS / WEEDS	VanBik 2009:942
Lai (Hakha)	**râm**	grass, weeds	VanBik 2009:942
Lushai [Mizo]	**hrám**	second crop of weeds and sprouting wild vegetation (n.)	VanBik 2009:942

(7) PTani *čul SEEDLING

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***čul**	seedling	Sun 1993a:341
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	ʔa-**tɕur**	seedling	Sun 1993b
Milang	pim-**sul**	seedling	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	mɯ-**sur**	seedling	Sun 1993a

(8) PKC *phal SHEAF

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***phal**	SHEAF	VanBik 2009:354
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**buh** phal	sheaf	VanBik 2009:354
Thado	**tsáaŋ** phál	sheaf	VanBik 2009:354
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**phăl**	sheaf	VanBik 2009:354
Lushai [Mizo]	**phàl**	sheaf (n.)	VanBik 2009:354

3.1.9 Vegetative/Agricultural activity

(1) PTB *low FIELD

This etymon, which seems confined to the NE Indian areal group, is quite distinct from the much more widespread PTB ***m-l(e/ə)y** EARTH / COUNTRY / GROUND / MUD / SOIL (§3.2.11).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***low**	field	Matisoff 2003a:600
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***law** FARM / FIELD			
**Chin*	***law**	FARM / FIELD	VanBik 2009:1017
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**lō** tul	field	VanBik 2009:1017
Thado	**lóu**	field	Thirumalai 1972:14
	lôw	field	VanBik 2009:1017
Tiddim	**lou^{1}**	field	VanBik 2009:1017; Bhaskararao 1996:982
	lou^{1} gi^{1}	boundary in a field	Bhaskararao 1996:984
	lou^{1} no:l^{1}	edge of a field	Bhaskararao 1996:986
	ˊlou	taungya / field (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**alö**	farm (n.)	VanBik 2009:1017
Cho (Mindat)	**lo**	hill-field	VanBik 2009:1017
Khumi	**laaw**	farm (n.)	VanBik 2009:1017
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**lâw**	farm, field	VanBik 2009:1017
Lai (Falam)	**láw**	farm, field	VanBik 2009:1017
Lushai [Mizo]	**lo**	field	Marrison 1967
	lŏ	farm, a cultivated field, a Lushai cultivation (n.)	VanBik 2009:1017
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**lyú** ~ láo	farm, a cultivation (n.)	VanBik 2009:1017
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Bete	**loi**	field (n.)	Benedict 1972:66
1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP			
Maring	**lau**	field	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***hlu** FIELD / GROUND			
**Central Naga*	***hlu**	FIELD / GROUND	Bruhn 2014a:III.088
**Ao*	*a-**hlu**	FIELD	Bruhn 2014a:II.338
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**lu^{1}**	field (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.338
	a **lu**	field	Marrison 1967
	tsə^{1}**lu^{1}**	paddy field (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **lu**	field	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**hlú**	field (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**ló** kò	ground	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**lu**	field	Marrison 1967
	lu rü **(lu)**	boundary (of a field)	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	a **lo**	land (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **lo**	world	Marrison 1967
	lo	country	Marrison 1967
	thu **lu**	field	Marrison 1967
	^{2}a^{2}guŋ^{1}**lu**	field, ground	Weidert 1987:895b
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Khezha	e **lo**	field	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**lo**	field	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **lu**	field	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	**lau**	field	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	cha **lu**	field	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **lo**	field	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**lau**	field	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**lau**	field	Marrison 1967
	làw	field	Matisoff 1994e
	lææw	field	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	he **lu**	field	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**lu**	field	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***low** FIELD			
**Tangkhulic*	***low**	field	Mortensen 2012:418
Huishu	sə-**low**	field, irrigated paddy field, rice field	Mortensen 2012:Plants.148
	ʔa-mi-**low**	rice field / swidden / upland field	Mortensen 2012:Plants.149
Kachai	ʔa-**le**	rice field / paddy field	Mortensen 2012:Plants.148
Tangkhul	**lui**	field	Marrison 1967
Tusom	**luə**	field	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.018
Ukhrul	**luj**	field	Mortensen 2012
	ŋə-ra-**luj**	rice field (in the valley)	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-haŋ **luj**	rice field (swidden)	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**lou**	field	Marrison 1967

(2) PNC *yaaŋ PLAINS-FIELD / FIELD (in plains)

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
**Northern Chin*	***yaaŋ**	PLAINS-FIELD / FIELD (in plains)	VanBik 2009:1225
Thado	**zâaŋ**	plain (land)	VanBik 2009:1225
Tiddim	**za:ng^{2}**	plain field	VanBik 2009:1225; Bhaskararao 1996:2009

(3) PTB *di PLANT (v.) / PADDY FIELD

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	hi **di**	field	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**ti** li	field	Bhat 1968
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola (Luxi)	**tu̱i^{55}**	plant / raise (wheat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1801.32
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-ti^{3}**	plant	Bradley 1979b:620
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**tɤ^{24}**	plant; raise (wheat); plant (trees) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1774.47; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1801.47
Lalo	**di**-mí	field / dry field	Björverud 1994
	té	plant / transplant	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Southern)	**də^{31}**	field	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**də^{31}**fiɑ^{31}	field	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**dɚ̃^{31}**	paddy fields (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.34
	tui^{33}	plant; raise (wheat); plant (trees) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1774.34; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1801.34
Nusu (Northern)	**tyi^{31}**	plant (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**tyi^{55}**	plant (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**tə^{33}**	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.22
	tə^{33}	plant (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:598.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**di^{21}**ko^{21}	paddy wall; terrace wall	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tʌ^{33}**	plant (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:598.25
	tʌ^{33}mi^{33}	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tɛ^{55}**	plant (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:598.26
	tɛ^{55}mi^{55}	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tə^{33}**	plant (trees) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1774.37
	tə^{33}mi^{33}	paddy fields (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.37
	tɛ^{33}mi^{33}	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**te^{55}**mi^{33}	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.23
Yi (Weishan)	**di^{33}**mi^{55}	paddy fields (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.36
	tɛ^{55}	plant (trees) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1774.36
Yi (Wuding)	**dɚ̱^{2}**	patch (of ground / field) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0858.38
	tɔ^{33}	plant (trees) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1774.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Youle)	**te^{33}**	field (paddy)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**te^{33}**	paddy fields (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.44
	te^{44}	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.34
Kucong	**ti33**	plant, grow	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	ti33 zʌ33	paddy field	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**ti^{33}**	plant; raise (wheat); plant (trees) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1774.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1801.43
	ti^{33}mi^{33}	paddy fields (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.43
	ti^{33}mi^{33}tɕɑ^{31}	rice (paddy) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0403.43
Lahu (Black)	**ti^{33}**	plant (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:598.33
	ti^{33}mi^{33}	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ti^{1}**	plant (v.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ti^{1}mi^{1}	field (paddy)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**di^{33}**mi^{33}	paddy field (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**dye^{3}**-mi^{4}	field (irrigated)	Fraser 1922
	trgh^{3}	plant (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tu̱^{33}**	plant (trees) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1774.40
	tɯ^{44}	plant (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:598.27

Lisu (Northern)	**tʏ^{33}**	plant; grow (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**tæ^{44}**	plant; raise (wheat); plant (trees) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1774.39; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1801.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Gelanghe)	**dɛ^{33}**ma^{33}	field (paddy)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Mpi	**te^{4}**	rice field	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Sila	**te33** kɔ̰21	irrigated field	KATO Takashi 2008:140

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**tʌ^{33}**	plant; grow; erect by planting	Pelkey 2011:667
	tʌ^{44}mi^{44}**	field; wet field	Pelkey 2011:435
	tʌ^{44}mi^{44}ʯɛ^{21}**	clear field	Pelkey 2011:891
Southern Muji	**ti^{33}**	plant; grow; erect by planting	Pelkey 2011:667
	ti^{33}mi^{33}**	field; wet field	Pelkey 2011:435
Phola	**tiɛ^{55}**	field; wet field	Pelkey 2011:435
	ti^{55}	plant; grow; erect by planting	Pelkey 2011:667
Hlepho Phowa	**tə^{33}**	plant; grow; erect by planting	Pelkey 2011:667
	tə^{33}mi^{33}**	field; wet field	Pelkey 2011:435
Phuza	**tɛ^{33}**mi^{33}**	field; wet field	Pelkey 2011:435
	tɛ^{55}	plant; grow; erect by planting	Pelkey 2011:667

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ʈv^{ɬ}**	plant (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3341
Na (Yongning)	**tv^{ɬ}**	plant (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**tv^{33}**	plant (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:598.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tv^{31}**	plant (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:598.28
Naxi	**tɣ^{21}**	plant; raise (wheat); plant (trees) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1774.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1801.45

(4) PCC *tsiiŋ-I, *tsiin-II PLANT (v.) / SOW

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***tsiiŋ**-I, tsiin-II	PLANT (v.) / SOW	VanBik 2009:553
Lai (Hakha)	**tsîiŋ**-I, tsĭin-II	plant, sow (as tree)	VanBik 2009:553
Lushai [Mizo]	**chíing**-I, chìin-II	plant to sow, to cultivate (as plant, tree, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:553

(5) PTani *di: ~ *diŋ PLANT (v.t.)

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***di:~ diŋ**	plant (v.t., e.g. ~ tree)	Sun 1993a:298

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**dì**	plant (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**di:**	plant (v.t., e.g. ~ tree)	Sun 1993a
	di:	plant (v.)	Sun 1993b
	di:	transplant (rice seedlings)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1172.24
	di:	plant (trees) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1774.24
Miri, Hill	**di0** nam	plant	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**diŋ**	plant (v.t., e.g. ~ tree)	Sun 1993a

(6) PNC *pooy SOW

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

**Northern Chin*	***pooy**	SOW	VanBik 2009:161
Sizang	**antī** a poi hī	sow	VanBik 2009:161
Tiddim	**po:i^{2}**	sow (crop), plant	VanBik 2009:161

(7) PKC *tuʔ SOW / PLANT (v.)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tuʔ**	SOW / PLANT (v.)	VanBik 2009:232

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**tùu**-INV	sow	VanBik 2009:232

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**tiw**	plant with a dao	VanBik 2009:232

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tuʔ**-INV	sow (v.)	VanBik 2009:232
Lushai [Mizo]	**tùh**	plant, to sow (v.)	VanBik 2009:232

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**tū**	sow (v.)	VanBik 2009:232

Chinese comparandum

樹 OC ***d̂ʾi̯u**, *GSR* #127j-l 'tree'; Schuessler 2007:472 ***doʔ**; B & S 2011: ***m-toʔ-s**; Mand. **shù**.
樹 OC ***d̂ʾi̯u**, *GSR* #127j-l 'plant (v.); place upright'; Schuessler 2007:472 ***doh**; B & S 2011: ***m-toʔ**; Mand. **shǔ**.

3.1.10 Verbs involving plants

(1) PNC *vul DROOP / WITHER

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

**Northern Chin*	***vul**	DROOP / WITHER	VanBik 2009:1144
Sizang	**vūl** hī	wither	VanBik 2009:1144
Tiddim	**vul^{2}**	drooping as leaves	VanBik 2009:1144

(2) PCN *liŋ PLANT (v.)

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	***liŋ**	PLANT (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.215
**Ao*	*a-**liŋ**	PLANT (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.332
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}-**zəŋ^{2}**	plant (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.332
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**liŋ**	plant [planted] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**jəŋ^{1}**-	plant (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.215

(3) PCN *thj[a/ə]m PLANT (v.) / TRANSPLANT

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	***thj [a/ə] m**	PLANT / TRANSPLANT (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.149
**Ao*	*a-**thjəm**	PLANT (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.378
Ao (Chungli)	**-tūm**	plant (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a^{2}-**təm^{2}**	plant (seed), transplant (seedling) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.378
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tʃhəm**	plant [planted] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**tʃhəm^{1}**-**chüm** a	transplant (v.) plant	Bruhn 2014a:III.149 Murry *et al.* 1978:89

(4) PTB * g/k ay PLANT

Jingpho has a doublet **khái** and **gat**, with the latter showing a suffix **-t**. The same suffixal element occurs in Nocte **khet** and **a khiet**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gay ≍ kay**	plant (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:590
	***kay ≍ *gay**	plant	LaPolla 1987:10
	***kay ≍ gay**	plant (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:114

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Sema [Sumi]	**khü**	sow (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	maruk-**khai**	sow (v.)	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:114

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**gáy**	plant (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gáy	plant	Matisoff 1985a:114; LaPolla 1987:10
	gay ráy	plant carefully (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gay sóng	transplant; erect the first housepost	Matisoff 1985a:114
	gay sóŋ	transplant (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**gai**	sow (v.)	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:114

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***C-ga(:)y** SOW

**Northern Naga*	***C-ga(:)y**	sow (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:114
	***Ç-gay**	sow (v.)	French 1983:555
	***Ç-ga:y**	sow (v.)	French 1983:555

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**kie**	sow (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**gat**	sow (v.)	Marrison 1967
	khái	plant seed	Matisoff 1985a:114
	khai^{55}	plant (v.)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	khai^{55}	plant	LaPolla 1987:10
	khai^{55}	plant; raise (wheat); plant (trees) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1774.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1801.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:598.47

(5) PTB *s-min RIPE / COOKED / DELICIOUS

The Tani languages show variation among initial **m- ≍ ñ- ≍ ŋ-**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-min**	ripe / sweet / delicious	Matisoff 2003a:602
	***s-min**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
	***s-min**	ripe; cooked	LaPolla 1987:87; Benedict 1972:432

1.1.1. TANI: ***min** RIPE

**Tani*	***min**	ripe	Sun 1993a:326

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	ar-**mĩ**	ripe	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ar-**mi**	ripen	Sun 1993b
	^{1}ar ^{2}**miŋ** (^{1})	ripe	Weidert 1987:818
Bengni	**ñin**	ripe	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**min**	ripe	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	min	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.24
Galo	**ŋin**-na	ripe	Das Gupta 1963
	ŋin nam	ripe (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	`a **min**	ripe	Weidert 1987:818
Miri, Hill	**ŋin**-ne	ripe	Simon 1976
Tagin	**nyi**-nɤ	ripe	Das Gupta 1983
	ŋi-nɤ	ripe	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**min**	ripe	Sun 1993a
Damu	**min**-duŋ	ripe	Sun 1993b
Milang	**man** ŋi	ripe	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**min**	ripe	LaPolla 1987:87; Benedict 1972:432

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	ha: **míng**	ripe (of cultivated fruits)	NEFA (India) 1963

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***hmin** RIPE / WELL-COOKED

**Chin*	***hmin**	RIPE / WELL-COOKED	VanBik 2009:879

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**min** hī	ripe	VanBik 2009:879
Thado	**mín**-I, mìn-II	ripe, well-cooked, well-done	VanBik 2009:879
Tiddim	**min^{2}**	cooked, ripe	VanBik 2009:879
	min^{2}	cooked; ripe (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1115

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**'myin**	ripe, to be cooked (be v.)	VanBik 2009:879
Khumi	**múe(ng)**	ripe	VanBik 2009:879

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hmîn**-I, hmĭn-II	ripe, well cooked	VanBik 2009:879
Lai (Falam)	**hmĭn**-I, hmìn-II	ripe, well cooked	VanBik 2009:879
Lushai [Mizo]	**hmín**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
	hmin	ripe	Marrison 1967
	hmín	ripe, cooked, mature, to ripen (be v.)	VanBik 2009:879
	hmin	cooked (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2406
	hmin	ripe	LaPolla 1987:87
	hmi:n	ripen, ripe	Benedict 1972:432

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**hmò**	ripen (v.)	VanBik 2009:879

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	kʌ-**mín**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
	kʌ-**mún**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	kei **min**	ripe	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***hmən** RIPEN, BE RIPE / BE COOKED

**Central Naga*	***hmən**	RIPEN, BE RIPE / BE COOKED	Bruhn 2014a:III.170
Ao (Chungli)	**-mūn**	ripe (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a²-**mən²**	ripen, cook (vi.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.170
	ta **men**	ripe; soft	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te **nhing**	ripe	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **hniŋ**	ripe (be v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**hmen¹-**	ripe, fully cooked (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.170
	e **mhe**	ripe	Marrison 1967
	e **mhen**	ripe	Murry *et al.* 1978:105
	mhēn̰ à	ripe	Acharya 1975
	mhén̰ á	ripe (fruit)	Acharya 1975
	mhén̰ à	ripen (as fruit)	Acharya 1975
	mhen a	ripe	Murry *et al.* 1978:105
	m **mhe**	raw (unripe)	Marrison 1967
	¹mhen	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Sangtam	a **nyü** zya	sweet	Marrison 1967
	nyi cho	ripe	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	ta **man**	ripe	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a mü **mün** khi	unripe	Kumar 1973b:31

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	**²me**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Angami (Khonoma)	**me**	ripe	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	ke **me**	ripe	Marrison 1967
Chokri	kü **mü**	ripe	Marrison 1967
	²mɤ	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Khezha	**¹mu**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Mao	ka **mi**	ripe	Marrison 1967
	¹mi	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Rengma	ke **men**	ripe	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	ka **min** ba	ripe	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	ka **min** bu	ripe	Marrison 1967
Maram	**mi**	ripe	Marrison 1967
Puiron	ka **min** nu	ripe	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**min** mei	ripe	Marrison 1967
Zeme	ke **mei** be	ripe	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***min** RIPE / WELL-COOKED

**Tangkhulic*	***min**	ripe / well-cooked	Mortensen 2012:467
Huishu	kʰə-**mɐŋ**	ripe / well-cooked	Mortensen 2012:Plants.056
Kachai	kʰə-**mɐn**	ripe / well-cooked	Mortensen 2012:Plants.056
Tangkhul	kha **min**	ripe	Marrison 1967
	min	ripe	Bhat 1969:95
	¹khə-**¹min**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Tusom	kʰə-**mɯ̃**	ripe	Mortensen 2012:Plants.056
Ukhrul	kʰə-**min**	ripe, well-cooked (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**mun** ba	ripe	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ke **mèn**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
	ke **men**	ripe	Marrison 1967
	men	ripe	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:87; Benedict 1972:432

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	gə **mən**	boiled; ripe; boiled, ripe	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
	gə **mən** sin	most ripe (n.)	Bhat 1968
	gɤ **mɤn**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Dimasa	gi **min** ⩙ gu **mun**	cooked, ripe, subdued; ripe	Benedict 1972:432; LaPolla 1987:87
	gu **mun**	ripe	Marrison 1967
	min ⩙ **man**	ripen, cook (intr.)	Benedict 1972:432
Meche	**mɤn**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**min**	fester, mature	Benedict 1972:432
	min-a	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
	min-gipa	ripe	LaPolla 1987:87; Benedict 1972:432
Garo (Bangladesh)	**min**-a	cooked; ripe (vi.)	Burling 2003:4.694-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**myn-**	ripe, to be cooked, to be ready (be v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**mũ**-nĩ	ripe (be)	Jacquesson 2005
	mun ma	ripe	Brown 1895:71

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***min** RIPE

**Northern Naga*	***min**	ripe	French 1983:539

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa	**³min**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Tangsa (Moshang)	a **muin**	ripe	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Khiamngan	¹²a²¹**ñan**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
	¹²a²¹**ñan**	ripe	Weidert 1987:818
Konyak (Tamlu)	**mɯn**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Phom	**men** pu	ripe	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**mjin³³**	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.19
	myin	ripe	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:87; Benedict 1972:432
	²myin	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**míŋ**	ripe	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:82

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**min** zi	ripe	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Bumthang	**ʔmen**	ripe	Weidert 1987:818
Tsangla (Motuo)	**min⁵⁵**	ripe (of fruit)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**min**	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.07
Tashigang	**min** pa	ripe	Weidert 1987:818
Cuona Menba	**min⁵⁵** ne³¹	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Batang)	**m̥ẽ⁵⁵**	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**mĩ⁵⁵**	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.02
Tibetan (Written)	(fibras bu) **smin**	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.01
	smin-pa	ripen; ripeness; ripe	Weidert 1987:818; LaPolla 1987:87; Benedict 1972:432; Marrison 1967

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	ă **măn**	ripe, cooked	Benedict 1972:432
	myan	ripe	LaPolla 1987:87
	myan	ripe (vs.)	Benedict 1972:432

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**min²** ba	ripe	Nagano 1984:082
Manang (Prakaa)	**²mĩ-**	ripe, become / ripen	Mazaudon 1994:778
	¹mĩ-	ripe, become / ripen	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0375
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'min**-pa	ripe	Weidert 1987:818
Tamang (Risiangku)	**²min**	ripe / cooked	Mazaudon 1994:778
Tamang (Sahu)	**'mim**-pa	become soft, ripe (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:18.B.13
	²min	ripen / to become soft, ripe	Mazaudon 1994:778

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**miŋ**	ripe	LaPolla 1987:87
	miŋ	ripe; to be cooked (vs.)	Benedict 1972:432
Hayu	**min**	ripe	LaPolla 1987:87
	min	ripe; to be cooked (vs.)	Benedict 1972:432

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**min-**	ripe, mature (beer), be cooked (va.)	Caughley 2000
	mənh-	fully ripe, cooked; cook (vat.)	Caughley 2000
Magar	**min**	ripe; ripe, ripen	LaPolla 1987:87; Benedict 1972:432

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**mĩ⁵⁵**	cooked, be (rice); done; ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.16; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.16
	mi⁵⁵nɛ³³	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.17
Muya	tə³³**mi⁵⁵**	cooked, be (rice) / done (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mi⁵³**	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.15
Namuyi	**mi³³**gɛ⁵⁵	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.19
	mi³¹gæ⁵³	cooked, be (rice); done; ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.46; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.46
	mæ⁵³**mi³¹**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**m̥ẽ⁵⁵**	cooked, be (rice); done; ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.10; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.10
Pumi (Qinghua)	**m̥iẽ⁵⁵**	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**m̥ĩ⁵⁵**mə⁵³	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**nə**	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**me³³**	rice (cooked)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:392.9
	mi³³	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	le³³**me⁵⁵**	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	tə⁵⁵**sm̥in⁵⁵**	cooked, be (rice) / done (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.13
Xumi	liɑ⁵⁵**mĩ³³**	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.20
	lɛ⁵⁵**mi⁵⁵**	cooked, be (rice); done; ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.17; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	a³³ **me⁵⁵**	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.14
	kʌ³³ **me⁵⁵**	cooked, be (rice) / done (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	gə **mə**	cooked, be (rice) / done (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.12
Ergong (Danba)	**mɯ**	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.14
Daofu	ɣə **smən**	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **smən**	cooked, be (rice) / done (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.11
Caodeng	kə-**smi**	cooked (adj.)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	kə **smən**	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.12
	kA **smAN**	ripe	Nagano 1997:167
rGBenzhen	kə-**smən**	cooked	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Anong	**min**	cooked; to rot (as wood) (vs.)	Benedict 1972:432
Rawang	**nɯn³¹**	ripe (of fruit)	LaPolla 2003:1428
Dulong	**min⁵³**	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**min⁵³**	ripe	LaPolla 1987:87
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**nĭn⁵³**	ripe (v.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nin⁵³	ripe	LaPolla 1987:87

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***s/ʔ-min¹** RIPE / SWEET / DELICIOUS

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-miŋ³**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
	***s/ʔ-min¹**	ripe / sweet / delicious	Matisoff 2003a:602

6.1.1. Burmish

**Burmese*	*ʔə-**smínʔ**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Achang (Longchuan)	**n̊jeŋ³⁵**	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.28
Bola (Luxi)	**maŋ̱³⁵**	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.32
	mjaʔ̱⁵⁵	tasty / delicious	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1091.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**m̥ɛ⁵³**	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.27
Burmese (Written)	**hmáñ**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
	hmañ'	ripe	Benedict 1976a
	hmyáñ	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
	hmyáñ ⩙ **hmáñ**	ripe (vs.)	Benedict 1972:432
	hmyan~**hman**	ripe	LaPolla 1987:87
	hmyañ'	ripe	Benedict 1976a
	hmɛ́	ripe	Benedict 1972:79n241
	hmɑɲ̱¹	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.26
	mhañ̃ñ̃.	ripe	Marrison 1967
Hpun (Northern)	**maì**-ŋ	ripe	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**maŋ̱⁵⁵**	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.31
	mjɔʔ̱⁵⁵	tasty / delicious	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1091.31

Leqi (Luxi)	**mjə̠ːŋ**^{53}	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.33
Marma	**hmĕ**	ripe	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:82
Maru [Langsu]	**mja̠uk**^{55}	sweet potato	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:194.43
	mʔáŋ	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mjiŋ**^{55}	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.30
	mʔyíŋ	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
	sam^{55}**mju̠ʔ**^{55}	sweet potato	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:194.42

6.1.2. Loloish: ***s-miŋ**^{3} RIPE

**Loloish*	***s-miŋ**^{3}	ripe	Bradley 1979b:764B
PNL	**s-miŋ**^{3}	ripe	Chen Kang 1986a:142.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**mi**^{33}	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.47
Lalo	**mí**	tasty	Björverud 1994
	ʔmi	cooked / ripe	Björverud 1994
	ʔmɯ^{55}	ripe	Chen Kang 1986a:142.
Lipho	**mi**^{33}	ripe	Chen Kang 1986a:142.
Nasu	**mɚ**^{21}	ripe	Chen Kang 1986a:142.
Neisu	**mɛ**^{21}	ripe	Chen Kang 1986a:142.
Nesu	**mɛ**^{21}	ripe	Chen Kang 1986a:142.
Nosu	**m̥ɪ**^{33}	ripe	Chen Kang 1986a:142.
Nusu (Central)	dza^{55}**miɔ**^{33}	tasty / delicious	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1091.34
	m̥ɹɚ^{31}	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**m̥i**^{21}	cooked (ready to eat); ripe (fruit); ripe (grain)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʥa^{33}**n̥i**^{33}	food, delicious; tasty food	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	dzo^{21}**mi**^{33}	tasty / delicious	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1091.37
	mi^{33}	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.37
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔmi**^{33}	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.36
Yi (Wuding)	**mɚ**^{11}	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.38
Yi (Xide)	**m̥i**^{21}	cooked, be (rice); done; ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**mɛ**^{2}	ripe	Chen Kang 1986a:142.
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**mju**^{33}	ripe	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**mjə**^{33}	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.44
Kucong	**miɛ33**	ripe	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**mɛ̄**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Lahu (Lancang)	**mɛ**^{33}	cooked, be (rice); done; ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.43
Lisu	**mî**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Lisu (Central)	**mi**^{3}	ripe, be (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**mi**^{33}	ripe (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**mi̠**^{33}	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.40
Sani [Nyi]	**mæ**^{33}	ripe	Chen Kang 1986a:142.
Yi (Sani)	**mæ**^{33}	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**myɔ̄n**	ripe (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:332
Hani (Pijo)	**mí**	ripe (fruit)	Hansson 1989:542
Hani (Khatu)	**mí**	ripe (fruit)	Hansson 1989:542
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **miŋ33**	ripe	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:030039

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**mi˩**	cooked	Michaud 2006–2009:2108
Na (Yongning)	**mv˩**	cooked; ripe	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**mi**^{55}	cooked, be (rice); done; ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mi**^{55}	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**mv**^{31}	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.29
	mə^{33}**mv**^{31}	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.29

7. Karenic: ***hmin**^{A} RIPE, COOKED

**Karen*	***hmin**	ripe / cooked	Benedict 1972:136n369
	***hmin**^{A}	ripe, cooked	Luangthongkum 2013:239
**Karen [Burling]*	***min**^{4}	ripe, cooked	Luangthongkum 2013:239
Bwe	**mí**	ripe (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	mi^{55}	ripe, cooked	Luangthongkum 2013:239
Karen	**mi̠**^{55}	ripe, be (fruit) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1638.50
Kayah	**mi**^{33}	ripe, cooked	Luangthongkum 2013:239
Kayan	**mjəŋ**^{53}	ripe, cooked	Luangthongkum 2013:239
Kayan (Pekon)	**myán**	ripe, ready (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	myán ràu	ripe (ripen after being picked) (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**mi**^{55}	ripe, cooked	Luangthongkum 2013:239
Pa-O	**mìn**	ripe, cooked	Solnit 1989
	min	ripe	Benedict 1972:142n384
Pa-O (Northern)	**min**$^{31¨}$	ripe, cooked	Luangthongkum 2013:239
Pa-O (Southern)	**min**$^{31¨}$	ripe, cooked	Luangthongkum 2013:239
Pwo (Northern)	**mãi**^{55}	ripe, cooked	Luangthongkum 2013:239
Pwo (Southern)	**mɛ̃i**^{55}	ripe, cooked	Luangthongkum 2013:239
Sgaw (Northern)	**mi**^{33}	ripe, cooked	Luangthongkum 2013:239
Sgaw (Southern)	**mi**^{55}	ripe, cooked	Luangthongkum 2013:239

(6) PTB *m-bup ROT / SPOTTED / WRITE

The semantic range of this root is interesting: the basic meaning seems to have been 'rot'; have spots of rot or mold', whence 'be spotted, mottled', thence to the notion of 'write' (perceived by preliterate people as making spots on paper). Matisoff 1972 (*LTSR*) treats ROT / SPOIL (#75) as a separate etymon from WRITE / MAKE SPOTS (#89).

This root resembles PTB ***bruk** PIEBALD / SPECKLED (§9.4), but is best kept distinct.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***bup**	rot / rotten	LaPolla 1987:72
	***m-bup**	rot / spotted / write	Matisoff 2003a:585

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**ɓú**	rot	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:95

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**pop**	spoil (v.)	Rai 1985

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**bu**^{35}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.16
Muya	nɐ^{33}**mbə**^{53}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.15
	nɐ^{33}**mbə**^{53}tɕɐ^{33}	damage / spoil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1655.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mbɯ**^{55}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.15
Namuyi	**bo**^{33}tʂʅ^{55}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.19
	bo^{33}tʂʅ^{53}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	nə^{11}**bɯi**^{55}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.10
Pumi (Lanping)	nə^{13} **bie**^{55}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.09
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	kə^{35}**pɐ**^{53}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**pɔ**^{55}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	kʌ^{33}**pia**^{55}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.14

4. Nungic

Rawang	**bɯp** [**bɯp** mɛ^{33}]	rot (meat)	LaPolla 2003:1295
Anong	**ŋ**^{31}**bɔm**^{55}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.44
Trung [Dulong]	**bɯ̆p**^{55}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**bɯp**^{55}	rot / rotten	LaPolla 1987:72
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**bɯp**^{55}	rot / rotten	LaPolla 1987:72
	bɯ̆p^{55}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***Nbup**	rot; spoil; rotten	Matisoff 1972b:75; LaPolla 1987:72 [a]

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**pup**^{55}	rot; rotten; spoil	LaPolla 1987:72; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.41
Achang (Luxi)	**pɔp**^{31}	rot; spoil; rotten	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:72
Bola (Luxi)	**pap**^{31}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**poʔ**^{4}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**poʔ**^{44}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.40
Burmese (Written)	**pup**	rot; rotten; spoil	LaPolla 1987:72; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.39
	pup^{4}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.26
Hpun (Northern)	**pàʔ**	rot (v.)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**pap**^{31}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**puːp**^{55}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.33
Marma	**pouʔ**	rot	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:95
Maru [Langsu]	**páp**	rot / rotten	LaPolla 1987:72
	pap^{31}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pup**	rot / rotten	LaPolla 1987:72
	pup^{21}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.42
	pup^{21}tʃeʔ^{21}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.30

6.1.2. Loloish: ***m-bup**^{L} WRITE / ROT

**Loloish*	***m-bup**^{L}	write; rot	Bradley 1979b:672; Bradley 1979b:732

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Northern)	**bɔ̠**^{53}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**bɔ̠**^{53}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.34
Nusu (Southern)	**bɑ̠**^{53}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	pio̠^{53}	write	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**pio̠**^{53}	write (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1736.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**pio̠**^{53}	write	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:623.45
Nusu (Northern)	**pio̠**^{55}	write	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	**bu̠**^{33}	write	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Weishan)	**phɯ**^{21}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.36
Yi (Xide)	**bu̠**^{33}	write (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1736.35
	bu̠^{33}	write	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:623.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**phə**^{44}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.44
	pjo^{33}	write	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:623.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**pjo**^{55}	write	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**pjo**^{55}	write (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1736.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**pu**^{55}	rot / spoil	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**pu**^{55}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.34
Lahu	**bùʔ**	rot / rotten	LaPolla 1987:72
Lahu (Lancang)	**bu**^{21}	write (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1736.43
Lahu (Black)	**bu**^{21}	write	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:623.33
	bùʔ	speckled; spotted; rot (e.g. wood); mildew (e.g. clothing)	Matisoff 1974:360; Matisoff 1972b:75
	bùʔ	spotted (be v.)	Matisoff 1972b:89(a)
	bùʔ	write	Matisoff 1972b:89(a)
	lâ-**bùʔ**	leopard	Matisoff 1972b:89(a)
Lahu (Yellow)	**bʏ̩**^{5}	write	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**baw3**	write / make spots	Matisoff 1972b:89(b)
Lisu (Central)	**baw**^{3}	write (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**bo̠**^{33}	write (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1736.40
	bo^{44}	write	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:623.27
	bwɨ̀ c	rot / spoil	Matisoff 1972b:75
Lisu (Northern)	**bɔ**^{33}	write; describe; embroider; paint (V.)	Bradley 1994
	bɔ^{33}ku^{55}	able to write	Bradley 1994
	bɔ^{33}ta^{55}	write; register	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**bo LS**	write / make a design	Matisoff 1972b:89(a)
Akha (Thai)	**bòq**	write	Hansson 1989:511
Akha (Yunnan)	**bòq**	write	Hansson 1989:511
Akha	**bu LS**	mildewed	Matisoff 1972b:75
	bùq	rotten	Hansson 1989:498
Akha (Thai)	**bùq**	rotten	Hansson 1989:498
Akha (Yunnan)	**bùq**	rotten	Hansson 1989:498
Hani (Lüchun)	**bu**	write	Hansson 1989:511
Hani (Dazhai)	**bu̠**^{31}	rot; spoil; write	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:623.31; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**bu̠**^{31}	rot; write (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.41; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1736.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**pv̠**^{33}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**bo̠**^{31}	write	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	bu̠^{31}	rot / spoil	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**bbuvq**	write	Hansson 1989:511
Hani (Shuikui)	**pʏ̩**^{31}	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.32

[a] [Source Note] [*TSR* 75] (LaPolla 1987).

Hani (Mojiang)	**pɣ̱**^{31}	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.42
Sila	**bjҷ21**	write (v.)	Kato Takashi 2008:173
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Southern Muji	**bɯ**^{21}**ɕi**^{33}(-a^{55}**ɣ**jɛ^{21})	rot	Pelkey 2011:865
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	lɑ˥**bv**˩	rot (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2163
Na (Yongning)	**bæ**˩**bæ**˧	spotted	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**pəɹ**^{55}	write	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:623.28
Naxi	**pɘ**^{55}	write (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1736.45

(7) PKar *səŋ^{A} ROTTEN, BAD SMELL

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***səŋ**^{A}	rotten, bad smell	Luangthongkum 2013:242
Bwe	**θo**^{55}	rotten, bad smell	Luangthongkum 2013:242
Kayah	**sɔ**^{33}	rotten, bad smell	Luangthongkum 2013:242
Kayan	**θə**^{53}	rotten, bad smell	Luangthongkum 2013:242
Kayaw	**sə**^{55}	rotten, bad smell	Luangthongkum 2013:242
Pa-O (Southern)	**səŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	rotten, bad smell	Luangthongkum 2013:242
Pa-O (Northern)	**səŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	rotten, bad smell	Luangthongkum 2013:242

(8) PCN *ph-ruk SOW / SCATTER / THROW (seeds)

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	*ph-**ruk**	SOW, SCATTER, THROW (SEEDS)	Bruhn 2014a:III.267
**Ao*	*ph-**ɹuk**	SOW, SCATTER	Bruhn 2014a:II.313
Ao (Chungli)	pə^{3}**ɹuk**^{3}	sow, scatter (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.313
	pú**ɹ rúk**	scatter (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:10
	p **rok**	sow (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen)	p^{h}ú**ɹ rúk**	scatter (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:12
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	phe **ruk**	sow (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	phə **ɹuk**	sow, broadcast [sowed, broadcast] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	ṇ^{1}-**rok**^{2}-	sow, throw (seeds), scatter (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.267
	n **drok**	sow (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**youk**	throw (v.)	Marrison 1967

(9) PKC *phuu-I, *phuuk-II TRANSPLANT / UPROOT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***phuu**-I, phuuk-II	TRANSPLANT / UPROOT	VanBik 2009:362
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**phuh**	transplant	VanBik 2009:362
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**aphiw**	pull out (e.g. a stick from the ground)	VanBik 2009:362
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**phùu**-I phuuk-II	transplant, uproot, pull out	VanBik 2009:362

(10) PTani *san WITHER / DRY

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***san**	wither / dry	Sun 1993a:470
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**sẽ**	wither / dry	Sun 1993a
	sè-nɯ	dry	Sun 1993b
	sen-sɯ-nɯ	dry	Sun 1993b
Bengni	fam-**šin**	dry something near fire; dry st. (beside fire)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ram-**sin**	dry vt. (on a rack over fire)	Sun 1993b
	šin	wither / dry	Sun 1993a
	sin	dry	Sun 1993b
	sin-təŋ-pak	dry up (tree, plant)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**šen**	wither / dry	Sun 1993a
	sen	dry; wither	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	sen-kam(na-ko)	wither	Sun 1993b
	ɕen	dry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.24
	ɕen	wither; dry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1272.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.24
	ɦam **ɕin**	dry by fire (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɕen**	wither; dry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:791.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:864.51
Galo	-**'hen**	wither (result) (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	a din din-**sen**	dry meat	Das Gupta 1963
	sen-nɤ	dry	Das Gupta 1963
	'din **sen**	meat (dry) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'hen nam	wither (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋo-**sen**	dry meat	Das Gupta 1963
Nishing	**sing**	dry	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	lo **sin** nam	dry (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	sin tar	dry (adj.)	Das Gupta 1983
	sin tarnɤ ŋu i	fish, dry	Das Gupta 1983
	si nɤ	dry (adj.)	Das Gupta 1983
	si nɤ a mɤ	paddy, dry	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**san**	wither / dry	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. Deng			
Yidu	**ɕɑŋ**^{35}	dry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.25
	ɕɑŋ^{35}	dry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.25

(11) PTB *hwa:y WITHER / FADE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***hwa:y**	wither / fade	Matisoff 2003a:594
	***h^{w}a:y**	wither / fade	Matisoff 1985a:098
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ʔuay ≍ *wuay** WILT / SHRIVEL / WITHER			
**Chin*	***ʔuay ≍** wuay	WILT / SHRIVEL / WITHER	VanBik 2009:518
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**uai ≍** vuai	shrivel	VanBik 2009:518
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**vŭay**-I, vùay-II	wilt, shrivel, wither	VanBik 2009:518
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔûay**-I, ʔŭay-II	wilt, shrivel, wither	VanBik 2009:518
Lushai [Mizo]	**ūai**	wither / fade	Matisoff 1985a:098
	úai	wilt, to wither, to droop, to flag (v.)	VanBik 2009:518
	vūai	wither / fade	Matisoff 1985a:098
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***hoj** WITHER / FADE			
**Tangkhulic*	***hoj**	wither / fade	Mortensen 2012:432
Huishu	kə-nə-**hu**	wither / fade	Mortensen 2012:Plants.330
Kachai	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**hi**	wither / fade	Mortensen 2012:Plants.329
Tangkhul	**hùy**	wither / fade	Matisoff 1985a:098
	kha ŋa **hui**	wither / fade	Matisoff 1985a:098
Tusom	k^{h}a-ŋə-**xui**	wither	Mortensen 2012:Plants.330
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**huj**	wither; fade (color)	Mortensen 2012
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**wái**~**wói**	wither / fade	Matisoff 1985a:098
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**hwē**	wither / fade	Matisoff 1985a:098; Matisoff 1974:321

Chinese comparandum

萎 OC ***ʔi̯wǎr**, *GSR* #357d 'wither'; Schuessler 2007:509-10 ***ʔoi**~***ʔwai**; B & S 2011: (***qoj** or ***qor**); Mand. **wēi**.

苑 OC ***ʔi̯wǎn**, *GSR* #260d 'wither'; Schuessler 2007:509-10 ***ʔon**~***ʔwan**; B & S 2011: ***ʔor**; Mand. **yuàn**.

3.2.1 Weather and seasons

(1) PKC *hu(u)y AIR / WIND

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hu(u)y**	AIR / WIND	VanBik 2009:696
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**hùuy**	air, wind	VanBik 2009:696
Tiddim	**hui?**^{3}	wind	Bhaskararao 1996:506
	hui?^{3}	wind	VanBik 2009:696
	_hui?	air / wind (n.)	Henderson 1965
	_hui?	air; wind	Matisoff 1987
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hùi**	air, wind	VanBik 2009:696

(2) PTB *s-dim CLOUD

3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	bo^{33}**tsɛ**^{55}	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.18
	tsɛ^{55}	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.18
Guiqiong	**ʒuɔ̃**^{35}kuã^{55}	cloud; fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.16; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.16
	zɰ̃^{35}kuɛ̃^{35}	fog; cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.17; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.17
Lyuzu	**tɕe**^{53}	cloud; fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.18; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.18
Namuyi	**tʂu**^{33}	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.19
	tʂu^{33}tɕhi^{33}xo^{35}	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.19
	tʂu^{31}	cloud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**dẽ**^{35}	cloud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**zdie**^{13}zɻ̃^{55}	fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.09
	zdĩ^{55}	cloud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sdie**^{13}zɻ̃^{13}	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.11
	sdĩ^{55}	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.11
Qiang (Mawo)	**zdɑm**	cloud; fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.08; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.08
	zdɤm	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.8
	zdɤ qu	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**χde**^{33}	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.9
	χde^{33}le^{33}	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɕtie**^{55}	cloud; fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.13; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.13
Xumi	**tĩ**^{55}rõ^{33}	cloud; fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.17; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.17
	tɕi^{55}rɑ̃^{33}	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ʂtei**^{33} mbo^{35}zɻ^{33}	fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.14
	ʂtei^{13}	cloud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**zdo**	cloud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.12
	zdo mə	fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.12
Ergong (Danba)	**zdo** mɛ	fog; cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.14; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	sa **zdɛm**	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	sɑ **zdɛm**	fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**zdɛm**	cloud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.11
rGyalrong	**zdɛm**	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.12
Caodeng	**zndim?** kə-ɣrəm?	cloud (white)	Sun 1997a
	zndim? kə-ɲa	cloud (black)	Sun 1997a
	zndim? ~ **zndəm?**	cloud	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**zdem**	cloud	Nagano 1997:3.3
	zdem kya	fog	Nagano 1997:3.31
rGBenzhen	sa-**zdiɐm**	fog	Sun 1997b
	zdiɐm?	cloud	Sun 1997b
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tē**^{22}	cloud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tē**^{22}	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.40

Burmese (Written)	**tim**	cloud	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1983:63; Benedict 1976a
	tim²	cloud (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.26
	tim²	cloud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:6.39
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***C-dim¹**	cloud	Bradley 1979b:320-2
PNL	**C-dim¹**	cloud	CHEN Kang 1986a:141.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**tɣ²⁴**	cloud (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.47
Lalo	**tɯ⁵⁵**	cloud	CHEN Kang 1986a:141.
Lipho	**ti³³**	cloud	CHEN Kang 1986a:141.
Luquan	**tɔ³³**	cloud	MA Xueliang 1948
Nasu	**tɤ³³**	cloud	CHEN Kang 1986a:141.
Neisu	**tɛ¹³**	cloud	CHEN Kang 1986a:141.
Nesu	**tɛ⁵⁵**	cloud	CHEN Kang 1986a:141.
Nosu	**tɪ³³**	cloud	CHEN Kang 1986a:141.
Yi (Dafang)	**tie³³**	cloud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:6.22
Yi (Liangshan)	mu³³**ti³³**	cloud	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ti³³	cloud	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tɛ³³**	cloud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:6.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tɛ⁵⁵**	cloud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:6.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ti³³**	cloud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:6.24
	ti³³tʂho³³	cloud (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.37
Yi (Nanjian)	ɑ⁵⁵m̩(ɯ̩)²¹**ti⁵⁵**	cloud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:6.23
Yi (Weishan)	ɑ⁵⁵m̩²¹**ti⁵⁵**	cloud (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tɔ³³**	cloud (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.38
Yi (Xide)	mu³³**ti³³**	cloud (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.35
	m̩(u)³³**ti³³**	cloud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:6.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**tɛ³³**	cloud	CHEN Kang 1986a:141.
Jinuo	m̩³³**tɛ³³**	cloud (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.44
Jinuo (Youle)	m̩³³**tɛ⁴⁴**	cloud	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu (Central)	mū⁵-**ti³**	cloud	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	mɤ²¹**ti³³**	dark cloud (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mɤ²¹**ti³³ti³³**	cloudy; covered with dark clouds	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**tæ³³**	cloud	CHEN Kang 1986a:141.
Yi (Sani)	**tæ⁴⁴**	cloud (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Gelanghe)	u³¹**dm̩⁵⁵**	cloud	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**tʌ⁴⁴**	cloud	Pelkey 2011:6

(3) PTB *mway CLOUD / FOG

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***may** CLOUD / FOG			
**Chin*	***may**	CLOUD / FOG	VanBik 2009:758
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**mē**	cloud	VanBik 2009:758
Thado	**méi**	cloud	Thirumalai 1972:55
	méy	cloud	VanBik 2009:758
Tiddim	**mei²**	cloud	VanBik 2009:758; Bhaskararao 1996:1096
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	a **mé** -'sí	cloud	VanBik 2009:758
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-mei	cloudy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:758
Daai	**me**	cloud	VanBik 2009:758
	ŋmeⁱ	cloud	So-Hartmann 1988:2
Khumi	**tmáay**	fog	VanBik 2009:758
Mkaang	**me**ⁱ	cloud	So-Hartmann 1988:2
Ngmüün	**ŋme**ⁱ	cloud	So-Hartmann 1988:2
Nyhmoye	**ŋmɛ**.tšⁱ	cloud	So-Hartmann 1988:2
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	mǐn-**mây**	cloud	VanBik 2009:758
Lai (Falam)	ràw-**máy**	cloud	VanBik 2009:758
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**mèi**-dó	cloud	VanBik 2009:758
1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP			
Maring	ra **mai**	cloud	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***moj** CLOUD			
**Tangkhulic*	***moj**	cloud	Mortensen 2012:426
Huishu	ʔa-**mu**-le-tso	cloud	Mortensen 2012:Nature.046
Tusom	**my**-ʒe	cloud	Mortensen 2012:Nature.046
Ukhrul	**muj**-a	cloud	Mortensen 2012

(4) PTB *kyam COLD / SNOW / ICE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kyam**	snow; ice; cold; cold, snow, ice	Weidert 1987:241; Matisoff 2003a:598; Benedict 1972:224
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***kʰyəm**	winter / cold	French 1983:580
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**kâm**	cold	Weidert 1987:241
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**gyēn**	snow / ice / frost	Matisoff 1974:161
	khjen³³pa̱³³	ice (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.19
	khjen³³pa̱³³	ice	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:11.47
	khyēn	snow / ice / frost	Matisoff 1974:161
	khyen ⩙ gyen ⩙ tśen	snow, ice	Benedict 1972:224
	²khyen	snow / ice	Weidert 1987:241
2.1.2. BODIC			
Cuona Menba	**chem**⁵⁵thi⁵³	freeze / ice up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1440.06
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**khjɑm³**	cold (water)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1063.26
	khyàm	cold	Weidert 1987:241
	khyâm	cool, cold	Matisoff 1974:161
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khyam**	cold	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khyâm**	cool, cold	Benedict 1976a
	khyàm	cold, snow, ice	Benedict 1972:224
	khyam:	cold	Marrison 1967; Okell 1971

(5) PKC *ɗaay DEW

This root seems independent of PTB ***m-t(w)əy-n ⩙ *m-ti-s** WATER / FLUID / LIQUID / RIVER / SOAK / SPIT (§1.9.9).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***da:y**	dew	Matisoff 2003a:586
1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Kamarupan	**da:y**	dew	Matisoff 1985a:137
1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɗaay**	DEW / MOIST	VanBik 2009:75
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**dáay**	dew	VanBik 2009:75
	dāi	dew	Thirumalai 1972:20
	dài	dew	Thirumalai 1972:54
Tiddim	**da:i²** nom²	dew	VanBik 2009:75; Bhaskararao 1996:209
	´dai	dew (n.)	Henderson 1965
	´dai	dew	Matisoff 1985a:137
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**kdangtuuy**	dew	VanBik 2009:75
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**dai**	dew; rainwater settled on leaves	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:137; Bhaskararao 1996:209
	dâi	dew, rain-water which has settled on the leaves	VanBik 2009:75
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**dìa** tí	dew, moist	VanBik 2009:75
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Sorbung	ʔə-**dái**-~~cuu~~	dew	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Nature.055

(6) PTB *(d)zil DEW

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**d**)zil	dew	Matisoff 2003a:588
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**zi³⁵**bɑ⁵⁵	dew	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**zi:¹³**pʌ⁵³	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.6
Cuona Menba	**zi:³⁵**pa⁵³	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**wsi** wæ	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**si** wa	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**si**-wæ	dew	Sun 1985a:185
	wsi wa	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**si¹³**tɕhu⁵³	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**zi³¹**pa⁵³	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**si¹³**pa⁵³	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.2
	si:¹³pə⁵⁵	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.02
	si:¹³tɕhu⁵⁵	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.02
Tibetan (Written)	**zil** pa	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.01
	zil pa	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.1; Sun 1985c:185; Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**si** wa	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Risiangku)	**³silpa**	dew	Mazaudon 1994:994
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Yamphu	**si•ʔ** wa	dew (n.)	Rutgers 1998:578.18
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**zər**	dew	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4607
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ʂo⁵⁵**hi⁵⁵	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.18
Lyuzu	hĩ³³**ʂu⁵³**	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.18
Namuyi	**dʐo⁵⁵**fiɛ⁵⁵	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.19
	dʐu⁵⁵fiæ⁵⁵	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ʂɿ¹¹**tɕɯ⁵⁵	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʂɤ¹³**	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sɤ¹³**	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʂə³⁵**pu⁵⁵	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**dʐə** χ	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	(mià) **dʐè** qè ~ **dʐé** qè	dew	Evans 1999:17
Qiang (Taoping)	**χdʐə³³**qə⁵⁵	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.9
	χdʐa³³	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.9
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ʂʌ³³**ʐe⁵⁵	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.14
	ʂʌ¹³	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**nzʐɯ**	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	**ʃə** ri	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.12
	shu ru	dew	Nagano 1997:3.42
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-dzi²** DEW			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*ʔ-**dzi²**	dew	Matisoff 2003a:588
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**tshe³¹**	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.28
	tshe³¹	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**tshɛ³¹**	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.29
Burmese (Written)	**chī:** nhaṅ:	dew	Marrison 1967
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**tsɛ⁵⁵**ji³²³	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.47
Lalo	**tjỳ**-ɣə́	dew	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Bijiang)	hã̄ʲ³⁵**tɕhe³⁵**	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.45
Nusu (Southern)	**tɕhe⁵⁵**	dew	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**tʂhe⁵⁵**	dew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.34
Yi (Dafang)	**tsɿ⁵⁵**	dew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:14.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**tʂɯ⁵⁵**	dew	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index

	tʂɯ^{55}ʐɿ^{33}	dew	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tɕi**^{55}ʑi^{33}	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tsɯ**^{21}ʑi^{21}	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tʂi**^{55}ʑi^{33}	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.24
	tʂə^{55}ʑi^{33}	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**tɕy**^{21}ɣɯ^{55}	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tʂy̠**^{21}ɣɯ^{55}	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tʂl**^{55}ji^{11}	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.38
Yi (Xide)	**tʂɯ**^{55}	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.21
	tʂɯ^{55} ʐɿ^{33}	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	pɛ^{44}**ji**^{44}	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.44
Kucong	**tsɿ35** ɣɯ31	dew	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕi**^{31}ɣɯ^{31}	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.43
Lahu (Black)	**cī**-g̈ì	dew (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:465
	tsi^{31}ɣə^{31}	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tsɤ**^{5}	dew	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**tʃi**^{55}ʒi^{33}	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tʃʅ**^{55}ni^{33}	dew (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**tʃʅ**^{55}ɲi^{33}	dew (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**tɕi**^{55}ji^{33}	dew (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tɕi**^{55}ʑi̠^{33}	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.40
Yi (Sani)	**tsẓ̊**^{55}ẓ̊^{33}	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**tjhə̀**	dew	Hansson 1989:325
Akha (Yunnan)	**tjhə̀**	dew	Hansson 1989:325
Hani (Lüchun)	**tjhɣ̀** xhà	dew	Hansson 1989:325
Hani (Dazhai)	**tshi**^{31}xa^{31}	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tshi**^{31}xa^{31}	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tɕhɤ**^{31}	dew	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**tsi̠**^{45}ʑi^{21}	dew	Pelkey 2011:16
Southern Muji	**tɕi**^{21}ɕi^{33}	dew	Pelkey 2011:16
Phola	**tɕi̠**^{23}ʑi̠^{23}	dew	Pelkey 2011:16
Hlepho Phowa	**tsə**^{33}zɿ^{21}	dew	Pelkey 2011:16

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɖʐɯ**˧qʰɑ˧	dew	Michaud 2006–2009:44
Na (Yongning)	**ɖʐv**˧	dew	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɖʐv˧qʰɑ˧	dew	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**dʐə˞**^{33}	dew (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0015.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndʐəɹ**^{33}	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ndʐəɹ**^{33}; **dʐv**^{33}khɑ^{33}	dew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:14.29

(7) PTB *muːŋ ⋉ *r/s-muːk FOGGY / DARK / SULLEN / MENACING / THUNDER

This root seems to be allofamically related to PTB ***s-mun** DARK (§9.4).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***muːk**	sullen	Benedict 1972:362
	***muːŋ**	cloudy; dark; sullen	Chou Fa-kao 1972:457j-l; Chou Fa-kao 1972:902d; Benedict 1972:362
	***muːŋ ⋉ r/s-muːk**	overcast / foggy / dark / sullen	Matisoff 2003a:603
	***r-muːk**	fog(gy); dark; dull	Chou Fa-kao 1972:947t; Benedict 1972:357

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**muːk**	dull (color)	Benedict 1972:357

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): * **[h] muk** THUNDER

**Central Naga*	* **[h] muk**	THUNDER	Bruhn 2014a:III.262
**Ao*	*tsəŋ-**muk**	THUNDER	Bruhn 2014a:II.219
Ao (Chungli)	tsung **muk**	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsəŋ^{3}**muk**^{1}	thunder (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.219
	^{3}tsɯŋ^{1}**muk**	thunder (n.)	Weidert 1987:1136
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tsung **muk**	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	tsəŋ **muk**	thunder (n.)	Coupe 2007
Yacham-Tengsa	ching **muk**	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	tsüng **muk**	thunder	Kumar 1973b:40

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***muk** THUNDER

**Northern Naga*	***muk**	thunder	French 1983:568

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	rang **mok**	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	rong **muk**	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	long **mak**	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
Phom	vang **mok**	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ʒaŋ^{55}**muk**^{33}	thunder	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	lă^{31}mu^{31} **muŋ**^{33}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.19
	muŋ	cloudy; sullen, sulky	Benedict 1972:362
	muŋ^{33}	cloudy	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:836.47
	muʔ	thunder, cloudy	LaPolla 1987:89
	muʔ (high tone)	thunder, cloudy	Benedict 1972:77n236
	muʔ^{55}	thunder	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	muʔ^{55}	thunder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.19
	muʔ^{55}	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.47
	muʔ^{55} a^{31}tʃe̠ʔ^{55}	break (thunderbolt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.19
	muʔ^{55} kuŋ^{31}	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.19; Liu Lu, ed. 1984

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	kə **muʔ**	thunder	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:254
	kə **muʔ**₌mərín̪	thunder (v.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:254a

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**muk** pa	cloud	Andvik 1993:48
Tsangla (Motuo)	**muk** pa	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.7
	muk^{55}pa^{55}	cloud; fog	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	muk pa	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**muk**-pa	cloud	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**muk** pa	cloud; fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.07; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**rmuk** kwa	fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hmək** kwa	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hməg**-wæ	fog	Sun 1985a:272
	rm̥ək ka	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**m̥u**^{55}pa^{53}	fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**muk** pāq	cloud	Hale 1973:01.080
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**m̥u**^{55}pa^{53}	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**muk**^{53}pa^{53}	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.2
	muk^{55}pə^{55}	fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**muk** pāq	cloud	Hale 1973:01.080
Tibetan (Written)	**rmu**-ba	sky; fog	Weidert 1987:301; LaPolla 1987:89
	rmugs-pa	dense fog; inertness; dense, fog; fog	LaPolla 1987:89; Benedict 1972:110n308,357; Sun 1985c:272
	rmugs pa	mist (n.)	Marrison 1967
	smag	dark, darkness	Matisoff 1983:37
	smug-po	dark red, purple-brown	LaPolla 1987:89; Benedict 1972:357
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hməχ** kwa	fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.04

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**muk**	foggy; foggy, misty	LaPolla 1987:89; Benedict 1972:75n231
	muk muk	darkness, dullness; dullness, darkness	LaPolla 1987:89; Benedict 1972:357; Benedict 1972:75n231
	so **muŋ** (₌so muk)	cloudy weather	Benedict 1972:362

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**muɯk**^{2} sɯl^{2}	fog	Nagano 1984:252
	mɯʔ^{2} pa^{2}	cloud	Nagano 1984:251
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**muk** pə	cloud; fog	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0153; Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0154
Tamang (Sahu)	**muk** pā	cloud	Hale 1973:01.080
	muk pa	cloud	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.80
Thakali	**moh**	cloud	Hale 1973:01.080
Thakali (Tukche)	**moh**	cloud	Hari 1971:1.80
	sor **mɔ**	fog	Hari 1971:5.A.40

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**muk**-	thunder, be loud noise, rumble (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	muk-ʔo	loud	Caughley 1972:12.B.29
	muk.ʔo	loud (noise) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.29
	mus **muk**-	thunder (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	mus **muk**-na	thunder (verb)	Caughley 1972:5.B.16
	mus-**muk**-ʔo	thunder	Caughley 1972:5.A.44
	nyam **muk**-	thunder (vi.)	Caughley 2000

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	**mu**^{55}pæ^{53}	fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.15
Qiang (Longxi)	dá **mù̥**	fog; cloud	Evans 1999:18; Evans 1999:7
	mú	dark	Evans 1999:1461
Qiang (Mianchi)	dá **mò**	fog; cloud	Evans 1999:18; Evans 1999:7
	mò	dark	Evans 1999:1461
	mù qɛ́-dà **mò**	have dim eyesight [eye-cloud]	Evans 1999:1975

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	ta **rmok**	dragon; thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.12; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.12
	ta **rmok** kə pa	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **rmok**	thunder; dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.11; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.11
	tɑ **rmok** kə pɑ	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.11
rGyalrong	ta **rmok**	thunder; dragon	Nagano 1997:3.51; Nagano 1997:11.10
rGBenzhen	ta-**rmok**	dragon; thunder	Sun 1997b; Sun 1997b
	ta-**rmok** kə-pa	thunder (v.)	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Rawang	**muʔ**	thunder	LaPolla 2003:8
	muʔ gɯm^{31} mɛ^{33}	thunder	LaPolla 2003:1245
Nung	**mu**^{55}dɑʔ^{53}	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.21
Anong	**mɯ**^{55}dɑʔ^{53}	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.44
Trung [Dulong]	**mŭt**^{55}dɯ^{31}ɹŭŋ^{53}	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.46
Dulong	**muʔ**^{55}	thunder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.20
	muʔ^{55}**muʔ**^{55}	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**mŭʔ**^{55}dɯ^{31}ɹŭŋ^{53}	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	mŭʔ^{55}dɯ^{31}ɹŭŋ^{53}	thunder	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**hmûiŋ**	very dark	Benedict 1976a
	hmuiŋ	dull, downcast	Benedict 1972:362
	hmuìŋ	very dark	Benedict 1972:362
	muik	dark; ignorant	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:89; Benedict 1972:357

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	**mo**^{31}	cloud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.43
	mɔ^{35}**zɔ**^{33}**mɑ**^{33}	fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.43
Lahu (Black)	**mo**^{31}	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.33
	mo^{31}fi^{54}	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**mo**^{7}fi^{5}	cloud	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mo^{7}tsɿ^{4}	fog	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Mpi	**moi**^{4}	fog	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

Chinese comparandum

霧 OC ***mi̯ug**; *GSR* #1109t 'fog, mist'; B & S 2011: ***kə.mok-s {kə.m(r) [o] k-s}**; Mand. **wù**.
瞀

海 OC ***χməg**, *GSR* #947x-y 'sea'; Schuessler 2007:270 ***hmə̂ʔ**; B & S 2011: ***m̥ˤəʔ** (dial. **m̥ˤ-** › **x-**); Mand. **hǎi**.
晦 OC ***χmwəg**, *GSR* #947t 'dark, obscure, reticent; darkness; last day of moon'; Schuessler 2007:270 ***hmə̂ʔ**; B & S 2011: ***m̥ˤək-s**; Mand. **huì**.

冥 OC ***mieng**, *GSR* #841a 'dark, darken'; B & S 2011: ***mˤeŋ**; Mand. **míng**.
瞑 OC ***mieng ∼ mien**, *GSR* #841b 'shut eyes, dizzy, confused'; Mand. **míng**.
瞢 OC ***mwəng ∼ mi̯ŭng**, *GSR* #902d 'darkened, despondent'; Mand. **měng**.

蒙 OC ***mung**, *GSR* #1181a 'cover (v.)'; Schuessler 2007:380 ***môŋ**; B & S 2011: ***mˤoŋ**; Mand. **méng**.
矇 OC ***mung**, *GSR* #1181c 'blind'; Schuessler 2007:380 ***môŋ**; B & S 2011: (***mˤoŋ**); Mand. **méng**.

(8) PTB *s-ŋar FROST / ICE

In some TB languages, an apparent reflex of PTB ***s-ŋar** may refer not to 'frost' per se, but instead refer e.g. to 'frost' or 'dew' equivocally, or to 'dew' alone. Cases in point are particularly evident within

Lolo-Burmese, especially among closely related languages. For instance, WB has an etymon **hnâŋ** or **hnɑŋ**[3], glossed 'dew', but also as 'fog, mist'; the notion 'frost' is expressed as WB **hnɑŋ**[3]**khɑi**[3], i.e. 'hard dew'. Similary, Atsi (Zaiwa) has **ŋa̱n**[51] 'dew', while 'frost' is **ŋa̱n**[51]**phju**[51] lit. 'white dew', and 'ice' is **ŋa̱n**[51]**thuŋ**[21]. Single lexemes which can mean either 'frost' or 'dew', apparently depending on context, are seen in Langsu (Luxi) **ŋə̱ŋ**[31] and Maru (Langsu) **ŋə̱ŋ**[31].

In Loloish, reflexes of PTB ***s-ŋar** most often refer to 'frost' and/or 'ice', cf. Black Lahu **ʌ**[33]**ŋə**[33] 'frost, ice'; the notion 'dew' is then expressed through reflexes of a separate etymon PTB ***(d)zil** 'dew' (PLB ***ʔ-dzi**[2]), either alone or in compounds, cf. Black Lahu **tsi**[31]**ɣə**[31], lit. 'dew water'. The situation in Nusu (Bijiang), however, is noteworthy: PTB ***s-ŋar** yields Nusu **hɑ̃**[ɪ35], which as a single lexeme is glossed 'frost', while the compound **hɑ̃**[ɪ35]**tɕhe**[35] , literally 'frost dew', is the term for 'dew' (compare e.g. Nusu (Southern), which simply has **tɕhe**[55] 'dew'). In Leqi (Luxi) (a Burmish language), **ŋa̱n**[33] by itself is glossed 'ice'; the term for dew is **ŋa̱n**[33]**tʃu**[55], lit. 'ice dew (?)', 'frost' is **ŋa̱n**[33]**phiu**[33], lit. 'white ice'.

In dealing with the above examples, it should be kept in mind that in the real world, the phenomena we call 'fog, mist, dew, frost' refer to points along a continuum. When air temperature cools to near the dew point, then we see 'fog' or 'mist'. When the surface temperature of an exposed, thin object cools to near the dew point, then we see 'dew'. When the surface temperature of that object cools to near a dew point that is already below freezing, then rather than 'dew', we see ice in the form of 'frost'.

We can, then, cautiously say that some languages describe this meteorological continuum using relatively more single lexemes (e.g. English and Chinese), while other languages use relatively fewer single lexemes but more lexemic compounds (e.g. Burmese, Atsi, Langsu and Maru). Regarding Nusu (Bijiang) **hɑ̃**[ɪ35] and Leqi **ŋa̱n**[33], we surmise that the underlying lexemic meaning is maximally inclusive, i.e. 'condensed/congealed water in general'; this may account for the seeming disparity between the surface connotation of single lexemes vs. the same lexemes in compounds.

Admittedly, our suppositions above are based on data likely collected in part via prepared word lists, which can unwittingly impose lexemic categories and distinctions that speakers of a particular language being studied may not find natural. More in-depth and beyond the glossary studies of Lolo-Burmese languages will hopefully become available to help us better shed light on this interesting area of the TB lexicon.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ŋar**	frost	Matisoff 2003a:606

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**ŋɯr**-kam	frost	Sun 1993b

3.2. Qiangic

Queyu (Xinlong)	**sŋə**[55]	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.13

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**sŋa**[ɪ]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**sŋɐr**	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.11
rGyalrong	**sŋɐ**[ɪ]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.12
Caodeng	**ʃŋɐr**	frost (harmful)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**sngar**	frost	Nagano 1997:3.43
rGBenzhen	**sŋɐʔr**	frost	Sun 1997b
	sŋɐʔr kɐ-lɐt	frost (v.)	Sun 1997b

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**xɑn**[55]	frost	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ŋ̊an**[55]	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.28
	ŋ̊an[55]; **n̥an**[55]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ŋan**[35]	frost; ice	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ŋ̊an**[55]	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.29
Bola (Luxi)	**ŋɛ̃**[55]	snow; frost; ice (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.32; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.32; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**hnĩ**[55]khɛ[55]	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.27
	je[22]khɛ[55]	ice (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.27
	je[22]khɛ[55]	freeze / ice up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1440.27
	shi[55]**n̥ĩ**[55]	snow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	hsi[55]**n̥ĩ**[55]	snow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:9.40
	je[22]khɛ[55]	ice	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:11.40
	n̥ĩ[55]khɛ[55]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.40
Burmese (Written)	**hnɑŋ**[3]khɑi[3]	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.26
	hnɑŋ[3]khɑi[3]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.39
	hsi[3]**hnɑŋ**[3]	snow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:9.39
	shi[3]**hnɑŋ**[3]	snow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**ŋə̱ŋ**[31]	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ŋa̱n**[33]	ice (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.33
	ŋa̱n[33]phiu[33]	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.33
Maru [Langsu]	**ŋə̱ŋ**[31]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋa̱n**[51]phju[51]	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.30
	ŋa̱n[51]phju[51]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.42
	ŋa̱n[51]thuŋ[21]	ice (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.30
	ŋa̱n[51]thuŋ[21]	ice	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:11.42

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lipho	**ne**[33]	frost	Chen Kang 1986a:138.
Nasu	**n̥e**[33]	frost	Chen Kang 1986a:138.
Neisu	**n̥i**[13]	frost	Chen Kang 1986a:138.
Nesu	**ne**[55]	frost	Chen Kang 1986a:138.
Nusu (Northern)	**ŋ̊ɛ**[31]	ice; frost	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	vu[33]**n̥i**[21]	ice	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:11.22
	n̥i[13]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.22
Yi (Mile)	**ni**[33]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ne**[55]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**n̥i**[33]	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.37
	n̥i[33]	ice	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:11.24
	n̥i[33]tɕɑ[33]læ[21]	ice (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.37
	n̥u[33];**n̥i**[33]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.24
Yi (Wuding)	vɤ[33]**n̥e**[33]	frost; ice (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.38; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**ni**[33]	frost	Chen Kang 1986a:138.
Jinuo	**ni**[31]kɹɔ[33]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.34
	njɛ[33]ji[44]	snow; frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.44; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**n̥ɛ**[42]	frost	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**ŋɯ55**	frost	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	ɑ[33]**ŋɤ**[33]	frost; ice (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.43
Lahu (Black)	ʌ[33]**ŋə**[33]	ice; frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:11.33; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.33
Lahu (Yellow)	a[1]**ŋɯ**[1]	frost; ice	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**ni**[3]	frost	Fraser 1922
	ni[3] hpyá[1]	ice	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ni**[33]dʑɯʔ[21]	lump of ice	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**n̥i**[33]dʑøʔ[21]	lump of ice	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**n̥i̱**[33]	frost; ice (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.40; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.40
	n̥i[44]	ice; frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:11.27; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.27
Sani [Nyi]	**ŋɪ**[33]	frost	Chen Kang 1986a:138.
Yi (Sani)	**ŋɪ**[44]	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**ŋɛ́**	frost	Hansson 1989:198
Hani (Dazhai)	xa[31]**n̥e**[55]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.31
Hani (Lüchun)	xhà **ŋɛ́**	frost	Hansson 1989:198
Hani (Dazhai)	**ŋɔ**[31]	ice	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:11.31
Hani (Lüchun)	xa[31]**ŋɔ**[31]	ice (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.41
	xa[31]**ŋɔ**[31]**ŋɔ**[31]	freeze / ice up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1440.41
	xa[31]**n̥e**[55]	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.41
Hani (Pijo)	ɔ̀ **njí**	frost	Hansson 1989:198
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ŋɛ**[55]	frost	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ŋɛ[55]ja̱[33]	ice	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**n̥i**[55]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**n̥i**[55]	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.42

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**n̥y**[44]	frost	Pelkey 2011:15
Southern Muji	**n̥ɛ**[33]	frost	Pelkey 2011:15
Phola	**n̥i**[55]	frost	Pelkey 2011:15
Hlepho Phowa	**ʔn̥i**[33]	frost	Pelkey 2011:15
Phuza	**n̥i**[55]	frost	Pelkey 2011:15

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɲi**˩pʰv˩	ice	Michaud 2006–2009:46
Na (Yongning)	**ɲi**˧pʰv˩	frost	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**n̥i**[33]phəɹ[31]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**n̥i**[33]phəɹ[31]	frost	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:13.29
Naxi	**n̥i**[33]phɚ[21]	frost (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.45

(9) PTB *ryal HAIL

This root seems to be confined to the NE Indian linguistic area.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ryal**	hail	Matisoff 2003a:612

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	ta-**ri**	hail	Sun 1993b
	tà-**ri**	hail (v.)	Sun 1993b

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***rial** HAIL

**Chin*	***rial**	HAIL	VanBik 2009:946

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**gíel**	hail	VanBik 2009:946
Tiddim	**gial**[2]	hail	Bhaskararao 1996:342

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**yó**-món	hail	VanBik 2009:946
Cho (Mindat)	**gäwi**	hail, hail-stone	VanBik 2009:946

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**rîal**	hail (hard snow)	VanBik 2009:946
Lai (Falam)	**rĭal**	hail	VanBik 2009:946
Lushai [Mizo]	**rían**	hail, a hail stone	VanBik 2009:946
	rial	hail; glass; earthenware	Bhaskararao 1996:342
Rangkhol	**ril**	hail (n.)	Benedict 1972:54

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**pərei**	hail (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:405

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***rə(ʔ)** ICE, SNOW, HAIL

**Central Naga*	***rə(ʔ)**	ICE, SNOW, HAIL	Bruhn 2014a:III.099
Ao (Chungli)	**rer** ~ **rər**	hail (n.)	Benedict 1972:54
	rür jep	snow (n.)	Marrison 1967
	rūɪ	ice	Temsunungsang 2009:p.14
	ɹə[3]tʃəp[3]	ice, snow, hail (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.099
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **zu**	snow (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**zu**	hail (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	ʃe[1]**rəʔ**[1]	hail (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.099
	šé **rə**	snow / ice	Acharya 1975
	she **ri**	snow (n.)	Marrison 1967
	she **ryu**	hail	Murry *et al.* 1978:53
	[1]še[1]**rɯ**	hail	Weidert 1987:814
Sangtam	shu **rü**	snow (n.)	Marrison 1967
	[2]šu[1]**rɯ**	hail	Weidert 1987:814
Yimchungrü	a **ru**	hail	Kumar 1973b:30
	a **ru**	snow (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	pek **ri**	snow (n.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	pek **rie**	snow (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**lel**	hail (n.)	Benedict 1972:54

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**herei**	hail (n.)	Benedict 1972:54

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***ryəːr**	hail	French 1983:499

(10) PTB *syar HAIL / SLEET

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***ser**	sleet / hail	Coblin 1986:135

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ser**	hail / sleet	Matisoff 2003a:612
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	a: **thei**	hail (n.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	a: **thei**	storm (hail)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ɑ^{31}**thiɑi**^{53}	hail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.22
	ɑ^{31}**thiɑi**^{53}	hail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:15.49
Idu	ɑ^{31}**the**^{53}	hail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:15.50
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**sil**-te	hail	Weidert 1987:814
Garo (Bangladesh)	**stil**	hail (n.)	Burling 2003:4.329-II:idx
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**sʌn**	hail	Weidert 1987:814
Khiamngan	^{21}**san**	hail	Weidert 1987:814
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	a^{1}**sin**^{33}	hail	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	sin^{33}	hail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.19
	sin^{33}	hail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:15.47
	^{2}**shin**	hail	Weidert 1987:814
2.1.2. Bodic			
Bumthang	**ser** pa	hail	Weidert 1987:814
Kurtöp	**ser** wa	hail	Weidert 1987:814
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ser** ba	hail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:15.7
	ser^{55}pa^{13}	hail	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tashigang	sir **ser** ba	hail	Weidert 1987:814
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Dzongkha	**sɪ**-u:	hail	Weidert 1987:814
Tibetan (Alike)	**se** ra	hail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**she** ra	hail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:15.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**s**^{h}**e** ra	hail	Sun 1985a:335
Tibetan (Central)	**sēra**	hail	Weidert 1987:814
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**she**^{55}**ra**^{53}	hail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:15.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**se:**^{55}**ra**^{55} (se^{55}ra^{55})	hail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.02
	se^{53}**ra**^{13}	hail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:15.2
Tibetan (Written)	**ser** ba	hail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.01
	ser ba	hail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:15.1; Weidert 1987:814; Coblin 1986:135
	ser-bɑ	hail	Chou Fa-kao 1972:156d
	ser.ba	hail	Sun 1985c:335
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**she** ra	hail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Bagmati)	**’ser** pa	hail	Weidert 1987:814
Tamang (Sahu)	**’sera**	hail	Weidert 1987:814; Taylor *et al.* 1972:5.45
	’sera ’yu-pa	hail (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:16.14
Thakali (Tukche)	’ti **sjor** ju-lɔ	hail (v.)	Hari 1971:5.B.14
	ti **sjor**	hail (n.)	Hari 1971:5.A.38
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**si**^{55}wi^{55}	hail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:15.17
	si^{55}ʐa^{55}	hail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.16
Pumi (Jiulong)	**zẽ**^{35}	hail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʒdʒɛ̃**^{55}	hail (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sdʒɛ̃**^{55}	hail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:15.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʐẽ**^{35}	hail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:15.10
Qiang (Taoping)	**sye**^{33}tan^{13}tsɿ^{31}	hail	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:15.9
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**sɑ̆n**^{53}wɑ^{55}zɑʔ^{55}	hail	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**siɑn**/**sien**	sleet	Chou Fa-kao 1972:156d; Karlgren 1957:156d
Chinese (Old)	**sianh**	sleet / hail	Coblin 1986:135
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**sien**-	sleet	Coblin 1986:135

Chinese comparandum

霰 OC ***siɑn**, *GSR* #156d ‘sleet’; Schuessler 2007:530 ***sêns**; B & S 2011: ***sˤen-s { [s] ˤe [n] -s}**; Mand. **xiàn**.

(11) PKC *wuur ICE / FROST / SNOW

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***wuur**	ICE / FROST / SNOW	VanBik 2009:1156
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**vūk** hā	ice	VanBik 2009:1156
	vuuk	frost	VanBik 2009:1156
Tiddim	**vu:k**^{2}	snow, ice; snow	VanBik 2009:1156; Bhaskararao 1996:1975
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**vû(u)r** ⋉ vûur	ice, frost	VanBik 2009:1156
Lai (Falam)	**vǔur**	ice, frost	VanBik 2009:1156
Lushai [Mizo]	**vûr**	snow (n.)	Marrison 1967
	vúur	ice, snow, hoarfrost	VanBik 2009:1156
	vu:r	snow	Bhaskararao 1996:1975

(12) PTB *s-lyap LIGHTNING / FLASH / GLITTER / BUTTERFLY

The semantic connection between LIGHTNING and BUTTERFLY seems to reside in the iridescent quality of many butterfly wings, as well as by the rapidity of their wings flapping.

Bauer (1992) has identified this root as a “pan-Southeast Asianism”, and relates it to PTB ***g-ya:p** FAN / WINNOW / PADDLE / WAVE (v.) (§6.8).

Also undoubtedly related to this etymon is PTB ***s-lap** WING / FLUTTER / EYELASH / GILL (§1.5.1).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***l + ep**	butterfly	Coblin 1986:51
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***lep**	butterfly	Matisoff 2003a:599
	***lyap**	glitter, flash, lightning	Benedict 1972:213
	***s-lyap**	glitter / flash / lightning	Matisoff 2003a:601
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***pha-lep** BUTTERFLY			
**Chin*	***pha-lep**	BUTTERFLY	VanBik 2009:329
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	ping **pīleap**	butterfly	VanBik 2009:329
Thado	pɛ́ŋ **pàlép**	butterfly	Thirumalai 1972:39
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	pam-**balèt˝**	butterfly	VanBik 2009:329
Khumi	**phulíe**	butterfly	VanBik 2009:329
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	pĕeŋ **pha-lep**	butterfly	VanBik 2009:329
Lushai [Mizo]	peng **phe-lep**	butterfly	VanBik 2009:329
	pheng **phehlep**	butterfly	Marrison 1967
1.3. “Naga” Areal Group			
Maring	paipa **lip**	butterfly	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tsung **la**	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	ta **lep**	butterfly	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	rong **lep**	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	mi **prap**	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mjiʔ^{31}**phʒap**^{31}	lightning (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.19
	mjiʔ^{31}**phʒap**^{31}	flash (of lightning)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:754.47
	mjiʔ^{31}**phɹap**^{31}kă^{1}lam^{31}	flash (of lightning)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	myi-**phrap**	lightning (lit. ’fire-flash’); lightning	LaPolla 1987:83; Benedict 1972:290
	myìʔ-**phràp**	lightning (”fire-flash”)	Matisoff 1985a:047
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	(taŋ^{55}) **lep**^{13}	flash (of lightning) (v.)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	taŋ **lep**	flash (of lightning)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:754.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**lep**	flash (of lightning) (v.)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	taŋ **lep**	lightning (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.07
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Sakka Trokpa	šūkpa-pā **lep**	butterfly	Weidert 1987:665
Tibetan (Alike)	wɕa ma **lep** tsi	butterfly (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	ça ma **lep** tse	butterfly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:154.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	wɕe ma **lep** tse	butterfly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:154.5
Tibetan (Batang)	ɕe^{13}ma^{53} ʔa^{55}**le**^{53}	butterfly (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	phe **le** māq	butterfly (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.093
Tibetan (Sherpa)	’bā **lip**	butterfly (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.093
Tibetan (Written)	phje ma **leb**	butterfly (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.01
	phje ma **leb**	butterfly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:154.1
	phye-ma-**leb**	butterfly	Weidert 1987:665
	phye-ma-**leb**∼bye-ma-**leb**∼phye-**leb**	butterfly	Coblin 1986:51
	phye ma **leb**	butterfly	Marrison 1967
	pʻye-mɑ-**léb**	butterfly	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	ɕa ma **lep** tse	butterfly (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0370.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**lyop**	glitter, flash, glisten	Benedict 1972:213
	sălyop	sheet-lightning	Benedict 1972:213
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Bagmati)	**’blap**^{ɦ}**-blap**	butterfly	Weidert 1987:665
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**lāpā**	butterfly (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.093
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	**l̥ɛp**^{55}**pɯk**^{55}	lightning (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.29
Bola (Luxi)	**lɛ̠p**^{55}**tʃhak**^{55}	lightning (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ɬjɑʔ**^{4}**pjɛʔ**^{4}	lightning (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ɬjɑʔ**^{44}**pjɛʔ**^{44}	flash (of lightning)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:754.40
Burmese (Written)	**hljɑp** prɑk	flash (of lightning)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:754.39
	hljɑp^{4}**prɑk**^{4}	lightning (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.26
	hlyap	very thin, flimsy; light, rapid; glitter; be vain, wanton; lightning	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:213
Langsu (Luxi)	**lɛʔ** tʃhat^{55}	break (thunderbolt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.31
	lɛ̠ʔ^{55}**tʃhat**^{55}	lightning (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**lɑ̠p**^{55}**tʃhɔ:k**^{55}	lightning (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.33
Maru [Langsu]	**lɛ̠ʔ**^{55}**tʃhat**^{55}	flash (of lightning)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:754.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lɑ̠p**^{55}**tʃhik**^{55}	lightning (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.30
	lɑ̠p^{55}**tʃhik**^{55}	flash (of lightning)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:754.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***b-lyap**^{L}	lightning	Bradley 1979b:328
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**l̥a̠**^{53}	lightning (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.34
Nusu (Southern)	**ɬɛ**^{31}mo^{55}	flash (of lightning)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɬɑ**^{53}mɑ^{35}	flash (of lightning)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:754.45
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	mû-tí-**pwèʔ** (< blap)	lightning	Matisoff 1972b:67
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d’iɑp**/**d’iep**	butterfly	Karlgren 1957:633h
Chinese (Old)	**diap**	butterfly	Coblin 1986:51
	ga-**lep**	butterfly	Baxter 1992:1038
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**diep**	butterfly	Coblin 1986:51

Chinese comparandum

蝶 OC ***d’iɑp**, *GSR* #633h ‘butterfly’; Coblin 86:51 ST ***ɬep** > OC ***diap**; Schuessler 2007:281 ***lêp**; Mand. **dié**.
燁/爗 OC ***gi̯əp** ∼ ***gi̯ɛp**, *GSR* #682a-b ‘shine, gleam’; Schuessler 2007:562 ***lap** ∼ ***wap**; Mand. **yè**.
熠 OC ***zi̯əp**, *GSR* #690f ‘gleaming’; Schuessler 2007:570 ***wəp**; Mand. **yì**.

(13) PTB * m/s -raŋ RAIN

1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	ting **marang** a bang	rainbow	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**rang**	rain (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**rang** pat	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	**rang**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967

Tangsa (Yogli)	**hrang** gin	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	**vang** kei	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ʒaŋ[55]	rain	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**rang** chai	storm (n.)	Marrison 1967
	rang vat	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**marang**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mă[31]**ʒaŋ**[33]	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.19
	mă[31]**ʒaŋ**[33]	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.47
	mă[1]**ʒaŋ**[33]thu?[31]	rain (v.)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mă[1]**ʒaŋ**[33]	rain	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**hráŋ**	rain	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:253

(14) PTB *m-dzya RAINBOW

Many of the forms are probably borrowings from Tibetan.

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	ñi-mé **ja**-ri	rainbow	Sun 1993b
	ñi-me **ja**-ru	rainbow	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	***dʐa**	rainbow	Sun 1993b
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Daai	**ja**.pi	rainbow	So-Hartmann 1988:8
Khumi	s[h]am.**já**[i?]	rainbow	So-Hartmann 1988:8
Ngmüün	**ja**.pi	rainbow	So-Hartmann 1988:8
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**dʐa**	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**dʐɑ**[35]	rainbow	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ɳʌ**[53]	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.6
Motuo Menba	**dʐa**	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.07
Cuona Menba	**ɳa**[53]	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ndʐæ**	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ndʐa**	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ndʐa**	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.5
	ndʐæ tʂ[h]on	rainbow	Sun 1985a:797
Tibetan (Batang)	**ndʐa**[53]	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ndʐa**[53]	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tɕa**[13]	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.2
	tɕa[13] (tɕha[13])	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.02
Tibetan (Written)	**'ja** thsoṅ	rainbow	Marrison 1967
	ja.tshon	rainbow	Sun 1985c:797
	fidʐafi	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.01
	fidʐafi	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ndʐa**	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ya:h** gõ	rainbow	Glover 1972:5.A.75
Manang (Gyaru)	**sya**[3]	rainbow	Nagano 1984:256
Manang (Prakaa)	**[4]ɕyə**	rainbow	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0158
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya	**ɳdʐæ**[53]	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ndʐɛ**[53]	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.15
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ndʐa**[35]	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ndʐa**[55]	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**mdʐa**	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.14
Daofu	**ndʐa**	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.12
Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	**ndʐa?**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	**ndʐâ**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	**'ndʐa** ts[h]ə	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong	**ndʒa**	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.12
Caodeng	**ndʒɐ** ~ **ndʒɐ?**	rainbow	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ndʒɑ**	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.11
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	**ndʐa**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**ndʐa**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	**ndʐa**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	**ndʐa**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	**ndʐa**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	**ndʐa** 'nədosi	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	**ndʐa** 'wot	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	**ndʐa** qχaʔ	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	**ndʑe**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	**ndʑe**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	**ndʑe**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	**ndʑe**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**ndʑo**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**ndʑwa**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**ndʑɑ**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	**ndʒa**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	**ɲdʑə̨**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	**[N]ʤe22**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	**[n]dʑaʔ**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	**[n]ʤɛ**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong (Queyu Gala)	**[n]ɟə**	rainbow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1286
rGyalrong	**NjaH**	rainbow	Nagano 1997:2.5
rGBenzhen	**ndʒa**	rainbow	Sun 1997b

(15) PTB *twaŋ RAINBOW

This root is hesitantly set up on the basis of a number of scattered forms, including one from Chinese.

According to Marrison, this Meithei binome means either 'rain' or 'rainbow'.

1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	chum **thang**	rainbow	Marrison 1967
	chum **thang**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central)	**thoŋ**[31]gɹi[55]	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.34
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Pyen	laŋ33 **thaŋ45**	rainbow	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:011046
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tung/tung**	rainbow	Karlgren 1957:1175h

Chinese comparandum

蝀 OC ***tung**, *GSR* #1175h 'rainbow'; apparently not in Li 1971 or B & S 2011; Schuessler 2007:278; Mand. **dōng**.

In Chinese, 蝀 **dōng** is typically seen in the synonym compound 蝃蝀 or 蠙蝀 **dìdōng** 'rainbow', where 蝃 or 蠙 **dì** by itself can also mean 'rainbow' (cf. 蠙 OC ***tiɑd/tiei-**, *GSR* #295k).

Schuessler 2007:278 reconstructs 蠙蝀 **dìdōng** as OCM ***tê(t)s-toŋ** < ***tloŋ**, with later stages LH ***tes-toŋ** and MC ***tiei**[C]**-tuŋ**. He notes "The wide range of forms, incl. dì-dōng, speaks for a non-ST source for this etymon. < > Kam-Tai: Zhuang lgs. have **tu**[2]**-tuŋ**[2] 'rainbow' and the like, where **tu**[2] is a prefix added to animals and persons. Li Xu-lian (1997) reconstructs this prefix as PT ***ta**, among others based on forms like Wuming **ta**[6] and Bama **tiə**[6]. Luó Yǒngxiàn (MKS 27:1997:272) reconstructs PTai ***Druŋ**: S. **ruŋ**[C2] 'rainbow'." [JAM, SPB]

(16) PTB *laŋ RAINBOW

This root seems to be fairly widely distributed across subgroups, although with scant attestation in each. There is some slight evidence for an ***s-** prefix (Achang [Xiandao] **l̥ŋ**[55]**ɲɔʔ**[55]***l̥aŋ**[31]**kam**[55]).

At first glance, Bodo **zay klóŋ** 'rainbow' seems to reflect a velar prefix with this root, but it is at least equally probable that the second syllable actually means 'bridge' (cf. Bodo **sayklóŋ**), the semantic association residing in the arched appearance of the rainbow.

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	kə[33]**len**[33]	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.52
1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP			
Maring	**lang** khutmatin	rainbow	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	jen go **long**-man der	rainbow	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Konyak	nim **long**	rainbow	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**lăn** měts	rainbow (tī lănměts) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	tī **lăn** měts	rainbow	Bailey 1911
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Xiandao)	l̥ŋ[55]ɲɔʔ[55]**l̥aŋ**[31]kam[55]	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.29
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Pyen	**laŋ33** thaŋ45	rainbow	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:011046
7. KARENIC			
Pa-O	**təláŋ** cáŋ	rainbow	Solnit 1989

(17) PTB *si RAINBOW

As roots for RAINBOW go, this is not the worst attested. It seems to be especially common in Loloish.

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Khonoma)	kwe **si**	rainbow	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	pfe **sei**	rainbow	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	mile **sü**	rainbow	Marrison 1967
	mili **sü**	rainbow	Achumi 1998b:2.5
3.2. QIANGIC			
Namuyi	nɛ[55]ŋkhɛ[33]**ʐɻ**[33]	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.19
	mu[55]næ[33]nkhæ[31]**ʐɻ**[31]	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.46
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***ʃi**[3]	rainbow	Bradley 1979b:322
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	wa[53]ma[33]**sɤ**[35]zɻ[31]	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.47
Nusu (Southern)	tʂhɔ[31]**dʑi**[53]	rainbow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Mile)	**si**[33]mu[21]si[33]luu[33]	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.25
Yi (Nanhua)	muu[21]**ɕi**[33]dʌ[33]	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.24
Yi (Xide)	si[33]**si**[33]	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.21
	si[34]**si**[33]	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Lancang)	ɑ[33]mv[53]lɑ[31]**ɕi**[35]dʑɔ[33]	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.43
Lahu (Black)	á-lâ-mì-**ší**-jɔ ~ a-lâ-mì-**ší**-jɔ ~ a-lâ-mɛ̀-**ší**-jɔ	rainbow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:95
	ʌ[33]mu[53]lʌ[31]**si**[35]dzɔ[33]	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.33
Lisu (Central)	a[1]-mu[5]-yi[3]-**shï**[3]	rainbow	Fraser 1922
Lisu	a[55]mo[31]**ʃi**[33]	rainbow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.40
Lisu (Northern)	a[55]mɔ[21] **ʃɻ**[44]khɔ[55]	rainbow (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a[55]mɔ[21]**ʃɻ**[44]	rainbow (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ɑ[55]mu[31]**ʃɻ**[44]kho[55]	rainbow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:16.27

Yi (Sani)	**sz̩**^{44}m̩^{11}**sz̩**^{44}n̩^{55}vz̩^{33}tɒ^{33}mɑi^{33}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.39
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	mv˧**ɕi**˥dʑi˩ʈʰɯ˩	rainbow	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	mv^{33}**ɕi**^{55}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.29

(18) PDeng *hu(y) RAINBOW

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ta: **hui**	rainbow	NEFA (India) 1963
	tɑ^{31}**xui**^{55}gɑŋ^{55}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.22
	tɑ^{31}**xui**^{55}gɑŋ^{55}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.49
Idu	a **hu**	rainbow	Anonymous 1962
	ɑ^{31}**hɯ**^{55}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.50
Yidu	ɑ^{31}**hɯ**^{55}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.25

(19) PTB * s/m -kwa RAINBOW

This root is well attested in Qiangic, with a very likely Angami cognate. The putative Jingpho cognate with the rhyme **-oi** justifies the reconstruction of the nasal prefix; the presumed development of ***-wa** to Jingpho **-oi** looks like the exact opposite of the sound change from Middle French **-oi** to Modern French **-wa**.

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	**kwe** si	rainbow	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**pfe** sei	rainbow	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**nggoi** la tum	rainbow	Marrison 1967
	n^{55}**koi**^{51}laʔ^{55}tu̠m^{33}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.19
	n^{55}**koi**^{51}la^{55}tum^{33}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.47
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Kathmandu)	**ka** pam	rainbow (n.)	Manandhar 1986:24
	ka pa na	rainbow (n.)	Manandhar 1986:24
	kwa pa na	rainbow (n.)	Manandhar 1986:24
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	mɛ^{55}**khuaɹ**^{55}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.18
Lyuzu	me^{33}**kha**^{53}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.18
Pumi (Jiulong)	mu^{11}**khuɑ**^{55}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.10
Pumi (Lanping)	mɐ^{13}**xqhuɑ**^{13}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	mɐ^{13}**sqhuɑ**^{13}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.11
Pumi (Taoba)	mɐ^{35}**kha**^{35}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.10
Queyu (Xinlong)	mu^{55}**qha**^{33}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.13

(20) PTB *dzyaŋ RAINBOW

A couple of Burmish languages seem to have developed a nasal prefix with this root (Langsu, Maru).

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	puŋ **jaŋ** sə̀n	rainbow (n.)	Coupe 2007
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**chang** ji-kha ma wut	rainbow	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	**jang**-shar la	rainbow	Andvik 1993:50
3.2. Qiangic			
Xumi	mɛ^{33}tɕi^{33}ka^{33}**jɑ̃**^{55}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.17
6.1.1. Burmish			
Langsu (Luxi)	ɣɔʔ^{31}kaŋ^{35}saŋ^{31}**ŋjɔ̃**^{31}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.31
Leqi (Luxi)	sə̠ŋ^{55}**jaŋ**^{33}jɔ^{31}kan^{33}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.33
Maru [Langsu]	ɣɔʔ^{31}kəŋ^{35}saŋ^{31}**ŋjɔ̰̃**^{31}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	voʔ^{21}kan^{21}ʃiŋ^{55}**jaŋ**^{21}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.30
	voʔ^{21}kan^{21}ʃiŋ^{55}**jaŋ**^{21}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tshɑ̃**^{31}gɹi^{53}ɑ^{31}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.45
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	ja^{33}mɔ^{33}ko^{44}ta^{55}ko^{44}**tɕhø**^{33}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.34
	sɯ^{31}thə^{33}khɔ^{44}**tʃhɔ**^{33}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.44
Lahu (Lancang)	ɑ^{33}mv^{53}lɑ^{31}ɕi^{35}**dʑɔ**^{33}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.43
Lahu (Black)	á-lâ-mì-ší-**jɔ** ~ a-lâ-mì-ší-**jɔ** ~ a-lâ-mɛ̀-ší-**jɔ**	rainbow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:95
	ʌ^{33}mu^{53}lʌ^{31}si^{35}**dzɔ**^{33}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.33
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	təláŋ **cáŋ**	rainbow	Solnit 1989

(21) PTB *du(n) RAINBOW

The fit between the Bodo and Kanauri forms is especially good, making us hungry for more.

1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	reŋ **dun**	rainbow	Bhat 1968
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**dun** ērōṅ	halo round sun or moon / lunar rainbow (n.)	Bailey 1911
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Northern)	**do**^{55}guə^{55}ɑ^{55}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Nanjian)	ɑ^{55}m̩(u̠)^{21}tshɑ^{55}**du**^{55}ro^{21}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.23
Yi (Weishan)	ɑ^{55}m̩^{21}tsɑ^{55}l̩^{21}**du̠**^{55}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.36
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Lüchun)	be^{55}**do**^{55}lo^{55}tshu^{31}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	tshɤ^{55}**thɤ**^{55}lɤ^{55}khy̠^{33}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.30

(22) PTani *ray RAINBOW

This root appears in several Tani languages and is perhaps related to a group of Naga forms with the **m-** prefix.* Several languages show semantic associations between RAINBOW and BOW (for arrows), as well as with SNAKE. The Naga forms just mentioned resemble many reflexes of PTB ***s-b/m-ru:l** SNAKE (§2.1.6.1).

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	ñi-mé ja-**ri**	rainbow	Sun 1993b
	ñi-me ja-**ru**	rainbow	Sun 1993b
Bengni	uk-**ri:** (go:-go:)	rainbow	Sun 1993b
	uk-**ri:** (ta-go:)	rainbow	Sun 1993b
Bokar	u **re:**	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.24
	u-**re:**	rainbow	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	u **rɛ:**	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.51

(23) PTB *sa k/ŋ RAINBOW

This weakly attested root has so far been found mainly in Burmish, with a possible cognate from Puiron.

1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	**sang** pok	rainbow	Marrison 1967
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola (Luxi)	ɣaʔ^{31}kɛ̃^{31}**saŋ**^{55}njuŋ^{55}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tθɛʔ**^{4}tã^{53}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθɛʔ**^{44}tã^{53}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.40
Burmese (Written)	**sak**-taṁ’	rainbow	Benedict 1976a
	sak tan	rainbow	Marrison 1967
	thɑk^{3}tɑm^{1}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.39
	tθɑk^{4}tɑn^{1}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.26
Langsu (Luxi)	ɣɔʔ^{31}kaŋ^{35}**saŋ**^{31}ŋjɔ̃^{31}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**sə̠ŋ**^{55}jaŋ^{33}jɔ^{31}kan^{33}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.33
Maru [Langsu]	ɣɔʔ^{31}kəŋ^{35}**saŋ**^{31}ŋjɔ̰̃^{31}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.43

(24) NEIA *pi(t) RAINBOW

More confirmation is required.

1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	i^{55}**phit**^{55}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.23
	i^{55}**phit**^{55}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.48
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Daai	ja.**pi**	rainbow	So-Hartmann 1988:8
Mkaang	li.**pi**	rainbow	So-Hartmann 1988:8
Ngmüün	ja.**pi**	rainbow	So-Hartmann 1988:8
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Meluri	a re **pi**	rainbow	Marrison 1967

(25) PTB *kam RAINBOW

The Burmish languages show hesitation in the position of articulation of the final nasal. This root requires further confirmation.

1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	ting **kham** bam	rainbow	Marrison 1967
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**kam** pa lim pa	rainbow	Genetti 1990d
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	rik to **kom_**	rainbow	Rai *et al.* 1975
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	l̥^{55}ŋ̊ɔʔ^{55}l̥aŋ^{31}**kam**^{55}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.29
Langsu (Luxi)	ɣɔʔ^{31}**kaŋ**^{35}saŋ^{31}ŋjɔ̃^{31}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.31
Leqi (Luxi)	sə̠ŋ^{55}jaŋ^{33}jɔ^{31}**kan**^{33}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.33
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Mojiang)	ɣo̠^{21}**kʌ̃**^{55}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.26

(26) PTB *s-la RAINBOW

This root bears a suspicious relationship to PTB ***m-hla** SOUL / DEMON / GOD / BEAUTIFUL (§5.8.1), the semantic association evidently residing in the supernatural beauty of the rainbow. In Lahu, however, the reflex of SOUL is **ha**, while the reflex of the present root is **lâ**, perhaps pointing to the prefixed allofam for **ha** and the unprefixed one for the **lâ**.

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**lʰʌ̄** gúi	rainbow	Thirumalai 1972:28
	lʰʌ gúi	rainbow	Thirumalai 1972:68
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	nggoi **la** tum	rainbow	Marrison 1967
	n^{55}koi^{51}**laʔ**^{55}tu̠m^{33}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.19
	n^{55}koi^{51}**la**^{55}tum^{33}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.47
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	ɑ^{33}mv^{53}**lɑ**^{31}ɕi^{35}dʑɔ^{33}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.43
Lahu (Black)	á-**lâ**-mì-ší-jɔ ~ a-**lâ**-mì-ší-jɔ ~ a-**lâ**-mɛ̀-ší-jɔ	rainbow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:95
	ʌ^{33}mu^{53}**lʌ**^{31}si^{35}dzɔ^{33}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.33
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Lüchun)	be^{55}do^{55}**lo**^{55}tshu^{31}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	tshɤ^{55}thɤ^{55}**lɤ**^{55}khy̠^{33}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.30
Hani (Shuikui)	xɯ^{55}tɯ^{55}**lɯ**^{55}mɔ^{33}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.32
Hani (Mojiang)	xɯ^{55}tɯ^{55}**lɯ**^{55}mɔ^{33}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.42
Mpi	n^{2}thɑʔ^{4}**lɑʔ**^{4}pɑŋʔ^{6}	rainbow	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Lijiang)	mɯ^{33}**lɯ**^{55}xɯ^{55}dʑi^{31}	rainbow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:16.28

(27) PTB *zu:r RAINY SEASON

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***zu:r**	rainy season	Matisoff 2003a:621
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***θuur** RAINY SEASON / MONSOON			
**Chin*	***θuur**	RAINY SEASON / MONSOON	VanBik 2009:626
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**tūk** lai	rainy season	VanBik 2009:626
Thado	**tsùʔ**	rainy season	VanBik 2009:626

* Chokri **merü zho**, Mao **mare**, Chang **mili shen**, perhaps also Meluri **a re pi**.

Tiddim	**tuːk**[3]	rainy season	VanBik 2009:626; Bhaskararao 1996:1848
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**htui** khaw	rainy season (at least to November)	VanBik 2009:626
Khumi	**nícoo**	rainy season, monsoon, rice harvest festival	VanBik 2009:626
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**fŭur**	rainy season	VanBik 2009:626
Lai (Falam)	**fùur**	rainy season	VanBik 2009:626
Lushai [Mizo]	**fùur**	rainy season, the rains, the southwest monsoon (n.)	VanBik 2009:626
	fuːr	rainy season	Bhaskararao 1996:1848
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**sāo**	rainy season, the rains, the rainy weather (n.)	VanBik 2009:626

(28) PTB *r-məw SKY / HEAVENS / CLOUDS

This etymon has an allofamic relationship with PTB ***muːŋ** ⩤ ***r/s-muːk** FOGGY / DARK / SULLEN / MENACING / THUNDER (§3.2.1), as suggested in *STC* (n.236, p.77). LaPolla 1987:11 notes that evidence from Dulong supports this contention.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(r-)muw**	sky; sky, clouds, fog	Weidert 1987:301; Benedict 1972:488
	***(r-)məw**	sky	Weidert 1987:301
	***r-məw**	sky / heavens / clouds	Matisoff 2003a:602
	***r-muw**=*r-məw ⩤ *r-muuk	sky / cloud / fog	LaPolla 1987:89
1.1.1. Tani: ***m(ə/u)k** CLOUD			
**Tani*	***mV**-doŋ~ ***pV**-doŋ	rain (n.)	Sun 1993a:314
	***mək~ muk**	cloud	Sun 1993a:76
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	ǰo-**múʔ**	cloud	Sun 1993b
	ǰó-**muɯ**	cloud	Sun 1993b
	ǰo-**muɯʔ**~ ŋo-**muɯʔ**	cloud	Sun 1993a
	mú-do	rain	Sun 1993b
	mú-do hu	rain (v.)	Sun 1993b
	muɯ-do	rain (n.)	Sun 1993a
	muɯ-dó	rain	Sun 1993b
	muɯ-do	rain	Sun 1993b
	muɯ-do hú	rain (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ŋo-**múʔ**	cloud	Sun 1993b
Bengni	do:-**muk**	cloud; cloudy	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ñi-do:	rain (n.)	Sun 1993a
	ñi-do:	weather; heaven; rain	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ñi-do: mo:	sky	Sun 1993b
Bokar	doŋ **muk**	cloud; fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.24
	doŋ-**muk**	cloud; fog	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	duŋ-**muk muk**-ka:	cloud (black)	Sun 1993b
	me doŋ	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.24
	me doŋ dup	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.24
	me doŋ moŋ	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.24
	me-doŋ	rain (n.)	Sun 1993a
	me-doŋ	rain	Sun 1993b
	me-doŋ dup	cloudy, overcast	Sun 1993b
	me-doŋ ho	rain (v.)	Sun 1993b
	me-doŋ kə-nə	blacken (of sky)	Sun 1993b
	me-doŋ-moŋ	sky	Sun 1993b
	ñu-luŋ me-doŋ	storm	Sun 1993b
	u-reː **me**-doŋ	rain	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	doŋ **muk**	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.51
	dɑŋ **muk**	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.51
	me doŋ	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.51
	me doŋ moŋ	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.51
Galo	doː **mɤ**	cloud	Das Gupta 1963
	ni do	rain	Das Gupta 1963
	ni dor-nam	rain (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘doo **muk**	vapour (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘doo **mə**	cloud (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘muk puu	fog (dense) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲi doo	rain (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲi doo	rainy (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲi doo-kessoo-kelloo	lizard (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	du **muk**	cloud	Simon 1976
	ɲi do	rain	Simon 1976
Nishing	**ni** do	rain	Das Gupta 1969
	ni do-sabio	umbrella	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**ni** do	rain	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	do-**muk**	cloud	Sun 1993a
Damu	do:-**muk**	cloud; sky	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	do:-**muk muk**-duŋ	cloudy	Sun 1993b
	do: **muk** kaʔ-jiː-nə (muk-du	cloud (black)	Sun 1993b
	ma-do xo	rain (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ma-do: (ɦo-duŋ)	rain	Sun 1993b
	ma-do: ɦo-ɕo ɦo-jo	drizzle	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **muk**	cloud; vapor	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	aː **m**	cloud	NEFA (India) 1963
	ɑ[31]**m̩**[55]	cloud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.22
	ɑ[31]**m̩**[55]	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.49
Idu	ɑ[55]**mu**[55]	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.50
	ɑ[55]**mu**[55]ko[55]	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.50
Yidu	ɑ[55]**mu**[55]	cloud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.25
	ɑ[55]**mu**[55]ko[55]	fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.25
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Yimchungrü	[2]a[2]mo[[1]]	cloud	Weidert 1987:301
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	ka **mau**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	ke **mau**	cloud	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**mui** ya	cloud	Marrison 1967
	[1]**mu**[2]**ya**	sky	Weidert 1987:301
	[1]**mu**[1]**ya**	sky	Weidert 1987:301
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	čə-**məy**	cloud	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***məw**	sky	French 1983:551
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**mügh**	sky	Marrison 1967
	müɣ	sky	Benedict 1972:110n308
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Baram	a **mu**	cloud	Kansakar 2010:48
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mu**	sky	Glover 1972:5.A.2
Gurung	**mu**	sky	Benedict 1972:110n308
	[1]**mu**	sky	Mazaudon 1994:783
Manang (Gyaru)	**mo**[2]	rain	Nagano 1984:253
	mo[2] bruː[2] loː[2]	thunder	Nagano 1984:254
	mo[2] yuː[1] ba	rain (V.)	Nagano 1984:253-02
	mo[1]	sky	Nagano 1984:250
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]**mwo**	sky	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0157a
	[3]**mwo**	rain; weather; sky	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0155; Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0620; Mazaudon 1994:762
	[3]**mwo** [2]prilo	thunder	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0617
	[3]**mwo** [2]yupti:	rainy season	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0621
	[3]**mwo** [1]yu-	rain	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0387
	[1]**mwo**	rain	Mazaudon 1994:782
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]**mu**	sky	Mazaudon 1994:780
Tamang (Sahu)	**mu**	sky	Taylor *et al.* 1972:5.2
	mu ’ku hruŋ-pa	thunder (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:16.16
	mu ’ku hruŋ pa	thunder	Taylor *et al.* 1972:5.49
	mu pʰreŋ-pa	thunder strike (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:16.18
	[1]**mu**	sky	Mazaudon 1994:780
Tamang (Taglung)	[1]**mu**	sky	Mazaudon 1994:780
Thakali	**mu**	sky	Benedict 1972:110n308
Thakali (Marpha)	[51]**muː**	sky	Mazaudon 1994:783
Thakali (Syang)	[54]**mo**	sky	Mazaudon 1994:783
Thakali (Tukche)	**mu**	sky	Hari 1971:5.A.2
	mu kuhr kuhr ’lɔ-lɔ	thunder (v.)	Hari 1971
	[H]**mu**	sky	Mazaudon 1994:780
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	bhomh.**mus**	non-moving cloud (n.)	Caughley 2000
	bhoyʔ.**mus**	swirling cloud (n.)	Caughley 2000
	bhəmʔ.**mus**	cloud lying in valley (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dum.dum.**(mus)**	cloud, thick overcast (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mus	cloud	Hale 1973:01.080
	mus	cloud, fog (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mus	cloud	Caughley 1972:1.80
	mus doŋʔ-	go away (heavy cloud) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	mus dəŋ-	settle (mist), remain near ground, not rising to become cloud (va.)	Caughley 2000
	mus muk-	thunder (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	mus muk-na	thunder (verb)	Caughley 1972:5.B.16
	mus romʔ-	cover (cloud) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	mus-muk-ʔo	thunder	Caughley 1972:5.A.44
	mus.laŋ(gə.ni).	spirit, of place of dead) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	mus.ma.tiʔ	cloud (of underworld); spirit (f.) of this cloud (ch.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	pomʔ.**mus**	low covering cloud? (n.)	Caughley 2000
	romʔ.**mus**	white cumulus cloud (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	rəw.**mus**	first thunderclouds at end of dry season (n.)	Caughley 2000
	su.walʔ.**mus**	cloud (high trailing cirrus) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ʔomʔ.**mus**	cloud cover, low cloud (without rain) (n.)	Caughley 2000
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**mɛ**[33]dzɻ[55]	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.18
	mɛ[33]ndzɑ[55]	summer	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:71.18
	mɛ[33]tshu[55]	winter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:73.18
	mɛ[33]tɕo[55]	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.18
	mɛ[33]ŋa[55]	cloudy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:836.18
	mɛ[33]ɳi[55]	spring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:70.18
	mɛ[55]ə[ɹ55]	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.18
	mɛ[55]ɬi[55]	flash (of lightning)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:754.18
Guiqiong	**mɔ̃**[31]	sky; weather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.16; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0006.16
	mɔ̃[31]sɔ̃[31]	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.16
	mɔ̃[31]xɔ̃[35]	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.16
	mɔ̃[31]ɳi[35]	dark, get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.16
	mɔ̃[31]ʐyi[35]	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.16
	mɔ̃[35]	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.17
	mɔ̃[35]lo[33]	flash (of lightning)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:754.17
	mɔ̃[35]ɣa[35]	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.16
	mɔ̃[35]ɣɑ[33]	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.17
	mɔ̃[35]ɣɑ[33]	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.17
Lyuzu	**me**[33]de[53]	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.18
	me[33]gi[35]	break (thunderbolt); thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.18; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.18
	me[33]le[53]læ[33]	blow (wind) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.18
	me[33]nkhu[53]	dark, get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.18
	me[33]tshuo[53]	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.18
	me[33]ŋæ[53]	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.18
	me[33]ɬi[53]	lightning (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.18

	me^{53}gi^{53}	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.18
	me^{53}ndze^{53}	summer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0792.18
	me^{53}ɳi^{53}	spring (season) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0791.18
	me^{53}ɳu^{53}	fall / autumn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0793.18
	me^{55}le^{53}	wind (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.18
	muo^{35}	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.18
	na^{33}nkhæ^{53}**mu^{35}**	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.18
Muya	(**mə^{53}** va^{33}	under (the sky) (prep.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0727.15
	mə̰^{53}mə̰^{33}	wind (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.15
	mə^{53}	sky; weather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.15; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0006.15
	mə^{53} rə^{33}mu^{55}	dark, get (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.15
	mə^{53} ti^{55}lɐ^{33}	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.15
	mə^{53} to^{24}sa^{33}	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.15
	mə^{53} tə^{33}tsɐ^{53}	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.15
	mə^{53} ŋgə^{33}di^{55}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.15
	mə^{55}qhɐ̰^{33}	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mɯ^{55}ŋgo^{33}**	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.15
	mɐ̰^{55}mɐ̰^{33}	wind	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:7.15
	tɯ^{55}**mɐ̰^{55}**	blow (of wind)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:753.15
	u^{35}tɕe^{55}(tɕe^{55})	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.15
Namuyi	**mu^{55}**gu^{33}	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.19
	mu^{55}gu^{33}	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.19
	mu^{55}mɛ^{35}	flash (of lightning)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:754.19
	mu^{55}tshu^{33}	spring; winter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:70.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:73.19
	mu^{55}ʂl̩^{33}	wind	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:7.19
	mu^{55}ʐu^{33}	summer; autumn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:71.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:72.19
	nɛ^{55}ŋkhɛ^{33}**mu^{33}**	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.19
	mu^{53} dzu^{35}	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.46
	mu^{53}tshu^{31}	winter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0794.46
	mu^{53}ʐu^{31}	summer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0792.46
	mu^{55}guæ^{31}	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.46
	mu^{55}mæ^{31}	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.46
	næ^{55}nkhæ^{31}**mu^{31}**	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	(**my^{11}**) xu^{55}	in (the sky) (prep.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.10
	mu^{11}lə^{11} ʐl̩^{55}	blow (wind) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.10
	mu^{11}lə^{55}	wind (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.10
	my^{35}	sky; weather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.10; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0006.10
	my^{35} duɪ^{11}dẽ^{35}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.10
	my^{35} lẽ^{55}	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.10
	my^{35} xɑ^{11}no^{11}	dark, get (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.10
	my^{11}tsui^{11} de^{35}	break (thunderbolt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.10
	my^{11}ʐuẽ^{35}	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.10
	my^{11}ʐuɛ̃^{55}	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**mu^{55}**mo^{13}	wind (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.09
	mɤ^{55}	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.09
	mɤ^{55}dʒy^{13}	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.09
	mɤ^{55}dzõ^{13}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.09
	mɤ^{55}jẽ^{55}	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.09
	mɤ^{55}nõ^{13}	dark, get (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.09
	mɤ^{55}siɛ̃^{55}	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.09
	mɤ^{55}ʒdʒu^{55}	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.09
	mɤ^{55}ʑi^{55}	weather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0006.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**mu^{55}**mo^{13}	wind	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:7.11
	mɤ^{55}	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.11
	mɤ^{55}dʒy^{13}	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.11
	mɤ^{55}sdʒu^{55}	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**mə^{35}**rẽ^{55}tɕhã^{53}	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.10
	mə^{35}ruẽ^{53}	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.10
	mə^{35}ɳi^{55}	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.10
	mə^{55}dzɐ̰^{35}mə^{53}	cloudy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:836.10
Qiang (Longxi)	(**mù** tó) χeì	in (the sky)	Evans 1999:1069
	mù pá	cool (of weather)	Evans 1999:1515
	mù tó	sky	Evans 1999:1
	mù ʁó	wind	Evans 1999:11
	mú	weather	Evans 1999:6
	mú gú	thunder	Evans 1999:8
	mú gú (gú)	thunder (v.)	Evans 1999:1791
	mú gú dà gú	thunderbolt (v.)	Evans 1999:1789
	mú gú qà tè	thunderbolt (v.)	Evans 1999:1789
	mú moù	dark (sky)	Evans 1999:2399
	mú qá	clear (sky)	Evans 1999:2397
	mú ɕuá	bright (sky)	Evans 1999:2398
Qiang (Mawo)	**mu** tup	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.08
	mu tup	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.8
	mu ʁu	wind (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.08
	mu ʁu	wind	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:7.8
	mu ʁu pə	blow (wind) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.08
	mu ʂu	autumn; winter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:72.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:73.8
	mu ʑu tʃə	blow (of wind)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:753.8
	mu ɳi	dark	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:834.8
	mə	weather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0006.08
	mə dzə zdɑ	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.08
	mə dɑ ʁgu̱ə̱	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.08
	mə gru̱	break (thunderbolt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.08
	mə mɑ ʂqɑ	cloudy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:836.8
	mə pɛ	cold (weather)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1063.08
	mə rgu	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.8
	mə rgu tʃə	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.8
	mə tsa	spring; summer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:70.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:71.8
	mə tu su	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.08
	mə ʁe	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.8
	mə ʁeˡ	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.8
	mə ʂqɑ	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.08
	mə ʐguə	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.08
	mə s kɛ dzu̱ɛ	dark, get (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.08
	mə əɹ dɑ ɹɑ	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.08
	mə əˡ	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.08
	mə χ	in (the sky) (prep.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**mù** dè gô	thunderbolt (v.)	Evans 1999:1789
	mù dè gô	thunderbolt	Evans 1999:9
	mù gó	thunder; thunderbolt	Evans 1999:8; Evans 1999:9
	mú pià	sky; weather	Evans 1999:1; Evans 1999:6
	mú ʂè	clear (sky) [sky-good?]	Evans 1999:2397
	mú zl̩̀	dry (of weather)	Evans 1999:1963
	m zl̩̀	rain [< mu (weather) + zl̩̀] (n.)	Evans 1999:12
	m zl̩̀-ʂɛ̀-tɕò	rain [rain-p-come] (v.)	Evans 1999:2469
	m zl̩̀-zí	hail [rain-dry] (n.)	Evans 1999:15
Qiang (Taoping)	**ma^{31}**zi^{55}	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.9
	mə^{55}go^{33}	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.9
	mə^{55}go^{33}	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.9
	χmə^{33}da^{241}pə^{33}	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**mu^{55}**	sky; weather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.13; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0006.13
	mu^{55} kə^{55}	in (the sky) (prep.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.13
	mu^{55}ɳɯ^{55}	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.13
	mu^{55}psue^{55}	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.13
	mu^{55}rmu^{13}	dark, get (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.13
	mu^{55}tso^{55}	winter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0794.13
	mu^{55}ɳɐe^{55}	spring (season) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0791.13
	mu^{55}ʑe^{55}	summer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0792.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**mɯ^{55}**	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.16
	mɯ^{55}tsõ^{53}	winter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:73.16
	mɯ^{55}ʑi^{53}	summer	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:71.16
Xumi	**mɛ^{33}**dʑyɛ^{53}	dragon; year of the dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.17; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.17
	mɛ^{33}dʑyɛ^{53}	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.17
	mɛ^{33}hũ^{55}	dark, get (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.17
	mɛ^{33}lyɛ^{55}sə̃^{55}khe^{53}	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.20
	mɛ^{33}lyɛ^{55}sɯ̃^{55}khe^{53}	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.20
	mɛ^{33}ri^{33}sl̩^{33}khi^{55}	break (thunderbolt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.17
	mɛ^{33}rɛ^{35}	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.17
	mɛ^{33}thiæ^{55}	under (the sky) (prep.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0727.17
	mɛ^{33}tsi^{33}tsi^{55}	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.17
	mɛ^{33}ʁu^{33}la^{55}	in (the sky) (prep.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.17
	mɛ^{35}	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.17
	mɛ^{35}	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.20
	mɐ^{33}dʒuɛ^{55}	dragon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:122.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**mo^{33}**ku^{55}	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.14
	mo^{33}tʂo^{55}	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.14
	mo^{33}tʂo^{55} lɛ^{33}	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	(**mɑ** mqɑ) və	under (the sky) (prep.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0727.12
	mə gə ʁnɛ	dark, get (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.12
	mə qhi	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.12
	mə rŋa	weather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0006.12
	mə rə bi	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.12
Ergong (Danba)	**mɛ**	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.14
	mɛ rgɯ	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.14
Daofu	**mɑ** mqɑ	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.12
	mɑ mqɑ	in (the sky) (prep.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	(tə **mu**) kə lɐt	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.11
	tə **mu**	weather; rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0006.11; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.11

rGyalrong	tə **mu**	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **mu** kə jɑm	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.11
	tə **mu** kə khi	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.11
Caodeng	tə-**mu**-jrɔʔ	stratification of rain	Sun 1997a
	tə-**mu**-tʃiʔ	rain-water	Sun 1997a
	tə-**mu**-zndəmʔ	rain-cloud	Sun 1997a
	tə́-**mu**	rain; weather	Sun 1997a; Sun 1997a
	tə́-**mu** kə́-lop	cloudy weather	Sun 1997a
	tə́-**mu** kɐ-lɐt	rain (v.)	Sun 1997a
	tə́-**mu** tə-jəm (∼-jɐm)	sunny weather	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	tA **mu**	rain	Nagano 1997:3.4
	tA **mu** kA lop	cloudy (be v.)	Nagano 1997:3.33
	tA **mu** kA rup	cloudy (be v.)	Nagano 1997:3.33
rGBenzhen	tə-**mu**	rain	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Nung	**mo^{55}** ɖɯŋ^{55}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.21
	mo^{55}lɑŋ^{31}	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.21
Anong (Rawang)	**mu**	sky	Benedict 1972:77n236
Rawang	**muʔ** lɑŋ^{31}	sky	LaPolla 2003:1
Anong	**mu^{55}**lɑŋ^{31}	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.44
Dulong	(**muʔ^{55}**) mɯ^{31}dɑm^{53}	in (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.20
	(**muʔ^{55}**)bɑŋ^{31}	under (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0727.20
	muʔ^{55}	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.20
Trung [Dulong]	**mŭʔ^{55}**	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**muʔ^{55}**	sky, heaven	LaPolla 1987:89
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**mŭʔ^{55}**	sky	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**muʔ^{55}**	sky, heaven	LaPolla 1987:89

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	**me2**	sky (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	me2ga3ha2	in the sky (expr.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	me2ha3	thunder (n + vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	me2la1ong3	cloud (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	me2ong3	thunder (n + vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	me2su3	dawn (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	me2ta1ce3	thunder (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	me2ze3	rain (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	me2ze3	rain (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	me2ze3ci1ba1	heavy rain (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	me2ze3tie2ba1	heavy rain (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	me^{2}	sky	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.1
	me^{2}ga^{3}ha^{2}	in the sky	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.1
	me^{2}ha^{3}	thunder (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.1
	me^{2}ong^{3}	thunder (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.1
	me^{2}su^{3}	dawn (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.1
	me^{2}ta^{1}ce^{3}	thunder	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.1
	me^{2}ze^{3}	rain (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.1
	me^{2}ze^{3}ci^{1}ba^{1}	downpour, heavy rain	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.1
Tujia (Southern)	**mɨe^{21}**	sky	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	mɨe^{21}ɣu^{21}	thunder (v.)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	mɨe^{21}ɣu^{21}	thunder	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**mɨe^{35}**	sky	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	mɨe^{35}la^{55}ɣũ^{21}	cloud	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	mɨe^{35}tha^{55}tshe^{21}	thunder	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	mɨe^{35}tse^{21}	rain	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	mɨe^{35}tse^{21}tse^{21}	rain (v.)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	mɨe^{35}ɣũ^{21}	thunder (v.)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**mɯe^{35}**	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.49
	mɯe^{35}	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.38
	mɯe^{35}ka^{21}	in (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.49
	mɯe^{35}la^{55}ɣoŋ^{21}	cloud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.49
	mɯe^{35}la^{55}ɣoŋ^{21}	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.38
	mɯe^{35}tha^{55}tshie^{21}	thunder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.49
	mɯe^{35}tha^{55}tshie^{21}	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.49
	mɯe^{35}tha^{55}tshie^{21}	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.38
	mɯe^{35}tsie^{21}	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.49
	mɯe^{35}tsie^{21}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.38
	mɯe^{35}tsie^{21}tsie^{21}	fall (rain) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.49
	mɯe^{35}ɣoŋ^{21}	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.38

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***məw^{2}**	sky / heavens	Matisoff 2003a:602

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**mau^{31}**	heaven	LaPolla 1987:89
	mɑu^{31}	sky	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	mɑu^{31}lui^{31}	thunder (v.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	mɑu^{31}lui^{31}	thunder	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	mɑu^{31}wɑ^{55}	rain	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	mɑu^{31}wɑ^{55}	rain (v.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	mɑu^{31}ɳɑu^{31}	cloud	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**mau^{31}**	heaven	LaPolla 1987:89
	mau^{31}	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.28
	mau^{31}	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.41
	mau^{31}mʐəŋ^{35}	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.28
	mau^{31}mʐəŋ^{35}	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.41
	mau^{31}mʐəŋ^{35}	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.41
	mau^{31}mʐəŋ^{55}	break (thunderbolt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.28
	mau^{31}tum^{55}	fog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.28
	mau^{31}tum^{55}; xaŋ^{31}tɕin^{31}	fog	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:12.41
	mau^{31}tʂau^{35}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.28
	mau^{31}ʂaŋ^{31}	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.28
	mau^{31}ʐau^{31}	thunder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.28
	mau^{31}ʐo^{55}	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.28
	mau^{31}ʐo^{55}	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.41
	mau^{31}ʐo^{55}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.41
Achang (Luxi)	**mau^{51}**	sky; heaven	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:89
	mau^{51}khɔŋ^{51}	thunder (v.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	mau^{51}khɔŋ^{51}	thunder	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	mau^{51}wa^{31}	rain	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	mau^{51}wa^{31}	rain (v.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**mau^{31}**	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.29
	mau^{31} tau^{31}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.29
	mau^{31}cau^{31}	thunder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.29
	mau^{31}cau^{31}	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.29
	mau^{31}ʐo^{55}	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.29
Bola (Luxi)	(**mau^{31}**) thai^{35}	under (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0727.32
	(**mau^{31}khauŋ^{55}**) khja^{5}	in (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.32
	mau^{31}khauŋ^{55}	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.32
	mau^{31}kɔn^{55}	break (thunderbolt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.32
	mau^{31}mjaŋ^{55}	thunder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.32
	mau^{31}mjaŋ^{55}mjaŋ^{55}	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.32
	mau^{31}pa^{35}	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.32
	mau^{31}tap^{55}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.32
	mau^{31}ɣɔ^{55}	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mo^{55}**	sky; rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.27; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.27
	mo^{55}lĩ^{55}	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.27
	mo^{55}õ^{53}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.27
	mo^{55}tɕhẽ^{55}	thunder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.27
	mo^{55}tɕhẽ^{55}	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.27
	mo^{55}tɕo^{55}piʔ^{4}	break (thunderbolt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mo^{55}**	sky; rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.40; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.40
	mo^{55}tɕhõ^{55}	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.40
	mo^{55}tɕo^{55}	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.40
Burmese (Written)	**mo^{3}**	sky; rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.26; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.26
	mo^{3}	sky; rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.39; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.39
	mo^{3} uṁ^{1}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.26
	mo^{3}khjin^{3}	thunder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.26
	mo^{3}khjin^{3}	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.26
	mo^{3}khjun^{3}	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.39
	mo^{3}kro^{3}	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.39
	mo^{3}kro^{3}pɑs^{4}	break (thunderbolt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.26
	mo^{3}lɑŋ^{3}	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.26
	mûi	heaven; sky	Hansson 1989:374; Matisoff 1974:232
	muì(gh)	sky; sky, clouds, rain	Weidert 1987:301; LaPolla 1987:89
	mui:	sky	Marrison 1967
	mui:	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mûigh	sky; rain (= mûi)	Matisoff 1974:232; Benedict 1976a
	muigh: khrui: khraṅ:	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
	muigh: laṅ:ca	dawn (n.)	Marrison 1967
Hpun (Northern) Leqi (Luxi)	**tămù** wáʔ	rain (cp. Sky) (v.)	Henderson 1986
	mou^{33}khuŋ^{33}	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.33
	mou^{33}ku:n^{31}	break (thunderbolt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.33
	mou^{33}kɔm^{33}	thunder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.33
	mou^{33}kɔm^{33}kum^{33}	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.33
	mou^{33}tsa:u^{55}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.33
	mou^{33}wɔ^{31}	rain (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.33
	tsɔ̯m^{55}**mou^{55}**	cloud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.33
Marma	**mú**	rain	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:253
	mú-krú	thunder (v.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:254a
	mú-rwa	rain (v.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:253a
	mú grú	thunder	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:254
	mú grú + rɔŋ	blue (lit. thunder-color)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:334
	mú roiʔ	cloud	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:251
Maru [Langsu]	(**muk^{55}**)vu^{31}	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.43
	muk^{55}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.43
	mùk ɣù	rain	Weidert 1987:181
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mau^{21}**	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.30
	mau^{21}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.42
	mau^{21} po^{55}	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.30

	mau^{21} tsau^{55}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.30
	mau^{21}khuŋ^{51}	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.30
	mau^{21}khuŋ^{51}	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.42
	mau^{21}kun^{51}	break (thunderbolt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.30
	mau^{21}mjiŋ^{51}	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.30
	mau^{21}mjiŋ^{51}	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.30
	mau^{21}mjiŋ^{51}	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.42
	mau^{21}mjiŋ^{51}	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.42
	mu̱t^{55}**mau^{55}**	cloud (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.30
	mu̱t^{55}**mau^{55}**	cloud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:6.42

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**m^{31}kv̩^{55}**	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.47
	m^{31}kv^{55}	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.47
	m^{31}ma^{24}	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.47
	m^{31}sɭ^{33}	wind (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.47
	m̩^{31}ma^{24}	rain	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	m̩^{31}tha^{33}	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.47
Lipho	**mɯ^{21}**	sky	CHEN Kang 1986a:113.
Nasu	**mu^{33}**	sky	CHEN Kang 1986a:113.
Neisu	**mi^{33}**	sky	CHEN Kang 1986a:113.
Nesu	**mu^{33}**	sky	CHEN Kang 1986a:113.
Nosu	**mu^{33}**	sky	CHEN Kang 1986a:113.
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɯ^{31}gɹɯ^{55}**	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.45
	mɯ^{31}gɹɯ^{55}	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.45
Nusu (Northern)	**mɯ̃^{31}ɑ^{55}**	sky	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	mɯ̃^{31}ɑ^{55}gɯ^{35}	thunder	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	mɯ̃^{31}ɑ^{55}gɯ^{35}	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	mɯ̃^{31}ɑ^{55}**ɬi^{31}**ɑ^{35}	wind	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	mɯ̃^{31}ɑ^{55}ɹuɑ^{31}	rain	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**mɯ^{53}dzɳ^{53}**	thunder	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	mɯ^{55}	sky	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**mɯ^{55}**	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɯ^{55}**	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.45
Nusu (Central)	**mɯ^{55}a^{31}gɹɯ^{55}a^{31}**	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.34
	mɯ^{55}bɹa^{31}	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.34
Nusu (Southern)	**mɯ^{55}dzɳ^{55}**	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**mɯ^{55}gɹɯ^{55}**	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.34
	mɯ^{55}li̥^{33}	wind (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.34
	mɯ^{55}tɕu^{55}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.34
	mɯ^{55}ɣrua^{33}	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɯ^{55}**ɑ^{31}ɬi^{35}	wind	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:7.45
	mɯ^{55}ɑ^{31}ɹuɑ^{55}	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.45
Nusu (Southern)	**mɯ^{55}**ɬi^{35}	wind	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	mɯ^{55}ɹo^{35}	rain	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**m(u)^{33}dzɳ^{33}tɐ^{33}**	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.22
	m(u)^{33}ho^{33}	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.22
	m̩(u)^{33}	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.22
	m̩(u)^{33}dzɳ^{33}	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.22
	m̩(u)^{33}hi^{33}	wind	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:7.22
	m̩(u)^{33}ho^{33}	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.22
	m̩(u)^{33}nɒ^{13}	fog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:12.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**mu^{33}gu̱^{33}**	overhead (in the sky); sky, in the	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{33}ku^{33}	thunder	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{33}thi^{33}	dawn; morning	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{33}ti^{33}	cloud	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{33}tʂɭ^{55}bu̱^{33}	pre-dawn	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{33}vu^{55}	sky	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{33}ɬi^{55}	strike (lightning)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{33}ɬɭ^{33}	wind (current of air)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{33}ʑɭ^{33}	moon, dark of the	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{33}tʂɭ^{21}ʂɭ^{33}	dark (sky)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{33}tʂu̱^{33}	lightning; thunder	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	dʑɭ^{21}	dissipate (fog)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**mo^{21}**xo^{33}	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.25
	mu^{21}dɯ^{21}	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.25
	mu^{21}phi^{33}	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.25
	mu^{21}zi^{33}mu^{21}lua̱^{55}	flash (of lightning)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:754.25
	mu^{21}ɬu^{33};mɯ^{21}ɬɯ^{33}	wind	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:7.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**mu^{33}**	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.26
	mu^{33}(∼tɯ^{21})	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.26
	mu^{33}sa̱^{33}su̱^{21}	flash (of lightning)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:754.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mə^{21}**	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.37
	mə^{21}di̱^{21}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.37
	mə^{21}kɯ^{55}	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.37
	mə^{21}kɯ^{55}	break (thunderbolt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.37
	mə^{21}kɯ^{55}dæ^{21}	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.37
	mə^{21}po^{33}	in (the sky) (prep.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.37
	mə^{21}the^{33}	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.37
	mə^{21}ɕi^{33}	wind (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.37
	mə^{21}ʑi^{55}	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.37
	mə^{33}zi^{33}	fog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.37
	mɯ^{21}	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.24
	mɯ^{21}gɯ^{21}	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.24
	mɯ^{21}ku̱^{55}	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.24
	mɯ^{21}xo^{33}; ʌ^{55}**mɯ^{21}**xo^{33}	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.24
	mɯ^{21}zi^{55}	flash (of lightning)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:754.24
	mɯ^{21}ɕi^{33}	wind	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:7.24
	mɯ^{33}xɯ^{33}; mɯ^{33}i^{33}xɯ^{33}	fog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:12.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**m̩(u̱)^{21}du̱^{55}**	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.23
	m̩(u̱)^{21}ɣu^{21}	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.23
	m̩(u̱)^{21}ɣu^{21}de^{21}	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.23
	tshɑ^{21}**m̩(u̱)^{55}**	fog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:12.23
	ɑ^{55}m̩(u̱)^{21}bɑ^{55}	flash (of lightning)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:754.23
	ɑ^{55}**m̩(u̱)^{21}**hɑ^{55}	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.23
	ɑ^{55}**m̩(u̱)^{21}**ti^{55}	cloud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:6.23
	ɑ^{55}**m̩(u̱)^{21}**ɕi^{55}	wind	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:7.23
Yi (Weishan)	(ɑ^{55}**m̩^{21}**ɕy^{55}) tu^{21}	block (the wind) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1256.36
	mu̱^{21}	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.36
	m̩^{21}du̱^{55}	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.36
	tshŋ^{21}**m̩^{55}**	fog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.36
	ɑ^{55}m̩^{21}ba^{21}	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.36
	ɑ^{55}**m̩^{21}**thi^{21}	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.36
	ɑ^{55}**m̩^{21}**ti^{55}	cloud (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.36
	ɑ^{55}m̩^{21}ti^{55}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.36
	ɑ^{55}m̩^{21}ɣu^{21}	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.36
	ɑ^{55}**m̩^{21}**ɕy^{55}	wind (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.36
	ʔm̩^{21} ku^{55}	in (the sky) (prep.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.36
Yi (Wuding)	**mv̩^{33}**	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.38
	mv̩^{33}dʐu̱^{55}	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.38
	mv̩^{33}dʐɑ̱^{2}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.38
	mv̩^{33}kɯ^{11}	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.38
	mv̩^{33}kɯ^{11}	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.38
	mv̩^{33}the^{33}	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.38
	mv̩^{33}thi^{33}	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.38
Yi (Xide)	(**mu^{33}vu^{55}**) ko^{33}	in (the sky) (prep.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.35
	(**mu^{33}**ɬɯ^{33}) phu̱^{33}	blow (wind) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.35
	m(u)^{33}ha^{33}dʐi^{21}	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.21
	m(u)^{33}ku^{33}	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.21
	mu^{33}	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.35
	mu^{33}ku^{33}	break (thunderbolt); thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.35; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.35
	mu^{33}thi^{33}	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.35
	mu^{33}ti^{33}	cloud (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.35
	mu^{33}tsɳ^{33}	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.35
	mu^{33}ŋo^{33}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.35
	mu^{33}ɬi^{55}	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.35
	mu^{33}ɬɭ^{33}	wind (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.35
	m̩(u)^{33}ha^{33}	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.21
	m̩(u)^{33}ti^{33}	cloud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:6.21
	m̩(u)^{33}tsɳ^{33}	thunder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:5.21
	m̩(u)^{33}tsɳ^{33}ɬi^{55}	flash (of lightning)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:754.21
	m̩(u)^{33}ɬ(ɭ)^{33}	wind	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:7.21
	m̩(u)^{33}ɬ(ɭ)^{33}phu̱^{33}	blow (of wind)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:753.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**mu^{21}**	sky	CHEN Kang 1986a:113.
Jinuo	**mi^{31}**tha^{55}	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.34
	mi^{42}tha^{55}xo^{42}	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.44
	mɯ^{33}tjɐ^{33}	cloud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:6.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**m̩^{42}thɑ^{55}xo^{42}**	rain (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**m̩^{33}thɑ^{55}si^{31}**	sky, heaven (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**m̩^{33}**tɛ^{33}	cloud (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**m̩^{33}**tɛ^{44}	cloud	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	m̩^{42}thɑ^{55}	rain	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	m̩^{44}tʃi^{44}	thunder	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**mu31** thi31	light (of the sky)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	mu31 thɔ33	thunder	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	mu31 thʌ33 kv55	sky	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	mu31 tsɔ35	fog; cloud	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009; DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	mu31 zɭ31	rain	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	mɯ31 xʌ33	wind	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**mû**-hɔ	wind	Benedict 1972:61n195
	mî qhɔ	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:302
Lahu (Lancang)	**mu^{53}**bɑ^{33}	dawn (the day) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.43
	mu^{53}nɑ^{54}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.43
	mv^{53}nɔ^{33}mɑ^{33}	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.43
	mv^{53}qhɔ^{53}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.43
	mv^{53}ti^{35}pio^{21}	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.43
	mv^{53}tɔ^{11}	thunder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.43
	mv^{53}tɔ^{11}tɔ^{11}	break (thunderbolt); thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.43
	mv^{53}xɔ^{33}	wind (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.43
	mv^{53}ɕɔ^{35}	morning (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.43
	mv^{53}ʑe^{31}	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.43
Lahu (Black)	**mû**	sky	Matisoff 1974:232
	mû qhâʔ ve	drought, be a; not have rain	Matisoff 1988a:p. 993
	mû-cha	sunlight (n.)	Matisoff 1988a
	mû-cha	sunlight	Matisoff 1978a:40
	mû-hɔ	breeze / wind	Matisoff 1974:280
	mû-nàʔ	early morning	Matisoff 1972b:131
	mû-ni cè ko ve	for the sun to be encircled by a colored haze	Matisoff 1985a:013

	mû-phe	sky (”sky-spread”?)	Matisoff 1985a:015
	mû-qhɔ	smoke	Matisoff 1978a:59
	mû-qhɔ́	smoke	Matisoff 1978a:11; Matisoff 1974:288
	mû-šɔ́	morning	Matisoff 1972b:125
	mû-thɛ̂ʔ	thunder and lightning	Matisoff 1972b:67
	mû-tí-pwèʔ (<blap)	lightning	Matisoff 1972b:67
	mu^{53}nɔ^{33}mA^{33}	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.33
	mu^{53}qhɔ^{53}	smoke	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:46.33
	mu^{53}sɔ^{35}	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.33
	mu^{53}tɔ^{31}	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.33
	mu^{53}xɔ^{33}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.33
	mu^{53}ze^{31}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.33
Lahu (Yellow)	(**mu̩^{3}**xɔ^{1})xɔ^{1}~mɯ^{6}	blow (of wind)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	(**mu̩^{3}ʐi^{2}**)la^{2}	rain (v.)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mu̩^{3}	sky	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mu̩^{3}lɔ^{2}qu^{1}	sky / heavens	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mu̩^{3}qhɔ^{3}	smoke	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mu̩^{3}thɛ^{6}	thunder	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mu̩^{3}thɛ^{6}thɛ^{6}	thunder (v.)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mu̩^{3}xɔ^{1}	wind	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mu̩^{3}ʐi^{7}	rain	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	(**mu^{5}**-kwa^{3}) ba^{3}	clear (of sky)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**mo^{31}**kuɑ̱^{33}	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.40
	mo^{31}kuɑ^{44}	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.27
Lisu (Central)	**mrgh'^{5}**-h'a^{4}-h'a^{4}	rain (v.)	Fraser 1922
	mrgh^{5}-h'a^{4}	rain (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**mu^{21}gu^{21}**	thunder (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mu^{21}gu^{21} pø^{35}	thunder is rolling	Bradley 1994
	mu^{21}khu^{21}	tobacco; smoke (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mu^{21}tɔ^{35}ze^{44}	pillar supporting the sky (legendary) (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**mu^{3}**-ku^{1}	cloud	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**mu^{33}ku^{55}**	cloud; mist (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mu^{33}ku^{55}næ^{33}	dark cloud; black cloud	Bradley 1994
	mu^{33}ku^{55}phu^{33}	white cloud	Bradley 1994
	mu^{33}ku^{55}su^{33}	disorderly cloud	Bradley 1994
	mu^{33}ku^{55}su^{55}	spread with cloud	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**mu^{31}gu^{31}**	thunder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.40
	mu^{31}gu^{31}	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.27
	mu^{31}gu^{31}pe^{35}	break (thunderbolt); thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.40; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.40
	mu^{31}khu^{31}	smoke (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.40
	mu^{31}khu^{31}	smoke	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:46.27
Lisu (Luquan)	**mu^{31}**khɯ^{31}	smoke (n.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**mu^{31}**thu^{31}dʑi^{33}	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.40
	mu̱^{33}ku^{55}	cloud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.40
	mu^{44}ku^{55}	cloud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:6.27
Lisu (Central)	**mu^{5}**-gu^{5}-pē^{2}	thunder (v.)	Fraser 1922
	mu^{5}-hku^{5}	smoke (n.)	Fraser 1922
	mu^{5}-kwa^{3}	heaven; sky	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
	mū^{5}-ti^{3}	cloud	Fraser 1922
	mū^{5}-ti^{3}-ti^{3}	overcast (of sky)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**mù** khù	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:302
Lisu (Northern)	**mɔ^{21}**kwa^{33}	sky (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}kwa^{33} ba^{44}	clear sky	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}kwa^{33} kwa^{33}	in the sky; heaven	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}kwa^{33} thæ^{21}si^{33}	in the sky	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**mɯ^{31}**hɑ^{33}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.27
	mɯ^{31}hɑ̃^{33}	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.40
Lisu (Northern)	**mɤ^{21}hɑ̃^{33}** thi^{21} dzɔ^{21}	period of rain (n.)	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{21}ti^{33}	dark cloud (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{21}ti^{33}ti^{33}	cloudy; covered with dark clouds	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{21}tsha^{33}ba^{44}	clear sky	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**ŋ^{31}**khu^{31}	smoke (n.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**mu^{21}**	sky	Chen Kang 1986a:113.
Yi (Sani)	**mu̩^{11}**	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.39
	mu̩^{11}dy̩^{11}	thunder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.39
	mu̩^{11}dy̩^{11}	thunder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.39
	mu̩^{11}dʑe^{33}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.39
	mu̩^{11}tsɑ^{44}	break (thunderbolt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.39
	mu̩^{11}tɕhi^{33}jæ^{33}	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.39
	mu̩^{11}tɕhæ^{33}	in (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.39
	mu̩^{11}ɬʐ̱^{33}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.39
	mu̩^{11}ɬɤ^{55}	lightning (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.39
	mu̩^{55}khɯ^{11}	smoke (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**m̀**	heaven	Hansson 1989:374
Akha (Yunnan)	**m̀**	heaven	Hansson 1989:374
Akha	**m̀**	heaven	Hansson 1989:374
Bisu	**mùŋ** hɔ̀	rain	Bradley 199x
Hani (Pijo)	**mì**	heaven	Hansson 1989:374
	mì thà	heaven	Hansson 1989:374
	mi tsỳ	thunder	Hansson 1989:179
Hani (Caiyuan)	**mi^{31}**tha̱^{31}	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.30
	xu^{55}(**ɔ^{31}**xu^{55}xu^{55})	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**m̩^{31}**	sky	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**u^{31}**jɛ^{55}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.32
Hani (Khatu)	**mì**	heaven	Hansson 1989:374
	mì thà	heaven	Hansson 1989:374
Pyen	**mo33** hɔ33	rain	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:011036

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**mʉ^{22}**	sky	Pelkey 2011:1
	mʉ^{22}ŋʌ^{22}	clear (sky)	Pelkey 2011:954
Southern Muji	**m̩^{13}**ɳɛ^{33}	wind	Pelkey 2011:7
	m̩^{13}ɳɛ^{33}k^{h}a^{33}	(of the wind) blow	Pelkey 2011:832
	m̩^{13}(-t^{h}a^{21})	sky	Pelkey 2011:1
Phola	**mɔ^{33}**sɑ^{55}	clear (sky)	Pelkey 2011:954
	mɔ^{33}ʤi^{23}	clear (sky)	Pelkey 2011:954
	mɔ^{31}	sky	Pelkey 2011:1
	mɔ^{31}li^{55}	wind	Pelkey 2011:7
	mɔ^{31}li^{55}ʤɛ^{33}	(of the wind) blow	Pelkey 2011:832
	mɔ^{31}t^{h}i^{31}ki^{33}**ki^{33}**	dawn	Pelkey 2011:69
Hlepho Phowa	**m̩^{21}**	sky	Pelkey 2011:1
	m̩^{21}kə^{55}	sky	Pelkey 2011:1
Phuza	**m̩^{31}t^{h}i^{33}**	sky	Pelkey 2011:1
	m̩^{31}t^{h}ɛ^{55}gɛ^{33}	dawn	Pelkey 2011:69
	m̩^{31}ts^{h}ɯ^{55}dɯ^{55}	clear (sky)	Pelkey 2011:954

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**mu˥**dy˥	universe	Michaud 2006–2009:4
	mu˥gv˥k^{h}v˥	year of the dragon	Michaud 2006–2009:1644
	mu˥lʐu˥bie˥	summer	Michaud 2006–2009:1699
	mu˧	sky	Michaud 2006–2009:1
	mu˧dy˧	celestial family, family of sky deities	Michaud 2006–2009:2
	mu˧gv˧	thunderbolt	Michaud 2006–2009:35
	mu˧gv˧ gv˧	clap (thunder) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2521
	mu˧k^{h}v˥	smoke	Michaud 2006–2009:52
	mu˧nɑ˦	dark: the sky is dark	Michaud 2006–2009:3365
	mu˧ts^{h}y˧bie˧	winter	Michaud 2006–2009:1703
	mu˧tu˥	heavens, sky	Michaud 2006–2009:3
Na (Yongning)	**mv˥**	sky	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧bv˧ʐv˥	dragon	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧gv#˥	thunderbolt	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧gv˧k^{h}v˩	year of the dragon	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧gɤ˧lɑ˥	sky spirit	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧k^{h}v˦	smoke	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧ts^{h}i#˥	dry season (autumn + winter)	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧ts^{h}i˧ko˩	dry season (autumn + winter)	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧tɕi˥	the weather is cloudy	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧t^{h}v˧	bright: there is daylight	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧ʐe#˥	rain season (spring + summer)	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧ʐe˧ko˥	rain season (spring + summer)	Michaud 2006–2009
	smv˧ʁu˥$	heavens, sky	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	gv^{33}; **mv^{33}**gv^{33}gv^{33}gv^{33}	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.29
	mu^{31}tshu^{31}	autumn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:72.29
	mv^{33}	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.29
	mv^{33}bv^{33}ʐv^{55}	dragon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:122.29
	mv^{33}gv^{33}	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.29
	mv^{33}thv^{33}	sunny	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:835.29
	mv^{33}tshɻ^{33}	winter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:73.29
	mv^{33}tɕi^{55}	cloudy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:836.29
	mv^{33}ʐe^{13}	summer	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:71.29
	mv^{31}khv^{13}	smoke	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:46.29
Naxi	**mɯ^{33}**	sky; weather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0006.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mɯ^{33}**	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.28
Naxi	**mɯ^{33}dzɑ^{33}**	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.45
	mɯ^{33}gv̩^{33}	thunder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.45
	mɯ^{33}khv̩^{55}	night, at; evening, in the (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0752.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0753.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mɯ^{33}**khv^{55}ndzɯ^{33}	dinner	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:395.28
	mɯ^{33}lv^{33}lv^{33}	cloudy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:836.28
	mɯ^{33}thv^{33}	sunny	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:835.28
Naxi	**mɯ^{33}**thv̩^{33}	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mɯ^{33}**tshɯ^{33}	winter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:73.28
	mɯ^{33}tshɯ^{55}	autumn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:72.28
Naxi	**mɯ^{33}**tshɻ^{33}	winter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0794.45
	mɯ^{33}tshɻ^{55}	fall / autumn (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0793.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mɯ^{33}**ŋgv^{33}	thunder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:5.28
	mɯ^{33}ŋgv^{33}	thunder (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:755.28
Naxi	**mɯ^{33}**ɲi^{21}	spring (season) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0791.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mɯ^{33}**ɲi^{31}	spring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:70.28
Naxi	**mɯ^{33}**ʐu^{21}	summer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0792.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mɯ^{33}**ʐu^{31}	summer	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:71.28
Naxi	**mɯ^{55}**khɯ^{21}	smoke (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mɯ^{55}**khɯ^{31}	smoke	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:46.28
	xu^{31}**mɯ^{33}**khv^{55}	night	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:105.28

7. Karenic

Karen	**mo^{55}kho^{31}da̱^{31}ɤ̱^{55}do̱^{31}**	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.50
	mu^{55}kho^{31}	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.50
	mu^{55}kho^{31}dzu^{33}	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**mò**	sky (N.)	Manson 2010 [a]
	mò k^{h}o̱	heaven, the place where the gods and spiritual beings are [lit. sky-above] (N.)	Manson 2010
	mò k^{h}o̱ la̱	sky, space (the place of the sun, moon and stars) [lit. sky-above-under] (N.)	Manson 2010
	mò la̱	sky, space, the place where the sun, moon and stars are (Birds fly here) [lit. sky-under] (N.)	Manson 2010
	mo k^{h}o̱ hân k^{h}o̱	universe [lit. heaven-earth] (Nelab.)	Manson 2010

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	**v** si 32	rain (n.)	Dell 1981b:981
	vu^{33}ɕi^{44}**o^{42}**	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.35
	v^{33}ɕi^{44}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**va^{33}ɕy^{33}**	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.48
	v^{33}ɕui^{33}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.36
	za^{33}ɕy^{33}	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.48

[a] This Pekon tone indicates a formerly checked syllable with voiceless initial, so not such a good fit for this etymon.

(29) PTani *pam SNOW

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***pam**	snow	Sun 1993a:381

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	ta-**pĩ**	snow; ice; frost	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ta-**pĩ** to?	snow (v.)	Sun 1993b

	tà-**pìŋ**	ice	Sun 1993b
	ti-**pin**	ice	Sun 1993b
	tü-**pī**	frost	Sun 1993b
	tɯ-**pĩ**	snow	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**pam**	snow	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **pam**	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.24
	ta-**pam**	snow	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **pam**	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.51
Galo	ta-**pam**-nam	snow (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **pam**	snow; ice (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ta **pam**	snow	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	ta **pam**	snow	Simon 1976
	ta **paŋ** kaŋ	ice	Simon 1976
Nishing	ha **pam**	snow	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	mo di dumpumtɤ ta **pam** karik	The ice dazzles on the top of the mountain	Das Gupta 1983
	ta **pam** ɟɤ-do	ice melts	Das Gupta 1983
	ta **pom**	ice	Das Gupta 1983
	ta **pum**	ice	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**pam**	snow	Sun 1993a
Damu	ta-**pam**	snow	Sun 1993b
Milang	**pim**-kam	snow	Tayeng 1976
	ta-**pim**	snow; ice	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. DENG

Yidu	**poŋ**^{35}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.25

(30) PTB *s-p^{w}al SNOW / ICE / FROST / HAIL

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-p^{w}al**	snow / ice / frost / hail	Matisoff 2003a:608
	***wal**	snow / frost / ice / hail	Matisoff 2003a:618

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	**wǎl**^{35}	hail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.23
	wǎl^{35}	hail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:15.48

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**wat**	frost (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**wal**	frost	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:13.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**wal**	frost	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:13.5
	wed	frost	Sun 1985a:295
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	kha^{55}**wa**^{53}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	kha^{55}**wa**^{55}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.02
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**wal**	frost (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.04

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	hlǝy.**wer**	hail, very heavy (n.)	Caughley 2000
	wer	hail (n.)	Caughley 2000
	wer	hail	Caughley 1972:5.A.38
	wer gleʔ-sa	hail	Caughley 1972:5.B.14

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	khø^{55}**wu**^{55}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.17
	khə^{55}**wʉ**^{55}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.16
Muya	**βə**^{24}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.15
Muya [Minyak]	**vɯ**^{35}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**py**^{55}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**fpy**^{55}	snow; frost (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.09; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**spy**^{55}	frost; snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:13.11; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**pʉ**^{53}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.10
	pu^{55}	frost	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:13.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**peì**	snow	Evans 1999:14
	peì-gù	hail [snow-kernel]	Evans 1999:15
	pè pià	snow pig	Evans 1999:394
	pià thò	frost	Evans 1999:16
Qiang (Mawo)	**piɛ**	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	mù **pà**	snow	Evans 1999:14
	peì thoù-ŋá	have frost [frost-exist]	Evans 1999:2470
	peì-thoù	frost [m-cold]	Evans 1999:16
Qiang (Taoping)	mə^{31}**pɑ**^{55}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.9
	χpɑ^{31}thu^{33}	frost	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:13.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	kha^{55}**wa**^{55}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	kha^{55}**wa**^{55}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.16

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	kha **va**	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.12
Ergong (Danba)	nkhɛ **va**	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	tɐi **jpa**	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɐi **pɑ**	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.11
Caodeng	t^{h}ɐ-**jpe**	snow	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	tey **va**	snow	Nagano 1997:3.44
rGBenzhen	te-**va**	snow	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Dulong	tɯ^{31}**wɑn**^{53}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.20
Trung [Dulong]	tɯ^{31}**wǎn**^{53}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.46
Dulong	**wan**^{55}ɕɛn^{53}	hail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.20
	wɑn^{55}dʑuŋ^{55}	frost (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.20
Trung [Dulong]	**wǎn**^{53}cɔŋ^{55}	hail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:15.46
	wǎʔ^{53}dzuŋ^{55}	frost	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:13.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	tɯ^{31}**wǎn**^{53}	snow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	wɑn^{31}zuŋ^{55}	frost	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***wa**^{2}	snow / frost / ice / hail	Matisoff 2003a:618

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***wa**^{2}	hail	Bradley 1979b:325

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**và**	snow	Björverud 1994
	va^{21}	snow	CHEN Kang 1986a:104.
Nasu	**vo**^{33}	snow	CHEN Kang 1986a:104.
Nosu	**vo**^{33}	snow	CHEN Kang 1986a:104.
Nusu (Central)	**va**^{55}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.34
	va^{55}tʂhə^{33}lɔ^{53}	hail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.34
Nusu (Northern)	**vɑ**^{35}	snow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**vɑ**^{55}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.45
Yi (Dafang)	**vu**^{33}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.22
	vu^{33}lo^{21}	hail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:15.22
	vu^{33}ȵi^{21}	ice	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:11.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**vo**^{21}sɛ^{21}zɯ^{33}	snow (white stuff); snowflake	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{21}tɕɔ^{21}	snow (white stuff)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{33}	snow (white stuff)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{33}so^{55}hi^{33}so^{55}	cold (weather)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vo^{33}sʅ^{33}	snow (white stuff); snowflake	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanjian)	**vɑ**^{21}	hail; snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:15.23; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.23
Yi (Weishan)	**vɑ**^{21}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.36
	vɑ^{21}dɛ^{33}	ice (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.36
Yi (Wuding)	**vɤ**^{33}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.38
	vɤ^{33}ȵe^{33}	frost; ice (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0014.38; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.38
	vɤ^{11}lu̱^{2}	hail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.38
Yi (Xide)	**vo**^{33}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.35
	vo^{33}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Kucong	**vʌ31** liɛ55 tsʅ31	hail / hailstone	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**vɑ**^{53}**mɤ**–e^{33}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.43
	vɑ^{53}ɕi^{11}	hail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.43
Lahu (Black)	**vʌ**^{53}mei^{11}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.33
	vʌ^{53}si^{11}	hail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:15.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**va**^{3}mɯ^{1}	snow	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	va^{3}ɕi^{5}	hail	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**uɑ**^{31}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.27
	uɑ^{31}lu^{55}bo^{44}	hail	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:15.27
Lisu (Northern)	**wa**^{21}	snow (N.)	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21} a^{33} le^{33} phu^{33}	as white as snow	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}ba^{44}kɔ^{33}	Biluo Snow Mountains	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}gwa^{44}	snow	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}hɤ^{21}	snowflake; small particles of snow	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}ji^{33}	snow water	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}khu^{33}	pray for snow	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}khu^{55}	snowball; lump of snow	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}lu^{21}	accumulated snow; snow pile	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}ly^{33}	old snow	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}phu^{33}	white snow (cf. tsha^{21}phu^{33})	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}si^{21}	red snow (cf. tsha^{21}si^{21})	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}ʃʅʔ^{21}	new snow	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Central)	**wa**^{5}	snow	Fraser 1922
	wa^{5}-hpu^{4}-lu^{4}	hail	Fraser 1922
	wa^{5}-ma^{4}-sï^{5}	hail	Fraser 1922
	wa^{5}-sï^{5}	hail	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**wɑ**^{31}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.40
	wɑ^{31}lo^{55}bo̱^{33}	hail (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0013.40
Sani [Nyi]	**va**^{21}	snow	CHEN Kang 1986a:104.
Yi (Sani)	**vɑ**^{11}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Caiyuan)	**ɔ**^{31}	frost	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.30
	ɔ^{31}; ni^{55}	frost	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:13.30
Hani (Shuikui)	**xɔ**^{31}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**xɔ**^{31}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.42

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	**va**^{33}	snow	Pelkey 2011:12
Phola	**vɑ**^{31}	snow	Pelkey 2011:12
Hlepho Phowa	**va**^{21}	snow	Pelkey 2011:12
	va^{21}tɬ^{h}o^{33}	hail	Pelkey 2011:17
Phuza	**va**^{13}	snow	Pelkey 2011:12

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**vie**˥sɑ˥	fall (snow), snow (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2517
	vie˧	snow	Michaud 2006–2009:33
Na (Yongning)	**bi**˥	snow	Michaud 2006–2009
	bi˧-lv˧∼lv˥	snow flakes	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**be**^{33}	snow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0012.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**bi**^{33}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mbe**^{33}	snow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:9.28

(31) PCC *thruaŋ-(ruaʔ) SPRING RAIN

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***thruaŋ**-(ruaʔ)	SPRING RAIN	VanBik 2009:1353
Lai (Hakha)	**thrûaŋ**-ruaʔ	spring rain	VanBik 2009:1353
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭhŭang**	rain which sometimes falls about February or March (n.)	VanBik 2009:1353

(32) PCC *traw STORM (in spring) / HURRICANE

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***traw**	STORM (in spring) / HURRICANE	VanBik 2009:1329
Lai (Hakha)	**trăw**-thâw	spring storm, hurricane	VanBik 2009:1329
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭò** tĕ	spring storm, hurricanes	VanBik 2009:1329

(33) PKC *khraal SUMMER / DRY SEASON

Contra *STC* p. 42 and *HPTB*:405, this Kuki-Chin root is distinct from PNC ***phal-bii** WINTER (§9.1.2).

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

*Chin	*khraal	SUMMER / DRY-SEASON	VanBik 2009:1355

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	khâal	summer	VanBik 2009:1355
Tiddim	kha:l[2]	summer	VanBik 2009:1355

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	cha	hot and dry season	VanBik 2009:1355

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	ṭhăal	dry season, summer	VanBik 2009:1355
Lai (Hakha)	thrâal	dry season	VanBik 2009:1355
Lushai [Mizo]	ṭhâal	dry season (n.)	VanBik 2009:1355

(34) PTani *gum THUNDER

1.1.1. TANI

*Tani	*gum	thunder	Sun 1993a:431

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	ja-pũ gẽ rhyme!	thunder	Sun 1993a
	ja-pũ gen-do	thunder	Sun 1993b
	ja-pũ gen-ñĩ	thunder	Sun 1993b
	ja-puŋ gè-nɯ	thunder	Sun 1993b
Bengni	do:-gum	thunder; dragon	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	doŋ gum	thunder; dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.24
	doŋ gum gum	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.24
	doŋ-gum	thunder; dragon	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	doŋ-gum gum	thunder (v.)	Sun 1993b
	duŋ-gum gum	thunder (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	doŋ gum gum	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.51
Galo	doo gum	thunder (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo gum-doo rə	storm (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo gum-roodə	jet (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo rə-doo gum	storm (n.)	GLDC 2009
	do gum	thunder	Das Gupta 1963
	gum nam	thunder (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	di ro do gum	storm	Das Gupta 1983
	do gum	thunder	Das Gupta 1983

(35) PTB *glya:k THUNDERBOLT / LIGHTNING

For a discussion of possible alternative etymologies, see *HPTB*:373-374.

This root is reconstructed as PLB ***trek** in *LTSR* #67.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

*Tibeto-Burman	*gle:k	thunderbolt / lightning	Matisoff 2003a:590

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP

*Kuki-Naga	*gle:k	thunderbolt	Benedict 1972:p.41

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kreek** LIGHTNING / THUNDER, ***gle:k** THUNDERBOLT

*Chin	*kreek	LIGHTNING / THUNDER	VanBik 2009:1324

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	keak	lightning, thunder	VanBik 2009:1324
Thado	kêʔ	lightning, thunder	VanBik 2009:1324
	kèʔ	thunder	Thirumalai 1972:60
	kéʔ	thunder	Thirumalai 1972:56
Tiddim	keek[1]	thunderbolt	VanBik 2009:1324
	ke:k[1]	thunderbolt	Bhaskararao 1996:587

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	glek	meteorite, thunderbolt	Benedict 1972:41

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	ṭêek	thunderbolt	VanBik 2009:1324
Lai (Hakha)	treek	lightning, thunder	VanBik 2009:1324
Lushai [Mizo]	ṭêek	thunderbolt, a meteorite (n.)	VanBik 2009:1324
	Te:k	thunderbolt	Bhaskararao 1996:587
	trêek	thunderbolt	Löffler 1985
Paangkhua	ma tsèek	thunderbolt	Löffler 1985
	tsèek	thunderbolt	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	pa chi < pa treek	thunderbolt	Löffler 1985

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	mû-thêʔ	thunder and lightning	Matisoff 1972b:67
Lahu (Yellow)	mɣ[3]thɛ[6]	thunder	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mɣ[3]thɛ[6]thɛ[6]	thunder (v.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	teh HS	roar of thunder and crackle of lightning	Matisoff 1972b:67

(36) NEIA *doŋ WEATHER FORMATIVE / RAIN

This root is reconstructed as a Proto-Tani sesquisyllable with alternation between the ***mV-** and ***pV-** prefixes, the latter occurring only in Padam-Mishing. It seems clear that the nasal pre-syllable derives from PTB ***r-məw** SKY / HEAVENS / CLOUDS (§3.2.1).

1.1.1. TANI: ***mV-doŋ** ~ ***pV-doŋ** RAIN (n.)

*Tani	*mV-doŋ~ pV-doŋ	rain (n.)	Sun 1993a:314

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	da-ñi	sun	Sun 1993a
	dà-ñi	sun	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi	sun	Sun 1993b
	dà-ñi a-go	west	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi a-ko	west	Sun 1993b
	dà-ñi a-nu	sunset	Sun 1993b
	dà-ñi bjò-nɯ	sunshine	Sun 1993b
	dà-ñi ča	sunrise	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi ca-du	sunrise	Sun 1993b
	dà-ñi čà-go	east	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi ha-du	sunset	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi ha-nɯ	sunset	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi lo ljã	morning (to 9am)	Sun 1993b
	dà-ñi lo-ljaŋ	mid-day (11am-1pm)	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi par-da	noon	Sun 1993b
	dà-ñi rí-la	sun ray	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi ri-laʔ	sunray	Sun 1993b
	da-ñí ta-tɯ a-nɯ-nɯ	solar eclipse	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi-ča-go	east	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi-mi ta-tɯʔ ar-nɯ bu	solar eclipse	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi-sə	god ('sun' + ?)	Sun 1993b
	da-ŋe	ray (sun's)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	do:-gum	thunder; dragon	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	do:-li: pi:	shower	Sun 1993b
	do:-mɯk	cloud; cloudy	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	do:-ñi	sun	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	do:-ñi a-pjuŋ	sunflower	Sun 1993b
	do:-ñi ča:-kja:	east	Sun 1993b
	do:-ñi ča:-lin	rise (sun)	Sun 1993b
	do:-ñi hi	bask in the sunshine	Sun 1993b
	do:-ñi puk-lɯk	set (sun)	Sun 1993b
	do:-ñi puk-wa:-ku	west	Sun 1993b
	do:-ñum	shade	Sun 1993b
	do:-ri	wind (n.)	Sun 1993a
	do:-ri	wind	Sun 1993b
	do:-ri jap	blow (of wind)	Sun 1993b
	do:-ri ri	blow (of wind)	Sun 1993b
	do:-rjak	lightning	Sun 1993b
	do:-tɯ:	sunny	Sun 1993b
	ñi-do:	rain (n.)	Sun 1993a
	ñi-do:	weather; heaven; rain	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ñi-do: mo:	sky	Sun 1993b
	ñɯ-do: bɯ-i bɯ-jɯ:	drizzle	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(doŋ-ñi) čaŋ-lam	east	Sun 1993b
	(doŋ-ñi) oŋ-lam	west	Sun 1993b
	(medoŋ) baŋ tɕak	drench (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1501.24
	doŋ dʑe dʑe	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.24
	doŋ gum	thunder; dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0008.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0306.24
	doŋ gum gum	thunder (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1248.24
	doŋ jak jak	break (thunderbolt); lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1247.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.24
	doŋ koŋ	sparrow hawk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0329.24
	doŋ muk	cloud; fog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0007.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0016.24
	doŋ ɲi	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.24
	doŋ-dɯ:	drop of water	Sun 1993b
	doŋ-gum	thunder; dragon	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	doŋ-gum gum	thunder (v.)	Sun 1993b
	doŋ-jak	lightning	Sun 1993b
	doŋ-jak jak	flash (lightning~) (v.)	Sun 1993b
	doŋ-ji doŋ-mi	drizzle	Sun 1993b
	doŋ-koŋ	hawk	Sun 1993b
	doŋ-muk	cloud; fog	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	doŋ-mɯ	cloudy, overcast	Sun 1993b
	duŋ-gum gum	thunder (v.)	Sun 1993b
	duŋ-muk muk-ka:	cloud (black)	Sun 1993b
	duŋ-ñi	sun	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	duŋ-ñi i	sun (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	duŋ-tɯŋ	shower	Sun 1993b
	me doŋ	rain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.24
	me doŋ dup	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.24
	me doŋ moŋ	sky (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.24
	me-doŋ	rain (n.)	Sun 1993a
	me-doŋ	rain	Sun 1993b
	me-doŋ dup	cloudy, overcast	Sun 1993b
	me-doŋ ho	rain (v.)	Sun 1993b
	me-doŋ kə-nə	blacken (of sky)	Sun 1993b
	me-doŋ-moŋ	sky	Sun 1993b
	ñu-luŋ me-doŋ	storm	Sun 1993b
	u-re: me-doŋ	rain	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	doŋ gum gum	thunder (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:755.51
	doŋ jak jak	flash (of lightning)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:754.51
	doŋ muk	fog	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:12.51
	duŋ ɲi	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.51
	dɑŋ muk	cloud	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:6.51
	me doŋ	rain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:8.51
	me doŋ moŋ	sky	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1.51
Galo	cɨɨ goo-doo goo	world (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo goo	world (nce.)	GLDC 2009
	doo gum	thunder (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo gum-doo rə	storm (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo gum-roodə	jet (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo koo	hawk; bird (variety); raptor; kite; harrier (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	doo koo-'koocik	sparrow hawk; goshawk; Accipiter gentilis; Circus melanoleucos; bird (variety); pied harrier (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	doo lo-taa ci	bird (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo rə	wind; breath (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	doo rə-doo gum	storm (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo rə-doo yap	climate (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo yap	breeze (nce.)	GLDC 2009
	doo ɲi	sun (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo ɲi	sunny (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	doo ɲi-kessoo-kelloo	lizard (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo ɲi-taləə	heavens (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo ɲi-'aa ko	west (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo ɲi-'louu	sunlight (n.)	GLDC 2009
	do: mɤ	cloud	Das Gupta 1963
	do gum	thunder	Das Gupta 1963

	do rak	lightning	Das Gupta 1963
	do re	wind	Das Gupta 1963
	do ɲi	sun	Das Gupta 1963
	do ɲi a-nam	sunset (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	do ɲi le-li-le-lak	sun rays	Das Gupta 1963
	do ɲi ɲi-nam	shine (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	do ɲi-ca-nam	sunrise (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	do ɲi-polo	sun / moon god	Das Gupta 1963
	ni **do**	rain	Das Gupta 1963
	ni **dor**-nam	rain (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻcaa to-**doo** ɲi	rising sun (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**doo** huk	emission; exhaust; steam (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻ**doo** koo-ʻɲokik	heat lightning (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**doo** muk	vapour (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**doo** mə	cloud (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**doo** rak	lightning (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻ**doo** ɲum	shade (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻpɨɨpok-**doo** ɲi	setting sun (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲi **doo**	rain (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲi **doo**	rainy (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲi **doo**-kessoo-kelloo	lizard (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**do** mam	dawn	Simon 1976
	du dum-**du** ri	storm	Simon 1976
	du muk	cloud	Simon 1976
	du ri	wind, air	Simon 1976
	du ɲ-poka	sunset	Simon 1976
	du ɲ-poka-ko-ke	west	Simon 1976
	du ɲi	sun	Simon 1976
	du ɲi-caleŋ-ko-ke	east	Simon 1976
	du ɲi-ca len	sunrise	Simon 1976
	du ɲi-pol	god	Simon 1976
	du ɲum	shadow	Simon 1976
	ɲi **do**	rain	Simon 1976
Nishing	**do** ni ca-nam	sunrise	Das Gupta 1969
	do ni ca ling-ku	east	Das Gupta 1969
	do ni~donyi	sun	Das Gupta 1969
	do nyi ao	sky	Das Gupta 1969
	do nyi ha-ku	south	Das Gupta 1969
	do nyi tabé	noon	Das Gupta 1969
	do ri	wind	Das Gupta 1969
	ni **do**	rain	Das Gupta 1969
	ni **do**-sabio	umbrella	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	di ro **do** gum	storm	Das Gupta 1983
	do dam	east	Das Gupta 1983
	do gum	thunder	Das Gupta 1983
	do ko	west	Das Gupta 1983
	do ni	sun	Das Gupta 1983
	do nyi	sun	Das Gupta 1983
	do nyi tabɤ	afternoon	Das Gupta 1983
	ni **do**	rain	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**do**-muk	cloud	Sun 1993a
	do-ñi	sun	Sun 1993a
	pə-doŋ	rain (n.)	Sun 1993a
Damu	(**do:**-)puɯ duŋ	sunny	Sun 1993b
	do-mər	thunder	Sun 1993b
	do:-ju(mut-duŋ)	wind (n.)	Sun 1993b
	do:-mo ʔa-moŋ	sky	Sun 1993b
	do:-muk	cloud; sky	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	do:-muk muk-duŋ	cloudy	Sun 1993b
	do:-mər	thunder (v.)	Sun 1993b
	do:-ni dza da-duŋ	solar eclipse	Sun 1993b
	do:-ɳi	day; sun	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	do: muk kaʔ-ji:-nə (muk-du	cloud (black)	Sun 1993b
	ma-**do** xo	rain (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ma-**do:** (fio-duŋ)	rain	Sun 1993b
	ma-**do:** fio-ço fio-jo	drizzle	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**dioŋ**^{55}	fall (rain); rain (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.49

(37) PKC *tsiin ≍ *tseen WET / RAIN (continously)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tsiin** ≍ tseen	WET / RAIN (continously)	VanBik 2009:576

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**tsîin**-I, tsìin-II	rain continously	VanBik 2009:576
Tiddim	**ci:n**^{1}	rain incessantly for a long time	VanBik 2009:576
	ci:n^{1}	rain incessantly for a long time (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:194
	ci:n^{1}	rain incessantly ...	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tsèen**-I, tsěen-II	wet, rain continously (be v.)	VanBik 2009:576
Lai (Falam)	**tséen**-INV	wet, rain continously (be v.)	VanBik 2009:576

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	pā-**chó**	wet, damp, moist	VanBik 2009:576

(38) PTB *g-ləy WIND (n.)

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-ləy**	wind (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:600
	***g-liy**	wind (n.)	Weidert 1987:217
	***g-liy**	breeze	Benedict 1972:454
	***g-ləy**	wind (n.)	Mortensen 2012

1.1.1. Tani: ***rji** WIND (n.)

**Tani*	***rji**	wind (n.)	Sun 1993a:466

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**lji**	wind (n.)	Sun 1993a
	a-**lji**	wind; air	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**lji** hè	blow (as wind)	Sun 1993b
	a-**ljiŋ** da-lji	afternoon	Sun 1993b
	pa-du a-**lji**	storm	Sun 1993b
	pà-dù a-**ljì**	storm	Sun 1993b
	ro a-**lji**	whirlwind	Sun 1993b
Bengni	do:-**ri**	wind (n.)	Sun 1993a
	do:-**ri**	wind	Sun 1993b
	do:-**ri** jap	blow (of wind)	Sun 1993b
	do:-**ri** ri	blow (of wind)	Sun 1993b
Galo	doo gum-doo **rə**	storm (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo **rə**	wind; breath (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	doo **rə**-doo gum	storm (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo **rə**-doo yap	climate (n.)	GLDC 2009
	do **re**	wind	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	du **ri**	wind, air	Simon 1976
Nishing	do **ri**	wind	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	di **ro**	air	Das Gupta 1983
	di **ro** do gum	storm	Das Gupta 1983

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***khlii** AIR / WIND

**Chin*	***khlii**	AIR / WIND	VanBik 2009:1276

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**kʻlí**	wind, air, breeze (n.)	VanBik 2009:1276
Cho (Mindat)	**chi**	wind, air	VanBik 2009:1276
Daai	**kʰɔkʰi**	wind	So-Hartmann 1988:6; VanBik 2009:1276
Khumi	**alii**	air, wind	VanBik 2009:1276
	a̰lí	wind	So-Hartmann 1988:6
Matu	**tl̥ʰi**	wind	So-Hartmann 1988:6
Wakung	**kᵊli**	wind	So-Hartmann 1988:6

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thlîi**	air, wind	VanBik 2009:1276
Lai (Falam)	**thlĭi**	air, wind	VanBik 2009:1276
Lushai [Mizo]	**thli**	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thlí	wind, breeze	VanBik 2009:1276
	thli	wind	Benedict 1972:454
	tlhí	wind (n.)	Weidert 1987:217

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**thlì**	air	VanBik 2009:1276

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Lamkang	yaɪ-**hlì**	wind (n.)	Weidert 1987:217

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ʃi** WIND (n.)

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃi**	wind (n.)	Mortensen 2012:589
Tankghul (Central)	ma-**ʃia**	air	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	ma-**suɯ**	air	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ma-**si**	air	Brown 1837
Tusom	muɯ-**ʃue**	wind	Mortensen 2012:Nature.042
Ukhrul	mə-**ʃi**	wind	Mortensen 2012

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***gle:y** WIND

**Northern Naga*	***gle:y**	wind	French 1983:579

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**yei**	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yâi	wind / air (n.)	Weidert 1987:366

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	buŋ-**li**	breeze	Benedict 1972:454

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**l̥a:** pə	wind	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0152
	^{3}**l̥a:** pə ^{3}kʰə-	blow (wind)	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0386a

3.2. Qiangic

Lyuzu	me^{33}**le**^{53}læ^{33}	blow (wind) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.18
	me^{55}**le**^{53}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.18
Pumi (Jiulong)	mu^{11}**lə**^{11} ʐɻ^{55}	blow (wind) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.10
	mu^{11}**lə**^{55}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{35}**ɬo**^{55}	blow (of wind)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:753.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɬa**^{55}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɬo**^{55}**pa**^{53}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.16
Xumi	**ɬe**^{53}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.20
	ɬe^{53}ɕũ^{33}	blow (of wind)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:753.20

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	wu **lɛ**	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	**kha li**	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.12
	kha li kə pa	blow (of wind)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:753.12
	khəle	wind	Benedict 1972:454
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**khɑ li**	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.11
Caodeng	**qɐ-lɛ**	wind	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**kha lu**	wind	Nagano 1997:3.1

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***s/ʔ-ləy**^{1} WIND

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s/ʔ-ləy**^{1}	wind (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:600

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**lɑi**^{55}	wind	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɑi^{55}mɛt^{31}	blow (of wind)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**l̥i**^{55}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.28
	l̥i^{55}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.41
	l̥i^{55}lɔ^{55}	blow (of wind)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:753.41
Achang (Luxi)	**lɯ**^{31}	wind	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	lɯ^{31}mut^{31}	blow (of wind)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**lai**^{55}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.29
Bola (Luxi)	**li**^{55}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.32
	ləi^{55}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**le**^{22}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**le**^{22}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.40
Burmese (Written)	**le**	wind (n.)	Weidert 1987:217; Marrison 1967
	le	breeze; wind	Hansson 1989:232; Matisoff 1974:280; Benedict 1972:91n263
	le tak	raise wind	Matisoff 1987
	le^{2}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.26
	le^{2}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.39
Hpun (Northern)	**kălí** waí-ŋ	hot weather (cf. WIND / AIR)	Henderson 1986
	kălí(ʔ)	wind / air	Henderson 1986
	kălíʾ, **kălíʔ**	air / wind	Henderson 1986
Samong	**kəli**	wind	Benedict 1972:454
Langsu (Luxi)	**la**^{31}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**lei**^{31}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.33
Marma	**li**	wind (n.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:268
Maru [Langsu]	(**la**^{31})lɔ^{31}	blow (of wind)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:753.43
	la^{31}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lai**^{51}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.30

	lai^{51}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***le**^{1}	wind (n.)	Weidert 1987:217
	***le**^{1}	wind	Bradley 1979b:326; Hansson 1989:232
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Northern)	mɯ̃^{31}ɑ^{55}**ɬi**^{31}ɑ^{35}	wind	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	mɯ^{55}**l̥i**^{33}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	mɯ^{55}ɑ^{31}**ɬi**^{35}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.45
Nusu (Southern)	mɯ^{55}**ɬi**^{35}	wind	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	m̩(u)^{33}**hi**^{33}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.22
Yi (Liangshan)	mu^{33}**ɬ̩**^{33}	wind (current of air)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ni^{21}**ɬ̩**^{33}	wind, south	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬ̩^{33}	wind (current of air)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬ̩^{33}ndu^{34}	gale (wind)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɔ^{33}**ɬ̩**^{33}	wind, north	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	mu^{21}**ɬu**^{33};mɯ^{21}**ɬɯ**^{33}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.25
Yi (Xide)	(mu^{33}**ɬɯ**^{33}) phu̱^{33}	blow (wind) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1353.35
	mu^{33}**ɬ̩**^{33}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.35
	m̩(u)^{33}**ɬ**(ɿ)^{33}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.21
	m̩(u)^{33}**ɬ̥**(ɿ)^{33}phu̱^{33}	blow (of wind)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:753.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**li**^{31}phjɐ^{33}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**ɬi**^{42}	wind	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ɬi^{42}phjə^{33}	blow (of wind)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ɬi**^{42}phjə^{33}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.44
Kucong	mɯ31 **xʌ33**	wind	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	mû-**hɔ**	wind	Benedict 1972:61n195
Lahu (Lancang)	mv^{53}**xɔ**^{33}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.43
Lahu (Black)	mû-**hɔ**	breeze / wind	Matisoff 1974:280
	mu^{53}**xɔ**^{33}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.33
Lahu (Yellow)	(mv̩^{3}**xɔ**^{1})**xɔ**^{1}~mɯ^{6}	blow (of wind)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mv̩^{3}**xɔ**^{1}	wind	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**hɔ**^{35}	wind (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	m̩^{11}**ɬʐ**^{33}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Yunnan)	djà **lɛ́**	wind	Hansson 1989:232
Akha (Thai)	djà-**lɛ́**	wind	Hansson 1989:232
Akha	**lɛ́**	wind	Hansson 1989:232
Hani (Lüchun)	à **lí**/à **hlí**	wind	Hansson 1989:232; Hansson 1989:26
Hani (Dazhai)	dʑa^{31}**le**^{55}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.31
Hani (Lüchun)	dʑa^{31}**le**^{55}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.41
Hani (Pijo)	**lí**	wind	Hansson 1989:232
Hani (Caiyuan)	tsɔ^{31}**li**^{55}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.30
Hani (Pijo)	tsɔ̀ **lí**	wind	Hansson 1989:232
Hani (Gelanghe)	dʑa^{31}**lɛ**^{55}	wind	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	dʑa^{31}**lɛ**^{55}bɔ^{33}	blow (of wind)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	jjaq **leil**	wind	Hansson 1989:232
Hani (Shuikui)	tʃɔ^{31}**l̥i**^{55}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.32
Hani (Mojiang)	tʃɔ^{31}**l̥i**^{55}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.42
Mpi	**li**^{6}	wind	Hansson 1989:232
	li^{6}	wind (n.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Sila	**li55**	wind	Kato Takashi 2008:75
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	mɔ^{31}**li**^{55}	wind	Pelkey 2011:7
	mɔ^{31}**li**^{55}ʤɛ^{33}	(of the wind) blow	Pelkey 2011:832
7. Karenic: ***lèi'** WIND			
**Karen*	***lèi'**	wind	Jones 1961:120
Karen	gă^{31}**li**^{33}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.50
Kayan (Pekon)	θa **lə̀**	wind (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	tə **lī**	wind (n.)	Solnit 1989
	tə **lī** mā	blow, as wind	Solnit 1989
	tə **lī** sàn	strong (wind blows), loud	Solnit 1989

(39) PTB *buŋ WIND (n.)

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***buŋ**	wind (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:585
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**bauŋ**^{35}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.23
	bauŋ^{35}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.48
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-puŋ** WIND (n.)			
**Central Naga*	*m-**puŋ**	WIND (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.217
**Ao*	*m-**puŋ**	WIND (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.015
Ao (Chungli)	mo **pung**	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mu^{2}**puŋ**^{2}	wind (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.015
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**mung**	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mə **puŋ**	wind (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	m̩^{1}**-poŋ**^{1}	wind (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.217
	m **bung**	wind	Murry *et al.* 1978:137
	m **pong**	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	nyü **pong**	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsing ghi nyü **pong**	storm (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	ma **pung**	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **pong**	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **pung**	wind	Kumar 1973b:97
	tsüng **po**	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsün **pong**	storm (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Rengma	tsang kem **bu**	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	m **pong**	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**pong**	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	mə **buŋ** / n **buŋ**	wind	Benedict 1972:118n327
	m **bong**	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	n^{31}**puŋ**^{33}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.19
	n^{31}**puŋ**^{33}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.47
	n̩^{31}**puŋ**^{33}	wind	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	n̩^{31}**puŋ**^{33}puŋ^{33}	blow (of wind)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
4. Nungic			
Rawang	nəm^{31} **bɯŋ**^{31}	wind	LaPolla 2003:9
Dulong	nɑm^{53}**bɯŋ**^{53}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.20
Trung [Dulong]	nɑm^{53}**bŭŋ**^{53}wɑŋ^{55}	blow (of wind)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:753.46
	nă̆m^{53}**bŭŋ**^{53}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	nɑm^{53}**bŭŋ**^{53}wɑ^{53}	blow (of wind)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nă̆m^{53}**bŭŋ**^{53}	wind	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pi̱ŭm/pi̱ung**	wind;air / tune	Karlgren 1957:625h-i
Chinese (Old)	**p(r)ji̱/um**	wind	Baxter 1992:1883
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**fēng**	wind (n.)	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

風 OC ***pi̱ŭm**, *GSR* #625h-i 'wind; tune, custom'; Schuessler 2007:238 ***pəm**; B & S 2011: ***prəm**; Mand. **fēng**.
諷 OC ***pi̱ŭm**, *GSR* #625o 'recite, chant'; Schuessler 2007:238 ***pəms**; B & S 2011: ***prəm-s**; Mand. **fèng**.

(40) TGTM *^{B}gliŋ snow

2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**gliŋ**	snow	Mazaudon 1978:57
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{2}**ɬĩ**	snow	Mazaudon 1978:57
Manang (Ngawal)	^{4}**khĩ**	snow	Mazaudon 1978:57
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**kliŋ**	snow	Mazaudon 1978:57
Tamang (Sahu)	^{4}**kliŋ**	snow	Mazaudon 1978:57
Tamang (Taglung)	**khliŋ**	snow	Mazaudon 1978:57
Thakali (Marpha)	^{4}**lin**	snow	Mazaudon 1978:57
Thakali (Syang)	**lim**	snow	Mazaudon 1978:57
Thakali (Tukche)	^{4}**kin**	snow	Mazaudon 1978:57

3.2.2 Planets/Meteorological objects/Sky

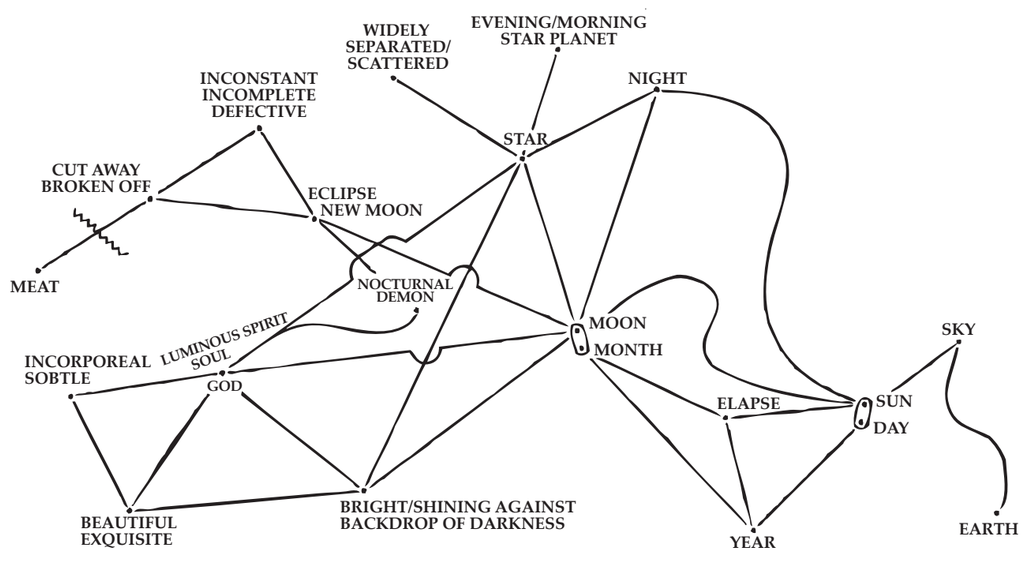

Figure 176: 3.2.2 *Planets/Meteorological objects/Sky*

(1) NEIA *t(s)iŋ CELESTIAL / SKY / WEATHER

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***tsiŋ** CELESTIAL / SKY / WEATHER				[a]
**Central Naga*	***tsiŋ**	CELESTIAL / SKY / WEATHER	Bruhn 2014a:III.214	
**Ao*	***tsəŋ-**	CELESTIAL	Bruhn 2014a:II.190	
	***tsəŋ**-hɹəm	GOD, DEITY	Bruhn 2014a:II.305	
	***tsəŋ**-muk	THUNDER	Bruhn 2014a:II.219	
Ao (Chungli)	**tsüng** kem	winter	Marrison 1967	
	tsung lu	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967	
	tsung muk	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967	
	tsung pret	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967	
	tsung rem	God	Marrison 1967	
	tsəŋ^{3}i^{1}	lightning strike (n.)	Bruhn 2014b	
	tsəŋ^{3}muk^{1}	thunder (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.219	
	tsəŋ^{1}-pə^{3}ɹət^{1}	lightning (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.190	
	tsəŋ^{1}lu^{1}	rain (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.190	
	tsəŋ^{1}ɹəm^{2}	god, deity (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.305	
	^{3}**tsɯŋ**^{1}muk	thunder (n.)	Weidert 1987:1136	
	^{1}**tsɯŋ**^{1}lo	rain	Weidert 1987:1136	[b]
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**tsing** i	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967	
	tsung i	sun	Marrison 1967	
	tsung milung	cloud	Marrison 1967	
	tsung muk	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967	
	tsung rem	God	Marrison 1967	
	tsung yang sung	rainbow	Marrison 1967	
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tsəŋ** i	rain (n.)	Coupe 2007	
	tsəŋ laʔ	lightning	Coupe 2007:292	
	tsəŋ muk	thunder (n.)	Coupe 2007	
	tsəŋ tàphəlaʔ	lightning thunderbolt (n.)	Coupe 2007	
	tsə̀hŋ i	sun (n.)	Coupe 2007	[c]
	tsə̀ŋ hɹəm	god, deity (n.)	Coupe 2007	
	tsə̀ŋ kəm	cool season	Coupe 2007	
Lotha Naga	**tsəŋ**^{3}-hran^{1}	demon, devil (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.125	
	tsəŋ^{3}-hru^{2}	storm (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.214	
	tsəŋ^{3}-kjəŋ^{3}	dry season (winter) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.214	
	tsəŋ^{3}-on^{3}	day (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.214	
	tsəŋ^{3}-tʃo^{3}-	hit by lightning (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.214	
	tsang lap ala	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967	
	tsong ro mphen	storm (n.)	Marrison 1967	
	tsüng jo	thunder	Murry *et al.* 1978:125	
	tsüng rham	imp	Murry *et al.* 1978:59	
	tsung ryu	storm	Murry *et al.* 1978:117	
Sangtam	**tsing**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967	
	tsing chi	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967	
	tsing ghi nyü pong	storm (n.)	Marrison 1967	
	tsing kang	winter	Marrison 1967	

[a] Clark (1911:898): "TSUNG in *Zungi* and *Mungsen* seems to have an idea of divine, heavenly, or supernatural as indicated in such words as *tsungi*, *tsungpret*, *tsunglu*, *tsungmuk*, *tsungru*, etc."
[b] [Source Note] lit. sky-rain.
[c] Cf. Khasi **sngi** 'sun; day' (Singh 1906: 188).

	tsing rang ba	God	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**ching** et	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ching japhalap	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ching muk	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**tsüng**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsüng kam	winter	Kumar 1973b:50
	tsüng muk	thunder	Kumar 1973b:40
	tsüng po	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsün pong	storm (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Mao	**chü** hra	night	Marrison 1967
	chü khri	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	chü khrü	night	Marrison 1967
	chü kro	evening	Marrison 1967
	chü si	winter	Marrison 1967
	chü thu	day; morning	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	o **chü**-kophrü	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **chü**-kosü	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **chü** lelo	summer	Marrison 1967
	o **chü** rü	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	[1]**tšɯ**[2]rɯ	rain	Weidert 1987:181
Ntenyi	a **tsa'ang**	sky	Marrison 1967
	a **tsa'ang**-keshuwa	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**tsang**	sky	Marrison 1967
	tsang kem bu	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsang kesong	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsang senki	winter	Marrison 1967
	tseng ri	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsung kukuphyü	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	a **tiing** kru	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting gam	sky	Marrison 1967
	ting ron	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**ting**	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting hai	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting kalik	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting kham bam	rainbow	Marrison 1967
	ting ling	sky	Marrison 1967
	ting simme	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
Maram	sa **ting**	sky	Marrison 1967
	sa **ting**-kohum	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting gui	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting marang a bang	rainbow	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**teŋ** puk	sky	Matisoff 1994e
	ting	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting kim	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting puk	sky	Marrison 1967
	ting pülikmei	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**ting**	sky	Marrison 1967
	ting chei	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting gim	sky	Marrison 1967
	ting kai	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting kainatri	storm (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting kai va	rainbow	Marrison 1967
	ting kakepitbe	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting rui	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting wang	God	Marrison 1967
	[4]**tiŋ**[1]kai	wind (n.)	Weidert 1987:217
Mzieme	**ting** gem	sky	Marrison 1967
	ting kai	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting kepik	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting rang pui	God	Marrison 1967
	ting rui	rain (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ting tseu	thunder (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***tsiŋ** SKY / HEAVEN / RAIN

**Tangkhulic*	***tsiŋ**	sky / heaven / rain	Mortensen 2012:489
Huishu	kə-**tsɐŋ**-ram	sky	Mortensen 2012:Nature.007
Kachai	kə-**ðɐŋ**	sky / rain	Mortensen 2012:Nature.007
Tankghul (Central)	ka-**ci**-raŋ	sky	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	ka-**zi**-raŋ	sky	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ka-**ziŋ**	sky	Brown 1837
Tusom	kə-**zɯə̃**	sky	Mortensen 2012:Nature.007
Ukhrul	kə-**tsiŋ**	sky; rain	Mortensen 2012

(2) PTB *m-ka-n HEAVENS / SKY / SUN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-ka-n**	heavens / sky / sun	Matisoff 2003a:594

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Lhasa)	nam[13]**kha**[55]	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.02
Tibetan (Written)	**mkhɑ**	heaven / the heavens	Chou Fa-kao 1972:361
	nam **mkhaɦ**	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.01
	nam-**mkha**	sky	Benedict 1972:148n405; Marrison 1967

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Magar	nam-**khan** ~ nyam-**khan**	sun	Benedict 1972:148n405
	nam-**khan**~ńam-**khan**	sun	LaPolla 1987:53
	nān **khān**	sun	Hale 1973:01.072

3.2. Qiangic

Lyuzu	na[33]**nkhæ**[53]mu[35]	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.18
Namuyi	nɛ[55]**ŋkhɛ**[33]mu[33]	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.19
	næ[55]**nkhæ**[31]mu[31]	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.46

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	(mɑ **mqɑ**) və	under (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0727.12
	mɑ **mqɑ**	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.12
	mɑ **mqɑ**	in (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	nɐm **khɐ**	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.11
rGyalrong	nɐm **khɐ**	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	nɐm **mkhɐ** mdok	blue (lit. 'sky color')	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1010.11
Caodeng	nɐm **k[h]e**	sky	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	nam **khaH**	sky	Nagano 1997:2.1
rGBenzhen	nɐm-**k[h]ɐ** mdok	blue	Sun 1997b
	nɐm-**nk[h]ɐ**	sky	Sun 1997b

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**t'ien**	heaven	Chou Fa-kao 1972:361a-c
	t'ien/t'ien	heaven	Karlgren 1957:361a-c
	xien	heaven	Chou Fa-kao 1972:361

Chinese comparandum

乾 OC ***g'i̯ɑn**, *GSR* #140c 'heavenly'; Schuessler 2007:425 ***gran**; B & S 2011: (***gran**); Mand. **qián**.

Comment: In Chinese philosophy, 乾 **qián** refers to "heaven, the male principle", the first of the 八卦 **bāguà**, i.e. the eight divinatory trigrams of the Book of Changes.

(3) PTk *caaŋ MOON

This root resembles the IA etymon *candra-* 'shining, moon' (Turner 1966:252).

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***caaŋ**	moon	Mortensen 2012:604
Kachai	kə-**tsɐ**	moon	Mortensen 2012:Nature.023
Tangkhul	**caŋ**	moon	Bhat 1969:92
	ka **chang**	moon	Marrison 1967
Tankghul (Central)	ka-**ceaŋ**	moon	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	ka-**ceaŋ**	moon	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ka-**caŋ**	moon	Brown 1837
Tusom	kə-**cɯə̃**	moon	Mortensen 2012:Nature.023
Ukhrul	kə-**caŋ**	moon	Mortensen 2012

(4) PTB * **s** / **g** **-la MOON / MONTH**

We prefer the "paradigmatic" reconstruction ***s/g-la** to the "syntagmatic" one offered in *STC*, ***s-gla**.

Jingpho, Asakian and Ao have developed a dental stop from the original *lateral. See JAM 2013 ("The dinguist's dilemma").

The first element in Proto-Tani ***po-lo** resembles the prefix-like onset of Proto-Loloish ***bəla**, but it is not possible to assign a meaning to it at present.

The Written Tibetan binome **zla-ba** is paralleled by many Loloish forms, e.g., Lahu **ha-pa**, Lisu **hã[33]ba[44]**, etc.

Lahu **lɔ́-pa** is a poetic word for MOON, which is of doubtful relationship to the ordinary word **ha-pa**. Cognates have just been found in several recently discovered Loloish languages of the "Mangish" group (Lama Ziwo 2015, in prep.): Mongi **li[13] e[13] pɔ[13]**, Mondzi **lie[13] pɔ[13]**, Munji **la[33] po[31]**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-la**	moon	Weidert 1987:328
	***s-gla**	moon	Weidert 1987:328; Benedict 1972:42n137
	s-la** ≍ ***g-la**=s-gla**	moon	LaPolla 1987:145 [a]
	***s-la** ≍ **g-la**	moon	Benedict 1972:144
	***s/g-la**	moon / month	Matisoff 2003a:599

1.1.1. Tani: ***po-lo** MOON

**Tani*	***po-lo**	moon	Sun 1993a:257

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**po-lo**	month	Sun 1993b
	pú-lo	moon	Sun 1993b
	pú-lo a-ǰã	half moon	Sun 1993b
	pú-lo har-brjã	full moon	Sun 1993b
	pú-lo kar-be	new moon	Sun 1993b
	pú-lo kar-tuʔ	new moon	Sun 1993b
	pú-lo	month	Sun 1993b
	pú-lo hu-to	moonlight	Sun 1993b
	pú-lo-mi ta-tɯʔ ar-nɯ bu	lunar eclipse	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-lo	moon	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pɯ-ló har-bjà-nɯ	full moon	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-ló pá-če	half moon	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-ló	month	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-ló hú-to	moonlight	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-ló tà-tu	fortnight	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**poː-lu**	moon; month	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	poː-lu kɯr-bja	middle of month	Sun 1993b
	poː-lu kɯr-lin	beginning of month	Sun 1993b
	poː-lu lu-rup	end of month	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**poŋ lo**	moon; month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.24
	poŋ lo	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.24
	poŋ lo lo poŋ	middle of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0775.24
	poŋ lo ʂɯ rɯk	end of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0776.24
	poŋ-lo	moon; month	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	poŋ-lo -sɯ-rɯk	end of the month	Sun 1993b
	poŋ-lo kar-len	beginning of the month	Sun 1993b
	poŋ-lo lo-poŋ	middle of the month; mid of the month	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɳi pə **poŋ lo**	February (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0773.24
Bokar Lhoba	**poŋ lo**	moon; month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.51
Galo	do ɲi-**polo**	sun / moon god	Das Gupta 1963
	polo	month; moon	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	polo kar-nam	moon (new) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	polo tak-sɤ	moon (half); fortnight	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	polo yir bi-nam	moon (full) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	polo ɲi-bi (aya)-ta kar:	evening star	Das Gupta 1963
	polo-lou	moonlight	Das Gupta 1963
	'poolo	moon (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'poolo-'ao	half moon; moon (half) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'poolo-'lorup	dark moon; moon (dark) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'poolo-'louu	moonlight (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill Nishing	**pol**	month, moon	Simon 1976
	cami **polu**	third month (approx. Jan.)	Das Gupta 1969
	date **polu**	fourth month (approx. Feb.)	Das Gupta 1969
	lecar **polu**	sixth month (approx. Apr.)	Das Gupta 1969
	lekang **polu**	fifth month (approx. Mar.)	Das Gupta 1969
	libi **polu**	twelfth month (Approx. Oct.)	Das Gupta 1969
	para **polu**	eleventh month (approx. Sept.)	Das Gupta 1969

[a] [Source Note] (*STC* n.137)

	polu	moon	Das Gupta 1969
	rajo **polu**	second month (approx. Dec.)	Das Gupta 1969
	ralik **polu**	first month (approx. Nov.)	Das Gupta 1969
	sangte **polu**	tenth month (approx. Aug.)	Das Gupta 1969
	sangu **polu**	ninth month (approx. Jul.)	Das Gupta 1969
	tilu **polu**	eigth month	Das Gupta 1969
	yolu **polu**	seventh month (approx. May)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	karlɯŋ-nɤ **polu**	half moon	Das Gupta 1983
	polu	month; moon	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
	yar bɯŋ **polu**	full moon	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**po-lo**	moon	Sun 1993a
Damu	laŋ-ku **poː-ro**	next month	Sun 1993b
	maː-ro kat-lo (**poː-ro**)	last month	Sun 1993b
	po(ː)-ro	month	Sun 1993b
	poː-ro	moon	Sun 1993b
	poː-ro dza da-duŋ	lunar eclipse	Sun 1993b
	poː-ro ko	one month	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Digaro	**həla** ~ **hlo**	moon	LaPolla 1987:145; Benedict 1972:144
Kaman [Miju]	**lâi**	moon	Weidert 1987:328
	lɑi^{53}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.23
	lɑi^{53}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.48
Idu	e^{55}**lɑ**^{55}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.50
	e **la**	moon	Anonymous 1962
Yidu	e^{55}**lɑ**^{55}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.25
1.2. Kuki-Chin: *khlaa MOON / MONTH			
**Chin*	***khlaa**	MOON / MONTH	VanBik 2009:1295
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**hlàa**	moon	VanBik 2009:1295
	l^{h}á	month	Thirumalai 1972:67
Tiddim	**kha**^{3}	moon	VanBik 2009:1295
	kha^{3} de^{2}	new moon	Bhaskararao 1996:704
	kha^{3} liːk^{3}	full moon	Bhaskararao 1996:705
	kha^{3} piː^{1}	moon	Bhaskararao 1996:707
	khaː^{3}	month; moon	Bhaskararao 1996:733; Bhaskararao 1996:734
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**kʻló**	moon, month	VanBik 2009:1295
Cho (Mindat)	**cha**	moon	VanBik 2009:1295
Daai	**maʔkɣ^{h}a**	moon	VanBik 2009:1295
Khumi	**lo**	month, moon	VanBik 2009:1295
	ló$^{?}$	moon	So-Hartmann 1988:4
Matu	**tl^{h}a**	moon	So-Hartmann 1988:4
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thlăa**	moon, month	VanBik 2009:1295
Lai (Falam)	**thlàa**	moon, month	VanBik 2009:1295
Lushai [Mizo]	**khla**	moon	Benedict 1972:132n361
	thla	moon	Marrison 1967
	thlà	moon, a moon, a lunar month (n.)	VanBik 2009:1295
	thla	month; moon	Bhaskararao 1996:733; Bhaskararao 1996:734; LaPolla 1987:145
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**thlā**-pá	month, the moon (n.)	VanBik 2009:1295
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	tang **la**	moon	Marrison 1967
	taŋ-**la**	moon	Brown 1837
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	i **ta**	moon	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**lata**	moon	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**làtà**	moon (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tha **làtà**	this month (now + moon)	Coupe 2007:122
	tʃak-hən-paʔ **làtà**	October ('paddy' + 'carry' + NR + 'month')	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	chó **rò**	moon	Acharya 1975
	cho **ro**	moon	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Zeme	**he** keu	moon	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**he**^{5}kei	moon	Weidert 1987:69
Mzieme	**he** kei	moon	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	chi **klo**	moon	Marrison 1967
	ci **klō(ʔ)**	moon	Weidert 1987:328
	tśi **klo**	moon	LaPolla 1987:145
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *gla poy MOON			
**Northern Naga*	*gla poy	moon	French 1983:522
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa	^{2}**dža**-^{3}poi	moon	Weidert 1987:69
Tangsa (Moshang)	**ya** pi	moon	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**ya** poi	moon	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**shata**	moon	Marrison 1967
	šətā	moon / month	Matisoff 1974:6
	śəta	moon; moon, month	LaPolla 1987:145; Benedict 1972:32n102; Benedict 1972:42n137
	tā	moon / month	Matisoff 1974:6
	ʃă^{3}**tạ**^{33}	moon	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	ʃă^{33}**tạ**^{33}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.19
	ʃă^{33}**tạ**^{33}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.47
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Kadu	**səda**	moon	LaPolla 1987:145; Benedict 1972:144
Sak	**sədá**	moon; month	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:262; Huziwara Keisuke 2008:391-2
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Byangsi	**hlà**	moon, month (n.)	Sharma 2003:519
Chaudangsi	**hla**	month, moon	Krishan 2003:434
	hla-chən	light (of moon)	Krishan 2003:435
	lo **hla**	bright moon fortnight	Krishan 2003:408
Darma	**la**-ɕəŋ	moon	Krishan 2003:390
	la səŋ	light (of moon)	Krishan 2003:401
Pattani [Manchati]	**lə** cəng	moon	Sharma 1982
	l^{h}a	month	Sharma 1982
	munɖo-**lə** cəng	new moon	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	**la** nyi-ngam	moon	Andvik 1993:42
Tsangla (Motuo)	da **łak**	month (intercalary)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:75.7
	la n̡i	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.7
	la n̡i; da wa	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.7
	la^{13}n̡i^{13}	moon; month	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**la**-nyi	moon; month	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	dɑ^{35}**łɑ**^{55}	intercalary month	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	le^{55}	moon	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**leː**^{55}thøn^{55}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.6
Motuo Menba	**la** n̡i	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.07
Cuona Menba	**leː**^{55}thøn^{55}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	hda **łak**	month (intercalary)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:75.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	rdza **ła**	month (intercalary)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:75.5
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	da^{13}**ła**^{53}	month (intercalary)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:75.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	ta^{13}**ła**ʔ^{53}	month (intercalary)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:75.2
Tibetan (Written)	spreu.**zla**	December	Sun 1985c:600
	zla ba	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.01
	zla ba	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.1; LaPolla 1987:145; Benedict 1972:42n136; Sun 1985c:605
	zla.dzin	eclipse of the moon	Sun 1985c:215
	zla ba	moon	Marrison 1967
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**lá** vo	moon (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{Bh}**la** MONTH, *^{B}**Hla** MOON			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**Hla**	moon	Mazaudon 1994:912
	*^{Bh}**la**	month	Mazaudon 1994:894
Manang (Gyaru)	**la**^{1} ni^{2}	moon	Nagano 1984:262
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**lɤ**	month	Mazaudon 1994:894
	^{1}**lə** ɲi	moon	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0160
Tamang (Sahu)	**'la** nyi	moon	Hale 1973:01.073; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.73
	'la nyi 'Tehppa	half moon	Taylor *et al.* 1972:5.21
	'purnye kyahp ki **'la** nyi	waning moon	Taylor *et al.* 1972:5.23
	pahrticim k^{h}api **'la** nyi	waxing moon	Taylor *et al.* 1972:5.24
	^{2}**la**	month	Mazaudon 1994:912
Tamang (Taglung)	**la**	month	Mazaudon 1994:912
Thakali	**La** tihngi	moon	Hale 1973:01.073
Thakali (Tukche)	**l^{h}ɔ** tihŋi	moon	Hari 1971:1.73
	^{H}**lə**	month	Mazaudon 1994:894
	^{H}**l^{h}ə** ^{3}tiŋi	moon	Mazaudon 1994:912
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Dolakhali)	nem **la**	moon	Genetti 1990b
Newar	nem **lā**	moon	Genetti 1990d
	nullu nem **la**	moon, new	Genetti 1990d
Newar (Kathmandu)	timi **la**	moonlight	Genetti 1990c
Newar	tim **lā**	moon	Hale 1973:01.073
2.3. Kiranti: *la MOON			
**Kiranti*	***la**	moon	Opgenort 2011
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	**la**	moon	Ebert 1997
	la lipmaŋ	moon	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**laː** ba	moon	Weidert 1987:114; Michailovsky 1989b
Lohorong	pappa **la**	moon	Weidert 1987:159
Yamphu	**la**	moon (n.)	Rutgers 1998:552.01
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**la** di	moon	Weidert 1987:159
	la DipDuN	moonlight (n.)	Rai 1985
	la Dipma	moon (n.)	Rai 1985
	la dipʔma	moon	Weidert 1987:159
Chamling	**la** d̂ippa	moon	Weidert 1987:159
	la kanɛ	moon	Weidert 1987:159
	la d̩ippa	moon	Weidert 1987:328
Kulung	**la** lima	moon	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**la** lim	moon	Weidert 1987:159
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**la**	moon	LaPolla 1987:145; Benedict 1972:144
Hayu	**tśolo**	moon	LaPolla 1987:145; Benedict 1972:144
	tsoːlo	moon (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.166
Sunwar	'tā **slā**	moon	Hale 1973:01.073
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	cyak.**lah**	dark of moon; dark moon (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	daŋ.**lah**	new moon (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hmaŋ.**lah**	bowl-shaped moon (bad omen); crescent moon (esp. when like an upright bowl - an omen of death) (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	lāh	moon	Hale 1973:01.073
	lah	moon; month (after numeral) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lah	moon	Caughley 1972:1.73
	lah.(dar).diŋ	spirit or god (sp.), associated with the moon (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lah.diŋ.ro	moonbeams, rays from moon; spirit of these (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lah.həw	moon (B) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lah.pan.ro	rays, effulgence (of moon), moonlight (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lah.paʔ.raŋ	edge of moonlight (n.)	Caughley 2000
	la^{ñ}	moon	Weidert 1987:69
	phənh.**lah**	half moon (waxing) (nb.)	Caughley 2000
	phənh.**lah**	half moon (waxing) (n.)	Caughley 2000

	si.**lah**	dark moon; dark of moon (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000	
	thoŋ.**lah**	full moon; full or bright moon (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000	
	toko.toyh.**lah**	full moon (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000	
	yat **lah**	month (nt.)	Caughley 2000	
3.1. Tangut				
Tangut [Xixia]	**lhjị** (lhjij)	moon	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2814	
	śjij	moon	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4501	
3.2. Qiangic				
Ersu	la^{55}i^{55}**ɬɑ^{33}**	December	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:87.18	
	pu^{33}i^{55}**ɬɑ^{33}**	November	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:86.18	
	ɳ^{55}i^{55}**ɬɑ^{33}**	February	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:77.18	
	sɻ^{55}i^{55}**ɬɑ^{33}**	April	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:79.18	
	tʃ^{33}i^{55}**ɬɑ^{33}**	January	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:76.18	
	tɕu^{55}i^{55}**ɬɑ^{33}**	September	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:84.18	
	vu^{55}i^{55}**ɬɑ^{33}**	May	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:80.18	
	ə^{ɹ55}i^{55}**ɬɑ^{33}**	June	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:81.18	
	ɬɑ^{55}	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.18	
	ɬɑ^{55}phɛ^{55}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.18	
	ʂɻ^{55}i^{55}**ɬɑ^{33}**	October	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:85.18	
Guiqiong	(te^{55}) **li^{55}**	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.16	
	dɔ^{33}bu^{55}**li^{53}**	January	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:76.17	
	le^{35}mɔ^{31}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.16	
	li^{35}mo^{33}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.17	
	li^{53}	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.17	
	nʑi^{55}npu^{55}**li^{53}**	February	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:77.17	
Lyuzu	(te^{33}) **ɬæ^{31}**	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.18	
	ɬæ^{33}phe^{53}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.18	
	ɬæ^{53}	month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.18	
Muya	(tɐ^{33}) **li^{53}**	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.15	
	lɐ̯^{33}nə̯^{53}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.15	
	li^{53}	month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.15	
	li^{55}phɐ^{33}	middle of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0775.15	
Muya [Minyak]	**lɛ^{35}nɯ̱^{35}**	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.15	
Namuyi	hĩ^{33}**ɬi^{55}**	August	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:83.19	
	qhu^{33}**ɬi^{55}**	June	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:81.19	
	so^{55}**ɬi^{55}**	March	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:78.19	
	tɕi^{33}**ɬi^{55}**	January	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:76.19	
	xo^{33}tɕi^{33}**ɬi^{55}**	November	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:86.19	
	xo^{33}ɳ̟i^{55}**ɬi^{55}**	December	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:87.19	
	xo^{33}**ɬi^{55}**	October	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:85.19	
	zɻ^{33}**ɬi^{55}**	April	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:79.19	
	ŋgu^{33}**ɬi^{55}**	September	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:84.19	
	ŋɑ^{33}**ɬi^{55}**	May	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:80.19	
	ɳ̟i^{55}**ɬi^{55}**	February	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:77.19	
	ɬi^{55}	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.19	
	ɬi^{55}mi^{55}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.19	
	ʂɻ^{33}**ɬi^{55}**	July	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:82.19	
	duo^{53}tɕi^{31}**ɬi^{53}**	January (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0772.46	
	ɳ̟i^{55}**ɬi^{53}**	February (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0773.46	
	ɬi^{53}	month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.46	
	ɬi^{55}	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.46	
	ɬi^{55}mi^{55}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.46	
Pumi (Jiulong)	(tə^{55}) **ji^{55}**	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.10	
	ji^{35}	month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.10	
	ɬi^{55}ŋɯ^{55}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.10	
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʒi^{13}**	month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.09	
	ʒi^{13}	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.09	
	ʒi^{13}qho^{55}	beginning of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0774.09	
	ʒi^{55}mɑ^{55}	end of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0776.09	
	ɬi^{55}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.09	
Pumi (Qinghua)	qa^{55}sgiɯ^{55}**ʒi^{13}**	May	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:80.11	
	qa^{55}stĩ^{55}**ʒi^{13}**	September	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:84.11	
	qa^{55}sɑ̃u^{13}**ʒi^{13}**	August	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:83.11	
	qa^{55}xiɛ̃^{55}**ʒi^{13}**	June	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:81.11	
	ʒi^{13}	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.11	
	ʒi^{13}xɑ^{55}	month (intercalary)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:75.11	
	ɬi^{55}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.11	
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɬi^{55}**	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.10	
	ʑi^{35}	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.10	
	ʑi^{35}xa^{53}	month (intercalary)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:75.10	
Qiang (Longxi)	à **lə**	month (CL.)	Evans 1999:1340	
	dʑə́ **lə̨**	January	Evans 1999:1123	
	gú **lə́**	September	Evans 1999:1131	[a]
	lə	month	Evans 1999:1122	
	lə qé	beginning of month	Evans 1999:1136	
	lə tshò	end of month	Evans 1999:1138	
	lə tɕó	beginning of month	Evans 1999:1136	
	lə ɕuà	moon	Evans 1999:4	[b]
	lə ʁá	middle of month	Evans 1999:1137	
	lə-suà	end of month [month-end]	Evans 1999:1138	
	nà **lə**	February	Evans 1999:1124	[c]
	tshá **lə́**	August	Evans 1999:1130	[d]
	tsú **lə́**	June	Evans 1999:1128	[e]
	tɕé **lə**	leap month	Evans 1999:1135	
	zə̀ **lə**	April	Evans 1999:1126	[f]
	ɦà dʑə́ **lə**	October	Evans 1999:1132	[g]
	ɦà nə́ **lə**	December	Evans 1999:1134	[h]
	ɦà tɕí **lə**	November	Evans 1999:1133	[i]
	ʁuè **lə**	May	Evans 1999:1127	[j]
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʂə**	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.8	
Qiang (Mianchi)	à-**lə**-mó	eclipse of moon [m-moon-dark]	Evans 1999:2549	
	gù **lə́**	September	Evans 1999:1131	[a]
	khuè-**lə̀**-dzè	eclipse of moon [dog-moon-eat]	Evans 1999:2549	
	lə̀	month	Evans 1999:1122	
	lə̀	month (CL.)	Evans 1999:1340	
	lə̀	moon	Evans 1999:4	
	lə̀ bʐɑ́	long month	Evans 1999:2636	[b]
	lə̀-tsú	short month [month-small]	Evans 1999:2637	
	nə̀ **lə̀**	February	Evans 1999:1124	[c]
	pè **lə̀**	January	Evans 1999:1123	
	tɕhè **lə̀**	August	Evans 1999:1130	[d]
	tʂòu **lə́**	June	Evans 1999:1128	[e]
	zì **lə̀**	April	Evans 1999:1126	[f]
	ɦà diú **lə̀**	October	Evans 1999:1132	[g]
	ɦà nə́ **lə̀**	December	Evans 1999:1134	[h]
	ɦà tí **lə̀**	November	Evans 1999:1133	[i]
	ɬə̀	moon	Evans 1999:4	
	ʁuà **lə̀**	May	Evans 1999:1127	[j]
Qiang (Taoping)	**ʂʅ^{33}**	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.9	
Queyu (Xinlong)	(tɯ^{55}) **ɬli^{55}**	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.13	
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	da^{35}**ɬa^{53}**	month (intercalary)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:75.16	
	lø^{53}	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.16	
Queyu (Xinlong)	**slə^{55}mnə^{33}**	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.13	
	ɬli^{13}	month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.13	
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɬo^{55}**ɳ̟u^{53}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.16	
Xumi	(dʑi^{33}) **ɬɛ^{53}**	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.17	
	dʑi^{35}**ɬɯ^{55}**	January	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:76.20	
	guɐ^{33}**ɬɯ^{55}**	September	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:84.20	
	qɛ^{55}tɛ^{55}**ɬɯ^{33}**	November	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:86.20	
	qɛ^{55}ɳ̟i^{55}**ɬɯ^{33}**	December	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:87.20	
	sɐ^{55}**ɬɯ^{33}**	March	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:78.20	
	tɕho^{55}**ɬɯ^{33}**	June	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:81.20	
	ʒuɐ^{33}**ɬɯ^{55}**	April	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:79.20	
	ɳ̟ɛ^{33}**ɬɯ^{55}**	February	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:77.20	
	ɕyi^{55}**ɬɯ^{33}**	August	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:83.20	
	ɦiɑ̃^{55}**ɬɯ^{33}**	May	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:80.20	
	ɬa^{33}mu^{33}tshu^{53}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.17	
	ɬi^{33}mi^{55}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.20	
	ɬi^{33}tshi^{35}	day, thirtieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:101.20	
	ɬi^{33}tshi^{55}dʑi^{33}mɛ̃^{53}	day, first of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:94.20	
	ɬi^{33}tshi^{55}sɐ^{55}mɛ̃^{53}	day, third of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:95.20	
	ɬi^{33}tshi^{55}ɦiɑ̃^{35}mɛ̃^{53}	day, fifth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:96.20	
	ɬɛ^{33}qɛ̃^{55}le^{33}	middle of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0775.17	
	ɬɛ^{33}ʁu^{55}	beginning of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0774.17	
	ɬɛ^{53}	month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.17	
	ɬɛ^{55}mæ^{55}	end of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0776.17	
	ɬɯ^{55}	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.20	
Zhaba (Daofu County)	(tɛ^{55}) **ɬi^{55}**	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.14	
	ta^{33}mbu^{55} tɛ^{55}**ɬi^{55}**	January (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0772.14	
	ɳ̟i^{55} pa^{55} tɛ^{55}**ɬi^{55}**	February (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0773.14	
	ɬɛ^{33}vʑʌ^{55}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.14	
	ɬi^{55}	month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.14	
3.3. rGyalrongic				
Daofu	(a) **slə**	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.12	
	slə	month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.12	
	ɬə ɣnə	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.12	
Ergong (Danba)	**ɬɯ**	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.14	
	ɬɯ va	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.14	
3.3.1. rGyalrong				
Ganzi Danba Geshenzha	**ɬ^{u}i** va	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	'tsə **la**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	'tsə **le**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	'tsə **lɑ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	'tsə **lɑ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
Caodeng	kə-**sle**	one month	Sun 1997a	
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	**sla**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	**sla**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**sla**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	**sla44** ŋɐ33	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	**sla** 'ŋɐʔ	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	**slə** 'no	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
Caodeng	**slé**-ŋɐ	moon	Sun 1997a	
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	**sɬa^{3}**wə^{3}	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	tse^{3}**le^{1}**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	tse **'le**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	**tslə**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	tsə22 **la44**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298	

[a] [Source Note] calque.
[b] [Source Note] calque?
[c] [Source Note] calque.
[d] [Source Note] calque.
[e] [Source Note] calque.
[f] [Source Note] calque.
[g] [Source Note] calque.
[h] [Source Note] calque.
[i] [Source Note] calque.
[j] [Source Note] calque.

rGyalrong	tsə **la**	moon; month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.12; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:74.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tsə **lɑ**	moon; month (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.11; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.11
	tsə **lɑ**	month's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.11
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	tsə3 **'le53**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	tsə^{3} **le^{3}**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	tsə^{3} **le^{5}**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	tsə^{3} **le^{5}**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	tsə^{3} **lje^{5}**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	tsə^{1} **lje^{1}**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	tsə **'la**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	tsə **'la**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	tsə **'la**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	tsə **'la**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	tsə **'la**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	tsə **'laʔ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	tsə **'laʔ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	tsə **'laʔ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	tsə **'laʔ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	tsə **'laʔ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	tsə **'le**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	tsə **'le**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	tsə **'leʔ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	tsə **'leʔ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	tsə **'lɑ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	tsə **'lɑ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	tsə **'lɑ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	tsə **'lɑ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	tsə **'lɑ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	tsə **'lɑ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	tsə **'lɑ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	tsə **'lɑʔ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	tsə **'lɑʔ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	tsə **la** 'ŋaj	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	tsə **la** 'ŋaj	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	tsə **la** 'ŋi	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	tsə **le** 'ŋej	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	tsi22 **la44**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	tsi22 **la44**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	tsi22**la44**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	tsɪ ˡ**lə**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə tsə **lɑ** wu lɑi	middle of a month (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0775.11
	tə tsə **lɑ** wɑ thi	end of a month (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0776.11
Caodeng	zlɐ-**ɬaʔ** ~ dzɐ-**ɬaʔ**	leap month	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	**ɬdza** 'ŋi	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	**ɬdza** 'ŋi	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	**ɬdʐa** ŋi si'təŋo	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	**ɬu** va	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**ɬə** 'nə	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	**ɬə** 'ŋi	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Queyu Gala)	**ɬɔ** 'ɲə	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	tsə **la**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	tsɻ **liʁ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊtsə **leʔ**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˋtsə **le**	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGyalrong	tsu **la**	moon	Nagano 1997:2.3
	tsu **la** wu ot	moonlight	Nagano 1997:2.31
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	**sɬə** 'vo	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
rGBenzhen	-tsə-**laʔ**	clf (month); month	Sun 1997b; Sun 1997b
	tʂə-**laʔ**	moon	Sun 1997b
Rawang	**shəlɑ^{53}**	moon	LaPolla 2003:4
Anong	**səla**	moon	LaPolla 1987:145; Benedict 1972:144
Nung	**sɻ^{31}lɑ^{55}**	moon; month (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.21; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.21
Anong	**sɻ^{31}lɑ^{55}**	moon; month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.44; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:74.44
Dulong	**sɯ^{31}lɑ^{55}**	month (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.20
Trung [Dulong]	**sɯ^{31}lɑ^{55}**	month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:74.46
Dulong	**sɯ^{31}lɑ^{55}**	moon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.20
Trung [Dulong]	**sɯ^{31}lɑ^{55}**	moon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**sɯ^{31} la^{55}**	moon	LaPolla 1987:145
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**sɯ^{31} la^{55}**	moon	LaPolla 1987:145
	sɯ^{31}lɑ^{55}	month; moon	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *s/ʔ-la^{3} MOON / MONTH

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s/ʔ-la^{3}**	moon / month	Matisoff 2003a:599

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	phɑ^{31}**lɑ^{31}**	moon	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	phă^{31}**lɔʔ^{31}**	moon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.28
	phă^{31}**lɔʔ^{31}**	moon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.41
Achang (Luxi)	pau^{55}**laʔ^{31}**	moon	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	pau^{55}**l̥ɔ^{31}**	moon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.29
Bola (Luxi)	**lɛ̰^{35}ma^{31}**	moon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**lɑ^{53}**	moon; month (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**lɑ^{53}**	moon; month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.40; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:74.40
Burmese (Written)	**lá**	moon	Weidert 1987:328
	la	moon	Marrison 1967
	lá	moon	LaPolla 1987:145; Benedict 1972:144
	la'	moon, lunar month	Benedict 1976a
	lɑ^{1}	moon; month (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.26
	lɑ^{1}	moon; month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.39; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:74.39
Samong	**səla**	moon	Benedict 1972:144
Hpun (Northern)	**ʃèlà** ăx(ʀ)èʔ	moon (new)	Henderson 1986
	ʃèlà pyài-ŋ	moon (full)	Henderson 1986; Henderson 1986
	ʃèlà'	moon	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**lo̱^{55}**	moon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**la̱^{55}mo^{55}**	moon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.33
	lo̱^{53}	moon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.33
Marma	**lă**	moon; month	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:262; HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:391-2
Maru [Langsu]	**lo̱^{55}**	moon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lo̱^{55}mo^{55}**	moon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.30
	lɰ̃^{55}mo^{55}	moon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH: *bə la^{3} MOON

**Loloish*	*bə **la^{3}**	moon	Bradley 1979b:318
Lolo	**hla**	moon	Benedict 1972:144

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**xa^{33}**pa^{33}ma^{33}	moon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.47
Lalo	**la**	month (BOUND.)	Björverud 1994
	xa-ba-khɔ́	moonlight; moon	Matisoff 2003a:190; Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	**l̥a^{31}**	moon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ɬa^{31}**	moon	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɬa^{31}tshɛ^{55}shɔ^{55}ni^{31}	third day of the month	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɬa^{31}tshɛ^{55}shɔ^{55}tshe^{31}ni^{55}	thirtieth day of the month	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɬa^{31}tshɛ^{55}thi^{55}ni^{31}	first day of the month	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɬa^{31}tshɛ^{55}ŋɑ^{35}ni^{31}	fifth day of the month	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɬa^{55}	month	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɬa^{55}ɹɯ^{35}	Intercalary month	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɬɔ^{31}**	moon	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɬɔ^{31}bɯ^{35}	Intercalary month	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɬɔ^{31}tshɑ^{55}sɑ^{55}ni^{31}	third day of the month	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɬɔ^{31}tshɑ^{55}thi^{31}ni^{31}	first day of the month	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɬɔ^{31}tshɑ^{55}ŋɔ̃^{53}ni^{31}	fifth day of the month	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɬɔ^{31}ɹɯ^{31}	month	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɬɑ^{31}**	moon; month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.45; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:74.45
	ɬɑ^{31}tshɑ^{ɹ55}sɔ^{35}n̥i^{31}	day, third of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:95.45
	ɬɑ^{31}tshɑ^{ɹ55}thi^{31}n̥i^{31}	day, first of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:94.45
	ɬɑ^{31}tshɑ^{ɹ55}ŋɑ^{55}n̥i^{31}	day, fifth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:96.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ho^{21}**bo^{21}	moon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.22
Yi (Liangshan)	bu^{33}**ɬɯ^{21}**	month	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mɛ^{21}bu^{33}**ɬɯ^{21}**	month, last	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɣa^{34}bu^{33}**ɬɯ^{21}**	month, next	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬo^{21}bo^{21}	moon	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬo^{21}bo^{21}tso^{55}ʂɻ^{33}	moonlight	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬɯ^{21}	moon; month	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index; MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬɯ^{21}dʐɯ^{33}	leap month	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬɯ^{21}pha^{33}	month, half	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬɯ^{21}zɯ^{33}	moon [literary]	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬɯ^{21}ʥi^{21}	month, complete the first	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ɬo^{33}**	month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:74.25
	ɬo^{33}bo^{33}	moon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.25
	ɬo^{33}to̱^{33}	month (intercalary)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:75.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**xo^{21}**bo^{21}	moon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ɕiɔ^{33}**bo^{33}	moon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.37
	ɕo^{33}bo^{33}	moon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**xɑ^{33}**bɑ^{33}	moon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:3.23
Yi (Weishan)	**lɑ^{33}**	month (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.36
	lɑ^{33}	month's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.36
	xɑ^{33}bɑ^{33}	moon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.36

4. NUNGIC

Yi (Xide)	he^{33}**ɬɯ^{21}**	July (rat month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:82.21
	khɯ^{33}**ɬɯ^{21}**	May (dog month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:80.21
	la^{55}**ɬɯ^{21}**	September (tiger month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:84.21
	m̩(u)^{33}**ɬɯ^{21}**	January (horse month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:76.21
	m̩(u)^{33}**ɬɯ^{33}**	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.21
	thɯ^{21}lɯ^{21}**ɬɯ^{44}**	October (rabbit month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:85.21
	va^{55}**ɬɯ^{21}**	April (chicken month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:79.21
	vo^{55}**ɬɯ^{21}**	June (pig month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:81.21
	n̥u^{33}**ɬɯ^{21}**	August (bovine month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:83.21
	n̥u^{55}**ɬɯ^{21}**	March (monkey month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:78.21
	ɬo^{21}bo^{21}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.35
	ɬo^{21}bo^{21}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.21
	ɬɯ^{21}	month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.35
	ɬɯ^{21}	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.35
	ɬɯ^{21}dʐɯ^{33}	month (intercalary)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:75.21
	ɬɯ^{21}dʐu^{55}	middle of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0775.35
	ɬɯ^{21}m̩^{21}	end of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0776.35
	ɬɯ^{21}po^{21}	beginning of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0774.35
	ʂʅ^{33}**ɬɯ^{44}**	December (snake month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:87.21
	ʑo^{33}**ɬɯ^{44}**	February (sheep month)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:77.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	pu^{33}**ɬa^{44}**	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.34
	pu^{33}**ɬɔ^{42}**	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.44
Jinuo (Youle)	pu^{44}**ɬɔ^{33}**	moon	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ɑ^{44}**ɬɔ^{33}**	month	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ɬɔ^{33}**	month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.44
	ɬɔ^{33}	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.34
	ɬɔ^{33}mɔ^{33}	middle of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0775.44
	ɬɔ^{33}tɯ^{44}	beginning of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0774.44
	ɬɔ^{33}vɛ^{35}	end of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0776.44
	ɬɔ^{44}	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.44
Kucong	**lʌ33** pʌ33	moonlight	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**hā** pā	moon	Weidert 1987:328
Lahu (Lancang)	**xɑ^{33}**pɑ^{33}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.43
Lahu (Black)	**ha**-pa-khɨ	moonlight	Matisoff 1988a:392
	xʌ^{33}pʌ^{33}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**xa^{1}**pa^{1}	moon	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**hã^{33}**ba^{44}	moon	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}ba^{44} khɤ^{21}lɔ^{55}be^{21} d	eclipse of the moon	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}ba^{44}tɕhi^{33}	moonlight	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}lu^{44}	full moon; middle of month	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}tɕhi^{33}	moonlight	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}ʃʅʔ^{21}	cresent moon	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**hā** bâ	moon	Weidert 1987:328
Lisu (Northern)	**hæ̃^{21}**the^{33}ɕa^{33}	midnight	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**hɑ^{33}**bɑ^{33}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.27
	hɑ̃ bɑ^{33}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.40
Lisu (Central)	**h'a^{4}**-ba^{4}	month (moon); moon	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
	h'a^{4}-ba^{4}-hchi^{3}	moonlight	Fraser 1922
Yi (Sani)	**ɬɒ^{44}**	month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.39
	ɬɒ^{44}	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.39
	ɬɒ^{44}bɒ^{33}mɒ^{33}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.39
	ɬɒ^{44}mæ^{55}	end of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0776.39
	ɬɒ^{44}o^{55}	beginning of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0774.39
	ɬɒ^{44}qo^{44}	middle of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0775.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	ba **la**	moon	Hansson 1989:51
Akha (Thai)	ba-**la**	moon	Hansson 1989:51
Bisu	**hla**	month	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	ba **la**	moon	Hansson 1989:51
	bá **la**	moon	Hansson 1989:51
Hani (Dazhai)	ba^{33}**la^{33}**	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.31
Hani (Lüchun)	ba^{33}**la^{33}**	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.41
Hani (Pijo)	pɔ **lɔ**	moon	Hansson 1989:51
Hani (Caiyuan)	pɔ^{33}**lɔ^{33}**	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	ba^{33}**la^{33}**	moon	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Haoni	ba^{33}**la^{33}**	moon	Hansson 1989:51
Hani (Wordlist)	bba **'la**	moon	Hansson 1989:51
Hani (Shuikui)	pɔ^{33}**l̥ɔ^{33}**	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.32
Hani (Khatu)	po **xho**	moon	Hansson 1989:51
Hani (Mojiang)	pɔ^{33}**l̥ɔ^{33}**	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.42
Pyen	ʔa33 **la45**	moon	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:011011
Sila	bɛ33 **lɛ33**	moon	Kato Takashi 2008:73

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**lʌ^{33}**pɔ^{33}	moon	Pelkey 2011:4
Southern Muji	**ɬa^{21}**pa^{21}	moon	Pelkey 2011:4
Phola	**lɑ^{33}**pɔ^{33}mɔ̰^{23}	moon	Pelkey 2011:4
Hlepho Phowa	**la^{33}**ba^{33}	moon	Pelkey 2011:4
Phu Kha	**lə^{33}** bə^{33} ma^{33}	moon	Fried 2000
Phuza	**la^{33}**ba^{33}	moon	Pelkey 2011:4

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	gv-**lie**-mie-	9th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1671
	q^{h}ɔ˩**lie**˩mie˩	6th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1668
	su˥**lie**-mie-	3rd month	Michaud 2006–2009:1665
	ts^{h}i˥**lie**˥mie˥	10th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1672
	ts^{h}i˥ɖɯ˥**lie**˥mie˥	11th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1673
	ts^{h}i˥ɲi˥**lie**˥mie˥	12th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1674
	ŋwɤ-**lie**-mie-	5th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1667
	ɖɯ- **lie**-mie-	1st month	Michaud 2006–2009:1663
	ɲi- **lie**-mie-	2nd month	Michaud 2006–2009:1664
	ɕi˩**lie**˩mie˩	8th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1670
	ɬie-	month	Michaud 2006–2009:1658
	ɬie-mie-	moon	Michaud 2006–2009:12
	ɬie-mie-ʐæ˩n̥˩dze-	lunar eclipse	Michaud 2006–2009:24
	ɬie-p^{h}ɤ-	first half of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1661
	ʂie-**lie**-mie-	7th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1669
	ʐv-**lie**-mie-	4th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1666
Na (Yongning)	gv˩**ɬi**˩mi˨	9th month	Michaud 2006–2009
	hũ-**ɬi**-mi-	8th month	Michaud 2006–2009
	lɑ˩jɤ-**ɬi**-	12th month	Michaud 2006–2009
	q^{h}v-**ɬi**-mi-	6th month	Michaud 2006–2009
	so-**ɬi**-mi-	3rd month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e-**ɬi**-mi-	10th month	Michaud 2006–2009
	tɕ^{h}ɤ-**ɬi**-ne˨zo˩	every month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ŋwɤ˩**ɬi**˩mi˨	5th month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɖɯ-**ɬi**-mi-	1st month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi-**ɬi**-mi-	2nd month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬi-	month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬi-mi-	moon; month (disyllable)	Michaud 2006–2009; Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬi-mi- ɖɯ-gi˥	half a month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬi-mi-dɑ-dzɯ-	lunar eclipse	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬi-mi-lə-gv˩	second half of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬi-ɳæ˩	menses; period	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂɯ-**ɬi**-mi-	7th month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐe-ʈæ˥**ɬi**˩	11th month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐv˩**ɬi**˩mi˨	4th month	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	ɖʅ^{33}**ɬe^{33}**mi^{33}	January	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:76.29
	gv^{31}**ɬe^{33}**mi^{33}	September	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:84.29
	khəɹ^{33}**ɬe^{33}**mi^{33}	June	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:81.29
	so^{33}**ɬe^{33}**mi^{33}	March	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:78.29
	tshe^{33}dʅ^{33}**ɬe^{33}**	November	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:86.29
	tshe^{33}n̥i^{33}**ɬe^{33}**	December	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:87.29
	tshe^{33}**ɬe^{33}**mi^{33}	October	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:85.29
Naxi	**xe^{33}**	month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**xe^{33}**	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.28
Naxi	**xe^{33}**kɣ^{33}	beginning of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0774.45
	xe^{33}ly^{55}	middle of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0775.45
	xe^{33}me^{33}	moon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**xe^{33}**me^{33}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.28
Naxi	**xe^{33}**mæ^{55}	end of a month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0776.45
Naxi (Yongning)	xu^{13}**ɬe^{33}**mi^{33}	August	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:83.29
	ŋuə^{31}**ɬe^{31}**mi^{13}	May	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:80.29
	n̥i^{33}**ɬe^{33}**mi^{33}	February	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:77.29
	ɬe^{33}	month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:74.29
	ɬe^{33}lɑ^{13}mi^{33}	month (intercalary)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:75.29
	ɬe^{33}mi^{33}	moon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:3.29
	ʂʅ^{33}**ɬe^{33}**mi^{33}	July	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:82.29
	ʐv^{31}**ɬe^{31}**mi^{13}	April	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:79.29

7. Karenic: ***ʔla^{A}*** MOON, MONTH

**Karen*	***hla**	moon	Benedict 1972:137n370
**Karen [Burling]*	***la^{4}**	moon, month	Luangthongkum 2013:193
**Karen*	***ʔla^{A}**	moon, month	Luangthongkum 2013:193
Bwe	**lɛ^{55}**	moon, month	Luangthongkum 2013:193
Karen	**la̱^{55}**	moon; month (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0004.50; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0771.50
	la̱^{55}	month's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0912.50
Kayah	**le^{33}**	moon, month	Luangthongkum 2013:193
Kayan (Pekon)	**lá**	moon, month (N.)	Manson 2010
	lá	month (CLFm.)	Manson 2010
	lá bwé	full moon [lit. moon-full] (N.)	Manson 2010
	lá k^{h}á	moonlight [lit. moon-bright] (N.)	Manson 2010
	lá mā	new moon [lit. moon-lost] (N.)	Manson 2010
	lá mą́há	when (past time reference) [lit. moon-which-time] (PRO.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**la^{53}**	moon, month	Luangthongkum 2013:193
Kayaw	**la^{55}**	moon, month	Luangthongkum 2013:193
Pa-O	**là**	moon	Solnit 1989
	là bwè	full moon	Solnit 1989
	là chān	waxing moon	Solnit 1989
	là lɔ̂ŋ	waning moon	Solnit 1989
	là mâ	new moon	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**la$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	moon, month	Luangthongkum 2013:193
Pa-O (Southern)	**la$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	moon, month	Luangthongkum 2013:193
Pwo (Northern)	**la^{55}**	moon, month	Luangthongkum 2013:193
Pwo (Southern)	**la$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	moon, month	Luangthongkum 2013:193
Sgaw (Northern)	**la^{33}**	moon, month	Luangthongkum 2013:193
Sgaw (Southern)	**la^{55}**	moon, month	Luangthongkum 2013:193

(5) PTB *krəy MOON / MOONLIGHT

This root is quite separate from PTB ***g(r/l)a:y*** SCATTER / SOW / DISPERSED WIDELY / WIDE / STAR (§3.2.2).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***krəy**	moon / moonlight	Matisoff 2003a:596

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	**^{4}krhɯ**	moon	Weidert 1987:69
Angami (Khonoma)	**krü**	moon	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**khrü**	moon	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**khri**	moon	Marrison 1967
Khezha	e **krü**	moon	Marrison 1967
Mao	o **khro**	moon	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	angushu no a **qhi** tsü	lunar eclipse (tiger eats moon)	Achumi 1998b:2.33
	a **khi**	moon	Marrison 1967
	a **qhi**	moon	Achumi 1998b:2.3
	a **qhi** kichhi	full moon	Achumi 1998b:2.324
	a **qhi** kuvü	moonlight	Achumi 1998b:2.31
	a **qhi**-kithe	new moon	Achumi 1998b:2.32
	a **qhi**-kughunu	new moon	Achumi 1998b:2.32

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Zeme	he **keu**	moon	Marrison 1967
	^{1}he^{5}**kei**	moon	Weidert 1987:69
Mzieme	he **kei**	moon	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**chi** klo	moon	Marrison 1967
	ci klō(?)	moon	Weidert 1987:328
	tśi klo	moon	LaPolla 1987:145

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***krəy^{1}*** MOON / MOONLIGHT

**Lolo-Burmese*	***krəy^{1}**	moon / moonlight	Matisoff 2003a:190

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	xa-ba-**khə́**	moonlight	Matisoff 2003a:190
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Lancang)	ɕɛ^{11}qɔ^{33}**khɯ^{33}**	midnight (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0754.43
Lahu (Black)	ha-pa-**khɨ**	moonlight	Matisoff 1988a:392
Lahu (Yellow)	te^{1}**qhʏ^{3}**	midnight	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

(6) PTB *g $\begin{matrix}\text{r}\\\text{l}\end{matrix}$ a:y SCATTER / SOW / DISPERSED WIDELY / WIDE / STAR

The stars are scattered spots of light in the night sky; see Matisoff 1980, "Stars, Moon and Spirits".

This root is quite separate from PTB ***krəy*** MOON / MOONLIGHT (§3.2.2).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***glay**	wide / apart	Matisoff 2003a:590
	***gray ~ glay**	star / scattered wide	Matisoff 1985a:163
	***gra:y**	scatter; sow (seeds); disperse; star	Matisoff 2003a:591; Matisoff 2003a:591
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kraay** SCATTER			
**Chin*	***kraay**	SCATTER	VanBik 2009:1327
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭái**	scatter (v.)	VanBik 2009:1327
	ṭai	scatter, disperse	Matisoff 1985a:163
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**chí**	scatter	VanBik 2009:1327
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	o **gray**	wide (face) (v.)	Bhat 1968
	o **gray**	wide (face) (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:163
Dimasa	ha **trai**	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**tʂʅ^{55}**	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.18
Guiqiong	ɣi^{35} **tʃə^{31}**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.16
	ɣi^{35}**tsʅ^{33}**	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.17
Muya	**ndzɻ^{24}**βu^{33}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.15
Muya [Minyak]	**dzɻ^{55}**vu^{33}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.15
Namuyi	**tʂʅ^{35}**	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.19
	tʂʅ^{31} (lʁ^{55})	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**dzɻ^{35}**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**dzɻ^{13}**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**dzɻ^{13}**	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**dzɻ^{35}**	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʁdzɻ**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.08
	ʁdzɻ	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.8
	ʁrə	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**dzɻ̀**	star	Evans 1999:5
Qiang (Taoping)	**χdzɻe^{33}**pe^{55}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**dzɻ^{53}**	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.16
Xumi	**tɕɛ^{53}**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.17
	tɕɛ^{55}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ʂtʂə^{55}**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC: ***tsu-gray** STAR			
Daofu	**zgre**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.12
Ergong (Danba)	**zgzɻe**	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.14
Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	**zgrə**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	**zgrə̂**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	**sgɻi**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	tso3**w'rə53**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	tsow^{3}**rə^{53}**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	tsoŋ'^{n}**gə^{i}**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	tsoŋ^{3}**rə^{5}**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	tsoŋ^{3} **rə^{3}**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	tsu' **ri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	tsu' **ri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	tsu' **ri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	tsu' **riʔ**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	tsu' **rə**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	tsu^{3} **rə^{31}**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	tsu^{3} **rə^{53}**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	tsə44 ^{N}**gri44**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	tsə' ^{n}**grə**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	tsə' **re**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	tsə' **wri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	tsə' **xri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	tsə' **xri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	tsə' **xri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	tsə' **xri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	tsə' **xri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	tsə' **xri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	tsə' **xri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	tsə' **xri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	tsə' **xri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	tsə' **ɣri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	tsə' **βri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	tsə22**wri44**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tsəu **ri**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.11
rGyalrong	tsəu **ri**	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.12
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	tsəw' **ri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	tsəw' **rə**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	tsəw' **rə**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	tsəw' **rə**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	tsəw' **xri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	tsəw^{3}**ri^{5}**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	tsəw^{3}**ri^{5}**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	tsəŋ'^{n} **gri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	tsə^{l} **kri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	tsə **kɻi**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	tsə **ɾə**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	tsɨ22 **ŋgri44**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	tsɨ22 **ŋgri44**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	**zgre**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**zgre**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	**zgre**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**zgrə**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**zgrə́**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	**ʒgriʔ**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	ʒə'n **gri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	ʒə'n **gri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	ʑŋ **gri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	tsu **rɻ**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	tsəu **ri**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˊtsə **wrəʔ**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊtsə ^{n}**grə**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong	tsu **Ngre**	star	Nagano 1997:2.4
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	**zgrə**	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGBenzhen	tsə-**ngri**	star	Sun 1997b
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-grəy^{1}** STAR			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-grəy^{1}**	star	Matisoff 2003a:591
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	phɑ^{31}**kɯ^{55}**	star	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**khzɻə^{55}**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.28
	khzɻə^{55}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.41
	kzɻə^{31}	wide (in diameter) / coarse (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0966.28
Achang (Luxi)	**kɯ^{35}**	star	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Arakanese	**cei**	wide	Okell 1971
	krei	star	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**kjɻ^{55}**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕɛ^{22}**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.27
	tɕɛ^{22}	wide / broad (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0976.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**ce**	star; wide	Okell 1971; Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕɛ^{22}**	star; wide	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.40; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:815.40
Burmese (Written)	**khrai'**	make wide apart; be diffuse; (prn. khyañ') magnify	Benedict 1976a
	khyai	wide, spread out	Matisoff 1985a:163
	khyâi	make wide apart	Matisoff 1985a:163
	khyai	variegate, diversify by painting; be flowery	Benedict 1976a
	khyâi	make wide apart; be diffuse; (prn. khyañ') magnify	Benedict 1976a
	kjɑj^{2}	wide / broad (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0976.26
	kjɑj^{2}	wide	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:815.39
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**klay**	wide	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**krai**	star	Matisoff 1985a:163
	krâi	scatter, throw about; sow, as seed	Matisoff 1985a:163

	krai	star	Matisoff 1974:49; Benedict 1976a
	krâi	scatter; sow	Benedict 1976a
	kray	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
	kray	star	Hansson 1989:301
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**kray**	star	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**kray**	star	Okell 1971
	krɑi^{3}	scatter (seeds) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1597.26
	krɑi^{3}	scatter / broadcast	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:559.39
	krɑj^{2}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.26
	krɑj^{2}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.39
	kyâi	wide apart (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:163
	kyâi	wide apart	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	**chí?** sì	star	Henderson 1986
Intha	**ce**	star	Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	**kji̱**^{31}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**kji̱**^{33}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.33
Marma	**kre**	star	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:263
Maru [Langsu]	**kji̱**^{31}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.43
Tavoyan	**ce**	star	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kji̱**^{51}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.30
	kji̱^{51}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***C-gray**^{1} STAR

**Loloish*	***C-gray**^{1}	star	Bradley 1979b:319; Hansson 1989:301
PNL	**C-gray**^{1}	star	CHEN Kang 1986a:35.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**kɤ**^{24}za^{31}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.47
	kɤ^{323}za^{31}	star	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**kjé**-ma	star	Björverud 1994
	kjé-zà	star	Björverud 1994
	tɕe^{21}	star	CHEN Kang 1986a:35.
Neisu	**tɕɛ**^{33}	star	CHEN Kang 1986a:35.
Nesu	**tsɛ**^{33}	star	CHEN Kang 1986a:35.
Nosu	**tɕi**^{33}	star	CHEN Kang 1986a:35.
Nusu (Central)	**krɯ**^{31}lɔ^{33}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**kɹe**^{31}lɔ^{35}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.45
Nusu (Northern)	**kɹɯ**^{31}luɑ̱^{35}	star	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**tʂə̱**^{35}si^{31}lɑ^{55}	star	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**tɕa**^{33}mo^{33}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.22
Yi (Liangshan)	mu^{33}**tɕl̩**^{33}	star	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tʂɯ^{55}ga^{33}	Milky Way	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tɕl̩^{33}	star	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tʂʌ**^{33}zo^{21}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tsɛ**^{55}mo^{21}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ke**^{33}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.37
	ke^{33}zo^{21}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**tɕe**^{55}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.23
Yi (Weishan)	**cɛ**^{55}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.36
Yi (Xide)	mu^{33}**tɕl̩**^{33}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.35
	ṃ(u)^{33}**tɕl̩**^{33}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	pu^{33}**ke**^{33}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.34
Jinuo (Youle)	pu^{33}**ki**^{44}	star	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	pu^{33}**ki**^{44}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.44
Lahu	mə̀ʔ(-**kə**)	star(-moon)	LaPolla 1987:189
Lahu (Lancang)	mɤ^{21}**kɤ**^{33}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.43
Lahu (Black)	mə^{21}**kə**^{33}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.33
	mə̀ʔ(-**kə**)	star	Matisoff 1985a:035
	mə̀ʔ-**kə**	star	Matisoff 1985a:163; Matisoff 1974:49
Lahu (Yellow)	mɣ^{3}**kɤ**^{1}ɕi^{5}	star	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	à **gý**	star	Hansson 1989:301
Akha	a-**gý**	star	Matisoff 1985a:163
Akha (Thai)	à **gý**	star	Hansson 1989:301
Akha	**gý**	star	Hansson 1989:301
Bisu	**klù**	wide	Matisoff 1985a:163
Hani (Lüchun)	a^{31}**gɯ**^{55}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.41
Hani (Mojiang)	pɛ^{31}**kɯ**^{55}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.42
Mpi	**kɯ**^{5}	wide	Matisoff 1985a:163; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	**kɯ**˥	star	Michaud 2006–2009
	kɯ˧˩q^{h}æ˧˩ʂe˥	comet	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**kɯ**^{21}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**kɯ**^{33}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**kɯ**^{31}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.28

7. KARENIC: ***lɛ**^{B} WIDE

**Karen*	***lái'**	wide	Jones 1961:13
**Karen (TP)*	***lái'**	wide	Jones 1961:13
**Karen [Burling]*	***lɛ**^{1}	wide	Luangthongkum 2013:331
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***lɛ̀**	wide	Jones 1961:13
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***lɛ̀**	wide	Jones 1961:13
**Karen (Pwo)*	***lɛ́'**	wide	Jones 1961:13
**Karen*	***lɛ**^{B}	wide	Luangthongkum 2013:331
Bwe	la^{33}**lɛ**^{33}	wide	Luangthongkum 2013:331
Karen	**lɛ**^{31}	wide / broad (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0976.50
Kayah	**lɛ**^{11}	wide	Luangthongkum 2013:331
Kayan (Pekon)	**lāi**	wide (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**lɛ**^{11}	wide	Luangthongkum 2013:331
Kayaw	**lɛ**^{11}	wide	Luangthongkum 2013:331
Pa-O	**lai**	wide	Matisoff 1985a:163
	lâi	wide	Jones 1961:13
Pa-O (Northern)	**lai**^{53}	wide	Luangthongkum 2013:331
Pa-O (Southern)	**lai**^{55}	wide	Luangthongkum 2013:331
Pa-O	ʔə **lâi**	wide	Solnit 1989
Palaychi	**lɛ̀**	wide	Jones 1961:13
Pwo (Northern)	**lɛ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	wide	Luangthongkum 2013:331
Pwo (Southern)	**lɛ**^{33}	wide	Luangthongkum 2013:331
Pwo (Bassein)	**lái?**	wide	Jones 1961:13
Pwo (Moulmein)	**lɛ́**	wide	Jones 1961:13
Sgaw (Southern)	**lɛ**^{31}	wide	Luangthongkum 2013:331
Sgaw (Northern)	**lɛ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	wide	Luangthongkum 2013:331
Sgaw (Bassein)	**lɛ̀**	wide	Jones 1961:13
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**lɛ̀**	wide	Jones 1961:13

Chinese comparandum

哆 OC ***t̂'iɑ**, *GSR* #3k 'large'; Schuessler 2007:187 ***k-hlai?**; B & S 2011: ***t-l̥aj? { [t-l̥] Aj?}**; Mand. **chǐ**.
移 OC ***t̂'iɑ**, *GSR* #3q 'enlarge'; Schuessler 2007:187 ***k-hlai?**; B & S 2011: (***t-l̥aj?**); Mand. **chǐ**.
侈 OC ***t̂'iɑ**, *GSR* #3i 'great; extravagant, overbearing'; Schuessler 2007:187 ***k-hlai?**; B & S 2011: ***t-l̥aj?**; Mand. **chǐ**.
離 OC ***liɑ**, *GSR* #23f 'leave, depart from; divide, distribute'; Schuessler 2007:348 ***rai**; B & S 2011: ***raj { [r] aj}**; Mand. **lí**.
離 OC ***liɑ**, *GSR* #23f 'be separated from, differ from'; Schuessler 2007:348 ***raih**; B & S 2011: ***raj-s { [r] aj-s}**; Mand. **lì**.

(7) PKC *waan SKY / HEAVEN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***waan**	SKY / HEAVEN	VanBik 2009:1170

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**vān**	sky	VanBik 2009:1170
Thado	**vàan**	sky	VanBik 2009:1170
	ván	sky	Thirumalai 1972:54
Tiddim	**va:n**^{3}	sky	VanBik 2009:1170; Bhaskararao 1996:1946
	ˊvaŋ/ˆvan	sky / heaven (n.)	Henderson 1965
	ˋva:n	sky / heaven (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Mkaang	**fa:n** k^{h}ɔ	sky	So-Hartmann 1988:1

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**vǎan**	sky, heaven	VanBik 2009:1170
Lai (Falam)	**vàan**	sky, heaven	VanBik 2009:1170
Lushai [Mizo]	**vàan**	sky, heaven (n.)	VanBik 2009:1170
	vân	sky	Marrison 1967
	va:n	sky	Bhaskararao 1996:1946

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	ā **vā**	sky, the heavens (n.)	VanBik 2009:1170

(8) PTB *s-kar STAR

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-kar**	star	Weidert 1987:820; Matisoff 2003a:595; LaPolla 1987:16; Benedict 1972:49
	***s-kər**	star	Weidert 1987:820

1.1.1. TANI: ***kar** STAR

**Tani*	***kar**	star	Sun 1993a:399

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	ta-**ker**	star	Sun 1993b
	ta-**kɯr**	star	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**kɯr**-lum pum-bu:	pole star	Sun 1993b
	ta-**kar**	star	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ta-**kar** hu:-bu:	meteor	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **kar**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.24
	ta-**kar**	star	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **kar**	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.51
Galo	lub-to-po ta **kar:**	morning star	Das Gupta 1963
	polo **kar**-nam	moon (new) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	polo ɲi-bi (aya)-ta **kar:**	evening star	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **kar**	star (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **kar:**	star	Das Gupta 1963
	'kar caa	moonlight (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	ta **kar**	star	Simon 1976
Nishing	ta **karr**	star	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	ta **karr**	star	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**kar**	star	Sun 1993a
Damu	ta-**kar**	star	Sun 1993b
	ta-**kar** kan-tə	shooting star	Sun 1993b
Milang	ta-**kar**	star	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	tə **kar**	star	Benedict 1972:49

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ʔaar-θii ≍ *-sii** STAR

**Chin*	***ʔaar**-θii ≍ -sii	STAR	VanBik 2009:507
**Kuki (Western)*	***s-gar**	star	LaPolla 1987:16; Benedict 1972:49

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**aak-si**	star	VanBik 2009:507
Sizang	**āk sī**	star	VanBik 2009:507
Thado	**á?** sì	star	Thirumalai 1972:19
	ʔà? sîi	star	VanBik 2009:507
Tiddim	**-a:k `si:**	star (n.)	Henderson 1965
	a:k^{2} **si**^{1}	star	VanBik 2009:507; Bhaskararao 1996:33

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**à'** sí	star	VanBik 2009:507
Chinbon	**a:i** s^{h}i	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Cho (Mindat)	**ai-hli**	star	VanBik 2009:507
Daai	**a:i** s^{h}i	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Khami	**ka(r)-si ≍** a-si	star	Benedict 1972:49
Khumi	**k-á-sii**	star	VanBik 2009:507
	ka^{i} s^{h}i	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Matu	**a:**^{i} s^{h}i	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Mkaang	**a:**^{i} s^{h}i	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Ngmüüin	**a**^{i} **ʂ**^{h}**i̱**	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Nyhmoye	**a:** ʂ^{h}i	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5
Wakung	**a** s^{h}i	star	So-Hartmann 1988:5

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ʔâar-fíi**	star	VanBik 2009:507
Lai (Falam)	**ʔáar-sìi**	star	VanBik 2009:507
Lushai [Mizo]	**áar sì**	star (n.)	VanBik 2009:507
	ár-sì	star	Weidert 1987:20
	ar-śi	star	Benedict 1972:49
	ar-ʃi	star	LaPolla 1987:16
	ar si	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a:r-shi	star	Bhaskararao 1996:33

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**àw-sī**	star	VanBik 2009:507

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Sorbung	**ar-ʃi**	star	Brown 1837
	ʔə ʃii	star	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Nature.036; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:ToneMin.002

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	**sagan** thai	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
	səgan	star	Benedict 1972:49
Kwoireng	**tśəgan**	star	Benedict 1972:49
Liangmei	**ca-gān**	star	Weidert 1987:20
	chagan	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ka-gān	star	Weidert 1987:20
Maram	**sagai**	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Konyak (Tamlu)	**šan**-ha	star	Weidert 1987:20
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**shakan**	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
	šəgān	star	Matisoff 1974:49
	śəgan	star	Benedict 1972:49
	ʃă^{3}kan^{33}	star	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ʃă^{33}kan^{33}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.19
	ʃă^{33}kan^{33}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.47
	ʃəgan	star	LaPolla 1987:16
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**kar**	star	Benedict 1972:49
	roĕn **skar**	star (evening) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	saṅ **skar**	star (morning) (n.)	Bailey 1911
	skar(h)	star (n.)	Bailey 1911
	skar o	star (n.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**kər**	star	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**gar**	star	Hale 1973:01.074
Tsangla (Central)	**kar** ma	star	Andvik 1993:44
Tsangla (Motuo)	**kar** mi	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.7
	kar^{55}ma^{13}	star	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	kar mi	star(-moon)	LaPolla 1987:189
Tsangla (Tilang)	**kar**-ma	star	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**kɑr^{55}**mɑ^{55}	star	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**kʌr^{55}**mʌ^{53}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.6
Motuo Menba	**kar** mi	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.07
Cuona Menba	**kar^{55}**ma^{53}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rkar** mæ	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hkar** ma	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rkar** ma	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**skʌr** ma·	star	Rangan 1975:38
Tibetan (Jirel)	**kār** māq	star	Hale 1973:01.074
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ka^{55}**ma^{53}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ka:^{55}**ma^{55}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.02
	ka^{55}ma^{13}	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**kar** māq	star	Hale 1973:01.074
Tibetan (Spiti)	**kàr** ma	star	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**skar** ma	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.01
	skar ma	star	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:4.1; LaPolla 1987:16; Benedict 1972:49
	skar ma	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hkar** ma	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.04
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**săhor**	star	Benedict 1972:49
2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{B}**sar** STAR			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**sar**	star	Mazaudon 1994:942
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**sɤr**	star	Mazaudon 1994:942
	^{1}**sər**	star	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0162
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'sar**	star	Weidert 1987:820
Tamang (Sahu)	**'sā:r**	star	Hale 1973:01.074
	'sa:r	star	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.74
Tamang (Taglung)	**sar**	star	Mazaudon 1994:942
Thakali	**sar**	star	Hale 1973:01.074
Thakali (Syang)	^{54}**sar**	star	Mazaudon 1994:942
	^{55}**sʌr**	star	Mazaudon 1994:942
Thakali (Tukche)	**sɔr**	star	Hari 1971:1.74
	^{H}**sər**	star	Mazaudon 1994:942
2.3. KIRANTI			
Dungmali	**saŋgen** ma	star	Weidert 1987:820
Kharmile	**soŋger**	star	Weidert 1987:820
Rokhung	**saŋkɛm** ma	star	Weidert 1987:820
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Lohorong	**saŋkɛm** ma	star	Weidert 1987:820
Yamphe	**saŋgi**	star	Weidert 1987:820
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**saNghen**	star (n.)	Rai 1985
Kulung	**soŋger**	star	Weidert 1987:820
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**'sānggār**	star	Hale 1973:01.074
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**kār**	star	Hale 1973:01.074
	kar	star	Weidert 1987:20
	kar	star (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kar	star	Caughley 1972:1.74
	to.**kar**	Venus, the morning and evening star (NED) (nn.)	Caughley 2000
Magar	**tugā**	star	Hale 1973:01.074
3.2. QIANGIC			
Lyuzu	**kə^{ɪ35}**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.18
Queyu (Xinlong)	**skar^{55}**ma^{55}	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.13
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**'skar** ma	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**'skar** ma	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	**ska'r** ma	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	**ska'r** me	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**ska'** ma	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	**skar'** me	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	**skar'** me	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	**skar'** me	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	**skar'** me	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	**skar44** me55	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	**skar'** me	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
Caodeng	**skɐr**-tʃen	morning star	Sun 1997a
	skɐr me	star	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	**skɑr** mɑ	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	**ʂka'r** ma	star	Nagano & Prins 2013:1301

(9) PTB *swar STAR

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP			
Maring	**sor**-wa	star	Brown 1837
	sor wa	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Manang (Gyaru)	**swar**^{1}	star	Nagano 1984:263
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**sor** luŋ	magical stone, star (AS.)	Allen 1975
	sor pik che	star, ? Orion's belt	Allen 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	**sor** o:	star	Hale 1973:01.074

(10) PNN *dzi STAR

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***dzi**	star	French 1983:559
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Tangsa (Moshang)	ri **si**	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	lik **sei**	star (n.)	Marrison 1967

(11) PTk *ra STAR

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***ra**	star	Mortensen 2012:587
Kachai	si-**ra**	star	Mortensen 2012:Nature.035
Tangkhul	si **ra**	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tangkhul (Standard)	si-**rva**	star	Brown 1837
Ukhrul	si-**ra**	star	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012

(12) PTk *la STAR

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***la**	star	Mortensen 2012:657
Huishu	ʔa-**le**-vej-tsej	star	Mortensen 2012:Nature.035
Tankghul (Central)	sa-pa-ceŋ-**la**	star	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	sa-pa-ceŋ-**la**	star	Brown 1837
Tusom	si-pi-cɯə̃-**le**	star	Mortensen 2012:Nature.035

(13) PKar *cha^{B} STAR

This Karenic root has a certain resemblance to PTB ***s-kar*** STAR (§3.2.2), but it remains to be seen whether it should be considered an allofam of it.

7. KARENIC			
**Karen [Burling]*	***cha^{2}**	star	Luangthongkum 2013:278
**Karen*	***cha^{B}**	star	Luangthongkum 2013:278
	***chláq**	star	Jones 1961:40
**Karen (TP)*	***chláq**	star	Jones 1961:40
**Karen (Pwo)*	***šáq**	star	Jones 1961:40
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***sháq**	star	Jones 1961:40
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***shá?**	star	Jones 1961:40
Bwe	**ʃɛ^{33}**	star	Luangthongkum 2013:278
Karen	**tsha^{31}**	star (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.50
Kayah	**che^{11}**	star	Luangthongkum 2013:278
Kayan	**cha^{11}**	star	Luangthongkum 2013:278
Kayan (Pekon)	**s^{h}â**	star (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**cha^{11}**	star	Luangthongkum 2013:278
Pa-O	**chá**	star	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:40
Pa-O (Southern)	**cha^{33}**	star	Luangthongkum 2013:278
Pa-O (Northern)	**cha^{55}**	star	Luangthongkum 2013:278
Palaychi	**sháq**	star	Jones 1961:40
Pwo (Northern)	**sja^{33}**	star	Luangthongkum 2013:278
Pwo (Southern)	**ɕa^{55}**	star	Luangthongkum 2013:278
Pwo (Bassein)	**šà**	star	Jones 1961:40
Pwo (Moulmein)	**šá?**	star	Jones 1961:40
Sgaw (Northern)	**cha$^{31~}$**	star	Luangthongkum 2013:278
Sgaw (Southern)	**cha^{45,}**	star	Luangthongkum 2013:278
Sgaw (Bassein)	**shà**	star	Jones 1961:40
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**shá?**	star	Jones 1961:40

(14) PTB *s-ŋ^{w}(y)a-t STAR / MOON

For detailed discussion of this etymology, see Matisoff 1980 ("Stars, Moon, and Spirits").

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)				
**Sino-Tibetan*	***s-ŋwat**	star / moon	Matisoff 1985a:035	
	***s-ŋywat**	star (-moon)	LaPolla 1987:189	[a]
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)				
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ŋywat**	star (-moon)	LaPolla 1987:189	[b]
	***s-ŋ^{w}(y)a-t**	star / moon	Matisoff 2003a:606	
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP				
Angami Naga	**thèmvə**	star(-moon)	LaPolla 1987:189	
	thèmvə̌	star	Matisoff 1985a:035	
Angami (Khonoma)	**themü**	star (n.)	Marrison 1967	
Angami (Kohima)	**themvü**	star (n.)	Marrison 1967	
Chokri	**thümvü**	star (n.)	Marrison 1967	
Mao	o **vu**	star (n.)	Marrison 1967	
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC				
Tangkhul	**wo**	star	Bhat 1969:97	
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG				

[a] [Source Note] [G&C 35].
[b] [Source Note] [G&C 35].

Magar	**gya**(-hot)	moon	LaPolla 1987:145
	gya hot	moon	Weidert 1987:159
	gyo hot	moon	Hale 1973:01.073
	mi-**gyā**	spirit (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.54
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***mwat**ᴸ START / MOON			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***mwat**	star (-moon)	LaPolla 1987:189 [a]
	***mwat**ᴸ	star / moon	Matisoff 2003a:603
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	**mə̀ʔ**(-kə)	star(-moon)	LaPolla 1987:189
Lahu (Lancang)	**mɤ̀**^{21}kɤ^{33}	star (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0005.43
Lahu (Black)	**mə**^{21}kə^{33}	star	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:4.33
	mə̀ʔ(-kə)	star	Matisoff 1985a:035
	mə̀ʔ-kə	star	Matisoff 1985a:163; Matisoff 1974:49
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɣ̩**^{3}kɤ^{1}ɕi^{5}	star	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	月	moon, month	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3668
	月亮	moon	Nagano & Prins 2013:1298
Chinese (GSR #)	**0306a**	moon, month	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3668
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ngi̱wɑ̆t/ngi̱wɒt**	moon;month	Karlgren 1957:306a-f
	sŋywat	moon	LaPolla 1987:189
Chinese (Old)	**ngi̱wat**	moon	Matisoff 1985a:035
	ng^{w}jat	moon / month	Baxter 1992:970
	ŋ^{w}at {[ŋ]^{w}at}	moon, month	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3668
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**ngi̱wɒt**	moon	Matisoff 1985a:035
	ngjwot	moon, month	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3668
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**yuè**	moon, month	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3668
	yueh liahng	moon	Sun 1985b:605
	yueh shyr	eclipse of the moon	Sun 1985b:215
	yuè liàng	moon	Evans *et al.* 1991

[a] [Source Note] [G&C 35].

Chinese comparandum

月 OC ***ngi̱wɑ̆t**, *GSR* #306a-f; B & S 2011: ***ŋ^{w}at {[ŋ]^{w}at}**; Mand. **yuè**.

(15) PNN *li:t STAR / MOON

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Yacham-Tengsa	**lu** ting ting	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***li:t**	star / moon	French 1983:557
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	me **rik**	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	**ri** si	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**lik** sei	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**lìt**-ñú	moon	Weidert 1987:328
	lit nyu	moon	Marrison 1967
Khiamngan	^{21}a^{23}**lɐ̯ɪʔ**	moon	Weidert 1987:328
Konyak	**lin** nyu	moon	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**let** ñɯ	moon	Weidert 1987:328
Konyak (Wakching)	**le(t)**-	moon	Weidert 1987:328
	le-da	moonlight	Weidert 1987:328
	le-ñu	moon	Weidert 1987:328
Phom	**len**^{31}	month (cf. 'moon')	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	len^{31}ñɯ^{33}	moon ('month' + 'mother')	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lin nyü	moon	Marrison 1967
	lit^{33}hæ^{33}	star	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lit ha	star (n.)	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**le** nu	moon	Marrison 1967
	lit zu	star (n.)	Marrison 1967

(16) PKar *mɨ^{B} SUN

7. Karenic			
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***mỳ**	sun	Jones 1961:18
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***mỳ**	sun	Jones 1961:18
**Karen*	***mý'**	sun	Jones 1961:18
**Karen (Pwo)*	***mý'**	sun	Jones 1961:18
**Karen (TP)*	***mý'**	sun	Jones 1961:18
**Karen [Burling]*	***my**^{1}	sun	Luangthongkum 2013:285
**Karen*	***mɨ**^{B}	sun	Luangthongkum 2013:285
Bwe	**mu**^{33}	sun	Luangthongkum 2013:285
Karen	**mɯ**^{31}	sun (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.50
Kayah	**mɔ**^{11}	sun	Luangthongkum 2013:285
Kayan	**mɨ**^{11}	sun	Luangthongkum 2013:285
Kayaw	**mɨ**^{11}	sun	Luangthongkum 2013:285
Pa-O	**mü**	sun	Benedict 1972:147n402
	mŷ	sun	Jones 1961:18
	mî	sun	Solnit 1989
	mî nɤ̀ʔ	sun sets (2)	Solnit 1989
	mî pléʔ	sun sets	Solnit 1989
	mî thán	sun rises	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**mɨ**^{53}	sun	Luangthongkum 2013:285
Pa-O (Southern)	**mɨ**^{55}	sun	Luangthongkum 2013:285
Palaychi	**mü**	sun	Benedict 1972:147n402
	mỳ	sun	Jones 1961:18
Pwo (Northern)	**məɨ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	sun	Luangthongkum 2013:285
Pwo (Southern)	**mɨ**^{33}	sun	Luangthongkum 2013:285
Pwo (Bassein)	**mý?**	sun	Jones 1961:18
Pwo (Moulmein)	**mý**	sun	Jones 1961:18
Sgaw (Southern)	**mɨ**^{31}	sun	Luangthongkum 2013:285
Sgaw (Northern)	**mɨ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	sun	Luangthongkum 2013:285

(17) PTB *s-nəy SUN / DAY / DWELL

This extremely well-attested root shows considerable evidence for the ***s-** prefix (Qiangic, rGyalrongic, Sema, Kaike). The Qiangic forms with initial sibilants are deemed to show preemption by this prefix.

The Written Burmese doublet **ne** 'sun' (Tone *1) and **ne'** 'day' (Tone *3), indirectly reflects the absence or presence of the ***s-** prefix. See Thurgood (1981) "Notes on the Origin of Burmese Creaky Tone".

There is also scattered evidence for a velar prefix with this root (Khumi, Kom Rem).

The final ***-t** in the Chinese comparandum may be purely "extrusional" (see *HPTB*:464-465).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***nyiʔ**	sun / day	Coblin 1986:145
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***niy**	sun; day; sun, day	Chou Fa-kao 1972:404a-d; Weidert 1987:216; Benedict 1972:81
	***nəy**	day	LaPolla 1987:54
	***nəy**	sun / day	Chou Fa-kao 1972:404a-d; Matisoff 2003a:604
1.1.1. Tani: ***ñi** SUN			
**Tani*	***ñi**	sun	Sun 1993a:407
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	da-**ñi**	sun	Sun 1993a
	dà-**ñi**	sun	Sun 1993b
	da-**ñi**	sun	Sun 1993b
	dà-**ñi** a-go	west	Sun 1993b
	da-**ñi** a-ko	west	Sun 1993b
	dà-**ñi** a-nu	sunset	Sun 1993b
	dà-**ñi** bjò-nɯ	sunshine	Sun 1993b
	dà-**ñi** ča	sunrise	Sun 1993b
	da-**ñi** ca-du	sunrise	Sun 1993b
	dà-**ñi** čà-go	east	Sun 1993b
	da-**ñi** ha-du	sunset	Sun 1993b
	da-**ñi** ha-nɯ	sunset	Sun 1993b
	da-**ñi** lo ljā	morning (to 9am)	Sun 1993b
	dà-**ñi** lo-ljaŋ	mid-day (11am-1pm)	Sun 1993b
	da-**ñi** par-da	noon	Sun 1993b
	dà-**ñi** rí-la	sun ray	Sun 1993b
	da-**ñi** ri-laʔ	sunray	Sun 1993b
	da-**ñí** ta-tɯ a-nɯ-nɯ	solar eclipse	Sun 1993b
	da-**ñi**-ča-go	east	Sun 1993b
	da-**ñi**-mi ta-tɯʔ ar-nɯ bu	solar eclipse	Sun 1993b
	da-**ñi**-sə	god ('sun' + ?)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	do:-**ñi**	sun	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	do:-**ñi** ča:-kja:	east	Sun 1993b
	do:-**ñi** ča:-lin	rise (sun)	Sun 1993b
	do:-**ñi** hi	bask in the sunshine	Sun 1993b
	do:-**ñi** puk-lɯk	set (sun)	Sun 1993b
	do:-**ñi** puk-wa:-ku	west	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(doŋ-**ñi**) čaŋ-lam	east	Sun 1993b
	(doŋ-**ñi**) oŋ-lam	west	Sun 1993b
	doŋ **ɲi**	sun (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.24
	duŋ-**ñi**	sun	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	duŋ-**ñi** i	sun (vt.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	duŋ **ɲi**	sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.51
Galo	doo **ɲi**	sun (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo **ɲi**	sunny (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	doo **ɲi**-talə	heavens (n.)	GLDC 2009
	doo **ɲi**-'aa ko	west (n.)	GLDC 2009
	do **ɲi**	sun	Das Gupta 1963
	do **ɲi** a-nam	sunset (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	do **ɲi** le-li-le-lak	sun rays	Das Gupta 1963
	do **ɲi** ɲi-nam	shine (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	do **ɲi**-ca-nam	sunrise (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	do **ɲi**-polo	sun / moon god	Das Gupta 1963
	'caa to-doo **ɲi**	rising sun (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'pɨipok-doo **ɲi**	setting sun (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲi nam	sunny (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	du **ɲ**-poka	sunset	Simon 1976
	du **ɲ**-poka-ko-ke	west	Simon 1976
	du **ɲi**	sun	Simon 1976
	du **ɲi**-caleŋ-ko-ke	east	Simon 1976
	du **ɲi**-ca len	sunrise	Simon 1976
Nishing	do **ni** ca-nam	sunrise	Das Gupta 1969
	do **ni** ca ling-ku	east	Das Gupta 1969
	do **ni**~donyi	sun	Das Gupta 1969
	do **nyi** ao	sky	Das Gupta 1969
	do **nyi** ha-ku	south	Das Gupta 1969
	do **nyi** tabé	noon	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	do **ni**	sun	Das Gupta 1983
	do **nyi**	sun	Das Gupta 1983
	do **nyi** tabɤ	afternoon	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	do-**ñi**	sun	Sun 1993a
Damu	do:-**ɲi**	sun	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Yidu	i^{55}**ɲi**^{55}	sun (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.25
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***nii** DAY / SUN			
**Chin*	***nii**	DAY / SUN	VanBik 2009:809
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**nī**	sun	VanBik 2009:809
Thado	**níi**	day	VanBik 2009:809
Tiddim	**ni**^{2}	day	VanBik 2009:809; Bhaskararao 1996:1212
	¯nĭ-sim	every day (n + q.)	Henderson 1965
	¯ni:	sun / day (n.)	Henderson 1965
	¯nĭ_louʔ	all day long (n(+?).)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**kníi**	day, sky, sun	VanBik 2009:809
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**nîi**	day, sun	VanBik 2009:809
Lai (Falam)	**nĭi**	day, sun	VanBik 2009:809
Lushai [Mizo]	**ní**	sun	Weidert 1987:216
	ni	day; sun	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ní	sun, a day (n.)	VanBik 2009:809
	ni	sun; day; sun, day	Bhaskararao 1996:1212; Benedict 1972:81
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**nò**	sun, the day (n.)	VanBik 2009:809
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	kʌ-**ní**	sun	Weidert 1987:216
Sorbung	a-**ni**	sun	Brown 1837
	ʔə **níi**	sun	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Nature.009
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***nəj** SUN / DAY			
**Central Naga*	***nəj**	SUN / DAY	Bruhn 2014a:III.103
**Ao*	***nəj**	SUN / DAY	Bruhn 2014a:II.253
Ao (Chungli)	a^{1}-**nə**^{2}	sun (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.253
	a **nü**	sun	Marrison 1967
	a **nü** dok len	east	Marrison 1967
	a **nu** dok len-tip	south	Marrison 1967
	a **nü** tetsü	clock (n.)	Marrison 1967
	kə^{2}**nə**^{2} (a^{1}-nu^{2}ku^{2})	one day (adv.)	Bruhn 2014b
	nü	day	Marrison 1967
	ta^{2}**nə**^{2}	today (adv.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.253
	ta **nü**	today	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ni** bayen	morning	Marrison 1967
	ni bayen	dawn (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tha **ni**	today	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mə **ni**	four days hence (?four + day)	Coupe 2007:122

	níʔ	one day	Coupe 2007
	ni pa	cock crow; dawn	Coupe 2007:122
	ni pa ìn	early morning (2am-4am) (morning path)	Coupe 2007:123
	ni pa tàŋì	mid morning (4am-9am) (morning side)	Coupe 2007:123
	ni thuŋ	day; day time (9am-1pm) (day + ?reach)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007:123
	tha **ni**	today (now + day)	Coupe 2007:122
	tha **ni** asaŋ **níʔ**	nowadays (now + day NRL-be.light day)	Coupe 2007:122
	tʃu-**ni**-phi-<tʃu>nə	from that day onwards (DIST + 'day' + <DIST> ABL)	Coupe 2007
	zam **ni**	three days hence (?three + day)	Coupe 2007:122
	zàkhà **ni**	two days ago (? + day)	Coupe 2007:122
	zákhə **ni**	three or more days ago (? + day)	Coupe 2007:122
	za **ni**	two days hence (? + day)	Coupe 2007:122
Sangtam	anyang **nyü**	morning	Marrison 1967
	anyümung-**nyü** thong	noon	Marrison 1967
	nyü	sun	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
	nyü chüro	east	Marrison 1967
	nyü chürolapi	south	Marrison 1967
	nyü khi	cloud	Marrison 1967
	nyü khi	mist (n.)	Marrison 1967
	nyü mung	day	Marrison 1967
	nyü pong	wind (n.)	Marrison 1967
	nyü pong khi	window	Marrison 1967
	nyü ze	evening	Marrison 1967
	nyü zütu	west	Marrison 1967
	nyü zütulapi	north	Marrison 1967
	tsing ghi **nyü** pong	storm (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**ñɯ**	sun	Weidert 1987:216
Yimchungrü	a **ni**	sun	Kumar 1973b:95; Marrison 1967
	a **ni**-akhiuk	east	Marrison 1967
	a **ni**-üza	west	Marrison 1967
	a **ni** akhiuk-limpeang	south	Marrison 1967
	khi **ni**	today	Marrison 1967
	ni mung	day	Kumar 1973b:60; Marrison 1967
	^{2}a ^{2}**ñi** [^{2}]	sun	Weidert 1987:216

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	^{3}**nie**^{2}pu	flower	Weidert 1987:247
	^{3}**nie**^{5}ki	sun	Weidert 1987:216
Khezha	^{1}the^{3}**ni**	sun	Weidert 1987:216
Meluri	a re **ni**	sun	Marrison 1967
	a re **ni**-shutetu	dawn (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mo **nü** le	evening	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	agha **nyi**	sun	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	khetsu **nhe**	sun	Achumi 1998b:2.2
	kütsü **nhe**	sun	Achumi 1998b:2.2
	tsüki **nhye**	sun	Marrison 1967
	tsükü **nhe**	sun	Achumi 1998b:2.2

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	**ni**	day	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**nai** mik	sun	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**nai**	sun	Matisoff 1994e
	neih	sun	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**nai** mik	sun	Marrison 1967
	^{4}tiŋ^{1}**nai**^{1}miak	sun	Weidert 1987:216

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ar **nì**	sun	Weidert 1987:216
	ar **ni**	sun	Marrison 1967
	ni hang	east	Marrison 1967
	ni rep	south	Marrison 1967
	ni thi	west	Marrison 1967
	ni vang	east	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	**-ni**	day	LaPolla 1987:54
	di-**ni**	today	Benedict 1972:81

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak	**nyi**	day	Marrison 1967
	nyi nüng	day	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	ma^{33}**ni**^{55}	day before yesterday	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mă^{55}**ni**^{55}tin^{31}	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.19
	mă^{55}**ni**^{55}tin^{31}	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:91.47
	ni	day	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:54; Benedict 1972:81
	ni^{55}	day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.19
	phot^{55}**ni**^{55}tin^{31}	day after tomorrow	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:93.47
	phot^{55}tin^{31}**ni**^{55}	day after tomorrow (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0743.19
	sha **ni**	day	Marrison 1967
	^{1}šə^{3}**ni**	day	Weidert 1987:320
	ʃă^{31}**ni**^{55}	day (time) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.19
	ʃă^{31}**ni**^{55}	day(time)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:102.47
	ʃă^{31}**ni**^{55} kă^{31}a^{33}	noon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0750.19
	ʃă^{31}**ni**^{55} ʃă^{31}naŋ^{33}	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.19
	ʃă^{31}**ni**^{55}ka^{31}aŋ^{33}	noon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:104.47
	ʃă^{31}**ni**^{55}ʃat^{31}	lunch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:394.47
	ʃă^{1}**ni**^{55}	daytime	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ʃă^{1}**ni**^{55}ka^{31}aŋ^{33}	noon	LIU Lu, ed. 1984

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**nhi** mā	sun	Hale 1973:01.072

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ɲə** ma	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɲə** ma	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.5
	ɲə ndzən	eclipse of the sun	Sun 1985a:216
Tibetan (Balti)	**ñi** ma·	sun	Rangan 1975:75
Tibetan (Batang)	(**ɲi**^{13}mɑ^{55}) tsha^{53}	come out (the sun)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.03
	nɪ^{13}mɑ^{55}	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**nyi** ma	sun	Hale 1973:01.072
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ɲi**^{13}ma^{53}	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ɲi**^{13}ma^{13}	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.2
	ɲi^{13}mə^{55}	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**ngyi** ma	sun	Hale 1973:01.072
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ni** ma	sun	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**nhi**.dzin	eclipse of the sun	Sun 1985c:216
	ñi ma	sun	Marrison 1967
	nyi-ma	sun; sun, day	Weidert 1987:216; Benedict 1972:81
	nyi-ʔod	sunlight	Benedict 1972:221
	ɲi ma	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.01
	ɲi ma	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ɲə** ma	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.04

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Gyaru)	di^{1} **ni**^{2}	sun	Nagano 1984:261
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}t^{h}i **ŋi**	sun	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0159
Tamang (Sahu)	'tih **nyi**	sun	Hale 1973:01.072; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.72
Thakali	tih **ngi**	sun	Hale 1973:01.072
Thakali (Tukche)	tih **ŋi**	sun	Hari 1971:1.72

2.2. NEWAR

Newar (Dolakhali)	**ni** bar	sun / day	Genetti 1990b
Newar	**ni** bār	sun / sunlight / ray (of sunshine)	Genetti 1990d

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**ni** na:m bɨ	sun, the sun-god	Driem 1993

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Kham	**'ni** mi	sun	Hale 1973:01.072

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**njɨ**	sun, day	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2440

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	nɛ^{55}tshŋ^{55}wu^{55}**ɲo**^{33}	day, twentieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:100.18
	si^{33}wu^{55}**ɲo**^{33}	day, third of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:95.18
	sɑ^{55}tshŋ^{55}wu^{55}**ɲo**^{33}	day, thirtieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:101.18
	tshɛ^{33}tsŋ^{33}wu^{55}**ɲo**^{33}	day, eleventh of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:97.18
	tshɛ^{33}tʂhu^{55}wu^{55}**ɲo**^{33}	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.18
	tshɛ^{33}ŋuɛ^{ɪ33}wu^{55}**ɲo**^{33}	day, fifteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:98.18
	tɛ^{33}wu^{55}**ɲo**^{33}	day, first of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:94.18
	ŋuɛ^{ɪ33}wu^{55}**ɲo**^{33}	day, fifth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:96.18
	ʃo^{55}**ɲo**^{55}**ɲo**^{55}	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:91.18
	ɲo^{55}	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.18
	ɲo^{55}ma^{55}	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.18
Guiqiong	(te^{31}) **ɲĩ**^{55}	day's (journey); day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.16
	te^{31}**ɲĩ**^{55}te^{31}tshɛ^{55}	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.16
	ɲi^{55}	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.17
Lyuzu	(te^{53}) **ɲu**^{53} ɦɯ^{ɪ33}phæ^{53}	day's (journey) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.18
	(te^{53}) **ɲy**^{53}	day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.18
	te^{33}**ɲy**^{53}mæ^{33}thæ^{31}	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.18
	ɲi^{33}me^{53}	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.18
	ɲi^{33}mi^{53}	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.18
Muya	(tɐ^{33}) **si**^{53}	day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.15
	(tɐ^{53}) **si**^{53}rɐ^{53}ŋu^{33}	day's (journey) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.15
	si^{24}	day (time) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.15
	tɐ^{33} **si**^{53} tɕhə^{55} mu^{33}	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.15
Muya [Minyak]	**si**^{35}	day(time)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:102.15
	si^{55}	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.15
Namuyi	tɛ^{33}**ɲi**^{55}	today	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:89.19
	ɲi^{33}	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.19
	ɲi^{33}gu^{35}	day(time)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:102.19
	ɲi^{55}mi^{55}	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.19
	(**ɲi**^{55}mi^{55}) tshŋ^{53}ɣæ^{35}	sunbathe (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1605.46
	(**ɲi**^{55}mi^{55}) tʂ^{55}	come out (the sun)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.46
	duo^{53}tɕi^{33}**ɲi**^{31}	day (first of lunar month) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0769.46
	duo^{53}ɲi^{55}**ɲi**^{31}	day (second of lunar month) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0770.46
	tɕi^{31}**ɲi**^{31}fu^{31}dʐu^{31}	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.46
	ɲi^{31}	day's (journey); day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.46
	ɲi^{55}mi^{55}	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.46
	ɲi^{55}mi^{55}ɲi^{33}gu^{55}	day (time) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	(ta^{11}) **ɲĩ**^{55}	day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.10
	(tə^{11}) **ɲĩ**^{11} (ʐuə^{35})	day's (journey) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.10
Pumi (Lanping)	(tə^{13}) **ɲi**^{13}	day's (journey) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.09
	ɲi^{13}	day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.09
	ɲi^{55}	day (time); date (time) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.09; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0768.09
	tə^{13}**ɲi**^{13}**ɲi**^{13}	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.09
	tə^{55}gi^{55} ni^{13}**ɲi**^{55}	day (second of lunar month) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0770.09
	tə^{55}gi^{55} ti^{13}**ɲi**^{55}	day (first of lunar month) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0769.09
	ʂə^{55}**ɲi**^{55}	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	nə^{13}Go^{55}**ɲi**^{55}	day, twentieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:100.11
	ɲi^{55}	day(time); day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:102.11; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.11
	qa^{55}tʂhu^{55}**ɲi**^{55}	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.11
	qa^{55}ɣuɑ̃^{55}**ɲi**^{55}	day, fifteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:98.11

	qo^{55}stī^{55}**ŋ̊i^{55}**	day, eleventh of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:97.11
	sy^{13}sqa^{13}**ŋ̊i^{55}**	day, thirtieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:101.11
	tə^{55}gi^{55}sɑ̃u^{13}**ŋ̊i^{55}**	day, third of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:95.11
	tə^{55}gi^{55}ti^{13}**ŋ̊i^{55}**	day, first of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:94.11
	tə^{55}gi^{55}ɣuɑ̃^{55}**ŋ̊i^{55}**	day, fifth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:96.11
	ʂə^{55}**ŋ̊i^{55}**	day before yesterday	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:91.11
Pumi (Taoba)	kho^{35}sẽ^{35}**ŋ̊ə^{55}**	day after tomorrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:93.10
	ŋ̊ə^{55}	day(time); day (24 hours)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:102.10; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:88.10
	ʂə^{55}**ŋə^{55}**	day before yesterday	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:91.10
Qiang (Longxi)	à **ɕì** mí	every day	Evans 1999:1355
	á **ɕí** má qè	every day	Evans 1999:1355
	ɕì	day (of traveling)	Evans 1999:1277
	ɕì	day (CL.)	Evans 1999:1337
Qiang (Mawo)	(ɑ) **s**	day's (journey); day's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.08; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.08
	dʐə **si**	day before yesterday	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:91.8
	dʐə **s**	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.08
	si	day (24 hours)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:88.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	à **sè** mó qà	every day	Evans 1999:1355
	à **sè** n̥á à ʐà	day and night (CL.)	Evans 1999:1339
	dʐé **sè**	day before yesterday	Evans 1999:1087
	sè	day (of traveling)	Evans 1999:1277
	sè	day (CL.)	Evans 1999:1337
Qiang (Taoping)	dʐɻ^{31}si^{33}**sie^{33}**	day before yesterday	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:91.9
	sie^{33}	day (24 hours)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:88.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	(tɯ^{55}) **ɕi^{33}**	day's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.13
	(tɯ^{55}) **ɕi^{55}**	day's (journey) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**si^{55}**	day (24 hours)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:88.16
	si^{55}kõ^{55}	day(time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:102.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**si^{55}**ʃi^{33}	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.13
Xumi	**ɲ̊e^{53}**mi^{33}	sun (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.17
	ɲ̊i^{55}læ^{33}ʁu^{33}	day (time) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.17
	ɲ̊i^{55}ɬɛ^{33}ʁũ^{35}	day(time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:102.20
	ɲ̊ɛ^{55}mi^{53}	sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	(tɛ^{55}) **ɲ̊ʌ^{55}**	day's (journey) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.14
	(tɛ^{55}) **ŋ̊ʌ^{55}**	day's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.14
	jɪ^{33}nə^{55}**ɲ̊ʌ^{33}**	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.14
	ɲ̊ʌ^{55}mi^{55}	sun (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.14
	ŋ̊ʌ^{33}ŋ̊ʌ^{55}	every day (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.14
	ŋ̊ʌ^{13}	day (time) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.14
	ʂɲ̊ʌ^{13}	day (time) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	(a) **sɲ̊i**	day's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.12
	(a) **sɲ̊i** ji tɕɛ	day's (journey) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.12
	be **sɲ̊i sɲ̊i**	every day (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.12
	ndzə̨ **sɲ̊i**	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.12
Ergong (Danba)	**nɛ** lɛ	day(time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:102.14
	sni	day (24 hours)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:88.14
Daofu	**sɲ̊ɛ** lɛ	day (time) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.12
Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	’e **snə**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	**snə̂**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	**xnə?**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	**ɲí** mâ	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	’a **sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	’ta **ŋi**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	’te **sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	’te **ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	’te **ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	’te **ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	’tə **sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	’ə **snə**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Queyu Gala)	**’ɲɪ** mə	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	a **’sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	a **’sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	a **’sɲ̊ə**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	a ˈ**sniʔ**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**jnə́**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
Caodeng	jo-**sŋi** kə-**sŋi**	all day long	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	jə **’niʔ**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
Caodeng	jɐ-**sŋiʔ** kə-**sŋi**	all day long (that day)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə22 **sni44** ke33	some day	Nagano & Prins 2013:2067
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **sni44** kɛ24	some day	Nagano & Prins 2013:2067
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə33 **sni33**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
Caodeng	kə-**sŋi**	day (cl)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	kə-ʂɲ̊i wu **ʂɲ̊i**	some day	Nagano & Prins 2013:2067
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	kə44**ɲ̊i44**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	kə^{3}**ni^{5}**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	kə^{3}**nə^{3}**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	kə^{3}**nə^{5}**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kə^{3}**nə^{5}**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	kə^{1}**ni?^{1}**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	kə **’ni**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kə **’ni**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kə **’ni**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	kə **’ni**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	kə **’ni**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	kə **’ni**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	kə **’ni**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	kə **’ni**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	kə **’ni**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	kə **’niʔ**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	kə **’niʔ**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	kə **’niʔ**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kə **’nɑʔ**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	kə **’ŋi**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	kə **’ŋi**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	kə **nən**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	kə nə **’ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	kʊ **ni**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
Caodeng	k^{h}e-**sŋi**	each day; every day	Sun 1997a; Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	mə ʃɛ tʂi **sni**	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.11
	sni	date (time) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0768.11
	sni	day's (journey); day's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.11; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.11
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	**sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	**sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**sni**	day (24 hours)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:88.12
	sni ŋgla	day(time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:102.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**sni** ŋgla	day (time) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	**sni44**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	**sniʔ** kə’laʔ	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**snə̂**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	so ndi **sni**	day after tomorrow (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0743.11
	stoŋ **sni**	every day (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.11
Caodeng	**sŋi**-mer	day and night	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	**sŋi33**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	**sŋə**^{i}	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	sə22 ndi44 **sni22**	the day after tomorrow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1834
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	**sɲ̊i42** / kə22 **sɲ̊i44** (one day)	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**sɲ̊ə**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	ta-**nŋi**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
	ta-**ʂɲ̊i**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	taj5’**ʃnə53**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	taj **’ʃnɑ**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	ta^{3}**ŋi^{3}**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	ta^{3}**ʃni^{5}**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	ta^{3}**ʃni^{5}**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	ta^{3}**ʃni^{5}**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	ta^{3}**ʃnə^{3}**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	ta^{3}**ʃnə^{3}**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	ta^{1}**ŋi^{1}**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	ta **’nŋi**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	ta **’ŋaj**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	ta **’ŋaj**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	ta **’ŋaj**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	ta **’ŋe**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296

[a] [Source Note] cf. ‘clear’.

rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ta **'ŋej**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	ta **'ŋeʔ**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	ta **'ŋi**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	ta **'ŋi**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	ta **'ŋi**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	ta **'ŋi**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	ta **'ŋi**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	ta **'ŋi**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	ta **'ʃnə**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	ta **'ʈni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	ta **'ʂnə**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	te^{3}**ʃnə**^{3}	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	te^{3}**ʃnə**^{3}	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	te **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	te **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	te **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	te **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	te **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	te **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	te **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	te **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	te **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	to **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	tə55 **ŋɐ33**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	tə **sɳi**	some day; day	Nagano & Prins 2013:2067; Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	tə22**ʂɳi22**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	tə **'sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	tə **'sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	tə **'sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	tə **'sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	tə **'sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	tə **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	tə **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	tə **'ʃnə**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	tə **'ʃnə**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	tə **'ʃnə**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tɯ **sŋi**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
Caodeng	tɛ́-**ŋɐ**	sun	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tʏ **ŋe**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	æ **sni**	some day	Nagano & Prins 2013:2067
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	ə **'ʃnə**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**ɣnə**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	**ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	**ʃnə**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
Caodeng	ʃoʔr kə-**sŋi**	all day long	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	**ʃə**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	ʔa **'sne**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	ʔa **'sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	ʔə **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	ʔə **'ʃni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊkə **nə**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˋkə **nəʔ**	sun	Nagano & Prins 2013:1296
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	ʔa **'sni**	day	Nagano & Prins 2013:1838
rGBenzhen	**-sŋiʔ**	clf (day)	Sun 1997b
	k^{h}ə-ndi-**sŋiʔ**	second day after tomorrow	Sun 1997b
	mə-ʃi-tʂi-**sŋi** wə-ki-**sŋi**	second day before yesterday	Sun 1997b
	mə-ʃi-tʂi-**sŋiʔ**	day before yesterday	Sun 1997b
	stoŋ-**sŋiʔ**	every day	Sun 1997b
	sŋiʔ	day (24 hrs)	Sun 1997b
	sɐ-ndi-**sŋiʔ**	day after tomorrow	Sun 1997b
	to-**sŋiʔ**	every day	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	(thiʔ) **ni^{33}** thərɑ^{31}	CL a day's (journey) (CL.)	LaPolla 2003:922
	phaŋ^{33} **ni^{33}**	day after tomorrow	LaPolla 2003:801
Anong	sɔm^{31}tshɑ^{55}**ɲi^{31}**	day, thirtieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:101.44
	sɻ^{21}lɑ^{55}sɔm^{31}**ɲi^{55}**	day, third of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:95.44
	sɻ^{31}lɑ^{55}phɔŋ^{31}**ɲi^{55}**	day, fifth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:96.44
Nung	sɻ^{31}lɑ^{55}thi^{55}**ɲi^{31}**	day (first of lunar month) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0769.21
Anong	sɻ^{31}lɑ^{55}thi^{55}**ɲi^{31}**	day, first of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:94.44
Nung	sɻ^{31}lɑ^{55}ɑ^{31}**ɲ^{55}**	day (second of lunar month) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0770.21
Anong	thi^{31}tshɑ^{53}kuŋ^{55}**ɲi^{31}**	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.44
	thi^{31}tshɑ^{53}phɔŋ^{31}**ɲi^{55}**	day, fifteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:98.44
	thi^{31}tshɑ^{53}thi^{31}**ɲi^{55}**	day, eleventh of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:97.44
Nung	tʂhɻ^{55}**ɲi^{31}**	yesterday (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0739.21
Anong	tʂhɻ^{55}**ɲi^{31}**	yesterday	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:90.44
Nung	uɑ^{55}ʂu^{31}**ɲi^{55}**	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.21
Anong	uɑ^{55}ʂu^{31}**ɲi^{55}**	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:91.44
Rawang	əzaŋ^{31} **ni^{33}**	day before yesterday	LaPolla 2003:797
Nung	**ɲi^{31}**	day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.21
Anong	**ɲi^{31}**	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.44
	ɑ^{31}me^{35}**ɲi^{31}**	day after tomorrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:93.44
Nung	ɑ^{31}mɛ^{35}**ɲi^{31}**	day after tomorrow (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0743.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}ɲ^{55}tshɑ^{55}**ɲi^{31}**	day, twentieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:100.44
Trung [Dulong]	lɯ^{31}sɑ̆$^{\cdot 55}$pɯ^{31}ŋɑ^{53}**ni^{53}**	day, fifth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:96.46
	lɯ^{31}sɑ̆$^{\cdot 55}$ti^{55}**ni^{55}**	day, first of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:94.46
	lɯ^{31}sɑ̆$^{\cdot 55}$ɑ^{31}sŭɯ^{53}**ni^{53}**	day, third of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:95.46
Dulong	mɯn^{55}**ni^{55}**	day after tomorrow (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0743.20
Trung [Dulong]	mɑ̆n^{55}**ni^{55}**	day after tomorrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:93.46
Dulong	**ni^{55}**	day's (journey); day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ni^{55}**	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ni^{55}**	day	LaPolla 1987:54
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ńi^{55}**	day	LaPolla 1987:54
	ɲi^{55}	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *ʔnəy$^{1/3}$ SUN / DAY			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔnəy$^{1/3}$**	sun / day	Matisoff 1988a:758
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**ni^{31}**mɔ^{31}	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.28
	ni^{31}mɔ^{31}; pui^{55}	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.41
	ni^{31}mɔ^{31}ɔŋ^{55}pa^{31}	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.28
	ni^{31}mɔ^{31}ɔŋ^{55}pa^{31}	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**n^{31}**mɔ^{31}	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.29
	n^{55}mɔ^{51}oŋ^{55}pa^{31}	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.29
	n^{55}mɔ^{51}thoʔ^{55}pa^{31}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.29
Bola	**ŋji^{55}** jɛʔ^{55}	life	DAI Qingxia 1989g:976
Burmese (Modern)	**ne^{3}**	day; sun	Luce 1985:S.13
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ne^{22}**	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.27
	ne^{22}tθɑ^{22}	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ne^{22}**	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.40
	ne^{22}tθɑ^{22}	sunny	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:835.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**ne^{3}** (sun)	day; sun	Luce 1985:S.13
Burmese (Written)	mwe^{3}**ne^{1}**	birthday (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0682.26
	ne	sun; day	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:404a-d; Weidert 1987:216
	né	day	Weidert 1987:320
	ne	sun	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a
	né	day	LaPolla 1987:54
	ne	sun	Benedict 1972:158n428
	né	day	Benedict 1972:158n428
	ne'	day	Hansson 1989:422
	ne-at	sunlight	Benedict 1972:221
	ne.	day	Marrison 1967
	ne^{2}	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.26
	ne^{2}	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.39
	ne^{2}thɑ^{2}	sunny	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:835.39
	ne^{2}tθɑɑ^{2}	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.26
	ne'	day (from sunrise to sunset)	Benedict 1976a
	niy	day; sun	Luce 1985:S.13
Danu	**ne^{4}**	day; sun	Luce 1985:S.13
Taung-Yo	**ne^{4}**	day; sun	Luce 1985:S.13
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋji^{55}**	day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.30
	ŋji^{55}	date (time) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0768.30
	ŋji^{55}	day's (journey) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.30
	ŋji^{55}	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.42
	ŋji^{55} vui^{51}	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.30
	ŋji^{55}khjui^{55}	day (time) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.30
	ŋji^{55}khjui^{55}	day(time)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:102.42
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***(ʔ)-ne^{1}**	sun	Weidert 1987:216; Bradley 1979b:317-2
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**m^{31}**ma^{24}	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.47
	m̥^{31}tsha^{33}	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.47
	m̥^{31}ts^{h}a^{33}mɛ^{33}	sun, day	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**ʔni^{55}**	day	CHEN Kang 1986a:121.
Lipho	**ɲi^{33}**	day	CHEN Kang 1986a:121.
Nasu	**ɲi^{21}**	day	CHEN Kang 1986a:121.
Neisu	**ɲi^{21}**	day	CHEN Kang 1986a:121.
Nesu	**ɲi^{21}**	day	CHEN Kang 1986a:121.
Nosu	**ɲi^{33}**	day	CHEN Kang 1986a:121.
Nusu (Central)	kha^{55}**ni^{31}**	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.34

Nusu (Northern)	kɯ^{55}**ni^{31}**	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	m̩^{55}tshe^{31}**n̩i^{31}**	day, twentieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:100.45
Nusu (Southern)	**ni^{31}**	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ni^{31}**	day's (journey) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ni^{31}**ɑ̃^{35}	sun	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ni^{35}**	sun	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ni^{55}**	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	sa^{53}phɔ^{53}**ni^{31}**	day after tomorrow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	shɔ^{31}phɑ^{55}**ni^{31}**	day after tomorrow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	su^{55}phạ^{53}**n̩i^{31}**	day after tomorrow (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0743.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	sɔ^{35}tshe^{35}**n̩i^{31}**	day, thirtieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:101.45
	sɑ̃^{55}phạ^{55}**n̩i^{31}**	day after tomorrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:93.45
Nusu (Southern)	sɑ^{55}tshe^{55}**ni^{31}**	thirtieth day of the month	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	thi^{53}tshe^{31}khɹu^{53}**n̩i^{31}**	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.45
	tshe^{31}thi^{53}**n̩i^{31}**	day, eleventh of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:97.45
	tshe^{31}ŋɑ^{55}**n̩i^{31}**	day, fifteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:98.45
Nusu (Central)	xɹe^{31}**n̩i^{31}**	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.34
Nusu (Southern)	xɹi^{31}**ni^{35}**	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	xɹə^{31}**n̩i^{35}**	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:91.45
Nusu (Central)	**n̩i^{33}**	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.34
	n̩i^{33}tshəˑ^{55}u^{55}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.34
	n̩i^{33}xɹɔ̃^{53}doŋ^{55}ua^{31}	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.34
	n̩i^{31}	day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**n̩i^{31}**	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.45
Nusu (Central)	**n̩i^{31}**a^{33}	day (time) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.34
Nusu (Southern)	**n̩i^{31}**tho^{55}u^{55}	east	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**n̩i^{31}**tsɑˈ^{35}u^{55}	east	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.45
	n̩i^{31}xuɔˈ^{53}dɔ̃^{55}bɑ^{31}	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.45
Nusu (Southern)	**n̩i^{31}**xuạ^{53}u^{55}	west	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**n̩i^{31}**ɑ^{31}	day(time)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:102.45
	n̩i^{35}ɑ^{55}	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.45
Nusu (Northern)	ɬa^{31}tshɛ^{55}shɔ^{55}**ni^{31}**	third day of the month	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	m̩(u)^{33}**n̩i^{21}**	day(time)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:102.22
	n̩(i)^{21}dʑy^{33}	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.22
	sɻ^{33}**n̩i^{21}**	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:91.22
	tshɯ^{33}**n̩i^{21}**	day after tomorrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:93.22
	n̩i^{21}	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.22
Yi (Liangshan)	mu^{33}**n̩i^{21}**	day; daylight	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	n̩i^{21}	day [classifier]	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsha^{33}pho^{55}**n̩i^{21}**	day after tomorrow	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsha^{33}ɬɯ^{34}**n̩i^{21}**	day, several days from now	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsha^{34}tɕhɛ^{33}**n̩i^{21}**	day, three days from now	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	mu^{21}**ni^{33}**	day(time)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:102.25
	ni^{21}tsi^{33}**ni^{33}**	day, twentieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:100.25
	ni^{33}	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.25
	phe̱^{21}**ni^{33}**	day after tomorrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:93.25
	si^{33}tshi^{33}**ni^{33}**	day, thirtieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:101.25
	tshi^{33}ti^{55}**ni^{33}**	day, eleventh of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:97.25
	tshi^{33}tʂhu̱^{21}**ni^{33}**	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.25
	tshi^{33}ŋo^{21}**ni^{33}**	day, fifteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:98.25
	ʌ^{21}ɕi^{55}thi^{21}**ni^{33}**	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:91.25
Yi (Mojiang)	mu^{33}**ni^{21}**	day(time)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:102.26
	ni^{21}(sɒ^{33}~)	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.26
	ni^{21}tsɯ^{55}**ni^{21}**	day, twentieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:100.26
	phe̱^{21}**ni^{21}**	day after tomorrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:93.26
	si^{33}**ni^{21}**	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:91.26
	sɒ^{33}tshɯ^{21}**ni^{21}**	day, thirtieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:101.26
	tshɯ^{21}ti^{33}**ni^{21}**	day, eleventh of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:97.26
	tshɯ^{21}tshu̱^{21}**ni^{21}**	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.26
	tshɯ^{21}ŋo^{33}**ni^{21}**	day, fifteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:98.26
Yi (Nanhua)	bə^{33} thi^{21} **ni^{33}**	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.37
	de̱^{33}**n̩i^{55}**	day (second of lunar month) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0770.37
	ni^{21}tsi^{33}**n̩i^{33}**	day, twentieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:100.24
	se̱^{55}phe̱^{55}**n̩i^{33}**	day after tomorrow (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0743.37
	so^{33}tshi^{33}**n̩i^{33}**	day, thirtieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:101.24
	tshe^{55}phɛ^{21}**n̩i^{33}**	day after tomorrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:93.24
	tshi^{33}ti^{55}**n̩i^{33}**	day, eleventh of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:97.24
	tshi^{33}tɕhu̱^{55}**n̩i^{33}**	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.24
	tshi^{33}ŋo^{21}**n̩i^{33}**	day, fifteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:98.24
	n̩i^{33}	day's (journey); day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.37; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.37
	n̩i^{33}	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.24
	ʂi^{33}**n̩i^{33}**	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:91.24
	ʂɻ^{33}**n̩i^{33}**	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.37
Yi (Weishan)	**n̩^{33}**	day's (journey) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.36
	tshɑ^{55}phi^{33}**n̩^{33}**	day after tomorrow (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0743.36
	ʂɻ^{33}**n̩^{33}**	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.36
Yi (Wuding)	mv̩^{33}**n̩i^{11}**	day (time) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.38
	phɑ̱^{55}**n̩i^{11}**	day after tomorrow (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0743.38
	thɑ^{11} **n̩i^{11}** xv̩^{33}dv̩^{55}	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.38
	n̩i^{11}	day's (journey); day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.38; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.38
	n̩i^{11}dʑi^{11}	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.38
	ɑ^{11}ʂe^{33}**n̩i^{11}**	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.38
Yi (Xide)	dɔ^{33}thɳ^{21}**n̩i^{21}**	day, first of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:94.21
	dɔ^{33}tshi^{44}tsɳ^{33}**n̩i^{21}**	day, eleventh of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:97.21
	dɔ^{33}tshɳ^{21}**n̩i^{21}**	day (first of lunar month) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0769.35
	dɔ^{33}n̩i^{21}**n̩^{21}**	day (second of lunar month) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0770.35
	dɔ^{44}so^{33}**n̩i^{21}**	day, third of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:95.21
	dɔ^{44}ŋɯ^{33}**n̩i^{21}**	day, fifth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:96.21
	m̩(u̱)^{33}**n̩i^{21}**mo^{21}	day(time)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:102.21
	m̩^{33}**n̩i^{21}**mo^{21}	day (time) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.35
	so^{55}-**n̩i^{33}**-su^{33}	living things	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	tsha^{33}pho^{55}**n̩i^{21}**	day after tomorrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:93.21
	tshɑ^{33}pho^{55}**n̩i^{21}**	day after tomorrow (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0743.35
	tshɳ^{21}**n̩i^{21}** dzi^{34} ɑ^{21}dzi^{33}	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.35
	n̩i^{21}	day's (journey); day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.35; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.35
	n̩i^{21}	day (24 hours) (measure word)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.21
	ʂo^{33}mo^{33}tshɳ^{21}**n̩i^{21}**	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.35
	ʂo^{33}mo^{33}tshɳ^{21}**n̩i^{21}**	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:91.21
	ʐɻ^{33}tshɳ^{21}**n̩i^{21}**	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.21
	ʐɻ^{44}ŋɯ^{33}**n̩i^{31}**	day, twentieth of month (lunar	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:100.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**ni^{2}**	day	CHEN Kang 1986a:121.
Jinuo	**ni^{33}**	day's (journey); day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.44; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.44
	ni^{33}ko^{33}	day (time) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.44
	ni^{33}ko^{33}	day(time)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:102.34
	ni^{33}tʃhə^{33}	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.44
	njɯ^{42}ɔ^{33}	sun (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**n̥^{33}**	day (24 hours)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ʃi^{44}n̥^{33}	day before yesterday	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	ʃɔ^{42}phɔ^{44}**ni^{33}**	day after tomorrow (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0743.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ʃɔ^{42}pɔ^{44}**n̥^{33}**	day after tomorrow	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**n̥ɔ^{35}**	sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:2.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**n̥ɤ^{42}**ɔ^{33}	sun	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	ɑ^{33}**ni^{33}**	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.34
	ɕi^{33}**ni^{33}**	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:91.34
	ɕi^{44}**ni^{33}**	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.44
	ɕɔ^{42}phɔ^{33}**ni^{33}**	day after tomorrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:93.34
Kucong	**n̥i33** ʑa55	day	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**ni^{33}**	day's (journey); day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.43
	phɑ^{21}**ni^{33}**	day after tomorrow (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0743.43
	si^{54}**ni^{33}**	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.43
	te^{53} **ni^{33}** le^{33}	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.43
Lahu (Black)	**ni^{33}**	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.33
	ni^{53}tshi^{33}**ni^{33}**	day, twentieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:100.33
	phà?-**ni**	tomorrow, the day after	Matisoff 1972b:37
	phʌ^{21}**ni^{33}**	day after tomorrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:93.33
	sɛ^{53}tshi^{33}**ni^{33}**	day, thirtieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:101.33
	te^{53}tshi^{33}khɔ^{21}**ni^{33}**	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.33
	te^{53}tshi^{33}te^{53}**ni^{33}**	day, eleventh of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:97.33
	te^{53}tshi^{33}ŋʌ^{53}**ni^{33}**	day, fifteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:98.33
	ʌ^{35}sɻ^{33}**ni^{33}**	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:91.33
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{1}sɻ^{6}**mi^{5}**	day before yesterday	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	n̥i^{1}	day (24 hours)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	ba^{44}**ni^{33}**	clear and sunny day	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ba^{44}**ɲi^{33}**	clear and sunny day	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	fu^{33}**ni^{33}**	day of the snake	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	fu^{33}**ɲi^{33}**	day of the snake	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	hæ̃^{35}**ni^{33}**	day of the rat	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	hæ̃^{35}**ɲi^{33}**	day of the rat	Bradley 1994
	h'yá^{6}-**nyi^{4}**	day	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}**ni^{44}**	whole day; date (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ji^{55}**ɲi^{44}**	whole day; date (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	jɔ^{44}**ni^{33}**	day of goat	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	jɔ^{44}**ɲi^{33}**	day of goat	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	khɤ^{21}**ni^{33}**	day of dog	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	khɤ^{21}**ɲi^{44}**	day of dog	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	la^{21}**ni^{33}**	day of the tiger	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	la^{21}**ɲi^{33}**	day of the tiger	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	lu^{21}**ni^{33}**	day of the dragon	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	lu^{21}**ɲi^{33}**	day of the dragon	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	mi?^{21}**ni^{44}**	day of monkey	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	mi?^{21}**ɲi^{44}**	day of monkey	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	mɔ^{21}**ni^{33}**	day of horse	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	mɔ^{21}**ɲi^{33}**	day of horse	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ni^{21}**ni^{33}**	day of ox	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33}	day (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ni^{33}**	day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.40
Lisu (Northern)	ni^{33}dʑi^{44}**ni^{33}**	lucky day	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33}na^{33}	good day, auspicious day, lucky day	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33}na^{33}ni^{33}	lucky day; good day; day of fortune	Bradley 1994
	ni^{44}	day; cf. ni^{33} (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**nyi^{4}**	day	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	rɔ^{44}**ni^{33}**	day of the goat	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	rɔ^{44}**ɲi^{33}**	day of the goat	Bradley 1994
Lisu	sɑ^{44}tshɳ^{44}**n̥i^{33}**	day, thirtieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:101.27
Lisu (Northern)	thi^{21} **ni^{33}**	one day	Bradley 1994
	thi^{21} **ni^{33}** thi^{21} **ni^{33}**	every day; each day	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	thi^{21} **ɲi^{33}**	one day	Bradley 1994
	thi^{21} **ɲi^{33}** thi^{21} **ɲi^{33}**	every day; each day	Bradley 1994
Lisu	thi^{31} **n̥i^{33}** thi^{31} **n̥i^{33}**	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.40
Lisu (Central)	thɔʔ^{21}la^{33}**ɲi^{33}**	day of rabbit	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tshi^{44}tʃho^{41}**n̥i^{33}**	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.27

	tshŋ^{44}ti^{55}**ɲi**^{33}	day, eleventh of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:97.27
	tshŋ^{44}ŋuɑ^{31}**ɲi**^{33}	day, fifteenth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:98.27
	uɑ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day after tomorrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:93.27
Lisu (Central)	væʔ^{21}**ɲi**^{33}	day of pig	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	wa^{33}**ni**^{33}	day after tomorrow (A.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	wa^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day after tomorrow (A.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	wɑ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day after tomorrow (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0743.40
Lisu (Northern)	ɣa^{33}**ni**^{44}	day of the rooster (first	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɣa^{33}**ɲi**^{44}	day of the rooster (first	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}**ɲi**^{33}	day of ox	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{33}	day (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{33}dʑi^{44}**ɲi**^{33}	lucky day	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{33}na^{33}	good day, auspicious day, lucky day	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{33}na^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	lucky day; good day; day of fortune	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{44}	day; cf. ni^{33} (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ʃl̩^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.40
Lisu (Northern)	ʃl̩^{33}**ni**^{33}	day before yesterday (A.)	Bradley 1994
	ʃl̩^{33}**ni**^{33}	day of execution; doomsday	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ʃl̩^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day of execution; doomsday	Bradley 1994
	ʃl̩^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day before yesterday (A.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ʃl̩^{44}**ɲi**^{33}	day before yesterday	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:91.27
	ɲi^{33}	day's (journey) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.40
	ɲi^{33}	day (24 hours)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:88.27
	ɲi^{31}tsŋ^{44}**ɲi**^{33}	day, twentieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:100.27
Lisu (Northern)	ɕa^{55}gɤ^{33} wa^{33}**ni**^{33}	tomorrow or the day after (A.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɕa^{55}gɤ^{33} wa^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	tomorrow or the day after (A.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ɕa^{55}**ni**^{33}	holiday; day off; Sunday	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɕa^{55}**ɲi**^{33}	holiday; day off; Sunday	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ni**^{33}	day	Chen Kang 1986a:121.

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	**nɔ́** ma	sun, day	Hansson 1989:422
Hani (Lüchun)	**ny**	sun, day	Hansson 1989:422
Hani (Dazhai)	**nɔ**^{55}ma^{33}	sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**nɔ**^{55}ma^{33}	sun (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.41
Hani (Pijo)	**ni**	day	Hansson 1989:422
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ni**^{33}	day (24 hours)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:88.30
	ni^{33}ja̱^{31}	time	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:62.30
	ni^{33}khu^{55}tu^{55}lu^{55}	day(time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:102.30
	ni^{55}mɔ^{33}	sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.30
	ni^{55}mɔ^{33}kɔ^{33}je^{55}me^{55}pa̱^{33}	west	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:48.30
	ni^{55}mɔ^{33}tɣ̱^{33}la^{55}me^{55}pa̱^{33}	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.30
Hani (Pijo)	**njí** mɔ	sun, day	Hansson 1989:422
	sjhy **ni**	day before yesterday	Hansson 1989:171; Hansson 1989:423
Hani (Caiyuan)	sŋ^{31}**ni**^{33}	day before yesterday	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:91.30
Hani (Shuikui)	**nu**^{55}mɔ^{33}	sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.32
Haoni	**nɣ**^{33}	sun, day	Hansson 1989:422
Hani (Khatu)	**ni**	day	Hansson 1989:422
	njí mo	sun, day	Hansson 1989:422
	sjhy **ni**	day before yesterday	Hansson 1989:171; Hansson 1989:423
Hani (Mojiang)	**nu**^{55}mɔ^{33}	sun (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.42
	nu^{55}mɔ^{33}kɔ^{33}ji^{55}fɔ^{33}	west (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.42
	nu^{55}mɔ^{33}tɣ̱^{33}lɔ^{55}fɔ^{33}	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.42
Mpi	si^{2}mi^{6}**ɲi**^{4}	day before yesterday	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	sɑ^{2}mi^{6}**ɲi**^{4}	day before the day before yesterday	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ɲi^{4}	day	Hansson 1989:422
	ɲi^{6}wo^{4}	sun	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ʔɑ^{2}**ɲi**^{4}	day	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	hnɑ̃^{55} ce^{11} **ɲiʔ**^{55}	live	Bradley 1977
	tot^{33} **ɲiʔ**^{55}	born, be	Bradley 1977

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	lɑ˩ts^{h}i˩ su˥**ɲi**˥	3rd day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1571
	lɑ˩ts^{h}i˩ ts^{h}i˥**ɲi**˥	10th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1572
	lɑ˩ts^{h}i˩ ɖɯ˩ **ɲi**˩	1st day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1569
	lɑ˩ts^{h}i˩ ɲi˩ **ɲi**˩	2nd day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1570
	su˥ts^{h}i˥**ɲi**˥	30th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1576
	ts^{h}i˥ q^{h}ɔ˩ **ɲi**˩	16th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1575
	ts^{h}i˥ ɖɯ˥ **ɲi**˥	11th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1573
	ts^{h}i˥ŋwɤ˥**ɲi**˥	15th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1574
	ts^{h}i˥**ɲi**˩	today	Michaud 2006–2009:1577
	u˦**ɲi**˥su˥	in four days	Michaud 2006–2009:1588
	æ˥**ɲi**˩	yesterday	Michaud 2006–2009:1578
	ɖɯ˦ **ɲi**˦ ŋ˦gɤ˥ ɖɯ˦ **ɲi**˦	every day	Michaud 2006–2009:1875
	ɖɯ˦ **ɲi**˦ ɖɯ˦ **ɲi**˦	every day	Michaud 2006–2009:1875
	ɖɯ˦**ɲi**˦	one day	Michaud 2006–2009:1568
	ɲi˦mie˦	sun	Michaud 2006–2009:7
	ɲi˦mie˦ zæ˩ n˩ dze˦	solar eclipse	Michaud 2006–2009:23
	ɲi˦mie˦u˩	sunlight, sunshine	Michaud 2006–2009:9
	ʂɯ˩-ɖɯ˩**ɲi**˥	day before yesterday	Michaud 2006–2009:1579
Na (Yongning)	so˦ts^{h}ɯ˦**ɲi**˦ so˦**ɲi**˥	30th day of the month tomorrow	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˦do˦ɖɯ˦**ɲi**˥	1st day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˦do˦ɲi˦**ɲi**˦	2nd day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˦do˥ ts^{h}e˦ŋwɤ˩**ɲi**˨	15th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˦do˥so˩**ɲi**˥	3rd day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˦do˥ts^{h}e˩ɖɯ˩**ɲi**˨	11th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˦do˥ts^{h}e˩**ɲi**˨	10th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩q^{h}v˩**ɲi**˨	16th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩ŋwɤ˩**ɲi**˨	15th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}i˦**ɲi**#˥	today	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}i˦**ɲi**˦ʁu˦dɑ˦	previously, before	Michaud 2006–2009
	tɕ^{h}ɤ˦**ɲi**˦ne˥zo˩	every day	Michaud 2006–2009
	t^{h}v˦**ɲi**#˥	that day	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɖɯ˦**ɲi**˥	one day	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɖɯ˦**ɲi**˦ɖɯ˥hɑ̃˩	one day and one night	Michaud 2006–2009
	ə˦**ɲi**˦ts^{h}i˦**ɲi**˦	these days	Michaud 2006–2009
	ə˦**ɲi**˥˧	yesterday	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˦mi˦	sun	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˦mi˦ njɤ˩ɬi˩gv˩	daytime	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˦mi˦-k^{h}ɯ˦ʂɯ˦	rays (of sunshine)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˦mi˦-u˦	sunlight, sunshine	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˦mi˦dɑ˦dzɯ˦	solar eclipse	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˦mi˦gv˩	west	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˦mi˦t^{h}v˦	east	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂɯ˦**ɲi**˥ɖɯ˦**ɲi**˥	day before yesterday	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐv˦**ɲi**˦ʁu˦t^{h}o˥	in four days	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	dɯ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}gu^{21}**ɲi**^{33}	every day (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.45
Naxi (Yongning)	e^{33}**ɲi**^{55}	yesterday	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:90.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	ko^{55}**ɲi**^{31}	day after tomorrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:93.28
Naxi	so^{21}**ɲi**^{33}	tomorrow (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0742.45
Naxi (Yongning)	so^{33}tsŋ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day, thirtieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:101.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	so^{31}**ɲi**^{33}	tomorrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:92.28
Naxi (Yongning)	so^{31}**ɲi**^{33}	tomorrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:92.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	sɯ^{33}tsəɹ^{31}**ɲi**^{33}	day, thirtieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:101.28
Naxi	tshe^{33}do^{21}**ɲi**^{21}	day (second of lunar month) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0770.45
Naxi (Yongning)	tshe^{33}do^{33}dŋ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day, first of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:94.29
	tshe^{33}do^{33}sŋ^{31}**ɲi**^{33}	day, third of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:95.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshe^{33}do^{31}dɯ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day, first of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:94.28
	tshe^{33}do^{31}sɯ^{31}**ɲi**^{33}	day, third of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:95.28
	tshe^{33}do^{31}ɯɑ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day, fifth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:96.28
	tshe^{33}dɯ^{31}**ɲi**^{33}	day, eleventh of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:97.28
Naxi (Yongning)	tshe^{33}dŋ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day, eleventh of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:97.29
	tshe^{31}do^{33}ŋuɑ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day, fifth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:96.29
	tshe^{31}khəɹ^{13}**ɲi**^{33}	day, sixteenth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:99.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshe^{31}tʂhuɑ^{55}**ɲi**^{33}	day, sixteenth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:99.28
	tshe^{31}uɑ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day, fifteenth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:98.28
Naxi (Yongning)	tshe^{31}ŋuɑ^{31}**ɲi**^{33}	day, fifteenth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:98.29
	tshŋ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	today	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:89.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	tʂhɯ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	today	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:89.28
Naxi	tʂhŋ^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	today (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0738.45
	ə^{21}**ɲi**^{33}	yesterday (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0739.45
	ə^{21}ʂɚ^{55}**ɲi**^{33}	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	ə^{31}**ɲi**^{33}	yesterday	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:90.28
	ə^{31}ʂəɹ^{55}**ɲi**^{33}	day before yesterday	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:91.28
Naxi	**ɲi**^{33}	date (time) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0768.45
	ɲi^{33}	day's (journey); day's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ɲi**^{33}	day (24 hours)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:88.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɲi**^{33}	day (24 hours)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:88.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ɲi**^{33}le^{55}gv^{33}	day(time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:102.28
Naxi	**ɲi**^{33}le^{55}gɣ̱^{33}	day (time) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.45
	ɲi^{33}ly^{55}gɣ̱^{33}	noon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0750.45
	ɲi^{33}me^{33}	sun (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ɲi**^{33}me^{33}	sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.28
	ɲi^{33}me^{33}gv^{31}	west	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:48.28
Naxi	**ɲi**^{33}me^{33}gɣ̱^{21}	west (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ɲi**^{33}me^{33}thv^{33}	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.28
Naxi	**ɲi**^{33}me^{33}thɣ̱^{33}	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɲi**^{33}mi^{33}	sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.29
	ɲi^{33}mi^{33}gv^{31}	west	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:48.29
	ɲi^{33}mi^{33}thv^{33}	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	ɲi^{33}tsəɹ^{31}**ɲi**^{33}	day, twentieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:100.28
Naxi (Yongning)	ʂŋ^{31}**ɲi**^{55}	day before yesterday	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:91.29

7. Karenic: ***nej**^{A}* DAY

**Karen*	***nej**^{A}*	day	Luangthongkum 2013:75
	nì'	day (24 hrs.)	Jones 1961:127
**Karen [Burling]*	***ni**^{3}*	day	Luangthongkum 2013:75
Bwe	**ni**^{33}	day	Luangthongkum 2013:75
Karen	**ni**^{33}	day's (journey); day's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.50; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.50
	ni^{33}a^{31}tθi̱^{55}	New Year's Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.50
Kayah	**nə**^{11}	day	Luangthongkum 2013:75
Kayan (Pekon)	mən lwí **nə̀**	Thursday [lit. sun-four-day] (TEMP.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**ni**^{33}	day	Luangthongkum 2013:75
Pa-O (Northern)	**ni**^{33}	day	Luangthongkum 2013:75
Pa-O (Southern)	**ni**^{53}	day	Luangthongkum 2013:75
Pwo (Northern)	**nei**^{55}	day	Luangthongkum 2013:75
Pwo (Southern)	**nei**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	day	Luangthongkum 2013:75
Sgaw (Southern)	**ni**^{33}	day	Luangthongkum 2013:75
Sgaw (Northern)	**ni**^{33}	day	Luangthongkum 2013:75

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	dzu^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day before yesterday	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:91.37
	sɑ̃^{55}tʂe^{ɹ42}**ɲi**^{33}	day, thirtieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:101.37
	sɑ̃^{55}**ɲi**^{33}	day, third of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:95.37
	tʂe^{ɹ42}fu^{44}**ɲi**^{33}	day, sixteenth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:99.37
	tʂe^{ɹ42}ku^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day, twentieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:100.37
	tʂe^{ɹ42}ŋv^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day, fifteenth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:98.37
	tʂe^{ɹ42}**ɲi**^{33}	day, eleventh of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:97.37
	ŋu^{33}**ɲi**^{33}	day, fifth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:96.37
	ɲi^{33}xɯ̃^{42}	day(time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:102.37
	ɲi^{44}	sun; day (24 hours)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.37; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:88.37
	ɲi^{44}lui^{21}	set (of the sun)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:752.37
	ɲi^{44}lui^{21}pho^{55}	west	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:48.37
	ɲi^{44}tʂhe^{ɹ44}	rise (of the sun)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:751.37
	ɲi^{44}tʂhe^{ɹ44}pho^{55}	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.37
	ɑ^{42}dʐe^{ɹ33}**ɲi**^{33}	day after tomorrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:93.37
	ɑ^{42}**ɲi**^{33}	day, first of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:94.37
Bai (Dali)	a tsw **ni** ??2	day after tomorrow	Dell 1981b:902
	a ua **ni** ??2	day after day after tomorrow	Dell 1981b:904
	ne^{31}ji^{42}**ɲi**^{44}	day, twentieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:100.35

	ni 2	day	Dell 1981b:242
	ni si xw 264	day	Dell 1981b:244
	ni sioe 22	day	Dell 1981b:243
	niɛ p'i 24	sun	Dell 1981b:250
	pö tö **ni** ??2	day before yesterday (n.)	Dell 1981b:336
	pɯ^{55}tɯ^{21}**ȵi^{44}**	day before yesterday	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:91.35
	ȵe^{44}phi^{31}	sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.35
	ȵi^{44}	day (24 hours)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:88.35
	ȵi^{44}xɯ^{31}	day(time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:102.35
	ɑ^{31}tsi^{33}**ȵi^{44}**	day after tomorrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:93.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	(ɑ^{21}) **ɲi^{33}**	day's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.48
	(ɑ^{21}) **ɲi^{33}** (thu^{33})	day's (journey) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.48
	tsã^{33}**ɲi^{33}**	day after tomorrow (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0743.48
	tsõ^{33}**ɲi^{33}** tsõ^{33}ɕa^{33}	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.48
	xɑ^{21}tsɻ^{33}**ɲi^{33}**tsɻ^{33}	every day (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.48
	ɲi^{33}phĩ^{21}	sun (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.48
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	日	sun; day	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2332
Chinese (GSR #)	**0404a**	sun; day	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2332
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ńi̱ĕt/ńźi̱ĕt**	sun; day	Chou Fa-kao 1972:404a-d; Karlgren 1957:404a-d
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**nyit**	sun; day	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2332
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**rì**	sun; day	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2332

Chinese comparandum

日 OC *__ńi̱ĕt__, *GSR* #404a-d; B & S 2011: ***C.nit {C.ni [t]}**; Mand. **rì**.
暟 OC ***nian** *GSR* #1250e 'sunlight; bright'; Schuessler 2007:400-1 ***nêns** ~ ***nîns**; Mand. **xiàn**.

(18) PTB *g-nam SUN / SKY

For some reason, this root was inadvertently omitted from *HPTB*.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***nam**	sun	LaPolla 1987:53
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ar **nam**	God; god	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:53; Benedict 1972:148n405
	ar **nam** ahanchove	whirl-wind, swirl, eddy (n.)	Walker 1925:11
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**nam** le	cloud	Hale 1973:01.080
Tsangla (Central)	**ngam**	day; sun; sky	Andvik 1993:116; Andvik 1993:41; Andvik 1993:43
	ngam-barka	noon	Andvik 1993:119
	ngam su	rain	Andvik 1993:45
Tsangla (Motuo)	(**ŋam^{13}su^{55}**) k'e^{55}	rain (v.)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	puk^{13} (**ŋam^{13}**)	cloudy (day) (be v.)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	saŋ^{13} (**ŋam^{13}**)	clear / sunny (day) (be v.)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ŋam	sky; sun; day (24 hours)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:88.7
	ŋam je naŋ	noon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:104.7
	ŋam su	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.7
	ŋam^{13}	sky; sun; daytime	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ŋam^{13}su^{55}	rain	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ŋam^{13}~noŋ^{13}	day (24 hours)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ngam**	sky; sun; day (24 hours)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ngam-cha	tomorrow	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ngam-chu	rain	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ngam-ning	morning	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**nɑm^{35}**	rain	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	nɑm^{55}	sky	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	nɑm^{55}dʐu^{55}	airplane	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	nɑm^{55}leŋ^{55}	morning	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**nam^{13}**	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.6
	nam^{53}	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.6
	nam^{53}ɕe^{53}	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.6
	nam^{55}kaŋ^{55}	day, thirtieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:101.6
	nam^{55}tʂu^{53}	airplane	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:482.6
Motuo Menba	**ŋam**	sky; sun; date (time) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.07; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.07; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0768.07
	ŋam	day's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.07
	ŋam buk	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.07
	ŋam je naŋ	noon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0750.07
	ŋam su	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.07
	ŋam thor da wa	every day (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.07
	ŋam tsha	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.07
	ŋam zaŋ	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.07
Cuona Menba	**nam^{53}**	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.06
	nam^{55}ɕe^{53}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**nən** mo	night, at / evening, in the (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0752.05
	ɣnam	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.05
	ɣnam laŋ	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.05
	ɣnam nbap	fall (rain) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.05
	ɣnam wap	dark, get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hman** taŋ	sunny	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:835.4
	hman thəp	cloudy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:836.4
	hnam	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.4
	hnam kaŋ	day, thirtieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:101.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hnæm**	sky	Sun 1985a:353
	nam ngoŋ	night	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:105.5
	ɣnam	sky; rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.5
	ɣnam ngaŋ	day, thirtieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:101.5
	ɣnam rəp	cloudy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:836.5
	ɣnam taŋ	sunny	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:835.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**nʌm**	sky	Rangan 1975:38; Rangan 1975:76
Tibetan (Batang)	(**nɑ̃^{13}**khɛ^{55}) xɑuʔ^{231}	under (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0727.03
	(**nɑ̃^{55}**) nõ^{13}	in (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.03
	nɑ̃^{55}	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.03
	nɑ̃^{13} sĩ^{55}	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.03
	nɑ̃^{13}ɕheiʔ^{53}	midnight (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0754.03
	nɑ̃^{55}	weather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0006.03
	nɑ̃^{55} nɑʔ^{231}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.03
	nɑ̃^{55}tõ^{13}	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**nɑŋ^{55}**	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.3
	nɑŋ^{55}dzɻu^{53}	airplane	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:482.3
	nɑŋ^{55}gɑŋ^{53}	day, thirtieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:101.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	(**nam^{55}**)thaŋ^{13}	sunny (V)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:835.2
	(**nam^{55}**)thip^{53}	cloudy (V)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:836.2
	nam^{13} laŋ^{13}	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.02
	nam^{13}kha^{55}	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.02
	nam^{55}	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.02
	nam^{55}	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.2
	nam^{55} thaŋ^{132}	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.02
	nam^{55} thip^{52}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.02
	nam^{55}tʂhu^{13}	airplane	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:482.2
Tibetan (Spiti)	**nám**	sky	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	(**gnam**) sgaŋ	in (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.01
	gnam	sky; heaven, sky	Sun 1985c:353; LaPolla 1987:53; Benedict 1972:148n405
	gnam	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.01
	gnam	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.1
	gnam dwaŋs	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.01
	gnam gaŋ	day, thirtieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:101.1
	gnam gru	airplane	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:482.1
	gnam gʂis	weather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0006.01
	gnam jaŋ ȵin	three days from now (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0744.01
	gnam thibs	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.01
	gnam.dmag	air force	Sun 1985c:8
	gnam.mthil (?)	ceiling	Sun 1985c:125
	nam	night	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:53; Benedict 1972:148n405
	nam laŋs	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.01
	nam mkhaɲ	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.01
	nam-mkha	sky	Benedict 1972:148n405; Marrison 1967
	ɣnam	sky	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hnam**	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.04
	hnam ʂi	weather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0006.04
	nam laŋ	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.04
	nam rəp	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.04
	nam thaŋ	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.04
	naŋ kə goŋ mo	tomorrow night / evening (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0746.04
	nə mo	night, at; evening, in the (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0752.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0753.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{Bh}**nam**	rain	Mazaudon 1994:583
Gurung (Ghachok)	**nãːq**	rain	Glover 1972:1.76
	nãːq yuqba	rain (v.)	Glover 1972:5.B.12
	nãː hmjo	cloud	Glover 1972:1.80
Gurung	**nɑ̃ːq**	rain (n.)	Hale 1973:01.076
	nɑ̃ː hmjo	cloud	Hale 1973:01.080
	²nãː	rain	Mazaudon 1994:583
Manang (Prakaa)	**²naŋ** kuŋ	sky	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0157b
Tamang (Risiangku)	**²nam**	rain (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:583
Tamang (Sahu)	**'nām**	rain (n.)	Hale 1973:01.076
	'nam	rain	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.76
	'nam 'yu-pa	rain (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:16.12
	²nam	rain	Mazaudon 1994:583
Tamang (Taglung)	**nam**	rain	Mazaudon 1994:583
Thakali	**nam** yu-wa	rain (n.)	Hale 1973:01.076
Thakali (Tukche)	**nɔm** ju-lɔ	rain (v.)	Hari 1971:5.B.12
	nɔm ju-wɔ	rain (n.)	Hari 1971:1.76
	^{H}nəm	rain (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:583
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Kathmandu)	**naṃ**	sky	Malla 2007
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***?nam**	sun	Opgenort 2011
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	**nam**	sun, year	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**nam**	sun	Michailovsky 1989b
	nam hak	heat of the sun (responsible for spoiling food) (n.)	Driem 1988
	nam laːks- (?)	sunny (vs.)	Driem 1988
	nam hak	heat of the sun	Michailovsky 1989b
Yamphu	**nam**	sun, sunshine (n.)	Rutgers 1998:558.13
	nam druŋ ma	firmament, sky (n.)	Rutgers 1998:558.19
	nam dræʔ wa	bolt of lightning (n.)	Rutgers 1998:558.18
	nam ji riʔ ha	shade (n.)	Rutgers 1998:558.2

	nam leʔ lum	noon (time when sun is at its peak) (n.)	Rutgers 1998:558.21
	nam se læk pa	sheet lightning (n.)	Rutgers 1998:558.3

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**nam**	sun (n.)	Rai 1985
	nam choNwa	sun rays, early morning	Rai 1985
	nam cok	sky	Rai 1985
	nam laN	sun beams	Rai 1985
	nam lap	sun rays	Rai 1985
Kulung	hol **nam_**	hot season, summer	Rai *et al.* 1975
	lo **nam_**	winter, dry season	Rai *et al.* 1975
	nam_	sun [?sunlight]	Rai *et al.* 1975
	nam sam_	twilight <evening>	Rai *et al.* 1975
	ye **nam_**	monsoon, rainy season	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**na:m**	daylight, sun, sunshine	Driem 1993
	na:m grim	sunset <evening,night>	Driem 1993
	na:m grim-asewa	Good evening! (lit. evening greeting).	Driem 1993
	na:m lətnɨ	dry out in the sun	Driem 1993
	na:m nu	day after tomorrow	Driem 1993
	na:m nɨ	day after tomorrow	Driem 1993
	na:m tsoktim	sun (as a celestial orb / heavenly body)	Driem 1993
	na:m tsoʔ	sunshine, sunlight.	Driem 1993
	ni **na:m** bɨ	sun, the sun-god	Driem 1993
Khaling	**nwām**	sun	Hale 1973:01.072

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**nam**	sun	LaPolla 1987:53; Benedict 1972:148n405
Hayu	**no** mo	sun (n.)	Michailovsky 1989a:reyected 8
	no mo	sun; sun, sky	LaPolla 1987:53; Benedict 1972:148n405
Sunwar	**nā:**	sun	Hale 1973:01.072

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	blək.**nyam**	setting sun; west (n.)	Caughley 2000
	blək.**nyam** ju.na	place of sunset (nn.)	Caughley 2000
	brəŋ.**nyam**	sunrise (n.)	Caughley 2000
	brəʔ.**nyam**	sudden downpour of rain (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dah.**nyam**	east (n.)	Caughley 2000
	dah.**nyam** ju.na	place of sunrise (nn.)	Caughley 2000
	duŋh.**nyam**	west, place of setting sun (nn.)	Caughley 2000
	duŋh.**nyam**.məyʔ	people living to the west (nn.)	Caughley 2000
	herʔ.**nyam**	sunset (nt.)	Caughley 2000
	luyʔ.thyus.**nyam**	morning, about 8am (time for stringing bows?); time (sp.), about 8am (nt.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	nik.**nyam**	cool part of day (nt.)	Caughley 2000
	nyām	sun	Hale 1973:01.072
	nyam	sun, sunlight, storm-cloud, weather (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam	sun	Caughley 1972:1.72; Benedict 1972:148n405
	nyam blə-	flash (lightning) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam blək-	set, be level with hill, tree tops (sun) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam blək-sa	set (sun)	Caughley 1972:5.B.10
	nyam bəlh-	set (sun) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam dah-sa	rise (sun)	Caughley 1972:5.B.7
	nyam harʔ-	lighten (sky at sunrise) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam herʔ-	about to set (sun) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam heŋh-	begin to clear (cloud) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam heʔ-	about to set (sun), only partly visible (va.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam jhyuŋ-	cold (va.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam jyal-	set (sun) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam loŋh-	long period (va.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam muk-	thunder (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam paʔ.raŋ	edge of sunlight (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam pe-	fine (weather) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam pheŋ-	be break in cloud cover, clearing (cloud) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam pliŋh-	flash (lightning) (vi.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	nyam pliŋ^{h}-sa	flash (lightning)	Caughley 1972:5.B.17
	nyam serh-	clear (weather) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam sərh-	clear (weather) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam t^{h}oŋ-sa	shine (sun)	Caughley 1972:5.B.8
	nyam yah-	benight, set (sun) on someone, end (day), move up (edge of sun on hillside) (vit.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam yaŋh-	fine (weather) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam yohare	afternoon (late)	Caughley 1972:5.A.10
	nyam-hiŋ^{h}-ʔo	dawn	Caughley 1972:5.A.8
	nyam-pliŋ^{h}-ʔo	lightning	Caughley 1972:5.A.45
	nyam.blək	place of sunset (nn.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.darʔ	place of sunrise (nn.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.darʔ.diŋ	spirit of sunrise place (nn.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.diŋ	spirit of sun (nn.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.diŋ.ro	rays, effulgence of sun; rays of sunlight (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	nyam.jhyuŋ	cold weather (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.koʔ dom	rays of sun (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.laŋ.tiʔ	rainwater (lit. water from sky); rain, rainwater; puddle water (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	nyam.loŋ	early morning (nt.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.loŋh	early morning (nt.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.pa.raŋ	rays of sun, sunlight (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.pan	sun's rays, place lit by sunbeams (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.pan.ro	rays of sun (when rising), glow around sun; rays, effulgence of sun (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	nyam.pan.tiʔ	rain, rainwater (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.paʔ.raŋ	rays, edge of sunlight (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.rawʔ	heat of sun (blistering) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.rəwʔ	heat of sun; heat (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	nyam.syo.paŋ	brightness, glow of rising or setting sun, time of rising or setting (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.thoŋ	early morning, daylight (nt.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.tuŋʔ	base of cloud (esp. storm-cloud) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.tuŋʔ.məyʔ	spirits of storm-cloud (base) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.tyak	sunny (south) side (of tree, rock, etc.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nyam.ʔa.tiʔ	rain water; rain (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	rəw.**nyam**	first thunderclouds at end of dry season (n.)	Caughley 2000
	thoŋ.**nyam**	daylight (n.)	Caughley 2000
Kham	**'nam** wā-nyā	rain (n.)	Hale 1973:01.076
Magar	**nam**-bik	night	Benedict 1972:148n405
	nam-khan ~ **nyam**-khan	sun	Benedict 1972:148n405
	nam-khan~**ńam**-khan	sun	LaPolla 1987:53
	nam-məra	evening	Benedict 1972:148n405
	nam-sin ~ **nyam**-sin	day	Benedict 1972:148n405
	nān khān	sun	Hale 1973:01.072

3.2. Qiangic

Lyuzu	**na**^{33}nkhæ^{53}mu^{35}	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.18
	na^{33}xuo^{53}xuo^{31}	dark	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.18
Namuyi	**nɛ**^{55}ŋkhɛ^{33}mu^{33}	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.19
	næ^{55}nkhæ^{31}mu^{31}	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.46
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**nã**^{55}ɕi^{53}	soul / spirit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:524.16

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**nɐm** khɐ	sky (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0001.11
rGyalrong	**nɐm** khɐ	sky	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**nɐm** mkhɐ mdok	blue (lit. 'sky color')	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1010.11
Caodeng	**nɐm** k^{h}e	sky	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**rnɐm** ʃəs	soul / spirit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.11
rGyalrong	**rnɐm** ʃəs	soul / spirit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:524.12
Caodeng	**rnɐm**-ʃeʔ	soul	Sun 1997a
	rnɐm-ʃeʔs	spirit; soul	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**nam** khaH	sky	Nagano 1997:2.1
rGBenzhen	**nɐm**-k^{h}ɐ mdok	blue	Sun 1997b
	nɐm-nk^{h}ɐ	sky	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Rawang	(**nam**^{31}) əlɛ^{33} ɛ^{33}	set (of the sun)	LaPolla 2003:1370
	(**nam**^{31}) ʃɑn^{31} [**nam**^{31} ʃɑ^{31} nɔ^{31} ɛ^{33}]	come out (of the sun)	LaPolla 2003:1215
Anong	**nam**	sun	LaPolla 1987:53; Benedict 1972:148n405
	nam sarr	sunrise	Benedict 1972:28n90
	nam sarr kha	east	LaPolla 1987:128; Benedict 1972:28n90
Rawang	**nam**^{31}	sun	LaPolla 2003:2
	nam^{31} lɯp lɑm^{31}	west	LaPolla 2003:771
	nam^{31} sar^{33}	east	LaPolla 2003:768
Anong	**nəm** nip lam	west	LaPolla 1987:63; Benedict 1972:400
Nung	**nɛm**^{31}	sun (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.21
Anong	**nɛm**^{31}	sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.44
Nung	**nɛm**^{31} (bɯŋ^{55})	light (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0003.21
Trung [Dulong]	dzɯ̆ŋ^{55}**năm**^{53}	winter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:73.46
Dulong	mɯ^{31}ju^{53}**nɑm**^{53}	summer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0792.20
Trung [Dulong]	mɯ^{31}ɟu^{53}**năm**^{53}	summer	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:71.46
Dulong	**nam**^{31}luŋ^{55}	sun (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.20
Trung [Dulong]	**năm**^{53}dzɑʔ^{55}	rain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:8.46
Dulong	**nɑm**^{53}	sun; weather (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.20; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0006.20
	nɑm^{53} (wɑ^{53})	rain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0010.20
	nɑm^{53}bɯŋ^{53}	wind (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0009.20
Trung [Dulong]	**nɑm**^{53}bɯ̆ŋ^{53}wɑŋ^{55}	blow (of wind)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:753.46
Dulong	**nɑm**^{53}dɯ^{53}	dark, get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.20
	nɑm^{53}gɑm^{55}	clear, be (weather) / sunny (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1670.20
	nɑm^{53}gɑ^{53}	dawn (the day) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1671.20
	nɑm^{53}mɯʔ^{55}	cloudy, be (sky) / overcast (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1669.20
	nɑm^{53}mɑɹ^{55}	dusk / twilight (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0751.20
	nɑm^{53}ɑ^{31}duŋ^{53}	noon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0750.20
	nɑm^{53}ɟɑʔ^{55}	fall (rain) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.20
	nɑm^{53} mɯ^{31} ja · ŋ^{55}	day (time) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.20
Trung [Dulong]	**năm**^{53}bɯ̆ŋ^{53}	wind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:7.46
	năm^{53}dɯ^{31}zăt^{55}	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.46
	năm^{53}dɯ^{55}	cloudy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:836.46
	năm^{53}gɑŋ^{55}	sunny	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:835.46
	năm^{53}luŋ^{55}	sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.46
	năm^{53}lɯm^{53}năm^{53}	spring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:70.46
	năm^{53}mɯ^{31}ɟɑŋ^{55}	day(time)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:102.46
	năm^{53}mɯ^{31}ɟɑŋ^{55}ɑŋ^{31}dzɑ^{55}	lunch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:394.46
	năm^{53}nɯ^{31}nɑ^{55}	cool	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:886.46
	năm^{53}ɑ^{31}duŋ^{55}	noon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:104.46
	năm^{55}nup^{55}	west	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:48.46
Dulong	ɹ · ɑŋ^{31} tɔŋ^{55} **nɑm**^{53}	winter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0794.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɹăk^{55}tɔŋ^{55}**năm**^{53}	autumn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:72.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**nam**^{53}	sun	LaPolla 1987:53

	nam[55] nuup[55]	west	LaPolla 1987:63
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	mɯ[31]dʑu[55]**nɑ̆m[53]**	summer	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nam[53] luuŋ[55]	sun	LaPolla 1987:53
	nɑm[53]bɯ̆ŋ[53]wɑ[53]	blow (of wind)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɑ̆m[31]ɕɔ̆ʔ[55]	west	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɑ̆m[53]bɯ̆ŋ[53]	wind	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɑ̆m[53]dɯ[53]	cloudy	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɑ̆m[53]gɑ̆m[53]	sunny	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɑ̆m[53]luŋ[55]	sun	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɑ̆m[53]lɯm[53]nɑ̆m[53]	spring (season)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɑ̆m[53]zɑʔ[55]	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɑ̆m[53]zɑʔ[55]	rain	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɑ̆m[53]ɳɑŋ[55]	daytime	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɑ̆m[53]ɑ[31]duŋ[55]	noon	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɑ̆m[53]ɕɯŋ[53]	morning	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	zɯ̆ŋ[55]**nɑ̆m[53]**	winter	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɹɑŋ[31]tɔŋ[55]**nɑ̆m[53]**	autumn	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Luxi)	**na[55]** mau[55]	clouds; cloud	LaPolla 1987:89; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985

Chinese comparandum

南 OC ***nəm**, *GSR* #650a-c ‘south’; B & S 2011: ***n^{ʕ}əm {n^{ʕ}[ə]m}**; Mand. **nán**.

(19) PTB *r $\begin{matrix}\textbf{i}\\\textbf{u}\end{matrix}$ ŋ SUN / SUNSHINE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***riŋ**	sun / sunshine	Matisoff 2003a:610

1.1. “North Assam”

Sulung [Puroik]	kə[33]**ri[33]**	sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.52

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	me-**ruŋ**	sun	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**ring**	sun	NEFA (India) 1963
	ring-khi	side (sunny, of hill, etc.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ring-lẽ	sun rays	NEFA (India) 1963
	ɹɯn[53]	sun (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.22
	ɹɯn[53]	sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.49

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**rí**	give sunshine	Bhat 1968
	riŋ	sunshine (extremely hot)	Bhat 1968

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**rang** san	sun, day (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Moshang)	**rong** shar	sun	Marrison 1967
	roŋ-śarr	sun, shine	Benedict 1972:187
Tangsa (Yogli)	**rang** shal	sun	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Wancho	**rang** han	sun	Marrison 1967

3.2.3 Water and other liquids

(1) PTani *put[1] FOAM

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***put[1]**	foam	Sun 1993a:162

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	fu-**pit**	bubble	Sun 1993b
	ši-**pit**	foam	Sun 1993a
	si-**pit**	foam (on surface of river)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ha-**pit**	foam	Sun 1993a
	hə-**pit** ha-bak	bubble, foam	Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**put**; sɯ-**put**	foam	Sun 1993a

(2) PCN *a-juŋ RIVER

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	*a-**juŋ**	RIVER	Bruhn 2014a:III.223
**Ao*	*a-**juŋ**	RIVER	Bruhn 2014a:II.284
Ao (Chungli)	a[1]-**juŋ[2]**	river (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.284
	a[1]-**juŋ[2]**kəm[2]	river bank (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.082
	a[1]-**juŋ[2]**nu[2]	stream (small) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	[1]a[2]**yuŋ**	river	Weidert 1987:742
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **yung**	river	Marrison 1967
	yung ba	river	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**juŋ**-khəm	river bank (’river’ + ’precipice’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**juŋ**	river (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**juŋ**-za	stream (’river’ + DIM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	**yong** khi	river	Marrison 1967
	[1]**yuŋ**[1]ki	stream	Weidert 1987:742
Yimchungrü	a **yung**	river	Kumar 1973b:63
	young	river	Marrison 1967
	[2]a [2]**yuŋ** [2]	stream	Weidert 1987:742

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Phom	**yoŋ[55]**ñɯ[33]	river (large)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

(3) PCC *hnaa SOURCE (water)

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**tuynó**	water source	VanBik 2009:908

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***hnaa**	SOURCE (water)	VanBik 2009:908
Lai (Hakha)	**ti**-hnàa	water source	VanBik 2009:908
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnà**	actual source (of a river or stream) (n.)	VanBik 2009:908

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**hnàw**	source of a river (n.)	VanBik 2009:908

(4) PTB *r-laŋ STEAM

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**laŋ** tshu	steam (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1797.05; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1797.05

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{A}**(h)^{h}laŋ**	steam	Mazaudon 1978:17
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{H}**lõmã:**	steam	Mazaudon 1978:17
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**hlaŋ** mo	steam	Mazaudon 1978:17
Tamang (Taglung)	^{1}**laŋ**	steam	Mazaudon 1978:17
Thakali (Marpha)	^{H}**laŋbo**	steam	Mazaudon 1978:17
Thakali (Syang)	^{H}**hlaŋ** ma	steam	Mazaudon 1978:17
Thakali (Tukche)	^{1}**hlaŋ** mʌ	steam	Mazaudon 1978:17

Chinese comparandum

湯 OC ***t’ûng**, *GSR* #720z ‘hot water’; Schuessler 2007:491-2 ***lhâŋ**; B & S 2011: *$\underset{ʕ}{\text{l}}$^{ʕ}**aŋ** ; Mand. **tāng**.

(5) PKC *tuy-khuu ⩵ *tuy-huu STEAM / VAPOR

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tuy**-khuu ⩵ tuy-huu	STEAM / VAPOR	VanBik 2009:740

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**tui hu**	steam	VanBik 2009:740
Sizang	**a hū**	vapor	VanBik 2009:740
Thado	**khûu**	steam	VanBik 2009:740

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**khuee**	give off steam	VanBik 2009:740

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**ti-khùu**	steam, vapor (”water-smoke”)	VanBik 2009:740
Lai (Falam)	**ti-khûu**	steam, vapor	VanBik 2009:740
Lushai [Mizo]	**tŭi hù**	steam	VanBik 2009:740

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**tí hū**	vapor	VanBik 2009:740

(6) PNN *Ç-yuːŋ WATER

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-yuːŋ**	water	French 1983:576

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Moshang)	**yeng**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**yiang**	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yɛŋ	water	Weidert 1987:742
Phom	**yoŋ[55]**	water	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	yoŋ[55]gok[55]	well (’water’ + ?)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	yoŋ[55]lok[33]	spring (for water)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	yung	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yung kok	well (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ʃam[55]**yoŋ[55]**	lake (’house’ + ’water’)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

(7) PCN *ki WATER

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	***ki**	WATER	Bruhn 2014a:III.064
Sangtam	**ki**	water	Kumar 1973a
	ki	water (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ki ve cho	swim (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	to ji **ki**	oil	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**ke**	water	Kumar 1973b:50
	ke	water (n.)	Marrison 1967

(8) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{r}\\\textbf{m}\end{matrix}$ -ba WAVE (in water) / RIPPLE

The nasal prefix is confirmed by the voiced initials in Lahu. The **r-** and **d-** prefixes are directly attested in Tibetan. It has been shown that the semantically mysterious **r-** prefix is reflected by a syllabic nasal in Jingpho (*STC* p. 109), indicating that the former is more ancient in TB as a whole. The **d-** in Tibetan is not paralleled elsewhere as far as is now known.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-ba**	wave (in water)	Matisoff 2003a:584

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	**bu** ɕar	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.24
	bu-sar	wave	Sun 1993b

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Batang)	**ba[13]**lɑuʔ[53]	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**pə[13]**ləp[52]	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.02
Tibetan (Written)	**dba’**-byi	water-rat? (n.)	Jäschke 1881:p.386
	dba’-kloŋ	wave, billow (n.)	Jäschke 1881:p.386
	dba’-t‘súb	surge, roar, turmoil of waves (n.)	Jäschke 1881:p.386
	rba rlabs	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.01
	rba-kloŋ	wave, billow (n.)	Jäschke 1881:p.386
	rba-kloŋs	waves (n.)	Das 1902:p.935
	rba-rláb̀s	wave, billow (n.)	Jäschke 1881:p.386
	rba-skya	whitish waves (n.)	Jäschke 1881:p.386
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**wa** lep	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Sahu)	syoŋ ki **pah** k^{h}ar	coast	Taylor *et al.* 1972:5.76

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	**ba[33]**lɐ[53]	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.15
Pumi (Lanping)	tʃə[55]**fpa[55]**	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.09
Xumi	dʑɛ[33]tɛ[33]**nbu[53]**	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.17

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Weishan)	ɣɯ[55]lɑ[21]**bɑ[21]**	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.36
Yi (Xide)	ʑ̩[33]**mbo[33]**	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**pə[33]**tɕy[33]ji[44]no[44]	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.44
Lahu (Lancang)	ɣɯ[31]**bɑ[53]**	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.43

Lahu (Black)	**bâ**	wave; ripple (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p929
	ɡì-**bâ**	wave; a ripple; wave (in water) (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p929; Matisoff 1988a:p929
	ɡì-**bâ**(=nâ)	wave (in water) (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p929
	ɡì=**bâ**-nâ	wave; ripple (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p929
	í-kâʔ=**bâ**	wave (in water) (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p929
	ɔ̀-**bâ**(-nâ)	roll of fat; wave, ripple; wave	Matisoff 1987:168
	ɔ̀-**bâ**(=nâ)	wave; ripple (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p929
	ɔ̀-**bâ**=ɔ̀-**bâ**-nâ qay ve	come in waves (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p929
	ɔ̀-chu-**bâ**-nâ	roll of fat; wave, ripple; wave	Matisoff 1987:168
	ɣì-**bâ**-nâ	roll of fat; wave, ripple; wave	Matisoff 1987:168
7. Karenic			
Bwe (Western)	lɔ̆^{3}**pɔ**^{1}	wave	Luce 1985:E.10
Paku	lə̆ **pɔ**^{1}	wave	Luce 1985:E.10
Pwo (Delta)	lə̆ **pɔ**^{2}	wave	Luce 1985:E.10
Pwo (Tenasserim)	lə̆ **pɔ**^{5}	wave	Luce 1985:E.10
Sgaw	lə̆ **pɔ**^{1}	wave	Luce 1985:E.10
Sgaw (Bassein)	lə^{3}**pɔ**^{55}	wave (in the ocean) (n.)	Matisoff 2000b:0048.50
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**po**^{55}no^{42}	wave (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0048.48
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pwâ**/puâ	wave / surge; be shaken as on waves	Karlgren 1957:25l
Chinese (Old)	**paj**	wave (n.)	Baxter 1992:1049, cf. pp. 291,413

Chinese comparandum

波 OC ***pwâ***, *GSR* #25l ‘wave, surge’; Baxter 92:1049 ***paj***; Mand. **bō**.

3.2.4 Elements, metals, alloys

(1a) PTB *d-ŋul SILVER

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***dngjɨul**	silver	Coblin 1986:133
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-ŋul**	silver	Matisoff 2003a:606; Matisoff 1983:15; LaPolla 1987:25
	***ŋul**	silver	Chou Fa-kao 1972:416k
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ŋuun** SILVER			
**Chin*	***ŋuun**	SILVER	VanBik 2009:867
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**ngun**	diamond	VanBik 2009:867
Sizang	**ngūn**	silver	VanBik 2009:867; VanBik 2009:867
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**ngui**	silver	VanBik 2009:867
Daai	**ŋu**^{i}	silver	So-Hartmann 1988:26
Matu	**ŋun**	silver	So-Hartmann 1988:26
Mkaang	**ŋu**^{i}	silver	So-Hartmann 1988:26
Ngmüün	**ŋu**^{i}	silver	So-Hartmann 1988:26
Nyhmoye	**ŋu**^{i}	silver	So-Hartmann 1988:26
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ŋûun**	silver	VanBik 2009:867
Lai (Falam)	**ŋŭun**	silver	VanBik 2009:867
Lushai [Mizo]	**ngúun**	name of a bracelet, generally of brass, wound round the arm in a coil, a tendril (n.)	VanBik 2009:867
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**ngò**	silver, golden	VanBik 2009:867
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***ŋuil** SILVER			
**Northern Naga*	***ŋuil**	silver	French 1983:546
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**ngun**	silver	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**ngin**	silver	Marrison 1967
Phom	**ngin**	silver	Marrison 1967
	ŋin^{55}	silver	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**ngung**	silver	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**ŋwe**	silver	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:288-5
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ŋoi**^{13}	silver	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ŋul; **ŋø**	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ngui**	silver	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ŋy**^{35}	silver	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**ŋul**	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.07
	ŋy	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.07
Cuona Menba	**ŋy:**^{35}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rŋu**	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hŋu**	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rŋu**	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ŋy**^{55}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ŋu**^{55}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ŋy**^{55}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.02
	ŋy^{55}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.2
Tibetan (Written)	**dn̊ul**	silver	Marrison 1967
	dŋul	silver	Matisoff 1983:15; LaPolla 1987:25
	dŋul	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.01
	dŋul	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hŋu**	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.04
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ŋwo**	silver (metal)	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3572
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**ŋua**^{ɪ55}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.18
Guiqiong	**ũ**^{55}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.16
	wũ^{53}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.17
Lyuzu	**ŋu**^{35}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.18
Muya	**ŋu**^{53}	silver; money (lit. ’silver’) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.15; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0573.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ŋu**^{53}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.15
	ŋu^{55}	money	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:485.15
Namuyi	**ŋu**^{55}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.19
	ŋu^{55}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ŋũ**^{35}	silver; money (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.10; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0573.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ŋɑ̃u**^{55}	silver; money (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.09; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0573.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ŋãu**^{55}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.11
	ŋɑ̃u^{55}	money	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:485.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɳõ**^{55}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.10
Qiang (Longxi)	qə́-**ŋú**	braid [hair-silver] (refers to decorations in braid)	Evans 1999:101
	ŋú	silver	Evans 1999:60
	ŋú (sən dzé)	silver coin	Evans 1999:800
Qiang (Mawo)	**ŋuə**	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.08
	ŋuə zi	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**ŋó**	silver	Evans 1999:60
	ŋó-tɕìn tsè	silver coin [silver-money]	Evans 1999:800
	ŋó-ɳà-kà	treasure [silver-and-gold]	Evans 1999:657
Qiang (Taoping)	**χŋu**^{55}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ŋui**^{55}	silver; money	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.16; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:485.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ŋɛ**^{55}	silver; money (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.13; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0573.13
Xumi	**ɦũ**^{55}	silver; money	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.20; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:485.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ɳi**^{13}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**rŋəl**	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.12
Ergong (Danba)	**zɲən**	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	pa **ŋei**	silver	Benedict 1972:15n54
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	po **ŋi**	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.11
rGyalrong	po **ŋi**	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.12
Caodeng	**rŋəl**	silver	Sun 1997a
	rŋəl pʰər-tʃu	bowl (silver)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	po **nge**	silver	Nagano 1997:8.3
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**ŋŭl**^{55}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.46
Dulong	**ŋun**^{55}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ŋul**^{55}	silver	LaPolla 1987:25
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ŋun**^{55}	silver	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ŋuun^{55}	silver	LaPolla 1987:25
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	**ngo4**	silver (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ngo^{4}	silver	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.2
	wo4	silver (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia	**ŋo**^{53}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.49
	ŋo^{53}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.38
Tujia (Northern)	**ŋo**^{55}	silver	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ŋu**^{55}	silver	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ŋui**^{55}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.28
	ŋui^{55}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ŋɔi**^{31}	silver	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ŋui**^{55}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.29
Bola (Luxi)	**ŋø**^{55}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ŋwe**^{22}	silver; money (lit. ’silver’) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.27; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0573.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ŋwe**^{22}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.40
Burmese (Written)	**ṅwe**	silver	Marrison 1967
	ŋwe	silver	Matisoff 1983:15; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:25; Benedict 1972:15n55
	ŋwe^{2}	silver; money (lit. ’silver’) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.26; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0573.26
	ŋwe^{2}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**ŋɔi**^{31}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ŋə**^{31}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.33
Marma	**ŋwe**	silver	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:288-5
Maru [Langsu]	**ŋɔi**^{31}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋun**^{51}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.30
	ŋun^{51}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.42
6.1.2. Loloish: ***C-ŋwe**^{1} SILVER			
**Loloish*	***C-ŋwe**^{1}	silver	Bradley 1979b:401B
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**ŋui**^{33}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.34
Nusu (Southern)	**ŋui**^{35}	silver	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ŋuĩ**^{35}ɑ^{35}	silver	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ŋui**^{35}ɑ^{55}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.45
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ŋv**˦	silver	Michaud 2006–2009:184
Na (Yongning)	**ŋv**˩	silver	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁæ˦**ŋv**˥	collar; neck (precious; with silver thread)	Michaud 2006–2009

Naxi (Yongning)	**ŋv**^{33}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ŋv**^{31}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.28
Naxi	**ŋv̩**^{21}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.45

Chinese comparandum

銀 OC ***ngi̯ɐn**, *GSR* #416k 'silver'; Coblin 86: *; Schuessler 2007:573 ***ŋrən**; B & S 2011: ***ŋrən {ŋrə[n]}**; Mand. **yín**.

(1b) PTB *mul SILVER

This allofam with initial ***m-** appears mostly in Himalayan languages. *STC* (n.155, p.15) cites "Colloquial Tibetan" **mul** 'silver'.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__mul__	silver	Matisoff 2003a:602

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	lə^{33}**muŋ**^{33}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.52

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	ta-kɯ: **mɯr**-ko:	silver	Sun 1993b
Galo	**mur** ko-adin	silver	Das Gupta 1963
	'mur koo	silver (n.)	GLDC 2009

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**möl(h)**	silver (n.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**mol** ən	silver ornament (n.)	Sharma 1982
	mul	silver	Sharma 1982

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Balti)	**ṣmul**	silver	Rangan 1975:41

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**mɯy**^{4}	silver	Nagano 1984:288-05
Manang (Prakaa)	^{4}**muʔ** iɕə	silver	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0582
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**mui**	silver	Mazaudon 1994:770
Tamang (Sahu)	**'mui**	silver	Taylor *et al.* 1972:8.50

6.1.1. Burmish

Samong	**moiŋ**	silver	Benedict 1972:15n55
Phön (Megyaw)	**myaiŋ**	silver	Benedict 1972:15n55

(2) PKar *swa^{B} CHARCOAL

7. Karenic

**Karen [Burling]*	*__swa__^{2}	charcoal	Luangthongkum 2013:46
**Karen*	*__swa__^{B}	charcoal	Luangthongkum 2013:46
Kayah	**su**^{11}	charcoal	Luangthongkum 2013:46
Kayan	**θau**^{11}	charcoal	Luangthongkum 2013:46
Kayaw	**su**^{11}	charcoal	Luangthongkum 2013:46
Pa-O (Southern)	**swa**^{33}	charcoal	Luangthongkum 2013:46
Pa-O (Northern)	**swa**^{55}	charcoal	Luangthongkum 2013:46
Pwo (Northern)	**swa**^{33}	charcoal	Luangthongkum 2013:46
Pwo (Southern)	**θwa**^{55}	charcoal	Luangthongkum 2013:46
Sgaw (Northern)	**swa**$^{31\sim}$	charcoal	Luangthongkum 2013:46
Sgaw (Southern)	**swa**^{45,}	charcoal	Luangthongkum 2013:46

(3) PTB *grəy COPPER

The relative ubiquity of this etymon points to the early development of copper metallurgy in the Tibeto-Burman area.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__griy__	copper	Benedict 1972:39
	*__grəy__	copper	Matisoff 2003a:591

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	mă^{31}**kʒi**^{33}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.19
	mă^{31}**kʒi**^{33}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.47
	mă^{1}**kɹi**^{33}	copper	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	ma **gri**	copper	Marrison 1967
	mə **grī**	brass / copper	Matisoff 1974:170
	mə **gri-**	brass, copper, tin	Benedict 1972:39

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**krí**	copper	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:288-3b

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Balti)	**gri**·	knife	Rangan 1975:63
Tibetan (Written)	**gri**	knife (n.)	Marrison 1967
	gri	knife	Benedict 1972:39
	gri	knife (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0549.01
	gri	knife	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:409.1
	gri ju	handle (of a knife) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0550.01
	gri.li (?)	knife	Sun 1985c:416
	gri.shubs	scabbard, sheath (of knife)	Sun 1985c:417

4. Nungic

Nung	**dzɳ**^{31}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.21
Anong	**dzɳ**^{31}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.44
Nung	**dʑi**^{31}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.21

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	*__griy__^{2}	copper / brass	Matisoff 1978a:18
	*__grəy__^{2}	copper	Matisoff 2003a:591

6.1.1. Burmish

Arakanese	**krì**	copper	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**kji**^{31}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.32
Burmese (Written)	**krê**	copper; brass	Matisoff 1978a:18; Matisoff 1974:170; Benedict 1976a
	krè	copper	Benedict 1972:39
	kre:	copper	Okell 1971
	kre: nī	copper	Marrison 1967
	kre^{3}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.26
	kre^{3}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.39
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**kriy**	copper	Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	**kjik**^{55}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**kjei**^{33}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.33
Marma	**krí**	copper (bronze)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:288-3b
Maru [Langsu]	**kjik**^{55}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.43
	kyít	copper	Okell 1971
Tavoyan	**ceì**	copper	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kji**^{21}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.30
	kji^{21}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.42

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	*__gre__^{2}	copper	Bradley 1979b:404
PNL	**gre**^{2}	copper	Chen Kang 1986a:122.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**gə̀**	copper	Björverud 1994
	gɯ^{21}	copper	Chen Kang 1986a:122.
Lipho	<**dzi**^{21}>	copper	Chen Kang 1986a:122.
Nasu	**dʑi**^{33}	copper	Chen Kang 1986a:122.
Neisu	**dʑi**^{33}	copper	Chen Kang 1986a:122.
Nesu	**dʑi**^{33}	copper	Chen Kang 1986a:122.
Nosu	**dʑi**^{33}	copper	Chen Kang 1986a:122.
Nusu (Southern)	**dʑi**^{53}	copper	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**gɹi**^{35}	copper	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**gɹi**^{55}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**gɹi**^{55}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.45
Nusu (Central)	**gɹi**^{55}bɹə̀^{33}	gong (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0660.34
	thoŋ^{31}**gɹi**^{55}	rainbow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0011.34
Yi (Dafang)	**dʑi**^{33}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**dʐ̩**^{33}	copper	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**dʑi**^{21}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dʑi**^{33}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dʑi**^{21}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.37
	dʑi^{21}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**gɯ**^{21}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.23
Yi (Weishan)	**gɯ**^{21}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.36
Yi (Wuding)	**dʑi**^{33}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.38
	dʑi^{33}bɔ^{33}	money (lit. 'copper coin') (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0573.38
Yi (Xide)	**dʐ̩**^{33}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.35
	dʐ̩^{33}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**dzɻ**^{21}	copper	Chen Kang 1986a:122.
Lahu (Lancang)	**kɯ**^{53}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.43
Lahu (Black)	**kə**^{53}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.33
	kɨ̂	copper; brass	Matisoff 1978a:18; Matisoff 1974:170
Yi (Sani)	**dzɚ**^{11}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.39
Sani [Nyi]	**dzɻ**^{21}	copper	Chen Kang 1986a:122.

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Dazhai)	**gɯ**^{31}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**gɯ**^{31}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**gɯ**^{31}	copper	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**kɯ**^{31}	copper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:37.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**kɯ**^{31}	copper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0053.42
Mpi	**ki**^{2}	copper / brass	Matisoff 1978a:18

(4) PTani *ɯn GOLD

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	*__ɯn__	gold	Sun 1993a:178

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**jī**	gold	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**in**	gold	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	a **yin**	gold	Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	a nyi a **yin**	gold	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	a-**ŋɯn**	gold	Sun 1993a
Milang	**u:n**	silver, gold	Tayeng 1976
	un	gold	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	a-**ɯn**	gold	Sun 1993a

(5) PTB *sya:l ≍ *syi:r IRON

Benedict (*STC*, n. 244, p. 80) suggests that the rhyme alternation in this root indicates that it is an old loanword from Austro-Tai. However, the alternation of **-ya-** and **-i-** is paralleled in a number of other roots, notably PTB ***s-myak ≍ *s-mik** EYE (§1.2.6).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__s(y)i:r__	iron	Benedict 1972:372
	*__sya:l ≍ syi:r__	iron	Matisoff 2003a:613

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***thiir** IRON / METAL / STEEL

**Chin*	*__thiir__	IRON / METAL / STEEL	VanBik 2009:392

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**siik**	iron	VanBik 2009:392
Sizang	**chīk**	iron	VanBik 2009:392
Thado	**thî?**	iron, metal	VanBik 2009:392
	thí?	iron	Thirumalai 1972:63
	thí? bòŋ	iron rod	Thirumalai 1972:25
Tiddim	**si:k**^{1}	iron	VanBik 2009:392; Bhaskararao 1996:1594
	si:k^{1} se:k^{2}	iron smith (si:k1 iron'; sek3 'hammer')	Bhaskararao 1996:1596

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**n´t'i´´**	iron, metal	VanBik 2009:392

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**thíir**	iron, steel, metal	VanBik 2009:392
Lai (Hakha)	**thîir ≍** thîar	iron, steel, metal	VanBik 2009:392
Lushai [Mizo]	**thi-r**	iron	Benedict 1972:372
	thĭir	iron, steel, metal	VanBik 2009:392
	thîr	iron	Marrison 1967
	thi:r	iron	Bhaskararao 1996:1594

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**thúa**	iron, metal	VanBik 2009:392

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	**t^{h}iar**	iron	Brown 1837
	t^{h}iár	iron	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Nature.150

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**thar**	iron	Marrison 1967
	t^{h}ir	iron	Brown 1837

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***jən** IRON

**Central Naga*	*__jən__	IRON	Bruhn 2014a:III.174

**Ao*	*(a-)**jən**	IRON	Bruhn 2014a:II.296
Ao (Chungli)	**in**	iron	Marrison 1967
	jən^{2}	iron (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.296
	yongmen **in**	copper	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **yin**	iron	Marrison 1967
	yongmen **in**	brass	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**in**-tʃaŋ	bullet ('iron' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	jùŋpə̀n **jin**	copper, brass (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**jin**	iron (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**jon**^{1}tʃak^{2}	iron (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.174
	un jak	iron	Murry *et al.* 1978:63
	yóŋ̣ cāk >	iron	Acharya 1975
	yon chak	brass; iron; copper	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	yon jak	iron	Murry *et al.* 1978:63
	^{1}**yun**-$^{(2)}$džak	iron	Weidert 1987:435
Sangtam	**i** thse	iron	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
	ri che	iron	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**yin**	iron	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**in** chi	iron	Marrison 1967
	^{2}**yin** ^{2}tši [^{2}]	iron	Weidert 1987:435

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***tʰir** IRON

**Tangkhulic*	***tʰir**	iron	Mortensen 2012:673
Tangkhul (Standard)	**tin**	iron	Brown 1837

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**sər**	iron	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**śer**	iron	Benedict 1972:372
	sher	iron	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**sil**	iron	Benedict 1972:372
Garo (Bangladesh)	**sil**	iron (n.)	Burling 2003:5.88-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**syl**	iron (n.)	van Breugel 2008

2.1.5. Dhimal

Dhimal	**śir**	iron	Benedict 1972:372

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**sel**	iron	Benedict 1972:80n244
Sampang	**syel** / **sel**	iron	Benedict 1972:80n244

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**sya:l**	iron	Benedict 1972:80n244
Thulung	**sel**	iron	Allen 1975

(6) PTB *syam IRON

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***syam**	iron	Matisoff 2003a:613; LaPolla 1987:126; Benedict 1972:228

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	da-**čã**	iron; metal	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ďa-**čã** čan-ču	tripod (iron~)	Sun 1993b
	da-**čã** mú-geʔ	tongs	Sun 1993b
	dá-**čàŋ**	iron	Sun 1993b
	dá-**čàŋ** hu-bur	iron tube	Sun 1993b

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**shíng**	iron	Brown 1895:67
	siŋ	iron	Jacquesson 2005

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**siŋ**	iron	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:288-3
	siŋ taŋgyúŋ	shovel (more exactly, an iron rod used to dig holes)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:118-12

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**ʂɛ**^{55}	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.18
	ʂɛ^{55}ndzi^{55}	nail (tool)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:360.18
	ʂɛ^{55}n̥o^{55}ko^{55}	steel	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:40.18
Guiqiong	**ʃɔ̃**^{53}	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.17
	ʃɑ̃^{31}	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.16
	ʃɑ̃^{31}tshũ^{31}wu^{55}	blacksmith (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0186.16
Lyuzu	(**ʂʅ**^{53}tʂʅ^{53}) kæ^{53}	hammer in (a nail) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1280.18
	ʂɯ^{33}za^{53}	trivet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0565.18
	ʂɯ^{53}	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.18
	ʂɯ^{53}tshu^{33}sʉ^{31}	blacksmith (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0186.18
	ʂɯ^{55}tʂɯ^{53}	nail / tack (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0580.18
Muya	**ɕe**^{53}	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.15
	ɕe^{55}ŋguə^{33}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.15
	ɕe^{55}βə^{53}	lock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0584.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ɕe**^{53}	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.15
Namuyi	**ʂu**^{53}	iron; steel	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:40.19
	ʂu^{55}qhɛ˞^{33}	nail (tool)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:360.19
	ʂu^{53}	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.46
	ʂu^{53}ngæ^{53}	blacksmith (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0186.46
	ʂu^{53}qhæ^{31}	nail / tack (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0580.46
	ʂu^{53}sã^{55}tɕuo^{31}	trivet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0565.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	(**ɕẽ**^{55}quɛ^{55}) to^{11}	hammer in (a nail) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1280.10
	ɕẽ^{55}	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.10
	ɕẽ^{55}quɛ^{55}	nail / tack (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0580.10
	ɕẽ^{55}tsø^{55}mi^{11}	blacksmith (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0186.10
	ɕẽ^{55}tʂuɑ^{55}	trivet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0565.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʂə̃**^{55}	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.09
	ʂə̃^{55}thi^{55}	rust (iron) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.09
	ʂə̃^{55}tsa^{55}	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.09
	ʂə̃^{55}tsəu^{55}mi^{13}	blacksmith (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0186.09
	ʂə̃^{55}tʂuɑ^{55}	trivet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0565.09
	ʂə̃^{55}ze^{55}	nail / tack (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0580.09
	ʂə̃^{55}ʐa^{55}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʂə̃**^{55}	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.11
	ʂə̃^{55}tsiɯu^{55}	strike (iron)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:589.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɕĩ**^{55}	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.10
	ɕĩ^{55}tsiu^{53}	strike (iron)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:589.10
Qiang	**si** ~ **śyi** ~ **śye**	iron	Benedict 1972:53n179
Qiang (Longxi)	**ɕà** (mó)	iron	Evans 1999:63
	ɕà mó-tshà piá	iron pot, wok [iron-pot]	Evans 1999:756
	ɕà tè	pincers, tongs [iron-m]	Evans 1999:857
	ɕà tsɨ̀	rust	Evans 1999:64
	ɕà-dʐù	gun [iron-m]	Evans 1999:898
	ɕà-dʐù-mù	blacksmith [iron-beat-AGT]	Evans 1999:237
	ɕà-gù	rust [iron-v]	Evans 1999:64 [a]
	ɕà-qhə̀˞	rust [iron-feces]	Evans 1999:64
	ɕà-teí	sickle [iron-m]	Evans 1999:878
	ɕà-tè	fire tongs [iron-pinch] (also 'tweezers'); tweezers [iron-pinch]	Evans 1999:787; Evans 1999:817
	ɕè-mì	tripod [iron-m]	Evans 1999:786
Qiang (Mawo)	**su˞** mu	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.8
	su:˞ mu	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.08
	su:˞ mu dʐyəm	blacksmith (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0186.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**ɕì**	iron	Evans 1999:63; Evans 1999:63
	ɕì diò mú	blacksmith	Evans 1999:237
	ɕì dɛ̀-tsú	sickle [knife-small]	Evans 1999:878
	ɕì dɛ́	knife; wood-chopper (ɕì = 'iron'); sickle [knife, iron-m]	Evans 1999:762; Evans 1999:879; Evans 1999:878
	ɕì-guí	smelt [iron-m]	Evans 1999:2143
	ɕì-piá	fire shovel (small) [iron-m]	Evans 1999:858
	ɕì-tè ~ **ɕí**-tè	fire tongs [iron-pinch]	Evans 1999:787
Qiang (Taoping)	**śi**^{55}	iron	LaPolla 1987:126
	ɕi^{55}	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.9
	ɕi^{55}dio^{33}	strike (iron)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:589.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɕã**^{55}	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɕo**^{55}	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.13
	ɕo^{55}ndze^{55}kɯ^{55}rə^{33}	hammer in (a nail) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1280.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɕõ**^{55}ti^{53}	strike (iron)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:589.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɕo**^{55}ŋgər^{55}	blacksmith (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0186.13
Xumi	**ɕi**^{33}bɛ^{53}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.17
	ʂõ^{33}bɛ^{53}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.17
	ʂõ^{33}ko^{53}	trivet (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0565.17
	ʂõ^{35}	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.17
	ʂɑ̃^{33}χo^{55}	nail (tool)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:360.20
	ʂɑ̃^{35}	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ɕi**^{55}	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**tɕo**	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.12
Ergong (Danba)	**tɕo**	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Tsuta)	**ṣam** ~ **ṣom**	iron	Benedict 1972:53n179
rGyalrong	**śom**	iron	LaPolla 1987:126; Benedict 1972:228
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	**ʃam**	iron	Nagano & Prins 2013:1381
rGyalrong	**ʃam**	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	**ʃam44**	iron	Nagano & Prins 2013:1381
Caodeng	**ʃəm**-rkiʔ	iron hoop	Sun 1997a
	ʃəm-skjɔʔ	ladle (of iron)	Sun 1997a
	ʃəmʔ	iron	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	**ʃɨm44**	iron	Nagano & Prins 2013:1381
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ʃɑm**	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**ɕom**	iron	Nagano & Prins 2013:1381
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	**ɕəm44**	iron	Nagano & Prins 2013:1381
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**ɕʰəm̂**	iron	Nagano & Prins 2013:1381
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	**¯ʃom**	iron	Nagano & Prins 2013:1381
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	**\`ɕom**	iron	Nagano & Prins 2013:1381
rGyalrong	**sham**	iron	Nagano 1997:101; Nagano 1997:8.1
rGBenzhen	**ʃamʔ**	iron	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Anong	**śam**	iron	LaPolla 1987:126; Benedict 1972:228
Anong (Rawang)	**śam**	iron, sword	Benedict 1972:53n179
Anong (dialect)	**śìam**	iron	Benedict 1972:228
Rawang	**ʃam**^{31}	iron	LaPolla 2003:65
	ʃam^{31} ril^{33}	rust	LaPolla 2003:67
	ɕam^{31}	sword	LaPolla 2003:629; LaPolla 2003:630
Nung	**ʂɑ**^{31}khɛŋ^{55}	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.21
Anong	**ʂɑ**^{31}khɑŋ^{55}	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.44
Trung [Dulong]	**śyam**	iron	LaPolla 1987:126; Benedict 1972:53n179
Dulong	**ɕɑm**^{53}	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.20

[a] [Source Note] cf. 'wrinkle'.

	ɕɑm^{53}mɯ^{31}tɛp^{55}	tongs (fire) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0566.20
	ɕɑm^{53}tɯ^{31}pi^{53}	sheath / scabbard (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0634.20
	ɕɑm^{53}tɑʔ^{55}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.20
	ɕɑm^{53}wɑ^{53}pu^{55}dʑi^{55}	blacksmith (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0186.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ɕăm^{53}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**śam^{53}**	iron	LaPolla 1987:126
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**śam^{53}**	iron	LaPolla 1987:126
	ɕăm^{53}	iron	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɕăm^{53}thăʔ^{55}	pot / wok	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**ʂaŋ^{55}**	iron	LaPolla 1987:126
Achang (Longchuan)	**ʂam^{55}**	iron	LaPolla 1987:126
	ʂam^{55}	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.28
	ʂam^{55}	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.41
Achang (Luxi)	**sam^{55}**	iron	LaPolla 1987:126
Achang (Xiandao)	**ʂam^{55}**	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.29
Bola (Luxi)	**ʃɛ̃^{55}**tą̱ʔ^{55}	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tθɑ̃^{22}**	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.27
	tθɑ̃^{22}dʑi^{55}tɛʔ^{4}	rust (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.27
	tθɑ̃^{22}tɕhi^{55}	rust (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθɑ̃^{22}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.40
	tθɑ̃^{22}tɕhi^{55}	rust	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:39.40
Burmese (Written)	**htɑm̥^{2}**khje^{3}tɑk^{4}	rust (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.26
	sam̥	iron	Marrison 1967
	sam	iron	Hansson 1989:396
	sam̥	iron	Benedict 1976a
	sam	iron	LaPolla 1987:126; Benedict 1972:228
	thɑm̥^{2}	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.39
	thɑm̥^{2}khjan̥^{3}	rust	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:39.39
	tθɑm^{2}	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.26
	tθɑm̥^{2}khje^{3}	rust (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**ʃɛ̃^{31}**tɔʔ^{55}	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.31
	ʃɛ̃^{31}u̱k^{55}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ʃa̱m^{33}**ou^{55}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.33
Marma	**θaiŋ**	iron	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:288-3
Maru [Langsu]	**ʃɛ̃^{31}**tɔʔ^{55}	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ʃam^{51}** toʔ^{55}	iron	LaPolla 1987:126
	ʃam^{51}to̱ʔ^{55}	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.30
	ʃam^{51}to̱ʔ^{55}	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.42
	ʃam^{51}to̱ʔ^{55}au^{21}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.30

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***xam^{1}**	iron	Bradley 1979b:403; Hansson 1989:396
PNL	**xam^{1}**	iron	CHEN Kang 1986a:148.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**sɛ^{33}**	iron	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	sɛ^{33}	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.47
Lalo	**sjý**	iron	Björverud 1994
	ɕy^{55}	iron	CHEN Kang 1986a:148.
Lipho	**xɤ^{33}**	iron	CHEN Kang 1986a:148.
Nasu	**ɕe^{21}**	iron	CHEN Kang 1986a:148.
Neisu	**ɕɛ^{21}**	iron	CHEN Kang 1986a:148.
Nesu	**ɕe^{21}**	iron	CHEN Kang 1986a:148.
Nosu	**ʂi^{33}**	iron	CHEN Kang 1986a:148.
Nusu (Southern)	**ɕɛ̃^{35}**	iron	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɕɑ^{35}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.45
Nusu (Central)	**ʂa^{33}**	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.34
	ʂa^{33}ɣɯ^{55}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ʂhɔ^{31}**	iron	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**xɯ^{21}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.22
	xɯ^{21}də^{33}	strike (iron)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:589.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʂɯ^{33}**du^{33}	iron (metal)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ^{33}ti^{33}	anvil	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ^{34}ʐ̩^{33}	iron, molten	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ^{34}ʤi^{33}	iron, pig	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ^{34}ʤ̩^{33}	forge (iron)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**xɯ^{33}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ɕe^{21}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**xɯ^{33}**	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.37
	xɯ^{33}	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.24
	xɯ^{33}tʂhɯ^{33}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**xy^{55}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ɕy^{55}**	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.36
Yi (Wuding)	**xɚ^{11}**tʂhɚ^{33}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.38
	ɕe^{11}	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.38
Yi (Xide)	**hɯ^{34}**dʑ̩^{33}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.35
	ʂɯ^{33} (du^{33})	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.35
	ʂɯ^{33}du^{33}	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.21
	ʂɯ^{44}dz̩^{33}	strike (iron)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:589.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**xɯ^{2}**	iron	CHEN Kang 1986a:148.
Jinuo	**ʃɛ^{42}**	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**ɕɛ^{42}**	iron	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ɕɛ^{42}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.34
	ɕɛ^{44}jə^{33}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**ɕɛ^{31}**xɔ^{33}	iron	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɕo^{33}**	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.43
Lahu (Black)	**so^{33}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**so^{1}**	iron	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**haw^{4}**	iron	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**hɔ^{33}**	iron (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}da^{44}	iron rod	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}dzi^{21}	pig iron	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}dɔ^{33}khu^{33}	iron ore	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}dɤ^{21}	strike iron	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}dɤ^{21}thi^{33}	iron anvil	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}dɤ^{21}tɤ^{55}	iron factory	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}dʑæ^{35} dʒ̩^{21}dʑæ^{35}	bastion of iron	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}ji^{33}	molten iron	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}ji^{35}gu^{33}	iron ladle	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}khi^{21}	iron dregs	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}khi^{21}la^{21}ji^{33}	like iron and steel (strong-willed)	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}khu^{55}	iron ingot	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}khɔ^{21}dzø^{33}	iron bridge	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}lɔ^{33}hĩ^{33}	iron sliding cable	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}mi^{33}	wrought iron	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}na^{33}	iron and steel	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}nu^{21}	pig iron	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}pa^{33}	iron pot (that Lisu people often use for cooking gruel)	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}phi^{21}	iron plate	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}tɕi^{33}tɤ^{55}	iron mill	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}ɔʔ^{21}tɕɯ^{35}	iron wire	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}ɣɔʔ^{21}	iron chain	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}ʃl^{33}hĩ^{33}	iron chain; fetters	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{33}ʒl^{44}	molten iron	Bradley 1994
	hɤ^{33}tɕhi^{33} sa^{21} tɕɔ^{33}	three iron tripods	Bradley 1994
	hɤ^{33}tɕhi^{33}tɕɔ^{33}	iron tripod (for propping up the cooking pot) (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**xo̱^{33}**	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.40
	xo^{44}	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.27
	xwō	iron	Benedict 1972:53n177
Yi (Sani)	**xɯ^{33}**	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.39
	xɯ^{33}tʂɒ^{44}tʂhʐ̩^{33}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.39
Sani [Nyi]	**xɤ^{33}**	iron	CHEN Kang 1986a:148.

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**sjhḿ**	iron	Hansson 1989:396
Akha (Thai)	**sjhḿ**	iron	Hansson 1989:396
Akha (Yunnan)	**sjhḿ** khý	iron tripod	Hansson 1989:298
Akha (Thai)	**sjhḿ**-khý	iron tripod	Hansson 1989:298; Hansson 1989:397
Akha (Yunnan)	**sjhḿ/shḿ**	iron	Hansson 1989:396
Akha	**šḿ**	iron	Benedict 1972:53n178
Bisu	**hjám**	iron	Bradley 199x
	ʃám k^{h}tú	iron tripod	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**sjhɔ́**	iron	Hansson 1989:396
	sjhɔ́ khý	iron tripod	Hansson 1989:298; Hansson 1989:397
Hani (Dazhai)	**sɔ^{55}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.31
	sɔ^{55}di^{31}	strike (iron)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:589.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**sɔ^{55}**	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.41
	sɔ^{55}tsha^{55}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**se^{55}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɕm̥^{55}**	iron	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Haoni	**ʃu^{55}**	iron	Hansson 1989:396
Hani (Shuikui)	**ʃu^{55}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**ʃu^{55}**	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.42
	ʃu^{55}ŋa^{33}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.42
Mpi	**siŋ^{6}**	iron	Hansson 1989:396; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**sam33**	iron	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:012076

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ʂu**˥	iron	Michaud 2006–2009:190
	ʂu˥q^{h}ɔ˥	iron nail	Michaud 2006–2009:1226
Na (Yongning)	**ʂe**˧mu˧	iron	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˧q^{h}v˧	iron nail; nail	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˧ɲi˩	fire tongs	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˩	iron (monosyllable)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˩lɑ˩hĩ˧	blacksmith	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂe˩lɑ*ʌ*	forge (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʂe^{33}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.29
	ʂe^{33}kho^{33}	nail (tool)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:360.29
Naxi	**ʂu^{21}**	iron (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.45
	ʂu^{21}bɣ^{33}	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʂu^{31}**	iron	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:38.28
	ʂu^{31}pɯ^{55}	nail (tool)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:360.28
	ʂu^{31}ty^{33}	strike (iron)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:589.28

(7) PNN *yaːn IRON

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***yaːn**	iron	French 1983:506

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**jan**	iron	Marrison 1967
	jan phoan	hook (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	**yan**	iron	Marrison 1967
	yan hi	knife (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**yan**	iron	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**in**	dao	Marrison 1967
	in lou	sword	Marrison 1967
	in shou	knife (n.)	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**yan**	iron	Marrison 1967
	yan kei	hook (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yan shing	gun	Marrison 1967
Phom	ni **yam**	iron	Marrison 1967
	yan	dao; sword	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	yan lu	sword	Marrison 1967
	yæn^{55}	large knife / sword / dao	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**jan**	iron	Marrison 1967
	jan tua	gun	Marrison 1967

(8) PTk *ri IRON

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***ri**	iron	Mortensen 2012:672
Champhung	a-**ruk**	iron	Brown 1837

Huishu	ʔa-mə-**ri**	iron	Mortensen 2012:Nature.145
Kachai	mə-**rɐ**	iron	Mortensen 2012:Nature.145
Tangkhul	ma **ri**	iron	Marrison 1967
	ri	iron	Bhat 1969:91
Tankghul (Central)	ma-**ri**	iron	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	ma-**rɯ**	iron	Brown 1837
Ukhrul	mə-**ri**	iron	Mortensen 2012

(9) PTB *l-tsyak IRON / IRON INSTRUMENT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***l-tsyak**	iron / iron instrument	Matisoff 2003a:617

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	jon[1]**tʃak**[2]	iron (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.174
	un **jak**	iron	Murry *et al.* 1978:63
	yóṇ **cāk** >	iron	Acharya 1975
	yon **chak**	brass; iron; copper	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	yon **jak**	iron	Murry *et al.* 1978:63
	[1]yun-[(2)]**džak**	iron	Weidert 1987:435

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**rtɕak**	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.05
	rtɕak thom	ladle (iron) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0551.05
	rtɕak zaŋ	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htɕak**	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.4
	htɕak gar je	strike (iron)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:589.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**htɕag**	iron	Sun 1985a:400
	rtɕak	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.5
Tibetan (Written)	**lcags**	iron	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:400
	lchags.bya	airplane	Sun 1985c:9 [a]
	lcógs-mug	worm (that eats iron away (?))	Jäschke 1881
	ltšags	iron	Benedict 1972:156n421
	ltśags	iron	Benedict 1972:33n104
	ltɕags	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.01
	ltɕags	iron	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:38.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htɕaχ**	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.04
	htɕaχ zaŋ	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.04

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**jak**	bit of a bridle	Benedict 1976a
	zɑk[4]	bit (for horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0591.26

7. Karenic: ***tha**ʔ[D] IRON, ***th(á/a)**ʔ IRON / NEEDLE

**Karen [Burling]*	***tha**ʔ[2]	iron	Luangthongkum 2013:155
**Karen*	***tha**ʔ[D]	iron	Luangthongkum 2013:155
	***thá**ʔ	iron / / needle	Jones 1961:84
	***tha**ʔ	iron	Benedict 1972:9n33
Bwe	**tha**[33]	iron	Luangthongkum 2013:155
Karen	**tha**[55]	iron (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0054.50
	tθă[31]bø[33]**tha**[55]	wok (large, iron) / pan (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0545.50
Kayah	**the**[55]	iron	Luangthongkum 2013:155
Kayan (Pekon)	dè **t[h]à**	metal trap, mouse trap [lit. trap-iron] (N.)	Manson 2010
	prậgwị̈ **t[h]à**	ironsmith [lit. person-forge-iron] (N.)	Manson 2010
	pè **t[h]à**	weave [lit. ?-iron] (V.)	Manson 2010
	rō **t[h]à**	iron snake (small snake that is difficult to cut, not aggressive but if it bites you, you will die) [lit. snake-iron] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**thaʔ**[45]	iron	Luangthongkum 2013:155
Kayan (Pekon)	**t[h]à**	iron (N.)	Manson 2010
	t[h]à dì	iron tongs [lit. iron-pinch] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t[h]à mậnái	chisel [lit. iron-do-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t[h]à rè	scissors [lit. iron-cut] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t[h]à sì	screwdriver [lit. iron-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
	t[h]à θyán	nail [lit. iron-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**thɔ**[33]	iron	Luangthongkum 2013:155
Pa-O (Southern)	**thaʔ**[21]	iron	Luangthongkum 2013:155
Pa-O (Northern)	**thaʔ**[21]	iron	Luangthongkum 2013:155
Pwo (Northern)	**thaʔ**[45]	iron	Luangthongkum 2013:155
Pwo (Southern)	**thaʔ**[21]	iron	Luangthongkum 2013:155
Sgaw (Southern)	**thaʔ**[21]	iron	Luangthongkum 2013:155
Sgaw (Northern)	**thaʔ**[45]	iron	Luangthongkum 2013:155

[a] Lit. "iron bird."

Chinese comparandum

鐵 OC ***t'iet**, *GSR* #1256b 'iron'; Coblin 1986:98-99 ST **hliek*** > PC ***hlik** > OC ***thit**; Schuessler 2003:497 ***lhêt ~ lhît**; B & S 2011: ***l̥ʳik**; Mand. **tiě**.

For 鐵, Karlgren posits OC ***t'-**; later reconstructions have ST, PC and/or OC voiceless lateral ***lh-**, ***hl-**, or ***l̥-** (at the MC stage, all reconstructions for 鐵 show initial ***t'-**, cf. B & S 2011 MC ***thet**).

Significantly, the recent ST, PC and OC reconstructions for 鐵 cited above, with initial ***lh-**, ***hl-**, or ***l̥-**, bear close comparison with PTB ***l-tsyak** 'iron'. In fact, some scholars would prefer to derive WT **lčags** 'iron' via palatalization of earlier PT ***hlyak** (Coblin, ibid.) or earlier ***lhyaks** (Schuessler, ibid.). This looks phonetically plausible; however, it begs the question of subgroup relationships within TB. Is the same shift ***hly/lhy-** > ***lč** intended to account not only for WT **lčags**, but presumably, and ultimately also, WB **jak** 'bit of a bridle (of iron)' and Lotha Naga **jon[1] tʃak[2]** 'iron' (Bruhn 14 PCN:III.174)? For now, this intriguing issue will be left open for further inquiry. [SPB]

(10) PKC *suan LEAD (metal)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***suan**	LEAD (metal)	VanBik 2009:659

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**suan**	lead (metal)	VanBik 2009:659

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**sùan**	lead (metal)	VanBik 2009:659
Lushai [Mizo]	**suan**	lead (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sŭan	lead (metal)	VanBik 2009:659

(11) PTB *kar LEAD / BRONZE

The cognacy of the Tiddim form remains to be substantiated.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kar**	lead (metal) / bronze	Matisoff 2003a:595

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**`hak**	lead (n.)	Henderson 1965

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Balti)	**k[h]ʌr** ba·	bell metal	Rangan 1975:65
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥkhar**-ba ~ **mkhar**-ba	bronze / bell-metal	Benedict 1972:15n54(c)

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**khâi**	lead or tin	Benedict 1976a
	khaì	lead	Benedict 1972:15n54(c)

(12) PTB *(t)swa-y ≍ *t(s)wa-y RUST / DROSS / STAIN / EXCREMENT

The initial consonant reflexes of this root vary between affricates, dental stop, and **s-**, in a manner similar to PTB ***(t)sum** MORTAR (§5.5).

Written Tibetan attests both the **b-** and **g-** prefixes.

Mizo has a doublet **dai-lêng** 'shit' and **tŭi-êk** 'rust', motivating the reconstruction of medial ***-w-**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**t**)sa:y	rust / dross / stain / shit	Matisoff 1985a:108
	***tsa:y ≍ sa:y**	rust / dross / stain / excrement	Matisoff 2003a:210

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**tai**-é	excrement; dross; rust	Matisoff 1985a:108
	tai-é dut-shu	rust, get rusty; to mess oneself (as a child) (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:108
	tai-é é	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Damu	***tsa:**-p[h]oʔ	rust (v.)	Sun 1993b

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**dai**-lêng	shit (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	tŭi-êk	rust	Matisoff 1985a:108
	tui êk	rust (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**sai**-i	rust, rusty	Matisoff 1985a:108

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Phom	**düi**	rust (n.)	Marrison 1967
	dɯ[33]	rust	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**ʃa**[55]	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.19

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**tsa** tɕhak	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htsa**	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɣja**	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**tsa**[53]	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.03
	tsa[53]phoʔ[53]	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ja**[53]	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tsa**[53]	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.2
	tsa[55]	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.02
	tsa[55] ca[132]	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.02
Tibetan (Written)	**btsa**	rust (n.)	Marrison 1967
	gjaɲ	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.1
	gtsaɲ	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.01
	gtsaɲ rgjag	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.01
	ɣya	rust (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hja**	rust (copper, silver) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.04
	tsa	rust (iron) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.04
	tsa tɕhaχ	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.04

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Jiulong)	**sy**[55]	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.10
Pumi (Lanping)	ʂə̃[55]**tsa**[55]	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sy**[55]	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**so**[35]	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**zə̀** ɳì	rust (v.)	Evans 1999:2318
	zɨ́ zú	rust (v.)	Evans 1999:2318
	ɕà **tsɨ̀**	rust	Evans 1999:64
Qiang (Mawo)	**dzər** quɑ	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.08
	dzɛr quɑ	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.08
	ɻtsa	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.8
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	kə[35]**dzai**[55]	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ptsa**[55]	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.13
	tə[55]**ptsa**[33]	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.13
Xumi	**ɕi**[35]	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	kə[55] **ʑi**[33]	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.14
	ʑi[13]	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	gə **ʁjɑ**	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.12
Ergong (Danba)	**vtsha**	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.14
Daofu	**ʁjɑ**	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.12
	ʁjɑ ru	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	(**rtsɐ**) kə ndzok	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.11
	rtsɐ	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.11
rGyalrong	**rtsɐ**	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.12
	rtse	rust	Nagano 1997:8.11

rGBenzhen	**rtsɐ**	rust	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Nung	**dʑi^{31}** khi^{55}u^{31}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.21
	dʑi^{31}khi^{55}	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.21
Anong	**dʑi^{31}**khi^{55}	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.44
Dulong	**sɑ** i^{53}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.20
	sɑ ·i^{55}	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.20
Trung [Dulong]	**sɑ^{55}**	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.46
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**ɕiu^{55}**	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.38
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**siu^{35}**	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.28
	siu^{35}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.28
	siu^{35}	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.41
Bola (Luxi)	ta^{55}kji^{31}**tui^{31}**	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.32
	tui^{31}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**tsɔi^{35}**	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.31
	tsɔ̆^{35}kjik^{55}	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tsə̆^{33}**kjei^{33}	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.33
Maru [Langsu]	**tsɔ̆^{35}**kjik^{55}	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tsui^{21}**	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.30
	tʃo^{51}kjit^{55}	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.42
	tʃo^{51}kji̱k^{55}	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.30
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Nanhua)	**ʑi^{33}**ȵ̩i^{33}	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.24
	ʑi̱^{33}ȵ̩i^{33}dʐo^{21}	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ɣɯ^{55}**tɕi^{33}	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ɣɯ^{55}**tsᴇ^{33}	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.36
	ɣɯ^{55}tsᴇ^{33}dɪ̱^{33}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.36
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	**su^{55}**ȵ̩i^{55}	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**su^{55}** ȵ̩i^{55} tu̱^{31}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.41
	su^{55}ȵ̩i^{55}	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**siu^{55}**	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.30
Hani (Shuikui)	**ɕiu^{55}**	rust	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:39.32
Hani (Mojiang)	tɕhi^{55} **ɕiu^{55}** khɛ^{33}	rust (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.42
	ɕiu^{55}	rust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.42
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ʈʂɯ**˧ qʰæ˧ n˧ dze˧	rust (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3089
	ʈʂɯ˧qʰæ˧	rust	Michaud 2006–2009:194
7. Karenic			
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**da^{31}** e̱^{31}	feces	Dai Qingxia 1989k:187

(13) PCN *maj SALT

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***maj**	SALT	Bruhn 2014a:III.041
Lotha Naga	**ma^{3}**-kuʔ^{3}	salt lick (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	o^{1}-**maʔ^{3}**	salt (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.041
	ō **mā**	salt	Acharya 1975
	o **ma**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **ma**	salt	Murry *et al.* 1978:106
Sangtam	**mi**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	thi **mi**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967

[a] [Source Note] salt-hole

(14) PTB *hyam SALTY

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***gryam**	salt / salty	Coblin 1986:128
	***gyam(?)**	salt / salty	Chou Fa-kao 1972:671f
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***hyam**	salty	Matisoff 2003a:594
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**hlam**-	have taste (sp.), tangy, salty (not excessively) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	hlam-ʔo	salty	Caughley 1972:12.B.26
	hlam.ʔo	salty (slightly) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.26
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	**xa^{31}**	salty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:891.31
7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***hyam**	salty	Benedict 1972:189n488
	***hyɑm**	salty	Chou Fa-kao 1972:671f
Karen	**hɔ̱^{55}**	salty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.50
Pwo	**ɣą**	salty	Benedict 1972:p.138
	ɣɑ	salt / salty	Chou Fa-kao 1972:671f
Sgaw	**hɔ**	salt / salty	Chou Fa-kao 1972:671f
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	鹹	salty	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3044
Chinese (GSR #)	**0671f**	salty	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3044
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gʻɛm/ɣǎm**	salt / salty	Chou Fa-kao 1972:671f
Chinese (Old)	Cə.**gˤrom** {Cə.[g]ˤr[o]m}	salty	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3044
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**heam**	salty	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3044
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**xián**	salty	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3044

Chinese comparandum

鹹 OC ***g'ɛm**, *GSR* #671f 'salty'; B & S 2011: ***Cə.gˤrom {Cə. [g] ˤr [o] m}**; Mand. **xián**.

(15) IA *gan ⪤ *gat ⪤ *gay SULFUR

This is a loan from Indo-Aryan, ult. from Sanskrit *gandha-* 'odor, odoriferous substance'. As an interesting sidelight, this root is attested in Romani *khan(d)*, where it means 'stink, stench, smell' (p.c. Terrence S. Kaufman).

The Mikir forms descend immediately from Assamese *gandhaka*. Cf. Turner 1966:214-5.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gan ⪤ gat ⪤ gay**	sulfur	Matisoff 1985a:155
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**-kaːt**	sulphur (n.)	Henderson 1965
	-kaːt	sulfur	Matisoff 1985a:155
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**kât**	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**kai**	sulfur	Matisoff 1985a:155
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**gündup**	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**kantuk**	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**gondok**	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
	kóndhók ~ kóndohók	sulfur (n.)	Matisoff 1985a:49
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**gandak**	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**kan**	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
	ka̱n^{55}	sulphur (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0060.19
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Balti)	**gʌn̪d̪ʌk**	sulphur	Rangan 1975:38 [a]
4. Nungic			
Rawang	**gɑn^{31}**	sulphur	LaPolla 2003:71
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	**kan^{55}**	sulphur (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0060.29
Bola (Luxi)	**ka̱n^{55}**	sulphur (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0060.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**kɑ̃^{53}**	sulphur (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0060.27
Burmese (Written)	**kan'**	sulfur	Matisoff 1985a:155
	kan.	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
	kan'	sulphur	Benedict 1976a
	kɑn^{1}	sulphur (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0060.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**ka̱n^{55}**	sulphur (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0060.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ka̱n^{55}**	sulphur (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0060.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kan^{51}**	sulphur (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0060.30
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**kà(n)**	sulfur	Matisoff 1988a:326

[a] < Urdu gandhak

3.2.5 Landforms and geographical features

(1) PTB *b-liŋ FOREST / FIELD

STC (pp.80-81, n.246) hesitantly groups Tibetan **źiŋ** and Lepcha **lyăŋ** in this etymon, but the semantic differences among the various reflexes are certainly not too great to preclude this interpretation.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-liŋ**	forest; field	Matisoff 2003a:600; Benedict 1972:378
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	ha-**bliŋ**	jhum field in second year of cultivation (ha 'earth')	Benedict 1972:378
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**briŋ**	forest	Benedict 1972:378
	buruŋ	forest	Benedict 1972:378
Garo (Bangladesh)	**bring**	forest; jungle (n.)	Burling 2003:4.630-II:idx
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**ling**	forest	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	**ling**	forest	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**mă^{31}liŋ^{33}**	forest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0050.19
	məliŋ	forest	Benedict 1972:378
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**məlíŋ**	grove / forest	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:274
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Mama)	**leŋ^{13}**	field	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:27.6
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Balti)	**žiŋ**	field	Rangan 1975:73
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**xin^{13}**	field	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:27.3
Tibetan (Written)	**zhing**.kha	open field	Sun 1985c:253
	źiŋ	field, ground, soil	Benedict 1972:80n246
	ʒiṅ	field	Marrison 1967
	ʑiŋ ka	field	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:27.1
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**lyăŋ**	field, land	Benedict 1972:81n246
4. Nungic			
Anong	**məliŋ**	forest	Benedict 1972:378

Chinese comparandum

田 OC ***d'ien**, *GSR* #362a-c 'field, land'; Schuessler 2007:496 ***lîn**; B & S 2011: ***lˤiŋ**; Mand. **tián**.
甸 OC ***d'ien**, *GSR* #362g 'royal domain, cultivated land'; Schuessler 2007:496 ***lîns**; B & S 2011: ***lˤiŋ-s**; Mand. **diàn**.

(2) PKar *kla^{A} FOREST / JUNGLE

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***kla^{A}**	forest, jungle	Luangthongkum 2013:123
Kayah	**kle^{33}**	forest, jungle	Luangthongkum 2013:123
Kayaw	**ka^{55}**	forest, jungle	Luangthongkum 2013:123
Pa-O (Northern)	**khla^{31}**¨	forest, jungle	Luangthongkum 2013:123
Pa-O (Southern)	**kla^{31}**¨	forest, jungle	Luangthongkum 2013:123
Pwo (Northern)	**kla^{55}**	forest, jungle	Luangthongkum 2013:123
Pwo (Southern)	**kla^{31}**¨	forest, jungle	Luangthongkum 2013:123
Sgaw (Southern)	**kla^{55}**	forest, jungle	Luangthongkum 2013:123
Sgaw (Northern)	pɣa^{11}¨laʔ^{45}**klaʔ^{45}**	forest, jungle	Luangthongkum 2013:123

(3) PTB *gliŋ GROUND / LAND / ISLAND

STC #128 groups Black Lahu **mɨ̀-gɨ̀** 'land' (cf. also Yellow Lahu **mi^{2}gɯ^{2}**) in this etymon but this is not plausible, since the rhyme ***-iŋ** consistently becomes **-ɛ** in Black Lahu. The second syllable should rather be assigned to PTB ***m/s-k-rəy** SKIN (§1.6.5), so that the compound **mɨ̀-gɨ̀** actually means "earth-skin".

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*gliŋ	land; land, ground, island	Matisoff 2003a:590; Benedict 1972:128

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	kriŋ-muŋ	hill	Benedict 1972:128

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	gliŋ	island, continent; region, country	Benedict 1972:128

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	krâñ	dry land, ground	Matisoff 1974:151; Benedict 1976a
	krań	dry land, ground	Benedict 1972:128

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Southern)	gi$\tilde{ɔ}^{55}$	flat / level (land)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	kh$ɻ\tilde{ɔ}^{55}$	patch (of ground / field) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0858.34

(4) PKC *mual HILL / MOUND

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	*mual	HILL / MOUND	VanBik 2009:772

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	muel nō	hill	VanBik 2009:772
Thado	múol	hill	VanBik 2009:772
Tiddim	mual^{2}	hill	VanBik 2009:772; Bhaskararao 1996:1143

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	máawy	hill, mountain	VanBik 2009:772

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	mûal	hill, mound	VanBik 2009:772
Lai (Falam)	mŭal	hill, mound	VanBik 2009:772
Lushai [Mizo]	mual	hill	Marrison 1967
	múal	mound, a hill a hillock, a knoll, a spur (of a hill), rising ground (n.)	VanBik 2009:772
	mual	hill	Bhaskararao 1996:1143

(5) PKC *klaaŋ HILL / MOUNTAIN

This root is possibly related to PTB *s-gaŋ MOUNTAIN / RIDGE / HILL (§3.2.5).

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	*klaaŋ	HILL / MOUNTAIN	VanBik 2009:1263

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	taang	hill	VanBik 2009:1263
Thado	hláaŋ	mountain, mountain range	VanBik 2009:1263

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	kyan	mountain, hill (n.)	VanBik 2009:1263

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	tlâaŋ	hill, mountain	VanBik 2009:1263
Lai (Falam)	tlăaŋ	hill, mountain	VanBik 2009:1263
Lushai [Mizo]	tláang	mountain, a hill (n.)	VanBik 2009:1263
	tlâng	hill; mountain	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	tlà	mountain, a hill (n.)	VanBik 2009:1263

(6) PCC *vaaw JUNGLE (near hillside field)

1.2.2. Central Chin

*Central Chin	*vaaw	JUNGLE (near hillside field)	VanBik 2009:1157
Lai (Hakha)	văaw	jungle bordering hillside field (n.)	VanBik 2009:1157
Lushai [Mizo]	vàu	jungle or forest bordering a jhoom, the fringe of jungle or forest round a jhoom (n.)	VanBik 2009:1157

(7) PTB *ram JUNGLE / FOREST / COUNTRY / FIELD

This root is attested in the NE Indian areal group, with a very likely Chinese cognate.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*ram	forest / jungle / field / country	Matisoff 2003a:609

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *ram LAND / COUNTRY / FOREST

*Chin	*ram	LAND / COUNTRY / FOREST	VanBik 2009:953

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	ngam	land, country	VanBik 2009:953
Thado	gám	land, forest, wild	VanBik 2009:953
Tiddim	gam^{2}	country, land	VanBik 2009:953
	gam^{2} ke:l^{1}	wild goat	Bhaskararao 1996:304
	gam^{2} vok^{1}	wild boar	Bhaskararao 1996:309

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	râm	land, country, forest	VanBik 2009:953
Lai (Falam)	răm	land, country	VanBik 2009:953
Lushai [Mizo]	ram	country	Marrison 1967
	ram	land (n.)	Marrison 1967
	rám	country, forest, jungle, kingdom, domain, territory	VanBik 2009:953
	ram	country; forest	Bhaskararao 1996:303
	ram-shial	wild gayal (n.)	Bhaskararao 1996:304
	ram hnuai	forest; jungle	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	rà	land, country, kingdom	VanBik 2009:953
	rà-àw	jungle fowl	VanBik 2009:486

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	ram	village	Brown 1837
	ràm ʔúu	dhole; wolf; fox	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.044; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.045; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Animals.046

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	ram hang	jungle	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *ra:m JUNGLE, FOREST

*Central Naga	*ra:m	JUNGLE, FOREST	Bruhn 2014a:III.123
Ao (Chungli)	a^{1}-ɻəm^{2}	jungle, forest (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.123
	a rem	forest; jungle	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-ra?^{2}	jungle (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.123
	ran^{1}-fəʔ^{3}	wolf (large) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.123
	e ran i	forest	Marrison 1967
	e ran tsü	jungle	Murry *et al.* 1978:64
	ō rà	forest	Acharya 1975
	o ra	jungle; forest	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:47; Murry *et al.* 1978:64
	ran fü	wolf	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:137
	ra tsü	forest; jungle	Murry *et al.* 1978:47; Murry *et al.* 1978:64
Sangtam	rang mü	jungle	Kumar 1973a
	rang pü	wolf	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	rim	forest; jungle	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	rim re	wolf	Kumar 1973b:78; Marrison 1967
	rim shih	animal	Kumar 1973b:50
	rim shi yi	animal	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	ra	country	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a gha	jungle; forest	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	cha ram	country	Marrison 1967
	cha ram	land (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	rüm kiang	land (n.)	Marrison 1967
	rüm kük	jungle	Marrison 1967
	rüm pung	field	Marrison 1967
Zeme	ram	country	Marrison 1967
	ram	land (n.)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	pe ram	country	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *ram VILLAGE / LAND

*Tangkhulic	*ram	village / land	Mortensen 2012:443
Champhung	ram	village	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-ram	village	Mortensen 2012:People.076
Kachai	ʔa-ram	village; country	Mortensen 2012:People.071
Tangkhul	ram	village	Marrison 1967
	ram fa	wolf; jackal	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	rəm	village	Bhat 1969:100
Tankghul (Central)	ram	village	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	ra-haŋ	village	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ram-k^{h}ɯ	village	Brown 1837
Tusom	rã	land / country	Mortensen 2012:People.072
Ukhrul	rɐm	land	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	lam hui	jackal	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ram	jungle	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *Ç-ram JUNGLE

*Northern Naga	*Ç-ram	jungle	French 1983:507

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	yam	jungle; country	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Phom	yam^{31}hi^{33}mæk^{55}	animal	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	yem ha	animal	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	rim	field (n.)	Bailey 1911

2.1.4. Tamangish

*TGTM	*^{A}ri	forest	Mazaudon 1994:839
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}ri	forest	Mazaudon 1994:839
Tamang (Taglung)	^{3}ri	forest	Mazaudon 1994:839

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	林	forest	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1727
	森林	forest	Nagano & Prins 2013:1332

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	gli̯əm/li̯əm	forest / grove;numerous (=forest-like)	Karlgren 1957:655a-d
Chinese (Old)	C-rjim	forest	Baxter 1992:1765
	k.rəm {k.r[ə]m}	forest	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1727
	srji̯m	forest	Baxter 1992:1772

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	lim	forest	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1727

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	lín	forest	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1727

Chinese comparandum

林 OC *gli̯əm, *GSR* #655a-d 'forest'; Schuessler 2007:358-9 *rəm; B & S 2011: *k.rəm {k.r[ə]m}; Mand. lín.
森 OC *s.li̯əm, *GSR* #664a 'dense trees, thicket, grove'; Schuessler 2007:358-9 *srəm; B & S 2011: (*s.r̥əm); Mand. sēn.

(8) PTB *ri MOUNTAIN

This morpheme frequently occurs as the first element in compounds for wild animals. Many languages in the Tibetosphere have borrowed the Tibetan binome PTB *ri-dak ANIMAL (§1.1.1.1), sometimes preserving the vowel of the first syllable and sometimes reducing it to a schwa-like vowel.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	*rɯ-goŋ	rabbit	Sun 1993b
	rə poŋ	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.24
Bokar Lhoba	rɯ poŋ	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.51

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	ɻɯ^{31}goŋ^{55}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.22
	ɻɯ^{31}goŋ^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.49
Kaman [Miju]	ɻɯ^{31}guŋ^{55}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.23
	ɻɯ^{31}guŋ^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.48
Idu	ɻi^{31}goŋ^{35}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.50
Yidu	ɻi^{31}goŋ^{35}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.25

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	ri wu	mountain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:25.7
	riu^{13}	mountain	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ri^{13}poŋ^{13}	rabbit	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ri^{13}p'ak^{55}pa^{55}	boar	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ri boŋ	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.7
	ri ɕi-phak pa	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	riu	mountain	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	ri^{35}	mountain	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	ri^{35}boŋ^{55}	rabbit	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986

Tshona (Mama)	**re**^{13}koŋ^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.6
	ri^{13}	mountain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:25.6
	ri^{13}phʌʔ^{53}	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.6
Motuo Menba	**ri** boŋ	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.07
	ri wu	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.07
	ri ɕi phak pa	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.07
Cuona Menba	**re**^{35}koŋ^{55}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.06
	re^{35}koŋ^{55}wu^{31}	year of the rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.06
	ri^{35}	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.06
	ri^{35}goŋ^{35}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.06
	ri^{35}phaʔ^{53}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.06
	ri^{35}tɔŋ^{55}	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**rə**	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.05
	rə hak	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.05
	rə thər	hillside / mountain slope (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0024.05
	rə ɣoŋ	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**rə**	mountain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:25.4
	rə ɣoŋ	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rə**	mountain	Sun 1985a:610; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:25.5
	rə ɣoŋ	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.5
	rə ʁoŋ	hare	Sun 1985a:345
Tibetan (Balti)	**ri**·	mountain	Rangan 1975:15
	ri yoŋ	rabbit	Rangan 1975:40
Tibetan (Batang)	**zɻ**^{231}	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.03
	zɻ^{55}ɣũ^{55}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'ri** + phāk pāq	boar (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.042
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ri**^{31}	mountain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:25.3
	ri^{13}ɣoŋ^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**re**^{13}koŋ^{15}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.2
	ri^{13}	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.02
	ri^{13}	mountain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:25.2
	ri^{13}khu^{52}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.02
	ri^{13}koŋ^{55}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.02
	ri^{13}phaʔ^{53}	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.2
	ri^{13}pha^{52}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.02
	ri^{13}pu^{52}	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.02
	rĩ^{13}tep^{52}	hillside / mountain slope (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0024.02
	ri^{13}ɕu:^{55}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.02
Tibetan (Written)	**ri**	mountain; hill	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:610
	ri	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.01
	ri	mountain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:25.1
	ri boŋ	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.01
	ri phag	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.1
	ri ɦgag	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.01
	ri-bóŋ	hare	Jäschke 1881
	rí-p'ɑg	boar (wild) (W.)	Jäschke 1881
	ri.bong	hare	Sun 1985c:345
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**rə**	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.04
	rə ʁoŋ	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Gyaru)	**ri**^{1} bɯn^{2}	hare	Nagano 1984:304-15
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**ri** puŋ	hare / rabbit	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0534b
	^{2}**ru** puŋ	hare / rabbit	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0534a

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	**jy**^{33}**bə**^{53} (ɣu^{24})	year of the rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.15
	ri^{33}βø^{53}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.15
Muya [Minyak]	**zɻ**^{35}vø^{53}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.15
Pumi (Lanping)	**zɻ**^{13}ɣõ^{55}ɣu^{55}	year of the rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.09
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ri**^{35}	mountain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:25.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ri**^{13}	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.13
	ri^{13}ptɕy^{55}	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.13
	ri^{13}ŋɛ^{55}ɣɑ^{13}	hillside / mountain slope (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0024.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**zɻ**^{33}mbʌ^{55}lʌ^{33}	hillside / mountain slope (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0024.14
	zɻ^{13}	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**ri** rav	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	**'ri** rapˀ	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
Caodeng	**re**-waŋ	rabbit	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	**rə'** rap	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**rə'** rap	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	**rə'** rapˀ	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	**rə'** rapˀ	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	**rə'** rapˀ	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	**rə'** rapˀ	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	**rə'** rapˀ	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	**rə'** rapˀ	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	**rə'** rapˀ	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	**rə'** tɕ^{h}opˀ	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	**ri22** rap44 / krə22 wo44	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Queyu Gala)	**zɻə**	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	**ˊrə**	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	**ˊrə**	mountain	Nagano & Prins 2013:1328
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	**ˊrə** ᵑgu	valley	Nagano & Prins 2013:1330

4. Nungic

Nung	**ɹŋ**^{31}ʔuŋ^{55}	hill / mountain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.21
Anong	**ɹŋ**^{31}ʔuŋ^{55}	mountain	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:25.44
Dulong	**ɹɯ**^{31}guŋ^{55}	rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0292.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ɹɯ**^{31}guŋ^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:121.46
Dulong	**ɹɯ**^{55}guŋ^{55}	year of the rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ɹɯ**^{31}guŋ^{55}	rabbit	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Southern)	**ɹə**^{31}uɔ̃^{53}	boar	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986

(9) PTk *p^{h}uŋ MOUNTAIN

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	**phoŋ**^{3}lan^{3}	mountain (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	pung lan	mountain	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***p^{h}uŋ**	mountain	Mortensen 2012:497
Champhung	ka-**p^{h}uŋ**	mountain	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-kə-**p^{h}uŋ**	mountain	Mortensen 2012:Nature.118
Kachai	kə-**p^{h}uŋ**	mountain	Mortensen 2012:Nature.118
Tangkhul	ka **phung**	mountain	Marrison 1967
Tankghul (Central)	ka-**p^{h}uŋ**	mountain	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	ka-**p^{h}uŋ**	mountain	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ka-**p^{h}uŋ**	mountain	Brown 1837
Tusom	kə-**p^{h}uŋ**	mountain	Mortensen 2012:Nature.118
Ukhrul	kə-**p^{h}uŋ**	mountain, forest	Mortensen 2012

Chinese comparandum

峯/峰 OC (***p'i̯ung**), *GSR* (not in #1197) 'peak, summit; hump (of camel)'; Schuessler 2007:238 ***phoŋ**; B & S 2011: (***p^{h}oŋ {p^{h}(r)oŋ}**); Mand. **fēng**.

鏠/鋒 OC ***p'i̯ung**, *GSR* #1197u 'point of a weapon'; Schuessler 2007:238 ***phoŋ**; B & S 2011: ***p^{h}oŋ**; Mand. **fēng**.

封 ***poŋ {p(r)oŋ}**.

(10) PTani *di MOUNTAIN / HILL

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***di**	mountain / hill	Sun 1993a:263

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**di**-čuŋ	mountain (small), hill	Sun 1993b
	di-mi:	mountain (medium-sized)	Sun 1993b
	di-tɯ:	mountain (big)	Sun 1993b
	ño:-**di**	mountain; hill	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ño:-**di** bu-ča:	ascend (mountain)	Sun 1993b
	ño:-**di** bu-lu:	descend (mountain)	Sun 1993b
	ño:-**di** ča:-duŋ	slope	Sun 1993b
	ño:-**di** di-tuk	peak	Sun 1993b
	ño:-**di** pin-ko:	valley	Sun 1993b
	ño:-**di** rjəŋ-lɯ:	foot of mountain	Sun 1993b
	ño:-**di** ruŋ-ŋu	dry field (hillside)	Sun 1993b
	ño:-**di** uŋ	cave	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **ti:** ka muk	at the bottom of (a hill) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0730.24
	a-**ti:**	mountain; hill	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b [a]
Galo	mo: **di**	hill	Das Gupta 1963
	'a **dii**	hill; mountain (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'dii cum	hill; butte (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'moo **dii**	mountain (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'moo **dii**-rɨkə	field (mountain); mountain field; jhum field (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'yor **dii**	mountain (n:poet.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	mui **di**	hill, mountain	Simon 1976
	mui **dɯ**	hill, mountain	Simon 1976
Tagin	mo **di**	hill	Das Gupta 1983
	mo **di** dumpumtʏ ta pam karik	The ice dazzles on the top of the mountain	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**di**-tə	mountain / hill	Sun 1993a
Damu	**gɯ**-ba	mountain (grassy)	Sun 1993b
	gɯ-bə ra:	slope	Sun 1993b
	gɯ:-bə	mountain (grassy); mountain (steep)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	gɯ:-bə rok-cø:	foot of hill	Sun 1993b
	gɯ:-bə tok-pa	path in mountain	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **de**	hill	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	a-**di**	mountain / hill	Sun 1993a

[a] [Source Note] initial! (Sun 1993a).

(11) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{r}\end{matrix}$ -duŋ MOUNTAIN / HILLOCK

The Chin/Burmese comparison is due to VanBik; the Tibeto-Burman–Chinese comparison is due to Gong 2000:#22.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m/r-duŋ**	mountain / hillock	Matisoff 2003a:587

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	di-**tuŋ**	mountain (without trails)	Sun 1993b

	di **tuŋ**	hill / mountain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.24
	gɯŋ **tuŋ**	hillside / mountain slope (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0024.24
	gɯŋ-**tuŋ**	slope	Sun 1993b
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**mtuŋ**	mountain	Matisoff 2003a:285
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Sorbung	cíiŋ-**tòoŋ**	mountain	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Nature.123
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**rduŋ**	small mound, hillock	Matisoff 2003a:285
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**tauŋ**	mountain	Matisoff 2003a:285
	toṅ	mountain	Marrison 1967
	toŋ	hill, mountain	Benedict 1976a
	tɔŋ^{2}	hill / mountain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.26
	tɔŋ^{2}	mountain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:25.39
	tɔŋ^{2}sɔŋ^{2}	hillside / mountain slope (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0024.26
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	冢	tomb mound	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3931
Chinese (GSR #)	**1218h**	tomb mound	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3931
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tị̂ung/t̂ị̂wong:**	mound / peak;great	Karlgren 1957:1218h-i
Chinese (Old)	**troŋ?** {[t]roŋ?} (or *[t]<r>oŋ? ?)	tomb mound	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3931
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**trjowngX**	tomb mound	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3931
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**zhǒng**	tomb mound	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3931

Chinese comparandum

冢 OC *__tị̂ung__, *GSR* #1218h 'mound, peak; great'; Schuessler 2007:622 *__troŋ?__; B & S 2011: *__troŋ? {[t]roŋ?}__ (or *__[t]<r>oŋ?__ ?); Mand. __zhǒng__.

(12) PTB *s-gaŋ MOUNTAIN / RIDGE / HILL

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	*__kang__	hill / ridge	Coblin 1986:94
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*__s-gaŋ__	hill / ridge / mountain	Matisoff 2003a:590
1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**gɹaŋ**^{33}	mountain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:25.52
	gɹaŋ^{33}a^{33}lɛ^{53}	cliff	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:26.52
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	**gɯŋ** tuŋ	hillside / mountain slope (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0024.24
	gɯŋ-tuŋ	slope	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	tu **gɯŋ**	slope	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:30.51
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **khong**	hill	Marrison 1967
	tü **kong**	mountain	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a **khang**	hill	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**sgaṅ**	hill	Marrison 1967
	sgaŋ	projecting hill; spur; spur, projecting hill	Matisoff 1983:66; Matisoff 1974:90
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{A}__gaŋ__	hill; mountain	Mazaudon 1978:47; Mazaudon 1994:140
Manang (Gyaru)	**gan**^{1}	mountain	Nagano 1984:273
Manang (Ngawal)	^{3}**kāŋ**	hill	Mazaudon 1978:47
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}mal **kaŋ**	mountain (snow-covered)	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0136b
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**kaŋ**	hill; mountain	Mazaudon 1978:47; Mazaudon 1994:140
Tamang (Sahu)	**kahŋ**	hill	Taylor *et al.* 1972:5.61
	^{3}**kaŋ**	range; hill	Mazaudon 1978:47; Mazaudon 1994:140
Tamang (Taglung)	^{3}**gaŋ**	hill	Mazaudon 1978:47
	^{3}**kaŋ**	hill	Mazaudon 1994:140
Thakali	**kāhng**	mountain	Hale 1973:01.086
Thakali (Marpha)	^{3}**ga^{ɦ}ŋ**	mountain	Mazaudon 1994:140
	^{3}**kaŋ**	hill	Mazaudon 1978:47
Thakali (Syang)	^{1}**kaŋ**	hill	Mazaudon 1978:47
Thakali (Tukche)	**kahŋ**	mountain	Hari 1971:1.86
	kaŋ	hill	Hari 1971:5.A.56
	^{3}**kaŋ**	hill	Mazaudon 1978:47; Mazaudon 1994:140
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**kəŋ** ka	ridge, high mountain <hill>	Allen 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**-kon**	steep ridge, spur (nb.)	Caughley 2000
	-koŋ	steep ridge, spur (nb.)	Caughley 2000
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	prɐ **kuŋ**	cave (mountain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.11
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	**gɔŋ**^{55}	slope	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:30.46
Dulong	**gɔŋ**^{55}daŋ^{55}	hillside / mountain slope (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0024.20
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*__kaŋ__^{1}	hill / high ground	Matisoff 2003a:595
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	hlya-**khaŋ**	uvula, palate	Matisoff 1974:90
	khaŋ	roof, strip of high ground, ridge; knoll, rising ground, hill	Matisoff 1983:66; Matisoff 1974:90
	khaŋ-rûi	roof; strip of high ground	Benedict 1976a
	khoŋ	top, summit	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**khoŋ**	top, acme	Benedict 1976a
	ʔa-**khoŋ**	palate	Matisoff 1987
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu	**qhɔ**	mountain	Matisoff 1983:66
Lahu (Lancang)	**qhɔ**^{33}	hill / mountain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.43
Lahu (Black)	**qhɔ**	hill / ridge	Matisoff 1974:90
	qhɔ-kɛ-nɛ	barren, treeless mountain	Matisoff 1974:265
	qhɔ^{33}	mountain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:25.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**qhɔ**^{1}	clf for big objects (e.g. hill); mountain	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**kǫ̲**^{33}	hill / mountain (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0023.40
	ko^{44}; wɑ^{31}tʃe^{44}	mountain	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:25.27
Lisu (Northern)	**kɔ**^{33}	mountain; C (mountains) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33} thi^{21} kɔ^{33}	mountain (n.)	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**ba**^{33}**si**^{33}	other side of hill	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**da**^{21}**ma**^{33}	big mountain; mount	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**di**^{21}	mountain ranges; mountain ridges	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**dzøʔ**^{21}	mountain ridge	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**dʒu**^{21}	mountain ranges	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**khɔ**^{33}	climb over mountain	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**khɔ**^{33}**pheʔ**^{21}	mountain opening; mountain pass (which people often go through)	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**khɤ**^{21}	side of mountain	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}laʔ^{21}ma^{33}	tiger on high mountains	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**læ**^{21}**ha**^{35}	mountain peak; small branch of mountain	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**lɔ**^{35}**pheʔ**^{21}	mountain opening; snow mountain opening; mountain pass	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**mɤ**^{21} dɤ^{33}	go round the hill	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**mɤ**^{55}**du**^{21}	hill	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**thæ**^{21}	mountain area	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**thæ**^{21} kɔ^{33}mi^{44}	mountain area	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**tɔ**^{33}	top of mountain	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**tɕe**^{33}	foot of hill; foot of mountain	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**vu**^{55}	high mountain	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**vu**^{55}**dy**^{33}	top of mountain; peak	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**ɔ**^{55}**pa**^{55} la^{21}tɕæ^{33}	high-mountain short-toothed toad (living under rocks or snow in bamboo groves by creeksides in the area of Longtan, Biluo Snow Mountains. The male has two black dots on the chest, which look like breasts.)	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}**ʃl**^{55}	mountain grass (on top of snow mountains)	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{33}ʃl^{55} seʔ^{21}	grass and trees turn brown (indicating the beginning of winter) (V.)	Bradley 1994
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kûng/kâng**	hill / ridge	Karlgren 1957:697a
Chinese (Old)	**kâŋ**	hill, ridge	Matisoff 1983:66
	kraŋ {[k]raŋ}	hill; capital city	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1433
	krjang	hill / capital city	Baxter 1992:1430

Chinese comparandum

岡 OC *__kûng__; *GSR* #697a 'ridge, crest of hill'; Mand. __gāng__.
京 OC *__klị̂ăng__; *GSR* #755a 'mound, hill, capital city'; B & S 2011: *__kraŋ {[k]raŋ}__; Mand. __jīng__.
鯨 OC *__g'ị̂ăng__, *GSR* #755f 'whale'; Schuessler 2007:316 *__graŋ__; B & S 2011: *__graŋ {[g]raŋ}__; Mand. __jīng__.

(13) PKC *ɗil POND / LAKE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	*__ɗil__	POND / LAKE	VanBik 2009:100
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**dil**	pond	VanBik 2009:100
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ti**-dǐl	pond	VanBik 2009:100
Lushai [Mizo]	**dǐl**	lake, a pond, a pool of water (n.)	VanBik 2009:100

(14) PKC *lii POOL / LAKE / POND

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	*__lii__	POOL / LAKE / POND	VanBik 2009:1039
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**tui** lī	lake	VanBik 2009:1039
Thado	**líi**	pond, non-moving water	VanBik 2009:1039
Tiddim	**liː**^{2}	unmoving portion of a deep river	VanBik 2009:1039; Bhaskararao 1996:960
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**li**	standing (for liquids) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1039
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ti**-lîi	pool, pond, lake	VanBik 2009:1039
Lai (Falam)	**ti**-lĭi	pool, pond, lake	VanBik 2009:1039
Lushai [Mizo]	**lí**	quiet, deep pool or reach (in a river) (n.)	VanBik 2009:1039
	li	deep pool (in a river)	Bhaskararao 1996:960
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**tí**-lì	deep pond or lake in a river (n.)	VanBik 2009:1039

Chinese comparandum

池 OC *__d'iɑ__, *GSR* #4t 'pond, pool; moat'; Schuessler 2007:187 *__d-lai__; B & S 2011: *__Cə.lraj__; Mand. __chí__.

(15) PKC *waa RIVER / STREAM / CREEK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	*__waa__	RIVER / STREAM / CREEK	VanBik 2009:1167
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**váa**	stream, creek	VanBik 2009:1167
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			

Khumi	**tvóo**	river	VanBik 2009:1167
	təvó	river	So-Hartmann 1988:17
Matu	**tu^{i}va**	river	So-Hartmann 1988:17
Wakung	**təva**	river	So-Hartmann 1988:17
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**vâa**	river, stream, creek	VanBik 2009:1167
Lai (Falam)	**văa**	river, stream, creek	VanBik 2009:1167
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-vàw	river, stream	VanBik 2009:1167

(16) PKC *tsirʔ SWAMP / MIRE / SLOUGH

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tsirʔ**	SWAMP / MIRE / SLOUGH	VanBik 2009:568
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**chik** dum	swamp	VanBik 2009:568
Tiddim	**cik^{3}pi^{1}**	swamp	VanBik 2009:568
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**cüih**	swamp, mire, slough	VanBik 2009:568
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tserʔ** ≍ tsirʔ	swamp, mire, slough	VanBik 2009:568
Lushai [Mizo]	**chìrh**	mud, mire	VanBik 2009:568

(17) PKC *kuam VALLEY

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***kuam**	VALLEY	VanBik 2009:321
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**mual** kawm	valley	VanBik 2009:321
Thado	**kúom**	valley	VanBik 2009:321
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	(**phai**) kùam	valley, a hollow, a depression, a concavity	VanBik 2009:321

(18) PKC *phaay VALLEY / PLAINS

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***phaay**	VALLEY / PLAINS	VanBik 2009:364
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**phai** zang	valley	VanBik 2009:364
Thado	**pháay** tsám	valley, plains	VanBik 2009:364
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**phăay**	valley, vale	VanBik 2009:364
Lai (Hakha)	**phâay** nèel	valley, vale	VanBik 2009:364
Lushai [Mizo]	**phái**	valley, a vale, a dale, a plain surrounded by hills (n.)	VanBik 2009:364

(19) PTB *kl(y)u $\begin{matrix}ŋ\\k\end{matrix}$ VALLEY / RIVER

This is an East / Southeast Asian areal word; cf. Siamese **khlɔɔŋ**, Old Mon **kruŋ**, Cham **krauŋ**. *HPTB* reconstructs two separate roots (***kluŋ** ≍ **kluk** and ***klyoŋ**), although it suggests that the two are related. We treat them here as co-allofamic.

Chinese **kuk ~ gi̯uk** 'valley' reflects the allofam with final stop.

It seems likely that this etymon is related to PTB ***grawk** RAVINE / VALLEY (§1.4.2).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***klu(ː)ŋ ≍ k(l)uk**	valley / river	Matisoff 2003a:596
	***kluːŋ**	river; river, valley	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1172v; Benedict 1972:127
	***klyoŋ**	stream / river / valley	Matisoff 2003a:596
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***koŋ** river			
**Tangkhulic*	***koŋ**	river	Mortensen 2012:644
Tangkhul	**kong**	river	Marrison 1967
	koŋ	river	Bhat 1969:95
Tangkhul (Northern)	**koŋ**	river	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**koŋ**	river	Brown 1837
Tusom	**kō**	river	Mortensen 2012:Nature.090
Ukhrul	**koŋ**	river	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**kruŋ**	valley, dale	Benedict 1972:127
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**kluŋ**	river; river, valley	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1172v; Benedict 1972:127; Benedict 1972:39n129
	kluŋ ma	river (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0030.01
	ldźoŋs	large valley; valley (large)	Weidert 1987:742; Benedict 1972:40n129
	luṅ pa	valley	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**loŋ** wa	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**kyoŋ**	river	Weidert 1987:742; Benedict 1972:40n129
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola (Luxi)	lɔ̃^{31}**khauŋ**^{35}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.32
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khloṅ**	stream	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khloŋ**	river	Hansson 1989:288
	khyok	chasm, gulf; (prn. gyok) chasm, gulf	Matisoff 1983:77; Benedict 1976a
	khyoṅ:	river	Marrison 1967
	khyoṅ:	stream	Okell 1971
	khyôŋ	stream	Benedict 1976a
	khyoŋ	valley	Benedict 1976a
	khyuiṅ	valley	Marrison 1967
	khyuiŋ	concave; concave piece of ground, valley	Benedict 1972:127
	khyuiŋ'	concave; valley	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	lɔ̃^{35}**khauŋ**^{21}	valley (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0025.31
Marma	**khyɔ́ŋ**	river	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:277
Maru [Langsu]	**kyaũng**	stream	Okell 1971
Tavoyan	**hklòn**	stream	Okell 1971
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**khɹoŋ**^{55}	river (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0030.34
	khɹoŋ^{55}	classifier for river (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0837.34
Nusu (Northern)	**khɹõ**^{55}q̃^{55}	river	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khɹɔ̃**^{55}q̃^{31}	river	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:18.45
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	a^{33}**khrɔ**^{44}	river (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0030.44
	a^{33}**khɹɔ**^{33}	river	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:18.34
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{44}**khɹɔ**^{44}	river	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	thì **khrɔ̀ŋ**	river, stream, gorge	Solnit 1989
	thì **khrɔ̀ŋ** pháŋ	bank of river (2)	Solnit 1989
	thì **khrɔ̀ŋ** tàn	river	Solnit 1989
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	江	(Yangzi) river	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1324
	谷	valley	Baxter & Sagart 2011:909
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kuk/kuk~gi̯uk/i̯wok**	valley	Karlgren 1957:1202a-c
	kŭng/kǎng	river (Yangtze);river	Karlgren 1957:1172v
	kŭŋ/kəŋ	river	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1172v
Chinese (Old)	**C.qˤok**	valley	Baxter & Sagart 2011:909
	KHju/on	river	Baxter 1992:1126
	krong	(Yangtze) river; Yangtze river	Baxter 1992:1866; Baxter 1992:312
	kˤroŋ	(Yangzi) river	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1324
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**kuwk**	valley	Baxter & Sagart 2011:909
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**gǔ**	valley	Baxter & Sagart 2011:909
	jiāng	(Yangzi) river	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1324

Chinese comparandum

谷 OC ***kuk~gi̯uk**, *GSR* #1202a-c 'valley'; B & S 2011: ***C.qˤok**; Mand. **gǔ**.
江 OC ***kŭng**, *GSR* #1172v '(Yangtze) river'; B & S 2011: ***kˤroŋ**; Mand. **jiāng**.
港

(20) PKC *ruam VALLEY / VALE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ruam**	VALLEY / VALE	VanBik 2009:982
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**guam**	valley, vale	VanBik 2009:982
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**ruam**	valley	Marrison 1967
	rŭam	valley, vale, dale	VanBik 2009:982

(21) PKC *ɓual WALLOW / LAKE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɓual**	WALLOW / LAKE	VanBik 2009:56
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**bual** vang	wallow	VanBik 2009:56
Sizang	**kī** bual hī	bathe	VanBik 2009:56
Thado	**kì**-ból-I, kì-bòl-II	wallow (v.)	VanBik 2009:56
Tiddim	**bual^{3}**	lake	VanBik 2009:56
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ti**-bŭal	wallow	VanBik 2009:56
Lushai [Mizo]	**bùal**	wallow (n.)	VanBik 2009:56

3.2.6 Natural disasters

(1) PCC *min LANDSLIDE

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***min**	LANDSLIDE	VanBik 2009:774
Lai (Hakha)	**mìn**	landslide	VanBik 2009:774
Lushai [Mizo]	**mĭn**	landslide, a landslip (n.)	VanBik 2009:774

3.2.7 Cracks/Chasms/Crevices

(1) PNC *khul CAVE

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
**Northern Chin*	***khul**	CAVE	VanBik 2009:428
Paite	**khul**	cave	VanBik 2009:428
Thado	**khúl**	cave	VanBik 2009:428

(2) PKC *ʔo(o)ŋ HOLE / APERTURE / OPENING

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ʔo(o)ŋ**	HOLE / APERTURE / OPENING	VanBik 2009:491
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**awng** vang	aperture, hole	VanBik 2009:491
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔòoŋ** ≍ ʔòŋ	aperture, hole, opening	VanBik 2009:491
Lai (Falam)	**ʔôŋ**	aperture, hole, opening	VanBik 2009:491
Lushai [Mizo]	**âwng**	hole	Marrison 1967
	âwng	hole, an aperture, a breach (in fence or wall, etc), a gap (n.)	VanBik 2009:491

(3) PTB *pwap HOLE / CRACK / APERTURE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pop**	hole; crack; hole, aperture	Matisoff 2003a:607; Benedict 1972:345
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**pop**	hole, aperture	Benedict 1972:345
6.1.1. Burmish			

Burmese (Written)	**pap**	to be a crevice, crack open (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	pap	crevice / crack open (vs.)	Benedict 1972:345

(4) PTB *kwar HOLE / ORIFICE / INNARDS

STC makes an artificial distinction between two groups of forms, one reconstructed ***kor** 'valley; pit; cave' (#349) and the other ***kwar** 'hole' (#350), here combined into a single etymon. This etymon is widely distributed in the NE Indian Areal Group, with scattered cognates elsewhere (Himalayish, Qiangic, Nungish, Bai). It appears as the last syllable in compounds referring to orifices of the body, especially EAR, NOSTRIL, ANUS, and VAGINA; occasionally also in compounds for EYE.

Sometimes, however, a similar morpheme appears as a monosyllable or as the first syllable in a compound; these cases I refer to a separate (but perhaps allofamically related) etymon NEIA ***ko(n/r)** EAR (§1.2.7), with the specific meaning EAR. A key form here is Kom Rem **kōr khur** 'ear canal', with the structure NEIA ***ko(n/r)** EAR (§1.2.7) + ***kor**.

While I occasionally reconstruct ***kwar** for the second syllables of compounds meaning EYE (e.g. Wancho **mək-*ər***), there is a group of Bodo-Garo forms meaning EYE where I set up a separate (but again perhaps allofamic) etymon NEIA ***gon** EYE (§1.2.6), with the specific meaning EYE. Compare Bodo **ha-khor** 'hole, valley' vs. **me-gon** 'eye'; Garo **ging-kol** 'nostril' vs. **mik-on** 'eye'. There is also some evidence from Monpa Tsangla for the independence of this etymon and NEIA ***gon** EYE (§1.2.6): **miŋ-khor** 'eye' vs. **miŋ-khoŋ-(taŋ)** 'eye (< PTB ***s-mik** EYE (§1.2.6) + NEIA ***gon** EYE (§1.2.6)).

This etymon may well be related to PTB ***s/m-kwar** ROUND (§9.7.1), the common core of meaning perhaps residing in the round appearance of many holes (cf. WT **kor** 'round, circular hollow in the ground, pit').

It is often difficult to distinguish reflexes of this etymon from those of PTB ***(g/k)uŋ** HOLE / ORIFICE / INNER PART (§3.2.7), especially with respect to Loloish and Qiangic. More than one allofam are evidently involved; cf. e.g. Lahu **qhɔ** 'inside; hole' ⩷ **qō** 'hollow object'.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kor**	hole; pit; valley; cave; pit, valley, cave	Mortensen 2012; Benedict 1972:349
	***kor** ⩷ ***kwar**	hole / pit / valley / cave	Matisoff 2003a:596
	***kwar**	hole, cavity	Benedict 1972:350

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kuar** HOLLOW / SUNKEN, ***kua** HOLE / BURROW / CAVITY, ***khur** ⩷ ***khor** DITCH / HOLE / PIT / WELL (n.)

**Chin*	***khur** ⩷ **khor**	DITCH / HOLE / PIT / WELL (n.)	VanBik 2009:438
	***kua**	HOLE / BURROW / CAVITY	VanBik 2009:289
	***kuar**	HOLLOW / SUNKEN	VanBik 2009:290

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	ko **khuk**	ditch	VanBik 2009:438
	kua	burrow	VanBik 2009:289
	kuak	sunken	VanBik 2009:290
Thado	**khú?**	ditch	VanBik 2009:438
	kùo	hole	VanBik 2009:289
Tiddim	mit^{3} **kua^{3}**	eye socket ("eye's cavity")	VanBik 2009:289; Bhaskararao 1996:1120

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**khui**	hole, cavity	VanBik 2009:438
Khumi	**khoó**	hole	VanBik 2009:438

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**khŭr**	ditch	VanBik 2009:438
Lai (Hakha)	**khûr ⩷ khôr**	ditch, pitch	VanBik 2009:438
	kŭa	hole	VanBik 2009:289
Lai (Falam)	**kùa**	hole	VanBik 2009:289
Lai (Hakha)	**kŭar**-I, kuar?-II	hollow (be v.)	VanBik 2009:290
Lai (Falam)	**kŭar**-INV	hollow (be v.)	VanBik 2009:290
Lushai [Mizo]	hnâr-**kua**	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	khuar ⩷ khur	hole, cavity	Benedict 1972:350
	khúr	hole, a pit, a cavity, a mine, a quarry (n.)	VanBik 2009:438
	kor	small valley, ravine	Benedict 1972:349
	kùa	hole / inside of abdomen	Weidert 1987:431
	kua	hole	Marrison 1967
	kùa	hole, a burrow, a cavity, a hollow (n.)	VanBik 2009:289
	kùa	hole	Löffler 1985
	mong-**kua**	anus	Matisoff 1987
Paangkhua	(ra) **kùa**	hole	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lailenpi	mə̆ nɑ^{4} **kuɑ^{1}**	ear	Luce 1985:N.2
Lakher [Mara]	chhu-**khao**	vulva	Matisoff 1987
	hna-pasu-**khao**	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	khào	hole in the ground (n.)	VanBik 2009:438
	na-cha-**kao**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	na-**khao**	earhole	Matisoff 1987
	sisi-**khor**	armpit ("tickle-hole")	Benedict 1972:265
	^{1}nə^{2}**ko**	ear; earhole	Weidert 1987:108; Weidert 1987:162
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	nɑ^{1}**küɛ^{3}**	ear	Luce 1985:N.2
Zotung	nă^{4}**kuɑ^{4}**	ear	Luce 1985:N.2

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Kom Rem	kōr **k^{h}ur**	ear canal	Toba & Kom 1991:3.6.4 [a]
	nar **k^{h}ur**	nostril	Toba & Kom 1991:3.5.2
Moyon	nar **khùr** ~ nàr **khùr**	nostril	Kosha 1990:3.5.2
	nà bà **kòwrl**	ear canal	Kosha 1990:3.6.4
	na bʌ **khùr** ~ nàbàkhùr	inner ear	Kosha 1990:3.6.3
	sòw **khùr** ~ sowr **khùr**	vulva / labia	Kosha 1990:10.4.2
Sorbung	na-**kor**	ear	Brown 1837
	ná **k^{h}ùur**	ear canal	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.066

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-ku** ⩷ ***a-khən** HOLE

**Central Naga*	*a-**ku** ⩷ a-**khən**	HOLE	Bruhn 2014a:III.079
Ao (Chungli)	ta^{3} **ki?^{3}**	hole (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.079
	te **gi**	hole	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **ku** ba	hole	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**ku** paʔ	hole (n.)	Coupe 2007
	na-**kuʔ**	nostril ('nose' + 'hole') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	na-**kù**-tsə	honey (probably 'bee' + 'hole' + 'water') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**kuʔ^{3}**	hole (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.079
	khe no **kvu**	nostril	Nienu 1990c:3.5.2
	lóŋ **kù**	cave	Acharya 1975
	murg **kuo**	cave	Marrison 1967
	o **ku**	hole	Marrison 1967
	o **kvü**	hole	Murry *et al.* 1978:55
Sangtam	a **khi**	hole	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
	li **khi**	cave	Marrison 1967
	nang **khi**	ear	Marrison 1967
	nang **ku**	ear	Kumar 1973a
	^{1}naŋ^{1}**ki**	ear	Weidert 1987:162
Yimchungrü	a **khün**	hole	Kumar 1973b:49
	mü **khün**-peng rü	deaf	Marrison 1967
	nü **khün**	ear	Kumar 1973b:34; Marrison 1967
	nü **khün** peang	deaf	Kumar 1973b:74
	^{2}nu^{2}**gu**	ear	Weidert 1987:108; Weidert 1987:162
	^{2}nɯ^{2}**kɯn**	ear; earhole	Weidert 1987:162; Weidert 1987:162

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Ntenyi	a **khwe** la	ear	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	cha **kun**	ear	Marrison 1967
	ka-**kũan**	ear	Weidert 1987:162
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	nu-**kúan**	ear; earhole	Weidert 1987:162; Weidert 1987:162
Zeme	be **kun** pang be	deaf	Marrison 1967
	mi **kun**	ear	Marrison 1967
	^{3}mi^{3}**kən**	ear	Weidert 1987:162
Mzieme	**kwen** pang	deaf	Marrison 1967
	pe **kün**	ear	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***k^{h}ur** HOLE / ANUS

**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}ur**	hole / anus	Mortensen 2012:522
Kachai	kə-luŋ-**k^{h}ur**	cave / hole (in rock)	Mortensen 2012:Nature.134
	k^{h}ə-nɐ-**k^{h}ur**	ear canal	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.056
Tangkhul	a **khur**	hole	Marrison 1967
	hai **khur**	vulva	Matisoff 1987
	hay(-**khur**)	vulva	Matisoff 1985a:184
	kharaŋ **khur**	anus	Matisoff 1987
	kha nā **khur**	earhole	Matisoff 1987
	khur	hole	Bhat 1969:90
	laŋ **khor**	anus	Matisoff 1987
Tusom	po-ti-**kfu**	anus	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.290
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-raŋ-**k^{h}ur**	anus	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	na-gi mə **khun**	ear canal	Singh 1991:3.6.4
	na ton mə **khun**	nostril	Singh 1991:3.5.2
	thi **gun**	anus / rectum	Singh 1991:9.12 [a]
	^{2}ma^{2}**gu**	hole	Weidert 1987:431

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**kàn**-chêng	nose bridge	Grüssner 1979:40
	no **kan**	nose; nostril	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	nò **kàn**	nose; nostril	Grüssner 1979:115; Grüssner 1979:115
	no **kan** ang lhor	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	no **ku**	ear	Matisoff 1987

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	ha-**khor**	hole, valley	Benedict 1972:349
Dimasa	ha-**khor**	cave	Benedict 1972:349; Marrison 1967
Kokborok	ha-**kɔ**	hole, cave	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	k^{h}i-**kor**	anus	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	a-**khol**	cave	Benedict 1972:349
Garo (Bangladesh)	ging a'-**kil**-ok	nostril	Burling 1992
	ging-**kil**-ok	nostril	Burling 1992
	ging-**kol**	nostril	Burling 1992
	na'-chil a'-**kil**-ok	earhole	Burling 1992
	na-chil a'-**kil**-ok	earhole	Burling 1992
	na-chil a'-**kol**	earhole	Burling 1992
	na-chil-ni a'-**kil**-ok	earhole	Burling 1992
	na-**kol**	earhole	Burling 1992

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	hang• **khal**	cave, hole (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	na-**kur**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	rong• **khol**	cave (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	taw•pa **khal**	cave in Siju (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***gor** HOLE / CAVE

**Northern Naga*	***gor**	hole / cave	French 1983:504

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	kho **kan**	nostril	French 1983:504
	k^{h}o **kan**	nostril	French 1983:527
	loŋ **kan**	cave	French 1983:504
	na **kan**	earhole	French 1983:504

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	kuŋ **kan**	nostril	French 1983:527
Khiamngan	nọu^{2} **kan**	ear	Weidert 1987:350
	^{2}nọu^{2}**kan**	ear	Weidert 1987:162
	^{2}nọu **kan**	earhole	Weidert 1987:162
	^{2}nou-^{2}**kan**	ear	Weidert 1987:162
Wancho	ha **kon**	cave	French 1983:504; Marrison 1967
	kan yet	den	French 1983:504
	ko **kan**	doorway, gate	French 1983:504
	kuŋ **kan**	nostril	French 1983:504
	mək-**ər**	eye	Matisoff 1987
	na-**kor**	ear	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	a **khu**	hole	Marrison 1967
	khu^{33}	hole	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	khu^{33}	cave / hole (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.19
	khu^{33}	hole	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:34.47
	khu^{33} wo?^{31}	punch a hole / perforate	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1215.19
	kin^{31}loŋ^{33}**khu^{33}**	cave	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	kin^{31}loŋ^{33}**khu^{33}**	cave (mountain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.19
	kin^{31}loŋ^{33}**khu^{33}**	cave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:33.47

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	miŋ **k^{h}or**	eye	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	miŋ **k^{h}u**	eye	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Western)	**kor**	hollow in the ground, pit	Benedict 1972:349
Tibetan (Written)	**kor**	round, circular hollow in the ground, pit	Benedict 1972:349

[a] This form constitutes good evidence for the independence of etyma PTB ***kwar** HOLE / ORIFICE / INNARDS (§3.2.7) and NEIA ***ko(n/r)** EAR (§1.2.7).

[a] Contrast the last syllables of Meithei **thi-gun** 'anus' (< PTB ***kləy** BODY DIRT / EXCREMENT (§1.8.5) + ***kor**) and **nâ-kông** 'ear' (< PTB ***(g/k)uŋ** HOLE / ORIFICE / INNER PART (§3.2.7)).

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Gyaru)	**kɯn²**	hole	Nagano 1984:324
Tamang (Risiangku)	**¹kʰo:** pa	heart (locus of feelings) (n.)	Mazaudon 1991:14.2, 14.3
	¹na **kal**	nostril	Mazaudon 1991:3.5.2
Tamang (Sahu)	**kohr** laŋ	liver	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.53

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	nu **gɔ:**	heart; locus of emotions	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:14.2; Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.3
	nu **gɔ:** dhuku dhuku sɔnegu	heartbeat	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:9.3.1
Newar (Dolakhali)	nu **gɔr**	heart	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	nu **gɔ:**	heart	Genetti 1990c

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	nɛk **khoʔ** ba	ear	Weidert 1987:162
	nɛk **koʔ** ba	ear	Michailovsky 1991:50

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	no **ka** phlā	ear	Matisoff 1987

3.2. QIANGIC

Namuyi	**qu⁵⁵**tu³³	hole	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:34.19
	fiɛ³³**qu³³**	cave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:33.19
	qu⁵³tu³¹luo³³χa³⁵	pierce through	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1222.46
	qu⁵⁵tu³¹	cave / hole (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.46
Qiang (Mawo)	nə **kuə̨** ʐu	ear canal	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.6.4
Xumi	**qhu³³**tɕu⁵⁵	cave; hole; cave (mountain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.17; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.17
	qhũ⁵⁵tʂũ⁵⁵tʂũ³⁵	hole	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:34.20
	rɛ³³**qhũ⁵⁵**tʂũ⁵⁵	cave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:33.20

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	**khɐi** du	hole	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:34.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**khɐi** jdu	cave / hole (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.11
rGyalrong	ta sop **kʰoi** jdu	anus / rectum	DAI Qingxia 1989d:9.12
	tə rn̥a **kʰoi** jdu	ear canal	DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.6.4
	tə ɕna **kʰoi** jdu	sinus; pupil; nostril	DAI Qingxia 1989d:2.6; DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.4.2.2; DAI Qingxia 1989d:3.5.2
rGyalrong (Eastern)	tə ʃna **kʰɐ** jdu	nostril	SUN Hongkai 1991j:3.5.2

4. NUNGIC

Anong	duŋ-**khr**	hole	Benedict 1972:169; Benedict 1972:350
Rawang	dəŋ³¹ **khɯr³¹**	pit	LaPolla 2003:43

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	li¹**kuo¹**luo¹	heart	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.1
Tujia	li⁵⁵ **kʰo⁵⁵** lo³⁵	heart	CHEN Kang 1986c:9.3
Tujia (Northern)	li⁵⁵ **kʰo⁵⁵** lo³⁵	heart	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	wu2li1**kuo1**luo1	cow's heart (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**gu²²**	cave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:33.40
Burmese (Written)	**gū**	cave	Marrison 1967
	gu²	cave (mountain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.26
	gu²	cave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:33.39
	kū	cave	Marrison 1967

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Bijiang)	**khɹɔ̃³⁵**	cave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:33.45
Yi (Liangshan)	**khɯ³³**	thing, round [classifier]	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	la⁵⁵**khɯ³³**	tiger's lair	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	ɣo²¹me²¹**ɕy³³**	cave (mountain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.37
	ɕy³³	cave / hole (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**khu̱⁵⁵**du̱⁵⁵	cave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:33.23
Yi (Weishan)	**khu̱⁵⁵**du̱⁵⁵	cave / hole (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.36
	ʔva²¹**khu̱⁵⁵**	cave (mountain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.36

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	a³³**khro⁴⁴**	cave; hole; cave (mountain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.44; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.44
	a³³**khɹo³³**	cave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:33.34
Jinuo (Youle)	m̥i⁴²tshɑ⁵⁵ɑ³³**khɹo⁴⁴**	cave	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ⁴⁴**khu⁴²**	den, cave (n.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986

7. KARENIC

Kayan (Pekon)	lū **kó**	cave [lit. stone-hole] (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	ʔə **ʔò**	hole (general); den	Solnit 1989

8. BAI

Bai (Jianchuan)	jɯ̃³³ tɯ̱²¹ **kuã⁵⁵** mɯ⁵⁵ kʰɯ³¹ fv̩³³ no³³	inner ear	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.6.3
	jɯ̃³³ tɯ̱²¹ **kuã⁵⁵** mɯ⁵⁵ ŋuə̱⁴⁴ fv̩³³ no³³	outer ear	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.6.2
	jɯ̃³³ tɯ̱²¹ **kuã⁵⁵** sɻ³³	earwax	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.6.6
	jɯ̃³³ tɯ̱²¹ **kuã⁵⁵** tɕi³³ nɐ̱²¹	eardrum	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.6.5
	jɯ̃³³ tɯ̱²¹ **kuã⁵⁵** tɕĩ⁵⁵ nɐ̱²¹	earlobe	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.6.1
	jɯ̃³³ tɯ̱²¹ **kuã⁵⁵** ʔuĩ³³ xɯ³¹	ear canal	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.6.4
	jɯ̃³³ tɯ̱²¹ **kuɑ̃⁵⁵**	ear	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
	jɯ̃³³tɯ²¹**kuɑ̃⁵⁵**	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.36
	khuɑ̱̃²¹	cave / hole (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.48
	ŋa⁴²**khuɑ̱̃²¹**	cave (mountain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.48
	ɲi³³tiə⁴²**kuɑ̃⁵⁵**	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.48

Chinese comparandum

竅 OC ***k'wân***, *GSR* #162b 'hole, opening'; Schuessler 2007:338; Mand. **kuǎn**.
貫 OC ***kwân***, *GSR* #159a 'pierce, pass through'; Schuessler 2007:338; B & S 2011: ***kˢon {kˢo[n]}***; Mand. **guàn**.

(5) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{g}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ **uŋ HOLE / ORIFICE / INNER PART**

This widespread etymon is similar to PTB ***kwar*** HOLE / ORIFICE / INNARDS (§3.2.7) (below), in that it typically occurs as the second morpheme in binomes referring to orifices of the body, especially EAR, NOSTRIL, and ANUS; occasionally it occurs in compounds for VAGINA.

This etymon is certainly allofamically related to PTB ***s-kawŋ*** HOLLOW / HOLLOW OBJECT / HEAD (§1.2.1), as in the last syllable of, e.g. Lahu **ó-qō** 'head' < PLB ***bʷu²-ʔgoŋ²***.

It is also very possible that it is allofamically related to PTB ***huŋ*** HOLE (§1.9.5). For remarks on velar/laryngeal interchange in TB, see PTB ***(h/k)ay*** VAGINA (§1.9.5) above.

There are excellent Chinese comparanda: 空 OC ***k'ung***, *GSR* #1172h 'hollow, empty' and 孔 OC ***k'ung***, *GSR* #1174a-b 'very, greatly; empty'. Another likely Chinese relative is 肛 'anus', Mand. **gāng** (not in *GSR* #1172), though this might fit better with PTB ***k(w)a(ŋ/k)*** WAIST / HIPS / BUTTOCKS / TAIL / BACK (§1.4.6). See ZJH's discussion, below.

It is often difficult to distinguish reflexes of this etymon from those of PTB ***kwar*** HOLE / ORIFICE / INNARDS (§3.2.7), especially with respect to Loloish and Qiangic. More than one allofam are evidently involved; cf. e.g. Lahu **qhɔ** 'inside; hole' ≍ **qō** 'hollow object'.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***kjongw**	inside / house	Coblin 1986:98

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***guŋ ≍ kuŋ**	hollow / hole / empty	Matisoff 2003a:592
	*na **kuːŋ**	nostril	French 1983:527

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	pà-**ko**	cut a hole into (coconut)	Sun 1993b
	rù-**kó**	hole	Sun 1993b
	ú-**kó**	make hole	Sun 1993b
Bengni	uŋ-**koː**	hole	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	lom-**kũ**-ã:	contain (particle meaning inside)	NEFA (India) 1963
	lom **kũ**	inside (box, etc.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	lɯm⁵⁵**koŋ⁵⁵**	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.22
	lɯm⁵⁵**koŋ⁵⁵**	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.49
Kaman [Miju]	**goŋ³⁵**	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.23
	goŋ³⁵	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.48
Idu	lɯm⁵⁵**koŋ⁵⁵**	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.50
Yidu	lum⁵⁵**koŋ³⁵**	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.25

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	nu **kong**	ear	Marrison 1967

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**hang** ba	empty	Marrison 1967
	na **kong**	ear	Marrison 1967
	nâ **kông**	ear	Matisoff 1987
	na **koŋ** nəp thi	earwax	Singh 1991:3.6.6

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***koːŋ** EMPTY

**Northern Naga*	***koːŋ**	empty	French 1983:482

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**kong** bü	empty	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**kiang**	empty	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**goŋ**-ka	anus	Weidert 1987:1
Phom	**goŋ³³**	empty	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	kong	empty	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	jìn-**hkū**	vaginal canal	Matisoff 1987
	lədî **hkū**	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	nā ləshîng **hkū**	earhole	Matisoff 1987
	¹daŋ²kaŋ-²**khu**	anus	Weidert 1987:1

2.1.2. BODIC

Motuo Menba	khi **gaŋ**	anus (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.07
Tashigang	khi-**gaŋ**	anus ("feces-hole")	Weidert 1987:1

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**kʰoŋ**-wə	hole (small)	Sun 1985a:367
	kʰəŋ	hole	Sun 1985a:366
Tibetan (Batang)	na⁵⁵ **khõ⁵⁵**	ear canal	DAI Qingxia 1989a:3.6.4
Tibetan (Written)	**khuṅ**	hole	Marrison 1967
	khung	hole	Sun 1985c:366
	khung.bu	hole (small)	Sun 1985c:367
	kuṅ	hole	Matisoff 1994b
	mig-**khuŋ**	eyehole / eye socket	Matisoff 1987
	rna-**kuṅ**	earhole	Matisoff 1987

2.1.4. TAMANGISH: ***ᴮkʰuŋ** HOLE / PIT

**TGTM*	***ᴮkhuŋ**	hole	Mazaudon 1978:26
	***ᴮkʰuŋ**	hole / pit	Mazaudon 1994:112
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kʰũq**	hole	Glover 1972:5.A.62
	kʰũq tʰõ baq	bore (hole)	Glover 1972:8.B.7
	nā **khụ**	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	na **kʰũ**	nostril	Glover 1972:2.A.24
	²khũ	hole	Mazaudon 1978:26
Gurung	**²kʰũ**	hole	Mazaudon 1994:112
Manang (Ngawal)	**²hum**	hole	Mazaudon 1978:26
	²huŋ	hole	Mazaudon 1978:26
Manang (Prakaa)	**²kʰuŋ**	hole / pit	Mazaudon 1994:112
	¹kʰuŋ	hole / pit	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0133
Tamang (Sahu)	**'kʰuŋ**	hole	Taylor *et al.* 1972:5.67
	'kʰuŋ Tʰoŋ-pa	pierce; bore (a hole) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:17.A.26; Taylor *et al.* 1972:20.8
	na.**'kʰuŋ**	nostril	Taylor *et al.* 1972:2.23
	²khuŋ	hole	Mazaudon 1978:26
	²kʰuŋ	hole	Mazaudon 1994:112
Thakali (Marpha)	**²khuŋ**	hole	Mazaudon 1978:26
	⁵⁴kʰũŋ	hole	Mazaudon 1994:112
Thakali (Syang)	**kʰuŋ**	hole	Mazaudon 1994:112
	ᴴkhũŋ	hole	Mazaudon 1978:26
Thakali (Tukche)	**kho** toŋ	hole	Mazaudon 1978:26
	kʰotoŋ tohŋ-ci-wɔ	perforated	Hari 1971:12.C.35
	kʰo toŋ	hole	Hari 1971:5.A.62
	kʰo toŋ soh-lɔ	bore (a hole)	Hari 1971:8.B.7

2.3. KIRANTI: ***goŋ** HEART

**Kiranti*	***goŋ**	heart	Michailovsky 1991:92

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**koN**	mind / inside	Rai 1985
	kong	heart; center; mind, inside	Michailovsky 1991:92; Rai *et al.* 1984:35
	kong-da yungs	mind	Rai *et al.* 1984:74
Chamling	**kung**	heart	Michailovsky 1991:92
Kulung	**khu** lum_	hole (in the ground)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**goː**	heart, mind; mind, feeling, heart, thought	Michailovsky 1991:92; Driem 1993

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**gʰaŋ**	hole	Caughley 1972:5.A.62
	por-**ghaŋ**	anus / rectum	Weidert 1987:1
	por.**ghaŋ**	anus (n.)	Caughley 2000
	porʔ **ghāng**	anus	Matisoff 1987
	porʔ-**gʰaŋ**	anus / rectum	Caughley 1972:2.A.46
Chepang (Eastern)	hluŋ **(gore)**	heart	Caughley 1990:9.3
	no **ghaŋ**	ear canal	Caughley 1990:3.6.4
	por **ghaŋ**	anus / rectum	Caughley 1990:9.12
Kham	'ki **kũː**	anus / rectum	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.46
	ki **ku**	anus	Matisoff 1987

3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**kụ**	inner, within, inside	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3372
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	htʃɛ^{55} **ku^{55}**	anus / rectum	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	nɑ^{55} **ku^{55}**	ear	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.18
Lyuzu	**khu^{33}**phu^{53}	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.18
Muya	**khu^{24}**	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.15
Muya [Minyak]	**khu^{35}**	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.15
Namuyi	**qo^{33}**lo^{33}	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.19
	quo^{33}luo^{31}	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**qhũ^{55}**	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**khõ^{55}**	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**khõ^{55}**	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**gõ^{55}**	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**kù kú**	inside (of room)	Evans 1999:1050
	kù lì	inside (of thing)	Evans 1999:1050.1
Qiang (Mawo)	**ku ku**	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.8
	nə **ku**	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.8
	nə **ku** bu	deaf person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:301.8
	nə **ku**	ear	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	nə **ku** pa la	earring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:372.8
	nə **kuꞮ**	ear	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.6
	nə **kuꞮ** bu	deaf	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.6.8
	nə **kuꞮ** kuəku	inner ear	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.6.3
	nə **kuꞮ** kuəni	outer ear	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.6.2
	nə **kuꞮ** ts^{h}æ nʂə	earwax	SUN Hongkai 1991g:3.6.6
	nə **kụ**	ear	Sun 1986
	nə **kụ** staba	earlobe	Sun 1986
	nə **ku** bu	deaf person; deaf	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; LaPolla 1987:73
	nə **ku** tsha χʂ	earwax	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ɳə **kụ**	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.08
	ɳə **kụ** bu	deaf person (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.08
	ɳə **kụ** pɑl	earrings (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0484.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	à dà-nə **ké**	wood ear fungus [grandmother-ear]	Evans 1999:567
	nə **kiè** bú	deaf person [ear-deaf]	Evans 1999:261
	nə **ké**	ear	Evans 1999:107
	qò qó	inside (of room)	Evans 1999:1050
Qiang (Taoping)	**ko^{55}ko^{33}**	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.9
	ɳi^{31} **kie^{33}**	ear	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ɳi^{31} **kie^{33}** bu^{231}	deaf person	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	ɳi^{31}**kie^{33}**	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.9
	ɳi^{31}**kie^{33}**bu^{241}	deaf person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:301.9
Qiang (Yadu)	ɳu **k**	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989q:107 [a]
Xumi	**qhu^{33}**nõ^{55}	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.17
	qhũ^{35}	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.17
	qhũ^{35}	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.20
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (NW)	tə stə **ku**	vagina	SUN Hongkai 1991l:10.4.1
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə ʃtu **k^{h}uŋ** du	vagina	SUN Hongkai 1991k:10.4.1
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	ə **hoŋ^{53}**	empty	LaPolla 2003:1013
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***guŋ^{2}** ≍ ***kuŋ^{2}** HOLLOW / HOLE / EMPTY			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***guŋ^{2}** ≍ kuŋ^{2}	hollow / hole / empty	Matisoff 2003a:592
	***kuŋ^{1}**	hole in ground / pit	Matisoff 1978a:2
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	na^{31} **kɯ^{31}**	ear	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**xoŋ^{55}**	empty (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0985.29
Bola (Luxi)	**kuŋ^{31}**	empty (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0985.32
Burmese (Written)	hna-**khôŋ**	nose	Matisoff 1993
	khôŋ-	hollow; trough; canoe (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**khôŋ**	hollow, cavity	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **k^{h}ôŋ**	hollow / cavity	Matisoff 1978a:3
Lashi	tʃhɜ̆^{55} **khuŋ^{55}** tuaŋ^{33}	anus / rectum	DAI Qingxia 1989m:9.12
Leqi (Luxi)	tʃhɜ̆^{55}**khuŋ^{55}**tuaŋ^{33}	anus (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.33
6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***koŋ^{1}** INSIDE HOUSE			
**Loloish*	***koŋ^{1}**	inside house	Bradley 1979b:812
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	tɕ^{h}i^{21} **k^{h}ụ^{55}**	anus / rectum	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.12
	ʔnɑ^{55} k^{h}ụ^{33} **k^{h}ụ^{55}** dụ^{55}	nostril	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.5.2
Nasu	**gɔ^{55}**	empty	CHEN Kang 1986a:21.
	ɬi^{33} **xo^{33}** du^{33}	anus / rectum	CHEN Kang 1986b:9.12
Neisu	**go^{55}**	empty	CHEN Kang 1986a:21.
Nesu	**ga^{21}**	empty	CHEN Kang 1986a:21.
Nosu	**go^{21}**	empty	CHEN Kang 1986a:21.
Nusu (Central)	**kɯ^{33}**	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.34
Nusu (Southern)	**kɯ^{55}**dɔ^{31}	inside	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**kɯ^{55}**ɑ^{31}	inside	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{55}**go^{21}**	empty; useless (to no purpose)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	bi^{55}**go^{21}**	empty; hollow	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	go^{21}	empty	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	go^{21}ka^{33}	empty	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khu^{33}	inside	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khu^{33}tɕo^{34}	inside	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khu^{34}lụ^{33}	inside; interior	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khu^{34}tɛ^{33}	inner layer; inside	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{55}**khu^{33}**ʑi^{55}ɕɳ^{33}	house, inside the	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	ʌ^{55}**kho^{21}**	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.26
Yi (Nanjian)	**khụ^{55}**dụ^{55}	hole	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:34.23
Yi (Wuding)	**khɯ^{11}**	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.38
Yi (Xide)	**khu^{33}**	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.35
	khu^{33}tɕo^{44}	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	na^{33} **kho^{44}**	ear (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0081.44
	na^{33}**kho^{55}**	ear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:241.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	na^{44} **k^{h}o^{55}**	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989h:107
Jinuo (Baka)	ɳa^{44} **k^{h}u^{55}**	ear	DAI Qingxia 1989i:107
Jinuo (Youle)	ɳɑ^{33} **k^{h}o^{55}**	ear	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	a31 **khu33**	cave	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	a31 **khɔ33**	in	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	qhɔ^{21}**qhɔ^{33}**	throat (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0141.43
	qhɔ^{33}**qo^{11}**	cave (mountain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.43
	qɔ^{53}	empty (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0985.43
	ɔ^{31}**qhɔ^{33}**	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.43
Lahu (Black)	cì-**qhɔ**	gums / tooth-socket	Matisoff 1987
	nā-qhɔ̂-**qhɔ**	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	qhɔ^{33}**qhɔ^{33}**	throat	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:249.33
	qhɔ̀ʔ-**qhɔ**	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	qhɛ̂-**qhɔ**	anus; buttock	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	qhɛ̂-**qhɔ**-dì	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	qhɛ̂-**qhɔ**-pɨ	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	qhɛ̂-tû-**qhɔ**	anus	Matisoff 1987
	qo^{11}	cave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:33.33
	qɔ̂	empty, vacant, hollow	Matisoff 1988a:253
	q^{h}ɔ^{31} **q^{h}ɔ^{33}**	throat	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{21}**qhɔ^{33}**	hole	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:34.33
	ɔ^{31}**qhɔ^{33}**phɔ^{33}	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.33
	ɔ̀-**q^{h}ɔ**	hole in ground / pit	Matisoff 1978a:2
Lahu (Yellow)	qɔ^{31} **q^{h}ɔ^{33}**	throat	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{2}**qhɔ^{1}**te^{1}phɣ^{3}	inside	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	e^{55}**khu^{33}**	cave / hole (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.40
	e^{55}**khu^{31}**	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.27
	e^{55}**khu^{44}**	hole	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:34.27
Lisu (Central)	hchi^{5}-**hku^{4}**	anus	Fraser 1922
Lisu	hhi^{5}-**hku^{4}**	anus	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}**khu^{21}**	sphere; range; inner; inside (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**khu^{21}** ji^{55}ba^{21}	inside and outside	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**khu^{21}**kwa^{33}	inside; among	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**khu^{33}**	cave; cavity; tunnel (N.)	Bradley 1994
	kha?^{21}bæ?^{21}**khu^{33}**	oral cavity; inside the mouth	Bradley 1994
	khi^{21}**khu^{33}**	anus	Bradley 1994
Lisu	khi^{31}**khu̱^{33}**	anus (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.40
Lisu (Northern)	lɔ^{33}hɤ^{21} tʃhu^{33}**khu^{33}**	lime-kiln; cave dwelling	Bradley 1994
	mi^{33}**khu^{33}**	trench; cellar; cave	Bradley 1994
Lisu	na^{1}-paw^{3} **hku^{4}**	earhole	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Northern)	næ^{55}**khu^{21}**	inside (N.)	Bradley 1994
	næ^{55}**khu^{21}**kwa^{33}	within; inside	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	rgha^{1}-**hku^{4}**	cave	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	tɔ^{55}**khu^{33}**	vagina; orifice (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}**khu^{21}**	rock cave	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}**khu^{33}**	stone cave; hole in rock	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}tɕi^{33}**khu^{21}**	cave; stone cave	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ɣɑ^{55}**khu^{31}**	cave (mountain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.40
	ɣɑ^{55}tʃhi^{44}**khu^{31}**	cave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:33.27
Yi (Sani)	**kɯ^{44}**	inside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.39
Sani [Nyi]	**qo^{21}**	empty	CHEN Kang 1986a:21.
Yi (Sani)	**qo^{11}**	empty (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0985.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Pijo)	**khú**	hole	Hansson 1989:554
Hani (Caiyuan)	mi^{55}**khu^{55}**; ɔ^{31}**khu^{55}**	cave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:33.30
	ɔ^{31}**khu^{55}**le^{55}a^{33}	inside	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:59.30
Hani (Pijo)	ɔ̀ **khú**	hole	Hansson 1989:554
Hani (Khatu)	à **khú**	hole	Hansson 1989:554
	khú	hole	Hansson 1989:554
Hani (Mojiang)	tɔ^{55}**khu^{55}**	cave / hole (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.42
Mpi	ʔɑ^{2}-**k^{h}uŋ^{2}**	cavity / hollow (as in tree / rock)	Matisoff 1978a:3
	ʔɑ^{2}-**k^{h}uŋ^{6}**	hole in ground / pit	Matisoff 1978a:2
	ʔɑ^{2}**khuŋ^{2}**	hole (large) in a tree	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ʔɑ^{2}**khuŋ^{6}**	hole (in the ground) / pit	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ʔɑ^{2}**khuŋ^{6}**a^{2}	inside	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Ugong	ní **kɔŋ**	penis hole	Bradley 1993
	sɛŋ **kɔŋ**	vagina	Bradley 1993:10.4.1
	ʔéŋ **kɔŋ**	anus / rectum	Bradley 1993:9.12
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	i^{33}**kɯ^{44}**	inside	Pelkey 2011:1116
Phola	ɑ^{23}**k^{h}ɔ^{33}**	inside	Pelkey 2011:1116
Hlepho Phowa	ɛ^{33}**kə^{55}**	inside	Pelkey 2011:1116
Phu Kha	i^{35} **k^{h}o^{31}**	inside	Fried 2000
Phuza	i^{33}**k^{h}ɯ^{33}**	inside	Pelkey 2011:1116
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ku**˥lu˥	inside, within	Michaud 2006–2009:1523
	ku˧pie˥ **ku**˥lu˥	inside of the mouth	Michaud 2006–2009:281
	læ˩**q^{h}ɔ**˩	cave, cavern	Michaud 2006–2009:81
	nje˧gɤ˥ **q^{h}ɔ**˥	nostril	Michaud 2006–2009:264
	q^{h}æ˥**q^{h}ɔ**˥	anus	Michaud 2006–2009:408
	q^{h}ɔ˥	burrow, hole (dug by hand) (n.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3876
	q^{h}ɔ˥t^{h}v˥	bore a hole, punch a hole (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2500
Na (Yongning)	ʐɯ˥**q^{h}ɔ**˥	spring	Michaud 2006–2009:173
	ʐɯ˥**q^{h}ɔ**˥ i˧ts^{h}i˥	spring water	Michaud 2006–2009:179
	dʑi˧**q^{h}v**˧	well	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩pɤ˩**q^{h}v**˩	spring	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʑi˩pɤ˩tv˩**q^{h}v**˨	spring	Michaud 2006–2009
	ko˧lo˩	inside, within	Michaud 2006–2009
	q^{h}v˧	hole; burrow	Michaud 2006–2009
	q^{h}v˧**dʑi**˥**$**	hole, cavity (e.g. mouse hole)	Michaud 2006–2009
	æ˩**q^{h}v**˨	cave, cavern (difficult to enter, or too small for a person to enter)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ŋwæ˧**q^{h}v**˧	oven to make bricks	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧**q^{h}v**˧	nostril; nasal mucus, snot	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʈʂ^{h}v˧ʐ˧**q^{h}v#**˥	ant nest	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬi˧**q^{h}v#**˥	auditory canal	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐ˧**q^{h}v**˧	warm springs	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁwɤ˧**q^{h}v**˧	cave, cavern	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁwɤ˧**q^{h}v**˧dʑi˧	cave, cavern (with broad opening; easy to get in)	Michaud 2006–2009

[a] Note the radical reduction of Qiang **k**.

Naxi (Lijiang)	a^{31}**kho**^{33}	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.28
	dze^{33}**kho**^{33}	well	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:22.28
Naxi	dʐi^{21}**kho**^{33}	well; spring (water) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0035.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0049.45
Naxi (Yongning)	dʐi^{33}**khəɹ**^{33}	pond; well	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:21.29; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:22.29
Naxi	**kho**^{33}	cave; hole; pit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0036.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**kho**^{33}lo^{33}	hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**khəɹ**^{33}ɬo^{13}	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	ləɹ^{31}**kho**^{33}	spring (water)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:23.28
Naxi (Yongning)	tv^{33}**khəɹ**^{33}	hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.29
Naxi	tɕhɚ^{33}**kho**^{33}	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.45
	tɕy^{33}khɯ^{21}**kho**^{33}	trap / pitfall (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0639.45
	æ^{21}**kho**^{33}	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.45
7. Karenic			
Bwe	nɛ-**kú**	ear (n.)	Henderson 1997
Bwe (Western)	nɛ^{2}**ku**^{1}	ear	Weidert 1987:931; Luce 1985:G.45
Bwe	nɛ̀-**kú**	ear	Weidert 1987:931
Geba	ñĩ^{2}**gu**^{2}	ear	Luce 1985:G.45
Kayan (Pekon)	nā **kú**	ear (N.)	Manson 2010
Pwo (Tenasserim)	nɑ^{4} **[ku**^{5}**]**	ear	Luce 1985:G.45
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**khɯ**^{31}mi^{53}no^{33}	inside	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**khə**^{21}	inside (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.48
	khɯ^{31}no^{33}	inside	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.36
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**k'ung**/k'ung	hollow; empty	Karlgren 1957:1172h
	k'ung/k'ung:	very, greatly; empty	Karlgren 1957:1174a
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	ěr-**kǒng**	earhole	Matisoff 1994b
	kǒng	hole	Matisoff 1994b
	kuung duhng	hole	Sun 1985b:366
	shaau **kuung**	hole (small)	Sun 1985b:367

Chinese comparanda

空 OC ***k'ung** *GSR* #1172h 'hollow, empty'; Li 1971: ***khung**; Baxter:1992:771 ***khong**; Mand. **kōng**.

孔 OC ***k'ung**, *GSR* #1174a 'very, greatly; empty'; Li 1971: ***khungx**; Baxter 1992: ***khong?**; Mand. **kǒng**.

This OC-PTB comparison is long-recognized. See for example Simon 1929, Gong 1995 #75, Coblin 1986:71.

The Chinese forms are a perfect match for the TB reconstruction. For another example of this final correspondence, cf. PTB ***(t/d)uŋ** ≋ ***(t/d)waŋ** MIDDLE / NAVEL (§1.9.3). On the aspiration mismatch in the initial corresponce, see the discussion under PTB ***pu** EGG (§1.9.1).

The two Chinese forms are clearly etymological doublets. Schuessler (2007:335) speculates that 孔 **kǒng** may be an 'endoactive' derivation meaning 'hole', from 空 **kōng** 'hollow, empty', lit. 'that which is hollow, empty'.

肛 OC (see below) 'lower intestines/anus', *GSR*: not in #1172; Mand. **gāng**.

This word is not attested until the Middle Chinese period. The Old Chinese reconstruction would be ***krung** (Li)/***krong** (Baxter) if we assume membership in *GSR* #1172; however, it is possible that the Old Chinese source is ***krong** (Li)/***krung** (Baxter), and that the phonetic element of the character was chosen after the merger of these two OC finals. (The Mandarin pronunciation of 肛 **gāng** is irregular; we would expect **jiāng**.)

Schuessler (2007:251) suggests a comparison with WT **gźaŋ** 'anus'; however, the vowel correspondence is not good (unless a late borrowing is involved). It is certainly possible that this word is in the same family as 空 **kōng** and 孔 **kǒng**, although the function of ***-r-** is not clear.
[ZJH]

(6) PTB *p $^{y}_{w}$ at INSERT / STICK INTO

This root is well-established in Tani, but the scattered reflexes elsewhere require confirmation.

The final **-p** in Dumi is perhaps due to assimilation with the initial.

1.1.1. Tani: ***PET** FORCE INTO (a crack)			
**Tani*	***pet**	force into (a crack)	Sun 1993a:164
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	-**pit**	force into (a crack)	Sun 1993a
	fi-**pit** ko:	pick tooth; clean teeth	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	-**pet**	force into (a crack)	Sun 1993a
	čo-**pet**	insert	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pet**	force into (a crack)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**pet**-dʑap-ra	insert	Sun 1993b
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**pot**-a	insert; tuck in (vt.)	Burling 2003:6.53-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**bat**-	stick in (v.)	van Breugel 2008
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**biT**	insert on / in (v.)	Rai 1985
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**pip** niɨ	<insert,poke> pierce, stick lengthwise into, thrust (any long	Driem 1993
	pip suniɨ	<insert, poke> thrust, drive / stick into lengthwise	Driem 1993
	pip tuniɨ	<insert> position / get into place by thrusting in lengthwise	Driem 1993
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**pie**^{35}	poke (a sign into earth); insert; stick into	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.49; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.38
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**pe**^{ɪ42}	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.37
Bai (Dali)	**pe**^{ɪ42}	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.35
	pɛ 8	insert, to	Dell 1981b:307
Bai (Jianchuan)	**pe**^{42}	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.36

3.2.9 Rocks and minerals

(1) PTB *b-rak ROCK / STONE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-rak**	rock; stone	Matisoff 2003a:609; Benedict 1972:134
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	ta-**rok rok**-bə	rock (cliff)	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**rak**-puük	cave	Benedict 1972:358
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	roŋ-**brak**	rock	Benedict 1972:134
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	luŋ-**bra**	rock	Benedict 1972:134
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**rag'**	rock / stone (n.)	Bailey 1911
	tsom ketsea **rag'**	magnet (stone)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**r^{h}əg**	stone	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Motuo Menba	**bra?**	rock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.07
Cuona Menba	**tʂə**^{35}pu^{53}	rock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ptʂak** khoŋ	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**tshɑ?**^{53}	pit / stone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0379.03
	tʂɑ^{13}phu?^{53}	cave; hole; cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.03; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.03
	tʂɑ?^{231}	rock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tʂɑ?**^{31}phu?^{53}	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂha**^{132}	rock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.02
	tʂha?^{13}phu?^{53}	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.2
	tʂhəː^{13}pu^{52}	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.02
Tibetan (Written)	**brag**	rock	Benedict 1972:134
	brag	rock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.01
	brag	cliff	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:26.1
	brag phug	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.01
	brag phuŋ	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.1
	brag.phrang	footpath along the ledge of a steep mountain	Sun 1985c:276
	brɑg-srám	rock-otter? / sable?	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**tʂaχ** do	rock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Sahu)	**^{4}pra:**	cliff / rock	Mazaudon 1994:720
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yamphu	o• **bræk**	big flat rock (on which grain is dried) (n.)	Rutgers 1998:562.16
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**broa**	cliff	Allen 1975
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Caodeng	**pra**	rock	Sun 1997a
	pra-p^{h}uʔ	cave	Sun 1997a
	pra-ts^{h}e	salt (rock)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**prɐ** kuŋ	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.11
rGyalrong	**prɐ** kuŋ	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.12
rGyalrong	**prɑk**	rock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.11
rGyalrong	**pra** kung	cave	Nagano 1997:6.91
rGBenzhen	**prak**	rock	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Dulong	ɑ^{31}**pɹɑʔ**^{55}luŋ^{55}	rock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.20
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**ɣa**^{21}pa^{21}	stone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.49
	ɣa^{21}pa^{21}	stone / rock	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:42.38
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-rak**^{L} ROCK / STONE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-rak**^{L}	rock / stone	Matisoff 2003a:609
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	**xa55** khu31	rock	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
	xa55 kv33	stone	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**xɑ**^{35}pɯ^{33}	rock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.43
	xɑ^{35}pɯ^{33}ɕi^{11}	stone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.43
Lahu (Black)	**há**	rock, stone (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1061
	xʌ^{35}pɯ^{33}si^{11}	stone / rock	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:42.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**xa**^{4}	rock / cliff	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	xa^{4}pɯ^{1}	stone / rock	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**hwa**^{21}lɔ^{55}ɣa^{55}	rock where animals stop when they are cornered	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**rgha**^{1}-bya^{6}	precipice (n.)	Fraser 1922
	rgha^{1}-hchi^{3}	stone (n.)	Fraser 1922
	rgha^{1}-hchi^{3}(-pa^{1})	rock	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ɣa**^{55}	rock; stone; big stone (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}ba^{21}	overhanging rock; overhanging cliff; precipice	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}bja^{21}	rock bee	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}bja^{21} dʒɿ^{21}tɤ^{55}	rock where rock bees usually build honeycomb	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}bja^{21}ji^{33}	honey of rock bee	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}bja^{21}ʃu^{55}	beeswax of rock bee	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}**bæʔ**^{21}**ne**^{55}	stone utensil (in fairy tales)	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}dɤ^{21}pha^{21}	stone mason	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}hɑ̃^{33}ba^{44}	Shiyueliang ('Stone-Moon', name of place)	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}khu^{21}	rock cave	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}khu^{33}	stone cave; hole in rock	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}lɔ^{33}thu^{33}	stone trough	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}mja^{33}ɣaʔ^{21}	weathered stone	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}pa^{55}	big stone	Bradley 1994

	ɣa^{55}phja^{55}	stone slab	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}pu^{35}	big stone	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}pø^{33}	pile of stone	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}thi^{55}	stone stairs (formed naturally)	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}tsi^{55} ɣa^{55}ta^{33}	stone wall; rugged	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}tʃ̩^{55}	rock platform (flat platform formed naturally on sheer cliff)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɣa^{55}tɕe^{55}	crack in rock	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ɣa^{55}tɕi^{33}khu^{21}	cave; stone cave	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}tɕɤ^{55}	crack in rock	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}vu^{21}	rock; big stone	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{55}ɔ^{55}dy^{33}	hill-top; top of rock	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ɣɑ^{55}**	rock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.40

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	**xhà** lu	stone	Hansson 1989:78
	xhà lu ?	stone	Hansson 1989:196
Akha (Thai)	**xhà**-lo	stone	Hansson 1989:196
Akha	**xhà**-lo	stone	Hansson 1989:196
Akha (Thai)	**xhà**-lo	stone	Hansson 1989:78
Hani (Dazhai)	**xa̱^{31}**lu̱^{33}	stone / rock	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:42.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**xhà** luq	stone	Hansson 1989:196; Hansson 1989:78
	xa^{31}lu̱^{33}	stone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.41
	xa^{31}lu̱^{33}ɣa^{31}dze^{55}	rock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**xa^{31}**lo^{33}	stone / rock	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**havq** luv	stone	Hansson 1989:196; Hansson 1989:78

Chinese comparandum

璐 OC ***glâg***, *GSR* #766r' 'beautiful jade'; Schuessler 2007: (***râkh***); B & S 2011: (***Cə.r^{ʕ}ak-s***); Mand. **lù**.
珞 OC ***glâk*** ~ ***gliɑk***, *GSR* #766u 'small stones; trifling'; Schuessler 2007: (***râk***); B & S 2011: ***r^{ʕ}ak***; Mand. **luò**.
磔 OC ***gliok***, *GSR* #1125j 'pebbles'; Schuessler 2007: (***rêwk***); B & S 2011: ***r^{ʕ}ewk*** **{ [r] ^{ʕ}ewk}**; Mand. **lì**.

(2) PTB *g-ryum SALT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-ryum**	salt	Matisoff 2003a:612; Benedict 1972:245; Chou Fa-kao 1972:609n; Matisoff 2003a:591; Benedict 1972:57n186

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**thum**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thum	salt	Benedict 1972:245

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**sem**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sem	salt	Benedict 1972:245
Kokborok	**šɔm**	salt	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	khari-**tśham**	salt	Benedict 1972:245
	sum	salt	Benedict 1972:245
Garo (Bangladesh)	kai-**sim**	salt (n.)	Burling 2003:5.405-II:idx

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***cu:m**	salt	French 1983:541

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**sum**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	**shum**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
	śum	salt	Benedict 1972:245

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**cham**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
	chüm	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**hüm**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
Phom	**hüm**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
	hɯm^{33}	salt	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**hum**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**džum**	salt	Benedict 1972:245
	dźum / śum	salt, salty	Benedict 1972:57n186
	jum	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
	śum	salt; saltish (vs.)	Benedict 1972:245
	tʃum^{31}	salt	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tʃum^{31}	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.19
	tʃum^{31}	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.47

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Kadu	**sum**	salt	Benedict 1972:245

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***rum ≈ yum** (< *rum)	salt	Benedict 1972:245
	***ŕum**	salt	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**yum**	salt	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**jum**	salt	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**yum**	salt (n.)	Rai 1985
	yum wa	salt water	Rai 1985
Kulung	**rum_**	salt	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**rɨm**	salt	Driem 1993

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**yo**	salt	Allen 1975

6.1.1. Burmish

Atsi [Zaiwa]	ɨ^{55}**tʃum^{21}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.30
	ɨ^{55}**tʃum^{21}**; tsho^{55}	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.42

Chinese comparandum

鹽 OC ***—***, *GSR* #609n 'salt'; B & S 2011: ***N.rom {N.r [o] m}**; Mand. **yán**.
鹹 OC ***g'ɛm***, *GSR* #671f 'salt, salty'; B & S 2011: ***Cə.g^{ʕ}rom {Cə. [g] ^{ʕ}r [o] m}**; Mand. **xián**.

Karlgren provides a separate entry for 鹽 (*GSR* #609n), but offers no OC reconstruction.

(3) PTB *tsa SALT

This root appears distinct from PTB ***m-tsyi*** SALT / YEAST (§3.2.9), which has a high vowel. The Qiangic reflexes belong here, since they have undergone a brightening change of **a** > **i**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsa**	salt	Chou Fa-kao 1972:5m; Matisoff 2003a:616; Matisoff 1983:9; Benedict 1972:214

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Baram	**cha**	salt	Kansakar 2010:83
Kanauri	sămbŭr **tshā**	salt (n.)	Bailey 1911
	tsa	salt	Benedict 1972:214
	tshā	salt (n.)	Bailey 1911
	tshā pā	merchant (salt)	Bailey 1911
	tshā rŏn	trough (salt)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**tʃ^{h}a**	salt	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	in **chha**	salt	Andvik 1993:82
Tsangla (Motuo)	jin^{55}**tɕa^{55}**	salt	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ʔin **tɕa**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	in-**cha**	salt	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tshɑ^{55}**	salt	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tshʌ^{53}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.6
Motuo Menba	ʔin **tɕa**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**tsha** khə	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tsha**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**tsha**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**c^{h}a·**	salt	Rangan 1975:68; Rangan 1975:69
Tibetan (Batang)	**tsha^{53}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.03
	tsha^{53}dʑau^{53}	put in (salt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1315.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tsha^{53}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tsha^{53}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.2
	tsha^{55}	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.02
	tsha^{55} ca^{132}	put in (salt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1315.02
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ts^{h}á**	salt	Sharma 1979

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**tshjɨ**	salt	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5186

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**tshɳ^{33}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.18
Guiqiong	**tshi^{53}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.17
	tshi^{55}	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.16
	tshi^{55} tʂhuɔ̃^{31}	put in (salt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1315.16
Lyuzu	(**tshɳ^{53}**) ku^{53}	put in (salt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1315.18
	tshɳ^{53}	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.18
Muya	**tshə^{53}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.15
	tshə^{53}qhə^{33}	salty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tshɯ^{53}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.15
	tshɯ^{55}tɯ^{55}ne^{33}	salty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:891.15
Namuyi	**tshɳ^{33}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.19
	(**tshɳ^{31}**) tʂhɳ^{35}	put in (salt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1315.46
	tshi^{31}	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tshi^{55}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.10
	tshi^{55}qhɑ^{11}	salty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tshi^{13}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.09
	tshi^{55}ti^{55}	put in (salt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1315.09
Pumi (Dayang)	**tshĭ**	salt (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:168
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tshi^{13}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tshi^{55}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.10
Qiang (Longxi)	(**tshí**) ʁá	add (salt)	Evans 1999:1881
	tshí	salt	Evans 1999:71
	tshí-qù-mù	bat (animal) [salt-steal?-AGT]	Evans 1999:416
Qiang (Mawo)	**tshə**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.08
	tshə	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.8
	tshə qhɑ	salty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:891.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	(**tshì**) ʁé	add (salt)	Evans 1999:1881
	tshì	salt (lump)	Evans 1999:71
	tshì-bé	salt (granulated) [salt-powder]	Evans 1999:71
	tshì-mí-dzù	bland [salt-NEG-enough?]	Evans 1999:1531
	tshì-qhá	salty [salt-bitter]	Evans 1999:1530
Qiang (Taoping)	**tshɳ^{33}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.9
	tshɳ^{55}qhɑ^{55}	salty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:891.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tshi^{53}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.16
	tshi^{55}kha^{53}	salty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:891.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tɕhi^{55}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.13
	tɕhi^{55}tə^{33}qa^{55}si^{31}	salty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.13
Xumi	(**tshɛ^{53}**) xi^{33}	put in (salt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1315.17
	tshɛ^{53}	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.17
	tshɛ^{55}qhɑo^{33}	salty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.17
	tshɐ^{55}	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.20
	tshɐ^{55}qhɑ^{55}	salty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:891.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**tshɳ^{33}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.14
	tshɳ^{31}	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.14
	tshɳ^{55} zo^{33}zo^{55}	salty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1076.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**tshɯ**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	(**tshɐ**) kɐ lɐt	put in (salt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1315.11

Caodeng	pra-**ts^{h}e**	salt (rock)	Sun 1997a
	qé-nbət **ts^{h}e**	salt (sandy)	Sun 1997a
	rgjé-**ts^{h}e**	salt crystal	Sun 1997a
	sok **ts^{h}ɐ**	salt (from Kokonor)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tshɐ**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.11
rGyalrong	**tshɐ**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.12
Caodeng	**ts^{h}e**	salt	Sun 1997a
	ts^{h}ɐ-kəɣʔ	bag for salt	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**tshe**	salt	Nagano 1997:7.1
rGBenzhen	**ts^{h}ɐ**	salt	Sun 1997b

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**tɕhɑ^{31}**	salt	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tɕhɔ^{31}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.28
	tɕhɔ^{31}	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.41
Achang (Luxi)	**tsha^{55}**	salt	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**chɔ^{31}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.29
Bola (Luxi)	**tha^{35}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**shɑ^{55}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**hsɑ^{55}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.40
Burmese (Written)	**cha**	salt	Matisoff 1983:9
	châ	salt	Benedict 1976a
	chā:	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
	hsɑ^{3}	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.39
	shɑ^{3}	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.26
	tshà	salt	Benedict 1972:214
Hpun (Northern)	**ʃà**, **shà**	salt	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**tshɔ^{35}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tsho^{55}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.33
Marma	**chá**	salt	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:77
Maru [Langsu]	**tshò**	salt (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:165
	tshɔ^{35}	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	i^{55}tʃum^{21}; **tsho^{55}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.42
	tsho^{55}	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.30

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	*(**t**)sa^{2}	salt	Bradley 1979b:408
PNL	**tsa^{2}**	salt	Chen Kang 1986a:2.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**tsha^{31}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.47
	ts^{h}a^{31}	salt	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**tshà(q)**-boq	salt	Björverud 1994
	tsha^{21}	salt	Chen Kang 1986a:2.
Lipho	**tsho^{21}**	salt	Chen Kang 1986a:2.
Nasu	**tsho^{33}**	salt	Chen Kang 1986a:2.
Neisu	**tshu^{33}**	salt	Chen Kang 1986a:2.
Nesu	**tsho^{33}**	salt	Chen Kang 1986a:2.
Nosu	**tshɯ^{33}**	salt	Chen Kang 1986a:2.
Nusu (Central)	**tsha^{55}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.34
Nusu (Southern)	**tshɔ^{55}**	salt	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**tshɑ^{55}**	salt	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tshɑ^{55}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.45
Yi (Dafang)	**tshu^{33}ba^{21}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**tshɯ^{21}mo^{21}**	salt, granular	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tshɯ^{33}	salt	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tshɯ^{33}la^{55}	salt	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tshɯ^{33}ȥ^{33}	salt water; walter, salt	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tsho^{21}mu^{33}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tsho^{33}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tsho^{21}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.37
	tsho^{21}	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**tshɑ^{21}bo^{33}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tshɑ^{21}bo^{33}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tshu^{33}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.38
Yi (Xide)	**tshɯ^{33}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.35
	tshɯ^{33}	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**tsho^{21}**	salt	Chen Kang 1986a:2.
Jinuo	**tsha^{55}kha^{31}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.34
	tshə^{55}khə^{42}	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**tshə^{55}khə^{42}lə^{42}**	salt	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**tshʌ33**	salt	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}ni^{21} **tshaʔ^{21}**bɔ^{33}	salt for an ox	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a^{55}ɲi^{21} **tshaʔ^{21}**bɔ^{33}	salt for an ox	Bradley 1994
	htsa^{5}-baw^{3}	salt	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**tsha^{21}bɔ^{33}**	salt (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}bɔ^{33} dza^{21}du^{33}	cooking salt	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}du^{21}	salt well	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21}	multi-coloured salt	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}hɤ^{21}	sand salt	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}ji^{33}	salt solution	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}khu^{55}	rock salt	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}næ^{33}	black salt (cf. tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}nɯ^{44}	grey salt (cf. tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}phja^{21}	salt leaf (cf. tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}phu^{33}	white salt (cf. tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}si^{21}	red salt (cf. tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}sɤ^{21}	salt fruit (cf. tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}thɔ^{55}	tube-salt	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}tɕwa^{33}	salt vine	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}ve^{33}	salt flower (cf. tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}ŋɯ^{55}	evil salt (cf. tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}ʃɿ^{33}	yellow salt (cf. tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
	tshaʔ^{21}bɔ^{33} thi^{21} khi^{55}	lump of salt	Bradley 1994
	tshaʔ^{21}bɔ^{33} thi^{21}tɕe^{35}	load of salt	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tshɑ^{31}** bo̱^{33}	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.40
	tshɑ^{41}bo^{44}	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.27
Sani [Nyi]	**tsha^{21}**	salt	Chen Kang 1986a:2.
Yi (Sani)	**tshɒ^{11}** m̩^{33}	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**shà**-dəq	salt	Hansson 1989:576
Akha (Yunnan)	**tshà** dəq	salt	Hansson 1989:576
Bisu	**tshɔ̀** mɛ̀	salt	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	**tsha^{31}dɣ̱^{31}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tsha^{31}dɣ̱^{31}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshɔ^{31}mɐ̱^{31}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.30
Hani (Pijo)	**tshɔ̀** mjèq	salt	Hansson 1989:576
Hani (Gelanghe)	**sa^{31}dɣ̱^{31}**	salt	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**caq** ddevq	salt	Hansson 1989:576
Hani (Shuikui)	**tsha^{31}tɤ^{31}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tshà** tzỳ	salt	Hansson 1989:576
Hani (Mojiang)	**tsha^{31}tɤ^{31}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.42
	tshɔ^{31}xu^{31}	mortar (salt) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.42
Mpi	**sɑ^{2}tɑʔ^{2}**	salt	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**ca31** me31	salt	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:044005
Sila	**tshɛ21** lo33	salt	Kato Takashi 2008:143

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ts^{h}e**˥su˥	salty	Michaud 2006–2009:2170
	ts^{h}e˧	salt	Michaud 2006–2009:201
	ts^{h}e˧q^{h}ɑ˧	too salty	Michaud 2006–2009:2171
Na (Yongning)	**ts^{h}e**˥	salt	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧q^{h}ɑ˩	too salty	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧so˥	salty	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**tshe^{33}**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tshe^{33}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**tshe^{33}**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tshe^{33}**kha^{33}	salty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:891.28

7. Karenic: ***sa^{B}** SALT

**Karen [Burling]*	***sa^{2}**	salt	Luangthongkum 2013:244
**Karen*	***sa^{B}**	salt	Luangthongkum 2013:244
Bwe	**θɛ^{33}**	salt	Luangthongkum 2013:244
Kayah	**se^{11}**	salt	Luangthongkum 2013:244
Kayan	**θa^{11}**	salt	Luangthongkum 2013:244
Kayaw	**sa^{11}**	salt	Luangthongkum 2013:244
Pa-O (Southern)	**sa^{33}**	salt	Luangthongkum 2013:244
Pa-O (Northern)	**sa^{55}**	salt	Luangthongkum 2013:244
Sgaw (Southern)	**sa^{45}'**	salt	Luangthongkum 2013:244
Sgaw (Northern)	ʔiʔ^{45} **sa^{31}~**	salt	Luangthongkum 2013:244

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	鹺	salt	Baxter & Sagart 2011:443

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**dzʻâ**	salt	Benedict 1972:49n161
	dzʻû	salt	Chou Fa-kao 1972:5m
Chinese (Old)	**dzʾâ**	salt	Matisoff 1983:9
	N-ts^{ʕ}aj {N-[ts]^{ʕ}aj}	salt	Baxter & Sagart 2011:443

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**dza**	salt	Baxter & Sagart 2011:443

Chinese comparandum

鹺 OC ***dzʾû**, *GSR* #5m 'salt'; Schuessler 2007:201 ***dzâi**; B & S 2011: ***N-ts^{ʕ}aj {N-[ts]^{ʕ}aj}**; Mand. **cuó**.

(4) PTB *la SALT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***la**	salt	Matisoff 2003a:599
	***lɑ**	salt	Chou Fa-kao 1972:71a-b

1.1.1. Tani: ***lo** SALT

**Tani*	***lo**	salt	Sun 1993a:333

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**lo**	salt	Sun 1993a
	à-**lò**	salt	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**lu:**	salt	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	o **lo**	salt (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0061.24
	o-**lo**	salt	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	o **lo**	salt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:398.51
Galo	a **lo**	salt (n.)	GLDC 2009
	a **lo**	salt	Das Gupta 1963
	lo duu	salt cellar (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	al **le**	salt	Simon 1976
	a **lo**	salt	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **lu**	salt	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**lo**	salt	Sun 1993a
Mishing [Miri]	ə **lo**	salt	Benedict 1972:187n487

Chinese comparandum

鹵 OC ***lo**, *GSR* #71a 'salt, brine'; B & S 2011: ***r^{ʕ}a {[r]^{ʕ}a}**; Mand. **lǔ**.

(5) PTB *m-tsyi SALT / YEAST

In the Southeast Asian linguistic area, yeast is used for brewing liquor rather than for baking bread. The semantic connection between SALT and YEAST can be understood as residing in the enlivening effect the two substances have on food and drink.

The nasal prefix attested overtly in many languages is also reflected by the voiced Lahu initial.

This root appears distinct from PTB ***tsa** SALT (§3.2.9), which has a low vowel. Unlike Qiangic, we do not expect languages of the NE Indian Areal Group to have undergone a brightening change of **a** > **i**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-t(s)i**	salt / yeast	Matisoff 2003a:617

1. NE Indian Areal Group

**Kuki-Naga*	***m-tsyi**	salt	Benedict 1972:121n332

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tsii** SALT

**Chin*	***tsii**	SALT	VanBik 2009:559

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**chī**	salt	VanBik 2009:559
Thado	**cì**	salt	Thirumalai 1972:60
	tśi	salt	Benedict 1972:121n332
	tsìi	salt	VanBik 2009:559
Tiddim	**ci^{3}**	salt	VanBik 2009:559; Bhaskararao 1996:154

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Chinbon	**ṃsi**	salt	So-Hartmann 1988:177
Cho (Mindat)	**m-si**	salt	VanBik 2009:559
Daai	**ṃsi**	salt	So-Hartmann 1988:177
Mkaang	**tši**	salt	So-Hartmann 1988:177
Ngmüüin	**ṃsi**	salt	So-Hartmann 1988:177
Nyhmoye	**ṃsi**	salt	So-Hartmann 1988:177

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**tsìi**	salt	VanBik 2009:559
Lai (Hakha)	**tsĭi** têe	salt	VanBik 2009:559
Lushai [Mizo]	**chi**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
	chì	salt	VanBik 2009:559
	chi	salt (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2233
	tśi	salt	Benedict 1972:121n332
	tsìi	salt	Löffler 1985
Paangkhua	**matsiì**	salt	Löffler 1985
	tsiì	salt	Löffler 1985
Rangkhol	**midźi**	salt	Benedict 1972:121n332

1.2.3. Maraic

Banjogi	**mitśi**	salt	Benedict 1972:121n332

1.3. “Naga” Areal Group

Maring	**mathi**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	***m-tsə**	SALT	Bruhn 2014a:II.183
Ao (Chungli)	**metsə**	salt	Benedict 1972:121n332
	metzü	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mə^{3}tsə^{3}	salt (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.183
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**metsü**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**mətsə**	salt (n.)	Coupe 2007
Yacham-Tengsa	**machi**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**metsa**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**metsie**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**mütsa**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **mütsü**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **mchü**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**tsi**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **miti**	salt	Achumi 1998b:7.1
	a **mti**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ə **mti**	salt	Benedict 1972:121n332

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	**machi**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**tsai**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ci** SALT

**Tangkhulic*	***ci**	salt	Mortensen 2012:357
Huishu	ʔa-mə-**tsik**	salt	Mortensen 2012:Nature.138
Kachai	mə-**tsɐ**	salt	Mortensen 2012:Nature.138
Tangkhul	**cí**	salt	Bhat 1969:95
	ma **chi**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mə **tsi**	salt	Benedict 1972:121n332
Tankghul (Central)	ma-**ci**	salt	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	n-**tsɯ**	salt	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ma-**ci**	salt	Brown 1837
Tusom	mə-**tsɯ**	salt	Mortensen 2012:Nature.138
Ukhrul	mə-**ci**	salt	Mortensen 2012

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **ti**	salt (n.)	Marrison 1967
	iŋ **ti**	salt	Benedict 1972:121n332

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**mətsi**	yeast	Benedict 1972:38n123

2.2. Newar

Newar (Dolakhali)	**ci**	salt	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**ci**	salt	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**ci**	salt	Genetti 1990d

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu	**dî**	yeast	Benedict 1972:38n123

(6) PTB *r-lu $^{ŋ}_{k}$ STONE

The vast majority of TB languages have a final velar nasal from this root. Lolo-Burmese and rGyalrongic, however, shows alternation between the nasal and the homorganic stop.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-luŋ**	stone; rock	Weidert 1987:306; Matisoff 1983:47; LaPolla 1987:139; Benedict 1972:88
	***r-luŋ ≍ k-luk**	stone	Matisoff 2003a:600

1.1.1. Tani: ***lɯŋ** STONE

**Tani*	***lɯŋ**	stone	Sun 1993a:402

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	(ja-**lã**)la-ro	flint	Sun 1993b
	ja-**lã**	stone; rock	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja-**lã** do-ko	rocky	Sun 1993b
	ja-**lã** lan-da	cliff (rocky)	Sun 1993b
	ja-**lã** lum-pɯ	cave	Sun 1993a
	ja-**lã** lum-pɯʔ	cave	Sun 1993b
	ja-**lã** pu-ño	shingle	Sun 1993b
	ja-**lã** pu-ro	boulder	Sun 1993b
	ja-**lã-lã**-ñiʔ	gravel	Sun 1993b
	ja-**laŋ**	stone	Sun 1993b
	làm-bɯ	cave	Sun 1993b
	mi-rɯ ja-**laŋ**	grinding stone	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ləŋ**-čoː	boulder	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-pjaː	stone slab	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-pɯ [pɯ̥^{h}]	pebble	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-pɯk	overhanging cliff	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-ŋər	flint	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-pak pak	game of shot put (rock)	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-pɯk	cave	Sun 1993a
	lɯŋ-tak	boulder	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**lɯŋ**	stone	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**lɯŋ** tu-pjaː-bu	mason	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(large) **lɯŋ**-pɯ	grinding stone	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ duŋ	cliff; rock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0026.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.24
	lɯŋ pɯk	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.24
	lɯŋ-čak	pebble (small)	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-duŋ	rock (big); boulder, huge rock	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-pjoŋ	slab of stone	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-puŋ	crystal	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-pɯk	cave	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-re:	pebble	Sun 1993b
	ɯ **lɯŋ**	stone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.24
	ɯ-**lɯŋ**	stone; rock	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɻɯŋ pɯk	cave / hole (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.24
Bokar Lhoba	**lɯŋ** duŋ	cliff	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:26.51
	lɯŋ pɯk	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.51
	ɯ **lɯŋ**	stone / rock	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:42.51
Galo	**lur**-cɯk	tripod of stone	Das Gupta 1963
	lɯ-cɯk	tripod of stone	Das Gupta 1963
	lɯ pɯk	cave	Das Gupta 1963
	‘lɨɨ cak	pebble (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ cak-bəree	pebble (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ ci	pebble (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ ci-bəree	pebble (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ cum	stone (green) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ cuu	pebble (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ kaa	igneous stone; stone (igneous) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ kap	cobble (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ kə	stone (black); pebble (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ kər	stone (blue) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ mik	algae (on stones) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ mɨk	gravel; sand (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ nə	boulder (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ pom	stone heap; heap (of stones) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ puu	stone (white) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ pə	sharpening stone; stone (sharpening) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ ruu	hole (in stone) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ tak	boulder (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ tor	hard stone; stone (hard) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ tə	boulder (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ yaa	stone (soft); pebble; slate (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ yaa-bəree	pebble (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨ oo	weight (stone) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨ or	stone (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘pɨl **lɨɨ**	stone (n:poet.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ɨ **lɨɨ**	stone; rock (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɯ **lɯ**	stone	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**lɯ** sen	flint	Simon 1976
	mɯ dɯ-**lɯ** sen	flint and striker	Simon 1976
	ɯl **lɯ**	stone	Simon 1976
	ɯl **lɯ**-kai-ne	boulder [large]	Simon 1976
	ɯl **lɯ**-lɯshak-tɯrak	pebble	Simon 1976
	ɯl **lɯ**-put-ne	rock	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **lang**~o **lang**	stone	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a i-nɤ e **liŋ**	heavy stone	Das Gupta 1983
	e **liŋ** moku	rocky / rock place	Das Gupta 1983
	leŋ puk	cave	Das Gupta 1983
	liŋ cak	gravel	Das Gupta 1983
	ɤ **liŋ**	stone	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	ə-**lɯŋ**	stone	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ö-**lüŋ**	stone	Benedict 1972:88
Damu	**laŋ**-tɕuk	rock (piece of stone)	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-pi	grinding stone	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-pək	cave	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-tɕuk	stone slab	Sun 1993b
	ta-pom **ləŋ**-pit	ax (of stone)	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	ü-**liŋ**	stone	Benedict 1972:88; LaPolla 1987:139
	ɯ-**liŋ** rhyme!	stone	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**lam**	stone (of fruit)	NEFA (India) 1963
	lɯm^{55}	pit / stone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0379.22
	lɯm^{55}	stone / pit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:227.49
Kaman [Miju]	**làuŋ**	stone	Weidert 1987:306
	lɯm^{35}	pit / stone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0379.23
	lɯm^{35}	stone / pit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:227.48
	lăuŋ^{35}	stone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.23
	lăuŋ^{35}	stone / rock	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:42.48
	lăuŋ^{35}gloŋ^{35}	pestle (small, stone) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0628.23
Idu	a **la**-pra	stone	Anonymous 1962
	ɑ^{31}**laŋ^{55}**	stone / rock	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:42.50
Yidu	ɑ^{31}**laŋ^{55}**	stone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***luŋ** STONE / ROCK

**Chin*	***luŋ**	STONE / ROCK	VanBik 2009:1054

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	peːk^{1} **lung^{1}**	marbles	VanBik 2009:1054

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	a **lün**	rock (n.)	VanBik 2009:1054
	ə-**lɨ̀**	stone	Weidert 1987:306
Chinbon	**lïːŋ**	stone	So-Hartmann 1988:21
Cho (Mindat)	**lung**	stone	VanBik 2009:1054
Daai	**lúŋ**	stone	So-Hartmann 1988:21
Khumi	**lum** seewng	stone, rock	VanBik 2009:677
	lɛŋ s^{h}ɛ^{ʌ}ŋ	stone	So-Hartmann 1988:21
Matu	**luŋ** to^{u}	stone	So-Hartmann 1988:21
Mkaang	**lúŋ**	stone	So-Hartmann 1988:21
Ngmüüin	**lúŋ**	stone	So-Hartmann 1988:21
Nyhmoye	**lúŋ**.paːŋ	stone	So-Hartmann 1988:21

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**lûŋ**	stone, rock	VanBik 2009:1054
Lai (Falam)	**lúŋ**	stone, rock	VanBik 2009:1054
Lushai [Mizo]	**lung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	lung	stone	Bhaskararao 1996:1624
	lung pûk	cave	Marrison 1967
	lŭŋ	stone, a rock, a boulder, a pebble (n.)	VanBik 2009:1054
	luŋ	stone	LaPolla 1987:139; Benedict 1972:88

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**lô^{3}**	stone, a rock (n.)	VanBik 2009:1054

1.3. “Naga” Areal Group

Maring	kha **lung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967

	ta **lung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***luŋ** STONE, ROCK

**Central Naga*	***luŋ**	STONE, ROCK	Bruhn 2014a:III.229
**Ao*	*(a-)**luŋ**	STONE, ROCK	Bruhn 2014a:II.358
Ao (Chungli)	**lung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	lung ki	tower (n.)	Marrison 1967
	luŋ[1]	stone, rock (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.358
	mi tsüktsü-**lung**	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
	[1]**luŋ**	stone	Weidert 1987:306
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **lung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**luŋ**-pak	slab ('stone' + 'be flat') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	luŋ-pùk	cave ('stone' + STOMACH) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	luŋ zak	whetstone (n.)	Coupe 2007
	lùŋ-khə̀m	village name (Lungkum) ('stone' + 'precipice') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**luŋ**	stone (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**loŋ**[3]	rock, stone (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.229
	lóŋ kù	cave	Acharya 1975
	lung ki	tower (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi shüngphen **lung**	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
	ō **lóŋ**	stone	Acharya 1975
	o **lung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **lung**	stone	Murry *et al.* 1978:117
	o **nung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	[1]o[3]**luŋ(ʔ)**	stone	Weidert 1987:306
Sangtam	**long**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	[2]**luŋ**	stone	Weidert 1987:306
Yacham-Tengsa	**lung** mango	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**lung**	stone	Kumar 1973b:66
	lung	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	lung yam	cave	Marrison 1967
	[1]**luŋ**	stone	Weidert 1987:306

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Meluri	a **lung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **lung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **nong**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	**lung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	ki **lung**	tower (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***luŋ** STONE

**Tangkhulic*	***luŋ**	stone	Mortensen 2012:501
Champhung	ŋa-**luŋ**	stone	Brown 1837
Huishu	sə-**luŋ**	stone	Mortensen 2012:Nature.130
Kachai	kə-**luŋ**	stone	Mortensen 2012:Nature.130
Tangkhul	**lung** gui	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	lung riham	cave	Marrison 1967
	nga **lung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ruŋ	stone	Bhat 1969:98
Tankghul (Central)	**luŋ**	stone	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**luŋ**-gau	stone	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ŋa-**luŋ**	stone	Brown 1837
Tusom	**lū**-kuə	stone	Mortensen 2012:Nature.130
Ukhrul	ŋə-**luŋ**	stone	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**nung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ar **long**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ar **loŋ**	stone	LaPolla 1987:139; Benedict 1972:88
	ar **lōŋ(ʔ)**	stone	Weidert 1987:306
	har **lōŋ(ʔ)**	stone	Weidert 1987:306
	long ku	cave	Marrison 1967

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo: ***loʔŋ-tai** STONE

**Bodo-Garo*	***loʔŋ**-tai	stone	Burling 1959:444

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**long** thai	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	loŋ	stone	LaPolla 1987:139; Benedict 1972:88
Kokborok	**hloŋ**	stone	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**roŋ**	stone	LaPolla 1987:139; Benedict 1972:88
	roŋ-brak	rock	Benedict 1972:134
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ro'ng**-ti pi'-sa	clitoris	Burling 1992 [b]
	rong•-te	rock; stone (n.)	Burling 2003:4.244-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**rong**	classifier for small round objects, money, small stones, seeds, fruits, etc.; default classifier for counting (clf.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong•	stone (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• cheret	pebble size stone (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• chun	lime stone (in rock form) (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• chung	big rock (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• chyret	very small stone (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• dep-	crush with a stone (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• gyrym	being full of big rocks, stony land (adj2.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• khal	space under a stone (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• khol	cave (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• misi	very small stone, to be covered by a stone (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• patal	big rock (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• phek	grain of sand or very small stone (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• rymrym	being full of big rocks, stony land (adj2.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• sa	whetstone, flat stone for sharpening knives or edged tools (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• syrek	small stone (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• thai	rock (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	rong• thyk	big rock (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***Ç̣-luŋ** STONE

**Northern Naga*	*Ç̣-**luŋ**	stone	French 1983:560

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**long**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	loŋ kan	cave	French 1983:504
Tangsa (Moshang)	**lung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**lung**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**lang**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
Khiamngan	[1]**luŋ**	stone	Weidert 1987:306
Konyak	**yong**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yong sha	cave	Marrison 1967
Phom	**yong**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yong dong	cave	Marrison 1967
	yɔŋ[33]	stone	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**long**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	kin[31]**loŋ**[33]khu[33]	cave	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	kin[31]**loŋ**[33]khu[33]	cave (mountain) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.19
	kin[31]**loŋ**[33]khu[33]	cave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:33.47
	long pu	cave	Marrison 1967
	luŋ ≍ nluŋ	stone	Benedict 1972:88
	luŋ-bra	rock	Benedict 1972:134
	luŋ-byen	slab	Benedict 1972:138
	lùŋ-pū	cave	Matisoff 1978b:2a(a)
	luŋ~**nluŋ**	stone	LaPolla 1987:139
	luŋ[31]phʒa[55]	rock (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.19
	luŋ[31]pʒa[31]	cliff	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:26.47
	n[31]**luŋ**[31]	stone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.19
	n[31]**luŋ**[31]	stone / rock	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:42.47
	ŋ[31]**luŋ**[31]	stone / rock	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	n **long**	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	[1]n[1]**luŋ**	stone	Weidert 1987:306

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	tə **luŋ**	stone	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:286

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	zə **rong**	rock	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**lung**	stone (n.)	Hale 1973:01.077
Tsangla (Central)	khong **lung**	testicle (m.)	Egli-Roduner 1987:34 4
	lung	stone	Andvik 1993:52
Tsangla (Motuo)	khu **luŋ**	stone / pit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:227.7
	luŋ	stone / rock	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:42.7
	luŋ[13]	stone / rock	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	tok[55]tsi[55]**luŋ**[13]	pestle (stone)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	t'ap[55]**luŋ**[13]	hearthstone	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**lung**	stone / rock	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	lung-phung	cave	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	khu **luŋ**	pit / stone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0379.07
	luŋ	stone (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.07
	tok tsi **luŋ**	trip-hammer for hulling rice (stone); pestle (small, stone) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0626.07; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0628.07

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**lang**	stone (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	lang klyók	big flat stone (n.)	Plaisier 2007
	lăŋ	stone	Benedict 1972:88
	laŋ~**luŋ**	stone	LaPolla 1987:139

2.1.4. Tamangish: ***[Bh]juŋ** STONE

**TGTM*	***[Bh]juŋ**	stone	Mazaudon 1994:833
Manang (Gyaru)	**yɯŋ**[1]	stone	Nagano 1984:286
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]**juŋ**	stone	Mazaudon 1994:833
	[1]**yuŋ**	stone	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0145
Tamang (Sahu)	[2]**yung** pā	stone (n.)	Hale 1973:01.077
	'yuŋ pa	stone	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.77
	[2]**juŋ**	stone	Mazaudon 1994:833
Thakali	**ym** pā	stone (n.)	Hale 1973:01.077
Thakali (Marpha)	[44,43]**jum**-pa	stone	Mazaudon 1994:833
Thakali (Syang)	[54]**jum**	stone	Mazaudon 1994:833
Thakali (Tukche)	**jum** pa	stone	Hari 1971:1.77
	jum pa 'ṭehn	rock	Hari 1971:5.A.55

2.2. Newar

Newar (Dolakhali)	**luŋ** a	stone	Genetti 1990b
Newar	**luŋ** ā	rock (large) / boulder / stone	Genetti 1990d

2.3. Kiranti: ***ʔluŋ** STONE

**Kiranti*	***ʔluŋ**	stone	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**liŋ** gekwa	stone	Ebert 1997
	liŋ geʔwa	stone	Ebert 1997
	lum bhuk	cave	Ebert 1997
	luŋ geʔwa	stone	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**luŋ**	stone	Michailovsky 1989b
	tsum **luŋ**	stone stele marking a meeting-place	Driem 1988
Yamphu	**rum** muk	cave (n.)	Rutgers 1998:572.27
	ruŋ daŋ	cave, larger than a "rummuk" (n.)	Rutgers 1998:572.28

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	Dhi **luN** TaN	cave; big rock	Rai 1985; Rai 1985
	luN (Tak)	stone (n.)	Rai 1985
	luN khim	stone house	Rai 1985
	nukwa **luN**	grinding stone	Rai 1985
Kulung	**luŋ_**	stone	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**lu**	rock, stone	Driem 1993
	lu ta:bo	stone / rock used as a hand-thrown projectile	Driem 1993
	sam phe? **lu**	1) the Omniscient Stone, one of several epithets for the	Driem 1993
Khaling	**lung**	stone (n.)	Hale 1973:01.077

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**luŋ**	stone	LaPolla 1987:139; Benedict 1972:88
Hayu	kuŋ-**luŋ**	egg	Matisoff 1987
Sunwar	phul **lu**	stone (n.)	Hale 1973:01.077
Thulung	**luŋ**	stone	Allen 1975
	seop **luŋ**	stone by a spring on which clothes are washed	Allen 1975
	sor **luŋ**	magical stone, star (AS.)	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**-luŋ**	round object, ball, stone (of fruit) (nb.)	Caughley 2000

[a] Clark: "LUNGKI, a stone house or a brick house. The temples in Assam Valley are called *lungki*" (1911:359).

[b] According to Burling (1992), the literal meaning of this word is "small stone"; it can also refer to the smaller of the two grindstones in a ricemill.

	lyum?.baŋ	rock shelter, cave (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lyum?.puk	rock shelter, overhanging rock, shallow cave (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lyum pʰuk	cave	Caughley 1972:5.A.52
Kham	**ʾlụ**	stone (n.)	Hale 1973:01.077
Magar	**hlaŋ** / **hluŋ**	stone	Benedict 1972:35n114

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**lụ**	stone, rock	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1074

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**ɣũ**^{33}mphø^{55}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.17
Lyuzu	**luo**^{33}bo^{53}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.18
	luo^{33}dʑʉ^{53}	wall (stone) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0510.18
	luo^{33}mæ^{53}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.18
	luo^{53}bu^{53}	rock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.18
Muya	**lə**^{53}	cave / hole (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.15
Namuyi	**lo**^{55}quɑ^{33}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.19
	lu^{53}phʐə^{31}	flint (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0536.46
	lu^{53}phʐə^{31}ʁuæ^{55}	tinder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0537.46
	lu^{55}qua^{31}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	guo^{11}**lũ**^{55}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.10
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	**ɣo**	stone / rock	Matisoff 1972b:190(a)
Qiang (Longxi)	**ʁò**	rock (CL.)	Evans 1999:1261
	ʁò liú	pestle (stone)	Evans 1999:884
	ʁò ló	flying stone	Evans 1999:47
	ʁò lû	stone	Evans 1999:47
	ʁò piá	rock; stone	Evans 1999:28; Evans 1999:47
Qiang (Mawo)	**RRlu**	stone	LaPolla 1987:139
	ɹa ʁuɑ	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.08
	ʁlu pi	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	(**lò**) tshá	(stone) bridge	Evans 1999:94
	lò	stone (small)	Evans 1999:47
	lò zù	stone wall	Evans 1999:704
	lò zù tè tɕhú	dike, embankment (across a ditch) [stone.wall-constructed]	Evans 1999:39
	lò zù-tɕhú	construct a wall [stone.wall-m]	Evans 1999:1778
	lò zù-tʂhú	lay bricks, stones [stone.wall-construct]	Evans 1999:2239
	lò-bʐà	stone, boulder [stone-big]	Evans 1999:47
	lò-guì	moss [stone-rust]	Evans 1999:569
	ló dzì	tower [stone?-m]	Evans 1999:96
	ló-pʂì	flint, stone for fire [stone-white]	Evans 1999:746
Qiang (Taoping)	**ʁo**^{241}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**lu**^{53}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.16
Xumi	**jũ**^{33}guɛ^{53}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.17
	jũ^{33}kuɐ^{55}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.20
	jũ^{33}zɛ̃^{55}	wall (stone) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0510.17

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	ʾcə **ləkˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	ʾɟə **lo**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	dor **ʾloŋ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	də22**lok44**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	də **ʾlokˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Queyu Gala)	**lu**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ndʑə **lək**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	rdo **ʾlokˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	rdu **ʾlokˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	tɪ ˈ**lok**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	ɖʑə **ʾləkˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	ɟe22 **lək44**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	ɟjə **lək**	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.11
rGyalrong	ɟjə **lək**	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.12
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	ɟə **ʾləkˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	ɟə **ʾləkˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	ɟə **ʾləkˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	ɟə **ʾləkˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ɟə **ʾləkˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ɟə **ʾləkˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	ɟə **ʾləkˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	ɟə **ʾləkˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	ɟə **ʾləkˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	ɟə **ʾləkˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	ɟə **ləkˀ**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	ɟ̬je22 **lək44**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	ɖʒe22 **lək44**	stone	Nagano & Prins 2013:1368
rGyalrong	gyu **luk**	stone	Nagano 1997:6.81
rGBenzhen	dʒə-**lək**	stone	Sun 1997b
	tsʰu-bo dʒə-**lək**	pestle (small; stone)	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**luŋ**-pu	cave	Benedict 1972:358
	luŋ^{33}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.44
Nung	**ḷuŋ**^{55}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.21
	luŋ^{55}	pit / stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0379.21
Anong	**luŋ**^{55}	stone / pit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:227.44
Rawang	**lɔŋ**^{53}	stone	LaPolla 2003:53
	lɔŋ^{53} buʔ	cave, hole; hole, cave	LaPolla 2003:33; LaPolla 2003:34
	lɔŋ^{53} doŋ^{31}	mountain cave	LaPolla 2003:32
	lɔŋ^{53} phɔuŋ^{33}	rock	LaPolla 2003:31
Dulong	**luŋ**^{55}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.20
Trung [Dulong]	**luŋ**^{55}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.46
Dulong	**luŋ**^{55}paŋ^{55}	cave / hole (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0029.20
	lɯ^{31}ka^{55}**luŋ**^{55}paŋ^{55}	cave (mountain) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0028.20
	ɑ^{31}pɹɑʔ^{55}**luŋ**^{55}	rock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**luuŋ**^{55}	stone	LaPolla 1987:139
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**luuŋ**^{55}	stone	LaPolla 1987:139
	luŋ^{55}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	lɯ^{31}kɑ^{55}duŋ^{55}	cave	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Southern)	**lu**^{35}~**lu**^{35}kʉ^{33}tʉ^{35}	stone / rock	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**lu**^{55}ka^{55}	pit / stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0379.49
	lu^{55}ka^{55}	stone / pit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:227.38

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***k-lok** ⩬ ***k-loŋ** STONE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***k-lok**	stone / rock	Matisoff 1972b:190(a)
	***k-lok** ⩬ **k-loŋ**	stone / rock	Matisoff 1983:47
	***k-loŋ**	stone / rock	Matisoff 1972b:190(b)

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**n̥ɯŋ**^{55}**kɑ**^{31}	stone, rock	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**laŋ**^{31}**kɔʔ**^{55}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.28
	liŋ^{31}kɔʔ^{55}; **laŋ**^{31}kɔʔ^{55}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.41
Achang (Luxi)	**laŋ**^{55}**kaʔ**^{55}	stone, rock	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**luʔ**^{55}**koʔ**^{55}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.29
Bola (Luxi)	**lauʔ**^{31}**taŋ**^{31}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕauʔ**^{4}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**cau'**	stone	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕauʔ**^{44}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.40
Burmese (Written)	**kjɔk**	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.39
	kjɔk^{4}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.26
	klauk / **kyauk**	stone	Benedict 1972:41n134
	klok	stone	Hansson 1989:196
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**klok**	stone; rock	Matisoff 1983:47; Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**kyauk**	stone	Weidert 1987:306; LaPolla 1987:139; Benedict 1972:107n301; Benedict 1972:88
	kyauk-pyáń	flat level stone, slab	Benedict 1972:138
	kyok	stone (n.)	Marrison 1967
	kyok	stone; rock; stone, rock	Hansson 1989:196; Matisoff 1983:47; Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a
	ə-phruik-**kyok**	stone used in alchemy	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	**kălùʔ**, **kălòh**, **kălòʔ**	stone	Henderson 1986
Samong	**kəlauk**	stone	Benedict 1972:107n301
Langsu (Luxi)	**lauk**^{31}**tsaŋ**^{31}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**luk**^{31}**tsəŋ**^{31}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.33
Marma	**kyɔʔ**	stone	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:286
Maru [Langsu]	**laù'**	stone	Okell 1971
	lauk-	stone	Benedict 1972:107n301
	lauk^{31}**tsaŋ**^{31}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.43
	lòk tsàŋ	stone	Weidert 1987:306
Tavoyan	**klo'**	stone	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**luʔ**^{21}**kok**^{21}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.30
	lŭʔ^{21}**kok**^{21}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***k-lok**^{L} STONE

**Loloish*	***c-rak**^{L}	stone	Bradley 1979b:337B
	***k-lok**^{L}	stone	Weidert 1987:306; Bradley 1979b:337A; Hansson 1989:196
PNL	**k-lok**^{L}	stone	CHEN Kang 1986a:74.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**no**^{53}**ma**^{33}	stone	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	no^{53}**ma**^{33}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.47
	ŋ^{35}**ma**^{33}	pit / stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0379.47
Lalo	**lo̱**^{33}	stone	CHEN Kang 1986a:74.
Lipho	**lu̱**^{33}	stone	CHEN Kang 1986a:74.
Luquan	**lu 22s**	stone / rock	Matisoff 1972b:190(a)
Nasu	**lo̱**^{2}	stone	CHEN Kang 1986a:74.
Neisu	**le**^{33}	stone	CHEN Kang 1986a:74.
Nesu	**lu̱**^{33}	stone	CHEN Kang 1986a:74.
Nosu	**lu̱**^{4}	stone	CHEN Kang 1986a:74.
Nusu (Southern)	**lu̱**^{31}**lɑ**^{55}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**lu̱**^{31}**ɑ**^{55}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**lu̱**^{53}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**lu̱**^{53}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.45
Yi (Dafang)	**lɔ**^{33}**mɔ**^{21}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**lu̱**^{33}	stone	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lu̱^{33}**di**^{21}**tsi**^{21}	stone steps	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lu̱^{33}**ma**^{55}	rock (stone); stone (rock)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lu̱^{33}**mo**^{21}	boulder; stone, large	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lu̱^{33}**ndʑ̩**^{33}	rock (stone); stone (rock)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lu̱^{33}**zɯ**^{33}	pebble; stone, small	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	lu̱^{33}**tɕɔ**^{33}	stone slab	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index

	va^{55}**lu̱^{33}**tɕi^{33}	stone poultice	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**lo^{33}mo^{33}**	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**lu^{33}bɯ^{21}**	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**lu̱^{33}**	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.37
	lu̱^{33}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.24
Yi (Wuding)	**lɤ^{11}bɤ^{11}**	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.38
Yi (Xide)	**lu̱^{33}mɑ^{55}**	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.35
	l̥(u)^{33}ma^{55}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**lo̱^{33}**	stone	CHEN Kang 1986a:74.
	lu 44	stone / rock	Matisoff 1972b:190(a)
Jinuo (Youle)	**lo^{42}mɔ^{33}**	stone / rock	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**lo^{42}mɔ^{33}**	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.44
	lo^{42}mɔ^{44}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.34
Lisu	**lo̱^{33}tshi^{35}**	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.40
	lo^{44}tshŋ^{35}	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.27
	lo^{44}tʃhi^{31}xɯ^{31}	sand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:43.27
Lisu (Central)	**lɔ^{33}dʑø^{33}ɣɔʔ^{21}**	pile of stone	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**lɔ^{33}dʑɤʔ^{21}ɣɔʔ^{21}**	pile of stone	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}hɤ^{21}	lime; sand (N.)	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}hɤ^{21}mja^{33}	many like sand (poetic)	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}kɔ^{33}	hard stone	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}mɤ^{55}	sinker (stone on the fishing line)	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}phja^{55}	stone plate	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}phu^{33}	white stone	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}phu^{33} lu^{35}sɤ^{21}	precious stone	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}phøʔ^{21}leʔ^{21}	spongy stone	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}pja^{33}	stone plate; stone piece (for catching rats)	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}pja^{33} khu^{33}si^{33}	under the stone slab	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}sɔ^{21}	spongy stone	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}thø^{33}	stone plate (poetic)	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}tshi^{35}	stone	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}tshi^{35} khɔ^{21}dzø^{33}	stone bridge	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}tshi^{35} tshe^{33}du^{21}	stone-pestle	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}tɕhi^{21}hɤ^{21}	stone sand	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}ɣɔʔ^{21}	pile of stone; stone wall	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}ɣɔʔ^{21} dzɤ^{44}	build a stone wall	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}ɤ^{35}du^{33}	slingshot	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}ɤ^{35}ɤ^{35}	shoot a stone (using a slingshot)	Bradley 1994
	phy^{21}**lɔ^{44}**	precious stone	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**lo^{44}**	stone	CHEN Kang 1986a:74.
	lu 44	stone / rock	Matisoff 1972b:190(a)
Yi (Sani)	**lu^{44}mɒ^{33}**	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**lo M**	stone / rock	Matisoff 1972b:190(b)
Akha (Yunnan)	xhà **lu**	stone	Hansson 1989:78
	xhà **lu** ?	stone	Hansson 1989:196
Akha (Thai)	xhà-**lo**	stone	Hansson 1989:196
Akha	xhà-**lo**	stone	Hansson 1989:196
Akha (Thai)	xhà-**lo**	stone	Hansson 1989:78
Bisu	**lɔ̄** ba	stone	Bradley 199x
	lɔ̄-ba	stone / rock	Matisoff 1972b:190(a)
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**hlu 21**	stone / rock	Matisoff 1972b:190(b)
Hani (Dazhai)	xa̱^{31}**lu̱^{33}**	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.31
Hani (Lüchun)	xhà **luq**	stone	Hansson 1989:196; Hansson 1989:78
	xa^{31}**lu̱^{33}**	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.41
	xa^{31}**lu̱^{33}**ɣa^{31}dze^{55}	rock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**lu̱^{33}mɔ^{33}**	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.30
Hani (Pijo)	**lə**	stone	Hansson 1989:196
	lə ma	stone	Hansson 1989:196; Hansson 1989:78
Hani (Gelanghe)	xa^{31}**lo^{33}**	stone / rock	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	havq **luv**	stone	Hansson 1989:196; Hansson 1989:78
Hani (Shuikui)	**l̥u^{33}mɔ^{33}**	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.32
Hani (Khatu)	**lo**	stone	Hansson 1989:196
	lo mɔ	stone	Hansson 1989:196; Hansson 1989:78
Hani (Mojiang)	**l̥u^{33}mɔ^{33}**	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.42
Pyen	**la33** ba45 sɯ31	stone	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:012010
Sila	**lɔ33** phu33	stone	KATO Takashi 2008:81
Woni	**hlo 33**	stone / rock	Matisoff 1972b:190(a)

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**lu˧**wɤ**˧**	stone wall	Michaud 2006–2009:1023
	lu˧wɤ**˧** jy˥k^{h}wɤ˥	city wall	Michaud 2006–2009:1011
	læ˧ɹ˧mie˧	stone	Michaud 2006–2009:153
	læ˩mie˩dzɤ˥	stone step	Michaud 2006–2009:1052
	læ˩mi˩ ɑ˥pɑ˥dzɯ˥	large rock	Michaud 2006–2009:80
	læ˩q^{h}ɔ˩	cave, cavern	Michaud 2006–2009:81
Na (Yongning)	**lv˧dʑi**˥	little slabs of stone	Michaud 2006–2009
	lv˧mi˧	stone	Michaud 2006–2009
	lv˧mi˧bu#˥	stone wall	Michaud 2006–2009
	lv˧mi˧dʑi˧dʑi˩	little slabs of stone	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lv^{33}pɑ^{33}**	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.28
	lv^{33}thɑ^{55}	mill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:434.28
Naxi	**lv̩^{33}**	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.45
	lv̩^{33}thɑ^{55}	millstones (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0631.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**lŋ^{33}mi^{33}**	stone / rock	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:42.29

7. KARENIC: ***loŋ^{B}*** STONE, ROCK

**Karen (Pwo)*	***lón'***	stone	Jones 1961:15
**Karen (TP)*	***lóŋ'***	stone	Jones 1961:15
**Karen*	***lóŋ'***	stone	Jones 1961:15
**Karen [Burling]*	***loŋ^{1}***	stone, rock	Luangthongkum 2013:282
**Karen*	***loŋ^{B}***	stone, rock	Luangthongkum 2013:282
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***lə̀***	stone	Jones 1961:15
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***lə̀***	stone	Jones 1961:15
Bwe	**lo^{33}**	stone, rock	Luangthongkum 2013:282
Red Karen	**lau**	stone	Benedict 1972:144n389
Karen	gă^{31}dzø^{31}kho^{31}**lø^{31}**	rock (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0027.50
	lø^{31}	stone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0043.50
Kayah	**lɔ^{11}**	stone, rock	Luangthongkum 2013:282
Kayan (Pekon)	**lōn**	stone, rock (N.)	Manson 2010
	lōn θù	whetstone [lit. stone-smooth] (N.)	Manson 2010
	lū	stone, rock (N.)	Manson 2010
	lū kó	cave [lit. stone-hole] (N.)	Manson 2010
	lū θí	red stone [lit. stone-red.stone] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**ləu^{11}**	stone, rock	Luangthongkum 2013:282
Kayaw	**lə^{11}**	stone, rock	Luangthongkum 2013:282
Pa-O	**lôŋ**	stone	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:15
	loŋ	stone	Benedict 1972:142n384
	lôŋ sù	sharpening stone	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**loŋ^{53}**	stone, rock	Luangthongkum 2013:282
Pa-O (Southern)	**loŋ^{55}**	stone, rock	Luangthongkum 2013:282
Palaychi	**lỳ**	stone	Jones 1961:15
Pwo (Northern)	**lãu$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	stone, rock	Luangthongkum 2013:282
Pwo (Southern)	**lõu^{33}**	stone, rock	Luangthongkum 2013:282
Pwo (Bassein)	**lónʔ**	stone	Jones 1961:15
Pwo (Moulmein)	**lón**	stone	Jones 1961:15
Sgaw (Northern)	**lə$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**	stone, rock	Luangthongkum 2013:282
Sgaw (Southern)	**lɨ^{31}**	stone, rock	Luangthongkum 2013:282
Sgaw (Bassein)	**lə̀**	stone	Jones 1961:15
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**lə̀**	stone	Jones 1961:15

Chinese comparandum

珌 OC ***luk***, *GSR* # 'precious stone'; B & S 2011: ***r^{ʕ}ok {(p.)r^{ʕ}ok}***; Mand. **lù**.

(7) PPC *suaŋ STONE / ROCK

1.2.1. PERIPHERAL CHIN

**Peripheral Chin*	***suaŋ**	STONE / ROCK	VanBik 2009:677

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**suang**	stone	VanBik 2009:677
Thado	**sóŋ**	stone	Thirumalai 1972:68
	sûoŋ	stone, rock	VanBik 2009:677
Tiddim	**suang^{1}**	stone	VanBik 2009:677; Bhaskararao 1996:1624

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	lum **seewng**	stone, rock	VanBik 2009:677
	lɛŋ **s^{h}ɛ^ŋ**	stone	So-Hartmann 1988:21

3.2.10 Light or lack of light

(1) PNC *mial DARK (cosmos)

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

**Northern Chin*	***mial**	DARK (cosmos)	VanBik 2009:761
Sizang	kua **mīel** lai tak	dusk	VanBik 2009:761
Thado	**mîel**	dark	VanBik 2009:761
Tiddim	khua^{2} **mial^{1}**	dark	VanBik 2009:761; Bhaskararao 1996:824
	mial^{1}	dark (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1114
	mial^{1}	dark	Bhaskararao 1994

(2) PNC *yiiŋ DARK

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

**Northern Chin*	***yiiŋ**	DARK	VanBik 2009:1194
Sizang	**kua** a zing hī	it is dark	VanBik 2009:1194
Thado	**zíiŋ**-I, zìin-II	dark (as night) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1194
Tiddim	khua^{2} **zi:ng^{2}**	dark (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1194
	khua^{2} **zi:ng^{2}**	dark	Bhaskararao 1996:827

(3) PTB *r $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{u}\\\mathbf{i}\end{matrix}$ m DARK / SHADE / DUSK / TWILIGHT

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***rum ≍ rim**	dark; shade; dusk; darkness, obscurity	Matisoff 2003a:611; Benedict 1972:401

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	niŋrim **rim**	twilight	Benedict 1972:401
	nrim	evening	Benedict 1972:401
	rim	dusk, dark (be v.)	Benedict 1972:401
	sərim	twilight	Benedict 1972:401

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**rum**	darkness, obscurity	Benedict 1972:401

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***ɾim**	shadow	Opgenort 2011

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**rim-rim** na	grey	Benedict 1972:401
	rim-rim wɛ	twilight	Benedict 1972:401

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	蔭	shade	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3499
	陰	dark	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3471
Chinese (GSR #)	**0651b'**	shade	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3499
	0651y	dark	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3471

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	***ʔi̯əm/ʔi̯əm**	slope of a height (northern); shade; darkness; cloudy	Karlgren 1957:651a'; Karlgren 1957:651y-z
Chinese (Old)	**qum** {q(r)[u]m}	dark	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3471
	qəm-s {q(r)[ə]m-s}	shade	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3499
	ʔ(r)jum	shade / cloudiness	Baxter 1992:1756
	ʔi̯əm	cloudy	Matisoff 1983:63

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**'im**	dark	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3471
	'imH	shade	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3499

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**yīn**	dark	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3471
	yìn	shade	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3499

Chinese comparandum

陰 OC ***ʔi̯əm***, *GSR* #651y-z; B & S 2011: ***qum {q(r)[u]m}***; Mand. **yīn** 'dark'.
蔭 OC ***ʔi̯əm***, *GSR* #651a'-c'; B & S 2011: ***qəm-s {q(r)[ə]m-s}***; Mand. **yìn** 'shade'.
WB um

(4) PKC *tshu(u)n DAYLIGHT / NOON

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tshu(u)n**	DAYLIGHT / NOON	VanBik 2009:587

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**nī** sūn lai tak	noon	VanBik 2009:587
Thado	**sùn**	daylight	VanBik 2009:587
Tiddim	**su:n**^{3}	noon	VanBik 2009:587
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	kʻoní˝ ʻ**sün**	noon	VanBik 2009:587
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**sùun**	daylight, noon	VanBik 2009:587
Lai (Hakha)	**tshŭun**	daylight, noon	VanBik 2009:587
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhùun**	day (as opposed to night), daytime	VanBik 2009:587
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chhō**	day in contradiction to night	VanBik 2009:587

(5) PTB *m-na $\frac{k}{p}$ EARLY MORNING

The alternation in position of articulation of the final stop is unexplained.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-nak ≍ m-nap**	early morning; morning	Matisoff 2003a:604; Matisoff 1983:39
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	a **nap**	morning	Tayeng 1976
	ba-**nap**	this morning	Tayeng 1976
	nap-kom	dawn	Tayeng 1976
	nap-pa-lu-gi	advance	Tayeng 1976
	nap-pa-pi	early; before	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	nap-pa-ul	in front	Tayeng 1976
	nap-pa-ya-lum	first	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	a:**na:**ya:	morning	NEFA (India) 1963
	be-**na:**-ya:	tomorrow morning	NEFA (India) 1963
	ɑ^{31}**nɑ^{53}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.49
Idu	a **na** ma	morning	Anonymous 1962
	e^{55}**nɑ^{55}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.50
	o^{55}nɑ^{55}mɑ^{55}	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.50
Yidu	e^{55}**nɑ^{55}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.25
	o^{55} **nɑ^{55}mɑ^{55}**	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.25
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	mai **manap**	meal eaten in the morning, breakfast (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	manap	morning (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	manap-	be morning (vØ.)	van Breugel 2008
	manap mi	very early in the morning (adv.)	van Breugel 2008
	tai▪ **nep**	this morning (tw.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Phom	**nap^{33}nɯŋ^{33}**	morning (cf. 'day [not night]')	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**mənàp**	morning (early)	Matisoff 1974:387
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**náp**-lúk	day and night, morning and evening (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Yamphu	**mak** mis sel la	early in the morning (adv.)	Rutgers 1998:554.18
	mak miʔ	morning (n.)	Rutgers 1998:554.19
	mak mi wæʔ	in the morning (adv.)	Rutgers 1998:554.17
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**ŋɹø^{55}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.17
Muya [Minyak]	khɯ^{55}**nɐ^{53}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.15
Namuyi	**ŋɹa^{33}**ə^{ɪ55}	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.46
Pumi (Taoba)	**ŋɹɛ^{55}**rə^{53}	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	kə^{35}**ŋɹe^{55}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.16
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ta **nap**	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **nɑp**	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.11
rGBenzhen	ta-**nap**	morning	Sun 1997b
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: **ʔ-nak^{L} ≍ **m-nak* EARLY MORNING			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***nak**	early morning	Matisoff 1972b:131
	**ʔ-nak^{L} ≍ m-nak	early morning	Matisoff 1978a:83
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**nɔʔ^{55}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**nɔʔ^{55}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.29
Bola (Luxi)	**naʔ^{55}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.32
	nɛʔ^{31}kɔ̃^{55}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	nɑ̃^{22}**nɛʔ^{4}**	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	nɑ̃^{22}**nɛʔ^{44}**	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.40
Burmese (Written)	**manak**	morning	Marrison 1967
	mənak	early morning; morning (early)	Matisoff 1978a:83; Matisoff 1974:387
	nam-**nak**	morning	Matisoff 1983:39
	naṁ-**nak**	morning	Benedict 1976a
	nɑṁ **nɑk**	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.39
	nɑṁ^{2}**nɑk^{4}**	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**nɔʔ^{55}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.31
	nɛʔ^{31}sum^{31}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**nap^{31}**sɔn^{55}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.33
	nɔːʔ^{55}	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.33
Maru [Langsu]	**nɔʔ^{55}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.43
	nɛʔ^{31}sum^{31}	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nap^{21}**kjo̱^{55}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.30
	nap^{21}kjo̱^{55}	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.42
	noʔ^{21}	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**na^{53}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.47
	na^{53}ta^{55}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.47
Nusu (Central)	**na̱^{53}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.34
	na̱^{53}xo̱^{53}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.34
Nusu (Southern)	ni̱^{31}**ŋɑ^{53}**	morning	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**nɔ̱^{31}**xo^{55}	morning	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**nɑ̱^{53}**ɑ^{31}m̩^{55}	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.45
	nɑ^{53}m̩^{55}	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ʔna̱^{55}**	early	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ʔna^{55}**	early	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Mile)	**ne̱^{21}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.25
	no̱^{21}ɕi^{33}	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ne̱^{21}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ne̱^{21}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.37; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ni̱^{21}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔni̱^{21}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.36
Yi (Wuding)	**nɑ̱^{55}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**nie 44s**	early morning	Matisoff 1972b:131
Jinuo	**na^{55}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.34
	**nœ$^{42}**ʃə^{44}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.44
	**nɐ$^{42}**ʃɯ^{33}	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**nɑ^{55}**	early	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**nɑ^{55}**	early	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**n̥œ$^{42}**ʃə^{33}	morning	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	tɕi^{44}**na^{55}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.44
Kucong	**na35**	early	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**nɑ^{21}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.43
Lahu (Black)	mû-**nàʔ**	early morning	Matisoff 1972b:131
	nʌ^{21}	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.33
	tê **nàʔ**	early morning; morning (early); early in the morning	Matisoff 1978a:83; Matisoff 1974:387; Matisoff 1972b:131
Lahu (Yellow)	**na^{5}**	early	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}**næʔ^{21}**	early; early morning (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ná6**	early morning	Matisoff 1972b:131
Lisu (Central)	**ná^{6}**	morning; early	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**næʔ^{21}**	early (V.)	Bradley 1994
	næʔ^{21} dzi^{33}	too early	Bradley 1994
	næʔ^{21}ku^{33}	morning star	Bradley 1994
	næʔ$^{21}næʔ$^{21}	early in the morning; morning	Bradley 1994
	næʔ$^{21}næʔ$^{21} **næʔ$^{21}**ʃɻ^{33}	dawn; early in the morning	Bradley 1994
	næʔ$^{21}næʔ$^{21}kwa^{33}	morning	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Luquan)	**nɛ^{31}**	early	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**nɛ̱^{31}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.40
	**nɛ̱$^{31}**kuɑ^{33}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.40
	nɛ^{41}	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.27
	nɛ$^{41}nɛ$^{41}	morning	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:103.27
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**nɛ^{55}**	early	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	thi^{21} **næʔ^{21}**	whole morning	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ne 22s**	early morning	Matisoff 1972b:131
Yi (Sani)	**ne^{2}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.39
	**ne$^{55}**xɯ^{44}	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	yaw-**na** M-LS	early morning	Matisoff 1972b:131
Hani (Hu T'an)	**na 21c**	early morning	Matisoff 1972b:131
Hani (Dazhai)	**na̱^{31}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**na̱^{31}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**na̱^{31}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**na̱^{31}**	early	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**na^{31}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**na^{31}**	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.42
Mpi	**neʔ^{4}**soŋ^{2}	morning	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Sila	**ne33** ho33	morning	Kato Takashi 2008:283
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	**nɑ$^{33}nɑ$^{33}**	early	Pelkey 2011:978
	**nɑ$^{33}**tɑ^{33}ɕɔ^{31}	morning (early)	Pelkey 2011:70
Hlepho Phowa	**nɛ$^{55}**χə^{55}t^{h}a^{55}	morning (early)	Pelkey 2011:70
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	mv˩sɯ˧**njɤ˥**	early in the morning	Michaud 2006–2009
	njɤ˧lɑ˥	early (to rise early)	Michaud 2006–2009
	njɤ˥	early (to rise early)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ŋɹə^{55}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ŋɹɑ^{13}**	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.29

(6) PTani *kom EARLY MORNING

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***kom**	early morning	Sun 1993a:118
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-ro (**kon**-či)	morning	Sun 1993b
	a-ro **kon**-či	early morning	Sun 1993a
	a-ro **kon**-cì	early morning (2-5 am)	Sun 1993b
	à-ro **kon**-či	dawn	Sun 1993b
	kon-či	early	Sun 1993b
	kon-da	tomorrow morning	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-ru: **kam**-či	early morning	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	kam-či ta-rjɯ:	dawn	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(a-ro) **kum**-či	morning (early~)	Sun 1993b
	a ro **kum** tɕi	morning (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0749.24
	a-ro **kum**-či	early morning	Sun 1993a
	kum tɕi	early	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1018.24
	kum-či	early	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**kum** tɕi	early	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:872.51

Galo	**kom** ci	early (morning) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	kom ci	morning (early) (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	kom ci-tanii	early; early (morning); morning (adv.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	kom ʻcii	early (morning); morning (early) (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻa ro-**kom** ci	early morning; morning (early) (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻrok **kom**	dawn; morning (early) (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	a r **kum** ci	morning	Simon 1976
Nishing	a ro **kom** ci	dawn / morning	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a ro **kom** ci	early; early morning; dawn	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ro **kom**-pə	early morning	Sun 1993a
Damu	**kon**-tɕi	morning	Sun 1993b
Milang	nap-**kom**	dawn	Tayeng 1976

(7) PKC *ɗay LIGHT / DAYLIGHT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ɗay**	LIGHT / DAYLIGHT	VanBik 2009:94

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**dei**	day-light	VanBik 2009:94

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**khua**-dăy	daylight, daybreak	VanBik 2009:94

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**khì**-dēi	daylight, day break	VanBik 2009:94

(8) PKC *waaŋ-I, *waan-II ≍ *waak LIGHT / SHINE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***waaŋ**-I, waan-II ≍ waak	LIGHT / SHINE	VanBik 2009:1159

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**vá?**-I, và?-II	shine as moon (v.)	VanBik 2009:1159
Tiddim	**-va:k/ˆva:k**	feed / light (a lamp) (v.)	Henderson 1965
	khuai^{2} mei^{1} **va:k^{1}**	candle	Bhaskararao 1996:832
	khua^{2} **va:k^{2}**	light	Bhaskararao 1996:826
	mei^{1} **va:k^{1}**	lamp	Bhaskararao 1996:1095
	va:k^{2}	light a lamp	VanBik 2009:1159
	va:k^{2}	light a lamp (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1943
	¯xŏ-**va:k**	light / brightness (n + vI.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	a **wa´´**	light	VanBik 2009:1159
Cho (Mindat)	**vai**	shine as the moon (v.)	VanBik 2009:1159
Khumi	a **vang**	bright, light, shine	VanBik 2009:1159

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**vâaŋ**-I, văan-II	light (e.g. candle, lamp), shine (strictly used for moon)	VanBik 2009:1159

(9) PKC *yiiŋ MORNING (early)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***yiiŋ**	MORNING (early)	VanBik 2009:1218

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**ying** sang	twilight	VanBik 2009:1218
Thado	**zíiŋ**	tomorrow, twilight	VanBik 2009:1218
	zíŋ kà?	morning	Thirumalai 1972:59
Tiddim	**-zi:ŋ**	morning (n.)	Henderson 1965
	-zi:ŋ-saŋ	morning (n.)	Henderson 1965
	ă´ **zi:ŋ**	next morning (ppf + no.)	Henderson 1965
	zi:ng^{2} sang^{2}	morning	VanBik 2009:1218; Bhaskararao 1996:2033
	zi:ng^{2} sol^{1}	morning star	Bhaskararao 1996:2034
	zi:ng^{2} tu:ng^{1}	early morning	Bhaskararao 1996:2035

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**thâay** zĭing	tomorrow	VanBik 2009:1218
Lai (Hakha)	**zîiŋ**	early morning	VanBik 2009:1218
Lushai [Mizo]	**zíiŋ**	early morning	VanBik 2009:1218
	zi:ng-a	in the early morning	Bhaskararao 1996:2033

(10) PTB *ya-n NIGHT

The allofam with final **-n** is reflected in the Kuki-Chin group.

The Chinese comparanda, if valid, point to an allofam with a final velar.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ya**	night	Weidert 1987:330; Matisoff 2003a:619; Benedict 1972:417
	***yɑ**	night	Chou Fa-kao 1972:796a-d

1. NE Indian Areal Group

**Kuki-Naga*	***ya:n**	night, be evening	Benedict 1972:102n293

1.1.1. Tani: ***jo:** NIGHT

**Tani*	***jo:**	night	Sun 1993a:273

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**jo**	night	Sun 1993a
	à-**jo**	night (7 pm-2 am)	Sun 1993b
	a-**jo**	night	Sun 1993b
	a-**jo** a-**jo**	nightly	Sun 1993b
	bi-**jo**	last night	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-**jo**	last night	Sun 1993b
	ko-**jo**	second night before last	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**ju:**	night	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**ju:** ra:-ji	night (late~)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **jo:**	night, at; evening, in the (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0752.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0753.24
	a-**jo**	night	Sun 1993b
	a-**jo:**	night	Sun 1993a
	jo roŋ lo poŋ	midnight (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0754.24
	jo:-roŋ	late night	Sun 1993b
	jo:-roŋ lo-poŋ	midnight	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **jo:**	night	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:105.51
Galo	a **yo**	night	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻa **yo**	night (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻa **yo**	night (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻmə **yo**	last night (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	a **yu**	night	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **yu**	night	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**jo**; **jo**-ə	night	Sun 1993a
Milang	a **yu**	night	Tayeng 1976
	nu-ku-**yu**	last night	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**yo**	night	Benedict 1972:417

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***yaan** NIGHT

**Chin*	***yaan**	NIGHT	VanBik 2009:1220

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**zān**	night	VanBik 2009:1220
Thado	**yan**	night	Benedict 1972:417
	zàan	night	VanBik 2009:1220
	zán	night	Thirumalai 1972:68
Tiddim	**za:n**	night	Benedict 1972:100n285
	zâan	night	Weidert 1987:330
	za:n^{2}	yesterday; night	Bhaskararao 1996:2005
	za:n^{3} kim^{3}	midnight (”half of the night”)	VanBik 2009:1220
	`za:n	night (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**yan**	night	VanBik 2009:1220

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**zăan**	night	VanBik 2009:1220
Lai (Falam)	**zàan**	night	VanBik 2009:1220
Lushai [Mizo]	**za-n**	night	Benedict 1972:417
	zàan	night	Weidert 1987:330; VanBik 2009:1220
	zân	night	Marrison 1967
	za:n	night	Bhaskararao 1996:2005

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**zā**	night	VanBik 2009:1220
	^{2}za	night	Weidert 1987:330

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **ya**	night	Marrison 1967
	a **ya** nang	night	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a-**ja** tàŋì	early evening (4pm-9pm) (NRL-night side)	Coupe 2007:123
	a-**ja** tə-ɹəm	late night (9pm-1am) (NRL-night RL-middle)	Coupe 2007:123
	a **ja**-maŋ	dream (’night’ + ’believe’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	jà-tʃhàm taŋi	early afternoon (1pm-4pm) (night-afternoon side)	Coupe 2007:123
	[a]-**ja**	night	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**ja** tsàk tha	firefly (’night’ + ’ignite’ + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Ntenyi	a **ja**	night	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ja** NIGHT

**Tangkhulic*	***ja**	night	Mortensen 2012:576
Champhung	ŋa-**ju**-la	night	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-nə-**je**	night	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	**ya**	night	Bhat 1969:93
	^{3}a^{1}ŋə^{3}**ya**	last night	Weidert 1987:330
	^{1}khə^{1}ŋə^{3}**ya**	night (vs.)	Weidert 1987:330
	^{1}ŋə^{3}**ya**	night	Weidert 1987:330
Tangkhul (Northern)	ma-**ja**	night	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ŋa-**ja**	night	Brown 1837
Ukhrul	ŋə-**ja**	night	Mortensen 2012

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	a **jó**	night	Weidert 1987:330
	a **jo**	night	Marrison 1967
	džo	night	Benedict 1972:417

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***Ç-ya^{A}** NIGHT

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-ya^{A}**	night	French 1983:526

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak (Tamlu)	mʌ **ya**	last night	Weidert 1987:330
	ŋai **ya**	tomorrow night	Weidert 1987:330
Phom	**ya**	night	Marrison 1967

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**ya**	night	Benedict 1972:417

4. Nungic

Anong	**ya**	night	Benedict 1972:417
Anong (Rawang)	**ya?**	evening	Benedict 1972:188n487
Anong (Rawang/Mutwang)	**ya?**	evening	Benedict 1972:188n487

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**ńá**	evening	Benedict 1972:188n487

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***hya**	evening	Benedict 1972:188n487
	***hyɑ**	evening	Chou Fa-kao 1972:796a-d
Kayan (Pekon)	**hà**	night (CLFm.)	Manson 2010
	hà	late at night (N.)	Manson 2010
	mən **hà**	night, late at night (TEMP.)	Manson 2010
	mən **hà** mən ràu	day and night (Nelab.)	Manson 2010
	mən **há**	time [lit. day-night] (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	mî **hà**	evening, 3 PM till dark	Solnit 1989

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	夕	evening, night	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2991
	夜	night	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3384

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**dz̩ɑk/z̩ɑ̈k**	evening / night	Chou Fa-kao 1972:796a-d
	dz̩ɑ̆k/z̩ɑ̈k	darkness / night (as in a grave)	Karlgren 1957:796e
	z̩ɑ̆g/ɻɑ-	night	Karlgren 1957:800j-k
	z̩ɑ̆g/ɻɑ	night	Chou Fa-kao 1972:800j-k

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**yaeH**	night	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3384

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**yè**	night	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3384

Chinese comparandum

夜 OC ***z̩ɑ̆g**, *GSR* #800j ‘night’; Coblin 86:112-3 ST ***riak** > OC ***riagh**; Schuessler 2007:561-2 ***jah** > ***jahk**; B & S 2011: ***N.rak-s {N.rAk-s}**; Mand. **yè**.

(11) PKC *muy NIGHT / DARKNESS

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
Chin	***muy**	NIGHT / DARKNESS	VanBik 2009:777
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	khua[2] **mui[2]**	dusk (”dark cosmos”)	VanBik 2009:432; VanBik 2009:777
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	a **mü´**	night, evening	VanBik 2009:777
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**mŭy**	night, darkness	VanBik 2009:777

(12) PTB *g(l) i/u m SET (OF THE SUN)

The Nungish forms provide crucial evidence for the proto-cluster, while other forms preserve only a simple lateral or velar initial. See Matisoff 2000, “Three Tibeto-Burman / Sino-Tibetan word families”.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
Tibeto-Burman	***g(l)im ≍ g(l)um**	set (of the sun)	Matisoff 2003a:590
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**lɯŋ[53]**	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.22
	lɯŋ[53]	set (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:752.49
	xɯŋ[55]lɯŋ[53]bɯm[53]	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.22
	xɯŋ[55]lɯŋ[53]bɯm[53]	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.49
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**gi:m** nɨ	set (of na:m ”the sun”)	Driem 1993
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**gam-**	set (of sun) (v.)	Allen 1975
3.2. QIANGIC			
Namuyi	mi[33]**qɛ[53]**	set (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:752.19
	mi[33]**qæ[53]**	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.46
Qiang (Mawo)	a **qe**	set (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:752.8
	ɑ **qɑ**	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.08
Xumi	**gĩ[33]**tʃʅ[35]	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.20
	gĩ[33]tʂʅ[55]	west (lit. ’sun set place’) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.17
	gĩ[55]	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.17
	miɛ[33]**ɣĩ[55]**	set (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:752.20
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	**glɔm[53]**	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.20
Trung [Dulong]	**glɔm[53]**	set (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:752.46
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***gim[1]** SET (of the sun)			
Lolo-Burmese	***gim[1]**	set (of the sun)	Matisoff 2003a:590
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Lancang)	**qɛ[31]**	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.43
Lahu (Black)	**qɛ[31]**	set (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:752.33

(13) PTani *vaŋ SET (SUN)

1.1.1. TANI			
Tani	***vaŋ**	set (sun)	Sun 1993a:345
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**a**	enter	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi **ha**-du	sunset	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi **ha**-nɯ	sunset	Sun 1993b
	ha~ **a**	set (sun)	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**va:**	set (sun)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	(doŋ-ñi) **oŋ**-lam	west	Sun 1993b
	oŋ	set (sun); descend (mountain)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	oŋ	fall (sun~) (v.)	Sun 1993b
	oŋ	come; enter	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	oŋ	enter (a house); come; set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1447.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.24
	oŋ lam	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.24
Bokar Lhoba	**oŋ**	descend; set (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:744.51; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:752.51
	oŋ lam	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.51
	oŋ; pɯŋ	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.51
Galo	**a**-dum-si-nam	gather (come together) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	a-kur:-nam	return (come back) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	a-nam	come; enter (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	aa goo	west (n:rel.)	GLDC 2009
	aa lam	entryway (n.)	GLDC 2009
	aa nam	set (sun); come; enter; move (on same level); go (home) (vie.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	aa nɨk	come close (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	a go	west	Das Gupta 1963
	doo ɲi-**‘aa** ko	west (n.)	GLDC 2009
	do ɲi **a**-nam	sunset (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘aa ko	entrance (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘aa kur	return (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**a**	come [immediate]	Simon 1976
Nishing	**ha**	come	Das Gupta 1969
	ungrang **ha**	enter	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**a**-ma-nam	absent / come-not	Das Gupta 1983
	a-nam	arrive (come)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	o-aŋ	set (sun)	Sun 1993a
Milang	aral-**ha**-ma	enter	Tayeng 1976
	ha-toŋ	come	Tayeng 1976
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**ɔŋ[55]**	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.28
Achang (Xiandao)	**oŋ[55]**	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.29
Bola (Luxi)	**vɔ̃[55]**	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.32
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**wĩ[22]**	set (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:752.40
Burmese (Written)	**wɑŋ[2]**	set (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:752.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**vɔ̃[31]**	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**va:ŋ[31]**	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.33
Maru [Langsu]	**vɔ̃[31]**	set (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:752.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**vaŋ[51]**	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.30
	vaŋ[51]	set (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:752.42
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Liangshan)	**vu̱[33]**	set (sun)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	**vu̱[33]**	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.35

(14) PKC *hli(i)m SHADE / SHADOW (n.)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
Chin	***hli(i)m**	SHADE / SHADOW (n.)	VanBik 2009:1119
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**lìim**	shade	VanBik 2009:1119
Tiddim	**li:m[3]**	shadow	VanBik 2009:1119
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlìm**	shadow, the shade (generally cast by the sun)	VanBik 2009:1119

(15) PKC *hliap SHADOW (n.) / SUNSHADE

This root bears some resemblance to PTB ***g/s-rip** SHADE / SHADOW (§9.5) but appears to be independent of the latter.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
Chin	***hliap**	SHADOW / SUNSHADE (n.)	VanBik 2009:1120
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**lîep**	shadow	VanBik 2009:1120
Tiddim	**liap[1]**	hidden by clouds (of sun)	VanBik 2009:1120
	liap[1]	hidden by clouds [of sun] (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:949
	liap[1]	hidden by clouds ...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ni**-hliap	shadow of something (as when the sun is blocked, e.g. by a mountain)	VanBik 2009:1120
Lushai [Mizo]	**ní** hlîap	sunshade, umbrella	VanBik 2009:1120

(16) PCN *khə m p SHADOW / SHADE

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Central Naga	***khəm ≍ khəp**	SHADOW, SHADE	Bruhn 2014a:III.143
Ao	*a-**khəm**	SHADOW, SHADE	Bruhn 2014a:II.083
Ao (Chungli)	a[3]-**kəm[1]**	shadow (inanimate), shade (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.083
	a **küm**	shadow (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	a-**khèm**	shadow (inanimate), shade (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.083
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **kham**	shadow (n.)	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	**khəm[3]**-tʃhoʔ[3]	shadow (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.143
	khüm cho	shadow	Murry *et al.* 1978:110
Sangtam	nbü **khüm**	shadow (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **khüp** topung	shade	Kumar 1973b:48
	khüp to	shade	Kumar 1973b:48

(17) PTani *mloŋ-rji SHADY SIDE OF MOUNTAIN

1.1.1. TANI			
Tani	***mloŋ-rji**	shady side of mountain	Sun 1993a:348
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**mjó-li**	shady side of mountain	Sun 1993b
	mr(j)o-lji	shady side of hill	Sun 1993b
	mrjo-lji	shady side of mountain	Sun 1993a
	mro-lji	hillside (shady~)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ño:-rji**	shady side of mountain	Sun 1993a
Galo	**mooyaa**	shady (side of a mountain) (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	**mo-yi**	shady side (of hill)	Tayeng 1976

(18) PTB *glwak SHINE / FLASH

The Tibetan - Chinese comparison is due to Gong 2001, set 31.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
Tibeto-Burman	***glwak**	shine / flash	Matisoff 2003a:328
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣlok** ntɕha	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hlok** tɕha	flash (of lightning)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:754.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɣlok** mcɕha	flash (of lightning)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:754.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**loʔ[53]**tɕhuʔ[53]	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**loʔ[53]**ɕeʔ[31]	flash (of lightning)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:754.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**lo[52]** chu[52]	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.02
Tibetan (Written)	**glog**	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967
	glog fikhjug	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.01
	glog fikhjug	flash (of lightning)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:754.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hloχ** tɕha	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.04
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**lak**	shine, glitter	Benedict 1976a
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**di̯ok/i̯ɑk**	shine; melt, disperse (v.)	Karlgren 1957:1119f

Chinese comparandum

爚 OC ***di̯ok**, *GSR* #1119f 'shine; melt'; Schuessler 2007:477 ***liauk**; B & S 2011: (***rewk**); Mand. **yuè**.
濯 OC ***d'ŏk**, *GSR* #1124h 'brilliant, fine; sleek, glossy; moisten, wash'; Schuessler 2007:632 ***d-liauk**; B & S 2011: *l^{ʕ}**rewk**; Mand. **zhuó**.
曜 OC ***di̯og**, *GSR* #1124i 'shine; brightness'; Schuessler 2007:477 ***liaukh**; B & S 2011: ***lewk-s**; Mand. **yào**.
的 OC ***tiok**, *GSR* #1120h 'bright, brilliant; mark in a target'; Schuessler 2007:631 ***tiâuk**; B & S 2011: ***t-l^{ʕ}ewk { [t-l] ^{ʕ}ewk}**; Mand. **dì**.
灼 OC ***t̑i̯ok**, *GSR* #1120f 'burn; brilliant; illuminate'; Schuessler 2007:631 ***tiauk**; B & S 2011: (***t-qewk**); Mand. **zhuó**.
爍 OC ***śli̯ok**, *GSR* #1125n 'melt, fuse; shine'; Schuessler 2007:477 ***lhiauk**; B & S 2011: ***r̥ewk** (dial. **r̥-** › **x-**, palatalizing); Mand. **shuò**.

The following two forms are graphic variants of 燿 **yào**, with essentially the same meaning:

燿 OC ***di̯og**, *GSR* #1124j 'shine, gleam'; Schuessler 2007:477 ***liaukh**; B & S 2011: (***lewk-s**); Mand. **yào**.
耀 OC ***di̯og**, *GSR* #1124k 'shine'; Schuessler 2007:477 ***liaukh**; B & S 2011: (***lewk-s**); Mand. **yào**.

(19) PKC *klaaŋ-I, *klaan-II SHINE / LIGHT / BRIGHT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***klaaŋ**-I, klaan-II	SHINE / LIGHT / BRIGHT	VanBik 2009:1274
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**ta:ng**^{2} > ta:n^{3}	shine	VanBik 2009:1274; Bhaskararao 1996:1724
	ta:n^{3} > tat^{3}	throw light; flash light at something (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1718
	ta:n^{3}/tat^{3}	throw light...	Bhaskararao 1994
	ta:ŋ^{2}/ta:n^{3}	shine	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**kiang**	shine (sun)	VanBik 2009:1274
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tlâaŋ**-I, tlǎan-II	shine, light, bright	VanBik 2009:1274
Lai (Falam)	**tláaŋ**-I, tlàan-II	shine, light, bright	VanBik 2009:1274

Chinese comparandum

鏡 OC ***ki̯ăng**, *GSR* #752c 'mirror'; Schuessler 2007:319 ***kraŋh**; B & S 2011: ***C.qraŋ-s**; Mand. **jìng**.
景 OC ***kli̯ăng**, *GSR* #755d 'bright; shadow; view (n.)'; Schuessler 2007:318 ***kraŋʔ**; B & S 2011: ***C.qraŋʔ**; Mand. **jǐng**.
亮 OC ***gli̯ang**, *GSR* #755j 'bright; clear; shine; reveal'; Schuessler 2007:356 ***raŋh**; B & S 2011: ***C.raŋ**; Mand. **liàng**.
陽 OC ***di̯ang**, *GSR* #720e 'sunshine; south-facing; male principle'; Schuessler 2007:558 ***laŋ**; B & S 2011: ***laŋ**; Mand. **yáng**.
章 OC ***t̑i̯ang**, *GSR* #723a-d 'brilliant, splendid; rule; emblem; display (v.)'; Schuessler 2007:606 ***taŋ**; B & S 2011: ***taŋ**; Mand. **zhāng**.

(20) PKar *go^{B} SUNLIGHT / HOT

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***go**^{B}	sunlight, hot	Luangthongkum 2013:286
**Karen [Burling]*	***kho**^{1}	sunlight, hot	Luangthongkum 2013:286
Kayah	**ku**^{11}	sunlight, hot	Luangthongkum 2013:286
Kayan	**kau**^{11}	sunlight, hot	Luangthongkum 2013:286
Kayaw	**ku**^{11}	sunlight, hot	Luangthongkum 2013:286
Pa-O (Northern)	ja^{31}ˑˑ**kho**^{53}	sunlight, hot	Luangthongkum 2013:286
Pa-O (Southern)	**ko**^{55}	sunlight, hot	Luangthongkum 2013:286
Pwo (Northern)	**khu**^{11}ˑˑ	sunlight, hot	Luangthongkum 2013:286
Pwo (Southern)	**khu**^{33}	sunlight, hot	Luangthongkum 2013:286
Sgaw (Southern)	**ku**^{31}	sunlight, hot	Luangthongkum 2013:286
Sgaw (Northern)	ta^{11} **ko**^{11}ˑˑ	sunlight, hot	Luangthongkum 2013:286

(21) PTB *tsyar SUNSHINE

This etymon is the eponym for Burling's "Sal" grouping, a putative TB subgroup comprising Jingpho, Barish, and Northern Naga. See Burling 1983.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsyar**	sunshine; sun, shine	Matisoff 2003a:617; Benedict 1972:187
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***sal**	day-sun	Burling 1959:440
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**sal**	sun, shine	Benedict 1972:187
Garo (Bangladesh)	**sal**	sun; day; daytime (n.)	Burling 2003:4.214-II:idx
	sal ding•-a	sunlight (vph.)	Burling 2003:3.554-II:idx
	sal min-ok-a	eclipse (vph.)	Burling 2003:4.214-II:idx
	sal-a-ram	east (n.)	Burling 2003:4.219-II:idx
	sal-gip-eng	south (n.)	Burling 2003:4.219-II:idx
	sal-gro	north (n.)	Burling 2003:4.219-II:idx
	sal-i-ram	west (n.)	Burling 2003:4.219-II:idx
	sal-jat-chi	noon (n.)	Burling 2003:2.52-II:idx
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	rong **shar**	sun	Marrison 1967
	roŋ-**śarr**	sun, shine	Benedict 1972:187
Tangsa (Yogli)	rang **shal**	sun	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**džān**	sun	Matisoff 1974:181
	džan	sun, shine	Benedict 1972:187
	jan	sun	Marrison 1967
	tʃan^{33}	sun	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tʃan^{33}	sun (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0002.19
	tʃan^{33}	sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:2.47
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**tśar**	shine	Benedict 1972:187

3.2.11 Ground/Earth/Soil/Dirt

(1) PTB *tal CHARCOAL / DUST / ASHES

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***thal**	dust / ashes	Coblin 1986:68
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tal**	charcoal / dust / ashes	Matisoff 2003a:614
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tha**	ashes	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:472.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**t^{h}a**	ashes	Sun 1985a:27
	wər **t^{h}a**	ashes (of bones)	Sun 1985a:28
Tibetan (Balti)	**t̲^{h}ʌl** ba·	ashes	Rangan 1975:25
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'thal** dum	ash	Hale 1973:01.083
	'thal ǰum	ash	Hale 1973:01.083
Tibetan (Written)	go **thal**	plant ash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0063.01
	go **thal**	ashes	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:472.1
	gog-**thal**	ashes	Benedict 1972:40n131; Marrison 1967
	pur.**thal**	ashes (of bones)	Sun 1985c:28
	rdo **thal**	lime	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:356.1
	sa.**thal**	dust-shower (special natural phenomenon)	Sun 1985c:774
	thal ba	dust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0045.01
	thal-ba	dust; ashes; dust, ashes	Chou Fa-kao 1972:151a; Benedict 1972:173n461; Sun 1985c:206,27; Marrison 1967
	thal ba	dust (n.)	Marrison 1967
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**t'ân**	coal, charcoal, lime	Chou Fa-kao 1972:151a
	t'ân/t'ɑn-	coal / charcoal;lime	Karlgren 1957:151a
Chinese (Old)	**thans**	charcoal	Baxter 1992:195

Chinese comparandum

炭 OC ***t'ân**, *GSR* #151a 'coal, charcoal; lime'; Coblin 86:68 ST ***thal** > OC ***thanh**; Schuessler 2007:491 ***thâns**; B & S 2011: ***t^{hʕ}an-s { [t^{h}] ^{ʕ}a [n] -s}**; Mand. **tàn**.

(2) PTB *krəy DIRT / FILTH

This root is phonosemantically close to PTB ***kləy** BODY DIRT / EXCREMENT (§1.8.5), but must be kept separate, since many languages have distinct reflexes.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kriy**	dirt, dirty	Benedict 1972:460
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	^{2}ke^{5}**rhie**	dirt (body)	Weidert 1987:893
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	khə **grəwi**	dirt, filth	Benedict 1972:460
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**kri**	dirt, dirty	Benedict 1972:460
Thebor	**kri**	dirt, dirty	Benedict 1972:460
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	ǎ **krè**	dirt, filth	Benedict 1972:460
	krê	dirt; filth; dirty, filthy (= gyâñ); (cf. khyê, kyu')	Matisoff 1974:283; Benedict 1976a
	krè	dirty, filthy (vs.)	Benedict 1972:460

(3) PNC *niin-I, *nit-II; *neen-I, *net-II DIRTY

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
**Northern Chin*	***niin**-I, nit-II; neen-I, net-II	DIRTY	VanBik 2009:810
Thado	**nèen**-I, nèt-II	dirty	VanBik 2009:810
Tiddim	**ni:n**^{3} > nit^{3}	dirty	VanBik 2009:810
	ni:n^{3} > nit^{3}	dirty (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1229
	ni:n^{3}/nit^{3}	dirty	Bhaskararao 1994

(4) PTk *k^{h}ow DIRTY

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}ow**	dirty	Mortensen 2012:701
Huishu	kə-mə-**k^{h}ow**	dirty	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.171
Tusom	k^{h}a-ŋ-**kxuə**	dirty	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.189
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**k^{h}ow**	dirty	Mortensen 2012

(5) PCN *m-njan DIRTY

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	*m-**njan**	DIRTY (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.166
**Ao*	*m-**nən**	BE/MAKE DIRTY	Bruhn 2014a:II.264
Ao (Chungli)	mə^{3}**nən**^{3}	get/make dirty, soil (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.264
	mɯ́ **nɯ́n**	dirty (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:9
	^{2}tɯ^{3}mɯ^{3}**nɯn**	dirty (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:402
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) mə **nən**	dirty (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃuŋi tə-mə **nən**	food, taboo ('food' + NZP + 'be dirty') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	m̩^{1}-**men**^{3}-	dirty (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.166
	myen a	dirty	Marrison 1967
	^{1}n^{3}**myen**	dirty (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:402
Sangtam	athrü **nyi**	dirty	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	^{2}a ^{2}mɯ ^{2}**ñan** [^{1}]	dirty (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:402

(6) PTB *r- $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{d}{t}$ ul DUST

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***rdjiul**	dust	Coblin 1986:68
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-dul** ⋊ **r-tul**	dust	Matisoff 2003a:587
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	ha-**druy**	dust	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**d^{h}ūl**	dust	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	nhi.**rdul**	mote, dust particle afloat in the air	Sun 1985c:608
	rdul	dust; dust particle (in the air)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:374a; Sun 1985c:207; Benedict 1972:173n461
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**dhu** mi lo	dusty / misty	Rai 1985
3.2. Qiangic			
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**di**^{31}	dust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0045.14
	di^{13}	dust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0045.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɐ **ndər**	dust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0045.11
Caodeng	**tʰɐr** də	dust (in the air)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**rdul**	dust	Nagano 1997:6.24 [a]

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	**dui**[31]	dust (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0045.34

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d'i̯ĕn/d̂'i̯ĕn**	dust	Chou Fa-kao 1972:374a
	d'i̯ĕn/d̂i̯ĕn	dust	Karlgren 1957:374a
Chinese (Old)	**drji̯n**	dust	Baxter 1992:1112; Baxter 1992:1140

[a] This form looks like a loan from Tibetan.

Chinese comparandum

塵 OC ***d'i̯ĕn***, *GSR* #374a 'dust (n.)'; Coblin 86:68 ST ***rdjiul*** > OC ***drjin***; Schuessler 2007:184 ***drən***; B & S 2011: ***drən {[d]rə[n]}***; Mand. ***chén***.

(7) PCC *phut DUST / POWDER

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***phut**	DUST / POWDER	VanBik 2009:334
Lai (Hakha)	(**lây**)-phut	dust, powder	VanBik 2009:334
Lushai [Mizo]	**phût**	dust, powder, scurf	VanBik 2009:334

Chinese comparandum

勃 OC ***b'wət***, *GSR* #491b 'powdery (soil)'; Schuessler 2007:171 ***bât***; Mand. ***bó***.

(8) PTB *m-l $^{e}_{ə}$ y EARTH / COUNTRY / GROUND / MUD / SOIL

Many reflexes of this etymon are good examples of the process of "prefix pre-emption", whereby the prefix drives out a "weak" root-initial consonant.

This root seems quite distinct from PTB ***low*** FIELD (§3.1.9).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-ley ≍ m-ləy**	earth / ground / soil / mud / country	Matisoff 2003a:599
	***mliy**	earth; plain (earth); sand-bank, bare ground	Weidert 1987:219; LaPolla 1987:148; Benedict 1972:152
	***mləy**	earth; country	Chou Fa-kao 1972:404j; Weidert 1987:219

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***lay*** EARTH / SOIL / WORLD

**Chin*	***lay**	EARTH / SOIL / WORLD	VanBik 2009:1013

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**lē**	earth	VanBik 2009:1013
Thado	**lêy**	earth	VanBik 2009:1013
Tiddim	**lei**[1] tung[1]	world	VanBik 2009:1013

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**láy**	earth, ground, world	VanBik 2009:1013
Lai (Hakha)	**vo**-lây	earth, soil, world	VanBik 2009:1013
Lushai [Mizo]	**lĕi**	earth, ground, soil, mould, world	VanBik 2009:1013

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**léi** cháo	dig the earth (v.)	VanBik 2009:1013; VanBik 2009:532

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-lej*** GROUND, EARTH / FIELD

**Central Naga*	*a-**lej**	GROUND, EARTH / FIELD	Bruhn 2014a:III.057
**Ao*	*a-**li**	GROUND, EARTH	Bruhn 2014a:II.349
Ao (Chungli)	ajung **li**	clay	Marrison 1967
	a[2]-**li**[3]ma[1]	world, earth (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	a[3]-**li**[3]	ground, earth (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.349
	a **li**	earth	Marrison 1967
	a **li**	land (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **li**	world	Marrison 1967
	li[1]ma[1]	region, place, country (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	li ma	land (n.)	Marrison 1967
	li ma	world; country; earth	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	li sem	sand (n.)	Marrison 1967
	li shi	mud	Marrison 1967
	[3]a[3]**li?**	ground	Weidert 1987:219
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **li**	world	Marrison 1967
	a **li**	land (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **li**	earth	Marrison 1967
	chungku **li**	clay	Marrison 1967
	li sam	sand (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsü ma **li**	plains (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**lì** sə̀?	mud (n.)	Coupe 2007
	li ma	country, land ('earth' + FACE) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**lí**	ground	Coupe 2007:386
	[a]-**lí**-má	world, earth ('earth, soil' + FACE) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**li**[3]-hmaʔ[3]	world (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	o[1]-**li?**[3]	field (swidden) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.057
	tʃə[3]-so[2]-**li?**[3]	field (irrigated) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [b]
	li mha	earth	Murry *et al.* 1978:36
	li mha tsü	world	Marrison 1967
	li mha tzhü	earth	Marrison 1967
	ō **lī**	field	Acharya 1975
	ō **lì**	field	Acharya 1975
	o **li**	field	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:44
	[1]o[3]**li(?)**	field	Weidert 1987:219
Sangtam	a **li**	earth	Kumar 1973a
	a **li**	land (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **li** fü dang rü	potter	Kumar 1973a
	a **li** mi	earth	Marrison 1967
	a **li** yozing	earthquake	Marrison 1967
	li mi	country; world	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	li pi	sand (n.)	Marrison 1967
	li she	clay	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	a **li**	earth	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **lo**	earth	Marrison 1967
	lo zü	sand (n.)	Marrison 1967

[a] [Source Note] field-face
[b] [Source Note] water-lead(v.)-field

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**le**	field	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**lie**	field	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**yi**	field	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **li**	field	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***lej*** EARTH

**Tangkhulic*	***lej**	earth	Mortensen 2012:401
Champhung	ŋa-**lai**	earth	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-nə-**lu**	earth / ground / dry land (vs. water)	Mortensen 2012:Nature.106
Kachai	ŋə-**li**	earth / ground / dry land (vs. water)	Mortensen 2012:Nature.106
Tankghul (Central)	ŋa-**lai**	earth	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	ma-**lai**	earth	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ŋa-**lai**	earth	Brown 1837
Tusom	ŋə-**la**	soil	Mortensen 2012:Nature.108
Ukhrul	ŋə-**lej**	earth, dirt	Mortensen 2012

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	long **le**	land (n.)	Marrison 1967
	long **le**	earth	Marrison 1967
	loŋ **lē(?)**	earth	Weidert 1987:219
	mili ≍ meli	sand-bank, bare ground; sand-bank, bare-ground	Benedict 1972:152; Matisoff 1985a:152; LaPolla 1987:148

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	ti **li**	field	Bhat 1968

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**mɐ**[33]**li**[55] tʃhu[55]**li**[55]	earth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:31.18
Guiqiong	**mi**[55]tɕə[55]	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.16
Lyuzu	**me**[33]ʐu[53]	quake (earth) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.18
Manyak	**məli**~mli	plain (earth); earth	LaPolla 1987:148; Benedict 1972:152
Muya	**ni**[33]ndzu[53]	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.15
Namuyi	**lu**[55]	patch (of ground / field) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0858.46
	mi[33]ntʂhu[31]	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**nə**[55]sø[55]	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**nə**[13]tiɯu[13]	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.09
Qiang (Mawo)	**xləp**; dzu	earth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:31.8
Queyu (Xinlong)	**mɯ**[55]**lɯ**[55]	earth / ground (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**mɯ**[55]**ʐi**[55]	earth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:17.16

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**ʁli** ɮɛ	quake (earth) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.12

4. Nungic

Anong	**məli**	country, mountain	Matisoff 1985a:152
Anong (dialect)	**məli**	country, mountain	LaPolla 1987:148
Anong	**məli**	country; mountain	Benedict 1972:152

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Modern)	**mre**[3]	earth	Luce 1985:S.14
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mje**[22]	earth; ground; soil (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.27; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mje**[22]	earth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:31.40
	mje[22]tɕi[55]	earth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:17.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**mye**[3]	earth	Luce 1985:S.14
Burmese (Written)	**mle**	earth	Weidert 1987:219
	mliy	earth	Luce 1985:S.14
	mre	earth; earth, ground; plain (earth)	Weidert 1987:219; Marrison 1967; Hansson 1989:131; Matisoff 1985a:152; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:148; Benedict 1972:152
	mre[2]	earth; ground; soil (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.26; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.26
	mre[2]	earth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:31.39
	mre[2]kri[3]	earth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:17.39
Danu	**mye**[4]	earth	Luce 1985:S.14
Hpun (Metjo)	tă[4]**myih**[1]	earth	Luce 1985:S.14
Hpun (Northern)	tă **myí(?)**	earth	Henderson 1986
Phön (Samong)	tə **mli ≍** tə **myi**	earth	Benedict 1972:152
Phön	tə **mli**~tə **myi**	earth	Matisoff 1985a:152; LaPolla 1987:148
Taung-Yo	**mle**[4]	earth	Luce 1985:S.14
Tavoyan dial.	**mle**	plain (earth)	LaPolla 1987:148
Tavoyan	**mle**	earth	Benedict 1972:152
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mji**[31] tse[31]	earth, dirt	LaPolla 1987:114

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***?-mre**[1]	earth	Weidert 1987:219; Bradley 1979b:323-1; Hansson 1989:131

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**m**[323]ti[33]zɻ[35]	quake (earth) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.47
	ni[31]	soil / earth (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.47
Lalo	di-**mí**	field / dry field	Björverud 1994
	mí-dì	earth / place	Björverud 1994
	tjhí-**mí**	field / wet field	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɯe**[35]ɑ[55]liɑ[35]	ground	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:28.45
Nusu (Northern)	**m̩i**[31]dɑ[31]	earth / mud	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**m̩i**[31]ʔmiɑ[55]	mud	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**m̩i**[31]ʔyɛ[53]lɛ[53]	mud	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:32.45
Nusu (Southern)	**m̩i**[35]	earth / mud	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**m̩i**[35]**m̩i**[35]	earth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:31.45
	m̩i[35]ɑ[55]	earth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:17.45
Nusu (Northern)	**m̩i**[55]**m̩i**[31]	dirt / soil	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	m̩i[55]**m̩i**[31]ʔuɐ̯[53]ɹɑ[31]	mud	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**m̩i**[55]**m̩i**[35]	dirt / soil	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**m̩ɯ**[55]**m̩i**[33]	mud (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0046.34
Yi (Dafang)	**mi**[33]	earth; ground	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:17.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:28.22
	n̩i[13]m̩(u)[55]	earth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:31.22
Yi (Mile)	**mi**[33]	ground	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:28.25
	mi[33]dɯ[21]	earth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:17.25
	tʌ[33]**mi**[33]	field	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:27.25
Yi (Mojiang)	bɯ[21]**mi**[55]	ground	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:28.26
	mi[55]	earth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:17.26
	nɐ̱[21]**mi**[55]	earth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:31.26

	tɛ[55]**mi[55]**	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mi[33]**	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.37
	mi[33]	earth; ground	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.24; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:28.24
	mi[33]li[33]	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.37
	tə[33]**mi[33]**	paddy fields (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.37
	tɛ[33]**mi[33]**	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.24
	tɕhe[33]**mi[33]**	paddy field (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.37
	n̥i[155]	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**mi[55]**	earth; ground	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.23; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:28.23
	te[55]**mi[33]**	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.23
Yi (Weishan)	di[33]**mi[55]**	paddy fields (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.36
	mi[21]	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.36
	mi[55] ʔi̱[33]	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.36
	ʔmi[55]ti[33]	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.36
Yi (Wuding)	ji[11]**mi[33]**	paddy fields (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.38
	mi[33]	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.38
	mi[33]tʂhe[33]	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.38

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	**mi[31]**tsha[33]	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.34
	mi[31]tsha[55]	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**m̥i[42]**tshɑ[55]	earth	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**m̥[44]**ɬu[42]ɬu[42]	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.44
Lahu	**mi̱-**gi̱	land	Benedict 1972:128
Lahu (Lancang)	**mi[31]**	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.43
	mi[31]xi[54]	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.43
	mi[31]ɕɑ[11]	soil / earth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.43
	ti[33]**mi[33]**	paddy fields (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.43
	ti[33]**mi[33]**tɕɑ[31]	rice (paddy) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0403.43
Lahu (Black)	**mì**	earth	Matisoff 1985a:152
	mì hā ve	rough ground	Matisoff 1993
	mì-châ	earth (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:518, 987
	mi[31]kɯ[31]	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.33
	ti[33]**mi[33]**	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**mi[2]**	earth	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mi[2]gɯ[2]	land	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mi[2]sa[2]	dirt / soil	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	mi[2]tha[2]	ground	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ti[1]**mi[1]**	field (paddy)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	biʔ[21]**mi[33]**	plot of yam, yam field	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	brgh[4]-jya[3]-**mi[4]**	field (dry, fallow)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	di[33]**mi[33]**	paddy field (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	dye[3]-**mi[4]**	field (irrigated)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	dza[44]li[21]**mi[44]**	field of late ripening crops	Bradley 1994
	dza[44]lɔ[44]**mi[44]**	field of early ripening crops	Bradley 1994
	dɔʔ[21]tsheʔ[21]**mi[44]**	pea field	Bradley 1994
	gwa[21]**mi[44]**	buckwheat field	Bradley 1994
	hã[33]**mi[33]**	land; field; cultivated field	Bradley 1994
	hã[33]**mi[33]** hã[33]ba[21]	land; cultivated field	Bradley 1994
Lisu	hɑ[33]**mi[33]**	ground	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:28.27
Lisu (Central)	h'a[4]-**mi[4]**	field (dry, hillside)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	ji[35]khwa[21]**mi[44]**	wormwood field	Bradley 1994
	ji[55]**mi[44]**	field (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ka[55]dʑɤʔ[21]**mi[44]**	dry land (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ka[55]tɕøʔ[21]**mi[44]**	dry land (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	khɤ[35]**mi[44]**	land reclaimed and cultivated in traditional way (with fire and knives) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	la[21]ma[21]**mi[44]**	land ploughed with ox (that can be ploughed with ox)	Bradley 1994
	læʔ[21]phæ[35] ŋɔ[33]**mi[44]**	land dug by hand	Bradley 1994
	lɔ[33]hɤ[21]**mi[44]**	sandy land	Bradley 1994
	lɔ[33]kaʔ[21] laʔ[21]**mi[44]**	stony land	Bradley 1994
	ma[33]tʃhɻ[33]**mi[44]**	sugar cane field	Bradley 1994
	mi[21]	land; earth; place; cf. mi[33], my[21] (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mi[21]pɤ[55] lɔ[33]pɤ[55]	edge of earth (legendary)	Bradley 1994
	mi[21]pɤ[55] mi[33]pɤ[55]	edge of land; change in situation	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**mi[3]**-ná[3]	earth; ground; world	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
	mi[3]-ná[3]-sï[5]	ground-nut	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**mi[33]**ba[21]	land on the slope of hill; steep slope	Bradley 1994
	mi[33]ba[21] **mi[33]**hɔ[35]	land on the slope of hill; steep slope	Bradley 1994
	mi[33]næ[33]	land; earth; surface of earth; ground	Bradley 1994
	mi[33]næ[33] ɔ[55]kwa[33]	in the world; on the ground	Bradley 1994
	mi[33]næ[33] ʃɻ[21]te[35]	seven layers of earth (Lisu legend has it that there are seven layers of earth and nine layers of sky)	Bradley 1994
	mi[33]næ[33]kwa[33]	in the world; on earth	Bradley 1994
	mi[33]sɔ[21]**mi[33]**	sandy field	Bradley 1994
	mi[33]tɕhæ[33]	on the ground	Bradley 1994
	mi[33]ɔʔ[21]tɔ[33]	poor, barren land	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**mi̱[33]**nɛ̱[33]	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.40
	mi[44]nɛ[44]	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.27
Lisu (Northern)	mɔʔ[21]zu[44]**mi[44]**	oat field	Bradley 1994
	phu[21]tʃhɻ[33] ji[55]**mi[44]**	watermelon field	Bradley 1994
Lisu	po[55]ʃo[55]**mi[33]**	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.27
Lisu (Northern)	pɔ[55]ɕɔ[55] na[33]**khi[21]**	low bank of earth between plots of irrigated field	Bradley 1994
	pɔ[55]ɕɔ[55]**mi[33]**	paddy field (= kɤ[33]mi[44]phu[33])	Bradley 1994
	tshøʔ[21]**mi[44]**	millet field	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	tɕhø[33]**mi[44]**	rice field	Bradley 1994
	tɕhø[33]**mi[44]**phu[33]	paddy field	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tɕhɯ[33]**mi[33]**phu[33]	paddy fields (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.40
Lisu (Northern)	tɕhɤ[33]**mi[44]**	rice field	Bradley 1994
	tɕhɤ[33]**mi[44]**phu[33]	paddy field	Bradley 1994
	zu[44]**mi[44]**	barley field	Bradley 1994
	ʃɻ[55]ʃɻ[33]**mi[44]**	field of Chinese goldthread	Bradley 1994
	ɕwa[33]**mi[44]**	wheat field	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**mɪ[44]**	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.39
	mɪ[44]tɕhɪ[11]	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.39
	tæ[44]**mɪ[44]**	paddy fields (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**mí**	earth	Hansson 1989:131
Akha (Yunnan)	**mí** tshà	earth	Hansson 1989:131
Akha (Thai)	**mí-**tshà	earth	Hansson 1989:131
Hani (Lüchun)	**mí** tshà	earth	Hansson 1989:131
Hani (Dazhai)	**mi[55]**tsha[31]	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**mi[55]**lu[33]lu[33]	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.41
	mi[55]tsha[31]	earth; ground; soil (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.41; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**me[55]**tshɔ[31]	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.30
Hani (Pijo)	**mí**	earth	Hansson 1989:131
	mí tjhɔ̀	earth	Hansson 1989:131
Hani (Gelanghe)	**mi[55]**tsha[31]	dirt; soil; earth	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**mil** caq	earth	Hansson 1989:131
Hani (Shuikui)	**mɛ[55]**tshɔ[31]	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.32
Hani (Khatu)	**mí**	earth	Hansson 1989:131
	mí tshɔ̀	earth	Hansson 1989:131
Hani (Mojiang)	**mɛ[55]**l̥v̰[33] l̥v̰[33]	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.42
	mɛ[55]tshɔ[31]	earth; ground; soil (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.42; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.42
Mpi	**m[2]**pe[2]	earth; dirt	Hansson 1989:131; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	m[4]pha[4]la[4]	crack in the earth	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Sila	**mi55** tshɛ21	soil, earth	KATO Takashi 2008:80

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**mi[44]**	soil; dirt	Pelkey 2011:19
	mi[44]tɕi̱[45]	earth	Pelkey 2011:18
	mi̱[44]tɯ[22]	hole (in ground)	Pelkey 2011:32
	tʌ[44]**mi[44]**	field; wet field	Pelkey 2011:435
	tʌ[44]**mi[44]**tɕɛ[21]	clear field	Pelkey 2011:891
Southern Muji	**mi[33]**k[h]a[55]	earth	Pelkey 2011:18
	ti[33]**mi[33]**	field; wet field	Pelkey 2011:435
Phola	**mi[33]**ts[h]ɑ[33]	earth	Pelkey 2011:18
Hlepho Phowa	tə[33]**mi[33]**	field; wet field	Pelkey 2011:435
Phuza	**mi[33]**k[h]a[33]	earth	Pelkey 2011:18
	tɛ[33]**mi[33]**	field; wet field	Pelkey 2011:435

7. KARENIC: ***mi[A]*** WILD

**Karen [Burling]*	***min[3]**	wild	Luangthongkum 2013:333
**Karen*	***mi[A]**	wild	Luangthongkum 2013:333
	*thwi[B] **mi[A]**	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
	*thɔʔ[D] **mi[A]**	boar (wild~)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Karen	thui[31]**mi[33]**	wolf (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0324.50
Kayah	**mi[11]**	wild	Luangthongkum 2013:333
	thwi[11] **mi[11]**	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
	thɛ[55] **mi[11]**	boar (wild~)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Kayan	**mi[33]**	wild	Luangthongkum 2013:333
	thauʔ[45] **mi[33]**	boar (wild~)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
	thwi[11] **mi[33]**	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
Kayaw	**mi[33]**	wild	Luangthongkum 2013:333
	thi[11] **mi[33]**	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
	tho[33] **mi[33]**	boar (wild~)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Pa-O (Northern)	**mi[33]**	wild	Luangthongkum 2013:333
Pa-O (Southern)	**mi[53]**	wild	Luangthongkum 2013:333
Pa-O	thwí **mī**	fox, jackal	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	thwi[33] **mi[53]**	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
Pa-O (Northern)	thwi[55] **mi[33]**	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
	thɔʔ[21] **mi[33]**	boar (wild~)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Pa-O (Southern)	thɔʔ[21] **mi[53]**	boar (wild~)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Pa-O	thɔ́ʔ **mī**	boar, wild	Solnit 1989
	thɔ́ʔ **mī** 'wild boar'	wild? in cpd	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**mei[55]**	wild	Luangthongkum 2013:333
	thoʔ[45] **mei[55]**	boar (wild~)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Pwo (Southern)	**mei[31¨]**	wild	Luangthongkum 2013:333
	thuʔ[21] **mei[31¨]**	boar (wild~)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
	thwi[55] **mei[31¨]**	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
Sgaw (Southern)	**mi[33]**	wild	Luangthongkum 2013:333
Sgaw (Northern)	**mi[33]**	wild	Luangthongkum 2013:333
	thwi[11] **mi[33]**	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
Sgaw (Southern)	thwi[45'] **mi[33]**	fox, wolf	Luangthongkum 2013:125
	thɔʔ[21] **mi[33]**	boar (wild~)	Luangthongkum 2013:27
Sgaw (Northern)	thɔʔ[45] **mi[33]**	boar (wild~)	Luangthongkum 2013:27

(9) PTB *ts(y)a EARTH / GROUND

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	(tə[31]) **tɕhə[55]**	patch (of ground / field) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0858.16
Lyuzu	(te[33]) **tʂhɯ[53]**	patch (of ground / field) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0858.18
	tʂhʉ[53]	soil / earth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.18
Muya	(tɐ[55]) **tʂhi[53]**	patch (of ground / field) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0858.15
	tsa[53]	soil / earth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tsa[53]**	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.15
Namuyi	dʑa[33]**tshɳ[55]**	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.19
	dʑa[33]**tshɳ[53]**	soil / earth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**tsɑ[55]**	soil / earth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tʃa[55]**	earth, dirt	LaPolla 1987:114
	tʃə[55]iɛ̃[55]	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.11
	tʃɑ[55]	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tśa[53]**	earth, dirt	LaPolla 1987:114
	tɕa[53]	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.10
Qiang (Mawo)	(ɛ) **tʂhɛ**	patch (of ground / field) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0858.08
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tʂɛ[53]**	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.16

Xumi	**tɕæ**^{53}	earth; ground; soil (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.17; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.17
	tɕɛ^{55}	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	sha^{33}**tɕa**^{55}	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	sɛ **tɕa**	earth; ground	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.14; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:28.14
Daofu	**xtshə**	soil / earth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	sɐ **tʃhɐ**	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.11
rGyalrong	sɐ **tʃhɐ**	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.12
	ta **tʂo**	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **tʂo**	soil / earth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.11
rGyalrong	sa **cha**	earth	Nagano 1997:6.1
rGBenzhen	ta-**tʂo**	earth; mud	Sun 1997b

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***tsa**^{2}	earth	Bradley 1979b:323-2; Hansson 1989:18

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Liangshan)	**tsa**^{21}bɿ^{21}	earth, chunks of	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsa^{33}	earth; soil (earth)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsa^{33}ho^{33}	ground fog	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsa^{33}ti^{34}du^{33}	ram, earth	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	**tsa**^{33}	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.21
	tsɑ^{33}	soil / earth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	mì-**châ**	earth (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:518, 987
Lahu (Yellow)	mi^{2}**tha**^{2}	ground	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	mí **tshà**	earth	Hansson 1989:131
Akha (Thai)	mí-**tshà**	earth	Hansson 1989:131
Akha	**tshà**	earth	Hansson 1989:18
Bisu	nʊ́ŋ **tsha**	earth	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	mí **tshà**	earth	Hansson 1989:131
Hani (Dazhai)	mi^{55}**tsha**^{31}	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.31
Hani (Lüchun)	mi^{55}**tsha**^{31}	earth; ground; soil (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.41; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	me^{55}**tshɔ**^{31}	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.30
Hani (Pijo)	mí **tjhɔ̀**	earth	Hansson 1989:131
	tjhɔ̀	earth	Hansson 1989:18
Hani (Gelanghe)	mi^{55}**tsha**^{31}	earth	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	mil **caq**	earth	Hansson 1989:131
Hani (Shuikui)	mɛ^{55}**tshɔ**^{31}	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.32
Hani (Khatu)	mí **tshɔ̀**	earth	Hansson 1989:131
	tshɔ̀	earth	Hansson 1989:18
Hani (Mojiang)	mɛ^{55}**tshɔ**^{31}	earth; ground; soil (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.42; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.42
Sila	mi55 **tshɛ21**	soil, earth	KATO Takashi 2008:80

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	mi^{44}**tɕi**^{45}	earth	Pelkey 2011:18
Phola	mi^{33}**ts^{h}ɑ**^{33}	earth	Pelkey 2011:18

(10) PTB *r-ka EARTH / GROUND / SOIL

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ha ⪤ r-ka**	earth / ground / soil	Matisoff 2003a:593
	***r-ka**	earth	Benedict 1972:97

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	ló **kò**	ground	Acharya 1975

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***haʔ**	earth	Burling 1959:441

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**ha**-khor	hole, valley	Benedict 1972:349
	haʔ	earth	Weidert 1987:46
Dimasa	**ha**	earth	Marrison 1967
	ha-bliŋ	jhum field in second year of cultivation (ha 'earth')	Benedict 1972:378
	ha-khor	cave	Benedict 1972:349; Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**ha**	earth	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	ha-kɔ	hole, cave	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**haʔ**	earth	Weidert 1987:46

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**ha**	earth	Benedict 1972:97
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ha** re-wa-a	dirty with earth (vi.)	Burling 2003:3.716-II:idx
	ha•-	earth; ground; land; soil (n.)	Burling 2003:4.242-II:idx
	ha•-gil-sak	earth; world (n.)	Burling 2003:4.231-II:idx
	ha•-mang	earth; soil (n.)	Burling 2003:4.242-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**ha•**	soil, earth (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	ha• mang	soil, earth, clay (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***ka**^{B} (tok)	earth	French 1983:480

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**ha**	earth	Marrison 1967
	haʔ	earth	Weidert 1987:46
Tangsa	**haʔ**	earth	Weidert 1987:46
Tangsa (Moshang)	**ga**	earth	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:97
Tangsa (Yogli)	**ha**	earth	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**gan**	earth	Marrison 1967
	kau	earth	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**ka**	earth	Marrison 1967
	ka tok	earth	Marrison 1967
Phom	**gaʔ** dɔk^{33}	earth / soil	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ka tok	earth	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**ha**	earth	Marrison 1967
	ha kon	cave	French 1983:504; Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**gá ⪤ əgá ⪤ ngá**	earth	Benedict 1972:97

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Kadu	**ka**	earth	Benedict 1972:97

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***kha**	earth, soil; earth	Opgenort 2011; Benedict 1972:97

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Lohorong	ba-**kha**	earth	Benedict 1972:97

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**kha**-pi	earth	Benedict 1972:97

4. Nungic

Anong	**ga ⪤ rəga**	earth	Benedict 1972:97

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu	**hɑ**^{33}mi^{33}	ground	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:28.27

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Hlepho Phowa	**ha**^{21}	earth	Pelkey 2011:18
	ha^{21}ma^{33}	earth	Pelkey 2011:18

Chinese comparandum

固 OC ***ko**, *GSR* #49f 'secure; strong; hard, firm'; Schuessler 2007:261-3 ***kâh**; B & S 2011: ***kˤa-s {kˤa(ʔ)-s}**; Mand. **gù**.

(11) PTB *$\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{s}{z}$a-y EARTH / SAND

The Phunoi, Mpi, and Bisu forms are probably loans from Tai (cf. Siamese **saaj** < Proto-Tai ***zaay**). The Siamese word is written with an initial indicating Proto-Tai ***dr-**, but this is held to be spurious by Li Fang Kuei (1977:161-162).

If the WT form meaning 'earth' is indeed cognate to Chinese **shā** 'sand' (OC **sa**) [*GSR* #16a-c] / ***srāj** [WHB]), as suggested in *STC* p. 188, it is possible that this is an old loan from Sino-Tibetan into Tai.

The palatal suffix in this root, perhaps with a diminutive meaning, is discussed in Matisoff (1995).

A medial **-l-** turns up in the WB variant form **sa-lâi**, in Achang, and in Southern Plains Chin.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***sa**	earth / ground / soil / sand	Matisoff 2003a:612
	***say** ⪤ zay	sand	Matisoff 1985a:159
	***z(l)a-y**	sand	Matisoff 2003a:621

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Ngmüün	**sala**^{i}	sand	So-Hartmann 1988:22
Nyhmoye	**sala**	sand	So-Hartmann 1988:22

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**si**	sand	Bhat 1969:95
	si tui	sand (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	**si**-tuj	sand	Mortensen 2012

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***ʔ-saːy** SAND

**Northern Naga*	***ʔ-saːy**	sand	French 1983:541

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**sei**	sand (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**hsai** brue	sand (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsai^{31}pʒu^{31}	sand (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0044.19
	tsai^{31}pʒu^{31}	sand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:43.47
	tsai^{31}pɹu^{31}	sand	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	zài-brù	sand	Matisoff 1985a:159; Matisoff 1974:221

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**sé**	sand	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:287

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**shæ**	earth; ground; soil (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.05; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.05
	shæ ngu	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**sha**	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.4; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**sha**	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.5; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.5
	s^{h}æ	earth	Sun 1985a:212
Tibetan (Batang)	**sha** ŋgy^{55} jeʔ^{231}	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.03
	sha^{53}	earth; ground; soil (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.03; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**sha**^{53}	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**sa**^{53}	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.2; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.2
	sa^{55}	earth; ground; soil (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.02; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.02
	sa^{55}jom^{52} ca^{132}	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.02
Tibetan (Written)	**sa**	earth; earth, dirt	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:16a-c; Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:212; LaPolla 1987:114
	sa	earth; ground; soil (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.01; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.01
	sa	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:31.1
	sa jom rgjag	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**sha**	earth; ground; soil (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.04; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0040.04
	sha ŋgu	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{A}**sa**	earth	Mazaudon 1994:923
Gurung	^{1}**sa**	earth	Mazaudon 1994:923
Manang (Prakaa)	^{1}**sɤ**	earth	Mazaudon 1994:923
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**sa**	ground / earth	Mazaudon 1994:923
Tamang (Sahu)	^{1}**sa**	earth	Mazaudon 1994:923
Tamang (Taglung)	**sa**	earth	Mazaudon 1994:923
Thakali (Marpha)	^{545}**sʌ**	earth	Mazaudon 1994:923
Thakali (Syang)	^{54}**sʌ**	earth	Mazaudon 1994:923
Thakali (Tukche)	^{H}**sə**	earth	Mazaudon 1994:923

3.2. Qiangic

Lyuzu	**sæ**^{53}	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.18
Muya	**sæ**^{53}	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.15
	sɐ^{55}ŋgi^{33} ɦæ^{24}rɐ^{53}	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.15
Muya [Minyak]	**sɛ**^{55}tɕhɛ^{53}	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.15
	ʐɯ^{53}	ground	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:28.15
Namuyi	**sæ**^{55}zɿ^{55}dʑo^{55}nba^{55}bu^{53}**ɬɯ**^{3}	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.46

Qiang (Mawo)	**zə**	field; ground	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:28.8
	zə tɑːˈm	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.08
	zə p	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.08
	zə p	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	(**zuè**)-dzɻ́ pú-mù	peasant [field-do-AGT]	Evans 1999:222
	sù-**zuè**	dry field [mountain-field]	Evans 1999:46
	zuè	field	Evans 1999:44
	zuè (pè)	earth, ground, place	Evans 1999:24
	zuè pè	place (n.)	Evans 1999:75
	zuè zɻ́	dry field [field + dry]	Evans 1999:46
	zuè lié	plow [field-plow (b)] (v.)	Evans 1999:1932
	zuè pè-nə-nó-bzɻ̀	area [place-have-how-big]	Evans 1999:1034
	zuɛ́ pè-qà tà	underground [field-under]	Evans 1999:1070
Qiang (Taoping)	**zuə**^{33}	field; ground	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.9; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:28.9
	zuə^{31}pə^{33}	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**sa**^{55} ŋgi^{55}	quake (earth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**sha**^{33}tɕa^{55}	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	**sɐ** tɕa	earth; ground	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.14; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:28.14
	ʑɯ	field	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:27.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**sɐ** tʃhɐ	earth / ground (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0022.11
rGyalrong	**sɐ** tʃhɐ	earth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:17.12
	sa cha	earth	Nagano 1997:6.1

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	lo^{35} **se**^{21}	eye sand	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *__say__^{2} SAND

**Lolo-Burmese*	*__say__^{2}	sand	Matisoff 1985a:159

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**sɛ**^{31}tsɑ^{31}	sand	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**să**^{31}**le?**^{55}	sand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:43.41
	să^{31}**le**^{55}	sand (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0044.28
Achang (Luxi)	**sa**^{55}tsʮ^{55}	sand	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**sa**^{31}**lɛ**^{31}	sand (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0044.29
Burmese (Written)	**sa-lâi**	sand	Benedict 1976a
	sai	sand (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sâi	sand	Matisoff 1985a:159; Matisoff 1974:221; Benedict 1976a
	thɑi^{3}	sand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:43.39
	tθɑi^{3}	sand (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0044.26
Leqi (Luxi)	**sə̆**^{55}mui^{31}	sand (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0044.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**să**^{21}mui^{51}	sand (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0044.30
	să^{21}mui^{51}	sand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:43.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH: *__say__^{2} SAND

**Loloish*	*__say__^{2}	sand	Bradley 1979b:334

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**sɛ**^{31}m^{33}	sand (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0044.47

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	**šê**	sand	Matisoff 1985a:159 [a]
	šê-šĭ	sand	Matisoff 1974:221

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	**sàj**	sand	Matisoff 1985a:159
Mpi	n^{4}**si**^{5}	sand	Matisoff 1985a:159; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	khi **săi**	sand	Matisoff 1985a:159

7. KARENIC

Pa-O	**sāi**˙lôŋ **sāi**	sand	Solnit 1989

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**sa**	sand	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:16a-c; LaPolla 1987:114
	sɑ/ṣɑ	sand	Karlgren 1957:16a-c
	ṣa	sand	LaPolla 1987:114

[a] This Lahu form is probably a loan from Burmese, since native Tone *2 syllables with voiceless fricative initials acquire Lahu very-low tone /˨˩/.

Chinese comparandum

沙 OC ***sɑ***, *GSR* #16a-c 'sand'; B & S 2011: ***{[s]ʳraj}***; Mand. **shā**.

(12) PCC *hnoom FILTHY / DIRTY

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**pnueng**	dirty, soil, make dirty	VanBik 2009:891

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***hnoom**	FILTHY / DIRTY	VanBik 2009:891
Lai (Falam)	**hnòom**-I, hnôm-II	filthy, dirty	VanBik 2009:891
Lai (Hakha)	**hnŏom**-I, hnom?-II	filthy, dirty	VanBik 2009:891
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnawm**	wet (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	hnàwm	filthy and wet, covered with mire and filth	VanBik 2009:891

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**sī**-hnȳ	dirty, filthy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:891

(13) PTB *tsak FILTHY / DIRTY / RAT

This root, set up as PLB ***C-cak*** in *LTSR* #26, occurs as the second element in compounds for 'rat'.

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	zū **cà**	mouse	Thirumalai 1972:29
	zú **cà**	mouse	Thirumalai 1972:63
Tiddim	zu^{1} **sa**^{1}	mouse	VanBik 2009:1219; Bhaskararao 1996:2062

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***{C}-cak**	filthy / rat	Matisoff 1972b:26

6.1.2. Loloish: ***tsak***^{L} FILTHY / DIRTY / RAT

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	xo^{33}**tʃhɑ**^{33}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.34
Jinuo (Youle)	xo^{42}**tʃhɑ**^{55}	rat / mouse	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	fâ?-**chà?**	rat; rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188; Matisoff 1972b:26
Lahu (Yellow)	fa^{6}**tsha**^{5}	rat / mouse	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	ho-**ca** M-LS	rat; rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188; Matisoff 1972b:26
Akha (Thai)	ho-**tjàq**	rat	Hansson 1989:191; Hansson 1989:452
Akha	ho-**tjàq**	rat	Hansson 1989:452
Akha (Yunnan)	xho **tjàq** ?	rat	Hansson 1989:191
Akha (Thai)	xoq-**tjàq**	rat	Hansson 1989:191
	xoq-**tjaq**	rat	Hansson 1989:452
Akha	xoq-**tjàq**	rat	Hansson 1989:452
	xō?-**cā?** HS-HS	rat / rodent	Matisoff 1972b:188
Hani (Lüchun)	fu **tjàq**	rat	Hansson 1989:452
Hani (Dazhai)	xu^{33}**tsa̱**^{31}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.31
Hani (Pijo)	fu **tshà**	rat	Hansson 1989:452; Hansson 1989:452
Hani (Caiyuan)	fɣ^{33}**tsha̱**^{31}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	xo^{33}**tɕa̱**^{31}	rat / mouse	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	fɣ^{33}**tʃha**^{31}	rat / mouse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:134.32
Hani (Wordlist)	hu **zavq**	rat	Hansson 1989:452
Hani (Khatu)	xho **tshà**	rat	Hansson 1989:452
	xho **tshà** ?	rat	Hansson 1989:452
Mpi	ho?^{4}**tɕha**^{2}	rat	Hansson 1989:452
	ko^{4}**tɕha**^{2}	rat	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	χa^{33}**ɕɛ**^{33}	rat; mouse	Pelkey 2011:107

(14) PCC *tlak MUD / CLAY

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***tlak**	MUD / CLAY	VanBik 2009:1267
Lai (Hakha)	**tlak**	mud, clay	VanBik 2009:1267
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlàk**	clay, slate	VanBik 2009:1267

(15) PKC *ɓuan MUD / FOAM

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ɓuan**	MUD / FOAM	VanBik 2009:37

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**buan** nawi	mud	VanBik 2009:37; VanBik 2009:821
Sizang	**buen**	mud, puddle	VanBik 2009:37
Thado	**búon**	mud	VanBik 2009:37
Tiddim	**buan**^{2}	muddy	VanBik 2009:37

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**bùan**	mud, foam	VanBik 2009:37

(16) PKC *nooy ~ *naay MUDDY / DIRTY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***nooy** ~ naay	MUDDY / DIRTY	VanBik 2009:821

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	buan **nawi**	mud	VanBik 2009:37; VanBik 2009:821
Sizang	**nū** hī	muddy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:821
Thado	**nôoy**-I, nòoy-II	muddy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:821

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**m**-nai	muddy	VanBik 2009:821

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**nôoy**-I, nŏoy-II	muddy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:821

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**pā**-nó	make muddy, to stir up the mud (v.)	VanBik 2009:821

(17) PTani *muɯk POWDER

There is a possible allofamic relationship between this root and PLB ***ʔ-mun***$^{1/3}$ POWDER (§3.2.11).

1.1.1. TANI: ***muɯk*** POWDER

**Tani*	***muɯk**	powder	Sun 1993a:306

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	gá-**muɯ**	squeeze into powder	Sun 1993b
	jor-**muɯ**	chili powder	Sun 1993b
	jor-**muɯʔ**	chili (ground)	Sun 1993b
	ké-**muɯ**	rub into powder with fingers	Sun 1993b
	pa-**muɯʔ**	powder	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**muɯk**	powder	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	rit-**muɯk**	grind into powder	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-**muɯk**	powder	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pe꞉-**muɯk**	bean flour	Sun 1993b
	pe꞉ **muɯk**	flour (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0442.24
Bokar Lhoba	pe꞉ **muɯk**	flour	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:391.51
Galo	-ʻ**mɨk**	pulverize (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	kɨg **mɨk**	pulverize (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	nem **mɨk**	crush (by pressing) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻa **mɨk**	powder (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻa **mɨk**	powdery (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻkem **mɨk**	grind (into bits) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻlɨɨ **mɨk**	gravel; sand (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻpəə **mɨk**-ʻpəə mak	pulverize (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻpə **mɨk**	chaff (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɨ **mɨk**	crush (vt.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	pe-**muɯk**	powder	Sun 1993a

(18) PLB *ʔ-mun $^{1}_{3}$ POWDER

Written Burmese shows variation between PLB tones *1 and *3. The Lahu cognate could be from either of these tones.

There is a possible allofamic relationship between this etymon and PTani ***muɯk*** POWDER (§3.2.11).

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	*__ʔ__-mun$^{1/3}$	powder	Matisoff 2003a:603

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**hmun'**	small, minute	Benedict 1976a
	mun'	small, minute (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**hmun'**	(= ə-mun') powder	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**mun'**	pulverized matter, powder	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	ănàiʔ; ă **mùn** (= powder	flour / powder	Henderson 1986
	ă **mùn**; ănàiʔ	powder / flour	Henderson 1986
Marma	ə **mŭŋ**	powder / flour	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:72

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	*s-**mun**^{1}	powder	Bradley 1979b:340

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**məy** ~ **mə**	powder / gunpowder	Matisoff 1978a:88

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Mpi	**muɯʔ**^{6}	powder / gunpowder	Matisoff 1978a:88

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	tɕ^{h}ɛ^{21}**my**^{33}	rice powder	Pelkey 2011:465
Phola	tɕ^{h}i^{55}**mu**^{33}	rice powder	Pelkey 2011:465
Hlepho Phowa	ɛ^{33}**m̩**^{33}	rice powder	Pelkey 2011:465
	tɕ^{h}i^{21}**m̩**^{33}	rice powder	Pelkey 2011:465
Phuza	tɕ^{h}i^{31}**muɯ**^{33}	rice powder	Pelkey 2011:465

(19) PKC *neel SAND

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***neel**	SAND	VanBik 2009:831

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**nèel**	sand	VanBik 2009:831
Tiddim	se?^{3} **ne:l**^{1}	sand	Bhaskararao 1996:1542
	se?^{3}**ne:l**^{1}	sand	VanBik 2009:831

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**nêel** (rŏon)	plains	VanBik 2009:831
Lushai [Mizo]	**nèel** ṭíau	soil full of small stones, gravel	VanBik 2009:831

(20) PKar *hmɛʔ^{D} SAND

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***hmɛʔ**^{D}	sand	Luangthongkum 2013:246
Kayan	**mɛʔ**^{45}	sand	Luangthongkum 2013:246
Kayaw	**me**^{33}	sand	Luangthongkum 2013:246
Pwo (Northern)	**meʔ**^{45}	sand	Luangthongkum 2013:246
Pwo (Southern)	**meʔ**^{21}	sand	Luangthongkum 2013:246
Sgaw (Southern)	**mɛʔ**^{21}	sand	Luangthongkum 2013:246
Sgaw (Northern)	**mɛʔ**^{45}	sand	Luangthongkum 2013:246

(21) PTani *mroŋ WORLD / LAND / EARTH

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***mroŋ**	world / land / earth	Sun 1993a:474

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**mo**-re	forest; jungle	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	mó-re	forest	Sun 1993b
	mó-re gjá-nɯ	hunter	Sun 1993b
	mo-re ho daʔ-nɯ	wild	Sun 1993b
	mo-re-ga	hunt (v.)	Sun 1993b
	mo-re-grja(ʔ)	hunt (v.)	Sun 1993b
	mo-re-grja(ʔ)-nɯ mju	hunter	Sun 1993b
	mrjo brju	earthquake	Sun 1993b
	mro-~ **mrjo**-	world / land / earth	Sun 1993a
Bengni	ñi-mɯ: **ño:**(-ku)	Tibet	Sun 1993b
	ño:-	world / land / earth	Sun 1993a
	ño:-bi huʞ-bu:	earthquake	Sun 1993b
	ño:-di	mountain; hill	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ño:-di bu-ča:	ascend (mountain)	Sun 1993b
	ño:-di bu-lu:	descend (mountain)	Sun 1993b
	ño:-di ča:-duŋ	slope	Sun 1993b
	ño:-di di-tuk	peak	Sun 1993b
	ño:-di pin-ko:	valley	Sun 1993b
	ño:-di rjəŋ-lɯ:	foot of mountain	Sun 1993b
	ño:-di ruŋ-ŋu	dry field (hillside)	Sun 1993b
	ño:-di uŋ	cave	Sun 1993b
	ño:-gi	migrate	Sun 1993b
	ño:-pja	north	Sun 1993b
	ño:-pu	dry field (at foot of hill)	Sun 1993b
	ño:-ri	south	Sun 1993b
	ño:-ru	uncultivated barren land	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**moŋ**	place (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0064.24
	moŋ a-bin	treeless land	Sun 1993b
	moŋ a-roŋ	land (uncultivated)	Sun 1993b
	moŋ bɯ: bɯ:	quake (earth) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1265.24
	moŋ-	world / land / earth	Sun 1993a
	moŋ-bɯ:	earthquake	Sun 1993b
	moŋ-bɯ: bɯ:	quake (earth~)	Sun 1993b
	ñe-ma **moŋ**	Tibet	Sun 1993b
Galo	horə-'**moo** tum	game; hunting (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	moo də-**moo** bə	earthquake (n.)	GLDC 2009
	moo ko	place (n.)	GLDC 2009
	moo ko-'isi	climate; conditions; terrain (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	moo raa	hell (n.)	GLDC 2009
	moo roo	fallowing field (n.)	GLDC 2009
	moo rɨɨ	plateau (n.)	GLDC 2009
	moo yum	shady (side of a mountain) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	mo: di	hill	Das Gupta 1963
	mo: tum	wild	Das Gupta 1963
	mo ri	plains	Das Gupta 1963
	mo tum	jungle	Das Gupta 1963
	mo tum aɟina	bush	Das Gupta 1963
	mo tum-gi-nam	hunt (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	mo tum-in-nam	hunting (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'hiruk-'**moo** hen	drought (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**moo** baa	plateau (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**moo** bii	fallowing field; mountain (cultivated) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'**moo** dii	mountain (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**moo** dii-puutuu	summit (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**moo** dii-rɨkə	field (mountain); mountain field; jhum field (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'**moo** dii-'peŋkoo	valley (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**moo** dir	no man's land; inhospitable terrain (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'**moo** dir	rugged (terrain) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'**moo** dir-'**moo** coo	no man's land; inhospitable terrain (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'**moo** hen	desert (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'**moo** tum	forest; jungle (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'**moo** tum-ɲigam	hunter (jungle) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'uii-**moo** raa	netherworld; underworld (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Tagin	**mo** di	hill	Das Gupta 1983
	mo di dumpumtʏ ta pam karik	The ice dazzles on the top of the mountain	Das Gupta 1983
	mo riŋ	flat (of land); plains	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
	mo tum	jungle	Das Gupta 1983
	mo tum eŋ-nam	hunting / go forest	Das Gupta 1983
	mo tum eŋne nyi	hunter	Das Gupta 1983
	mo tum-gʏ	wild	Das Gupta 1983
	mo tumgʏ sitom	wild animal	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**moŋ**	world / land / earth	Sun 1993a
Damu	**mo:**-pit pit-duŋ	earthquake	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **mo**	land	Tayeng 1976
	a **mong**	land	Tayeng 1976
	mo-ba	sunny side (of hill)	Tayeng 1976
	mo-lum	fertile land; loam; fertile	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	mo-pa	slope	Tayeng 1976
	mo-pa-pa-duk	cliff	Tayeng 1976
	mo-rak	steep	Tayeng 1976
	mo-so-**mo**-la	soil (different kinds)	Tayeng 1976
	mo ɲi	soil (different kinds)	Tayeng 1976

3.2.12 Fire

(1) PTB *m-ba SHINE / BRIGHT

The stronghold of this root is Lolo-Burmese, with scattered but good cognates in Tangut-Qiang.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-ba**	shine / bright	Matisoff 2003a:584

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**mbiɦ**	shine (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:123
	mbiɦ	become bright	Matisoff 1978a:71

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	**bi**^{55}la^{55}	bright	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:833.19; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.46
Qiang (Mawo)	**pɑzˌ**	bright	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:833.8

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**pɑ**^{31}	bright	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985

Bola (Luxi)	**pa̱**^{35}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.32
Burmese (Written)	**pá**	shine	Coblin 1986:50
	pa'	shine	Matisoff 1978a:71
	pa'	shine (v.)	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***m-ba**^{3}	bright	Bradley 1979b:556
PNL	**m-ba**^{3}	bright	CHEN Kang 1986a:106.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**ba**	bright / shining	Björverud 1994
	ba̱^{33}	light	CHEN Kang 1986a:77.
	ba^{55}	bright	CHEN Kang 1986a:106.
Lipho	**bo**^{33}	bright	CHEN Kang 1986a:106.
Nasu	**bo**^{21}	bright	CHEN Kang 1986a:106.
Neisu	**bo**^{21}	bright	CHEN Kang 1986a:106.
Nesu	**bo**^{21}	bright	CHEN Kang 1986a:106.
Nosu	**bo**^{33}	bright	CHEN Kang 1986a:106.
Nusu (Bijiang)	**bɑ**^{55}**bɑ**^{31}	white	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:840.45
Yi (Dafang)	**bo**^{21}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**bo**^{21}lo^{33}	bright (lit up); lit up	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	bo^{21}ɕ^{33}	ray of light	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	bɔ^{21}lɔ^{33}	bright (lamp or fire)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**bo**^{33}li^{21}mo^{33}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**bo**^{21}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**bɯ**^{33}lə^{33}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.37
	bɯ^{33}lɯ^{33}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**bɑ**^{33}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.23
Yi (Weishan)	**bɑ**^{33}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.36
	ɑ^{55}tu̱^{21}**bɑ**^{33}	light (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0003.36
Yi (Wuding)	**bu̱**^{2}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.38
Yi (Xide)	**bo**^{21}lo^{33}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.35; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**bo**^{2}	bright	CHEN Kang 1986a:106.
Lahu (Lancang)	**bɑ**^{33}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.43
Lahu (Black)	**ba**	shine	Matisoff 1978a:71
	bA^{33}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ba**^{1}	bright / promising	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ba^{1}∼pɔ^{3}	bright	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**ba**^{33}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ba**^{44}	bright; clear; sunny (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ba^{44}**ba**^{35}	bright-coloured	Bradley 1994
	ba^{44}le^{33}	clear (weather); bright; smooth	Bradley 1994
	ba^{44}le^{35}za^{21}	bright	Bradley 1994
	ba^{44}lø^{55}ø^{33}	bright; shiny; open and above board; glistening	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**bɑ**^{33}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.27
Sani [Nyi]	**ba**^{33}	bright	CHEN Kang 1986a:106.
Yi (Sani)	**bɒ**^{33}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	**ba**	white, light	Hansson 1989:50
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **ba**	white, light	Hansson 1989:50
Hani (Lüchun)	**bá** vù	white, light	Hansson 1989:50
	bjá vù	white, light	Hansson 1989:50
Hani (Dazhai)	**bja**^{33}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**bja**^{33}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ba**^{33}	white	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	bja^{33}	bright	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**bba**	white, light	Hansson 1989:50
Hani (Shuikui)	**pɔ**^{33}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**pɔ**^{33}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.42

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**pɔ**^{33}	bright; light	Pelkey 2011:952
Southern Muji	**ba**^{21}	bright; light	Pelkey 2011:952
Phuza	**ba**^{33}	bright; light	Pelkey 2011:952

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	**bu**˩	bright, shining	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**bu**^{33}	light (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0003.45
	bu^{33}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**bu**^{33}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mbu**^{33}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.28

(2) PTB * p b h w y a(:) r l n t FIRE / BURN / SHINE / BRIGHT / LIGHT / WHITE

This etymon has an impressive number of variants, motivating an extreme pan-allofamic formula like PTB ***(p/b/h)(w/y)a(:)(r/l/n/t)*** FIRE / BURN / SHINE / BRIGHT / LIGHT / WHITE (§3.2.12). The sub-roots fall into several categories: some of the reflexes derive from prototypes with final *liquids; others point to earlier final *nasals; while still others derive from *open syllables. For convenience's sake, we will present the allofams in that order.

The semantic developments of this root are also quite varied, ranging from FIRE / BURN / KINDLE / ROAST to SHINE / LIGHT / BRIGHT to HEAT UP / SWEAT to WHITE / YELLOW. Less this be thought implausible, cf. Proto-Indo-European *bhel- "shine; flash; burn; shining white and various bright colors" which give us English reflexes including 'black', 'blank', 'blanch', 'bleak', 'bald', 'bleach', 'blue', 'blaze', 'blind', 'blend', 'blond', 'blink', etc. See *HPTB* 428-430.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***hwan/t**	shine / bright / light	Matisoff 2003a:593

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**b'wâr∼pwâr/b'uâ∼pwâ**ite		CHOU Fa-kao 1972:195r

Chinese comparandum

皤 OC ***b'wâr∼pwâr***, *GSR* #195r 'white'; Schuessler 2007:416 ***bâi***; B & S 2011: ***b^{ʂ}ar {[b]^{ʂ}ar}*** ; Mand. **pó**.
煇 458k S286
韗 571q giwer 煒 571j giwer

(2a) PTB *b^{w}ar ≍ *p^{w}ar BURN / FIRE / KINDLE / ROAST

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-war ≍ p-war***	fire / burn / kindle / roast	Matisoff 2003a:619
	***bar** (*C)	burn / roast / shine	Coblin 1986:50
	***bar ≍** par = bwár **≍** pwár	burn	Benedict 1972:220
	***b^{w}ar ≍ p^{w}ar**	fire	Matisoff 2003a:585
	***pwa(ː)r**	fire / burn / shine / white	Matisoff 2003a:608
	***ʔuːr**	fire / burn / kindle / roast	Matisoff 2003a:583

1.1.1. TANI: ***par** IGNITE

**Tani*	***par**	ignite	Sun 1993a:215

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**par**	burn	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**pɯr**	ignite	Sun 1993a
	pɯr-nuː	kindle; light fire, kindle	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ɯ-muː **pɯr**	make fire	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**pa** noː	light (a fire); light (a light) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1268.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1270.24
	ə-mə **par**-sə	firewood	Sun 1993b
Galo	**'par** nam	stoke (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	e mɤ **par**-nam	flame	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	**pa(r)**-ñot	kindle	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**par**	ignite	Sun 1993a
Damu	**wun**-pit-duŋ	bright	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**par**	light (as a fire), ignite	Benedict 1972:220
	par-not	kindle	Sun 1993a

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ʔur** BURN / SCORCH

**Chin*	***ʔur**	BURN / SCORCH	VanBik 2009:470

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**ui**	burn, to give a burning sensation (v.)	VanBik 2009:470

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**uːr**	light a fire (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:428
Lushai [Mizo]	**úr**	scorch (as fire anything above it) (v.)	VanBik 2009:470
	uur	warm up (a house, food) / keep warm / smoke (meat) / scorch (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:428

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Yacham-Tengsa	**wa** si	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	***waʔr**	fire	Burling 1959:441

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	**wai**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	wai-slai	flame	Benedict 1972:281

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**wal**-sre	flame	Benedict 1972:281
	waʔl	fire	Benedict 1972:172n459; Benedict 1972:220
	wa'l	fire	Benedict 1972:23n78
	wɑʔl	fire	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:353a-c
Garo (Bangladesh)	**wal•-**	fire (n.)	Burling 2003:5.421-II:idx

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	*ʔ-**waːr**	fire	French 1983:489

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa (Moshang)	**var**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	var	fire	Benedict 1972:220
	varr	fire	Benedict 1972:172n459
	vɑrr	fire	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:353a-c
Tangsa (Yogli)	**wal**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**wan**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**wʌn**-lá	ashes	Weidert 1987:182

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**wan**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	wan	fire	Benedict 1972:172n459
	wan-khut	smoke (n.)	Benedict 1972:256
	wan-khut khu	smoke (v.)	Benedict 1972:256
	wan^{31}	fire	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	wan^{31}	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.19
	wan^{31}	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.47
	wan^{31}wut^{31} tum^{31}loŋ^{33}	tube (bamboo) for blowing on a fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0567.19
	wɑn	fire	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:353a-c
	ʔwan	fire	Benedict 1972:220; Benedict 1972:23n78

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Chairel	***phar**	fire	Benedict 1972:220
	phal	fire	Benedict 1972:220

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**bar**	burn (intr.)	Benedict 1972:220
	par	burn (tr.)	Benedict 1972:220

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	ḥ **bar**-ba	burn, catch fire, be ignited	Benedict 1972:220
	s **bor**-ba (perf. sbar)	light, kindle	Benedict 1972:220

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**oʔr**-(u)	roast (v.)	Weidert 1987:97
	oʔ ma	roast (v.)	Weidert 1987:97

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**hwar**	burn, kindle	Benedict 1972:220

Chinese comparandum

燔 OC ***b'i̯wǎn***, *GSR* #195i 'burn, roast'; Coblin 86:50: ST ***bjar*** > OC ***bjan***; Schuessler 2007:229-30 ***ban***; B & S 2011: ***bar {[b]ar}***; Mand. **fán**.

(2b) PTB *hwa(ː)r ≍ *yar WHITE / YELLOW / BRIGHT / SHINE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***hwaːr**	fire / burn / shine / white	Matisoff 2003a:593
	***hwaːr ≍ yar**	white / yellow / bright / shine	Matisoff 2003a:593

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bokar	a **jen**	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.24
	a-**jen** ∼ a-**en**	shine	Matisoff 2003a:429
Bokar Lhoba	a **jen**	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.51

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***waar** FAIR (color) / PALE / WHITE

*Chin	*waar	FAIR (color) / PALE / WHITE	VanBik 2009:1146
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	vaak	fair	VanBik 2009:1146
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	vâar-I, văar-II	fair (as skin), white, pale	VanBik 2009:1146
Lai (Falam)	văar-INV	fair (as skin), white	VanBik 2009:1146
Lushai [Mizo]	vaːr	white	Benedict 1972:172n460
	váar	white, to be light (not dark) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1146
	vâr	white	Marrison 1967
	vaːr	light (not dark) (be v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3083
	vɑːr	white	Chou Fa-kao 1972:195r
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	và	pale	VanBik 2009:1146
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Sorbung	war	light	Brown 1837
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	war	light	Brown 1837
	war	light (bright) (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	-jà	shine (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
	ya r	shine (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	jà	shine [shined] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Yimchungrü	yin	shine (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *hwor LIGHT / SHINE			
*Tangkhulic	*hwor	light / shine	Mortensen 2012:743
Champhung	war	light	Brown 1837
Tangkhul	hor	shine (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ka hor	light (bright) (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tangkhul (Standard)	hor	light	Brown 1837
Ukhrul	kə-hor	light / shine	Mortensen 2012
2.1.4. Tamangish			
*TGTM	*ᴬur	yellow	Mazaudon 1994:8
Gurung	ur-gyā:	yellow	Hale 1973:01.089
Gurung (Ghachok)	ur-gya:	yellow	Glover 1972:1.89
Gurung	¹ur-	yellow	Mazaudon 1994:8
Tamang (Risiangku)	¹ur	yellow (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:8
Tamang (Sahu)	¹ur	yellow	Mazaudon 1994:8
Tamang (Taglung)	ur	yellow	Mazaudon 1994:8
Thakali	ur	yellow	Hale 1973:01.089
Thakali (Marpha)	⁵⁵ur	yellow	Mazaudon 1994:8
Thakali (Syang)	⁵⁵ur	yellow	Mazaudon 1994:8
Thakali (Tukche)	ur	yellow	Hari 1971:1.89
	ᴴur	yellow	Mazaudon 1994:8
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	ehr-nya	shine	Matisoff 2003a:429
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	yar-	yellow (va.)	Caughley 2000
	yar-ʔo	yellow	Caughley 1972:1.89
	yar.phər.lik	turn back (yellow object) (onom.)	Caughley 2000
	yar.wis	clear yellow (beer) (onom.)	Caughley 2000
	yār.ʔo	yellow	Hale 1973:01.089
Magar	or-khe	yellow	Hale 1973:01.089

(2c) PTB *hur ≈ *hwar ≈≈ *hir ≈ *hyar SWEAT

This root seems to overlap to some extent with PTB ***s-ŋar** SWEAT (§1.8.1) [q.v.].

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	ho-war len	sweat (v.)	Sun 1993b
Galo	a ur	sweat	Das Gupta 1963
	a yur ur-nam	sweat (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	a ir	sweat (n.)	GLDC 2009
	a ur	sweat	Das Gupta 1963
	'ir nam	sweat (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	har	sweat	Simon 1976
Tagin	ha cer ha yer	sweat (n.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	íl-nâm	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	ír-nâm	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
Milang	hi: l-ma	sweat	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ha: u	sweat	NEFA (India) 1963
	ha: u	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	xɑ³¹ u⁵⁵	sweat	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	xɑ³¹u⁵⁵	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.22
	xɑ³¹u⁵⁵	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.49
1.2.1. Peripheral Chin			
*Peripheral Chin	*ʔul	SWEAT	VanBik 2009:513
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	ti-ul	sweat / perspiration	Haokip 1998:8.2.1
Sizang	kua ūl	sweat	VanBik 2009:513
Thado	ʔûl	sweat, perspiration	VanBik 2009:513
Tiddim	khua¹ ul²	sweat	Bhaskararao 1996:823
	khua¹ ʔul²	sweat	VanBik 2009:513
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	ká 'uy haáng	sweat, perspiration	VanBik 2009:513
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	ing i	sweat	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ing-i	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	ing-i vang	sweat (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	ing 'í	sweat / perspiration	Grüssner 1979:17
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	so-ōl	sweat (n.)	Matisoff 1987
4. Nungic			
Anong	in⁵⁵	sweat, perspire	Sun Hongkai 1988
Nung	in⁵⁵	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.21
Anong	in⁵⁵	sweat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.44

(2d) PTB *hul ≈ *hwa(ː)l HEAT UP / BURN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*hul ≈ hwa(ː)l	heat up / burn	Matisoff 2003a:593
1.2. Kuki-Chin: *haal BURN / SET FIRE, *ʔal-I, *ʔalʔ-II FLAME / BLAZE			
*Chin	*haal	BURN / SET FIRE	VanBik 2009:702
	*ʔal-I, ʔalʔ-II	FLAME / BLAZE	VanBik 2009:485
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	hal hī	burn	VanBik 2009:702
Thado	hâal-I, hàal-II	burn with fire, flame	VanBik 2009:702
Tiddim	haːl[1]	burn (tr)	VanBik 2009:702
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	ʔalʔ-INV	flame, ablaze	VanBik 2009:485
Lushai [Mizo]	àlh	flame, to blaze, to burn (v.)	VanBik 2009:485
	hăal	burn, set fire, ignite, to cremate (v.)	VanBik 2009:702
	hâl	burn; light (ignite) (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	haːl	burn; set on fire; ignite; char (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2344; Bhaskararao 1996:2345
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	ía	alight, as a fire	VanBik 2009:485
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	haqr-	burn, alight (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	hal	heat (?verb – bm)	Allen 1975
	ul-	heat slightly (?cook) (v.)	Allen 1975
	wal-	heat up / boil lightly	Allen 1975

(2e) PTB *hwa $^{l}_{r}$ FIRE / SHINE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*hwal ≈ hwar	fire / shine	Matisoff 2003a:593
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	wal•	fire, torch (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wal•bek	burnt curry (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wal•byt	match (to make fire) (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wal•cham	bamboo torch (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wal•di	ambers, glowing pieces of burnt wood (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wal•khu	smoke (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wal•khu-	produce smoke (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	wal•sam	fireside (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wal•thum•	fire that is burned during the winter outside the house to keep warm (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wal• kungki	black ashes (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wal chak-	kindle the fire with your breath by blowing (v.)	van Breugel 2008

(2f) PTB *hwam BURN / SHINE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*hwam	burn / shine	Matisoff 2003a:593
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	a-om	light, brightness	Benedict 1972:221
	o-m	shine	Benedict 1972:221
	om-bo	illuminating	Benedict 1972:221
	ʔóm	shine (v.)	Plaisier 2007
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	ō:m	yellow	Hale 1973:01.089
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	hyumʔ-	suffer burns (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	hyumʔ-sa	burn / scorch	Caughley 1972:7.B.2.8

(2g) PTB *hwaŋ SHINE / BRIGHT / YELLOW

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*hwaŋ	shine / bright / yellow	Matisoff 2003a:593
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Tagin	hung	shine	Matisoff 2003a:430
	ong -ka-nam	shine	Matisoff 2003a:430
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	wang ngai	light (bright) (n.)	Marrison 1967
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	wâŋ	brightly yellow	Benedict 1976a
	waŋ:	brightly yellow (be v.)	Matisoff 1983:64
	ə-wâŋ	yellow color	Benedict 1976a
7. Karenic: *ʔbaŋᴬ YELLOW			
*Karen	*bàŋ'	yellow	Jones 1961:139
*Karen [Burling]	*baŋ³	yellow	Luangthongkum 2013:339
*Karen	*ʔbaŋᴬ	yellow	Luangthongkum 2013:339
Kayah	bɛ³³	yellow	Luangthongkum 2013:339
Kayan	baŋ⁵³	yellow	Luangthongkum 2013:339
Kayaw	bɔ⁵⁵	yellow	Luangthongkum 2013:339
Pwo (Northern)	bɛ̃⁵⁵	yellow	Luangthongkum 2013:339
Pwo (Southern)	bɔ̃³¹··	yellow	Luangthongkum 2013:339
Sgaw (Northern)	bɔ³³	yellow	Luangthongkum 2013:339
Sgaw (Southern)	bɔ⁵⁵	yellow	Luangthongkum 2013:339
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	g'wâŋ	yellow	Matisoff 1983:64

Chinese comparandum

黃 OC ***g'wâng**, *GSR* #707a-b 'yellow'; B & S 2011: ***N-kʷˁaŋ**; Mand. **huáng**.
光 OC ***kwâng**, *GSR* #706a-e 'light, bright'; B & S 2011: ***kʷˁaŋ**; Mand. **guāng**.
曠 OC ***k'wâng**, *GSR* #707o 'bright'; B & S 2011: ***kʷʰˁaŋ-s {[k] ʷʰˁaŋ-s}**; Mand. **kuàng**.

(2h) PTB *hwa $^{n}_{t}$ SHINE / LIGHT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*hwa-t	light; brightness; shine; yellow; golden; radiant; light, shine	Matisoff 2003a:593; Matisoff 1983:64; Benedict 1972:221
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	wat	glimmer	Sun 1993b
Milang	a un	light	Tayeng 1976
	a un-ɲi	bright	Tayeng 1976
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	wat	shine	Benedict 1972:221
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	won	shine (v.)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a vi sa	light (bright) (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Mao	won	shine (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			

Tangkhul	**han**	shine (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Chairel	**id**	burn, catch fire	Matisoff 2003a:429
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥod**	light, shine, brightness	Benedict 1972:221
	nyi-**ʔod**	sunlight	Benedict 1972:221
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Gyaru)	**wɛ**[1]	light (N.)	Nagano 1984:264
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]**we**	light / ray	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0476
	[3]**we**	light / ray	Mazaudon 1994:918
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**haːnd-**	light (e.g. lamp, cigarette) (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	oːts- (ottshu)	<light,burn> to cause to shine brightly	Driem 1988
	oːtt-	<burn> to give light, to shine (of sun, lamp, firefly)	Driem 1988
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**hɨt** nɨ	burn (+ inedible, e.g. sɨ "firewood")	Driem 1993
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	ne-**at**	sunlight	Benedict 1972:221

(2i) PTB * b s -wa WHITE / YELLOW / BRIGHT

This root is part of a complex word family with perhaps as many as ten allofams, with meanings ranging from 'white, yellow' to 'bright, shine' to 'fire, kindle, roast'. See *HPTB*:428-430.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-wa**	white / yellow	Matisoff 2003a:618
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**hu**-to	light (n.)	Sun 1993b
	hú-tò	light (n.)	Sun 1993b
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Ntenyi	**wü** ghü	shine (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	**ha** me	light	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**hwa**	light, shine	Benedict 1972:221
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Luxi)	**wui**[31]	yellow	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Rangoon)	**wa**[22]	yellow	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1008.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**wɑ**[22]	yellow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:838.40
Burmese (Written)	**wā**	yellow	Marrison 1967
	wa	yellow, bright colour of health; yellow	Matisoff 1983:64; Benedict 1976a
	wɑ[2]	yellow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:838.39
	wɑɑ[2]	yellow	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1008.26
	ə-**wa**	color, brightness; colour, brightness	Benedict 1976a; Matisoff 1983:64
7. Karenic: ***ʔ(b)wa** WHITE, ***ʔbwa**[A] WHITE			
**Karen*	***ʔbwa**[A]	white	Luangthongkum 2013:330
**Karen [Burling]*	***ʔwa**[3]	white	Luangthongkum 2013:330
**Karen*	***ʔ(b)wa**	white	Benedict 1972:172n460
	***ʔ(b)wà'**	white	Jones 1961:136
	***ʔ(b)wɑ**	white	Chou Fa-kao 1972:195r
Bwe	ko **ɓú**	white-haired, grey-haired (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	ɓʊ[55]	white	Luangthongkum 2013:330
	ə-ko **ɓú**	white-haired (be v.)	Henderson 1997
Karen	a[31]**bo̱**[55]	yellow	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1008.50
	a[31]**wa̱**[55]	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.50
Kayah	**bu**[33]	white	Luangthongkum 2013:330
Kayan (Pekon)	bahu **bó**	garlic [lit. ?-white] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**bau**[53]	white	Luangthongkum 2013:330
Kayan (Pekon)	blà **bó**	bat sp. [lit. bat-white] (N.)	Manson 2010
	blá **bó** blá lè̱	avoid things in a devious manner [lit. white-bat-red-bat] (V.)	Manson 2010
	bó	white (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	bó dá	bald [lit. white-flat] (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	hú **bó**	white rice [lit. rice-white] (N.)	Manson 2010
	kalā **bó**	white people (N.)	Manson 2010
	ta **bó** ta bán	reason [lit. NLZR-white-NLZR-yellow] (Nelab.)	Manson 2010
	tʰǫ̀ **bó**	egret [lit. bird-white] (N.)	Manson 2010
	zǫ́ **bó**	gibbon [lit. monkey-white] (N.)	Manson 2010
	ŋòn **bó**	first cousin and their children [lit. friend-white] (N.)	Manson 2010
	ʍâ **bó**	kind of bamboo (used to make arrows) [lit. bamboo-white] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**bu**[55]	white	Luangthongkum 2013:330
Pa-O	**bwà**	white	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**bwa**[31¨]	white	Luangthongkum 2013:330
Pa-O (Northern)	**bwa**[31¨]	white	Luangthongkum 2013:330
Pa-O	mɛ̀ʔ khū **bwà**	white of eye	Solnit 1989
	ʔwà	white? in 'termite'	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Southern)	**kwa**[31¨]	white	Luangthongkum 2013:330
Sgaw (Northern)	**kwa**[33]	white	Luangthongkum 2013:330
Sgaw (Southern)	**wa**[55]	white	Luangthongkum 2013:330

(3) PTani *gu BURN (v.i.)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***gu**	burn (v.i.)	Sun 1993a:49
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**guː**	burn (v.i.)	Sun 1993a
	ɯ-mɯː **guː**-lin	catch fire	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(ə-mə) **gu**-ket	catch fire	Sun 1993b
	a **gu**	scald / burn (the hand) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1662.24
	gu kam	burnt / scorched (vi.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1423.24
	gu-kam	charred	Sun 1993b
	guː	burn (v.i.)	Sun 1993a
	guː	burn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1269.24
	guː(-noː)	burn (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	guː get	catch (fire) / be (on fire) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1789.24
	guː no	catch (fire) / be (on fire) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1789.24
Galo	**gu**-nam	burn (lamp) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'mə **gu** nam	burn (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'mə **gu** tee	burn (with fire, causing injury) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'mə **gu**	blaze; inferno (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'mə **gum**	flame (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	**gu** nam	burn (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gu**	burn (v.i.)	Sun 1993a

(4) PTB *pluŋ BURN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ploŋ**	burn (v.)	Weidert 1987:811
	***ploŋ**	burn	Matisoff 2003a:607; Benedict 1972:139
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***ruŋ** BURN			
**Central Naga*	***ruŋ**	BURN	Bruhn 2014a:III.227
**Ao*	*a-**ɹuŋ**	BURN (vi./vt.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.315
Ao (Chungli)	**-rūŋ**	burn (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a[2]**-ɹuŋ**[2]	burn with fire (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.315
	a **rong**	burn (v.)	Marrison 1967
	[1]**ruŋ**	burn (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:811
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**rung**	burn (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**ɹuŋ**-paʔ	acid ('burn' + NR) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	ɹuŋ	burn [burned] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**roŋ**[1]-	burn (vi./vt.) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.227
	rong	burn (v.)	Marrison 1967
	rong a	burn	Murry *et al.* 1978:13
	rōŋ à	burn as fire	Acharya 1975
	rōŋ ù	burn (v.)	Acharya 1975
	[1]**ruŋ**	burn (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:811
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**phloŋ**	burn the dead; cremation	Benedict 1972:139
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**kəproŋ**	parboil	Benedict 1972:139
	proŋ	burned, as a house (be v.)	Benedict 1972:139
	proŋ	burned, as a house (vs.)	Benedict 1972:139

(5) PTani *-not² ~ *ñot² KINDLE

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***-not²**~ **ñot²**	kindle	Sun 1993a:223
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	pɯr-**nuː**	kindle; light fire, kindle	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	guː(-**noː**)	burn (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	gu**ː no**	catch (fire) / be (on fire) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1789.24
	pa **noː**	light (a fire); light (a light) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1268.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1270.24
	pa-**no**	kindle	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	pa(r)-**ñot**	kindle	Sun 1993a
Mishing [Miri]	par-**not**	kindle	Sun 1993a

(6) PTB *put BURN / RAZE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***put**	burn / raze	Matisoff 2003a:608
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**phùt**	burn / raze	Matisoff 2003a:364
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***put**	burn	Matisoff 1972b:8
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**phut**	roast, burn, by putting on or into fire	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Youle)	**phu**[42]	burn	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**phu**[55]	scald / burn (the hand) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1662.44
	ɣɯ[42] tha[55] **phu**[42]	burn the grass on wasteland (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1610.44
Lisu	**phu**[31]	scald / burn (the hand) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1662.40
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**pýq**	burn	Matisoff 2003a:365
Hani (Hu T'an)	**pɯ 33c**	burn	Matisoff 1972b:8
Hani (Lüchun)	mi[55]lɔ[55] **pɯ̱**[33]	burn the grass on wasteland (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1610.41
	pɯ̱[33]	burn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1269.41
Hani (Mojiang)	mɛ[55]l̥ʏ[55] **phʏ**[33]	burn the grass on wasteland (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1610.42
	phʏ[33]	burn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1269.42
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi	**pɣ**[55]	scald / burn (the hand) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1662.45

Chinese comparandum

焚 OC ***b'i̯wən**, *GSR* #474a-b 'burn'; Schuessler 2007:236 ***pən** < ***pun**; Mand. **fén** ~ **fèn**.

(7) PTB *duk BURN / KINDLE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***duk**	burn / kindle	Matisoff 2003a:587
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**dugs**-pa	catch fire	Benedict 1972:76n232
3.2. Qiangic			

Pumi (Jiulong)	**dy**^{11}	burn (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1269.10
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**tauk**	catch fire	Benedict 1972:76n232
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	ts**ɤ**^{33}**to**^{35}	burn (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1269.47
Yi (Wuding)	**du**^{11}	burn (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1269.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu	**tòʔ / tú**	catch fire	Benedict 1972:76n232
Lahu (Lancang)	**to**^{21}	catch (fire) / be (on fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1789.43
	tu^{35}	burn (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1269.43
	xɑ^{53} **tu**^{35}	burn the grass on wasteland (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1610.43
	ɑ^{31}mi^{11}**tu**^{35}	set on fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1317.43
Lahu (Black)	**tú**	set on fire	Matisoff 1972b:62(b)
Lahu (Yellow)	**tu**^{4}	light (fire); burn (grass) (v.t.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tu^{5}	burn (wildfire) (v.i.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**dɤ**^{2}	burn grass on waste land	CHEN Kang 1986a:189.
Yi (Sani)	**dɤ**^{2}	catch (fire); be (on fire); burn (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1269.39; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1789.39
Jinuo (Youle)	**tsɯ**^{42}	itchy	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tsɯ**^{42}	itch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.34
**Common Lahu*	***dzuhˆ**	itch	Bradley 1979b:584B
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕhi**^{54}	scald / burn (the hand) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1662.43
	xɤ^{21}	angry, be / take offense (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1621.43
Lahu (Black)	**dzɭʔ**^{54}	itchy	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	dzɭ^{54}	itch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.33
	jìɛ̀	itch	Matisoff 1972b:84
	jîʔ	itch	Matisoff 1972b:84
	jìʔ ⪤	spark / fluttering fragment flutteringly	Matisoff 1972b:84
	jîʔ	itch	Matisoff 1978a:38
	yîʔ	angry	Matisoff 1972b:77
Lahu (Yellow)	**tɕɛ**^{1}	burn	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	á **djyq djyq**	itch	Hansson 1989:562
	á **dzyq dzyq**	itch	Hansson 1989:562
Akha	**dzui HS**	itch	Matisoff 1972b:84
	dzuiˆ	itch	Matisoff 1978a:38
Akha (Thai)	**dzyq**	itch	Hansson 1989:562
Akha	**dzyq**	itch	Hansson 1989:562
Hani (Lüchun)	**dzyq**	itch	Hansson 1989:562
Hani (Dazhai)	**dzɭ̄**^{33}	itch	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.31
Hani (Pijo)	**tsəq**	itch	Hansson 1989:562
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsɭ̄**^{33}	itch	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dzɯ̱**^{33}	itch	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Haoni	**tsɭ**^{33}	itch	Hansson 1989:562
Hani (Shuikui)	**tsɭ̄**^{33}	itch	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**zziv**	itch	Hansson 1989:562
Hani (Khatu)	**tsəq**	itch	Hansson 1989:562
Mpi	**tɯʔ**^{3}	itch	Hansson 1989:562; Matisoff 1978a:38
9. SINITIC			
"Pre-Chinese"	**tsjik**	burn	Coblin 1986:50
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**tsjit**	coaled part of a burning torch; to burn / scorch earth which is to be placed around a coffin as grave lining	Coblin 1986:95

Chinese comparandum

燭 OC ***t̂i̯uk**, *GSR* #1224e 'candle, taper; shine, illuminate'; Schuessler 2007:625 ***tok**; B & S 2011: (***tok**); Mand. **zhú**.

Comment: Also see 灼 **zhuó** and 的 **dì**, comparanda for PTB ***glwak** SHINE / FLASH (§3.2.10).

(8) PTB *m-(t)sik BURN / ITCH / ANGRY

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***tsjik**	burn	Coblin 1986:50
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-(t)sik**	burn / angry	Matisoff 2003a:617
	***m-tsik**	itch	Matisoff 2003a:617
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	lam-**tsok** a	angry	Marrison 1967
	nshük	burn (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**masik**	burn (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	**tsik** si	itch / be itchy (v.)	Sharma 1991b:8.2.3.10
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	ro-**tsik**	angry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:728.7
	ro^{13}**tsik**^{55}	angry	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tsik**^{55}pɑ^{55}zɑi^{35}	angry	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tshik**^{53}pA^{53}zA^{13}	angry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:728.6
Motuo Menba	ro **tsik**	angry, be / take offense (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1621.07
Cuona Menba	**tsik**^{53} pa^{53} za^{35} ne^{31}	angry, be / take offense (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1621.06
	tsik^{53}ti^{53}ne^{31}	scald / burn (the hand) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1662.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tʂhək**	itch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.4
Tibetan (Written)	**'thsig**	burn (v.)	Marrison 1967
	'tshig-pa	burn, destroy by fire; glow (evening sky); to be in rut; be inflamed, feverish	Coblin 1986:95
	tshig	burn, destroy by fire (v.)	Coblin 1986:50
	fitshig	angry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:728.1
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	P-**sik** phɔŋ-	become angry (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	P-**sik** pok-	become angry (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**tsʊ**	roast, cremate, burn (vt, vtt.)	Michailovsky 1989a:[72.1.86,
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ntshua**^{55}	itch	SUN Hongkai 1991d
	ntshuɑ^{55}	itch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.18
Guiqiong	**tsɯ**^{55}	itch / tickle (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1749.16
	tsø^{55}	itch	SUN Hongkai 1991e; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.17
Namuyi	**nthɛ**^{33}**nthɛ**^{53}	itch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.19
Pumi (Qinghua)	**dzy**^{55}	itch	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.11
Qiang (Mawo)	**dzɤi**	itch	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**dzɭ**^{31} zɑ^{231}	itch	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dzɭ^{31}zɑ^{241}	itch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**dze**	itch	DAI Qingxia 1989q:2400
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ndze**^{33}**ndze**^{55}	itch / tickle (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1749.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**jɯ** ʐɛ	itch / be itchy (v.)	SUN Hongkai 1991b:8.2.3.10
	jɯ ʐɛ	itch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.14
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ndzik**^{H} ITCH			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ndzik**^{H}	itch	Matisoff 1978a:38
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***m-tsik**^{H}	itch	Bradley 1979b:584B; Hansson 1989:562
Lolopho	**ʂv**^{33}	itch / be itchy (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:8.2.3.10
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**dzɭ̄**^{33}	itch / be itchy (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:8.2.3.10
Nasu	**tš'i 32s**	scratch / scrape / rasp	Matisoff 1972b:97(a)
Yi (Nanjian)	**dzɭ̄**^{33}	itch	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.23
Yi (Xide)	**ʑi**^{33}	itch	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʐi^{33}	itch	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:900.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**tsɯ**^{31}	itch	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2515
Jinuo (Baka)	**tsɯ**^{31}	itch	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2515

Chinese comparandum

疾 OC ***dźi̯ət**, *GSR* #494a-c; B & S 2011: ***dzit { [dz] i [t] }**; Mand. **jí**.
墊 OC ***tsi̯ə̱t**, *GSR* #923c 'coaled part of a burning torch'; B & S 2011: **(*tsik)**; Coblin 86:50 ST ***tsjik** > PC ***tsjik** > OC ***tsjit** > ***tsjet**; Mand. **jí**.

(9) PKC *phalʔ EXTINGUISH (fire)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***phalʔ**	EXTINGUISH (fire)	VanBik 2009:338
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**phàl**-INV	extinguish	VanBik 2009:338
Tiddim	**phelʔ**^{3}	extinguish a fire, pacify people who are fighting	VanBik 2009:338
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**phalʔ**-INV	extinguish (fire, forest fire, etc)	VanBik 2009:338

(10) PKC *ʔuut BURN / CHAR / SCORCH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ʔuut**	BURN / CHAR / SCORCH	VanBik 2009:469
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔuut**-I, ʔuʔ-II	burn, char, scorch (v.i.)	VanBik 2009:469
Lushai [Mizo]	**ût**-I, ùh-II	burn, char, or scorch badly (v.)	VanBik 2009:469
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**ú**	burn, to scorch badly (v.)	VanBik 2009:469

(11) PTB *kyit BURN / SCORCH

This etymon strongly resembles PTB ***m-(t)sik** BURN / ITCH / ANGRY (§3.2.12). The Lahu form could descend from either prototype.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kyit**	burn / scorch	Matisoff 2003a:598
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**śit**	scorch	Bhat 1969:96
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃit**	scorch, get scorched (food); hot	Mortensen 2012
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**khyac**	burnt, as food (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**chîʔ**	hot (enough to burn)	Matisoff 1972b:13

(12) PKC *hreem ⪤ *hriim SCORCH / BURN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hreem** ⪤ hriim	SCORCH / BURN	VanBik 2009:1098
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**m**-ghim	grill ("scorch") over the fire the hair or feathers of killed animals (v.)	VanBik 2009:1098
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hrêem**-I, hrěem-II	scorch over fire (e.g. hair, feathers)	VanBik 2009:1098

(13) PTk *cow BURN

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***cow**	burn	Mortensen 2012:415
Kachai	kə-**ce**	burn off fields / slash and burn	Mortensen 2012:Nature.076

Tusom	ma-kə-**cuə**	burning	Mortensen 2012:Nature.070
Ukhrul	kə-**cuj**	burn, ignite; burning fire	Mortensen 2012

(14) PTk *dik BURN

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***dik**	burn	Mortensen 2012:562
Kachai	kʰə-**ðɐk**	burn / be on fire (v.i.)	Mortensen 2012:Nature.070
Tangkhul	**rik**	burn	Bhat 1969:85
Ukhrul	kʰə-**rik**	burn (firewood)	Mortensen 2012

(15) PTB *mey FIRE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***mey**	fire	Weidert 1987:274; Matisoff 1985a:047; Matisoff 2003a:601; LaPolla 1987:83; Benedict 1972:290

1.1.1. Tani: ***mə** FIRE

**Tani*	***mə**	fire	Sun 1993a:147

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	à-go í-**mi**	fireplace and nearby area	Sun 1993b
	ja-**mi mɯ**-ljo	flame	Sun 1993b
	ja-**mu**	fire	Sun 1993a
	jà-**mu**	fire	Sun 1993b
	ja-**mu**	fire	Sun 1993b
	ja-**mu** brjo	extinguish	Sun 1993b
	ja-**mu** ljaʔ	burn (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	ja-**mu mu**-ljo	blaze; flame	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja-**mu** mú-miʔ	extinguish	Sun 1993b
	jà-**mu** mù-kú	smoke (fire)	Sun 1993b
	ja-**mu** muk’	smoke	Sun 1993b
	ja-**mu** ron	jungle burning; burn jungle	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ja **m(u) mu**-go	hearth	Sun 1993b
	jem-**mu**-tu	fire-brand	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-pa í-**mi**	middle fireplace	Sun 1993b
	mu-bu	ash; gun	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	mú-bu	ash	Sun 1993b
	mù-bu	ash-color; gun	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	mu-geʔ	kindle	Sun 1993b
	mu-ju	ash	Sun 1993b
	mu-ti	kindle	Sun 1993b
	mu-tu	half-burnt firewood	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-ge	bamboo tongs	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-go	oven	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-jaŋ	tinder	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-mi	extinguish (fire)	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-po	burning firewood	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-ri	charcoal	Sun 1993b
	su-pu **mu**-go	brazier	Sun 1993b
	ta-wu ja-**mu**	glowworm; firefly	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ya-**mu mu**-go	fireplace	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**mu**-buk	ash	Sun 1993b
	mu-puk	gun	Sun 1993b
	mə-čak	match (n.)	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-lɯŋ	cinder	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-ram	bonfire	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-riː	charco	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-rjuː	flame	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-rɯŋ	fireplace	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-sap	tongs	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**mɯː**	fire	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**mɯː** guː-lin	catch fire	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**mɯː** hi	warm oneself beside a fire	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**mɯː** pɯr	make fire	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**mɯː** rik	burn field (to get farmland)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(**mə**) mit	extinguish (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	(ə-**mə**) gu-ket	catch fire	Sun 1993b
	(ə **mə**) rɯ	clear field by burning	Sun 1993b
	mə reː	plant ash (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0063.24
	mə rom	stove (cooking) / range (kitchen) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0544.24
	mə ɕap	tongs (fire) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0566.24
	mə-čit	sparkle	Sun 1993b
	mə-čiŋ	cinders; sparkle	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	mə-jak	flame	Sun 1993b
	mə-pjo	ash (of burnt grass or wood)	Sun 1993b
	mə-reː	cinders; charcoal	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	mə-rom	fireplace; hearth	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	mə-sap	firetongs	Sun 1993b
	ə **mə**	fire (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.24
	ə **mə** rɯ	set on fire (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1317.24
	ə-**mə**	fire	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ə-**mə** jiː	dry oneself near fire	Sun 1993b
	ə-**mə** par-sə	firewood	Sun 1993b
	ə-**mə** rom	set fire	Sun 1993b
	ə-**mə** rɯ	set fire	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**mə** rom	fireplace	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:355.51
	mə ɕap	chopsticks for fire	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:448.51
	mə reː	ashes	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:472.51
	ə **mə**	fire	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:45.51
Galo	e **mɤ**	fire	Das Gupta 1963
	e **mɤ**-gu dorː	flame	Das Gupta 1963
	rɯgɯ e **mɤ** ru-nam	setting fire to jungle (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘**mi** ram	hearth; fireplace (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**mə** buk	gun (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**mə** ci	flint (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**mə** co	ash (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**mə** ci̱	ember (matchlike) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**mə** dor	light (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**mə** gu	blaze; inferno (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**mə** gum	flame (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘**mə** ree	coal; ember (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘**mə** tuu	firewood (burnt) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ə **mə**	fire (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ə **mə**-‘iiko	hearth (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ə **mə**-‘louu	firelight (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**mɯ** dɯ	striker [for flint]	Simon 1976
	mɯ dɯ-lɯ sen	flint and striker	Simon 1976
	ɤ **m**	fire	Simon 1976
Nishing	i **mí**~e **mé**	fire	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	e **mɤ**	fire	Das Gupta 1983
	e **mɤ** gudo	Fire burns’,	Das Gupta 1983
	e **mɤ** par-nam	flame	Das Gupta 1983
	mi riŋ	hearth	Das Gupta 1983
	mɤ cu tayu	ash	Das Gupta 1983
	mɤ ri	coal	Das Gupta 1983
	m riŋ	hearth	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**mə**-rom	fireplace / hearth	Sun 1993a
	ə-**mə**	fire	Sun 1993a
Damu	(ʔa-**mɯ**) man-pa	extinguish (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	(ʔa-**mɯ**) ɕi-mit	extinguish (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	(ʔa-**mɯ**) ʔuk	catch fire	Sun 1993b
	mə-ki	snuff	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-ji	flame	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-kor	ashes	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-ɕa	fire-steel	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**mə** jiː	warm onself near fire	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**mɯ**	fire	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**mɯ** ŋ̩yː-ra	torch	Sun 1993b
Milang	a-**mi** ri-mi	setting fire to the jungles	Tayeng 1976
	a **mi**	fire	Tayeng 1976
	mi-kol	coal	Tayeng 1976
	mi-le	flame	Tayeng 1976
	mi-pi	ash	Tayeng 1976
	mi-siŋ	spark	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**mə**-ram	fireplace / hearth	Sun 1993a
	ɯ-**mu** rhyme!	fire	Sun 1993a

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***may** FIRE [a]

**Chin*	***may**	FIRE	VanBik 2009:767
	***may**-ho(o)l	CHARCOAL / COAL	VanBik 2009:757
Anal	**mhí**	fire	Weidert 1987:274

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**mē**	fire	VanBik 2009:767
	mē hkō	smoke	VanBik 2009:789
	mē-hol	charcoal	VanBik 2009:757
Thado	**mây**-hôl	charcoal	VanBik 2009:757
	mêy	fire	VanBik 2009:767
	mêy khùu	smoke	VanBik 2009:789
Tiddim	**mei**[1]	fire, tail	VanBik 2009:767
	mei[1] hol[1]	charcoal	VanBik 2009:757

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**me˝**	fire	VanBik 2009:767
	me˝-k‘ü˝	smoke	VanBik 2009:789
Cho (Mindat)	**mei**	fire	VanBik 2009:767
Daai	**mé**[i]	fire	So-Hartmann 1988:184
Khumi	**maay**	fire	VanBik 2009:767
	may-khuee	smoke	VanBik 2009:789
Mkaang	**mé**[i]	fire	So-Hartmann 1988:184
Ngmüün	**mé**[i]	fire	So-Hartmann 1988:184
Nyhmoye	**mé**[i]	fire	So-Hartmann 1988:184

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	(**mây**)-hò(o)l	charcoal	VanBik 2009:703
	mây	fire	VanBik 2009:767
Lai (Falam)	**máy**	fire	VanBik 2009:767
	mày-hól	charcoal	VanBik 2009:757
Lai (Hakha)	**mây**-hòol	charcoal	VanBik 2009:757
	mây-khŭu	fire smoke	VanBik 2009:789
Lushai [Mizo]	**měi**	fire	Weidert 1987:137
	mei	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	měi	fire	VanBik 2009:767
	mei	fire	Bhaskararao 1996:1083; LaPolla 1987:83
	měi hăwl	charcoal	VanBik 2009:757
	měi khû	smoke	VanBik 2009:789
	mei-khu	smoke	Benedict 1972:256
	mey	fire	Matisoff 1985a:047; Benedict 1972:290

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**méi**	fire	VanBik 2009:767
	méi-héi	charcoal, coal	VanBik 2009:757
	méi-khú	smoke	VanBik 2009:789

1.3. “Naga” Areal Group

Maring	**mei** khu	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***mej(ʔ)** FIRE

**Central Naga*	***mej(ʔ)**	FIRE	Bruhn 2014a:III.054
**Ao*	***mi(ʔ)**	FIRE	Bruhn 2014a:II.216
Ao (Chungli)	**mi**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi-apu	light (ignite) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mi[1]lak[1]	flame (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	mi[1]luŋ[2]saŋ[2]	half-burned log (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	mi[1]luŋ[1]	rising ashes (large, fiery) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.205
	mi[1]lən[2]	lamp, torch (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	mi[1]tsə[2]	rising ashes (small) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	miʔ[1]	fire (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.216
	mì	fire	Temsunungsang 2009:p.14
	mi jang	charcoal	Marrison 1967
	mi len	lamp; torch	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mi sembong	bellows	Marrison 1967
	mi tsüktsü-lung	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
	mo ko zü	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967 [b]
	[1]mi	fire	Weidert 1987:274
Ao (Mongsen)	**mú** kʰùʔ	smoke (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:13
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**mi** chembong	bellows	Marrison 1967
	mi len	torch	Marrison 1967
	mi zü	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mu ku li	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**mi**	fire (variant of məzəʔ) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	mi-lak	flame (’fire’ + TERM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	mì lòn	torch, firebrand (n.)	Coupe 2007
	mu khu li	smoke (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**mi**[3]-khuʔ[2]	cigarette (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.081
	mi[3]-phoŋ[3]	smoke (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	mi[3]-pok[2]	ashes (n.)	Bruhn 2014b

[a] PKC has two homophonous roots, ***may** TAIL and FIRE. These are quite separate etymologically (PTB ***r-may** ⪤ ***m-ray** TAIL / PENIS (§1.4.10.1) vs. PTB ***mey** FIRE (§3.2.12)), although KVB (#794, #767) glosses certain forms with both English words.

[b] Ao **mo** ‘smoke’ reflects PTB ***mey** FIRE (§3.2.12) but shows the result of vowel harmony with the root syllable.

	mi^{3}lon^{3}	lamp, lantern / torch (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	mi^{3}poŋ^{3}	torch (bamboo) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	o^{1}-**mi?**^{3}	fire (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.054
	mi ha	charcoal	Marrison 1967
	mí khə̀m >	fire worship	Acharya 1975
	mi lon	torch	Marrison 1967
	mi pok	ashes	Marrison 1967
	mi shüngphen lung	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
	ō **mì**	fire	Acharya 1975
	o **mi**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **mi**	fire	Murry *et al.* 1978:45
	o **mi**-e khu	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **mi**-tsophen	hearth	Marrison 1967
	o **mi** kiphen	lamp	Marrison 1967
	o **mi** tso	light (ignite) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{3}**mi**-^{2}kfɯ(ʔ)	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:143; Weidert 1987:302
	^{1}o^{3}**mi**	fire	Weidert 1987:143
Sangtam	**mi** chang	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi ha	charcoal	Marrison 1967
	mi khu	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi thresing	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**mo**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mo khü	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mo khüh	smoke	Kumar 1973b:62
	^{1}**mo** (^{1})kɯʔ	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:302

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	^{5}**mi**	fire	Weidert 1987:274
Angami (Khonoma)	**mi**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi chi	light (ignite) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mi ge	ashes	Marrison 1967
	mi ku	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi pu	hearth	Marrison 1967
	mi si	gun	Marrison 1967
	mi sitsachelu	bullet	Marrison 1967
	mi thu	torch	Marrison 1967
	mi tubu	lamp	Marrison 1967
	mi zhü	charcoal	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**mi**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi bou	lamp	Marrison 1967
	mi chü	extinguish	Marrison 1967
	mi chü	light (ignite) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mi ge	ashes	Marrison 1967
	mi khu	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi pu	hearth	Marrison 1967
	mi si	gun	Marrison 1967
	mi sisi	bullet	Marrison 1967
	mi tsie	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
	mi tubou	lamp	Marrison 1967
Mao	**mi** khe	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **mi**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **mi** dzübvü	lamp	Marrison 1967
	o **mi** matekopfo	torch	Marrison 1967
	o **mi** tsu	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **mi**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **nyi**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Northern)	^{1}a^{1}**ni**	fire	Weidert 1987:274
	^{1}a^{1}**ni**^{2}ka^{2}la	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
Sema [Sumi]	a **mi**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **mi**	fire	Achumi 1998b:4.1
	a **mi** no piti	burnt, be / scorched / charred (person or object) / sing	Achumi 1998b:4.25
	a **mi** pinhe	extinguish / put out fire	Achumi 1998b:4.26
	a **mi** shi	stoke a fire	Achumi 1998b:4.211
	a **mi**-balu	ember / hot coal	Achumi 1998b:4.14
	a **mi**-boboyi	blaze / burn brightly	Achumi 1998b:4.22
	a **mi**-iqha	bonfire	Achumi 1998b:4.221
	a **mi**-kuchughe-ghe	smolder / glow	Achumi 1998b:4.23
	a **mi**-kuqü	kindle / set fire to (vt.)	Achumi 1998b:4.21
	a **mi**-mili	flame	Achumi 1998b:4.11
	a **mi**-müba	spark	Achumi 1998b:4.12
	a **mi** chi	smoke	Achumi 1998b:4.13
	a **mi** khi	smoke	Achumi 1998b:4.13
	a **mi** kufupu	bellows	Marrison 1967
	a **mi** sü	light (ignite) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	a **mi** tüghü	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967
	a **mi** yi	coal	Achumi 1998b:7.6
	a tha, a **mi** zü	oil	Marrison 1967 [a]

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	cha **mi**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	cha **mi** thiu	burn (v.)	Marrison 1967
	che **mi** bung	lamp	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **mi**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **mi**-maka	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**mei** khit	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**mai** khou	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	he **mi**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi ka	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{4}**mi**	fire	Weidert 1987:274
Mzieme	**mi**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi bung	lamp	Marrison 1967
	mi mang büt	ashes	Marrison 1967
	mi tsu	sulphur (brimstone)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *mej FIRE

**Tangkhulic*	***mej**	fire	Mortensen 2012:402
Huishu	ʔa-**mu**	fire	Mortensen 2012:Nature.062
Kachai	ʔa-**mi**	fire	Mortensen 2012:Nature.062
Tangkhul	**mei** khut	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tankghul (Central)	**mai**	fire	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**mai**	fire	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**mai**	fire	Brown 1837
Tusom	**ma**	fire	Mortensen 2012:Nature.062
Ukhrul	**mej**	fire	Mortensen 2012
	mej-k^{h}ut	smoke	Mortensen 2012

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**me**	fire (n.)	Marrison 1967
	me	fire	Matisoff 1985a:047; LaPolla 1987:83; Benedict 1972:290
	mē(ʔ)	fire	Weidert 1987:137

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**mi** prap	lightning (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mjiʔ^{31}phʒap^{31}	lightning (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1606.19
	mjiʔ^{31}phʒap^{31}	flash (of lightning)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:754.47
	mjiʔ^{31}phɹap^{31}kă^{1}lam^{31}	flash (of lightning)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	myi-phrap	lightning (lit. 'fire-flash'); lightning	LaPolla 1987:83; Benedict 1972:290
	myi-than tu	fire-fly	Benedict 1972:290
	myìʔ-phràp	lightning ("fire-flash")	Matisoff 1985a:047

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**me**	fire	Benedict 1972:290

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Central)	**mu**-gu	smoke	Benedict 1972:256; Andvik 1993:56
Tsangla (Motuo)	**mu** gu	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.7
	mu^{13}hu^{55}	smoke	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**mu**-gi	smoke	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**me**^{35}gun^{55}	smoke	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**me**^{13}kun^{55}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.6
Motuo Menba	**mu** gu	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.07

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**me**	fire	Benedict 1972:290
	me-ltśe	flame	Benedict 1972:281
	me.skyogs	cannon	Sun 1985c:119

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**mje**	fire	Mazaudon 1978:14
Gurung	**mi**-kli	ashes	Matisoff 1978b
	mi guq	smoke (n.)	Hale 1973:01.081
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mi** guq	smoke	Glover 1972:1.81
	^{1}**mi**	fire	Mazaudon 1978:14
Manang (Gyaru)	**myɛ**^{2} kɯ^{2}	smoke	Nagano 1984:102
Manang (Ngawal)	^{1}**mie**	fire	Mazaudon 1978:14
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**myu** ku	smoke	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0149
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**me**	fire	Mazaudon 1978:14
Tamang (Sahu)	**'ming** ku	smoke (n.)	Hale 1973:01.081
	'miŋ ku	smoke	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.81
	^{1}**me**	fire	Mazaudon 1978:14
Tamang (Taglung)	^{1}**me**	fire	Mazaudon 1978:14
Thakali	**mi** ku	smoke (n.)	Hale 1973:01.081
Thakali (Marpha)	^{2}**mi**	fire	Mazaudon 1978:14
Thakali (Syang)	^{2}**mi**	fire	Mazaudon 1978:14
Thakali (Tukche)	**mi** ku	smoke (n.)	Hari 1971:1.81
	^{H}**me**	fire	Mazaudon 1978:14

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***mi**	fire	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	**mi** khu maŋ	smoke	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**me**-ku	smoke	Benedict 1972:256
	mi:k khu	smoke	Michailovsky 1989b
	mi: khu: ma	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:143
	mi ghu: sa	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:143
	mi khu: ma	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:143
	[mi: khuʔ]	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:143
Yamphu	**mæk** khu	smoke (n.)	Rutgers 1998:555.26

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**mi** khU	smoke (n.)	Rai 1985
Kulung	**mik** ma	smoke	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	**'mik** mō	smoke (n.)	Hale 1973:01.081

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**mi**	fire	Benedict 1972:290

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**hmeʔ**-kuʔ	smoke	Caughley 1972:1.81
	hmeʔ.kuʔ	smoke (n.)	Hale 1973:01.081; Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	mhe.ku	smoke (B) (n.)	Caughley 2000
Kham	**mih** kwi:	smoke (n.)	Hale 1973:01.081

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**mɛ**^{33}dʑi^{55}	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.18
	mɛ^{33}ndzɻ^{33}ji^{55}	gunpowder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:426.18
	mɛ^{33}rɛ^{55}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.18
	mɛ^{33}ŋkhɛ^{55}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.18
	mɛ^{55}	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.18
	mɛ^{55}ʂu^{55}	coal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:44.18
Guiqiong	**mi**^{33}zi^{55}	gunpowder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:426.17
	mĩ^{31}ta^{55}	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.16
	mi^{31}zi^{55}	gunpowder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0640.16
	mi^{55}ntɑ^{55}khø^{55}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.17
	mø^{33}xø^{53}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.17
	mø^{31}xø^{55}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.16
	mĩ^{33}tɑ^{53}	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.17
Lyuzu	(**me**^{33}) tɕe^{53}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.18
	me^{33} sæ^{53}	set on fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1317.18
	me^{33}nkhɯ^{53}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.18
	me^{33}zɻ^{53}	gunpowder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0640.18
	me^{35}	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.18
Muya	**mə**^{33}zə^{53}	gunpowder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0640.15
	mə^{53}	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.15
	mə^{53} to^{33}l̪ə^{53}	set on fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1317.15
	mə^{53} tə^{55}xə^{33}	catch (fire) / be (on fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1789.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mɯ**^{35}zɯ^{55}	gunpowder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:426.15
	mɯ^{53}	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.15
	mɯ^{53}ŋkhɯ^{35}rø^{35}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.15
Namuyi	**mi**^{55}	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.19
	mi^{55}tshɻ^{33}	coal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:44.19
	mi^{55}zɛ^{33}	gunpowder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:426.19
	mi^{55}ɣɛ^{35}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.19
	mi^{53}	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.46
	mi^{53}tɕhu^{31}	torch (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0540.46
	mi^{55} luo^{31}nphu^{35}	set on fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1317.46
	mi^{55}dzɻ^{55}	charcoal (live) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0535.46
	mi^{55}zæ^{31}	gunpowder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0640.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	(**ma**^{35}) ɬə̃^{55}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.10
	(**mɐ**^{35}) ʂẽ^{55}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.10

[a] Hutton 1921 (The Sema Nagas), p. 430: 'atha *(fat)*, amizü (*kerosine* [sic.], lit. *"fire-water"*)'.

	mu^{55}zɻ^{55}	gunpowder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0640.10
	mɐ^{35}	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.10
	mɐ^{11} thə^{11}lə^{55}	set on fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1317.10
	mɐ^{11}phzʮ̃^{55}	tube (bamboo) for blowing on a fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0567.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**mɐ**^{13}dʒɑ̃u^{55}	tube (bamboo) for blowing on a fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0567.09
	mɐ^{13}lɛ̃^{55}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.09
	mɐ^{13}pɑ^{55}	set on fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1317.09
	mɐ^{13}tsyi^{55}	tongs (fire) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0566.09
	mɐ^{55}	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**mɐ**^{13}	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.11
	mɐ^{13}khuɑ^{13}	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.11
	mɐ^{13}lɛ̃^{55}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.11
	mɐ^{13}zi^{55}	gunpowder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:426.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ma**^{35}liã^{55}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.10
	mɐ^{35}	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.10
	mɐ^{35}ze^{53}	gunpowder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:426.10
Qiang (Longxi)	(**mò**) thò	hot, of soup, e.g. (temp) [fire-b]	Evans 1999:2128
	(**mù**) lé	warm self by fire	Evans 1999:2108
	mù guá kì	fireplace	Evans 1999:693
	mù khú	smoke	Evans 1999:21
	mù phú liù	tube for blowing on fire [fire-light/blow-?]	Evans 1999:788
	mú	fire	Evans 1999:20
	mú dʑí	gunpowder	Evans 1999:909
	mú-gú	torch [fire-m]	Evans 1999:750
	sò í-**mú**-gú	vegetable oil lamp [vegetable.oil-fire-m]	Evans 1999:739
	tshà **mú** tsì	flint, stone for fire	Evans 1999:746
Qiang (Mawo)	(**mə**) tsə	light (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1268.08
	mu dʒu	gunpowder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0640.08
	mu liu	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.08
	mu xu	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.8
	mu xu̯	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.08
	mu xu̯ tə tʂhɑ	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.08
	mu ɣuə	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.8
	mə	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.08
	mə	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.8
	mə dɛw	catch (fire) / be (on fire) (on mountain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1789.08
	mə tsə	set on fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1317.08
	mə βa	gunpowder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:426.8
	mə li	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.8
	tu **mu** xu̯	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	miá-**mù**-ɕà	pine torch [pine-fire-bright]	Evans 1999:488
	mù bó	fireplace, firepit	Evans 1999:693
	mù kɛ́	live coal	Evans 1999:745
	mù-ɕà-phó	pine tree [fire-resin-tree]	Evans 1999:485
	mú	fire	Evans 1999:20
	mú phù	light a fire	Evans 1999:2309
	mú-khuɛ̀	warm self by fire [fire-roast]	Evans 1999:2108
	mú-phù-diò	tube for blowing on fire [fire-light/blow-door]	Evans 1999:788
	mú-tsù	kindle [fire-ignite]	Evans 1999:1815
	mè-ɕà	lamp [fire-bright?]	Evans 1999:737
Qiang (Taoping)	**mi**^{33}	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.9
	mi^{31}khye^{33}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.9
	mi^{55}ʂɻ^{31}	gunpowder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:426.9
	mi^{55}ʁo^{31}	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	(**mɔ**^{13}) ə^{55}tɕhye^{55}	catch (fire) / be (on fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1789.13
	mɔ^{13}	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.13
	mɔ^{13}ku^{13}	set on fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1317.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**mə**^{35}thɐ^{53}	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.16
	mɐ^{35}	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.16
	mɐ^{35}zi^{53}	gunpowder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:426.16
Xumi	(**ŋɛ**^{35}) tsɪ^{53}	light (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1268.17
	mɐ^{33}zɛ^{53}	gunpowder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:426.20
	ŋɛ^{33}khuɛ^{53}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.17
	ŋɛ^{33}khuɛ^{55}	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.17
	ŋɛ^{33}kɔ̃^{35}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.20
	ŋɛ^{33}qhuɐ^{55}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.20
	ŋɛ^{33}tsi^{53}	set on fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1317.17
	ŋɛ^{33}zi^{55}	catch (fire) / be (on fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1789.17
	ŋɛ^{35}	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.17
	ŋɛ^{35}	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**me**^{33}zə^{33}	gunpowder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0640.14
	ŋʌ^{13}	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.14
	ŋʌ^{13} tə^{55}ʂti^{55}	catch (fire) / be (on fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1789.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	**mɯ** ŋʑɯ	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.14
Daofu	**m** khə	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.12
	m khə	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.12
Ergong (Danba)	**m** khɯ lɯ	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.14
	wmɯ	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.14
	wmɯ tɕho	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.14
Daofu	**ɣmə**	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.12
	ɣmə ɣmɛ bə tu	tube (bamboo) for blowing on a fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0567.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	ti **mi**	fire	LaPolla 1987:83; Benedict 1972:290

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**mə** ö	smoke	Benedict 1972:256
	thəmi-səle	flame	Benedict 1972:281
	thə **mi**	fire	Benedict 1972:290

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***s/ʔ-mey**^{2} FIRE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s/ʔ-mey**^{2}	fire	Matisoff 2003a:601

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**mi**^{31}khɑu^{35}	smoke	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ni**^{31}xau^{31}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.28
	ni^{31}xau^{31}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.41
Achang (Luxi)	**mi**^{51}khau^{55}	smoke	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mi**^{55}kho^{55}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mi**^{55}kho^{55}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.40
Burmese (Written)	**mì**	fire	Benedict 1972:290
	mì-khuì	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:302
	mì-khuì ≍ ă khuì	smoke	Benedict 1972:256
	mì-rap-paùŋ	wooden fireplace	Benedict 1972:84
	mī: khui:	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi^{3}kho^{3}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.26
	mi^{3}kho^{3}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**mji**^{21}khuk^{55}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.31
Maru [Langsu]	**mjĭ**^{35}map^{55}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mji**^{21}mop^{55}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.42

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu	à-**mī**	fire	LaPolla 1987:83
	à **mì**	fire	Weidert 1987:274
Lahu (Lancang)	ɑ^{31}**mi**^{11}	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.43
	ɑ^{31}**mi**^{11}mɤ^{54}ɔ^{31}dɛ^{1}	tube (bamboo) for blowing on a fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0567.43
	ɑ^{31}**mi**^{11}tu^{35}	set on fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1317.43
Lahu (Black)	à-**mī**	fire	Matisoff 1985a:047
	ʌ^{31}**mi**^{31}	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.33
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{2}**mi**^{5}	fire	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**mu**˩ȷɲy˥	fire tongs	Michaud 2006–2009:1170
	mv˥kwɤ˥	warm oneself at a fire (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2883
	mv˥ʈʂv˥	start a fire (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3151
	mv˩	fire	Michaud 2006–2009:48
Na (Yongning)	**mv**˥	fire	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˩kʰɯ˩	put on fire (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˩qæ˥ɻ˩	start a fire (as an act of destruction/war) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˩tsʰo˩	firewood full of resin, used to start a fire	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**mi**^{33}	fire (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0018.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mi**^{33}	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.28
Naxi	**mi**^{33}dzɻ^{33}	catch (fire) / be (on fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1789.45
	mi^{33}gæ^{21}	tongs (fire) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0566.45
	mi^{33}ʐɚ^{21}khɯ^{55}	set on fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1317.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**mv**^{33}	fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:45.29

7. KARENIC: ***hme**^{B} FIRE

**Karen*	***hme**^{B}	fire	Luangthongkum 2013:114
**Karen [Burling]*	***me**^{2}	fire	Luangthongkum 2013:114
Bwe	**mɪ**^{33}	fire	Luangthongkum 2013:114
Kayah	**mi**^{11}	fire	Luangthongkum 2013:114
Kayan	**mai**^{11}	fire	Luangthongkum 2013:114
Kayaw	**mi**	fire	Luangthongkum 2013:114
Pa-O (Southern)	**me**^{33}	fire	Luangthongkum 2013:114
Pa-O (Northern)	**me**^{55}	fire	Luangthongkum 2013:114
Pwo (Northern)	**mi**^{33}	fire	Luangthongkum 2013:114
Pwo (Southern)	**mi**^{55}	fire	Luangthongkum 2013:114
Sgaw (Northern)	**me**$^{31\sim}$	fire	Luangthongkum 2013:114
Sgaw (Southern)	**me**^{45,}	fire	Luangthongkum 2013:114

Chinese comparandum

燬 OC ***χmi̱wər**, *GSR* #583e 'burn'; B & S 2011: ***m̥əjʔ**; Mand. **huǐ**.
毀 OC ***χi̱wǎr**, *GSR* #356a 'demolish (by fire)'; B & S 2011: ***m̥ajʔ {[m̥] (r)ajʔ}**; Mand. **huǐ**.
燬 OC ***χi̱wǎr**, *GSR* #356b 'fire (blazing)'; Coblin 86:79: ST ****myəy ~ səy/smyəy** > OC ***hmjərx**; Mand. **huǐ**.
火 OC ***χwâr**, *GSR* #353a-c 'fire'; Coblin 86:79: ST ****myəy ~ səy/smyəy** > OC ***hmərx**; Mand. **huǒ**.

(16) PTB *pla ASHES

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pla**	ashes	Weidert 1987:182; Benedict 1972:137

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	*tV-**pla**	ashes	Burling 1959:440

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	ha?-to **plá?**	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
Dimasa	tha **pla**	ashes	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:137
Kokborok	tʰa-**pla**	ash	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	hat o **pla**	ashes	Weidert 1987:182

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	tap-**pra**	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
	ta **pra**	ashes	Benedict 1972:137

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	tha **pyra**	ashes (n.)	van Breugel 2008

2.1.2. BODIC

Tshona (Wenlang)	**blɑ**^{35}	ashes	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**plʌ**^{13}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.6

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**prú**	ash (n.)	Plaisier 2007
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**pjɑ**^{22}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.40
Burmese (Written)	**pra**	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
	prā	ashes	Marrison 1967
	pra	ashes	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:137
	pra^{2}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.39
Marma	**pra**	ashes	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:103
7. KARENIC: ***pha**^{B} ASHES, FIREPLACE			
**Karen*	***pha**^{B}	ashes, fireplace	Luangthongkum 2013:6 [a]
Kayah	**phe**^{11}	ashes, fireplace	Luangthongkum 2013:6
Kayan (Pekon)	mę́ **p**^{h}**â**	ashes [lit. fire-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**pha**^{11}	ashes, fireplace	Luangthongkum 2013:6
Kayaw	**pha**^{11}	ashes, fireplace	Luangthongkum 2013:6
Pa-O	**pha**	ashes	Benedict 1972:133n364
Pa-O (Southern)	**pha**^{33}	ashes, fireplace	Luangthongkum 2013:6
Pa-O (Northern)	**pha**^{55}	ashes, fireplace	Luangthongkum 2013:6
Sgaw (Northern)	**pha**$^{31\sim}$	ashes, fireplace	Luangthongkum 2013:6
Sgaw (Southern)	**pha**$^{45\prime}$	ashes, fireplace	Luangthongkum 2013:6

[a] [Source Note] In some N.Sgaw varieties phla$^{11\cdot\cdot}$~pha$^{11\cdot\cdot}$ means 'fireplace'.

(17) PTB *la ASHES

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Rengma (Northern)	^{1}a^{1}ni^{2}ka^{2}**la**	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***la** ASHES			
**Tangkhulic*	***la**	ashes	Mortensen 2012:314
Kachai	fɐt-**lu**	ash; cinder; ashes	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012:Nature.068
Tangkhul	hot **la**	ashes	Marrison 1967
	^{1}hot^{2}**la**	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
	^{1}hot^{1}**la**	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
Ukhrul	hot-**la**	ashes	Mortensen 2012
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	phe **lo**	ashes	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:137
	phe **lō(ʔ)**	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
	thek **lo**	ashes	Marrison 1967
	thek **lō(ʔ)**	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	tap **la**	ashes	Marrison 1967
	tʌp-^{2}**la**	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Konyak	tüp **la**	dust (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tüp **la**	ashes	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	wʌn-**lá**	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
Konyak (Wakching)	a-**lá**	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
Phom	dap^{33}**læ**^{31}	ashes	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	tep **la**	ashes	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**la** bu	ashes	Marrison 1967
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya [Minyak]	**rɐ**^{35}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.15
Namuyi	**la**^{35}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.19
Pumi (Qinghua)	**lyə**^{55}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**lyɛ**^{53}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.10
6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***C-la**^{1} ASHES			
**Loloish*	*(**C-la**^{1})	ashes	Hansson 1989:233
	***C-la**^{1}	ashes	Weidert 1987:182; Bradley 1979b:331-2
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɬɯ**^{35}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ɬɯ**^{55}	ashes	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɬɯ**^{55}	ashes	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	khu^{21}**ɬa**^{33}	ashes	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	kho^{21}**lo**^{33}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.25
Yi (Xide)	khɯ^{21}**ɬa**^{33}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu	qhɔ̀ʔ-**lá**	ashes	Benedict 1972:40n131
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**lɛ́**	ashes	Hansson 1989:233
Akha (Yunnan)	xhà **lɛ́**	ashes	Hansson 1989:233
Akha (Thai)	xhà-**lɛ́**	ashes	Hansson 1989:233
Bisu	khà **là**	ashes	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	xa^{31}**le**^{55}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.31
Hani (Lüchun)	xhà **lɛ́**	ashes	Hansson 1989:233
	xha **lɛ́**	ashes	Hansson 1989:76
Hani (Pijo)	khà **lí**	ashes	Hansson 1989:76
Hani (Caiyuan)	kha^{31}**la**^{55}; khɔ^{31}**li**^{55}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.30
Hani (Pijo)	**lí**	ashes	Hansson 1989:233
Hani (Gelanghe)	**lɛ**^{55}m̩^{31}	ashes	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	haq **leil**	ashes	Hansson 1989:233
Hani (Shuikui)	**l̥ɛ**^{55}v^{31}**l̥ɛ**^{55}tshɔ^{55}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.32
Mpi	kho$^{\underline{2}}$**lo**^{6}	ashes	Hansson 1989:233
6.2. NAXI			
Na (Yongning)	**lwɤ˩**	plant ash; cinders, ashes	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**luə**^{13}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.29
7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	*kh **là(h)**	ashes	Benedict 1972:40n131

(18) PTB *p^{w}ut ⩙ *hwut ASHES / DUST

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	mu-**bu**	ash; gun	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	mú-**bu**	ash	Sun 1993b
	mù-**bu**	ash-color; gun	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	mu-**buk**	ash	Sun 1993b
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***wut** ASHES / DUST			
**Chin*	***wut**	ASHES / DUST	VanBik 2009:1130
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	mē khū **vut**	ashes	VanBik 2009:1130
Thado	**vùt**	ashes	VanBik 2009:1130
	vút	ashes	Thirumalai 1972:22; Thirumalai 1972:63
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	m-**vut**	ordinary earth dust	VanBik 2009:1130
Daai	**mput**	dust	So-Hartmann 1988:24
Mkaang	**vït**	dust	So-Hartmann 1988:24
Ngmüün	**mvut**	dust	So-Hartmann 1988:24
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	(lây)-**phut**	dust, powder	VanBik 2009:334
	vut tsâam	ashes	VanBik 2009:1130
Lai (Falam)	**vùt**-tsăam	ashes	VanBik 2009:1130
Lushai [Mizo]	vai **vut**	dust (n.)	Marrison 1967
	vut	ashes	Marrison 1967
	vùt	ashes, dust	VanBik 2009:1130
	vut	reduced ashes or dust (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3110
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**ut**^{3}	ashes (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	áút [áwút]	ash	Temsunungsang 2009:1b
	a **ot**	ashes	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	o **pu**	ashes	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	u **pu**	ashes (n.)	Coupe 2007
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**mbut**	ashes	Marrison 1967
	mbut	dust (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***hwot** ASHES			
**Tangkhulic*	***hwot**	ashes	Mortensen 2012:544
Kachai	**fɐt**-lu	ashes	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	**hot** la	ashes	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**hot**^{2}la	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
	^{1}**hot**^{1}la	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
Ukhrul	**hot**-la	ashes	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**ut**	ashes	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**haʔ**-to plá?	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
Meche	**hat** o pla	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ha•**-dip-u	ashes (n.)	Burling 2003:5.421-II:idx
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Wancho	la **bu**	ashes	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN: ***k-but** ASHES			
Sak	taʔ **kəbuʔ**	ashes	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:103
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	tha **but**	dead ashes	Ebert 1997
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**phɯ**^{31}iɛ^{31}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.44
Trung [Dulong]	pɑ^{55}**pu**^{55}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	pɑ^{31}**phu**^{55}	ashes	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**bu3**ci2	ashes (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	bu^{3}ci^{2}	ashes	Brassett *et al.* 2006:1.2
	pu^{21}tshi^{35}	ashes	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**pu**^{21}tshi^{35}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.38
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**phut**	dust	Benedict 1976a

Chinese comparandum

勃 OC ***b'wət**, *GSR* #491b 'powdery (of soil)'; Schuessler 2007:171 ***bôt**; Mand. **bó**.
灰 OC ***χwəg**, *GSR* #950a 'ashes; charcoal; dust'; Schuessler 2007:286 ***xwê**; Mand. **huī**.

(19) PKC *ho(o)l CHARCOAL

VanBik (2009) sets up a PKC binome **may-ho(o)l**, with the first element meaning 'fire'.

This root bears some resemblance to PTB ***hul ⩙ *hwa(:)l** HEAT UP / BURN (§3.2.12), one of a large number of co-allofams of the complex word family PTB ***(p/b/h)(w/y)a(:)(r/l/n/t)** FIRE / BURN / SHINE / BRIGHT / LIGHT / WHITE (§3.2.12).

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ho(o)l**	CHARCOAL	VanBik 2009:703
	*may-**ho(o)l**	CHARCOAL / COAL	VanBik 2009:757
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**hol**	charcoal	VanBik 2009:703; VanBik 2009:757
Sizang	mē-**hol**	charcoal	VanBik 2009:757
Thado	mây-**hôl**	charcoal	VanBik 2009:757
Tiddim	mei^{1} **hol**^{1}	charcoal	VanBik 2009:757
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	(mây)-**hò(o)l**	charcoal	VanBik 2009:703
Lai (Falam)	mày-**hól**	charcoal	VanBik 2009:757
Lai (Hakha)	mây-**hòol**	charcoal	VanBik 2009:757
Lushai [Mizo]	**hăwl**	charcoal, the burnt part of the wick of a lamp or a candle	VanBik 2009:703
	měi **hăwl**	charcoal	VanBik 2009:757
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	méi-**héi**	charcoal, coal	VanBik 2009:757

(20) PNC *kuaŋ FLAME

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
**Northern Chin*	***kuaŋ**	FLAME	VanBik 2009:282
Sizang	**kuang**	flame	VanBik 2009:282
Thado	**kûoŋ**	flame	VanBik 2009:282
Tiddim	**kuang**^{1} > kuan^{1}	burn with flame	VanBik 2009:282
	kuang^{1} > kuan^{1}	burn with flames (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:688
	kuaŋ^{1}/kuan^{1}	burn with flames	Bhaskararao 1994

(21) PTB *kəw- $^{n}_{t}$ SMOKE

This root could take either the ***-n** suffix (as in Sunwar, Newar, and Chinese) or the ***-t** suffix (as in Jingpho).

Many languages have binomes meaning SMOKE, where the first element is PTB ***mey** FIRE (§3.2.12). This first element is sometimes "prefixized" to simple **m-**, as in Ergong/Daofu.

Many Loloish languages (e.g., Lahu **mû-qhɔ̂**) have a similar but different formation where the first element is from PTB ***r-məw** SKY / HEAVENS / CLOUDS (§3.2.1).

Lahu has a doublet derived from this etymon: **mû-qhɔ̂** 'smoke' < PLB ***kəw**^{2} **⩙ qhɔ̀ʔ-lá** 'ashes' < PLB ***kut**^{L}

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kuw**	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:302
	***kuw**	smoke	Benedict 1972:256
	***kəw**	smoke	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:461a-c
	***kəw**	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:302
	***kəw-n**/t	smoke	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:595

1.1.1. TANI: ***mə-kɯ** SMOKE

**Tani*	***mə-kɯ**	smoke	Sun 1993a:376

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	jà-mu **mù-kú**	smoke (fire)	Sun 1993b
	ja-mu **muk'**	smoke	Sun 1993b
	mu-ku	smoke; puff out smoke	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	mù-ku	tobacco	Sun 1993b
	mu-ku	tobacco	Sun 1993b
	mu-ku a-nə	tobacco (~leaf)	Sun 1993b
	mu-ku tã	smoke (tobacco) (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**mɯ-kɯ**	smoke	Sun 1993a
	mɯ-kɯ	smoke (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**mɯ kɯː**	cigarette; tobacco; smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0455.24
	mɯ-kɯ	smoke	Sun 1993a
	mɯ-kɯ	smoke (n.)	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-kɯ tɯŋ	smoke (v.)	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-kɯ tɯŋ-duŋ	pipe	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-kɯː	cigarette; tobacco	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**mɯ kɯː**	tobacco; smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:217.51; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.51
Galo	**mikɤ**	smoke; tobacco leaf	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	'mɨkə	smoke (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'mɨkə	smoky (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**mɯkkɯ**	smoke	Simon 1976
Tagin	**mɯkɯ**	smoke	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	**mɯk-kɯ**	smoke	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**muikü**	smoke	Benedict 1972:256
Damu	**mə-ki**	cigarette	Sun 1993b
	mə-kiː	tobacco leaf	Sun 1993b
Milang	ami **mik-ki**	smoke	Tayeng 1976
	mik-ki	smoke	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**mik-ki**	smoke	Sun 1993a; Benedict 1972:256

1.1.2. DENG

Digaro	nəmiŋ-**khu** ~ -**khau**	smoke	Benedict 1972:256

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***khuu** FUMES / STEAM / SMOKE (n.), ***may-khuu** SMOKE (n.)

**Chin*	***khuu**	FUMES / STEAM / SMOKE (n.)	VanBik 2009:444
	***may-khuu**	SMOKE (n.)	VanBik 2009:789

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	a **khu**	fume	VanBik 2009:444; VanBik 2009:789
Sizang	mē **hkō**	smoke	VanBik 2009:789
Thado	mêy **khùu**	smoke	VanBik 2009:789
Tiddim	**khu**[1]	smoke	VanBik 2009:789

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	me˝-**k'ü˝**	smoke	VanBik 2009:789
Cho (Mindat)	**khu**	smoke	VanBik 2009:444; VanBik 2009:789
Khumi	may-**khuee**	smoke	VanBik 2009:789

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**khùu**	fume, steam, vapor, smoke	VanBik 2009:444
Lai (Falam)	**khûu**	fume; fume, smoke	VanBik 2009:444; VanBik 2009:789
Lai (Hakha)	mây-**khŭu**	fire smoke	VanBik 2009:789
Lushai [Mizo]	**khû**	smoke, steam	VanBik 2009:444
	měi **khû**	smoke	VanBik 2009:789
	mei-**khu**	smoke	Benedict 1972:256

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	méi-**khú**	smoke	VanBik 2009:789

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	mei **khu**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***khu?** SMOKE

**Central Naga*	***khu?**	SMOKE	Bruhn 2014a:III.081
**Ao*	*mu-**khu**-ləj	SMOKE	Bruhn 2014a:II.078
Ao (Chungli)	mo **ko**	tobacco	Marrison 1967
	mo **ko** bo	pipe (tobacco)	Marrison 1967
	mo **ko** zü	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mu[2]**ku**[2]zə[2]	smoke (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.078
	mu[3]**ku?**[1]	cigarette, tobacco (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen)	mú **k^{h}ù?**	smoke (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:13
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	mú **kù?**	cigarette, tobacco (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	ma **kü**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mu **khu**	tobacco	Marrison 1967
	mu **ku** li	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mu **khu** li	smoke (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	mi[3]-**khu?**[2]	cigarette (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.081
	mo[3]-**khu?**[2]	tobacco (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.081
	me **khu**	tobacco	Marrison 1967
	me **khuku** tong	pipe (tobacco)	Marrison 1967
	o mi-e **khu**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	[3]mi-[2]**kfɯ(?)**	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:143; Weidert 1987:302
Sangtam	mi **khu**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mü **khu** tsong	tobacco	Kumar 1973a
	mü **khü** tsu	tobacco	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	mo **khü**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mo **khüh**	smoke	Kumar 1973b:62
	[1]mo ([1])**kɯ?**	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:302

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	mi **ku**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	mi **khu**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
Mao	mi **khe**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rengma	ma **khu**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Puiron	mei **khit**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	mai **khou**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***k^{h}ut** SMOKE

**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}ut**	smoke	Mortensen 2012:549
Huishu	ʔa-mu-**k^{h}uʔ**	smoke	Mortensen 2012:Nature.066
Kachai	mə-**k^{h}ut**	smoke	Mortensen 2012:Nature.066
Tangkhul	**khut**	smoke	Bhat 1969:97
	khɯ	smoke	Bhat 1969:97
	mei **khut**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tusom	ma-**kfɯ**	smoke	Mortensen 2012:Nature.066
Ukhrul	mej-**k^{h}ut**	smoke	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1. BODO-GARO: ***ku** SMOKE

**Bodo-Garo*	***ku**	smoke	Burling 1959:444

1.7.1.1. BODO

Kokborok	ha-**ku**	smoke	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	wal-**ku**	smoke	Benedict 1972:256

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	e **kũ**	smoke (n.)	Jacquesson 2005
	e **ku**	smoke	Brown 1895:69

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***k^{h}əw** SMOKE

**Northern Naga*	***k^{h}əw**	smoke	French 1983:553

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	van **khu**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa	**khʌu?**	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:143
Tangsa (Moshang)	mhé-**khwú?**	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:143

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	wan **kükh**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
Khiamngan	-[12]**kaʊʔ**	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:143
Wancho	van **kut**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	wan-**khut**	smoke (n.)	Benedict 1972:256
	wan-**khut khu**	smoke (v.)	Benedict 1972:256

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Bunan	**khu**	smoke	Benedict 1972:256
Byangsi	**khù**	smoke (n.)	Sharma 2003:451
Chaudangsi	**khu**	smoke	Krishan 2003:356
Darma	**khu**	smoke	Krishan 2003:363
Rongpo	**khu**	smoke (n.)	Sharma 2003:721
Thebor	**khu**	smoke	Benedict 1972:256

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Central)	mu-**gu**	smoke	Benedict 1972:256; Andvik 1993:56
Tsangla (Motuo)	mu **gu**	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.7
	mu[13]**hu**[55]	smoke	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	mu-**gi**	smoke	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	me[35]**gun**[55]	smoke	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	me[13]**kun**[55]	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.6
Motuo Menba	mu **gu**	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.07
Cuona Menba	me[35]**kun**[55]	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.06

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung	mi **guq**	smoke (n.)	Hale 1973:01.081
Gurung (Ghachok)	mi **guq**	smoke	Glover 1972:1.81
Manang (Gyaru)	myᴇ[2] **kɯ**[2]	smoke	Nagano 1984:102
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]myu **ku**	smoke	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0149
Tamang (Sahu)	'ming **ku**	smoke (n.)	Hale 1973:01.081
	'miŋ **ku**	smoke	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.81
Thakali	mi **ku**	smoke (n.)	Hale 1973:01.081
Thakali (Tukche)	mi **ku**	smoke (n.)	Hari 1971:1.81

2.2. NEWAR

Newar (Dolakhali)	**kũ**	smoke	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**kũ**	smoke	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**kũ**	smoke	Genetti 1990d
	kụ	smoke (n.)	Hale 1973:01.081
	kɨn	smoke	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:461a-c; Benedict 1972:159n429

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	mi **khu** maŋ	smoke	Ebert 1997
Limbu	me-**ku**	smoke	Benedict 1972:256
	miːk **khu**	smoke	Michailovsky 1989b
	miː **khuː** ma	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:143
	mi **ghuː** sa	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:143
	[miː **khuʔ]**	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:143
Yamphu	mæk **khu**	smoke (n.)	Rutgers 1998:555.26

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	mi **khU**	smoke (n.)	Rai 1985

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**ku**-ni	smoke	Benedict 1972:256
Hayu	**ku**-lu	smoke	Benedict 1972:256
Sunwar	**kun**	smoke	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:461a-c
	kun	smoke (n.)	Hale 1973:01.081
	kun	smoke	Benedict 1972:159n429
Thulung	kuy **ku**	smoke	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**-ku?**	smoke (nb.)	Caughley 2000
	hme?-**ku?**	smoke	Caughley 1972:1.81
	hme?.**ku?**	smoke (n.)	Hale 1973:01.081; Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	ku.nini	filling with smoke (onom.)	Caughley 2000
	ku?-	affect with smoke, cover with dust, soot, etc. (vit.)	Caughley 2000
	mhe.**ku**	smoke (B) (n.)	Caughley 2000
Kham	mih **kwiː**	smoke (n.)	Hale 1973:01.081

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	mɛ[33]**ŋkhɛ**[55]	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.18
Guiqiong	(mø[31]**xø**[55]) ʂu[55]	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.16
	mø[33]**xø**[53]	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.17
	mø[31]**xø**[55]	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.16
Lyuzu	me[33]**nkhɯ**[53]	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.18
	mɯʳ[33]de[53]**nkhɯ**[31]	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.18
Muya	mu[33]**khə**[53]	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.15
	tü[24]**khə̃**[33]	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.15
Muya [Minyak]	mũ[35]**khɯ**[55]	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.15
Namuyi	mu[55]**ŋkhu**[33]	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.19
	mu[53]**nkhu**[31]	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.46
	mu[55]**nkhu**[31]	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.46
Pumi (Lanping)	s **khiɯ**[13]	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.09
	tə[55]s **khiu**[55]	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	s **khiɯ**[13]	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**xio**[35]	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**khuà** pià tshɨ	fatty meat	Evans 1999:588
	khú khú	smoke meat	Evans 1999:2505
	mù **khú**	smoke	Evans 1999:21
	pià tshɨ **khuà**	fatty meat	Evans 1999:588

[a] Ao **mo** 'smoke' reflects PTB ***mey** FIRE (§3.2.12) but shows the result of vowel harmony with the root syllable.

Qiang (Mawo)	mu **xu**	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.8
	mu **xu̱**	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.08
	mu **xu̱** tə tʂhɑ	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.08
	tu mu **xu̱**	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	mù **khué**	tobacco	Evans 1999:611 [a]
	mù **qhué**	tobacco	Evans 1999:568 [b]
Qiang (Taoping)	mə^{31}**khuə**^{55}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**khu**^{53}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	ʂ**khɯ**^{55}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.13
Xumi	n̥ɛ^{33}**khuɛ**^{53}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.17
	n̥ɛ^{33}**khuɛ**^{55}	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.17
	n̥ɛ^{33}**qhuɛ**^{55}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**khə**^{55}li^{33}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.14
	ʌ^{33}**nkhʌ**^{55}	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	m **khə**	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.12
	m **khə**	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.12
Ergong (Danba)	m **khɯ** lɯ	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ snɐ **khə**	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.11
Caodeng	kɐ-sé-**k^{h}u**	smoke; fumigate	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɐ **khə**	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.11
rGyalrong	tɐ **khə**	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.12
Caodeng	tɐ́-**k^{h}u**	smoke; cigarette (n.)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	ta **khu**	smoke	Nagano 1997:4.13
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	mə **ö**	smoke	Benedict 1972:256
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***kəw^{2}** SMOKE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***kuw^{2}**	smoke	Matisoff 1978a:11
	***kəw^{2}**	smoke	Matisoff 2003a:595
	*muw^{2} + **kuw^{2}**	smoke	Matisoff 1978a:59
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	mi^{31}**khɑu**^{35}	smoke	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	ni^{31}**xau**^{31}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.28
	ni^{31}**xau**^{31}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.41
Achang (Luxi)	mi^{51}**khau**^{55}	smoke	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	n̥i^{31}**xau**^{31}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.29
	xau^{31}	smoke / fumigate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1743.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	mi^{55}**kho**^{55}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	mi^{55}**kho**^{55}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.40
Burmese (Written)	**k^{h}ûi**	smoke	Matisoff 1978a:11
	mì-**khuì**	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:302
	mì-**khuì** ≍ ă **khuì**	smoke	Benedict 1972:256
	mī: **khui:**	smoke (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi^{3}**kho**^{3}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.26
	mi^{3}**kho**^{3}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.39
	ə-**khûi**	effluvium, exhalation; smoke (mî-khûi)	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	mji^{21}**khuk**^{55}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.31
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***ko^{2}**	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:302
	***ko^{2}**	smoke	Bradley 1979b:333
PNL	**ko^{2}**	smoke	CHEN Kang 1986a:130.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Liangshan)	**khu^{21}**ɬa^{33}	ashes	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**kho^{21}**lo^{33}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.25
Yi (Xide)	**khɯ^{21}**ɬa^{33}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu	mî **qhɔ**	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:302
	qhɔ̀?-lá	ashes	Benedict 1972:40n131
Lahu (Lancang)	mv^{53}**qhɔ**^{53}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.43
Lahu (Black)	mû-**qhɔ**	smoke	Matisoff 1978a:59
	mû-**qhɔ̂**	smoke	Matisoff 1978a:11; Matisoff 1974:288
	mu^{53}**qhɔ**^{53}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.33
Lahu (Yellow)	mɣ^{3}**qhɔ**^{3}	smoke	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	mu^{21}**khu**^{21}	tobacco; smoke (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	mu^{31}**khu**^{31}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.40
	mu^{31}**khu**^{31}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.27
Lisu (Luquan)	mu^{31}**khɯ**^{31}	smoke (n.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Central)	mu^{5}-**hku**^{5}	smoke (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	mù **khù**	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:302
Lisu (Yongsheng)	ŋ^{31}**khu**^{31}	smoke (n.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**khɯ^{21}**	smoke	CHEN Kang 1986a:130.
Yi (Sani)	m̥^{55}**khɯ**^{11}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	ù **xɔ̀**	smoke (n.)	Weidert 1987:302
Akha (Yunnan)	**xhà** lɛ́	ashes	Hansson 1989:233
Akha (Thai)	**xhà**-lɛ́	ashes	Hansson 1989:233
Bisu	**khà** là	ashes	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	**xa**^{31}le^{55}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**xhà** lɛ́	ashes	Hansson 1989:233
	xha lɛ́	ashes	Hansson 1989:76
Hani (Pijo)	**khà** lí	ashes	Hansson 1989:76
Hani (Caiyuan)	**kha**^{31}la^{55}; **khɔ**^{31}li^{55}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.30
Mpi	**kho**^{2}lo^{6}	ashes	Hansson 1989:233
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	mu┤**k^{h}v**┐	smoke	Michaud 2006–2009:52
Na (Yongning)	mv┤**k^{h}v**┘	smoke	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	mv^{31}**khv**^{13}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.29
Naxi	mɯ^{55}**khɯ**^{21}	smoke (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0019.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	mɯ^{55}**khɯ**^{31}	smoke	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:46.28

[a] [Source Note] calque 'smoke'.
[b] [Source Note] calque 'smoke'.

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***kh** là(h)	ashes	Benedict 1972:40n131

Chinese comparandum

熏 OC ***xi̯wən~χi̯wən**, *GSR* #461a-c 'smoke, steam, ablaze'; B & S 2011: ***q^{h}un {q^{h}u [n] }**; Mand. **xūn**.

(22) PKC *kri(i)ŋ SOOT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***kri(i)ŋ**	SOOT	VanBik 2009:1328

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**inn** king	soot	VanBik 2009:1328
Thado	**ʔîn**-kíŋ	soot	VanBik 2009:1328
Tiddim	**in^{1}** ki:ng^{2}	soot	VanBik 2009:1328

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**trŭm**-trîŋ	soot	VanBik 2009:1328

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**chó**-chó	soot	VanBik 2009:1328

(23) PTani *mə-ǰer? SPARK

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***mə-ǰer?**	spark	Sun 1993a:389

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**mu-ǰɯr**	spark	Sun 1993a
	mú-ǰɯr	spark	Sun 1993b
	ta-grɯ **mu-ǰɯr**	match (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ta-gũ **mu-ǰɯr**	match (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**mə-ǰir**	sparkle	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-ǰir	spark	Sun 1993a

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**me-ǰer**	spark	Sun 1993a
Damu	**mɯ-tɕir**	sparkle	Sun 1993b

Volume 4

Kinship Terms, Ethnonyms, Social Roles

4.0.0 Kinship Terms, Ethnonyms, Social Roles

(1) PTB *s-braŋ NAME

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-braŋ** ⩤ ***briŋ**	name	LaPolla 1987:179

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	a^{33}**bɛ^{1}ŋ**^{33}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.52

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**bryaŋ** < sbraŋ	name	Benedict 1972:31n99
	sbraŋ	name	LaPolla 1987:179 [a]
	ʔábryáng	name (n.)	Plaisier 2007

4. Nungic

Anong	**biŋ**	name	LaPolla 1987:179
Anong (Rawang)	**biŋ**	name	Benedict 1972:31n99
Anong	**biŋ**	name	Benedict 1972:83
Rawang	**bɯŋ**^{31}	name	LaPolla 2003:749
Nung	**bɯŋ**^{31}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.21
Anong	**bɯŋ**^{31}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.44
Trung [Dulong]	aŋ-**prəŋ**	name	LaPolla 1987:179; Benedict 1972:31n99
	aŋ^{31}**bɹɯŋ**^{53}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.46
Dulong	aŋ^{55}**bɹiŋ**^{53}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.20
	aŋ^{55}**bɹiŋ**^{55}	surname / name (family) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0686.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	aŋ^{31} **brɯŋ**^{53}	name	LaPolla 1987:179
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	aŋ^{31} **brɯŋ**^{55}	name	LaPolla 1987:179
	aŋ^{31}**bɹɯŋ**^{55}	name (given)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

[a] *STC* has Lepcha **bryaŋ** 'name' "from *sbraŋ*" (p.31, fn.99). LaPolla has apparently interpreted this **sbraŋ** as an older Lepcha form, but it appears to be a PTB reconstruction (though missing an asterisk). Even Mainwaring's dictionary of Lepcha has 'name' as **a-bryaṅ** (1898:513).

(2) PTB *r-mi $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{n}\end{matrix}$ NAME / COMMAND

This etymon is attested universally in Sino-Tibetan. The variant with final dental nasal is secondary, reflecting a rather widespread phenomenon of assimilation of final velars to medial **-i-**.

The semantic association between NAME and COMMAND probably stems from the notion of a superior designating a particular person to carry out a task.

In Baxter's reconstruction, the OC forms with initial ***mrj-** are completely compatible with the reconstruction of PST prefixal ***r-**, which could easily have metathesized with the labial nasal in Chinese.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***mying**	name	Coblin 1986:111

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***mi:n**	name / order / command (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:602
	***r-miŋ**	name	Chou Fa-kao 1972:823a-e; Weidert 1987:213; Matisoff 1983:25; Benedict 1972:83
	***r/s-miŋ**	name / order / command	Matisoff 2003a:602

1.1.1. Tani: ***mɯn** ~ ***mrɯŋ** NAME

**Tani*	***mɯn**~ **mrɯŋ**	name	Sun 1993a:267

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	ar-**mja**	name (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	ar-**mjaŋ**	name (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ar-**mrjā**	name	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	pi-**min**	name	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **min**	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.24
	a-**min**	name	Sun 1993a
	a-**min**	name (v.)	Sun 1993b
	a-**min**	name	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **min**	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.51
Galo	à **min**	name	Weidert 1987:737
	'a **min**	name; noun (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'min nam	name (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
	'nə **min**	designation (nce.)	GLDC 2009
	'nə **min**-'gom cɨr	noun (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	e **min** e	name	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **min**~a **ming**	name	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**mɯn**	name	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**meː**	name	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**meː** paʔ	name (v.)	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**min**	name	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	a: **ma:ng**	name (n.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ɑ^{31}**mɯŋ**^{55}	surname; name (family); name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0686.22; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.22
	ɑ^{31}**mɯŋ**^{55}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.49
Kaman [Miju]	ɑ^{31}**mă̱ŋ**^{55}	surname; name (family); name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0686.23; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.23
	ɑ^{31}**mă̱ŋ**^{55}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.48
	ʔmàŋ	name	Weidert 1987:213

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***miŋ** ⩤ ***hmiŋ**; ***min** ⩤ ***hmin** NAME

**Chin*	***miŋ** ⩤ hmiŋ; min ⩤ hmin	NAME	VanBik 2009:776

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**min** thang	celebrated ("name loud")	VanBik 2009:399
Sizang	**min**	name	VanBik 2009:776
Thado	**mín**	name	VanBik 2009:776
Tiddim	**mín**	name	Weidert 1987:213
	min^{2}	name	VanBik 2009:776; Bhaskararao 1996:1116

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**amín**	name (n.)	VanBik 2009:776
Chinbon	**amiŋ**	name	So-Hartmann 1988:166
Daai	**ŋ-miŋ**	name	VanBik 2009:776
	ŋ̣miŋ	name	So-Hartmann 1988:166
Khumi	**amueéng**	name	VanBik 2009:776
	əmi̋n	name	So-Hartmann 1988:166
Matu	**ŋ̣miŋ**	name	So-Hartmann 1988:166
Mkaang	**miŋ**	name	So-Hartmann 1988:166
Ngmüün	**ŋ̣miŋ**	name	So-Hartmann 1988:166
Nyhmoye	**ŋ̣miŋ**	name	So-Hartmann 1988:166
Wakung	a **mi**	name	So-Hartmann 1988:166

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**hmĭn**	name	VanBik 2009:776
Lai (Hakha)	**mîn**	name	VanBik 2009:776
Lushai [Mizo]	**hming**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
	hmíng	name, reputation, fame	VanBik 2009:776
	hming	name	Bhaskararao 1996:1116
	hmíŋ	name	Weidert 1987:213
	hmiŋ	name	Benedict 1972:83
Rangkhol	**ermiŋ**	name	Benedict 1972:83

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**mò**	name (n.)	VanBik 2009:776

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**rʌmíiŋ**	name	Weidert 1987:213
Sorbung	**ar-min**	name	Brown 1837
	ʔəmín	name	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:People.104

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**ming**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
	miŋ	name	Brown 1837

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-miŋ** NAME

**Central Naga*	*a-**miŋ**	NAME	Bruhn 2014a:III.209
**Ao*	*t-**niŋ**	NAME	Bruhn 2014a:II.246
Ao (Chungli)	te **nüng**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tə^{2}-**nəŋ**^{2}	name (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.246
	^{2}tɯ^{2}**nɯŋ**	name	Weidert 1987:213
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te **ning**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	hlùtha **niŋ**-əɹ	Lotha tribesman ('Lotha' + 'name' + ANOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	nùŋsə̀ʔ **niŋ**-əɹ	ancestor, forebear ('ancient' + 'name' + ANOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tsə̀màʔ **niŋ**-əɹ	plains-dweller, Indian ('Assam Plain' + 'name' + ANOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**niŋ**	name (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**mjəŋ**^{1}	name (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.209
	o **myang**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}o^{1}**myɯŋ**	name	Weidert 1987:213
Sangtam	a **ning**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **müng**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mung	name	Kumar 1973b:64

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Ntenyi	**nyan**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	**ming**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**miŋ**	name	Brown 1837

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***miŋ** NAME

**Tangkhulic*	***miŋ**	name	Mortensen 2012:488
Champhung	a-**maŋ**	name	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-**mɐŋ**	name	Mortensen 2012:People.093
Kachai	ʔa-**mɐŋ**	name	Mortensen 2012:People.088
Tangkhul	a **ming**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}ə^{1}**miŋ**	name	Weidert 1987:82
Tankghul (Central)	o-**min**	name	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-**mi**	name	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**miŋ**	name	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔɯ-**mɯə̃**	name	Mortensen 2012:People.092
Ukhrul	ʔa-**miŋ**	name	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**ming**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
	miŋ	name	Weidert 1987:213

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	a **mén**	name	Weidert 1987:737
	men	name (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***muŋ**	name	Burling 1959:442

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**muŋ**	name	Weidert 1987:213; Bhat 1968
Kokborok	bə-**məŋ**	name	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**mʏŋ**	name	Weidert 1987:213

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**bimuŋ**	name	Benedict 1972:83
	miŋ	name (v.)	Benedict 1972:83
Garo (Bangladesh)	bap-tis-mon-ni bi-**ming**	name, Christian (nph.)	Burling 2003:7.18-II:idx
	bi-**ming**	name (n.)	Burling 2003:7.18-II:idx
	ming-a	call; name (vt.)	Burling 2003:7.18-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	bi **mung**	name (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	bi **myng**	name (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	myng-	call someone/somebody a name (v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***min**	name	French 1983:525

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**ming**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{3}**min**	name	Weidert 1987:82
Tangsa	^{2}**miŋ**	name	Weidert 1987:82
Tangsa (Moshang)	**ming**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**nyen**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ñân	name	Weidert 1987:82
Khiamngan	^{2}**ñan**	name	Weidert 1987:82
	^{2}**ñʌn**	name	Weidert 1987:213
Konyak	**min**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**mʉ́n**	name	Weidert 1987:213
Phom	**men**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mɛn^{31}	name (n.)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**min**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**mjiŋ**^{33}	name	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	mjiŋ^{33}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.19
	mjiŋ^{33}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.47
	mying	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
	myīŋ	name	Benedict 1972:31n99
	myiŋ	name	Benedict 1972:83
	śə **myìŋ**	name (v.)	Benedict 1972:31n99

	²**myiŋ**	name	Weidert 1987:213
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	a **míŋ**	name	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:188
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Baram	u **men**	name	Kansakar 2010:101
Pattani [Manchati]	**min**	name	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**mhin**	name (n.)	Hale 1973:01.100
Tsangla (Central)	**ming**	name	Andvik 1993:100
Tsangla (Motuo)	**miŋ**	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.7
	miŋ^{13}	name	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ming**	name	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**meŋ**^{35}	name (n.)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	meŋ^{35}thɔk^{55}	name (v.)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**meŋ**^{13}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.6
	meŋ^{13}thɔk^{53}	name (vt.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:516.6
Motuo Menba	**miŋ**	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.07
Cuona Menba	**meŋ**^{35}	surname; name (family); name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0686.06; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**n̥aŋ** ŋæ	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**n̥aŋ**	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**mn̥aŋ**	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.5
	n̥aŋ	name	Sun 1985a:625
Tibetan (Batang)	**mĩ**^{13}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**min**	name (n.)	Hale 1973:01.100
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**n̥in**^{55}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**miŋ**^{13}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.02
	miŋ^{15}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.2
	ry^{13}**miŋ**^{55}	surname / name (family) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0686.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**min**	name (n.)	Hale 1973:01.100
Tibetan (Spiti)	**min**	name	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**miṅ**	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ming	name	Sun 1985c:625
	miŋ	name	Matisoff 1983:25; Benedict 1972:83
	miŋ	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.01
	miŋ	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.1
	rus **miŋ**	surname / name (family) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0686.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	ri **n̥aŋ**	surname / name (family) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0686.04
	n̥aŋ	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	kú **míng**	appellation, name (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**min**	name	Mazaudon 1994:777
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mĩ**	name	Glover 1972:1.100
Gurung	**mi̥**	name (n.)	Hale 1973:01.100
	^{1}**mĩ**	name	Mazaudon 1994:777
Manang (Gyaru)	**min**^{2}	name	Nagano 1984:188
	miŋ^{2}	name	Nagano 1984:159-10
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**mĩ**	name; name (first)	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0238; Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0239
	^{1}**mĩ**	name	Mazaudon 1994:777
Tamang (Bagmati)	**min**	name	Weidert 1987:737
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**min**	name	Mazaudon 1994:777
Tamang (Sahu)	**min**	name (n.)	Hale 1973:01.100
	min	name	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.100
	^{1}**min**	name	Mazaudon 1994:777
Thakali	**min**	name (n.)	Hale 1973:01.100
Thakali (Syang)	^{51}**min**	name	Mazaudon 1994:777
Thakali (Tukche)	**min**	name	Hari 1971:1.100
	^{H}**min**	name	Mazaudon 1994:777
2.1.5. Dhimal			
Dhimal	**miŋ**	name	Benedict 1972:83
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***ʔniŋ**	name	Opgenort 2011
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	ka **niŋ** paina?	what is your name?	Ebert 1997
	niŋ	name	Ebert 1997
Belhare	**niŋ**	name, personality	Bickel 1995
Limbu	**miŋ**	name	Michailovsky 1989b; Benedict 1972:29n93
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	**niŋ_**	name	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**ni̱**	name	Driem 1993
Khaling	**nang**	name (n.)	Hale 1973:01.100
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**niŋ**	name	Benedict 1972:29n93
Thulung	**nəŋ**	name	Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**mayng**	name (n.)	Hale 1973:01.100
	miŋ-	name something (WD) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	məiŋ	name	Weidert 1987:82
	məyŋ	name (n.)	Caughley 2000
	məyŋ	name	Caughley 1972:1.100
	məyŋ-	name, describe (vi.)	Caughley 2000
Kham	**'min**	name (n.)	Hale 1973:01.100
Magar	**ārmin**	name (n.)	Hale 1973:01.100
	armin	name	Benedict 1972:83
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**mjij**	name	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2639
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**mi**^{55}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.18
Guiqiong	**mĩ**^{33}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.17
	mĩ^{31}tshɔ^{55}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.16
Lyuzu	**mi**^{35}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.18
	n̥i^{33}mi^{55}	surname / name (family) (lit. 'house name') (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0686.18
Muya	**mi**^{53}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mi**^{53}	surname; name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:516.15; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.15
Namuyi	**mi**^{33}dzu^{33}	surname	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:516.19
	mi^{33}qhu^{55}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.19
	mi^{33}dzu^{31}	surname / name (family) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0686.46
	mi^{33}khu^{53}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.46
	mi^{31}khu^{53}tɕhi^{31}tshʉ^{31}	called, be / named (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1437.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**mã**^{35}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ma**^{55}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.09
	mi^{55}mã^{13}	called, be / named (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1437.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ma**^{55}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**mə**^{35}rə^{53}	surname	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:516.10
	mɛ̃^{55}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**mò** ʁuà	surname	Evans 1999:1001.1
	zè **mú**	name	Evans 1999:1001
Qiang (Mawo)	**rmə**	surname; name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:516.8; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.8
	ʐmə	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.08
	ʐmə	called, be / named (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1437.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**mè**	surname	Evans 1999:1001.1
	mè mé	given name	Evans 1999:1002
Qiang (Taoping)	**χmə**^{55}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.9
	χmə^{55}ye^{33}	surname	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:516.9
Queyu (Yajiang)	dɐ^{55}**me**^{55}	surname	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:516.16
[Zhaba]	**me**^{55}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**rmi**^{55}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.13
Xumi	**ma**^{55}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.17
	mɛ̃^{55}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**mẽ**^{13}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.14
	mẽ^{13}ngu^{55}	surname / name (family) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0686.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**lmɯ**	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Caodeng	kə-**rmiʔ**	named; called the name of	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	te **rmi**	name	Benedict 1972:31n99
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **rmɛ**	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.11
rGyalrong	tə **rmɛ**	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə tʃəm wu **rmɛ**	surname / name (family) (lit. 'house name') (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0686.11
Caodeng	tə-**rmiʔ**	name	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	tA **rnyi**	name	Nagano 1997:46
rGBenzhen	tə-dʒəm **rme**	house-name	Sun 1997b
	tə-**rme**	name	Sun 1997b
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***mʔyiŋ**^{1}	name	Weidert 1987:213
	***ʔ-miŋ**$^{1/3}$	name	Matisoff 2003a:602
6.1.1. Burmish			
**Burmese*	*s-**miŋ**-t(i)	name (v.)	Weidert 1987:329
Achang (Lianghe)	ɑ^{31}**mjiŋ**^{55}	name	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31}**n̥iŋ**^{55}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.28
	a^{31}**n̥iŋ**^{55}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.41
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31}**niŋ**^{55}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.29
Bola (Luxi)	**maŋ**^{55}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.32
Burmese (Written)	**ămaṅ**	name	Benedict 1972:83
	amañ	name (n.)	Marrison 1967
	hmáñ	name (v.)	Weidert 1987:329
	hmaṅ	name (v.)	Matisoff 1983:25
	hmáṅ	name (v.)	Benedict 1972:83
	hmañ'	name (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	hmɛ́	name (v.)	Benedict 1972:78n241
	mañ	name (n.)	Weidert 1987:329
	mañ	name	Hansson 1989:426
	maṅ	named (vs.)	Benedict 1972:83
	mín	order; command; order, command	Chou Fa-kao 1972:823a-e; Benedict 1972:155n419
	min'	speak authoritatively, command	Benedict 1976a
	mrañ	find fault with, scold	Benedict 1976a
	nɑ^{2}**mɑn̥**^{2}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.39
	nɑɑ^{2}**mɑn̥**^{2}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.26
	ə-**mañ**	name	Benedict 1976a; Weidert 1987:213
Hpun (Northern)	ă **maíŋ**	name	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**maŋ**^{31}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**mjiŋ**^{31}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.33
Maru [Langsu]	**maŋ**^{31}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mjiŋ**^{51}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.30
	mjiŋ^{51}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.42
	myîŋ	name (n.)	Weidert 1987:213
	mʔyíŋ	name (v.)	Weidert 1987:213
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-m(y)iŋ**^{1}	name	Weidert 1987:213; Bradley 1979b:419; Hansson 1989:426
PNL	**r-miŋ**^{1}	name	Chen Kang 1986a:140.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**ʔmɯ**^{55}	name	Chen Kang 1986a:140.
Lipho	**mi**^{33}	name	Chen Kang 1986a:140.
Nasu	**mɔ**^{33}	name	Chen Kang 1986a:140.
Neisu	**mɛ**^{13}	name	Chen Kang 1986a:140.
Nesu	**mɛ**^{55}	name	Chen Kang 1986a:140.
Nosu	**mɪ**^{33}	name	Chen Kang 1986a:140.
Yi (Dafang)	**mie**^{33}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**m̥i**^{33}	called, be; name	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	m̥i^{33}ndʐo^{34}	name (nickname); nickname	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	m̥i^{34}tʂhɯ^{33}	name, assume a	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	m̥i^{34}tshu̱^{33}	name (give a name)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**mɛ**^{33}(ŋa^{21})	name (vt.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**mɛ**^{55}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mi**^{33}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.37

	mi^{55}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.24
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔmi**^{55}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.36
Yi (Wuding)	**mɘ**^{33}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.38
Yi (Xide)	**m̥i**^{33}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.35
	m̥i^{33}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**mɛ**^{33}	name	Chen Kang 1986a:140.
Jinuo	a^{33}**mi**^{33}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.34
	a^{44}**mi**^{44}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33}**m̥e**^{44}	name	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	a31 **miɛ33**	name	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**mɛ̄**	name	Weidert 1987:213
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**mɛ**^{33}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.43
Lahu (Black)	ɔ^{31}**me**^{33}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.33
Lisu	e^{55}**mi**^{44}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.27
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}**mi**^{33}	name (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}mø^{33} **mi**^{33}	name	Bradley 1994
	mi^{33}	N name; V give a name	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**mi̱**^{33}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.40

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**mjáŋ**	name	Hansson 1989:426
Akha (Thai)	tshɔ́ **mjáŋ**	name	Hansson 1989:426
Akha (Yunnan)	tshɔ́ **mjáŋ**	name	Hansson 1989:426

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	**mv**˧	family name	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧ʈʂæ˥	given name	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**mi**^{21}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mi**^{31}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**mv**^{33}	name	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:517.29

7. Karenic: ***min**^{A} NAME

**Karen*	***men**	name	Chou Fa-kao 1972:823a-e; Benedict 1972:165n442
	***mèn'**	wild / untamed / / name (homophones.)	Jones 1961:125
	***min**	name	Weidert 1987:737
**Karen [Burling]*	***min**^{3}	name	Luangthongkum 2013:198
**Karen*	***min**^{A}	name	Luangthongkum 2013:198
Bwe	**-mi**^{33}	name	Luangthongkum 2013:198
Karen	a^{31}**mi**^{33}	name (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.50
Kayah	**mi**^{11}	name	Luangthongkum 2013:198
Kayan	**mjəŋ**^{33}	name	Luangthongkum 2013:198
Kayaw	**mi**^{33}	name	Luangthongkum 2013:198
Pa-O	**mi**	name	Benedict 1972:142n384
	mīn	name	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**min**^{33}	name	Luangthongkum 2013:198
Pa-O (Southern)	**min**^{53}	name	Luangthongkum 2013:198
Pwo (Northern)	**mãi**^{55}	name	Luangthongkum 2013:198
Pwo	**mę**	name	Benedict 1972:142n384
Pwo (Southern)	**mɛ̃i**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	name	Luangthongkum 2013:198
Karen (Sgaw)	**mi**	name	Benedict 1972:142n384
Sgaw (Southern)	**mi**^{33}	name	Luangthongkum 2013:198
Sgaw (Northern)	**mi**^{33}	name	Luangthongkum 2013:198

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**li̱ĕŋ**/li̱äŋ	command	Chou Fa-kao 1972:823a-e
	mi̱ĕn	order / command	Chou Fa-kao 1972:762a-b
	mi̱ĕŋ/mi̱äŋ	name	Chou Fa-kao 1972:762a-b
	mi̱ăŋ/mi̱wăŋ~mi̱ĕn	order / command / name (n.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:762a-b
Chinese (Old)	**C-rjeng(s)**	command	Baxter 1992:597
	C-rjing(s)	command	Baxter 1992:1084
	mi̱ĕŋ	name	Matisoff 1983:25
	mjeng	name	Baxter 1992:1481
	mrjeng(s)	command	Baxter 1992:1083
	mrjing(s)	command	Baxter 1992:659

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**míng** zì	name	Evans *et al.* 1991
	mirng tzyh	name	Sun 1985b:625

Chinese comparandum

名 OC ***mi̱ĕng**, *GSR* #826a-c; B & S 2011: ***C.meŋ**; Mand. **míng**.
命 OC ***mi̱ăŋ**, *GSR* #762a-b; B & S 2011: ***mə-riŋ-s (dial.** › ***mreŋ-s)**; Mand. **mìng**.
令 OC ***li̱ĕŋ**, *GSR* #823a; B & S 2011: ***riŋ-s**; Mand. **lìng**.

4.1.0 Pronouns

(1) PTk *ʔi 1ST PERSON

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***ʔi**	1st person	Mortensen 2012:663
Kachai	**ʔi**	I	Mortensen 2012
Ukhrul	**ʔi**	1sg, I, me	Mortensen 2012

(2) PTk *ʔej 1ST PERSON

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***ʔej**	1st person	Mortensen 2012:665
Huishu	**ʔu**	I	Mortensen 2012
Tusom	**ʔa**	1sg	Mortensen 2012

(3) PTk *mɐ 3RD PERSON

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***mɐ**	3rd person	Mortensen 2012:661
Huishu	**mu**	3sg, him / her	Mortensen 2012:Pronouns.003
Tusom	ʔa-**mɯ**	3sg	Mortensen 2012

(4) PTB *ŋa-y ≍ *ka I / ME / 1st p. PRONOUN / SELF

The variant of this root with final palatal semivowel is attested in Jingpho, Central Naga, and Qiangic languages. The variant with velar stop is found in Kuki-Chin, Kiranti, and Qiangic. Bodo-Garo has a metathesized form **aŋ**, which has probably arisen from syncope of a form with an ***a-** prefix, ***a-ŋa**, which actually exists synchronically in Garo.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***ŋgaɣ/ŋgay**	I	Coblin 1986:96

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*ka ≍ **ŋa**	I	LaPolla 1987:22
	***ŋa**	I	Chou Fa-kao 1972:58f-i; Benedict 1972:406
	***ŋa-y**	1st person pronoun; self; I	Matisoff 2003a:605; Weidert 1987:197
	***ŋăy**	I / self	Matisoff 1985a:070
	***ŋay**	I, self	Benedict 1972:285
	***ŋɑ**	I	Chou Fa-kao 1972:2a-g

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	**ɡoh**^{53}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.52

1.1.1. Tani: ***ŋo:** I

**Tani*	***ŋo:**	I	Sun 1993a:214

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**ŋo**	I	Sun 1993a
	ŋó	I	Sun 1993b
	ŋo	I	Sun 1993b
	ŋo a-toʔ	myself	Sun 1993b
	ŋɯ-mi	me	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ŋu:**	I	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ŋu:-ñi	we two	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ŋo:**	I	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ŋo:	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ŋo:**	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.51
Galo	**'ŋo** kə	my (pro.)	GLDC 2009
	'ŋo m	me (obj.) (pro.)	GLDC 2009
	'ŋo pə	to me (pro.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋo	I (pro.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋo	I	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**ŋo**	I	Simon 1976
	ŋo' m	me	Simon 1976
	ŋo-ke	my	Simon 1976
	ŋo-pe	for me	Simon 1976
	ŋo k'	my	Simon 1976
	ŋo p'	for me	Simon 1976
Nishing	**ngo**	1st sg.	Das Gupta 1969
	ngu-lu	1st pl.	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	dabin **ŋa** har-to	Dabin invited me	Das Gupta 1983
	no **ŋa** ka-ya-rɤ-di	Will you wait for me?	Das Gupta 1983
	no **ŋa** ka-ɟi-ri	Will you help me?	Das Gupta 1983
	no **ŋo** hugubɤ mosit duŋ	Why do you touch me?	Das Gupta 1983
	no **ŋo** tɤnema mɯriksutoka	answer to my question	Das Gupta 1983
	ŋo miŋ-dik miŋ-ku-do	annoyed, I am	Das Gupta 1983
	ŋo m dak-rɯk-to (ka)	turn to me (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ŋo**	I	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ŋo:**	I	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ŋa**	I	Tayeng 1976
	ŋa-a-da-ŋu	myself	Tayeng 1976
	ŋa-ki-ki	from me	Tayeng 1976
	ŋak-ki	my	Tayeng 1976
	ŋak-ki legapi	for me	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**hã** dõ	from me	NEFA (India) 1963
	hã:	I	NEFA (India) 1963
	hã: thiya:	belongs to me	NEFA (India) 1963
	hã: pa:	I (only); by myself; I alone	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	xɑŋ^{35}	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.22
	xɑŋ^{35}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.49
Idu	**ŋɑ**^{35}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.50
Yidu	**ŋɑ**^{35}	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***kay ≍ *kay-maʔ** I / ME / MY

**Chin*	***kay ≍** kay-maʔ	I / ME / MY	VanBik 2009:295

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**kei**-mah	I, me	VanBik 2009:295
Sizang	**ke**-ma	I	VanBik 2009:295
Thado	**kéi**	I	Thirumalai 1972:55
	kêy	I, me, my	VanBik 2009:295
Tiddim	**kei**^{1}	I	VanBik 2009:295; Bhaskararao 1996:578
	kei^{1} ma?^{2}	I	Bhaskararao 1996:579
	¯kă/_kă	I / my; we / our (exclusive) (ppf.)	Henderson 1965
	ˊkei	I (n.)	Henderson 1965
	ˊkei _maʔ	I (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**čèi**	I	Weidert 1987:197
Chinbon	**k̰ei**	I	So-Hartmann 1988:167
	tšei	I	So-Hartmann 1988:167
Cho (Mindat)	**kei**	I	VanBik 2009:295
Daai	**k̰éⁱ**	I	So-Hartmann 1988:167
Khumi	**kaay** (pron)	I (1s)	VanBik 2009:295
	kai	I	So-Hartmann 1988:167
Matu	**kaⁱ**	I	So-Hartmann 1988:167
Mkaang	**kéⁱ**	I	So-Hartmann 1988:167
Ngmüüin	**k̰éi**	I	So-Hartmann 1988:167
Nyhmoye	**céⁱ**	I	So-Hartmann 1988:167
Wakung	**kɛ**	I	So-Hartmann 1988:167

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**kày** (maʔ)	first person singular pronoun	VanBik 2009:295
Lai (Falam)	**káy** màʔ	I, me	VanBik 2009:295
Lushai [Mizo]	**ka**	I	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:22
	kěi	I; I, I myself	Weidert 1987:197; VanBik 2009:295
	kei	I	Bhaskararao 1996:578
	kei-ma	I	Bhaskararao 1996:579
	ŋei	self	Benedict 1972:285

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**kéi** mā	I	VanBik 2009:295

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**kèi**	I	Weidert 1987:197

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**kai**	I	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***aj** I, ME (1SG)

**Central Naga*	***aj**	I, ME (1SG)	Bruhn 2014a:III.040
**Ao*	***ni**	I, ME (1SG)	Bruhn 2014a:II.242
Ao (Chungli)	**ni**^{1}	1sg (I/me) (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.242
Lotha Naga	**a**^{3}	I, me (1sg) (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.040
	a	I; me	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:72

	ai	I	Marrison 1967
	ā n̪ā	I	Acharya 1975
	ā tsà	call me	Acharya 1975
	²a(-¹na)	I	Weidert 1987:197
Sangtam	**i**	I	Marrison 1967
	²i	I	Weidert 1987:197
Yacham-Tengsa	**ngai**	I	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**i**	I	Marrison 1967
	²i [²]	I	Weidert 1987:197
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
**Bodo-Garo*	***aŋ**	I	Burling 1959:442
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**aŋ**	I	Weidert 1987:197; Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**ang**	I	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**aŋ**	I	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**aŋ**	I	LaPolla 1987:22; Benedict 1972:406
	aŋ-a	I	Weidert 1987:197
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ang**-a	I (pro.)	Burling 2003:1.62-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**ang**	I, me, first person singular (ppron.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.1.4. DEORI			
Deori/Deuri	**ã**	I	Jacquesson 2005
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: *ŋa^{A} I			
**Northern Naga*	***ŋa**^{A}	I	French 1983:506
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**nga**	I	Marrison 1967
	²ŋa-	I	Weidert 1987:197
Tangsa	**¹ŋa(ʔ)**	I	Weidert 1987:197
Tangsa (Moshang)	**nga**	I	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**nga**	I	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**ngo**	I	Marrison 1967
	ŋài	I	Weidert 1987:197
	ŋò	I	Weidert 1987:197
Khiamngan	**¹²ŋɤ-²³ɤʔ**	I	Weidert 1987:197
Konyak (Tamlu)	**gɔ**	I	Weidert 1987:197
Phom	**ngei**	I	Marrison 1967
	ŋʌy^{33}	I	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**ku**	I	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**ngai**	I	Marrison 1967
	²ŋai	I	Weidert 1987:197
	ŋāi	I; me	Matisoff 1985a:070; Matisoff 1974:107
	ŋai	I, we	Benedict 1972:285
	ŋai^{33}	I	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ŋai^{33}	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.19
	ŋai^{33}	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.47
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**ŋa**	I / me	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:413
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Baram	**ŋa**	I	Kansakar 2010:202
Kanauri	**aṅ** kō‘	in my direction / towards me (adv.)	Bailey 1911
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**ngā**	I	Hale 1973:01.001
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ŋe**^{35}	I	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ŋe**^{13}	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.6
Cuona Menba	**ŋe**^{35}	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ŋæ**	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ŋa**	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ŋa**	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.5
	ŋæ	I	Sun 1985a:381
Tibetan (Balti)	**ŋa·**	I	Rangan 1975:77
Tibetan (Batang)	**ŋa**^{231}	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**’ngā**	I	Hale 1973:01.001
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ŋa**^{13}	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ŋa**^{13}	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.02
	ŋa^{13}	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**nga**	I	Hale 1973:01.001
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ŋá**	I	Sharma 1979
	ŋo	I	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**ṅa**	I	Marrison 1967
	nga	I	Sun 1985c:381
	ŋa	I	LaPolla 1987:22; Benedict 1972:406
	ŋa	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.01
	ŋa	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.1
	ŋed	I, we (elegant); I	Matisoff 1985a:070; Benedict 1972:285
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ŋa**	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.04
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**go**	I (pron.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**ŋa**	I, me	Mazaudon 1994:216
Gurung	**ngā**	I	Hale 1973:01.001
	ngā:	I	Hale 1973:01.001
	ngāq	I	Hale 1973:01.001
	²ŋa	I, me	Mazaudon 1994:217
	¹ŋa	I, me	Mazaudon 1994:220
	¹ŋa:	I, me	Mazaudon 1994:220
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ŋa**	I	Glover 1972:1.1
	ŋaq	I	Glover 1972:1.1
	ŋa:	I	Glover 1972:1.1
Manang (Gyaru)	**ŋa**^{2}	I	Nagano 1984:413
Manang (Prakaa)	**³ŋə**	I	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0227
	¹ŋɤ	I, me	Mazaudon 1994:216
Tamang (Risiangku)	**¹ŋa**	I, me	Mazaudon 1994:216
Tamang (Sahu)	**ngā**	I	Hale 1973:01.001
	¹ŋa	I, me	Mazaudon 1994:216
	ŋa	I	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.1
	ŋa	I (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.E.10
Tamang (Taglung)	**¹ŋa**	I, me	Mazaudon 1994:218
Thakali	**nga**	I	Hale 1973:01.001
Thakali (Marpha)	**⁵⁴ŋʌ**	I, me	Mazaudon 1994:220
Thakali (Syang)	**⁵⁵ŋa**	I, me	Mazaudon 1994:218
Thakali (Tukche)	**ŋɔ**	I	Hari 1971:1.1
	ᴴŋə	I, me	Mazaudon 1994:220
2.1.5. DHIMAL			
Dhimal	**ka**	I	LaPolla 1987:22
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***-ŋa**	(first person singular marker)	Opgenort 2011
Waling	**aŋ-ka**	I	Benedict 1972:406
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**aŋa**	I; my	Ebert 1997
	ã	I	Ebert 1997
Limbu	a **ŋgaʔ**	I	Weidert 1987:197
	i **ŋga**	I	Michailovsky 1989b
	i **ŋgaʔ**	I	Weidert 1987:197
	ŋgaʔ	I	Weidert 1987:197
	ə **ŋa**	I	Benedict 1972:406
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Rodong	**ka-ŋa**	I	Benedict 1972:406
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**aŋ**	I, me.	Driem 1993
Khaling	**’ung**	I	Hale 1973:01.001
Rai	**aŋ**	I	Benedict 1972:406
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**aŋ**	my, me (pron po.)	Michailovsky 1989a
Sunwar	**go**	I	Hale 1973:01.001
Thulung	**go**	I	Allen 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**nga**	I	Hale 1973:01.001
	ŋa	I (pn.)	Caughley 2000
	ŋa	I	Caughley 1972:1.1
	ŋa.laŋ	I (ch.) (pn.)	Caughley 2000
Kham	**’ngā:**	I	Hale 1973:01.001
Magar	**ngā**	I	Hale 1973:01.001
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ŋa**	I, we [pronoun]	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2098
	ŋə	I	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1247
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**ŋø**^{35}	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.17
	ŋə^{35}	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.16
Muya	**ŋə**^{53}	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.15
	ŋɐ^{24}	be (1st person) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1628.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ŋɯ**^{55}	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.15
Namuyi	**ŋa**^{55}	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.19
	ŋa^{55}	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.46
Qiang (Longxi)	**qà**	I, me	Evans 1999:1359
Qiang (Mawo)	**ka**	I	LaPolla 1987:22
	qɑ	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.08
	qɑ	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**ŋà**	I (nominative)	Evans 1999:1359
	ŋà-lè-(nà-qó)	we two [I-he-two-CL]	Evans 1999:1360
Qiang (Taoping)	**ŋɑ**^{55}; **qɑ**^{55}	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ŋa**^{35}	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ŋa**^{13}	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.13
	ŋɯ^{13}	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.13
Xumi	**ŋa**^{55}	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.17
	ŋɛ^{35}	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.17
	ŋɐ^{55}	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ŋa**^{13}	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**ŋa**	I (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ŋɛ**	I	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:969.14
Nyagrong Minyag (Ganzi Xinlong)	**ˊŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	**ŋâ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	**ŋə**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
Ganzi Danba Geshenzha	**ŋəʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	**’ŋaʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006

rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong	**ŋa**	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	**ŋa22**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	**ŋa44**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	**ŋa44**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	**ŋa^{1}**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	**ŋaʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	**ŋaʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	**ŋaʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	**ŋaʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	**ŋaʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	**ŋaʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**ŋo**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	**ŋo**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	**ŋo**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	**ŋo**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	**ŋo**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	**ŋo**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	**ŋo**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	**ŋo**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	**ŋo**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	**ŋo**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	**ŋo**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	**ŋo**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	**ŋo44**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	**ŋo53**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	**ŋo^{3}**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	**ŋo^{3}**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	**ŋo^{3}**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	**ŋoʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	**ŋoʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	**ŋoʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	**ŋoʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	**ŋoʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	**ŋoʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	**ŋoʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	**ŋoʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	**ŋoʔ^{3}**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**ŋô**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	**ŋæʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	**ŋə**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	**ŋə**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Queyu Gala)	**ŋə**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**ŋə**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	**ŋə**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	**ŋəʔ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ŋɑ**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.11
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	**ŋɑ^{1}**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	**ŋgoʔ** / joʔ	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	ʔə **’ŋə**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	**¯ŋoˀ**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	**ˊŋo**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGyalrong	**nga**	I	Nagano 1997:42
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	**ŋa**	I, me	Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
rGBenzhen	**ŋaʔ**	I	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Anong	**ŋa**	I	LaPolla 1987:22; Benedict 1972:406
Rawang	**ŋɑ^{31}**	me (1st person pronoun)	LaPolla 2003:946
Nung	**ŋɑ^{55}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.21
Anong	**ŋɑ^{55}**	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.44
Dulong	**ŋɑ^{53}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ŋɑ^{53}**	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ŋa^{53}**	I	LaPolla 1987:22
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**gɯ^{55}**	I	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:22

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	**nga2**	I, me (pron.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	nga2duo3	I myself (pron.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ngo1	I, me (pron.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ngo2	I, me (pron.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	wo1	I, me (pron.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ŋa^{35}	I	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ŋa^{35}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.49
	ŋa^{35}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.38
Tujia (Southern)	**ŋo^{33}**	I	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ŋa^{1}**	I	Weidert 1987:197

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**ŋɑ^{55}**	I	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ŋɔ^{55}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.28
	ŋɔ^{55}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ŋa^{31}**	I	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ŋɔ^{55}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.29
Bola (Luxi)	**ŋa^{55}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.32
Burmese (Modern)	**ŋā^{3}**	I	Luce 1985:S.1
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ŋɑ^{22}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.27
Burmese (Spoken)	**ŋa^{3}**	I	Luce 1985:S.1
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ŋɑ^{22}**	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.40
Burmese (Written)	**ṅā:**	I	Marrison 1967
	ŋa	I	Weidert 1987:197
	ŋā	I	Luce 1985:S.1
	ŋa	I; me; I (cf. ŋa’)	Hansson 1989:11; Matisoff 1978a:98; Matisoff 1974:107; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:22; Benedict 1972:406
	ŋa’	(obj. and poss. of ŋa = ’I’)	Benedict 1976a
	ŋɑ^{2}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.39
	ŋɑɑ^{2}	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.26
Danu	**ŋɑ^{4}**	I	Luce 1985:S.1
Hpun (Northern)	**ŋá’**, **ŋáh**	I / my	Henderson 1986
Hpun (Metjo)	**ŋɑh**	I	Luce 1985:S.1
Langsu (Luxi)	**ŋɔ^{31}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.31
Lashi (Lachhe’)	**ŋɔ^{4}**	I	Luce 1985:S.1
Leqi (Luxi)	**ŋo^{31}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.33
Marma	**ŋa**	I / me	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:413
Maru [Langsu]	**ŋò**	I	Weidert 1987:197
	ŋɔ^{31}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.43
Taung-Yo	**ŋɑ^{4}**	I	Luce 1985:S.1
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋô**	I	Weidert 1987:197
	ŋo^{51}	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.30
	ŋo^{51}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.42
	ŋɔ^{2}	I	Luce 1985:S.1

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***C-ŋa^{1}**	I	Weidert 1987:197; Bradley 1979b:438; Hansson 1989:11
PNL	**C-ŋa^{1}**	I	Chen Kang 1986a:38.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**ŋa^{33}**	I	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	ŋa^{33}	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.47
Lalo	**ŋa^{55}**	I	Chen Kang 1986a:38.
Lipho	**ŋo^{33}**	I	Chen Kang 1986a:38.
Nasu	**ŋo^{21}**	I	Chen Kang 1986a:38.
Neisu	**ŋo^{21}**	I	Chen Kang 1986a:38.
Nesu	**ŋo^{21}**	I	Chen Kang 1986a:38.
Nosu	**ŋa^{33}**	I	Chen Kang 1986a:38.
Nusu (Central)	**ŋa^{33}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ŋa^{31}**	I	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ŋɔ^{55}**	I	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ŋɑ^{35}**	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ŋo^{21}**	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ŋa^{33}**	I; me	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋa^{34}	I; me	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋa^{55}vi^{33}	mine (belonging to me)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ŋo^{33}**	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ŋo^{21}**	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ŋo^{33}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.37
	ŋo^{33}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ŋɑ^{55}**	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ŋɑ^{55}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ŋu^{11}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.38
Yi (Xide)	**ŋa^{33}**	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.21
	ŋɑ^{33}	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**ŋo^{2}**	I	Chen Kang 1986a:38.
Jinuo	**ŋɔ^{31}**	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**ŋɔ^{42}**	I	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**ŋɔ^{42}**	I / me	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ŋɔ^{42}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.44
Lahu	**ŋă**	I	Weidert 1987:197
Lahu (Lancang)	**ŋɑ^{31}**	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.43
Lahu (Black)	**ŋà**	I / me	Matisoff 1974:107
	ŋᴀ^{31}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ŋa^{2}**	I	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**ngwa^{4}**	I / me / my	Fraser 1922
	ngwa^{4}-rgh^{5}	mine (belonging to me)	Fraser 1922

	ngwa^{4}-tá^{1}-ma^{3}	mine (belonging to me)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ŋa**^{33} ɔ^{33} dʑɔ^{21}	I hear; it is said (Pf.)	Bradley 1994
	ŋa^{44} ɔ^{33} dʑɔ^{21}	it is said; I have heard that	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ŋuɑ**^{33}	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.40
	ŋuɑ^{44}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.27
	ŋwā	I	Weidert 1987:197
Lisu (Northern)	**ŋwa**^{44}	I (P.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ŋa**^{33}	I	Chen Kang 1986a:38.
Yi (Sani)	**ŋɒ**^{33}	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ŋá**	I	Weidert 1987:197
Akha (Thai)	**ŋá**	I	Hansson 1989:11
Akha (Yunnan)	**ŋá**	I	Hansson 1989:11
Akha	**ŋá**	i	Hansson 1989:11
Bisu	**ga**	I	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**ŋá**	I	Hansson 1989:11
Hani (Dazhai)	**ŋa**^{55}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ŋa**^{55}	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.41
Hani (Pijo)	**ŋá**	I	Hansson 1989:11
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ŋa**^{55}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ŋa**^{55}	I	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ngal**	I	Hansson 1989:11
Haoni	**ŋɔ**^{55}	I	Hansson 1989:11
Hani (Shuikui)	**ŋɔ**^{55}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.32
Hani (Khatu)	**ŋuɔ́**	I	Hansson 1989:11
Hani (Mojiang)	**ŋɔ**^{55}	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.42
Mpi	**ŋo**^{6}	I	Hansson 1989:11; Matisoff 1978a:98; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ŋɑ^{4}	my; me; my, me	Matisoff 1978a:98; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Sila	**ŋɔ55**	I	Kato Takashi 2008:295

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Phu Kha	**ŋa**^{31}	I	Fried 2000

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ŋɑ˧**	1st sg	Michaud 2006–2009:4313
Naxi	**ŋə**^{21}	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ŋə**^{31}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɳɑ**^{33}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.29

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**ŋo**^{42}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.37
Bai (Dali)	**ngɔ** 3/4	I / me	Dell 1981b:289
	ŋo^{31}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ŋo**^{21}	I (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0928.48
	ŋo^{31}	I	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:969.36

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	吾	I, my	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2942
	我	we, I; I, me	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2929; Nagano & Prins 2013:2006
Chinese (GSR #)	**0002a**	we, I	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2929
	0058f	I, my	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2942

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ŋo**	I	Chou Fa-kao 1972:58f-i
	ŋû	I	Chou Fa-kao 1972:2a-g
Chinese (Old)	**ngâ**	I	Matisoff 1985a:070
	nga	I	Baxter 1992:1369; Baxter 1992:324
	ngajʔ	I	Baxter 1992:635
	ngo	I	Matisoff 1985a:070
	ŋan {ŋa[n]}	I, we	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3296
	ŋ^{ʂ}a	I, my	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2942
	ŋ^{ʂ}ajʔ	we, I	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2929

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**wǒ**	I; we, I	Evans *et al.* 1991; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2929
	wú	I, my	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2942
	wuoo	I	Sun 1985b:381

Chinese comparandum

吾 OC ***ngo**, *GSR* #58f-i 'I, we'; Coblin 86:96-7 ST ***ngaɣ** > OC ***ngag**; Schuessler 2007:518 ***ŋû**; B & S 2011: ***ŋ^{ʂ}a**; Mand. **wú**.
我 OC ***ngû**, *GSR* #2a-g 'I, we'; Coblin 86:96-7 ST ***ngay** > OC ***ngarx**; Schuessler 2007:518 ***ŋâi**; B & S 2011: ***ŋ^{ʂ}aj**; Mand. **wǒ**.

(5) PTB *ʔa PRONOUN (3RD PERS.)

This pronominal element appears sometimes as a prefix and sometimes as a suffix. See the discussions in *STC* pp.93, 121, 123, 130.

There may well be a relationship between this etymon and PTB ***ʔa(ŋ/k)-** NOUN PREFIX (§10.4.1).

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**a̱** mā	he	Thirumalai 1972:18
	a̱ má	he / she / it	Thirumalai 1972:43
Tiddim	**a**^{1} ma?^{3}	he; she	Bhaskararao 1996:1
	ă̱	he / she / it / they;his / her / its / their (ppf.)	Henderson 1965
	ă̱ _maʔ	he / she (n.)	Henderson 1965
	_ă̱	he / she / it / they;his / her / its / their (ppf.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Chinbon	**aʔ** niʔ	he	So-Hartmann 1988:169
Daai	**aʔ**	he	So-Hartmann 1988:169
Matu	**a** niʔ	he	So-Hartmann 1988:169
Mkaang	**aʔ**	he	So-Hartmann 1988:169
Ngmüün	**aʔ** niʔ	he	So-Hartmann 1988:169
Nyhmoye	**aʔ** niʔ	he	So-Hartmann 1988:169
Wakung	**a** maʔ	he	So-Hartmann 1988:169

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**a** ma	he; she; her; it; its; him; it its	Bhaskararao 1996:1; Bhaskararao 1996:2088
	a mah	he	Marrison 1967
	a ni	he	Marrison 1967

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**a**	he	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Sangtam	**a** pi	he	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**a** pi	he	Kumar 1973b:88; Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Rengma	**a**	he	Marrison 1967
Maram	**a** do	he	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ʔa** 3RD PERSON

**Tangkhulic*	***ʔa**	3rd person	Mortensen 2012:664
Kachai	**ʔu**-e	he / she	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	**a**	he	Marrison 1967
	a na	he	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	**ʔa**	he / she	Mortensen 2012

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**a** te	he	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	**a** pi	he	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**a** püi	he	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**á** ma	he; she	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:417; Huziwara Keisuke 2008:417-1

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Raji	**ai**	he	Krishan 2003:34

7. Karenic

Karen	**a**^{31}wɛ̲^{55}	he (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0934.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**a-**	he, she, it, etc. (Pfx.)	Manson 2010
	a nān	he, she, it (this is the full independent form, it also occurs as a proclitic a-) (PRO.)	Manson 2010
	a wî	he, she (used for God and others in the church) (PRO.)	Manson 2010

(6) PTk *lat SELF

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***lat**	self	Mortensen 2012:586
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**lɐt**-ko	self	Mortensen 2012
Tusom	ʔa-k^{h}ə-**le**-le	1sg:refl	Mortensen 2012:Pronouns.013
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**lɐt**-tə	self	Mortensen 2012

(7) PTB *su ≷ *s-lu WHO / INDEF PRONOUN / REMOTE 3RD PERS.

This etymon undoubted underlies the last syllable in many TB language names, e.g., Bisu, Lisu, Moso, Nasu, Nosu, Ersu, etc. I also believe that the last syllable of LAHU derives from an allofam ***s-lu**, that is also reflected by WB **lu** 'person'. This view is reinforced by the existence of language names like Lalo and Laghuu. This etymology was first suggested in JAM 1969 ("Lahu and Proto-Lolo-Burmese").

Another etymon recruited for names of Tibeto-Burman ethnic groups is PPC ***r-mi(y)-n** PERSON / MAN (§4.4.1).

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	**shi** ba	who?	Marrison 1967
	shi r	who?	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**shi** ba	who?	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. Bodic

Cuona Menba	**su**^{53}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**sə**	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**shə**	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**shə**	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**su·**	who	Rangan 1975:71
Tibetan (Batang)	**su**^{53}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'suq**	who	Hale 1973:01.006
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**shu**^{53}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**su**^{53}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.2
	su^{55}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'suq**	who	Hale 1973:01.006
Tibetan (Written)	**su**	who?	Marrison 1967
	su	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.01
	su	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**shə**	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.04

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**su**^{55}	person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:289.18
	su^{55} ma^{ɪ55}	beard	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:246.18
	sɛ^{55}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.18
Guiqiong	**sʉ**^{55}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.16
	sø^{55}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.17
Lyuzu	**se**^{53}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.18
Muya	**ɦiæ**^{24} nə^{33}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ɦiɛ**^{35}nɯ^{33}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.15
Pumi (Lanping)	**xɛ**^{55}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**xɛ**^{55}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**xɛ**^{53}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**sí**	who	Evans 1999:1390
Qiang (Mawo)	**sə**	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.08
	sə	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**ʂí** lè	who	Evans 1999:1390
Qiang (Taoping)	**sʮ**^{55}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɕe**^{55}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**shə**^{55}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**shə**	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.12
Ergong (Danba)	**sɯ**	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**sə**	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.11
rGyalrong	**sə**	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.12
Caodeng	**ʃo**	who	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	**sə́**-ke?	who	Sun 1997b

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***su**^{1}	who / remote 3rd person pronoun	Matisoff 2003a:613

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**su**^{55}	other person(s) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0941.28
	su^{55}	others / miscellaneous (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0960.28
	su^{55}	others	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:980.41
Burmese (Rangoon)	bɛ^{22}**tθu**^{22}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.27
	mi^{22}**tθu**^{22}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**lu**^{22}	person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:289.40
	lu^{22}o^{22}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.40
	lu^{22}pjo^{22}	young man	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:293.40
	mji^{22}**tθu**^{22}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.40
Burmese (Written)	bhay **sū**	who?	Marrison 1967
	lak-**su**-krway	person (rich)	Matisoff 1987
	lū	person; man (mankind)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	lu	man	Benedict 1976a
	lū-ui	old man	Marrison 1967
	lu^{2}	human being (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0167.26
	lu^{2}	person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:289.39
	lu^{2}kri^{3}	adult (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0168.26
	lu^{2}mjo^{3}	nationality	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:314.39
	lu^{2}nɑɑ^{2}	patient (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0196.26
	lu^{2}o^{2}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.39
	lu^{2}pjo^{2}	young man	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:293.39
	lu^{2}ŋɑj^{2}	lad / chap (young) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0175.26
	lū pyui	young man	Marrison 1967
	mɑŋ^{2} **tθu**^{2}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.26
	mɑŋ^{2}**thu**^{2}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.39
	sū	person	Marrison 1967
	su	who	Hansson 1989:172
	su	person (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	su-pun	rebel (n.)	Matisoff 1974:51
	su-pun	rebel	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**su**	who (< ə-bhai-su)	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	hàiŋ **lú**	this man	Henderson 1986
	lú' khù	thief ('person-steal')	Henderson 1986
	lú', **lú(ʔ)**	person / human being	Henderson 1986
Marma	**lu**	person / human being	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:146

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***hu**^{2}	Lahu	Bradley 1979b:175-2
	*ʔə **su**^{1}	who?; who	Bradley 1979b:430; Hansson 1989:172

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**sɛ**^{44}	other	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Nusu (Central)	boŋ^{55} **su**^{33}	deaf person	Dai Qingxia 1989p:245.
	boŋ^{55}**su**^{33}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	bõ^{55} **su**^{35}	dumb person	Dai Qingxia 1989o:252.
Nusu (Central)	bɔ̃^{55} **su**^{35}	deaf person	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	bɔ̃^{55}**su**^{35}	deaf person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:301.45
Nusu (Northern)	bə̃^{35} **s^{h}u**^{31}	dumb person	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	bɑ̃^{55} **su**^{31}	deaf person	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	dʐɻ^{31} ɑ^{31} **su**^{35}	blind person	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	dʐɻ^{31}ɑ^{31}**su**^{35}	blind person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.45
Nusu (Northern)	kɹɔ̱^{53} **s^{h}u**^{31}	insane person	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	shu^{31}	person; others	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986; Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**su**^{35}	person	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**su**^{35}	person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:289.45
Nusu (Central)	xɹɔ̱^{53} **su**^{35}	insane person	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	xɹɔ̱^{53}**su**^{35}	mad person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:303.45
Nusu (Central)	xɹə^{31} **su**^{35}	dumb person	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	ɦu^{35} **su**^{35}	insane person	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	m̩(u)^{55}**su**^{33}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.22
	so^{21}	others	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:980.22
Yi (Liangshan)	mo^{21}**su**^{33}	person, old	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɔ^{33}**su**^{33}	Nuosu Yi; Yi people, Liangshan	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	su^{33}	other people	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	su^{34}nɔ^{33}	person, involved	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	su^{55}	other people; people; people's; someone else's	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	su^{55}du^{33}	other family	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	su^{55}**su**^{55}	others	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	su^{55}vi^{33}	others'	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	su^{55}tsho^{33}	other people; someone else	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	ʌ^{21}**su**^{33}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**su**^{33}	others	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:980.24
	su^{33}bə^{33}	other person(s) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0941.37
	ɑ^{21} **se**^{21}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.37
	ʌ^{33}**se**^{21}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**sʮ**^{55}	others	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:980.23
	ɑ^{21}**sɑ**^{21}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.23
Yi (Weishan)	**sʮ**^{55}	other person(s) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0941.36
	ɑ^{21}**sɑ**^{21}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.36
Yi (Wuding)	nu^{33}bɒ^{33}**su**^{33}	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.38
	pɑ̱^{2}ʈɒ^{33}**su**^{33}	lame person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0203.38
	su^{11}	other person(s) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0941.38
	ɑ^{11} **se**^{33}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.38
Yi (Xide)	mo^{21}**su**^{33}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.21
	su^{55}tsho^{33}; **su**^{33}	others	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:980.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	khɔ^{33} **su**^{33}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.44
	khɔ^{33}**so**^{33}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.34
Jinuo (Youle)	khɔ^{33}**su**^{44}	who	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	su^{42}m̥ɑ^{55}	others	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**sv33**	other people	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	ɑ^{31} **ɕu**^{33}	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.43
	ɕu^{33}	other person(s) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0941.43
Lahu (Black)	**su**^{33}	others	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:980.33
	ʌ^{33}**su**^{33}	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.33
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{1}**su**^{1}	who	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	la^{3}**xu**^{2}	Lahu (nationality)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	su^{1}tshɔ^{1}	others	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	dʑæ^{21}**su**^{33}	lover; person in one's heart (poetic)	Bradley 1994
	fu^{33}khɔʔ^{21}**su**^{33}	one who was born in the year of snake	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}ɕa^{35}**su**^{33}	one who builds a house	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}khɔʔ^{21}**su**^{33}	person born in the year of the rat	Bradley 1994
	hɔ^{55}ti^{21}**su**^{33}	person who allocates and transfers goods	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}dzi^{21} je^{33}**su**^{33}	person who takes official position	Bradley 1994
	khaʔ^{21}bæʔ^{21} phɔ^{35}**su**^{33}	one who makes up rumours	Bradley 1994
	khɤ^{21}khɔʔ^{21}**su**^{33}	person born in the year of the rat	Bradley 1994
	khɤ^{35}pɔ^{33}**su**^{33}	harsh and mean person	Bradley 1994
	kwa^{21}ʃl^{21}**su**^{33}	person in charge; managerial personnel	Bradley 1994
	kwa^{33}dzu^{44} mu^{33}**su**^{33}	person who leads the dance	Bradley 1994
	kwa^{33}khi^{35} khi^{35}**su**^{33}	one who dances; dancer	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	kwɯ^{21}tæ^{55} vu^{21}zaʔ^{21}**su**^{33}	traitor who sells out the country (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	kɔ^{21}tæ^{55} vu^{21}zaʔ^{21}**su**^{33}	traitor who sells out the country (N.)	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}**su**^{33}	person who comes (N.)	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}ti^{33}**su**^{33}	diligent person	Bradley 1994
	li^{33}**su**^{33}	Lisu (N.)	Bradley 1994
	li^{33}**su**^{33} aʔ^{21}pu^{33}	Lisu cucumber	Bradley 1994
	li^{33}**su**^{33} thɔ^{21}ɤ^{21}	Lisu written language	Bradley 1994
	li^{33}**su**^{33}ma^{33}	Lisu woman	Bradley 1994
	li^{33}**su**^{33}my^{21}	Lisu area	Bradley 1994
	li^{33}**su**^{33}pha^{21}	Lisu man	Bradley 1994
	li^{33}**su**^{33}ŋɔ^{21}	Lisu language (spoken)	Bradley 1994
	li^{33}**su**^{33}ʃl^{21}	Lisu nationality	Bradley 1994
	li^{33}**su**^{33}ʃl^{21} tsi^{35}tʃl^{35}	Lisu Autonomous Region	Bradley 1994

	læ^{55}**su^{33}**	young person	Bradley 1994
	ma^{55}mi^{33}**su^{33}**	person in hell	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}**su^{33}**	old person; aged person	Bradley 1994
	na^{44}**su^{33}**	patient; one who is ill	Bradley 1994
	na^{44}**su^{33}** phja^{21}**su^{33}**	patient; one who is ill	Bradley 1994
	na^{44}ɕa^{35}**su^{33}**	one who is consulting the doctor	Bradley 1994
	ne^{55}bæʔ^{21}**su^{33}**	other people	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}**	person born in the year of the rat	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}phu^{33} ni^{35}lø^{33}**su^{33}**	pious person	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}ti^{35}**su^{33}**	faithful person; a staunch p	Bradley 1994
	phi^{21}phu^{33} ni^{35}phu^{33}**su^{33}**	person of a sanguine disposition	Bradley 1994
	phjou^{35}vu^{21}**su^{33}**	person who sells tickets (N.)	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}dʑɔ^{35}**su^{33}**	rich person	Bradley 1994
	phæ^{55}zaʔ^{21}**su^{33}**	one who extorts	Bradley 1994
	sa^{33}**su^{33}**	lover; person one misses (poetic)	Bradley 1994
	su^{33}	other person; someone else (P.)	Bradley 1994
	su^{33}	suffix for one who does something (N.)	Bradley 1994
	su^{33} ne^{33} ni^{55}wa^{33}**su^{33}**	oppressed person	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	su^{33} ne^{33} ɲi^{55}wa^{33}**su^{33}**	oppressed person	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**su^{33}**kɔ^{21}	foreign country; other country	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**su̱^{33}**	other person(s) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0941.40
	su^{44}	others	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:980.27
Lisu (Northern)	sɤ^{55}**su^{33}**	old acqaintance; one who knows; person familiar	Bradley 1994
	tha^{21}**su^{33}**	person with whom one is on good terms	Bradley 1994
	thi^{21} my^{21}**su^{33}**	person from the same village	Bradley 1994
	thi^{21} the^{21}**su^{33}**	person of the same age	Bradley 1994
	thi^{21} ʃɻ^{21}**su^{33}**	of the same clan; of the same race; of the same type of person	Bradley 1994
	thɔ^{21}ɤ^{21} sɯ^{55}**su^{33}**	intellectual; person who can read and write; scholar	Bradley 1994
	tsa^{35}**su^{33}**	naughty person (poetic)	Bradley 1994
	tshiʔ^{21}deʔ^{21}**su^{33}**	experienced person; sensible person; mature person	Bradley 1994
	tshiʔ^{21}sɯ^{55}**su^{33}**	experienced person	Bradley 1994
	tshi^{55}**su^{33}**	relative; person dear and near	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}dʑi^{44}**su^{33}**	good person	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}hũ^{33}**su^{33}**	person who takes someone else's wife by force	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}hwa^{33}**su^{33}**	person who is looking for someone	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}phe^{33} wa^{21}phe^{33}**su^{33}**	person who abandons others	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}phe^{33}**su^{33}**	person who abandons others	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}ti^{55} mi^{21}je^{33}**su^{33}**	farmer who works by himself, i.e. not in a collective	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	tshɔ^{33}ti^{55} mjø^{21}je^{33}**su^{33}**	farmer who works by himself, i.e. not in a collective	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	tswei^{55}dʑɔ^{44}**su^{33}**	guilty person	Bradley 1994
	tswei^{55}je^{33}**su^{33}**	one who commits a crime	Bradley 1994
	tø^{35}**su^{33}**	upright person	Bradley 1994
	tɕha^{33}gu^{33}**su^{33}**	person who has committed mistakes	Bradley 1994
	tɤ^{35}tæ^{33}**su^{33}**	person who runs a race	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}**	person born in the year of the rat	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɲi^{21}khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}**	person born in the year of the rat	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ɤ^{44}mæ^{44}**su^{33}**	labourer who carries things on back	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	ɒ^{11}**sɒ^{44}**	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	à **shú**	who	Hansson 1989:172
Akha (Yunnan)	à **shú** ɣà	who	Hansson 1989:172
Akha	**shú**	who	Hansson 1989:172
Hani (Lüchun)	à **shú**	who	Hansson 1989:172
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{31}**so^{55}**	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.31
Hani (Lüchun)	a^{31} **so^{55}**	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.41
	su^{55}tsho^{55}	other person(s) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0941.41
	su^{55}ɣa^{31}	other person(s) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0941.41
Hani (Pijo)	**sjhú**	who	Hansson 1989:172
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ^{31}**sɣ^{55}**	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.30
Hani (Pijo)	ɔ **sjhú**	who	Hansson 1989:172
Hani (Gelanghe)	a^{31}**su^{55}**ɣa^{31}	who	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	aɳ **sol**	who	Hansson 1989:172
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{31}**sɣ^{55}**	who	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:985.32
Hani (Mojiang)	ɔ^{31}**sɣ^{55}**	who (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0953.42
Mpi	(ko^{4})**sɤ^{5}**	who / anybody	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	li^{4} **so^{4}**	Lisu (n.)	Bradley 1979b:311
	sə^{5}	who	Hansson 1989:172

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	a^{33}**sɛ^{22}**	who?	Pelkey 2011:1120
	sɜ^{33}tɛ^{45}	3PR (others)	Pelkey 2011:1091
Southern Muji	a^{21}**sə^{33}**(-ti^{21})	who?	Pelkey 2011:1120
Phola	**si^{55}**	3PR (others)	Pelkey 2011:1091
Hlepho Phowa	a^{33}**sə^{55}**	who?	Pelkey 2011:1120
	sə^{33}mə^{55}	3PR (others)	Pelkey 2011:1091
Phuza	a^{33}**sɯ^{33}**	who?	Pelkey 2011:1120

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	lv$^{\dashv}$**sɯ**$^{\urcorner}$	Lisu	Michaud 2006–2009

7. Karenic

Pa-O	khɛ́ lí **sɔ́**	Lisu	Solnit 1989
	lâ **hù**	Lahu	Solnit 1989

(8) PTB *na-ŋ YOU / THOU / 2ND PERSON PRONOUN

As is frequently the case with pronouns, there is quite a bit of variation with this etymon. In particular, the Loloish languages have multiple reflexes for YOU (sg.), YOU (du.) and YOU (pl.). A number of languages have an open-syllable allofam, but most reflexes have the final velar nasal.

See e.g. **nɔ̀-hɨ**, **nì-hɨ**, **nì-hɨ** 'you (pl.)' (DL 792). For an analysis of pronominal paradigms in Loloish, see Matisoff 1993 ("Sangkong").

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***na-ŋ**	2nd person pronoun; thou	Matisoff 2003a:603; Weidert 1987:206; Benedict 1972:407
	***naŋ** ≷ **na	you	LaPolla 1987:56
	***nɑŋ**	thou	Chou Fa-kao 1972:94j-k
	***ŋaːŋ**	thou	French 1983:568

1.1.1. Tani: ***no:** THOU

**Tani*	***no:**	thou	Sun 1993a:427

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**no**	thou	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**nu:**	thou	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**no:**	thou; you sg.	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	no:	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.24
Bokar Lhoba	**no:**	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.51
Galo	**no**	you (sg.) (pro.)	GLDC 2009
	no	you (sing.)	Das Gupta 1963
	no lu	you (pl.)	Das Gupta 1963
	no nu	you (pl.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'no kə	your (sg.) (pro.)	GLDC 2009
	'no m	you (sg. obj.) (pro.)	GLDC 2009
	'no p	to you (pro.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**no**	you	Simon 1976
	no m	you	Simon 1976
Tagin	**no** hatɤ-do	You are late	Das Gupta 1983
	no himpu-pɤ-re?	comfortable, Are you?	Das Gupta 1983
	no hugubɤ kab dne	Why do you cry?	Das Gupta 1983
	no hugubɤ meŋrudune	Why do you moan?	Das Gupta 1983
	no hugubɤ mɤdune?	Why do you tell a lie?	Das Gupta 1983
	no hugubɤ nyar-do-ne	Why do you laugh?	Das Gupta 1983
	no hugubɤ tuŋdu-nc	Why do you push?	Das Gupta 1983
	no ŋa ka-ya-rɤ-di	Will you wait for me?	Das Gupta 1983
	no ŋa ka-ji-ri	Will you help me?	Das Gupta 1983
	no ŋo hugubɤ mosit duŋ	Why do you touch me?	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**no**	thou	Sun 1993a
Damu	maː-ru **no:**	you	Sun 1993b
	no:	you (sg.)	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ŋyi**	thou	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Yidu	**ŋo^{35}**	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.25
	ŋo^{35} ɑ^{31}loŋ^{35}	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.25
	ŋo^{35}kɑ^{31}ni^{55}	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***naŋ** YOU

**Chin*	***naŋ**	YOU	VanBik 2009:845
Anal	**náŋ**	thou	Weidert 1987:233

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**nang**	you	VanBik 2009:845
Thado	**nâng**	you	VanBik 2009:845
Tiddim	**nang^{1}**	you; you (sg)	VanBik 2009:845; Bhaskararao 1996:1170
	nang^{1} ma?^{2}	you (pl)	Bhaskararao 1996:1171
	ˊnaŋ	you (n.)	Henderson 1965
	ˊnaŋ _maʔ	you (n.)	Henderson 1965
	ˋnaŋ	your (no.)	Henderson 1965
	ˋnaŋ ˊaː	yours (no + ns.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**naung**	thou	VanBik 2009:845
Chinbon	**naŋ**	you (sg)	So-Hartmann 1988:168
Cho (Mindat)	**nang**	you	VanBik 2009:845
Daai	**náŋ**	you (sg)	So-Hartmann 1988:168
Khumi	**naang**	you (2s pronoun)	VanBik 2009:845
	naŋ	you (sg)	So-Hartmann 1988:168
	naŋ siʔ	you (pl)	So-Hartmann 1988:171
Matu	**naŋ**	you (sg)	So-Hartmann 1988:168
	naŋ miʔ	you (pl)	So-Hartmann 1988:171
Mkaang	**náŋ**	you (sg)	So-Hartmann 1988:168
Ngmüün	**náŋ**	you (sg)	So-Hartmann 1988:168
	náŋ.mi	you (pl)	So-Hartmann 1988:171
Nyhmoye	**náŋ**	you (sg)	So-Hartmann 1988:168
Wakung	**naŋ**	you (sg)	So-Hartmann 1988:168

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**năŋ**	you (pron)	VanBik 2009:845
Lai (Falam)	**náŋ**	you (pron)	VanBik 2009:845
Lushai [Mizo]	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967
	năng	thou, you	VanBik 2009:845
	nang	thou	Bhaskararao 1996:1170
	nang ni	you	Marrison 1967
	năŋ	thou	Weidert 1987:233
	naŋ	you	LaPolla 1987:56

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**ná**	you	VanBik 2009:845

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	**nàŋ**	thou	Weidert 1987:233

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	***na(ŋ)**	YOU (2SG)	Bruhn 2014a:II.238
Ao (Chungli)	**na**	thou	Marrison 1967
	na^{1}	2sg (you), thou (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.238

Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967
	nang et	you two	Marrison 1967
	nang khala	you	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	**nino**	you	Marrison 1967
	nna	thou	Marrison 1967
	nno	thou	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**nü**	thou	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	**⁴no**	thou	Weidert 1987:233
Chokri	**no**	thou	Marrison 1967
Khezha	**no**	thou	Marrison 1967
Meluri	**no**	thou	Marrison 1967
	no ri	they; you	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	no se	you two	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**na**	thou	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967
	nang rami	you	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967
Maram	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**naŋ** sam	your hair	Matisoff 1994e
	nüng	thou	Marrison 1967
	nüng niu	you	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967
	³naŋ	thou	Weidert 1987:233
Mzieme	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *naŋ 2ND PERSON

**Tangkhulic*	***naŋ**	2nd person	Mortensen 2012:662
Huishu	**no**	2sg, thou	Mortensen 2012:Pronouns.002
Kachai	**nɛŋ**	2sg, thou	Mortensen 2012:Pronouns.002
Tangkhul	**na**	thou	Marrison 1967
Tusom	**nã**	2sg	Mortensen 2012:Pronouns.002
Ukhrul	**nɐ**	thou	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967
	nang li	you	Marrison 1967
	nang tum	you	Marrison 1967
	nàŋ	thou	Weidert 1987:206

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***n(aʔ)ŋ**	thou	Burling 1959:444

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**nəŋ** táŋ	you (honorific)	Bhat 1968
	náŋ	you	Bhat 1968
	nɤŋʔ	thou	Weidert 1987:233

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**naŋ**-ni	thy	Benedict 1972:407
	naŋʔ-ko	thou	Weidert 1987:233
	naʔ-a	thou	Weidert 1987:233; Benedict 1972:407
Garo (Bangladesh)	**nang·**-	you singular (pro.)	Burling 2003:1.62-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**nang·**	you (singular), second person singular (ppron.)	van Breugel 2008
	nang·tym	you, second person plural (ppron.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *naŋ THOU

**Northern Naga*	***naŋ**	thou	French 1983:568

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967
	¹nʌŋ	thou	Weidert 1987:206
Tangsa	¹m¹**nʌŋ**	thou	Weidert 1987:233
Tangsa (Moshang)	**mnang**	thou	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**mnang**	thou	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967
Phom	**nüng**	thou	Marrison 1967
	nɯŋ[33]	you (sg.)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**nang**	thou	Marrison 1967
	naŋ ~ ŋa	thou	Benedict 1972:407
	naŋ~ na	you	LaPolla 1987:56
	naŋ[33]	you (sg.)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	naŋ[33]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.19
	naŋ[33]	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.47
	²naŋ	thou	Weidert 1987:206

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**naŋ**	you (fam)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:415

2. Himalayish

Thangmi	**naŋ**	thou	Benedict 1972:407

2.1.5. Dhimal

Dhimal	**na**	you	LaPolla 1987:56

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**-naŋ**	Second Person Singular with First Person Agent (Verbal, non-Past) (fn.)	Caughley 2000
	nāng	thou	Hale 1973:01.002
	naŋ	you (singular) (pn.)	Caughley 2000
	naŋ	thou	Caughley 1972:1.2; Benedict 1972:407
Magar	**nāng**	thou	Hale 1973:01.002
	naŋ	thou	Benedict 1972:407

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**nɛ**[55]	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.18
	nɛ[55]ɾ̩[55]	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.18
	ȵɛ[55]dzi[55]	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.18
Guiqiong	**nũ**[35]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.16
	nũ[35]	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.17
	nũ[35]ku[55]	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.16
	nũ[35]ŋi[35]pi[55]	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.16
	nũ[35]ȵi[33]pi[53]	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.17
	nũ[55]zi[55]	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.17
Lyuzu	**nɐ**[33]dza[53]	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.18
	nɐ[53]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.18
	næ[ɹ53]	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.18
Muya	**næ**[33] ni[53] nə[33]	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.15
	næ[33] nə[53]	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.15
	næ[53]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.15
Muya [Minyak]	**nɛ**[33]nɯ[55]nɯ[33]	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.15
	nɛ[53]	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.15
	nɛ[53]nɯ[53]	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.15
Namuyi	**no**[33]	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.19
	no[33]ku[55]ȵi[53]ku[55]	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.19
	no[33]χo[33]	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.19
	nuo[31]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.46
	nuo[31]ku[31] ȵi[55]ku[31]	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.46
	nuo[31]χuo[31]	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**nẽ**[11]dzã[35]	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.10
	nẽ[11]ʐɻ[35]	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.10
	ȵɯ[35]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**nɛ**[13]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.09
	nɛ[13] ʐ̩ə[55]	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.09
	nɛ[13]zã[55]	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**nɛ**[13]	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.11
	nɛ[13]zã[55]	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.11
	nɛ[13]ʐ̩ə[55]	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ȵi**[35]	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.10
	ȵi[35]dzã[53]	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.10
	ȵi[35]rə[53]	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.10
Qiang (Mianchi)	**nò**	thou, you (sg)	Evans 1999:1362
Qiang (Taoping)	**no**[55]; kuə[55]	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**na**[35]tsho[53]	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**nɯ**[13]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ȵe**[35]	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.16
	ȵe[35]na[35]	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ȵe**[13]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.13
	ȵe[13] ndze[55]	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.13
	ȵe[13]nɯ[55]	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.13
Xumi	**ni**[35]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.17
	ni[55]rɛ̃[55]	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.17
	ni[55]tsɻ[55]	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.17
	ȵi[55]	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**nu**[55]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.14
	nu[55] nɛ[55]	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**ȵi**	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.12
	ȵi ɣne	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.12
	ȵi ȵi	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ȵi** ȵɯ	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**no**	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.11
rGyalrong	**no**	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.12

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *naŋ[1] 2ND PERSON PRONOUN

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**nɑŋ**[55]	you (sg.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**naŋ**[31]	you (sg.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Written)	**naŋ**	thou; you; you, your	Weidert 1987:206; Hansson 1989:251; Matisoff 1974:108; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:56; Benedict 1972:407
Leqi (Luxi)	**naŋ**[31]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.33
Marma	**naŋ**	you (fam; to females)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:415
	naŋ-rŏ	you pl (fam; to females)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:416
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nâŋ**	thou	Weidert 1987:206
	naŋ[51]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.30
	naŋ[51]	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.42

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***naŋ**[1]	thou; you	Weidert 1987:206; Bradley 1979b:439; Hansson 1989:251

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**nɛ**[33]	you (sing.)	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	nɛ[33]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.47
	nɛ[33]tshɤ[31]	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.47
	nɛ[33]ŋ[31]jo[35]	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.47
Nusu (Northern)	**ȵi**[31]dɯ[55]	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	ȵi[31]ku[31]	you (dual)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ȵo**[31]dɯ[31]	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.45
	ȵo[31]ko[31]	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ȵo**[35]	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ȵo**[55]	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.45
Nusu (Central)	**ȵu**[55]	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.34
	ȵu[55]dɯ[31]	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.34
	ȵu[55]ku[31]	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.34

Nusu (Southern)	**ȵɔ^{31}**biε^{35}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	ȵɔ^{31}ku^{31}	you (dual)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	ȵɔ^{53}	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**na^{21}**	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.22
	na^{21}xɯ^{33}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**no^{21}**	you (plural)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	no^{21}ɣo^{34}	you (plural)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɯ^{21}ȵi^{55}	you (dual)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɯ^{33}	you (singular)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ni^{33}**	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.25
	nʌ^{33}; **nʌ^{33}ni^{21}**tʂhi^{33}	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.25
	nʌ^{33}ʨi^{21}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**nʌ^{21}**	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.26
	nʌ^{33}bɯ^{21}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.26
	nʌ^{33}ni^{21}	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**no^{21}**ke^{33}	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.37
	no^{21}ȵ^{21}ʑo^{33}	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.37
	nɛ^{21}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.24
	nɛ^{21}ni^{21}ʑo^{21}	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.24
	ȵi^{33}	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.37
	ȵi^{33}	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ȵ(ɭ)^{55}**	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.23
	ȵ(ɭ)^{55}**ni^{21}**ɑo^{21}	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.23
	ȵ(ɭ)^{33}**tsɑ^{33}**	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ȵ^{33}**tsɑ^{33}	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.36
	ȵ^{33}tsɑ^{33}nɑo^{33}	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.36
	ȵ^{55}	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ne^{55}**	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.38
	ni^{55} ȵi^{55}	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.38
	nɑ^{11}	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.38
Yi (Xide)	**no^{21}**ɣo^{34}	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.35
	no^{21}ɣo^{44}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.21
	nɯ^{21}ȵi^{55}	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.21
	nɯ^{33}	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.35
	nɯ^{33}	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.21
	ȵi^{21} ȵi^{55}	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Youle)	**ni^{55}**vu^{33}	you (pl.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**no^{33}**jo^{33}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.34
	no^{55} jo^{31}	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**nə^{42}**	you (sg.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**nə^{42}**	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.44
	nɯ^{33}ni^{33}	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.34
	nɯ^{55} ni^{55}	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.44
	nɐ^{31}	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.34
Kucong	**ȵɛ35** ȵi31 vi55	you two	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**nɔ^{31}**	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.43
	nɔ^{31} xɯ^{33}	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.43
	nɔ^{31} xɯ^{33} nɛ^{33}	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.43
Lahu (Black)	**nɔ^{31}**	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.33
	nɔ^{31}xɯ^{33}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.33
	nɔ^{31}xɯ^{33}nɛ^{31}	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.33
	nɔ̀	you	Matisoff 1974:108
	nɔ̀-hi	you (pl.)	Matisoff 1985a:186
Lahu (Yellow)	**nɔ^{2}**	you (sg.)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ȵi^{2}	you (pl.)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**na^{21}**	you (plural, short for nu^{33}wa^{21}); your (P.)	Bradley 1994
	na^{33}	you (respectful form); your (P.)	Bradley 1994
	nu^{33}	you (single) (P.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**nu^{33}**	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.40
	nu^{33}	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.27
	nu^{33} wɑ^{11}	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.40
	nu^{33}uɑ^{31}; nɑ^{31}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.27
Lisu (Northern)	**nu^{33}**wa^{21}	you (plural); you (respect) (P.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**nu^{4}**	you / your (sing.)	Fraser 1922
	nu^{4}-wa^{5}	you / your (pl.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**nɑ^{31}**(**nu^{33}**uɑ^{31}ȵi^{31}ʒo^{44})	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.27
Yi (Sani)	**nɒ^{11}**	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.39
	nɒ^{11} ȵ^{11} mɒ^{33}	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.39
	ȵ^{33}	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**nɔ́**	you	Hansson 1989:251
Akha (Thai)	**nɔ́**	you (sing.)	Hansson 1989:251
Akha (Yunnan)	**nɔ́**	you (sing.)	Hansson 1989:251
Bisu	**naŋ**	you (sing.)	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**nó**	you (sing.)	Hansson 1989:251
Hani (Dazhai)	**no^{55}**	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.31
	no^{55}ja^{33}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.31
	no^{55}ȵi^{31}ɣa^{31}	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**no^{55}**	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.41
	no^{55} ȵa^{31}	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.41
	no^{55}ja^{33}	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.41
Hani (Pijo)	**nú**	you; you (sing.)	Hansson 1989:251; Hansson 1989:251
Hani (Caiyuan)	**nɣ^{55}**	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.30
	nɔ^{31}ɣ^{33}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.30
	nɔ^{31}ɣ^{33}nẹ^{31}kɔ^{31}	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**nɔ^{33}**ma^{31}	you (pl.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	nɔ^{55}	you (sg.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**nol**	you (sing.)	Hansson 1989:251
Hani (Shuikui)	**no^{33}**ȵi^{31}ɣɔ^{31}	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.32
	nɣ^{33}thi^{55}	you (pl.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:975.32
Haoni	**nɣ^{55}**	you	Hansson 1989:251
Hani (Shuikui)	**nɣ^{55}**	you (sg.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:973.32
Haoni	**nɣ^{55}**/^{35}	you (sing.)	Hansson 1989:251
Hani (Khatu)	**nɔ́**	you; you (sing.)	Hansson 1989:251; Hansson 1989:251
Hani (Mojiang)	**nu^{33}** thi^{55}	you (pl.) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0933.42
	nu^{55}ȵa^{31}	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.42
	nɣ^{55}	you (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0931.42
Mpi	**noŋ^{6}**	you	Hansson 1989:251; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**nɔŋ31** ʔa33 ju33 la45 pən33 gai33 ʔə31	How old are you?	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:141030
Sila	**nɛ55** u33	you, ye	Kato Takashi 2008:299
	nɛ55 ɛ21	you, thou	Kato Takashi 2008:296

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	汝	you (sg.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2353
Chinese (GSR #)	**0094j**	you (sg.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2353

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**njajʔ**	you	Baxter 1992:1220
	njaʔ	you	Baxter 1992:1221

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**nyak**	you	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2362
	nyeX	you(r)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:639
	nyoX	you (sg.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2353

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**rǔ**	you (sg.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2353
	ruò	you	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2362

Chinese comparandum

汝 OC ***ńi̱o**, *GSR* #94j-k 'you (sg.)'; B & S 2011: ***naʔ**; Mand. **rǔ**.
若 OC ***ńi̱ɑk**, *GSR* #777a 'you (sg.)'; B & S 2011: ***nak**; Mand. **ruò**.
爾 OC ***ńiɑ**, *GSR* #359a 'your' ; B & S 2011: ***neʔ {ne(j)ʔ}**; Mand. **ěr**.
而 OC ***ńi̱əg**, *GSR* #982a-b 'your'; Schuessler 2007:226 ***nə**; B & S 2011: ***nə**; Mand. **ér**.
乃 OC ***nəg**, *GSR* #945a 'your' ; B & S 2011: ***nˤəʔ {nˤə(ŋ)ʔ}**; Mand. **nǎi**.

4.2.0 Roles

(1) PCC *zual-kaw MESSENGER

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***zual**-kaw	MESSENGER	VanBik 2009:1216
Lai (Hakha)	**zǔal**-kâw	messenger (usually bringing bad news)	VanBik 2009:1216
Lushai [Mizo]	**zùal**-kó	urgent messenger (n.)	VanBik 2009:1216

4.2.3 General roles

(1) PTB *gyat HERO / CHAMPION

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gyat**	hero	Matisoff 2003a:592

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**gyad**	champion	Benedict 1972:113n318
	gyɑd (-pɑ)	champion / athlete	Chou Fa-kao 1972:284b

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**g'i̱ɑt**	hero	Chou Fa-kao 1972:284b
Chinese (Old)	**grjat**	of surpassing quality	Baxter 1992:968

Chinese comparandum

傑 OC ***g'i̱ɑt**, *GSR* #284b; B & S 2011: ***N-k‹r›at {N-[k]‹r›at}**; Mand. **jié**.

4.2.4 Religious Roles

(1) PTani *mji-bu PRIEST / SHAMAN

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***mji-bu**	priest / shaman	Sun 1993a:308

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**ñi-bu**	priest; shaman	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ñu-bu**	priest / shaman	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**ñu-bu:**	priest; shaman; priest, shaman	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**ʻɲibo**	officiate (as priest) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲibo	priest; shaman (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɲi-bu	priest	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**ɲib'**	priest	Simon 1976
	ɲiby	priest	Simon 1976

4.2.5 Nobility

(1) PKC *lal CHIEF / BOSS / LORD

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***lal**	CHIEF / BOSS / LORD	VanBik 2009:1002

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**lal**	chief, lord, aristocrat	VanBik 2009:1002
Thado	**lal**	boss	VanBik 2009:1002

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**lán**	chief	VanBik 2009:1002

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**lâl**	chief, lord (only in names, e.g. Lal Ceu, meaning "shining chief")	VanBik 2009:1002
Lai (Falam)	**lǎl**	chief, lord	VanBik 2009:1002
Lushai [Mizo]	**lál**	chief, or chieftainess, a sovereign, a monarch, a rajah or ranee (n.)	VanBik 2009:1002

(2) PKC *ɓooy CHIEF / MASTER

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ɓooy**	CHIEF / MASTER	VanBik 2009:17

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**ab'oi**	chief (n.)	VanBik 2009:17
Cho (Mindat)	**bawi**	master	VanBik 2009:17

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**bòoy**	chief, lord	VanBik 2009:17
Lai (Falam)	**bôoy**	chief, lord	VanBik 2009:17

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**béi**	chief, master	VanBik 2009:17

(3) PTB *m-dzəw CHIEF / MASTER / LORD

This root was originally reconstructed as PLB ***Ndzaŋ²*** in *LTSR*:15, before the Written Burmese cognate was noted.

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**dzjij**	teacher, master	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0998
	dzju	host, lord, supervisor, leader	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3266
	ndzɯ	ruler / lord / emperor	Matisoff 1978a:68

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***m-dzəw²*** ruler / lord / emperor

**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-dzəw²**	ruler / lord / emperor	Matisoff 2003a:588
	***ndzuw²**	ruler / lord / emperor	Matisoff 1978a:68

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**cûi**	to be chief; rule (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə-cûi	to be chief; rule (be v.)	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Luquan	**nts'y^{33}**	ruler / lord / emperor	Matisoff 1978a:68
Nasu	**dzˀɭ^{33}**mo^{33}	ruler / lord / emperor	Matisoff 1978a:68

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**jɔ̂**-mɔ̂	ruler / lord / emperor	Matisoff 1978a:68

(4) PKC *maŋ RULER / CHIEF

This Kuki-Chin etymon is very likely related to the kinship term PTB ***maŋ*** BIG / ELDER (BROTHER, UNCLE) / OLD (§9.7.2), which refers to prestigious or older relatives. Cf. Lahu **mɔ̂** 'be old', **jɔ̂-mɔ̂** 'chief, lord'.

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***maŋ**	RULER / CHIEF	VanBik 2009:784

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**mang**	rule, govern	VanBik 2009:784
Khumi	**mang**	king	VanBik 2009:784

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**mâŋ**	chief, ruler	VanBik 2009:784
Lai (Falam)	**màŋ** bŏoy	chief, ruler	VanBik 2009:784

4.2.8 Marital roles

(1) PKC *klaŋ-waal BACHELOR

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***klaŋ**-waal	BACHELOR	VanBik 2009:1255

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**tang** val	bachelor	VanBik 2009:1255
Sizang	**tang** vāl	bachelor	VanBik 2009:1255
Tiddim	**tang^{1} va:l^{2}**	bachelor	VanBik 2009:1255; Bhaskararao 1996:1692

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**vâal** ≈ tlâŋ-vàal	bachelor	VanBik 2009:1255
Lai (Falam)	**văal** ≈ tlàŋ-văal	bachelor	VanBik 2009:1255
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlăng** váal	youth, a young man, a bachelor (n.)	VanBik 2009:1255

(2) PTB *s-may WIDOW / WIDOWER

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	**me**-ci	widow, widower	Tayeng 1976

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hmay*** WIDOW / WIDOWER

**Chin*	***hmay**	WIDOW / WIDOWER	VanBik 2009:882

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**mèy** thăay	widow, widower	VanBik 2009:882
Tiddim	**mei^{3}** gong^{1} (nu^{1})	widow ("female widow")	VanBik 2009:882; Bhaskararao 1996:1099

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**hmei**	left alone (be v.)	VanBik 2009:882
	hmei-nu	widow	VanBik 2009:882
Khumi	law **may**	widower	VanBik 2009:882

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	(nu/pa)-**hmăy**	widow, widower	VanBik 2009:882
Lai (Falam)	nu-**hmày**	widower	VanBik 2009:882
Lushai [Mizo]	**hmèi**-chhìa	woman, a female, a wife (n.)	VanBik 2009:882
	hmei-thai	widow	Bhaskararao 1996:1099; Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	*(a-)**hmi-**	WIDOW	Bruhn 2014a:II.204
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**mi^{1}**tsəɹ^{1}	widow (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.204
	a **mi** tzür	widow	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	**hmì** làɹ	widow (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.204
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**mi** ler	widow	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**mi?^{3}**	widow (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ē **mì**	widow	Acharya 1975
	e **mi**	widow	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:137
	^{1}e^{3}**mi(?)**	widow	Weidert 1987:480
Sangtam	cho **mi** larü	widow	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	sa **mi** pfü	widow	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	sa **mi** pfü	widow	Marrison 1967
	thenusa **mi**	widow	Marrison 1967
Mao	netopi **mi**	widow	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	chime **mi**	widow	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	sü **mai** pui	widow	Marrison 1967
Zeme	ke **mi** pui	widow	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	he **mi** paina	widow	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	ra **mei** no	widow	Marrison 1967
	ra **mei** va	widow	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	he **me** pi	widow	Marrison 1967

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yamphu	raŋ **mi?** ma	widow (n.)	Rutgers 1998:570.08

3.2. Qiangic

Lyuzu	tʂhu^{33}**mæ^{53}**	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.18
Xumi	**me^{33}**zu^{53}	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.17

4. Nungic

Nung	**mi^{55}**mɑ^{31}	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.21
Rawang	**mɛ^{33}** mɑ^{31}	widow	LaPolla 2003:294

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	meʔ^{31}**mai?^{31}**	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.28
Hpun (Northern)	mɛ̀ **mài**	widow	Henderson 1986
Marma	**mə** chə mă	widow	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:159-4

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	**mi^{31}**tʂhɯ^{55}mi^{31}	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**mu^{21}**tʂhɳ^{33}mo^{21}	widow	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Weishan)	**mɐ^{21}**tʂhɳ^{21}mɑ^{33}	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.36
Yi (Wuding)	**mɒ^{55}**tʂhɳ^{33}mu̱^{2}	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.38
Yi (Xide)	**mu^{21}**tʂhɳ^{33}mo^{21}	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**mi^{33}**ɬɛ^{33}	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.44
Kucong	**mi31** tshu31 mʌ33	widow	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***meh˅**	widow	Bradley 1979b:166-1
Lahu (Lancang)	**mɛ^{53}**tɕhɔ^{53}mɑ^{33}	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.43
Lisu (Central)	**mū^{5}**-hchï^{5}-ma^{3}	widow	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**mū^{5}**hchï^{5} (hpa^{5})	widow	Bradley 1979b:166-1
Lisu (Northern)	**mɤ^{21}**tʃhɻ^{21} nø^{33}dze^{33}	widower or widow, orphan and childless	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{21}tʃhɻ^{21}ma^{33}	widow	Bradley 1994
	za^{21}tʃhɻ^{21} **mɤ^{21}**tʃhɻ^{21}	widow or widower and orphan	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**mæ^{11}**tʂhʐ^{11}mɒ^{33}	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Lüchun)	**mi^{31}**tshø^{31}mɔ^{33}	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.41
Hani (Mojiang)	**mi^{31}**tʃhɻ^{31}mɔ^{33}	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.42

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**mɔ^{33}**tɕ^{h}y^{22}mɔ^{33}	widow	Pelkey 2011:376
Southern Muji	**mi^{21}**ts^{hɻ}ɯ^{55}ma^{21}	widow	Pelkey 2011:376
Phola	**mi^{33}**tʂ^{h}ɯ^{33}mɯ̱^{23}	widow	Pelkey 2011:376
Hlepho Phowa	**mi^{33}**ts^{h}ɯ^{33}ma^{55}	widow	Pelkey 2011:376
Phu Kha	**mi^{13}** k^{h}u^{35} ma^{53}	widow	Fried 2000
Phuza	**mɛ^{33}**ts^{h}ɯ^{55}wʌ^{33}	widow	Pelkey 2011:376

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	u˩**mie**˩ tʂ^{h}v˩ hĩ˩	widow	Michaud 2006–2009:765

7. Karenic

Karen	**mɯ^{31}**gă^{31}mɛ̱^{55}	widow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0251.50
Pa-O	**mɛ̂** mâi, pô mâi	widow, widower	Solnit 1989

(3) PCC *leeŋ-leʔ WOMAN (divorced or widow)

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***leeŋ**-leʔ	WOMAN (divorced or widow)	VanBik 2009:1070
Lai (Hakha)	**lèeŋ**-leʔ	young divorced woman or young widow	VanBik 2009:1070
Lushai [Mizo]	**léeng**-lèh	young widow or a divorced young woman (n.)	VanBik 2009:1070

4.2.10 Servants

(1) PKC *sal SLAVE / SERVANT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***sal**	SLAVE / SERVANT	VanBik 2009:675

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**sal**	slave	VanBik 2009:675
Tiddim	**´sal**	slave (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**sâl**	slave	VanBik 2009:675
Lai (Falam)	**sál**	slave	VanBik 2009:675
Lushai [Mizo]	**sal**	slave	Marrison 1967
	săl	slave (of war), captive taken in war	VanBik 2009:675

(2) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{g}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ (y)wal SLAVE / SERVANT

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***k(y)wal** ≈ **g(y)wal**	slave; servant	Matisoff 1985a:008; Matisoff 1983:73
	***kwal**	servant	Coblin 1986:131

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g(y)wal** ≈ **k(y)wal**	slave / servant	Matisoff 2003a:592

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	nok-**kol**	servant (n.)	Burling 2003:8.41-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	cha **kol**	servant (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	nok **hol**	slave (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	nok **hor**	slave (n.)	van Breugel 2008

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**khol**-mo	servant (fem.)	Matisoff 1985a:008
	khol-po	servant	Matisoff 1985a:008; Matisoff 1983:73; Marrison 1967

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

Lolo-Burmese	*gywan[1]	slave	Matisoff 1985a; Matisoff 2003a:592

6.1.1. BURMISH

Inscriptional Burmese (=Pagan)	ky(w)aun	slave	Benedict 1972:49n159
Achang (Longchuan)	tɕon[55]	servant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0183.28
Arakanese	cwen	slave	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	tʃɔn[55]	servant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0183.32
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	cun	slave	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	kywan	slave; servant, slave	Matisoff 1985a:008; Matisoff 1983:73
Burmese (Inscriptional)	kywan	slave	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	kywan	slave; servant, slave	Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:49n159
Intha	cun	slave	Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	tʃum[31]	servant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0183.31
Leqi (Luxi)	tsɔn[31]	servant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0183.33
Marma	kywaiŋ	servant	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:159-9
Maru [Langsu]	cùm?	slave	Okell 1971
Tavoyan	cun	slave	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	pi[51]tʃhan[55]su[51]	servant (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0183.30

6.1.2. LOLOISH

Loloish	*C-kywan[1]	slave	Bradley 1979b:165

Chinese comparandum

信 OC ***kwân** / ***kwɑn**, *GSR* #157l 'servant, groom'; Coblin 86:131 ST ***kwal** > OC ***kwan**; Schuessler 2007:264 ***kôn**; B & S 2011: (***k^{ws}an {k^{ws}a [n]}**); Mand. **guān**.
宦 OC ***g'wɑn**, *GSR* #188a 'servant'; Schuessler 2007:285 ***gwrâns** or ***grôns**; B & S 2011: ***g^{ws}ran-s {[g] ^{ws}r [a] [n] -s}**; Mand. **huàn**.

4.2.11 Stages of growth

(1) PTB *tsa-n ≍ *za-n CHILD / SON / RELATIVES

(1a) PTB *za-n CHILD

There is variation between the fricative and affricate initials even within the same subgroup (e.g., Qiangic, Burmish). See PTB ***tsa-n** CHILD / GRANDCHILD / NEPHEW / NIECE (§4.2.11).

This morpheme frequently occurs as the last element in compounds, with diminutive force.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

Tibeto-Burman	*tsa ≍ ***za**	child, son	LaPolla 1987:120
	*tsa-n ≍ **za-n**	child / son / relatives	Matisoff 2003a:616
	***za**	son; child; child, offspring	Weidert 1987:303; Weidert 1987:810; Benedict 1972:59

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bokar	a-**ho**	son	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. DENG

Digaro	**sa**	child, offspring	Benedict 1972:59
Kaman [Miju]	luuk[55]**sɑ[55]**	kid (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.23
	min[55] **sɑ[55]**	eyeball; pupil	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	sâ-gsìk	child	Weidert 1987:303
	sâ-gŋà	baby	Weidert 1987:152
	sɑ[55] sɑp[55]	placenta	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***θaa** CHILD / OFFSPRING / SON / DAUGHTER [a]

Chin	***θaa**	CHILD / OFFSPRING / SON / DAUGHTER	VanBik 2009:612

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**ta**	child	VanBik 2009:612
Thado	**tsâa**	child	VanBik 2009:612
Tiddim	**ta:**[1]	son	VanBik 2009:612

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**só**	son	VanBik 2009:612
	sə-má?	son in law	Weidert 1987:696
Cho (Mindat)	a **hta**	child	VanBik 2009:612
Khumi	**coo**	child	VanBik 2009:612

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**fâa**	child, offspring, son, daughter	VanBik 2009:612
Lai (Falam)	**fâa**	child	VanBik 2009:612
Lushai [Mizo]	**fâ**	offspring, a child (either a son or a daughter) (n.)	VanBik 2009:612
	fa	child, son; child, offspring	LaPolla 1987:120; Benedict 1972:59

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**sáw**	child	VanBik 2009:612

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Moyon	mik **šæ̀** ~ mìk šæ̀	eyeball	Kosha 1990:3.4.2

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	màsə̀-**za**	calf ('ox' + DIM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-hən-**za**	domestic fowl chick ('chicken' + DIM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-juŋ-**za**	stream ('river' + DIM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-nu-**za**	infant ('child' + DIM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-nu-**za**-paʔ	youngest male sibling ('younger sibling' + DIM + M) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-pá-nu-**za**-paʔ	father's younger brother ('father' + 'younger sibling' + DIM + M) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**za**-[tə]-nu	children (n.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	a **za** rü	child	Marrison 1967

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	mek a **so**	iris; pupil	Matisoff 1987 [b]
	o **sô** a-hêm	placenta / afterbirth	Grüssner 1979:36
	o **so**-a hem	placenta	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978b
	o **so**-a pe	placenta	Matisoff 1987

[a] Cf. also the PKC binome PKC ***θaa-paŋ ≍ *naaw-paŋ** YOUNG (n.) / CHILD (§4.2.11).
[b] Lit. "child of the eye."

1.7.1. BODO-GARO: ***sa** CHILD

Bodo-Garo	***sa**	child	Burling 1959:440

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	**sa ≍** ba **sa**	child, offspring	Benedict 1972:59

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	bi **sa**	child, son; child, offspring	LaPolla 1987:120; Benedict 1972:59
Garo (Bangladesh)	**sa'**-tip	womb, uterus	Burling 1992

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	myìʔ-**sha**	iris ("eye-child")	Matisoff 1987
	śa	child, offspring	Benedict 1972:59
	yung **sha**	digits, fingers / toes (except thumb, big toe)	Matisoff 1987:4

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	rha **jā**	kid (goat) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.039
Tsangla (Central)	**za ≍** ža	child, offspring	Benedict 1972:59
Tsangla	**zɑ**~źɑ	child	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:964a-j
Tsangla (Motuo)	miŋ **za**	eye	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang (Eastern)	**so** nalʔ	womb	Caughley 1990:10.4.8
Kham	**'za** sip	womb	Watters & Watters 1989
Magar	**za**	child, offspring	Benedict 1972:59

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**zjɨ** (zjɨ)	son, child	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5070

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	i[33]**zɑ[55]**	son	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.18
	zɻ[33]ndzu[55]	nephew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:343.18
Lyuzu	**z**ɻ[53]	son (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0220.18
	zɻ[53]nd**ʑ**ʉ[53]	nephew <brother's son> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0234.18
Muya	(**za**[24]) tu[55] mbə[33]	carry (a child) on the back)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1151.15
Muya [Minyak]	**za**[35]	child	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:295.15
Namuyi	**z**ɻ[33]mi[55]	woman; young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.19
	zɻ[53]	son; nephew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:343.19
	zɻ[53]mi[55]	daughter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:340.19
	zɻ[33]mi[55]	granddaughter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:346.19
	zi[53]	son; nephew <brother's son> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0220.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0234.46
	zɻ[33]mi[55]	woman; girl; daughter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0176.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0222.46
	zɻ[33]mi[55] vu[33]dz**ɻ**[55]	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.46
	zɻ[33]mi[55] z**ɻ**[33]ʁuo[31]	granddaughter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0225.46
	zɻ[33]mi[55]læ[55]mæ[55]	nun (Buddhist) (female lama) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0190.46
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**zi**[35]	son	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʑi**[13]	son (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0220.13
Xumi	**zi**[35]bɛ[33]	nephew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:343.20
	zi[35]mi[33]	granddaughter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:346.20
	zi[55]bɛ[33]	nephew <brother's son> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0234.17
	zõ[35]	son (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0220.17
	zɔ̃[33]z**ʉ̃**[55]hĩ[55]	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.20
	zɔ̃[35]	son	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.20
	zɛ[33]mi[53]	child (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0169.17
	zɐ[33]mi[55]ə[55]mi[55]	child	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:295.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**z**ɻ[13]pʌ[33]ʥjʌ[55]	son (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0220.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**ze**	son (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0220.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	tA **za**	son-in-law	Nagano 1997:45
rGBenzhen	tə-**za**	son	Sun 1997b
	tə-**za** kə-kpa	son-in-law	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**za**-mi	daughter	Benedict 1972:59

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

Lolo-Burmese	*za[2]	child	Matisoff 1978a:27

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**sà**	child, offspring	Benedict 1972:59
Hpun (Northern)	**ăsă** phóʔ	birth, give	Henderson 1986 [a]

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**za[21]** ni[24] **za[21]** fv̩[33]	birth, give	DAI Qingxia 1989c:10.4.15
	za[31]	son	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**zà**	son	Björverud 1994
	zà-mè dú	nephew	Björverud 1994
	zɑ[21] ni[55]	pregnant (be v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.4.14
	zo[21] pa[33]	male	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3
Nasu	nɑ̱[21] **zo[33]**	pupil	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2.2
	zo[33]	male	CHEN Kang 1986b:10.3
Nusu (Northern)	mi[35]**zɑ[55]**	woman / female	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	za[53]mɑ̱[53]	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**za[55]** iɔ[33]	placenta	DAI Qingxia 1989p:144.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**za[55]** iɔ[35]	placenta	DAI Qingxia 1989o:144.
Nusu (Central)	**za[55]** le[33]	pregnant	DAI Qingxia 1989p:1912.
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**za[55]** le[35]	pregnant	DAI Qingxia 1989o:1912.
Nusu (Central)	**za[55]**mɑ̱[53]	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.34
Nusu (Southern)	**zɔ[53]**mɔ[53]	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**zɑ[55]**mɑ[31]	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.45
Yi (Liangshan)	tʂhɳ[55]**zɯ[33]**	kid (goat)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	ɳɔ[33]-**zɯ[33]**	eyeball	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	i[33]**zo[21]**ni[22]dɯ[21]	womb	LUO Meizhen 1990:10.4.8
	lɐ̱[21] si[21] **zo[21]**	fingernail	LUO Meizhen 1990:7.4.1
	nɐ̱[33] lo[22] **zo[21]**	eyeball	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4.2
	nɐ̱[33] mo[22] **zo[21]**	iris	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.4.2.1
	no[33] pɑ[33] tʻo[21] **zo[21]**	eardrum	LUO Meizhen 1990:3.6.5
	tɕʻi[22] si[21] **zo[21]**	paw (of animal); toenail	LUO Meizhen 1990:6.2.6.9; LUO Meizhen 1990:7.4.2

[a] **ăsă** means "child".

	ɑ^{33} bɑ̠^{55} **zo^{21}** bu^{33}	birth, give	LUO Meizhen 1990:10.4.15
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**jo^{44}** sɯ^{55}	womb	DAI Qingxia 1989h:149
Kucong	tshŋ31 **zʌ31** bi55	kid (baby goat)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	zʌ31 mi31 zʌ31	woman	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**yâ ⩙ śā ⩙ cà**	male prefix	LaPolla 1987:120
Lahu (Lancang)	**ʑɑ^{53}**mi^{53}mɑ^{33}	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.43
	ʑɑ^{53}ɛ^{35}	baby (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0170.43
Lahu (Black)	mêʔ-**yâ**-mî	pupil (”eye-daughter”)	Matisoff 1987
	yâ	child / son	Matisoff 1974:215
	yâ hu ve	be pregnant, raise a child (be.)	Matisoff 1988a:1259
	yâ-mî-ɔ̀-lî	menses	Matisoff 1987
	yâ-phɨ(-tɛ)	placenta (”child-nest”)	Matisoff 1987
	zɑ^{53} phɯ^{33}	placenta	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	zɑ^{53} xɣ^{33}	pregnant	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	zʌ^{53}mi^{53}mʌ^{35}	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.33
	zʌ^{53}mi^{53}xʌ^{35}	young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.33
	zʌ^{53}zɛ^{53}	child	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:295.33
	ɔ^{31}**zʌ^{53}**pʌ^{11}	son	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.33
	ɔ̀-**yâ**	child	Matisoff 1978a:27
Lahu (Yellow)	**ʑa^{3}**nɛ^{4}	child	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	ʑa^{3}pa^{5}	son	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	ʑa^{1}mi^{3}	woman / female	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	ʑa^{1}mi^{3}xa^{4}	young woman	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	a^{1}-hchɨ^{6}-**ra^{5}**	kid	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**ra^{5}** hkrgh^{5}	womb	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Central)	**ra^{5}** hkrgh^{5}	womb	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**za^{21}**gu^{44} za^{21}mɤ^{44}	husband and wife	Bradley 1994
	za^{21}khɯ^{33}	womb	Bradley 1994
	za^{21}mɤ^{44}	wife (N.)	Bradley 1994
	zaʔ^{21}mɤ^{33}tʃhɻ^{21}	woman; female person; wife (N.)	Bradley 1994
	zaʔ^{21}mɤʔ^{21}zaʔ^{21}	woman; wife	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**zɑ^{31}** ne^{33} the^{35}	pregnant	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**zɑ^{31}**mɯ^{33}	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.27
Yi (Sani)	ʐo^{33}**zɒ^{11}**	kid (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**zà**	child	Hansson 1989:96
Akha (Thai)	**zà**	son	Hansson 1989:96
Akha (Yunnan)	**zà**	son	Hansson 1989:96
	zà gù	youngster	Hansson 1989:148
	zà jo	boy	Hansson 1989:194
Akha (Thai)	**zà**-jo	boy	Hansson 1989:194
Akha	**za^{2}**-mi$^{2/3}$	daughter	Matisoff 1978a:27a
	za˯ jaw˅ caw˯ (hm˯)	placenta (human)	Matisoff 1987
	za˯ jaw˅ za˅	womb	Matisoff 1987
Bisu	aŋ-jàt-**ja**-húm	womb	Beaudouin 1988:16
Hani (Lüchun)	**zà** ju ?	boy	Hansson 1989:194
Hani (Dazhai)	**za^{31}**mi^{31}	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**za^{31}**mi^{31}za^{31}	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**jɔ^{31}**mi^{31}	woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**za^{31}**mi^{31}	woman / femae	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**zɔ^{31}**mi^{31}	woman; young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:291.32; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**zɔ^{31}**mi^{31}	woman (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.42

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**zɑ**˩hu˥	child	Michaud 2006–2009:513
	zɑ˩hu˥ dʑy˩	give birth to a child (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3091
	zɑ˩hu˥ t^{h}æ˥ tɕi˥ hĩ˥	child, little child	Michaud 2006–2009:515
	zɑ˩hu˥pɑ˩	carry a child on one’s back (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2371
	zɑ˩hu˥pɑ˩dzi˩	girdle used to carry a child	Michaud 2006–2009:1174
Na (Yongning)	ts^{h}ɯ˩ **zo**˥**$**	kid (child of the goat)	Michaud 2006–2009
	zo˥	son	Michaud 2006–2009
	zo˩hṽ˩mv˥**zo**˩	descendants	Michaud 2006–2009
	zo˩hṽ˥	son; young chap, young lad, young man	Michaud 2006–2009; Michaud 2006–2009
	zo˩mv˥	child	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐwæ˩**zo#**˥	colt, pony, filly, foal	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**zo^{33}**mɑ^{13}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.29
	zo^{13}nv^{55}	child	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:295.29
Naxi	**zy^{55}zy^{21}**	child (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0169.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**zy^{55}zy^{13}**	child	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:295.28

(1b) PTB *tsa-n CHILD / GRANDCHILD / NEPHEW / NIECE

There is variation between the fricative and affricate initials even within the same subgroup (e.g., Qiangic, Burmish). See PTB ***za-n** CHILD (§4.2.11).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsa** ⩙ *za	child, son	LaPolla 1987:120
	***tsa-n** ⩙ za-n	child / son / relatives	Matisoff 2003a:616

1.3. “NAGA” AREAL GROUP

Maring	a **cha**	son	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***tsaʔ** SON

**Central Naga*	***tsaʔ**	SON	Bruhn 2014a:III.020
**Ao*	*(t-)**tʃa**-əɹ	SON	Bruhn 2014a:II.144
Ao (Chungli)	**chi** r	child	Marrison 1967
	tə^{3}-**tʃi** ɹ^{31}	son (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.144
	tʃa^{2}nu^{2}	child, young (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tʃa^{2}pa^{3}su^{1}	son (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	i **cha** r	child	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tʃà**-(ə)ɹ	son (’offspring’ + ANOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃà la	daughter (’offspring’ + F) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**tso^{2}**-eʔ^{3}	children (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:p.184
	tso^{2}-khjoŋ^{1}-oʔ^{2}	son (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.020
	tso^{2} lo v^{3}	daughter (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	o **tso** e	child	Marrison 1967
	o **tso** e-e pu e	son	Marrison 1967
	^{1}o^{2}**dzo**(-^{3}eʔ)	child	Weidert 1987:44
	^{1}o^{2}**dzo(ʔ)**	son	Weidert 1987:303
Sangtam	**tsu** rü	son	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	(**^{1}**)**dzɯʔ** ^{1}rɯ	son	Weidert 1987:303
	a **zü** rü	child	Marrison 1967
	tsü rü	son	Marrison 1967
	^{2}dzɯʔ $^{(2)}$meak [^{1}]	son-in-law	Weidert 1987:633

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Meluri	a **tsa**	child	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***tsa** CHILD / DIMINUTIVE

**Tangkhulic*	***tsa**	child / diminutive	Mortensen 2012:747
Kachai	si-**ðu**	young (of animal) / calf / foal	Mortensen 2012:Animals.004

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**chaṅ**	child / son / son of brother (n.)	Bailey 1911
	chaṅ khŭl	womb (child-skin)	Matisoff 1987
	chaṅ tāmig‘	bear child (v.)	Bailey 1911
	chaṅts	infant / child (little)	Bailey 1911

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	wak **tsa** ʂum	placenta	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**btsa**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
	btsa-ba	birth, give	Benedict 1972:277n86

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung	ra jāh **jāq**	kid (goat) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.039
Gurung (Ghachok)	rə jah **jaq**	goat (kid)	Glover 1972:3.A.39
Tamang (Sahu)	rā **tcā**	kid (goat) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.039
	ra **tca**	kid, baby goat	Taylor *et al.* 1972:3.39
Thakali	ra cah **ca**	kid (goat) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.039
Thakali (Tukche)	rɔ cɔh **cɔ**	kid	Hari 1971:3.A.39

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	cil **cā**	goat (kid)	Genetti 1990a
	du gu-**cā**	kid-(diminutive) (goat) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.039
	garā-**cā**	donkey-(diminutive) (n.)	Hale 1973:03a.045 [a]
	phasi **cā**	lamb (diminutive)	Genetti 1990a
	te pu **ca**	navel-(diminutive)	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.7.1 [b]

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	pari-**tsuʔu**	<child> newborn infant sacrificed in olden times to the gods of	Driem 1993

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	jɑ^{55}**dzɛ^{55}**	child	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:295.18
Guiqiong	(e^{55}le^{55}**tsə^{33}**) tʃhə^{55}	embrace a child cheek to cheek (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1575.16
	e^{55}le^{55}**tsi^{33}**	child	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:295.17
	e^{55}le^{55}**tsə^{33}**	child (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0169.16
	tsi^{53}	son	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.17
	tsi^{55}	son (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0220.16
Muya	**tɕue^{24}**	son (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0220.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tɕye^{35}**	son	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tsø^{35}**	son (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0220.10
	tsø^{55}dzə̃^{55}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tsy^{55}**	son (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0220.09
	tʃə̂^{13}	child (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0169.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tsy^{55}**	son	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.11
	tʃə̃^{13}	child	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:295.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tsʉ^{53}**	son	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.10
	tsʉ^{55}dzə̃^{53}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.10
	tɕĩ^{35}	child	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:295.10
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	**tsɯ**-me	son-in-law	Matisoff 1972b:153
	tsɯ-mja	son-in-law	Matisoff 1972b:153
Qiang (Longxi)	qà **tɕí**	dote on (child)	Evans 1999:2392
	tɕì	son	Evans 1999:277
	tɕì mià	son-in-law	Evans 1999:280
	tɕí bí	child	Evans 1999:210
Qiang (Mawo)	**tʃuj** mɪ	child (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0169.08
	tʃɪ	son (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0220.08
	tʃɪ miɛ	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.08
	tɕi	son	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.8
	tɕi: mi	child	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:295.8
	tʂə ɹaqu	womb	Sun 1986
Qiang (Mianchi)	kɛ̀ bʐ̩ **tsì**	child	Evans 1999:210
	tsì	son	Evans 1999:277
	tsì mià	son-in-law	Evans 1999:280
Qiang (Taoping)	**tʃl̩^{33}**	son	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.9
	tʃl̩^{55}ma^{31}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.9

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Northern)	ta po **tso** fkəm	womb	SUN Hongkai 1991k:10.4.8
rGyalrong	tə **tsa**	son	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **tsɑ**	son (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0220.11
Caodeng	tɐ-**tʃu**	son	Sun 1997a

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**tsɑ^{31}**mɑ^{31}	son-in-law	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tsɔ^{31}**mo^{31}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.41
	tsɔ^{31}mɔʔ^{31}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.28
Achang (Luxi)	**tsaʔ^{31}**maʔ^{31}	son-in-law	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**tsɔ^{31}**mɔʔ^{55}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.29
Bola (Luxi)	**tă^{31}**maʔ^{55}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tθɑ^{55}**mɛʔ^{4}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθɑ^{55}**mɛʔ^{44}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.40
Langsu (Luxi)	**tsɔ̆^{35}**mɔʔ^{31}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.31
Lashi	mjɔʔ^{31} **tso^{33}**	pupil	DAI Qingxia 1989m:3.4.2.2
	tso^{33} sɔ̱t^{55}	womb	DAI Qingxia 1989m:10.4.8
Leqi (Luxi)	**tsə̆^{33}**mɔʔ^{55}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.33
Maru [Langsu]	mjɔʔ^{31} **tsɔ^{31}**	pupil	DAI Qingxia 1989l:3.4.2.2
	tsɔ^{35} sat^{55}	womb	DAI Qingxia 1989l:10.4.8
	tsɔ̆^{35}mɔʔ^{31}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tso^{21}**moʔ^{55}	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.30
	tsŏ^{21}moʔ^{55}	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.42

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tsi̯əg/tsi:**	son / daughter / child;young of animals	Karlgren 1957:964a-j

[a] [Source Note] /tso^{2}-lo^{3}-uʔ^{3}/ ?

[a] < IA *khara-* ‘donkey’.

[b] K. P. Malla (p.c. 2007) analyzes this form as consisting of **te** ‘navel’, **pu** ‘seed, round thing’, **ca** (preferably **chaa**) ‘DIMINUTIVE; child’. Newar **chaa** appears in compounds like **ma-chaa** ‘a child’ and **khi-chaa** ‘a dog’.

Chinese (Old)	**dzi̯əg**	child	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:964a-j

Chinese comparandum

子 OC ***tsi̯əg***, *GSR* #964a-j ‘son, daughter, child; young of animals’; Schuessler 2007:633 ***tsəʔ***; B & S 2011: ***tsəʔ***; Mand. **zǐ**.
字 OC ***dz’i̯əg***, *GSR* #964n-o ‘to breed, love’; Schuessler 2007:633 ***dzəh***; B & S 2011: ***mə-dzə-s {mə-dzə(ʔ)-s}***; Mand. **zì**.
孳
慈 OC ***dz’i̯əg***, *GSR* #966j ‘loving, kind’; Schuessler 2007:633 ***dzə***; B & S 2011: ***dzə***; Mand. **cí**.

在 943i-k ***dz’əg***
存 OC ***dz’wən***, *GSR* #432a ‘be among, exist, survive, maintain’; Schuessler 2007:200 ***dzən***; B & S 2011: ***dzˤən { [dz] ˤə [n] }***; Mand. **cún**.

栽 OC ***tsəg***, *GSR* #943y ‘plant (v.)’; Schuessler 2007:599 ***tsə***; B & S 2011: ***tsˤə { [ts] ˤə}***; Mand. **zāi**.
載 OC ***tsəg***, *GSR* #943a’-b’ ‘initiate, start work; undertaking, achievement’; Schuessler 2007:599 ***tsə́h***; B & S 2011: ***(tsˤəʔ-s { [ts] ˤəʔ-s}***; Mand. **zài**.
栽 OC ***dz’əg***, *GSR* #943y ‘board (v.); erect building frames’; Schuessler 2007:600 ***tsə́h***; B & S 2011: ***tsˤəʔ-s { [ts] ˤəʔ-s}***; Mand. **zài**.

載 OC ***tsəg***, *GSR* #943a’-b’ ‘load, carry, pour, fill; convetance’; Schuessler 2007:600 ***tsə́h***; B & S 2011: ***tsˤəʔ-s { [ts] ˤəʔ-s}***; Mand. **zài**.
載 OC ***dz’əg***, *GSR* #943a’-b’ ‘load (v.); load (n.)’; Schuessler 2007:600 ***dzə́h***; B & S 2011: ***m-tsˤəʔ-s {[m-ts] ˤəʔ-s}***; Mand. **zài**.

才 OC ***dz’əg***, *GSR* #943a-f ‘talent, ability’; B & S 2011: ***dzˤə {(Cə.) [dz] ˤə}***; Mand. **cái**.
材 OC ***dz’əg***, *GSR* #943g ‘timber, material’; B & S 2011: ***Cə.dzˤə { [Cə.dz] ˤə}***; Mand. **cái**.
財 OC ***dz’əg***, *GSR* #943h ‘wealth’; B & S 2011: ***dzˤə { [dz] ˤə}***; Mand. **cái**.

(2) PTB *bu CHILD

This etymon means CHILD. It is included here because of the important WT form **bu-snod** ‘womb’ (“child-vessel”). Care is required to distinguish this etymon from reflexes of PTB ***r/m-bu ≍ *pru*** NEST / WOMB / PLACENTA (§1.9.6), above. The Tibetan-Chinese comparison is due to Coblin (1986:164).

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***bu?***	boy / servant	Coblin 1986:47
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Spiti	**pui** net	womb	Bodh 1991:10.4.8
Tibetan (Written)	**bu**-snod	womb	Matisoff 1987
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**buk**	servant, male slave	Coblin 1986:164 [a]

[a] Chinese 僕.

Chinese comparandum

僕 OC ***b’uk/*b’ôk***, *GSR* #1211b ‘servant, groom, male slave’; Li 1971: ***buk***; Baxter 1992: ***bok***; Mand. **pú**.

The vowel correspondence is regular, as OC ***-uk*** (Li)/***-ok*** (Baxter) normally corresponds to PTB ***-uk***, as in ‘bend /crooked’ PTB ***guk∼*kuk***, OC 曲 ***khjuk*** (Li)/***kh(r)jok*** (Baxter); Mand. **qū, qǔ**. However, the presence of coda ***-k*** in the Chinese form is unexplained.

Peiros and Starostin (1996.1:57 #203) relate this Chinese word to Tibetan **phrug** ‘child’ and Burmese **pauk** ‘young of animals’.
[ZJH]

(3) PTani *ko: CHILD

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ko:***	child	Sun 1993a:67
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	**ku:**	child; children (son and daughter)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ku: gɯ:	carry on back / pregnant	Sun 1993a
	ku: ñi-ga:	son	Sun 1993b
	ku: ñi-mə:	daughter	Sun 1993b
	ku:-bak	carry child on back	Sun 1993b
	ku:-gɯ:	pregnant	Sun 1993b
Nishing	**ku**	son / child	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a nɤɤ **ku** mo pup do	Mother kisses the child	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ko**	child	Sun 1993a

(4) PKC *nu-ŋaak ≍ *ŋaak-nuu MAIDEN / BELLE / WOMAN (unmarried)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	*nu-**ŋaak** ≍ **ŋaak**-nuu	MAIDEN / BELLE / WOMAN (unmarried)	VanBik 2009:862
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	nu **ngak**	belle	VanBik 2009:862
Sizang	**ngāk** nū	virgin	VanBik 2009:862
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	nu-**ŋaak** ≍ **ŋaak**-nŭu	belle, unmarried woman	VanBik 2009:862

(5) PKC *θaa-paŋ ≍ *naaw-paŋ YOUNG (n.) / CHILD

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***θaa**-/naaw-paŋ	YOUNG / CHILD (n.)	VanBik 2009:169
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**tsá**-pâŋ	child	VanBik 2009:169
Tiddim	**nau²** pang¹	child, young	VanBik 2009:169
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**nàaw**-páŋ	youth, adolescence	VanBik 2009:169
Lushai [Mizo]	**náu**	child, infant, baby	VanBik 2009:169

(6) PLB *ʔlak YOUTH / YOUNG PERSON

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ**-lak^{L}	youth (youngster)	Matisoff 2003a:599
	***ʔlak**	youth / young person (GD 52.)	Matisoff 1972b:177
	***ʔlak**	youth / young person	Matisoff 1972b:177
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-lak^{L}**	bachelor?	Bradley 1979b:159
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Luquan	**hla 55c**	youth / young person	Matisoff 1972b:177
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**lie 55** ∼ liɛ 55	youth / young person	Matisoff 1972b:177
Kucong	tshu33 **la55** zʌ31	youth	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***ha¯**	bachelor	Bradley 1979b:159
Lahu (Black)	chɔ-**há**	youth / bachelor	Matisoff 1972b:177
	zʌ^{53}mi^{53}**xʌ^{35}**	young woman	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ɕa**^{1}mi^{3}**xa**^{4}	young woman	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	ra5-gu4-**lá1**	youth	Matisoff 1972b:177
	ra5-mrgh‘5-**lá1**	maid	Matisoff 1972b:177
Lisu (Central)	ra^{5}-gu^{4}-**lá^{1}** (ra^{5})	youth	Fraser 1922
	ra^{5}-mrgh’^{5}-**lá^{1}**-ra^{5}	maid (n.)	Fraser 1922

4.3.0 People

(1) PTani *ɦo-pran ORPHAN

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ɦo-pran**	orphan	Sun 1993a:282 [a]
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	**hi-pin**	orphan	Sun 1993b
	hu-pin	orphan	Sun 1993a
Galo	**‘open**	orphan (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**hopen**	orphan	Simon 1976
Tagin	**hopin**	orphan	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**o-pan**	orphan	Sun 1993a

[a] [Source Note] (see ‘forget’).

4.4.0 Groups

(1) PKC *pool BAND / GROUP / CHURCH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***pool**	BAND / GROUP / CHURCH	VanBik 2009:121
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**pawl**	band	VanBik 2009:121
Thado	**póol**	group	VanBik 2009:121
Tiddim	**pool²**	associate, church	VanBik 2009:121
	po:l²	church	Bhaskararao 1996:1401
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**pôol**	association, band, group	VanBik 2009:121
Lai (Falam)	**pŏol**	association, band, kind	VanBik 2009:121
Lushai [Mizo]	**páwl**	group, a party, a flock (n.)	VanBik 2009:121

(2) PTk *ʃaŋ CLAN

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***ʃaŋ**	clan	Mortensen 2012:474
Kachai	ʔa-**ʃa**	surname / clan	Mortensen 2012
Ukhrul	**ʃɐŋ**	clan	Mortensen 2012

(3) PKC *hnam RACE / TRIBE / NATION

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hnam**	RACE / TRIBE / NATION	VanBik 2009:902
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	a **nam**	tribe	VanBik 2009:902
Thado	**nâm**	race	VanBik 2009:902
Tiddim	mi¹**nam¹**	nation	VanBik 2009:902
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnăm**	race, clan, tribe, nation, nationality	VanBik 2009:902

4.4.1 Generic person terms

(1) PKC *khlaak ≍ *khlaʔ DESCENDANT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***khlaak ≍ khlaʔ**	DESCENDANT	VanBik 2009:1283
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**khaak**	descendant	VanBik 2009:1283
Thado	tsí-**hlàʔ**	descendant	VanBik 2009:1283
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thlaak ≍ thlaʔ**	descendant	VanBik 2009:1283 [a]
Lai (Falam)	**thlâak ≍ thlàʔ**	descendant	VanBik 2009:1283
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlàh**	descendant, offspring, posterity	VanBik 2009:1283
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-**thláh**	descendant (n.)	VanBik 2009:1283

[a] [Source Note] In Hakha Lai there is a little difference between **thlaak** and **thlaʔ**. **thlaak** is used when the descendant reflects the source (e.g. **ʔa-pâa thlaak** ‘image of his father’) whereas **thlaʔ** is used when the existence of the descendant is caused by the source (e.g. **ʔa-pâa thlaʔ** ‘the father’s descendant’) (VanBik 2009:299).

(2) PTB *tsaŋ PERSON

PSPC ***khlaaŋ ≍ *khlooŋ*** PERSON / MAN (§4.4.1) somewhat resembles this etymon but is probably quite distinct.

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Ao*	***-tʃhaŋ**	MASCULINE NOMINALIZER (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.166
Ao (Chungli)	**-saŋ²**	MASCULINE NOMINALIZER (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.166
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	anu-**tʃhaŋ**	boy (’child’ + MAN) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	a paŋ **tʃhaŋ**-əɹ	man (’man’ + ANOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	taksi nì-**tʃhaŋ**	taxi driver (’taxi’ + ’lead’ + MAN) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃhaŋ atì	bachelor (n.)	Coupe 2007
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**tshə^{31}**mi^{55}	daughter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0222.16

	tshə^{31}mi^{55}ŋ̊a^{31}	woman; girl (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0174.16; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0176.16
	tshɳ^{33}me^{53}	young woman; daughter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.17; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:340.17
	tshɳ^{33}me^{55}ŋ̊a^{33}	woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:291.17

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***tsaŋ**^{1} PERSON

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**tsu**^{55}mɑŋ^{55}	old person	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	muaŋ^{31}**tsɔ**^{31}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**tʂu**^{55} mɔŋ^{55}	corpse	Dai Qingxia 1989f:192
Leqi (Luxi)	maŋ^{33}**tso**^{55}	old / elderly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.33
Maru [Langsu]	mɔ̃^{35}**tsɔ**^{35}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.43
	tsɔ̌^{35}mji^{35}	young woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	maŋ^{21}**tso**^{21}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.42
	tsǒ^{21}mji^{21}	young woman	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:294.42

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	**tshɒ**^{33} ʂɭ^{33} mɒ^{33}	corpse / dead body	Dai Qingxia 1989n:1.14

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**tsho**^{33}o^{31}ma^{33}	old man; old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.47; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.47
Nesu	**tʂha**^{21} ma^{55}	corpse / dead body	Chen Kang 1986b:1.14
Nusu (Southern)	**tsho**^{55}kha^{31}	old person	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**tshɔ̃**^{33}	human being (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0167.34
	tshə^{33}khɹə^{31}mi^{31}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.34
	tshə^{33}khɹə^{31}pha^{31}	old man (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tshə̃**^{ɪ35}khɑ^{ɪ31}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.45
Nusu (Central)	ɕi^{35} **tshɔ̃**^{35}	corpse	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	ɕi^{35} **ts^{h}õ**^{35}	corpse	Dai Qingxia 1989o:192.
Nusu (Central)	ʂi^{33} **ts^{h}oŋ**^{33}	corpse	Dai Qingxia 1989p:192.
Yi (Mile)	**tshu**^{33}mu^{21}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tshɒ**^{21}mɒ^{21}mo^{21}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tshɑ**^{33}mo^{33}mɑ^{21}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.37
	tshɑ^{33}mɑ^{21}	old man (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.37
	tshɑ^{33}mɑ^{21}	old / elderly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.37
	ts^{h}ʌ^{33}mʌ^{21}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**tshu**^{55}mu^{21}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.23
Yi (Xide)	**ts^{h}o**^{33}-mo^{33}	corpse	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Youle)	**ts^{h}ə**^{42} zɔ^{44} ʃi^{44} mə^{44}	corpse	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**tshu33** mu31 kv33 lv33	old man	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕhɔ**^{33}mɔ^{53}	old / elderly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.43
Lahu (Black)	**chɔ**-há	youth / bachelor	Matisoff 1972b:177
	tshɔ^{33}mɔ^{53}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.33
	tshɔ^{33}ɣu^{53}	mad person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:303.33
Lisu	**tsho**^{33}mo^{31}mo^{33}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.40
	tsho^{33}mo^{31}phɑ^{31}	old man (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.40
	tsho^{44}mo^{21}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tshɔ**^{33}dzi^{21}	person who pays his life for a life (the Lisu custom in old days of paying lives of the dead in a fight or forced marriage)	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}dzø^{44}ma^{33}	old spinster	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}dzø^{44}mɔ^{21}	old bachelor	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}mɔ^{21}	old people; the aged	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}mɔ^{21} tshɔ^{33}ti^{33}	respectful form of address for an old person	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}mɔ^{21}ma^{33}	old lady; old woman	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}mɔ^{21}pha^{21}	old man; old gentleman	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}ti^{33}	old person; elder person	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**ts^{h}o̱**^{44} mo^{33}	corpse	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**tshɔ́**	person	Hansson 1989:237
Akha (Thai)	**tshɔ́** mjáŋ	name	Hansson 1989:426
Akha (Yunnan)	**tshɔ́** mjáŋ	name	Hansson 1989:426
Akha (Thai)	**tshɔ́** mɔ̀	old person	Hansson 1989:273
Akha (Yunnan)	**tshɔ́** mɔ̀	old person	Hansson 1989:273
	tshɔ́ xhà	person	Hansson 1989:237
Akha (Thai)	**tshɔ́**-hà	person	Hansson 1989:237
Hani (Lüchun)	à phì **tshó** mò	old woman	Hansson 1989:274
	tshó	person	Hansson 1989:237
	tshó mò	old person	Hansson 1989:273
	tshó mò ?	old woman	Hansson 1989:99
Hani (Dazhai)	**tsho**^{55}	person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:289.31
Hani	**tsho**^{55} si^{55}	corpse	Matisoff 1994b
Hani (Dazhai)	**tsho**^{55}mo^{31}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.31
Hani	**tshɣ**^{55} sɭ^{55}	corpse	Matisoff 1994b
Hani (Lüchun)	a^{31}bo^{55}**tsho**^{55}mo^{31}	old man (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.41
	a^{31}phi^{31}**tsho**^{55}mo^{31}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.41
	su^{55}**tsho**^{55}	other person(s) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0941.41
	tsho^{55}mo^{31}mo^{31}	old / elderly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tshɔ**^{55}mɔ^{31}	old person	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	tshɔ^{55}xa^{31}	person	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ts^{h}ɔ^{55} u̱^{31}	insane person	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**col** moq	old person	Hansson 1989:273
Hani (Shuikui)	**tshɣ**^{55}mu^{31}	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**tshɣ**^{55}mu^{31}mu^{31}	old / elderly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.42

8. Bai

Bai (Jianchuan)	j̃ĩ^{21} **ts^{h}ɔ̃**^{55}	corpse / dead body	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.14

(3) PPC *r-mi(y)-n PERSON / MAN

The ***-n** suffix (a morpheme signifying collectivity, according to Benedict, *STC* n. 428, pp. 157-8) is attested in Written Burmese and Chinese.

This morpheme frequently occurs as first element in compounds signifying body part terms (e.g., in Mzieme, Zeme, Magar).

It also occurs as final element in names of Tibeto-Burman ethnic groups (e.g., Prinmi, Thangmi, Khumi, Xumi), and as first element in such names as well (e.g., Mizo, Mikir, Mishing, Miji). In this respect, it is similar to PTB ***su** ≍ ***s-lu** WHO / INDEF PRONOUN / REMOTE 3RD PERS. (§4.1).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-mi(y)**	man (homo)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:457a-b
	***r-mi(y)-n**	man / person	Matisoff 2003a:602

1.1.1. Tani: ***mi:** MAN (homo)

**Tani*	***mi:**	man (homo)	Sun 1993a:250

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**mju** < /mi-ju/	man (homo)	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**ñi:**	man (homo); person	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ñi: a-mɯ	hair (on human skin)	Sun 1993b
	ñi: mɯŋ-ru-bu	enemy	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**mi:**	man (homo); others	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	mi:	human being (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0167.24
	mi:	other person(s) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0941.24

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**mi**-long	husband; masculine suffix	Benedict 1941/2008:129
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**mi**	man (homo)	Sun 1993a
	mi-bu	placenta	Matisoff 1987
	mib-bo	placenta	Matisoff 1987
	mib-bu	placenta	Matisoff 1987
Mishing [Miri]	**mil**-bong	husband	Benedict 1941/2008:129 [a]

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	**mi** si	life	Pulu 1978

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***mii** PERSON / MAN / PEOPLE

**Chin*	***mii**	PERSON / MAN / PEOPLE	VanBik 2009:779

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**mîi**	person, man	VanBik 2009:779
Tiddim	**mi**^{1} hing^{2}	people	VanBik 2009:779
	mi^{1}nam^{1}	nation	VanBik 2009:902

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**mi**-ü´	race, tribe (n.)	VanBik 2009:779
Cho (Mindat)	pa-**mi**	man	VanBik 2009:779
Khumi	khú **mii**	person, human	VanBik 2009:779

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**mi**-rut	abnormal person	Matisoff 2003a:365
	mìi	person, man, mankind, people	VanBik 2009:779
Lai (Falam)	**mîi**	person, man	VanBik 2009:779
Lushai [Mizo]	**mî**	person, a man, people (n.)	VanBik 2009:779

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**hmi**	man; man (mankind)	Brown 1837; Marrison 1967
	mi lung pak	chest	Marrison 1967
	tha **mi**	man (mankind); person	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a- [h] məj?** PERSON, HUMAN

**Central Naga*	*a- **[h] məj?**	PERSON, HUMAN	Bruhn 2014a:III.102
**Ao*	*(a-)**məj?**	PERSON	Bruhn 2014a:II.226
Ao (Chungli)	**ni**^{2}suŋ^{2}	person (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.226
	nü	man (mankind)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **mi**	man (mankind)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**mi**-jim-tʃàɹ	humankind (possibly 'person' + 'village' + 'child') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	mi-tʃàŋ	population ('person' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**mi?**	person (n.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	a **mü** i tsu rü	human	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**mih** tsü rü	human	Kumar 1973b:81

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{2}the^{1}**mie**	man	Weidert 1987:809
Chokri	**mi** pün	man (male)	Marrison 1967
	zhokro **mi**	servant	Marrison 1967
Khezha	e **mi**	man (mankind)	Marrison 1967
	ke the **mi**	servant	Marrison 1967
Meluri	**ni**	man (mankind)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **nye**	man (mankind); person	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	a **nye** nza	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **nye** thu	people	Marrison 1967
	ketsa **nye**	thief	Marrison 1967
	me shu	man (mankind)	Marrison 1967
Rengma	te **mi**	person; man (mankind)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	te **mi** dang	people	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	akisüghe **mi**	neighbor	Marrison 1967
	aki **mi**	husband	Marrison 1967
	a ke **mi**	slave	Marrison 1967
	a khe **mi**	servant	Marrison 1967
	i ti ke **mi**	witness (n.)	Marrison 1967
	kola **mi**	foreigner	Marrison 1967
	kologha **mi**	leper	Marrison 1967
	mughe **mi**	orphan	Marrison 1967
	ti **mi**	person; man (mankind); people	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	^{1}a^{1}ti^{2}li-^{1}**mi**	grandchild	Weidert 1987:112

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**mi**	man (mankind)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**mai** ga	chest	Marrison 1967
	mai ting	back (body)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**mái**-púm	body	Weidert 1987:343
	mái-ruak	throat	Weidert 1987:1041
	mái-ɣuaŋ	neck	Weidert 1987:609
	məi guəŋ	neck	Matisoff 1994e
	məi hu^{31}	body hair	Matisoff 1994e
	məi ŋum	back	Matisoff 1994e
	məi ŋææŋ	chest	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	**mi**-tam	hair	Marrison 1967:116
	mi bakerang	finger	Marrison 1967
	mi bangua	wrist	Marrison 1967
	mi banzungpui	thumb	Marrison 1967
	mi bia pi	cheek	Marrison 1967
	mi bung pui	belly	Marrison 1967
	mi chai	back (body)	Marrison 1967
	mi ching	back (body)	Marrison 1967
	mi ga ra	chest	Marrison 1967
	mi gei	skin	Marrison 1967
	mi geu	tooth	Marrison 1967
	mi gu	belly	Marrison 1967
	mi guang	neck	Marrison 1967
	mi kang	friend	Marrison 1967
	mi kei tua	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	mi ke dang	chin	Marrison 1967

[a] Benedict 1941/2008:129 observes that this form "appears to be metathesized", implying an earlier form **mi-b-long**.

	mi kia pui	waist	Marrison 1967
	mi kua	hip	Marrison 1967
	mi kua	voice (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi kuak	brain	Marrison 1967
	mi kuk	knee	Marrison 1967
	mi kun	ear	Marrison 1967
	mi la ria	navel	Marrison 1967
	mi lei	tongue	Marrison 1967
	mi lun	chest	Marrison 1967
	mi lung	heart	Marrison 1967
	mi mik	eye	Marrison 1967
	mi mui	mouth; face	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mi mui jo	lip	Marrison 1967
	mi mui mai	beard	Marrison 1967
	mi na	person	Marrison 1967
	mi ne	thigh	Marrison 1967
	mi neu	nose	Marrison 1967
	mi pa	arm; hand	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mi pai	grandmother	Marrison 1967
	mi pau	grandfather	Marrison 1967
	mi pei	head	Marrison 1967
	mi peu	father	Marrison 1967
	mi pi	calf (of leg); leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mi pikerang	toe	Marrison 1967
	mi pimesui	heel	Marrison 1967
	mi pi dei	foot	Marrison 1967
	mi pui	mother	Marrison 1967
	mi pum	body	Marrison 1967
	mi reime	enemy	Marrison 1967
	mi saurapui	elbow	Marrison 1967
	mi tam	hair (of head)	Marrison 1967
	mi tśin	nail	Benedict 1972:74
	mi tung	breast	Marrison 1967
	mi zak	side (of body)	Marrison 1967
	mi zu	face	Marrison 1967
	³mi²gei	tooth	Weidert 1987:254
	³mi³kən	ear	Weidert 1987:162
	³mi¹he¹zak	armpit	Weidert 1987:996
	³mi¹kuak⁵sau	elbow	Weidert 1987:407
	³mi¹miak	eye	Weidert 1987:1009
	³mi¹n¹la	navel / center	Weidert 1987:214
	³mi¹n¹leu	tongue	Weidert 1987:21
	³mi¹n⁴kuak	brain	Weidert 1987:1034
	³mi¹n⁴pua	lungs	Weidert 1987:990a
	³mi¹n⁵ceu	liver	Weidert 1987:440
	³mi⁴ruak	throat	Weidert 1987:1041
	³mi⁵pi	leg / foot	Weidert 1987:438
	³mi⁵zu	face	Weidert 1987:408
	³mi ³pum	body	Weidert 1987:343
	³mi ¹n¹luŋ	heart	Weidert 1987:11
	³mi ¹n⁴keu	kidney	Weidert 1987:81
Mzieme	**mi** ba	hand	Marrison 1967
	mi ba-keng kieng	arm	Marrison 1967
	mi ba deu	palm (of hand)	Marrison 1967:187
	mi gei	tooth	Marrison 1967
	mi lung	heart; mind; soul	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mi mleu	lip	Marrison 1967
	mi mui	mouth	Marrison 1967
	mi na	man (mankind); person	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mi nadung	people	Marrison 1967
	mi ngwang	neck	Marrison 1967
	mi pau	body	Marrison 1967
	mi pei	man (male)	Marrison 1967
	mi peura	skull	Marrison 1967
	mi pi	foot; leg	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mi pui	woman (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mi puk	belly	Marrison 1967
	mi pum	body	Marrison 1967
	mi tei	flesh; meat	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***mi*** MAN / HUMAN

**Tangkhulic*	***mi**	man / human	Mortensen 2012:671
Champhung	sa-**mɯ**	man	Brown 1837
Kachai	ʔa-**mɐ**	person	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	**mi**	man; person; man (mankind)	Bhat 1969:92; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mi bing	people	Marrison 1967
	mi kui	skull	Marrison 1967
	mi yur	tribe	Marrison 1967
	rai-**mi**	soldier; military	Matisoff 1985a:149
Tankghul (Central)	**mi**	man	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**mɯ**	man	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**mi**	man	Brown 1837
Tusom	**mɯ**	person	Mortensen 2012:People.001
Ukhrul	**mi**	person	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	**mə** pùm	body	Weidert 1987:343

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***Ç-məy*** MAN (generic)

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-məy**	man(generic)	French 1983:521

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**mi** ñaŋ	man (generic)	French 1983:455
	mifi-²ñan(?)	man	Weidert 1987:809
Tangsa	**mʌi?**	man	Weidert 1987:809
Tangsa (Moshang)	**mi**	man (mankind)	Marrison 1967
	mi mang	body	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Wancho	**mi**	person; man (mankind)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Pattani [Manchati]	gàŋ **mì**	male	Sharma 1991b:10.3
	gəŋ **mi**	man	Sharma 1982
	mets **mì**	female	Sharma 1991b:10.4
	metʃ **mi** kəʈu	girl	Sharma 1982
	mi(h)	man	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	maʔ **mi**	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.7
	ma^{55}**mi**^{13}	soldier	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	ma **mi**	soldier	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	mɑ^{55}**mi**^{55}	soldier	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	mʌk^{53}**mi**^{13}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.6
Motuo Menba	maʔ **mi**	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.07
Cuona Menba	mak^{53}**mi**^{53}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	mɑ^{55}**mɪ**^{53}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	mɑʔ^{53}**mi**^{53}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	ma^{53}**mi**^{13}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.2
	mə:^{55}**mi**^{55}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**mi** zi	alive / be living	Bishop 1989:1.12
Tibetan (Spiti)	**mí**	man	Sharma 1979
	mi ce	life	Sharma 1979
Spiti	**mi** yu	male pubic hair	Bodh 1991:10.3.6
Tibetan (Written)	dmag **mi**	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.01
	dmag **mi**	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.1

2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{A}**mi** MAN

**TGTM*	*^{A}**mi**	man	Mazaudon 1978:49
Gurung	**mih**	person	Hale 1973:01.018
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mih**	person; people	Glover 1972:1.18; Glover 1972:11.A.19
	^{3}**mi**	man	Mazaudon 1978:49
Manang (Ngawal)	^{3}**mi**	man	Mazaudon 1978:49
Tamang (Bagmati)	**mi:**^{ɦ}	man	Weidert 1987:809
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**mi**	man	Mazaudon 1978:49
Tamang (Sahu)	**mi:h**	person	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.18
	^{3}**mi:**	man	Mazaudon 1978:49
Tamang (Taglung)	^{3}**mi**	man	Mazaudon 1978:49
Thakali	**mih**	person	Hale 1973:01.018
Thakali (Marpha)	^{3}**mi**	man	Mazaudon 1978:49
Thakali (Syang)	^{3}**mi**	man	Mazaudon 1978:49
Thakali (Tukche)	ʼmah **mih**	soldier	Hari 1971:11.A.46
	mih	person	Hari 1971:1.18
	mih li	life	Hari 1971:10.A.12

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**mi** jɔ̃	male	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:10.3

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***min**	man, mankind	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Lohorong	yap **mi**	man	Weidert 1987:809
Yakha	me ca ya? **mi**	female	Kohn 1990:10.4
	wempa ya? **mi**	male	Kohn 1990:10.3

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**mi:n**	man, mankind	Driem 1993
	mi:n-sam tsu	mankind, human being.	Driem 1993
	sam tsu-**mi:n** tsu	mankind, humankind.	Driem 1993
Sampang	**mi** na	man	Weidert 1987:809

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Magar	**me**-me	tail	LaPolla 1987:84; Benedict 1972:282
	me-mek	tail	Michailovsky 1991:176; Matisoff 1987
	me-pe de	navel	Matisoff 1987
	me-pe ɹe	navel	Weidert 1987:738
	mi-Dung gā	neck	Matisoff 1987
	mi-luk au	brain	Matisoff 1987
	mi-phu li	hip	Matisoff 1987
	mi-rhām	rib	Matisoff 1987
	mi-rhu	egg	Matisoff 1987
	mi-ryam	horn; antlers; horn (animal)	Michailovsky 1991:94; Matisoff 1987 [a]
	mi-śia	meat, flesh; flesh, meat, animal	LaPolla 1987:127; Benedict 1972:181
	mi-tą̄ hą̄	forehead	Matisoff 1987
	mi-Tā hā	face	Matisoff 1987
	mi-Thuk	marrow	Matisoff 1987

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	mɑ^{55}**mi**^{55}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.16
	mũ^{35}	person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:289.17
	mɑ^{55}**me**^{55}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.17
Lyuzu	ma^{53}**mi**^{53}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.18
Muya	mɑ^{33}**mi**^{53}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.15
Muya [Minyak]	ma^{33}**mi**^{53}	soldier; army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.15; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.15
	mɐ^{35}ni^{35}	person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:289.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	mɑ^{35}**mi**^{55}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**mi**^{55}ʐə^{55}	other person(s) (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0941.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**mi**^{13}sgiɛ̃^{55}	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.11
	mi^{55}	person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:289.11
	mə^{55} do^{55} **mi**^{13}	mute person	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
	sqɑ̃u^{55} **mi**^{13}	insane person; mad person	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:303.11
	stɑ^{55} ku^{55} **mi**^{13}	blind person	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:300.11
Pumi (Taoba)	ma^{55}**mi**^{53}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.10
	mə^{53}	person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:289.10
Qiang (Longxi)	(**mù**) qə́ tshɪ́	mischievous (mù = 'person')	Evans 1999:2387
	mù	person	Evans 1999:208
	mù bə́	old person	Evans 1999:212
	mù-suà	latter generation [person-m]	Evans 1999:314
	mə̀-kà	ancestor [person-root]	Evans 1999:272
Qiang (Mawo)	**nə**	person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:289.8
	nə dɑp	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	(**mɛ̀**) phí	blame someone	Evans 1999:1944
	(**mɛ̀**) ʁuâ	call (person)	Evans 1999:1960
	(**mɛ̀**) ʐą́ŋ thà	make way for someone {b}	Evans 1999:2273
	(**mɛ̀**) ʐɨ̀ thá	infect, be contagious {b?}	Evans 1999:1746
	mɛ̀	person	Evans 1999:208
	mɛ̀ phé	dispatch someone	Evans 1999:2211
	mɛ̀-bʐą̀-tsó	assemble, rally [person-big-m]	Evans 1999:2017
	mɛ̀-dʐą̀-zɪ́	funny [person-laugh-CAUS]; joke [person-laugh-CAUS]	Evans 1999:1561; Evans 1999:935
	mɛ̀-kuò tɕhí-zɨ̀	anger (someone) [person-b?-CAUS]	Evans 1999:2244
	mɛ̀-qhoú-zə ɳà	envy, despise [person-despise-]	Evans 1999:2022
	mɛ̀-toú-thà	convince [person-b-s]	Evans 1999:2531
	mɛ̀-tsò	assemble, rally [person-m]	Evans 1999:2017
	mɛ̀-ʁuá	skill [person-help]	Evans 1999:1016
	mɛ́ tɕɛ̀	poor person	Evans 1999:233
Qiang (Taoping)	**mə**^{33}	person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:289.9
	mə^{33}bʐɑ^{241}	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	me^{55}**mɯ**^{53}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.16

[a] Note final **-m** in Magar **-ryam**.

	ɱɯ^{53}	person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:289.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	ʁmɑ^{55}**mə**^{55}	soldier (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.13
Xumi	mɑ^{55}**mi**^{55}	soldier (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.17
	mɑ^{55}**mi**^{55}	soldier; army	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:307.20; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:308.20
	zɔ̃^{35}ə^{ɹ55}**mi**^{55}	man (male person)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:290.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	ma^{55}**mi**^{55}	soldier (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	mbji **mə**	deaf person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0204.12
	mə zde	other person(s) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0941.12
Ergong (Danba)	ɦmɔ **mɯ**	soldier	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:307.14
Daofu	ʁmɑ **ʁmi**	soldier (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	mɐŋ **mə**	soldier (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.11
rGyalrong	mɐŋ **mə**	soldier; army	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:307.12; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:308.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	mɐŋ **mə** kɑ pɑ	war, go to / battle (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1233.11
rGyalrong	tĕ **rmi**	man(homo)	Benedict 1972:107n301
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **rmi**	human being (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0167.11
rGyalrong	tə **rmi**	person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:289.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **rmi** ŋɛ	other person(s) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0941.11
rGyalrong	tA **rmu**	person	Nagano 1997:40
rGBenzhen	mɐŋ-**mə**	soldier	Sun 1997b
	tə-**rmi**	person	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Dulong	mɑ^{55}**mɯ**^{55}	soldier (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.20
Trung [Dulong]	mɑ^{55}**mɯ**^{55}	soldier; army	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:307.46; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:308.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	me^{55} **mɑm**^{53}	blind person	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	mɑ^{55}**mɯ**^{55}	soldier	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ŋi**^{31}kɛ^{55}tsu^{55}	man / male	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Written)	**mîn**-ma’	woman	Benedict 1976a
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	mɑ˩**mi**˩	soldier	Michaud 2006–2009:692
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	民	people	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1932
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**mi̯ĕn**~mi̯ən/mi̯ĕn	people	Chou Fa-kao 1972:457a-b
Chinese (Old)	**miŋ** {mi[ŋ]}	people	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1932
	mjin	people	Baxter 1992:1092
	mˁriŋ {mˁr[i]ŋ}	population, people	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1885
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**meang**	population, people	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1885
	mjin	people	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1932
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**mín**	people	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1932

Chinese comparandum

民 OC ***mi̯ən ~ mi̯ĕn***, *GSR* #457a ‘people’; Schuessler 2007:386 ***min***; B & S 2011: ***miŋ {mi[ŋ]}***; Mand. **mín**

(4) PSPC *khlaaŋ ⩙ *khlooŋ PERSON / MAN

This root bears some resemblance to PTB ***tsaŋ*** PERSON (§4.4.1), but is probably quite distinct.

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

**Southern Plains Chin*	***khlaaŋ ⩙ khlooŋ***	PERSON / MAN	VanBik 2009:1296
Asho	**akʻlaung˝**	person, man (n.)	VanBik 2009:1296
Cho (Mindat)	**chang**	man, people, human being	VanBik 2009:1296
Daai	**ʔkɣʰaːŋ**	person	VanBik 2009:1296
Khumi	**léewng**	person	VanBik 2009:1296

4.4.2 Clans and neighbors

(1) PKC *weeŋ NEIGHBOR / AREA / DISTRICT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***weeŋ***	NEIGHBOR / AREA / DISTRICT	VanBik 2009:1161

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**véeŋ**	district (of town)	VanBik 2009:1161
Tiddim	**veeng**^{2}	neighbor	VanBik 2009:1161

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	a **vang** cíee	neighbors, villagers (n.)	VanBik 2009:1161

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**věeŋ**	neighbor, area	VanBik 2009:1161
Lushai [Mizo]	lal **véeng**	village, a hamlet, etc. or the part thereof occupied by a particular individual or community (n.)	VanBik 2009:1161

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**vài**	neighbor (n.)	VanBik 2009:1161

4.4.3 Outsiders

(1) PTani *mji-bo GUEST / OUTSIDER

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***mji-bo***	guest / outsider	Sun 1993a:187

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**ñi-bo**	guest; outsider	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ño-bo**	guest; outsider	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ŋ̊o bo	guest (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0213.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ŋ̊o bo**	guest	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:299.51
Galo	**ŋibo**	guest; non-kin (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ŋibo ŋi-ɤ	outsider	Das Gupta 1963

1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**mi-bo**	guest / outsider	Sun 1993a
Milang	**ma-bu**	guest	Tayeng 1976

(2) PKC *khual GUEST / STRANGER / VISITOR

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***khual***	GUEST / STRANGER / VISITOR	VanBik 2009:446

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**khual**	guest	VanBik 2009:446
Tiddim	**khual**^{3} mi^{1}	stranger	VanBik 2009:446

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**khŭal**	guest, visitor	VanBik 2009:446
Lai (Falam)	**khùal**	guest, visitor	VanBik 2009:446
Lushai [Mizo]	**khùal**	stranger (n.)	VanBik 2009:446

(3) PTB *d-gra STRANGER / ENEMY

The Qiangic / rGyalrongic forms are probably borrowings from Tibetan. This root is undoubtedly allofamically related to PTB ***g-raːl ⩙ *g-ran ⩙ *ray*** ENEMY / FIGHT / QUARREL / STRIFE / SWORD / WAR (§6.5).

A Chinese comparandum 旅 OC **gli̯o** *GSR* #77a Mand. lyŭ ‘guest, stranger; traveller’ has been suggested by Gong Hwang-cherng (2001:27). The semantic connection between ‘enemy’ and ‘guest’ is paralleled in Indo-European: PIE ***ghos-ti-*** > PGermanic ***gastiz*** ‘guest’, Latin **hostis** ‘enemy’ (< ‘stranger’). Cf. also the opposed meanings of English ‘host’: (a) ‘entertainer of guests’, (b) ‘army of foes’.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gra***	stranger / guest / enemy	Matisoff 2003a:591

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣdʑa** jæ	enemy (personal) / antagonizer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0197.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hdʑa** ja	enemy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:297.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**dʑa** ya	enemy	Sun 1985a:232
	rɟja ja	enemy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:297.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**dʑa**^{55}jɛ^{55}	enemy (personal) / antagonizer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0197.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**dʑa**^{53}	enemy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:297.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂau**^{15}	enemy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:297.2
	tʂa^{13}wo^{55}	enemy (personal) / antagonizer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0197.02
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ɖá**	enemy	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**dgra**	enemy	Marrison 1967; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:297.1
	dgra bo	enemy (personal) / antagonizer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0197.01
	dgra.?	enemy	Sun 1985c:232
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**dʑa** ja	enemy (personal) / antagonizer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0197.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{B}**gra**	enemy	Mazaudon 1978:60; Mazaudon 1994:177
Manang (Ngawal)	^{4}**hřʌ**	enemy	Mazaudon 1978:60
Manang (Prakaa)	^{4}**hrɤ**	enemy	Mazaudon 1994:177
Thakali (Marpha)	^{4}**ʈʌ**	enemy	Mazaudon 1978:60
Thakali (Syang)	^{L}**ʈa**	enemy	Mazaudon 1978:60
Thakali (Tukche)	^{4}**ʈə**	enemy	Mazaudon 1994:177
	^{4}**ʈʌ**	enemy	Mazaudon 1978:60

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**dʑɯ**^{35}	enemy (personal) / antagonizer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0197.16
Muya	**dʑa**^{33}ɦu^{53}	enemy (personal) / antagonizer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0197.15
Muya [Minyak]	**dʑa**^{35}wu^{33}	enemy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:297.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**dʑə**^{35}ɕə^{55}pe^{55}	enemy (personal) / antagonizer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0197.10
Pumi (Qinghua)	**bʐɯ**^{55}	enemy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:297.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**dʑa**^{53}wu^{55}	enemy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:297.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**dʑa**^{35}	enemy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:297.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʒdʒa**^{55}	enemy (personal) / antagonizer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0197.13
Xumi	**dʑɯ**^{35}	enemy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:297.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**dʑa**^{33}	enemy (personal) / antagonizer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0197.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**dʑa** wu	enemy (personal) / antagonizer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0197.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **grə**	enemy (personal) / antagonizer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0197.11
rGyalrong	**təngrɐ**	enemy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:297.12
Caodeng	**ʁgrɐ**(-jɐ)	enemy	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	tə-**grɐ**	enemy	Sun 1997b

Chinese comparandum

旅 OC ***gli̯o***, *GSR* #77a ‘guest, stranger; traveller; to travel, lodge; lodging’; Schuessler 2007:367 ***raʔ***; B & S 2011: ***raʔ {[r]aʔ}***; Mand. **lǚ**.

4.4.4 Friends and Acquaintances

(1) PNC *loom FRIEND

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Northern Chin*	***loom**	FRIEND	VanBik 2009:1023
Sizang	**lawm** pā	friend (male)	VanBik 2009:1023
Tiddim	**loːm**^{2}	friend	VanBik 2009:1023; Bhaskararao 1996:998

(2) PTani *ǰ $\begin{matrix}\text{o}\\\text{e}\end{matrix}$ n FRIEND

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***ǰon*~ ǰen**	friend	Sun 1993a:167

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**ǰĩ**	friend	Sun 1993b
	a-**ǰĩ** a-pɯ	friendly	Sun 1993b
	a-**ǰĩ** rhyme!	friend	Sun 1993a
	a-**ǰim**-pa	friendly	Sun 1993b
	a-**ǰĩŋ**	friend	Sun 1993b
	a-**ǰĩŋ** a-pɯ	friendship	Sun 1993b
	a-**ǰĩŋ**-bo	permanent friend	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**ǰin**	friend	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **tɕ̊en**	friend (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0201.24

	a **tɕen** ra:	make friends with (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1421.24
	a-**čen**	friend	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b [a]
	ñe-mə: a-**čen**	girl friend	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **tɕen**	friend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:296.51
Galo	a **ɟen**	friend	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻa **jen**	friend (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻa **jen**	befriend; bond with (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻa **jen**-a rum	circle of friends; friends (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻa **jen**-ʻa men	acquaintances (n:expr.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻjen nam	friends (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻtɨɨ **jen**	drinking buddy (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	miŋɟiŋ-nam a **ɟin**	sincere friend	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**ǰon**	friend	Sun 1993a

[a] [Source Note] initial! (Sun 1993a).

(3) PCN *ʃam FRIEND

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Central Naga*	*ʃam	FRIEND	Bruhn 2014a:III.134
Lotha Naga	o[1]-ʃəm[3]	friend (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.134
Sangtam	**shang** rü	friend	Kumar 1973a

(4) PTB *grwak FRIEND / ASSIST

The Chinese/WT comparison is due to Gong 2001: #28.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	*gljogw	friend	Coblin 1986:84
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*grwak	friend / assist	Matisoff 2003a:591
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**grogs**	friend	Marrison 1967
	grogs po	friend (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0201.01
	grogs po	friend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:296.1
	rogs	friend / companion	Weidert 1987:691
	rogs.pa	friend	Sun 1985c:292
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	佑	assist	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3553
	友	friend	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3543
	右	right hand	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3550; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3555
Chinese (GSR #)	**0995e**	friend	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3543
	0995i	right hand	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3550; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3555
	0995k	assist	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3553
	995i	right (hand)	Luce 1985:W.18
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gi̯ŭg/ji̯ə̯u**	right (hand)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:995i-j
	gi̯ŭg/ji̯ə̯u-	assist	Karlgren 1957:995k
	gi̯ŭg/ji̯ə̯u:	friend, friendly; associate, couple	Karlgren 1957:995e
	gi̯ŭg/ji̯ə̯u:, **ji̯ə̯u**-	right hand, on the right; to honour, esteem; assist; wait upon	Karlgren 1957:995i-j
Chinese (Old)	**gi̯ŭg**	right (hand)	Luce 1985:W.18
	gi̯ŭg	right side	Matisoff 1983:11
	m-**q**[w]**əʔ**-s ~ m-**q**[w]**əʔ**	right hand	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3550
	ɢ[w]**əʔ** {[ɢ][w]əʔ}	friend; right hand	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3543; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3555
	ɢ[w]**əʔ**-s	assist	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3553
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**hjuwH**	right hand; assist	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3550; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3553
	hjuwX	friend; right hand	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3543; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3555
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	perng **yoou**	friend	Sun 1985b:292
	yǒu	friend	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3543
	yòu	right hand; assist	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3550; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3553; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3555

Chinese comparandum

仇 Coblin 84 *GSR* #992

(5) PKC *hooy FRIEND / FELLOW

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	*hooy	FRIEND / FELLOW	VanBik 2009:716
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**ahaawy**	friend	VanBik 2009:716
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hôoy**	friend, fellow, kins	VanBik 2009:716
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**hèi**	fellow kindred	VanBik 2009:716

(6) PKC *rual PEERS / CONTEMPORARY / FRIEND

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	*rual	PEERS / CONTEMPORARY / FRIEND	VanBik 2009:960
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**gól**	friend	Thirumalai 1972:62
	gúol	friend, fellow	VanBik 2009:960
Tiddim	**-gual**	companion / friend (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**rûal**	peers, comtemporary, friend	VanBik 2009:960
Lai (Falam)	**rŭal**	peers, comtemporary, friend	VanBik 2009:960
Lushai [Mizo]	**rúal** ú	seniors or elders (”older peers”)	VanBik 2009:960

(7) TGTM *[A]ro(ː) friend

2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*[A]**ro(ː)**	friend	Mazaudon 1978:51
Tamang (Risiangku)	[3]**ro**	friend	Mazaudon 1978:51
Tamang (Sahu)	[3]**ro:**	friend	Mazaudon 1978:51
Tamang (Taglung)	[3]**ro:**	friend	Mazaudon 1978:51
Thakali (Marpha)	[3]**ro**	friend	Mazaudon 1978:51
Thakali (Syang)	[3]**ro**	friend	Mazaudon 1978:51
Thakali (Tukche)	[3]**ro**	friend	Mazaudon 1978:51

4.6.0 Ethnonyms/Place names

(1) PBod *r-gya CHINESE

WT **rgya**, glossed in Jäschke (p. 104) as “seal, stamp, mark, sign, token” is perhaps the origin of this ethnonym, which has somehow come to refer both to China and India, and by extension to European colonials in India. Jäschke observes (p. 106) that some scholars of his day derived it from **feringhi**, a general term for Europeans used since the Crusades, deriving ultimately from ‘Frank, France, French.’

The Qiangic/rGyalrongic forms all seem to be loans from Tibetan.

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rɟjæ**	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hdʑa** rək	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rɟja** rək	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**dʑa**[55]ri?[53]	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.03
	n̥a[55]**dza**[53]	ink (Chinese) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0649.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**dʑa**[53]	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ca**[13]ri?[13]	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.2
	cə[13]ri[52]	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.02
	nak[55]**tsha**[55]	ink (Chinese) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0649.02
Tibetan (Written)	**rgja**	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.01
	rgja rigs	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.01
	rgja rigs	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**dʑa** rəχ	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.04
	naχ **htsa**	ink (Chinese) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0649.04
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ndzɑ**[55]	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.18
Guiqiong	**dʑɛ**[35]	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.17
	ndʑɛ̃[35]	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.16
Lyuzu	**dʑæ**[53]	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.18
Muya	**ʁɐ̯**[24]	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ʁɐ**[35]	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.15
Namuyi	**ʁua**[53]	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.19
	va[53]	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.46
	ʁua[53]	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.10
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ɕə**[11]de[55]	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.09
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʂɛ**[13]	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.11
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʂɛ**[13]	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.10
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɕə**[35]	Chinese	Evans 1999:204
Qiang (Longxi)	**ʁèi**	Han Chinese	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.08
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʁəɹ**	Chinese (Han) (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.8
	ʁəˈ	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.9
Qiang (Taoping)	**ʁə**[33]	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.16
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**dʑa**[35]	Chinese	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.13
Queyu (Xinlong)	**rdʑa**[13]	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.14
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ɟja**[55] (ʐɲ[55])	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.12
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**rɟja**	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.11
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐdʑɛ**	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ndzɑ** rtsɑ	seed of Chinese prickly ash (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0448.11
	rɟjɐ rək	Chinese (Han) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0165.11 [a]
rGyalrong	**rɟjɐ** rək	Chinese	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:315.12
Caodeng	**ʁjɐ**-rtʃen	Chinese pepper	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	**dʒa**-stsaʔ	Chinese pepper	Sun 1997b

[a] rGyalrong **rɟjɐ rək** evidently a borrowing from a Tibetan binome (cf. WT **rgya rigs**), with the second element meaning ‘lineage, tribe, ethnic group’.

4.7.0 Kinship Terms

(1) PTB *daw BE RELATED

This reconstruction with the rhyme ***-aw*** replaces the earlier reconstruction ***do*** (*STC* #249, *HPTB* p. 204).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*do	related (as kin); related (be v.)	Matisoff 2003a:587; Benedict 1972:249
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**dō**	related (by birth / marriage)	Matisoff 1974:48
	do	related (be v.)	Benedict 1972:249
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**tau**	related (be v.)	Benedict 1972:249
	taw	related (by birth / marriage)	Matisoff 1974:48
	to	related by birth or marriage	Benedict 1976a

4.7.1 Previous generation

(1) PTB *p[w]a-n ≍ *b[w]a-n GRANDMOTHER

HPTB:174 incorrectly gives “*GSR* 25q” as the source of the OC reconstruction. Actually, however, this character is not to be found in *GSR*, but is cited in *STC*:174 as well as in Benedict 1942 (“Tibetan and Chinese kinship terms”).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*bwa-n	grandmother	Matisoff 2003a:585
	*pʷa ≍ bʷa	grandmother	Matisoff 2003a:608

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *bwa GRANDMOTHER

*Lolo-Burmese	*bwa	grandmother	Benedict 1972:24n78

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	phwɑ^{55}phwɑ^{55}	grandmother (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0217.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ɑ bwɑ^{55}	grandmother	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:318.40
Burmese (Written)	ă bhwà / ă phwà	grandmother	Benedict 1972:174n463
	a bhwā:	grandmother	Marrison 1967
	bhwâ	grandmother	Matisoff 1974:195; Benedict 1976a
	bhwɑ^{3}bhwɑ^{3}	grandmother (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0217.26
	khaŋ-pwàn	spouse	Benedict 1972:100n284; Benedict 1972:190n488
	khɑŋ-pwàn	spouse	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1173a-f
	phwâ	grandmother	Matisoff 1974:195; Benedict 1976a
	ə-bhwâ	grandmother	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ^{1}bhwɑ^{3}	grandmother	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:318.39
	ă bhwà~ă phwă	grandmother	Chou Fa-kao 1972:25q
	ʔə phwâ	grandmother	Matisoff 1974:195

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	b‘wâ/b‘uâ	old woman / grandmother	Chou Fa-kao 1972:25q

Chinese comparandum

婆 OC ***b’wâ***, *GSR* #25q ‘saunter, dance’; Schuessler 2007:416 ***buâ*** ‘old woman’; B & S 2011: ***b^{ʕ}aj {[b]^{ʕ}aj}*** ‘saunter, dance’; Mand. **pó**.

Karlgren cites 婆 **pó** as *GSR* #25q with the gloss “dance, saunter”; this meaning is attested in ancient sources such as Er Ya 爾雅, but is not relevant to the present comparandum. The meaning “old woman, grandmother, female relative”, which does concern us here, is attested for 婆 **pó** in post-Han times, and is the only meaning commonly associated with 婆 **pó** in modern standard Chinese. Of course, it is possible (and it is our assumption) that a Chinese etymon “old woman, …”, reconstructed as OC ***b’wâ*** or similar, existed in Han times or earlier. [SPB]

(2a) PTB *pʷa MAN / FATHER / HUSBAND / PERSON

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*-pa	masc. gender suffix; father	Benedict 1972:p.96; Benedict 1972:24
	*pʷa	man / father / husband / person	Matisoff 2003a:608

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	pa-ʔây	step-father	VanBik 2009:508
Lushai [Mizo]	pa	father	Benedict 1972:24

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	páw-èi	step father	VanBik 2009:508

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *a-pwaʔ FATHER

*Central Naga	*a-pwaʔ	FATHER	Bruhn 2014a:III.037
*Ao	*pwaʔ-ti-əɹ	PRIEST	Bruhn 2014a:II.031
	*t-pwaʔ	FATHER	Bruhn 2014a:II.371
Ao (Chungli)	pu^{1} ti ɹ^{32}	priest (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.031
	pu ti r	priest	Marrison 1967
	tam bu r	old man	Marrison 1967
	ta nu r-te bu r	boy	Marrison 1967
	te bu	father	Marrison 1967
	te bu r	man (male)	Marrison 1967
	tə^{3}-puʔ^{3}	father (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.371
	^{3}tɯ^{3}puʔ	father	Weidert 1987:121
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	pàʔ tí ɹ	priest (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.031
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	pa ti r	priest	Marrison 1967
	tsün ba r	old man	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-paʔ	father (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	pu^{1}-tiʔ^{3}	priest, village headman (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.037
	pu thi	priest	Marrison 1967
	pvü ti	priest	Murry *et al.* 1978:92
Sangtam	^{1}u^{1}va	father	Weidert 1987:121
Yacham-Tengsa	a pu	father	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a pu	father	Marrison 1967
	a puh	father	Kumar 1973b:68
	^{1}a^{2}buʔ	father	Weidert 1987:121

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{5}u^{1}pfu	father	Weidert 1987:324
Ntenyi	a pa	father	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a pu	father	Marrison 1967
	^{1}a^{1}pu	father	Weidert 1987:121

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	pha ≍ əpa	father	Benedict 1972:24

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	pha ≍ ʔapha ≍ ʔapa	father	Benedict 1972:24

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	ă bhá	father	Benedict 1972:24
	bhá	father	Benedict 1972:24

Chinese comparandum

夫 OC ***pi̯wo***; *GSR* #101a-d ‘man’; B & S 2011: ***pa {p(r)a}***; Mand. **fū**.

(2b) PTB *wa MAN / FATHER / HUSBAND / PERSON

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*wa	man; father; husband; person; husband, man, person	Matisoff 2003a:618; Benedict 1972:100

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *waa HUSBAND

*Chin	*waa	HUSBAND	VanBik 2009:1154
*Kuki	*wa	husband, man, person	Benedict 1972:100

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	p‘o wá	husband	VanBik 2009:1154
Khumi	jovoó	husband	VanBik 2009:1154

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	va	husband, man, person	Benedict 1972:100
	vâa	husband	VanBik 2009:1154
Lai (Falam)	văa	husband	VanBik 2009:1154

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	và-pá	husband	VanBik 2009:1154
	ə wa-pa	husband, man, person	Benedict 1972:100

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	^{1}ə^{1}va	father	Weidert 1987:324

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Moshang)	wa	father	Benedict 1972:24

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	-wa ≍ ə wa	father	Benedict 1972:24
	wā	man	Matisoff 1974:241
	wa	human being	Benedict 1972:100
	wə lī	male human being	Matisoff 1974:261

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Kadu	ə wa	father	Benedict 1972:24

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	ə wa	father	Benedict 1972:24

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	ə vo	husband, man, person	Benedict 1972:100

2.1.5. Dhimal

Dhimal	wa-džan	boy	Benedict 1972:100
	wa-val	man	Benedict 1972:100

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	vɛ	male	Sun Hongkai 1991b:10.3

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Yellow)	và	man; man, person	Matisoff 1974:241; Benedict 1972:100

7. Karenic: *khwa^{A} MAN, MALE

*Karen	*khwàh	male (human)	Jones 1961:168
	*khwa^{A}	man, male	Luangthongkum 2013:183
*Karen [Burling]	*khwa^{4}	man, male	Luangthongkum 2013:183
Bwe	-bo^{11}kho^{55}	man, male	Luangthongkum 2013:183
Kayah	khu^{33}	man, male	Luangthongkum 2013:183
Kayan	khau^{53}	man, male	Luangthongkum 2013:183
Kayaw	khu^{55}	man, male	Luangthongkum 2013:183
Pa-O (Southern)	kho$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	man, male	Luangthongkum 2013:183
Pa-O (Northern)	kho$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	man, male	Luangthongkum 2013:183
Pa-O	wa	husband, man, person	Benedict 1972:100
Pwo (Northern)	khwa^{35}	man, male	Luangthongkum 2013:183
Pwo (Southern)	khwa^{53}	man, male	Luangthongkum 2013:183
Sgaw (Northern)	khwa^{33}	man, male	Luangthongkum 2013:183
Sgaw (Southern)	khwa^{55}	man, male	Luangthongkum 2013:183

(3) PTB *ney ≍ *ni(y) AUNT / MOTHER-IN-LAW

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*ney ≍ ni(y)	aunt	Matisoff 2003a:604
	*ni(y)	aunt; aunt (father’s sister), mother-in-law	LaPolla 1987:58; Benedict 1972:316

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *nii AUNT (father’s sister)

*Chin	*nii	AUNT (father’s sister)	VanBik 2009:801

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	nī	paternal aunt	VanBik 2009:801
Thado	níi	aunt	VanBik 2009:801
Tiddim	ni^{2}	aunt (paternal), father’s sister	VanBik 2009:801

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	níí	father’s sister	VanBik 2009:801

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	nîi	aunt (father’s sister)	VanBik 2009:801
Lai (Falam)	nĭi	aunt (father’s sister)	VanBik 2009:801
Lushai [Mizo]	ní	aunt (a paternal aunt)	VanBik 2009:801
	ni	paternal aunt; aunt; aunt (father’s sister), mother-in-law	Bhaskararao 1996:1225; LaPolla 1987:58; Benedict 1972:316

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Yimchungrü	²ni	elder sister	Weidert 1987:163

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	a ni	aunt	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *ni MOTHER-IN-LAW / PATERNAL AUNT

*Tangkhulic	*ni	mother-in-law / paternal aunt	Mortensen 2012:355
Huishu	ʔa-nik	mother-in-law	Mortensen 2012:People.021
Kachai	ʔa-nɐ	mother-in-law	Mortensen 2012:People.019
Tusom	ʔa-nɯ	mother-in-law	Mortensen 2012:People.024
Ukhrul	a-ni	mother-in-law	Mortensen 2012

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ni	aunt (father’s sister), mother-in-law	Benedict 1972:316
	nni	aunt	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	ma-ni	aunt; aunt (father’s sister), mother-in-law	LaPolla 1987:58; Benedict 1972:316
Garo (Bangladesh)	ma-ni	aunt (FaSi); mother in law (n.)	Burling 2003:6.612-II:idx

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa	^{1}ʌ^{1}ŋi(ʔ)	aunt	Weidert 1987:163

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	a nyi	aunt	Marrison 1967
	ñí	aunt	Weidert 1987:163

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	ni	aunt (father’s sister), mother-in-law	Benedict 1972:316

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	ə ne	aunt (father’s sister), mother-in-law	Benedict 1972:316

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	ə nye	aunt (father’s sister), mother-in-law	Benedict 1972:316
Motuo Menba	ʔa ȵi	aunt <mother’s brother’s wife>; aunt <father’s sister> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0239.07; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0243.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	a ni	aunt <wife of father’s elder brother>; aunt <wife of father’s younger brother>; aunt <mother’s sister>; aunt <father’s sister> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0231.05; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0233.05,0241.05; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0243.05

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	a **ne**	aunt (paternal); aunt (wife of maternal uncle); aunt (maternal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:326.4; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:328.4; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:330.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	a **ne**	aunt (paternal); aunt (wife of maternal uncle); aunt (maternal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:326.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:328.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:330.5
Tibetan (Balti)	a **ne**·	aunt (maternal)	Rangan 1975:49
Tibetan (Batang)	ʔa^{55}**ne**^{53}	aunt <father's sister> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0243.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	ʔa^{53}**ni**^{53}	aunt (paternal, elder); aunt (wife of younger paternal; aunt (paternal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:322.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:324.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:326.3
	ʔ^{53}**ni**^{53}	aunt (wife of maternal uncle)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:328.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	ə^{55}**ni**^{55}	aunt <wife of father's elder brother>; aunt <wife of father's younger brother>; aunt <father's sister> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0231.02; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0233.02; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0243.02
Tibetan (Written)	ʔa **ne**	aunt <father's sister> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0243.01
	ʔa **ne**	aunt (paternal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:326.1
	ʔa **ne** ~ **nene**-mo	aunt (father's sister), mother-in-law; aunt	Benedict 1972:316; LaPolla 1987:58
Tibetan (Xiahe)	ʔa **ne**	aunt <wife of father's elder brother>; aunt <wife of father's younger brother>; aunt <mother's brother's wife>; aunt <mother's sister>; aunt <father's sister> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0231.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0233.04,0239.04,0241.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0243.04

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**nini**	aunt (paternal)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**nini**	paternal aunt, older / younger than father	Driem 1993

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**njɨ**	aunt (paternal), father's sister	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3894

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	a^{35}**ji**^{55}	mother-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0246.16
	a^{55}**ji**^{55}	aunt <mother's brother's wife>; aunt <mother's sister> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0239.16; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0241.16
	ɑ^{33}**ji**^{55}	mother-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:332.17
Muya	æ^{33}**ni**^{53}	aunt <father's sister> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0243.15
Muya [Minyak]	ɛ^{33}**ni**^{55}	aunt (paternal, elder); aunt (paternal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:322.15; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:326.15
Namuyi	ɛ^{55}**nɛ**^{55}	aunt (paternal, elder)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:322.19
	ɛ^{55}**ȵi**^{33}	aunt (paternal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:326.19
	æ^{53}**ni**^{31}	aunt <father's sister> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0243.46
Pumi (Lanping)	a^{55}**ni**^{55}	aunt <father's sister>; mother-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0243.09; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0246.09
	ni^{13}**ni**^{13}	aunt <mother's brother's wife> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0239.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	a^{55}**ni**^{55}	mother-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:332.11
	ni^{13}**ni**^{13}	aunt (wife of maternal uncle)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:328.11
Qiang (Longxi)	à **nə́**	father's older brother's wife; father's younger brother's wife	Evans 1999:288; Evans 1999:290
Qiang (Mawo)	e **ni**	aunt (paternal, elder); aunt (wife of younger paternal; aunt (paternal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:322.8; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:324.8; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:326.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	ʁuè **nə́**	father's older brother's wife; mother's sister; father's sister (3d person); mother-in-law	Evans 1999:288; Evans 1999:300,302; Evans 1999:305
	ʁuè **ȵə́**	mother-in-law	Evans 1999:305
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**nɪ**^{33}**nɪ**^{55}	aunt <father's sister> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0243.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	**əni**	aunt (father's sister), mother-in-law	Benedict 1972:316

4. Nungic

Anong	**əni**	aunt (father's sister), mother-in-law	Benedict 1972:316

(4) PTB * g/k əw-n ELDER BROTHER / SENIOR MALE RELATIVE

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***gjəɣw** ~ **k(h)jəɣw**	uncle	Coblin 1986:154
	***kəw**~**gəw**	maternal uncle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:417a-b

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gəw-n** ~ **kəw-n**	elder brother / senior male relative	Matisoff 2003a:590
	***kuw**	uncle (mother's brother); father-in-law; uncle; uncle (maternal)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1067b; LaPolla 1987:6; Benedict 1972:255

1.1.1. Tani: *kɯ UNCLE (maternal)

**Tani*	***kɯ**	uncle (maternal)	Sun 1993a:443

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**ku**	uncle (maternal)	Sun 1993a
	á-**ku**	maternal uncle	Sun 1993b
	a-**ku**	uncle (maternal)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**kɯ**	uncle (maternal); mother's brother	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **kɯ**	uncle <mother's brother> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0238.24
	a-**kɯ**	uncle (maternal); mother's brother	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **kɯ**	uncle (maternal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:327.51
Galo	a **kə**	maternal uncle; uncle (maternal) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	kɨ dəə	maternal uncle (third); third maternal uncle; uncle (maternal, third) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	kɨ roo	maternal uncle (second); second maternal uncle; uncle (maternal, second) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'kɨ tə	eldest maternal uncle; maternal uncle (eldest); uncle (maternal, eldest); uncle-in-law (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Tagin	a **kɯ**	maternal uncle; uncle	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**kɯ**; ka-**kɯ**	uncle (maternal)	Sun 1993a
Milang	a **ki**	wife of paternal; maternal uncle; uncle (maternal)	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	ə **kü**	uncle; uncle, father-in-law	LaPolla 1987:6; Benedict 1972:255

1.1.2. Deng

Digaro	(na-)**ku**	uncle (maternal), father-in-law	Benedict 1972:255
Yidu	nɑ^{55} **ku**^{55}	uncle <mother's brother> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0238.25

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *ku UNCLE / FATHER-IN-LAW

**Central Naga*	***ku**	UNCLE / FATHER-IN-LAW	Bruhn 2014a:III.076
**Ao*	*t-**ku**	UNCLE (MATERNAL) / FATHER-IN-LAW	Bruhn 2014a:II.058
Ao (Chungli)	o **khu**	uncle; uncle, father-in-law	LaPolla 1987:6; Benedict 1972:255
	tə^{2}-**ku**^{2}	uncle (maternal) / father-in-law (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.058
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**ku**	father-in-law; maternal uncle (n.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007
Sangtam	a **kü**	uncle	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	i **ku**	father-in-law	Benedict 1972:255

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ni-**hu**	uncle (maternal), father-in-law	Benedict 1972:255

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**gû**	father (in law) / relative (male, respected)	Matisoff 1974:55
	ku	uncle; father-in-law	LaPolla 1987:6; Benedict 1972:255
	ku^{51}	uncle <father's sister's husba (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0242.19
Jingpho (Hkauri)	**kû**	father-in-law / brother-in-law	Matisoff 1974:55

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**khu** bo	uncle	Marrison 1967
	ʔa **khu**	uncle <father's elder brother>; uncle <father's younger brother> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0230.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0232.01
	ʔa **khu**	uncle (paternal, elder); uncle (paternal, younger)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:321.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:323.1
	ʔa **khu** / **khu**-bo	uncle (father's brother)	Benedict 1972:100n284
	ʔa **khu**	uncle	LaPolla 1987:6
	ʔa **khu** ~ **khu**-bo	uncle (maternal), father-in-law	Benedict 1972:255

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**ku-ku**	uncle (maternal), father-in-law	Benedict 1972:255
Hayu	**ku-ku**	uncle (maternal), father-in-law	Benedict 1972:255

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Longxi)	á **kù**	mother's brother	Evans 1999:297
Qiang (Mianchi)	à **kù**	mother's brother (direct)	Evans 1999:297.1
	ʁuè **kù**	mother's brother	Evans 1999:297

4. Nungic

Anong	ə **khö**	uncle, father-in-law	Benedict 1972:255

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**-kui**	older brother	Chou Fa-kao 1972:417a-b; Benedict 1972:158n428
	ac **kui**	brother (elder)	Marrison 1967
	ats-**kui**	older brother	Benedict 1972:112
	kui	brother esp. elder; brother; uncle; honorific affix	Matisoff 1974:55; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:6; Benedict 1972:255

9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	/**kuən**~**kʻuən**	older brother / descendent	Chou Fa-kao 1972:417a-b
	kwən/kuən	brother (elder);descendants;afterwards;numerous / sw	Karlgren 1957:417a-b
Chinese (Old)	**kwən**	older brother / descendent	Chou Fa-kao 1972:417a-b

Chinese comparandum

舊 OC ***kôg***, *GSR* #1067c-e 'old (not new); ancient'; Schuessler 2007:321 ***gwəʔ***; B & S 2011: ***N-kʷəʔ-s***; Mand. **jiù**.
舅 OC ***gʼi̯ôg***, *GSR* #1067b 'maternal uncle; spouse's father'; Coblin 86:154 ST ***gjəɣw*** > OC ***gjəgwx***; Schuessler 2007:321 ***guʔ***; Mand. **jiù**.
昆 OC ***kwən***, *GSR* #417a-b 'older brother; descendent'; Schuessler 2007:340 ***kûn***; B & S 2011: ***kˤun {kˤu [n] }***; Mand. **kūn**.

(5) PTB *ʔ-pəy GRANDMOTHER

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***pyid**	grandmother / ancestress	Coblin 1986:88
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***piy**	great-grandfather; grandmother	Weidert 1987:281; LaPolla 1987:65; Benedict 1972:36
	***pəy**	great-grandfather; grandmother	Chou Fa-kao 1972:566n-o; Weidert 1987:281
	***ʔ-pəy**	grandmother	Matisoff 2003a:607
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***pii** GRANDMOTHER			
**Chin*	***pii**	GRANDMOTHER	VanBik 2009:151
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**píi**	grandmother	VanBik 2009:151
Tiddim	**pi²**	grandmother	VanBik 2009:151
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**pîi**	grandmother	VanBik 2009:151
Lai (Falam)	**pǐi**	grandmother	VanBik 2009:151
Lushai [Mizo]	**pi**	grandmother	Marrison 1967
	pí	grandmother, great grandmother	VanBik 2009:151
	pi	grandmother; greatgrandmother; maternal uncle's wi	Bhaskararao 1996:1380; LaPolla 1987:65; Benedict 1972:36
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pì**	grandfather	VanBik 2009:151
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***bɨ** GRANDMOTHER / MOTHER / AUNT / FEMALE			
**Tangkhulic*	***bɨ**	grandmother / mother / aunt / female	Mortensen 2012:596
Champhung	i-**pe**	mother	Brown 1837
Kachai	ʔa-**we**	mother	Mortensen 2012:People.007
Tangkhul (Northern)	a-**pʰɯ**	mother	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	a-**vɯ**	mother	Brown 1837
Tusom	xu-**pvɯ**	pig, female	Mortensen 2012:Animals.028
Ukhrul	ʔa-**vu**	mother	Mortensen 2012
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**phi**	grandmother	Benedict 1972:36
	sar **pi**	old woman	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	a(m)bi	grandmother	Benedict 1972:36
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**a**-pi	grandmother	Benedict 1972:36
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Balti)	a **pi**·	grandmother	Rangan 1975:21; Rangan 1975:47; Rangan 1975:51
Tibetan (Written)	ḥa-**phyi** ⩵ **phyi**-mo	grandmother	Benedict 1972:36
	phyi-mo	grandmother	Weidert 1987:281
	ʔa **phji**	grandmother (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0217.01
	ʔa **phji**	grandmother	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:318.1
	ʔa-**phyi**	grandmother	Weidert 1987:281
	ʔa-**phyi**~**phyi**-mo	grandmother	LaPolla 1987:65
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**pi**-pi	grandmother	Benedict 1972:36
Hayu	**pi**-pi	grandmother	Benedict 1972:36
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	a **phè**-má	great grandmother	LaPolla 1987:65
	ă **phè**-má	great-grandmother	Benedict 1972:36
Leqi (Luxi)	**phji**^{55}maŋ^{33}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.33
Maru [Langsu]	a^{31}**phjik**^{55}	grandmother	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:318.43
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	à-**phì**-mò	old woman	Björverud 1994
Yi (Weishan)	a^{21}**fi**^{21}ṃ^{21}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.36
Yi (Wuding)	ɑ^{55}**phi**^{33}mɒ^{55}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	a^{44}**phi**^{44}jo^{42}kha^{42}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.44
Kucong	a31 **bi35** mʌ33	old woman	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	a-**pi**	grandmother; grand-mother	LaPolla 1987:65; Benedict 1972:121n335; Benedict 1972:36
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**pi**^{33}	grandmother (address); mother-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0217.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0246.43
	ɑ^{33} **pi**^{33} qu^{33}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.43
	ɑ^{33}**pi**^{33}	grandmother (reference) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0217.43
Lahu (Black)	ɔ^{31}**pi**^{33}	grandmother	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:318.33
Yi (Sani)	ɒ^{55}**phɪ**^{11}mo^{11}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Thai)	à **phì**	old woman	Hansson 1989:99
Akha (Yunnan)	à **phì**	old woman	Hansson 1989:99
Akha (Thai)	à **phì** zà mɔ̀	old woman	Hansson 1989:274
Bisu	jà **bì** jà màŋ	old woman	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	à **phì**	old woman	Hansson 1989:99
	à **phì** tshó mò	old woman	Hansson 1989:274
	a^{31}**phi**^{31}tsho^{55}mo^{31}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.41
Hani (Wordlist)	aq **piq**-	old woman	Hansson 1989:99
	aq **piq** ssaq moq	old woman	Hansson 1989:274
Hani (Mojiang)	ɔ^{31}**phi**^{31}zɔ^{31}mu^{31}	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.42
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pi̯ər/pji**-	mother (deceased)	Karlgren 1957:566a-f
	pi̯ər/pji:	mother (deceased)	Karlgren 1957:566a-f
	pi̯ər/pyi	deceased mother / ancestress	Chou Fa-kao 1972:566n-o
Chinese (Old)	**pjijʔ**	deceased mother / ancestress	Baxter 1992:1205

Chinese comparandum

妣 OC ***pi̯ər***, *GSR* #566a-f 'mother (deceased), ancestress'; Coblin 86:88 ST ***pyid*** > OC ***pjidx***; Schuessler 2007:162 ***piʔ***~***pihʔ***; B & S 2011: ***pijʔ***~***pijʔ-s*** ; Mand. **bǐ**~**bì**.

(6) PTani *to FATHER-IN-LAW

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***to**	father-in-law	Sun 1993a:142
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	*dokan a-**to**	shopkeeper	Sun 1993b
	a-**to**	father-in-law	Sun 1993a
	á-**to**	father-in-law	Sun 1993b
	a-**to**	father-in-law	Sun 1993b
	á-**to**	grandfather	Sun 1993b
	a-**to** (bo)	grandfather	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**tu**	father-in-law	Sun 1993a
	a-**tu:**	father-in-law; grandfather; master	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **to**	host; master; grandfather; father-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0212.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0245.24
	a-**to**	father-in-law; grandfather; master, lord	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	to:-**to**	grandfather	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **to**	grandfather; father-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:317.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:331.51
Galo	ʻa **to**	father-in-law; grandfather; lord; master (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	a **to**	father-in-law, grandfather	Simon 1976
Tagin	a **tu**	father-in-law; grandfather; maternal grandfather; paternal grandfather	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**to**	father-in-law	Sun 1993a

(7) PTB *pəw GRANDFATHER / OLDER BROTHER

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***puw**	grandfather; elder brother, grandfather	Weidert 1987:280; Benedict 1972:23
	***pəw**	grandfather	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:606
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***puu** GRANDFATHER			
**Chin*	***puu**	GRANDFATHER	VanBik 2009:150
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**pu**	grandfather	VanBik 2009:150
Sizang	a **pū**	grandfather	VanBik 2009:150
Thado	**púu**	grandfather	VanBik 2009:150
Tiddim	**pu²**	grandfather, grandfather's sister's husband, grandmother's sister's husband	VanBik 2009:150
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**apŏ**	grandfather	VanBik 2009:150
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**pûu**	grandfather	VanBik 2009:150
Lai (Falam)	**pŭu**	grandfather	VanBik 2009:150
Lushai [Mizo]	**pu**	grandfather	Benedict 1972:23
	púu	grandfather, a great grandfather (n.)	VanBik 2009:150
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pù**	grandfather	VanBik 2009:150
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	o **bu**	grandfather	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **vü**	grandfather	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**u**	grandfather (maternal) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Yimchungrü	**²bɯ**	grandfather	Weidert 1987:280
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***bu** GRANDFATHER / UNCLE			
**Tangkhulic*	***bu**	grandfather / uncle	Mortensen 2012:600
Huishu	ʔa-**vuk**	grandfather / father-in-law	Mortensen 2012
Kachai	hi-**vu**	grandfather	Mortensen 2012
Tusom	ʔə-**pvɯ**	grandfather, paternal	Mortensen 2012:People.004
Ukhrul	ʔa-**wo**	grandfather, uncle, father-in-law	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	i **pu**	grandfather	Benedict 1972:23
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**phu**	grandfather	Benedict 1972:23
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**bu**	grandfather	Benedict 1972:23
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**phu**	elder brother, grandfather	Benedict 1972:23
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**phu**-bo	elder brother, grandfather	Benedict 1972:23
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGBenzhen	ta-**vu** < -w-	grandfather	Sun 1997b
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-bəw²** GRANDFATHER			

Lolo-Burmese	*ʔ-**bəw²**	grandfather	Matisoff 2003a:584
	***ʔpuw²**	grandfather	Matisoff 1978a:1
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**phɑ⁵⁵**nɑi⁵⁵	maternal grandfather	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɑ³¹**phɑu³¹**	grandfather	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**phau⁵⁵**	grandfather	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	phau⁵⁵nai³⁵	maternal grandfather	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	a⁵⁵**phau³⁵**	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**bo⁵⁵bo⁵⁵** (**pho⁵⁵pho⁵⁵**)	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ɑ **bo⁵⁵**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.40
Burmese (Written)	a **bhui:**	grandfather	Marrison 1967
	ă **phui** (ă **bhuì**)	grandfather	Benedict 1972:23
	bho³bho³	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.26
	ə-**bhûi**	grandfather	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**phûi**	grandfather	Benedict 1976a
	ə **bhuì**	grandfather	Weidert 1987:280
	ə **phuì**	grandfather	Weidert 1987:280
	ɑ¹**bho³**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.39
	ʔə **pʰûi**	grandfather	Matisoff 1978a:1
Hpun (Northern)	ă **fu'**	grandfather	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	a³¹**phuk⁵⁵**	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.31
Leqi (Luxi)	a³¹**phou⁵⁵**	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.33
Marma	ə **phú**	grandfather	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:153-4
Maru [Langsu]	a³¹**phuk⁵⁵**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.43
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
Loloish	*ʔə **po²**	grandfather	Weidert 1987:280; Bradley 1979b:190
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Luquan	**p'ɤ̣⁵⁵**	grandfather	MA Xueliang 1948
Nusu (Central)	a⁵⁵**pɔ³³**	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	iɑ⁵⁵**pɔ⁵⁵**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.45
Nusu (Northern)	ɑ³¹**pɔ⁵⁵**mɯ³⁵ɑ⁵⁵	grandfather	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	a³³**bɯ³³**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a³⁴**phu³³**	grandfather	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	ʌ³³**pu⁵⁵**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ʌ⁵⁵**po⁵⁵**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.26
Yi (Nanhua)	ɑ²¹**po³³**	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.37
	ʌ²¹**po³³**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.24
Yi (Wuding)	ɑ̱⁵⁵**phɤ̣³³**	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.38
Yi (Xide)	a⁴⁴**phu³³**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.21
	ɑ³⁴**phu³³**	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	a³³**phu³³**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.34
	a⁴⁴**phu⁴⁴**	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ⁴⁴**phu⁴⁴**	grandfather; maternal grandfather	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986; GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	a31 **bv35**	grandfather	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ³¹**pu¹¹**	grandfather (address) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.43
	ɑ³¹**pu¹¹**	grandfather (reference) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.43
Lahu (Black)	ɔ̀-**pū**	grandfather	Matisoff 1978a:1
	ʌ³³**pu²¹**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.33
Yi (Sani)	ɒ⁴⁴**bɣ̣⁵⁵**	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	à **bɔ́**	grandfather	Hansson 1989:262
Akha (Thai)	à **bɔ́**	grandfather	Hansson 1989:262
Hani (Lüchun)	à **bó**	grandfather	Hansson 1989:262
	a **phö**	great grandfather, ancestor	Hansson 1989:358
Hani (Dazhai)	a³¹**bo⁵⁵**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.31
Hani (Lüchun)	a³¹**bo⁵⁵**	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	a³¹**bɔ⁵⁵**	grandfather	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	aq **bbol**	grandfather	Hansson 1989:262
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ³¹**pɣ̣⁵⁵**	grandfather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:317.32
Hani (Mojiang)	ɔ³¹**pɣ̣⁵⁵**	grandfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0216.42
Mpi	phi²**pu⁴**	grandfather	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	pʰi²-**pu⁴**	grandfather	Matisoff 1978a:1
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Southern Muji	**pʰɯ²¹**ɬɯ⁵⁵	grandfather + grandchildren (CLF)	Palkey 2011:422
Phola	**pʰɯ³³**	grandfather + grandchildren (CLF)	Palkey 2011:422

(8) PTB *bʷaŋ ≍ *pʷaŋ UNCLE / ELDER BROTHER / SENIOR MALE RELATIVE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
Tibeto-Burman	***bwɑŋ**	uncle (usu. father's brother)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:765a-e
	***bʷaŋ ≍ pʷaŋ**	uncle / elder brother / senior male relative	Matisoff 2003a:585
	***pwaŋ**	uncle	LaPolla 1987:164
1.1.1. TANI: ***paŋ** UNCLE (paternal)			
Tani	***paŋ**	uncle (paternal)	Sun 1993a:444
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	a-**pa:**	uncle (paternal); father's brother	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **paŋ**	uncle <father's elder brother>; uncle <father's younger brother>; stepfather (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0230.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0232.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0250.24
	a-**paŋ**	uncle (paternal); stepfather	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **paŋ**	uncle (paternal, elder); uncle (paternal, younger)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:321.51; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:323.51
Tagin	a **pa**	paternal uncle	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	**pa**-	uncle (paternal)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**pa:**-ji	uncle (paternal); father's younger brother	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Milang	a **pa**	uncle (paternal)	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	**poŋ³⁵**	uncle <father's elder brother>; uncle <father's younger brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0230.23; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0232.23
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
Bodo-Garo	***waŋ**	father's younger brother	Burling 1959:441
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	a-**waŋ**	uncle; father's younger brother	LaPolla 1987:164; Benedict 1972:23n78
Garo (Bangladesh)	a-**wang**	uncle (FaYoBr) (n.)	Burling 2003:6.611-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	a **wang**	1. uncle: father's younger brother, 2. what children call their stepfather (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	wang	1. uncle: father's younger brother 2. stepfather (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Tangsa (Moshang)	a **bang**	uncle	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	a **vang**	uncle	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	ʔa-**baŋ** / **baŋ**-po	father's or mother's sister's husband	Benedict 1972:23n78
	ʔa-**baŋ**~**baŋ**-po	father's / mother's sister's husband	LaPolla 1987:164
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	am **bhaŋ** **phaŋ**	my paternal uncle paternal uncle	Ebert 1997 Ebert 1997
Limbu	am-**paŋ**-a	uncle	LaPolla 1987:164
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**poŋ-poŋ**	uncle	LaPolla 1987:164
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**paŋ**	husband's younger brother (nk.)	Caughley 2000
	paŋ	uncle; father's brother	LaPolla 1987:164; Benedict 1972:23n78
	paŋ.gu	husband's younger brother (arch.) (nk.)	Caughley 2000
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Lashi	**vaŋ**-mo	father's older sister's husband, husband's father	LaPolla 1987:164; Benedict 1972:23n78
Atsi [Zaiwa]	a⁵⁵**va²¹**mo⁵⁵	uncle <father's elder brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0230.30
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Xide)	phɑ⁵⁵**vu³³**	uncle <father's elder brother>; uncle <father's younger brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0230.35; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0232.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lisu (Northern)	a⁵⁵**ɣɔ²¹**ma³³	father's elder brother's wife; mother's sister (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a⁵⁵**ɣɔ²¹**pha²¹	father's elder brother (respectful address form to elderly males) (N.)	Bradley 1994
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**xi̯wăŋ**	elder brother (n.)	Karlgren 1957:765a-e

Chinese comparandum

STC p. 174 derives *GSR*'s OC ***xi̯wăŋ** from an earlier ****plwăŋ** on the basis of a possible connection with 伯 OC ***păk** (*GSR* 782i) 'eldest brother', as well as a putative parallel example of PST ***labial-plus-w** clusters becoming **χw-** in OC, i.e., PTB ***bʷar ≍ *pʷar** BURN / FIRE / KINDLE / ROAST (§3.2.12) 燔 ***bʻi̯wăn** BURN / ROAST (*GSR* 195i) ≍ 火 ***χwâr** (*GSR* 353a-c).

Also see PTB ***maŋ** BIG / ELDER (BROTHER, UNCLE) / OLD (§9.7.2).

(9) PTani *bo FATHER

1.1.1. TANI			
Tani	***bo**	father	Sun 1993a:141
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	a-**bu:**	father	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**bu:** a-pa:	relative (male, elder)	Sun 1993b
	a-**bu:** či:	stepfather	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **bo**	father (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0218.24
	a-**bo**	father	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **bo**	father	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:319.51
Galo	a **bo**	father (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	a **bo**	father	Das Gupta 1963
	paa **bo**	father (n:poet.)	GLDC 2009
	'kim **bo**	child's spouse's father (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ˆa **bo**	father	Weidert 1987:729
Miri, Hill	a **by**	father, maternal uncle ?	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **bu**	father	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **bu**	father	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**bu**~ ab-**bo**	father	Sun 1993a
Mishing [Miri]	(ă-)**bu** riaŋ	father's younger brother	Benedict 1972:48n156
1.1.2. DENG			
Yidu	nɑ⁵⁵**bɑ⁵⁵**	father (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0218.25
	nɑ⁵⁵**bɑ⁵⁵**lɯi⁵⁵ɑ⁵⁵	uncle <father's younger brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0232.25
	nɑ⁵⁵**bɑ⁵⁵**pɯi⁵⁵ɑ⁵⁵	uncle <father's elder brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0230.25
	nɑ⁵⁵**bɑ⁵⁵**ɑ³¹	uncle <father's sister's husba (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0242.25

(10) PTB *kaŋ FATHER / GRANDFATHER / HONORIFIC

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kaŋ**	father / grandfather	Matisoff 2003a:595
	***kaŋ**-k[ɑ,ɑ:]ŋ	father / grandfather (vocative) (honorific)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1173a-f

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	a-**kaŋ**	grandfather	Benedict 1972:190n488
	ɑ-**kɑŋ**	father / grandfather (vocative) (honorific)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1173a-f
	ɑ^{31}**kɑŋ**^{53}	grandfather	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:317.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɑ^{31}**khɑŋ**^{53}	grandfather; maternal grandfather	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**khaŋ**-bhya	sir, madam	Benedict 1972:190n488 [a]
	khaŋ-pwàn	spouse	Benedict 1972:100n284; Benedict 1972:190n488
	khɑŋ-bhyɑ	sir / madam	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1173a-f
	khɑŋ-pwàn	spouse	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1173a-f
	mí-**khaŋ**	mother	Benedict 1972:190n488
	mi-**khɑŋ**	mother	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1173a-f
	phá-**khaŋ**	father	Benedict 1972:190n488
	phɑ́-**khɑŋ**	father	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1173a-f

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kung/kung**	father, prince	Karlgren 1957:1173a-f
Chinese (Old)	**kuŋ**	father / grandfather (vocative) (honorific)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1173a-f

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**kung**	father, prince	Karlgren 1957:1173a-f

[a] The second syllable of this WB form has a variant **bhyâ**.

Chinese comparandum

公 OC ***kung**, *GSR* #1173a-f; B & S 2011: ***C.qˤoŋ**; Mand. **gōng**.
翁 OC (***ʔung**), *GSR* (not in #1173) 'old man'; Schuessler 2007:515 ***ʔôŋ**; B & S 2011: (***qˤoŋ**); Mand. **wēng**.

(11) PNN *Ç-ta:y GRANDFATHER / ELDER BROTHER

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-ta:y**	grandfather / elder brother	French 1983:497

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**te(i)**	grandfather	French 1983:497
Tangsa (Moshang)	a **tai**	grandfather	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	a **tai**	grandfather	French 1983:497

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	a **jei**	brother (elder)	Marrison 1967
	cai se na	brethren	French 1983:497
	jai	brother (elder); elder brother	Marrison 1967; French 1983:497
Konyak	**jei** yoŋ pa	elder brother	French 1983:497
	jei yong pa	brother (elder)	Marrison 1967
Phom	**čʌy**^{33}	older brother	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	je **jei**	elder brother	French 1983:497
	jé **jei**	brother (elder)	Marrison 1967
Wancho	a **tai**	elder brother; brother (elder)	French 1983:497; Marrison 1967

(12) PTB *(z)ryaŋ UNCLE / SUPERIOR

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ryaŋ**	uncle	Benedict 1972:205
	***źraŋ**	uncle	Benedict 1972:48n156
	***zryaŋ** ≍ **ryaŋ**	uncle / a superior	Matisoff 2003a:621
	***źrɑŋ**	uncle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:725a-c

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***(p)raŋ** UNCLE (father's sister's husband)

**Chin*	***(p)**raŋ	UNCLE (father's sister's husband)	VanBik 2009:1311
**Kuki*	***r(y)aŋ**	father's sister's husband	Benedict 1972:205
Chawte	**raŋ** ≍ ə**raŋ**	father's sister's husband	Benedict 1972:205

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Siyin	**ŋaŋ**	father's sister's husband	Benedict 1972:205
Thado	**gáng**	uncle (father's sister's husband)	VanBik 2009:1311
	gaŋ	father's sister's husband	Benedict 1972:205
Tiddim	**gang**^{2}	father's sister's husband	VanBik 2009:1311

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**praáng**	uncle-in-law, term of address	VanBik 2009:1311

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**răŋ**	uncle (father's sister's husband)	VanBik 2009:1311
Lai (Hakha)	**trâŋ**	uncle (father's sister's husband)	VanBik 2009:1311
Laizo	**raŋ**	father's sister's husband	Benedict 1972:205

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**pā**-rā	uncle	VanBik 2009:1311

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Kokborok	**yoŋ**	uncle	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	ʔa **dʑaŋ**; ʔa **ʑaŋ**	uncle (paternal aunt's husband; uncle (maternal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:325.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:327.7
Motuo Menba	ʔa **dʑaŋ**	uncle <mother's brother>; uncle <father's sister's husba (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0238.07; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0242.07
	ʔa **ʑaŋ**	uncle <mother's brother>; uncle <father's sister's husba (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0238.07; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0242.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	a **ʑaŋ**	uncle <mother's brother> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0238.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	a **pʑaŋ**	uncle (maternal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:327.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	a **wʑaŋ**	uncle (maternal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:327.5
	ɕaŋ-wo	maternal uncle (reference)	Sun 1985a:477
Tibetan (Balti)	a **žʌŋ**	uncle (maternal)	Rangan 1975:74
Tibetan (Written)	a **ʑaŋ**	uncle <mother's brother> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0238.01
	rgya-źaŋ	chief, uncle	Benedict 1972:48n155
	žaŋ(-po) ≍ ʔa-**žaŋ**	uncle (mother's brother)	Benedict 1972:205
	zhang.bo	maternal uncle (reference)	Sun 1985c:477
	ʑaŋ po	uncle <mother's brother> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0238.01
	ʑaŋ ʑaŋ	uncle (maternal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:327.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	ʔa **ʑaŋ**	uncle <mother's brother> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0238.04

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	ʔá**jóng**	uncle, maternal uncle (n.)	Plaisier 2007

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	a **ʑoŋ**	uncle <mother's brother> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0238.12

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	ă**hraŋ**	master, lord	Benedict 1972:205

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	尚	upwards	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2416
Chinese (GSR #)	**0725a**	upwards	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2416

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**daŋ**-s {[d]aŋ-s}	upwards	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2416
	d̰iɑŋ	upwards / high / admirable / superior (used as a title)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:725a-c

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**dzyangH**	upwards	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2416

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**shàng**	upwards	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2416

Chinese comparandum

丈 OC * **d'i̯ɑŋ**, *GSR* #722a 'measure of ten feet; older male, husband'; Schuessler 2007:606 ***draŋʔ**; B & S 2011: ***draŋʔ {[d] raŋʔ}**; Mand. **zhàng**.

Comment: Cf. comparanda for PTB ***s-tyaŋ** UPPER PART / RISE / RAISE / TOP / SUMMIT (§9.2.1).

(13) PTB *dziŋ RELATIVES / ANCESTORS

The first element in the PKC binome ***tsiŋ-laa** KIN / RELATIVE is a reflex of this etymon.

According to the etymology provided in *STC* p. 158, note 428, the Chinese form is rather to be attributed to the root PTB ***tsa-n** CHILD / GRANDCHILD / NEPHEW / NIECE (§4.2.11) with the collectivizing suffix **-n**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dziŋ**	relatives / ancestors	Matisoff 2003a:31, 529

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tsiŋ-laa** KIN / RELATIVE

**Chin*	***tsiŋ**-laa	KIN / RELATIVE	VanBik 2009:544

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tsîŋ** làa	kin, relative	VanBik 2009:544

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**chí** lèi	kindred	VanBik 2009:544

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	bhûi-**cañ**	ancestry	Matisoff 2003a:31n40
	cañ	place in continuous row	Benedict 1976a
	phûi-**cañ**-bauŋ-chak	line of ancestors	Matisoff 2003a:529
	ə-**cañ**	succession, order; always	Benedict 1976a

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ts'i̯ĕn/ts'i̯ĕn**	relatives	Chou Fa-kao 1972:382o-p
	ts'i̯ĕn/ts'i̯ĕn	parents; relatives; near / close; love; affectionate; oneself	Karlgren 1957:382o-p

Chinese comparandum

親 OC ***ts'i̯ĕn**, *GSR* #382o-p; B & S 2011: ***ts^{h}in {[ts^{h}] i [n]}**; Mand. **qīn**.

(14) PTB *sru(w) AUNT / ELDER SISTER / FATHER-IN-LAW / RELATIVE

This etymon is noteworthy in that it seems to have a solid reflex in the extinct language Pyu, spoken in Northern Burma in the second half of the first millennium A.D.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***sljuɣ**	aunt / elder sister	Coblin 1986:38

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***sru(w)**	aunt; elder sister	Chou Fa-kao 1972:133e; Matisoff 2003a:613

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**rū**	father-in-law (n.)	Bailey 1911
	ru	father-in-law	Benedict 1972:108n304

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**sro** mo	aunt <mother's sister> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0241.01
	sru	aunt	Marrison 1967
	sru mo	aunt (maternal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:330.1

6.1.1. Burmish

Pyu	**sru**	relatives	Benedict 1972:108n304

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**si̯u/si̯u**	sister (elder)	Karlgren 1957:133e
	sri̯u/si̯u	older sister	Chou Fa-kao 1972:133e

Chinese comparandum

嫂 OC ***si̯u**, *GSR* #133e; Mand. **xū**.
叟 sŏu s.ruʔ (dial. › sruʔ › srjuwX › sruwX › suwX)

4.7.2 Same generation

(1) PTk *pa BROTHER (YOUNGER)

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***pa**	brother (younger)	Mortensen 2012:321
Kachai	ʔa-**pu**	brother of female ego (younger)	Mortensen 2012:People.026
Tusom	ʔɯ-kə-tuə-**pi**	brother of male (younger)	Mortensen 2012:People.027
Ukhrul	ʔa-**pa**	brother, girl younger	Mortensen 2012

(2) PTani *bɯŋ BROTHER (elder)

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***bɯŋ**	brother (elder)	Sun 1993a:47

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-**baŋ**	elder brother	Sun 1993b
	a-**baŋ** ǰah	eldest son	Sun 1993b
	a-**vã**	brother (elder)	Sun 1993b
	a-**wã**	brother (elder); brother	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b [a]
Bengni	a-**bɯŋ**	brother (elder)	Sun 1993a
	a-**bɯŋ** bu-ru:	relative (male, other)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **bɯŋ**	elder brother (reference) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0226.24
	a **bɯŋ** nɯ ro	brothers (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0235.24
	a-**bɯŋ**	brother (elder); elder brother (reference)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**bɯŋ** nɯ-ro a-me: bɯr-mə:	relative (n.)	Sun 1993b
Galo	ʻa **bɨɨ**	elder (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻbɨɨ tə	brother elder (n:poet.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	a **bang**	brother (elder)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **biŋ** buru	brother	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Damu	ʔa-**bə**	brother (elder)	Sun 1993b

[a] [Source Note] initial! (Sun 1993a).

(3) PCN *taj BROTHER (elder)

Note that the correspondences here (PAo *-**i**: Lotha **-a**) do not match anything reconstructed in Bruhn 2014.

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Ao*	*t-**ti**	SIBLING/BROTHER (OLDER)	Bruhn 2014a:II.029
Ao (Chungli)	a **di**	brother (elder)	Marrison 1967
	tə^{2}-**ti**^{2}	brother (elder) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.029
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **ti**	sister (elder); brother (elder)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-**ti**	sibling – older (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o **ta**	sister (elder); brother (elder)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	o **ti**	brother (elder)	Marrison 1967

(4) PTk *mej BROTHER / SISTER (OLDER)

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***mej**	brother / sister (older)	Mortensen 2012:399
Kachai	hi-**mi**	brother-in-law (older than female ego); brother-in-law of female (older)	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012:People
Tusom	ʔi-**ma**	brother, older (of female)	Mortensen 2012:People.029
Ukhrul	a-**mej**	brother (older than ego)	Mortensen 2012

(5) PTB *ŋwap COUSIN / LEVIRATE OR SORORATE SPOUSE

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	ă-**ŋop**	spouse (levirate or sororate)	Benedict 1972:50n163

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**ŋwap**	cousin	Benedict 1972:50n163

(6) PTB *ʔik OLDER BROTHER

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ik**	older brother	Benedict 1972:112
	***ʔik**	elder brother	Matisoff 2003a:583

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Damu	**jik**-nə	brother (younger)'s wife; brother (elder)'s wife	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**ik**	brother (elder); older brother	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:112

4. NUNGIC

Trung [Dulong]	**ik**-ra	younger brother	Benedict 1972:67n211
	ik-ra a-dəi	younger brother	Benedict 1972:67n211

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *ʔwyik ELDER SIBLING [a]

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-wyik**^{L}	elder sibling	Matisoff 2003a:619
	*ʔu^{2}-**(y)ik**^{L}	elder sibling	Matisoff 2003a:583
	***ʔwyik**	elder sibling	Matisoff 1972b:172

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**ac** kui	brother (elder)	Marrison 1967
	ats-kui	older brother	Benedict 1972:112
	tθwɑ^{3}	go / leave (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1579.26
	zhe^{3}**tθwɑ**^{3}	go (to market / a fair) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1334.26

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Luquan	**i 55c**	ancestor	Matisoff 1972b:172
Nasu	**vi 55**	elder sibling	Matisoff 1972b:172

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**vi 44s**	elder sibling	Matisoff 1972b:172
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**vi**^{35}mɑ^{33}	sister-in-law <elder brother's (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0237.43
	ɔ^{31}**vi**^{35}pɑ^{11}	elder brother (address) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0226.43
Lahu (Black)	**ví**	elder sibling	Matisoff 1972b:172
	ɔ^{33}**vi**^{35}pA^{11}	brother (elder)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:333.33
	ɔ̀-**ví**	elder sibling	Matisoff 1972b:172
Lisu	a1-**yi6**	elder sibling	Matisoff 1972b:172
Lisu (Northern)	a^{21}**vu**^{55}	elder brother; first son (used in verse) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{33}**vy**^{44}	mother's brother; father's sister's husband; father-in-law of husband (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a^{1}-**yi**^{6}	brother (elder)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}**jiʔ**^{21}	elder brother; elder male cousin; elder brother-in-law (N.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**jiʔ**^{21} ni^{33}za^{21}	brother	Bradley 1994
	a^{55}**jiʔ**^{21} vu^{21}su^{33}	eldest brother; elder brother	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a^{55}**jiʔ**^{21} ɲi^{33}za^{21}	brother	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**jiʔ**^{21}	elder brother; elder sibling (N.)	Bradley 1994
	jæ^{55} **jiʔ**^{21}	his elder brother (short for ji^{55}a^{55}jiʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
	na^{21} **vu**^{55}	your elder brother	Bradley 1994
	na^{33} **vu**^{33}	your mother's brother	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{33} **jiʔ**^{21}	my elder brother	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	à **jỳq**	elder sibling	Hansson 1989:569
Akha	a-yui L-LS	elder sibling	Matisoff 1972b:172
Akha (Thai)	à **jỳq**	elder sibling	Hansson 1989:569

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	a^{21}**vɯ**^{13}	mother's older brother; mother's younger brother	Pelkey 2011:414; Pelkey 2011:415
Hlepho Phowa	a^{55}**vɯ**^{33}	mother's older brother; mother's younger brother	Pelkey 2011:414; Pelkey 2011:415

[a] As proposed in Matisoff 1972:72 ("The Loloish tonal split revisited"), the unique initial cluster in PLB ***ʔwyik*** is to be explained by a disyllabic prototype ***ʔu-(y)ik***, where the first syllable is from PTB ***d-bu-s*** HEAD / CENTER / SENIOR MALE RELATIVE / UNCLE (§1.2.1), an honorific morpheme frequently occurring in Tibeto-Burman words for elder kinsmen.

(7) PTB *dzar SISTER (OF MAN)

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzar**	sister (of a man); sister; sister (of man)	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:588; LaPolla 1987:214; Benedict 1972:68
	***dzɑr**	sister (man sp.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:554b

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**far**-nu	sister; sister (elder); sister (younger)	LaPolla 1987:214; Benedict 1972:68; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *tsar SISTER

**Tangkhulic*	***tsar**	sister	Mortensen 2012:513
Kachai	ʔa-**ðar**-i	sister (younger than male ego)	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	ə **zăr**-vă	sister (man talking)	LaPolla 1987:214
	ə **zăr**-vă	sister	Benedict 1972:68
Tusom	ʔə-**zuə**-pvɯ	sister, younger (of male)	Mortensen 2012:People.028
Ukhrul	a-**tsɐr**-vu	sister (younger than male ego)	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**tsar**-vu	male's younger sister	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**tsɐr**-vu	sister (younger than male ego)	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	i **tśal** ≍ i **tśan**	younger sister	Benedict 1972:68

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**džan**	sister (man speaking)	Benedict 1972:68

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Kadu	**san**	younger sister	Benedict 1972:68

Chinese comparandum

姊 OC ***tsi̯ər**, *GSR* #554b 'older sister'; Mand. **zǐ**.

(8) PTani *me SISTER (elder)

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***me**	sister (elder)	Sun 1993a:361

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-**mi**	sister (elder)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**ñi:**	sister (elder); elder sister; father's sister	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**ñi:** bɯr-mɯ:	relative (female)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **me:**	elder sister (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0227.24
	a **me:** bɯr mə:	sisters (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0236.24
	a-**me:**	sister (elder); elder sister	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **me:**	sister (elder)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:334.51
Galo	a **ɲi**	elder sister; sister (elder) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a **ɲi**	sister (elder)	Das Gupta 1963
	a **ɲi**-a bɨɨ	eldest sister; sister (eldest) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a **ɲi**-kai	eldest sister; sister (eldest) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	a **ɲi**	paternal aunt, elder sister	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **nyi**~i **nyi**	sister (elder)	Das Gupta 1969
	i **nyi**	sister (elder)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **nyi**	father's sister	Das Gupta 1983
	a **nyi** burme	sister	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Damu	ʔa-**ni:**	father's sister	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **ɲi**	father's sister	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	ə **nyi**	aunt (father's sister), mother-in-law	Benedict 1972:316

(9) PTani *bɯr-mə: SISTER (younger)

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***bɯr-mə:**	sister (younger)	Sun 1993a:362

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**bar-mɯ**	sister (younger)	Sun 1993a
	bàr-mɯ	younger sister	Sun 1993b
	bar-mɯ	sister (younger); younger sister	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	bàr-mɯ	niece	Sun 1993b
	bar-mɯ	stepsister; niece	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-ñi: **bɯr-mɯ:**	relative (female)	Sun 1993b
	bɯr-mə:	sister (younger)	Sun 1993a
	bɯr-mɯ:	younger sister	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a me: **bɯr mə:**	sisters (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0236.24
	a-bɯŋ nɯ-ro a-me: **bɯr-mə:**	relative (n.)	Sun 1993b
	bɯr mə:	younger sister (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0229.24
	bɯr-mə:	sister (younger); younger sister	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b

Bokar Lhoba	**bɯr məː**	sister (younger)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:336.51
Miri, Hill	**bɯrme**	younger sister, brother	Simon 1976
Nishing	**barme**	sister (younger)	Das Gupta 1969
	barmé	sister (younger)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a nyi **burme**	sister	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**bɯr-me**	sister (elder)	Sun 1993a
	bɯr-mə	sister (younger)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**bər-mə**	sister (younger)	Sun 1993b
Milang	**bar-mi**	sister	Tayeng 1976

(10) PTB *sriŋ SISTER

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***sring**	sister	Coblin 1986:133
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***sriŋ**	sister; matrilineal lineage	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:812q; Matisoff 2003a:613
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Bunan	**śriŋ** s	sister	Benedict 1972:108n304
Byangsi	**riŋ**-śa	sister (younger-)	Benedict 1972:108n304
Kanashi	**riŋ** z	sister	Benedict 1972:108n304
Kanauri	**riṅ** z	sister (n.)	Bailey 1911
	riṅ ze	sister (n.)	Bailey 1911
	riŋ z	sister	Benedict 1972:108n304
Pattani [Manchati]	**hriŋ**	sister	Benedict 1972:108n304
	r^{h}iŋg	sister	Sharma 1982
Thebor	**śiŋ**	sister	Benedict 1972:108n304
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Chamba Lahuli	**hrĩ**	sister	Benedict 1972:108n304
Tibetan (Written)	**sriŋ**(-mo)	sister (man sp.); sister	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:812q; Benedict 1972:171n457
	sriŋ-mo	sister	Benedict 1972:108n304
2.1.5. DHIMAL			
Dhimal	**ri**-ma	sister	Benedict 1972:108n304
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	姓	surname	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3171
Chinese (GSR #)	**0812q**	surname	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3171
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**sr̥ĕŋ/s̥iäŋ**	clan / family / family name	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:812q
Chinese (Old)	**seŋ**-s	surname	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3171
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**sjengH**	surname	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3171
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**xìng**	surname	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3171

Chinese comparanda

甥 OC ***sĕng***, *GSR* #812d 'sister's son or daughter; son-in-law'; B & S 2011: ***s.reŋ***; Schuessler 2007:460 OCM ***srêŋ***; Mand. 甥 **shēng** 'sister's son'; 甥女 **shēngnyǔ** 'sister's daughter'.

Schuessler 2007:460 posits a connection between Chinese 甥 **shēng** 'sister's offspring' and WT **sring-mo** 'sister (of a male)'.
[SPB]

姓 OC ***sr̥ĕŋ***, *GSR* #812q 'clan / family / family name'; Mand. **xìng**.

This word is reconstructed as ***s̥iĕng*** in *GSR* #812q, but this was revised in *STC* to OC ***sr̥ĕŋ*** (*STC*: p.108, n.304 and p.171, n.304).

(11) PTani *prem TWIN

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***prem**	twin	Sun 1993a:440
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	bəŋ-**pjam**-bu	twin	Sun 1993b
	bɯŋ **pjam**-bu	twin	Sun 1993a
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	o-**pem**-su-nam	twin	Sun 1993a

(12) PKC *phi $^{i}_{a}$ r TWIN / TWAIN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***phiir ≍ phiar**	TWIN / TWAIN	VanBik 2009:363
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**phik**	twain, twin	VanBik 2009:363
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	ka(m) **phíee**	identical twins	VanBik 2009:363
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	fa-**phîir**	twin	VanBik 2009:363
Lai (Falam)	**phĭir**	twin	VanBik 2009:363
Lushai [Mizo]	**phíir**	twin	VanBik 2009:363
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	ma-**phì**	twins, twin	VanBik 2009:363

(13) PTk *tow YOUNGER RELATIVE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***tow**	younger relative	Mortensen 2012:722
Kachai	hi-aw-**te**	uncle (father's younger brother)	Mortensen 2012
Ukhrul	a-kə-**to**	brother (younger than male ego)	Mortensen 2012

(14) PTB * $^{t}_{d}$ oy YOUNGER SIBLING

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***doy**	younger sibling	Matisoff 2003a:587
	***doy ≍ toy**	sibling, younger; younger (youngest) sibling	Matisoff 1985a:086; CHOU Fa-kao 1972:591a-c
	***toy**	younger sibling	Matisoff 2003a:615; Benedict 1972:309
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	ma-**di**	father's younger sister	Benedict 1972:309
	ma-**doi**	mother's sister	Benedict 1972:309
	u **dui**	young (vs.)	Benedict 1972:309
Dimasa	bi **di**	father's younger brother	Benedict 1972:309
	gi **di**	younger (child)	Benedict 1972:309
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	ma-**de**	aunt, stepmother	Benedict 1972:309
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	nu-**doi ≍** nu-**dwe**	mother's younger sister; stepmother	Benedict 1972:309
	śə **doi**	last born child in a family	Benedict 1972:309
	wa-**doi ≍** wa-**dwe**	father's younger brother, stepfather	Benedict 1972:309
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**di(-m)**	small	Benedict 1972:67n211
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mianchi)	á **tɨ**	father's younger brother (direct); father's younger brother's wife (direct)	Evans 1999:289.1; Evans 1999:290.1
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	a-**dəi** (tone B)	small (persons)	Benedict 1972:67n211
	a-la a-**dəi**	younger uncle	Benedict 1972:67n211
	dəi	short; small	Benedict 1972:67n211
	ik-ra a-**dəi**	younger brother	Benedict 1972:67n211
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**-thwè**	father's youngest brother; stepfather	Benedict 1972:309
	mi-**thwè**	mother's younger sister, stepmother	Benedict 1972:309
	thwè≍ăthwè	youngest	Benedict 1972:309
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d'iər/d'iei**	younger brother	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:591a-c
	d'iər/d'iei:	brother (younger);junior	Karlgren 1957:591a-c
Chinese (Old)	**di**/ijʔ	younger brother	Baxter 1992:1245

Chinese comparandum

弟 OC ***d'iər***, *GSR* #591a-c; Coblin 86:49 ST ***diod*** > OC ***didx***; B & S 2011: ***l^{ʕ}əjʔ*** ; Mand. **dì**.

(15) PTB *na:w YOUNGER SIBLING

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***naaw**	younger sibling	LaPolla 1987:57
	***na:w**	younger brother; younger sibling	Matisoff 2003a:604; Benedict 1972:271
1.1.1. TANI: ***nɯ** BROTHER (younger)			
**Tani*	***nɯ**	brother (younger)	Sun 1993a:48
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	a-**nu**	brother (younger)	Sun 1993a
	a-**nú**	younger brother	Sun 1993b
	a-**nu**	brother; brother's son, nephew; nephew, brother's son; younger brother	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**nu** a-wã	kin	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a bɯŋ **nɯ** ro	brothers (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0235.24
	a-bɯŋ **nɯ**-ro a-meː bɯr-mə:	relative (n.)	Sun 1993b
	nɯ ro	younger brother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0228.24
	nɯ-ro	brother (younger); younger brother	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**nɯ** ro	brother (younger); younger brother; younger sibling	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:335.51; LaPolla 1987:205; LaPolla 1987:57
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***naaw** CHILD / INFANT / YOUNG (n.), ***naw** TENDER / SOFT / YOUNG			
**Chin*	***naaw**	CHILD / INFANT / YOUNG (n.)	VanBik 2009:806
	***naw**	TENDER / SOFT / YOUNG	VanBik 2009:841
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**náaw**	baby, child	VanBik 2009:806
	nôw-I, nòw-II	tender, soft (be v.)	VanBik 2009:841
Tiddim	**nau^{2}** pang^{1}	child, young	VanBik 2009:806
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**nau ≍** na	younger brother or sister, infant, baby	VanBik 2009:806
Khumi	**cnaáw**	child	VanBik 2009:806
	naw	soft (of fruit), rottten	VanBik 2009:841
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**nâaw**	child, infant, baby, young	VanBik 2009:806
Lai (Falam)	**năaw**	child, infant	VanBik 2009:806
Lai (Hakha)	**nâw**-I, năw-II	tender, soft, young (be v.)	VanBik 2009:841
Lai (Falam)	**náw**-INV	tender, soft, young (be v.)	VanBik 2009:841
Lushai [Mizo]	**náu**	child, infant, baby	VanBik 2009:806
	nău	younger sibling	Benedict 1972:271
	nŏ	young, soft, tender (be v.)	VanBik 2009:841
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**nàw**	child, baby (poetry)	VanBik 2009:806
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***nu** SIBLING (YOUNGER)			
**Central Naga*	***nu**	SIBLING (YOUNGER)	Bruhn 2014a:III.072
**Ao*	*t-**nu**	SIBLING (YOUNGER)	Bruhn 2014a:II.249
Ao (Chungli)	la **nu** r	young	Marrison 1967
	ta **nu** r	young; child	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	te **nu**	brother (younger)	Marrison 1967
	te **nu** tzü	sister (younger)	Marrison 1967
	tə^{2}-**nu^{2}**	sibling (younger) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.249
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **nu**	child	Marrison 1967
	tü **nu**	brother (younger)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**nu**	child (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**nu**	sibling – younger (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**nu**-za-paʔ	youngest male sibling ('younger sibling' + DIM + M) (n.)	Coupe 2007

	[tə]-**nu** zajlà	youngest female sibling (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-pá-**nu**-za-paʔ	father's younger brother ('father' + 'younger sibling' + DIM + M) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-za-[tə]-**nu**	children (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**nu**[1]-i?[3]	sibling (younger) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.072
	o **nyu** i	brother (younger)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Mao	[1]mo[3]**nü**	young / tender (v.i.,v.)	Weidert 1987:337
Meluri	e **nu**	brother (younger); sister (younger)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	chü **nu**	brother (younger)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***naw** CHILD / YOUNG / YOUNGER AUNT

**Tangkhulic*	***naw**	child / young / younger aunt	Mortensen 2012:386
Huishu	ku-**now**	child	Mortensen 2012:People.048
Kachai	**no**	child	Mortensen 2012:People.043
Tangkhul	a **nao** nga la va	daughter	Marrison 1967
	a **no**	young	Marrison 1967
	har **nao**	chicken	Marrison 1967
	nao-pam	womb	Matisoff 1987
	naw	young	Bhat 1969:100
	nga la **nao**	young woman; girl	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	noshi **nao**	child	Marrison 1967
	sei **nao**	calf (of cow)	Marrison 1967
	shiok **nao**	mouse	Marrison 1967
	va **nao**	bird	Marrison 1967
	yaron **nao**	young man	Marrison 1967
	[1]ə[3]ŋaŋ-[2]**nau**	baby	Weidert 1987:152
Tusom	ʔi-**nɯ**	child	Mortensen 2012:People.035
Ukhrul	kə-tam-**naw**	student	Mortensen 2012
	naw	child, baby	Mortensen 2012
	va-**naw**	bird	Mortensen 2012
	ŋə-la-**naw**	daughter	Mortensen 2012
	ʃi-**naw**	child; woman	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	***nau**	younger sister	Burling 1959:445
	***nau**-sV-li	wife's younger sister	Burling 1959:445

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	bina **nau**	sister	Benedict 1972:271
	biná **naw**	younger sister	Bhat 1968

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**no**	younger sister	Benedict 1972:271

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**naw**	younger sister (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**nău**	younger sibling	Benedict 1972:271

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**nu**-bo	younger brother, younger sibling	Benedict 1972:271
	nu-m	younger sister	Benedict 1972:271

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**nŭm**-nu	blood relation	Benedict 1972:271

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Longxi)	á **n̡à**	father's younger brother's wife; father's sister	Evans 1999:290; Evans 1999:302
	tù **n̡ì**	brothers	Evans 1999:292
Qiang (Mianchi)	sà **nə**	sisters	Evans 1999:293
	n̡á bz̧à	father's sister (3d person); mother-in-law; father's younger brother's wife [mother/aunt-big]	Evans 1999:302; Evans 1999:305; Evans 1999:290

(16) PTB *nyey YOUNGER SIBLING

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***nyey**	younger sibling; younger sibling's husband	Matisoff 1985a:146; Matisoff 2003a:605

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	bibə́ **nay**	his wife's younger brother	Matisoff 1985a:146
	bəy **nay**	wife's younger brother, younger sister's husband	Matisoff 1985a:146
	nəmbə́ **nay**	your wife's younger brother	Matisoff 1985a:146

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-ñey**[1] SIBLING (YOUNGER)

**Lolo-Burmese*	*ʔ-**ñey**[1]	younger sibling / younger sibling's husband	Matisoff 1985a:146

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Modern)	**ñi**[3]	younger brother	Luce 1985:S.8
Burmese (Rangoon)	**n̡i**[22]le[55]	younger brother (address by o. brother) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0228.27
	n̡i[22]mɑ[53]	younger sister (address by o. sister) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0229.27
Burmese (Spoken)	**ɲi**[3]	younger brother	Luce 1985:S.8
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**n̡i**[22]le[55]	brother (younger)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:335.40
Burmese (Written)	**ñi**	man's younger brother	Matisoff 1985a:146; Benedict 1976a
	ññi	brother (younger)	Marrison 1967
	ññi ma	sister (younger)	Marrison 1967

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	ɔ̀-**ni**-ma	younger sister	Matisoff 1985a:146
	ɔ̀-**ni**-pā	younger brother	Matisoff 1985a:146

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	à-**njí**	younger sibling	Matisoff 1985a:146

(17) TGTM *[B](?) t(h)et siblings

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*[B]**(?)t(h)et**	siblings	Mazaudon 1978:30
Gurung (Ghachok)	[2]**ti**	siblings	Mazaudon 1978:30
Manang (Ngawal)	[2]**the**	siblings	Mazaudon 1978:30
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]**thetmai**	siblings	Mazaudon 1978:30
Tamang (Sahu)	[2]**thet**	siblings	Mazaudon 1978:30
Thakali (Marpha)	[2]**the**	siblings	Mazaudon 1978:30
Thakali (Syang)	[2]**te**	siblings	Mazaudon 1978:30
Thakali (Tukche)	[H]**the**	siblings	Mazaudon 1978:30

4.7.3 Later generation

(1) PTani *ɦo CHILD (offspring)

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***ɦo**	child (offspring)	Sun 1993a:66

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	o-**ho**	child (offspring); baby; son	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ò-**hò**	son	Sun 1993b
	ó-**hó** bu	birth, give	Sun 1993b
	ò-**hò** gɯ-nɯ	pregnant	Sun 1993b
	ó-**hó** ñì-mɯ	daughter	Sun 1993b
	o-**ho**-bo	nephew, sister's son	Sun 1993b
	ó-**hó**-bo	nephew	Sun 1993b
	o **(ho)**	child	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**hi**-mi: ñi-mɯ:	girl	Sun 1993b
	hɯ-mɯ:	daughter	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **ɦo**	child; nephew <brother's son> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0169.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0234.24
	a **ɦo** gə:	pregnant, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1379.24
	a-**ho**	child (offspring); child (son and daughter); nephew (brother's son); niece (brother's daughter)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**ho** gə:	pregnant	Sun 1993b
	a-**ɦo** gə:	carry on back / pregnant	Sun 1993a
	ho-me	child	Sun 1993b
	ho-me:	lad	Sun 1993b
	ho-mə:	daughter; little girl; young woman	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ho-mə: bi:	marry (a daughter)	Sun 1993b
	ho-ro	son	Sun 1993b
	ho-ten	granddaughter; grandson; nephew (sister's son)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	joŋ **ɦo**	kid (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0278.24
	joŋ-**ho**	lamb	Sun 1993b
	jək **ɦo**	piglet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0287.24
	kɯ **ɦo**	pony (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0269.24
	ra **ɦo**	lamb (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0277.24
	rok **ɦo**	chick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0296.24
	rok-**ho**	chick	Sun 1993b
	ɦo me:	lad / chap (young) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0175.24
	ɦo mə:	girl; daughter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0176.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0222.24
	ɦo ro	son (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0220.24
	ɦo ten	grandson; granddaughter (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0224.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0225.24
Bokar Lhoba	a **ɦo**	child	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:295.51
	ɦo mə:	young woman; daughter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:294.51; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:340.51
	ɦo mə: bi:	marry (a man)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:696.51
	ɦo ro	son	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:339.51
	ɦo ten	grandson; granddaughter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:345.51; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:346.51
Galo	a **o**	brother's son; son	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	a **o**-ɲi-mɤ	daughter; girl	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	a **o**-ɲiɟir:	brother's daughter; daughter	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	o mɤ	child	Das Gupta 1963
	'a **o**	bear (child) (v:inc.arg.O.)	GLDC 2009
	'a **o**	child (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'a **o**	pregnant (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'a **o**-kai	child (eldest); eldest child (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'ho **o**	mithun calf (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'mə **o**	paternal aunt's daughter; sister's daughter (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'o ii	child (last); last child (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'o mee	kid; youngster (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'o mee-'ogo	childhood (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'o mee-**'o** ree	childish; immature (adj:expr.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'o mee-ɲimə	wifey (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'o mə	daughter (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	'o mə-**'o** rə	offspring; children (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'o nam	bear (child) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'o rə	son (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	'ya **o**	paternal aunt's son; sister's son (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**hoim** me	boy	Simon 1976
	hoi me	boy	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	**o**	child (offspring)	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**o** gə; ko gə	carry on back / pregnant	Sun 1993a
	o-pem-su-nam	twin	Sun 1993a
Damu	**xo:**-mə	little girl; niece	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Milang	**o**-mi-u	brother's / sister's daughter,	Tayeng 1976
	or-mi	daughter	Tayeng 1976
	or-mi cu-ma	birth of a girl	Tayeng 1976
	or-mi-u	sister's son	Tayeng 1976
	or-mi-u ten	daughter's son	Tayeng 1976
	o ru	brother's son; son	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	o ru-u ten	grandson	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	a-**o**	child (offspring)	Sun 1993a

(2) PTB *syu(w)-n GRANDCHILD

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***śu(w)**	grandchild	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:434a-c
	***syu(w)-n**	grandchild	Matisoff 2003a:614

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	i **su**	grandchild	Marrison 1967
	su	grandchild	Benedict 1972:158n428

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**su**	grandchild	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:158n428

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**sou**	grandchild	Chou Fa-kao 1972:434a-c; Benedict 1972:158n428
Dimasa	**su**	grandchild	Chou Fa-kao 1972:434a-c; Benedict 1972:158n428

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**shu**	grandchild	Marrison 1967
	śu	grandchild	Chou Fa-kao 1972:434a-c; Benedict 1972:158n428

4. Nungic

Anu	**su**	grandchild	Benedict 1972:158n428

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	孫	grandchild; descendant	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2693
Chinese (GSR #)	**0434a**	grandchild; descendant	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2693

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**swən/suən**	grandson; granddaughter; descendant; grandchild	Chou Fa-kao 1972:434a-c; Karlgren 1957:434a-c
Chinese (Old)	**s^{ʕ}un** {[s]^{ʕ}u[n]}	grandchild; descendant	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2693

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**swon**	grandchild; descendant	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2693

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**sūn**	grandchild; descendant	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2693

Chinese comparandum

孫 OC ***swən**, *GSR* #434a-c 'grandchild, descendant'; B & S 2011: ***s^{ʕ}un { [s] ^{ʕ}u [n] }**; Mand. **sūn**.

(3) PTB * b/m -ləy GRANDCHILD / NEPHEW / NIECE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-liy**	grandchild; nephew	Benedict 1972:448; Weidert 1987:112; LaPolla 1987:133
	***b-ləy**	grandchild / nephew / niece	Chou Fa-kao 1972:413o-p
	***b/m-ləy**	grandchild / nephew	Matisoff 2003a:599

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**phili**-pi	niece	Benedict 1972:448
	phili-po	nephew	Benedict 1972:448

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	(aŋ-)**ri**	nephew	Benedict 1972:448

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**li**	nephew	Benedict 1972:448

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**məli**	young man	Benedict 1972:448

4. Nungic

Anong	**phəli**	grandchild	Benedict 1972:448

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**mre**	grandchild	Marrison 1967
	mrè	grandchild	LaPolla 1987:133; Benedict 1972:448
	mrê(<**mliy** Insc.)	grandchild	Matisoff 1974:261

6.1.2. Loloish: ***m-le^{2}** GRANDCHILD

**Loloish*	***(m)-le^{2}**	grandchild; grandson	Bradley 1979b:208; Hansson 1989:340
Lolo	**li**	grandchild	LaPolla 1987:133; Benedict 1972:448

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu	**hɔ̄**	grandchild	Benedict 1972:61n195
Lahu (Black)	**hwɛ̄**	grandchild	Matisoff 1974:261
	hɔ̄	grandchild	Matisoff 1974:261

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ɔ̈**	grandchild	Benedict 1972:61n195

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**li^{33}**	grandchild	Pelkey 2011:401
Southern Muji	**ɬja^{55}**mjɛ^{55}	grandchild	Pelkey 2011:401
Phola	**liɛ^{31}**	grandchild	Pelkey 2011:401
Hlepho Phowa	**ɬia^{55}**	grandchild	Pelkey 2011:401
Phuza	**ɬja^{55}**	grandchild	Pelkey 2011:401

7. Karenic: ***lej^{A}** GRANDCHILD

**Karen*	***lej^{A}**	grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:133	[a]
**Karen [Burling]*	***li^{3}**	grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:133	
Bwe	**li^{11}**	grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:133	
Kayah	**lə^{11}**	grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:133	
Kayaw	**li^{33}**	grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:133	
Pa-O	**lī**	grandchild, nephew / niece	Solnit 1989	
Pa-O (Northern)	**li^{33}**	grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:133	
Pa-O (Southern)	**li^{53}**	grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:133	
Pa-O	**lwi**	nephew, niece	Benedict 1972:131n355	
Pwo (Northern)	**lei^{55}**	grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:133	
Pwo (Southern)	**lei$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:133	
Sgaw (Southern)	**li^{33}**	grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:133	
Sgaw (Northern)	**li^{33}**	grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:133	

[a] [Source Note] There is an irregular tone change in Bwe. The A3 tone in Bwe should be 33, not 11.

Chinese comparandum

姪 OC ***d'iet**, *GSR* #413o-p
姪 OC ***d'i̯ĕt**, *GSR* #413o-p; Mand. **zhí**.

Note: nominalizing final ***-t** in Chinese.

(4) PKar *lo^{A} GREAT-GRANDCHILD

7. Karenic

**Karen [Burling]*	***lo^{3}**	great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:134
**Karen*	***lo^{A}**	great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:134
Kayah	**lu^{11}**	great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:134
Kayan	**lau^{33}**	great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:134
Kayaw	**lu^{33}**	great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:134
Pa-O (Southern)	**lo^{53}**	great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:134
Pwo (Northern)	**lu^{55}**	great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:134
Pwo (Southern)	**lu$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:134
Sgaw (Northern)	**lo^{33}**	great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:134
Sgaw (Southern)	**lu^{33}**	great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:134

(5) PKar *la^{A} GREAT-GREAT-GRANDCHILD

7. Karenic

**Karen [Burling]*	***la^{3}**	great-great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:135
**Karen*	***la^{A}**	great-great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:135
Kayah	**la^{11}**	great-great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:135
Kayan	**la^{33}**	great-great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:135
Kayaw	**la^{33}**	great-great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:135
Pa-O (Northern)	**la^{33}**	great-great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:135
Pa-O (Southern)	**la^{53}**	great-great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:135
Pwo (Northern)	**la^{55}**	great-great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:135
Pwo (Southern)	**la$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	great-great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:135
Sgaw (Southern)	**la^{33}**	great-great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:135
Sgaw (Northern)	**la^{33}**	great-great-grandchild	Luangthongkum 2013:135

(6) PTB *m- t/d u NEPHEW / DESCENDANT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-tu ≍ m-du**	nephew / descendant	Matisoff 2003a:615
	***tu**	nephew	Weidert 1987:228; Benedict 1972:259
	***tu ≍ *du**	nephew	LaPolla 1987:40
	***tu**~**du**	nephew	Chou Fa-kao 1972:496a-e

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tuu** GRANDCHILD / NEPHEW / NIECE

**Chin*	***tuu**	GRANDCHILD / NEPHEW / NIECE	VanBik 2009:200

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**tu**	grandchild	VanBik 2009:200
Sizang	**tusawn**	grandchild	VanBik 2009:200
Thado	**tûu**	grandchild	VanBik 2009:200
Tiddim	**tu^{1}** pa^{1}	grandson	VanBik 2009:200

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**atü˝**	nephew	VanBik 2009:200
Khumi	**ktuu**	grandchild	VanBik 2009:200

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tûu**	grandchild, nephew, niece	VanBik 2009:200
Lai (Falam)	**tûu**	grandchild, nephew	VanBik 2009:200
Lushai [Mizo]	**tu**	nephew	Benedict 1972:259
	tû-tê	grandchild, children's children	VanBik 2009:200

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**tú**	grandchild, nephew	VanBik 2009:200

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***du** GRANDCHILD

**Tangkhulic*	***du**	grandchild	Mortensen 2012:368
Huishu	ʔa-**ruk**-re	grandchild	Mortensen 2012:People.040
Kachai	i-**ðɐ**	grandchild	Mortensen 2012:People
Tusom	ko-**tsy**-nɯ	grandchild	Mortensen 2012:People.041
Ukhrul	i-**ru**	grandchild	Mortensen 2012

3.3.1. rGyalrong

Caodeng	p^{h}ji tɐ-**mdu**	nephew; niece (maternal)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	tə33 **mdu44**	nephew	Nagano & Prins 2013:0760
rGyalrong	te **mdau**	nephew	LaPolla 1987:40; Benedict 1972:62n196
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	tə22 **mdi44**	nephew	Nagano & Prins 2013:0760
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **mdi**	nephew <brother's son> (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0234.11
rGyalrong	tə **mdi**	nephew	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:343.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	tə-**mdi**	nephew	Nagano & Prins 2013:0760
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	tə-**mdəu**	nephew (brother's son / sister's son)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0760
Caodeng	tɐ-**mdu**	nephew; niece (paternal)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	tɤftsa / tɤ **mdɯ**	nephew	Nagano & Prins 2013:0760
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	ŋa22 **mdi44**	nephew	Nagano & Prins 2013:0760
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˊŋə **mdɔ**	nephew	Nagano & Prins 2013:0760
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊŋə **mdɔ^{ʔ}**	nephew	Nagano & Prins 2013:0760

4. Nungic

Anong	phə **du**	nephew	Benedict 1972:259

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**tu**	nephew	Benedict 1972:259

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	ɔ̀-**dù**	descendant, grandchild	Matisoff 1988a:171

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d'iet~d'i̯ĕt/d̂'i̯ĕt**	nephew / niece	Chou Fa-kao 1972:413o-p
	d'iet/d'iet	nephew / niece	Karlgren 1957:413o-p
	d'i̯ĕt/d̂'i̯ĕt	nephew / niece	Karlgren 1957:413o-p
	t̂'i̯wət/tśi̯uĕt	nephew	Chou Fa-kao 1972:496a-e

Chinese comparandum

出 OC ***t̂'i̯wət**, *GSR* #496a-e; Chou 1972:213; Mand. **chū**.

This character, which means 'emerge' in Modern Chinese, is glossed 'nephew, descendant' in 爾雅 *Er Ya* (see Benedict 1942, 'Tibetan and Chinese kinship terms'). The OC form ***t̂'i̯wət** is treated as a ***-t**-suffixed variant of PTB ***m-(t/d)u**.

Due to a typographical error, a wrong character (畀, Mand. **bì**, 'confer, give') was cited in *HPTB*:200 instead of 出 (Mand. **chū**), cited correctly on p. 464.

4.7.4 Related by marriage

(1) PKar *ʔdɛ^{B} DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

7. Karenic

**Karen [Burling]*	***dɛ^{2}**	daughter-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:74
**Karen*	***ʔdɛ^{B}**	daughter-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:74
Bwe	**-ɗɛ^{33}**	daughter-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:74
Kayah	**dɛ^{11}**	daughter-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:74
Kayan	**dɛ^{11}**	daughter-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:74
Kayaw	**dɛ^{11}**	daughter-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:74
Pwo (Northern)	**dɛ^{33}**	daughter-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:74
Pwo (Southern)	**dɛ^{55}**	daughter-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:74
Sgaw (Northern)	**dɛ$^{31\sim}$**	daughter-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:74
Sgaw (Southern)	**dɛ^{45,}**	daughter-in-law	Luangthongkum 2013:74

(2) TGTM *^{A}tsaŋ DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

2.1.4. Tamangish

*TGTM	*^{A}**tsaŋ**	daughter-in-law	Mazaudon 1978:4
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{1}**cõ**	daughter-in-law	Mazaudon 1978:4
Manang (Ngawal)	^{1}**tsaŋ**	daughter-in-law	Mazaudon 1978:4
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**tsaŋ**	daughter-in-law	Mazaudon 1978:4
Tamang (Sahu)	^{1}**caŋ**	daughter-in-law	Mazaudon 1978:4
Tamang (Taglung)	^{1}**tsaŋ**	daughter-in-law	Mazaudon 1978:4
Thakali (Marpha)	^{1}**tsaŋ**	daughter-in-law	Mazaudon 1978:4
Thakali (Syang)	^{H}**tsaŋ**	daughter-in-law	Mazaudon 1978:4
Thakali (Tukche)	^{H}**caŋ**	daughter-in-law	Mazaudon 1978:4

(3) PTB *s-nam DAUGHTER-IN-LAW / WIFE / SISTER

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	***s-nam**	daughter-in-law; sister	Matisoff 2003a:604; Benedict 1972:103

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	**ñam**-nə	daughter-in-law	Sun 1993b
	n̡am nə	daughter-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.24
Bokar Lhoba	**n̡am** nə	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.51
Galo	**ʻɲam** tə	daughter-in-law (first) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲam dəə	daughter-in-law (third) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲam ii	daughter-in-law (last) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲam roo	daughter-in-law (second) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲam əə	daughter-in-law (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	**n̡am**-nə	daugher-in-law; daughter-in-law	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**ham**	daughter in law	Benedict 1972:84n250
Dimasa	**ham**	daughter in law	Benedict 1972:84n250

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**nam**	daughter in law	Benedict 1972:84n250
	nam-tsik	daughter-in-law	Benedict 1972:103
Garo (Bangladesh)	**nam**-chik	daughter in law; niece (n.)	Burling 2003:6.617-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**nam** nokhol	daughter-in-law (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	kǎ^{31}**nam**^{33}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.47
	kǎ^{1}**nam**^{33}	daughter-in-law	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	nam	daughter-in-law	Benedict 1972:103
	n̡am^{33}	daughter-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.19

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Byangsi	**nam**-sia	daughter-in-law	Benedict 1972:103
Chaudangsi	**nam**-sia	daughter-in-law	Benedict 1972:103
Kanauri	**stĕm**	daughter-in-law (n.)	Bailey 1911
	stem (< *snem)	daughter-in-law	Benedict 1972:103
	tĕm	daughter-in-law (n.)	Bailey 1911

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**nyom**	daughter-in-law	Benedict 1972:103

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yamphu	**nam** miʔ	daughter-in-law; wife of a younger brother (n.)	Rutgers 1998:558.27

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**nam** me	daughter-in-law	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Magar	ar **nam**	maiden	Benedict 1972:103

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	**snom**	sister	Benedict 1972:103

4. Nungic

Anong	ə **nam**	cousin	Benedict 1972:103
	ə **nam**-mɛ	sister	Benedict 1972:103

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	mauŋ-**hnam**	husband and wife	Benedict 1972:103

7. Karenic

Pa-O	pə **nàm**	daughter-in-law	Solnit 1989

(4) PKC *pa-sal HUSBAND

The second element in this compound is perhaps to be identified with PKC ***tsal** MALE ANIMAL (§2.0).

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	***pa**-sal	HUSBAND	VanBik 2009:654

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**pà**-sál	husband	VanBik 2009:654
Tiddim	**pa**^{3} sal^{1}	husband, male	VanBik 2009:654

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**pa**-sâl	husband	VanBik 2009:654
Lai (Falam)	**pà**-sál’	husband	VanBik 2009:654
Lushai [Mizo]	**pà** săl	husband, a male member of a household (n.)	VanBik 2009:654

(5) PTani *mi-lo HUSBAND

1.1.1. Tani

*Tani	***mi-lo**	husband	Sun 1993a:213

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**mi-lo**	husband	Sun 1993a
	mì-lo	husband	Sun 1993b
	mi-lo	husband	Sun 1993b
	mi-lo-bú	marry	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ñu-lu:**	husband	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**me lo**	husband (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0247.24
	me-lo	husband	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**me lo**	husband	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:337.51
Galo	**ʻɲiloo**	husband (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲiloo-ʻkoo daa	men’s balcony (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻɲiloo-ʻrab go	men’s doorway (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲi-lo	husband	Das Gupta 1963
Nishi [Dafla]	**nyĕ-lo**	husband	Benedict 1941/2008:135
Nishing	**nu-lu**	husband	Das Gupta 1969
	nyiolu	husband	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**nyilu**	husband	Das Gupta 1983
	nyo-lĕ	husband	Benedict 1941/2008:135

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**mi-lo**	husband	Sun 1993a
Milang	**ma-lu**	husband	Tayeng 1976

(6) PKar *gwa^{A} HUSBAND

7. Karenic

*Karen	***gwa**^{A}	husband	Luangthongkum 2013:151
Bwe	**wa**^{33}	husband	Luangthongkum 2013:151
Kayah	**we**^{11}	husband	Luangthongkum 2013:151
Kayan	**gwa**^{33}	husband	Luangthongkum 2013:151
Kayaw	**wu**^{33}	husband	Luangthongkum 2013:151
Pa-O (Northern)	**wa**^{33}	husband	Luangthongkum 2013:151
Pa-O (Southern)	**wa**^{53}	husband	Luangthongkum 2013:151
Pwo (Northern)	**wa**^{55}	husband	Luangthongkum 2013:151
Pwo (Southern)	**wa**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	husband	Luangthongkum 2013:151
Sgaw (Southern)	**wa**^{33}	husband	Luangthongkum 2013:151
Sgaw (Northern)	**wa**^{33}	husband	Luangthongkum 2013:151

(7) PTk *mow SISTER-IN-LAW

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

*Tangkhulic	***mow**	sister-in-law	Mortensen 2012:425
Tusom	ʔɯ-**muə**	sister-in-law	Mortensen 2012:People.040
Ukhrul	ʔa-**muj**	sister-in-law (wife of brother)	Mortensen 2012

(8) PTk *nɐŋ SISTER-IN-LAW

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

*Tangkhulic	***nɐŋ**	sister-in-law	Mortensen 2012:669
Huishu	ʔu-**nɐŋ**	sister-in-law	Mortensen 2012:People.037
Kachai	ʔa-**nɐŋ**-i	sister-in-law (of female ego)	Mortensen 2012:People

(9) PTB *krwəy SON-IN-LAW / DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	***krwiy**	daughter-in-law / son-in-law	Benedict 1972:244
	***krwəy**	son-in-law; daughter-in-law	Chou Fa-kao 1972:90i; Matisoff 2003a:597

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***hri** SON-IN-LAW

*Tangkhulic	***hri**	son-in-law	Mortensen 2012:359
Huishu	u-**re**-je	son-in-law	Mortensen 2012:People.035
Kachai	ʔa-**rɐ**-huu	son-in-law	Mortensen 2012:People.033
Tusom	kə-**hri**	daughter in law	Mortensen 2012:People.038
Ukhrul	i-**ri**-ha	son-in-law	Mortensen 2012

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**khri**	paternal aunt’s daughters, sister’s children, son-in-law	Benedict 1972:244

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	tsi^{53}ŋui^{55}**tɕhi**^{33}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.17
Namuyi	**ntʂhɿ**^{55}mi^{55}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.19
	ntʂhɿ^{55}mi^{55}	daughter-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**tʂhə**^{13}	daughter-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tʂhə**^{13}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.11
Pumi (Taoba)	tsʉ^{55}**tʂhə**^{53}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.10
Qiang (Mawo)	tsi **gziu**	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.8
	tsu **gzu**	daughter-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.08
Qiang (Taoping)	tsy^{33}**dzy**^{33}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tʂhə**^{35}ma^{55}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.16

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**zjau**	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə mo **tsi**	daughter-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.11
rGyalrong	tə mo **tsi**	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.12

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**khrwê**	daughter-in-law	Hansson 1989:300
	khrwè-má	daughter-in-law, son-in-law	Benedict 1972:244

6.1.2. Loloish

*Loloish	***krwe**^{2}	daughter-in-law	Hansson 1989:300

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**tshɿ**^{31}ma^{33}	daughter-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.47
Lalo	**khà**-ma	daughter-in-law	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	**khɹue**^{55}a^{31}	daughter-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khɹue**^{55}ɑ^{31}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.45
Nusu (Northern)	**khɹui**^{55}ɑ^{55}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**tʂhui**^{55}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	tshe^{13}**tɕhi**^{55}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.22
Yi (Nanhua)	**tɕhi**^{21}mo^{33}	daughter-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.37
	tɕhi^{21}mo^{33}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**khɯ**^{21}mɑ^{33}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.23
Yi (Weishan)	**khɯ**^{21}mɑ^{33}	daughter-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tɕhi**^{55}**ɬɑ**^{33}	daughter-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Kucong	**khɯ31** mʌ33	son’s wife, daughter-in-law	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**khɯ**^{53}mɑ^{33}	daughter-in-law (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.43
Lahu (Black)	ɔ^{31}**khɯ**^{53}mʌ^{33}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.33
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{2}**khɯ**^{3}	daughter-in-law	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**tʃhi**^{41}mɑ^{44}	daughter-in-law	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:341.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tɕhiʔ**^{21}ma^{33}	daughter-in-law (N.)	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**khỳ**	daughter-in-law	Hansson 1989:300
Akha (Yunnan)	**khỳ** ma	daughter-in-law	Hansson 1989:300
Akha (Thai)	**khỳ**-ma	daughter-in-law	Hansson 1989:300
Hani (Lüchun)	**khỳ** ma	daughter-in-law	Hansson 1989:300

Hani (Dazhai)	**khɯ**^{31}ma^{33}	daughter-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:341.31	*Ukhrul*	a-va-k^{h}ə-**rɐr**	uncle (father's older brother)	Mortensen 2012
Hani (Lüchun)	**khɯ**^{31}ma^{33}	daughter-in-law (reference) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.41				
Hani (Pijo)	**khì**	daughter-in-law	Hansson 1989:300				
	khì mɔ	daughter-in-law	Hansson 1989:300				
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshi**^{31}mɔ^{33}	daughter-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:341.30				
Hani (Gelanghe)	**khɯ**^{31}ma^{33}	daughter-in-law	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986				
Hani (Wordlist)	**keeq** ma	daughter-in-law	Hansson 1989:300				
Hani (Shuikui)	**khɯ**^{31}mɔ^{33}	daughter-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:341.32				
Hani (Khatu)	**tjhì**	daughter-in-law	Hansson 1989:300				
	tjhì mo	daughter-in-law	Hansson 1989:300				
Hani (Mojiang)	**khɯ**^{31}mɔ^{33}	daughter-in-law (reference) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.42				
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH							
Southern Muji	**tɕ^{h}ɛ**^{21}ma^{21}	daughter-in-law	Pelkey 2011:397				
Phola	**k^{h}ji**^{31}mɔ^{23}	daughter-in-law	Pelkey 2011:397				

(10) PTk *ʃaŋ SPOUSE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***ʃaŋ**	spouse	Mortensen 2012:723
Kachai	ʔu-lu-**ʃa**	husband	Mortensen 2012:People.028
Tusom	ʔi-ti-**sxã**	husband	Mortensen 2012:People.033

(11) PKC *ʔay STEP- (father, mother, child)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ʔay**	STEP (father, mother, child)	VanBik 2009:508
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	pa-**ʔây**	step-father	VanBik 2009:508
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	páw-**èi**	step father	VanBik 2009:508

(12) PLB *m-ya^{2} WIFE

This root is of limited distribution in Lolo-Burmese, much less widely attested than PTB ***mi** FEMALE / GIRL / FEMININE SUFFIX (§1.9.12). The prefixized element is undoubtedly a reduction of one of the several morphemes related to females with labial nasal initials.

6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mɑ**^{53}**jɑ**^{55}	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mɑ**^{53}**jɑ**^{55}	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.40
Burmese (Written)	**mayā**	wife	Marrison 1967
	mɑ^{1}**jɑ**^{3}	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.26
	mɑ^{1}**jɑ**^{3}	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.39
Marma	**məyá**	wife	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:159
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***məya**^{2}	wife	Bradley 1979b:216

(13) PKar *hma^{A} WIFE

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***hma**^{A}	wife	Luangthongkum 2013:332
**Karen [Burling]*	***ma**^{4}	wife	Luangthongkum 2013:332
Bwe	**mɛ**^{55}	wife	Luangthongkum 2013:332
Kayah	**me**^{33}	wife	Luangthongkum 2013:332
Kayan	**ma**^{53}	wife	Luangthongkum 2013:332
Kayaw	**ma**^{55}	wife	Luangthongkum 2013:332
Pa-O (Southern)	**ma**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	wife	Luangthongkum 2013:332
Pa-O (Northern)	**ma**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	wife	Luangthongkum 2013:332
Pwo (Northern)	**ma**^{35}	wife	Luangthongkum 2013:332
Pwo (Southern)	**ma**^{53}	wife	Luangthongkum 2013:332
Sgaw (Northern)	**ma**^{33}	wife	Luangthongkum 2013:332
Sgaw (Southern)	**ma**^{55}	wife	Luangthongkum 2013:332

(14) TGTM *mriŋ WIFE

2.1.4. TAMANGISH				
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mrĩ** la baq	copulate	Glover 1972:2.B.2.13	[a]
	mrĩq	wife (less respectful)	Glover 1972:11.A.78	
	mrį̊ lā bāq	copulate	Matisoff 1987	
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{1}mriŋ**	wife	Mazaudon 1994:800	

[a] **mrĩ** 'wife' + **la baq** 'do' (lit. "make into a wife").

(15) TGTM *^{A}be wife

2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	***^{A}be**	wife	Mazaudon 1978:38
Manang (Ngawal)	**^{3}piɛ**	wife	Mazaudon 1978:38
Thakali (Marpha)	**^{3}pe**	wife	Mazaudon 1978:38
Thakali (Syang)	**^{3}pe**	wife	Mazaudon 1978:38
Thakali (Tukche)	**^{3}pe**	wife	Mazaudon 1978:38

4.7.5 General

(1) PKC *ɗooŋ HOUSEHOLD / FAMILY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɗooŋ**	HOUSEHOLD / FAMILY	VanBik 2009:89
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	ueng **déwng**	family, household	VanBik 2009:89
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**dôoŋ**	household, family	VanBik 2009:89
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**dỳ**	family, household	VanBik 2009:89

(2) PTk *dar OLDER RELATIVE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***dar**	older relative	Mortensen 2012:599
Kachai	hi-aw-**ðar**	paternal uncle (elder)	Mortensen 2012:People.008
Tusom	ʔə-pi-**tuə**	uncle, older paternal	Mortensen 2012:People.010

Volume 5

Culture, Artifacts, Religion

5.0.0 Culture, Artifacts, Religion

(1) PKC *tsaaŋ ROW / LINE (horizontal)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tsaaŋ**	ROW / LINE (horizontal)	VanBik 2009:558
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	la **chang**	stanza	VanBik 2009:558
Tiddim	**taːng**[1]	the line of movement of a forest fire (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1719
	taːngː[1]	line of movement of a forest fire (n.)	VanBik 2009:558
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsàaŋ**	row, horizontal line	VanBik 2009:558

(2) PKC *klaar ROW / LINE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***klaar**	ROW / LINE	VanBik 2009:1272
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tlâar**	row, line	VanBik 2009:1272
Lushai [Mizo]	**tláar**	row (n.)	VanBik 2009:1272
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-**tlà**	line up (v.)	VanBik 2009:1272

5.1.0 Waste products

(1) PLB *bi[1] ANVIL

This word is perhaps a loan into Lolo-Burmese, since the vowel correspondence between WB and Lahu is irregular.

6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***bi**[1]	anvil	Matisoff 2003a:584
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**pe**	anvil	Matisoff 1974:97; Benedict 1976a
Maru [Langsu]	**byi**	anvil (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:187
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***bi**[1]	anvil	Bradley 1979b:268
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**pì**-tɛ	anvil	Matisoff 1974:97
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**biˇ** nahˇ	anvil (n.)	Lewis 1968:80
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phuza	ɕi[31]**bi**[13]	anvil	Pelkey 2011:507

(2) PTani *pruŋ FLUTE

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***pruŋ**	flute	Sun 1993a:159
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**pjuŋ**-ri	flute	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	ta **puŋ**	flute (bamboo); flute (bamboo, vertical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0663.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0664.24
	ta-**puŋ**	flute; floot	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ta **puŋ**	flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.51
Galo	ta **pu**	flute	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **pu** men-nam	play a flute (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ta **puu**	flute (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**puŋ**	flute	Sun 1993a
Damu	ta-**pum**	flute	Sun 1993b
Milang	ap **puŋ**	flute	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	mɯ[31]**pluŋ**[53]	flute (bamboo) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0663.23
	mɯ[31]**pluŋ**[53]	flute-like instrument (Turkic); flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:503.48; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.48
	ɬa[53]	flute (bamboo); flute (bamboo, vertical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0663.18; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0664.18
Mɯya	dʑɑ[33]**lĩ**[55]	flute (bamboo, vertical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0664.15
	tʂhe[55]**lĩ**[55]	flute (bamboo) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0663.15
Mɯya [Minyak]	dʑɑ̃[35]**li**[53]	flute-like instrument (Turkic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:503.15
	tʂhe[55]**li**[55]	flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ɬã**[55]	flute (bamboo) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0663.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**xã**[55]	flute (bamboo) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0663.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ɬã**[55]	flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.11
Pumi (Taoba)	nʚe[55]**ɬã**[53]	flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.10
	ɬã[55]	flute-like instrument (Turkic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:503.10
Qiang (Mawo)	ʂpu **ɣli**	flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.8
	ʂpu**l**	flute (bamboo) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0663.08
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	mɐ[55]**li**[55]	flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.16
Xumi	dʒuɛ[35]**lyɛ**[33]	flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.20
	kɔ̃[55]**li**[55]	flute-like instrument (Turkic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:503.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	mbə[55]**li**[55]	flute (bamboo, vertical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0664.14
	tʂha[33]**li**[55]	flute (bamboo) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0663.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**ʁli** və	flute (bamboo, vertical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0664.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ta **lɛ**	flute-like instrument (Turkic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:503.12

Chinese comparandum

Comment: Cf. comparanda for PTB ***(p/b)lyaŋ** STRAIGHT / STRAIGHTEN (§7.1.5).

5.3.0 Diseases

(1) PKC *puul PLAGUE / EPIDEMICS

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***puul**	PLAGUE / EPIDEMICS	VanBik 2009:158
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**pùul**	plague	VanBik 2009:158
Tiddim	**puːl**[3] > pulʔ[3]	die in large numbers due to epidemics	VanBik 2009:158
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**pŭul**	plague	VanBik 2009:158
Lai (Falam)	**pùul**	plague	VanBik 2009:158
Lushai [Mizo]	**pùul**	plague, pestilence	VanBik 2009:158

(2) PTani *bum SMALLPOX

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***bum**	smallpox	Sun 1993a:374
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	ta-**bũ**	smallpox	Sun 1993b
	ta-**bũ** rhyme!	smallpox	Sun 1993a
	ta-**bùm**-bu	infected with smallpox	Sun 1993b
	ta-**buŋ**	smallpox	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**bum**	smallpox	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**bum** ɕi	person w / pockmarked face (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0206.24
	bum-si	person with a pockmarked face	Sun 1993b
	ta-**bum**	smallpox	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**bum** ɕiː	pockmarked person	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ta **bum**	smallpox	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:287.51
Galo	ʻta **bum**	smallpox (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ta-**bum**	smallpox	Sun 1993a
Damu	ta-**bum**	pock-marked person	Sun 1993b
Milang	ta-**bum**	pox (small)	Tayeng 1976

5.4.0 Instruments and therapies

(1) PTk *ri MEDICINE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***ri**	medicine	Mortensen 2012:354
Huishu	ʔa-**rik**	medicine / juice	Mortensen 2012:Implements.043
Kachai	ʔa-**rɐ**	medicine	Mortensen 2012:Implements.025
Tangkhul	**rì**	medicine	Bhat 1969:92
Ukhrul	ʔa-**ri**	medicine	Mortensen 2012

(2) PTB *s-man MEDICINE

Some of the Qiangic and rGyalrongic forms look as if they might be borrowings from Tibetan.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-man**	medicine	Matisoff 2003a:601; LaPolla 1987:93
1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**ɕə**[33]**min**[33]	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.52
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**si-min**	medicine	Sun 1993b
	si-min ǰiː-bu	medicine man	Sun 1993b
Bokar	***men**	medicine	Sun 1993b
	men	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.24
	men a-muk	medicine (powder)	Sun 1993b
	men a-pir	medicine (pill)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**men**	medicine	LaPolla 1987:93; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.51
Miri, Hill	**nen**	medicine	Simon 1976
Tagin	**min**	medicine	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	***men**	medicine	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	haːbang taː **maː**	medicine (jungle)	NEFA (India) 1963

(3) PTB *gliŋ TUBE / FLUTE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(g-)liŋ**	tube	French 1983:525
	***gliŋ**	tube / flute	Matisoff 2003a:590
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	ptʂhe **ɣlaŋ**	flute (bamboo) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0663.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	mtʂhel **ɣlaŋ**	flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.5
	ɣloŋ wi	flute-like instrument (Turkic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:503.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**hliŋ** buˑ	flute	Rangan 1975:54
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ɬaŋ**[53]	flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**liŋ**[55]ku[55]	flute (bamboo, vertical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0664.02
	liŋ[55]pu[13]	flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.2
Tibetan (Written)	**gliŋ** bu	flute (bamboo, vertical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0664.01
	phred **gliŋ**	flute (bamboo) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0663.01
	phred **gliṅ**	flute	Marrison 1967
	ɦphred **gliŋ**	flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**laŋ** wə	flute (bamboo, vertical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0664.04
	tʂhe **laŋ**	flute (bamboo) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0663.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]**kiliŋ**	flute	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0590
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	go[33]**ɬɑ**[55]	flute-like instrument (Turkic)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:503.18
	ɬɑ[55]	flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.18
Guiqiong	gø[33]**lũ**[55]tsi[53]	flute	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:506.17
Lyuzu	ndza[33]**ɬa**[53]	flute (bamboo); flute (bamboo, vertical) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0663.18; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0664.18

	malam ta: **ma:**	medicine for cut wounds	NEFA (India) 1963
	ta: **ma:**	medicine	NEFA (India) 1963
	ta: **ma:**-potolo	medicine (patent; in bottles)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ta: **ma:** cei	medicine mixture	NEFA (India) 1963
	ta: **ma:** tikili	medicine (in bottles)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ta: **ma:** ting	medicine (in tin containers)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ta^{31} **maŋ^{55}**	medicine	LaPolla 1987:93
	tyang nya: ta: **ma:**	medicine for pain	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	tɑ^{31}**mɑŋ^{55}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.22
	tɑ^{31}**mɑŋ^{55}**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.49
Idu	ta **ma**	medicine	Anonymous 1962
	tɑ^{31}**mɑŋ^{55}**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.50
Yidu	tɑ^{31}**mɑŋ^{55}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.25
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Rongpo	**mhan**	medicine (n.)	Sharma 2003:882
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**mān**	medicine (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.42
Tsangla (Motuo)	**man**	medicine	LaPolla 1987:93; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.7
	man^{55}	medicine	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**man**	medicine	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**mɑn^{55}**	medicine	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**man^{53}**	medicine	LaPolla 1987:93
	mɑn^{53}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.6
Motuo Menba	**man**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.07
Cuona Menba	**man^{53}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rm̥an**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hman**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rm̥ən**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**m̥ĕ^{55}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**menq**	medicine (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.42
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**m̥in^{55}**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	(**mɛ̃^{55}**) nur^{55}	grind / pestle (medicine) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1747.02
	mɛ̃^{55}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.02
	mɛ̃^{55}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**men**	medicine (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.42
Tibetan (Written)	(**sman**) snur	grind / pestle (medicine) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1747.01
	sman	medicine	LaPolla 1987:93
	sman	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.01
	sman	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hman**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**món**	medicine (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**man**	medicine	Mazaudon 1994:772
Gurung	**mãẹ**	medicine (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.42
Gurung (Ghachok)	**maẽ**	medicine	Glover 1972:10.A.42
Gurung	**^{1}maẽ**	medicine	Mazaudon 1994:772
Manang (Gyaru)	**mɛn^{2}**	medicine	Nagano 1984:134-01
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{3}mẽ**	medicine	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0050
	^{1}mẽ	medicine	Mazaudon 1994:772
Tamang (Sahu)	**men**	medicine (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.42
	men	medicine (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:10.43
	^{1}men	medicine	Mazaudon 1994:772
Thakali	**man**	medicine (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.42
Thakali (Tukche)	**mɔn**	medicine	Hari 1971:10.A.42
	mɔn-'lɔ-ɔ	treat / apply medicine	Hari 1971:2.B.2.49
	^{H}mən	medicine	Mazaudon 1994:772
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**n̥i^{55}**htɕi^{55}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.18
Guiqiong	**mã^{55}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.16
	mɛ^{53}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.17
Muya [Minyak]	**me^{53}**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**m̥ɛ̃^{55}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**m̥iɛ̃^{55}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**hmiɛ̃^{55}**	medicine	LaPolla 1987:93
	m̥iɛ̃^{55}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**hmĩ**	medicine	LaPolla 1987:93
	m̥ĩ^{55}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**sman**; səpɑ	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**sɻ^{33}**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	(**sm̥e^{55}**) ndy^{13}	grind / pestle (medicine) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1747.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**m̥ẽ^{55}**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**sme^{55}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.13
Xumi	**m̥ĩ^{55}**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.20
	m̥ɛ̃^{55}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**m̥e^{55}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**smɛn**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.12
Ergong (Danba)	**smɛn**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.14
Nyagrong Minyag (Ganzi Xinlong)	**$^{¯h}$mã** / **^{ˋh}mə̃**	medicine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0662
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	**sman**	medicine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0662
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**smon**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	**smon**	medicine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0662
rGyalrong	**smon**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.12
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	**smæn**	medicine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0662
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**smæ̂n**	medicine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0662
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	**smøɴ44**	medicine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0662
Caodeng	**smɐn**	medicine	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	**smɜn24**	medicine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0662
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	**smɜn42**	medicine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0662
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	**smɐɴ55**	medicine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0662
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	**¯smʌ^{ʔ}**	medicine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0662
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	**ˊsmɐn**	medicine	Nagano & Prins 2013:0662
rGyalrong	**smAN**	medicine	Nagano 1997:51a
rGBenzhen	**smɐn**	medicine	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Dulong	**mɑn^{55}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.20
Trung [Dulong]	**mă̆n^{55}**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**man^{55}**	medicine	LaPolla 1987:93
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**man^{55}**	medicine	LaPolla 1987:93
	mă̆n^{55}	medicine	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**mjɑ^{31}**	medicine	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**n̥ɔ^{31}**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.41
	n̥ɔ^{31}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.28
Achang (Luxi)	**mjaʔ^{31}**	medicine	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ɲ̊ɔ^{31}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.29

(3) PCN *mV-ləj MEDICINE / CREAM

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***mV-ləj**	MEDICINE, CREAM	Bruhn 2014a:III.113
**Ao*	***mu.ləj**	MEDICINE, DRUG	Bruhn 2014a:II.217
Ao (Chungli)	**mu^{2}zə^{2}**	medicine (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.217
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**muli**	drug, medicine (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**mo^{1}-ʒə^{1}**	cream, medicine (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.113
	mozhü	medicine	Murry *et al.* 1978:72
	mózə	medicine	Acharya 1975
	mózə	medicine	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**moi**	medicine	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**moli** jih	pill	Kumar 1973b:42
	moli yam	hospital	Kumar 1973b:25

(4) PTB *r-tsəy MEDICINE / JUICE / PAINT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-tsəy**	medicine / juice / paint	Matisoff 2003a:617
	***tsiy**	juice; paint; medicine, paint, drugs	Chou Fa-kao 1972:491b; Benedict 1972:65
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**tsì**	medicine	Matisoff 1974:168
	tsi ⩙ ətsi	drugs, medicine, tobacco, paint	Benedict 1972:65
	ts̲i^{31}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.19
	ts̲i^{31}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.47
	ts̲i^{31}~a^{31}**ts̲i^{31}**	medicine	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**rtsi**	all liquids of a somewhat great consistency	Benedict 1972:65
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya	**tsə^{53}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.15
Namuyi	**tse^{55}**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.19
	tse^{55}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.46
Qiang (Longxi)	**tsù**	paint, lacquer	Evans 1999:753
	ɕì	paint (painting)	Evans 1999:1980
	ɕì	paint (v.)	Evans 1999:2422 [a]
	ɕì	paint (v.t.)	Evans 1999:753
4. Nungic			
Anong	mə **tsi**	medicine	Benedict 1972:65
Nung	nɛ^{55}**tshŋ^{31}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.21
Anong	nɛ^{55}**tshŋ^{31}**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.44
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola (Luxi)	mi^{31}**tʃhŋ^{35}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.32
	tʃhŋ^{35}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**she^{55}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**hse^{55}**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.40
Burmese (Written)	**chê**	drug; tobacco; paint; medicine	Matisoff 1974:168; Benedict 1976a
	hse^{3}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.39
	she^{3}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.26
	tshè	drugs, medicine, tobacco, paint	Benedict 1972:65
Langsu (Luxi)	**tʃhik^{55}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tʃhei^{55}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.33
Marma	**chí**	medicine	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:134-1
Maru [Langsu]	**tʃhik^{55}**	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃhi^{21}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.30
	tʃhi^{21}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	na^{24}**tshŋ^{31}**	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.47

[a] [Source Note] cf. 'urinate'.

Lalo	ʔne-**tshì**	medicine / drug	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	nɛ^{33}**tshi**^{31}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.34
Nusu (Northern)	nɛ^{55}**tshŋ̄**^{31}	medicine	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ʔnɛ̱^{35}**tshi**^{31}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.45
Yi (Dafang)	me^{33}**tɕhi**^{33}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.22
Yi (Liangshan)	bu^{55}**tshŋ**^{33}	medicine	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	phɛ^{33}**tshŋ**^{33}	malaria medicine	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	no^{33}**tshi**^{21}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.25
Yi (Mojiang)	no^{21}**tɕhi**^{33}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.26
Yi (Nanhua)	nu̱^{33}**tshi**^{21}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.37
	nA̱^{33}**tɕhi**^{33}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.24
Yi (Nanjian)	ne^{33}**tshŋ**^{21}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.23
Yi (Weishan)	ʔnɛ^{33}**tshŋ**^{21}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tshi**^{33}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.38
Yi (Xide)	bu^{55}**tshŋ**^{33}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.35
	bu^{55}**tshŋ**^{33}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**tshi**^{33}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**tshi**^{44}	medicine	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tshi**^{44}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.44
Kucong	na33 **tshŋ31**	medicine	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	nɑ^{33}**tshi**^{33}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.43
Lahu (Black)	nâʔ-**chî**	medicine	Matisoff 1974:168
	nA^{54}**tshŋ**^{53}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.33
Lahu (Yellow)	na^{6}**tshŋ**^{3}	medicine	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}**tshiʔ**^{21}	medicine (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ná^{1}-**htsi**^{6}	drug; medicine	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	næ^{33}**tshiʔ**^{21}	medicine (N.)	Bradley 1994
	næ^{33}**tshiʔ**^{21} kɯ^{33}du^{33}	medicine bottle; medicine box	Bradley 1994
Lisu	nɛ^{44}**tshŋ**^{41}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.27
Yi (Sani)	nɒ^{33}**tshʐ**^{11}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	aˇ **dzi**˳	semen, tree sap	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Dazhai)	na^{33}**tshi**^{31}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.31
Hani (Lüchun)	na^{55}**tshi**^{31}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshŋ**^{31}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.30
Hani (Shuikui)	na^{33}**tshi**^{31}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.32
Hani (Mojiang)	na^{33}**tshi**^{31}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.42

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	nɛ^{44}**ts^{h}i**^{33}	medicine; herbal medicine	Pelkey 2011:514
Southern Muji	na^{21}**tɕ^{h}i**^{33}	medicine; herbal medicine	Pelkey 2011:514
Phola	nɔ^{33}**tɕ^{h}i̱**^{23}	medicine; herbal medicine	Pelkey 2011:514
Hlepho Phowa	na^{33}**ts^{h}ŋ**^{55}	medicine; herbal medicine	Pelkey 2011:514
Phu Kha	na^{33} **t͡s^{h}ɯʔ**^{35}	medicine	Fried 2000
Phuza	na^{31}**ts^{h}i**^{33}	medicine; herbal medicine	Pelkey 2011:514

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ts^{h}ɯ**˩fi˩	medicine	Michaud 2006–2009:845
Na (Yongning)	**ʈʂ^{h}æ**˩ɯ#˥	medicine	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**tʂha**^{33}ɣɯ^{33}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tʂhəɹ**^{33}ɣɯ^{33}	medicine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:509.28
Naxi	**tʂhəˇ**^{33}ɣɯ^{33}	medicine (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0456.45

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ts'i̱ĕt**	varnish	Chou Fa-kao 1972:491b

Chinese comparandum

漆 OC *__ts'i̱ĕt__, *GSR* #401b 'lacquer, paint'; Coblin 86:156 ST *__tshji?__ > OC *__tshjit__; Schuessler 2007:420 *__tshit__; Mand. __qī__.

5.5.0 Cooking Implements

(1) PTB *kwak BOWL

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__kwak__	bowl	Matisoff 2003a:598

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	(ta^{31}) **khuɔ**^{55}	bowl (of cooked rice) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0857.16
	kuɔ^{31}	bowl (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0553.16
	qho^{53}	bowl	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:447.17
Lyuzu	(to^{33}) **khuo**^{31}	bowl (of cooked rice) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0857.18
	khuo^{33}la^{53}	bowl (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0553.18
Namuyi	**qha**^{33}	bowl	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:447.19
	qhɛ^{35}ŋgɛ^{33}	break	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:766.19
	qha^{31}	bowl (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0553.46
	qha^{55}	bowl (of cooked rice) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0857.46
	qhæ^{35}ngæ^{31}	break; smash (a bowl); broken, be (bowls) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1559.46; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1560.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	(tə^{55}) **kuə**^{35}	bowl (of cooked rice) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0857.10
	(tə^{55}) **kuɛ**^{11}	bowl (of tobacco) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0881.10
	kuə^{35}	bowl (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0553.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**khuɑ**^{13}	bowl (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0553.09
	khuɑ^{13}	bowl (of cooked rice) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0857.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**khuɑ**^{13}	bowl	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:447.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**khua**^{35}	bowl	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:447.10
Xumi	**qho**^{55}	bowl	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:447.20
	qhu^{53}	bowl (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0553.17

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**qhuə** zi	bowl	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:447.14
Daofu	**qhə** zi	bowl (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0553.12
rGyalrong	**khə** tsa	bowl	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:447.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**khə** tsɑ	bowl (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0553.11

3.3.1. rGyalrong

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**khwak**	cup (n.)	Marrison 1967
	khwak	concave, as a cup; sunken (as face) ; a cup	Benedict 1976a

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**k^{h}wɤ**˩	bowl	Michaud 2006–2009:1131
Na (Yongning)	**q^{h}wæ**˥	break (bowl, jar) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	q^{h}wɤ˩	bowl	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**khuɑ**^{13}	bowl	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:447.29
Naxi	**khuɑ**^{55}	bowl (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0553.45
	khuɑ^{55}	bowl (of cooked rice) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0857.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**khuɑ**^{55}	bowl	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:447.28

(2) PCN *a-hjəm ≍ *a-həm BREAD / BISCUIT / FLOUR

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	*a-**hjəm** ≍ a-**həm**	BREAD, BISCUIT / FLOUR	Bruhn 2014a:III.146
**Ao*	*a-**hjəm**	BISCUIT	Bruhn 2014a:II.280
Ao (Chungli)	ā **m̄** [ā **jəm]**	biscuit	Temsunungsang 2009:1b
	a **m**	flour	Marrison 1967
	a **m**^{2}	biscuit (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.280
	a **m**^{3}**tsək**^{3}	biscuit (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	a **m** tsük	bread	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **yim**	flour	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**hjim**	biscuit, roti (incl. any flour-based food item) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**həm**^{1}-rəʔ^{3}	bread (homemade) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.146
	o^{1}-**həm**^{1}	flour (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.146
	hüm ri	bread	Murry *et al.* 1978:11
	o **hüm**	flour	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:46
	ō **hə̄m** >	flour	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**ham** thse	bread	Marrison 1967
	hem thse	bread	Kumar 1973a
	hüm	flour	Kumar 1973a

(3) PTani *nu COOKED

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	*__nu__	cooked	Sun 1993a:80

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**nu**	cooked	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**nu**	cooked, be (rice) / done (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.24
	nu(-po)	cooked	Sun 1993b
	nuː~ **nu**	cooked	Sun 1993a
Bokar Lhoba	**nu**	cooked	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:869.51
Galo	-**ʻnu**	cooked (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻnu nam	cooked (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻnu ŋek	overcook (vt.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**nu**	cooked	Sun 1993a
Damu	**nu**-duŋ	cooked	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Yidu	**n̪u**^{55}	cooked, be (rice) / done (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1637.25

(4) PLB *ʔ-lu^{1} FRY / STIR-FRY / TOAST

This root is universal in Lolo-Burmese, and also appears in two adjacent Qiangic languages influenced by LB, as well as in Naxi.

The WB reflex has **-o** instead of the expected **-u**, perhaps reflecting a variant with PLB ***-aw**. Several Burmish languages have the diphthongal reflex **-ai**. This suggests that the PLB rhyme is still subject to revision.

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	**hũ**^{33}**hũ**^{35}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.46
Xumi	**hũ**^{53}**hũ**^{33}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.17
	hũ^{55}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.20

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *__ʔ-lu__^{1} FRY / STIR-FRY / TOAST

**Lolo-Burmese*	*__ʔ-lu__^{3}	fry	Matisoff 2003a:112, 180

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**l̥ɛ**^{55}	stir-fry	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**l̥ə**^{31}	stir / budge (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1286.28
	l̥ə^{55}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ləi**^{35}	stir-fry	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**l̥ɤ**^{31}	stir / budge (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1286.29
	l̥ɤ^{55}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.29
Bola (Luxi)	**l̥i̱**^{55}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ɬɔ**^{22}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.27
Burmese (Written)	**hlo**	stir backward and forward, as in parching peas	Benedict 1976a
	hlɔ^{2}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**l̥i̱**^{31}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.31
Maru [Langsu]	**l̥i̱**^{31}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.43

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	*__ʔ-lu__^{1}	fry	Hansson 1989:174

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**ʔlú**	fry / roast	Björverud 1994
	ʔl̪u^{55}	fry	Chen Kang 1986a:30.
Lipho	**lu**^{33}	fry	Chen Kang 1986a:30.
Nasu	**ɬu**^{33}	fry	Chen Kang 1986a:30.

Neisu	**ɬu**^{13}	fry	Chen Kang 1986a:30.
Nesu	**ɬu**^{55}	fry	Chen Kang 1986a:30.
Nosu	**ɬu**^{33}	fry	Chen Kang 1986a:30.
Nusu (Central)	**l̥ɯ**^{33}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɬɯ**^{35}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ɬɯ**^{55}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɬɯ**^{55}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ɬu**^{33}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ɬu**^{33}	stir fry	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬu^{33}**tɕ̩**^{55}	stir fry	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**lo**^{33}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**lu**^{33}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.37; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**lu**^{55}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔlu**^{55}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ɬv̩**^{33}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.38
Yi (Xide)	**ɬu**^{33}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.35
	ɬ̩(u)^{33}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**lo**^{33}	fry	Chen Kang 1986a:30.
Lahu (Lancang)	**xu**^{33}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.43
Lahu (Black)	**xu**^{33}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**xu**^{1}	stir-fry	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**lu**^{33}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.40
	lu^{33}	stir / budge (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1286.40
	lu^{33}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.27
Lisu (Northern)	**lu**^{44}	stir fry (V.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ɬu**^{33}	fry	Chen Kang 1986a:30.
Yi (Sani)	**ɬz̩**^{44}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**lú**	fry	Hansson 1989:174
Akha (Thai)	**lú**	fry	Hansson 1989:174
Akha (Yunnan)	**lú**	fry	Hansson 1989:174
Hani (Lüchun)	**hlú**	fry	Hansson 1989:174
	lú	fry	Hansson 1989:174
Hani (Dazhai)	**lu**^{55}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**lu**^{55}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.41
	lu^{55}lɔ^{55}	fry (cold rice) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1587.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**lv**^{55}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.30
Hani (Pijo)	**lý**	fry	Hansson 1989:174
Hani (Gelanghe)	**lu**^{55}	stir-fry	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**lul**	fry	Hansson 1989:174
Haoni	**l̥v**^{55}	fry	Hansson 1989:174
Hani (Shuikui)	**l̥v**^{55}	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**l̥v**^{55}	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.42
	l̥v^{55}tshɛ^{33}	fry (cold rice) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1587.42

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**lo**^{45}	fry (stirfry)	Pelkey 2011:694
Southern Muji	**ɬɯ**^{33}	fry (stirfry)	Pelkey 2011:694
Phola	**lɯ**^{55}	fry (stirfry)	Pelkey 2011:694
Hlepho Phowa	**ɬo**^{33}	fry (stirfry)	Pelkey 2011:694
Phuza	**ɬɯ**^{33}	fry (stirfry)	Pelkey 2011:694

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**hĩ**˧	stir-fry (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3130
Na (Yongning)	**hṽ**˧	stir-fry (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	hṽ˧**hṽ**˧	stir-fry (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009

(5) PTani *do-ŋoŋ? LEFTOVER (FOOD)

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***do-ŋoŋ?**	leftover (food)	Sun 1993a:235

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**du-ŋo:**	leftover (food)	Sun 1993a
	tɯ-duŋ **duŋ-ŋo:**	leftover	Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**do-ŋoŋ**	leftover (food)	Sun 1993a

(6) PTB *(t)sum MORTAR

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***t(s)um ≍ (t)sum**	mortar	Matisoff 2003a:617
	***tśrum**	mortar	Matisoff 2003a:617; Benedict 1972:29n95
	***tsum**	mortar	Weidert 1987:226; Benedict 1972:75
	***tśrum**	mortar	Mortensen 2012

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *s^{h}um MORTAR, *s^{h}um-khal PESTLE

**Chin*	***shum**	MORTAR	VanBik 2009:691
	***shum**-khal	PESTLE	VanBik 2009:453

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**sûm**	mortar	VanBik 2009:691
Tiddim	**sum**^{1}	mortar, wood mortar; wooden mortar	VanBik 2009:691; Bhaskararao 1996:1630
	ˊsum	mortar (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**ʻsün**	mortar (n.)	VanBik 2009:691
	ʻsün-kʻoˊˊ	pestle	VanBik 2009:453
Cho (Mindat)	**hlum**	mortar	VanBik 2009:691
Daai	**shum**	mortar	VanBik 2009:691
Khumi	**suung**	mortar	VanBik 2009:691

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**sûm**	mortar	VanBik 2009:691
Lai (Falam)	**súm**	mortar	VanBik 2009:691
Lai (Hakha)	**sûm**-khâl	pestle	VanBik 2009:453
Lushai [Mizo]	**sŭm**	mortar, a large wooden mortar used principally for husking or pounding rice in (n.)	VanBik 2009:691
	sum	mortar	Benedict 1972:75

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**só**-khài	pestle	VanBik 2009:453
	só-khào	mortar for pounding rice (n.)	VanBik 2009:691
	^{3}**sou**^{2}kho	mortar	Weidert 1987:226

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *tsh [a/ə] m MORTAR

**Central Naga*	***tsh [a/ə] m**	MORTAR	Bruhn 2014a:III.150
**Ao*	***tʃhəm**	MORTAR	Bruhn 2014a:II.173
Ao (Chungli)	**səm**^{1}	mortar (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.173
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tʃhəm** ku	paddy hulling table (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**tshəm**^{3}-poʔ^{3}	mortar (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.150
	^{3}**tsɯm**^{3}po	mortar	Weidert 1987:991
	^{3}**tsɯm**^{3}po(ʔ)	mortar	Weidert 1987:226

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *sum MORTAR

**Tangkhulic*	***sum**	mortar	Mortensen 2012:748
Huishu	ʔa-**suŋ**-k^{h}u	mortar	Mortensen 2012:Implements.010
Kachai	**ʃim**-k^{h}ur	mortar	Mortensen 2012:Implements.008
Tusom	**sɯ**-kuə	mortar	Mortensen 2012:Implements.009
Ukhrul	**ʃim**-k^{h}ur	mortar	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	caʔ-**sam**	mortar	Weidert 1987:226
	caʔ **am**	mortar	Weidert 1987:226
	sam	mortar	Benedict 1972:75
Garo (Bangladesh)	cha•-**am**	mortar (n.)	Burling 2003:5.87-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	a **sam**	mortar, big heavy hollowed log in which rice is flattened by pounding (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***tsum**	mortar	French 1983:523

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	kạ̄i^{33}**thum**^{31}	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.47
	thùm	mortar	Matisoff 1974:35
	thum	mortar	Benedict 1972:75
	thum^{31}	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.19
	^{1}**thum**	mortar	Weidert 1987:226

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**thuŋ**	mortar	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:118-1

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	**tshom**^{55}	mortar	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tshum**^{53}	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.6
Cuona Menba	**tshum**^{53}	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.06

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	tuk-**tsam**	mortar	Benedict 1972:75n231

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**sum** ban	mortar	Michailovsky 1989b
Yamphu	**sum** mak	large mortar, made from a round, hollowed-out stone or log (n.)	Rutgers 1998:579.3

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**chum** puk	mortar	Rai 1985
Kulung	**chum** bo	mortar (for pounding)	Rai *et al.* 1975
	kok **chum** ma	mortar (for spices)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**ʼcum** lo	mortar (tool) (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.46
Thulung	kok **cium**	small vertical wooden mortar (to grind salt / chili)	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	ciŋ.**cyumʔ**	mortar used with pounding sticks (n.)	Caughley 2000
	cyumʔ	hole of pounder, mortar (n.)	Caughley 2000
Kham	**ʼchum**	mortar (tool) (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.46

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**tsu**^{33}**ŋ**^{55}	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.18
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʃtʃə**^{55}lo^{55}	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tʃo**^{55}lo^{55}	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tɕu**^{55}lu^{53}	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**dzu**^{35}ki^{53}	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.16
Xumi	mu^{33}**tʂə̃**^{55}	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.20

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	dʑɛ **rdoŋ**	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐdɔŋ** qhuə	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

Caodeng	kə-**xʃəm**	mortar	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tshəu** mbo	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.11
rGyalrong	**tshəu** mbo	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.12
rGBenzhen	**ts^{h}u**-bo	mortar (wooden)	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Rawang	dɔŋ^{31} **sɯm**^{33}	mortar	LaPolla 2003:695
Anong	**sum**-phaŋ	mortar	Benedict 1972:75
Dulong	**sɑŋ**^{31}pɑŋ^{53}	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.20

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**tɕham**^{31}tɔŋ^{31}	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.41
	tɕnam^{31}tɔŋ^{31}	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.28
Achang (Xiandao)	kai^{55} **thum**^{51}	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.29
Bola (Luxi)	tʃhɔ̃^{31}**tsham**^{55}	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**shõ**^{22}	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**hsõ**^{22}	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.40
Burmese (Written)	**chum**	mortar	Matisoff 1974:35
	chuṁ	mortar	Benedict 1976a
	hsuṁ^{2}	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.39
	shuṁ^{2}	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.26
	tshum	mortar	Weidert 1987:226; Benedict 1972:75
	ʔam-**chûm**	tooth (wisdom)	Matisoff 1987
Langsu (Luxi)	**tshum**^{35}thauŋ^{31}	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tshɔm**^{33}	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.33
Marma	**chuŋ**	mortar	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:118-1
Maru [Langsu]	**tshàm**	mortar	Weidert 1987:226

	tshum[31]thauŋ[31]	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tshúm**	mortar	Weidert 1987:226
	tshum[51]	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.30
	tshum[51]	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.42

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***tsum**[1]	mortar	Weidert 1987:226

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**tsha**[31]phi[31]	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.47
Nusu (Southern)	khiɔ[55]**tshɑ**[31]	mortar	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	phuɯ[55]**tshɔ**[33]	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.34
Nusu (Northern)	**tshɔ**[31]ɑ[55]	mortar	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tɕhɑ**[55]	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.45
Yi (Mile)	**tshɯ**[33]dɯ[21]pi[33]kA̲[33]	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tshɯ**[21]po[33]	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.26
Yi (Nanhua)	le̲[21]**tshɯ**[33]	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.37
	tshɯ[33]	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.24
Yi (Wuding)	**tshu**[33]phe[33]	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	tho[55]**tshø**[33]	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.44
Lahu	**chɛ̄** má qo	mortar	Weidert 1987:226
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕhɛ**[33]mɑ[35]qo[11]	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.43
Lahu (Black)	**chɛ**-má-qō	mortar	Matisoff 1974:35
	tshɛ[33]mA[35]qo[11]	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.33
Lisu (Northern)	læ[21]**tshø**[33]	salt mortar (small) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tshe[33]	mortarful; N (in nouns related to mortar and pestle) (C.)	Bradley 1994
	tshe[33]du[21] ti[55]	husking mortar	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tshe**[44]khu[44]	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.27
Yi (Sani)	le[2]**tshɤ**[33]	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	tà-**tsḿ**	mortar	Weidert 1987:226

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ʈʂu**˩mu˩	mortar	Michaud 2006–2009:1280
Na (Yongning)	mv˧**ʈʂv**˩	mortar	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	mɯ[33]**tʂhu**[31]	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.28
Naxi	**tʂu**[55]bɣ[33]lɣ[33]	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.45

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***chómq**	mortar	Jones 1961:34
**Karen (TP)*	***chómq**	mortar	Jones 1961:34
Pa-O	**chóm**	mortar	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:34
	tśhom	mortar	Benedict 1972:142n384

(7) PTani *par MORTAR

"This could be a Mon-Khmer loan, cf. Proto-Wa-Lawa (Palaungic) ***pɒr/l** 'mortar' (Diffloth 1980:152)." (Sun 1993:224)

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***par**	mortar	Sun 1993a:260

(8) PNC *suk PESTLE

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Northern Chin*	***suk**	PESTLE	VanBik 2009:665
Thado	**sùʔ**	pestle	VanBik 2009:665
Tiddim	**suk**[3]	pestle	VanBik 2009:665

(9) PTk *kow PESTLE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***kow**	pestle	Mortensen 2012:421
Kachai	su-**kwe**	pestle	Mortensen 2012:Implements.009
Tusom	su-**kuə**	pestle	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.020
Ukhrul	si-**kuj**	pestle	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012

(10) PTB *s-k-ywak POKER / PUDDING-STICK / LADLE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-k-yok**	poker / pudding stick / ladle	Matisoff 2003a:620

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***shuak-I**, ***shua?-II** SCOOP / LADLE

**Chin*	***shuak**-I, shua?-II	SCOOP / LADLE	VanBik 2009:693

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**suak**	scoop	VanBik 2009:693
Thado	**sôʔ**-I, sòo-II	scoop	VanBik 2009:693
Tiddim	**suai**[3] > **sua?**[3]	give birth to; scoop water; seen emerging from a (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1620
	suai[3]/sua?[3]	birth, give	Bhaskararao 1994
	sua?[3]	scoop water	VanBik 2009:693

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**hlawk**	draw up (liquids, grains, sand) by means of some cup (v.)	VanBik 2009:693
Khumi	**sew**	scoop up	VanBik 2009:693

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**suak**-I, sua?-II	scoop	VanBik 2009:693
Lai (Falam)	**sûak**-I, sùa?-II	scoop	VanBik 2009:693
Lushai [Mizo]	**sûak**-I, sùa?-II	scoop, to ladle out (v.)	VanBik 2009:693

2.1.2. Bodic

Motuo Menba	**tɕoʔ** kar pa	ladle (bamboo) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0551.07
Cuona Menba	**tɕoʔ**[53]	ladle (gourd) / dipper (wooden) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0564.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**rcɕok** ʐi̤	ladle (gourd); dipper (wooden); ladle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0551.05; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0564.05
Tibetan (Batang)	**ɕoʔ**[53]	ladle (gourd) / dipper (wooden) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0564.03
Tibetan (Written)	me.**skyogs**	cannon	Sun 1985c:119
	nya-**skyogs**	gills	Matisoff 1987
	skjogs	ladle (gourd) / dipper (wooden) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0564.01
	skyogs	ladle	Marrison 1967
	skyogs-lto-bu	snail	Marrison 1967
	yog-po	poker	Matisoff 2003a:295

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**tɕhyɔ**[55]	ladle (gourd); dipper (wooden); ladle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0551.16; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0564.16
Muya	**tɕo**[53]	ladle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0551.15

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	mbo **scɕok**	ladle (gourd) / dipper (wooden) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0564.11
	scɕok	ladle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0551.11
Caodeng	**skjɔ**	ladle	Sun 1997a
	skjɔ-pu	soup-ladle	Sun 1997a
	zaŋ-**skjɔʔ**	ladle (of copper)	Sun 1997a
	ʃəm-**skjɔʔ**	ladle (of iron)	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	nbo-**stʃok**	ladle (big)	Sun 1997b
	stʃok	ladle	Sun 1997b

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**jɑuʔ**[4]mɑ[53]	ladle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0551.27
Burmese (Written)	**jɔk**[4]mɑ[1]	ladle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0551.26
	yauk-ma' ~ **yauŋ**-ma'	pudding stick	Matisoff 2003a:295
	yok	ladle	Benedict 1976a
	yok khyui	ladle (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yoŋ-	pudding stick (= yok-)	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**ʃɔ**[31]	ladle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0551.31
Maru [Langsu]	**tshø**[31]	ladle / dredge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:768.43

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Sila	**khja33**	ladle (v.)	Kato Takashi 2008:54

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	**tɕʰu**˩qʰwɤ˦	ladle used for pigswill	Michaud 2006–2009
	tɕʰu˧	ladle, scoop used for water	Michaud 2006–2009

Chinese comparandum

勺 / 杓 OC ***d̂i̯ok**, *GSR* #1120a-b 'ladle (n.)'; Schuessler 2007:631 ***diauk** or ***C-jauk**; B & S 2011: ***m-t-qewk**; Mand. **sháo**.
勺 OC ***t̂i̯ok**, *GSR* #1120a 'ladle (v.)'; Schuessler 2007:631 ***kiauk**; B & S 2011: ***t-qewk**; Mand. **zhuó**.
汋 OC ***d̂i̯ok**, *GSR* #1120c 'ladle, pour out (v.)'; Schuessler 2007:631 ***kiauk** or ***jauk**; B & S 2011: ***m-qewk**; Mand. **zhuó**.

(11) PTani *(pV)-kiŋ POT (generic)

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	*pV-**kiŋ**	pot (generic)	Sun 1993a:304

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	á-piŋ **pɯ-čaŋ**	cooking pot	Sun 1993b
	ča-ro-pɯ-**čã**	pot (metal~)	Sun 1993b
	čan-či-pɯ-**čã**	pot (metal~)	Sun 1993b
	ké-ra (pɯ-**čaŋ**)	frying pan	Sun 1993b
	ke-ra pɯ-**čã**	frying pan; pan (frying~)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**čã**	pot (generic); pot; pan	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**čã** pu	make pot	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**čã**(pa-ku)	utensil	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**čã**-pu-du	pottery	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**čaŋ**	pot	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**čaŋ** pá-ku	utensil	Sun 1993b
	xɯ-nam pɯ-**čaŋ**	cooking pot	Sun 1993b
Bengni	pə-**čiŋ**	pot	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**čiŋ**	pot (generic)	Sun 1993a
	tɯ-kam pə-**čiŋ**	pot (earthen)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	sak pɯ-**čiŋ**	pot (of iron)	Sun 1993b
	ta-kam pɯ-**čiŋ**	pot (earthen)	Sun 1993b
Galo	pɨ **cɨɨ**	pot (n.)	GLDC 2009
	pɨ **cɨɨ**-abə	lip (of a pot) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	pɯ **cɯ**	cooking pot	Das Gupta 1963
	pɯ **cɯ**-su:te	liquor vat	Das Gupta 1963
Nishing	po **ceng**	pot (cooking)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	pi **ciŋ** i si ɤ aku-yariŋ-do '	pot is full of water'	Das Gupta 1983
	pɯ **cɯŋ**	cooking pot	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	pə-**ki** < *pə-kiŋ	pot (generic)	Sun 1993a

(12) PKar *bəŋ[A] POT

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***bəŋ**[A]	pot	Luangthongkum 2013:224
**Karen [Burling]*	***phəm**[3]	pot	Luangthongkum 2013:224
Bwe	gə[33]**bo**[55]	pot	Luangthongkum 2013:224
Kayah	**pɔ**[11]	pot	Luangthongkum 2013:224
Kayan	**pə**[33]	pot	Luangthongkum 2013:224
Kayaw	**pə**[33]	pot	Luangthongkum 2013:224
Pa-O (Northern)	**phəŋ**[33]	pot	Luangthongkum 2013:224
Pa-O (Southern)	**pəŋ**[53]	pot	Luangthongkum 2013:224
Pwo (Northern)	**phɑ̃**[55]	pot	Luangthongkum 2013:224
Pwo (Southern)	**phə̃**[31¨]	pot	Luangthongkum 2013:224
Sgaw (Southern)	**pə**[33]	pot	Luangthongkum 2013:224
Sgaw (Northern)	sə[11]**pə**[33]	pot	Luangthongkum 2013:224

(13) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{ʔ}\end{matrix}$ -di $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ POT / CAULDRON

The TB languages point to a final velar stop in this etymon, while the putative Chinese comparandum has the homorganic nasal.

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***ʔ**-dik	pot	French 1983:533

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**di**	pot	Marrison 1967
	ndi	pot	Marrison 1967
	n[31]**tiʔ**[31]	pot (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:564
	tiʔ[31]	pot / wok	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:441.47

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Ganan	**teiʔ**-sʰi	pot	Matisoff 2013a

Kadu	**tei?**-ɕi	pot (n.)	Matisoff 2013a
Sak	**ti?**, siŋ-**di?**	pot	Matisoff 2013a
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya	**di**^{53}	pot / jar / tin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0557.15
Xumi	**ti**^{55}**t**ʂ**i**^{53}	kettle / pot (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0559.17
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	鼎	cauldron	Baxter & Sagart 2011:556
Chinese (GSR #)	**0834a**	cauldron	Baxter & Sagart 2011:556
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tieŋ**	cauldron / sacrificial tripod	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:834a-f
Chinese (Old)	**t**$^{\text{ʂ}}$**eŋ?**	cauldron	Baxter & Sagart 2011:556
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**tengX**	cauldron	Baxter & Sagart 2011:556
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**dǐng**	cauldron	Baxter & Sagart 2011:556

Chinese comparandum

鼎 OC ***tieng**, *GSR* #834a 'cauldron; sacrificial tripod'; Schuessler 2007:214 ***têŋʔ** ; B & S 2011: ***t**$^{\text{ʂ}}$**eŋʔ**; Mand. **dǐng**.

(14) PTB *yam ≍ *ʔam POT / GOURD

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ʔ(u/a)m** GOURD / POT			
**Chin*	***ʔum ≍ ʔam**	GOURD / POT	VanBik 2009:488
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**um**	gourd	VanBik 2009:488
Sizang	**ūm**	gourd	VanBik 2009:488
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**a˝n**	pot	VanBik 2009:488
Cho (Mindat)	**am**	cooking pot	VanBik 2009:488
Khumi	**sa'uúng**	large pot	VanBik 2009:488
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔûm**	gourd, pot	VanBik 2009:488
Lai (Falam)	**ʔùm**	pot	VanBik 2009:488
Lushai [Mizo]	sha **um**	pot fat (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2893
	um	pot	Bhaskararao 1996:1922
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***am** POT			
**Tangkhulic*	***am**	pot	Mortensen 2012:439
Kachai	ʔa-**ham**	pot	Mortensen 2012:Implements.022
Tusom	**ʔõ**	pot	Mortensen 2012:Implements.034
Ukhrul	**hɐm**	pot	Mortensen 2012
3.3. rGyalrongic: ***t-yam** POT			
3.3.1. rGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	**'tajam**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	**'tajam**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	**'tajam**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	**'tajam**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	**'tajjua**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	**'tajom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	**'tajom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	**'tajom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	**'tajom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	**'tajom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**'t^{h}əjor**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
Caodeng	ra-**jemʔ**	pot (big, brewing liquor)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	ta **jam**	pot / wok	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:441.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ta-**jam**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	ta35**'jom5**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	ta^{3}**jom**^{3}	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	ta^{3}**jom**^{1}	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	ta^{3}**jom**^{5}	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	ta^{3}**jom**^{5}	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	ta^{1}**jom**^{1}	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	ta^{1}**jom**^{1}	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	ta^{1}**jom**^{1}	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	ta **'jam**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	ta **'jam**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	ta **'jam**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	ta **'jap**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	ta **'jaʔm**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	ta **'ja**^{m}	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	ta **'jem**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	ta **'jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	ta **'jəm**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	ta **'jəm**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	ta **'jəm**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	ˈta **'jap**ˀ	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	ˈta **jom**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	t^{h}o **ju**	pot	Nagano & Prins 2013:0538
rGBenzhen	**jam**-kɐmʔ	lid (of pot)	Sun 1997b
	ta-**jamʔ**	pot (large)	Sun 1997b

(15) PTB *pu POT / PLATE / DISH

A number of TB languages seem to have borrowed their word for POT from Chinese □ (Mand. **hú**) 'kettle, pot', e.g., Guiqiong **tɕha**^{31}**hu**^{55}, Namuyi **tshuei**^{55}**fu**^{31}, rGyalrong (Maerkang) **tʃhɑ hu**.

1.1.1. TANI: ***pV** POT (generic)			
**Tani*	***pV**-kiŋ	pot (generic)	Sun 1993a:304
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	á-**piŋ** pɯ-čaŋ	cooking pot	Sun 1993b
	ča-ro-**pɯ**-čā	pot (metal~)	Sun 1993b
	čan-či-**pɯ**-čā	pot (metal~)	Sun 1993b
	ké-ra (**pɯ**-čaŋ)	frying pan	Sun 1993b
	ke-ra **pɯ**-čā	frying pan; pan (frying~)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	pɯ-čā	pot (generic); pot; pan	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	pɯ-cā **pu**	make pot	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-čā(pa-ku)	utensil	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-čā-**pu**-du	pottery	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-čaŋ	pot	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-čaŋ pá-ku	utensil	Sun 1993b
	xɯ-nam **pɯ**-čaŋ	cooking pot	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**pə**-čiŋ	pot	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-čiŋ	pot (generic)	Sun 1993a
	tɯ-kam **pə**-čiŋ	pot (earthen)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	sak **pɯ**-čiŋ	pot (of iron)	Sun 1993b
	ta-kam **pɯ**-čiŋ	pot (earthen)	Sun 1993b
Galo	**pɨ** cɨ̈-abə	lip (of a pot) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	pɯ cɯ	cooking pot	Das Gupta 1963
	pɯ cɯ-su:te	liquor vat	Das Gupta 1963
Nishing	**po** ceng	pot (cooking)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**pi** ciŋ i si ɤ aku-yariŋ-do '	pot is full of water'	Das Gupta 1983
	pɯ cɯŋ	cooking pot	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pə**-ki < *pə-kiŋ	pot (generic)	Sun 1993a
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***phuʔ** POT / PLATE / DISH			
**Central Naga*	***phuʔ**	POT	Bruhn 2014a:III.070
Ao (Chungli)	**po**	pot	Marrison 1967
	tʃi^{1}**puʔ**^{1}	pot (for cooking) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.070
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	aowa **phu**	dish (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sung **phu**	dish (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	jà **pu**	plate (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**phuʔ**^{2}	pot (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.070
	fū vì	potter	Acharya 1975
	o **pfhu**	dish (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **pfhu**	pot	Marrison 1967
	ō **pfə̀**	pot	Acharya 1975
	o **phu**	pot	Murry *et al.* 1978:91
Sangtam	a li **fü** dang rü	potter	Kumar 1973a
	fü	pot	Marrison 1967
	sürülot **phü**	dish (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tphü	plate (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	pangji-**phüh**	earthen water pot	Kumar 1973b:42
	pangji **phü**	vat	Kumar 1973b:63
	phu ru	dish; plate (n.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	phü tam rü	potter	Kumar 1973b:35
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**phu** le	pot	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Byangsi	**phuŋg** li	water pot (n.)	Sharma 2003:756
	phu li	pot to keep water (n.)	Sharma 2003:754
Raji	**phũ** gɛlu	jar, pot	Krishan 2003:662
Rongpo	**phuəl** Ti	pot (n.)	Sharma 2003:1069
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**fyu**	pot (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{A}**pu:** JAR / POT			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**pu:**	jar / pot	Mazaudon 1994:611
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**phu:t** =	earthen pot for popping maize	Michailovsky 1989b
	phu dzik	earthen pot for popping maize	Michailovsky 1989b
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**phuŋ**	pot used for steaming (n.)	Caughley 2000

	phuŋ-	steam in pot (vt.)	Caughley 2000
3.2. QIANGIC			
Namuyi	**phu**^{55}	pot / wok	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:441.19
Pumi (Jiulong)	qhu^{11}**bu**^{55}	pot / jar / tin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0557.10
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{21}tʂ̩^{33}**phu**^{21}	pot, very large	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	phu^{21}	pot (food) [classifier]; pot (wok); wok	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lisu (Northern)	dza^{44}**phu**^{21}	rice lump formed at the bottom of pot	Bradley 1994
	si^{35}tɕe^{33}**phu**^{21}	Chinese 'gong pot bottom' (medicinal vine)	Bradley 1994

(16) PKC *ɓeel POT / UTENSIL / CAULDRON

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɓeel**	POT / UTENSIL / CAULDRON	VanBik 2009:41
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**bel**	caulron, keg	VanBik 2009:41
Sizang	**beal**	pot	VanBik 2009:41
Thado	**béel**	pot	VanBik 2009:41
Tiddim	**-bɛ:l**	pot (n.)	Henderson 1965
	-da:n-**bɛ:l**	pot (aluminum) (?+n.)	Henderson 1965
	-zu:-**bɛ:l**	pot (beer)	Henderson 1965
	bɛ:l^{2}	pot; utensil; pot, utensil	VanBik 2009:41; Bhaskararao 1996:83
	¯zŭ-**bɛ:l**	pot (beer)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**bei**	gong; sort of wooden plate/tray, to put the food in for eating	VanBik 2009:41
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**bêel**	pot	VanBik 2009:41
Lai (Falam)	**bĕel**	pot	VanBik 2009:41
Lushai [Mizo]	**béel**	pot, utensil	VanBik 2009:41
	bêl	pot	Marrison 1967
	be:l	pot; utensil	Bhaskararao 1996:83
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**bèi**	pot, utensil	VanBik 2009:41

Chinese comparandum

S165 pên pʿen 盆

(17) PKC *t(h)uul SKEWER / SPIT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tuul** ≈ thuul	SKEWER / SPIT	VanBik 2009:229
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**sa**-tuul	skewer	VanBik 2009:229
Thado	**túul**	skewer	VanBik 2009:229
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	fa-**thûul**	skewer, spit	VanBik 2009:229
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Sorbung	məcamcú~~u~~ mə **tʰúur**	spit (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.087

(18) PTk *re TOAST

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***re**	toast	Mortensen 2012:687
Kachai	kə-kʰə-**ri**	toast / cook from the side	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.040
Tusom	kʰa-kx-**ri**	toast (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.051

5.6.0 Culinary nouns

(1) PKC *hraay CUP

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hraay**	CUP	VanBik 2009:1078
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**hai**	cup	VanBik 2009:1078
Thado	**hàay**	cup, bottle	VanBik 2009:1078
Tiddim	**ha:i**^{3}	cup	VanBik 2009:1078
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**hàay**	cup	VanBik 2009:1078
Lai (Hakha)	**hrăay**	cup	VanBik 2009:1078

(2) PKC *naw CUP / MUG / JUG

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***naw**	CUP / MUG / JUG	VanBik 2009:808
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**no**	cup	VanBik 2009:808
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**nó**	cup, a mug, a tumbler, a jug, a vase (n.)	VanBik 2009:808

(3) PKC *tshiin LID / COVER

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tshiin**	LID / COVER	VanBik 2009:592
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**sin**	lid	VanBik 2009:592
Thado	**síiŋ**-I, sìin-II	cover	VanBik 2009:592
Tiddim	**si:n**^{3} > sit^{3}	cover	VanBik 2009:592
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**sìin**	lid, cover	VanBik 2009:592
Lai (Hakha)	**tshĭin**	lid, cover	VanBik 2009:592
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhìin**	lid, a stopper, a cork (n.)	VanBik 2009:592

5.7.0 Culinary verbs

(1) PTani *krəŋ BOIL (e.g. meat)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***krəŋ**	boil (e.g. meat)	Sun 1993a:37
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**k^{h}rjə**	boil (v.)	Sun 1993b
	xrjɯ	boil (e.g. meat)	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**kɯŋ**	boil (e.g. meat); boil (egg, etc.)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**kəŋ**	boil (e.g. meat)	Sun 1993a
	kəŋ	boil (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	kəŋ	cook / boil (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.24
Bokar Lhoba	**kəŋ**; ke:	cook / boil (rice)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:627.51
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kəŋ**	boil (e.g. meat)	Sun 1993a

(2) PTB *prut BOIL (v.)

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***prut**	boil (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:607
	***prut**	boil, v	Benedict 1972:131
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ɓut-I**, ***ɓuʔ-II** BOIL (v.)			
**Chin*	***ɓut-I**, **ɓuʔ-II**	BOIL (v.)	VanBik 2009:9
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**but-I**, **buh-II**	boil (v.)	VanBik 2009:9
Khumi	**bue**	boil (v.t.)	VanBik 2009:9
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**but-I**, **buʔ-II**	boil, to heat (in water) (v.)	VanBik 2009:9
Lai (Falam)	**bùt-I**, **bûʔ-II**	boil	VanBik 2009:9
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**bū**	boil (v.)	VanBik 2009:9
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**prùt**	boil	Matisoff 1974:380
	prut ≈ śə **prut**	boil (v.)	Benedict 1972:131
	pʒut^{31}	boil (v.i.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:771.47
	pɹut^{31}	boil (v.i.)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	šə **prùt**	boil	Matisoff 1974:380
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**prut**	boil	Benedict 1976a
	prut to	boil (v.)	Benedict 1972:131
Marma	**prouʔ**	boil	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:81
7. KARENIC: ***phrɔ**^{A} BOIL (v.)			
**Karen*	***phrɔ**^{A}	boil (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:30
Bwe	a^{55}**phrɔ**^{33}	boil (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:30
Kayah	**pho**^{33}	boil (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:30
Kayan	**phɔ**^{53}	boil (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:30
Kayaw	**pho**^{55}	boil (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:30
Pwo (Northern)	**phɔ**^{35}	boil (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:30
Pwo (Southern)	**pho**^{53}	boil (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:30
Sgaw (Northern)	**khlɔ**^{33}	boil (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:30
Sgaw (Southern)	**phɔ**^{55}	boil (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:30

Chinese comparandum

沸 OC ***pi̯wəd**, *GSR* #500q 'boil'; Schuessler 2007:233-4 ***pəts** < ***puts**; B & S 2011: ***Nə.put-s {Nə.p[u][t]-s}**; Mand. **fèi**.

(3) PKC *plok BOIL (v.)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***plok**	BOIL (v.)	VanBik 2009:1248
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**plük**	boil (v.)	VanBik 2009:1248
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tlok**-I, tloʔ-II	boil (int)	VanBik 2009:1248
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**tlāo**	boil (v.)	VanBik 2009:1248

(4) PTk *hɛŋ BOIL (v.)

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***hɛŋ**	boil	Mortensen 2012:683
Tusom	kə-**χõ**	cook (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.046
Ukhrul	kə-**hɛŋ**	cook	Mortensen 2012

(5) PTani *fu BOIL (v.i.)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***fu**	boil (v.i.)	Sun 1993a:38
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**hu**-gja	boil (v.)	Sun 1993b
	hu-grjaʔ	boil (v.i.)	Sun 1993a
	hu-grjaʔ	boil (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**fu**	boil (v.i.)	Sun 1993a
	fu:	boil (water)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-si a-**wu**	hot water	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-si **fu**	boil (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-si **fu**-bu:	boiled water	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-si **fu**-tuk	boiling water	Sun 1993b
Bokar	i ɕi **wu** na	water (boiled) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.24
	i-si **wu**-nə	boiled water	Sun 1993b
	wu	boil (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	wu	boiling, be (water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1462.24
	wu = ɦu	boil (v.i.)	Sun 1993a
Bokar Lhoba	**wu**	boil (v.i.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:771.51
Galo	**u** nam	boil (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	car **gu**-nam	boil (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	car **gu** nɤ i si	water, boiled	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**u**-saŋ	boil (v.i.)	Sun 1993a

(6) PTani *kil BOIL (water)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***kil**	boil (water)	Sun 1993a:39

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**čar**-grju	boil (water)	Sun 1993a
	čar-grju	boil (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	kəŋ; **ke:**	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.51
Galo	**cir**-go-nam	warm (water) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	cir nam	boil water (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	**car**-gu	boil	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**car** gu-nam	boil (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	i si **car** gu do	water boil	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**kil**	boil (water)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**cir**	hot (water)	Sun 1993b
	kər-ra	boil (water)	Sun 1993b
	ɕi-**cir**	boiled water	Sun 1993b
Milang	si **kal**-**kal**-ma	boil water	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**kir**-gu	boil (water)	Sun 1993a

(7) PTB *tsyow BOIL / BURN / COOK / BAKE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsyow**	boil / cook	Chou Fa-kao 1972:45m
	***tsyow**	boil; cook; bake (v.)	Weidert 1987:191; Matisoff 2003a:618
	***tsyow**	boil; burn; bake	LaPolla 1987:115; Benedict 1972:275

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***saw** BOIL (v.) / HEAT (v.) / SIMMER

**Chin*	***saw**	BOIL (v.) / HEAT (v.) / SIMMER	VanBik 2009:640

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**sów**-I, sòw-II	boil (v.i.)	VanBik 2009:640
Tiddim	**sou**^{2}	boil	VanBik 2009:640

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**a(m)saáw**	simmer, start to bubble	VanBik 2009:640

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**sâw**-I, săw-II	boil, heat, simmer	VanBik 2009:640
Lai (Falam)	**săw**-I, sàw-II	boil, heat	VanBik 2009:640; VanBik 2009:640
Lushai [Mizo]	**só**	boil, to heat (v.)	VanBik 2009:640
	śou	boil	Benedict 1972:275

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**śaeu**	boil	Benedict 1972:275

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	*a-**tʃhu**	COOK	Bruhn 2014a:II.170
Ao (Chungli)	**-sū**	cook (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a^{2}-**su**^{2}	cook (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.170
	so ro	cook	Marrison 1967
	^{2}a^{2}**su**	boil (v.)	Weidert 1987:191
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**su**	cook	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tʃhu** ɹu	cook [cooked] (v.)	Coupe 2007

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**əsau**	heat	Benedict 1972:275

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**sau**	burn	Benedict 1972:275

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**so**	burn	Benedict 1972:275

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**dźu**	burn, bake, roast, broil	LaPolla 1987:115
	džu	burn, roast, broil, bake	Benedict 1972:275

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Batang)	**tsʊ**^{53}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tso**^{53}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tso**^{55}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.02
	tsøʔ^{53}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.2
Tibetan (Written)	**'thsod**	cook	Marrison 1967
	'tshod-pa∼**'tsho**-ba	cook in boiling water, bake	LaPolla 1987:115
	ḥtshod-pa ⩙ **tsho**-ba	cook in boiling water, bake	Benedict 1972:275
	fitshod	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.01
	fitshod	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.1

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Longxi)	**tshú**	boil, decoct (medicine)	Evans 1999:1629

4. Nungic

Anong	**əsu**	boil	Benedict 1972:275

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**tshu**	boil, bubble, effervesce	Benedict 1972:275

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**t̂i̯o**	boil, cook (v.)	Karlgren 1957:45m

Chinese comparandum

焦 OC ***tsi̯og**, *GSR* #1148a 'roast, burn, scorch'; Schuessler 2007:308 ***tsau** or ***tsiau**; Mand. **jiāo**.
燋 OC ***tsi̯og**, *GSR* #1148b 'roast, burn, scorch'; Schuessler 2007:308 ***tsau** or ***tsiau**; Mand. **jiāo**.
樵 OC ***dz'i̯og**, *GSR* #1148i 'gather firewood; firewood; burn fuel'; Schuessler 2007:308 ***dzau** or ***dziau**; Mand. **qiáo**.
燋 OC ***tsi̯ok**, *GSR* #1148b 'torch'; Schuessler 2007:308 ***tsrauk**; Mand. **jué**.
爝 OC ***dz'i̯ok**, *GSR* #1121e 'torch'; Schuessler 2007:308 ***dzauk**; Mand. **jué**.

(8) PTani *rom BURN / ROAST OVER FIRE

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***rom**	burn / roast over fire	Sun 1993a:50

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	ja-mu **ron**	jungle burning; burn jungle	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	rõ	burn / roast over fire	Sun 1993a
	rom-paʔ	burn (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	roŋ-geʔ	burn (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	^{1}**rom** ^{2}pa (^{2})	burn (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:811
	^{1}**roŋ** ^{2}ge (^{1})	burn (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:811
Bengni	**ram**	burn; roast over fire; roast (on a rack over fire)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ram-sin	dry vt. (on a rack over fire)	Sun 1993b
	rɯk-**ram** **ram**-bu:	burnt area	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ə-mə **rom**	set fire	Sun 1993b
Galo	**rom** nam	incinerate (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'rom lik	set fire to (a house) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'rom pak	incinerate (vt.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**rom**	burn / roast over fire	Sun 1993a

(9) PNC *huan COOK

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Northern Chin*	***huan**	COOK	VanBik 2009:707
Sizang	**huen** hī	cook	VanBik 2009:707
Thado	**hûon**-I, hùon-II	cook	VanBik 2009:707
Tiddim	**huan**^{1}	cook	VanBik 2009:707
	huan^{1}	cook (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:502
	huan^{1}	cook	Bhaskararao 1994
	ʻhuan/ˆhuan	cook (v.)	Henderson 1965

(10) PTB *s-$\begin{matrix}\text{k}\\\text{g}\end{matrix}$lak COOK / COOKED / BOIL

This etymon has developed a simplex/causative pair; cf. WB **kyak** 'come to a boil' ⩙ **khyak** 'cause to boil'. The Loloish forms so far discovered descend from the pre-glottalized (i.e., causative) variant of the root.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***glak**	cooked	Matisoff 2003a:595
	***klak**	cook / boil (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:595
	***klak**	cook	Benedict 1972:124
	***klak** ⩙ ***glak**	cook, boil	LaPolla 1987:176
	*s-**glak**	cook / boil (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:595

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**tlak**	boil / cook without salt	LaPolla 1987:176; Benedict 1972:124

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**lak**^{2}-	boil (vt./vi.) (v.)	Bruhn 2014b

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ar **klak** ∼ar **klok**	boil over	LaPolla 1987:176; Benedict 1972:124
	ar **klok**	boil (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**khya**	prepare glutinous rice	Benedict 1972:124

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**tʃo**^{55}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.18
Guiqiong	ji^{35}**ʃa**^{55}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.16
	ʃɑ^{55}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.17
Muya	khi^{33}**tsə**^{53}	cook / boil (rice) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.15
Muya [Minyak]	khi^{35}**tsɯ**^{53}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.15
Namuyi	**tʂa**^{35}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.19
	tʂa^{35}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**xqo**^{55}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sqo**^{55}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.11
Qiang (Longxi)	**qò**	boil (porridge); boil	Evans 1999:1630; Evans 1999:2596
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʂqu**	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.08
	ʂqu	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**qà**	boil (porridge)	Evans 1999:1630
	qà	boil (v.i.)	Evans 1999:2093
	qà	boil	Evans 1999:2596
Qiang (Taoping)	**χqɑ**^{33}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʂqua**^{55}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.13
Xumi	**tɕe**^{55}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.20
	tɕyi^{53}	cook / boil (rice) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.17

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	ka **ska**	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.12
Caodeng	kɐ-**sqɐ**	boil (meat; potato) (v.t.)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **skɑ**	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.11
rGBenzhen	ka-**ska**	boil (v.t.)	Sun 1997b

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***glak** BOIL, ***ʔglak** CAUSE TO BOIL

**Lolo-Burmese*	***glak**	boil	Matisoff 1972b:61(a)
	***ʔglak**	boil, cause to	Matisoff 1972b:61(b)

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola (Luxi)	**tʃaʔ**^{55}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕhɛʔ**^{4}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hce'**	cook	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕhɛʔ**^{44}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.40
Burmese (Written)	**khjɑk**	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.39
	khjɑk^{4}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.26
	khyak	cook	Marrison 1967
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khyak**	cook	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khyak**	cook; cook, prepare by fire	Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:176; Benedict 1972:39n125
	kyak	cooked (vs.)	Benedict 1972:124
Intha	**hce'**	cook	Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	**tʃɔʔ**^{55}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.31
Marma	**khyaʔ**	cook	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:81a
Maru [Langsu]	**tʃɔʔ**^{55}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃo̱ʔ**^{55}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.30
	tʃo̱ʔ^{55}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.42

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Southern)	**ki̱ɔ̱**^{53}	cook / boil	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**tɕa̱**^{53}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.34
Nusu (Northern)	**tɕo̱**^{55}	cook / boil	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tɕɑ**^{53}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.45
Yi (Dafang)	**tsa**^{13}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.22
Yi (Mile)	**tɕe̱**^{55}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dʑe**^{21}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.26

Yi (Nanhua)	**tɕe̲**^{55}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.37
	tʂʌ̲^{55}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**tɕi̲**^{21}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tɕɪ̲**^{21}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tʂɑ̲**^{55}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.38
Yi (Xide)	**tɕo**^{55}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.35
	tɕo^{55}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**tʃha**^{55}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.34
	tʃha^{55}tʃa^{55}ve^{33}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**tʃhɑ**^{55}	cook / boil	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	**cá**	boil (v.)	Benedict 1972:124
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕɑ**^{35}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.43
Lahu (Black)	**tsʌ**^{35}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tsa**^{4}	cook / boil	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**tʃɑ**^{55}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.27
	tɕɑ^{55}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.40
Yi (Sani)	**tɕe**^{55}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**tjàq**	boil, cook	Hansson 1989:453
Akha (Yunnan)	**tjàq**/tsàq	boil, cook	Hansson 1989:453
Hani (Lüchun)	**tjàq**	boil, cook	Hansson 1989:453
Hani (Dazhai)	**tɕa̲**^{31}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tɕa̲**^{31}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.41
Hani (Pijo)	**tshà**	boil, cook	Hansson 1989:453
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsha̲**^{31}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tɕa̲**^{31}	cook / boil	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**javq**	boil, cook	Hansson 1989:453
Haoni	**tʃha**^{31}	boil, cook	Hansson 1989:453
Hani (Shuikui)	**tʃha**^{31}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tshà**	boil, cook	Hansson 1989:453
Hani (Mojiang)	**tʃha**^{31}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.42

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**tɕɛ̨**^{45}	cook; boil	Pelkey 2011:693
Southern Muji	**tɕɛ**^{21}	cook; boil	Pelkey 2011:693
Phuza	**tɕi**^{55}	cook; boil	Pelkey 2011:693

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**tɕɤ˩**	boil, cook thoroughly, bring to a boil (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3115
Na (Yongning)	**tɕɤ˥**	boil, to cook thoroughly (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**tɕiə**^{55}	cook / boil (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1804.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**tɕə**^{13}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tɕə**^{55}	cook / boil (rice)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:627.28

(11) PKC *tshuaŋ-I, *tshuan-II COOK / PUT ON TOP OF

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tshuaŋ**-I, tshuan-II	COOK / PUT ON TOP OF	VanBik 2009:584

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**suang** min	cook	VanBik 2009:584
Thado	**sûoŋ**-I, sùon-II	cook	VanBik 2009:584

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**théwng**	cook	VanBik 2009:584
	tʰɛʷŋ	cook (v.)	So-Hartmann 1988:182

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tshûaŋ**-I, tshŭan-II	cook	VanBik 2009:584
Lai (Falam)	**tshúaŋ**-I, tshùan-II	cook	VanBik 2009:584
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhúang**-I, chhùan-II	put on (e.g. pot, rice, water) to boil (v.)	VanBik 2009:584

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**chhò**	cook (v.)	VanBik 2009:584

(12) PKC *kiaw FRY

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***kiaw**	FRY	VanBik 2009:284

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**kiaw**	fry (v.)	VanBik 2009:284

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**kîaw**-I, kĭaw-II	fry (v.)	VanBik 2009:284
Lai (Falam)	**kĭaw**-INV	fry (v.)	VanBik 2009:284

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**kyá**	fry	VanBik 2009:284

(13) PTB *r-ŋaw FRY / ROAST

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***r**+**ngaɣw**	fry / roast	Coblin 1986:84

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-ŋaw**	roast; fry	Matisoff 2003a:606; Benedict 1972:270
	***r-ŋɑw**	fry / roast	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1130h-i

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***now** FRY

**Tangkhulic*	***now**	fry	Mortensen 2012:684
Huishu	**now**-kʰe	fry	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.046
Tangkhul	khə **ŋui**	fry	Benedict 1972:270
Tusom	kʰə-**ŋuə**	fry (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.048
Ukhrul	kʰə-**nuj**	fry	Mortensen 2012

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	a **rnu**	roast, bake, fry, grill	Benedict 1972:270
	ka **rnū(ʔ)**	fry (v.)	Weidert 1987:79

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**kəŋau**	fry	Benedict 1972:270

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rŋə**	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.5
Tibetan (Written)	**rngod** (?)	fry	Sun 1985c:506
	rngos	fry (imp / pf)	Sun 1985c:507
	rŋo	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.01
	rŋod	stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.1
	rŋod-pa ~ **rŋo**-len-pa	parch, roast, fry	Benedict 1972:270

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**ŋas**-u	fry	Rai *et al.* 1975

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**rŋə rŋə**	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	ka **rŋo**	deep-fry; stir-fry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:628.12; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:629.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	ka22 **rŋɔ44**	fry (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0366
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **rŋo**	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**rŋu**	fry (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0366

6.1.1. Burmish

Hpun (Northern)	**ɲáu**	smell of frying	Henderson 1986

Chinese comparandum

熬 OC ***ngog**, *GSR* #1130h 'roast, fry'; Schuessler 2007:151 ***ŋâw**; B & S 2011: ***ŋˤaw**; Mand. **áo**.

(14) PKC *raw-I, *roʔ-II GRILL / BAKE / BURN

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***raw-I, roʔ-II**	GRILL / BAKE / BURN	VanBik 2009:943

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**gòw**-I, gò̩o-II	grill, bake	VanBik 2009:943

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**gawh**	grill, burn, calcinate	VanBik 2009:943

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**roʔ**	grill, bake, burn	VanBik 2009:943
Lai (Falam)	**ròʔ**	grill, bake, burn	VanBik 2009:943
Lushai [Mizo]	**ràwh**	bake, to roast, to heat, to burn or cremate (v.)	VanBik 2009:943
	roʔ	roast (v.)	Weidert 1987:97

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**rào**	burn (v.)	VanBik 2009:943

(15) PKar *deN^{A} ROAST (by stuffing into fresh bamboo sections)

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***deN^{A}**	roast (by stuffing into fresh bamboo sections)	Luangthongkum 2013:240
Bwe	**de**^{33}	roast (by stuffing into fresh bamboo sections)	Luangthongkum 2013:240
Kayah	**tai**^{11}	roast (by stuffing into fresh bamboo sections)	Luangthongkum 2013:240
Kayan	**te**^{33}	roast (by stuffing into fresh bamboo sections)	Luangthongkum 2013:240
Kayaw	**te**^{33}	roast (by stuffing into fresh bamboo sections)	Luangthongkum 2013:240
Pa-O (Northern)	**then**^{33}	roast (by stuffing into fresh bamboo sections)	Luangthongkum 2013:240
Pwo (Southern)	**thɛ̃i**^{31}	roast (by stuffing into fresh bamboo sections)	Luangthongkum 2013:240
Sgaw (Northern)	**te**^{33}	roast (by stuffing into fresh bamboo sections)	Luangthongkum 2013:240
Sgaw (Southern)	**te**^{33}	roast (by stuffing into fresh bamboo sections)	Luangthongkum 2013:240

(16) PTani *va: ROAST IN A PAN (without adding oil) / PARCH

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***va:**	roast in a pan (without adding oil)/parch	Sun 1993a:328

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**ha**	roast in a pan (without adding oil)/parch	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**vɯ:**	roast in a pan (without adding oil)/parch; fry (without oil)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ha:**	roast in a pan (without adding oil)/parch; stir-fry	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ɦa:	stir-fry	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1186.24
Galo	**a** nam	dry-fry; parch (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**a**	roast in a pan (without adding oil)/parch	Sun 1993a

(17) PTk *row ROAST

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	so **ro**	cook	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***row**	roast	Mortensen 2012:686
Huishu	**row**-kʰe	roast	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.047
Kachai	kʰə-**re**	roast	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.039
Tangkhul	**raw**	cook	Bhat 1969:86
Ukhrul	kʰə-**ruj**	toast	Mortensen 2012

(18) PTB *ʔ $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{u}\\\mathbf{i}\end{matrix}$ m ROAST / DRY BY FIRE

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Galo	**um**-bum-nam	roast (v.)	Das Gupta 1963

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ʔem** HEAT (v.) / DRY / ROAST

**Chin*	***ʔem**	HEAT (v.) / DRY / ROAST	VanBik 2009:490

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**em²**	roast	VanBik 2009:490
	em²	roast (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:288

	em²	roast	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔêm-I**, **ʔěm-II**	dry or give heat (as fire to wet cloth)	VanBik 2009:490
Lushai [Mizo]	**èm**	shed heat upon (as sun or fire), to shine upon (as sun), to scorch (as sun) (v.)	VanBik 2009:490
	em	scorch (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2302
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**ɔm³⁵**	dry by fire (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.28
	ɔm³⁵	dry (clothes) near fire	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:631.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**om³⁵**	dry by fire (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.29

(19) PTani *braŋ SINGE / ROAST IN FIRE

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***braŋ**	singe / roast in fire	Sun 1993a:360
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**bja**	burn (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	bja-do	roast in the fire	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ba:**	singe; roast in fire; roast	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ba:-juk	scorched	Sun 1993b
Galo	**baa** nam	singe (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	**ba**-nam	roast (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**baŋ**	singe / roast in fire	Sun 1993a

(20) PKC *huʔ WELL-COOKED

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***huʔ**	WELL-COOKED	VanBik 2009:745
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**huh**	cook well and get a meal ready	VanBik 2009:745
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**huʔ**-INV	well cooked (e.g. rice)	VanBik 2009:745

5.8.0 Religion

(1) PCN *m-ɣaj BLESS

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	*m-**ɣaj**	BLESS	Bruhn 2014a:III.047
**Ao*	*m-**ɣa [j]**	BLESS	Bruhn 2014a:II.133
Ao (Chungli)	mə²**wa²**-tsəʔ³	bless (tangibly) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.133
	m **oa** tsü	bless	Marrison 1967
	m **ūā**	bless (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	tə²-mə²**wa²**-tsə³	blessing (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mu **wa**	bless [blessed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	tə-mu **wa** ì	blessing (NZP + 'bless') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	m̩¹-**ha¹**-	bless (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.047
	mm **ha** yi a	bless	Murry *et al.* 1978:10
	mm **hom**	bless	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a mü **wa**	bless	Marrison 1967
	mü **va** jü	bless	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	mü **hi**	bless	Marrison 1967

5.8.1 Dieties and Spiritual Beings

(1) PKC *ɗooy CHARM / MAGIC / LURE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗooy**	CHARM / MAGIC / LURE	VanBik 2009:68
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**dawi**	charm	VanBik 2009:68
Thado	**dòoy**	magic spell, anything spiritual	VanBik 2009:68
Tiddim	**do:i³**	devil	VanBik 2009:68
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**daáwy**	lure, attract, cast a spell on, enchant	VanBik 2009:68
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dŏoy**	charm, witchcraft	VanBik 2009:68
Lai (Falam)	**dòoy**	charm, witchcraft	VanBik 2009:68
Lushai [Mizo]	**dáwi**	witchcraft, magic	VanBik 2009:68

(2) PKC *l $\frac{i}{e}$ m IMAGE / IDOL / PICTURE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***lim** ≍ lem	IMAGE / IDOL / PICTURE	VanBik 2009:1027
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**lim** ≍ lem	image, idol	VanBik 2009:1027
Sizang	**mī** lim	idol	VanBik 2009:1027
Thado	**lîm**	picture, map	VanBik 2009:1027
Tiddim	**lim¹**	picture	VanBik 2009:1027; Bhaskararao 1996:951
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**lèm**	idol	VanBik 2009:1027
Lai (Hakha)	**mi**-lêm	idol	VanBik 2009:1027
Lushai [Mizo]	**lèm** ≍ lìm	image, model, picture, drawing, portrait, likeness, imitation, type	VanBik 2009:1027

(3) PCC *thooy OFFER (sacrifice)

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***thooy**	OFFER (sacrifice)	VanBik 2009:402
Lai (Hakha)	(**răay**) thôoy-I, -thŏoy-II	offer (sacrifice), utter (incantation)	VanBik 2009:402
Lushai [Mizo]	**thâwi**	offer a sacrifice or utter an incantation for one who is ill (v.)	VanBik 2009:402

(4) PTB *s-g-luːm PRAY / WORSHIP

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**kum**-puː	kneel	Sun 1993b
	kum-puː-luʁk	kneel down	Sun 1993b
Galo	**kum**-nam	pray; prayer (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	uyu **kum**-nam	worship (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻkum nam	observe (a religion); pray (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ŋu-**kum**-nam	worship (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	**kum**-cu-ma-nu	hymn	Tayeng 1976
	kum-nam	invoke	Tayeng 1976
	kum-su	pray	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**khínim**-ji	worship	NEFA (India) 1963
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**külem**	worship (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kəʔləm²	worship (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	kūlūm	worship (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**külam**	worship (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**khələm**	worship	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e-**khəm**-ko	church (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	e¹-**khəm¹**	worship (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	khəm¹-	worship (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e **kham**	pray (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kham	worship (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mí **khèm** >	fire worship	Acharya 1975
Yimchungrü	a mü **kam**	worship (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**külum**	worship (v.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**kellum**	pray (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kelum	worship (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**khorum**	worship (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**kulum**	salute; worship (v.)	Bhat 1968
	kulum sab	worship partially (v.)	Bhat 1968
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *C-k^{h}ru:m WORSHIP (v.), *lim WORSHIP (v.)			
**Northern Naga*	***C̥-k^{h}ru:m**	worship (v.)	French 1983:583
	***lim**	worship (v.)	French 1983:582
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Yogli)	u **lim** him sam	funeral offering	French 1983:582
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**lem**	worship (v.)	Marrison 1967
	lem bü	sacrifice (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mai **lem**	believe; faith	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Konyak	**khüm**	worship (v.)	Marrison 1967
Phom	hing **lem**	believe	Marrison 1967
	khüm	worship (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	s **kurim**	sacrifice (n.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{A}gom WORSHIP (v.)			
**TGTM*	***^{A}gom**	contemplate, worship (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:160
Tamang (Risiangku)	**³kom**	contemplate	Mazaudon 1994:160
Thakali (Tukche)	**kohm** kjɔhp-lɔ	worship (v.)	Hari 1971:10.B.3.21
	³kom	worship (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:160

[a] [Source Note] worship-group?

(5) PTB *m-hla SOUL / DEMON / GOD / BEAUTIFUL

This root has been reconstructed with a nasal prefix at the PTB level, but many languages have fully vocalized disyllabic compounds where the initial syllable begins with a nasal (cf. Jingpho **min**, Tangkhul **maŋ**, Proto-Ao **hməy**). It is thus natural to assume that this first element represented a separate morpheme which was subsequently "prefixized." It is possible that this morpheme was actually PTB ***s-maŋ** BODY / CORPSE (§1.1.6.1).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(m-)hla**	god; soul, demon, god	LaPolla 1987:131; Benedict 1972:475
	*(s-)(g-)**la^{A}**	soul	French 1983:555
	***m-hla**	god / soul / beautiful	Matisoff 2003a:593
1.2. Kuki-Chin: *khlaa SPIRIT / IMAGE / SHADOW (n.) / SOUL			
**Chin*	***khlaa**	SPIRIT / IMAGE / SHADOW / SOUL (n.)	VanBik 2009:1300
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**kha**	soul	VanBik 2009:1300
Sizang	htī **htā**	ghost	VanBik 2009:1300
Thado	**hláa**	spirit, ghost	VanBik 2009:1300
Tiddim	**kha:²**	soul	VanBik 2009:1300
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**kʻló**	spirit, soul, ghost (n.)	VanBik 2009:1300
Cho (Mindat)	m-**cha**	soul, shadow, image	VanBik 2009:1300
Khumi	phay **lóo**	soul	VanBik 2009:1300
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thlăa**	spirit, soul, shadow, image	VanBik 2009:1300
Lushai [Mizo]	**khla**	soul	Benedict 1972:132n361
	thla	spirit; god	Bhaskararao 1996:732; LaPolla 1987:131
	thláa	spirit, one's double, the spirit or soul of a man	VanBik 2009:1300
	thla rau	spirit	Marrison 1967
	thla ru	soul	Marrison 1967
	tlháa	ghost	Löffler 1985
Paangkhua	ra **tlháa**	ghost	Löffler 1985
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**thlà**	spirit, soul	VanBik 2009:1300
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Ao*	*t-(a-)**hməj-la**	SHADOW / SOUL	Bruhn 2014a:II.228
Ao (Chungli)	ta²-**nə²la²**	shadow (animate) / spirit, soul (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.228

	ta **nela**	soul	Marrison 1967
	ta **nela**	shadow (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{2}ta^{2}**nɯ**^{2}**la**	shadow	Weidert 1987:876
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	ta **nela**	soul	Marrison 1967
	tü **mila**	shadow (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-khu-**hmila**	were-tiger, lycanthropist ('tiger' + 'soul') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**hmila**	shadow, reflection; soul (n.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *__hla__ SHADOW / SPIRIT / SOUL

**Tangkhulic*	*__hla__	shadow / spirit / soul	Mortensen 2012:730
Kachai	kɐ-__lo__	shadow	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	**mangla**	soul; spirit	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	maŋ-la	god	LaPolla 1987:131
Tusom	ko-__ɬi__	shadow	Mortensen 2012:Nature.004; Mortensen 2012:People.089
Ukhrul	ku-**la**	shadow	Mortensen 2012
	mɐŋ-la	spirit / soul	Mortensen 2012

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**mīn-lā**	ghost	Matisoff 1974:137
	min-la~**num-la**	ghost, spirit	LaPolla 1987:131
	nūm-lā	spirit / image	Matisoff 1974:137
	num^{31}**la**^{33}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.19
	num^{31}**la**^{33}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.47
	sùm-lā	picture	Matisoff 1974:137

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	__ɬa__	god / deity	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:521.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	__ɬa__	god / deity	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:521.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**la**^{53}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'lhāq**	god (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.55
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	__ɬa__^{53}	god / deity	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:521.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**la**^{55}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.02
	__ɬa__^{53}	god / deity	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:521.2
	__ɬa__^{55}lu^{55}	god of rain / Dragon King (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0671.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'lhaq**	god (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.55
Tibetan (Spiti)	**lá**	god	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**hla**	god, image of a god; god	Matisoff 1974:137; LaPolla 1987:131
	lha	god / deity	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:521.1

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**la**	god	Mazaudon 1994:893
Manang (Gyaru)	**hla**^{1}	god	Nagano 1984:138
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**l̥lə**	god	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0245
	^{1}**hlɤ**	god	Mazaudon 1994:911
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**la**	god	Mazaudon 1994:893
Tamang (Sahu)	**lā**	god (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.55
	la	god (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:10.56
	^{1}**la**	god	Mazaudon 1994:911
Tamang (Taglung)	**la**	god	Mazaudon 1994:913
	^{1}**la**	god	Mazaudon 1994:913
Thakali (Marpha)	^{54}**hɬa**	god	Mazaudon 1994:913
Thakali (Syang)	^{54}**ɬa**	god	Mazaudon 1994:913

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**lawa**	spirit / soul	Rai 1985
Chamling	**lawa**	dead soul	Winter 1985:22

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**śji**	celestial being, immortal, god, fairy	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4860
	sji	god, deity	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4953
	śjij	ghost, spirit	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1161
	sjwi	beautiful; unreal/imagined image	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2333; LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3931
	sjwɨ	ghost, evil spirit	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0926

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**rɑ**^{55}**rɑ**^{55}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.18
	__ɬɑ__^{33}	god / deity	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:521.18
Guiqiong	**lø**^{53}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.17
	__ɬø__^{53}	god / deity	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:521.17
Lyuzu	ɣɯ^{ɪ33}**læ**^{53}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.18
Muya	**læ**^{24}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.15
Muya [Minyak]	**lɛ**^{53}	god; deity; soul; spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:521.15; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.15
Namuyi	ə^{ɪ55}__ɬi__^{33}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.19
	__ɬɛ__^{33}	god / deity	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:521.19
	ə^{ɪ55}__ɬi__^{31}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.46
Pumi (Taoba)	__ɬa__^{53}	god; deity; spirit	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:521.10
Qiang (Mawo)	mə **lɑ**	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.08
	xlu ʂ	ghost	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
	χlu ʂ	ghost / demon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:523.8
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	__ɬē__^{55} d/zɻ^{53}	ghost / demon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:523.16
	__ɬi__^{53}	god / deity	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:521.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	__ɬy__^{55}	ghost / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.13
Xumi	gie^{33}__ɬɑ__^{35}	god / deity	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:521.20
	__ɬɛ__^{35}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.17

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**va la** so	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.12
	vla	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.12
Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	__ɬaʔ__	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	__ɬá__	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	**'ɬa**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	**hɬɑ**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	**hɬɑ**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	**l̥la44**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	**xɬa**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	**ɬa**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	**ɬa**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	**ɬɑ**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	**ɬa**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	**ɬa**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**ɬa**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	**ɬa**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	**ɬa**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	**ɬa**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	**ɬa**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**ɬa**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**ɬa**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
Caodeng	**ɬe**	god	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	**ɬe**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	**ɬe**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	**ɬe**	god	Nagano & Prins 2013:0678
rGyalrong	**ɬɐ**	god / deity	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:521.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ɬɐ** ndzə	ghost / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.11
rGyalrong	**ɬɐ** ndzə	ghost / demon	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:523.12
rGBenzhen	**hlɐ**	god	Sun 1997b
	lfiɐ-ndzə	ghost	Sun 1997b
	tə-**hlɐ**	soul	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**phəla**	god	LaPolla 1987:131
Nung	**phɯ**^{31}**lɑ**^{31}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.21
Anong	**phɯ**^{31}**lɑ**^{31}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.44

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	*__hla__^{3}	spirit	Matisoff 2003a:593
	*__s__-la	soul	LaPolla 1987:131
	*__s/ʔ-la__^{3}	soul / spirit	Matisoff 2003a:599

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	__ɬɑ__^{53}	beautiful	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.27
Burmese (Written)	**hlɑ**^{1}	beautiful	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.26
	lha	beautiful	Marrison 1967
Marma	**hlă**	beautiful (vi.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:349
	mə **hlă**	ugly (vi.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:349-1

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	*ʔ-**la**^{1}	soul	Bradley 1979b:362

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	màq-zà-**há**-zà	soul	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	ia^{31} **l̥ia**^{33}	spirit / soul	DAI Qingxia 1989p:954.
	ia^{31}**l̥ia**^{33}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	iɔ̰^{31} **l̥a**^{35}	spirit / soul	DAI Qingxia 1989o:954.
Nusu (Central)	iɔ^{53} __ɬɑ__^{35}	soul	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	iɔ^{53}__ɬɑ__^{35}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.45
Nusu (Southern)	iɑ^{31} __ɬɔ__^{35}	soul	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	liɔ^{31} __ɬia__^{31}	soul	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	__ɬɑ__^{55}	beautiful	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	__ɬa__^{33}	soul	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐ̩^{33}__ɬa__^{33}	ghost; soul; spirit	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	i^{33}__ɬo__^{33}zo^{21}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**xo**^{21}mo^{21}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.26
Yi (Weishan)	**hɑ**^{55}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.36
Yi (Xide)	ʐ̩^{33}__ɬa__^{33}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.21
	ʐ̩^{33}-__ɬa__^{33}	soul	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	ʐ̩^{33}__ɬɑ__^{33}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a^{44} sa^{55} a^{33} __ɬɔ__^{44}	spirit / soul	DAI Qingxia 1989h:975
Jinuo	a^{44}sa^{44}a^{44}__ɬɔ__^{44}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.44
**Common Lahu*	*__ha:__	soul	Bradley 1979b:362
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**xɑ**^{33}ku^{33}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.43
Lahu (Black)	chɔ-**ha**	human soul / human likeness (doll, statue, etc.) (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:549
	ɔ^{31}**xʌ**^{33}ku^{33}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.33
	ɔ-**ha**	spirit, image	Matisoff 1974:137
Lisu (Northern)	**hã**^{33}	soul (N.)	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}khu^{33}	call the soul; call back the spirit of the dead	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}ma^{33}vu^{55}	first soul (in Lisu belief	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}ru^{33}	catch the spirit	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}se?^{21}	kill the spirit (in traditiona society)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**hɑ**^{33}	soul / spirit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:524.27
Lisu (Northern)	ni^{35}**hæ̃**^{35} mja^{33}**hæ̃**^{35}	enterprising spirit	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}la^{33} **hã**^{33}phɔ^{33}	soul-stirring	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}ly^{33} **hã**^{33}phɔ^{33}	soul-stirring	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}ɕæ^{33} ma^{33}**hã**^{33}	supernatural being; holy spirit	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tsho^{33}**hq̃**^{33}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.40
Lisu (Northern)	tshɔ^{33}**hã**^{33}	soul	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}**hã**^{33}fu^{33}	green-headed snake (lit. 'soul-snake')	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	ts^{h}o̱^{44} **hɑ**^{33}	soul	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	ʃʅ^{33}**hã**^{33}	soul	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	ji^{44} __ɬɑ__^{33}	soul	MA Xueliang 1989:339.2
Yi (Sani)	jɪ^{44}__ɬɒ__^{33}	soul / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.39
	tsho^{33}__ɬɒ__^{33}	ghost / spirit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0669.39

Sani [Nyi]	**ɬɒ**^{33}	spirit	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Yunnan)	shà **lá**	soul	Hansson 1989:173
	shḿ **lá**	soul	Hansson 1989:173
Akha (Thai)	shú-**lá**	soul	Hansson 1989:173
Hani (Lüchun)	sjhú **lá**	soul	Hansson 1989:173
Hani (Dazhai)	su^{55}**la**^{55}	soul / spirit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:524.31
Hani (Lüchun)	su^{55}**la**^{55}	soul / spirit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0673.41
Hani (Pijo)	à **lá**	soul	Hansson 1989:173
Hani (Caiyuan)	a^{31}**la**^{55}	soul / spirit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:524.30
Hani (Wordlist)	sul **lal**	soul	Hansson 1989:173
Hani (Shuikui)	ɔ^{55}**l̥ɔ**^{55}	soul / spirit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:524.32
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	**ʐi**^{33}**lɑ**^{55}	soul	Pelkey 2011:557

(6) PCN *hra:m SPIRIT / DEMON

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***hra:m**	SPIRIT / DEMON	Bruhn 2014a:III.125
**Ao*	*tsəŋ-**hɹəm**	GOD, DEITY	Bruhn 2014a:II.305
Ao (Chungli)	tsung **rem**	God	Marrison 1967
	tsəŋ^{1}**ɹəm**^{2}	god, deity (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.305
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tsung **rem**	God	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	tsə̀ŋ **hɹəm**	god, deity (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	tsəŋ^{3}-**hran**^{1}	demon, devil (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.125
	tsüng **rham**	imp	Murry *et al.* 1978:59
Sangtam	tsing **rang** ba	God	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **rim** ri	demon	Kumar 1973b:85
	rim ri	spirit	Marrison 1967

(7) TGTM *^{A}l^{h}u snake-god

2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**lu**	snake-god	Mazaudon 1978:18
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**lu**	snake-god	Mazaudon 1978:18
Tamang (Sahu)	^{1}**lu**	snake-god	Mazaudon 1978:18
Tamang (Taglung)	^{1}**lu**	snake-god	Mazaudon 1978:18
Thakali (Marpha)	^{H}**lu**	snake-god	Mazaudon 1978:18
Thakali (Syang)	^{H}**hlu**	snake-god	Mazaudon 1978:18
Thakali (Tukche)	^{H}**lu**	snake-god	Mazaudon 1978:18

5.9.0 Monetary Terms

(1) PTB *man COST / PRICE

This root so far seems to be confined to the NE Indian areal group. There is in fact a resemblant IA root *mola-* of the same meaning.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***man** COST / PRICE			
**Chin*	***man**	COST / PRICE	VanBik 2009:759
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	a **man**	cost	VanBik 2009:759
Thado	**màn**	price	VanBik 2009:759
Tiddim	ki^{3} **man**^{3}	cheap	Bhaskararao 1996:611
	man^{3}	cost	VanBik 2009:759
	man^{3}	cost (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1051
	man^{3}	cost	Bhaskararao 1994
	man^{3} tam^{1}	expensive	Bhaskararao 1996:1052
	man^{3} to:m^{3}	cheap	Bhaskararao 1996:1054
	`man	price (n.)	Henderson 1965
	`man/_mat	cost (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	a **mawn**	price	VanBik 2009:759
Cho (Mindat)	**man**	price a man pay for his wife (”brideprice”)	VanBik 2009:759
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**măn**	cost, price	VanBik 2009:759
Lai (Falam)	**màn**	cost, price	VanBik 2009:759
Lushai [Mizo]	**man**	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
	màn	cost, price, value, worth, wages	VanBik 2009:759
	man	expensive (be v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2673
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**mā**	price, cost	VanBik 2009:759
1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Sorbung	ʔə **máan**	price	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Implements.045
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-ma:n** PRICE, COST, VALUE			
**Central Naga*	*a-**ma:n**	PRICE, COST, VALUE	Bruhn 2014a:III.159
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**man**^{3}	price (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.159
	man	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **man**	price	Murry *et al.* 1978:92
	o **man** la	cheap	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a **mi**	value	Kumar 1973a
	a **mi** a thsak	costly	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	a **mo**	price; value	Kumar 1973b:35; Kumar 1973b:82
	a **mo**	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **mo** a chak	dear (expensive)	Marrison 1967
	a **mo** chak	costly	Kumar 1973b:80
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	**ma**	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**ma**	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **mün**	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **me**	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	pa **man**	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	kü **mün**	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***man** PRICE			
**Tangkhulic*	***man**	price	Mortensen 2012:771
Tangkhul	a **man**	money	Marrison 1967
	a **man**	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **man** kapaia	cheap	Marrison 1967
	mən	price	Bhat 1969:94
Tusom	ʔi-**mẽ**	price	Mortensen 2012:Implements.045
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**man**	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**men** gin	price (n.)	Marrison 1967

(2) PKC *lay-ɓaa DEBT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***lay**-ɓaa	DEBT	VanBik 2009:1008
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**lei**-ba	debt	VanBik 2009:1008
Sizang	**lē** bā	debt	VanBik 2009:1008
Tiddim	**lei**^{2}**ba:**^{2}	debts	VanBik 2009:1008
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**lé-bü-é**-k‘laung˝	debtor	VanBik 2009:1008
Khumi	a **laáy**	borrow, owe, rent	VanBik 2009:1008
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**lây**-bàa	debt	VanBik 2009:1008
Lai (Falam)	**lày**-báa	debt	VanBik 2009:1008
Lushai [Mizo]	**léi**-bá	debt (n.)	VanBik 2009:1008
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**lì**-bà	debt	VanBik 2009:1008

(3) PKC *raw INHERITANCE / ASSET / WEALTH

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***raw**	INHERITANCE / ASSET / WEALTH	VanBik 2009:951
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**gou**	asset	VanBik 2009:951
Thado	**gòw**	property, treasure	VanBik 2009:951
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**răw**	inheritance, bequeathment, wealth, asset	VanBik 2009:951
Lai (Falam)	**ràw**	inheritance, bequeathment	VanBik 2009:951
Lushai [Mizo]	**rò**	inheritance, property, riches, treasure	VanBik 2009:951
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**ryū**	treasure	VanBik 2009:951

(4) PKar *hrun^{A} MONEY

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***hrun**^{A}	money	Luangthongkum 2013:189
Bwe	**hʊ**^{55}	money	Luangthongkum 2013:189
Kayah	**rɨ**^{33}	money	Luangthongkum 2013:189
Kayan	**rwaŋ**^{53}	money	Luangthongkum 2013:189
Kayaw	**ru**^{55}	money	Luangthongkum 2013:189
Pa-O (Southern)	**ruạn**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	money	Luangthongkum 2013:189
Pa-O	**rɔ̀n**	money	Solnit 1989
	rɔ̀n cê	money, bills	Solnit 1989
	rɔ̀n jwê [jɔ^{8}e]	money, coins	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**rən**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	money	Luangthongkum 2013:189

(5) PCN *a-tshan MONEY / PRICE

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	*a-**tshan**	MONEY / PRICE	Bruhn 2014a:III.168
**Ao*	*(a-)**tʃhən**	MONEY	Bruhn 2014a:II.176
Ao (Chungli)	**jen** jang	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sen	money	Marrison 1967
	sən^{3}tsəʔ^{1}	debt (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	sən^{1}	money (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.176
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **chen**	money	Marrison 1967
	chen chang	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tʃhən**-tʃə̀ŋ	price (’money’ + ’seed’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**tʃhən**	money (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**tshen**^{3}	price (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.168
	loko **tsen**	tax (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **tsen**	money	Marrison 1967
	o **tsen**	pay (v.)	Marrison 1967
	o **tsen**	salary	Marrison 1967
	o **tssen**	price	Murry *et al.* 1978:92
Sangtam	**thsi**	money	Marrison 1967
	thsi nyarü ngitsarü	money lender	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**shho** nipjihrü	money lender	Kumar 1973b:73
	sho	money	Marrison 1967

(6) IA *ṭaŋka- MONEY / RUPEE / STAMPED COIN

This root has been widely borrowed in TB languages of India and the Himalayas, as well as in Jingpho and Asakian.

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**taŋkà**	silver	So-Hartmann 1988:26
Wakung	**taŋká**	silver	So-Hartmann 1988:26
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**tangka**	money	Marrison 1967
	tangka rua	silver	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	o **rang**	money; silver	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:75
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	**raka**	money	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**raka**	money	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**raka** thi	money	Marrison 1967
Khezha	**raka**	money	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**ghaka**	money	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**raka**	money	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**ghaka**	money	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**rangkang** gi	silver	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**rangkang**	silver; money	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**-rang** ketsu	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
	rangkang	silver; money	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**tóŋ**	interest (on money)	Bhat 1969:91
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**tangka**	money	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**taka**	money	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**rang**	money; silver	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**raŋ**	money	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**dang**-ga	money (n.)	Burling 2003:8.447-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atoŋ	**tangka**	money (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**denga**	money	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**taŋga**	money	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:192-3a

(7) PTani *rə (~ *re ?) PRICE

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***rə** (~ re ?)	price	Sun 1993a:307
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**ri**	price	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**rì**	cost	Sun 1993b
	a-**ri** sar-nɯ	bridal price	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**rɯː**	price	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**rɯː** a-wuː	expensive	Sun 1993b
	a-**rɯː** ma-jum	cheap	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **rəː** biː	repay	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1183.24
	a-**rəː**	price; money	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a **rəː**	money (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0573.24
Bokar Lhoba	a **rəː**	money; price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:485.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.51
Galo	a **rə**	bride price; price; dowry (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a **rɤ**	price	Das Gupta 1963
	a **rɤ**-kai-na	valuable	Das Gupta 1963
	rɤ-la-ma-na	costly; dear (costly)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	rɤ-po-na	cheap	Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	a **rɤ** kai-ne	valuable / price much	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**rə**	price	Sun 1993a
Milang	a **ri**	price	Tayeng 1976
	a **ri**-ama-ɲi	cheap	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	**re**	price	Anonymous 1962

(8) PKC *rum RICH

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***rum**	RICH	VanBik 2009:965
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**rûm**-I, rŭm-II	rich (be v.)	VanBik 2009:965
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**rò**-nà	riches	VanBik 2009:965

(9) PKC *haaw-I, *haw?-II RICH / WEALTHY

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***haaw**-I, haw?-II	RICH / WEALTHY	VanBik 2009:734
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**hau** hī	rich	VanBik 2009:734
Thado	**hàaw**	goods, wealth, riches	VanBik 2009:734
Tiddim	**hau**^{3} > hau?^{3}	rich	VanBik 2009:734
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hàu**-sà-I, hàuh-sak-II	rich, wealthy, well off, well to do (be v.)	VanBik 2009:734

(10) PKC *hlo? WAGES

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hlo?**	WAGES	VanBik 2009:1127
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**lòo**	wages	VanBik 2009:1127
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**hlawh** (v.)	get for one's work (v.)	VanBik 2009:1127
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hlo?**	wages, earnings	VanBik 2009:1127
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlàwh**	wages, salary, pay, stipend, allowance	VanBik 2009:1127
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hlāo**	wages	VanBik 2009:1127

(11) PKC *sum WEALTH / MONEY / RICHES

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***sum**	WEALTH / MONEY / RICHES	VanBik 2009:684
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**sum**	goods	VanBik 2009:684
Thado	**súm**	wealth, money	VanBik 2009:684
	sùm	money	Thirumalai 1972:45
	sūm	money	Thirumalai 1972:54
Tiddim	**-sum**	money (n.)	Henderson 1965
	sum^{2}	money	VanBik 2009:684; Bhaskararao 1996:1632
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**sûm**	wealth, money	VanBik 2009:684
Lai (Falam)	**sŭm**	wealth, money	VanBik 2009:684
Lushai [Mizo]	**súm**	wealth, goods, things, chattels, belongings, riches, possessions	VanBik 2009:684
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**sò**	riches, goods, possesions	VanBik 2009:684

5.10.0 Items of Culture

(1) PKC *ɗaan CODE / CUSTOM / METHOD / WAY

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗaan**	CODE / CUSTOM / METHOD / WAY	VanBik 2009:70
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**dan**	code, method	VanBik 2009:70
Thado	**dàan**	code, manner	VanBik 2009:70
Tiddim	**daːn**^{3}	custom; habit; manner; custom, habit, manner	VanBik 2009:70; Bhaskararao 1996:216
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dăan**	method, way	VanBik 2009:70
Lai (Falam)	**dàan**	method, way	VanBik 2009:70
Lushai [Mizo]	**dăan**	way, manner, mode, fashion, style, method, law, regulations rule, code, custom, habit, usage, practice	VanBik 2009:70
	daːn	custom; way; manner; habit	Bhaskararao 1996:216
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**dà**	custom	VanBik 2009:70

(2) PKC *phuŋ CUSTOM / BEHAVIOR / RITES

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***phuŋ**	CUSTOM / BEHAVIOR / RITES	VanBik 2009:332
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**phûŋ**	custom, behaviour, rites	VanBik 2009:332
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**phô**^{1}	religion, religious rites	VanBik 2009:332

(3) PTB *luk CUSTOM / MANNER

The WT-Chinese comparison has been made both by Coblin (1986:60) and by Gong (2000:#46).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***ljuk**	custom	Coblin 1986:60
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***luk**	custom / manner	Matisoff 2003a:600
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	***luk**-siː	custom	Sun 1993b
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ləg** s^{h}or	custom	Sun 1985a:171
Tibetan (Written)	**lugs**.srol	custom	Sun 1985c:171
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**dzi̯uk**	rustic / vulgar / popular usage / custom	Matisoff 2003a:363

Chinese comparandum

俗 OC ***dzi̯uk**, *GSR* #1220a-b 'rustic / vulgar / popular usage / custom'; B & S 2011: ***s-gok {s-[g] ok}**; Mand. **sú**.

(4) PTB *krim CUSTOM / PROHIBITION

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***krim**	custom / prohibition	Matisoff 2003a:596
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**khrims**	law	Marrison 1967
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	禁	prohibit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1423
Chinese (GSR #)	**0655k**	prohibit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1423
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kli̯əm**	prohibit	Karlgren 1957:655k
Chinese (Old)	**krji̯**/ums	prohibit	Baxter 1992:1771
	krəm-s {kr[ə]m-s}	prohibit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1423
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**kimH**	prohibit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1423
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**jìn**	prohibit	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1423

Chinese comparandum

禁 OC ***kli̯əm**, *GSR* #655k 'prohibit'; Schuessler 2007:315-6 ***krims**; B & S 2011: ***krəm-s {kr[ə]m-s}**; Mand. **jìn**.

(5) PKC *koŋ STORY / ABOUT (something)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***koŋ**	STORY / ABOUT (something)	VanBik 2009:314
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**kon**-pauh	story	VanBik 2009:314
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**kôŋ**	story, about something	VanBik 2009:314
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**kỳ**	story	VanBik 2009:314

(6) PTB *niŋ WAY / METHOD / CUSTOM

This WB / Lai comparison is due to Kenneth VanBik. The WB form is called a loanword from Pali , both from Judson (1893 / 1966) and in the *Myanmar-English Dictionary*:235, but this seems unlikely in view of the Lai cognate. See *HPTB*:281.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***niŋ**	way / method / custom	Matisoff 2003a:604
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**niŋ**	way / method / custom	Matisoff 2003a:281
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**nâñ**	rule, custom (< Pali)	Benedict 1976a
	nɑŋ^{3}	means / method	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:526.39

5.11.0 Artifacts (unclassified as yet)

(1) PKC *laaŋ ≍ *hlaaŋ BIER / STRETCHER

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	***laaŋ** ~ hlaaŋ	BIER / STRETCHER	VanBik 2009:991
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**laang**	bier	VanBik 2009:991
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**lâaŋ**	bier, stretcher	VanBik 2009:991
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlăang**	bier, stretcher, a support made to keep a corpse in a sitting posture	VanBik 2009:991
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	ā **là**	bier	VanBik 2009:991

(2) PKC *hnaa WORK / JOB

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	***hnaa**	WORK / JOB	VanBik 2009:911
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**na** sep	work	VanBik 2009:911
Thado	**nàa**	work	VanBik 2009:911
Tiddim	**na**^{3} sem^{3}	work	VanBik 2009:911; Bhaskararao 1996:1159
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**hnàa**	work, job	VanBik 2009:911
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnàa**	work, job, task, employment, occupation	VanBik 2009:911

(3) PKC *rian WORK / JOB

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	***rian**	WORK / JOB	VanBik 2009:984
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**rĭan**	work, job	VanBik 2009:984
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**rāi**	work, job	VanBik 2009:984

5.11.1 Containers

(1) PKC *yaal BAG / POCKET

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	***yaal**	BAG / POCKET	VanBik 2009:1187
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ng'za**	hanging bag (n.)	VanBik 2009:1187
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**zâal**	bag, pocket	VanBik 2009:1187

(2) PTB *kaw BASKET

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***kaw**	basket	Matisoff 2003a:595; Benedict 1972:266
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**khou**	kind of basket	Benedict 1972:266
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
*Ao	*(a-)**ku**	BASKET	Bruhn 2014a:II.060
Ao (Chungli)	**ku**^{2}	basket (for grain) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.060
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Meluri	a **khu** tsa	basket (back, woman's)	Marrison 1967
	khu	basket (generic)	Marrison 1967
	pechi **khu**	basket (back, man's)	Marrison 1967
3.2. QIANGIC			
Namuyi	**khæ**^{31}	basketful (of vegetable) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0875.46
	khæ^{35}	basket carried on the back (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0622.46
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**khaù**	small basket for presenting offerings	Benedict 1972:266
	khô	small basket for presenting offerings	Benedict 1976a
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**k^{h}ɤ˥**	basket carried on the back	Michaud 2006–2009:1262
	ɖɯ˧k^{h}ɤ˥	basket of	Michaud 2006–2009:1794
Na (Yongning)	**k^{h}ɤ˥**	basket of (CL.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	k^{h}ɤ˧mi#˥	large basket carried on the back	Michaud 2006–2009
	k^{h}ɤ˧zo#˥	small basket carried on the back	Michaud 2006–2009
	k^{h}ɤ˩	basket carried on the back	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**khə**^{55}phy^{21}	basket carried on the back (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0622.45

(3) PTB *ta BOX / CABINET

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***ta**	box / cabinet	Matisoff 2003a:614
3.2. QIANGIC			
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tɑ**^{55}gə̃^{55}	cupboard / cabinet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0528.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ta**^{55}dʐõ^{55}	cupboard / cabinet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0528.09
Pumi (Taoba)	**ta**^{53}	trunk / box	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:457.10
Xumi	**ta**^{55}	chest / box / trunk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0527.17
	ta^{55}tʂõ^{55}	cupboard / cabinet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0528.17
	tɑ^{55}	trunk / box	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:457.20
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	**tho**^{53}	chest / box / trunk (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0527.49
	tho^{53}	trunk / box	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:457.38
Tujia (Northern)	**tho**^{55}	trunk / box	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**tʌ**^{35}qo^{11}	trunk / box	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:457.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ta**^{1}qu^{2}	trunk / box	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.2. NAXI			
Naxi	**tɑ**^{55}	chest; box; trunk; case (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0527.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0529.45
7. KARENIC			
Karen	**dǫ**^{55}	box / case (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0529.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**tǫ̀**	box (N.)	Manson 2010
	tǫ̀ tà	box (N.)	Manson 2010

(4) PKC *ɓoom CONTAINER / BOX / BASKET

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	***ɓoom**	CONTAINER / BOX / BASKET	VanBik 2009:21
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	nau **bawm**	uterus	VanBik 2009:21
Sizang	me **bawm**	match	VanBik 2009:21
Tiddim	**bo:m**^{1}	small basket	VanBik 2009:21; Bhaskararao 1996:112
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**boeyng**	tight, closely woven (mat, basket)	VanBik 2009:21
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**bôom**	container, box, basket	VanBik 2009:21
Lai (Falam)	**bŏom**	container, basket	VanBik 2009:21
Lushai [Mizo]	**báwm**	box, case, basket, coop	VanBik 2009:21
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**bỳ**	container, box, basket	VanBik 2009:21

(5) PKC *ŋiaŋ HANDLE (n.) / SPOUT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	***ŋiaŋ**	HANDLE / SPOUT (n.)	VanBik 2009:858
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ŋîaŋ**	handle (as of a spoon or cup)	VanBik 2009:858
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**ngài**	handle of a spoon, a spout of a teapot (n.)	VanBik 2009:858

(6) PKar *do^{B} HANDLE

7. KARENIC			
*Karen	***do**^{B}	handle	Luangthongkum 2013:137
Bwe	**-do**^{33}	handle	Luangthongkum 2013:137
Kayah	**tu**^{11}	handle	Luangthongkum 2013:137
Kayaw	**tu**^{11}	handle	Luangthongkum 2013:137
Pa-O (Northern)	**tho**^{53}	handle	Luangthongkum 2013:137
Pa-O (Southern)	**to**^{55}	handle	Luangthongkum 2013:137
Pwo (Northern)	**thu**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	handle	Luangthongkum 2013:137
Pwo (Southern)	**thu**^{33}	handle	Luangthongkum 2013:137
Sgaw (Northern)	**to**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	handle	Luangthongkum 2013:137
Sgaw (Southern)	**tu**^{31}	handle	Luangthongkum 2013:137

(7) PTB *kwaŋ TROUGH / BOAT / BOX / TRAY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kuaŋ** TROUGH / BOX / TRAY			
*Chin	***kuaŋ**	TROUGH / BOX / TRAY	VanBik 2009:319
Anal	à-**kùuŋ**	boat	Weidert 1987:160
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**kuang**	trough	VanBik 2009:319
Sizang	**ching** uang	box	VanBik 2009:319
Thado	**kòoŋ**	boat	Weidert 1987:160
	kòŋ	boat	Thirumalai 1972:14
	kóŋ	boat	Thirumalai 1972:61
	kúoŋ	plate, boat, dish	VanBik 2009:319
Tiddim	gúun-**kúaŋ**	boat	Weidert 1987:160
	gu:n^{2} **kuang**^{2}	boat	Bhaskararao 1996:396
	kuang^{2}	tray	VanBik 2009:319
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**kûaŋ**	trough, box	VanBik 2009:319
Lai (Falam)	**kŭaŋ**	trough, box	VanBik 2009:319
Lushai [Mizo]	**kúang**	trough, a coffin, a groove, the channel (of a river, etc), the bed (of a river, lake, sea, etc) (n.)	VanBik 2009:319
	kuang	trough	Bhaskararao 1996:689
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Chiru	rɔ **koŋ**	boat	Weidert 1987:160
Kom Rem	rʌ-**kíiŋ**	boat	Weidert 1987:160
	rʌ-**kúuŋ**	boat	Weidert 1987:160
Lamkang	ʌr-**kùuŋ**	boat	Weidert 1987:160
Sorbung	ra-**koŋ**	boat	Brown 1837
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Yimchungrü	sang **kong**	boat	Marrison 1967
	^{1}saŋ ^{2}**guŋ** [^{2}]	boat	Weidert 1987:160
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
Northern Naga	***k^{h}o:ŋ**	boat	French 1983:460
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**khuong** kho	boat	Marrison 1967
	^{3}**khoʌn**-^{1}kho	boat	Weidert 1987:160
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Wancho	**kung**	boat	Marrison 1967
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar (Kathmandu)	**kuŋ** ga	boat	Genetti 1990c
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**kho:ŋ**	boat	Michailovsky 1989b
	khɔ:ŋ bheq	boat	Michailovsky 1989b
	[khɔ:ŋ be?]	boat	Weidert 1987:160

Chinese comparandum

棺 OC ***kwân**, *GSR* #157e 'coffin'; Schuessler 2007:265 ***kwân** or ***kôn**; B & S 2011: ***k^{wˤ}an {k^{wˤ}a [n] }**; Mand. **guān**.
棺 OC ***kwân**, *GSR* #157e 'put in a coffin'; Schuessler 2007:265 ***kwâns** or ***kôns**; B & S 2011: (***k^{wˤ}an-s**); Mand. **guàn**.

5.11.2 Conveyances

(1) PTB *m-ləy BOAT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(m-)liy**	boat	Weidert 1987:190
	***(m-)ləy**	boat	Weidert 1987:190
	***(m-)liy**	boat	Benedict 1972:474
	***m-ləy**	boat	Matisoff 2003a:600

1. NE Indian Areal Group

**Kuki-Naga*	***m-liy** OR **b-liy**	boat (n.)	Benedict 1972:474

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Khoibu	**ma-li**	boat	Brown 1837

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**li**	boat	Brown 1837; Marrison 1967
	mali	boat	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**nli**	boat	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**ma-lī**	boat	Weidert 1987:190
	mali	boat	Marrison 1967
Maram	**mali**	boat	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**li**	boat	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**li**	boat	Brown 1837

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Champhung	**ma-ri-**k^{h}o	boat	Brown 1837
Tangkhul	**mari** khong	boat	Marrison 1967
	^{1}mə^{1}ri-^{2}khoŋ	boat	Weidert 1987:160
Tankghul (Central)	**ma-lhi**	boat	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**ma-ri-**k^{h}oŋ	boat	Brown 1837
Ukhrul	**mə-ri-**k^{h}oŋ	boat	Mortensen 2012

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa	**^{3}li**	boat	Weidert 1987:190
Tangsa (Yogli)	**li**	boat	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**li**	boat	Marrison 1967
	lī	boat	Matisoff 1974:133
	li^{33}	boat	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	li^{33}	boat / ship (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0602.19
	li^{33}	boat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:481.47
	^{2}li	boat	Weidert 1987:190

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola (Luxi)	**l̲i^{55}**	boat / ship (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0602.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ɬe^{22}**	boat / ship (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0602.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ɬe^{22}**	boat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:481.40
Burmese (Written)	**hle**	boat	Weidert 1987:190; Matisoff 1974:133
	hle^{2}	boat / ship (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0602.26
	hle^{2}	boat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:481.39
Hpun (Northern)	**lí?**	boat	Henderson 1986

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***ʔ-li^{1}**	boat	Bradley 1979b:398A

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	**l̥i^{33}**	boat / ship (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0602.34
Yi (Dafang)	**ɬie^{33}**	boat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:481.22
Yi (Mile)	**li^{33}**	boat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:481.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**l̥i^{33}**thu^{21}	boat / ship (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0602.37

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu	**lî**	boat	Weidert 1987:190
Lisu (Central)	**li^{33}**	boat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:481.27
Lisu (Northern)	**li^{44}**	boat (N, C.)	Bradley 1994
	li^{44}khwa^{44}	boat tax; boat fare	Bradley 1994
	li^{44}ku^{55}	row a boat	Bradley 1994
	li^{44}za^{21}	small boat	Bradley 1994
	li^{44}ɣɔ^{33}	row a boat	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55}**li^{33}**	fishing boat	Bradley 1994

6.2. Naxi

Naxi	**lɯ^{21}**	boat / ship (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0602.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lɯ^{31}**	boat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:481.28

7. Karenic: ***klej^{A}** BOAT

**Karen [Burling]*	***khli^{4}**	boat	Luangthongkum 2013:28
**Karen*	***klej^{A}**	boat	Luangthongkum 2013:28 [a]
Bwe	**khli^{33}**	boat	Luangthongkum 2013:28
Kayah	**klə^{33}**	boat	Luangthongkum 2013:28
Kayaw	**kli^{55}**	boat	Luangthongkum 2013:28
Pa-O	**phri**	boat	Benedict 1972:132n359
Pa-O (Northern)	**phri^{31ᵕ}**	boat	Luangthongkum 2013:28
Pa-O (Southern)	**pli^{31ᵕ}**	boat	Luangthongkum 2013:28
Pwo (Northern)	**khlei^{35}**	boat	Luangthongkum 2013:28
Pwo (Southern)	**khlei^{53}**	boat	Luangthongkum 2013:28
Sgaw (Northern)	**khli^{33}**	boat	Luangthongkum 2013:28
Sgaw (Southern)	**khli^{55}**	boat	Luangthongkum 2013:28

[a] [Source Note] *kl- has become phr- and pl- in N.Pa-O and S.Pa-O. respectively.

(2) PTB *m-lawŋ BOAT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(m-)loŋ**	boat	Weidert 1987:238; Benedict 1972:467
	***m-loŋ**	boat	Matisoff 2003a:600

1. NE Indian Areal Group

**Kuki-Naga*	***m-loŋ**	boat	Benedict 1972:121n332

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***looŋ** BOAT / SHIP / VESSEL

**Chin*	***looŋ**	BOAT / SHIP / VESSEL	VanBik 2009:993
Kyaw	**mlauŋ**	boat	Benedict 1972:467

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**lawng**	vessel ship	VanBik 2009:993

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**m'lü´**	boat	VanBik 2009:993
	hmlúi	boat	Weidert 1987:190
	hml^{w}í	boat	Weidert 1987:190
Khami (Northern)	**phlauŋ**	boat	Benedict 1972:467
Khami (Southern)	**mlauŋ**	boat	Benedict 1972:467
Khumi	**pleewng**	boat	VanBik 2009:993

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**lauŋ**	boat	Benedict 1972:467
	tîi **lŏoŋ ≍ lŏŋ**	boat, ship	VanBik 2009:993
Lushai [Mizo]	**lawng**	boat	Marrison 1967
	làwng	boat, ship	VanBik 2009:993
	lòng	boat	Löffler 1985
	loŋ	boat	Benedict 1972:467
Paangkhua	**lóng**	boat	Löffler 1985
	malóng	boat	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**bəleu**	boat	Benedict 1972:467
	pâ-**lỳ**	ship	VanBik 2009:993
	^{2}bə^{1}le	boat	Weidert 1987:190

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-ruŋ** BOAT

**Central Naga*	*a-**ruŋ**	BOAT	Bruhn 2014a:III.228
**Ao*	*(a-)**ɹuŋ**	BOAT	Bruhn 2014a:II.316
Ao (Chungli)	**rong**	boat	Marrison 1967
	^{2}ruŋ	boat	Weidert 1987:238
	ɹuŋ^{2}	boat (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.316
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **rong**	boat	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**ɹuŋ**	boat (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**hroŋ^{1}**	boat (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.228
	o **rhong**	boat	Murry *et al.* 1978:11
	^{1}o^{1}**rhuŋ**	boat	Weidert 1987:238
Yacham-Tengsa	**lung**	boat	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	**^{3}ru**	boat	Weidert 1987:238
Angami (Khonoma)	**ru**	boat	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**ru**	boat	Marrison 1967
Chokri	zü **ru**	boat	Marrison 1967
	^{3}ru	boat	Weidert 1987:238
Rengma	**run**	boat	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	**^{3}rŭ**	boat	Weidert 1987:238

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	te **long**	boat	Marrison 1967
	te **lòŋ**	boat	Weidert 1987:238

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**ruŋ**	boat	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**rung**	boat	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**roŋ**	boat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	roŋ-čauʔ	paddle boat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**rung**	river boat made out of a hollowed tree trunk (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***loːŋ** BOAT

**Northern Naga*	***loːŋ**	boat	French 1983:461

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**long**	boat	Marrison 1967

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**làuŋ**	canoe	Weidert 1987:238
	laùŋ	canoe	Benedict 1972:467
	lôŋ	canoe, long boat	Benedict 1976a
Marma	**lɔ́ŋ**	boat (small)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:182

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***loŋ^{1}**/^{2}	boat	Bradley 1979b:398B

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Liangshan)	**lo^{33}**	boat	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Kucong	**lu31**	boat	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**lo^{21}**	boat / ship (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0602.43

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	**lɔ**	boat	Hansson 1989:291
Akha (Thai)	**lɔ**	boat	Hansson 1989:291
Akha	**lɔ**	boat	Benedict 1972:61n195
Bisu	**lɔ́ŋ**	boat	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	**lo^{31}**	boat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:481.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**lù**	boat	Hansson 1989:291
	lo^{31}	boat / ship (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0602.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**lu^{31}**	boat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:481.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**lɔ^{31}**	boat	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**loɋ**	boat	Hansson 1989:291
Haoni	**lu^{21}**	boat	Hansson 1989:291
Hani (Shuikui)	**l̥ɣ^{31}**	boat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:481.32
Hani (Khatu)	**lù**	boat	Hansson 1989:291
Hani (Mojiang)	**l̥ɣ^{31}**	boat / ship (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0602.42
Mpi	**loŋ^{2}**	boat	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

Chinese comparandum

船 OC ***diu̯ɑn**; *GSR* #229e 'boat'; Schuessler 2007:195-6 ***m-lon**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.lon {Cə.lo [n]}**; Mand. **chuán**.

(3) PTani *si-pɯ BOAT

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***si-pɯ**	boat	Sun 1993a:34

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**sɯ-pɯ**	boat	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-pin **si-pɯ**	sheepskin boat	Sun 1993b
	ši-pɯ	boat	Sun 1993a
	si-pɯ	boat	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**si-pɯ**	boat	Sun 1993b
	šɯ-pɯ	boat	Sun 1993a
	ɕi pɯ	boat / ship (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0602.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɕi pɯ**	boat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:481.51
Tagin	**sipɯ**	boat	Das Gupta 1983

(4) PTk *k^{h}oŋ BOAT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}oŋ**	boat	Mortensen 2012:610
Champhung	ma-ri-**k^{h}o**	boat	Brown 1837
Tangkhul	mari **khong**	boat	Marrison 1967
	^{1}mə^{1}ri-^{2}**khoŋ**	boat	Weidert 1987:160
Tangkhul (Standard)	ma-ri-**k^{h}oŋ**	boat	Brown 1837
Ukhrul	mə-ri-**k^{h}oŋ**	boat	Mortensen 2012

(5) PTB *s-lyaŋ CART

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***leeŋ** CART / VEHICLE

**Chin*	***leeŋ**	CART / VEHICLE	VanBik 2009:998

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**leang**	cart	VanBik 2009:998
Thado	bóoŋ **lêeŋ**	cart	VanBik 2009:998
Tiddim	**leːng^{1}**	cart with three or four wheels	VanBik 2009:998; Bhaskararao 1996:932

	leːng[1] pei[2]	wheel	Bhaskararao 1996:933
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**lèeŋ**	cart, vehicle	VanBik 2009:998
Lai (Falam)	**léeŋ**	cart	VanBik 2009:998
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**leŋ**[31]	vehicle	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	leŋ[31]	wheel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0587.19
	leŋ[31]	vehicle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:478.47
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ɬɛ**[55]	vehicle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:478.40
Burmese (Written)	**hlâñ**	cart	Benedict 1976a
	hlaŋ[3]	vehicle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:478.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**lo̱ŋ**[55]khjik[31]	wheel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0587.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**lia̱ŋ**[55]	wheel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0587.33
Maru [Langsu]	**lo̱ŋ**[55]	vehicle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:478.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lo̱ŋ**[51]	wheel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0587.30
	lo̱ŋ[51]	vehicle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:478.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***C-laŋ/iŋ**[2]	cart	Bradley 1979b:396

(6) PKC *hlet EXIT / BACKDOOR

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hlet**	EXIT / BACKDOOR	VanBik 2009:1106
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**hlet**	back-door, exit (of a den), outlet	VanBik 2009:1106
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hlet**	secret exit (of a mouse or a rat), backdoor (n.)	VanBik 2009:1106
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlèt**	secret exit from the burrow, e.g. of a rat, by which it can escape when attacked by an enemy from the main entrance (n.)	VanBik 2009:1106

(7) PTani *braŋ LADDER

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***braŋ**	ladder	Sun 1993a:228
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**bja** à-ràŋ	ladder in front of house	Sun 1993b
	a-**brja**	ladder	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a **bja**	ladder	Sun 1993b
	ré-**bja**	ladder	Sun 1993b
	re-ka a-**bja**	ladder	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**baː**-fjak	ladder	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	baː-kap	ladder (made of a single log)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ə **paŋ**	ladder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.24
	ə-**paŋ**	ladder	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b [a]
Galo	**ba** cak	small ladder	Das Gupta 1963
	ko **ba**	ladder	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻbaa cak	ladder (small) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻbaa tə	ladder (large) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻkoo **baa**	ladder; stairs (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Nishing	e **ba**~a **ba**	ladder	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	lə-**baŋ**; ə-**baŋ**	ladder	Sun 1993a
Mishing [Miri]	ko-**baŋ**	ladder	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ta: **phrang**	bridge	NEFA (India) 1963
	ta: **phrõ**	stair (ladder); bridge	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	ta: **phrõ** ka:	rung (of ladder); steps (of staircase of ladder)	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	ta: **phrõ**-sa:	bridge (hanging)	NEFA (India) 1963
	tɑ[31]**pɹoŋ**[55]	bridge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.22
	tɑ[31]**pɹoŋ**[55]	bridge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:477.49
Idu	diu[55]**phɹɔŋ**[55]	bridge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:477.50
	do **pʰrẽ**	ladder	Anonymous 1962
	e[55]**phɹoŋ**[55]	ladder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:456.50
Yidu	diu[55]**phɹoŋ**[55]	bridge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.25
	e[55]**phɹoŋ**[55]	ladder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.25
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*[A]**praŋ**	ropeway, stretcher	Mazaudon 1978:11
Gurung (Ghachok)	[3]**prẽ**	ladder	Mazaudon 1978:11
Manang (Ngawal)	[1]**praŋ**	ropeway	Mazaudon 1978:11
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]**praŋ**	bier	Mazaudon 1978:11
Tamang (Sahu)	**ʼprehng**	ladder (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.24
	[1]**praŋ**	firestand	Mazaudon 1978:11
Tamang (Taglung)	[1]**praŋ**	bier	Mazaudon 1978:11
Thakali (Marpha)	[H]**praŋ**	ropeway	Mazaudon 1978:11
Thakali (Syang)	[L]**praŋ**	ropeway	Mazaudon 1978:11
Thakali (Tukche)	[H]**praŋ**	ropeway	Mazaudon 1978:11
4. Nungic			
Dulong	dɯ[31]**bɹɑ**[53]	bridge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.20

[a] [Source Note] initial! (Sun 1993a).

(8) PTB *m-gam LADDER / RAMP

The Lahu voiced initial reflects the nasal prefix still overtly present in the Jingpho form.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-gam**	ladder / ramp	Matisoff 2003a:590
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	sɯ-**go**	bridge	Sun 1993b
Galo	lɤ **go**	bridge	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	lak-**go**	bridge (made of cane-rope)	Sun 1993b
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**ǹ-gàm**	ladder, ramp (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:250
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***m-gu**[1]/[2]	steps / ladder	Bradley 1979b:351B
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Bijiang)	**gu**[35]dzɑ[35]	ladder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:456.45
Nusu (Central)	**gu**[55]dza[33]	bridge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.34
Nusu (Northern)	**gu**[55]dzɔ[31]ɑ[55]	bridge	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**gu**[55]dzɑ[35]	bridge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:477.45
Nusu (Northern)	ke[31]**gu**[55]dzɔ[35]ɑ[55]	ladder	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	**gv33** tɕhi33	ladder	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**go**	bridge	Benedict 1972:38n123
Lahu (Lancang)	**go**[33]	ladder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.43
Lahu (Black)	**go**[33]	ladder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:456.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**gu**[1]tɕhi[1]	ladder	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	da[21]**gu**[21]	bridge (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**gaw**[5]-dzyē[4]	bridge	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	hɔ[33]**khɔ**[21]dzø[33]	iron bridge	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**kho**[31]dze[33]	ladder; bridge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:456.27; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:477.27
	kho[31]dze̱[33]	bridge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.40
Lisu (Northern)	**khɔ**[21]dzø[33]	bridge (N.)	Bradley 1994
	khɔ[21]dzø[33] gu[21]khɤ[21]	end of bridge	Bradley 1994
	khɔ[21]dzø[33] tɔ[35]du[33]	frame of bridge	Bradley 1994
	khɔ[21]dzø[33]phi[21]	planks on bridge	Bradley 1994
	lɔ[33]tshi[35] **khɔ**[21]dzø[33]	stone bridge	Bradley 1994
	ta[35]bja[21] **khɔ**[21]dzø[33]	staircase; ladder (N.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**kho**[4]**kho**[4]	bridge (n.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	ʔa33 **kho45**	bridge	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:081021

(9) PTB *pu(u)m RAFT

There is a phonologically similar Tai root (cf. Tai-Nuea **pe**[4], Siamese **phɛɛ**). This looks like a Southeast Asian areal word. See also PTB ***poŋ*** RAFT / FLOAT (§5.11.2).

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***pu(u)m**	RAFT	VanBik 2009:159
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**pum**	raft	VanBik 2009:159
Thado	**pùm**	raft	VanBik 2009:159
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**pŭum**	raft	VanBik 2009:159
Lushai [Mizo]	**pùum**	raft	VanBik 2009:159
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**pɛ**[42]	raft (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0603.44
Lahu (Black)	**pê**	raft (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:849
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**pe**[2]	raft	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

(10) PTB *poŋ RAFT / FLOAT

This is apparently a Southeast Asian areal word; see also PTB ***pu(u)m*** RAFT (§5.11.2).

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**phong**[2]	raft	Bhaskararao 1996:1467
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**phōŋ**	raft / float (n.)	Matisoff 1974:78
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola (Luxi)	**pa̱u**[55]	raft (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0603.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**bãu**[22]	raft (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0603.27
Burmese (Written)	**bhoŋ**	raft, float	Benedict 1976a
	bhɔŋ[2]	raft (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0603.26
	phoŋ	raft, float	Benedict 1976a
	phoŋ≍**bhoŋ**	raft / float (n.)	Matisoff 1974:78
Hpun (Northern)	**phɔ́ŋ**	raft	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**pu̱k**[31]	raft (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0603.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**po̱u**[33]	raft (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0603.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pa̱u**[51]	raft (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0603.30
7. Karenic			
Karen	**phɔ**[31]	raft (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0603.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**pʰû**	raft (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**phɔ́ŋ**	raft	Solnit 1989

Chinese comparandum

方 OC ***pi̯wɑng***, *GSR* #740a-f ‘two boats lashed together; lash boats together; cross (a river by boat)’; Schuessler 2007:231 ***paŋ***; B & S 2011: ***paŋ***; Mand. **fāng**.
舫 OC ***pi̯wɑng*** ~ ***pwûŋ***, *GSR* #740g-h ‘boat’; Schuessler 2007:231 ***paŋh***; B & S 2011: ***paŋ-s*** ~ ***pʿaŋ-s***; Mand. **fǎng**.

5.11.3 Musical objects

(1) PKC *ɗaar BRASS / BELL

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗaar**	BRASS / BELL	VanBik 2009:63
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**daak**	bell	VanBik 2009:63
Tiddim	**daːk**[2]	bell	VanBik 2009:63
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dâar**	brass, bell	VanBik 2009:63
Lai (Falam)	**dăar**	brass, bell	VanBik 2009:63
Lushai [Mizo]	**dār**	brass, gong, bell	VanBik 2009:63
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**dàw**	brass, bell	VanBik 2009:63

(2) PCC *sum-seel CYMBAL

1.2.2. Central Chin

*Central Chin	*sum-seel	CYMBAL	VanBik 2009:647
Lai (Hakha)	sûm-sêel	cymbal	VanBik 2009:647
Lushai [Mizo]	súm-sèel	name of a large cymbal (n.)	VanBik 2009:647

(3) PKC *khuaŋ DRUM (n.)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	*khuaŋ	DRUM (n.)	VanBik 2009:439

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	khuang	drum	VanBik 2009:439
Sizang	khuang	drum	VanBik 2009:439
Thado	khúoŋ	drum	VanBik 2009:439
	xòŋ	drum	Thirumalai 1972:61
Tiddim	-xuaŋ	drum (n.)	Henderson 1965
	khuang^{2}	drum	VanBik 2009:439; Bhaskararao 1996:841

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	khûaŋ	drum	VanBik 2009:439
Lai (Falam)	khŭaŋ	drum	VanBik 2009:439
Lushai [Mizo]	khuang	drum (n.)	Marrison 1967
	khúang	drum (n.)	VanBik 2009:439
	khuang	drum	Bhaskararao 1996:841

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	khò	drum	VanBik 2009:439

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	song kung	drum	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	son kong	drum (n.)	Marrison 1967

(4) PTani *guŋ-gaŋ JEW'S HARP

1.1.1. Tani

*Tani	*guŋ-gaŋ	jew's harp	Sun 1993a:219

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	gaŋ-gu	jew's harp	Sun 1993a
	gàŋ-gu	jew's harp	Sun 1993b
	gaŋ-gu	jew's harp	Sun 1993b
Bengni	guŋ-ga:	jew's harp	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	goŋ-gaŋ	jew's harp; Jew's harp	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	guugaa	jew's harp; mouth harp (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	goŋ-gaŋ~ koŋ-gaŋ	jew's harp	Sun 1993a
Milang	goŋ-gaŋ	flute	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	guŋ-gaŋ	jew's harp	Sun 1993a

(5) PTB *hla SONG

This root seems to be confined to the NE Indian Areal group.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *hlaa SONG

*Chin	*hlaa	SONG	VanBik 2009:1122

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	lā	song, melody	VanBik 2009:1122
Thado	lá	hymn / song	Thirumalai 1972:60
	lâa	song	VanBik 2009:1122
	llá	song	Thirumalai 1972:67
Tiddim	la^{1}	song, melody; song	VanBik 2009:1122; Bhaskararao 1996:869

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	hlâa	song, hymn	VanBik 2009:1122
Lai (Falam)	hláa	song	VanBik 2009:1122
Lushai [Mizo]	hla	song	Marrison 1967; Bhaskararao 1996:869
	hlăa	song, a hymn, a poem, poetry, vocal music, chant, psalm, sonnet (n.)	VanBik 2009:1122

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	hlá	song, chant, hymn	VanBik 2009:1122

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	laa	song	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Implements.044

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *hla SONG

*Tangkhulic	*hla	song	Mortensen 2012:755
Huishu	ʔa-le-se-k^{h}e	sing	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.085
Tangkhul	la	song	Marrison 1967
Tusom	ʃĩ	song	Mortensen 2012:Implements.044
Ukhrul	la	song	Mortensen 2012
	la-sem	poem; laa 'song' + ?	Mortensen 2012

5.11.4 Rope

(1) PTB *ʔ-ney BAMBOO STRIP (for tying)

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*ʔ-ney	bamboo strip (for tying)	Matisoff 2003a:604

2.1.4. Tamangish: *hnāi FIBER

Gurung (Ghachok)	naĩ	fiber	Glover 1972:7.A.22

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *ʔ-nay$^{1/2}$ ≍ *ʔ-ney^{2} FIBER / BAMBOO STRIP (for tying)

*Lolo-Burmese	*ʔ-nay$^{1/2}$	bamboo strip (for tying)	Matisoff 2003a:604
	*ʔnay$^{1/2}$ ≍ ney^{2}	bamboo strip	Matisoff 1985a:130

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	hnî	bamboo strip; strip of bamboo	Hansson 1989:186; Matisoff 1985a:130; Benedict 1976a
	ʔə-rûi-nu'	cartilage	Matisoff 1987
Lashi	jou^{33} nə:^{53}	cartilage / grist	Dai Qingxia 1989m:8.4.4
Maru [Langsu]	ɣuk^{55} nɛ̃^{55}	cartilage / grist	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.4.4

6.1.2. Loloish

*Loloish	*s-ne$^{2/1}$	bamboo strip	Hansson 1989:186

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	ɣɯ^{21} ni^{21} zo^{21}	cartilage / grist	Luo Meizhen 1990:8.4.4
Lahu (Black)	vâ-ne	bamboo strip	Matisoff 1985a:130
	ɔ̀-ne-pa	gristle	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Northern)	hɤ^{35}ne^{21}	strip; piece (N.)	Bradley 1994
	kɤ^{55}tɕhi^{33}ne^{21}	bamboo strip (for making fence)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}ne^{21}	bamboo strip; rind of bamboo; outer cuticle of a bamboo stem	Bradley 1994
	ɔʔ^{21}ma^{44}ne^{21}	thin strip of phyllostachys sulphurea	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	á nè	bamboo strip	Hansson 1989:186
Akha	á-nè	bamboo strip	Matisoff 1985a:130
Akha (Thai)	á nè	bamboo strip	Hansson 1989:186
Akha	nè	bamboo strip	Hansson 1989:186
Bisu	né-phɔ̀	bamboo strip	Matisoff 1985a:130
Hani (Lüchun)	ɛ́ nì	bamboo strip	Hansson 1989:186
Hani (Pijo)	ky nỳ	bamboo strip	Hansson 1989:186
	nỳ	bamboo strip	Hansson 1989:186
Hani (Wordlist)	al niq	bamboo strip	Hansson 1989:186
Hani (Khatu)	nỳ	bamboo strip	Hansson 1989:186
	ɔ nỳ	bamboo strip	Hansson 1989:186

7. Karenic

*Karen	*hnāi	fiber (n.)	Matisoff 2003a
	*ñai	fiber (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:216

(2) PKar *sra^{A} BAMBOO STRIP

7. Karenic

*Karen	*sra^{A}	bamboo strip	Luangthongkum 2013:10
Bwe	θrɛ^{55}~θə^{55}rɛ^{55}	bamboo strip	Luangthongkum 2013:10
Kayah	se^{33}	bamboo strip	Luangthongkum 2013:10
Kayan	θa^{53}	bamboo strip	Luangthongkum 2013:10
Kayaw	sa^{55}	bamboo strip	Luangthongkum 2013:10
Pa-O (Northern)	sa$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	bamboo strip	Luangthongkum 2013:10
Pa-O (Southern)	sa$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	bamboo strip	Luangthongkum 2013:10
Pwo (Northern)	sja^{35}	bamboo strip	Luangthongkum 2013:10
Pwo (Southern)	θa^{53}	bamboo strip	Luangthongkum 2013:10
Sgaw (Northern)	ɕɣa^{33}	bamboo strip	Luangthongkum 2013:10
Sgaw (Southern)	ɕɣa^{55}	bamboo strip	Luangthongkum 2013:10

(3) PKC *khaaw CORD / ROPE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	*khaaw	CORD / ROPE	VanBik 2009:431

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	khau	cord, chord	VanBik 2009:431
Sizang	hkau	rope	VanBik 2009:431
Thado	kháaw	rope	VanBik 2009:431
Tiddim	kha:u^{2} phe:k^{1}	rope	VanBik 2009:431

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	kháaw	tree species from which black loom sticks and the spring string in dewng traps are made; palm variety	VanBik 2009:431

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	khâaw	cord, rope	VanBik 2009:431
Lushai [Mizo]	kháu púi	name of a tree with red blossoms, and hairy banana shaped fruit growing in clusters. The bark is used for making rope which is then known as hrúi-kháu ("khaaw rope") (n.)	VanBik 2009:431

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	khàw-hrí	cord, string, rope	VanBik 2009:431

(4) PKar *blej^{A} STRING / ROPE

7. Karenic

*Karen	*blej^{A}	string, rope	Luangthongkum 2013:283
*Karen [Burling]	*phli^{3}	string, rope	Luangthongkum 2013:283
Bwe	bli^{33}	string, rope	Luangthongkum 2013:283
Kayah	plə^{11}	string, rope	Luangthongkum 2013:283
Kayan	pɨ^{33}	string, rope	Luangthongkum 2013:283
Kayaw	pli^{33}	string, rope	Luangthongkum 2013:283
Pa-O (Northern)	phli^{33}	string, rope	Luangthongkum 2013:283
Pa-O (Southern)	pli^{53}	string, rope	Luangthongkum 2013:283
Pwo (Northern)	phlei^{55}	string, rope	Luangthongkum 2013:283
Pwo (Southern)	phlei$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	string, rope	Luangthongkum 2013:283
Sgaw (Northern)	pli^{33}	string, rope	Luangthongkum 2013:283
Sgaw (Southern)	pli^{33}	string, rope	Luangthongkum 2013:283

5.11.5 Tools

(1) PTB *r-pʷa AXE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*r-pwɑ	axe	Chou Fa-kao 1972:102h-i
	*r-pʷa	axe	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:608

	*r-wa	ax	Benedict 1972:441
	*r-wa=*r-pwa	axe	LaPolla 1987:162
1.1.1. Tani: *faːʔ AXE			
*Tani	*faːʔ	ax	Sun 1993a:100
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	ja-hɯ	ax	Sun 1993a
Bengni	ɯ-fɯː	ax	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	xəː-gɯŋ	ax	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	ɯ-gɯŋ	ax	Sun 1993a
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *pu AXE			
*Central Naga	*pu	AXE	Bruhn 2014a:III.066
Ao (Chungli)	po	axe	Marrison 1967
	pu[1]	axe (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.066
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a w	axe (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-u	axe	Coupe 2007:49
Lotha Naga	o[1]-puʔ[3]	axe (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.066
	o pvhü	axe	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	pü	axe	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	kü pü	axe	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Ntenyi	a m pfü	axe	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *hwa AXE			
*Tangkhulic	*hwa	axe	Mortensen 2012:315
Huishu	ʔa-r-we	axe	Mortensen 2012:Implements.004
Kachai	kə-fu	axe	Mortensen 2012:Implements.003
Tusom	ŋə-ʃi	axe	Mortensen 2012:Implements.004
Ukhrul	ha	axe	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	roa	ax	Benedict 1972:441
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	rua	ax	Benedict 1972:441
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	wo	axe; ax	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:162; Benedict 1972:109n305
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	nwa ≍ niŋwa	ax	Benedict 1972:441
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	·wjị (wjị)	axe, hatchet	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5203
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	pi[55]zi[55]	axe (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0605.16
	pi[55]zi[55]	ax	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:408.17
Pumi (Jiulong)	pi[55]	axe (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0605.10
Pumi (Lanping)	fpy[55]	axe (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0605.09
Pumi (Dayang)	ɸpɨ́	axe (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:171
Pumi (Qinghua)	spy[55]	ax	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:408.11
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	lvi	axe (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0605.12
Ergong (Danba)	lvi	ax	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:408.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Caodeng	tə-rpe	ax (big)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	ʃə rpa	ax	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:408.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	ʃə rpɑ	axe (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0605.11
rGBenzhen	ʃə-rpa	ax	Sun 1997b
	ʃə-rpa tsaʔ	ax (small)	Sun 1997b
	ʁzy[13]	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.13
	ʁzɔ[55]	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.13
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə ndzə	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.11
5. Tujia			
Tujia	tsai[35]	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.49
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *dzəy[2] CHISEL			
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Wuding)	dzɣ[33]	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	tsi[53]	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.43
Lahu (Black)	cɨ̂	chisel (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:507
Lisu (Northern)	dze[33]	chisel (V.)	Bradley 1994
	dze[33]du[33]	chisel (tool)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	dzę[33]	chisel / bore (a hole) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1777.40
	dzɳ[21]	chisel (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:507
Yi (Sani)	dzɻ[11]	chisel / bore (a hole) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1777.39
	dzɻ[11]zɒ[11]	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Lüchun)	dzɔ[31]	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.41
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	tsɔ[31]	chisel	Pelkey 2011:509
Phuza	ʤɯ[31]dɛ[13]dɯ[33]	chisel	Pelkey 2011:509
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	dzv˩	chisel	Michaud 2006–2009:1218
Na (Yongning)	dzi˥	chisel	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	dzɳ[33]	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.45

Chinese comparandum

鈇 OC ***pi̱wo***, *GSR* #101e ‘axe’; Schuessler 2007:242 ***paʔ***; B & S 2011: ***paʔ {p(r)aʔ}***; Mand. ***fǔ***.
斧 OC ***pi̱wo***, *GSR* #102h ‘axe’; Schuessler 2007:242 ***paʔ***; B & S 2011: ***paʔ {p(r)aʔ}***; Mand. ***fǔ***.

(2) PKC *hray AXE / ADZE (n.)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	*hray	AXE / ADZE (n.)	VanBik 2009:1073
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	hei ta	adze, adz	VanBik 2009:1073
Sizang	he	axe	VanBik 2009:1073
Thado	hèy	axe	VanBik 2009:1073
Tiddim	hei[3]	axe	VanBik 2009:1073
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	ghei	ax, blade of an ax	VanBik 2009:1073
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	hrăy	axe, adze	VanBik 2009:1073
Lai (Falam)	hrày	axe, adze	VanBik 2009:1073
Lushai [Mizo]	hrèi	axe, a hatchet (n.)	VanBik 2009:1073
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	ā hrēi	ax, hatchet, choper	VanBik 2009:1073

(3) PTB *m-dzəy CHISEL

This etymon has so far only been discovered in Loloish and Qiangic. The nasal prefix is reconstructed on the basis of Qiangic reflexes.

A number of Loloish forms in this set may actually be borrowings from Chinese, cf. Mandarin **záozi** 鑿.

3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	dza	chisel [n.; v.]	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4170
3.2. Qiangic			
Lyuzu	dzuo[31]	chisel / bore (a hole) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1777.18
	dzu[35]	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.18
Muya	dzɐ[24] qho[33]lə̄[33]	chisel / bore (a hole) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1777.15
	ndzɐ[24]	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.15
Namuyi	dzu[53]	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	tsə[35]ɣõ[55]	chisel (round) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.10
	tɕhɯ[55]	chisel / bore (a hole) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1777.10
Qiang (Mawo)	dzuɑ ʁzu	chisel / bore (a hole) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1777.08
	ʁzuə	chisel (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0607.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	zò	chisel (v.)	Evans 1999:2558
	zò	chisel {b?}	Evans 1999:852
Queyu (Xinlong)	ʁzo[55]	chisel / bore (a hole) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1777.13

(4) PTk *hur FAN

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
*Tangkhulic	*hur	fan	Mortensen 2012:654
Kachai	kə-hur	fan oneself	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.083
Ukhrul	kə-hur	fan	Mortensen 2012

(5) PTB *kram FENCE / GARDEN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*kram	fence / garden	Matisoff 2003a:596
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	fu[55]tʂhɛ[55]	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.18
Lyuzu	fu[33]tʂhɯ[53]	garden (plot) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.18
Namuyi	dzɛ[33]ntshu[55]qhɛ[55]	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.19
	ʁuo[33]tsuo[55]qhæ[53]	garden (plot) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.46
Pumi (Qinghua)	ŋɑ[13]qhe[13]	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.11
Pumi (Taoba)	kho[55]rɛ[53]	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.10
Qiang (Mawo)	kuz	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.8
Qiang (Taoping)	tshie[55]kie[33]	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.9
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
*Lolo-Burmese	*kram[1]	fence; garden	Matisoff 2003a:596; Matisoff 1978a:16
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	khʐam[55]	garden (plot) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.28
Achang (Xiandao)	khʐam[55]	garden (plot) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.29
	oʔ[55]khʐam[55]	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.29
Arakanese	hkren	garden	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	khjɛ̃[55]	garden (plot) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	tɕhã[22]	garden (plot) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.27
	tɕhã[22]si[55]jo[55]	fence (bamboo / twig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0521.27
	tθo[55]tɕhã[22]	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.27
	wɛʔ[4]tɕhã[22]	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	hcan	garden	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tɕhã[22]	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.40
Burmese (Written)	khram	fence	Hansson 1989:377
Burmese (Inscriptional)	khram	garden	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	khraṁ	fence, enclosure (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	khraṁ	garden	Okell 1971
	khrɑṁ[2]	garden (plot) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.26
	khrɑṁ[2]	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.39
	khrɑṁ[2]sɑŋ[3]ro[3]	fence (bamboo / twig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0521.26
	kʰram	fence	Matisoff 1978a:16
	tθo[3]khrɑṁ[2]	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.26
	wɑk[4]khrɑṁ[2]	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.26
Langsu (Luxi)	khjɛ̃[31]	garden (plot) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.31
Leqi (Luxi)	khjam[33]	garden (plot) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.33
	kjɔʔ[31]khɔm[33]	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.33
	tʃhɔt[55]pat[31]khɔm[33]	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.33
	vuʔ[31]khɔm[33]	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.33
Maru [Langsu]	khjɛ̃[31]	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.43
	khyè	garden	Okell 1971
Tavoyan	hcan	garden	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	khjam[51]	garden (plot) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.30
	khjam[51]	vegetable garden	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:366.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***kram**^{1}	fence	Bradley 1979b:353; Hansson 1989:377
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	o^{31}n̥o^{24}**tɕha**^{31}	garden (plot) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.47
Nusu (Central)	**khɹa**^{33}	garden (plot) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.34
Nusu (Northern)	ɣɑ̃^{35}**ɹɑ**^{31}	vegetable garden	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɣɑ̃^{55}**khɹɑ**^{35}	vegetable garden	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:366.45
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	a^{33}ke^{33}**khɛ**^{33}	vegetable garden	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:366.34
	khɛ^{33}khø^{33}	garden (plot) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**khɛ**^{42}	hedge / fence	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	i^{35}mv^{53}**khɔ**^{54}	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.43
Lahu (Black)	**kʰo**	fence	Matisoff 1978a:16
	ɣɔ^{53}tsʌ^{35}**kho**^{33}	vegetable garden	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:366.33
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	gɔ̀ **khɯ́**	fence	Hansson 1989:377
Akha (Thai)	**khɯ́**	fence	Hansson 1989:377
Akha	**khɯ́**	fence	Hansson 1989:377
Hani (Caiyuan)	ja^{55}**khe**^{55}	vegetable garden	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:366.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	ɣɔ^{31}n̥ø^{55}ja^{55}**khm̩**^{55}	vegetable garden	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	xɔ^{55}**khu**^{55}	vegetable garden	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:366.32
Hani (Mojiang)	xɔ^{55}**khu**^{55}	garden (plot) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.42
6.2. NAXI			
Na (Yongning)	**qʰwæ**˧l̩ɯ˧	vegetable garden	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**kho**^{21}	garden (plot) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.45
Naxi (Yongning)	tsha^{33}**khuɑ**^{13}	vegetable garden	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:366.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	xo^{31}phe^{55}**kho**^{31}	vegetable garden	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:366.28
7. KARENIC			
Karen	**gɑ̰̆**^{31}rɛ̰^{55}	garden (plot) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0522.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**kʰə̤́**	garden (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**khràm**	farm, garden	Solnit 1989

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檻 OC ***g'lɑm** ~ ***g'lâm**, *GSR* #609g 'railing; cage'; Schuessler 2007:306 ***grâmʔ**; B & S 2011: (***gˤram**); Mand. **jiàn**.

(6) PKC *kol FETTER / YOKE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***kol**	FETTER / YOKE	VanBik 2009:280
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**ngawng** kol	yoke	VanBik 2009:280
Tiddim	**ha:k**^{1} kol^{1}	yoke placed across shoulders (for carrying objects)	VanBik 2009:280
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**kǎwl**	fetters, manacles, handcuffs, stocks	VanBik 2009:280

(7) PTB *g- $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{t}{d}$ ap FIREPLACE / ASHES

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-tap ⋉ g-dap**	fireplace	Matisoff 2003a:615
	***tap**	fireplace	Weidert 1987:671; Benedict 1972:18
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***tap** FIREPLACE / HEARTH			
**Chin*	***tap**	FIREPLACE / HEARTH	VanBik 2009:195
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**tap**	hearth	VanBik 2009:195
Tiddim	**tap**^{3}	hearth, fire-place; hearth	VanBik 2009:195; Bhaskararao 1996:1696
	_tap	earthwork forming a hearth in the floor of a house (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**tak** ón	fire-place	VanBik 2009:195
Cho (Mindat)	m-**tap**	hearth (n.)	VanBik 2009:195
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tap**	fireplace, hearth	VanBik 2009:195
Lai (Falam)	**tàp**	fireplace, hearth	VanBik 2009:195
Lushai [Mizo]	**tàp**	Lushai fireplace, hearth	VanBik 2009:195
	tap	hearth; fireplace	Bhaskararao 1996:1696; Benedict 1972:18
	tap chhak	hearth	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	**ap**	ashes	Marrison 1967
	a **tep**	hearth	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **tap**	hearth	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**tap** hi	hearth	Marrison 1967
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
**Bodo-Garo*	***tV**-pla	ashes	Burling 1959:440
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	ga **dap**	fireplace	Benedict 1972:18
	haʔ-**to** pláʔ	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
Dimasa	ha **gap**	hearth	Marrison 1967
	thap	hearth	Marrison 1967
	tha pla	ashes	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:137
Kokborok	**tʰa**-pla	ash	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**tap**-pra	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
	ta pra	ashes	Benedict 1972:137
	tśu **dap**	fireplace	Benedict 1972:18
Garo (Bangladesh)	ha•-**dip**-u	ashes (n.)	Burling 2003:5.421-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**tha** pyra	ashes (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.1.4. DEORI			
Deori/Deuri	**tap** agari	ashes [partly As.]	Jacquesson 2005
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***təp**	hearth	French 1983:503
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**tap**	fireplace; hearth	Weidert 1987:671; Marrison 1967
	tap la	ashes	Marrison 1967
	tʌp-^{2}la	ashes	Weidert 1987:182
Tangsa	**t̯ʌp**^{3} khu	fireplace	Weidert 1987:671
Tangsa (Moshang)	**tap**	hearth	Marrison 1967
	tap tha	ashes	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**tap**	ashes	Marrison 1967
Konyak	a **tap**	hearth	Marrison 1967
	tüp la	dust (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tüp la	ashes	Marrison 1967
Phom	**dap**^{33}læ^{31}	ashes	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	tep	hearth	Marrison 1967
	tep la	ashes	Marrison 1967
	ɔ^{33}**dap**^{33}	fireplace (ɔ^{33} 'fire'; dap^{33}læ^{31} 'ashes')	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**dap**	hearth; ashes; fireplace	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:18
	dap nu	kitchen	Marrison 1967
	tap^{31}	ashes	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:472.47
	tap^{31}~a^{31}**tap**^{31}	ashes	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**taʔ** kəbuʔ	ashes	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:103
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	**təb**	ashes	Sharma 1982
	təw	ashes	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**t'ap**^{55}	hearth	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**thab**	fireplace	Benedict 1972:18
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**tha** but	dead ashes	Ebert 1997
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	-**tap**	fireplace (usually a hollow in the floor) (nb.)	Caughley 2000

(8) PTB *g-rap FIREPLACE / FIREPLACE SHELF

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-rap**	fireplace	Matisoff 2003a:609; Matisoff 2003a:615
	***rap**	fireplace, shelf; central fireplace	Benedict 1972:19n69; Benedict 1972:84
	***rap**₌*trap/drap	fireplace	LaPolla 1987:157
1.1.1. TANI: ***rap** FIREPLACE SHELF, ***r(a/o)m** FIREPLACE / HEARTH			
**Tani*	***ram**~ **rom**	fireplace / hearth	Sun 1993a:149
	***rap**	fireplace shelf	Sun 1993a:148
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**ré**-ke	ceiling	Sun 1993b
	reʔ-ke	ceiling	Sun 1993b
	reʔ-ke?	fireplace shelf	Sun 1993a
Bengni	mɯ-**ram**	bonfire	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-**rɯŋ**	fireplace	Sun 1993b
	rap-ki:	fireplace shelf; rack over fireplace	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	mə **rom**	stove (cooking) / range (kitchen) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0544.24
	mə-**rom**	fireplace; hearth	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	mə **rom**	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.51
Galo	**rap** ko	trays (over the hearth)	Das Gupta 1963
	'bə **rap**	shelf (suspended) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'mi **ram**	hearth; fireplace (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'rap ko	fireplace shelving (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	mi **riŋ**	hearth	Das Gupta 1983
	m **riŋ**	hearth	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	mə-**rom**	fireplace / hearth	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	pə-**rap**	fireplace shelf	Sun 1993a
Damu	ma-**ram**	brazier	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	mə-**ram**	fireplace / hearth	Sun 1993a
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN: ***rap** SHELF (over fireplace)			
**Central Chin*	***rap**	SHELF (over fireplace)	VanBik 2009:972
Lai (Hakha)	**rap**	shelf over the fire-hearth	VanBik 2009:972
Lushai [Mizo]	**ràp**	shelf over the fire, the fireshelf (n.)	VanBik 2009:972
	rap	fireplace; shelf over fire	LaPolla 1987:157; Benedict 1972:84
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**rap**	fireplace; shelf over fire	LaPolla 1987:157; Benedict 1972:84
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**kərap**	lower screen over fireplace	Benedict 1972:84
	rap	fireplace; central fireplace	LaPolla 1987:157; Benedict 1972:84
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	thi^{55}**ko**^{55}	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.17
Muya [Minyak]	thɛ^{35}**kuɛ**^{53}	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.15
Pumi (Qinghua)	mɐ^{13}**khuɑ**^{13}	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.11
Pumi (Taoba)	kua^{35}**rua**^{53}	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.10
Qiang (Longxi)	mù **guá** kì	fireplace	Evans 1999:693
Qiang (Mawo)	mu **ɣuə**	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.8
Qiang (Taoping)	mi^{55}**ʁo**^{31}	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.9
Xumi	**qo**^{35}	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.20
3.3.1. rGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	scçaŋ **khu**	fireplace	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:355.12
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	mə **rap**	fireplace	Benedict 1972:84
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	mì-**rap**-paùŋ	wooden fireplace	Benedict 1972:84
Maru [Langsu]	**ɣrɛ**	fire-place	Benedict 1972:84
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**jỳq**-pi	set up household	Björverud 1994
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**g̈òʔ**-pa	wall	Matisoff 1974:392

(9) PTB * $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{s}{m}$ -t(w)a ⋉ * $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{t}{d}$ u HAMMER / STRIKE / SLAP

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ta ⋉ m-twa**	hammer	Matisoff 2003a:614

	*tow	hammer (n.)	Weidert 1987:223
	*tow	pound (v.)	Weidert 1987:331
	*tow	hammer	Benedict 1972:317
	*tow ≍ dow	hammer	Matisoff 2003a:615
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	tu-bauʔ ≍ tu-bouʔ	hammer	Benedict 1972:317
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	dau-bu	hammer	Benedict 1972:69n214
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	sum du	hammer	Benedict 1972:317; Benedict 1972:69n214
	thu	pound (v.)	Benedict 1972:317
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	gon-to	hammer (large)	Benedict 1972:69n214
	sdo	mallet	Benedict 1972:69n214
	tho-ro	hammer (small)	Benedict 1972:69n214
Thebor	do	mallet	Benedict 1972:69n214
	tho-a	large hammer	Benedict 1972:317
	tho-ro ≍ tho-tśuŋ	small hammer	Benedict 1972:317
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	$t^hɔ$	hammer (large)	Sun 1985a:339
Tibetan (Batang)	$thɑ^{55}$	hammer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0606.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	$tho:^{55}$	hammer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0606.02
Tibetan (Written)	m tho-ba ≍ tho-ba	large hammer	Benedict 1972:317
	tho ba	hammer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0606.01
	tho.ba	hammer (large)	Sun 1985c:339
	tho.ba.phrug	hammer (small)	Sun 1985c:340
Tibetan (Xiahe)	tho	hammer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0606.04
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	ndzi^{35}ʐu^{55} wu^{35}ta^{55}	hammer in (a nail) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1280.16
	u^{55}tɑ^{55}	hammer (nail in)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:672.17
Muya	na^{33}tsa^{53}	hammer in (a nail) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1280.15
Muya [Minyak]	ʁɯ^{35}tsa^{53}	hammer (nail in)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:672.15
Namuyi	ntha^{55}	hammer (nail in)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:672.19
	mi^{33}ntha^{31}	hammer in (a nail) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1280.46
Pumi (Qinghua)	xə^{13}stɑ^{13}	hammer (nail in)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:672.11
Pumi (Taoba)	xə^{35}ta^{35}	hammer (nail in)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:672.10
Qiang (Longxi)	tuà liú	hammer	Evans 1999:851 [a]
Qiang (Mianchi)	tuà liò	hammer	Evans 1999:851
	tuà tɕá	beat, pound	Evans 1999:1750 [b]
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	ndzɛ	hammer (nail in)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:672.14
4. Nungic			
Anong	du-ma	hammer	Benedict 1972:317
Anong (Rawang)	du-ma	hammer	Benedict 1972:69n214
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	thú	pound (v.)	Benedict 1972:317
	tu	hammer	Benedict 1972:317
Maru [Langsu]	dau	hammer	Benedict 1972:69n214
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	thɑ^{33}	strike (the table) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1540.43
	thɑ^{33}tu^{33}	hammer (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0606.43
	thɑ^{33}tu^{33}	hammer in (a nail) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1280.43
Lahu (Yellow)	tha^{1}	strike with open palm	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

[a] [Source Note] 2d syll refers to shape.
[b] [Source Note] cf. 'hammer'.

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段/鍛 OC ***twân**, *GSR* #172a-c 'to hammer; forge, refine; strike'; Schuessler 2007:219 ***tôns**; B & S 2011: ***t^{ʕ}on-s {t^{ʕ}o [n] -s}**; Mand. **duàn**.

(10) PTB *s-ta KNIFE / AXE / SWORD

The Qiangic forms are clearly borrowings from a Tibetan binome (cf. WT **sta ri**).

This root seems quite distinct from PTB ***taŋ** KNIFE (§5.15).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ta**	knife / axe / sword	Matisoff 2003a:614
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Batang)	ta^{55}re^{53}	axe (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0605.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	tə^{55}ri^{55}	axe (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0605.02
Tibetan (Written)	sta re	axe (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0605.01
	sta re	axe	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	hta ri	axe (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0605.04
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Longxi)	tà í	ax (<WT sta ri)	Evans 1999:850
Qiang (Mawo)	staːˈ	ax	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:408.8
	stɛj	axe (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0605.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	tè ʐì	ax (<WT sta ri)	Evans 1999:850
Qiang (Taoping)	χta^{31}ʐi^{55}	ax	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:408.9
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	dà < thà	knife	Benedict 1972:22n75
	htɑ^{3}	knife	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:409.39
	thâ	knife, sword	Benedict 1976a
	thā:	knife (n.)	Marrison 1967
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*ta^{2}	knife	Bradley 1979b:257/8/9C
	*taŋ^{3}; ʔmi(a); ta^{2}	knife	Bradley 1979b:257-259
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	á-thà	knife	Björverud 1994
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	mi-tho	knife	Benedict 1972:22n75
Lisu (Northern)	a^{55}tha^{21}	knife (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	a tha	knife	Benedict 1972:22n75
Lisu (Northern)	phu^{33}a^{55}tha^{21}	silver knife	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ɑ^{55}thɑ^{31}	knife	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:409.27
Sani [Nyi]	mi-tha	knife	Benedict 1972:22n75

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刀 OC ***tog** *GSR* #1131a 'knife'; Schuessler 2007:207 ***tâu**; B & S 2011: ***C.t^{ʕ}aw**; Mand. **dāo**.

Schuessler 2007:207 views Chinese 刀 **dāo** as perhaps an "…[A]rea word or CH loan". As an alternative, we posit Sino-Tibetan ***s-ta-w**, with suffix ***-w**, on the assumption that the suffix was dropped in Tibeto-Burman, yielding PTB ***s-ta**, but was retained in Sinitic, yielding OC ***C.t^{ʕ}aw** (cf. B & S 2011).

Comparative evidence for suffix ***-w** within Sinitic or Tibeto-Burman is sparse (cf. PTB ***ka-y/w/m** EAT, where the range of reconstructed finals awaits confirmation). Nonetheless, the fact remains that PTB ***s-ta** 'knife, axe, sword' and OC ***C.t^{ʕ}aw** 'knife' are quite close phonologically, and appear to reside within very old, core lexicon of their respective subfamilies. We suggest the issue of cognacy be left open for further research, rather than rejected outright. [SPB].

(11) PCN *nuk MACHETE / DAO

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***nuk**	MACHETE, DAO	Bruhn 2014a:III.263
**Ao*	*(a-)**nuk**	MACHETE, DAO	Bruhn 2014a:II.251
Ao (Chungli)	**nok**	dao	Marrison 1967
	nuk^{1}	machete, dao (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.251
	^{1}**nuk**	dao	Weidert 1987:638
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **nok**	dao	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**nuk**-láŋ-**nùk**	sword ('machete' + 'be long' + 'machete') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**nuk**	machete (dao in Nagamese) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	**no**	dao	Marrison 1967
	$^{(2)}$**nuʔ**	dao	Weidert 1987:638
Yacham-Tengsa	**nok** mang	dao	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**nuk**	dao	Marrison 1967
	$^{(1)}$**nuk**	dao	Weidert 1987:638

(12) PTB * r s - g k wa-n NET (CASTING)

The OC comparandum is reconstructed with an open syllable, motivating the hyphen before the final ***-n**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gwa-n ≍ kwa-n**	net (casting)	Matisoff 2003a:592
	***kwan**	casting net	Benedict 1972:158
	***kwɑn**~**gwɑn**	costing net	Chou Fa-kao 1972:41d
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	sum^{31}**kon**^{31}	net (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0642.19
	sum **gawn**	net (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sum **gon**	casting net; net	Benedict 1972:158; Benedict 1972:44n145
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**rkon**-pa ≍ **skon**-pa	basket; fowler's net	Benedict 1972:158
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**kun**	sort of fishnet	Benedict 1972:158
4. Nungic			
Anong	**gun**	casting net; net	Benedict 1972:158; Benedict 1972:44n145
Rawang	ʃam^{33} **gon**^{53}	net	LaPolla 2003:712
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola (Luxi)	**kɔn**^{55}	net (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0642.32
Burmese (Written)	**kwan**	net (n.)	Marrison 1967
	kwan	casting net	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:158
Leqi (Luxi)	**kɔn**^{31}	net (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0642.33
Maru [Langsu]	**gùm**	net	Benedict 1972:44n145
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kun**^{51}	net (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0642.30
	sùm **gòn**	net	Benedict 1972:44n145

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眾 OC ***kwo**, *GSR* #41d 'net'; B & S 2011: ***k^{wʕ}a**; Mand. **gū**.

(13) PTani *sap NET

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***sap**	net	Sun 1993a:272
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	a-**šap**	net	Sun 1993a
	a-**sap** nəŋ	net (v.)	Sun 1993b
	pin-dɯr a-**sap**	cobweb	Sun 1993b
Galo	e **hap**	fishing net	Das Gupta 1963
	e **sap**	fishing net	Das Gupta 1963
	'hab ree	handle (of a fishing net) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ə **hap**	net (for trapping) (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ə-**sap**	net	Sun 1993a
Milang	**cap**-puŋ	net	Tayeng 1976

(14) PTB *gram NET / BAMBOO SCREEN

See Gong 2001:26. The Chinese comparandum is not to be found in *GSR* #609.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gram**	net	Matisoff 2003a:299
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	**khʐa**^{35}	net (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0642.29
Burmese (Written)	**krâm**	bamboo net	Benedict 1976a [a]
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	**khrè**, tə **khrè**	net	Solnit 1989
	wān **khrè**, wān tə **khrè**	cast a net	Solnit 1989
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**glam**	basket	Matisoff 2003a:299 [b]

[a] This word is glossed "weighted bamboo screen, pushed to drive fish into a weir" (*Myanmar-English Dictionary* 1993:45).
[b] [Source Note] 籃 Not in *GSR* #609.

Chinese comparandum

籃 OC [not in *GSR* #609]; B & S 2011: ***k.r^{ʕ}am**; Mand. **lán**. 609g

(15) PTB *lyan STICK / BRANCH / TORCH

The basic meaning of this root is apparently STICK / BRANCH, with a semantic extension into TORCH, typically a pine branch used to light one's way at night.

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	mi **len**	lamp; torch	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	mi **len**	torch	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mì **làn**	torch, firebrand (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	mi^{3}**lon**^{3}	lamp, lantern / torch (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	mi **lon**	torch	Marrison 1967

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	yaŋ **len** səru	backbone; spine; vertebrae (of spine)	Singh 1991:5.5.4; Singh 1991:8.4.2

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Phom	**len** shüo	stick (n.)	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Tilang)	**len**-chong shing	Chinese pine	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**len** soŋ	torches (pine); torch (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0388.07; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0540.07

(16) PKC *tsaay-tseʔ TONGS / PINCERS / PLIERS

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tsaay**-tseʔ	TONGS / PINCERS / PLIERS	VanBik 2009:572

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**tai** teh	tongs	VanBik 2009:572
Thado	**tsòy** tsèe	tongs	VanBik 2009:572
Tiddim	**ta꞉i**^{3} teʔ^{3}	fire tongs	VanBik 2009:572

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**táykii**	tongs made of bamboo (used for small pots and coals from the fire)	VanBik 2009:572

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**chài**-chèh	tongs, pincers, tweezers, pliers, forceps, nippers	VanBik 2009:572

(17) PTani *mə-ru TORCH

"The compound is derived from 'fire' + 'pitch-pine'." Sun 1993a:153 (*A historical-comparative study of the Tani (Mirish) branch*).

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***mə-ru**	torch	Sun 1993a:437

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	**mu-ru**	torch	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**mə ru**	torch (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0540.24
	mə-ru	torch	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**'məor**	torch (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'məro	torch (n.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**mə-ru**	torch	Sun 1993a

(18) PTB *m-dzyam WEDGE

For a detailed discussion of this and other likely roots for WEDGE, see JAM 2002 ("Wedge Issues").

Several binomes for WEDGE are apparently loans from Chinese (Mand. **xiēzi** □□, e.g., Qiang [Taoping] **sie^{33}tɕhy^{33}**, Yi [Nanhua] **ɕi̱^{33}dʑu^{21}**, etc.).

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	tɑ^{31}**tsɑu^{53}**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.22
Kaman [Miju]	dɑ^{31}**tsɯu^{55}**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.23
Yidu	ɑ^{55}**tsu^{55}**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.25

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**ndzi^{55}**	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.18
Muya	**tshə^{33}**z̪ɐ^{53}	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.15
Pumi (Lanping)	siɛ̃^{13}**dzə^{55}**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.09
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tsə^{53}**	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.16
Xumi	**ʂõ^{53}**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.17
	ʂɑ̃^{55}	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**cçhʌ^{13}**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɐ **cçhə**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.11
rGyalrong	tɐ **cçhə**	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.12

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**tɕhi^{55}**	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.38

6.1.2. Loloish: ***N-dzyam^{2}*** WEDGE

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	sɻ^{35}**tsɛ^{31}**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.47
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tɕɑ^{55}**	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.45
Nusu (Central)	**tʂa^{55}**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.34
Yi (Mile)	**dʐi̱^{21}**bu̱^{33}	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.25
Yi (Nanjian)	**dʐy^{21}**	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.23
Yi (Xide)	**ndzo̱^{33}**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.35
	ndzo̱^{33}	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	**zɛ^{31}**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.44
Lahu (Black)	**dzu^{53}**	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.33
	jû	wedge (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:568
Lisu	**dʒo^{31}**tʃhɛ^{55}	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.27
Yi (Sani)	sz̪^{44}**dʐɤ^{11}**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Lüchun)	tsha^{31}**tshɔ^{31}**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.41
Hani (Shuikui)	tɔ^{31}**tʃhu^{31}**	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.32
Hani (Mojiang)	tɔ^{31}**tʃu^{31}**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.42

8. BAI

Bai (Jianchuan)	**tɕĩ^{55}**ne^{42}	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.48

(19) PNC *haak YOKE

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

**Northern Chin*	***haak**	YOKE	VanBik 2009:748
Sizang	**hāk**	yoke	VanBik 2009:748
Tiddim	**ha꞉k**^{1} kol^{1}	yoke	VanBik 2009:748

5.11.6 Textile

(1) PKC *thuam APPAREL / CLOTH / DRESS

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***thuam**	APPAREL / CLOTH / DRESS	VanBik 2009:373

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**thuam**	apparel, clothes	VanBik 2009:373
Tiddim	**phei^{3}thuam^{3}**	trousers ("thigh dress")	VanBik 2009:373

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**thŭam**	apparel, dress, cloth	VanBik 2009:373
Lai (Falam)	**thùam**	apparel, dress, cloth	VanBik 2009:373
Lushai [Mizo]	**thùam**	equipment, accoutrements, clothing, dress, goods, things	VanBik 2009:373

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**hmô**-thō	clothes, apparrel	VanBik 2009:373

(2) PTk *p^{h}i CLOTH

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***p^{h}i**	cloth	Mortensen 2012:762
Tusom	**psɯ**	cloth	Mortensen 2012:Implements.029
	psɯ-ən-ci	clothing	Mortensen 2012:Implements.028

(3) PCN *a-ʃə CLOTH / SHAWL

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	*a-**ʃə**	CLOTH / SHAWL	Bruhn 2014a:III.093
**Ao*	*(a-)**sə**	CLOTH / SHAWL	Bruhn 2014a:II.100
Ao (Chungli)	ang **sü**	thread	Marrison 1967
	sep ok **sü**	coat	Marrison 1967
	sü	cloth	Marrison 1967
	sü-a ben	wear (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sü-a shi	wash (clothes) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sü oshi	clothes	Marrison 1967
	sə^{1}	cloth, shawl (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.100
	sə^{1}u^{2}si^{2}	clothes (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	teperam-**sü**	skirt	Marrison 1967
	teperem **sü**	loincloth	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **sü**	cloth	Marrison 1967
	sü vang	bag (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**sə**	shawl (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	khoŋ^{1}kho^{2}-**səʔ^{3}**	cotton cloth (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	o^{1}-**səʔ^{3}**	cloth, clothes (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.093
	sə^{3}-kiʔ^{3}	tent (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	o **sü**	cloth	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:18
	o **sü**-kaphen	belt (girdle)	Marrison 1967
	o **sü**-nyuaphen	scissors	Marrison 1967
	ō **sà**	cloth	Acharya 1975
	o zü **sü**	bag (n.)	Marrison 1967
	sokthe **sü**	coat	Marrison 1967
	tsháṇ **sà**	wool	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**shü**	cloth	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**chi**	cloth	Marrison 1967

[a] [Source Note] cloth-house ?

(4) PKar *hlow^{B} COTTON THREAD

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***hlow^{B}**	cotton thread	Luangthongkum 2013:62
**Karen [Burling]*	***ly^{2}**	cotton thread	Luangthongkum 2013:62
Bwe	**lu^{33}**	cotton thread	Luangthongkum 2013:62
Kayah	**lo^{11}**	cotton thread	Luangthongkum 2013:62
Kayan	**lu^{11}**	cotton thread	Luangthongkum 2013:62
Kayaw	**lu^{11}**	cotton thread	Luangthongkum 2013:62
Pa-O (Southern)	**lu^{33}**	cotton thread	Luangthongkum 2013:62
Pa-O (Northern)	**lu^{55}**	cotton thread	Luangthongkum 2013:62
Pwo (Northern)	**lou^{33}**	cotton thread	Luangthongkum 2013:62
Pwo (Southern)	**lou^{55}**	cotton thread	Luangthongkum 2013:62
Sgaw (Northern)	**li̱$^{31~}$**	cotton thread	Luangthongkum 2013:62
Sgaw (Southern)	**li̱^{45,}**	cotton thread	Luangthongkum 2013:62

(5) PTB *b-la COTTON

This root looks as if it might be related to NEIA ***laŋ*** THREAD / COTTON / YARN (§5.11.6).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-la**	cotton	Matisoff 2003a:599; LaPolla 1987:140

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***laa*** COTTON

**Chin*	***laa**	COTTON	VanBik 2009:1004

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**la**	cotton	VanBik 2009:1004
Khami (Northern)	**phəlo**	cotton	LaPolla 1987:140
Khami (Southern)	**məhla**	cotton	LaPolla 1987:140
Khumi	**plo**	cotton (growing in the field)	VanBik 2009:1004

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**lăa**	cotton	VanBik 2009:1004
Lushai [Mizo]	**la**	cotton	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:140
	làa	cotton, cotton yarn	VanBik 2009:1004

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	pā-**lā**	cotton	VanBik 2009:1004
	pəla	cotton	LaPolla 1987:140

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Puiron	**la**	cotton	Marrison 1967

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**phelo**	cotton	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:140
	tu **la**	cotton	Marrison 1967

1.6. MRU

Mru	**lɑ^{1}**	cotton	Luce 1985:Q.266

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	tu **la**	cotton from cotton tree	Jacquesson 2005

4. NUNGIC

Trung [Dulong]	sɑ^{55}**lɑ^{53}**	cotton	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:199.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	sa^{55} **la^{53}**	cotton	LaPolla 1987:140

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	sá-**là**	cotton	Björverud 1994
Yi (Dafang)	sɔ^{33}**lɔ^{33}**	cotton	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:199.22
Yi (Liangshan)	sa^{34}**lɯ^{33}**	cotton	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	so^{33}**lo^{33}**ne̱^{21}	cotton	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:199.25
Yi (Mojiang)	so^{55}**lo^{55}**	cotton	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:199.26
Yi (Nanhua)	so^{55}**lo^{21}**	cotton (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0418.37
	so^{55}**lo^{21}**	cotton	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:199.24
Yi (Nanjian)	sɑ^{55}**lɑ^{21}**	cotton	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:199.23
Yi (Weishan)	sɑ^{55}**lɑ^{21}**	cotton (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0418.36
Yi (Wuding)	su^{55}**lu^{33}**	cotton (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0418.38
Yi (Xide)	sa^{44}**lɯ^{33}**	cotton	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:199.21
	sɑ^{34}**lɯ^{33}**	cotton (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0418.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	ś**á-lá**	cotton	LaPolla 1987:140
Lahu (Lancang)	ɕɑ^{33}**lɑ^{53}**	cotton (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0418.43
Lahu (Black)	sʌ^{33}**lʌ^{53}**	cotton	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:199.33
Lahu (Yellow)	sa^{1}**la^{1}**	cotton	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**la^{21}**ba^{21}	cotton quilt (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	sa^{3}-**la^{5}**	cotton; wool (cotton)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	sa^{33}**la^{21}**	cotton (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	sɑ^{55}**lɑ^{21}**	cotton	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:199.27
Yi (Sani)	sɒ^{44}**lɒ^{44}**	cotton (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0418.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Yunnan)	shà **là**	cotton	Hansson 1989:87
Akha (Thai)	shà-**là**	cotton	Hansson 1989:87
Hani (Dazhai)	sa^{31}**la^{31}**	cotton	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:199.31
Hani (Lüchun)	shà **là**	cotton	Hansson 1989:87
	tshà **là**	cotton	Hansson 1989:87
	sa^{31}**la^{31}**	cotton (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0418.41
Hani (Pijo)	sjhɔ̀ **là**	cotton	Hansson 1989:87
Hani (Caiyuan)	sɔ^{31}**lɔ^{31}**	cotton	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:199.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	sa^{31}**la^{31}**	cotton	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	saq **laq**	cotton	Hansson 1989:87
Hani (Shuikui)	sɔ^{31}**lɔ^{31}**	cotton	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:199.32
Hani (Khatu)	shɔ **làŋ**	cotton	Hansson 1989:87
Hani (Mojiang)	sɔ^{31}**lɔ^{31}**	cotton (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0418.42
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	sɔ^{44}**lɔ^{44}**	cotton	Pelkey 2011:186
Southern Muji	sa^{33}**la^{33}**	cotton	Pelkey 2011:186
Phola	sɑ^{55}**lɛ^{33}**tsɛ̱^{23}	cotton	Pelkey 2011:186
Hlepho Phowa	sa^{33}**la^{33}**	cotton	Pelkey 2011:186
Phuza	sa^{33}**la^{33}**	cotton	Pelkey 2011:186

(6) PKC *pat FIBER / COTTON / THREAD

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***pat**	FIBER / COTTON / THREAD	VanBik 2009:146
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**pat**	cotton	VanBik 2009:146
Thado	**pàt**	fiber, thread	VanBik 2009:146
Tiddim	**pat^{3}**	cotton	VanBik 2009:146
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**pàt**	fiber, thread, cotton	VanBik 2009:146

(7) PTB *s-nat HEDDLES (of a loom)

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nat**	heddles (of loom)	Benedict 1972:436
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hna**	heddles of loom	Benedict 1972:436
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	ə **net** (<*ənat)	weaver's stick	Benedict 1972:436
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**net** tong	heddle	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	**nat** yung	heddle	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Kohima)	jü **nyü**	heddle	Marrison 1967
Meluri	ar **na**	heddle	Marrison 1967
Rengma	dü **nyü**	heddle	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a ghe **ni**	heddle	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	da **nat**	heddle	Marrison 1967
	śiŋnat ~ sənat	heddles of loom	Benedict 1972:436
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**hnat**	heddles; heddles of loom	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:436
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu (Northern)	jæʔ^{21}**ne^{55}**	heddle (vertical cords guiding the warp of a loom)	Bradley 1994

(8) PKC *thiam LOOM

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***thiam**	LOOM	VanBik 2009:398
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**siam** bu	loom	VanBik 2009:398
Sizang	**chīem**	loom	VanBik 2009:398
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**thìam**	loom	VanBik 2009:398
Lai (Hakha)	**thìam** (bùu)	loom	VanBik 2009:398
Lushai [Mizo]	**thèm**-bû	loom, a weaving machine (n.)	VanBik 2009:398

(9) PTB *k-ra $\frac{\text{p}}{\text{m}}$ NEEDLE

A number of reflexes point to initial ***r-***, while many others reflect an initial velar; we are treating the velar element as prefixal, so that the reflexes with initial velar are deemed to have undergone prefix pre-emption. Written Burmese has an anomalous zero or glottal stop initial, a variational phenomenon which occurs in a considerable number of roots (see *HPTB*:57 and JAM 1997).

The Chinese comparandum has a final labial nasal.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***k-rap ~ k-ram**	needle	Matisoff 2003a:609
	***kap**	needle	Weidert 1987:667; Matisoff 2003a:595; Matisoff 1983:18; Benedict 1972:52
	***kap-*kəp**	needle	LaPolla 1987:193
	***kəp**	needle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:671o
	***ʔap ~ gaːp**	needle	Matisoff 2003a:583
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	a **jem**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**keb**	needle	Benedict 1972:52
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**khab**	needle	Benedict 1972:52
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**xa^{ɪ55}**	needle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:420.18
Guiqiong	**khø^{53}**	needle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:420.17
	khə^{55}	needle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0578.16
Lyuzu	**ɣa^{35}**	needle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0578.18
	ɣɯ^{35}	needle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0578.18
Muya	**ʁɐ̱^{53}**	needle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0578.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ʁɐ^{35}**	needle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:420.15
Namuyi	**ʁo^{33}**	needle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:420.19
	ʁuo^{31}	needle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0578.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**qho^{55}**	needle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0578.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**qho^{55}**	needle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0578.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**qho^{55}**	needle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:420.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**kho^{35}**	needle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:420.10
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	**xe**	needle	Matisoff 1972b:191(b)
Qiang	**xe ~ he**	needle	Benedict 1972:25n82
Qiang (Longxi)	**χé ~ χèi**	needle	Evans 1999:812
Qiang (Mawo)	**Xe**	needle	LaPolla 1987:193
	χe	needle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:420.8
	χɛ	needle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0578.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**χɛ̀**	needle	Evans 1999:812
Qiang (Taoping)	**χe^{55}**	needle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:420.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**qha^{55}**	needle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0578.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**qho^{53}**	needle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:420.16
Xumi	**ʁo^{35}**	needle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:420.20
	ʁu^{35}	needle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0578.17
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**ʁa** vu	needle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:420.14
Daofu	**ʁɑ** r	needle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0578.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ta **kap**	needle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:420.12
	te **kyep**	needle	LaPolla 1987:193; Benedict 1972:25n82
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **kɑp**	needle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0578.11
rGBenzhen	ta-**jap**	needle	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**uop**	needle	LaPolla 1987:193; Benedict 1972:25n82
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*(t-)**ɣap**	needle	Weidert 1987:667; Benedict 1972:52
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**ap**	needle	Benedict 1972:183n482
	ʔap	needle	Benedict 1972:52
Phön	**təɣet** (< *təɣap)	needle	Benedict 1972:52
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**woʔ**	needle	Benedict 1972:52
Lahu	**ɣòʔ**	needle	Benedict 1972:52
Lahu (Black)	**g̈òʔ**-pi	needle and thread	Matisoff 1988a:p.817
Lisu	**wɔʔ**	needle	Benedict 1972:52
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**t̂i̯əm**/tśi̯əm	needle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:671o
Chinese (Old)	**Kji**/um	needle	Baxter 1992:1837
	t̂i̯əm	needle	Matisoff 1983:18
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**jen**	needle	Sun 1985b:631
	zhēn	needle	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

箴 OC ***t̂i̯əm**, *GSR* #671o; B & S 2011: ***t.kəm {t. [k] əm}**; Mand. **zhēn**.
簪 OC ***tsəm /tsi̯əm**, *GSR* #660g 'hairpin'; Schuessler 2007:600 ***tsrəm**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.ts^{ʕ}əm {Cə. [ts] ^{ʕ} [ə] m} ~ *tsrəm {tsr [ə] m}**; Mand. **zān**.
譖 OC ***tsi̯əm**, *GSR* #660j 'accuse; slander'; Schuessler 2007:600 ***tsrəms**; B & S 2011: ***tsrəm-s {[ts] r [ə] m-s}**; Mand. **zèn**.

(10) PKC *hriaw NEEDLE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hriaw**	NEEDLE	VanBik 2009:1090
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**héu**	needle	VanBik 2009:1090
Thado	**híew**	needle	VanBik 2009:1090
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hriau**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
	hríau	needle (n.)	VanBik 2009:1090

(11) PTB *p $\frac{\text{r}}{\text{y}}$ im NEEDLE

This etymon seems so far to be confined to the NE Indian areal group.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***phrim** NEEDLE			
**Chin*	***phrim**	NEEDLE	VanBik 2009:1339
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**phim**	needle	VanBik 2009:1339
Tiddim	**phim^{2}**	needle	VanBik 2009:1339; Bhaskararao 1996:1460
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	a **p'yèm**	needle	VanBik 2009:1339
Khumi	**sprúeeng**	needle	VanBik 2009:1339
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**ṭhĭm**	needle	VanBik 2009:1339

Lai (Hakha)	**thrîm**	needle	VanBik 2009:1339
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	chi-**phò**	needle	VanBik 2009:1339
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	yim **pen**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	im **pən**	needle (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**pjəm**[1]	needle (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	o **pyam**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **pyim**	needle	Murry *et al.* 1978:77
Sangtam	t **pang**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	tü **pean**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	the **pre**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	the **pre**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	thü **prü**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
Mao	o **prü**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **pyeng**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**pyeng**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	m **pin**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	m **pinh'**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***prim** NEEDLE			
**Tangkhulic*	***prim**	needle	Mortensen 2012:449
Huishu	ʔa-jem-**pem**	needle	Mortensen 2012:Implements.008
Kachai	rɐm-**pim**	needle	Mortensen 2012:Implements.006
Tangkhul	ka **pim**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tusom	kə-**pruə̃**	needle	Mortensen 2012:Implements.007
Ukhrul	kə-**pim**	needle	Mortensen 2012
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ing **prim**	needle (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**bi** z	needle	Bhat 1968
	bi zi	needle	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	ši-**bi**	needle	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**bi** ji	injection, injection needle (n.)	van Breugel 2008

[a] [Source Note] lower range variant

(12) PTB *bliŋ STRING / THREAD / CORD

This etymon seems quite independent from PTB ***bryam** ≍ ***brim** NAVEL / UMBILICAL CORD (§1.9.3).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***bliŋ**	string / thread / cord	Matisoff 2003a:584
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**bɹɑ̆ŋ**[53]	rope / string (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0619.23
	bɹɑ̆ŋ[53]	rope	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:422.48
Idu	na **mbra**	thread	Anonymous 1962
	ɑ[55]tɕe[55]**mbɹɑŋ**[35]	rope	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:422.50
Yidu	**mbɹɑŋ**[35]	classifier for rope (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0838.25
	ɑ[55]tɕe[55] **mbɹɑŋ**[35]	rope / string (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0619.25
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**pʂl**[55]	rope	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:422.18
Pumi (Jiulong)	tʃõ[11]**bʐə̃**[55]	string (oxhide) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0601.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**bʐə̃**[13]	rope / string (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0619.09
	zɣ[13]**bʐə̃**[55]	string (oxhide) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0601.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**bʐə̃**[13]	rope	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:422.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**bʐə̃**[35]	rope	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:422.10
	tə[35]**bʐɛ**[35]	break (v.i. of rope, etc.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:765.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**biꭒa**	rope	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:422.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**bʐè**	rope, string	Evans 1999:868
Qiang (Taoping)	**bʐe**[33]	rope	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:422.9
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **brɛ**	rope / string (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0619.11
rGyalrong	tə **brɛ**	rope	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:422.12
Caodeng	tə-**nbre**	rope (hempan)	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	tə-mko **nbrə**	rope made of leather	Sun 1997b
	tə-**nbreʔ**	rope	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Anong (Rawang/Metu)	am **briŋ**	cord	Benedict 1972:176n469
	ɑm **briŋ** = *ɑ(m)briŋ	cord	Chou Fa-kao 1972:892a
Trung [Dulong]	ɑŋ[31]**bɹɯŋ**[55]	rope	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:422.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**bɹɯŋ**[55]	rope	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	繩	string, cord	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2475
Chinese (GSR #)	**0892b**	string, cord	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2475
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d̂ʻi̯əŋ/dźʻi̯əŋ**	string / cord	Chou Fa-kao 1972:892b
Chinese (Old)	{Cə.**ləŋ**}	string, cord	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2475
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**zying**	string, cord	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2475
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**shéng**	string, cord	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2475
	shéng zi	rope	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

繩 OC ***d̂ʻi̯əng**, *GSR* #892b 'string, cord'; B & S 2011: **{Cə.ləŋ}**; Mand. **shéng**.

(13) NEIA *laŋ THREAD / COTTON / YARN

This root has so far only been attested in languages of the NE Indian Areal Group. However, it strongly resembles PTB ***b-la** COTTON (§5.11.6), with which it might well be combined in the future.

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	ke **lo**	thread	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	ke **lo**	thread	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **lo**	thread	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **lo**	thread	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	a **lang**	thread	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	cha **lang** riang	thread	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **lang**	thread	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**la**	thread	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**lüng**	thread	Marrison 1967
Zeme	ke **lang**	thread	Marrison 1967
	ke **lang** ria	thread	Marrison 1967
	[1]**laŋ**[3]kua	cotton / yarn	Weidert 1987:132
Mzieme	he **lang**	thread	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Huishu	ʔa-nə-**lɐŋ**	spinal cord; marrow	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.150

(14) PCC *zaay THREAD / STRAND (classifier)

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***zaay**	THREAD / STRAND (Clf.)	VanBik 2009:1240
Lai (Hakha)	**zâay**	thread or strand (as of hair or cotton)	VanBik 2009:1240
Lushai [Mizo]	**zái**	single thread or strand (as of cotton, hair, wire, etc.) (n.)	VanBik 2009:1240

(15) PTB *krəw THREAD / STRING / PLAIT

This etymology is due to Gong (2001:25).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***krəw**	thread / string / plait	Matisoff 2003a:596
2.1.4. Tamangish: *[B]**ɕu** STRING (beads)			
**TGTM*	*[B]**ɕu**	string (flowers, beads)	Mazaudon 1994:989
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]**sju**	string (beads...) (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:989
Tamang (Sahu)	[2]**sju**	string (beads)	Mazaudon 1994:989
Thakali (Marpha)	[55,44]**ɕu:**-wa	string (beads	Mazaudon 1994:989
Thakali (Tukche)	[2]**sju**	string (beads)	Mazaudon 1994:989
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**krûi**	thread, string, chain	Benedict 1976a
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	糾	plait, unite	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1462
Chinese (GSR #)	**1064b**	plait, unite	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1462
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**k<r>iwʔ**	plait, unite	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1462
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**kjiwX**	plait, unite	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1462
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**jiū**	plait, unite	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1462

(16) PCN *a-hjaŋ THREAD / YARN

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	*a-**hjaŋ**	THREAD, YARN	Bruhn 2014a:III.204
**Ao*	*a-**hjaŋ**	THREAD, YARN	Bruhn 2014a:II.277
Ao (Chungli)	**ang**	thread	Marrison 1967
	ang sü	thread	Marrison 1967
	aŋ[2]	thread (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.277
	āŋ	thread	Temsunungsang 2009:p.15
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	a-**hjaŋ**	thread (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.277
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **yang**	thread	Marrison 1967 [a]
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**jəŋ**[1]	yarn (cotton) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.204
	o **ying**	thread; yarn	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:125; Murry *et al.* 1978:139
	ying ko **ying** yi	yarn	Murry *et al.* 1978:139
	ying zhü	thread	Murry *et al.* 1978:125
Yimchungrü	**hhing** chinyuk	thread (v.)	Kumar 1973b:68
	sangpün **hing**	cotton thread	Kumar 1973b:95

[a] The second character is hard to read and the third and fourth characters are completely unreadable in the source.

(17) TGTM *[B]trup thread (sewing)

2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*[B]**trup**	thread (sewing)	Mazaudon 1978:23
Gurung (Ghachok)	[2]**ru**	thread (sewing)	Mazaudon 1978:23
Manang (Ngawal)	[2]**ʈu**	thread (sewing)	Mazaudon 1978:23
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]**ʈup**	thread (sewing)	Mazaudon 1978:23
Tamang (Sahu)	[1]**ʈup**	thread (sewing)	Mazaudon 1978:23
Thakali (Marpha)	[2]**hru**	thread (sewing)	Mazaudon 1978:23
Thakali (Syang)	[2]**hru**	thread (sewing)	Mazaudon 1978:23
Thakali (Tukche)	[H]**hrup**	thread (sewing)	Mazaudon 1978:23

5.11.7 Ornaments

(1) PTk *ca NECKLACE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***ca**	necklace	Mortensen 2012:335
Huishu	ʔa-**ce**	necklace	Mortensen 2012:Implements.040
Kachai	ʔa-**cu**	necklace	Mortensen 2012:Implements.023
Tusom	**ci**	necklace	Mortensen 2012:Implements.039
Ukhrul	**ca**	necklace	Mortensen 2012

(2) PKC *khrii NECKLACE / BEADS

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***khrii**	NECKLACE / BEADS	VanBik 2009:1348
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**hkī** ba	necklace, beads	VanBik 2009:1348
Thado	**khíi**	necklace, beads	VanBik 2009:1348
Tiddim	**khi:**[2]	necklace, beads	VanBik 2009:1348
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**ṭhĭi**	necklace, beads	VanBik 2009:1348
Lai (Hakha)	**thrîi**	necklace, beads	VanBik 2009:1348
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭhí**	bead, a necklace (n.)	VanBik 2009:1348
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-**chhì**	name of any kind of bead (n.)	VanBik 2009:1348

5.11.8 Ornamentation

(1) PTani *broŋ-paʔ CANE HAT

1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	*broŋ-pa?	cane hat	Sun 1993a:57
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	brjo-pa	cane hat	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	bo:-pa	cane hat; hat (rattan)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Miri, Hill	bopa	hat, cap	Simon 1976
Nishing	bopa	hat (of cane)	Das Gupta 1969

(2) PTk *ʃɐŋ CLOTHES

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
*Tangkhulic	*ʃɐŋ	clothes	Mortensen 2012:463
Huishu	ʔa-pʰik-kə-sɐŋ	clothes	Mortensen 2012:Implements.029
Ukhrul	kə-ʃɐŋ	clothes	Mortensen 2012

(3) PKC *tsay DECORATE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	*tsay	DECORATE	VanBik 2009:531
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	chei	decorate	VanBik 2009:531
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	tsăy-I, tsày-II	decorate	VanBik 2009:531
Lushai [Mizo]	chèi	ornamented	VanBik 2009:531

(4) PTB * b s -ni(y) DRAWERS / PETTICOAT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*b-ni(y)	drawers, petticoat	Benedict 1972:476
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	pini	petticoat, skirt, apron	Benedict 1972
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	nī	menstrual drawers	Matisoff 1974:235
	ni ⨯ ə ni ⨯ bə ni	drawers, menstruation cloth	Benedict 1972:476
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	ă hnì	diaper, anything spread out	Benedict 1972:136n369
	ə-hnî	anything spread out; diaper	Benedict 1976a
7. Karenic			
*Karen	*hni	petticoat, skirt	Benedict 1972:136n369

(5) PKar *klVŋ[B] HAT

7. Karenic			
*Karen	*~kl( )ŋ[B]	hat	Luangthongkum 2013:138
Bwe	ko[33]phla[33]	hat	Luangthongkum 2013:138
Kayah	ko[11]	hat	Luangthongkum 2013:138
Kayan	klɔ[11]	hat	Luangthongkum 2013:138
Kayaw	klə[11]	hat	Luangthongkum 2013:138
Pa-O (Southern)	koŋ[33]	hat	Luangthongkum 2013:138
Pa-O (Northern)	koŋ[55]	hat	Luangthongkum 2013:138

(6) PCN *a-hnja:m HEADSTRAP / TUMPLINE

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
*Central Naga	*a-hnja:m	HEADSTRAP, TUMPLINE	Bruhn 2014a:III.118
Ao (Chungli)	a[3]-nəm[1]	tumpline, headstrap (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.118
	[3]a[1]nɯm	headstrap	Weidert 1987:934
Lotha Naga	o[1]-hnjan[3]	tumpline, headstrap (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.118

(7) PTB *s-nam HEADSTRAP, TUMPLINE

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	´nam	family / clan; strap for carrying loads (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	hnam	strap passing across the forehead to carry loads	Bhaskararao 1996:1163
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	[3]a[1]nɯm	headstrap / tumpline	Weidert 1987:165
Lotha Naga	[1]o[3]nhyan(ʔ)	headstrap / tumpline	Weidert 1987:165
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *nam BASKET STRAP			
*Tangkhulic	*nam	basket strap	Mortensen 2012:433
Huishu	a-kʰə-nam	basket strap	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-kʰə-nam	basket strap	Mortensen 2012:Implements.017
Kachai	ʔa-nam	basket strap	Mortensen 2012:Implements.011
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	se nām(ʔ)	headstrap / tumpline	Weidert 1987:165
	siŋ nām(ʔ)	headstrap / tumpline	Weidert 1987:165
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Sherpa	nɨm in	headstrap / tumpline	Weidert 1987:165
2.3. Kiranti			
Kharmile	lo nom	headstrap / tumpline	Weidert 1987:165
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	khaʔ nam	headstrap / tumpline	Weidert 1987:165
	kheʔ nam	headstrap / tumpline	Weidert 1987:165
	nam	string (of bow), handle (attached at both ends), strap	Driem 1988
Yamphe	wa nam	headstrap / tumpline	Weidert 1987:165
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	nem laŋ	headstrap / tumpline	Weidert 1987:165
	neŋ lam	headstrap / tumpline	Weidert 1987:165
Kulung	bhə namə	tumpline	Rai *et al.* 1975
	bo nam	headstrap / tumpline	Weidert 1987:165
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	nam phlem	loop on a basket to hold the tumpline	Allen 1975

(8) PTani *gon LOINCLOTH

1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	*gon	loincloth	Sun 1993a:244
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	ha-gin	loincloth	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	ho-ken	loincloth	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b [a]
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	u-gon	loincloth	Sun 1993a

[a] [Source Note] initial! (Sun 1993a).

(9) PTani *lə-kram SHOE

1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	*lə-kram	shoe	Sun 1993a:354
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	lɯ-kjam	shoe	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b

(10) PTB *s-la TROUSERS

This root is well-attested in Qiangic and Lolo-Burmo-Naxi, but has so far not been discovered elsewhere.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*s-la	trousers	Matisoff 2003a:599
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	lji̱ (lji)	trousers, pants; pants	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1388; Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4991
	lju̱	pants	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5381
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	zɑ[55]tshɛ[55]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.18
Lyuzu	ʐæ[33]tshŋ[53]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.18
Muya	dʐə[53]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.15
Muya [Minyak]	dʐɯ[53]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.15
Namuyi	li[33]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.19
	li[31]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.46
Pumi (Lanping)	ʒdʒə[55]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	sdʒə[55]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.11
Pumi (Taoba)	ʐi[35]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.10
Qiang (Mianchi)	ʐɛ̀ tì-gù gú	pant leg [pants-leg]	Evans 1999:638
	ʐɛ̀ tì-qhuà tá	crotch of pants [pants-crotch]	Evans 1999:639
	ʐɛ̀ tí	pants, trousers	Evans 1999:637
Qiang (Taoping)	iɑ[31]ʃl[33]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	dʐi[35]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	rdʐi[13]qa[55]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.13
Xumi	phɛ[33]ly[35]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.20
	phɛ[33]lɛ[53]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	ʐ̩di[55]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	lu ʂɯ	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.14
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
*Lolo-Burmese	*ʔ-la[2]	trousers	Matisoff 2003a:599
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	l̥ɔ[31]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.28
	l̥ɔ[31]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.41
Achang (Luxi)	la[55]	trousers / pants	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	l̥ɔ[31]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.29
Bola (Luxi)	la̱[35]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.32
Langsu (Luxi)	lɔ̱[35]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.31
Leqi (Luxi)	lo̱[55]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.33
Maru [Langsu]	lɔ̱[35]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	lo̱[21]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.30
	lo̱[21]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	*ʔ-/k-la[2]	pants	Bradley 1979b:228
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	la[55]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.47
Lalo	ʔlà	trousers	Björverud 1994
	ʔla[2]	trousers	Chen Kang 1986a:59.
Lipho	lu[55]	trousers	Chen Kang 1986a:59.
Nasu	ɬo[55]	trousers	Chen Kang 1986a:59.
Neisu	ɬu[55]	trousers	Chen Kang 1986a:59.
Nesu	ɬo[2]	trousers	Chen Kang 1986a:59.
Nosu	ɬa[55]	trousers	Chen Kang 1986a:59.
Nusu (Central)	l̥a[55]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.34
Nusu (Southern)	ɬɔ[53]	trousers / pants	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	ɬɑ[55]	trousers / pants	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɬɑ[55]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.45
Yi (Dafang)	ɬu[55]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.22
Yi (Liangshan)	ɬa[55]	pants (clothing); trousers	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬa[55]dʐ̩[33]	pants, short	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬa[55]dʑɛ[21]	pants (clothing); trousers	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	lo[55]bi[21]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.25
Yi (Mojiang)	so̱[21](ɬo[33])	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.26
Yi (Nanhua)	lu[55]du[21]	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.37
	lu[55]tɛ[55]du[33]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.24
Yi (Nanjian)	lɑ[21]	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.23

Yi (Weishan)	**ʔlɑ**^{21}	pants / trousers (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ɬu**^{55}	pants / trousers (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.38
Yi (Xide)	**ɬa**^{55}	pants / trousers	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:379.21
	ɬɑ^{55}	pants / trousers (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**lo**^{55}	trousers	CHEN Kang 1986a:59.
Jinuo	**la**^{33}tsho^{33}	pants / trousers	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:379.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**ɬə**^{44}tsho^{44}	trousers / pants	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ɬɯ**^{44}tsho^{44}	pants / trousers (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.44
Kucong	**la35** khɯ33	pants	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***ha_**	pants	Bradley 1979b:228
Lahu (Lancang)	**xɑ**^{11}thɔ^{33}	pants / trousers (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.43
Lahu (Black)	**xʌ**^{31}thɔ^{33}	pants / trousers	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:379.33
Lisu (Northern)	**lɤ**^{55}thi^{33}	trousers; skirt (formal terms) (N.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ɬa**^{55}	trousers	CHEN Kang 1986a:59.
Yi (Sani)	**ɬɒ**^{55}bæ^{33}	pants / trousers (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Dazhai)	**la**^{31}tshø^{31}	pants / trousers	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:379.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**la**^{31}tshø^{31}	pants / trousers (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**lu**^{31}thu^{31}	pants / trousers	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:379.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**la̱**^{31}di^{33}	trousers / pants	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**l̥ɔ**^{31}	pants / trousers	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:379.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**l̥ɔ**^{31}	pants / trousers (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.42

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	**ɬa**^{21}tɕ^{h}i^{21}	pants	Pelkey 2011:455
Phola	**lɑ**^{33}	pants	Pelkey 2011:455
Hlepho Phowa	**ɬa**^{33}	pants	Pelkey 2011:455
Phu Kha	**ɬa**^{33}	trousers	Fried 2000

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɬie**˥k^{h}wɤ˥	trousers	Michaud 2006–2009:902
Na (Yongning)	**ɬi**˩q^{h}wɤ˩	trousers	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**le**^{33}	pants / trousers (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**le**^{33}	pants / trousers	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:379.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɬe**^{33}khuɑ^{13}	pants / trousers	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:379.29

(11) TGTM *^{B}ɖa: tumpline / carrying headband

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{B}**ɖa:**	tumpline / carrying headband	Mazaudon 1978:61
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{L}**ʈo**	tumpline / carrying headband	Mazaudon 1978:61
Manang (Ngawal)	^{4}**ʈha**	tumpline / carrying headband	Mazaudon 1978:61
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**ʈa:**	tumpline / carrying headband	Mazaudon 1978:61
Tamang (Taglung)	^{4}**ʈa:**	tumpline / carrying headband	Mazaudon 1978:61
Thakali (Marpha)	^{4}**ʈa**	tumpline / carrying headband	Mazaudon 1978:61
Thakali (Syang)	^{4}**ɖa**	tumpline / carrying headband	Mazaudon 1978:61
Thakali (Tukche)	^{4}**ʈa**	tumpline / carrying headband	Mazaudon 1978:61

5.11.9 Dwellings

(1) PKC *ɓuuk ≍ *ɓook BARN / BOOTH / HUT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ɓuuk** ≍ ɓook	BARN / BOOTH / HUT	VanBik 2009:5

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**buk**	barn	VanBik 2009:5
Sizang	**būk**	hut	VanBik 2009:5
Thado	**bùʔ**	hut	VanBik 2009:5
Tiddim	**bu:k**^{1}	hut	VanBik 2009:5

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**biiw**	swidden hut	VanBik 2009:5

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**bûuk**	booth, barn	VanBik 2009:5
Lai (Hakha)	**buuk** ≍ book	booth, barn, hut, fieldhut	VanBik 2009:5
Lushai [Mizo]	**búuk** ≍ bóok	booth, hut, temporary house	VanBik 2009:5

(2) PTani *sɯŋ-praŋʔ BOARD / PLANK

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***sɯŋ-praŋʔ**	board / plank	Sun 1993a:33

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	**šiŋ-pja:**	board / plank	Sun 1993a
	siŋ-pja:	board	Sun 1993b
	siŋ-pja: pjuk-pu:	floor	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**šɯŋ-paŋ**	board / plank	Sun 1993a
	sɯŋ-paŋ	board	Sun 1993b
	ɕɯŋ paŋ	plank / board (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.24

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**sɯ-paŋ**	board / plank	Sun 1993a
Milang	**haŋ-pa**	plank	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. DENG

Yidu	mɑ^{55}**seŋ**^{55}**pɹɑ**^{55}	plank / board (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0512.25

(3) DRV *wut BRICK

This etymon is evidently a borrowing into TB, perhaps ultimately from a Dravidian source (Tamil **ōṭu** 'roofing tile, potsherd, brick' [Turner 1966: 77]).

Cf. also Proto-Mon-Khmer ***ʔit** 'brick' (Shorto 2006:R:940.A).

The Jingpho, Rawang, and Karen forms are ultimately loans from Burmese.

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**wut**^{31}	brick	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	wut^{31}	brick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0508.19
	wut^{31}	brick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:357.47

4. NUNGIC

Rawang	**wut**	brick	LaPolla 2003:590

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**ut**	brick	Benedict 1976a
	ut khaɪ^{3}	brick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:357.39
	ut^{4}khaɪ^{3}	brick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0508.26

7. KARENIC

Karen	**u̱**^{55}	brick (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0508.50
Pa-O	**ʔút**	brick	Solnit 1989

(4) PTani *rjap DOOR

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***rjap**	door	Sun 1993a:109

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-**lje**	door	Sun 1993b
	a-**lje** a-go	doorstep	Sun 1993b
	a-**lje** či?-pi	door-frame	Sun 1993b
	a-**lje(?)**	door	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lje-go	threshold	Sun 1993b
	lje-ko	latch	Sun 1993b
	lje-pu	latch	Sun 1993b
	ne-kaŋ à-**lje**	latrine door	Sun 1993b
	ú-dè à-**lje**	door (main)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**rjap**	door	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	(**jap** go) tɕik kok	open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.24
	jap go	door (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0514.24
	jap-go	door	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	jap-go cik-kap	shut (door)	Sun 1993b
	jap-go čik-tom	shut (door)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**jap** go	door	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:353.51
Galo	e **rap**	door	Das Gupta 1963
	e **yap**	door	Das Gupta 1963
	rab-go	door	Das Gupta 1963
	rab gur	doorjamb (n.)	GLDC 2009
	rap-go	door	Das Gupta 1963
	'e **yap**	door (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'rab go	doorway (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ɲiloo-**'rab** go	men's doorway (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ə **rap**	door (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲimə-**'rab** go	women's doorway (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**'rap** [ɤrap]	door	Simon 1976
	ɤ rap	door	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **ryap**	door	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ə-**(j)ap**	door	Sun 1993a
Damu	**jap**-go	door	Sun 1993b

(5) PTB *kam DOOR

This root appears both in Naga languages and in Burmish. Among the cognates are words meaning 'open' or 'close', but this seems reasonable given that doors may be either opened or closed in a Janus-like way.

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***kha:m** DOOR

**Central Naga*	***kha:m**	DOOR	Bruhn 2014a:III.119
Lotha Naga	**khan**^{3}-	close, shut (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.119
	khan^{3}**khan**^{3}	door (bamboo) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.119
	han **kha**	door	Marrison 1967
	khan a	shut	Murry *et al.* 1978:112
Sangtam	**khang** thru	open (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	khang thru cho	open	Kumar 1973a
	ku **khang**	door	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**khim** shuh	open	Kumar 1973b:39
	thi yam **khim**	door	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Ntenyi	azü **kam**	door	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	ka **kam**	door	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**nkham**	door	Marrison 1967
Maram	**ka** kam	door	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	kai **khüm**	door	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**ngkam**	door	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	ki **kam**	door	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***k^{h}ɐm** DOOR

**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}ɐm**	door	Mortensen 2012:445
Huishu	ʔa-**k^{h}ɐm**-t^{h}u	door	Mortensen 2012:Implements.021
Kachai	nɐŋ-**k^{h}am**	door	Mortensen 2012:Implements.012
Ukhrul	**k^{h}am**-moŋ	door	Mortensen 2012

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**khuŋ**^{31}	door	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**khɔm**^{55}	door	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**kham**^{35}	door (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0514.32
	kham^{35}ma^{31}	door (front) / door (entrance) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0516.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**kham**^{35}	door (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0514.31
	kham^{35}m^{55}	door (front) / door (entrance) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0516.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**khɔm**^{55}	door (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0514.33
	khɔm^{55}mo^{55}	door (front) / door (entrance) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0516.33
Maru [Langsu]	**kham**^{35}	door	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:353.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khum**^{21}	door (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0514.30
	khum^{21}	door	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:353.42
	khum^{21}mo^{55}	door (front) / door (entrance) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0516.30

(6) PKC *kot DOOR / GATE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***kot**	DOOR / GATE	VanBik 2009:273

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**kot**	door	VanBik 2009:273
Thado	**kòt**	door	VanBik 2009:273

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**kòt**	door, gate	VanBik 2009:273
Lai (Hakha)	**kot** (kàa)	gate	VanBik 2009:273
Lushai [Mizo]	**kàwt**	place or space in front of a house, the front of a house (n.)	VanBik 2009:273

(7) PCN *a-tam FLOOR

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	*a-**tam**	FLOOR	Bruhn 2014a:III.128
**Ao*	*a-**təm**	FLOOR	Bruhn 2014a:II.040
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**təm**^{3}	floor (elevated, upper) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.040
	a **tüm**	floor	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **tam**	floor	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**təm**	floor (n.)	Coupe 2007
Yimchungrü	a **tam** pü	floor	Kumar 1973b:71

(8) PKC *tual FRONTYARD / FELLOW (villager)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tual**	FRONTYARD / FELLOW (villager)	VanBik 2009:197

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**láy** túol	frontyard	VanBik 2009:197
Tiddim	**tual**^{2}	fellow villager	VanBik 2009:197

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tûal**	frontyard	VanBik 2009:197
Lushai [Mizo]	**túal**	part of the village street in front of one's own house, a person belonging to the village (not a stranger) (n.)	VanBik 2009:197

(9) PKC *thuu HEARTHSTONE / TRIVET

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***thuu**	HEARTHSTONE / TRIVET	VanBik 2009:389

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	suang^{1} **thu**^{3}	hearth (made of three stones)	VanBik 2009:389; Bhaskararao 1996:1626

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	máy **thuu** tkáeeng	fireplace, hearth	VanBik 2009:389

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	lûŋ-**thùu**	hearthstone	VanBik 2009:389
Lai (Falam)	lúŋ-**thûu**	hearthstone	VanBik 2009:389
Lushai [Mizo]	lŭng-**thûu**	trivet, the three stones or pieces of iron used to support a pot over the fire (n.)	VanBik 2009:389

(10) PCC *ruun HOUSE / HOME

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***ruun**	HOUSE / HOME	VanBik 2009:950
Lai (Hakha)	**rŭun**-ʔîn	house, home	VanBik 2009:950
Lushai [Mizo]	**rúun**	poetical term for house, home	VanBik 2009:950

(11) PKC *khlaam HUT / FIELDHUT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***khlaam**	HUT / FIELDHUT	VanBik 2009:1291

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**hláam**	temporary tent, hut (ricefield house)	VanBik 2009:1291

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thlâam**	hut (at the farm or field)	VanBik 2009:1291
Lushai [Mizo]	**thláam**	jhoom house (n.)	VanBik 2009:1291

(12) PTB *hyam MAT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***hyam**	mat	Matisoff 2003a:594

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	a **ye** phu	mat	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Ukhrul	kə-**hɐm**	spread a mat	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**ém**	mat	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**yam** thai	mat	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**yam**	mat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	**am**	mat (n.)	Burling 2003:5.852-II:idx

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**am** su	mat (on bed, cart)	Jacquesson 2005
	yam shu	mat	Brown 1895:67

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**ham**	mat	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**am** nyu	mat	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**üm**	mat	Marrison 1967
Phom	**am**^{55}	mat	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

(13) PKC *pher MAT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***pher**	MAT	VanBik 2009:347

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**phek**	mat	VanBik 2009:347
Sizang	**pak**	mat	VanBik 2009:347
Thado	**phé?**	mat	VanBik 2009:347; Thirumalai 1972:60
Tiddim	**phe:k**^{2}	mat	VanBik 2009:347; Bhaskararao 1996:1450

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**phêr**	mat	VanBik 2009:347
Lai (Falam)	**phěr**	mat	VanBik 2009:347
Lushai [Mizo]	**pher**	mat	Marrison 1967
	phér	name of a mat (n.)	VanBik 2009:347
	pher	name of a mat	Bhaskararao 1996:1450

(14) PKar *khlɔ^{B} MAT

7. Karenic

**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***khláuq**	mat	Jones 1961:46
**Karen [Burling]*	***khlɔ**^{2}	mat	Luangthongkum 2013:186
**Karen (Pwo)*	***khlɔ́q**	mat	Jones 1961:46
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***khlɔ́ʔ**	mat	Jones 1961:46
**Karen*	***khlɔ**^{B}	mat	Luangthongkum 2013:186
Bwe	**khlo**^{33}	mat	Luangthongkum 2013:186
Pa-O (Southern)	**khlau**^{33}	mat	Luangthongkum 2013:186
Pa-O (Northern)	**khlau**^{55}	mat	Luangthongkum 2013:186
Palaychi	**khlóq**	mat	Jones 1961:46
Pwo (Northern)	**khlɔ**^{33}	mat	Luangthongkum 2013:186
Pwo (Southern)	**khlɔ**^{55}	mat	Luangthongkum 2013:186
Pwo (Moulmein)	**khlɔ́ʔ**	mat	Jones 1961:46
Sgaw (Northern)	**khlɔ**$^{31\sim}$	mat	Luangthongkum 2013:186
Sgaw (Southern)	**khlɔ**^{45,}	mat	Luangthongkum 2013:186
Sgaw (Bassein)	**khlɔ̀**	mat	Jones 1961:46
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**khlɔ́ʔ**	mat	Jones 1961:46

(15) PKar *k-bɔŋ^{A} PEN / COOP

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***k-bɔŋ**^{A}	pen, coop	Luangthongkum 2013:215
Kayah	**po**^{11}	pen, coop	Luangthongkum 2013:215
Kayan	**pɔ**^{33}	pen, coop	Luangthongkum 2013:215
Kayaw	**po**^{33}	pen, coop	Luangthongkum 2013:215
Pa-O (Northern)	**phɔŋ**^{33}	pen, coop	Luangthongkum 2013:215
Pa-O (Southern)	**pɔŋ**^{53}	pen, coop	Luangthongkum 2013:215
Pwo (Northern)	**phɔ̃**^{55}	pen, coop	Luangthongkum 2013:215
Pwo (Southern)	**phɔ̃**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	pen, coop	Luangthongkum 2013:215
Sgaw (Northern)	**kə**^{11}**po**^{33}	pen, coop	Luangthongkum 2013:215
Sgaw (Southern)	**kəʔ**^{21}**po**^{33}	pen, coop	Luangthongkum 2013:215

(16) PTB *kruk PEN / CORRAL

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kruk**	pen / corral	Matisoff 2003a:597

3.2. Qiangic

Xumi	bi^{33}**khuɛ**^{53}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.17
	ra^{33}**khuɛ**^{53}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.17
	tshɳ^{55}**khuɛ**^{33}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.17

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***krok**	pen / enclosure for animals	Matisoff 1972b:16

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	kua?^{55}**kok**^{55}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.28
	o?^{55}**kok**^{55}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.28
	pa?^{55}**kok**^{55}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.28
Achang (Xiandao)	kzɔ?^{55}**koʔ**^{35}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.29
	pa?^{55}**koʔ**^{35}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.29
Bola (Luxi)	ɣa?^{31}**kju**^{35}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.32

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	tshɳ^{53}**xɤ**^{33}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.47
	wa^{53}**xɤ**^{33}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.47
	ɣa^{53}**xɤ**^{33}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.47
Nasu	**kəˇ 32s**	pen / enclosure for animals	Matisoff 1972b:16
Yi (Xide)	vo^{55}**xo**^{33}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.35
	ʑo^{33}**xo**^{33}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	vɑ^{21}**khɔ**^{54}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.43
	ʑɔ^{31}**khɔ**^{54}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.43
Lahu (Black)	**khɔ̂ʔ**	pen / enclosure for animals	Matisoff 1972b:16
Lahu (Yellow)	**khɔ**^{6}	enclosure (pen)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ku HS**	jail / pen	Matisoff 1972b:16
Hani (Lüchun)	le^{31}**ku̱**^{33}	pen in (sheep) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1357.41
	tsi̱^{31}**ku̱**^{55}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.41
	xa^{33}**ku̱**^{33}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.41
	ɣa̱^{31}**ku̱**^{33}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	ɲo^{31}**ku̱**^{33}	enclosure (pen)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Mpi	**khoʔ 22**	pen / enclosure for animals	Matisoff 1972b:16
	khoʔ^{2}	pen (for animals) (n.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

8. Bai

Bai (Jianchuan)	ke^{55}**ɣu**^{21}	pen (chicken) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0507.48
	te̱^{21}**ɣu**^{21}	pigsty / pen (hog) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0504.48
	ɲo^{42}**ɣu**^{21}	sheepfold / pen (sheep) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0506.48

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(17) TGTM *[A]braŋ cowshed

2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*[A]**braŋ**	cowshed	Mazaudon 1978:41
Gurung (Ghachok)	[3]**prõ**	cowshed	Mazaudon 1978:41
Manang (Ngawal)	[3]**praŋ**	cowshed	Mazaudon 1978:41
Tamang (Risiangku)	[3]**praŋ**	cowshed	Mazaudon 1978:41
Tamang (Sahu)	[3]**praŋ**	cowshed	Mazaudon 1978:41
Tamang (Taglung)	[3]**praŋ**	cowshed	Mazaudon 1978:41
Thakali (Marpha)	[3]**praŋ**	cowshed	Mazaudon 1978:41
Thakali (Syang)	[L]**praŋ**	cowshed	Mazaudon 1978:41
Thakali (Tukche)	[3]**praŋ**	cowshed	Mazaudon 1978:41

5.11.11 Construction

(1) PTB *duːŋ POST / COLUMN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	**duːŋ**	post / column	Matisoff 2003a:587
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tuŋ-I**, ***tun-II** ERECT / POST / VERTICAL			
**Chin*	**tuŋ**-I, tun-II	ERECT / POST / VERTICAL	VanBik 2009:192
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**tūng** hī	erect (a post)	VanBik 2009:192
Thado	**túŋ**-I, tùn-II	erect	VanBik 2009:192
Tiddim	**tung**[2] > tun[3]	put a thing upright	VanBik 2009:192
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**tung**	house-post, any post erected in the ground	VanBik 2009:192
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tûŋ**-I, tŭn-II	erect, post, stand up (a post)	VanBik 2009:192
Lushai [Mizo]	**túng**-I, tùn-II	erect (as ears, etc), to be vertical (be v.)	VanBik 2009:192
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**ó**-tô[1]	house-post	VanBik 2009:192
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***tuŋ** STEM, TRUNK / POST / TREE			
**Central Naga*	**tuŋ**	STEM, TRUNK / POST / TREE	Bruhn 2014a:III.218
**Ao*	**t-**tuŋ**	STEM, TRUNK	Bruhn 2014a:II.034
Ao (Chungli)	pang **tong**	spindle (cotton)	Marrison 1967
	süng **dong**	tree	Marrison 1967
	səŋ[1]**tuŋ**[2]	tree (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tong nü	post (of house)	Marrison 1967
	tung nu sen	rainbow	Marrison 1967
	tə[2]-**tuŋ**[2]	stem, trunk (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.034
	[1]sɯŋ[2]**tuŋ**	tree	Weidert 1987:826
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **tong**	post (of house)	Marrison 1967
	net **tong**	heddle	Marrison 1967
	pang **tong**	ladder	Marrison 1967
	sung **tung**	tree	Marrison 1967
	tong la	post (of house)	Marrison 1967
	tong ten	drum	Marrison 1967
	tsübang **tong**	beam (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) mə **tuŋ**	erect, upright (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	im-**tuŋ**	road (main) ('village' + 'stem/trunk') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	sə̀ŋ **tuŋ**	tree ('wood' + 'stem, trunk') (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tuŋ-tə̀n	log drum ('trunk' + 'sing') (n.)	Coupe 2007 [b]
	[tə]-**tuŋ**	stem, trunk (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**toŋ**[1]	tree (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.218
	me khuku **tong**	pipe (tobacco)	Marrison 1967
	o **tong**	tree	Marrison 1967
	o **tung**	tree	Murry *et al.* 1978:127
	ó **ṭùŋ**	tree	Acharya 1975
	[1]o[1]**duŋ**	tree	Weidert 1987:826
Sangtam	sing **dong**	tree	Marrison 1967
	tong	post (of house)	Marrison 1967
	[2]siŋ[1]**duŋ**	tree	Weidert 1987:826
Yacham-Tengsa	sang **tung**	tree	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	sang **tung**	tree	Marrison 1967
	[1]saŋ [2]**duŋ** [2]	tree	Weidert 1987:826
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Ntenyi	azung **tung**	post (of house)	Marrison 1967
	chang **tong**	tree	Marrison 1967
Rengma	ke **tung**	post (of house)	Marrison 1967

[a] POST (of house) + COLOR
[b] Ao drums are made from large, hollowed-out tree trunks (cf. Mills 1926).

Chinese comparandum

柱 OC ***d'i̯u**, *GSR* #129h 'pillar'; Schuessler 2007:628 ***dro?**; B & S 2011: ***m-t‹r›o?**; Mand. **zhù**.
拄 OC ***ṭi̯u**, *GSR* #129e 'prop up, support'; Schuessler 2007:628 ***tro?**; B & S 2011: ***t‹r›o?**; Mand. **zhǔ**.

Regarding OC **-*ʔ** vs. TB **-*ŋ** in the above etyma, cf. discussion in Schuessler 2007:32-33.

5.14.0 Husbandry

(1) PKC *tshaak BRIDLE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	**tshaak**	BRIDLE	VanBik 2009:580
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tshăak**	bridle	VanBik 2009:580
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chhà**-ri	bridle	VanBik 2009:580

(2) PTani *rjok-čik DAGGER

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	**rjok-čik**	dagger	Sun 1993a:96
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**rjuk-čik**	dagger	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**jok-čik**	dagger; knife (small)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**jok tɕik**	chopper	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:446.51
Galo	**rok-cik**	knife	Das Gupta 1963
	yok-cik	knife	Das Gupta 1963
	'rokcik	knife (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	kota **ricik**	knife	Simon 1976
	rɯcik	knife, dao, sword	Simon 1976
	rɯcik bugi	scabbard	Simon 1976
	rɯcik lek	haft, handle of dao	Simon 1976
Nishing	**riyok-cik**	knife	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**jok-sik**	dagger	Sun 1993a
Damu	**jok-tɕik**	dagger; clasp knife	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b

(3) PTB *kwa $\frac{ŋ}{k}$ FENCE / ENCLOSURE / CIRCLE / RING

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***kwaŋ ≍ kwak**	fence / enclosure / circle / ring	Matisoff 1983:75
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	**khua**[1]	enclosure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:367.8
4. Nungic			
Rawang	ɑŋ[31] **khwaŋ**[33] (i[53] wɛ[33])	circle, circular	LaPolla 2003:1017
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**kok**[31]	enclosure	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**kok**[55]	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.28
	kok[55]	enclosure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:367.41
	m̥ʐaŋ[31]**kok**[55]	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.28
Achang (Luxi)	**kɔk**[31]	enclosure	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	m̥ʐaŋ[31]**koʔ**[35]	stable / fence (horse) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0505.29
	no[31]**koʔ**[35]	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	nwɑ[55]tĩ[55]**koʔ**[4]	shed (cow) / fence (ox) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0503.27
Burmese (Written)	**kwâŋ**	bend into ring; go round	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**kwâŋ**	circle, ring, loop (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə **kwaŋ**	circle, ring, loop	Matisoff 1983:75
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**qʰɔ**˩tɑ˥	bamboo/twig fence	Michaud 2006–2009:1063
Na (Yongning)	**qʰwæ**˩	bamboo/twig fence	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**kho**[21]	fence (bamboo / twig) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0521.45
7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***gwaŋ**	circle, ring	Benedict 1972:132n358
	***khwàŋ'**	circle / ring (clf)	Jones 1961:115
Pa-O	**kwaŋ** (l.t.)	circle, ring	Benedict 1972:132n358
Palaychi	**kwɔ** (l.t.)	circle, ring	Benedict 1972:132n358
Pwo	**khwạ** (l.t.)	circle, ring	Benedict 1972:132n358
Karen (Sgaw)	**kwɔ** (l.t.)	circle, ring	Benedict 1972:132n358

(4) PTB *s-ga SADDLE / HARNESS

Many of these forms are probably loans from Tibetan. As is well known, the horse was first domesticated in Central Asia.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ga**	saddle; harness	Matisoff 1983:60; LaPolla 1987:20 [a]
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	**teː-**gə**	saddle	Sun 1993b
	teː **gə**	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.24
Bokar Lhoba	tɛː **gə**	saddle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:431.51
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	**gɑ**[55]dʑɑ[55]	saddle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:431.50
Yidu	**gɑ**[55]dʑɑ[55]	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.25
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**ʐ̲hgā**	saddle (n.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	tʃi **ga**	saddle	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ga**	saddle	LaPolla 1987:20; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:431.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**gɑ**[35]	saddle	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**ga**	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.07
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	rta **rgæ**	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hga**	saddle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:431.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rga**	saddle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:431.5
Tibetan (Batang)	ta[55]**ga**[53]	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	ta[53]**ga**[53]	saddle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:431.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ka**[13]	saddle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:431.2
	tɛ[55]**ka**[55]	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.02
Tibetan (Written)	rta **sga**	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.01
	sga	saddle	Matisoff 1983:60; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:431.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ga**	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.04
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**gu**[35]	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.16
	gø[35]	saddle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:431.17
Lyuzu	nbõ[i33]**gæ**[53]	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.18
Muya	**tɕə**[53]	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tɕuu**[53]	saddle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:431.15
Queyu (Xinlong)	bri[13]**rga**[55]	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**gɪ**[13]	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.14

[a] [Source Note] [Matisoff 1983, set 60] (LaPolla 1987).

3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**zga**	saddle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0588.12
Ergong (Danba)	**zga**	saddle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:431.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Caodeng	nbrɐ-**zgeʔ**	saddle	Sun 1997a
	rtɐ-**zgeʔ**	saddle	Sun 1997a
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**gɑ**^{55}	saddle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:431.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ga**^{55}	saddle	LaPolla 1987:20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ga**^{55}	saddle	LaPolla 1987:20
	gɑ^{55}	saddle	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2. Loloish			
PNL	**s-ga**	saddle	Chen Kang 1986a:178.
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ka**	saddle	LaPolla 1987:20

Chinese comparandum

A connection with Chinese 駕 'harness, draw (as a cart)', [OC ***kɑ** *GSR* #15e-f; Mand. **jià**] is suggested in LaPolla (1987:20).

(5) PTani *bruk SHEATH

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***bruk**	sheath	Sun 1993a:352
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	hu-**brju**	sheath	Sun 1993a
	i-ljo hu-**brju**	scabbard	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ču-**buk**	sheath	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	tɕu **buk**	sheath / scabbard (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0634.24
Galo	**buk** tak	sheath (hardcover) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻho **buk**	sheath (softcover) (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	so-**buk**	sheath	Sun 1993a

5.15.0 War and violence

(1) PTani *mro ARROW POISON (ACONITE)

Due to errors in segmentation of Bengni **u-mje** as **um-je** and Miri **o-mle** as **om-le**, these words were assigned to a non-existent root ***um** in Matisoff (1997): 42.

1.1.1. Tani				
**Tani*	***mro**	arrow poison (aconite)	Sun 1993a:7	
1.1.1.1. Western Tani				
Apatani	a-**mrjo**	arrow (poisoned)	Sun 1993b	
	ɯ-**mjo**	poison	Sun 1993b	
	ɯ-**mrjo**	arrow poison (aconite); poison	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b	[a]
	ɯ **mrjo** (mú-lɯ)	poison (v.)	Sun 1993b	
Bengni	u-**mju:**	arrow poison (aconite)	Sun 1993a	
	u **mju**	poison (on arrow)	Sun 1993b	[b]
Bokar	o **mo:**	poison / toxin (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0641.24	
	o-**mo:**	arrow poison (aconite); poison	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b	
Galo	**mo** yaa	poison (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009	
	ʻmoru	poison (vt.)	GLDC 2009	
Miri, Hill	o **mle**	poisoned arrow	Simon 1976	
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani				
Padam [Abor]	ə-**mo**	arrow poison (aconite)	Sun 1993a	
Damu	(*m̥en) ʔa-**mo**	poison	Sun 1993b	
Mishing [Miri]	joŋ-**mo**	arrow poison (aconite)	Sun 1993a	

[a] Modified from erroneously-segmented original: **ɯm-rjo**
[b] Modified from erroneously-segmented original: **um-ju**

(2) PTB *m-da ARROW

This root is very likely allofamic with PTB ***g/b/m-la-y** BOW / ARROW (§5.15). The alternation between apical stops and laterals in TB has been discussed in detail in Matisoff 2013 ("The dinguist's dilemma").

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-da**	arrow	Matisoff 2003a:586
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho (Hkauri)	**niŋda**	arrow	Benedict 1972:112n313; Benedict 1972:118n327
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**mdæ**	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.05
	mdæ nphen	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**nda**	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**nda**	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.5
	ndæ	arrow	Sun 1985a:25
Tibetan (Batang)	**nda**^{53}	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**nda**^{31}	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.3
Tibetan (Written)	**mda**	arrow	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:25; Benedict 1972:111n313
	mda(-mo)	arrow	Benedict 1972:96n277
	mdafi	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.01
	mdafi	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**nda**	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.04

(3) PTani *puk ARROW

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***puk**	arrow	Sun 1993a:8
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**pu**	arrow	Sun 1993a
	à-**pu**	arrow	Sun 1993b
	a-**pu**	arrow	Sun 1993b
	a-**pu** a-ge	quiver (for arrows)	Sun 1993a
	a-**pu** a-ge	quiver (n.)	Sun 1993b
	a-**pu pu**-tuʔ	arrowhead	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**puk**-ruk	arrowhead (bamboo)	Sun 1993b
	u-**puk**	arrow	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	u **puk**	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.24
	u-**puk**	arrow	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	u **puk**	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.51
Galo	u **puk**	arrow	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻpug jɨr	shaft (of a headless arrow) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻpuk koo	shaft (of a headed arrow) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻu **puk**	arrow (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɨ rə-ʻu **puk**	bow-and-arrow (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	u **puk**	arrow	Simon 1976
Nishing	o **puk**∼u **puk**	arrow	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ə-**puk**	arrow	Sun 1993a
Milang	ap **pa**	arrow	Tayeng 1976

(4) PTB *dzan ARROW

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*ʔ-**dzan**	arrow	Matisoff 1985a:014
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Yacham-Tengsa	la **san**	arrow	Marrison 1967
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***la-dza:n** ARROW			
**Northern Naga*	*(la)-**dza:n**	arrow	Matisoff 2003a:588; Matisoff 1985a:014
	*la^{B} **dza:n**	arrow	French 1983:452
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	la **t-chan**	arrow	Matisoff 1985a:014; Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	la-**san**	arrow	Matisoff 1985a:014; Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	làuˇ-**jìn**	arrow	Weidert 1987:256
	lau **chan**	arrow	Marrison 1967
Konyak	la-**han**	arrow	Matisoff 1985a:014; Marrison 1967
Phom	læʔ^{33}**hæn**^{55}	arrow	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-dzan**^{1} ARROW			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-dzan**^{1}	arrow	Matisoff 2003a:588
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**tɕiɛn**^{55}	arrow	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*C-**can**^{1}	arrow(head)	Bradley 1979b:266B
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	kha33 **tɕi33**	arrow	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	kha^{35}**tɕe**^{33}	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.43
Lahu (Black)	khá-**ce**	arrow	Matisoff 1985a:014
	khˇ^{35}**tse**^{33}	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.33
Lahu (Yellow)	kha^{6}**tɕi**^{1}∼ɔ^{2}**tɕi**^{1}	arrow	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	cha^{3}-**chē**^{2}	arrow	Fraser 1922
	hchya^{2}-**chē**^{2}	arrow	Fraser 1922
Lisu	tʃɛ^{44}**tʃɯ**^{35}	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.27
Lisu (Northern)	tɕæ^{33}**tɕɯ**^{35}	arrow (N.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Sila	mi21 **tɕhø33**	arrow	Kato Takashi 2008:190
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	**tɕɛ**^{23}	arrow	Pelkey 2011:568
	tɕɛ^{23}tu^{31}	arrow (head)	Pelkey 2011:569
Hlepho Phowa	**tɕi**^{13}	arrow	Pelkey 2011:568
	tɕi^{13}ɛ^{55}də^{33}	arrow (head)	Pelkey 2011:569

(5) PTB *tal ARROW / BOW (weapon)

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)				
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tal**	arrow / bow	Chou Fa-kao 1972:560a-d; Matisoff 2003a:614	
1.1. "North Assam"				
Sulung [Puroik]	me^{33}**tak**^{33}	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.52	
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***thal** ARROW				
**Chin*	***thal**	ARROW	VanBik 2009:374	
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin				
Paite	**thal** tang	arrow	VanBik 2009:374	
Sizang	**htal** tang	arrow	VanBik 2009:374	
Thado	**thâl**	arrow	VanBik 2009:374	
Tiddim	**thal**	bow (weapon) (n.)	Benedict 1972:182n479	
	thal^{1} (tang^{1})	arrow	Bhaskararao 1996:1861	
	thal^{1} tang^{1}	arrow	VanBik 2009:374	
	ˊthal	bow (n.)	Henderson 1965	
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin				
Cho (Mindat)	**tha**	bamboo-arrow	VanBik 2009:374	
Khumi	**thay** li hó	bow	VanBik 2009:374; VanBik 2009:994	
1.2.2. Central Chin				
Lai (Hakha)	**thâl**	arrow	VanBik 2009:374	
Lai (Falam)	**thál**	arrow	VanBik 2009:374	
Lushai [Mizo]	**thal**	arrow	Marrison 1967	
	thăl	arrow, a dart (n.)	VanBik 2009:374	
	thal	arrow; arrow, dart	Bhaskararao 1996:1861; Benedict 1972:169n452	
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]				
Mikir [Karbi]	li **thai**	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967	
	thai	bow (for shooting); arrow	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:169n452	
	thai-aso	arrow	Marrison 1967	
Old Mikir [Karbi]	**thal**	arrow	Benedict 1972:169n452	
1.7.1.4. Deori				
Deori/Deuri	**thal**	bough (n.)	Benedict 1972:169n452	[a]

[a] See Benedict 1940 #72. The semantic connection resides perhaps in the way branches may bend down like bows.

Chinese comparandum

Benedict (*STC* 169n452) suggests a connection with *GSR* 560a-d.

(6) PTB * $\frac{\mathbf{d}}{\mathbf{s}}$ -ləy BOW (weapon) / SLINGSHOT

Although this etymon always means BOW in TB, the putative Chinese cognate means ARROW, a nice example of metonymy.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	***d-liy**	bow (for arrows); bow (weapon) (n.)	Weidert 1987:118; Benedict 1972:463
	***d-ləy**	bow (for arrows) (n.)	Weidert 1987:262
	***d/s-ləy**	bow / slingshot	Matisoff 2003a:600
1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**lei^{53}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.52
1.1.1. Tani: ***rji** BOW (WEAPON)			
**Tani*	***rji**	bow (weapon)	Sun 1993a:42
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**li**	bow (weapon)	Sun 1993a
	a-**li**	bow (n.)	Sun 1993b
	a-**ljí**	bow (weapon)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ə-**rji**	bow (weapon)	Sun 1993a
	ɯ-**ri**	bow (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**iː**	bow; bow (for arrow) (n.)	Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.24
	iː =/i-ji/	bow (weapon)	Sun 1993a
Bokar Lhoba	**iː**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.51
Galo	i **re**	bow	Das Gupta 1963
	i **rə**	bow (n.)	GLDC 2009
	i **rə**-'u puk	bow-and-arrow (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	i **ri**	bow	Simon 1976
Nishing	i **ri**	bow	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	i-**ji**	bow (weapon)	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**li** cf. 'cat'	bow (weapon)	Sun 1993b
Milang	at-**yi**	bow	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ɑ^{31}**lɑi^{53}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.22
	ɑ^{31}**lɑi^{53}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.49
Idu	i^{55}**li^{55}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.50
	i **lyi** pra	bow	Anonymous 1962
	i **l̥i** pra	bow	Pulu 1978
Yidu	i^{55}**li^{55}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.25
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***lii** BOW / SPRING			
**Chin*	***lii**	BOW / SPRING	VanBik 2009:994
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	sáay **lîi**	slingshot	VanBik 2009:599
	săay **lîi**	bow	VanBik 2009:994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	a **lí**	bow	VanBik 2009:994
Chinbon	**lí**	crossbow	So-Hartmann 1988:202
Cho (Mindat)	**li**	bow (to shoot arrow)	VanBik 2009:994
Daai	**li**	crossbow	VanBik 2009:994
	lí	crossbow	So-Hartmann 1988:202
Khumi	**le**	crossbow	So-Hartmann 1988:202
	thay **li** hó	bow	VanBik 2009:374; VanBik 2009:994
Matu	**li**	crossbow	So-Hartmann 1988:202
Mkaang	**li**.pi	rainbow	So-Hartmann 1988:8
	lí	crossbow	So-Hartmann 1988:202
Ngmüün	**ŋli**	crossbow	So-Hartmann 1988:202
Nyhmoye	**liː**	crossbow	So-Hartmann 1988:202
Wakung	**le^{i}**	crossbow	So-Hartmann 1988:202
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**lìi**	bow	VanBik 2009:994
Lai (Falam)	**lîi**	bow	VanBik 2009:994
Lushai [Mizo]	**lî**	spring (of gun, watch, etc.) (n.)	VanBik 2009:994
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**lí**	bow for arrows, a spring of a gun (n.)	VanBik 2009:994
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***li-tʃak** BOW / SLINGSHOT			
**Ao*	***li**-tʃak	BOW / SLINGSHOT	Bruhn 2014a:II.150
Ao (Chungli)	**li^{3}**tʃak^{3}	bow, slingshot (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.150
	li jak	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
	^{3}li^{3}tšak	bow (for arrows) (n.)	Weidert 1987:118; Weidert 1987:256
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**li** chak	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**li** tʃak	catapult/bow (n.)	Coupe 2007
	li tʃak-tʃaŋ	arrow ('catapult/bow' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**li** rung	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**li** thai	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***la^{B}** BOW			
**Northern Naga*	***la^{B}**	bow	French 1983:461
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	**la**	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**lau**	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**lah**	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	kuŋ-**li**	bow (weapon) (n.)	Benedict 1972:132n360
Jingpho (Assam)	kə **li** ndan	bow (weapon) (n.)	Benedict 1972:132n360
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**li**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.7
	li^{13}	bow (weapon)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**li**	bow (weapon)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**li^{35}**	bow (weapon)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**li^{13}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.6
Motuo Menba	**li**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.07
Cuona Menba	**li^{35}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣjə**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hʐə**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɣʐə**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.5
	ʐə	bow	Sun 1985a:91
Tibetan (Batang)	**ɣu^{53}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ɣu^{53}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.3
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ʒú**	bow	Sharma 1979
	ʒu	bow (for arrows)	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**gzhu**	bow	Sun 1985c:91
	gźu(-mo)	bow (weapon) (n.)	Benedict 1972:96n277
	gʐu	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.01
	gʐu	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.1
	ɣu	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**sali**	bow (n.)	Plaisier 2007
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**li**	bow (weapon)	Michailovsky 1989b
	liʔ	bow (for arrows) (n.)	Weidert 1987:118
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	**li** phu	bow (weapon)	Rai *et al.* 1975
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	si^{55}**li^{55}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.18
Muya	**ʐə^{33}**mɑ^{53}	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ʐɯ^{33}**mɐ^{55}	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.15
Namuyi	**li^{53}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʒə^{55}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʒə^{55}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**zə^{53}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.10
Qiang (Mianchi)	**lə**	bow (n.)	Evans 1999:902
Qiang (Taoping)	**lə^{31}**mɑ^{33}	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**lə^{55}**sẽ^{55}	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʁji^{55}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.13
Xumi	**lyɛ^{33}**mi^{33}	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.20
	lɛ^{55}mi^{33}	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ʐi^{13}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	fiɔ **ʁi**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.14
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	xo^{31}**l̥ai^{35}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.29
Bola (Luxi)	**li^{31}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**le^{55}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**le^{55}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.40
Burmese (Written)	lâŋ-**lê**	bow (n.)	Matisoff 1974:239
	lè	bow (for arrows) (n.)	Weidert 1987:262
	lê	bow for shooting	Benedict 1976a
	lè	bow (weapon) (n.)	Benedict 1972:91n263
	leː	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
	le^{3}	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.26
	le^{3}	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.39
Hpun (Northern)	lauʔ **le**	bow (pellet)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**la^{35}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**lei^{33}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.33
Marma	**hlé**	bow (weapon)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:144
	lɔʔ **hlě**	slingshot	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:144a
Maru [Langsu]	**la^{35}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lai^{21}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.30
	lai^{21}	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***le^{2}**	bow (for arrows) (n.)	Weidert 1987:262
	***le^{2}**	bow	Bradley 1979b:264
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Northern)	**li^{35}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**li^{53}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.45
Nusu (Southern)	**li^{55}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**li^{55}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.34
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**lɯ^{42}**pja^{55}	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**lɤ^{42}**pjɑ^{55}	bow (weapon)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	sɔ^{33}**lɯ^{33}**	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.34
Lahu	**hɔ̂**	bow (weapon) (n.)	Benedict 1972:61n195
	hɔ̌-mà	bow (weapon) (n.)	Benedict 1972:91n263 [a]
Lahu (Lancang)	**lɛ^{35}**bɔ^{54}	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.43
Lahu (Black)	**lɛ^{35}**bɔ^{54}	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.33
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**ö**	bow (weapon) (n.)	Benedict 1972:61n195
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɬie**˩	bow	Michaud 2006–2009:1343
Naxi	**lɯ^{33}**me^{33}	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lɯ^{33}**me^{33}	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.28
7. Karenic: ***klej^{B}** CROSSBOW, ***khli** BOW (weapon)			
**Karen*	***khli**	bow (weapon) (n.)	Benedict 1972:132n360
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***khlíq**	crossbow	Jones 1961:45
**Karen (Pwo)*	***khlíq**	crossbow	Jones 1961:45
**Karen [Burling]*	***khli^{2}**	crossbow	Luangthongkum 2013:69
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***khlíʔ**	crossbow	Jones 1961:45
**Karen*	***khríq**	crossbow	Jones 1961:45
**Karen (TP)*	***khríq**	crossbow	Jones 1961:45
**Karen*	***klej^{B}**	crossbow	Luangthongkum 2013:69
Bwe	**khli^{33}**	crossbow	Luangthongkum 2013:69
Karen	**khli^{31}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.50
Kayah	**klə^{11}**	crossbow	Luangthongkum 2013:69
Kayaw	**khli^{11}**	crossbow	Luangthongkum 2013:69
Pa-O (Northern)	**khli^{55}**	crossbow	Luangthongkum 2013:69
Pa-O	**khrí**	crossbow	Jones 1961:45
Pa-O (Southern)	**kli^{33}**	crossbow	Luangthongkum 2013:69
Palaychi	**khlíq**	crossbow	Jones 1961:45
Pwo (Northern)	**khlei^{33}**	crossbow	Luangthongkum 2013:69
Pwo (Southern)	**khlei^{55}**	crossbow	Luangthongkum 2013:69
Pwo (Bassein)	**khlì**	crossbow	Jones 1961:45
Pwo (Moulmein)	**khlíʔ**	crossbow	Jones 1961:45
Sgaw (Northern)	**khli$^{31~}$**	crossbow	Luangthongkum 2013:69
Sgaw (Southern)	**khli^{45,}**	crossbow	Luangthongkum 2013:69
Sgaw (Bassein)	**khlì**	crossbow	Jones 1961:45
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**khlíʔ**	crossbow	Jones 1961:45

[a] [Source Note] initial!

[a] This tone mark in *STC* is in error.

Chinese comparandum

矢 OC ***śi̯ə̯r**, *GSR* #560a 'arrow'; B & S 2011: ***l̥ijʔ {l̥i [j] ʔ}**; Mand. **shǐ**.

(7) PTB * g b m -la-y BOW / ARROW

This root is very likely allofamic with PTB ***m-da** ARROW (§5.15). The alternation between apical stops and laterals in TB has been discussed in detail in Matisoff 2013 ("The dinguist's dilemma").

STC (p.176, n.469) identifies this TB root with 弋 OC ***diə̯k*** 'shoot with arrow with string attached / arrow (of this type)' (*GSR* #918a-b), with an unexplained velar suffix.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-la**	arrow	Weidert 1987:256; Benedict 1972:449
	***b-la ~ m-la**	arrow	LaPolla 1987:209
	***blɑ**	arrow	Chou Fa-kao 1972:918a-b
	***g/b/m-la-y**	arrow	Matisoff 2003a:599
	***mla**	arrow	Weidert 1987:256

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**la**	arrow	Brown 1837; Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***laʔ** BOW (n.)

**Central Naga*	***laʔ**	BOW (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.035
Lotha Naga	**lo**^{2}tshəʔ^{1}	bow / arrow (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.035
	lo tssi tsüng	arrow	Murry *et al.* 1978:6
	lo tsü	arrow	Marrison 1967
	ō **ló**	bow	Acharya 1975
	o **lo**	bow (for shooting); bow	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:11
	^{1}o^{2}**lo(ʔ)**	bow (for arrows) (n.)	Weidert 1987:256; Weidert 1987:42
Sangtam	thsa **lu**	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**la** san	arrow	Marrison 1967
	lu	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	sang-**lüh**	bow	Kumar 1973b:62
	^{1}saŋ^{1}**luɯʔ**	bow (for arrows) (n.)	Weidert 1987:256

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	ti **lü**	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
Mao	o **lo**	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
Meluri	tsokra **la**	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **la**	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
	a **la** chu	arrow	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	i **la**	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
	nla	arrow	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***la** BOW / ARROW

**Tangkhulic*	***la**	bow / arrow	Mortensen 2012:320
Champhung	ma-**lu**	arrow	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-mə-**le**	arrow, bow	Mortensen 2012:Implements.002
Kachai	mə-**lu**	bow; arrow	Mortensen 2012:Implements.002
Tangkhul	ma **la**	bow (for shooting)	Marrison 1967
	mə **la**	arrow	LaPolla 1987:209; Benedict 1972:449
	^{1}mə^{1}**la**^{2}thei^{3}rɯ	arrow	Weidert 1987:256
Tankghul (Central)	ma-**la**	arrow	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	ma-**la**	arrow	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ma-**la**	arrow	Brown 1837
Tusom	mə-**le**-t^{h}ɯə̃	arrow	Mortensen 2012:Implements.002
Ukhrul	mə-**la**	bow, arrow	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	bər **la**	bow	Bhat 1968
	bə **lá**	bow	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**bala**	arrow	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:209; Benedict 1972:449

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**bra**	arrow	Weidert 1987:256; LaPolla 1987:209; Benedict 1972:449

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	*(**la**)-dza:n	arrow	Matisoff 2003a:588; Matisoff 1985a:014
	***la**^{B} dza:n	arrow	French 1983:452

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**la** t-chan	arrow	Matisoff 1985a:014; Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	**la**-san	arrow	Matisoff 1985a:014; Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**làuˇ**-jìn	arrow	Weidert 1987:256
	lau chan	arrow	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**la**-han	arrow	Matisoff 1985a:014; Marrison 1967
Phom	**læʔ**^{33}hæn^{55}	arrow	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jili	**məla**	arrow	Benedict 1972:449
Jingpho	**məlá**	arrow	Matisoff 1974:309
	pala	arrow	Marrison 1967
	pəlá	arrow	Matisoff 1974:309
	pəla	arrow	LaPolla 1987:209; Benedict 1972:449

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Mama)	**blʌ**^{53}	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.6

2.2. Newar

Newar	**balā**	arrow	LaPolla 1987:209; Benedict 1972:449

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**bla**	arrow	LaPolla 1987:209; Benedict 1972:449
Hayu	**blo**	arrow	LaPolla 1987:209; Benedict 1972:449

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Magar	**mya**	arrow	LaPolla 1987:209; Benedict 1972:449

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mianchi)	**lə**	arrow	Evans 1999:903
Qiang (Taoping)	**lə**^{33}	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.9
Xumi	**lɛ**^{55}si^{33}	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.17

4. Nungic

Anong	thə **ma**	arrow	LaPolla 1987:209; Benedict 1972:449
Rawang	thə **mɑ**^{53}	arrow	LaPolla 2003:705
Nung	thɑ^{31}**mɑ**^{55}	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.21
Anong	thɑ^{31}**mɑ**^{55}	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.44
Dulong	tɯ^{31}**mɑ**^{55}	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.20
Trung [Dulong]	tɯ^{31}**mɑ**^{55}	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	tɯ^{31} **ma**^{55}	arrow	LaPolla 1987:209
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	tɯ^{31} **ma**^{55}	arrow	LaPolla 1987:209
	tɯ^{31}**mɑ**^{55}	arrow	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**hmjɑ**^{55}	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**m̥jɑ**^{55}	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.40
Burmese (Written)	**hmrà**	arrow	Weidert 1987:256
	hmrâ	arrow	Hansson 1989:44; Matisoff 1974:309; Benedict 1976a
	hmrà	arrow	LaPolla 1987:209; Benedict 1972:112n314
	hmrɑ^{3}	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.39
	mhrā:	arrow	Marrison 1967
	mrɑ^{3}	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.26
Phön	**bya**	arrow	Benedict 1972:449
Hpun (Northern)	káŋ **myà**	arrow (cp. Crossbow)	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	**mjo**^{33}ʃγ^{55}	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.33
Maru [Langsu]	**myō**	arrow	Weidert 1987:256
Atsi [Zaiwa]	lai^{21}**mjo**^{21}	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.30
	lai^{21}**mjo**^{21}	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.42
	myò	arrow	Weidert 1987:256

6.1.2. Loloish: ***C-mla**^{2} ARROW

**Loloish*	***C-mla**^{2}	arrow	Weidert 1987:256; Bradley 1979b:266A; Hansson 1989:44

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Northern)	**mɻa**^{35}	arrow	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**mɻa**^{55}	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɻɑ**^{55}	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.45
Nusu (Southern)	**mɻɑ**^{55}kuɑ^{31}	arrow	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Northern)	**mja**^{21}	head of arrow; iron head of arrow (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mja^{21}da^{44}	arrow shaft (with head)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**myà**	arrow	Weidert 1987:256

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	kaq **mjà**	crossbow arrow	Hansson 1989:44
Akha (Yunnan)	kaq **mjà**	crossbow arrow	Hansson 1989:44
Akha	**mjà**	arrow	Hansson 1989:44
Hani (Dazhai)	ka̱^{33}**mja**^{31}	arrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:428.31
Hani (Lüchun)	ka̱^{31}**mja**^{31}	arrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	ka̱^{33}**mja**^{31}	arrow	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	gav **miaq**	crossbow arrow	Hansson 1989:44
Kha Li	ka-**mla**	arrow	Benedict 1972:449
Mpi	**mjo**^{2}	arrow	Hansson 1989:44; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**bla31**	arrow	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:144014

7. Karenic: ***bla**^{B} ARROW, DART

**Karen*	***bla**	arrow	Benedict 1972:139n375
	***bla/pla**	arrow	Benedict 1972:133n363
	***bla**^{B}	arrow, dart	Luangthongkum 2013:4 [a]
**Karen [Burling]*	***phla**^{1}	arrow, dart	Luangthongkum 2013:4
Bwe	**blɛ**^{33}	arrow, dart	Luangthongkum 2013:4
Kayah	**pla**^{11}	arrow, dart	Luangthongkum 2013:4
Kayan	**pla**^{11}	arrow, dart	Luangthongkum 2013:4
Kayan (Pekon)	**plā**	arrow (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**ple**^{11}	arrow, dart	Luangthongkum 2013:4
Pa-O	**plá**	arrow	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**pla**^{33}	arrow, dart	Luangthongkum 2013:4
Pa-O (Northern)	**pla**^{55}	arrow, dart	Luangthongkum 2013:4
Pwo (Northern)	**pla**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	arrow, dart	Luangthongkum 2013:4
Pwo (Southern)	**phla**^{33}	arrow, dart	Luangthongkum 2013:4
Sgaw (Southern)	**pla**^{31}	arrow, dart	Luangthongkum 2013:4
Sgaw (Northern)	**pla**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	arrow, dart	Luangthongkum 2013:4

[a] [Source Note] Irregular vowels in Kayah (KH) and Kayaw (KW), i.e. they should be e and a in KH and KW, respectively. S.Karen (SK) tones suggest *bl-, while those in N.Karen (NK) indicate *pl-.

Chinese comparandum

射 OC ***d'i̯ŭk**, *GSR* #807a 'hit (v.) with arrow'; Schuessler 2007:463-4 ***m-lak**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.lak {Cə.lAk}**; Mand. **shí**.
射 OC ***d'i̯ŭg**, *GSR* #807a 'shoot (v.); archer'; Schuessler 2007:463-4 ***m-lakh**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.lak-s {Cə.lAk-s}**; Mand. **shè**.

(8) PTB *mlok CANNON

This root is evidently a loan into TB, although the source language has not yet been identified. It also appears in Tai (cf. Shan **ʔamyok**, N. Thai **ʔamok**. See DL 1033.

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**mjok**^{31}	cannon	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:424.47

6.1.1. Burmish

Maru [Langsu]	**mjɔk**^{31}	cannon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:424.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mjok**^{21}	cannon	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:424.42

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**mɔ̂ʔ**	cannon	Matisoff 1988a:1033
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɔ**^{6}~phɔ^{4}	cannon	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Gelanghe)	**mɔ**^{33}	cannon	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

7. Karenic

Pa-O	ʔəʔ **mjɔ̀ʔ**	cannon	Jones 1961:689
Palaychi	**mlɔ̀q**	cannon	Jones 1961:689
Pwo (Bassein)	**mlɔ̀ʔ**	cannon	Jones 1961:689
Pwo (Moulmein)	**mloʔ**	cannon	Jones 1961:689
Sgaw (Bassein)	**mlɔ̀ʔ**	cannon	Jones 1961:689
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**mlɔ̀ʔ**	cannon	Jones 1961:689

(9) PTB *m-dan CROSSBOW

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	*(**m-)dɑ:n**	shoot pellets / pellet of crossbow	Chou Fa-kao 1972:147n

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-dan**	crossbow	Matisoff 2003a:586

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**ndɑn**	crossbow	Chou Fa-kao 1972:147n
	n^{31}**tan**^{33}	bow (for arrow) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.19
	n^{31}**tan**^{33}	bow (weapon)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:427.47
	n̥^{31}**tan**^{33}	bow (weapon)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	彈	shoot pellets; pellet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2725; Baxter & Sagart 2011:477

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d'ûn**	shoot pellets / pellet of crossbow	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:147n
Chinese (Old)	Cə.**dˤar**-s {Cə.[d]ˤar-s}	pellet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:477
	dˤar {(Cə.)[d]ˤar}	shoot pellets	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2725

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**dan**	shoot pellets	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2725
	danH	pellet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:477

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**dàn**	pellet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:477
	tán	shoot pellets	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2725

(10) PTB *s-na CROSSBOW

This is a Southeast Asian areal word, probably of Mon-Khmer origin.

A native Tibeto-Burman root in this area is PTB ***d/s-ləy*** BOW (weapon) / SLINGSHOT (§5.15).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-na**	crossbow	Matisoff 2003a:603

4. NUNGIC

Anong (Rawang)	thə **na**	crossbow	Benedict 1972:187n487
	thə **nɑ**	crossbow	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:94z
Nung	thɑ^{31}**nɑ^{55}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.21
Anong	thɑ^{31}**nɑ^{55}**	bow (weapon)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:427.44
Trung [Dulong]	tɑ^{55}**nɑ^{55}**	bow (weapon)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:427.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	tɑ^{31}**nɑ^{55}**	bow (weapon)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Phola	**nɳ^{23}**tɳ^{23}	bow	Pelkey 2011:567
Hlepho Phowa	**no^{33}**	bow	Pelkey 2011:567

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	tɑ˧**nɑ**˧	crossbow	Michaud 2006–2009:1342
Moso	tă **na**	crossbow	Benedict 1972:187n487
	tă **nɑ**	crossbow	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:94z
Na (Yongning)	tɑ˧**nɑ**˩	crossbow	Michaud 2006–2009

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**no/nuo**	crossbow	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:94z

X.1. NON-TB

Vietnamese	**nɑ**	crossbow	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:94z

Chinese comparandum

弩 OC ***no**, *GSR* #94z 'crossbow'; B & S 2011: ***C.nˤaʔ** ; Mand. **nǔ**. ***Add note re MK borrowing.

(11) PLB *krak^{H} CROSSBOW

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***krak**	crossbow	Matisoff 1972b:9
	***krak^{H}**	crossbow	Matisoff 2003a:596

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***krak^{H}**	crossbow	Bradley 1979b:265

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Kucong	**kha33** tɕi33	arrow	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**kha^{35}**tɕe^{33}	arrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.43
Lahu (Black)	**khá**-ce	arrow	Matisoff 1985a:014
	khâʔ	crossbow	Matisoff 1972b:9
	khâʔ-le	trigger of crossbow (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p.369 [a]
	khâʔ-le	trigger of crossbow	Matisoff 1985a:062
	kh˅^{35}tse^{33}	arrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:428.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**kha^{6}**	crossbow	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	kha^{6}tɕi^{1}∼ɔ^{2}tɕi^{1}	arrow	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**cha^{3}**-chē^{2}	arrow	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**hchya2**	crossbow	Matisoff 1972b:9
Lisu (Central)	**hchyá^{2}**	crossbow (n.)	Fraser 1922
	hchya^{2}	crossbow	Fraser 1922
	hchya^{2}-chē^{2}	arrow	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tʃɛ^{44}**tʃɯ^{35}	arrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:428.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tɕhæ^{35}**	crossbow (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tɕhæ^{35} thi^{21} ka^{55}	crossbow	Bradley 1994
	tɕhæ^{35}gu^{21}	frame of crossbow; handle of crossbow	Bradley 1994
	tɕhæ^{35}hĩ^{33}	string of crosssbow; cord of crossbow; string of bow	Bradley 1994
	tɕhæ^{35}khɤ^{21}	crossbow mechanism	Bradley 1994
	tɕhæ^{35}pe^{55}	ground crossbow	Bradley 1994
	tɕhæ^{35}phi^{21}	back of crossbow; back of bow	Bradley 1994
	tɕhæ^{35}pu^{55}	crossbow arrow quiver	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**tɕhæ^{35}**py^{55}	ground crossbow	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**tɕhæ^{35}**pø^{55}	bits of things used in cutting a crossbow	Bradley 1994
	tɕhæ^{35}si^{35}	mulberry wood crossbow (extended meaning: man)	Bradley 1994
	tɕhæ^{35}sɤ^{35}dzi^{33}	grind-crossbow-tree (tree with hard abrasive leaves good for polishing wooden objects and crossbows)	Bradley 1994
	tɕæ^{33}tɕɯ^{35}	arrow (N.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**tɕhe^{33}**	bow (for arrow) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**ka HS**	crossbow	Matisoff 1972b:9
Akha (Yunnan)	**kaq**	crossbow	Hansson 1989:447
Akha (Thai)	**kaq** mjà	crossbow arrow	Hansson 1989:44
Akha (Yunnan)	**kaq** mjà	crossbow arrow	Hansson 1989:44
Akha (Thai)	**kaq** təq	crossbow	Hansson 1989:447; Hansson 1989:574
Hani (Lüchun)	**kaq** təq	crossbow	Hansson 1989:574
Hani (Dazhai)	**kɑ̲^{33}**mja^{31}	arrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:428.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**kha** mà	crossbow arrow	Hansson 1989:44
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**k'a** 55 pə 55	crossbow	Matisoff 1972b:9
Hani (Lüchun)	**kɑ̲^{33}**tɤ̲^{33}	bow (for arrow) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.41
	kɑ̲^{31}mja^{31}	arrow (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0637.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**kɑ̲^{33}**mja^{31}	arrow	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**gav** dev	crossbow	Hansson 1989:574
	gav miaq	crossbow arrow	Hansson 1989:44
Hani (Shuikui)	**kha^{33}**tɣ^{55}	arrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:428.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**kha^{33}**mɣ^{31}	bow (for arrow) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0636.42
Kha Li	**ka**-mla	arrow	Benedict 1972:449
Woni	**k'a 33**	crossbow	Matisoff 1972b:9

[a] The trigger is, as it were, the navel of a gun or crossbow. See Matisoff 1988, *The Dictionary of Lahu*, p. 1373.

(12) PKC *khoot-I, *khoʔ-II DART / LANCE / SPEAR / THROW

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***khoot**-I, khoʔ-II	DART / LANCE / SPEAR / THROW	VanBik 2009:436

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**khoh**	dart, to lance (v.)	VanBik 2009:436
Thado	**khòo**-INV	throw	VanBik 2009:436
Tiddim	**khoʔ^{3}**	throw; thrust [a spear] (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:799
	khoʔ^{3}	throw, thrust (a spear); throw, thrust [a spear]	VanBik 2009:436; Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**khoot**-I, khoʔ-II	dart, to spear (v.)	VanBik 2009:436
Lushai [Mizo]	**khàwh**	spear, to throw, or hurl (as a spear or anything long thrown spear-fashion end on) (v.)	VanBik 2009:436

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-khào	spear, to throw (as spear) (v.)	VanBik 2009:436

(13) PCC *zeen GUNPOWDER

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***zeen**	GUNPOWDER	VanBik 2009:1206
Lai (Hakha)	**zěen**	gunpowder	VanBik 2009:1206
Lushai [Mizo]	**zèen**	gunpowder, saltpetre	VanBik 2009:1206

(14) PTk *k^{h}aj KNIFE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}aj**	knife	Mortensen 2012:384
Huishu	ʔa-**k^{h}u**-re	knife	Mortensen 2012:Implements.006
Kachai	ʔa-**k^{h}we**	knife	Mortensen 2012:Implements.004
Tusom	**kʃie**	knife	Mortensen 2012:Implements.005
Ukhrul	**k^{h}aj**	knife	Mortensen 2012

(15) PTB *taŋ KNIFE

The fit between the Sak and Loloish forms is very good.

This root seems quite distinct from PTB ***s-ta*** KNIFE / AXE / SWORD (§5.11.5).

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Ukhrul	kə-**t^{h}aŋ**	wear a sword, knife, etc.	Mortensen 2012

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak	ká **taŋ**	knife	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:117
	ká **taŋ** sәvá	blade (knife edge)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:118

5. TUJIA

Tujia	**tho^{21}tho^{21}**	knife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0549.49
	tho^{21}tho^{21}	knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:409.38
Tujia (Northern)	**tuo^{3}tuo^{3}**	knife	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.2

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***taŋ^{3}** KNIFE

**Loloish*	***taŋ^{3}**	knife	Bradley 1979b:257/8/9A
	***taŋ^{3}**; ʔmi(a); ta^{2}	knife	Bradley 1979b:257-259

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Nanhua)	ɑ^{55}**tho^{21}**	knife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0549.37
	ʌ^{55}**tho^{21}**	knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:409.24

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Lancang)	ɑ^{35}**thɔ^{33}**	knife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0549.43
	ɑ^{35}**thɔ^{33}**tu^{53}	handle (of a knife) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0550.43
Lahu (Black)	ʌ^{35}**thɔ^{33}**	knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:409.33
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{1}**thɔ^{1}**	knife	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

(16) PNN *gləŋ KNIFE / MACHETE / DAO

French (1983:475) assigns Nocte **dang** to this root, but it seems to fit better with PTB ***m-duŋ** ≍ ***daŋ** SWORD / SPEAR (§5.15).

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***gləŋ**	dao	French 1983:475

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa (Moshang)	**yaung**	dao	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**yang**	dao	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak	**yang**	dao	Marrison 1967
	yang	knife (n.)	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**chang**	dao	Marrison 1967
	chang koi	knife (n.)	Marrison 1967
	chang lo	sword	Marrison 1967

(17) PKC *tsem KNIFE / SWORD

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tsem**	KNIFE / SWORD	VanBik 2009:545

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**tsém**	knife	VanBik 2009:545
Tiddim	**tem^{2}**	knife	VanBik 2009:545; Bhaskararao 1996:1745

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**chém**	knife, sword, a Lushai chopper used for wood cutting	VanBik 2009:545

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**chài**-zò	small knife (n.)	VanBik 2009:545

(18) PKC *θay LANCE / SPEAR

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***θay**	LANCE / SPEAR	VanBik 2009:622
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**tei**	lance	VanBik 2009:622
Tiddim	**tei**[1]	spear	VanBik 2009:622; Bhaskararao 1996:1740
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**htei**	lance, spear	VanBik 2009:622
Daai	**ʔse**[1]	spear	VanBik 2009:622
	ʔse[i]	spear	So-Hartmann 1988:204
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**fây**	lance, spear	VanBik 2009:622
Lushai [Mizo]	**fei**	spear (n.)	Marrison 1967
	fĕi	spear, a lance, a javelin, a harpoon, a pike (n.)	VanBik 2009:622
	fĕi	spear	Löffler 1985
	fei	spear	Bhaskararao 1996:1740

(19) PTani *rjok MACHETE / DAO

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***rjok**	machete / dao	Sun 1993a:249
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**ʾljo**-li	dao handle	Sun 1993b
	i-**ljo**	machete / dao	Sun 1993a
	ì-**ljò**	dao	Sun 1993b
	i-**ljo**	dao; sword	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	i-**ljo** hu-brju	scabbard	Sun 1993b
	i-**ljo** kor-tuʔ	haft; handle; dao heft	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ljo-li	handle (of dao)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	(**rjuk**-)huɪr	edge (of knife)	Sun 1993a
	rjuk-guŋ	back of knife	Sun 1993b
	rjuk-huɪr	blade of knife	Sun 1993b
	rjuk-luː	hilt of knife	Sun 1993b
	rjuk-muː mu-bu	blacksmith	Sun 1993b
	rjuk-tuk	tip of knife	Sun 1993b
	u-**rjuk**	machete; dao; knife	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**jok**-sə	knife (long)	Sun 1993b
	o **jok**	knife; chopper (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0549.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0633.24
	o-**rjok**	machete / dao	Sun 1993a
Bokar Lhoba	o **jok**	knife	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:409.51
Galo	o **rok**	dao	Das Gupta 1963
	o **rok**-mo-kɤ-nam-ɤ	smithy	Das Gupta 1963
	o **yok**	dao	Das Gupta 1963
	rok-ik-pi	scythe / sickle	Das Gupta 1963
	rok-pak	dao (small)	Das Gupta 1963
	rok-si	dao (large)	Das Gupta 1963
	yok-pak	dao (small)	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻo **rok**	dao; machete (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻrok ko	dao (antique) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻrok si	sword (n.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	o **riyok**	dao	Das Gupta 1969
	o **riyok**-molong	daos	Das Gupta 1969
	o **ryok**	dao	Das Gupta 1969
	o **ryok**-molong	daos	Das Gupta 1969
	o **ryo**~o **ryok**	dao	Das Gupta 1969
	u **ryu**	dao	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	arnɤ o **ryiok**	sharp dao	Das Gupta 1983
	o **rok** nyi	smith / dao man	Das Gupta 1983
	o **ryiok** nyi	smith / dao man	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	ə-**jok**	machete / dao	Sun 1993a
Damu	**jok**-pa	knife (short)	Sun 1993b
	jok-ɦar	edge of knife	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**jok**	knife (long)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**jok** ʔa-kot-nə	sword	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **yok**	dao	Tayeng 1976
	yok-kin	dao	Tayeng 1976

(20) PTani *gat[1]- QUIVER (for arrows)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***gat**[1]-	quiver (for arrows)	Sun 1993a:313
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	à-**ge**	quiver	Sun 1993b
	a-pu a-**ge**	quiver (for arrows)	Sun 1993a
	a-pu a-**ge**	quiver (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**git**	quiver (for arrows); quiver (with leather string)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	git-duŋ	quiver (bamboo section)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**git**-buŋ	quiver (for arrows); quiver	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**geb** buu	quiver (arrow container) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ge bːu	quiver	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gat**-buŋ	quiver (for arrows)	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**gat**	container for arrows	Sun 1993b

(21) PTB *tsyuŋ SHIELD

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**chung**	shield (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-tsuŋ** SHIELD			
**Central Naga*	*a-**tsuŋ**	SHIELD	Bruhn 2014a:III.221
**Ao*	*(a-)**tʃuŋ**	SHIELD	Bruhn 2014a:II.155
Ao (Chungli)	**jong**	shield (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tʃuŋ[1]	shield (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.155
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **chung**	shield (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**tʃuŋ**	shield (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**tsoŋ**[3]	shield (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.221
	o **tsong**	shield (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **tsung**	shield	Murry *et al.* 1978:111
Sangtam	rothsa **tsong**	shield	Kumar 1973a
	tsong	shield	Kumar 1973a
	tsung	shield (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**chong**	shield (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**tsung**	shield	Kumar 1973b:55
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Meluri	a **cho** hu	shield (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **tsong** he	shield (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**chang** vei	shield (n.)	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**chong**	shield (n.)	Marrison 1967

(22) PKC *tshaay SLINGSHOT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tshaay**	SLINGSHOT	VanBik 2009:599
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**sai** lum	pellet	VanBik 2009:599
Thado	**sáay** lîi	slingshot	VanBik 2009:599
	săay lîi	bow	VanBik 2009:994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tshâay**	slingshot	VanBik 2009:599
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chèi**-sia	pellet	VanBik 2009:599

(23) PTk *roŋ SLINGSHOT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***roŋ**	slingshot	Mortensen 2012:703
Kachai	ʃaj-**roŋ**	slingshot	Mortensen 2012:Implements.001
Tusom	sɯ-ki-**lũ**	slingshot	Mortensen 2012:Implements.003

(24) PKC *tha(a)ŋ SNARE / TRAP

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tha(a)ŋ**	SNARE / TRAP	VanBik 2009:412
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**thaang**	snare, trap	VanBik 2009:412
Sizang	**htāng**	trap	VanBik 2009:412
Thado	**thâaŋ**	trap	VanBik 2009:412
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**thawng**	trap (to catch birds)	VanBik 2009:412
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thâŋ**	snare, trap	VanBik 2009:412
Lai (Falam)	**tháŋ**	snare, trap	VanBik 2009:412
Lushai [Mizo]	**thăng**	trap, a snare, a gin, a noose-trap (n.)	VanBik 2009:412

(25) PCN *tshaʔ SPEAR (n.)

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***tshaʔ**	SPEAR (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.023
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**tshoʔ**[2]	spear (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.023
	ō **tshó**	spear	Acharya 1975
	o **tso**	spear (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o **tsso**	spear	Murry *et al.* 1978:114
Sangtam	**thsu**	spear; lance	Kumar 1973a
	thsu	spear (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**thsüh**	spear lance	Kumar 1973b:73

(26) PTk *tsej SPEAR

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***tsej**	spear	Mortensen 2012:407
Huishu	kə-**tsu**	spear	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-kə-**tsu**	spear	Mortensen 2012:Implements.023
Kachai	kə-**ði**	spear	Mortensen 2012:Implements.013
Tusom	**za**	spear	Mortensen 2012:Implements.022
Ukhrul	kə-**tsej**	spear	Mortensen 2012

(27) PKC *tiaŋ SPEAR / STICK

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tiaŋ**	SPEAR / STICK	VanBik 2009:233
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**tîeŋ**	spear	VanBik 2009:233
Tiddim	**ciang**[1]	stick	VanBik 2009:233; Bhaskararao 1996:166
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	tsăn-**tîaŋ**	spear, arrow	VanBik 2009:233
Lushai [Mizo]	**tiang**	stick (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tiang	stick	Bhaskararao 1996:166

(28) PKC *na(a)m SWORD / KNIFE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***na(a)m**	SWORD / KNIFE	VanBik 2009:840
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**naam** sau	sword	VanBik 2009:840
Sizang	**nām**	knife	VanBik 2009:840
Tiddim	**nam**[1] sau[1]	sword (knife); sword	VanBik 2009:840; Bhaskararao 1996:1165
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**nâam**	sword, knife	VanBik 2009:840

(29) PTB *m-duŋ ≍ *daŋ SWORD / SPEAR

This root is reconstructed on the basis of the WT and Jingpho forms in *STC* p. 118, note 327, and this is repeated in *HPTB* p. 284. The forms with **a** vocalism are here included in this set for the first time. Some of the supporting forms, especially those from Tamangic and rGyalrongic, look like loans from Tibetan.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-duŋ**	sword / spear	Matisoff 2003a:587
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**dã**	spear	Sun 1993b
	a-**daŋ**	spear	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**daŋ**	spear	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**duŋ** so	sword	Sun 1993b
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Yacham	**mitong**	spear (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	kabak **thang**	sword	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	**thang**	sword	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**dang**	dao; sword	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	dang lo	sword	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**nduŋ** / niŋ **duŋ**	sword	Benedict 1972:118n327
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**mduṅ**	spear (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mduŋ	lance, spear, pike	Benedict 1972:118n327
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Manang (Prakaa)	**⁴tuŋ**	lance / spear	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0076
Thakali (Tukche)	**ʾʈuhŋ**-sin	spear	Hari 1971:8.A.18 18
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
Caodeng	**mdoŋ**	spear	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	**mdoŋ**	spear	Nagano & Prins 2013:0697
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Pyen	**thaŋ33**	sword	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:144017

(30) PKC *maŋ-khooŋ TRAP (falling log) / DEADFALL

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***maŋ**-khooŋ	TRAP (falling log) / DEADFALL	VanBik 2009:795
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**mâŋ** khòoŋ	trap of beam or log which is set up to fall when an animal passes underneath	VanBik 2009:795
Lushai [Mizo]	**máng** kháwng	trap for rats, etc. in which the victim is killed by a falling beam or log (n.)	VanBik 2009:795
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**mà**-khý	name of a trap to kill animals by falling log (n.)	VanBik 2009:795

(31) PTB *ŋ-wa TRAP

The Tamangic group has forms with initial **ŋ-**, while other languages reflect a simple ***w-**, leading to the hypothesis that **ŋ** has there been treated as a prefix and dropped. In any case, **ŋ** and **w** are extremely close phonetically, which might have encouraged the loss of the first element in a **ŋw** sequence.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***wa**	trap	Matisoff 2003a:618
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	**o**	trap	Tayeng 1976
2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{Bh}**ŋwa** TRAP			
**TGTM*	*^{Bh}**ŋwa** / ^{Bh}ŋwā	trap/bird-trap	Mazaudon 1978:34
	*^{Bh}**ŋwa**	trap/bird-trap (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:230
Gurung	**ngoqr** syā:qbā	catch (trap) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.30
Gurung (Ghachok)	**²ŋõ**	bird-trap	Mazaudon 1978:34
Gurung	**²ŋo**	trap (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:230
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ŋoqr** sya:qba	catch / trap (v.)	Glover 1972:3.B.30
Manang (Ngawal)	**²ŋo**	bird-trap	Mazaudon 1978:34
Tamang (Risiangku)	**wa**	trap (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:230
	²wa	bird-trap	Mazaudon 1978:34
Tamang (Sahu)	**ʾwa**	trap (animals); trap (birds); trap (fish)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:8.25; Taylor *et al.* 1972:8.26; Taylor *et al.* 1972:8.27
	²wa	bird-trap; trap	Mazaudon 1978:34; Mazaudon 1994:230
Thakali (Marpha)	**²ŋõ**	bird-trap	Mazaudon 1978:34
Thakali (Syang)	**ᴴŋo**	bird-trap	Mazaudon 1978:34
Thakali (Tukche)	**ᴴŋo**	bird-trap; bird trap	Mazaudon 1978:34; Mazaudon 1994:230
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Kulung	**wo** mo	trap, sling [? noose]	Rai *et al.* 1975
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***wa³** TRAP			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***wa³**	TRAP (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:163
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***wa³**	trap	Bradley 1979b:390A
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**vɔ³³**tshɛ^{31}	snare / trap (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0638.44
Lahu (Black)	**va**	trap (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1317-1318
Lisu (Central)	**wa³**-htu⁴	trap (for game)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**wa³³**	trap (N.)	Bradley 1994
	wa³³thu^{33}	place a trap; install a catching loop; install a net	Bradley 1994
	wa³³tɕhe^{21}	toilet (lit. 'feces trap')	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}**wa³³** thi^{21} ɣɔʔ^{21}	set of bird-knots (trap to catch birds) (A.)	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}**wa³³**tsɣ^{35} thi^{21} ɣɔʔ^{21}	trap used in catching birds (n.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Mpi	**hɑ²**	trap	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

(32) PTB *d-mak WAR / SOLDIER

rGyalrongic dialects often have the homorganic final nasal instead of the stop, perhaps due to assimilation to the initial consonant. For a similar variation, see PTB ***s/r-ma(ŋ/k)*** DREAM (§1.1.4.2).

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***dmjak**	martial / war	Coblin 1986:107
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-mak**	war; army; soldier	Matisoff 2003a:601; Matisoff 1983:35
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	*ñə-**mok**	army; soldier	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ŋ̣ə **mok**	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.24
Bokar Lhoba	ŋ̣ə **mok**	soldier; army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.51; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.51
Galo	ʻɲi **mak**	war (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲi-**mak** mo-nam	war (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	ta-**mak**	war	Tayeng 1976
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**mak** puŋ	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.7
	maʔ mi	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.7
	ma^{55}mi^{13}	soldier	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ma** mi	soldier	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**mɑk^{55}**puŋ^{55}	army	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	mɑ^{55}mi^{55}	soldier	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**mʌk^{53}**	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.6
	mʌk^{53}mi^{13}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.6
Motuo Menba	**maʔ** mi	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.07
	maʔ phi	war, go to / battle (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1233.07
Cuona Menba	**mak^{53}**mi^{53}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.06
	mak^{55}ja^{31}	war, go to / battle (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1233.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣmak**	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hmak** hoŋ	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.4
	hmak ŋ̣ə	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hmæg**	army	Sun 1985a:23
	s^{h}ær **hmæg**	army (military division)	Sun 1985a:24
	ɣmak	soldier; army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.5; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**ṣmʌq**	army	Rangan 1975:34
Tibetan (Batang)	**mɑʔ^{53}**tuʔ^{53}	war, go to / battle (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1233.03
	mɑ^{55}mɪ^{53}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**mɑʔ^{53}**mi^{53}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.3
	mɑ^{55}puŋ^{55}	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**mak^{53}**puŋ^{55}	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.2
	ma^{52} ca^{132}	war, go to / battle (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1233.02
	ma^{53}mi^{13}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.2
	məː^{55}mi^{55}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.02
Tibetan (Written)	**dmag**	war; army; soldier	Matisoff 1983:35; Sun 1985c:23
	dmag dpuŋ	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.1
	dmag mi	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.01
	dmag mi	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.1
	dmag rgjag	war, go to / battle (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1233.01
	sa.**dmag**	army (military division)	Sun 1985c:24
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hmaχ**	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	***^{B}**maː**	war / warfare	Mazaudon 1994:748
Manang (Gyaru)	**maː⁴** brin² ba	make war (V.)	Nagano 1984:139-01
Manang (Prakaa)	**⁴maː**	war / warfare	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0594; Mazaudon 1994:748
Thakali (Tukche)	**ʾmah**	war	Hari 1971:11.A.47
	ʾmah mih	soldier	Hari 1971:11.A.46
	⁴ma	war	Mazaudon 1994:748
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**mɛ^{55}**	soldier; army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.18; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.18
Guiqiong	**ma^{55}**mi^{55}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.16
	ma^{55}tshe^{55}	war, go to / battle (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1233.16
	mɑ^{55}me^{55}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.17
Lyuzu	**ma^{33}**dʑæ^{53}	war, go to / battle (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1233.18
	ma^{53}mi^{53}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.18
Muya	**mɑ^{33}**mi^{53}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.15
	mɑ^{53} khə^{33}dʑɐ^{53}	war, go to / battle (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1233.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ma^{33}**mi^{53}	soldier; army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.15; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.15
Namuyi	**mɛ^{33}**	soldier; army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.19
	mæ^{31}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**mɑ^{35}**mi^{55}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**mia^{13}**	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**miɑ^{13}**	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.11
	miɑ^{13}põ^{55}	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ma^{55}**mi^{53}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.10
	ma^{55}põ^{53}	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ma^{55}**põ^{55}	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.16
	me^{55}mɯ^{53}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʁma^{55}**mə^{55}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.13
Xumi	**mɑ^{55}**mi^{55}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.17
	mɑ^{55}mi^{55}	soldier; army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.20; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ma^{55}**	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.14
	ma^{55}mi^{55}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**ɦmɔ** mɯ	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.14
Daofu	**ʁmɑ** ʁmi	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**mɐŋ** mə	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.11
rGyalrong	**mɐŋ** mə	soldier; army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.12; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**mɐŋ** mə kɑ pɑ	war, go to / battle (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1233.11
Caodeng	**ʁmaʔ**	soldier	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	**mɐŋ**-mə	soldier	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	**mɑʔ^{55}**	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.20
	mɑ^{55}mɯ^{55}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.20
Trung [Dulong]	**mɑ^{55}**mɯ^{55}	soldier; army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.46; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.46

Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**mɑ**^{55}mɯ^{55}	soldier	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Southern)	**mo**^{33}	soldier	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *mak^{L} SOLDIER			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***mak**	war; army; soldier	Matisoff 1983:35; Matisoff 1972b:135
	***mak**^{L}	soldier	Matisoff 2003a:601
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	cac-**mak**	war	Benedict 1976a
	mak	war / army / soldier	Matisoff 1983:35
6.1.2. LOLOISH: *C-mak^{L} SOLDIER			
**Loloish*	***C-mak**^{L}	soldier	Bradley 1979b:172
PNL	**mak**^{L}	soldier	CHEN Kang 1986a:84.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**ʔmìq**	soldier	Björverud 1994
	ʔmi̱^{2}	soldier	CHEN Kang 1986a:84.
Lipho	**me̱**^{2}	soldier	CHEN Kang 1986a:84.
Nasu	**ma 55**	soldier / war	Matisoff 1972b:135
	ma̱^{55}	soldier	CHEN Kang 1986a:84.
Neisu	**ma**^{13}	soldier	CHEN Kang 1986a:84.
Nesu	**me̱**^{2}	soldier	CHEN Kang 1986a:84.
Nosu	**mo̱**^{55}	soldier	CHEN Kang 1986a:84.
Nusu (Central)	**ma̱**^{53}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ma̱**^{55}	soldier	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ma̱^{55}ʐɑ^{35}	army	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**mɔ̱**^{31}phõ^{35}	army	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	mɔ̱^{53}	soldier	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɑ̱**^{55}	soldier; army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.45; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ma**^{13}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**mo**^{55}	soldier	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mo^{55}ndu̱^{33}	army	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mo^{55}ʂl̩^{33}	armed forces; army; troops	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mo^{55}ʑɔ^{21}	soldier	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**me̱**^{21}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.25
	me̱^{21}ɣA^{33}	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**me̱**^{21}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**me̱**^{21}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.37
	me̱^{21}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.24
	me̱^{21}dzu̱^{33}	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.24
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔmɪ̱**^{21}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.36
Yi (Wuding)	**mɑ̱**^{55}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.38
Yi (Xide)	**mo**^{55}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.35
	mo^{55}	soldier; army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.21; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**me̱**^{2}	soldier	CHEN Kang 1986a:84.
	mie 44s	soldier / war	Matisoff 1972b:135
Lahu (Lancang)	**mɑ**^{21}ʑɑ^{53}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.43
Lahu (Black)	**màʔ**	soldier / war	Matisoff 1972b:135
	mA^{21}mo^{31}	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.33
	mA^{21}zA^{53}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ma**^{5}ʑa^{3}	soldier	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**má6**	soldier / war	Matisoff 1972b:135
Lisu (Central)	**má**^{6}	soldier (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**mæʔ**^{21}	soldier; army; C troop; group (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mæʔ^{21}dziʔ^{21}	assemble army; gather; gathering; mass	Bradley 1994
	mæʔ^{21}pha^{21}	soldier	Bradley 1994
	mæʔ^{21}phu^{33}	army fund	Bradley 1994
	mæʔ^{21}phø^{44}	army camp	Bradley 1994
	mæʔ^{21}tɤ^{33}	build an army	Bradley 1994
	mæʔ^{21}tɤ^{33} lu^{35}ɕæ^{35}	line of building the army	Bradley 1994
	mæʔ^{21}zaʔ^{21}	soldier; fighter; pawn	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**mɛ̱**^{31}zɑ^{31}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.40
	mɛ^{41}	soldier; army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.27; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.27
Sani [Nyi]	**me 22s**	soldier / war	Matisoff 1972b:135
	me^{2}	soldier	CHEN Kang 1986a:84.
Yi (Sani)	**me**^{2}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Hu T'an)	**ma 21c**	soldier / war	Matisoff 1972b:135
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**mɛ**^{22}	soldier	Pelkey 2011:373
Phola	**mɑ**^{33}zɑ^{31}	soldier	Pelkey 2011:373
Hlepho Phowa	**mɛ**^{33}za^{21}	soldier	Pelkey 2011:373
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**mɑ**˥mi˥	soldier	Michaud 2006–2009:692
Na (Yongning)	**mu**˩zo˥	soldier	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**mu**^{21}kɑ^{33}	soldier (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0179.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mu**^{31}kɑ^{33}	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.28
	mu^{31}kɑ^{33}(pi^{33})	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**mu**^{31}te^{33}	army	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:308.29
	mu^{31}zo^{33}	soldier	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:307.29

Chinese comparandum

武 OC ***mi̱wo**, *GSR* #104a-e 'military'; Coblin 86: *; Schuessler 2007:519 ***maʔ**; B & S 2011: ***maʔ {m(r)aʔ**; Mand. **wǔ**.

Volume 6

Verbs of Motion, of Manipulation, and of Production

6.1.1 Affect

(1) PTB * b / p am BE DEFEATED / SIT / DEFEAT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***bam ≍ pam**	defeated / sitting / defeat	Benedict 1972:471
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Sangtam	**büm**	sit	Marrison 1967
	büm cho	sit (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	büm ji	chair (n.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**pin**	sit	Marrison 1967
	pin kiu	table	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Ntenyi	**ben**	sit	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	**wam**	sit	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**bam**	sit	Marrison 1967
Maram	**bam**	sit	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**bam** məi	sit, stay	Matisoff 1994e
Mzieme	**bam**	sit	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***pam** SIT			
*Tangkhulic	***pam**	sit	Mortensen 2012:441
Kachai	kə-**pam**	sit	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.060
Tangkhul	**pam**	sit	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:471
	pum	sit	Bhat 1969:96
	pəm	sit	Bhat 1969:96
Ukhrul	kə-ci-**pɐm**	make sit	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**pam**	sit, reside; do continuously (postp.)	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**pum**	sit on eggs	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**pɐm**	sit	Mortensen 2012
	pɐm-p^{h}up-kə-haj	sit for a long time	Mortensen 2012
	pɐm-rup-kə-haj	sit without worry	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**pham**	sit	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:471
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**bam**	submit, sit	Benedict 1972:471
	bam-at	subdue	Benedict 1972:471
	bam-gipa	obedient	Benedict 1972:471
	bam-gop	crouch, bow, stoop	Benedict 1972:471
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**bam**	defeated, lose (vs.)	Benedict 1972:471
	bam mig‘	defeated / lose (v.)	Bailey 1911
	pham	defeat, win	Benedict 1972:471
	pham mig‘	defeat / win (vt.)	Bailey 1911
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥpham**-pa	beaten, conquered (vs.)	Benedict 1972:471
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**bam**	remain	Benedict 1972:471

Chinese comparandum

贬 OC ***pi̯ɑm** ~ ***pi̯ɑ̆m**, *GSR* #641d ‘diminish; demote; reduce; wanting, of inferior quality’; Coblin 86:63-4 ST ***pjam** > OC ***pjamx**; Schuessler 2007:166 ***pam?**; B & S 2011: ***pom? {p(r)[o]m?}** ~ ***prom? {pr[o]m?}**; Mand. **biǎn**.

(2) PKC *tsim COLLAPSE / FALL DOWN

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***tsim**	COLLAPSE / FALL DOWN	VanBik 2009:529
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**tsîm**-I, tsìm-II	collapse, fall down	VanBik 2009:529
Tiddim	**cim**^{3} > cip^{3}	collapse, subside	VanBik 2009:529
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**tsìm**-I, tsîm-II	collapse, fall down	VanBik 2009:529
Lai (Hakha)	**tsĭm**-I, tsim?-II	collapse, fall down	VanBik 2009:529
Lushai [Mizo]	**chìm**	collapse, to fall down, to give way, to cave in (as roof, underground dugout, grave, etc), to subside (v.)	VanBik 2009:529
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chō**	collapse, to fall down as earth or a house (v.)	VanBik 2009:529

(3) PKC *kluu-I, *kluuk-II COLLAPSE / FALL OVER

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***kluu**-I, kluuk-II	COLLAPSE / FALL OVER	VanBik 2009:1256
Kaang	**krui**	fall	VanBik 2009:1256
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**hlùu**-I, hlû?-II	fall over (e.g. tree, person)	VanBik 2009:1256
Tiddim	**tu:k**^{2}	fall down, collapse	VanBik 2009:1256
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**klük**	collapse, fall over	VanBik 2009:1256
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tlŭu**-I, tluuk-II	collapse, fall over	VanBik 2009:1256
Lai (Falam)	**tlùu**-I, tlûuk-II	collapse, fall over	VanBik 2009:1256
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlù**-I, tlûuk-II	fall down (not from a height) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1256

(4) PCC *poŋ COME OFF / UNLOOSE / FALL OFF

1.2.2. Central Chin			
*Central Chin	***poŋ**	COME OFF / UNLOOSE / FALL OFF	VanBik 2009:133
Lai (Hakha)	**pŏŋ**-I, poŋ?-II	come off (as hat), unloose (as wheel)	VanBik 2009:133
Lushai [Mizo]	**phàwng**-I, phâwn-II	come or fall off (as a cover), to be uprooted (as tree) (v.)	VanBik 2009:133

(5) PTani *rjɯ DO

1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	***rjɯ**	do	Sun 1993a:107
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**rji**	do	Sun 1993a
Bokar	***i**	do, make	Sun 1993b
	*le:kə **i**	do labor	Sun 1993b
	i	do	Sun 1993a
	i	do / make (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1820.24
Bokar Lhoba	**i**; mo	do	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:584.51
Galo	**i**-nam	do; make; perform; work (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	i nam	do (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	rɯ-nam	do; make (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	‘ri dək	change (do differently) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ri ken	easy (to do) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ri mur	make a mistake (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ri mur	mistake (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ri mur-**‘ri** kee	balls-up; disaster (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘ri mur-**‘ri** kee	fouled up (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ri mur-**‘ri** kee	mess; pear-shaped (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘ri mur-**‘ri** kee	screwed up (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ri nam	do; work (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘ri nam-‘gom **ci̱r**	verb (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ri pin	finish (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ri ŋam	finish (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**ri**-nam	do, fare	Simon 1976
	ri-ɲa	complete	Simon 1976
Nishing	**ri**	do	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**ri**-la-re	able / do-can	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**i**	do	Sun 1993a

(6) PTk *sa DO / MAKE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
*Tangkhulic	***sa**	do / make	Mortensen 2012:326
Huishu	kə-**se**	do	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.029
Kachai	kə-**su**	do / make	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.024
Tusom	k^{h}ə-**sə**-li	do	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.029
Ukhrul	kə-**sa**	do / make	Mortensen 2012

(7) PTB *day DO / MAKE

This widely attested root is firmly established. Jingpho shows variation between ***-i** and ***-ay**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***dăy**	do / make	Matisoff 1985a:103
	***day**	do / make	Matisoff 2003a:586
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**tì**	do / say / think	Weidert 1987:54
	ti	do	Marrison 1967
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**tei**	work; do (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:103
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ta**	do	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Chokri	**thi**	do	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**thü**	make; do	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Zeme	**teu**	make; do	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**tei**	make; do	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	so **day**	make	Matisoff 1985a:103
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**tāi**	become, metamorphose, transform, play the part of another person / character; be skilled or knowledgeable, well-versed	Matisoff 1985a:103
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**tji̱**	make, do	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0952
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**de**	do	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:584.14
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola (Luxi)	**tui**^{31}	do / make (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1820.32
Burmese (Written)	**te**	do repeatedly and constantly	Matisoff 1985a:103; Matisoff 1974:43; Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Liangshan)	**dɛ**^{33}	build; create; make (build)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	**te**^{33}	do / make (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1820.43
Lahu (Black)	**te**	do; make	Matisoff 1985a:103
	te	do, make (?.)	Matisoff 1985a:122
	te	do	Matisoff 1974:43
	te^{33}	do	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:584.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**te**^{1}	do	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986

(8) PKar *ma^{A} DO / MAKE

7. Karenic			
*Karen [Burling]	***ma**^{3}	do, make	Luangthongkum 2013:88
*Karen	***ma**^{A}	do, make	Luangthongkum 2013:88
Bwe	**mɛ**	do, make	Luangthongkum 2013:88
Kayah	**me**^{11}	do, make	Luangthongkum 2013:88
Kayan	**ma**^{33}	do, make	Luangthongkum 2013:88
Kayaw	**ma**^{33}	do, make	Luangthongkum 2013:88
Pa-O (Northern)	**ma**^{33}	do, make	Luangthongkum 2013:88
Pa-O (Southern)	**ma**^{53}	do, make	Luangthongkum 2013:88
Pwo (Northern)	**mɛ**^{55}	do, make	Luangthongkum 2013:88
Pwo (Southern)	**ma**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	do, make	Luangthongkum 2013:88

Sgaw (Southern)	**ma**^{33}	do, make	Luangthongkum 2013:88
Sgaw (Northern)	**ma**^{33}	do, make	Luangthongkum 2013:88

(9) PKC *tuaʔ DO / MAKE / WORK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tuaʔ**	DO / MAKE / WORK	VanBik 2009:188
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**tuah**-siat-na	accident	VanBik 2009:188
Tiddim	**tua?**^{3}	carry a thing from place to place (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1812
	tua?^{3}	carry a thing from place to place; carry a thing...	VanBik 2009:188; Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tuaʔ**-INV	do, make, work	VanBik 2009:188
Lai (Falam)	**tùaʔ**-INV	do, make, work	VanBik 2009:188
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**táo**	do, make, work	VanBik 2009:188

(10) PTB *du DWELL / STAY / SIT / REST / LIVE

For now, we consider this etymon as distinct from PTB ***m-(t/d)u(ŋ/k)** SIT (§6.1.1), although several reflexes have **-i** vocalism; such **-i** ≍ **-u** variation has so far only been solidly attested in closed syllables. The Qiangic form with **-i-** shows the expected "brightening".

The Apatani forms might also come from PTB ***ta** LIVE (§1.1.2.1).

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
Miji	**dɯ** t^{h}u	breath, breathe (v.)	Simon 1979
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**do**	live (lodge)	Sun 1993b
	du	dwell; stay; live (lodge); exist	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	du-bo	stay	Sun 1993b
	du-bɯ	occupy	Sun 1993b
	du-mo	rest (sitting); rest	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	du-tī-nan	sitting block	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**do:**-giŋ	live, dwell	Sun 1993b
Galo	**du**-nam	live (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	du:-rɤ	sitting blocks	Das Gupta 1963
	sag **du** sag bok-nam	breath (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'duu nam	stay (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**do**-nam	live, dwell, stay, be situated	Simon 1976
Nishing	**do**	live	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**di**	sit	NEFA (India) 1963
	di-blom	seat	NEFA (India) 1963
	di-ta: kha:ng	sitting block	NEFA (India) 1963
	di^{55}	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.22
	di^{55}	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.49
Idu	**du** ta ɲe	sitting blocks	Anonymous 1962
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Rengma	**du**	sit	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	^{1}**dũ**	sit (v.)	Weidert 1987:204
1.7.1.4. DEORI			
Deori/Deuri	**du-du**-ri	sit [see du-ri] (v.)	Jacquesson 2005
	du-ga-ri	sit on the proper side (of the house, the head-side)	Jacquesson 2005
	du-gadu-ri	sit on the proper side (of the house, the head-side)	Jacquesson 2005
	du du	sit	Brown 1895:74
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Manang (Gyaru)	**ʈɯ**^{2} ba	live (V.)	Nagano 1984:114
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**ʈu-**	live; dwell	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0365; HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0398 [a]
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mawo)	**zdi**	sit on, hatch (egg)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**dí**	sit	Björverud 1994
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**tɯ**^{42}	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.44
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Wordlist)	**ddaoq** zzul-zzul	sit on heels	Hansson 1989:151 [b]

[a] Manang retroflex suggests a formerly complex initial.
[b] Hani final **-q** and **-l** are tone marks.

Chinese comparandum

逗 S625 C141

(11) PTB * g / k rwil FALL (AS LEAVES) / CAUSE TO FALL

This etymon comprises a simplex/causative pair.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***grwil** ≍ **krwil**	fall (as leaves) / cause to fall	Matisoff 2003a:591
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kril** FALL (leaves, fruits, hairs)			
**Chin*	***kril**	FALL (leaves, fruits, hairs)	VanBik 2009:1319
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ki**	fall down of one's own accord (e.g. a fruit when it is ripe) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1319
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**ṭìl**-I ṭîlh-II	fall (e.g. leaves)	VanBik 2009:1319
Lai (Hakha)	**trĭl**-I, trilʔ-II	fall (leaves)	VanBik 2009:1319
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭìl**-I ṭìlh-II	fall off or drop (as hair, leaves, fruits, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1319
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**khrwe**	cause to fall (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	krwe	fall off, as leaves	Benedict 1976a

(12) PKar *dɛʔ^{D} FALL DOWN

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***dɛʔ**^{D}	fall down	Luangthongkum 2013:108
Bwe	**de**^{11}	fall down	Luangthongkum 2013:108
Kayah	**ta**^{33}	fall down	Luangthongkum 2013:108
Kayan	**tɛʔ**^{21}	fall down	Luangthongkum 2013:108
Kayaw	**te**^{33}	fall down	Luangthongkum 2013:108
Pa-O (Northern)	**thɛʔ**^{45}	fall down	Luangthongkum 2013:108
Pa-O (Southern)	**tɛʔ**^{45}	fall down	Luangthongkum 2013:108
Pwo (Northern)	**theʔ**^{21}	fall down	Luangthongkum 2013:108
Pwo (Southern)	**theʔ**^{45}	fall down	Luangthongkum 2013:108
Sgaw (Southern)	**tɛ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	fall down	Luangthongkum 2013:108
Sgaw (Northern)	**tɛʔ**^{21}	fall down	Luangthongkum 2013:108

(13) PTB *m-bap FALL OVER

The nasal prefix is attested directly in Tibetan dialects and indirectly by the voiced Lahu initial.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-bap**	fall over	Matisoff 2003a:584
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**'bab**	descend	Marrison 1967
	(tɕhar pa) **ɦbab**	fall (rain) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.01
	ɦbab	land; descend; cave in; sink (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1418.01; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1722.01
	ɦbab	descend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:744.1
	ɦbab	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**mbap**	land / descend (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1418.04
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Northern)	**bɔ**^{35}	fall (down)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**bɔ**^{55}	fall over / down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1277.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**bɔ**^{55}lɑ^{55}	fall (down)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:577.45
Nusu (Southern)	**bɑ**^{31}lɑ^{55}	fall (down)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ba**^{21}dsomething^{55}	drop / fall	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:764.22
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**bôʔ**	fall over / collapse / bend over / bow / hug the ground	Matisoff 1972b:83

Chinese comparandum

乏 OC ***bʼi̯wăp**, *GSR* #641a 'lack; exhaust; neglect'; Schuessler 2007:234 ***bap**; B & S 2011: ***bop {[b](r)[o]p}**; Mand. **fá**.
廢 OC ***pi̯wăd**, *GSR* #275f 'cast aside; remove; suppress; neglect; cease; fall'; Schuessler 2007:234 ***pats**; B & S 2011: ***pap-s**; Mand. **fèi**.

(14) PTB * k / g / t la- k / y / t FALL

A number of languages (e.g., Burmese, Mizo) have developed simplex/causative pairs from this etymon.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***glay** ≍ **klay**	fall	Matisoff 1985a:125
	***kla**	fall (v.)	Weidert 1987:322
	***kla**	fall	Benedict 1972:123
	***kla-k/y/t** ≍ **gla-k/y/t**	fall	Matisoff 2003a:595
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***klaa-I**, ***klaak-II** FALL / DROP (v.i.), ***khlaa-I**, ***khlaak-II** DROP (v.t.) / LET FALL			
**Chin*	***khlaa-I**, **khlaak-II**	DROP (v.t.) / LET FALL	VanBik 2009:1285
	***klaa-I**, klaak-II	FALL / DROP (v.i.)	VanBik 2009:1259
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**kia**	fall	VanBik 2009:1259
Thado	**hlàa-I**, **hlâʔ-II**	drop (intr), fall from a height	VanBik 2009:1259
	hlâʔ-INV	drop, put in vegetables into soup, mix in (only used in cooking)	VanBik 2009:1285
Tiddim	**khia**^{3} > **khiat**^{3}	drop	VanBik 2009:1285
	khia^{3} > khiat^{3}	drop (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:785
	khia^{3}/khiat^{3}	drop (tr.)	Bhaskararao 1994
	kia^{3} > **kiat**^{3}	fall	VanBik 2009:1259
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**klauk**-II	fall from height	VanBik 2009:1259
	kló-I	fall (of water)	VanBik 2009:1259
Cho (Mindat)	**kia**	fall	VanBik 2009:1259
Khumi	**plaa**	cause to fall, drop, send down, plant, send	VanBik 2009:1285
	tlaa	fall	VanBik 2009:1259
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thlăa-I**, **thlaak-II**	drop, let fall	VanBik 2009:1285
	tlăa-I, **tlaak-II**	fall, drop (from height)	VanBik 2009:1259
Lai (Falam)	**tlàa-I**, **tlâak-II**	fall, drop (from height)	VanBik 2009:1259
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlà-I thlâak-II**	lower, to let down, to drop, to let fall (v.)	VanBik 2009:1285
	thla:k	let fall	Benedict 1972:123
	tlà-I, **tlâak-II**	fall (from height), to set or to go down, or sink (as sun, moon, stars) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1259
	tla:k	fall	Benedict 1972:123
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-**thlā**	drop (v.)	VanBik 2009:1285
	ti-**tla**	bereft of testicles	Matisoff 1987
	tlā	fall (from a height) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1259
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Ao*	*(a-)**tsə(k)**	FALL, PLUMMET	Bruhn 2014a:II.187
Ao (Chungli)	**tsək**^{31}	fall down (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.187
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami Naga	^{4}**krɯ**	fall (v.)	Weidert 1987:322
Ntenyi	**chü**	fall (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***loj** FALL (FROM A HEIGHT)			
**Tangkhulic*	***loj**	fall (from a height)	Mortensen 2012:479
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**lo**-kə-so	fall (from a height)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.016
Tusom	kõŋ-k^{h}ə-**ly**	fall (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.014
Ukhrul	koŋ-k^{h}ə-**luj**	fall	Mortensen 2012
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	arphlúng-**jùy**	wegjagen [chase away]	Matisoff 1985a:125

	ing **jùy**	fall off, drop off (hair, leaves, etc.)	Matisoff 1985a:125
	jùy	V away	Matisoff 1985a:125
	kát-**jùy**	wegrennen [run away]	Matisoff 1985a:125
	klo	fall	Benedict 1972:123
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	bar-**klay**	jump down	Matisoff 1985a:125
	gə **gláy**	fall, lie down	Matisoff 1985a:125
	kam-**klay**	burn down	Matisoff 1985a:125
	klay	V downward	Matisoff 1985a:125
	kə **kláy**	fell (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:125
	za-**klay**	eat from top to bottom (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:125
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**khrat**	fall	Benedict 1972:123
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**glú**~glúm	fall down (v.)	Plaisier 2007
	klo	fall	Benedict 1972:123
	klú~klúm	fall (v.)	Plaisier 2007
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	nɑ^{55}**dʐɑ^{55}**	drop / fall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:764.18
Lyuzu	ne^{33}**dʐu^{53}**	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.18
	ne^{33}**dʐæ^{35}**	drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.18
Namuyi	mi^{33}**dʐa^{55}**qa^{53}	fall down (a wall) / topple (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1257.46
	mi^{33}**ndza^{55}**qa^{53}	fall over / down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1277.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	nə^{55}**tsø^{55}**	fall over / down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1277.10
	nɑ^{35}**tsẽ^{55}**	drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.10
Pumi (Lanping)	nə^{13}**dʐə^{55}**	fall; tumble down; drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.09; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1642.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	nə^{13}**dʐə^{55}**	drop / fall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:764.11
Pumi (Taoba)	nə^{35}**dʐə^{55}**	drop / fall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:764.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**tshò**	drop down	Evans 1999:1822
	tshò tshò	fall (of hair)	Evans 1999:2433
	ɦà **tshò**	fall, drop	Evans 1999:2129
Qiang (Mawo)	**tshy**	drop / fall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:764.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**tshoŭ**	fall, drop	Evans 1999:2129
	ɦà **tshoù**	drop, descend, land	Evans 1999:2036
	ɦà **tshoù** zí	drop (CAUS)	Evans 1999:2037
	ɦà **tshoŭ**	drop down; fall into trap	Evans 1999:1822; Evans 1999:2476
	ʂɛ̀ **tshoŭ**	fall (of hair)	Evans 1999:2433
Qiang (Taoping)	**tshyi^{55}**	drop / fall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:764.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**qa^{55}**to^{55}	fall over / down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1277.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tə^{35}**qa^{55}**	drop / fall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:764.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tɕhye^{55}**	drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.13
Xumi	miæ^{33}**ʐyæ^{55}**	fall; tumble down; drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.17; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1642.17
	miɛ^{33}**dʐyɛ^{35}**	drop / fall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:764.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**dza**	drop / fall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:764.14
Daofu	nə **dza**	fall; tumble down; drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.12; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1642.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **ʒɑ**	fall; tumble down; drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.11; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1642.11
rGBenzhen	kɐ-**mdʒit**	drop / fall from height	Sun 1997b
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***gla-y^{3} ≍ *ʔgla-y^{1}** FALL			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***glay^{3} ≍ ʔglay^{1}**	fall	Matisoff 1985a:125
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**khyá**	let fall	Benedict 1972:123
	kyá	fall	Benedict 1972:123
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*(sə)-**gla^{3}**	fall (v.)	Weidert 1987:322
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Luquan	**ts'e^{33}**	fall down	Matisoff 1985a:125
	ts'e^{11}	fall over, topple	Matisoff 1985a:125
Yi (Weishan)	thɕi^{55}ce^{33}**tɕi^{55}**	drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.36
	tɕi^{33}	fall / tumble down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1642.36
Yi (Wuding)	**dʐ̄ɭ̄^{2}**	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.38
	tshe^{11}	fall; tumble down; drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.38; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1642.38
Yi (Xide)	**tshi^{33}**	fall; tumble down; drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1642.35
	vɑ^{55}**dzi^{21}**	fall over / down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1277.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	qo^{53}**tɕe^{33}**	drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.43
Lahu (Black)	**ce**	fall from a height, V downward	Matisoff 1985a:125
Lisu (Central)	**htsye^{4}**-lye^{3}	fall (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	le^{55}**ʑɐ^{33}**	fall over / down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1277.40
	luɪ^{31}**ʑe^{33}**	fall down (a wall) / topple (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1257.40
Lisu (Central)	**si^{6}**-lye^{3}	fall (of water decreasing in river) (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tshe^{33}**	fall; tumble down; drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.40; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1642.40
Yi (Sani)	thæ^{33} **tshɪ^{33}**	fall; tumble down; drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1642.39; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	**khla**	fall down, drop	Bradley 199x

Chinese comparandum

落 OC ***glâk**, *GSR* #766q' 'fall, drop; perish'; Schuessler 2007:371 ***râk**; B & S 2011: ***kə.rˤak**; Mand. **luò**.
露 OC ***glâg** *GSR* #766t' 'dew'; Schuessler 2007:366 ***râkh**; B & S 2011: ***p.rˤak-s**; Mand. **lù**.
下 OC ***g'å**, *GSR* #35a 'down; descend'; Schuessler 2007:527 ***grâ?** 'down', ***grâh** 'descend'; B & S 2011: ***gˤra?** 'down', ***m-gˤra?-s** 'descend'; Mand. **xià**.

Schuessler (2007:371) attributes OC initial ***r-** in 落 ***râk** to Austroasiatic influence, where OC initial ***l-** might otherwise be expected based on comparison with TB ***(C-)l-** for this etymon. In this regard, however, Matisoff identifies "...several etyma where PTB ***(C-)l**- seems to correspond to Baxter's ***(C)-r-**, including 'fall', 'good', 'neck', 'salty', 'strength / arm', and 'young man / husband'"(*HPTB*:53). We reiterate here Matisoff's (ibid.) claim that the relationship between TB ***l-**/***r-** and OC ***l-**/***r-** is complex and has yet to be fully clarified. Apparent irregularities in correspondences between TB/OC ***l-**/***r-** may therefore not always be attributable to loans to or borrowings into TB/OC.

陊 OC ***d'iɑ**, *GSR* #3o-p 'fall down, collapse'; Schuessler 2007:619 ***d-lai?** ; B & S 2011: (***t-laj?**); Mand. **duò**.
陁 OC ***d'iɑ**, *GSR* #4z 'fall down, collapse'; Schuessler 2007:619 ***d-lai?**; B & S 2011: (***t-laj?**); Mand. **tuó** ~ **zhì**.

(15) PTB *hwal FALL

This root does not seem related to PTB ***r/s/g-wa** WATER / RAIN (§1.2.6).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ho ≍ hol**	fall	Matisoff 2003a:593
1.1.1. Tani: ***ho** RAIN (v.) / FALL FROM A HEIGHT			
**Tani*	***ho**	rain / fall from a height (v.)	Sun 1993a:315
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**hu**	rain / fall from a height (v.)	Sun 1993a
	hu-i	fall	Sun 1993b
	hù-ji	fall down	Sun 1993b
	mú-do **hu**	rain (v.)	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-do **hú**	rain (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**hu**-lu:	fall down	Sun 1993b
	hu:	rain / fall from a height (v.)	Sun 1993a
	hu:-fa:	drop off (e.g. button)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ho**-get	drop off, fall off	Sun 1993b
	ho:	rain; fall from a height; fall (v.)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ho:-get	fall off(e.g. bark)	Sun 1993b
	me-doŋ **ho**	rain (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ɦe: get	fall down (a wall) / topple (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1257.24
	ɦo:	fall (rain) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1719.24
	ɦo: get	fall; tumble down; drop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1274.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1642.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɦo**	drop / fall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:764.51
	ɦo:	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.51
Galo	**o**-lo-nam	fall (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	o nam	fall (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'o bə	fall (over) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'o loo	fall down (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'o nam	fall (down) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**ho**-nam	fall [of rain]	Simon 1976
	hol-nam	fall	Simon 1976
Nishing	**ho**	fall	Das Gupta 1969
	hu lu~**ho** lu	fall	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**o** lu-nam	fall (from above)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**o**	rain / fall from a height (v.)	Sun 1993a
Damu	ma-do **xo**	rain (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ma-do: (**ɦo**-duŋ)	rain	Sun 1993b
	ma-do: **ɦo**-ço **ɦo**-jo	drizzle	Sun 1993b
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**als**-	fall, fall off (v.)	Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**ʔol**-sa	fall (v.i.)	Caughley 1972:4.B.13

(16) PKC *puur FALL / UPROOT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***puur**	FALL / UPROOT	VanBik 2009:144
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**pu:k^{1}**	fall	VanBik 2009:144
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**pûur-I**, **pŭur-II**	fall over, collapse, uproot	VanBik 2009:144
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**páo**	fall as a tree (v.)	VanBik 2009:144

(17) PKC *phuur FELL / UPROOT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***phuur**	FELL / UPROOT	VanBik 2009:339
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**hpūk** hī	fell	VanBik 2009:339
Tiddim	**phu:k^{1}**	cause to fall	VanBik 2009:339
	phu:k^{1}	cause to fall (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1479
	phu:k^{1}	cause to fall	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**phûur**-I, phŭur-II	fell. uproot	VanBik 2009:339

(18) PTB *dzywal HANG DOWN / SAG

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzywal**	hang down / sag	Matisoff 2003a:589; Benedict 1972:242
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**fuăl**	sag, hang low; to be loose / long (as a coat, etc.)	Benedict 1972:242
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**dzol-dzol**	hanging-belly, paunch	Benedict 1972:242
	ḍzol-ba	hang down (of cow's udder, of long hair on a yak's belly, of tails, etc.); trail, train, retinue	Benedict 1972:242

(19) PTB * $\frac{\text{d}}{\text{n}}$ way HANG FROM / CLING TO / CREEPER

This root displays an unusual type of variation in initial consonant.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dway ≍ nway**	hang; cling; creeper; hang from; cling to	Matisoff 1985a:153; Matisoff 2003a:587
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**nei** kahai	climb up, as a creeper (n.)	Matisoff 1985a:153
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	mə **nói**	hang on to, cling to; be united (of mind/purpose) (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:153

	mə **nōi** rù (shang)	a variety of creeper or climber	Matisoff 1985a:153
	nōi	cling to, depend on (as child on mother) (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:153
	nói	suspend, hang	Matisoff 1985a:153
	noi^{55}	hang	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	noi^{55}	hang; hang (on the wall) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1275.19; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1354.19
	noi^{55}	hang (object)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:661.47
	ʔə **nōi**	hang on to, adhere to (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:153

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***dway**$^{1/2/3}$ ≍ **nway**$^{1/2/3}$	hang / cling / creeper	Matisoff 1985a

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola (Luxi)	**tu̯i**^{31}lɔ̃^{31}	hang (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1275.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**twɛ**^{55}lãu^{55}tɕɑ^{53}	hang down / droop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1720.27
Burmese (Written)	**nwai**	stretch along, as a creeper; creeper; stretch along, as creeper	Matisoff 1985a:153; Benedict 1976a
	twai	cling to, attach	Matisoff 1985a:153
	twâi	pendent; hang; pendent, hang (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:153; Benedict 1976a
	twai'	hang suspensively	Matisoff 1985a:153
	twai'	hang suspensively	Benedict 1976a
	twɑi^{3}lɔŋ^{3}kjɑ^{1}	hang down / droop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1720.26
	ʔə **nwai**	creeper	Matisoff 1985a:153
Langsu (Luxi)	**tu̯i**^{35}lɔ̃^{31}	hang (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1275.31

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**te**	creeper	Matisoff 1985a:153
	ɔ̀-**te**	creeper	Matisoff 1985a:153

Chinese comparandum

垂 OC ***d̂wiɑ**, *GSR* #31a 'hang down'; Schuessler 2007:196-7 ***doi** < ***djoi**; B & S 2011: ***doj { [d] oj}**; Mand. **chuí**.
睡 OC ***d̂wiɑ**, *GSR* #31d 'lie down, sleep'; Schuessler 2007:475 ***doih**~***djoih**; Mand. **shuì**.
朵 OC ***twâ**, *GSR* #10a 'hang from a tree; CL for blossoms'; Schuessler 2007:221 ***tôi**; Mand. **duǒ**.

橢 OC ***t'wâ**, *GSR* #11c 'long and narrow; oval, ellipse'; Schuessler 2007:505 ***lhôi?**; B & S 2011: ***l̥^{s}oj?**; Mand. **tuǒ**.
惰 OC ***d'wâ**, *GSR* #11l 'lazy, negligent, careless, useless'; Schuessler 2007: (***lôi?**); B & S 2011: ***l^{s}oj?**; Mand. **duò**.

綏 OC ***ńi̤wər**, *GSR* #354e 'tassel'; Schuessler 2007:447 ***nui**; B & S 2011: ***nuj**; Mand. **ruí**.
蕊/蘂 OC ***ńźwiȩ:**~***ńźwi:**, *GSR* #1238k 'ovary of flower; unopened flower; fruit'; Schuessler 2007:447 ***noi?**~***nui?**; B & S 2011: (***nuj?**); Mand. **ruǐ**.
縈 OC ***ńźwiȩ:**~***ńźwi:**, *GSR* #1238j 'hang down'; Schuessler 2007:447 ***noi?**~***nui?**; B & S 2011: (***nuj?**); Mand. **ruǐ**.

(20) PTB *pyaŋ HANG

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pyaŋ**	hang	Benedict 1972:175

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	a^{31}**pja**^{31}	hang down / droop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1720.19
	ə **phyaŋ**	hang	Benedict 1972:175

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	(mar) **dpjaŋs**	hang down / droop (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1720.01
	dpyaŋ-ba ~ spyaŋ-ba ~ ḥphyaŋ-ba	hang	Benedict 1972:175

7. Karenic

Kayan (Pekon)	**byán**	hang (V.)	Manson 2010

(21) PTB *hak HANG

The stronghold of this root seems to be Tani, with a solid Thulung cognate and possible reflexes in Naish and Karenic.

1.1.1. Tani: ***fiak** HANG (against the wall)

**Tani*	***fiak**	hang (against wall)	Sun 1993a:192

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**haʔ**	hang (against wall); hang	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	hà	hang up	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**hak**-hin	hang (st against wall)	Sun 1993b
	hak-puː	hang (against wall); hang (st against wall)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**hak**-paː	tie up (animal); tether; hang (against wall)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	hak-paː (guà)	hang	Sun 1993b
	fiak gen	hang (on the wall) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1354.24
	fiak kap	hung, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1355.24
Bokar Lhoba	**fiak** paː	hang (object)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:661.51
Galo	**ag** nam	hang (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	og nam	hang (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ok-si-ri-nam	hang (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'ok sir	hang (vt.)	GLDC 2009

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**heak**-	hang out (as washing on bushes), to tie up (a dog) (v.)	Allen 1975
	kheak- (= **heak**-)	hang up (v.)	Allen 1975

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**hwɑ**˩	hook; suspend, hang (in a place) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2728
Na (Yongning)	**hwæ**˩	suspend, to hang (in a place) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009

7. Karenic

Pa-O	**hwê** lāŋ	hang down from (2)	Solnit 1989
	hwê ŋɔ̄n	hang on neck (2)	Solnit 1989

(22) PTB *k(w)aːy HANG

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***k(w)aːy**	hang	Matisoff 2003a:598

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Kamarupan	**k(w)ay**	hang	Matisoff 1985a:134

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***kh(l)aay** HANG DOWN / WEIGH

**Chin*	***kh(l)aay**	HANG DOWN / WEIGH	VanBik 2009:1289

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**htai** hī	hang	VanBik 2009:1289
Thado	**kháay**-I, khày-II	hang	VanBik 2009:1289
	xʌ̀i	hang; hang up	Thirumalai 1972:10; Thirumalai 1972:23
Tiddim	**-kaːi**	suspended (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:134
	-kaːi/ˆkaːi	suspended (v.)	Henderson 1965
	-xaːi/ˆxaːi	hang (v.)	Henderson 1965
	-xaːi`xaːi	hang	Matisoff 1985a:134
	kaːi	suspended (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:134
	khai^{2}	hang	VanBik 2009:1289
	khaːi^{2}	hang (tr.) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:736
	khaːi^{2}	hang (tr.)	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**khăay**-I khàay-II	lift something up or hang something down (with the hand)	VanBik 2009:1289
Lai (Hakha)	**thlâay**-I, thlăay-II	hang, hang down, weigh	VanBik 2009:1289
Lushai [Mizo]	**khāi**	carry in the hand (something that hangs); hang up, suspend; lift up	Matisoff 1985a:134
	khái	lift up, suspend, carry in the hand (as anything that hangs down)	VanBik 2009:1289
	khai	hang up (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2541
	kuai	droop, hang down	Matisoff 1985a:134

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**thlìa**	weigh (v.)	VanBik 2009:1289

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Kokborok	**k^{h}ay**	hang, carry a bag	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**kái**	wear flowers / ornaments	Matisoff 1985a:134
	khài	hooked (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:084
	mă^{31}**khai**^{31}	hook (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1348.19
	ma **khai**	hook (n.)	Marrison 1967

Chinese comparandum

挂 OC ***kwĕg**, *GSR* #879t 'hang, suspend'; Schuessler 2007:264 ***kwêh** or ***kwrêh**; B & S 2011: ***k^{w}^{s}re-s { [k] ^{w}^{s}re-s}**; Mand. **guà**.

(23) PKC *ɓok-I, *ɓoʔ-II LIE (face down) / PROSTRATE

This root bears a certain resemblance to PTB ***m-bap** FALL OVER (§6.1.1), but should be kept separate for now.

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ɓok**-I, ɓoʔ-II	LIE (face down) / PROSTRATE	VanBik 2009:34

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**bok**-vaak	crawl	VanBik 2009:34
Sizang	**bok** vāk hī	crawl	VanBik 2009:1178; VanBik 2009:34
Thado	khùp **bòʔ**	lie in wait	VanBik 2009:34
Tiddim	**bok**^{3} > boʔ^{3}	crawl, prostrate	VanBik 2009:34

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**bók**	crouch (v.)	VanBik 2009:34
Khumi	**a(ng)bew**	lie down (especially of a monkey or dog; for a human, it indicates that the body is scrunched up or draped over a landmark); spread out over; crouch on one's knees and elbows or lie flat on one's stomach	VanBik 2009:34

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**bok**-I, boʔ-II	lie (face down)	VanBik 2009:34
Lai (Falam)	**bòk**-I, bòʔ-II	lie (face down)	VanBik 2009:34
Lushai [Mizo]	**bàwk**-I, bàwʔ-II	lie down or recline (on the stomach) (v.)	VanBik 2009:34

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**ʔá** bāo	lie (face down)	VanBik 2009:34

Chinese comparandum

伏 OC ***b'i̤ŭk**, *GSR* #935a-b 'lie prostrate; submit; be hidden, ambush'; Schuessler 2007:240 ***bək**; B & S 2011: ***bək { [b] ək}**; Mand. **fú**.
伏 OC ***b'i̤ŭg**, *GSR* #935a-b 'hatch (v.)'; Schuessler 2007:240 ***bəkh**; B & S 2011: ***bək-s { [b] ək-s}** (‹ * **[b] uk-s** ?); Mand. **fù**.
服 OC ***b'i̤ŭk**, *GSR* #934d-f 'subdue, dominate; train/use animals; submit; apply, serve; service, labor'; Schuessler 2007:240 ***bək**; B & S 2011: ***bək { [b] ək}**; Mand. **fú**.

(24) PCC *tlolʔ MISS

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***tlolʔ**	MISS	VanBik 2009:1266
Lai (Hakha)	**tlolʔ**-INV	miss (as a meeting)	VanBik 2009:1266
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlàwlh**	misfire (as gun), to not carry out, to leave undone (v.)	VanBik 2009:1266

(25) PKC *kh(r)ial-I, *kh(r)ialʔ-II MISS / FAIL / MISTAKE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***kh(r)ial**-I, kh(r)ialʔ-II	MISS / FAIL / MISTAKE	VanBik 2009:1347

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**khial**-I, khelh-II	miss	VanBik 2009:1347
Sizang	**hkīel** hī	miss, miss (the target)	VanBik 2009:1347
Thado	**khìel**-INV	miss mark, fail, wrong, mistake	VanBik 2009:1347
Tiddim	**khial**^{3} > khialʔ^{3}	make a mistake, be wrong	VanBik 2009:1347

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**khelʔ**-INV	miss (e.g. a train)	VanBik 2009:1347
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭhèlh**	miss, to miss the mark, to fail to hit (v.)	VanBik 2009:1347

1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**chhēi**	miss the mark (v.)	VanBik 2009:1347

(26) PTB *klwaŋ PLAY (as music)

This etymon appears primarily in languages of North East India and Nepal, but also is attested in Karenic. Mzieme **kwa** may also be cognate.

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Sangtam	i **khong** koro	play (music) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**khung**	play (music) (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Mzieme	**kwa**	play (music) (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**khong**	play (music) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	kə-**k^{h}oŋ**	bark, crow; make sound, noise; play on a musical instrument (v.)	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**khong**	play (music) (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**klaŋ**	play (game, not music)	Mazaudon 1994:39,78
Gurung	**klọ** bāq	play (v.)	Hale 1973:11b1.02
Gurung (Ghachok)	**klõ** baq	play	Glover 1972:11.B.1.2
Gurung	^{1}**łõ**-	play	Mazaudon 1994:78
Manang (Gyaru)	**gyaŋ**^{2} ba	play (V.)	Nagano 1984:189
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**kyaŋ**-	play	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0399
	^{1}**kjaŋ**-	play	Mazaudon 1994:78
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**klaŋ**	play	Mazaudon 1994:78
Tamang (Sahu)	**klaŋ**-pa	play (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:22.A.2
	^{1}**klaŋ**	play	Mazaudon 1994:78
Thakali	**kyāng**-la	play (v.)	Hale 1973:11b1.02
Thakali (Syang)	^{55,44}**ljaŋ**-ba	play	Mazaudon 1994:79
	^{55,54}**kjaŋ**-ba	play	Mazaudon 1994:51
Thakali (Tukche)	**kjaŋ**-lɔ	play	Hari 1971:11.B.1.2
	^{2}**kjaŋ**	play	Mazaudon 1994:79 [a]
7. KARENIC			
Kayan (Pekon)	**klân**	play (V.)	Manson 2010

[a]Tukche tone is alone from *B

(27) PTB *r-tsya:y PLAY

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**r-**)**tsya:y**	play	Benedict 1972:54n180
	***r-tsya:y**	play	Matisoff 1985a:064; Matisoff 2003a:617
	***tsya:y**	play (v.)	Benedict 1972:289
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**tśai**	play	Matisoff 1985a:064
	tśai	play (v.)	Benedict 1972:289
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**sai**-so	joke, jest, be funny	Matisoff 1985a:064
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	**sâi**	play (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a **saj** a	jest [jested] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃhaj	play [played] (v.)	Coupe 2007
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**cay**	play	Bhat 1969:94
	khəŋ ə **cay**	play (football)	Matisoff 1985a:064
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**caj**	play (football)	Mortensen 2012
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**jùy**	play	Matisoff 1985a:064
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***C-tsa:y** PLAY			
**Northern Naga*	***C-tsa:y**	play	Matisoff 1985a:064
	***Ç-tsa:y**	play (v.)	French 1983:532
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**cai**	play	Matisoff 1985a:064
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**tśyāi**	play; do for pleasure	Matisoff 1985a:064
	tśyai	play (v.)	Benedict 1972:289
	tʃa̱i^{33}	play	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:680.47
	zói	joke	Matisoff 1985a:064
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rtse**	play / amuse oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1703.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htse** mo tse	play	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:680.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rtse**	play	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:680.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**tse**^{55}mu^{53}je?^{231}	play / amuse oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1703.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tse**^{53}mo^{13}-tse?^{53}	play	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:680.2
	tse^{55}	play / amuse oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1703.02
	tse^{55}mo^{55} tse^{55}	play / amuse oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1703.02
Tibetan (Spiti)	**tsé**	play / dance (v.)	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**rtse**	play (a game) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	rtse	play	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:680.1
	rtse-ba	play, frolic, joke	Matisoff 1985a:064
	rtse-ba	play, frolic (v.)	Benedict 1972:289
	rtsed mo rtse	play / amuse oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1703.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htse**	play / amuse oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1703.04
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***džay**^{2}	play	Matisoff 2003a:589
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**tsɐʔ**^{55}	play / amuse oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1703.28
	tsɐʔ^{55}	play	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:680.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**tsɛʔ**^{55}	play / amuse oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1703.29
Bola	**tai**^{45}	play	Matisoff 2003a:30

(28) PTani *soŋ-man PLAY

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***soŋ-man**	play	Sun 1993a:299
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**so-mĩ** so-ĩ	play	Sun 1993a
	so-mĩ so-ĩ	play (n.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**so:(-min)**	play	Sun 1993b
	šo:-min	play	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**šoŋ-men**	play	Sun 1993a
	soŋ-men	play	Sun 1993b
	ɕoŋ men	play / amuse oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1703.24
Miri, Hill Nishing	**somin**	merry-making, play	Simon 1976
	soming	play	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**so-man**	play	Sun 1993a

(29) PTB *m-prey PLAY

This etymon is attested in Chepang and abundantly in rGyalrongic. In Chepang, it appears without a nasal prefix, while in rGyalrongic, it is prefixed in virtually all dialects. (This etymology is due to Liberty Lidz.)

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**pray**.sā	play (an instrument) (v.)	Hale 1973:11b1.07
	prəyh-	flap limb, move or perform with fingers, swim, play flute (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	prəyh-sa	play instrument	Caughley 1972:11.B.1.7
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	ʼka **mbre**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	də^{3}nə^{3}**mbre**^{5}	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	də^{3}nə^{5}**mbre**^{3}	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong	ka **mbri**	play	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:680.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	kaʼ **ᵐbre**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	kaj **ʼmbri**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	kanə **ʼbre**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	ka **ʼmbre**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ka **ʼmbrej**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	ka **ʼmbri**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	ka **ʼmbɾəi**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kwanə **ʼmbrej**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə22 nəm33 **bri33**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **mbri44**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	kə^{3} nə^{5} **mbrej**^{3}	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kə **ʼmbre**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	kə **ʼmbre**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	kə **ʼmbre**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	kə **ʼmbre**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	kə **ʼmbrej**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	kə **ʼmbrej**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	kə **ʼmbrej**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	kə **ʼmbrej**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kə nə **ʼmbre**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	kə nə **ʼᵐbre**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	kə ˈᵐ**bɾi**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **mbri**	play / amuse oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1703.11
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	nə **ʼmbri**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	nə **ʼmbri**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	tə^{3} nə^{3} **mbre**^{5}	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	to **ʼmbri**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	to **ʼmbrin**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	tə-**mbri**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	tə22 **mbri44** ka22pa22	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	tə^{3} nə^{3} **mbre**^{35}	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	tə **ʼmbre**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	tə **ʼmbrej**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	tə **ʼmbren**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	tə ˈ**mbrɪ**	play	Nagano & Prins 2013:0938

(30) PKC *θual SAG / LONG / HANG (low)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***θual**	SAG / LONG / HANG (low)	VanBik 2009:627
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**tsûol**-I, tsùol-II	long (as skirt dragging on the ground)	VanBik 2009:627
Tiddim	**tual**^{1}	sag, hang low	VanBik 2009:627
	tual^{1}	sag; hang low (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1818
	tual^{1}	sag, hang low	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**pcaawy**	extend, long	VanBik 2009:627
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**fûal**-I, fŭal-II	sag, hang low (as skirt), long (as sleeve)	VanBik 2009:627

Lushai [Mizo]	**fŭal**	sag, to hang low, to be long (as coat, petticoat, trousers, etc.) (v.)	VanBik 2009:627
	fual	sag; hang low (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2338

(31) PTB *m- t/d u ŋ/k SIT

Dialects of Tibetan point to variants with final velar stop and/or nasal prefix. The long vowel is reconstructed on the basis of the Written Burmese rhyme **-uiŋ**.

This root strongly resembles PTB ***du*** DWELL / STAY / SIT / REST / LIVE (§6.1.1), and may well be allofamic with it.

In addition, there well may be a relationship between this root and PNungic ***roŋ*** SIT (§6.1.1). For a similar alternation between **d-** and **r-**, see numbers PTB ***(t/d)ak*** WEAVE (§6.24) and PTB ***rak*** WEAVE / DRIVE / CHASE (§6.24).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***duːŋ**	sit (v.)	Weidert 1987:204
	***m-duŋ/k ~ m-tuŋ/k**	sit	Matisoff 2003a:587
	***tuːŋ**	sit (v.)	Weidert 1987:204
	***tuːŋ**	sit	Benedict 1972:361

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"

Sulung [Puroik]	**toŋ**^{33}	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.52

1.1.1. TANI: ***duŋ** SIT

**Tani*	***duŋ**	sit	Sun 1993a:364

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**du**-(mo)	sit	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**doː**	sit	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b [a]
	duŋ-jaː	stay, remain at a place	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**duŋ**	sit	Sun 1993a
	duŋ	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.24
	dɯŋ	sit; stay	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**duŋ**	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.51
Galo	**duː**-nam	sit (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'duu nam	sit (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**do-do**	sit	Simon 1976
Nishing	**do**	sit	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**duŋ**-bɯp-nam	sit on a slope (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	duŋ-lɯk-nam	sit after finding a place (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	duŋ-nam	sit (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	duŋ-tuŋ-nam	sit properly (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**duŋ**	sit	Sun 1993a
Damu	**duŋ**	rest	Sun 1993b
	duŋ-ra	sit; stay	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Rengma	**dung**	sit	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Northern)	^{1}gi^{3}**dŭ**^{2}gi	sit (v.)	Weidert 1987:204

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	**dũŋ**	sit (v.)	Weidert 1987:204
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**düm**	sit	Marrison 1967
	dung	sit	Marrison 1967
	dûŋ	sit (v.)	Weidert 1987:204

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	**tòŋ**	sit	Bhat 1969:96

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**tang**	sit	Marrison 1967
	toŋ	sit	Benedict 1972:361
	^{1}**toŋ**	sit (v.)	Weidert 1987:204

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**dung**	sit	Marrison 1967
	dūŋ	sit	Matisoff 1974:63
	duŋ	sit	Benedict 1972:361
	tuŋ^{33}	sit	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	tuŋ^{33}	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.19
	tuŋ^{33}	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.47
	^{2}**duŋ**	sit (v.)	Weidert 1987:204

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak	**túŋ**	sit	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:106

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ndəg**	sit; stay, remain	Sun 1985a:537; Sun 1985a:669
	ndək	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**d̲uk**	sit	Rangan 1975:59
Tibetan (Batang)	**ndu?**^{231}	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	det-ki-**duk**	sit	Hale 1973:01.068
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ndu?**^{31}	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tɛ**^{132}	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.02
	tɛʔ^{13}	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.2
Tibetan (Written)	**dug**	sit; stay, remain	Sun 1985c:537; Sun 1985c:669

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Thakali (Tukche)	**taŋ** k^{h}ja p^{h}le 'lɔ-lɔ	sit cross-legged	Hari 1971:6.B.3.9

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**ThUN**	spread out (something to sit on); sit on (something) (v.)	Rai 1985; Rai 1985

3.2. QIANGIC

Xumi	**dzũ**^{55}	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.20
	miæ^{33}**zũ**^{55}	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.17

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	**thãi**^{22}	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**htɑĩ**^{22}	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.40
Burmese (Written)	**htoŋ**^{2}	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.39
	thoŋ^{2}	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.26
	thuiṅ	sit	Marrison 1967
	thuiŋ	sit (v.)	Weidert 1987:204
	thuiŋ	sit	Matisoff 1974:63; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:361

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	**dɯ̀ŋ**	live, be at	Bradley 199x
Pyen	**dɯŋ33**	sit (v.)	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:132178

Chinese comparandum

躅 OC ***d'i̯uk**, *GSR* #1224h 'check the foot, stop walking'; Schuessler 2007:625 ***drok**; B & S 2011: ***drok {[d] rok}**; Mand. **zhú**.
住 OC ***d'i̯u**, *GSR* #129g 'stop'; Schuessler 2007:625 ***dro(k)h**; B & S 2011: ***dro-s {dro(ʔ)-s}**; Mand. **zhù**.

Also see #3602.

(32) PNungic *roŋ SIT

This root is very likely related to PTB ***m-(t/d)u(ŋ/k)*** SIT (§6.1.1), despite the unusual variation between a dental stop and initial ***r-**. However, we posit a similar relationship between the very well-established PTB ***(t/d)ak*** WEAVE (§6.24) and PTB ***rak*** WEAVE / DRIVE / CHASE (§6.24).

4. NUNGIC

Rawang	**roŋ**^{33} [ro^{33} ŋɛ^{33}]	sit down	LaPolla 2003:1537
Dulong	**ɹɔŋ**^{53}	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ɹɔŋ**^{53}	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ɹɔŋ**^{53}	sit	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

(33) PTB *m-tsu-ŋ SIT

It is possible that some of the open syllable forms listed here belong rather under PTB ***syu-t*** SIT (§6.1.1).

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Milang	**ɟuŋ**-ma	sit	Tayeng 1976

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN: ***tsuaŋ-I**, ***tsuan-II** MOUNT / EMBARK / SIT ON

**Central Chin*	***tsuaŋ**-I, tsuan-II	MOUNT / EMBARK / SIT ON	VanBik 2009:549
Lai (Hakha)	**tsûaŋ**-I, tsŭan-II	mount, embark upon, sit on (v.)	VanBik 2009:549
Lushai [Mizo]	**chuang**	sit	Marrison 1967
	chŭang-I, chùan-II	mount, to sit upon, to embark (v.)	VanBik 2009:549

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	***soŋ**	sit	Burling 1959:443

1.7.1.1. BODO

Kokborok	a-**čoʔ**	sit	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	a **soŋ**-a	sit (v.)	Weidert 1987:204
Garo (Bangladesh)	a-**song**-a	sit (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.345-II:idx
	at-**chong**-a	sit (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.345-II:idx
	at-**chong**-ti-ti-a	perch (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.345-II:idx

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**chhyang** che	sit	Hale 1973:01.068
Tsangla (Motuo)	laŋ^{13}~**tɕ'o**^{55}	sit	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	tɕho	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.7
Motuo Menba	**tɕho** laŋ	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.07

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**juŋ**-	sit, stay (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**yuN**	remain / sit	Rai 1985
	yuN kha	place to sit on	Rai 1985

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**cung**.sā (?)	perch (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.11
	cungʔ sā	sit	Hale 1973:01.068
	cuŋʔ-sa	sit; perch	Caughley 1972:1.68; Caughley 1972:3.B.11

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**tɕho**^{35}	dwell; live; sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.17; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:580.17
Namuyi	**ndzu**^{55}	dwell; live; sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:580.19
	ndzɯ^{53}	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.46
	ndzu^{53}	live / reside (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1452.46
Qiang (Mawo)	**dzu**	dwell; live; sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.8; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:580.8
	dzuə	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**dzó**	sit	Evans 1999:2621
	tʂhuàn **dzó**	row (boat) [b,sit?]	Evans 1999:1976
Qiang (Taoping)	**dzo**^{33}	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.9
	ʒl^{33}; **dzo**^{33}	dwell / live	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:580.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{35}**dzu**^{53}	sit	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:574.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	ɣɯ^{13}**tso**^{55}	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	o^{55}**ɟju**^{33}	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**ndzu**	sit down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	a **mdzɯ**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	jə' **ndzu**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	ka **'mdzo**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	ka **'mdzo**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	ka **'mdzəʔ**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	ka **'mts^{h}o**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	ka **'^{m}zu**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	kə44 **mdzu44**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
Caodeng	kɐ-**mdzu**	sit	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	na **'ndzon**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485

[a] [Source Note] rhyme!

rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**ndzu**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	nə **ʾmdzo**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	oᵘ ˈ**ndzᵘɛn**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	ta **ʾmdzo**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	ta **ʾmdzu**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	xə **ʾndzu**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	na **ʾdzun**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola (Luxi)	**tsauŋ**^{55}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**tsauŋ**^{31}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tsɔ̰ːŋ**^{33}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.33
Maru [Langsu]	**tsauŋ**^{31}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tsuŋ**^{51}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.30
	tsuŋ^{51}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.42

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	**dzu**	sit on heels	Hansson 1989:151
Akha (Thai)	dɔ̀ **dzú dzú**	sit on heels	Hansson 1989:250
Hani (Lüchun)	**dʐo**^{55}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.31
Hani (Dazhai)	**dʐo**^{55}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.41
Hani (Lüchun)			
Hani (Pijo)	ká **tju**	sit on heels	Hansson 1989:250
Hani (Wordlist)	ddaoq **zzul-zzul**	sit on heels	Hansson 1989:151 [a]
Hani (Shuikui)	**tʃʮ**^{55}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**zzul zzul**	sit on heels	Hansson 1989:250
Hani (Mojiang)	**tʃʮ**^{55}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.42

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**dzy**˥	inhabit, dwell; sit, live at a place (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2857
	dzy˥**l**æ˥	seat, place	Michaud 2006–2009:994
Na (Yongning)	**dzi**˩	sit; to live at a place (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	dzi˩**ʁu**˩	seat, place	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**dzu**^{31}	dwell / live	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:580.29
Naxi	**dzɻ**^{21}	live; reside; there are (trees on the mountain); have (eyes); sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1452.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1766.45,1767.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**dzɻ**^{33}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndzɯ**^{31}	dwell; live; sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:580.28

[a] Hani final **-q** and **-l** are tone marks.

(34) PTB *m-tow SIT

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***taw** SIT / SQUAT

**Chin*	***taw**	SIT / SQUAT	VanBik 2009:227

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**to**-na	bench	VanBik 2009:227
Thado	**tóu**	sit	Thirumalai 1972:55
	tóu vin	sit down (imper.)	Thirumalai 1972:47
	tów-I, tòw-II	sit	VanBik 2009:227

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tâw**-I, tăw-II	sit (v.)	VanBik 2009:227
Lai (Falam)	**tăw**-INV	sit (v.)	VanBik 2009:227
Lushai [Mizo]	**tó**	sit, to squat, to perch (v.)	VanBik 2009:227

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**tào** ~ tỳ ~ tyù	sit down (v.)	VanBik 2009:227

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	**ntou**	sit	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**ntau**	sit	Marrison 1967

(35) PTB *syu-t SIT

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**tuː**^{2} > tut^{3}	sit (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1840
	tuː^{2}/tut^{3}	sit	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Daai	**ŋs**^{h}**ut**	sit	So-Hartmann 1988:128
Mkaang	**s̆**^{h}**ut**	sit	So-Hartmann 1988:128

1.2.2. Central Chin: ***thruu-I**, ***thrut-II** SIT

**Central Chin*	***thruu**-I, thrut-II	SIT	VanBik 2009:1352
Lai (Hakha)	**thrûu**-I, thrut-II	sit, sit down	VanBik 2009:1352
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭhú** hlăwl (ṭhùt-II)	sit up (after lying down) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1352
	thut	sit (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3012

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**zó**	sit (v.)	Bhat 1968
	zo dám	sit flatly (v.)	Bhat 1968
	zo grób	sit down or fall down due to weakness or old age; (v.)	Bhat 1968
	zo káŋ	get up and sit (v.)	Bhat 1968
	zu tum	sit together; collect (v.)	Bhat 1968

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**sat**	sit	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**shut**	sit	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. Bodic

Cuona Menba	**zuʔ**^{35}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.06

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{A}**zjuː**	sit (hon.)	Mazaudon 1994:1002
Manang (Gyaru)	**ʈɯ**^{2} ba	sit (V.)	Nagano 1984:106
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**ʈu-**	sit	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0322
	^{1}**ʈu-**	sit	Mazaudon 1994:388
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**sjuː**	sit (mid honor.)	Mazaudon 1994:1010
Tamang (Sahu)	**syuː**-pa	sit (stay, live) (honourifi (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:17.C.8.2.
Tamang (Taglung)	**sju**-ba	sit	Mazaudon 1994:1002
	^{3}**sjuː**-go	sit	Mazaudon 1994:1002
Thakali	**syuh**-wa (h)	sit	Hale 1973:01.068
Thakali (Marpha)	^{11,11}**ɕu**-to	sit (honor.)	Mazaudon 1994:1010
Thakali (Tukche)	**ʾʈu**-ci-wɔ	stationary / sit (MM)	Hari 1971:12.C.38
	ʾʈu-lɔ	sit (stay, live)	Hari 1971:6.B.3.8
	sjuh-wɔ	sit (hon.)	Hari 1971:1.68.2
	^{3}**sju**	sit (hon.)	Mazaudon 1994:1010
	^{1}**ʈu**	sit (stay, live)	Mazaudon 1994:388
	ʈu-wɔ	sit	Hari 1971:1.68.1

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**tsul tsul**	on one's haunches <sit,squat>	Driem 1993

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**tshu**	sit cross-legged	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1295

(36) PTB *myan SIT

This sparsely attested root is included here for reference. ?≷? PTB ***s-(m/n)əy** SIT / DWELL / CONTINUATIVE (§6.1.1)

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	*a-**mən**	SIT	Bruhn 2014a:II.222
Ao (Chungli)	**-mʉ̀n**	sit (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
	a^{3}-**mən**^{1}	sit down (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.222
	a **men**	sit	Marrison 1967
	men den	chair (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mən^{1}-tən^{1}	chair (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**men** chen	chair (n.)	Marrison 1967
	men ya	sit	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**mən**	sit [sat] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	mən-tʃən	chair ('sit' + LNOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-nu **mən**-tʃən	womb ('child' + 'sit' + LNOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Yacham-Tengsa	**man**	sit	Marrison 1967

(37) PTB *m-ba SIT

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**ba**	sit	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**ba**	sit	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**ba**	sit	Marrison 1967
Khezha	**ba**	sit	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**ba**	sit	Marrison 1967

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**b(a)-**	be, stay, sit (be v.)	Allen 1975

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	**mbi**^{53}	live; reside (lit. 'sit'); sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1452.15; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.15
Muya [Minyak]	**mbi**^{53}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.15

(38) PTB *rap or *lap SIT

This highly restricted root awaits further support.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	koː-**ǰap**	sit on	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**lăp**^{55}	land; descend; sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1418.23; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.23
	lăp^{55}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.48
	lăp^{55}	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.48

(39) PTB *ŋaŋ SIT

The resemblance to Siamese **nâŋ** 'sit' seems entirely fortuitous.

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Moshang)	**nong**	sit	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**ngang**	sit	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Wancho	**ngo**	sit	Marrison 1967

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**ngán**	remain, sit (v.)	Plaisier 2007

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Gelanghe)	**naŋ**^{55}	sit	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

7. Karenic

Kayan (Pekon)	**nán**	sit (V.)	Manson 2010

(40) PTk *tsɐm SIT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***tsɐm**	sit	Mortensen 2012:689
Huishu	kə-mə-**tsɐm**	sit	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.066
Tusom	k^{h}a-n-**tsɯ**	sit	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.076

(41) PTB *s-$\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{n}\end{matrix}$**əy SIT / DWELL / CONTINUATIVE**

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Rengma	**-nyu**	in; from	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **ni**	sit	Marrison 1967

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Taoping)	**χne**^{55}	sit on, hatch (egg)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	ʾka **nə**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	də^{3}**nə**^{3}	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong	ka **n̥i**	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ka-**n̥i**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	ka-**n̥i**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485

rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	kaj **'ɲə**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	ka^{3}**ni**^{53}	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	ka **'ni**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	ka **'ni**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	ka **'nə**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	ka **'ɲi**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	ka **'ɲi**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	ka **'ɲə**^{i}	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	ka ˈɲɪ	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə22 **ɲi55**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **ɲi44**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	kə22 **ɲi44**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **ɲi44**	sit, lie down (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0486
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	kə22**ɲi44**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kə^{3}**nə**^{3}	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kə **'ni**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	kə **'ni**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	kə **'ni**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	kɛ ˈɲi	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **ɲi**	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.11
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	na3**'nə5**sej3	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	na^{3} **nən**^{1}	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	na^{3} **nən**^{1}	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	na^{3} **ɲi**^{5}	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	na^{3} **ɲi**^{53}	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	na **'nin**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	na **'nin**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	na **'nin**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	na **'nje**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	na **'nə**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	na **'nən**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	na **'nən**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	na **'nən**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	na **'nən**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	na **'nən**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	na **'nən**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	na **'nən**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	na **'nən**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	na **'nən**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	na **'nən**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	na **'nən**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	na **'nət**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	na **'nət**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	na **'nʊn**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	na **'n̈ən**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	ne **'ɲən**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**nî**	perch on (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0856
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	no **'ɲin**	sit, stay (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0485
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	sa-**ɲi**	sit, lie down (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0486
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	sa-**ɲi**	sit, lie down (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0486
rGyalrong	ka **nye**	sit	Nagano 1997:136

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**nɑi**^{55}	sit	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ni**^{55}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.28
	ni^{55}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**nai**^{55}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.29
Burmese (Written)	**nei**	dwell	Weidert 1987:184

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	*(C)n/**ʔ**-mi^{1}	sit	Bradley 1979b:685

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Northern)	**ɲi**^{31}	sit	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɲi**^{55}	sit	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ɲi**^{33}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɲi**^{35}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ɲi**^{21}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ɲi**^{21}	sit	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɲi^{33}	ride (sitting); sit	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɲi^{34}**dɯ**^{33}	position (seat); seat (place to sit)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ni**^{33}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ni**^{21}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.26
Yi (Wuding)	**ɲi**^{11}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.38
Yi (Xide)	**ɲi**^{33}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.35
	ɲi^{33}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**ni**^{35}**ɣɯ**^{33}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.34
Kucong	**mɯ33**	sit	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**mɯ**^{33}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.43
Lahu (Black)	**mə**^{33}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.33
	mɨ	sit (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:1037
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɯ**^{1}	sit	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**ni**^{33}na^{55}	sit (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33}ta^{55}	sit (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**n̪i**^{33}tɑ^{55}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.40
Lisu (Central)	**nyi**^{2}-na^{1}	sit	Fraser 1922
	nyi^{2}-ta^{1}	sit (v.)	Fraser 1922
	ɲi^{33}na^{55}	sit (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{33}ta^{55}	sit (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ɲi**^{44}tɑ^{55}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.27
Yi (Sani)	**ɲ**^{33}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**nui**$^{˘}$	sit (v.)	Lewis 1989:341
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ni**^{55}tsa̱^{33}	sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.30
Mpi	**ɲi**^{4}tɯ^{5}	sit	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**n̪i**^{45}	sit	Pelkey 2011:642
Southern Muji	**ɲi**^{33}	sit	Pelkey 2011:642
Phuza	**ɲi**^{31}	sit	Pelkey 2011:642

(42) PTB *war SIT / PERCH

Although this etymon is apparently associated particularly with sitting birds, it seems to be quite independent of PTB ***ʔu** EGG / BIRD (§1.9.1).

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**wor**	sit (bird)	Bhat 1969:96
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**wor**	sit on branch or post squarely	Mortensen 2012

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Phom	**uo**	sit	Marrison 1967
	u^{31}	sit, cause to (e.g. baby, chicken)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	u^{55}	sit	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

(43) PTB *waŋ SIT / REMAIN / STAY

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**om**	sit	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Puiron	**ong**	remain; sit	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	**ong3**	sit (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ong3cuo4	stay at home (n + vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ong^{3}	sit (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.2
	ong^{3}cuo^{4}	stay at home (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.3
Tujia	**oŋ**^{21}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.49
	oŋ^{21}	dwell; live; sit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:574.38; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:580.38
	oŋ^{21}po^{21}la^{21}	exist / be present	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:748.38
Tujia (Northern)	**ũ**^{21}	sit	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Southern)	**ʔʉ**^{35}	sit	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Northern)	**ỹ**^{35}na^{55}	sit	Bradley 1994

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***ʔɔN**^{B}	live, stay	Luangthongkum 2013:172
Pa-O (Northern)	**ʔoŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	live, stay	Luangthongkum 2013:172
Pa-O (Southern)	**ʔoŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	live, stay	Luangthongkum 2013:172
Pa-O	**ʔòŋ** cám pjà	sit w / legs to one side	Solnit 1989
	ʔòŋ lāŋ	sit	Solnit 1989

(44) PTani *prɯt UNDRESS

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***prɯt**	undress	Sun 1993a:445

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**prjɯ**	undress	Sun 1993a
	prjɯ pa	strip	Sun 1993b
	pu-lje **prjɯ**-pa	undress	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**pi**	undress	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**pi**	undress	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pit	undress	Sun 1993b
Galo	**'pin** nam	undress; disrobe (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pɯt**	undress	Sun 1993a
Damu	(ʔa-ɟia) **p**^{h}**it**	undress	Sun 1993b
	p^{h}**it**(paʔ-ra)	undress	Sun 1993b

(45) PTB *lyaŋ WAIT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***lyaŋ**	wait	Matisoff 2003a:601

1.1.1. Tani: ***rjaŋ** WAIT FOR

**Tani*	***rjaŋ**	wait for	Sun 1993a:451

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	da?-**lja**	wait; await	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b	
	da?-**lja**; ka-**lja**	wait for	Sun 1993a	
	ka-**lja**	wait; await	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b	
Bengni	ka**ː-jaː**	wait for; look forward to	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b	[a]

[a] [Source Note] initial! (Sun 1993a).

	kɯ-**jaː**	wait for	Sun 1993b
Bokar	kə **jaŋ**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.24
	kə-**jaŋ**	wait for; wait	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	kə **jaŋ**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.51
Galo	to-**ya**-nam	wait (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	do **ra**	wait	Simon 1976
Nishing	dag-**ya**	wait	Das Gupta 1969
	dag-**ya**-to	wait	Das Gupta 1969
	ka-**ya**	wait	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	do-**ya**-lak	Wait (face to face) (impv?.)	Das Gupta 1983
	do-**ya**-nam	wait (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ka-**ya**-nam	await (wait)	Das Gupta 1983
	ka-**ya**-nam	wait (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	no ŋa ka-**ya**-rɤ-di	Will you wait for me?	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	ka-**jaŋ**	wait for	Sun 1993a
Milang	ka-**la**-ma	wait; await	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	to-**jaŋ**	wait for	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	ka: **lyũ**	wait	NEFA (India) 1963
	kɑ^{31} **lioŋ^{35}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.22
	kɑ^{31}**lioŋ^{35}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.49
Kaman [Mijɯ]	tə́-**ʔràŋ**	wait (v.)	Weidert 1987:823
	ɑ^{31} **ɹɑŋ^{35}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.23
	ɑ^{31}**ɹɑŋ^{35}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.48
	ʔràŋ	wait (v.)	Weidert 1987:823
Idu	kɑ^{31}**lioŋ^{35}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.50
Yidu	kɑ^{31} **lioŋ^{35}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.25

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**róng**	wait (v.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Bagmati)	**ʼruŋ**	wait (v.)	Weidert 1987:823

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**lyaŋh-**	wait, watch over, guard (B) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	lyungh.sā	wait; guard (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.49; Hale 1973:10b1.46
	lyuŋ^{h}-sa	guard; wait	Caughley 1972:10.B.1.46; Caughley 1972:2.B.1.49
	lyuŋ^{ɦ}	wait (v.)	Weidert 1987:823
	lʔyuŋh-	keep watch on, guard, watch for, wait for (esp. in ambush) (vt.)	Caughley 2000

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**lo^{55}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.18
Guiqiong	ji^{35}**l̃o^{55}**di^{35}	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.16
	l̃o^{55}di^{35}	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.17
Lyuzu	kho^{33}**luo^{53}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.18
Muya	khi^{55} **li^{53}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.15
Muya [Minyak]	khi^{55}**li^{55}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.15
Namuyi	**lo^{55}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.19
	luo^{55}	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.46
Pumi (Lanping)	xə^{13}**liõ^{55}**ku^{55}	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	xə^{21}tɕhõ^{55}**lɛ̃^{55}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.11
Qiang (Mawo)	zu **liu**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.08
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	ku^{55}**lu^{53}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.16

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**liaŋ**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

Ganzi Danba Geshenzha	kə **ʼliaŋ**	wait (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0970
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	kə ˈ**liaŋ**	wait (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0970

4. Nungic

Anong	**lɑ̃^{31}**	wait (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:266

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-laŋ^{1}**	wait	Matisoff 2003a:599

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**lɑŋ^{31}**	wait	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**luaŋ^{35}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.28
	luaŋ^{35}	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.41
Achang (Luxi)	**laŋ^{51}**	wait	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**lɔŋ^{35}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.29
Bola (Luxi)	**l̃^{35}**tą̱^{31}	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.32
Burmese (Written)	**laŋ’**	tarry, wait for	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**l̃^{55}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**laːŋ^{55}**tɔ^{55}	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.33
Maru [Langsu]	**l̃^{55}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**laŋ^{55}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.42
	laŋ^{55} tǫ̱^{21}	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.30

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***C-lo^{3}**	wait	Bradley 1979b:711

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**ʔlu**	wait	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	**loŋ^{31}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.34
Nusu (Southern)	**lɑ^{31}**	wait	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**lɑ̃^{31}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.45
Nusu (Northern)	**lɑ̃^{55}**	wait	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	**la^{33}**hɯ^{34}	wait	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ɬu^{33}**zi^{21}	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.25
Yi (Nanjian)	**lu^{33}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.23
Yi (Weishan)	**lu̱^{33}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.36
Yi (Xide)	**la^{33}**hɯ^{44}	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.21
	lɑ^{33} hɯ^{34}	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Kucong	**lu33**	wait	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**lɔ^{33}** tɑ^{11}	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.43
Lahu (Black)	**lɔ^{33}**tʌ^{11}	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**lɔ^{1}**	wait	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**lo^{55}**ŋɛ^{35}	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.40
	lo^{55}ŋɛ^{35}	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.27
Lisu (Northern)	**lɔ^{33}**ɲa^{35}	wait (V.)	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{55}ɲa^{35}	wait; watch; look forward to	Bradley 1994

(46) PTk *raj WAIT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***raj**	wait	Mortensen 2012:779
Kachai	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**rɐ**	wait	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.093
Tangkhul	nga **rai**	wait (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ray	wait	Bhat 1969:100
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**raj**	wait for someone	Mortensen 2012

(47) PTB *huŋ WAIT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Ukhrul	**hon**-p^{h}iŋ-kə-haj	wait in vain	Mortensen 2012

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **hong**	wait (v.)	Marrison 1967

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**huŋŋ**-u	wait (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**hiŋ** niˑ	wait, await	Driem 1993
Khaling	**hu**-ne	wait (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.49

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	tɛ^{31}thɛ^{55}**xo^{33}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.47
Yi (Dafang)	**ho^{21}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.22
Yi (Liangshan)	la^{33}**hɯ^{34}**	wait	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	la^{33}**hɯ^{44}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.21
	lɑ^{33} **hɯ^{34}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Northern)	**hũ^{33}**ɲa^{35}	stand as guard at the bier; wait	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**h’u^{3}**-nyá^{2}	wait for (v.)	Fraser 1922

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	t^{h}ie˧**hiẽ**˧	wait (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2595
Na (Yongning)	**hu**˧	wait (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	the^{31}**xo^{55}**	wait	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:706.29

7. Karenic

Kayan (Pekon)	**hó**	wait for someone (V.)	Manson 2010

(48) PTB *s-ŋa-k WAIT

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hŋaak-I**, ***hŋaʔ-II** WAIT

**Chin*	***hŋaak**-I, hŋaʔ-II	WAIT	VanBik 2009:917

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**ngāk** hī	wait	VanBik 2009:917
Thado	**ngâʔ**-I, ngàa-II	wait	VanBik 2009:917
	ŋà	wait for	Thirumalai 1972:21
	ŋàʔ	wait	Thirumalai 1972:66
Tiddim	**ngaːk^{1}**	wait, to wait for	VanBik 2009:917
	ngaːk^{1}	wait (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1281
	ŋaːk^{1}	wait	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊŋaːk/ˆŋaːk	wait (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hŋaak**-I, hŋaʔ-II	wait	VanBik 2009:917
Lushai [Mizo]	**nghâak**-I, nghàh-II	wait, to wait for, to keep one’s company (v.)	VanBik 2009:917
	nghâk	wait (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nghak	wait (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2725

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”

Sorbung	**ŋàak**	wait	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.125
	ŋàa gèe	wait (imp.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.126

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ŋɐk** WAIT

**Tangkhulic*	***ŋɐk**	wait	Mortensen 2012:778
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**ŋə**-rɐ	wait	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.093
Tangkhul	**nga** rai	wait (v.)	Marrison 1967
Tusom	k^{h}ə-**ŋɯə**	wait	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.122
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**ŋə**-raj	wait for someone	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**ngai**	wait (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**nga**	wait (v.)	Marrison 1967

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Wuding)	**ŋɒ^{11}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Northern)	hũ^{33}**ɲa^{35}**	stand as guard at the bier; wait	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	h’u^{3}-**nyá^{2}**	wait for (v.)	Fraser 1922

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Hlepho Phowa	**ʔnə^{33}**	wait; await; expect	Pelkey 2011:770

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**snjo**	tarry / wait	Baxter 1992:1522

(49) PTB *dzawŋ WAIT / WATCH FOR

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzoŋ**	wait / watch for	Matisoff 2003a:588

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tsoŋ**	wait for, watch for	Matisoff 2003a:294
Lushai [Mizo]	**tsoŋ**	wait for, watch for	Matisoff 2003a:294

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**sãu^{53}**	wait (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.27

Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**saũ**^{53}	wait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:706.40
Burmese (Written)	**cauŋ**	lay by for future use, wait	Matisoff 2003a:294
	coṅ.	wait (v.)	Marrison 1967
	coŋ	lay by for future use, wait	Benedict 1976a
	coŋ'	wait, watch, take care of	Benedict 1976a
	sɔŋ^{1}	wait (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1264.26
	sɔŋ^{1}	wait	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:706.39
Marma	**cǒŋ**	wait	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:194

(50) PKC *kruan WORK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***kruan**	WORK	VanBik 2009:1336

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**kûan**-I, kùan-II	go to work	VanBik 2009:1336
Tiddim	**kuan**^{1}	set out for work	VanBik 2009:1336
	kuan^{1}	set out for work (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:687
	kuan^{1}	set out for work	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**trûan**-I, trŭan-II	work, perform duties	VanBik 2009:1336
Lai (Falam)	**ṭúan**-I, ṭùan-II	work	VanBik 2009:1336

(51) IA *kam WORK

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Miri, Hill	**kam**	work	Simon 1976
	kam-ri-nam	work	Simon 1976
Nishing	**kam**-ri	work	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**ka:m**	work (duty) (n.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ka:m ji	serve (to work)	NEFA (India) 1963
	kɯm^{35}jɑ^{31}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.22
	kɯm^{35}jɑ^{31}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.49
Kaman [Miju]	**kɑm**^{35}ji^{31}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.23
	kɑm^{35}ji^{31}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.48
Idu	**kɑ**^{31}**mu**^{55}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.50
Yidu	**kɑ**^{31}**mu**^{55}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.25

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**kam**	work (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**kam**	work (v.)	Bhat 1968
	kam ani	work / business	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	**kam**	work	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**kam**	work, wealth (n.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	**kam**	work [As.]	Jacquesson 2005
	kam nõ-ni	work [As. + n -] (v.)	Jacquesson 2005

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa (Yogli)	**kham**	work (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**kam** silei	work (n.)	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**kam** öṅ	work / deed (n.)	Bailey 1911
	kam öṅ lanmig'	work (v.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**kəm**	work	Sharma 1982
Rongpo	**ka:m**	work (n.)	Sharma 2003:626 [a]

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Tamang (Sahu)	**'ka:m** sehŋ-pa	work (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:17.A.23

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**kam**	work (<N kam) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	kam bhaŋʔ-	wasted (work) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	kam bhes-	be much work (va.)	Caughley 2000
	kam dəŋ-	heavy or long-lasting (work) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	kam thes-	able to finish work quickly (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	kam thyos-	do much work (vt.)	Caughley 2000

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	* **[kam**	work	Bradley 1979b:426B

[a] [Source Note] (IA).

(52) PTB *mow WORK / MOVE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***mow**	do (v.)	Weidert 1987:193
	***mow**	move; work; do	Matisoff 2003a:602; Benedict 1972:280

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**mau**	work	Weidert 1987:193
	maw	move; work; swing (vi.)	Bhat 1968
	maw brod	have time to work (v.)	Bhat 1968
	maw den	begin to work (v.)	Bhat 1968
	maw dob	work perfectly (v.)	Bhat 1968
	maw gru	work hastily (v.)	Bhat 1968
	maw naŋ	work definitely (v.)	Bhat 1968
	maw per	work habitually (v.)	Bhat 1968
	maw ray	pretend to work (v.)	Bhat 1968
	maw su	work very much (v.)	Bhat 1968
	maw tam	work completely (v.)	Bhat 1968
	maw ti	stick to work (v.)	Bhat 1968
	maw tə	work for a while (v.)	Bhat 1968
	maw zab	work with someone or something (v.)	Bhat 1968
	maw zəb	do all the things or everyone to work (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**mao**	move (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mau	move	Benedict 1972:280
	sa **mao**	move (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sa **mau**	move, shake	Benedict 1972:280
Meche	**mau**	work / shake / shiver	Weidert 1987:193

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**mo**	move	Benedict 1972:280
Garo (Bangladesh)	**mo**-jim-a	move back and forth; shake (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.255-II:idx

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**mu** ⩤ ə **mu**	work, labor; affair, Matter	Benedict 1972:280
	sha **mu**	move (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ś**ə mu**	move, stir	Benedict 1972:280
	ʃă^{31}**mu**^{33}	move (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1285.19
	ʔə **mú**	work	Matisoff 1974:278

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak	rə **mứ**	move	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:234

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Mianchi)	**mè**	matter, affair (three or fewer) (CL.)	Evans 1999:1269
	mè	batch (of matters)	Evans 1999:1270

4. NUNGIC

Anong	ə **mu**	labor, business matter	Benedict 1972:280

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	a^{55}**mu**^{55}tien^{35}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.28
	mu^{55}lə^{31}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**mu**^{55}lɤ^{31}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.29
Bola (Luxi)	**mu**^{35}tui^{31}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.32
Burmese (Written)	ă **hmú**	business work, affair	Benedict 1972:280
	mu	work	Hansson 1989:372
	mu	work (v.)	Matisoff 1978a:99
	mu	do, perform	Benedict 1972:280
	ŭ **mu**	deed, action	Benedict 1972:280
	ə-**hmu'**	business, work	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **hmu'**	work (n.)	Matisoff 1978a:99
Langsu (Luxi)	**mau**^{55}tsɔi^{31}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**mo**^{55}tsɻ^{33}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.33
Maru [Langsu]	**mau**^{55}tʃɔi^{31}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mu**^{55}tsui^{21}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.30

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***mi(aw)**^{2}	work	Bradley 1979b:426A

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	ɳo^{31}**m**^{33}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.47
Nusu (Bijiang)	(liɑ^{35}bɹɑ^{ɪ35}) **mɵ**^{31}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.45
Yi (Liangshan)	kɯ^{55}**mu**^{33}	do (one's work)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mo^{33}	plow (cultivate); till (soil)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{33}tsɻ^{55}	dig (cultivate)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mu^{34}tʂo^{33}	plow (cultivate); re-plow	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɻ^{55}**mu**^{33}	work	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɣɯ^{33}**mu**^{33}	labor (work); manual labor, do	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɳo^{21}**mu**^{33}	labor (work); produce (make); work (labor)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬu^{55}**mu**^{33}mo^{33}tɕhi^{21}	agricultural work	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	nɯ^{21}**mo**^{33}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.25
Yi (Nanhua)	miʌ^{21}**mu**^{33}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.24
Yi (Nanjian)	lo^{21}**m̩(ɥ)**^{55}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.23
Yi (Weishan)	ʔlɑ^{21}**ʔm̩**^{55}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.36
Yi (Wuding)	ŋɒ^{55}**mɣ**^{11}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.38
Yi (Xide)	ɳo^{21}**mu**^{33}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	ɕa^{33}**mɯ**^{42}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.34
	ɕa^{55}**m̩**^{42}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.44
Kucong	zʌ33 **mɯ31**	work	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Black)	**mə**^{31}vʌ^{53}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.33
	mɨ	do work	Matisoff 1978a:99
Lisu (Northern)	læʔ^{21}**mi**^{21}	hand work; job	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	læʔ^{21}**mjø**^{21}	hand work; job	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**mi**^{21}dɔ^{33}	come out to work	Bradley 1994
	mi^{21}hwa^{55}su^{33}	skilled in work	Bradley 1994
	mi^{21}je^{33}	labour; do farming; work	Bradley 1994
	mi^{21}je^{33} wa^{21}phu^{21}	work for pay; wages	Bradley 1994
	mi^{21}je^{33}tɤ^{55}	worksite; place of work	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**mi**^{31}ʒe^{33}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.27
	mi^{31}ʑe̱^{33}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.40
Lisu (Central)	**mi**^{5} ye^{2}	cultivate (land) (v.)	Fraser 1922
	mi^{5} ye^{3}	labor / work (v.)	Fraser 1922
	mi^{5} ye^{3}	work, do / cultivation	Fraser 1922
	mjø^{21}dɔ^{33}	come out to work	Bradley 1994
	mjø^{21}hwa^{55}su^{33}	skilled in work	Bradley 1994
	mjø^{21}je^{33}	labour; do farming; work	Bradley 1994
	mjø^{21}je^{33} wa^{21}phu^{21}	work for pay; wages	Bradley 1994
	mjø^{21}je^{33}tɤ^{55}	worksite; place of work	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	no^{55}**m̩**^{33}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**ḿ**	work	Hansson 1989:372
Akha (Thai)	**ḿ**	work	Hansson 1989:372
Akha (Yunnan)	**ḿ**	work	Hansson 1989:372
Hani (Dazhai)	**mjɔ**^{31}ɳe^{31}ɔ^{55}; lɔ^{31}tɔ^{24}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**mi**^{31}ɳe^{31} ɔ^{55}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	ja^{55}**mi**^{55}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.30
Hani (Pijo)	**mí**	work	Hansson 1989:372
Hani (Gelanghe)	ja^{55}**m̩**^{55}	work / labor	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**mu**^{31}xɔ^{55}ɣu^{55}	work / labor	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:585.32
Hani (Khatu)	**mí**	work	Hansson 1989:372
Hani (Mojiang)	**mu**^{31}xɔ^{55} u^{55}	work / labor (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1336.42

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**mɑ**^{21}	do (work)	Pelkey 2011:660
	nɨ^{22}**mɑ**^{21}	labor; work	Pelkey 2011:661; Pelkey 2011:662

Southern Muji	**mɯ**^{33}	do (work)	Pelkey 2011:660
	nə^{21}**mɯ**^{33}	labor; work	Pelkey 2011:661; Pelkey 2011:662
Phola	**mu**^{33}	do (work)	Pelkey 2011:660
	nɔ^{31}**mu**^{33}	labor; work	Pelkey 2011:661; Pelkey 2011:662
Hlepho Phowa	**mo**^{21}	do (work)	Pelkey 2011:660
	nə^{33}**mo**^{21}	labor; work	Pelkey 2011:661; Pelkey 2011:662
Phuza	**mɯ**^{31}	do (work)	Pelkey 2011:660
	nʌ^{33}**mɯ**^{31}	labor; work	Pelkey 2011:661; Pelkey 2011:662

Chinese comparandum

務 OC ***mi̯ug***, *GSR* #1109j ‘apply oneself, occupation, task’; Schuessler 2007:521 ***moh***; B & S 2011: ***mo-s {m(r)o-s}***; Mand. **wù**.
懋 OC ***mug***, *GSR* #1109f-g ‘make an effort, strive’; Schuessler 2007:521 ***môh***; Mand. **mào**.

(53) TGTM *^{B}gjat work

2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{B}**gjat** work

**TGTM*	*^{B}**gjat**	work	Mazaudon 1978:58
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{4}**ke**	work	Mazaudon 1978:58
Manang (Ngawal)	^{4}**khje**	work	Mazaudon 1978:58
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**kjat**	work	Mazaudon 1978:58
Tamang (Taglung)	^{4}**ke:**	work	Mazaudon 1978:58
Thakali (Marpha)	^{4}**kje**	work	Mazaudon 1978:58
Thakali (Syang)	^{4}**ke**	work	Mazaudon 1978:58
Thakali (Tukche)	^{4}**ke**	work	Mazaudon 1978:58

6.2.0 Action Verbs with Patient

(1) PTB *twak CALCULATE / COUNT / TALLY

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tuak*** CALCULATE / COUNT / TALLY

**Chin*	***tuak**	CALCULATE / COUNT / TALLY	VanBik 2009:184

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	ki-**tuak**	tally (v.)	VanBik 2009:184
Tiddim	**tuat**^{3}	count	VanBik 2009:184
	tuat^{3}	count (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1825
	tuat^{3}	count	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tŭak**-INV	calculate, reckon, tally	VanBik 2009:184
Lai (Falam)	**tûak**-INV	calculate, reckon (v.)	VanBik 2009:184

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**twɛʔ**^{4}	calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**twɛʔ**^{44}	calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.40
Burmese (Written)	**twak**	count (v.)	Marrison 1967
	twɑk	calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.39
	twɑk^{4}	calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.26

7. Karenic: ***dwáʔ*** COMPUTE / CALCULATE

**Karen*	***dwáʔ**	compute / calculate (v.)	Jones 1961:97
Karen	**duạ**^{55}**_**	calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.50
Pa-O	nàp **thwâ**	count (2)	Solnit 1989
	rì **twàk**	count (v.)	Solnit 1989

(2) PTB *r-tsyəy COUNT

This root was originally reconstructed as ***(r-)tśrəy*** in *STC* p. 30 n. 95.

A few forms suggest the presence of a consonantal coda, either ***-t*** or ***-s***, e.g. rGyalrong Maerkang Caodeng (B) **ka22 ʂtsəˈ44**, Kaman Miju **xɑ^{31}tsɯt^{55}**, and rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman) **tə-rtsis**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**r-)tśrəy**	count	Chou Fa-kao 1972:123r; Benedict 1972:30n95
	***r-tsiy**	count	Benedict 1972:76
	***r-tsiy**=(**r-)tśrəy**	count	LaPolla 1987:107
	***r-tśrəy**	count / number	Matisoff 2003a:617
	***r-tsyəy**	count / number	Matisoff 2003a:617

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**cai**	count	NEFA (India) 1963
	tɑ^{31}**tsɑi**^{55}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.22
	tɑ^{31}**tsɑi**^{55}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.49
Kaman [Miju]	xɑ^{31}**tsɯt**^{55}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.23
	xɑ^{31}**tsɯt**^{55}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.48

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Chinbon	**m̥šʰeⁱʔ**	count	So-Hartmann 1988:122

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**hti**	count (v.)	Marrison 1967
	thi	count	LaPolla 1987:107; Benedict 1972:76
	thi^{55}	count	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	thi^{55}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.19
	thi^{55}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.47

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**tsiʔ** phi	calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.7
	tsi^{55}pʻi^{55}	calculate	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tsi**^{55}	count; calculate	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986; Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tsi**^{53} ja^{13}	count	LaPolla 1987:107
	tsi^{53}jʌ^{13}	count; calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.6
Motuo Menba	**tsi** phi	calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.07
Cuona Menba	**tsi**^{53} ja^{35}	count (numbers); calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.06; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**wtsi**	count (numbers); calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.05; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htsi**	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.4
	htsi dʑap	calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rtsə**	count; calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**tsɪ**^{53}	calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tsi**^{53}	count; calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tsiʔ**^{53}cap^{13}	calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.2
	tsi^{55}	calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.02
Tibetan (Written)	**rtsi**	count (v.)	Marrison 1967
	rtsi	calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.1
	rtsi-ba	count	LaPolla 1987:107; Benedict 1972:30n95
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htsə**	count (numbers); calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.04

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**htɛ**^{55}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.18
Guiqiong	**tɕhe**^{35}	count; calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.17; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.17
	tɕhe^{55}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.16
Muya	(**tsi**^{33}tʂu^{55}) tə^{33}dʑɐ^{53}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.15
	tə^{33} **tsi**^{53} tʂu^{33}	calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.15
Muya [Minyak]	tɯ^{55}**tsi**^{55}tʂu^{53}	count; calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.15; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.15
Pumi (Lanping)	**tsə**^{13} **tsə**^{13}	calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.09
	xə^{13}**tsə**^{13}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tsə**^{13}**tsə**^{13}	calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.11
	xə^{13}**tsə**^{13}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.11
Pumi (Taoba)	tə^{55}**tsi**^{55}	calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**sə** sɑ	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.8
	sə sa	count	LaPolla 1987:107
Qiang (Taoping)	**sye**^{55}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tsi**^{35}tʂu^{53}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tsy**^{55}tʂu^{55}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tə^{35}**tsi**^{53}	calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʂtsi**^{55}	calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.13
Xumi	**tsi**^{55}	calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.20
	tsi^{55}dzu^{55}	calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	ə^{33} **ʂtsə**^{55}	calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.14
	ə^{55} **ʂtsə**^{55}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**ʂtse** dzu	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.12
	ʂtse dzu ncçhə	calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐtsi**	count; calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.14; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	ka **rtsə**	calculate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.11
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	ka-**rtsɻ**	count	Nagano & Prins 2013:1864
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	ka22 **rtsə44**	count	Nagano & Prins 2013:1864
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	ka22 **ʂtsəˈ44**	count	Nagano & Prins 2013:1864
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **ʂtsɨ42**	count	Nagano & Prins 2013:1864
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **rtsə**	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **rtsə**	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.12
Caodeng	kɐ-**rtsəʔ**	count	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**rtsi**	count	Nagano & Prins 2013:1864
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	tə **rtsis** ka pa	calculate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:619.12
	tə-**rtsis**	count	Nagano & Prins 2013:1864

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	**tsi**^{55}; tɯ^{31}ɹɯ^{55}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**tsi**^{55}	count	LaPolla 1987:107

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***rəy**^{1}/^{3} WRITE / COUNT

**Lolo-Burmese*	***rəy**^{1}/^{3}	write / count	Matisoff 2003a:610

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**je**^{22}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ji**^{22}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.40
Burmese (Written)	**re**	count, enumerate; count	Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:107; Benedict 1972:30n95
	re^{2}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.26
	ə-**re**	count, enumerate	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Dafang)	**ɣɯ**^{21}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ɣo**^{21}	count (number)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ɣɯ**^{33}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ɣɯ**^{21}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ɣɯ**^{33}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.37
	ɣɯ^{33}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.24
Yi (Wuding)	**ɣɯ**^{11}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	**ɣɔ**^{33}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.43
Lahu (Black)	**ɣɔ**^{33}	count	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:618.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ɣɔ**^{1}	count	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Yi (Sani)	**ɣɯ**^{33}	count (numbers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.39

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Phola	**ɣu**^{23}	count (number)	Pelkey 2011:690
Phuza	**ɣə**^{33}	count (number)	Pelkey 2011:690

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ʈʂʰæ˥**	red deer	Michaud 2006–2009:3802

7. Karenic

Pa-O	**rì** twàk	count (v.)	Solnit 1989
Palaychi	**ɣì**-nɔ́q	count (v.)	Jones 1961:#487
Sgaw (Bassein)	**ɣì**	count (v.)	Jones 1961:#487
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	数	count	Nagano & Prins 2013:1864
	數	count (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2588
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**śju**	count	LaPolla 1987:107
	śri̯u/**śi̯u**	count / number	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:123r
	śrju	count	LaPolla 1987:107
Chinese (Old)	**s-roʔ**	count (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2588
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**srjuX**	count (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2588
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**shǔ**	count (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2588

Chinese comparandum

数 OC ***sli̯u***, *GSR* #123r; B & S 2011: ***s-roʔ***; Mand. shǔ.

This Chinese word (数 Mand. **shǔ, shù**) was reconstructed as ***sli̯u*** in *GSR* #123r, but subsequent authors (Benedict, Baxter) have revised the lateral to a rhotic glide.

(3) PTB *wyal COUNT

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
Tibeto-Burman	***wel**	count / read	Matisoff 2003a:619
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***ʔ-we** COUNT			
Northern Naga	***ʔ-we**	count (v.)	French 1983:472
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**veʔ**	count	Weidert 1987:76
Tangsa	**[1]vʌl(ʔ)**	count	Weidert 1987:76
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**ue**	read (v.)	Marrison 1967
	wé	count	Weidert 1987:76
	wie	count (v.)	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**é**	count	Weidert 1987:76
Phom	**e**	count (v.)	Marrison 1967
	e[31]	read / count	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	vei	read (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**wel**	count / examine (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:76

(4) PTani *krɯ COUNT / CALCULATE

1.1.1. TANI			
Tani	***krɯ**	count / calculate	Sun 1993a:82
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**k[h]rje**	count (v.)	Sun 1993b
	k[h]rje	read	Sun 1993b
	k[h]rje-ka	calculate	Sun 1993b
	xrje rhyme!	count / calculate	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**ki**	count / calculate	Sun 1993a
	ki	count (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ki	calculate	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**kɯː**	count / calculate	Sun 1993a
	kɯː	count, calculate; count (numbers); calculate (v.)	Sun 1993b; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1652.24
Bokar Lhoba	**kɯː**	count; calculate	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:618.51; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:619.51
Galo	**kɯ**-nam	calculate; measure (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	ʻkɨ	count; enumerate (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Tagin	**kɯ**-nam	measure (count) (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	kɯ nam	calculate	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kɯ**(-ki)	count / calculate	Sun 1993a
Damu	**kyː**	count (v.)	Sun 1993b
	kyː	calculate	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ki**-ka-ma	count; measure	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	ki-ma	calculate	Tayeng 1976

(5) PKC *tik-I, *tiʔ-II FUEL / ADD (to fire)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
Chin	***tik**-I, tiʔ-II	FUEL / ADD (to fire)	VanBik 2009:198
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**tìʔ**-I, tìi-II	enflame, make fire brighter	VanBik 2009:198
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tik**-I, tiʔ-II	enflame, fuel, add (fire)	VanBik 2009:198
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**tī**	enflame	VanBik 2009:198

(6) PKC *luaʔ INHABIT / OCCUPY / INHERIT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
Chin	***luaʔ**	INHABIT / OCCUPY / INHERIT	VanBik 2009:1028
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**lòo**-INV	occupy (as a house)	VanBik 2009:1028
Tiddim	**luaʔ[3]**	inherit	VanBik 2009:1028
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**lùaʔ**-INV	inhabit, occupy	VanBik 2009:1028
Lushai [Mizo]	**lùah**	inhabit, to occupy, to take possession of, to fill or hold (as post or office) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1028
	luah	take possession of (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2654

(7) PNC *teeŋ INHABIT / STAY

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Northern Chin	***teeŋ**	INHABIT / STAY	VanBik 2009:203
Sizang	**teang** hī	stay	VanBik 2009:203
Tiddim	**teːng**[1] > teːn[1]	inhabit, stay	VanBik 2009:203
	teːng[1] > teːn[1]	stay; inhabit (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1757
	teːŋ[1]/teːn[1]	stay, inhabit	Bhaskararao 1994

(8) PTani *grəŋ LEAN AGAINST

1.1.1. TANI			
Tani	***grəŋ**	lean against	Sun 1993a:232
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	**-gjɯŋ**	lean against	Sun 1993a
	jɯː-**giŋ**	lean (body) against st	Sun 1993b
	tap-**giŋ**	lean (head) against st	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**-gəŋ**	lean against	Sun 1993a
	gəŋ	rely / lean on (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1757.24
	məŋ **gəŋ**	rely / lean on (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1757.24
	num **gəŋ**	put one's hand on (sthg.) for (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1327.24
	tap **gəŋ**	rely / depend on (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1475.24
	tap-**gəŋ**	lean (e.g. against a tree)	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gəŋ**	lean against	Sun 1993a

(9) PKC *hŋa $^{t}_{n}$ LEAN ON

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
Chin	***hŋat** ~ hŋan	LEAN ON	VanBik 2009:915
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-hngan	lean over something; to be leaning against (v.)	VanBik 2009:915
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hŋat**-tshân-INV	lean, lean over	VanBik 2009:915
Lushai [Mizo]	**nghàt**-I, nghàh-II	rest against or upon (v.)	VanBik 2009:915

(10) PTB *p[w]a LOOK FOR / SEARCH

This root has so far been found only in the NE Indian linguistic area.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
Tibeto-Burman	***pa**	search for / seek	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:606
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***pwa** SEARCH, SEEK			
Central Naga	***pwa**	SEARCH, SEEK	Bruhn 2014a:III.036
Ao	***pwa**-ʃi	SEARCH FOR, SEEK	Bruhn 2014a:II.370
Ao (Chungli)	**bu** shi	seek; hunt	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	pu[2]si[2]	search for / study (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.370
	pū sī	search (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:3
	pu tet	find (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	**phà** si	search (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.370
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**pha** shi	seek	Marrison 1967
	pha si	look for	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**pa** si	search [searched] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	**pu** chi	seek	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Kohima)	**pfü**	look for	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**phu**	look for	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**pha**	look for; seek	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Rengma	**fü**	look for	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**phu** che	look for	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	**phiu**	look for	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**phu**	look for	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**peu**	look for	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***p[h]a** SEEK			
Tangkhulic	***p[h]a**	seek	Mortensen 2012:337
Huishu	kə-**p[h]e**	seek / search	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.049
Kachai	kə-**p[h]u**	seek / search	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.041
Tangkhul	**pha**	search; look for	Bhat 1969:96; Marrison 1967
Tusom	kə-**pʃi**	seek / search	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.052
Ukhrul	kə-**p[h]a**	seek, search, look for	Mortensen 2012

(11) PTB * $^{g}_{k}$ raŋ MEASURE / COUNT

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
Tibeto-Burman	***graŋ ~ kraŋ**	measure / count	Matisoff 2003a:591
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao	*a-**zəŋ**	COUNT / READ	Bruhn 2014a:II.131
Ao (Chungli)	**-zùŋ**	count (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
	a[3]-**zəŋ**[1]	read (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.131
	a **jüng**	count (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**zung**	count; read (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**zèŋ**	count [counted]; read (cf. 'counted') (v.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**bgraṅ**	count (v.)	Marrison 1967
	bgraŋ	count (numbers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.01
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**'khran**-ne	count (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.22
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Southern)	**xɹɯ[31]**	count	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**xɹɯ[31]**	count (numbers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1640.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**xɹɯ[31]**	count	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:618.45
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	量	measure (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1714
	量	measure (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1718
Chinese (GSR #)	**0737a**	measure (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1714
	0737a	measure (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1718
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**raŋ** {[r]aŋ}	measure (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1714
	raŋ-s {[r]aŋ-s}	measure (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1718
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**ljang**	measure (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1714
	ljangH	measure (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1718
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**liáng**	measure (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1714

	liàng	measure (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1718

Chinese comparandum

量 OC ***li̯ɑng**, *GSR* #737a 'measure'; B & S 2011: ***raŋ { [r] aŋ}**; Mand. **liáng** 'measure (v.)'.
量 OC ***li̯ɑng**, *GSR* #737a 'measure'; B & S 2011: ***raŋ-s { [r] aŋ-s}**; Mand. **liàng** 'measure (n.)'.

(12) PNC *suan REPLACE / PLANT (v.)

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Northern Chin*	***suan**	REPLACE / PLANT (v.)	VanBik 2009:671
Sizang	**suan** hi	plant	VanBik 2009:671
Thado	**súon**-I, sùon-II	replace, move (sth.)	VanBik 2009:671
Tiddim	**suan**^{1}	plant, take out a pot from the stove, push out, dethrone	VanBik 2009:671
	suan^{1}	plant; take out a pot from the stove; push out; d (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1623

(13) PTB *gyi ⋉ *dzyi RIDE / SIT ASTRIDE / SIT (HORSE)

STC p.184 reconstructs PLB ***gi**. Many of the TB forms seem to be borrowings from Chinese 騎 OC **g'ia** [*GSR* 1-u]. However, this is evidently an East Asian Wanderwort (cf. Siamese **khìi**), and Benedict surmises that it is an ancient loan into PST from Austro-Tai [*STC* n. 484; 1975a, p. 252].

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gyi ⋉ dzyi**	ride (horse)	Matisoff 2003a:592
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**ʃe**	ride	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:177-1
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	te **tʃi**	ride (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**tsi**	sit	Mazaudon 1994:258
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**tsi**	sit / stay	Mazaudon 1994:258
Tamang (Taglung)	**tsi**	sit	Mazaudon 1994:258
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**dze̠j**	ride	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0520; Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2407
	tswe̠ (tswe)	sit, squat on the heels	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3770
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**ndzɛ**^{55}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.18
Lyuzu	**dze**^{53}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.18
Muya	qhə^{33} **ndza**^{53}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.15
Muya [Minyak]	qhɯ^{35}**ndza**^{35}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.15
Namuyi	**tsɛ**^{33}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.19
	tsæ^{53}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**dzɛi**^{35}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.10
Pumi (Taoba)	nə^{35}**dze**^{35}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**tsà**	ride, straddle	Evans 1999:2240
	tə̀ **tsà** zɨ́	make ride (horse)	Evans 1999:2241
Qiang (Mawo)	qɛ **tʃɛ**	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.08
	tsɑ	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**tsà**	ride, straddle	Evans 1999:2240
	tsà zɨ̀	ride (horse) (CAUS)	Evans 1999:2241
Qiang (Taoping)	**tsɑ**^{33}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{35}**tso**^{55}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.16
Xumi	**dzæ**^{53}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.17
	dzɛ^{35}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	a^{33} **ndʑʌ**^{55}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**cçhi**	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.12
Ergong (Danba)	**tɕi**	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.14
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Southern)	**dʑi**^{13}	ride	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**ji4**	ride (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia	**tɕi**^{53}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.49
	tɕi^{53}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.38
Tujia (Northern)	**tɕi**^{55}	ride	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***gyi** ⋉ ***dzyi** RIDE (HORSE, VEHICLE)			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***dzey**^{2}	ride (as horse)	Matisoff 1978a:36
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**tɕi**^{31}	ride	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tsi**^{31}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.28
	tsi^{31}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.41
Achang (Luxi)	**tɕi**^{51}	ride	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**tsi**^{31}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.29
Bola (Luxi)	**tʃui**^{31}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**si**^{55}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**si**^{55}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.40
Burmese (Written)	**cî**	ride; ride (as horse)	Hansson 1989:112; Matisoff 1978a:36
	cî	mounted on, ride (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	si^{3}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.26
	si^{3}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.39
	tsi	ride (horse)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1u
	tsì	ride (horse)	Benedict 1972:184n484
Langsu (Luxi)	**tʃui**^{35}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tʃyː**^{33}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.33
Marma	**cí**	ride	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:177-1
Maru [Langsu]	**tʃui**^{35}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃi**^{21}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.30
	tʃi^{21}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.42
	tʃi^{21}thep^{55}	whip (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0597.30
	tʃi^{21}thep^{55}	whip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:430.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***dzi**^{2}	ride	Bradley 1979b:651; Hansson 1989:112
Lolopho	**dze**	ride (horse)	Benedict 1972:184n484
PNL	**dzi**^{2}	ride	Chen Kang 1986a:127.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**tsɤ**^{31}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.47
Lalo	**dzè**	ride	Björverud 1994
	dze^{21}	ride	Chen Kang 1986a:127.
Lipho	**dzɛ**^{21}	ride	Chen Kang 1986a:127.
Nasu	**dzɔ**^{33}	ride	Chen Kang 1986a:127.
Neisu	**dzɛ**^{33}	ride	Chen Kang 1986a:127.
Nesu	**dzɛ**^{33}	ride	Chen Kang 1986a:127.
Nosu	**dzi**^{33}	ride	Chen Kang 1986a:127.
Nusu (Northern)	**dzɯ**^{31}	ride	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**dzɯ**^{31}	ride	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**dzɯ**^{31}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**dzɯ**^{31}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.45
Yi (Dafang)	**dzə**^{33}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.22
Yi (Liangshan)	di^{33}**dʑʅ**^{33}	ride (straddling)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	dʑʅ^{33}	bear (a rider); carry (a rider); ride (straddling)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsʅ^{33}	ride (straddling)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**dzɛ**^{21}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dzɛ**^{33}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dzæ**^{21}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.37
	dzɛ^{21}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**dʑe**^{21}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.23
Yi (Weishan)	**dzᴇ**^{21}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.36
Yi (Wuding)	**dzɔ**^{33}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.38
Yi (Xide)	**dzʅ**^{33}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.35
	dzʅ^{33}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**dza**^{21}	ride	Chen Kang 1986a:127.
	dze	ride (horse)	Benedict 1972:184n484
Jinuo	**tsɯ**^{33}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.34
	tsɯ^{44}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**tsɤ**^{44}	ride	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕi**^{53}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.43
Lahu (Black)	**cî**	ride (as horse)	Matisoff 1978a:36
	tsi^{53}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tɕɯ**^{1}	ride (e.g. horse) (v.)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**dzi**	ride (horse)	Benedict 1972:184n484
Lisu (Central)	**dzï**^{5}	ride (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Luquan)	**dzəɹ**^{31}	ride (horse, etc.) (v.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**dzɯ**^{31}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.27
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**dzɯɹ**^{31}	ride (horse, etc.) (v.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**dzɯ̠**^{31}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.40
Lisu (Northern)	**dzɤ**^{21}	ride; sit; take (V.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**dzì**	ride	Hansson 1989:112
Akha (Thai)	**dzì**	ride	Hansson 1989:112
Akha (Yunnan)	**dzì**	ride	Hansson 1989:112
Hani (Lüchun)	**dzỳ**	ride	Hansson 1989:112
Hani (Dazhai)	**dzʅ**^{31}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dzʅ**^{31}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.41
Hani (Pijo)	**tsỳ**	ride	Hansson 1989:112
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsʅ**^{31}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dzi**^{31}	ride	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**tsi**^{31}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**zziq**	ride	Hansson 1989:112
Hani (Khatu)	**tsỳ**	ride	Hansson 1989:112
Hani (Mojiang)	**tsi**^{31}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.42
Mpi	**tɯ**^{1}	ride; ride (as horse)	Hansson 1989:112; Matisoff 1978a:36
	tɯ^{1}	ride (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**tsʌ**^{22}	ride; ride on	Pelkey 2011:827
Southern Muji	**dʑɪ**^{33}	ride; ride on	Pelkey 2011:827
Phola	**dzi**^{31}	ride; ride on	Pelkey 2011:827
Hlepho Phowa	**dʑi**^{21}	ride; ride on	Pelkey 2011:827
Phuza	**dzɛ**^{13}	ride; ride on	Pelkey 2011:827
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**dzɯ˩**	ride (a horse) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3027
Na (Yongning)	**dʐæ˧**	ride (a horse) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**dzæ**^{33}	ride (a horse) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1566.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**dʐa**^{31}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndza**^{33}	ride	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:571.28
7. Karenic			
Karen	**tshe**^{31}**nɔ**^{33}	sit down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1819.50

(14) PKC *ruk ⋉ *hruk SHEATHE / CORK / PUT ON (cloth)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ruk** ⋉ hruk	SHEATHE / CORK / PUT ON (cloth)	VanBik 2009:971
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**huː**^{3} > huk^{3}	close the mouth of a bottle or a pipe (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:512
	huː^{3} > huːk^{3}	close the mouth of a bottle or a pipe	VanBik 2009:971
	huː^{3}/**huk**^{3}	close the mouth of a bottle...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**guk**	put on (the head) one feature of a sacrificed fowl (v.)	VanBik 2009:971
Khumi	**kríw**	sheath, scabbard, cover, quiver (for arrows), mute (for flutes)	VanBik 2009:971

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hruk**-INV	sheathe, cork, put on (cloth)	VanBik 2009:971

(15) PTB *s-nak ≷ *naŋ STEP ON

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nak ≷ s-naŋ**	step on	Matisoff 2003a:603

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{Bh}**naŋ**	press down/tread/brood	Mazaudon 1994:575
Manang (Gyaru)	**naŋ**^{1} ba	step (V.)	Nagano 1984:210
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**naŋ**-	tread	Mazaudon 1994:575
	^{1}**naŋ**-	tread	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0317
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**naŋ**	press / massage / trample on	Mazaudon 1994:575
Thakali (Marpha)	^{44,44}**naŋ**-ba	brood	Mazaudon 1994:576
Thakali (Tukche)	**naŋ**-lɔ	press down	Hari 1971:2.B.1.36
	^{2}**naŋ**	press down	Mazaudon 1994:575

3.2. Qiangic

Lyuzu	**no**^{33}kuo^{53}tsʅ^{31}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.18
	no^{33}kuo^{53}tsʅ^{31}	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.18
Muya	**nɐ**^{33} que^{55} tsə^{33}	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.15
	nɐ^{33}que^{55}tsə^{33}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.15
Pumi (Lanping)	**nə**^{13} tʂhə^{55}	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.09
	nə^{13}tʂhɯ^{13}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**nə**^{13}tʂhɯ^{13}	tread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:567.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**nə**^{35}tɕho^{55}	tread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:567.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**nə**^{35}tʂhi^{55}tʂho^{53}	tread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:567.16

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***(s-)nak ≷ *naŋ**^{2} step on, tread

**Lolo-Burmese*	***(s-)nak**	step on	Matisoff 1972b:149(a)
	***naŋ**	step on	Matisoff 1972b:149(b)

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**nɑŋ**^{31}	tread (v.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**nuaŋ**^{31}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.28
	nuaŋ^{31}	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.28
	nuaŋ^{31}	tread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:567.41
Achang (Luxi)	**naŋ**^{51}	tread (v.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**nɔ̃**^{31}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**nĩ**^{55}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.27
	nĩ^{55}	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**nĩ**^{55}	tread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:567.40
Burmese (Written)	**nâŋ**	tread on; sink in water	Benedict 1976a
	nɑŋ^{3}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.26
	nɑŋ^{3}	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.26
	nɑŋ^{3}	tread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:567.39
Hpun (Northern)	**nò**	step on / tread on	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**nɔ̃**^{35}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.31
	nɔ̃^{35}	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**na:ŋ**^{33}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.33
	na:ŋ^{33}	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.33
Marma	**náŋ**	step on	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:210
Maru [Langsu]	**nɔ̃**^{35}	tread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:567.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**naŋ**^{21}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.30
	naŋ^{21}	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.30
	naŋ^{21}	tread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:567.42

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Liangshan)	z̩ʅ^{55}**no**^{21}	jostle; step on	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Wuding)	**n̥ɑ̱**^{2}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Youle)	**nə**^{44}	tread (v.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**nə**^{44}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.44
	nə^{44}	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.44
	nɐ^{33}	tread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:567.34
Lahu (Lancang)	**nɑ**^{54}	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.43
Lahu (Black)	**nâʔ**	step on (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:752-753
	nᴀ^{54}	tread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:567.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**n̥ia**^{6}	step on / stamp	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	n̥ia^{6}	tread (v.)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**naw L**	step on	Matisoff 1972b:149(b)
Hani (Dazhai)	**nɔ**^{31}	tread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:567.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**nɔ**^{31}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.41
	nɔ^{31}	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**nɤ**^{31}	tread	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:567.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**nɔ**^{31}	tread (v.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Mojiang)	**nɣ̩**^{31}	step on / tread	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1168.42
	nɣ̩^{31}	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.42
Mpi	**noŋ**^{1}	push against / step on	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**naŋ31** ŋi45	tread (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:132163

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Southern Muji	**n̥ɛ**^{55}	step on	Pelkey 2011:823
Phuza	**n̥i**^{55}	step on	Pelkey 2011:823

6.2.2 Assorted action verbs

(1) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{g}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ wa-n WEAR / CLOTHE

(1a) PTB *s-gywa $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{n}\\\mathbf{t}\end{matrix}$ WEAR / PUT ON / CLOTHE

All the forms cited here were put into the same etymon for the first time in *HPTB*:333-334.

The alternation between homorganic nasal and stop in this root is well-attested. Note the complex word family in WT. There is a good Chinese comparandum.

The Qiangic (including Tangut) forms show the expected "brightening" of the vowel to **-i**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gwa ≷ kwa**	dress, clothe, wear	Benedict 1972:160
	***gwa-n**	wear (clothes) (v.)	Weidert 1987:745
	***gwa-n ≷ *kwa-n**	wear	LaPolla 1987:18
	***gwa-n ≷ kwa-n**	wear / put on / clothe	Matisoff 2003a:592
	***gwɑ-n~kwɑ-n**	wear / dress	Chou Fa-kao 1972:160a
	***kwa-n**	wear (clothes) (v.)	Weidert 1987:745
	***s-g-w(y)a-n/t**	wear / clothe	Matisoff 2003a:168, 172, 177, 259...

1.1.1. Tani: ***ge** ? CLOTHES

**Tani*	***ge** ?	clothes	Sun 1993a:75

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**ɯ-ǰi:**	clothes	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ɯ-ǰi: lak-lɯk	sleeve	Sun 1993b
Bokar	e **tɕe**	clothing / garment (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0467.24
	e-**če**	clothes; clothes, dress	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b [a]
	e-**če** hom-nə	tailor	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	e **tɕe**	clothes	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:376.51
Miri, Hill	e**ɟ [i]** ko-nam	put on clothes	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	ə-**gə**	clothes	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**ɟia**	clothes	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	e-**ge**	clothes	Sun 1993a

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**kan**	clothes, finery	Benedict 1972:160

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**gan**	wear (clothes) (v.)	Weidert 1987:745
	gan brob	wear in a hurry (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**gaing**	wear (v.)	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**kan**	wear pants, etc	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**gan**	wear (clothes) (v.)	Weidert 1987:745

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**gan**	wear; wear, dress	LaPolla 1987:18; Benedict 1972:160
	gan-a	wear (clothes) (v.)	Weidert 1987:745
Garo (Bangladesh)	**gan**-a	dress, get dressed; wear (vt.)	Burling 2003:6.53-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**kan**-	wear (v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**khon**	wear; wear (as bracelets)	LaPolla 1987:18; Benedict 1972:160
	khon^{55}	wear (a bracelet) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.19

2.1.2. Bodic

Bumthang	**gin**-	wear (clothes) (v.)	Weidert 1987:745
Tshona (Mama)	**cen**^{13}	put on / wear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:646.6
Cuona Menba	**cen**^{35}	wear (a garment)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Dzongkha	**g^{fi}ɔ̈nʔ**	wear (clothes) (v.)	Weidert 1987:745
Tibetan (Alike)	**kon**	wear (a garment)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.05
	kon	wear (a hat); wear (a turban); wear (a bracelet) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1252.05; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1253.05; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**kon**	put on / wear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:646.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**kon**	put on / wear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:646.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**gon** ma·	wear	Rangan 1975:19
Tibetan (Batang)	(la^{13} ndʑo^{55}) **kø̃**^{13}	wear (a bracelet) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.03
	kø̃^{13}	wear (a hat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1252.03
	kø̃^{13} (tɕø̃^{13})	wear (a garment)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.03
Tibetan (Central)	**kɵ̱n^{fi}**-	wear (clothes) (v.)	Weidert 1987:745
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tɕen**^{13}; **ken**^{13}	put on / wear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:646.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**khø̃**^{13}	wear (a garment)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.02
	khø̃^{13}	wear (a hat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1252.02
	khø̃^{15}	put on / wear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:646.2
Tibetan (Written)	**bgo**-ba	put on (clothes)	Benedict 1972:160
	gjon	put on / wear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:646.1
	gon	wear (a garment)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.01
	gon	wear (a bracelet) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.01
	gon-pa	wear (clothes) (v.)	Weidert 1987:745
	gon-pa	put on (clothes); clothing	Benedict 1972:160
	gos	garment, dress	Benedict 1972:160
	gyon	wear (v.)	Marrison 1967
	skon-pa	wear (clothes); dress, to clothe another person (v.)	Weidert 1987:745; Benedict 1972:160
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**kon**	wear (a garment)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.04
	kon	wear (a hat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1252.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{A}**kwan**	clothes; clothing; wear; put on	Mazaudon 1994:83; Mazaudon 1994:84

[a] [Source Note] initial! (Sun 1993a).

Gurung	**[1]kwẽ**	clothes	Mazaudon 1994:83
Manang (Prakaa)	**[3]kwẽ-**	wear / put on	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0356
	[1]kwẽ	clothes; clothing; wear; put on	Mazaudon 1994:83; Mazaudon 1994:84
Tamang (Bagmati)	**kwan**	wear (clothes) (v.)	Weidert 1987:745
Tamang (Risiangku)	**[1]kwan**	clothes	Mazaudon 1994:83
	[1]kwan	dress / dress oneself (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:84
Tamang (Sahu)	**[1]jen**	clothes	Mazaudon 1994:83
	[1]jen	dress (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:84
Tamang (Taglung)	**hwan**-ba	wear (clothes or shoes)	Mazaudon 1994:85
	[1]hwan	clothes	Mazaudon 1994:83
Thakali (Syang)	**[55]kon**	clothes	Mazaudon 1994:83
	[55]k[w]on	clothes	Mazaudon 1994:83
Thakali (Tukche)	**[2]kon**	dress (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:85
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**gjwi**	clothing, clothes, garments	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5598
	gjwi[2]	wear clothes	Matisoff 2003a:172
	gjwi̱	swaddling clothes	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5131
3.2. QIANGIC			
Menia	**ga**-ma	clothes	Benedict 1972:160
Lyuzu	de[33]**vu[53]**	wear (a garment); put on (shoes)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.18; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1212.18
Muya	tə[55]**ŋguə[33]**	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ŋguɯ[53]**	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.15
Namuyi	**ɣə[33]**	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.19
	ɣə[35]	wear (a garment); put on (shoes)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1212.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	nə[11]**gui[55]**	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.10
Pumi (Lanping)	tə[55]**gui[55]**	wear (a garment); put on (shoes)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.09; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1212.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	tə[55]**gui[55]**	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.11
Pumi (Taoba)	nə[35]**gi[35]**	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**guí** sì	clothing	Evans 1999:625
	gù	wear (clothes)	Evans 1999:1740
	phù-(dì)-tə-**gù**	put on clothes [clothes-POST-p-V]	Evans 1999:1740
Qiang (Mawo)	**guə**	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	(tè) **gù**	wear (clothes)	Evans 1999:1740
	phù **gù**	wear clothes	Evans 1999:2222
Qiang (Taoping)	**guə[33]**	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**kuə[13]**	wear (a hat); wear (a bracelet) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1252.13; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə[35]**gu[53]**	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.16
Xumi	bi[55]**gu[33]**	put on (another layer of cloth (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1665.17
	gu[53]	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.17
	gu[55]	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.20
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**gi**	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.14
Daofu	**gə**	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	**wyan**	wear (1sg)	Benedict 1972:24n78
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**dəgwa ≍ dəga**	dress (v.,tr.)	Benedict 1972:160
Rawang	**gu[33]** ɕi[31]	wear (a garment)	LaPolla 2003:1218
Nung	**gu[31]**	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.21
Anong	**gu[31]**	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.44
	gwa ≍ ga	dress (v.,intr.)	Benedict 1972:160
	gwa-lam	clothes	Benedict 1972:160
	gwa~ga	wear	LaPolla 1987:18
Trung [Dulong]	**gwɑ[55]**	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**gwa[55]**	wear	LaPolla 1987:18
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**gwa[53]**	wear	LaPolla 1987:18
	gwɑ[53]~gɔ̌ʔ[55]~gui[55]	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***gwa[2]** WEAR			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***gwa[2]**	wear; wear clothes	Matisoff 2003a:592; Matisoff 1978a:8
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Wuding)	**gu[55]**	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lisu	**guɑ[31]**	put on; wear; wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.40; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.27
	gwa	dress (v.)	Benedict 1972:160
Lisu (Putao)	**gwa[5]**	wear (upper) clothes (v.)	Luce 1985:V.103
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**gwa[5]**	wear (upper) clothes (v.)	Luce 1985:V.103
Lisu	**gwa[5]**	wear clothes	Matisoff 1978a:8
Lisu (Central)	**gwa[5]**	wear (coat) (v.)	Fraser 1922
7. KARENIC: ***kwan** put on (lower clothes)			
**Karen*	***kwan**	put on (lower clothes); put on (clothes)	Benedict 1972:135n368; Benedict 1972:159n429
	***kwàn'**	put on (sarong) (v.)	Jones 1961:135
	***kwɑn**	put on (clothes)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:160a
Kayan (Pekon)	**kwán**	wear, put on (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**kən**	put on (lower clothes)	Benedict 1972:135n368
Pwo	**kɔ**	put on (lower clothes)	Benedict 1972:135n368
Karen (Sgaw)	**ku**	put on (lower clothes)	Benedict 1972:135n368
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	冠	cap (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:933
	冠	cap (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:947
Chinese (GSR #)	**0160a**	cap (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:933
	0160a	cap (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:947
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**k.ʔ[ˤ]on**	cap (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:933
	k.ʔ[ˤ]on-s	cap (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:947
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**kwan**	cap (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:933
	kwanH	cap (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:947
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**guān**	cap (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:933
	guàn	cap (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:947

Chinese comparandum

冠 OC ***kwân**, *GSR* #160a 'cap, crown(n.)'; Schuessler 2007:265 ***kôn**; B & S 2011: ***k.ʔ[ˤ]on**; Mand. **guān**.
冠 OC ***kwân**, *GSR* #160a 'put on (cap)'; Schuessler 2007:265 ***kôns**; B & S 2011: ***k.ʔ[ˤ]on-s**; Mand. **guàn**.

(1b) PTB *w(y)a-t ≍ *wit WEAR / CLOTHE

Loloish has a simplex/causative pair WEAR / CAUSE TO WEAR, but shows no trace of a velar initial.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***w(y)a-t ≍ wit**	wear / clothe	Matisoff 2003a:619
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***we(e)t** WEAR (around body) / TIE (around)			
**Chin*	***we(e)t**	WEAR (around body) / TIE (around)	VanBik 2009:1180
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**vet[3]** > ve?[3]	wear a garment by tying it around the waist	VanBik 2009:1180
	vet[3] > ve?[3]	wear a garment by tying it around the waist (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1954
	vet[3]/ve?[3]	wear a garment by tying it...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**vêet**-I, vèh-II	put round or on, to attach or to tie to (by encircling) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1180
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**wad**-ue	put on, wear	Ebert 1997
	wap ma	put on, wear	Ebert 1997
	wap ma na	things to wear	Ebert 1997
	wat-	put on, wear	Ebert 1997
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Kulung	**wat**-u	wear (shoes) (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**waːt** mɨtnɨ	<wear,put-on> put (jewelry, ornaments) on someone (= patient)	Driem 1993
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	ji[35]**wɛ[55]**	wear (a garment); put on (shoes)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1212.16
	ji[35]**wɛ[55]**	wear (a hat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1252.16
	wɛ[55]	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.17
Muya	tu[55]**wui[33]**	put on (shoes)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1212.15
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	(tɑ rti) kɑ **wɑt**	wear (a hat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1252.11
	(ʃu phɑ) kɑ **wɑt**	wear (a turban) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1253.11
rGyalrong	ka **wat**	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ka-**wat**	wear (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0232a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **wɑt**	wear (a garment); put on (shoes)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.11; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1212.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	ta44 **wat22**	wear (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0232a
rGyalrong	te **wyet**	clothes	Benedict 1972:24n78
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	to22 **wat44**	wear (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0232a
rGyalrong	**wat**	wear (clothes) / dress (someone)	Matisoff 1985a:032
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊko **wet**	wear (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0232a
rGBenzhen	ka-**vat**~ka-**wat**	wear	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Anong (Rawang)	nuŋ-**wat**	cover breasts	Benedict 1972:24n78
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***wyat[L]** WEAR CLOTHES			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***wat** ≍ wik ≍ ʔwik ≍ wit ≍ ʔwit	wear (clothes) / dress (someone)	Matisoff 1985a:032
	***wat[L]**	wear	Matisoff 2003a:619
	*wik or **wit**	wear clothes / cause to wear	Matisoff 1972b:181(a)
	*ʔwik or **ʔwit**	wear clothes / cause to wear	Matisoff 1972b:181(b)
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ut[31]**	put on; wear; wear (hat)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**xot[55]**	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.28
	xut[55]	wear (a hat); wear (a turban); wear (a bracelet) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1252.28; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1253.28; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.28
	xut[55]	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ut[31]**	put on; wear; wear (hat)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ut[55]**	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.29
	ut[55]	wear (a hat); wear (a bracelet) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1252.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.29
Bola (Luxi)	**vɛʔ[31]**	wear (a bracelet) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.32
	vɛʔ[55]	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.32
Burmese (Modern)	a **wat**	wear (upper) clothes (v.)	Luce 1985:V.103
Burmese (Rangoon)	**wuʔ[4]**	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.27
	wuʔ[4]	wear (a bracelet) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.27

Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**wuʔ**^{44}	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.40
Burmese (Written)	a **wat**	wear (upper) clothes (v.)	Luce 1985:V.103
	wat	wear (v.)	Marrison 1967
	wat	wear (clothes); dress (someone); put on, wear; wear	Matisoff 1985a:032; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:24n78
	wɑt	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.39
	wɑt^{4}	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.26
	wɑt^{4}	wear (a bracelet) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.26
Hpun (Northern)	**wə̀iʔ**	wear	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**vɛʔ**^{31}	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.31
	vɛʔ^{31}	wear (a bracelet) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**wuːt**^{31}	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.33
	wuːt^{31}	wear (a bracelet) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.33
Marma	**wai?**	wear / put on	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:64
Maru [Langsu]	**vɛʔ**^{31}	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**vut**	wear (clothes) / dress (someone)	Matisoff 1985a:032
	vut^{21}	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.30
	vut^{21}	wear (a bracelet) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.30
	vut^{21}	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***wat**^{L}	wear	Bradley 1979b:681

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**vi**^{53}	wear; wear (a garment)	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.47
Luquan	**i**^{55}	wear (clothes) / dress (someone)	Matisoff 1985a:032
	vi 55	wear clothes / cause to wear	Matisoff 1972b:181(a)
Nasu	**vi 55**	wear clothes / cause to wear	Matisoff 1972b:181(a)
	vi^{55}	wear (clothes) / dress (someone)	Matisoff 1985a:032
Nusu (Southern)	**ua̱**^{53}	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**uɔ**^{ɪ53}**ɔ**^{ɪ31}	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.45
Nusu (Central)	**uɔ̱**^{53}	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.34
	uɔ̱^{53}	wear (a bracelet) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1254.34
Nusu (Northern)	**uɛ̱**^{55}	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ve**^{13}	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.22
Yi (Mile)	**vi̱**^{21}; **fi̱**^{55}	put on / wear;put on / wear (caus)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**vi̱**^{21}; fi^{21}	put on / wear;put on / wear (caus)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ve̱**^{21}	put on; wear; wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.37; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.24

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**vi 44s**	wear clothes / cause to wear	Matisoff 1972b:181(a)
	vi^{44}**s**	wear clothes (simplex)	Matisoff 1985a:032
Kucong	**v31**	wear (of clothes)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Black)	**fí**	dress someone, put someone's clothes on him (causative)	Matisoff 1985a:032
	və^{21}	put on / wear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.33
	və̀ʔ	wear clothes; cause to wear; wear (simplex)	Matisoff 1985a:032; Matisoff 1972b:181(a)
Lahu (Yellow)	**vʏ**^{5}	put on / wear	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Luquan)	(**vəɪ**^{31})	wear (v.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**vi 22s**	wear clothes / cause to wear	Matisoff 1972b:181(a)
	vi^{22}**s**	wear (clothes) / dress (someone)	Matisoff 1985a:032
Yi (Sani)	**vɪ**^{2}	wear (a garment)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.39

Chinese comparandum

衣 OC ***ʔi̯ər**, *GSR* #550a-e 'clothing'; Schuessler 2007:563 ***ʔəi**; B & S 2011: ***ʔəj**; Mand. **yī**.
衣 OC ***ʔi̯ər**, *GSR* #550a-e 'wear (v.t.)'; Schuessler 2007:563 ***ʔəih**; B & S 2011: ***ʔəj-s** ; Mand. **yì**.

(2) PTB *kway CONCEAL / HIDE / SHUN

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*hway ≍ **kwa(ː)y**	hide / conceal / shun (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:594
	***kway**	conceal (v.)	Weidert 1987:210
	***kway**	conceal / hide / shun	Matisoff 1985a:079; Benedict 1972:303

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**kōi**	shun	Matisoff 1985a:079
	koi	shun	Benedict 1972:303
	mă^{31}**ko̱i**^{33}	hide (sthg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1169.19
	mă^{31}**ko̱i**^{33}	hide (v.t.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:668.47
	mă^{1}**ko̱i**^{33}	hide	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mə **kōi**	hide, conceal	Matisoff 1985a:079
	mə **koi**	hide, conceal	Benedict 1972:303
	^{1}mə^{2}**koi**	hide (v.)	Weidert 1987:211

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**kui**^{55}	hide oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1295.28
Achang (Luxi)	**kui**^{31}	hide	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Written)	**kwai**	conceal / keep out of sight (v.)	Weidert 1987:211
	kwai	conceal, keep out of sight	Matisoff 1985a:079; Benedict 1972:303
	kwɑj^{2}	withhold the facts / conceal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1759.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**kɔ**^{31}	cover / hide from view (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1794.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**kɔː**^{31}	cover / hide from view (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1794.33

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Lancang)	**ko**^{11}	cover / hide from view (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1794.43

(3) PTB *dzin EXHAUST / COME TO AN END

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***dzjin**	exhaust	Coblin 1986:75

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzin**	exhaust / come to an end	Matisoff 2003a:588

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**zin**-pa	draw near an end; be at end/be finished, exhausted, consumed; draw near to an end, finished, exhausted, consumed	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:381a-b; Benedict 1972:170n455

2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{A}**dzin** FINISHED

**TGTM*	*^{A}**dzin**	finished, be (v.i.)	Mazaudon 1994:357
Gurung	^{3}**tsĩ**-	finished, be (v.i.)	Mazaudon 1994:357
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**cĩ**-	finish / end	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0869
	^{3}**cĩ**-	finish / end	Mazaudon 1994:369
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**tsin**	finish	Mazaudon 1994:357
Thakali (Marpha)	^{11,11}**dzi**^{ɦ}**n**-dzi	finish (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:357
Thakali (Tukche)	^{3}**tsin**	finished, be	Mazaudon 1994:369

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	盡	exhaust (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1415
Chinese (GSR #)	**0381a**	exhaust (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1415

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**dzʻiĕn**	exhaust / entirely	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:381a-b
Chinese (Old)	Cə.**dzinʔ** {Cə.[dz]i[n]ʔ}	exhaust (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1415

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**dzinX**	exhaust (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1415

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**jìn**	exhaust (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1415

Chinese comparandum

盡 OC ***dzʻiĕn**, *GSR* #381a-b; B & S 2011: ***Cə.dzinʔ {Cə.[dz]i[n]ʔ}**; Mand. **jìn**.

(4) PKC *hot-I, *hoʔ-II FLUSH (game) / HUNT (game) / STIR UP

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***hot**-I, hoʔ-II	FLUSH (game) / HUNT (game) / STIR UP	VanBik 2009:715

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	**hot**^{3} > hoʔ^{3}	stir; row a canoe (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:480
	hot^{3} > hoʔ^{3}	stir	VanBik 2009:715
	hot^{3}/hoʔ^{3}	stir, row a canoe	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**hawt**	hunt game	VanBik 2009:715

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	(**khan**) hot-I, hoʔ-II	hunt game (by flushing the game while hunters wait in ambush)	VanBik 2009:715
Lai (Falam)	**hòt**-INV	hunt game	VanBik 2009:715

(5) PKC *kha(a)m ≍ *khap FORBID / BAN / OBSTRUCT / REFRAIN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***kha(a)m ≍** khap	FORBID / BAN / OBSTRUCT / REFRAIN	VanBik 2009:442

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**kham**	ban	VanBik 2009:442
Sizang	**hkam** hī	obstruct	VanBik 2009:442
Thado	**khăam-I**, khàam-II	prohibit, forbid, block, obstruct	VanBik 2009:442
Tiddim	**khaːm**^{1}	prohibit	VanBik 2009:442

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**pkhaeéng**	block or obstruct with something	VanBik 2009:442

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**khâm**-I, kham?-II,	ban, prohibit	VanBik 2009:442
Lushai [Mizo]	**khàp**	prohibit, to forbid, to inhibit, to disallow (v.)	VanBik 2009:442

(6) PCN *hnjak GUARD (v.)

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	***hnjak**	GUARD (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.240
**Ao*	*a-**hnak**	GUARD (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.233
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**nək**^{1}	guard (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.233
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hnàk**	guard [guarded] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**hnjak**^{2}-	guard (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.240
	ñhák à	guard	Acharya 1975
	nhyak a	guard	Murry *et al.* 1978:52

(7) PTB *s-klawŋ GUARD / TEND CATTLE / GRAZE / BE AT LEISURE

We reconstruct this interesting root with medial ***-l-** on the basis of the PKC form, even though this medial does not appear overtly elsewhere in TB. Written Tibetan lacks an **skl** cluster, so that medial **-y-** was substituted for it. Written Burmese has a doublet, **kyôŋ** 'feed, tend cattle' and **ə-coŋ'** 'watchman, guard', with the latter apparently a later development. This etymon is thus a good example of a proto-contrast better preserved in a particular subgroup than in the family as a whole.

This root was formerly reconstructed as ***s-gyoŋ** (*HPTB*:294).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kyoŋ**	guard, to tend (cattle) (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:113
	***kyoŋ**	guard, tend (cattle)	Benedict 1972:161
	***s-gyoŋ**	guard / tend grazing animals	Matisoff 2003a:294

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kloŋ** HERD / GRAZE / LEISURE

**Chin*	***kloŋ**	HERD / GRAZE / LEISURE	VanBik 2009:1262

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**klóng**	herd, graze	VanBik 2009:1262

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tlôŋ**-I, tlŏn-II	herd, graze (as flock of animals), to be at leisure, to be at freedom	VanBik 2009:1262

Lushai [Mizo]	**tlâwng** ăwl	at leisure (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1262
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**yon**	guard	Bhat 1969:90
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***kyoŋ**	guard (v.)	French 1983:499
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**bskyɑŋs**	guard; keep, tend (cattle) (v.pf.)	Jäschke 1881:p.31
	skyoṅ	keep (v.)	Marrison 1967
	skyoŋ-ba	guard; keep, tend (cattle) (v.)	Jäschke 1881:p.31
	skyoŋ-ba	feed, tend cattle	Benedict 1972:161
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**tɕɔŋ**^{35}	guard / defend (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1633.28
Achang (Xiandao)	**coŋ**^{35}	guard / defend (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1633.29
Burmese (Written)	**kyaùŋ**	feed, tend cattle	Benedict 1972:161
	kyôŋ	feed, tend cattle	Benedict 1976a
	ə-coŋ'	watchman, guard	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Liangshan)	**tɕhu**^{21}	guard; protect; safeguard	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tɕhu^{21}pho^{34}	defend; guard	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	**tɕhu**^{21}pho^{34}	guard / defend (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1633.35

Chinese comparandum

養 OC ***zi̱ɑŋ**, *GSR* #732j 'nourish, raise, bring up; develop; support (parents)'; Schuessler 2007:558-99 ***jaŋʔ** or ***laŋʔ**; B & S 2011: ***ɢaŋʔ {[ɢ](r)aŋʔ}**; Mand. **yǎng**.

(8) PNC *tsiŋ-I, *tsin-II GUARD / WATCH

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
**Northern Chin*	***tsiŋ**-I, tsin-II	GUARD / WATCH	VanBik 2009:542
Sizang	**ching** hī	guard, lood after	VanBik 2009:542
Thado	**tsîŋ**-I, tsìn-II	guard, watch	VanBik 2009:542
Tiddim	**cing**^{2} > cin^{3}	tend cattle (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:185
	cing^{1} > cin^{1}	guard, look after	VanBik 2009:542
	cing^{1} > cin^{1}	guard; look after (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:183
	ciŋ^{1}/cin^{1}	guard, look after	Bhaskararao 1994

(9) PKC *weeŋ-I, *ween-II GUARD / WATCH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***weeŋ**-I, ween-II	GUARD / WATCH	VanBik 2009:1149
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**veng**	guard	VanBik 2009:1149
Thado	**véeŋ**-I, vèen-II	guard	VanBik 2009:1149
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**vêeŋ**-I, vĕen-II	guard, watch	VanBik 2009:1149
Lai (Falam)	**vĕeŋ**-I, vèen-II	guard, watch	VanBik 2009:1149
Lushai [Mizo]	**véeng**-I, vèen-II	watch, to look after, to keep an eye upon, to protect, to guard (v.)	VanBik 2009:1149
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**vai**	guard, look after	Matisoff 1985a:121
	vài	guard, watch	VanBik 2009:1149

(10) PKC *thup HIDE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***thup**	HIDE	VanBik 2009:390
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**thup**	hide (v.)	VanBik 2009:390
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thup**-I, thuʔ-II	hide	VanBik 2009:390
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Sorbung	mə **t^{h}úup**	hide	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.011

(11) PTk *t^{h}um HIDE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}um**	hide	Mortensen 2012:453
Huishu	kə-nə-**t^{h}eŋ**	hide	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.012
Kachai	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**t^{h}um**	hide	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.011
Tangkhul	nga **thum**	hide	Marrison 1967
	thúm	hide	Bhat 1969:90
Tusom	k^{h}a-n-**cɯ**	hide (something)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.011
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**t^{h}um**	hide	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	**thum**	hide	Marrison 1967

(12) PTB *s-p^{w}ak HIDE (v.)

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pak**	hide (v.)	Benedict 1972:46
	***s-p^{w}ak**	hide (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:608
	***s-wak**	hide (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:618
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**vāo**	covered, obscured, hidden	Lorrain 1951:356-357
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**phag**	something hidden; concealment	Benedict 1972:46
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***wak**	hide oneself / cause to hide	Matisoff 1972b:178(a)
	***ʔ-wak^{L}**	hide (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:618
	***ʔwak**	hide oneself / cause to hide	Matisoff 1972b:178(b)
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola (Luxi)	**faʔ**^{55}	hide oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1295.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**phwɛʔ**^{4}	hide (sthg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1169.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**hwɛʔ**^{44}	hide (v.t.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:668.40
Burmese (Written)	**hwɑk**	hide (v.t.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:668.39
	hwɑk^{4}	hide (sthg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1169.26
	phak / hwak	hide something	Benedict 1972:24n79
	phak ≍ hwak	hide, conceal	Benedict 1972:46
	wak	hide oneself	Benedict 1972:24n79
Maru [Langsu]	**fɔʔ**^{55}	hide (v.t.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:668.43
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	kɛ^{33}**xoa**^{35}	hide (sthg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1169.47
	kɛ^{33}**xoa**^{35}	hide oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1295.47
Yi (Dafang)	**va**^{13}	hide (v.t.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:668.22
Yi (Wuding)	**fɑ̱**^{55}	hide (sthg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1169.38
	vɤ^{55}	hide oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1295.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	ko^{42}**va**^{55}	hide (sthg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1169.44
	tshə^{33}**va**^{33}	hide oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1295.44
	va^{55}	hide (v.t.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:668.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**vɑ**^{55}	hide	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	**phá / fá**	hide something	Benedict 1972:24n79
	và?	hide oneself	Benedict 1972:24n79
Lahu (Lancang)	**vɑ**^{21}	hide oneself (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1295.43
Lahu (Black)	**vʌ**^{21}	hide (v.t.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:668.33
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Mpi	**wa**^{1}	hide (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

(13) PSPC *wum HIDE / COVER

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
**Southern Plains Chin*	***wum**	HIDE / COVER	VanBik 2009:1151
Asho	**wi˝**	hide (v.)	VanBik 2009:1151
Cho (Mindat)	**vum**	hide (v.)	VanBik 2009:1151

(14) PPC *ɓuu HIDE / COVER UP

1.2.1. PERIPHERAL CHIN			
**Peripheral Chin*	***ɓuu**	HIDE / COVER UP	VanBik 2009:32
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**bu**	hide	VanBik 2009:32
Tiddim	**buk**^{3}	hide from somebody (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:137
	buk^{3}	hide from somebody (intr.)	Bhaskararao 1994
	bu:^{3} > buk^{3}	hide oneself (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:147
	bu:^{3}-I, buk^{3}-II	hide	VanBik 2009:32
	bu:^{3}/buk^{3}	hide oneself	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**bu**	hide under something, to cover up (v.)	VanBik 2009:32

(15) PCN *ram HIDE / CONCEAL

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Central Naga*	***ram**	HIDE, CONCEAL	Bruhn 2014a:III.138
**Ao*	*m-**jəm**	CONCEAL	Bruhn 2014a:II.294
Ao (Chungli)	mə^{2}**jəm**^{2}	conceal, hide (vt.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.294
Sangtam	**rang**	hide	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**ram**	hide	Marrison 1967

(16) PTk *reŋ HUNT

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***reŋ**	hunt	Mortensen 2012:485
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**re**	hunt	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.051
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**reŋ**	hunt	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.044
Ukhrul	sa-k^{h}ə-**reŋ**	hunt animals	Mortensen 2012

(17) PTB *s-r-way LEAD (v.) / TEND / WATCH / GUARD

This etymon is perhaps allofamic with PTB ***w(u/i)l** TEND (grazing animals) / WATCH OVER (§2.4).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-r-way**	lead / tend / watch / guard	Matisoff 1985a:121
	***s-r-way**	lead / tend / watch / guard (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:619
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**p'háwy**	lead (e.g. an animal), take along	VanBik 2009:1087
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN: ***hruay** LEAD / GUIDE			
**Central Chin*	***hruay**	LEAD / GUIDE	VanBik 2009:1087
Lai (Hakha)	**hrûay**-I, hrŭay-II	lead, guide	VanBik 2009:1087
Lai (Falam)	**hrŭay**-I, hrùay-II	lead, guide	VanBik 2009:1087
Lushai [Mizo]	**hrúai**	lead, guide, escort, conduct	Matisoff 1985a:121
	hrúai	lead, to guide, to escort (v.)	VanBik 2009:1087
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***rua:y**	lead	Matisoff 1985a:121
	***rua:y**	lead (v.)	French 1983:510
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**lei**-an	lead / tend / watch / guard	Matisoff 1985a:121
	lei-laŋ	lead / tend / watch / guard	Matisoff 1985a:121
	lei an	lead (v.)	Marrison 1967
	lei lang	lead (v.)	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**woi**	lead (v.)	Marrison 1967
	woi	lead / tend / watch / guard	Matisoff 1985a:121
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**wōi**	tend, care for (as a child); lead, guide, conduct	Matisoff 1985a:121

	woi[33]	lead (the way); guide; lead the way (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.19
	woi[33]**on**[55]	lead	LIU Lu, ed. 1984

(18) PTB *wəy LOAD

This etymon bears a strong resemblance to the better attested PTB ***wa(n/t)*** LOAD / BURDEN / TRANSPORT (§6.2.2), although the Lahu form is not derivable from ***-an***.

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Lancang)	**vɯ**[31]	load (of firewood) on the back (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0876.43
Lahu (Black)	**vì**	load	Matisoff 1985a:038

7. KARENIC

Karen	**wi̱**[55]	load (of firewood) on the back (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0876.50

(19) PTB *wa $\frac{n}{t}$ LOAD / BURDEN / TRANSPORT

This root bears a resemblance to PTB ***wəy*** LOAD (§6.2.2), although the vocalic reflexes of the latter are not easily derivable from ***-an*** or ***-at***.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***wan ≈ wat**	load / burden / transport	Matisoff 1985a:038; Matisoff 2003a:619

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	**`van**	load (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	**ot**	work (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ot	work, subject, substance, service	Matisoff 1985a:038
	ot kaphei	unload	Matisoff 1985a:038
	wut	load	Bhat 1969:92

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***wən*** LOAD / BURDEN

**Northern Naga*	***wən**	bring, take; load, cargo, stuff, what one brings / takes along	Matisoff 1985a:038

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	o-**on**~u-**wan**	load, burden	Matisoff 1985a:038

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**ḫon**	bring	Matisoff 1985a:038

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**wan**	load; burden, load	Matisoff 1985a:038; Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**vuŋ**[31]	load (of firewood) on the back (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0876.31
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**vun**[51]	load (of firewood) on the back (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0876.30

(20) PKC *hool LOOK FOR / SEARCH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***hool**	LOOK FOR / SEARCH	VanBik 2009:725

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**hôol**-I, hòol-II	look for	VanBik 2009:725

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**haw**	look for, search for, find	VanBik 2009:725

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hôol**-I, hŏol-II	look for, search	VanBik 2009:725
Lai (Falam)	**hóol**-I, hòol-II	look for, search	VanBik 2009:725
Lushai [Mizo]	**háwl**	search, to hunt (v.)	VanBik 2009:725

(21) PKC *hnok OBSTRUCT / DISTURB

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***hnok**	OBSTRUCT / DISTURB	VanBik 2009:900

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**nok** kāk sak hī	meddle	VanBik 2009:900
Thado	**nòʔ**-INV	obstruct	VanBik 2009:900

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	(**hnâa**) hnok-I, hnoʔ-II	obstructive, disturb (be v.)	VanBik 2009:900
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnàwk**	obstructive, to be in the way, to be a nuisance or a bother, to be a hindrance (be v.)	VanBik 2009:900

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(22) PKC *yuut PAINT / PLASTER / RUB

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***yuut**	PAINT / PLASTER / RUB	VanBik 2009:1222

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**zúut**-I, zùut-II	massage, plaster, apply mud (wall, floor)	VanBik 2009:1222
Tiddim	**zu:t**[1]	paint, anoint	VanBik 2009:1222
	zu:t[1]	paint; anoint (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2079
	zu:t[1]	paint, anoint	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**zúut**	stroke, to rub to caress (by stroking) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1222

(23) PKar *plom[B] PILE

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***plom**[B]	pile	Luangthongkum 2013:219 [a]
Bwe	**plo**[33]	pile	Luangthongkum 2013:219
Kayah	**plu**[11]	pile	Luangthongkum 2013:219
Kayan	**blo**[11]	pile	Luangthongkum 2013:219
Kayaw	**plə**[11]	pile	Luangthongkum 2013:219

[a] [Source Note] Kayah and Sgaw have irregular vowels, i.e. u instead of ɔ (Kayah) and u instead of ə (Sgaw).

Pa-O (Southern)	**pom**[33]	pile	Luangthongkum 2013:219
Pa-O (Northern)	**pom**[55]	pile	Luangthongkum 2013:219
Pwo (Northern)	**pãu**[33]	pile	Luangthongkum 2013:219
Pwo (Southern)	**põu**[31˷˷]	pile	Luangthongkum 2013:219
Sgaw (Northern)	**pu**[31˷]	pile	Luangthongkum 2013:219
Sgaw (Southern)	**pu**[45ˏ]	pile	Luangthongkum 2013:219

(24) PKC *ɗaal PREVENT / PROTECT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ɗaal**	PREVENT / PROTECT	VanBik 2009:102

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**dâal**-I, dàal-II	protect, dodge, protect onself	VanBik 2009:102
Tiddim	**da:l**[1]	prevent, protect	VanBik 2009:102

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**dăal**	prevent, to stop, to hinder, to interfere with (one's progress, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:102

(25) PKar *leʔ[D] PUT ON (A NECKLACE), WEAR

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***leʔ**[D]	put on (a necklace), wear	Luangthongkum 2013:230
**Karen [Burling]*	***liʔ**[1]	put on (a necklace), wear	Luangthongkum 2013:230
Bwe	**lɪ**[11]	put on (a necklace), wear	Luangthongkum 2013:230
Kayah	**la**[33]	put on (a necklace), wear	Luangthongkum 2013:230
Kayan	**liʔ**[21]	put on (a necklace), wear	Luangthongkum 2013:230
Kayaw	**le**[33]	put on (a necklace), wear	Luangthongkum 2013:230
Pwo (Northern)	**laiʔ**[21]	put on (a necklace), wear	Luangthongkum 2013:230
Pwo (Southern)	**laiʔ**[45]	put on (a necklace), wear	Luangthongkum 2013:230
Sgaw (Southern)	**lai**[11˷˷]	put on (a necklace), wear	Luangthongkum 2013:230
Sgaw (Northern)	**liʔ**[21]	put on (a necklace), wear	Luangthongkum 2013:230

(26) PKar *sɔʔ[D] PUT ON, WEAR

7. KARENIC

**Karen [Burling]*	***soʔ**[2]	put on, wear	Luangthongkum 2013:229
**Karen*	***sɔʔ**[D]	put on, wear	Luangthongkum 2013:229
Bwe	**θɔ**[33]	put on, wear	Luangthongkum 2013:229
Kayah	**sɛ**[55]	put on, wear	Luangthongkum 2013:229
Kayan	**θauʔ**[45]	put on, wear	Luangthongkum 2013:229
Kayaw	**so**[33]	put on, wear	Luangthongkum 2013:229
Pa-O (Southern)	**sɔʔ**[21]	put on, wear	Luangthongkum 2013:229
Pa-O (Northern)	**sɔʔ**[21]	put on, wear	Luangthongkum 2013:229
Pwo (Northern)	**soʔ**[45]	put on, wear	Luangthongkum 2013:229
Pwo (Southern)	**θuʔ**[21]	put on, wear	Luangthongkum 2013:229
Sgaw (Southern)	**soʔ**[21]	put on, wear	Luangthongkum 2013:229
Sgaw (Northern)	**sɔʔ**[45]	put on, wear	Luangthongkum 2013:229

(27) PKC *khru(u)l RESCIND / DETER

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***khru(u)l**	RESCIND / DETER	VanBik 2009:1349

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	lów **khùl**	abandoned field	VanBik 2009:1349

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**thrŭul**-II, thrulʔ-II	rescind, deter, change one's mind to act	VanBik 2009:1349
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭhùlh**	not do a thing, to be deterred, prevented, to omit to (v.)	VanBik 2009:1349

(28) PTani *m $\frac{a}{e}$ SEARCH / LOOK FOR

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***ma**~ **me**	search, look for	Sun 1993a:339

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**me**	search, look for	Sun 1993a
	mé	search for	Sun 1993b
	me	search; seek	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	(ka:-)**mi:**	search, look for	Sun 1993b
	mi:	search, look for	Sun 1993a
	mi:-kɯr	search (body)	Sun 1993b
	mi:-pa:	find	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ma**	search, look for	Sun 1993a
	ma:	search, look for	Sun 1993b
	ma:	find / look for (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.24
	ma:-poŋ	find	Sun 1993b
	ma: poŋ	found / located (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1792.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ma:**	search	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:678.51
Galo	**ma**-nam	search, seek (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ma nam	look for; search (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**me**-ka	search, look for	Simon 1976
Tagin	**mʏ**-ker-nam	search (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ma**	search, look for	Sun 1993a
Milang	**ma**-pu-ma	search	Tayeng 1976

(29) PKC *yoŋ-I, *yon-II SEARCH / LOOK FOR / QUEST

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***yoŋ**-I, yon-II	SEARCH / LOOK FOR / QUEST	VanBik 2009:1233

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**zong**	search, quest	VanBik 2009:1233
Sizang	**zong** hī	search, seek	VanBik 2009:1233
Tiddim	**zong**[2] > zon[3]	seek, search, look for	VanBik 2009:1233

	zong[2] > zon[3]	seek; search (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2043
	zoŋ[2]/zon[3]	seek, search	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**zawng**	seek	Marrison 1967
	záwng-I, zàwn-II	search for, to look for, to seek, to quest (v.)	VanBik 2009:1233
	zong	search (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3158

(30) PLB * s g - y r a SEEK / SEARCH / LOOK FOR

The initial correspondences for this root are complex, but close enough to assign all these Lolo-Burmese reflexes to the same etymon.

6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ɕɑ**[55]	search	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**ʑa**[35]	search	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**xa**[55]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ɕɑ**[22]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ɕɑ**[22]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.40
Burmese (Written)	**hra**	seek, search for	Benedict 1976a
	hrɑ[2]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.39
	hrɑɑ[2]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.26
	kraññ' **rhā**	look for	Marrison 1967
	rhā	seek	Marrison 1967
	ə-**hra**-	seek, search for	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**xɔ**[31]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ʃɔ̰ː**[33]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.33
Marma	**hra**	seek / look for	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:212
Maru [Langsu]	**xɔ**[31]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**xo**[51]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.30
	xo[51]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***x**-ra[1]	look for	Bradley 1979b:595
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**tsa**[24]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.47
Nusu (Northern)	**kɹɑ̱**[31]	search	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**xɹa**[33]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.34
Nusu (Southern)	**xɹɔ**[55]	search	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**xɹɑ**[35]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.45
Yi (Dafang)	**so**[33]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʂɯ**[21]	look for	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɯ[21]ŋgo[55]	look for	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ʂo**[33]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**sɑ̱**[21]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tʂo**[33]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.37
	tʂo[33]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**tʂɑ**[33]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tʂɑ**[33]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ʂu**[33]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.38
	ʂu̱[2]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.38
Yi (Xide)	**ʂɯ**[21]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.21
	ʂɯ[21]**ŋgo**[55]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**ʃɔ**[31]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃɔ**[42]	search	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ʃɔ**[42]tʃə[33]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.44
Kucong	**tsʌ33**	seek	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕɑ**[33]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.43
Lahu (Black)	**tsʌ**[33]ni[33]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tsa**[1]	search	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	ga[33]**dza**[21]	look for food (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**hwa**[3]	demand (=seek) (v.)	Fraser 1922
	hwa[3]	search	Fraser 1922
	hwa[3]	seek (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**hwa**[33]	look for; search (V.)	Bradley 1994
	hwa[33]ɲa[35]	look for; is looking for	Bradley 1994
	mi[21]**hwa**[33]	look for a place	Bradley 1994
	mi[21]**hwa**[33] lɔ[44]**hwa**[33]	look for a place	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	my[21]**hwa**[33]	look for a place	Bradley 1994
	my[21]**hwa**[55] lɔ[44]**hwa**[33]	look for a place	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	nɤ[21]**hwa**[33]	look for relative; association	Bradley 1994
	thja[33]	search; inquire; seek (V.)	Bradley 1994
	tɕha[33]ni[33]thɯ[33]	look for; seek	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**tɕha**[33]ɲi[33]thɯ[33]	look for; seek	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**xuɑ**[33]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.40
	xuɑ[44]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.27
Yi (Sani)	**ʂɒ**[44]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	**tɕho**[33]	search	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:678.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tɕho**[33]	find / look for (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1744.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tɕha**[55]tɕhɔ[33]	search	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Mpi	**so**[5]	seek / look for (in order to get)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	sɤ[5]	search for the facts / investigate	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**sae45**	look for (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:182008
Sila	**hɔ55**	look for (v.)	Kato Takashi 2008:207
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**sɔ**[33]	seek (look for)	Pelkey 2011:745
Southern Muji	**tsa**[21]	seek (look for)	Pelkey 2011:745
Phola	**tʂʰɔ**[33]	seek (look for)	Pelkey 2011:745
Hlepho Phowa	**sa**[33]	seek (look for)	Pelkey 2011:745
Phuza	**sa**[33]	seek (look for)	Pelkey 2011:745

(31) PKC *ɗor SHADOW (v.)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗor**	SHADOW (v.)	VanBik 2009:106
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**düi**	inflict injury to (others around) by one's shadow (as big tree) (v.)	VanBik 2009:106
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dor?**-INV	shadow (e.g. by a big tree to a small one)	VanBik 2009:106

(32) PTB *ʔap ≍ *gaːp SHOOT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gaːp**	shoot; shoot (bow, gun)	Mortensen 2012; Benedict 1972:219
	***ʔap ≍ gaːp**	shoot	Matisoff 2003a:583
1.1.1. Tani: ***ap** SHOOT (v.)			
**Tani*	***ap**	shoot (v.)	Sun 1993a:355
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**é**	shoot	Sun 1993b
	eʔ	shoot (v.)	Sun 1993a
	eʔ	shoot	Sun 1993b
	eʔ-daʔ	hit (with gunshot)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ap**	shoot (v.)	Sun 1993a
	ap	shoot	Sun 1993b
	ap-ǰik	hit (target)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**op**	shoot	Sun 1993b
	op	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.24
	op dok	shot, have (the target) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1612.24
	op lak	hit, have (the target)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1232.24
	op raː	war, go to / battle (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1233.24
	op rhyme!	shoot (v.)	Sun 1993a
	op-raː	fight	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**op**	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.51
	op raː	fight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:709.51
Galo	**'ab** nam	shoot (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	mubuk **ab**-nam	shoot	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**ab** nam	shoot (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ap ki-nam	kill with a gun (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	ap nam	shoot (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ap**	shoot (v.)	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-pi **ʔap**	shoot (arrow)	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ap**-ma	shoot	Tayeng 1976
	ap-pu-ma	hunt	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**ap**	shoot (bow, gun)	Benedict 1972:219
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***kaap** SHOOT			
**Chin*	***kaap**	SHOOT	VanBik 2009:309
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**kap**	shoot	VanBik 2009:309
Sizang	**kāp** hī	shoot	VanBik 2009:309
Thado	**kâap**-I, kàap-II	shoot	VanBik 2009:309
	káp	shoot	Thirumalai 1972:54
	kàp	shoot	Thirumalai 1972:61
Tiddim	**kaːp**[1]	shoot	VanBik 2009:309
	kaːp[1]	shoot (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:573
	kaːp[1]	shoot	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊkaːp/ˆkaːp	shoot at (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**kaw̌k**	shoot	VanBik 2009:309
Cho (Mindat)	**kap**-I, kah-II	shoot	VanBik 2009:309
Khumi	**ko**	shoot, kill	VanBik 2009:309
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**kaap**-I, kaʔ-II	shoot	VanBik 2009:309
Lai (Falam)	**kâap**-INV	shoot	VanBik 2009:309
Lushai [Mizo]	**kâap**-I, kàh-II	shoot, to fire (a gun) (v.)	VanBik 2009:309
	kâp	shoot	Marrison 1967
	kaːp	shoot at (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2506
	kaːp	shoot (bow, gun)	Benedict 1972:219
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**ká**	shoot	VanBik 2009:309
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Sorbung	**káap**	shoot (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.086
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen)	**kùp**	shoot (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**kəp**-sa	scatter [scattered] (carrom pips, snooker balls etc.) ('shoot' + SPREAD) (v.)	Coupe 2007
	kèp	shoot, strike [shot, struck] (v.)	Coupe 2007
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***kaap** SHOOT			
**Tangkhulic*	***kaap**	shoot	Mortensen 2012:531
Huishu	kə-**kaʔ**	shoot	Mortensen 2012:Plants.022
Kachai	kə-**kop**	shoot (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.063
Tangkhul	**kap**	shoot	Bhat 1969:96; Marrison 1967
Tusom	kə-**kɯə**	shoot	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.079
Ukhrul	kə-**kap**	shoot	Mortensen 2012
	kʰə-ŋə-**kap**	shoot one another	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**kap**	shoot	Marrison 1967
	kap sinbə	shoot inside (v.)	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	kap thokpə	ejaculate (v.)	Singh 1991:10.3.8
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**ap**	shoot	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**gau**	shoot (bow, gun)	Benedict 1972:219
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**go**	shoot (bow, gun)	Benedict 1972:219
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***ʔ-kaːp**	shoot (v.)	French 1983:545
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	**gap**	shoot	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**kib**	shoot	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**khep**	shoot	Marrison 1967
Phom	læʔ^{33}**gæp**^{55}	shoot (as a gun)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**gap**	shoot	Marrison 1967
	găp	shoot (bow, gun)	Benedict 1972:219
	kap^{31}	shoot	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	kap^{31}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.19
	kap^{31}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.47
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	**gap**	shoot (bow, gun)	Benedict 1972:219
Tsangla (Motuo)	**gap**	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.7
	kap^{13}	shoot	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**gap**	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.07
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**óp**	shoot (bow, gun)	Benedict 1972:219
	ʔóp	shoot (v.)	Plaisier 2007
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	**ab**-ue	shoot	Ebert 1997
	ap-	shoot	Ebert 1997
	ap ma	shoot	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**ap**	shoot (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
Yamphu	**ap** ma	shoot (e.g. arrows, bullets) (v.)	Rutgers 1998:526.03
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**ap**	shoot (v.)	Rai 1985
Chamling	**ap**-	hunt, shoot	Winter 1985
Kulung	**ap**-u	shoot (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**ap**	shoot (bow, gun)	Benedict 1972:219
Hayu	**wop**	shoot (bow, gun)	Benedict 1972:219
Sunwar	**ʾāp**-cā	shoot (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.28
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**ʔap**-	throw, shoot at target (arrow, object) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	ʔap-sa	shoot	Caughley 1972:3.B.28
	ʔāp.sā	shoot (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.28
Kham	**ʾāp**-nyā	shoot (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.28
Magar	**ngāp**-ke	shoot (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.28
	ŋap	shoot (bow, gun)	Benedict 1972:219
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya	**qho**^{55}l̪ə^{53}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.15
Muya [Minyak]	**qho**^{55}lɯ^{53}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.15
Namuyi	**qha**^{35}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.19
	qha^{31}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.46
Qiang (Longxi)	**qhò**	shoot (v.)	Evans 1999:2312
Qiang (Mawo)	**qhu**^{ɪ}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.08
	qhu^{ɪ}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**qhɑ**^{33}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.9
4. Nungic			
Anong	**hwap**	shoot (bow, gun)	Benedict 1972:219
Dulong	**ɑp**^{55}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ɑp**^{55}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ɑp**^{55}	shoot	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
7. Karenic: ***khaʔ**^{D} SHOOT (v.)			
**Karen [Burling]*	***khaʔ**^{2}	shoot (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:255
**Karen*	***khaʔ**^{D}	shoot (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:255
Bwe	**khɛ**^{33}	shoot (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:255
Kayah	**khe**^{55}	shoot (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:255
Kayan	**khaʔ**^{45}	shoot (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:255
Kayaw	**kha**^{33}	shoot (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:255
Pa-O (Northern)	**khaʔ**^{21}	shoot (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:255
Pa-O (Southern)	**khaʔ**^{21}	shoot (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:255
Pwo (Northern)	**khaʔ**^{45}	shoot (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:255
Pwo (Southern)	**khaʔ**^{21}	shoot (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:255
Sgaw (Southern)	**khaʔ**^{21}	shoot (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:255
Sgaw (Northern)	**khaʔ**^{45}	shoot (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:255

(33) PTB *m-puk SHOOT

This stronghold of this etymon is Lolo-Burmese, where several forms overtly carry the nasal prefix, which is also indirectly attested by the voiced initials in languages like Lahu.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-puk**	shoot	Matisoff 2003a:607
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	**mebuk** am-nam irɤ-am-nam	shoot (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Nishing	**mubuk** ab-nam	shoot	Das Gupta 1969
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**bop**	shoot	Marrison 1967
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***m-pök**^{H} SHOOT			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-pök**^{H}	shoot	Matisoff 2003a:607
	***Npök**	shoot	Matisoff 1972b:108(a)
	***ʔpök** or ʔbök	shoot	Matisoff 1972b:108(b)
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**pɯk**^{55}	shoot	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**pək**^{55}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.28
	pək^{55}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.41
Achang (Luxi)	**pək**^{31}	shoot	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**pɤk**^{55}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.29
Bola (Luxi)	**pak**^{31}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.32
Burmese (Written)	**phok**	shoot	Hansson 1989:579
Hpun (Northern)	**pèɪʔ**	shoot (with bow or gun)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**pak**^{31}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**pəːk**^{31}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.33
Marma	**bɔiʔ**	shoot	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:162
Maru [Langsu]	**pak**^{31}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pik**^{21}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.30
	pik^{21}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***(ʔ)-m-pok**^{H}	shoot	Bradley 1979b:704
	*(ʔ)m-pök^{H}	shoot	Hansson 1989:579
PNL	**N-pök** ^{H}	shoot	Chen Kang 1986a:76.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**baq**	flick / recoil / shoot (bow)	Björverud 1994
	ba̲^{33}	shoot	Chen Kang 1986a:76.
Lipho	**ba̲**^{33}	shoot	Chen Kang 1986a:76.
Nasu	**mbhə̲**$^{-2}$	shoot	Chen Kang 1986a:76.
Neisu	**mbɪ**^{33}	shoot	Chen Kang 1986a:76.
Nesu	**ba̲**^{33}	shoot	Chen Kang 1986a:76.
Nosu	<**bɪ̲**^{4}>	shoot	Chen Kang 1986a:76.
Nusu (Central)	**be̲**^{53}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**be**^{53}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.45
Nusu (Southern)	**bi̲**^{53}	shoot	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**bi̲**^{55}	shoot	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**mbe**^{33}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**mbɛ**^{33}	play (musical instrument); pluck (musical instrument); separate (fibers); shoot (an arrow)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**bꭤ**^{33}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**bꭤ**^{33}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**bæ**^{33}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.37
	bɛ̲^{33}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ba**^{33}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ba**^{33}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.36
Yi (Wuding)	**mphə̲**$^{-2}$	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.38
Yi (Xide)	**mbe**^{33}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.35
	mbe^{33}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**ba 44**	shoot	Matisoff 1972b:108(a)
	ba̲^{33}	shoot	Chen Kang 1986a:76.
Jinuo (Youle)	**pə**^{42}	shoot	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**pə**^{42}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.44
	pɐ^{42}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.34
Kucong	**bɔ33**	shoot (an arrow); shoot (a gun)	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009; Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
	bɔ33 zu33	strike, shoot and strike	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**bɔ**^{54}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.43
Lahu (Black)	**bɔ̂ʔ**	shoot	Matisoff 1972b:108(a)
	bɔ^{54}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**bɔ**^{6}	shoot	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**bɯ**^{33}	shoot (an arrow); open fire; let off (V.)	Bradley 1994
	bɯ^{33}zæʔ^{21}	shoot; hit the mark	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**bu̲**^{33}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.40
	bɯ^{44}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.27
	paw3	shoot	Matisoff 1972b:108(b)
Lisu (Central)	**paw**^{3}	shoot (v.)	Fraser 1922
Sani [Nyi]	**ba**^{44}	shoot	Chen Kang 1986a:76.
Yi (Sani)	**bɑ**^{44}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**beu HS**	shoot	Matisoff 1972b:108(a)
Akha (Thai)	**bəq**	shoot, fluff	Hansson 1989:579
Akha	**bəq**	shoot	Hansson 1989:579
Akha (Yunnan)	mì **bəq bəq**	shoot, fluff	Hansson 1989:579
Bisu	**pɣ̄**	shoot	Matisoff 1972b:108(a)
Hani (Lüchun)	**bəq**	shoot, fluff	Hansson 1989:579
Hani (Dazhai)	**bɣ̲**^{33}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**bɣ̲**^{33}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**pɔ̲**^{33}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**bɣ̲**^{33}	shoot	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**bbev**	shoot, fluff	Hansson 1989:579
Hani (Shuikui)	**pɤ**^{33}	shoot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:688.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**pɤ**^{33}	shoot (an arrow) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1611.42
Mpi	**pɑʔ**^{3}	shoot (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Woni	**pɣ 33**	shoot	Matisoff 1972b:108(a)
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**pa**^{33}	shoot (a gun)	Pelkey 2011:697
Southern Muji	**bə**^{33}	shoot (a gun)	Pelkey 2011:697
Phola	**bæ**^{33}	shoot (a gun)	Pelkey 2011:697
Hlepho Phowa	**bi**^{21}	shoot (a gun)	Pelkey 2011:697
Phuza	**bɛ**^{13}	shoot (a gun)	Pelkey 2011:697

(34) PTB *kroy SURROUND

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kroy**	surround	Matisoff 1985a:090; Matisoff 2003a:597; Benedict 1972:313
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**khōi**	surround, as an altar with ornaments	Matisoff 1974:27
	khoi	surround, enclose	Benedict 1972:313
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**khrwe**-	surround, attend (comb.)	Benedict 1976a
	khrwe-ram	surround; surround, attend	Matisoff 1974:27; Benedict 1972:313

(35) PNC *ʔu(u)m SURROUND

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
**Northern Chin*	***ʔu(u)m**	SURROUND	VanBik 2009:512
Sizang	**ūm** hī	surround	VanBik 2009:512
Thado	**ʔûum**-I, ʔùum-II	surround	VanBik 2009:512
Tiddim	**uːm**^{1}	surround (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1921
	uːm^{1}	surround	Bhaskararao 1994
	ʔum^{1}	surround	VanBik 2009:512

(36) PKC *kul-I, *kul?-II SURROUND / CONFINE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	*kul-I, kul?-II	SURROUND / CONFINE	VanBik 2009:315
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**kul** (khum)	confine	VanBik 2009:315
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**kul?**-INV	surround	VanBik 2009:315
Lai (Falam)	**kùl?**-INV	surround	VanBik 2009:315
Lushai [Mizo]	**kùl**	fortify, to stockade (v.)	VanBik 2009:315

(37) PTani *krɯ TAKE AIM

1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	***krɯ**	take aim	Sun 1993a:415
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**k^{h}rju**	aim	Sun 1993b
	xrju	take aim	Sun 1993a
	xu	aim at	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ki**	take aim	Sun 1993a

(38) PKC *tshin TEST / TRY OUT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***tshin**	TEST / TRY OUT	VanBik 2009:605
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**sìm**	learn	Thirumalai 1972:43
Tiddim	**sin**^{1}	test whether something is good or not (vs. test as in an examination)	VanBik 2009:605
	sin^{1}	learn; test to know whether something is good or n (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1585
	sin^{1}	learn...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhìn**	test, to try, to make trial of (v.)	VanBik 2009:605

(39) PTB *bu(w) WEAR

This root is perhaps allofamic with PTB ***pun** WRAP / COVER / WEAR (§6.13).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***bu(w)**	wear (clothes)	Benedict 1972:428
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**bu**	wear (clothes)	Benedict 1972:428
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**əbu**	wear (as a cloth)	Benedict 1972:428
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**bu**	wear (as a shirt / trousers)	Benedict 1972:428
	bu^{31}	wear (skirt, trousers) (v.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:69
	lă^{31}**pu**^{31}	pants / trousers (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0471.19
	lă^{31}**pu**^{31}	pants / trousers	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:379.47
	lă^{1}**pu**^{31}	trousers / pants	Liu Lu, ed. 1984

(40) PKar *ch(w)ɛŋ^{A} WEAR (A SHOULDER BAG)

7. Karenic			
*Karen	***ch(w)ɛŋ^{A}**	wear (a shoulder bag)	Luangthongkum 2013:325
Kayah	**cha**^{33}	wear (a shoulder bag)	Luangthongkum 2013:325
Kayan	**ɕi**^{53}	wear (a shoulder bag)	Luangthongkum 2013:325
Kayaw	**ɕi**^{55}	wear (a shoulder bag)	Luangthongkum 2013:325
Pa-O (Southern)	**chɛŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	wear (a shoulder bag)	Luangthongkum 2013:325
Pa-O (Northern)	**chɛŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	wear (a shoulder bag)	Luangthongkum 2013:325
Pa-O	**chèŋ**	carry as shoulder bag or gun w	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**chãi**^{35}	wear (a shoulder bag)	Luangthongkum 2013:325
Pwo (Southern)	**chwãi**^{53}	wear (a shoulder bag)	Luangthongkum 2013:325
Sgaw (Northern)	**che**^{33} thə$^{31\sim}$	wear (a shoulder bag)	Luangthongkum 2013:325
Sgaw (Southern)	**chi**^{55}	wear (a shoulder bag)	Luangthongkum 2013:325

(41) PKC *θeeŋ-I, *θeen-II WEAR (lower garments)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***θeeŋ**-I, θeen-II	WEAR (lower garments)	VanBik 2009:635
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**tséeng**-I, tsèen-II	wear pants	VanBik 2009:635
Tiddim	**te:ng**^{2} > te:n^{3}	wear a lower garment (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1758
	te:ng^{3} > te:n^{3}	wear a lower garment	VanBik 2009:635
	te:ŋ^{2}/te:n^{3}	wear a lower garment	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**fĕeŋ**-I, fèeŋ-II	wear pants	VanBik 2009:635
Lai (Hakha)	**fêeŋ**-I, fenʔ-II	wear lower garments	VanBik 2009:635
Lushai [Mizo]	**féeng**-I, fèen-II	put on or wear (as apron, girdle, petticoat, kilt, skirt, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:635

(42) PKC *ʔooy-I, *ʔoyʔ-II WEAR (necklace)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***ʔooy**-I, ʔoyʔ-II	WEAR (necklace)	VanBik 2009:517
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**awi**	wear (e.g. necklace) around the neck	VanBik 2009:517
Khumi	**aáwy**	wear around the neck	VanBik 2009:517
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔoyʔ**-INV	wear (necklace)	VanBik 2009:517

(43) PKC *si $^{n}_{l}$ WEAR / PUT ON (cloth)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***sin** ~ sil	WEAR / PUT ON (cloth)	VanBik 2009:685
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**shil**	wear an upper garment	VanBik 2009:685
Tiddim	**silʔ**^{3}	wear an upper garment (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1579
	silʔ^{3}	wear, put on (cloth); wear an upper garment	VanBik 2009:685; Bhaskararao 1994
	_silʔ/_silʔ	wear (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**sîn**-INV	wear, put on (as blanket)	VanBik 2009:685
Lushai [Mizo]	**sĭn**	wear, put on (as cloth)	VanBik 2009:685

(44) PTB *bat WIND AROUND

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***bat**	wind around; connect (by arching)	Matisoff 1985a:031; Matisoff 2003a:584
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**bàt**	wind around; encircle	Matisoff 1985a:031; Matisoff 1974:346
	dīŋ-**bàt**	crossbar, stringer, beam; arch space, as between two posts and a top-bar; the bow (as of a crossbow)	Matisoff 1985a:031
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
*Lolo-Burmese	***bat**	wind around	LaPolla 1987:196
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**pat**	wind around, encircle	Matisoff 1985a:031; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:99n283
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**pêʔ**	classifier for strips / pieces of land; slice, piece	Matisoff 1985a:031
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**behʔ**^{33}	rafter that goes lengthwise on the posts at side of house	Matisoff 1985a:031
	behˆ	rafter that goes lengthwise on the posts at the side of a house (n.)	Matisoff 1974:346

(45) TGTM *^{B}dot load

2.1.4. Tamangish			
*TGTM	***^{B}dot**	load	Mazaudon 1978:64
Gurung (Ghachok)	**^{4}ti**	load	Mazaudon 1978:64
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{4}tot**	load	Mazaudon 1978:64
Tamang (Sahu)	**^{4}tot**	load	Mazaudon 1978:64
Tamang (Taglung)	**^{4}toi**	load	Mazaudon 1978:64
Thakali (Marpha)	**^{4}te**	load	Mazaudon 1978:64
Thakali (Syang)	**^{4}tʌe**	load	Mazaudon 1978:64
Thakali (Tukche)	**^{4}te**	load	Mazaudon 1978:64

(46) PKC *ɓay EXERT / ATTEMPT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***ɓay**	EXERT / ATTEMPT	VanBik 2009:25
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**bei**	exert	VanBik 2009:25
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**bèi**-I, bèih-II	exert, make an attempt	VanBik 2009:25

(47) PCC *traŋ-I, *tran-II EXERT / MAKE EFFORT

1.2.2. Central Chin			
*Central Chin	***traŋ**-I, tran-II	EXERT / MAKE EFFORT	VanBik 2009:1318
Lai (Hakha)	**trâŋ**-I, trăn-II	exert, make effort	VanBik 2009:1318
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭáng**-I ṭàn-II	exert oneself, to make an effort, to put forth one's strength (v.)	VanBik 2009:1318

(48) PKar *chuN^{A} EXERT FORCING TO EXPEL

7. Karenic			
*Karen	***chuN^{A}**	exert forcing to expel	Luangthongkum 2013:105
Kayah	**chɨ**^{33}	exert forcing to expel	Luangthongkum 2013:105
Kayan	**chwaŋ**^{53}	exert forcing to expel	Luangthongkum 2013:105
Kayaw	**chu**^{55}	exert forcing to expel	Luangthongkum 2013:105
Pa-O (Southern)	**chuə̰m**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	exert forcing to expel	Luangthongkum 2013:105
Pa-O (Northern)	**chən**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	exert forcing to expel	Luangthongkum 2013:105
Sgaw (Northern)	**chu**^{33}	exert forcing to expel	Luangthongkum 2013:105

(49) PCN *ja:m SEARCH / SEEK

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
*Central Naga	***ja:m**	SEARCH, SEEK	Bruhn 2014a:III.122
*Ao	*a-**jəm**	SEARCH FOR, SEEK	Bruhn 2014a:II.291
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**jəm**^{1}	seek, search for, look for (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.291
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	**jə̀m**-	seek, search for, look for (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.291
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**yim** ya	seek	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	**jan**^{3}-	seek, search for (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.122
	yan	look for; seek	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	yan a	seek	Murry *et al.* 1978:110
	yan chet	find (v.)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**yang** chi	look for; seek	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**yim**	look for; seek	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**yem**	seek	Marrison 1967
Phom	**yem**	seek	Marrison 1967

(50) PNC *ho? VISIT

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Northern Chin*	***ho?**	VISIT	VanBik 2009:744
Sizang	**haw** hī	visit	VanBik 2009:744
Tiddim	**ho?**^{3}	visit a friend's home casually (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:472
	ho?^{2}	visit a friend's home casually	VanBik 2009:744
	ho?^{3}	visit a friend's home casually	Bhaskararao 1994

(51) PTB *pu- n ŋ CARRY

This root bears a strong resemblance to the widespread etymon PTB ***bəw*** CARRY (ON BACK OR SHOULDERS) (§6.2.2), and the Karenic forms were assigned to that root in the original version of *STC*. However, the published version (p. 135) recognizes that this is a complex root in Karenic, and it now seems best to treat these two etyma separately.

The reflexes show variation in the position of articulation of the final nasal between **-n** and **-ŋ**.

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**phung**	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**phung**	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**phungh**	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	kan **pung** be	pregnant	Marrison 1967
	pung	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***p^{h}uŋ*** CARRY (ON SHOULDERS)

**Tangkhulic*	***p^{h}uŋ**	carry (on shoulders)	Mortensen 2012:690
Tangkhul	**phung**	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	phuŋ	carry	Bhat 1969:86
Tusom	kə-**p^{h}ũ**	carry (on shoulders)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.089
Ukhrul	kə-**p^{h}uŋ**	carry	Mortensen 2012

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**phu**	carry on a pole (two people)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:592.7
	p'u^{55}	carry on a pole (by 2 people)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**phun**	carry on a pole (by 2 people)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Cuona Menba	**puŋ**^{55}tɕur^{55}	carry (sthg.) with a pole on t (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1676.06

7. Karenic: ***pɨ^{B}*** CARRY (ON THE BACK)

**Karen*	***phün** (B)	carry on back	Benedict 1972:135n368
**Karen [Burling]*	***phy**^{2}	carry (on the back)	Luangthongkum 2013:40
**Karen*	***pɨ**^{B}	carry (on the back)	Luangthongkum 2013:40
Bwe	**phu**^{33}	carry (on the back)	Luangthongkum 2013:40
Kayaw	**phɨ**^{11}	carry (on the back)	Luangthongkum 2013:40
Pa-O	**bü**	carry on back	Benedict 1972:147n402
Palaychi	**phü**	carry on back	Benedict 1972:135n368
Pwo (Northern)	**pe̱i**^{33}	carry (on the back)	Luangthongkum 2013:40
Pwo	**phün**/phən	carry on back	Benedict 1972:135n368
Pwo (Southern)	**pɨ**^{55}	carry (on the back)	Luangthongkum 2013:40
Karen (Sgaw)	**phü**	carry on back	Benedict 1972:135n368
Sgaw (Southern)	**phɨ**^{45,}	carry (on the back)	Luangthongkum 2013:40

(52) PCN *p[a ə]n CARRY (by hand)

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	***p [a/ə] n**	CARRY (BY HAND)	Bruhn 2014a:III.180
Ao (Chungli)	**-pūn**	carry (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a^{2}-**pən**^{2}	carry (with hands) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.180
	a **ben**	bring; carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ku a **ben**	carry (on back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	**pen**^{1}-	carry (in the hand) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.180
	pen	hold (v.)	Marrison 1967
	pēn̰ ā	carry	Acharya 1975
	pēn̰ ā	carry / carry (in hand) (imperat.)	Acharya 1975
Yacham-Tengsa	**pün**	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967

(53) PTB *bəw CARRY (ON BACK OR SHOULDERS)

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***buw**	carry (on the back)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1000a
	***buw**	carry(on back)(1); carry (a load)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:265; Weidert 1987:755
	***buw**	carry (on back / shoulders)	Benedict 1972:28
	***buw** (*B)	carry on the back	Coblin 1986:52
	***bəw**	carry (a load)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:755
	***bəw**	carry on back	Matisoff 2003a:584

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Miri, Hill	**bɯ**	carry	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Mishing [Miri]	**buü**	carry (on the back / shoulders)	Benedict 1972:28
	büü	carry on the back / shoulder	Coblin 1986:52

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***puu-I**, **put-II*** CARRY (on shoulder)

**Chin*	***puu**-I, put-II	CARRY (on shoulder)	VanBik 2009:131

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**pu** hī	carry (on the shoulder)	VanBik 2009:131
Thado	**púu**-I, pùt-II	carry on shoulder or by hand	VanBik 2009:131

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	a **puu**	carry on shoulder (supported on shoulder, e.g. an umbrella or bamboo rather than a carrying bag)	VanBik 2009:131

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**pûu**-I, put-II	carry (on the shoulder)	VanBik 2009:131
Lushai [Mizo]	**pu**	carry (on the back / shoulders)	Benedict 1972:28

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**pū**	carry on the shoulders, as bamboos (v.)	VanBik 2009:131

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***pu(ʔ)*** CARRY (SHOULDER / BACK)

**Central Naga*	***pu(ʔ)**	CARRY (SHOULDER / BACK)	Bruhn 2014a:III.067
**Ao*	*a-**pu**	CARRY (SHOULDER)	Bruhn 2014a:II.010
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}**pu**^{2}	carry (on shoulder) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.010
	ə **pu**	carry (on the back / shoulders)	Benedict 1972:28
Ao (Mongsen)	**pùʔ**	carry (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**pu**	carry on shoulder [carried on shoulder] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	pùʔ	carry on back [carried on back] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**pu**^{2}-	carry (another human on the back) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.067
	pvá	carry baby	Acharya 1975
	^{2}**bvɯ(ʔ)**	carry(on back)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:265
Yimchungrü	(^{1})**buʔ**	carry(on back)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:265

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{1}**pfɯ**	carry(on back)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:265
Angami (Khonoma)	**pfü**	carry (generic); carry (on back) (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**pfü**	carry (on back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**pü**	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**pwɤ**	carry(on back)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:265
Khezha	**pfu** gwo	bring (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{2}**pfɯ**	carry(on back)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:265
Mao	**pfo**	bring; carry (generic); carry (on back) (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	pfü	carry (in hand)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**pfo**	carry(on back)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:265
Ntenyi	a tsam **pfü**	pregnant	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**pfü**	carry (on back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**pfe**	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	pfe ghe	bring (v.)	Marrison 1967
	pfe khe	lift; raise (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	pfu	carry (on back) (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***wu*** CARRY (ON SHOULDERS)

**Tangkhulic*	***wu**	carry (on shoulders)	Mortensen 2012:367
Huishu	kə-nə-**vuk**	carry (on shoulders)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.078
Kachai	kə-**hɐ**	carry on shoulders	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.072
Ukhrul	kə-ŋə-**vu**	carry on shoulders	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**pu**	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	pu	carry (on the back; shoulders); carry on the back; shoulder	Benedict 1972:28; Coblin 1986:52

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**bu**	carry (on back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	bu	carry (on the back; shoulders); carry on the back; shoulder	Benedict 1972:28; Coblin 1986:52
	ki **bū(ʔ)**	carry(on back)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:265

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	a **bün**	vehicle	Benedict 1972:28
	bu	carry (v.)	Plaisier 2007
	bŭ	carry	Benedict 1972:28
	ká **bu**	carry (v.)	Plaisier 2007

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**bu**^{33}	carry on back	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:575.17
	bu^{35}ku^{55}	carry (loads; of pack animals) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1697.16
Xumi	**bũ**^{35}	lift up; carry; carry (sthg.) with a pole on t (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1659.17; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1676.17
	nbu^{35}	carry on a pole (two people); carry on shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:592.20; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:593.20

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**mbɯ** vɛ; mgue	carry on back	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:575.14

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***bəw^{2}*** CARRY ON BACK

**Lolo-Burmese*	***bəw**^{2}	carry on back	Matisoff 2003a:584

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**pu**^{31}	carry on back	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**pu**^{51}	carry on back	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**po**^{55}	carry on back	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:575.40
Burmese (Written)	**puì**	carry(on back)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:265
	puì	carry (on the back / shoulders)	Benedict 1972:28
	pùi	carry on the back / shoulder	Coblin 1986:52

6.1.2. Loloish

PNL	**po**^{2}	carry (on back)	Chen Kang 1986a:116.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Nanjian)	**py**^{21}	carry on shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:593.23

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**bu**^{21}	carry (on back)	Chen Kang 1986a:116.
Kucong	**bʌ33**	carry on one's back	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Black)	**pu**^{53}	carry on back	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:575.33
Lisu (Central)	**pi**^{1}	carry (on shoulder)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**pi**^{55}	carry on shoulder (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**pi**^{55}	shoulder (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.40
Lisu (Northern)	**pi**^{55}du^{33}	sedan chair carried on shoulder	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**pjø**^{55}	carry on shoulder (V.)	Bradley 1994
	pjø^{55}du^{33}	sedan chair carried on shoulder	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tʃe^{55}; **pi**^{55}	carry on shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:593.27
Sani [Nyi]	**bu**^{21}	carry (on back)	Chen Kang 1986a:116.
Yi (Sani)	**pe**^{2}tɒ^{33}	pole (carrying / shoulder) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0618.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Lüchun)	**pje̱**^{33}ta^{35}	pole (carrying / shoulder) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0618.41

(54) PKC *pua-I, *puak-II CARRY (on back)

This root seems quite independent from PTB ***bəw*** CARRY (ON BACK OR SHOULDERS) (§6.2.2). Note the different PKC reconstructions for the two of them.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***pua**-I, puak-II	CARRY (on back)	VanBik 2009:130
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**pua**	shoulder (v.)	VanBik 2009:130
Sizang	**pua** hī	carry (child or load on back)	VanBik 2009:130
Thado	**pûo**-I, pûo?-II	carry (back, car)	VanBik 2009:130
Tiddim	**pua**^{1} > puak^{1}	carry (child or load on back), carry outside	VanBik 2009:130
	pua^{1} > puak^{1}	carry outside (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1411
	pua^{1}/**puak**^{1}	carry outside	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**peew**	carry on the back (a child)	VanBik 2009:130
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**pôok**-INV	carry on back (v.)	VanBik 2009:130
Lai (Hakha)	**pùa**-I, puak-II	carry(on back)(1) (v.)	Weidert 1987:265
Lushai [Mizo]	**pùa**	carrying on the back (as a child, etc)	VanBik 2009:130
	pùa-I, pûak-II	carry on the back (as child etc.) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2809
	puak		
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**pī**	carry on back	VanBik 2009:130

(55) PTB *p-kur or *k-pur CARRY (on back)

Either reconstruction has something to be said for it. If the root was ***p-kur***, the rGyalrongic forms are straightforward reflexes, while the Kuki-Chin forms would show prefix pre-emption. On the other hand, if the root was ***k-pur***, we must assume simple prefix loss in Kuki-Chin, and metathesis in the rGyalrongic forms.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***phur** ⩙ *__phor__* CARRY (on back)

**Chin*	***phur ⩙ phor**	CARRY (on back)	VanBik 2009:330
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**phui**	carry (a load) on the back (v.)	VanBik 2009:330
Khumi	**phó**	carry (with a headstrap), carry in a basket	VanBik 2009:330
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**phûr-I**, **phŭr-II ⩙ phôr-I**, **phŏr-II**	carry (things on the back) (v.)	VanBik 2009:330
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**phào**	carry on the back (v.)	VanBik 2009:330
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***ʔ-kur** CARRY			
**Northern Naga*	***ʔ-kur**	carry on the back (v.)	French 1983:466
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	**han**	load' (DG 1980)	French 1983:466
	hʌn	carry' (Weidert)	French 1983:466
	^{3}**wʌn**	give / take (v.)	Weidert 1987:88
Tangsa	^{2}**vʌn**	give / take (v.)	Weidert 1987:88
Tangsa (Moshang)	lam **van**	take	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**hul**	carry on back	French 1983:466
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**kan**	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kan	carry	French 1983:466
	uŋ **kan** ik	coolie	French 1983:466
Konyak	**khei**	carry (on back)	French 1983:466
Phom	**ku**	carry (in hand)	French 1983:466
Wancho	**han**	carry; load' (DG 1980)	French 1983:466
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**gun**	carry (on back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kun^{33}	carry (money) on one (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1249.19
	kun^{33}	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.47
	mă^{31}**kun**^{55}	load (of firewood) on the back (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0876.19
	ʃă^{31}**kun**^{55}	cause to carry / load up (v.)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983:742
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**'khur**	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	(ɕiŋ) **fikhur** bu(gaŋ)	load (of firewood) on the back (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0876.01
	khur	carry (on back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	khur	carry on the back; carry on the back (imp)	Sun 1985c:548; Sun 1985c:549
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **pkor**	carry (a child) on the back)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1151.11
rGyalrong	kɐ **pkor**	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.12
Caodeng	kɐ-**fko?r**	carry on back	Sun 1997a
	sɐ-**fko**-ri?	carry strap	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	ka-**pkor**	carry (baby) on back	Sun 1997b

(56) PQ *s-ku ⩙ *m-gu CARRY (on back)

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	bu^{35}**ku**^{55}	carry (loads; of pack animals) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1697.16
Muya [Minyak]	tu^{55}**ku**^{55}	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	nə^{11} **ku**^{55}	carry (a child) on the back)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1151.10
Pumi (Lanping)	tə^{55} **skiu**^{55}	carry (a child) on the back)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1151.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	tə^{55}**skiu**^{55}	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.11
Pumi (Taoba)	nə^{35}**xu**^{35}	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**kù**	pick up, carry (with two people)	Evans 1999:2394
Queyu (Xinlong)	**kɯ**^{55}**ɕi**^{13}	carry (loads; of pack animals) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1697.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{35}**ku**^{53}	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.16
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	mbɯ vɛ; **mgue**	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.14

(57) PKC *yooŋ-I, *yoon-II CARRY (together)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***yooŋ**-I, yoon-II	CARRY (together)	VanBik 2009:1190
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**zawng** hī	carry (by a pole between two person)	VanBik 2009:1190
Thado	**zóong**-I, zòon-II	carry (by two or more people)	VanBik 2009:1190
Tiddim	**zo:ng**^{2} > zo:n^{3}	carry or lift something together (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2055
	zo:ng^{2} > zon^{3}	carry or lift something together	VanBik 2009:1190
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**ajewng**	carry on the shoulder (of two people)	VanBik 2009:1190
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**zŏon**-I, zon?-II	carry (by two or more people)	VanBik 2009:1190
Lai (Falam)	**zóon**-I, zòon-II	carry (by two or more people)	VanBik 2009:1190
Lushai [Mizo]	**zăwn**-I, zàwn-II	carry (between two or more persons) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1190

(58) PCN *haːn CARRY / PREGNANT / WEAR

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	***haːn**	CARRY / PREGNANT / WEAR	Bruhn 2014a:III.163
**Ao*	***hən**	CARRY / BY HAND	Bruhn 2014a:II.139
Ao (Chungli)	**ín** ùk	put in (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:5
	ən^{3}-uk^{1}	put (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.139
	ən^{3}tuk^{3}	throw (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.139
Ao (Mongsen)	**úm** cúk	throw (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:12
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**an**	carry (on back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	an ü	bring (v.)	Marrison 1967
	an üt	carry (in hand)	Marrison 1967
	en	carry (on back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	han	take	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hən**	take, carry [took, carried] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	hən-uk	put into ('carry' + INTO) (v.)	Coupe 2007
	hən tʃuk	discard, throw away [discarded, threw away] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	hən ə ɹà	bring [brought] (<'take' + SEQ + 'come') (v.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃak-**hən**-paʔ làtà	October ('paddy' + 'carry' + NR + 'month')	Coupe 2007
	ən tʃhət	take out [took out] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**han**^{1}-	carry (on back) / be pregnant / wear (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.163
	han	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	háṇ à	conceive (become pregnant)	Acharya 1975
	han a	wear; carry	Murry *et al.* 1978:135; Murry *et al.* 1978:15
	han ai-i	bring (v.)	Marrison 1967
	han ayia	bring	Murry *et al.* 1978:12
	hāṇ à	carry (imperat.)	Acharya 1975
	ngaro **han** a	pregnant (be.)	Nienu 1990c:10.4.14
	tso **han** yi **hanh**	pregnant	Murry *et al.* 1978:92
Sangtam	**hi**	carry (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	hi ro	bring (v.)	Marrison 1967
	hi rong	bring	Kumar 1973a
Yacham-Tengsa	**an**	take	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**han** de-arü	bring (v.)	Marrison 1967
	han khit	bear	Kumar 1973b:93
	han tarü	bring (v.)	Kumar 1973b:87

(59) PTani *gəː CARRY ON BACK / PREGNANT

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***gəː**	carry on back / pregnant	Sun 1993a:59
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	ò-hò **gɯ**-nɯ	pregnant	Sun 1993b
	ə-ŋa **gɯ**	carry on back / pregnant	Sun 1993a
	ə-ŋa-**gɯ**-nɯ	pregnant	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**gɯː**	carry on back	Sun 1993b
	ǰoː-min-**gɯː**	help carry st.	Sun 1993b
	kuː **gɯː**	carry on back; pregnant	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a ɦo **gəː**	pregnant, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1379.24
	a-ho **gəː**	pregnant	Sun 1993b
	a-ɦo **gəː**	carry on back / pregnant	Sun 1993a
	gəː	carry; carry (on the back); carry (a child) on the back)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1151.24
	gəː	carry (money) on one (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1249.24
Bokar Lhoba	**gəː**	carry on back	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:575.51
Galo	**gə** rɨk	carry; carry after (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	gɤ-nam	carry (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	**gɤ**-nam	carry load on back	Das Gupta 1983
	ku **gɤ** nam	pregnant	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-o **gə**; ko **gə**	carry on back / pregnant	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-tuŋ-**gaː**	pregnant	Sun 1993b
Milang	ra-mel-**gi**-ma	carry a load on back	Tayeng 1976

(60) PTB *tam CARRY ON SHOULDER

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***tam**	carry on the shoulder	Coblin 1986:52
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tam**	carry on shoulder	Matisoff 2003a:614
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tusom	kə-**tõ**	carry on head	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.090
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**htɑm**^{3}	carry on a pole (two people); carry on shoulder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:592.39; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:593.39

	thâm	carry on shoulder	Benedict 1976a
	thàm	carry on the shoulder	Coblin 1986:52
	thɑm^{3}	shoulder; carry (sthg.) with a pole on t (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1473.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1676.26
	thɑm^{3}po^{3}	pole (carrying / shoulder) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0618.26
	thɑ̀m	carry (on the shoulder)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:619k
	tʻam^{4}	carry on shoulder (v.)	Luce 1985:Y.134
	tʻaṁ^{4}	carry on shoulder (v.)	Luce 1985:Y.134
	ə-**thâm**	carry on shoulder	Benedict 1976a
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tâm**	carry (on the shoulder)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:619k
Chinese (Old)	mə-**tˢam**	carry on the shoulder	Baxter & Sagart 2011:465
	tâm	carry on shoulder (v.)	Luce 1985:Y.134
	tam	carry on the shoulder	Baxter 1992:1706; Coblin 1986:52
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**tam**	carry on the shoulder	Baxter & Sagart 2011:465
	tâm	carry on the shoulder as a pole-load	Coblin 1986:52

Chinese comparandum

擔 OC ***tâm**, *GSR* 619k 'carry on the shoulder'; B & S 2011: ***mə-tˢam**; Mand. **tān**.

(61) PCC *nor BUTT / PUSH (with the head)

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***nor**	BUTT / PUSH (with the head)	VanBik 2009:805
Lai (Hakha)	**nôr**-I, nŏr-II	push (with the head), push forward	VanBik 2009:805
Lushai [Mizo]	**nawr**	push (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nâwr	push, or to thrust (with the head as cattle, or with nose or snout as swine, etc.) (v.)	VanBik 2009:805
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	kă^{31}**noŋ**^{55}	push / shove (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1689.19
	ka **nawng**	push (v.)	Marrison 1967
	noŋ^{55}	push	LIU Lu, ed. 1984 [a]
	noŋ^{55}	push / shove (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1689.19
	noŋ^{55}	push	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:563.47
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	**nɔl**^{55}	push	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:563.46
Dulong	ɹɯ^{31}**nɔʔ**^{55}	push / shove (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1689.20

[a] The Jingpho final is irregular: one would expect **-n** as the reflex of ***-l**.

(62) PCN *njəm PRESS / PUSH

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Central Naga*	***njəm**	PRESS, PUSH	Bruhn 2014a:III.141
**Ao*	*a-**nəm**	PUSH, PRESS	Bruhn 2014a:II.258
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}-**nəm**^{2}	push, press (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.258
Lotha Naga	**njəm**^{3}(phi^{3})-	press (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.141
	nyim the chi a	press	Murry *et al.* 1978:92
Sangtam	**nyem** kenü	press (v.)	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**nim**	push	Kumar 1973b:61

(63) PTB *hwəy PUSH

This promising root would profit from more confirmation.

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**yai**	push (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Sahu)	**hui**-pā	push (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.11
	hui-pa	push (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.A.11
Thakali	**uy**-la	push (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.11
Thakali (Tukche)	**uj**-lɔ	push	Hari 1971:2.B.1.11
3.2. QIANGIC			
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**wu**^{55}ŋi^{55}	push	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:563.16
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**hwe'**	push with head or horn, propel violently (cf. khwe')	Benedict 1976a

(64) PKC *toon PUSH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***toon**	PUSH	VanBik 2009:220
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**tawn**	push forward (v.)	VanBik 2009:220
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tôon**-I, tŏon-II	push, push forward	VanBik 2009:220

(65) PNC *soon PUSH

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
**Northern Chin*	***soon**	PUSH	VanBik 2009:670
Sizang	**sawn** hi	push	VanBik 2009:670
Thado	**sòon**-I, sòt-II	push	VanBik 2009:670
Tiddim	**soon**^{1}	push	VanBik 2009:670
	soːn^{1}	push (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1613
	soːn^{1}	push	Bhaskararao 1994

(66) PLB *C-cak PUSH

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*{C}-**cak**	push	Matisoff 1972b:33
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**cak**	transmit impetus; to propagate or be propagated (v.)	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**tsa**^{53}	push / shove (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1689.47
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**cà?**	push	Matisoff 1972b:33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tsa**^{5}	push	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Southern Muji	**tsʰə**^{33}	push	Pelkey 2011:638
Phuza	**tsʰɯ**^{55}	push	Pelkey 2011:638

(67) PKar *chaN^{B} PUSH

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***chaN**^{B}	push	Luangthongkum 2013:228
Bwe	**ʃa**^{33}	push	Luangthongkum 2013:228
Kayah	**chɛ**^{11}	push	Luangthongkum 2013:228
Kayaw	**chɔ**^{11}	push	Luangthongkum 2013:228
Pwo (Northern)	**chɛ̃**^{33}	push	Luangthongkum 2013:228
Pwo (Southern)	**chɔ̃**^{55}	push	Luangthongkum 2013:228
Sgaw (Northern)	**chɔ**$^{31\sim}$	push	Luangthongkum 2013:228
Sgaw (Southern)	**chɔ**^{45,}	push	Luangthongkum 2013:228

(68) PTB *nwam PUSH / PRESS

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**nàm**-pa	push	Sun 1993b
	nam-paʔ	push	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**num**	push	Sun 1993b
	num	push / shove (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1689.24
	num ten	press (with palm or finger)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1129.24
	num ten	press / push down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1745.24
	num-ten	press (down)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	(**nɯm**)**num**	push	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:563.51
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	**nam**-muk-ma	push; press	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***nam** ≍ ***nom** PUSH / PRESS / PRINT			
**Chin*	***nam ≍ nom**	PUSH / PRESS / PRINT	VanBik 2009:828
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**nam** kai	print	VanBik 2009:828
Thado	**nôm-I**, nòm-II	press	VanBik 2009:828
	nʌ̀m	press	Thirumalai 1972:41
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**nâm-I**, năm-II	push, press, print	VanBik 2009:828
Lai (Falam)	**nám-I**, nàm-II	push, press, print	VanBik 2009:828
Lushai [Mizo]	**nam**	push (v.)	Marrison 1967
	năm	push, to push against, to knock against, to press or thrust against (v.)	VanBik 2009:828
	nem	press (v.)	Marrison 1967; Bhaskararao 1996:2711
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**nà ≍** ná	push (v.)	VanBik 2009:828
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	**-nūm**	press (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**nəm**	press [pressed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	nəm-uk	put into mouth (probably 'press' + INTO) (v.)	Coupe 2007
	tə-**nəm**-pháŋ-pàʔ	cover (NZP + 'press' + COVER + NR) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**n̥īm** ò	press (v.)	Acharya 1975
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**nim** kei	press (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**nam**	press	Marrison 1967
	nəm	press	Bhat 1969:94
Ukhrul	kʰə-**nam**	press, stuff, push	Mortensen 2012
	kʰə-**nɐm**	press, push, seal	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**nəm**-bə	press (v.)	Abbi & Mishra 1985
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**num** tin	push back the prepuce (v.)	Matisoff 1987

(69) PLB *ʔcwat PLUCK

This root has a strong phonosemantic similarity to PTB ***tsi** LEAD / PULL ALONG (§6.16), but separate roots are undoubtedly involved.

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*ʔ-**tšwat**^{H}	pluck	Matisoff 2003a:618
	***ʔcwat**	pluck; pluck[2] (e.g. fowl, stringed	Matisoff 1985a:033; Matisoff 1972b:57
	***ʔčwat**^{H}	pluck	Matisoff 1978a:43
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**chwat**	pluck, gather, as flowers; fruit; pluck	Matisoff 1985a:033; Matisoff 1978a:43
	chwat	pluck (v.)	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**tshɤ**^{55}	pluck (flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1782.47
Nusu (Central)	**tsḛ**^{53}	pluck (flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1782.34
Yi (Nanhua)	**tshæ̱**^{33}	pluck (flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1782.37
Yi (Weishan)	**tsha**^{33}	pluck (flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1782.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tshɳ̄**^{2}	pluck (flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1782.38
Yi (Xide)	**ʦe**^{33}	pluck (flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1782.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**tshɯ**^{55}	pluck (flowers) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1782.44
Lahu (Black)	**cî?**	pinch (between the fingers), pluck; pluck	Matisoff 1985a:033; Matisoff 1978a:43

	ğâʔ-mu **cîʔ** ve	pluck a chicken's feathers	Matisoff 1985a:033
	ɔ̀-vêʔ **cîʔ**-ğɔ̀ ve	pluck a flower	Matisoff 1985a:033
Yi (Sani)	**ɕe**^{2}	pluck (flowers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1782.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ciˆ**	pluck	Matisoff 1978a:43
Hani (Lüchun)	**tsɤ̱**^{33}	pluck (flowers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1782.41
Hani (Mojiang)	**tshɳ̄**^{33}	pluck (flowers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1782.42

Chinese comparandum

撮 OC ***ts'wât***, *GSR* #325e 'pinch/pick up with fingers; collect, gather'; Schuessler 2007:200 ***tshôt***; B & S 2011: ***ts**$^{h\varsigma}$**ot { [ts**^{h}**] **$^{\varsigma}$**ot}***; Mand. **cuō**.

(70) PKC *hnuuk DRAG / PULL

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hnuuk**	DRAG / PULL	VanBik 2009:890
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**'nük**	pull (v.)	VanBik 2009:890
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hnuuk**-I, hnuʔ-II	drag, pull	VanBik 2009:890
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnûuk**-I, hnùh-II	drag, to pull, to tug, to drag along, to haul, to tow (v.)	VanBik 2009:890

(71) PKC *ɗok-I, *ɗoʔ-II DRAW / PULL

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗok**-I, ɗoʔ-II	DRAW / PULL	VanBik 2009:76
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**dok** hī	draw (pull)	VanBik 2009:76
Tiddim	**dok**^{3} > doʔ^{3}	pull while holding, subtract	VanBik 2009:76
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**dòk**-I, dòʔ-II	draw, pull	VanBik 2009:76
Lai (Hakha)	**dok**-I, doʔ-II	draw, pull	VanBik 2009:76
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**dāo**	drawn together	VanBik 2009:76

(72) PKC *ɓot-I, *ɓoʔ-II PLUCK / PULL OUT / UPROOT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɓot**-I, ɓoʔ-II	PLUCK / PULL OUT / UPROOT	VanBik 2009:40
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**bot** hī	uproot	VanBik 2009:40
Thado	**bòt**-I, bòo-II	pluck, pull (feathers)	VanBik 2009:40
Tiddim	**bot**^{3} > boʔ^{3}	pull out weeds or hair	VanBik 2009:40
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**bawt**	uproot by pulling, to pluck out (features), tear off (hairs) (v.)	VanBik 2009:40
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**bot**-I, boʔ-II	pluck, pull out (e.g. grass, feathers)	VanBik 2009:40
Lai (Falam)	**bòt**-I, bòʔ-II	pluck, pull out	VanBik 2009:40

(73) PCC *phet-I, *pheʔ-II PULL AWAY (support)

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***phet**-I, pheʔ-II	PULL AWAY (support)	VanBik 2009:349
Lai (Hakha)	**phet**-I, pheʔ-II	pull away (as support from underneath), to cut off (as a water source	VanBik 2009:349
Lushai [Mizo]	**phèt**-I, phéʔ-II	trip up, to pull away a support from underneath (v.)	VanBik 2009:349

(74) PKC *yuuk PULL OUT / RETRACT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***yuuk**	PULL OUT / RETRACT	VanBik 2009:1228
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**yük**	pull out	VanBik 2009:1228
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zuuk**-I, zuʔ-II	pull out, retract	VanBik 2009:1228
Lushai [Mizo]	**zû̂uk**	retract one's word (v.)	VanBik 2009:1228

(75) PKC *phooy PULL OUT / UPROOT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***phooy**	PULL OUT / UPROOT	VanBik 2009:350
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**phôoy**-I, phŏoy-II	pull out, uproot	VanBik 2009:350
Lushai [Mizo]	**pháwi**	pull out, to extract, to unsheath, to pull off (as boot, ring, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:350

(76) PKar *thɛʔ^{D} PULL UP

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***thɛʔ**^{D}	pull up	Luangthongkum 2013:226
Kayaw	**the**^{33}	pull up	Luangthongkum 2013:226
Pa-O	**thɤ́ʔ**	pull; pull, as animal a harrow	Solnit 1989; Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**theʔ**^{45}	pull up	Luangthongkum 2013:226
Pwo (Southern)	**theʔ**^{21}	pull up	Luangthongkum 2013:226
Sgaw (Southern)	**thɛʔ**^{21}	pull up	Luangthongkum 2013:226
Sgaw (Northern)	**thɛʔ**^{45}	pull up	Luangthongkum 2013:226

(77) PKC *waat CLEAR (jungle) / CUT (jungle)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***waat**	CLEAR (jungle) / CUT (jungle)	VanBik 2009:1139
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**vâat**-I, vàat-II	clear jungle, or forest	VanBik 2009:1139
Tiddim	**vaːt**^{1}	clear shrubs and weeds with a long sword or stick	VanBik 2009:1139
	vaːt^{1}	clear shrubs and weeds with a long sword or stick (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1947
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**vâat**-I, vàat-II	clear or cut (jungle, forest)	VanBik 2009:1139
Lai (Hakha)	**vaat**-I, vaʔ-II	clear or cut (jungle, forest)	VanBik 2009:1139
Lushai [Mizo]	**vâat**-I, vàh-II	cut (jhoom) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1139
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**váw** ≍ vá	cut a jungle (v.)	VanBik 2009:1139

(78) PKC *sial PAVE / CLEAR (road)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***sial**	PAVE / CLEAR (road)	VanBik 2009:664
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**sial**^{1}	lay a road	VanBik 2009:664
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**sîal**-I, sĭal-II	pave road, clear road	VanBik 2009:664
Lushai [Mizo]	**sĭal**	clear (as road with or without hoes) (v.)	VanBik 2009:664

(79) PTB *krəw-t WASH

Inscriptional Burmese has medial **-l-**, which became **-y-** at a later stage, following the general tendency **kl-** > **ky-** (see *HPTB* p. 70-1).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kruw**	wash (v.)	Weidert 1987:716
	***kruw**	bathe, wash	Benedict 1972:117
	***krəw**	wash (v.)	Weidert 1987:716
	***krəw-t**	wash	Matisoff 2003a:596
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	**^{2}krhɯ**	wash (v.)	Weidert 1987:716
Angami (Kohima)	**khrü**	wash (self) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**khrü**	wash (self) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Mao	**khrü**	wash (generic); wash (self) (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**gru**	bathe, wash	Benedict 1972:117
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**khrut**	wash (clothes) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	khrut	bathe, wash	Benedict 1972:117
	khʒut^{31}	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.19
	khʒut^{31}	wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.47
	khɹut^{31}	wash (clothes)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**íˑkrvú**	bathe	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:223a
2.1.2. Bodic			
Bumthang	**khro-**	wash (v.)	Weidert 1987:716
Tshona (Wenlang)	**khrø**^{55}**ɣu**^{55}	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986; Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**khruʔ**^{53}	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.6
Cuona Menba	**khruʔ**^{53}	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**'khrud**	wash (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	(gos) **fikhrud**	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.01
	khru	wash (self) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	khrud-pa ≍ **khru**-ba	bathe, wash	Benedict 1972:117
	ngo-**vkhrud**-pa	wash one's face	Zhang Liansheng 1988:162
	fihkrud	wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.1
	fikhru-ba	bathe	Weidert 1987:716
	fikhrud	wash (hand)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.1
	fikhrud-pa	wash	Weidert 1987:716
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**khyú**	bathe (v.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	***^{B}k^{h}ru**	wash	Mazaudon 1994:128
Gurung (Ghachok)	jyu **k^{h}ruq** ba	bathe	Glover 1972:2.B.2.33
	k^{h}ruq ba	wash (cloth)	Glover 1972:7.B.3.14
	yo sũ **k^{h}ruq** ba	wash	Glover 1972:7.B.2.42 4
Gurung	**^{2}k^{h}ru-**	wash	Mazaudon 1994:128
Manang (Gyaru)	**hruɯ**^{3} ba	wash (V.)	Nagano 1984:223
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{2}hru-**	wash	Mazaudon 1994:128
	^{1}ɾ̥u-	wash	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0354
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'khru**-(u)	wash (v.)	Weidert 1987:716
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{2}k^{h}ru**	wash	Mazaudon 1994:128
Tamang (Sahu)	**'k^{h}ru**-pa	wash after eating (o.s.); wash (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:18.B.42; Taylor *et al.* 1972:19.14
	k^{h}rui la-pa	bathe (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.33
	^{2}k^{h}ru	wash	Mazaudon 1994:128
Tamang (Taglung)	**hu**-ba	wash	Mazaudon 1994:128
Thakali (Marpha)	**^{55,55}k^{h}u**-wʌ	wash	Mazaudon 1994:107
Thakali (Syang)	**^{44,33}k^{h}u**-ba	wash oneself	Mazaudon 1994:107
	^{55,55}k^{h}u-ba	wash oneself	Mazaudon 1994:107
Thakali (Tukche)	**^{2}t^{h}u**	wash	Mazaudon 1994:128
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khluiw**	wash	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khyûi**	wash; wash, bathe	Hansson 1989:110; Benedict 1976a
	khyuì	bathe, wash	Benedict 1972:117
	khyui:	wash	Okell 1971
	re^{2}**khjo**^{3}	bathe	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:650.39
	re **khyui:**	wash (self) (v.)	Marrison 1967

(80) PKC *soop WASH

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***soop**	WASH	VanBik 2009:682
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**sawp**	wash	VanBik 2009:682
Thado	**sôop**-I, sòop-II	wash (things)	VanBik 2009:682

Tiddim	**soop**[1]	wash objects (not body)	VanBik 2009:682
	so:p[1]	wash objects [not body] (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1614
	so:p[1]	wash objects ...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**saw**	wash (e.g. rice or meat before cooking or betel leaf–always food of some sort)	VanBik 2009:682
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**sôop**-INV	wash	VanBik 2009:682
Lushai [Mizo]	**sàwp**	wash, esp. clothes, by squeezing and repeatedly dashing them upon anything (v.)	VanBik 2009:682
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-sáo	rinse out (v.)	VanBik 2009:682

(81) PTB *su(k) WASH

This root is solidly attested in the NE Indian areal group, but has so far not been discovered elsewhere.

1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**suʈ**[33]	wash (hand)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.52
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	lak-**suk**-su:	wash hands	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-**suk**	wash hands	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**suk**	wash (hand)	Sun 1993b
Galo	lak **suk**	wash (hands) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***suu-I**, ***suuk-II** WASH			
**Chin*	***suu**-I, suuk-II	WASH	VanBik 2009:683
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**sū** hī	wash clothes	VanBik 2009:683
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**psiiw**	wash, clean (cloth) using a shaking/agitating action	VanBik 2009:683
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**sùu**-I, suuk-II	wash clothes	VanBik 2009:683
Lushai [Mizo]	**su**	wash (generic); wash (clothes) (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	sûu-I, sùuk-II	wash (as clothes, head, entrails, yams, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:683
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-**sū**	wash cloth	VanBik 2009:683
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***su** WASH			
**Tangkhulic*	***su**	wash	Mortensen 2012:692
Huishu	kə-nə-**suk**	wash	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.090
Tangkhul	**sɯ**	wash	Bhat 1969:100
Ukhrul	kʰə-ŋə-**su**	wash (clothes)	Mortensen 2012
	kʰə-ŋə-**sɯ**	wash (clothes)	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**su**	wash (clothes) (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***su'**	wash	Burling 1959:444
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**su** sha	wash (clothes) (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**su** set-	wash (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	su sut-	wash (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	su syt-	wash (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	**su**[2]-ri[2]	wash (clothes)	Jacquesson 2005

(82) PTB *tsəy WASH

This root bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***m/b-s(y)il ≍ *m/b-syal** WASH / BATHE (§6.2.2), and should perhaps be combined with it in the future.

3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**tshɛ**[33]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.18; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.18
Lyuzu	ne[33]**tshe**[53]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.18
Namuyi	**tshŋ**[33]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.19
	tshŋ[31]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	na[11]**tsɛ**[55]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.10
Pumi (Lanping)	thə[13]**tsa**[55]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	thə[13]**tsa**[55]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.11; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.11
Pumi (Taoba)	thə[35]**tse**[53]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.10; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə[35]**tsi**[53]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.16; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.16
Xumi	**zɛ**[35]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.20; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	zɻɐe; **sqhʂi**	wash (hand)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ka **rtʃi**	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.12; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.12
Caodeng	kɐ-**χtʃi**	wash	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **rtʃi**	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.11
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***tsəy**[2] WASH			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***tsiy**[2]	wash	Matisoff 1978a:34
	***tsəy**[2]	wash	Matisoff 2003a:617
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**tɕhi**[31]	wash (hands); wash (clothes)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tshi**[31]	wash (hand)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.41
Achang (Luxi)	**tɕhi**[55]	wash (hands); wash (clothes)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɳaʔ[31]**tɕhi**[55]phan[51]	wash basin	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**tshi**[31]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.29
Bola (Luxi)	**tʃhŋ**[35]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.32
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**hse**[55]	wash (hand)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.40
Burmese (Written)	**che:**	wash (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	chê-krâw	wash / clean	Matisoff 2003a:421
	cʰê	wash	Matisoff 1978a:34
	she[3]	wash (hand)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.39
	tshè	wash (v.)	Weidert 1987:312
	tshè	wash	Benedict 1972:15n54
Hpun (Northern)	**ʃè**, **ʃè**-ŋ	wash	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	**tʃhe:i**[55]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.33
Marma	**chí**	wash	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:223
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**chí**	wash (v.)	Weidert 1987:312
	tʃhi[21]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.30
	tʃhi[21]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.42; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***tse**[2]	wash (v.)	Weidert 1987:312
PNL	**tsiy**[2]	wash	Chen Kang 1986a:12.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**tshŋ**[31]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.47
	tsʰɪ[31]	wash (v.)	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	phò-**tshì**	wash face	Björverud 1994
	tshi[21]	wash	Chen Kang 1986a:12.
Lipho	**tshi**[21]	wash	Chen Kang 1986a:12.
Nasu	**tshi**[33]	wash	Chen Kang 1986a:12.
Neisu	**tshi**[33]	wash	Chen Kang 1986a:12.
Nesu	**tɕhi**[33]	wash	Chen Kang 1986a:12.
Nosu	**tshi**[33]	wash	Chen Kang 1986a:12.
Nusu (Southern)	**tɕhi**[53]	wash	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tɕhi**[55]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.45; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.45
Nusu (Central)	**tʂhi**[55]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.34
Nusu (Northern)	**tʂhŋ**[55]	wash	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	tʂhŋ[55]xhuɛ[31]bɛ[31]	wash basin	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**tɕhi**[33]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.22
Yi (Liangshan)	ɳi[55]**tshŋ**[33]phi[21]	sink (wash basin); wash basin	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐ̩ŋ[34]**tshŋ**[33]	clean (wash); wash	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tshŋ[33]	rinse; wash	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tshŋ[34]ʐɔ[33]	clean (wash); wash	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tshi**[21]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.25; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tɕhi**[33]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.26; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tshi**[21]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.24; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.24
	tɕhŋ[21]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**tshŋ**[21]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.23; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tshŋ**[21]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tshi**[33]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.38
Yi (Xide)	**tshŋ**[33]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.35
	tshŋ[33]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.21; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**tshi**[21]	wash	Chen Kang 1986a:12.
Jinuo	**tshi**[33]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.34; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.34
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**tshi**[44]	wash (v.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**tshi**[44]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986; Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tshi**[44]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.44
Kucong	**tshŋ31**	wash (i.e., clothes)	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**tshi**[33]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.43
Lahu (Black)	**tshŋ**[53]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.33; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tshŋ**[3]	wash (clothes); wash (hand)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**htsi**[5]	wash (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**tshi**[21]	wash (V.)	Bradley 1994
	tshi[21]hã[33] læ[35]hã[33]	wash clean	Bradley 1994
	tshi[21]kɯ[33]	wash off	Bradley 1994
	tshi[21]kɯ[33] læ[35]kɯ[33]	wash off	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tshi**[31]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.40
	tshŋ[31]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.27; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.27
Yi (Sani)	**tshʐ**[11]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.39
Sani [Nyi]	**tʂhi**[21]	wash	Chen Kang 1986a:12.
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**tshì**	wash	Hansson 1989:110
Akha (Thai)	**tshì**	wash	Hansson 1989:110
Hani (Dazhai)	**tshi**[31]	wash (hand); wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.31; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tshi**[31]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	je[33]**tshŋ**[31]	wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.30
Hani (Pijo)	**tsỳ**	wash	Hansson 1989:110
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsɳ̄**[31]	wash (hand)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:648.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	lɛ̯[31]**tshi**[31]	wash (clothes)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ciiq**	wash	Hansson 1989:110
Hani (Shuikui)	**tshi**[31]	wash (clothes)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:649.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**tshi**[31]	wash (clothes) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1713.42
Pyen	la33 pu31 **chi45**	wash hand (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:133039
Sila	**tshi21**	wash clothes (v.)	Kato Takashi 2008:158
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**tsʰi**[22]	wash (self)	Pelkey 2011:874
Southern Muji	**tɕʰi**[55]	wash (self); wash (clothes)	Pelkey 2011:874; Pelkey 2011:875
Phola	**tʂʰi**[33]	wash (self)	Pelkey 2011:874
Hlepho Phowa	**tsʰɭ**[55]	wash (self); wash (clothes)	Pelkey 2011:874; Pelkey 2011:875

Phu Kha	bjɛ^{31} ɬa^{33} **t͡sʰɯ**^{35}	wash (clothes)	Fried 2000
	la^{33} puʔ^{35} **t͡sʰɯ**^{35}	wash (hands/person)	Fried 2000
Phuza	**tsʰi**^{33}	wash (self); wash (clothes)	Pelkey 2011:874; Pelkey 2011:875
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	pʰv˧mie˧**tsʰɯ**˧lu˧	washbasin, basin to wash one's face	Michaud 2006–2009:1166
	tsʰɯ˩	wash (clothes, dishes, etc.) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3240

(83) PKar *chrow^{B} WASH (clothes)

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***chrow**^{B}	wash (clothes)	Luangthongkum 2013:322
**Karen [Burling]*	***chɣy**^{2}	wash (clothes)	Luangthongkum 2013:322
Kayah	**cho**^{11}	wash (clothes)	Luangthongkum 2013:322
Kayan	**chu**^{11}	wash (clothes)	Luangthongkum 2013:322
Kayaw	**chu**^{11}	wash (clothes)	Luangthongkum 2013:322
Pa-O (Southern)	**chu**^{33}	wash (clothes)	Luangthongkum 2013:322
Pa-O (Northern)	paʔ^{21}**chu**^{55}	wash (clothes)	Luangthongkum 2013:322
Sgaw (Northern)	**chɣɨ**$^{31\sim}$	wash (clothes)	Luangthongkum 2013:322
Sgaw (Southern)	**chɣɨ**$^{45’}$	wash (clothes)	Luangthongkum 2013:322

(84) PTk *pʰrew WASH (HANDS)

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***pʰrew**	wash (hands)	Mortensen 2012:412
Kachai	kə-**pʰi**	wash	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.080
Tusom	ʔɯ-kxu kə-**pʰrɤ**	wash (legs)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.106
Ukhrul	kə-**pʰew**	wash (hands, feet, utensils, etc.)	Mortensen 2012

(85) PTk *cik WASH (HANDS)

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***cik**	wash (hands)	Mortensen 2012:693
Huishu	kə-mə-**tsoʔ**	wash	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.091
Tangkhul	**cik**	wash	Bhat 1969:100
Tusom	ʔɯ-kfy kə-**cɯ**	wash (hands)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.105
Ukhrul	kʰə-mə-**cik**	wash hands	Mortensen 2012

(86) PKar *bla^{B} WASH (the face)

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***bla**^{B}	wash (the face)	Luangthongkum 2013:321 [a]
Bwe	**bla**^{33}	wash (the face)	Luangthongkum 2013:321
Bwe (Western)	**blɑ**^{2}	wash (face) (v.)	Luce 1985:I.177
Kayah	**ple**^{11}	wash (the face)	Luangthongkum 2013:321
Kayan	**pla**^{11}	wash (the face)	Luangthongkum 2013:321
Kayan (Pekon)	**plā**	wash face (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**pla**^{11}	wash (the face)	Luangthongkum 2013:321
Pa-O (Northern)	**phla**^{53}	wash (the face)	Luangthongkum 2013:321
Pa-O (Southern)	**pla**^{55}	wash (the face)	Luangthongkum 2013:321
Paku	**plɑ**^{3}	wash (face) (v.)	Luce 1985:I.177
Pwo (Northern)	**phla**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	wash (the face)	Luangthongkum 2013:321
Pwo (Southern)	**phla**^{33}	wash (the face)	Luangthongkum 2013:321
Pwo (Delta)	**pʻlɑ**^{1}	wash (face) (v.)	Luce 1985:I.177
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**pʻlɑ**^{4}	wash (face) (v.)	Luce 1985:I.177
Sgaw (Southern)	**pla**^{31}	wash (the face)	Luangthongkum 2013:321
Sgaw (Northern)	**pla**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	wash (the face)	Luangthongkum 2013:321
Sgaw	**plɑ**^{6}	wash (face) (v.)	Luce 1985:I.177

[a] [Source Note] Bwe has an irregular vowel, i.e. a instead of ɛ.

(87) PTB * m/b -s(y)il ⪤ * m/b -syal WASH / BATHE

This root bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***tsəy** WASH (§6.2.2), and should perhaps be combined with it in the future.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***bsil**	wash	Coblin 1986:158
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**m-)s(y)il**	wash; bathe	Chou Fa-kao 1972:478j; Benedict 1972:493a
	*(**m-)syil**	wash (v.)	Weidert 1987:312
	***m/b-s(y)il ⪤ m/b-syal**	wash / bathe	Matisoff 2003a:614
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***sil** WASH			
**Chin*	***sil**	WASH	VanBik 2009:681
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	kī **sìl**	bathe	Thirumalai 1972:69
	sîl-I, sìl-II	wash (hands, body)	VanBik 2009:681
	śil∼ki **śil**	wash	Chou Fa-kao 1972:478j
Tiddim	**sil**^{1}	wash limbs or dishes	VanBik 2009:681; VanBik 2009:681
	sil^{1}	wash limbs or dishes (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1580
	sil^{1}	wash limbs or dishes	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**m-si**	wash	VanBik 2009:681
Daai	**m̥tʰiʔ**	wash	So-Hartmann 1988:143
Khumi	**psi**	wash, clean	VanBik 2009:681
	pᵊsʰiʔ	wash	So-Hartmann 1988:143
Matu	**sʰilʔ**	wash	So-Hartmann 1988:143
Mkaang	**šʰiː**	wash	So-Hartmann 1988:143
Ngmüün	**m̥sʰɨ**	wash	So-Hartmann 1988:143
Nyhmoye	**m̥tʰiʔ**	wash	So-Hartmann 1988:143
Wakung	**mᵊsʰeiʔ**	wash	So-Hartmann 1988:143
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**sil**	wash	Chou Fa-kao 1972:478j
	sĭl	wash (v.)	Weidert 1987:312
	sil	wash (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sĭl	wash	VanBik 2009:681
	sil	wash (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2908
Rangkhol	ger **śil**	wash	Chou Fa-kao 1972:478j
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pa-sí**	wash	VanBik 2009:681
	²pə³si	wash (v.)	Weidert 1987:312
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**sü**	wash (pots) (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Ntenyi	a **sü**	wash (clothes) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	metsi	wash (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**bśal**-ba	wash, clean by washing, rise	Benedict 1972:173n462
	bsil-bɑ	wash	Chou Fa-kao 1972:478j

Chinese comparandum

洗 OC ***siən/siər**, *GSR* #478j 'wash'; Schuessler 2007:525 ***sə̂iʔ/sî(n)ʔ/sə̂nʔ**; B & S 2011: ***sˤərʔ { [s] ˤərʔ}**; Mand. **xǐ**.
洒 OC ***siən/siər**, *GSR* #594g-h 'wash'; Schuessler 2007:525 **sə̂iʔ/sî(n)ʔ/sə̂nʔ**; B & S 2011: ***sˤərʔ { [s] ˤərʔ}**; Mand. **xǐ**.

(88) PCN *m-tsak WASH / BATHE

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	*m-**tsak**	WASH, BATHE	Bruhn 2014a:III.246
**Ao*	*m-**tsək**	WASH (HANDS)	Bruhn 2014a:II.189
Ao (Chungli)	mə^{3}**tsək**^{3}	wash (hands) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.189
	mɯ́ **cɯ́k**	wash (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:10
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	mü **tsük**	wash (face) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mə̀ **tsək**	wash [washed] (hands) (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**tsək**^{2}-kat^{2}-	bathe (oneself) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.246
	tsak at	wash (self) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tsük at a	bathe	Murry *et al.* 1978:9
Sangtam	mü **tsa**	wash (self) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**tsak**	wash (self) (v.)	Marrison 1967

(89) PTB *grwaːl WASH / CLEAN

This Lai - Burmese comparison is due to Kenneth VanBik.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***groːl**	wash / clean	Matisoff 2003a:591
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**trool**	wash / clean	Matisoff 2003a:421
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	chê-**krâw**	wash / clean	Matisoff 2003a:421

(90) PTB *hus ⪤ *h u/i r WASH / MOISTURE / WET

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***hur ⪤ hir**	wash	Matisoff 2003a:593
	***hus**	wet / dew	Matisoff 2003a:593
1.1.1. Tani: ***hɯr** WASH			
**Tani*	***hɯr**	wash	Sun 1993a:454
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	au **har**-su	take bath	Sun 1993b
	auʔ-**har**-su	bathe	Sun 1993b
	har-su	wash; bathe	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	dɯ-**hɯr**	clean	Sun 1993b
	hɯr	wash	Sun 1993a
	hɯr-kjak	wash (rice, clothes, head)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-jak **hɯr**-ǰiː	bathe	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-jak **hɯr**-kjak	bathe	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**hɯr**-šuː	wash	Sun 1993a
	hɯr-suː	wash (face)	Sun 1993b
	hɯr-sɯː	wash (face)	Sun 1993b
Galo	**hu** nam	wash (body); bathe (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**hur** si-nam	bathe	Simon 1976
	hɯr kak-nam	wash	Simon 1976
Tagin	**ar** kak-nam	wash (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	eɟi-a **ar** kak-lak	Wash the cloth	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	**ɯr**∼ **ar**	wash	Sun 1993a
Damu	**xər**-lə	wash (clothes)	Sun 1993b
	xər-tə	wash (things)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-ɕi **xər**-nə	bathe	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**ɯr**	wash	Sun 1993a
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**huh**	wet (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	huʔ	wet	Matisoff 2003a:435
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Zeme	**hui**	wash (generic); wash (self); wash (clothes); wash (pots) (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**hui** di	wash (self); wash (pots) (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**hu**	wash (pots) (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**hus**	moisture, humidity	Matisoff 2003a:435
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Kathmandu)	**hi(l)**-	wash (clothes)	Genetti 1990c
Newar (Dolakhali)	**hir**-	wash (clothes)	Genetti 1990b
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	**hurs**-u	wash (hair) (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**hur**-	wash (hair / head) (v.)	Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**hur**-	wash off, rinse, cleanse, scour (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	hus	ground mist, vapour rising from ground (usually early morning in winter), moisture from this (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hus	dew	Benedict 1972:2n4
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ɣor**	bathe, wash	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4404

Chinese comparandum

靧 OC ***χwəd**, *GSR* #540f 'wash the face'; B & S 2011: ***qʰˤuj-s**; Mand. **huì**.

(91) PTB * k/p -y(w)ak SCOOP / SWEEP

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	***py(w)ak**	sweep / broom	Matisoff 2003a:609
	***pyak**	broom / rub, wipe (v.)	Weidert 1987:678
	***pyak**	broom	Benedict 1972:174
	***pyak** ⩙ mrak ⩙ m-lyak	sweep / broom / grass	Matisoff 1983:57
	***pywak**	broom / rub, wipe (v.)	Weidert 1987:678

1.1.1. Tani: ***pək** SWEEP

*Tani	***pək**	sweep	Sun 1993a:409

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**pɯ**	sweep	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**pɯ**	sweep	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**pɯ** na-nɯ	broom	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**pɯʔ**	sweep	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**pɯʔ**	clean (vt.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**pɯk**	sweep	Sun 1993a
	pɯk(-kjak)	sweep	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(sam) **pək**	sweep	Sun 1993b
	pək	sweep	Sun 1993a
	pək	sweep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.24
	sam-**pək**	broom	Sun 1993b
	ɕam **pək**	broom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0532.24
Bokar Lhoba	**pək**	sweep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:657.51
	ɕam **pək**	broom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:440.51
Galo	ham **pək**	broom (fan palm) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	pek kak	sweep clean (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	pen nam	sweep; wipe (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	pep puu	sweep clean (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	pəg nam	sweep (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻpeg aa	sweep away (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻpep pak	wipe away (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	**pɤk**-nam	sweep (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pək**	sweep	Sun 1993a
Milang	**pek**-ma	sweep	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	(h)**a:** pag	sweep	NEFA (India) 1963
	a: **pag**	wipe	NEFA (India) 1963
	ha: **pag**	wipe	NEFA (India) 1963

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***phiat** ⩙ ***phiak** SWEEP

*Chin	***phiat** ⩙ phiak	SWEEP	VanBik 2009:359

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**phiat**	sweep	VanBik 2009:359
Sizang	mun **pīet** hī	sweep	VanBik 2009:359
Tiddim	mun[3] **phia?**[3]	broom	Bhaskararao 1996:1152
	phiat[1]	wash face, sweep	VanBik 2009:359
	phiat[1]	wash face; sweep (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1458
	phiat[1]	wash face, sweep	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**pʻe˝**	sweep (v.)	VanBik 2009:359
Khumi	**pᵊjuʔ**	wipe	So-Hartmann 1988:147

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**phiak**-I, phiaʔ-II	sweep	VanBik 2009:359
Lai (Falam)	**phîat**-INV	sweep (v.)	VanBik 2009:359
Lushai [Mizo]	hmun **phiat**	sweep	Benedict 1972:174
	hmun **phiaʔ**	broom	Benedict 1972:174
	hmun **phiah**	broom	Marrison 1967
	phiat	sweep (v.)	Marrison 1967
	phîat-I, phìaʔ-II	sweep, to brush (with broom) (v.)	VanBik 2009:359

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**phí**	sweep (v.)	VanBik 2009:359

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***(w)uk** SWEEP

*Central Naga	*(**w**)uk	SWEEP	Bruhn 2014a:III.265
*Ao	*a-**uk**	SWEEP	Bruhn 2014a:II.385
Ao (Chungli)	**-ùk**	sweep (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
	a[3]-**uk**[1]	sweep (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.385
	a **ok**	sweep (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ki **ok** tsü	broom	Marrison 1967
	ok tok	sweep (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen)	**ùk**	sweep (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ok** chet	sweep (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ok wang	sweep (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**ùk**	sweep [swept] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**chak** cha	broom	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	ku **wok** rü ngitsarü	sweeper	Kumar 1973a
	vo	sweep (v.)	Marrison 1967
	[2]gu[2]**vuʔ**	sweep (v.)	Weidert 1987:1222

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Chokri	**phak** hwü	broom	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	n-**phĭak**	broom / rub / wipe (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:678
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	lang **phiak**	broom	Marrison 1967
	læŋ-**phiak**	broom / rub / wipe (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:678
Zeme	**biak**	sweep (v.)	Marrison 1967
	piag	broom	Benedict 1972:174
	[1]ki[1]**biak**	broom / rub / wipe (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:678
Mzieme	**biak**	sweep (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ar **phèk**	broom / rub / wipe (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:678
	ar **phek**	broom	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:174

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**je**[55]	sweep	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	je[55]	sweep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.19
	je[55]	sweep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:657.47
	ting **ye**	broom	Marrison 1967
	tiŋ[31] **je**[55]	broom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0532.19
	tiŋ[31]**je**[55]	broom	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:440.47
	ye	sweep (v.)	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	brang **phak** tsam	broom	Andvik 1993:30
Tsangla (Motuo)	**phak**	wipe; sweep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:624.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:657.7
	praŋ[13]**pʻak**[55]tsam[55]	broom	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	pʻak[55]	sweep; wipe	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**phak**	sweep	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	mɑi[35]**ɕɑk**[55]tɑm[55]	broom	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	ɕɑk[55]	sweep	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	braŋ **phak** tsam	broom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0532.07
	phak	wipe (the table)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.07
	phak	sweep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**ʼphyag**-pa	sweep	Matisoff 1983:57
	phjags ma	broom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0532.01
	phjags ma	broom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:440.1
	phyag-bdar	sweep (v.)	Marrison 1967
	phyag-ma	broom	Matisoff 1983:57; Benedict 1972:174
	phyag-pa	sweep	Benedict 1972:174
	phyag ma	broom	Marrison 1967
	fiphjag	sweep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.01
	fiphjag	sweep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:657.1

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**phyok**	sweep (v.)	Plaisier 2007
	phyok mú	broom (n.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. Tamangish

*TGTM	*[B]**pʰja:**	broom; wipe	Mazaudon 1994:670; Mazaudon 1994:671
Gurung (Ghachok)	**pʰyoq** ba	sweep; wipe off	Glover 1972:6.B.1. 11; Glover 1972:6.B.3.15
Gurung	[2]**pʰjo**-	sweep / wipe off	Mazaudon 1994:671
Manang (Gyaru)	**pya:**[2] ba	wipe (V.)	Nagano 1984:120
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]**pʰja:**-	wipe	Mazaudon 1994:671
	[1]**pʰya:**-	wipe	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0355
Tamang (Bagmati)	**ʼphya:**	broom	Weidert 1987:678
	ʼphya:-	rub, wipe (v.)	Weidert 1987:678
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]**pʰja:**	broom; broom-plant; wipe; dust off	Mazaudon 1994:670; Mazaudon 1994:671
Tamang (Sahu)	**ʼphyā:**	broom (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.51
	ʼpʰya:	broom	Taylor *et al.* 1972:6.47
	ʼpʰya:-pa	wipe off (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:17.C.15
	[2]**pʰja:**	broom; wipe off	Mazaudon 1994:670; Mazaudon 1994:671
Tamang (Taglung)	**pʰja:**	broom	Mazaudon 1994:670
Thakali	**phyā**	broom (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.51
Thakali (Marpha)	[33›33]**pʰja:**-wa	sweep / wipe	Mazaudon 1994:671
	[51]**pʰja**	broom	Mazaudon 1994:670
Thakali (Tukche)	**pʰja**	broom	Hari 1971:6.A.51
	pʰja-lɔ	sweep; wipe off	Hari 1971:6.B.1.11 1; Hari 1971:6.B.3.15 1
	[2]**pʰja**	sweep	Mazaudon 1994:671
	[H]**pʰja**	broom	Mazaudon 1994:670

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**pheg**-ue	sweep	Ebert 1997
	phek-	sweep	Ebert 1997
	phek ma	sweep	Ebert 1997
	tham **pheg** u!	sweep the court!	Ebert 1997

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**bUk**	sweep (v.)	Rai 1985

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**phi:k** nɨ	sweep (with a broom)	Driem 1993

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**pek**	sweep (vt, vtt.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.98 (vtt
Thulung	**pheak** lim	broom-plant (bm) (for brushes)	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**phek**	broom (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.51
	phek	broom / rub / wipe (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:678
	phek	broom, brush made of bound grass stalks (n1.)	Caughley 2000
	phek	plant (sp.), grass from which broom is made, Thysanolaena (n2.)	Caughley 2000
	phek	broom	Benedict 1972:174
	phek-	sweep (B) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	pʰek	broom	Caughley 1972:6.A.51

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**tɕha**[55]	sweep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.16
	tɕha[55]mu[55]	broom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0532.16
	tɕhɑ[55]	sweep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:657.17
	tɕhɑ[55]mu[53]	broom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:440.17
Lyuzu	ŋe[33]**phʐæ**[53]	sweep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.18

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	sɐ **pjɐk**	broom (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0532.11
rGyalrong	sɐ **pjɐk**	broom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:440.12
rGBenzhen	sɐ-**pjɐk**	broom	Sun 1997b

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	**je**[35]	wipe	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**jie**[35]	wipe (the table); wipe	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.49; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:624.38
	jie[35]liau[55]	wipe away / erase	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.49

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***k-yak** SCOOP / SWEEP

*Lolo-Burmese	***k-yak**	scoop / sweep	Matisoff 1988a:p.1263

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**phjɛʔ**[4]	wipe away / erase	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.27
Burmese (Written)	**phjɑk**[4]	wipe away / erase	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.26
Langsu (Luxi)	l̥au[31]**phjɔʔ**[55]	wipe away / erase	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.31

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**ja**[31]	sweep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:657.34
	ja[31]pjɐ[31]	broom	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:440.34
	ja[42]	sweep (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.44

	ja^{42} pja^{42}	broom (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0532.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**jɑ**^{42}	sweep	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	jɑ^{42}pjɑ^{42}	broom	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	**yâʔ**	scoop up; sweep into (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p.1263

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	**jaq**	sweep	Hansson 1989:476
Akha (Yunnan)	**jaq**	sweep	Hansson 1989:476
	jaq pjhɔ́	broom	Hansson 1989:252
Akha (Thai)	**jaq**-pjhɔ́	broom	Hansson 1989:252
Akha	**ya**ˆ	sweep	Matisoff 1988a:p.1263
Hani (Lüchun)	**jaq**	sweep	Hansson 1989:476
	jaq phó	broom	Hansson 1989:252
Hani (Dazhai)	**ja̱**^{33}	sweep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:657.31
	ja̱^{33}phjo^{55}	broom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:440.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ja̱**^{33}	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.41
	ja̱^{33}phø^{55}	broom (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0532.41
Hani (Pijo)	**jàq** phá	broom	Hansson 1989:252
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ja**^{33}pha^{55}	broom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:440.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ja̱**^{33}	sweep	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ja̱^{33}phjɔ^{55}	broom	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**ja**^{33}	sweep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:657.32
	ja^{33}fɣ^{55}	broom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:440.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**yav**	sweep	Hansson 1989:476
	yav pyul	broom	Hansson 1989:252
Hani (Khatu)	**ja**	sweep	Hansson 1989:476
	jàq pjhɔ́	broom	Hansson 1989:252
Hani (Mojiang)	**ja**^{33}	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.42
	ja^{33}fɣ^{55}	broom (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0532.42

(92) PTB *syim SWEEP

A pair of Bodo-Garo forms with homorganic final stops may also be related.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***śim**	sweep	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:661a-b
	***syim**	sweep	Matisoff 2003a:614

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	²**šim**²phut	broom / rub / wipe (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:678
	²**šim**³phut	broom / rub / wipe	Weidert 1987:678

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**sib**	sweep (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	ha **sip**	sweep (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sip	sweep (v.)	Marrison 1967

4. NUNGIC

Anong (Rawang)	**śim**	sweep	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:661a-b; Benedict 1972:170n455
Trung [Dulong]	**śyəm**	sweep	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:661a-b; Benedict 1972:170n455
Dulong	**ɕɯm**^{53}	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ɕɯm**^{55}	sweep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:657.46

6.1.1. BURMISH

Bola (Luxi)	**ʃam**^{35}	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.32
Burmese (Written)	**sîm**	strike with motion toward one's self; take possession of; put a stop to; withdraw	Benedict 1972:170n455
	sim	strike with a motion towards one's self	Benedict 1972:170n455
Langsu (Luxi)	**ʃam**^{35}	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ʃum**^{55}	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.33
Maru [Langsu]	**śam**	sweep	Benedict 1972:170n455
	śɑm	sweep	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:661a-b
	ʃam^{35}	sweep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:657.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ʃum**^{21}	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.30
	ʃum^{21}	sweep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:657.42

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ts'i̱əm**	sweep	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:661a-b

Chinese comparandum

侵 OC ***ts'i̱əm**, *GSR* #661a-c 'sweep over; invade'; B & S 2011: ***ts^{h}im {* [ts^{h}] [i] m}**; Mand. **qīn**.
浸

(93) PTB *s **u i** t WIPE / SWEEP / RUB / SCRUB

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***sut ≍ sit**	wipe / sweep	Matisoff 2003a:613

1.1.1. TANI: ***tit** WIPE

**Tani*	***tit**	wipe	Sun 1993a:469

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**tiʔ**-pa	wipe	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	tiʔ-pi sú	stroke	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**tit**(-kjak)	wipe off	Sun 1993b
	tit-kak	wipe	Sun 1993a
	tit-kjak-nɯː	rag	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**tit**	wipe (the table)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.24
	tit-kak	wipe; erase, wipe; wipe off	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**tit** kak	wipe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.51
Galo	**ti**-kak-nam	wipe (v.)	Das Gupta 1963

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**tit**	wipe	Sun 1993a

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***thut-I**, ***thuʔ-II** WIPE / ANOINT / PAINT

**Chin*	***thut**-I, thuʔ-II	WIPE / ANOINT / PAINT	VanBik 2009:419

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**thut**	wipe sth (humid or soiled)	VanBik 2009:419
Khumi	**thiw**	stick something to something else (spit, ashes, paint, glue etc.), dye	VanBik 2009:419

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**thuʔ**	paint	VanBik 2009:419

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**thu**	anoint	VanBik 2009:419

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***ʃut** RUB / BRUSH

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃut**	rub / brush	Mortensen 2012:579
Huishu	kə-kə-**sejʔ**	rub	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.058
Kachai	kə-kə-**ʃut**	brush (teeth)	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	ka **shut**	wipe (v.)	Marrison 1967
Tusom	ʔi-ʃi k^{h}a-kə-**su**	brush teeth (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.066
Ukhrul	kə-kə-**ʃut**	rub, brush teeth (with a stick); scrub clothes when washing	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	wai **sit**	sweep (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	kə **tsút**	rub (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:366

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**śud**-pa	rub	Matisoff 1983:65

3.2. QIANGIC

Namuyi	**su**^{35}	wipe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.19
Xumi	**su**^{53}	wipe (the table)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.17
	su^{55}	wipe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.20

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***sut^{H} ≍ *sit^{H}** WIPE / SWEEP

**Lolo-Burmese*	***sut ~ sit**	wipe; sweep; rub	Matisoff 1972b:120; Matisoff 1983:65
	***sut^{H} ≍ sit^{H}**	wipe / sweep	Matisoff 2003a:613

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**sut**^{31}	wipe	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**sut**^{55}	wipe away; erase; wipe (the table); wipe	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.28; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.41
Achang (Luxi)	**sut**^{55}	wipe	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**sut**^{55}	wipe away; erase; wipe (the table)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.29
Bola (Luxi)	**sɔt**^{55}	wipe away; erase; wipe (the table)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.32
Burmese (Written)	**sut**	wipe (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sut	wipe; rub	Matisoff 1983:65; Matisoff 1974:354; Benedict 1976a
	sut	sweep, as the wind (v.)	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**sa̱t**^{55}	wipe (the table)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**suːt**^{55}	wipe (the table)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.33
Maru [Langsu]	**sat**^{55}	wipe (a table); wipe	DAI Qingxia 1989l:add1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**sut**^{55}	wipe away; erase; wipe (the table); wipe	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.30; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***sut^{H}**	rub / sweep	Bradley 1979b:733

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**sa**^{35}	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.47
	sɿ^{35}	wipe; wipe (the table)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:add1; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.47
	sɿ^{35}no^{53}	wipe away / erase	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.47
Lalo	**siq**	sweep	Björverud 1994
Nasu	**sɿ 32s**	wipe / sweep	Matisoff 1972b:120
Yi (Liangshan)	**sɿ̱**^{33}	sweep; wipe	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{33}ʂo^{34}	sweep	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ̱^{34}ʑɔ^{33}	sweep; wipe	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑɛ^{34}**sɿ̱**^{33}	broom; sweep	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑɛ^{34}**sɿ̱**^{33}ka^{33}ʂo^{34}	clean (sweep and mop); clean up	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**si̱**^{33}	wipe; sweep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.25; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:657.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**si̱**^{33}	wipe; sweep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.26; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:657.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**si̱**^{33}	sweep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:657.24
	ɕi̱^{33}	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.37
	ʂɿ^{33}	wipe (the table)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.37
	ʂɿ̄^{33}	wipe away / erase	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**sɿ̱**^{33}	sweep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:657.23
Yi (Weishan)	**sɿ̄**^{33}	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.36
Yi (Wuding)	**sɯ̱**^{2}	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.38
Yi (Xide)	**sɿ̄**^{33}	wipe away; erase; wipe (the table); wipe; sweep	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.35; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.35; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.21; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:657.21
	ʑɛ^{34}**sɿ̄**^{33}	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Kucong	**ɕi33**	sweep	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**šîʔ**	wipe / rub	Matisoff 1983:65
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɕi**^{54}	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.43
Lahu (Black)	**šîʔ**	wipe; sweep	Matisoff 1974:354; Matisoff 1972b:120
	si^{54}	sweep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:657.33
	sɛ^{54}	wipe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ɕi**^{6}	wipe; sweep	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**si2**	wipe / sweep	Matisoff 1972b:120
Lisu (Central)	**si**^{2}	sweep; wipe (v.)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**si**^{35}	wipe; rub; sweep (V.)	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
Lisu	**si**^{35}	wipe away; erase; wipe (the table)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.40; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.40

	si[35]	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.40
Lisu (Northern)	**si**[35]fu[33]kɯ[33]	cleaning; rub off; wipe	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**sɻ**[35]	sweep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:657.27
Lisu (Northern)	**ʃɻ**[35]	kick; wipe (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ʃɻ**[35]; **sɻ**[35]	wipe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.27
Sani [Nyi]	**sʐ 44**	wipe / sweep	Matisoff 1972b:120
Yi (Sani)	**sʐ̍**[44]	sweep (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1601.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**si HS**	wipe / sweep	Matisoff 1972b:120
Akha (Thai)	**siq**	wipe	Hansson 1989:491
Akha (Yunnan)	**siq**	wipe	Hansson 1989:491
Akha	**sí?**	wipe / rub	Matisoff 1983:65
Hani (Lüchun)	**siq**	wipe	Hansson 1989:491
Hani (Wordlist)	**siiv**	wipe	Hansson 1989:491
Hani (Shuikui)	**si̱**[33]	wipe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**ɕi̱**[33]	wipe (the table)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.42
	ɕi̱[33]kɔ[33]	wipe away / erase	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.42
Pyen	**ʃi45** li45	wipe (v.)	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:063010

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**si**[44]	sweep	Pelkey 2011:723
Southern Muji	**ɕi**[33]	sweep	Pelkey 2011:723
Phola	**si**[31]	sweep	Pelkey 2011:723
Hlepho Phowa	**sɯ**[21]	sweep	Pelkey 2011:723
Phuza	**si**[55]	sweep	Pelkey 2011:723

6.2. NAXI

Naxi (Lijiang)	**sɯ**[55]	wipe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**sɻ**[33]	wipe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:624.29
Naxi	**sɻ**[55]	wipe away; erase; wipe (the table)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1163.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.45

8. BAI

Bai (Dali)	**su** 2	sweep, to	Dell 1981b:469
	su[33]	sweep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:657.35

Chinese comparandum

掃 OC ***swət**, *GSR* #410e 'rub, brush'; Schuessler 2007:545 ***sut**; Mand. **sù**.

(94) PTB * m/s -ka-y GO / STRIDE / SPAN

This etymon somewhat resembles PTB ***s-ka(:)k*** FORK / BRANCH / CROTCH (§1.4.9.1), but should be kept separate for now.

Lahu **gà** 'arrive' reflects the nasal prefix, while Lahu **qay** 'go' reflects the palatal suffix.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ka**	open; divaricate; spread; span	Matisoff 2003a:594; Benedict 1972:469
	***m/s-ka-y**	go / stride	Matisoff 2003a:594

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**ka**	open (as the legs) (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2500
	ka	open (as the legs) (v.)	Benedict 1972:469

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**ka** la	crotch	Matisoff 1987

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	sum **kha**	wide open; spread, extend (vs.)	Benedict 1972:469

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**kɔ:**	crotch / fork of legs	Shakya & Hargreaves 1989:5.9

3.2. QIANGIC

Qiang (Longxi)	dà **gà**	open (v.t.)	Evans 1999:1788
	dà **qà**	open (umbrella)	Evans 1999:1714
	dà **qà**	open (v.t.)	Evans 1999:1788
Qiang (Mianchi)	ʂà **qhá**	dislocate (joint)	Evans 1999:2434
Xumi	lɛ[33]**qa**[55]	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.17

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Northern)	qal[53] **qa**[33]	crotch / fork of legs	SUN Hongkai 1991c:5.9

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	ta ŋga la **kʰa**	crotch / fork of legs	DAI Qingxia 1989d:5.9

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**kà**	divaricate, be stretched apart, expanded, widened	Benedict 1972:469

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Lancang)	**gɑ**[31]o[31]	arrive (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1262.43
	qɑi[33]	go / leave (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1579.43
Lahu (Black)	**gA**[31]	arrive	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:740.33
	qAi[33]	go	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:738.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ga**[2]	arrive	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**kāi**	open	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

騎 OC ***g'iâ**, *GSR* #1u 'ride'; Schuessler 2007:275-6 ***gai**; B & S 2011: ***C.gaj {[C.g](r)aj}** ~ **[Cə.g](r)aj**; Mand. **qí**.

綁/褲/褲/ OC ***k'wo**, *GSR* #43h-i 'trousers'; Schuessler 2007:337 ***khwâh**; Mand. **kù**.
跨 OC ***kw'å**, *GSR* #43d 'step over, pass over'; Schuessler 2007: ***khwrâh**; Mand. **kuà**.
過 OC ***kwâ**, *GSR* #18e 'pass over; go across/beyond'; Schuessler 2007:269 ***kôih** ~ ***kwâih**; B & S 2011: ***k**$^{w\varsigma}$**aj**; Mand. **guò**.

(95) PKC *ʔoŋ-I, *ʔon-II; *hoŋ-I, *hon-II OPEN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ʔoŋ**-I, ʔon-II; hoŋ-I, hon-II	OPEN	VanBik 2009:496

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**hong** hī	open	VanBik 2009:496
Thado	**hŏng**-I, hòn-II	open (door)	VanBik 2009:496
	hòn	open	Thirumalai 1972:46
	hón	open	Thirumalai 1972:69
Tiddim	**hong**[2] > hon[3]	open (tr.)	VanBik 2009:496
	hong[2] > hon[3]	open (tr.) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:479
	hoŋ[2]/hon[3]	open (tr.)	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**a(m)'éwng**	open	VanBik 2009:496

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hôŋ**-I, hŏn-II ≍ ʔôŋ-I, ʔŏn-II	open (as door)	VanBik 2009:496
Lai (Falam)	**ʔŏŋ**-I, ʔòn-II	open (as door)	VanBik 2009:496
Lushai [Mizo]	**hawng**	open (v.)	Marrison 1967
	hàwng-I, hàwn-II	open (door, window, box, basket, tin, school, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:496

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	pā-**hỳ**	open (v.)	VanBik 2009:496

(96) PTk *ʃo OPEN

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃo**	open	Mortensen 2012:623
Huishu	**su**-k^{h}e	open	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.142
Tangkhul	**sho** hai	open (v.)	Marrison 1967
	śo	open	Bhat 1969:93
Tusom	kə-**sxu**	open	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.161
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃo**	open (door)	Mortensen 2012

(97) PTB *pwa ŋ/k OPEN

This well-established root is found throughout the family.

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**po**	open (v.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	po[35]	open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.22
	po[35]	open (door); open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.49; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.49
	'po-so	open (adj.)	NEFA (India) 1963
Kaman [Miju]	**pho**[55]	open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.23
	pho[55]	open (door); open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.48; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.48
Idu	ɑ[31]**pho**[55]	open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.50

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**phoʔ**[31]	open (door); open (lid)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	phoʔ[31]	open; open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.19
	phoʔ[31]	open (eye); open (door); open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:531.47; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.47; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.47

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak	**phwáŋ**	open	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:113

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**pwang** pā	open (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.33

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Gyaru)	**paŋ**[2]	open (V.)	Nagano 1984:113
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]**p^{h}aŋ**-	open	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0363

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**phu**	open	Benedict 1972:260
	phuŋ[53]	open (door)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.44
Nung	**phuŋ**[55]	open; open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.21; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.21
Dulong	**puŋ**[53]	open (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.20
Trung [Dulong]	**puŋ**[55]	open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.46

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***pwaŋ**[3] OPEN

**Lolo-Burmese*	***pwaŋ**[3]	open	Matisoff 2003a:608

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**phɯŋ**[31]	open (door); open (lid)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**phɔŋ**[35]	open; open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.28; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.28
	phɔŋ[35]	open (door); open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.41; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.41
Achang (Luxi)	**phuaŋ**[51]	open (door); open (lid)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**phoŋ**[35]	open (an umbrella)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1191.29
	phoŋ[35]	open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.29
	phɔŋ[35]	open (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.29
	p^{h}oŋ[35]	open (door)	DAI Qingxia 1989f:2020
Bola (Luxi)	**phuŋ**[35]	open; open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.32
Bola	**p^{h}uŋ**[35]	open	DAI Qingxia 1989g:2020
Burmese (Written)	**phwaṅ'**	open (v.)	Marrison 1967
	phwaŋ'	open	Hansson 1989:429
	phwaŋ'	open (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	phwɑŋ[1]	open (an umbrella)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1191.26
	phwɑŋ[1]	open; open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.26
	phwɑŋ[1]	open (eye); open (door); open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:531.39; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.39; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.39
	pwaŋ'	open	Hansson 1989:429
	pwaŋ'	expand, open; blossom (v.)	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**phuŋ**[55]	open; open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.31
Leqi (Luxi)	jo[31]**phɔn**[55]	open up wasteland (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1466.33
	pha:ŋ[53]	open; open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.33
Marma	**phwɔ̆ŋ**	open	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:113
Maru [Langsu]	**phuŋ**[55]	open (eye); open (door); open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:531.43; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.43; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**phoŋ**[55]	open; open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.30; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.30
	phoŋ[55]	open (eye); open (door); open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:531.42; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.42; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***pwaŋ**^{3}	open	Bradley 1979b:714A; Hansson 1989:429

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Southern)	**phõ**^{31}	open (door)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**phõ**^{35}	open (door)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**phɔ̃**^{31}	open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**phɔ̃**^{31}	open (door)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.45
Nusu (Central)	**phɔ̃**^{31}khɹa^{31}	open (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**p^{h}õ**^{31}	open	DAI Qingxia 1989o:2020.
Nusu (Central)	**p^{h}ɔ̃**^{31}	open	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2020.
Yi (Dafang)	**pho**^{21}	open (door)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**pho**^{21}	on, turn (valve or switch); open, cause to; release (open); turn on (a light); turn on (valve or switch)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**phu**^{33}	open (door); open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.25; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.25
	phu^{33}zA^{21}	open (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:531.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**phu**^{33}	open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.37
	phu^{33}	open (eye); open (door); open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:531.24; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.24; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.24
	phu^{33}phe^{33}	open (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.37
Yi (Wuding)	**phv̩**^{11}	open; open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.38; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.38
Yi (Xide)	**pho**^{21}	open; open (a door); open (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.35; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.35; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1785.35
	pho^{21}	open (eye); open (door); open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:531.21; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.21; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Youle)	**pho**^{33}	open (door)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**pho**^{33}	open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**phu**^{11}	open (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**phɔ**^{33}	open (door); open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.34; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**p^{h}o**^{33}	open (as door)	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2092
Jinuo (Baka)	**p^{h}u**^{33}	open (as door)	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2092
Lahu (Lancang)	**phɔ**^{33}	open; open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.43
	xɛ^{33}**phɔ**^{33}	open up wasteland (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1466.43
Lahu (Black)	**phɔ**^{33}	open (door)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**phɔ**^{1}	open (door)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	bu^{33}; **phu**^{44}	open (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:531.27
Lisu (Central)	**hpu**^{3}	open	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**phu**^{33}	open (V.)	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}hã^{35}	open	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}**phu**^{33} læ^{21}læ^{21}	open and above-board; just and honourable; openly	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**phu̱**^{33}	open; open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.40; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.40
	phu^{44}	open (door)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.27
Sani [Nyi]	ne^{33} **p^{h}u**^{33}	open eyes	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.1
	ne^{33} sʅ^{21} **p^{h}u**^{33}	open eyes	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:18.1
	ne^{33}si^{21}**phu**^{33}	open eyes	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
Yi (Sani)	**phv̩**^{33}	open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.39
	phv̩^{33}khæ^{33}	open (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	**phaŋ**	open	Hansson 1989:429
Akha (Yunnan)	**phaŋ**	open	Hansson 1989:429
Akha	**phaŋ**	open	Hansson 1989:429
Bisu	**phɔŋ**	open	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**phɔ**	open	Hansson 1989:429
Hani (Dazhai)	**phɔ**^{33}	open (door); open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.31; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**phɛ**	open (mouth)	Hansson 1989:12
	phɔ^{33}	open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.41
	ɣɤ^{33}**phɔ**^{33}	open (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.41
Hani (Pijo)	**phu**	open	Hansson 1989:429
Hani (Caiyuan)	**phu**^{33}	open (door)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.30
Hani (Pijo)	vý **pho**	release, open up	Hansson 1989:309
Hani (Caiyuan)	v^{55}**phu**^{33}	open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**phaŋ**^{33}	open (door)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɣo^{33}**phaŋ**^{33}	open (lid)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**phu**^{33}	open (door)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.32
	xɛ^{55}**phu**^{33}	open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.32
Hani (Khatu)	jú **phə**	release, open up	Hansson 1989:309
	kú **phə**	open (mouth)	Hansson 1989:12
	phy	open	Hansson 1989:429
	tjhì **phý**	open up, split	Hansson 1989:531
Hani (Mojiang)	**phu**^{33}	open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.42
	tɛ^{31}**phu**^{33}	open (an umbrella)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1191.42
	xɛ^{55}**phu**^{33}	open (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1246.42
Mpi	**phuŋ**^{3}	open by unlocking / unlock	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	phuŋ^{3}/**pjəŋ**^{3}	open	Hansson 1989:429
	pjɤŋ^{3}	unfold; open (the eyes); open (eyes) (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	pjɤʔ^{1}	crack open / break / broken, be (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	**p^{h}u**˧	open (e.g. a door) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	gə^{31}**phu**^{33}	open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	le^{55}; **phu**^{33}	open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.28
Naxi	**phu**^{33}	open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**phu**^{33}	open (door)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**phu**^{33}	open (door)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.29

(98) PTB *twaŋ OPEN

This root, newly discovered by Liberty Lidz, is rather well-attested in various subgroups.

The retroflex initials in some Tamangic forms might point to an earlier ***r-*** prefix.

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**thoŋ**^{31}	open (an umbrella)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1191.19

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**toṅ** mig‘	open (vt.)	Bailey 1911
	toṅ s̲h̲ěs	open (adj.)	Bailey 1911

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung (Ghachok)	**t^{h}õ** baq	open (door, window)	Glover 1972:6.B.3.17
Tamang (Sahu)	**Thong** pālā	open (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.33
	T^{h}oŋ-pa	open (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:17.C.17
	T^{h}oŋ pala	open (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.C.34
Thakali (Tukche)	**t^{h}uŋ**-lɔ	open (door, window)	Hari 1971:6.B.3.17 1

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	ka22 **toŋ44**	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	ka **’toŋ**	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	ka **’toŋ**	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	ka **’toŋ**	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	ka **’təŋ**	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	ka **’təŋ**	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	ka **’təŋ**	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	ka **’təŋ**	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	ka ˈ**toŋ**	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	ko **’toŋ**	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	ko **’toŋ**	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kə **’toŋ**	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	ta^{3} **təŋ**^{53}	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	ta **’toŋ**	open (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0516

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	la1meng3**tong2**	open the door (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	la^{1}meng^{3}**tong**^{2}	open the door (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.3
Tujia	**thoŋ**^{35}	open (a door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1461.49
	thoŋ^{35}	open (door)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:658.38
Tujia (Southern)	**thu**^{21}	open (door)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**thũ**^{35}	open (door)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	tong2	open (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	tong^{2}	open (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.3
Tujia	**toŋ**^{55}	open (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:531.38

6.1.1. BURMISH

Bola (Luxi)	**thuŋ**^{55}	cut / rip open (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1561.32

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Central)	**thoŋ**^{55}	open up wasteland (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1466.34

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lisu (Northern)	**thu**^{55}	open up; start; develop (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**thu**^{55}	open up wasteland (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1466.40

(99) PTani *-ko OPEN (verbal particle)

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***-ko**	open (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a:281

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**-ko**	open (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	bjar-**ko**	open (book)	Sun 1993b
	či-**ko**	bite open	Sun 1993b
	gí-**kò**	open (door, box)	Sun 1993b
	he-**ko**	open	Sun 1993b
	ja-**ko**	open (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ǰò-**ko**	open	Sun 1993b
	lá-**kò**	open	Sun 1993b
	mú-**ko**-nɯ	open (adj.)	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-**ko**	open (door, box)	Sun 1993b
	pà-**kò**	open by unscrewing	Sun 1993b
	pjà-**ko**	open (st. tied with rope)	Sun 1993b
	pjó-**ko**	open (eyes)	Sun 1993b
	sù-**ko**	open	Sun 1993b
	ŋe-**ko**	open (book)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**-ku**	open (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**-ko**	open (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	kup-**ko**	open (eyes)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	kup **ko**	open (general term)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:531.51

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**-ko**	open (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a

(100) PLB *ʔ-ŋak^{L} OPEN WIDE

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-ŋak**^{L}	open wide; open	Matisoff 2003a:606; Matisoff 1978a:85

6.1.2. LOLOISH

Lolopho	**ŋa**^{55}	gape / open mouth (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989n:3.7.15

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**ŋa**^{35}	gape / open mouth (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989c:3.7.15
	ŋa^{35}ta^{31}	open (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1785.47

Nasu	**ŋa̱^{55}**	gape / open mouth (v.)	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.7.15
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ŋa^{31}**	open (mouth)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:2450.
Nusu (Central)	**ŋa^{31}**	open (mouth)	DAI Qingxia 1989p:2450.
	ŋa^{31}	open (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1785.34
Yi (Nanhua)	**ŋ̍æ^{55}**	open (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1785.37
Yi (Wuding)	**ŋɑ̱^{55}**	open (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1785.38

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**ŋa^{55}**	open (mouth)	DAI Qingxia 1989h:2571
Jinuo	**ŋa^{55}**pha^{42}	open (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1785.44
Jinuo (Baka)	**ŋ̊a^{55}**	open (mouth)	DAI Qingxia 1989i:2571
Jinuo (Youle)	**ŋ̊ɑ^{55}** p^{h}ɑ^{42}	open (mouth)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	**ŋɑ^{35}**	open (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1785.43
Lahu (Black)	**ŋá**	open	Matisoff 1978a:85
	ŋa^{35}	open (eyes)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ŋᴀ^{35}	open (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:531.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ŋa^{35}**	open (eyes)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**ŋa^{55}**	open; discover; break open (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ŋɑ^{55}**	open (lid)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:659.27

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	**ŋa**	open (mouth)	Hansson 1989:12
Hani (Lüchun)	**ŋa^{33}**	open (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1785.41
Hani (Wordlist)	**ŋga**	open (mouth)	Hansson 1989:12
Hani (Mojiang)	**ŋɔ^{33}**	open (the mouth) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1785.42
Mpi	**ŋa^{3}**	pry / pry open	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ŋaŋʔ^{2}	open (the mouth) (imp.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ŋaŋʔ^{1}	open	Matisoff 1978a:85
	ŋaŋʔ^{1}	open (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ŋaŋʔ^{1}	ajar / open	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	**ŋa^{33}**(-ta^{21})	crack open; split open	Pelkey 2011:842

(101) PTB *pi-t CLOSE (v.)

There is a similar Tai root: cf. Siamese **pìt**.

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak	**píʔ**	shut	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:112

4. NUNGIC

Dulong	ɑ^{31}**pit^{55}**	close (the door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.20

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	**peʔ^{4}**	close (the mouth)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.27
	peʔ^{4}	close (the door); close (the mouth) lightly; close (an umbrella) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1523.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1631.27
Burmese (Written)	**pit**	shut; shut up, close, stop up	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a
	pit^{4}	close (the mouth)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.26
	pit^{4}	close (the door); close (the mouth) lightly; close (an umbrella) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1523.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1631.26

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***pi^{2}** CLOSE

**Loloish*	***pi^{2}**	close	Bradley 1979b:715A; Hansson 1989:127

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**pi^{55}**	close (the door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.47
Nusu (Central)	**pi^{31}** ɑ^{31}	close (eyes)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**pi^{31}**ɑ^{31}	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.45
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**pi^{55}**	close (mouth) (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989o:1609.
Nusu (Central)	**pi^{55}**	close (the door); close (the mouth) lightly (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.34; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1523.34
Yi (Nanhua)	**pi^{55}**	close (the door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.37
Yi (Wuding)	**pi^{55}**	close (the mouth)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.38
	pi^{55}	close (the door); close (the mouth) lightly (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.38; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1523.38
	pi^{55}dz̩e^{33}tɕe̱^{2}	close (a book) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1372.38

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	**phi^{44}**	close (the door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.44
	puɯ^{44}	close (the door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**pɤ^{44}**	close (door)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**pi^{55}**	close (v.)	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:1.1
Yi (Sani)	**pz̩^{55}**	close (the door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.39
	pz̩^{55}pe^{33}	close (a book) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1372.39
Sani [Nyi]	**pl̩^{55}**	close (v.)	MA Xueliang 1989:305.4

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**phì**	close	Hansson 1989:127
Akha (Yunnan)	**phì**	close, shut	Hansson 1989:127
Akha (Thai)	**phì** thɛ̀	close, shut	Hansson 1989:127
Bisu	**phì**	close, shut	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**phì**	close, shut	Hansson 1989:127
	phi^{31}	close (the door); close (an umbrella) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.41; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1631.41
Hani (Pijo)	kuān **phì**	close, shut	Hansson 1989:127
	phì	close	Hansson 1989:127
Hani (Wordlist)	**piq**	close, shut	Hansson 1989:127
Hani (Khatu)	**phì**	close; close, shut	Hansson 1989:127; Hansson 1989:127
Hani (Mojiang)	**phi^{31}**	close (an umbrella) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1631.42
	ti^{33}**phi^{31}**	close (the door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.42
	ti^{31}**phi^{31}**	close (a book) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1372.42
Mpi	**phi^{1}**	close	Hansson 1989:127; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	**pi^{21}**	close	Pelkey 2011:725
Phola	**pi^{33}**tɛ^{33}	close	Pelkey 2011:725
Phuza	**pi^{33}**(-k^{h}ɛ^{33})	close	Pelkey 2011:725

7. KARENIC: ***p/biʔ^{D}** EXTINGUISH (v.t.), ***ʔbi^{B}** CLOSE (ONE'S EYES)

**Karen [Burling]*	***bin^{2}**	close (one's eyes)	Luangthongkum 2013:60
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***bíʔ**	close (eyes)	Jones 1961:212
**Karen*	***p/biʔ^{D}**	extinguish (t.v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:106 [a]
**Karen [Burling]*	***phiʔ^{1}**	extinguish (t.v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:106
**Karen*	***ʔbi^{B}**	close (one's eyes)	Luangthongkum 2013:60
Bwe	**bɪ^{11}**	extinguish (t.v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:106
Karen	**bi̱^{31}**	close (the mouth) lightly (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1523.50
	kɑ̱^{31}**bi̱^{55}**	close (the door) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1356.50
Kayah	**pi^{33}**	extinguish (t.v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:106
Kayan	**bi^{11}**	close (one's eyes)	Luangthongkum 2013:60
	piʔ^{21}	extinguish (t.v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:106
Kayaw	**bi^{11}**	close (one's eyes)	Luangthongkum 2013:60
	pi^{33}	extinguish (t.v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:106
Pa-O (Northern)	**peʔ^{21}**	extinguish (t.v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:106
Pa-O (Southern)	**piʔ^{21}**	extinguish (t.v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:106
Pwo (Northern)	**bei^{33}**	close (one's eyes)	Luangthongkum 2013:60
	phaiʔ^{21}	extinguish (t.v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:106
Pwo (Southern)	**bei^{55}**	close (one's eyes)	Luangthongkum 2013:60
	phaiʔ^{45}	extinguish (t.v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:106
Sgaw (Northern)	**bi$^{31˜}$**	close (one's eyes)	Luangthongkum 2013:60
Sgaw (Southern)	**bi^{45ʾ}**	close (one's eyes)	Luangthongkum 2013:60
	pai^{11ˏˏ}	extinguish (t.v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:106
Sgaw (Northern)	**phiʔ^{45}**	extinguish (t.v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:106
Sgaw (Bassein)	**bì**	close (eyes)	Jones 1961:212
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**bíʔ**	close (eyes)	Jones 1961:212
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**bi̱^{31}**	close (mouth)	DAI Qingxia 1989j:1664.1
	pi^{31}	close (mouth)	DAI Qingxia 1989j:1664

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	閉	close; obstruct (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:102

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pied**	shut, close; obstruct (v.)	Karlgren 1957:412a-b
	piet	shut, close; obstruct	Karlgren 1957:412a-b
Chinese (Old)	**prjik**	urge / press / close	Baxter 1992:1314c
	p^{ʂ}it-s {p^{ʂ}i[t]-s}	close; obstruct (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:102

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**pejH**	close; obstruct (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:102

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**bì**	close; obstruct (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:102
	bì (yǎn)	close (eyes)	Evans *et al.* 1991

[a] [Source Note] Pa-O and N.Sgaw have tone D12 which suggests *p- in PK.

Chinese comparandum

閉 OC ***pied** ~ ***piet** 'close, obstruct', *GSR* #412a; B & S 2011: ***p^{ʂ}it-s {*p^{ʂ}i[t]-s}**; Mand. **bì**.

(102) PTB * b g -tsum CLOSE (v.) / SHUT

The labial prefix is attested in Tibetan dialects, and the velar prefix is found in rGyalrongic. This reconstruction is due to Liberty Lidz.

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	**tsum**	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.7
	tsum^{55}	close (eyes)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tɕhim^{53}**	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.6
Motuo Menba	**tsum**	close (the mouth)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.07
Cuona Menba	**tɕhim^{53}**	close (the mouth)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**ptsəm**	close (the mouth)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tsəm**	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**tsəm**	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**tsũ^{55}**	close (the mouth)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tsuŋ^{55}**	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tsum^{52}**	close (the mouth) lightly (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1523.02
	tsum^{53}	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.2
	tsum^{55} thỹ^{55}	close (a book) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1372.02
Tibetan (Written)	**btsum**	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.1
	btsums	close (the mouth)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.01

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ka-**ktsəm**	shut one's eyes (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0513
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **ktsɨm42**	shut one's eyes (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0513
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **ktsəm**	close (the mouth)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.11
rGyalrong	kɐ **ktsəm**	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **ktʃəm**	close (a book) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1372.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kɑ22 **ktsum44**	shut one's eyes (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0513
	kɑ22 **ktsum44**	close (vi.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0514
rGBenzhen	kə-**ktsəm**	close (mouth, eye)	Sun 1997b

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**tshin^{31}**	close (eyes); close (eye)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.41
Achang (Luxi)	**tshən^{55}**	close (eyes)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Leqi (Luxi)	**tsuːm^{31}**	close (a book) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1372.33
Maru [Langsu]	**tʃham^{35}**	close (eye)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃhum^{21}**	close (eyes); close (eye)	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:530.42

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Southern)	**tɕ^{h}ɑ^{55}**	close (eyes)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**tʂ^{h}ɔ^{55}**	close (eyes)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986

(103) PKC *khaar CLOSE / SHUT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***khaar**	CLOSE / SHUT	VanBik 2009:429
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**hkak** hī	close	VanBik 2009:429
Thado	**khâʔ**-I, khàa	shut (as the door)	VanBik 2009:429
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**kʻá**	shut	VanBik 2009:429
Cho (Mindat)	**khai**	close some aperture (v.)	VanBik 2009:429
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**khâar**-I, khăar-II	close, shut (e.g. door)	VanBik 2009:429
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**kháw**	shut, close	VanBik 2009:429

(104) PTk *ʃuŋ CLOSE / SHUT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
*Tangkhulic	***ʃuŋ**	close / shut	Mortensen 2012:622
Tangkhul	**shung**	shut	Marrison 1967
	śuŋ	close	Bhat 1969:86
Tusom	ke-**sxũ**	closed	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.162
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃuŋ**	close	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**súŋ**	shut the door (v.)	Bhat 1968

(105) PTB *dzyi:p SHUT / CLOSE (v.) / CLOSE TOGETHER

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***dzyi:p**	shut / close (v.) / close together	Matisoff 2003a:589
	***ts(y)i:p**	close (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:35
	***ts(y)i:p**	shut / close	Benedict 1972:370
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tsi(i)p** CLOSE / SHUT			
*Chin	***tsi(i)p**	CLOSE / SHUT	VanBik 2009:528
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**cip**^{3} > ci?^{1}	close tightly (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:187
	cip^{3} > ci?^{1}	close tightly	VanBik 2009:528
	cip^{3}/ci?^{1}	close tightly	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsiip**-INV	close, close up (as a cut or crack)	VanBik 2009:528
Lai (Falam)	**tsǐip**-INV	close	VanBik 2009:528
Lushai [Mizo]	**chîp**	shut	Marrison 1967
	chîp	shut, to close up (as lips, mouth, legs, armpit) (v.)	VanBik 2009:528
	chip	shut; close (as a cut; mouth; etc.) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2244
	tśi:p	shut, close	Benedict 1972:370
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
*Ao	*a-**tʃhiʔ**	CLOSE (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.167
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**siʔ**^{1}	close (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.167
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	ki **chi**	door	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	ki-**tʃhíʔ**	door (’house’ + ’close’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃhìʔ	close [closed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**tśip**	shut, close	Benedict 1972:370
Garo (Bangladesh)	mik-**chip**-a	close eyes (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.42-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**chep**-	close (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	chyp-	close (v.)	van Breugel 2008
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu (Northern)	**dzi**^{33}	close; closely knit (V.)	Bradley 1994
	dzi^{33}**dzi**^{35}	close; close up; dense	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**dzi**^{31}	close (the mouth)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1155.40
Lisu (Northern)	**dziʔ**^{21}le^{33}	close tightly	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**dzɛ̱**^{33}	close (a book) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1372.40

(106) PTB *z(y)um ⩙ *zuŋ USE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***z(y)um ⩙ zuŋ**	use	Matisoff 2003a:621
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**en**	use	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**jun** gei	use	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**jon**	use	Marrison 1967
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**zi**^{55}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.18
Guiqiong	**jũ**^{35}tʃhu^{33}	use (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0701.16
Namuyi	**zy**^{55}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.19
	zʉ^{53}	use (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0701.46
Qiang (Mawo)	**juŋ** thɑs	use (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0701.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**iò**	make use of	Evans 1999:2331
	iò sɨ ŋá	use (n.)	Evans 1999:1031
Qiang (Taoping)	**ye**^{13}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.9
Xumi	**tsɻ**^{55}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.20
4. Nungic			
Anong	**dzom**^{31}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.44
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***zum**^{2} USE			
*Lolo-Burmese	***zum**	use / employ	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1185a-e
	***zum**^{2}	use; grab; seize	Matisoff 2003a:621; Matisoff 1978a:29
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	ɑ^{53}**tθõ**^{55}	use (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0701.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθõ**^{55}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.40
Burmese (Written)	**sùm**	use / employ	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1185a-e
	sûm	use; grab; seize	Hansson 1989:400; Matisoff 1978a:29; Matisoff 1974:214
	sûṁ	make use of, employ	Benedict 1976a
	sùm	use	Benedict 1972:30n96
	suṁ:	use	Marrison 1967
	thuṁ^{3}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.39
	ə-**sûṁ**	use, usefulness	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ^{1}**tθuṁ**^{3}	use (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0701.26
Marma	**θúŋ**	use	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:210-1
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃhuŋ**^{51}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.42
	tʃhuŋ^{51}tʃaŋ^{21}	use (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0701.30
6.1.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	***ʒum**^{2}	use	Bradley 1979b:710; Hansson 1989:400
PNL	**zum**^{2}	use	Chen Kang 1986a:15.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**jỳ**	use	Björverud 1994
	zy^{21}	use	Chen Kang 1986a:15.
Lipho	**zɤ**^{21}	use	Chen Kang 1986a:15.
Nasu	**zɤ**^{33}	use	Chen Kang 1986a:15.
Neisu	**zɤ**^{33}	use	Chen Kang 1986a:15.
Nesu	**zɤ**^{33}	use	Chen Kang 1986a:15.
Nosu	**zɤ**^{33}	use	Chen Kang 1986a:15.
Yi (Mile)	**zi**^{21}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**zɯ**^{33}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**zɯ**^{21}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.24
	zɯ^{21}gi^{33}	use (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0701.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ʐy**^{21}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.23
Yi (Wuding)	**zy̠**^{33}de^{33}	use (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0701.38
Yi (Xide)	**zi**^{33}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.21
	zi^{33}tʂho^{55}	use (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0701.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**zi**^{21}	use	Chen Kang 1986a:15.
Lahu	**yɛ**	use / employ	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1185a-e
	yê	use	Benedict 1972:30n96
Lahu (Lancang)	**ʑɛ**^{31}kɯ^{31}	use (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0701.43
Lahu (Black)	**yê**	use; grab; seize	Matisoff 1978a:29; Matisoff 1974:214
	zɛ^{53}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ʑɛ**^{3}	use	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**rze** / rö	use	Benedict 1972:30n96
	rze~rö	use	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1185a-e
Lisu (Central)	**rze**^{5}	use	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**ze**^{31}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.27
	ze^{31}ẕɛ^{31}du^{33}	use (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0701.40
Lisu (Northern)	**zø**^{21}	use; have in hand; apply; execute; adopt (V.)	Bradley 1994
	zø^{21} ma^{21} wa^{33}	have no chance or occasion to use	Bradley 1994
	zø^{21} ma^{21} zæʔ^{21}	have no use; not suitable for use	Bradley 1994
	zø^{21}nu^{33}	need; need to use	Bradley 1994
	zø^{21}thɔ^{21}	need urgently; need to use urgently	Bradley 1994
	zø^{21}tsi^{33}	recomend; make someone use	Bradley 1994
	zø^{21}wa^{33}	have chance to use	Bradley 1994
	zø^{21}zæʔ^{21}	have use for	Bradley 1994
	zø^{21}zæʔ^{21}gu^{33}	use (n.)	Bradley 1994
	zø^{21}ŋɔ^{21}	method of use	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**zɤ**^{21}	use	Chen Kang 1986a:15.
Yi (Sani)	**zɤ**^{11}ɣɒ^{33}	use (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0701.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**zm̀**	use	Hansson 1989:400
Akha (Thai)	**zm̀**	use, spend	Hansson 1989:400
Akha (Yunnan)	**zm̀**/jm̀	use, spend	Hansson 1989:400
Hani (Dazhai)	**zɔ**^{31}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.31
Hani (Gelanghe)	**zm̩**^{31}	use	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
7. Karenic			
Kayan (Pekon)	**l̩ sə̀**	use (V.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**sūŋ**	use	Solnit 1989
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**zv** 3/4	use / utilize	Dell 1981b:836
	zv^{31}	use	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:679.35
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	用	use (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3531
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**di̯uŋ** / **yi̯uŋ**	use; employ; use, employ	Benedict 1972:30n96; Chou Fa-kao 1972:1185a-e
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**yowngH**	use (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3531
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**yòng**	use, spend; use (v.)	Evans *et al.* 1991; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3531

Chinese comparandum

用 OC ***di̯ung**, *GSR* #1185a-e ‘use, employ’; B & S 2011: ***m.loŋ-s**; Mand. **yòng**.
傭 OC ***di̯ung**, *GSR* #1185y ‘hire’; B & S 2011: ***loŋ**; Mand. **yōng**.

(107) PKC *tum DRUM (v.) / PLAY (instruments)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***tum**	DRUM (v.) / PLAY (instruments)	VanBik 2009:189
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**tùm**	play (musical instrument) (v.)	Thirumalai 1972:63
Tiddim	**tum**^{2}	play a musical instrument	VanBik 2009:189
	tum^{1}	play a musical instrument (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1830
	tum^{1}	play a musical instrument...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**aytoeeng**	drum	VanBik 2009:189
Matu	**təm**	drum	VanBik 2009:189
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**túm**-I, tùm-II	beat a drum, to play music (v.)	VanBik 2009:189
Lai (Hakha)	**tûm**-I, tŭm-II	beat a drum, play music	VanBik 2009:189

Lushai [Mizo]	**tum**	play (music) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tùm	play or play upon (a musical instrument) (v.)	VanBik 2009:189
	tum	play (a musical instrument) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3066
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**tó**	beat a drum (v.)	VanBik 2009:189

(108) PKC *maŋ-I, *man-II; *hmaŋ-I, *hman-II USE / USED TO

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***maŋ**-I, man-II; hmaŋ-I, hman-II	USE / USED TO	VanBik 2009:798
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**máŋ**-I, màn-II	use	VanBik 2009:798
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**mang**	utilise, to use (s.th.) with advantage (v.)	VanBik 2009:798
Khumi	**mang**	use (an exhaustible resource, e.g. rice, paper, money, etc.)	VanBik 2009:798
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hmâŋ**-I, hmăn-II	use, used to, be in the habit of (aux. verb)	VanBik 2009:798
Lai (Falam)	**hmăŋ**-I, hmàn-II	use	VanBik 2009:798
Lushai [Mizo]	**hmang**	use	Marrison 1967
	hmáng-I, hmân-II	use to good effect, to put to main use (v.)	VanBik 2009:798
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hmà**	use	VanBik 2009:798

(109) PTB *s-lwap PRACTICE / LEARN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-lwap**	practice / learn	Matisoff 2003a:600
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	***lop**-ǰoŋ i	learn	Sun 1993b
	lop	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.24
	lop dʑoŋ	learn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1742.24
Bokar Lhoba	**lop**	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.51
	lop dʑoŋ	learn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:622.51
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	***l̥ap**-dzaŋ	learn	Sun 1993b
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Byangsi	**hlab** mo	teach, train (vt.)	Sharma 2003:512
Darma	**ləb**-mo	teach (v.)	Krishan 2003:424
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**lam** bi	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.7
	lam^{55}	teach	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**lamp** bi	teach	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**lop**^{55}	learn	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**lop**^{53}	teach; learn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:622.6
Motuo Menba	**lam** bi	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.07
Cuona Menba	**lop**^{53}	teach; learn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.06; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1742.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ləp**^{52}	teach; learn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.02; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1742.02
	ləp^{53}	learn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:622.2
Tibetan (Written)	**bslab**	learn / teach (fut.)	Gong Hwang-cherng 2001:32
	slob	learn (v.)	Marrison 1967
	slob	teach	Marrison 1967
	slob	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.01
	slob	teach; learn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:622.1
	slob sbjoŋ bjed	learn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1742.01
	slob-pa	learn / teach	Gong Hwang-cherng 2001:32
	slobs	exercise / practice (n.)	Gong Hwang-cherng 2001:32
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**hláp**	learn (v.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**lop**	instruct / teach	Mazaudon 1994:910
Gurung	**lu** bāq	learn (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.03
Gurung (Ghachok)	**lu** baq	learn	Glover 1972:10.B.2.3
	lu brẽq la baq	practice	Glover 1972:10.B.2.5
Gurung	**lu** bręq lā bāq	practice (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.05
	^{1}**lu**-	learn	Mazaudon 1994:910
Manang (Gyaru)	**loː**^{3} ba	teach; learn (V.)	Nagano 1984:244; Nagano 1984:244-01
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**loː**-	instruct / teach	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0360
	^{1}**loː**-	instruct / teach	Mazaudon 1994:910
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**lop**	instruct / teach / counsel / give ad	Mazaudon 1994:910
Tamang (Sahu)	**lop**-pa	learn (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.B.3
	lop-pā(t)	learn (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.03
	^{1}**lop**	teach	Mazaudon 1994:910
Tamang (Taglung)	**lop**-pa	teach	Mazaudon 1994:916
Thakali	**Lap**-la	learn (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.03
Thakali (Tukche)	**l^{h}ɔp**-lɔ	learn	Hari 1971:10.B.2.3
	^{2}**l^{h}əp**	learn	Mazaudon 1994:916
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	ʼka **slap**	teach (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1211
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ka-**slɐp**	learn it (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1213
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	ka **ʼslap**	teach (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1211
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	ka **ʼslap**	teach (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1211
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **slap44**	learn it (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1213
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **slɐp**	learn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1742.11
rGyalrong	kɐ **slɐp**	learn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:622.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kɐ22 **slap44**	learn it (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1213
4. Nungic			
Dulong	**sɯ**^{31}**lɑp**^{55}	teach; learn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.20; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1742.20
Trung [Dulong]	**sɯ**^{31}**lɑp**^{55}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.46
	sɯ^{31}**lăp**^{55}ɕɯ^{31}	learn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:622.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**sɯ**^{31}**lɑp**^{55}	teach	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	sɯ^{31}**lăp**^{55}ɕɯ^{31}	learn	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**ɬe**^{33}	learn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:622.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**ɬe**^{42}	learn	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ɬe**^{42}	learn (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1742.44
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**dzi̯əp**	practice, exercise	Karlgren 1957:690a
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**si**	practice, exercise	Karlgren 1957:690a

Chinese comparandum

肄 OC ***di̯əd**, *GSR* #509g ‘practice, exercise’; Schuessler 2007:524 ***ləts** < ***ləps**; Mand. **yì**.
習 OC ***dzi̯əp**, *GSR* #690a ‘practice, exercise’; Schuessler 2007:524 ***s-ləp**; Mand. **xí**.

(110) PTB *bay REPEAT / PRACTICE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***bay**	repeat / practice	Matisoff 1985a:107; Matisoff 2003a:208, 220
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**bai**	add to (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:107
	bai-chhah	add to (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:107
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**bé**	practice; to accustom, practice, obey, exercise	Matisoff 1985a:107
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**báy**	do again and again (usable as an auxiliary verb)	Matisoff 1985a:107
	bi-**báy**	beg again and again	Matisoff 1985a:107
	pay-**báy**	come again and again	Matisoff 1985a:107
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**bái**	repeat, do over	Matisoff 1985a:107
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**b’wəg**	accompany, support; augment, double	Matisoff 1985a:107
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**b’uậi**	accompany, support; augment, double	Matisoff 1985a:107

Chinese comparandum

倍 OC ***b’wəg**, *GSR* #999c’; B & S 2011: ***bˤəʔ {(Cə.)[b]ˤəʔ}**; Mand. **bèi**.

(111) PTani *fat¹ WRITE

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***fat**^{1}	write	Sun 1993a:479
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**fit**	write	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**en**-nam	sign; write (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	en nam	write (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**het**	write	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**at**	write	Sun 1993a
Milang	**at**-ma	write; draw	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976

(111) PTB *b-rəy ≍ *b-ris ≍ *rit ≍ *riːn DRAW / WRITE / COUNT

(111a) PTB *b-rəy DRAW / MARK / BOUNDARY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-rəy** ≍ b-ris ≍ rit ≍ riːn	draw / write / count	Matisoff 2003a:610
	***riy**	write (v.)	Weidert 1987:316
	***riy**	draw; mark; draw (picture)	Weidert 1987:701; Benedict 1972:429
	***riy** ≍ **b-riy(-t/k/n)	write	LaPolla 1987:181
	***rəy**	write (v.)	Weidert 1987:316
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**rí**	boundary	Sun 1993b
Galo	‘a **rə**	boundary (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	a **ri**	village boundary	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ri**-shu	joint	Matisoff 1987
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***rii** LINE / BORDER / LIMIT			
**Chin*	***rii**	LINE / BORDER / LIMIT	VanBik 2009:955
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	gám **gîi**	border	VanBik 2009:955
Tiddim	lu^{1} **giː**^{1}	parting line in hair	VanBik 2009:955; Bhaskararao 1996:1007
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	ng-**gü**	border, boundary, frontier-line	VanBik 2009:955
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**rìi**	line, border, boundary	VanBik 2009:955
Lai (Falam)	**ríi**	line, border, boundary	VanBik 2009:955
Lushai [Mizo]	**rĭ**	boundary; boundary, border, limit	Weidert 1987:316; VanBik 2009:955
	ri	boundary	LaPolla 1987:181; Benedict 1972:429
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	rà-**rí**	borders of a country (n.)	VanBik 2009:955

1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Sorbung	t^{h}ə **rìi**	boundary	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Implements.023
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-rəjʔ** BOUNDARY, BORDER			
**Central Naga*	*a-**rəjʔ**	BOUNDARY, BORDER	Bruhn 2014a:III.109
**Ao*	*a-**ɹəʔ**	BOUNDARY, BORDER	Bruhn 2014a:II.319
Ao (Chungli)	a **ɹ^{3}tsə^{1}**	boundary, border (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.319
	^{3}a^{3}**r**^{1}tsɯ	boundary	Weidert 1987:316
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a **ɹʔ**	boundary, border (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**rəʔ^{3}**	boundary, border (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.109
	e **rü**	boundary	Murry *et al.* 1978:11
	e **rü** i	border	Murry *et al.* 1978:11
	ē **rə̀**	demarkation of the boundary	Acharya 1975
	^{1}e^{3}**rɯ(ʔ)**	boundary	Weidert 1987:316
Sangtam	lu **rü** (lu)	boundary (of a field)	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	a **re** tung	boundary (of field)	Kumar 1973b:82
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Rengma (Northern)	^{1}a^{1}**ɣɯ**	boundary	Weidert 1987:316
Rengma (Southern)	^{1}tʌ^{3}**rəi**	boundary	Weidert 1987:316
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Zeme	^{1}he^{4}**rai**	boundary	Weidert 1987:316
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**ri**	boundary	Bhat 1969:85
	rúy	border	Bhat 1969:85
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	ha-**ri**	boundary	LaPolla 1987:181; Benedict 1972:429
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	a-**ri**	boundary	LaPolla 1987:181; Benedict 1972:429; Weidert 1987:316
	e **ri**	boundary	Weidert 1987:316
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**məriʔ**	mark, line, rule (v.)	LaPolla 1987:181; Benedict 1972:429 [a]
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**brü**	write	LaPolla 1987:181
Tsangla (Tilang)	**brui**	write	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**bri^{35}**	write	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**pri^{13}**	write	LaPolla 1987:181; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:623.6
Motuo Menba	**bry**	write (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1736.07
Cuona Menba	**pri^{35}**	write (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1736.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**’bri**	write	Marrison 1967
	’bri-ba	draw, write	LaPolla 1987:181
	’bri-bɑ	write	Chou Fa-kao 1972:502d
	bri	write	Sun 1985c:527
	bri	draw (a picture); write (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1378.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1736.01
	bris	write (pf)	Sun 1985c:529
	ḥbri-ba	write; draw, write	Benedict 1972:178n473; Benedict 1972:429
	ri-mo	figure, painting, drawing; markings; figure	Weidert 1987:316; Benedict 1972:429
	ɦbri	write	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:623.1
	ɦbri-ba	draw / write	Weidert 1987:316
2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{A}**bri**,^{A}bri: WRITE			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**bri**,^{A}bri:	write	Mazaudon 1994:726
Gurung	**prih** bā	write; draw (opposite of ’erase’) (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.02; Hale 1973:10b2.26
Gurung (Ghachok)	**prih** ba	write; draw	Glover 1972:10.B.2.2; Glover 1972:10.B.2.26
Gurung	^{3}**pri**-	write / draw	Mazaudon 1994:728
Manang (Gyaru)	**bri:**^{1} ba	write (V.)	Nagano 1984:186-06
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**pri**-	write	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0358
	^{3}**pri**-	write	Mazaudon 1994:728
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**pri:**	write	Mazaudon 1994:728
Tamang (Sahu)	**prih**-pā	write; draw (opposite of ’erase’) (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.02; Hale 1973:10b2.26
	prih-pa	write; draw (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.B.2; Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.B.26
	^{3}**pri**	write / to compose / to draw	Mazaudon 1994:726
4. Nungic			
Dulong	**bɹi^{53}**	write (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1736.20
Trung [Dulong]	**bɹi^{53}**	write	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:623.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**bri^{53}**	write	LaPolla 1987:181
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**bri^{53}**	write	LaPolla 1987:181
	bɹi^{53}	write	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	cā **re:**	write	Marrison 1967
	rè	write; paint	Weidert 1987:316; Weidert 1987:701
	rê	write; delineate, paint; write, delineate, paint	Matisoff 1974:250; Benedict 1976a
	rè	write, paint, delineate	LaPolla 1987:181; Benedict 1972:429
	re: sā:	write	Marrison 1967
	re^{3}	write (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1736.26
	re^{3}	write	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:623.39

[a] From *HPTB* (p.132): “Jg. **mərì** (footnote 116: This Jg. form is mis-cited as **məriʔ** in *STC* #429.)”

Chinese comparandum

理 OC ***li̯əg**, *GSR* #978d ‘to cut (jade), to mark out (field boundaries), regulate, etc.’; B & S 2011: ***rəʔ {([m] ə.)rəʔ}**; Mand **lǐ**.

Also cf. 聿 **yù** and 筆 **bǐ**, comparanda for both PTB ***b-ris** DRAW / PICTURE (§6.2.2) and PTB ***rit** DRAW / BOUNDARY (§6.2.2).

(111b) PTB *b-ris DRAW / PICTURE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*b-rəy ⋉ **b-ris** ⋉ rit ⋉ ri:n	draw / write / count	Matisoff 2003a:610
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**bris**	picture (drawn; painted); picture	Weidert 1987:316; Benedict 1972:429
	ris	figure; figure, form, design	Weidert 1987:316; Weidert 1987:701; LaPolla 1987:181; Benedict 1972:429

Chinese comparandum

聿 OC ***bi̯wət**, *GSR* #502a ‘writing pencil’; B & S 2011: ***m-rut {* [m-] rut}**; Mand. **yù**.
筆 OC ***pli̯ət**, *GSR* #502d ‘writing pencil’; B & S 2011: ***p.rut {p. [r] ut}**; Mand. **bǐ**.

Cf. PTB ***rit** DRAW / BOUNDARY (§6.2.2). In Chinese, 筆 **bǐ** has the additional sense ‘write (v.)’.

Also cf. 理 **lǐ**, comparandum for PTB ***b-rəy** DRAW / MARK / BOUNDARY (§6.2.2).

(111c) PTB *rit DRAW / BOUNDARY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*b-rəy ⋉ b-ris ⋉ **rit** ⋉ ri:n	draw / write / count	Matisoff 2003a:610
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	du **mrit**	mark with an edge-tool, as around a log	Benedict 1972:429
	džə **rit**	boundary, border	Benedict 1972:429
	rit	fix, as a boundary	Benedict 1972:429
	^{1}džə^{1}**rit**	boundary	Weidert 1987:316
	^{1}**rit**	boundary	Weidert 1987:316
	ə **rit**	dividing line between two paddy fields	Benedict 1972:429
	ʒit^{31}	boundary line / demarcation line (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0721.19
4. Nungic			
Anong	rəga də **rit**	boundary	LaPolla 1987:181; Benedict 1972:429
Dulong	dɯ^{31}**ɹit^{55}**	boundary line / demarcation line (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0721.20

Chinese comparandum

聿 OC ***bi̯wət** *GSR* #502a ‘writing pencil’; B & S 2011: ***m-rut {* [m-] rut}**; Mand. **ỳù**.
筆 OC ***pli̯ət**, *GSR* #502d ‘writing pencil’; B & S 2011: ***p.rut {p. [r] ut}**; Mand. **bǐ**.

Note: Cf. PTB ***b-ris** DRAW / PICTURE (§6.2.2). In Chinese, 筆 **bǐ** has the additional sense ‘write (v.)’.

Also cf. 理 **lǐ**, comparandum for PTB ***b-rəy** DRAW / MARK / BOUNDARY (§6.2.2).

(111d) PKC *ri:n SCRATCH / DRAW LINE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***riin**	SCRATCH / LINE	VanBik 2009:970
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**gün**	scratch (v.)	VanBik 2009:970
Khumi	tph **rueéng**	scratch (with claws, fingernails)	VanBik 2009:970
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**rǐin**	scratch, line	VanBik 2009:970
Lushai [Mizo]	**riin**	draw a line, scratch	LaPolla 1987:181
	ri:n	draw a line, scratch; line, scratch	Benedict 1972:429
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**rò**	scratch	VanBik 2009:970

(111) PKC *reel COUNT / READ / THINK

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***reel**	COUNT / READ / THINK	VanBik 2009:928
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**géel**-I, gèel-II	think	VanBik 2009:928
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**rie**	count	VanBik 2009:928
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**rêel**-I, rěel -II	count, read, think of	VanBik 2009:928
Lushai [Mizo]	**réel**	plan, to arrange, to purpose (v.)	VanBik 2009:928
	re:l	purpose; plan (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2839; Bhaskararao 1996:2840
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**rèi**	count (v.)	VanBik 2009:928

(112) PCN *khaj READ / COUNT

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***khaj**	READ / COUNT	Bruhn 2014a:III.044
Lotha Naga	kako **kha**-phen	school (n.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	kha^{3}-	read (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.044
	kako **kha**	read	Murry *et al.* 1978:98
	khà	read (imperat.)	Acharya 1975
	kha	count; read (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	kha	count; read	Murry *et al.* 1978:25; Murry *et al.* 1978:98
	^{3}**ka(ʔ)**	count/read (v.)	Weidert 1987:577
Sangtam	**khi**	read (v.)	Marrison 1967
	khi cho	read (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	khi thing	count (v.)	Marrison 1967
	shi **khi**	count (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	^{2}**ki**	count/read (v.)	Weidert 1987:577
Yimchungrü	**khe**	count; read	Kumar 1973b:41; Kumar 1973b:66
	khe a	read (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**ke**	count/read (v.)	Weidert 1987:577

[a] [Source Note] book read-LOC

6.3.0 Friction

(1) PKC *hriat COMB (v.) / BRUSH

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hriat**	COMB (v.) / BRUSH	VanBik 2009:1077
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**hîet**-I, hìet-II	comb, brush, scrape	VanBik 2009:1077
Tiddim	**hiat^{1}**	comb	VanBik 2009:1077
	hiat^{1}	comb (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:463
	hiat^{1}	comb	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**hie**	scrape with the sharp edge of a dao	VanBik 2009:1077
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hriat**-I, hriaʔ-II	comb, brush	VanBik 2009:1077

Lai (Falam)	**hrîat**-I, hrìa?-II	comb, brush	VanBik 2009:1077

(2) PKC *phuay FRAY / RUB / SCRATCH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***phuay**	FRAY / RUB / SCRATCH	VanBik 2009:341
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**phuai**[2]	scratch severely with nails, crumple, pinch hard	VanBik 2009:341
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**phúai**	fray, rubbed thin (as rope with chafing), worn out	VanBik 2009:341

(3) PKC *taat HONE / RUB / SHARPEN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***taat**	HONE / RUB / SHARPEN	VanBik 2009:202
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**tat** hiam	sharpen, whet (v.)	VanBik 2009:202
Thado	**tâat**-I, tàat-II	sharpen (knife)	VanBik 2009:202
Tiddim	**ta:t**[1]	rub hard against	VanBik 2009:202
	ta:t[1]	rub hard against (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1731
	ta:t[1]	rub hard against	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**tó**	sharpen	VanBik 2009:202
Khumi	**ktaa**	whet, sharpen (a knife of some sort), scrape against a stone	VanBik 2009:202
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tàa**-I, taat-II	hone, sharpen (v.)	VanBik 2009:202
Lai (Falam)	**tâat**-INV	hone, sharpen (v.)	VanBik 2009:202
Lushai [Mizo]	**tâat**-I, tàh-II	sharpen, to rub, to scrape (v.)	VanBik 2009:202
	ta:t	rub; besmear (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2913; Bhaskararao 1996:2914
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-tá	hone, sharpen (v.)	VanBik 2009:202

(4) PTB *s-nwat MOP / RUB / WIPE

There are three similar roots in this semantic area, all possibly related. Cf. PTB ***hnuay*** RUB / CRUMPLE / TWIST (§6.3) and PTB ***s-nu(l/r)*** RUB AGAINST / GRAZE / TOUCH (§6.3).

There is a very similar Tai root **hnuat** (cf. Siamese **nùat** 'rub, massage'), which looks as if it has some sort of contact relationship with the present root.

1.1.1. TANI: ***not**[2] RUB (skin)			
**Tani*	***not**[2]	rub (skin) (v.)	Sun 1993a:332
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**nu**-k^{h}rja	wipe	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**nu**	rub (skin) (v.)	Sun 1993a
	nu:-ñak	rub (skin)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**nu:**	rub (skin); rub (to soften skin) (v.)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**nu:**	rub (to soften animal skin)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:643.51
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**not**	rub (skin) (v.)	Sun 1993a
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***noot ≍ *hnoot** MOP / RUB / WIPE			
**Chin*	***noot ≍ hnoot**	MOP / RUB / WIPE	VanBik 2009:819
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**nawt** hī	wipe	VanBik 2009:819
Thado	**nôot-I**, **nòot-II**	mop, rub	VanBik 2009:819
Tiddim	**no:t**[1]	mop, rub	VanBik 2009:819
	no:t[1]	rub; mop (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1243
	no:t[1]	rub, mop	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**hnôot-I**, **hnòot-II**	mop, rub, wipe	VanBik 2009:819
Lai (Hakha)	**hnoot-I**, **hno?-II**	mop, rub, wipe	VanBik 2009:819
Lushai [Mizo]	**nâwt**	wipe (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nawt	rub; scour (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2705
	nâwt-I, **nàwh-II**	rub, to rub against (v.)	VanBik 2009:819
	nwat	rub (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**nut**[31]	rub (to soften animal skin)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:643.47
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**nut-**	rub off between two hands (fur of peaches, etc.) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	nyut-	rub surfaces together, rub with fingers (to remove husk, fur of peach, etc.) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
7. KARENIC			
Pa-O	**nòt**	rub, massage	Solnit 1989

(5) PTB *ri:t REAP / SCRAPE / SHAVE / CUT / SEVER

This etymon bears some resemblance to PTB ***d-ra-t*** CUT / SLASH (§6.9.3), but should be kept distinct.

A couple of forms have apparently acquired a labial prefix: cf. Garo **ak-brit-a** and Gurung **wre baq** 'scratch'.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ri-t**	reap / cut / scrape / shave	Benedict 1972:371
	***ri:t**	scrape; reap	Weidert 1987:701; Matisoff 1985a:044; Matisoff 2003a:611
1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**lit**[33]	cut (vegetable)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:634.52
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Mishing [Miri]	**rit**	cut	Benedict 1972:371
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**rîit**	scratch (v.)	Weidert 1987:701
	rîit	scrape with a hoe	Matisoff 1985a:044
	ri:t	scrape with a hoe (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2844
	ri:t	scrape with a hoe	Benedict 1972:371
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Meluri	**vi**	reap	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**ret**	cut	Bhat 1969:87
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**rèt**	scratch (v.)	Weidert 1987:701
	ret	scrape, shave	Benedict 1972:371
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	ak-**brit**-a	scratch (v.)	Weidert 1987:701
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**wre** baq	scratch; scratch (thorn)	Glover 1972; Glover 1972:4.B.11
	wriq ba	scratch	Glover 1972:2.B.2.40
Manang (Gyaru)	**ri:**[1]	scratch (V.)	Nagano 1984:134
Manang (Prakaa)	[1]**r̥e:**-	scratch	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0314b
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'ri:**	scratch (v.)	Weidert 1987:701
3.2. QIANGIC			
Xumi	**ri**[35]	cut up (vegetable) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1574.17
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ri:t**	reap / cut with sickle	Matisoff 1972b:169
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**ʐi̱t**[55]	mow / cut (grass) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1342.28
Achang (Xiandao)	**ʐɯ̱t**[55]	mow / cut (grass) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1342.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	**je?**[4]	mow / cut (grass) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1342.27
Burmese (Written)	**rip**[4]	mow / cut (grass) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1342.26
	rit	reap, mow, shave; cut	Benedict 1972:371; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:601.39
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**ɣə̀q**	chop / cut w. sickle or saw	Björverud 1994
Yi (Dafang)	**ɣe**[13]	cut	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:601.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ɣo**[33]	cut (slice); slice into chunks	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ɣɯ**[33]	cut (vegetable)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:634.25
Yi (Weishan)	**ɣɯ̱**[21]	cut off; sever; cut (meat); mow; cut (grass) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1339.36; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1341.36; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1342.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ɣɤ**[11]	cut up (vegetable) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1574.38
Yi (Xide)	**ɣo**[33]	cut up (vegetable) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1574.35
	ɣo[33]	cut (vegetable)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:634.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Kucong	**ɣɤ31**	cut (grass)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɣɤ**[21]	mow / cut (grass) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1342.43
Lahu (Black)	**g̈ə̀?**	reap / cut with sickle	Matisoff 1972b:169
	ɣə[21]	cut	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:601.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ɣɛ**[7]	cut (vegetables)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɣɯ[5]	cut (grain)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**rgh6**	reap / cut with sickle	Matisoff 1972b:169
Lisu (Central)	**rgh**[3]	sever; cut; cut (as finger) (v.)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
	rgh[6]	cut (reap, as paddy) (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**ɣo̱**[33]	cut up (vegetable) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1574.40
	ɣo[44]	cut (vegetable)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:634.27
Lisu (Northern)	**ɣɔ**[33]	cut (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ɣɯ**[41]	cut	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:601.27
	ɯ̱[33]	cut (meat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1339.40
	ɯ̱[31]	mow / cut (grass) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1342.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ɤ**[33]	cut with chopper vertically; with knife, sickle, etc. (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ɤʔ[21]	saw; pull; draw (the bow); cut (with sickle); open (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ɤʔ[21]**le**[33] **ɤʔ**[21]	cut....as if (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**ɣɯ**[33]	cut up (vegetable) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1574.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Mojiang)	**ʒl**[31]	mow / cut (grass) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1342.42

(6) PTB *s-nu $\frac{l}{r}$ RUB AGAINST / GRAZE / TOUCH

There are three similar roots in this semantic area, all possibly related. Cf. PTB ***s-nwat*** MOP / RUB / WIPE (§6.3) and PTB ***hnuay*** RUB / CRUMPLE / TWIST (§6.3).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***nu:l**	rub; wear down; rub against	Matisoff 2003a:605; Benedict 1972:365
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Galo	**nen** nam	rub (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	nər nam	rub; rub (with tool); wipe (with tool) (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	nər puu	rub off (vt.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**nyu**	rub	NEFA (India) 1963
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***nuul** RUB / BRUSH / WIPE, ***hnor ≍ *hnur** GRAZE / RUB / TOUCH			
**Chin*	***hnor ≍ hnur**	GRAZE / RUB / TOUCH	VanBik 2009:892
	***nuul**	RUB / BRUSH / WIPE	VanBik 2009:830
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**nul**	wipe	VanBik 2009:830
Sizang	**nawk** hī	rub	VanBik 2009:892
Thado	**nô?-I**, **nò?-II**	rub	VanBik 2009:892
	nùu-INV	rub (e.g. ointment on skin), smear	VanBik 2009:830
Tiddim	**nu:l**[2]	wipe	VanBik 2009:830
	nu:l[2]	wipe (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1269
	nu:l[2]	wipe	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**hnŏr-I**, **hnòr-II**	graze, rub, touch	VanBik 2009:892
Lai (Hakha)	**hnûr-I**, **hnŭr-II ≍ hnôr-I**, **hnŏr-II**	graze, rub, touch	VanBik 2009:892
Lushai [Mizo]	**núul**	rub against, to brush past (v.)	VanBik 2009:830

	nu:l	rub against; brush past (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2741
	nu:l	brush past, rub against	Benedict 1972:365
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hnáo**	rub against (v.)	VanBik 2009:892
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Sema [Sumi]	**nu**	rub (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	**nü**	rub (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**nur**	rub	Bhat 1969:95
	nur	rub (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	kʰə-**nur**	rub against a stone	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**nol**	rub, knead	Benedict 1972:365
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	ga **nun**	rub (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kə **nun**	rub	Benedict 1972:365
	mə **nun**	rub with the fingers	Benedict 1972:365
	nun	worn, threadbare (vs.)	Benedict 1972:365
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**nulh-**	rub and roll on ground, rocking and pressing (as when washing clothes); root (pig) (vt.)	Caughley 2000

Chinese comparandum

Comment:: Cf. 揉 **róu**, comparandum for PTB ***now*** TENDER / SOFT (§7.1.4).

(7) PKar *thuʔ^{D} RUB / CLEAN / POLISH / SCRUB

7. Karenic			
**Karen [Burling]*	***thuʔ**^{2}	rub, clean, polish, scrub	Luangthongkum 2013:243
**Karen*	***thuʔ**^{D}	rub, clean, polish, scrub	Luangthongkum 2013:243
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***thuʔ**	rub (back and forth) (v.)	Jones 1961:560
**Karen (Pwo)*	***thɔ́ʔ**	rub (back and forth) (v.)	Jones 1961:560
Kayah	**thɨ**^{55}	rub, clean, polish, scrub	Luangthongkum 2013:243
Kayaw	**-thɨ**^{33}	rub, clean, polish, scrub	Luangthongkum 2013:243
Pwo (Northern)	**thauʔ**^{45}	rub, clean, polish, scrub	Luangthongkum 2013:243
Pwo (Southern)	**thɔuʔ**^{31}	rub, clean, polish, scrub	Luangthongkum 2013:243
Pwo (Bassein)	**thɔ̀ʔ**	rub (back and forth) (v.)	Jones 1961:560
Pwo (Moulmein)	**thàuʔ**	rub (back and forth) (v.)	Jones 1961:560
Sgaw (Northern)	**thuʔ**^{45}	rub, clean, polish, scrub	Luangthongkum 2013:243
Sgaw (Southern)	**thɔuʔ**^{21}	rub, clean, polish, scrub	Luangthongkum 2013:243
Sgaw (Bassein)	**thuʔ**	rub (back and forth) (v.)	Jones 1961:560
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**thuʔ**	rub (back and forth) (v.)	Jones 1961:560

(8) PTB *hnuay RUB / CRUMPLE / TWIST

There are three similar roots in this semantic area, all possibly related. Cf. PTB ***s-nwat*** MOP / RUB / WIPE (§6.3) and PTB ***s-nu(l/r)*** RUB AGAINST / GRAZE / TOUCH (§6.3).

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hnuay*** RUB / CRUMPLE / TWIST			
**Chin*	***hnuay**	RUB / CRUMPLE / TWIST	VanBik 2009:903
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**núoy**-I, nwòy-II	rub, rub against	VanBik 2009:903
Tiddim	**nuai**^{2}	crumple; twist the ear (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1258
	nuai^{2}	crumple, twist the ear	Bhaskararao 1994
	nuai^{1}	crumple, twist the ear	VanBik 2009:903
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**knáwy**	rub (one's eyes), crumple up, crush into pieces	VanBik 2009:903
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hnûay**-I, hnŭay-II	crumple, rub, twist	VanBik 2009:903
Lushai [Mizo]	**nuai**	rub; brush; blow about violently (v.)	Marrison 1967; Bhaskararao 1996:2743; Bhaskararao 1996:2744
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Rengma	**nrhi**	rub (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**nuaih**	rub (v.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**nui**	rub; wipe (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**neu**	wipe (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**neo**	wipe (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nùy	rub	Bhat 1969:95
Ukhrul	kə-ʃi-**nuj**	rub into a ball	Mortensen 2012
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***nua:y*** RUB			
**Northern Naga*	***nua:y**	rub (v.)	French 1983:540
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**noi**	rub (v.)	Marrison 1967
Phom	**noi**	rub (v.)	Marrison 1967
	noy^{55}	squeeze / rub on body	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Gyaru)	**nɛ:**^{3} ba	rub (V.)	Nagano 1984:203
Tamang (Sahu)	**ʾnaih**-pa	rub (vigorously) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:20.19.1
	^{4}**nai**	massage / to rub (vigorously	Mazaudon 1994:544

(9) PTB *sywəy RUB / SCRAPE / SHAVE

As noted in DL:1187, the correspondence between Lahu **-i** and WB **-we** is irregular with respect to PLB ***swəy***^{2} BLOOD (see PTB ***s-hywəy-t***), where it is Lahu **-ɨ** which corresponds to WB **-we**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s(y)wiy**	rub (v.)	Weidert 1987:298
	***s(y)wiy**	rub, scrape, shave	Benedict 1972:180
	***sywəy**	rub / scrape / shave	Matisoff 2003a:614
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**sui**	scrape	Benedict 1972:180
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**si**	scrape	Benedict 1972:180
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**si**-rok	shave	Benedict 1972:180
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**gəsəwi**	rub up against (as a dog)	Benedict 1972:180
	ləsəwi	shave / whittle off	Benedict 1972:180
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**swè**	rub (v.)	Weidert 1987:298
	swê	whet, rub, polish	Benedict 1976a
	swè	whet rub polish	Benedict 1972:180
	ə-**swê**	rubbing, sharpening	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**si**^{11}	sharpen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:640.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**sʏ**^{2}	sharpen (knife)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

(10) PCC *ziat-I, *ziaʔ-II SCRAPE

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***ziat**-I, ziaʔ-II	SCRAPE	VanBik 2009:1232
Lai (Hakha)	**ziat**-I, ziaʔ-II	scrape	VanBik 2009:1232
Lushai [Mizo]	**zîat**-I, zìah-II	scrape (as with a knife, etc), to shave (v.)	VanBik 2009:1232

(11) PTB *kur SCRAPE / SCRATCH / SCOOP

This root is reconstructed in Weidert 1987:19. There is a perhaps fortuitous resemblance with Nepali **khur-kənu** 'scrape off' (cf. the Indo-Aryan etymon ***KUR*** 'scrape' in Turner 1966:171), but in any case this could only have affected the Chepang and Dolakha Newar forms.

1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	^{2}ə^{1}**kho**	scratch (v.)	Weidert 1987:17
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	^{2}a^{2}**kun**	scoop (v.)	Weidert 1987:17
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Mao	^{1}**khu**	scratch (v.)	Weidert 1987:17
Rengma (Southern)	^{1}n^{4}**khwẽ**	scratch (v.)	Weidert 1987:17
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**khũan**	scratch (v.)	Weidert 1987:17
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	n-**xûan**	scratch (v.)	Weidert 1987:17
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**hòr**	ladle out	Weidert 1987:17
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**kur**	scrape (v.)	Weidert 1987:17
Meche	**kur**	scrape (v.)	Weidert 1987:17
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Dolakhali)	**hur-**	scratch / scrape	Genetti 1990b
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**hərʔ**-sa	scratch (thorn)	Caughley 1972:4.B.11
	khur	scrape (v.)	Weidert 1987:17
	khur-	trim, shave, cut off short (hair, grass, etc.) (<N khurkənu scrape off?) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	k^{h}ur-sa	scrape	Caughley 1972:7.B.2. 40
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	mi^{35}**khuɛ**^{55}	shave (hairs) / scrape (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1352.16
Namuyi	**khu**^{31}**khu**^{55}	shave (hairs) / scrape (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1352.46
Qiang (Mawo)	**khuɛ**^{1}	shave (hairs) / scrape (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1352.08

(12) PTk *da SHARPEN

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***da**	sharpen	Mortensen 2012:338
Huishu	kə-kə-**re**	sharpen	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.055
Kachai	kə-k^{h}ə-**ðu**	sharpen	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.046
Tusom	kʃie k^{h}-kə-**ti**	sharpen knife	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.061
Ukhrul	kə-k^{h}ə-**ra**	sharpen	Mortensen 2012

(13) PKC *thaay SHOVEL / SCRAPE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***thaay**	SHOVEL / SCRAPE	VanBik 2009:407
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**thâay**-I, thàay-II	shovel, scrape	VanBik 2009:407
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thâay**-I, thăay-II	shovel, scrape (as a bird on the ground)	VanBik 2009:407
Lushai [Mizo]	**thăi**	scrape up (v.)	VanBik 2009:407
	thai	scratch up; scrape up or scrape together (with the (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2936
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**thìa**	shovel, to scrape (v.)	VanBik 2009:407

6.4.0 Harm

(1) PKC *ɗuk BRUISE (v.) / PINCH

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗuk**	BRUISE (v.) / PINCH	VanBik 2009:64
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**dùp**	bruise	VanBik 2009:64
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**dük**	pinch, nip	VanBik 2009:64
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**duk**-INV	bruised, punch with fist (be v.)	VanBik 2009:64

(2) PKC *khlaw-I, *khlawʔ-II HINDER / FORBID / PROHIBIT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	*khlaw-I, khlaw?-II	HINDER / FORBID / PROHIBIT	VanBik 2009:1290

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	khou^{3} > khou?^{3}	prohibit	VanBik 2009:1290

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	m-chaw	hinder, to prevent from (v.)	VanBik 2009:1290

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	thlaw?-INV	hinder, prevent, prohibit, strongly oppose	VanBik 2009:1290

(3) PTB * g / b -sat KILL

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

*Sino-Tibetan	*sr+iat	kill	Coblin 1986:100

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*g-sat	kill; kill, hit; kill, fight, strike	Matisoff 1985a:021; Matisoff 1983:21; LaPolla 1987:96; Benedict 1972:58
	*g-sût	kill	Chou Fa-kao 1972:319d
	*g/b-sat	kill	Matisoff 2003a:612

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	se	kill	NEFA (India) 1963
	se^{55}	kill (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.22
	se^{55}	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.49
Kaman [Miju]	sɑt^{55}	kill (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.23
	sɑt^{55}	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.48

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *that-I, *-tha?-II KILL

*Chin	*that-I, -tha?-II	KILL	VanBik 2009:394

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	that	kill	VanBik 2009:394
Sizang	htāt hī	kill	VanBik 2009:394
Thado	thàt-I, thàa-II	kill	VanBik 2009:394
Tiddim	that^{3} > tha?^{3}	kill	VanBik 2009:394

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	m-sat	kill (v.)	VanBik 2009:394

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	that-I, tha?-II	kill	VanBik 2009:394
Lai (Falam)	thàt-INV	kill	VanBik 2009:394
Lushai [Mizo]	that	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
	that	kill, hit; kill	LaPolla 1987:96; Benedict 1972:58
	thàt-I, thàh-II	kill (v.)	VanBik 2009:394

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

*Ao	*sət	KILL	Bruhn 2014a:II.106
Ao (Chungli)	ka^{3}-sət^{1}	shoot to death (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tep set	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
	təp^{3}-sət^{1}	kill (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.106
	túp sùt	kill (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:5
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	en set	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
	yak set	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	hən-sàt	kill [killed] (possibly 'by hand' + 'kill') (v.)	Coupe 2007
	təp-sàt	kill [killed] ('hit' + 'kill') (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	sa that	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	map se	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	lak sa	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	that	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	kam sad	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	chat	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	dap tset	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *t^{h}at KILL

*Tangkhulic	*t^{h}at	kill	Mortensen 2012:537
Huishu	ja-kə-t^{h}ejʔ	kill	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.036
Kachai	su-kə-t^{h}ɐt	kill	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.029
Tangkhul	sho that	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
	thit	kill	Bhat 1969:91
	thət	kill	Bhat 1969:91
Tusom	ta-kə-t^{h}e	kill (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.038
Ukhrul	kə-ci-t^{h}it	make to kill	Mortensen 2012
	kə-t^{h}ɐt	kill	Mortensen 2012
	sa-kə-t^{h}ɐt	kill	Mortensen 2012

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	that	kill	Benedict 1972:58

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	thai	kill	Benedict 1972:58

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	sot	kill, hit; kill	LaPolla 1987:96; Benedict 1972:27n84
Garo (Bangladesh)	ra-sot-a	kill with knife (vt.)	Burling 2003:6.79-II:idx

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *?sot KILL

*Northern Naga	*?sot	kill	Matisoff 1985a:021

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	sat	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sàt	kill	Matisoff 1974:386
	sat	kill, hit; kill	LaPolla 1987:96; Benedict 1972:58
	sat^{31}	kill	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	sat^{31}	kill (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.19
	sat^{31}	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.47

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Baram	sat ko	kill (v.)	Kansakar 2010:193

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	ɕe	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.7
	ɕe^{55}	kill	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	she	kill	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	sot^{55}	kill	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	sɔt^{53}	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.6
Motuo Menba	ɕe	kill (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.07
Cuona Menba	sɔt^{53} ta^{31}	kill / slaughter (an animal) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	psat	kill (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	sed	kill (pf)	Sun 1985a:514
	sod	kill	Sun 1985a:512
	s^{h}od	kill (imp)	Sun 1985a:513
Tibetan (Batang)	sɛʔ^{53}	kill (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	set-ki-dukq	kill	Hale 1973:01.062
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	sɛ^{53}	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	sɛʔ^{53}	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.2
	sɛ^{52}	kill (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	se-ki-wiq	kill	Hale 1973:01.062
Tibetan (Written)	bsad	kill (perfective)	Matisoff 1985a:021
	gnyid sad (gsod)-pa	waken	Matisoff 1994b
	gsod	kill	Matisoff 1985a:021; Sun 1985c:512
	gsod	kill (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.01
	gsod	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.1
	gsod-pa	kill; kill, hit	Matisoff 1983:21; LaPolla 1987:96; Benedict 1972:58
	sod	kill (imp)	Sun 1985c:513
	ɣsod	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	ɕa	kill / slaughter (an animal) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.04

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	sót	kill (v.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. Tamangish

*TGTM	*^{A}sat	kill	Mazaudon 1994:930
Gurung	sae-m	kill	Hale 1973:01.062
Gurung (Ghachok)	sae baq	kill (fire); extinguish; kill (sacrificial animal)	Glover 1972; Glover 1972:10.B.3.27
	səe-m	kill	Glover 1972:1.62
	səe baq	kill	Glover 1972:2.B.2. 14.
Gurung	^{1}sae-	kill	Mazaudon 1994:930
Manang (Gyaru)	sɐ:^{3}	kill (V.)	Nagano 1984:136
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}se:-	kill	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0349
	^{1}se:-	kill	Mazaudon 1994:930
Tamang (Bagmati)	sae-	kill (v.)	Weidert 1987:707
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}sat	kill	Mazaudon 1994:930
Tamang (Sahu)	sep-pa	kill (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.B.14.a; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.62
	the sep pā	kill	Hale 1973:01.062
	^{1}set	kill / to extinguish a fire	Mazaudon 1994:930
Tamang (Taglung)	se:-ba	kill	Mazaudon 1994:930
Thakali	say-wa	kill	Hale 1973:01.062
Thakali (Marpha)	se:-wa	kill	Mazaudon 1994:930
Thakali (Syang)	^{55,44}sɛ:-ba	kill	Mazaudon 1994:930
Thakali (Tukche)	sɔj-lɔ	kill	Hari 1971:2.B.2.14 1
	sɔj-wɔ	kill	Hari 1971:1.62

2.2. Newar

Newar (Dolakhali)	syat-	kill	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	syat-	kill	Genetti 1990c
Newar	syā ye	kill	Hale 1973:01.062
	syā ye	kill (v.)	Weidert 1987:707
	syā ye	kill	Benedict 1972:103n294

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	sed-ue	kill	Ebert 1997
	set-	kill	Ebert 1997
	ŋa sa-ka set pa	fisherman	Ebert 1997
Limbu	sEr- (sEt)	kill (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	sɛp ma	kill (v.)	Weidert 1987:707
	sɛr-(u)	kill (v.)	Weidert 1987:707
Lohorong	sep ma	kill (v.)	Weidert 1987:707
	ser ɛ	kill (v.)	Weidert 1987:707

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	seT	kill (v.)	Rai 1985
Chamling	soi-d-	kill (v.)	Weidert 1987:707
	soi ma	kill (v.)	Weidert 1987:707
Kulung	set-u	kill (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	set nɨ	killed, get killed <kill>	Driem 1993

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	set-	kill, to extinguish (light), to blunt (blade); (v.)	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	hmeʔ sat-	put out, extinguish, quench fire (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	sat-	kill (v.)	Weidert 1987:707
	sat-	kill, catch (and kill); finish off (ext.) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	sat-sa	kill	Caughley 1972:2.B.2. 14a
	sāt.sā	kill	Hale 1973:01.062
	sət-sa	kill	Caughley 1972:1.62
Magar	saT-ke	kill	Hale 1973:01.062

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	sʅ^{55}	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.18
Guiqiong	se^{55}	kill (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.16
	se^{55}	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.17
Muya	nɐ^{33} sɐ^{53}	kill (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.15
Muya [Minyak]	sɐ^{55}	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	sə^{55}	kill (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.10
Pumi (Lanping)	thə^{13}suɛ^{13}	kill / slaughter (an animal) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	thə^{13}sɛ^{13}	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.11
Pumi (Taoba)	nə^{35}sɛ^{35}	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.10
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	tṣhu	kill	Matisoff 1972b:124
Qiang (Longxi)	tsò tsó	kill (person); kill (chicken)	Evans 1999:2297; Evans 1999:2298
Qiang (Mawo)	tʃə	kill, hit	LaPolla 1987:96
	tʃə	kill (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.08
	tʃə	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	tsɨ tɕá	kill (person); kill (chicken)	Evans 1999:2297; Evans 1999:2298
Qiang (Taoping)	tʃʅ^{33}	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{35}sɛ^{55}	kill	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:633.16

Xumi	**si**^{55}	kill (a person) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.17
	si^{55}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	kʌ^{33} **she**^{55}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.14
	she^{55}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	**ntɕi**	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.14
Daofu	**shɛ**	kill (a person) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	ka **ntʃha**	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.12
Caodeng	kɐ-**ntʃ^{h}e**	kill	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **sɑt**	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.11
rGyalrong	ka **sat**	kill	Nagano 1997:192

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**sat**	kill	Benedict 1972:58
Rawang	**ʃat**	kill	LaPolla 2003:1414
Dulong	**sɑt**^{55}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.20
Trung [Dulong]	**sɑt**^{55}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**saat**^{55}	kill, hit	LaPolla 1987:96
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**sat**^{55}	kill, hit	LaPolla 1987:96
	sɑ̆t^{55}	kill	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***C-sat** KILL

**Lolo-Burmese*	*C-**sat**	kill	Matisoff 1972b:124
	***sat**	kill	Benedict 1972:88n259

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**saʔ**^{55}	kill, hit	LaPolla 1987:96
	sɑʔ^{55}	kill	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**sat**^{55}	kill, hit	LaPolla 1987:96
	sat^{55}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.28
Achang (Luxi)	**sat**^{55}	kill; kill, hit	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:96
Achang (Xiandao)	**sat**^{55} phut^{55}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.29
Bola (Luxi)	**sɐ̲ʔ**^{55}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.32
Burmese (Written)	**sat**	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sat	stop; kill; kill, hit	Hansson 1989:536; Matisoff 1985a:021; Matisoff 1983:21; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:96; Benedict 1972:58
Langsu (Luxi)	**sɐ̲ʔ**^{55}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**sɑ̲ːt**^{55}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.33
Maru [Langsu]	**sɐ̲ʔ**^{55}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**sat**^{21}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.30
	sat^{55}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.42

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**si**^{53}	kill	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	si^{53}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.47
Lalo	**sjìq**	kill / slaughter	Björverud 1994
Nasu	**si 55**	kill	Matisoff 1972b:124
Nusu (Northern)	**sɐ̲**^{53}	kill	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**sɑ̲**^{53}	kill	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**sɚ̲**^{53}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.34
Yi (Dafang)	**se**^{13}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**si**^{55}	kill (using a knife); slaughter; stab; war	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**xo**^{21}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ɕi̲**^{21}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**sɐ̲**^{55}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.37
	sɐ̲^{55}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ɕi̲**^{21}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ɕɪ̲**^{21}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.36
Yi (Wuding)	**xu**^{33}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.38
Yi (Xide)	**si**^{55}	kill (a person) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**xo 21**	kill	Matisoff 1972b:124
Jinuo (Youle)	**se**^{55}	kill	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**se**^{55}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.34
	sɛ^{55}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.44
Kucong	**ɕi55**	kill	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lisu (Northern)	hã^{33}**seʔ**^{21}	kill the spirit (in traditiona society)	Bradley 1994
	seʔ^{21}	kill; execute; slaughter (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**sɐ̲**^{31}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.40
	se^{41}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.27
	sye6	kill	Matisoff 1972b:124
Lisu (Central)	**sye**^{6}	murder; kill (v.)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
	sye^{6} (krgh^{3})	destroy (kill)	Fraser 1922
Sani [Nyi]	**xa 11**	kill	Matisoff 1972b:124
Yi (Sani)	**xɒ**^{11}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**seh LS**	kill	Matisoff 1972b:124
	sehˆ	kill	Matisoff 1974:386
	sèq	kill	Hansson 1989:536
Akha (Yunnan)	**sèq**	kill	Hansson 1989:536
Akha (Thai)	**sèq**	kill	Hansson 1989:536
Bisu	**sɛ 21**	kill	Matisoff 1972b:124
	sè	kill	Bradley 199x
Hani (Hu T'an)	**se 21c**	kill	Matisoff 1972b:124
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**še 33**	kill	Matisoff 1972b:124
Hani (Dazhai)	**sɐ̲**^{31}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**sèq** ?	kill	Hansson 1989:536
	sɐ̲^{31}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.41
Hani (Pijo)	**sjỳq**	kill	Hansson 1989:536
Hani (Caiyuan)	**sɿ̲**^{31}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**sɐ̲**^{31}	kill	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**seivq**	kill	Hansson 1989:536
Hani (Shuikui)	**si̲**^{31}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.32
Hani (Khatu)	**sjèq**	kill	Hansson 1989:536
Hani (Mojiang)	**si̲**^{31}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.42
Mpi	**səʔ**^{1}	kill	Hansson 1989:536
	sɤʔ^{1}	kill (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Sila	**si̲21**	kill (v.)	KATO Takashi 2008:124
Woni	**ši 33**	kill	Matisoff 1972b:124

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**ɕɑ**^{44}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.37
Bai (Dali)	**sia** 2	kill, to	Dell 1981b:420
	ɕɑ^{44}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ɕɑ̲**^{33}	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.48
	ɕɑ^{44}	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.36

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	殺	kill; diminish	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2392; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2393

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old)	**săt**	kill	Matisoff 1985a:021
	sat	kill	Matisoff 1983:21
	srjat	kill	Baxter 1992:1021

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**ṣăt**	kill	Matisoff 1985a:021

Chinese comparandum

殺 OC ***săt**, *GSR* #319d-e 'kill'; Schuessler 2007:452 ***srât**; B & S 2011: ***s‹r›at**; Mand. **shā**.

(4) PTani *man KILL

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***man**	kill	Sun 1993a:222

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**mẽ**	kill	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	men	murder	Sun 1993b
	men-nɯ-bo	murderer	Sun 1993b
	men-nɯ-mju	murderer	Sun 1993b
	mèŋ	kill	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**min**	kill	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**men**	kill	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	men	kill (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1602.24
Bokar Lhoba	**men**	kill	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:633.51
Galo	**men**-nam	kill pig, with a pointed bamboo (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Nishing	**ming**	kill	Das Gupta 1969
	nyi **ming**-bu	murderer	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Damu	**man**-ra	kill	Sun 1993b

(5) PKC *nooŋ MURDER

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***nooŋ**	MURDER	VanBik 2009:822

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**(lâay**/mii) nôoŋ-I, nŏon-II	murder	VanBik 2009:822

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**nỳ**	murder (v.)	VanBik 2009:822

(6) PKC *yeŋ-I, *yen-II PARALYZE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***yeŋ**-I, yen-II	PARALYZE	VanBik 2009:1223

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**zeng**	paralytic	VanBik 2009:1223
Thado	**zêŋ**-I, zèn-II	paralyze	VanBik 2009:1223

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**zèŋ**-I, zĕn-II	paralyze	VanBik 2009:1223
Lai (Falam)	**zéŋ**-INV	paralyze	VanBik 2009:1223
Lushai [Mizo]	**zéng**-I, zèn-II	paralyzed (as arm, hand, leg, etc) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1223

(7) PCN *m-ʒəm POISON (n.)

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	*m-**ʒəm**	POISON (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.144
**Ao*	*m-**ʒəm**	POISON	Bruhn 2014a:II.123
Ao (Chungli)	mi^{3}**jəm**^{3}	poison (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.123
	m **im**	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	mü **sem**	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mə **zəm**	poison (n.)	Coupe 2007
	mə **zəm**	poison [poisoned] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	mü **zyü**	poison (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mü **zyüm**	poison	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	a mü **züm** be	poison	Kumar 1973b:89

(8) PCC *hrem PUNISH / TORTURE

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***hrem**	PUNISH / TORTURE	VanBik 2009:1093
Lai (Hakha)	**hrêm**-I, hrĕm-II	punish, torture	VanBik 2009:1093
Lai (Falam)	**hrém**-INV	punish, torture	VanBik 2009:1093
Lushai [Mizo]	**hrĕm**	punish, to inflict punishment, to chasten (v.)	VanBik 2009:1093

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**hrí**	punish	VanBik 2009:1093

(9) PTB *m-ta:y STING (as bee) / SCOLD (a person)

The cognacy of the forms with initial **r-** is perhaps dubious, implying an allofam ***s-ray**. This is perhaps rendered more probable by the alternation within Bodo (also called Boro) between dental stop and **r**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ta:y**	sting / scold	Matisoff 1985a:093; Matisoff 2003a:615

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	ar-**ta**	sting (n.)	Sun 1993b
	i-**ta**	sting (n.)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**té**	sting, as a bee	Matisoff 1985a:093
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**tiu**^{53}	sting (of wasps); sting (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.49
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**de?**^{3}	sting (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:220
	de?^{3}	sting	Bhaskararao 1994
	ta:i^{1}	scold (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1703
	ta:i^{1}	scold	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊta:i	scold, blame, nag	Matisoff 1985a:093
	ˊta:i/ˆta:i	scold / blame / nag (v.)	Henderson 1965
	ˋta:i	scold, blame, nag	Matisoff 1985a:093
	_dɛʔ/_dɛʔ	sting (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**tai**-ṭêm~**tai**-ṭêng	name of a stinging nettle	Matisoff 1985a:093
	tai-vâng	name of a large ant (that presumably inflicts a sting)	Matisoff 1985a:093
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**hrə**^{1}-ji^{3}-	curse (someone) (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	rhə yà	curse (imperat.)	Acharya 1975
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Kohima)	**rü** se	curse (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Mzieme	**rü** set	curse (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ing **dèy**	sting (as a nettle)	Matisoff 1985a:093
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**ray**	scold / rebuke	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**du**	sting (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**dái**	sharp (as a tooth / edge tool); be sharp, tart, or caustic of tongue (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:093
	tai	sharp	Marrison 1967
	tai^{33}	sharp	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tai^{55}	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.47
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	**da:**-nyā, kay-nyā	sting (insects) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.20
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**ndzɑ**^{55}	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.18
Lyuzu	**ndza**^{35}	sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.18
Muya	qho^{33}**ndɐ**^{53}	bite (mosquito); sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1279.15; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.15
Muya [Minyak]	qho^{55}**ndɐ**^{55}	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.15
Namuyi	**ndʐy**^{35}	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.19
	ndʐu^{35}	sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	nə^{11}**du**^{11}	sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.10
Queyu (Xinlong)	(pʃa^{55}) **nda**^{13}	sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**nde**^{35}	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.16
Xumi	**du**^{33}	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	kə^{55}**ndzi**^{55}	sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**mdɛr**	sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ndø**	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Caodeng	kɐ-**ndze**	bite (mosquito; tick; flea; snake)	Sun 1997a
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *N-day^{2} STING / SCOLD			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***n-day**^{2}	sting / scold	Matisoff 1985a:093
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**ti**^{31}	sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.47
Yi (Mile)	**duɯ**^{21}	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.25
Yi (Nanjian)	**dy**^{21}	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ta**^{21}	sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.36
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**tø**^{33}	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**tø**^{44}	sting (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2583
Jinuo (Baka)	**tø**^{44}	sting (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2583
Jinuo	**tø**^{44}	sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.44
Lahu (Black)	**dê**	sting; scold; sting (as a bee); scold, curse	Matisoff 1988a:708-9; Matisoff 1985a:093
Lisu (Northern)	**de**^{21}	sting (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**de**^{31}	sting	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**de**^{31}	sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tɤ**^{55}	burn; sting (V.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**dɤ**^{21}	sting (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:81.1
	dɤ^{11}	sting (v.)	Ma Xueliang 1989:319.1
Yi (Sani)	**dɤ**^{11}	sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**deh**^{31}	sting, scold	Matisoff 1985a:093
Akha (Thai)	**dɛ̀**	scold, push, sting, bite	Hansson 1989:210
Akha (Yunnan)	**dɛ̀**	scold, push, sting, bite	Hansson 1989:210
Akha	**dɛ̀**	sting, scold	Matisoff 1985a:093
Hani (Dazhai)	**de**^{31}	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dɛ̀**	scold, push, sting, bite	Hansson 1989:210
	de^{31}	sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.41
Hani (Pijo)	**tí**	scold, push, sting, bite	Hansson 1989:210
Hani (Wordlist)	**ddeiq**	scold, push, sting, bite	Hansson 1989:210
Hani (Shuikui)	**tɛ**^{31}	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**tɛ**^{31}	sting (of wasps) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1793.42
Mpi	**te**^{1}	sting	Matisoff 1985a:093; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Lijiang)	**nduɑ**^{33}	sting (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:787.28
7. Karenic: *(dəŋ^{B})ʔde^{A} WASP			
**Karen*	*(**dəŋ**^{B})ʔde^{A}	wasp	Luangthongkum 2013:323
Kayah	**di**^{33}~	wasp	Luangthongkum 2013:323
Kayan	dauʔ^{45}**dai**^{53}	wasp	Luangthongkum 2013:323
Kayaw	**di**^{55}~	wasp	Luangthongkum 2013:323
Pa-O (Northern)	kaʔ^{21} **de**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	wasp	Luangthongkum 2013:323
Pwo (Northern)	**thɑ̃**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**di**^{55}	wasp	Luangthongkum 2013:323
Pwo (Southern)	**thə̃**^{33}**di**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	wasp	Luangthongkum 2013:323
Sgaw (Northern)	**tɘ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**de**^{33}	wasp	Luangthongkum 2013:323
Sgaw (Southern)	**ti**^{31}**de**^{55}	wasp	Luangthongkum 2013:323

(10) PTB *ʔik STRANGLE

Despite its obvious sound symbolic component, this root is rather well established, both in Tibeto-Burman proper and Chinese.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***ʔik**	strangle	Coblin 1986:142
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ik**	strangle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:849g; Benedict 1972:113
	***ʔik**	strangle	Matisoff 2003a:583; Coblin 1986:142
4. Nungic			
Anong	**i**	strangle	Benedict 1972:113; Coblin 1986:142
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**ac**	squeeze, compress; squeeze, throttle	Benedict 1976a; Coblin 1986:142
	ats	squeeze, clench (the throat), throttle	Benedict 1972:113
	Mod. **ac**	choke, throttle (v.)	Luce 1985:Y.94
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	縊	strangle	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3422
Chinese (GSR #)	**0849g**	strangle	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3422
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ːieg**	strangle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:849g
Chinese (Old)	**qˢik**-s {qˢ[i]k-s}	strangle	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3422
	·iet	choke, throttle (v.)	Luce 1985:Y.94
	ʔigh	strangle	Coblin 1986:142
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**ʾejH**	strangle	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3422
	ʔiei-	strangle (v.)	Coblin 1986:142
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**yì**	strangle	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3422

Chinese comparandum

縊 OC ***ːieg**, *GSR* #849g; Coblin 86: ***ʔigh**; B & S 2011: ***qˢik-s {qˢ[i]k-s}**; Mand. **yì**.

(11) PKC *hliam WOUND / INJURE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hliam**	WOUND / INJURE	VanBik 2009:1128
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**líem**-I, lìem-II	wound, injure	VanBik 2009:1128
Tiddim	**liam**^{2}	injured	VanBik 2009:1128
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hlîam**-I, hlĭam-II	wound, injure	VanBik 2009:1128
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlíam**	wound, to injure (v.)	VanBik 2009:1128

6.5.0 Fighting

(1) PKC *tshaal CONFRONT / QUESTION (v.) / REPROACH

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tshaal**	CONFRONT / QUESTION (v.) / REPROACH	VanBik 2009:583
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**sal**	reprimand, twit	VanBik 2009:583
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**săal**-INV	confront, to question (v.)	VanBik 2009:583
Lai (Hakha)	**tshăal**-I, tshal?-II	confront, to question (v.)	VanBik 2009:583
Lushai [Mizo]	**chháal**-I, chhàlh-II	question, to ask for explanation of conduct, to cross-examine (v.)	VanBik 2009:583

(2) PTB *g-raːl ≷ *g-ran ≷ *ray ENEMY / FIGHT / QUARREL / STRIFE / SWORD / WAR

Tibetan has evidence for both the **-l** and **-n** finals.

This root is quite possibly related to PTB ***d-gra** STRANGER / ENEMY (§4.4.3); this open-syllable variant is also attested directly in Tibetan.

Written Burmese **rây** ‘brave’ is a possible doublet of **ran** ‘quarrel’.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(g-)rɑl**	fight / quarrel / war	Chou Fa-kao 1972:147r
	***g-raːl ≷ g-ran ≷ ray**	enemy / fight / quarrel / strife / sword / war	Matisoff 2003a:609
	***g-raːl ≷ ran ≷ ray**	war / strife	Matisoff 1985a:149
1.1.1. Tani: ***rol** ENEMY			
**Tani*	***rol**	enemy	Sun 1993a:127
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	mi-**rol**	enemy	Sun 1993a
Milang	ma-**rol**	enemy	Tayeng 1976
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***raal** ENEMY / BATTLE / WAR			
**Chin*	***raal**	ENEMY / BATTLE / WAR	VanBik 2009:937
	***raal**-phraa	BRAVE / FEARLESS	VanBik 2009:923
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**gáal**	enemy, battle, rival, war	VanBik 2009:937

Tiddim	**ga:l**[2] te[1]	enemy	VanBik 2009:937
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**ga**	enemy	VanBik 2009:937
Khumi	**tváay**	war, fight	VanBik 2009:937
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**râal**	enemy, battle	VanBik 2009:937
Lai (Falam)	**răal**	enemy, battle	VanBik 2009:937
Lai (Hakha)	**râal**-thrăa-I, -thrat-II	brave, fearless (be v.)	VanBik 2009:923
Lai (Falam)	**răal**-thràa-I, -thràt-II	brave (be v.)	VanBik 2009:923
Lushai [Mizo]	**ra:l**	war against, warrior	Benedict 1972:71n220
	ráal	enemy, the foe (in warfare) (n.)	VanBik 2009:937
	ra:l	war against, warrior	Matisoff 1985a:149
	ra:l	at war (be v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:324
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	chā-**rìa**	at war (be v.)	VanBik 2009:937
	rìa-pha	brave, fearless (be v.)	VanBik 2009:923
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**ral**	enemy	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	a **rür**	war	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **ri**	war	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	o[1]-**rəʔ**[3]	enemy (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	o **rrü**	fight (v.)	Marrison 1967
	o **rrü**	war; enemy	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**ro** rü	enemy	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	thü **ri** ri	enemy	Marrison 1967
	th **ri** tsü	war	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	te-**hrə**	war	Benedict 1972:71n220
Angami (Khonoma)	the **rhü**	war	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	te **rhü**	war	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**rih**	war	Marrison 1967
Zeme	he **rei**	war	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	he **reu**	war	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***raal** ENEMY / WAR			
**Tangkhulic*	***raal**	enemy / war	Mortensen 2012:503
Tangkhul	**rai**	war; battle; feud	Matisoff 1985a:149
	rai kapiŋa	warrior	Matisoff 1985a:149
	rai khaŋarar	warfare; make war	Matisoff 1985a:149
	rai-mi	soldier; military	Matisoff 1985a:149
	rai khai	sword	Marrison 1967
	rai khangarar	war	Marrison 1967
	ray	war	Bhat 1969:100
Tusom	**rɯe**	war	Mortensen 2012:Implements.046
Ukhrul	**raj**	war	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**lal**	war; enemy	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***ral**	war	French 1983:575
	***rəl**	enemy	French 1983:483
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	**ran**	war	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Wancho	**ran**	war	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥgran**-pa	fight, contend with; fight	Benedict 1972:113n318; Benedict 1972:15n53
	ral-gri	sword	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:149; Benedict 1972:15n53; Benedict 1972:71n220
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**ran**	quarrel; quarrel, enmity	Matisoff 1985a:149; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:113n318,15n54(b); Benedict 1972:71n220
	ran twe	quarrel (v.)	Marrison 1967
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ʈi̱ɑn/tśi̱ə̈n**	battle / fight (v.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:147r
Chinese (Old)	**ʈi̱an**	battle; fight (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:149

Chinese comparandum

Cf. comparanda for PTB ***dar** ⪤ ***d(u/i)r** TREMBLE / SHIVER (fear, cold) (§6.7.3) and for PTB ***d-gra** STRANGER / ENEMY (§4.4.3).

(3) PTk *nur FIGHT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***nur**	fight	Mortensen 2012:641
Huishu	kə-nə-**nu**	fight; play (with the hands)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.189
Kachai	kʰə-ŋə-**nur**	fight with	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.049

(4) PKC *sual FIGHT / STRUGGLE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***sual**	FIGHT / STRUGGLE	VanBik 2009:650
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**sual**	struggle	VanBik 2009:650
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**sûal**-I, sŭal-II	fight, struggle	VanBik 2009:650
Lai (Falam)	**sŭal**-INV	fight, struggle	VanBik 2009:650
Lushai [Mizo]	**súal**	fight or fight with, to tackle (anything) (v.)	VanBik 2009:650

(5) PKC *ɗaw OPPOSE / FIGHT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗaw**	OPPOSE / FIGHT	VanBik 2009:97
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**do**	fight (v.)	VanBik 2009:97
Tiddim	**dou**[2]	fight back in defence	VanBik 2009:97
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dâw**-I, dăw-II	oppose, to fight (v.)	VanBik 2009:97
Lai (Falam)	**dăw**-I, dàw-II	oppose, to fight (v.)	VanBik 2009:97
Lushai [Mizo]	**dáw**	fight against, to be at war with (v.)	VanBik 2009:97
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**dyù**	at enmity with (be v.)	VanBik 2009:97

Chinese comparandum

鬬/鬥 OC ***tŭg**, *GSR* #1234a-b 'fight, struggle'; Schuessler 2007:216 ***tôh**; B & S 2011: (***tˁo-s**); Mand. **dòu**.

Comment: 鬬/鬥 **dòu** is also a comparandum for PTB ***tuk ⪤ *(t/d)wa(k/ŋ)** MEET (§6.13), q.v.

(6) PKC *tshim PILLAGE / ATTACK / EXTINGUISH

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tshim**	PILLAGE / ATTACK / EXTINGUISH	VanBik 2009:595
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**sim**	foray	VanBik 2009:595
Sizang	**ki** sim hī	attack	VanBik 2009:595
Tiddim	**sim**[1]	attack, invade	VanBik 2009:595
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**pthueng**	extinguish, put out, kill	VanBik 2009:595
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tshîm**-I, tshĭm-II	pillage, attack, extinguish, invade	VanBik 2009:595

(7) PKC *ɓuan WRESTLE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɓuan**	WRESTLE	VanBik 2009:58
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**ki**-buan	wrestle	VanBik 2009:58
Sizang	**ki** buen hi	wrestle	VanBik 2009:58
Thado	**bûon**-I, bùot-II	wrestle	VanBik 2009:58
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**búan**-I, bùan-II	wrestle	VanBik 2009:58
Lushai [Mizo]	**bùan**	wrestle with (v.)	VanBik 2009:58

6.5.1 Opposition

(1) PCC *laaŋ-I, *laan-II WIN / BEAT / SUPERSEDE

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***laaŋ**-I, laan-II	WIN / BEAT / SUPERSEDE	VanBik 2009:1069
Lai (Hakha)	**lâaŋ**-I, lăan-II	win (in competition), beat, replace (by winning)	VanBik 2009:1069
Lushai [Mizo]	**làang**-I, lâan-II	beat, supersede, to supplant, to oust and take the place of (v.)	VanBik 2009:1069

(2) PLB *ʔoŋ[1] WIN / CONQUER / BE COMPLETE

This root seems to be confined to Burmish. The Jingpho and Sak forms may well be borrowings from Burmese. (This etymology is due to Liberty Lidz.)

1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**ʔōŋ**	conquer / overcome	Matisoff 1974:127
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**óŋ**	win	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:139-2
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**ɔŋ**[55]	win (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.28
	ɔŋ[55]	win; triumph	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:681.41; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:797.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**uŋ**[55]	win (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.29
Bola (Luxi)	**auŋ**[55]	win (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.32
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ɑũ**[22]	win / triumph	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:797.40
Burmese (Written)	**ɔŋ**[2]	win / triumph	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:797.39
	ʔoŋ	conquer / overcome	Matisoff 1974:127
Langsu (Luxi)	**auŋ**[31]	win (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ɔːŋ**[33]	win (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.33
Marma	**ɔŋ**	win	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:139-2
Maru [Langsu]	**auŋ**[31]	win	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:681.43
	a̱uŋ[31]	win / triumph	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:797.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**oŋ**[55]	win / triumph	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:797.42
	uŋ[51]	win (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1760.30
	uŋ[51]	win	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:681.42

(3) PKC *tay WIN / OVERCOME

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tay**	WIN / OVERCOME	VanBik 2009:245
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tây**-I, tăy-II	win, overcome	VanBik 2009:245
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**tèi**	win, to overcome (v.)	VanBik 2009:245

6.6.0 Verbs requiring liquids

(1) PTB * m/g -(t s/d z)(y) a/i k DRIP / DROP (n.)

This root is very well attested in TB, with plausible Chinese comparanda.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	*tik ⪤ **dzik** ⪤ Ndzak ⪤ **ʔtsak**	drop / drip	Matisoff 1983:54
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-tsak ⪤ t(s)ik**	drip / drop (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:588
	***tsik**	drip / drop (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:589
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	tho **thak**	drop, classifier for drops (n.)	van Breugel 2008

4. Nungic				
Anong	ɑ^{31}**ʈho**^{55}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.44	
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31}**tɔ̆ʔ**^{55}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.46	
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	a^{31} **tɔʔ**^{55}	drip	LaPolla 1987:37	
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**thɔʔ**^{55}	drip	LaPolla 1987:37	
	thɔ̆ʔ^{55}	drip	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982	
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***Ntsak**^{H} ≍ ****tik**^{H} ≍ ****dzik**^{H} DROP (n.) / DRIP				
**Lolo-Burmese*	***dzik**^{L}	drop (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:589; Matisoff 1978a:39	
	***m-tsak**^{H}	drip / drop (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:588	
	***Ntsak**	drop (n.); drip	Matisoff 1972b:82; LaPolla 1987:37	a
	***Ntsak ≍ dzik**	drop / drip	Matisoff 1983:54	
	***ntsak**^{H}	drop / drip (n.)	Matisoff 1978a:5	
	***{*tik ≍ *dzik} ≍ *ndzak**	drip	LaPolla 1987:37	b
6.1.1. Burmish				
Achang (Longchuan)	**tśɔ́k**^{55}	drip	LaPolla 1987:37	
	tɕɔk^{55}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.28	
	tɕɔk^{55}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.41	
	tɕɔk^{55}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.41	
Achang (Xiandao)	**cak**^{55}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.29	
Burmese (Written)	**tsak**	drip	LaPolla 1987:37	
6.1.2. Loloish				
**Loloish*	***m-tsak**^{H}	drop	Hansson 1989:450	
PNL	**Ntsak**	drip	Chen Kang 1986a:152.	
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish				
Akha	myaˆ biˇ (**dzui‸**)	tears (s.)	Matisoff 1987	
9.0.1. Old Chinese				
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tiek**	drop / drip (n,v.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:877	
	tśiäk	drip	LaPolla 1987:37	
	îåk	drip	LaPolla 1987:37	
	îiĕk	drip	LaPolla 1987:37	
Chinese (Old)	**tiek**	drop / drip	Matisoff 1983:54	

[a] [Source Note] [*TSR* 82] (LaPolla 1987).
[b] [Source Note] [Mpi 5].

(1a) PTB *g-t(y)ik DRIP / DROP (n.)

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***tik**	drip / drop	Coblin 1986:67
	***tik** ≍ dzik ≍ Ndzak ≍ ʔtsak	drop / drip	Matisoff 1983:54
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-t(y)ik**	drip / drop (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:589; Matisoff 2003a:615
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**tek** say	drop suddenly (v.)	Bhat 1968
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	ka^{31} **theʔ**^{31}	drip	LaPolla 1987:37
	kă^{31}**theʔ**^{31}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.47
	kă^{31}**theʔ**^{31}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.47
	kă^{1}**theʔ**^{31}	drip	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	kă^{1}**theʔ**^{31}	drop (n.)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	n^{31}**theʔ**^{31}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.19
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**t'ik**^{55}pa^{55}	drop (n.)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**thik**^{55}	drip	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**cik**^{55}jˇ^{13}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.6
	thik^{53}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.6
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hthək**	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.4
	thək kwa hdʑap	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**thək**	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.5
	thək	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.5
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tiʔ**^{53}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**thik**^{53}pa^{53}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.2
	thik^{53}pa^{53}-cap^{13}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.2
	thik^{54} pa^{54}	drop (n.)	LaPolla 1987:37
	thik^{54} pa^{54} cəp^{12}	drip	LaPolla 1987:37
	thik^{55}pə^{55}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.02
Tibetan (Written)	**gtig(s)**-pa	fall in drops, drop, drip (v.)	Jäschke 1881:207
	ḥdzag-pa	drop, drip, trickle (v.)	Jäschke 1881:463
	thigs pa	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.1
	thigs pa (gtɕig)	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.01
	thigs ~ Hdzags	drip	LaPolla 1987:37
	thigs-pa	drop (n.)	Matisoff 1983:54
	thigs-pɑ	drop (n.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:877
	ɦthig	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**thəχ**	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Sahu)	**t^{h}ek** cer 'yu-pa	drip (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:16.20
Thakali (Tukche)	**t^{h}ik** pɔ cah-lɔ	drip	Hari 1971:5.B.20
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**tɯʔ**^{2}	drop (n.)	Matisoff 1978a:39
	tɯʔ^{2}	drip	LaPolla 1987:37
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gi̯ək**	drip (v.)	Karlgren 1957:954i

Chinese comparandum

滴 OC **(*ti̯ək)**; *GSR* (not in #877) 'drip, drop'; Coblin 86:67 ***tik**; Schuessler 2007:209 ***têk**; Mand. **dī**.
瀷 OC ***gi̯ək**, *GSR* #954i 'drip'; Mand. **yì**.

(1b) PTB *m-dz(y)ak DRIP / DROP (n.)

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	*tik ≍ dzik ≍ **Ndzak** ≍ ʔtsak	drop / drip	Matisoff 1983:54
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-dz(y)ak**	drip / drop (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:588
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	thigs ~ **Hdzags**	drip	LaPolla 1987:37
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Sahu)	**syak**-pa	splash (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:16.21
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**ntho**^{55}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.18
	nthuɑ^{55}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.18
Guiqiong	**ndʐue**^{35}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.17
	tø^{33}**tsy**^{55}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.17
Lyuzu	(te^{55}) **nthua**^{53}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.18
Muya	(tɐ^{33}) **ndu**^{53}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.15
	nɐ^{55}**ndu**^{53}	leak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1506.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ndu**^{53}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.15
	tɔ^{55}**ndu**^{35}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.15
Namuyi	**ndʐɛ**^{53}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.19
	ti^{55}**ti**^{55}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.19
	ndʐa^{53}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	(tə^{55}) **thɐ**^{11}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**sthɑ**^{13}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	nə^{13}**sthɑ**^{13}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.11
	sthɑ^{13}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.11
Pumi (Taoba)	nə^{35}**thɐ**^{35}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.10
	tə^{35}**thɐ**^{35}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**zɨ́**	drop (of oil); drip	Evans 1999:1300; Evans 1999:1811
Qiang (Mawo)	**styə** lu	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.8
	tʂhə	drip	LaPolla 1987:37
	tʂhə	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**dzie**^{241}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.9
	dzie^{33}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	(tɯ^{55}) **ndzie**^{55}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tə^{35}**dzei**^{55}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.16
	tə^{35}**dzei**^{55}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.16
Xumi	**tɕhye**^{55}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.20
	tɕhye^{55}ji^{55}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**ntɯu**	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.14
	ntɯu ntɯu	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**nthɐk**	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.11
rGyalrong	**nthɐk**	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.12
	tə **nthɐk**	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.12
rGBenzhen	**-nt^{h}ak**	clf (drop)	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Nung	(thi^{31})**dzɛʔ**^{55}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.21
Anong	thi^{31}**dzɛʔ**^{55}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.44
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**sɛʔ**^{44}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.40
Burmese (Written)	(**cak**)	drop (n.)	Matisoff 1978a:39
	ə-**cak**	drop (n.)	Benedict 1976a; Matisoff 1983:54
	ʔə **cak**	drop	Hansson 1989:450
Leqi (Luxi)	**tsɔʔ**^{31}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.33
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**dʑi̠**^{33}	drip	Chen Kang 1986a:152.
Lipho	**dʑe̠**^{33}	drip	Chen Kang 1986a:152.
Luquan	**nts'a 22s**	drop / drip (n.)	Matisoff 1972b:82
Nasu	**ndzha̠**^{2}	drip	Chen Kang 1986a:152.
Neisu	**ndza**^{33}	drip	Chen Kang 1986a:152.
Nusu (Central)	**dza̠**^{53}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.34
Nusu (Northern)	**dza̠**^{55}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**dzɔ̠**^{53}	drip	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	dzɔ̠^{53}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**dzɑ̠**^{31}	drip	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**dzɑ**^{53}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.45
	dzɑ^{53}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.45
Yi (Dafang)	**dzɯ**^{21}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**dʑi**^{33}	drip	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**dze̠**^{33}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**the̠**^{33}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dze̠**^{33}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.24
Yi (Wuding)	**ntshɑ̠**^{2}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.38
Yi (Xide)	**tshi**^{33}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.21
	tshi^{33}ndo^{21}	drop / fall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:764.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**dzɛ̠**^{33}	drip	Chen Kang 1986a:152.
Jinuo (Youle)	**tshe**^{33}	drip	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	tshe^{33}	drop (n.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tsjɛ**^{42}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.44
	tsɛ^{31}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.34
Lahu	**jâʔ**	drip	LaPolla 1987:37
Lahu (Lancang)	**dʑɑ**^{54}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.43
Lahu (Black)	(**jâʔ**)	drop (n.)	Matisoff 1978a:39
	dzᴀ^{54}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.33
	jâʔ	drop	Matisoff 1978a:5
	jâʔ	drip (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:82
	tsᴀ^{54}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.33
	ɔ̀-**jâʔ**	drop (n.)	Matisoff 1972b:82
Lahu (Yellow)	**dʑa**^{6}	drip	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**dzi**^{44}	drop; rainy season (N.)	Bradley 1994
	dzæ^{33}	drop (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**dzɛ**^{44}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tshe**^{33}	drop; fall; descend (V.)	Bradley 1994
	tshe^{33}je^{33}	drop; fall	Bradley 1994
	tshe^{33}la^{33}	fall	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tshe**^{44}	drop / fall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:764.27
Sani [Nyi]	**dze**^{44}	drip	Chen Kang 1986a:152.
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**dza** HS	drip / drop (n.,v.)	Matisoff 1972b:82
	dzaq	drop	Hansson 1989:450
Akha (Thai)	**dzaq**	drop (n.)	Hansson 1989:450
Akha (Yunnan)	**dzaq**/djaq	drop (n.)	Hansson 1989:450
Akha	**dza**≍dzui	drop / drip (n.)	Matisoff 1978a:5
Hani (Hu T'an)	**dza 33c**	drop / drip (n.)	Matisoff 1972b:82
Hani (Lüchun)	**dzaq**	drop (n.)	Hansson 1989:450
Hani (Dazhai)	**dza̠**^{22}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.31
	dza̠^{33}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dza̠**^{33}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.41
Hani (Pijo)	**tsaq**	drop	Hansson 1989:450
	tsaq	drop (n.)	Hansson 1989:450
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsa̠**^{33}	drip	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:770.30
	tsa̠^{33}	drop (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:956.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dza̠**^{33}	drip	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986

	dza̱^{33}	drop (n.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**tsa**^{33}	drip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:770.32
	tsa^{33}	drop (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:956.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**zzav**	drop (n.)	Hansson 1989:450
Hani (Mojiang)	**tsa**^{33}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.42

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	tʰi˧**ʈʰɤ**˩ʈʰɤ˩	drip, to dribble (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʈʰɤ˧	drop (of liquid) (n.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndə**^{33}	drip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:770.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**thə**^{33}	drop (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:956.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**thə**^{35}	drop (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:956.28
Naxi	**thə**^{55}	drop (of oil) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.45

Chinese comparandum

Coblin 152-3

(2) PTk *t^{h}eŋ DRY

It remains to be seen whether this Tangkhulic root is to be identified with PTB ***tan** DRY (§6.6) q.v.

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	*t^{h}eŋ	dry	Mortensen 2012:483
Huishu	kə-**t**^{h}**e**	dry	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.197
Kachai	kə-**t**^{h}**eŋ**	dry (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.171
Tangkhul	**theŋ**	dry	Bhat 1969:88
Tusom	kə-**tχɯə̃**	dry	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.215
Ukhrul	kə-**t**^{h}**eŋ**	dry (v.i.)	Mortensen 2012

(3) PKar *hlow^{B} BATHE

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***hlow**^{B}	bathe	Luangthongkum 2013:14 [a]
Kayah	**lo**^{11}	bathe	Luangthongkum 2013:14
Kayaw	**lu**^{11}	bathe	Luangthongkum 2013:14
Pa-O	**lû** thì	bathe	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**lu**^{33}	bathe	Luangthongkum 2013:14
Pa-O (Northern)	**lu**^{55}	bathe	Luangthongkum 2013:14
Pa-O	ʔə́n **lû** _thì	bathe sbdy	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**lou**^{33}	bathe	Luangthongkum 2013:14
Pwo (Southern)	(ʔɔ̃^{55})**lou**^{55}	bathe	Luangthongkum 2013:14
Sgaw (Northern)	**lɨ**^{11}¨~**lu**^{11}¨	bathe	Luangthongkum 2013:14
Sgaw (Southern)	**lɨ**^{45}’	bathe	Luangthongkum 2013:14

[a] [Source Note] N.Sgaw has the B3 tone while S. Sgaw has the B1 tone as in Pwo and Pa-O.

(4) PCN *m-lu BOIL (v.)

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	*m-**lu**	BOIL (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.087
**Ao*	*m-**lu**	BOIL (vt.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.353
Ao (Chungli)	mu^{3}**lu**^{3}	boil (water) (vt.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.353
	mɯ́ **lú**	boil (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:9
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mə **lu**	boil [boiled] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	tsə-mə **lu**	water, boiled (’water’ ’boil’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	mü **lo** cho	boil (v.)	Kumar 1973a

(5) PTk *nim DAMP / GENTLE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***nim**	damp / gentle	Mortensen 2012:447
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**nim**	damp / gentle	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.170
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**nim**	damp; gentle, mild mannered, humble; wet and soft (be v.)	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012

(6) PKC *ɗaam DAMP / MOIST

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ɗaam**	DAMP / MOIST	VanBik 2009:72

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	**da:m**^{3} > dap^{3}	moist due to lack of sunshine	VanBik 2009:72
	da:m^{3} > dap^{3}	moist due to lack of sunshine (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:214
	da:m^{3}/dap^{3}	moist due to lack of sun...	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**dam**	wet with dew (be v.)	VanBik 2009:72

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**dâam**-I, dǎam -II	damp, moist	VanBik 2009:72
Lushai [Mizo]	**dàam**-I, dam-II	sheltered from the sun’s rays, and so kept continually damp (be v.)	VanBik 2009:72

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**dá**	wet, moist	VanBik 2009:72

(7) PKC *hnom DAMP / MOIST

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***hnom**	DAMP / MOIST	VanBik 2009:888

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**nóm**-I, nòm-II	damp, moist	VanBik 2009:888
Tiddim	**nom**^{2}	moist	VanBik 2009:888
	nom^{2}	moist (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1234
	nom^{2}	moist	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**hnáwm**	damp, moisten	VanBik 2009:888

(8) PKC *puur DIP

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***puur**	DIP	VanBik 2009:141

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**po**˝	dip (v.)	VanBik 2009:141

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**pǔur**-I, purʔ-II	dip	VanBik 2009:141
Lai (Falam)	**pùur**-I, púrʔ-II	dip	VanBik 2009:141

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-pāo	dip	VanBik 2009:141

(9) PNC *pap DIP

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

**Northern Chin*	***pap**	DIP	VanBik 2009:142
Sizang	**pap** hī	dip	VanBik 2009:142
Tiddim	**pap**^{3} > paʔ^{3}	dip	VanBik 2009:142
	pap^{3} > paʔ^{3}	dip or soak in water (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1345
	pap^{3}/paʔ^{3}	dip or soak in water	Bhaskararao 1994

(10) PKar *ʔdVN^{B} DIP UP

7. KARENIC

**Karen [Burling]*	***dəm**^{2}	dip up	Luangthongkum 2013:84
**Karen*	***ʔd( )N**^{B}	dip up	Luangthongkum 2013:84
Bwe	**ɗɔ**^{55}	dip up	Luangthongkum 2013:84
Kayan	**du**^{11}	dip up	Luangthongkum 2013:84
Kayaw	**du**^{11}	dip up	Luangthongkum 2013:84
Pwo (Northern)	**dãə**^{33}	dip up	Luangthongkum 2013:84
Pwo (Southern)	**dãə**^{55}	dip up	Luangthongkum 2013:84
Sgaw (Northern)	**də**^{31}~	dip up	Luangthongkum 2013:84
Sgaw (Southern)	**dɨ**^{45}’	dip up	Luangthongkum 2013:84

(11) PTB *ka: $\substack{\mathbf{p}\\\mathbf{m}}$ DRAW (water) / SCOOP (water) / CONCAVE

See the discussion of the alternation between final stop and nasal in this root in *VSTB* pp. 17, 109.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***kjəp**	draw (water)	Coblin 1986:66
	***kə:p**	draw (water)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:681h

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ka:p**	draw (water)	Benedict 1972:336
	***ka:p ≍ kam**	draw water / scoop water / concave	Matisoff 2003a:595
	***kɑ:p**	draw (water)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:681h

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**káw**	draw water from a pool (v.)	Bhat 1968
	kaw káw	draw out water (v.)	Bhat 1968
	kaw káŋ	draw water (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	di **khau**	draw water	Benedict 1972:336
	khau	fill, gather, pluck	Benedict 1972:336

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**ko**	draw water	Benedict 1972:336
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ko•**-a	draw water (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.277-II:idx

4. NUNGIC

Rawang	(thi^{31}) **khap** ɕi^{31} ɛ^{33}	fetch/draw (water)	LaPolla 2003:1236
Dulong	**kɑp**^{55}	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.20

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***{C}-kap~kam** DRAW WATER

**Lolo-Burmese*	***{C}-kap~kam**	draw water	Matisoff 1972b:39

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**xam**^{55}	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.28
Achang (Luxi)	**khu**^{55}	scoop	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**khu**^{35}	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.32
Burmese (Written)	**khap**	draw water; dip up, draw, as water; dig up, take out of, draw, as water	Matisoff 1974:356; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:336
	re^{2}**khɑp**^{4}	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.26
Hpun (Northern)	**khù**-ŋ	scoop out	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	**khu:**^{55}	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khu**^{21}	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.30

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**khɯ**^{53}	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.47
Nusu (Central)	**ka**^{31}	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.34
Nusu (Southern)	**khu**^{55}	scoop	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**khu**^{55}	scoop	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**khu**^{55}	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khu**^{55}	ladle; dredge; scoop	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:644.45; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:768.45
Nusu (Central)	ʐu^{33}**khu**^{55}	ladle (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0551.34
Yi (Dafang)	**khɯ**^{55}	scoop	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:644.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**khi**^{55}	ladle out; pull out; scoop up	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**khɯ̱**^{21}	scoop	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:644.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**khə**^{21}	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.37
	khɯ̱^{55}	scoop	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:644.24
	ʐi^{33}**khɑ**^{33}	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**kho**^{21}	scoop	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:644.23
Yi (Weishan)	**kho̱**^{21}	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.36
Yi (Wuding)	**khɤ**^{55}	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.38
Yi (Xide)	**khi**^{55}	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.35
	khi^{55}	scoop	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:644.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Youle)	**khu**^{44}	scoop	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**khu**^{44}	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.44
	khu^{44}	scoop	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:644.34
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**khɑ**^{33}	scoop, ladle (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	**qho**	draw water	Benedict 1972:73n226
Lahu (Black)	**qho**	draw water (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:295

	qhòʔ	be concave, cupped (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:293
Lisu	**hkaw6**	draw water	Matisoff 1972b:39
Lisu (Central)	**hkaw^{6}**	draw (as water)	Fraser 1922
	kaw^{3}	scoop (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**khǫ^{31}**	fetch / draw (water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1238.40
	kho^{41}	scoop	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:644.27
Lisu (Northern)	**khɔʔ^{21}**	scoop; catch with net; fetch; get (V.)	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21}pø^{55}	fishing net	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**qhɯ^{2}**	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**k'aw̱**	draw water	Matisoff 1974:356
	k'aw̱ LS	draw water	Matisoff 1972b:39
Hani (Lüchun)	**khù**	scoop up	Hansson 1989:329
Hani (Dazhai)	**khu^{31}**	scoop	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:644.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**khu^{31}**	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**khɣ^{31}**	scoop	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:644.30
Hani (Pijo)	**khỳ**	scoop up	Hansson 1989:329
Hani (Gelanghe)	**khu^{31}**	scoop	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**khɣ^{31}**	scoop	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:644.32
Hani (Khatu)	**khù**	scoop up	Hansson 1989:329
Hani (Mojiang)	**khɣ^{31}**	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.42
Mpi	**khu^{1}**	dip up / scoop (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Sila	**khu21**	ladle (v.)	KATO Takashi 2008:54

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	**gə^{33}**	draw water (well)	Pelkey 2011:885

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**qwɑ˥**	scoop (water) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3427
Na (Yongning)	**qwæ˥**	scoop (water) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**kua^{13}**	scoop	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:644.29

7. KARENIC

Karen	**khu^{31}**	dig / scoop out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.50

Chinese comparandum

汲 OC ***kɨ̱əp***, *GSR* #681h 'draw water'; Coblin 86:66 ST ***kjəp*** > OC ***kjəp***; Schuessler 2007:292 ***kəp***; B & S 2011: (***k-rəp***); Mand. **jī**.

(12) PTani *dɯ DRIP

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***dɯ**	drip	Sun 1993a:112

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	to:-**di**	drip	Sun 1993a
	ɯ-si **di**	drop of water	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **dɯ**	drop (of oil) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0885.24
	a-**dɯ**	classifier (drop)	Sun 1993b
	doŋ-**dɯ:**	drop of water	Sun 1993b
	dɯ	drip	Sun 1993a
	dɯ	drip (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**dɯ**	drip	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:770.51
	dɯ	drop (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:956.51
Galo	**'di̱** nam	drip (vi.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**dɯ**	drip	Sun 1993a

(13) PTB *tan DRY

This root is reconstructed in *STC* p. 190 (in the mammoth footnote 488). No additional support has so far been found. There is also a Chinese comparandum (*STC* loc. cit.).

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	**tɑ:n**	dry up (as a river) / foreshore	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:152m

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	**tan**	dry	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:614
	tɑn	dry up (as a river) / foreshore	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:152m

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	**ɕ̱-t^{h}an**	dry	French 1983:479

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**than**-pa	dry weather	Benedict 1972:190n488
	thɑn-pɑ	dry weather / heat / drought	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:152m

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**thán-thán**	dry (nearly)	Benedict 1972:190n488
	than'-than'	nearly dry	Benedict 1976a
	thán-thán	nearly dry	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:152m

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**t'ân**	dry up (as a river) / foreshore	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:152m

Chinese comparandum

灘 OC ***t'nân***, *GSR* #152m 'foreshore'; Chou 72: ***t'ân*** 'dry up (as a river), foreshore'; B & S 2011: ***n̥^{ʕ}ar*** **(*n̥^{ʕ}- › th-)** 'foreshore'; Mand. **tān** 'beach, shoal'.

(14) PTB *hyar DRY

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	**he:r-s**	dry	Matisoff 2003a:593

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**he:r**- (he)	dry (esp. in sun) (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	he:s-	dry (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Kulung	**har**-a	dry (vs.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
	har pa	dried <dry>	Rai *et al.* 1975

(15) PTB *g-ran DRY

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	**raʔn**	dry	Burling 1959:440

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**garán**	dry	Bhat 1968
	garan	dry / lean	Bhat 1968
	pa **ran**	dry (vt.)	Bhat 1968
	rán	dry, be (v.)	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	p^{h}ə-**ran**	dry sthg up	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	ran	dry (be v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	ha•-**ran**	dry season (n.)	Burling 2003:2.84-II:idx
	ram-a	dry (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.272-II:idx
	ran•-a	dry; thirsty (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.272-II:idx

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**ran•**-	dry (adj1.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	**ra:n**	dry	French 1983:479

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Wancho	**ran**	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967

(16) PTB *s-la $^{m}_{p}$ DRY (by fire / sun)

1.1.1. TANI: ***fam** DRY SOMETHING NEAR FIRE

**Tani*	**fam**	dry something near fire	Sun 1993a:114

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**há**	dry above fireplace	Sun 1993b
	ha	dry above fireplace	Sun 1993b
	ha-o	above	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**fam**-šin	dry something near fire; dry st. (beside fire)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ham**-pɯ	dry something near fire	Sun 1993a
	həm-pɯ	dry st. near fire	Sun 1993b
	fiam ɕin	dry by fire (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ham** pɯ	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.51
Galo	**hen**-nam	dry (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'aa **hen**	dry (using smoke); smoke-dry (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'hen nam	dry out; dry up (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**am**-pɯ	dry something near fire	Sun 1993a

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	chuok **lam**	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**lam^{33}**	dry / bask in the sun	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	lam^{33}	dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.19
	lam^{33}	dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.47

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**haŋ** mɨtnɨ	dry out, cause to dry up / dry out.	Driem 1993
	haŋ nɨ	dry out, dry up.	Driem 1993

4. NUNGIC

Nung	**ɬɑm^{55}**	dry (clothes) in the air (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.21
Anong	**ɬɑm^{55}**	dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.44
Dulong	**lɑm^{53}**	dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.20
Trung [Dulong]	**lɑm^{55}**	dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**lɑ̆m^{53}**	dry / bask in the sun	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-lap^{L}** DRY IN SUN

**Lolo-Burmese*	**ʔ-lap^{L}**	dry in sun	Matisoff 2003a:599

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**l̥ɑk^{55}**	dry / bask in the sun	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**l̥ap^{55}**	dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.28; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.28
	l̥ap^{55}	dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.41
Achang (Luxi)	**lap^{55}**	dry / bask in the sun	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**l̥ap^{55}**	dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.29
Bola (Luxi)	**lɛ̱ʔ^{55}**	dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**lɛ̱ʔ^{55}**	dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**lɑ̱:p^{55}**	dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.33
Maru [Langsu]	**lɛ̱ʔ^{55}**	dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lap^{55}**	dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.30
	lap^{55}	dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.42

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Nusu (Central)	**l̥a̱^{53}**	dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.34; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.34
Yi (Nanhua)	**lo̱^{55}**	dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.37; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.37
	lɯ^{55}	dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.24
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔly^{21}**	dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.36; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.36
	ʔy^{21}	dry (clothes) in the air (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.36
Yi (Wuding)	**xɯ^{55}**	dry (clothes) in the air (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.38

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Kucong	**fɤ55**	warm	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**hú**	dry	Benedict 1972:76n232
Lahu (Lancang)	**xu^{35}**	dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.43
Lahu (Yellow)	**xu^{4}**	dry / bask in the sun	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**fu^{33}**	dry (V.)	Bradley 1994
	fu^{33}le^{33}	go dry	Bradley 1994

Lisu	**fu̱**^{33}	dry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.40
	fu^{44}le^{33}	dry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:864.27
Lisu (Central)	**hu**^{3}	dry (adj.)	Fraser 1922

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**lɔ̀q**	dry in sun	Hansson 1989:559
Akha	**lɔ̀q**	dry in sun	Hansson 1989:559
Akha (Yunnan)	**lɔ̀q**	dry in sun	Hansson 1989:559
Hani (Lüchun)	**hlòq**	dry in sun	Hansson 1989:559
Hani (Dazhai)	**lo̱**^{31}	dry in the sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:749.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**lo̱**^{31}	dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**li̱**^{31}	dry in the sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:749.30
Hani (Pijo)	**ljèq**	dry in sun	Hansson 1989:559
Hani (Gelanghe)	**lɔ̱**^{31}	dry / bask in the sun	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**lovq**	dry in sun	Hansson 1989:559
Hani (Shuikui)	**l̥a**^{31}	dry in the sun	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:749.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**l̥a**^{31}	dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.42

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**lɔ̱**^{45}	dry (in the sun)	Pelkey 2011:830
Southern Muji	**ɬo**^{21}(-ɕɛ^{21})	dry (in the sun)	Pelkey 2011:830
Phola	**lɔ**^{31}	dry (in the sun)	Pelkey 2011:830
Hlepho Phowa	**ɬo**^{33}	dry (in the sun)	Pelkey 2011:830
Phuza	**ɬʌ**^{55}	dry (in the sun)	Pelkey 2011:830

6.2. Naxi

Na (Yongning)	**hɤ**˩	dry beside or over a fire (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009

7. Karenic: **hlo*^{A} DRY (v.)

**Karen*	***hlo**^{A}	dry (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:92
**Karen [Burling]*	***lo**^{4}	dry (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:92
Bwe	**lo**^{55}	dry (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:92
Kayan	**lau**^{53}	dry (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:92
Kayan (Pekon)	**ló**	dry something (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**lo**^{55}	dry (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:92
Pa-O (Southern)	**lo**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	dry (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:92
Pa-O (Northern)	**lo**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	dry (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:92
Pwo (Northern)	**lu**^{35}	dry (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:92
Pwo (Southern)	**lu**^{53}	dry (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:92
Sgaw (Northern)	**lɔ**^{33}	dry (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:92
Sgaw (Southern)	**lɔ**^{55}	dry (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:92

(17) PCC *khiŋ DRY (outer part)

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***khiŋ**	DRY (outer part)	VanBik 2009:440
Lai (Hakha)	**khìŋ**-I, khǐn-II	dry (as skin)	VanBik 2009:440
Lushai [Mizo]	**khîng**	dry or get dry (as the outside of meat, scales of fish exposed to air) (v.)	VanBik 2009:440

(18) PTk *kaw DRY (v.t.)

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***kaw**	dry (v.t.)	Mortensen 2012:633
Tangkhul	**káw**	dry	Bhat 1969:88
	kaw	dry	Bhat 1969:88
Tusom	kʰa-ŋ-**kɯ**	roast / dry (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.050
Ukhrul	**kaw**-kʰə-rew	very thirsty (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
	kə-ci-**kaw**	dry, to make thin (v.t.)	Mortensen 2012
	kʰə-mə-**kaw**	dry (meat, vegetable, etc.)	Mortensen 2012

(19) PKC *hul DRY / SICCATIVE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***hul**	DRY / SICCATIVE	VanBik 2009:713

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**hul**	siccative (be v.)	VanBik 2009:713
Tiddim	**hul**^{1}	well dried (of field)	VanBik 2009:713
	hul^{1}	well-cooked [of rice]; well-dried [of field] (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:507
	hul^{1}	well-cooked ...	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hûl**-I, hŭl-II	dry	VanBik 2009:713
Lai (Falam)	**húl**-INV	dry	VanBik 2009:713
Lushai [Mizo]	**hŭl**	dry, to be watertight (as house or roof) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:713
	hul	dry; be water-tight (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2486

(20) PKC *luaŋ-I, *luan-II FLOW

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***luaŋ**-I, luan-II	FLOW	VanBik 2009:1020

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**luang** hī	flow	VanBik 2009:1020
Thado	**lúong**-I, lùon-II	flow	VanBik 2009:1020
Tiddim	**luang**^{2} > luan^{3}	flow	VanBik 2009:1020
	luang^{2} > luan^{3}	flow (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1019
	luaŋ^{2}/luan^{3}	flow	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**lóng**	flow (as water) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1020
Chinbon	**lo:ŋ**	flow	So-Hartmann 1988:136
Cho (Mindat)	**lawng**	flow	VanBik 2009:1020
Daai	**lɔ:n**	flow	So-Hartmann 1988:136; VanBik 2009:1020
Khumi	**léwng**	flow (of river water), pour, drip	VanBik 2009:1020
	lɛŋ	flow	So-Hartmann 1988:136
Matu	**loŋ**	flow	So-Hartmann 1988:136
Mkaang	**lɔ^{u}ŋ**	flow	So-Hartmann 1988:136
	tu$^{\acute{}i}$**lɔŋ**.nú	river	So-Hartmann 1988:17
Ngmüün	tu^{i} **lo:ŋ**	flow	So-Hartmann 1988:136

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**lûaŋ**-I, lŭan-II	flow	VanBik 2009:1020
Lai (Falam)	**lŭaŋ**-I, lùan-II	flow	VanBik 2009:1020
Lushai [Mizo]	**luang**	flow (v.)	Marrison 1967; Bhaskararao 1996:2656
	lúaŋ-I, lùan-II	flow, to run (as water, river, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1020

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**lò**	flow as a river (v.)	VanBik 2009:1020

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	cə **luáŋ**	flow (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Nature.095

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**luang** püt	flow (v.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**lua**	flow (v.)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**lwa** pet	flow (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**long** zat	flow (v.)	Marrison 1967
	roŋ	flow	Bhat 1969:89
Ukhrul	kʰə-**roŋ**	flow (water)	Mortensen 2012

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**lang** roi	river	Marrison 1967

(21) PTani *bɯt FLOW

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***bɯt**	flow	Sun 1993a:157

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**bi**	flow	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	bí	flow	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**bi**	flow	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**bit**	flow	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	bit	flow (of water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1502.24
Galo	**bin** nam	flow (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	i si **bin**-nam	flow (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	**bi**-nam	flow (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**bɯt**	flow	Sun 1993a
Milang	a si yu-**bi**-ma	flow	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**bit**	flow	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. Deng

Yidu	**bɯ**^{55}po^{53}	flow (of water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1502.25

(22) PTB *sywar ≍ * g/b -sywa- n/t FLOW / POUR / SCATTER / SPILL / SOW / BROADCAST

Strikingly similar patterns of allofamy are shown by the Lahu and Chinese forms: Lh. **šê?** is the direct cognate of OC ***sât**, while Lh. **šē** is the direct cognate of OC ***sân**.

The most ancient coda of this etymon seems to have ended in ***-r**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g/b-sywa**	flow / pour	Matisoff 2003a:614
	***sywar**	flow / pour	Benedict 1972:241
	***sywar ≍ sywa-n/t**	flow / pour / scatter / spill / sow broadcast	Matisoff 2003a:614

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	von a **śor**	diarrhea	Matisoff 1978b:4b

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	di-**sor**	flow	Benedict 1972:241
	sai	sow / sprinkle	Benedict 1972:14n50

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**sat**	sow / sprinkle	Benedict 1972:14n50
	sol-aŋ	flow	Benedict 1972:241
	sol-gipa	current	Benedict 1972:241

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**džo ≍ tśyo**	pour out, cast	Benedict 1972:241
	śon	flow, as tears, sweat / water poured on the ground	Benedict 1972:241
	ʒu^{55}	pour or throw out (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1261.19
	ʒu^{55}paŋ^{33}	pour (liquid) into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:600.47

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ɕo**^{55}	pour or throw out (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1261.02
Tibetan (Written)	**gśo**-ba **≍ bśo**-ba	pour out	Benedict 1972:241
	gɕo	pour or throw out (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1261.01
	ḥtśhor-ba	escape; flow out, run over	Benedict 1972:241
	śor	escape; flow out, run over	Benedict 1972:241

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**tśhor**	pouring of water	Benedict 1972:241

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**ser?**-	decant liquid, pour off, separate liquid from sediment (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	syar	pour over (onom.)	Caughley 2000
	syər?-	pour off, decant liquid, separate from residue (vt.)	Caughley 2000

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***swan**$^{1/2}$ **≍ swat**^{H}	flow / pour	Matisoff 2003a:614

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**swă**	pour out, spill, shed	Benedict 1972:241
	swân	pour upon; cast out by pouring	Matisoff 1985a:040
	swan	pour out, spill	Benedict 1976a
	swân	pour upon; cast, by pouring	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1976a
	swàn	pour upon, cast by pouring liquid into a mold	Benedict 1972:241
	swan / **swàn**	pour (out, upon)	Benedict 1972:15n54(b)

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***xwan**^{2}	pour / still	Bradley 1979b:646A
	***xwat**^{H}	pour / still	Bradley 1979b:646B

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**šē**	sow broadcast (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:040
	šê?	pour; spill; disperse; sow; broadcast	Matisoff 1985a:040; Matisoff 1972b:114
Lahu (Yellow)	**sɤ**^{2}	scatter / broadcast	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Sangkong	**san**[31]	scatter, pour (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:386
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**sân**	disperse	Matisoff 1985a:040
	san(ʔ)s	disperse	Baxter 1992:845; Baxter 1992:942b
	sât	scatter, disperse; spread, distribute; let loose	Matisoff 1985a:040
	swjan	spread / diffuse / everywhere-reaching	Baxter 1992:440
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**sân:**~**sân-**	disperse	Matisoff 1985a:040

Chinese comparandum

散 OC ***sân**, *GSR* #156a-b 'disperse; scattered; undisciplined; useless'; Schuessler 2007:449-50 ***sânʔ**; B & S 2011: ***sˤanʔ {[s]ˤa[n]ʔ}**; Mand. **sǎn**.
散 OC ***sân**, *GSR* #156a-b 'come loose, fall apart, scatter'; Schuessler 2007:449-50 ***sâns**; B & S 2011: ***m-sˤanʔ-s {m-sˤa[n]ʔ-s}**; Mand. **sàn**.
宣 OC ***sḭwɑn**, *GSR* #164t-v 'spread, diffuse; proclaim, display'; Schuessler 2007:546 ***swan**; B & S 2011: ***s-qʷar** ; Mand. **xuān**.

(23) PTB *lwi(y) FLOW / STREAM / RIVER

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***lwi(y)**	flow; stream; river; stream, flow	Matisoff 2003a:600; Benedict 1972:210
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***luuy** RIVER / STREAM / BROOK			
**Chin*	***luuy**	RIVER / STREAM / BROOK	VanBik 2009:1046
**Kuki*	***lui**	stream, river	Benedict 1972:210
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**lùuy**	river	VanBik 2009:1046
Tiddim	**lu:i**[3]	stream	Bhaskararao 1996:1029
	`lu:i	stream (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**lui**	river	Marrison 1967
	lùi	river, stream, brook	VanBik 2009:1046
	lui	stream; stream, river	Bhaskararao 1996:1029; Benedict 1972:210
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**li**	flow (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**lui**[33]	flow	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lui[33]	flow (of water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1502.19
	lui[33]	flow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:756.47
	lwi	flow (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ləwi ≍ lwi	flow, as water	Benedict 1972:210
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ljụ**	float, drift, flow	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4161
6.1.1. Burmish			
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**jui**[51]	flow (of water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1502.30
	jui[51]	flow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:756.42

(24) PTB *twəy FLOW / SUPPURATE

This etymon certainly looks like it belongs with PTB ***m-t(w)əy-n ≍ *m-ti-s** WATER / FLUID / LIQUID / RIVER / SOAK / SPIT (§1.9.9).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***twiy**	flow, suppurate	Benedict 1972:167
	***twəy**	flow / suppurate	Matisoff 2003a:616
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**twi**	suppurate (as a boil)	Benedict 1972:167
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**twe**	flow moderately and incessantly; flow incessantly	Matisoff 1974:16; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:167

(25) PKC *phuul FOAM / OVERFLOW / BUBBLE / BOIL (v.)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***phuul**	FOAM / OVERFLOW / BUBBLE / BOIL (v.)	VanBik 2009:340
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**phùul**-INV	boil, bubble	VanBik 2009:340
Tiddim	**phu:l**[2]	seep up as water, complain about one's unhappiness	VanBik 2009:340
	phu:l[2]	seep up as water; complain about one's unhappiness (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1480
	phu:l[2]	seep up as water...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**phuúy**	overflow (of water)	VanBik 2009:340
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**phû(u)l**-I, phŭ(u)l-II	overflow (as boiling water), foam, bubble (v.)	VanBik 2009:340
Lai (Falam)	**phŭul**-INV	foam, bubble (v.)	VanBik 2009:340
Lushai [Mizo]	**phúul**	froth over, to bubble up (v.)	VanBik 2009:340

(26) PTB *s-ka HOT / DRY

1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**ka̲**[33]	dry; dry (of damp objects: become dry)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.19
	ka̲[33]	dry, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.19
	ka̲[33]	dry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:864.47
1.7.3.2. Asakian: ***ká** HOT			
**Asakian*	***ká**	hot	Huziwara Keisuke 2012:#114
Ganan	**ká**	hot	Huziwara Keisuke 2012:#114
	ká	hot	Huziwara Keisuke 2012:#114
Sak	**ká**	hot	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:270
	səka	dry up	Huziwara Keisuke 2008
	í ká	hot water	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:80-1
Sengmai	**ka**	hot	Huziwara Keisuke 2012:#114

(27) PTB *b-yəw-$^{n}_{t}$ LEAK / DRIP / URINE

This root is very well established. The labial prefix is attested in Kuki-Chin, and is possibly the source of the affricate in Chepang. Two allofams are reconstructed at the PKC level. The semantic association between LEAKING and URINATING is too obvious to mention.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***yu-n ≍ yu-t**	leak / drip	Matisoff 2003a:620
	***yuw**	leak / drip	Benedict 1972:430
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***yut ≍ *yun** LEAK / RUN OUT, ***yun** URINE			
**Chin*	***yun**	URINE	VanBik 2009:1245
	***yut ≍ yun**	LEAK / RUN OUT	VanBik 2009:1213
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	**jun**	urine	Haokip 1998:9.7.1
	jun tha	urinate (v.)	Haokip 1998:9.7.2
Paite	**zun**	urine	VanBik 2009:1245
Thado	**zùn**	urine	VanBik 2009:1245; Thirumalai 1972:55
	zún	urine	Thirumalai 1972:68
Tiddim	**zun**[3]	urine	VanBik 2009:1245; Bhaskararao 1996:2074
	zün[4]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	p **yun**-dü˝-i	urine	VanBik 2009:1245
Asho (Sandoway)	**pʻyuⁿn**[2]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
Cho (Mindat)	**yut**	run out, flow out through a small hole (as grains, liquids) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1213
Khumi	**pyúng** háang	urine	VanBik 2009:1245
Khumi (Ahraing)	**pə̆yŭ**[5]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
	pə̆yuɲ[5]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
Matupi	**yuⁿn**[1]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
	ʒu:n[1]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zŭn**	urine	VanBik 2009:1245
Lai (Falam)	**zùn**	urine	VanBik 2009:1245
Lai (Hakha)	**zun**	excrement, urine	Benedict 1972:430
Lai (Falam)	**zûn**-INV	leak	VanBik 2009:1213
Lai (Hakha)	**zut-I**, **zuʔ-II**	leak	VanBik 2009:1213
	zuθ	leak, drip fall	Benedict 1972:430
	zʊn[2]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
Lushai [Mizo]	**zun**	urine	Matisoff 1987
	zùn	urine	VanBik 2009:1245
	zun	urine; excrement, urine	Bhaskararao 1996:2074; Benedict 1972:430
	zun-tui	urine	Matisoff 1987
	zung	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	zung-bawm	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987
	zung-bu	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987
	zun tui	urine	Marrison 1967
	zʊn[4]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lailenpi	pə̆ **zɑuʔ**[4]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
Lakher [Mara]	á **zú**	leak (v.)	VanBik 2009:1213
	pa-**zô**	urine	Matisoff 1987
	pā-**zō**	urine	VanBik 2009:1245
	zô-chô	bladder, urinary	Matisoff 1987
	zu	drip, leak; a drop	Benedict 1972:430
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	pə̆ **yũ**[4]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
Mera	pə̆[5]**zəu**[5]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
Tha'oa	**yün**[2]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
Xongsai	**ʒün**[4]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
	ʒʊn[2]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
Zotung	**ʒwĩ**[4]	urine	Luce 1985:O.21
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	mə **ǰun**	urine	Toba & Kom 1991:9.7.1
	mə **ǰun** nə	urinate (v.)	Toba & Kom 1991:9.7.2
Moyon	**bʌjin** ~ **jim** sə́	urine	Kosha 1990:9.7.1
	njin ~ **nbʌjin**	urinate (v.)	Kosha 1990:9.7.2
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**ʒə-**	leak (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**yu**	leak	Benedict 1972:430
	yung	urine	Marrison 1967
	yuŋ	urine	Singh 1991:9.7.1
	yuŋ hanbə	urinate (v.)	Singh 1991:9.7.2
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	bár-**só**	urine	Grüssner 1979:151
	bar-**sō(ʔ)**	urine	Weidert 1987:61 [a]
	bar **so**	urine	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	ha **su**	urine	Weidert 1987:61; Matisoff 1987
Meche	ha **su**	urine	Weidert 1987:61
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**su**-bu-	urine	Matisoff 1987
	suʔ bu	urine	Weidert 1987:61
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	di **su**-	piss, to pass urine, to do number one, to urinate (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	di **su** tyi	piss (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	di **su** tyi tup	urine bladder (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	kă[31]**jun**[33]	leak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1506.19
	kă[31]**jun**[33]	leak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:769.47
	kă̱[1]**jun**[33]	leak	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	kə **yūn**	leak	Matisoff 1974:119
	kə **yun**	leak	Benedict 1972:430
	yūn	leak	Matisoff 1974:119
	yun	leak	Benedict 1972:430
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	**yu**	leak	Benedict 1972:430
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**chyuh**.sā	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	chyus	urine	Matisoff 1987
	chyus	urine (n.)	Caughley 2000
	chyuʔ	urine	Weidert 1987:61
	chyuʔ	urine (of bat) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	chyuʔ-	urinate (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:193
	chyuʔ-	urinate (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	cʰyus	urine	Caughley 1972:2.A.73
	cʰyuʔ-sa	urinate	Caughley 1972:2.B.2.8
Chepang (Eastern)	**chyus**	urine	Caughley 1990:9.7.1
	chyuʔ naʔ	urinate (v.)	Caughley 1990:9.7.2
Kham	**'jihs**	urine	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.73
	'jisʱ	urine	Weidert 1987:621
	ji:h-nya	urinate	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.8
	ji:h-si-nyā	piss (v.)	Matisoff 1987
	ji:h si-nya	urinate	Watters & Watters 1989:2.B.2.8
	'jihs	urine	Matisoff 1987

[a] Mikir **bar** 'come out, exude' (cf. **bar-pi** 'shit').

3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**sui**	urine	DAI Qingxia 1989e:9.7.1
	sui wie	urinate (v.)	DAI Qingxia 1989e:9.7.2
	sʷi	urinate	Nishida 1964:204-08h
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	ə **yü**	leak	Benedict 1972:430
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ʑɑu**^{55}	leak	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ʑau**^{55}	leak (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1506.28
	ʑau^{55}	leak	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:769.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ʑau**^{31}	leak	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**jau**^{31}	leak (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1506.29
Bola (Luxi)	**ju**^{55}	leak (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1506.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**jo**^{22}	leak (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1506.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**jo**^{22}	leak	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:769.40
Burmese (Written)	**jo**^{2}	leak (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1506.26
	jo^{2}	leak	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:769.39
	yui	leak	Matisoff 1974:119
	yui	leak; be injured (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	yui	leak	Benedict 1972:430
Hpun (Northern)	**yú?**	leak	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**juk**^{31}	leak (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1506.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**jaːu**^{31}	leak (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1506.33
Maru [Langsu]	**juk**^{31}	leak	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:769.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**jui**^{51}	leak (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1506.30
	jui^{51}	leak	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:769.42
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**so**^{31}	urine	XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:283.36; ZHAO Yansun 1990:9.7.1

(28) PKC *liam OVERFLOW / DISAPPEAR

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***liam**	OVERFLOW / DISAPPEAR	VanBik 2009:1037
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**liam**^{1}	overflow, go out of sight	VanBik 2009:1037
	liam^{1}	overflow; go out of sight (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:944
	liam^{1}	overflow; go out of sight	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**lieng**	go over (bridge, hill, etc.), cross, pass by	VanBik 2009:1037
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**líam**-I, lìam-II	overflow, go out of sight	VanBik 2009:1037
Lai (Hakha)	**lîam**-I, lĭam-II	overflow, go out of sight, disappear	VanBik 2009:1037
Lushai [Mizo]	**lĭam**	overflow, to go or be out of sight behind or beyond anything, to disappear (v.)	VanBik 2009:1037
	liam	overflow; go out of sight (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2643

(29) PTB * b p rup OVERFLOW / GUSH / SQUIRT / FLOOD

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***brup ≍ prup**	overflow; flood; overflow, gush, squirt	Matisoff 2003a:585; Benedict 1972:151
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**brip**	flood	Benedict 1972:151
	prip-at	overwhelm	Benedict 1972:151
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**phrùp**	squirt	Matisoff 1974:344
	phrup	squirt as water with the mouth	Benedict 1972:151
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥbrub**-pa	cause to overflow, gush, spout forth	Benedict 1972:151
	ḥbrubs	water that has flowed over	Benedict 1972:151
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**hmrup**	submerge	Benedict 1972:151
	mrup	submerged, overwhelmed, buried (be v.)	Benedict 1972:151

Chinese comparandum

沸 OC ***piu̯ət**, *GSR* #500q 'rushing, gushing (of a spring, the wind)'; Schuessler 2007:241 ***pət**; B & S 2011: (***put**); Mand. **fú**.

(30) PTani *lɯk POUR

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***lɯk**	pour	Sun 1993a:305
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	ti-**lɯ**	pour	Sun 1993a
	ti **(lɯ)**	pour	Sun 1993b
Bengni	pɯ-**lɯk**	pour; pour (liquid) in	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	(pɯ-)**lɯk**	pour	Sun 1993b
	lɯk	pour	Sun 1993a
	lɯk	pour or throw out (water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1261.24
Galo	'pɨ **lɨk**	pour into (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	pɯ **lɯg**-nam	pour	Simon 1976
Tagin	puk **lɯk**-nam	pour (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	to **lɯk**-nam	pour (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**lik**	pour	Sun 1993a

Chinese comparandum

浴 OC ***gi̯uk**, *GSR* #1202f 'bathe, wash; bath'; Schuessler 2007:589 ***lok**; Mand. **yù**.

(31) PTB *r-lu(w) POUR / BATHE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(m-)lu(w)**	pour out (v.)	Weidert 1987:694
	***(r-)lu(w)**	pour out (v.)	Weidert 1987:694
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami Naga	**rəlu**	bathe	Benedict 1972:110n307
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	iŋ **lú**	bathe / wash (v.)	Weidert 1987:694
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**lu**	pour (out)(1)	Weidert 1987:694
Meche	**lu**	pour (out)(1)	Weidert 1987:694
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ru**-a	pour (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.276-II:idx
	ru-brap-a	pour over (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.276-II:idx
	ru-prak-a	pour over (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.276-II:idx
	ru-srip-a	decant; pour off (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.276-II:idx
1.7.1.4. DEORI			
Deori/Deuri	**lu**-gu-ku-ri	go and pour (often: to throw)	Jacquesson 2005
	lu-gu-re-ri	make pour	Jacquesson 2005
	lu-gu-ri	pour [see lu-ri]	Jacquesson 2005
	lu-ri	pour [rare, temple lexicon] [low tone]	Jacquesson 2005
	lu gu	pour	Brown 1895:73
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**lu**-	pour (out)(1)	Weidert 1987:694
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**lju**	spread, pour	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0731
7. KARENIC			
Karen	**lu**^{55}	pour or throw out (water) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1261.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**lwê**	pour, fill (liquids) (V.)	Manson 2010
Palaychi	**lɔ**	pour	Benedict 1972:147n402
Pwo	**lu**	pour	Benedict 1972:147
Karen (Sgaw)	**lu**	pour	Benedict 1972:147

(32) PKC *lay-I, *lay?-II POUR / POUR OUT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***lay**-I, lay?-II	POUR / POUR OUT	VanBik 2009:1041
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**lei?**^{3}	pour liquid into a container (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:906
	lei?^{3}	pour liquid into a container	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**lei**	pour out liquids (v.)	VanBik 2009:1041
Khumi	**láy**	pour, throw out, empty out	VanBik 2009:1041
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**leih**	pour out (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2633
	lèih-INV	pour (as fluid), to pour out (v.)	VanBik 2009:1041

Chinese comparandum

迤 OC ***diɑ**, *GSR* #4r 'slant; deflect'; Schuessler 2007:565 ***lai**; Mand. **yí**.
迤 OC ***diɑ**, *GSR* #4i' 'turn aside (as of a river's course)'; Schuessler 2007:565 ***lai**; Mand. **yí**.
陁 OC ***d'iɑ**, *GSR* #4z 'slope'; Schuessler 2007:565 ***d-lai?**; Mand. **zhì**.

(33) PKC *roon POUR IN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***roon**	POUR IN	VanBik 2009:963
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**rŏon**-I, ron?-II	pour in	VanBik 2009:963
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**rỳ**	pour in (v.)	VanBik 2009:963

(34) PKC *ɓuŋ-I, *ɓuŋʔ-II; *ɓun-I, *ɓut-II POUR OUT / EMPTY OUT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɓuŋ**-I, ɓuŋʔ-II; ɓun-I, ɓut-II	POUR OUT / EMPTY OUT	VanBik 2009:42
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**buak** hī	pour out	VanBik 2009:42
Tiddim	**bun**^{3} > but^{3}	empty a container by turning it upside down while holding	VanBik 2009:42
	bun^{3} > but^{3}	empty a container by turning it up side down while (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:141
	bun^{3}/but^{3}	empty container	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**bung**-I, buk-II	pour down	VanBik 2009:42
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**bŭng**-I, buŋʔ-II	pour down	VanBik 2009:42
Lai (Falam)	**bùŋ**-I, bûŋ-II	pour down	VanBik 2009:42
Lushai [Mizo]	**bùn**	pour out, empty out (v.)	VanBik 2009:42
	bun	pour out; empty out (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2154
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**bô**^{2}	empty out (v.)	VanBik 2009:42

(35) PKC *yoot PRESS OUT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***yoot**	PRESS OUT	VanBik 2009:1227
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**yawt**	press out (as pus from the boil), to make go out	VanBik 2009:1227

1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zòo-I**, **zoot-II**	press out (juice)	VanBik 2009:1227

(36) PCC *tleeŋ RINSE / CLEANSE

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***tleeŋ**	RINSE / CLEANSE	VanBik 2009:1271
Lai (Hakha)	**tleŋʔ**-INV	rinse, cleanse (as dishes)	VanBik 2009:1271
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlèeng**-I, tlêen-II	clean or cleanse by pouring water over (v.)	VanBik 2009:1271

(37) PTB *s-rup SNUFF UP / SIP / SUCK

PKC ***θoop** KISS / SUCK (§1.9.4) is a possible descendant of this root.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-rup**	snuff up; sip; lap	Matisoff 2003a:611; Benedict 1972:384
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	khu **si:ri:p**	gargle	Benedict 1972:384
	surup	sip, lap, smoke	Benedict 1972:384
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**srub**	spittle	Benedict 1972:384
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**hŭp**	sip, gulp (n.)	Benedict 1972:384
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**hrup**	snuff up, sip, sup	Benedict 1972:384

(38) PTani *pom ~ *prom? SOAK

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***pom**~ **prom?**	soak	Sun 1993a:382
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**põ**-ǰeʔ	soak	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**pjam**-lɯk	soak	Sun 1993b
	pjam-pɯ:	soak	Sun 1993a
Galo	**pom** nam	soak (vt.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pom**~ **pjom**	soak	Sun 1993a
Milang	**pyom**-kaŋ	wet	Tayeng 1976
	pyom-ma	soak	Tayeng 1976

(39) PKar *pru^A SPRAY (v.)

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***pru**^{A}	spray (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:273
Bwe	**phru**	spray out of the mouth (v.)	Henderson 1997
	phru^{33}	spray (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:273
Kayan	**phru**^{53}	spray (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:273
Kayaw	**phru**^{55}	spray (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:273
Pa-O (Northern)	**phru**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	spray (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:273
Pa-O (Southern)	**pru**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	spray (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:273
Pwo (Northern)	**phju**^{55}	spray (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:273
Pwo (Southern)	**pru**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	spray (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:273
Sgaw (Southern)	**pru**^{55}	spray (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:273

(40) PCN *ɣaʔ SWIM / SLICE

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***ɣaʔ**	SWIM	Bruhn 2014a:III.018
**Ao*	*a-**ɣaʔ**	SLICE, SAW / SWIM	Bruhn 2014a:II.134
Ao (Chungli)	**-wàʔ**	swim (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
	a^{3}-**waʔ**^{1}	swim (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.134
	a **wa**	swim	Marrison 1967
	a **wa** tsüng	pool (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **wa** tsüng	lake	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a tsü-**wa**	swim	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**wa̰ʔ**	cut with sawing or slicing action (v.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-tsə **wa̰ʔ**	swim [swam] ('water' + 'slice') (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**ho**^{2}-	swim (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.018
	ho a	swim	Murry *et al.* 1978:121
	ho phi a	swim	Murry *et al.* 1978:121
	o tchhü-**hu**	swim	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	ki **ve** cho	swim (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	ve	swim	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	dzü **vü**	swim	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	dzü **vü**	swim	Marrison 1967
Mao	o dzü-**da**	swim	Marrison 1967
Rengma	dzü **vü**	swim	Marrison 1967

(41) PTB *s-nyak WET

Chepang **nyat-** shows fronting of the final consonant to **-t**, but the doublet **nik-** preserves the original position of articulation.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nyak**	wet	Matisoff 2003a:605
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**nik**-	cold and wet, clammy, chilly (object) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	nik-ʔo	cold; damp	Caughley 1972:1.94; Caughley 1972:12.B.16
	nik.tin.to ghay	cold (onom.)	Caughley 2000
	nik.ʔo	cold (wet)	Hale 1973:01.094
	nik.ʔo	damp (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.16
	nyat-	wet, damp (va.)	Caughley 2000
	nyat-sa	wet, become	Caughley 1972:7.B.1.6
	nyat-ʔo	wet	Caughley 1972:12.B.17
	nyāt.ʔo	wet (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.17
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***s-nyak**^{H} WET [a]			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*(**s-**)**nyak**	wet	Matisoff 1972b:150
	***s-nyak**^{L}/^{H}	wet	Matisoff 1978a:81
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*(**s**)-**ɲak**^{H}/^{L}	wet	Bradley 1979b:540A
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Mojiang)	**n̥a**^{33}	wet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:865.26
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Shehleh)	u¯ naw‸ **neh**ˆ	brain	Bradley 1979a:140
Lahu (Nyi)	u¯ naw‸ **neh**ˆ	brain	Bradley 1979a:140
Lahu (Lancang)	**nɛ**^{54}	wet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1029.43
	u^{35}nɔ^{21}**nɛ**^{54}	brains (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0132.43
Lahu (Black)	**nɛ̂ʔ**	wet	Matisoff 1978a:81
	nɛ̂ʔ HS	wet	Matisoff 1972b:150
	nɛ^{54}	wet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:865.33
	ū **neh**‸	brains	Luce 1985:U.43
	ú-nɔ̀ʔ-**nɛ̂ʔ**	brains	Matisoff 1972b:156(a) [a]
	ɣ̩^{35} nɔʔ^{21} **nɛʔ**^{54}	brain	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**na** 44 HS	wet	Matisoff 1972b:150
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**ɲaŋʔ**^{1}	wet; wet, sopping	Matisoff 1978a:81; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**na**^{33}	wet	Pelkey 2011:974

[a]This root was originally reconstructed ***s-nek** in *LTSR* #150, on the basis of insufficient data.

[a]The last syllable (**nɛ̂ʔ**) probably means 'wet' (cf. modern computer slang 'wet-ware').

(42) PNC *koot WET

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
**Northern Chin*	***koot**	WET	VanBik 2009:322
Sizang	**kawt** hī	wet	VanBik 2009:322
Thado	**kôot**-I, kòot-II	wet (be v.)	VanBik 2009:322
Tiddim	**ko:t**^{1}	wet	VanBik 2009:322
	ko:t^{1}	wet (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:679
	ko:t^{1}	wet	Bhaskararao 1994

(43) PTani *ǰu-ǰaŋ WET

Cf. the newly reconstructed PTk ***ju** WET (§6.6).

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***ǰu-ǰaŋ**	wet	Sun 1993a:458
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**ǰu-ǰa**	wet	Sun 1993a
	ǰù-ǰa	wet	Sun 1993b
	ǰu-ǰa	wet	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ǰi-ǰa:**	wet	Sun 1993a
	ǰit-ǰa:	wet	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**dʑu dʑaŋ**	wet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1029.24
	ǰu-ǰaŋ	wet	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**dʑu dʑaŋ**	wet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:865.51
Galo	**'juujaa**	wet (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'juujaa-rəyaa	wet; damp; mushy; soaked (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɟu:-ɟa-na	wet	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**ɟiɟa**	wet	Simon 1976
Tagin	**ɟiɟa**	wet	Das Gupta 1983
	ɟiɟa-nɤ e siŋ	wet fuel	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ǰu-ǰaŋ**	wet	Sun 1993a

(44) PTk *ju WET

Cf. PTani ***ǰu-ǰaŋ** WET (§6.6).

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***ju**	wet	Mortensen 2012:634
Tusom	kə-**zɯ**	wet	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.213
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**ju**	wet	Mortensen 2012

(45) PKar *cɔ^B WET

7. Karenic			
**Karen [Burling]*	***cɔ**^{2}	wet	Luangthongkum 2013:329
**Karen*	***cɔ**^{B}	wet	Luangthongkum 2013:329
Bwe	**cɔ**^{33}	wet	Luangthongkum 2013:329
Kayah	**co**^{11}	wet	Luangthongkum 2013:329
Kayan	**cau**^{11}	wet	Luangthongkum 2013:329
Kayaw	**co**^{11}	wet	Luangthongkum 2013:329
Pa-O	**cáu**	wet	Jones 1961:67
Pa-O (Southern)	**cau**^{33}	wet	Luangthongkum 2013:329
Pa-O (Northern)	**cau**^{55}	wet	Luangthongkum 2013:329
Pa-O	tə **cáu**	wet	Solnit 1989
Palaychi	**còq**	wet	Jones 1961:67
Pwo (Northern)	**cɔ**^{33}	wet	Luangthongkum 2013:329
Pwo (Southern)	**co**^{55}	wet	Luangthongkum 2013:329
Sgaw (Northern)	ba$^{31\sim}$ **cɔ**$^{31\sim}$	wet	Luangthongkum 2013:329
Sgaw (Southern)	**cɔ**$^{45'}$	wet	Luangthongkum 2013:329

(46) PTB *pwam WET

This root is attested in Dengic and Tamangic, but further support would be welcome. This etymon was suggested by Liberty Lidz.

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**pɯm**^{55}	wet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1029.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:865.49
Kaman [Miju]	**phom**^{55}	wet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1029.23; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:865.48
Idu	**pɯm**^{55}mɑ^{31}	wet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:865.50
Yidu	**pɯm**^{55}mɑ^{31}	wet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1029.25
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Yogli)	a **pham**	wet (adj.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**pã:q** ba	wet (sthg.) (v.t.)	Glover 1972
	pã:q ba:	wet	Glover 1972:12.B.17
Gurung	**pã̤:q** bā:	wet (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.17
Manang (Gyaru)	**bam**^{3} ba	get wet (V.)	Nagano 1984:239
Tamang (Sahu)	**pahm** pala	wet (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.17; Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.B.17
Thakali (Tukche)	**pohm**-lɔ	wet (v.i.)	Hari 1971:7.B.1.6
	pohm-lɔ	wet, become	Hari 1971:7.B.1.6

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	nə **pʰɑn**	get wet (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1174

6.7.0 Movement

(1) PKC *kluŋ-I, *klun-II ARRIVE / RETURN

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***kluŋ**-I, klun-II	ARRIVE / RETURN	VanBik 2009:1254

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**hlûŋ**-I, hlùn-II	arrive	VanBik 2009:1254
Tiddim	**tung**[1] > tun[1]	arrive	VanBik 2009:1254

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tlûŋ**-I, tlŭn-II	arrive, return (home)	VanBik 2009:1254
Lai (Falam)	**tlúŋ**-I, tlùn-II	arrive, return back, go home	VanBik 2009:1254

(2) PKC *hrial AVOID / GO (round)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***hrial**	AVOID / GO (round)	VanBik 2009:1072

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hrîal**-I, hrĭal-II	avoid, shun	VanBik 2009:1072

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-hrì	avoid, to go round (v.)	VanBik 2009:1072

(3) PKC *weel CIRCLE / GO (round)

This root bears a certain resemblance to PTB ***wal** ROUND / CIRCULAR (§9.7.2), but further research is needed to establish this relationship.

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***weel**	CIRCLE / GO (round)	VanBik 2009:1138

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**vêel**-I, vèel-II	go around (within an area), skirt	VanBik 2009:1138

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**vei** ~ veng	go round (v.)	VanBik 2009:1138

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**vêel**-I, vĕel-II	circle, go round, surround	VanBik 2009:1138
Lushai [Mizo]	**vêel**	go round, to encompass, to encircle, to surround (v.)	VanBik 2009:1138

(4) PKC *pial DEVIATE / AVOID / STRAY

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***pial**	DEVIATE / AVOID / STRAY	VanBik 2009:139

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**pial**	deviate	VanBik 2009:139
Sizang	**pîel** hī	avoid	VanBik 2009:139
Thado	**píel**-I, pìel-II	deviate	VanBik 2009:139
Tiddim	**pial**[1]	stray away from the main path	VanBik 2009:139

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**pîal**-I, pĭal-II	deviate, astray	VanBik 2009:139
Lai (Falam)	**píal**-I, pìal-II	deviate, astray	VanBik 2009:139

(5) PTB *s-lay ~ *ley PASS / EXCEED

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***lay**	pass / exceed	Benedict 1972:301
	***s-lay ~ ley**	pass / exceed	Matisoff 2003a:599
	***s-lay ~ s-ley**	pass / exceed	Matisoff 1985a:058

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***lay ~ *hlay** EXCEED / SURPLUS

**Chin*	***lay** ~ hlay	EXCEED / SURPLUS	VanBik 2009:1016

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**lei**	in excess, surplus (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1016

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**hláy**	more than ten, over ten	VanBik 2009:1016
Lai (Hakha)	**hlây**-I, hlăy-II	exceed, over, surplus	VanBik 2009:1016
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlĕi**	more than ten; over ten; more than ten, over ten	Matisoff 1985a:058; VanBik 2009:1016
	hlēi-hlēi	more still, even more, in particular	Matisoff 1985a:058

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**hlei**	more than others; beyond, more than; special	Matisoff 1985a:058
	hléi	more than others, beyond	VanBik 2009:1016

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**le**	over, excess, profit	Benedict 1972:301

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**lai**	pass	Matisoff 1985a:058
	lăi	pass	Benedict 1972:301
	lai lang	pass by (v.)	Marrison 1967:187

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**re**	pass	Matisoff 1985a:058; Benedict 1972:301
Garo (Bangladesh)	**re•**-ping-grik-a	pass (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.317-II:idx
	re•-sek-a	pass (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.317-II:idx

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**lăi** ~ śəlai	pass, exceed	Benedict 1972:301

4. Nungic

Anong	**lɛ** ~ səlɛ	pass	Benedict 1972:301

(6) PCC *heel SKIRT (v.) / GO (round)

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***heel**	SKIRT (v.) / GO (round)	VanBik 2009:738
Lai (Hakha)	**hêel**-I, hĕel-II	go round, skirt, encircle	VanBik 2009:738
Lushai [Mizo]	**hêel**	go round, to skirt, to pass by, to make a detour in order to avoid (v.)	VanBik 2009:738
	he:l	walk round about; go round (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2364

(7) PKC *pal WADE / PASS BY / TREAD ON / WALK ON

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***pal**	WADE / PASS BY / TREAD ON / WALK ON	VanBik 2009:167

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**pal**	wade	VanBik 2009:167
Tiddim	**pal**[1]	wade through short bushes or grass	VanBik 2009:167

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**pâl**-I, păl-II	wade, walk on, pass by	VanBik 2009:167
Lai (Falam)	**pál**-I, pàl-II	wade, walk on	VanBik 2009:167
Lushai [Mizo]	**păl**	brush against (with the legs), to pass by (on way through), to pay a passing visit (at a village) (v.)	VanBik 2009:167
	pêl	pass by (v.)	Marrison 1967:187
	pe:l	pass by (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2772

6.7.1 Inward

(1) PKC *nay? APPROACH

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***nay?**	APPROACH	VanBik 2009:799

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**na:i**[3] > nai?[3]	go near; approach (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1183
	na:i[3]/nai?[3]	go near, approach	Bhaskararao 1994
	ne?[3]	come near; approach (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1190
	ne? [3]	approach, come near; come near, approach	VanBik 2009:799; Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**nay?**-III	approach, come near	VanBik 2009:799
Lai (Falam)	**này?**-INV	approach, come near	VanBik 2009:799

(2) PTk *da ARRIVE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***da**	arrive	Mortensen 2012:691
Huishu	kʰə-**re**	arrive	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.084
Tusom	vaŋ-kə-**ti**	arrive	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.098

(3) PTk *ʃuŋ ARRIVE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃuŋ**	arrive	Mortensen 2012:716
Kachai	ʔa-kə-**ʃuŋ**	arrive	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.076
Ukhrul	va-kə-**ʃuŋ**	arrive	Mortensen 2012

(4) PKar *tə^{B} ARRIVE

7. Karenic

**Karen [Burling]*	***thy**[3]	arrive	Luangthongkum 2013:3
**Karen*	***tə**^{B}	arrive	Luangthongkum 2013:3 [a]
Bwe	**do**[33]	arrive	Luangthongkum 2013:3
Kayah	**to**[11]	arrive	Luangthongkum 2013:3
Kayan	**tə̰i**[11]	arrive	Luangthongkum 2013:3
Kayaw	**tə**[11]	arrive	Luangthongkum 2013:3
Pa-O (Southern)	**tə**[33]	arrive	Luangthongkum 2013:3
Pa-O (Northern)	**tə**[55]	arrive	Luangthongkum 2013:3
Pwo (Northern)	**thɔ**[33]	arrive	Luangthongkum 2013:3
Pwo (Southern)	**tho**[31‥]	arrive	Luangthongkum 2013:3
Sgaw (Northern)	**ti**[33]	arrive	Luangthongkum 2013:3
Sgaw (Southern)	**ti**[45,]	arrive	Luangthongkum 2013:3

[a] [Source Note] N.Sgaw and S.Pwo have tone A instead of tone B. The two varieties of Pwo have irregular vowels.

(5) PKC *khleŋ ARRIVE / REACH

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***khleŋ**	ARRIVE / REACH	VanBik 2009:1278

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**hteng** hī	arrive (reach)	VanBik 2009:1278

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**thlĕŋ**-I, thlèn-II	arrive, reach (as a destination)	VanBik 2009:1278
Lushai [Mizo]	**thléng**-I, thlèn-II	reach, to arrive at, to get to, to come to (v.)	VanBik 2009:1278

(6) PKC *phaa-I, *phaak-II ARRIVE / REACH / ATTAIN

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***phaa**-I, phaak-II	ARRIVE / REACH / ATTAIN	VanBik 2009:326

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**pha**	reach	VanBik 2009:326
Tiddim	**pha:**[1] > pha:k[1]	reach the level of something else	VanBik 2009:326

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**p'ó**	arrive, reach, attain (v.)	VanBik 2009:326
Cho (Mindat)	**pha**	catch up, arrive (v.)	VanBik 2009:326
Khumi	**aphaa**	reach, touch, come into contact with	VanBik 2009:326

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**phàa**-I, phaak-II	arrive, reach	VanBik 2009:326
Lushai [Mizo]	**phà**-I, phâak-II	reach, to come up to, to attain to, to extend to (v.)	VanBik 2009:326
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**phá**	catch up, arrive (v.)	VanBik 2009:326

(7) PNC *tum ENTER

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
**Northern Chin*	***tum**	ENTER	VanBik 2009:191
Sizang	**tum** hī	enter	VanBik 2009:191
Tiddim	**tum²**	enter	VanBik 2009:191
	tum²	enter (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1831
	tum²	enter	Bhaskararao 1994

(8a) PKC *luut ENTER

This is the simplex counterpart of the causative root PKC ***hlu?*** INSERT (§6.7.1).

There is a possible relationship between this PKC etymon and the tentatively reconstructed root PL ***luk*** OR lap ENTER (§6.7.1).

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***luut**	ENTER	VanBik 2009:1015
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**lút**	enter	Thirumalai 1972:48
	lûut-I, lùut-II	enter, join (army)	VanBik 2009:1015
Tiddim	**lu:t**[1]	enter	VanBik 2009:1015
	lu:t[1]	enter (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1035
	lu:t[1]	enter (intr.)...	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊlu:t/ˆlu:t	surrender; enter (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	m-**lut**	enter, to drive in (v.)	VanBik 2009:1015
Daai	**lu?**	enter	So-Hartmann 1988:131
	lu?	enter (v.)	VanBik 2009:1015
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**luut**-I, lu?-II	enter	VanBik 2009:1015
Lai (Falam)	**lût**-I, lù?-II	enter	VanBik 2009:1015
Lushai [Mizo]	**lût**	enter	Marrison 1967
	lût-I, lùh-II	enter, to go in, to sink (in) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1015
	lu:t	enter (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2653

(8b) PKC *hlu? INSERT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hlu?**	INSERT	VanBik 2009:1111
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	m-**hluh**	make enter through (v.)	VanBik 2009:1111
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hlu?**-INV	insert, make enter	VanBik 2009:1111

(9) PTk *tsaŋ ENTER

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***tsaŋ**	enter	Mortensen 2012:478
Huishu	re-kə-**tso**	enter	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.005
Kachai	kʰə-**ða**	enter	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.003
Tusom	kə-**zã**	enter (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.004
Ukhrul	kə-**tsɐŋ**	enter, to include, to take part in a party	Mortensen 2012

(10) PKar *nV?[D] ENTER

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***n( )?**[D]	enter	Luangthongkum 2013:104
**Karen [Burling]*	***ny?**[1]	enter	Luangthongkum 2013:104
Bwe	**nu**[11]	enter	Luangthongkum 2013:104
Kayah	**no**[33]	enter	Luangthongkum 2013:104
Kayaw	**nu**[33]	enter	Luangthongkum 2013:104
Pa-O (Southern)	**nəʔ**[45]	enter	Luangthongkum 2013:104
Pwo (Northern)	**naəʔ**[21]	enter	Luangthongkum 2013:104
Sgaw (Southern)	**nəu**[11˷˷]	enter	Luangthongkum 2013:104
Sgaw (Northern)	**niʔ**[21]	enter	Luangthongkum 2013:104

(11) PCN *ʒa GO IN / ENTER

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	**-ī**	go in (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a **ei**	enter	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**za**	enter	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**za**	enter [entered] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	za-ɹà	come in [came in] ('enter' + 'come') (v.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	**zü** ro	enter	Marrison 1967
	zü tu	enter	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	ü **zaa**	enter	Marrison 1967

(12) PKC *peem IMMIGRATE / MIGRATE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***peem**	IMMIGRATE / MIGRATE	VanBik 2009:152
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**pem**	immigrate (v.)	VanBik 2009:152
Tiddim	**peem²**	migrate and settle	VanBik 2009:152
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**pêem**-I pěem-II	immigrate, to migrate (v.)	VanBik 2009:152
Lushai [Mizo]	**péem**	migrate (v.)	VanBik 2009:152
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**pài**	migrate	VanBik 2009:152

(13) PKC *th $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{u}\\\mathbf{a}\end{matrix}$ n INFUSE / POUR IN / PUT IN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***thun** ≈ than	INFUSE / POUR IN / PUT IN	VanBik 2009:391
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**thun**	infuse	VanBik 2009:391
Thado	**thún**-I, thùn-II	infuse	VanBik 2009:391
Tiddim	**thun²**	put into a container or into a hole	VanBik 2009:391
	thun²	put into a container or into a hole (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1903
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**thun** ~ than	pour (grains) down into some container (v.)	VanBik 2009:391
Khumi	**thuúng**	put into (e.g. bag), put inside mouth	VanBik 2009:391
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thûn**-I, thŭn-II ~ thân-I, thăn-II	infuse, pour in	VanBik 2009:391
Lushai [Mizo]	**thún**	put in (to anything long and narrow, such a bottle, bamboo, pocket, etc), to load (as gun) (v.)	VanBik 2009:391
	thun	put in (anything long and narrow as bottle) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3011

(14) PL *luk or *lap ENTER

This root was reconstructed with two possible Proto-Loloish forms in *LTSR* #165. There is a possible relationship between this PL form and PKC ***luut*** ENTER (§6.7.1).

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***luk / lap**	enter	Matisoff 1972b:165
	***luk ~ lap**	enter	Matisoff 1972b:165
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***luk/ap**[L]	enter	Bradley 1979b:655B
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Kucong	**lv31** la31	enter (a room)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**lo²¹**	enter (a house) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1447.43
Lahu (Black)	**lo²¹**	enter	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:746.33
	lò?	enter	Matisoff 1972b:165
Lahu (Yellow)	**lu⁵**la¹	enter	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**lɤ 22s**	enter	Matisoff 1972b:165

(15) PKC *hrol? INSERT / POKE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hrol?**	INSERT / POKE	VanBik 2009:1086
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**hol?³**	poke blindly (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:477
	hol?³	poke blindly	VanBik 2009:1086; Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hrol?**	insert, poke	VanBik 2009:1086

(16) PKC *san INSERT / PUT IN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***san**	INSERT / PUT IN	VanBik 2009:655
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**'sán**	insert	VanBik 2009:655
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**san?**-INV	insert, put in	VanBik 2009:655

(17) PKC *ɓaan REACH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɓaan**	REACH	VanBik 2009:43
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**bān** hī	reach	VanBik 2009:43
Tiddim	**ba:n³** > bat³	reach for	VanBik 2009:43
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**băan**-I, ban?-II	reach	VanBik 2009:43
Lai (Falam)	**bàan**-INV	reach	VanBik 2009:43
Lushai [Mizo]	**bàan**	reach, to arrive at (v.)	VanBik 2009:43

(18) PKC *phaan REACH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***phaan**	REACH	VanBik 2009:352
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**p'an**	reach (v.)	VanBik 2009:352
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**phăan**-I, phan?-II	reach	VanBik 2009:352

(19) PKC *yep-I, *ye?-II TUCK IN / INSERT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***yep**-I, ye?-II	TUCK IN / INSERT	VanBik 2009:1243
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**zèp**-I, zèe-II	insert	VanBik 2009:1243
Tiddim	**zep³**	tuck a flat thing under something (e.g. a sheet under a mattress)	VanBik 2009:1243
	zep³	tuck a flat thing under something [e.g. a sheet un (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2015
	zep³	tuck a flat thing...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**zèp**-I. zèh-II	turn in, to insert (v.)	VanBik 2009:1243

6.7.2 Outward

(1) PTB *hwaŋ COME (OUT) / ENTER

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***hwaŋ**	enter; come (v.)	Weidert 1987:220; Weidert 1987:757
	***hwaŋ**	come; enter; come (out)	Matisoff 2003a:593; Benedict 1972:218
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Sorbung	**hoóŋ** ledee	come back (imp.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.003
	hóoŋ	come	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.002
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**hung**	come; return (come back) (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**hwaŋs**, **hoaŋs**	come out, go out	Benedict 1972:218
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**'oṅ**	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ḥoŋ-ba	come	Benedict 1972:218
	joŋ	come (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.01
	joŋ	come	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:737.1
2.1.5. Dhimal			
Dhimal	**waŋ**	enter	Benedict 1972:218
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**wāng**.sā	come (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.02
	waŋ	come (v.)	Weidert 1987:75
	waŋ-	come (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	waŋ-sa	come	Caughley 1972:1.66
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**wɑŋ**^{55}	enter	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ɔŋ**^{55}	enter (a house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1447.28
	ɔŋ^{55}	enter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:746.41
Achang (Luxi)	**waŋ**^{31}	enter	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**oŋ**^{55}	enter (a house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1447.29
Bola (Luxi)	**vɔ̃**^{55}	enter (a house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1447.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**wĩ**^{22}	enter (a house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1447.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**wĩ**^{22}	enter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:746.40
Burmese (Written)	**waṅ**	enter	Marrison 1967
	waŋ	enter (v.)	Weidert 1987:220
	waŋ	enter, go or come in; enter	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:105n298; Benedict 1972:218
	wɑŋ^{2}	enter (a house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1447.26
	wɑŋ^{2}	enter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:746.39
Hpun (Northern)	**vʁó**	enter	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**vɔ̃**^{31}	enter (a house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1447.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**vaːŋ**^{31}	enter (a house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1447.33
Marma	**wɔŋ**	go in / enter	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:170
Maru [Langsu]	**vɔ̃**^{31}	enter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:746.43
	wà	enter (v.)	Weidert 1987:220
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**vâŋ**	enter (v.)	Weidert 1987:220
	vaŋ^{51}	enter (a house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1447.30
	vaŋ^{51}	enter	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:746.42

Chinese comparandum

往 OC ***gi̯ˤwɑŋ**, *GSR* #739k 'go to; gone, past'; Coblin 86:86 ST ***ɣwjang** > OC ***gwjangx**; Schuessler 2007:508 ***waŋʔ**; B & S 2011: ***ɢʷaŋʔ**; Mand. **wǎng**.
迋 OC ***gi̯ˤwɑng**, *GSR* #739l 'go'; Schuessler 2007:508 ***waŋh**; B & S 2011: ***ɢʷaŋʔ-s {[ɢ]ʷaŋʔ-s}**; Mand. **wàng**.

(2) PTB *s-prwa-k COME OUT / EMERGE / BRING OUT

This root has simplex/causative allofams in at least three subgroups: cf. WT **ḥphro-ba** and **spro-ba**, Jingpho **próʔ** and **śəpróʔ**, and Sak **phroʔ** and **pru**.

The reflexes vary between **-ro-** and **-ra-**, motivating the reconstruction **-rwa-**.

Kokborok and Tsangla show medial **-y-**, while Karenic has medial **-l-**, both plausible reflexes of the complex proto-medial.

The rGyalrong form looks like a borrowing from Tibetan.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***pro**	come out; emanate	Weidert 1987:660; Benedict 1972:248
	***s-pro-k**	come out / emerge / bring out	Matisoff 2003a:607
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Kohima)	**pra**	go out	Marrison 1967
Khezha	**pra**	go out	Marrison 1967
Mao	ta **pra**	go out	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	**pʰ=yoʔ**	release	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**pro**	bring out; come out	Benedict 1972:248
	próʔ	bring out, come out	Benedict 1972:59n190
	pʒu̱^{33}	come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.19
	pʒu̱^{33} sa^{33}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.19
	pʒu̱^{33} wa^{31}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.19
	śə **pro**	bring out, exhume, contribute	Benedict 1972:248
	śə **proʔ**	bring out, exhume, contribute	Benedict 1972:59n190
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**phroʔ**	release / let go	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:200
	pru	emerge / go out	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:169
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Tilang)	**phyak**-kho	release	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥphro**-ba	proceed, issue, emanate from	Benedict 1972:248
	spro	go out	Marrison 1967
	spro-ba	come out; make go out, disperse	Weidert 1987:660; Benedict 1972:248
	fiphro-ba	come out	Weidert 1987:660
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**plâ**	come forth, come out, rise (v.)	Plaisier 2007
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	də **'mbro**	come out (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1419
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Southern)	**pha**^{55}	release	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**pho**^{55}	release	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
7. Karenic			
Karen	**bla**^{31}	release / set free (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1626.50

(3) PKC *poot ≍ *puut COME OUT / EMERGE / PROTRUDE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***poot** ≍ puut	COME OUT / EMERGE / PROTRUDE	VanBik 2009:134
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**pawt**	emerge (v.)	VanBik 2009:134
Thado	**pûut**-I, pùut-II	come out	VanBik 2009:134
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**poot**-INV	come out, emerge, bulge (e.g. eyes), protrude	VanBik 2009:134
Lai (Falam)	**pûut**-I, pùut-II	come out, emerge, protrude	VanBik 2009:134
Lushai [Mizo]	**pûut**-I, pùh-II	come through, to leak away (v.)	VanBik 2009:134

(4) PTB *s-twak COME OUT / GO OUT / EMERGE

This root is extremely well-attested, in Lolo-Burmese and many other branches of the family. In some languages (Kiranti, Tani, Karbi), it has been specialized to refer to animal births.

A variant with nasal final is also sporadically found.

The Old Chinese comparandum is reconstructed with final ***-t**, but this could well be a secondary development from an original velar after a front vowel. *STC* compares this Chinese etymon with PTB PTB ***m-(t/d)u** NEPHEW / DESCENDANT (§4.7.3), a meaning which is not given in *GSR*, but which appears in Erh Ya.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***s-twak**	come out / go out / emerge	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:616
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	me:-**təŋ** xo	birth, give (babies)	Sun 1993b
	ɕo-**tuŋ**-xo	birth, give (calves)	Sun 1993b
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tshuak-I**, ***tshuaʔ-II** COME OUT / EMERGE / APPEAR			
*Chin	***tshuak**-I, tshuaʔ-II	COME OUT / EMERGE / APPEAR	VanBik 2009:581
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**sûoʔ**-I, suo-II	happen, appear, emerge, come out, be born	VanBik 2009:581
Tiddim	**suaʔ**^{3}	unload	VanBik 2009:581
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**thew**	come out, rise (of the sun)	VanBik 2009:581
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**sûak**-INV	appear, emerge, come out	VanBik 2009:581
Lai (Hakha)	**tshuak**-I, tshuaʔ-II	appear, emerge, come out, rise (as the sun)	VanBik 2009:581
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhuak**	release; come or go out; originate; disembark; start (on a journey) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2222; Bhaskararao 1996:2223
	chhûak-I, chhùah-II	go out, come out, to depart, to rise (as sun, moon, stars), to exude (v.)	VanBik 2009:581
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chhí**	rise as the sun (v.)	VanBik 2009:581
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	á **tùk**	come out (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:5
	a **dok**	go out	Marrison 1967
	a nü **dok** len	east	Marrison 1967
	a nu **dok** len-tip	south	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ʃok** EMERGE / EXIT / COME OUT			
*Tangkhulic	***ʃok**	exit; come out; emerge	Mortensen 2012:565; Mortensen 2012:677
Huishu	ʔu-kə-**suʔ**	produce / emerge	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.076
	ʔu-**suʔ**-e-kʰe	exit	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.006
Tusom	kə-**su**	exit (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.005
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃok**	emerge, exit, come out, occur, happen; do in exiting/emerging path (postp.)	Mortensen 2012
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ching **thòk**-	birth, give (animals) (v.)	Grüssner 1979:68
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	ka **thot**	go out	Marrison 1967
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	cha **tokt**-	birth, give (v.t.)	Rai *et al.* 1984:18
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-twak**^{H} COME OUT, GO OUT, EMERGE			
*Lolo-Burmese	*__N__**twak**	emerge / come out ((HIGH).)	Matisoff 1972b:102(a)
	*__N__**twak**	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(a)
	***{C}-twak**	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(d)
	***ʔ-twak**^{H}	come out / go out / emerge	Matisoff 2003a:616
	***ʔdwak**	emerge / come out ((LOW).)	Matisoff 1972b:102(c)
	***ʔdwak**	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(c)
	***ʔtwak**	emerge / come out ((HIGH).)	Matisoff 1972b:102(b)
	***ʔtwak**	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(b)
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	pɛi^{55}**thoʔ**^{55}ʑɑ^{55}	east	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985

	thoʔ^{55}	exit; retreat	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɑ^{31}n̥u^{31}**thoʔ^{55}**	bud (v.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31}ŋoŋ^{55}**thoʔ^{55}**	germinate / sprout (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1307.28
	a^{31}ŋɔŋ^{55}**thoʔ^{55}**	bud (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:788.41
	pui^{55}**thoʔ^{55}**pa^{31}	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.28
	pui^{55}**thoʔ^{55}**pa^{31}	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.41
	thoʔ^{55}	produce	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1205.28
	thoʔ^{55}	occur; happen; rise; go up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1299.28; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.28
	thoʔ^{55}	rise; appear (of the sun); exit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:745.41; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:751.41
	thoʔ^{55}lɔ^{35}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.28
	thoʔ^{55}ʐə^{35}	come out (the sun); come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.28; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.28
Achang (Luxi)	a^{31}n̥ɔʔ^{31}**thuaʔ^{55}**	bud (v.)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	pui^{55}maʔ^{31}**thuaʔ^{55}**ʑaʔ^{31}	east	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	thuaʔ^{55}	exit; retreat	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	a^{31}ŋuŋ^{55}**thoʔ^{55}**	germinate / sprout (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1307.29
	n^{55}mɔ^{51}**thoʔ^{55}**pa^{31}	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.29
	thoʔ^{55}	go out; come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.29; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.29
	thoʔ^{55}lɔ^{35}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.29
	thɔʔ^{55} lɔ^{35}	rise / stand up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1567.29
Bola (Luxi)	ju^{31}**thɔʔ^{55}**	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.32
	pui^{55}**thɔʔ^{55}**	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.32
	thɔʔ^{55}	produce; come out (the sun); come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1205.32; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.32; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.32
	thɔʔ^{55}	rise / go up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.32
	thɔʔ^{55}la^{31}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.32
Burmese (Written)	**thwak**	go and come out, emerge; rise; project; come out; emerge, come out	Hansson 1989:507; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:17n63
	thwɑk^{4}	go out; come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.26; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.26
Hpun (Northern)	ă hwàiŋ **thò-ŋ**	sweat (cf.EMERGE / ISSUE) (v.)	Henderson 1986
	thùʔ, thò-ŋ	emerge / issue (cp. Sweat) (v.)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	ju^{31}**thuk^{55}**	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.31
	pa^{31}**thuk^{55}**ʃat^{55}	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.31
	thuk^{55}	come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.31
	thuk^{55}	occur; happen; rise; go up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1299.31; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.31
	thuk^{55}jɛ^{35}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.31
	thuk^{55}lɔ^{31}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.31
	thuk^{55}lɔ^{55}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.31
Leqi (Luxi)	pei^{31}**thuk^{55}**	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.33
	pei^{31}**thuʔ^{55}**lɔ^{31}	come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.33
	thuʔ^{55}lɔ^{31}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.33
	thuːʔ^{55}lɔ^{55}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.33
Maru [Langsu]	pa^{31}thuk^{55}ʃat^{55}	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.43
	sa^{35} **thuk^{55}**	bleed (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989l:8.7.2
	thuk^{55}	exit; rise (of the sun)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:745.43; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:751.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	a^{21}**thoʔ^{55}**	upper part of / upper reaches (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0722.30
	a^{21}**thoʔ^{55}**mai^{21}	upwards (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0733.30
	a^{21}**thoʔ^{55}**ma^{55}	top	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:57.42
	ju^{21}**thoʔ^{55}**	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.30
	kjam^{21}**thoʔ^{55}**	upstairs	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0500.30
	pui^{51}**thoʔ^{55}**ʃut^{55}	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.30
	pui^{51}**thoʔ^{55}**ʃut^{55}	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.42
	puʔ^{21}**thoʔ^{55}**	spout / burst forth	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1152.30
	thoʔ^{55}	produce; come out (the sun); exit; rise (of the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1205.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:745.42; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:751.42
	thoʔ^{55}e^{55}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.30
	thoʔ^{55}lo^{55}	go out; come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.30
	thoʔ^{55}mai^{21}	over / above (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0731.30
	tut^{21}**thoʔ^{55}**	occur / happen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1299.30

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***ʔ-dwak^{H}**	come out	Bradley 1979b:656; Hansson 1989:507
PNL	**ʔdwak^{L}**	go out	Chen Kang 1986a:71.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**to^{53}**	come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.47
	to^{53}ji^{33}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.47
	to^{53}li^{33}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.47
Lalo	**doq**	exit / go out / outwards	Björverud 1994
	do̱^{33}	go out	Chen Kang 1986a:71.
Lipho	**du̱^{33}**	go out	Chen Kang 1986a:71.
Luquan	**du 22s**	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(a)
	ty 55c	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(c)
	tʻy 55	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(d)
Nasu	**do̱^{2}**	go out	Chen Kang 1986a:71.
	du 32s	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(a)
Neisu	**de^{33}**	go out	Chen Kang 1986a:71.
Nesu	**du̱^{33}**	go out	Chen Kang 1986a:71.
Nosu	**du̱^{4}**	go out	Chen Kang 1986a:71.
Nusu (Southern)	**tho^{55}**	exit	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**thua̱^{53}**	come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.34
	thua̱^{53}khɹa^{31}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.34
Nusu (Southern)	n̥i^{31}**tho^{55}**u^{55}	east	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	**du̱^{33}**	appear; emerge; exit (leave); go out; produce (make)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**du̱^{33}**	come out (the sun); come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.37; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.37
	du̱^{33}thi^{55}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.37
Yi (Weishan)	**do^{33}**	come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.36
	do^{33}lɑ^{55}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.36
	do^{33}ʑi^{55}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.36
Yi (Wuding)	**du̱^{2}**	come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.38
	du̱^{2} le^{33}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.38
	du̱^{33}di^{33}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.38
Yi (Xide)	**du̱^{33}**	come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.35
	du̱^{33}bo^{33}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**du 44**	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(a)
	du̱^{33}	go out	Chen Kang 1986a:71.
	tʻɤ 44s	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(d)
Jinuo	**to^{35}**le^{33}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.44
	to^{42}lɔ^{33}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.44
	to^{42}lɯ^{35}	come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.44
Lahu (Lancang)	mv^{53}ni^{33}tɔ^{54} phɔ^{53}	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.43
	phɛ^{21}**tɔ^{54}**	occur / happen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1299.43
	tɔ^{54}	protruding / raised (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0970.43
	tɔ^{54}	produce; come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1205.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.43
	tɔ^{54} iɑ^{33}	rise / go up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.43
	tɔ^{54}e^{33}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.43
	tɔ^{54}kɑ^{31}	open (an umbrella)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1191.43
	tɔ^{54}lɑ^{31}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.43
	tɔ^{54}tɑ^{11}	prop up / support	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1190.43
	tɔ^{54}tɕhe^{54}	snap; break (a stick); snap (a thread) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1291.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1293.43
Lahu (Black)	mu^{53}ni^{33}**tɔ^{54}**	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.33
	tɔ̂ʔ	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(b)
	tɔ^{54}	exit; rise (of the sun)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:745.33; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:751.33
Lahu (Yellow)	pɯ^{5}**tɔ^{6}**	east	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tɔ^{6}gɤ^{5}	exit	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	brgh^{3} **daw^{3}** hkrgh^{5}	east	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	bɤ^{33}dɔ^{33}khɤ^{21}	east (the direction of sunrise)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	chï^{3} **daw^{3}**	perspire (v.)	Fraser 1922
	chï^{1} **daw^{3}**	sweat (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**daw3**	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(a)
	do̱^{33}	produce; go out; come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1205.40; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.40; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.40
	do̱^{33}	occur / happen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1299.40
	do̱^{33}lɑ^{33}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.40
	do^{44}	exit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:745.27
Lisu (Northern)	**du^{21}**la^{33}	come in	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	du^{4} **daw^{3}**	travel; journey, go on a	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
	dū^{5}-la^{4}	enter (come in)	Fraser 1922
	dzi^{5}-**daw^{3}**	exude (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**dæ^{33}**la^{33}	come up	Bradley 1994
	dɔ^{33}	come out; flow (V.)	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
	dɔ^{33}dʑe^{33}	go out	Bradley 1994
	dɔ^{33}gi^{33}	go out; start off	Bradley 1994
	dɔ^{33}la^{33}	come out	Bradley 1994
	dɔ^{33}la^{33}	take place; appear (V.)	Bradley 1994
	dɔ^{33}pheʔ^{21}	exit; way out	Bradley 1994
	dɔ^{33}tɕɤ^{35}	way out	Bradley 1994
	dɔ^{33}tɤ^{55}	place of origin; place of production; source	Bradley 1994
	dɔ^{33}ʃl^{21}	resource; produce (N.)	Bradley 1994
	dɔ^{33}ʃl^{21} dɔ^{33}dʑi^{21}	various resources; produce	Bradley 1994
	me^{35}**dɔ^{33}**	expose; take out; search out	Bradley 1994
	mi^{21}**dɔ^{33}**	beginning of the world; si; come out to work	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994

	mi^{21}dɔ^{33} **hã^{33}dɔ^{33}**	beginning of world	Bradley 1994
	mi^{21}dɔ^{33} **tsha^{33}dɔ^{33}**	beginning of world	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	mi^{5}-mi^{4} **daw^{3}** hkrgh^{5}	east	Fraser 1922
	mjø^{21}**dɔ^{33}**	come out to work	Bradley 1994
Lisu	mɯ^{31}mi^{33}do^{44}khɯ^{31}	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.27
	mɯ^{31}mi̱^{33}do̱^{33}khɯ^{31}	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.40
Lisu (Northern)	mɤ^{21}mi^{33} dɔ^{33}khɤ^{21}	east	Bradley 1994
	pɯʔ^{21}dɔ^{33}la^{33}	burst (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ru^{33}**dɔ^{33}**	take out	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ru^{4} **daw^{3}** la^{4}	extract (v.)	Fraser 1922
	si^{5} **daw^{3}**	bleed (v.t.)	Fraser 1922
Sani [Nyi]	**do^{44}**	go out	Chen Kang 1986a:71.
	du 44	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(a)
Yi (Sani)	**du^{44}**	come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.39
	du^{44}lɪ^{33}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.39
Sani [Nyi]	tɕɛ^{55}**do̱^{33}**	sweat (v.)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	t'y 22s	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(d)

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**do HS**	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(a)
	doq	come out	Hansson 1989:507
Akha (Thai)	**doq**	come out	Hansson 1989:507
Akha (Yunnan)	**doq** í	come out	Hansson 1989:507
Hani (Dazhai)	bɯ^{55}du̱^{33}phjo^{33}	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.31
Hani (Hu T'an)	**du 33c**	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(a)
Hani (Lüchun)	**dú** í ?	come out	Hansson 1989:507
	duq í	come out	Hansson 1989:507
Hani (Dazhai)	**du̱^{33}**	exit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:745.31
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**tu 55**	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(a)
Hani (Lüchun)	ba̱^{31}**du̱^{33}**	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.41
	bɯ^{55}du̱^{33}phø^{33}	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.41
	du̱^{33}	produce; come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1205.41; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.41
	du̱^{33}	occur / happen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1299.41
	du̱^{33}ji^{55}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.41
	du̱^{33}la^{55}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.41
	thɔ^{31} **du̱^{33}ji̱^{33}**	spout / burst forth	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1152.41
	ɣɤ^{33}**du̱^{33}**	take out (from in between, a part from a whole)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1202.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	maŋ^{55}**tɣ^{33}**	overflow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:757.30
	ni^{55}mɔ^{33}**tɣ̱^{33}**la^{55}me^{55}pæ^{33}ast		Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.30
	phi̱^{33}**tɣ̱^{33}**	vomit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:543.30
	p^{h}i̱^{33} **tɣ̱^{33}**	vomit	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ta̱^{33}; **tɣ^{55}**	rise (of the sun)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:751.30
	thi^{33}**tɣ̱^{33}**	spit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:542.30
	tɣ̱^{33}	exit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:745.30
Hani (Pijo)	**tə́**	come out	Hansson 1989:507
	tə́ jí	come out	Hansson 1989:507
	tó lý	come out	Hansson 1989:507
Hani (Caiyuan)	t^{h}i̱^{33} **tɣ̱^{33}**	spit	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**dduv**	come out	Hansson 1989:507
Haoni	**tu̱^{33}**	come out	Hansson 1989:507
Hani (Shuikui)	**tɣ̱^{33}**	exit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:745.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tó**	come out	Hansson 1989:507
	tó ly/**tó** jí	come out	Hansson 1989:507
Hani (Mojiang)	nu^{55}mɔ^{33}**tɣ̱^{33}**lɔ^{55}fɔ^{33}	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.42
	tɣ̱^{33}	produce; come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1205.42; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.42
	tɣ̱^{33}	occur / happen (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1299.42
	tɣ̱^{33}ji^{55}	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.42
	tɣ̱^{33}li^{33}	go by (two years) / pass (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1364.42
	tɣ̱^{33}lɔ^{55}	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.42
	xɛ^{55}**tɣ̱^{33}**	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.42
	ɣɯ^{33}**tɣ̱^{33}**	take out (from in between, a part from a whole)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1202.42
	n̥i^{33}thu^{31}**tɣ̱^{33}**	recall / remember (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1727.42
Mpi	**toʔ^{3}**	release; out; come out	Hansson 1989:507; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**toe45**	release (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:181118
Woni	**tu 55**	emerge / come out	Matisoff 1972b:102(a)

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Hlepho Phowa	**do^{13}**	exit (come out)	Pelkey 2011:818
Phuza	**dɯ^{55}**	exit (come out)	Pelkey 2011:818

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**t^{h}v**˧	come out; rise (wind), come up (sun) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2513
Na (Yongning)	**t^{h}v**˧	come out; to rise (wind), to come up (sun); bud, to sprout (of tree) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009; Michaud 2006–2009
	ȵi˧mi˧**t^{h}v**˧	east	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	lv^{33}**thv^{33}**	bear fruit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:790.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**thv^{33}**	rise (of the sun)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:751.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**thv^{33}**	rise (of the sun)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:751.29
Naxi	**thɣ̣^{33}**	produce; come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1205.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	n̥i^{33}me^{33}**thv^{33}**	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.28
Naxi	n̥i^{33}me^{33}**thɣ̣^{33}**	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.45
Naxi (Yongning)	n̥i^{33}mi^{33}**thv^{33}**	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.29

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	出	go or come out	Baxter & Sagart 2011:350
Chinese (GSR #)	**0496a**	go or come out	Baxter & Sagart 2011:350

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**t̂'i̯wət / t̂ś'i̯uĕt**	go out, come out (v.)	Karlgren 1957:496a-e
Chinese (Old)	**t-k^{h}ut**	go or come out	Baxter & Sagart 2011:350
	thjut	come out; go out; go away	Baxter 1992:1175; Baxter 1992:1819

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**tsyhwit**	go or come out	Baxter & Sagart 2011:350

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**chū**	come out; go or come out	Evans *et al.* 1991; Baxter & Sagart 2011:350

Chinese comparandum

出 OC ***t̂'i̯wət***, *GSR* #496a-e 'go out, come out'; Schuessler 2007:191 ***k-hlut***; B & S 2011: ***t-k^{h}ut***; Mand. **chū**.

(5) PKC *ph $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{u}\\\mathbf{o}\end{matrix}$ l EXHUME / TAKE OUT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***phul** ~ phol	EXHUME / TAKE OUT	VanBik 2009:336

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**pholh**	exhume	VanBik 2009:336
Tiddim	**phol?^{3}**	take out a thing from a neat arrangement (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1465
	phol?^{3}	take out a thing from a neat arrangement; take out a thing...	VanBik 2009:336; Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**phûl**-I, phŭl-II	exhume	VanBik 2009:336

(6) PTani *len EXIT (v.)

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***len**	exit (v.)	Sun 1993a:132

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**lin**	exit (v.)	Sun 1993a
	ɯŋ-**lin**	exit	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**len**	exit (v.)	Sun 1993a
	len	exit, go out; come out (the sun); come out	Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.24
Bokar Lhoba	**len**	exit	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:745.51
Galo	**'nen** ko	exit (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'nen lam	exit (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'nen nam	exit; leave; emerge (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**len**	exit (v.)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**rən**	exit	Sun 1993b

(7) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{d}\\\mathbf{t}\end{matrix}$ wan GO OUT / COME OUT / PULL

This root is attested in Jingpho, Kanauri, a few languages of Nepal, and especially in Tibetan. Cf. WT **ḥdon-pa**, pf. **bton**, fut. **gdon**, imp. **thon** 'cause to go out / cause to come forth'. Some reflexes have final **-ŋ** instead of **-n**. See *STC* p. 125.

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**dun**	pull (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tun^{33}	lead (animal)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tun^{33}	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.19
	tun^{33}	lead (animal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:612.47
	tun sa	lead (v.)	Marrison 1967

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**dŏn** mig'	emerge / go or come out (vi.)	Bailey 1911

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**'doṅ**	go	Marrison 1967
	'thoṅ	go out	Marrison 1967
	don	come out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.01

2.1.4. Tamangish

Gurung (Ghachok)	**tõh** ba	go out	Glover 1972:2.B.1.7
Gurung	**toh** bā	go out (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.07
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{2}tuŋ-**	come out	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0410
Tamang (Sahu)	**Tohng**-nā lā-pā	go out, cause to (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.07a
	Tohng-pā	go out (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.07
	Tohŋ-pa	go out (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.A.7
	^{3}ṭoŋ	go out	Mazaudon 1994:419

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**doŋ-**	go forward, go in right direction; be true, correct (ext.); see correctly (shaman in trance) (ch.) (vai.)	Caughley 2000
Magar	**don**	pull	Benedict 1972:p.125

(8) PKar *lwɛ^{A} GO

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***lwɛ^{A}**	go	Luangthongkum 2013:131
Bwe	**lɛ^{33}**	go	Luangthongkum 2013:131
Kayan	**lɛ^{33}**	go	Luangthongkum 2013:131
Kayaw	**lɛ^{33}**	go	Luangthongkum 2013:131
Pa-O (Northern)	**lwɛ^{33}**	go	Luangthongkum 2013:131
Pa-O (Southern)	**lwɛ^{53}**	go	Luangthongkum 2013:131
Pwo (Northern)	**lɛ^{55}**	go	Luangthongkum 2013:131
Pwo (Southern)	**lɛ$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	go	Luangthongkum 2013:131
Sgaw (Northern)	**lɛ^{33}**	go	Luangthongkum 2013:131
Sgaw (Southern)	**lɛ^{33}**	go	Luangthongkum 2013:131

(9) PKC *lan PROCEED / CONTINUE ON

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***lan**	PROCEED / CONTINUE ON	VanBik 2009:1042

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-lan	proceed in somewhat serial fashion (v.)	VanBik 2009:1042

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**lăn**-I, lan?-II	proceed, continue on (as in a journey)	VanBik 2009:1042

(10) PCC *peeŋ-I, *peen-II TURN AWRY / BRANCH OFF

1.2.2. Central Chin			
*Central Chin	***peeŋ**-I, peen-II	TURN AWRY / BRANCH OFF	VanBik 2009:166
Lai (Hakha)	**pêeŋ**-I, pěen-II	turn awry, branch off (as road)	VanBik 2009:166
Lushai [Mizo]	**péeng**-I, pèen-II	turn to the left of right when walking, to branch off (as road) (v.)	VanBik 2009:166

6.7.3 Awkwardly, Irregularly, Abruptly

(1) PKC *hnoʔ HASTEN

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***hnoʔ**	HASTEN	VanBik 2009:893
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	kì-**nòo**-INV	hasten	VanBik 2009:893
Tiddim	**noʔ**^{3}	hasten; do things in haste (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1232
	noʔ^{3}	hasten, do things in haste; hasten...	VanBik 2009:893; Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hnoʔ**-INV	hasten	VanBik 2009:893

(2) PTB *grim HASTEN

This etymology is due to Gong Hwang-cherng (2001:27), according to whom the *Shuo Wen* gloss of this character is 唫, 口急也 'close-mouthed; tight-lipped; speaking hurriedly or haltingly' (*Hanyu Da Zidian*: 1.643.7).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***grim**	hasten	Matisoff 2003a:305
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**grim**	hasten, hurry	Matisoff 2003a:306
	ḥgrim	go, walk, march about	Matisoff 2003a:306
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**g'i̯əm/g'i̯əm**	obstruct, shut	Karlgren 1957:652g

Chinese comparandum

唫 OC ***g'i̯əm**, *GSR* #652g; Mand. **jìn**.

(3) PKC *ploot SLIP OUT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***ploot**	SLIP OUT	VanBik 2009:1252
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-plawt	slip out	VanBik 2009:1252
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tloot**-INV	slip out, fall (e.g. food out of table)	VanBik 2009:1252

(4) PKC *teŋ SLIP / FALL DOWN

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***teŋ**	SLIP / FALL DOWN	VanBik 2009:231
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**těŋ**-I, teŋʔ-II	slip and fall down	VanBik 2009:231
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**tāi**	slip or fall down (v.)	VanBik 2009:231

(5) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{b}\\\textbf{p}\end{matrix}$ lya-l SLIP / SLIPPERY

This root was set up as ***ble** in *STC* #141, on the basis of the Kanauri and Digaro forms. Firm cognates have since been discovered in Karenic and Tamangic. A number of forms point to a variant with final ***-l**, including Pattani and Lushai (Mizo) (such a variant is also hypothesized as possible in Proto-Tamangic). The Cuona form might reflect a further variant with a velar suffix. See *HPTB*:204.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***ble**	slip	Matisoff 2003a:203; Benedict 1972:141
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**ble**	slip	NEFA (India) 1963
	ble-a:	slippery	NEFA (India) 1963
Digaro	**ble**	slippery	Benedict 1972:141
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**pelh**	slip	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	**beje**	slip	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**ble**	slip	Benedict 1972:141
	blē mig'	slip (v.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**brel** c^{h}a	slippery	Sharma 1982
	brel phi	slip (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Cuona Menba	**plek**^{35}	slippery (road)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1039.06
2.1.4. Tamangish			
*TGTM	*^{A}**ple**	slip	Mazaudon 1994:632
	*^{A}**ple:**	slip	Mazaudon 1994:634
Gurung	**ple** bāq	slip (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.55
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ple** baq	slip	Glover 1972:2.B.1.55
Gurung	^{1}**ple**-	slip	Mazaudon 1994:636
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**ple:**	slip / slide (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:634
Tamang (Sahu)	**plā:**-pā	slip (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.55
	pla:-pa	slip (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.A.55
Thakali	**plā**-la	slip (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.55
Thakali (Marpha)	^{55,44}**pli**-mu	slip / slide (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:636
Thakali (Tukche)	**pla**-lɔ	slip (v.)	Hari 1971:2.B.1.55
	^{1}**ple**	slick	Mazaudon 1994:634
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**phele phele**	slippery	Allen 1975
7. Karenic: *$\textbf{ple}^{A}$ SLIPPERY			
*Karen	***p(h)le** ~ **ʔble**	slippery	Benedict 1972:148n407
	*$\textbf{ple}^{A}$	slippery	Luangthongkum 2013:262
Bwe	**pli**^{55}	slippery	Luangthongkum 2013:262
Karen	gă^{31}**bli̱**^{55}	slippery (road)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1039.50
Kayah	**pli**^{33}	slippery	Luangthongkum 2013:262
Kayan	**blai**^{53}	slippery	Luangthongkum 2013:262
Kayan (Pekon)	θa **p^{h}lí**	dislocate (V.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**pli**^{55}	slippery	Luangthongkum 2013:262
Pa-O	**plè**	smooth, slippery	Solnit 1989
	ple	slip, slippery	Benedict 1972:139n375
Pa-O (Southern)	**ple**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	slippery	Luangthongkum 2013:262
Pa-O (Northern)	**ple**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	slippery	Luangthongkum 2013:262
Palaychi	**bli**	slip, slippery	Benedict 1972:139n375
Pwo (Northern)	**phli**^{35}	slippery	Luangthongkum 2013:262
Pwo	**phle**	slip, slippery	Benedict 1972:139n375
Pwo (Southern)	**phli**^{53}	slippery	Luangthongkum 2013:262
Karen (Sgaw)	**ble**	slip, slippery	Benedict 1972:139n375
Sgaw (Northern)	**ble**^{33}	slippery	Luangthongkum 2013:262
Sgaw (Southern)	**ble**^{55}	slippery	Luangthongkum 2013:262

Chinese comparandum

失 OC ***śi̱ĕt**, *GSR* #402a 'fail, lose, let go'; Schuessler 2007:461 ***lhit**; B & S 2011: ***l̥it {l̥i [t] }**; Mand. **shī**.
跌 OC ***d'iet**, *GSR* #402j 'stumble, rush'; Coblin 86:140 ST ***dik** > PC ***dik** > OC ***dit**; Schuessler 2007:212-13 ***lît**; B & S 2011: ***l^{ʂ}it {l^{ʂ}i [t] }**; Mand. **diē**.

(6) PKC *waay STRAY / LOST / WANDER

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***waay**	STRAY / LOST / WANDER	VanBik 2009:1171
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**vǎay**-I, vayʔ-II	stray, wander	VanBik 2009:1171
Lushai [Mizo]	**vài**-I, vàih-II	at a loss, to be bewildered (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1171
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pā**-vīa	stray, to be lost in the jungle (v.)	VanBik 2009:1171

(7) PTB *ʔut SWAGGERING / NOISY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***ut**	swaggering, noisy	Benedict 1972:109
	***ʔut**	swaggering / noisy	Matisoff 2003a:583
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ʔud**	swaggering, bragging	Benedict 1972:109
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**ut**	noisy	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:109
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Nanhua)	**ə**^{33}	loud	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1094.37

(8) PKar *khiŋ^{A} TILTED

7. Karenic				
*Karen	*$\textbf{khiŋ}^{A}$	tilted	Luangthongkum 2013:304	[a]
Kayah	**khi**^{33}	tilted	Luangthongkum 2013:304	
Kayan	**khi**^{53}	tilted	Luangthongkum 2013:304	
Kayaw	**khi**^{55}	tilted	Luangthongkum 2013:304	
Pa-O (Southern)	**khiŋ**^{33}	tilted	Luangthongkum 2013:304	
Pa-O (Northern)	**khiŋ**^{55}	tilted	Luangthongkum 2013:304	
Pwo (Northern)	**khãi**^{35}	tilted	Luangthongkum 2013:304	
Pwo (Southern)	**khẽi**^{53}	tilted	Luangthongkum 2013:304	
Sgaw (Northern)	**khi**^{33}	tilted	Luangthongkum 2013:304	

[a] [Source Note] NK has the B tone while CK and SK have tone A.

(9) PTB *dar ≍ *d $\begin{matrix}\textbf{u}\\\textbf{i}\end{matrix}$ r TREMBLE / SHIVER (fear, cold)

This root displays considerable vocalic alternation, ranging, e.g. from ***dar** (in Bodic) to ***dur** (in Tani) to ***dir** (in Tangkhulic). The **-u- ≍ -i-** alternation is well established at all stages of TB (*HPTB*:493-505). The **-a- ≍ -u-** alternation is attested but much rarer (see e.g. PTB ***b-s(u/a)ŋ** SMELL / SCENT / FRAGRANT (§1.2.8.5) [*HPTB*:513]).

The Written Burmese / Chin comparison is due to Kenneth VanBik.

A nasal prefix is attested in Bodic and Qiangic / rGyalrongic.

There is a promising Chinese comparandum.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
*Sino-Tibetan	***dar**	tremble / fear	Coblin 1986:152
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***tur**	tremble / shake / pulse	Matisoff 2003a:616
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	tam-**dɯr**	tremble	Sun 1993b
Bokar	tup **dɯr**	shiver / tremble (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1303.24
	təp-**dɯr**	tremble	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	təp **dur**	tremble	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:777.51
	təp **dɯr**	shake, shiver	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tur**	tremble, shake, pulse	Matisoff 2003a:396
Lushai [Mizo]	**tur**	shake, tremble (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:396
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**thir**	tremble	Bhat 1969:99
Ukhrul	kə-kə-**t^{h}ir**	tremble	Mortensen 2012
	kə-k^{h}ə-**t^{h}ir**	tremble, shake, have epilepsy	Mortensen 2012
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**dar dar** si - **dar** bu	tremble / shiver / shudder	Sharma 1991b:12.1
2.1.2. Bodic			
Motuo Menba	**der**	shake / quake (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1795.07
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ndar**	shiver / tremble (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1303.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ndar**	tremble	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:777.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ndar**	tremble	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:777.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ndaʔ**^{53}	tremble / shiver / shudder	Dai Qingxia 1989a:12.1

	nda^{53}	shiver / tremble (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1303.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**nda**^{35}	tremble	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:777.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tar**^{13}	shiver / tremble (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1303.02
	tar^{15}	tremble	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:777.2
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	**dar** ken	tremble / shiver / shudder	Bishop 1989:12.1
Spiti	**dar** še	tremble / shiver / shudder	Bodh 1991:12.1
Tibetan (Written)	**’dar**	tremble	Marrison 1967
	’dar-ba	tremble, shudder, shiver with fear / cold	Coblin 1986:693
	ɦdar	shiver / tremble (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1303.01
	ɦdar	tremble	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:777.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ndar**	shiver / tremble (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1303.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**dar**	tremble	Mazaudon 1994:510
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**tar**	shiver, shake, be in a tran (v.)	Mazaudon 1991:12.1
	^{3}**tar**	tremble / vibrate / be in a trance	Mazaudon 1994:510
Thakali	**tahr**-la	tremble (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.40
Thakali (Marpha)	$^{11’11}$**ta**^{ɦ}**r**-ba	shake / tremble	Mazaudon 1994:510
Thakali (Tukche)	**tɔhr**-lɔ	tremble	Hari 1971:2.B.1.40
	^{3}**tər**	shake / tremble	Mazaudon 1994:510
3.2. QIANGIC			
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ndɛr**^{13}ndɛ^{55}	shiver / tremble (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1303.13
3.3.1. rGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Eastern)	kə (∼na) **dar**	tremble / shiver / shudder	SUN Hongkai 1991j:12.1
rGyalrong	kə **dɛr**	tremble / shiver / shudder	DAI Qingxia 1989d:12.1
	kɐ **ndɐr**	tremble	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:777.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ wɐ **dɐr dɐr**	shiver / tremble (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1303.11
Caodeng	kɐ-**ndɐr**	tremble	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	kA **Ndar**	tremble	Nagano 1997:12.1
rGBenzhen	kɐ-vɐ ndɐ-**ndɐr**	tremble	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	ɑ^{31}**dɑn**^{53}	shiver / tremble (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1303.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31}**dǎn**^{53}	tremble	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:777.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ɑ^{31} **dǎn**^{53}	shake	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**tun**	tremble; tremble, shake	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:777.39
	tun^{2}	shiver / tremble (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1303.26
	tun^{2}khɑɑ^{2}	shake / quake (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1795.26
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**dan**	shake (v.)	Coblin 1986:152

Chinese comparandum

彈 OC ***d’ân**, *GSR* #147n ‘shoot pellets; beat; shake’; Coblin 1986:152 ST ***dar** > OC ***dan**; Schuessler 2007:206, 489 ***dân**; B & S 2011: ***d**^{ʕ}**ar {(Cə.) [d]** ^{ʕ}**ar}**; Mand. **tán**.
彈 OC ***d’ân**, *GSR* #147n ‘bow for shooting pellets; pellet’; Schuessler 2007:490 ***dâns**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.d**^{ʕ}**ar-s {Cə. [d]** ^{ʕ}**ar-s}**; Mand. **dàn**.
憚 OC ***d’ân**, *GSR* #147o ‘fear, dislike’; Coblin 86:152 ST ***dar** > OC ***danh**; Schuessler 2007:206 ***dâns**; Mand. **dàn**.
戰 OC ***t̑i̯ɑn**, *GSR* #147r ‘tremble, fear; fight, battle, war’; Schuessler 2007:206, 605 ***tans**; B & S 2011: ***tar-s**; Mand. **zhàn**.

The Chinese/Tibetan comparison is due to Coblin 1986:152. The Chinese word has meanings ranging from ‘shoot pellets’ to ‘beat’ to ‘play on a stringed instrument’ to ‘shake’. The semantic development to the latter meaning is probably due to the trembling of a string being played.

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(10) PKC *looŋ-I, *loŋʔ-II WALLOW / ROLL ABOUT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***looŋ**-I, loŋʔ-II	WALLOW / ROLL ABOUT	VanBik 2009:1064
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-lawk	wallow in (mud, water, as pigs do) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1064
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**lǒoŋ**-I, loŋʔ-II	roll about (on the floor), wallow (in the mud)	VanBik 2009:1064

6.7.4 Regular, Cyclic, Smoothly

(1) PTB *r-t $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{y}{w}$ ak KICK

This etymon was formerly reconstructed as ***r/g-dek**. (The velar prefix is attested in Tangkhul and Bodo-Garo.) The nasal final in Bodo-Garo, Kanauri, and Tsangla might motivate reconstructing another allofam ***r-tyaŋ** ⪤ **r-twaŋ**.

The Tibetan shows vowel gradation in this root: **rdeg(s)-pa** ⪤ **rdog(s)-pa**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r/g-dek**	kick	Matisoff 2003a:586
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**tu**	kick	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**duk**	kick	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**duk**	kick	Sun 1993b
	duk	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.24
Bokar Lhoba	**duk**	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.51
Galo	**tu**-nam	kick (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	tu nam	kick (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**tu**-nam	kick	Simon 1976
Nishing	**du**∼**tu**	kick	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**dik**-nam	kick (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *t^{h}**ak** KICK			
**Tangkhulic*	***t**^{h}**ak**	kick	Mortensen 2012:659
Kachai	kə-kə-**t**^{h}**ak**	kick	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.048
Tangkhul	ka **thak**	kick (v.)	Marrison 1967 [a]
	thək	kick	Bhat 1969:91
Tusom	k^{h}a-kə-**t**^{h}**a**	kick (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.063
	k^{h}o-kə-**t**^{h}**a**	kick the foot (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.064
Ukhrul	kə-kə-**t**^{h}**ɐk**	kick	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ga•-ting**-dat-a	kick (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.321-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**ga•thyng**	kick (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	thyng-	kick (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	thyng pyret-	kick (v.)	van Breugel 2008
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**lathöṅ**	kick (n.)	Bailey 1911
	lathöṅ cīlĕāmig‘	kick (vt.)	Bailey 1911
	latöṅ	kick (n.)	Bailey 1911
	latöṅ cīlĕāmig‘	kick (vt.)	Bailey 1911
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	bi **te** gi phi	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	bi **ting**-phe	kick	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	bi **te** gi phi	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.07
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rdok** thu ɣə wɟjap	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.05
Tibetan (Batang)	**dʊ**^{13} ʑũ^{55}dʑɑuʔ^{53}	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**doʔ**^{31}dʑa^{53}ɕeʔ^{31}	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**toŋ**^{13}caʔ^{53}-ɕyʔ^{13}	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.2
	toŋ^{13}ca^{52} ɕu^{13}	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.02
Tibetan (Written)	**rdeg(s)**-pa brdegs brdeg rdegs	kick, to knock, to beat (v.)	Coblin 1986:383
	rdog bkjag gʑu	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.01
	rdog rgjag gʑus	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.1
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**tyúk**	kick (v.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Thakali	**Tohk** pa-ce pun-la	kick (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.61
Thakali (Tukche)	**ţohk** pɔ-ce pun-lɔ	kick	Hari 1971:2.B.1.61
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Athpare (Rai)	**tiŋ**-	kick	Ebert 1997
	tiŋs-ue	kick	Ebert 1997
	tiŋ ma	kick	Ebert 1997
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	laT **The**	kick (n.)	Rai 1985
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	**tayk**-cā	kick (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.61
Thulung	**theak**-	kick (v.)	Allen 1975
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***tek**^{H} KICK			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***tek**	kick; hoof	Matisoff 1972b:14; Coblin 1986:100
	***tek**^{H}	kick	Matisoff 2003a:586
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**thep**^{35}	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.28
	thep^{35}	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.41
Achang (Luxi)	**thiap**^{55}	kick	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**thip**^{35}	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.29
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**tɕhɛ**^{55}	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.47
Yi (Mile)	**ɖṳ**^{33}	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dṳ**^{33}	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**thiɑ**^{33}	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.37
	thuɑ^{33}	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.37
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Youle)	**thi**^{33}	kick	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu	**thêʔ**	kick	Coblin 1986:100
Lahu (Lancang)	**the**^{54}	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.43
Lahu (Black)	**thêʔ**	kick	Matisoff 1972b:14
	the^{54}	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**the**^{6}	kick	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**hti** 2	kick	Matisoff 1972b:14
	hti [2]	kick	Coblin 1986:100
Lisu (Central)	**hti**^{2}	kick (v.)	Fraser 1922
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Dazhai)	**te̱**^{33}	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**te̱**^{33}	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**the**^{55}	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.30
Hani (Shuikui)	**thɛ**^{55}	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**thɛ**^{55}	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.42
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d’ieg/d’iei**	kick (v.)	Karlgren 1957:866q
	d’ieg/d’iei	animal’s foot, hoof	Karlgren 1957:877h
	tiek/tiek	hoof	Karlgren 1957:877o
Chinese (Old)	**t’iek**	kick	Karlgren 1923:195
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**t’i**	hoof	Karlgren 1957:877o

[a] Tangkhul **ka**, Kachai **-kə-**, and Garo **ga-** reflect the same velar prefix.

Chinese comparandum

踶 OC ***d’ieg**, *GSR* #866q ‘kick (v.)’; Schuessler 2007:211 ***dêh**; Mand. **dì**.
蹢 OC ***tiek**, *GSR* #877o ‘hoof’; Schuessler 2007:494 ***têk**; B & S 2011: ***t**^{ʕ}**ek**; Mand. **dí**.
蹄 OC ***d’ieg**, *GSR* #877h ‘hoof’; Schuessler 2007:494 ***dê**; Mand. **tí**.
踢 OC (***t’iek**), *GSR* (not in #850) ‘kick (v.)’; Schuessler 2007: (***lhêk**); Mand. **tī**.

(2) PKC *tool-I, *tolʔ-II SLIDE / BACKSLIDE / GLIDE (v.i.)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tool**-I, tolʔ-II	SLIDE / BACKSLIDE / GLIDE (v.i.)	VanBik 2009:230
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**tolh**	glide	VanBik 2009:230
Thado	**kì**-tôol-I, kì-tòol-II	slide, glide	VanBik 2009:230
Tiddim	**tolʔ**^{3}	slide down	VanBik 2009:230
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**tòlʔ**-I, tólʔ-II	backslide, slide	VanBik 2009:230
Lai (Hakha)	**tolʔ**-INV	backslide, slide (v.i.)	VanBik 2009:230
Lushai [Mizo]	**tàwlh**	move with a sliding motion, to slip along, to toboggan (v.)	VanBik 2009:230

(3) PKC *tholʔ SLIDE / BACKSLIDE / GLIDE (v.t.)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***thol?**	SLIDE / BACKSLIDE / GLIDE (v.t.)	VanBik 2009:411
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**thol?**^{3}	slide something down	VanBik 2009:411
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thol?**-INV	slide something down	VanBik 2009:411

(4) PCC *hlaaŋ-I, *hlaan-II STEP (v.) / LIFT UP / LIFT DOWN

1.2.2. Central Chin			
*Central Chin	***hlaaŋ**-I, hlaan-II	STEP (v.) / LIFT UP / LIFT DOWN	VanBik 2009:1123
Lai (Hakha)	(**kĕe**) hlâaŋ-I hlăan-II	take steps	VanBik 2009:1123
Lushai [Mizo]	**hláang**-I, hlàan-II	lift up, to lift down, to lift over, to lift across (v.)	VanBik 2009:1123

(5) PKar *thu^{B} SWAY / SWING

7. Karenic			
*Karen	***thu**^{B}	sway, swing	Luangthongkum 2013:287
Kayah	**thu**^{11}	sway, swing	Luangthongkum 2013:287
Kayaw	**thu**^{11}	sway, swing	Luangthongkum 2013:287
Pwo (Northern)	**thu**^{33}	sway, swing	Luangthongkum 2013:287
Pwo (Southern)	**thu**^{55}	sway, swing	Luangthongkum 2013:287
Sgaw (Northern)	**tho**$^{31\sim}$	sway, swing	Luangthongkum 2013:287
Sgaw (Southern)	**thu**^{45,}	sway, swing	Luangthongkum 2013:287

(6) PTani *kor TAKE A STEP

1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	***kor**	take a step	Sun 1993a:414
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**kɯr**	take a step	Sun 1993a
	kɯr-bo:	step over (a ditch)	Sun 1993b
	əŋ-min-**kɯr**	stroll	Sun 1993b
Bokar	do **kor**	step / stride (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0916.24
	do-**kor**	classifier (step)	Sun 1993b
	kor	take a step	Sun 1993a
	kor	step / stride (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0916.24
	kor tɕaŋ	step on / trample / stamp (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1658.24
	kor-boŋ	step, stride over (a ditch)	Sun 1993b
	kor-boŋ	cross (v.)	Sun 1993b
	kor-boŋ	stride across	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**kor** boŋ	step; pass over (ditch); cross (river)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:570.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:741.51
Galo	a **kor**	pace (step) (n:clfq.)	GLDC 2009
	kor-bo-nam	cross (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	kor caa	step (up) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	kor len	step (out) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	kor loo	step (down) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	kor nam	step (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lə **kor**	step; pace (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**kor**-nam	step	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kor**	take a step	Sun 1993a

(7) PTB *grwat TRAVEL / GO THROUGH

This reconstruction is due to Gong 2001:28.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***grwat**	travel / go through	Matisoff 2003a:591
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**’gro**	go	Marrison 1967
	(thog khar) jar **figro**	go upstairs (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1609.01
	bgrod	walk (v.)	Marrison 1967
	brgjud	pass / go by (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1448.01
	gro	go	Sun 1985c:551
	hgro	go / leave (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1579.01
	ḥgrod	go; travel	Gong Hwang-cherng 2001:28
	khrom fidus la **figro**	go (to market / a fair) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1334.01
	mar **figro**	go downstairs (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1716.01
	phji la **figro**	go out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.01
	figro	walk (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1815.01
	figro	walk; go	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:572.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:738.1
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	越	pass over	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3662
Chinese (GSR #)	**0303e**	pass over	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3662
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gi̯wăt**	transgress / extend	Karlgren 1957:303e
Chinese (Old)	**wjat**	go beyond / transgress	Baxter 1992:971
	ɢ^{w}at {[ɢ]^{w}at}	pass over	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3662
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**hjwot**	pass over	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3662
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**yüe**	transgress / extend	Karlgren 1957:303e
	yuè	pass over	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3662

Chinese comparandum

越 OC ***gi̯wăt**, *GSR* #303e ‘transgress, extend’; Schuessler 2007:596 ***wat**; B & S 2011: ***ɢ^{w}at {[ɢ]^{w}at}**; Mand. **yuè**.
歲 OC ***si̯wɑd**, *GSR* #346a ‘year, harvest, planet Jupiter’; Schuessler 2007:485 ***swats**; B & S 2011: ***s-q^{wh}at-s**; Mand. **suì**.

Baxter and Sagart (1988:60, ap. Schuessler 2007:596) compare 越 ***ɢ^{w}at {[ɢ]^{w}at}** ‘extend’, Mand. **yuè** with 遠 ‘far’ ***C.ɢ^{w}anʔ {C.ɢ^{w}a[n]ʔ}**, Mand. **yuǎn**. However, Matisoff (*HPTB*:452) relates 遠 **yuǎn** directly to PTB ***g-wəy-n** FAR (§9.2.7) (q.v.).

(8) PKC *laaŋ-I, *laan-II TRAVEL / VISIT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***laaŋ**-I, laan-II	TRAVEL / VISIT	VanBik 2009:1060
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**la:ng**^{2} > la:n^{3}	visit (by the ghost of a person who had an unnatural death)	VanBik 2009:1060
	la:ng^{2} > la:n^{3}	visit [of the ghost of a person who had an unnatu (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:902
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**lâaŋ**-I, lăan-II	travel (to a distance) and return the same day	VanBik 2009:1060
Lushai [Mizo]	**láang**-I, làan-II	go and return the same day, to go and get back again the same day (v.)	VanBik 2009:1060

(9) PKC *yin TRAVEL / VISIT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***yin**	TRAVEL / VISIT	VanBik 2009:1242
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**zîn**-I, zìn-II	travel, visit	VanBik 2009:1242
Tiddim	**zin**^{1}	go on a journey	VanBik 2009:1242
	zin^{1}	go on a journey (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2026
	zin^{1}	go on a journey	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊzin/ˆzin	travel (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**lăm**-zìn	journey, road	VanBik 2009:1242
Lushai [Mizo]	**zĭn**	travel, to go on a journey (v.)	VanBik 2009:1242
	zin	go on a journey (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3147

(10) PKar *jam^{B} TREAD

7. Karenic				
*Karen	***jam**^{B}	tread	Luangthongkum 2013:310	[a]
Bwe	**ja**^{33}	tread	Luangthongkum 2013:310	
Kayah	**ji**^{11}	tread	Luangthongkum 2013:310	
Kayan	**ɟaŋ**^{11}	tread	Luangthongkum 2013:310	
Pa-O (Northern)	**jam**^{53}	tread	Luangthongkum 2013:310	
Pa-O (Southern)	**jam**^{55}	tread	Luangthongkum 2013:310	
Pwo (Northern)	**jãi**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	tread	Luangthongkum 2013:310	
Pwo (Southern)	**jãi**^{33}	tread	Luangthongkum 2013:310	
Sgaw (Southern)	**jɔ**^{31}	tread	Luangthongkum 2013:310	
Sgaw (Northern)	**jɔ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	tread	Luangthongkum 2013:310	

[a] [Source Note] Pwo has irregular vowels, i.e. ãi instead of ɛ̃ (N.PW) and ɔ̃ (S.PN).

(11) PCC *leeŋ-I, *leen-II VISIT / WANDER

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**khúo** láay léeŋ-I, lèen-II	wander around the village	VanBik 2009:1062
1.2.2. Central Chin			
*Central Chin	***leeŋ**-I, leen-II	VISIT / WANDER	VanBik 2009:1062
Lai (Hakha)	**lêeŋ**-I, lĕen-II	visit, walk about	VanBik 2009:1062
Lai (Falam)	**lĕeŋ**-I, lèen-II	visit, walk about	VanBik 2009:1062
Lushai [Mizo]	**léeng**-I, lèen-II	pay a visit (to another’s house or to a nearby village), to walk about (v.)	VanBik 2009:1062

(12) PCN *tsaj WALK

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
*Central Naga	***tsaj**	WALK	Bruhn 2014a:III.048
Ao (Chungli)	**cā cā**	walk (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:3
	ja ja	walk (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tʃa^{2}tʃa^{2}	walk (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.048
Lotha Naga	**tsa^{2}-**	walk (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.048
	tsa	walk	Murry *et al.* 1978:135
Sangtam	**tse**	walk (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tse chi	walk	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	lim **tsa**-a	walk (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tsaa	walk	Kumar 1973b:43
	tsah	walk	Kumar 1973b:95

(13) PKC *waak-I, *waʔ-II WANDER / CRAWL / ROAM

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***waak**-I, waʔ-II	WANDER / CRAWL / ROAM	VanBik 2009:1178
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	bok **vāk** hī	crawl	VanBik 2009:1178; VanBik 2009:34
Thado	**vâʔ**-I, vàa-II	wander	VanBik 2009:1178
Tiddim	**va:k**^{2}	roam, go out without any purpose, walk	VanBik 2009:1178
	va:k^{1}	roam; go out without any purpose (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1942
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**wauk**	crawl	VanBik 2009:1178
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-vak	crawl, to proceed on all fours (legs and hands), as baby (v.)	VanBik 2009:1178
Khumi	**avaa**	crawl	VanBik 2009:1178
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**vaak**-I, vaʔ-II	wander, roam, crawl	VanBik 2009:1178
Lai (Falam)	**vâak**-INV	wander, roam, crawl	VanBik 2009:1178
Lushai [Mizo]	**vâak**-I, vàh-II	wander about, to roam, to creep, to crawl (v.)	VanBik 2009:1178
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**á** váw	crawl on the belly (v.)	VanBik 2009:1178

(14) PCC *lek WAVE (v.) / FLASH

1.2.2. Central Chin			
*Central Chin	***lek**	WAVE (v.) / FLASH	VanBik 2009:1066
Lai (Hakha)	**lek**-INV	wave (as hand), flash (as lightning)	VanBik 2009:1066

Lushai [Mizo]	**lék**	wave, to give a prominent position to, to take or hold in the hand (v.)	VanBik 2009:1066

6.7.5 Medium Primary (e.g. air)

(1) PTB *byar ⋉ *p $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{i}{u}$ r FLY (v.)

This etymon represents a combination of two roots set up separately in *STC*: ***byer** (pp. 83, 166) and ***pur** ⋉ ***pir** (#398). Thus, as now conceived, this etymon displays the same pattern of allofamy as PTB ***s/r-mul** ⋉ ***s-mil** ⋉ ***s-myal** HAIR / FUR / FEATHER (§1.6.1), i.e. the allofams simultaneously illustrate two of the best attested TB variational patterns: ***-u-** ⋉ ***-i-** and ***-ya-** ⋉ ***-i-**.

This root is very probably related to PTB ***pur** ⋉ ***pwar** BUTTERFLY (§2.2.6).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	*__byer__	fly (v.)	Coblin 1986:82

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__byer__	fly	Chou Fa-kao 1972:246k
	*__byer__	fly (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:586; LaPolla 1987:77
	*__pur ⋉ pir__	fly (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:607
	*__pur ⋉ pir__	fly	Benedict 1972:398; Chou Fa-kao 1972:473a

1.1.1. Tani: ***bjar** FLY (v.)

**Tani*	*__bjar__	fly (v.)	Sun 1993a:161

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**ǰar**	fly off	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ǰɯr**	fly (v.)	Sun 1993a
	ǰɯr	fly	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**bjar**	fly (v.)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.24
Bokar Lhoba	**bjar**	fly	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	bjar	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.51
	byar	fly (v.)	LaPolla 1987:77
Galo	**jar** nam	fly (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**ɟar**-nam	fly	Simon 1976
	ɟar-rɯp-nam	fly up	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ber**	fly (v.)	Sun 1993a; LaPolla 1987:77; Benedict 1972:398
Damu	**biar** ra	fly (v.)	Sun 1993b
	biar ɟeʔ	fly (v.)	Sun 1993b
Milang	**byar**-ma	fly	Tayeng 1976

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Yimchungrü	^{2}**pin**	fly (v.)	Weidert 1987:748

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **jar**	fly (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**bir**	fly (v.)	Benedict 1972:398

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**bil**	fly (v.)	Benedict 1972:398

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**phər**	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**mphər**	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.5
Tibetan (Central)	**ḥphir**-ba	fly (v.)	Benedict 1972:398
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**phir**^{55}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.2
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥphur**-ba	fly (v.)	Benedict 1972:398
	ɦphur	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.1

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**pE:r**- (pE)	fly (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**per**-a	fly (v.,intr.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	**bher**-ne	fly (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.09

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**byer**	fly (v.)	LaPolla 1987:77; Benedict 1972:398
Rumdali	**per**^{ɦ}-ma	fly (v.)	Weidert 1987:748
Sunwar	**ber**-cā	fly (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.09

4. Nungic

Anong	ə **phr** [ə phər]	shake (as a cloth)	Benedict 1972:398 [a]
Trung [Dulong]	**bĕ**^{ɹ53}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.46
	biel	fly (v.)	LaPolla 1987:77
	biel	fly	Benedict 1972:83n249
Dulong	**bɛɹ**^{53}	fly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ber**^{53}	fly (v.)	LaPolla 1987:77
	bĕɹ^{53}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**zer**^{53}	fly (v.)	LaPolla 1987:77
	zĕɹ^{53}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	**bia**^{33}	fly	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1826.
	bia^{33}	fly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.34
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**bia**^{35}	fly	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1826.
Nusu (Northern)	**biɔ**^{31}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**biɑ**^{55}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**biɑ**^{55}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.45

[a] These Nungish forms are included in *STC* #398 without comment; the semantic association apparently being "movement through the air".

Chinese comparandum

飛 OC ***pi̯wər**, *GSR* #580a 'to fly'; Schuessler 2007: ***pəi** < ***pui**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.pər {Cə.pə [r] }** (dial. ***-r** › ***-j)**; Mand. **fēi**.
翁/翂 OC ***pi̯wən**, *GSR* #471e-f 'fly, soar'; Coblin 86:82 ST * + **pjur** > OC * **pjən**; Schuessler 2007:236 ***pən**; B & S 2011: ***pər {(Cə.)pə [r] }**; Mand. **fēn**.
奮 OC * **pi̯wən**, *GSR* #473a 'spread wings, fly up'; Coblin 86:82 ST ***pjur** > OC ***pjənh**; Schuessler 2007:236 ***pəns**; B & S 2011: ***pən-s {p [ə] [n] -s}**; Mand. **fèn**.

bian/fan

(2) PTB * $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{p}{b}$ yam FLY (v.)

The rGyalrongic dialects reflect a prototype with nasal prefix **m-byam**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__byam__	fly / run (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:586

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**jim**^{35}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.49
	'yem-ma:	fly (v.)	NEFA (India) 1963

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-jəm** FLY / FLOW

**Ao*	*a-**jəm**	FLY / FLOW	Bruhn 2014a:II.290
Ao (Chungli)	-**jūm**	flow/fly (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	ae **im**	flow (v.)	Marrison 1967
	a^{2}-**jəm**^{2}	fly / flow (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.290
	ima-a o	fly (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**yem**	fly (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**jim**	fly, flow [flew, flowed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	t(ə)-ali-**jim**	overflow [overflowed] (NZP + 'be in excess' + 'flow') (v.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	**ye**	fly (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	**ye**	fly (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**pje̱n**^{33}	fly (v.)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.47
	pyen	fly (v.)	Marrison 1967
	pyēn	fly (v.)	Matisoff 1974:5
	pyen	fly	Benedict 1972:51n171

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**yam** s̱ẖĕnnig'	fly, cause to (v.)	Bailey 1911
	yam mig'	fly (vi.)	Bailey 1911

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**phu**^{31}	fly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.16
	phʉ^{55}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.17
Lyuzu	**bʐe**^{35}	fly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.18
Muya	thi^{33}**ndʐue**^{55}	fly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ndʐye**^{35}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.15
Namuyi	mi^{33}**ndʐu**^{55}**ndʐu**^{55}	fly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	khɯ^{11}**bã**^{35}	fly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**bʒɛ̃**^{13}	fly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	khə^{13}**bʒɛ̃**^{13}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.11
	k^{h}ə^{13} **bʒɛ̃**^{13}	fly (v.)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Pumi (Taoba)	khə^{35}**bẽ**^{35}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.10
	k^{h}ə^{35} **bẽ**^{35}	fly (v.)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Qiang (Mawo)	**gzi**	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**ʐé**	fly (v.)	Evans 1999:1891
Qiang (Taoping)	**dʐe**^{231}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dʐe^{241}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**rde**^{13}	fly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tə^{35}**de**^{55}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.16
Xumi	**bu**^{33}**ʐĩ**^{55}	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.20
	dʐɛ̃^{55}	fly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	tə^{55}**mdzɪ**^{55}	fly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**bjo**	fly (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.12
Ergong (Danba)	**bʐo** la	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.14
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	**ɣbjêm** bjá	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	'kə **βjem**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	də^{3}**βjam**^{53}	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	də^{3}**βjom**^{5}	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	də **'xjom**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	də **'ɣjom**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	jə kə **'mbom**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong	ka **bjam**	fly (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:782.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ka-**wjam**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	ka **'βjam**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	ka **'βji**^{m} se	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	ka **'βjom**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	ko22**wjoŋ44**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	ku **'βjam**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	ku **'βja**^{m}	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	kə22 ma44 **mbjim44**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə22 **mbyam44**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong	kə **bjam**	bird	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:142.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**wjam**	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	kə-**wjaŋ**	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	kə1**ve3'jam53**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	kə22 **mbjam44**	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **mbjam44**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	kə22 **mbjam44**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	kə35**'βjom53**	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	kəu **'βjam**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556

rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	kəw **'jam**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kə^{3}**βjom**^{5}	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	kə **'bjam**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	kə **'b^{i}a^{m}**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	kə **'mbom**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	kə **'pjam**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kə **'ɣjam**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	kə **'ɣjam**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	kə **'ɣjem**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	kə **'ɣjem**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	kə **'ɣjom**	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438
	kə **'ɣjom**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	kə **'βjam**	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438
	kə **'βjam**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	kə **'βjam**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	kə **'βja^{m}**	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438
	kə **'βja^{m}**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kə **'βjom**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kə **'βjom**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	kə **'βjom**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	kə **'βjom**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	kə **'βjom**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	kə **'βjoʔm**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	kə **'^{m}ba^{m}**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	kə **'^{m}b^{i}am**	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438
	kə **'^{m}b^{i}am**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	kə **w'jam**	bird	Nagano & Prins 2013:1438
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **bjɑm**	fly (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.11
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**mbjo**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**mbju**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	naqał **'bjum**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	nɯqam bɯ **mbjom**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	ta^{3}**βjam**^{3}	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	ta^{3}**βjaʔm**^{3}	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	tej **'βjoms**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	te **'rjems**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	tuo **'pja**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**xbjo**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**ɣbim**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	ɳo **'xbjom**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	ɟotə **'mbjo**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ʻkə **bjan**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**βɟo**	fly (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1556
rGyalrong	ka **Nbyam**	fly (v.)	Nagano 1997:12.16
	kA **Nbyam**	fly	Nagano 1997:140
rGBenzhen	ka-**nbjam**	fly (v.)	Sun 1997b

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***byam**^{1} FLY (v.)

**Lolo-Burmese*	***byam**^{1}	fly (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:586; Matisoff 1978a:22

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**kã^{31}**	dry	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**pjam^{31}**	fly (v.)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Rangoon)	**pjɑ̃^{22}**	fly (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**pjɑ̃^{22}**	fly (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:782.40
Burmese (Written)	**pjaṁ^{2}**	fly (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.26; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:782.39
	pyaṁ	fly (v.)	Marrison 1967
	pyam	fly (v.)	Matisoff 1978a:22; Matisoff 1974:5
	pyaṁ	fly (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	pyam	fly (v.)	Benedict 1972:29n93
	pyam	fly	Benedict 1972:51n171
Marma	**pyaiŋ**	fly (v.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:319

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***(b)-yam**^{1}	fly	Bradley 1979b:659

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**thö** / thɛ	fly	Benedict 1972:29n93
Lahu (Lancang)	**po^{31}**	fly (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.43
Lahu (Black)	**pò**	fly (v.)	Matisoff 1978a:22; Matisoff 1974:5
	po^{31}	fly (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:782.33
	pu^{31}	fly (v.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**po^{31}**	fly (v.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**tlö**	fly	Benedict 1972:29n93

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	fu **bjɔ**	flying squirrel	Hansson 1989:190
Akha (Thai)	ho-**bjɔ**	flying squirrel	Hansson 1989:255
	xho-**bjɔ**	flying squirrel	Hansson 1989:255
Hani (Dazhai)	**bjɔ^{55}**	fly (v.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:782.31
Hani (Lüchun)	fù **bɔ́**	flying squirrel	Hansson 1989:190
	fu **bɔ́**	flying squirrel	Hansson 1989:255
	bjɔ^{55}	fly (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.41

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**dʑy˥**	fly (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2687
Na (Yongning)	**dze˩**	fly (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	dze˩˨	fly (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**bi^{21}**	fly (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1318.45
Naxi (Eastern)	**bi^{31}**	fly (v.)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	**dze^{13}**	fly (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:782.29
Naxi (Western)	**mbi^{31}**	fly (v.)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mbi^{31}**	fly (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:782.28

(3) PNC *leeŋ-I, *leen-II FLY (v.)

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

**Northern Chin*	***leeŋ**-I, leen-II	FLY (v.)	VanBik 2009:1021
Sizang	**leang** hī	fly	VanBik 2009:1021
Thado	**léeŋ**-I, lèen-II	fly	VanBik 2009:1021
Tiddim	**le:ng^{2}** > le:n^{3}	fly	VanBik 2009:1021

(4) PTk *praj FLY

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***praj**	fly	Mortensen 2012:376
Huishu	kə-**pej**	fly (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.010
Kachai	kə-**pwe**	fly	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.006
Tusom	kə-**prie**	fly	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.006
	kə-**prie**	fly (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.009
Ukhrul	kə-**paj**	fly, jump	Mortensen 2012

(5) PTani *bjaŋ SWIM

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***bjaŋ**	swim	Sun 1993a:412

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	**ǰa:**	swim; drift; hover	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ǰa:-kuɪr	drift about	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-si a-ruŋ **ǰa:**	swim under water	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-si **ǰa:**	swim	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**bjaŋ** jen	float (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1553.24
	bjoŋ	swim	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	bjoŋ (jen)	float	Sun 1993b
	i ɕi **bjoŋ**	swim (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1763.24
Bokar Lhoba	**bjaŋ** jen	float	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:758.51
Galo	i si **ɟa**-nam	swim (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	jaa nam	float (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻjaa caa	swim upstream (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻjaa nam	swim; float (vie.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɟa-yen-la-dak-nam	float (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**ɟa**-nam	swim	Simon 1976
Tagin	**ɟa**-kir-nam	float (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**baŋ**	swim	Sun 1993a
Milang	**bya**-ma	swim	Tayeng 1976

(6) PTB *pyaw SWIM / FLOAT / RAFT

There are several good Chinese comparanda to this root, including *GSR* #136d, 1157i, 1233k, and 1233l (see below).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pyaw**	fly, swim, float	Benedict 1972:176

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**pyau ~ byau**	fly, float; play, shoot, as a fish	Benedict 1972:176

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**ḥphyo**-ba	swim, soar, float	Benedict 1972:176

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	浮	float (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:743
	浮／漂	float (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1352
Chinese (GSR #)	**1233l**	float (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:743

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old)	**m.bu** {m.b(r)u}	float (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:743

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**bjuw**	float (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:743

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**fú**	float (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:743
	piāo	float	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

桴 OC ***pi̯u**, *GSR* #136d 'raft'; Mand. **fú**.
汳 ***p'i̯u** 136h
漂 OC ***p'i̯og**, *GSR* #1157i 'to float, drift'; Mand. **piāo**.
桴 OC ***p'iŭg**, *GSR* #1233k 'raft; beam'; Mand. **fú**.
浮 OC ***b'i̯ôg**, *GSR* #1233l 'to float'; B & S 2011: ***m.bu {*m.b(r)u}**; Mand. **fú**.

6.7.6 Circularly

(1) PKC *kup CIRCLE / EMBRACE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***kup**	CIRCLE / EMBRACE	VanBik 2009:266

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**kup**	bend a stem (? "reed") into a circle (v.)	VanBik 2009:266

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**kup**-I, kuʔ-II	circle, to embrace (v.)	VanBik 2009:266

(2) PKC *wial CURL UP / ENTWINE

This etymon strongly resembles PKC ***weel*** CIRCLE / GO (round) (§6.7), and should probably be considered an allofam of it. See also PTB ***wal*** ROUND / CIRCULAR (§9.7.2).

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***wial**	CURL UP / ENTWINE	VanBik 2009:1141

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**víel**-I, vìel-II	encircle, turn around	VanBik 2009:1141
Tiddim	**vial**^{3} > vial?^{3}	entwine [e.g. a snake] (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1957
	vial^{3} >vialh^{3}	entwine (e.g. snake)	VanBik 2009:1141
	vial^{3}/vialʔ^{3}	entwine [eg. a snake]	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**víal**	curl up, to coil, to encircle (as snake, etc.), to twist about, to be looped (v.)	VanBik 2009:1141
	vial	curl up; coil; encircle (as a snake) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3091

(3) PKC *lip CURL UP / EVAGINATE / TURN INSIDE OUT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***lip**	CURL UP / EVAGINATE / TURN INSIDE OUT	VanBik 2009:1006

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**lip**	evaginate	VanBik 2009:1006

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**lip**-I, liʔ-II	evaginate (as skin), curl up, turn inside out (as skin)	VanBik 2009:1006
Lai (Falam)	**lìp**-I, lîʔ-II	evaginate (as skin), curl up	VanBik 2009:1006
Lushai [Mizo]	**lìp**-I, lìh-II	turn inside out (as umbrella), to strip off and turn back (as roofing) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1006

(4) PTB *sik PINCH / TWIST

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***sik**	pinch / twist	Matisoff 2003a:612

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***sik-I**, ***siʔ-II** PINCH / NIP / PLUCK

**Chin*	***sik**-I, siʔ-II	PINCH / NIP / PLUCK	VanBik 2009:666

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**sik** hī	pinch	VanBik 2009:666
Thado	**sìʔ**-I, sìi-II	pinch	VanBik 2009:666
Tiddim	**sik**^{3} > siʔ^{3}	pinch with fingers	VanBik 2009:666
	su:k^{2}	squeeze, wring	VanBik 2009:694
	su:k^{2}	squeeze; wring (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1649
	su:k^{2}	squeeze, wring	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**‘sik**	pluck	VanBik 2009:666
Chinbon	**ho:k**	squeeze	So-Hartmann 1988:154

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**sik**-I, siʔ-II	pinch, nip	VanBik 2009:666
Lushai [Mizo]	**sìk**-I, sìh-II	pinch or nip (with the finger nails), to pluck (v.)	VanBik 2009:666

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	*m-**tshək**	PINCH	Bruhn 2014a:II.201
Ao (Chungli)	mə^{3}**tsək**^{1}	pinch (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.201
	mú **sùk**	pinch (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
Ao (Mongsen)	mú **c^{h}ùk**	pinch (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:13
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mə **tshək**	pinch [pinched] (v.)	Coupe 2007

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***sik** PINCH

**Tangkhulic*	***sik**	pinch	Mortensen 2012:728
Tangkhul	**sik**	pinch	Bhat 1969:94
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**sik**	pinch	Mortensen 2012

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**zy**^{35}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.17
Namuyi	ʁɛ^{55}**ʂ|**^{33}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.19
Qiang (Mawo)	**suɛ**	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.08

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	**suʔ**^{55}; tɕĭʔ^{55}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**tśiʔ**^{55}	twist	LaPolla 1987:204
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**tśhɯʔ**^{55}	twist	LaPolla 1987:204

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***r-sik** ≷ ***s-yik** TWIST

**Lolo-Burmese*	***r-sik** ~ **s-yik**	twist	Matisoff 1972b:130
	***r-sik** ≷ ***s-yik**	twist	LaPolla 1987:204 [a]

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**rac**	wind around, encircle (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	rac	wind around, encircle	LaPolla 1987:204

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Luquan	**ʂʐ̩55** ~ **ʂʐ̩**33	twist	Matisoff 1972b:130
Yi (Dafang)	**sɒ**^{13}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.22
Yi (Liangshan)	lɛ^{33}**ʂ|**^{55}	twist (wring); wring	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂ|^{55}	twist (wring); wring	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ʂi**^{55}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**si̱**	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ʂi**^{55}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ʂ|**^{21}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.23
Yi (Xide)	**ʂ|**^{55}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**šɨ́**	twist	Matisoff 1972b:130
	ʂ|^{35}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ʂ|**^{4}	wring	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**shï1**	twist	Matisoff 1972b:130
	ʃ|^{55}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.27

[a] [Source Note] [*TSR* 130]

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**yeu** LS	twist	LaPolla 1987:204; Matisoff 1972b:130

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**sɨ**^{45}	twist; wring	Pelkey 2011:629
Southern Muji	**sɯ**^{55}	twist; wring	Pelkey 2011:629
Phola	**ʂɯ**^{33}	twist; wring	Pelkey 2011:629
Hlepho Phowa	**fɯ**^{33}	twist; wring	Pelkey 2011:629
Phuza	**si**^{55}(-t^{h}ɛ^{55})	twist; wring	Pelkey 2011:629

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	ʁæ|ʂv˥	twist, wring (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2969
Na (Yongning)	**ʂv˥**	twist, to wring (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʂəɹ**^{55}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.28

(5) PKC *liŋ ROLL UP / CURL UP

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***liŋ**	ROLL UP / CURL UP	VanBik 2009:1047

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**ling**^{3}	curly as hair (of some chickens)	VanBik 2009:1047
	ling^{3} > lit^{3}	curly as hair [of some chicken] (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:957
	liŋ^{3}**/lit**^{3}	curly as hair ...	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**lîŋ**-I, lĭn-II	roll up, curl up (used mainly for hair)	VanBik 2009:1047

(6) PTk *niŋ SPIN

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***niŋ**	spin	Mortensen 2012:776
Kachai	kə-k^{h}ə-**naŋ**	spin	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.010
Tangkhul	**nìŋ**	spin	Bhat 1969:97
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**niŋ**	spin, rotate (a coin, etc.), to wish, to think	Mortensen 2012

(7) PLB *ʔ-gyaŋ^{1} SPIN / ROTATE / TOP (toy)

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-gyaŋ**^{1}	spin	Matisoff 2003a:592

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**gyaŋ**	top (toy) (n.)	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**cɔ**	spin, turn, go around	Matisoff 1988a:486-487
Lahu (Yellow)	**tsɔ**^{1}	rotate / spin	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**tʃo**^{44}	rotate / spin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:763.27
	tʃo^{55}ʐ̩^{44}	surround	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:687.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tɕɔ**^{33}lɔ^{33}lɔ^{33}	around	Bradley 1994
	tɕɔ^{33}lɔ^{33}lɔ^{33} kwa^{33}	around	Bradley 1994
	tɕɔ^{55}zi^{33}ta^{55}	surround (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**tʂo**^{44}	turn around (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1806.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**jaw̱ jaw̱**	surround, go around	Lewis 1989:217

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**tsɯ**^{33}	revolve; rotate; spin	Pelkey 2011:846
Phola	**tʂɔ**^{55}	revolve; rotate; spin	Pelkey 2011:846
Hlepho Phowa	**tsə**^{33}	revolve; rotate; spin	Pelkey 2011:846
Phuza	**tsʌ**^{55}	revolve; rotate; spin	Pelkey 2011:846

(8) PTB *s-mwəy SPINDLE / TWIRL

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(s-)mwiy**	twirl about; twirl, spindle	Weidert 1987:335; Benedict 1972:195
	***s-mwəy**	spindle / twirl	Matisoff 2003a:603

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Siyin	**mui**	spindle	Benedict 1972:195

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**hmŭi**	spindle (n.)	Weidert 1987:335
	hmui-thal	cotton spindle worked with a wheel	Bhaskararao 1996:1149
	hmui-thăl ≷ **hmui**-thlur	spindle	Benedict 1972:195

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Meluri	a **mu**	spindle (cotton)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	a **mu**	spindle (cotton)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	ka-**múi**	spindle (n.)	Weidert 1987:335
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**mui**	spindle (n.)	Weidert 1987:335
	mui	spindle (cotton)	Marrison 1967

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-mwəy**^{3}	twirl about	Weidert 1987:335

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**hmwé**	twirl about	Weidert 1987:335; Benedict 1972:195
	hmwe’	twirl about, whirl	Benedict 1976a

Chinese comparandum

麾 OC ***χmwiɑ**, *GSR* #17i ‘(signal) flag, pennant; signal (v.)’; Schuessler 2007:286 ***hmai**; Mand. **huī**. 徽 OC ***χmi̯wər**, *GSR* #584h ‘signal, display (v.); flag (n.)’; Schuessler 2007:286 ***hməi**; B & S 2011: ***m̥əj**; Mand. **huī**.

Comment: Regarding the OC/PTB semantic comparison here, note that a signal flag or pennant is typically brandished on a pole, and waved or whirled about.

(9) PTB *m-p(y)up TURN OVER / ROLL OVER / SEARCH FOR

On the basis of the Akha doublet **po HS** ‘roll over, search for’ and **pyawˆ** ‘turn over, be twisted’, two separate allofamic roots were reconstructed in *LTSR* ##19-20 and in *HPTB* pp. 337, 369. However, it now seems better to simply combine them. The Akha doublet is handled by positing a variant with medial **-y-**. Further accurately transcribed Loloish forms will clarify this etymology.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-pup**	turn over / search for / seek	Matisoff 2003a:607

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Chokri	**phu**	seek	Marrison 1967
Mao	**pho**	seek	Marrison 1967

Rengma	**fü**	seek	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**phu** che	seek	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**phu**	seek	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥbub**-pa	be turned over, upside down (v.)	Jäschke 1881:393
3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	**mbu**^{33}**li**^{55}	fall (down); roll (e.g. rock)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:577.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:762.19
	tʂha^{33}**phu**^{55}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.46
Queyu (Xinlong)	tə^{55}**ʂpuə**^{55}	turn inside out (clothing) or the reverse (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1309.13
Xumi	**bɛ**^{33}jĩ^{55}	roll (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1361.17
	bʁ^{33}jĩ^{55}	roll (e.g. rock)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:762.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	tə^{55}**pho**^{55}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.14
4. Nungic			
Nung	**pho**^{55}ʔo^{55}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.21
Dulong	**pɔʔ**^{55}	turn inside out (clothing) or the reverse; turn one's head to the back; turn around (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1309.20; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1387.20; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1806.20
	ɑŋ^{31}guŋ^{55}ɑ^{31}**pɔʔ**^{55}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.20
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***pup**	turn over[1] / roll over / search for ((HIGH);.)	Matisoff 1972b:19
	***pup**	turn over[1] / roll over / search	Matisoff 1972b:19
	***pyap**	turn over[2]	Matisoff 1972b:20
	***pyap**^{H}	turn over	Matisoff 2003a:609
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	**phuʔ**^{55}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.29
6.1.2. Loloish			
PNL	**pup**^{H}	turn over	Chen Kang 1986a:156.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**phoq**	turn over	Björverud 1994
	pho̱^{33}	turn over	Chen Kang 1986a:156.
Luquan	**p'u 22s**	turn over	Matisoff 1972b:19
Nasu	**pho̱**^{2}	turn over	Chen Kang 1986a:156.
Neisu	**pe**^{33}	turn over	Chen Kang 1986a:156.
Nesu	**pu̱**^{33}	turn over	Chen Kang 1986a:156.
Nosu	**phu̱**^{4}	turn over	Chen Kang 1986a:156.
Nusu (Central)	**phu̱**^{53}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.34
Yi (Dafang)	**bɯ**^{33}	roll (e.g. rock)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:762.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**phu̱**^{33}	translate; turn inside out; turn over (reverse)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	pu̱^{33}	again; come back; return (give back); return (go back); turn back; turn inside out; turn over (reverse)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	pu̱^{33}lɛ^{33}mu^{33}	reverse; turn over (reverse)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	(i̱^{21}mo^{33}) **phu̱**^{33}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.37
Yi (Weishan)	**pho**^{33}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.36
Yi (Wuding)	**phu̱**^{2}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.38
Yi (Xide)	i^{55}**phu̱**^{33}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.35
	mbo^{33}	roll (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1361.35
	mbo^{33}	roll (e.g. rock)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:762.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**pu̱**^{33}	turn over	Chen Kang 1986a:156.
Jinuo	a^{33}mə^{44}**pho**^{42}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.44
Kucong	**phɔ33**	turn over	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**phu**^{54}tu^{33}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.43
Lahu (Black)	**phûʔ**	turn over / search for	Matisoff 1972b:19
Lisu	**hpaw2**	turn over	Matisoff 1972b:20
Lisu (Central)	**hpaw**^{2}	turn over (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	ko^{33}de^{31}**pho**^{35}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.40
Lisu (Northern)	**phɔ**^{35}	turn over (V.)	Bradley 1994
	phɔ^{35}la^{33}	turn over; change one's view	Bradley 1994
	phɔ^{35}le^{33}	turn over	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**po**^{44}	turn over	Chen Kang 1986a:156.
Yi (Sani)	**pɤ**^{44}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**po HS**	roll over / search for	Matisoff 1972b:19
	pyaw HS	turn over	Matisoff 1972b:20
	pyaŵ	turn sthg. over; be twisted (v.)	Lewis 1968:385
Hani (Lüchun)	**pu̱**^{33}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.41
Hani (Mojiang)	**fv̱**^{33}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.42
Mpi	**phoʔ**^{3}	turn to the opposite / turn over (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	zi˩ tɕy˥ **p**^{h}**v**˧˥	turn over (when lying down) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2611
Na (Yongning)	**p**^{h}**v**˧˥	turn over (when lying down) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	le^{33}kə^{55}**pv̩**^{33}	turn over (on bed) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1310.45

Chinese comparandum

覆 OC ***p'i̯ôk**, *GSR* #1034m 'turn over, overthrow'; Schuessler 2007:246 ***phuk**; B & S 2011: ***p**^{h}**uk {p**^{h}**(r)uk}**; Mand. **fù**.

(10) PTani *rjat¹ TWIST (STRANDS OF ROPE)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***rjat**^{1}	twist (strands of rope)	Sun 1993a:441
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**rit**	twist (strands of rope)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**jet**	twist (strands of rope); twist (st. in palms); twist (hemp fibers) between the palms	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1225.24
Bokar Lhoba	**jet**	twist together	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:552.51
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**jat**	twist (strands of rope)	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. Deng			
Yidu	**lie**^{55}	twist (hemp fibers) between the palms	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1225.25

(11) PTk *rej TWIST

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***rej**	twist	Mortensen 2012:618
Tusom	k^{h}a-sə-**ra**	twist / squeeze (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.067
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**rej**	twist itself to turn back	Mortensen 2012

(12) PTB * $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{m}{s}$ -naːy TWIST / KNEAD / SOFTEN

French (1983:554) relates PNN ***ɲaːy** SOFT to this root. This is plausible in view of WB **nai** 'knead with hands / trample with feet', i.e. "soften up".

French goes on to make a further association between SOFT and CHEAP, pointing to WB **nai** 'knead', and **jhe-nai** 'cheap', analogous to an antonymous association within Northern Naga, e.g. Chang **sek bu** 'expensive' and **sek ok bu** 'hard'.

This etymon seems definitely to be related to PTB ***s/ʔ-n(w)ay** COHESIVE / STICKY / ELASTIC (§7.1.4).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*m-**naːy**	twist / knead	Matisoff 2003a:604
	***naːy**	knead; twist	Matisoff 1985a:061; Benedict 1972:286
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ŋaj** TWIST / KNEAD			
**Tangkhulic*	***ŋaj**	twist / knead	Mortensen 2012:381
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**nej**	twist / knead	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.060
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**nwe**	twist / knead	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.052
Tangkhul	khə **nai**	knead	Matisoff 1985a:061; Benedict 1972:286
	này	knead	Bhat 1969:91
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**naj**	knead	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**naj**	knead	Mortensen 2012
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***ñaːy**	soft	Matisoff 1985a:061
	***ɲaːy**	soft	French 1983:554
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	i **nyai** bü	soft	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**nyei** pu	cheap	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**nai**	soft	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	mə **nai**	twist	Benedict 1972:286
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**nɛ**^{22}	knead (dough) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1594.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**nɛ**^{22}	knead (dough)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:630.40
Burmese (Written)	**hnâi**	rub hair with limejuice to make soft	Matisoff 1985a:097
	hnâi	rub (hair) with lime juice, etc., to make it soft (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	hnai'	loosen	Matisoff 1985a:097
	nai	knead; twist; knead with hands, or trample with feet	Matisoff 1985a:061; Benedict 1976a
	năi	knead	Benedict 1972:286
	nai'	loose, not firm	Matisoff 1985a:097
	nai'	loose, not firm	Benedict 1976a
	nɑj^{2}	knead (dough) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1594.26
	nɑj^{2}	knead (dough)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:630.39

(13) PTB *wyat TWIST / TURN

Lahu **ɔ̀-vɛ̀ʔ** 'screw' is not from this root, but is rather a borrowing from Modern Burmese **wɛʔ**^{44} 'pig' (cf. WB **wak** 'pig'), which occurs in the Burmese compound **wɛʔ**^{44} **u**^{22} 'pig intestine; screw', the semantic link residing in the curly, twisted appearance of pig intestines. The true Lahu reflex is **vɔ̀ʔ ~ g̈ɔ̀ʔ** 'twist (as fringes)'.

1.1.1. Tani: ***vet** TWIST / TURN			
**Tani*	***vet**	twist / turn	Sun 1993a:442
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**hi(ʔ)** k^{h}rjɯ	twist	Sun 1993b
	hiʔ-khrjɯ	twist / turn	Sun 1993a
Bengni	in-təː-la **vit**	pinch and twist	Sun 1993b
	vit	twist; turn; mix (stir)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	vit-fɯr	wring, twist (till dry)	Sun 1993b
	vit-kuk	turn lid and open	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**jet**	twist / turn	Sun 1993a
	jet-ǰum	twist dry	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**et**	twist / turn	Sun 1993a
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Wakung	k^{ə} **ve**^{i}	turn	So-Hartmann 1988:133
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	ha **wi**	turn (v.i.)	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ing **wè**	time, turn, round	Matisoff 1985a:179
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**wet**	time, turn (n.)	van Breugel 2008
4. Nungic			
Rawang	**wɯt** əwaŋ^{53} ɕi^{31}	turn around	LaPolla 2003:1525
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**fv**^{55}	twist (a towel) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1533.47
	vɤ^{53}	twist (hemp fibers) between the palms	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1225.47
Lalo	**vàq**	twist (rope)	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	**ve̱**^{53}	twist (hemp fibers) between the palms	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1225.34

Nusu (Northern)	**vɐ**^{55}	twist together	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ve**^{53}	twist together	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:552.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ve**^{13}	twist together	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:552.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**vi**^{55}	twist (into rope)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**vA̱**^{21}	twist together	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:552.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**vA̱**^{21}	twist together	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:552.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**væ̱**^{21}	twist (hemp fibers) between the palms	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1225.37
	vɐ̱^{21}	twist together	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:552.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**va**^{21}	twist together	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:552.23
Yi (Weishan)	**va**^{21}	twist (hemp fibers) between the palms	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1225.36
Yi (Wuding)	**vɚ̱**^{55}	twist (hemp fibers) between the palms	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1225.38
Yi (Xide)	**vi**^{55}	twist (hemp fibers) between the palms; twist together	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1225.35; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:552.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	(**ve**^{54}) si^{35}	twist (a towel) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1533.43
	vɤ^{21}	twist (hemp fibers) between the palms	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1225.43
Lahu (Black)	**vɔ**^{21}	twist together	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:552.33
	vɔ̀ʔ ~ **g̈ɔ̀ʔ**	twist (fringe for a shoulderbag) (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:1141
Yi (Sani)	**vɑ**^{2}	twist (hemp fibers) between the palms	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1225.39

7. Karenic

Karen	**wi**^{33}	twist (a towel) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1533.50
Pa-O	**vjā**	pinch and twist (2)	Solnit 1989

(14) PTB *s-wa:y WHIRL / BRANDISH / WAVE (v.)

The **s-** prefix is attested in the WB variant **swai'**, and perhaps by Lushai **hui**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***way**	whirl, brandish, wave (v.)	Benedict 1972:90
	***wa:y**	whirl / brandish / wave (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:060; Matisoff 2003a:619

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**-va:i**	giddy (v.)	Henderson 1965
	va:i^{3} > vai?^{3}	feel giddy (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1941
	va:i^{3}/vai?^{3}	feel giddy	Bhaskararao 1994
	`va:i	giddy (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:060

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**hui**	whorl, coil; twist in whorls / coils	Matisoff 1985a:060
	vâi	row / paddle (v.)	Weidert 1987:179
	vài	row, paddle; wave (the hand, arm) (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:060
	vai	row, paddle, wave (the hand, arm) (v.)	Benedict 1972:90

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **vei**	fly around (as an insect)	Matisoff 1985a:060
	ing **wèy**	fly around (as an insect)	Matisoff 1985a:060
	iŋ **vei**	fly around (as an insect)	Benedict 1972:90

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	phuŋ-**wai**	whirlpool	Benedict 1972:90
	wāi	whirl, as a whirlpool; stir, as with a ladle; strike out with a sweeping movement	Matisoff 1985a:060
	wai	whirl, as a whirlpool; stir, as with a ladle; strike out with a sweeping movement	Benedict 1972:90

4. Nungic

Anong	thi buŋ **wai**	whirlpool	Benedict 1972:90

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**swai'**	swing around (as a sword); wave (as a flag)	Matisoff 1985a:060
	swai'	swing around, as a sword; wave, as flag (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	wai	whirlpool; soar around, as a bird; brandish (a sword, weapon, stick)	Matisoff 1985a:060
	wâi	soar around, as bird	Benedict 1976a
	wài	soar around, as a bird; brandish a sword, weapon; stick; whirlpool	Benedict 1972:90; Benedict 1972:90

Chinese comparandum

透 winding, curving / swagger 委 > bend, hang down

6.7.7 Up, etc.

(1) PTani *čaŋ ASCEND

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***čaŋ**	ascend	Sun 1993a:9

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	(go-)**ča**	ascend	Sun 1993b
	ča	ascend; rise	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ča-či	ascend	Sun 1993b
	go-**ča**	ascend	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**ča:**	ascend	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ño:-di bu-**ča:**	ascend (mountain)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**čaŋ**	ascend; ascend (mountain)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	čaŋ	rise (sun~) (v.)	Sun 1993b
	tɕaŋ	come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.24
	tɕaŋ	climb (a mountain); climb up (a tree); go upstairs; rise; go up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1538.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1539.24,1609.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.24
	tɕaŋ lam	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.24
Bokar Lhoba	**tɕaŋ**	ascend; rise (of the sun)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:743.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:751.51
	tɕaŋ lam	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.51
Galo	do ɲi-**ca**-nam	sunrise (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'caa goo	east (n:rel.)	GLDC 2009
	'caa nam	ascend; rise (vie.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'caa to-doo ɲi	rising sun (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'caa tuu	rising slope (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'caa tuu	steep (road) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'jaa **caa**	swim upstream (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'uu **caa**	rise (sun) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**ca**-nam	ascend, climb	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**saŋ**	ascend	Sun 1993a
Damu	**tɕe**-la	ascend	Sun 1993b

(2) PKC *ka(a) $^{\text{y}}_{\text{l}}$ ASCEND / CLIMB UP

VanBik feels that this root is independent of PKC ***kal** GO / PACE / WALK (§6.7.11). See also the complex PAF PTB ***m/s-k(w)a-y** MOUTH / OPENING / SPREAD / DOOR / FACE / JAW (§1.2.5.3).

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ka(a)y** ≈ ka(a)l	ASCEND / CLIMB UP	VanBik 2009:252

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**kǎl**-I, kàl-II	ascend, climb	VanBik 2009:252

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**koi**	ascend, to climb up (v.)	VanBik 2009:252
Cho (Mindat)	**kai**	climb up (v.)	VanBik 2009:252

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**kâay**-I, kǎay-II	ascend, climb up	VanBik 2009:252
Lai (Falam)	**kǎay**-I, kàay-II	climb, ascend	VanBik 2009:252

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**kìa**	climb up (v.)	VanBik 2009:252

(3) PTk *ka CLIMB / ASCEND

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***ka**	climb / ascend	Mortensen 2012:323
Huishu	kə-**ke**	climb / ascend	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.026
Kachai	kə-**ku**	climb / ascend	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.022
Tusom	ki-**ki**	ascend / climb	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.025
Ukhrul	kə-**ka**	climb, ascend, up; do in upward path (postp.)	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**ka**	ascend	Marrison 1967

(4) PTB *kak EXPENSIVE / AT ITS PEAK

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***kak**	expensive / at its peak	Matisoff 2003a:594

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Galo	**'kog** dir	peak (n.)	GLDC 2009

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	phɛ^{55}**khuɑ**^{55}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.18
Lyuzu	phe^{31}**khuæ**^{53}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.18
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	kɐ^{55}**kuɐ**^{55}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.16

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***kak**	expensive / intense / at its peak	Matisoff 1972b:11
	***khak**	reaching its peak, expensive	Benedict 1972:166n444
	***khɑk**	reaching its peak / expensive (price)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:910e-f

6.1.2. Loloish: ***kak**^{H} EXPENSIVE / AT ITS PEAK

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	**qhɑ**^{54}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.43
Lahu (Black)	**qhʌ**^{53}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.33
	quâʔ	expensive	Matisoff 1972b:11
Lahu (Yellow)	**qha**^{6}	expensive	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	phy^{21}**kha**^{35}	expensive	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**k'a HS**	intense / at its peak	Matisoff 1972b:11

7. Karenic

Kayan (Pekon)	**kà**	expensive (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**kâ**	expensive	Solnit 1989

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**g'i̯og/g'i̯ɑ̈u**(-)	peak	Karlgren 1957:1138d
	g'i̯ək/g'i̯ək	ridge of the roof;highest point / extreme limit / utmo	Karlgren 1957:910e-f
	kiôg/kieu	peak (mountain)	Karlgren 1957:1070m
	ngŭk/ngåk	mountain / peak	Karlgren 1957:1227a

Chinese comparandum

極 OC ***g'i̯ək**, *GSR* #910e-f 'ridge of house; the highest point; extreme limit, utmost'; B & S 2011: ***N-kək {N-k(r)ək}**; Mand. **jí**. S294

(5) PCC *phok-I, *pho?-II LEVER / RAISE / TIP UP

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***phok**-I, pho?-II	LEVER / RAISE / TIP UP	VanBik 2009:345
Lai (Hakha)	**phok**-I, pho?-II	lever, tip up, lift up one's end (v.)	VanBik 2009:345
Lushai [Mizo]	**phàwk**-I, phàwh-II	raise, to lift up one's end, to tip up (v.)	VanBik 2009:345

(6) PTB *dzwaŋ LOFTY / ELEVATED

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzwaŋ**	lofty / elevated	Matisoff 2003a:269

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**cuaŋ (I), cuan (II)**	be lofty, visible (as a banner)	Matisoff 2003a:269

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**cwaŋ'**	erected, elevated, perched on high (be v.)	Benedict 1976a

(7) PTB *syar RISE / EAST

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***syar**	rise; east	Matisoff 2003a:613; LaPolla 1987:128

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**sar**	lift, bear, carry	Benedict 1972:28n90
	sar-si	rise	LaPolla 1987:128
	sar-sí	rise (reflexive)	Benedict 1972:28n90
	sar mig‘	lift / carry / bear (vt.)	Bailey 1911
	sar sẖimig‘	rise (vi.)	Bailey 1911

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	**ɕar**	east	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.7
	ɕar^{55}	east	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**sharr**	east	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ɕɑr**^{55}	east; rise up	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986; LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ɕʌr**^{55}	east; rise (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.6; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:751.6
Motuo Menba	**ɕar**	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.07
Cuona Menba	**ɕar**^{55}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.06
	ɕar^{55} ro^{31}	rise / go up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**xar**	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.05
	xhar	rise / go up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**xhar**	east; rise (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.4; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:751.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**xhar**	east; rise (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.5; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:751.5
	ɕ^{h}ær	east	Sun 1985a:214
Tibetan (Balti)	**sʌr** p^{h}yoks	east	Rangan 1975:23
Tibetan (Batang)	**xha**^{53}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.03
	xhɑ^{55}	rise / go up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**xha**^{53}	east	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.3
	xha^{55}	rise (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:751.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ɕa:**^{55}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.02
	ɕa:^{55}	come out (the sun)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.02
	ɕa:^{55}	rise / go up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.02
	ɕa:^{55}**tɕho**^{52}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.02
	ɕa^{55}	east; rise (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.2; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:751.2
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ʃar**	east	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	ḥtśhar-ba / **śar**-ba	rise, appear	Benedict 1972:28n90
	śar	east	LaPolla 1987:128; Benedict 1972:28n90
	shar	east	Sun 1985c:214
	ʃar	east	Marrison 1967
	ɕar	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.01
	ɕar	come out (the sun)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.01
	ɕar	rise / go up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.01
	ɕar	east; rise (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:751.1
	fitɕhar	come out (the sun)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	jə la **xhar**	recall / remember (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1727.04
	xhar	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.04
	xhar	come out (the sun)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.04
	ɕhar	rise / go up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.04

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Gyaru)	**syar**^{2} co^{2}	east	Nagano 1984:375-01
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**ɕyər**	east	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0734
	^{1}**ʃjʏr**	east	Mazaudon 1994:987
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**sjar**	rise (sun)	Mazaudon 1994:987
Tamang (Sahu)	**syar**	east	Taylor *et al.* 1972:5.5
	^{1}**sjar**	east	Mazaudon 1994:987
Thakali (Tukche)	**sjor**	east	Hari 1971:5.A.3

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**ʂɑ**^{33}**tɕho**^{55}	east	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.18
Guiqiong	**ɕə**^{55}**tɕhyɔ**^{55}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.16
Lyuzu	khe^{33}**ʂæ**^{53}	come out (the sun)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.18
	khe^{33}**ʂæ**^{53}	rise / go up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.18
	ʂæ^{35}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.18
Muya	**ɕɐ**^{53}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ɕɐ**^{53}	east	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.15
Namuyi	**ʂa**^{33}**tʂhu**^{33}	east	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.19
	ʂæ^{31}**tʂhuo**^{31}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ɕə**^{55}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʃɛ**^{55}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʃɛ**^{55}	east	LaPolla 1987:128; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**śɑ**^{53}	east	LaPolla 1987:128
	ɕɐ^{53}	east	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.10
Queyu (Xinlong)	**xar**^{55}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɕɐ**^{55}	east	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ɕe**^{55}	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**ɕhɛr**	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Caodeng	kɐ-**ʃɐr**	rise (sun)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ʃɐr**	east (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.11
rGyalrong	**ʃɐr**	east	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.12
Caodeng	**ʃɐr** p^{h}jɔʔ	east	Sun 1997a

4. NUNGIC

Anong	nam **sarr**	sunrise	Benedict 1972:28n90
	nam **sarr** kha	east	LaPolla 1987:128; Benedict 1972:28n90
Rawang	nam^{31} **sar**^{33}	east	LaPolla 2003:768
Trung [Dulong]	**ɕɑ**^{ɪ55}	east	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:47.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**śar**^{55}	east	LaPolla 1987:128
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**śe**^{31} śɔʔ^{55}	east	LaPolla 1987:128
	ɕe^{31}**ɕɔ̌ʔ**^{55}	east	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.7.8 Downward

(1) PTB * $^{s}_{ʔ}$ -yuk DESCEND

Jingpho illustrates both the ***s-*** and the ***ʔ-*** prefix, which motivates our unusual PTB reconstruction with either prefix.

There is a possible allofamic relationship between this root and PTB ***zak*** DESCEND (§6.7.8). If this is true, it would be another example of the unusual alternation between medial ***-u-*** and ***-a-*** to be found in PTB ***b-s(u/a)ŋ*** SMELL / SCENT / FRAGRANT (§1.2.8.5).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s/ʔ-yuk**	descend	Matisoff 2003a:620

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***tshuk/ŋ*** ≍ ***yu-k/ŋ*** SLOPE (downward) / DESCENT

**Chin*	***tshuk**	SLOPE (downward) / DESCENT	VanBik 2009:600

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**suk**	down	VanBik 2009:600
Sizang	tuak **suk** hī	descend	VanBik 2009:600
Thado	**sùʔ**-INV	downhill, downward	VanBik 2009:600
Tiddim	**suk**^{3}	go down (of a road)	VanBik 2009:600
	suk^{3}	go down [of a road] (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1628
	suk^{3}	go down [of a road]	Bhaskararao 1994
	zu:^{3} > zuk^{3}	rain (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2077
	zu:^{3}/zuk^{3}	rain	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Daai	**ju-**	down with motion of agent	So-Hartmann 2001
	juk-	down	So-Hartmann 2001

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tshuk**	downward slope, descent (n.)	VanBik 2009:600
Laizo	**rung-**	venitive down	DAVID A. Peterson 2014
Bawm	**suk**	descend	DAVID A. Peterson 2014
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhùk**	downward slope, descent, a downhill path, a drop (n.)	VanBik 2009:600
	zuk	descend; climb down; down; verbal affix indicating motion downwards	Weidert 1987:113; Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:101n289

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**chhū**-tlá	steep downwards	VanBik 2009:600

1.2.4. “OLD KUKI”

K’cho	**yuk-/yu-**	downwards	DAVID A. Peterson 2014
	zuk-	downwards	DAVID A. Peterson 2014
Lamkang	**ju**	down	DAVID A. Peterson 2014
	jung	down, homewards	DAVID A. Peterson 2014
Tarao	**yung-**	down	DAVID A. Peterson 2014

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***yəw*** DESCEND

**Northern Naga*	***yəw**	descend (v.)	French 1983:476

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak	**yu**	descend	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**yú**	descend (v.)	Weidert 1987:65
Konyak (Wakching)	**yú**	descend (v.)	Weidert 1987:65
Phom	**yiü**	descend	Marrison 1967
	yɯ^{31}	descend / go down a little way	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**di**	do; make	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	dī	do / make	Matisoff 1974:43
	dì(ʔ)	do; copulate illicitly (euph.)	Matisoff 1987
	juʔ^{55}	descend	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:744.47
	śə **yúʔ**	let down	Benedict 1972:101n289
	yu	descend	Benedict 1972:101n289
	ʔyuʔ	descend (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ʔyúʔ	descend	Matisoff 1974:363

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	**ju**	descend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:744.7

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**yu**	descend (v.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}mwo ^{1}**yu-**	rain	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0387
Tamang (Taglung)	**ju**	descend / alight	Mazaudon 1994:832
	ju-ba	rain	Mazaudon 1994:832

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**yu:**-aʔ	descend / climb down	Weidert 1987:113
	yu: ma	descend / climb down	Weidert 1987:113

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**yu**	descend	Benedict 1972:101n289
Hayu	**yu**	descend	Benedict 1972:101n289
Thulung	**yok-**	come down, to fall (of rain), to be implicated (v.)	Allen 1975

(2) PTB *zak DESCEND

There is a possible allofamic relationship between this root and PTB ***s/ʔ-yuk*** DESCEND (§6.7.8).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***zak**	descend	Matisoff 2003a:620

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**za-**	motion down to speaker	David A. Peterson 2014
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	ɳi^{33}**ʑi^{55}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.18
Guiqiong	mi^{35}**ji^{33}**nɛ^{55}	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.17
Lyuzu	ne^{33}**dʐæ^{53}**	land / descend (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1418.18
Muya [Minyak]	nɯ^{33}**xɯ^{53}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.15
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʃɑ^{13}**	land / descend (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1418.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	nə^{13}**ʃə^{55}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.11
Pumi (Taoba)	nə^{35}**zə^{35}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**sì**	set (sun)	Evans 1999:2164
	ɦà **sì**	drop, descend, land	Evans 1999:2036
	ɦà **sì** zí	make drop	Evans 1999:2037
Qiang (Mawo)	ɑ **ʁɑ**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.8
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	ne^{35}lə^{35}**ɕu^{55}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.16
Xumi	miæ^{33}**ʐyæ^{55}**	land / descend (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1418.17
	miɛ^{55}**zi^{33}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	nə **dza**	land / descend (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1418.12
Ergong (Danba)	nɛ **ʐo**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	kɐ **jə**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.12
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**dzɑʔ^{55}**	rain (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:750.46
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***zak^{L}** DESCEND			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***zak**	descend	Matisoff 1972b:121
	***zak^{L}**	descend	Matisoff 2003a:620; Matisoff 1978a:28
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**tsɑ^{31}**	descend	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tsɔʔ^{55}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ʐa^{51}**	descend	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Written)	**sak**	descend; go down, descend	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1978a:28; Matisoff 1974:363; Benedict 1976a
Marma	**θaʔ**	descend / go down	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:237
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ʒak^{L}**	descend	Bradley 1979b:653; Hansson 1989:478
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**za^{53}**tshi^{33}li^{33}	land / descend (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1418.47
Lalo	**jìq**	go down	Björverud 1994
Luquan	**za 55c**	descend	Matisoff 1972b:121
Nasu	**dza 55**	descend	Matisoff 1972b:121
Yi (Dafang)	**za^{13}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.22
Yi (Mile)	**zę^{21}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**ze^{21}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.24
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**zɛ 44s**	descend	Matisoff 1972b:121
Jinuo	**za^{33}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**zɑ^{55}**	descend	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	**yàʔ**	descend	Matisoff 1978a:28; Matisoff 1972b:121
	yàʔ (< PLB *zak)	descend	Matisoff 1974:363
	zʌ^{21}	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ʐa^{5}**	descend	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**jæʔ^{21}**la^{33}	descend; drop (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**rá6**	descend	Matisoff 1972b:121
Lisu (Central)	**rá^{6}**-lye^{3}	descend (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**yà** c	descend	Matisoff 1972b:121
Lisu (Northern)	**zæʔ^{21}**gi^{33}	go down	Bradley 1994
	zæʔ^{21}je^{33}	go down	Bradley 1994
	zæʔ^{21}tshe^{33}	lower; descend	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**zę^{31}**	land / descend (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1418.40
	zɛ^{41}	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.27
Sani [Nyi]	**ze 22s**	descend	Matisoff 1972b:121
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**zàq**	descend	Hansson 1989:478
Akha (Thai)	**zàq**	go down, descend	Hansson 1989:478
Hani (Hu T'an)	**za 21c**	descend	Matisoff 1972b:121
Hani (Lüchun)	**zàq** í	go down, descend	Hansson 1989:478
Hani (Dazhai)	**zą^{31}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.31
Hani (Wordlist)	**ssavq**	go down, descend	Hansson 1989:478
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Lijiang)	**zɑ^{31}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**zɑ^{31}**	descend	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:744.29

(3) PTk *ta DESCEND

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***ta**	descend	Mortensen 2012:325
Huishu	ʔu-kə-**ke**	descend / come down	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.028
Ukhrul	kə-**ta**	descend, go down (on land)	Mortensen 2012

(4) PKar *laŋ^{A} DESCENT / GO DOWN / SET

7. Karenic			
**Karen [Burling]*	***laŋ^{3}**	descent, go down, set	Luangthongkum 2013:82
**Karen*	***laŋ^{A}**	descent, go down, set	Luangthongkum 2013:82
Bwe	**la^{33}**	descent, go down, set	Luangthongkum 2013:82
Kayah	**lɛ^{11}**	descent, go down, set	Luangthongkum 2013:82
Kayan	**laŋ^{33}**	descent, go down, set	Luangthongkum 2013:82
Kayaw	**lɔ^{33}**	descent, go down, set	Luangthongkum 2013:82
Pa-O (Northern)	**laŋ^{33}**	descent, go down, set	Luangthongkum 2013:82
Pa-O (Southern)	**laŋ^{53}**	descent, go down, set	Luangthongkum 2013:82
Pwo (Northern)	**lɛ̃^{55}**	descent, go down, set	Luangthongkum 2013:82
Pwo (Southern)	**lɔ̃$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	descent, go down, set	Luangthongkum 2013:82
Sgaw (Northern)	**lɔ^{33}**	descent, go down, set	Luangthongkum 2013:82
Sgaw (Southern)	**lɔ^{33}**	descent, go down, set	Luangthongkum 2013:82

(5) PTB *l $\begin{matrix}\textbf{i}\\\textbf{u}\end{matrix}$ p SINK INTO / DIVE

This etymon illustrates the widespread variational pattern between ***-u-*** and ***-i-***, with some languages (Jingpho, Dimasa) having reflexes of both variants.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***lip**	dive, sink / drown	Benedict 1972:375
	***lip ≍ lup**	sink into / dive	Matisoff 2003a:600
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**luk** tha	sink	Marrison 1967
	lup tha	sink	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**thrup**	sink	Benedict 1972:375
Dimasa	**gilib ≍ gulub**	drown	Benedict 1972:375
	lip ≍ lup	dive	Benedict 1972:375
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	s **rip**	sink	Benedict 1972:375
	tśi **rip**	dive	Benedict 1972:375
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**lup^{31}**	sink	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1187.19
	lup wa	sink	Marrison 1967
	phuŋ-**lip**	dive	Benedict 1972:375
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**lap**	bury	Benedict 1972:375
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**lup-**	sink, to be buried, to go under (v.)	Driem 1988
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**lyup-**	sink in (mud, etc.), withdraw in (as neck of tortoise, flying vulture, etc.) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ljị**	sink (lapse) into	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5065
	ljwị	enter, sink into	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4226
	ljɨ	fall, sink	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1068
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**lo^{31}**	sink	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**lɔʔ^{31}**	sink	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Nanhua)	**lo^{21}**	sink	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1187.37
Yi (Weishan)	**lo^{13}**	sink	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1187.36
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu (Northern)	**løʔ^{21}**	go into headlong; dive (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**lʏ^{2}**	cave in / sink (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1722.39
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**lɔ^{21}**	sink	Pelkey 2011:880
Southern Muji	**lo^{21}**(-ta^{21})	sink	Pelkey 2011:880
Phola	luɑ̰^{23}**lɔ^{31}**	sink	Pelkey 2011:880
Phuza	**lʌ^{13}**	sink	Pelkey 2011:880

6.7.9 Manner is primary

(1) PTB *gaːr ≍ *ga DANCE / SING / LEAP / STRIDE

(1a) PTB *gaːr DANCE / SING / LEAP / STRIDE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gaːr**	dance; dance, leap, stride	Matisoff 1983:4; Benedict 1972:11
	***gaːr ≍** s-ga	dance / sing / leap / stride	Matisoff 2003a:590
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**kaːr**	step, pace, stride (v.)	Benedict 1972:11
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***khən** SONG			
**Central Naga*	***khən**	SONG	Bruhn 2014a:III.171
Ao (Chungli)	**ken**	song	Marrison 1967
	ken-a ten	sing	Marrison 1967
	kən^{1}	song (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.171
	kən^{1}tən^{2}-la^{2}	singer (female) (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**khen^{3}**	song (of a human) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.171
	o **khen**	song	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**khi**	song	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**khün**	song	Marrison 1967
	khün-thsü	sing	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**kan**	dance (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**kal•**-a	play (vt.)	Burling 2003:8.81-II:idx
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**gan ≍** kə **gan ≍ khan**	leap, bound, canter	Benedict 1972:11
	khān	leap / dance	Matisoff 1974:173
	kə **gān**	leap / dance	Matisoff 1974:173
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**gər** p^{h}i	dance (v.)	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**gar**	dance	Matisoff 1983:4
	gar	dance (n.)	Benedict 1972:11
3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	**gæ^{31}**	sing	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1184.46
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**gwɤ˩**	sing (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2435
Na (Yongning)	**gwɤ˩**	sing (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**guə^{13}**	sing	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:683.29
7. Karenic			
Karen	a^{31}**kạ^{55}**	dance (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0657.50
	kạ^{55}	dance (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**kạ́**	dance (V.)	Manson 2010
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**kaj**	sing	Baxter 1992:1047; Baxter 1992:630

Chinese comparandum

歌 OC ***kâ**, *GSR* #1q 'sing, song'; Schuessler 2007:252 ***kâi**; B & S 2011: ***k^{ʂ}aj {[k]^{ʂ}aj}**; Mand. **gē**.

(1b) PTB *ga DANCE / LEAP / STRIDE

This root is distinct from PTB ***gan ≍ *k(y)at** RUN / DANCE / KICK (§6.7.9), and frequently occurs in compounds with it.

rGyalrong shows an **r-** prefix so far not found elsewhere.

Lolo-Burmese shows tonal variation in this root, sometimes accompanied by the semantic difference between SING / PLAY and DANCE.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*ga:r ≍ **s-ga**	dance / sing / leap / stride	Matisoff 2003a:590
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**kạ**^{31}	dance (v.)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.19
	kạ^{31}	dance	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:684.47
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	ta **rga**	dance	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:684.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **rgɑ**	dance (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0657.11
	tɑ **rgɑ** kɑ pɑ	dance (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.11
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *ga^{3} ≍ *ʔga^{2} SING / DANCE / PLAY			[a]
*Lolo-Burmese	*ga^{3} ≍ ʔga^{2}	SING / DANCE / PLAY	Matisoff 1988a:228
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**kɑ**^{53}	dance (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.27
	ɑ^{53}**kɑ**^{53}	dance (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0657.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**kɑ**^{53}	dance	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:684.40
Burmese (Written)	**ka**	dance (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ká	dance	Benedict 1972:15n54(a); Benedict 1972:18n65
	ka'	dance	Matisoff 1983:4; Matisoff 1974:173
	ka'	dance (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	kɑ^{1}	dance (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.26
	kɑ^{1}	dance	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:684.39
	ɑ^{1}**kɑ**^{1}	dance (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0657.26
6.1.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	*ga^{3}	dance	Bradley 1979b:658-1
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**ɣa**-khjaq	dance	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	**ga**^{31}	dance (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.34
Nusu (Southern)	**gɔ**^{31}	dance	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**gɑ**^{31}tɕi̱^{31}	dance	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:684.45
Yi (Nanhua)	**go**^{33}ɕe^{33}	dance (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0657.37
	go^{33}ɕe̱^{33}	dance (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.37
Yi (Weishan)	**ɣɑ**^{33}cha^{33}	dance (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0657.36
	ɣɑ^{33}chɑ^{33}	dance (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.36
Yi (Wuding)	**gu̱**^{2}thi̱^{2}	dance (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0657.38
	gu̱^{2}ʈhi̱^{2}	dance (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Youle)	**kɔ**^{33}	jump	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**kɔ**^{44}	dance; jump (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.44; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.44
Lahu	**qā**	dance	Benedict 1972:18n65
Lahu (Lancang)	**qɑ**^{33}qhe^{33}	dance (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.43
	qɑ^{11}qhe^{54}	dance (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0657.43
Lahu (Black)	**qa**	play (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:228
	qā	dance	Matisoff 1974:173
	qā qhêʔ	dance	Matisoff 1985a:039
	qʌ^{11}qhe^{33}	dance	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:684.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**qa**^{1}	song	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	qa^{1}mɯ^{2}	sing	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	qa^{1}mɯ^{2}khɔ^{3}	folk song	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	qa^{1}qhe^{1}	dance	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**gwa-**	dance	Benedict 1972:18n65
Lisu (Central)	**gwa**^{5}-hchye^{2}	dance	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**kuɑ**^{33}khi^{35}ki^{35}	dance (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.40
Lisu (Northern)	**kwa**^{33}dzu^{44}	dance (a kind of Lisu dance) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	kwa^{33}dzu^{44} mu^{33}	lead the dance	Bradley 1994
	kwa^{33}dzu^{44} mu^{33}su^{33}	person who leads the dance	Bradley 1994
	kwa^{33}khi^{35}	dance (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**kɑ**^{44}tʃhi^{35}	dance (v.)	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kâ**	sing / song	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1q
Chinese (Old)	**kâ**	sing	Matisoff 1983:48

[a] This reconstruction is actually a bit different from that offered in DL:228 (PLB *?**ga1**^{1} or *ga^{3}).

Chinese comparandum

歌 OC ***kâ***, *GSR* #1q; B & S 2011: ***k^{s}aj {[k]^{s}aj}***; Mand. **gē**.

(2) PKC *loon CRAWL

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***loon**	CRAWL	VanBik 2009:1005
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**lòon**-I, lŏon-II	crawl	VanBik 2009:1005
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**ā** lỳ ~ ā làu	crawl	VanBik 2009:1005

(3) PTk *bo CRAWL

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
*Tangkhulic	***bo**	crawl	Mortensen 2012:679
Huishu	nə-**vu**-k^{h}e	crawl	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.015
Tusom	k^{h}a-m-**pu**	crawl	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.013
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**wo**	crawl	Mortensen 2012

(4) PL *Nkak CRAWL / CREEP

6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
*Lolo-Burmese	***Nkak**	crawl / creep ((HIGH).)	Matisoff 1972b:81
	***Nkak**	crawl / creep	Matisoff 1972b:81
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**gâʔ** qay ~ gá-go-lo te	crawl / creep	Matisoff 1972b:81
Lahu (Yellow)	**ga**^{6}	crawl	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**ga**̂-ĭ˘	to walk as a four footed animal (v.)	Lewis 1989:171
	ga-i HS-H	crawl / creep	Matisoff 1972b:81

(5) PKC *yaam CREEP / CRAWL / SPREAD

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***yaam**	CREEP / CRAWL / SPREAD	VanBik 2009:1191
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**záam**-I, zàam-II	creep, climb, spread	VanBik 2009:1191
Tiddim	**za:m**^{2}	crawl like a creeper	VanBik 2009:1191
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**yang**	spread	VanBik 2009:1191
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zâam**-I, zăam-II	creep, climb, spread (e.g. vine)	VanBik 2009:1191
Lushai [Mizo]	**záam**	creep, spread or climb (as a creeper) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1191

(6) PKC *laam DANCE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***laam**	DANCE	VanBik 2009:1007
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**lām** hī	dance	VanBik 2009:1007
Thado	**láam**-I, làam-II	dance	VanBik 2009:1007
	lám	drill / dance	Thirumalai 1972:53
Tiddim	**-la:m/ˆla:m**	dance (v.)	Henderson 1965
	la:m^{2}	dance, float	VanBik 2009:1007
	la:m^{2}	dance; float (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:897
	la:m^{2}	dance, float	Bhaskararao 1994
	la:m^{3} > lap^{3}	lift; wave; dance ceremoniously carrying the head (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:898
	`la:m	dance / dancing (n.)	Henderson 1965
	`la:m/_lap	dance carrying an animal's head; lift up (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**lawn˝**	dance	VanBik 2009:1007
Chinbon	**lam**	dance	So-Hartmann 1988:198
Cho (Mindat)	ng-**lam** nak	dance, dancing	VanBik 2009:1007
Daai	ŋ**la:m**	dance	So-Hartmann 1988:198
Khumi	**láng**	dance	VanBik 2009:1007
	lān	dance	So-Hartmann 1988:198
Matu	**lam**	dance	So-Hartmann 1988:198
Mkaang	**la:m**	dance	So-Hartmann 1988:198
Ngmüün	ŋ**la:m**	dance	So-Hartmann 1988:198
Nyhmoye	ŋ**lam**	dance	So-Hartmann 1988:198
Wakung	mᵊ**lān**	dance	So-Hartmann 1988:198
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**lâam**-I, lăam-II	dance	VanBik 2009:1007
Lai (Falam)	**lăam**-I, làm-II	dance	VanBik 2009:1007
Lushai [Mizo]	**làam**-I, lâm-II	dance, to parade, to celebrate with dancing (v.)	VanBik 2009:1007
	lam	dance (v.)	Marrison 1967
	la:m	dance (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2618
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**là**	dance (v.)	VanBik 2009:1007
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	**lam**	dance (v.)	Marrison 1967

Chinese comparandum

尢 OC ***d'i̱əm***, *GSR* #656a 'walk (v.)'; Schuessler 2007:572 ***ləm***; Mand. **yín**.

Comment: This comparandum is suggested by Schuessler (ibid.), who also relates 尢 **yín** to PTB ***lam** ROAD (§9.10.1).

(7) PKC *yaam FLEE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***yaam**	FLEE	VanBik 2009:1203
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**zâam**-I, zàam-II	flee	VanBik 2009:1203
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zâam**-I, zăam-II	flee, escape, run away	VanBik 2009:1203

(8) PTB *hywa $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{p}\\\mathbf{m}\end{matrix}$ JUMP

This etymon seems valid, but further confirmation would be welcome.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***hyop ≍ hyom**	jump	Matisoff 2003a:594
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	**yob**-nam	jump (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'yob nam	jump (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'yob boo	jump over (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'yob duu	jump up (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'yob loo	jump down (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'yob nam	jump (vi.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	**yop**-ma	jump	Tayeng 1976
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**hum**	jump (v.)	Marrison 1963

(9) PTB *p(r)wak JUMP

This etymon is set up as PLB **ʔpök** in *LTSR* #55, on the basis of forms like Lahu **pɔ̂ʔ** and Bisu **pɤ̄k**. The evidence for medial ***-r-*** is from Tamangic and Kiranti.

The unusual PLB rhyme (***-ök**) might well be an artifact of the labial glide that is now reconstructed.

This root now seems quite separate from PTB ***plwaŋ** RUN / FLEE / JUMP UP (§6.7.9), contra *HPTB*:378-379.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***p(r)ok**	jump	Matisoff 2003a:378
1.1.1. Tani: ***pok** JUMP			
*Tani	***pok**	jump	Sun 1993a:220

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**poʔ**	jump	Sun 1993a
	poʔ(-do)	jump	Sun 1993b
	poʔ-ča	jump	Sun 1993b
	poʔ-i	jump	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**puk**	jump; jump (downward)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**pok**	jump; dance	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	pok	pulse; beat; jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1679.24
	pok-map	trip and fall over	Sun 1993b
	sap-ču **pok**	dance	Sun 1993b
	ɕap tɕu **pok**	dance (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.24
Bokar Lhoba	**pok**	jump	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:568.51
Galo	**pok** kik	race (of heart) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	**pok**-bak-nam	climb by jumping	Das Gupta 1983
	pok-mi-nam	dance (v?.)	Das Gupta 1983
	pok-nam	jump (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	pok-ɟok-nam	dance (v?.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pok**	jump	Matisoff 1972b:55; Sun 1993a
Damu	**pok**-ka-ra	jump	Sun 1993b
	pok-ra	jump	Sun 1993b
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Zeme	**pak** chu	jump (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	**pʰɔk**^{55}dʌy^{55}	dance (? + 'mutual, reciprocal')	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	**phɑʔ**^{53}	jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**phɑʔ**^{53}	jump	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:568.3
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥphag**-pa	rise, be raised; soar up (v.)	Jäschke 1881:355
	ɦphag	jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.01
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Sahu)	**'prok** tong	jump up (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.26
	'prok tong chyon		
	'prok toŋ **'prok** toŋ cʰyoŋ-p	jump up (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.A.26
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**'pro**-ne	jump up (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.26
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Sunwar	**pre:k**-cā	jump up; jump down (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.26; Hale 1973:02b1.28
Thulung	**prok**-	jump (v.)	Allen 1975
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔpök** JUMP			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔpök**	jump	Matisoff 1972b:55
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**paq**	jump	Björverud 1994
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Kucong	**pɔ33**	jump, leap	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***paw^**	jump	Bradley 1979b:657
Lahu (Lancang)	**pɔ**^{54}	jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.43
Lahu (Black)	**pɔ̂ʔ**	jump	Matisoff 1972b:55
Lahu (Yellow)	**pɔ**^{6}	jump	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Bisu	**pɤk**	jump	Bradley 199x
	pɤ̄k	jump	Matisoff 1972b:55
Hani (Khatu)	**phɔ́** (phó ?)	jump	Hansson 1989:239
7. KARENIC			
Kayan (Pekon)	ta **pô**	bounce [lit. ascend-jump] (V.)	Manson 2010
	θa **pô**	jump (V.)	Manson 2010

(10) TGTM *^{A}ts^{h}joŋ JUMP

2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**ts^{h}joŋ**	jump	Mazaudon 1994:340
Manang (Gyaru)	**con**^{2} ba	jump (V.)	Nagano 1984:235
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**c^{h}oŋ**-	jump	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0318
	^{1}**c^{h}oŋ**-	jump	Mazaudon 1994:340
Tamang (Bagmati)	**chyoŋ**	jump (v.)	Weidert 1987:734
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**ts^{h}joŋ**	jump / leap (animal, sparks...)	Mazaudon 1994:340
Tamang (Sahu)	**chyong**-pā	jump down; flee (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.28; Hale 1973:11b3.18
	c^{h}yoŋ-pa	jump down; flee (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:13.A.28; Taylor *et al.* 1972:22.C.18
	^{1}**ts^{h}joŋ**	run, to flee, to jump	Mazaudon 1994:340

(11) PTQ *N-tsak JUMP

The rhyme in this etymon is reconstructed on the basis of the rGyalrongic forms, since the reflexes in Qiangic proper are open syllables.

3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	thu^{33}**tʂue**^{55}	jump	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:568.17
	tʃuɛ^{31}	jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.16
Lyuzu	**tsuo**^{35}	jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.18
Muya	tə^{55} **tsɐ**^{33}	jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.15
Muya [Minyak]	tɯ^{55}**tsɐ**^{53}	jump	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:568.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	tɕɯ^{55} **tshə**^{55}	jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.10
Pumi (Lanping)	xə^{13}**tsho**^{55}	jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	tə^{55}**stʃə**^{55}	jump	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:568.11
Pumi (Taoba)	tə^{55}**ʂə**^{53}	jump	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:568.10
Qiang (Longxi)	qə̀ (ŋ̀ə̀)-**tshó**	fontanel [brain-jump]	Evans 1999:102.1
	tshó (tà)	jump {b?}	Evans 1999:2406
Qiang (Mawo)	**qhsu**	jump	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:568.8
	qhsu qhsu	jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**soú**	jump	Evans 1999:2406
	tàN pə̀-**soú**	folkdance [m-jump]	Evans 1999:942
Qiang (Taoping)	**tshu**^{33}	jump	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:568.9
Xumi	dʑi^{33}**tsɑ**^{55}	jump	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:568.20
	tsa^{53}	jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	khu^{55} **xtsi**^{55}	jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**nɕɯ** pho	jump	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:568.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **mtsɐk**	jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.11
rGyalrong	kɐ **mtsɐk**	jump	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:568.12

(12) PKC *yuaŋ-I, *yuan-II JUMP / BOUNCE / FLY (v.) / LEAP

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***yuaŋ**-I, yuan-II	JUMP / BOUNCE / FLY (v.) / LEAP	VanBik 2009:1212
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**zuan**	bounce	VanBik 2009:1212
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**m**-yawn	make fly	VanBik 2009:1212
Daai	**jɔːn**	fly	VanBik 2009:1212
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**zûaŋ**-I, zŭan-II	jump, bounce, fly	VanBik 2009:1212
	zŭaŋ-I, zùan-II	jump, fly	VanBik 2009:1212
Lushai [Mizo]	**zuang**	jump (v.)	Marrison 1967
	zúang-I, zùan-II	jump, to leap, to bound, to spring, to canter, to gallop (v.)	VanBik 2009:1212
	zúaŋ	jump (v.)	Weidert 1987:734

(13) PTB *b-$\begin{matrix}\text{l}\\\text{r}\end{matrix}$əy RUN

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-ləy**	run	Matisoff 2003a:599
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***plii ≍ *play** RUN / FLEE			
**Chin*	***plii ≍ play**	RUN / FLEE	VanBik 2009:1251
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**hláy-I**, **hlày-II**	run	VanBik 2009:1251
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**pli**	run	VanBik 2009:1251
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tlìi-I**, **tliik-II**	run, flee	VanBik 2009:1251
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***b-rəy**^{2} RUN			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***b-ləy**^{2}	run	Matisoff 2003a:599
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**pi**^{31}	escape; run away; run (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1544.28; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.28
	pi^{31}	run; escape	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:573.41; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:711.41
Achang (Luxi)	**pjau**^{31}	run	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**pi**^{31}	escape; run away; run (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1544.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	**pje**^{55}	run (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1544.27
	thwɛʔ^{4}**pje**^{55}	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	htwɛʔ^{44}**pje**^{55}	escape	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:711.40
Burmese (Written)	htwɑk **pre**^{3}	escape	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:711.39
	prê	run (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	pre:	run (v.)	Marrison 1967
	pre^{3}	run (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1544.26
	pre^{3}	run	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:573.39
	thwɑk^{4}**pre**^{3}	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.26
Marma	**brí**	flee; run away; run	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:140; HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:174
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***p-re**^{2}	run	Bradley 1979b:650
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Luquan	**ji**^{55}	run	Matisoff 2003a:190
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɣɯ**^{31}	run (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1544.43
Lahu (Black)	**g̈ɨ**	run (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:1141
	ɣɯ^{53}	run	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:573.33
	ɣA^{21}	chase / run after	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:712.33
Lisu (Central)	**rgh**^{5}	race; run (v.)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922

(14) PTB *gan ≍ *k(y)at RUN / DANCE / KICK

This root should be kept distinct from PTB ***gaːr** DANCE / SING / LEAP / STRIDE (§6.7.9) and PTB ***ga** DANCE / LEAP / STRIDE (§6.7.9). Several languages have compounds of the structure PTB ***ga** DANCE / LEAP / STRIDE (§6.7.9) + PTB ***gan ≍ *k(y)at** RUN / DANCE / KICK (§6.7.9), e.g. Lahu **qā-qhêʔ**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gan**	run / dance / kick	Matisoff 2003a:590
	***k(y)at**	run; dance; kick; (sudden) lateral action	Matisoff 2003a:598; LaPolla 1987:185 [a]
	***k(y)at ≍** gan	run / dance / kick	Matisoff 1985a:039
1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**gak**^{11}	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.52
1.1.1. TANI: ***kat**^{1} ESCAPE / FLEE			
**Tani*	***kat**^{1}	escape / flee	Sun 1993a:128
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	**kit**	escape / flee	Sun 1993a
	kit(-faː)	escape	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ket**	escape / flee	Sun 1993a
	ket	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.24
	ket(-ñeː)	escape	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**ket** ŋɛː	escape	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:711.51
Galo	**ken**-nam	escape; flee; abscond (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	ken nam	escape; flee; avoid; run (away) (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Nishing	**ke**	escape	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**kɤ**-nam	flee	Das Gupta 1983
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			

[a] [Source Note] [G&C 39; *TSR* 18] (LaPolla 1987).

Mikir [Karbi]	**kat**	run (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kát	run / dance / kick	Matisoff 1985a:039
	kát-jùy	wegrennen [run away]	Matisoff 1985a:125
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**khat**	run / dance / kick	Matisoff 1985a:039
Kokborok	**k^{h}a**	run	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**kat**	run / dance / kick	Matisoff 1985a:039
	khat	run	Benedict 1972:14n50
Garo (Bangladesh)	**kat**-a	run; run away (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.316-II:idx
	kat-sit-tap-a	run away (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.316-II:idx
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**gān**	leap, bound, gallop, canter	Matisoff 1974:173
	gàt	run	Matisoff 1985a:039; Matisoff 1974:340
	kat^{31}	run (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1544.19
	kǎ^{31}**kat^{31}**	run	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:573.47
	kǎ^{1}**kat^{31}**	run	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ka **kat**	run (v.)	Marrison 1967
	khàt	kick, as a horse	Matisoff 1985a:039
	khàt-khàt	"show the heels": to hurry (also used adverbially) (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:039
	kə **gàt**	flee; run	Matisoff 1985a:039; Matisoff 1974:340
	lə **khàt**	kick, as a horse	Matisoff 1985a:039
	pə **gat**	run / dance / kick	Matisoff 1985a:039
2.1.2. BODIC			
Motuo Menba	**gan**	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.07
Cuona Menba	toŋ^{35} **kan^{53}**	collide / run into (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1550.06
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mawo)	**kət**	collide / run into (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1550.08
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	**ɑt^{55}**	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.20 [a]
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***kyat**	run	Matisoff 1972b:18
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Luxi)	**khat^{55}**	chase / run after	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Rangoon)	**kã^{22}**	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**kã^{22}**	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.40
Burmese (Written)	**kan**	kick; kick back, rebound (as a gun when fired); push off (as a boat from land); prop laterally (v.)	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:039
	kan	kick; repel	Benedict 1976a
	khun	jump, leap, beat (as heart)	Benedict 1976a
	kɑn^{2}	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.26
	kɑn^{2}	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.39
Marma	**khaiʔ**	kick	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:209
Maru [Langsu]	**khɛʔ^{55}**	chase / run after	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:712.43
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**kɤ^{31}**	run (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1544.47
	kɤ^{31}ka^{323}ji^{33}	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.47
Lalo	**gə̀**	run	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Southern)	**khuę^{53}**	kick	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**khuę^{53}**	kick (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1667.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khue^{53}**ɬe^{35}	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.45
Nusu (Northern)	**khuə^{31}**	run	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	kiɔ̃^{35}**khɑ^{55}**	chase / run after	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	tɔ^{55}**khuə^{31}**	run	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Nanhua)	**tɕhę^{33}**	kick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**tʂha^{33}**; pi̱^{33}	kick;kick (person by animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:565.23
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Lancang)	qɑ^{33}**qhe^{33}**	dance (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1677.43
	qɑ^{11}**qhe^{54}**	dance (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0657.43
Lahu (Black)	qā **qhêʔ**	dance	Matisoff 1985a:039
	qA^{11}**qhe^{33}**	dance	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:684.33
Lahu (Yellow)	qa^{1}**qhe^{1}**	dance	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	gwa^{5}-**hchye^{2}**	dance	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**hchye2**	run	Matisoff 1972b:18
	hchye^{2}	run / dance / kick	Matisoff 1985a:039
Lisu (Central)	**hchye^{2}**	run (v.)	Fraser 1922
	hchye^{2} (jye^{4})	bolt / run away (v.)	Fraser 1922
	hchye^{2}-jye^{4}	flee	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Yongsheng)	kɑ^{44}**tʃhi^{35}**	dance (v.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**tɕhæ^{55}**	dance (V.)	Bradley 1994
	tɕhæ^{55}ŋɔ^{21}	dance (n.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**cɛ** 44	run	Matisoff 1972b:18
	cɛ^{44}	run / dance / kick	Matisoff 1985a:039
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**ceh HS**	run	Matisoff 1972b:18
	cehʔ^{33}	run / dance / kick	Matisoff 1985a:039
	cehˆ (<PLB	run	Matisoff 1974:340
	tjéq	run / dance / kick	Matisoff 1985a:039
Hani (Dazhai)	**ɕę^{33}**	run	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:573.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɕę^{33}**	run (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1544.41
	ɕę^{33}dɯ̱^{33}	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tɕɛ^{33}**	run	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**dzɑ˩**	run (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3004
Naxi	**dʑiə^{21}**	run (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1544.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dʑə^{31}**	run	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:573.28

[a] The zero-initial in this Dulong form is unexplained.

(15) PCC *tlaan RUN / FLEE

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***tlaan**	RUN / FLEE	VanBik 2009:1273
Lai (Falam)	**tláan**-I, tlâan-II	run, flee	VanBik 2009:1273
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlăan**	run (v.)	VanBik 2009:1273

(16) PTk *jaam RUN / FLEE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***jaam**	run / flee	Mortensen 2012:612
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**jam**	run / flee	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.011
Tangkhul	**yam**	run	Bhat 1969:95
	yam thui	walk (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**jam**	run away; drive off (bird, etc.)	Mortensen 2012

(17) PTB *plwaŋ RUN / FLEE / JUMP UP

Contra *HPTB*:378-379, we now regard this root as quite separate from PTB ***p(r)wak** JUMP (§6.7.9).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ploŋ**	run; flee; run, flee	Matisoff 2003a:607; Benedict 1972:140
1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	**phlu^{53}**	jump (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1678.23
	phlu^{53}	jump	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:568.48
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Khonoma)	**pru** shi	jump (v.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**pru** shi	jump (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ar **plong**	run (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ar **ploŋ**	run	Benedict 1972:140
	iŋ **ploŋ**	run, gallop	Benedict 1972:140
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**phroŋ**	flee, run away	Benedict 1972:140
	phɔoŋ^{33}	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.19
	phɔoŋ^{33}	escape	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:711.47
	phɹoŋ^{33}lot^{31}	escape	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{B}**p^{h}joŋ** JUMP UP			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**p^{h}joŋ**	jump up	Mazaudon 1994:679
Thakali	**phyong**-la	jump up (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.26
Thakali (Tukche)	**p^{h}joŋ**-lɔ	jump up	Hari 1971:2.B.1.26
	^{2}p^{h}joŋ	jump up	Mazaudon 1994:679
3.2. QIANGIC			
Lyuzu	**pho^{35}**	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.18
Namuyi	**pho^{53}**χa^{31}	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**phã^{55}**	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.10
Pumi (Lanping)	khə^{13}**phʃã^{55}**	run (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1544.09
	phʃɛ̃^{13}	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.09
	phʂɛ^{55}phʂɛ^{55}	collide / run into (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1550.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	khə^{13}**phʒã^{55}**	run	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:573.11
	phʒã^{55}	escape	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:711.11
Qiang (Longxi)	dà **phó**	run away, duck	Evans 1999:1855
Qiang (Mawo)	**phu**	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.08
	phu	escape	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:711.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**phu^{55}**	escape	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:711.9
Xumi	**phɛ̃^{35}**	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	tʌ^{33}**phu^{55}**	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ka **pho**	escape	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:711.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **pho**	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.11
rGBenzhen	ka-**p^{h}o**	escape	Sun 1997b
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**bo3**	escape (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	bo^{3}	escape (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.2
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola (Luxi)	**phɔ̃^{55}**	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**phɔ̃^{31}**	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**phaːŋ^{33}**	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.33
Maru [Langsu]	**phɔ̃^{31}**	escape	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:711.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**phaŋ^{51}**	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.30
	phaŋ^{51}	escape	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:711.42
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Liangshan)	**pho^{33}**	flee; run away	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	po^{55}	run	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**phɒ^{21}**	run	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:573.26
Yi (Wuding)	**phɔ^{11}**	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.38
Yi (Xide)	**pho^{33}**	run (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1544.35
	pho^{33}bo^{33}	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.35
	po^{55}	run (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1544.35
	po^{55}	run	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:573.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Lancang)	**phɔ^{33}**qɑi^{33}	escape / run away (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.43
Lahu (Black)	**phɔ^{33}**	escape	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:711.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**phɔ^{1}**	escape	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**phɔ^{33}**	run; fly away (V.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Mpi	**phjɤŋ^{3}**	run	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Phola	**p^{h}ɔ^{55}**	flee; escape	Pelkey 2011:821
Hlepho Phowa	**p^{h}ə^{21}**	flee; escape	Pelkey 2011:821
Phuza	**p^{h}ʌ^{31}**	flee; escape	Pelkey 2011:821
6.2. NAXI			

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**pʰu**˥	escape, flee (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3211
Na (Yongning)	**pʰu**˩	scamper, flee, run at full speed; escape, to flee (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009; Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**phu**[21]	escape / run away (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1663.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**phu**[33]	escape	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:711.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**phu**[31]	escape	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:711.28
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**pʼɔ** 4	run, to	Dell 1981b:384
Bai (Jianchuan)	**phõ**[33]	run (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1544.48
	phõ[33]	run	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:573.36
	phə̰[33]	collide / run into (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1550.48

Chinese comparandum

奔 OC *__pwən__, *GSR* #438a-c ‘run (v.), hasten, rush about, elope’; Schuessler 2007:160 *__pən__; B & S 2011: *__pʿur__; Mand. __bēn, bèn__.

(18) PTB * g/h yar RUN / RIDE / GO BY VEHICLE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__gyar ~ hyar__	run / ride / go by vehicle	Matisoff 2003a:592

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**har**	run	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	har-gɯ	flee	Sun 1993b

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Bagmati)	**yar**[fi]	run (v.)	Weidert 1987:751
Tamang (Risiangku)	[4]**jar**	flee / run	Mazaudon 1994:815

(19) PTB *sam RUN / WALK

This root is well attested in the NE Indian areal group, but has not yet been found elsewhere.

1.3. “Naga” Areal Group

Maring	**chan**	run (v.)	Marrison 1967
	chan pha	run (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *__a-ʃaːm__ RUN / WALK

**Central Naga*	*a-__ʃaːm__	RUN / WALK	Bruhn 2014a:III.120
**Ao*	*a-__səm__	RUN	Bruhn 2014a:II.104
Ao (Chungli)	a[2]__səm__[2]	run (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.104
	ā __sūm__	run (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:3
	a __süm__	run (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**sam**	run (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**səm** tsə̀	run [ran] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e[1]-__san__[1]-	run (fast) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.120
	e __san__	run (v.)	Marrison 1967
	e __san__ a	run	Murry *et al.* 1978:106
	sam phia-i	walk (v.)	Marrison 1967
	san phi a	walk	Murry *et al.* 1978:135
Sangtam	**shang**	run	Kumar 1973a
	shang	walk (v.)	Marrison 1967
	shang vü	run (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	a **sam** bat	run; walk (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**shan**	run	Kumar 1973b:61

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *__sam__ RUN / FLEE

**Tangkhulic*	*__sam__	run / flee	Mortensen 2012:440
Kachai	kə-__sam__	run / flee	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.009
Tangkhul	nga __sam__	run (v.)	Marrison 1967
	__səm__	run	Bhat 1969:95
Ukhrul	kʰə-ŋə-__sam__	run	Mortensen 2012
	kʰə-ŋə-__sɐm__	run, flee	Mortensen 2012

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Wancho	a __ham__	walk (v.)	Marrison 1967

(20) PTani *dan SHAKE

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	*__dan__	shake	Sun 1993a:349

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**din**	shake	Sun 1993a
	duk-__din__	shudder	Sun 1993b
	dum-__din__	shake head	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(dum) **ten**	shake (one’s head) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1752.24
	den	shake	Sun 1993a
	tuɪk-__den__	shake (dust) off; spasm	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Galo	-__den__	shake (result); vibrate; convulse (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	-__den__...-ren	convulsively (vs:advsr.)	GLDC 2009
	lag __den__	twitch (arm) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	lag __den__	twitch (arm) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	pa-__den__-nam	tremble (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	pa __den__	tremble (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	sikɯr:-la-pa __den__-nam	shiver (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘lə __den__	twitch (leg) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lə __den__	twitch (leg) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill Tagin	hɯg __din__-nam	shake [tree etc.]	Simon 1976
	ek-__din__-nam	shake (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**dan**	shake	Sun 1993a

(21) PTk *nuk SHAKE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	*__nuk__	shake	Mortensen 2012:582
Tusom	kʰa-kʰə-__nu__	shake something	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.331
Ukhrul	kʰə-kə-__nuk__	shake (sth.)	Mortensen 2012

(22) PKC *hlok-I, *hloʔ-II SHAKE / LIFT UP

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	*__hlok__-I, hloʔ-II	SHAKE / LIFT UP	VanBik 2009:1121

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	__lòʔ__-I, lòo-II	shake up	VanBik 2009:1121
Tiddim	__lok__[3] > loʔ[3]	shake (tr)	VanBik 2009:1121

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hlok**-I, hloʔ-II	shake, lift up	VanBik 2009:1121

(23) PKC *thiŋ-I, *thin-II SHAKE / SHUDDER

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	*__thiŋ__-I, thin-II	SHAKE / SHUDDER	VanBik 2009:406

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**ki**-sing	shudder, waggle	VanBik 2009:406
Thado	**thíŋ**-I, thìn-II	shake	VanBik 2009:406
Tiddim	__sing__[2] > sin[3]	shake	VanBik 2009:406

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**a(ng)thoeyng**	shudder, startled, start, gasp, scared, frightened	VanBik 2009:406

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thîŋ**-I, thĭn-II	shake, shudder	VanBik 2009:406
Lai (Falam)	**thĭŋ**-I, thìn-II	shake, shudder	VanBik 2009:406
Lushai [Mizo]	**thíŋ**-I, thìn-II	shake (v.)	VanBik 2009:406

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**thó**	shake, to vibrate (v.)	VanBik 2009:406

(24) PKC *pet SPRING / SPRINT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	*__pet__	SPRING / SPRINT	VanBik 2009:162

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**pet**	send sthg flying by means of a spring (v.)	VanBik 2009:162
Khumi	**pienaaw**	spring, flexible pole part of a spear-throwing trap	VanBik 2009:162

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**pèt**-I, pèʔ-II	spring, to sprint (v.)	VanBik 2009:162
Lai (Hakha)	**pet**-I, peʔ-II	spring, to sprint, jump (v.)	VanBik 2009:162

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**chà**-péi	spring, jump	VanBik 2009:162

(25) PKC *let-I, *leʔ-II TRANSLATE / FLIP OVER / RESPOND

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	*__let__-I, leʔ-II	TRANSLATE / FLIP OVER / RESPOND	VanBik 2009:1059

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**lum** let hī	turn over	VanBik 2009:1059
Thado	**lèe**-INV	reverse, respond, translate	VanBik 2009:1059

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**let**-I, leʔ-II	flip over, translate, turn over	VanBik 2009:1059
Lai (Falam)	**lèt**-I, lêʔ-II	flip over, translate, turn over	VanBik 2009:1059
Lushai [Mizo]	**lèt**-I, lèh-II	turn upside down, to turn over (v.)	VanBik 2009:1059

(26) PTk *tsɐt WALK

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	*__tsɐt__	walk	Mortensen 2012:577
Huishu	kə-__tsejʔ__	walk	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.014
Tusom	kə-__ze__	walk (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.012
Ukhrul	kə-ci-__tsɐt__	make to walk or go	Mortensen 2012
	kə-__tsat__	walk	Mortensen 2012
	kə-__tsɐt__	walk, go	Mortensen 2012

6.7.10 Move with something else

(1) PTani *mon CHASE

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	*__mon__	chase	Sun 1993a:62

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	har-ǰo-__mon__	pursue	Sun 1993b
	in-ǰa-__mon__	follow	Sun 1993b
	mõ	chase	Sun 1993a
	mò	chase	Sun 1993b
	mon	chase	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ki-__min__	hunting dog	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ki:-__men__	hunting dog	Sun 1993b
	men	chase	Sun 1993a
Galo	**min** nam	chase (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	miŋ-hin-nam	chase (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	miŋ gə	chase (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**mon**	chase	Sun 1993a

(2) PTk *saam CHASE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	*__saam__	chase	Mortensen 2012:434
Huishu	kə-kə-__sam__	chase	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.065
Kachai	kə-kə-__ʃam__	drive / chase	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.059
Tusom	kə-__zɯə̃__	chase	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.074

(3) PCN *ri CHASE / HUNT / FOLLOW / DRIVE

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	a[1]__ɹi__[2]-si[2]	chase (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ā __rī__	chase (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:3
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ri** shi	hunt	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**əɹ** si	chase [chased] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**rə-**	follow, track (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e **ri** a	drive	Murry *et al.* 1978:35
	r à	chase the footprint of the animals (v.)	Acharya 1975

	sə̄ **r** à	follow	Acharya 1975
Yimchungrü	**ru** yan	follow	Marrison 1967

(4) PKC *ɗooy CHASE / PURSUE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɗooy**	CHASE / PURSUE	VanBik 2009:69
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**dôoy**-I, dŏoy-II	chase, pursue	VanBik 2009:69
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-dái	pursue, to chase, to hunt (v.)	VanBik 2009:69

(5) PTB * s ʔ - l r way DIVERT / PUSH ASIDE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s/ʔ-lway** ≍ **s/ʔ-rway**	divert; cast off; push aside	Matisoff 1985a:101; Matisoff 2003a:600
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**sēy**	make a way by parting (e.g. grass); dispel; clear (as the sky)	Matisoff 1985a:101
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**hlwâi**	go out of one's way, turn aside; outlet by side of reservoir (n.)	Matisoff 1985a:101
	hrâi	make an opening in a crowd by scattering ion both sides	Matisoff 1985a:101
	lwâi	out of the way; vary (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:101
	ywai	drawn aside, distorted, awry (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:101
	ʔəlwâi	contrariwise	Matisoff 1985a:101
	ʔəywai	contrariwise	Matisoff 1985a:101
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**hē**~**hī**	cast off (as a snake's skin); push aside (as over-hanging plants from one's path)	Matisoff 1985a:101 [a]

[a]The very low tone of the Lahu reflex points to a PLB Tone 2 etymon with *glottalized initial.

(6) PTk *t^{h}aaw DRIVE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}aaw**	drive	Mortensen 2012:388
Huishu	kə-**t^{h}ow**	drive (vehicle)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.050
Kachai	kə-**t^{h}o**	drive	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.043
Tusom	kə-**t^{h}uə**	drive (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.054
Ukhrul	kə-**t^{h}aw**	drive	Mortensen 2012

(7) PNC *hool DRIVE / CHASE

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
**Northern Chin*	***hool**	DRIVE / CHASE	VanBik 2009:712
Sizang	**hawl** hī	drive	VanBik 2009:712
Tiddim	**hool**^{2}	drive, chase	VanBik 2009:712

(8) PTB * m s -yuy FOLLOW

STC #51 sets up in passing a root ***ywi** 'follow' on the basis of the Mizo and Siyin forms, but mistakenly claims that it is restricted to Kuki-Naga.

There is a good Chinese comparandum *GSR* 11g.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m/s-yuy**	follow	Matisoff 2003a:620
	***ywi**	follow	Matisoff 1985a:045; Matisoff 2003a:620
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***yuul** ≍ ***yuuy** FOLLOW			
**Chin*	***yuul** ≍ yuuy	FOLLOW	VanBik 2009:1205
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Siyin	**yui**	follow	Matisoff 1985a:045
Thado	nūŋ **zúi**	follow	Thirumalai 1972:59
	zùuy-I, zùy-II	follow	VanBik 2009:1205
Tiddim	**zu:i**^{1} > zui?^{3}	follow (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2078
	zu:i^{1}/zui?^{3}	follow	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**yun** ≍ yawi	follow a line (v.)	VanBik 2009:1205
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**zûul**-I, zul?-II	follow	VanBik 2009:1205
Lushai [Mizo]	**zui**	follow	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:045
	zui	follow (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3166
	zùul-I, zùlh-II	follow (as the water from a roof leak, etc.), to follow the course of (v.)	VanBik 2009:1205
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**zí**	follow (v.)	VanBik 2009:1205
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Sangtam	i **vü**	follow	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Khonoma)	asa me **dzi**	follow	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	sie me **dzi** lie	follow	Marrison 1967
Chokri	mü **zwi**	follow	Marrison 1967
Mao	**fü**	follow	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	athiu **wu**	follow	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Liangmei	shai-**shwi**	follow	Marrison 1967
Zeme	chai **sui**	follow	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**sui**	follow	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***ʃuur** FOLLOW			
**Tangkhulic*	***ʃuur**	follow	Mortensen 2012:523
Kachai	t^{h}i-kə-**ʃur**	follow	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.189
Tangkhul	athi **shur**	follow	Marrison 1967
	cuy	follow	Bhat 1969:89 [a]
	śur	follow	Bhat 1969:89
Ukhrul	t^{h}i-kə-**ʃur**	follow	Mortensen 2012
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Konyak	**woi** lak	follow	Marrison 1967
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**sui'**	thus, in this way; towards, into, unto	Matisoff 2003a:229
	sui.	towards	Marrison 1967
	sui'	(n. affix = 'towards, into'); such	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1976a
	ə-**sui'**	how (< ə-bhai-sui' ?)	Benedict 1976a
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**dzwia**	follow	Matisoff 1985a:045
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**zwię**	follow	Matisoff 1985a:045

[a]The very low tone of the Lahu reflex points to a PLB Tone 2 etymon with *glottalized initial.

[a]We are assuming a doublet in Tangkhulic.

Chinese comparandum

隨 OC ***dzwiɑ**, *GSR* #11g 'follow'; Schuessler 2007:485 ***s-wa**/***soi**; B & S 2011: ***sə.loj**; Mand. **suí**.
遂 OC ***dzi̯wəd**, *GSR* #526d-e 'advance'; Schuessler 2007:485 ***s-wis**~***s-jus**; B & S 2011: ***sə-lut-s** **{sə-lu [t] -s}**; Mand. **suì**.
隊 OC ***d'wəd**, *GSR* #526f 'troops'; Schuessler 2007:219 ***dûs**; B & S 2011: ***l^{ʕ}ut-s** ; Mand. **duì**.

(9) PKC *hroo ŋ k FOLLOW / GO ALONG / PROCEED

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hrooŋ** ≍ hrook	FOLLOW / GO ALONG / PROCEED	VanBik 2009:1083
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ghawk** ≍ ghawi	follow, to go along, to proceed along (v.)	VanBik 2009:1083
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hrôoŋ**-I, hrŏon-II	go along, follow (e.g. along river)	VanBik 2009:1083

(10) PTB *s-n(y)aŋ FOLLOW / REPEAT

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(s-)nɑŋ**	follow	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:945e
	***naŋ**	follow	Benedict 1972:334
	***s-naŋ**	follow / repeat	Matisoff 2003a:604
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Ao*	*a-**hni**	FOLLOW	Bruhn 2014a:II.235
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}**ni**^{2}-tak^{3}	follow (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.235
	a **ni** tek	follow	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hni**	follow, track [followed, tracked] (v.)	Coupe 2007
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	pha **naŋ**	attach, set anything to another thing	Benedict 1972:334
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**sniŋ**	follow, imitate	Benedict 1972:334
	sniŋ-gipa	apostle	Benedict 1972:334
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	**ñɯŋ**^{31}	know / learn / imitate	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	mə **naŋ**	companion	Benedict 1972:334
	naŋ	follow	Benedict 1972:334
	śənaŋ	adhere to, follow up	Benedict 1972:334
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**hnáŋ**	with, together with	Benedict 1972:334
	hnaŋ-hnaŋ	common, ordinary	Benedict 1972:334
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	仍	repeat	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2331
Chinese (GSR #)	**0945e**	repeat	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2331
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**ńi̯əŋ**	repeat / as before /again and again / follow / imitate	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:945e
	nəŋ	repeat	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2331
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**nying**	repeat	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2331
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**réng**	repeat	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2331

Chinese comparandum

仍 OC ***ńi̯əŋ**, *GSR* #945e 'repeat, as before'; B & S 2011: ***nəŋ**; Mand. **réng**.

(11) PKC *yoʔ FOLLOW / WALK ON

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***yoʔ**	FOLLOW / WALK ON	VanBik 2009:1204
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**yawh**	follow along (e.g. a river along its bank, a ridge along mountains) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1204
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**zòʔ**-INV	follow (as road, river), walk on (as rope)	VanBik 2009:1204
Lushai [Mizo]	**zàwh**	follow, to go along, to walk along (v.)	VanBik 2009:1204

(12) PTB *dzywan RIDE

This root was formerly reconstructed as ***dzyon**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzyon**	ride (an animal); mount, ride	Matisoff 2003a:589; Benedict 1972:72
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**džon**	mount, ride	Benedict 1972:72
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**žon**-pa	mount, ride	Benedict 1972:72
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**iun**	mount, ride	Benedict 1972:72

(13) PKC *tsi(i)l TRAMPLE / TREAD OUT / WALK ON

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tsi(i)l**	TRAMPLE / TREAD OUT / WALK ON	VanBik 2009:574
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**tsǐl**-I, tsìl-II	walk on rice to harvest	VanBik 2009:574
Tiddim	**cil**^{2}	tread out (as grain)	VanBik 2009:574
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsîil**-I, tsǐil-II	trample, walk on	VanBik 2009:574
Lai (Falam)	**tsǐil**-INV	trample, walk on	VanBik 2009:574

(14) PTani *ča TREAD / TRAMPLE

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ča**	tread / trample	Sun 1993a:439
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**ča**-hi	tread out water	Sun 1993b
	ča-ǰe	tread; trample	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ča**-ǰap	tread; trample; tread on st.	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**sa**-tan	tread / trample	Sun 1993a

6.7.11 Movement (general)

(1) PTB *s-wa BE IN MOTION / GO / COME

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-wa**	go	Matisoff 2003a:618
	***s-wɑ**	proceed / go to (v.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:97a-g
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***wa** GO			
**Central Naga*	***wa**	GO	Bruhn 2014a:III.025
**Ao*	*a-**wa**	GO	Bruhn 2014a:II.272
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}-**u**^{2}	go (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.272
	a **o**	go	Marrison 1967
	ima-a **o**	fly (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	la **wa**	descend	Marrison 1967
	tsungi **wa** chen	west	Marrison 1967
	wa	go	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	kə **wa**	go up [went up] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	tsə̀hŋi tʃhu **wa**-tʃən	east ('sun' + 'emerge' + LNOM)	Coupe 2007
	tsə̀hŋi-**wa**-tʃən	west ('sun' + go + LNOM)	Coupe 2007
	tʃhu **wa**	emerge [emerged] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	wa	go [went] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	wa-tʃən	path ('go' + LNOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-puk **wà**-pàʔ	diarrhea [diarrhoea] ('stomach' + 'go' + NR) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**vo**^{1}-	go (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.025
	và	go (imperat.)	Acharya 1975
	vá	go ahead	Acharya 1975
	vo a	go	Murry *et al.* 1978:51
	wa	go	Marrison 1967
	wo	go	Marrison 1967
	wō à	go (imperat.)	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**vü**	go (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	vü	go	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**wa**	go	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**ü**	go	Marrison 1967
	ü khia	go out	Marrison 1967
	ü zaa	enter	Marrison 1967
	yü	go	Kumar 1973b:50
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami Naga	^{5}**vo**	come (v.)	Weidert 1987:75
Angami (Khonoma)	la **vo** rü	return (come back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	vo	go	Marrison 1967
	vo rü	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	la **vo** rü	return (come back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	vo	go	Marrison 1967
	vo rü	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	la **vo** ri	return (come back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	vo	go	Marrison 1967
	vo ri	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{4}**vo**	come (v.)	Weidert 1987:75
Meluri	**wa**	go	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**wa**	go	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**wu**	go	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***wa** GO			
**Tangkhulic*	***wa**	go	Mortensen 2012:329
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**wu**	go	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	**va**	go out	Marrison 1967
	wa	go	Bhat 1969:90
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**va**	go	Mortensen 2012
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**hau**	go	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**wa**	be in motion (v.)	Benedict 1972:167n447
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**wa**	come	Benedict 1972:167n447
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**hwa**	walk, move	Benedict 1972:105n298; Benedict 1972:167n447
	hwɑ	walk / move	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:97a-g
	kah.taŋ **wahʔ**-**wah**-	move backwards (vi.)	Caughley 2000
		move, proceed, come or go (non-directional), travel (vi.)	Caughley 2000
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ʂl**^{33}**ʂl**^{55}	walk	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:572.18
Lyuzu	**fu**^{33}**fu**^{53}	walk (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1815.18
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tθwɑ**^{55}	go / leave (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1579.27
	ze^{55}**tθwɑ**^{55}	go (to market / a fair) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1334.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθwɑ**^{55}	go	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:738.40
Burmese (Written)	**swâ**	go	Matisoff 1974:263b
	swâ	go (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	swà	go	Benedict 1972:167n447
	swā:	go	Marrison 1967
	swà	go	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:97a-g
	thwɑ^{3}	go	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:738.39
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gi̯wo**/**yi̯u**	proceed / go (v.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:97a-g
Chinese (Old)	**w(r)ja**	go	Baxter 1992:1375; Baxter 1992:391; Baxter 1992:794

Chinese comparandum

于 OC ***gi̯wo**, *GSR* #97a-g 'proceed; go'; Schuessler 2007:583 ***wa**; B & S 2011: ***ɢ^{w}a {ɢ^{w}(r)a}**; Mand. **yú**.

(2) PTB *la-y ≍ *ra COME

Languages of the NE Indian areal group have an **r-** initial, while other languages have the lateral. In Loloish, various allofams have developed, notably the one with palatal suffix which also seems to underlie the Chinese comparandum.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***la-y**	come / arrive	Matisoff 2003a:599
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Ao*	*a-**ɹa**	COME	Bruhn 2014a:II.308
Ao (Chungli)	anir-a **ru**	bring (v.)	Marrison 1967
	a^{3}**ɹu**^{1}	come (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.308
	á **rù**	come (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:5
	a **ru**	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ra**	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	hi **ɹa**	come across at same level [came across at same level] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	hən ə **ɹà**	bring [brought] (< 'take' + SEQ + 'come') (v.)	Coupe 2007
	kə **ɹa**	come up [came up] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	lə **ɹa**	come down [came down] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	tshə **ɹa**	pull towards [pulled towards] ('pull' + 'come') (v.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃha **ɹa**	collect [collected] ('pick.up' + 'come') (v.)	Coupe 2007
	za-**ɹà**	come in [came in] ('enter' + 'come') (v.)	Coupe 2007
	ɹà	come [came] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**ro**^{3}-	come (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	có **rò**	come down	Acharya 1975
	ro	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
	rō à	come (imperat.)	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**ro**	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
	su **ro**	birth, give	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**lo** a	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **rü**	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Meluri	**ru**	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**gho**	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***ra** COME			
**Tangkhulic*	***ra**	come	Mortensen 2012:676
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**re**	come	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.002
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**a**	come	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.002
Tangkhul	**ra**	come	Bhat 1969:86
	ra	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**ra**	come	Mortensen 2012
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**lè**	arrive, reach	Matisoff 1985a:185
	lo	arrive	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**lo**	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
	lo ngai	return (come back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**lho**	come	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2797
	lja	come	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3456
	ljij	arrive, come	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2373
	lji̯	carry, transport; come; come, arrive	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4106; Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5727
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	gu$ɑ^{33}$**lɑ**^{55}	rain (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.18
	lɑ^{55}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.18
Lyuzu	**læ**^{31}	come (future) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.18
	læ^{35}	come (past) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.18
	ŋo^{33}kuo^{53}**læ**^{31}	come out (past)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.18
Muya	**rɐ**^{53}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.15
	fiæ^{24}**rɐ**^{53}	come out	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ri**^{35}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**li**^{35}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.10
Qiang (Longxi)	ì **lò**	enter [p-come]	Evans 1999:1661
	kè-ì-**lò**	enter room [room-p-come]	Evans 1999:2072
	lò	come	Evans 1999:2130
	mà só **lò**	menstruate [m-blood-come]	Evans 1999:146.2
	phì sà **lò**	menstruate [vulva-blood-come]	Evans 1999:146.2
	sì **lò**	come out	Evans 1999:1736
	zá-**ló**-zə̀ mú	joke [laugh-come-speech]	Evans 1999:935
	fià **lò**	descend (lò = 'come'?)	Evans 1999:2466
Qiang (Mawo)	ho **liu**	come out (future)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.08

	hɑ **lɑ**	come out (past)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.08
	liu	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.08
	ly	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.8
	tə **lɑ**	come out (the sun)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.08
Qiang (Taoping)	**ly**^{33}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	le^{35}**lu**^{53}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.16
Xumi	be^{33}**lu**^{55}	come out	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.17
	liu^{55}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.20
	lu^{35}	come (future) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.17

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Luxi)	**la**^{31}	come	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**lɔ**^{55}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	**lɑ**^{22}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.27
Burmese (Written)	**lā**	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
	la	come; reach in degree	Hansson 1989:104; Benedict 1976a
	lâ	come! (interj.)	Benedict 1976a
	lɑ^{2}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.39
	lɑɑ^{2}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.26

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***la**^{1}	come (up); come	Bradley 1979b:649A; Hansson 1989:104

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**li**^{323}	come	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	li^{33}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.47
Nusu (Central)	**la**^{33}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.34
Nusu (Southern)	**lɔ**^{55}	come	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**lɑ**^{31}	come	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**lɑ**^{35}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.45
Yi (Dafang)	**li**^{21}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**la**^{33}	come	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐ̩^{34}**la**^{33}	come and go; interact frequently	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	du^{33}**lɛ**^{33}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**le**^{21}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**le**^{33}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.37
	le^{33}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**lɑ**^{55}; **li**^{55}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.23
Yi (Weishan)	**la**^{55}	come (past) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.36
	li^{55}	come (future) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.36
	lɛ^{55}	come (imperative) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.36
Yi (Wuding)	**le**^{11}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.38
Yi (Xide)	**la**^{33}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.21
	lɑ^{33}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	**lɔ**^{33}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.34
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**lɔ**^{42}	come (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**lɔ**^{42}	come	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**lɔ**^{42}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.44
	to^{42}**lɔ**^{33}	come out	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.44
	to^{42}**lɯ**^{35}	come out (the sun)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.44
Kucong	**la31**	come	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**lɑ**^{31}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.43
	tɔ^{54}**lɑ**^{31}	come out	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.43
Lahu (Black)	**la**	motion toward deictic center; cisative motion (Pv.)	Matisoff 1988a:1343
	lâ	non-3p benefactive particle (Pv.)	Matisoff 1988a:1347
	lʌ^{31}	come; come (of rain, people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.33; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:750.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**la**^{5}	come	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	be?^{21}**la**^{33}	come out; break through (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	dọ^{33}**lɑ**^{33}	come out	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.40
Lisu (Northern)	du^{21}**la**^{33}	come in	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	dū^{5}-**la**^{4}	enter (come in)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	dæ^{33}**la**^{33}	come up	Bradley 1994
	dɔ^{33}**la**^{33}	come out	Bradley 1994
	gi^{33}gi^{33} **la**^{33}**la**^{33}	come and go	Bradley 1994
	je^{33}**la**^{33}	come to do	Bradley 1994
	ji?^{21}**la**^{33}	come back (V.)	Bradley 1994
	kɔ^{55}**la**^{33}	come over (V.)	Bradley 1994 [a]
Lisu (Central)	**la**^{4}	come	Fraser 1922
	lá^{4}	come (imp.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**la**^{44}	come (V.)	Bradley 1994
	le?^{21}**la**^{33}	come back; come into headlong (V.)	Bradley 1994
	læ^{44}	Come! (command) (V.)	Bradley 1994
	lø^{35}**la**^{33}	come back in escape	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**lɑ**^{33}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.40
	lɑ^{33}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.27
Lisu (Central)	rá^{6}-**lye**^{3}	down, come	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	tʃhu^{33}**la**^{33}	come to burn	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi^{33}**la**^{33}	arrive; come to	Bradley 1994
	zæ?^{21}**la**^{33}	come down	Bradley 1994
	ɕɯ^{55}**la**^{33}	come down; roll (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	du^{44}**lɪ**^{33}	come out	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1208.39
	lɪ^{33}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**lá**	come	Hansson 1989:104
Akha (Thai)	**lá**	come	Hansson 1989:104
Akha (Yunnan)	**lá**	come	Hansson 1989:104

[a] This compound looks like a loan from Chinese; cf. Mandarin **guò lái**.

Bisu	**lɯ**	come	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**la**^{55}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.41
Hani (Pijo)	**lá**	come	Hansson 1989:104
Hani (Caiyuan)	**la**^{55}; lɤ^{33}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**la**^{55}	come	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**lal**	come	Hansson 1989:104
Haoni	**lɔ**^{55}	come	Hansson 1989:104
Hani (Shuikui)	**lɔ**^{55}	come	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:737.32
Hani (Khatu)	**lɔ́** ?	come	Hansson 1989:104; Hansson 1989:104
Hani (Mojiang)	**lɔ**^{55}	come (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1491.42
Mpi	**lo**^{5}	come; come (from the south, west)	Hansson 1989:104; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	lɯ^{3}	come (from the north, east)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	tʏŋ^{6}**lɯ**^{3}	come for the first time	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**la45** ble45	come (v.)	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:242007
Sila	**lɔ55**	come (v.)	KATO Takashi 2008:291

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	k^{h}a^{45}**lɛ**^{21}	come up	Pelkey 2011:805
	lɛ^{21}	come	Pelkey 2011:804
	t^{h}ɯ^{45}**lɛ**^{21}	come down	Pelkey 2011:806
Southern Muji	**ljɛ**^{33}	come	Pelkey 2011:804
	tjɛ^{33}**ljɛ**^{33}	come up	Pelkey 2011:805
	tɯ^{55}**ljɛ**^{33}	come down	Pelkey 2011:806
Phola	**li**^{33}	come	Pelkey 2011:804
	qɐ^{31}**li**^{33}	meet; come across	Pelkey 2011:771
	qɐ^{31}**lɑ**^{33}	meet; come across	Pelkey 2011:771
	qɑ^{55}**li**^{33}	come down	Pelkey 2011:806
	tɔ^{33}**lɛ**^{33}	exit (come out)	Pelkey 2011:818
	tɑ^{33}**li**^{33}	come up	Pelkey 2011:805
Hlepho Phowa	dɛ^{13}**lɛ**^{33}	come up	Pelkey 2011:805
	lɛ^{21}	come	Pelkey 2011:804
	zɛ^{33}**lɛ**^{21}	come down	Pelkey 2011:806
Phu Kha	**li**^{31}	come (back home)	Fried 2000
	sɯ^{33} **li**^{33}	come (down); come (up)	Fried 2000; Fried 2000
Phuza	di^{55}**li**^{33}	come up	Pelkey 2011:805
	li^{31}	come	Pelkey 2011:804
	tə^{33}**li**^{33}	come down	Pelkey 2011:806

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old)	**ləg**	come	Matisoff 1985a:185

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**lậi**	come	Matisoff 1985a:185

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**lái**	come	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

來 OC ***ləg**, *GSR* #944a-e 'come'; Schuessler 2007:342 ***rə̂k/ʔ** > ***rə̂**; B & S 2011: ***r^{ʕ}ək (› r^{ʕ}ə)**; Mand. **lái**.
贅 S342
迨 OC ***d'əg**, *GSR* #976n' 'come to'; Schuessler 2007:203 ***lə̂ʔ**; B & S 2011: ***l^{ʕ}əʔ**; Mand. **dài**.

(3) PKC *huŋ COME

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***huŋ**	COME	VanBik 2009:706

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**hû̱ŋ**-INV	come; become (preposed to main verb)	VanBik 2009:706

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hûŋ**-I, hŭn-II ≍ hôŋ-I, hŏn-II	come	VanBik 2009:706
Lai (Falam)	**húŋ**-INV	come	VanBik 2009:706

(4) PTB *pay COME / GO

This root bares a fortuitous resemblance to a Proto-Tai root, cf. Siamese **paj** (see *HCT*:61, 205).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pay**	come / go	Matisoff 2003a:606

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP

Kamarupan	**pay**	come / go	Matisoff 1985a:139

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN: ***paay** GO

**Northern Chin*	***paay**	GO	VanBik 2009:149
Sizang	**pai** hī	go	VanBik 2009:149
Tiddim	**pai**^{2}	go	VanBik 2009:149
	pai^{2}	go (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1337
	pai^{2}	go	Bhaskararao 1994

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	***pəi**	come	Burling 1959:440

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**pay**	come (v.)	Bhat 1968
	pay	come	Matisoff 1985a:139
	pay-báy	come again and again	Matisoff 1985a:107
	pay bay	come again and again (v.)	Bhat 1968
	pay brob	come in time (v.)	Bhat 1968
	pay brób	come in a hurry (v.)	Bhat 1968
	pay brəy pay	come four times	Bhat 1968
	pay grəm	come in darkness (v.)	Bhat 1968
	pay ləy	come!	Bhat 1968
	pay naŋ	sure to come (v.)	Bhat 1968
	pay pin	come in; return (v.)	Bhat 1968
	pay tar	certainly to come	Bhat 1968
	pay tra	never to come	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**phai**	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
	phai	come	Matisoff 1985a:139
	phai phin	return (come back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**p^{h}ay**	come (v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***pa:y**	come; stand; lift	Matisoff 1985a:139
	***pa:y**	come / stand / lift (v.)	French 1983:471

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**pai**	walk	Matisoff 1985a:139
Konyak	**pei**	come (v.)	Marrison 1967
	pei	come	Matisoff 1985a:139
Phom	**pei**	stand; come (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	pei	come; stand	Matisoff 1985a:139

3.2. QIANGIC

Xumi	**bi**^{35}	go / leave (future) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1579.17

	bi^{35}	go	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:738.20
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**bi**꞉	go (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3518
	bɤ꞉	go (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3519
Na (Yongning)	**bi**꞉	go (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**bɯ**^{33}	go / leave (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1579.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**bɯ**^{33}	go	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:738.28
Naxi (Yongning)	le^{33}u^{33}**bi**^{33}	return / go back	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:739.29

(5) PKar *khaN^{A} CROSS (v.)

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***khaN**^{A}	cross (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:68
Kayah	**khɛ**^{33}	cross (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:68
Kayaw	**khɔ**^{55}	cross (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:68
Pwo (Northern)	**khɛ̃**^{35}	cross (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:68
Pwo (Southern)	**khɔ̃**^{53}	cross (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:68
Sgaw (Northern)	**khɔ**^{33}	cross (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:68
Sgaw (Southern)	**khɔ**^{55}	cross (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:68

(6) PTB *g $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{o}\\\mathbf{a}\end{matrix}$ w CROSS OVER

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gow**	cross over	Benedict 1972:318
	***gow ≍ gaw**	cross over	Matisoff 2003a:590
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**gau**	cross over	Benedict 1972:318
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**kû**	cross over, transfer	Benedict 1976a
	kù	cross over	Benedict 1972:318
	kǔ	cross over	Matisoff 1974:171

Chinese comparandum

覯 OC ***ku**, *GSR* #109j ‘come across, meet with’; Coblin 86:72 ST ***kuk** > OC ***kugh**; Schuessler 2007:258 ***kôh**; B & S 2011: ***k^{ʕ}o-s {k^{ʕ}(r)o-s}**; Mand. **gòu**.

(7) PTk *kɐn CROSS

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***kɐn**	cross	Mortensen 2012:464
Huishu	kə-mə-**kej**	cross	Mortensen 2012
Kachai	kə-**kon**	cross	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.098
Tangkhul	**kan**	cross	Bhat 1969:87
	kan hai	pass by (v.)	Marrison 1967:187
Tusom	kə-**kẽ**	cross	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.128
Ukhrul	kə-ci-**kan**	make to cross	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**kan**	cross (v.)	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-mə-**kan**	cross (road, etc.)	Mortensen 2012

(8) PTB *bywan GO (out) / COME (out)

This etymon, reconstructed already in *STC* #179 as **byon**, is so far attested only in two languages.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***byon**	go; come; go, come	Matisoff 2003a:586; Benedict 1972:179
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**byon**	come / go out of	Benedict 1972:179
	byon^{33}	make a sudden appearance (v.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:78
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥbyon**-pa	go	Benedict 1972:179

(9) PTani *in GO

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***in**	go	Sun 1993a:177
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**ĩ**	go	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	im-pà	fade	Sun 1993b
	im-pò	cross (v.)	Sun 1993b
	im-pò	pass by	Sun 1993b
	im-po	alight	Sun 1993b
	im-prjo	advance	Sun 1993b
	im-prjo	lead (v.)	Sun 1993b
	in-bo	follow	Sun 1993b
	in-či	reach; arrive	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	in-ǰa-mon	follow	Sun 1993b
	in-ǰò-mo	follow	Sun 1993b
	iŋ	go; travel; walk	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	iŋ-gjè	turn to the wrong side	Sun 1993b
	iŋ-go	overtake	Sun 1993b
	iŋ-gù	change direction; divert	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	iŋ-gu	migrate	Sun 1993b
	iŋ-gɯ	guide (v.)	Sun 1993b
	iŋ-gɯ	lead	Sun 1993b
	iŋ-gɯ	lead (v.)	Sun 1993b
	iŋ-ɯ **iŋ**-k^{h}rje	move	Sun 1993b
Bengni	(lam-kuː) **ɯŋ**-kɯr	retreat	Sun 1993b
	əŋ-din	catch up with (by walking)	Sun 1993b
	əŋ-jiː	make a detour to bypass	Sun 1993b
	əŋ-lɯk	enter	Sun 1993b
	əŋ-min-kɯr	stroll	Sun 1993b
	əŋ-muː	dispatch, send (people)	Sun 1993b
	ɯŋ-či	arrive	Sun 1993b
	ɯŋ-čoː	go first	Sun 1993b
	ɯŋ-jɯr	turn (change direction)	Sun 1993b
	ɯŋ-kɯr-ku	come back	Sun 1993b
	ɯŋ-lin	exit	Sun 1993b
	ɯŋ-pit	pass	Sun 1993b
	ɯŋ-rɯk-mu-su	come across	Sun 1993b
	ɯŋ-tum	come across	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(ŋ̍iŋ ŋ̍i) **in** ŋ̍e ku	go by (two years) / pass (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1364.24
	in	go; return, come back; walk; go out	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1206.24
	in	go; leave; return; walk (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1385.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1579.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1815.24
	in gəː	lead (an animal)	Sun 1993b
	in gəː	lead the way (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.24
	in men	follow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1346.24
	in meŋ	follow (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	in ner	make way for / give way (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1586.24
	in pet	pass / go by (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1448.24
	in-ñeː-ku	go back	Sun 1993b
	in-pe	pass (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**in**	walk; go; return; go back	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:572.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:738.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:739.51
	in gəː	lead (animal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:612.51
	in pe	pass by	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:742.51
Galo	**im**-bo-nam	cross (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	im-men-nam	wander (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	im-min-gɤ-nam	follow (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	im-pek-nam	pass (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	imːin-gɤ-nam	accompany (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	in-co-ge-nam	lead (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	in-co-na	first goer	Das Gupta 1963
	in-dum-pi-nam	assemble (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	in-go-nam	around (to go) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	in-kurː-nam	return (go back) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	in-la-la-nam	fetch (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	in-nam	go; march (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	in-rik-si-nam	meet (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	in-so-nam	advance (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	in lam	path (n.)	GLDC 2009
	in nam	go (vie.)	GLDC 2009
	in nam	go (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	in nam	proceed; walk (vie.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	in rɨk	meet (along way) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	in tər	endpoint (of a journey) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	iŋ-ge-nam	guide; lead (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	iŋ-nam	guide (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	iŋ gə	lead (a person) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻiŋ kur	go back (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill Nishing Tagin	**in**-gɯ-nam	go ?	Simon 1976
	ang-ci-pa-ku	reach	Das Gupta 1969
	eŋ-co-nam	advance	Das Gupta 1983
	eŋ-ge-nam	lead (in going) (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	eŋ-gɤ-nam	guide (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	eŋ-mu-nam	send (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	eŋ co-nam	go ahead	Das Gupta 1983
	mo tum **eŋ**-nam	hunting / go forest	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	**ʔin**(-la)	go	Sun 1993b
	ʔin-la-ku	return	Sun 1993b

(10) PTB *ʔay GO / DIRECTIONAL PARTICLE / TRANSITIVE MOTION

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ʔay**	go / directional particle / transitive motion	Matisoff 2003a:583
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	**yi**-ma	go	Tayeng 1976
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	chi-**yi**	go out	Marrison 1967
	yi	go	Marrison 1967
	y à	go away (imperat.)	Acharya 1975
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**-e**	go and V (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:43 fn. 76
Garo (Bangladesh)	**i•**-a	come; go (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.312-II:idx
	i•-ang-a	go (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.312-II:idx
	i•-ang-jem•-jem-a	repeatedly go (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.312-II:idx
	i•-ang-pil•-a	go back; return (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.312-II:idx
	i•-ru-ra•-a	go back and forth (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.315-II:idx
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**e**	go (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:43 fn. 76
Pattani [Manchati]	**i**-	go and V; V away (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:43 fn. 76
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔay**^{1}	go	Matisoff 1985a:128
6.1.1. Burmish			
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**e̱**^{51}; lo^{55}	go	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:738.42
	e^{51}	go / leave (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1579.30
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**e**	verb particle indicating motion away from the center of interest	Matisoff 1985a:128
Lisu (Central)	**ye**^{4}	go	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**ye**^{4}~**jye**^{4}	go	Matisoff 1985a:128
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	gaˆ-iˇ	to walk as a four footed animal (v.)	Lewis 1989:171
	ga-**i** HS-H	crawl / creep	Matisoff 1972b:81
	í	go	Hansson 1989:107
Akha (Thai)	**í**	go	Hansson 1989:107
Akha (Yunnan)	**í**	go	Hansson 1989:107
Akha	**i**^{55}	go down	Matisoff 1985a:128
Bisu	**lɛ**	go down, descend	Bradley 199x
	lɛ́	go (south / west)	Matisoff 1985a:128
	ʔɛ́	go (south; west); go up	Bradley 199x; Matisoff 1985a:128
Hani (Lüchun)	**jí**	go	Hansson 1989:107
Hani (Dazhai)	**ji**^{55}; li^{33}	go	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:738.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ji**^{55}	go / leave (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1579.41
Hani (Pijo)	**jí**	go	Hansson 1989:107
	kɔ́ **jí**/kɔ́ ly	go down, descend	Hansson 1989:478
Hani (Caiyuan)	li^{33}; **je**^{55}	go	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:738.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**i**^{55}	go	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Haoni	**je**^{55}	descend	Hansson 1989:478
Hani (Shuikui)	**ji**^{55}	go	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:738.32
Haoni	**je**^{55}	go down, descend	Hansson 1989:478

Hani (Khatu)	**jí**	go	Hansson 1989:107
	jí/ly	go down, descend	Hansson 1989:478
Hani (Mojiang)	**ji**^{55}	go / leave (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1579.42
Mpi	**je**^{5}	go	Hansson 1989:107; Matisoff 1985a:128
Côông [Phunoi]	**lé**	go (south / west)	Matisoff 1985a:128
	ʔé	go (south / west)	Matisoff 1985a:128

(11) PKC *kal GO / PACE / WALK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***kal**	GO / PACE / WALK	VanBik 2009:285
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**kal** shuem hī	walk	VanBik 2009:285
Tiddim	**kal**^{2}	pace	VanBik 2009:285
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**kâl**-I, kăl-II	go, pace	VanBik 2009:285
Lushai [Mizo]	**kal**	go	Marrison 1967
	kal	pass by (v.)	Marrison 1967:187
	kál	walk, to go, to move, to act, to travel, to depart, to pass (v.)	VanBik 2009:285
	kal	go	Bhaskararao 1996:541
	kal bo	go out	Marrison 1967

(12) PKC *θeʔ GO / WALK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***θeʔ**	GO / WALK	VanBik 2009:618
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**tsèe**-INV	walk	VanBik 2009:618
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**hteih** ba	go back	VanBik 2009:618
Daai	**sɛʔ**	walk	VanBik 2009:618
Khumi	**ce**	go to some place	VanBik 2009:618
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**fèʔ**	go	VanBik 2009:618
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**sī**	go	VanBik 2009:618

(13) PTani *brɯ MOVE (v.i.)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***brɯ**	move (v.i.)	Sun 1993a:264
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	a(r)-**brju** a-te	move (v.i.)	Sun 1993a
	à-**bju**	move (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	ar-**brju** a-te	move	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**bi**	move (v.i.)	Sun 1993a
	bi	move	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**bɯː**	move (v.i.)	Sun 1993a
	bɯː	move	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam [Abor]	**bə**-ləŋ	move (v.i.)	Sun 1993a

(14) PTB *ywa-n MOVE

This sparsely attested root requires much more confirmation.

2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Gurung	**yāː** hbāq	go (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.05
Gurung (Ghachok)	**yaːh** baq	go	Glover 1972:2.B.1.5
	yaːh baːq	moving / go	Glover 1972:12.C.37
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**ywân**	move, change position	Benedict 1976a

(15) PKC *tsaaŋ MOVE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tsaaŋ**	MOVE	VanBik 2009:550
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**tang**	move	VanBik 2009:550
Tiddim	**taːng**^{3} > tat^{3}	move	VanBik 2009:550
	taːng^{3} > tat^{3}	move (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1729
	taːŋ^{3}/tat^{3}	move (intr.); be ancient	Bhaskararao 1994
	`taːŋ/_tat	ancient; move (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsǎaŋ**-I, tsaŋʔ-II	move	VanBik 2009:550
Lai (Falam)	**tsàaŋ**-INV	move	VanBik 2009:550

(16) PTB *m-kyit MOVE

The stronghold of this etymon is Loloish, with several Qiangic cognates.

The nasal prefix appears overtly in several forms, and indirectly via the Lahu voiced initial **j-**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-kyit**	move	Matisoff 2003a:598
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**tʃhŋ**^{55}**tʃhŋ**^{55}	move something to a new place	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:591.18
Muya	thɐ^{33}**tɕhi**^{55}	move (house); move (a stool)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1138.15; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1139.15
Muya [Minyak]	thɯ^{55}**tɕhi**^{55}	move something to a new place	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:591.15
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ka **ntʃi**	move something to a new place	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:591.12
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***kyit**	move ((HIGH).)	Matisoff 1972b:112(a)
	***kyit**	move	Matisoff 1972b:112(a)
	***Nkyit**	move ((HIGH).)	Matisoff 1972b:112(b)
	***Nkyit**	move	Matisoff 1972b:112(b)
	***ʔgyit**	move ((LOW).)	Matisoff 1972b:112(c)
	***ʔgyit**	move	Matisoff 1972b:112(c)
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**tshé**	move w. tongs / tools	Björverud 1994
Luquan	**tʂʻz̩ 22s**	move	Matisoff 1972b:112(a)
Nusu (Northern)	**tɕhe**^{55}	move sth. to a new place	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tɕye**^{55}	move something to a new place	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:591.45
Nusu (Central)	**tʂue**^{55}	move (house); move (a stool)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1138.34; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1139.34
Yi (Dafang)	**ndzŋ**^{21}	move something to a new place	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:591.22
Yi (Liangshan)	l̩^{33}**tshŋ̩**^{33}l̩^{33}ȵɛ^{33}	move about	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ndʑŋ̩^{21}	charge (move forward); move (change position)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ndʑŋ̩^{21}ho^{55}	motion, be in; move about; work	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**dʑe**^{33}	move something to a new place	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:591.24
Yi (Wuding)	**ȵtɕhi**^{55}	move (house)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1138.38
	ŋtʂhŋ^{11}	move (a stool)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1139.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**tɕhe**^{33}	move (house); move (a stool)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1138.44; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1139.44
Lahu (Lancang)	**dʑi**^{33}	move (house); move (a stool)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1138.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1139.43
Lahu (Black)	**dzi**^{54}	move something to a new place	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:591.33
	jîʔ	move (v.i. and v.t.)	Matisoff 1972b:112(b)
Lahu (Yellow)	**dzɤ**^{6}	move sth. to a new place	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**chï3**	move	Matisoff 1972b:112(c)
Lisu (Central)	**chï**^{3}	move (a thing bodily) (v.t.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**dʒŋ**^{44}	give concession; move (V.)	Bradley 1994
	jïʔ^{21}wa^{33}	touch and move	Bradley 1994
	jɯ^{21}gi^{33}	move (along orbit) (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ka^{55}**zæʔ**^{21}	touch; move (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tʃi**^{55}	move (house)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1138.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tʃŋ̩**^{55}	move (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tʃŋ̩**^{55}	move something to a new place	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:591.27
Lisu (Northern)	tɕɔ^{55}**tsi**^{33}	move (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	wu^{5} hchï^{5} **chi**^{3}	move (house) (v.i.)	Fraser 1922
Sani [Nyi]	**tsʐ** 55	move	Matisoff 1972b:112(c)
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**ji HS**	move	Matisoff 1972b:112(b)
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Phuza	**ts^{h}ɛ**^{33}	move; take away	Pelkey 2011:664

(17) PKC *taaŋ REMAIN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***taaŋ**	REMAIN	VanBik 2009:222
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-tang	remain, to be deposited (as things on the bank by running water) (v.)	VanBik 2009:222
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tâaŋ**-I, táan-II	remain, get stuck	VanBik 2009:222

(18) PKC *ɗiŋ-I, *ɗin-II STAND / STOP

There is a possible allofamic relationship between this root and PKar ***thəŋ**^{B} STAND (v.) (§1.1.4).

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɗiŋ**-I, ɗin-II	STAND / STOP	VanBik 2009:108
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**ding**	stand (v.)	VanBik 2009:108
Thado	**dìn**	stand (v.)	Thirumalai 1972:41
	dìn	stand	Thirumalai 1972:41
	dín	stand	Thirumalai 1972:67
	díng-I, dìn-II	stand	VanBik 2009:108
Tiddim	**ding**^{2} > din^{3}	stand, stand up	VanBik 2009:108
	ding^{2} > din^{3}	stand (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:248
	diŋ^{2}/din^{3}	stand	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**dün˝**	stand (v.)	VanBik 2009:108
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**dǐŋ**-I, dìn-II	stand, stop (v.)	VanBik 2009:108
Lushai [Mizo]	**ding**	stand (v.)	Marrison 1967; Bhaskararao 1996:2286
	díng-I, dìn-II	stand, stop, halt (v.)	VanBik 2009:108
	díŋ	stand (v.)	Weidert 1987:19
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	ìn-**díŋ**	stand (v.)	Weidert 1987:19

(19) PKC *plooŋ-I, *ploon-II VISIT / MOVE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***plooŋ**-I, ploon-II	VISIT / MOVE	VanBik 2009:1253
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**tawn**	visit	VanBik 2009:1253
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**plo˝ng**-é	remove, alter one's residence (v.)	VanBik 2009:1253
Cho (Mindat)	**plawng**-I, plawn-II	move from one place to another (v.)	VanBik 2009:1253
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tlôoŋ**-I, tlŏon-II	visit, travel	VanBik 2009:1253
Lai (Falam)	**tlŏoŋ**-I, tlòon-II	visit, change (place)	VanBik 2009:1253
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**tlỳ**	visit	VanBik 2009:1253

6.8.0 Striking, hitting verbs

(1) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{m}\\\textbf{r}\end{matrix}$ -tuk CUT / KNOCK / POUND

This root is very likely related to PTB ***twak** BITE / CHEW / PECK AT / HOOK ONTO (§6.8), as well as to PTB ***r-duŋ** BEAT / STRIKE / POUND / FLOG (§6.8).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-tuk**	strike	Matisoff 2003a:615
	***tuk**	cut; knock; pound	Matisoff 2003a:615; Benedict 1972:387
1.1.1. Tani: ***tək** CUT UP / MINCE			
**Tani*	***tək**	cut up / mince	Sun 1993a:93
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**tɯk**-mɯk	cut up; mince	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**tək** mak	chop / cut (meat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.24
	tək-mak	cut up; mince	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**tək** mak	mince (meat) with knife	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:635.51
Galo	**təg** nam	mince (vt.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**tek**	cut up / mince	Sun 1993a
Damu	**tək**-ra	mince	Sun 1993b
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tuu-I**, ***tuk-II** STRIKE / FIGHT			
**Chin*	***tuu**-I, tuk-II	STRIKE / FIGHT	VanBik 2009:235
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**tū** hī	hit (with fist)	VanBik 2009:235
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**tuk**	fight, to engage s.o. in fighting (v.)	VanBik 2009:235
Daai	**tuk**	stab	So-Hartmann 1988:151
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tǔu**-I, tuk-II	strike, to fight (v.)	VanBik 2009:235
Lushai [Mizo]	**tuk**	cut, chop	Benedict 1972:387
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**tū**	fight, to hit (v.)	VanBik 2009:235
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***tɐk** GRIND / POUND / CRUSH			
**Tangkhulic*	***tɐk**	grind / pound / crush	Mortensen 2012:580
Kachai	kə-**tɐk**	pound / crush	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.056
Ukhrul	kə-**tɐk**	grind, crush	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***dok**-	hit	Burling 1959:442
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**do**	knock, hit down, hammer down, stamp	Benedict 1972:387
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**dok ⋈ dak**	knock, hit down, hammer down, stamp	Benedict 1972:387
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	ah **tawk**	touch (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kə **thòk**	strike lightly	Matisoff 1974:338
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**rdug**-pa	conquer / vanquish / strike against / stumble at	Matisoff 2003a:363
	thogs-pa	strike, stumble, run against (v.)	Jäschke 1881:238
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**tyók**	come into collision with, hit against, knock against (as egg in breaking)	Benedict 1972:387
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**Dhok**	cut (axe) (v.)	Rai 1985
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔtök** CUT BY A BLOW / HACK AWAY AT, ***Ntök** CUT BY A BLOW / HACK AWAY AT			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***Ntök**	cut by a blow / hack away at	Matisoff 1972b:101(a)
	***ʔtök**	cut by a blow / hack away at	Matisoff 1972b:101(b)
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**tauk**	fillip; cut by a single, light blow; hit	Benedict 1972:387; Benedict 1972:76n232
Langsu (Luxi)	**thuk**^{55}	jab / poke / stab	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1221.31
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Xide)	**ndu**^{21}	beat; thump; hit (a person)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1220.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1228.35
	ndu^{21}	knock; strike; strike (the table) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1540.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1571.35
	ndu^{21}	hit / beat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:710.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	**dɔ̂ʔ**	hit, beat; hit	Benedict 1972:387; Benedict 1972:76n232
Lahu (Lancang)	**dɔ**^{54}	beat; thump; hit (a person)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1220.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1228.43
Lahu (Black)	**dɔ̂ʔ**	beat (esp. with stick)	Matisoff 1972b:101(a)
	dɔ^{54}	hit; beat; strike (iron)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:589.33; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:710.33
	nī-šī **dɔ̂ʔ** ve	castrate (cattle) by beating the testicles to a pulp (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:721
	tɔ̂ʔ	cut (blow); hack; cut (esp. with machete)	Matisoff 1974:349; Matisoff 1972b:101(b)
	tɔ̂ʔ-nɛ̂ʔ	cut up fine	Matisoff 1972b:158(b)
Lahu (Yellow)	**dɔ**^{6}	hit; beat; strike	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**htaw2**	peck (as fowl) / strike (as snake)	Matisoff 1972b:15
Lisu (Central)	**htaw**^{2}	peck (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tho**^{35}	peck at (rice; of a chicken) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1814.40
Lisu (Northern)	**thɔ**^{35}	peck; bite (V.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**tho**^{44}	peck	Chen Kang 1986a:155.
	t^{h}**o̱**^{44}	peck (bird), bite (snake)	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:74.1
	t'u 44	peck (as fowl) / strike (as snake)	Matisoff 1972b:15
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**to** HS ~ dɔ̀q	peck (as fowl) / strike (as snake)	Matisoff 1972b:15
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tŭk/t̂ůk**-	beat, strike; castrate; eunuch	Karlgren 1957:1218c
Chinese (Old)	**trjuk**	pound / beat	Baxter 1992:250

Chinese comparandum

擣 OC ***tôg**, *GSR* #1090r 'beat; pound (as of rice)'; Schuessler 2007:207 ***tûʔ**; B & S 2011: (***t**^{ʕ}**uʔ**); Mand. **dǎo**.
殊 OC ***t̂i̯u**, *GSR* #128s 'cut off; die'; Schuessler 2007:470 ***do**; B & S 2011: ***do { [d] o}**; Mand. **shū**.
祝 OC ***t̂i̯ok**, *GSR* #1025a-e 'cut off'; Schuessler 2007:628-9 ***tuk**; B & S 2011: ***tuk** ; Mand. **zhù**.
斲/斫 OC ***t̂i̯ɑk**, *GSR* #795k 'chop, carve, chisel, break open'; Schuessler 2007:631 ***tauk**; B & S 2011: ***tak**; Mand. **zhuó**.
觸 OC ***t̂'i̯uk**, *GSR* #1224g 'butt, knock against'; Schuessler 2007:194 ***thok**; B & S 2011: ***t**^{h}**ok**; Mand. **chù**.
椓 OC ***tŭk**, *GSR* #1218c 'beat, strike'; Schuessler 2007:626 ***trôk**; B & S 2011: (***t**^{ʕ}**rok**); Mand. **zhuó**.
啄 OC ***tŭk**~***tuk**, *GSR* #1218b 'peck'; Schuessler 2007:626 ***trôk**; B & S 2011: ***mə-t**^{ʕ}**‹r›ok**; Mand. **zhuó**.
斀 OC ***tŭk**, *GSR* #1224o 'castrate'; Schuessler 2007:626 ***trôk**; B & S 2011: (***t**^{ʕ}**rok**); Mand. **zhuó**~**zhú**.
誅 OC ***ti̯u**, *GSR* #128k 'reprove, punish; kill'; Schuessler 2007:470 ***tro**; B & S 2011: ***tro**; Mand. **zhū**.
咮 OC ***tu**~***t̂i̯əu**, *GSR* #128u 'beak; peck'; Schuessler 2007:193 ***troh**; B & S 2011: (***tro-s**); Mand. **zhòu**.
啄 OC ***tŭk**~***tuk**, *GSR* #1218b 'beak'; Schuessler 2007:626 ***tô(k)s** > ***tôh** ~ ***troh**; B & S 2011: (***mə-t**^{ʕ}**‹r›ok-s**); Mand. **zhòu**.
斸 OC ***ti̯uk**, *GSR* #1224t 'cut, cut out'; Schuessler 2007:626 ***trok**; Mand. **zhǔ**.

(2) PTB *twak BITE / CHEW / PECK AT / HOOK ONTO

STC suggests a connection between this root and PTB ***m/s-tu:k** SPIT (§1.8.3), a key form being Karbi **iŋ-tok** 'to spit, dart, peck, bite (as a snake), spittle'. For now, however, we are treating PTB ***m/s-tu:k** SPIT (§1.8.3) as a separate etymon.

This root is very likely related to PTB ***m/r-tuk** CUT / KNOCK / POUND (§6.8).

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	fi-**tuk**	tooth (incisor)	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Idu	**t**^{h}**u**^{55}	bite (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.10.7
	t^{h}**u**^{55}gɹe^{55}	hold in mouth (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.7.14
	t^{h}**u** ga	bite	Pulu 1978
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	n̩^{1}-**tʃə**^{3}-	peck (of bird), bite (of snake) (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**tak**	bite (v.)	Marrison 1967; French 1983:557
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Chamling	**dhyok**-	bite / sting (snake)	Winter 1985:12
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**htɑ**^{33} **htɑ**^{55}	chew	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:536.18
Lyuzu	na^{33}**ta**^{53}**ta**^{33}	chew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1424.18
Namuyi	**nthɛ**^{35}	bite	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:535.19
	nt^{h}**ɛ**^{35}	bite (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.10.7
	mi^{33}**nthæ**^{35}	bite (mosquito) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1279.46
	mi^{31}**nthæ**^{35}	bite (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1753.46
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*m-**tuk**^{H}	peck / strike / hook onto	Matisoff 2003a:615
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Nanjian)	**t**^{h}**o**^{33}	bite	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985
Yi (Xide)	**t**^{h}**u̱**^{33}	bite	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**thɐ**^{55}	bite	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:535.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**t**^{h}**ø**^{44}	chew	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2041
Jinuo (Youle)	**t**^{h}**ə**^{55}	bite	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**t**^{h}**ʌ**^{55}	bite, sting (mosquito); bite	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1828; Dai Qingxia 1989h:2521
Jinuo (Baka)	**t**^{h}**ʌ**^{55}	bite, sting (mosquito); bite	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1828; Dai Qingxia 1989i:2521
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**t**^{h}**ʌ**^{55} k^{h}a^{31}	bite hold of	Dai Qingxia 1989h:2522
Jinuo (Baka)	**t**^{h}**ʌ**^{55} k^{h}a^{31}	bite hold of	Dai Qingxia 1989i:2522
Lahu (Lancang)	**thɔ**^{53}	pulse / beat (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1679.43
	thɔ^{54}	knock / strike (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1571.43
Lahu (Black)	**thɔ̂ʔ**	peck; strike with curved instru-; peck (as fowl); strike (as snake)	Matisoff 1974:338; Matisoff 1972b:15
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	**thə̀**	bite	Beaudouin 1988:28
	thɤ̀	bite (v.)	Bradley 199x
Hani (Pijo)	(**thɔ̀**)	bite	Hansson 1989:544
Hani (Caiyuan)	**t**^{h}**ɔ̱**^{31}	bite	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	(**thɔ̀**)	bite	Hansson 1989:544
Côông [Phunoi]	**t**^{h}**e**^{33} ce^{33}	bite	Bradley 1977
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ţ**^{h}**æ**˦	bite (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2458
Na (Yongning)	**ţ**^{h}**æ**˦	bite (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**tha**^{13}	bite	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:535.29
Naxi (Eastern)	**t**^{h}**a**^{33}	bite	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985

Chinese comparandum

Comment: Cf. the etyma 觸 **chù** 'butt, knock against', 椓 **zhuó** 'beat, strike', and 啄 **zhuó** 'peck', members of a larger set of comparanda for PTB ***m/r-tuk** CUT / KNOCK / POUND (§6.8), q.v.

(3) PTB *r-duŋ BEAT / STRIKE / POUND / FLOG

This etymon seems certainly to be allofamic with PTB ***m/r-tuk** CUT / KNOCK / POUND (§6.8).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***rdung**	beat	Coblin 1986:40
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-duŋ**	beat / strike	Matisoff 2003a:587
1.1.1. Tani: ***dɯŋ** ~ ***ǰɯŋ** BEAT / FLOG			
**Tani*	***dɯŋ**~ **ǰɯŋ**	beat / flog	Sun 1993a:21
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**dã**	beat / flog	Sun 1993a
	dà	beat; strike	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	da-me	beat until flat	Sun 1993b
	dà-n(ɯ) na-nɯ	hammer (n.)	Sun 1993b
	dan	beat(with stick)	Sun 1993b
	dan-din	beat (~drum)	Sun 1993b
	dan-nan	hammer	Sun 1993b
	dan-tar	smash (vt.)	Sun 1993b

	da?	hit	Sun 1993b
	e?-**da?**	hit (with gunshot)	Sun 1993b
	ri-**da?**	hit	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**dɯŋ**	strike (iron)	Sun 1993b
	ǰiŋ	beat; flog	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ǰiŋ-ki:	beat to death	Sun 1993b
	ǰiŋ-mu-su	fight, come to blows	Sun 1993b
	ǰiŋ-nɯ:	whip	Sun 1993b
	ǰiŋ-tup	hit and smash	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**dɯŋ**	knock, strike	Sun 1993b
	dɯŋ	knock / strike (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1571.24
Galo	**dəm** nam	beat; hit (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'dɨ̈ nam	flog (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	**deŋ** ki-nam	kill with a stick (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	deŋ nam	beat (v (vt?).)	Das Gupta 1983
	diŋ-nam	assault (beat)	Das Gupta 1983
	diŋ-nam	beat (v (vt?).)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**dɯŋ**	beat / flog	Sun 1993a
Damu	**dəŋ**	beat	Sun 1993b
	dəŋ-mun-ɕy-nə(jo)	fight (come to blows)	Sun 1993b
Milang	**dem**-ma	beat; hit	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***duŋ** POUND (v.t.)			
**Tangkhulic*	***duŋ**	pound (v.t.)	Mortensen 2012:498
Kachai	$k^hə$-**ðeŋ**	pound / crush	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.053
Ukhrul	$k^hə$-**ruŋ**	pound (with pestle)	Mortensen 2012
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rdoŋ**	knock / strike (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1571.05
Tibetan (Batang)	**dũ**^{55}	beat / thump	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1220.03
	dũ^{55}	knock / strike (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1571.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**duŋ**^{55}	strike (iron)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:589.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tuŋ**^{13}	beat; thump; strike (iron)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1220.02; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:589.2
	tuŋ^{132}	knock / strike (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1571.02
Tibetan (Written)	**rduṅ**	beat (v.)	Marrison 1967
	rduŋ	beat; thump; hit (a person)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1220.01; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1228.01
	rduŋ	knock / strike (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1571.01
	rduŋ	strike (iron)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:589.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**doŋ**	beat / thump	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1220.04
	doŋ	knock / strike (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1571.04
7. KARENIC: ***dɔŋ**^{B} POUND (v.)			
**Karen*	***dɔŋ**^{B}	pound (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:225
Bwe	**dɔ**^{33}	pound (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:225
Kayan	**tɔ**^{11}	pound (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:225
Kayaw	**to**^{11}	pound (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:225
Pa-O (Northern)	**thɔŋ**^{53}	pound (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:225
Pa-O (Southern)	**tɔŋ**^{55}	pound (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:225
Pwo (Southern)	**thõ**^{33}	pound (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:225
Sgaw (Northern)	**to**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	pound (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:225
Sgaw (Southern)	**tu**^{31}	pound (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:225
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	撞	strike	Baxter & Sagart 2011:383; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3997
Chinese (GSR #)	**1188f'**	strike	Baxter & Sagart 2011:383; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3997
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**N-t**^{ʂ}**<r>oŋ** {[N-t]^{ʂ}<r>oŋ}	strike	Baxter & Sagart 2011:383
	N-t^{ʂ}**<r>oŋ**-s	strike	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3997
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**draewng**	strike	Baxter & Sagart 2011:383
	draewngH	strike	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3997
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**chuáng**	strike	Baxter & Sagart 2011:383
	zhuàng	strike	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3997

Chinese comparandum

撞 OC ***d'ŭng**, *GSR* #1188f' 'strike'; Schuessler 2007:196 ***drôŋ**; B & S 2011: ***N-t**^{ʂ}**‹r›oŋ {[N-t]**^{ʂ}**‹r›oŋ}**; Mand. **chuáng**.
撞 OC ***d'ŭng**, *GSR* #1188f' 'strike'; Schuessler 2007:196 ***drôŋh**; B & S 2011: ***N-t**^{ʂ}**‹r›oŋ-s**; Mand. **zhuàng ~ chòng**.
衝 OC ***t'i̯ung**, *GSR* #1188j 'rush against; assault engine'; Schuessler 2007:196 ***thoŋ**; B & S 2011: ***t**^{h}**oŋ**; Mand. **chōng**.

(4) PTB * d/t u/i p BEAT / STRIKE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dip ≍ tip**	beat / strike	Matisoff 2003a:587
	***dup ≍ dip**	beat	Benedict 1972:399
	***dup ≍ tup**	beat / strike	Matisoff 2003a:587
1.1.1. TANI: ***tup** STRIKE			
**Tani*	***tup**	strike	Sun 1993a:404
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	ǰiŋ-**tup**	hit and smash	Sun 1993b
	tup	strike	Sun 1993a
	vɯr-**tup**	smash on the ground	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**tup**	strike; strike (iron); knock; crush (with a pestle); beat; thump	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1220.24
	tup pet	pound to pieces (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1259.24
	tup tak	hammer in (a nail) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1280.24
	tup-tak	hammer nail in	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**tup**	strike (iron)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:589.51
Galo	**tub** nam	smash (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**tup**-nam	hammer	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**tup**	strike	Sun 1993a
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Ao*	*a-**təp**	STRIKE, BEAT	Bruhn 2014a:II.037
Ao (Chungli)	**-tʉ̀up**	hit (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
	a^{3}-**təp**^{1}	hit w/ stick, beat (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.037
	tep set	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tʉ́p sʉ̀t	kill (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:5
Ao (Mongsen)	**t**^{h}**ùp**	hit (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**təp**-sə̀t	kill [killed] ('hit' + 'kill') (v.)	Coupe 2007
	tə̀p	strike [struck] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**tap**	beat; hit (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**tap** het	beat (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Mzieme	**dap**	beat (v.)	Marrison 1967
	dap tset	kill (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**dip-dip**	beat (heart, pulse)	Benedict 1972:399
	thip	beat (drum)	Benedict 1972:399
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**dup**	beat, strike against	Benedict 1972:399
	mə **dup**	pound, hammer	Benedict 1972:399
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**tyup ≍ töp ≍ tip**	beat, strike against	Benedict 1972:399
Sunwar	**tup**	beat, strike against	Benedict 1972:399
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**dip**	beat	Benedict 1972:399
	əthip	strike against	Benedict 1972:399

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荅 OC ***təp**, *GSR* #676a-b 'answer; respond'; Coblin 86:37 ST ***təp** > OC ***təp**; Schuessler 2007:202 ***tûp**; B & S 2011: ***t**^{ʂ}**əp {[t]**^{ʂ}**[ə]p}**; Mand. **dá**.
對 OC ***twəb** > ***twəd**, *GSR* #511a 'respond, reply; correspond; suitable, correct'; Schuessler 2007:202 ***tûps** > ***tûts**; B & S 2011: ***t**^{ʂ}**əp-s {[t]**^{ʂ}**[ə]p-s}**; Mand. **duì**.
懟 OC ***d'i̯wəd**, *GSR* #511i 'ill will, resentment'; B & S 2011: ***drup-s {[d]ru[p]-s}**; Mand. **duì**.
搭 撘

Comment: Regarding 對 **duì**, OC reconstructions have an original final *labial stop, which *GSR* and Schuessler show as resolving early on to a final *dental stop. This final stop is itself later pre-empted by breathy phonation (implied by transcriptions ***-d** (*GSR*), **-*ts** (Schuessler) and ***-t-s** (B & S) to yield tone *C (去聲 qùshēng) by the time we reach MC.

Note also that Chinese 懟 **duì** can be considered an allofam of 對, the notion "respond, reply" taking on the sense "hostility".

(5) PTB * d/t a:y POUND / CRUSH

Loloish apparently has two allofams of this etymon, one from ***-ay** and one from ***-i**. The more ancient rhyme seems to be the former, since it is found also in the Northeast Indian Areal Group.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***da:y**	pound / crush	Mortensen 2012
	***da:y ≍ ta:y**	pound / crush	Matisoff 2003a:586
	***ta:y**	pound / crush	Mortensen 2012
	***ta:y ≍ da:y**	pound / crush	Matisoff 1985a:102
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**dai**	pound, as grain	Matisoff 1985a:102
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***taj** POUND / CRUSH			
**Tangkhulic*	***taj**	pound / crush	Mortensen 2012:379
Huishu	se-**k**^{h}**ej**-k^he	pound / crush	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.061
Tangkhul	kha ŋa **tai**	grind, pulverize	Matisoff 1985a:102
Ukhrul	$k^hə$-ŋə-**taj**	pound, crush; grind	Mortensen 2012
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***diy**^{1}	pound / crush	Matisoff 1985a:102
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**te**	beat, pound, pulverize	Matisoff 1985a:102; Benedict 1976a
6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***ʔ-day**^{2} ≍ ***tay**^{1} POUND / CRUSH, ***ʔ-di**^{2} POUND			
**Loloish*	***day**^{2} **≍ tay**^{1}	pound / crush	Matisoff 1985a:102
	***ʔ-di**^{2}	pound	Bradley 1979b:626A
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**ti**^{55}	pestle / pound (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1201.47
	ti^{55}m^{33}	pound to pieces (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1259.47
Yi (Liangshan)	**ti**^{21}	grind (to bits); grind (with a pestle); pound to pieces	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**ti**^{55}	pestle / pound (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1201.37
Yi (Weishan)	**ti**^{21}	pestle / pound (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1201.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tɐ̭**^{33}	pestle / pound (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1201.38
	tɐ̭^{55}	pound to pieces (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1259.38
Yi (Xide)	**ti**^{21}	pestle; pound; pound to pieces (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1201.35; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1259.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Kucong	**tiɛ35**	pound (v.t.)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**te**^{11}	pestle / pound (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1201.43
Lahu (Black)	**tē**	pound, crush, press, squeeze; wear away by friction; nudge (with the elbow)	Matisoff 1985a:102
Lisu (Central)	**ti**^{1}	pound (as paddy)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ti**^{55}	husk with mortar; pound with a pestle (v.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ti**^{55}	pestle / pound (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1201.40
	ti^{55}nɯ̱^{31}	pound to pieces (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1259.40
Yi (Sani)	**tɪ**^{55}	pestle / pound (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1201.39
	tɪ^{55} ho^{11}	pound to pieces (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1259.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**dì**	hit, beat, strike	Matisoff 1985a:102
	dɛ̀	push down	Matisoff 1985a:102
Mpi	**the**^{5}	pound in a mortar; pound (in a mortar)	Matisoff 1985a:102; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**tɻ**^{45}mʉ^{33}	pound	Pelkey 2011:776
Southern Muji	**tjɛ**^{21}	pound	Pelkey 2011:776
Phola	**tɛ**^{33}nu^{31}	pound	Pelkey 2011:776
Hlepho Phowa	**ti**^{33}	pound	Pelkey 2011:776

Phuza	**ti**[33]	pound	Pelkey 2011:776

(6) PKC *ɗeeŋ-I, *ɗeen-II HAMMER / BEAT / HIT / PELT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	*__ɗeeŋ__-I, ɗeen-II	HAMMER / BEAT / HIT / PELT	VanBik 2009:87

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**deng**	pelt (v.)	VanBik 2009:87
Sizang	**deang** hī	throw	VanBik 2009:87
Thado	**dèeŋ**-I, dèen-II	hit, beat	VanBik 2009:87
Tiddim	**deːng**[2] > den[3]	stone	VanBik 2009:87
	deːng[2] > **den**[3]	stone (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:239
	deːŋ[2]**/den**[3]	stone	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**deng**	beat, strike	VanBik 2009:87
Cho (Mindat)	**deng**-I, den-II	pound, to crush into pieces (v.)	VanBik 2009:87
Khumi	**déng**	hit (a body part against something), pound (e.g. rice)	VanBik 2009:87

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**dêeŋ**-I, děen-II	hammer, pelt, strike	VanBik 2009:87
Lai (Falam)	**děeŋ**-I, dèeŋ-II	hammer, pelt, strike	VanBik 2009:87
Lushai [Mizo]	**déng**-I, dèn-II	hammer, throw, pelt, hurl, stone, fling, pound (v.)	VanBik 2009:87

(7) NEIA *lak HIT / BEAT / STRIKE

This root has so far only been identified in the Northeast Indian Areal Group.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	(op) **lak**	hit sthg on the target (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0998.24
	lak	hit target	Sun 1993b
	op **lak**	hit, have (the target)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1232.24

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	um **lak**	beat (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	**-zʉ̀k**	beat (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
	a **zük**	beat (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen)	**jàk**	beat (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**yak**	beat; hit (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**jàk**	beat (v.)	Coupe 2007

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	**lek**	beat (v.)	Marrison 1967
Maram	**lak**	beat (v.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**lak**	beat; hit (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

(8) PKC *wua-I, *wuak-II HIT / BEAT / STRIKE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***wua***-I, wuak-II	HIT / BEAT / STRIKE	VanBik 2009:1152

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**vòo**-I, vò?-II	hit, beat	VanBik 2009:1152
Tiddim	**vua**[3] > vuak[3]	beat a person and make him or her cry	VanBik 2009:1152
	vua[3] > vuak[3]	beat a person and make him or her cry (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1966

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**wó**-é	quarrel (v.)	VanBik 2009:1152
Cho (Mindat)	**m**-vawk	cause s.th. to hit s.o. (v.)	VanBik 2009:1152

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**vùa**-I, vuak-II	hit, beat, strike	VanBik 2009:1152
Lai (Falam)	**vûak**-INV	hit, beat, strike	VanBik 2009:1152
Lushai [Mizo]	**vua**	beat; hit (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	vùa-I, vûak	hit, to strike, to beat, to smite (v.)	VanBik 2009:1152
	vuak	beat; thresh (grain) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3105; Bhaskararao 1996:3106

(9) PTani *zit BEAT

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***zit***	beat	Sun 1993a:22

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	**jit**	beat; hit, strike; whip; thrash; hit (a person)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1204.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1228.24
	jit	strike (the table) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1540.24
	jit-gə	beaten (be v.)	Sun 1993b
	la go **(jit)**	time / instance (of hitting) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0920.24
	ta-pjek **jit**	whip (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**jit**	hit / beat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:710.51
Miri, Hill	? **sit**	beat	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**it**	beat	Sun 1993a
Mishing [Miri]	**sit**	beat	Sun 1993a

(10) PKC *ɓeeŋ-I, *ɓeŋʔ ⩙ *ɓen-II SLAP

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ɓeeŋ***-I, ɓeŋʔ ⩙ ɓen-II	SLAP	VanBik 2009:46

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**beang** hi	slap	VanBik 2009:46
Thado	**bèeŋ**-I, bè?-II	slap	VanBik 2009:46
Tiddim	**beːng**[3] > bet[3]	slap	VanBik 2009:46

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**tbeéng**	slap (the face), clap (hands), applaud	VanBik 2009:46

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**běeŋ**-I, beŋ?-II	slap	VanBik 2009:46
Lai (Falam)	**bêŋ**-INV	slap	VanBik 2009:46
Lushai [Mizo]	**béeng**-I, bên-II	slap, strike with open hand	VanBik 2009:46

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**chā** bèi	slap	VanBik 2009:46

Chinese comparandum

Comment: Cf. 逢, Mand. **féng**, a comparandum for PTB ***m-p(r)uŋ/k*** STRIKE / KNOCK (§6.8).

(11) PKar *doŋ[B] HIT HARD (with a fist)

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***doŋ**[B]*	hit hard (with a fist)	Luangthongkum 2013:146	[a]
Bwe	**to**[33]	hit hard (with a fist)	Luangthongkum 2013:146	
Kayah	**thɔ**[11]	hit hard (with a fist)	Luangthongkum 2013:146	
Kayan	**dəu**[11]	hit hard (with a fist)	Luangthongkum 2013:146	
Kayaw	**thə**[11]	hit hard (with a fist)	Luangthongkum 2013:146	
Pa-O (Northern)	**doŋ**[33]	hit hard (with a fist)	Luangthongkum 2013:146	
Pa-O (Southern)	**toŋ**[53]	hit hard (with a fist)	Luangthongkum 2013:146	
Pwo (Northern)	**thə**[11‥]	hit hard (with a fist)	Luangthongkum 2013:146	
Sgaw (Northern)	**tɔ**[11‥]	hit hard (with a fist)	Luangthongkum 2013:146	

[a] [Source Note] NK has the A tone instead of the B tone as in CK and SK.

(12) PTB *g-$^{y}_{r}$a:p FAN / WINNOW / PADDLE / WAVE (v.) / BEAT / THRASH

This etymon comprises two allofams, formerly considered to be separate roots: one with a rhotic and one with a palatal element. Both variants reflect a velar pre-initial. Many languages, e.g. WT, Chepang, and Ao (Chungli), have doublets, preserving reflexes of both allofams.

(12a) PTB *g-ya:p FAN / WINNOW / PADDLE / WAVE (v.)

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***r-g-yap***	fan / wave	Matisoff 1983:43

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-ya:p***	fan / paddle / wave (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:620
	ya:p	winnow / fan (v.)	Weidert 1987:669
	ya:p	fan; wave; fan, winnow, paddle	Matisoff 1983:43; Benedict 1972:92

1.1.1. Tani: ***jap*** FAN

**Tani*	***jap***	fan	Sun 1993a:136

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	(heʔ-su-nan)mú-**je**	fan (n.)	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-**je**	fan; fan (used by priest)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	mɯ-**jap**	fan	Sun 1993a
Bokar	ma-**jap**	fan	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	taa **yap**	fan (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **yap**	fan	Das Gupta 1963
	yab nam	fan (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	yap-ka-nam	fan (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	ma **yep**-**yap**-nam	fan (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	mə-**jap**	fan	Sun 1993a
Milang	me-**yap**	fan	Tayeng 1976
	me-**yap**-**yap**-ma	fan	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	mə **yap**	fan	Benedict 1972:92

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***yaap*** FAN (v.) / WINNOW / FLUTTER

**Chin*	***yaap***	FAN (v.) / WINNOW / FLUTTER	VanBik 2009:1199

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**zâap**-I, zàap-II	fan, winnow, wave, blow	VanBik 2009:1199

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**zaap**-I, za?-II	fan, winnow, flutter (wing) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1199
Lai (Falam)	**zâap**-INV	fan, to winnow (v.)	VanBik 2009:1199
Lushai [Mizo]	hmai-**za?**	fan	Benedict 1972:92
	zâap	fan (v.)	Weidert 1987:669
	zâap-I, **zàh-II**	fan, to winnow, to flap, to flutter (v.)	VanBik 2009:1199
	za:p	fan; winnow; flap; flutter (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3121; Bhaskararao 1996:3122
	za:p	fan, winnow, flap, flutter	Benedict 1972:92

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	[3]a[1]**ap**	winnow (2)	Weidert 1987:1119

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	kə **yap**	fan (v.)	Benedict 1972:92

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	hi-**džap**	fan	Benedict 1972:92

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**zaw**	winnow	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**džau**	paddle, dig / root up, winnow	Benedict 1972:92
Kokborok	**čau?**	winnow, paddle (v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	roŋ-**čau?**	paddle boat	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**tśo**	row, paddle, dig	Benedict 1972:92

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	kă[31]**ts̲ap**[31]	winnow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:642.47
	kă[1]**ts̲ap**[31]	winnow	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	kə **ts̲àp**	winnow	Matisoff 1983:43

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**jap**	winnow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:642.7
	jap[13]	winnow	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	hloŋ **yæb**	fan	Sun 1985a:242
Tibetan (Written)	(**g**)yab-mo	fan / wave	Matisoff 1983:43
	g-yab-mo	winnow (v.)	Weidert 1987:669
	rlung.**yab**	fan	Sun 1985c:242
	yab-mo	winnow (v.)	Weidert 1987:669
	yab-mo ⩙ g-**yab**-mo	act of fanning / waving; fan	Benedict 1972:92

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	***[B]jap***	winnow	Mazaudon 1994:813

Tamang (Bagmati)	**'yap**[fi]	winnow (v.)	Weidert 1987:669
Tamang (Risiangku)	[4]**jap**	winnow	Mazaudon 1994:813
Tamang (Sahu)	[4]**jap**	winnow (small quantities)	Mazaudon 1994:813
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**yap**-	winnow (v.)	Weidert 1987:669
	yap-sa	winnow	Caughley 1972:4.B.35
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**yap**	fan / wave	Matisoff 1983:43
	yap	fan; to fan; beckon with the hand (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	yap	fan	Benedict 1972:92

(12b) PTB *krap BEAT / THRASH / WINNOW

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***krap**	fan, winnow	LaPolla 1987:194
1.1.1. TANI: ***krap** WINNOW			
**Tani*	***krap**	winnow	Sun 1993a:468
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**xé**-pa	winnow (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**jap**-kjak	winnow (v.)	Sun 1993b
	kjap-	winnow	Sun 1993a
	kjap-kjak	winnow (v.)	Sun 1993b
Galo	**'kab** nam	winnow (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Nyisu	**xrap**-	winnow	Sun 1993a:132
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kap**-	winnow	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	**khɹɑt**[55]	winnow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:642.48
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	ə-**khàʔ**	winnow (2)	Weidert 1987:1119
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**trháap**	winnow (2)	Weidert 1987:1119
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	[3]a[1]**sɯp**	winnow (1)	Weidert 1987:1118
Yimchungrü	[(1)]**trip**	winnow (2)	Weidert 1987:1119
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Sema [Sumi]	[2]**ɣa**	winnow (2)	Weidert 1987:1119
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ka ŋ **ràp**	winnow (2)	Weidert 1987:1119
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tɕhap**	winnow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:642.4
Tibetan (Written)	**'khrab**-pa	strike, beat; winnow, fan	LaPolla 1987:194
	ḥkhrab-pa	strike, beat, winnow, fan	Benedict 1972:141n382
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**tróp**	winnow (v.)	Plaisier 2007
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	**ThapT**	winnow (v.)	Rai 1985
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**krap**	winnow	LaPolla 1987:194; Benedict 1972:141n382
	krap-	winnow, separate chaff by tossing in a bamboo tray in a breeze , toss out rubbish (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	krap-sa	winnow (small quantities)	Caughley 1972:7.B.1.2
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	am[33] **rap**	winnow (rice)	LaPolla 2003:1492
Anong	**rap**	winnow, thresh, paddle, row	LaPolla 1987:194
Anong (Rawang)	**rap**	winnow, thrash, paddle, row; winnow	Benedict 1972:141n382; Benedict 1972:74n230
Trung [Dulong]	**zɑp**[55]	winnow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:642.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**raap**[55]	fan, winnow	LaPolla 1987:194
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**raap**[55]	fan, winnow	LaPolla 1987:194
	ɹɑp[55]	winnow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
7. KARENIC			
Palaychi	**kra**	winnow	Benedict 1972:141n382

(13) PKC *khe(e)n-I, *khen?-II HAMMER / HIT / STRIKE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***khe(e)n**-I, khen?-II	HAMMER / HIT / STRIKE	VanBik 2009:447
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**khen**	pound	VanBik 2009:447
Thado	**khèen**-I, khèt-II	hit, strike (e.g. with hammer)	VanBik 2009:447
Tiddim	**khe:n**[3] > khet[3]	nail in	VanBik 2009:447
	khe:n[3] > khet[3]	nail in (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:781
	khe:n[3]/khet[3]	nail in	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**khen**	nail down; to force it into by hammering on it (v.)	VanBik 2009:447
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**khên**-INV	hammer, pound	VanBik 2009:447
Lai (Hakha)	**khen?**-INV	hammer, pound, strike	VanBik 2009:447
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**khāi**	hammer, pound	VanBik 2009:447

(14) PKC *tsu(u)m-I, *tsum?-II POUND (with fist) / HIT / STRIKE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tsu(u)m**-I, tsum?-II	POUND (with fist) / HIT / STRIKE	VanBik 2009:555
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**tsùum**-I, tsùp-II	pound	VanBik 2009:555
Tiddim	**tum**[3] >tup[3]	hit with fist	VanBik 2009:555
	tu:m[3] > tup[3]	hit with fists (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1852
	tu:m[3]/tup[3]	flood; hit with fists	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**atung**	pound with the hand	VanBik 2009:555
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsŭum**-I, tsum?-II	strike, pound (with fist)	VanBik 2009:555
Lai (Falam)	**tsùum**-INV	strike, pound (with fist)	VanBik 2009:555
Lushai [Mizo]	**chùum**-I, chûum-II	strike with the fist (generally with the end or the front of the fist), to punch (v.)	VanBik 2009:555
	chu:m	punch; strike with the fist (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2253

(15) NEIA *tsy $\begin{matrix}u\\i\end{matrix}$ k HIT / KNOCK AGAINST

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	**-cùk**	hit (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
	a **tsük**	hit (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen)	**c[h]ùk**	hit (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**tsük** chak	knock (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tshàk**	collide, bump [collided, bumped] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e[1]-**tʃhək**[2]-	hit (with stick) (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
Yimchungrü	**shik**	beat (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**śik**	hit	Bhat 1969:90
Ukhrul	kə-**tsok**	hit against the frame of the door (as one's head); to be big	Mortensen 2012
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**chok**	beat; hit (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

(16) PTani *kɯt PUNCH (DOWNWARD) WITH FIST

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***kɯt**	punch (downward) with fist	Sun 1993a:310
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**kɯ**	punch (downward) with fist	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**kɯ**	punch (downward) with fist	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**kɯ:**	punch (downward) with fist; hit with fist, punch; hit (a person) (with a fist)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1228.24
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**kɯt**	punch (downward) with fist	Sun 1993a

(17) PTB *soy GRAZE / ALMOST HIT / PASSING CLOSE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***soy**	graze; almost hit; passing close; hit, almost	Matisoff 2003a:613; Benedict 1972:306
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**thoi**	slightly graze, go / pass close by	Benedict 1972:306
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	gə **sói**	graze, almost hit; abrade, scratch	Matisoff 2003a:340
	sòi	graze, almost hit	Benedict 1972:306

(18) PKC *khooŋ STRIKE / BANG / BEAT / THRESH / HIT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***khooŋ**	STRIKE / BANG / BEAT / THRESH / HIT	VanBik 2009:459
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**khaawng**	shake, beat (as a blanket) so that nothing, no little grain, may remain in or be attached to it (v.)	VanBik 2009:459
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**khôoŋ**-I, khŏon-II	bang (as cloth on the wall), thresh (as grain), flap (as wings)	VanBik 2009:459
Lushai [Mizo]	**kháwng**-I, khâwn-II	beat, to strike (with stick, club or other blunt weapon), to flap (as wings) (v.)	VanBik 2009:459
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-khỳ	beat, to strike, to thresh as grain (v.)	VanBik 2009:459

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(19) PKC *suu-I, *suk-II POUND / HAMMER / PUNCH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***suu**-I, suk-II	POUND / HAMMER / PUNCH	VanBik 2009:667
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**sùu**-I, sù?-II	pound, punch	VanBik 2009:667
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**suk**	pound, hammer	VanBik 2009:667
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**sŭu**-I, suk-II	pound	VanBik 2009:667
Lai (Falam)	**sùu**-I, sùk-II	pound	VanBik 2009:667

(20) PKC *kheeŋ-I, *kheen-II HIT (a target)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***kheeŋ-I, kheen-II**	HIT (a target)	VanBik 2009:449
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			

Paite	**khen**	hit	VanBik 2009:449
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**khêeŋ-I, khěen-II**	hit a target	VanBik 2009:449
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**khāi**	hit a target	VanBik 2009:449

(21) PTani *bjək HIT (target)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***bjək**	hit (target)	Sun 1993a:199
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	ap-**ǰik**	hit (target)	Sun 1993b
	ǰuk	hit (target)	Sun 1993a
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**bek**	hit (target)	Sun 1993a

(22) PL *m-kuk COLLIDE / BUTT AGAINST

This root occurs in several Loloish languages, but has yet to be unambiguously attested elsewhere.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-kuk**	collide / butt against	Matisoff 2003a:597
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Liangshan)	**ŋgu̱**^{33}	bump (hit); strike (hit)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	**gû?**	butt with head	Benedict 1972:50n166
Lahu (Black)	**gû?**	collide / butt / bump into	Matisoff 1972b:80
Lisu (Northern)	pɔ^{33}**gu**^{21}	butt (V.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**gɤ 44**	collide / butt / bump into	Matisoff 1972b:80

(23) PKC *thoŋ PUNCH / HIT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***thoŋ**	PUNCH / HIT	VanBik 2009:403
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**thäk**	punch, to hit with (fist) (v.)	VanBik 2009:403
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thŏŋ**-I, thoŋʔ-II	punch, hit (with fist)	VanBik 2009:403

(24) PCC *veel-I, *velʔ-II BEAT / FIGHT

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***veel**-I, velʔ-II	BEAT / FIGHT	VanBik 2009:1133
Lai (Hakha)	**vêel**-I, velʔ	beat, fight	VanBik 2009:1133
Lushai [Mizo]	**vèel**-I, vèlh-II	beat, strike, smite or hit (with or without a stick, whip, scourge, etc.) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1133

(25) PTk *jap HIT / STRIKE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***jap**	hit / strike	Mortensen 2012:631
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**jap**	beat / hit / strike	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.031
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**jɐp**	hit with a stick	Mortensen 2012

(26) PTk *p^{h}e SLAP

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***p^{h}e**	slap	Mortensen 2012:626
Tusom	k^{h}a-kə-**pʃi**	slap (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.053
Ukhrul	kə-kə-**p^{h}e**	pat, slap	Mortensen 2012

(27) PTk *p^{h}it HIT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***p^{h}it**	hit	Mortensen 2012:680
Tusom	k^{h}a-kə-**psɯ**	hit (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.037
Ukhrul	kə-ŋə-**p^{h}it**	hit (with stick), hammer (get tone)	Mortensen 2012

(28) PCN *tam HIT / SLAP

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***tam**	HIT, SLAP / PLAY (BEAT)	Bruhn 2014a:III.127
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**təm**^{3}	hit (drum) / play (instrument) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.127
Lotha Naga	**təm**^{3}-	hit (with hand), slap (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.127
	tam	hit (v.)	Marrison 1967
	t̪ə̄m à	beat (drum)	Acharya 1975
	^{3}**dɯm**	slap (v.)	Weidert 1987:978
Sangtam	^{2}**daŋ**	slap (v.)	Weidert 1987:978
Yimchungrü	**tam**	beat; hit (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	^{1}**dam**	slap (v.)	Weidert 1987:978

(29) PCC *vual WALES / STRIPES (have from beating)

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***vual**	WALES (have)	VanBik 2009:1177
Lai (Hakha)	**vûal**-I, vŭal-II	have wales, have stripes on the skin	VanBik 2009:1177
Lushai [Mizo]	**vŭal**	have a wale or stripe (from beating) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1177

6.9.0 Undoing

(1) PTB *p(y)əy BROKEN DOWN / DESTROYED

Further confirmation of this root would be welcome.

1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**phyì**	neglected and thus destroyed (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:163
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**phê**	broken down in strength; ability, by hard labor or severe punishment; broken down in strength by labor or punishment (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:163; Benedict 1976a

(2) PKC *ram DESTROY / ANNIHILATE / WASTE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ram**	DESTROY / ANNIHILATE / WASTE	VanBik 2009:930
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**gâm**-I, gàm-II	die out, become extinct	VanBik 2009:930
Tiddim	**gam**^{1}	annihilated	VanBik 2009:930
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**râm**	destroy, to damage, to lay waste to, ravage (as pigs, children, etc. can do to a garden) (v.)	VanBik 2009:930

(3) PTB *s-pyak DESTROY / DESTROYED / RUINED

The Jingpho forms with final **-k** are loans from Burmese, since PTB ***-k** regularly becomes Jingpho **-ʔ**. Jingpho **byáʔ** is apparently the regular cognate to the Burmese forms.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-pyak**	destroyed / ruined	Matisoff 2003a:608
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**byák**	destroy	Matisoff 1974:350
	byáʔ	destroyed, broken up, decaying (be v.)	Matisoff 1972b:64(b)
	phyák	destroy	Matisoff 1974:350
	pyák	destroy	Matisoff 1974:350
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***byak**	destroy / ruin	Matisoff 1972b:64(b)
	***pyak**	destroy / ruin	Matisoff 1972b:64(a)
	***ʔbyak**	destroy / ruin	Matisoff 1972b:64(c)
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola (Luxi)	la̱?^{55}pɛ̃^{31}**pjɛ̱ʔ**^{55}	destroy (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1391.32
	pɛ̃^{31}**pjɛ̱ʔ**^{55}	destroy / exterminate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1390.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**phjɛʔ**^{4}	destroy (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1391.27
	pjɛʔ^{4}	destroy / exterminate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1390.27
	pjɛʔ^{4} pjõ^{55}	destroy / exterminate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1390.27
Burmese (Written)	**phjɑk**^{4}	destroy (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1391.26
	phyak	destroy; oppose	Benedict 1976a
	pjɑk^{4}	destroy / exterminate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1390.26
	pjɑk^{4}prun^{3}	destroy / exterminate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1390.26
	pyak	ruined, destroyed; fail (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**phyoʔ**	destroyed (be v.)	Matisoff 1972b:64(c)
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***pyak**^{H}	destroy	Bradley 1979b:616
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**pêʔ**	lose its power	Matisoff 1972b:64(b)
Lisu	**hpyá2**	destroy	Matisoff 1972b:64(a)
Lisu (Central)	**hpyá**^{2}	destroy (v.)	Fraser 1922
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**bye HS**	destroy (Lewis p. 202 Npyak)	Matisoff 1972b:64(a)
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **pjaq**	get bad, ruin	Hansson 1989:462
Akha (Thai)	**pjaq**	get bad, ruin	Hansson 1989:462
Akha	**pya HS**	tear down	Matisoff 1972b:64(a)
	pyaˆ	tear down	Matisoff 1974:350
Hani (Lüchun)	**bjaq**	get bad, ruin	Hansson 1989:462
Hani (Pijo)	**pèq** í	get bad, ruin	Hansson 1989:462
Mpi	**pja**^{3}	break down (as a house, table, car, etc.) / throw (a (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	pjɑʔ^{3}	tasteless	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

(4) PTB *bray EFFACED

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***bray**	effaced	Matisoff 1985a:117; Matisoff 2003a:585
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**prév**	spoil, botch, erase (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:117
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**prāi**	effaced; settled and forgoten (feud), healed (old sore); effaced, settled and forgotten (feud), healed (old sore) (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:117; Matisoff 1974:4
	šə **prāi**	effaced	Matisoff 1985a:117; Matisoff 1974:4
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**prai**	wasted; become weak, less vivid (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:117
	prai	effaced	Matisoff 1974:4

(5) PKC *phelʔ LOOSEN / UNDERCUT / UNDO

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***phelʔ**	LOOSEN / UNDERCUT / UNDO	VanBik 2009:346
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**phelh**	undo	VanBik 2009:346

Tiddim	**phel**[1]	untie, unbutton, dismantle, loosen	VanBik 2009:346
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**phel?**-INV	loosen, undercut, undo	VanBik 2009:346
Lai (Falam)	**phèl?**-INV	loosen, undercut, undo	VanBik 2009:346
Lushai [Mizo]	**phèlh**	undo, to unfasten, to unloose, to loosen, to take off (as coat) (v.)	VanBik 2009:346

(6) PKC *kiir RETURN

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***kiir**	RETURN	VanBik 2009:306
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**kik**	return	VanBik 2009:306
Sizang	**sun** kik hī	return	VanBik 2009:306
Tiddim	**ki:k**[1]	return, repeat	VanBik 2009:306
	ki:k[1]	return; repeat (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:639
	ki:k[1]	return; repeat	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**a(ng)kií**	return, come back, come full circle, finish	VanBik 2009:306
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**kíir**	return	VanBik 2009:306
Lai (Hakha)	**kîir** ≈ kîar-I, kĭir ≈ kĭar-II	return	VanBik 2009:306
Lushai [Mizo]	**kĭir**	go back, to come back, to return (v.)	VanBik 2009:306
	kîr	return (come back) (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**kúa**	return (v.)	VanBik 2009:306

(7) PKC *looy RETURN / GO (home)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***looy**	RETURN / GO (home)	VanBik 2009:1045
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**alawy**	return, come back, come full circle, finish	VanBik 2009:1045
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**lôoy**-I, lŏoy-II	return, go home	VanBik 2009:1045

(8) PCC *triin RETURN / GO (home)

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***triin**	RETURN / GO (home)	VanBik 2009:1326
Lai (Hakha)	**trîin**-I, trĭin-II	return home, go home	VanBik 2009:1326
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭĭin**	go home, to depart or leave and go home (v.)	VanBik 2009:1326

(9) PTB *s-run STRUGGLE / PULL HARD / DEMOLISH

1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**rùn**	pull down, demolish	Matisoff 1974:251
	šə **rùn**	pull down, demolish	Matisoff 1974:251
	ʒun[31]	pull down (a house)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1175.19
4. Nungic			
Dulong	**ɹɯt**[55]	pull down (a house)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1175.20
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**rûn**	pull with difficulty; struggle;	Matisoff 1974:251
	rûn	draw, pull; to warp (v.)	Benedict 1976a

(10) PKC *suut UNDO / UNTIE / WITHDRAW

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***suut**	UNDO / UNTIE / WITHDRAW	VanBik 2009:680
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**suut**	undo	VanBik 2009:680
Thado	**sûut**-I, sùut-II	untie	VanBik 2009:680
Tiddim	**su:t**[1]	untie a knot; tell a long story; go back into past	VanBik 2009:680
	su:t[1]	untie a knot; tell a long story; go back into past (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1657
	su:t[1]	untie a knot...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**sûut**-I, sùh-II	undo, to annul, to rescind, to withdraw (v.)	VanBik 2009:680

(11) PTB *prəy UNTIE

This root was originally set up only at the PLB level (cf. *HPTB*:73), but Qiangic/rGyalrongic cognates have since been discovered, which allow us to set it up for PTB. The Ergong form indicates that this root could take the ***s-*** prefix.

Contra *HPTB*:520, we no longer consider this to be related to PNungic ***pyi(n/t)*** UNTIE / LOOSEN (§6.13.1).

3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**phɛ**[33]tʃhɑ[55]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.18
Namuyi	**phʂ̩**[55]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.19
	mi[33]**phzə̧**[53]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.46
Pumi (Qinghua)	thə[13]**phzɯ**[55]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.11
Pumi (Taoba)	thə[35]**phzə̧**[53]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.10
Qiang (Mawo)	ɛ **phɛ**	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.08
Qiang (Taoping)	**zɑ**[31]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	wə[35]**phə**[55]tʂhu[53]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.16
Xumi	lɛ[33]**phu**[55]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**sphzi̱**	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.14
Daofu	ɣə **phrə**	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.12
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***prəy**[1] UNTIE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***prəy**[1]	untie	Matisoff 2003a:607
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**phu**[55]	untie	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**phi**[55]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.41
Achang (Luxi)	**phɯ**[35]	untie	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**phi**[55]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.29
Bola (Luxi)	la̱ʔ[55] **phi**[55]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.32
	la̱ʔ[55] **phəi**[55]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.32
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**phje**[22]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.40
Burmese (Written)	**phrañ**	untie, unloose, unfold (= phre)	Benedict 1976a
	phrañ̃	untie	Marrison 1967
	phre	untie, unroll; appease	Benedict 1976a
	phre (v.t.)	untie	Matisoff 1974:12
	phre[2]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.39
Hpun (Northern)	**phyí?**	untie	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	**phɔ:i**[31]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.33
Maru [Langsu]	**phji**[31]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**phji**[51]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***pre**[1]	untie	Bradley 1979b:709
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**phi**[33]tɕhɛ[31]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.47
Lalo	**phə́**	untie	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	**phɹi**[33]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.34
Nusu (Northern)	**phɹi**[31]	untie	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**phɹi**[35]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.45
Nusu (Southern)	**phɹi**[55]	untie	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	**phu**[33]	separate (open); undo; untie	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**phi**[33]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.24
	ʐu[33]**phe**[55]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**phɯ**[55]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.23
Yi (Weishan)	**phɯ**[55]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.36
Yi (Xide)	**phu**[33]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.35
	phu[33]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**phɯ**[33]phjɐ[33]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.34
	phɯ[44] phjə[35]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.44
Lahu (Lancang)	**phɯ**[33]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.43
Lahu (Black)	**phɯ**[33]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**phɯ**[1]	untie	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**phɯ**[33]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.40
	phɯ[44]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.27
Lisu (Northern)	**phɤ**[33]	untie; explain (V.)	Bradley 1994
	phɤ[33]kɯ[33]	untie	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	**phɯ**[55]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**phɯ**[55]bje[31]	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**phɤ**[55]phi̱[31]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**phɯ**[55]	untie	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Mpi	**phɯ**[5]	untie	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	**pʰi**[55]tʰi[31]	untie	Pelkey 2011:732

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解 OC ***kěg***, *GSR* #861a 'cut up, divide; loosen; explain'; Schuessler 2007:313 ***krêʔ***; B & S 2011: ***kˁreʔ***; Mand. ***jiě***.
解 OC ***gʼěg***, *GSR* #861a 'understand'; Schuessler 2007:313 ***grêʔ***; B & S 2011: ***N.kˁreʔ {N-kˁreʔ}***; Mand. ***xiè***.
懈/解 OC ***kěg*** ~ ***gʼěg***, *GSR* #861b 'lazy, idle; remiss, careless'; Schuessler 2007:313 ***krêh***; B & S 2011: ***N.kˁreʔ***; Mand. ***xiè***.

(12) PKC *hliit UNTIE / UNDO

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hliit**	UNTIE / UNDO	VanBik 2009:1126
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**hlit**	undo (as the mechanism of a trap), untie (as rope-knots)	VanBik 2009:1126
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hliit**-I, hli?-II	untie, undo	VanBik 2009:1126

(13) PKC *phoŋ UPROOT / UNLOOSE (v.t.)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***phoŋ**	UPROOT / UNLOOSE (v.t.)	VanBik 2009:365
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-phawng	uprooted (post from its root), to be pulled up from (be v.)	VanBik 2009:365
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**phŏŋ**-I, phoŋʔ-II	uproot, unloose	VanBik 2009:365

6.9.1 Peel

(1) PKC *khok-I, *khoʔ-II PEEL OFF / STRIP

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***khok**-I, khoʔ-II	PEEL OFF / STRIP	VanBik 2009:451
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			

Paite	**khok**	strip	VanBik 2009:451
Thado	**khô?**-I, khòo-II	skin, peel off (tree bark)	VanBik 2009:451
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**khok**-I , kho?-II	peel off, strip	VanBik 2009:451
Lai (Falam)	**khòk**-INV	peel off, strip	VanBik 2009:451
Lushai [Mizo]	**khok**	peel off (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2566
	khok	peel off (skin, bark) (v.)	Benedict 1972:74n229

(2) PTB *kayk STRIP / UNDRESS / DISMANTLE

The comparison between the PKC root and the Lahu form looks solid, motivating a reconstruction at the PTB level.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***khek-I**, ***khe?-II** PEEL OFF / STRIP

**Chin*	*khek-I, khe?-II	PEEL OFF / STRIP	VanBik 2009:452
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**khèe**-INV	peel (by taking off cover), e.g. banana	VanBik 2009:452
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**khek**-I , khe?-II	peel (by taking off cover), e.g. banana, peanuts	VanBik 2009:452
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**qê?**	take off clothing; strip; dismantle (sthg.) (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:248

6.9.2 Carve, shave

(1) PTB *tsow-t PIERCE / THORN / PLANT (v.) / ERECT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsow**	trees (thorny); thorns; thorn; pointed; prick, thorn	Chou Fa-kao 1972:88a-c; Weidert 1987:309; LaPolla 1987:112; Benedict 1972:276
	***tsow-t**	thorn / pierce / plant (v.) / erect	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:617
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**sou**	thorn, (spike planted in ground in warfare)	Benedict 1972:276
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**seu**	(spike planted in ground in warfare)	Benedict 1972:276
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Ao*	*a-**tʃhu**	PUNJI SPIKE	Bruhn 2014a:II.169
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}-**su^{2}**	punji (trap) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.169
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**tʃhu**	panji (n.)	Coupe 2007
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**sou**	thorn, (spike planted in ground in warfare)	Benedict 1972:276
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	iŋ **su**	thorn	Benedict 1972:276
	su	thorn, sting, panji	Benedict 1972:276
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**su**	pierce	LaPolla 1987:112; Benedict 1972:276
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	bu **su**	thorn	Benedict 1972:276
	su	pierce	LaPolla 1987:112; Benedict 1972:276
	su?-a	pierce / stab	Weidert 1987:295
Garo (Bangladesh)	**su•**-a	inject; pierce; pound rice; spear; stab (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.571-II:idx
	su•-pru-a	pierce (vt.)	Burling 2003:8.99-II:idx
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**džú**	thorn	Matisoff 1974:296
	džu	thorn; prick with a thorn	Benedict 1972:276
	dźu≍ədźu	thorn	Matisoff 1978a:50
	ju	thorn	Marrison 1967
	tʃu^{55}	thorn	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tʃu^{55}	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.19
	tʃu^{55}	pricked, be (on a thorn) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1779.19
	tʃu^{55}	thorn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.47
	^{3}tšu	thorn	Weidert 1987:309
	ə **džu**	thorn, sharp spike of any kind	Benedict 1972:276
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**tso**	thorn	Benedict 1972:276
	tsō(h)	thorn / brier (n.)	Bailey 1911
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**dźu**	thorn	Matisoff 1978a:50
	džu	thorn	Benedict 1972:276
	ju	thorn (n.)	Plaisier 2007
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**ntʃho^{55}**	thorn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.18
Guiqiong	(**tsɻ^{31}**ka^{55}) ŋgui^{35}	pricked, be (on a thorn) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1779.16
	tsə^{31}ka^{55}	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.16
	tsɻ^{33}ka^{53}	thorn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.17
Lyuzu	(**tʂhɻ^{53}**) khe^{53}ndzu^{31}	pricked, be (on a thorn) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1779.18
	tʂhɻ^{35}	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.18
Muya	**tshuə̠^{53}**	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tshɯ^{53}**	thorn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.15
Namuyi	**ntʂhɻ^{33}**	thorn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.19
	ntʂhɻ^{31}	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	(**tsu^{35}**) tshu^{55}	pricked, be (on a thorn) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1779.10
	tsu^{35}	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tsu^{55}**	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tsu^{55}**	thorn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tsu^{53}**	thorn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**tɕhí**	thorn	Evans 1999:494
	tɕhí-pià	hedgehog [thorn-pig]	Evans 1999:395
Qiang (Mawo)	**tshə** mɑ	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.08
	tshə p	thorn	LaPolla 1987:112; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**tshɻ^{31}**	thorn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	(**tshi^{55}**) ʂkhi^{55}	pricked, be (on a thorn) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1779.13
	tshi^{55}	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tshõ^{55}**	thorn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.16
Xumi	**tshɛ^{53}**ki^{33}	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.17
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**stɕi**	thorn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.14
Daofu	**xtɕhə**	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **mdzo**	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.11
rGyalrong	tə **mdzo**	thorn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.12
Caodeng	tɐ-**mdzo**	thorn	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	tA **mdzo**	thorn	Nagano 1997:99
rGBenzhen	tə-**mdzo?**	thorn	Sun 1997b
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***tsow^{2}≍čow^{2}**	thorn / prick / sting	Matisoff 1978a:50
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**chû**	thorn; prick; sting; sting of insect	Matisoff 1978a:50; Matisoff 1974:296; Benedict 1976a
	chū:	thorn	Marrison 1967
	hsu^{3}	thorn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.39
	shu^{3}	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.26
	tshù	thorn; thorn, sting of an insect	Weidert 1987:309; LaPolla 1987:112; Benedict 1972:276
	tsù	pierce (v.)	Weidert 1987:295
	tsù	prick, pierce; piercer, awl	Benedict 1972:276
	ə-**chû**	thorn; sting of insect	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	á **chû**	thorn	Weidert 1987:309
Lahu (Lancang)	ɑ^{35}**tɕhu^{53}**	thorn / splinter (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0391.43
Lahu (Black)	í-**chû**	thorn; prick; sting	Matisoff 1978a:50; Matisoff 1974:296
	tshu^{33}	thorn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:230.33
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{2}**tɕhu^{3}**	thorn	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

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鑽 OC ***tswân**, *GSR* #153h- 'bore, perforate'; Schuessler 2007:636 ***tsôn**; B & S 2011: ***ts^{ʕ}on? {[ts]^{ʕ}o[n]?}**; Mand. **zuān**.

(2a) PTB *m-(d)z(y)u(:)k PIERCE / THORN / PLANT (v.) / ERECT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzu[:]k**	erect / plant	Benedict 1972:360
	***m-(d)z(y)u(:)k**	pierce / plant (v.) / erect / thorn	Matisoff 2003a:589
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**fuk**	erect, be erect (v.)	Benedict 1972:360
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**tšók**	pierce	Matisoff 1974:353 [a]
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**tsuk**	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.7
	tsuk^{55}	insert / stick into	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tshuk^{53}**	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.6
Motuo Menba	**tsuk**	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.07
	tsuk	stick into / stab (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1778.07
Cuona Menba	**tshuk^{53}**	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htsək**	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.4
Tibetan (Batang)	**tsu?^{53}**	jab; poke; stab; poke (a sign into earth); insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.03; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1221.03
	tsu?^{53}	stick into / stab (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1778.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tsu^{53}**	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tsu?^{53}**	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.2
	tsu^{52}	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.02
	tsu^{52}	stick into / stab (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1778.02
Tibetan (Written)	**'jug**	put	Marrison 1967
	(ɕiŋ phrug) **fidzugs**	plant (trees) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1774.01
	dzugs	prick, pierce	Sun 1985c:591
	ḥdzug	erect, prick	Benedict 1972:76n232
	ḥdzug-pa ≍ **zug**-pa	prick / stick into; plant; erect	Benedict 1972:360
	ḥdzugs-pa ~ **zug**-pa	prick; set into	Matisoff 2003a:529
	ḥdźug	enter / put into	Matisoff 2003a:529
	jug	enter	Marrison 1967
	zug-pa	plant (v.)	Weidert 1987:681
	fidzug-pa	plant (v.)	Weidert 1987:681
	fidzugs	poke (a sign into earth); insert; prick; stick into	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.01; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:637.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.1
	fidɕug	put into a container / pack (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1810.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htsaχ**	stick into / stab (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1778.04
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya	ni^{33}**ndzu^{53}**	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.15
	nɐ^{33}**ndzu^{53}**	stick into / stab (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1778.15
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***(N/ʔ)tsuk** PIERCE / STAB			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***Ntsuk**	pierce / stab	Matisoff 1972b:107(a)

[a] This Jingpho form appears to be a loan from Burmese, since native etyma with final ***-k** acquire Jingpho **-ʔ**.

	*ʔtsuk	pierce / stab	Matisoff 1972b:107(b)
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**tshɯk**^{55}	insert / stick into	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tɕhoʔ**^{55}	poke (a sign into earth); insert; stick into	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**xzɻk**^{35}	stick into / stab (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1778.29
Burmese (Written)	**cuik**	erect, set upright, plant	Benedict 1976a
	sok	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.39
	sok^{4}	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.26
	tsuik	erect, set upright, plant; erect, prick	Benedict 1972:360; Benedict 1972:76n232
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tshuʔ**^{55}	poke (a sign into earth); insert; stick into	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Luquan	**ts'u 22s**	stick into / insert	Matisoff 1972b:21(b)
Nusu (Central)	**tshu̱**^{53}	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tshu̱**^{53}	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.45
Nusu (Northern)	**tshu̱**^{55}	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**tshɔ**^{33}	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.22
Yi (Mojiang)	**tshu̱**^{33}	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tʂhu̱**^{33}	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.24
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Youle)	**tsho**^{42}	insert / stick into	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tsho**^{55}	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.44
	tshœ^{42}	jab / poke / stab	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1221.44
Lahu	**jûʔ**	pierce, stab, implant	Benedict 1972:360
Lahu (Black)	**chôʔ**	stick into / insert	Matisoff 1972b:21(b)
	jûʔ	pierce	Matisoff 1974:353
Lisu	**tsho**^{35}	poke (a sign into earth); insert; stick into	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.40; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tshɔ**^{35}le^{33}	insert	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**tɕhø**^{35}	insert; stick in (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**tɕhɤ**^{35}	insert; stick in (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**tʂhɤ**^{44}	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.39
Sani [Nyi]	**tʂ'ɤ 44**	stick into / insert	Matisoff 1972b:21(b)
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**tsaw HS**	pierce / stab	Matisoff 1972b:21(b)
Hani (Dazhai)	**tsu̱**^{33}	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tsǫ̱**^{33}	jab / poke / stab	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1221.41
	tsǫ̱^{33}	stick into / stab (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1778.41
	tsu̱^{33}	poke (a sign into earth) / insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshɣ̱**^{33}	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tsǫ̱**^{33}	insert / stick into	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**tsho**^{33}	insert / stick into	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:639.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**tsho**^{33}	jab; poke; stab; poke (a sign into earth); insert	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1171.42; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1221.42
	tsho^{33}	stick into / stab (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1778.42

(2b) PTB *dz(y)ut PIERCE / THORN / PLANT (v.) / ERECT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dz(y)ut**	pierce / plant (v.) / erect / thorn	Matisoff 2003a:589
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**džút**	be pierced	Matisoff 2003a:529
	šədžút	cause to pierce	Matisoff 2003a:529
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥdzud**-pa	put, lay into	Matisoff 2003a:529
	ḥtshud	be put into	Matisoff 2003a:529
	thsud	enter	Marrison 1967

(3) PKC *tay-I, *tayʔ-II ADZE (v.) / SHARP

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tay**-I, tayʔ-II	ADZE (v.) / SHARP	VanBik 2009:173
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**taih**	cut with an adze (v.)	VanBik 2009:173
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tayʔ**-INV	sharp (e.g. knife, adze) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:173
Lushai [Mizo]	**têi**	adze (v.)	VanBik 2009:173
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**tài**	cut with an adze (v.)	VanBik 2009:173

(4) PKC *saay-I, *sayʔ-II CARVE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***saay**-I, sayʔ-II	CARVE	VanBik 2009:644
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**saih**	carve	VanBik 2009:644
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**sâay**-I, sayʔ-II	carve	VanBik 2009:644

(5) PKC *them CARVE / CHIP / SCRAPE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***them**	CARVE / CHIP / SCRAPE	VanBik 2009:377
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**thêm**-I, thèm-II	carve, chip	VanBik 2009:377
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**thêm**-INV	carve, chip	VanBik 2009:377
Lai (Hakha)	**themʔ**-INV	carve, chip, scrape (as wood)	VanBik 2009:377

(6) PKC *ɗoot JAB / PIERCE / STAB

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗoot**	JAB / PIERCE / STAB	VanBik 2009:91
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**dawt**	jab, to pierce (v.)	VanBik 2009:91
Thado	**dôot**-I, dòot-II	pierce, stab (with spear, long knife), push all the way in	VanBik 2009:91
Tiddim	**do:t**^{1}	poke, stab, pierce	VanBik 2009:91
	do:t^{1}	poke; stab; pierce (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:279
	do:t^{1}	poke, stab, pierce	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**dôot**-I, dòʔ-II	jab, stab (v.)	VanBik 2009:91
Lushai [Mizo]	**dâwt**-I, dàwh-II	pierce, to stick in (v.)	VanBik 2009:91

(7) PKar *cu^{A} POINTED (as of needles), SHARP POINT

7. Karenic				
**Karen [Burling]*	***cu**^{3}	pointed (as of needles), sharp point	Luangthongkum 2013:220	
**Karen*	***cu**^{A}	pointed (as of needles), sharp point	Luangthongkum 2013:220	[a]
Bwe	**cu**^{55}	pointed (as of needles), sharp point	Luangthongkum 2013:220	
Kayah	**cu**^{33}	pointed (as of needles), sharp point	Luangthongkum 2013:220	
Kayan	**cu**^{53}	pointed (as of needles), sharp point	Luangthongkum 2013:220	
Kayaw	**cu**^{55}	pointed (as of needles), sharp point	Luangthongkum 2013:220	
Pa-O (Northern)	**cu**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	pointed (as of needles), sharp point	Luangthongkum 2013:220	
Pa-O (Southern)	**kju**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	pointed (as of needles), sharp point	Luangthongkum 2013:220	
Pwo (Northern)	**cu**^{55}	pointed (as of needles), sharp point	Luangthongkum 2013:220	
Pwo (Southern)	**cu**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	pointed (as of needles), sharp point	Luangthongkum 2013:220	
Sgaw (Northern)	**cuʔ**^{45}	pointed (as of needles), sharp point	Luangthongkum 2013:220	
Sgaw (Southern)	**cu**^{55}	pointed (as of needles), sharp point	Luangthongkum 2013:220	

[a] [Source Note] N.Sgaw has tone D while the rest has tone A.

(8) PKC *yum POINTED / SHARP

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***yum**	POINTED / SHARP	VanBik 2009:1226
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**zum**	acuminate	VanBik 2009:1226
Sizang	**zum** sak hī	sharpen (of a point)	VanBik 2009:1226
Thado	**zúm**-I, zùm-II	pointed, narrow (by itself)	VanBik 2009:1226
Tiddim	**zum**^{2}	sharp and pointed	VanBik 2009:1226
	zum^{2}	sharp and pointed (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2072
	zum^{2}	sharp and pointed...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	m-**yün**	sharpen	VanBik 2009:1226
Cho (Mindat)	**m**-yum	tip	VanBik 2009:1226
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zûm**-I, zŭm-II	pointed, sharp	VanBik 2009:1226
Lai (Falam)	**zŭm**-I, zùm-II	pointed, sharp	VanBik 2009:1226
Lushai [Mizo]	**zúm**	sharp (as pointed), to be sharp pointed, to be pointed	VanBik 2009:1226
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pa**-zo	sharp (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1226

(9) PTB *s-ryam SHARP

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***slyam**	sharp	Coblin 1986:131
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(s-)ryɑm**	sharp	Chou Fa-kao 1972:621a
	***s-ryam**	sharp	Matisoff 2003a:612
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
**Kuki-Naga*	***(s-)ryam**	sharp	Benedict 1972:171n457
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hriam** SHARP / POINTED			
**Chin*	***hriam**	SHARP / POINTED	VanBik 2009:1099
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**hīam** hī	sharpen (of a blade), pointed	VanBik 2009:1099
Thado	ă **hem**	sharp	Benedict 1972:53n179
	híen-I, hìen-II	sharpen to a point (stick)	VanBik 2009:1099
Tiddim	**-hiam/ˆhiam**	sharp (v.)	Henderson 1965
	hiam^{2}	sharp	VanBik 2009:1099
	hiam^{2}	sharp (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:458
	hiam^{2}	sharp	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Mkaang	**xa:m**	sharp	So-Hartmann 1988:247
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hrîam**-I, hrĭam-II	sharp (as knife), pointed (as spear) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1099
Lai (Falam)	**hrĭam**-I, hrìam-II	sharp, pointed (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1099
Lushai [Mizo]	**hriam**	sharp	Marrison 1967
	hríam	sharp, keen-edged	VanBik 2009:1099
	hriam	sharp (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2463
	hriam	sharp, weapon, tool	Benedict 1972:53n179
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hrai**	sharp, keen as a razor	VanBik 2009:1099
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***ɾen-**	sharp (be v.)	Opgenort 2011
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**sr̥iam** / **s̥iăm**	sharp	Benedict 1972:171n457
	sr̥iɑm/s̥iăm	sharp	Chou Fa-kao 1972:621a

Chinese comparandum

銛 OC *__sr̥iɑm__, *GSR* #621a 'sharp'; Mand. **xiān**.
剡 OC *__d̥iɑm__, *GSR* #617d-e 'sharp'; B & S 2011: ***N-r[a]mʔ**; Mand. **yǎn**.
覃 OC *__d̥iɛm__, *GSR* #646a 'sharp'; B & S 2011: ***N-r[a]mʔ**; Mand. **yǎn**.
廉 OC *__gli̯ɑm__, *GSR* #627l 'angle, angular'; B & S 2011: ***rem{[r]em}**; Mand. **lián**.
磏 OC *__gli̯ɑm__, *GSR* #627m 'sharp, keen (of whetstone)'; Mand. **lián**.
鐮 OC *__gli̯ɑm__, *GSR* #646n 'sickle'; B & S 2011: ***rem{[r]em}**; Mand. **lián**.

Tentative: 劍 ***s.kram-s{s.kr[a]m-s}**

Karlgren's OC reconstruction ***s̥iɑm** for *GSR* #621a was revised to ***sr̥iɑm** in *STC* 171.

(10) PTk *tsaan SHARP

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***tsaan**	sharp	Mortensen 2012:461
Huishu	kə-**tsej**	sharp	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.158
	mə kə-**tse**	dull (not sharp)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.159
Tangkhul	ka **zan**	sharp	Marrison 1967
	śəm	sharp	Bhat 1969:96
	zən	sharp	Bhat 1969:96
Tusom	kʰə-mə-**ʃxɯə̃**	sharp	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.174
Ukhrul	kə-**tsan**	sharp	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**tsɐn**	sharp	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**tsɐŋ**	sharp (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(11) PTB *m-tak SHARP

The nasal prefix is directly attested in Namuyi. Several other languages (e.g., Proto-Northern Naga, rGyalrongic) seem to have undergone preemption of the initial dental by the nasal prefix.

The Karenic cognates display the homorganic final nasal.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tak**	sharp	Matisoff 2003a:614

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***na:k**	sharp	French 1983:544

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	a **na**	sharp	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Phom	**næʔ^{33}**	sharp	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	a **na**	sharp	Marrison 1967

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**tak-**	pierced (by thorn), forced in (sharp object, spirit), be punctured (va.)	Caughley 2000

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	mɛ^{55}**nthɛ^{35}**	blunt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:871.19
	nthɛ^{33}nthɛ^{55}	pointed	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:806.19
	nthɛ^{35}	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.19
	mæ^{53}**nthæ^{31}**	blunt / dull	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1021.46
	nthæ^{33}nthæ^{53}	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.46
	nthæ^{33}nthæ^{55}	pointed (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0992.46
	nthæ^{35}	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**thiə^{35}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.10
	thiə^{11}thiə^{55}	pointed (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0992.10
	thə^{35}	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.10
Xumi	**thɪ^{53}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.17

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	dəŋa **'nɑkˀ**	sharp	Nagano & Prins 2013:1572
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	ka **'nɑkˀ**	sharp	Nagano & Prins 2013:1572
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	kəka **'nakˀ**	sharp	Nagano & Prins 2013:1572
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kəka **'nɑʔ**	sharp	Nagano & Prins 2013:1572
rGBenzhen	kə-ŋa-**nak**	sharp	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Rawang	**dɛ^{53}** o^{31} wɛ^{33}	sharp	LaPolla 2003:1046
Nung	**thu^{31}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.21
Anong	**thu^{31}**ɛ^{31}	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.44
Rawang	**thɑʔ** o^{31} wɛ^{33}	sharp	LaPolla 2003:1047
Dulong	**dɑi^{53}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.20
Trung [Dulong]	**dɑi^{55}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**de^{53}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***tak^{H}** SHARP

**Lolo-Burmese*	***tak**	sharp	Matisoff 1972b:41(a)
	***tak^{H}**	sharp	Matisoff 2003a:614
	***{C}-tak**	sharp	Matisoff 1972b:41(b)

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**thɑ^{31}**	sharp	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**thɔʔ^{55}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.41
Achang (Luxi)	**thaʔ^{55}**	sharp	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**thaʔ^{55}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.32
	tøʔ^{31}	severe / fierce / sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1108.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**thɛʔ^{4}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**htɛʔ^{44}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.40
Burmese (Written)	**htɑk**	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.39
	thak	sharp; sharp, keen	Hansson 1989:456; Benedict 1976a
	thak > thɛʔ	sharp	Benedict 1972:p.87
	thak mrak	sharp	Marrison 1967
	thɑk	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.26
Hpun (Northern)	**tùʔ**	sharp	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**thɔʔ^{55}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**thɔːʔ^{55}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.33
Maru [Langsu]	**thɔʔ^{55}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**thoʔ^{55}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.42

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***tak^{H}**	sharp	Bradley 1979b:543; Hansson 1989:456

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**tha^{55}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.47
	tʰa^{55}	sharp	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**thíq**	sharp	Matisoff 2003a:319
Nusu (Bijiang)	**thu^{53}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.45
Nusu (Northern)	**thu^{55}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**thu^{55}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**thu^{55}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**thɔ^{33}**	keen (of a blade, vision, or acumen); sharp	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**thę^{33}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**thę^{33}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**thę^{33}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.37; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**thi̱^{33}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.23
Yi (Wuding)	**thɑ̱^{2}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.38
Yi (Xide)	**thɔ^{33}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.35; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**thie 44**	sharp	Matisoff 1972b:41(a)
	thyeʔ	sharp	Benedict 1972:p.87
Jinuo	**tha^{31}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**tɑ^{42}**	sharp	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	tɕi^{44}**tha^{42}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.44
Kucong	**tha33**	sharp	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**thâʔ**	sharp	Benedict 1972:p.87
Lahu (Black)	**thâʔ**	sharp	Matisoff 1972b:41(a)
Lahu (Yellow)	tsɻ^{6}~**tha^{6}**	sharp	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**thæ^{35}**	sharp of senses; sensitive; sharp (V.)	Bradley 1994
	thæ^{35}thæ^{35}	pointed; sharp (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**thǎ**	sharp	Matisoff 1972b:41(a)
	tshyǎʔ	sharp	Benedict 1972:p.87
Sani [Nyi]	**the 44**	sharp	Matisoff 1972b:41(a)
Yi (Sani)	**the^{44}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **taq**	sharp	Hansson 1989:456
Akha	**ta HS**	sharp	Matisoff 1972b:41(a)
Akha (Thai)	**taq**	sharp	Hansson 1989:456
Akha	**taq**	sharp	Hansson 1989:456
Bisu	**thā**	sharp	Matisoff 1972b:41(a)
	ʔaŋ **tha**	sharp	Bradley 199x
Hani (Hu T'an)	**ta 21c**	sharp	Matisoff 1972b:41(b)
Hani (Lüchun)	**taq**	sharp	Hansson 1989:456
Hani (Dazhai)	**tą^{33}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tą̱^{33}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.41
Hani (Pijo)	**thá**	sharp	Hansson 1989:456
	thá í	sharp	Hansson 1989:456
Hani (Caiyuan)	**thą^{33}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tą̱^{33}**	sharp	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**dav**	sharp	Hansson 1989:456
Hani (Shuikui)	**tha^{33}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tha**	sharp	Hansson 1989:456
Hani (Mojiang)	**tha^{33}**	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.42
Mpi	**tha^{3}**	sharp	Hansson 1989:456; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **thaʔ55**	sharp	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:210032
Woni	**tʻa 55**	sharp	Matisoff 1972b:41(a)

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**tʰɛ^{33}**	sharp (blade)	Pelkey 2011:937
Hlepho Phowa	**tʰɛ^{21}**	sharp (blade)	Pelkey 2011:937

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**tʰɑ˥**	sharp, keen	Michaud 2006–2009:2052
Na (Yongning)	hi˧tʰɑ˩	keen, sharp (cuts well)	Michaud 2006–2009
	tʰɑ˥	sharp, keen	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	mə^{33}**thɑ^{55}**	blunt / dull	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1021.45
	thɑ^{55}	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**thɑ^{55}**	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.28

7. Karenic: ***thaŋ^{A}** SHARP

**Karen*	***thaŋ^{A}**	sharp	Luangthongkum 2013:252
Bwe	**tha^{55}**	sharp	Luangthongkum 2013:252
Kayah	**thɛ^{33}**	sharp	Luangthongkum 2013:252
Kayaw	**thɔ^{55}**	sharp	Luangthongkum 2013:252
Pa-O	**thàŋ**	sharp	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**thaŋ$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	sharp	Luangthongkum 2013:252
Pa-O (Southern)	**thaŋ$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	sharp	Luangthongkum 2013:252

(12) PTani *rat^{1} SHARP(-EDGED)

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***rat^{1}**	sharp(-edged)	Sun 1993a:351

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	à-**rè**	sharp	Sun 1993b
	a-**reʔ**	sharp(-edged); sharp; keen	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**rit**	sharp(-edged); sharp	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**rit**-ma:	blunt	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**rit**	grind (sharpen); sharpen	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ret** po	sharp	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.24
	ret po moŋ	blunt / dull	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1021.24
	ret-po	sharp(-edged); sharp	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ret-po moŋ	blunt	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**ret** po:	sharp	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:870.51
	ret po: moŋ	blunt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:871.51
Galo	**-rek**	sharp (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	a **rek**	sharp (blade) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ren nam	sharp (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻa pək-ʻa **rək**	sharp (adj:expr.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	a **rik**	sharp	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**ri** pu	sharp	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	pɯ-**rat**	grind (sharpen)	Sun 1993a
	rat	sharp(-edged)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**rat**-duŋ	pointed	Sun 1993b
	rət-nə	sharp	Sun 1993b

Milang	pi-**rat**-ma	sharpen	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**ra:**	sharp	NEFA (India) 1963
	ɹɑ^{55}	sharp	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.22; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:870.49
Idu	**ɹɑ**^{55}	sharp	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:870.50
Yidu	**ɹɑ**^{55}	sharp	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1020.25

(13) PTani *nɯk STAB

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***nɯk**	stab	Sun 1993a:396
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**nɯ**	stab; inject	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	nɯ-ko	pierce	Sun 1993b
	nɯʔ	stab	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	nɯʔ	prick (v.)	Sun 1993b
	nɯʔ-k^{h}rjɯ	lance (v.)	Sun 1993b
	si-ta **nɯʔ**	vaccinate	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**nɯk**	stab	Sun 1993a
	nɯk	prick (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	nɯk-pɯ:	stick st. into	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**nɯk**	jab; poke; stab; prick, pierce (with needle)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1221.24
	nɯk	stick into; stab; pricked, be (on a thorn) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1778.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1779.24
	nɯk pet	punch a hole / perforate	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1215.24
	nɯk ɕet	pierce through	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1222.24
	nɯk-set	pierce	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**nɯk**	prick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:637.51
Galo	nebu-**nik**-nam	lance (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	niɡ nam	stab (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	nɯ-ka-nam	prick (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**nik**	stab	Sun 1993a
Damu	**nək**	stab; sting	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	nək-ra	insert	Sun 1993b

(14) PKC *tshun-I, *tshun?-II STAB / PRICK / PIERCE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tshun-I**, **tshun?-II**	STAB / PRICK / PIERCE	VanBik 2009:603
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**sùn-I**, **sùt-II**	stab, prick	VanBik 2009:603
Tiddim	**sun**^{3} > **sut**^{3}	pierce	VanBik 2009:603
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**shün ≍ ʻsün**	pierce	VanBik 2009:603
Chinbon	**š**^{h}**ən**	stab	So-Hartmann 1988:151
Cho (Mindat)	**sun**	prick	VanBik 2009:603
Khumi	**t**^{h}**uŋ**	stab	So-Hartmann 1988:151
Matu	**t**^{h}**u:n**	stab	So-Hartmann 1988:151
Wakung	**xuŋ**	stab	So-Hartmann 1988:151
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**sùn**-INV	stab, prick, pierce	VanBik 2009:603
Lai (Hakha)	**tshŭn-I**, **tshun?-II**	stab, prick	VanBik 2009:603
Lushai [Mizo]	**chan**	cut up; slice up (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2166
	chhun	stab; spear; prick (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2229

(15) PLB *m-dzy $\overset{u}{i}$ t TEAR / RIP

It seems likely that this root is allofamically related to PTB ***(d)zi:t** ≍ ***(t)si:t** SPLIT (§6.9.3).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzyut ≍ dzyit**	tear / rip	Matisoff 2003a:589
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***Njut**	tear / rip	Matisoff 1972b:110(a)
	***ʔjut**	tear / rip	Matisoff 1972b:110(b)
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**chut**	tear; tear, sever (v.)	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a
	cut	be torn	Matisoff 2003a:502
Maru [Langsu]	lɔ̃^{55}**tʃhat**^{55}	tear (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:553.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	laŋ^{21} **tʃheʔ**^{55}	tear up; rip; tear (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1650.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:553.42
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**jɨʔ**	tear sthg	Matisoff 1972b:110(a)
Lisu	**chĭ2**	tear / rip	Matisoff 1972b:110(b)
Lisu (Central)	**chĭ**^{2}-hha^{6}-lye^{3}	tear (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tʃi**^{35}	tear up / rip (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1650.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tʃl̩**^{35}	pull up; tear; play; pump up; (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tʃl̩**^{35}	tear (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:553.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tʃl̩**^{35}ha^{21}	tear	Bradley 1994
	tʃl̩^{35}ha^{21}je^{33}	tear (naturally)	Bradley 1994
	tʃl̩^{35}ha^{21}kɯ^{33}	tear (deliberately)	Bradley 1994
	tʃl̩^{35}ha^{21}le^{33}	tear (unintentionally)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**dʑi**^{2}	tear up / rip (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1650.39
Sani [Nyi]	ne^{44}**ʑi**^{33}	tear	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.6
Yi (Sani)	**tɕi**^{44}	tear up / rip (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1650.39
Sani [Nyi]	**tɕʻi 44 ~ tɕi** 44	claw / tear out	Matisoff 1972b:110(b)

(16) TGTM *^{A}dzo point

2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**dzo**	point	Mazaudon 1978:44
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{3}**co**	point	Mazaudon 1978:44
Manang (Ngawal)	^{3}**tsʌ**	point	Mazaudon 1978:44
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**tso**	point	Mazaudon 1978:44
Tamang (Sahu)	^{3}**co**	point	Mazaudon 1978:44
Thakali (Marpha)	^{3}**tso**	point	Mazaudon 1978:44
Thakali (Syang)	^{L}**tso**	point	Mazaudon 1978:44
Thakali (Tukche)	^{3}**co**	point	Mazaudon 1978:44

6.9.3 Chop, slice

(1) PKC *khleŋ-I, *khleŋʔ-II AMPUTATE / CUT OFF

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***khleŋ**-I, khleŋʔ-II	AMPUTATE / CUT OFF	VanBik 2009:1277
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**ki**-kheng	amputate	VanBik 2009:1277
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thleŋʔ**-INV	amputate, cut off (branch)	VanBik 2009:1277
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**thléi**	cut off	VanBik 2009:1277

(2) PTk *du CHOP

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***du**	chop	Mortensen 2012:758
Huishu	mə-**ruk**-k^{h}e	chop	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.041
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**ru**	chop off; dig with a spade	Mortensen 2012

(3) PTB *ts(y)ap CHOP

This etymon is very similar to PTB ***tsywar** CUT / CHOP (§6.9.3), but we are keeping them separate for the time being. In the case of languages with eroded finals (like those of the Qiangic group), it is hard to tell which of these etyma to assign a reflex to.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ts(y)ap**	chop	Matisoff 2003a:617
	***tsap**	chop	LaPolla 1987:111
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**cəp**	chop	Bhat 1969:86
Ukhrul	kə-kə-**cɐp**	chop off	Mortensen 2012
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**ʒɐp**^{31}	chop	LaPolla 1987:111
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**tsap**	chop; mince (meat) with knife	LaPolla 1987:111; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.7
	tsap^{55}	mince (meat) with knife	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tsɑp**^{55}	mince (meat) with knife	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tsap**^{53}	chop	LaPolla 1987:111
	tsʌp^{53}	mince (meat) with knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.6
Motuo Menba	**tsap**	chop / cut (meat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.07
Cuona Menba	**tsap**^{53}	chop / cut (meat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**htsap htsap**	chop / cut (meat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htsap**	mince (meat) with knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɣtsap**	mince (meat) with knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.5
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tsɑʔ**^{53}	mince (meat) with knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tsəp**^{52}	chop; cut (meat); hew (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.02; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1468.02
	tsəp^{53}	chop; mince (meat) with knife	LaPolla 1987:111; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.2
Tibetan (Written)	**gtsab**	chop	LaPolla 1987:111
	gtsab	chop / cut (meat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.01
	gtsab	mince (meat) with knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.1
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**tsi**^{55}**tsi**^{55}	mince (meat) with knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.18
Guiqiong	**tsø**^{55}	mince (meat) with knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.17
Namuyi	**tsɛ**^{55}**tsɛ**^{33}	mince (meat) with knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.19
Pumi (Qinghua)	nə^{13} **tsi**^{13}	chop; mince (meat) with knife	LaPolla 1987:111; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.11
Pumi (Taoba)	nə^{35}**tsi**^{35}	mince (meat) with knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.10
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **cçop**	chop / hew (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1468.11
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	a^{31} **tsep**^{55}	chop	LaPolla 1987:111
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Luxi)	**tsap**^{31}	mince (meat) with knife; chop	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:111
Bola (Luxi)	**tʃɛʔ**^{31}	chop / cut (meat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**tʃɛʔ**^{31}	chop / cut (meat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tʃaːp**^{31}	chop / cut (meat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃap**^{21}	chop / cut (meat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.30
	tʃap^{21}	mince (meat) with knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.42
	tʃap^{31}	chop	LaPolla 1987:111
6.2. NAXI			
Naxi	**tse**^{33}**tse**^{33}	chop / cut (meat) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tse**^{33}**tse**^{33}	mince (meat) with knife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:635.28

(4) PKC *saat CHOP / CUT / STRIKE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***saat**	CHOP / CUT / STRIKE	VanBik 2009:645
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**sat**	chop	VanBik 2009:645
Sizang	**sāt** hī	cut	VanBik 2009:645
Thado	**sâat**-I, sàat-II	cut	VanBik 2009:645
Tiddim	**saːt**^{1}	strike, knock	VanBik 2009:645
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**sät**	cut off, sever (v.)	VanBik 2009:645
Khumi	**ksae**	slice	VanBik 2009:645
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**saat**-I, saʔ-II	chop, slice	VanBik 2009:645
Lai (Falam)	**sâat**-INV	chop, slice	VanBik 2009:645

Lushai [Mizo]	**sâat** rĕek-I, sàh rĕek-II	cut a notch in (v.)	VanBik 2009:645
	sât	cut (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967

(5) PKC *kak CRACK / REND / SPLIT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***kak**	CRACK / REND / SPLIT	VanBik 2009:269

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**kak**	crack	VanBik 2009:269

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**kak**-I, kaʔ-II	crack, split	VanBik 2009:269
Lushai [Mizo]	**kàk**	crack, to split, to rend, to chap (v.)	VanBik 2009:269

(6) PTk *tat CUT (VEGETABLES)

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***tat**	cut (vegetables)	Mortensen 2012:536
Huishu	kə-kə-**kejʔ**	cut	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.037
Kachai	kə-kə-**tɐt**	cut (vegetables)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.032
Tusom	ʔə-mieʔ-k^{h}a-kə-**de**	cut meat (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.042
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-kə-**tɐt**	cut meat	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-kə-**tɐt**	cut (meat)	Mortensen 2012

(7) PTk *kak CUT (WOOD)

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***kak**	cut (wood)	Mortensen 2012:585
Tusom	ma-t^{h}ɯŋ kə-**ka**	cut wood (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.039
Ukhrul	kə-**kɐk**	cut (wood)	Mortensen 2012

(8) PTani *gjat^{2} CUT (as in reaping crops)

Note that [^{2}] is not a tone marker:

"Modern Tani languages exhibit two different equations corresponding to **-at** in Mising and Padam. This indicates that the **-at** rhyme in Padam-Mising L has two distinct origins in PT. In the absence of Tani-internal evidence for a more precise distinction, two kinds of **-at** rhymes are tentatively posited for PT, **-at^{1}** and **-at^{2}**" (Sun 1993: 202).

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***gjat^{2}**	cut (as in reaping crops)	Sun 1993a:91

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**gja**	cut (with knife toward inside)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ga**	cut v. (~grain, harvest)	Sun 1993b
	ga:	cut (as in reaping crops)	Sun 1993a
	ga:	mow; cut (grass); harvest; reap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1342.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1629.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ga:**	cut	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:601.51

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gat**	cut (as in reaping crops)	Sun 1993a

(9) PTani *pa CUT (e.g. with machete)

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***pa**	cut; (e.g. with machete); cut (e.g. with machete)	Sun 1993a:92; Sun 1993a:95

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	ja-**pɯr**	mortar	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pa	cut; (e.g. with machete); cut (e.g. with machete)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993a
	pa	cut (v.)	Sun 1993b
	pa-bĩ	clear v.t. (~jungle)	Sun 1993b
	pa-c^{h}e	cleave	Sun 1993b
	pa-me	cut (with dao)	Sun 1993b
	pa-mɯʔ	chop	Sun 1993b
Bengni	čiŋ-**pɯr**	mortar	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pa	cut; (e.g. with machete); cut (e.g. with machete); chop, hew	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pa-či	chop (wood) into pieces	Sun 1993b
	pa-ki:	chop to death	Sun 1993b
	pa-sir	chop up (wood)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**pa**	cut; (e.g. with machete); cut (e.g. with machete); chop, hew	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pa	chop; hew; chop down (trees); chop (firewood) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1467.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1468.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1552.24
	pa-tak	chop, hew (with knife); cleave (with knife)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ta **par**	mortar (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0627.24
	ta-**par**	mortar	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**pa**	chop (tree)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:602.51
	pa tak	cut (firewood)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:604.51
	ta **par**	mortar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:436.51
Galo	ci-**par:**	mortar; rice-pounder	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	ci̱ **par**	mortar (large) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	pa-nam	cut (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	pa nam	cut (by striking); chop; hack (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	pa rek	cut (to sharpen) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	pa rik	cut off (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	rɯgɯ **pa**-nam	jungle cutting (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	rɯkɤ **pa**-nam	jungle cutting (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill Nishing	**pa**-nam	get, procure, cut	Simon 1976
	pa	cut	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	ciŋ **parr**	mortar	Das Gupta 1983
	pa-nam	cut tree (with a dao) patuŋsutoka (vt.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ki-**par**	mortar	Sun 1993a
	pa	cut; (e.g. with machete); cut (e.g. with machete)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993a
Damu	**par**-ciŋ	mortar	Sun 1993b

(10) PTB *tsyat CUT OFF / SEVER / BREAK

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tśât**	break / cut	Chou Fa-kao 1972:287a-b
	***tsyat**	break (in two); cut through; conclude; break; cut; break, cut	Matisoff 1985a:018; Matisoff 2003a:617; Benedict 1972:185

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	**tɕe**^{55}	chop (tree)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:602.50

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tsat** BREAK / SNAP (v.i.)

**Chin*	***tsat**	BREAK / SNAP (v.i.)	VanBik 2009:525

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**tat**^{3}	break (as a rope)	VanBik 2009:525
	`xia/´xiat	chop / fell (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tsat-I**, tsaʔ-II	break, snap	VanBik 2009:525
Lushai [Mizo]	**chat**	break (as a rope) (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2173
	chàt-I, chàh-II	break or snap (as rope, string) (v.)	VanBik 2009:525
	tśat	break, cut	Matisoff 1985a:018; Benedict 1972:185

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	**tsà**	cut with the knife (flesh, etc.)	Acharya 1975
	tsá	cut hair (v.)	Acharya 1975
	tshà	cut the hair	Acharya 1975

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Meluri	wi **tsa**	cut (with axe) (v.)	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**tśat**	cut, chop	LaPolla 1987:169
	tshe	cut (firewood)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:604.7
	ts'e^{55}	cut (firewood)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tɕheu**^{55}	cut (firewood); cut open (fish)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986; Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	tɕhøt^{55}pu^{55}	cut	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**tshe**	chop (firewood) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1552.07
	tɕat	cut (meat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1339.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣtɕot**	chop / hew (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1468.05
Tibetan (Batang)	**tɕhɛʔ**^{53}	cut off / sever (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1341.03
	tɕɛʔ^{53}	cut (meat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1339.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tɕhɛ**^{52}	cut off / sever (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1341.02
	tɕɛ^{52}	cut (meat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1339.02
Tibetan (Written)	**bćad**	cut (perf. of gćod-pa)	Matisoff 1985a:018
	btśad	break, cut	Benedict 1972:185
	btɕad	cut (meat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1339.01
	gtśod-pa	break (in two); cut through; conclude; break, cut	Matisoff 1985a:018; Benedict 1972:185
	gtɕod	cut (paper, cloth)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1167.01
	gtɕod	cut off; sever; chop down (trees) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1341.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1467.01
	gtɕod	chop (tree)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:602.1

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**tyât**	cut down, hew down (v.)	Plaisier 2007

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	siŋ **cep** ma	cut wood (with axe)	Ebert 1997

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**tśjạ**	chop, cut, hack	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5732

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**tʃɑ**^{55}	cut (firewood)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:604.18

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**tsɛ**	cut (vegetable)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:634.14

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***tsat**	break in two / cut through / concl	Matisoff 1972b:40(a)
	***tsat**	break in two / cut through / conclude ((HIGH);.)	Matisoff 1972b:40(a)
	*{C}-**tsat**	break in two / cut through / conclude ((LOW);.)	Matisoff 1972b:40(b)
	*{C}-**tsat**	break in two / cut through / concl	Matisoff 1972b:40(b)

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**chat**	brittle	Matisoff 1985a:018; Benedict 1976a

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	kɤ^{31} **ts^{h}e**^{33}	die (breath one's last)	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1846
Jinuo (Baka)	kɤ^{31} **ts^{h}e**^{33}	die (breath one's last)	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1846
Lahu (Black)	**chê?**	break (in two); cut through; conclude; break in two	Matisoff 1985a:018; Matisoff 1972b:40(a)
	šá **chê?** ve	die (breath is cut off) (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 1160

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**t̂i̱ɑt**/tśi̱ät	break / bend / destroy	Chou Fa-kao 1972:287a-b
Chinese (Old)	**dz'î̱wat**	cut off, break off	Matisoff 1985a:018
	tjat	break / bend	Baxter 1992:404

	ts'i̱wad	brittle	Matisoff 1985a:018
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**dz'i̱wät**	cut off, break off	Matisoff 1985a:018
	ts'i̱wäi-	brittle	Matisoff 1985a:018

Chinese comparandum

折 OC *__t̂i̱at__, *GSR* #287a-b 'break off; destroy, decide'; Schuessler 2007:608 ***tet***; B & S 2011: ***tet***; Mand. **zhé**.
折 OC *__d̂i̱at__, *GSR* #287a-b 'bend; be cut off/broken off'; Schuessler 2007:608 ***det***; B & S 2011: ***N-tet***; Mand. **shé**.

(11) PTB *dan CUT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dan**	cut	Matisoff 2003a:586; Benedict 1972:22
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**tà**-ge	cut	Sun 1993b
	ta-tu	hew	Sun 1993b
	té	cut open	Sun 1993b
	tí	cut	Sun 1993b
Nishing	**tang**	cut	Das Gupta 1969
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tan** AMPUTATE / CUT / CROSS (cf. shortcut)			
**Chin*	***tan**	AMPUTATE / CUT / CROSS (cf. shortcut)	VanBik 2009:175
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	aat **tan**	amputate	VanBik 2009:175
Thado	**tân-I**, **tàn-II**	cut, chop (e.g. wood); break (rope); cut off	VanBik 2009:175
Tiddim	**tan**[1]	cut, slice (break)	VanBik 2009:175
	tan[1]	cut; slice; cut off (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1681; Bhaskararao 1996:1682
	tan[1]	cut off	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊtan/ˆtan	cut off (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**tɛŋ**	cut	So-Hartmann 1988:150
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tân**-I, tăn-II	amputate, cut, cross (as a river)	VanBik 2009:175
Lai (Falam)	**tán**-I, tàn-II	amputate, cut, cross	VanBik 2009:175
Lushai [Mizo]	**tan**	cut (with axe)	Marrison 1967
	tăn	chop or cut off, to amputate, to cross (river, road, hill etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:175
	tan	chop off (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2921
	tan	cut	Benedict 1972:22
	zang **tan**	circumcise	Matisoff 1987
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**tái**	chop or cut off (v.)	VanBik 2009:175
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**thən**	stab, poke [stabbed, poked] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**tan-**	cut, chop (a tree, finger, etc. with a dao) (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tan-tʃho-	sever, cut off (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tan	cut (with axe) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tan a	cut	Murry *et al.* 1978:27
	ten	cut (with knife) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ṭáṇ̱ à	cut a rope / cut (v.)	Acharya 1975
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**than**	cut	Benedict 1972:22
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***d(a)ʔn**	cut	Burling 1959:440
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**dán**	cut from above (giving a blow) (v.)	Bhat 1968
	dan	cut	Benedict 1972:22
	dan dé	please cut!	Bhat 1968
	dan páy	cut down (vt.)	Bhat 1968
	dan sáw	cut by chewing and making sound (v.)	Bhat 1968
	dan slay	cut plants into a shape (garden); tranlsate (v.)	Bhat 1968
	dan sláy	cut plants into a shape (as in a park) (v.)	Bhat 1968
	dan sráŋ	cut and make the surroundings of the house appear (v.)	Bhat 1968
	daŋ sráŋ	cut and make the surroundings of a house clear (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**daing**	cut (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	daiŋ	cut	Benedict 1972:22
Kokborok	**tan**	cut (v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	tan-k[h]lay	cut down	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**den**	cut	Benedict 1972:22
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**tan•-**	cut, to cut up, to slay, to slaughter (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	tan•chekchek-	cut into small pieces (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	tan•choleng-	cut a piece out of something (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	tan •pyrak-	cut open (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	tan •thong-	decapitate, cut off the head; to cut off (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**dan**	cut	Benedict 1972:22
	tan[31]	cut	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tan[31]	mow / cut (grass) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1342.19
	tan[31]	cut	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:601.47
4. Nungic			
Anong	**dan**	reap (cut with a sickle)	Benedict 1972:22
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	斷	cut off; decide	Baxter & Sagart 2011:589
Chinese (GSR #)	**0170a**	cut off; decide	Baxter & Sagart 2011:589
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**ton?**	cut off / decide / resolute	Baxter 1992:403
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**twanH**	cut off; decide	Baxter & Sagart 2011:589
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**duàn**	cut in two (be v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:587
	duàn	cut off; decide; cut in two	Baxter & Sagart 2011:589; Baxter & Sagart 2011:590

Chinese comparandum

斷 OC *__twân~d'wân__, *GSR* #170a 'cut off, decide, resolute'; Schuessler 2007:219 ***tôn?/s***; B & S 2011: ***t^{c}on?-s {t^{c}o [n] ?-s}***; Mand. **duàn**.
剸 OC *__twân__, *GSR* #168e 'cut'; Schuessler 2007:219 ***tôn~*ton?***; B & S 2011: (***t^{c}or***); Mand. **duān**.
膞 OC * __t̂i̱wɑn__, *GSR* #231k 'cut meat; slice'; Schuessler 2007:502 ***ton?~*don?***; B & S 2011: (***ton?***); Mand. **zhuǎn**.

(12) PTB *hak CUT

This promising root would welcome further support.

1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**hag** li	cut into pieces (v.)	Bhat 1968
	hag lub	cut everything (v.)	Bhat 1968
	hag rə	cut first (v.)	Bhat 1968
	hak ay	cut suddenly (v.)	Bhat 1968
	hak una	cut continuously (v.)	Bhat 1968
	ha kláb	cut with the sound klab klab (v.)	Bhat 1968
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**ak**	cut (with axe) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**ak**	cut (with axe) (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**hEk-**	cut (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Bantawa	**hek**	cut (v.)	Rai 1985
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**hək-**	cut (grain), to harvest (v.)	Allen 1975

(13) PCN *khju CUT

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**-kù?**	cut wood (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
Ao (Mongsen)	**k^{h}ù?**	cut wood (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Lotha Naga	**khu** chak	break (v.)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**kyü**	cut (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**kiu**	cut (generic) (v.)	Marrison 1967

(14) PTB *tsywar CUT / CHOP

This etymon is very similar to PTB ***ts(y)ap*** CHOP (§6.9.3), but we are keeping them separate for the time being. In the case of languages with eroded finals (like those of the Qiangic group), it is hard to tell which of these etyma to assign a reflex to.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsywar**	cut / chop	Matisoff 2003a:618; Benedict 1972:240
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**tśor**	cut, chop	Benedict 1972:240
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tɕal**	chop (tree)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:602.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ptɕal**	chop (tree)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:602.5
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**tśwar**	cut with a knife by one stroke	Benedict 1972:240
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Lanping)	thə[13]**ʃtʃɑ**[55]	chop down (trees) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1467.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	thə[13]**stʃɑ**[55]	chop (tree)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:602.11
Qiang (Longxi)	**tshuá**	cut down (tree); cut (bone)	Evans 1999:2099; Evans 1999:2100
	tshuá dà	chop meat	Evans 1999:1856
Qiang (Mawo)	**tuɑ**	chop / cut (meat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.08
Qiang (Taoping)	**tshuɑ**[55]	chop (tree)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:602.9
Zhaba (Daofu County)	a[33] **ʂtsa**[55]	chop / cut (meat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1296.14
7. Karenic			
Karen	**tθuɛ̱**[31]	cut (meat) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1339.50

(15) PCC *tshat-I, *tsha?-II CUT / CHOP

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***tshat**-I, tsha?-II	CUT / CHOP	VanBik 2009:586
Lai (Hakha)	**tshat**-I, tsha?-II	cut, chop, snap	VanBik 2009:586
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhàt**-I, chhàh-II	fetch or cut (long pieces of cane or creeper from the forest) (v.)	VanBik 2009:586

(16) PCN *laŋ CUT / CHOP

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***laŋ**	CUT, CHOP	Bruhn 2014a:III.207
**Ao*	*a-**laŋ**	CUT, HACK	Bruhn 2014a:II.346
Ao (Chungli)	a[2]-**laŋ**[2]	cut in half, hack (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.346
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**laŋ**	cut with hacking action (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**ləŋ**[1]-	cut, chop (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.207
	lüng a	cut	Murry *et al.* 1978:27

(17) PKC *?aat CUT / SEVER / SLICE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***?aat**	CUT / SEVER / SLICE	VanBik 2009:474
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**at**	cut	VanBik 2009:474
Sizang	**āt** hī	cut (slice)	VanBik 2009:474
Thado	**ʔât**-I, ʔàat-II	cut (rice paddy), meat, slash, make slashes	VanBik 2009:474

Tiddim	**a:t**^{3}	cut portion for someone; cut on someone's behalf (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:40
	a:t^{3}	cut portion for someone...	Bhaskararao 1994
	a:t^{1}	cut (slice), cut (tr)	VanBik 2009:474
	a:t^{1}	cut (tr.) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:39
	a:t^{1}	cut (tr.)	Bhaskararao 1994
	´a:t/à:t	cut (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**ʔaat**-I, ʔaʔ-II	cut, sever	VanBik 2009:474
Lai (Falam)	**ʔât**-I, ʔàʔ-II	cut, sever	VanBik 2009:474
Lushai [Mizo]	**ât**-I, àh-II	cut (as with knife, string, wire, etc.), to reap or cut down (as rice, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:474

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**á**	cut with a drawing motion (v.)	VanBik 2009:474

(18) PTB *d-ra-t CUT / SLASH

This etymon bears some resemblance to PTB ***ri:t** REAP / SCRAPE / SHAVE / CUT / SEVER (§6.3), but should be kept distinct.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-ra-t**	cut	Matisoff 2003a:609
	***ra**	cut	Benedict 1972:458

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**ra**	cut, chop; cut, reap, pine away	LaPolla 1987:169; Benedict 1972:458
Kokborok	**ra**	saw, slice, cut	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	ra-šɔ	slice through	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**ra ≍ rat**	cut; cut, chop	Benedict 1972:458; LaPolla 1987:169
Garo (Bangladesh)	**rat**-a	cut; cut by slicing (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.573-II:idx

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**dra**	cut (with knife) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	dra	cut (paper, cloth)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1167.01
	dra-ba	cut, clip, lop, dress, prune; cut, clip, lop, dress, prune, pare	LaPolla 1987:169; Benedict 1972:458

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**hra**	cut, chop; cut	LaPolla 1987:169; Benedict 1972:458

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**ɣa**	butcher, chop	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5653

4. Nungic

Anong	**rat**	cut, chop; sever	LaPolla 1987:169; Benedict 1972:458
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	a^{31} **xraat**^{55}	cut, chop	LaPolla 1987:169
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	a^{31} **xrat**^{55}	cut, chop	LaPolla 1987:169

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**hrá**	wound by a slight cut	LaPolla 1987:169
	hrá	wound by a slight cut (n.)	Benedict 1972:458
	hra'	wound by a slight cut	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Nanjian)	**ɣɯ̱**^{21}	cut	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:601.23

7. Karenic

Kayan (Pekon)	**rè**	cut with scissors (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
	t^{h}à **rè**	scissors [lit. iron-cut] (N.)	Manson 2010

Chinese comparandum

刺 OC ***lât**, *GSR* #272a 'wicked; cut, hurt'; Schuessler 2007:342 ***rât**; B & S 2011: ***r^{ʂ}at** (~***C.r^{ʂ}at ?**); Mand. **là**.
割 OC ***kât**, *GSR* #314d-e 'cut, harm'; Schuessler 2007:252 ***kât**; B & S 2011: ***Cə-k^{ʂ}at**; Mand. **gē**.
害 OC ***g'âd**, *GSR* #314a-b 'injure; harm'; Schuessler 2007:252 ***gâts**; B & S 2011: ***m-k^{ʂ}at-s**; Mand. **hài**.
犗 OC ***kɑd**, *GSR* #314c 'castrate'; Schuessler 2007:252 ***krâts**; B & S 2011: ***k^{ʂ}rat-s**; Mand. **jiè**.

(19) PTani *pe: CUT / SLICE

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***pe:**	cut / slice	Sun 1993a:94

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**pi**	cut / slice	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**pi:**	cut / slice	Sun 1993a
	pi:(-lin)	cut	Sun 1993b
	pi:-či(:)	slice (vegetables)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**pe:**	cut; slice; cut (with scissors); cut v. (~meat)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	pe:	cut (meat); sever (a rope); mow; cut (grass); scissor; saw (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1339.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1340.24,1342.24,1416.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1454.24
	pe: tak	cut / rip open (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1561.24
	pe:-tak	cut and gull (fish); cut into little pieces	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	pe: tuŋ	cut off / sever (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1341.24
Bokar Lhoba	ruɯk; **pe:**	cut (vegetable);cut meat	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:634.51
Galo	-**pee**	cut (result) (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	pee ci	cut (in two) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	pee nam	cut (small with knife) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	pee rik	slice off; snap (by cutting) (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'pee len	cut out (vt.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pe**	cut / slice	Sun 1993a
Milang	**pi**-ma	cut	Tayeng 1976

(20) PTB *mwa $\begin{matrix}\text{n}\\\text{t}\end{matrix}$ CUT / SLICE / CASTRATE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***mwan ≍ mwat**	cut / slice / castrate	Matisoff 2003a:603

1.1.2. Deng

Idu	a^{51}**me**^{55}	castrate (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991f:10.3.9
	ɑ^{51}**me**^{55}	castrate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:610.50
Yidu	(ɑ^{31}so^{55}) ɑ^{31}**me**^{55}	castrate (cocks) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1746.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***meet** SHAVE / PEEL OFF / PARE

**Chin*	***meet**	SHAVE / PEEL OFF / PARE	VanBik 2009:787

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**meet** khia	pare	VanBik 2009:787
Tiddim	**me:t**^{1}	shave, cut hair, pare the skin (of apples, cucumbers)	VanBik 2009:787
	me:t^{1}	shave; cut hair; pare the skin [of apples; cucumbe (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1106
	me:t^{1}	shave...	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**met**	scratch (with knife)	VanBik 2009:787

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**mêet**-I, mèet-II	peel off (skin), pare, shave (hair)	VanBik 2009:787
Lai (Hakha)	**meet**-I, meʔ-II	shave, peel off (skin), pare	VanBik 2009:787
Lushai [Mizo]	**mêet**-I, mèh-II	cut (the hair), to clip (as hair or wool), to shear (as wool or sheep, etc), to shave (v.)	VanBik 2009:787
	me:t	shave; scrape; cut (the hair) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2679

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**mat**-a	wound / cut (n.)	Weidert 1987:1057

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***me:t**	cut with a knife (v.)	French 1983:474

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**met**	cut (with knife) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Phom	**mei**	cut (with knife); cut (with axe) (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**mot** / **mon**	cut, slice, shave	Benedict 1972:99n283
	mot^{31}	cut	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	mot^{31}	cut up (vegetable) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1574.19
	mot^{31}	cut (vegetable)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:634.47
	mōn	cut fine; castrate (hog) (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:518

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**man** lik ca	castrate (v.)	Sharma 1991a:10.3.9

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Spiti	**men** coje	castrate (v.)	Bodh 1991:10.3.9

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Taoba)	**mɛ**^{55} ɣo^{55}	castrate (caponize); castrate	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:610.10
Xumi	**m̥ĩ**^{55} βɛ^{55}	castrate	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:610.20

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**mɯ**^{21}	castrate (v.)	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.9
Yi (Nanhua)	**mə**^{21}	castrate (cocks) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1746.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**mɯ**^{21}	castrate (caponize); castrate	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:610.23
Yi (Weishan)	**mɯ**^{55}	castrate (cocks) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1746.36

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**mɛ**^{33} lɑ^{55}	castrate (v.)	Luo Meizhen 1990:10.3.9
	mɛ^{33}la^{55}	castrate	Chen Kang 1986b:10.3.9
Jinuo	**mɐ**^{44}	castrate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:610.34
Sani [Nyi]	**mæ**^{33}	castrate, caponize	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:33.5
Yi (Sani)	**mæ**^{44}	castrate (cocks) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1746.39

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	**mio**^{35}	castrate (caponize); castrate	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:610.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**miɛ**^{55}	castrate (caponize); castrate	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:610.36

(21) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\text{m}\\\text{b}\end{matrix}$ rak CUT / TEAR / MAUL / LACERATE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***mrak**	cut; tear; cut, tear	Matisoff 2003a:602; Benedict 1972:147

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	džə **brau**	maul, claw, scratch	Benedict 1972:147

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	à **mjá**	torn, ragged	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:28
	mjàʔ	slash with claw (v.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:529
	mya	torn, ragged	Benedict 1972:147

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong]	**pra**	cut (with sharp instrument)	Benedict 1972:43n141

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**mjɑk** rɑɴ^{2}	tear (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:239.39
	mrá	very sharp, keen	Benedict 1972:147
	mrak	cut keenly; pungent	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:147
	mra'	very sharp, keen (cf. mrak)	Benedict 1976a
	thak **mrak**	sharp	Marrison 1967
	ə **mra ≍** ə **mya**	tear, maul, lacerate	Benedict 1972:147

Chinese comparandum

略 OC ***gl̥ɯk**, *GSR* #766v 'sharp'; Schuessler 2007:369 ***rak**; B & S 2011: ***rak {[r]ak}**; Mand. **lüè**.

(22) PKC *khluu-I, *khluuk-II FELL / CUT DOWN

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***khluu**-I, khluuk-II	FELL / CUT DOWN	VanBik 2009:1286

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**hlùu**-I, hlûʔ-II	fell, chop down	VanBik 2009:1286

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**chuk**	cut down, to fell a tree	VanBik 2009:1286

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thlŭu**-I, thluuk-II	fell, chop down (e.g. tree)	VanBik 2009:1286
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**thlū**	chop down, to fell a tree (v.)	VanBik 2009:1286

(23) PTB *taːr HANG UP / IMPALE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***taːr**	hang / impale	Matisoff 2003a:614; Benedict 1972:326
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***taar** POST / PUT ON (the wall) / HANG UP			
**Chin*	***taar**	POST / PUT ON (the wall) / HANG UP	VanBik 2009:218
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**táʔ-I**, **tàʔ-II**	post, display on the wall	VanBik 2009:218
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**tai**	put; affix killed animals (v.)	VanBik 2009:218
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**tăar**-INV	post, put s.th. on the wall	VanBik 2009:218
Lai (Hakha)	**tâar-I**, **tăar-II**	post, put s.th. on the wall	VanBik 2009:218
Lushai [Mizo]	**táar**	stick on a pole, to hang up, to put up (v.)	VanBik 2009:218
	tàw	hang up, as a skull (v.)	VanBik 2009:218
	taːr	stick on a pole, make / set up a landmark, hang up	Benedict 1972:326
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**tò**	post	VanBik 2009:218
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**tar**	impale	Benedict 1972:326
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	mə **than**	impale	Benedict 1972:326
	than	hang, as a sword at the side	Benedict 1972:326

(24) PTani *duɯ SKIN / FLAY

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***duɯ**	skin / flay (v.)	Sun 1993a:368
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	a-pin **di**	skin (v.)	Sun 1993b
	di	skin / flay (v.)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**duɯ**	skin; flay; peel, skin; skin (cattle) (v.)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1144.24
Bokar Lhoba	**duɯ**	skin / flay (v.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:603.51
Galo	**di**-nam	skin (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	diː nam	flay; skin (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**duɯ**	skin / flay (v.)	Sun 1993a

(25) PTB *$^{s}_{g}$-lyap SLICE / PARE / CUT OFF

This etymon was reconstructed as **lep** in *STC* #351.

The velar prefix is attested in Bodo, Thulung, and Jingpho.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***lep**	slice / pare / cut off	Benedict 1972:351
	***s-lep**	slice / pare off	Matisoff 2003a:599
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**le**-ka:	slice	NEFA (India) 1963
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hlip** ⪤ ***hlep** CUT (flesh) / SKIN (v.)			
**Chin*	***hlip** ⪤ hlep	CUT (flesh) / SKIN (v.)	VanBik 2009:1105
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**lìp**-INV	skin (animal), cut out the skin	VanBik 2009:1105
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hlep**-I, hle?-II	cut off, cut out the flesh or skin	VanBik 2009:1105
Lai (Falam)	**hlèp**-I, hlê?-II	cut off, cut out the flesh or skin	VanBik 2009:1105
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlep**	slice, pare, cut off	Benedict 1972:351
	hlèp-I, hlèh-II	cut off (generally by catching hold of with one hand and cutting off with the other), to cut off a piece of meat and give it to anyone (v.)	VanBik 2009:1105
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***ləp** CUT (v.)			
**Central Naga*	***ləp**	CUT (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.157
**Ao*	*a-**ləp**	CUT (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.362
Ao (Chungli)	**-lʉ̀p**	cut (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
	a^{3}-**ləp**^{1}	cut (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.362
	a **lep**	cut (with knife) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ləp^{3}taŋ^{1}	sever, cut off (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.045
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**lep** lak	cut (with knife) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**làp**	cut, cut off (v.)	Coupe 2007
Yimchungrü	**lip** khi	cut (v.)	Kumar 1973b:33
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**rep**	cut	Bhat 1969:87
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**dəb**	piece / slice	Bhat 1968
	kələb	slice	Bhat 1968
	léb	cut off with one stroke (v.)	Bhat 1968
	lep i	cut by rubbing; sow (v.)	Bhat 1968
	per **leb**	slice	Bhat 1968
	pəl **lab**	slice	Bhat 1968
	reb	cut by rubbing (v.)	Bhat 1968
	rep i	cut by rubbing	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**lep**	slice, pare, cut off	Benedict 1972:351
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**rep**	slice, pare, cut off	Benedict 1972:351
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	gə **lèp**	slice / pare off	Matisoff 2003a:376
	lèp	slice, pare, cut off	Benedict 1972:351
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**lip**	slice, cut in slices (v.)	Benedict 1972:351
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	**rub**-ue	cut (with knife)	Ebert 1997
	rup-	cut (with knife)	Ebert 1997
	rup ma	cut (with knife)	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**lE:p**-	trim with an adze <cut>	Michailovsky 1989b
	lɛːp-u	slice, saw	Matisoff 2003a:376
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**khlep**-	<cut> to peel, to shave off (thin slice)	Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**wələʔ**-	slice (thicker) (vt.)	Caughley 2000

(26) PKar *pla^{B} SPLIT (bamboo strip)

7. Karenic			
**Karen [Burling]*	***bla**^{2}	split (bamboo strip)	Luangthongkum 2013:272
**Karen*	***pla**^{B}	split (bamboo strip)	Luangthongkum 2013:272
Bwe	**plɛ**^{33}	split (bamboo strip)	Luangthongkum 2013:272
Kayaw	**pla**^{11}	split (bamboo strip)	Luangthongkum 2013:272
Pwo (Northern)	**bla**^{33}	split (bamboo strip)	Luangthongkum 2013:272
Pwo (Southern)	**bla**^{55}	split (bamboo strip)	Luangthongkum 2013:272
Sgaw (Northern)	**bla**$^{31\sim}$	split (bamboo strip)	Luangthongkum 2013:272
Sgaw (Southern)	**bla**^{45,}	split (bamboo strip)	Luangthongkum 2013:272

(27) PNC *ʔek-I, *ʔeʔ-II SPLIT

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
**Northern Chin*	***ʔek**-I, ʔeʔ-II	SPLIT	VanBik 2009:505
Sizang	**ek** hī	split	VanBik 2009:505
Thado	**ʔêʔ**-I, ʔèe-II	split	VanBik 2009:505
Tiddim	**ek**^{3} > eʔ^{3}	split into two (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:287
	ek^{3}/**eʔ**^{3}	split into two	Bhaskararao 1994
	ʔek^{3} > ʔeʔ^{3}	split into two	VanBik 2009:505
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**ek**	split; split wood with an axe (v.)	Marrison 1967; Bhaskararao 1996:2301

(28) PTB *(d)ziːt ⪤ *(t)siːt SPLIT

It seems likely that this root is allofamically related to PLB ***m-dzy(u/i)t** TEAR / RIP (§6.9.2).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(d)ziːt** ⪤ (t)siːt	split	Matisoff 2003a:588
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**chüt**	divide (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**šìt**	split lengthwise	Matisoff 1974:343
	ʃit^{31}	split up (bamboo strips) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1555.19
	ʔəšìt	be stripped	Matisoff 1972b:88
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**zed**	broken off, damaged, injured	Matisoff 1972b:88
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***m-dziːt**^{L} ⪤ ***m-tsiːt**^{H} SPLIT			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***C-tšit** or **ʔ-džit**	split	Matisoff 1972b:88(a)
	***m-dziːt**^{L} ⪤ **m-tsiːt**^{H}	split	Matisoff 2003a:588
	***Ntsit**	split ((HIGH).)	Matisoff 1972b:88(b)
	***Ntsit**	split	Matisoff 1972b:88(b)
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**cit**	split; divide into several parts	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**cit**	quarter, division (n.)	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2. Loloish			
PNL	**Ntsit**^{L}	split	Chen Kang 1986a:172.
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	**dzi**^{21}	split up (bamboo strips); split up (bamboo pole) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1555.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1557.43
Lahu (Black)	**jê?**	split longitudinally	Matisoff 1988a:572
	jî?	split lengthwise; split longitudinally	Matisoff 1974:343; Matisoff 1972b:88(b) [a]
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	**tšhìt**	split	Matisoff 1972b:88(a)

[a] *HPTB* (p.351, note i): "*TSR* has Lahu **jî?**, but DL:572 correctly gives **jê?** as the basic form."

(29) PKC *khleek-I, *khleʔ-II SPLIT / CRACK

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***khleek**-I, khleʔ-II	SPLIT / CRACK	VanBik 2009:1302
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-cheh	split, crack (v.)	VanBik 2009:1302
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thleek**-I, thleʔ-II	split (as clothes), crack (as bamboo)	VanBik 2009:1302

(30) PTB *dzi$^{k}_{ŋ}$ SPLIT / MINCE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzik** ⪤ **dziŋ**	split / mince	Matisoff 2003a:588
1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**dzɔk**^{33}	mince (meat) with knife	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:635.52
1.2.2. Central Chin: ***tsik** CUT (solid object)			
**Central Chin*	***tsik**	CUT (solid object)	VanBik 2009:530
Lai (Hakha)	**tsik**-I, tsiʔ-II	cut solid thing (as wood, metal)	VanBik 2009:530
Lushai [Mizo]	**tsìk**	cut (metal) by use of chisel and hammer (v.)	VanBik 2009:530

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**câñ**	chop, mince, cut	Benedict 1976a

(31) PCC *thleer SPLIT / SLIT

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***thleer**	SPLIT / SLIT	VanBik 2009:1301
Lai (Hakha)	**thlêer**-I, thlěer-II	split, slit (as bamboos)	VanBik 2009:1301
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlěer**	split, to slit, to tear (v.)	VanBik 2009:1301
	thleːr	rip up; split (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2982

6.10.1 Unintentional loss - Misplace

(1) PKC *law-I, *lawʔ-II; *hlaw-I, *hlawʔ-II DISAPPEAR / LOSE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***law**-I, lawʔ-II; hlaw-I, hlawʔ-II	DISAPPEAR / LOSE	VanBik 2009:1011

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**lou**^{3} > lou^{3}	not to be	VanBik 2009:1011

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**hlàw**-INV	disappear, lose	VanBik 2009:1011
Lai (Hakha)	**lăw**-I, lawʔ-II	disappear, lose	VanBik 2009:1011
Lushai [Mizo]	**hloh**	lose	Marrison 1967
	hloh	lose (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2391
	hlòh-INV	lose	VanBik 2009:1011

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**lāo**	lose	VanBik 2009:1011

(2) PKC *maŋ-I, *man-II EXTINCT / DISAPPEAR / LOST

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***maŋ**-I, man-II	EXTINCT / DISAPPEAR / LOST	VanBik 2009:764

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**mang** hī	disappear	VanBik 2009:764
Thado	gàm **máŋ**	get lost (in the jungle)	Thirumalai 1972:43
	mâŋ-I, màn-II	lost (be v.)	VanBik 2009:764
	màn	lose	Thirumalai 1972:66
Tiddim	**mang**^{1} > man^{2}	lost, disappear	VanBik 2009:764
	mang^{1} > man^{1}	lost; disappear (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1056
	maŋ^{1}**/man**^{1}	lost, disappear	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊmaŋ/ˆman	lost (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**mue(ng)**	become extinct, die out completely	VanBik 2009:764

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**mâŋ**	become extinct, to die out, to be exterminated (v.)	VanBik 2009:764

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**mang**	lose	Marrison 1967

(3) PTani *ñok LOSE (v.t.)

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***ñok**	lose (v.t.)	Sun 1993a:246

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	ñeː**-ñok**	lose (v.t.)	Sun 1993a
	ñeː**-ñok**	lose	Sun 1993b
	n̥eː **n̥ok**	lose; mislay; lose (sthg.) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1281.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1624.24
Bokar Lhoba	n̥ɛː**n̥ok**	lose / misplace	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:677.51

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ñok**	lose (v.t.)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**n̥ok**-paʔ	lose (something)	Sun 1993b
Milang	mi-**nuok**-ma	lose	Tayeng 1976

(4) PTk *maaŋ LOST

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***maaŋ**	lost	Mortensen 2012:704
Tusom	kʰə-**muə̃**	lost	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.216
Ukhrul	kʰə-**maŋ**	disappear; to be lost	Mortensen 2012

6.10.2 Intentional loss - Abandon

(1) TGTM *ᴬkʰlaː ABANDON / CAST AWAY

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*ᴬ**kʰlaː**	abandon / cast away	Mazaudon 1994:131
Manang (Prakaa)	³**kʰya:**-	abandon / cast away	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0794b
	¹**kʰjaː**-	abandon / cast away	Mazaudon 1994:131
Tamang (Risiangku)	¹**kʰlaː**	abandon / ceaseoverturn / divorce	Mazaudon 1994:131
Tamang (Sahu)	**khle** them-pā	desert (v.)	Hale 1973:11b2.21
	khle them-pā(n)	leave behind (v.)	Hale 1973:11b1.32
	kʰle tʰem-pa	abandon; leave behind; desert (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:17.B.9; Taylor *et al.* 1972:22.A.32; Taylor *et al.* 1972:22.B.21
	¹**kʰlaː**	throw away / to discard (flu	Mazaudon 1994:131
Thakali (Marpha)	⁴⁴˒⁴⁴**hɬa**-ba	throw / give up / renounce	Mazaudon 1994:132
Thakali (Tukche)	²**kʰja**	discard	Mazaudon 1994:132

(2) PTB *gar LEAVE / ABANDON

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gar**	leave; abandon; leave, abandon	Matisoff 2003a:590; Benedict 1972:15

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**gar**	go away; leave (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gar alaŋ	leave behind (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gar bu	leave behind (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gar laŋ	leave behind (v.)	Bhat 1968
	na **gar**	leave; give up (v.)	Bhat 1968
	taŋ **gár**	leave (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**gar**	leave, quit, abandon	Benedict 1972:15

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**gal**	leave, quit, abandon	Benedict 1972:15

4. Nungic

Anong	**gar**	leave, quit, abandon	Benedict 1972:15

(3) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{b}\\\textbf{p}\end{matrix}$ ral LEAVE / DEPART / SEPARATE

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***brɨal**	divide / separate	Coblin 1986:65

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***bral ⪤ pral**	leave / depart / separate	Matisoff 2003a:585

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**phăl**^{53}	pull up (weeds); pull (out)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.23; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.48
	phɹɯl^{55}lɑ^{35}	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.23
	phɹɯl^{55}lɑ^{35}	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.23
	phɹɯl^{55}lɑ^{35}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.48

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**ḥbral**	separate	Matisoff 1974:322
	ḥp'ral	separate	Matisoff 1974:322
	fibral	separate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1321.01
	fiphral	separate (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1322.01

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**phal** si-	collapse (v.)	Allen 1975

Chinese comparandum

班 OC ***pwɑn**, *GSR* #190a-b 'divide, distribute; classify; rank'; Schuessler 2007:155 ***prân**; Mand. **bān**.

(4) PCC *zuat-I, *zuaʔ-II SPARE / LEAVE

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***zuat**-I, zuaʔ-II	SPARE / LEAVE	VanBik 2009:1236
Lai (Hakha)	**zuat**-I, zuaʔ-II	spare, leave	VanBik 2009:1236
Lushai [Mizo]	**zûat**-I, zùah-II	spare, to leave (v.)	VanBik 2009:1236

6.10.3 Wide separation - Scatter

(1) PCC *triaw DISPERSE / SCATTER

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***triaw**	DISPERSE / SCATTER	VanBik 2009:1317
Lai (Hakha)	**trìaw**-I, trĭaw-II	disperse, scatter	VanBik 2009:1317
Lushai [Mizo]	**tìau**	disperse, to scatter (v.)	VanBik 2009:1317

(2) PKC *thek-I, *theʔ-II SCATTER / SPATTER / SPRINKLE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***thek**-I, theʔ-II	SCATTER / SPATTER / SPRINKLE	VanBik 2009:405

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**theh**	scatter, spatter	VanBik 2009:405
Thado	**thèe**-INV	scatter	VanBik 2009:405
Tiddim	**theʔ**^{3}	sprinkle; splash (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1878
	theʔ^{3}	sprinkle, splash	VanBik 2009:405; Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**thie**	sprinkle (e.g. powder)	VanBik 2009:405

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thek**-I, theʔ-II	scatter, sprinkle	VanBik 2009:405

(3) PCC *phul-I, *phulʔ-II SPRINKLE

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***phul**-I, phulʔ-II	SPRINKLE	VanBik 2009:357
Lai (Hakha)	**phulʔ**-INV	sprinkle (as salt on meat, curry, etc)	VanBik 2009:357
Lushai [Mizo]	**phûl**	sprinkle (as powder, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:357

(4) PBod *g-twar SPRINKLE

This etymon is set up for Proto-Bodic; it also appears in rGyalrongic, where it is likely a borrowing. (This etymology is due to Liberty Lidz.)

2.1.2. Bodic

Motuo Menba	**tor**	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.07
Cuona Menba	**tor**^{55} ro^{31}	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Batang)	**tʊ**^{53}	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tor**^{55}	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.02
Tibetan (Written)	**gtor**	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.01

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **ktor**	water; sprinkle; irrigate; splash (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1422.11; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1554.11
Caodeng	kɐ-**χtor** ~ kɐ-**χtɔr**	scatter; sprinkle	Sun 1997a

(5) PTB *pr $\begin{matrix}\textbf{y}\\\textbf{w}\end{matrix}$ ak SPRINKLE

This etymon is apparently distinct from PTB ***m/s-prat ⪤ *pran** SPRINKLE / SPRAY (§6.10.3). The ***-ya-** medial is reconstructed to account for forms such as Apatani **prjɯʔ-pu**, Gurung **cʰiḍ praːqba**, and Yi Nanhua **ʐi**^{33} **phiɑ**^{33}, while the ***-wa-** medial accounts for the Central Loloish, Naxi, and Bai forms.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**prjɯʔ**-pu	sprinkle	Sun 1993b
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*ᴬ**pʰrok**	sprinkle pure water on s.o.	Mazaudon 1994:681
Gurung	chiD **prāːq** bā	sprinkle (water of purificatio (v.)	Hale 1973:11b2.24
Gurung (Ghachok)	cʰiɖ **praːq** ba	sprinkle (water of purification)	Glover 1972:11.B.2.24
Tamang (Risiangku)	¹**pʰrok**	sprinkle lightly	Mazaudon 1994:681
Tamang (Sahu)	ʾki **phrok**-pā	sprinkle (water of purificatio (v.)	Hale 1973:11b2.24
	ʾki **pʰrok**-pa	sprinkle pure water on s.o. (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:22.B.26
	¹**pʰrok**	sprinkle pure water on s.o.	Mazaudon 1994:681
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *{C}-pyakᴸ ⩙ *Npyakᴴ SPRINKLE (with water)			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***Npyak**ᴴ	water, sprinkle with	Matisoff 1972b:91(a)
	***{C}-pyak**ᴸ	water, sprinkle with	Matisoff 1972b:91(b)
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Nanhua)	**phiɑ**⁵⁵ phi⁵⁵	splash / sprinkle (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1554.37
	ʑi³³ **phiɑ**³³	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.37
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu	**phɯ**⁵⁵	water; sprinkle; irrigate; spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1422.40; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.40
Lisu (Northern)	**phʏ**⁵⁵	water; spurt, gush; spray, sprinkle (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**phɪ**²	splash / sprinkle (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1554.39
	phɪ² xʏ¹¹	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.39
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi	**phɣ**⁵⁵	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.45
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**phu**⁵⁵	splash; sprinkle; spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1554.48; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.48

(6) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\text{m}\\\text{s}\end{matrix}$ -prat ⩙ *pran SPRINKLE / SPRAY

This etymon is apparently distinct from PTB ***pr(y/w)ak*** SPRINKLE (§6.10.3). An ***m-*** prefix is attested in Kaman [Miju] **mphlɑt**⁵⁵, while an ***s-*** prefix is attested in Daofu **sphro**. The Burmish and Dulong forms support the variant with a nasal final. (This etymology is due to Liberty Lidz.)

1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**mphlɑt**³⁵	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.23
2.1.2. Bodic			
Cuona Menba	**phɔt**⁵³	splash / sprinkle (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1554.06
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**phot-**	sow, scatter, sprinkle (v.)	Allen 1975
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**sphro**	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.12
4. Nungic			
Dulong	**pɹɑm**⁵³	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.20
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**phjɑ̃**⁵⁵	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.27
Burmese (Written)	**phjɑn**³	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.26
	phrân	sprinkle, scatter liquid	Benedict 1976a
	phyân	sprinkle, scatter liquid	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**pjat**²¹	sprinkle / spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.31
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**phjun**²¹	water; sprinkle; irrigate; splash; spray (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1554.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1595.30

(7) PTani *krat² (?) SPRINKLE / WATER (PLANT)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***krat**² (?)	sprinkle / water (plant)	Sun 1993a:393
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	tu-**kjɯː**	sprinkle / water (plant)	Sun 1993a
	ɯ-si tu-**kjɯː**	spray water (on plant)	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	tik-**kat**	sprinkle / water (plant)	Sun 1993a

6.10.4 Intentional separation - Sort

(1) PNN *Ç-səl CHOOSE

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***Ç-səl**	choose (v.)	French 1983:468
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	**li**	choose	Marrison 1967
Phom	**je**	choose	Marrison 1967

(2) PTB *dam CHOOSE

This etymon is provisionally set up for PTB, but may just be a Tibetan word that has been borrowed into adjacent languages. Further confirmation of this root outside of the Tibetosphere would solidify this reconstruction. (This etymology is due to Liberty Lidz.)

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	**dam**	choose / pick (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1675.24
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ndem**	choose / pick (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1675.05
Tibetan (Batang)	**dɑ̃**¹³	choose / pick (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1675.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tam**¹³²	choose / pick (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1675.02
Tibetan (Written)	**ɦdem**	choose / pick (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1675.01
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*ᴬ**dam**	choose (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:508
Gurung (Ghachok)	**tãh** ba	choose (v.)	Glover 1972:7.B.3.10
Gurung	³**tã-**	choose (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:508
Tamang (Risiangku)	³**tam**	choose	Mazaudon 1994:508
Tamang (Sahu)	**tahm**-pa	choose (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:19.10
	³**tam**	choose, to compare	Mazaudon 1994:508
Thakali (Tukche)	**ʈɔhm**-lɔ	choose	Hari 1971:7.B.3.10 1
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Lanping)	xə¹³**dɑ̃u**¹³	choose / pick (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1675.09
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	ˈ**dɑm** bɑi	choose it (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1181

(3) PTB *s-ril CHOOSE / FASTIDIOUS

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ril**	choose / be fastidious	Matisoff 2003a:610
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hril** CHOOSE / SELECT			
**Chin*	***hril**	CHOOSE / SELECT	VanBik 2009:1076
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**ghi ⩙ ghü**	choose (v.)	VanBik 2009:1076
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**hrĭl-I**, **hrìl-II**	choose, select	VanBik 2009:1076
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Sangtam	**thro**	choose	Marrison 1967
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**rwê**	select, choose; fastidious	Benedict 1976a
	rwe:	choose	Marrison 1967
	rwe³	choose / pick (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1675.26
	rwe³	pick / select	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:669.39
Marma	**rwí**	choose	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:240-2

(4) PTB *praw COLLAPSE

6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**pzau**⁵⁵	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.41
Burmese (Rangoon)	**phjo**²²	pull down (a house)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1175.27
	pjo²²	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.27
	pjo²²	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**pjo**²²	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.40
Burmese (Written)	**phro**²	pull down (a house)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1175.26
	pro²	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.26
	pro²	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.26
	pro²	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**phjoʔ**⁵⁵	pull down (a house)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1175.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**phjɔːʔ**⁵⁵	pull down (a house)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1175.33
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	**phāu**	fall, collapse as house	Solnit 1989

(5) PKC *kh(r)en DIVIDE / SEPARATE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***kh(r)en**	DIVIDE / SEPARATE	VanBik 2009:1342
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**seh** khen	divide	VanBik 2009:1342
Sizang	**khen** hī	separate	VanBik 2009:1342
Thado	**khĕn**-I, khèn-II	divide, separate	VanBik 2009:1342
Tiddim	**khen**²	separate, divide, apportion	VanBik 2009:1342
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**khên**-I, khĕn-II	separate	VanBik 2009:1342
Lai (Falam)	**ṭhĕn**-I, ṭhèn-II	separate	VanBik 2009:1342
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭhén**	divide, to separate, to sunder, to part (v.)	VanBik 2009:1342
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chhài**	divide, to separate (v.)	VanBik 2009:1342

(6) PKC *kaar PART / SEPARATE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***kaar**	PART / SEPARATE	VanBik 2009:304
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**m**-kai	part, separate (fingers, legs)	VanBik 2009:304
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**kăar**-INV	part, separate (e.g. fingers, legs)	VanBik 2009:304

(7) PTani *pu PICK (FLOWER, FRUIT)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***pu**	pick (flower, fruit)	Sun 1993a:291
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**pu**	pluck	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**pu**	pick (flower, fruit); pick (flower)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pu-čuk	uproot	Sun 1993b
	puɪ-ti	pick (flower)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**pu**	pick (flower, fruit); pick (e.g. fruit); pluck, pick	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	pu	pluck (flowers) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1782.24
Galo	**pu**-nam	pluck (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**pu**-nam	pick fruit	Simon 1976

Tagin	**pu**-nam	pluck (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pu**	pick (flower, fruit)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**pu**	pick (flower)	Sun 1993b

(8) PKC *law-I, *loʔ-II PICK (fruit) / PLUCK

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***law**-I, loʔ-II	PICK (fruit) / PLUCK	VanBik 2009:1038
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**lôw**-I, lòo-II	pick (fruit)	VanBik 2009:1038
Tiddim	**lou**^{1} > loʔ^{3}	pick	VanBik 2009:1038
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**lâw**-I, loʔ-II	pick fruit, pluck	VanBik 2009:1038
Lai (Falam)	**láw**-I, lòʔ-II	pick fruit, pluck	VanBik 2009:1038
Lushai [Mizo]	**lŏ-I**, **làwh-II**	pluck, pick or gather (as flowers, fruit, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1038
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**láo** ≍ lyú	pick as fruits and flowers (v.)	VanBik 2009:1038

(9) PTani *tɯ PICK UP

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***tɯ**	pick up	Sun 1993a:292
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	ǰo-**tu**	pick up	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	ka-**ti**	pick up	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**tɯː**	pick up	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	tɯː	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.24
Bokar Lhoba	**tɯ**	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.51
Galo	**‘ti** caa	pick up (vt.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**tɯ**	pick up	Sun 1993a

(10) PTk *ʃup PICK UP

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***ʃup**	pick up	Mortensen 2012:635
Tusom	**su**-kʰə-li	scoop out	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.082
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃup**	pick up stones etc. from rice	Mortensen 2012

(11) PTB *s-g-ruk PICK UP

Some languages (e.g., Lahu) have evidently treated the initial velar as a prefix, and dropped it.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-g-ruk**	pick up	Matisoff 2003a:611
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**dʐu**ʔ^{53}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂu**^{132}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.02
	tʂuʔ^{13}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.2
Tibetan (Written)	**sgrug**	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.01
	sgrug	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.1
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***k-rok**	pick up / retrieve by picking up	Matisoff 1972b:187; Matisoff 1972b:187
	***k-ruk**^{H}	pick up	Matisoff 2003a:611
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ku**^{31}	pick up	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ku**ʔ^{55}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.28
	kuʔ^{55}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.41
Achang (Luxi)	**kui**^{35}	pick up	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ku**ʔ^{55}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.29
Bola (Luxi)	**kau**ʔ^{31}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**kɑu**ʔ^{4}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**kɑu**ʔ^{44}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.40
Burmese (Written)	**kok**	pick up, pick out, select	Benedict 1976a
	kɔk	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.39
	kɔk^{4}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**kauk**^{31}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.31
Maru [Langsu]	**kauk**^{31}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ku**ʔ^{21}; **kɯ̲i**^{51}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.42
	kɯ̲i^{51}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.30
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**kɤ**^{33}tsʮ^{24}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.47
Nasu	**kɔ 44**	pick up / retrieve by picking up	Matisoff 1972b:187
Yi (Dafang)	**kə**^{33}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.22
Yi (Mile)	**kɯ**^{33}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**kɛ**^{33}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**kɯ̲**^{33}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.37
Yi (Wuding)	**kɔ**^{33}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**ko**^{42}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.34
	ko^{42}thɯ^{33}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**kɛ**^{42}	pick up	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**gɔ33**	pick up, gather	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɣɔ**^{54}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.43
Lahu (Black)	**ɣɔ̂ʔ ~ vɔ̂ʔ**	pick up / retrieve by picking up	Matisoff 1972b:187
	ɣɔ^{54}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ɣɔ**^{6}	pick up	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**gaw3**	pick up / retrieve by picking up	Matisoff 1972b:187
Lisu (Central)	**gaw**^{3}	pick up (off ground) (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**go̲**^{33}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.40
	go^{44}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.27
Lisu (Northern)	**gɔ**^{33}	glean (gather extra crop fallen in field); pick up (V.)	Bradley 1994
	gɔ^{33}wa^{33}	pick up	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}bæ^{33}**gɔ**^{33}	pick up remnants; wordy	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**qɤ**^{33}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**g‘o HS**	pick up / retrieve by picking up	Matisoff 1972b:187
Hani (Hu T’an)	**ɣu 33c**	pick up / retrieve by picking up	Matisoff 1972b:187
Hani (Dazhai)	**ɣu̲**^{33}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**u̲**^{33}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**kɣ̲**^{33}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɣo̲**^{33}	pick up	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**y̲**^{33}	pick up	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:556.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**y̲**^{33}	pick up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.42
Mpi	**koʔ**^{3}	pick up (from below)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**koe45**	pick up (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:132153
Sila	**kɔ33**	pick up (v.)	Kato Takashi 2008:53
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**kʌ**^{33}	pick up	Pelkey 2011:643
Southern Muji	**ko**^{21}	pick up	Pelkey 2011:643
Hlepho Phowa	**kɔ**^{33}	pick up	Pelkey 2011:643
Phuza	**kwʌ**^{33}	pick up	Pelkey 2011:643
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ku**˩	pick up (from the ground) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3490
Na (Yongning)	**kv**˧**kv**˥	pick up (from the ground), to gather (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ka̲**^{21} (tshɻ^{21})	pick up (food with chopsticks) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1413.48

(12) PTB *d-kew SCRATCH

This root is called ‘Proto-Kuki-Naga’ in *STC* p. 68. The reconstructed **d-** prefix is apparently motivated by the Lakher (Mara) **tɬə-** prefix.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-kew**	scratch	Matisoff 2003a:231
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**khei**	pick out or dig out (as a thorn) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2559
	kheuʔ**~khei**	pick (as a sore), dig out (as a thorn) (v.)	Benedict 1972:p.68
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	tɬə **khei**	pick (as a sore), dig out (as a thorn) (v.)	Benedict 1972:p.68
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tusom	kʰə-tə-**ku**	scratch	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.113
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ar **ke**	scratch the soil for grain (birds) (v.)	Marrison 1967

(13) PTani *pan SEPARATE (verbal particle)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***pan**	separate (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a:343
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**-pe**	separate (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**-pin**	separate (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**-pen**	separate (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	gu:**-pen**	separate	Sun 1993b
	gu: **pen**	separate (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1322.24
	ka-**pen** ra:	divorce	Sun 1993b
	loŋ **pen**	separate (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1322.24
Galo	**-‘pen**	separate (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	‘cə **pen**	partition (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘laa **pen**	divide amongst oneselves (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘pen nam	partition (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘pum **pen**	separate (from a group) (v.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**-pan**	separate (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a

(14) PKC *ɗa $\begin{matrix}\text{l}\\\text{n}\end{matrix}$ SEPARATE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗal** ≍ ɗan	SEPARATE	VanBik 2009:105
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**dal**	debar	VanBik 2009:105
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dâl**-I, dăl-II	separate, debar (v.)	VanBik 2009:105
Lai (Falam)	**dàn**-INV	separate, debar (v.)	VanBik 2009:105

(15) PTB *s-pak SEPARATE / DISMANTLE / COLLAPSE

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***phak**	dismantle	Coblin 1986:64

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**phak**-	divide up objects, loads, separate off (vt.)	Caughley 2000
Magar	**bhā**-ke	separate (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.82
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**pu**^{55}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.18
Guiqiong	**pa**^{55}	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.16
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***pak**	collapse / dismantle ((HIGH).)	Matisoff 1972b:65(a)
	***pak**	collapse / dismantle	Matisoff 1972b:65(a)
	***ʔ-pak**^{H}	collapse	Matisoff 2003a:606
	***ʔpak**	collapse / dismantle	Matisoff 1972b:65(b)
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Liangshan)	**po**^{21}	break up (separate); thresh	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	pɔ^{33}	split (separate)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**bɯ**^{33}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**bi̱**^{33}	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.37
	bɯ^{21}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.24
	bɯ^{33}	separate; separate (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1321.37; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1322.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**by**^{21}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.23
Yi (Weishan)	**by**^{21}	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.36
	by^{21}	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.36
	by^{55}	separate (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1322.36
	bi̱^{33}	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.36
	bi̱^{33}	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.36
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	pe^{42}**pha**^{42}	separate (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1322.44
	pjə^{42}**pha**^{42}	separate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1321.44
Kucong	**pa35**	collapse	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**phɑ**^{54}bɑ^{31}	separate (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1322.43
	phɑ^{54}dɑ^{21}	separate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1321.43
Lahu (Black)	**pâʔ**	collapse / come undone	Matisoff 1972b:65(b)
	phâʔ	unfasten / dismantle	Matisoff 1972b:65(a)
	pʌ^{54}bʌ^{31}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**pa**^{6}	collapse	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**pɯ**^{33}	collapse; landslide (V.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **pàq** ?	open up, split	Hansson 1989:531
Akha	**pa HS**	break / split	Matisoff 1972b:65(b)
Hani (Caiyuan)	**pa̱**^{33}khɔ^{33}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.30
Hani (Shuikui)	**pa**^{33}kɔ^{33}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**pa**^{33}kɔ^{33}	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.42
	pa^{33}kɔ^{33}	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.42
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phuza	**bɯ**^{55}tɬa^{33}	collapse; topple down	Pelkey 2011:843

7. Karenic: ***paʔ**^{D} BROKEN / SPLIT / SEPARATE

**Karen*	***paʔ**^{D}	broken, split, separate	Luangthongkum 2013:36
**Karen [Burling]*	***phaʔ**^{2}	broken, split, separate	Luangthongkum 2013:36
Bwe	**pha**^{33}	broken, split, separate	Luangthongkum 2013:36
Kayah	**phe**^{55}	broken, split, separate	Luangthongkum 2013:36
Kayan	**phaʔ**^{45}	broken, split, separate	Luangthongkum 2013:36
Kayan (Pekon)	**p**^{h}**a̱**	separate (V.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**phɔ**^{33}	broken, split, separate	Luangthongkum 2013:36
Pa-O (Northern)	**paʔ**^{21}	broken, split, separate	Luangthongkum 2013:36
Pa-O (Southern)	**paʔ**^{21}	broken, split, separate	Luangthongkum 2013:36
Pwo (Northern)	**phaʔ**^{45}	broken, split, separate	Luangthongkum 2013:36
Pwo (Southern)	**phaʔ**^{21}	broken, split, separate	Luangthongkum 2013:36
Sgaw (Southern)	**phaʔ**^{21}	broken, split, separate	Luangthongkum 2013:36
Sgaw (Northern)	**phaʔ**^{45}	broken, split, separate	Luangthongkum 2013:36

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**pɯ̃**^{55}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.37
Bai (Dali)	**pɑ**^{44}xɯ^{55}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**pɑ**^{44}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.36

Chinese comparandum

Coblin?

(16) PKC *khlay SEPARATE / REMOVE / TRANSFER

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***khlay**	SEPARATE / REMOVE / TRANSFER	VanBik 2009:1299
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**hlêy**	transfer (sth.) from one place to another	VanBik 2009:1299
Tiddim	**khei**^{1}	remove a thorn etc. from the body; operate surgically	VanBik 2009:1299
	khei^{1}	remove a thorn etc. from the body; operate surgica (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:762
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-chei	separated, disjoined, disconnected (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1299
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thlây**-I, thlăy-II	separate, remove	VanBik 2009:1299
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlěi**	separate, to divide, to distinguish between, to sift (v.)	VanBik 2009:1299
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**thléi**	separate (v.)	VanBik 2009:1299

Chinese comparandum

諺 OC ***diɑ** ~ ***ŋ̂iɑ**, *GSR* #3l 'separate (v.)'; Schuessler 2007:187 ***d-lai** ~ ***k-hlaiʔ** ; Mand. **chí** ~ **chǐ**.
拸 OC ***tʼiɑ**, *GSR* #3j 'cleave, separate, remove'; Schuessler 2007:187 ***rhaiʔ**; Mand. **chǐ**.
胣 OC ***tʼiɑ** ~ ***diɑ**, *GSR* #4g' 'disembowel'; Schuessler 2007:187 ***rhaiʔ** ~ ***laiʔ**; Mand. **chǐ** ~ **yǐ**.
枲 OC ***tʼiɑ** ~ ***dʼiɑ**, *GSR* #4y 'cleave wood following the fibers'; Schuessler 2007:187 ***rhaiʔ** ~ ***draiʔ**; Mand. **zhì**.
他 OC ***tʼâ**, *GSR* #4c' 'other; another'; Schuessler 2007:504 ***lhâi**; B & S 2011: ***l̥**^{ʂ}**aj** (E. dial ***l̥**^{ʂ}**-** › ***th-**); Mand. **tā** ~ **tuō**.
坼 OC ***tʼăk**, *GSR* #792d 'split, be rent; fissure'; Schuessler 2007:187 ***thrâk**; B & S 2011: ***Nə-q**^{hʂ}**‹r›ak**; Mand. **chè**.

(17) PTB *pryak SEPARATE / SPLIT

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	di-**p**^{h}**rjɯʔ**	separate (v.)	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**pí**	separate	NEFA (India) 1963
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**phi**	separate [separated] (v.)	Coupe 2007
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**bi** zid	expose, explain; peel (as small seeds); separate o (vt.)	Bhat 1968
	bi zid	peel (small seeds); expose; explain; separate one a (v.)	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**be•**-grop-a	collapse (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.212-II:idx
	be•-wak-a	collapse (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.212-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**pyi** ru-	collapse (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**pjaʔ**^{55}	collapse	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**prai**^{13}	separate	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung	**phri** bāq	separate (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.82
Gurung (Ghachok)	**p**^{h}**ri** baq	separate	Glover 1972
Manang (Prakaa)	^{1}**pr̥aː-**	part / separate	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0860
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**p**^{h}**e**	separate / sort out	Mazaudon 1994:655
Tamang (Sahu)	**phe**-pā	separate (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.82
	p^{h}**e**-pa	separate (itr) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.A.82
	^{1}**p**^{h}**e**	separate (itr)	Mazaudon 1994:655
Thakali (Tukche)	**ʼp**^{h}**e**-lɔ	sort / separate kinds	Hari 1971:4.B.36
	^{1}**p**^{h}**e**	sort / separate kinds	Mazaudon 1994:655
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**phrā:k**-si-cā	separate (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.82
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**bhe**-	separate, independent; live or eat apart (esp. one of family), set up separate home or family group, be astray (animal) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	pre-ʔak-sa	separate	Caughley 1972:10.B.1.82
	pre-ʔak-ti weŋ-sa	separate	Caughley 1972:10.B.1.82
	pre.ʔāk.sā	separate (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.82
	pre.ʔāk.ti weng.sā	separate (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.82
	pryak-	separate (halves, bond) (vat.)	Caughley 2000
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Lanping)	nə^{13} **bie**^{55}	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	nə^{13}**bie**^{55}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.11
Pumi (Taoba)	nə^{35}**bɛ**^{53}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.10
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	**pi3**	separate (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	pie3	separate (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola (Luxi)	**phjaʔ**^{55}	pull down (a house)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1175.32
	pjaʔ^{31}	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.32
Langsu (Luxi)	lɔʔ^{55}**phjɔʔ**^{55}	separate (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1322.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**pjɔːʔ**^{31}	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.33
	pjɔːʔ^{31}	collapse; cave in; fall down; damaged, be (house) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1558.33; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.33
Maru [Langsu]	laŋ^{55}**pjɔʔ**^{31}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**phjoʔ**^{55}	pull down (a house)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1175.30
	pjoʔ^{21}	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.30
	pjoʔ^{21}	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.30
	pjoʔ^{21}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**pɛ**^{31}	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.47
	pɛ^{31}tshi^{33}	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.47
Nusu (Northern)	**bia**^{31}	collapse	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**bi̱ą**^{53}	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.34
	bi̱ą^{53}	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.34
	phi̱ą^{53}	pull down (a house)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1175.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**pɛ**^{33}**d**ʑɔ^{33}	collapse; crash; fall down; split up; topple	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	pɛ^{33}**d**ʑɛ^{33}	divide (separate)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	**pe**^{33}dʑɔ^{33}	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Youle)	lə^{42}**phjɑ**^{42}	collapse	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**pe**^{42}pha^{42}	separate (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1322.44
	phrø^{33}krɔ^{31}	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.44
	phɹø^{33}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.34
	pjə^{42}pha^{42}	separate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1321.44
Kucong	**piɛ33**	collapse	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Yellow)	**phɛ**^{6}	tear apart / dismantle	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**be**^{21}se^{55} **be**^{21}se^{55}	splatter; collapse (of a tree) (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**be**^{33}**ʑ**i^{33}ku̱^{33}	separate (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1322.40
	be^{31}ʒe^{33}	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.27
Lisu (Central)	**bē**^{4} lá^{6}-hkaw^{4}	separate (v.t.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**bø**^{21}je^{33}	fall; collapse; lodging; depart; separate (V.)	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
	phja^{35}	dismantle (V.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			

Hani (Dazhai)	ja[33]**bjạ**[33]	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**bjạ**[33]	collapse / cave in / fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.41
	bjạ[33]nu̱[33]**bjạ**[33]ja[33]	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.41
Hani (Pijo)	**pý** khɛ	separate, leave	Hansson 1989:278
Hani (Gelanghe)	tɕho[31]**pjạ**[33]	collapse	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Mpi	**phjai**[1]	part / separate / stray (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	pjɑʔ[1]	pull apart / part / open separately (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
6.2. Naxi			
Moso	**nbjʌ 11**	fall over	Matisoff 1972b:83
Naxi	**biə**[21]	fall down (a house) / collapse	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1176.45
	biə[21]	fall down (a wall); topple; damaged, be (house); cave in; collapse; fall down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1257.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1558.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1657.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mbiə**[31]	collapse	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:760.28

Chinese comparandum

捭 OC ***pěg***, *GSR* #874r 'open; spread out'; Schuessler 2007:154 ***brêʔ***; B & S 2011: (***C.b^{ɾ}reʔ***); Mand. **bǎi**.
擘 OC ***pěk***, *GSR* #853p 'break; tear open'; Schuessler 2007:172 ***prêk***; B & S 2011: (***p^{ɾ}ek***); Mand. **bò**.
副 OC ***p'i̱ək***, *GSR* #933s 'cleave, divide; rend, split'; Schuessler 2007:414 ***p(h)rək***; B & S 2011: ***p^{h}rək***; Mand. **pì**.

(18) PKC *suan TRANSFER / REMOVE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***suan**	TRANSFER / REMOVE	VanBik 2009:679
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**sûon**-I, sùon-II	transfer, transplant (as plant)	VanBik 2009:679
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**sŭan**	move or remove (from one place to another), to transfer, to change (as home, abode, place of anyone, etc.) (v.)	VanBik 2009:679

6.11.0 Digging, excavation

(1) PKC *khuar BORE / DIG UP / DRILL

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***khuar**	BORE / DIG UP / DRILL	VanBik 2009:426
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**khuak** vang	bore	VanBik 2009:426
Tiddim	**khuak**[2]	make a thing hollow by scooping out	VanBik 2009:426
	khuak[2]	make a thing hollow by scooping out (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:836
	khuak[2]	make hollow by scooping...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**khûar**-I, khŭar-II	bore, drill, dig up, to make hole	VanBik 2009:426
Lai (Falam)	**khŭar**-INV	bore, to make a hole (v.)	VanBik 2009:426
Lushai [Mizo]	**khúar**	have a hole, to be dented, concave (v.)	VanBik 2009:426
	khuar	hole; cavity (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2577

(2) PTB *lwan BORE / PIERCE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***lwan**	bore / pierce	Matisoff 2003a:600
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**liuŋ**[31]phăt[55]	jab / poke / stab	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1221.23
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	gə **lùn**	thrust, pierce	Matisoff 1974:124
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**lan**[35]	bore / drill (a hole) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1816.28
Burmese (Written)	**lwan**	gimlet, bore with a gimlet (n.)	Matisoff 1974:124

(3) PKC *hrew BURROW

This root is reconstructed for 'Proto-Kuki-Naga' in *STC* p. 68.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***hrew**	burrow	Matisoff 2003a:593
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
**Kuki-Naga*	***(s-)rew**	burrow	Benedict 1972:p.68 [a]
	***hrew**	burrow	Benedict 1972:p.68
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hreuʔ**	burrow	Benedict 1972:p.68
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**rei**	burrow	Benedict 1972:p.68

[a] *STC* index lists form as ***(s-)rew**, but text has ***hrew** (p.68).

(4) PKC *wuuy BURY

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***wuuy**	BURY	VanBik 2009:1137
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**vúuy**-I, vùy-II	bury	VanBik 2009:1137
Tiddim	**vu:i**[2]	bury the dead	VanBik 2009:1137
	vu:i[2]	bury the dead (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1972
	vu:i[2]	bury the dead; be powdery	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**vui**	cover up with earth/soil (v.)	VanBik 2009:1137
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**vûy**-I, vŭy-II	bury	VanBik 2009:1137
Lushai [Mizo]	**vui**	bury	Marrison 1967
	vúi	bury, inter, dispose of (the dead) in any manner (v.)	VanBik 2009:1137
	vui	bury the dead (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3107

(5) PTani *rj $\begin{matrix}\textbf{i}\\\textbf{u}\end{matrix}$ BURY

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***rji**~ **rju**	bury	Sun 1993a:51
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**li**	bury	Sun 1993a
	à-**li**	bury	Sun 1993b
	a-**li**	bury	Sun 1993b
	a-**li**-du	burial	Sun 1993b
	a-**li**-nuɯ	burial	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-ma **'li**-do	funeral	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ri**	bury; bury (st)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ri-puɯ:	store st.away by burying it	Sun 1993b
	si-ma: **ri**	bury (corpse)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ji:**	bury	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**ru** nam	bury (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	teru-**ru**-nam	bury (articles) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ŋibu-**ru**-nam	bury (dead body) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ju**	bury	Sun 1993a

(6) PTB *ram BURY / BEAR / ENDURE

This promising root is attested mostly in Central Naga (see Bruhn 2014), but with an excellent Galo cognate.

Bruhn (2014:218) suggests the connection between BURY and ENDURE as stemming from the conception of endurance as 'burying something in one's mind' (see also Clark 1911:114).

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	**ram**-nam	suffer (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***ram** BURY / ENDURE, BEAR			
**Central Naga*	***ram**	BURY / ENDURE, BEAR	Bruhn 2014a:III.137
**Ao*	*a-**ɹəm**	BURY; BEAR, ENDURE	Bruhn 2014a:II.322; Bruhn 2014a:II.323
Ao (Chungli)	**-rūm**	bear (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a[2]-**ɹəm**[2]	bury; bear, endure (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.322; Bruhn 2014a:II.323
	a[2]**ɹəm**[3]-zək[1]	endure (a significant trial) (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ā **rūm**	bear (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:3
	a **rem**	bury	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**rem**	bury	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a **ɹəm**	bear, withstand [bore, withstood] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	ɹəm	bury [buried] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**rəm**[1]-	endure, bear, be patient (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.137
Sangtam	thrü **rang**	bury	Marrison 1967

(7) PKC *phuum BURY / COVER / IMMERGE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***phuum**	BURY / COVER / IMMERGE	VanBik 2009:328
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**phum**	bury, inearth	VanBik 2009:328
	pūm hī	bury	VanBik 2009:328
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**phum**	immerge s.th. in water (v.)	VanBik 2009:328
Khumi	**tphung**	bury	VanBik 2009:328
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**phûum**-I, phŭum-II	bury, inter, immerge, be covered with (middle voice)	VanBik 2009:328
Lai (Falam)	**phŭum**-I, phùum-II	bury, inter	VanBik 2009:328
Lushai [Mizo]	**phûm**	bury	Marrison 1967
	phúum	bury, inter	VanBik 2009:328

Chinese comparandum

窆 OC ***piɑ̯ŝm*** ~ ***pəm***, *GSR* #641c 'bury (i.e. lower a coffin into a grave)'; Schuessler 2007:166 ***pams*** < ***poms***; B & S 2011: (***pom-s***); Mand. **biǎn**.

(8) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{b}&\textbf{i}\\\textbf{p}&\textbf{u}\end{matrix}$ p CONCEAL / HIDE / BURY

This etymon comprises both a simplex and a causative version of the verbal meaning.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b/pip ≍ b/pup**	conceal / hide / bury (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:584
	***bip ≍ pip**	conceal / bury	Benedict 1972:376
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**pip**	bury	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:376
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**phip ≍ phup**	bury	Benedict 1972:376
	phop ≍ fop	bury	Benedict 1972:376
Dimasa	**bib ≍ bub**	conceal oneself, hide	Benedict 1972:376
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**byib**-pa	cover, wrap up; hide, conceal	Benedict 1972:376
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^**bjup**	bury	Mazaudon 1994:711
Tamang (Taglung)	**bjup**-pa	bury	Mazaudon 1994:711

(9) PTB *klaw DIG OUT / WEED / HOE (v.)

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***klaw**	dig out / weed (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:595
	***klaw**	dig out / weed	Benedict 1972:269

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***khlaw** WEED (v.) / HOE (v.) / PLOUGH

**Chin*	***khlaw**	WEED (v.) / HOE (v.) / PLOUGH	VanBik 2009:1308

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**khou**	hoe (v.)	VanBik 2009:1308
Thado	**hlôw-I**, **hlòo-II**	weed, hoe, cultivate, plow	VanBik 2009:1308
Tiddim	**khou**^{1} > **kho?**^{3}	hoe; farm (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:810
	khou^{1} > **kho?**^{3}	hoe, farm	VanBik 2009:1308
	khou^{1}/**kho?**^{3}	hoe, farm	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**law**	weed, cut grass	VanBik 2009:1308

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thlâw-I**, **thlo?-II**	weed, hoe (v.)	VanBik 2009:1308
Lai (Falam)	**thláw-I**, **thlò?-II**	weed, hoe (v.)	VanBik 2009:1308
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlŏ-I**, **thlàwh-II**	weed, clear of weeds, to till (v.)	VanBik 2009:1308
	thlou	weed (v.)	Benedict 1972:269

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**thlyú**	weed, to hoe weeds (v.)	VanBik 2009:1308

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**krau**	dig out, as worm's / a bee's nest from a hollow tree	Benedict 1972:269

(10) PTB *r-$\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{g}\end{matrix}$wa-t DIG UP / SCOOP OUT

Both the open syllable and stopped variant are well attested. This root was formerly reconstructed as ***r-ko-t** ≍ ***r-go-t**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-go-t**	dig out / scoop out (v.)	Weidert 1987:706
	***r-go-t**~**r-ko-t**	dig in ground; underground; dig (in ground)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:496p; Chou Fa-kao 1972:496p
	***r-ko-t**	dig out / scoop out (v.)	Weidert 1987:706
	***r-ko-t**	dig out / scoop out	Benedict 1972:420
	***r-ko-t** ≍ **r-go-t**	dig out / scoop up	Matisoff 2003a:596

1.1.1. Tani: ***ko** ~ ***kjo** DIG (HOLE)

**Tani*	***ko**~ **kjo**	dig (hole)	Sun 1993a:103

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	tà-**kro**	dig	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ko:**	hoe (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ko: rhyme!	dig (hole)	Sun 1993a
	uŋ **ko:**	dig a hole	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ko:**	dig (hole); dig	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ko:	dig / scoop out (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ko:**	dig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:597.51
Galo	-**'koo**	hole (result) (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	'ko nam	dig (by scooping away dirt) (vt.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**ko**	dig (hole)	Sun 1993a
Milang	**kyo** ɟuŋ	digging	Tayeng 1976
	kyo-ma	dig	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**guɑ**^{35}	dig	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1150.23
	guɑ^{35}	dig / scoop out (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.23
	guɑ^{35}; son^{35}	dig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:597.48

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	**kho** chet	dig	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***kua**	hoe	French 1983:504

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa	**khot**	dig (out) / scoop (out) (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:706

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**gòt**	scooped out (vs.)	Benedict 1972:420
	ləgot / **ləkhot**	dig	Benedict 1972:135n368
	ləgot ≍ **ləkhot**	dig in ground; underground; scoop up	Benedict 1972:420; Chou Fa-kao 1972:496p; Chou Fa-kao 1972:496p

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**rko**	dig / scoop out (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hke**	dig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:597.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hko**	dig	Sun 1985a:525
	hku	dig (imp / pf)	Sun 1985a:526
	rko	dig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:597.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ku**^{53}	dig / scoop out (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ko**^{53}	dig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:597.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ko**^{55}	dig; excavate; scoop out (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1458.02; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.02
Tibetan (Written)	(**b**)rkos	dig (imp / pf)	Sun 1985c:526
	rko	dig	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:525
	rko	dig / scoop out (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.01
	rko-ba	dig (out) / scoop (out) (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:706
	rko-ba / **rkod**-pa	dig	Benedict 1972:135n368
	rko-ba ≍ **rkod**-pa	dig out, engrave	Benedict 1972:420
	rkod-pa	dig (out) / scoop (out) (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:706
	rko byed	hoe (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hko**	dig; excavate; scoop out (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1458.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.04

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Mianchi)	**kuà**	hoe (v.)	Evans 1999:1739
	kuà	hoe	Evans 1999:866
Qiang (Taoping)	**kua**^{33}	hoe	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:412.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{35}**khuɐ**^{53}	dig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:597.16

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**quɛi**	dig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:597.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	**kua**	hoe	Nagano & Prins 2013:0582

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	**khuạ**^{53}	dig / scoop out (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.34
Nusu (Southern)	**khuɛ**^{35}	hoe	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	khuɐ̯^{53}	dig	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khuɑ**^{53}	dig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:597.45

7. Karenic: ***khu**^{B} DIG

**Karen [Burling]*	***khun**^{2}	dig	Luangthongkum 2013:83
**Karen*	***khu**^{B}	dig	Luangthongkum 2013:83
Kayah	**khɨ**^{11}	dig	Luangthongkum 2013:83
Kayaw	**khu**^{11}	dig	Luangthongkum 2013:83
Pa-O	**khú**	dig (v.)	Jones 1961:43
	khu	dig	Benedict 1972:135n368
Pa-O (Southern)	**khu**^{33}	dig	Luangthongkum 2013:83
Pa-O (Northern)	**khu**^{55}	dig	Luangthongkum 2013:83
Pwo (Northern)	**khɑ**^{33}	dig	Luangthongkum 2013:83
Pwo (Southern)	**khə**^{55}	dig	Luangthongkum 2013:83
Karen (Sgaw)	**khu**	dig	Benedict 1972:135n368
Sgaw (Northern)	**khu**$^{31\sim}$	dig	Luangthongkum 2013:83
Sgaw (Southern)	**khu**^{45,}	dig	Luangthongkum 2013:83
Sgaw (Bassein)	**khù**	dig (v.)	Jones 1961:43
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**khú?**	dig (v.)	Jones 1961:43

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**g'i̯wət/g'i̯uət**	dig out (earth)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:496s
	k'wət/k'uət	dig (in ground)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:496p
Chinese (Old)	**gjo/ut**	dig out (earth)	Baxter 1992:323

Chinese comparandum

堀 OC ***k'wət**, *GSR* #496p; B & S 2011: ***k**^{hs}**ut** **{ [k**^{h}**] **^{s}**ut}**; Mand. **kū**.
掘 OC ***g'wət**, *GSR* #486c 'dig out'; Schuessler 2007:327 ***gût**; B & S 2011: ***g**^{s}**ut** **{ [g] **^{s}**ut}**; Mand. **hú**.
掘 OC ***g'i̯wət**, *GSR* #496s; B & S 2011: ***got** **{ [g] ot}**; Mand. **jué**.

(11) PTB *tsaw DIG

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	**cyo**-ra	dig	Sun 1993b

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tsaw**, ***tso?-II** DIG

**Chin*	***tsaw**, tso?-II	DIG	VanBik 2009:532

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**tou**	dig	VanBik 2009:532
Thado	**tsôw**-I, tsòo-II	dig	VanBik 2009:532
Tiddim	**tou**^{1} > to?^{3}	dig a hole (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1778
	tou^{1} > to?^{3}	dig	VanBik 2009:532
	tou^{1}/**to?**^{3}	dig	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**co** ≍ caw	dig (v.)	VanBik 2009:532
Matu	**to**^{u}	dig	So-Hartmann 1988:152
Mkaang	**to?**	dig	So-Hartmann 1988:152

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tsâw**-I, tso?-II	dig	VanBik 2009:532
Lushai [Mizo]	**cho**	dig	Marrison 1967
	cho	dig a hole (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2246
	chŏ-I, chàwh-II	dig (as onions, potatoes, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:532
	tsŏu	dig (v.)	Weidert 1987:268

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	léi **cháo**	dig the earth (v.)	VanBik 2009:1013; VanBik 2009:532

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	**ciu**	dig	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.087
	ciu èe	dig (imp.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.088

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	**tʃu**^{3}-	dig (v.)	Bruhn 2014b

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Ntenyi	**chü**	dig	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	^{3}**tso**	dig (v.)	Weidert 1987:268
Sema [Sumi]	**chu**	dig	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	**chu**	dig	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**cao**	dig	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***cow** DIG

**Tangkhulic*	***cow**	dig	Mortensen 2012:417
Huishu	kə-**tsow**	dig	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.070
Kachai	kə-**ce**	dig	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.064
Tangkhul	**chui**	dig	Marrison 1967
	cuy	dig	Bhat 1969:87
Tusom	ŋə-la kə-**cuə**	dig	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.080
Ukhrul	kə-**cuj**	dig	Mortensen 2012
	kə-kə-**tsuj**	dig up thoroughly (as when searching for hidden money)	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***cau?**	dig	Burling 1959:440

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**co?**-a	dig (v.)	Weidert 1987:268
Garo (Bangladesh)	**cho•**-a	dig (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.576-II:idx

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**chu** gá	dig	Brown 1895:72
	cu ga-ri	dig a whole in the earth	Jacquesson 2005

(12) PTB *lu ≍ *lwa DIG

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**lo**	dig	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1180
	lu̯	dig	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3689

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Taoba)	nə^{35}**lu**^{35}	dig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:597.10
Qiang (Taoping)	qhə^{31}**la**^{55}	dig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:597.9

3.3. rGyalrongic

Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	'sa na s **lu**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	s **lû**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	'nə **lu**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128

rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	’xwa ta **lu**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong	ka **lwa**	dig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:597.12
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	ka’rwɑ	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	ka’rwɑ	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ka-**lwa**	dig (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1129; Nagano & Prins 2013:1130
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	ka-**rya**; ka-ʂkyar	dig (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1129; Nagano & Prins 2013:1130
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	ka22 **ra44** lwe44	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	ka22 **rwa44**	dig (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1129; Nagano & Prins 2013:1130
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	ka33 **rwa33**	dig (a hole); dig (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128; Nagano & Prins 2013:1129
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	ka **ɬ’wɑ**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	kə’ **ɬwa**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	kə **ra** ’lwe	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **lwɑ**	dig / scoop out (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	k^{h}oi jdu ka-**lwa**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	k^{h}ə pok’ka **rwɑ**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**lɣa**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	non **lɑʔ**	dig (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1129
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**n** lâ	dig (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1129
	s **lû**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	tał do’ ka **ɬwa**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	tej du’ kaj **ɬwa**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	toŋ44toŋ44 ka22**rwa44**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	toŋ toŋ ’ka **ɬwa**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	tə^{ˈ} **lo** li	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	’gan **lu** li si	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128

(13) PTB *la:y DIG / HOE

This root resembles PTB ***lu** ≍ ***lwa** DIG (§6.11), but must be kept separate.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***la:y**	dig; dig up; hoe	Matisoff 1985a:063; Matisoff 2003a:599; Benedict 1972:288

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***laay** ≍ ***hlaay** DIG / DELVE / HOE (v.)

**Chin*	***laay** ≍ hlaay	DIG / DELVE / HOE (v.)	VanBik 2009:1009

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**làay**-I, lày-II	dig	VanBik 2009:1009
	làì	dig	Thirumalai 1972:10; Thirumalai 1972:19
	làí	dig	Thirumalai 1972:54
Tiddim	**la:i**^{3} > lai?^{3}	clear weeds	VanBik 2009:1009

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hlâay**-I, hlăay-II	dig, operate (e.g. surgery)	VanBik 2009:1009
Lai (Falam)	**làay**-I, láy?-II	dig, delve, hoe	VanBik 2009:1009
Lushai [Mizo]	**lai**	dig; dig, hoe	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:063; Benedict 1972:288
	làì-I, làih-II	dig, to delve, to hoe, to excavate, to mine (v.)	VanBik 2009:1009

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**lāi**	dig up	Matisoff 1985a:063
	lai	dig up	Benedict 1972:288
	lai^{33}	dig out with finger (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1482.19

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	mbər **le**	dig	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1150.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	ka22 **lwe44**	dig (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1130
	ka22 ra44 **lwe44**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	kə ra **’lwe**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
Caodeng	kɐ-**lwe?**	dig	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	na’n **le**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128

(14) PTB *$\begin{matrix}\text{s}\\\text{m}\end{matrix}$-du DIG / HOE

Loloish has a simplex / causative pair from this etymon, e.g. Lahu **dû** ‘dig’ < PLB ***n-du**^{2} ≍ **tū** ‘bury something’ < PLB ***ʔ-du**^{2}.

Tamangic and Kuki-Chin have developed the nominal meaning HOE from this root.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tu**	dig (v.)	Weidert 1987:268
	***tu**	dig	LaPolla 1987:41; Benedict 1972:258
	***tu ≍ s/m-du**	dig	Matisoff 2003a:615

1.1.1. Tani: ***du** DIG

**Tani*	***du**	dig	Sun 1993a:104

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**dù**	dig	Sun 1993b
	du-liŋ	dig out	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**du**	dig	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**du**	dig / excavate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1458.24
	du ‘dig (well)’	dig	Sun 1993a
	du(-koŋ)	dig (~a well)	Sun 1993b
Galo	**du:**-nam	dig (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘du nam	dig (by scraping) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill Tagin	**du**-nam	sound, dig	Simon 1976
	du-nam	dig (by dibble)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**du**	dig	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**’tu**	dig	NEFA (India) 1963
Digaro	**thu**	dig	LaPolla 1987:41; Benedict 1972:258

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tuu** HOE (n.)

**Chin*	***tuu**	HOE (n.)	VanBik 2009:201

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**tu**	hoe	VanBik 2009:201
Tiddim	**tu**^{3}	hoe	VanBik 2009:201
	tu:^{3}	hoe	Bhaskararao 1996:1841
	`tu:	hoe (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tu**-hmûy	hoe	VanBik 2009:201
Lai (Falam)	**tùu**	hoe	VanBik 2009:201

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**tū**	hoe, a native spade (n.)	VanBik 2009:201

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	*a-**tu(ʔ)**	DIG	Bruhn 2014a:II.032
Ao (Chungli)	**-tú**	dig (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:8
	a^{3}-**tu**^{3}	dig (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.032
	a **to**	dig	Marrison 1967
	^{3}a^{3}**tu**	dig (v.)	Weidert 1987:268
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**thu**	dig	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tù**-tʃhət	dig out [dug out] (’dig’ + ABIL) (v.)	Coupe 2007
	tùʔ	dig [dug] (v.)	Coupe 2007

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**tou**	dig	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***t^{h}u** DIG

**Northern Naga*	***t^{h}u**	dig (v.)	French 1983:477

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**thu**	dig	Marrison 1967
	^{2}thu(ʔ)	dig (v.)	Weidert 1987:268

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**thu**	dig	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**htu**	dig	Marrison 1967
	thù	dig	Matisoff 1974:196
	thu	dig	LaPolla 1987:41; Benedict 1972:258
	thu^{31}	dig	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	thu^{31}	dig / scoop out (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.19
	thu^{31}	dig	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:597.47
	^{1}thu	dig (v.)	Weidert 1987:268

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**thu**	dig	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:232

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Raji	**dəu-**	dig	Krishan 2003:182

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**dú**~dún	dig (v.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{B}**to:** / ^{B}two HOE (n.)

**TGTM*	*^{B}**to:** / ^{B}two	hoe (n.)	Mazaudon 1978:22
	*^{B}**to:**	hoe (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:473
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{2}**tu**	hoe (n.)	Mazaudon 1978:22
Manang (Gyaru)	**do:**^{1}	hoe (n.)	Nagano 1984:118-09
Manang (Ngawal)	^{2}**to**	hoe (n.)	Mazaudon 1978:22
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**to**	hoe (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:473
	^{1}**to**	hoe (n.)	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0609a
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**to:**	hoe (n.)	Mazaudon 1978:22
Tamang (Taglung)	**to:**	hoe (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:473
	^{2}**to:**	hoe (n.)	Mazaudon 1978:22
Thakali (Marpha)	^{2}**to**	hoe (n.)	Mazaudon 1978:22
	^{54}**to**	hoe (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:473
Thakali (Syang)	^{H}**to**	hoe (n.)	Mazaudon 1978:22
Thakali (Tukche)	^{H}**to**	hoe (n.)	Mazaudon 1978:22

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**tɔ-**	sew, dig (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**Tu**	dig (v.)	Rai 1985

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**du**	dig	LaPolla 1987:41; Benedict 1972:258

3.2. Qiangic

Xumi	thi^{33} **tu**^{55}	dig	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1150.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	ŋo^{55} **ty**^{55}	dig	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1150.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	ka’ **tu**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	khe22 **du44** ka22 **tu44**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	k^{h}a^{i} **tu’** ka **tu**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128

rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	kʰa pokˉkə' **tə**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kʰe22 **du44** ka22 **tu44**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	kʰej⁵**du**⁵kaj⁵wa³	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	kʰej **du'** ka **tu**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	kʰej **tə'** ka **tə**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	kʰe³**də**⁵ka³**tə**³	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	kʰe **du'** ka **tu**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kʰe **du'** ka **tə**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	kʰo pɔ' ka **tu**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	kʰə po ka-**tu**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	kʰə pokˉka **tə**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	kʰə³bok³ka³**tə**⁵	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	kʰə³pok³ka³**tə**⁵	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kʰə³pok⁵ko³**tə**³	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kʰə pok' ka **ta**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	kʰə pok' ka **tu**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	kʰə pok' ka **tə**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	kʰɛ **du'** ka **tu**	dig (a hole) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1128
rGyalrong	**tu**	dig	LaPolla 1987:41; Benedict 1972:258

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**du**	dig	LaPolla 1987:41; Benedict 1972:258
Rawang	**du**³¹ ɔ³¹ ɛ³³	dig/scoop out (vt.)	LaPolla 2003:1458
Dulong	**du**⁵³	dig / scoop out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**du**⁵³	dig	LaPolla 1987:41

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-du**² BURY SOMETHING, ***n-du**² DIG

**Lolo-Burmese*	***du**	dig	Benedict 1972:62n196

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**tu**³¹	dig	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:41
Achang (Longchuan)	**tu**³¹	dig	LaPolla 1987:41
	tu³¹	dig / scoop out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.28
	tu³¹	dig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:597.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**tu**³¹	dig / scoop out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tu**⁵⁵	dig	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1150.27
	tu⁵⁵	dig; excavate; scoop out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1458.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tu**⁵⁵	dig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:597.40
Burmese (Written)	**tù**	dig (v.)	Weidert 1987:268
	tû	dig	Hansson 1989:163; Matisoff 1974:196
	tû	dig (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	tu	dig	LaPolla 1987:41; Benedict 1972:258
	tu³	dig	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1150.26
	tu³	dig; excavate; scoop out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1458.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.26
	tu³	dig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:597.39
Hpun (Northern)	**tù**	dig	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	**tu:**³³	dig / scoop out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.33
Marma	**tú**	dig	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:232
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tú**	dig (v.)	Weidert 1987:268

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***m-du**²	dig (v.)	Weidert 1987:268
	***m-du**²	dig	Bradley 1979b:619; Hansson 1989:163

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lipho	**kɛ**²¹	star	CHEN Kang 1986a:35.
Nusu (Central)	**du**⁵⁵	dig / excavate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1458.34
Yi (Dafang)	**ndu**³³	dig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:597.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ndu**³³	dig (excavate); excavate	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**dɯ**²¹	dig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:597.25
Yi (Wuding)	**dɯ**¹¹	dig	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1150.38

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	**tu**³³	dig / excavate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1458.44
	tu³³	dig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:597.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**tu**⁴⁴	dig	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tu**⁴⁴	dig / scoop out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.44
Lahu (Lancang)	**du**⁵³	dig / scoop out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.43
Lahu (Black)	**tū**	bury	Matisoff 1974:196

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**dù**	dig (v.)	Weidert 1987:268
Akha (Thai)	**dù**	dig	Hansson 1989:163
Akha (Yunnan)	**dù**	dig	Hansson 1989:163
Akha	**dù**	dig	Hansson 1989:163
Bisu	**tù**	dig	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**dù**	dig	Hansson 1989:163
	du³¹	dig; excavate; scoop out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1458.41; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tɥ**³¹	dig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:597.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**du**³¹	dig	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**dduq**	dig	Hansson 1989:163
Haoni	**tɥ**³¹	dig	Hansson 1989:163
Hani (Shuikui)	**tɥ**³¹	dig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:597.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tù**	dig	Hansson 1989:163
Hani (Mojiang)	**tɥ**³¹	dig; excavate; scoop out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1458.42; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.42
Mpi	**tu**¹	dig	Hansson 1989:163; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	**də**¹³	dig (a hole)	Pelkey 2011:666
Phola	**ⁿtu**³¹	dig (a hole)	Pelkey 2011:666
Hlepho Phowa	**ⁿdə**¹³	dig (a hole)	Pelkey 2011:666
Phuza	**dɛ**³¹	dig (a hole)	Pelkey 2011:666

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɖɯ**˩	carve, engrave (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2753
Na (Yongning)	**dv**˧	dig (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**dv**³³	dig (ditch)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:597.29
Naxi	**dɥ**³³	dig; excavate; carve; engrave; scoop out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1458.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1479.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1698.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndv**³³	dig	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:597.28

8. BAI

Bai (Jianchuan)	**thue**⁵⁵	dig	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1150.48

Chinese comparandum

突 OC ***t'wət** ~ ***d'wət**, *GSR* #489a 'break/burst/dig through; suddenly'; Schuessler 2007:501 ***thût** ~ ***dût**; B & S 2011: ***m-tʰˢut** ~ ***tʰˢut**; Mand. **tū**.

(15) PCC *v $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{e}\\\mathbf{i}\end{matrix}$ r? DRILL / BORE

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***ver?** ≍ vir?	DRILL / BORE	VanBik 2009:1142
Lai (Hakha)	**vir?** ≍ ver?-INV	drill, bore, make a hole	VanBik 2009:1142
Lushai [Mizo]	**vèrh**	drill or bore or make a hole (v.)	VanBik 2009:1142

(16) PKC *wut-I, *wu?-II; *wit-I, *wi?-II DRILL / BORE / PIERCE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***wut**-I, wu?-II; wit-I, wi?-II	DRILL / BORE / PIERCE	VanBik 2009:1143

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**vut**	bore a hole	VanBik 2009:1143
Thado	**vùt**-I, vùu-II	drill, bore	VanBik 2009:1143
Tiddim	**vut**³ > vu?³	drill a hole (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1971
	vut³ > vu?³	drill a hole, bore a hole, dig	VanBik 2009:1143
	vut³/vu?³	drill a hole	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**vüt**	bore a hole (v.)	VanBik 2009:1143

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**vit**-I, vi?-II	drill, bore, pierce	VanBik 2009:1143
Lai (Falam)	**vìt**-I, ví?-II	drill, bore	VanBik 2009:1143
Lushai [Mizo]	**vìt**-I, vìh-II	pierce, to prick, to stab, to puncture (v.)	VanBik 2009:1143

(17) PTk *kʰaj SCOOP OUT

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***kʰaj**	scoop out	Mortensen 2012:739
Huishu	**kʰej**-kʰe	scoop out / dish out	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.071
Ukhrul	**kʰaj**-kə-ʃok	scoop out	Mortensen 2012

(18) PCC *ruut-I, *ruʔ-II SCOOP UP / SCRAPE UP

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***ruut**-I, ruʔ-II	SCOOP UP / SCRAPE UP	VanBik 2009:969
Lai (Hakha)	**ruut**-I, ruh-II	scoop up, scrape up (v.)	VanBik 2009:969
Lushai [Mizo]	**rûut-I**, **rùh-II**	scoop up, pick up, gather up (v.)	VanBik 2009:969

(19) PTB *(t)sa:y SCOOP / DIP OUT

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**t**)sa:y	scoop / dip out	Matisoff 1985a:112
	***tsa:y** ≍ **sa:y**	scoop / dip out	Matisoff 2003a:616

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**sai**-kyu	dipper; ladle...used for dipping up water (n.)	Matisoff 1985a:112
	thai	draw out, dip out, ladle out (as water)	Matisoff 1985a:112

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**chày**	(perform action) in something liquid	Matisoff 1985a:112

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**sài**	scoop out of water; skim	Matisoff 1985a:112
	sai³¹	ladle / dredge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:768.47

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Southern)	**tshe**²¹	scoop	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**tshe**³⁵	scoop	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**tshie**³⁵	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.49

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**chai**	take out of water; extricate, deliver, save from drowning; take out of water, save	Matisoff 1985a:112; Benedict 1976a

(20) PTani * s ǰ uk SCOOP / LADLE (v.)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***suk**~ **ǰuk**	scoop / ladle (v.)	Sun 1993a:336
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	a-**ǰu**	measuring cup	Sun 1993b
	ja-**ǰu**	ladle; gourd ladle	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ǰuk**-tuː	spoon	Sun 1993b
	šuk	scoop / ladle (v.)	Sun 1993a
	suk	scoop up	Sun 1993b
	u-**čuk**	ladle	Sun 1993b
	u-**ǰuk**	spoon	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**šuk**	scoop / ladle (v.)	Sun 1993a
	suk	scoop (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ʦuk	scoop up (water) / ladle out (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1754.24
Galo	‘**hug** nam	ladle; scoop (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘u **juk**	ladle (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ǰuk**	scoop / ladle (v.)	Sun 1993a

(21) PTB *kuːk ≍ *kawk SHEAR / STRIP / PARE

This verbal root may well be related to the nominal root PTB ***s/r-kawk ≍ *s/r-kwak** OUTER COVERING / SKIN / BARK / RIND (§1.6.5).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kuːk**	shear / strip / pare	Matisoff 2003a:597; Benedict 1972:388
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***k^{h}ok** PEEL / STRIP (v.)			
**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}ok**	peel / strip (v.)	Mortensen 2012:737
Tangkhul	**khok**	peel	Bhat 1969:94
	khək	skin	Bhat 1969:96
Ukhrul	kə-**k^{h}ok**	peel	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-kor kə-**k^{h}ok**	strip (v.)	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	**khu**	pare off (rind of fruit), strip	Benedict 1972:388
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**kik**	strip	Benedict 1972:388
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	**kwok-**	strip (as fibers) (v.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:931a-b
	kwok-	strip (as fibres)	Benedict 1972:74n229
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**kuk**	rake, scrape / draw towards self as with a stick; to hoe superficially; to pull upwards with hook; to ladle, spoon (v.)	Benedict 1972:388
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**kuik**	bite with teeth or instrument; ache; take hold (colors); shear; accord, agree; bite with the teeth; an instrument	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:388

(22) PCC *look-I, *loʔ-II SHOVEL / SCOOP / LADLE

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***look**-I, loʔ-II	SHOVEL / SCOOP / LADLE	VanBik 2009:1050
Lai (Hakha)	**look**-I, loʔ-II	shovel, scoop up, ladle	VanBik 2009:1050
Lushai [Mizo]	**lâwk**-I, làwh-II	shovel up, to scoop up (v.)	VanBik 2009:1050

6.12.0 Throwing

(1) PTB *bʷar ≍ *hʷar THROW (AWAY) / DIVORCE (A SPOUSE)

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***bʷar ≍ hʷar**	throw (away) / divorce (a spouse)	Matisoff 2003a:585

(1a) PTB *bwar THROW AWAY / CAST / SOW / TOSS

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***bwâr**	throw, cast, fling, scatter, sow; leave, forsake	Benedict 1972:173n460
	***bwâr**	throw / scatter / sow	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:195p
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**bor**	throw / cast / fling / leave / forsake (pf.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:195p
	bor-bɑ	throw / cast / fling / leave / forsake	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:195p
	ḥbor-ba	throw, cast, fling, leave	Benedict 1972:173n460
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	播	sow, winnow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:176
	簸	winnow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:174; Baxter & Sagart 2011:175
Chinese (GSR #)	**0025n**	winnow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:174; Baxter & Sagart 2011:175
	0195p	sow, winnow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:176
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**pwâr**	spread out / sow / distribute / banish / reject / winnow / shake	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:195p
	p^{ʂ}aj?	winnow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:174
	p^{ʂ}aj?-s	winnow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:175
	p^{ʂ}ar?-s	sow, winnow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:176
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**paH**	winnow; sow, winnow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:175; Baxter & Sagart 2011:176
	paX	winnow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:174
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**bó**	winnow	Evans *et al.* 1991
	bǒ	winnow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:174
	bò	winnow; sow, winnow (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:175; Baxter & Sagart 2011:176

Chinese comparandum

簸 OC ***pwâ**, *GSR* #25n ‘winnow (n.)’; Schuessler 2007:171-2 ***pâiʔ**; B & S 2011: *p^{ʂ}ajʔ ; Mand. **bǒ**.
簸 OC ***pwâ**, *GSR* #25n ‘winnow (v.)’; Schuessler 2007:171-2 ***pâih**; B & S 2011: *p^{ʂ}ajʔ-s; Mand. **bò**.
播 OC ***pwâr**, *GSR* #195p ‘sow, winnow (v.)’; Schuessler 2007:171-2 ***pâih**; B & S 2011: *p^{ʂ}arʔ-s; Mand. **bò**.

(1b) PTB *hwar THROW

1.1.1. TANI: ***vorʔ** THROW / CAST			
**Tani*	***vorʔ**	throw / cast	Sun 1993a:430
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**ǰar**	throw (flat object)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**vuɹ**	throw; cast; throw, cast; spin	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	vuɹ-kup	upside-down	Sun 1993b
	vuɹ-tup	smash on the ground	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-si **vuɹ**-buː	whirlpool	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**o r** aŋ	throw / toss (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1591.24
	or	throw / cast	Sun 1993a
	or	throw / hurl (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1687.24
	or(-aŋ)	throw, hurl	Sun 1993b
	or-aŋ	cast away	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**or** aŋ	throw	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:558.51
Galo	**ər** nam	throw (underhand) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	ɤr-pak-nam	cast (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	**or**-nam	throw (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	**yur**-cen-ma	throw	Tayeng 1976
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***woor-I**, ***worʔ-II** THROW / SCATTER / TOSS			
**Chin*	***woor**-I, worʔ-II	THROW / SCATTER / TOSS	VanBik 2009:1174
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**vawk** hī	throw away	VanBik 2009:1174
Tiddim	**voʔ^{3}**	sprinkle seeds for sowing (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1960
	voʔ^{3}	sprinkle seeds for sowing	VanBik 2009:1174; Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**wo˝**	throw	VanBik 2009:1174
Cho (Mindat)	**vawi**	throw (with a hand) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1174
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**vǒor**-I, vorʔ-II	throw, scatter	VanBik 2009:1174
Lai (Falam)	**vòrʔ**-I, vôrʔ-II	throw, scatter	VanBik 2009:1174
Lushai [Mizo]	**vàwrh**	throw, to scatter, to toss (v.)	VanBik 2009:1174
	vorʔ	scatter, throw up, toss	Benedict 1972:173n460
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	**-ūn**	throw (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a **on**	throw (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**en** chuk	throw (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**her**	throw	Bhat 1969:99
	hor	throw	Bhat 1969:99
	hor hai	throw (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**var**	throw (v.)	Marrison 1967
	var	throw, cast, fling	Benedict 1972:173n460
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar	**wān**-chwa-ye	throw away (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.38
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**wər** nɨ	toss overhand, throw overhand, toss far	Driem 1993
	wər su nɨ	toss off, toss over, throw out, toss out, throw away	Driem 1993
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**war**	throw away, squander	Benedict 1972:173n460
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**waːr**	sow	Benedict 1972:173n460
	war-	scatter around, broadcast, sow (seed, etc.), cause to spread out; cast, throw (net) (vt.)	Caughley 2000

(2) PTani *čut[1] CAST (spear)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***čut**[1]	cast (spear)	Sun 1993a:60
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**čí**	throw (spear)	Sun 1993b
	či?	cast (spear); throw	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ci?-ča	throw (~up)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**čit**	cast (spear); hurl (spear)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**sut**	cast (spear)	Sun 1993a

(3) PKC *tshep-I, *tsheʔ-II THROW

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tshep**-I, tsheʔ-II	THROW	VanBik 2009:607
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**sèp**-I, sèe-II	throw (at)	VanBik 2009:607
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**sèp**-INV	throw	VanBik 2009:607
Lai (Hakha)	**tshep**-I, tsheʔ-II	throw	VanBik 2009:607

(4) PTB * s m -ba ≍ * s m -baːy THROW

This root shows evidence of the PTB *palatal suffix (JAM 1995 “Sino-Tibetan palatal suffixes revisited”). Jingpho has acquired a velar prefix with this root.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*ba ≍ ba:y	throw / discard	Matisoff 1985a:147
	*s/m-ba ≍ s/m-ba:y	throw	Matisoff 2003a:584

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *paay-I, *pay?-II CAST / THROW

*Chin	*paay-I, pay?-II	CAST / THROW	VanBik 2009:132

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	paih	throw	VanBik 2009:132
Tiddim	pa:i^{3} > pai?^{3}	cast away	VanBik 2009:132

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	pay?-INV	throw into	VanBik 2009:132
Lai (Falam)	pày?-INV	cast, throw	VanBik 2009:132
Lushai [Mizo]	paih	throw (v.)	Marrison 1967
	paih	throw away, fling away; strike out, cancel, annul, discard, subtract	Matisoff 1985a:147
	pàih	throw away, to fling away (v.)	VanBik 2009:132
	paih	throw away (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2764

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	phai	throw (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Kokborok	ši-bi	throw away	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	šə bi~khi bi	throw / discard	Matisoff 1985a:147

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	kǎ^{31}pai^{31}	throw / toss (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1591.19
	kǎ^{31}pai^{31}	throw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:558.47
	kǎ^{l}pai^{31}	throw (away); throw	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	ka bai	throw (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kə bài~gə bài	throw	Matisoff 1985a:147

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Jiulong)	nə^{11}phə^{55}	pour or throw out (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1261.10
	nɑ^{11} phɑ^{55}	throw / toss (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1591.10
Pumi (Lanping)	fpho^{55}	pour or throw out (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1261.09
	khə^{13}vbɑ^{13}	throw / toss (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1591.09
Pumi (Dayang)	βbó	throw (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:170
Pumi (Qinghua)	khə^{13}sbɑ^{55}	throw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:558.11
Pumi (Taoba)	khə^{35}phɐ^{35}	throw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:558.10

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

*Lolo-Burmese	*mba^{1}	throw / discard	Matisoff 1985a:147

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	pai	put aside, away; reject; tare or tret	Benedict 1976a
	phai	go aside, put aside	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2. Loloish

*Loloish	*m-ba^{1}	throw	Bradley 1979b:731

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Youle)	və^{42}	throw (away)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	vɐ^{42}	throw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:558.34
Kucong	ba31	throw	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	bɑ^{31}	throw; toss; hurl (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1591.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1687.43
	kɣ^{33} bɑ^{31}	pour or throw out (water) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1261.43
Lahu (Black)	bà	throw; throw away; (as auxiliary verb) discard by V'ing	Matisoff 1985a:147
	bA^{31}	throw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:558.33
Lahu (Yellow)	ba^{2}	throw (away); throw	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

(5) PCC *hlo(o)n-I, *hlon?-II THROW / DISCARD

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	lon^{3} > lot^{3}	throw (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:977
	lon^{3}/lot^{3}	throw	Bhaskararao 1994
	lo:n^{3} > lot^{3}	throw	VanBik 2009:1125
	lo:n^{3} > lot^{3}	throw (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1000
	lo:n^{3}/lot^{3}	throw	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

*Central Chin	*hlo(o)n-I, hlon?-II	THROW / DISCARD	VanBik 2009:1125
Lai (Hakha)	hlǒn-I, hlon?-II	throw, discard	VanBik 2009:1125

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	la˄ sah˅ (sah˅)	talon / claw	Matisoff 1987

6.13.0 Convergence

(1) PTB * g/l -t(y)ap FOLD / REPEAT / LAYER / PILE UP

Several languages point to the presence of a palatal semivowel in this root (rGyalrongic, Tangkhulic, Atong, Anong, Tibetan), as well as in Chinese. WT shows clear-cut doublets with **a** ≍ **i** vocalism, reflecting the presence or absence of the semivowel.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*g/l-tap	fold / layer	Matisoff 2003a:614
	*tap	fold / repeat	Benedict 1972:493b

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bokar	tep	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.24
Galo	'tum nam	fold (vt.)	GLDC 2009

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *thua? LAYER / FOLD, *khlep FOLD

*Chin	*khlep	FOLD	VanBik 2009:1287
	*thua?	LAYER / FOLD	VanBik 2009:396

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	thuah	layers	VanBik 2009:396
Thado	hlèp	fold	VanBik 2009:1287
Tiddim	khep^{3}	fold	VanBik 2009:1287
	khep^{3}	fold (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:771
	khep^{3}	fold	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	póeliee	fold	VanBik 2009:1287

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	thua?	layers	VanBik 2009:396
Lai (Falam)	thùa?	layers	VanBik 2009:396
Lushai [Mizo]	thlep	fold up (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2986
	thlèp-I thlèh-II	fold, to fold up (as cloth, paper, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1287
	thùah	layer, a thickness, fold (as in thùah lì 'four fold') (n.)	VanBik 2009:396

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	tip	fold	Bhat 1969:89
Ukhrul	kə-tip	fold (cloth)	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	t^{h}up cinb	fold (v.)	Abbi & Mishra 1985

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	khat dep-	wrap, to wrap up, to fold (v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

*Northern Naga	*dəp	repeat (v.)	French 1983:537

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	kǎ^{31} thap^{31}	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.19
	kə thàp	layer / fold / add / repeat	Matisoff 1974:335
	kə thap	add, place one upon another; again and again	Benedict 1972
	thap	layer	Benedict 1972

2.1.2. Bodic

Motuo Menba	tap	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	rtep	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.05
Tibetan (Lhasa)	tu^{13}	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.02
	təp^{52}	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.02
Tibetan (Written)	ldab-pa	do again, repeat	Benedict 1972
	ldeb-pa	bend round; back; double down; bend round or back, double down	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1255a-b; Benedict 1972
	ltab-ma	fold (n.)	Benedict 1972
	ltab-pa	fold or gather up, lay or put together	Benedict 1972
	lteb-pa	turn down, turn in	Benedict 1972
	thebs	series, order, succession	Benedict 1972
Tibetan (Xiahe)	htep	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

Thakali (Tukche)	tɔp-lɔ	fold over	Hari 1971:7.B.3.24 2
	tɔp-tɔp 'lɔ-lɔ	fold	Hari 1971:7.B.3.23 2

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	'ka rtap˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	'ka ɬtap˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	də^{3}kə^{3}ta^{3}rtap^{5}	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ka-ltɐp	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080; Nagano & Prins 2013:1081
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	ka-rtɛ	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080; Nagano & Prins 2013:1081
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	kaj 'tap˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	kaj 'tep˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	ka^{3}rde^{5}	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	ka^{3} rta^{5}	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	ka^{3} rte?s^{5}	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	kaɬ 'tap˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	kaɬ 'tap˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	kaɬ 'tap˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	kaɬ 'tep	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	kaɬ 'teps	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	kaɬ 'tev	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	kaɬ 'təp˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	ka 'rtap	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	ka 'rtep	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	ka 'rtep	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ka 'rtep˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	ka 'rtep˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	ka 'rtjeps	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	ka 'rtəs	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	ka 'rtɐp˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	ka 'ɬtep˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	ka 'ʂtep	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	ka ltap˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	ko^{3} rteps^{5}	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	ko 'rtep	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	ko 'rtep˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	ko 'xtep˺	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080

rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	ko **'ɹtəp**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	kuwəɬ **'təpˀ**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə44 **rtəp24**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1081
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	kə **'rtep**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **ltəp**	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.11
Caodeng	kɐ-**ltep**	fold (paper) (v.)	Sun 1997a
	kɐ-**zdep**	fold (quilt; clothes)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kɑ22 **rtəp44**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1081
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**ltɤβ**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	na **'rte**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	noŋo **'lte ltep**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	ta^{3}**rtep**^{1}	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	taɬ **'təp**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	ta **'rtem**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	ta **'rtep**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	ta **'rteʔ**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	te **'rtep**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	te **'rtep**ˀ	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	to35 **'rti5** sej53	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	to **'step**ˀ	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	ŋa **'rtep**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	ŋa **'rtep**	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	ˡka ʳ**ciɛp**ˀ	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	tsʰəɬgə 'ka **tʰap** si	fold (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1080
rGBenzhen	kɐ-**rtəp**	fold	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Anong	mə **thip**	fold (v.)	Benedict 1972:119n330
	əŋ mə **thip**	fold (n.)	Benedict 1972:119n330
Dulong	mɯ^{31}**dɛp**^{55}	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.20

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***tap**^{H}	layer	Matisoff 2003a:614

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**tɔp**^{35}	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.28
Achang (Xiandao)	**top**^{55}	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.29
Burmese (Written)	**thap**	place one on another, add to; repeat, do again	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***C-tap**^{L}	repeat	Bradley 1979b:676A
	***tup**^{H}	fold	Bradley 1979b:695

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Nanhua)	**dʚ**^{33}	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.37
Yi (Xide)	**te**^{33}	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	**ti**^{42}	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.44
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɛ**^{33}	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.43
Lahu (Black)	**thôʔ**	layer / fold / add / repeat	Matisoff 1974:335
Lisu (Northern)	**de**^{33}	fold; pile up (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**tɤ**^{44}	fold up (a quilt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1278.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	**top**	fold	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**dɔ́**	fold	Hansson 1989:465
Mpi	**tuʔ**^{3}	fold (as clothes)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**ti**^{44}	fold (paper)	Pelkey 2011:920
Hlepho Phowa	**tɔ**^{33}(-tɕʰi^{21})	fold (paper)	Pelkey 2011:920

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**diəp**	pile on; duplicate, repeat; fold	Benedict 1972
	d'iəp	pile on / duplicate / repeat / fold	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1255a-b

Chinese comparandum

摺 OC (***t̂i̯ɛp**), *GSR* (not in #690) 'fold'; Schuessler 2007:609 ***tap**; Mand. **zhé**.
褶 OC ***d'iəp**, *GSR* #690b 'double; lined (of garment)'; Schuessler 2007:213 ***lêp**; Mand. **dié**.
疊 OC ***d'iep** or ***d'iəp**, *GSR* #1255a-b 'double; accumulate'; Schuessler 2007:213 ***lêp**; Mand. **dié**.

Comment: Schuessler (2007:213) cautions not to confuse the above etyma, 摺, 褶, and 疊, with another etymon, 牒 **dié**, 'tablet; document, sheet', a comparandum for PTB ***lyap** THIN / FLAT / FLAT OBJECT (§7.1.5), q.v.

(2) PTani *pu WRAP UP IN A BUNDLE

This Proto Tani root is perhaps ultimately to be related to PTB ***pun** WRAP / COVER / WEAR (§6.13), although there is no trace of a final nasal within Tani.

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***pu**	wrap up in a bundle	Sun 1993a:477

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	á-**pu**	wrap up	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**pu**	wrap up in a bundle	Sun 1993a
	pu(-jum)	wrap up	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **pu:**	bundle / sheaf (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0877.24
	a **pu: pu:**	wrap (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.24
	pu	wrap up in a bundle; wrap	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pu:	wrap; tie (belt); bind; tie up	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1141.24
	pu:	buckle up / fasten (a belt) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1412.24
	pu:-jək	tie up (a person); wind (thread onto a keel)	Sun 1993b; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1179.24
Bokar Lhoba	**pu**	wrap	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:663.51
	pu: jək	tie (e.g. firewood)into a bund	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:664.51

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pu**	wrap up in a bundle	Sun 1993a

Chinese comparandum

包 OC ***pə̤ŋ**, *GSR* #1113a 'wrap, bundle'; Schuessler 2007:157 ***prû**; B & S 2011: ***p^{ʂ}‹r›u**; Mand. **bāo**.

(3) PTB *pun WRAP / COVER / WEAR

This root has perhaps developed into Proto Tani PTani ***pu** WRAP UP IN A BUNDLE (§6.13), in which subgroup no trace of the final nasal remains.

The Mizo form **bun** was assigned to PTB ***bu(w)** WEAR (§6.2.2) in *STC* #428. In any case, these two roots may well be allofamically related.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pun**	wrap / cover / wear	Matisoff 2003a:607; Benedict 1972:385

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***puan** BLANKET / COVER / GARMENT

**Chin*	***puan**	BLANKET / COVER / GARMENT	VanBik 2009:125

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**puan**	cloth	VanBik 2009:125
Sizang	**puen**	clothes	VanBik 2009:125
Thado	**pûan**	cloth	VanBik 2009:125
Tiddim	**puan**^{1} za:^{2}	blanket	VanBik 2009:125

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	a **paaw**	cloth	VanBik 2009:125

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**pûan**	blanket	VanBik 2009:125
Lai (Falam)	**púan**	blanket	VanBik 2009:125
Lushai [Mizo]	**bun**	put on or wear (as ring; boots; etc.); wear (v.)	Marrison 1967; Bhaskararao 1996:2153
	bun	put on / wear (as ring, boots), encircle	Benedict 1972:428
	puan	cloth	Marrison 1967
	pŭan	cloth, garment, apparel	VanBik 2009:125
	puan	cloth	Bhaskararao 1996:1415

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**pò**	blanket, cover	VanBik 2009:125

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***m-p [a/ə] n** WEAR (CLOTHES)

**Central Naga*	*m-**p [a/ə] n**	WEAR (CLOTHES)	Bruhn 2014a:III.181
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}**pən**^{3}	wear, put on (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.181
	á **púŋ**	wear (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:9
	sü-a **ben**	wear (v.)	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	m̩^{1}-**pen**^{3}-	wear, put on (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.181
	m **pen**	wear (v.)	Marrison 1967
	m **pen** a	wear	Murry *et al.* 1978:135
Sangtam	mü **pi** cho	wear (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	nü **pi**	wear (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**pum**	wear (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	**phin ≍ phun**	put on, wrap, cover	Benedict 1972:385
	phun	wrap (v.)	Marrison 1967
	phun-khlub	wrap around	Benedict 1972:479; LaPolla 1987:138

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**pin**-dap	cover	Benedict 1972:385

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**pynˑ**-	pack, to wrap up, to pack in a banana leaf, to cook in a banana leaf (v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**hpun**	wear (v.)	Marrison 1967
	phun	put on and wear, as a coat; cover, as with a blanket	Benedict 1972:385
	phun^{55}	put on; wear; wear (a garment)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1211.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:646.47

(4) PTB *s-ki: $\begin{matrix}\text{l}\\\text{r}\end{matrix}$ BEND / WIND / TWIST / ROLL / CORNER

There is an unfortunate mistake in the index to *STC* (p.201) where this etymon is glossed "bind, twist; roll; angle" instead of "wind, twist; roll; angle", undoubtedly due to perseveration from the previous entry, ***kik** "bind, twist, tie". This error was, alas, reproduced in *HPTB*: 57, 412, 413, 426, 595.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gil**	turn / corner	Matisoff 2003a:590
	***hi:l**	bind / twist / roll / angle	Matisoff 2003a:595
	***ki:l**	bind / angle / twist / roll	Benedict 1972:373
	***s-ki:l**	bind / twist / roll / angle	Matisoff 2003a:595
	***s-ril ≍ s-gril**	move / roll	Matisoff 2003a:610

1. NE Indian Areal Group: ***s-(g)ril** MOVE / ROLL / TWIST

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***hrual** ROLL / TWIST, ***y(i/u)al** ROLL / ROLL UP, ***kil** ANGLE / CORNER, ***kir** CURL

**Chin*	***hrual**	ROLL / TWIST	VanBik 2009:1096
	***kil**	ANGLE / CORNER	VanBik 2009:251
	***kir**	CURL	VanBik 2009:270
	***yial ≍ yual**	ROLL / ROLL UP	VanBik 2009:1231

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**kil**	angle, corner	VanBik 2009:251
Sizang	**zīel** hī	wrap	VanBik 2009:1231
Thado	**kháaw** húol	whip	VanBik 2009:1096
	zíel-I, zìel-II	roll	VanBik 2009:1231
	zíl	roll	Thirumalai 1972:62
Tiddim	**hual**^{2}	roll something into a ball by hands	VanBik 2009:1096
	hual^{2}	roll something into a ball by hands (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:501
	hual^{2}	roll something into a ball ...	Bhaskararao 1994
	ki:l^{1}	curly [of hair] (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:640
	ki:l^{1}	curly [of hair]	Bhaskararao 1994

	zial[2]	fold by rolling	VanBik 2009:1231
	zial[2]	fold by rolling (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2024
	zial[2]	fold by rolling (tr.) ...	Bhaskararao 1994
	zial[1]	roll (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2023
	zial[1]	roll (intr.)	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**ki**	corner	VanBik 2009:251
	ng-**kir**	curled, as hair or sth else (be v.)	VanBik 2009:270
Khumi	**akyaáwy**	roll up, rolled up, curled up, folded up	VanBik 2009:1231
	haáwy	unite, put together, bring along	VanBik 2009:1096
	tkii	corner	VanBik 2009:251

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hrûal**-I, hrŭal-II	roll, twist , unite (as fibers into a rope)	VanBik 2009:1096
Lai (Falam)	**hrŭal**-I, hrùal-II	roll, twist (e.g. fiber into a rope)	VanBik 2009:1096
Lai (Hakha)	**kìl**	angle, corner	VanBik 2009:251
Lai (Falam)	**kîl**	corner, angle	VanBik 2009:251
Lai (Hakha)	**kîr**-I, kĭr-II	curl (e.g. hair)	VanBik 2009:270
Lai (Falam)	**kír**-INV	curl (e.g. hair)	VanBik 2009:270
Lai (Hakha)	**zîal**-I, zĭal-II ≍ zûal-I, zŭal-II	roll (e.g. cigarette)	VanBik 2009:1231
Lushai [Mizo]	**hrúal**	roll up in the hand, to twist, to cord together (as string) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1096
	hrual	roll up in the hand (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2477
	kĭl	angle, a corner, an edge (n.)	VanBik 2009:251
	kĭr	curly (as hair)	VanBik 2009:270
	ki:l	corner, angle	Benedict 1972:373
	zíal	roll up (as a rug, piece of paper, cigarette, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1231
	zial	roll up (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3145

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	chā-**káo**	curl up (v.)	VanBik 2009:270
	kí	corner, angle	VanBik 2009:251

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Kokborok	**ri**	roll	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**gyin**	roll, fashion, as mud pellets	Benedict 1972:373
	kyin	soft and easily twisted (vs.)	Benedict 1972:373
	ə **kyin**	roll, as a turban, into a ball	Benedict 1972:373

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**kir kir**	circle	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**khir khir**	round	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:807.7
	rin	roll (e.g. rock)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:762.7
	rin[13]	roll (e.g. rock)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**rin**	roll (e.g. rock)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**riu**[35]	roll (e.g.rock)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**chir**[55]mo[53]	round	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:807.6
	ri?[13]	roll (e.g. rock)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:762.6
Motuo Menba	**khir khir**	circle / circular (tubular)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.07
	rin	roll (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1361.07
Cuona Menba	**chir**[55]mo[53]	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.06
	ri?[35]la[35]	roll (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1361.06
	tʂi[35]ja[35]	roll up (cloth) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1456.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**wdzi**	roll up (cloth) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1456.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ri**	roll (e.g. rock)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:762.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rdzi̤**	wrap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:663.5
	ri	roll (e.g. rock)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:762.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**kir kir**	circle	Rangan 1975:48
	ril ba·	roll	Rangan 1975:46
Tibetan (Batang)	**dzi̤**[55]	wrap; roll up (cloth) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.03; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1456.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**dzi̤**[13]	wrap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:663.3
	ri[13]	roll (e.g. rock)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:762.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ri**[15]	roll (e.g. rock)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:762.2
	ri:[13]	roll (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1361.02
	təp[55] **ri:**[55]	roll (of cloth) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0872.02
	tʂi[13]	wrap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.02
	tʂi[15]	wrap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:663.2
	tʂi:[13]	roll up (cloth) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1456.02
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥkhyil**-ba	wind, twist, roll (v.)	Benedict 1972:373
	ril	roll (e.g. rock)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:762.1
	sgril	wrap; roll up (cloth) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1456.01
	skyil-ba	bend (v.)	Benedict 1972:373
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htɕə**	roll up (cloth) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1456.04

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**kil**	screw (n.)	Benedict 1972:373
	ki **ríl**	roll thread into a ball (v.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{A}**k^{h}il** ROLL

**TGTM*	*^{A}**k^{h}il**	roll	Mazaudon 1994:105
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**ki kil**	circle	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0750
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**k^{h}il**	whirl, coil, coil up	Mazaudon 1994:105
Thakali (Marpha)	**k^{h}il**-ba	roll up	Mazaudon 1994:105
	^{55,33}**q^{h}il**-ba	roll (a mat)	Mazaudon 1994:105

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**rim**	roll up (v.)	Rai 1985
Kulung	**khiri** moks_	in a circle	Rai *et al.* 1975
	khirə	circle	Rai *et al.* 1975
	khi khir pa	round, disk	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	sa: **khil**	viscera, guts, intestines; intestines	Driem 1993; Michailovsky 1991:97 [a]

[a] The semantic extension to INTESTINES is due to the coiled appearance of those organs. Cf. WB **wak-ʔu** 'screw', lit. "pig-intestine".

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**khir-**	turn round, twist together (v.)	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	thu.**riʔ**	roll (mat, leaves in shoot, etc.) (n.)	Caughley 2000

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **tʂəl**	roll up (cloth) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1456.11
Caodeng	kɐ-**tʂəl**	roll up	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**tʂəl**	roll (of cloth) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0872.11
rGBenzhen	ka-**tʂər**	roll up	Sun 1997b

Chinese comparandum

Comparanda for this etymon comprise a large set of allofams within Chinese (cf. Schuessler 2007:320-1), showing extensive variation in initial (simple vs. complex) and medial (presence vs. lack) segments, as well as phonation type. The following examples are representative:

絞 OC ***kŏg**, *GSR* #1166k 'twist, strangle'; Schuessler 2007:309 ***kriâuʔ** or ***krâuʔ**; B & S 2011: ***k-r^{ʕ}iwʔ {k-r^{ʕ} [i] wʔ}** (dial. › ***kr^{ʕ} [i] wʔ**); Mand. **jiǎo**.

糾 OC ***kl̥ŏg**, *GSR* #1064b 'twist, plait; unite'; Schuessler 2007:320 ***kiuʔ**; B & S 2011: ***k‹r›iwʔ**; Mand. **jiǔ**.

樛 OC ***klj̥ŏg**, *GSR* #1069h 'downward-curving (of branches); to twist'; Schuessler 2007:320 ***kiu**; B & S 2011: ***k-riw** (dial. › ***kriw**); Mand. **jiū**.

摎 OC ***glj̥ôg**/***klj̥ŏg**, *GSR* #1069g 'tie around, strangle'; Schuessler 2007: (***(k)riw**); B & S 2011: ***k-riw** (dial. › ***kriw**); Mand. **liú/jiū**.

繚 OC ***liog/l̥iog**, *GSR* #1151g 'bind around, wrap; entangle'; Schuessler 2007:309 ***riauʔ**; B & S 2011: (***r^{ʕ}ewʔ {[r]^{ʕ}ewʔ}**); Mand. **liǎo**.

謬 OC ***mlj̥ŏg**, *GSR* #1069m 'to lie (i.e. 'twist words')'; Schuessler 2007:389 ***mriuh**; B & S 2011: ***mə-riw-s** (dial. › ***mriw-s**); Mand. **miù**.

(5) PTB *r-tul ROLL UP / WRAP

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-tul**	roll up; wrap; roll	Matisoff 2003a:127, 129, 415; LaPolla 1987:29

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Ladakhi)	**thul**-ba	roll / wind up	LaPolla 1987:29
Tibetan (Written)	**thul**-pa	dress made from the skins of animals	LaPolla 1987:29

2.2. Newar

Newar	gwārā-**tul**-e	roll over (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.31

4. Nungic

Rawang	**dɔl**[33]	wrap, fold, roll up	LaPolla 2003:1173
Anong	hi-**dul**	legging	Matisoff 2003a:415
	hi-**dul dul**	wear gaiters (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:415
	redul	roll, wrap, enwrap	LaPolla 1987:29
Rawang	**rədol**[33]	roll up (cloth)	LaPolla 2003:1346

7. Karenic

Pa-O	tə **thù**	roll up, as mat	Solnit 1989
Pwo	**thu**	roll up (as a mat or a cigar) (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:415
Sgaw	**thu**	roll up (as a mat or a cigar) (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:415

(6) PKC *θuun WRAP / PACK / BUNDLE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***θuun**	WRAP / PACK / BUNDLE	VanBik 2009:636

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**tuun**	wrap	VanBik 2009:636
Thado	**tsûun**-I, tsùun-II	wrap, pack	VanBik 2009:636
Tiddim	**tu:n**[1]	fold and wrap	VanBik 2009:636
	tu:n[1]	fold and wrap (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1853
	tu:n[1]	fold and wrap	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**htun**	pack, bundle	VanBik 2009:636

1.2.2. Central Chin

Bawm	**fúun**	wrap up	Löffler 1985
Lai (Falam)	**fúun**-I, fùn-II	wrap, pack	VanBik 2009:636
Lai (Hakha)	**fûun**-I, fŭun-II	wrap, pack	VanBik 2009:636
Lushai [Mizo]	**fûn**	wrap (v.)	Marrison 1967
	fŭun	wrap up or pack up (in a parcel, bundle, package or packet) (v.)	VanBik 2009:636
	fŭun	wrap up	Löffler 1985
	fu:n	wrap up (in a parcel or bundle) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2336

(7a) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{g}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ **wap HATCH / INCUBATE / COVER**

The present reconstruction is a revision of **gop ≍ kop**, found in *HPTB* #11a. This revision seems to go better with the Baxter/Sagart reconstruction of the Chinese comparandum (see below).

This etymon, with velar stop or fricative initial reflexes, seems clearly to have an allofamic relationship to PTB ***ʔup** COVER / INCUBATE / HATCH (§6.13). Other TB etyma showing variation between velar and zero (= glottal stop) initial include NEEDLE ***kap** (but WB **ʔap**), HOUSE ***kyim** (but WB **ʔim**), etc. See *STC* pp. 25-6, Matisoff 1997 ("Primary and secondary laryngeal initials in TB"), and *HPTB* p. 57.

This widely-attested root includes both simplex and causative allofams (thus the variation in voicing). It occurs in Tani, Himalayish, Jingpho, and perhaps Karenic. There is also a good Chinese comparandum, 蓋, meaning 'cover; lid' (below).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***gap**/kap	cover	Coblin 1986:59

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gab**/khab	cover	Coblin 1986:59
	*ʔup ≍ **gup**	hatch / cover	Matisoff 2003a:583

1.1.1. Tani: ***gup** SIT ON EGGS / HATCH

**Tani*	***gup**	sit on eggs / hatch	Sun 1993a:363

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**gúŋ**	hatch	Sun 1993b
	guʔ	brood	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**gup**	sit on eggs; hatch	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**gup**	sit on eggs; hatch	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	gup	hatch / incubate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1326.24
	kup-lup	cover up	Sun 1993b
	me:-**kap**	cover with the hand	Sun 1993b
	pa **kap**	cover / hide from view (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1794.24
	pam **kap**	cover up (objects) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1520.24

	pam-**kap**	cover up	Sun 1993b
Galo	**gub** nam	incubate (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	po rok-ape **gup**-nam	hatch (v.)	Das Gupta 1963

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gup**	sit on eggs / hatch	Sun 1993a
Milang	ci-ci **gup**-le-ma	hatch	Tayeng 1976

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hup-I**, ***huʔ-II** COVER / PROTECT, ***khup-I**, ***khuʔ-II** COVER / TURN UPSIDE DOWN

**Chin*	*__hup__-I, huʔ-II	COVER / PROTECT	VanBik 2009:708
	*__khup__-I, khuʔ-II	COVER / TURN UPSIDE DOWN	VanBik 2009:434

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin: ***huap** INCLUDE / COVER

**Northern Chin*	*__huap__	INCLUDE / COVER	VanBik 2009:723
Paite	**khuh**	cover	VanBik 2009:434
Thado	**hûop**-INV	cover up to include everything (physically or mentally)	VanBik 2009:723
	hùʔ-INV	favor, protect	VanBik 2009:708
	khùu-INV	cover	VanBik 2009:434
	xú **xùm**	cover	Thirumalai 1972:61
Tiddim	**khu?**^{3}	cover with a blanket-like thing; spread a fish-net (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:820
	khu?^{3}	cover with a blanket-like thing, spread a fish-net	VanBik 2009:434

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**khiiw**	cover with, put something on something else	VanBik 2009:434

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**huap**-INV	include, cover	VanBik 2009:723
	hup-I, huʔ-II	cover (with hand)	VanBik 2009:708
Lai (Falam)	**hùp**-INV	cover, protect	VanBik 2009:708
Lai (Hakha)	**khup**-I, khuʔ-II	cover, place things upside down or with concavity downwards (as basket, pot, etc.) (v.)	VanBik 2009:434
Lai (Falam)	**khùʔ**-INV	cover, lid (v.)	VanBik 2009:434
Lushai [Mizo]	**hûap**	include, to take in, to cover, to embrace, to apply to (v.)	VanBik 2009:723
	hùp-I, hùh-II	cover (as fly or anything small with the hand, or as mouth, face, nakedness or orifice of any kind with the hand(s) or with cloth, etc.) (v.)	VanBik 2009:708
	khùp-I, khùh-II	place upside down or with concavity downwards (as basket, pot, plate, etc.), to close or shut (as book) (v.)	VanBik 2009:434

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**hū**	cover (v.)	VanBik 2009:708
	khú	cover (v.)	VanBik 2009:434

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	**küp** bang	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	cho **khab**	shoe (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yin **kep**	claw	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	me **khüp**	roof	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**gum**	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**gum**	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**kup**	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**khep**-	close, to cover, to spread out, to put on clothes (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	khup-	close, to cover, to spread out, to put on clothes (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	khyp-	close, to cover, to spread out, to put on clothes (v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	*__kup__	cover / shut	French 1983:472
	*__kuːp__	cover / shut	French 1983:472

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	ka **hap**	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	a **hip**	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**gáp**	close (v.)	Weidert 1987:661
	kap	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kap	shut	Marrison 1967
Khiamngan	^{23}**gɪap**	close (v.)	Weidert 1987:661
Konyak	**kep**	shut	Marrison 1967
	küp	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967
Phom	**gap**^{33}	close (box, etc.) / cover	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	küp	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967
	küp	shut	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**gàp**	cover / top	Matisoff 1974:327
	mə **gàp**	cover	Matisoff 1974:327

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**kap** pā	covered (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.14

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**sgab**-pa	cover (v.)	Coblin 1986:59

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{A}**gap**	lid	Mazaudon 1978:45
	*^{A}**gap**	cover (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:142
Gurung	**kāːq** bāː	covered (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.14
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kaːq** baː	covered	Glover 1972:12.C.14
	^{2}**kaː**	lid	Mazaudon 1978:45
Manang (Ngawal)	^{3}**kje**	lid	Mazaudon 1978:45
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**kap**	lid	Mazaudon 1978:45
	^{3}**kap**	cover / lid (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:142
Tamang (Sahu)	^{3}**kap**	lid; cover, lid	Mazaudon 1978:45; Mazaudon 1994:142
Tamang (Taglung)	^{3}**kap**-pa	cover	Mazaudon 1994:142
Thakali	**kahp**-ci-wa	covered (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.14
Thakali (Marpha)	**go^{ɦ}**-wa	cover (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:142
	^{3}**ko**	lid	Mazaudon 1978:45
	^{3}**ko^{ɦ}**	cover / lid (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:142
Thakali (Syang)	^{3}**ko**	lid	Mazaudon 1978:45
Thakali (Tukche)	**kɔhp**	cover / lid (n.)	Hari 1971:6.A.58
	kɔhp-ci-wɔ	covered	Hari 1971:12.C.14
	kɔhp-lɔ	cover (v.)	Hari 1971:7.B.1.34 3
	^{3}**kəp**	cover / lid (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:142
	^{3}**kəp**-lə	cover (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:142
	^{3}**kʌp**	lid	Mazaudon 1978:45

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**khapt**-	cover (e.g. so. with a blanket), to roof (v.)	Driem 1988

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**khəpp**-u	cover (with a lid) (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
	kupp-u	brood (eggs) (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**khop** nɨ	cover, cap	Driem 1993
	kop mɨt nɨ	cover someone with a blanket	Driem 1993

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**kap** sio	covered (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.14
Magar	**hup**-ke	covered (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.14

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Longxi)	**qhù**	cover (with blanket)	Evans 1999:1905
	qhù tá	cover	Evans 1999:916
	qhú	cover (with earth)	Evans 1999:1904
	qhú	cover (v.t.)	Evans 1999:2178
	tà **qhó**	cover	Evans 1999:916
Qiang (Mianchi)	qà **qù**	lid, cover (of cup)	Evans 1999:759
	qà **qù**	cover (for cup) (n.)	Evans 1999:916
	tshà **qù**	lid, cover	Evans 1999:759
	tshà **qù**	cover (for pot) (n.)	Evans 1999:916

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Luxi)	**xɔp**^{55}	sit on, hatch (egg)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɔp^{55}	sit	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**xup**^{55}	incubate	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1834

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**ɣɔ̱**^{31}	incubate	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1834.
Nusu (Central)	**ɣɔ̱**^{53}	incubate	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1834.

7. Karenic

**Karen (Pwo)*	***ɣwýq**	brood (eggs) (v.)	Jones 1961:356
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***ɣý**	brood (eggs) (v.)	Jones 1961:356
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***ɣỳh**	brood (eggs) (v.)	Jones 1961:356
Pa-O	**khó?**	brood, sit on eggs	Solnit 1989
	khó?	brood (eggs) (v.)	Jones 1961:356
Pwo (Bassein)	**ɣỳ**	brood (eggs) (v.)	Jones 1961:356
Pwo (Moulmein)	**ɣú?**	brood (eggs) (v.)	Jones 1961:356
Sgaw (Bassein)	**hý**	brood (eggs) (v.)	Jones 1961:356
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	**xɯ̱**^{55}	incubate	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1899
	xɯ̱^{55} di̱^{31}	incubate	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1899.1
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**ɣý**	brood (eggs) (v.)	Jones 1961:356

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**gap**	cover	Coblin 1986:59
	kabh	cover	Coblin 1986:59
	kaps	cover; conceal	Baxter 1992:1731; Baxter 1992:1825
	ʔjap	cover	Coblin 1986:59

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**ɣâp**	cover	Coblin 1986:59

Chinese comparanda

蓋 OC ***gûp**/***kûb** > ***kûd**, *GSR* #642q, 'to cover, thatch' ⩭ 'a cover, lid'; Li 1971: ***gap**/***kabh** > ***kadh**; Baxter 1992 #1732, 1731: ***ɦkap**/***kaps** > ***kats**; Mand. **hé** ⩭ **gài**.

These two related words perhaps derive from an unattested root ***kap**. The noun has an ***-s** suffix, which derives a passive noun from a transitive verb (i.e. 'the thing that is used to cover' > 'a lid'). In the verb form, Baxter's ***ɦkap** develops as ***gap**, the notation suggesting morphological derivation from a root with initial ***k-**. While voicing derivation is a well-known Old Chinese morphological process, it usually derives intransitives from transitive verbs, so the function here is not clear.

The only difficulty with the TB comparison is the vowel. While Baxter's six-vowel system permits the possibility of reconstructing ***ɦkop** or ***gop** for the verb, the noun must be reconstructed with ***a** to account for subsequent sound changes, and this forces a reconstruction of ***a** in the verb as well.

It is possible that OC ***a** corresponds regularly to PTB ***o** before bilabial codas. Unfortunately, there are very few proposed cognate sets that would help us establish or refute such a possibility.
[ZJH]

盍 OC ***gʼûp**, *GSR* #642n-o 'join, unite; door leaf'; Schuessler 2007:275 ***gâp**; B & S 2011: ***m-kˢap {m-[k]ˢap}**; Mand. **hé**.
蓋 OC ***gʼûp**; ***kûb** > ***kûd**; *GSR* #642q-r 'thatch, cover (v.); cover, lid (n.)'; Schuessler 2007:275 ***kâts** < ***kâps**; B & S 2011: ***kˢap-s {[k]ˢap-s}**; Mand. **gài**.
閤 OC ***kəp**, *GSR* #675i 'small gate'; Schuessler 2007:274 ***kâp**; B & S 2011: ***kˢop {[k]ˢ[o] p}**; Mand. **gé**.
蛤 OC ***kəp**, *GSR* #675h 'oyster, mussel'; Schuessler 2007:274 ***kâp**; B & S 2011: (***kˢop**); Mand. **gé**.
合 OC ***gʼəp**, *GSR* #675a-d 'join, unite; harmony; close, shut'; Schuessler 2007:274 ***gâp**; B & S 2011: ***m-kˢop**; Mand. **hé**.
洽 OC ***gʼɛp**, *GSR* #675m 'unite, assemble; accord with'; Schuessler 2007:274 ***grâp**; B & S 2011: ***gˢ‹r›op {[g]ˢ‹r›[o] p}**; Mand. **qià**.
翕 OC ***χi̱əp**, *GSR* #675q 'united; harmonious'; Schuessler 2007:274 (***həp**); B & S 2011: ***qʰəp {qʰ(r)[ə] p}**; Mand. **xì**.

(7b) PTB *ʔup COVER / INCUBATE / HATCH

This is *STC* #107, which cites forms from Jingpho, Karbi, Written Burmese, and Mizo. This etymon is most likely an allofam of PTB ***(g/k)wap** HATCH / INCUBATE / COVER (§6.13).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__up__	cover (v.)	Benedict 1972:107
	***ʔup** ⩭ gup	hatch / cover	Matisoff 2003a:583

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**op**^{3}	brood over eggs (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1311
	op^{3}	brood over eggs	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**up**	shelter (v.)	Benedict 1972:107

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**up**	cover (v.)	Benedict 1972:107

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**úp ⩭ wúp**	cover (v.)	Benedict 1972:107

2.1.4. Tamangish

*TGTM	*ᴬ**u**	cover (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:3
	*ᴬ**up**	cover	Mazaudon 1994:5
	*ᴮ**up**	brood, cover, smother	Mazaudon 1994:6
Gurung (Ghachok)	**hu** ba	cover	Glover 1972:6.B.2.11
	uh ba	cover (v.)	Glover 1972:7.B.1.34
Gurung	³**u-**	cover (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:5
Manang (Prakaa)	²**ʔuː-**	cover	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0797
	³**uː-**	cover	Mazaudon 1994:5
Tamang (Sahu)	**'up**-pā(p)	brood (hens) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.16
	²**up**	brood	Mazaudon 1994:6

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**up**⁵⁵	sit on, hatch (egg); hatch	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.41
Bola	ɣaʔ³¹ **ap**⁵⁵	incubate	DAI Qingxia 1989g:1834
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**wuʔ**⁴⁴	hatch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.40
Burmese (Written)	**up**	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967
	up	cover, rule	Benedict 1976a
	up	cover (v.)	Benedict 1972:107
	wɑp	hatch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.39
Hpun (Northern)	**àʔ**	incubate (cp. Crouch)	Henderson 1986
Maru [Langsu]	**ap**⁵⁵	hatch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**up**⁵⁵	sit on (egg); hatch	XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:786.42

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Buyuan)	**vu**¹³	cover (muffle) (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**fu**³⁵	cover up; boil in a covered pot; braise (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ū'**³	cover (house with roof)	Fraser 1922

7. KARENIC

Palaychi	**hùq**	brood (eggs) (v.)	Jones 1961:356
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	**u̱ʔ**⁵⁵	incubate	DAI Qingxia 1989j:1899

(7c) PTB *klup COVER / WRAP

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

Tibeto-Burman	***klup**	cover / wrap	Matisoff 2003a:596; Benedict 1972:479

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-hl [a/ə] p** WRAP / COVER (v.)

Central Naga	*a-**hl [a/ə] p**	WRAP / COVER (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.158
Ao	*a-**hləp**	WRAP, FOLD	Bruhn 2014a:II.340
Ao (Chungli)	a³**ləp**¹	wrap (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.340
Ao (Mongsen)	**lùp**	wrap (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hlèp**	wrap [wrapped] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**hləp**²-	cover / warm one's hands by a fire (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.158
	hlap	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967
	hlap	shut	Marrison 1967
	lhüp a	cover	Murry *et al.* 1978:25
Sangtam	a **hep** ti	cover (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	hap ti	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	dźo **khlop**	cover, shut	Benedict 1972:479
	kəb **gráb**	cover completely (v.)	Bhat 1968
	sa **gləb**	cover (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	phun-**khlub**	wrap around	Benedict 1972:479
	phu **khlub**	tuck in	Benedict 1972:479
	su **khlub**	drown, immerse	Benedict 1972:479

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**grup**	wrap, cover; cover (as with a blanket), wrap (as a child in a blanket)	LaPolla 1987:138; Benedict 1972:479

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**klub**	cover (v.)	Marrison 1967
	klub-pa	cover with clothes or ornam (v.)	Luce 1985:X.225
	klub-pa	cover	LaPolla 1987:138

(8) PKC *mer? TWIST / PINCH / SQUEEZE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

Chin	***mer?**	TWIST / PINCH / SQUEEZE	VanBik 2009:796

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**mek**	squeeze	VanBik 2009:796
Sizang	**meak** hī	twist	VanBik 2009:796
Thado	**mé?**-I, mè?-II	press out, exude, ooze	VanBik 2009:796

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**mieé**	twist, wring out (water from cloth)	VanBik 2009:796

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**mer?**-INV	twist, pinch, squeeze	VanBik 2009:796
Lai (Falam)	**mèr?**-INV	pinch, squeeze	VanBik 2009:796

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-mì	twist (v.)	VanBik 2009:796

(9) PKC *ɗeʔ SQUASH / PRESS

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

Chin	***ɗeʔ**	SQUASH / PRESS	VanBik 2009:107

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**dèe**-INV	squash, press (as head louse)	VanBik 2009:107

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**deh**	look for and kill head lice (i.e. to press and kill lice) (v.)	VanBik 2009:107
Khumi	**di**	press with fingernail	VanBik 2009:107

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**deʔ**-INV	squash, press down (e.g. lice)	VanBik 2009:107
Lai (Falam)	**dèʔ**-INV	press down (v.)	VanBik 2009:107
Lushai [Mizo]	**dèh**	kill (fleas, lice, ticks etc) with or on the fingernail (v.)	VanBik 2009:107

(10) PKC * ɓ/p uum HEAP / COLLECT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

Chin	***ɓuum** ~ puum	HEAP / COLLECT	VanBik 2009:30

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**a**-pün	heap (n.)	VanBik 2009:30
Cho (Mindat)	**bum**	assemble, collect, gather	VanBik 2009:30

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**pŭum**-I, pum?-II	heap, collect, gather, to pile (v.)	VanBik 2009:30
Lai (Falam)	**pùum**-INV	heap, to gather (v.)	VanBik 2009:30

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**pō**	assemble (v.)	VanBik 2009:30

(11) PKC *tel PARTICIPATE / INCLUDE / JOIN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

Chin	***tel**	PARTICIPATE / INCLUDE / JOIN	VanBik 2009:216

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**tel**, ki-tel	participate	VanBik 2009:216
Tiddim	**tel**¹	include	VanBik 2009:216
	tel¹	include (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1743
	tel¹	understand; include	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tèl**-I, tĕl-II	participate, join, take part	VanBik 2009:216
Lai (Falam)	**tél**-INV	participate	VanBik 2009:216
Lushai [Mizo]	**tĕl**	take part in, accompany, to join with, to form part of	VanBik 2009:216

(12) PKC *nen-I, *nenʔ-II PRESS / PRESS DOWN / SIT UPON

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

Chin	***nen**-I, nenʔ-II	PRESS / PRESS DOWN / SIT UPON	VanBik 2009:826

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	**nen**³ > net³	press down with hand	VanBik 2009:826
	nen³ > net³	press down with hands (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1194
	nen³/net³	press down with hands	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**nên**-INV	press, press down, sit upon	VanBik 2009:826
Lai (Hakha)	**nenʔ**-INV	press, press down, sit upon	VanBik 2009:826

(13) PKC *hmet-I, *hmeʔ-II PRESS / KNEAD / MASSAGE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

Chin	***hmet**-I, hmeʔ-II	PRESS / KNEAD / MASSAGE	VanBik 2009:878

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**met** hī	press	VanBik 2009:878
Thado	**mé?**-I, mèʔ-II	press, massage	VanBik 2009:878

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hmet**-I, hmeʔ-II	press (with hand)	VanBik 2009:878
Lushai [Mizo]	**hmèt**-I, hmèh-II	press with the finger or fingers, to knead, to massage (v.)	VanBik 2009:878

(14) PKC *wuum HEAP / PILE (v.)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

Chin	***wuum**	HEAP / PILE (v.)	VanBik 2009:1150

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**vum**	heap	VanBik 2009:1150
Tiddim	**vu:m**²	heap of soil	VanBik 2009:1150

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**vûum**-I, vŭum-II	heap, pile up	VanBik 2009:1150
Lushai [Mizo]	**vùum**-I, vûum-II	heaped up, to be piled up (as rice, etc, in measure, or as earth, etc) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1150

(15) PTB *ŋra- k/ŋ MEET

Coblin 1986:109 offers several Chinese comparanda, listed below. Note that the Chinese forms reflect a final velar, ***-ŋ** or ***-k**.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

Sino-Tibetan	***ngraɣ**	meet / encounter	Coblin 1986:109

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

Tibeto-Burman	***ŋra**	meet; meet, encounter	Matisoff 2003a:606; Benedict 1972:154

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**nyā**	meet; frolic; copulate	Matisoff 1974:225
	nya	meet, encounter	Benedict 1972:154

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**ŋrâ**	meet with, find; copulate	Matisoff 1974:225; Benedict 1976a
	ŋrà	meet, encounter	Benedict 1972:154

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	迎	go to meet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3513; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3521
	迓	meet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3277
	逆	go against	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2012
Chinese (GSR #)	**0037f**	meet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3277
	0788c	go against	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2012

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old)	**ŋrak**	go against	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2012
	ŋraŋ	go to meet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3513
	ŋraŋ-s	go to meet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3521
	ŋˁ**rak**-s {[ŋ]ˁrak-s}	meet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3277

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**ngaeH**	meet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3277
	ngjaek	go against	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2012

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**nì**	go against	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2012
	yà	meet	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3277

Chinese comparandum

阿 OC ***ʔâ**, *GSR* #1m ‘slope; river bank’; B & S 2011: ***qˢar**; Mand. **é**.
澖 OC ***χo**, *GSR* #60k ‘river bank’; Schuessler 2007:150-1 ***hŋâʔ**; B & S 2011: ***qʰˢaʔ**; Mand. **hǔ**.
厂 OC ***χân**, *GSR* #145a-b ‘cliff’; Schuessler 2007:150-1 ***hŋâʔ**; B & S 2011: ***ŋ̊ˢarʔ** ~ ***ŋ̊ˢar-s**; Mand. **hàn**.
岸 OC ***ngân**, *GSR* #139e‘ ‘river bank’; Schuessler 2007:150-1 ***hŋâns**; B & S 2011: ***ŋˢar-s {[ŋ]ˢa[r]-s}** (‹ uvular?); Mand. **àn**.

顏 OC ***ngɑn**, *GSR* #199c ‘face; countenance; color’; Schuessler 2007:551 ***ŋrân**; B & S 2011: ***C.ŋˢrar**; Mand. **yán**.
迎 OC ***ngi̯ăng**, *GSR* #699d ‘meet’; Coblin 86:109 OC ***ngjiang**; Schuessler 2007:575 ***ŋraŋ**; B & S 2011: ***ŋraŋ**; Mand. **yíng**.
迎 OC ***ngi̯ăng**, *GSR* #699d ‘go to meet; receive’; Coblin 86:109 OC ***ngjiangh**; Schuessler 2007:575 ***ŋraŋh**; B & S 2011: ***ŋraŋ-s**; Mand. **yìng**.

禦 OC ***ngi̯o**, *GSR* #60p-q ‘defend; oppose; prevent’; Schuessler 2007:590 ***ŋaʔ**; B & S 2011: ***m-qʰaʔ {m-qʰ(r)aʔ}**; Mand. **yù**.
晤 OC ***ngo**, *GSR* #58l ‘meet; face to face’; Schuessler 2007:590 ***ŋâh**; B & S 2011: ***ŋˢak-s**; Mand. **wù**.
蘶 OC ***ngâk/g**, *GSR* #768d ‘resist, oppose’; Schuessler 2007:590 ***ŋâk(h)**; Mand. **wù**.

訝 OC ***ngå**, *GSR* #37e ‘meet; receive’; Coblin 86:109 ST ***ngraɣ** > OC ***ngragh**; Schuessler 2007:551 ***ŋrâh**; Mand. **yà**.
迓 OC ***ngå**, *GSR* #37f ‘meet; receive’; Coblin 86:109 ST ***ngraɣ** > OC ***ngragh**; Schuessler 2007:551 ***ŋrâh**; B & S 2011: ***ŋˢrak-s {[ŋ]ˢrak-s}**; Mand. **yà**.
詻 OC ***nglăk**, *GSR* #766h’ ‘dispute, contest’; Schuessler 2007:551 ***ŋrâk**; B & S 2011: (***ŋˢrak**); Mand. **é**.
額 OC ***nglăk**, *GSR* #766 ‘forehead’; Schuessler 2007:552 ***ŋrâk**; B & S 2011: (***ŋˢrak**); Mand. **é**.
逆 OC ***ngi̯ăk**, *GSR* #788c-e ‘go to meet; go against; rebellious; receive; anticipate’; Coblin 86:109 OC ***ngjiak**; Schuessler 2007:399 ***ŋrjak**; B & S 2011: ***ŋˢrak-s {[ŋ]ˢrak-s}**; Mand. **nì**.

訴 OC ***sûg**, *GSR* #792j ‘accuse, inform’; Schuessler 2007:590 ***sŋâkh**; B & S 2011: ***s-ŋˢak-s**; Mand. **sù**.
朔 OC ***sûk**, *GSR* #769a ‘first day of new moon; beginning, north’; Schuessler 2007:399 ***sŋrâk** ~ ***srôk**; B & S 2011: ***s.ŋrak**; Mand. **shuò**.

(16) PKC *reek TIGHTEN / CONSTRICT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***reek**	TIGHTEN / CONSTRICT	VanBik 2009:981
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**gek**	constrict	VanBik 2009:981
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**reek**-I, reʔ-II	tighten, constrict	VanBik 2009:981
Lushai [Mizo]	**rêek**-I, rèh-II	tighten (v.)	VanBik 2009:981

(17) PKC *hloom WRAP / COVER

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hloom**	WRAP / COVER	VanBik 2009:1129
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**a(m)lueéng**	wrap (oneself) up in something	VanBik 2009:1129
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hlôom**-I, hlŏom-II	wrap, cover	VanBik 2009:1129
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pā**-hlý	wrap, to cover (v.)	VanBik 2009:1129

(18) PTB * k g -r u i m MEET

This root shows the classic pattern of medial **-u- ≍ -i-** variation, with Written Burmese attesting both variants. (The unaspirated WB initials go back to PTB ***gr-**.)

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***grim ≍ krim**	meet	Matisoff 2003a:591
	***grum ≍ krum**	meet	Matisoff 2003a:591
	***k-rum ≍ k-rim**	meet	LaPolla 1987:171
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***krum**~krup	meet(with) / find(1) / (2)	French 1983:522
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**hkrum**	meet, converge; copulate	Matisoff 1987
	khrum	meet	Marrison 1967
	khrúm	meet	Matisoff 1974:270
	khrum^{55}	meet	LaPolla 1987:171
	khʒum^{55}	meet / come across (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1769.19
	khʒum^{55}	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:707.47
	khɹum^{55}	encounter / meet	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**rum**	meet	LaPolla 1987:171
	rum; tʂhap	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:707.7
	tʂʻap^{55}~**rum**^{13}	encounter / meet	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**rum**	encounter / meet	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**rum**	meet / come across (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1769.07
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**grum**-cā	meet (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.48
Thulung	**ghreom**- (TE)	meet (v.)	Allen 1975
	kreom-	meet; meet, go meet (v.)	Allen 1975; Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**krumh**-	meet up with (tracks, people), clash, join up with (vai.)	Caughley 2000
	krus-	meet with (person, etc.) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	tɯ^{31} **xɹɯm**^{53}	meet	LaPolla 1987:171
	tɯ^{31}**xɹɯm**^{53}	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**krim**	meet with, find (v.)	Benedict 1976a [a]
	krim	meet with, find	Benedict 1976a
	kruṁ	meet with, find (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	krum ≍ krim	meet with, find	Matisoff 1974:270; LaPolla 1987:171

[a] Burmese **krim** was assigned to PTB ***s-g-ryam** CATCH / HOLD FAST (§6.16) in *HPTB*:305 but it now seems preferable to include it under the present root.

	krumˀ	meet	Marrison 1967; Okell 1971
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**ɣɹə**^{33}	meet / come across (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1769.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɹɯ**^{35}	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:707.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ɹɯ**^{55}	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɹɯ**^{55}	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986

(19) PCC *beŋ COMPRESS / PRESS DOWN / CROWD

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***beŋ**	COMPRESS / PRESS DOWN / CROWD	VanBik 2009:20
Lai (Hakha)	**bèŋ**-I, bĕn-II	compress (as cloth in a box), press down, crowd	VanBik 2009:20
Lushai [Mizo]	**bêng**	compress, to press in or down, to crowd together (v.)	VanBik 2009:20

(20) PCC *ʔua m p CONFINED / HOT

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***ʔuam ≍** ʔuap	CONFINED / HOT	VanBik 2009:471
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔûam**-I ʔŭam-II	confine (as meat, rice in a pot), be hot due to being confined in an enclosure	VanBik 2009:471
Lushai [Mizo]	**ûap**	confine (such things as rice in an overful basket; be hot, close, sultry; be depressing (as weather or atmosphere) (v.)	VanBik 2009:471

(21) PTk *loj ROLL (in a roll)

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***loj**	roll (in a roll)	Mortensen 2012:697
Huishu	kʰə-**lu**-kʰe	roll	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.111
Tusom	kʰo-kʰə-**ly**	roll	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.127

(22) PTB *pil FOLD

The Lepcha cognate **bíl** makes it possible to reconstruct this root at the PTB level.

1.1.1. Tani: ***pil** FOLD (v.t.)			
**Tani*	***pil**	fold (v.t.)	Sun 1993a:163
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	(pu-lje) **per**	fold (v.)	Sun 1993b
	pu-lje **per**	fold (v.t.)	Sun 1993a [a]
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Mishing [Miri]	**pir**	fold (v.t.)	Sun 1993a
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ɓil** FOLD			
**Chin*	***ɓil**	FOLD	VanBik 2009:28
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	kʻut- **byaw**	worship	VanBik 2009:28
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**bîl-I**, **bĭl-II**	fold (e.g. a sheet) (v.)	VanBik 2009:28
Lai (Falam)	**bíl-I**, **bìl-II**	fold (e.g. a sheet) (v.)	VanBik 2009:28
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**bíl**	fold of cloth or paper (v.)	Plaisier 2007

[a] [Source Note] rhyme!

(23) PTB *m-prat MEET

This etymon is attested in Deng, Bodic, and Nungic. Deng **mphɹot**^{55} shows the nasal prefix. (This etymology is due to Liberty Lidz.)

1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**mphɹot**^{55}	meet / come across (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1769.23
	mphɹot^{55}	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:707.48
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**phret**^{55}pu^{55}	encounter / meet	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Cuona Menba	**phret**^{55}ta^{31}	meet / come across (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1769.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**’prad**	meet	Marrison 1967
	ḥprat	meet together, meet with, fall in with, find (v.)	Jäschke 1881:359
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɑ^{31}**phɹɑt**^{55}	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

(24) PTB *tuk ≍ * t d wa k ŋ MEET

VanBik (2009) reconstructs two separate roots for Chin: ***ɗoŋ-I, ɗon-II** for PKC (VanBik:96) and ***toŋ-I, ton-II** for PCC (VanBik:207), but entertains the possibility that they are co-allofams. The nasal prefix in Lotha Naga has not been found elsewhere.

The allofam with ***-u-** vocalism is meant to accommodate the WT form *inter alia*.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ɗoŋ-I**, ***ɗon-II** MEET / WELCOME / RECEIVE / COLLECT			
**Chin*	***ɗoŋ**-I, ɗon-II	MEET / WELCOME / RECEIVE / COLLECT	VanBik 2009:96
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**dóng**-I, dòn-II	collect (tax money or anything)	VanBik 2009:96
Tiddim	**dong**^{2} > don^{3}	collect offerings	VanBik 2009:96
	dong^{2} > don^{3}	collect offerings (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:259
	doŋ^{2}/don^{3}	collect offerings	Bhaskararao 1994
	tuak^{1} > tua?^{3}	confront; meet face to face; have one’s plans fulfilled (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1816
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**dö´**	go to meet (v.)	VanBik 2009:96

Khumi	moey **toeyng**	meet, hold a meeting	VanBik 2009:207

1.2.2. Central Chin: ***toŋ-I**, ***ton-II** MEET / CONTACT

**Central Chin*	***toŋ**-I, ton-II	MEET / CONTACT	VanBik 2009:207
Lai (Hakha)	**dôŋ**-I, dǒn-II	meet, welcome	VanBik 2009:96
	tôŋ-I, tǒn-II	meet, come to see, contact	VanBik 2009:207
Lai (Falam)	**tǒŋ**-INV	meet, contact	VanBik 2009:207
Lushai [Mizo]	**dáwng**-I, dàwn-II	receive or get (e.g. visitor, rising sun, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:96
	tawk	meet (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2927
	táwng-I, tàwn-II	meet, to come across (v.)	VanBik 2009:207
	tong	arrive; come across; meet (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3047

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**dȳ**	go to meet, to meet (v.)	VanBik 2009:96
	tỳ	meet, to come in contact with (v.)	VanBik 2009:207

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	n̩^{1}-**tok**^{2}-	meet (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ntok	meet	Marrison 1967
	ntok ta	meet	Murry *et al.* 1978:72

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**thuk**	meet / come across (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1769.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**thək**	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:707.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**thək**	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:707.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**thuʔ**^{53}	meet / come across (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1769.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**thuʔ**^{53}	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:707.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**thuʔ**^{53}	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:707.2
	thu^{52}	meet / come across (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1769.02
Tibetan (Written)	**thug**	meet	Marrison 1967
	thug	meet / come across (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1769.01
	thug	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:707.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**thəχ**	meet / come across (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1769.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{A}**doː**,^{A}do	reach, meet, arrive	Mazaudon 1994:523	[a]
Gurung	**toh** bā	meet (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.48	
Gurung (Ghachok)	**toh** ba	meet	Glover 1972:10.B.1.48	
Gurung	^{3}**to**-	meet	Mazaudon 1994:529	
Manang (Gyaru)	**do**^{1} ba	meet (v.)	Nagano 1984:193	
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**to**-	meet	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0402	
	^{3}**to**-	meet	Mazaudon 1994:529	
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**toː**	reach / attain	Mazaudon 1994:525	
Tamang (Taglung)	^{3}**toː**-ba	reach	Mazaudon 1994:528	
Thakali	**toh**-la	meet (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.48	
Thakali (Tukche)	**toh**-lɔ	meet	Hari 1971:10.B.1.48	
	^{3}**to**	meet	Mazaudon 1994:529	

3.3.1. rGyalrong

Caodeng	kɐ-**tʰəɣʔ**	meet	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	na ka **'tʰək**˺	meet, crush (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0968
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	nə **'tʰək**˺tɕə	meet, crush (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0968
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	nə ka **'tʰək**˺	meet, crush (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0968
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	n̥o **'tʰək**˺/ ka **'tʰək**˺	meet, crush (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0968
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	n̥ə ka **'tək** a˺	meet, crush (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0968

6.1.2. Loloish: ***C-doŋ**^{2} MEET

**Loloish*	***C-doŋ**^{2}	meet	Bradley 1979b:746B

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Dazhai)	**thɔ**^{31}phu^{31}	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:707.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**thɔ**^{31}phu^{31}	meet / come across (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1769.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**thɤ**^{33}phɤ^{31}	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:707.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**thaŋ**^{31}phu^{31}	encounter / meet	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**thv̩**^{33}fv̩^{31}	encounter / meet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:707.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**thv̩**^{33}fv̩^{31}	meet / come across (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1769.42
Mpi	**thoŋ**^{2}phu^{1}	meet accidentally	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Sila	**tho21** phu21	meet with (v.)	Kato Takashi 2008:203

[a] the Gurung form implies a short vowel, contra the Tamang forms

Chinese comparandum

注 OC ***t̂i̯u** ~ ***ti̯u**, *GSR* #129c 'conduct water; apply, be touched, bring together'; Schuessler 2007:628 ***troh** ~ ***toh**; B & S 2011: ***tro-s {tro(ʔ)-s}**; Mand. **zhù**.
鬭/鬥 OC ***tŭg**, *GSR* #1234a-b 'struggle, contend; come in contact with, meet'; Schuessler 2007:628 ***tôh**; B & S 2011: (*$t^{ʕ}$**o-s**); Mand. **dòu**.
屬 OC ***d̂i̯uk**, *GSR* #1224s 'attach, connect; touch, apply; copulate'; Schuessler 2007:627 ***tok**; B & S 2011: ***tok**; Mand. **zhǔ**.
屬 OC ***d̂i̯uk**, *GSR* #1224s 'be connected, attached; belong to; vulva, penis; copulate'; Schuessler 2007:627 ***dok**; B & S 2011: ***N-tok**; Mand. **shǔ**.

Comment: 鬭/鬥 **dòu** is also a comparandum for PKC ***ɗaw** OPPOSE / FIGHT (§6.5), q.v.

(25) PTB *tip ⋉ *tu $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{\mathbf{p}}{\mathbf{m}}$ WRAP UP

This root shows two kinds of variation: alternation between medial ***-u-** and ***-i-**, and between nasal and stop labial finals.

Kuki-Chin has a doublet at the PKC level: ***tom** ⋉ ***tum** WRAP / ENVELOP and PKC ***tuam** BANDAGE / BIND / COVER / WRAP.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tip** ⋉ **tup** ⋉ **tum**	wrap up	Matisoff 2003a:615

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	**tɯm**-paː-ra	wrap up	Sun 1993b

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tom** ⋉ ***tum** WRAP / ENVELOP, ***tuam** BANDAGE / BIND / COVER / WRAP

**Chin*	***tom** ⋉ tum	WRAP / ENVELOP	VanBik 2009:246
	***tuam**	BANDAGE / BIND / COVER / WRAP	VanBik 2009:178

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**tuam**	bandage, to cover, wrap (v.)	VanBik 2009:178
Thado	**tûom**-I, tùom-II	bandage, gird, bind	VanBik 2009:178
Tiddim	**tuam**^{1}	cover	VanBik 2009:178

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**tum**	wrap something in, to envelop with (v.)	VanBik 2009:246

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tôm**-I, tǒm-II	wrap, to envelop (v.)	VanBik 2009:246
	tûam-I, tǔam-II	bandage, bind, to wrap up (v.)	VanBik 2009:178
Lai (Falam)	**túam**-I, tùam-II	bandage, to wrap up (v.)	VanBik 2009:178
Lushai [Mizo]	**tuam**	wrap (v.)	Marrison 1967
	tǔam	bind, to wrap, to bandadge, to enfold, cover, evelope (v.)	VanBik 2009:178
	tuam	wrap around	Bhaskararao 1996:1820

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**tȳ**	roll, as paper; a bunch, as of flowers (n.)	VanBik 2009:246

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***dom** WRAP

**Tangkhulic*	***dom**	wrap	Mortensen 2012:732
Tangkhul	**ram**	wrap (v.)	Marrison 1967
	rom	wrap	Bhat 1969:100
Ukhrul	kʰə-**rom**	wrap	Mortensen 2012

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**thùp**	wrap up	Matisoff 1974:347

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**tup** tʃi	wrap, cling (v.)	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	**dɑm**^{35}	tie into a bundle	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tʌm**^{13}	tie (e.g. firewood)into a bund	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:664.6
Cuona Menba	**tam**^{35}	bind / tie up	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1141.06
	tam^{35} sa^{31}	tie (a cow) to (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1645.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**wdam**	tie (e.g. firewood)into a bund	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:664.5
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tam**^{13}	tie (e.g. firewood)into a bund	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:664.2
	tam^{132}	bind / tie up	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1141.02
Tibetan (Written)	**gtum**	wrap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:663.1
	sdom	tie (e.g. firewood)into a bund	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:664.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**dam**	bind / tie up	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1141.04
	təm	wrap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.04

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**dám**	tie, bind (v.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. Tamangish

Thakali (Tukche)	**tum**-lɔ	wrap (v.)	Hari 1971:6.B.2.12 1
	tum-lɔ	wrap (things)	Hari 1971:6.B.2.13.1

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***tup** ⋉ ***tip** ⋉ ***tum** WRAP UP AND TIE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***tup⋉tip⋉tum**	wrap up and tie	Matisoff 1972b:23

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Luxi)	**thɔp**^{55}	wrap	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Modern)	**t'uṁ**^{4}	knot (the hair) (v.)	Luce 1985:V.55
Burmese (Rangoon)	**thoʔ**^{4}	wrap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**thoʔ**^{44}	wrap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:663.40
Burmese (Written)	**htup**	wrap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:663.39
	thûm	tie in knot	Matisoff 1974:180
	thûṁ	tie in a knot	Benedict 1976a
	thup	wrap up	Benedict 1976a
	thup-rac	wrap (v.)	Marrison 1967
	thup^{4}	wrap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.26
	ə-**thûṁ**	knot (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **thûm**	knot (n.)	Matisoff 1974:180
Marma	**thouʔ**	wrap	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:215-1

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Nanhua)	**thə̠**^{33}	wrap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.37
	thɯ̠^{21}	wrap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:663.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**thy**^{33}	wrap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:663.23
Yi (Weishan)	**thy̠**^{33}	wrap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.36
Yi (Xide)	**the**^{33}	wrap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.35
	the^{33}	wrap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:663.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Youle)	**thœ**^{42}	wrap	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**thœ**^{42}	wrap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.44
Lahu (Lancang)	**thi**^{54}	wrap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.43
Lahu (Black)	**thîʔ**	wrap and tie up / make a packet	Matisoff 1972b:23
	thi^{54}	wrap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:663.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**thi**^{6}	wrap	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	(**htē**^{5} lē^{3} bē^{3}) **htē**^{5}	tie (a knot) (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**htē2**	wrap up and tie	Matisoff 1972b:23
Lisu (Central)	**htē**^{2}	wrap (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	**htē**^{5}	knot (the hair) (v.)	Luce 1985:V.55
Lisu (Central)	**htē**^{5}-lē^{5}-bē^{3}	knot (in string) (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**the**^{35}	wrap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.40
	the^{35}	wrap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:663.27
Lisu (Northern)	**thø**^{35}	wrap; include (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Putao)	**t'ü**^{5}	knot (the hair) (v.)	Luce 1985:V.55
Lisu (Luquan)	u^{55} **thɯ**^{55}	wrap the head	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986:p.108
Lisu (Yongsheng)	vu^{55} **t̪hɯ**^{35}	wrap the head	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986:p.108
Lisu (Northern)	ɔ^{55}**thɯ**^{35}	headdress (cloth to wrap up head)	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**taw HS**	wrap around and tie	Matisoff 1972b:23
	tawˆ	wrap up	Matisoff 1974:347
Hani (Hu T'an)	**to** 33c	wrap up and tie	Matisoff 1972b:23
Hani (Dazhai)	**to̠**^{33}	wrap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:663.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**to̠**^{33}	wrap (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1142.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tø̠**^{33}	wrap	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Mpi	**theʔ3**	wrap up and tie	Matisoff 1972b:23
	theʔ^{3}	wrap (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Woni	**t'u 55**	wrap up and tie	Matisoff 1972b:23

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Southern Muji	jɛ^{55}**tʰɯ**^{33}	head-wrap	Pelkey 2011:443

Phuza	**tʌ**^{55}	tie; bind	Pelkey 2011:730
	tʌ^{55}k^{h}ɛ^{31}	tie into a bundle	Pelkey 2011:731
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**t^{h}u**˧**t^{h}u**˥	wrap, pack (reduplicated) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2386
	t^{h}u˥	wrap, pack (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2385

Chinese comparandum

繫 OC ***tị̀əp***, *GSR* #685f ‘rope, tether, bind’; Schuessler 2007:616 ***trəp***; B & S 2011: ***t‹r›ip***; Mand. **zhí**.
蠶 OC ***dzəm***, *GSR* #660i ‘silkworm’; Coblin 86:138 ST ***sdom*** > PC ***sdəm*** > OC ***dzəm***; Schuessler 2007:175 ***dzə̂m***; B & S 2011: ***C.dz^{ʕ}əm {C.dz^{ʕ}[ə]m}***; Mand. **cán**.
蔪 OC ***dz’i̱ɑm***, *GSR* #611h ‘entwined (of vegetation)’; Coblin 86:43 ST ***sdjam*** > PC ***sdjamx*** > OC ***dzjamx***; Schuessler 2007: 305 ***dzam?***; B & S 2011: (***dzam?***); Mand. **jiàn**.

6.13.1 Tying

(1) PTB *s-dar BIND / FASTEN / TETHER

A PST root of this shape was proposed in Gong (2000 #29).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-dar**	bind / fasten / tether	Matisoff 2003a:586
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**star**-ba	tie fast, fasten to (as sheep to a rope in a bivouac)	Gong Hwang-cherng 2000:29
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**ta**	cling to (obs.) (v.)	Benedict 1976a
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**d’i̱an**	bind / wind	Gong Hwang-cherng 2000:39-62

Chinese comparandum

纏 OC ***d’i̱ɑn***, *GSR* #204c ‘bind, wind’; B & S 2011: ***dran {[d]ra[n]}***; Mand. **chán**.

(2) PKC *kraan ≍ *kroon BIND / TIE (knot)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***kraan** ≍ kroon	BIND / TIE (knot)	VanBik 2009:1312
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**káan**-I, kàan-II	bind, tie	VanBik 2009:1312
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**ak‘un** yaih	bind	VanBik 2009:1312
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**trôon**-I, trŏon-II	bind, tie (as knot)	VanBik 2009:1312
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭáwn**	bind, to tie, to do up in a knot (as hair) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1312

(3) PTB *grak CORD / TIE / BIND

The WT/Chinese correspondence is from Gong (2001:26).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***grak**	cord / tie / bind	Matisoff 2003a:591
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***(h)rak** BIND, TIE			
**Central Naga*	*(**h**)rak	BIND, TIE	Bruhn 2014a:III.257
**Ao*	*a-**ɹak**^{1}	BIND (W/ BAMBOO)	Bruhn 2014a:II.309
Ao (Chungli)	**arak**	bind	Marrison 1967
	a^{3}-**ɹak**^{1}	bind (with bamboo strip) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.309
	^{3}a^{3}**rak**	bind, tie (v.)	Weidert 1987:998
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	akebm **rak** thep	bind	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**ɹàk**	bind [bound] (with a bamboo strip) (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**rək**^{3}-kat^{2}-	force, coerce (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.257
	hok	bind	Marrison 1967
	rik at a	force	Murry *et al.* 1978:47
	rük at a	weld	Murry *et al.* 1978:136
Sangtam	**ra’**	tie (v.)	Marrison 1967
	rak cho	tie	Kumar 1973a
	ra?	bind	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**rhük**	tie	Kumar 1973b:74
	rhük	tie (v.)	Marrison 1967
	rhük	bind	Marrison 1967
	rhuk	tie (v.)	Weidert 1987:998
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**ra**	bind	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**karak**	bind	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**grags**-pa	bind (v.)	Jäschke 1881:75
	ḥgrags-pa	bind (v.)	Jäschke 1881:98

Chinese comparandum

絡 OC ***glâk***, *GSR* #766o ‘silk thread, cord’; Schuessler 2007:371 ***râk***; Mand. **luò, lào**.

(4) PKC *hreeŋ-I, *hreen-II DETAIN / TIE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hreeŋ**-I, hreen-II	DETAIN / TIE	VanBik 2009:1079
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**héeng**-I, hèen-II	detain, attach an animal	VanBik 2009:1079
Tiddim	**he:n**^{2}	tie (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:449
	he:n^{2}	tie	Bhaskararao 1994
	he:n^{1}	tie	VanBik 2009:1079
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**gheng**	make fast and secure, to fix tightly (v.)	VanBik 2009:1079
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hrêeŋ**-I, hrĕen-II	detain, tie	VanBik 2009:1079
Lai (Falam)	**hrĕeŋ**-I, hrèen-II	detain, tie	VanBik 2009:1079
Lushai [Mizo]	**hréeng**-I, hrèen-II	detain forcibly, to sequester or sequestrate (v.)	VanBik 2009:1079

(5) PTB * t d u- n t JOIN / TIE / KNOT / BRING TOGETHER / ASSEMBLE / FOLD

This etymon must rank among the most richly prefixable roots in TB, with at least five prefixes and prefix combinations attested. These include ***m-*** (Qiangic, rGyalrongic, Tibetan, Jingpho), ***s-*** (Tibetan, Garo, Dulong, Qiang), ***b-s-*** (Garo **bistit**, WT **bstud**), ***k-*** (Jingpho), and ***d-*** (Anong).

It seems likely that the ***m-*** and ***s-*** prefixes reflect an original simplex / causative opposition, as in many other TB etyma.

For detailed discussion of this etymon with respect to Tibetan, see Bodman 1969.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***du-t**	tie together / envelop	Chou Fa-kao 1972:427n-o
	***du-t** ≍ ***tu-t**	join, tie, knot	LaPolla 1987:33
	***du-t** ≍ **tu-t**	join / tie / knot	Benedict 1972:421
	***s-dut**	tie / knot / conclude / finish	Matisoff 2003a:587
	***tu-n/t** ≍ **du-n/t**	join / bring together / tie / knot	Matisoff 2003a:615
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	**dyt**-pa	tie knot	Sun 1993b
	dyt-pa dẓap-ra	knot	Sun 1993b
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	ka-ani **bistit**	knot (n.)	Benedict 1972:421
	stit	tangle	Benedict 1972:421
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**matut**	join (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mă^{31}**tu̱t**^{55}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.19
	mă^{31}**tu̱t**^{55}	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.47
	mă^{1}**tu̱t**^{55}	connect	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	mətut ≍ kətut	join, connect; join, tie, knot	Benedict 1972:421; LaPolla 1987:33
	tut	joined, bound / tied together (be v.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:427n-o
	tut	joined, bound / tied together (vs.)	Benedict 1972:421
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**tu**	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.7
	tut	join, tie, knot	LaPolla 1987:33
	tu^{55}	connect	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**tu**	connect	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**thyt**^{55}pu^{55}	connect	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tut**	join, tie, knot	LaPolla 1987:33
	tut^{53}	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.6
Motuo Menba	**tu**	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.07
Cuona Menba	**tut**^{53}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**nthət**	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.05
Tibetan (Batang)	**thy?**^{53}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**thø?**^{53}	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**thy?**^{53}cap^{13}	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.2
	ty^{52}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.02
Tibetan (Written)	**bstud**	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.01
	du-bɑ	assemble / meet / join	Chou Fa-kao 1972:427n-o
	dud-pa	tie, knot (v.)	Benedict 1972:421
	ḥdu-ba	assemble, meet, join	Benedict 1972:159n429; Benedict 1972:421
	ḥthu-ba	gather, collect	Benedict 1972:421
	mdud	knot, bow	Benedict 1972:421
	mdud pa	knot (in string) (n.)	Marrison 1967
	mthud	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.1
	sdud	folds of a garment	Benedict 1972:421
	sdud-pa	join, tie, knot; put together, join, unite	LaPolla 1987:33; Benedict 1972:159n429
	sdud-pɑ	put together / join / unite	Chou Fa-kao 1972:427n-o
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**thə**	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.04
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya [Minyak]	kho^{55}**nthɯ**^{35}	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.15
Qiang (Mawo)	**zdə**	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.08
	zdə	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.8
Queyu (Xinlong)	khɯ^{55}**mthe**^{55}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.13
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	kə22 **mt‘ə^{ɬ}44**	connect (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1105
rGyalrong	kɐ **nthət**	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.12
Caodeng	kɐ-**mt^{h}ət** (tə-**mt^{h}ə̀t**)	connect	Sun 1997a
4. Nungic			
Anong	**dəthut**	join, tie, knot; join, unite	LaPolla 1987:33; Benedict 1972:421
Rawang	**dətot [dətoʔ** nɔ^{31} ɛ^{33}]	connect, join	LaPolla 2003:1367
Anong	**thu**	join (as a stream)	Benedict 1972:421
Dulong	**sɯ**^{31}**tɔt**^{55}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.20
Trung [Dulong]	**sɯ**^{31}**tɔt**^{55}	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**sɯ**^{31} **tɔɔt**^{55}	join, tie, knot	LaPolla 1987:33
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**sɯ**^{31} **tɔɔt**^{55}	join, tie, knot	LaPolla 1987:33
	sɯ^{31}**tɔt**^{55}	connect	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**tɤ**^{33}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.44
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d‘wən**/d‘uən	tie together / envelop	Chou Fa-kao 1972:427n-o

Chinese comparandum

純 OC ***d’wən***, *GSR* #427n ‘tie together, envelop’; B & S 2011: ***dun {[d]un}***; Mand. **chún**.

綴 OC ***tị̀wɑt/d***, *GSR* #295b ‘sew, stitch together, connecct, combine, compose, embellish’; Schuessler 2007:632 ***trot(s)***; B & S 2011: (***trot(-s)***); Mand. **zhuì** ~ **zhuó**.
裰 OC ***tị̀wɑt***, *GSR* #295a ‘sew, stitch’; Schuessler 2007: (***(trots)***); B & S 2011: ***trot-s***; Mand. **zhuó**.
贅 OC ***tị̀wɑd***, *GSR* #343a ‘unite; together’; Schuessler 2007:632 ***tots***; Mand. **zhuì** ~ **zhuó**.

卒 OC ***tswət***, *GSR* #490a ‘finish; die; entirely, utterly’; Schuessler 2007:635 ***tsut***; B & S 2011: ***tsut {[ts]ut}***; Mand. **zú**.

427a-c 造

(6) PTani *jək KNOT

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***jək**	knot	Sun 1993a:226
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**jɯk**-tup	knot	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**jək**-par	tie (knots)	Sun 1993b
	jək-pər	knot	Sun 1993b
	jək-tup	knot	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pu:-**jək**	tie up (a person)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	pu:**jək**	tie (e.g. firewood)into a bund	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:664.51
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**jek**-tum-nam	knot	Sun 1993a

(7) PKar *cəŋ[A] TIE (a string)

7. Karenic

**Karen [Burling]*	***cəm**^{3}	tie (a string)	Luangthongkum 2013:302
**Karen*	***cəŋ**^{A}	tie (a string)	Luangthongkum 2013:302
Bwe	**co**^{55}	tie (a string)	Luangthongkum 2013:302
Kayah	**cɔ**^{33}	tie (a string)	Luangthongkum 2013:302
Kayan	**cə**^{53}	tie (a string)	Luangthongkum 2013:302
Kayaw	**cə**^{55}	tie (a string)	Luangthongkum 2013:302
Pa-O (Southern)	**cəŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	tie (a string)	Luangthongkum 2013:302
Pa-O (Northern)	**cəŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	tie (a string)	Luangthongkum 2013:302
Pwo (Northern)	**cũ**^{55}	tie (a string)	Luangthongkum 2013:302
Pwo (Southern)	**cə̃**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	tie (a string)	Luangthongkum 2013:302
Sgaw (Northern)	**cə**^{33}	tie (a string)	Luangthongkum 2013:302
Sgaw (Southern)	**cə**^{55}	tie (a string)	Luangthongkum 2013:302

(8) PCN *m-tshə TIE (v.)

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	*m-**tshə**	TIE (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.095
**Ao*	*m-**tʃhə**	TIE (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.179
Ao (Chungli)	me **sü**	tie (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mū **sū**	tie (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mə **tshə**	tie [tied] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	n̩^{1}-**tshə**^{3}-	tie (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.095
	n **tsi**	tie (v.)	Marrison 1967
	n **tssü** a	tie	Murry *et al.* 1978:125

(9) PTk *su TIE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***su**	tie	Mortensen 2012:370
Huishu	kə-mə-**suk**	tie	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.094
Kachai	k^{h}ə-mə-**si**	tie	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.084
Tusom	k^{h}a-n-**sy**	tie	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.110
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**su**	tie	Mortensen 2012

(10) PTk *lɐp TIE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***lɐp**	tie	Mortensen 2012:528
Huishu	kə-k^{h}ə-**reʔ**	tie	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.095
Tangkhul	kha **lap**	tie (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	kə-k^{h}ə-**lɐp**	tie	Mortensen 2012

(11) PTB * g/k (y)i t/k TIE / BIND

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g(y)it/k ≍ k(y)it/k**	tie / bind	Matisoff 2003a:592
	***kik**	bind; twist; tie; twist, bind	LaPolla 1987:204; Benedict 1972:484

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***khit-I**, ***khiʔ-II** BIND / TIE

**Chin*	***khit**-I, khiʔ-II	BIND / TIE	VanBik 2009:424

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**khih**	bind	VanBik 2009:424
Thado	**khìt**-I, khìi-II	tie (e.g. shoelaces, rope)	VanBik 2009:424
Tiddim	**khiʔ**^{3}	tie an animal (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:783
	khiʔ^{3}	tie, tie an animal; tie an animal	VanBik 2009:424; Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-khit	tied, bound (with rope, chain) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:424

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**khit**-I, khiʔ-II	bind, tie	VanBik 2009:424
Lai (Falam)	**khìt**-INV	bind, tie	VanBik 2009:424

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**khyig**-pa	bind	LaPolla 1987:204

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**kyats**	twist hard and tight	LaPolla 1987:204

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	hɔ^{54}**tshi**^{33}	bind / tie up	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1141.43
Lahu (Black)	**tshi**^{21}	tie (e.g. firewood)into a bund	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:664.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tsh̩**^{5}	tie into a bundle (v.)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

Chinese comparandum

結 OC ***kiet**, *GSR* #393p 'tie; knot'; Schuessler 2007:312 ***kît**; B & S 2011: ***k^{ʂ}it {k^{ʂ}i [t]**; Mand. **jié**.

(12) PTk *la UNTIE / LOOSE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***la**	untie / loose	Mortensen 2012:639
Kachai	kə-k^{h}ə-**ru**-e	untie	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	kha **la**	untie	Marrison 1967
Tusom	k^{h}a-k-**li**	untie / loose	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.111
Ukhrul	kə-k^{h}ə-**ra**	untie	Mortensen 2012

(13) PNungic *pyi n/t UNTIE / LOOSEN

Contra *HPTB*:520, we no longer consider this to be related to PTB ***prəy** UNTIE (§6.9) *pyin ≍ *pyit UNTIE / LOOSEN.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pyin ≍ pyit**	untie / loosen	Matisoff 2003a:609

4. Nungic

Anong	**ph(y)it** / **ph(y)in**	loose, untie	Benedict 1972:99n283
Trung [Dulong]	**pɯt**^{55}; kɑʔ^{55}	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.46
Dulong	**pɯ**^{31}nɯn^{55}	lax / loose / slack	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1041.20
	ɑ^{31}**pɯt**^{55}	come loose (shoelace) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1599.20

6.13.2 Adhesion

(1) PTB * g/k (w)ap ADJOIN / ADHERE

The Burmese binome for 'kidney' apparently means "adjoining the waist".

This root is somewhat similar to PTB ***tsyap** JOIN / CONNECT (§6.13.5), but they must be kept separate because of the different WB forms (**cap** < PTB ***tsyap** JOIN / CONNECT (§6.13.5) vs. **kap** < PTB ***(g/k)(w)ap** ADJOIN / ADHERE (§6.13.2)).

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	či-**kap**	embrace	Sun 1993b
Galo	**-gap**	affixed; stuck fast; stable (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	-kap	sealed (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	-'kap	stick to (result) (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	i **gap**-nam	adhere (v.)	Das Gupta 1963

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***kop** ADHERE / STICK TO

**Chin*	***kop**	ADHERE / STICK TO	VanBik 2009:247

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**kawp**	adhere, to stick to (v.)	VanBik 2009:247

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**kop**-INV	adhere	VanBik 2009:247
Lai (Falam)	**kòp**-INV	adhere	VanBik 2009:247
Lushai [Mizo]	**kàwp**	join and make a couple (v.)	VanBik 2009:247

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	ta **kap**-	stick (v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**kap**	join (v.)	Marrison 1967

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**kap**	put together	Rai 1985

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**kap**^{35}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.28
	kap^{35}	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**kap**^{35}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	tɕaʊʔ^{4}**kɑʔ**^{4}	kidney (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0146.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tɕaʊʔ^{44}**kɑʔ**^{44}	kidney	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.40
Burmese (Written)	**kap**	join (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kap	join, unite, put together flatwise; stick to, adhere; adjoin one another; join, unite; adhere	Matisoff 1974:361; Benedict 1976a
	kap	offer respectfully (to a priest) (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	kjɔk **kɑp**	kidney	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.39
	kjɔk^{4}**kɑp̚**^{4}	kidney (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0146.26
	kyok-**kap**	kidney	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:13; Marrison 1967

(2) PTB * b/p yar AFFIX / PLAIT / SEW / BRAID

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***byar ≍ pyar**	affix; sew; plait; braid; affix, plait, sew	Matisoff 2003a:586; Benedict 1972:178
	***byûr~pyûr**	affix / plait / sew	Chou Fa-kao 1972:246e

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**ḥbyor**-ba ≍ **ḥbyar**-ba	stick to, adhere to (v.)	Benedict 1972:178
	ḥbyor-ba ~ ḥbyar-ba	stick to, adhere to	Benedict 1972:178
	sbyar	affix; attach; compile, compose; join, connect	Benedict 1972:178
	sbyor-ba	affix; attach; compile, compose; join, connect	Benedict 1972:178

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**phyer**	sew	Benedict 1972:178

(3) PKC *ɓeel-I, *ɓelʔ-II ATTACH / ADHERE / APPEND

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ɓeel**-I, ɓelʔ-II	ATTACH / ADHERE / APPEND	VanBik 2009:2

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**belh**	attach, to append (v.)	VanBik 2009:2
Thado	**bèʔ**-I, bèe-II	attach (v.)	VanBik 2009:2
Tiddim	**belʔ**^{3}	join with glue (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:79
	belʔ^{3}	join with glue; join with glue (tr.)	VanBik 2009:2; Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**belʔ**-INV	attach, add	VanBik 2009:2
Lai (Falam)	**bèlʔ**-INV	add, attach	VanBik 2009:2
Lushai [Mizo]	**bèel-I, bèlh-II**	join, or attach oneself to (v.)	VanBik 2009:2
	belh	join (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**bái**	adhere, adhesive	VanBik 2009:2

(4) PTB * s/m -p(ʷ)a PATCH / MEND / SEW

The two prefixes in this reconstruction are attested in Qiangic/rGyalrongic.

For a discussion of the "extrusional" **-ʷ-** in this root, see Matisoff 2000:22.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pʷa**	patch / sew	Matisoff 2003a:608

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	ú-bù **pjà**	mend	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ham-**pe**	patch (n.)	Sun 1993b

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	kă^{31}**pa**^{31}	patch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:653.47

	kǎ^{31}**pa̱**^{31}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.19
	kǎ^{1}**pa̱**^{31}	patch	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	kə **pà**	mend, patch	Matisoff 1974:91
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**pɛ**^{33}**pɛ**^{55}	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.18
Lyuzu	**pe**^{53}**pe**^{53}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.18
Muya	thɐ^{55}**phe**^{53}læ^{33}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.15
Muya [Minyak]	**phe**^{35}lɛ^{33}	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**pha**^{11}la^{11}de^{35}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.10
Pumi (Lanping)	xə^{13}**fphɛ**^{13}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	xə^{13}**sphɛ**^{13}	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.11
Pumi (Taoba)	xə^{35}**phiɛ**^{35}	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**pà** qó	patch (n.)	Evans 1999:636
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʂpa**	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.8
	ʂpɛ tɛ	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**pè** tʂhì	patch (n.)	Evans 1999:636
Qiang (Taoping)	**χpe**^{33}	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**sphɛ**^{55}liɛ^{55} kɯ^{55}rə^{33}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.13
Xumi	**u**^{55}	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.20
	ʔu^{53}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.17
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**phe** le ncçhə	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ka **mphi**	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.12
Caodeng	ké-**ʃp**^{h}**ɐs**	patch up	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **mphji**	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.11
Caodeng	té-**ʃp**^{h}**ɐs**	patch (n.)	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	tɐ-**mp**^{h}**ji**	patch (n.)	Sun 1997b
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**phu**^{35}	patch (clothing)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**phu**^{35}	patch (clothing); patch	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.49; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.38
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-ba**^{1}	patch	Matisoff 2003a:583
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**phɑ**^{55}	patch	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**phɔ**^{55}	patch (clothing); patch	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.41
Achang (Luxi)	**pha**^{35}	patch	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**phɔ**^{55}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.29
Bola (Luxi)	**pha**^{55}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**phɑ**^{22}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**phɑ**^{22}	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.40
Burmese (Written)	**phā**	mend	Marrison 1967
	pha	mend, patch; mend a breach, close a hole by patching	Matisoff 1974:91; Benedict 1976a
	phɑ^{2}	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.39
	phɑɑ^{2}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.26
	ə-**pha**	patch (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **pha** (n.)	patch / mend	Matisoff 1974:91
Leqi (Luxi)	**phɔː**^{33}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.33
Maru [Langsu]	**phɔ**^{31}	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pho**^{51}	patch (clothing); patch	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.42
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central)	**pha**^{33}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.34
Nusu (Northern)	**pha**^{31}	patch	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**phɔ**^{55}	patch	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**phɑ**^{35}	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.45
Yi (Liangshan)	du^{55}**pha**^{33}	patch	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lisu	**pe̱**^{33}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.40
	pe^{44}	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.27
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Mpi	**pa**^{5}	patch (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
6.2. NAXI			
Naxi	**fɣ**^{55}	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**fv**^{55}	patch	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:653.28
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	補	patch (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:178
Chinese (GSR #)	**0102c'**	patch (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:178
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pwo**	supplement, mend, repair (v.)	Karlgren 1957:102c'
Chinese (Old)	**Cə**-p^{ʕ}aʔ	patch (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:178
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**puX**	patch (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:178
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**bǔ**	patch (v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:178

Chinese comparandum

補 OC ***pwo**, *GSR* #102c' 'supplement, mend, repair'; Schuessler 2007:172 ***pâʔ** or ***mpâʔ**; B & S 2011: ***Cə-p^{ʕ}aʔ**; Mand. **bǔ**.

(5) PTk *nap STICK (v.)

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Sorbung	**náap**	stick (v.)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.085
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***nap**	stick (v.)	Mortensen 2012:527
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**naʔ**	stick (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.068
Kachai	kə-**nap**	stick (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.062
Tusom	k^{h}a-n-**na**	stick (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.078
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**nap**	stick, sticky	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-**nɐp**	stick (v.)	Mortensen 2012

6.13.3 With Tools

(1) PKC *peʔ CONNECT / JOIN / LINK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***peʔ**	CONNECT / JOIN / LINK	VanBik 2009:136
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**peh**	connect, to join (v.)	VanBik 2009:136
Tiddim	**peʔ**^{3}	join; link (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1359
	peʔ^{2}	join, link	VanBik 2009:136
	peʔ^{3}	join, link	Bhaskararao 1994
	_pɛʔ/_pɛʔ	join up (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**peʔ**-INV	connect, to join (v.)	VanBik 2009:136
Lai (Falam)	**pèʔ**-INV	connect, to join (v.)	VanBik 2009:136
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***p**^{h}**ek**	join / fork / branch (v.)	French 1983:507
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Tangsa (Yogli)	age **phek**	join (v.)	Marrison 1967

(2) PKC *yom JOIN / CONNECT / LINK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***yom**	JOIN / CONNECT / LINK	VanBik 2009:1211
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**zóm**-I, zòp-II	connect, join	VanBik 2009:1211
Tiddim	**zom**^{3} > zop^{3}	link, connect	VanBik 2009:1211
	zom^{3} > zop^{3}	link; connect (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2041
	zom^{3}/zop^{3}	link, connect	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**zâwm**	join, to unite, to connect, to place in contact with (v.)	VanBik 2009:1211
	zom	connect; join (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3156

(3) PCC *khaaŋ-I, *khaan-II SPAN (v.) / BRIDGE ACROSS

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***khaaŋ**-I, khaan-II	SPAN (v.) / BRIDGE ACROSS	VanBik 2009:458
Lai (Hakha)	**khâaŋ**-I, khǎan-II	span, bridge across (as a rod on the beam) (v.)	VanBik 2009:458
Lushai [Mizo]	**kháang**-I, khàan-II	place anything long in a more or less horizontal position, to place in position as a bridge, tie-beams (v.)	VanBik 2009:458

6.13.4 Mix

(1) PTB *ryaw MIX

This well established etymon was inadvertently omitted from *HPTB*.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ryaw**	mix	Benedict 1972:207
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**kǎ**^{31}**jau**^{33}	mix (powder) with water (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1399.19
	kǎ^{31}**jau**^{33}	stir / churn	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:638.47
	kǎ^{31}**jau**^{33}kǎ^{31}ja^{31}	mix; blend; mingle; mix (cause to) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1393.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1394.19
	kəyau	mix, intermix	Benedict 1972:207
	yau	mixed (vs.)	Benedict 1972:207
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	ɑ^{31}**ɹu**^{53}	mix; blend; mingle; mix (cause to) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1393.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1394.20
	ɑ^{31}**ɹɯ**^{55}	mix (powder) with water (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1399.20
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**jɔ**^{55}	mix; blend; mingle; mix (cause to); mix (powder) with water (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1393.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1394.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1399.27
Burmese (Written)	**rau**	mix, mingle	Benedict 1972:207
	râw	mix, mingle	Matisoff 1974:242
	rô	mix, mingle (cf. hnô, lyô, hlo)	Benedict 1976a
	rɔ^{3}	mix; blend; mingle; mix (cause to); mix (powder) with water (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1393.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1394.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1399.26
Marma	**ró**	mix	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:231

(2) PKC *polʔ MIX / MINGLE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***polʔ**	MIX / MINGLE	VanBik 2009:156
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**tsòo** pòl	mix (v.)	VanBik 2009:156
Tiddim	**polʔ**^{3}	mix (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1392
	polʔ^{3}	mix	VanBik 2009:156; Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	(tsoʔ)-**polʔ**-INV	mix, mingle	VanBik 2009:156
Lai (Falam)	**pòlʔ**-I, pólʔ-II	mix, mingle	VanBik 2009:156
Lushai [Mizo]	**pàwlh**	mix, to mingle (v.)	VanBik 2009:156
	polh	mix (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2801

(3) PTB *s-ŋywal MIX / STIR

This reconstruction replaces **hwel** offered in *HPTB*:420. It is meant to accommodate both the forms with velar nasal initials and those with initial **hw-** or ∅**-**.

The Tangkhul doublet **húy** / **núy** seems to offer support to the complex initial consonant sequence we reconstruct.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	***hwel**	mix / stir	Matisoff 2003a:420
	***ŋwal**	mix / stir	Matisoff 2003a:408

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**hàr**	stir	Sun 1993b

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin: ***hil** ≍ ***hel** MIX

*Northern Chin	***hil** ≍ hel	MIX	VanBik 2009:727
Sizang	**hil** hī	mix	VanBik 2009:727
Thado	**hêl**-I, hèl-II	mix	VanBik 2009:727
Tiddim	**hel**[1]	mix	VanBik 2009:727
	hel[1]	mix (tr.) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:440
	hel[1]	mix (tr.)	Bhaskararao 1994

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**húy**	mix	Bhat 1969:92
	núy	mix	Bhat 1969:92

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**u**	mix	Brown 1895:73
	u-ri	mix (v.)	Jacquesson 2005

2.1.4. Tamangish

*TGTM	*[Ah]**wal**	stir	Mazaudon 1994:921
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]**wal**	stir / mix / row / paddle	Mazaudon 1994:921
Tamang (Sahu)	[1]**wal**	stoke, to stir up fire	Mazaudon 1994:921

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**ŋal**-u	mix (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**hɨl** nɨ	mix, blend, mix up	Driem 1993
Khaling	**wāl**-nyā	mix / stir (v.)	Matisoff 1997:40

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**hil(s)**-	mash, squash, stir (v.)	Allen 1975
	hir-	stir back and forth, as DhiDo (v.)	Allen 1975
	ŋol-	knead, mix (v.)	Allen 1975

6.1.1. Burmish

Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋio**[55]	mix / blend / mingle (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1393.30
	ŋjo̱[55]	mix (cause to); mix (powder) with water (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1394.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1399.30

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**huq**	mix (v.)	Björverud 1994
Yi (Liangshan)	**hɔ**[33]	dilute; mix (different things together); mix (stir); stir (mix)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Weishan)	**ho**[33]	mix; blend; mingle; mix (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1393.36; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1394.36
Yi (Wuding)	**hu̱**[2]	mix (cause to); mix (powder) with water (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1394.38; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1399.38
Yi (Xide)	**hɔ**[33]	mix (powder) with water (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1399.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Northern)	**hə̃**[35]	mix; stir; blend (V.)	Bradley 1994
	hə̃[35]**hə̃**[35] tɕæʔ[21]tɕæʔ[21]	mix; mixed disorderly	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Shuikui)	**xɤ**[33]	stir / churn	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:638.32

6.2. Naxi

Naxi	**xo**[55]**xo**[33]	mix; blend; mingle; mix (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1393.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1394.45

(4) PKC *tsok-I, *tsoʔ-II STIR / MINGLE / MIX

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	***tsok**-I, tsoʔ-II	STIR / MINGLE / MIX	VanBik 2009:566

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**tsòʔ**-I, tsòo-II	stir (in cooking)	VanBik 2009:566
Tiddim	**tok**[3] > toʔ[3]	stir (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1767
	tok[3] > toʔ[3]	stir	VanBik 2009:566
	tok[3]/toʔ[3]	stir	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**caw**	mix, mingle, blend together	VanBik 2009:566

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tsok**-I, tsoʔ-II	stir, blend, mix, mingle	VanBik 2009:566
Lai (Falam)	**tsòk**-I, tsòʔ-II	mix, mingle, stir	VanBik 2009:566
Lushai [Mizo]	**chàwk**-I, chàwh-II	stir, to stir up, to beat up, to feel (with a stick, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:566
	chok	stir (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2250

6.13.5 Join (general)

(1) PTk *rum ADD TOGETHER

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

*Tangkhulic	***rum**	add together	Mortensen 2012:451
Huishu	nə-**rɐm**-k[h]e	add together	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.118
Kachai	k[h]ə-ŋə-**rum**	add together	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.104
Tusom	k[h]ə-**rũ**	add together	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.137
Ukhrul	k[h]ə-ŋə-**rum**	add together, together; be similar	Mortensen 2012

(2) PKC *khoom-I, *khomʔ-II ASSEMBLE / GATHER

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	***khoom**-I, khomʔ-II	ASSEMBLE / GATHER	VanBik 2009:421

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**ki**-khawm	assemble (v.)	VanBik 2009:421
Sizang	**ki** hkawm hī	gather together	VanBik 2009:421
Thado	**khòom**-I, khòp-II	gather	VanBik 2009:421
Tiddim	**kho:m**[3] > khop[3]	gather together	VanBik 2009:421
	kho:m[3] > khop[3]	gather together (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:815
	kho:m[3]/khop[3]	gather together (tr.)	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**pkhoeyng**	gather together, put together	VanBik 2009:421

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**khǒom**-I, khomʔ-II	assemble, gather (v.)	VanBik 2009:421
Lai (Falam)	**khôom**-INV	assemble, gather (v.)	VanBik 2009:421
Lushai [Mizo]	**khâwm**	put or place together, to gather together, to call together (v.)	VanBik 2009:421
	khawm	gather together (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2555

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**khēi**	gather, to collect (v.)	VanBik 2009:421

(3) PKC *poŋ-I, *pon-II; *puŋ-I, *pun-II ASSEMBLE / GATHER / PUT TOGETHER

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	***poŋ**-I, pon-II; puŋ-I, pun-II	ASSEMBLE / GATHER / PUT TOGETHER	VanBik 2009:119

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**peéwng**	put together, combine, join	VanBik 2009:119

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**pôŋ**-I, pŏn-II	assemble, gather, put together	VanBik 2009:119
Lushai [Mizo]	**púng**-I, pùn-II	assemble, to gather together, to come together, to congregate (v.)	VanBik 2009:119

(4) PTB *tsuk ≍ *tsik BUILD

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**śik**	join	Bhat 1969:91
Ukhrul	k[h]ə-ŋə-**ʃik**	collude, be close to e.o. (like friends); join	Mortensen 2012
	ŋə-**ʃik**-k[h]ə-ŋə-sak	connect	Mortensen 2012

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Balti)	**sṭik** pa·	build (a house)	Rangan 1975:33
Tibetan (Batang)	**tsiʔ**[53]	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tsi**[52]	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.02
Tibetan (Written)	**rdzoŋ(s)**	castle, fortress (n.)	Jäschke 1881
	rtsig	build	Marrison 1967
	rtsig	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.01
	rtsig	lay (bricks)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:590.1
	rtsig gdan	foundation (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0497.01
	rtsig pa	wall (stone) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0510.01
	rtsig pa	wall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:350.1
	rtsig pa	wall (n.)	Marrison 1967

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Longxi)	**tshù**	build (house)	Evans 1999:1906
Qiang (Mawo)	ku **tɕhu**	gather (of water) / build up (itr.v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1400.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**tʂhú**	build (frame)	Evans 1999:1760
Zhaba (Daofu County)	o[55] **thu**[33]	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

Ganzi Danba Geshenzha	**t[h]o**	build (a house) (vt.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0425

4. Nungic

Dulong	**si**ʔ[55]	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.20

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	**ce2**	build (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ce[2]	build (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.1
	ci2	build (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	su2	build (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	su[2]	build (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.1

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔtsuk**[H] BUILD (e,g, a house)

*Lolo-Burmese	***ʔtsuk**	build (e.g. house)	Matisoff 1972b:52
	***ʔtsuk**[H]	build (as a house)	Matisoff 1978a:32

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**chok**	build; build, erect (house)	Marrison 1967; Hansson 1989:505; Benedict 1976a
	c[h]ok	build (as a house)	Matisoff 1978a:32
	shɔk[4]	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**tshɔʔ**[55]	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tshɔːʔ**[55]	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.33
Maru [Langsu]	**tshɔʔ**[55]	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tshoʔ**[55]	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.30
	tshoʔ[55]	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.42

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Luquan	**tsu 33**	build (e.g. house)	Matisoff 1972b:52
Nosu	**tsǫ**[55]	link up	Chen Kang 1986a:151.
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tsɛ̱**[53]tɑ[55]ɑ[31]; tshɑ[53]	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.45
Yi (Liangshan)	ʑi[34]**tshu̱**[33]	build (a house)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tshu̱[33]	build	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tshu̱[34]dɛ[33]	build (systems); organize (systems)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsʅ[55]	build; fasten (together); join (connect); make (build)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tsɛ̱**[55]	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**tsɛ̱**[55]	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.24
	tɕhi̱[33]	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.37
Yi (Weishan)	**tsʅ̄**[33]	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tsi**[33]	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**tsɛ̱**[2]	link up	Chen Kang 1986a:151.
Jinuo	**tsi**[33]	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**tʃə**[42]mɤ[44]	build / construct	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu	**dzɯ**[33]	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.40

Lisu (Northern)	**dzɤ**^{44}	build by piling up; lay bricks (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tsi1**	build (e.g. house)	Matisoff 1972b:52
Lisu (Central)	**tsi**^{1}	build (v.)	Fraser 1922
Sani [Nyi]	**tse 55**	join	Matisoff 1972b:44
	tse^{2}	link up	Chen Kang 1986a:151.
Yi (Sani)	**tsɤ**^{33}	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**tso HS**	build (e.g. house)	Matisoff 1972b:52
	tsoq	build	Hansson 1989:505
Akha (Thai)	**tsoq**	build (house)	Hansson 1989:505
Akha (Yunnan)	**tsoq**	build (house)	Hansson 1989:505
Akha (Thai)	**tsòq**	build, join	Hansson 1989:506
Akha (Yunnan)	**tsòq**	build, join	Hansson 1989:506
Akha	**tsòq**	join	Hansson 1989:506
	tsoˆ	build (as a house)	Matisoff 1978a:32
Hani (Hu T'an)	**tsu 33c**	build (e.g. house)	Matisoff 1972b:52
Hani (Lüchun)	**tsuq**	build (house)	Hansson 1989:505
	dzī^{31}	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.41
Hani (Pijo)	**tjhy**	build	Hansson 1989:505
	tjhy ?	build (house)	Hansson 1989:505
	tjhỳ ?	build, join	Hansson 1989:506
	tjhə	build; build (house)	Hansson 1989:505; Hansson 1989:505
	tjhà	build, join	Hansson 1989:506
Hani (Khatu)	**tjho**	build; build (house)	Hansson 1989:505; Hansson 1989:505
	tjhò	build, join	Hansson 1989:506
Hani (Mojiang)	**tshi**^{55}	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.42
Mpi	**thoʔ**^{3}	build (a house)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	t^{h}**oʔ**^{3}	build (as a house)	Matisoff 1978a:32

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ʈʂɯ**˩bu˩	build a wall (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3023
Na (Yongning)	**tso**˩	build a wall (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}**i**˥˩	construct a house, to build a house (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʈʂu˩**bu**˩**ti**˦	build a wall (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**tse**^{55}	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.45

7. Karenic

Karen	**tsø**^{55}bu̱^{55}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.50

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	**tsiɛ** soe 16	build, to	Dell 1981b:632

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	築	pound earth, build	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3985
Chinese (GSR #)	**1019d**	pound earth, build	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3985

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tḭôk**	pound, beat (as earth into hard walls), build (v.)	Karlgren 1957:1019d

Chinese comparandum

築 OC ***tḭôk**, *GSR* #1019d 'pound earth, build'; B & S 2011: ***truk**; Mand. **zhù**.
宗 OC ***tsôŋ**, *GSR* #1003a-3 'ancestral temple; ancestor'; Schuessler 2007:634 ***tsuŋ**; B & S 2011: ***ts**^{ʕ}**uŋ {[ts]**^{ʕ}**uŋ}**; Mand. **zōng**.
造 S601-2.
造 S601

(5) PCN *ʃaːn GATHER / ASSEMBLE (of people)

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	***ʃaːn**	GATHER, ASSEMBLE (OF PEOPLE)	Bruhn 2014a:III.161
**Ao*	***sən**-təp	GATHER, ASSEMBLE (vi.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.113
Ao (Chungli)	**sən**^{3}-təp^{3}	gather, assemble (of people) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.113
	súm túp	gather (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:10
	súm ùp	gather (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**sen** tep	gather (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**sən** təp	gather together [gathered together] (of people) (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**san**^{1}hru^{1}-	gather, assemble (of people) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.161
	san rhyu a	assemble	Murry *et al.* 1978:6
Sangtam	**shi** pülong	gather (v.)	Marrison 1967
	shi ro	meet	Marrison 1967
	shi rü	guest	Kumar 1973a
	shi rü cho	meet (v.)	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**sho** ru	meet	Marrison 1967

(6) PTk *sun JOIN

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***sun**	join	Mortensen 2012:473
Huishu	kə-nə-**sɐŋ**	joint	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.266
Kachai	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**sun**	knuckle (joint of digit); joint	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.196; Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.248
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**sun**	join together; joint	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012

(7) PTB *tsyap JOIN / CONNECT

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***tsyap**	connect / contact	Coblin 1986:57

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsyap**	join; connect; join, adhere	Matisoff 2003a:617; Benedict 1972:186
	***tśɑp**	join / connect / adhere	Chou Fa-kao 1972:635e

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**tśap-tśap**	adjacent	Benedict 1972:186
Garo (Bangladesh)	**chap**-a	attach; join; layers (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.647-II:idx

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**tšáp**	intimate with (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:361
	tśyap	on friendly terms; to adhere, as soot to a roof (be v.)	Benedict 1972:186

2.1.2. Bodic

Cuona Menba	**tsap**^{55} ja^{35}	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.06

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**cap**	join, unite, connect; make indirectly related; blend colors in painting; gunwale of a boat	Benedict 1976a
	tsap	join, unite, connect	Benedict 1972:186

Chinese comparandum

接 OC ***tsi̯ɑp**, *GSR* #635e 'connect, contact; close to'; Coblin 86:2 ST ***tsyap** > OC ***tsjap**; Schuessler 2007:311 ***tsap**; B & S 2011: ***tsap {[ts] ap}**; Mand. **jié**.
際 OC ***tsi̯ɑd**, *GSR* #337f 'connection'; Schuessler 2007:311 (***tsaps**); B & S 2011: ***tsap-s {[ts] ap-s}**; Mand. **jì**.
貼 OC (***t'iɑp**), *GSR* (not in #618) 'glue, attach, stick to'; Schuessler 2007:213 ***têp**; Mand. **tiē**.

揖 OC ***tsi̯əp**, *GSR* #688g 'cluster together; crowd'; Schuessler 2007:298-9 ***ts(r)əp**; Mand. **jì**.
輯 OC ***dz'i̯əp**, *GSR* #688d 'gather up; fold up; be crowded together'; Schuessler 2007:295 ***dzəp**; B & S 2011: (***dzəp**); Mand. **jí**.
集 OC ***dz'i̯əp**, *GSR* #691a-c 'collect, come together, unite; accomplish'; Schuessler 2007:295 ***dzəp**; B & S 2011: ***dzəp {(Cə.)[dz] [ə] p}**; Mand. **jí**.
雜 OC ***dz'əp**, *GSR* #691d 'variegated, mixed'; Schuessler 2007:295 ***dzə̂p**; B & S 2011: ***dz**^{ʕ}**əp {[dz]**^{ʕ}**[ə] p}**; Mand. **zá**.

(8) PTB *s-dza-k JOIN / CONNECT / BUILD

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-dzak**	join	Matisoff 2003a:588

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***saa-I**, ***sak-II** BUILD / CONNECT / ERECT

**Chin*	***saa**-I, sak-II	BUILD / CONNECT / ERECT	VanBik 2009:642

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**sā** hī	build (house)	VanBik 2009:642
Thado	**sàa**-I, sàʔ-II	build	VanBik 2009:642

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**sa**	make, do, build, set (a trap)	VanBik 2009:642

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**săa**-I, sak-II	build, connect	VanBik 2009:642
Lai (Falam)	**sàk**-INV	build, connect	VanBik 2009:642
Lushai [Mizo]	**sa**	build	Marrison 1967
	sà-I, sàk-II	build or erect (as house, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:642

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**sā**	build, as a house (v.)	VanBik 2009:642

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***tsha** BUILD, MAKE / DO

**Central Naga*	***tsha**	BUILD, MAKE / DO	Bruhn 2014a:III.021
Ao (Chungli)	a **sü**	build	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tʃhà**	do, make [did, made]; make [made] (v.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007
	tʃhà-tʃən-**tʃhà**	repeat [repeated] ('do' + DUR + 'do') (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-hli^{2} **tsho**^{3}-	work (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tsho^{3}-	occur, happen; build, do (v.)	Bruhn 2014b; Bruhn 2014a:III.021
	tso	build	Marrison 1967
	tsso a	make	Murry *et al.* 1978:70
	^{3}tso(ʔ)	build (v.)	Weidert 1987:389
Sangtam	**thsa**	build	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**thsü**	build	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Mao	**so**	build	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**sa**	build	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**shi**	build	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**su**	build	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***sak** CONNECT / BUILD

**Tangkhulic*	***sak**	connect / build	Mortensen 2012:749
Ukhrul	ŋə-ʃik-k^{h}ə-ŋə-**sak**	connect	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**sha**	build	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	**sa•**-a	build nest (vt.)	Burling 2003:4.482-II:idx

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-dzak**^{L} JOIN

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-dzak**^{L}	join	Matisoff 2003a:588
	***ʔdzak** ⩵ ʔdzik	join	Matisoff 1972b:44

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**tɕhɑʔ**^{55}	connect	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**tshaʔ**^{31}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**shɛʔ**^{4}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.27
	shɑuʔ^{4}	build by laying bricks, stones, etc. (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1565.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**hsɛʔ**^{44}	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.40
Burmese (Written)	**chak**	join (v.)	Marrison 1967
	chak	connect; connect, join, unite	Hansson 1989:449; Benedict 1976a

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***ʔ-dzak**^{L}	connect	Hansson 1989:449
	***ʔ-tsak**^{L}	join	Bradley 1979b:699

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**tsa**^{35}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.47
Luquan	**tsa 55c**	join	Matisoff 1972b:44
Nasu	**tsa̱**^{55}	link up	Chen Kang 1986a:151.
Neisu	**tsa**^{13}	link up	Chen Kang 1986a:151.
Nusu (Central)	**tsha̱**^{53}	connect / join (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.34
Nusu (Northern)	**tsha̱**^{55}	connect	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ts^{53}tɑ^{55}ɑ^{31}; **tshɑ**^{53}	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.45
Nusu (Southern)	**tɕɑ̱**^{53}	connect	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**tsa**^{13}	connect	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:587.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**tso**^{55}	connect (join); continue (e.g., speaking); join (connect)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index

Yi (Wuding)	**tsɑ̱**^{55}	connect / join (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Youle)	khœ^{42}**tshɑ**^{55}	connect	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	thø^{33} **tsha**^{31}	connect	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:587.34
Kucong	gɔ31 **tsa55**	connect	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕɑ**^{35}dɑ^{21}	connect / join (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.43
Lahu (Black)	**cá**	join	Matisoff 1972b:44
	tsʌ^{35}	connect	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:587.33
Lisu	**tsa1**	join	Matisoff 1972b:44
Lisu (Central)	**tsa**^{1}	join (as string) (v.t.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**tsa**^{55}	connect; graft; succeed; hold; save (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tsɑ**^{55}	connect / join (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.40
	tsɑ^{55}	connect	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:587.27
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**tsa LS**	join	Matisoff 1972b:44
Akha (Thai)	**tsàq**	connect	Hansson 1989:449
Akha (Yunnan)	**tsàq**	connect	Hansson 1989:449
Akha	**tsàq**	connect	Hansson 1989:449
Hani (Hu T'an)	**tsa 21c**	join	Matisoff 1972b:44
Hani (Lüchun)	**tsàq**	connect	Hansson 1989:449
Hani (Dazhai)	**tsɑ̱**^{31}	connect	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:587.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tsɑ̱**^{31}	connect / join (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tsɑ̱**^{31}dzø^{55}	connect	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	pha^{33}**tsha**^{31}	connect	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:587.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**zavq**	connect	Hansson 1989:449
Hani (Mojiang)	**tsha**^{31}	connect / join (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1496.42

(9) PTB *dway PUT TOGETHER / BE EVEN WITH / COME UP TO

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dway**	put together	Matisoff 1985a:116
	***dway**	even with / up to (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:119
	***dway**	put together / be even with / come up to	Matisoff 2003a:587
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	kei o **tai** a khy te	come up as far as my house	Matisoff 1985a:119
	tai	as far as; up to; all the way to; even to; even to the extent of	Matisoff 1985a:119
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**tòi**	even with (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:119
	tòi-tòi	even with (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:119
	tòi-tòi	knee-deep	Matisoff 1985a:119
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**twâi**	put together; connect (as with rope); put together, connect (cf. chwai)	Matisoff 1985a:116; Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **twâi**	put together	Matisoff 1974:153

6.14.0 Construction

(1) PKC *ɗoon BUILD / SPAN (v.) / STACK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɗoon**	BUILD / SPAN (v.) / STACK	VanBik 2009:65
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**dawn** hī	build (bridge)	VanBik 2009:65
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**dŏon**-I, donʔ-II	build, stack	VanBik 2009:65

(2) PKC *phuak-I, *phuaʔ-II COMPOSE / NAME (v.) / MAKE UP

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***phuak**-I, phuaʔ-II	COMPOSE / NAME (v.) / MAKE UP	VanBik 2009:331
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**phuak**	compose	VanBik 2009:331
Tiddim	**phuak**^{1} > phua?^{3}	name; invent a lie (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1474
	phuak^{1} > phua?^{3}	name, invent a lie	VanBik 2009:331
	phuak^{1}/**phuaʔ**^{3}	name, invent a lie	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**phuaʔ**-INV	compose, create, make up (things)	VanBik 2009:331
Lai (Falam)	**phùaʔ**-INV	compose, create (e.g. a song)	VanBik 2009:331
Lushai [Mizo]	**phùah**	compose, to make up (v.)	VanBik 2009:331

(3) PKC *phu $^{n}_{t}$ ERECT / PITCH / PLANT (v.) / POST

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***phun** ~ phut	ERECT / PITCH / PLANT (v.) / POST	VanBik 2009:335
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**phut**	pitch	VanBik 2009:335
Thado	**phùt**-I, phùu-II	erect, post	VanBik 2009:335
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**phûn**-I, phŭn-II	erect, post	VanBik 2009:335
Lai (Falam)	**phún**-INV	erect, post	VanBik 2009:335
Lushai [Mizo]	**phŭn**	plant (as a plant, a post, etc), to set up or erect (by burying one end in the ground, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:335

(4) PKC *ser FORGE / MAKE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ser**	FORGE / MAKE	VanBik 2009:651
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**sek**	forge	VanBik 2009:651
Tiddim	**sek**^{3}	hammer	VanBik 2009:651
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**sêr**-I, sĕr-II	forge, make	VanBik 2009:651
Lai (Falam)	**sĕr**-INV	forge, make	VanBik 2009:651

(5) PKC *siam MAKE / CREATE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***siam**	MAKE / CREATE	VanBik 2009:662
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**sĭem**-I, sìem-II	make, create, asseemble	VanBik 2009:662
Tiddim	**siam**^{1}	be an expert (i.e. be a creator)	VanBik 2009:662
	siam^{1}	be an expert (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1572
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**sîam**-I, sĭam-II	make, create	VanBik 2009:662
Lushai [Mizo]	**síam**	create, to make, to form, to get ready (v.)	VanBik 2009:662

(6) PCC *vuy PRODUCE (v.)

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***vuy**	PRODUCE (v.)	VanBik 2009:1163
Lai (Falam)	**vùi**	produce (fruits)	VanBik 2009:1163
Lai (Hakha)	**vûy**-I vŭy-II	produce (fruits), harvest (good)	VanBik 2009:1163
Lushai [Mizo]	**vùi**-I, vùih-II	produce (fruits)	VanBik 2009:1163

(7) PTani *ten REPAIR

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ten**	repair	Sun 1993a:321
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	mú-**ti**	repair	Sun 1993b
Bengni	mɯ-**tin**	repair	Sun 1993a
Bokar	mo:-**ten**	repair	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	mo: **ten**	repair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:586.51
Galo	-'**ten**	repair; fix (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	i **ten**-nam	mend (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	mo-**ten**-nam	repair (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'mo **ten**	repair; fix (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Tagin	mo **ten**-nam	repair (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	mo-**ten**	repair	Sun 1993a

(8) PTB *glan REPAIR / MEND

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***glan**	repair / mend	Matisoff 2003a:301
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**grám**	repair	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983:201
	kram	mend	Marrison 1967
	kʒam^{55}	repair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:586.47
	kɹam^{55}	repair	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**glan**	mend	Marrison 1967
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**kjon**	repair / mend	Mazaudon 1994:62
Gurung	^{2}**kjwẽ-**	mend	Mazaudon 1994:62
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**kjẽ-**	repair / mend	Mazaudon 1994:62
	^{1}**kyẽ-**	repair / mend	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0302
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**kjon**	repair / mend / take care of	Mazaudon 1994:62
Tamang (Sahu)	**'kyom**-pa	mend (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:19.29
	^{2}**kjon**	mend	Mazaudon 1994:62
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d̂i̯ɑn/ź i̯ɐ̈n**	good, approve, make good, treat well	Karlgren 1957:205a-c
	d̂i̯ɑn/ź i̯ɐ̈n	repair, put in order (v.)	Karlgren 1957:205f
Chinese (Old)	**gjens**	repair / put in order	Baxter 1992:662

Chinese comparandum

善 OC ***d̂i̯ɑn**, *GSR* #205a-c 'good, approve, make good'; B & S 2011: ***gen? { [g] e [n] ?}**; Mand. **shàn**.
繕 OC ***d̂i̯ɑn**, *GSR* #205f 'repair, put in order'; Mand. **shàn**.

(9) PKC *tsiʔ ROOF (v.)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tsiʔ**	ROOF (v.)	VanBik 2009:557
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**cih**	roof a house (v.)	VanBik 2009:557
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsiʔ**	roof a house	VanBik 2009:557
Lai (Falam)	**tsìʔ**	roof a house	VanBik 2009:557
Lushai [Mizo]	**chìh**	put on (thatch or roofing of any kind), to roof, to thatch (v.)	VanBik 2009:557

(10) PKar *thɛŋ^{A} WEAVE (baskets)

7. KARENIC			
**Karen [Burling]*	***thɛŋ**^{1}	weave (baskets)	Luangthongkum 2013:327
**Karen*	***thɛŋ**^{A}	weave (baskets)	Luangthongkum 2013:327
Bwe	**the**^{55}	weave (baskets)	Luangthongkum 2013:327
Bwe (Western)	**tʻe**^{1}	weave (mat or basket) (v.)	Luce 1985:E.24
Geba	**tʻe**^{1}	weave (mat or basket) (v.)	Luce 1985:E.24
Karen	**the**^{55}	weave (a basket)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1157.50
Kayah	**the**^{33}	weave (cloth), loom	Luangthongkum 2013:326
Kayan	**thi**^{53}	weave (baskets)	Luangthongkum 2013:327
Kayan (Pekon)	**tʰí**	weave strips (bamboo, cane) (V.)	Manson 2010

	tʰí sē **tʰí** dân	weave baskets (Velab.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**thi**[55]	weave (baskets)	Luangthongkum 2013:327
Pa-O (Northern)	**thɛŋ**[31¨]	weave (baskets)	Luangthongkum 2013:327
Pa-O (Southern)	**thɛŋ**[31¨]	weave (baskets)	Luangthongkum 2013:327
Pa-O (Northern)	**tʻɛŋ**[6]	weave (mat or basket) (v.)	Luce 1985:E.24
Paku	**tʻe**[1]	weave (mat or basket) (v.)	Luce 1985:E.24
Pwo (Northern)	**thãi**[35]	weave (baskets)	Luangthongkum 2013:327
Pwo (Southern)	**thãi**[53]	weave (baskets)	Luangthongkum 2013:327
Pwo (Delta)	**tʻaĩ**[4]	weave (mat or basket) (v.)	Luce 1985:E.24
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**tʻɑi**[6]	weave (mat or basket) (v.)	Luce 1985:E.24
Sgaw (Northern)	**the**[33]	weave (baskets)	Luangthongkum 2013:327
Sgaw (Southern)	**thi**[55]	weave (baskets)	Luangthongkum 2013:327
Sgaw	**tʻe**[1]	weave (mat or basket) (v.)	Luce 1985:E.24

6.15.0 Repair

(1) PTB *tsəw-t STOP UP / PLUG UP

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsu(w)-t ≍ tsəy**	stop up / plug up	Matisoff 2003a:461
	***tsuw**	cork / plug / stop up	Benedict 1972:422
	***tsəw-t**	stop up / plug up	Matisoff 2003a:617

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	mə **tsút**	stop up / obstruct	Matisoff 1974:362
	mə **tsut**	stop, cork; stopper (v.)	Benedict 1972:422
	tsút	stop up / obstruct	Matisoff 1974:362
	tsut	stop, plug, cork, as a bottle	Benedict 1972:422

3.2. Qiangic

Qiang (Longxi)	**tsoù tsoú**	stopper, cork {b?}	Evans 1999:915
Qiang (Mianchi)	**tsòu tsóu**	stopper, cork {b?}	Evans 1999:915

4. Nungic

Anong	aŋ **sü**	cork	Benedict 1972:422
	sü	cork (v.)	Benedict 1972:422

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Xiandao)	**tshi**[35]	block up / plug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1288.29
Burmese (Written)	a **tshui**	stopper, plug	Benedict 1972:422
	chui'	stop up, obstruct	Benedict 1976a
	tshui	stop up	Benedict 1972:422
	ə-**chui'**	stopper, plug	Benedict 1976a
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃhi**[55]	block up / plug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1288.30

6.16.0 Holding

(1a) PTB *ka:y PULL / DRAG / LEAD

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ka:y**	pull / drag / lead (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:595

1. NE Indian Areal Group

Kamarupan	**ka:y**	pull / drag / lead	Matisoff 1985a:138

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**-kai?**	pull / drag / lead	Matisoff 1985a:138
	¯mă`ka:i	lead (a row of dancers) (vpf + v.)	Henderson 1965
	¯mă`ka:i/¯mă_kai?	lead (vpf + v.)	Henderson 1965
	`ka:i	pull / drag / lead	Matisoff 1985a:138
	`ka:i/_kai?	pull / drag / lead (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Chinbon	**ṃkai?**	pull	So-Hartmann 1988:138
Daai	**ka**[i]**?**	pull	So-Hartmann 1988:138
Mkaang	**ka:**[i]**?**	pull	So-Hartmann 1988:138
Ngmüün	**ka**[i]**?**	pull	So-Hartmann 1988:138
Nyhmoye	**ka?**	pull	So-Hartmann 1988:138
Wakung	**xe**[i]**?**	pull	So-Hartmann 1988:138

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**kai**	pull (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kai	pull / drag / lead	Matisoff 1985a:138
	kai	pull (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2508
	kuài	pull down	Löffler 1985
Paangkhua	**kuái**	pull down	Löffler 1985
	ra **kuài**	pull down	Löffler 1985

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	ju **khai**	lead (v.)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**kai**	pull (v.)	Marrison 1967

(1b) PKC *kaay-I, *kay?-II HOLD / PULL

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***kaay**-I, kay?-II	HOLD / PULL	VanBik 2009:288

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**kai**	pull	VanBik 2009:288
Thado	**kàay**-I, kày-II	pull	VanBik 2009:288
Tiddim	**ka:I**[3] > kai?[3]	pull, haul	VanBik 2009:288

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**kàay**-INV	hold	VanBik 2009:288
Lushai [Mizo]	**kài**-I, kàih-II	pull, to catch on, to drag (v.)	VanBik 2009:288

(2a) PTB *s-n $\frac{\text{i}}{\text{u}}$ (:) $\frac{\text{p}}{\text{m}}$ ≍ * $\frac{\text{r}}{\text{s}}$ -nya $\frac{\text{p}}{\text{m}}$ PINCH / SQUEEZE / PRESS / OPPRESS / SUBMERGE / SINK INTO / WEST / LOW / SOFT

This etymon displays two well-attested patterns of variation: between ***-i-** and ***-u-**, and between ***-i-** and ***-ya-**. Similar allofamic behavior is shown by PTB ***s/r-mul ≍ *s-mil ≍ *s-myal** HAIR / FUR / FEATHER (§1.6.1).

The meanings of the reflexes range from PINCH / SQUEEZE to PRESS / OPPRESS to SUBMERGE / SINK INTO / WEST, the common semantic link being downward motion. There is a resemblant root, PTB ***l(i/u)p** SINK INTO / DIVE (§6.7.8), with similar meanings related to downward motion.

STC sets up two separate roots in this area, ***nup ≍ *nip** 'sink' and ***nyap** 'pinch, squeeze', although it seems best to combine them into a single etymon.

Note the large number of Kuki-Chin allofams of this semantically highly differentiated root.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***nem**	low (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:326
	***nem ≍ nyam**	low	Benedict 1972:348
	***nip**	crush, compress	Benedict 1972:84n250
	***nup ≍ *nip**	west	LaPolla 1987:63
	***nup ≍ nip**	sink	Benedict 1972:400
	***nu:p~ni[:]p**	sink	Chou Fa-kao 1972:695a-d
	***nyam**	low (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:326
	***nyap**	pinch / squeeze	Benedict 1972:192
	***nyɑp**	pinch / squeeze	Chou Fa-kao 1972:670
	***s-nap**	enter	Matisoff 2003a:604
	***s-nem ≍ s-nyam**	low / soft	Matisoff 2003a:604
	***s-ni(:)p ≍ r/s-nyap ≍ s-nu(:)p**	pinch / squeeze / press / oppress / sink into / submerge / enter	Matisoff 2003a:605

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	***nøp**	west	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	kɯ[31]**nɑ̆m**[55]	low / short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0969.23
	kɯ[31]**nɑ̆m**[55]	low	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:803.48

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***nuam-I**, ***nuam?-II** COMFORTABLE / PLEASANT, ***niam ≍ *hniam** SHORT / LOWER, ***hnim** DIP / DYE / SUBMERGE, ***hneem** COMFORT / CONSOLE, ***neem** SOFT / FLEXIBLE, ***h(n/ŋ)ip** SOFT

**Chin*	***hneem**	COMFORT / CONSOLE	VanBik 2009:887
	***hnim**	DIP / DYE / SUBMERGE	VanBik 2009:889
	***hnip ≍** hŋip	SOFT	VanBik 2009:907
	***neem**	SOFT / FLEXIBLE	VanBik 2009:838
	***niam ≍** hniam	SHORT / LOWER	VanBik 2009:832
	***nuam**-I, nuam?-II	COMFORTABLE / PLEASANT	VanBik 2009:807
Anal	**ì-nɛ̀ɛm**	soft	Weidert 1987:740

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**nùam** hī	happy	VanBik 2009:807
Thado	**hè?** néem-I, hè?-nèem-II	comfort, console	VanBik 2009:887
	nĕem-I, nèem-II	soft	VanBik 2009:838
	nîem-I, nìem-II	lower, be in lower position	VanBik 2009:832
	ním-I, nìm-II	dip, submerge	VanBik 2009:889
	nùom-I, nùop-II	pleasant, comfortable, pleasurable, easy, at ease	VanBik 2009:807
	ŋìp-INV	soft, fragile (be v.)	VanBik 2009:907
Tiddim	**ne:m**[2]	flexible	VanBik 2009:838
	niam[1]	low	VanBik 2009:832
	niam[1]	low (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1219
	niam[1]	low	Bhaskararao 1994
	nim[2]	dye	VanBik 2009:889
	nip[3]	soft	VanBik 2009:907
	nip[3]	soft (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1224
	nip[3]	soft	Bhaskararao 1994
	nuam[3] > nop[3]	comfortable, enjoyable	VanBik 2009:807

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**hngip**	soft, smooth (be v.)	VanBik 2009:907
	m-nem	lower, to bring lower (v.)	VanBik 2009:832
Khumi	a **niee**	low, short	VanBik 2009:832

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**hnèem**-I, hnêm-II	comfort, console, solace	VanBik 2009:887
Lai (Hakha)	**hnĕem**-I, hnem?-II	comfort, console, solace	VanBik 2009:887
	hnîm-I, hnĭm-II	dip, dye, submerge	VanBik 2009:889
Lai (Falam)	**hnĭm**-I, hnìm-II	dip, dye, submerge	VanBik 2009:889
Lai (Hakha)	**hnip**-I, hnî?-II	soft (e.g.candy)	VanBik 2009:907
Lai (Falam)	**hnìp**-I, hnî?-II	soft	VanBik 2009:907
Lai (Hakha)	**nêem**-I, nĕem-II	soft, flexible	VanBik 2009:838
Lai (Falam)	**nĕem**-I, nèem-II	soft, flexible	VanBik 2009:838
Lai (Hakha)	**nîam**-I, nĭam-II	short, lower in position	VanBik 2009:832
Lai (Falam)	**níam**-I, nìam-II	short, lower in position	VanBik 2009:832
Lai (Hakha)	**nŭam**-I, nuam?-II	comfortable, pleasant	VanBik 2009:807
Lai (Falam)	**nùam**-INV	comfortable, pleasant	VanBik 2009:807
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnèem**-I, hnêem-II	comfort, console, solace or cheer (as person in sorrow, etc)	VanBik 2009:887
	hnĭam	low (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:326
	hniam	low (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	hnĭam	low, short	VanBik 2009:832
	hniam	low (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2434
	hním	dip (in water, etc), to immerse, to duck, to plunge, to souse (v.)	VanBik 2009:889
	hnim	dip (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2436
	hnip	soft	Marrison 1967
	hnìp	soft, easy, yiedling	VanBik 2009:907
	hnip	soft (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2437
	néem	soft; soft, yielding, weak (as beer, current of water, etc), mild (as tobacco, etc)	Weidert 1987:740; VanBik 2009:838
	nêm	soft	Marrison 1967
	nem	soft	Benedict 1972:175n465
	nùam-I, nâwm-II	comfortable, pleasant, nice, cosy, agreeable, genial at ease, delightful (be v.)	VanBik 2009:807

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**nái**	short in stature, low	VanBik 2009:832

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Kom Rem	ìn-**néem**	soft	Weidert 1987:740
Lamkang	kʌ-pʌr-**nèɛm**	soft	Weidert 1987:740

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-hnjəm** LOW, ***a-njəp** SOFT

**Central Naga*	*a-**hnjəm**	LOW (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.142
	*a-**njəp**	SOFT (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.154
**Ao*	*a-**nəm**	LOW (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.259
	*a-**nəp**	SOFT (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.256
Ao (Chungli)	a[3]-**nəm**[1]	low (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.259
	a[3]**nəp**[3]	soft (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.256
	nem zük	low (adj.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	**nə̀m**	low (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.259
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**nam**	low (adj.)	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	e[1]-**hnjəm**[3]-	low (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.142
	e[1]-**njəp**[2]-	soft (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.154
	e **nhyim** ro a (e **nyhim** ro a)	low	Murry *et al.* 1978:69

	e **nyipb** a	soft	Murry *et al.* 1978:114
	e **nyip** rov	soft	Murry *et al.* 1978:114
	mmhyem a	low (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	[1]e[3]**nhyɯm(ʔ)**	low (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:326
Sangtam	amüng **nyem**	low (adj.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***nem*** LOW

**Tangkhulic*	***nem**	low	Mortensen 2012:656
Huishu	k[h]ə-**nem**	low	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.189
Tangkhul	**nem**	low	Bhat 1969:92
	[1]khə[2]**nəm**	low (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:326
Ukhrul	k[h]ə-**nɐm**	low (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

**Bodo-Garo*	*(**h**)nɑp	set (sun) / sink / drown / enter / penetrate	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:695a-d

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**hap**	enter	Benedict 1972:84n250
Dimasa	**hap**	enter	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:84n250

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**nap**	enter	Benedict 1972:84n250
Garo (Bangladesh)	**nap**-a	enter; set, of (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.313-II:idx

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***nium**	low	French 1983:517

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	a **num**	low (adj.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Phom	**nyen** pü	soft	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**nem**	low	Benedict 1972:348
	nip	shade, cast a shadow; be overcast, dim	Benedict 1972:400
	nyap	squeeze; extort	Benedict 1972:192
	śiŋ **nip**	shadow	Benedict 1972:400

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	**nup**	west; set (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.7; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:752.7
	nup[13]	west; enter	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986; ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**nup**	west; enter	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986; ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**nup**[35]	west	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**nup**[13]	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.6
Motuo Menba	**nup**	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.07
	nup	enter (a house); set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1447.07; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.07
Cuona Menba	**nup**[35]	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**nəp**	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**nəp**	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**nəp**	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**nuʔ**[231]	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**nuʔ**[31]	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**nup**[13]**tɕho**[52]	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.02
	nup[132]	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.02
	nup[132]	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.02
	nuʔ[13]	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.2
Tibetan (Spiti)	**nup**	west	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**nub**	west; evening	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:63; Benedict 1972:400
	nub	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.01
	nub	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.01
	nub	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.1
	nub-pa	fall gradually, sink; set (sun, moon); decay, decline	Benedict 1972:400
	nub; bʐud	set (of the sun)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:752.1
	rnyab-rnyab-pa	seize / snatch together	Benedict 1972:192
	snub-pa	cause to perish, suppress	Benedict 1972:400
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**nəp**	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**nŭp**	covered with water	Benedict 1972:75n231

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Gyaru)	**nɯp**[1] co[2]	west	Nagano 1984:375-02
Manang (Prakaa)	[2]**nu:**	west	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0735
Tamang (Sahu)	**nup**	west	Taylor *et al.* 1972:5.6
	nyen ca	soft (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.B.8
Thakali (Tukche)	**'nuhp**	west	Hari 1971:5.A.4

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**nip**	compress, express	Benedict 1972:400

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**n̥o**[55]tɕho[55]	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.18
Guiqiong	**nʉ**[35]tɕhyɔ[55]	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.16
Lyuzu	**n̥i**[35]	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.18
Muya	**nu**[33]ʂə[53]	set (of the sun) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1512.15
	nə[53]	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.15
Muya [Minyak]	**nɯ**[53]	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.15
Namuyi	**n̥i**[33]tʂhu[33]	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.19
	n̥i[31]tʂhuo[31]	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**nə̃**[35]	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**n̥õ**[13]	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**n̥õ**[13]	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**nø̃**[55]	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**nu**[35]	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**nə**[13]	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**nu**[13]	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**nəp**	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Caodeng	**nəp**	west	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**nəp**	west (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.11
rGyalrong	**nəp**	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.12

4. NUNGIC

Anong	nəm **nip** lam	west	LaPolla 1987:63; Benedict 1972:400
	ə **nem**	low	Benedict 1972:348
Trung [Dulong]	nă̆m[55]**nup**[55]	west	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:48.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	nam[55] **nuup**[55]	west	LaPolla 1987:63

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔnip*** SQUEEZE / PRESS

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔnip**	squeeze / press	Matisoff 1972b:159(b)

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	**n̥i̥ʔ**[4]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**n̥i̥ʔ**[44]	milk (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:611.40
Burmese (Written)	**hńap**	pinch, squeeze; blacksmiths tongs	Benedict 1972:192
	hnip	crush, oppress; crush, put down, oppress	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:400
	ńap	squeezed (vs.)	Benedict 1972:192
	ním	low (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:326
	nim	low	Benedict 1972:348
	nim[1]	low / short (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0969.26
	nim[1]	low	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:803.39
	nim'	low (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	nim'	low, short (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	nip	kept down (vs.)	Benedict 1972:400
	ə-**hnip**	crush, oppress	Benedict 1976a
Leqi (Luxi)	**nɐ̱:**[53]phji[33]	crush to pieces (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1654.33

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Lancang)	mɛ[35]**nu**[54]	scissors (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0581.43
	nu[54]ti[11]	pinch (of a shoe) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1406.43
Lahu (Black)	khí-**nôʔ**	shoes	Matisoff 1972b:147
	mɛ[35]**no**[54]	scissors	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:460.33
	mɛ́-**nôʔ**	scissors	Matisoff 1972b:147
	nôʔ ~ nûʔ	pinch / squeeze	Matisoff 1972b:147; Matisoff 1974:339

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	入	enter	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2356
Chinese (GSR #)	**0695a**	enter	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2356

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**niek**	sink / drown	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1123d
	nɨ̣ap / **nɨ̣ăp**	trample	Benedict 1972:84n250
	ńɨ̣əp / **ńźɨ̣əp**	enter; bring in	Benedict 1972:84n250; CHOU Fa-kao 1972:695a-d
	nɨ̣ɑp/nɨ̣ăp	trample	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:638b
	nwəb/nuo̱i	interior / inside / inner / in / enter	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:695e-g
	nu̱p	bring in	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:695h
Chinese (Old)	**newk**	sink; go under	Baxter 1992:1627f; Baxter 1992:1691
	njup	enter	Baxter 1992:1807
	nup	send; bring in; send in	Baxter 1992:1787; Baxter 1992:712; Baxter 1992:821
	nəp {n[ə]p}	enter	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2356

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**nyip**	enter	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2356

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	jihn **ruh**	enter	Sun 1985b:661
	jihn **ruh** (pf)	enter (pf)	Sun 1985b:662
	rù	enter	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2356

Chinese comparandum

入 OC ***ńɨ̣əp** , *GSR* #695a-d; B & S 2011: ***nəp {n [ə] p}***; Mand. **rù**.
納 OC ***nu̱p***, *GSR* #695h; B & S 2011: ***n^{ʂ}əp {n^{ʂ} [ə] p}***; Mand. **nà**.
內 OC ***nwəb***, *GSR* #695e-g; B & S 2011: ***n^{ʂ}əp-s {n^{ʂ} [ə] p-s}***; Mand. **nèi**.

躡 OC ***nɨ̣ɑp***, *GSR* #638b; B & S 2011: ***nrep***; Mand. **niè**.
攝 OC ***śńɨ̣ɑp***, *GSR* #638e; B & S 2011: ***kə.n̥ep***; Mand. **niè, shè**.
鑷 638
啑 618p
拈 618o

S457

(2b) PTB *s-nyit SQUEEZE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nyit**	squeeze	Matisoff 2003a:605

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔnyit*** SQUEEZE / PRESS

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔnyit**	squeeze / press	Matisoff 1972b:159(c)

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**hñac**	squeeze; to milk (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	hn̥ɑs	milk (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:611.39
	hn̥ɑs[4]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.26
	ññhac	squeeze	Marrison 1967
Langsu (Luxi)	**nɐ̱i**[55]	press / push down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1745.31
Maru [Langsu]	**nɐ̱i**[55]	press	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:671.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nɐ̱**[55]	press / push down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1745.30
	nɐ̱[55]	press	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:671.42

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Weishan)	**ʔnɨ̱**[21]khy[21]	crush to pieces (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1654.36

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Lancang)	**ni**[35]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.43
	ni[11]	press / push down (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1745.43
Lahu (Black)	**ní**	squeeze; press	Matisoff 1974:367; Matisoff 1972b:159(c) [a]
	ni[35]	press	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:671.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ni**[4]	pinch	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**ni**[55]	press; print; suppress, press with hand or finger (V.)	Bradley 1994

[a]Lahu **ní** could alternatively descend from the ***s-nip*** variant, since the Lahu reflex of ***-ip*** is **í** after *glottalized initials.

	ni^{55}pja^{33}	press flat	Bradley 1994
	ni^{55}tshe^{33}	press down; press to obey	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**nyi1**	squeeze / press	Matisoff 1972b:159(c)
Lisu (Central)	**nyi**^{1}	press (v.)	Fraser 1922
	nyi^{1}-hchē^{6}	crush (v.)	Fraser 1922
	ɲi^{55}	press; print; suppress, press with hand or finger (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{55}pja^{33}	press flat	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{55}tshe^{33}	press down; press to obey	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**n̥i**^{55}	press (with palm or finger)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1129.40
	n̥i^{55}	press / push down (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1745.40
	n̥i^{55}	press	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:671.27
	n̥i^{55}nɯ^{31}e^{33}	crush to pieces (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1654.40
Yi (Sani)	**n̥e**^{44}nu^{44}	crush to pieces (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1654.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**nyeh LS**	squeeze / press	Matisoff 1972b:159(c)
	nyehˆ (<PLB **?nyit**)	squeeze	Matisoff 1974:367
		squeeze	Matisoff 1974:367

(3) PTB *s-g-ryam CATCH / HOLD FAST

Huziwara sets up Proto-Asakian ***Cim**, which bears some resemblance to Old Chinese **g'i̯əm/g'i̯əm** 'bird; animal; catch / capture' (*GSR* 651j-m).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-grim**	catch / hold fast	Matisoff 2003a:591

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***hram** CATCH, SEIZE, HOLD

**Central Naga*	***hram**	CATCH, SEIZE, HOLD	Bruhn 2014a:III.139
**Ao*	*a-**həm**	HOLD	Bruhn 2014a:II.137
Ao (Chungli)	**am**^{32}-si^{2}	use (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.137
	am^{31}	hold (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.137
	am et	seize	Marrison 1967
	am et	hold (v.)	Marrison 1967
	á **àm**	hold (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**am** üt	seize	Marrison 1967
	üm et	hold (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hàm** ət	hold [held] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**hrəm**^{3}-at^{2}-	catch, hold (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.139
	hram	hold (v.)	Marrison 1967
	hram at	catch (v.)	Marrison 1967
	rham	seize	Marrison 1967
	rhüm at a	catch	Murry *et al.* 1978:15
	rhām āv	catch (v.)	Acharya 1975
	thrama t	seize	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**rang**	catch (v.)	Marrison 1967
	rang	seize	Marrison 1967
	rang cho	catch (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	rang yo	prison	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**ram** a-alu	seize	Marrison 1967
	ram lo	catch (v.)	Kumar 1973b:65

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**sgrim**	twist together	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:552.1
	sgrim-pa	hold fast, force or twist together (v.)	Jäschke 1881:120

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	禽	catch, capture	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2228
Chinese (GSR #)	**0651j**	catch, capture	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2228

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**g'i̯əm/g'i̯əm**	bird;animal;catch / capture	Karlgren 1957:651j-m
Chinese (Old)	**C.ɢəm** {[C.ɢ](r)[ə]m}	catch, capture	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2228

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**gim**	catch, capture	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2228

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**qín**	catch, capture	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2228

Chinese comparandum

禽 OC ***g'i̯əm**, *GSR* #651j-m 'bird, animal / catch, capture'; B & S 2011: ***C.ɢəm {[C.ɢ](r)[ə]m}**; Mand. **qín**.
擒 OC ***g'i̯əm**, *GSR* #651n 'catch, capture'; Mand. **qín**.

(4) PKC *hu(u)m CLENCH / CLASP (in the fist)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***hu(u)m**	CLENCH / CLASP (in the fist)	VanBik 2009:705

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**hum**^{1}	hold in the fist	VanBik 2009:705
	hum^{1}	hold in the fist (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:509
	hum^{1}	hold in the fist	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hûum**-I, hŭum-II	clench or clasp in the fist	VanBik 2009:705
Lai (Falam)	**húum**-I, hùum-II	hold in the fist	VanBik 2009:705
Lushai [Mizo]	**hŭum**	hold shut up in the hand, to hold in the palm of the closed hand, to clasp, to clench or close (the hand or fist) (v.)	VanBik 2009:705

(5) PKC *suum ≈ *siim GRASP / HOLD (in the fist)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***suum** ≈ siim	GRASP / HOLD (in the fist)	VanBik 2009:652

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**sìim**-I, sìp-II	grasp, hold in the fist	VanBik 2009:652

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**ksung**	grasp, clench (e.g. hand, fist)	VanBik 2009:652

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**sŭum**-INV	grasp, hold in the fist	VanBik 2009:652
Lushai [Mizo]	**sùum**	catch hold of or seize or clasp with closed fist (v.)	VanBik 2009:652

(6) PKC *tsep-I, *tse?-II GRIP / CLASP

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tsep**-I, tse?-II	GRIP / CLASP	VanBik 2009:541

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**tep** hī	fold	VanBik 2009:541
Thado	**tsè?**-I, tsèe-II	clasp together	VanBik 2009:541
Tiddim	**tep**^{3} > te?^{3}	hold pincer-like	VanBik 2009:541

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**cep**-I, ceh-II	grip, clasp, press	VanBik 2009:541

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tsep**-I, tse?-II	grip, clasp	VanBik 2009:541
Lai (Falam)	**tsep**-INV	grip, clasp	VanBik 2009:541
Lushai [Mizo]	**chèp**-I, chèh-II	clip, to nip, to clamp, to bind (as edges of cloth with binding), to catch hold (v.)	VanBik 2009:541

(7) PTani *sep HOLD / NIP

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***sep**	hold / nip (e.g. with tweezers, chopsticks)	Sun 1993a:201

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**šap**	hold / nip (e.g. with tweezers, chopsticks)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**šap**	hold / nip (e.g. with tweezers, chopsticks)	Sun 1993a

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**sep**	hold / nip (e.g. with tweezers, chopsticks)	Sun 1993a

(8) PTani *gak HOLD / SEIZE

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***gak**	hold / seize	Sun 1993a:202

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**gá**-či	hold st. on its side	Sun 1993b
	gá-là	hold; catch	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	gá-po	hold	Sun 1993b
	gá-pu	close fist	Sun 1993b
	ga-sɯr	strangle	Sun 1993b
	ga?-sɯr	strangle	Sun 1993b
	ga?-tu	grasp	Sun 1993b
	ga?-tu-bɯ	seize	Sun 1993b
	ga?-tɯ	grasp; squeeze	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**gak**-	hold / seize	Sun 1993a
	gak-bɯŋ	hold tightly in hand	Sun 1993b
	gak-pɯː	lay down (e.g. weapon); put down	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**gok** bom	hold (a pen) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1709.24
	gok-	hold / seize	Sun 1993a
	gok-bom	hold (in hand)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**gok** bom	grip / hold	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:551.51
Galo	**gag**-nam	hold; arrest; capture; catch (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	gag nam	catch; grab; grasp (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill Tagin	ga **gap**-nam	grasp, hold	Simon 1976
	gak so-nam	net	Das Gupta 1983
	gak-nam	catch by hand	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gak**	hold / seize	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ga?**-mun-ɕy	wrestle	Sun 1993b
	ga?-paː-toː	catch	Sun 1993b
	ga?-ra	hold	Sun 1993b
Milang	**gak**-ma	catch	Tayeng 1976
	gak-rak-ɲi-ma	snatch	Tayeng 1976
	patek **gak**-ma	arrest (take into custody); imprisonment	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	patek **gak** tu	arrest; prison	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976

(9) PTani *pjum HOLD ON BOTH PALMS

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***pjum**	hold on both palms	Sun 1993a:200

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**čum**	hold on both palms; hold on the palm	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **pjum**	load of cupped-hands (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0878.24
	a-**pjum**	hold on both palms; hold in both palms; classifier	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b

(10) PTB *rik LEAD / PULL ALONG

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**rĭ?**	pull	So-Hartmann 1988:138

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	**-ràk**	pull out, grab (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
Ao (Mongsen)	**ràk**	pull out (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**rik**	lead (animal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:612.7
	rik^{13}	lead (animal)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**rik**	lead (animal)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**rik**	lead (the way); guide; pull; lead (a cow) along; lead the way (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.07; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.07; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.07

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**rək-**	come, pull out in entirety (grass clump, etc.), all go in bunch (vi.)	Caughley 2000

(11) PTB *tsi LEAD / PULL ALONG

This root bears a strong phonosemantic similarity to PLB ***ʔcwat** PLUCK (§6.2.2), but should be kept separate.

1.1. “North Assam”			
Sulung [Puroik]	**cɯ^{53}**	pull (out)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.52
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**tsü**	lead (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Mao	**chü** thi-lo	lead (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	**chi** to	pull (v.)	Marrison 1967
Maram	**chi**	pull (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Kham	**ci**-nyā	pull (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.04
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**tśhji̱** (tśhji)	pull, draw	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1361
	tśjɨ	draw, pull; drag, pull	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5245; Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5343
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**htʃʅ^{55}**	pull (out)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.18
Lyuzu	**tse^{53}**	pull up (weeds)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.18
Namuyi	**tsʅ^{35}**	pull (out)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.19
Pumi (Lanping)	xə^{13}**stʃhi^{55}**	lead the way (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.09
Zhaba (Daofu County)	(lɛ^{33}) **tʂhʅ^{55}**	lead the way (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.14
	lɛ^{33}**tʂhʅ^{55}**	lead (the way) / guide (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**mtshi**	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.12
Ergong (Danba)	**mtshi**	lead (animal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:612.14
Daofu	**ndʑi** dʑə	pull / drag (a log) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ntʂhɛ** tʂhe	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.14
Daofu	tɕɛ **mtshi**	lead (the way) / guide (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.12
	ɣə **ndʑi** dʑə	pull / tug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Caodeng	kɐ-**mtsiʔ**	lead the way	Sun 1997a
	kɐ-**mts^{h}iʔ**	lead (cow)	Sun 1997a
5. Tujia			
Tujia	**tshi^{21}tshi^{21}**	pull / tug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.49
Tujia (Northern)	**tshi^{21}**~**tshi^{55}tshi^{21}**	pull (backward)	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**tshi^{53}tshi^{21}**	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.38
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**tsʅ^{35}**	pull up (weeds)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.47
Nusu (Central)	**tsə̠˞**	pull up (weeds)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.34
Nusu (Northern)	**tʂɛ̠^{55}**	pull (out)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**tse^{33}**	pull (out)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**tʂʅ̠^{33}**	pull up	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tɕi̠^{33}**	pull (out)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tɕi̠^{33}**	pull (out)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dʑi^{33}**	pull (a quilt) over oneself (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1332.37
	tɕe^{33}	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.24
	tʂi̠^{33}	pull (out)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.24
	tʂʅ̄^{33}	pull up (weeds)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**tʂʅ̄^{33}**	pull (out)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tsʅ^{21}**	pull (a quilt) over oneself (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1332.36
	tʂʅ̄^{33}	pull up (weeds)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tʂʅ̄^{2}**	pull up (weeds)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.38
Yi (Xide)	**tʂʅ̄^{33}**	pull up (weeds); pull (out)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.35; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**tshi^{31}**	lead (an animal) (v.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Yellow)	**tsʅ^{6}**	pull out (e.g. hair)	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**chï^{2}**	draw; pull (v.)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tʃi^{35}**	pull up (weeds)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.40
	tʃʅ^{35}	pull; pull (out)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.27; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tʃʅ^{35}**tshe^{35}	pull to break; break	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tɕi̠^{33}**	pull (a quilt) over oneself (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1332.40
Yi (Sani)	**tɕi^{44}**	pull up (weeds)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	**tshʅ^{55}**	lead (animal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:612.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tshʅ^{55}**	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.41
Hani (Pijo)	**tshý**	pull	Hansson 1989:332
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshʅ^{55}**	pull; lead (animal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:612.30
Hani (Shuikui)	**tshʅ^{55}**	lead (animal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:612.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tshý**	pull	Hansson 1989:332
Hani (Mojiang)	**tshʅ^{55}**	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.42
Mpi	**tɕɯ^{6}**	lead (n.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**tɕi^{44}**	pull up; pull out	Pelkey 2011:682
Southern Muji	**tɕɪ^{33}**	pull up; pull out	Pelkey 2011:682
Phola	**tɕi^{31}**	pull up; pull out	Pelkey 2011:682
Hlepho Phowa	**tsʅ^{21}**	pull up; pull out	Pelkey 2011:682
Phuza	**tsi^{55}**	pull up; pull out	Pelkey 2011:682
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	**dʐɤ˧˥**	pull, uproot (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
7. Karenic			
Karen	**tɕhø^{55}**	lead (the way) / guide (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**t^{h}wí**	guide, lead someone, help someone walk properly, especially the young and old (V.)	Manson 2010
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**ts’i** 3	pull, to	Dell 1981b:762
	tsi 3	pull, to	Dell 1981b:622
	tɕi^{33}	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tɕi^{33}**	pull / tug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.48
	tɕi^{33}	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.36
	tɕi^{33} (so̠^{33}lo̠^{33})	pull / drag (a log) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.48

(12) PNC *laam LIFT

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
**Northern Chin*	***laam**	LIFT	VanBik 2009:1032
Sizang	**lām** hī	lift	VanBik 2009:1032
Thado	**làam**-I, làp-II	lift	VanBik 2009:1032
Tiddim	**laːm^{3}** > lap^{3}	lift	VanBik 2009:1032

(13) PTani *ǰoŋ LIFT

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***ǰoŋ**	lift	Sun 1993a:239
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**ǰo**	lift; carry	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ǰo-bɯ	carry across shoulder	Sun 1993b
	jó-bɯ	carry	Sun 1993b
	ǰo-tu	pick up	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ǰo-tu(to)	lift	Sun 1993b
	ǰo-tu-to	elevate	Sun 1993b
	jo-ɯ **ǰo**-k^{h}rje	move	Sun 1993b
Bengni	gɯr-bɯŋ **ǰoː**	carry on shoulder	Sun 1993b
	ǰoː	lift	Sun 1993a
	ǰoː-min-gɯː	help carry st.	Sun 1993b
	ǰoː-tuŋ **ǰoː**-fɯŋ	move	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**dʑoŋ**	lift up / carry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1659.24
	ǰoŋ	lift; carry	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**dʑoŋ**	carry on a pole (two people)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:592.51
Galo	**‘joo** nam	lift; heft (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ǰoŋ**	lift	Sun 1993a

(14) PTk *k^{h}aaŋ LIFT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}aaŋ**	lift	Mortensen 2012:606
Huishu	**k^{h}i**-tə-kejʔ-k^{h}e	lift up	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.077
Tusom	**k^{h}ɯəŋ**-kə-ki	lift up	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.088
Ukhrul	kə-**k^{h}aŋ**	lift up	Mortensen 2012

(15) PKC *tsooy LIFT / ELEVATE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tsooy**	LIFT / ELEVATE	VanBik 2009:546
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**tawi** sang	elevate	VanBik 2009:546
Thado	**tsóoy**-I, tsòy-II	carry in hand, bring	VanBik 2009:546
Tiddim	**toːi^{2}**	hold in hand	VanBik 2009:546
	toːi^{2}	hold in hand (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1786
	toːi^{2}	hold in hand	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsôoy**-I, tsǒoy-II	lift, elevate, hold in hand (after lifting)	VanBik 2009:546
Lai (Falam)	**tsǒoy**-INV	lift, elevate	VanBik 2009:546
Lushai [Mizo]	**chāwi**	raise, to lift, to nurse in the lap (v.)	VanBik 2009:546

(16) PKC *lii(m/p) ⋇ *hliim LIFT / RAISE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***liim** ⋇ hliim ⋇ liip	LIFT / RAISE	VanBik 2009:1031
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**lîip**-I, lìip-II	lift, raise	VanBik 2009:1031
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**lim**	raise one’s clothes (rare) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1031
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hlîim**-I, hlǐim-II	lift, raise, turn up	VanBik 2009:1031
Lai (Falam)	**hlíim**-I, hlîm-II	lift, raise, turn up	VanBik 2009:1031
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlǐm**	lift up, raise (as coat sleeve, cloth, veil, curtain, roofing, or covering of anything), to turn up, to expose (v.)	VanBik 2009:1031

(17) PTB *laŋ LIFT / RAISE

See Gong 2001:21.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***laŋ**	lift / raise	Matisoff 2003a:599
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**laṅ** ba	rise	Marrison 1967
	laŋ	rise / stand up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1567.01
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**laŋ’**	high raised frame, stage	Benedict 1976a

9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**dịaŋ/ịaŋ**	lift, raise	Karlgren 1957:720j

Chinese comparandum

揚 OC ***dịaŋ**, *GSR* #720j; B & S 2011: ***laŋ**; Mand. **yáng**.

(18) PKC *ɗom-I, *ɗomʔ-II LIFT / SUPPORT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗom**-I, ɗomʔ-II	LIFT / SUPPORT	VanBik 2009:93
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**dôm**-I, dòp-II	lift (with hands) (v.)	VanBik 2009:93
Tiddim	**dom**[1]	lift and hold	VanBik 2009:93
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**dôm**-INV	lift with hand, to support (v.)	VanBik 2009:93
Lai (Hakha)	**domʔ**-INV	lift with hand, to support (v.)	VanBik 2009:93
Lushai [Mizo]	**dăwm**	support from below (v.)	VanBik 2009:93

(19) PTani *in PINCH (with fingernail)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***in**	pinch (with fingernail)	Sun 1993a:294
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**in**	pinch (with fingernail); pinch	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	in-təː-la vit	pinch and twist	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**i**-čum	pinch (v.)	Sun 1993b
Galo	lak-ce **ŋin**-nam	pinch (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ŋin nam	pinch (vt.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**in**	pinch (with fingernail)	Sun 1993a

(20) PL *raŋ[1] PULL

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**ɣu**[55]	pull	Chen Kang 1986a:45.
Lipho	**ga**[33]	pull	Chen Kang 1986a:45.
Nasu	**gɔ**[21]	pull	Chen Kang 1986a:45.
Neisu	**go**[21]	pull	Chen Kang 1986a:45.
Nesu	**ga**[21]	pull	Chen Kang 1986a:45.
Nosu	**go**[33]	pull	Chen Kang 1986a:45.
Yi (Liangshan)	**ɣɔ**[33]	pull up	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**gɒ**[21]	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**gɑ**[33]	pull / tug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ɣu**[55]	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ɣu**[55]	pull / tug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.36
Yi (Xide)	**gɑ**[55]	pull (a quilt) over oneself (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1332.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	**gɔ31**	pull out (i.e., grass); pull; lead along, pull (i.e., an ox)	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009; Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009; Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
	gɔ31	pull, drag (v.t.)	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɣɔ**[31]	pull up (weeds)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.43
	ɣɔ[31]	pull / tug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.43
	ɣɔ[31]**ɕɛ**[33]	pull / drag (a log) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.43
Lahu (Black)	**ɣɔ**[31]	pull; pull (out)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.33; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ɣɔ**[2]	pull; pull (out)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**go**[33]	pull; tug; drag (a log) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.40; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.40
Lisu (Northern)	**gɔ**[44]	pull; drag; transport; draw out (V.)	Bradley 1994
	gɔ[44]dy[21]le[33]	pull in; swallow in	Bradley 1994
	gɔ[44]la[33]	pull over here	Bradley 1994
	gɔ[44]tshe[33]kɯ[33]	pull down	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Thai)	**ɣə**	pull	Hansson 1989:332
Akha (Yunnan)	**ɣə**	pull	Hansson 1989:332
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɣə**	pull	Hansson 1989:332
Hani (Dazhai)	**ɣɤ**[33]	pull (out)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.31
	ɣɣ[33]	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɣɤ**[33]	pull up (weeds)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.41
	ɣɤ[33]	pull; tug; drag (a log) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.41; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɣɔ**[55]	pull (out)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɣɤ[33]	pull	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Haoni	**ɣɯ**[33]	pull	Hansson 1989:332
Hani (Shuikui)	**ɣɯ**[33]	pull; pull (out)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.32; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:606.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**ɣɯ**[33]	pull up (weeds)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.42
	ɣɯ[33]	pull / tug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.42
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Southern Muji	**gə**[33]	pull	Pelkey 2011:637
Phuza	**gwɔ**[31]	pull	Pelkey 2011:637

(21) PLB *N-gaŋ[1] PULL

6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola (Luxi)	**ŋø̱ʔ**[55]	pull (a quilt) over oneself (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1332.32
Burmese (Written)	**ŋaŋ**	pull, draw, spin; gasp	Benedict 1976a
	ŋaŋ'	pull, draw, spin; gasp	Benedict 1976a
Marma	**ŋaŋ**	pull	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:206
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***m-gaŋ**[1]	pull	Bradley 1979b:728A
PNL	**m-gaŋ**[1]	pull	Chen Kang 1986a:45.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Dafang)	**ŋgɔ**[21]	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ŋgo**[33]	drag; pull; tug	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Wuding)	**ŋkhɒ**[11]	pull; tug; drag (a log) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.38; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.38
Yi (Xide)	**ŋgo**[33]	pull; tug; lead (a cow) along; drag (a log) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.35
	ŋgo[33]	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu (Northern)	**ŋɔʔ**[21]	pull (V.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**koŋ**[5]	pull out (from the ground)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

(22) PTB *laŋ PULL (OUT) / TAKE AWAY

1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**láŋ**	take away / lead (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**lang**	take	Marrison 1967
	rum **lang**	lead (v.)	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	tə-**laŋ**	take away	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***laŋ**[1] PULL			
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**l̥aŋ**[55]	pull down (a house)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1175.28
Achang (Luxi)	**laŋ**[51]	pull	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**lɔ̃**[31]	pull / tug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**lɔ̃**[35]	pull / tug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**laːŋ**[33]	pull / tug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.33
Maru [Langsu]	**lɔ̃**[35]	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**laŋ**[21]	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**lɔ̃**[55]	pull; tug; drag (a log) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.34; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.34
Nusu (Northern)	**lɑ̃**[35]	pull	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**lɑ̃**[53]	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.45
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu (Northern)	**lø**[35]	pull out; escape (V.)	Bradley 1994

(23) PTB *si PULL / DRAG / LEAD

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**sé**	pull	Sun 1993b
	se	pull	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**siː**(-lɯk)	pull	Sun 1993b
	siː-kaː	pull with a jerk	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**se**-len	pull; draw out	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɕe len	pull / tug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɕe** len	pull	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:562.51
Galo	**həə** nam	pull (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	hɤ-nam	pull (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	sɤ-nam	pull (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**se** de	pull (v.)	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	**si**	lead (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sü	lead (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	te **shi**	pull (v.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	me **shü**	lead (v.)	Marrison 1967
	the **sü**	pull (v.)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	tü **sü**	pull (v.)	Marrison 1967
Mao	**shü** thi	pull (v.)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**shi** sayi	lead	Achumi 1998b:8.5
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**suy**	pull	Bhat 1969:94
	śə́y	pull	Bhat 1969:94
Ukhrul	kə-**suj**	pull out	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**ʃi**-men	pull, drag (v.)	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**ʃɐj**	pull, smoke	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**si**-sa	lead (n.)	Burling 2003:5.88-II:idx
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Phom	**shiü**	pull (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ʃɯ[55]	pull	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
2.1.2. Bodic			
Cuona Menba	**ʂei**[55]re[35]	pull / tug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.06
	ʂɛː[55]	pull / drag (a log) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.06
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*[B]**soi**	lead (on rope)	Mazaudon 1994:963
Manang (Gyaru)	**syɐ**[2] ŋɐː[2]	lead	Nagano 1984:288-07
Tamang (Sahu)	**'se**-pā	lead (animals) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.35
	'se-pa	lead (on a rope) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:14.35
	[2]se	lead (on a rope)	Mazaudon 1994:963
Tamang (Taglung)	**sjoː**-go	pull out	Mazaudon 1994:1004
Thakali	**soy**-la	lead (animals) (v.)	Hale 1973:03b.35
Thakali (Tukche)	**sjo**-lɔ	pull out (e.g. khukuri)	Hari 1971:8.B.2
	soj-lɔ	lead (on rope)	Hari 1971:3.B.35
	[2]sjo	pull out (e.g. khukuri)	Mazaudon 1994:991
	[2]soj	lead (on rope)	Mazaudon 1994:963
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**śiej**	guide, lead	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4708
	śio	guide, lead	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4507
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	(hu[31]tɕa[31]) **ʃə**[55]	lead (the way) / guide (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.16
	ha[31]tɕa[55]**ʃə**[55]	lead the way (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.16
	ʃʅ[53]	lead (animal)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:612.17
	ɕi[35]	pull up (weeds)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1131.16

	ɕi[53]	pull (out)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:606.17
Lyuzu	(ɣɯɹ[33]) **ʂu[53]**	lead the way (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.18
	(ʐɻ[33]) **ʂu[53]**	lead (the way) / guide (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.18
Namuyi	**sɛ[55]sɛ[55]**	pull; lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:562.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.19
	sæ[55]sæ[53]	pull; lead (a cow) along; drag (a log) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.46
	ə[ɻ55]gu[55] **ʂʅ[55]ʂʅ[55]**	lead the way (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.46
	ʂʅ[55]ʂʅ[53]	lead (the way) / guide (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.46
Qiang (Longxi)	**sí**	lead (cow); pull, drag	Evans 1999:2246; Evans 1999:2430
Qiang (Mianchi)	**sí** là	pull; pull, drag	Evans 1999:2126; Evans 1999:2430
Xumi	**ɕyɛ[53]**	lead (the way) / guide (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.17

4. NUNGIC

Nung	**ɕi[31]**nuŋ[31]	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.21
Anong	**ɕi[31]**nuŋ[31]	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.44

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	**ci1ci3**	pull (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ci[1]ci[3]	pull (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:4.3
	si4	lead (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia	**si[53]**	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.49
	si[53]	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.38
Tujia (Northern)	**si[55]**	lead (animal)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**ʂɛ[55]**	lead (animal)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**ʃɛ[55]**	pull; lead (a cow) along; drag (a log) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**ʃɛ[31]**	pull; lead (a cow) along; drag (a log) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ʃyː[55]**	lead (the way); guide; lead the way (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.33
	ʃɐ̯[33]	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.33
	ʃɐːˑ[33]	pull / drag (a log) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.33
Maru [Langsu]	**ʃɛ[31]**	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ʃe[51]**	pull; tug; lead (a cow) along; drag (a log) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.30; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.30; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.30
	ʃe[51]	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.42

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**sɤ[33]**	pull; tug; lead (a cow) along (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.47; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.47
	sɤ[55]	lead (the way); guide; lead the way (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.47; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.47
Lalo	**si**	pull / lead (horse)	Björverud 1994
	si[55]	lead	CHEN Kang 1986a:139.
Lipho	**si[33]**	lead	CHEN Kang 1986a:139.
Nasu	**sʅ[21]**	lead	CHEN Kang 1986a:139.
Neisu	**sɛ[21]**	lead	CHEN Kang 1986a:139.
Nesu	**sɛ[21]**	lead	CHEN Kang 1986a:139.
Nosu	**sɪ[33]**	lead	CHEN Kang 1986a:139.
Nusu (Southern)	**ɕyĩ[55]**	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɕyi[55]**	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.45
Nusu (Southern)	**ɕyĩ[55]**ɕɑ[31]	lead (v.)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ɕe[21]**	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.22
Yi (Liangshan)	gɑ[33]**ʂʅ[34]**	guide (lead)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	si[21]	lead (animal by a rope); pull (animal by a rope)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂʅ[21]	accompany; bring; guide (lead); lead (guide); see off	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂʅ[21]ɱo[34]	guide (lead); lead (guide)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂʅ[21]ʂa[33]	accompany; see off	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**sɛ[33]**	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**sɛ[21]**	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**si[33]**	pull; tug; lead (a cow) along (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.37; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.37
	sɛ[33]	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**sʅ[33]**	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.23
Yi (Weishan)	**sʅ[33]**	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.36
	ɕi[21]	lead (the way) / guide (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.36
	ɕi[21] ʔmɑ[21]	lead the way (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.36
	ɕi[33]	pull / drag (a log) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.36
Yi (Wuding)	**sʐ̩[11]**	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.38
	ɕe[11]	pull / drag (a log) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.38
Yi (Xide)	gɑ[33]**ʂʅ[34]**	lead (the way) / guide (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.35
	si[21]	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.35
	si[21]	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.21
	ʂʅ[34]	lead the way (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**sɛ[2]**	lead	CHEN Kang 1986a:139.
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**si[11]**	pull (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃə[33]**	pull	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ʃə[33]**	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.44
	ʃɯ[33]	pull; lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:562.34; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.34
	ʃɯ[55]	lead the way (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.44
	ʃɯ[55]zɔ[44]	lead (the way) / guide (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃɤ[33]**	lead (animal)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ʃɤ[33]**	pull; tug; drag (a log) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.44; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃɤ[33]**tʃə[55]	lead (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	ɣɔ[31]**ɕɛ[33]**	pull / drag (a log) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.43
	ɕi[11] vɤ[33]	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.43
Lahu (Black)	**sɛ[33]**	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**sɤ[5]**ma[5]	lead (v.)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɕɛ[1]	lead (animal)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**si[33]**	pull (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**si̱[33]**	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.40
Lisu (Northern)	**sɤ[33]**	pull through (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**sɻ[44]**	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.27
Lisu (Northern)	**ʃɻ[55]**	pull with hand (V.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**si[33]**	lead	CHEN Kang 1986a:139.
Yi (Sani)	**sʐ̩[33]**	pull; tug; lead (a cow) along (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.39; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.39
	ɕæ[11]	lead (the way); guide; lead the way (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.39; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	**shə** /sjhə	lead (by hand)	Hansson 1989:334
Akha	**sjhə**	lead	Hansson 1989:334
Akha (Thai)	**sjhə**	lead (by hand)	Hansson 1989:334
Hani (Lüchun)	**sjhə**	lead (by hand)	Hansson 1989:334
	sɤ[31]	lead (the way); guide; lead the way (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.41; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.41
Hani (Pijo)	**shỳ**	lead; lead (by hand)	Hansson 1989:334; Hansson 1989:334
	shỳ thɔ̀	lead (by hand)	Hansson 1989:334
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɕɤ[31]**mɛ[31]	lead (v.)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**seq**	lead (by hand)	Hansson 1989:334
Hani (Khatu)	**sjhỳ**	lead	Hansson 1989:334
	sjhỳ thò	lead (by hand)	Hansson 1989:334
	sý	pull	Hansson 1989:332
Hani (Mojiang)	**ʃɯ[33]**	pull / drag (a log) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.42
	ʃɯ[31]	lead (the way); guide; lead the way (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.42; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.42
Sila	**hɯ33**	pull (v.)	KATO Takashi 2008:51

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**sɛ[33]**	lead along	Pelkey 2011:687
Hlepho Phowa	**sɛ[33]**	pull; lead along	Pelkey 2011:637; Pelkey 2011:687
Phuza	**xə[33]**	lead along	Pelkey 2011:687

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	gwæ˩ʂæ˩	pull, drag (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2911
	kʰɯ˧ʂæ˥	lead along (by hand, halter…) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2547
Na (Yongning)	ʂæ˥	lead along (by hand, halter…) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**sʅ[21]**	pull / drag (a log) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1694.45
	sʅ[33]	lead (the way) / guide (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʂəɹ[31]**	lead (animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:612.28
Naxi	**ʂɚ[21]**	pull / lead (a cow) along (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1568.45
	ʂʅ[21]	lead the way (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.45

(24) PKar *ɟim[B] SQUEEZE / MASSAGE

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***ɟim[B]**	squeeze, massage	Luangthongkum 2013:275
Bwe	**ci[33]**	squeeze, massage	Luangthongkum 2013:275
Kayah	**ci[11]**	squeeze, massage	Luangthongkum 2013:275
Kayan	**ci[11]**	squeeze, massage	Luangthongkum 2013:275
Kayaw	**ci[11]**	squeeze, massage	Luangthongkum 2013:275
Pa-O (Southern)	**cim[33]**	squeeze, massage	Luangthongkum 2013:275
Pa-O (Northern)	**cim[55]**	squeeze, massage	Luangthongkum 2013:275
Pwo (Northern)	**chãi[11ˑˑ]**	squeeze, massage	Luangthongkum 2013:275
Pwo (Southern)	**chẽi[33]**	squeeze, massage	Luangthongkum 2013:275
Sgaw (Southern)	**ci[31]**	squeeze, massage	Luangthongkum 2013:275
Sgaw (Northern)	**ci[11ˑˑ]**	squeeze, massage	Luangthongkum 2013:275

(25) PTani *ñum SQUEEZE WITH FINGERS

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***ñum**	squeeze with fingers	Sun 1993a:394

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	**ñum**	squeeze with fingers; squeeze (with fingers)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**ɲum**-sɯn-nam	choke (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲum-ɟin-nam	squeeze (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ɲum nam	squeeze (vt.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ñum**	squeeze with fingers	Sun 1993a

(26) PTB *ku TAKE UP / LIFT / PROP UP

This root was first set up in a rather confusing footnote (n.281) in *STC*:98-99. Contra this note, this etymon is not to be identified with a similar root PTB ***r-kəw ≷ *hu** STEAL (§6.21), or with a separate WB morpheme **khû** 'pluck, gather'.

Certain forms (Magar, Bahing) carry a suffixal morpheme, **-t** or **-s**, with a causative/applicative meaning.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ku** (*B)	lift / raise	Coblin 1986:103

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Yakha	**khu**	lift up, raise	Benedict 1972:99n281

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**ku**-to	bring up (v.tr.)	Benedict 1972:99n281
	ku-wo	ascend	Benedict 1972:99n281
	ku t	bring up	Michailovsky 1991

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Magar	**khu** s	take up	Benedict 1972:99n281

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**khu'**	prop up; eke out	Benedict 1976a

Chinese comparandum

摳 OC ***k'u**, *GSR* #122h 'pull up (the dress)'; Coblin 86:103 ST ***khuɣ** > OC ***khug** ~ ***khjug**; Schuessler 2007:336 ***kho**; B & S 2011: (***k**[hʕ]**o**); Mand. **kōu**.
撅 OC ***ki̯wɑd**, *GSR* #301i 'lift (the dress)'; Schuessler 2007:336 ***kots**; B & S 2011: (***kot-s**); Mand. **guì**.

6.17.0 Putting

(1) PKC *khum-I, *khum?-II ADMIT / ENCLOSE / LOCK

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	*__khum__-I, khum?-II	ADMIT / ENCLOSE / LOCK	VanBik 2009:420
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	__khum__	admit	VanBik 2009:420
Thado	__khûm__-I, khùm-II	put sth. inside sth., lock in (bird in cage, clothes in suitcase etc.), get into (soccer ball into goal), get inside	VanBik 2009:420
Tiddim	__khum__[1]	enclose, cage, insert	VanBik 2009:420
	__khum__[1]	enclose; cage; insert (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:844
	__khum__[1]	enclose, cage, insert	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	__khum__	close in, lock up (v.)	VanBik 2009:420
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	__khûm__-INV	admit, enclose	VanBik 2009:420
Lai (Hakha)	__khum?__-INV	admit, enclose	VanBik 2009:420
Lushai [Mizo]	__khûm__	inside	VanBik 2009:420
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	__khó__	put in (v.)	VanBik 2009:420

(2) PTB *s-ryan EQUAL / PLACE IN A ROW / ALIGN / ROW

This root is reconstructed as *__s-ren__ in *STC* #346. *HPTB*:422 sets up a similar root *__g-ral__ on the basis of WT __gral__ 'equal, line up, connect in a row', which was directly compared to *GSR* #213a and 214a, but this was probably inadvisable. The further relationships of this Tibetan form remain to be worked out.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*__g-ral__	equal / line up / connect in a row	Matisoff 2003a:609
	*__ren__	equal / place in a row / line / row	Chou Fa-kao 1972:214a
	*__ren__	equal, place in a row (be v.)	Benedict 1972:346
	*__s-ren__	equal / line up / connect in a row	Matisoff 2003a:610
1.2. Kuki-Chin: *__yaan__ ~ *__yoon__ ALIGN / LINE UP			
*Chin	*__yaan__ ~ yoon	ALIGN / LINE UP	VanBik 2009:1182
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	ng-__zan__	aligned, to be in line/row (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1182
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	__zòon__-I, zŏon-II	align to, be in line with	VanBik 2009:1182
Lushai [Mizo]	__zâwn__	in line with, to be opposite to (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1182
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	__ren__	line, range, row	Benedict 1972:346
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	__ren__	line	Benedict 1972:346
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	dìŋ __rēn__	place in a long, even row	Benedict 1972:346
	__rèn__	equal (vs.)	Benedict 1972:346
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	__gral__	row, series, class	Jäschke 1881:76
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	__hraṅ__	put together side by side	Benedict 1972:346
	__raṅ__-tu	equal (vs.)	Benedict 1972:346
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	__liɑn/liɛ̈n:__	carriage (kind of); connect / unite;in a row;consecu	Karlgren 1957:213a
	__liɑn/liɛ̈n__	join / bring together	Chou Fa-kao 1972:214a
Chinese (Old)	__liɑn__	connect / unite / in a row / consecutively	Chou Fa-kao 1972:213a
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	__lián__ jie	connect	Evans *et al.* 1991
	__lián__ jiē	connect	Evans *et al.* 1991
	__lián__ jie	build, join; join	Evans *et al.* 1991; Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

連 OC *__liɛ̈n__, *GSR* #213a; Mand. __lián__.
聯 OC *__liɛ̈n__, *GSR* #214a; Mand. __lián__.

(3) PKC *ɓat-I, *ɓaʔ-II HANG / HANG UP

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	*__ɓat__-I, ɓaʔ-II	HANG / HANG UP	VanBik 2009:29
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	__bàt__-I, bàa-II	hang	VanBik 2009:29
Tiddim	__bat__[3]	wear in the ear ("hang on the ear")	VanBik 2009:29
	__bat__[3]	wear in the ear (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:52
	__bat__[3]	wear in the ear	Bhaskararao 1994
	___bat__/_bat	wear in the ear (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	__bat__	hang	VanBik 2009:29
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	__bat__-I, baʔ-II	hang, hang up	VanBik 2009:29
Lai (Falam)	__bàt__-I, bàʔ-II	hang, hang up	VanBik 2009:29
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	__bá__	hang up	VanBik 2009:29

(4) PKC *suan LAY OUT (dead person)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	*__suan__	LAY OUT (dead person)	VanBik 2009:658
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	__sûan__-I. sŭan-II	lay out a dead person	VanBik 2009:658
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	__pā__-sò	lay out a dead person	VanBik 2009:658

(5) PTB *hwaŋ PUT

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	__oŋ__	put into (bag, pocket)	Sun 1993b
	__oŋ__	put into a container / pack (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1810.24
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	__aŋ__	put near fire	Weidert 1987:12
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Konyak	__ang__	put	Marrison 1967
Phom	__hong__	put	Marrison 1967
	__hɛŋ__[55]	keep orderly / put neatly	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

(6) PTani *pa: PUT

1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	*__pa:__	put	Sun 1993a:311
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	gak-__pɯ:__	lay down (e.g. weapon); put down	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	hak-__pɯ:__	hang (against wall); hang (st against wall)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	__pɯ:__	put	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	hak-__pa:__	hang (against wall)	Sun 1993a
	hak-__pa:__ (guà)	hang	Sun 1993b
	__pa:__	put	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	__pa:__	put sth. somewhere (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1314.24
Bokar Lhoba	__pa:__	put / place	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:660.51
	ñak __pa:__	hang (object)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:661.51
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	ʔa-__pa:__-ra	put	Sun 1993b

(7) PTB *s-ta-t PUT / PLACE

The variant with final dental suffix is attested in WT, Jingpho, and Lotha Naga.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*__s-ta-t__	put / place	Matisoff 2003a:614
	*__ta__	put / place (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:176
	*__ta__	put, place	Benedict 1972:19
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	__thet-__	put (e.g. paint) (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	__thet__	put	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	__dá__	put / place	Matisoff 1974:294
	__da__	put, place	Benedict 1972:19
	__dá__	put, place	Matisoff 1978b:p.27
	__ta__	put	Marrison 1967
	__ta__	left, placed (vs.)	Benedict 1972:19
Jingpho (Hkauri)	__dàt__	put, place	Matisoff 1978b:p.27
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	__ta__	place, set, appoint	Benedict 1972:19
Raji	__tha-__	keep (v.)	Krishan 2003:748
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	__tha__	put, place	Benedict 1972:19
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	__sta__-gon	preparation, arrangement	Benedict 1972:19
	__stad__-pa	put on, lay on	Benedict 1972:19
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	__tho__-m	place	Benedict 1972:19
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Hayu	__ta__	put down, keep (vt, vtt.)	Michailovsky 1989a:m73.1.23,
	__ta__	put, place; keep	Benedict 1972:19
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya [Minyak]	rɯ[35]__tɕyi__[55]	put / place	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:660.15
Pumi (Qinghua)	khə[13]__stʃə__[13]	put / place	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:660.11
Qiang (Mawo)	kuə __xʂ__	put / place	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:660.8
	__stɑ__	move something to a new place	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:591.8
Qiang (Taoping)	kuə[31]__χty__[55]	put / place	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:660.9
Xumi	__tɕɛ__[55]	put / place	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:660.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	__sti__	put / place	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:660.14
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *__ʔ-da__[2] PUT / PLACE			
*Lolo-Burmese	*__tʔa__[2]	put / place (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:176
	*__ʔ-da__[2]	put / place	Matisoff 2003a:586
	*__ʔta__[2]	put / place / keep	Matisoff 1978a:74
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	__thà__	put / place (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:176
	__thâ__	put; place; keep; put, place	Hansson 1989:30; Matisoff 1978a:74; Matisoff 1974:294; Benedict 1976a
	__thà__	put, place	Benedict 1972:19
	yū __thā__	keep (v.)	Marrison 1967
6.1.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	*__ʔ-ta__[2]	put / place (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:176
	*__ʔ-ta__[2]	put / place	Bradley 1979b:761A
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	__ta31__	keep, save	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
*Common Lahu	*__ta_____	put / place	Bradley 1979b:761A
Lahu	tɛ̄ __tà__	put / place (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:176
Lahu (Black)	pə[33]__tʌ__[31]	put / place	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:660.33
	__tā__	put; place; keep	Matisoff 1978a:74; Matisoff 1974:294
Lahu (Yellow)	__tɛ__[6]	put / place	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	__tá__[2]	put / place	Bradley 1979b:761A
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Yunnan)	o __thà__	keep	Hansson 1989:30
Akha (Thai)	__thà__	keep	Hansson 1989:30
Akha	__thà__	keep	Hansson 1989:30

Hani (Lüchun)	ba **thà**	keep	Hansson 1989:30
Hani (Wordlist)	**taq**	keep	Hansson 1989:30

Chinese comparandum

署 OC *__d̂ḭo__, *GSR* #45r 'to put, place'; Schuessler 2007:629 ***da(k)h**; B & S 2011: ***m-ta?-s**; Mand. **shǔ**.
著 OC *__tḭo__, *GSR* #45n' 'to place; position (n.)'; Schuessler 2007:629 ***trakh**; B & S 2011: ***t‹r›ak-s**; Mand. **zhù**.
著 OC *__tḭɑk__, *GSR* #45n' 'to place, put, apply'; Schuessler 2007:629 ***trak**; B & S 2011: ***t‹r›ak**; Mand. **zhuó**.
著 OC *__dḭɑk/d̂ḭɑk__, *GSR* #45n' 'to attach, contact, be attached'; Schuessler 2007:629 ***drak**; B & S 2011: (***d‹r›ak**); Mand. **zhuó**.

(8) PKC *kam SET (trap) / PROP UP

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***kam**	SET (trap) / PROP UP	VanBik 2009:308

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**kám**-I, kàm-II	set a trap	VanBik 2009:308
Tiddim	**kam²**	set a trap	VanBik 2009:308
	kam²	set a trap (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:547
	kam²	set a trap	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	(**thàŋ**) kâm-I, kăm-II	set a trap	VanBik 2009:308
Lushai [Mizo]	**kâm**	set (a trap, fish lines), to prop up (v.)	VanBik 2009:308
	kam	set a trap (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2514

(9) PLB *swat STICK INTO

This root is firmly established for Lolo-Burmese, but confirmation from other branches of the family would be welcome.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***swat**	stick into	Matisoff 2003a:613

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***swat**	stick (into opening)	Matisoff 1985a:029

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**swat**	put into a small opening (as a letter into an envelope); put into (small opening)	Matisoff 1985a:029; Benedict 1976a

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	khɨ-**šêʔ**	leggings, gaiters, puttees	Matisoff 1985a:029
	šêʔ	put on / wear socks or leggings	Matisoff 1985a:029

6.18.0 Possession

(1) PKC *kooy KEEP

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***kooy**	KEEP	VanBik 2009:296

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**koi**	keep (v.)	VanBik 2009:296
Thado	**kòi**	keep / retain	Thirumalai 1972:61
Tiddim	**koiʔ³**	keep; place (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:646
	koiʔ³	keep, place	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	(**kǐl**)-kôoy-INV	keep, take care	VanBik 2009:296

(2) PKC *hual PRESERVE / SECURE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***hual**	PRESERVE / SECURE	VanBik 2009:731

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**hŭol**-I, hòul-II	preserve, secure	VanBik 2009:731

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hûal**-I, hŭal-II	preserve, secure	VanBik 2009:731
Lai (Falam)	**hûal**-INV	preserve, secure	VanBik 2009:731

6.19.0 Social action

(1) PKC *phal ALLOW / ACCEDE / LET / PERMIT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***phal**	ALLOW / ACCEDE / LET / PERMIT	VanBik 2009:325

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**phal**	accede, agree	VanBik 2009:325
Thado	**phál**-I, phàl-II	allow	VanBik 2009:325
Tiddim	**phal²**	allow	VanBik 2009:325

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**phál**	allow, permit, let	VanBik 2009:325

(2) PKC *ɓum CHEAT / LIE / BEWITCH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ɓum**	CHEAT / LIE / BEWITCH	VanBik 2009:14

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**bum** hī	bewitch	VanBik 2009:14
Tiddim	**bum²**	perform voodoo	VanBik 2009:14

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**bûm**-INV	cheat, lie	VanBik 2009:14
Lushai [Mizo]	**bum**	deceive	Marrison 1967
	bùm	deceive, cheat, swindle	VanBik 2009:14

(3) PKC *maa-I, *maak-II DIVORCE (v.)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***maa**-I, maak-II	DIVORCE (v.)	VanBik 2009:762

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**ma**, ki-ma	divorce	VanBik 2009:762

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**màa**-I, maak-II	divorce (husband to wife) (v.)	VanBik 2009:762
Lai (Falam)	**mâak**-INV	divorce (husband to wife) (v.)	VanBik 2009:762
Lushai [Mizo]	**mà**-I, mâak-II	divorce (one's wife) (v.)	VanBik 2009:762

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**má**	divorce (v.)	VanBik 2009:762

(4) PKir *he $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{m}\\\mathbf{p}\end{matrix}$ EMBRACE

Further cognate identifications are to be expected, as witness the non-Kiranti Magar form.

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	**hupt**-ue	embrace	Ebert 1997
	hup kahup cama	embrace each other	Ebert 1997
	hup ma	embrace	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**hEpt**-	embrace (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**heppa**	embrace (n.)	Rai 1985
Kulung	**hepp**-u	embrace (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	**hem**-ne	embrace (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.50

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Magar	**hām** ku-khe	embrace (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.50

(5) PKC *kooy EMBRACE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***kooy**	EMBRACE	VanBik 2009:277

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**kī** koī hī	embrace	VanBik 2009:277
Thado	**kôoy**-I, kòy-II	embrace	VanBik 2009:277
Tiddim	**koi²**	embrace	VanBik 2009:277
	koːi²	embrace (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:662
	koːi²	embrace	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**tkawy**	embrace, hug, squeeze	VanBik 2009:277

(6) PTB *p^{w}am EMBRACE / ACCEPT / HUG

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bokar	**bom**	hug / hold in the arms	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1149.24
	bom	cuddle / embrace (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1505.24
	tak a-**bom**	embrace tightly	Sun 1993b

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Damu	**bom**	embrace	Sun 1993b

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***pom** EMBRACE / ACCEPT / HUG

**Chin*	***pom**	EMBRACE / ACCEPT / HUG	VanBik 2009:143

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**pom**	embrace	VanBik 2009:143
Thado	**póm**-I, pòm-II	accept, embrace	VanBik 2009:143
Tiddim	**pom²**	hug, grasp	VanBik 2009:143
	pom²	grasp; hug (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1394
	pom²	grasp, hug	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**pawm**	carry in the arms, on one's chest (v.)	VanBik 2009:143

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**pôm**-I, pŏm-II	accept, embrace	VanBik 2009:143
Lai (Falam)	**pŏm**-I, pòm-II	accept, embrace	VanBik 2009:143
Lushai [Mizo]	**póm**	embrace, cuddle, hug, accept (v.)	VanBik 2009:143
	pom	embrace; take hold of (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2802

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**pỳ**	embrace, to caress (v.)	VanBik 2009:143

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	**wəm**	embrace	Bhat 1969:88
Ukhrul	kʰə-ŋə-**wɛm**	embrace	Mortensen 2012

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	a^{31}**phum^{55}**	embrace / hug (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1762.19
	phúm	embrace, hug; roost, as a hen	Matisoff 1974:287
	pǫn^{33}	hug / hold in the arms	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1149.19
	pǫn^{33}	cuddle / embrace (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1505.19

4. NUNGIC

Dulong	ɑ^{31}**pɔm^{53}**	embrace / hug (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1762.20

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**pun^{35}**	hug / hold in the arms	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1149.28
Achang (Xiandao)	**pun^{35}**	hug / hold in the arms	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1149.29
	pun^{35}	embrace / hug (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1762.29
Bola (Luxi)	**pa̱^{31}**la̱m^{35}	embrace / hug (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1762.32
	pa̱^{55}	cuddle / embrace (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1505.32
	pɔn^{35}	hug / hold in the arms	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1149.32
Burmese (Written)	**phûm**	embrace / cover	Matisoff 1974:287
Hpun (Northern)	**phùʔ**	embrace	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**pǭ^{31}**	embrace; hug; embrace a child cheek to cheek (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1575.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1762.31
	pǭ^{31}tsaŋ^{31}	cuddle / embrace (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1505.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**puːn^{55}**	hug / hold in the arms	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1149.33

	pɔ̰ː[33]	cuddle / embrace (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1505.33
	pɔ̰ː[33]kɔː[55]	embrace / hug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1762.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**po̰**[51]	cuddle; embrace; hug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1505.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1762.30
	pun[55]	hug / hold in the arms	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1149.30
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**bṵ**[53]	embrace a child cheek to cheek (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1575.34
Yi (Weishan)	**bo**[21]	embrace a child cheek to cheek (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1575.36
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**po**[55]	embrace a child cheek to cheek (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1575.44
Lisu	**bo̰**[31]	embrace a child cheek to cheek (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1575.40
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**pho**[5]	hug / embrace (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	pho[5]	run and hug	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
7. Karenic: ***phɔʔ**[D] EMBRACE, HUG			
**Karen [Burling]*	***phoʔ**[2]	embrace, hug	Luangthongkum 2013:103
**Karen*	***phɔʔ**[D]	embrace, hug	Luangthongkum 2013:103
Bwe	**phɔ**[33]	embrace, hug	Luangthongkum 2013:103
Bwe (Western)	**pʻɔ**[2]	embrace (v.)	Luce 1985:J.302
Geba	**pʻɔ**[2]bɑ[2]	embrace (v.)	Luce 1985:J.302
Karen	**phɔ**[31]xa̰[31]	embrace / hug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1762.50
Kayah	**phɛ**[55]	embrace, hug	Luangthongkum 2013:103
Kayan (Pekon)	**pû**	hug (V.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**pho**[33]	embrace, hug	Luangthongkum 2013:103
Pa-O (Northern)	**phɔʔ**[21]	embrace, hug	Luangthongkum 2013:103
	tă **pʻɔʔ**[4]	embrace (v.)	Luce 1985:J.302
Pa-O	tə **phɔ̀ʔ**	hold in arms, hug	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**phoʔ**[45]	embrace, hug	Luangthongkum 2013:103
Pwo (Southern)	**phuʔ**[21]	embrace, hug	Luangthongkum 2013:103
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**pʻu**[3]ʀõ[6]	embrace (v.)	Luce 1985:J.302
Pwo (Delta)	**pʻuʔ**[1]ʀõ[4]	embrace (v.)	Luce 1985:J.302
Sgaw (Southern)	**phoʔ**[21]	embrace, hug	Luangthongkum 2013:103
Sgaw (Northern)	**phɔʔ**[45]	embrace, hug	Luangthongkum 2013:103
Sgaw	**pʻɔʔ**[2]hɤ[1]	embrace (v.)	Luce 1985:J.302
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**pɔ** 1	hug (a child), to. vs. pia 8	Dell 1981b:353
	pɔ[1]	embrace(a child)	Dell 1981a:pp.150-169
Bai (Jianchuan)	**pu**[33]	hug / hold in the arms	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1149.48

(7) PKC *ɗaw ENTERTAIN / FEED / PROVIDE (hospitality)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗaw**	ENTERTAIN / FEED / PROVIDE (hospitality)	VanBik 2009:80
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**dou**[2]	provide hospitality	VanBik 2009:80
	dou[2]	provide hospitality (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:262
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**dăw**-I, dàw-II	entertain, feed, provide hospitality	VanBik 2009:80

(8) PKC *kom FELLOWSHIP (have) / ASSOCIATE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***kom**	FELLOWSHIP (have) / ASSOCIATE	VanBik 2009:279
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**kŏm**-I, kom?-II	fellowship, associate, befriend	VanBik 2009:279
Lai (Falam)	**kòm**-INV	fellowship, associate, befriend	VanBik 2009:279
Lushai [Mizo]	**kàwm**-I, kâwm-II	associate with, to have fellowship with (v.)	VanBik 2009:279
	thiaŋ	clean	LaPolla 1987:110

(9) PKC *ʔuk GOVERN / RULE

There is a possible connection between this root and PTB ***ʔup*** COVER / INCUBATE / HATCH (§6.13).

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ʔuk**	GOVERN / RULE	VanBik 2009:489
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**uk**	govern	VanBik 2009:489
Sizang	**uk** hī	govern	VanBik 2009:489
Tiddim	**uk**[3]	govern	VanBik 2009:489
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**uk**	govern	VanBik 2009:489
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔuk**-INV	govern, to rule (v.)	VanBik 2009:489
Lai (Falam)	**ʔùk**-INV	govern, to rule (v.)	VanBik 2009:489

(10) PTB *s-kul INSTRUCT / EXPLAIN / ADMONISH

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***xwjul**	subdue / admonish	Coblin 1986:143
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-kul**	instruct / explain / admonish	Matisoff 2003a:597
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**skul** fided bjed	urge / hurry / speed up	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1224.01
	skul-ba	exhort, admonish; appoint, impose; rouse	Gong Hwang-cherng 2000:#13
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**χi̱wən**	instruct, explain, obey	Gong Hwang-cherng 2000:#13

Chinese comparandum

訓 OC ***χi̱wən**, *GSR* #422d 'instruct, explain, admonish'; Coblin 86:143 ST ***xwjul** > OC ***hwjən**; Schuessler 2007:549 ***huns**; B & S 2011: ***l̥un-s {l̥u[n]-s}** (dial. to ***x-**); Mand. **xùn**.
順 OC ***d̂'i̱wən**, *GSR* #462c 'follow; agree, be agreeable; in accordance with; docile'; Schuessler 2007:476 ***m-luns**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.lun-s {Cə.lu[n]-s}**; Mand. **shùn**.
循 OC ***dzi̱wən**, *GSR* #465f 'follow; go along; orderly'; Schuessler 2007:476 ***s-lun**; B & S 2011: ***sə.lun {sə.lu[n]}**; Mand. **xún**.
馴 OC ***dzi̱wən**, *GSR* #462c 'docile; gradually'; Schuessler 2007:476 ***s-lun**; B & S 2011: ***sə.lun {sə.lu[n]}**; Mand. **xún**.

(11) PTB *s-nya-s ⩤ *s-nyan PUNISH / OPPRESS / COERCE

We are combining two roots set up separately in *STC*: ***nye** 'punish' (#252) and **s-nyen** 'oppress, coerce' (#193).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***nye**	punish	Benedict 1972:252
	***nye-s**	punish	Matisoff 2003a:605
	***nyen**	oppress / coerce	Benedict 1972:193
	***s-nyen**	hurt / oppress	Matisoff 2003a:605
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	**n̥eː** pa	punish (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1308.24
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**nyèn**	coax, defraud	Benedict 1972:193
	nyé	punish; cause woe	Benedict 1972:252
	nyéʔ	call (when threatening pigs)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:652
	śənyèn	take by force, coerce	Benedict 1972:193
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**sənaiŋ**	rob	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:163-1
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**nye**-źo	mishap	Benedict 1972:252
	nyen-pă	pained, pinched, pressed hard; to toil and moil (be v.)	Benedict 1972:193
	nyes-pa	calamity ; punishment	Benedict 1972:252
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ŋjir** (ŋjĩ)	disaster, calamity	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2444
3.2. Qiangic			
Queyu (Xinlong)	**n̥e**[13] pə[55] brə[33]	punish (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1308.13
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**hñâñ**	oppress, bully; hurt, oppress	Matisoff 1974:234; Benedict 1976a
	hńàń	hurt, oppress, bully	Benedict 1972:193
	ñâñ	sigh, moan; grumble	Matisoff 1974:234; Benedict 1976a
	ńàń	sigh, moan, groan; grumble / murmur at	Benedict 1972:193

Chinese comparandum

The primary comparandum is:

蹍 OC ***n̥iɑn**, *GSR* #201c 'trample'; B & S 2011: ***nran? {[n]r[a] [n]?}**; Mand. **niǎn**.

But consider the following as well:

展 OC ***t̥iɑn**, *GSR* #201a 'roll over, unfold, develop'; B & S 2011: ***tren?**; Mand. **zhǎn**.
輾 OC ***t̥iɑn**, *GSR* #201b 'roll over and back, roll to the side'; B & S 2011: ***tren? {tre[n]?**; Mand. **zhǎn**.
碾 OC **(*n̥iɑn)**, *not in GSR #201, but attested in MC*, 'grind, crush, husk; stone roller', Mand. **niǎn**.

All four of the above etyma have a common semantic focus, i.e. 'roll over'. Moreover, the first three (and likely the last) belong to the same OC phonetic series, and show OC *alveolar initials differing only in manner. This strongly suggests an allofamic relationship between 蹍, 展, 輾, and possibly 碾, to be reconstructed as ***t̥iɑn ⩤ *n̥iɑn** or similar for Old Chinese, if not earlier.

(12) PKC *weʔ VISIT / CHECK UP (on s.thg.)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***weʔ**	VISIT / CHECK UP (on s.thg.)	VanBik 2009:1176
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**veʔ**[3]	visit and comfort the sick (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1948
	veʔ[3]	visit and comfort the sick	VanBik 2009:1176; Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**veʔ**-INV	visit (as farm, sick people)	VanBik 2009:1176

(13) PKar *nɨŋ[A] WIN

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***nɨŋ**[A]	win	Luangthongkum 2013:334
Kayah	**nɨ**[11]	win	Luangthongkum 2013:334
Kayan	**nɨ**[33]	win	Luangthongkum 2013:334
Pa-O (Northern)	**nəŋ**[33]	win	Luangthongkum 2013:334
Pa-O (Southern)	**nəŋ**[53]	win	Luangthongkum 2013:334
Pa-O	**nə̄ŋ**, **nə̄ŋ** thō	win	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**nə̃**[55]	win	Luangthongkum 2013:334
Pwo (Southern)	**nə̃ɨ**[31‥]	win	Luangthongkum 2013:334
Sgaw (Northern)	**nə**[33]	win	Luangthongkum 2013:334
Sgaw (Southern)	**nɨ**[33]	win	Luangthongkum 2013:334

(14) PKC *heel-I, *helʔ-II WOO / COURT (v.)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***heel**-I, helʔ-II	WOO / COURT (v.)	VanBik 2009:746
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**hêel**-I, hèel-II	woo	VanBik 2009:746
Tiddim	**heːl**[1]	date a girl	VanBik 2009:746
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**helʔ**-INV	woo, court	VanBik 2009:746
Lushai [Mizo]	**hèlh** hàwlh	excited, to be in a favor of excitement (be v.)	VanBik 2009:746

6.20.0 Helping

(1) PKC *ɗaŋ-I, *ɗaŋʔ-II FEED / ENTERTAIN / SUPPLY

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗaŋ**-I, ɗaŋʔ-II	FEED / ENTERTAIN / SUPPLY	VanBik 2009:81
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dăŋ**-I, daŋʔ-II	feed, to entertain (v.)	VanBik 2009:81
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**dò**	supply one's want (v.)	VanBik 2009:81

(2) PCC *tsoom FEED / SUPPORT / SUPPLY

1.2.2. Central Chin

*Central Chin	***tsoom**	FEED / SUPPORT / SUPPLY	VanBik 2009:537
Lai (Hakha)	**tsôom**-I, tsŏom-II	feed, support, supply	VanBik 2009:537
Lai (Falam)	**tsóom**-INV	feed, support, supply	VanBik 2009:537
Lushai [Mizo]	**chăwm**	feed, to provide or supply with food, to support (v.)	VanBik 2009:537

(3) PTani *gul HELP (v.t.)

This Tani root is perhaps related to PLB ***N-gu**[1] HELP (§6.20).

1.1.1. Tani

*Tani	***gul**	help (v.t.)	Sun 1993a:198

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Galo	**-gur**	help; assist (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	i **gur**-nam	help (v.)	Das Gupta 1963

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**-gul**	help (v.t.)	Sun 1993a
Milang	lu-**gul**-ma	help	Tayeng 1976
	lu-**gul**-mo-be-ɲi	harmful	Tayeng 1976
	lu-**gul**-muk-ma	back (support)	Tayeng 1976

(4) PLB *N-gu[1] HELP

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**ku**^{22}ŋ̍i^{22}	help	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1140.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ku**^{22}	help	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:699.40
	ku^{53}	treat / cure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:701.40
Burmese (Written)	**ku**	help (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ku	help	Benedict 1976a
	ku^{2}	help	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:699.39
	ku^{2}ŋ̍i^{2}	help	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1140.26
	ku^{1}	treat / cure	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:701.39
	ku'	give medicine, cure	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**ku'**-	give medicine, cure	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**kə̌**^{31}ʒum^{55}	help	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1140.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**kə̌**^{31}ʒum^{55}	help	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1140.33
Marma	**ku**	help	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:195-2
Maru [Langsu]	**kə̌**^{31}ʒum^{33}	help	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:699.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kě**^{21}ʒum^{55}	help	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1140.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:699.42

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	**gu**^{33}	help	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1140.34
Nusu (Northern)	**gu**^{31}	help	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**mo**^{55}**gu**^{55}	help	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**mu**^{31}**gu**^{31}i^{55}	help each other	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**m̩**^{35}**gu**^{35}	help	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:699.45

Chinese comparandum

求 OC ***g'i̯ôg**, *GSR* #1066a-d 'seek, ask'; Schuessler 2007:320 ***gu**; B & S 2011: ***gu {[g](r)u}**; Mand. **qiú**.
kuh seek, investigate S319
救 OC ***ki̯ôg**, *GSR* #1066m 'help, save'; Schuessler 2007:319-20 ***kuh**; B & S 2011: ***s.ku-s {s.k(r)u-s}**; Mand. **jiù**.

(5) PNC *huʔ HELP

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

*Northern Chin	***huʔ**	HELP	VanBik 2009:721
Sizang	**hū** hī	help	VanBik 2009:721
Thado	**hùu**-INV	help	VanBik 2009:721
Tiddim	**huʔ**^{3}	help (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:494
	huʔ^{3}	help	VanBik 2009:721; Bhaskararao 1994

(6) PKC *ruŋ-I, *run-II HELP

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	***ruŋ**-I, run-II	HELP	VanBik 2009:948

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**gung**-I, gun-II	help, aid (v.)	VanBik 2009:948

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**rúng**-I, rùn-II	help (v.)	VanBik 2009:948

(7) PTk *con HELP

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

*Tangkhulic	***con**	help	Mortensen 2012:470
Kachai	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**con**	help	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.026
Tangkhul	**con**	help	Bhat 1969:90
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**con**	help; serve food, to help in work	Mortensen 2012

(8) PKC *ɓoom HELP / ASSIST

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	***ɓoom**	HELP / ASSIST	VanBik 2009:31

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**saih**-bó	help (v.)	VanBik 2009:31
Khumi	**bawng**	help	VanBik 2009:31

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**bŏom**-I, bom?-II	help, assist	VanBik 2009:31
Lai (Falam)	**bòom**-INV	help, assist	VanBik 2009:31

(9) PTB *m-ga HELP / PITCH IN

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**gā**	laborer called for joint or communal work (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:163

6.1.2. Loloish: ***N-k(r)a**$^{3/1}$ HELP [a]

*Loloish	***gra**^{3}	help	Bradley 1979b:696
	***gra**^{3}	help (v.)	Bradley 1979b:779

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**ga**	help	Björverud 1994
Yi (Nanjian)	**gɑ**^{33}	help	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:699.23
Yi (Weishan)	**gɑ**^{33}	help	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1140.36

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	**gɑ**^{33}	help	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1140.43
Lahu (Black)	**gA**^{33}	help	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:699.33
	kà	assist, help (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:326
Lahu (Yellow)	**ga**^{1}	help	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**dʑa**^{21}wa^{21}hwa^{33}	ask for help (V.)	Bradley 1994
	dʑa^{44}	help (N.)	Bradley 1994
	dʑa^{44} læ^{21}hɔ^{33}	help each other	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ja**^{3}	assist	Fraser 1922
	ja^{3}	help (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	je^{33}**dʑa**^{33}	cooperate; aid; help	Bradley 1994
	je^{33}**dʑa**^{33} mɔ^{33}dʑa^{33}	help each other	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33}**dʑa**^{33} mu^{33}dʑa^{33}	take care of; help; protect; preserve	Bradley 1994
	pi^{55}**dʑa**^{44}	help to carry; undertake	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	pjø^{55}**dʑa**^{44}	help to carry; undertake	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ta^{33}**dʑa**^{33}	help; assist; subsidise (V.)	Bradley 1994
	tɔ^{35}**dʑa**^{33}	assist; support; support with hand; persist	Bradley 1994
	tɔ^{35}**dʑa**^{33} læ^{21}hɔ^{33}	support each other; help each other	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}**dʑa**^{33}	help in work; help each other	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}**dʑɔ**^{44}	exchange labour (form of mutual help)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ye^{3} **ja**^{3}	assist	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	zø^{21}**dʑa**^{33}	help; assist; support	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɲi^{33}**dʑa**^{33} mu^{33}**dʑa**^{33}	take care of; help; protect; preserve	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ʒe^{33}**dʒɑ**^{33}	help	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:699.27
Lisu (Northern)	ɕa^{35}**gɔ**^{21}	help to do something	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ʑi^{33}**dʑɑ**^{33}	help	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1140.40
Yi (Sani)	m̩^{33}**kɒ**^{33}	help	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1140.39
	pɒ^{44}**gɒ**^{33}	help	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1140.39

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Phola	ɣɑ^{31}tɛ^{33}**gɑ**^{33}	help	Pelkey 2011:767
Phuza	**ga**^{13}bi^{33}	help	Pelkey 2011:767

[a] Lahu has a doublet here: **ga** from ***m-ga**^{3} ≍ **kà** from ***gra**^{1}.

6.21.0 Acquisitions

(1) PTB *r-kəw ≍ *r-ku $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{n}\\\mathbf{t}\end{matrix}$ STEAL / THIEF

(1a) PTB *r-kəw ≍ *hu STEAL

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	***hu ≍ r-kəw**	steal	Matisoff 2003a:593
	***r-kuw**	steal	Chou Fa-kao 1972:111a-b
	***r-kuw**	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305
	***r-kuw**	steal	Matisoff 1983:17; LaPolla 1987:4; Benedict 1972:33
	***r-kəw**	steal	Chou Fa-kao 1972:125u
	***r-kəw**	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305
	***r-kəw ≍** r-kun ≍ r-kut	steal / thief	Matisoff 2003a:595

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-hu** STEAL

*Central Naga	*a-**hu**	STEAL	Bruhn 2014a:III.091
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}**u**^{3}ja?^{1}	steal (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.091
	a^{3}-**u**^{3}əɹ^{1}	thief (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	a **o** ya	steal	Marrison 1967
	^{2}a^{3}**u**^{1}ya?	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**fə**^{2}-	steal (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.091
	ē **fà**	steal	Acharya 1975
	e **fü**	steal	Marrison 1967
	e **fü** a	steal	Murry *et al.* 1978:117
	e **fü** e	thief	Marrison 1967
	^{1}e^{2}**fɯ(?)**	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:57
Sangtam	a **fü** rü	steal (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	a **fü** rü	thief	Marrison 1967
	fü	steal	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	a **hü**	steal	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **hüh**	steal	Kumar 1973b:46
	a **hü** rü	thief	Marrison 1967
	a **ü**	steal	Marrison 1967
	^{2}a (**^{2}**)**hɯʔ**	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	**^{2}rɯ^{1}gu**	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305
Ntenyi	**ghafü**	steal	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***Ç-kəːw** STEAL

*Northern Naga	*Ç-**kəːw**	steal (v.)	French 1983:559

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**hu**	steal	Marrison 1967
	huʔ	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:57
Tangsa	**hʌuʔ**	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305
Tangsa (Yogli)	a **hau**	steal	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Khiamngan	^{12}a^{23}**gaɯʔ**	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305
Konyak	**ku**	steal	Marrison 1967
Konyak (Tamlu)	**hɯʔ**	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305
Phom	**güh**	steal	Marrison 1967
	gɯʔ^{33}	steal (theft)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	gɯʔ^{33}bæ^{33}	thief ('steal' + ?)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	a **hu**	steal	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**lagu**	thief; steal	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	lă^{31}**ku**^{55}	steal (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.19
	lă^{31}**ku**^{55}	steal	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:715.47
	lă^{1}**ku**^{55}	steal	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	ləgú	steal	Matisoff 1974:295
	ləgu	steal	LaPolla 1987:4; Benedict 1972:33

	[1]lə[3]ku	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**rkə**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hku**	steal (imp / pf)	Sun 1985a:524
	hkə	steal	Sun 1985a:523
	rkə	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.5
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ku[53]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.2
	ku[55]	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.02
	ku[55]ma[52]	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.02
	ku[55]mə[55] ku[55]	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.02
Tibetan (Written)	**brku**	steal	Sun 1985c:523
	rku	steal	Marrison 1967
	rku	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.01
	rku	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.1
	rku ma	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.01
	rku-ba	steal	Matisoff 1983:17; LaPolla 1987:4; Benedict 1972:135n368
	rkus	steal (imp / pf)	Sun 1985c:524
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hkə**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.04
	hkə ma	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.04

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*[A]**k[h]u**	steal	Mazaudon 1994:106
Thakali (Marpha)	[55›33]**k[h]u**-wʌ	steal	Mazaudon 1994:108
Thakali (Syang)	[55›44]**k[h]u**-ba	steal	Mazaudon 1994:108

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**khu**	steal	Benedict 1972:33,103n294

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**ku**	steal	Benedict 1972:33

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Magar	**khus**	steal	Benedict 1972:99n281
	khus-ke	rob; steal (v.)	Hale 1973:11b3.01; Hale 1973:11b3.02

3.2. QIANGIC

Muya	kuə[24] **khə[55]**βə[33]	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.15
Muya [Minyak]	**kɯ[55]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.15
Namuyi	**ŋkhu[33]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.19
	nkhu[33]sɯ[53]	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.46
	nkhu[31]	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**skiɯu[55]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**skiɯu[55]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.11
Pumi (Taoba)	thə[35]**ku[53]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.10
Qiang (Longxi)	mù **kù** mù	thief	Evans 1999:250
	tə̀ **kù**	steal	Evans 1999:2417
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʂkuə**	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.08
	ʂkuə	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.8
	ʂquəχ	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**kú** pù ~ **kù**	steal	Evans 1999:2417
Qiang (Taoping)	**χkə[55]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tɕhi[55]**ku[53]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʂkɯ[55]**ma[55]	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.13
	ʂkɯ[55]vi[55]	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.13
Xumi	**qhuɛ[53]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.17
	qhuɛ[53]dʑɛ[33]hĩ[33]	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.17
	qhuɛ[55]	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**(ʂ) ku[55]** ma[55]	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**ʂkə**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.12
	ʂkə mə	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.12

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**khü**	steal	Benedict 1972:33

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***kəw[2]** STEAL

**Lolo-Burmese*	***kəw[2]**	steal	Matisoff 2003a:595

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	**kho[55]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.27
	tθu[22]**kho[55]**	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**kho[55]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.40
Burmese (Written)	**kho[2]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.39
	kho[3]	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.26
	khuì	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305
	khûi	steal	Hansson 1989:363
	khui	steal	Matisoff 1983:17
	khûi	steal	Matisoff 1974:295
	khûi	steal (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	khui	steal	LaPolla 1987:4
	khuì	steal	Benedict 1972:33
	khui:	steal	Marrison 1967
	tθu[2]**kho[3]**	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.26
Hpun (Northern)	**khò**, **khò**-ŋ, **khù**-ŋ	steal	Henderson 1986
	lú' **khù**	thief ('person-steal')	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**khuk[55]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.31
	khuk[55]xa̲p[55]	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.31
Marma	**khú**	steal	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:163
Maru [Langsu]	**khúk**	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305
	khuk[55]	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.43

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***ko[2]** STEAL

**Loloish*	***ko[2]**	steal	Bradley 1979b:615; Hansson 1989:363
PNL	**ko[2]**	steal	CHEN Kang 1986a:16.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**khv[31]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.47
	k[h]v[31]	steal	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**khù**	steal	Björverud 1994
	khu[21]	steal	CHEN Kang 1986a:16.
Lipho	**khɯ[21]**	steal	CHEN Kang 1986a:16.
Nasu	**khɯ[33]**	steal	CHEN Kang 1986a:16.
Nesu	**khɯ[33]**	steal	CHEN Kang 1986a:16.
Nosu	**khu[33]**	steal	CHEN Kang 1986a:16.
Nusu (Northern)	**khɯ[55]**	steal	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**khɯ[55]**	steal	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**khɯ[55]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khɯ[55]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.45
Nusu (Central)	**khɯ[55]**su[33]	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.34
Yi (Dafang)	**khɯ[33]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**khu[33]**	rob; steal	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khu[34]ŋgɛ[33]	rob; steal	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**khɯ[21]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**khɯ[33]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**khɯ[21]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.37
	khɯ[21]	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**khu[21]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.23
Yi (Weishan)	**khu̱[21]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.36
	khu̱[21]sɿ[55]pa[21]	thief; robber (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.36; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0195.36
Yi (Wuding)	**khɯ[33]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.38
Yi (Xide)	**khu[33]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.35
	khu[33]	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.21
	su[55]**khu[33]**	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**khɯ[21]**	steal	CHEN Kang 1986a:16.
Jinuo (Youle)	**tɕhu[44]**	steal	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tɕhy[44]**ko[42]	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.44
	tɕhy[44]mɯ[44]	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.44
	tɕhø[33]	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.34
Kucong	**khu31**	steal	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	tshu33 **khu31**	thief	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**qhɔ[53]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.43
	tɕhɔ[33]**qhɔ[53]**	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.43
	tɕhɔ[33]**qhɔ[53]**tɕhɔ[33]nɑ[54]	robber (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0195.43
Lahu (Black)	**qhɔ̂**	steal	Matisoff 1974:295
	qhɔ[53]	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**qhɔ[3]**	steal	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**hku[5]**	steal (v.)	Fraser 1922
	htsaw[4]-**hku[5]**	thief	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**khù**	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305
Lisu (Northern)	**khu[21]**	steal; pinch (V.)	Bradley 1994
	khu[21]pha[21]	petty thief; thief	Bradley 1994
	khu[21]pha[21] dzɤ[33]pha[21]	petty thief; thief; bandit; robber	Bradley 1994
	khu[21]ti[55]	rob; steal	Bradley 1994
	khu[21]ti[55]su[33]	robber; thief	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**khu[31]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.40
	khu[31]	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.27
Lisu (Northern)	tshɔ[33]**khu[21]**	thief; pick-pocket; robber	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**khɯ[21]**	steal	CHEN Kang 1986a:16.
Yi (Sani)	**khɯ[11]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**xhö**	steal	Hansson 1989:363
Akha (Thai)	**xhö**	steal	Hansson 1989:363
Akha (Yunnan)	**xhö**	steal	Hansson 1989:363
Akha	**xɔ̀**	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305
Hani (Dazhai)	**kho[31]**	rob	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:714.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**xhö**	steal	Hansson 1989:363
Hani (Dazhai)	**xø[31]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**kho[31]**	rob / loot (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1570.41
	sɔ[55]**xø[31]**	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.41
	xø[31]	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.41
Hani (Pijo)	**khì**	steal	Hansson 1989:363
Hani (Gelanghe)	**xø[31]**	steal	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Haoni	**xu[31]**	steal	Hansson 1989:363
Hani (Shuikui)	**xu[31]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**xu[31]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.42
Mpi	**kho[2]**	steal	Hansson 1989:363

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	**k[h]ɯ[55]**	steal	Pelkey 2011:778
Phola	**q[h]uɛ[31]**	steal	Pelkey 2011:778
Hlepho Phowa	**k[h]ɯ[55]**	steal	Pelkey 2011:778
Phuza	**k[h]ə[55]**	steal	Pelkey 2011:778

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**k[h]v**ɬ	steal (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3331
	k[h]vɬmæɬ	robber, bandit	Michaud 2006–2009:733
Na (Yongning)	**k[h]v**ɬ	steal (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	k[h]vɬmæɬ	robber, bandit	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**khv[33]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**khv[33]**	steal	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:715.29
Naxi	**khv̩[33]**	steal (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.45
	ɕi[33]khv̩[33]	thief (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.45

7. KARENIC: ***how[B]** STEAL (v.)

**Karen*	***how[B]**	steal (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:279
	***hyü**	rob; steal	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:111a-b; CHOU Fa-kao 1972:125u; Benedict 1972:175n464
Bwe	a[55]**hu[33]**	steal (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:279
Kayah	**ho[11]**	steal (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:279
Kayan (Pekon)	ba **hû**	steal (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**hu[11]**	steal (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:279
Kayan (Pekon)	prạ̀ba **hû**	thief [lit. person-steal] (N.)	Manson 2010

	prạ̀pra **hû**	thief [lit. person-steal] (N.)	Manson 2010
	prạ̀ **hû**	thief, robber (N.)	Manson 2010
	pra **hû**	steal (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**hu**[11]	steal (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:279
Pwo	ạ **ɣuʔ**	rob	Benedict 1972:p.144
Sgaw (Northern)	**hɨ**[31~]	steal (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:279
Sgaw (Southern)	**hɨ**[45,]	steal (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:279
Karen (Sgaw)	ə **ɣüʔ**	rob	Benedict 1972:p.144

Chinese comparandum

寇 OC ***k'u***, *GSR* #111a-b 'rob'; Schuessler 2007:336 ***khôh***; B & S 2011: ***k^{hs}o-s { [k] ^{hs}(r)o-s}***; Mand. ***kòu***.

(1b) PTB *r-kun STEAL / THIEF

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*r-kəw ≍ **r-kun** ≍ r-kut	steal / thief	Matisoff 2003a:595

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**rkən** mæ	thief (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.05
Tibetan (Balti)	**ṣkun** ma·	thief	Rangan 1975:34
Tibetan (Spiti)	**kun** ma	thief	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**rkun** po	thief (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.01
	rkun-ma	thief	Benedict 1972:135n368; Marrison 1967

(1c) PTB *r-kut STEAL / THIEF

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*r-kəw ≍ r-kun ≍ **r-kut**	steal / thief	Matisoff 2003a:595

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**lagut**	thief	Marrison 1967
	lă[31]**kut**[31]	thief (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.19
	[1]**lə**[1]**gut**	thief	Weidert 1987:305

(2) PTani *laŋ TAKE

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***laŋ**	take	Sun 1993a:416

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**lá**	take	Sun 1993b
	la-	take	Sun 1993a
	la (bi)	take	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**laː**	take	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	laː-ča:	take up	Sun 1993b
	laː-ku	take away from speaker	Sun 1993b
	laː-kum	put away	Sun 1993b
	laː-lin	take over here; take st. out of water; take toward speaker	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	laː-luː	take down	Sun 1993b
	laː-lɯk	take back	Sun 1993b
	ñi-mɯː **laː**	marry (wife)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**loŋ**	take; take back, put away (clothing)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	loŋ	take; hold; get; pick up; fetch; marry (a woman) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1414.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.24,1577.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1578.24
	loŋ-len	take out	Sun 1993b
	maː-bo **loŋ**	marry (a husband)	Sun 1993b
	me-jaŋ **loŋ**	marry (a wife)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**loŋ**	take back; put away; take	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:549.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:676.51
Galo	**la**-nam	take (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'laa nam	take (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'laa rek	take away (from someone) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**na**-nam	bring, take, catch	Simon 1976
Nishing	**la**~**na**	take	Das Gupta 1969
	nyime **la**-nam	marry (girl, take)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**la**-nam	take (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	na-nam	take (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**laŋ**	take	Sun 1993a

(3) PTB *ŋas GET / RECEIVE / FIND

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ŋas**	possess / keep	Matisoff 2003a:606

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ŋaʔ*** GET / ATTAIN / POSSESS

**Chin*	***ŋaʔ**	GET / ATTAIN / POSSESS	VanBik 2009:856

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**ngah**	attain, get	VanBik 2009:856
Sizang	**ngā**	receive, get	VanBik 2009:856
Thado	**ŋàa**	receive, get	VanBik 2009:856
Tiddim	**nga?**[3]	receive; get (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1270
	ŋaʔ[3]	receive, get	VanBik 2009:856
	ŋaʔ[3]	receive, get	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**ngaa**	get, receive	VanBik 2009:856

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**ŋaʔ**-INV	get, attain	VanBik 2009:856
Lai (Falam)	**ŋàʔ**-INV	get, attain	VanBik 2009:856
Lushai [Mizo]	**ngàh**	possess much, to have much (v.)	VanBik 2009:856

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	**-ŋù**	see (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
	a[3]**-ŋu**[1]	see (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	a **ngu**	get (v.)	Marrison 1967
	a **ngu**	see	Marrison 1967
	a **ngu**	find (v.)	Marrison 1967
	[3]a[1]**ŋu**	find/get/see (v.)	Weidert 1987:414a
Sangtam	**ngu**	receive; see	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ngu	find (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ngu chi	get (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**ngü**	get (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **ngü**	find (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ngü	receive; see	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**ngu** le	get (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ngu le	receive	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**ngu**	see	Marrison 1967
	ngu lie	get (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ngu lie	receive	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**ngo** yi	get (v.)	Marrison 1967
Khezha	**ngu**	see	Marrison 1967
	ŋɵ	see / look (v.)	Yabu 1994:3.4.9

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**ngu**	see	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**ngou**	see	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**ngau**	receive; see	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**ngau**	see	Marrison 1967
	ngau lu	receive	Marrison 1967

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Chamling	**ngas**-u	possess, keep	Winter 1985

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	hluŋ **ŋas**-	crave for (vr.)	Caughley 2000
	ŋas-	entrapped, caught with net or gum (va.)	Caughley 2000
	ŋas-sa	catch / trap	Caughley 1972:3.B.30

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**ŋa**[323]	get / gain (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1398.47
	ŋa[323]oa[33]	get / acquire (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1263.47

(4) PTani *pjoŋ STEAL

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***pjoŋ**	steal	Sun 1993a:401

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	dɯ-**pjo**	steal	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-**pjo**-bo	thief	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-**p^{h}rjo**	steal	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	dɯ-**p^{h}rjo**-nɯ mju	thief	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**čoː**-si-bu	pickpocket	Sun 1993b
	də-**čoː**-bu	thief	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-**čoː**	steal	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	do **pjoŋ**	thief (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0194.24
	do-**pjoŋ**	steal	Sun 1993a
	doː-**pjoŋ**	thief	Sun 1993b
	pjoŋ	steal	Sun 1993b
	pjoŋ	steal (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1686.24
Bokar Lhoba	**pjoŋ**	steal	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:715.51
Galo	**co**-nam	steal (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	co-ne-ɲi-ɤ	thief	Das Gupta 1963
	coo nam	steal (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	coo rek	steal (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	do **so**-nam	steal (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	doc **co**	steal	Simon 1976
Nishing	do **co**	thief	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	do **co**-nam	steal (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	dɤ **co**	thief	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	do-**pjoŋ**	steal	Sun 1993a

(5) PTB * $^{s}_{r}$ -ney-t GET / HAVE / OBTAIN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**r-**)**ney**	get; obtain; find	Weidert 1987:184; Benedict 1972:294
	*(**r-**)**ney-t**	get / obtain	Matisoff 1985a:050
	***r-ney-t**	get / have / obtain	Matisoff 2003a:604

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***nay-I***, ***nayʔ-II***; ***hnay-I***, ***hnayʔ-II*** OWN / HAVE / POSSESS

**Chin*	***nay**-I, nayʔ-II; hnay-I, hnayʔ-II	OWN / HAVE / POSSESS	VanBik 2009:824

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**nē** sā hī	own	VanBik 2009:824
Thado	**nèy**-INV	have	VanBik 2009:824
Tiddim	**nei**[3] > neiʔ[3]	own; have (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1192
	nei[3] > neiʔ[3]	own, have	VanBik 2009:824
	nei[3]**/neiʔ**[3]	own, have	Bhaskararao 1994
	`nei	have (of weather, etc.)	Matisoff 1985a:050
	`nei/_neiʔ	have (of weather) (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**này**-I, nâyʔ-II	possess, have, own	VanBik 2009:824
Lai (Hakha)	**năy**-I, nayʔ-II ≍ ŋăy-I, ŋayʔ-II	possess, have, own	VanBik 2009:824
Lushai [Mizo]	**nei**	get (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nei	get, have, obtain	Matisoff 1985a:050
	nei	get; have; obtain (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2709
	nei	get, have, obtain	Benedict 1972:294
	nèi-I, nèih-II	have, to get, to possess, to obtain, to accept (v.)	VanBik 2009:824

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**hnei**	shift, obtain, acquire; have, possess	Matisoff 1985a:050
	hnēi	possess, to have (v.)	VanBik 2009:824

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**rnyed**-pa	get, obtain; get	Matisoff 1985a:050; Benedict 1972:294

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**ne**	take	Matisoff 1985a:050; Benedict 1972:294

7. Karenic

Karen	**ne**[33]b̲a[31]	get; acquire; gain (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1263.50; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1398.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**nē**	get, receive (V.)	Manson 2010
	nē ràu	get (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
	nínē	try, attempt, get (V.)	Manson 2010
	nə̄	get (V.)	Manson 2010
Palaychi	**ni** / **ne**	get, obtain	Benedict 1972:149n408

(6) PTB *la-k TAKE / FETCH

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***laa-I***, ***laak-II*** TAKE / FETCH

**Chin*	***laa**-I, laak-II	TAKE / FETCH	VanBik 2009:1056

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**lā** hī	take	VanBik 2009:1056
Thado	**lâa**-I, lâʔ-II	get, take, pick, besiege, conquer	VanBik 2009:1056
Tiddim	**laː**^{1} > laːk^{1}	lick	VanBik 2009:1056
	laː^{1} > laːk^{1}	take; harvest (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:890
	laː^{1}/laːk^{1}	take, harvest	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊlaː/ˊlaːk	take (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**lö**	fetch (v.)	VanBik 2009:1056
Chinbon	**lə^{u}ʔ**	take	So-Hartmann 1988:142
Cho (Mindat)	**la**-I, laak-II	fetch, to come and take (v.)	VanBik 2009:1056
Daai	**lɔʔ**	take	So-Hartmann 1988:142
Khumi	**laa**	take, marry (a wife); harvest, pick (cotton)	VanBik 2009:1056
	la^{u}ʔ	take	So-Hartmann 1988:142
Matu	**loʔ**	take	So-Hartmann 1988:142
Mkaang	**lɔ^{u}ʔ**	take	So-Hartmann 1988:142
Ngmiüün	**laʔ**	take	So-Hartmann 1988:142
Nyhmoye	**láːk**	take	So-Hartmann 1988:142
Wakung	**làʔ**	take	So-Hartmann 1988:142

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**làa**-I, laak-II	take, get, fetch, obtain	VanBik 2009:1056
Lushai [Mizo]	**la**	take	Marrison 1967
	là-I, lâak-II	take, to fetch, to bring (v.)	VanBik 2009:1056
	laːk	take; fetch; bring (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2617

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**lā**	take, to obtain (v.)	VanBik 2009:1056

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**lá**	take (v.)	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	**la**	take; take, carry	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988; Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**lá**	take	Brown 1895:74
	la-gu-du-ri	put, or take more down	Jacquesson 2005
	la-gu-ri	put, or take smthg down	Jacquesson 2005
	la-re-ri	make take, give [see le-ri]	Jacquesson 2005
	la-ri	take	Jacquesson 2005
	lá ro	take	Brown 1895:74

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***ɕ-la^{B}**	take / give (v.)	French 1983:563

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**le**	take	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**la**	take	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**la**	take	Marrison 1967
	la̱^{55}	take (in hand)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	la^{55}	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.19
	la^{55}	take / hold / get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.19
	la^{55}	take	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:549.47

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**la**	take	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:197

Chinese comparandum

以 OC ***zi̱əg***, *GSR* #976a-e ‘take; use, employ; in order to…’; Schuessler 2007:567 ***ləʔ*** ; B & S 2011: ***ləʔ*** ; Mand. **yǐ**.
式 OC ***śi̱ək***, *GSR* #918f ‘follow/be a model; model, form, rule’; Schuessler 2007:466 ***lhək***; B & S 2011: ***l̥ək***; Mand. **shì**.
試 OC ***śi̱əg***, *GSR* #918n ‘make use of; test, try’; Schuessler 2007:466 ***lhəkh***; B & S 2011: ***l̥ək-s*** ; Mand. **shì**.

(7) PKC *m-ruːk STEAL

Unlike the most widespread root for this concept, PTB ***r-kəw ≍ *hu*** STEAL (§6.21), the present etymon seems to be confined to Kuki-Chin.

The putative Karenic cognates cited in *STC* p.144 now seem to belong rather with PTB ***r-kəw ≍ *hu*** STEAL (§6.21), in view of Luangthongkhum’s recent Proto-Karen reconstruction ***how^{B}**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-ruːk**	steal	Matisoff 2003a:611

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ruu-I**, ***ruuk-II** STEAL

**Chin*	***ruu-I**, **ruuk-II**	STEAL	VanBik 2009:978

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**gûu-I**, **gûʔ-II**	steal	VanBik 2009:978

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**m-guk**	steal stealthily (v.)	VanBik 2009:978
Khumi	**pviiw**	steal	VanBik 2009:978

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**rûu-I**, **rûuk-II**	steal	VanBik 2009:978
Lai (Hakha)	**ruuk-rùu-I**, **ruuk-ruuk-II**	steal	VanBik 2009:978
Lushai [Mizo]	**rù-I**, **rûuk-II**	steal, to thieve, to pilfer (v.)	VanBik 2009:978

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**rú**-pá	thief (n.)	VanBik 2009:978
	^{2}pə^{2}ru	steal (v.)	Weidert 1987:305

(8) PKC *ʔook-I, *-ʔoʔ-II TRAP / HANG / MESH / TANGLE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ʔook**-I, -ʔoʔ-II	TRAP / HANG / MESH / TANGLE	VanBik 2009:515

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**awk** sak	mesh	VanBik 2009:515
Thado	**ʔôʔ**-I, ʔòo-II	get caught (in trap), stuck	VanBik 2009:515
Tiddim	**oːk**^{1}	caught	VanBik 2009:515

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-awk	hang oneself (v.)	VanBik 2009:515

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**ʔook**-I, ʔoʔ-II	trap, mesh, tangle	VanBik 2009:515
Lai (Falam)	**ʔôok**-INV	trap, mesh, tangle	VanBik 2009:515
Lushai [Mizo]	**âwk**-I, àwh-II	catch in a trap or in a noose or with a hook, to hang by the neck or leg, to get hung by the neck or leg (v.)	VanBik 2009:515

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**pā**-áo	catch, to trap, to catch with a noose (v.)	VanBik 2009:515

(9) PKC *man CAPTURE / ARREST / CATCH

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***man**	CAPTURE / ARREST / CATCH	VanBik 2009:756

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**man**-I, mat-II	arrest	VanBik 2009:756
Sizang	**man** hī	capture	VanBik 2009:756
Thado	**măn**-I, màt-II	catch (ball, insect in air, fish, etc.)	VanBik 2009:756
Tiddim	**man^{2}** > mat^{2}	catch	VanBik 2009:756

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**mawn**	capture, catch	VanBik 2009:756

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**măn**-I, màn-II	capture, catch up, arrest	VanBik 2009:756
Lushai [Mizo]	**mán**	grasp, to arrest, to capture, to catch for (v.)	VanBik 2009:756

(10) PKC *khoŋ-I, *khon-II COLLECT / SAVE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***khoŋ-I**, **khon-II**	COLLECT / SAVE	VanBik 2009:430

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**khon^{2}**	collect (of donations, offerings)	VanBik 2009:430
	khon^{2}	collect [of donations; offerings] (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:807
	khon^{2}	collect [of donations…	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**khôŋ-I**, **khŏn-II**	collect, save	VanBik 2009:430

(11) PTB *hyal TAKE / HOLD

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***hyal**	take / keep	Matisoff 2003a:594

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	**ol**-a	carry by tump line; hold (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.532-II:idx

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**ʔalʔ**-	take, lead away (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	ʔalʔ-sa	take	Caughley 1972:2.B.1.10
	ʔālʔ.sā	take (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.10
Magar	**āl**-khe	take (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.10

(12) PKC *tshut-I, *tshuʔ-II CONFISCATE / SNATCH

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tshut**-I, tshuʔ-II	CONFISCATE / SNATCH	VanBik 2009:582

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**suh** sak	confiscate	VanBik 2009:582
Sizang	**sut** hī	snatch (from a person)	VanBik 2009:582
Tiddim	**sut^{3}** > suʔ^{3}	snatch by force (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1645
	sut^{3} > suʔ^{3}	snatch by force	VanBik 2009:582
	sut^{3}/suʔ^{3}	snatch by force	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tshut**-I, tshuʔ-II	confiscate, take away	VanBik 2009:582

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**chhū**	confiscate, take away	VanBik 2009:582

(13) PTB *zim COLLECT / GATHER

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***zim**	collect / gather	Matisoff 2003a:621

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***θim ≍ *θin*** STORE / COLLECT

**Chin*	***θim ≍ θin**	STORE / COLLECT	VanBik 2009:631

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**htin**	store, collect	VanBik 2009:631

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**fîm-I**, **fím-II**	store, collect	VanBik 2009:631

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**zem**	gather	Bhat 1969:90

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**sím**	store up, put away	Matisoff 1974:307

2.1.2. Bodic

Motuo Menba	**zom**	gather / assemble (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1402.07

2.1.4. Tamangish: ***^{B}tsim** STORE / PUT IN THE RIGHT PLACE

**TGTM*	***^{B}tsim**	store, to put in the right place	Mazaudon 1994:261
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{2}tsim**	arrange on a shelf	Mazaudon 1994:261
Tamang (Sahu)	**’cim**-pa	store, put in the right place (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:17.A.21
	^{2}tsim	store, to put in the right place	Mazaudon 1994:261
Thakali (Tukche)	**’sihm**-lɔ	store / put in the right place	Hari 1971:6.B.1.21 2

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**sim**-	gather (e.g. belongings, harvest), (v.)	Driem 1988

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**zu̱m^{55}**	gather / assemble (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1402.28
Burmese (Written)	**sîm**	gather in; take possession of;	Matisoff 1974:307

7. Karenic

Pa-O	**sīm** hàu	gather up	Solnit 1989

(14) PKC *loŋ SNATCH / CONFISCATE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

*Chin	*loŋ	SNATCH / CONFISCATE	VanBik 2009:1051
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	lawng	snatch away from, take away (money, land, etc.), rob	VanBik 2009:1051
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	lŏŋ-INV	snatch away, confiscate (v.)	VanBik 2009:1051

(15) PTk *li STEAL

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
*Tangkhulic	*li	steal	Mortensen 2012:360
Huishu	kʰə-li	steal	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.034
Kachai	kʰə-lɐ	steal	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.028
Ukhrul	kʰə-li	steal	Mortensen 2012

(16) PKar *neᴮ OBTAIN / RECEIVE / TAKE / GET

7. Karenic			
*Karen [Burling]	*ne¹	obtain, receive, take, get	Luangthongkum 2013:204
*Karen	*neᴮ	obtain, receive, take, get	Luangthongkum 2013:204
Bwe	ni⁵⁵	obtain, receive, take, get	Luangthongkum 2013:204
Kayah	ni¹¹	obtain, receive, take, get	Luangthongkum 2013:204
Kayan	nai¹¹	obtain, receive, take, get	Luangthongkum 2013:204
Kayaw	ni¹¹	obtain, receive, take, get	Luangthongkum 2013:204
Pa-O (Northern)	ne⁵³	obtain, receive, take, get	Luangthongkum 2013:204
Pwo (Northern)	ni¹¹˙˙	obtain, receive, take, get	Luangthongkum 2013:204
Pwo (Southern)	ni³³	obtain, receive, take, get	Luangthongkum 2013:204
Sgaw (Southern)	ne³¹	obtain, receive, take, get	Luangthongkum 2013:204
Sgaw (Northern)	ne¹¹˙˙	obtain, receive, take, get	Luangthongkum 2013:204

(17) TGTM *ᴮjo thief

2.1.4. Tamangish			
*TGTM	*ᴮjo	thief	Mazaudon 1978:67
Gurung (Ghachok)	⁴jo	thief	Mazaudon 1978:67
Manang (Ngawal)	⁴jo	thief	Mazaudon 1978:67
Tamang (Risiangku)	⁴jo:	thief	Mazaudon 1978:67
Tamang (Sahu)	⁴jo	thief	Mazaudon 1978:67
Tamang (Taglung)	⁴jo	thief	Mazaudon 1978:67
Thakali (Marpha)	⁴jo	thief	Mazaudon 1978:67
Thakali (Syang)	⁴jo	thief	Mazaudon 1978:67
Thakali (Tukche)	⁴jo	thief	Mazaudon 1978:67

6.22.0 Exchanges

(1) PTB * g m s -lay ≍ * r s -ley ≍ *b-rey CHANGE / EXCHANGE / BARTER / BUY

The variable vocalism in this root was perhaps the reason why Benedict considered it to be a loan from Austro-Tai ***(m)baḷi**. However, several other roots show ***-ey ≍ *-ay** variation, including NEAR; TONGUE; RICE / PADDY; PASS / EXCEED; BRIDGE; and BAMBOO STRIP. See *GSTC* #s 55, 56, 57, 58, 130, and 133.

Cf. the confusing note in Benedict (1975a:82), where he suggests that two separate borrowings from Austro-Tai are involved, both of which overlap with a native root. See also *STC* #283 and note 205, p. 64.

Several different prefixes are attested with this root, with their relative antiquity yet to be determined.

(1a) PTB * g m s -lay CHANGE / EXCHANGE / BUY / BARTER

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*g/m/s-lay ≍ r-ley	change / exchange / buy / barter	Matisoff 2003a:599
	*lay	change / exchange / barter	Benedict 1972:283
	*s-lăy	change / exchange	Matisoff 1985a:069
	*s-lay	change	LaPolla 1987:192
1.2. Kuki-Chin: *lay ≍ *hlay BUY / EXCHANGE			
*Chin	*lay ≍ hlay	BUY / EXCHANGE	VanBik 2009:997
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin: *laay CHANGE			
*Northern Chin	*laay	CHANGE	VanBik 2009:1001
Paite	lei	purchase	VanBik 2009:997
Sizang	ki lai hī	change	VanBik 2009:1001
	lē hī	buy	VanBik 2009:997
Tiddim	-lay?	change	Matisoff 1985a:069
	lai?³	change (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:872
	lai?	change	Benedict 1972:64n205
	laiʔ³	change	VanBik 2009:1001; Bhaskararao 1994
	lay	change	LaPolla 1987:192
	lei¹	buy	VanBik 2009:997
	_laiʔ/_laiʔ	change (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	‘lé	buy	VanBik 2009:997
Cho (Mindat)	hleih	buy	VanBik 2009:997
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	láy-I, lày-II	buy, purchase	VanBik 2009:997
Lushai [Mizo]	lĕi	buy, to purchase, to purchase by exhange (v.)	VanBik 2009:997
	lei	buy, barter	Benedict 1972:283
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	chā-léi	buy	VanBik 2009:997
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Chokri	khri	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
Khezha	kri	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	li	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *lo BUY			
*Tangkhulic	*lo	buy	Mortensen 2012:362
Huishu	kʰə-lu	buy	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.099
Kachai	kʰə-lɐ	buy	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.088
Tusom	kʰə-lu	buy	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.116
Ukhrul	kʰə-lo	buy	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	bilay	distribute (v.)	Bhat 1968
	bilay	distribute	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1985a:069
	gu slay	leave off slough (snake); change the color of the; change the color of skin (children) (v.)	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
	gu slay	slough (snake), change color of skin	Matisoff 1985a:069
Dimasa	salai	alter, change, exchange	Benedict 1972:283
	salai (lai)	interchange, exchange	Matisoff 1985a:069
	salai lai	interchange, exchange	Benedict 1972:283
Kokborok	šlay	exchange	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	sre	exchange; change, exchange	Matisoff 1985a:069; Benedict 1972:283
Garo (Bangladesh)	sre-a	exchange; trade (vt.)	Burling 2003:8.444-II:idx
	sre-grik-a	exchange; trade (vt.)	Burling 2003:8.444-II:idx
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *rey BUY, *lyay CHANGE / EXCHANGE [a]			
*Northern Naga	*lyay	change / exchange	French 1983:467
	*rey	buy (v.)	French 1983:465
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	ri	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	ri	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	a rei	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	gəlái	change, exchange, barter	Matisoff 1985a:069
	gəlai	change, exchange; barter	Benedict 1972:132n357; Benedict 1972:283
	gəlai (high tone)	exchange	Benedict 1972:64n205
	kă³¹lai⁵⁵	exchange	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:695.47
	kă³¹lai⁵⁵ khat⁵⁵	exchange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1419.19
	lāi	changed (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:069
	lai	changed (vs.)	Benedict 1972:283
	məlai	change, repent; substitute	Benedict 1972:283
2.1.4. Tamangish			
*TGTM	*ᴮglu	buy / purchase	Mazaudon 1994:192
Manang (Prakaa)	⁴kʰju-	buy / purchase	Mazaudon 1994:192
Tamang (Risiangku)	⁴klu	buy	Mazaudon 1994:193
Tamang (Sahu)	⁴klu	buy	Mazaudon 1994:193
Tamang (Taglung)	⁴klu-si	buy	Mazaudon 1994:193
Thakali (Tukche)	⁴kju	buy	Mazaudon 1994:192
3.2. Qiangic: *lyay EXCHANGE			
Guiqiong	li³⁵	exchange	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:695.17
	li³⁵li³³	exchange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1419.16
Muya	thu⁵⁵ji³³	exchange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1419.15
Muya [Minyak]	thu⁵⁵ji³³	exchange	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:695.15
Qiang (Longxi)	lɜ́ lá	exchange	Evans 1999:1985
Qiang (Mawo)	lə lɑ	exchange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1419.08
	lə lɑ	exchange	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:695.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	lə̀ là	exchange	Evans 1999:1985
	tɛ̀ lă	vary, change (v.i.)	Evans 1999:1669
Qiang (Taoping)	tə⁵⁵lɑ³¹	exchange	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:695.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	jɛ⁵⁵	exchange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1419.13
Xumi	la³³qɛ³³læ⁵⁵	exchange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1419.17
	qɑ⁵⁵lɛ⁵⁵	exchange	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:695.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	a³³ɬʌ⁵⁵	exchange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1419.14
4. Nungic			
Anong	thəle	alter, change, exchange	Benedict 1972:283
Rawang	thəlɛ³³ khɛ³³ ɛ³³	exchange	LaPolla 2003:1321
Dulong	kɑ⁵⁵lɑi⁵³	exchange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1419.20
	ɑ³¹klɑi⁵³	exchange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1419.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ³¹klɑi⁵³	exchange	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:695.46
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
*Lolo-Burmese	*ʔ-lay²	exchange / sell	Matisoff 1978a:96
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	lɛ⁵⁵ɬɛ²²	exchange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1419.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	lɛ⁵⁵	exchange	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:695.40
Burmese (Written)	hlâi-phai	id.(empty (contents of one vessel into another)) ; to exchange (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	hlâi-phei	exchange	Matisoff 1985a:069
	lai	exchange	Matisoff 1985a:069
	lâi	change; exchange; change, exchange	Matisoff 1978a:96; Benedict 1976a
	lai	(ex)change	LaPolla 1987:192
	laì	change, exchange	Benedict 1972:283
	lɑi³	exchange	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:695.39
	lɑi³hlɑj²	exchange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1419.26
Atsi [Zaiwa]	lai⁵⁵	change	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1158.30
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nasu	ɬo̱²	exchange	Chen Kang 1986a:180.
Neisu	ɬo̱³³	exchange	Chen Kang 1986a:180.
Yi (Liangshan)	ɬo³³	change (exchange); exchange	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	dʐ̩³⁴ɬo³³	exchange	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Wuding)	dʑe³³ɬɔ⁵⁵	exchange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1419.38

[a] Both of these allofams are reconstructed by French. Strictly speaking, ***lyay** goes better with the current allofam, while ***rey** seems closest to PTB ***b-rey** BUY / BARTER (§6.22).

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Mpi	**lɤʔ**[1]	exchange; sell; exchange, sell	Matisoff 1985a:069; Matisoff 1978a:96
	lɤʔ[1]	exchange (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
7. KARENIC			
Kayan (Pekon)	**lâi**	exchange (V.)	Manson 2010

Chinese comparandum

移 OC ***diɑ***, *GSR* #3q 'change, alter'; Schuessler 2007:566 ***lai***; B & S 2011: ***laj***; Mand. **yí**.
易 OC ***diḛ̆k***, *GSR* #850a-e 'change; exchange'; Schuessler 2007:566 ***lek***; B & S 2011: ***lek***; Mand. **yì**.
賜 OC ***siḛ̆g***, *GSR* #850t 'give'; Schuessler 2007:199 ***sekh*** < ***slekh***; B & S 2011: ***s-lek-s*** ; Mand. **cì**.

Comment: Schuessler (2007:566) considers 移 **yí** 'change, alter' to be an etymon distinct from an etymon 移 **yí** 'move' in Chinese.

(1b) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{r}\\\mathbf{s}\end{matrix}$ -ley CHANGE / EXCHANGE / BUY / BARTER

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*g/m/s-lay ≍ **r-ley**	change / exchange / buy / barter	Matisoff 2003a:599
	***r-ley** ≍ b-rey	buy, barter	LaPolla 1987:192 [a]
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-hlej*** BUY			
**Central Naga*	*a-**hlej**	BUY	Bruhn 2014a:III.059
**Ao*	*a-**hli**	BUY	Bruhn 2014a:II.337
Ao (Chungli)	á **lì**	buy (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
	a **li**	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**li**	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hlì**	buy [bought] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**ʃi**[3]-	buy (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.059
	shi	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
	shi a	buy	Murry *et al.* 1978:13
	šyà	buy	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	a **li**	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
	li	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	a **li**	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	thu **lo**	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**rdźe**-ba	barter, change (name, clothes); change, barter	Matisoff 1985a:054; Benedict 1972:64n205
	rdźe-ba ≍ **brdźe**-bo	barter, change	Matisoff 1985a:069

[a] [Source Note] [G&C 54].

(1c) PTB *b-rey BUY / BARTER

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-rey**	buy; barter	Matisoff 2003a:610; Benedict 1972:293
	***b-rey** ≍ (r-)ley	buy / barter	Matisoff 1985a:054
	*r-ley ≍ **b-rey**	buy, barter	LaPolla 1987:192 [a]
1.1.1. TANI: ***rə:*** BUY			
**Tani*	***rə:***	buy	Sun 1993a:53
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**rɯ**	buy; purchase	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	rɯ-go-bɯ-go	buying	Sun 1993b
	rɯ-nɯ mju	customer	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**rɯ:**	buy	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**rə:**	buy	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	rə:	buy (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1516.24
Bokar Lhoba	**rə:**	buy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:616.51
Galo	**rə** nam	purchase; buy (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	rɤ-nam	buy; buying; purchase (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	? **re**-nam	buy	Simon 1976
Nishing	**re**	buy	Das Gupta 1969
	ré	buy / purchase	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**re**-nam	purchase (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	rɤ-nam	buy	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**re** rhyme!	buy	Sun 1993a
Damu	(ʔa-ne)**rə:**-ɕe	buy	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**re**	buy; barter	Matisoff 1985a:054; Benedict 1972:293
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	**barai**	buy	Benedict 1972:293
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**bre**	buy	Benedict 1972:293
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**mari**	buy (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mă[31]**ʒi**[33]	buy (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1516.19
	mă[31]**ʒi**[33]	buy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:616.47
	mă[1]**ʒi**[33]	buy	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	mərī	buy / barter	Matisoff 1985a:054
	mərì	mark, line, rule (v.)	Matisoff 1974:250
	məri	buy	Benedict 1972:293
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**mərɨ́**	buy	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:192-3
7. KARENIC: ***bre**[A]* BUY			
**Karen*	***bre**[A]*	buy	Luangthongkum 2013:38
	***bɣe**	buy	Benedict 1972:140n377
	***phrwə̀i'**	buy	Jones 1961:112
**Karen [Burling]*	***phɣe**[3]	buy	Luangthongkum 2013:38
Bwe	a[55]**bwɪ**[33]	buy	Luangthongkum 2013:38
Karen	**bui**[33]	buy (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1516.50
Kayah	**phri**[11]	buy	Luangthongkum 2013:38
Kayan	**prai**[33]	buy	Luangthongkum 2013:38
Kayan (Pekon)	**prị̀**	buy (V.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**pri**[33]	buy	Luangthongkum 2013:38
Pa-O	**phrē**	buy	Solnit 1989
	phre (low tone)	buy	Benedict 1972:140n377
	phrē cʸ̂ nê	credit, buy on	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**phre**[33]	buy	Luangthongkum 2013:38
Pa-O (Southern)	**phre**[53]	buy	Luangthongkum 2013:38
Pwo	**χwe** (low tone)	buy	Benedict 1972:140n377
Sgaw (Northern)	**pə**[11]**ɣe**[33]~**pɣe**[33]	buy	Luangthongkum 2013:38
Karen (Sgaw)	**pɣe** (low tone)	buy	Benedict 1972:140n377
Sgaw (Southern)	**pɣe**[33]	buy	Luangthongkum 2013:38

[a] [Source Note] [G&C 54].

(2) PTk *ʃuk BORROW

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***ʃuk**	borrow	Mortensen 2012:569
Kachai	kə-**ʃuk**	borrow	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.090
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃuk**	borrow	Mortensen 2012

(3) PTB *s-kəy BORROW / LEND

Semantically, this root usually refers to monetary repayment, rather than return of the borrowed article. The latter meaning is conveyed by PTB ***r/s-ŋ(y)a*** BORROW / LEND (§6.22).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-kiy**	borrow	Benedict 1972:31
	***s-kəy**	borrow / lend	Matisoff 2003a:595
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**skyi**-ba	borrow (something to be returned in kind)	Benedict 1972:31
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	**sk[h] iŋ**	borrow / lend	Benedict 1972:21n74
6.1.1. BURMISH			
**Burmese*	***khi**	lend	Okell 1971
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khiy**	lend	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khje**[3]	borrow (money) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.26
	khje[3]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.39
	khyê	borrow, lend; hire (cf. krwê 'debt')	Benedict 1976a
	khyè	borrow (something to be returned in kind)	Benedict 1972:31
	khye:	lend	Okell 1971
Hpun (Northern)	**chè**, **chè**-ŋ	borrow (money)	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	**tʃe̲:i**[55]	borrow (money) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.33
Marma	**khí**	borrow	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:192-5
Maru [Langsu]	**tʃi̲k**[55]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃi**[21]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.42
	tʃi̲[21]	borrow (money) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.30
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***kye**[2]	borrow (money)	Bradley 1979b:601
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**tsɿ**[55]	borrow (money) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.47
Luquan	**ntʂ'e**[11]	borrow / lend / debt	Matisoff 1985a:089
Nusu (Southern)	**ki̲**[55]	borrow / lend (money)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tɕi̲**[53]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.45
Nusu (Northern)	**tɕi̲**[55]	borrow / lend (money)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**tɕi**[55]	borrow (money); borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.34; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.34
Yi (Mile)	**tɕhi**[21]; ŋu[55]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tshi**[33]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tʂhi**[21]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.24
	tʂhɿ[21]	borrow (money) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.37
Yi (Wuding)	**tʂhɿ**[33]	borrow (money) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Kucong	**tɕhi31**	borrow (of money)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕhi**[53]	borrow (money) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.43
Lahu (Black)	**tshi**[33]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.33
Lisu (Central)	**hchɨ**[5]	borrow (money)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tʃhi**[31]	borrow (money) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tʃhɿ**[21]	borrow (when what is returned is not the original thing) (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tʃhɿ**[31]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.27
Yi (Sani)	**tshž**[11]	borrow (money) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**dzi**[55]	borrow / lend / debt	Matisoff 1985a:089
Bisu	**chì**	borrow, lend	Bradley 199x
Hani (Shuikui)	**tɕi**[55]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**tɕi**[55]	borrow (money); borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.42; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.42
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Southern Muji	**tɕ**[h]**i**[55]bji[21]	borrow (thing)	Pelkey 2011:755
	tɕ[h]**i**[55]ljɛ[33]	borrow (money)	Pelkey 2011:754
Hlepho Phowa	**ts**[h]**ɿ**[55]	borrow (money)	Pelkey 2011:754
Phuza	**ts**[h]**i**[33]	borrow (money); borrow (thing)	Pelkey 2011:754; Pelkey 2011:755

(4) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{r}\\\mathbf{s}\end{matrix}$ -ŋ(y)a BORROW / LEND

This etymon is usually used when the exact borrowed item is to be returned. Contrast PTB ***s-kəy*** BORROW / LEND (§6.22), where only an equivalent (like money) is to be returned.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-ŋya**	borrow	LaPolla 1987:26; Benedict 1972:190
	***r/s-ŋ(y)a**	borrow / lend	Matisoff 2003a:606
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**brnya**-ba ≍ **brnyan**-pa	borrow	Benedict 1972:190
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**ŋɪ̃**[55]	borrow (money); borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.16
	ŋi[55]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.17
Muya	khə[55]**ŋuə**[53]	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.15
	thɐ[55]**ŋuə**[53]	lend (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ŋɯ**[53]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.15
Namuyi	ntʂhɿ[55]; **ɳi**[33]	borrow / lend (money);(things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.19
	ɳi[31]	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.46

Pumi (Jiulong)	dɯ[11]**ɳi**[55]	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.10
	xɐ[11]**ɳi**[55]	lend (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.10
Pumi (Lanping)	də[13]**ni**[13]	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.09
Qiang (Longxi)	dà **ɳì**	lend	Evans 1999:2070
	nì ɕá	borrow, lend (money); borrow, lend (tool)	Evans 1999:2068; Evans 1999:2069
	zì **ɳì** ɕá	borrow	Evans 1999:2071
Qiang (Mawo)	**ŋuə** sa	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.8
	ŋuɛ sɛ	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	(tɛ̀) **ŋè** ɕí	borrow	Evans 1999:2071
	dè **ŋě**	lend	Evans 1999:2070
	ŋè ɕí	borrow, lend (money); borrow, lend (tool)	Evans 1999:2068; Evans 1999:2069
Qiang (Taoping)	da[241]**ɳi**[33]	lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tə[35]**ɳi**[55] (Ch.)	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.16
Xumi	**nɛ**[35]	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.17
	ɳɛ[35]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	kə[55]**ɳi**[55]	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**rŋi**	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.12
	zŋi	borrow (money) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.12
Ergong (Danba)	**zŋi**	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
Caodeng	kɐ-**rŋi**	borrow	Sun 1997a
	kɐ-sə́-**rŋi**	lend	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **rŋɑ**	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.11
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**ŋa**	hire, rent, lend	Benedict 1972:190
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***s/ʔ-ŋa**[2] BORROW / LEND			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***s/ʔ-ŋa**[2]	borrow / lend	Matisoff 2003a:606
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**hŋâ**	borrow, lend; hire; lend	Hansson 1989:13; Benedict 1976a
	hŋà	borrow; lend, hire, let	LaPolla 1987:26; Benedict 1972:190
	hŋɑ[3]	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.26
6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***s-ŋa**[2] BORROW (THING) / LEND			
**Loloish*	***s-ŋa**[2]	borrow (thing); lend	Bradley 1979b:600; Hansson 1989:13
PNL	**s-ŋa**[2]	borrow	CHEN Kang 1986a:53.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**ŋa**[55]	borrow, lend	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	ŋa[55]	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.47
Lalo	à-**ŋ̀**	borrow / lend	Matisoff 2003a:40
Lipho	**ŋo**[55]	borrow	CHEN Kang 1986a:53.
Nasu	**ŋo**[33]	borrow	CHEN Kang 1986a:53.
Neisu	**ŋu**[33]	borrow	CHEN Kang 1986a:53.
Nesu	**ŋo**[33]	borrow	CHEN Kang 1986a:53.
Yi (Dafang)	**ŋɒ**[33]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.22
Yi (Nanhua)	**ŋo**[55]	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.37
Yi (Wuding)	**ŋu**[33]	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**ŋo**[55]	borrow	CHEN Kang 1986a:53.
Kucong	**ŋa35**	borrow (a tool)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Yellow)	**ŋa**[5]	borrow / lend (money)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**ngwa**[1]	borrow (things); lend (where the identical object has to be returne	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu	**ŋuɑ**[55]	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ŋwa**[55]	borrow (the original will be returned); rent; hire; rent land (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa[55]gɔ[21]	rent out; lend out	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ŋa**[55]	borrow	CHEN Kang 1986a:53.
Yi (Sani)	**ŋɒ**[55]	borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**ŋà**	lend	Hansson 1989:13
Akha (Thai)	**ŋà**	borrow, lend	Hansson 1989:13
Akha (Yunnan)	**ŋà**	borrow, lend	Hansson 1989:13
Hani (Wordlist)	**ngaq**	borrow, lend	Hansson 1989:13
Hani (Khatu)	**ŋuɔ̀**	borrow, lend; lend	Hansson 1989:13; Hansson 1989:13
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**ŋɔ**[45]	borrow (thing)	Pelkey 2011:755
	ŋɯ[45]	borrow (money)	Pelkey 2011:754
Phola	**ŋɑ**[31]	borrow (thing)	Pelkey 2011:755
Hlepho Phowa	**ʔŋa**[55]	borrow (thing)	Pelkey 2011:755

(5) PTani *nar BORROW / LEND

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***nar**	borrow / lend	Sun 1993a:41
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**nar**	borrow; lend	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	nar(-lja)	loan	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**nɯr**	borrow; lend	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**nar**	borrow; lend; borrow, lend	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**nar**	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.51
Galo	**nar:**-nam	borrow; credit, loan, debt; lend (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	nar:-nam ɟɯ-ne-ɲi-ɤ	creditor (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	nar:-ne ɲi-ɤ	debtor	Das Gupta 1963
	nar nam	borrow; lend (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**nar**	borrow / lend	Sun 1993a
Damu	**nar**-la-bə	borrow	Sun 1993b
Milang	**nar**-ma	borrow	Tayeng 1976
	nar-ma-nu-ki-ram-ma	lend	Tayeng 1976
	nar-nam	loan	Tayeng 1976

(6) PTB *kroy BORROW / LEND / DEBT

This root is solidly established. The cognacy of the Lahu form is open to question, although it seems directly cognate to Luquan **ntʂ'e**[11] 'borrow / lend / debt'. (Lahu voiced initials descend from *prenasalized ones.) The Luquan form has, however, been assigned to PTB ***s-kəy** BORROW / LEND (§6.22) for the moment.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kroy**	borrow; lend; debt	Matisoff 1985a:089; Matisoff 2003a:597; Benedict 1972:312
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**khoi**	borrow / lend (presupposes a return in kind)	Benedict 1972:312
	khoi[31]	borrow / lend (money)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	khoi[31]	borrow (money) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.19
	khoi[31]	borrow / lend	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:692.47
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**hɯ**	lend; borrow	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:192-4; HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:192-5
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	**kɔi**[53]	borrow (money); borrow (tools) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1442.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1443.20
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*(**n-**)**kroy**[1/2]	borrow / lend / debt	Matisoff 1985a:089
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**ăkrwè**	on credit	Benedict 1972:312
	krwê	debt	Matisoff 1985a:089
	krwè	debt	Benedict 1972:312
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**jè**	borrow / lend / debt	Matisoff 1985a:089

(7) PKC *tsoo-I, *tsook-II BUY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tsoo**-I, tsook-II	BUY	VanBik 2009:526
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**tsôo**-I, tsô?-II	buy	VanBik 2009:526
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsòo**-I, tsook-II	buy	VanBik 2009:526
Lushai [Mizo]	**chàw**-I, châwk-II	buy or purchase (v.)	VanBik 2009:526

(8) PCN *juk BUY / SELL

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Central Naga*	***juk**	BUY / SELL	Bruhn 2014a:III.266
**Ao*	*a-**juk**	SELL	Bruhn 2014a:II.282
Ao (Chungli)	**-jùk**	sell (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
	a[3]-**juk**[1]	sell (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.282
	a **yok**	sell	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen)	**jùk**	sell (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**yuk**	sell	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**jùk**	sell [sold] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Yimchungrü	**yuk** yin pung	market, bazaar	Kumar 1973b:74

(9) PKC *khleŋ-I, *khlen-II CHANGE / EXCHANGE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***khleŋ**-I, khlen-II	CHANGE / EXCHANGE	VanBik 2009:1281
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**ki**-kheng	change, exchange	VanBik 2009:1281
Thado	**hlêŋ**-I, hlè?-II	exchange	VanBik 2009:1281
Tiddim	**kheng**[1] > khen[1]	exchange	VanBik 2009:1281
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thlèŋ**-I, thlĕn-II	change, exchange	VanBik 2009:1281
Lai (Falam)	**thlêŋ**-I, thlèn-II	change, exchange	VanBik 2009:1281
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlêng**	change, to change for, to exchange (for) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1281
	thleng	change (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2985
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**pā**-thlēi	change one's mind (v.)	VanBik 2009:1281

(10) PKC *ruul COMPENSATE / REPAY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ruul**	COMPENSATE / REPAY	VanBik 2009:925
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**tvawy** tha	repay a favor, get revenge, get even	VanBik 2009:925
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**rŭul**-I, rul?-II	compensate, repay (debt, etc)	VanBik 2009:925
Lushai [Mizo]	**rùul**-I, rùlh-II	compensate, to repay, to requite, to pay a debt, to give in place of (v.)	VanBik 2009:925

(11) PCN *hja? EARN / PAY WAGES

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Central Naga*	***hja?**	EARN / PAY WAGES	Bruhn 2014a:III.032
**Ao*	*a-**hja?**	EARN / PAY WAGES	Bruhn 2014a:II.275
Ao (Chungli)	**-à?**	earn (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
	a[3]-**a?**[1]	earn / pay wages (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.275
	t **a?**[31]	wages (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.275
Ao (Mongsen)	**ʰjà?**	earn (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ya**	pay (v.)	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	ṃ[1]-**jo**[2]-	earn, get paid, pay (wages) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.032
	mm **yu** a	earn	Murry *et al.* 1978:36

(12) PTani *luuk EXCHANGE

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***lɯk**	exchange	Sun 1993a:130

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**lɯ**-su	exchange	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**lɯk** mu-šu	exchange	Sun 1993a
	lɯk(mu-su)	exchange	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**lɯk** ra:	change; exchange (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1383.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1419.24
	lɯk-ra:	exchange	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**lɯk** ra:	exchange	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:695.51
Galo	**lɯk**-si-nam	substitute (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ji-**lɯk**-hi-nam	exchange (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**lɯk** si	exchange	Simon 1976

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**lik**-su	exchange	Sun 1993a

(13) PTk *t^{h}ɨ EXCHANGE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}ɨ**	exchange	Mortensen 2012:394
Kachai	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**t^{h}i**	exchange	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.089
Tusom	k^{h}a-n-**tsy**	exchange	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.117
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**t^{h}u**	exchange	Mortensen 2012

(14) PTk *sa LEND

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***sa**	lend	Mortensen 2012:694
Huishu	mej-nə-**se**-k^{h}e	lend	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.104
Ukhrul	k^{h}uj kə-**sa**	borrow (’take’ + borrow/lend)	Mortensen 2012

(15) PTB *hwaŋ OWE

The fit between the Ergong and Nungish forms is good, but further confirmation is necessary.

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**ɦuɔŋ**	owe	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:704.14

4. Nungic

Nung	**hɑŋ^{53}** u^{31}	owe (money) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1569.21
Anong	**hɑŋ^{53}**u^{31}	owe	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:704.44

(16) PKC *ɓaa-I, *ɓat-II OWE / BORROW

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ɓaa**-I, ɓat-II	OWE / BORROW	VanBik 2009:39

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**ba**	owe (v.)	VanBik 2009:39
Sizang	lē a **bā** hī	owe	VanBik 2009:39
Thado	**báa**-I, bàt-II	borrow, to owe (v.)	VanBik 2009:39
Tiddim	-**ba:**/_baʔ	owe (v.)	Henderson 1965
	ba:^{2} > bat^{3}	owe money	VanBik 2009:39
	ba:^{2} > bat^{3}	owe money (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:54
	ba:^{2}/bat^{3}	owe money	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**bâa**-I, bat-II	owe (v.)	VanBik 2009:39
Lai (Falam)	**bâak**-INV	owe (v.)	VanBik 2009:39
Lushai [Mizo]	**bá**-I, bàt-II	owe (v.)	VanBik 2009:39
	bat	owe (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2116

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**bā**	credit	VanBik 2009:39

(17) PTB *g-la PAY / GIVE FOR

This etymology is due to Gong (2001:31).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-la**	pay / give for	Matisoff 2003a:599

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	**lō** à	return debt	Acharya 1975
	ló t̰à	pay (debt)	Acharya 1975

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	**lo**	pay (v.)	Marrison 1967

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**gla**	pay, wages, fee	Matisoff 2003a:173-4

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	與	give; for; and	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3593
Chinese (GSR #)	**0089b**	give; for; and	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3593

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old)	**C.ɢaʔ**	give; for; and	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3593

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**yoX**	give; for; and	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3593

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**yǔ**	give; for; and	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3593

Chinese comparandum

與 OC ***zi̱o***, *GSR* #89b; B & S 2011 ***C.ɢaʔ***; Mand. **yǔ, yù**.

(18) PKC *klan REDEEM / RANSOM / SAVE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***klan**	REDEEM / RANSOM / SAVE	VanBik 2009:1270

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**tan**^{3} > tat^{3}	pay a ransom or dues	VanBik 2009:1270
	tan^{3} > tat^{3}	give a share to; pay a ransom or a due; purchase s (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1685

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tlăn**-I, tlanʔ-II	redeem, ransom, save	VanBik 2009:1270
Lai (Falam)	**tlàn**-INV	redeem, ransom, save	VanBik 2009:1270
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlàn**	ransom, to redeem (v.)	VanBik 2009:1270
	tlan	ransom (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3030

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	chā-**tlāi**	ransom, to redeem (v.)	VanBik 2009:1270

(19) PTB *tsap REPAY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsap**	repay	Matisoff 2003a:616; LaPolla 1987:108; Benedict 1972:63

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**ḥtshab**-pa	repay	Benedict 1972:63

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**tshap**	repay	Benedict 1972:63

(20) PTani *pruk SELL

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***pruk**	sell	Sun 1993a:342

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	à-ñim-**pjú**-nɯ	milkman	Sun 1993b
	pjú	sell	Sun 1993b
	prju(?)	sell	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	prju-go pa-go	selling	Sun 1993b
Bengni	kɯ-rɯ: **pjuk**-ku:	shop	Sun 1993b
	pjuk	sell	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**puk**	sell	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	puk	sell (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1517.24
Bokar Lhoba	**puk**	sell	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:617.51
Galo	**pug**-nam	sell; selling (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	puk-nam	selling (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	puk-ne ɲi-ɤ	shopkeeper	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻpug nam	sell (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**pug**-nam	sell	Simon 1976
Nishing	**pug**	sell	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**pyok**-nam	sell (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

(21) PKar *ca^{A} SELL

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***ca^{A}**	sell	Luangthongkum 2013:248
**Karen [Burling]*	***cha^{4}**	sell	Luangthongkum 2013:248
Bwe	**ʃɛ^{55}**	sell	Luangthongkum 2013:248
Kayah	**che^{33}**	sell	Luangthongkum 2013:248
Kayan	**cha^{53}**	sell	Luangthongkum 2013:248
Kayan (Pekon)	**nwê**	potato, reddish colour (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**cha^{55}**	sell	Luangthongkum 2013:248
Pa-O (Southern)	**ca$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	sell	Luangthongkum 2013:248
Pa-O (Northern)	**ca$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	sell	Luangthongkum 2013:248
Pwo (Northern)	**cha^{35}**	sell	Luangthongkum 2013:248
Pwo (Southern)	**cha^{53}**	sell	Luangthongkum 2013:248
Sgaw (Northern)	**cha^{33}**	sell	Luangthongkum 2013:248
Sgaw (Southern)	**cha^{55}**	sell	Luangthongkum 2013:248

(22) PTB *ywar SELL / BUY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ywar**	sell / buy	Matisoff 2003a:620

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***yuar*** SELL

**Chin*	***yuar**	SELL	VanBik 2009:1234

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**zuak**	sell	VanBik 2009:1234
Sizang	**zuak** hī	sell	VanBik 2009:1234
Thado	**zúoʔ**-I, zùo-II	sell	VanBik 2009:1234
Tiddim	**zuak**^{2}	sell	VanBik 2009:1234

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**yi˝**	sell	VanBik 2009:1234
Cho (Mindat)	**yawi**	sell	VanBik 2009:1234
Khumi	**jó**	sell	VanBik 2009:1234

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**zûar**-I, zŭar-II	sell	VanBik 2009:1234
Lai (Falam)	**zŭar**-I, zùar-II	sell	VanBik 2009:1234
Lushai [Mizo]	**zúar**-I, zàwrh-II	sell, to offer for sale (v.)	VanBik 2009:1234

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**zùa**	sell (v.)	VanBik 2009:1234

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***jən*** SELL

**Central Naga*	***jən**	SELL	Bruhn 2014a:III.173
Lotha Naga	**jen**^{1}-	sell (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.173
	ēn̰ à	sell (v.)	Acharya 1975
	yen	sell	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**i**	sell	Marrison 1967
	i chi	sell	Marrison 1967
	i cho	sell (v.)	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**yin**	sell	Marrison 1967
	yuk **yin** pung	market, bazaar	Kumar 1973b:74

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***jwor*** SELL

**Tangkhulic*	***jwor**	sell	Mortensen 2012:521
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**ju**	sell	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.098
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**wor**	sell	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.087
Tusom	k^{h}ə-**zy**	sell	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.115
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**jor**	sell	Mortensen 2012

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Xide)	**vɻ^{33}**	buy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:616.21

(23) PKC *seeŋ SPEND

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***seeŋ**	SPEND	VanBik 2009:676

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**ki**-seng	spend	VanBik 2009:676

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**pséng**	spend	VanBik 2009:676

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**sêeng**-I, sèen-II	spend, to use, to use up, to consume (v.)	VanBik 2009:676

(24) PTB *par TRADE / BUY / SELL

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*par	trade; buy; sell; trade, buy, sell	Matisoff 2003a:606; Benedict 1972:35n113 [a]
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	phal	sell	Benedict 1972:35n113
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	be-par	trade	Benedict 1972:35n113
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	phar	interest (on money), exchange	Benedict 1972:35n113
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	far ~ afar	price	Benedict 1972:35n113
	par	buy	Benedict 1972:35n113
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	mphar	for sale (be v.)	Benedict 1972:35n113

[a] Root is listed in *STC* index, though it does not appear on p.35.

Chinese comparandum

販 OC ***pi̱wǎn***, *GSR* #262f 'to trade; buy and sell'; Schuessler 2007:230 ***pans***; B & S 2011: (***pan-s***); Mand. ***fàn***.
反 OC ***pi̱wǎn***, *GSR* #262a-d 'turn, return; reverse, contrary'; Coblin 86:153 OC ***pjanx***; Schuessler 2007:230 ***pan?***; B & S 2011: ***Cə.pan?***; Mand. ***fǎn***.
拚翻 OC ***p'i̱wǎn***, *GSR* #220d 'turn over, overturn, change'; Schuessler 2007:229 ***phan***; B & S 2011: (***p^{h}ar***); Mand. ***fān***.

6.23.0 Giving

(1) PTB *b-rim DISTRIBUTE

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
*Sino-Tibetan	*(l-)rim	distribute / cast away	Chou Fa-kao 1972:668c
	*blim	distribute / rations	Coblin 1986:64
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*(l-)rim	distribute / cast away	Chou Fa-kao 1972:668c
	*b-rim	distribute	Matisoff 2003a:610
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
*Ao	*a-ləm	DIVIDE, APPORTION	Bruhn 2014a:II.364
Ao (Chungli)	-lūm	distribute (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a^{2}-ləm^{2}	distribute, hand out (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.364
	a lem	divide (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	lam	divide (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	ləm-sa	distribute [distributed] ('divide + SPREAD) (v.)	Coupe 2007
	ləm-thaŋ	divide [divided] ('divide' + SEVER) (v.)	Coupe 2007
	làm-saʔ	cut into pieces ('divide' + SEPARATE) (v.)	Coupe 2007
	sa ləm	share (n.)	Coupe 2007
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	'brim-pɑ	distribute / deal out / hand out	Chou Fa-kao 1972:668c
	ḥbrim-pa	distribute, deal out, hand out	Benedict 1972:178n473
4. Nungic			
Anong	ə rim	cast away	Chou Fa-kao 1972:668c; Benedict 1972:178n473
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	/pli̱əm	receive (from superiors)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:668b
Chinese (Old)	pli̱əm	receive (from superiors)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:668b

Chinese comparandum

廩 OC ***pli̱əm***, *GSR* #668b 'rations; to receive'; B & S 2011: ***p.rim?***; Mand. ***bǐng***.
廩 OC ***bli̱əm***, *GSR* #668b 'rations; to receive'; B & S 2011: ***p.rim?***; Mand. ***lǐn***.

(2) PTani *hor DISTRIBUTE

"This root has so far only been found in Abor-Miri-Dafla (Tani). See J. Sun 1993" (*HPTB*: 400).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*hor	distribute	Matisoff 2003a:593
1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	*hor	distribute	Sun 1993a:106
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	hɯr	distribute	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	or-si-nam	distribute; divide (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	or nam	distribute; share (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	hor misi	distribute	Simon 1976
	hur misi	distribute	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	or	distribute	Sun 1993a
Damu	xor-pan-la	distribute	Sun 1993b

(3) PKC *sem DISTRIBUTE / APPORTION (v.)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	*sem	DISTRIBUTE / APPORTION (v.)	VanBik 2009:648
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	sem	distribute	VanBik 2009:648
Tiddim	sem^{1}	apportion, cut or carve meat	VanBik 2009:648
	sem^{1}	apportion; cut or carve meat (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1546
	ˊsem/ˆsem	cut / carve (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	sém	distribute, to apportion, to allot, to share out (v.)	VanBik 2009:1080
	shem	divide; distribute (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2902

(4) PKC *hroom DISTRIBUTE / SHARE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	*hroom	DISTRIBUTE / SHARE	VanBik 2009:1080
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	hawm hī	divide	VanBik 2009:1080
Thado	hóom-I, hòp-II	distribute	VanBik 2009:1080
Tiddim	ho:m^{2}	distribute, divide	VanBik 2009:1080
	ho:m^{2}	distribute; divide (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:489
	ho:m^{2}	distribute, divide	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	hrôom-I, hrŏom-II	share, distribute	VanBik 2009:1080

(5) PTB * g s -lwat FREE / RELEASE / SLIP / DISLOCATE

A number of languages (WT, WB, and Kuki-Chin) reflect two different prefixes with this root. The variant with the ***s-*** prefix has a causative meaning ('set free, release').

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*g-lwat	free / release	Benedict 1972:209
	*g-lwat ≍ *s-lwat	slippery	LaPolla 1987:197
	*g-lwat ≍ s-lwat ≍ ʔ-lwat	free / release / loose / slippery	Matisoff 1985a:022
	*g/s-lwat	free / release / loose / relax	Matisoff 2003a:600
1.1.1. Tani: *lut^{1} SLIP (v.)			
*Tani	*lut^{1}	slip (v.)	Sun 1993a:372
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	pa:-lit	slip (v.)	Sun 1993a
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	lut	slip (v.)	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	gle^{53}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.22
Kaman [Miju]	klăt^{55}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.23
1.2. Kuki-Chin: *hloo-I, *hloot-II EXPEL / ABANDON, *khla? RELEASE / SET FREE			
*Chin	*hloo-I, hloot-II	EXPEL / ABANDON	VanBik 2009:1107
	*khla?	RELEASE / SET FREE	VanBik 2009:1297
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	khah khia	release	VanBik 2009:1297
Sizang	htā hī	release	VanBik 2009:1297
Thado	hlàa	let go (e.g. bird, rope), release	VanBik 2009:1297
Tiddim	kha?^{3}	release; put in ingredients while cooking food or (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:703
	kha?^{3}	release; put in ingredients while cooking food or preparing medicines	VanBik 2009:1297
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	chah	release	VanBik 2009:1297
	ng-hlawt	expelling others (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1107
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	hlôo-I, hloot-II	expel, abandon	VanBik 2009:1107
	thla?-INV	release, set free, send off	VanBik 2009:1297
Lushai [Mizo]	thlàh	release, to let go, to set free (anything held or seized) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1297
	thlah	release (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2979
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	pi lir	heavy, make (v.)	Bhat 1968
	pə lir	heavy, make (v.)	Bhat 1968
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	lòt	escape, be free, unrestrained	Matisoff 1985a:022
	lòt	free (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:332
	lot	escape, be free, unrestrained (v.)	LaPolla 1987:197
	lot	escape; be free, unrestrained	Benedict 1972:209
	šəlòt	set free	Matisoff 1985a:022; Matisoff 1974:332
	śəlot	set free	Benedict 1972:209
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Mama)	ɬø^{53}ɬø?^{53}	loose / lax	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:880.6
Cuona Menba	ɬø^{55}ɬø?^{53}	lax / loose / slack	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1041.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	ɬo po	loose / lax	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:880.5
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	ɬø^{55}ɬø^{53}	loose / lax	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:880.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	ɬø^{55}po^{55}	lax / loose / slack	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1041.02
Tibetan (Written)	glod-pa	loosen, relax, slacken	Matisoff 1985a:022; Benedict 1972:209
	hlod-pa	loose, relaxed	Matisoff 1985a:022; Benedict 1972:209
	hlod-pad	loose, relaxed	LaPolla 1987:197
3.2. Qiangic			
Lyuzu	tho^{33}kuo^{53}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.18
Qiang (Mawo)	do χlu	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.08
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	'də lat	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	'jə lat	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	də^{3}lat^{1}	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	də^{3}la^{53}	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	də^{5}la^{5}	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	də 'lat	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	də 'lat	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	də 'lat	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995

rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	də **'lat**	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	də **'lat**	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	də **'le**	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	jə' **lɑt**	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**lat**	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**lǽ**	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	**lɑ**	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	ta **'le**	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	tə ˈ**l̥ẹ**	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	tɪ **'lə**	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	n̥o **'lat** / n̥o 'ta	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	n̥u **'lat**	release (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0995
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	ɑ^{31}**lɛʔ**^{55}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.20
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***k-lwat**	free / set free	Matisoff 1972b:183a
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**ɕet**^{35}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.28
Burmese (Rangoon)	**lwɛ**^{55}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.27
	ɬuʔ^{4}	release / set free (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1626.27
Burmese (Written)	**hlot**^{4}	release / set free (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1626.26
	hlwat	free, release	Matisoff 1985a:022
	hlwat	free, release (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	hlwat	free, release	Benedict 1972:209
	khywat	release, free; set free, loosen; take off	Matisoff 1985a:022; Matisoff 1974:332; Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:209
	kywat	loosed, freed; entire	Matisoff 1985a:022; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:197; Benedict 1972:209
	lwat	free (vs.)	Benedict 1972:209
	lwɑi^{3}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.26
	phyat	quick in speech, fluent	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	**lwàiʔ**	free, set; set free	Henderson 1986; Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**kjɛt**^{31}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.31
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kjut**^{21}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.30
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Liangshan)	tsʮ^{55}**ɬɛ**^{33}	dislocate (bone)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	tsʮ^{55}**ɬe**^{33}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Lancang)	**le**^{21}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.43
	le^{54}	slippery (road)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1039.43
	le^{54}ɛ^{31}	smooth / glossy / sleek	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1037.43
Lahu (Black)	**lêʔ**	slip; be slippery, smooth (of objects); free-flowing (of a liquid); glib, smooth-tongued (of a person) (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:022
	lêʔ	slip; be loose; slippery, smooth	Matisoff 1974:332; Matisoff 1972b:183a
	le^{54}	smooth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:882.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**le**^{6}	slippery / smooth	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	brgh^{5}-ja^{3}-**lē**^{1}	slip / stumble (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	thɔʔ^{21}tɕɤ^{35}**je**^{33}	slip in the step (n.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tshe^{33}**e**^{33}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.40
Lisu (Central)	tɕhøʔ^{21}**je**^{33}	slip and fall; lubricate (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	tɕhɤʔ^{21}**je**^{33}	slip and fall; lubricate (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	tɕø^{35}**je**^{33}	slip (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	tɕɤ^{35}**je**^{33}	slip (N.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**ɬɤ**^{44}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Lüchun)	**l̥ẹ**^{33}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.41
Hani (Mojiang)	**l̥i**^{33}	dislocate (a joint) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1696.42
7. KARENIC			
Bwe	la **gəlɛ̀**	fluent of speech (be v.)	Henderson 1997
Kayan (Pekon)	p^{h} **lài**	clear, fluent (ADJ.)	Manson 2010

Chinese comparandum

脫 OC ***t'wâd**, *GSR* #324m 'peel off, take off (clothes), escape, etc.'; Coblin 86:105-6 ST ***hɬot** > PC ***hluat** > OC ***thuat**; Schuessler 2007:504 ***l(h)ôt**; B & S 2011: ***mə-l̥ˤot**; Mand. **tuō**.
蛻 OC ***t'wâd**, *GSR* #324e 'exuviae (skin cast off during molting); Schuessler 2007:504 ***l(h)ôts**; B & S 2011: ***l̥ˤot-s**; Mand. **tuì**.
兌 OC ***d'wâd**, *GSR* #324a-c 'glad'; Coblin 86:105-6 ST ***łot** > OC ***duadh**; Schuessler 2007:586 ***lhôts**; B & S 2011: ***l̥ˤot-s** ; Mand. **duì**.
悅 OC ***dl̥̂wat**, *GSR* #324o 'pleased'; Coblin 86:105-6 ST ***łot** > OC ***ruat**; Schuessler 2007:586 ***lot**; B & S 2011: ***lot**; Mand. **yuè**.
說 OC ***śl̥̂wat**, *GSR* #324q 'speak, explain'; Schuessler 2007:476-7 ***lhot**; B & S 2011: ***l̥ot**; Mand. **shuō**.
說 OC ***śl̥̂wad**, *GSR* #324q 'exhort'; Schuessler 2007:476-7 ***lhots**; B & S 2011: ***l̥ot-s**; Mand. **shuì**.
奪 OC ***d'wât**, *GSR* #274a 'rob, snatch'; Schuessler 2007:500 ***lôt**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.lˤot**; Mand. **duó**.
偷 OC ***t'u**, *GSR* #125u 'steal'; Schuessler 2007:500 ***lho**; B & S 2011: ***l̥ˤo**; Mand. **tōu**.
愉 S585. ***lo** enjoy **yú**

(6) PTB *s-bəy- $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{n}\\\mathbf{k}\end{matrix}$ GIVE

Two sorts of alternations are to be found with this etymon: between open and nasal final syllables, and between open and velar final syllables. Several languages have doublets reflecting two variants, e.g. Lepcha **bi~bín**, Hpun **pè** and **pèŋ**, Lahu (Black) **pè?** and **pî**, and Dulong **biŋ** and **bi**^{55}. The Chin languages have a thorough-going morphological alternation between open syllables in Form I and velar final syllables in Form II.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***biy**	give	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:521a-b
	***biy**	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
	***biy**	give	LaPolla 1987:76; Benedict 1972:427
	***bəy**	give	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:521a-b
	***bəy-k**	give	Matisoff 2003a:584
	***s-bəy-n**	give	Matisoff 2003a:584
1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP			
**Kuki-Naga*	***pe(k)**	give	Benedict 1972:101n289
1.1.1. TANI: ***bi** GIVE			[a]
**Tani*	***bi**	give	Sun 1993a:175
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**bi**	give	Sun 1993a
	bì	give	Sun 1993b
	bi	give; send; offer; yield	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	bi(-ku)-ru	repay	Sun 1993b
	bi-do	offering	Sun 1993b
	bi-kruɯ(-ku)	give back	Sun 1993b
	bi-ljɪ-**bi**-ja	exchange	Sun 1993b
	bi-luɯ	send	Sun 1993b
	bi-nɯ	pay	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ǰi**	give	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a rə: **bi:**	repay	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1183.24
	bi:	give; marry (a husband)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	bi:	turn; hand over; consign; give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1420.24
	gɯ-**bi:**	give, present a gift	Sun 1993b
	ho-mə: **bi:**	marry (a daughter)	Sun 1993b
	nɯk-**bi:**	hand to	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	gɯ **bi:**	give / send / deliver	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:694.51
	ɦo mə: **bi:**	marry (a man)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:696.51
Galo	**ji** nam	give (vte.)	GLDC 2009
	ɟɯ-kur:-nam	return (give back); repay; repaying of debt (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	ɟɯ-nam	give (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill Nishing Tagin	**ɟi**-nam	give	Simon 1976
	ji	give	Das Gupta 1969
	alʏbʏ min-**ɟi**-nam	explain (speak-give)	Das Gupta 1983
	hukum **ɟi**-nam	command (order give)	Das Gupta 1983
	i si **ɟi**-nam	irrigation / give water	Das Gupta 1983
	ɟi-nam	appoint (give); give	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**bi**	give	Sun 1993a
Damu	**bi: bi:** ʔa bə	hand to	Sun 1993b
	bi:-ɕo	give	Sun 1993b
	gə-ʔa ne:-**bi:**	give	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	**bi**	give	LaPolla 1987:76; Benedict 1972:427
1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	**pî**	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
	pi^{55}	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.23
	pi^{55}min^{35}	give out / distribute	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:702.48
	pʻî	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***pia-I**, ***piak-II** GIVE / OFFER / ASSIGN / PRESENT			
**Chin*	***pia**-I, piak-II	GIVE / OFFER / ASSIGN / PRESENT	VanBik 2009:148
**Kuki*	***pe-k**	give	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:521a-b
Anal	**ì-pé**	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**pia**-I, piak-II	give, assign	VanBik 2009:148
Sizang	**pīa** hī	give	VanBik 2009:148
Thado	**pé?**	give	Thirumalai 1972:65
	pîe-I, pîe?-II	give	VanBik 2009:148
Tiddim	**pia**^{1} > piak^{1}	give	VanBik 2009:148
	pia^{1} > piak^{1}	give (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1381
	pia^{1}/piak^{1}	give	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**pʻé**-é-I	distribute	VanBik 2009:148
Chinbon	**pe:t**	give	So-Hartmann 1988:141
Daai	**pé:t**	give	So-Hartmann 1988:141
Khumi	**pee**	give	VanBik 2009:148
	pɛ^{i}**?**	give	So-Hartmann 1988:141
Matu	**pe:k**	give	So-Hartmann 1988:141
Mkaang	**pé:t**	give	So-Hartmann 1988:141
Ngmiüin	**pé:t**	give	So-Hartmann 1988:141
Nyhmoye	**pé:t**	give	So-Hartmann 1988:141
Wakung	**pè?**	give	So-Hartmann 1988:141
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN: ***pee-I**, ***peek-II** GIVE / OFFER / ASSIGN / PRESENT			
**Central Chin*	***pee-I, peek-II**	GIVE / OFFER / ASSIGN / PRESENT	VanBik 2009:148
Lai (Hakha)	**pèe**-I, peek-II	give, offer	VanBik 2009:148
Lai (Falam)	**pêe**-I, pêek-II	give	VanBik 2009:148
Lushai [Mizo]	**pè**	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
	pe	give	Marrison 1967
	pè-I, pêek-II	give, to offer, to present, to hand over (v.)	VanBik 2009:148
	pe:k	give (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2771
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**pí**	give	VanBik 2009:148
	^{3}**pɪ**	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Sorbung	**pée**	give	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.027
1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP			
Maring	**pi**	give	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	**pi**^{2}-	give (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	pi	give	Marrison 1967
	pi	pay (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{2}**pi(?)**	bring / give (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:26
Yimchungrü	a **pi** ji	pay (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Mao	**pi**	give	Marrison 1967
	pi	pay (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Khoirao	**pi**	give	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**pi**	give	Marrison 1967
Maram	**pi**	give	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**pi**	give	Marrison 1967

[a] As J. Sun (1993a: 93) remarks, Proto-Tani ***b** became **ǰ** in Western Tani before ***i**.

Zeme	**pei**	pay (v.)	Marrison 1967
	pei	give	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**peu**	pay (v.)	Marrison 1967
	peu	give	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tusom	kə-**pzy**	give (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.033
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**pì**	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
	pi	give	Marrison 1967
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ki **pī(ʔ)**	bring / give (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:26
	ki **pī(ʔ)**	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
	pi	give	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:76; Benedict 1972:427
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Raji	**be**-	give	Krishan 2003:67
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**bin** che	give	Hale 1973:01.070
Tsangla (Motuo)	**bi**	give / send / deliver	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:694.7
Motuo Menba	**bi**	give (as a gift) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.07
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**sbyin**	give	Marrison 1967
	sbyin-pa	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
	sbyin-pa	give; give, gift	LaPolla 1987:76; Benedict 1972:427
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**bi**~**bín**	give (v.)	Plaisier 2007
	lót **bi**	give back (v.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^**pin**	give	Mazaudon 1994:609
Gurung (Ghachok)	**pĩ**-m	give	Glover 1972:1.70
Gurung	**pi̱**-m	give	Hale 1973:01.070
	pi̱ bāq	give (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.41
Gurung (Ghachok)	**pĩ** baq	give	Glover 1972:10.B.1.41
Gurung	[1]**pĩ**-	give	Mazaudon 1994:609
Manang (Gyaru)	**bin**[1] ba	give (V.)	Nagano 1984:192
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]**pĩ**-	give	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0418
	[1]**pĩ**-	give	Mazaudon 1994:609
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]**pin**	give	Mazaudon 1994:609
Tamang (Sahu)	**pim**-pā	give (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.41
	pim-pa	give (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.A.41; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.70
	the **pim** pā	give	Hale 1973:01.070
	[1]**pin**	give	Mazaudon 1994:609
Tamang (Taglung)	**pin**-go	give	Mazaudon 1994:691
Thakali	peh kin-si **pin**-la	marriage, give in (v.)	Hale 1973:11b2.18
	pim-pa	give	Hale 1973:01.070
	pin-la	give (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.41
Thakali (Marpha)	**pin**-o	give	Mazaudon 1994:691
Thakali (Tukche)	**pim**-pɔ	give	Hari 1971:1.70
	pin-lɔ	give	Hari 1971:10.B.1.41
	[2]**pin**	give	Mazaudon 1994:610
2.1.5. DHIMAL			
Dhimal	**pi**	give	LaPolla 1987:76; Benedict 1972:427
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar (Kathmandu)	**bi(l)**-	give	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**bi**-ye	give (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.41
	bi-ye	give	Benedict 1972:103n294
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***bi**	give	LaPolla 1987:76; Benedict 1972:427; Opgenort 2011
Khambu	**pi**-	give	Benedict 1972:427
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**pi**-	give (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Kulung	**piy**-u	give (v.)	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**bi** ≍ **bi**-ŋa	give	Benedict 1972:427
	bi: de:ni̱	give, hand over, proffer	Driem 1993
	bi: ni̱	give something to someone, endow	Driem 1993
	bi: suni̱	give away, give (v.)	Driem 1993
	bi: tuni̱	hand over, proffer <give>	Driem 1993
Khaling	**bi**-ne	give (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.41
	bi-ŋa	give	Benedict 1972:427
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**bayʔ**.sā	give (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.41
	bəiʔ	bring / give (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:26
	bəyʔ-	give, sell (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	bəyʔ-sa	give	Caughley 1972:1.70
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	**biŋ**	give (v.)	LaPolla 1987:76
	biŋ	give	Benedict 1972:102n292
Dulong	**bi**[53]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**bi**[55]	give (v.)	LaPolla 1987:76
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***bəy**[2] GIVE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***bek**	give / bestow	Matisoff 1972b:3
	***bəy**[2]	give	Matisoff 2003a:584
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Luxi)	**pji**[53]	give	LaPolla 1987:76
Bola (Luxi)	**pi**[31]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**pe**[55]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**pe**[55]	give / send / deliver	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:694.40
Burmese (Written)	**pè**	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
	pê	give; bestow; offer	Hansson 1989:488; Matisoff 1972b:3; Benedict 1976a
	pè	give	LaPolla 1987:76; Benedict 1972:427
	pe:	give	Marrison 1967
	pe[3]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.26
	pe[3]	give / send / deliver	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:694.39
Hpun (Northern)	**pè**, **pè-ŋ**	give	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**pjik**[55]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**pje:i**[33]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.33
Marma	**pí**	give	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:192
Maru [Langsu]	**pjik**[55]	give / send / deliver	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:694.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**pji**[21]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.30
	pyí	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
	pyí	give / bestow	Matisoff 1972b:3
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***be**[2]	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
	***be**[2]	give	Bradley 1979b:605; Hansson 1989:488
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Southern)	**bi**[31]	give / send / deliver	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**bi**[31]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.34
Nusu (Northern)	**bi**[55]	give / send / deliver	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ʂhɑ[35]**bi**[31]; **bi**[31]	give / send / deliver	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:694.45
Yi (Liangshan)	**bŋ**[21]	give; offer (give)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	bŋ[34]	give; hand over (give something)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**bi**[21]	give out / distribute	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:702.26
Yi (Wuding)	**bi**[55]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.38
Yi (Xide)	**bŋ**[21]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**pi**[33]	give / send / deliver	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:694.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**pi**[44]	give / send / deliver	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**pi**[44]	give (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**pi**[44]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.44
Kucong	**pi31**	give	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**pî**	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
	pî	give	LaPolla 1987:76
Lahu (Lancang)	**pe**[31]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.43
Lahu (Black)	**pèʔ**	give / bestow	Matisoff 1972b:3
	pî	give / bestow	Matisoff 1972b:3
	pi[54]	give out / distribute	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:702.33
Yi (Sani)	**bz̩**[11]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.39
Sani [Nyi]	ve-**bi**	give	LaPolla 1987:76; Benedict 1972:427
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**bi LS**	give / bestow	Matisoff 1972b:3
Akha (Thai)	**bìq**	give	Hansson 1989:488
Akha (Yunnan)	**bìq**	give	Hansson 1989:488
Akha	**bìq**	give	Hansson 1989:488
	bìʔ	give (v.)	Weidert 1987:279
Bisu	**pì**	give	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**bìq**	give	Hansson 1989:488
Hani (Dazhai)	**bi̱**[31]	give / send / deliver	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:694.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**bi̱**[31]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.41
Hani (Pijo)	**pìʔ**	give	Hansson 1989:488
Hani (Caiyuan)	**pi**[31]	give / send / deliver	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:694.30
Hani (Pijo)	vý **pì**	give	Hansson 1989:488
Hani (Gelanghe)	**bi̱**[31]	give / send / deliver	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**bbivq**	give	Hansson 1989:488
Hani (Khatu)	**pì**	give	Hansson 1989:488
Hani (Mojiang)	**pi**[31]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.42
Mpi	**pe**[5]	give	Hansson 1989:488
	pe[5]	give (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**pi31** ʔi45	give to (v.)	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:181094
Sila	**bi21**	give to (v.)	KATO Takashi 2008:205
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Southern Muji	**bji**[21](-ŋa[33])	give	Pelkey 2011:757
Phola	**bi**[31]	give	Pelkey 2011:757
Hlepho Phowa	**bŋ**[13]	give	Pelkey 2011:757
Phu Kha	**bi**[33]	give (v.)	Fried 2000
Phuza	**bi**[33]	give	Pelkey 2011:757
	bi[33]kʰɯ[55]	give back; return	Pelkey 2011:758
7. KARENIC			
Kayan (Pekon)	**pʰé̱**	give (V.)	Manson 2010
	pʰé̱ káu	deposit, give as a guarantee (V.)	Manson 2010
	pʰé̱ kón	donate, give freely (V.)	Manson 2010
	pʰé̱ kʰân	loan (return an equivalent) [lit. give-] (V.)	Manson 2010
	pʰé̱ mù	loan (return the same thing) [lit. give-] (V.)	Manson 2010
	pʰì kópʰìkâ	take and not give back (Velab.)	Manson 2010
	pʰí dâi	wed, marry [lit. give-daughter-in-law] (Vtr.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**phé**	give, transfer, benefactive	Solnit 1989
	phé bêŋ	free, give for free	Solnit 1989
	phé khjà	give back	Solnit 1989

Chinese comparandum

畀 OC ***pi̱əd**, *GSR* #521a-b 'give'; Schuessler 2007:163 ***pis**; B & S 2011: ***pik-s {pi [k] -s}**; Mand. **bì**.
賓寶 OC ***pi̱ĕn**, *GSR* #389a-f 'gift, present; present a gift; guest; ancestral spirits (as guests)'; Schuessler 2007:167 ***pin**; B & S 2011: ***pin {pi [n] }**; Mand. **bīn**.
賓寶 OC ***pi̱ĕn**, *GSR* #389a-f 'receive/treat as a guest'; Schuessler 2007:167 ***pins**; B & S 2011: (***pin-s**); Mand. **bìn**.
□殯 OC ***pi̱ĕn**, *GSR* #389i 'coffin; place/convey body in coffin'; Schuessler 2007:167 ***pins**; B & S 2011: (***pin-s**); Mand. **bìn**.
□嬪 OC ***b'i̱ĕn**, *GSR* #389m-n 'female attendant, courtesan; marry (become a bride)'; Schuessler 2007:167 ***bin**; B & S 2011: (***bin**); Mand. **pín**.

(7) PTB *ya-k GIVE

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	**yah**	give	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**jaw**	give	Marrison 1967
	ja[33]	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.19
	ya	give	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**i**	give	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:192
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**yak**-	give (v.)	Allen 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Kham	saolda **yā**-nyā	give back (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.42

	yā-nyā	give (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.41
Magar	lheT-nā **yā**-khe	give back (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.42
	yā-khe	give (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.41

(8) PTk *mi GIVE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***mi**	give	Mortensen 2012:352
Huishu	kʰə-**me**	give	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.031
Kachai	kʰə-**mɐ**	give	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.025
Tangkhul	**mi**	give	Bhat 1969:90; Marrison 1967
Ukhrul	kʰə-**mi**	give	Mortensen 2012

(9) PNN *gow GIVE

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***gow**	give (v.)	French 1983:495

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**ko**	give	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	**ku**	give	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**ku**	give	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**ku**	give	Marrison 1967

(10) PTB *s-tyar GIVE / CAUSATIVE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ter**	give / causative	Matisoff 2003a:615

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**-tèr**	causative suffix	Matisoff 2003a:399
	kaŋʔ-**tèr**	cause to burn	Matisoff 2003a:399
	rilʔ-**tèr**	cause to roll	Matisoff 2003a:399
	tlaak-**tèr**	cause to fall	Matisoff 2003a:399

2.1.2. BODIC

Tshona (Mama)	**ter**^{55}	give out / distribute	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:702.6

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**rter**	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rter**	give out / distribute	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:702.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**tɛʔ**^{53}	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**ter**-gi-dukq	give	Hale 1973:01.070
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**teː**^{55}	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.02
	te^{55}	give / send / deliver	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:694.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**ter**-ki-wiq	give	Hale 1973:01.070
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ter** ɲin	wishes to give (v.)	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	(lto) **ster**	feed (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:608.1
	ster	give	Marrison 1967
	ster	breastfeed; suckle; give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.01; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1706.01
	ster	give; send; deliver; marry (a man)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:694.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:696.1
	ster-ba	give, bestow; let, permit	Matisoff 2003a:399
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hter**	give (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1345.04

(11) PTB *ʔap SUBMIT / PRESENT / GIVE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ʔap**	SUBMIT / PRESENT / GIVE	VanBik 2009:511

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**ap**	give over into the hand, hand over, present	VanBik 2009:511
Khumi	**a**	submit, give, deliver	VanBik 2009:511

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ʔap**-INV	submit, present, give	VanBik 2009:511

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**ap**	commit, deliver, hand over	Benedict 1976a
	pê **ʔap**	give, submit (v.)	VanBik 2009:511

6.24.0 Verbs concerning textiles

(1) PTB *ʔ- d/g rup SEW

This root shows an unusual alternation of initial consonants, with both the dental and the velar onsets being well attested. Some languages have lost any direct trace of either of these initial elements, and show forms beginning with **r-** or **ʐ-**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-rup**	sew (v.)	Weidert 1987:668
	***d-rup**	sew	Benedict 1972:456
	***d-rup=drup**	sew	LaPolla 1987:178
	***d/g-rup**	sew	Matisoff 2003a:611
	***drup**	sew	Benedict 1972:42n135
	***grup** ≍ **ʔ-grup** ≍ **ʔ-drup**	sew	Matisoff 2003a:591

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	**krɨ̂p**	sew (v.)	Weidert 1987:668
	kɯ^{31}**kɹɑp**^{55}	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.23
	tʌ́-**krɨ̂p**	sew (v.)	Weidert 1987:668

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Zeme	**khüp**	sew	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***kʰop** SEW

**Tangkhulic*	***kʰop**	sew	Mortensen 2012:534
Huishu	kə-**kʰɐp**	sew	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.064
Kachai	kə-**kʰip**	sew	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.058
Tangkhul	**khop**	sew	Marrison 1967
	^{1}kə^{2}**khop**	sew (v.)	Weidert 1987:668
Ukhrul	kə-**kʰop**	sew, stitch	Mortensen 2012

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**'drub**-pa	sew	LaPolla 1987:178
	ḥdrub-pa	sew	Benedict 1972:115n321; Benedict 1972:456
	fidrub-pa	sew (v.)	Weidert 1987:668

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**hráp**	sew (v.)	Plaisier 2007
	hrap	sew	LaPolla 1987:178; Benedict 1972:114n320

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{A}**ɖup**	sew (v.)	Mazaudon 1994:379
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ʈuh** baq	sew	Glover 1972:7.B.3.8
Gurung	^{4}**ʈu-**	sew	Mazaudon 1994:415
Manang (Prakaa)	^{4}**ʈʰu-**	sew	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0353; Mazaudon 1994:415
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'ɖup**^{fi}	sew (v.)	Weidert 1987:668
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**ʈup**	sew	Mazaudon 1994:415
Tamang (Sahu)	**Tuhp**-pa	sew (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:19.8
	^{3}**ʈup**	sew	Mazaudon 1994:414
Tamang (Taglung)	**ʈup**-pa	sew	Mazaudon 1994:415
Thakali (Marpha)	$^{44›33}$**ʈu**-wa	sew	Mazaudon 1994:415
Thakali (Tukche)	**'ʈuhp**-lɔ	sew	Hari 1971:7.B.3.8
	^{4}**ʈup**	sew	Mazaudon 1994:415

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**rup**-	sew; fix, pin or fasten sheets or leaves together (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	rup-sa	sew	Caughley 1972:7.B.3.8
Magar	**rup**	sew	LaPolla 1987:178; Benedict 1972:456

3.2. QIANGIC

Lyuzu	**ndʐɯ**^{53}**ndʐɯ**^{53}	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.18
Namuyi	**ʐu**^{33}**ʐu**^{55}	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**dzi**^{13}	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.09
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	**ʐi**	sew	Matisoff 1972b:63(a)
Qiang (Mawo)	**jɪrj jɪ**	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	phù-**ʐi**-mú	tailor [clothes-sew-agt]	Evans 1999:239
	ʐi	sew	Evans 1999:1896
Xumi	**ru**^{35}	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.17

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	'ka **tɽop**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	'ka **tɽop**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	'ka **tɽup**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**cʰop**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ka-**tʂop**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	ka22 **ʈop44**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	ka22 **ʈʰo**^{ɒ}**44**, ka22 mkʰi44	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	ka55 **ʈo33**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	kara **'tʂop**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	ka^{3}**tɽup**^{5}	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	ka^{3}**tɽup**^{53}	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	ka^{5}**tɽom**^{5}	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	ka **'dɾop**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	ka **'tɕo**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	ka **'tɕop**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	ka **'tɕop**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	ka **'tɽap**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	ka **'tɽop**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	ka **'tɽop**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	ka **'tɽop**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	ka **'tɽop**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	ka **'tɽop**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	ka **'tɽop**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	ka **'tɽop**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	ka **'tɽop**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	ka **'tɽop**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	ka **'tɽop**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	ka **'tɽup**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	ka **'tɽup**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	ka **'tɽup**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	ka **'tɽup**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	ka **'tɽup**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	ka **'tɽup**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	ka **'tɽup**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ka **'tɽup**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	ka **'tɽup**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	ka **'tɽup**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	ka **'tɽup**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	ka **'tɾop**˥	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281

rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	ka **tɕop**˺	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	ka **ʈʻop**˺	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	ka ˈ**ʈup**˺	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	ko35**'tɽup5**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	ko^{3}**tɽop^{3}**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	ko^{3}**tɽup^{3}**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	ko^{3}**tɽup^{3}**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	ku **'tɽəp**˺	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kwa **'tɽop**˺	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **ʈop44** / (kə22 mk^{jh}i44)	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	kəri **'tɽəp**˺	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	na **'tɽup**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	taj **'tɽup**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	ta^{5}**mtɽ^{h}u^{5}**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong	**tup**	sew	LaPolla 1987:178; Benedict 1972:456
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tə **tʂop** kɑ pɑ	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.11
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	tə **'tɽop**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	tə **'tɽou**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	tə **tɽop'** kapa	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**tʂɯβ**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊko **ʈʂup**	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	ka **rap'** si	sew (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0281
rGBenzhen	ka-**tʂop**	sew	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Trung [Dulong]	**krap**	sew	LaPolla 1987:178; Benedict 1972:114n320
Dulong	**kɹɯp^{55}**	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**krɯɯp^{55}**	sew	LaPolla 1987:178
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**khrɯɯp^{55}**	sew	LaPolla 1987:178
	khɹɯp^{55}	sew	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***grup**	sew[1]	Matisoff 1972b:63(a)
	***ʔdrup**	sew[1]	Matisoff 1972b:63(c)
	***ʔgrup** (> *ʔgyup)	sew[1]	Matisoff 1972b:63(b)

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**xʐop^{55}**	sew	LaPolla 1987:178
	xʐop^{55}	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.28
Achang (Luxi)	**tshɔp^{55}**	sew	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:178
Achang (Xiandao)	**chup^{55}**	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.29
Arakanese	**hkrou'**	sew	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**khjap^{55}**	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.32
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khlup**	sew	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khrup**	sew	Okell 1971
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khyop**	sew	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khyup**	sew, bind; confine; cut off; imprison; control, rule; sew	Marrison 1967; Hansson 1989:495; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:178; Benedict 1972:456
	ɑp^{4}**khjup^{4}**	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.26
Hpun (Northern)	**xʀàʔ**	sew	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**khjap^{55}**	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**khjuːp^{55}**	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.33
Marma	**khrouʔ**	sew	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:70
Maru [Langsu]	**khyáp**	sew	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khjup^{55}**	sew	LaPolla 1987:178
	khjup^{55}	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.30

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***gyup^{L}**	sew	Bradley 1979b:680A; Hansson 1989:495

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**gùq**	sew	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	**khɹɔ̠^{53}**	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**gu^{55}**	sew; stitch (sew)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Weishan)	**gṳ^{21}**	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.36
Yi (Xide)	**gu^{55}**	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu	**tɔ́**	sew	LaPolla 1987:178; Benedict 1972:114n320
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɔ^{35}**	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.43
Lahu (Black)	**tɔ́**	sew	Matisoff 1972b:63(c)

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**gu LS**	sew	Matisoff 1972b:63(a)
Akha (Thai)	**gùq**	sew	Hansson 1989:495
Akha (Yunnan)	**gùq**	sew	Hansson 1989:495
Akha	**gùq**	sew	Hansson 1989:495
	taw LS	sew	Matisoff 1972b:63(c)
	tɔ̀ʔ	sew	Benedict 1972:115n321
Bisu	**ku**	sew	Bradley 199x
	kù	sew	Matisoff 1972b:63(a)
Hani (Hu T'an)	**gu 21c**	sew	Matisoff 1972b:63(a)
Hani (Lüchun)	**gùq**	sew	Hansson 1989:495
	guq ?	sew	Hansson 1989:495
	gṳ^{3}	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.41
Hani (Pijo)	**koq**	sew	Hansson 1989:495
Hani (Wordlist)	**gguvq**	sew	Hansson 1989:495
Haoni	**kɣ̩^{31}**	sew	Hansson 1989:495
Hani (Mojiang)	**kɣ̠^{31}**	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.42
Mpi	**toʔ1**	sew	Matisoff 1972b:63(c)
Sila	**kṵ21**	sew (v.)	KATO Takashi 2008:155

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Phola	**ku^{33}**	sew	Pelkey 2011:718

(2) PKar *chaʔ^{D} SEW

7. KARENIC

**Karen [Burling]*	***chaʔ^{2}**	sew	Luangthongkum 2013:251
**Karen*	***chaʔ^{D}**	sew	Luangthongkum 2013:251
	***cháʔ**	sew	Jones 1961:86
Bwe	**ʃa^{33}**	sew	Luangthongkum 2013:251
Karen	**tsha^{55}**	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.50
Kayah	**che^{55}**	sew	Luangthongkum 2013:251
Kayan	**chaʔ^{45}**	sew	Luangthongkum 2013:251
Kayaw	**chɔ^{33}**	sew	Luangthongkum 2013:251
Pa-O (Northern)	**chaʔ^{21}**	sew	Luangthongkum 2013:251
Pa-O (Southern)	**chaʔ^{21}**	sew	Luangthongkum 2013:251
Pa-O	**cháʔ**	sew	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**chaʔ^{45}**	sew	Luangthongkum 2013:251
Pwo (Southern)	**chaʔ^{21}**	sew	Luangthongkum 2013:251
Sgaw (Southern)	**chaʔ^{21}**	sew	Luangthongkum 2013:251
Sgaw (Northern)	**chaʔ^{45}**	sew	Luangthongkum 2013:251

(3) PTB *krwi(y) SEW

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***krwi(y)**	sew	Matisoff 2003a:597; Benedict 1972:p.41

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP

**Kuki-Naga*	***khrwi**	sew	Benedict 1972:p.41

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***khru(u)y** SEW / STITCH

**Chin*	***khru(u)y**	SEW / STITCH	VanBik 2009:1351

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Siyin	**khui**	sew	Benedict 1972:p.41
Thado	**khúuy-I**, **khùy-II**	sew	VanBik 2009:1351
Tiddim	**khui^{3}** na^{2}	lining ("stitching line")	VanBik 2009:1351

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**k'ó -é**	sew, unite with (v.)	VanBik 2009:1351
Chinbon	**k^{h}ɔ^{i}**	sew	So-Hartmann 1988:192
Cho (Mindat)	**khüi**	stitch, sew (v.)	VanBik 2009:1351
Daai	**ʔkɣ^{h}ï^{i}**	sew	So-Hartmann 1988:192
Khumi	**húy**	sew	VanBik 2009:1351
	hu^{i}ʔ	sew	So-Hartmann 1988:192
Matu	ḁ **hu^{i}**	sew	So-Hartmann 1988:192
Mkaang	**k̭^{h}ï^{i}**	sew	So-Hartmann 1988:192
Ngmüün	**ʔkɹ^{h}iː^{i}**	sew	So-Hartmann 1988:192

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**ṭhĭi**-I, ṭhît-II	sew, stitch	VanBik 2009:1351
Lai (Hakha)	**thrîi**-I, thriit-II	sew, stitch	VanBik 2009:1351
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭhúi**	sew, to make (anything that needs sewing, such as coat, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1351
	Thui	sew (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3008
	ṭhui	sew	Benedict 1972:p.41
	ţ̥hui	sew	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***hrəj** SEW / STITCH

**Central Naga*	***hrəj**	SEW, STITCH	Bruhn 2014a:III.111
**Ao*	*a-**hɹə**	PERFORATE / SEW	Bruhn 2014a:II.302
Ao (Chungli)	ā **rṻ**	stitch (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:3
	a **rer**	sew	Marrison 1967
	a **ɹ^{2}**	sew (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.302
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**rü**	sew	Marrison 1967
	rü tep	sew	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hɹə̀**	perforate, sew, bore [perforated, sewed, bored] (a hole) (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**və^{3}**-	sew, stitch (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.111
	và	stitch (v.)	Acharya 1975
	vü	sew	Marrison 1967
	vü a	sew	Murry *et al.* 1978:110
Sangtam	**ghü**	sew	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	thi **re**	stitch	Kumar 1973b:53

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**chwi**	sew	Marrison 1967
	tśyəwi ~ **tśywi**	sew	Benedict 1972:p.41
	tʃu̠i^{33}	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.19

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak	**khríʔ**	sew	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:70

Chinese comparandum

黹 OC ***tiː**, *GSR* #1237i-j 'embroidery'; Schuessler 2007:617 ***triʔ**; Mand. **zhǐ**.
絺 OC ***t'i**, *GSR* #1237k 'embroidered/fine cloth'; Schuessler 2007:617 ***thri**; Mand. **chī**.
紩 OC ***d'iet**, *GSR* #413q 'mend'; Schuessler 2007:617 ***drits**; Mand. **zhì**.

(4) PTani *ɦom SEW / PATCH

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***ɦom**	sew / patch	Sun 1993a:347

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	**ham**	sew; patch	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ham-din	patch (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ham-gjam **ham**-ñaŋ	patch (put on a patch)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	e-če **hom**-nə	tailor	Sun 1993b
	ham-pe	patch (n.)	Sun 1993b
	hom	sew; patch; put patch on; mend (clothes)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɦom	patch (clothing)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1161.24
	ɦom	sew (up) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1324.24

Bokar Lhoba	**fiom**	patch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:653.51
Galo	e ɟɤ **om**-nam	sewing (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	om-nam	sew (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	om nam	sew (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**hom**-nam	patch	Simon 1976
Tagin	**am**-nam	sew (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**om**	sew / patch	Sun 1993a
Damu	**fiom**	patch (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-gia **xom** ja:-nə	tailor	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ho**-ma	sewing	Tayeng 1976
	hom-ma	sew	Tayeng 1976

(5) PCN *j [a / ə] n SPIN (thread)

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	***j [a/ə] n**	SPIN (THREAD)	Bruhn 2014a:III.184
**Ao*	*a-**jən**	SPIN (THREAD)	Bruhn 2014a:II.295
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}-**jən**^{2}	spin (thread) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.295
	a **yin**	spin (cotton) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	**jən**	spin (thread) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.295
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**yen**	spin (cotton) (v.)	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	**jen**^{1}-	spin (thread from cotton) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.184
	yen	spin (cotton) (v.)	Marrison 1967
	yen a	spin	Murry *et al.* 1978:115

(6) PTB *m-ga SPIN / CARD FIBERS

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-ga**	spin / card fibers	Matisoff 2003a:589

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	goŋ **ga** yoŋ ma	daddy-long-legs <spider>	Allen 1975
	gəːŋ **ga** yum	daddy-long-legs <spider>	Allen 1975

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	*m-gu^{1}/**m-ga**^{2}	spider	Bradley 1979b:79B

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Youle)	**kə**^{42}	spin (yarn)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**kɐ**^{42}	spin (yarn)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:614.34
Kucong	tsa55 **gʌ33** lʌ33	spider	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**gā**	spin out threads (spider) (v.)	Matisoff 1987–
Lahu (Lancang)	ɑ^{33}qo^{11}ɑ^{33}**qɑ**^{35}pɛ^{33}	spider (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0361.43
Lahu (Black)	na-gù-na-**gá**-pɛ̄	weave / spin	Matisoff 1972b:192(d)
	ʌ^{33}qo^{11}ʌ^{33}**qʌ**^{35}pe^{33}	spider	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:159.33
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{1}**ga**^{1}le^{1}	spider	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	a^{1}-**ga**^{5}-ma^{3}	spider (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**gà** c	spin, e.g. spider	Matisoff 1972b:192(d)

(7) PKar *dow^{B} THREAD (a needle)

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***dow**^{B}	thread (a needle)	Luangthongkum 2013:299
Bwe	**du**^{33}	thread (a needle)	Luangthongkum 2013:299
Kayah	**to**^{11}	thread (a needle)	Luangthongkum 2013:299
Kayan	**tu**^{11}	thread (a needle)	Luangthongkum 2013:299
Kayaw	**tu**^{11}	thread (a needle)	Luangthongkum 2013:299
Pa-O (Northern)	**thu**^{53}	thread (a needle)	Luangthongkum 2013:299
Pa-O (Southern)	**tu**^{55}	thread (a needle)	Luangthongkum 2013:299
Pwo (Northern)	**thou**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	thread (a needle)	Luangthongkum 2013:299
Pwo (Southern)	**thou**^{33}	thread (a needle)	Luangthongkum 2013:299
Sgaw (Southern)	**tɨ**^{31}	thread (a needle)	Luangthongkum 2013:299
Sgaw (Northern)	**tɨ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	thread (a needle)	Luangthongkum 2013:299

(8) TGTM *^{B}hrup, *^{B}ʈup, *^{A}ʈup THREAD

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{B}**hrup**	thread / string	Mazaudon 1994:875
Gurung	^{2}**ru**	thread / string	Mazaudon 1994:875
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**ʈu**	thread	Mazaudon 1994:390
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**ʈup**	thread (for sewing)	Mazaudon 1994:390
Tamang (Sahu)	^{1}**ʈup**	thread	Mazaudon 1994:389
Tamang (Taglung)	**ʈup**	thread	Mazaudon 1994:415
Thakali (Marpha)	^{54}**hru**	thread / string (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:875
Thakali (Tukche)	^{H}**r**^{h}**up**	thread (n.)	Mazaudon 1994:875

(9) PTB * t / d ak WEAVE

This root is well-attested, both with a dental stop initial and initial **r-**, leading one to hypothesize an ultimate origin in a sequence of consonants like ***trak** or **drak**, although this cluster is not reconstructed for PTB or PST. Certain branches of the family, like Lolo-Burmese, show evidence for both the stop- and rhotic-initialed variants.

See PTB ***rak** WEAVE / DRIVE / CHASE (§6.24).

There is a good Chinese comparandum with a stop initial.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***tjək**	weave	Coblin 1986:159

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dak**	weave	Mortensen 2012
	***t(r)ak**	weave	Matisoff 1983:28
	***tak**	weave (v.)	Weidert 1987:683
	***tak**	weave	Benedict 1972:17
	***tak** ≍ **dak**	weave	Matisoff 2003a:615
	tak**~trak**	weave	LaPolla 1987:156
	***trak**	weave (v.)	Weidert 1987:683
	***trak**	weave	Benedict 1972:42n135
	***trɑk**	weave	Chou Fa-kao 1972:920f
	***tɑk**	weave	Chou Fa-kao 1972:920f

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tak-I**, ***taʔ-II** WEAVE / PLAIT

**Chin*	***tak**-I, taʔ-II	WEAVE / PLAIT	VanBik 2009:244

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**tak** hī	weave	VanBik 2009:244

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	tó-**ták**	weave (v.)	VanBik 2009:244
Cho (Mindat)	**tah**	weave (v.)	VanBik 2009:244

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tak**-I, taʔ-II	weave	VanBik 2009:244
Lai (Falam)	**tàʔ**-INV	weave	VanBik 2009:244
Lushai [Mizo]	**tah**	weave	Marrison 1967
	tàh	weave (as cloth, etc) to plait (a matting, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:244
	taʔ	weave	LaPolla 1987:156; Benedict 1972:17

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***tak** WEAVE

**Central Naga*	***tak**	WEAVE	Bruhn 2014a:III.237
**Ao*	*a-**tak**	WEAVE	Bruhn 2014a:II.026
Ao (Chungli)	**-ták**	weave (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:7
	a^{3}-**tak**^{3}	weave (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.026
	a **tak**	weave	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen)	**tàk**	weave (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**thak**	weave	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tàk**	weave [wove] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**tək**^{2}-	weave (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.237
	tak	weave	Marrison 1967
	tükk a	weave	Murry *et al.* 1978:136
	ʈək ù	weave cloth (v.)	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**thsa**	weave	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Meluri	**tha**	weave	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**tha**	weave	Marrison 1967
	tha phuni	belt (for weaving)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	**dak**	weave	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**dük**	weave	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**dak**	weave	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***dak** WEAVE

**Tangkhulic*	***dak**	weave	Mortensen 2012:554
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**ðak**	weave	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.057
Tusom	psɯ-kə-**to**	weave	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.072
	ti-kə-**to**	weave	Mortensen 2012:Implements.011

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**thak**	weave	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:156; Benedict 1972:17

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**dá**	weave clothes (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**dao**	weave	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**taʔ**	weave, make	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**dak**	weave	LaPolla 1987:156; Benedict 1972:17

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**dok**-	weave (v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***tak**	weave (v.)	French 1983:578

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	k^{h}a **tak**	weave (v.)	French 1983:578

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	(nei) **tak**	weave (v.)	French 1983:578
	tak	weave	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**tak**	weave	Marrison 1967
	tak	weave (v.)	French 1983:578
Phom	**dak**^{33}	weave	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	tak	weave	Marrison 1967
	tak	weave (v.)	French 1983:578

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**da**	weave	Marrison 1967
	daʔ	weave	LaPolla 1987:156; Benedict 1972:17
	taʔ^{31}	weave	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	taʔ^{31}	weave / knit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.19
	taʔ^{31}	weave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:613.47

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**taʔ**	weave	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:166-3

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	**the**^{55}gɑ^{55}	weave	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	kʌn^{55}**theʔ**^{53}	weave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:613.6
Cuona Menba	ra:^{35}**theʔ**^{53}	weave / knit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.06
	theʔ^{53}ka^{31}	weave (a basket)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1157.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Dzongkha	**thaʔ-thaʔ**	weave (v.)	Weidert 1987:683
Tibetan (Alike)	**nthak**	weave; knit; spin (into yarn) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1313.05; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**thak**	weave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:613.4
Tibetan (Balti)	**t̲**^{h}**ʌq** pa·	weave (cloth)	Rangan 1975:20
Tibetan (Batang)	**thɑʔ**^{53}	weave / knit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.03
Tibetan (Central)	**thāk**-	weave (v.)	Weidert 1987:683
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ta**^{52}	weave (a basket)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1157.02
	ta^{52}	weave / knit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.02
	thaʔ^{53}	weave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:613.2
Tibetan (Written)	**'thag**	weave	Marrison 1967
	'thag-pa	weave	Matisoff 1983:28; LaPolla 1987:156
	ḥthag-pa	weave	Benedict 1972:17
	raŋ-**t'ag**-so	molar	Matisoff 1987
	sdom **thag**	spider	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:159.1
	thags-gra'bu	spider	Marrison 1967
	fithag	weave / knit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.01
	fithag	weave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:613.1
	fithag-**fithag**-pa	weave (v.)	Weidert 1987:683
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**thaχ**	weave; knit; spin (into yarn) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1313.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.04

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	ak **thak thak** ma	(loom-) weave	Ebert 1997
	thak-	weave	Ebert 1997
	thak ma	weave	Ebert 1997
	thak t-ue	weave	Ebert 1997

Limbu	kham **tak** pa	large spider (n.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	taːk khiba	spider	Michailovsky 1989b
	thak-	weave (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Magar	**dak**	weave	LaPolla 1987:156; Benedict 1972:17
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**dɛ**^{55}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.18
Guiqiong	**nthɑ**^{55}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.17
Lyuzu	**de**^{31}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.18
Muya	fiæ^{33}**ti**^{53}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.15
Muya [Minyak]	fiɛ^{35}**ti**^{53}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.15
Namuyi	**ndɛ**^{35}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.19
	ndæ^{31}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.46
Qiang (Mawo)	**ti ti**	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**tià**	knit, weave	Evans 1999:2589
	tyà	weave (basket)	Evans 1999:1668
Qiang (Taoping)	**tia**^{33}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.9
Xumi	**dyi**^{35}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	a^{33}**ntha**^{55}	weave (a basket)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1157.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**nthɑ**	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ka **tak**	weave; braid	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.12; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:655.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **tɑk**	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.11
rGyalrong	tA **tak** ka va	weave	Nagano 1997:193
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**ta4**	weave (vt.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ta^{4}	weave (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:3.4
Tujia	**tha**^{53}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.49
Tujia (Northern)	**tha**^{55}	weave	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**tha**^{55}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.38
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *$\mathbf{dak}^{2}$ WEAVE / SPIN			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***dak**	weave / spin	Matisoff 1978a:4
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Mpi	**tɑʔ**^{1}	plait bamboo (v.)	Matisoff 1978a:4
	tɑʔ^{1}	plait bamboo	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**dɑ**˩	weave (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3337
	mæ˩**dɑ**˥	weave (bamboo) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3338
Moso	**da 11**	weave / spin	Matisoff 1972b:192(c)
Na (Yongning)	**dɑ**˩	weave (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**dɑ**^{21}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dɑ**^{31}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**dɑ**^{31}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.29
7. KARENIC: *$\mathbf{tha}^{B}$ WEAVE (cloth), LOOM			
**Karen*	***thágh**	weave (cloth) (v.)	Jones 1961:100
**Karen [Burling]*	***tha**^{2}	weave (cloth), loom	Luangthongkum 2013:326
**Karen*	***thaʔ**	weave	Benedict 1972:145n395
	***tha**^{B}	weave (cloth), loom	Luangthongkum 2013:326
Karen	**tha**^{55}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.50
Kayah	**tha**^{33}	weave (baskets)	Luangthongkum 2013:327
Kayan	**tha**^{11}	weave (cloth), loom	Luangthongkum 2013:326
Kayan (Pekon)	**t**^{h}**à**	weave (V.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**tha**^{11}	weave (cloth), loom	Luangthongkum 2013:326
Pa-O (Southern)	**cha**^{33}	weave (cloth), loom	Luangthongkum 2013:326
Pa-O	**thaʔ**	weave	Benedict 1972:146n395
	thá?, **thá?** pìk ʔòp	weave	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**tha**^{33}	weave (cloth), loom	Luangthongkum 2013:326
Pwo (Southern)	**tha**^{55}	weave (cloth), loom	Luangthongkum 2013:326
Sgaw (Northern)	**tha**$^{31\sim}$	weave (cloth), loom	Luangthongkum 2013:326
Sgaw (Southern)	**tha**^{45,}	weave (cloth), loom	Luangthongkum 2013:326
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ĵi̯ək/tśiək**	weave	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:920f
Chinese (Old)	**tjɨk**	weave	Baxter 1992:1330
	ĵi̯ək	weave	Matisoff 1983:28

Chinese comparandum

織 OC ***ĵi̯ək**, *GSR* #920f 'weave'; Coblin 86: ST ***tjək** > TB ***tak** > OC ***tjək**; B & S 2011: ***tək**; Mand. **zhī**.

(10) PTani *čum WEAVE

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***čum**	weave	Sun 1993a:456
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**čĩ**	weave	Sun 1993a
	či	weave	Sun 1993b
	ci-čiŋ	weave	Sun 1993b
	čin-na-nɯ	loom	Sun 1993b
	pu-lje **čĩ**	weave	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**čum**	weave; spin	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	u-**čum**	loom	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**tɕum**	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.24
	u **tɕum** taː re	loom (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0632.24
	u-**čum**	loom	Sun 1993b
	u-**čum** (taː re)	spinning wheel	Sun 1993b
	u-**čum čum**	weave	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	u **tɕum**	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.51
	u **tɕum** taː tɕeː	loom	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:417.51
Galo	**cum** nam	weave (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	eɲɤ **sum**-nam	weaving (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	sum-nam	weave (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**cum**-nam	weave	Simon 1976
Tagin	eɲɯ **cum** nam	weaving	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**sum**	weave	Sun 1993a
Milang	agu **cim**-ma	weave; weaving	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976

(11) PTB *rak WEAVE / DRIVE / CHASE

This root is well-attested, both with a dental stop initial and initial **r-**, leading one to hypothesize an ultimate origin in a sequence of consonants like ***trak** or **drak**, although this cluster is not reconstructed for PTB or PST. Certain branches of the family, like Lolo-Burmese, show evidence for both the stop- and rhotic-initialed variants.

See PTB ***(t/d)ak** WEAVE (§6.24).

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**roʔ**	weave	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-p^{h}ik-**roʔ**-k^{h}e	weave	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.063
Tangkhul	khə **rək**	weave	LaPolla 1987:156
	rək	weave	Bhat 1969:100
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**rak**	weave	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-**rɐk**	make a basket; to weave	Mortensen 2012
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**wa**^{31}	weave (a basket)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1157.19
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{Bh}**raː**	knit / weave	Mazaudon 1994:853
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**raː**-	knit / weave	Mazaudon 1994:853
	^{1}**raː**-	knit; weave	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0803; HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0804
Tamang (Bagmati)	**ʼraː**	weave (v.)	Weidert 1987:683
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**raː**	weave	Mazaudon 1994:853
Tamang (Sahu)	**ʼraː**-pa	weave (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:19.5
	^{2}**raː**	weave	Mazaudon 1994:856
Tamang (Taglung)	**raː**-ba	weave	Mazaudon 1994:856
Thakali (Marpha)	^{55,44}**ra**-wa	weave	Mazaudon 1994:853
	^{55,55}**rʌ**-wa	weave	Mazaudon 1994:869
Thakali (Syang)	^{55,54}**ra**-ba	weave	Mazaudon 1994:853
Thakali (Tukche)	**ra**-lɔ	weave / knit	Hari 1971:7.B.3.5
	^{2}**ra**	weave / knit	Mazaudon 1994:853
4. NUNGIC			
Anong (Rawang/Mutwang)	**raʔ**	weave	Benedict 1972:19n68
Dulong	**ɹɑ·ʔ**^{55}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.20
Trung [Dulong]	**ɹɑʔ**^{55}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**raaʔ**^{55}	weave	LaPolla 1987:156
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**raaʔ**^{55}	weave	LaPolla 1987:156
	ɹɑʔ^{55}	weave	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *$\mathbf{rak}^{L}$ WEAVE / DRIVE / CHASE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***k-rak**	weave / spin ((HIGH).)	Matisoff 1972b:192(d)
	***k-rak**	weave / spin	Matisoff 1972b:192(d)
	***rak**	weave / spin	Matisoff 1972b:192(a)
	***rak** ⨯ *tak/*dak ⨯ *k-rak	weave	LaPolla 1987:156 [a]
	***rak**^{L}	weave / drive / chase	Matisoff 2003a:609
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ź**$\mathbf{a}^{31}$	weave	LaPolla 1987:156
	ʑɑ^{31}	weave	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ʐua**$\mathbf{ʔ}^{31}$	weave	LaPolla 1987:156
	ʐua$\mathbf{ʔ}^{55}$	weave (a basket)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1157.28
	ʐua$\mathbf{ʔ}^{55}$	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.28
	ʐua$\mathbf{ʔ}^{55}$	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ź**$\mathbf{aʔ}^{31}$	weave	LaPolla 1987:156
	ʑ$\mathbf{aʔ}^{31}$	weave	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ʐɔʔ**^{55}	weave (a basket)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1157.29
	ʐɔʔ^{55}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.29
Bola (Luxi)	**ɣaʔ**^{31}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**jɛʔ**^{4}	weave (a basket)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1157.27
	jɛʔ^{4}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**jɛʔ**^{44}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.40
Burmese (Written)	**jɑk**	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.39
	jɑk^{4}	weave (a basket)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1157.26
	jɑk^{4}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.26
	rak	weave	Hansson 1989:477; Matisoff 1983:28
	rak	weave (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	rak	weave	LaPolla 1987:156; Benedict 1972:19n68
	tak	weave	Marrison 1967
Langsu (Luxi)	**ɣɔʔ**^{31}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**jɔːʔ**^{31}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.33
Marma	**raʔ**	weave	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:166-3
Maru [Langsu]	**ɣòʔ**	weave	LaPolla 1987:156
	ɣɔʔ^{31}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**voʔ**^{21}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.30
	voʔ^{21}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.42
	voʔ^{31}	weave	LaPolla 1987:156
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***rak**^{L}	weave	Bradley 1979b:712; Hansson 1989:477
PNL	**rak**^{L}	weave	CHEN Kang 1986a:85.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**ɣa**^{53}	weave (a basket)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1157.47
	ɣa^{53}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.47
Lipho	**ʑe̱**^{2}	weave	CHEN Kang 1986a:85.
Nasu	**ɣa 55**	weave / spin	Matisoff 1972b:192(a)
	ɣa^{55}	weave	CHEN Kang 1986a:85.
Neisu	**ɣa**^{13}	weave	CHEN Kang 1986a:85.
Nesu	**ʑe̱**^{2}	weave	CHEN Kang 1986a:85.
Nusu (Northern)	**ɹa̱**^{55}	weave	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɹɔ̱**^{53}	weave	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɹɑ̱**^{53}**ɑ̱**^{31}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ɣa**^{13}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.22
Yi (Wuding)	**ɣɑ̱**^{55}	weave (a basket)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1157.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**ji 44s** ~ je 44s	weave / spin	Matisoff 1972b:192(a)
	ʑe̱^{2}	weave	CHEN Kang 1986a:85.
Jinuo	**ja**^{44}	weave	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:613.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**jɑ**^{55}	weave	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	nɛ^{42}**ja**^{55}	weave / knit (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.44

[a] [Source Note] [*TSR* 192].

Lahu	**ɣà?**	weave	LaPolla 1987:156
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɣɔ**^{33}	weave / knit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.43
Lahu (Black)	cì-**ǧà?**-ma	molar	Matisoff 1987
	ɣà?	weave / spin	Matisoff 1972b:192(a)
Lisu (Northern)	**jæ?**^{21}tʃhŋ^{21}	weave	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ya**^{6} hchĭ^{5}	weave on loom	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ɣa?**^{21}	weave; knit; plait (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ɣɑ̱**^{31}	weave (a basket)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1157.40
Yi (Sani)	**je**^{33}	weave (a basket)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1157.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ji 22s**	weave / spin	Matisoff 1972b:192(a)
Yi (Sani)	**jɪ**^{2}	weave / knit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ʑe**^{2}	weave	Chen Kang 1986a:85.

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**za LS**	weave / spin	Matisoff 1972b:192(a)
Akha (Thai)	**zàq**	weave	Hansson 1989:477
Akha	**zàq**	weave	Hansson 1989:477
Akha (Yunnan)	**ɣàq**	weave	Hansson 1989:477
Bisu	**gà**	weave (zhī)	Bradley 199x
	gā	weave / spin	Matisoff 1972b:192(d)
Hani (Hu T'an)	**ɣa 21c**	weave / spin	Matisoff 1972b:192(a)
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɣàq**	weave	Hansson 1989:477
Hani (Dazhai)	**ɣɑ̱**^{31}	weave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:613.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɣɑ̱**^{31}	weave / knit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.41
Hani (Pijo)	**jàq**	weave	Hansson 1989:477
Hani (Caiyuan)	**jɑ̱**^{31}	weave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:613.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**jɑ̱**^{31}	weave	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Haoni	**ja**^{31}	weave	Hansson 1989:477
Hani (Shuikui)	**ja**^{31}	weave	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:613.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**ja**^{31}	weave / knit (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1799.42
Pyen	nam45 **gae45**	weave (v.)	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:051022

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ʑɛ**^{22}	weave	Pelkey 2011:720
Southern Muji	**ʑɛ**^{21}	weave	Pelkey 2011:720
Hlepho Phowa	**ʑɛ**^{33}	weave	Pelkey 2011:720
Phuza	**ʑi**^{55}	weave	Pelkey 2011:720

Chinese comparandum

織 OC **t̂i̱ək*, *GSR* #920f 'weave'; Coblin 86: ST ****tjək*** > TB ****tak*** > OC ****tjək***; B & S 2011: ****tək***; Mand. **zhī**.

Volume 7

Adjectival Verbs

7.1.2 Quantity/Degree/Temperature

(1) PKC *tam ABUNDANT / MANY / PLENTY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tam**	ABUNDANT / MANY / PLENTY	VanBik 2009:170
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**tam** pi	abundant, ample	VanBik 2009:170
Sizang	**tam** hī	abound	VanBik 2009:170
Thado	**tâm**-I, tàm-II	many, abundant	VanBik 2009:170
Tiddim	**tam**[1]	plenty	VanBik 2009:170
	tam[1]	plenty (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1676
	tam[1]	plenty	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**taang**	many, much	VanBik 2009:170
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tàm**-I, tăm-II	abundant, many, plenty	VanBik 2009:170
Lai (Falam)	**tám**-INV	abundant, be plenty (be v.)	VanBik 2009:170
Lushai [Mizo]	**tăm**	abundant, many, much, plentiful, numerous	VanBik 2009:170

(2) PTB *hwaŋ CHEAP

The sound / meaning correspondences among the three supporting forms from these three scattered languages of Northeast India could hardly be better, but more data is needed to establish this root firmly for PTB.

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP			
Maring	**hong**	cheap	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Puiron	**hong** nu	cheap	Marrison 1967
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**hong** ba	cheap	Marrison 1967

(3) PTani *han COLD (water)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***han**	cold (water)	Sun 1993a:77
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	**ha**-rjik	cold (water)	Sun 1993a
	ha-rjɯk	cold (water, etc.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**hen** jik	cool, pleasantly; cold (water); cool	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1066.24; Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Galo	**'a** ik	cold (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'a rik	cold (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'a rik	cold (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	**ha** rik-nɤ	cold	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**an**(-siŋ)	cold (water)	Sun 1993a
Damu	(ʔa ɕi) **xan**-nə	cold (water)	Sun 1993b
	xan-tɕiŋ-duŋ	cold (weather)	Sun 1993b
Milang	**an**-siŋ-gam-ɲi	cold	Tayeng 1976
	an-siŋ-ɲi	cool	Tayeng 1976
	an siŋ	cold	Tayeng 1976

(4) PKC *s[h]ik COLD

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***shik**	COLD	VanBik 2009:687
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**kua** sik hī	cold	VanBik 2009:687
Thado	**khò**-sìʔ-INV	cold	VanBik 2009:687
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**hlik**	cold	VanBik 2009:687
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**sik**-I, siʔ-II	cold (be v.)	VanBik 2009:687
Lai (Falam)	**sìk**-INV	cold	VanBik 2009:687
Lushai [Mizo]	**sìk**	cold, to be cold	VanBik 2009:687
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**thlā**-sī	cold (be v.)	VanBik 2009:687

(5) PTk *sik COLD

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***sik**	cold	Mortensen 2012:729
Tangkhul	ka **sik**	cold	Marrison 1967
Tusom	kə-**sxɯə**	very cold	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.212
Ukhrul	kə-**sik**	cold, cool (of weather) (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
	sik-tur-kə-haj	very cold (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(6) PTk *kow COLD

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***kow**	cold	Mortensen 2012:735
Kachai	k[h]ə-mə-**ke**	cold	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.168
Ukhrul	k[h]ə-mə-**kuj**	cold, cool; make cool (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(7) PTB *wut COLD / CHILLY

This root is so far best established for PKC, but there is a promising Tujia comparandum.

This etymon bears some resemblance to PTB ***s-p[w]al*** SNOW / ICE / FROST / HAIL (§3.2.1), although they seem quite separate.

The Tibetan (Alike) form **wat** looks like this root, but the final **-t** is evidently the reflex of Proto-Bodic **-l** (cf. Tibetan (Amdo, Xiahe) **wal**).

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***wot** COLD / CHILLY			
**Chin*	***wot**	COLD / CHILLY	VanBik 2009:1140
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**vòt**-INV	cold (freezing cold)	VanBik 2009:1140
Tiddim	**vot**[3]	cold	VanBik 2009:1140; Bhaskararao 1996:1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	sə **vá**[i]	cold	So-Hartmann 1988:251
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**vâwt**	cold	Marrison 1967
	vâwt (long vowel) ≍ vàwt (short vowel)-I, vàwh-II	cold, to be chilly (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1140
	vot	cold	Bhaskararao 1996:1965
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**wu2**qi1	cold (one) (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	wu2qi1qi1	very cold (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	wu[2]qi[1]	cold one	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.3
	wu[2]qi[1]qi[1]	very cold (be v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.1

(8) PTB * m/s -glak ≍ *m-glaŋ COLD / FREEZE

There is a well-established allofam with a homorganic final nasal **m-glaŋ**, see *HPTB*:325. This nasal-final allofam has also acquired a nasal prefix in Lolo-Burmese: cf. WT **graŋ-ba**, Trung **glaŋ**, Lahu **gɔ̀**.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***gljang**	cool / cold	Coblin 1986:58
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***glaŋ**	cold / freeze	Matisoff 2003a:590
	***graŋ**	cold; freeze; cold (weather)	Matisoff 2003a:590; Benedict 1972:120
	***grɑŋ**	cold	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:755l
	***m/ʔ-glak**	cold / freeze	Matisoff 2003a:590
1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	a[33]**ɣɯəkˀ**[33]	cold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:884.52
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**Tang**	dry (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2923
	ṭaŋ	dry	Benedict 1972:120
	ṭaŋ-**thoːm**	cold (weather)	Benedict 1972:120
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-tshak** COLD			
**Central Naga*	*a-**tshak**	COLD (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.247
**Ao*	*a.**tʃhək**	FEEL COLD	Bruhn 2014a:II.181
Ao (Chungli)	a[3]-**sək**[1]	feel cold (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.181
	[3]a[1]**sɯk**[1]wa	winter	Weidert 1987:1002
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **tsak** yim	winter	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a **tshák**	cold (bodily sensation) (be v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**tshək**[2]-	feel cold (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.247
	e **tsak** o	winter	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**cha**	cold	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	a **chik**	cold	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **thsak** muro	cold	Kumar 1973b:50
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	niŋ-**kreŋ**	cold weather, winter	Benedict 1972:120
	paŋ-**kleŋ**	freeze, congeal	Benedict 1972:39n124
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
**Bodo-Garo*	***cək**	cold	Burling 1959:440
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**chek**-	cold (adj1.)	van Breugel 2008
	chyk-	cold (adj1.)	van Breugel 2008
	mai **chek**	cold rice (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	mai **chyk**	cold rice (n.)	van Breugel 2008
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	**cek**[53]pʌ[53]	cold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:884.6
Cuona Menba	**chek**[55]pa[53]	cold (water)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1063.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**chak**[53]paʔ[53]	ice	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:11.2
	chak[55]pa[52]	ice (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.02
Tibetan (Written)	**graṅ**-ba	cold	Marrison 1967
	graŋ mo	cold (weather, water)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1063.01
	graŋ-ba	cold, cool; coldness; to get / grow cold	Benedict 1972:120
	graŋ mo	cold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:884.1
	khjags pa	ice	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:11.1
	khyag(s)-pa	frozen, ice, frost, cold	Benedict 1972:39n124
	khyags pa	cold	Marrison 1967
	fikhjag thebs	freeze / ice up (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1440.01
	fikhjags pa	ice (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0017.01
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**hyáŋ**	cold	Benedict 1972:39n124
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**'chak** pāe	cold	Hale 1973:01.094
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**chək**-	cold (of food, etc.) (vs.)	Allen 1975
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	**glaŋ**	cold	Benedict 1972:39n124
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***s-krak** ≍ ***s-krok** COLD / DRIED OUT / LEFTOVER, ***m-graŋ** COLD			[a]
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ngraŋ**	cold	Benedict 1972:39n124
	***ʔkrak**	dry	Matisoff 1972b:53
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Arakanese	**hkrau'**	dry	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**kjaʊ̯ʔ**[55]	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕhɑuʔ**[4]	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.27
	tɕhɑuʔ[4]	dry, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1333.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hcau'**	dry	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕhɑuʔ**[44]	dry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:864.40
Burmese (Written)	**khrauk**	dry	Benedict 1972:76n232
	khrok	dry (adj.)	Marrison 1967

[a] Burmish forms have back vowels, while Loloish reflects ***-a-***.

Leqi (Luxi)	**kjʉ:ʔ**^{55}	dry	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1028.33
Maru [Langsu]	**kyòʔ**	cold	Benedict 1972:39n124
	tjaù'	dry	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kjoʔ**^{21}	cold (weather, water); cold	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1063.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:884.42
	kyoʔ	cold	Benedict 1972:39n124

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu	**kâʔ**	cold	Benedict 1972:39n124
Lahu (Lancang)	**kɑ**^{54}	cold (weather, water)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1063.43
Lahu (Black)	**gɔ̀**	cold	Matisoff 1972b:99(c)
	kâʔ	cold	Matisoff 1978a:21; Matisoff 1972b:99(b)
	kʌ^{54}	cold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:884.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ka**^{6}	cold	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**dźya**	cold	Benedict 1972:39n124

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**ga HS**	cold	Matisoff 1972b:99(a)
	gaq	cold	Hansson 1989:448
Akha (Thai)	**gaq**	feel cold	Hansson 1989:448
Akha	**gáʔ**	cold	Benedict 1972:39n124
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **gaq gaq**	feel cold	Hansson 1989:448

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**/gliɑŋ**	cool	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:755l
Chinese (Old)	**g-rjang**	chilly; cold; cool	Baxter 1992:1429; Baxter 1992:266,580; Baxter 1992:625
	gliɑŋ	cool	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:755l

Chinese comparandum

涼 OC ***gliɑŋ***, *GSR* #755l 'chilly'; Schuessler 2007:355; B & S 2011: ***C.raŋ***; Mand. **liáng** 'cool, chilly', **liàng** 'to cool, chill'.
霜 OC ***ṣiɑŋ***, *GSR* #731g 'frost'; Schuessler 2007:355; B & S 2011: ***sraŋ {[s]raŋ}***; Mand. **shuāng**.

(9) PKC *har DIFFICULT / HARD

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***har**	DIFFICULT / HARD	VanBik 2009:711

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**hāk** hī	difficult (be v.)	VanBik 2009:711
Thado	**háʔ**-I, hàʔ-II	difficult, hard	VanBik 2009:711
Tiddim	**hak**^{1}	difficult	VanBik 2009:711; Bhaskararao 1996:403
	¯hak `saː/¯**hak** _sat	difficult (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hâr**-I, hăr-II	difficult, hard	VanBik 2009:711
Lai (Falam)	**hăr**-I, hàr-II	difficult, hard	VanBik 2009:711
Lushai [Mizo]	**har**	difficult	Marrison 1967
	hár	difficult, arduous, requiring much labor	VanBik 2009:711
	har	difficult	Bhaskararao 1996:403

(10) PKC *looŋ ≍ *hlook EMPTY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***looŋ** ≍ hlook	EMPTY	VanBik 2009:1014

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**hlawk**	empty (only of grains) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1014

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**lòoŋ**-I, lŏon-II	empty (as bottle) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1014

(11) PTani *r $\begin{matrix}a\\o\end{matrix}$ ŋ EMPTY

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***raŋ** ~ **roŋ**	empty	Sun 1993a:126

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-**ra**	empty	Sun 1993a
	à-**ra**	empty	Sun 1993b
	a-**ra**	empty	Sun 1993b
Bengni	hi-**ro:**	empty	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	hi-**ro:** ko:-ko:	naked	Sun 1993b
	hu-**ro:**	sparce	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **roŋ**	gap / crevice (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0693.24
	a **roŋ**	empty (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0985.24
	a-**roŋ**	empty	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Miri, Hill	a **ro**-ne	empty [of pot]	Simon 1976
Tagin	mo **ro**-nam	empty (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	a-**raŋ**	empty	Sun 1993a
Mishing [Miri]	aŋ a-**raŋ**	empty	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	'põ-**rã:**	empty	NEFA (India) 1963

(12) PKC *ruak EMPTY / NAKED / VOID

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ruak**	EMPTY / NAKED / VOID	VanBik 2009:936

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**gûoʔ** tsâŋ	naked	VanBik 2009:936
Tiddim	**guak**^{1} tang^{2}	naked	VanBik 2009:936

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**ruak**	naked; empty; hollow	Marrison 1967; Bhaskararao 1996:380
	rûak-I, rùah-II	empty, vacant, unoccupied, to be naked or nude (be v.)	VanBik 2009:936

Chinese comparandum

裸 OC ***glwâr***, *GSR* #351g-h 'naked'; Schuessler 2007:371 ***rôiʔ***; B & S 2011: ***r^{ʂ}orʔ {r^{ʂ}o[r]ʔ}***; Mand. **luǒ**.

(13) PNC *hoom EMPTY / VACANT

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

**Northern Chin*	***hoom**	EMPTY / VACANT	VanBik 2009:714
Sizang	**hawm** hī	vacant (be v.)	VanBik 2009:714
Thado	**hôom**-I, hòom-II	vacant, empty (be v.)	VanBik 2009:714
Tiddim	**ho:m**^{1}	empty, hollow	VanBik 2009:714
	ho:m^{1}	hollow; empty (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:488
	ho:m^{1}	hollow, empty	Bhaskararao 1994

(14) PKC *tsiaʔ EXACT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tsiaʔ**	EXACT	VanBik 2009:536

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**chiah**	exact (be v.)	VanBik 2009:536

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**tsìaʔ**	exact (be v.)	VanBik 2009:536

(15) PKC *raŋ-I, *ran-II FAST / QUICK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***raŋ**-I, ran-II	FAST / QUICK	VanBik 2009:939

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**man** lāng	fast	VanBik 2009:939
Thado	**gâng**-I, gàn-II	fast	VanBik 2009:939
Tiddim	**gang**^{1} > gan^{1}	flow in abundance	VanBik 2009:939
	gang^{1} > gan^{1}	flow in abundance (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:315

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**yan-yan**	fast	VanBik 2009:939
Khumi	**raang**	fast, hurry	VanBik 2009:939

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ràŋ**-I, răn-II	quick, fast (be v.)	VanBik 2009:939
Lai (Falam)	**ráŋ**-INV	quick, fast (be v.)	VanBik 2009:939
Lushai [Mizo]	**rang**	early	Marrison 1967
	răng-I, ràn-II	quick, to be early (i.e early maturing) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:939

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**pa**-rá	hurry, quick	VanBik 2009:939

(16) PTk *t^{h}aak FAST / QUICK

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}aak**	fast / quick	Mortensen 2012:556
Kachai	kə-**t^{h}ok**	fast / quick	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.182
Tusom	kə-**t^{h}ɯə**	fast	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.226
Ukhrul	kə-**t^{h}ak**	fast, quick, come before time	Mortensen 2012

(17) PKC *kloom FEW / LITTLE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***kloom**	FEW / LITTLE	VanBik 2009:1260

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**tawn** kha	few	VanBik 2009:1260
Thado	**hlŏom**-I, hlòom-II	few, less	VanBik 2009:1260
Tiddim	**to:m**^{2}	few in number, little or less	VanBik 2009:1260

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tòom**-I, tŏom-II, ≍ tlòom-I, tlŏom-II	few, little (amount) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1260

(18) PTB *s- $\begin{matrix}l\\r\end{matrix}$ əy-t HEAVY

The aberrant-looking Lahu reflex is paralleled in a number of other etyma with complex initial laterals and the rhyme ***-əy***: PTB ***b-ləy*** FOUR (§9.9), PTB ***g-ləy*** WIND (n.) (§3.2.1), PTB ***b/m-ləy*** GRANDCHILD / NEPHEW / NIECE (§4.7.3), PTB ***m-ləy*** BOAT (§5.11.2), PTB ***g/b/m-la-y*** BOW / ARROW (§5.15). See *HPTB*:192.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(s-)ləy**	heavy	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:413e; Weidert 1987:807
	***s-liy**	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
	***s-liy**	heavy	Weidert 1987:807; LaPolla 1987:144; Benedict 1972:95
	***s-ləy-t ≍ s-rəy-t**	heavy	Matisoff 2003a:600

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"

Sulung [Puroik]	a^{33}**lei**^{33}	heavy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:830.52

1.1.1. TANI: ***fiit** HEAVY

**Tani*	***fiit**	heavy	Sun 1993a:196

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-**hi**	heavy	Sun 1993b
	a-**iʔ** < *a-hiʔ	heavy	Sun 1993a
	a-**ji**	heavy	Sun 1993b
	a **iʔ**	heavy	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ə **i**	heavy	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.24; Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	ə **i**	heavy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:830.51
Galo	a **i**-na	heavy	Das Gupta 1963
	'a **ii**	heavy (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	e **i**	heavy	Simon 1976
Tagin	a **i**	heavy	Das Gupta 1983
	a **i**-nɤ e liŋ	heavy stone	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Damu	ʔa-**jy:**-nə	heavy	Sun 1993b

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***rik-I**, ***riʔ-II** HEAVY

**Chin*	***rik**-I, riʔ-II	HEAVY	VanBik 2009:947
**Kuki*	***rit**	heavy	Benedict 1972:95

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**gik**	heavy	VanBik 2009:947
Sizang	**ngit** hī	heavy	VanBik 2009:947
Thado	**gìʔ**	heavy, weigh	VanBik 2009:947
	gíʔ	heavy	Thirumalai 1972:54
Tiddim	**gik**^{3} > giʔ^{3}	heavy (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:346
	gik^{3} > giʔ^{3}	heavy	VanBik 2009:947
	gik^{3}/giʔ^{3}	heavy	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**gih ≍** gi	heavy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:947

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**rit**-I, riʔ-II	heavy, weigh	VanBik 2009:947
Lai (Falam)	**rìt**-I, rìʔ-II	heavy, weigh	VanBik 2009:947
Lushai [Mizo]	**rit**	heavy	Marrison 1967
	rit	heavy (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2852
	rit	heavy	LaPolla 1987:144; Benedict 1972:172n458; Benedict 1972:95
	rìt-I, rìh-II	heavy, weighty, burdensome, hard (be v.)	VanBik 2009:947

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	á **rí**	heavy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:947

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	**rìit**	heavy	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.019

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	ka **rit**	heavy	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *rət HEAVY

**Central Naga*	***rət**	HEAVY (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.192
**Ao*	*a-**ɹət**	HEAVY (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.324
Ao (Chungli)	**-rʉ̀ut**	heavy (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
	a^{3}-**ɹət**^{1}	heavy (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.324
	ta **ret**	heavy	Marrison 1967
	^{3}ta^{1}**rɯt**	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	**rə́t**	heavy (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.324
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ret** ür	heavy	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**ra** ti	heavy	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**let** la	heavy	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	**rip** bu	heavy	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**rit** nu	heavy	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**rit** mei	heavy	Marrison 1967
Zeme	ke **ret** be	heavy	Marrison 1967
	^{1}ke^{1}**rət**	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
Mzieme	ke **rüt**	heavy	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *hrit HEAVY

**Tangkhulic*	***hrit**	heavy	Mortensen 2012:543
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**rej?**	heavy	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.204
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**rɐt**	heavy	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.177
Tangkhul	kha **rit**	heavy	Marrison 1967
	rit	heavy	Bhat 1969:90
	^{1}kh^{1}**rit**	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
Tusom	kə-**hrɯ**	heavy	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.222
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**rit**	heavy (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**gilir**	heavy	Bhat 1968
	gilir?	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
	gilit	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
	ilir	heavy	Bhat 1968
	illit / gillit	heavy	Benedict 1972:172n458
	illit ≍ gillit	heavy	Benedict 1972:95; LaPolla 1987:144
	lilir	heavy	Bhat 1968
	lír	heavy (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**ri** si	heavy	LaPolla 1987:144; Benedict 1972:95
	ri si ba	heavy	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	hɔ-**li**	heavy	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**li**^{2}-i	heavy	Jacquesson 2005
	li^{2}-ya	light (not heavy)	Jacquesson 2005
	li bare	heavy	Brown 1895:70

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *lyəy HEAVY

**Northern Naga*	***lyəy**	heavy	French 1983:503

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**liʔ**	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:53
Tangsa	**lʌiʔ**	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:53
Tangsa (Moshang)	a **li**	heavy	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Khiamngan	^{12}a^{23}**lę̰?**	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
Konyak (Tamlu)	**liʔ**	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:53
Phom	**ʒiʔ**^{33}	heavy	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**li**	heavy	Marrison 1967
	lü	heavy	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**li**	heavy	Marrison 1967
	lī	heavy	Matisoff 1974:258
	li	heavy	LaPolla 1987:144; Benedict 1972:95
	li^{33}	heavy	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.47
	^{2}**li**	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Byangsi	**hli:** thɛ	heavy (adj.)	Sharma 2003:521
Darma	**li**-nu	heavy	Krishan 2003:407
Kanauri	**li**-k	heavy	LaPolla 1987:144; Benedict 1972:95
	lī k	heavy	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**hli**-i	heavy	Benedict 1972:95
	l^{h}**i**	heavy	Sharma 1982
Rongpo	**li:** də	heavy (adj.)	Sharma 2003:780

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**lhi** ma	heavy (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.03
Tsangla (Central)	**chit** pu	heavy	Andvik 1993:143
Tsangla (Motuo)	**tɕit**^{55}pu^{55}	heavy	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	tɕit po	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**chit**-pu	heavy	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**liu**^{55}	heavy	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**li**^{55}po^{53}	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.6
Motuo Menba	**tɕit** po	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.07
Cuona Menba	**li**^{55}po^{53}	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**rdʑə** ɣə	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ndʑə** mo	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rdʑə** mo	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**dʑi**^{55}pu^{53}	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**dʑi**^{55}mo^{53}	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tɕi**^{13}pu^{53}	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.2
	tɕi^{13}pu^{55}	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.02
Tibetan (Written)	**lci** ba	heavy	Marrison 1967
	ldźi	heavy	Benedict 1972:33n104
	ldži-ba	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
	ldžid-pa	heaviness, weight	Benedict 1972:95
	ldʑid po	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.01; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.1
	ltśi	heavy	Benedict 1972:33n104
	ltši-ba	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
	ltśi-ba ≍ **ldži**-ba (< *s-li)	heavy	Benedict 1972:95
	ltśi-ba~**ldźi**-ba	heavy	LaPolla 1987:144
	lžid-pa	heavy (weight?) (n.)	Weidert 1987:283

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**li**(-m)	heavy	Benedict 1972:95; LaPolla 1987:144
	ʔá **lí** m	heavy (adj.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{A}**li:**	heavy	Mazaudon 1994:883
Gurung	**lih** bā	heavy (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.03
Gurung (Ghachok)	**lih** ba	heavy	Glover 1972:12.B.3
Gurung	^{3}**li**-	heavy	Mazaudon 1994:883
Manang (Gyaru)	**li**^{2} mo^{2}	heavy	Nagano 1984:409
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**li** pə	heavy	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0435
Tamang (Bagmati)	**li**^{ɦ}-pa	heavy	Weidert 1987:807
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**li:**	heavy	Mazaudon 1994:883
Tamang (Sahu)	**li:h** pā	heavy (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.03
	li:h pa	heavy (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.B.3
	^{3}**li:**	heavy	Mazaudon 1994:883
Thakali	**lih**-wa	heavy (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.03
Thakali (Marpha)	$^{22›21}$**li**^{ɦ}-mu	heavy	Mazaudon 1994:883
Thakali (Tukche)	**lih**-wɔ	heavy	Hari 1971:12.B.3
	^{3}**li**	heavy	Mazaudon 1994:883

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**lik** na	heavy	Ebert 1997
Limbu	kɛ **li:** pa	heavy (a.)	Weidert 1987:283
	li:pt-	heavy (vs.)	Driem 1988
	li:p ma	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
	li:t-(a)	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**lis**-e	heavy (vs.)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Hayu	**li**-s	heavy	LaPolla 1987:144; Benedict 1972:95
Thulung	**li** s-	heavy (vs.)	Allen 1975

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**li**-ʔo	heavy	Caughley 1972:12.B.3
	li.ʔo	heavy (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.03
	liʔ	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:53
	liʔ-	heavy, weighty; weigh down; be difficult (met.) (vat.)	Caughley 2000
Magar	**lis**-ke	heavy (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.03

3.2. Qiangic

Muya	**ɣə**^{33}**ɣə**^{53}	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ɣɯ**^{33}**ɣɯ**^{55}	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.15
Namuyi	**zɻ**^{33}	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.19
Pumi (Jiulong)	**lɛi**^{35}	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.10
	lɛi^{35}qɑ^{55}qɑ^{11}	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**la**^{55}	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**la**^{55}	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**le**^{55}mə^{53}	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.10
Qiang (Longxi)	(**zɨ**) χuà	very (heavy)	Evans 1999:2628
	zɨ	heavy (WT ldźi-ba)	Evans 1999:1462
Qiang (Mawo)	**dzi**	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.8
	dzə	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**dzɨ**	heavy (WT ldźi-ba)	Evans 1999:1462
	qè qè **(dzɨ)**	very (heavy)	Evans 1999:2628
Qiang (Taoping)	**dzɻ**^{33}	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**lai**^{33}**lai**^{55}	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.16
	ɬe^{33}**ɬe**^{55}	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:844.16
	ɬe^{55}**ɬe**^{55}	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɬie**^{55} **ɬie**^{33}	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.13
Xumi	**lye**^{35}	thick; heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.20; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.20
	mɛ^{33}**lyi**^{55}	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.17

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	gɛ **nʁ̥ə**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ldɯ**	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	’də **li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	’də **li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	’də **li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	’kə **li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	də^{3} **li**^{3}	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	də^{3} **lə**^{3}	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	də^{3} **lə**^{3}	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	də **’li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	də **’li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	də **’li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **li**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.11
rGyalrong	kə **li**	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	kə-**li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993

rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	kə44**lej44**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	kə5**'lə53**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kə^{3}**le?^{3}**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	kə^{3}**lə^{5}**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	kə^{5}**li^{5}**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	kə **'le**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	kə **'li**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	kə **'lə**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	kə **'lə**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	kə **'lə**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	kə **'lə**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	kə **'lə**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	kə **'lə**^{i}	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	kə **'lə**^{i}	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kə **'lʊ**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	¯kə **lə**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊkə ^{ɦ}**lə**	heavy	Nagano & Prins 2013:1993
rGBenzhen	kə-**di**	heavy	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Anong	ə **li**	heavy	LaPolla 1987:144; Benedict 1972:95
Rawang	ə **li^{33}** wɛ^{31}	heavy	LaPolla 2003:1038
	ə **li^{33}** ɕi^{31} wɛ^{33}	heavy	LaPolla 2003:1038
Nung	ɑ^{31}**ɬ^{55}**ɛ^{31}	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}**ɭ^{55}**ɛ^{31}	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.44
Dulong	ɑ^{31}**li^{53}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31}**li^{53}**	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	a^{31} **li^{53}**	heavy	LaPolla 1987:144
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	a^{31} **li^{53}**	heavy	LaPolla 1987:144
	ɑ^{31}**li^{53}**	heavy	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***s-ləy^{2}** HEAVY

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**lɑi^{31}**	heavy	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**li^{31}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.41
	li^{13}	heavy	LaPolla 1987:144
Achang (Luxi)	**lɯ^{51}**	heavy	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**lai^{31}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.29
Bola (Luxi)	**li^{31}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**le^{55}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**le^{55}**	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.40
Burmese (Written)	**lè**	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
	lè	heavy	Weidert 1987:807
	lê	heavy; slow; depressed in mind	Matisoff 1974:258; Benedict 1976a
	lè	heavy	LaPolla 1987:144; Benedict 1972:91n263
	le:	heavy	Marrison 1967
	le^{3}	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.26; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**la^{35}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**la:i^{33}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.33
Marma	**lí**	heavy (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:409
Maru [Langsu]	**là**	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
	la^{35}	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lái**	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
	lai^{21}	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.42

6.1.2. Loloish: ***C-li^{2}** HEAVY

**Loloish*	***C-li^{2}**	heavy	Bradley 1979b:564

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**zɿ^{31}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.47
Lalo	**jì**	heavy	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Northern)	**li^{35}**	heavy	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**li^{55}**	heavy	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**li^{55}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**li^{55}**ɑ^{31}	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.45
Yi (Dafang)	**li^{33}**	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{34}**lɿ^{33}**	heavy (weight); slow	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ɬɯ^{21}**	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**li^{33}**	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**li^{21}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.37; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**l̩(ɭ)^{21}**	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.23
Yi (Weishan)	**l̩^{21}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.36
Yi (Wuding)	**li^{33}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.38
Yi (Xide)	a^{44}**l̩(ɭ)^{33}**	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.21
	ɑ^{34}**l̩^{33}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**ɬi^{33}**	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**ɬi^{44}**	heavy	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ɬi^{44}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.44
Lahu	**hɔ̂**	heavy	Benedict 1972:61n195
	hɔ̌n	heavy	Benedict 1972:91n263
Lahu (Lancang)	**xɔ^{53}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.43
Lahu (Black)	**hɔ̂**	heavy	Matisoff 1974:258
	xɔ^{53}	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.33
Lisu	**lì**	heavy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:283
Lisu (Northern)	**li^{21}**	heavy; gravity (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**li^{31}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.40; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.27
Lisu (Central)	**li^{5}**	heavy	Fraser 1922
Yi (Sani)	**lɻ^{11}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Mpi	**li^{1}**	heavy	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Sila	a21 **li21**	heavy	Kato Takashi 2008:248

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**xji^{33}**	HEAVY	Pelkey 2011:1053
Southern Muji	**ni^{52}**	HEAVY	Pelkey 2011:1053
Phola	**li^{31}**	HEAVY	Pelkey 2011:1053
Phuza	**li^{13}**	HEAVY	Pelkey 2011:1053

6.2. Naxi

Naxi	**lɯ^{33}**	heavy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1014.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lɯ^{33}**	heavy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:830.28

(19) PKar *thəᴮ HEAVY

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***thəᴮ**	heavy	Luangthongkum 2013:143
Bwe	**tho^{33}**	heavy	Luangthongkum 2013:143
Kayah	**tho^{11}**	heavy	Luangthongkum 2013:143
Kayan	**thəi^{11}**	heavy	Luangthongkum 2013:143
Kayaw	**thə^{11}**	heavy	Luangthongkum 2013:143
Pa-O (Southern)	**thɨ^{33}**	heavy	Luangthongkum 2013:143
Pa-O (Northern)	**thɨ^{55}**	heavy	Luangthongkum 2013:143

(20) PKC *liŋ-I, *lin-II HOT / RED-HOT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***liŋ-I, lin-II**	HOT / RED-HOT	VanBik 2009:1026

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	ng-**ling**	very hot (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1026

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**lǐn-I, lin?-II**	hot (as sun), red-hot	VanBik 2009:1026
Lushai [Mizo]	**lìng-I, lîn-II**	red-hot, to be aglow (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1026

(21) PTani *gu ~ *gju? HOT / WARM

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***gu ~ gju?**	hot / warm	Sun 1993a:210

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**grju**-bu(?)	hot	Sun 1993b
	grju-bu?	hot; warm	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	grju-bu?	warm (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	grju-bu?	heat	Sun 1993b
	gù-bú	hot; heat	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	gu-lũ **gú**-le	warm	Sun 1993b
	k^{h}rjə-**grju**	heat; melt	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	xɯ-**gu**	warm (vt.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**wu**	hot; warm	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**wu** <*a-gu	hot / warm	Sun 1993a
	su-**wu**	hot water	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **gu**	lukewarm (water)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1064.24
	a **gu**	fever, have (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1305.24
	a-**gu**	hot; warm; feel hot	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**gu** lum-lum	lukewarm	Sun 1993b
	a **gu**	hot	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1062.24
Bokar Lhoba	a **gu**	hot	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:883.51
	a **gu** lum lum	warm (water)	LaPolla 1987:143
Galo	-**'go**	hot (result); warm (result) (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a **go**	hot; warm (of climate); heat	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	cir-**go**-nam	warm (water) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	'a **go**	hot; warm (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'a **go**	heat (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'di **go**	summer (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	'hi **go**	hot water; water (hot) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	o **g [ɯ]**	hot [temperature]	Simon 1976
	o **g [ɯ]** -pol	hot season	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **gu**~u **gu**	hot	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **gu**	warm; hot	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983

	a **gu** nɤ i si ’	warm water’	Das Gupta 1983
	si-**gu**	hot water	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gu**	hot / warm	Sun 1993a

(22) PTB *r-ya:ŋ LIGHT (WEIGHT), LIGHTWEIGHT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-ya:ŋ**	lightweight; light (weight)	Matisoff 2003a:620; Benedict 1972:328
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***yaaŋ-I**, ***yaan-II** LIGHT (weight)			
**Chin*	***yaaŋ**-I, yaan-II	LIGHT (weight)	VanBik 2009:1214
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**zâang**-I, zàan-II	light (weight)	VanBik 2009:1214
Tiddim	**za:ng**^{1} > za:n^{1}	light (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2008
	za:ŋ^{1}/za:n^{1}	light ...	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊ**za:ŋ**/ˆza:n	light (vi.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**yang**	light, as load (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1214
Khumi	**jang**	thin, light, not heavy, portable	VanBik 2009:1214
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zâaŋ**-I, zǎan-II	light (not heavy)	VanBik 2009:1214
Lai (Falam)	**záaŋ**-I, zàan-II	light (not heavy)	VanBik 2009:1214
Lushai [Mizo]	**zǎang-I**, **zàan-II**	light in weight, to be easy, buoyant, pleasurable (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1214
	zâng	light (of weight) (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	za:ng	light (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3119
	za:ŋ	light weight	Benedict 1972:328
1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Sorbung	**jaaŋ**	light (weight)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.020
1.3. “Naga” Areal Group			
Maring	**yang**	light (of weight) (adj.)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	**yang** nu	light (of weight) (adj.)	Marrison 1967
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**yang** ba	light (of weight) (adj.)	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**ardžaŋ**	light weight	Benedict 1972:328
	arjang	light (of weight) (adj.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**rezeŋ**	light (weight); light (in weight)	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
	rezyeŋ	light (weight)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**redžeŋ**	light weight	Benedict 1972:328
	rejeng yaba	light (of weight) (adj.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	rit **tśeŋ**	light weight	Benedict 1972:328
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***gyaŋ**	light(-weight)	French 1983:512
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**tsang**	light (of weight) (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	tsaŋ	light weight	Benedict 1972:328
	tsa̱ŋ^{33}	light (adj.)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tsa̱ŋ^{33}	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.19
	tsa̱ŋ^{33}	light (adj.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:829.47
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	**yang** pu	light	Andvik 1993:144
Tsangla (Motuo)	**jaŋ**^{55}pu^{55}	light (adj.)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	jaŋ po	light (adj.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:829.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	**jɑŋ**^{35}bu^{55}	light (adj.)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**jʌŋ**^{13}po^{53}	light (adj.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:829.6
Motuo Menba	**jaŋ** po	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.07
Cuona Menba	**jaŋ**^{35}po^{53}	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**jaŋ** mo	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**jaŋ** mo	light (adj.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:829.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**jaŋ** mo	light (adj.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:829.5
	yaŋ-mo	light	Sun 1985a:445
Tibetan (Balti)	**yʌŋ** mo·	light	Rangan 1975:49
Tibetan (Batang)	**jõ**^{13}mʊ^{53}	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**yen**.ge	light (of things, weight) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.04
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**joŋ**^{13}mo^{53}	light (adj.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:829.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**jaŋ**^{13}ko^{55}	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.02
	jaŋ^{15}ko^{53}	light (adj.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:829.2
Tibetan (Written)	**jaŋ** po	light (adj.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:829.1
	jaŋs po	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.01
	yang.mo	light	Sun 1985c:445
	yaṅ po	light (of weight) (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	yaŋ-po	light weight	Benedict 1972:328
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**jaŋ** mo	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{Bh}**jaŋ**	light	Mazaudon 1994:826
Gurung	^{2}**jõ**-	light	Mazaudon 1994:826
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**jaŋ**	light	Mazaudon 1994:826
Tamang (Sahu)	**’yāng** pā	light (of things, weight) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.04
	’yaŋ pa	light (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.B.4
	^{2}**jaŋ**	light (in weight)	Mazaudon 1994:826
Thakali	**yāng**-pa	light (of things, weight) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.04
Thakali (Marpha)	^{55,44}**jaŋ**-mu	light	Mazaudon 1994:826
Thakali (Tukche)	**jaŋ**-pɔ	light (adj.)	Hari 1971:12.B.4
	^{2}**jaŋ**	light (adj.)	Mazaudon 1994:826
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Kathmandu)	**yãũ**	lightweight	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**yaṳ**	light (of things, weight) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.04
Newar (Dolakhali)	**yeŋ** gɔu	lightweight	Genetti 1990b
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	**yaŋ** na	light (of weight)	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**jaŋ jaŋ** ba	light in weight	Michailovsky 1989b
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**jã**^{31}wu^{55}	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.16
Qiang (Longxi)	**dʑó**	lightweight	Evans 1999:1463
Qiang (Mianchi)	**ʑóu**	lightweight	Evans 1999:1463
Xumi	**jõ**^{35}	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.17
	ɑ^{33}**jɔ̃**^{33}**jɔ̃**^{55}	light (adj.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:829.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	gɛ **ɣje**	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.12
	ɣjə ɣje	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.12
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***laŋ**^{1}	lightweight	Matisoff 2003a:599
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**ʑaŋ**^{55}	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.28
	ʑaŋ^{55}	light (adj.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:829.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**jaŋ**^{55}	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.29
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**joŋ**^{5}	light (not (heavy)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

Chinese comparandum

輕 OC ***k’i̯ĕng**, *GSR* #831o ‘light (weight)’; Schuessler 2007:432 ***kheŋ**; B & S 2011: ***k^{h}eŋ { [k^{h}] eŋ}**; Mand. **qīng**.

Comment: Cf. *STC* #328; NNaga.

(23) PKar *phwi^{A} LIGHT (weight)

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***phwi**^{A}	light (∼weight)	Luangthongkum 2013:166 [a]
Bwe	**phwí**	light (not heavy) (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	phwi^{55}∼**phi**^{55}	light (∼weight)	Luangthongkum 2013:166
Karen	**phu̱i**^{55}	light (weight)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1015.50
Kayah	**phwi**^{33}	light (∼weight)	Luangthongkum 2013:166
Kayan	**phwi**^{53}	light (∼weight)	Luangthongkum 2013:166
Kayaw	**phi**^{55}	light (∼weight)	Luangthongkum 2013:166
Pa-O (Southern)	**phwi**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	light (∼weight)	Luangthongkum 2013:166
Pa-O (Northern)	**phwi**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	light (∼weight)	Luangthongkum 2013:166
Pwo (Northern)	**khwi**^{35}	light (∼weight)	Luangthongkum 2013:166
Pwo (Southern)	**khwi**^{53}	light (∼weight)	Luangthongkum 2013:166
Sgaw (Northern)	**phɣi**^{33}	light (∼weight)	Luangthongkum 2013:166
Sgaw (Southern)	**phɣi**^{55}	light (∼weight)	Luangthongkum 2013:166

[a] [Source Note] The initial khw- in Pwo is irregular.

(24) PTk *beŋ LIGHTWEIGHT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***beŋ**	lightweight	Mortensen 2012:486
Huishu	kə-nə-**vi**	light (weight)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.205
Kachai	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**veŋ**	light (weight)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.178
Tusom	k^{h}a-m-**pɯə̃**	light (weight)	Mortensen 2012
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**veŋ**	lightweight	Mortensen 2012

(25) PTB *m{r/y}a MANY / MUCH

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***mra**	much, many	Benedict 1972:148
	***mra ⋊ mya**	much / many	Matisoff 2003a:602
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**mra**	much	Benedict 1972:148
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**bra**-ba	have / be in great plenty, abound (v.)	Benedict 1972:148
3.2. Qiangic			
Manyak	tə **bra**	much	Benedict 1972:148
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**myâ**	many; many (cf. ə-mrok ə-mrâ)	Hansson 1989:43; Benedict 1976a
	myā:	many	Marrison 1967
	myak	much	Benedict 1972:148
	ə-**myâ**	many (cf. ə-mrok ə-mrâ)	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***C**-mya^{2}	many	Bradley 1979b:752; Hansson 1989:43
	*ʔə-C-**mya**^{3}	many	Bradley 1979b:752
	*ʔə-C-**mya**^{1}	many	Bradley 1979b:752
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	xa^{33}ni^{33}**ma**^{24}	how many (a small number) (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0959.47
	n̦a^{31}	many / much (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0987.47
Nusu (Central)	kha^{55}**m̥ia**^{31}	how many / how much (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0958.34
Nusu (Southern)	khu^{55}**miɑ**^{31}	how many / how much	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	khɑ^{35}**m̥iɑ**^{31}	how many / much	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:989.45
Nusu (Northern)	khɑ^{55}**m̥a**^{55}	how many / how much	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	mia^{35}	many / much	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**mia**^{55}	many / much (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0987.34
Nusu (Southern)	**miɑ**^{55}	many / much	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Nanhua)	**myo**^{21}	many / much (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0987.37
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	qhɑ^{31} **mɑ**^{31}	how many / how much (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0958.43
Lahu (Black)	**mʌ**^{53}	many / much	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:819.33
	qhʌ^{35}**mʌ**^{33}	how many / much	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:989.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**mɛ**^{3}	many / much	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
	qha^{5}**mɛ**^{1}	how many / how much	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986

Lisu (Northern)	a[21]**mja[35]**	many; a great deal; wide range of; abundant (A.)	Bradley 1994
	a[21]**mja[35]** mja[35]	very many	Bradley 1994
	a[21]**ȷa[35]**	a lot; many (A.)	Bradley 1994
	a[33]**mja[33]**	how many; amount (A.)	Bradley 1994
	a[33]**mja[33]**tɕhi[33]	about how many	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	a[5]**-myá[2]**	many	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	lɔ[33]hɤ[21]**mja[33]**	many like sand (poetic)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**miɑ[31]**	many / much (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0987.40
Lisu (Northern)	**mja[21]**	many (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**myá[5]**	many	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	thø[33]**mja[33]**	so many (much)	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ[35]**mja[33]**	that many (much)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	n̥ɛ[31] ; **miɛ[31]**	many / much	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:819.27
	ɑ̱[33] **miɑ[33]**	how many / how much (intg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0958.40
	ɑ̱[33]**miɑ[33]**mɑ̱[33]	how many (a small number) (intg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0959.40
	ɑ[44]miɛ[44]; **ɑ[44]n̥ɛ[44]**	how many / much	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:989.27
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	á **mjaq**	how many	Hansson 1989:467
Akha (Thai)	á **mjàq**	how many	Hansson 1989:1
	á **mjaq**	how many	Hansson 1989:467
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **mjà**	many	Hansson 1989:43
Akha (Thai)	**mjà**	many	Hansson 1989:43
Akha	**mjà**	many	Hansson 1989:43
Bisu	ʔaŋ **bjà**	many	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	há **mjàq**	how many	Hansson 1989:1
	mjà	many	Hansson 1989:43
Hani (Dazhai)	**mja[31]**	many / much	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:819.31
	xa[55]**mja̱[33]**	how many / much	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:989.31
Hani (Lüchun)	xhá **mjaq**	how many	Hansson 1989:467
	mja[31]	many / much (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0987.41
	xa[55]**mja̱[33]**mo[55]	how many (a small number) (things) (intg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0959.41
	xa[55]**mja̱[33]**ne[33]	how many / how much (intg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0958.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**mɔ[31]**	many / much	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:819.30
Hani (Pijo)	**mɔ̀**	many	Hansson 1989:43
Hani (Gelanghe)	a[55]**mja̱[33]**	how many / how much	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	mja[31]	many / much	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	hal **miav**	how many	Hansson 1989:467
	miaq	many	Hansson 1989:43
Hani (Shuikui)	**mɔ[31]**	many / much	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:819.32
Hani (Khatu)	**mjò**	many	Hansson 1989:43
	mò	many	Hansson 1989:43
Hani (Mojiang)	**mɔ[31]**	many / much (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0987.42
	xɔ[33]**mɔ[33]mɔ[55]**	how many (a small number) (things) (intg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0959.42
Mpi	**mjo[1]**	many	Hansson 1989:43; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

(26) PKC *hnem MANY / MUCH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hnem**	MANY / MUCH	VanBik 2009:897
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**nêm**-I, nèm-II	dense, able to contain lots of things, e.g. a basket	VanBik 2009:897
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ṭha**-hnèm-I, ṭhat-hnĕm-II	useful (be v.)	VanBik 2009:897
Lai (Falam)	**ṭha**-hnêm-INV	useful (be v.)	VanBik 2009:897
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnêm**	many, much	VanBik 2009:897

(27) PKar *ʔa[A] MANY / MUCH

7. KARENIC				
**Karen*	***ʔa[A]**	many, much	Luangthongkum 2013:185	[a]
**Karen [Burling]*	***ʔa[4]**	many, much	Luangthongkum 2013:185	
Bwe	ɔ[33]**ɛ[33]**	many, much	Luangthongkum 2013:185	
Kayah	**ʔa[33]**	many, much	Luangthongkum 2013:185	
Kayan	**ʔa[53]**	many, much	Luangthongkum 2013:185	
Pa-O (Northern)	**ʔa[31··]**	many, much	Luangthongkum 2013:185	
Pa-O (Southern)	**ʔa[31··]**	many, much	Luangthongkum 2013:185	
Pwo (Northern)	**ʔa[33]**	many, much	Luangthongkum 2013:185	
Pwo (Southern)	**ʔa[55]**	many, much	Luangthongkum 2013:185	
Sgaw (Northern)	**ʔa[33]**	many, much	Luangthongkum 2013:185	
Sgaw (Southern)	**ʔa[55]**	many, much	Luangthongkum 2013:185	

[a] [Source Note] Kayah has an irregular vowel, a instead of e. Bwe and Pwo have tone B while the rest has tone A.

(28) PTB *dwak NARROW

This etymology is due to Liberty Lidz.

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	a[33]**dak[53]**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.52
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	a-**tak**	crowded	Sun 1993b
	tak-čiŋ	narrow	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**tak** meː	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.24
	tak-meː	narrow (clothes, etc.)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**tak** mɛː	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.51
Galo	**tag** yaa	narrow (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻa **dak**	narrow (adj.)	GLDC 2009
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Daai	**ɗíːk**	narrow	So-Hartmann 1988:235
Matu	**tək**	narrow	So-Hartmann 1988:235
Wakung	ą̊ **ɗø**	narrow	So-Hartmann 1988:235
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Wancho	**tik**	narrow (adj.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**tok**	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tok**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.4
Tibetan (Balti)	**d̠oq** mo·	narrow	Rangan 1975:53
Tibetan (Lhasa)	kho[13] **thok[13]** po[55]	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.02
	thok[13]po[55]	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.02
Tibetan (Written)	**dog** pa	narrow (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	go **dogs** po	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**toχ** mo	cramped; narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.04; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.04
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**dɔ[35]**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.17
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**do do**	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.12
	gɛ **do**	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	kə **ʼtok**ˀ	narrow	Nagano & Prins 2013:1774

(29) PLB *ʔ-gyiŋ[2] NARROW / CONSTRICTED

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**chyin**	narrow (adj.)	Marrison 1967
3.2. QIANGIC			
Xumi	a[33]tshŋ[53]**tshi[55]**	cramped; narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.17; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.17
	ɑ[33]**tshẽ[33]tshẽ[55]**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.20
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	**tɕiŋ[53]**	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.20
	ɑŋ[31]puʔ[55]**tɕiŋ[53]**	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑŋ[31]pŭʔ[55]**tɕiŋ[55]**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɑŋ[31]pŭʔ[55]**tɕhɯŋ[53]**	narrow	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-gyiŋ[2]**	narrow / constricted	Matisoff 2003a:592
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕĩ[55]**	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.27
	tɕĩ[55]tɕɑʔ[4]	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**cìn**	narrow	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕĩ[55]**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.40
Burmese (Written)	**khyâñ**	make narrow	Matisoff 1974:186; Benedict 1976a
	kjɑn̂[3]	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.26
	kjɑn̂[3]	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.39
	kjɑn̂[3]kjɑp[4]	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.26
	kyâñ	narrow; narrow, close, crowded	Matisoff 1974:186; Benedict 1976a
	kyañ̃ː	narrow (adj.)	Marrison 1967
Intha	**cìn**	narrow	Okell 1971
Leqi (Luxi)	**tʃiːn[55]**tʃa̱p[55]	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.33
Tavoyan	**cìn**	narrow	Okell 1971
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**cɛ̄**	narrow	Matisoff 1974:186
Lahu (Yellow)	**dzɛ[3]**	narrow	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

(30) PTB *gyap NARROW / CROWDED

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gyap**	narrow / crowded	Matisoff 2003a:592
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Lotha Naga	ku **hrap**	narrow (adj.)	Marrison 1967
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *gyap[L] NARROW			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***gyap[L]**	narrow	Matisoff 2003a:592
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**tsɛ[31]**	narrow	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**tsəʔ[31]**	narrow	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**tʃɐʔ[55]**	cramped; narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	tɕĩ[55]**tɕɑʔ[4]**	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.27
Burmese (Written)	kjɑn̂[3]**kjɑp[4]**	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.26
	krap	make tight by binding; tight, hard bound, as earth; tight	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a
	kyap	tight, close; crowded; strict and severe; make tight by binding; tight, hard bound, as earth	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**tʃɐʔ[55]**	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tʃa̱ːp[55]**	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.33
	tʃiːn[55]**tʃa̱p[55]**	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.33
Maru [Langsu]	**tʃɐʔ[55]**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃa̱p[55]**	cramped; narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.30; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.30
	tʃa̱p[55]	tense; tight; taut; narrow	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1040.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.42
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**tsɛ[24]**	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.47
	tsɛ[24]tsɛ[24]za[31]ni[33]	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.47
Nusu (Southern)	**tɕɑ[55]**	narrow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**tʂɔ[33]**	cramped; narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.34; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.34

Nusu (Northern)	**tʂɔ̱^{31}**	narrow	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɑ^{31}**tɕɔ̱^{53}**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ɣɒ^{33}**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.22
Yi (Mojiang)	**tsɯ̱^{21}**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.26
Yi (Nanjian)	**tse^{13}**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tsᴇ^{13}**	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ɣv̩^{33}**	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.38
	ɣv̩^{33}n̥ɤ̱^{2}	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	a^{44}**tɕhɛ^{42}**	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.44
	a^{44}**tɕhɛ^{42}tɕhɛ^{42}**	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**tɕhɛ^{42}**	narrow	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	ɑ^{33}**tɕhɛ^{42}**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.34
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕo^{21}**	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.43
	tɕo^{21}ɛ^{31}ve^{33}	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.43
Lahu (Black)	**cò?**	narrow	Matisoff 1988a:481
	tso^{21}	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.33
Lisu (Northern)	**tshi^{33}**	narrow; thin, small (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tshi^{33}**	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tshi^{35}** læ^{21}hɔ^{33}	crowded	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tshi̱^{33}**	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tshi^{55}** læ^{21}hɔ^{33}	crowded (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**tsrghe^{2}**	narrow	Fraser 1922
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsɤ^{35}**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.30
Hani (Shuikui)	**tsɤ^{35}**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**tsɤ^{31}tsɤ^{35}**mɛ^{55}	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.42
	tsɤ^{35}	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.42
Mpi	ke^{3} (**tɕho^{5}**)	narrow	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	tɕho^{5}	narrow	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**tsɜ^{21}**	NARROW	Pelkey 2011:1047
Southern Muji	**tɕɛ^{55}**kə^{55}	narrow hoe	Pelkey 2011:488
Phola	**tsɛ^{33}**qɔ̱^{31}lɛ^{55}tɕ^{h}ɛ^{55}	narrow hoe	Pelkey 2011:488
	tsi^{31}	NARROW	Pelkey 2011:1047
Phuza	**tsə^{13}**	NARROW	Pelkey 2011:1047
6.2. NAXI			
Na (Yongning)	tʂ^{h}wɤ˧**ts^{h}i**˧˥	narrow	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**tse^{13}**	cramped / narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0979.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tshɯ^{31}**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.28
Naxi	**tshɿ^{21}**	narrow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0977.45
Naxi (Yongning)	tʂhuə^{33}**tshɿ^{13}**	narrow	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:816.29

Chinese comparandum

夾 OC ***kăp**, *GSR* #630a 'support (v.); press between; tweezers'; Schuessler 2007:300 (***krêp**); B & S 2011: ***C.kˤ‹r›ep**; Mand. **jiā**.
狹 OC ***g'ăp**, *GSR* #630e 'narrow'; Schuessler 2007:300 ***grêp**; B & S 2011: ***N-kˤ‹r›ep**; Mand. **xiá**.
梜 OC ***kɑp** ~ ***ki̯ɑp**, *GSR* #630f 'chopsticks'; Schuessler 2007:300 ***krêp**; B & S 2011: ***kˤ‹r›ep**; Mand. **jiā** ~ **jié**.
頰 OC ***kiɑp**, *GSR* #630h 'cheek, jowl'; Schuessler 2007:537 ***kêp**; Mand. **jiá**.
挾 OC ***g'iɑp**, *GSR* #630l 'grasp, hold, clasp under arm'; Schuessler 2007:300 ***krêp**; B & S 2011: ***m-kˤep**; Mand. **xié**.
協 OC ***g'iɑp**, *GSR* #639b 'in harmony, together; conform'; Schuessler 2007:537 ***gêp**; Mand. **xié**.
脅 OC ***χi̯ăp**, *GSR* #639e 'flank, side of body, ribs'; Schuessler 2007:300 (***khrêp**); B & S 2011: ***qʰ‹r›ep**; Mand. **xié**.

Comment: Regarding the above Chinese etyma, 夾 Mand. **jiā** and 梜 Mand. **jié, jiā** could in particular be treated as comparanda for PTB ***kap** FORK / BRANCH / CROTCH / GROIN (§1.4.9.1), q.v.

(31) PKC *waaŋ RARE / SCARCE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***waaŋ**	RARE / SCARCE	VanBik 2009:1165
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**vaang**	scarce	VanBik 2009:1165
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**váang**-I, vàan-II	scarce, scanty, rare, uncommon (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1165
	vaːng	scarce (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3082

(32) PKC *mal SOLITARY / FEW / LITTLE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***mal**	SOLITARY / FEW / LITTLE	VanBik 2009:791
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	a **mal**	solitary	VanBik 2009:791
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**mál**	few, little, less	VanBik 2009:791
Lushai [Mizo]	**măl**	single one, a drop, a grain (n.)	VanBik 2009:791
	mal	drop; grain; single one (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2672

(33) PTB * {k / l / ʔ} -wan SWIFT / STRONG / VIOLENT

This etymon bears a strong resemblance to PTB ***ʔan** STRENGTH (§1.1.5), and should probably be recognized as an allofamic version of it.

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Konyak	**wong** nang pa	strong	Marrison 1967
Phom	**vong** go pü	strong	Marrison 1967
	wɔŋ^{31}nɛ^{33}gɔʔ^{33}	weak (wɔŋ^{31}gɔʔ^{33} 'strong'; nɛ^{33} 'negative')	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	á **ləwān**	in haste	Matisoff 1974:257
	lə̀wān	hurry, be swift	Matisoff 1974:257
	ǹ-**gùn**	strength	Matisoff 1974:69
	ng **gun** ja	strong	Marrison 1967
	nìŋ-**gòn**⋉ǹ-**gòn**	all, whole, great, strong	Matisoff 1974:69
	n^{31}**kun^{31}**	strength (physical) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0675.19
	n^{31}**kun^{31}**	strength	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:513.47
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**kwanh kwanh**	well and strong person (onom.)	Caughley 2000
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	nɔŋ^{31} **gun^{31}**	physical strength	LaPolla 2003:738 [a]
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	â-**khwan**	strong	Matisoff 1974:69
	hwân	strong, violent; burst up; rise, burst up, be violent	Matisoff 1974:257; Benedict 1976a
	khwan-	strength	Benedict 1976a
	khwan-â	strength	Matisoff 1974:69
	ə-**hwân**-	rise, burst up, be violent	Benedict 1976a

[a] Rawang **nɔŋ^{31} gun^{31}** may be a borrowing from Jingpho.

Chinese comparandum

拳 OC ***g'i̯wɑn**, *GSR* #226g 'force, forceful; fist; strength'; B & S 2011: ***N-kron {N-kro [n] }**; Mand. **quán**.

(34) PTani *ɦiː WARM ONESELF NEAR FIRE

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ɦiː**	warm oneself near fire	Sun 1993a:453
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**hi**	warm oneself near fire	Sun 1993b
	hi-pi	dry oneself near fire	Sun 1993b
Bengni	doː-ñi **hi**	bask in the sunshine	Sun 1993b
	hi	warm oneself near fire	Sun 1993a
	ɯ-mɯː **hi**	warm oneself beside a fire	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**jiː**	warm oneself near fire	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	jiː	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.24
	ə-mə **jiː**	dry oneself near fire	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**jiː**	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.51
Galo	**ii** nam	warm (oneself) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**i**-pam	warm oneself near fire	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-mə **jiː**	warm onself near fire	Sun 1993b

(35) PTB *s-l {u / i} m WARM

A simplex-causative pair is involved here. Reflexes with voiceless laterals are to be assigned to the causative allofam with the ***s-** prefix, as are undoubtedly a number of other forms (e.g. in Loloish) recognizable by their special tones.

The allofam with medial **-i-** is confined to Bodo-Garo, Nungish, and Northern Naga.

Various scattered languages (Darang, Yidu, Sak, Mpi) have final **-ŋ** instead of **-m**.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***ljum**	warm	Coblin 1986:158
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***lum**	warm (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:209
	***lum**	warm	LaPolla 1987:143; Benedict 1972:381
	***s-lum ⋉ lim**	warm / make warm	Matisoff 2003a:600
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	a-**lam**-ɲi	warm	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**lɯŋ^{31}**ŋu^{55}	warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.22; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:885.49
	lɯŋ^{31}ŋɑ^{55}gie^{53}	lukewarm (water)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1064.22
	xɑ^{31}**lɑuŋ^{35}**	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.49
Idu	a^{55}**lɯŋ^{55}**	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.50
	loŋ^{35}	warm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:885.50
	ɑ^{55}**lɯŋ^{55}**	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.50
Yidu	**loŋ^{35}**	warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.25
	ɑ^{55}**lɯŋ^{55}**	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.25
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***lum ⋉ *hlum** WARM / HOT			
**Chin*	***lum** ⋉ hlum	WARM / HOT	VanBik 2009:1065
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**lum** sa	hot	VanBik 2009:1065
Sizang	**lum** hī	warm (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1065
Thado	**lúm**-I, lùm-II	warm (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1065
Tiddim	**lum^{2}**	warm	VanBik 2009:1065
	lum^{2}	warm (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1021
	lum^{2}	warm	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**hlŭm**-I, hlùm-II	warm, hot	VanBik 2009:1065
Lai (Hakha)	**lûm**-I, lŭm-II	warm, hot	VanBik 2009:1065
Lushai [Mizo]	**lúm**	warm (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:209
	lúm	warm or hot, to be comfortable, to be in comfortable circumstances (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1065
	lum	warm (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2659
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**la**-lò	hot, warm	VanBik 2009:1065
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***l [a/ə] m** WARM			
**Central Naga*	***l [a/ə] m**	WARM (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.151
**Ao*	*a-**ləm**	WARM (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.365
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}-**ləm^{2}**	warm (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.365
	ləm^{2}ji^{3}wa^{1}	summer, hot season (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **lam** yim	summer	Marrison 1967
	ta **lam**	hot	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **ləm**	warm (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**ləm**-jìm	summer, monsoon season ('be warm' + 'season')	Coupe 2007

Lotha Naga	**ləm**[1]-	be warm, make warm (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.151
	e **lam** a	hot	Marrison 1967
	é **lə̄m** >	hot	Acharya 1975
	lə̄m à	boil (water)	Acharya 1975
Yacham-Tengsa	**lamme**	hot	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *lum WARM

**Tangkhulic*	***lum**	warm	Mortensen 2012:456
Huishu	$k^hə$-**lɐm**	warm	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.191
Kachai	$k^hə$-**lum**	warm	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.166
Tusom	$k^hə$-**lũ**	warm	Mortensen 2012
Ukhrul	$k^hə$-**lum**	warm	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**lum**-doŋ	fever	Benedict 1972:381
	ləm zá	fever, have (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**lim ≍ lum**	hot, have fever (vs.)	Benedict 1972:381
	lim~**lum**	hot, have fever	LaPolla 1987:143
Kokborok	**lum**	have fever	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa	[3]**lim**	warm (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:209
Tangsa (Yogli)	hrang **lim**	hot	Marrison 1967
	hraŋ **lim**	hot, warm	French 1983:505
	lim	hot, warm	French 1983:505

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**làm**-á-(bʉ̀)	warm (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:209
Khiamngan	^{12}a^{21}**lam**	warm (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:209

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**lum**	hot; warm	Marrison 1967; LaPolla 1987:143; Benedict 1972:381
	lum^{33}	warm; lukewarm (water)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1064.19,1065.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:885.47
	n^{31}**lum**^{33}ta̲^{33}	spring	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:70.47
	n^{31}**lum**^{55}ta̲^{33}	summer (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0792.19
	n̥^{31}**lum**^{33}ta̲^{33}	spring (season)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	n **lum** ta	summer	Marrison 1967
	phun^{31}**lum**^{33}	water (boiled) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0453.19
	[2]**lum**	warm (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:209
	ʃă^{31}**lum**^{33}	heat up (cold rice) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1587.19

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak	**lɨŋ**	warm	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:272

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**lyam**	warm up food (v.)	Benedict 1972:381 [a]
	lyam	warm up food	Benedict 1972:75n231

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	mɛ^{33}**rɛ**^{55}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.18
	rɛ^{55}	dry (clothes) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.18
Muya	khə^{55}**rø**^{53}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.15
Muya [Minyak]	mɯ^{53}ŋkhɯ^{35}**rø**^{35}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.15
Namuyi	mi^{55}**ɣɛ**^{35}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.19
	ɣɛ^{35}	dry (clothes) near fire; dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.19
	ɣæ^{35}	dry by fire; warm oneself by (a fire); dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1374.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	(ma^{35}) **ɬə̃**^{55}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.10
Pumi (Lanping)	mɐ^{13}**lɛ̃**^{55}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	mɐ^{13}**lɛ̃**^{55}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.11
Pumi (Taoba)	ma^{35}**liã**^{55}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.10
Qiang (Longxi)	(mù) **lé**	warm self by fire	Evans 1999:2108
	lé	warm	Evans 1999:1518
Qiang (Mawo)	mu **liu**	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.08
	mə **li**	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.8
Queyu (Xinlong)	kɯ^{55}**rlɛ**^{13}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{35}**lõ**^{55}	dry (clothes) near fire; warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.16; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.16

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**lim**	warm	LaPolla 1987:143; Benedict 1972:381
Nung	**lim**^{31}	warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.21
Anong	**lim**^{31}**ɛ**^{55}	warm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:885.44
Rawang	**lɯm**^{31} wɛ^{33}	warm	LaPolla 2003:1093
Nung	**ɬim**^{55}**ʂl**^{31}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.21
Anong	**ɬim**^{55}**ʂl**^{31}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.44
Dulong	**lɯm**^{53}	warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.20
	lɯm^{55}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.20
Trung [Dulong]	**lŭm**^{53}	warm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:885.46
	tɯ^{31}mi^{55}**lɯm**^{53}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**lɯm**^{53}	warm	LaPolla 1987:143
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**lŭm**^{53}	warm	LaPolla 1987:143
	lŭm^{53}	warm	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**lum**^{55}	warm; lukewarm (water)	LaPolla 1987:143; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1064.28,1065.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:885.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**lum**^{55}	lukewarm (water); warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1064.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.29
Bola (Luxi)	**lam**^{55}	lukewarm (water); warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1064.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.32
Burmese (Written)	**hlum**	warm self by fire	Weidert 1987:336
	hlúm	warm over / heat again (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:336
	hluṁ	warm one's self	Benedict 1976a
	hlúm	heat again, warm over	Benedict 1972:381
	hlum	warm oneself by a fire	Benedict 1972:381
	hluṁ	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.39
	hluṁ[2]	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.26
	hluṁ'	heat again, warm over	Benedict 1976a
	lum	warm (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:209
	lum	warm	Weidert 1987:336; Hansson 1989:401
	luṁ	warm	Benedict 1976a
	lum	warm	LaPolla 1987:143; Benedict 1972:381
	məlum	simmer, heat	Benedict 1972:381
	śəlum	heat, warm, as food	Benedict 1972:381
Maru [Langsu]	**làm**	warm (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:209
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lûm**	warm (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:209

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***lum**[1]	warm (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:209
	***lum**[1]	warm	Bradley 1979b:516; Hansson 1989:401

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**la**^{35}	dry (clothes) in the air (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.47
	lɛ^{35}	dry in sun; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.47
Lalo	**lý**	warm;reheat cold food	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	**lɔ**^{33}	warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.34
Nusu (Northern)	**lɔ**^{31}	warm	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**lɔ**^{35}**m̥ɯ**^{53}	warm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:885.45
Nusu (Southern)	**lɑ**^{55}	warm	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**l̥ɔ**^{31}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɬɔ**^{31}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ɬɔ**^{35}	dry; bask in the sun; warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɬɑ**^{31}	dry; bask in the sun; warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986; SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ɬɑ**^{53}	dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.45
Yi (Dafang)	kɔ^{33}; **ɬi**^{13}	dry(clothes)nr fire;dry(kang)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:631.22
	ɬi^{13}	dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ɬi**^{55}	dry out; sun dry	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**lo**^{33}**mɯ**^{55}	warm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:885.24
	lu^{33}**mə**^{21}	warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ly**^{55}	warm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:885.23
Yi (Weishan)	xɑ^{55}ly^{55}mu^{21}	warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.36
Yi (Wuding)	**lɤ**^{11}**mɤ**^{33}	warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.38
	ɬɤ^{33}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.38
	ɬɤ̲^{55}	dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.38
Yi (Xide)	**ɬi**^{55}	dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.35; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Youle)	**ɬo**^{42}**khə**^{42}	warm	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ɬø^{55}	dry (things) in the sun	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ɬœ**^{55}	dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.44
Kucong	**lv55**	dry in the sun; bask	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**lɛ̌**	warm (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:209
Lahu (Lancang)	**lɛ**^{31}**xɤ**^{11}	warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.43
Lahu (Black)	**lɛ**^{31}	warm (oneself) near fire; dry in the sun; warm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.33; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.33; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:885.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**lɛ**^{2}	warm; warm (oneself) near fire; dry (clothes) near fire	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**le**^{33}	warm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:885.27
	le^{33}**mi**^{31}	warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.40
Lisu (Central)	**lɛ̃**^{4}	warm, be (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**le**^{55}	dry (clothes) in the air; dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1498.40; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.40
	le^{55}	dry in the sun	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:749.27
Lisu (Northern)	**lø**^{44}	warm (V.)	Bradley 1994
	lø^{44}**mø**^{21}	warm	Bradley 1994
	lø^{44}**mø**^{21}**mø**^{21}	very warm	Bradley 1994
	lø^{55}	dry under the sun (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**ɬɤ**^{55}	dry (clothes) in the sun (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1604.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **lḿ**	warm	Hansson 1989:401
Akha	**lḿ**	warm (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:209
Akha (Thai)	**lḿ**	warm	Hansson 1989:401
Akha	**lḿ**	warm	Hansson 1989:401
Bisu	ʔaŋ **lúm**	warm	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**hlɔ́**	warm	Hansson 1989:401
Hani (Dazhai)	**lɔ**^{55}	warm (oneself) near fire	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.31
	tɕu̲^{31}**lɔ**^{55}dza^{33}	warm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:885.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**lɔ**^{55}	warm oneself by (a fire) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1474.41
	lɔ^{55}**du**^{33}**ne**^{33}	warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**le**^{55}	warm (oneself) near fire; warm	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:632.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:885.30
Hani (Pijo)	**lú**	warm	Hansson 1989:401
Hani (Gelanghe)	**lm̩**^{55}	warm; warm (oneself) near fire	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Mojiang)	**l̥u**^{55}**tshɛ**^{33}**ti**^{33}	warm	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.42
Mpi	**liŋ**^{3}	warm (food) (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	liŋ^{5}	warm	Hansson 1989:401
	liŋ^{5}	warm, be / warm (v.)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

[a] The Lepcha palatal semi-vowel arose because of the *s- causative prefix, see Benedict (1941).

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ly**˧	warm	Michaud 2006–2009:2137
Na (Yongning)	**ɬi**˥˩	dry in the sun (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬv˩˧	warm up (food) (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɬv˩˧	warm	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lv^{31}fv^{55}**	warm	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:885.28
Naxi	**lv̩^{21}**	lukewarm (water)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1064.45
	lv̩^{21}fv̩^{55}	warm	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.45

7. Karenic: ***lam^{A}*** WARM

**Karen*	***lam^{A}**	warm	Luangthongkum 2013:320 [a]
**Karen [Burling]*	***ləm^{3}**	warm	Luangthongkum 2013:320
Bwe	**lɛ^{33}**	warm	Luangthongkum 2013:320
Karen	**lø^{33}**	warm	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1065.50
Kayah	**le^{11}**	warm	Luangthongkum 2013:320
Kayan	**la^{33}**	warm	Luangthongkum 2013:320
Kayaw	**la^{33}**	warm	Luangthongkum 2013:320
Pa-O (Southern)	**lam^{53}**	warm	Luangthongkum 2013:320
Pa-O	**lōm**	warm	Solnit 1989
	lom	warm	Benedict 1972:142n384
Pwo (Northern)	**la^{55}**	warm	Luangthongkum 2013:320
Pwo (Southern)	**lə$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	warm	Luangthongkum 2013:320
Sgaw (Northern)	kə^{11}**lə^{33}**	warm	Luangthongkum 2013:320
Sgaw (Southern)	**lə^{33}**	warm	Luangthongkum 2013:320

[a] [Source Note] It is not certain that the *-a or *-aN rhyme should be reconstructed. S.Pa-O, Sgaw and S.Pwo suggest *-aN while the rest indicates *-a.

Chinese comparandum

尋 OC ***dzi̱əm**, *GSR* #662a ‘warm up (food)’; Coblin 86:158 ST ***ljum** > OC ***rjəm**; Schuessler 2007:539 ***s-ləm**; B & S 2011: ***sə-ləm {sə-l [ə] m}** (< **-um**?); Mand. **xún**.
融 OC ***d’i̱ông**, *GSR* #1009d ‘hot air, steam, heat’; Schuessler 2007:443 ***luŋ**; B & S 2011: ***luŋ** (? < ***lum**); Mand. **róng**.

(36) PTani *tak WIDE

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***tak**	wide	Sun 1993a:460

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**taʔ**(-ro)	wide	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	taʔ-nɯ	broad	Sun 1993b
	taʔ-ro	broad	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**tak**-tɯː	wide	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**tak** tə	wide / broad (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0976.24
	tak-tə	wide; broad	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**tak** tə	wide	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:815.51
Galo	a **tak**	breadth (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘tak tə	broad (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**tak**-te	wide	Simon 1976
Nishing	**tak**-té	broad / wide	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**tak** tɤ-nɤ	broad	Das Gupta 1983
	ta tɤ-nɤ	wide	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**tak**	wide	Sun 1993a
Milang	a **tak**	broad	Tayeng 1976

(37) PKC *kaaw WIDE / OPEN

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***kaaw**	WIDE / OPEN	VanBik 2009:324

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**kàaw**-INV	wide (be v.)	VanBik 2009:324

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**kaáw**	wide, broad, large (field, river, hill)	VanBik 2009:324

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**kăaw**-I, kawʔ-II	wide (as spacious), open (as a lid) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:324
Lushai [Mizo]	**káu**	open or be open (as armpit, legs, etc.) (v.)	VanBik 2009:324

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**kàw**	wide, broad	VanBik 2009:324

7.1.3 Human qualities and appearance

(1) PTani *kaŋ-pro BEAUTIFUL / GOOD-LOOKING

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***kaŋ-pro**	beautiful / good-looking	Sun 1993a:23

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	(a-ja) **ka-prjo**-nɯ	beautiful	Sun 1993b
	ka-prjo	beautiful / good-looking	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**kaː-puː**	beautiful; good-looking; pretty, good-looking	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-jaŋ **koŋ-poŋ**	good-looking	Sun 1993b
	koŋ po	beautiful; pleasant to the eyes; good-looking; beautiful, pretty (women)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1093.24; Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Tagin	**kapu**	beautiful	Das Gupta 1983
	kapu-rɤ moku	beautiful place	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**kam-po** < kaŋ-po	beautiful / good-looking	Sun 1993a

(2) PTB *mway BEAUTIFUL / PERFECTLY / WELL

The present analysis combines two roots set up separately in *STC*: ***may** #300 ‘good, well’ and ***moy** #304 ‘beautiful’.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***may**	good / well	Benedict 1972:300
	***maːy**	good; well	Matisoff 1985a:065; Matisoff 2003a:601
	***moy**	beautiful; perfectly	Chou Fa-kao 1972:568a-c; Matisoff 1985a:081; Matisoff 2003a:602; Benedict 1972:304

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***mooy** BEAUTIFUL / APPROPRIATE

**Chin*	***mooy**	BEAUTIFUL / APPROPRIATE	VanBik 2009:751

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**moi^{2}**	young and tender (”who are considered beautiful”)	VanBik 2009:751

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**mŏoy**-I, mòoy-II	beautiful, pretty	VanBik 2009:751
Laizo	**móoy**	beautiful	Matisoff 1985a:081
	mŏoy	beautiful	Matisoff 1985a:081
Lushai [Mizo]	**maih**	in good condition; plump, well-favored (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:065
	mawi	beautiful; good	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	máwi	beautiful, pretty, lovely, nice, approriate, proper	VanBik 2009:751
	moi	pretty, beautiful	Benedict 1972:304

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**me**	good; good, well	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:065; Benedict 1972:300
	me sen	beautiful; well (adv)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**-may**	V properly	Matisoff 1985a:065
	ray-**may**	speak properly	Matisoff 1985a:065
	raysu **məy**	beautiful	Bhat 1968
	so-**may**	beautiful (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:065
	so **may**	match; beautiful (v.)	Bhat 1968
	so **may** na	beautiful	Bhat 1968
	za-**may**	eat properly	Matisoff 1985a:065

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***maːy**	good	Matisoff 1985a:065; French 1983:496

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	chügla-**mai** bü	beautiful	Marrison 1967
	mai-bu	good	Matisoff 1985a:065
	mai bü	good	Marrison 1967
Konyak	a **mei**	ugly	Marrison 1967
	mei-pu	good	Matisoff 1985a:065
	mei ang	bad	Marrison 1967
	mei pu	good	Marrison 1967
	shi **mei** pu	beautiful	Marrison 1967
	yi **mei**	bad	Marrison 1967
Phom	**mei**-pə	good	Matisoff 1985a:065
	mei pü	good	Marrison 1967
	mʌy^{55}	good	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ne **mei** pü	bad	Marrison 1967
	nɛ^{33}**mʌy^{55}**	bad	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	the **mei** shipü	beautiful	Marrison 1967
	ŋʌ^{31}**mʌy^{55}**	smell good (’breathe’ + ’good’)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ʃam^{55}**mʌy^{55}**	rich / wealthy (’house’ + ’good’)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**mai**	good	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:065

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**mai**	good	Marrison 1967
	māi	god, pleasing	Matisoff 1985a:065
	mai	good, well	Benedict 1972:300
	mai^{33}	well-behaved / lovable (child)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1114.19
	moi	perfectly, beautifully	Benedict 1972:304
	šə **māi**	cure, heal	Matisoff 1985a:065

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**mí**	good (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:344

4. Nungic

Anong	**mɛ**	good, well	Matisoff 1985a:065; Benedict 1972:300

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Nanjian)	**me^{21}**	beautiful; good	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:847.23; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:860.23
Yi (Weishan)	**mɛ^{21}**	good; beautiful	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.36; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.36

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **mỳ**	good	Hansson 1989:318
Akha (Thai)	**mỳ**	good	Hansson 1989:318
Akha	**mỳ**	good; good, beautiful	Hansson 1989:381; Matisoff 1985a:065
Hani (Lüchun)	**mỳ**	good	Hansson 1989:318
Hani (Dazhai)	**mɯ^{31}**	good	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:860.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**mɯ^{31}**	good	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**mɯ^{31}**	good	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**meeq**	good	Hansson 1989:318
Hani (Shuikui)	**mɯ^{31}**	good	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:860.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**mɯ^{31}**	good	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.42
Mpi	**mɯ^{1}**	good	Hansson 1989:381; Matisoff 1985a:065; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Sila	ma21 **mɯ21**	bad	Kato Takashi 2008:259
	mɯ21	good	Kato Takashi 2008:258

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**mi̱ər/myi**	beautiful	Chou Fa-kao 1972:568a-c
Chinese (Old)	**mi̱ər**	beautiful	Matisoff 1985a:081

Chinese comparandum

美 OC ***mi̱ər**, *GSR* #568a-c ‘beautiful’; B & S 2011: ***mrəjʔ {[m] rəjʔ}**; Mand. **měi**.

(3) PL *pwəy^{1} GRAY / PALE

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***pwəy^{1}**	gray / pale	Matisoff 2003a:608

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***pe^{1}**	grey	Bradley 1979b:509

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**phé**	grey	Björverud 1994
Yi (Nanhua)	**phə^{33}**	grey	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1011.37
Yi (Wuding)	**phɔ^{11}**	grey	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1011.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	a^{33}**phɯ^{44}**	grey	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1011.44
Lahu (Lancang)	**phɯ^{33}**	grey	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1011.43

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Lüchun)	**phɯ**^{55}	grey	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1011.41
Hani (Mojiang)	**phɯ**^{55}	grey	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1011.42

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**p^{h}a**^{21}	grey	Pelkey 2011:934
Southern Muji	**p^{h}ji**^{33}	grey	Pelkey 2011:934
Phola	**p^{h}i**^{55}	grey	Pelkey 2011:934

7.1.4 Sensations

(1) PKC *thak-I, *tha?-II ACRID / PUNGENT / SPICY

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***thak**-I, tha?-II	ACRID / PUNGENT / SPICY	VanBik 2009:370

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**thak**	acrid	VanBik 2009:370
Thado	**thà?**-INV	spicy hot	VanBik 2009:370
Tiddim	**thak**^{3} > tha?^{3}	pungent	VanBik 2009:370

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thak**-I, tha?-II	acrid, spicy (hot) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:370
Lai (Falam)	**thàk**-INV	acrid, spicy (hot) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:370
Lushai [Mizo]	**thàk**	pungent, hot, peppery (to the taste) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:370

(2) PKC *phak ASTRINGENT (taste)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***phak**	ASTRINGENT (tase)	VanBik 2009:327

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**phà?**-INV	astringent taste	VanBik 2009:327
Tiddim	**phak**^{3}	astringent taste	VanBik 2009:327

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**phak**	astringent, as taste in the mouth (be v.)	VanBik 2009:327

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**phak**-I pha?-II	astringent (taste)	VanBik 2009:327

(3) PKar *kja?^{D} ASTRINGENT

7. Karenic

**Karen [Burling]*	***khi?**^{1}	astringent	Luangthongkum 2013:7
**Karen*	***kja?**^{D}	astringent	Luangthongkum 2013:7
Kayah	**khja**^{55}	astringent	Luangthongkum 2013:7
Kayan	**khi?**^{45}	astringent	Luangthongkum 2013:7
Pa-O (Northern)	**khja?**^{21}	astringent	Luangthongkum 2013:7
Pwo (Northern)	**kai?**^{45}	astringent	Luangthongkum 2013:7
Pwo (Southern)	**kai?**^{31}	astringent	Luangthongkum 2013:7
Sgaw (Southern)	**kai?**^{21}	astringent	Luangthongkum 2013:7
Sgaw (Northern)	**ki?**^{45}	astringent	Luangthongkum 2013:7

(4) PTB *gu:l BULGE / BEND

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gu:l**	bulge / bend	Matisoff 2003a:592

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***kuun** BEND / DROOP / STOOP, ***kuul** HUNCHBACKED

**Chin*	***kuul**	HUNCHBACKED	VanBik 2009:293
	***kuun**	BEND / DROOP / STOOP	VanBik 2009:257

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**kun**	stoop	VanBik 2009:257
Sizang	**kawn** sak hī	bewitch	VanBik 2009:257
Thado	**kûun-I**, **kùun-II**	bend, droop, depressed	VanBik 2009:257
Tiddim	**kul**^{2} > **kul?**^{3}	hunchbacked	VanBik 2009:293
	ku:n^{1}	bow	VanBik 2009:257
	ku:n^{1}	bow (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:702
	ku:n^{1}	bow	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊku:n/ˆku:n	bow (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**kun˝**	stoop	VanBik 2009:257
	k'u˝:i	bend	VanBik 2009:293
Cho (Mindat)	**kun**	bent (be v.)	VanBik 2009:257
Khumi	déwng **kuung**	roughly triangular shaped bent piece of bamboo which serves as the frame for a dewng trap; this is attached to a tree or pole with bamboo twine	VanBik 2009:257
	niethókahíwng **'akaawh**	hunchbacked	VanBik 2009:293

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**kûul-I**, **kŭul-II**	hunchbacked (be v.)	VanBik 2009:293
Lai (Falam)	**kúun**-INV	bend, stoop	VanBik 2009:257
Lai (Hakha)	**kûun-I**, kŭun-II	bend, stoop (v.)	VanBik 2009:257
Lushai [Mizo]	**ku:n**	bend forward (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2608
	kŭun	stoop, to lean or bend forward, to bend down, to bow down (v.)	VanBik 2009:257

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**kó**	bend (n.)	VanBik 2009:257
	pà-**kó**	bend as the legs or arms (v.)	VanBik 2009:257

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**kûn**	rise, bulge, stoop	Benedict 1976a
	kun^{4}	hunchback; to stoop	Luce 1985:W.127

(5) PTB * $\begin{smallmatrix}\text{s}\\ \text{ʔ}\end{smallmatrix}$ -n(w)ay COHESIVE / STICKY / ELASTIC

A glottal stop prefix is exceptionally reconstructed for this root at the PTB level, because of the pre-glottalized nasals in the Jingpho forms. (To reconstruct the *__s-__ prefix here would be anomalous, since that prefix regularly gives Jingpho **šə-** ~ **džə-**.)

This etymon definitely seems related to PTB ***m/s-na:y** TWIST / KNEAD / SOFTEN (§6.7.6).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s/ʔ-n(w)ay**	cohesive / elastic	Matisoff 2003a:605
	***ʔ/s-nay** ≍ **ʔ/s-nway**	cohesive / sticky / elastic	Matisoff 1985a:097

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**hnei**	have cohesion	Matisoff 1985a:097

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	khə mə **nuy**	sticky	Matisoff 1985a:097
	nuy	sticky	Bhat 1969:98

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**ne**	heart / brains / mind	Matisoff 1978b

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	ə **nāi**	brain	Matisoff 1993 [a]
	ʔnāi	sticky, adhesive, pliable; elastic	Matisoff 1985a:097
	ʔnāi-ʔnāi	sticky and thus soft; flabby	Matisoff 1985a:097
	ʔnōi	limp, soft, tender, pliable, elastic	Matisoff 1985a:097

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-nay**^{2}/^{3} COHESIVE / STICKY / ELASTIC

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-nay**^{2}/^{3}	cohesive / sticky / elastic	Matisoff 1985a:097

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***nay**^{2}	cohesive / sticky / elastic	Matisoff 1985a:097

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**nê**	have consistency; be cohesive, viscous, chewy	Matisoff 1985a:097

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**nè**	tough, chewy	Matisoff 1985a:097

[a] Used only in the elaborate expression **ənúʔ-enāi**. Perhaps related to Jingpho **ʔnāi** 'sticky; adhesive; pliable; elastic', since the brain is sometimes perceived as a sticky object.

(6) PKC *p $\begin{smallmatrix}\text{i}\\ \text{e}\end{smallmatrix}$ m DEFLATED / DENTED

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***pim** ≍ pem	DEFLATED / DENTED	VanBik 2009:138

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**pim**	deflated	VanBik 2009:138

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**pèm**-I, pĕm-II	deflated, be dented (be v.)	VanBik 2009:138
Lushai [Mizo]	**pém**	have any kind of lesion where the skin is broken (v.)	VanBik 2009:138

(7) PKar *ʔwi^{B} DELICIOUS

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***ʔwi**^{B}	delicious	Luangthongkum 2013:81
Kayah	**wi**^{11}	delicious	Luangthongkum 2013:81
Kayan	**ʔwi**^{11}	delicious	Luangthongkum 2013:81
Kayaw	**wi**^{11}	delicious	Luangthongkum 2013:81
Pa-O (Southern)	**ʔwi**^{33}	delicious	Luangthongkum 2013:81
Pa-O (Northern)	**ʔwi**^{55}	delicious	Luangthongkum 2013:81
Pwo (Northern)	**ʔwi**^{33}	delicious	Luangthongkum 2013:81
Pwo (Southern)	**ʔwi**^{55}	delicious	Luangthongkum 2013:81
Sgaw (Northern)	**kwi**^{21}	delicious	Luangthongkum 2013:81

(8) PLB *krəy^{1} DELICIOUS / TASTY / SWEET

6.1.1. Burmish

Marma	**khri**	tasty / delicious	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:92

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **khý**	tasty	Hansson 1989:297
Akha	**khý**	tasty	Hansson 1989:297
Akha (Thai)	**khý**	tasty	Hansson 1989:297
Hani (Lüchun)	**khý**	tasty	Hansson 1989:297
	dza^{31}**khɯ**^{55}	tasty / delicious	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1091.41
Hani (Wordlist)	**keel**	tasty	Hansson 1989:297

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Southern Muji	ŋ̩i^{55}**kɯ**^{21}	sweet potato	Pelkey 2011:181

(9) PKC *ɗe(e)p DENTED

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ɗe(e)p**	DENTED	VanBik 2009:74

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**dep**^{3} > de?^{3}	dented	VanBik 2009:74

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**deep**-INV	dented	VanBik 2009:74

(10) PTani *dɯ $\begin{smallmatrix}\text{ŋ}\\ \text{k}\end{smallmatrix}$ FIRM / SOLID / HARD

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***dɯŋ**	firm	Sun 1993a:150

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	a-**dɯŋ**	firm; sturdy, firm; hard	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-**dɯŋ**	firm; firm, solid	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	i **dɯk**	hard	Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	gɯ **lɯk**	hard	Das Gupta 1983
	oryiok gi **lɯk**-do	Iron is hard	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	ə-**dɯŋ**	firm	Sun 1993a

(11) PCC *hŋet-I, *hŋeʔ-II FIRM / STABLE

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***hŋet**-I, hŋeʔ-II	FIRM / STABLE	VanBik 2009:913
Lai (Hakha)	**hŋet**-I, hŋeʔ-II	firm (as post), stable (be v.)	VanBik 2009:913
Lushai [Mizo]	**hngèt**-I, hngèh-II	firm, established, stable, immovable (be v.)	VanBik 2009:913

Chinese comparandum

藝 OC ***ŋgi̯ɑd**, *GSR* #330f 'sow, plant, cultivate; method; rule; art, skill, talent'; Schuessler 2007:570-1 ***ŋets**; B & S 2011: ***ŋet-s**; Mand. **yì**.
勢 OC ***śi̯ɑd**, *GSR* #330l 'force; circumstances, conditions'; Schuessler 2007:570-1 ***nhets** < **ŋhets**; B & S 2011: ***ŋ̊et-s**; Mand. **shì**.
設 OC ***śi̯ɑt**, *GSR* #290a 'establish, put/set up'; Schuessler 2007:570-1 ***nhet** < **ŋhet**; B & S 2011: ***ŋ̊et**; Mand. **shè**.

Comment: Schuessler (2007:570-1) mentions the WT form **nges-pa** 'certain, true, firm' as cognate.

(12) PKC *θek FIRM / STRONG

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***θek**	FIRM / STRONG	VanBik 2009:617
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**htek**	firm, to be tightly secured, fastened (be v.)	VanBik 2009:617
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**fek**-I, feʔ-II	firm, be strong (be v.)	VanBik 2009:617
Lai (Falam)	**fèk**-I, fèʔ-II	firm, be strong (be v.)	VanBik 2009:617

(13) PKC *θaak HARD / INTENSE / STRONG

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***θaak**	HARD / INTENSE / STRONG	VanBik 2009:620
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**taak**	hard	VanBik 2009:620
Thado	**tsáʔ**-I, tsàʔ-II	hard, solid	VanBik 2009:620
Tiddim	**ta:k**[2]	old and hard (opposite of being tender)	VanBik 2009:620
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**faak**-I, faʔ-II	hard, strong, intense	VanBik 2009:620

(14) PTB *s-na:ŋ HEAVY / THICK (of liquids) / VISCOUS

Several Loloish forms (e.g. Lahu Lancang **nɛ**[54] 'thick (porridge)', Black Lahu **nê ~ né** 'chewy, elastic, viscous', Lisu **e**[44]**nɯ**[35] 'turbid / muddy', Lisu **e**[55]**n̥a**[33]**kha**[35] 'thick (porridge)') might be reflexes of this root, although the vowel correspondences seem quite irregular.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-na:ŋ**	heavy / thick (of liquids) / viscous	Matisoff 2003a:604
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hna:ŋ**	thick, viscous (of fluids)	Matisoff 2003a:304
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**n̥ə**[31]	thick (porridge); thick	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1030.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:844.41
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ńi̱ɑng/ńźi̱ɑng**	heavy with dew	Karlgren 1957:730f
	ńi̱ɑŋ/ńźi̱ɑŋ	heavy (with dew); rich growth (of grain)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:730f; CHOU Fa-kao 1972:730h
	nuŋ~ńi̱uŋ/nuŋ~ńźi̱uŋ	thick / rich (sc. dew)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1005i

Chinese comparandum

濃 OC ***ńi̱ɑng**, *GSR* #730f 'heavy with dew'; Coblin 86:62 ST ***(C)njang** > OC ***njang**; Mand. **ráng**.
穠 OC ***ńi̱ɑng**, *GSR* #730h 'rich growth (of grain), abundant'; Mand. **ráng**.
濃 OC ***ni̱ung ~ nung**, *GSR* #1005i 'thick, rich (e.g. of dew)'; Schuessler 2007:404 ***nroŋ** ~ **nôŋ**; B & S 2011: (***nˤuŋ**); Mand. **nóng**.
醲 OC ***ni̱ung** ~ **nung**, *GSR* #1005j 'thick, strong (e.g. of drink)'; Schuessler 2007:404 ***nroŋ** ~ **nôŋ**; B & S 2011: (***nˤuŋ**); Mand. **nóng**.

(15) PTani * $\begin{matrix}\text{t}\\\text{d}\end{matrix}$ɯk HOT (spicy)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***tɯk~ dɯk**	hot (spicy)	Sun 1993a:209
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	ɯ-**dɯ**	hot (spicy)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**dɯʔ**	hot (spicy)	Sun 1993a
	ɯ-**dɯʔ**-(nɯ)	hot	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**tɯk**	hot (spicy)	Sun 1993b
	ñam-**tɯk**	hot pepper	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**tɯk**	hot (spicy)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	a **tɯk**	hot / spicy	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1075.24
	a **tɯk**	peppery (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1489.24
	a-**tɯk**	hot (spicy)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **tɯk**	hot (spicy)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:890.51
Miri, Hill	ɯ **dɯk**	hot [flavour]	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**dik**	hot (spicy)	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. DENG			
Yidu	**tɯ**[55]	hot	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1062.25

(16) PTB *syay NOISY / AGITATED

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***syay**	noisy / agitated	Matisoff 2003a:613
	***ʃay**	noisy / agitated	Matisoff 1985a:115
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**sèy**	moving, shaking, not still, noisy	Matisoff 1985a:115
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	gə **šái**	confuse	Matisoff 1985a:115
	gə **šài**	known widely (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:115
	šài	noisy	Matisoff 1985a:115
	ə **šài**	excited, stirred up	Matisoff 1985a:115
	ʔə **šài**	excited, stirred up	Matisoff 1974:218
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**sâi**	noisy	Matisoff 1985a:115

(17) PKC *klor OILY / GREASY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***klor**	OILY / GREASY	VanBik 2009:1268
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**tawk**	greasy	VanBik 2009:1268
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tlôr**-I, tlǒr-II	oily, greasy	VanBik 2009:1268
Lai (Falam)	**tlǒr**-I, tlòr-II	oily, greasy	VanBik 2009:1268
Lushai [Mizo]	**tláwr**	oily, greasy	VanBik 2009:1268
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**tlào**	greasy, to be glossy, to be sleek (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1268

(18) PCC *tler RANCID (smell)

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***tler**	RANCID (smell)	VanBik 2009:1269
Lai (Hakha)	**tlèr**-I, tlěr-II	smell rancid (as when heating oil)	VanBik 2009:1269
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlěr**	rancid, to smell rancid (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1269

(19) PLB *hoŋ[1] RANCID / DECAYED

This root requires much more confirmation.

6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**hoŋ**	rancid	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**ɔ**-nu	smell of decay (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:132

(20) PTB *gram ROUGH

This etymon illustrates the regular correspondence between WB **-am** and Jingpho **-en**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gram**	rough / coarse	Matisoff 2003a:591
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**gren**	raw-boned, razor-backed	Benedict 1972:51n171
	mə **gren** / diŋ **gren**	sharp	Benedict 1972:51n171
	tiŋ **gren**	rough	Benedict 1972:51n171
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Arakanese	**krèn**	rough	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**krâm**	rough; coarse; violent	Benedict 1976a
	kràm	rough, coarse	Benedict 1972:51n171
	kram:	rough	Marrison 1967; Okell 1971
	kro'-**kram**	rough, rude, boorish (colloq.)	Benedict 1976a
	krɑm[3]	rough / coarse	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1038.26
	ə-**krâm**	rough; coarse; violent	Benedict 1976a
7. KARENIC			
Kayan (Pekon)	**krâ**	rough (ADJ.)	Manson 2010

(21) PNC *ham ROUGH

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
**Northern Chin*	***ham**	ROUGH	VanBik 2009:735
Sizang	**ham** hī	rough	VanBik 2009:735
Thado	**hâm**-I, hàm-II	rough	VanBik 2009:735
Tiddim	**ham**[1]	rough, coarse	VanBik 2009:735
	ham[1]	rough; coarse (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:406
	ham[1]	rough, coarse	Bhaskararao 1994

(22) PTk *haw ROUGH

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***haw**	rough	Mortensen 2012:705
Tusom	ta-xɯ-**xɯ**	rough	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.219
Ukhrul	kʰə-mə-**haw**	rough (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(23) PKC *hraat ROUGH / HARSH / SHARP

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hraat**	ROUGH / HARSH / SHARP	VanBik 2009:1097
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Chinbon	**ha:t**	sharp	So-Hartmann 1988:247
Cho (Mindat)	**ghat**	rough, harsh, cutting (as a rough surface) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1097
Daai	**xa:t**	sharp	So-Hartmann 1988:247
	xa:t[1]	sharp	VanBik 2009:1097
Matu	**ha:t**	sharp	So-Hartmann 1988:247
Nyhmoye	**xa:t**	sharp	So-Hartmann 1988:247
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hraat**-I, hraʔ-II	rough, harsh, sharp (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1097
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**chā**-hrà	rough, not slippery	VanBik 2009:1097

(24) PKC *ʔal SALTY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ʔal**	SALTY	VanBik 2009:500
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	thil **al**	alkali	VanBik 2009:500
Thado	**ʔál**-I, ʔàl-II	salty (be v.)	VanBik 2009:500
Tiddim	**al**[2]	salty	Bhaskararao 1996:18
	alʔ[2]	salt	VanBik 2009:500
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔâl**-I, ʔăl-II	salty (be v.)	VanBik 2009:500
Lai (Falam)	**ʔăl**-I, ʔàl-II	salty (be v.)	VanBik 2009:500
Lushai [Mizo]	**ál**	salt, briny, to be seasoned with salt	VanBik 2009:500
	al	salt (be v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:18
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**ìa**	salt	VanBik 2009:500

(25) PKC *mim SLEEK / GLOSSY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***mim**	SLEEK / GLOSSY	VanBik 2009:788
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**mim**	sleek	VanBik 2009:788
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			

Lushai [Mizo]	**mim**	sleek, glossy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:788

(26) PTani *lap SLIPPERY

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***lap**	slippery	Sun 1993a:373
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	bo-**le?**	slippery	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	bɯ-**le**	slippery	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ha-**lap**	slippery	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ha-**lap** bɯ-sit	glossy (smooth and shiny)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **lap**	smooth; glossy; sleek; slippery (road); slippery	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1037.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1039.24; Sun 1993a
Galo	ʻa **lap**	slippery (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	a **lap**	slippery	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	be-**lap**	slippery	Sun 1993a

(27) PKC *naal SLIPPERY / SLICK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***naal**	SLIPPERY / SLICK	VanBik 2009:833
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**năal**-I, nàal-II	slippery	VanBik 2009:833
Tiddim	**na:l**[1]	slippery	VanBik 2009:833
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**pnaay**	slippery	VanBik 2009:833
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**nàal**-I, năal-II	slippery, slip, slick (be v.)	VanBik 2009:833
Lai (Falam)	**náal**-I, nàal-II	slippery, slick	VanBik 2009:833
Lushai [Mizo]	**năal**	slippery, greasy, smooth, slithery	VanBik 2009:833
	na:l	slippery (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2697
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**pà**-hnía	slippery (be v.)	VanBik 2009:833

(28) PKC *mil SMOOTH / SLEEK

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***mil**	SMOOTH / SLEEK	VanBik 2009:790
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-mi	smooth, sleek (be v.)	VanBik 2009:790
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**mîl**-I, mĭl-II	smooth, sleek (be v.)	VanBik 2009:790

(29) PKC *ŋil SMOOTH / SLICK / GLOSSY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ŋil**	SMOOTH / SLICK / GLOSSY	VanBik 2009:868
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**ngîl**-I ngìl-II	glossy, smooth (be v.)	VanBik 2009:868
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**ŋĭl**-I, ŋ̀l-II	smooth, slick, glossy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:868

(30) PKC *neel SMOOTH / SUPPLE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***neel**	SMOOTH / SUPPLE	VanBik 2009:837
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**neal** hī	smooth (be v.)	VanBik 2009:837
Thado	**néel**-I, nèl-II	smooth, supple (be v.)	VanBik 2009:837
Tiddim	**ne:l**[1]	smooth and soft	VanBik 2009:837
	ne:l[1]	soft and smooth (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1197
	ne:l[1]	soft and smooth	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**néel**	supple, flexible	VanBik 2009:837
	ne:l	soft (as skin) (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2706

Chinese comparandum

反 OC ***nɨɑn**, *GSR* #216a ‘work, tan leather (to make it soft)’; Coblin 86:146 ST ***nɤyel** ~ ***nɤyel** > PC ***nrjianx** > OC ***nrjanx**; Schuessler 2007:400 ***nran?** ~ ***nren?**; Mand. **niǎn**.

Also see PTB ***s-n(i/u)(:)p/m** ⪤ ***r/s-nyap/m** PINCH / SQUEEZE / PRESS / OPPRESS / SUBMERGE / SINK INTO / WEST / LOW / SOFT (§6.16).

(31) PTk *pet SOFT (TO TOUCH)

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***pet**	soft (to touch)	Mortensen 2012:541
Huishu	kə-nə-**vej?**	soft (to touch)	Mortensen 2012
Kachai	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**pot**	soft (to touch)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.160
Tusom	ta-p^{h}e-**p^{h}e**	soft	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.204
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**pet**	soft (to touch) (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(32) PTani *mjak SOFT

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***mjak**	soft	Sun 1993a:383
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	ñi-**ñak**	soft; tender	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	rə:-**ñak**	soft	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	ʻrə**ɲak**	soft; tender (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻɲag nam	soft (rice) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	ɲe**ɲak**-pacak	smooth	Simon 1976
	ɲe**ɲak**-pajak	soft, pliable	Simon 1976
Tagin	nya **nyak**	quiet	Das Gupta 1983
	nya **nyak** kyak	soft	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	re-**mak**	soft	Sun 1993a
Milang	ra-**mak**-ɲi	soft	Tayeng 1976

(33) PTB *pryaw-k SOFT / BOILED

As noted in *HPTB*:205, the final glottal stop in Jingpho was not indicated in Hanson (1906), and thus did not make it into *STC*. See Dai et al. 1983:679, 773. This glottal stop is the motivation for adding an allofam with a final ***-k** to the reconstruction.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pryo**	soft / boiled	Benedict 1972:250
	***pryo-k**	soft / boiled	Matisoff 2003a:607
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**pyo**	boiled and thus soft, tender (vs.)	Benedict 1972:250
	pyó?	boiled and soft; tender	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983:679
	ś**ə pyo**	boil (v.)	Benedict 1972:250
	š**ə pyó?**	boil (v.)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983:773
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**phraù**	parboil (v.)	Benedict 1972:250
	praú	soft, tender	Benedict 1972:250
	prau ⪤ pyau	quite ripe, very soft	Benedict 1972:250

(34) PTB *kruŋ SOUR

1.1.1. TANI: ***kruŋ** SOUR			
**Tani*	***kruŋ**	sour	Sun 1993a:388
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**k^{h}rui?**-nɯ	sour	Sun 1993b
	xru-ji?	sour	Sun 1993a
	xù-ji	sour	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**kjuŋ**-šuk	sour	Sun 1993a
	kjuŋ-suk	sour	Sun 1993b
	kjuŋ-suk bɯ-rjak	very sour	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ku:** tɕup	sour	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.24
	ku:-čup	sour	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**ku:** tɕup	sour	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:887.51
Galo	**ku** suk	sour	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻkuu cuk	sour (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻnaŋ **kuu**	sour-smelling (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**ke** cak	sour	Simon 1976
Nishing	**kung** suk	sour	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**koŋ** suk	sour	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**xɹɯ**[55]	sour	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.22; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:887.49
Idu	**hɹu**[55]	sour	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:887.50
	s^{h}ru	sour	Anonymous 1962
Yidu	**hɹu**[55]	sour	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.25
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**kjuŋ**	sour	Mazaudon 1994:58
Gurung	**kyụ** bā:q	sour (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.24
Gurung (Ghachok)	**kyũ** baq	sour, become	Glover 1972:7.B.2.17
	kyũ ba:q	sour	Glover 1972:12.B.24
Gurung	^{1}**kjũ-**	sour	Mazaudon 1994:58
Manang (Gyaru)	**gyɯŋ**[1]	sour	Nagano 1984:094-01
Manang (Prakaa)	^{1}**kyũ** pə	sour	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0909
Tamang (Bagmati)	**kyuŋ** ba	sour	Weidert 1987:741
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**kjuŋ**	sour	Mazaudon 1994:58
Tamang (Sahu)	**kyung** pā	sour (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.24
	kyuŋ-pa	become sour (with ferment) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:18.B.17
	kyuŋ pa	sour (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.B.24
	^{1}**kjuŋ**	sour	Mazaudon 1994:58
Thakali	**kyung**-pa	sour (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.24
Thakali (Marpha)	$^{44›33}$**kjuŋ**-mu	sour	Mazaudon 1994:60
Thakali (Tukche)	**kjuŋ**-lɔ	sour, become (with ferment)	Hari 1971:7.B.2.17 1
	kjuŋ-pɔ	sour	Hari 1971:12.B.24
	^{2}**kjuŋ**	sour, become (with ferment)	Mazaudon 1994:60

(35) PLB *kyin[1] ⪤ *ʔgyin[1] SOUR

The skepticism expressed about these Lolo-Burmese forms in *HPTB*:398, section 6, note b, has now been abandoned!

6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Luxi)	**tɕin**[35]	sour	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**tshɛn**[55]	sour	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.29
Arakanese	**hyain**	sour	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**tʃɔ̱n**[55]	sour	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕhī**[22]	sour	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hcin**	sour	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕhī**[22]	sour	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:887.40
Burmese (Written)	**khjaṅ**[2]	sour	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.26; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:887.39
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khlañ**	sour	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khyañ**	sour	Hansson 1989:205
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khyan**	sour	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khyañ**	sour; sour, acid	Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a
	khyañ̃	sour	Marrison 1967
Intha	**hcin**	sour	Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	**tʃi̱ŋ**[31]	sour	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tʃi̱:n**[33]	sour	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.33
Marma	**khyɔiŋ**	sour	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:94-1
Maru [Langsu]	**c’ìn**	sour	Okell 1971
	tʃi̱ŋ[31]	sour	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:887.43
Tavoyan	**hyin**	sour	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃi̱n**[51]	sour	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:887.42

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***ʔ-kyin**[1]	sour	Bradley 1979b:549; Hansson 1989:205
PNL	**ʔ-kyin**[1]	sour	Chen Kang 1986a:137.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**tsɛ**[24]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.47
Lalo	**tjí**	sour	Björverud 1994
	tɕi[55]	sour	Chen Kang 1986a:137.
Lipho	**tse**[33]	sour	Chen Kang 1986a:137.
Nasu	**tʂe**[33]	sour	Chen Kang 1986a:137.
Neisu	**tʂi**[13]	sour	Chen Kang 1986a:137.
Nesu	**tɕe**[55]	sour	Chen Kang 1986a:137.
Nosu	**tɕɪ**[33]	sour	Chen Kang 1986a:137.
Nusu (Southern)	**kiɑ**[55]	sour	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**tɕɛ̱**[31]	sour	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**tɕəˑ**[33]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tʂəˑ**[35]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.45
Yi (Dafang)	**tsɭ**[33]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ndzɻ**[34]pɛ[33]	sour mash	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tshŋ[55]	sour (taste); tart (taste); taste, sour	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tshŋ[55]pa[55]	sour (taste); taste, sour	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tɕi[33]	sour (taste); tangy; taste, sour	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tɕi**[33](gɛ[33])	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tɕe**[55]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tɕe**[33]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.24
	tɕe[55]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**tɕi**[55]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tɕi**[55]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tʂe**[33]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.38
Yi (Xide)	**tɕi**[33]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.35; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**tɕi**[33]	sour	Chen Kang 1986a:137.
Jinuo	a[33]**tʃhə**[44]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.44
	a[33]**tʃhɯ**[33]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.34
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ[33]**tʃhə**[44]	sour	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**tɕi33**	sour	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***ce:**	sour	Bradley 1979b:549
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕi**[33]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.43
Lahu (Black)	**ci⩤ce**	sour	Matisoff 1974:95
	tsi[33]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tɕe**[1]	sour	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**chē**[3]	sour	Bradley 1979b:549
Lisu (Central)	**chē**[3]	sour	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	ji[55]**tɕɯ**[33]	sour (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tʃɯ**[44]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tɕɯ**[33]	sour (V.)	Bradley 1994
	tɕɯ[33]by[21]	sour taste	Bradley 1994
	tɕɯ[33]**tɕɯ**[33]mu[33]	sour; rather sour	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tɕu̱**[33]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.40
Yi (Sani)	**tɕe**[55]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.39
Sani [Nyi]	**tɕɪ**[33]	sour	Chen Kang 1986a:137.

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **tjhɛ́**	sour	Hansson 1989:205
Akha	**tjhɛ́**	sour	Hansson 1989:205
Akha (Thai)	**tjhɛ́**	sour	Hansson 1989:205
Bisu	ʔaŋ **chén**	sour	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**tjhɛ́**	sour	Hansson 1989:205
Hani (Dazhai)	**tɕhe**[55]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tɕhe**[55]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.41
Hani (Pijo)	**tshý**	sour	Hansson 1989:205
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshɤ**[55]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tɕhɛ**[55]	sour	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**tʃhɛ**[55]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tshý**	sour	Hansson 1989:205
Hani (Mojiang)	**tʃhɛ**[55]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.42
Mpi	**tɕhe**[5]	sour	Hansson 1989:205; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **chen45**	sour	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:202005
Sila	a21 **tɕhɯ55**	sour	Kato Takashi 2008:222

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**tɕi**[44]	sour	Pelkey 2011:988
Southern Muji	**tɕɛ**[33]	sour	Pelkey 2011:988
Phola	**tɕi̱**[55]	sour	Pelkey 2011:988
Hlepho Phowa	**tsɭ**[33]	sour	Pelkey 2011:988
Phuza	**tɕɛ**[33]	sour	Pelkey 2011:988

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**tɕy**˩	sour; acid	Michaud 2006–2009:2167
	tɕy˩hĩ˩	vinegar	Michaud 2006–2009:834
	tɕy˩læ˩	pickles	Michaud 2006–2009:4207
Na (Yongning)	**tɕi**˦	sour; acid	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**tɕi**[21]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**tɕi**[33]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.29

(36) PTB * k s -rwak SOUR / ACID

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***k(h)rok** SOUR

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭok**	sour	Benedict 1972:p.41

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	**khro**	acid	Benedict 1972:p.41
	²krho	sour	Weidert 1987:741
Chokri	kü **khro**	sour	Marrison 1967
	²ṭrho	sour	Weidert 1987:741
Khezha	**¹ṭrho**	sour	Weidert 1987:741

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**srok**-	sour (taste) (va.)	Caughley 2000
	srok-sa	sour, become	Caughley 1972:7.B.2. 17
	srok-ʔo	sour	Caughley 1972:12.B.24
	srok.ʔo	sour (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.24

(37) PTB *s-kyuːr ⩤ *s-kywaːr SOUR / BE ACID

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-kyur ⩤ suːr**	sour	Benedict 1972:42
	***s-kyuːr ⩤ s-kywaːr**	sour / be acid	Matisoff 2003a:598

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**syur** pā	sour (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.24
Tsangla (Central)	**tśur**-pa	sour	Benedict 1972:42
Tsangla (Motuo)	**tɕur**[55]pu[55]	sour	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	tɕur po	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**cur**-pu	sour	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tɕhu**[55]	sour	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tɕhu**[55]po[53]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.6
Motuo Menba	**tɕur** po	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.07
Cuona Menba	**tɕhu**[55]po[53]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**rcçə** ro	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htɕər** to	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rcçər**	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ɕu**[55]pu[53]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**kir** buq	sour (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.24
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ɕu**[53]bo[53]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**cuː**[55]mu[55]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.02
	cu[55]pu[53]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**kyur** wu	sour (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.24
Tibetan (Written)	**skjur** mo	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.01; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.1
	skyur-ba	sour	Benedict 1972:42; Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htɕər** to	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.04

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**cór**	sour, acid (be v.)	Plaisier 2007
	să-**tsór**-lă	sour	Benedict 1972:42
	tśór	sourish; sour, acid	Benedict 1972:42; Benedict 1972:75n231
	ʔá **cor**	sour (adj.)	Plaisier 2007

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**dzyur**	sour	Benedict 1972:42

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**tśhjwi:**[1]	sour	Matisoff 2003a:398

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**tʃɛ**[55]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.18
Guiqiong	**tsɔ̃**[55] mu[55]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.17
	tsɑ̃[55]mu[55]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.16
Lyuzu	de[33]**tʂu**[53]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.18
Muya	tə[33]**tɕu**[53]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tɕu**[55]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.15
Namuyi	**tʂu**[35]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.19
	luo[31]**tʃu**[31]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tʃu**[35]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.10
	tʃu[35]tsũ[55]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tʃu**[55]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tʃu**[55]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tɕu**[55]mə[53]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.10
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tʃɛ**[55]**tʃɛ**[33]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tʂõ**[55]**tʂõ**[55]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.16
Xumi	**tɕi**[55]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.20
	tɕy[55]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.17

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**wtɕhɯ**[1] **wtɕhɯ**[1]	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **tʃor**	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.11
rGyalrong	kə **tʃor**	sour	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:887.12
Caodeng	kə-**tʃoʔr**	sour	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	kə-**tʂuər**	sour	Nagano & Prins 2013:0407
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**tʃor**[44]	sour	Nagano & Prins 2013:0407
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **tsor44**	sour	Nagano & Prins 2013:0407
rGyalrong	kə **tśyur**	sour	Benedict 1972:42
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊkə **tɕur**	sour	Nagano & Prins 2013:0407
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˊkə ᵖ**tʃu**	sour	Nagano & Prins 2013:0407
rGyalrong	kA **cor**	sour	Nagano 1997:162
rGBenzhen	kə-**tʃor**	sour	Sun 1997b
Shili	kə-**tʃor**; kə-kʰjəʔ	sour	Sun 1997c

7. Karenic: ***chjaN**[B] SOUR

**Karen [Burling]*	***cheN**[2]	sour	Luangthongkum 2013:268
**Karen*	***chjáinq**	sour	Jones 1961:36
**Karen (TP)*	***chjáinq**	sour	Jones 1961:36
**Karen*	***chjaN**[B]	sour	Luangthongkum 2013:268 [a]
Bwe	**ʃɪ**[33]	sour	Luangthongkum 2013:268
Kayah	**cha**[11]	sour	Luangthongkum 2013:268
Kayan	**ɕi**[11]	sour	Luangthongkum 2013:268
Kayaw	**ɕi**[11]	sour	Luangthongkum 2013:268
Pa-O	**chjá**	sour	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:36
Pa-O (Southern)	**ɕja**[33]	sour	Luangthongkum 2013:268
Pa-O (Northern)	**ɕja**[55]	sour	Luangthongkum 2013:268
Pwo (Northern)	**chãi**[33]	sour	Luangthongkum 2013:268
Pwo (Southern)	**chãi**[55]	sour	Luangthongkum 2013:268
Sgaw (Northern)	**chi**[31~]	sour	Luangthongkum 2013:268
Sgaw (Southern)	**chi**[45,]	sour	Luangthongkum 2013:268

[a] [Source Note] The correspondence pattern of vowels in SK suggests *-ɛN

(38) PTB *suːr ⩤ *swaːr SOUR / BE ACID

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***suːr**	sour	Chou Fa-kao 1972:468e
	***suːr ⩤ swaːr**	sour / be acid	Matisoff 2003a:613
	***swaːr**	sour	Chou Fa-kao 1972:468e
**Tibeto-Karen*	***swaːr**	sour	Chou Fa-kao 1972:468e

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**sǎl**[55]	sour	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1072.23

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***thu(u)r** ≍ ***tho(o)r** ACID / SOUR

**Chin*	***thu(u)r** ≍ tho(o)r	ACID / SOUR	VanBik 2009:369
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**thuuk**	acid	VanBik 2009:369
Sizang	**htūk** hī	acid	VanBik 2009:369
Thado	**thû?**-I, thù?-II	sour (be v.)	VanBik 2009:369
Tiddim	**thu:k**[1]	sour	VanBik 2009:369
	thu:k[1]	sour (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1906
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**m**-thui	make sour, acid (foods, drinks) (v.)	VanBik 2009:369
Khumi	**thoo**	sour	VanBik 2009:369
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thûr** ≍ thôr-I, thŭr ≍ thŏr-II	acid, sour (be v.)	VanBik 2009:369
Lai (Falam)	**thúur**-INV	sour, acid	VanBik 2009:369
Lushai [Mizo]	**thûr**	sour	Marrison 1967
	thŭur	acid, to be sour, to be tart (be v.)	VanBik 2009:369
	thu:r	acid; sour (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3006
	thu:r	sour	Benedict 1972:42
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**tháo**	acid, sour, astringent	VanBik 2009:369
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Sorbung	**t^{h}uur**	sour	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.173
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-san** SOUR			
**Central Naga*	*a-**san**	SOUR (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.167
**Ao*	*a-**sən**	SOUR (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.109
Ao (Chungli)	**-sùn**	sour (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
	a^{3}-**sən**[1]	sour (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.109
	ta **sen**	sour	Marrison 1967
	^{3}ta^{1}**suɯn**	sour (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:913
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **san**	sour	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **sə́n**	sour (be v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**then**^{3}-	sour (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.167
	e **them**	sour	Murry *et al.* 1978:114
	then a	sour	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:114
	ṭhēṇ à	sour	Acharya 1975
	^{3}**ten**	sour (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:913
Sangtam	a **si**	sour	Marrison 1967
	^{1}a^{2}**si**	sour (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:913
Yacham-Tengsa	**sen** la	sour	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **san**	sour	Kumar 1973b:37
	a **sho**	sour	Marrison 1967
	^{2}a ^{2}**san** [^{1}]	sour (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:913
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***t^{h}uur** SOUR			
**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}uur**	sour	Mortensen 2012:524
Huishu	kə-**t^{h}u**	sour	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.146
Kachai	kə-**t^{h}ur**	sour	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.128
Tangkhul	ka **thur**	sour	Marrison 1967
	thur	sour	Bhat 1969:97
Tusom	kə-**t^{h}ɯ**	sour	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.165
Ukhrul	kə-**t^{h}ur**	sour; angry; bitter (person) (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**tor**	sour, acid	Benedict 1972:42
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**surkh**	sour (adj.)	Bailey 1911
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Rodong	**sur**-e	sour	Benedict 1972:42
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**sulB**	spoiled	Chou Fa-kao 1972:468e

Chinese comparandum

酸 OC ***swə̂n***, *GSR* #468e' 'sour'; Schuessler 2007:484 ***sôn***; B & S 2011: ***s^{ʕ}or { [s] ^{ʕ}or}***; Mand. **suān**.

(39) PTB *s-nyak STICKY

For a discussion of possible alternative etymologies, see *HPTB*:374.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ne:k**	sticky	Matisoff 2003a:604
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**neek** ~ **ne?**	stick to	Matisoff 2003a:374
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***?-nyak^{L}** STICKY			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***?-nyak^{L}**	sticky	Matisoff 2003a:605
	***?nyak**	sticky	Matisoff 1972b:154
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	**nɛ**^{35}	sticky / glutinous	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1036.43
	nɛ^{35}	paste; stick; glue; stick down (an envelope) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1680.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1783.43
Lahu (Black)	**nɛ**^{35}	paste / glue / stick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:626.33
	nɛ́	sticky	Matisoff 1972b:154
Lahu (Yellow)	**nɛ**^{4}	paste / glue / stick	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Sani [Nyi]	**ñɛ 22s**	sticky	Matisoff 1972b:154
Yi (Sani)	**n̩e**^{2}	stick down (an envelope) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1783.39

(40) PTB *ʔu STINK / PUTREFY / STALE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***u**	polluted / stinking	Benedict 1972:489
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ʔuyʔ** STINK / FETID / SMELL (bad)			
**Chin*	***ʔuyʔ**	STINK / FETID / SMELL (bad)	VanBik 2009:509
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**uih**	fetid	VanBik 2009:509
Thado	**vu**	stink	Benedict 1972:489
	ʔùuy-I, ʔùy-II	smell bad, stink	VanBik 2009:509
Tiddim	**ui?**^{3}	stink (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1917
	ui?^{3}	stink	VanBik 2009:509
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**uih**	stale (be v.)	VanBik 2009:509
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔuyʔ**-INV	stink, be fetid, smell bad	VanBik 2009:509
Lai (Falam)	**ʔùyʔ**-INV	stink, smell bad	VanBik 2009:509
Lushai [Mizo]	**uih**	stink (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ùih	stink, to smell putrid, to smell fetid (v.)	VanBik 2009:509
	uih	stink (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3075
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**wuʔ**	unclean, polluted	Benedict 1972:489
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**u**	stale, tainted, begin to putrefy (cf. ui 'old')	Benedict 1976a
	u	stale, tainted, begin to putrefy (be v.)	Benedict 1972:489
7. Karenic			
Pwo	**ü** ~ **o**	putrid, rotten	Benedict 1972:489
Karen (Sgaw)	**ü**	putrid, rotten	Benedict 1972:489

(41) PTB *kyəw SWEET

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kyəw**	sweet	Matisoff 2003a:598
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**ɕɑu**^{55}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.49
Idu	**ɕu**^{55}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.50
Yidu	**ɕu**^{55}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.25
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**tʃho**^{55}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.18
Lyuzu	de^{33}**tʂhu**^{53}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.18
Namuyi	**ntshɳ**^{33}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.19
	luo^{31}**ntshɳ**^{31}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.46
Qiang (Longxi)	bù-**tshí**	honey [bug-sweet]	Evans 1999:464
	tshú	sweet	Evans 1999:1526
Qiang (Mawo)	**tshəχ**	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**tshú**	sweet	Evans 1999:1526
	tshú-kì	sugar [sweet-NOM]	Evans 1999:601
Qiang (Taoping)	**tɕhy**^{33}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tʃhi**^{55}**tʃhi**^{33}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.13
Xumi	**tɕhyɛ**^{35}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**tɕhɯ tɕhɯ**	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	'kə **c^{h}ə**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	'kə **tɕ^{h}ə**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	'nə **c^{h}i**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**chi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	**c^{h}is**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	də22**tɕ^{h}i44** / gə22**tɕ^{h}i44**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	də^{3}**c^{h}i**^{53}	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	də^{3}**tɕə**^{5}	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	də^{3}**tɕ^{h}ə**^{5}	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	də^{1}**c^{h}e**^{3}	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	də **'c^{h}i**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	də **'c^{h}i**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	də **'c^{h}i**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	də **'c^{h}i**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	də **'c^{h}i**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	də **'tɕ^{h}i**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	də **'tɕ^{h}i**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	də **'tɕ^{h}i**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	ki **'c^{h}i**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə22 **ʧ^{h}i44**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	kə22 **ʧ^{ʻ}i44**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **cɕhi**	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.11
rGyalrong Caodeng	kə**cɕhi**	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.12
	kə-**k^{h}ji**	sweet	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	kə-**tʂ^{h}ɭ**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**tɕ^{h}i**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	kə22 **tɕhi44**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **tɕ^{h}i44**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	kə35**'tɕ^{h}ə53**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kə^{3}**c^{h}i**^{5}	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	kə^{3}**c^{h}i**^{5}	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	kə **'cə**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	kə **'cə**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kə **'c^{h}i**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	kə **'c^{h}i**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401

rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	kə **'cʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kə **'cʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	kə **'cʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	kə **'cʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	kə **'cʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	kə **'cʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	kə **'cʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	kə **'cʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	kə **'cʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	kə **'cʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kə **'cʰo**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	kə **'cʰə**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	kə **'tʃʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	kə **'tɕʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	kə **'tɕʰə**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	kə **'tɕʰə**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	kə **'tɕʰə**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	kə **'tɕʰəʔ**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	kə **'tɕʰəʔ**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	kə **cʰi** nəŋo	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	kʊ ˈ**tʃʰiʔ**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	kɪ ˈ**tɕʰu**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	nə **'cʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	nə **'cʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	nə **'cʰi**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	nə **cʰiʔ**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	**tɕʰɪʂ**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	ŋa^{3}**tɕʰə**^{5}	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	**ʨʰə**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˊkə **tʃʰə**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊkə **tɕʰə**	sweet	Nagano & Prins 2013:0401
rGyalrong	kA **khyu**	sweet	Nagano 1997:159
rGBenzhen	kə-**tʃʰi**	sweet	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Rawang	**khi**^{53} wɛ^{33}	sweet	LaPolla 2003:1101
	khi zɯ^{31}	sweet potato	LaPolla 2003:465
Anong	**khɹŋ**^{53}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.44
Nung	**khɹŋ**^{55}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.21

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***kyuw** = ***kyəw** SWEET

**Lolo-Burmese*	***kyuw**^{1}	sweet	Matisoff 1978a:12
	***kyəw**^{1}	sweet	Matisoff 2003a:598

6.1.1. Burmish

**Burmese*	***khy**	sweet	Okell 1971
Achang (Lianghe)	a^{31}**tʂhɑu**^{55}	sweet	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tɕhau**^{55}	tasty / delicious	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1091.28
Achang (Luxi)	**tɕhau**^{35}	sweet	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**tʂhau**^{55}ʂɛi^{35}	tasty / delicious	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1091.29
Arakanese	**hcou**	sweet	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**tʃhu**^{55}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕho**^{22}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hcou**	sweet	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕho**^{22}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.40
Burmese (Written)	**khjo**^{2}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.26; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.39
	khyui	sweet; fresh	Marrison 1967; Hansson 1989:348; Matisoff 1974:71; Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khyuiw**	sweet	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**kʰyui**	sweet	Matisoff 1978a:12
	ə-khyui-	sweet; fresh	Benedict 1976a
Intha	**hcou**	sweet	Okell 1971
	hyou	sweet	Okell 1971
Marma	**khyo**	sweet	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:93
Maru [Langsu]	**chùk**	sweet	Okell 1971
	tʃhuk^{31}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.43
Tavoyan	**hyou**	sweet	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃhui**^{21}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.42

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***kyo**^{1}	sweet	Bradley 1979b:551; Hansson 1989:348
PNL	**kyo**^{1}	sweet	Chen Kang 1986a:124.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**tjhə́**	sweet	Björverud 1994
	tʂhi^{55}	sweet	Chen Kang 1986a:124.
Lipho	**tʂhɳ**^{33}	sweet	Chen Kang 1986a:124.
Nasu	**tʂhɳ**^{21}	sweet	Chen Kang 1986a:124.
Neisu	**tʂhy**^{21}	sweet	Chen Kang 1986a:124.
Nesu	**tshi**^{21}	sweet	Chen Kang 1986a:124.
Nosu	**tɕhi**^{33}	sweet	Chen Kang 1986a:124.
Nusu (Southern)	**khiɯ**^{55}	sweet	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**tɕhɯ**^{33}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.34
Nusu (Northern)	**tɕhɯ**^{31}	sweet	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tɕhɯ**^{55}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.45
Nusu (Central)	ɣa^{55}**tɕhɯ**^{55}	buckwheat (sweet) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0413.34
Yi (Dafang)	**tshɳ**^{33}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.22
Yi (Liangshan)	ŋgɯ^{21}**tɕhɳ**^{33}	buckwheat, sweet	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tɕhɳ^{33}	sweet (taste); taste, sweet	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	go^{21}**tʂhi**^{33}	buckwheat (sweet)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:190.25
	tʂhi^{33}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.25
Yi (Mojiang)	go^{33}**tshi**^{55}	buckwheat (sweet)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:190.26
Yi (Nanhua)	go^{21}**tʂhɳ**^{33}	buckwheat (sweet) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0413.37
	tʂhi^{33}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.24
	tʂhɳ^{33}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**tʂhɳ**^{55}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.23
	ɣɑ^{21}; ɣɑ^{21} (ɕe^{21}) ɣɑ^{21} **tʂhɳ**	buckwheat (sweet)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:190.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tʂhɳ**^{55}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.36
	ɣɑ^{21}**tʂhɳ**^{55}	buckwheat (sweet) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0413.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tʂʐ̩**^{11}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.38
Yi (Xide)	**tɕhɳ**^{33}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.35; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.21
	ŋgɯ^{21}**tɕhɳ**^{33}	buckwheat (sweet)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:190.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**tʂhi**^{2}	sweet	Chen Kang 1986a:124.
Jinuo	a^{33}**tʃhi**^{33}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.34
	a^{33}**tʃhi**^{44}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33}**tʃhi**^{44}	sweet	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	**chɔ**	sweet	Matisoff 1978a:12; Matisoff 1974:71
	tshɔ^{33}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tshɳ**^{1}	sweet	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**hchi**^{4}	sweet (adj.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tʃhi̱**^{33}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tʃhɳ**^{33}	sweet; salty (V.)	Bradley 1994
	tʃhɳ^{33}le^{35}za^{21}	salty taste; sweet taste	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tʃhɳ**^{44}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.27
Sani [Nyi]	**tʂhi**^{33}	sweet	Chen Kang 1986a:124.
Yi (Sani)	**tʂhʐ̩**^{33}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **tjhö**	sweet	Hansson 1989:348
Akha (Thai)	**tjhö**	sweet	Hansson 1989:348
Akha	**tjhö**	sweet	Hansson 1989:348
Bisu	ʔaŋ **cháw**	sweet	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**tjhü**	sweet	Hansson 1989:348
Hani (Dazhai)	**tɕhu**^{55}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.31
	ɣa^{31}le^{33}; ɣa^{31}**tɕhu**^{55}	buckwheat (sweet)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:190.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tɕhu**^{55}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.41
Hani (Pijo)	**tjhý**	sweet	Hansson 1989:348
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshɳ**^{55}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	maŋ^{31}**tɕhø**^{55}	sweet potato	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	tɕhø^{55}	sweet	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**tʃhɳ**^{55}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tjhý**	sweet	Hansson 1989:348
Hani (Mojiang)	**tʃhɳ**^{55}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.42
Mpi	**tɕhi**^{5}	sweet	Hansson 1989:348; Matisoff 1978a:12; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Sila	a21 **tɕhi55**	sweet	Kato Takashi 2008:221

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**tɕʰy**^{21}	sweet	Pelkey 2011:989
Southern Muji	**tsʰɯ**^{21}	sweet	Pelkey 2011:989
Hlepho Phowa	**tsʰɯ**^{21}	sweet	Pelkey 2011:989
Phuza	**tsʰi**^{31}	sweet	Pelkey 2011:989

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**tsʰi**˥	sweet	Michaud 2006–2009:2168
Na (Yongning)	**tɕʰi**˩	sweet	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**tɕhi**^{21}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tɕhi**^{31}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**tɕhi**^{31}	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.29

(42) PTB *twi(y) SWEET

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***twi(y)**	sweet	Matisoff 2003a:616; Benedict 1972:166

1.1.1. Tani: ***ti:** SWEET

**Tani*	***ti:**	sweet	Sun 1993a:410

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**tí**-hi	sweet	Sun 1993b
	ti-hiʔ	sweet	Sun 1993b
	tí-srɯ	taste of sugar	Sun 1993b
	tiʔ	sweet	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ti**(-təŋ)	sweet	Sun 1993b
	ti-təŋ	sweet	Sun 1993a
	ti-tɯŋ kɯ-rɯŋ	very sweet	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ti:**-po	sweet	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ti:** po	sweet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.51
Galo	nam **tii**	sweet-smelling (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	tii hir	sweet (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	tii nam	sweet (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	ti:-nam	sweet (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ti: ne	sweet	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**ti** shir	sweet	Simon 1976
Nishing	**tí** sar	sweet	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**ci** pu	sweet	Das Gupta 1983
	sini mater-bɤ **ci** pu do	sugar is sweet	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**tɯ**	sweet	Sun 1993a
Mishing [Miri]	**tiː**	sweet	Sun 1993a

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *__tuuy__ TASTY / DELICIOUS

**Chin*	*__tuuy__	TASTY / DELICIOUS	VanBik 2009:237

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**tŭuy**-I, tùuy-II	have good taste (v.)	VanBik 2009:237

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**túi**	tasty, be delicious (be v.)	VanBik 2009:237
	tui	nice (to taste / smell)	Benedict 1972:166

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**dəy** rə́m	slightly sweet	Bhat 1968
	dáy	sweet (v.)	Bhat 1968
	gə **dəy**	sweet	Bhat 1968
	gə **dəy** krí	slightly sweet	Bhat 1968
	kəyrəm **dəy** rəm	slightly sour and slightly sweet	Bhat 1968
	me **tay**	sweet	Bhat 1968
	mi **tay**	sweet	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**di ≍ gidi**	sweet	Benedict 1972:166
	di ba	sweet	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**təy**	sweet	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**tśi**	sweet	Benedict 1972:166
Garo (Bangladesh)	**chi•**-a	sweet (vi.)	Burling 2003:3.682-II:idx

1.7.1.4. Deori

Deori/Deuri	**ji**-ba	sweet	Jacquesson 2005
	ji^{2}-ri	sweet	Jacquesson 2005
	ji ba re	sweet	Brown 1895:71

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	*__tuəy__	sweet	French 1983:562

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Wancho	**ti**	sweet	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**dùi**	sweet	Matisoff 1974:71
	dwi	sweet	Marrison 1967
	dəwi ≍ dwi	sweet	Benedict 1972:166
	tui^{31}	sweet	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.47

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**kyi**	sweet	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:93

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Pattani [Manchati]	**wəi**	sweet	Sharma 1982

(43) PTB *h $\begin{matrix}\textbf{i}\\\textbf{u}\end{matrix}$ l SWEET

This sparsely attested root occurs mostly in Tani, with scattered support elsewhere.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__hul ≍ hil__	sweet	Matisoff 2003a:593

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	tí-**hi**	sweet	Sun 1993b
	ti-**hiʔ**	sweet	Sun 1993b
Galo	tii **hir**	sweet (adj.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Milang	**hil**-ma	sweet	Tayeng 1976

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**ol-ol**	sweet	Allen 1975

(44) PTB *s-klum SWEET

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__s-klum__	sweet	Matisoff 2003a:596

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *__khlum__ SWEET

**Chin*	*__khlum__	SWEET	VanBik 2009:1305

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**khum**	sweet	VanBik 2009:1305
Siyin	**thum**	sweet	Benedict 1972:75n231
Sizang	**htum** hī	sweet	VanBik 2009:1305
Thado	**hlúm**-I, hlùm-II	sweet	VanBik 2009:1305
Tiddim	ci^{3} **khum**^{1}	sugar	Bhaskararao 1996:155
	khum^{2}	sweet	VanBik 2009:1305
	khum^{2}	sweet (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:846
	khum^{2}	sweet...	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thlûm**-I, thlŭm-II	sweet	VanBik 2009:1305
Lai (Falam)	**thlŭm**-I, thlùm-II	sweet	VanBik 2009:1305
Lushai [Mizo]	chi **thlum**	sugar	Marrison 1967
	thlum	sweet	Marrison 1967
	thlúm	sweet, to taste sweet (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1305
	thlum	sweet (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2996
	thlum	sweet	Benedict 1972:75n231

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	lò-**thlò**-pá	sweets, sugar	VanBik 2009:1305
	thlò	sweet (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1305

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	**k^{h}uum**	sweet	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.172

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	ka **hum** ba	sweet	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	ka **hum** bu	sweet	Marrison 1967
Maram	**kum**	sweet	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**thum** nu	sweet	Marrison 1967
Zeme	ke **kum** be	sweet	Marrison 1967

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	a **thum** ba	sweet	Marrison 1967
	thum	sweet	Benedict 1972:75n231

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**khlyam**	sweet	Benedict 1972:75n231 [a]
	klyam	sweet (be v.)	Plaisier 2007
	ʔá **klyam**	sweet (adj.)	Plaisier 2007

[a] The **-y-** medial in Lepcha derives from the PTB *__s-__ prefix, see Benedict (1941).

Chinese comparandum

甘 OC *__kə̂m__, *GSR* #606a 'sweet'; *__kˤam { [k] ˤ [a] m }__; Mand. **kān**.

Note: PTB *um > am in Lepcha 'sweet'; also PST *um > *am in Chinese 三 'three'.

(45) PTB *m-yaŋ SWEET

This root seems quite separate from PTB *__s-min__ RIPE / COOKED / DELICIOUS (§3.1.10). It is attested mostly in Central Naga, with scattered support elsewhere.

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	n^{55}**nɯŋ**^{55}	tasty / delicious	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1091.22

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *__m-yaŋ__ SWEET

**Ao*	*a-**m-jaŋ**	SWEET (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.227
Ao (Chungli)	**-nāŋ**	sweet (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	ta **nang**	sweet	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **miyang**	sweet	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **mijaŋ**	sweet (be v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**nang** a	sweet	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**nyang** la	sweet	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Phom	ʒɯŋ^{55}**ñaŋ**^{55}	sweet	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	mă^{31}**niaŋ**^{31}	sweet potato	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:194.41

(46) PTB *lyam SWEET / FRAGRANT

This root is well-attested in Himalayish, but has so far not been identified elsewhere.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	*__l + iim__	sweet	Coblin 1986:145

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__lem__	sweet	Chou Fa-kao 1972:621

2. Himalayish

Nachereng	**lem**	sweet	Chou Fa-kao 1972:621

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	**lem**^{35}**bu**^{35}	fragrant	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**lim**^{13}**po**^{53}	fragrant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:892.6
Cuona Menba	**lim**^{35}**po**^{53}	fragrant (smell)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.06

2.1.4. Tamangish

Thakali	**lim**-pa thāng ʾkha-wa	fragrant (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.27
Thakali (Tukche)	**lim**-pɔ t^{h}aŋ ʾk^{h}ɔ-wɔ	fragrant	Hari 1971:12.B.27
	^{2}**lim**	fragrant	Mazaudon 1994:899

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	*__lem__	sweet	Benedict 1972:172n458
Waling	**lem**	sweet	Chou Fa-kao 1972:621

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**lem** lona	sweet	Ebert 1997
	le **lem** lona	sweet	Ebert 1997
Chhintang	**lem**	sweet	Chou Fa-kao 1972:621
Limbu	ke-**lim**-ba	sweet	Benedict 1972:172n458
	ke-**lim**-bɑ	sweet	Chou Fa-kao 1972:621
	limt-	sweet (vs.)	Driem 1988
	lim dzEk dzEk	bland, not salty enough, slightly sweet	Driem 1988
	liːm ba	sweet (vs.)	Driem 1988
Rungchangbung	**lem**	sweet	Chou Fa-kao 1972:621
Yakha	**lim**	sweet	Chou Fa-kao 1972:621; Benedict 1972:172n458

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**lem**	taste sweet	Rai 1985
	lem choʔwa	sweet (n/adj.)	Rai 1985
Rodong	**lam**-	sweet	Benedict 1972:172n458
	lɑm-	sweet	Chou Fa-kao 1972:621
Kulung	**lem_lem_**	sweet	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**lem** nɨ	sweet, taste sweet (be v.)	Driem 1993
	lem pɨ	sweet	Driem 1993
Khaling	**ʾlem** pāe	sweet (taste) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.22

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**lem**-	sweet, to flatter, to seduce, to comfort, to calm (be v.)	Allen 1975

Chinese comparandum

甜/甛 OC (*__d'i̯ɑm__), (not in *GSR* #606) 'sweet'; Coblin 86:145 ST *__ɬiim__ > OC *__diəm__; Schuessler 2007:496 *__lêm__ ~ __lîm__; Mand. **tián**.

(47) PTB *dz(y)im SWEET / TASTY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__dz(y)im__	sweet; delicious	Weidert 1987:334; Matisoff 2003a:589; Benedict 1972:71

1.1. "North Assam"

Aka [Hruso]	**džim**-tśi	fresh	Benedict 1972:71

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**tim**^{35}	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.23; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:888.48

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**sim**	sweet	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *__ʃim__ SWEET

**Tangkhulic*	*__ʃim__	sweet	Mortensen 2012:450
Kachai	kə-**ʃim**	sweet	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.127
Tangkhul	ka **shim** a	sweet	Marrison 1967
	śim	sweet	Bhat 1969:98
	^{1}kə^{1}**šim**	sweet	Weidert 1987:334
Tusom	kə-**sɯə̃**	sweet	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.164
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃim**	sweet (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**sim**-(m)il-a	sweet smell / fragrance	Weidert 1987:334
Garo (Bangladesh)	**sim**-il-a	fragrant; smell pleasant (vi.)	Burling 2003:3.688-II:idx
	sim-il-ot-a	smell; sniff (vt.)	Burling 2003:3.688-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**sym**	sweet (adj1.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa	^{3}**sim**	tasty	Weidert 1987:334

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ɕəm**	sweet	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1073.05
	ɕəm bo	fragrant (smell)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ɕəm** kə	fragrant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:892.4

Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ɕəm**	fragrant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:892.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**žim** bo·	sweet	Rangan 1975:36; Rangan 1975:74
Tibetan (Batang)	**xĭ^{13}mbʊ^{53}**	fragrant (smell)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	Thimāk **syim** bu-te	fragrant (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.27
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ɕin^{13}bo^{53}**	fragrant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:892.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	(tʂhi^{13}mə^{55}) ɕim^{13}pu^{55}	fragrant (smell)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.02
	ɕim^{15}pu^{53}	fragrant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:892.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	temā **šim** bā	fragrant (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.27
	Temā **šim** bu	fragrant (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.27
Tibetan (Written)	(dri ma) **ʑim** po	fragrant (smell)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.01
	žim-pa	well-tasted, sweet-scented	Benedict 1972:71
	ʑim po	fragrant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:892.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ɕə** mbo	fragrant (smell)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.04

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**dži-džim** (< *džim-džim)	sweet	Benedict 1972:71
Hayu	**dzi**	sweet (be v.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.74

5. Tujia

Tujia (Southern)	**dze^{21}**	sweet	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**tshim**	pleasant to the taste, delicious, savory	Benedict 1972:71

7. Karenic: *chɨm^{A} SALTY, SWEET

**Karen [Burling]*	***chəm^{4}**	salty, sweet	Luangthongkum 2013:245
**Karen*	***chɨm^{A}**	salty, sweet	Luangthongkum 2013:245
Kayah	**chɨ^{33}**	salty, sweet	Luangthongkum 2013:245
Kayan	**chɨ^{53}**	salty, sweet	Luangthongkum 2013:245
Kayaw	**chɨ^{55}**	salty, sweet	Luangthongkum 2013:245
Pa-O	**chòm**	salty	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**chom$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	salty, sweet	Luangthongkum 2013:245
Pa-O (Southern)	**chəm$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	salty, sweet	Luangthongkum 2013:245
Pwo (Northern)	**chū^{35}**	salty, sweet	Luangthongkum 2013:245
Pwo (Southern)	**chəɨ^{53}**	salty, sweet	Luangthongkum 2013:245
Sgaw (Northern)	**chə^{33}**	salty, sweet	Luangthongkum 2013:245
Sgaw (Southern)	**chɨ^{55}**	salty, sweet	Luangthongkum 2013:245

(48) PKar *pla^{A} TASTELESS / FADED

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***pla^{A}**	tasteless, faded	Luangthongkum 2013:290
Bwe	**plɛ^{55}**	tasteless, faded	Luangthongkum 2013:290
Kayan	**bla^{53}**	tasteless, faded	Luangthongkum 2013:290
Pa-O (Northern)	**pla$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	tasteless, faded	Luangthongkum 2013:290
Pwo (Northern)	**bla^{55}**	tasteless, faded	Luangthongkum 2013:290
Pwo (Southern)	**bla$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	tasteless, faded	Luangthongkum 2013:290
Sgaw (Northern)	**bla^{33}**	tasteless, faded	Luangthongkum 2013:290
Sgaw (Southern)	**bla^{55}**	tasteless, faded	Luangthongkum 2013:290

(49) PNC *lim TASTY

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Northern Chin*	***lim**	TASTY	VanBik 2009:1057
Sizang	**lim** hī	tasty	VanBik 2009:1057
Tiddim	**lim^{2}**	tasty	VanBik 2009:1057
	lim^{2}	tasty (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:952
	lim^{2}	tasty	Bhaskararao 1994

(50) PTB *now TENDER / SOFT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	****now**	young / tender (v.i.,v.)	Weidert 1987:337
	***now**	tender / soft	Matisoff 2003a:605; Benedict 1972:274

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**nou**	young, soft, tender	Benedict 1972:274

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**nu**	tender, soft	Benedict 1972:274

4. Nungic

Anong	**nu**	tender, soft	Benedict 1972:274

6.1.1. Burmish

Bola (Luxi)	**nɔ^{35}**	tender young (plant)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**nu^{53}**	tender young (plant); young	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.27; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1059.27
Burmese (Written)	**nù**	made soft	Weidert 1987:337
	nú	young / tender (v.i.,v.)	Weidert 1987:337
	nû	made soft (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	nú	young, tender	Benedict 1972:274
	nù	made soft (vs.)	Benedict 1972:274
	nū: ññaṁ.	soft	Marrison 1967
	nu^{1}	tender young (plant); young	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.26; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1059.26
	nu'	young, tender; fine	Benedict 1976a
	nû≍nu'	tender / soft	Matisoff 1978a:100
	ə-nu'	young, tender; fine	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**nau^{55}**	tender young (plant)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**nu:^{55}**	tender young (plant)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nu^{55}**	tender young (plant)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.30

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**niɛ^{24}**	young	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1059.47
Lalo	**nù**	soft / tender	Björverud 1994
	nu̱^{21}	soft	Chen Kang 1986a:112.
Lipho	**nu^{21}**	soft	Chen Kang 1986a:112.
Nasu	**nu^{33}**	soft	Chen Kang 1986a:112.
Neisu	**nu^{33}**	soft	Chen Kang 1986a:112.
Nesu	**nu^{33}**	soft	Chen Kang 1986a:112.
Nosu	**nu^{33}**	soft	Chen Kang 1986a:112.
Nusu (Central)	**n̥a̱^{53}**	soft	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1035.34
Nusu (Northern)	**n̥ɔ̱^{53}**	soft	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**n̥ɑ^{53}**ɑ^{31}	soft	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:832.45
Nusu (Central)	**ŋɚ^{55}**	tender young (plant)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.34
Dafang)	**nɒ^{33}**	soft	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:832.22
Yi (Liangshan)	i^{34}**nu^{33}**	lithe; soft	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nu^{33}	soft	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ndʑ̩^{34}**nu^{33}**	skin, soft; soft (skin)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	pha^{33}**nu^{33}**	soft	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tsi^{34}**nu^{33}**	soft (of wool)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**nu^{33}**	soft	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:832.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**nu^{21}**	soft	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1035.37
Yi (Weishan)	**nu̱^{21}**	soft; tender young (plant)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1035.36; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.36
Yi (Wuding)	**nʏ^{33}**mɤ̱^{2}	soft / spongy / loose	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1035.38
Yi (Xide)	i^{34}**nu^{33}**	soft; tender young (plant)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1035.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.35
	i^{44}**nu^{33}**	soft	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:832.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**no^{21}**	soft	Chen Kang 1986a:112.
Jinuo	a^{44}**nu^{33}**	tender young (plant)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**no^{55}**	soft	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ɑ^{44}**nu^{44}**	young	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**nv31**	soft	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**nu^{35}**	soft	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1035.43
	nu^{53}	tender young (plant)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.43
Lahu (Black)	**nû**	tender / soft	Matisoff 1978a:100
	nu^{35}	soft	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:832.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**nu^{3}**	soft	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**nu^{21}**	soft; tender; amiable (V.)	Bradley 1994
	nu^{21}le^{35}za^{21}	gentle; soft; very soft	Bradley 1994
	nu^{21}nu^{21}za^{21}	very soft; tender; delicate and tender	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**nu^{31}**	soft	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1035.40; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:832.27
Lisu (Central)	**nu^{5}**	soft, be (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ny^{35}** deʔ^{21}le^{33}	ripe and soft; rub thoroughly	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**no^{21}**	soft	Chen Kang 1986a:112.
Yi (Sani)	**no^{55}**	soft; tender young (plant)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1035.39; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Dazhai)	**nɔ^{31}**	soft	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:832.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**nɔ̀**	soft, small, tiny	Hansson 1989:424
	nɔ^{31}	soft; tender young (plant)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1035.41; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.41
Hani (Pijo)	**ny**	soft	Hansson 1989:424
	ny i	soft, small, tiny	Hansson 1989:424
Hani (Caiyuan)	**nɤ^{31}**	soft	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:832.30
Hani (Shuikui)	**nu^{31}**	soft	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:832.32
Hani (Khatu)	**ny**	soft; soft, small, tiny	Hansson 1989:424; Hansson 1989:424
Hani (Mojiang)	**nu^{31}**	soft; tender young (plant)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1035.42; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1057.42

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**nɷ^{22}**	soft	Pelkey 2011:951
Southern Muji	**nə^{13}**	soft	Pelkey 2011:951
Phola	**nɯ^{31}**	soft	Pelkey 2011:951
Phu Kha	**nɯ^{31}**	soft	Fried 2000
Phuza	**nɯ^{13}**	soft	Pelkey 2011:951

Chinese comparandum

柔 OC ***ńi̱ôg**, *GSR* #1105a 'flexible, soft, gentle'; Schuessler 2007:444 ***no**; B & S 2011: ***nu**; Mand. **róu**.
揉 OC ***ńi̱ôg**, *GSR* #1105b 'knead, massage'; Schuessler 2007:444 ***noh**; B & S 2011: (***nu-s**); Mand. **ròu**.
懦 OC ***ńi̱u**/***nwûr**, *GSR* #134e 'pliant, soft; weak, timid'; Schuessler 2007:445 ***no**; Mand. **nuò**.
兗/輭 OC ***ńi̱wɑn**, *GSR* #238a-b 'pliant, soft'; Schuessler 2007:447 ***non?**; Mand. **ruǎn**.
肉 OC ***ńi̱ôk**, *GSR* #1033a-b 'meat'; B & S 2011: ***k.nuk**; Mand. **ròu**.
弱 OC ***ńi̱ok**, *GSR* #1123a 'weak'; Schuessler 2007:448 ***nhiauk** ~ ***newk**; Mand. **ruò**.
荏 OC ***ńi̱əm**, *GSR* #667s 'soft'; Schuessler 2007:442 ***nəm?**; B & S 2011: ***nəm? {n [ə] m?}** (‹***num ?**); Mand. **rěn**.
孺

(51) PCC *laap WEAK (liquor, tobacco, tea)

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***laap**	WEAK (liquor, tobacco, tea)	VanBik 2009:1068
Lai (Hakha)	**laap**-I, laʔ-II	weak (as liquor, tobacco, tea)	VanBik 2009:1068
Lushai [Mizo]	**lâap**	weak (as tea, liquor)	VanBik 2009:1068

(52) PKar *Ɉa^{B} YOUNG / SOFT / TENDER

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***chá'**	soft / tender / young	Jones 1961:5
**Karen (TP)*	***chá'**	soft / tender / young	Jones 1961:5
**Karen [Burling]*	***cha^{1}**	young, soft, tender	Luangthongkum 2013:341
**Karen*	***Ɉa^{B}**	young, soft, tender	Luangthongkum 2013:341
Bwe	**jɛ^{33}**	young, soft, tender	Luangthongkum 2013:341
Kayah	**ce^{11}**	young, soft, tender	Luangthongkum 2013:341
Kayan	**ca^{11}**	young, soft, tender	Luangthongkum 2013:341
Kayaw	**ca^{11}**	young, soft, tender	Luangthongkum 2013:341
Pa-O (Southern)	**ca^{55}**	young, soft, tender	Luangthongkum 2013:341
Pa-O	**châ**	soft / tender / young	Jones 1961:5
Pa-O (Northern)	**cha^{53}**	young, soft, tender	Luangthongkum 2013:341
Sgaw (Southern)	**ca^{31}**	young, soft, tender	Luangthongkum 2013:341

7.1.5 Object Qualities

(1) PKC *ɓil BLUNT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ɓil**	BLUNT	VanBik 2009:8

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**bilʔ**-INV	blunt, not sharp	VanBik 2009:8
Lushai [Mizo]	**bǐl**	blunt (as knife)	VanBik 2009:8

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**bí**	blunt as a knife (be v.)	VanBik 2009:8

(2) PTB *r-t $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{u}\\\mathbf{i}\end{matrix}$ l BUTTOCKS / HEEL / DULL / BLUNT / ROUNDED PART

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
*Sino-Tibetan	***dul**	dull / blunt	Coblin 1986:67
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***r-tul ≍ r-til**	dull / buttock / heel / rounded part	Matisoff 2003a:615
1.1.1. Tani: ***lə-du** HEEL			
*Tani	***lə-du**	heel	Sun 1993a:197
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**lɯ-du**	heel	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**lu-du**	heel	Sun 1993a
	lu-duk	heel	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**li-du**	heel	Sun 1993a
	li-tu	heel	Sun 1993b
	lə kam	shoe (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0479.24
	lə-kam	shoe	Sun 1993a
Bokar Lhoba	**lə kam**	shoe	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:382.51
Galo	**‘lədo**	heel (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**lɯ-dɯ**	heel	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ko-**dun**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
	le-du	heel	Sun 1993a
Damu	**lə-du**	heel	Sun 1993b
	lə-tu	heel	Sun 1993b
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Khezha	šɯ́ **dò**	heel	Yabu 1994:6.2.6.1
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	mə **thun**	hips	Singh 1991:5.8.1
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Wancho	chi **dun**	heel	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	la gaw la **tin**	heel	Marrison 1967
	lə-gaw lə-**htīn**	heel	Matisoff 1987
	sha **tin**	rump	Matisoff 1987
	shə **tīn**	buttock	Matisoff 1987
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**ɖʰu** ʐu	buttock	Sharma 1982
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**rtul** po	blunt (adj.)	Marrison 1967
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	si[31] **duŋ[55]**	buttocks	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Côông [Phunoi]	pi **tùn**	heel	Bradley 1979b
	pi[33] **tun[11]**	heel	Bradley 1977
	pi **tùn**	heel	Matisoff 1987
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (GSR #)	**0429a**	buttocks	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2826
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d’wən**/d’uən	buttocks	Karlgren 1957:429b-c
	tiən/tien	rear (of army)	Karlgren 1957:429d
Chinese (Old)	**d[ˤ]ən** {[d][ˤ]ə[n]} (dial. > -won)	buttocks	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2826
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**tún**	buttocks	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2826
	tún-bù	buttocks	Sun 1985b:113
	t’un	buttocks	Karlgren 1957:429b-c

Chinese comparandum

屁 OC ***d’wən**, *GSR* #429a ‘buttocks’; Mand. **tún**.
臀 OC ***d’wən**, *GSR* #429b-c ‘buttocks’; Li 1971: ***dən**; Baxter 1992: ***dun**; Mand. **tún**.
殿 OC ***tiən**, *GSR* #429d ‘rear of army’; Li 1971: ***tiənh**; Baxter 1992: ***tins**; Mand. **diàn**.
沌 OC ***d’wən**, *GSR* #427h ‘confused, stupid’; Li 1971: ***dənx**; Baxter 1992: ***dun?**; Mand. **dùn**.
鈍 OC ***d’wən**, *GSR* #427i ‘dull’; Li 1971: ***dənh**; Baxter 1992: ***duns**; Mand. **dùn**.
頓 OC ***twən**, *GSR* #427j ‘worn, dull, spoiled’; Li 1971: ***tənh**; Baxter 1992: ***tuns**; Mand. **dùn**.

(3) PKC *tsaar DRY / HARD / STIFF

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***tsaar**	DRY / HARD / STIFF	VanBik 2009:534
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**cai**	become hard, dry (v.)	VanBik 2009:534
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsâar**-I, tsăar-II	dry, become hard (be v.)	VanBik 2009:534
Lushai [Mizo]	**chár**	dry and caked	VanBik 2009:534
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chá**	dry, tough	VanBik 2009:534

(4) PKC *ɓaŋ-I, *ɓaŋʔ-II EQUAL / RESEMBLE / SIMILAR

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***ɓaŋ**-I, ɓaŋʔ-II	EQUAL / RESEMBLE / SIMILAR	VanBik 2009:24
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**ki**-bang	analogous, equal	VanBik 2009:24
Sizang	**akī** bang	like	VanBik 2009:24
Thado	**ki**-bàŋ-I, ki-bàʔ-II	equal in size, quality	VanBik 2009:24
Tiddim	**bang[3]** > bat[3]	like something, resemble	VanBik 2009:24
	bang[3] > bat[3]	like something; resemble (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:47
	bang[3] in[2]	like; same	Bhaskararao 1996:49
	baŋ[3]/bat[3]	like something...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**bàŋ**-I, bâŋ-II	equal, similar (be v.)	VanBik 2009:24
Lai (Hakha)	**băŋ**-I, baŋʔ-II	equal, similar (be v.)	VanBik 2009:24

(5) PTB *mwəy FINE / DELICATE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***mwəy**	minute / small (adj.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:584d-e
	***mwəy**	fine / delicate	Matisoff 2003a:603
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**mwe’**	fine, delicate	Benedict 1976a
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	微	small	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2881
Chinese (GSR #)	**0584d**	small	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2881
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**mi̯wər/mywəi**	minute / small (adj.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:584d-e
Chinese (Old)	**mjɨj**	small	Baxter 1992:1232
	məj	small	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2881
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**mj+j**	small	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2881
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**wēi**	small	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2881

Chinese comparandum

微 OC ***mi̯wər**, *GSR* #584a-e ‘small, minute’; Baxter 1992: ***mjɨj**; B & S 2011: ***məj**; Mand. **wēi**.

(6) PTB *pyar FLAT / THIN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***peːr**	flat / thin	Matisoff 2003a:606; Benedict 1972:340
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**peːr**	flat (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2777
	peːr	flat and thin	Benedict 1972:340
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	ge **pher**	flat	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:340
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**pel**-a	flat (vi.)	Burling 2003:2.311-II:idx
	pel-deng-a	flat (vi.)	Burling 2003:2.311-II:idx
	pel-dep-a	flat (vi.)	Burling 2003:2.311-II:idx
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
*Northern Naga	***pweːr**	thin	French 1983:566
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**phjar**	open and flat (of land)	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4462

Chinese comparandum

扁 OC ***piɑn**, *GSR* #246a ‘flat and thin’; Schuessler 2007:165-6 ***pên?**; B & S 2011: ***pˤen? {pˤe[n] ?}**; Mand. **biǎn**.
板 OC ***pɯ̰ɑn**, *GSR* #262j ‘plank, board’; Schuessler 2007:155 ***prân?**; B & S 2011: ***C.pˤran?**; Mand. **bǎn**.
版 OC ***pɯ̰ɑn**, *GSR* #262k ‘register, printing block, edition’; Schuessler 2007:155 ***prân?**; B & S 2011: (***(pˤran?)**; Mand. **bǎn**.

(7) PTB *m-twa-n HIGH

In the absence of a Burmese cognate, it is difficult to distinguish between the rhymes **-wa** and **-aw**, both of which yield WT and Jingpho **-o**. This root was formerly reconstructed as ***m-to**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***m-to**	high	Matisoff 2003a:615; Benedict 1972:247
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**məthò**	high; pinnacle	Benedict 1972:247
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**thon** po	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.7
	tʻon[55]po[55]	high	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**tho**-lu	high	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**thyn[55]**pu[55]	high	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**thɔ[55]**po[53]	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.6
Motuo Menba	**thon** po	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.07
Cuona Menba	**thɔ[55]**po[53]	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**mtho**	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**thon** po	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**mthon** mbo	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.5
	ntʰon-nbo	high	Sun 1985a:360
Tibetan (Batang)	**thu[53]**	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.03
	thu[55]mbu[53]	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**thom** boq	high (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.08
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**then[55]**bo[53]	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tho[53]**po[53]	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.2
	tho[55]po[55]	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.02
Tibetan (Written)	**mtho** po	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.1
	mtho-ba ≍ **mthon**-po	high (vs.)	Benedict 1972:247
	mthon po	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.01
	mthon.po	high	Sun 1985c:360
	mtho ba	high	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**tho** mbo	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.04
3.2. Qiangic			
Queyu (Xinlong)	**mthy[33]mthy[55]**	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.13
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	gɛ **mthu**	high / tall (of trees) (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.12

(8) PTB *m-raŋ HIGH / LONG

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao group): ***a-hlaŋ** LONG (BE)			
*Central Naga	*a-**hlaŋ**	LONG (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.208
*Ao	*a-**hlaŋ**	LONG (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.336
Ao (Chungli)	**-làŋ**	long (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
	a[3]-**laŋ[1]**	long (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.336
	ta **lang** ka	tall	Marrison 1967
	te **lang** ka	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	te **lang** ka	far; high	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te **lang**	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	te **lang**	tall	Marrison 1967
	te **lang** a	high	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **hláŋ**	long (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	nuk-**láŋ**-nùk	sword (’machete’ + ’be long’ + ’machete’) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	tshə-**hlaŋ**	elongate, extend [elongated, extended] (’pull’ + ’be long’); stretch [stretched] (’pull’ + ’be long’) (v.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007

Sangtam	a **shing**	long	Kumar 1973a
Yacham-Tengsa	**lang**	far	Marrison 1967
	lang la	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **shang**	long	Kumar 1973b:87
	a **shang**	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	a **sang** ba	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**loŋ loŋ**	long	Bhat 1968
	loŋ gá	long / tall (male)	Bhat 1968
	loŋ gí	long / tall (female)	Bhat 1968
	loŋ lá	tall	Bhat 1968
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Longxi)	bè **bó**	height [low-high]	Evans 1999:1620
	bó	tall, high	Evans 1999:1408
	bó bè	height [high-low]	Evans 1999:1620
Qiang (Mianchi)	**bʐú**	tall, high	Evans 1999:1408 [a]
	bʐú bè	height [high-low]	Evans 1999:1620
4. Nungic			
Anong (Rawang)	**haŋ**	high	Benedict 1972:43n140
Nung	uɑ^{55}**mɑŋ**^{31}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.21
Anong	uɑ^{55}**mɑŋ**^{31}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.44
Anong (Rawang)	**yaŋ**	long	Benedict 1972:43n140
Rawang	**yaŋ**^{33} wɛ^{33}	tall, high; high, tall; long	LaPolla 2003:990; LaPolla 2003:992; LaPolla 2003:997
Trung [Dulong]	**mraŋ**	high, long	Benedict 1972:43n140
Dulong	**mɹɑŋ**^{53}	high; tall; long (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.20; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.20
Trung [Dulong]	**mɹǎŋ**^{53}	high; tall; long	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.46; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:809.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**mɹǎŋ**^{53}	long	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-mraŋ**^{3}	high	Matisoff 2003a:602
	***ʔ-myaŋ**$^{1/3}$	long (time)	Matisoff 2003a:603
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**m̥jɑŋ**^{55}	high	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**m̥ʐaŋ**^{55}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.28
	m̥ʐaŋ^{55}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.41
Achang (Luxi)	**mjaŋ**^{35}	high	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**m̥ʐaŋ**^{55}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.29
Bola (Luxi)	**mjɔ̃**^{55}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mjī**^{53}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mjī**^{53}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.40
Burmese (Written)	**mraṅ:**	high	Marrison 1967
	mráŋ	high	Benedict 1972:43n139
	mraŋ'	high	Benedict 1976a
	mrɑŋ^{1}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.26
	mrɑŋ^{1}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.39
Hpun (Northern)	**myò**	high	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**mjɔ̃**^{31}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**mjaːŋ**^{33}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.33
Maru [Langsu]	**mjɔ̃**^{31}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mjaŋ**^{51}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.30
	mjaŋ^{51}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	*(**ʔ**)**-mroŋ**^{3}	high	Bradley 1979b:758
	***ʔə-mroŋ**^{3}	high	Bradley 1979b:758
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**m**^{24}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.47
Nusu (Bijiang)	**m̥ɯ**^{31}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.45
Nusu (Central)	**m̥ɹə**^{33}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.34
Nusu (Southern)	**m̥ɹə**^{55}	high	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**m̥ɹɯ**^{55}	high	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	tɕhɔ^{21}**m(u)**^{21}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{33}**m̥u**^{33}	deep (water); high; tall	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**mo**^{33}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**mo̱**^{55}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mɯ**^{33}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.24
	m̩^{33}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**m̩(u̩)**^{55}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔm̩**^{55}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.36
Yi (Wuding)	**mʮ**^{11}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.38
Yi (Xide)	a^{33}**m̥(u)**^{33}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.21
	ɑ^{33}**m̥u**^{33}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	la^{44}**mjo**^{44}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.44
	mjo^{31}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**m̥jo**^{42}	high	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	**mv**^{33}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.43
Lahu (Black)	**mu**^{33}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**mʮ**^{1}	high	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	a^{4}**-mu**^{1}**-mu**^{3}	high	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**mo̱**^{33}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.40
	mo^{44}	high / tall	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:802.27
Lisu (Central)	**mu**^{3}	high	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**mu**^{33}	high (V.)	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{33}	high (V.)	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{33}**mɔ**^{33} m̃^{33}m̃^{33}	high in some places and low at others	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**m̩**^{44}	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**mjuŋ**^{5}	tall / high	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **moŋ33**	high, tall	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:204009
Sila	jɔ33 **mjo55**	tall, high	Kato Takashi 2008:228

[a] [Source Note] cf. 'horse'.

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**mɨ**^{33}	HIGH	Pelkey 2011:1039
Southern Muji	**mɯ**^{33}	HIGH	Pelkey 2011:1039
Phola	**ŋɔ**^{55}	HIGH	Pelkey 2011:1039
Hlepho Phowa	**ʔmo**^{33}	HIGH	Pelkey 2011:1039
Phu Kha	**mu**^{31}	high	Fried 2000
Phuza	**mɯ**^{55}	HIGH	Pelkey 2011:1039

(9) PKC *shaaŋ-I, *shaan-II HIGH / TALL

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***shaaŋ**-I, shaan-II	HIGH / TALL	VanBik 2009:689
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**sāng** hī	high (be v.)	VanBik 2009:689
Thado	**săaŋ**-I, sàan-II	high	VanBik 2009:689
Tiddim	**saːng**^{2} > saːn^{3}	high	VanBik 2009:689
	saːng^{2} > saːn^{3}	high (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1535
	saːŋ^{2}/saːn^{3}	receive, accept; be high	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**hlüng**	high (be v.)	VanBik 2009:689
Khumi	**asaáng**	tall, high, rise up	VanBik 2009:689
	ə **s^{h}ān**	tall	So-Hartmann 1988:228
Matu	ą̊ **s^{h}āŋ**	tall	So-Hartmann 1988:228
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**sâaŋ**-I, săan-II	high, tall (be v.)	VanBik 2009:689
Lai (Falam)	**săaŋ**-I, sàan-II	high (be v.)	VanBik 2009:689
Lushai [Mizo]	**sáang**-I, sàan-II	high, to be lofty, to be tall (be v.)	VanBik 2009:689
	sâng	high; tall	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	shaːng	high (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2894
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**sà**	high, tall (be v.)	VanBik 2009:689
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Sorbung	mə **sáaŋ**	high	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.003

(10) PKC *phay HORIZONTAL / FLAT / LEVEL / WEFT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***phay**	HORIZONTAL / FLAT / LEVEL / WEFT	VanBik 2009:343
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**siam** phei	weft	VanBik 2009:343
Sizang	**pē** hī	even, level	VanBik 2009:343
Thado	**pháy**-I, phày-II	horizontal, level	VanBik 2009:343
Tiddim	**phei**^{2}	level; flat; level, flat	VanBik 2009:343; Bhaskararao 1996:1443
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**phây**-I, phăy-II	horizontal (opposite of vertical), flat, level	VanBik 2009:343
Lai (Falam)	**phăy**-INV	flat, level	VanBik 2009:343
Lushai [Mizo]	**pháy**	level, flat, horizontal	VanBik 2009:343

(11) PTB *g-sik NEW

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-sik**	new	Matisoff 2003a:612
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**sɻ**^{55}	new	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.18
Guiqiong	**sə**^{55}pə^{55}	fresh	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.16
Namuyi	**sɻ**^{55}tsɛ^{33}	new	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.19
	quo^{33}n̥i^{55}**sɻ**^{55}tsæ^{31}	New Year's Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.46
	sɻ^{55}tsæ^{31}	fresh	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.46
	sɻ^{55}tsæ̱^{31}	new	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**sə**^{55}pa^{55}	new; fresh	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.10; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʂi**^{13}**ʂi**^{13}	new	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʂi**^{13}**ʂi**^{13}	new	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɕi**^{55}**ɕi**^{55}mə^{53}	new	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.10
Qiang (Longxi)	dʑá **tɕhí**	New Year	Evans 1999:1171
	tɕhí	new	Evans 1999:1502
	tɕhí tɕhá bá tɕhá	half-new half-old	Evans 1999:1616
Qiang (Mawo)	dʑɛ **khsə**	New Year's Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.08
	khsə	new	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.08; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	dià **sí**	New Year	Evans 1999:1171
	pù-**sí**	New Year [year-new]	Evans 1999:1171
	sí	new	Evans 1999:1502
Xumi	**ʂɛ̃**^{55}hĩ^{33}	new	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.20
	ʂɛ̃^{55}tsi^{33}	new	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**se**^{55}pi^{55}	new; fresh	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.14; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**kə ʃək**	new	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.11
rGyalrong	**kə ʃək**	new	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.12
	kA shAk	new	Nagano 1997:172
rGBenzhen	**kə-ʃək**	new	Sun 1997b
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***C-syik** NEW			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***C-šik** or **V-šik**	new	Matisoff 1972b:126
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ɑ**^{31}**ʂɯk**^{55}	new	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ʂək**^{55}	new	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.41
Achang (Luxi)	**sək**^{55}	new	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**a**^{31} **ʂɯk**^{55}	fresh	Dai Qingxia 1989f:1504; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.29

	ʂɯk^{55}	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.29
Bola (Luxi)	**sak^{55}**	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.32
Burmese (Written)	**sac**	new; new, not old	Hansson 1989:568; Benedict 1976a
	ə-sac	new; afresh	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**sa̱k^{55}**	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.31
	tsəŋ^{31}**sa̱k^{55}**	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**sə̱:k^{55}**	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.33
	tsan^{31}**sə̱k^{55}**	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.33
Maru [Langsu]	**sak^{55}**	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**a^{21}sik^{55}**	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.30
	tsan^{51}**sik^{55}**	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.30
	ɑ^{21}sik^{55}	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.42
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***C-ʃik^{L}**	new	Bradley 1979b:536; Hansson 1989:568
PNL	**C-šik^{L}**	new	CHEN Kang 1986a:171.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	kho^{53}**sʮ^{35}**	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.47
	si^{55}	new; fresh	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.47; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.47
Lalo	**xə̀q**	new	Björverud 1994
	xɯ̱^{2}	new	CHEN Kang 1986a:171.
Lipho	**xi̱^{2}**	new	CHEN Kang 1986a:171.
Nasu	**ši 55**	new	Matisoff 1972b:126
	ɕi̱^{55}	new	CHEN Kang 1986a:171.
Neisu	**xi^{13}**	new	CHEN Kang 1986a:171.
Nesu	**ɕi̱^{2}**	new	CHEN Kang 1986a:171.
Nosu	**ʂi̱^{55}**	new	CHEN Kang 1986a:171.
Yi (Dafang)	**xe^{13}**	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{33} **ʂʮ^{55}**	brand new	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**ɕi̱^{21}**	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ɕe̱^{55}**	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.24
	ɕi^{55}	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.37
	ʑɑ^{21}**ɕi^{55}**	fresh	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.37
Yi (Nanjian)	ko^{21}**xɯ̱^{21}**tɕhi^{55}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.23
	xɯ̱^{21}	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.23
Yi (Weishan)	kho̱^{21}**xɯ^{21}**	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.36
	kho̱^{21}**xɯ̱^{21}**tɕhi^{55}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.36
	xɯ̱^{21}	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.36
	xɑ^{33}**xɯ̱^{21}xɯ̱^{21}**	fresh	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.36
Yi (Wuding)	khu̱^{55}**ɕi̱^{2}**	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.38
	ɕi̱^{55}	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.38
	ɕi̱^{55}ne^{33}	fresh	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.38
Yi (Xide)	a^{33} **ʂʮ^{55}**	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.21
	khu^{55}**ʂʅ̄^{33}**	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.35
	khu^{55}**ʂʅ̄^{33}**	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.35
	khu^{55}**ʂʅ̄^{33}**	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.21
	ɑ^{33} **ʂʮ^{55}ʂʮ^{21}**	fresh	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.35
	ɑ^{33} **ʂʮ^{55}**	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**ši 44s**	new	Matisoff 1972b:126
	ɕi̱^{2}	new	CHEN Kang 1986a:171.
Jinuo	a^{33} **ɕi^{55}**	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.44; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.34
	mjɔ^{42}**ɕi^{55}**	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃi^{55}**	new	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**sɤ55**	new	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	qhɔ^{21}**si^{35}**	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.43
	ɔ^{31} **si^{35}**	new; fresh	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.43
Lahu (Black)	**ší**	new	Matisoff 1972b:126
	ɔ^{31} **sʮ^{35}**	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.33
	ɔ̀-**ší**	new	Matisoff 1972b:126
Lahu (Yellow)	**sʮ^{4}**	new	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	(yi^{1}) **shï^{6}**	new	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	dza^{44}**ʃʮʔ^{21}**	fresh grain	Bradley 1994
	dza^{44}**ʃʮʔ^{21}**pæʔ^{21}	festival of fresh grain	Bradley 1994
Lisu	e^{55} **ʃi^{41}**	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.27
Lisu (Northern)	hã^{33}**ʃʮʔ^{21}**	new wasteland	Bradley 1994
	hĩ^{33}**ʃʮʔ^{21}**	new house	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**ʃʮʔ^{21}**	new; brand new (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	kho̱^{31}**ʃi̱^{31}**	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.40
	kho̱^{31}**ʃi̱^{31}**	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.40
	kho^{41}**ʃʮ^{41}**	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.27
Lisu (Northern)	khɔʔ^{21}**ʃʮʔ^{21}**	New Year; Spring Festival	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21} **ʃʮʔ^{21}** khɔʔ^{21} vu^{55} ph	prepare for the New Year	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**shï6**	new	Matisoff 1972b:126
	sʮ 11	new	Matisoff 1972b:126
	ʃi̱^{31}	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ʃʮʔ^{21}**	new (V.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ši 22s**	new	Matisoff 1972b:126
	ɕi^{2}	new	CHEN Kang 1986a:171.
Yi (Sani)	**ɕi^{2}**	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**shui LS**	new	Matisoff 1972b:126
	sjỳq	new	Hansson 1989:568
Akha (Thai)	**sjỳq**	new	Hansson 1989:568
Bisu	ʔaŋ-**šʉ̀**	new	Matisoff 1972b:126
	ʔaŋ **ʃʉ̀**	new	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	jo **sjỳq**	new	Hansson 1989:568
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**sə 21**	new	Matisoff 1972b:126
Hani (Hu T'an)	**sʮ 21c**	new	Matisoff 1972b:126
Hani (Dazhai)	**sʮ̄^{31}**	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**sʮ̄^{31}**	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.41
	sʮ̄^{31}phu^{31}ne^{33}	fresh	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.41
	xu̱^{31}**sʮ̱^{31}**	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.41
	xu̱^{31}**sʮ̱^{31}** dza^{31}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.41
Hani (Pijo)	à **sjỳ**	new	Hansson 1989:568
Hani (Caiyuan)	a^{31}**sʮ̄^{31}**	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.30
Hani (Pijo)	**sjỳ**	new	Hansson 1989:568
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɕɯ̱^{31}**	new	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**sivq**	new	Hansson 1989:568
Hani (Shuikui)	xv̱^{31}**ʃʮ̄^{31}**tsɔ^{31}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.32
Haoni	**ʃʮ^{21}**	new	Hansson 1989:568
Hani (Shuikui)	ʃʮ̄^{31}	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.32
Hani (Khatu)	à **sjỳ** ?	new	Hansson 1989:568
	sjỳ	new	Hansson 1989:568
Hani (Mojiang)	xv̩^{31}**ʃɤ^{31}**tsɔ^{31}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.42
	xv̱^{31}**ʃɤ^{31}**	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.42
	ʃɤ^{31}	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.42
	3v̩^{33}**ʃɤ^{31}ʃɤ^{31}**	fresh	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.42
Mpi	**sɯʔ^{1}**	new	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	ʔɑ^{2} **sɯʔ^{1}**	new	Hansson 1989:568
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **sɯ31**	new	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:210036
Sila	a21 **ɕi̱21**	new	KATO Takashi 2008:254
Woni	**ʂʮ 55**	new	Matisoff 1972b:126
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	k^{h}ɔ^{22}**ɕi^{22}**	new year	Pelkey 2011:58
	k^{h}ɔ^{22}**ɕi^{22}**mɞ^{21}	spend the New Year	Pelkey 2011:752
	ɕi^{22}	new	Pelkey 2011:968
Phola	**ɕi̱^{33}**	new	Pelkey 2011:968
Hlepho Phowa	k^{h}o^{33}**sʮ^{21}**	new year	Pelkey 2011:58
	k^{h}o^{55}**sʮ^{21}**mo^{33}	spend the New Year	Pelkey 2011:752
	sʮ^{33}	new	Pelkey 2011:968
Phuza	**ɕi^{33}**	new	Pelkey 2011:968
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	k^{h}v⌋**ʂɯ**⌋	celebrate the New Year (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:1653
	ʂɯ⌋tsɑ⌋	new	Michaud 2006–2009:2112
Na (Yongning)	k^{h}v⊣**ʂɯ**⌉	celebrate the New Year (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂɯʅ	new	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʂɯ^{55}**	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʂʮ^{31}**	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.29
Naxi	**ʂʮ^{55}**	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.45

Chinese comparandum

Comment: Cf. 新 **xīn**, comparandum for PTB ***si(ŋ/k)*** TREE / WOOD / FIREWOOD (§3.1.1).

(12) PTB *g-sar NEW / FRESH

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***gsjar**	new / fresh	Coblin 1986:112
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-sar**	new / fresh	Matisoff 2003a:612
	***sar**	new	Weidert 1987:816; Matisoff 2003a:612; Matisoff 1983:24; LaPolla 1987:100
	***sɑr**	new / fresh	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:209a-c
1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**a^{33}fat̪^{33}**	new	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.52
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	pú-lo **kar**-be	new moon	Sun 1993b
	pú-lo **kar**-tuʔ	new moon	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	**kɯ^{31}tɑn^{35}**	new	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.23; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:866.48
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ****thar*** NEW / FRESH			
**Chin*	***thar**	NEW / FRESH	VanBik 2009:401
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**thak**	fresh	VanBik 2009:401
Sizang	**thāk**	new	VanBik 2009:401
Thado	a **tha**	new	LaPolla 1987:100
	ă **tha**	new	Benedict 1972:147n401
	thâʔ-I, **thàʔ-II**	new	VanBik 2009:401
Tiddim	**thak**	new	LaPolla 1987:100; Benedict 1972:147n401
	thak^{1}	new	VanBik 2009:401
	thak^{1}	new (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1858
	thak^{1}	new	Bhaskararao 1994
	¯thak/˘thak	new (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**at'a˝**	new (be v.)	VanBik 2009:401
Chinbon	**t^{h}a:**	new	So-Hartmann 1988:249
Cho (Mindat)	**thai**	new (be v.)	VanBik 2009:401
Daai	a̰ʔ **t^{h}a:^{i}**	new	So-Hartmann 1988:249
Khumi	**kãŋt^{h}a**	new	So-Hartmann 1988:249
	kthaá	new	VanBik 2009:401
Matu	a̰ **t^{h}a^{i}**	new	So-Hartmann 1988:249
Mkaang	a̰ **t^{h}a^{i}**	new	So-Hartmann 1988:249
Ngmüün	a̰ʔ **t^{h}a:^{i}**	new	So-Hartmann 1988:249
Nyhmoye	a̰ʔ **t^{h}a**	new	So-Hartmann 1988:249
Wakung	ka **t^{h}a**	new	So-Hartmann 1988:249
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thâr**-I, thăr-II	fresh, new (be v.)	VanBik 2009:401
Lai (Falam)	**thăr**-INV	fresh, new (be v.)	VanBik 2009:401
Lushai [Mizo]	**thar**	new	Marrison 1967
	thár	new, to be fresh (be v.)	VanBik 2009:401
	thar	new (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2945
	thar	new; new, anew	LaPolla 1987:100; Benedict 1972:147n401
1.2.3. MARAIC			

Lakher [Mara]	**thì**	new, to be fresh (be v.)	VanBik 2009:401

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-saːn** NEW

**Central Naga*	*a-**saːn**	NEW (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.160
**Ao*	*a-**sən**	NEW (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.108
Ao (Chungli)	t a^{2} **sən^{2}**	new (adj.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.108
	t a **sen**	new	Marrison 1967
	^{2}t a ^{2}**sɯn**	new (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:844
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te **sen**	new	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**than^{1}**	new (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.160
	e **than**	new	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:78
	Yí **t̪háṉ**	new	Acharya 1975
	^{1}e ^{1}**tan**	new (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:844
Sangtam	a **si**	new	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	t a **san**	new	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **so**	new	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**kesa**	new	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**kesa**	new	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**küsa**	new	Marrison 1967
Mao	**kothu**	new	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**kethi**	new	Marrison 1967
	kethü	new	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**keshü**	new	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **kite**	new	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**kasam** ba	new	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**kashan**	new	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**kathün** mei	new	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***t^{h}ar** NEW

**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}ar**	new	Mortensen 2012:512
Huishu	kə-**t^{h}o**	new	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.160
Kachai	kə-**t^{h}ar**	new	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.139
Tangkhul	ka **thar**	new	Marrison 1967
	thər	new	Bhat 1969:93
Tusom	kə-**t^{h}uə**	new	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.176
Ukhrul	kə-**t^{h}ɐr**	new	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**gatar**	pure / fresh	Bhat 1968
	gatar getar	neat and fresh	Bhat 1968

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***saːr** NEW

**Northern Naga*	***saːr**	new	French 1983:526

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**ham** bü	new	Marrison 1967
Konyak	a **la** pu	new	Marrison 1967
Phom	**čæ^{55}**	new	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ja pü	new	Marrison 1967
Wancho	ho **jan**	new	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. Bodic

Bumthang	**sar** pa	new	Weidert 1987:816
Kaike	**sār** bā	new	Hale 1973:01.096
Kurtöp	**sar** pa	new	Weidert 1987:816

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	lo **sar**	New Year's Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.05
	lo **sar** je	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	lo **sar** je	celebrate new year	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:685.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	lo **sa** jel	celebrate new year	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:685.5
	lo **s^{h}ær**	new year	Sun 1985a:639
Tibetan (Batang)	lʊ^{13}**sɑ^{55}**	New Year's Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.03
	lʊ^{13}**sɑ^{55}**tõ^{55}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	lo^{13}**shɑ^{55}**ɕe?^{31}	celebrate new year	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:685.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	lø^{13}**saː^{55}**	New Year's Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.02
	lø^{13}**saː^{55}** taŋ^{55}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.02
	lø^{15}**sa^{55}**-taŋ^{55}	celebrate new year	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:685.2
Tibetan (Written)	**gsar** pa	new	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.01; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.1
	gsar-ba	new; new, fresh	Weidert 1987:816; Matisoff 1983:24; LaPolla 1987:100; Benedict 1972:147n401
	gsar-po	new	Weidert 1987:816
	lo **gsar**	New Year's Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.01
	lo **gsar** gtoŋ	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.01
	lo **gsar** gtoŋ	celebrate new year	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:685.1
	lo.**gsar**	new year	Sun 1985c:639
	ɣsar ba	new	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	lo **shar**	New Year's Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.04
	lo **sher** jə	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{B}**ts^{h}ar**	new	Mazaudon 1994:287
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'char**	new	Weidert 1987:816
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**ts^{h}ar**	new	Mazaudon 1994:287
Tamang (Sahu)	**'chār**	new	Hale 1973:XIID
	'c^{h}ar	new	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.96
	'c^{h}ar	new (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.D.23
	chār	new	Hale 1973:01.096
	^{2}**ts^{h}ar**	new	Mazaudon 1994:287
Thakali	**sam**-pa	new	Hale 1973:XIID
Thakali (Marpha)	^{55,44}**sam**-pa	new	Mazaudon 1994:939
	^{55,55}**sʌm**-pʌ	new	Mazaudon 1994:939
Thakali (Tukche)	**sɔm**-pɔ	new	Hari 1971:1.96
	^{2}**səm**	new	Mazaudon 1994:939

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Kham	**sāhro**	new	Hale 1973:XIID

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**sʉ^{55}**pʉ^{55}	new	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.16
	sø^{55}pø^{55}	new	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.17
Lyuzu	**sæ^{33}**pæ^{53}	new	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.18
Muya	**sɐ^{55}**pæ^{53}	new	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.15
Muya [Minyak]	**sɐ^{55}**pɛ^{55}	new	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.15
Qiang (Mawo)	**khsə**	fresh	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.08
Queyu (Xinlong)	kuə^{55}**xsar^{55}**pe^{55}	New Year's Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**se^{55}**pi^{33}	new	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**xsar^{55}**pe^{55}	new; fresh	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.13; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.13

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**sa^{ɪ}** pa	new	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.14
Daofu	**sɐr** pa	fresh	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**kə sɐr**	fresh	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.11
Caodeng	**χsɐr**-pe	new	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**kser** pe	new	Nagano 1997:172

4. Nungic

Anong (Rawang)	aŋ **sar**	new	LaPolla 1987:100; Benedict 1972:147n401
Rawang	ɑŋ^{31} **ʃar^{53}**	new	LaPolla 2003:1077
Nung	ʔo^{31}**sɛ^{55}**	new	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.21
Anong	ʔo^{31}**sɛ^{55}**	new	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.44
Trung [Dulong]	ak **sal**	fresh	LaPolla 1987:100; Benedict 1972:147n401
	lɯ^{31}**sɑ̆ɹ^{55}**	celebrate new year	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:685.46
	ɑŋ^{31}**sɑ̆ɹ^{55}**	new	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:866.46
Dulong	ɑŋ^{55}**ɕɑɹ^{55}**	new; fresh	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.20; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	aŋ^{31} **sar^{55}**	new	LaPolla 1987:100
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	aŋ^{31} **sar^{53}**	new	LaPolla 1987:100
	ɑŋ^{31}**sɑ̆ɹ^{53}**	new	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

7. Karenic: ***san** / sành NEW, ***saN^{A}** NEW

**Karen*	***san**	new	Benedict 1972:147n401
	***sành**	new	Jones 1961:171
	***saN^{A}**	new	Luangthongkum 2013:202
**Karen [Burling]*	***saN^{4}**	new	Luangthongkum 2013:202
Bwe	**θɛ^{55}**	new	Luangthongkum 2013:202
Karen	a^{31}**tθɔ̰^{55}**	new	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1050.50
Kayah	**se^{33}**	new	Luangthongkum 2013:202
Kayan	**θḭ^{53}**	new	Luangthongkum 2013:202
Kayaw	**sa^{55}**	new	Luangthongkum 2013:202
Pa-O (Northern)	**sa$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	new	Luangthongkum 2013:202
Pa-O	tə **sà**	new	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**sɛ̃^{35}**	new	Luangthongkum 2013:202
Pwo (Southern)	**θɔ̃^{53}**	new	Luangthongkum 2013:202
Sgaw (Northern)	**sɔ^{33}**	new	Luangthongkum 2013:202
Sgaw (Southern)	**sɔ^{55}**	new	Luangthongkum 2013:202

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**si̯ĕn**	new / renew	Chou Fa-kao 1972:382k-m
Chinese (Old)	**si̯an**	fresh	Matisoff 1983:24
	si̯ĕn	new	Matisoff 1983:24
	si̯ɑn	fresh (fish, meat) / new / fine / clear	Chou Fa-kao 1972:209a-c
	sjen	fresh	Baxter 1992:644

Chinese comparandum

鮮 OC ***si̯an**, *GSR* #209a-c 'fresh in general (originally of fish or meat)'; Coblin 86:112 ST ***gsjar** > OC ***sjan**; Schuessler 2007:528 ***san**; B & S 2011: ***ser {[s] [e] r}**; Mand. **xiān**.

Comment: Cf. also 新 **xīn**, comparandum for PTB ***si(ŋ/k)** TREE / WOOD / FIREWOOD (§3.1.1).

(13) PCC *dip POWDERED / FINE

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***dip**	POWDERED / FINE	VanBik 2009:101
Lai (Hakha)	**dip**-I, diʔ-II	powdered, fine (as sugar, salt, etc.), also fâaŋ dip 'well-pounded millet' (be v.)	VanBik 2009:101
Lushai [Mizo]	**dìp**-I, dìʔ-II	fine (as sugar, salt, sand, etc.), to be finely powdered (be v.)	VanBik 2009:101

(14) PTB *bra SCATTERED / DIVIDED / FORKED

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***bra**	forked, scattered, divided	Benedict 1972:132

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**bara ≍ bubra**	confluence (of rivers), fork (of tree) 130	Benedict 1972:132

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	bi **bra**	junction	Benedict 1972:132

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**bra**	scattered, dispersed	Benedict 1972:132
	brá	scatter (v.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:63

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**bra**	forked (of roads)	Benedict 1972:132
	pra	spread, stretch	Benedict 1972:132

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Bahing	**bra**	scatter; to be distant	Benedict 1972:132

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**prà**	divided into several parts	Benedict 1972:132

(15) PTk *paj SHALLOW

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***paj**	shallow	Mortensen 2012:702
Huishu	kə-**pej**	shallow	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.177
Ukhrul	kə-**paj**	shallow (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(16) NEIA *day SHALLOW

This root has so far only been discovered in TB languages of Northeast India, and is to be distinguished from PTB ***dim** SHALLOW (§7.1.5).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***day**	shallow	Matisoff 1985a:120; Matisoff 2003a:586

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**dai²**	shallow as a plate or plate-like container (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:202
	dai²	shallow as a plate or plate	Bhaskararao 1994
	dai¹	shallow; have a bad name or loose reputation (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:201
	dai¹	shallow...	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊdai	shallow	Matisoff 1985a:120
	ˊdai/ˆdai	shallow (v.)	Henderson 1965
	ˋdai	shallow	Matisoff 1985a:120

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **dèy**	shallow	Matisoff 1985a:120
	kang **dei**	shallow	Marrison 1967

(17) PTB *dim SHALLOW

The Qiangic languages show evidence of both an **s-** and a nasal prefix. This root is to be distinguished from NEIA ***day*** SHALLOW (§7.1.5), which seems confined to the languages of Northeast India.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dim**	shallow	Matisoff 2003a:586

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**djɨj**	shallow	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3433

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Lanping)	**zdĩ^{55}**	shallow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0983.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sdĩ^{55}**	shallow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:805.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʑɐ̃^{35}**mə^{53}	shallow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:805.10
Queyu (Xinlong)	ʒi^{13}**ndiɛ^{55}**pti^{13}	shallow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0983.13
Xumi	**dyi^{33}dyi^{55}**	flat / shallow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0991.17

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**tẽ^{22}**	shallow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0983.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tẽ^{22}**	shallow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:805.40
Burmese (Written)	**tim**	shallow	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1976a
	tim²	shallow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:805.39
	tin²	shallow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0983.26
Marma	**tiŋ**	shallow (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:369

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**tɛ^{323}**	shallow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0983.47
Yi (Dafang)	**duɯ^{21}**	shallow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:805.22
Yi (Liangshan)	i^{34}**di^{33}**	shallow	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**duɯ^{33}**	shallow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:805.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dɐ^{33}**	shallow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:805.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**de^{33}**	shallow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0983.37
	de^{33}	shallow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:805.24
Yi (Wuding)	**de^{11}**	shallow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0983.38
Yi (Xide)	i^{44}**di^{33}**	shallow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:805.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	a^{33}**tɛ^{33}**	shallow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:805.34
	a^{44}**tɛ^{55}**	shallow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0983.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**tɛ^{42}**	shallow	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**htá^{6}**	shallow, be (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**thæ^{21}**	shallow (V.)	Bradley 1994
	thæ^{21}thæ^{21}za^{21}	very shallow	Bradley 1994
	thæ^{21}thæ^{21}zɔʔ^{21}	slightly shallow	Bradley 1994
	thæ^{21}thæ^{35}zaʔ^{21}	very shallow	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**thɛ^{31}**	shallow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0983.40
	thɛ^{31}	shallow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:805.27
Yi (Sani)	**tɤ^{33}**	shallow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0983.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Hani (Dazhai)	**tɐ^{33}**	shallow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:805.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tɐ^{33}**	shallow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0983.41

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Phola	**^{n}tɛ^{55}**	SHALLOW	Pelkey 2011:1051

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**die**˥	shallow (water)	Michaud 2006–2009:1953
	t^{h}ɑ˧**die**˥	shallow (water)	Michaud 2006–2009:1953
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dy^{55}**	shallow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:805.28

(18) PTani *ləŋ ~ *rjəŋ SLANTING

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***ləŋ~ rjəŋ**	slanting	Sun 1993a:369

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	pa:-**rjɯŋ**	slanting	Sun 1993a
Bokar	pa **jəŋ**	askew; awry; slanting; leaning (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0999.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1000.24
	pa-**jəŋ**	slanting; slanting, oblique, diagonal	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	pa **jəŋ**	slanting, not upright	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:828.51

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ləŋ**	slanting	Sun 1993a

(19) PTB *tsyuk STEEP (ADJ.)

More confirmation of this etymon would be welcome.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsyuk**	steep	Matisoff 2003a:618; Benedict 1972:353

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**tśhuk**	descend, steep (downwards), down	Benedict 1972:353

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**tsu**-pho	steep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:826.7
	tsu^{55}p‘u^{55}	steep	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**cu**-hu	steep	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**cok**	steep	Matisoff 1983:69; Benedict 1976a
	jok	steep	Benedict 1976a
	tsauk	steep	Benedict 1972:353

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Central)	**tsaw^{2}**	steep, be (v.)	Fraser 1922

(20) PTB *rwat STIFF / TOUGH

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***r + wət**	stiff / perverse	Coblin 1986:141

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***rwat**	stiff / tough	Matisoff 2003a:611; Benedict 1972:198

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**rod**-pă	stiff, unable to help one’s self	Benedict 1972:198

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**rwat**	old, tough	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:198

(21) PTB * p/b lyaŋ STRAIGHT / STRAIGHTEN

As discussed in Matisoff 1988 (“Straight, flat, full”), this root is allofamically related both to PTB ***(p/b)lyaŋ*** PLANK / PALM / FLAT SURFACE / WING (§1.5.1) and PTB ***(p/b)liŋ*** FULL / FILL (§1.1.3.2), the common semantic core being “a complete or ideal realization of a quality appropriate to a particular dimensionality in space”.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***bleŋ ≍ pleŋ**	straight(en); straight	Matisoff 2003a:584; Benedict 1972:352

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	**piaŋ**-duŋ	straight	Sun 1993b
	piəŋ-dan-la	straighten	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**byũ**	straight	NEFA (India) 1963
	ɑ^{31}lim^{55}**bioŋ^{55}**	straight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:821.49
	ɑ^{31}lim^{55}**blioŋ^{55}**	straight	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.22
Kaman [Miju]	**bloŋ^{35}**	straight	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.23; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:821.48

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**beŋ**	straight, become (v.)	Bhat 1968
	ge **beŋ**	straight	Bhat 1968
	ge **peŋ**	straight	Bhat 1968
	peŋ	straight, make (v.)	Bhat 1968
	pəzən	straight, make; satisfy (v.)	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**beleng** ba	straight	Marrison 1967
	beleŋ	erect, straight (vs.)	Benedict 1972:352
	gi **bleŋ**	erect, straight	Benedict 1972:352
	si-**phleŋ**	straighten out	Benedict 1972:352

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	diŋ-**breŋ**	straight	Benedict 1972:352
Garo (Bangladesh)	dim-**breng**-a	straight (vi.)	Burling 2003:2.318-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**pereng-**	straight (adj1.)	van Breugel 2008
	pering tong tong	straight (adv.)	van Breugel 2008
	pering-	straight (be v.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**preŋ**	straight	Benedict 1972:352

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**laŋ** mo	straight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:821.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**lang**-bu	straight	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**laŋ** mo	straight	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.07

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**phjãu^{53}**	straight (horizontal)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**phjaũ^{53}**	straight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:821.40
Burmese (Written)	**phroṅ.**	straight	Marrison 1967
	phroŋ’	straight, make straight	Benedict 1976a
	phrɔŋ^{1}	straight (horizontal); straight	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.26; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:821.39
Marma	**prǒŋ**	straight (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:325

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo (Youle)	**pɹo^{33}**	straight	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **plɔŋ45**	straight	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:204035

7. Karenic

Kayan (Pekon)	**p^{h}lò**	untie, straighten (V.)	Manson 2010

Chinese comparandum

壬 OC ***t’ieng***, *GSR* #835a-c ‘good (virtuous); be good at’; Schuessler 2007: (***lhêŋʔ**); B & S 2011: ***l̥^{ʂ}eŋʔ**; Mand. **tǐng**.
挺 OC ***d’ieng***, *GSR* #835i ‘stick out, straighten up; straight, stiff; quite (adv.)’; Schuessler 2007:498 ***lhêŋʔ**; Mand. **tǐng**.
庭 OC ***d’ieng***, *GSR* #835h ‘straight (of growing grain), upright (of morality); Schuessler 2007:498 ***lêŋ**; Mand. **tíng**.

梃 OC ***d’ieng***, *GSR* #835j ‘stick, staff, club’; Schuessler 2007:499 ***lêŋʔ**; Mand. **tǐng**.
筵 OC ***t’i̯ěng***, *GSR* #835k-l ‘bamboo rod’; Schuessler 2007:499 ***lêŋ**; Mand. **tíng**.
鋌 OC ***d’ieng***, *GSR* #835o ‘metal rod, ingot’; Schuessler 2007:499 ***lêŋʔ**; Mand. **dìng**.
珽 OC ***t’ieng***, *GSR* #835p ‘jade scepter’; Schuessler 2007:499 ***lêŋʔ**; Mand. **tǐng**.

(22) PTB *t(r)waŋ STRAIGHT / STRAIGHTEN

There is an accidentally similar Thai word **troŋ** ‘straight’, a loanword from Khmer.

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Damu	piaŋ-**duŋ**	straight	Sun 1993b

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**tang²** > tan³	straight (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1694
	ta:ng¹ > ta:n¹	able to be torn in a straight line [e.g. the bark (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1720
	ta:ŋ¹/ta:n¹	able to be torn in straight...	Bhaskararao 1994

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Ao (Chungli)	tomo **tong**	straight	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tümü **tong**	straight	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	ma **tung**	straight	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**toŋ toŋ**	straight and long	Bhat 1968

	təŋ zə̀ŋ	straight	Bhat 1968
	tə́ŋ	straight (v.)	Bhat 1968
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	-tong-**tang**-	direct; straight (aa.)	Burling 2003:0.42-II:idx
	tong•**-tang**	direct; straight (adv.)	Burling 2003:2.318-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**thong thong**	straight (adv.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**ting**	straight	Marrison 1967
	tiŋ^{33}	straight	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:821.47
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Darma	**təŋ**-lan	straight	Krishan 2003:835
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**tʂaŋ** mo	straight	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tʂaŋ** mo	straight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:821.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**tʂaŋ** mo	straight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:821.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**tʌŋ** mo·	straight	Rangan 1975:26
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂhaŋ**^{15}ko^{53}	straight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:821.2
	tʂoŋ^{13}ko^{55}	straight	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.02
Tibetan (Written)	**draṅ** po	straight	Marrison 1967
	draŋ po	straight	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.01
	ɦidroŋ po	straight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:821.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**tʂaŋ** mo	straight	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.04
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Tamang (Sahu)	**tāng tāng** pā	straight (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.22
	taŋ taŋ pa	straight (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.C.23
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**theŋ**	straighten, stretch (vtt, vr.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.64, 84.
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**dheng**.ʔo	straight (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.22
	dheŋ-	straight (va.)	Caughley 2000
3.2. QIANGIC			
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tõ**^{33}**tõ**^{55}	straight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:821.16
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**dʐoŋ dʐoŋ**	straight	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	’kə **tʂoŋ**	straight	Nagano & Prins 2013:1584
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	ke **’tʂoŋ**	straight	Nagano & Prins 2013:1584
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***tan**^{2}	straight / upright	Matisoff 2003a:614
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**tan**^{31}	straight	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:821.41
Bola (Luxi)	**tɛ̃**^{35}	straight	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.32
Burmese (Written)	**tân**	extend in a line; stretch out straight	Benedict 1976a
	tan:	straight	Marrison 1967
Leqi (Luxi)	**ta:n**^{33}	straight	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.33
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***(C)-dwaŋ**^{1}	straight	Bradley 1979b:538A
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Northern)	**dɛ**^{35}	straight	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**dɚ**^{55}	straight	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**dʐo**^{21}	straight (not curving)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	dʐo^{21}ȵɛ^{33}	straight (not curving)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	dʐo^{21}ʂʅ^{33}	ramrod straight	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	pa^{55}**dʐo**^{33}	stiff; straight (not curving)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tʂho^{21}**dʐo**^{21}	straight (not curving)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**dʐɑ**^{21}	straight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:821.24
Yi (Wuding)	**dʐv**^{11}	straight	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.38
Yi (Xide)	**dʐo**^{21}	straight	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1003.35; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:821.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lisu	**dʒo**^{31}	straight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:821.27
Lisu (Northern)	**dʐɔ**^{21}li^{35}zaʔ^{21}	very straight	Bradley 1994
	dʐɔ^{35}le^{33}	straight (V.)	Bradley 1994
	dʐɔ^{35}le^{35}zaʔ^{21}	straight; perfectly straight	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**daw˅** coe	straight	Bradley 1979b:538a
	yaw **daw˅**	straight	Bradley 1979b:538a
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dɔ**^{55}	straight	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Côông [Phunoi]	ʔɑ́ **dɔ́**	straight	Bradley 1979b:538a

(23) PKC *khawʔ STURDY / RIGID / STRONG / TOUGH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***khawʔ**	STURDY / RIGID / STRONG / TOUGH	VanBik 2009:460
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**khauh**	tough	VanBik 2009:460
Tiddim	**khauʔ**^{3}	stiff; strong; rigid (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:729
	khauʔ^{3}	stiff, strong, rigid	VanBik 2009:460; Bhaskararao 1994
	_xauʔ/_xauʔ	stiff / strong / rigid (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**khaaw**	sturdy, strong	VanBik 2009:460
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**khawʔ**-INV	hard, be sturdy, be tough, strong, stiff (be v.)	VanBik 2009:460
Lushai [Mizo]	**khaoh**	stiff; inflexible; strong (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2549
	khàuh	stiff, inflexible, strong (as current, mind, etc)	VanBik 2009:460

(24) PTk *cow TALL

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***cow**	tall	Mortensen 2012:422
Huishu	kə-**tsow**	tall	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.127
Kachai	kə-**ce**	high; tall	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.161; Mortensen 2012:Verbs.162
Ukhrul	kə-**cuj**	high, tall; loud (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(25) PTani *ɦiot^{2} TALL / HIGH

In Sun 1993:211, two Proto-Tani rhymes **ot**^{1} and **ot**^{2} are reconstructed because of two different sets of correspondences to Padam-Mising **ot**. Sun considers **ot**^{1} to be “extremely shaky”, since only one cognate set has been found so far.

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ɦiot**^{2}	tall / high	Sun 1993a:418
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	o-**ho**	tall / high	Sun 1993a
	ò-**hó**	tall	Sun 1993b
	o-**ho**	tall	Sun 1993b
	ò-**hó**	high	Sun 1993b
	o-**ho**	high	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**wu:**	tall; high; tall (human)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**wu:**-kjam	above; top	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Galo	‘a **hoo**	tall (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	a **u**	high	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **o**	tall	Das Gupta 1969
	a **o**-te	above	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **u**	high	Das Gupta 1983
	a **u** siŋ-nɤ	tall tree	Das Gupta 1983
	a **u** nɤ	tall	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ot**	tall / high	Sun 1993a

(26) PTB * d / t aŋ TENSE / TIGHT

The Chinese comparandum is due to Coblin (1986:150), where it is glossed as ‘give tension to a bow’.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***daŋ ≍ taŋ**	tense / tight	Matisoff 2003a:267
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**tam** mo	tense / tight / taut	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1040.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**tam** po	tight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:881.4
Tibetan (Batang)	**tɑ̃**^{13}mbu^{53}	tense / tight / taut	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1040.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tɑŋ**^{13}bo^{53}	tight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:881.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tham**^{13}po^{55}	tense / tight / taut	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1040.02
	tham^{15}po^{53}	tight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:881.2
Tibetan (Written)	**thaṅ** po	tight	Marrison 1967
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**tâŋ**	tighten, become tense, stiff	Benedict 1976a
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	強	strong	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2208
	强	strong	Nagano & Prins 2013:1665
	强壮	strong (quality)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1667
	强(有权)	strong (politically)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1666
	彊	strong	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2209
Chinese (GSR #)	**0710e**	strong	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2209
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	**gaŋ** {[g]aŋ}	strong	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2209
	N-kaŋ	strong	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2208
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**gjang**	strong	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2208; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2209
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**qiáng**	strong	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2208; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2209

Chinese comparandum

張

(27) PTB *lyap THIN / FLAT / FLAT OBJECT

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***lep ≍ lyap**	thin / flat / flat object	Matisoff 2003a:599
	***lyap**	flat / thin	Benedict 1972:212
1.1.1. TANI: ***ǰep ~ *rjap?** FLAT			
**Tani*	***ǰep~ rjap?**	flat	Sun 1993a:154
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	ča-**ǰe**	tread; trample	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	san-**ǰe**	timber	Sun 1993b
	sàn-**ǰe**	wood	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**ǰap**	flat	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ča-**ǰap**	tread; trample; tread on st.	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ja:-**ǰap**	press down on	Sun 1993b
	ǰiŋ-**ǰap**	collapse on	Sun 1993b
	rə:-**ǰap**-nə:	rolling pin	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **dʐap**	flat / shallow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0991.24
	a-**ǰap**	flat	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	-‘**jap**	flattened (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	‘a **jap**	flat (surface) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘meŋ **jap**	flatten (with weight) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nab **jap**	flat (mouth) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘pum **jap**	flat (nose) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘pum **jap**	nose (flat) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘pəə **jap**-‘pəə yap	flatten (by smashing) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘tu **jap**	flatten (underfoot) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**ǰep**	flat	Sun 1993a

Milang	a-**ɟep**-ɲi	flat	Tayeng 1976
2.1.2. BODIC			
Cuona Menba	**lep**[35]**lep**[35]	flat / shallow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0991.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**lep lep**	flat / shallow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0991.05
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**lep**[13]**le**[52]	flat / shallow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0991.02
Tibetan (Written)	**gleb**-pa	make flat	Benedict 1972:212
	leb leb	flat / shallow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0991.01
	leb-mo	flat	Benedict 1972:212; Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**lep** le	flat / shallow (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0991.04
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**lyap**	very thin	Benedict 1972:212

Chinese comparandum

牒 OC ***d'iɑp***, *GSR* #633g 'tablet; document, sheet'; Schuessler 2007:213 ***lêp***; Mand. **dié**.

Comment: Schuessler (ibid.) cautions against conflating the above comparandum 牒 **dié** with comparanda given for PTB ***g/l-t(y)ap*** FOLD / REPEAT / LAYER / PILE UP (§6.13), q.v.

(28) PTk *tsi TIGHT

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***tsi**	tight	Mortensen 2012:614
Huishu	tsa-nə-**tsik**-k^{h}e	tight	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.206
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**tsi**	too tight (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(29) PTB *t(r)ya-t WORN OUT / TORN

The initial cluster ***tr-*** is extremely rare in TB. While the evidence from PCC and TGTM is convincing, the Karenic forms apparently descend from a simple dental stop. However, the Karenic allofam with medial **-w-** suggest that some sort of glide should be reconstructed at the PTB level.

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN: ***tret-I**, ***treʔ-II** WORN OUT / TORN			
**Central Chin*	***tret**-I, treʔ-II	WORN OUT / TORN	VanBik 2009:1335
Lai (Hakha)	**tret**-I, treʔ-II	worn out (as clothes), torn (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1335
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭèt**-I, ṭè-II	torn	VanBik 2009:1335
2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{A}**ɖa:** BE TORN, *^{A}**ɖe:** TORN			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**ɖa:**	torn, be	Mazaudon 1994:398
	*^{A}**ɖe:**	torn	Mazaudon 1994:416
Gurung	^{2}**ṭo**-	torn, become	Mazaudon 1994:392
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**ṭa:**-	torn, be	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0813
	^{3}**ṭa:**-	torn, be	Mazaudon 1994:398
	^{4}**ṭa:**-	torn, be	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0342
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**ṭe:**	tear up	Mazaudon 1994:416
Tamang (Sahu)	**Te:h**-pa	tear (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:19.28
	^{3}**ṭe:**	tear	Mazaudon 1994:416
Tamang (Taglung)	**ɖe:**-ba	torn	Mazaudon 1994:416
Thakali (Marpha)	^{21,33}**ṭa:**-dzi	tear up	Mazaudon 1994:416
Thakali (Tukche)	^{3}**ṭa**	torn, become	Mazaudon 1994:398
	ṭah-lɔ	torn, become	Hari 1971:7.B.3.28 2
7. KARENIC: *^{D}**dɛʔ/dwɛʔ** TORN			
**Karen*	*^{D}**dɛʔ/dwɛʔ**	torn	Luangthongkum 2013:308 [a]
Bwe	**thɛ**^{33}	torn	Luangthongkum 2013:308
Kayah	**ti**^{33}	torn	Luangthongkum 2013:308
Kayan	**tuʔ**^{21}	torn	Luangthongkum 2013:308
Kayaw	**tu**^{33}	torn	Luangthongkum 2013:308
Pa-O (Northern)	**thɛʔ**^{45}	torn	Luangthongkum 2013:308
Pa-O (Southern)	**tɛʔ**^{45}	torn	Luangthongkum 2013:308
Pwo (Northern)	**theʔ**^{21}	torn	Luangthongkum 2013:308
Pwo (Southern)	**theʔ**^{45}	torn	Luangthongkum 2013:308
Sgaw (Southern)	**tɛ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	torn	Luangthongkum 2013:308
Sgaw (Northern)	**tɛʔ**^{21}	torn	Luangthongkum 2013:308

[a] [Source Note] CK has irregular vowels.

7.1.6 Composition

(1) PKC *looŋ ONLY / ALONE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***looŋ**	ONLY / ALONE	VanBik 2009:1036
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**läng**	only, alone	VanBik 2009:1036
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**lòoŋ**	only, alone	VanBik 2009:1036
Lai (Falam)	**lôoŋ**	only, alone	VanBik 2009:1036

(2) PKC *them SHRED / BIT / SCRAP (small amount)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***them**	SHRED / BIT / SCRAP (small amount)	VanBik 2009:408
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	a **them**	shred	VanBik 2009:408
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**thém**	piece, a bit a scrap, a shred (small amount) (n.)	VanBik 2009:408

7.1.7 Importance/Significance

(1) PNN *Ç-reŋ ALIKE

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN			
**Northern Naga*	***Ç-reŋ**	alike	French 1983:449
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Nocte	ro **raŋ**	alike	French 1983:449
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Chang	a **yen**	unequal (of soil, etc.) (be v.)	French 1983:449 [a]

[a] [Source Note] (a- = 'not').

(2) PKC *kruul NECESSARY / ESSENTIAL

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***kruul**	NECESSARY / ESSENTIAL	VanBik 2009:1325
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**kul**	essential	VanBik 2009:1325
Tiddim	**ku:l**[1]	necessary	VanBik 2009:1325
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**ṭúul**-I, ṭùul-II	necessary, essential	VanBik 2009:1325
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭŭul**	necessary, urgent, important, imperative, needful (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1325

(3) PCC *laar POPULAR / PROMINENT

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***laar**	POPULAR / PROMINENT	VanBik 2009:1040
Lai (Hakha)	**lâar**-I, lăar-II	popular, prominent (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1040
Lai (Falam)	**láar**-I, làar-II	popular, prominent (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1040
Lushai [Mizo]	**lăar**	popular, prominent or outstanding, bright (in colour), showy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1040
	la:r	bright (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2620

(4) PKC *law RESEMBLE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***law**	RESEMBLE	VanBik 2009:1044
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**kì**-lôw-I, kì-lòo-II	resemble, be like	VanBik 2009:1044
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**lâw**-I, loʔ-II	resemble, be like	VanBik 2009:1044
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**lyū** ⩤ lāo	resemble, to be the image of	VanBik 2009:1044

(5) PTk *t^{h}a RESEMBLE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}a**	resemble	Mortensen 2012:650
Kachai	kə-**t^{h}a**	resemble / be like	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.188
Tusom	kə-**t^{h}i**	resemble / be like	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.232
Ukhrul	kə-**t^{h}a**	like, resemble, similar (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

7.1.8 Evaluatives (but see also 7.1.3, 7.1.5, 9.6)

(1) PTani *ku ~ *kju? OLD (NOT NEW)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ku ~ kju?**	old (not new)	Sun 1993a:278
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**k^{h}rju**	old	Sun 1993b
	xrju	old (not new)	Sun 1993a
	xu	old	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**ku**	old (not new); old (things)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	a **ku**	old; ancient	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	'je **ku**	clothing (old) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**ku** cuk	old [of things]	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**ku**	old (not new)	Sun 1993a
Milang	a **ku**	old	Tayeng 1976

(2) PKar *bra^{B} OLD (of humans)

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***bra**^{B}	old (of humans)	Luangthongkum 2013:205
**Karen (TP)*	***phrá'**	old (humans)	Jones 1961:3
**Karen*	***phrwá'**	old (humans)	Jones 1961:3
**Karen [Burling]*	***phɣa**^{1}	old (of humans)	Luangthongkum 2013:205
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***prwà**	old (humans)	Jones 1961:3
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***pɣà**	old (humans)	Jones 1961:3
Bwe	θa^{33} **bwɛ**^{33}	old (of humans)	Luangthongkum 2013:205
Karen	**bua**^{31}	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.50
Kayah	**phre**^{11}	old (of humans)	Luangthongkum 2013:205
Kayan (Pekon)	mə **prā**	old woman [lit. mother-old] (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	mə **prā** t^{h}âu	very old woman [lit. mother-old-?] (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**pra**^{11}	old (of humans)	Luangthongkum 2013:205
Kayan (Pekon)	**prā**	old aged (for plants, people & animals) / ripe (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	prạ̀ sàu **prā**	old people, old person [lit. person-who-old] (N.)	Manson 2010
	p^{h}á **prā**	old man [lit. father-old] (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
	p^{h}á **prā** t^{h}âu	very old man (N.)	Manson 2010
	si **prā**	old man (N.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**pra**^{11}	old (of humans)	Luangthongkum 2013:205
Pa-O	**phrâ**	old (humans)	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:3
Pa-O (Northern)	**phra**^{53}	old (of humans)	Luangthongkum 2013:205
Pa-O (Southern)	**pra**^{55}	old (of humans)	Luangthongkum 2013:205
Palaychi	**pwà**	old (humans)	Jones 1961:3
Sgaw (Southern)	**pɣa**^{31}	old (of humans)	Luangthongkum 2013:205
Sgaw (Northern)	saʔ^{45} **pɣa**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	old (of humans)	Luangthongkum 2013:205
Sgaw (Bassein)	**pɣà**	old (humans)	Jones 1961:3
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**pɣà**	old (humans)	Jones 1961:3

Chinese comparandum

伯 OC ***pǎk***, *GSR* #782i 'father's elder brother'; Schuessler 2007:169-70 ***prâk***; B & S 2011: ***p^{ʂ}rak***; Mand. **bó**.
霸 OC ***pǎg***, *GSR* #772b 'have hegemony over'; Schuessler 2007:169-70 ***prâkh***; B & S 2011: ***p^{ʂ}rak-s***; Mand. **bó**.

(3) PTB *sar OLD (of things)

This root shows up in several different subgroups, with the usual meaning "old (of things)". In Karenic and Kuki-Chin, the meaning seems to have shifted to "old (of people)".

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***tar** OLD / SENILE

**Chin*	***tar**	OLD / SENILE	VanBik 2009:214

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**tek**	senile	VanBik 2009:214
Thado	**té?**-I, tè?-II	old (person)	VanBik 2009:214
Tiddim	**te:k²**	old	VanBik 2009:214

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**târ**-I, tăr-II	old (be v.)	VanBik 2009:214
Lai (Falam)	**tăr**-INV	old (be v.)	VanBik 2009:214
Lushai [Mizo]	**tar**	old (of persons)	Marrison 1967
	tár	old or aged (be v.)	VanBik 2009:214

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Sorbung	san-**táa-rià**	person, old	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:People.061
	ʔə-**taa-ria**	old folks	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.192

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**tara**	old (of persons)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***saar** OLD

**Tangkhulic*	***saar**	old	Mortensen 2012:518
Huishu	kə-**sa**	old	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.161
Kachai	kə-**sor**	old	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.140
Tangkhul	ka **sar** a	old (of persons); old man	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ka **sar** va	old woman	Marrison 1967
	sar	old	Bhat 1969:93
Ukhrul	kə-**sar**	old	Mortensen 2012

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**sar**	old (of persons)	Marrison 1967
	sar bura	old man	Marrison 1967
	sar pi	old woman	Marrison 1967
	sar po	old man	Marrison 1967

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	buDhi **khok** ma	old woman	Rai 1985

3.2. QIANGIC

Pumi (Lanping)	**ʂɑ**^{13}ti^{55}	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.09
	ʂɑ^{55}	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʂɑ**^{13}	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.11

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***san**^{2} OLD (of things)

6.1.1. BURMISH

Leqi (Luxi)	**saːn**^{33}	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**san**^{51}	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.30

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Black)	hɛ-**šā**	old field (n.)	Matisoff 1974:213
	ɔ̀-**šā**	something old	Matisoff 1974:213

7. KARENIC: ***saʔ** OLD (of people)

**Karen (Pwo)*	***šá'**	old (humans)	Jones 1961:3
Bwe	**θa** bwɛ	mature, to be old (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	θa bwɛ-tha	grow old (v.)	Henderson 1997
Pwo (Bassein)	**šáʔ**	old (humans)	Jones 1961:3
Pwo (Moulmein)	**šá**	old (humans)	Jones 1961:3

(4) PTB *s-li OLD (of things)

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	**luːi²**	old (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1028
	luːi²	old	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Ngmiüün	**š~~ɹi~~**	old-aged	So-Hartmann 1988:257

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**hlui**	old (of persons)	Marrison 1967
	hlui	old (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2392

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Sorbung	ʔə **l~~úu~~**	old	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.185

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**lhjwi**	old	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1145
	ljwij	old, aged	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0769

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**lɛ**^{55}	old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.18
Guiqiong	**lʉ**^{35} ba^{55}	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.16
Lyuzu	phæ^{33}**læ**^{53}	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.18
Xumi	**liɑ**^{33}mi^{35}	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.20
	luɛ^{55}**luɛ**^{55}	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.17
	lyɛ^{33}**lyɛ**^{55}	old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.20
	lɛ^{33}me^{55}	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.17
	lɛ^{33}mɪ^{55}	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.17

4. NUNGIC

Nung	ŋ$_{ꜜ}^{31}$**l̩**^{55}	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.21
Rawang	ɑŋ^{31} **li**^{53}	old	LaPolla 2003:1365
Dulong	ɑŋ^{55}**li**^{55}	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	ɑŋ^{31}**li**^{55}	old (thing)	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-li**^{1} OLD (of things)

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***ʔ-li**^{1}	old (thing); old	Bradley 1979b:537B; Hansson 1989:338

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Dafang)	**ɬɯ**^{44}	old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{34}**li**^{33}	old (not new)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬ̩^{33}	old (not new)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɬ̩^{34}du^{33}	old (cloth)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{34}**li**^{33}	house, old	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	(i^{33})**lɯ**^{33} (mo^{33})	old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**li**^{33}	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.37
	li^{55}	old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.24
Yi (Nanjian)	u^{33}**l̩**(**ɳ**)^{55}	old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔl̩**^{55}	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ɬɯ**^{33}	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.38
Yi (Xide)	a^{44}**li**^{33}	old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.21
	ɑ^{34}**li**^{33}	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	a^{33}**ɬi**^{33}	old (of people); old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.34; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.34
	a^{33}**ɬi**^{44}	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.44
	tsə^{44}**ɬi**^{44}	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.44
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{33}ɕe^{31}**li**^{31}	old (inanimate)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{44}**ɬi**^{44}	old (thing)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	hĭ^{33}**ly**^{33}	old house	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**lu̱**^{33}	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ly**^{33}	old (of things) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}ʃ̩ʔ^{21} ma^{21}**ly**^{33}	half new half old	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}**ly**^{33}	old snow	Bradley 1994
	zø^{21}**ly**^{33}	old utensil; former utensil	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**ɬẓ**^{44}qɑ^{2}	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Mpi	**li**^{5}	old; old (of things)	Hansson 1989:338; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Sila	a21 **li55**	old	KATO Takashi 2008:255

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**ly**^{44}	old (thing)	Pelkey 2011:969
Southern Muji	ɪ^{21}**ɬi**^{33}	old (thing)	Pelkey 2011:969
Phola	**li**^{55}	old (thing)	Pelkey 2011:969
Hlepho Phowa	**ɬɯ**^{33}	old (thing)	Pelkey 2011:969
Phuza	**ɬɯ**^{33}	old (thing)	Pelkey 2011:969

6.2. NAXI

Naxi (Lijiang)	**lv**^{31}	old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.28
Naxi	**lɣ**^{21}	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.45

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***lì'**	old (nonhuman)	Jones 1961:119
Karen	a^{31}lɔ^{31}**li**^{33}	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**l̤i̤**	old (ADJ.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	ʔə **lī**	old, worn (things) (2)	Solnit 1989

(5) PKar *lej^{A} OLD (of things)

7. KARENIC

**Karen [Burling]*	*laN^{1} **li**^{3}	old (of things)	Luangthongkum 2013:206
**Karen*	***lej**^{A}	old (of things)	Luangthongkum 2013:206
Kayah	**lə**^{11}	old (of things)	Luangthongkum 2013:206
Kayaw	**li**^{33}	old (of things)	Luangthongkum 2013:206
Pa-O (Northern)	**li**^{33}	old (of things)	Luangthongkum 2013:206
Pwo (Northern)	**lei**^{55}	old (of things)	Luangthongkum 2013:206
Pwo (Southern)	**lei**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	old (of things)	Luangthongkum 2013:206
Sgaw (Southern)	**li**^{33}	old (of things)	Luangthongkum 2013:206
Sgaw (Northern)	lɔ$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**li**^{33}	old (of things)	Luangthongkum 2013:206

(6) PCN *a-Cən OLD (of things)

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	*a-**Cən**	OLD (OF THINGS) (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.175
**Ao*	*a-**tʃən**	OLD (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.159
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**tʃən**^{3}	fade (of colors), be old (of things) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.159
	te **jen**	old (of things)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te **chen**	old (of things)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **tʃən**	old (be v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**hen**^{3}-	old (of things) (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.175
	e **hen**	old (of things)	Marrison 1967
	e **nghen**	old	Murry *et al.* 1978:81
Sangtam	a **zi** cho	old (of things)	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	t a **chen**	old (of things)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **wün**	old (of things)	Marrison 1967

(7) PTB *r-ga OLD

This root, most abundantly attested in Himalayish, appears with all three dental suffixes, **-n**, **-t**, and **-s**. Some Bodo-Garo forms seem to show metathesis of the prefix and the root initial.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-ga**	old	Benedict 1972:445; Matisoff 2003a:589

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Ntenyi	ka **gha**	old (of things)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **kha**	old (of things)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	**gara** ju	old woman	Marrison 1967
	gara sa	old man	Marrison 1967
	rakha ba	old (of persons)	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	**gira**	old (of people)	Brown 1895:71
	gira-(si)	adult person, old people	Jacquesson 2005

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	te **ka**	old (of things)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**ləga**	old	Benedict 1972:445

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	**kat**^{13}pu^{55}	old person (male); old	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986; ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	meme **gat** pu	old man (colloq)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**gan**-mu	old person (female)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	gat-pu	old person (male); old	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986; ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**ge**^{35}pu^{55}	old (people)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
	gɑt^{35}pu^{55}	old person	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**kʌt**^{13}po^{53}	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.6
Motuo Menba	**gat** bu	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.07
	gat pu	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.07
Cuona Menba	**kat**^{35}mo^{53}	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.06
	kat^{35}po^{53}	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.06

	kat[35]ta[31]	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.06
	kat[35]to[53]	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rgat** po	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.05
	rgi	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.05
	rgi	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hga** po	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.4
	hga n	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.4
	hn̥a ŋ wa	old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ged**-po	old person	Sun 1985a:714
	rga pə	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.5
	rgi	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**gɛ**[55]	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.03
	gɛ[55]po[53]	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.03
	mɪ[53]**gɛ̃**[55]	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.03
	ʔai[55]**gɛ̃**[5]mo[53]	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**gɛ**[13]bo[53]	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.3
	n̥i[53]**gen**[53]	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ka**[13]pu[53]	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.2
	kə[13]mu[55]	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.02
	kə[13]pu[55]	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.02
	kɛ[132]	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.02
	kɛ̃[13]pa[55]	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.02
	kɛ̃[15]kho?[53]	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.2
Tibetan (Written)	k'yi-**rgá** n	dog (old)	Jäschke 1881
	rga	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.01
	rga-ba	old	Benedict 1972:445
	rgad po	old (of people); old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.1; Sun 1985c:714
	rgad mo	old woman	Marrison 1967
	rgad pa	old (of persons)	Marrison 1967
	rgad po	old man	Marrison 1967
	rgan mo	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.01
	rgan po	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.01
	rgan fikhog	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.1
	rgas po	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.01
	rgas.gnher	wrinkle (of old age)	Sun 1985c:164
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ga** po	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.04
	gan mo	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.04
	ge	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.04
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**gán**	old, aged (adj.)	Plaisier 2007
	gán lât	oldness, old age (n.)	Plaisier 2007
3.2. QIANGIC			
Guiqiong	**ge**[35]mu[55]	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.16
	ge[35]pu[55]	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.16
	gie[35]pu[33]	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.17
	gie[55]pu[53]	old man	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.17
Namuyi	**gɛ**[35]	old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.19
	gæ[35]	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	mĩ[35]**gɛ̃**[35]	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.10
Pumi (Lanping)	mi[13]**zgiɛ̃**[55]	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	mi[13]**sgiɛ̃**[55]	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.11
Queyu (Xinlong)	ga[13]**rge**[55]	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ge**[35]te[55]	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.16
	gə[55]ti[53]ɕe[33]	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	ma[13]**rge**[55]	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.13
	rgə[13]phu[55]	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.13
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**gə** dar	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.12
	gə dar	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.12
Ergong (Danba)	**gɛ** dɛ[1]	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
Caodeng	kə-**rgɐʔs**	old (age)	Sun 1997a
	rgɐn mu	old woman	Sun 1997a
	rgɐt po	old man	Sun 1997a
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	lao1**ga1**	old (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	lao[1]**ga**[1]	old (be v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.2
	lau[55]**ka**[55]	tough; old (of plants); old (of people)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986; TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	lau[55]**ka**[55]tie[55]	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.49
	lau[55]**ka**[55]tie[55]	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	a[44]phi[44]jo[42]**kha**[42]	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.44
Jinuo (Youle)	jo[42]**khɑ**[42]	old person	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**kha**[42]	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**khɑ**[42]	old (people); old (food)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986; GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986

Chinese comparandum

古 OC ***ko***, *GSR* #49a-e 'old'; Schuessler 2007:259 ***kâʔ***; B & S 2011: ***k^{ʕ}a***; Mand. **gǔ**.
故 OC ***ko***, *GSR* #49i 'old (not new)'; Schuessler 2007:259,263 ***kâh***; B & S 2011: ***k^{ʕ}aʔ-s***; Mand. **gù**.

(8) PTB *b-gryas OLD

This root, originally proposed in Gong (2001), has been identified only in WT and WB. It is possible that some Himalayish forms ascribed to PTB ***r-ga*** OLD (§7.1.8) should rather be assigned to this etymon.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-gres**	old	Matisoff 2003a:591
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Written)	**bgre**-ba	grow old (resp.)	Jäschke 1881:89
	bgres	grow old (perf.)	Jäschke 1881:89
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***k**-ri(y)[2]	big	Matisoff 2003a:611
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕi**[55]	big	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:800.40
Burmese (Written)	ame **krī:**	old woman	Marrison 1967
	asak **krī:**	old (of persons)	Marrison 1967
	krî	big	Hansson 1989:319
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**krī**	big	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**krî**	great, big	Benedict 1976a
	krī:	big	Marrison 1967; Okell 1971
	kri[3]	big / large (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0964.26
	kri[3]	big	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:800.39

Chinese comparandum

耆 OC ***k'iər***, *GSR* #552l 'old'; Schuessler 2007:421 ***gri***; B & S 2011: ***grij {[g]rij}***; Mand. **qí**.

(9) PTB *s-bi OLD

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Galo	'a **bɨɨ**	old (adj.)	GLDC 2009
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**pi** cham	old (of things) (adj2.)	van Breugel 2008
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mawo)	**pɤ**	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	(à) **peì**	old (of people) (perf. asp.)	Evans 1999:1508
	mià-**peí**	old woman [female-age(v.)]	Evans 1999:214
	mù-**peí**	old man [person-age(v.)]	Evans 1999:213
	peì	old (of person)	Evans 1999:2132
Qiang (Taoping)	**pə**[33]	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	n̥ɛ̃[55]**pi**[33]	old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	n̥ur[13]**pe**[55]	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.13
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGBenzhen	kə-**nbi?**	old (object)	Sun 1997b
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	a2**pei1**	become old (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	a[2]**pei**[1]	become old (v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.3
	a[35]**phie**[35]	old (of things)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	a[35]**phɯe**[55]	used; old; old (things)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.49; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.38
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-bi**[2] OLD (of things)			
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-bi**[2]	old (thing)	Bradley 1979b:537A
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Liangshan)	a[34]**bi**[33]	defective; old (not new); poor (quality)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	ɑ[34]**bi**[33]	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Kucong	**pi35**	old (of things)	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ[31]**pi**[11]	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.43
Lahu (Black)	ɔ[31]**pi**[31]	old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**pi**[2]	old (thing)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**be**[21]	old; worn out (V.)	Bradley 1994
	be[21]je[33]	old; out of fashion (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**bɛ̄**[5]	old (things)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	e[55]lu[44]; e[55]**be**[31]	old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.27
Lisu (Northern)	hĩ[33]**be**[21]	old house	Bradley 1994
	ji[55]**be**[21]	old (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ji[55]**be**[21] ji[55]tʃhɻ[21]	old and worn out; rotten; tattered	Bradley 1994
	ji[55]**be**[21] ji[55]ʃu[21]lu[21]	old and worn out	Bradley 1994
	ji[55]**be**[21] ji[55]ɕwa[21]la[21]	extremely tattered; old and worn out	Bradley 1994

(10) PTB *kwak OLD

The fit between the Bodic and Kiranti forms is very good, but further confirmation of this etymon would be welcome.

2.1.2. BODIC			
Tshona (Mama)	**kɔk**[13]po[53]	old (of people); old (things)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.6; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:867.6
Cuona Menba	**kɔk**[35]po[53]	used / old	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.06
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Bantawa	buDha **khok** pa	old man	Rai 1985
	khok ma	old woman	Rai 1985
	khok pa	old man	Rai 1985

(11) PTB *rar OLD

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**rə̀r**	old	Bhat 1969:93
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	ba **ray**	old	Bhat 1968
	ba **ray** baŋtə	old persons	Bhat 1968
	ba **ray** tir	very old (v.)	Bhat 1968
	b **ray**	old	Bhat 1968
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**rar**	old	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2046
	rɑr	old, get / aged	Nishida 1964:180-095

(12) PKC *hlun OLD / ANCIENT / PAST

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hlun**	OLD / ANCIENT / PAST	VanBik 2009:1115
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hlŭn**-I, hlunʔ-II	old, ancient, antique, past	VanBik 2009:1115

Lai (Falam)	**hlùn**-INV	old, ancient	VanBik 2009:1115
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlùn**	old, ancient, antique	VanBik 2009:1115
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hlō**	ancient	VanBik 2009:1115

(13) PTani *le RAW (UNCOOKED)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***le**	raw (uncooked)	Sun 1993a:318
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**-li:**	raw (uncooked)	Sun 1993a
	din-**li:**	raw meat	Sun 1993b
	li:-lak	raw	Sun 1993b
	li:-təŋ	raw	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**le** jək	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.24
	le(-jək)	raw (uncooked)	Sun 1993a
	le-jək	raw	Sun 1993b
Galo	**le**-lak-na	raw (not cooked)	Das Gupta 1963
	'lee lak	raw (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	a din din **li**	raw meat	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Mishing [Miri]	**le**	raw (uncooked)	Sun 1993a

(14) PTB *dz(y)im RAW / GREEN / UNRIPE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dz(y)im**	raw / green	Matisoff 2003a:589
	***dzim**	raw, unripe	LaPolla 1987:202
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**dzin**-pa	raw(meat)	LaPolla 1987:202
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**dzi^{33}dzi^{55}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.18
Lyuzu	**dʐe^{33}dʐe^{53}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.18
Namuyi	**tso^{55}tso^{33}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.19
	tsuo^{53}tsuo^{31}	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**sə^{55}sə^{55}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sə^{55}sə^{55}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**sə^{55}sə^{55}**mə^{53}	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.10
Qiang (Taoping)	**ʂe^{55}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.9
Xumi	**dzẽ^{33}dzẽ^{55}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**dʑi^{33}dʑi^{55}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**xsə xsə**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ɕhɯ ɕhɯ**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.14
4. Nungic			
Anong	ə **zim**	raw, unripe; raw	LaPolla 1987:202; Benedict 1972:81n247
Rawang	ə **zɯm^{31}**	uncooked, raw	LaPolla 2003:1076
Nung	ɕɑ^{55}**dʑim^{55}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.21
Anong	ɕɑ^{55}**dʑim^{55}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.44
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	a^{31} **zɯm^{53}**	raw, unripe	LaPolla 1987:202
	a^{31}**ʐɯm^{53}**	raw	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***džim^{2}** RAW			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***džim^{2}**	raw	Matisoff 2003a:589
	***ǰim^{2}**	raw / fresh	Matisoff 1978a:45
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	a^{31} **tśiŋ^{35}**	raw, unripe	LaPolla 1987:202
	a^{31}**tɕiŋ^{35}**	raw	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31}**tsin^{31}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.28
	tsin^{31}	raw, unripe; raw	LaPolla 1987:202; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.41
Achang (Luxi)	**tsən^{51}**	raw	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**tsin^{31}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	ɑ^{53}**sẽ^{55}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**sẽ^{55}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.40
Burmese (Written)	**cim:**	raw (unripe)	Marrison 1967
	sim^{3}	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.39
	ɑ^{1}**sim^{3}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.26
Hpun (Northern)	ă **sàiŋ**	raw / uncooked	Henderson 1986
Marma	**cíŋ**	unripe / raw	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:82a
6.1.2. Loloish			
PNL	**ǰim^{2}**	raw	Chen Kang 1986a:18.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**dzì**	raw / unripe / uncooked	Björverud 1994
	dzi^{21}	raw	Chen Kang 1986a:18.
Lipho	**dzi^{21}**	raw	Chen Kang 1986a:18.
Nasu	**dzɻ^{33}**	raw	Chen Kang 1986a:18.
Neisu	**dzɛ^{33}**	raw	Chen Kang 1986a:18.
Nesu	**dzɛ^{33}**	raw	Chen Kang 1986a:18.
Nosu	**dzɪ^{33}**	raw	Chen Kang 1986a:18.
Nusu (Northern)	**dʐɔ^{35}**ɑ^{55}	raw	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**dʐɔ^{55}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**dʐɔ^{53}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.45
Nusu (Southern)	**dʐɑ^{55}**	raw	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**dzə^{33}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{34}**ʥi^{33}**	raw; wet	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʥi^{33}	raw; uncooked	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**dzɛ^{21}**; i^{33}**dzɛ^{21}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dzɛ^{33}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dze^{21}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.24
	ʑɑ^{21}**dze^{21}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**dzɻ^{21}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.23
Yi (Weishan)	vu^{33}**dzɻ^{21}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.36
Yi (Wuding)	**dzɻ^{33}**(su^{33})	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.38
Yi (Xide)	(ʂɯ^{33})**dzi^{33}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.21
	ɑ^{34}**dzi^{33}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**dzɛ^{21}**	raw	Chen Kang 1986a:18.
Jinuo	a^{33}**tɕɛ^{33}**	fresh; raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1088.44; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.34
	a^{44}**tɕɛ^{44}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**tɕɛ^{44}**	raw	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	ɑ^{44}**tɕʁ^{44}**le^{33}	raw, unripe	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	a31 **tsɻ31**	raw	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**tsi^{53}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.43
Lahu (Black)	**cɨ̂**	something raw (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:507
	ɔ^{31}**tsɻ^{53}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.33
	ɔ̀-**cɨ̂**	raw / fresh	Matisoff 1978a:45
Lahu (Yellow)	**tɕɛ^{3}**	raw	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	(yi^{1}) **dzï^{5}**	raw (unripe)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	e^{55}**dzi^{31}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.40
	e^{55}**dzɻ^{31}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.27
Lisu (Northern)	tɕi^{55}**dzi^{21}**	raw lacquer	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**dzi^{21}**	raw	Chen Kang 1986a:18.
Yi (Sani)	**dzɻ^{11}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.39
Sani [Nyi]	**dzɻ^{11}**	raw	Ma Xueliang 1989:351.6
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	**dzɔ^{31}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.31
Hani (Lüchun)	jo^{33}**dzɔ^{31}**	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɔ^{31}**tse^{31}**	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dʐɱ^{31}**	raw	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Mpi	**tɕiŋ^{2}**	raw / fresh	Matisoff 1978a:45
	tɕiŋ^{1}	raw; fresh	Matisoff 1978a:45; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ʔɑ^{2}**tɕiŋ^{2}**	something raw	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Sila	a21 **dʐi21**	raw	Kato Takashi 2008:256
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Hlepho Phowa	**ʥɛ^{21}**	raw; unripe	Pelkey 2011:976
Phuza	**ʥɛ^{13}**ʍʌ^{33}	raw; unripe	Pelkey 2011:976
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**dʐy˩dʐy˩**	raw	Michaud 2006–2009:2107
	ʂɯ˥ **dʐy˩dʐy˩ hĩ**	raw meat	Michaud 2006–2009:793

(15) PKC *hel RAW / UNRIPE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hel**	RAW / UNRIPE	VanBik 2009:733
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hêl**-I, hĕl-II	raw, unripe, not well cooked	VanBik 2009:733
Lushai [Mizo]	**hel**	raw (unripe)	Marrison 1967
	hĕl	unripe, uncooked, raw, underdone, insufficiently cooked	VanBik 2009:733
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**héi**	unripe, raw	VanBik 2009:733

(16) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\text{m}\\\text{s}\end{matrix}$ -diŋ SETTLED / FIX / ESTABLISH

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***ding**	erect / establish	Coblin 1986:73
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m/s-diŋ**	settled / fix / establish	Matisoff 2003a:587
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**ndǐẽ**	settled / come to rest (be v.)	Matisoff 1978a:69
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-diŋ^{1} ≍ ʔ-diŋ^{1}**	settled / come to rest	Matisoff 2003a:587
	***ndiŋ^{1}≍ʔdiŋ^{1}**	settled / come to rest (be v.)	Matisoff 1978a:69
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Liangshan)	**dɛ^{33}**	fix (repair); repair	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	dɛ^{33}dʐi^{21}	establish	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	**tɛ̄** tà	put / place (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:176
Lahu (Black)	**dɛ̀**	come to rest (v.)	Matisoff 1978a:69
	tɛ	put down	Matisoff 1978a:69
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	定	make fixed, settle (v.t.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:558
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d'ieng/d'ieng**	settle, establish, fix; finish, stop; settled, certain; quiet	Karlgren 1957:833z-a'
Chinese (Old)	m-t^{ʕ}**eŋ**-s	make fixed, settle (v.t.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:558
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**dengH**	make fixed, settle (v.t.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:558
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**dìng**	make fixed, settle (v.t.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:558

Chinese comparandum

亭 OC ***d'ieng**, *GSR* #833h 'settle, regulate'; Schuessler 2007:498 ***dêŋ**; B & S 2011: ***m-t^{ʕ}eŋ** ; Mand. **tíng**.
停 OC ***d'ieng**, *GSR* #833i 'stop'; Schuessler 2007:498 ***dêŋ**; Mand. **tíng**.
定 OC ***d'ieng**, *GSR* #833z-a' 'settle, establish, fix, certain'; Schuessler 2007:498 ***dêŋh**; B & S 2011: ***N-t^{ʕ}eŋ-s** (v.i.) ~ ***m-t^{ʕ}eŋ-s** (v.t.); Mand. **dìng**.

7.1.11 Light/Dark

(1) PTk *haaŋ BRIGHT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***haaŋ**	bright	Mortensen 2012:611
Tangkhul	**han**	bright	Bhat 1969:85
Tusom	kə-**xɯ**	light (n.)	Mortensen 2012:Nature.003

Ukhrul	kə-**haŋ**	bright (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(2) PKC *thim DARK

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***thim**	DARK	VanBik 2009:381
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**sim**	dark	VanBik 2009:381
Thado	**thím**-I, thìm-II	dark (e.g. dense forest)	VanBik 2009:381
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thìm**-I, thǐm-II	dark (be v.)	VanBik 2009:381
Lushai [Mizo]	**thím**	dark (be v.)	VanBik 2009:381

(3) PTB *s-n $\frac{\textbf{y}}{\textbf{r}}$ əw DARK / WITHERED / EVIL

Several reflexes of this root have a velar rather than a palatal nasal, which appear secondary. Notice the WB doublet **ŋrui ≍ ńui**. Perhaps the wide semantic divergence among the reflexes favored the development of allofamy in this root.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ŋrəw**	dark, faded, withered	Benedict 1972:156
	***ŋrəw**	dark / faded / withered	Matisoff 2003a:606
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**nyùi**	faded, wilted, withered	Matisoff 1974:236
	nyui	faded, wilted, withered	Benedict 1972:156
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	cyak.**ryəw**	darkness (n.)	Caughley 2000
	cənh.**ryəw**	evil-natured person (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ghan.**ryəw**	cruel, violent person (n.)	Caughley 2000
	he?.**ryəw**.(məy?)	evil watchers (e.g. rival shamans) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	hluŋ cyak.**ryəw**.məy?	hard-hearted ones (n.)	Caughley 2000
	lu?.**ryəw**	lascivious person (n.)	Caughley 2000
	prən?.**ryəw**	person who curses (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ryəw-	ugly, inauspicious, bad, evil (va.)	Caughley 2000
	ryəw.baŋ thaŋ-	become evil (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	se?.**ryəw**.(məy?)	evil being (seen in dream, trance - rival shaman) (n.)	Caughley 2000
	səyk.**ryəw**.lan	evil spirit (sp.), causing illness (esp. of baby) (nn.)	Caughley 2000
	was.**ryəw**.lan	evil spirit (sp.), causing hornets to sting (n.)	Caughley 2000
4. Nungic			
Anong	**ŋyö**	withered	Benedict 1972:156
	əŋyü	fade	Benedict 1972:156
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**hñûi**	dull, faded, wilted; dull, faded, wither, of dejected countenance	Matisoff 1974:236; Benedict 1976a
	hńuì	dull, faded, wither	Benedict 1972:156
	ŋrui	dark in color; darken (cf. ñui)	Benedict 1976a
	ŋrui ≍ ńui	dark in color, darken	Benedict 1972:156
	ŋrui'	slightly dark (cf. ñui')	Benedict 1976a

(4) PTB *brwaŋ LOUD / BRIGHT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***praŋ**	loud / bright	Matisoff 2003a:607
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	thɯ^{31}**bɹɒŋ**^{35}	light (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0003.22
	thɯ^{31}**bɹɒŋ**^{35}	bright	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:833.49
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**prâŋ**	violent, virulent	Matisoff 1974:197
	prâŋ	violent; very; loud; virulent (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	proŋ	shining; bright, shining	Matisoff 1974:100; Benedict 1976a
	roŋ	brightness	Benedict 1976a
Leqi (Luxi)	**paːŋ**^{31}	bright	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.33
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**bɹa**^{31}	bright	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.34
Nusu (Northern)	**bɹa**^{55}	bright	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**bɹɔ**^{31}	bright	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**bɹɑ**^{31}	bright	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:833.45
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	**prɔ**^{44}	light (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0003.44
	prɔ^{44}	bright	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**pɹɔ**^{44}	bright	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**pɹɔ**^{44}	bright	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:833.34
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	**rɔ́ŋ**	bright	Solnit 1989

Chinese comparandum

炳 OC ***pi̱ŭŋ**, *GSR* #757i 'bright, luminous'; Schuessler 2007: ***briaŋʔ**; B & S 2011: (***praŋʔ**); Mand. **bǐng**.
明 OC ***mi̱ŭŋ**, *GSR* #760a-d 'bright; clear; wise'; Coblin 86:49 ST ***mdjɨang** > PC ***mrjiang** > OC ***mjiang**; Schuessler 2007:388 ***mraŋ**; B & S 2011: ***mraŋ**; Mand. **míng**.

Volume 8

Abstract Nouns and Verbs, Psychological Verbs, Verbs of Utterance

8.1.0 Abstract Entities

(1) PKC *took ADEQUACY / SUFFICIENCY

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***took**	ADEQUACY / SUFFICIENCY	VanBik 2009:172
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**tawk**	adequate	VanBik 2009:172
Tiddim	**to:k²**	of sufficient quantity for a particular purpose	VanBik 2009:172
	to:k²	of sufficient quantity for a particular purpose (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1788
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**took**	adequacy, sufficiency, correct amount	VanBik 2009:172
Lushai [Mizo]	**tâwk**	sufficiency, proper or correct amount	VanBik 2009:172

(2) PKC *thuu AFFAIR / MATTER (n.) / WORD

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***thuu**	AFFAIR / MATTER / WORD (n.)	VanBik 2009:371
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**thu**	affair	VanBik 2009:371
Sizang	**htū**	affair	VanBik 2009:371
Thado	**thûu**	word	VanBik 2009:371
Tiddim	**thu:¹**	abstract matter, matter (event, case)	VanBik 2009:371
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	a ng-**thu**	word, speech, talk, conversation	VanBik 2009:371
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**thúu**	word, matter, affair	VanBik 2009:371
Lushai [Mizo]	**thu**	word	Marrison 1967
	thŭ	word, saying, news, account, narrative, affair, matter	VanBik 2009:371
	thu	word; about; concerning	Bhaskararao 1996:1895

(3) PCC *hmeel APPEARANCE / FACE / SHAPE

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**a** mel	appearance	VanBik 2009:871
Thado	**méel**	shape, look, appearance	VanBik 2009:871
1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***hmeel**	APPEARANCE / FACE / SHAPE	VanBik 2009:871
Lai (Falam)	**hmĕel**	appearance, face, shape, form	VanBik 2009:871
Lushai [Mizo]	**hméel**	appearance, face, looks, countenance, shape, form	VanBik 2009:871

(4) PKC *moʔ BLAME / FAULT / SIN

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***moʔ**	BLAME / FAULT / SIN	VanBik 2009:752
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**maw** nā	blame	VanBik 2009:752
Thado	**mòo**-INV	wrong	VanBik 2009:752
Tiddim	**moʔ³**	sin	VanBik 2009:752
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**a'mau**	fault	VanBik 2009:752
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**moʔ**	blame	VanBik 2009:752
Lushai [Mizo]	**màwh**	blame, reponsibility, consequences	VanBik 2009:752

(5) PKC *muy FIGURE / LOOK

This etymon is possibly related to PTB ***s-ma-y*** FACE / CHEEK / FRONT / AHEAD / FIRST (§1.2.5).

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***muy**	FIGURE / LOOK	VanBik 2009:766
	***muy**-sham	APPEARANCE / FACE	VanBik 2009:749
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**'moi**-sán	face	VanBik 2009:749
Cho (Mindat)	**'müi**	look, appearance, color	VanBik 2009:766
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**mŭy**	figure, look	VanBik 2009:766
	mŭy sâm	appearance, face	VanBik 2009:749

(6) PKC *phun KIND / SORT / CLAN

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***phun**	KIND / SORT / CLAN	VanBik 2009:344
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**phún**	clan	VanBik 2009:344
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**phŭn**	kind, sort	VanBik 2009:344
Lai (Falam)	**phùn**	kind, sort	VanBik 2009:344
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**phō**	clan, a nation, a tribe (n.)	VanBik 2009:344

(7) PKC *yia MANNER / HABIT / METHOD

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***yia**	MANNER / HABIT / METHOD	VanBik 2009:1215
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	mi **zia**	temperament	VanBik 2009:1215
Thado	ʔùm **zìe**	behavior, manner	VanBik 2009:1215
Tiddim	om³ **zia³**	conduct	VanBik 2009:1215
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zĭa**	method, ways and means	VanBik 2009:1215
Lai (Falam)	**zìa**	hanbit, manner, way	VanBik 2009:1215
Lushai [Mizo]	**zìa**	ways of, manner of, way of, means of	VanBik 2009:1215
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**zī**	habit, manner, custom, way	VanBik 2009:1215

(8) PCC *tsam OCCASION / ANNIVERSARY

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***tsam**	OCCASION / ANNIVERSARY	VanBik 2009:551
Lai (Hakha)	**tsăm**	occasion, anniversary	VanBik 2009:551
Lushai [Mizo]	**chàm**	anniversary	VanBik 2009:551

(9) PKC *ɗaŋ OTHER / ALIAS

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗaŋ**	OTHER / ALIAS	VanBik 2009:98
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**a** dang	alias	VanBik 2009:98
Sizang	**a** dang	other	VanBik 2009:98
Thado	**dâŋ**	other, another, different	VanBik 2009:98
Tiddim	**dang²**	other	VanBik 2009:98
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dàŋ**	other, alias	VanBik 2009:98
Lai (Falam)	**dáŋ**	other	VanBik 2009:98
Lushai [Mizo]	**dăng**	another, other, different	VanBik 2009:98

(10) PTB *ya:r OTHER / OUTSIDE

Pettigrew (1918) records the Tangkhul forms with a long vowel.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ya:r**	other / outside	Matisoff 2003a:392
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	o **yam**	other	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	ā **yār**	exterior, border, brink	Matisoff 2003a:392
	ā **yār** khanā	outskirts	Matisoff 2003a:392
	a **yar** shong	outside	Marrison 1967
	yar	outside	Bhat 1969:93
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	**yar**	other (adj.)	Bailey 1911

(11) PTB *r-dzas THING

This root is due to Gong 2001, set 23.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-dzas**	thing	Matisoff 2003a:588
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**rdzas**	thing, matter, object, materials, requisites	Matisoff 1983:61
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**ca**	thing (n.)	Benedict 1976a
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**dẓ'i̯əg/dẓ'i**	practice / serve / service / occupation / affair / sacrifice	Karlgren 1957:971a-c
Chinese (Old)	**zjɨk(ʔ)**	sacrifice	Baxter 1992:752

Chinese comparandum

事 OC ***dẓ'i̯əg***, *GSR* #971a-c; B & S 2011: ***m-s-rəʔ-s***; Mand. **shì**.

(12) PTB *ray THINGS / STUFF

This root is part of a large word family revolving around a copular morpheme PTB ***s/g-ray*** ≍ ***way*** BE / COPULA / NOMINALIZER / SUBORDINATOR / GOD (§1.1.2.3). See *GSTC* pp. 54-64.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ray**	things / stuff (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:209, 212
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	tê **g̈ì**	large number / mass / bunch	Matisoff 1988a:1150

(13) PTB *k $\frac{y}{r}$ i:n TIME / OCCASION

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kyi:n ≍ kri:n**	time / occasion	Matisoff 2003a:598
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**khyīŋ**	time	Matisoff 1974:28
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***kyi:n¹ ≍ *kri:n¹** TIME			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***kyi:n¹ ≍ kri:n¹**	time	Matisoff 2003a:598
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Luxi)	**khji³⁵**	time	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	a³¹**khjiŋ³⁵**	time (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0737.32
Burmese (Written)	a **krim**	time (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ə-**khyin**	time, period, season (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**krim**	time, turn (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ¹ **khin³**	time (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0737.26
	ʔə **khyin**	time	Matisoff 1974:28
Langsu (Luxi)	a³¹**khjiŋ³⁵**	time (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0737.31
Leqi (Luxi)	a³¹**khjiŋ³³**	time (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0737.33
	khji³¹	time / instance (of kicking) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0921.33

Marma	**khyíŋ**	time / occasion	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:406
	ə khyiŋ	time	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:391a
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	a^{31}**khɛ^{33}**	time	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:62.34
	khɛ^{44}	time (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0737.44
Lahu (Black)	**khɨ**	time	Matisoff 1974:28

(14) PTB *s-pwak TIME / OCCASION

This root is well-attested in Lolo-Burmese, and has fairly good support elsewhere. The lack of a final consonant in the Lepcha form is unexplained.

This root was formerly reconstructed as ***s-pok**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-pok**	time / occasion	Matisoff 2003a:607
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**pho**	time, turn (n.)	Plaisier 2007
3.2. QIANGIC			
Queyu (Xinlong)	(tɯ^{55}) **phuə^{55}**	time / instance (of going somewhere) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0917.13
Xumi	(dʐi^{33}) **pu^{55}**	time / instance (of going somewhere) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0917.17
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang (Mvtwang)	**poq**	time	LaPolla & Poa 2001:107
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔpok** TIME / OCCASION			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔpok**	time / occasion ((HIGH).)	Matisoff 1972b:60
	***ʔpok**	time / occasion	Matisoff 1972b:60
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**pɔk^{55}**	time / instance (of going somewhere) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0917.28
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Weishan)	**pho^{33}**	time / instance (of going somewhere) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0917.36
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**pu**-nu 44-44s	time / occasion	Matisoff 1972b:60
Kucong	**phɔ35**	(go one) time	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**pɔ^{54}**	time; instance (of going somewhere); instance (of hitting) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0917.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0920.43
Lahu (Black)	**pɔ̂ʔ**	time / occasion	Matisoff 1972b:60
Lisu (Northern)	**puɪ^{21}**	time, occasion (C.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**po HS**	time / occasion	Matisoff 1972b:60
	póq	time / occasion	Matisoff 2003a:379

(15) PKC *nun-tsan; *nuŋ-tsaŋ TRAIT / BEHAVIOR

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***nun-tsan**; **nuŋ-tsaŋ**	TRAIT / BEHAVIOR	VanBik 2009:842
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**nung chang**	trait	VanBik 2009:842
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**nŭn-tsân**	trait, behavior	VanBik 2009:842
Lai (Falam)	**nùn-tsàn**	trait, behavior	VanBik 2009:842

8.2.0 Abstract verbs

(1) PKC *hiip ATTRACT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hiip**	ATTRACT	VanBik 2009:697
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**hip**	attract	VanBik 2009:697
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**hĭip**-I, hìip-II	attract	VanBik 2009:697
Lai (Hakha)	**hiip**-INV	attract	VanBik 2009:697
Lushai [Mizo]	**híip**	attract, draw into, suck into	VanBik 2009:697

(2) PTB *m-dzyaŋ BE THERE / HAVE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-dzyaŋ**	be there / have	Matisoff 2003a:589
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**dʒo^{55}**; bo^{55}; xɑ^{55}	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.18
Guiqiong	**jɛ̃^{55}**	have (money); have (eyes) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1764.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1767.16
	jɛ̃^{55}	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.17
Muya	ɳi^{33}**ndʐø^{53}**	have, do not (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ndʐø^{35}**	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.15
	ɳi^{35}**ndʐo^{53}**	NEG + have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:736.15
Xumi	**dʐɑ̃^{53}**	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.20
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	mi **ntɕho**	NEG + have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:736.14
	ntɕho	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.14
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**djó**	have	Björverud 1994
Yi (Xide)	a^{21}**dʐo^{33}**	NEG + have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:736.21
	dʐo^{33}	have (money) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1764.35
	dʐo^{33}	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.21
	ɑ^{21}**dʐo^{33}**	have, do not (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	mɔ^{33}**tʃa^{31}**	NEG + have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:736.34
Jinuo (Youle)	mɔ^{44}**tʃɑ^{42}**	NEG + have	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	mə^{44}**tʃa^{42}**	have, do not (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.44
	tʃa^{31}	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.34
	tʃa^{42}	have (money); have (eyes) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1764.44; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1767.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**tʃɑ^{42}**	have	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕɔ^{31}**	have (money); have (eyes) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1764.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1767.43
Lahu (Black)	**cɔ̀**	be there, be in a place; have (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:492-4
	tsɔ^{31}	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.33
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{3}**tsɔ^{2}**	NEG + have	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tsɔ^{2}	have	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**jaw^{4}**	possess; have (v.)	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**jó**	be there; have (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:267
Bisu	**ca**	have, be (inan.)	Bradley 199x
Hani (Caiyuan)	ma^{31}**tsa̱^{33}**	NEG + have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:736.30
	tsa̱^{33}	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.30
Mpi	**tɕɑ^{3}**	have, exist; have(inan.); have; be rich	Hansson 1989:243; Hansson 1989:454; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Côông [Phunoi]	**cã**	have; be there (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:267
6.2. NAXI			
Na (Yongning)	**dʐu˦**	° exist	Michaud 2006–2009
	dʐu˩	existential: there is someone in the toilets/at home; there are n people in the family	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**dʐu^{33}**	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.29
	dʐu^{31}	exist / be present	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:748.29
Naxi	**dʐy^{21}**	there are (people); be (in the house) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1765.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1775.45
	dʐy^{33}	have (money) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1764.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dʐy^{33}**	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.28
Naxi (Yongning)	mə^{33}**dʐu^{33}**; mɑ^{33}**dʐu^{33}**	NEG + have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:736.29
Naxi	mə^{33}**dʐy^{33}**	have, do not (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	mə^{33}**dʐy^{33}**	NEG + have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:736.28
	ndʐy^{31}	exist / be present	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:748.28
8. BAI			
Bai (Bijiang)	**dʐi^{33}**	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.37
Bai (Dali)	**tsɯ^{33}**	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tsɯ^{33}**	have	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:735.36

(3) PTB * $\frac{\text{s}}{\text{m}}$ -wam DARE

The initial **ŋ-** in the Chin forms is probably due to assimilation to the following **-w-**, which also had a velar component in its articulation.

The Chinese comparandum also has a velar initial.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***hwam**	dare	Matisoff 1983:41; Benedict 1972:216
	***hwɑm**	dare	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:607a-c
	***s-wam** or **hwam**	dare	Matisoff 2003a:618
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ŋam** DARE			
**Chin*	***ŋam**	DARE	VanBik 2009:849
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	hih **ngam**	dare	VanBik 2009:849
Sizang	**ngam** hī	dare	VanBik 2009:849
Thado	**ŋám**-I, ŋàm-II	dare	VanBik 2009:849
Tiddim	**ngam^{2}**	dare, (challenge)	VanBik 2009:849
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ŋâm**-I	dare	VanBik 2009:849
Lai (Falam)	**ŋâm**-INV	dare	VanBik 2009:849
Lushai [Mizo]	**huam**	dare	Benedict 1972:216
	ngâm	dare, to venture, to have the courage (v.)	VanBik 2009:849
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**ngà**	daring	VanBik 2009:849
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**wam**	dare	Benedict 1972:216
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ɲɔ^{55}**	dare	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:731.18
Guiqiong	ji^{55}**ɲɤi^{35}**	dare	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:731.17
	ɲɤ^{35}	dare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1335.16
Muya	**nø̱^{53}**	dare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1335.15
Muya [Minyak]	**nɐ^{55}**	dare	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:731.15
Namuyi	**ŋa^{33}**	dare	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:731.19
	ŋa^{31}	dare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1335.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ŋo^{35}**	dare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1335.10
	ŋo^{35}gɛi^{55}	dare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1335.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**nuɑ^{55}**	dare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1335.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**nuɑ^{55}**	dare	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:731.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**wɑ̃^{55}**	dare	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:731.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ŋ̊u^{53}**	dare	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:731.16
Xumi	**ɦõ^{53}**	dare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1335.17
	ɦɔ̃^{35}	dare	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:731.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**nʌ^{13}**	dare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1335.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**snɯu**	dare	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:731.14
Daofu	**znə**	dare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1335.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ka **nos**	dare	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:731.12
Caodeng	ké-**nos** (nɐ-**nos**)	dare	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ **nos**	dare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1335.11
rGBenzhen	ka-**noʔs**	dare	Sun 1997b
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***wam^{3}**	dare	Matisoff 2003a:618
6.1.1. BURMISH			

Burmese (Written)	**wám**	dare	Benedict 1972:216
	wam'	dare	Matisoff 1983:41
	waṁ'	dare (to do) (v.)	Benedict 1976a
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**vam**^{55}	dare	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:731.42

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kâm**	dare	Chou Fa-kao 1972:607a-c
Chinese (Old)	**kâm**	dare	Matisoff 1983:41

Chinese comparandum

敢 OC ***kâm**, *GSR* #607a-c 'dare'; Schuessler 2007:249-50 ***kâmʔ**; B & S 2011: ***kˢamʔ {[k]ˢamʔ}**; Mand. **gǎn**.

(4) PCC *ren ECONOMIZE / FRUGAL

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***ren**	ECONOMIZE / FRUGAL	VanBik 2009:934
Lai (Hakha)	**rên**-I, rĕn-II	economize, be frugal	VanBik 2009:934
Lushai [Mizo]	**rén**	economize, to eke out, to not waste (v.)	VanBik 2009:934

(5) PKar *ʔɔ^{B} HAVE / BE / EXIST / STAY / THERE IS

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***ʔɔ^{B}**	have, be, exist, stay, there is	Luangthongkum 2013:140
Bwe	**ɔ**	be there / stay / inhabit (be v.)	Henderson 1997
	ɔ^{33}	have, be, exist, stay, there is	Luangthongkum 2013:140
Kayah	**ʔo^{11}**	have, be, exist, stay, there is	Luangthongkum 2013:140
Kayan	**ʔau^{11}**	have, be, exist, stay, there is	Luangthongkum 2013:140
Kayaw	**ʔo^{11}**	have, be, exist, stay, there is	Luangthongkum 2013:140
Pa-O (Southern)	**ʔau^{33}**	have, be, exist, stay, there is	Luangthongkum 2013:140
Pa-O (Northern)	**ʔau^{55}**	have, be, exist, stay, there is	Luangthongkum 2013:140
Pwo (Northern)	**ʔɔ^{33}**	have, be, exist, stay, there is	Luangthongkum 2013:140
Pwo (Southern)	**ʔo^{55}**	have, be, exist, stay, there is	Luangthongkum 2013:140
Sgaw (Northern)	**ʔo$^{31\sim}$**	have, be, exist, stay, there is	Luangthongkum 2013:140
Sgaw (Southern)	**ʔu^{45,}**	have, be, exist, stay, there is	Luangthongkum 2013:140

(6) PKC *poy MATTER (v.) / SERIOUS

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***poy**	MATTER (v.) / SERIOUS	VanBik 2009:155

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**poi**	matter (v.)	VanBik 2009:155

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**pǒy**-I, pòy-II	matter, be serious (v.)	VanBik 2009:155
Lai (Hakha)	**pòy**-moʔ-I, pǒy-moʔ-II	matter, be serious (v.)	VanBik 2009:155
Lushai [Mizo]	**páwi**	matter, to be of consequence, to be a misfortune, to be a pity (v.)	VanBik 2009:155

(7) PKC *khu(u)m-I, *khumʔ-II SURPASS / TRANSCEND

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***khu(u)m**-I, khumʔ-II	SURPASS / TRANSCEND	VanBik 2009:461

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**khup**	transcend	VanBik 2009:461
Tiddim	**khum**^{3} > khup^{3}	score a goal (of games like football), i.e. to over-top the other team	VanBik 2009:461

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**khûum**	surpass, to excel, to transcend, overtop (v.)	VanBik 2009:461

8.3.0 Psychological verbs

(1) PTB *daw DEFY / INTERFERE / BE AT ENMITY WITH / RISK / GUESS

The semantics of this etymon are rather complicated, but all supporting forms seem valid.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***daw**	risk; defy; hostile; interfere; be at enmity with	Matisoff 2003a:586; Benedict 1972:267

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**dou**	at enmity with, also to prop up (be v.)	Benedict 1972:267

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**tau**	have premonitions, anticipate, foresee (v.)	Benedict 1972:267

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**sdo**-ba	risk, hazard, venture; to bear up against, bid defiance (v.)	Benedict 1972:267

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**tau**	guess, presume	Benedict 1972:267
	taù	resent an insinuation, interfere in a quarrel	Benedict 1972:267

8.3.1 Verbs of Feeling

(1) PTB *p $\begin{matrix}\textbf{r}\\\textbf{y}\end{matrix}$ aw DELIGHT / HAPPY / ENJOY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***pro**	delight; delight in, wish, enjoy oneself	Matisoff 2003a:607; Benedict 1972:130

1.1.1. Tani: ***-pro?** GOOD (verbal particle)

**Tani*	***-pro?**	good (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a:179

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**-prjo**	good (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	dɯ-**prjo**	taste; tasty	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	he' **prjo**	cure	Sun 1993b
	hem **prjo**	enjoy	Sun 1993b
	hem-**pjo**	happy	Sun 1993b
	hem-**prjo**	contented; glad; happy; satisfied	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	hem-**prjo** do-pa mú	please (v.)	Sun 1993b
	mú-**prjo**-pa	easily	Sun 1993b
	na-ru nem-**prjo**	fragrance; scent	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	nèm-**pjó**	fragrance	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**-pu:**	good (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	du:-**pu:**	delicious	Sun 1993b
	dɯ-**pu:**	delicious	Sun 1993b
	hin-**pu:**	happy	Sun 1993b
	nam-**pu:**	fragrance; fragrant	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**-po**	good (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	do: **po**	tasty; delicious	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1091.24; Sun 1993b
	hen-**po**	glad; happy	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	nam **po**	savory; appetizing; fragrant (smell); fragrant	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1069.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1071.24; Sun 1993b
	po	genial, kind, gentle; good	Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.24
	po moŋ	bad	Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1053.24
	po:	good	Sun 1993b
	ta: **po** (da)	well-behaved / lovable (child)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1114.24
	ta:-**po**	well-behaved, good	Sun 1993b
	ɦen **po**	happy; excited; blissful	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1117.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1118.24
Bokar Lhoba	nam **po**	fragrant	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:892.51
	po	good	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:860.51
	po moŋ	bad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:861.51
Galo	**-'po**	good (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	men-**po**-bɤ	easily (of speech)	Das Gupta 1963
	rɯ-**po**-bɤ	easily (of work)	Das Gupta 1963
	'po nam	good (vi.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill Nishing	nam-**pɤ**	fragrant	Simon 1976
	hing-**po**	glad	Das Gupta 1969
	nam-**pu**-pa	smells sweet	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	hem **pu**	glad; happy	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
	hem **pu** nɤ nyi	happy man	Das Gupta 1983
	nam **pu** nɤ	fragrance	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**-po**	good (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
Milang	lu-**pyu**	easily	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	ta:-we-**pra:**	enjoy	NEFA (India) 1963

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Chokri	**pra**	go out	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**pro ~ pyo**	pleased, enjoy one's self (vs.)	Benedict 1972:130

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**spro**-ba	delight in; wish	Benedict 1972:130

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	**phʐæ^{35}**	happy / excited	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1117.46

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**phyaw**	make happy	Matisoff 1974:21
	phyo	coax, appease; make happy; lull to sleep (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	pyau	pleased, enjoy one's self (vs.)	Benedict 1972:130
	pyaw	happy (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:21
	pyo	enjoy one's self, be happy	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	**pyɔ̀**, **pyɔ̀**-ŋ	happy (cp. pleased) (v.i.)	Henderson 1986

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***byaw**$^{1/2}$	happy	Bradley 1979b:521

7. Karenic

Pa-O	**pjɔ́**, **pjɔ́** mûn	happy (2)	Solnit 1989

(2) PTk *caaŋ LIKE / WANT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***caaŋ**	like / want	Mortensen 2012:645
Huishu	nɐŋ-kə-**tsa**	like / desire / want	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.021
Tusom	niŋ-kə-**cɯ̃**	want (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.019
Ukhrul	niŋ kə-**caŋ**	want, like	Mortensen 2012

(3a) PCN *a-m-ʒaːn LOVE (v.)

This root seems to be a variant of PCN ***m-jam** LOVE / FRIEND / FRIENDSHIP (§8.3.1). See also the resemblant root PTB ***m-dza-k** LOVE (§1.9.8).

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	*a-m-**ʒaːn**	LOVE (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.162
Lotha Naga	n̥^{1}-**zan**^{3}-	love (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.162
	n **zan**	love	Murry *et al.* 1978:69
	n **zan** a	love	Murry *et al.* 1978:69
Sangtam	a m **üi**	love	Kumar 1973a
	a m **üi**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
	a m **üi** cho	love (v.)	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	a mu **zho**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mu **zho**	love	Kumar 1973b:70

(3b) PCN *m-jam LOVE / FRIEND / FRIENDSHIP

This root seems to be a variant of PCN ***a-m-ʒaːn** LOVE (v.) (§8.3.1). See also the resemblant root PTB ***m-dza-k** LOVE (§1.9.8).

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	*m-**jam**	LOVE / FRIENDSHIP	Bruhn 2014a:III.136
**Ao*	*m-**jəm**	LOVE (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.293
Ao (Chungli)	me **im**	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mí **jím**	love (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:9
	mə^{3}**jəm**^{3}	love (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.293
	m **ím** [mí **jə́m**]	love (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:1c

	t**em** ba	friend	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen)	m **íḿ** [mí **jə́m]**	love (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:1c
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a t**om** ba	friend	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) mi **jim**-mì	lovable ('love' + DESID) (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	jìm là	friend (n.)	Coupe 2007
	mi **jim**	love [loved] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	mü **yang** rü	friend	Marrison 1967
	^{1}mɯ^{2}**yaŋ**^{2}rɯ	friend/with	Weidert 1987:558
Yimchungrü	mü **yam** pu	friend	Marrison 1967
	^{2}mɯ^{2}**yam**^{1}rɯ	friend/with	Weidert 1987:558

(4) PKC *niŋ-I, *nin-II; *neŋ-I nen-II DISDAIN / SICK OF

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***niŋ**-I, nin-II; neŋ-I nen-II	DISDAIN / SICK OF	VanBik 2009:811
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**neng**^{2} > nen^{3}	disdain	VanBik 2009:811
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**nèŋ**-I, nĕn-II ≍ nìŋ-I, nĭn-II	disdain, be sick of	VanBik 2009:811
Lai (Falam)	**níŋ**-I, nìn-II	disdain, be sick of	VanBik 2009:811
Lushai [Mizo]	**nĭng**-I, nìn	tired of, to be weary of, to be sick of, to be fed up with, to be disgusted with (be v.)	VanBik 2009:811

(5) PKC *hua-I, *huat-II HATE / ABHOR

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hua**-I, huat-II	HATE / ABHOR	VanBik 2009:719
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**hua**	abhor	VanBik 2009:719
Thado	**hôo**-I, hòt-II	hate	VanBik 2009:719
Tiddim	**hua**^{1} > huat^{1}	hate	VanBik 2009:719
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hûa**-I, huat-II	hate, abhor	VanBik 2009:719
Lai (Falam)	**húa**-I, hût-II	hate, abhor	VanBik 2009:719
Lushai [Mizo]	**hŭa**-I, hût-II	dislike, to hate, to abhor, to detest, to loathe (v.)	VanBik 2009:719
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**háo**	hate	VanBik 2009:719

(6) PKC *tsim TIRED OF / BORED / IRKED

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tsim**	TIRED OF / BORED / IRKED	VanBik 2009:571
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**chim** tak	irk	VanBik 2009:571
Thado	**tsîm**-I, tsìm-II	sick of, bored (be v.)	VanBik 2009:571
Tiddim	**cim**^{1}	bored	VanBik 2009:571
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsìm**-I, tsĭm-II	tired of, irk (be v.)	VanBik 2009:571
Lushai [Mizo]	**chîm** ăwm	tiresome	VanBik 2009:571

(7) PTk *ja ACCEPT

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***ja**	accept	Mortensen 2012:313
Kachai	k^{h}ə-mə-**ju**	accept	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.020
Tusom	k^{h}ə-mə-**ʒi**	accept (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.024
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**ja**	agree; accept	Mortensen 2012

(7) PKC *puʔ ACCUSE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***puʔ**	ACCUSE	VanBik 2009:117
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**puʔ**-INV	accuse	VanBik 2009:117
Lai (Falam)	**pùʔ**-INV	accuse	VanBik 2009:117
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**pū**	accuse	VanBik 2009:117

(7) PCC *tran SUPPORT / SIDE WITH

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***tran**	SUPPORT / SIDE WITH	VanBik 2009:1331
Lai (Hakha)	**trăn**-I, tranʔ-II	support, side with	VanBik 2009:1331
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭàn**	side with, to be on the side of (v.)	VanBik 2009:1331

(7) PKC *loom-I, *lomʔ-II CELEBRATE / HAPPY / REJOICE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***loom**-I, lomʔ-II	CELEBRATE / HAPPY / REJOICE	VanBik 2009:999
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**lòom**-I, lòp-II	celebrate	VanBik 2009:999
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**lòom**-I, lôm-II	happy, be celebrating (be v.)	VanBik 2009:999
Lai (Hakha)	**lŏom**-I, lomʔ-II	happy, be celebrating (be v.)	VanBik 2009:999
Lushai [Mizo]	**làwm**-I, lâwm-II	celebrate, to be pleased or delight with, to rejoice over, to welcome, to receive, to greet	VanBik 2009:999
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**lȳ** ≍ lāu	rejoice, to be pleased (v.)	VanBik 2009:999

(7) PKC *tshiir REGRET

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tshiir**	REGRET	VanBik 2009:596
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	ki-**siik**	regret	VanBik 2009:596
Thado	kì-**sîʔ**	regret	VanBik 2009:596
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**síir**-INV	regret	VanBik 2009:596
Lai (Hakha)	**tshìir-I**, **tshĭir-II**	regret	VanBik 2009:596

(7) PTani *fak ANGRY

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***fak**	angry	Sun 1993a:5
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	ha:-**fak**	angry	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**'ag** lii	angry at (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'ag nam	angry (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	ha **ha**~ha **hak**	angry	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ak**	angry	Sun 1993a

(7) PTk *han EXPECT

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***han**	expect	Mortensen 2012:460
Huishu	kə-tse-**hej**	expect	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.022
Kachai	kə-tɕi-**hon**	expect	Mortensen 2012
Tusom	k^{h}ə-ci-**hẽ**	expect (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.022
Ukhrul	kə-ci-**hɐn**	expect	Mortensen 2012

(8) PKC *ɓay-say EXPECT / HOPE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɓay**-say	EXPECT / HOPE	VanBik 2009:26
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**bei** sei	expect	VanBik 2009:26
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**băy** sày-INV	expect, hope	VanBik 2009:26
Lai (Hakha)	**bày**-sây-I, bày-săy-II	expect, hope	VanBik 2009:26
Lushai [Mizo]	**bĕi** sèi	expect, hope	VanBik 2009:26
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**bí** sī	expect, hope	VanBik 2009:26

(9) PKC *riŋ-I, *rin-II EXPECT / HOPE FOR

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***riŋ**-I, rin-II	EXPECT / HOPE FOR	VanBik 2009:938
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**gíŋ**-I, gìn-II	expect	VanBik 2009:938
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ging**	expecting, to be waiting (be v.)	VanBik 2009:938
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**râal** rîŋ-I, rĭn-II	prepared, be ready (be v.)	VanBik 2009:938
Lushai [Mizo]	**ríng**-I, rìn-II	expect, to hope for (v.)	VanBik 2009:938

(10) PTani *lom STARTLE (verbal particle)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***lom**	startle (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a:400
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	gok-**lam**	startle (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	guk-**lam**	give a scare (by sound)	Sun 1993b
	lam-čak	suddenly	Sun 1993b
	lam-čak əŋ-lin	appear	Sun 1993b
	lam-čik-pak	surprised	Sun 1993b
	lam-ŋaː-pak	dumfounded	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-**lam**	give a scare (by action)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ben **lom**	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.24
	ben-**lom**	startle (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	ben-**lom**	scare (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	ben-**lom**	threaten	Sun 1993b
	lom	frightened; surprised	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	lom	startled, be / shy (of animals) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1450.24
	lom-ŋak	startled	Sun 1993b
Galo	-**'lom**	startle; frighten; shock (vs:val.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	lom-la	suddenly	Das Gupta 1963
	lom-nam	startle; astonish (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	'den **lom**	scare off (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'lom nam	startle; shock (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'lom rəp	startle (vi.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**-lom**	startle (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a

(10) PKC *hreʔ FRET / DISLIKE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hreʔ**	FRET / DISLIKE	VanBik 2009:1084
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**heh**	fret	VanBik 2009:1084

Tiddim	**he?**^{3}	dislike, be angry	VanBik 2009:1084
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**hrè?**-INV	fret	VanBik 2009:1084
Lushai [Mizo]	**hrèh** záwng	that which one dislikes or has an aversion to	VanBik 2009:1084

(10) PKC *laaw ≍ *hlaaw ALARMED / AFRAID / NERVOUS

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***laaw ≍** hlaaw	ALARMED / AFRAID / NERVOUS	VanBik 2009:985
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**lau**	alarmed	VanBik 2009:985
Sizang	**lau** hī	dread	VanBik 2009:985
Tiddim	**lau**^{3} thei^{3}	nervous	VanBik 2009:985; Bhaskararao 1996:889
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**làaw**-I, lǎaw-II	alarmed, afraid	VanBik 2009:985
Lai (Falam)	**láaw**-I, làaw-II	alarmed, afraid	VanBik 2009:985
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlău**-I, hlàuh-II	afraid of, to be alarmed at, to be nervous of, to be scared at, to be frightened at or of, to fear or to dread (be v.)	VanBik 2009:985

(11) PTB *b-ray-t FEAR

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-ray**	fear	LaPolla 1987:150; Benedict 1972:450
	***b-ray-t**	fear	Matisoff 2003a:610; Matisoff 1985a:066
1.1. "North Assam"			
Aka [Hruso]	**rie**	fear	LaPolla 1987:150
	rie	fear, be afraid (v.)	Benedict 1972:450
1.1.2. Deng			
Digaro	**re**	fear	Matisoff 1985a:066; LaPolla 1987:150
	re	fear, be afraid (v.)	Benedict 1972:450
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	**prəi**	fear	Benedict 1972:112n317
Angami (Kohima)	**prei**	fear (v.)	Marrison 1967
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**phere**	fear (v.)	Marrison 1967
	phere	fear, doubt, dread	Matisoff 1985a:066; LaPolla 1987:150; Benedict 1972:450
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**bred**-pa	fear	Matisoff 1985a:066; LaPolla 1987:150
	bred-pa	fear, be afraid (v.)	Benedict 1972:450
	źed-pa	fear; fear, be afraid	Matisoff 1985a:066; Benedict 1972:112n317
	źed-pɑ	fear / be afraid	Chou Fa-kao 1972:403d
	zhed-po	fear, be afraid	Coblin 1986:77
	ʐed	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.1
4. Nungic			
Anong	**phəre**	fear , afraid; fear, be afraid (v.)	LaPolla 1987:150; Benedict 1972:450
	phərɛ	fear, be afraid	Matisoff 1985a:066
	phɯ^{31}**ɹɑ**^{31}	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.44
Trung [Dulong]	**pɯ**^{31}**ɹěʔ**^{55}	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.46
Dulong	**pɯ**^{55}**ɹɑʔ**^{55}	afraid, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1366.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**pɯ**^{31} **reʔ**^{55}	fear	LaPolla 1987:150
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**pɯ**^{31} **reʔ**^{55}	fear	LaPolla 1987:150
	pɯ^{31}**ɹěʔ**^{55}	fear	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

Chinese comparandum

403d Coblin 77 li̱ět 慄

(12) PTB *lik FEAR

In the original version of *STC* (p.175), Benedict compared Chinese 慄 'afraid' (Mand. **lì**) to WT **źed-pa** 'fear, be afraid' (from Pre-Tibetan ***ryed**), but in note 466 (p.175) he proposed WT **ḥdźigs-pa** as a "better comparison", assuming a shift of Old Chinese ***-k** to ***-t** after ***-i-**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***lik**	fear	Matisoff 2003a:600
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥdźigs**-pa	fear, be afraid, dread, fearful	Benedict 1972:175n466
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**li̱ět**	fear	Chou Fa-kao 1972:403d
Chinese (Old)	**ljit**	fear	Coblin 1986:77
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**ljet**	fear	Coblin 1986:77

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慄 OC ***li̱ět**, *GSR* #403d 'fear; tremble'; Coblin 1986 #77: ***ljit**; Mand. **lì**.

(13) PTB *kri-t FEAR / AFRAID

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kri(y)**	fear	Matisoff 2003a:597; Benedict 1972:416
	***kri-t**	fear	Matisoff 2003a:596
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***kriʔ** FEAR / AFRAID			
**Chin*	***kriʔ**	FEAR / AFRAID	VanBik 2009:1321
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**kyí**	afraid, fear	VanBik 2009:1321
Cho (Mindat)	**kih** aa	fear, be afraid of (v.)	VanBik 2009:1321
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**ṭìʔ**-INV	fear, be afraid of	VanBik 2009:1321
Lai (Hakha)	**triʔ**-INV	fear	VanBik 2009:1321
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭi**	fear, be nervous	Benedict 1972:416
	ṭìh	fear, to be afraid of, to be frightened of (v.)	VanBik 2009:1321
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chí**	fear	VanBik 2009:1321
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**tsü** bu	fear (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**tsi** ba	fear (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	kha-**tsə** pha	bitterly afraid ('be bitter' + 'fear') (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	tsə pha	fear [feared] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**khyu** t	fear (v.)	Marrison 1967
	¹kü	afraid / fear (v.,v.i.)	Weidert 1987:105
Sangtam	**¹drɯ**	fear / frighten (v.)	Weidert 1987:1097
Yimchungrü	**tre**	fear (v.)	Marrison 1967
	²a **²dre [²]**	fear / frighten (v.)	Weidert 1987:1097
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ci** FEAR			
**Tangkhulic*	***ci**	fear	Mortensen 2012:350
Huishu	kə-**tsik**	fear, afraid	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.054
Kachai	kʰə-ŋə-**tsɛ**	fear / frighten	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.045
Tusom	kə-**tsɯ**	fear (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.058
Ukhrul	kʰə-ŋə-**ci**	fear, frighten, be afraid	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	an-**skit**	quail, shudder	Benedict 1972:416
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Moshang)	**əhi**	fear	Benedict 1972:416
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**khrit**	fear (v.)	Marrison 1967
	khrit gəriʔ	fear, be afraid	Benedict 1972:416
	khʒit^{31}	fear and tremble	Benedict 1972:416
	khʒit^{31}	afraid, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1366.19
	khɻit^{31}	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.47
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**khri**-le-ba	fear	Liu Lu, ed. 1984

(14) PTB * s d -krwak FEAR / FRIGHTEN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***grâk ≍ *krâk**	fear, frighten	LaPolla 1987:174
	***grok ≍ krok**	fear / frighten	Benedict 1972:473
	***grûk∼krûk**	fear / frighten	Chou Fa-kao 1972:789a
	***k/grok ≍ k/grak**	fear / frighten	Matisoff 2003a:597
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	á **caʔ**	fear / be afraid	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:245
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Mama)	**dʐok**^{13}	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.6
Cuona Menba	**tʂɔʔ**^{53}ka^{31}	frighten / scare (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rtɕak**	afraid, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1366.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htɕak**	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rcçak**	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**tʂɑʔ**^{53}	afraid, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1366.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tʂɑʔ**^{53}	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tʂa**^{52}	afraid, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1366.02
Tibetan (Written)	**dkrog**-pa ≍ **skrog**-pa	rouse, scare up	Matisoff 2003a:329
	dogs	fear	Benedict 1972:76n232
	skrag	afraid, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1366.01
	skrag-pa	terrified, afraid	LaPolla 1987:174
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htɕaχ**	afraid, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1366.04
	htɕaχ htsaŋ	frighten / scare (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.04
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**kjạ**	fear, dread	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2539
	tśja	fear, dread	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4428
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya [Minyak]	**qɑ**^{55}	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.15
Namuyi	lu^{33}**qu**^{33}	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.19
Qiang (Mawo)	**qu**	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**qu**^{33}	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.9
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	a^{31} **kraʔ**^{55}	fear, frighten	LaPolla 1987:174
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***Nkrok** FEAR / BE AFRAID, ***?krok** FRIGHTEN			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***Nkrok**	fear / be afraid	Matisoff 1972b:104(a)
	***?krok**	frighten	Matisoff 1972b:104(b)
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**tʂu**^{31}	fear	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**xʐoʔ**^{55}	frighten / scare (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.28
	ʐoʔ^{55}	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**çu**^{35}	frighten / scare (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.29
Arakanese	**hkrau"**	frighten	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**kjạuʔ**^{55}	frighten / scare (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕhɑuʔ**^{4}	frighten / scare (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hcau'**	frighten	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕɑuʔ**^{44}	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.40
Burmese (Written)	**k(h)rauk**	fear	Benedict 1972:76n232
	khrok	afraid; frighten	Hansson 1989:494; Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a
	khrɔk^{4}	frighten / scare (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.26
	khyok	frighten	Benedict 1976a
	krauk	fear (v.)	LaPolla 1987:174
	krok	fear (v.)	Marrison 1967
	krok	afraid; fear, be afraid	Hansson 1989:494; Benedict 1976a
	krɔk	fear	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:730.39
	krɔk^{4}	afraid, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1366.26

Hpun (Northern)	**chò?**	fear; frighten; frighten (cp. Fear)	Henderson 1986; Henderson 1986
Intha	**hklo'**	frighten	Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	**kjạuk**^{55}	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**kjụ:k**^{55}	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.33
Marma	**krɔ?**	fear / be afraid	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:245
Maru [Langsu]	**kjauk**^{31}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.43
Tavoyan	**khyaú'**	frighten	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kjuʔ**^{21}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.42
	kjuʔ^{31}	fear, frighten	LaPolla 1987:174
	kjụʔ^{55}	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.30
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***(sə)-grok**^{H}	fear	Bradley 1979b:689
PNL	**Nkrok**^{H}	fear	CHEN Kang 1986a:73.
	ʔkrok	frighten	CHEN Kang 1986a:157.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**tɕo**^{35}	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.47
Lalo	**goq**	afraid / be afraid	Björverud 1994
	gǫ^{33}	fear	CHEN Kang 1986a:73.
	ko^{33}	frighten	CHEN Kang 1986a:157.
Lipho	**dzu̱**^{33}	fear	CHEN Kang 1986a:73.
	ku̱^{33}	frighten	CHEN Kang 1986a:157.
Nasu	**džu 32s**	fear / be afraid	Matisoff 1972b:104(a)
	dʑǫ^{2}	fear	CHEN Kang 1986a:73.
	tɕǫ^{2}	frighten	CHEN Kang 1986a:157.
Nesu	**dzu̱**^{33}	fear	CHEN Kang 1986a:73.
	tsu̱^{33}	frighten	CHEN Kang 1986a:157.
Nosu	**dʑu̱**^{4}	fear	CHEN Kang 1986a:73.
	ku̱^{4}	frighten	CHEN Kang 1986a:157.
Nusu (Southern)	**dzu̱**^{53}	fear	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**gɹu̱**^{53}	afraid, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1366.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**gɹu̱**^{53}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.45
Nusu (Northern)	**gɹu̱**^{55}	fear	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**kɹu̱**^{53}	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.34
Yi (Dafang)	**dʑɔ**^{33}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ku̱**^{33}	frighten; intimidate; scare	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ku̱^{33}**l**ɯ^{34}	frighten; intimidate; scare; threaten	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	dʑu̱^{33}**ɬ**a^{33}	fear	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**dzu̱**^{33}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dzu̱**^{33}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dʑu̱**^{33}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.24
	tsu^{33}	shiver / tremble (from fear) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1303.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**go**^{33}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ko**^{33}	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tɕu̱**^{2}	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.38
Yi (Xide)	**ku̱**^{33}**l**ɯ^{34}	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	**dzu̱**^{33}	fear	CHEN Kang 1986a:73.
	tʂu̱^{33}	frighten	CHEN Kang 1986a:157.
Jinuo (Youle)	**khø**^{33}	fear	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	nɔ^{44}**tɕhø**^{33}	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.44
	tɕhø^{35}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.34
Kucong	**kɔ33** tsʌ31	frighten	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	kɯ33	fear	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
**Common Lahu*	***kuhˆ**	fear	Bradley 1979b:689
Lahu	**kɔ̂ʔ**	fear, frighten; fear	LaPolla 1987:174; Benedict 1972:76n232
Lahu (Black)	**kɔ**^{54}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**kɯ**^{6}	fear	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**chaw2**	frighten	Matisoff 1972b:104(b)
	chaw^{2}	fear	Bradley 1979b:689
Lisu (Central)	**chaw**^{2}	frighten (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**dʒo**^{44}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.27
Lisu (Northern)	**dʑɔ**^{33}	afraid; fear (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**jaw3**	fear / be afraid	Matisoff 1972b:104(a)
	jaw^{3}	fear	Bradley 1979b:689
Lisu (Central)	**jaw**^{3}	fear (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tɕo**^{35}	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.40
Sani [Nyi]	**<go**^{44}**>**	fear	CHEN Kang 1986a:73.
	gu 44	fear / be afraid	Matisoff 1972b:104(a)
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**gu HS**	fear / be afraid	Matisoff 1972b:104(a)
Hani (Dazhai)	**gu̱**^{33}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.31
Hani (Lüchun)	na^{31}**gu̱**^{33}	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**gu̱**^{33}	fear	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**kɣ̱**^{33}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**l̥**a^{33}**kɣ̱**^{33}	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.42
Woni	**ku 45**	fear / be afraid	Matisoff 1972b:104(a)
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**tsu**^{33}	fear	Pelkey 2011:793
Phola	**kɔ̱**^{55}	fear	Pelkey 2011:793
Hlepho Phowa	**dzo**^{21}	fear	Pelkey 2011:793
Phuza	**dzɻu**^{55}	fear	Pelkey 2011:793
6.2. NAXI			
Na (Yongning)	**qv˥**	frighten (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**tʂɚ**^{21}	frighten / scare (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1721.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**zʐɚ**^{33}	fear	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:730.28
7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***xa**	scare, frighten	Benedict 1972:159n430
	***xɑ**	scare / frighten with outcries / use violent language in order to terrify	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:789a
Kayan (Pekon)	**há**	frighten (V.)	Manson 2010
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			[a]
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**glâk**/lâk	fear (v.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:766q
	xi̱ǎk/xi̱ɒk	fear	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:789a
Chinese (Old)	**k'lâk**	respect, reverent (inspire fear)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:766g

[a] *STC* cites several Chinese comparanda, including *GSR* 766q, 766g, 813a-f, 813g, and 789a.

Chinese comparandum

赫 OC ***χǎk**, *GSR* #779a 'red, fiery; brilliant; majestic, awe-inspiring; frighten'; Schuessler 2007:276 ***hrâk**; B & S 2011: ***q**^{hs}**rak**; Mand. **hè**.
嚇 OC ***χǎk**, *GSR* #779b 'frighten'; Schuessler 2007:276 ***hrâk**; B & S 2011: ***q**^{hs}**‹r›ak q**^{hs}**‹r›ak-s**; Mand. **hè**.
嚇 OC ***χǎg**, *GSR* #779b 'frighten'; Schuessler 2007:276 ***hrâkh**; B & S 2011: ***q**^{hs}**‹r›ak-s**; Mand. **xià**.
鼹 OC ***χi̱ǎk**, *GSR* #787d-f 'frightening'; Schuessler 2007:276 ***hak**; Mand. **xì**.
覤 OC ***χi̱ǎk**, *GSR* #789a 'fear'; Schuessler 2007:276 ***hak**; Mand. **xì**.
恪 OC ***k'lâk**, *GSR* #766g 'respect; reverent'; Coblin 86:78 ST ***khlak** > OC ***khlak**; Schuessler 2007:276 (***khrâk**); B & S 2011: (***k**^{hs}**rak**); Mand. **kè**.

(15) PTB *baŋ TIRED / EXHAUSTED

This etymon is very likely allofamic with PTB ***bal** TIRED / THIRSTY (§1.1.3.1), but it seems best to keep them separate for now.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ɓaaŋ** TIRED / EXHAUSTED

**Chin*	***ɓaaŋ**	TIRED / EXHAUSTED	VanBik 2009:54
Kaang	**bɔŋ**^{35}**kʁ**^{31}	tired	VanBik 2009:54
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**bawng**	tired, to be short of breath	VanBik 2009:54
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**bâaŋ**-INV	tired, exhausted	VanBik 2009:54
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**paŋ**	tired, fatigued (cf. phâ)	Benedict 1976a
	paŋ pân	tired, exhausted	VanBik 2009:54

(16) PNC *tsool TIRED / EXHAUSTED

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
**Northern Chin*	***tsool**	TIRED / EXHAUSTED	VanBik 2009:570
Thado	**tsôol**-I, tsool-II	exhausted, be tired	VanBik 2009:570
Tiddim	**to:l**^{1}	tired	VanBik 2009:570

(17) PTani *pe TIRED / REST

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***pe**	tired / rest	Sun 1993a:434
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bengni	a-**pi:**	tired; rest	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pi:-nu:	rest	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **pe:**	hard / laborious	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1095.24
	a **pe:**	tired, be / fatigued (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1495.24
	a-**pe:**	tired; rest; hard, difficult, tiresome; on vacation, on leave	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a **pe:**	rest (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1740.24
Bokar Lhoba	a **pɛ**	tired	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:899.51
	a **pɛ:**	rest; tired	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:581.51; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Nishing	a **pi**-ai	tired	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **pi** ai-la dopɤ-ne	tired / I am tired	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**pe**	tired / rest	Sun 1993a

(18) PKC *rim WEARY / ANXIOUS / REGRET / TIRED

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***rim**	WEARY / ANXIOUS / REGRET / TIRED	VanBik 2009:983
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**gîm**-I, gìm-II	tired, burdened (from sickness, suffering), pain, ache	VanBik 2009:983
Tiddim	**gim**^{1}	get tired, pant	VanBik 2009:983
	gim^{1}	get tired; pant (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:351
	gim^{1}	get tired, pant	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**rìm**-I, rǐm-II	weary, anxious, regretful, tired	VanBik 2009:983
Lai (Falam)	**rîm**-I, rìm-II	anxious, tired, weary	VanBik 2009:983
Lushai [Mizo]	**rîm**	tired or toil-worn (be v.)	VanBik 2009:983
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**ró**	regret	VanBik 2009:983

(19) PTB *ru-t CRAZY

Kuki-Chin reflects the ***-t** suffix for this root.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ru**	crazy	Matisoff 2003a:611
1.1.1. TANI: ***ru** CRAZY / MAD			
**Tani*	***ru**	crazy / mad	Sun 1993a:85
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	à-kì **rù**-nɯ	mad dog	Sun 1993b
	ró-nɯ	mad	Sun 1993b
	ru-nɯ	crazy / mad	Sun 1993a
	rù-nɯ	mad	Sun 1993b
	ru-nɯ	mad; insane	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ru**-gak	crazy / mad	Sun 1993a
	ru-kak-bu	madman (on the loose)	Sun 1993b
	su-**ru**-bu	madman	Sun 1993b
	šu-**ru**; **ru**-gak	crazy / mad	Sun 1993a
Miri, Hill	**ru** gak-ne	mad	Simon 1976
Nishing	**ru** gak	mad (crazy)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	si **ru** ne	mad	Das Gupta 1983
	si **ru** nɤ nyi	mad man	Das Gupta 1983

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ruut** ⩵ ***hruut** FOOLISH / MAD

**Chin*	***ruut** ⩵ hruut	FOOLISH / MAD	VanBik 2009:940
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**gu**	mad, to become mad (be v.)	VanBik 2009:940
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hruut**-I, hruʔ-II	foolish, mad (be v.)	VanBik 2009:940
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**hrú**	foolish, mad	VanBik 2009:940
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	rəw **vu** ba	insane / crazy	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:249-1
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya	tɵ^{55} **ʁɑ**^{33}	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ʁɑ**^{55}mi^{53}	mad person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:303.15
Namuyi	**ʁo**^{55}ndzo^{55}	mad person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:303.19
	ʁuo^{55}ndzɻuo^{55}	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.46

Qiang (Longxi)	dà **ʁó**	crazy	Evans 1999:1897
	ʁó mù	insane person	Evans 1999:265
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʁu ʁu**	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.08
	ʁu ʁu n	insane person; mad person	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1981; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:303.8
Qiang (Yadu)	tu **ʁu**	insane	DAI Qingxia 1989q:1897
Queyu (Xinlong)	**rʁa**^{13}	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.13

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	**lʁa** ma	mad person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:303.14
Daofu	rə **lʁɑ**	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.12

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *__ru__^{2} CRAZY

**Lolo-Burmese*	*__ru__^{2}	crazy	Matisoff 2003a:611

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	**ju**^{55}	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.27
Burmese (Written)	**ru**^{3}	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.26
Leqi (Luxi)	**ju̱ː**^{33}	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.33
Marma	ə **rú**	insane / crazy	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:249-1

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	*__ru__^{2}	crazy	Bradley 1979b:557A

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Yi (Liangshan)	**vu**^{33}lɯ^{33}mo^{33}lɯ^{33}	crazy, be; deranged, be	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vu^{34}mo^{33}	crazy, be; ill, mentally	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Wuding)	**ɣ̩**^{33}	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.38
Yi (Xide)	**vu**^{33}	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.35
	vu^{33}-su^{33}-su^{21}	mad, crazy	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979
	vu^{34}-mo^{33}	go crazy	CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	a^{44}**vɯ**^{33}lɯ^{33}	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.44
**Common Lahu*	*__g'uˇ__	crazy	Bradley 1979b:557A
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɣu**^{53}	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.43
Lahu (Black)	phî-**g̈û**	mad dog (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:920
	tshɔ^{33}**ɣu**^{53}	mad person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:303.33
Lisu (Northern)	khɤ^{21}**vy**^{44}	mad dog	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**vu**^{33}	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.40
	wu^{1}	crazy	Bradley 1979b:557B
Yi (Sani)	**ɣ̩**^{11}	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.39

8. BAI

Bai (Jianchuan)	**vv**^{42}	crazy, become (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1323.48

(20) PTani *grak CRAZY / MAD

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	*__grak__	crazy / mad	Sun 1993a:84

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	ru-**gak**	crazy / mad	Sun 1993a
	šu-ru; ru-**gak**	crazy / mad	Sun 1993a
Miri, Hill	ru **gak**-ne	mad	Simon 1976
Nishing	ru **gak**	mad (crazy)	Das Gupta 1969

(21) PTB *yum BELIEVE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *__yuum__ BELIEVE

**Chin*	*__yuum__	BELIEVE	VanBik 2009:1189

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**yón**-é	believe	VanBik 2009:1189
Cho (Mindat)	**yum**	believe, to trust (v.)	VanBik 2009:1189

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**zùum**-I, zûm-II	believe	VanBik 2009:1189
Lai (Hakha)	**zŭum**-I, zum?-II	believe	VanBik 2009:1189

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**zó**	believe	VanBik 2009:1189

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**jom**^{35}	believe / trust (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1725.28
	ʐom^{35}	believe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:721.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**jum**^{35}	believe / trust (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1725.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	**jõ**^{22}	believe / trust (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1725.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**jõ**^{22}	believe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:721.40
Burmese (Written)	**juṁ**^{2}	believe / trust (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1725.26
	juṁ^{2}	believe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:721.39
	yuṁ	believe	Marrison 1967
	yuṁ	believe, trust (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**yuṁ**	believe, trust (v.)	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	**yúm**, **yúm**	believe	Henderson 1986

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Lancang)	**ʐo**^{31}	believe / trust (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1725.43
Lahu (Black)	**yō(n)**	believe (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:1279 [a]
	zo^{31}	believe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:721.33

7. KARENIC: *__jɨm__^{B} BELIEVE

**Karen*	*__jɨm__^{B}	believe	Luangthongkum 2013:19
Kayah	**ji**^{11}	believe	Luangthongkum 2013:19
Kayan	**ɲi**^{11}	believe	Luangthongkum 2013:19
Kayaw	**ji**^{11}	believe	Luangthongkum 2013:19
Pa-O (Northern)	**jum**^{53}	believe	Luangthongkum 2013:19
Pa-O (Southern)	**jəm**^{55}∼**jən**^{55}	believe	Luangthongkum 2013:19
Pa-O	**jîm** ʔám	believe	Solnit 1989

[a] Lahu **yō(n)** is a borrowing from Burmese, probably via Shan.

(22) PKC *riŋ-I, *rin-II BELIEVE / TRUST

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	*__riŋ__-I, rin-II	BELIEVE / TRUST	VanBik 2009:921

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**ging**	believe	VanBik 2009:921
Thado	**gíŋ** tsâa-I, gìn tsât-II	believe, trust	VanBik 2009:921

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**rĭng**-I, rìn-II	believe, to trust (v.)	VanBik 2009:921
Lushai [Mizo]	**ring**	believe	Marrison 1967
	ríng-I, rîn-II	believe, to trust, to confide in (v.)	VanBik 2009:921

(23) PTB *syey-s KNOW / UNDERSTAND

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__syey__	know	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1257e
	*__syey__	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325
	*__syey__	know	Matisoff 1985a:048; LaPolla 1987:98; Benedict 1972:182
	*__syey__ (*C)	know	Coblin 1986:101
	*__syey-s__	know	Matisoff 2003a:614

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *__thay-I__, *__thayʔ-II__ KNOW / ABLE / HEAR

**Chin*	*__thay-I__, __thayʔ-II__	KNOW / ABLE / HEAR	VanBik 2009:395

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**thei**	comprehend, able	VanBik 2009:395
Sizang	**htē** hī	can	VanBik 2009:395
Thado	**thèy**-INV	know	VanBik 2009:395
Tiddim	**thei**^{3} > **theiʔ**^{3}	know; able to (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1881
	thei^{3} > **theiʔ**^{3}	know	VanBik 2009:395
	thei^{3}/**theiʔ**^{3}	know, be able to	Bhaskararao 1994
	`thei/**_theiʔ**	know / able to (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**thei**	marking ability, cleverness	VanBik 2009:395
Khumi	**tháy**	hear	VanBik 2009:395

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**thày**-INV	know, be able	VanBik 2009:395
Lai (Hakha)	**thăy-I**, **thayʔ-II**	comprehend, know, understand, hear	VanBik 2009:395
Lushai [Mizo]	**thèi**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325
	thèi	hear / know (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:430
	thei	able (be v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2951
	thèi-I, **thèih-II**	can, may, be able, to be capable, to have sufficient power or strength	VanBik 2009:395

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**thēi**	hear, to know, to understand, can (v.)	VanBik 2009:395

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): *__m-thət__ KNOW

**Central Naga*	*m-**thət**	KNOW	Bruhn 2014a:III.190
**Ao*	*a-**ʃi**	KNOW	Bruhn 2014a:II.091
	*m-**tət**	KNOW	Bruhn 2014a:II.041
Ao (Chungli)	**-sì**	learn (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:4
	a^{3}-**si**^{1}	know (have ability) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.091
	me **tet**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mə^{3}**tət**^{3}	know (a person/fact) (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.041
	mú **tút**	know (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:10
	shi tet	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{3}mɯ^{3}**tɯt**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:711
Ao (Mongsen)	mú **tút**	know (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:12
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	me **tet**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	shi	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	mə **tət**	know [knew] (something, someone etc) (v.)	Coupe 2007
	si	know [knew] (how to do something) (v.)	Coupe 2007
	si-lak	learn [learned] (probably <'know' + TERM) (v.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	mü **the**	know (v.)	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
	^{1}mɯ^{1}**te**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325
	^{1}mɯ^{1}**the**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:988

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	^{4}**si**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325
	^{4}**si**	hear / know (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:430
Angami (Khonoma)	**si**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**si**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**se**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{5}**se**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325
	^{5}**se**	hear / know (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:430
Khezha	^{2}**tše**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325
Mao	**sü**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	^{5}**sɯ**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325
Sema [Sumi]	i **ti**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	i **ti**	understand	Marrison 1967
	i **ti** ke mi	witness (n.)	Marrison 1967
	^{1}i^{2}**thi**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	**shi**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	si	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325
Puiron	**thei**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**thai**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	thày məi	know (inf)	Matisoff 1994e
	thâi	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *__t^{h}ej__ KNOW / SEE

**Tangkhulic*	*__t^{h}ej__	know / see	Mortensen 2012:405
Huishu	kə-**t^{h}u**	see, look; know	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.014
Kachai	kə-**t^{h}i**	see / know	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.014
Tangkhul	**thei**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	thei	see	Marrison 1967
	thəy	see	Bhat 1969:96
	^{1}kə^{3}**thəi**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325
	^{1}kə^{3}**thəi**	know / understand (v.,v.)	Weidert 1987:67
Tusom	kə-**tχa**	see / know	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.017
Ukhrul	kə-ci-**t^{h}ej**	show (cause to see)	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**t^{h}ej**	know; see	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**t^{h}ɐj**	see	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	di **thi** ⩙ khi **thi**	show	Benedict 1972:182
	mi **thi**	know	LaPolla 1987:98; Benedict 1972:182
Dimasa	ma **thi** ⩙ mi **thi**	know	Benedict 1972:182; LaPolla 1987:98

	mi **thi**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**ši**	know	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	mi **tiʔ**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:54

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	maʔ-**si**-a	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:54
	ma **si**	know	Matisoff 1985a:048; LaPolla 1987:98; Benedict 1972:182

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***Ç-yəːy** KNOW, ***Ç-syəːy** LEARN

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-syəːy**	learn (v.)	French 1983:511
	***Ç-yəːy**	know (v.)	French 1983:509

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	a **jet** te	distinguished	French 1983:509
	he(i)	learn (v.)	French 1983:511
	he(i) tho	teach (v.)	French 1983:511
	i **jet**	know (v.)	French 1983:509
	i **jat**	understand	Marrison 1967
	i **jet**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak	**shi**	learn (v.)	Marrison 1967
Phom	**yeüh** go pü	wise	Marrison 1967
	yeüh nyuh pa	teacher	Marrison 1967
	yeəʔ go pə	wise	French 1983:509
	yeəʔ ñuʔ pa	teacher	French 1983:509

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**śi**	news	Benedict 1972:182

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Motuo)	**se**	know (a language); can; be abl; know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.7; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:732.7
	se^{55}	know; can; be able to	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986; ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**se**	know; can; be able to	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986; ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**se**	know (to write); know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1392.07; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.07

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**xhi**	know (to write); know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1392.05; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.05
	xi	familiar with, be / know sthg. o (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ɕi**	know (a language); can; be abl; know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.4; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:732.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**xhi**	know (a language) / can / be abl	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:732.5
	ɕ^{h}i	know	Sun 1985a:668
Tibetan (Batang)	**xhe**^{55}	know (to write); know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1392.03; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.03
Tibetan (Central)	**šẽː-**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:711
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ɕhe**^{55}	know (a language); can; be abl; know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:732.3
Tibetan (Written)	**śes**-ap	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:711
	śes-pa	know; know, understand	Matisoff 1985a:048; LaPolla 1987:98; Benedict 1972:159n429; Benedict 1972:182
	shes	know	Sun 1985c:668
	ʃes	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ɕes	know (to write); know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1392.01; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.01
	ɕes	know (a language); can; be abl; know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:732.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ɕhi**	know (to write); know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1392.04; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.04
"Pre-Tibetan"	**syes**	know	Coblin 1986:101

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung	ngoh **seq** bā	know (smn) (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.55
	seq-m	know	Hale 1973:01.058
Gurung (Ghachok)	**seq**-m	know	Glover 1972:1.59
Gurung	**seq** bā	know (fact / person) (v.)	Hale 1973:XIIIA2
Gurung (Ghachok)	**seq** ba	know (fact / person)	Glover 1972:13.A.2
Gurung	thā:hā **seq** bā	know (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.19
Gurung (Ghachok)	t^{h}a:ha **seq** ba	know	Glover 1972:10.B.2.19
Gurung	**²se-**	know	Mazaudon 1994:959
Gurung (Ghachok)	ŋoh **seq** ba	know (smn)	Glover 1972:10.B.1.55
Manang (Prakaa)	**²ʃiː-**	know	Mazaudon 1994:959
	¹ɕiː-	know	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0421
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'seː-**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:711
Tamang (Risiangku)	**²seː**	know-how	Mazaudon 1994:959
Tamang (Sahu)	**'sye**-pā	know (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.19
	'sye:-pā	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:711
	'sye:-pa	know (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.B.19; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.59
	sehng-pā **'sye:**-pā	know (sthg) (v.)	Hale 1973:XIIIA2
	sehŋ-pa **'sye:**-pa	know (s.th.) (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:22.D.2.
	the **'sye:** pa	know	Hale 1973:01.059
	²sje:	know	Mazaudon 1994:959
Tamang (Taglung)	**sje:**-ba	know	Mazaudon 1994:932
	ʃje:-ba	know	Mazaudon 1994:959
Thakali	ngo **sye**-la	know (smn) (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.55
Thakali (Marpha)	^{55,33}**ɕe**-ba	know	Mazaudon 1994:959
Thakali (Syang)	^{55,55}**ʃje**-ba	know (how to do)	Mazaudon 1994:959
Thakali (Tukche)	**²sje**	know (smn)	Mazaudon 1994:959
	ŋo **sje**-lɔ	know (smn)	Hari 1971:10.B.1.55

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Hayu	**ses**	know; know, understand	LaPolla 1987:98; Benedict 1972:182

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**ciʔ**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:54
	ciʔ-	know, understand (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	ciʔ-sa	know	Caughley 1972:1.59
	ciʔ.sā	know	Hale 1973:01.059
	ciʔ.sā	know (sthg) (v.)	Hale 1973:XIIIA2
	hluŋ **ciʔ**-	know, understand (vt.)	Caughley 2000
Kham	**sąy**-nyā	know; know (sthg) (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.19; Hale 1973:XIIIA2

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**śji**	know, knowledge	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3702
	sjij	passion, know	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3469
	sji	know	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4993
	tśji	know	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2749
	tsjij	realize, know; Bodhisattva	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3574

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	hɑ^{33}**sɛ**^{55}	know; understand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.18; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:723.18
Guiqiong	ma^{31}**sə**^{55}	recognize (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1590.16
	ma^{35}**sə**^{55}	understand / grasp (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1282.16
	ma^{55}**sə**^{55}	know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.16
	mɑ^{55}**sɿ**^{55}	know (a language); can; be abl; know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.17; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:732.17
	tɕu^{55}ʒə^{33}ʒə^{33}ma^{55}**sə**^{55}	familiar with, be / know sthg. o (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.16
Lyuzu	hũ^{33}**sɿ**^{53}	understand; grasp; recognize; know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1282.18; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1524.18,1590.18; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.18
Namuyi	**sɿ̃**^{35}	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.19
	sɿ^{31}	understand; grasp; look at and distinguish (characters); know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1282.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1589.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.46
	tɕhi^{31}**sɿ**^{31}**sɿ**^{31}	familiar with, be; know sthg. o; recognize (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1590.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.46
Pumi (Lanping)	mã^{13}**sə**^{13}	recognize (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1590.09
	ma^{13}**sə**^{55}	know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.09
	mã **sə**^{13}	familiar with, be / know sthg. o (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.09
	tʂa^{13} **ʂə**^{13}	understand (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1524.09
	tʂɑ^{13}**ʂə**^{55}	understand / grasp (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1282.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	ma^{13}**sə**^{55}	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.11
	tʂɑ^{13}**ʂə**^{55}	understand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:723.11
Pumi (Taoba)	mã^{35}**sẽ**^{55}	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**sì**	understand, know	Evans 1999:1832
	sì (à)	know	Evans 1999:2588
	sì ~ **sí sí**	recognize (word); know well	Evans 1999:2278; Evans 1999:2343
	sí sí	recognize (person)	Evans 1999:2279
Qiang (Mawo)	**sə**	familiar with, be; know sthg. o; recognize (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1590.08; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.08
	sə	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**sì** (ʐá)	understand, know	Evans 1999:1832
	sì uà	understand, comprehend	Evans 1999:2137
	sì uá ɕà	understand, know	Evans 1999:1832
	sì ʐá	know	Evans 1999:2588
	χà **sì**	recognize (person); recognize	Evans 1999:2279; Evans 1999:2343
Qiang (Taoping)	**sɿ**^{55}	know; understand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.9; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:723.9
Xumi	**sɛ**^{53}	understand; grasp; recognize; familiar with, be; know sthg. o; know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1282.17; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1590.17,1636.17; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.17
	sɛ^{53}	know; understand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.20; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:723.20
	sɛ^{55}wu^{33}dʐõ^{33}	understand (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1524.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**sɿ**^{55}**sɿ**^{55}	know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.14
	tʌ^{13}**sɿ**^{55}	understand (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1524.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	**shau**	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	ka **ʃə**	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɐ **ʃə**	know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.11

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***šey²/³** KNOW

**Lolo-Burmese*	***šey²/³**	know	Matisoff 2003a:614

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**ɕɛ**^{31}	know	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**ɕɛ**^{51}	know	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**sɛ**^{35}	know (to write); know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1392.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.32
	tʃə̆^{55}**sɛ**^{35}	familiar with, be / know sthg. o (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.32
Burmese (Written)	**sí**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325
	si	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	sí	know	LaPolla 1987:98
	sì	know, understand	Benedict 1972:182
	si'	know, understand	Matisoff 1985a:048
	si'	know (v.)	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	**sɛ**^{55}	familiar with, be; know sthg. o; know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**sɛː**^{53}	know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.33
	sɛ̰^{53}	familiar with, be / know sthg. o (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.33
Maru [Langsu]	pa^{31}; **sɛ**^{55}	know (a language) / can / be abl	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:732.43
	sɛ^{55}	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**se**^{55}	familiar with, be; know sthg. o; know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.30; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.30
	se^{55}	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***si²** KNOW

**Loloish*	***si²**	know (v.)	Weidert 1987:325
	***si²**	know	Bradley 1979b:590
PNL	**si²**	know	CHEN Kang 1986a:166.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**sɿ**^{55}	know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.47
	sɿ^{55}ja^{33}	familiar with, be / know sthg. o (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.47
Lalo	**sjí**	know / grasp	Björverud 1994
Nasu	**sə̰**^{55}	know	CHEN Kang 1986a:166.
Neisu	**se**^{13}	know	CHEN Kang 1986a:166.
Nosu	**sɻ̃**^{55}	know	CHEN Kang 1986a:166.
Yi (Dafang)	**sə**^{55}	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.22

Yi (Liangshan)	**sɿ**^{21}	know (be aware); know (recognize); know (understand); recognize (know); understand	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɿ^{34}	know (recognize); meet	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	dʑi^{33}**sɿ**^{34}	familiar with; know well	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**sɛ̱**^{55}	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.24
Yi (Wuding)	**sɿ̄**^{55}	know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.38
Yi (Xide)	dzi^{33} **sɿ**^{34}	familiar with, be / know sthg. o (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo (Buyuan)	**si**^{44}	know (v.)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**sɯ**^{44}	know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**sɤ**^{44}jɔ^{33}	know	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɕi**^{11}	familiar with, be; know sthg. o; know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.43
Lahu (Black)	**šī**	know	Matisoff 1985a:048; Matisoff 1974:217
	si^{11}	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.33
Lisu (Central)	**srghe**^{1}	know (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**sɯɹ**^{33}	know (v.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**sɯ**^{55}	familiar with, be; know sthg. o; know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.40; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.40
	sɯ^{55}	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.27
Lisu (Northern)	**sɤ**^{55}	know; understand; be familiar with (V.)	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Caiyuan)	**sɿ̄**^{31}la̱^{31}	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**si**^{31}n̥a^{33}	know	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Mojiang)	**ʃv̩**^{35}	familiar with, be / know sthg. o (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.42
Mpi	**sɯ**^{1}	know	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Sila	**sɯ21**	know (v.)	KATO Takashi 2008:212

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Phola	**si**^{33}	know; understand	Pelkey 2011:786
Hlepho Phowa	**sɿ**^{55}	know; understand	Pelkey 2011:786

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**sɯ**˩	know (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3263
Na (Yongning)	**sɯ**˧	know (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**sɯ**^{33}	understand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:723.28
	sɯ^{33}; no^{33}	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.28
Naxi	**sɿ**^{33}	understand; grasp; know (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1282.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1798.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**sɿ**^{33}	understand	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:723.29
Naxi	**sɿ**^{33}sɿ^{21}	recognize (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1590.45
	sɿ^{33}**sɿ**^{33}	familiar with, be / know sthg. o (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1636.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**sɿ**^{33}ze^{31}	know	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:722.29

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**jy** dauh	know	Sun 1985b:668
	zhī	know	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3860

Chinese comparandum

悉 OC ***si̯ĕt** *GSR* #1257e 'all, completely, exhaust'; Coblin 86:101 ST ***syis** > OC ***sjit** 'know'; Schuessler 2007:523-4 ***sit** 'all, everything, exhaust; to know, comprehend'; B & S 2011: ***sit** 'completely'; Mand. **xī**.

Note that Chinese 悉 ***xī** can mean not only "all, completely" but also "investigate thoroughly, know, comprehend"; these latter connotations are not shown in the gloss for *GSR* #1257e or in the entry for 悉 in B & S 2011. For further discussion of the semantics of 悉, see *HPTB*:465. [SPB]

(24) NEIA *m(y)aŋ THINK / BELIEVE / IDEATE

1.1.1. TANI: ***mɯŋ** THINK

**Tani*	***mɯŋ**	think	Sun 1993a:425

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	**mɯŋ**	think; consider; want	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**mɯŋ**	think; think, consider	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	mɯŋ	recall; recollect; think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1388.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.24
	mɯŋ bo	love; like; like (to eat)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1126.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1127.24
	mɯŋ bo	like / love (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1714.24
	mɯŋ kap	remember (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1407.24
	mɯŋ poŋ	recall / remember (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1727.24
	mɯŋ ram	lazy	Sun 1993b; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1112.24
	mɯŋ rɯ	assess / estimate (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1350.24
	mɯŋ tɕi	believe / trust (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1725.24
	mɯŋ-bo	like (vt.)	Sun 1993b
	mɯŋ-bo	love	Sun 1993b
	mɯŋ-či	believe	Sun 1993b
	mɯŋ-kap	remember	Sun 1993b
	mɯŋ-nam	desire	Sun 1993b
	mɯŋ-poŋ	miss (v.)	Sun 1993b
	mɯŋ-si	doubt, suspect	Sun 1993b
	mɯŋ-si suː	suspect	Sun 1993b
	mɯŋ ɕi	doubt (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1380.24
Bokar Lhoba	**mɯŋ**	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.51
	mɯŋ bo	love; like	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:719.51; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:720.51
	mɯŋ kap	remember	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:725.51
	mɯŋ ram	lazy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:907.51
	mɯŋ tɕi	believe	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:721.51
Galo	**məə** gaa	pine (for something); yearn (after) (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	məə gap	concentrate; memorize (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	məə kii	clever (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	məə mo-molap	inkling (n.)	GLDC 2009
	məə nam	think (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	məə nam	idea; thought (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	məə nam	want (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	məə pee	bias; outlook (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	məə pen	missed (item) (vs:nzr.)	GLDC 2009
	məə pen	omit (from thoughts) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	məə ɲɨɨ	mind (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	mɯ-ka-mum-nam	suppose (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	mɯ-ka-nam	consider; guess; hope; imagine; propose (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	mɯ-nam	think; intend; wish; expect; wonder (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	mɤ-nam	think; intend (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	'məə dii	reflect (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'məə kin-'momin	confused; puzzled; stymied (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**me**	think, suppose	Simon 1976
	me-gap	remember	Simon 1976
	me-nam	want, desire, remember	Simon 1976
Nishing	**mang**	believe	Das Gupta 1969
	mong-dung	hope	Das Gupta 1969
	mong-dung~**mang**-dung	expect	Das Gupta 1969
	mong~**mang**	think	Das Gupta 1969
	mong~**mang**~**nang**	wish	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**miŋ**-kur-nam	think again / reconsider (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	miŋ-lɯk-nam	agree (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	miŋ-nam	think (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	miŋ-nam	desire, wish	Das Gupta 1983
	miŋ-nam	hope (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	miŋ-pa-nam	recollect (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	miŋ-sɯr-nam	believe (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	miŋ ser nam	believe (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**mɯŋ**	think	Sun 1993a
Milang	lu-pi-**myaŋ**-ma	intend; wish	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	myaŋ-bu-lut-ma	doubt	Tayeng 1976
	myaŋ-gap	carefully	Tayeng 1976
	myaŋ-gap-la-ŋe-ma	miss	Tayeng 1976
	myaŋ-gap-ma	care	Tayeng 1976
	myaŋ-gap-ɲi	careful; steady	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	myaŋ-gi-ma	remember	Tayeng 1976
	myaŋ-ka-bi-ma	plan	Tayeng 1976
	myaŋ-ka-ma	think; hope; guess	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	myaŋ-ka-ma-nu	suppose; seem	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
	myaŋ-lu-lu-lu-ma	imagine	Tayeng 1976
	myaŋ-nam-ma	expect	Tayeng 1976
	myaŋ-ya-ma	prefer	Tayeng 1976
	myaŋ-yik-cu	despair	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	sɑl^{53} **mɑŋ**^{55}	believe / trust (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1725.23

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-maŋ** BELIEVE

**Ao*	*a-**maŋ**	BELIEVE	Bruhn 2014a:II.213
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}**maŋ**^{2}	believe (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.213
	ā **māŋ**	believe (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:3
	a **mang**	believe	Marrison 1967
	ta^{2}**maŋ**^{2}	faith (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	t **amang**	faith	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**maŋ**	believe [believed] (v.)	Coupe 2007

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak	**meng** pu	faith	Marrison 1967

(25) PNC *t$^{i}_{e}$l UNDERSTAND

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

**Northern Chin*	***til** ⋉ tel	UNDERSTAND	VanBik 2009:241
Sizang	**til** hī	understand	VanBik 2009:241
Tiddim	**tel**^{1}	understand accurately and justly	VanBik 2009:241

(26) PLB *taŋ^{1} ⋉ *m-daŋ^{2} THINK / FEEL AN EMOTION

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	*m-**daŋ**^{1}/^{2}	think / feel an emotion	Matisoff 2003a:586

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**thaN**	think	Marrison 1967
	thaŋ	visible, appear, be conspicuous; think (be v.)	Benedict 1976a

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	*m-**daŋ**^{2}	think	Bradley 1979b:587

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Lalo	**dì**	think / plan	Björverud 1994
Yi (Dafang)	**ndi**^{55}	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**tha**^{21}	estimate (guess at); guess (estimate); think (guess)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**dɯ**^{21}	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dɯ**^{21}	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**di**^{21}	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.37
	di^{21}tʌ^{55}	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**di**^{21}	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.23
Yi (Weishan)	**di**^{21}	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.36
Yi (Wuding)	**nthɯ**^{55}	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.38

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Kucong	**du31**	think	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**dɔ**^{53}	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.43
Lahu (Black)	**dɔ**^{53}	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**dɔ**^{3}	think	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a^{21}tɔ^{33} **dy**^{21}dʑa^{21}	think wildly	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Luquan)	**di**^{31}tʃhɑ^{31}	think, believe (v.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**du**^{21}dʑa^{21} tɕhi^{33}la^{33}	think of; remember (V.)	Bradley 1994
	du^{21}dʑwa^{21}	think (V.)	Bradley 1994
	du^{21}dʑæ^{21}	think; miss (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**du**^{31}dʒɑ^{31}	think	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:727.27

	du[31]dʑɑ[31]	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.40
Lisu (Central)	**dū**[5]-ja[5]	think	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**ɖɯ**[31]dʒɯ[31]	think, believe (v.)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Yi (Sani)	ṇ[44]**dẏ**[11]	think (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1726.39

(27) PKC *tum AIM / ASPIRE / INTEND

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tum**	AIM / ASPIRE / INTEND	VanBik 2009:174

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**tum**	aspire, intend, plan	VanBik 2009:174
Thado	**tŭm**-I, tùp-II	aim, intend	VanBik 2009:174
Tiddim	**tum**[3] > tup[3]	aim, plan	VanBik 2009:174

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tûm**-I, tŭm-II	aim, to aspire, to intend (v.)	VanBik 2009:174
Lai (Falam)	**tŭm**-I, tùm-II	aim, to aspire, to intend (v.)	VanBik 2009:174
Lushai [Mizo]	**túm**	intend, resolve, to make it one's aim (v.)	VanBik 2009:174

(28) PKC *hriʔ PLAN / ATTEMPT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***hriʔ**	PLAN / ATTEMPT	VanBik 2009:1092

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**hih**	attempt	VanBik 2009:1092

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hriʔ**-INV	plan, attempt	VanBik 2009:1092

(29) PCC *ʔer PLOT / RIVAL

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***ʔer**	PLOT / RIVAL	VanBik 2009:498
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔêr**-I, ʔĕr-II	plot against, rival	VanBik 2009:498
Lushai [Mizo]	**ér**	plot against, to scheme against (v.)	VanBik 2009:498

(30) PKC *hu(u)r HORNY / AMATORY / LUSTFUL

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***hu(u)r**	HORNY / AMATORY / LUSTFUL	VanBik 2009:722

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**huuk**	amatory	VanBik 2009:722
Thado	**hŭʔ**-I, hùʔ-II	lustful	VanBik 2009:722
Tiddim	**hu:k**[2]	in heat (of a female animal)	VanBik 2009:722
	hu:k[2]	in heat [of a female animal] (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:514
	hu:k[2]	heat, be in...	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-hui	excited (as animals in rut) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:722

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hûr**-I, hŭr-II	horny, be obsessed with sex	VanBik 2009:722
Lai (Falam)	**hŭr**-I, hùr-II	horny, be obsessed with sex	VanBik 2009:722
Lushai [Mizo]	**húr**	in heat, to have sexual desire, to lust, to be concupiscent (be v.)	VanBik 2009:722
	hur	on heat; have sexual desire (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2490

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**háo**	passionate in a fleshly way, to be in heat	VanBik 2009:722

(31) PTB *nay LANGUID / LEISURELY

Further confirmation of this apparently quite valid root would be welcome.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***nay**	languid / leisurely	Matisoff 1985a:113; Matisoff 2003a:604

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**nai**-ny	not exert self in word and speech	Matisoff 1985a:113
	nai-pi	slowly, leisurely	Matisoff 1985a:113
	nai-so-so	loiter; be slow; take things easily	Matisoff 1985a:113

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**nāi**	languid, lethargic	Matisoff 1985a:113

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGBenzhen	kə-**ɲi**	leisurely	Sun 1997b

(32) PTB *d-rum LONG FOR / PINE FOR

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-rum**	long for; pine for; pine	Matisoff 2003a:611; Benedict 1972:457

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**drum**-pa	long, languish, pine for	Benedict 1972:457

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**khyûṁ**	pine away	Benedict 1976a
	khyùm	pine away	Benedict 1972:457

Chinese comparandum

貪 OC ***t'əm**, *GSR* #645a 'covet'; Coblin 86:59 ST ***hləm** > PC ***hləm** > OC ***thəm**; Schuessler 2007:488-9 ***rhâm**; B & S 2011: ***r̥ˢəm {r̥ˢ[ə]m}**; Mand. **tān**.
婪/惏 OC ***gləm**, *GSR* #655i, j 'covet; covetous, rapacious'; Schuessler 2007:488-9 ***râm** < ***g-rəm**; B & S 2011: (***rˢəm**); Mand. **lán**.
嚂 OC ***glûm**, *GSR* #609 'stuff (one's face), be gluttonous'; Schuessler 2007:488-9 ***râms** < ***g-rams**; B & S 2011: (***k.rˢam-s**); Mand. **làn**.

(33) PTB *myəy DESIDERATIVE / WISH, WANT

Many of the reflexes have an alveolar rather than a labial nasal, a phenomenon which occurs with other roots with high front vowels, (cf. PTB ***s-myak** ≷ ***s-mik** EYE (§1.2.6)).

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***-məj** DESIDERATIVE

**Ao*	***-məj**	DESIDERATIVE (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.225
Ao (Chungli)	**-nə**[1]	DESIDERATIVE (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.225
	nü	wish; desire (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**mi**	want; wish (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mi	desire	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**nyü**	want (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	**ni**	want (v.)	Marrison 1967
	niu	wish (v.)	Marrison 1967
	niü	desire (v.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	lie **nyü**	want (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nyü	want; wish; desire (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Chokri	**nü**	wish (v.)	Marrison 1967
	nyi ba	want (v.)	Marrison 1967
	thikü **nyi**	desire (v.)	Marrison 1967
Mao	**ni**	want; wish (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Rengma	**nü**	want; desire (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	nyü	wish (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	**ni**	want (v.)	Marrison 1967
Maram	**ni**	want (v.)	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**ni**	desire; want (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**nei**	want (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ni	desire (v.)	Marrison 1967
Zeme	**nei**	desire (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ra **mei**	want (v.)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**neu**	want (v.)	Marrison 1967

[a] The first character is hard to read in the source; it appears to be <n>, but it could also be <h>.

(34) PKC *ʔii $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{t}\\\mathbf{n}\end{matrix}$ DESIRE / LOVE / COVET

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ʔiit**	DESIRE / LOVE / COVET	VanBik 2009:475

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**it** hī	desire	VanBik 2009:475
Tiddim	**i:t**[1]	love deeply (as a member of a family)	VanBik 2009:475
	i:t[1]	love deeply [e.g. members of a family] (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:535
	i:t[1]	love deeply	Bhaskararao 1994
	¯kĭ´**i:t**	love one another (vpf+v.)	Henderson 1965
	´i:t/ˆi:t	love (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**in**	clasp one another and be reluctant to leave	Matisoff 1985a:126
	in uai	clasp one another and be reluctant to leave	Matisoff 1985a:126
	ʔîit	desire, to want, to covet, to long for (v.)	VanBik 2009:475

(35) PTk *ŋaj DESIRE / WANT

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***ŋaj**	desire / want	Mortensen 2012:372
Kachai	kʰə-**mwe**	want / desire	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.018
Tusom	kʰə-**ŋie**	want / desire	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.020
Ukhrul	kʰə-**ŋaj**	want, desire (postposed to main verb)	Mortensen 2012

(36) PKC *θ $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{o}\\\mathbf{u}\end{matrix}$ k LUST FOR / DESIRE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***θok** ≷ θuk	LUST FOR / DESIRE	VanBik 2009:623

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	**tuk**[3]	erect	VanBik 2009:623

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**htuk**	lust, to be in the state of sexual excitation (v.)	VanBik 2009:623
Khumi	**jaang** ciw	have an erection, be horny, lustful (of a man)	VanBik 2009:623

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	(**ʔôr**) fok-I, foʔ-II	lust for, desire (e.g. ʔa-zâŋ ʔa-fok 'his penis erects, i.e. the penis desires sth.')	VanBik 2009:623

(37) PTB *huŋ WISH / WANT

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Lotha Naga	**-həŋ**	DESIDERATIVE (suf.)	Bruhn 2014b
	hung	wish (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**hang**	desire; want (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ning **hang**	wish (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak	**hu**	desire; want; wish (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ya **hu**	desire (v.)	Marrison 1967
Phom	**hü**	desire; want; wish (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**fu**[55]	want	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:674.18
Lyuzu	**hũ**[53]	want / need (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.18
Muya	**xo**[24]	want / need (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.15
Muya [Minyak]	**xo**[33]ŋɐ[55]	want	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:674.15
Namuyi	**hũ**[35]	want	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:674.19
	hũ[31]	want / need (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**xu**[55]	want / need (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1755.10

Qiang (Mawo)	ʦtɕə **xu̱** liu	want (to go) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1728.08

(38) PTB * $\frac{\textbf{b}}{\textbf{m}}$ **-la:p FORGET**

The Tamangic group shows variation between final **-p** and **-t**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-la:p**	forget	Matisoff 2003a:599; Benedict 1972:335
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Huishu	kə-**mə-le**	forget	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.056
Kachai	kʰə-**mə-lwe**	forget	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.047
Tangkhul	**malai**	forget	Marrison 1967
	[1]khə[1]**mə[3]lai**	forget (v.)	Weidert 1987:710
Ukhrul	kʰə-**mə-laj**	forget	Mortensen 2012
	mə-laj-kə-taj	forget	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	**balao**	forget	Marrison 1967
	balau	forget	Benedict 1972:335
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**malap**	forget	Marrison 1967
	mă[31]lap[31]	forget (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1704.19
	mă[31]lap[31]	forget	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:726.47
	mă[1]lap[31]	forget	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	məlap	forget	Benedict 1972:335
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*[Bh]**mlet**	forget	Mazaudon 1994:806
Gurung	**mliq** bā	forget (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.11
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mliq** ba	forget	Glover 1972:10.B.2.11
Gurung	**[2]mli**-	forget	Mazaudon 1994:806
Manang (Gyaru)	**mlɛ[2]** mɛ	forget (V.)	Nagano 1984:243
Manang (Prakaa)	[1]ɕo **mle:**	forget	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0407b
	[1]ɕo **mle:** [4]yə-	forget	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0407a
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'mle:**	forget (v.)	Weidert 1987:710
Tamang (Risiangku)	**[2]mlet**	forget	Mazaudon 1994:806
Tamang (Sahu)	**'mlep**-pa	omit, err (forget); forget (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.A.32.2; Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.B.11
	'mlep-pā(t)	forget (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.11
	[2]mlet	forget / to omit, to err (fo	Mazaudon 1994:806
Tamang (Taglung)	**mle:**-dzim	forget	Mazaudon 1994:806
Thakali	**mle**-la	forget (v.)	Hale 1973:10b2.11
Thakali (Marpha)	**[55,44]mle**-dzi-	forget	Mazaudon 1994:806
Thakali (Tukche)	**mle**-lɔ	forget	Hari 1971:10.B.2.11
	[2]mle	forget	Mazaudon 1994:806
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	a[31] **mat[55]**	forget	LaPolla 1987:79
	ɑ[31]**mɑt[55]**	forget	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

(39) PTk *laj FORGET

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***laj**	forget	Mortensen 2012:382
Tusom	kʰə-mə-**lie**	forget (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.062

(40) PKar *s-beŋ[A] FORGET

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***s-beŋ[A]**	forget	Luangthongkum 2013:122
Kayah	**pa[11]**	forget	Luangthongkum 2013:122
Kayan	**pe[33]**	forget	Luangthongkum 2013:122
Kayaw	**pe[33]**	forget	Luangthongkum 2013:122
Pa-O (Southern)	**peŋ[53]**	forget	Luangthongkum 2013:122
Pa-O (Northern)	**pheŋ[33]**	forget	Luangthongkum 2013:122
Pa-O	ʔám **phēŋ**	forget (dial., rare)	Solnit 1989
	ʔáu **phēŋ**	forget stg leaving it behind	Solnit 1989
	ʔán **phēŋ**	forget a fact	Solnit 1989
Sgaw (Southern)	**pi[33]**	forget	Luangthongkum 2013:122

(41) PKC *hŋilʔ FORGET / FALL ASLEEP

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hŋilʔ**	FORGET	VanBik 2009:914
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	ma **ngil** hī	forget (v.)	VanBik 2009:914
Tiddim	ˊmaŋ **_ŋilʔ**/ˊmaŋ **_ŋilʔ**	forget (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hŋilʔ**-INV	fall asleep	VanBik 2009:914
Lai (Falam)	**hŋilʔ**-INV	forget	VanBik 2009:914
Lushai [Mizo]	thèih-**nghìlh**	forget (v.)	VanBik 2009:914

8.3.2 Verbs of Affection

(1) PKC *yo(o)ŋ ADDICTED / HABITUATED

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***yo(o)ŋ**	ADDICTED / HABITUATED	VanBik 2009:1181
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**zong[1]** sang[1]	habituated	VanBik 2009:1181
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	**yeéwng**	habituated, comfortable, used to a situation	VanBik 2009:1181
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**zóŋ**-sáŋ	addicted to, be habituated, be accustomed to (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1181
Lushai [Mizo]	**zâwng**-chhâŋ	become addicted to, to be accustomed to, to be in the habit of (v.)	VanBik 2009:1181

(2) PTB *ʔiŋ BEAR / ENDURE / SUFFER

This etymology is due to VanBik (2009).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ʔiŋ**	bear (endure) / suffer	Matisoff 2003a:583
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ʔiŋ** ENDURE / FORBEAR			
**Chin*	***ʔiŋ**	ENDURE / FORBEAR	VanBik 2009:482
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔîŋ**-I, ʔĭn-II	endure, forbear, suffer	VanBik 2009:482
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**ò**	endure, to forbear (v.)	VanBik 2009:482
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**ɔŋ[1]** ɑɲ[3]	endure / be patient (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1588.26

(3) PTB *m-dz(y)u-k BELONG / TRUST / DEPEND / ACCEPT / TAKE

This etymon was reconstructed in Matisoff 1989 "A new ST root ***d-yu-k**". See also Matisoff 1988: 469 ("The Dictionary of Lahu").

The presumed semantic development of this etymon is fairly complex. According to one scenario, the basic meaning would be TAKE / ACCEPT, whence it acquired the more abstract sense of RELY UPON / DEPEND, and from there, to the notion of HANGING LOOSELY (cf. English *depend*, from Latin *pendere* 'to hang'). On the other hand, the semantic development might have been in exactly the opposite direction!

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***m-dz(y)u-k**	belong / trust / depend / accept / take	Matisoff 2003a:589
	***yu**	take	Matisoff 2003a:620
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***ju** CARRY / PUT			
Ao (Chungli)	a **yu**	put	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**ju**	carry [carried] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	**yo** po	put	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**yo** bu	put	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**mətšù**	depend / rely	Matisoff 1974:156
	tšù	depend / rely	Matisoff 1974:156
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**ɹɯ**^{31}kŭʔ^{55}	take back / put away	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:676.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ɹŭʔ**^{55}	take back / put away	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***yu**^{1} TAKE, ***džu**^{2} LOOSE / SLACK			
Lolo-Burmese	***yu**^{1}	take	Matisoff 2003a:620
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**ʐu**^{55}	take	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**ʐu**^{31}	take back; put away; take	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**ju**^{31}thɔʔ^{55}	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.32
	ju^{55}nɔ̰^{55}	take / hold / get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ju**^{22}	take / hold / get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.27
	thoʔ^{4}**ju**^{22}	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ju**^{22}	take	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:549.40
Burmese (Written)	**ju**^{2}	take / hold / get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.26
	ju^{2}	take	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:549.39
	yū	take	Marrison 1967
	yu	take; be of opinion	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:p.60
Langsu (Luxi)	**ju**^{31}	take / hold / get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.31
	ju^{31}thuk^{55}	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ju:**^{31}	take / hold / get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.33
Marma	**yu**	take	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:197
Maru [Langsu]	**ju**^{31}	take back; put away; take	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:549.43; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:676.43
	yu	take	Benedict 1972:p.60
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ju**^{21}thoʔ^{55}	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.30
	ju^{51}	take / hold / get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.30
6.1.2. Loloish			
*Loloish	***yu**^{1}	take; take and	Bradley 1979b:606; Bradley 1979b:783
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**v**^{323}	take out (from in between, a part from a whole)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1202.47
	v^{323}	take / hold / get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.47
	v^{323}to^{53}li^{33}	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.47
Lalo	**vú**	take	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Northern)	**iu**^{31}	take (in hand)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**iu**^{55}	take (in hand)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	iɔ̰^{31} **iɯ**^{35}	nap (take) (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1721.
Nusu (Central)	iɔ^{53} **iɯ**^{33}	nap (take) (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989p:1721.
	ʐu^{33}	take / hold / get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.34
	ʐu^{33}khɹa^{31}	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.34
Yi (Dafang)	**ʐu**^{21}; tɒ^{33}	take	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:549.22
Yi (Nanjian)	**vu**^{55}	take	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:549.23
Yi (Weishan)	**vu̱**^{55}	take / hold / get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.36
Yi (Wuding)	**jv̩**^{11}	take / hold / get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.38
	jv̩^{11}du̱^{2}le^{33}	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**yo**	take	Benedict 1972:p.60
Jinuo	**jo**^{42}	take back / put away	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:676.34
Lahu	**yù**	take	Benedict 1972:p.60
Lahu (Black)	**cû**	depend / rely	Matisoff 1974:156
	cû	prefer; adopt as one's own; accept; put one's trust in; have recourse to; depend upon; loose, slack, sagging	Matisoff 1988a:469; Matisoff 2003a:479
	yù	take	Matisoff 2003a:479
Lisu (Northern)	**ru**^{33}	take; grab; arrest; get; strain out (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ru^{33}dɔ^{33}	take out	Bradley 1994
	ru^{33}fu^{33}kɯ^{33}	take away from; deprive of; dismiss from office	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ru**^{4}	take (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**ʒu**^{33}	take	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:549.27
	ʒu^{33}dǫ̰^{33}	withdraw / take out	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1209.40
	ʐu̱^{33}	take / hold / get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.40
Sani [Nyi]	**yu**	take	Benedict 1972:p.60
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**djù**	weak, sagging; listen to, adhere to	Matisoff 1988a:469; Matisoff 2003a:479
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ju**^{55}	take (in hand)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	**ʐɯ**^{33}	take	Pelkey 2011:622
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**y**ɬ	take along, bring along (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:3496
Naxi (Lijiang)	le^{33}**ʐu**^{31}	take back / put away	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:676.28
Naxi	**y**^{21}	take / hold / get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1528.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʑu**^{31}	take	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:549.28
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	屬	attached to (be v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2586
Chinese (GSR #)	**1224s**	attached to (be v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2586
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d̂i̯uk** / **ź̭i̯wok**	joined to, attached to; belong to, be of the category of (be v.)	Karlgren 1957:1224s
	t̂i̯uk / **tś̭i̯wok**	attach, connect; apply; touch	Karlgren 1957:1224s
Chinese (Old)	**N-tok**	attached to (be v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2586
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**dzyowk**	attached to (be v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2586
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**shǔ**	attached to (be v.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2586

(4) PKC *kol CARE / TAKE CARE / SUPERVISE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***kol**	CARE / TAKE CARE / SUPERVISE	VanBik 2009:263
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	(**en**)-kol	supervise	VanBik 2009:263
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**kôl**-INV	care, take care, supervise	VanBik 2009:263
Lushai [Mizo]	**kâwl**	take care of, to look after, to receive or keep as a trust (v.)	VanBik 2009:263

(5) PTB *d-rin COMPASSION / LOVE

This Tibetan - Chinese comparison is due to Gong 2001, set 29.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
*Sino-Tibetan	***dlin**	pity / kindness	Coblin 1986:119
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***d-rin**	compassion / love	Matisoff 2003a:306
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**drin**	kindness, favor, grace	Matisoff 2003a:306
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**râñ**-câ	sweetheart	Matisoff 2003a:306
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	憐	love; pity	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1699
Chinese (GSR #)	**0387l**	love; pity	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1699
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**lien**/**lien**	pity (v.)	Karlgren 1957:387l-m
Chinese (Old)	**k.r**^{ɕ}**iŋ**	love; pity	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1699
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**len**	love; pity	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1699
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**lián**	love; pity	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1699

Chinese comparandum

憐 OC ***lien**, *GSR* #387l 'love; pity'; Coblin 86:119 ST ***dlin** > OC ***lin**; Schuessler 2007:354 ***rîn**; B & S 2011: ***k.r**^{ɕ}**iŋ**; Mand. **lián**.

(6) PKC *t(h)uar ENDURE / SUFFER / TOLERATE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***tuar** ≍ thuar	ENDURE / SUFFER / TOLERATE	VanBik 2009:190
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**thuak**	suffer, tolerate (v.)	VanBik 2009:190
Thado	**thúoʔ**-I, thùoʔ-II	endure, suffer (e.g. from being beaten, action from outside)	VanBik 2009:190
Tiddim	**thuak**^{2}	suffer, endure	VanBik 2009:190
	thuak^{2}	suffer; endure (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1898
	thuak^{2}	suffer, endure	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tûar**-I, tŭar-II	endure, suffer, tolerate (v.)	VanBik 2009:190
Lai (Falam)	**tŭar**-I, tùar-II	endure, suffer, tolerate (v.)	VanBik 2009:190
Lushai [Mizo]	**tuar**	endure (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3060
	túar-I, tùar-II	suffer, to endure, to withstand, to bear (v.)	VanBik 2009:190

(7) PKC *yol ENTICE / BRIBE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***yol**	ENTICE / BRIBE	VanBik 2009:1198
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**zol** hī	entice	VanBik 2009:1198
Thado	**zól**-I, zòl-II	entice, bribe	VanBik 2009:1198
Tiddim	**zol**^{1}	entice by giving an incentive	VanBik 2009:1198
	zol^{1}	entice by giving an incentive (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2038
	zol^{1}	entice by giving an incentive	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**záwl**	give a present or bribe in order to curry favor (v.)	VanBik 2009:1198

(8) PKar *pə^{B} LOOK AFTER (things)

7. Karenic			
*Karen	***pə**^{B}	look after (things)	Luangthongkum 2013:176

Bwe	**bo**^{33}**i**^{55}	look after (things)	Luangthongkum 2013:176
Kayah	**po**^{11}	look after (things)	Luangthongkum 2013:176
Kayan	**pəi**^{11}	look after (things)	Luangthongkum 2013:176
Kayaw	**pə**^{11}	look after (things)	Luangthongkum 2013:176
Pa-O (Southern)	**pə**^{33}	look after (things)	Luangthongkum 2013:176
Pa-O (Northern)	**pə**^{55}	look after (things)	Luangthongkum 2013:176

(9) PKC *ɗua-I, *ɗuat-II LOVE / DOTE / TEND

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɗua**-I, ɗuat-II	LOVE / DOTE / TEND	VanBik 2009:95
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**duat**	dote (v.)	VanBik 2009:95
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**dŏo**-I, doot-II	love, care (v.)	VanBik 2009:95
Lushai [Mizo]	**dûat**	tend with care, coddle, pamper (v.)	VanBik 2009:95

(10) PKC *ʔooy-I, *ʔoyʔ-II LULL / HUSH / SOOTHE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ʔooy**-I, ʔoyʔ-II	LULL / HUSH / SOOTHE	VanBik 2009:495
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**ʔóoy**-I, ʔòy-II	lull, hush	VanBik 2009:495
Tiddim	**o:i**^{3} > oiʔ^{3}	sing a lullaby or to hum a tune for making a baby (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1316
	o:i^{3} > oiʔ^{3}	sing a lullaby or to hum a tune for making a baby sleep	VanBik 2009:495
	o:i^{3}/oiʔ^{3}	sing a lullaby or hum a tune..	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔŏoy**-I, ʔoyʔ-II	lull, hush, soothe	VanBik 2009:495
Lai (Falam)	**ʔòoy**-I, ʔôyʔ-II	lull, hush, soothe	VanBik 2009:495
Lushai [Mizo]	**àwi**-I àwih-II	hush, quieten, soothe, or rock (as child, etc), to lull, to charm, to give pleasure to (with music or song) (v.)	VanBik 2009:495

(11) PTB *toy PROPITIATE / APPEASE

This etymon was reconstructed as "*__toy__ or *__tway__" in *GSTC* #122.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***toy** or ***tway**	propitiate / appease	Matisoff 2003a:229
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**`thoi**	offer a sacrifice / utter an incantation for one who is ill	Matisoff 1985a:122
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**tòi**	propitiate (as certain kinds of spirits)	Matisoff 1985a:122

(12) PTk *ja RESPECT

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***ja**	respect	Mortensen 2012:772
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**je**-si-k^{h}e	respect	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.105
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**ja**	respectable, victorious (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(13) PKC *yaʔ RESPECT / REVERE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***yaʔ**	RESPECT / REVERE	VanBik 2009:1230
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**zàa**-INV	respect	VanBik 2009:1230
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**zaʔ**-INV	respect, revere	VanBik 2009:1230
Lai (Falam)	**zàʔ**-INV	respect, revere	VanBik 2009:1230
Lushai [Mizo]	**zàh**	respect, to reverence, to revere (v.)	VanBik 2009:1230
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**zā**	respect	VanBik 2009:1230

(14) PTB *m-ta:y RETALIATE / GRUDGE (bear a)

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-ta:y**	retaliate; bear grudge; grudge (bear a)	Matisoff 1985a:118; Matisoff 2003a:615
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**-tăi**	at enmity with one another (intense); have a grudge against (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:118; Matisoff 1985a:118
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**tài**	avenge, retaliate	Matisoff 1985a:118

9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	對	respond	Baxter & Sagart 2011:597
	懟	ill-will	Baxter & Sagart 2011:592
Chinese (GSR #)	**0511i**	ill-will	Baxter & Sagart 2011:592
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d'i̯wəd**	cause resentment, dissatisfied	Karlgren 1957:511i
Chinese (Old)	**drup-s** {[d]ru[p]-s}	ill-will	Baxter & Sagart 2011:592
	d̂'i̯wəd	cause resentment	Matisoff 1985a:118
	t^{ʂ}əp-s {[t]^{ʂ}[ə]p-s}	respond	Baxter & Sagart 2011:597
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**drwijH**	ill-will	Baxter & Sagart 2011:592
	twojH	respond	Baxter & Sagart 2011:597
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**duì**	ill-will; respond	Baxter & Sagart 2011:592; Baxter & Sagart 2011:597

Chinese comparandum

敵 OC *__d'iek__, *GSR* #877q 'enemy; oppose'; Schuessler 2007:209 *__dêk__; B & S 2011: *__d^{ʂ}ek {[d]^{ʂ}ek}__; Mand. __dí__.

Comment: Chinese 對, Mand. **duì** and 懟 **duì** have previously been treated as comparanda here (*GSTC*:118); however, Schuessler 2007:202 suggests 對 as more likely related to 答 **dá**, which would make 對 and presumably 懟 both comparanda for PTB *__(d/t)(u/i)p__ BEAT / STRIKE (§6.8). Schuessler 2007:209, noting the Lushai form **tăi**, proposes Chinese 敵 **di** as a comparandum instead, although this would imply a suffix *__-k__ on the Sinitic side (cf. Schuessler 2007:§6.1)

(15) PKC *nuar SULK / AGITATE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***nuar**	SULK / AGITATE	VanBik 2009:839
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**nuak**	agitate	VanBik 2009:839
Thado	**núoʔ**-I, nùoʔ-II	sulk, agitate	VanBik 2009:839
Tiddim	**nuak**^{2}	sulk and not cooperate	VanBik 2009:839
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**nûar**-I, nŭar-II	sulk, agitate	VanBik 2009:839
Lushai [Mizo]	**núar**-I, nàwrh-II	sulk, to be displeased, to be offended, to be disgruntled, to be cross, to get into a temper (v.)	VanBik 2009:839

(16) PCC *thlop SUPPORT / CARE

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***thlop**	SUPPORT / CARE	VanBik 2009:1303
Lai (Hakha)	**thlop**-INV	support, care	VanBik 2009:1303
Lai (Falam)	**thlòp**-INV	support, care	VanBik 2009:1303
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlàwp**	support, or to stand up for or on behalf (v.)	VanBik 2009:1303

(17) PTk *soj TEMPT

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***soj**	tempt	Mortensen 2012:430
Huishu	kə-**su**-e	tempt	Mortensen 2012
Kachai	kə-**si**	tempt	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.103
Tusom	pə-**ʃy**	tempt	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.136
Ukhrul	kə-**suj**	tempt	Mortensen 2012

8.3.3 Verbs of Conscience and Shame

(1) PCC *rian DILIGENT / EARNEST

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***rian**	DILIGENT / EARNEST	VanBik 2009:931
Lai (Hakha)	**rĭan**-I, rianʔ-II	dilligent, earnest (be v.)	VanBik 2009:931
Lushai [Mizo]	**rìan**	diligent, earnest	VanBik 2009:931

(1) PKC *heek BETRAY / MALIGN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***heek**	BETRAY / MALIGN	VanBik 2009:701
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**héʔ**-I, hèʔ-II	malign, to report to authority (v.)	VanBik 2009:701
Tiddim	**he:k**^{2}	betray, twist	VanBik 2009:701
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**héek**	malign, to traduce, witness against (v.)	VanBik 2009:701

(2) PCC *dep-dee-I, *dep-deet-II DECEITFUL / DISHONEST

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***dep**-dee-I, dep-deet-II	DECEITFUL / DISHONEST	VanBik 2009:73
Lai (Hakha)	**dep**-dèe-I, dep-deet-II	deceitful, dishonest (be v.)	VanBik 2009:73
Lushai [Mizo]	**dèp**-dée-I, dèp-dêet-II	dishonest, deceitful, unreliable, untrustworthy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:73

(3) PTk *nam DECEIVE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***nam**	deceive	Mortensen 2012:435
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**nam**	deceive	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.102
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**nam**	deceive	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-**nɐm**	deceive	Mortensen 2012

(4) PCN *rak DECEIVE

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Central Naga*	***rak**	DECEIVE	Bruhn 2014a:III.254
**Ao*	*kə.**lak**	DECEIVE	Bruhn 2014a:II.067
Ao (Chungli)	ke **lak** ok tsü	deceive	Marrison 1967
	kə^{3}**lak**^{1}	deceive, trick (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.067
Sangtam	khü **ra** cho	deceive (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	khü **ra** jücho	deceive (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	khü ra **yo**	deceive	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**rük**-aki	deceive	Kumar 1973b:62; Marrison 1967

(5) PKC *khleem DECEIVE / COZEN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***khleem**	DECEIVE / COZEN	VanBik 2009:1282
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			

Paite	**khem**	deceive, cozen	VanBik 2009:1282
Thado	**hlêem**-I, hlèp-II	deceive, cheat, betray, tempt, seduce	VanBik 2009:1282
Tiddim	**khe:m**^{3} ha:t^{1}	cunning	Bhaskararao 1996:780
	khe:m^{1}	deceive, lie	VanBik 2009:1282
	khe:m^{1}	deceive; lie (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:779
	khe:m^{1}	deceive, lie	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thlêem**-I, thlĕem-II	deceive, betray	VanBik 2009:1282

(6) PTB *s-r(y)ak ≍ *g-yak ASHAMED / SHY

(6a) PTB *s-r(y)ak ASHAMED / SHY

This root seems definitely to be allofamic with PTB ***g-yak** ASHAMED / SHY (§8.3.3).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-r(y)ak**	ashamed	Matisoff 2003a:611
	***s-rak**	ashamed / shy	Benedict 1972:431
	***śrak**	ashamed, shy	Benedict 1972:34n110
	***śrɑk**	ashamed / shy (= show color of face)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:927a

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	ka **therak**	shame (n.)	Marrison 1967
	therak	ashamed	Benedict 1972:108n304
	therak	shame, disgrace, ashamed (v.i.)	Benedict 1972:431

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***ra:k**	shame	French 1983:544

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Bunan	**śrag**	ashamed; shame	Benedict 1972:108n304; Benedict 1972:431

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Magar	kha-**rak**	ashamed (vs.)	Benedict 1972:431

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kɑ nɑ **srɑk**	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.11
rGyalrong	na sa na **srak**	ashamed	Nagano 1997:146

4. Nungic

Anong	**səra**	ashamed, shy; shame	Benedict 1972:431; Benedict 1972:431
	śəra-śi	ashamed (vs.)	Benedict 1972:431
Dulong	ʂɯ^{55}**ɹɑʔ**^{55}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.20

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-rak**	ashamed	Matisoff 1972b:182(b)

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**hrak**	ashamed, shy; ashamed	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:108n304
	hrak	ashamed (vs.)	Benedict 1972:431
	hrɑk^{4}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.26
	ə-**hrak**	shame	Benedict 1976a
Marma	**hraʔ**	ashamed (be v.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:248-2

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***s-rak**^{L}	ashamed	Bradley 1979b:520-1

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**sa**^{55}to^{24}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.47
Nasu	**ʂa-tɔ 55-55**	ashamed	Matisoff 1972b:182(b)
Nusu (Central)	**xɻa̱**^{53}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʂo**^{55}to^{33}	ashamed, feel	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	**ɕe**^{55}tɑ^{55}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.37
Yi (Weishan)	**ɕi**^{21}tu^{55}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ʂɻ̩**^{55}tɒ^{33}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**ʃa**^{55}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.44
Lisu	**shá1**-taw3	ashamed	Matisoff 1972b:182(b)
Lisu (Central)	**shá**^{1}-taw^{3}	ashamed	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**ɕuɑ**^{33}to^{33}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ɕwa**^{55}tɔ^{33}	bashful; shy; ashamed; restrained	Bradley 1994
	ɕwa^{55}**tɔ**^{33} ɕwa^{55}phæ^{21}	bashful; shame; mean; ashamed	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	to-še 11-55	ashamed	Matisoff 1972b:182(b)
Yi (Sani)	to^{33}**ɕe**^{55}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**sha-daw** LS-H	ashamed	Matisoff 1972b:182(b)
Bisu	**ša**-tso	ashamed	Matisoff 1972b:182(b)
Hani (Lüchun)	**sa̱**^{31}do^{55}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.41
Hani (Mojiang)	**ʃa**^{31}tʏ^{55}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.42
Woni	**ʂa-to 33-55**	ashamed	Matisoff 1972b:182(b)

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**tsɯ**^{44}χɔ^{44}	ashamed; shy	Pelkey 2011:1006
Hlepho Phowa	**ɕɛ**^{55}tə^{55}	ashamed; shy	Pelkey 2011:1006
Phuza	**ɕi**^{55}tʌ^{33}	ashamed; shy	Pelkey 2011:1006

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**hæ**˩du˥	ashamed (be v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:2743
Na (Yongning)	**ʂɤ**˧dɔ˥	ashamed (be v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**ʂə**^{55}do^{21}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.45

(6b) PTB *g-yak ASHAMED / SHY

This root seems definitely to be allofamic with PTB ***s-r(y)ak** ASHAMED / SHY (§8.3.3).

Many Loloish languages have binomes consisting of this root followed by PL ***ʔ-daŋ**^{1} ASHAMED (§8.3.3).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-yak**	ashamed; shy	Matisoff 2003a:619; Benedict 1972:452

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***niŋ-yak-I**, ***-yaʔ-II** ASHAMED / SHY

**Chin*	***niŋ-yak**-I, -yaʔ-II	ASHAMED / SHY	VanBik 2009:800

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**zàʔ** tsaa-I, zàa tsaat-II	ashamed, shy	VanBik 2009:800

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**nìŋ-zak**-I, -zaʔ-II	ashamed, be shy, be modest (be v.)	VanBik 2009:800
Lai (Falam)	**níŋ-zak**-INV	shy, be modest (be v.)	VanBik 2009:800
Lushai [Mizo]	**zak**	ashamed, shy (vs.)	Benedict 1972:452
	zàk-I, zàh-II	shy, bashful	VanBik 2009:800
	zak-zum	shy (be v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3125

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**nó-za**	shy, to be bashful, to be modest (be v.)	VanBik 2009:800

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-hjak** SHY / ASHAMED

**Central Naga*	*a-**hjak**	SHY / ASHAMED (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.253
**Ao*	*a.**hjak**	SHY (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.276
Ao (Chungli)	**-àk**	shy (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:6
	ak^{31}	feel shy (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.276
Ao (Mongsen)	á ^{h}**jàk**	shy (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:13
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **yak**	shame (n.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a **hjak**	shy, ashamed (be v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**jək**^{3}ra^{3}-	feel shy, ashamed (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.253
	yik ra	shame (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yik ra	shame; shy	Murry *et al.* 1978:111; Murry *et al.* 1978:112
Sangtam	**asha**	shy	Kumar 1973a
	asha	shame (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***jak** ASHAMED

**Tangkhulic*	***jak**	ashamed	Mortensen 2012:550
Huishu	kə-k^{h}ə-**joʔ**	ashamed	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.157
Kachai	kə-k^{h}ə-**jak**	ashamed	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.136
Tangkhul	ka kha **yak**	shame (n.)	Marrison 1967
	khə **yak** khəvai	venerable, shameful	Benedict 1972:452
	kə khə **yak**	pay respect, venerate; shame, veneration	Benedict 1972:452
	yək	ashamed	Bhat 1969:84
	^{1}kə^{1}khə^{1}**yək**	ashamed	Weidert 1987:996
Ukhrul	kə-k^{h}ə-**jɐk**	ashamed (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	kă^{31}**jaʔ**^{31}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.19
	kəyàʔ	ashamed	Matisoff 1974:391
	kəyaʔ	ashamed, shy (vs.)	Benedict 1972:452

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***g-yak**	ashamed	Matisoff 1972b:182(a)

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu	**yàʔ**	ashamed	Benedict 1972:108n304
Lahu (Lancang)	**ʑɑ**^{21}tɔ^{33}	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.43
Lahu (Black)	**yàʔ**-tɔ	ashamed	Matisoff 1974:391; Matisoff 1972b:182(a)
Lahu (Yellow)	**ʑa**^{5}tɔ^{1}	ashamed	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

(7) PTani *han(?)-ñiŋ SHY / ASHAMED

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***han(?)-ñiŋ**	shy / ashamed	Sun 1993a:358

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**hɯ ña**-nɯ	ashamed	Sun 1993b
	hɯ-ña	shy; ashamed	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ha-ñiŋ**	shy; ashamed	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**hen-ñiŋ**	shy; ashamed	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ɦen ɲiŋ	shy, be / bashful (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1365.24
Galo	**aɲi**-na	shy	Das Gupta 1963
	'aɲɨɨ	shy (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'aɲɨɨ	shame (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'aɲɨɨ-'aso	ashamed; shy (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**heɲi**	ashamed	Simon 1976
Tagin	**hiniŋ**-nam	ashamed	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**a-ñiŋ**	shy / ashamed	Sun 1993a
Damu	**xa(n)-ɲiŋ**	shy	Sun 1993b

(8) PKC *yum SHY / BASHFUL

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***yum**	SHY / BASHFUL	VanBik 2009:1235

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**zum**^{2}	feel shy	VanBik 2009:1235

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**zak** zûm-I, zŭm-II	shy, bashful	VanBik 2009:1235
Lushai [Mizo]	**zúm**	be or feel shy, bashful, diffident, apprehensive (v.)	VanBik 2009:1235

(9) PTk *ʃuŋ CORRECT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃuŋ**	correct	Mortensen 2012:495
Huishu	kə-mə-**suŋ**	correct	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.182
Kachai	k^{h}ə-mə-**ʃuŋ**	correct	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.158
Ukhrul	kə-mə-**ʃuŋ**	correct	Mortensen 2012

(10) PTB *ʔal RIGHT (CORRECT) / GOOD

This root has so far been found only in the NE Indian areal group.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ʔal**	right (correct) / good	Matisoff 2003a:583

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Galo	**al**-ma-na	bad	Das Gupta 1963
	al-na	good; right (correct)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	al ə	good (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	al ə	good (n.)	GLDC 2009 [a]
	al ɤ	good	Das Gupta 1963
	al ɤ-bɤ pɯpe-ci-lik-nam	good omen (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	al ɤ-ru-ma-na	worst	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**al**	right	Simon 1976
	al-ma [-ne]	unwell, bad, dangerous	Simon 1976
	al-nam	glad, well, good (be v.)	Simon 1976
Nishing	**al**-pa	good	Das Gupta 1969
	al e-ja-pa	good (very)	Das Gupta 1969

[a] This entry was extracted from the index. Full definition: "**alə** *n.* good thing; merit."

	al e-ma	bad (’not good’)	Das Gupta 1969
	al es	good	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**al** ɤ	good	Das Gupta 1983
	al ɤ-ma	bad / not good	Das Gupta 1983
	al ɤ-mà nɤ	rude / not good	Das Gupta 1983
	al ɤ-ma-nɤ	cruel / not good	Das Gupta 1983
	al ɤ-ne	modest / good	Das Gupta 1983
	al ɤ ma bɤ ri-nam	crime / bad work	Das Gupta 1983
	al ɤ nɤ	fresh / good	Das Gupta 1983
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Sema [Sumi]	**al** lo	right (correct)	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE			
Tangsa (Moshang)	a **hal**	good	Marrison 1967

(11) PLB *dzyaŋ CORRECT / RIGHT / PROPER / OUGHT

Note the difference between the present reconstruction and that of Bradley 1979. The Lahu reflex is consistent with either.

6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola (Luxi)	**tʃɔ**^{31}	right / correct	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1045.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**tʃɔ**^{31}	right / correct	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1045.31
Maru [Langsu]	**tʃɔ**^{31}	right / correct	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:902.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tʃo**^{21}	right / correct	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1045.30
	tʃo^{55}	right / correct	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:902.42
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	*C-**t(s)a(w)**$^{1/2}$	correct	Bradley 1979b:525
	*C-**tsaw**^{2}	ought (v.)	Bradley 1979b:789
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Central)	**dzo**^{31}	right / correct	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1045.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**dʐo**^{21}tsɛ^{33}	correct (true); right (correct); true (correct)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tʂɯ^{55}	all right; correct (true); OK; right (correct); yes	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tso^{33}**tso**^{33}	just right	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tso^{34}ndʑɯ^{33}	exactly; just right	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**tsũ**^{55}	right, just, upright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:827.26
	tsũ^{55}tɕhǫ^{21}	right / correct	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:902.26
Yi (Nanhua)	ʑʌ^{21}**tʂɯ**^{33}ŋʌ^{33}	right / correct	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:902.24
Yi (Wuding)	**tʂʏ**^{55}zɒ^{11}	guessed right, have	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1166.38
Yi (Xide)	**dʐo**^{21}	right, just, upright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:827.21
	dʐo^{21}tse^{33}	right / correct	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:902.21
	tʂɯ^{55}	right / correct	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1045.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Youle)	tʃə^{35}**tɕhɔ**^{42}	correct	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕɔ**^{53}	right / correct	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1045.43
Lahu (Black)	**tsɔ**^{53}	right / correct	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:902.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tsɔ**^{3}	should / ought to	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**dzo**^{31}	right / correct	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1045.40; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:902.27
Lisu (Northern)	**dzɔ**^{21}	correct; right (V.)	Bradley 1994
	dzɔ^{21}**dzɔ**^{35}za^{21}	appropriate; suitable; proper	Bradley 1994
	dzɔ^{21}lɔ^{33} tø^{35}lɔ^{33}	correct	Bradley 1994
	dzɔ^{21}na^{33}tɔ^{33}	safe; appropriate; proper	Bradley 1994
	je^{33}**dzɔ**^{21}	what is done is right; correct	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}**dzɔ**^{21}	not right; incorrect; not suitable	Bradley 1994
	pha^{33}**dzɔ**^{35}	just right (V.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Dazhai)	**dzɔ**^{55}pha^{55}	correct / change	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:625.31
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsɤŋ**^{55}	right, just, upright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:827.30
Hani (Shuikui)	**tʃɛ̃**^{55}	right, just, upright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:827.32
	tʃɯ^{55}	right / correct	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:902.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**tshɔ**^{31}zɣ^{33}	guessed right, have	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1166.42
	tsɔ^{33}	right / correct	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1045.42

8.4.0 Feeling

(1) PKar *phruN^{A} CARESS

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***phruN**^{A}	caress	Luangthongkum 2013:39 [a]
Kayah	**phɪ**^{33}	caress	Luangthongkum 2013:39
Kayan	**phwaŋ**^{53}	caress	Luangthongkum 2013:39
Kayaw	**phu**^{55}	caress	Luangthongkum 2013:39
Pa-O (Northern)	**phrɪ**^{55}	caress	Luangthongkum 2013:39
Pa-O (Southern)	**pwəm**^{33}	caress	Luangthongkum 2013:39
Pwo (Northern)	**phã**^{35}	caress	Luangthongkum 2013:39
Pwo (Southern)	**phõ**^{55}	caress	Luangthongkum 2013:39
Sgaw (Southern)	**phu**^{55}	caress	Luangthongkum 2013:39
Sgaw (Northern)	**phɣu**^{33}	caress	Luangthongkum 2013:39

[a] [Source Note] It is noticeable that NK has tone B while CK and SK have tone A.

(2) PTani *ɦian FEEL (v.t.)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ɦian**	feel (v.t.)	Sun 1993a:144
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	(a-)čʰi **(hẽ)**	suffer	Sun 1993b
	hẽ	feel (v.t.)	Sun 1993a
	he	feel; think; believe; wish	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	hẽ	think	Sun 1993b
	hẽ-bɯ ka-bɯ	well (adj.)	Sun 1993b
	he-la hem-pa nɯ	generous	Sun 1993b
	he-la ka-la nɯ	generous	Sun 1993b
	he-lò-nu	kindness	Sun 1993b
	he-lu-nu	doubt	Sun 1993b
	he-ma-nɯ	dishonest	Sun 1993b
	he-ru	moan; sad; sorrow	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	he-ŋĩ sɯ	proud	Sun 1993b
	hem prjo	enjoy	Sun 1993b
	hem-pjo	happy	Sun 1993b
	hém-pjo	rejoice	Sun 1993b
	hem-prjo	contented; glad; happy; satisfied	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	hem-prjo do-pa mú	please (v.)	Sun 1993b
	hen	expect	Sun 1993b
	hen(-su)	adore	Sun 1993b
	hen-či-ma	endure	Sun 1993b
	hen-čʰi-ma-nɯ	cowardly	Sun 1993b
	hen-di	steady	Sun 1993b
	hen-do	hope	Sun 1993b
	hen-dɯ-nɯ	careful	Sun 1993b
	hen-ǰi	happy	Sun 1993b
	hen-ǰiʔ	comfortable	Sun 1993b
	hen-ǰer-nɯ	stingy	Sun 1993b
	hen-nɯ	dear; loving	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	hen-sú	love	Sun 1993b
	hén-su-nɯ	love	Sun 1993b
	hen-sɯr	free; safe	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	hen-tɯ-sɯ	boast	Sun 1993b
	hen-tɯ-sɯ-nɯ	boastful	Sun 1993b
	heŋ-ka	feel; imagine	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	heŋ-ko-nɯ	loved	Sun 1993b
	heŋ-ku-he-mu	delirium	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**hin**-ka:	feel (v.t.)	Sun 1993a
	hin-ka:	touch	Sun 1993b
	hin-ka: tɯ-nɯ-bɯ:	try	Sun 1993b
	hin-ki	prepare	Sun 1993b
	hin-ki: jo:-ma:	feel (mnetal)	Sun 1993b
	hin-pu:	happy	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**hen**-luk koŋ-poŋ	piteous	Sun 1993b
	hen-po	glad; happy	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɦen luk	sad	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1120.24
	ɦen luk koŋ poŋ	pitiable / pitiful	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1116.24
	ɦen po	happy; excited; blissful	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1117.24; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1118.24
Galo	**en** dir	feel hardship; hardship (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	en kenbɤ ila du-nam	enjoy (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	‘em mɨɨ	like (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘en luk	frustrated (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘en lik	like (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘en nam	feel; sense (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘en nam-kaa nam	determination; observation (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘en sup	fed up (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	**hing**-po	glad	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**hem** pu	glad; happy	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983
	hem pu nɤ nyi	happy man	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**an**	feel (v.t.)	Sun 1993a

(3) PTB *s-ra:p GRAZE / ALMOST HIT / PASSING GLOSE

This etymology is due to Kenneth VanBik.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ra:p**	graze / almost hit / passing close	Matisoff 2003a:609
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hraap**	be abrasive	Matisoff 2003a:340
	hrap-puk-tuik	apply heat by rubbing palms together	Matisoff 2003a:340
	hrap-tuik	walk with a shuffle	Matisoff 2003a:340
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**hrap**	graze, pass over slightly touching; cursory, slight (v.)	Benedict 1976a

Chinese comparandum

撥 OC ***sût**, *GSR* #319g ‘slap from the side’; B & S 2011: ***s^{r}at**; Mand. **sà**.

(4) PKC *tok MEDDLE / PICK AT / TOUCH

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tok**	MEDDLE / PICK AT / TOUCH	VanBik 2009:206
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**tawk**	touch lightly (v.)	VanBik 2009:206
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tok**-I, toʔ-II	meddle, pick at (v.)	VanBik 2009:206
Lai (Falam)	**tòk**-INV	meddle, pick at (v.)	VanBik 2009:206
Lushai [Mizo]	**tàwk**-I, tàwh-II	finger, to touch (v.)	VanBik 2009:206

(5) PKC *soʔ PRICK / PROBE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***soʔ**	PRICK / PROBE	VanBik 2009:669
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Chinbon	**səʔ**	dig	So-Hartmann 1988:152
Daai	**soʔ**	dig, probe	VanBik 2009:669
	sɔʔ	dig	So-Hartmann 1988:152
Nyhmoye	**soʔ**	dig	So-Hartmann 1988:152
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**soʔ**-INV	prick, probe	VanBik 2009:669
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**sào**	prick, probe	VanBik 2009:669

(6) NEIA *s-mit RUB

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***hmit** RUB			
**Central Naga*	***hmit**	RUB	Bruhn 2014a:III.187
Lotha Naga	**hmet**^{2}-	rub, wipe / extinguish (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.187
	mhet	rub; wipe (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mhēt̰ à	rub	Acharya 1975
	mhēt à	rub	Acharya 1975
	mhet a	erase	Murry *et al.* 1978:39
	mhe phi	rub (v.)	Marrison 1967:606
	nhet a	rub	Murry *et al.* 1978:106
Sangtam	**ni** chicho	rub (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	ni pe	rub out (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	nyi	rub (v.)	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	$^{(1)}$**nɯt**	rub (v.)	Weidert 1987:1109

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***mit** RUB

**Tangkhulic*	***mit**	rub	Mortensen 2012:688
Tusom	kʰə-**məɯ**	rub (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.065
Ukhrul	kʰə-**mit**	scrape, rub	Mortensen 2012

(7) PKar *thwɨN^A SHOVE (WITH THE FOOT)

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***thwɨN^A**	shove (with the foot)	Luangthongkum 2013:258
Kayaw	**thɯ**^{55}	shove (with the foot)	Luangthongkum 2013:258
Pa-O (Southern)	**thuəm**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	shove (with the foot)	Luangthongkum 2013:258
Pa-O (Northern)	**thɨn**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	shove (with the foot)	Luangthongkum 2013:258
Pwo (Northern)	**thɑ̃**^{35}	shove (with the foot)	Luangthongkum 2013:258
Pwo (Southern)	**thɔ̃ɨ**^{53}	shove (with the foot)	Luangthongkum 2013:258
Sgaw (Northern)	jɔ$^{11\cdot\cdot}$**thu**^{33}	shove (with the foot)	Luangthongkum 2013:258
Sgaw (Southern)	**thu**^{55}	shove (with the foot)	Luangthongkum 2013:258

(8) PTk *tsu TOUCH

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***tsu**	touch	Mortensen 2012:731
Huishu	se-**tsuk**-kʰe	touch	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.086
Ukhrul	sa-kə-**tsu**	touch	Mortensen 2012

(9) PCC *tooŋ TOUCH / CONTACT

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***tooŋ**	TOUCH / CONTACT	VanBik 2009:240
Lai (Hakha)	**tŏoŋ**-I, toŋʔ-II	touch, contact	VanBik 2009:240
Lushai [Mizo]	**tàwng**	reach up to (so that the top touches) as anything on the ground or floor reaching up to anything raised above it (v.)	VanBik 2009:240

8.5.1 Scold

(1) PTani *be CURSE (v.)

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***be**	curse (v.)	Sun 1993a:90

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**be**	curse (v.)	Sun 1993a
	be	curse	Sun 1993b
	he	curse (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**bi:**	curse (v.)	Sun 1993a
	bi:	curse	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**be:**	curse (v.)	Sun 1993a
	be:	curse	Sun 1993b
Galo	**bee** nam	curse (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘cə nam-**bee** nam	curse; chant; incantation; prayer; supplication (v.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	**be**	curse (v.)	Sun 1993a

(2) PTB *mwa-t CURSE / REVILE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***mwa-t**	curse / revile	Matisoff 2003a:176, 462

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**dmod**-pa	curse	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:40h; Benedict 1972:189n487

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**må/mɑ**	revile / curse	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:40h

Chinese comparandum

罵 OC ***må**, *GSR* #40h; B & S 2011: ***C.m^{ʕ}ra-s**; Mand. **mà**.

(3) PCN *ziŋ ORDER / COMMAND / LAW

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	***ziŋ**	ORDER, COMMAND, LAW	Bruhn 2014a:III.212
**Ao*	***-zəŋ**	LAW	Bruhn 2014a:II.130
Ao (Chungli)	a **züng** ashiba	oath	Marrison 1967
	o **jang**	law	Marrison 1967
	o **züng**-ashiba	order (v.)	Marrison 1967
	u^{2}**zəŋ**^{2}	law (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.130
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	yu **zang**-khi	order (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	thəm **zəŋ**	law (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	ji^{1}-**zəŋ**^{1}	law (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.212
	yi **züng**	order	Murry *et al.* 1978:82
Sangtam	tsu **zing**-yu **zing**	oath	Marrison 1967
	tsu **zing**-yu **zing**-thsa	swear	Marrison 1967
	yu **zing**	command, order; law	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
	yu **zing** jü	order (v.)	Marrison 1967
	yu **zing** jücho	order (v.)	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	the yo **züng**	law	Marrison 1967

(4) PKC *taw SCOLD

This root is evidently independent of PTB ***m-ta:y** STING (as bee) / SCOLD (a person) (§6.4).

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***taw**	SCOLD	VanBik 2009:224

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**tou**	militate (i.e. apply verbal force to) (v.)	VanBik 2009:224

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**tâw**	scold	VanBik 2009:224

(5) PKC *haaw SCOLD / ACCOST / QUARREL

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***haaw**	SCOLD / ACCOST / QUARREL	VanBik 2009:737

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**hou**	accost	VanBik 2009:737

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**hǎaw**-I, hàaw-II	scold, quarrel	VanBik 2009:737
Lushai [Mizo]	**háu**-I, hàuh-II	scold, abuse, chide, rebuke, reproach	VanBik 2009:737

(6) PTB *m-krim THREATEN / TERRIFY

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***krim**	threaten; terrify; set teeth on edge	Matisoff 2003a:596; Benedict 1972:379

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	**migrim**	fear, be anxious about something, set the teeth on edge, have gooseflesh	Benedict 1972:379

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**khrim**	threaten	Benedict 1972:379
	məkrim	smart, as the eyes; be on edge, as the teeth	Benedict 1972:379

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**khrìm**	threaten, terrify	Benedict 1972:379
	krìm	terrified (vs.)	Benedict 1972:379

8.5.2 Verbs of Complaint and Praise

(1) PKC *ʔ $\begin{matrix}\text{a}\\\text{e}\end{matrix}$ l ARGUE / CHALLENGE / VIE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ʔal** ~ ʔel	ARGUE / CHALLENGE / VIE	VanBik 2009:464

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**el**	challenge	VanBik 2009:464

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**a’ieé**	argue with, debate with, quarrel, disagree with	VanBik 2009:464

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ʔâl** ~ ʔêl-I, ʔăl ~ ʔĕl-II	argue, challenge, vie with	VanBik 2009:464
Lai (Falam)	**ʔél**-I, ʔèl-II	argue, challenge, vie with	VanBik 2009:464
Lushai [Mizo]	**él**	rival, to vie with, to emulate, to compete with (v.)	VanBik 2009:464

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**éi**	disagree (v.)	VanBik 2009:464

(2) PKC *hnial ARGUE / DENY / DISPUTE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***hnial**	ARGUE / DENY / DISPUTE	VanBik 2009:884

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**nīel** hī	deny	VanBik 2009:884
Thado	**nîel**-I, nìel-II	argue	VanBik 2009:884
Tiddim	**nial**^{2}	deny, refuse, reject	VanBik 2009:884
	nial^{1}	deny; refuse; reject (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1218
	nial^{1}	deny, refuse, reject	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**hnĭal**	contradict, to refuse, to dispute, to argue, to quarrel with, to protest against (v.)	VanBik 2009:884

(3) PKC *tsuʔ DISPUTE / CLAIM

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tsuʔ**	DISPUTE / CLAIM	VanBik 2009:533

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**kì**-tsùu-INV	dispute for ownership	VanBik 2009:533
Tiddim	**tuʔ**^{2}	claim, snatch	VanBik 2009:533

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-cuh	dispute the possession of something with one another (v.)	VanBik 2009:533

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tsuʔ**	dispute over something	VanBik 2009:533
Lai (Falam)	**tsùʔ**	dispute over something	VanBik 2009:533
Lushai [Mizo]	**chùh**	claim, to lay claim to, to snatch up (v.)	VanBik 2009:533

(4) PKC *phun GRUMBLE / MURMUR

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***phun**	GRUMBLE / MURMUR	VanBik 2009:342

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**phun**	grumble	VanBik 2009:342
Thado	**phŭn**-I, phùn-II	murmur	VanBik 2009:342

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**phûn**-I, phŭn-II	grumble, mutter, murmur	VanBik 2009:342
Lai (Falam)	**phŭn**-I, phùn-II	grumble, mutter	VanBik 2009:342
Lushai [Mizo]	**phún**	grumble at, to find fault with, to mutter (v.)	VanBik 2009:342

8.5.4 Verbs Expressing Communicative Affect

(1) PKar *ʔo^B CROW (v.)

7. KARENIC

Karen	*ʔo^{B}	crow (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:70
Bwe	ʊ^{33}	crow (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:70
	ʊ	crow (v.)	Henderson 1997
Kayah	**ʔu**^{11}	crow (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:70
Kayaw	**ʔu**^{11}	crow (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:70
Pa-O (Southern)	**ʔu**^{33}	crow (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:70
Pa-O (Northern)	**ʔu**^{55}	crow (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:70
Pwo (Northern)	**ʔu**^{33}	crow (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:70
Pwo (Southern)	ʔɔ̃$^{31\cdot\cdot}$ **ʔu**^{55}	crow (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:70
Sgaw (Southern)	**ʔu**^{55}	crow (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:70
Sgaw (Northern)	ʔɔ$^{31\sim}$ **ʔo**^{33}	crow (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:70

[a] [Source Note] Sgaw has tone A while Pwo, NK and CK have tone B.

(2) PCC *ʔaay CRY OUT (in fear)

1.2.2. Central Chin			
Central Chin	***ʔaay**	CRY OUT (in fear)	VanBik 2009:473
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔàay**-I, ʔăay-II	cry out (in fear or in pain)	VanBik 2009:473
Lai (Falam)	**ʔâay**-I, ʔàay-II	cry out (in fear or in pain)	VanBik 2009:473
Lushai [Mizo]	**ăi**	cry out in fear (v.)	VanBik 2009:473

(3) PKC *suun MOURN / WAIL

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Chin	***suun**	MOURN / WAIL	VanBik 2009:663
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**suun**	wail	VanBik 2009:663
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**súun**	mourn, to over, to be in mourning for (especially with reference to one's spouse or other family member) to wail (v.)	VanBik 2009:663

(4) PCC *raak SHOUT

1.2.2. Central Chin			
Central Chin	***raak**	SHOUT	VanBik 2009:973
Lai (Hakha)	**răak**-INV	shout, shout at	VanBik 2009:973
Lushai [Mizo]	**răak**	shout, to talk loudly (v.)	VanBik 2009:973

(5) PTk *waw SHOUT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhulic	***waw**	shout	Mortensen 2012:733
Huishu	ʔa-k^{h}ɐŋ-ko-nɐ-**vow**-k^{h}e	shout	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.072
Tangkhul	**vao**	shout (v.)	Marrison 1967
	wáw	shout	Bhat 1969:96
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**vaw**	shout	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-**waw**	shout	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**waw**	shout at one another	Mortensen 2012

(6) PTk *hal SHOUT

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhulic	***hal**	shout	Mortensen 2012:734
Tusom	k^{h}a-tsə-**χa**	shout	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.083
Ukhrul	kə-kə-**haj**	shout in singing	Mortensen 2012

(7) PLB *graw^{1} SHOUT / CALL OUT

6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**kro**	shout, call out	Benedict 1976a
	kro	shout, call out (v.)	LaPolla 1987:175
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	**kù**	call	Benedict 1972:19n67

(8) PTB *ʔaːw SHOUT / CRY OUT

This root is solid, although it has a clearly onomatopoetic element to it.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
Tibeto-Burman	***aːw**	cry out	Benedict 1972:273
	***ʔaːw**	shout	Matisoff 2003a:583
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ʔaaw** SCREAM / CALL OUT / SHOUT			
Chin	***ʔaaw**	SCREAM / CALL OUT / SHOUT	VanBik 2009:501
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**ʔáaw**-I, ʔàaw-II	scream	VanBik 2009:501
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**áw** hay	shout at, yell to	VanBik 2009:501
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔâaw**-I, ʔăaw-II	scream, call, out, cry out, shout	VanBik 2009:501
Lai (Falam)	**ʔăaw**-I, ʔàaw-II	scream, cry out, call out	VanBik 2009:501
Lushai [Mizo]	**ao**	shout (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2092
	au	shout (v.)	Marrison 1967
	áu	scream, to cry out, to shout out, to call out, to bawl	VanBik 2009:501
	au	scream, cry out	Benedict 1972:273
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**hau**	shout in chorus	Benedict 1972:273
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ɔ**^{22}	yell; shout (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1368.27; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1585.27
Burmese (Written)	**au**	cry out, bawl, howl	Benedict 1972:273
	ô.	shout (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ɔ^{2}	yell; shout (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1368.26; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1585.26

[a]

Chinese comparandum

呼 OC *χo, *GSR* #55h 'call out, shout, summon'; B & S 2011: *q^{hʕ}a; Mand. **hū**.
號 OC *g'og, *GSR* #1041p-q 'cry out, command'; B & S 2011: *C.g^{ʕ}aw {[C.g]^{ʕ}aw}; Mand. **háo**.
嚆 OC *χǒg, *GSR* #1129b' 'make noise'; Mand. **hāo**.
嚎 OC (not in *GSR* #1129; probably *χǒg) 'howl, bawl'; Mand. **háo**.
呴 呵 嗷

(9) PTB *sy $\begin{matrix}\textbf{i}\\\textbf{u}\end{matrix}$ p WHISPER

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
Sino-Tibetan	***tsyip** ~ tshyip ⪤ syip	whisper ⪤ prattle	Coblin 1986:160
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
Tibeto-Burman	***syip ⪤ syup**	whisper	Matisoff 2003a:614
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**sib**-pɑ~**śub**-pɑ	whisper	Chou Fa-kao 1972:688a
	ʃib	whisper (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ʃub	whisper (v.)	Marrison 1967
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Sahu)	**syup** tām 'pāng-pā	whisper (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.06
	syup tam 'paŋ-pa	whisper (v.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:21.A.6
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**'syo:**-cā	whisper (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.06
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Liangshan)	**sɔ**^{33}	whisper	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	dʑ^{34}**sɔ**^{33}	whisper	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	p^{h}a^{33}-**sɔ**^{33}-k^{h}a^{33}-**sɔ**^{33}	whisper	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ts'i̯əp~tsi̯əp**	whisper	Chou Fa-kao 1972:688a

Chinese comparandum

葺 OC ***ts'i̯əp**, *GSR* #688a; Mand. **qì**.

8.5.5 Sounds

(1) PKC *tsiap CHIRP

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Chin	***tsiap**	CHIRP	VanBik 2009:527
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**cip**	cry as small chicks after their mother (v.)	VanBik 2009:527
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsiap**-INV	chirp (as small chicks)	VanBik 2009:527
Lushai [Mizo]	**chĭap**	cheep, chirp or twitter (especially used for chicken and certain birds) (v.)	VanBik 2009:527

(2) PKC *ruum ⪤ *hruum GROAN / GROWL / ROAR

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
Chin	***ruum ⪤** hruum	GROAN / GROWL / ROAR	VanBik 2009:945
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hrûum**-I, hrŭum-II	groan, growl, roar	VanBik 2009:945
Lushai [Mizo]	**rŭum**	groan, to moan, to sigh, to growl, to roar (v.)	VanBik 2009:945
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hrō**	groan, to moan (v.)	VanBik 2009:945

Chinese comparandum

鬨 OC *χ̆ŭm~*χɑm~*χ̂ûm, *GSR* #607d 'roar, growl'; Schuessler 2007:530 ***h(r)âmʔ** or ***hrə̂mʔ**; Mand. **xiǎn ~ hǎn**.

(3) PTB *ʔur MAKE NOISE / HUM / CHAT / BABBLE

There is a possible connection of this etymon with PTB ***ʔaw** VOMIT (§1.8.3.2), the common core of meaning apparently being expulsion of undisciplined effluvia from the mouth.

A more plausible allofam is PTB ***wu** HOWL / WHINE / BARK (§2.1.11.1).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
Tibeto-Burman	***ʔur**	make noise / hum / chat / babble	Matisoff 2003a:583
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**ɔ̀**	noise	Thirumalai 1972:17
	ɔ́	noise	Thirumalai 1972:22
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**huy**	hum	Bhat 1969:91
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥur**	noise, hum; talk, babbling, chitchat	Matisoff 2003a:396
	ḥur gtoŋ-ba	talk, chat (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:396
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**xər**	hum	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5495
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Wuding)	**ɤ**^{11}	chat (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1499.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	nɑ^{21}**u**^{35}te^{33}dɑ^{21}	chat (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1499.43
Lahu (Black)	nàʔ-**ú ú** ve ~ nàʔ-**ú** te ve	chat, converse (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:396
7. Karenic			
Karen	**u̲**^{55}gă^{31}li^{33}	chat (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1499.50
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	tθa̲^{55} **ɯ**^{55}	hum	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1970.1
	ɯ^{55}	hum	Dai Qingxia 1989k:1970
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	tă^{31} **u**^{55}	hum	Dai Qingxia 1989j:1970

(4) PNC *taaw MOAN

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Northern Chin	***taaw**	MOAN	VanBik 2009:209
Sizang	**tau** hī	moan	VanBik 2009:209

Thado	**tâaw**-I tàaw-II	moan, pray	VanBik 2009:209
Tiddim	**ta:u**[1]	moan	VanBik 2009:209

(5) PKC *hraam MOAN / CRY / GROAN

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***hraam**	MOAN / CRY / GROAN	VanBik 2009:1089

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**hâam**-I, hàam	speak	VanBik 2009:1089
Tiddim	**ha:m**[2]	cry (used with animals)	VanBik 2009:1089
	ha:m[1]	cry (used with animals) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:419
	ha:m[1]	cry (used with animals)	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**háng**	cry out, scream	VanBik 2009:1089

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hrâam**-I, hrăam-II	moan, cry	VanBik 2009:1089
Lai (Falam)	**hráam**-INV	moan, cry	VanBik 2009:1089
Lushai [Mizo]	**hrăam**	cry or call (as animal, bird, insect, etc), to bray, to roar, to shout (v.)	VanBik 2009:1089
	hra:m	cry (used with animals) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2451

(6) PKC *saa-I, *sak-II SING

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***saa**-I, sak-II	SING	VanBik 2009:674

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**sàa**-I, sà?-II	sing	VanBik 2009:674
Tiddim	**sa:**[3] > sak[3]	sing	VanBik 2009:674

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	(**hlâa**) săa-I, sak-II	sing (song)	VanBik 2009:674
Lai (Falam)	**sàk**-INV	sing	VanBik 2009:674
Lushai [Mizo]	**sà**-I, sàk-II	sing (v.)	VanBik 2009:674

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**sā**	sing, as a hymn (v.)	VanBik 2009:674

(7) PTB *sit WHISTLE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***sit**	whistle	Matisoff 2003a:613

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Galo	‘hu **si**	whistle (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘si nam	whistle (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Balti)	**ṣwiṯ**	whistle	Rangan 1975:44
Tibetan (Written)	**sid**-pa	whistle (v.)	Jäschke 1881:573

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Daofu)	**swei swei**	whistle	Dai Qingxia 1989b:11.5

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (Northern)	ta **fsi**	whistle	Sun Hongkai 1991k:11.5
rGyalrong (Eastern)	ta **pʰsi**	whistle	Sun Hongkai 1991j:11.5
rGyalrong (NW)	ta **swit**	whistle	Sun Hongkai 1991l:11.5
rGyalrong	tə **wsit**	whistle	Dai Qingxia 1989d:11.5
Caodeng	tɛ́-**fsi**	whistle (n.)	Sun 1997a
	tɛ́-**fsi** kɐ-lɐt	whistle (v.)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	ta **psi** ka let	whistle	Nagano 1997:11.5

4. Nungic

Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**xwit**[55]	whistle using the fingers	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***sit**	whistle[2]	Matisoff 1972b:119

6.1.2. Loloish

Lolopho	**ɕi**[55]	whistle	Dai Qingxia 1989n:11.5

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nosu	**ɕɿ**[21]**t**ɕɿ[33]	whistle	Chen Kang 1986b:11.5
Yi (Liangshan)	**ɕɿ**[21]**t**ɕɿ[33]	blow (a whistle)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	tí-**šîʔ**	whistle	Matisoff 1972b:119
	tí-**šîʔ** mɨ̀	whistle (v.)	Matisoff 1972b:50
Lisu	**sï3**	whistle	Matisoff 1972b:119
Lisu (Central)	**sï**[3]	whistle (v.)	Fraser 1922
Sani [Nyi]	**si**[55]**si**[33]	whistle	Chen Kang 1986b:11.5

8.5.7 Bid

(1) PKC *ŋeen ASK / APPEAL / REQUEST

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ŋeen**	ASK / APPEAL / REQUEST	VanBik 2009:846

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**ngen**	appeal, adjure	VanBik 2009:846
Sizang	**ngen** hī	ask, beg	VanBik 2009:846
Tiddim	**ngeːn**[3] > nget[3]	request	VanBik 2009:846
	ngeːn[3] > nget[3]	request (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1290
	ŋeːn[3]/ŋet[3]	request	Bhaskararao 1994
	`ŋɛːn/_ŋet	ask for (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**ŋèen**-I, ŋêen-II	ask	VanBik 2009:846
Lushai [Mizo]	**ngèen**-I, ngêen-II	ask for, to ask, to demand, to bother for, to cry for (v.)	VanBik 2009:846
	ngen	ask for	Marrison 1967
	ngeːn	ask for (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2720

(2) PKC *suut ≍ *soot ASK / INQUIRE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***suut** ≍ soot	ASK / INQUIRE	VanBik 2009:638

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**sot**	ask	VanBik 2009:638

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**sûut**-INV	ask, inquire	VanBik 2009:638

(3) PTB *r-yu(w) ASK / REQUEST

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	a: **hu**	question (v.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	a: **hui**	question	NEFA (India) 1963
	ɑ[31]**xu**[35]	ask / question (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1708.22
	ɑ[31]**xu**[35]	ask / inquire	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:690.49
Idu	ɑ[55]**hu**[35]	ask / inquire	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:690.50
Yidu	ɑ[55]**hu**[35]	ask / question (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1708.25

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Khezha	a **ghü1**	ask (a question)	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	kü **ghü**	ask (a question)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	in **zhu**	ask (a question)	Marrison 1967
	i ni **zhu**	question (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**arju**	ask (a question); ask for	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	arju	question (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***ryəw**	ask for	French 1983:452

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	**yu**	ask for	Marrison 1967
Phom	**yiü**	ask for	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	ŋ **reu**[35]	ask / inquire	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**źu**-ba	request, put a question (v.)	Jäschke 1881:476
	ʒu ba	question (v.)	Marrison 1967

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Prakaa)	[3]**ʃu**-	request / ask	Mazaudon 1994:1009

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Khaling	**su**-ne	ask (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.15

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**ɣju**	ask, call	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3600

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**rjɛ**	ask / question (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1708.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐɣie**	ask / inquire	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:690.14

(4) PKC *θial ASK / SEND (on errand)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***θial**	ASK / SEND (on errand)	VanBik 2009:611

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**cial**[2]	ask somebody to work (for the asker)	VanBik 2009:611
	cial[2]	ask somebody to work [for the asker]; hire (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:162
	cial[2]	ask somebody to work ...	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**fîal**-I, fîal-II	ask, send on an errand	VanBik 2009:611
Lai (Falam)	**fíal**-I, fìal-II	ask, send on an errand	VanBik 2009:611

(5) PKC *haaw-I, *hawʔ-II DEMAND / ASK

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***haaw**-I, hawʔ-II	DEMAND / ASK	VanBik 2009:710

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hăaw**-I, hawʔ-II	demand, ask	VanBik 2009:710
Lushai [Mizo]	**hàuh**	ask for beforehand (v.)	VanBik 2009:710

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**hàw**	ask for, to demand (v.)	VanBik 2009:710

(6) PCC *ʔuar EMPHASIZE / STRESS / FOND OF

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***ʔuar**	EMPHASIZE / STRESS / FOND OF	VanBik 2009:481
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔŭar**-INV	emphasize, stress, fond of	VanBik 2009:481
Lai (Falam)	**ʔùar**-INV	emphasize, stress, fond of	VanBik 2009:481
Lushai [Mizo]	**ùar**	stress, emphasize, to exaggerate (v.)	VanBik 2009:481

(7) PNC *doŋ INQUIRE

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Northern Chin*	***doŋ**	INQUIRE	VanBik 2009:90
Sizang	**dong** hī	inquire	VanBik 2009:90
Tiddim	**dong**[3] > dot[3]	inquire	VanBik 2009:90

8.5.8 Banter/Discourse

(1) PTB * ŋ / g raŋ CONTRADICT / DENY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***graŋ**	deny	Matisoff 2003a:591
	***ŋraŋ**	contradict; deny; contradict, deny	Matisoff 2003a:606; Benedict 1972:155; Benedict 1972:155

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭaŋ**	deny	Benedict 1972:155

4. Nungic

Anong	**ŋyeŋ**	deny	Benedict 1972:155
	ə ŋeŋ	oblique	Benedict 1972:155
	ə ŋyeŋ	slant	Benedict 1972:155

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**ŋrâŋ**	contradict, deny; refuse to do (v.)	Matisoff 1974:227
	ŋrâŋ	contradict, deny	Benedict 1976a
	ŋraŋ	contradict, deny	Benedict 1972:155

Chinese comparandum

迎 OC ***ngi̯ăng***, *GSR* #699d ‘(go to) meet; greet, welcome, receive’; Schuessler 2007:575 ***ŋraŋ***; B & S 2011: ***ŋraŋ***; Mand. **yíng**.
迎 OC ***ngi̯ăng***, *GSR* #699d ‘go to meet; receive’; Schuessler 2007:575 ***ŋraŋh***; B & S 2011: (***ŋraŋ-s***); Mand. **yìng**.

8.5.10 Verbs of Verbosity and Intensity

(1) PCC *leem ATTRACT / PERSUADE / FASCINATE

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***leem**	ATTRACT / PERSUADE / FASCINATE	VanBik 2009:989
Lai (Hakha)	**lêem**-I, lěem-II	attract, persuade, fascinate, be addicted	VanBik 2009:989
Lai (Falam)	**lěem**-I, lèem-II	attract, persuade	VanBik 2009:989
Lushai [Mizo]	**léem**	attract, fascinate, woo, or charm (by manners, kindness, behaviour, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:989

(2) PKC *hal BEG / ASK

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hal**	BEG / ASK	VanBik 2009:700
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**hi˝**	ask, demand, question (v.)	VanBik 2009:700
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hâl**-I, hăl-II	beg, ask (v.)	VanBik 2009:700
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hìa**	beg, to ask (v.)	VanBik 2009:700

(3) PTani *ko BEG / REQUEST

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***ko**	beg / request	Sun 1993a:25
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**ku**	beg; ask for; implore	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ku rhyme!	beg / request	Sun 1993a
	kɯ-tɯ	beg for the first time	Sun 1993b
Bengni	du-**ku**	beg / request	Sun 1993a
	du-**ku:**	demand, beg for	Sun 1993b
Bokar	dok-**ko**	beg; request; beg (for st.)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	**ko**-nam	beg; request (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	‘ko nam	beg; request (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	lak-**ko**	beg / request	Sun 1993a

(4) PTani *mə: CHEAT / LIE

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***mə:**	cheat / lie	Sun 1993a:63
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**mu**	lie (n.)	Sun 1993b
	à-**mu**	falsehood	Sun 1993b
	a-**mu** (pa-lu)	cheat	Sun 1993b
	a-**mu** lu	lie (v.)	Sun 1993b
	a-**mu** sɯ	pretend	Sun 1993b
	a-**mu**-pa lu	cheat / lie	Sun 1993a
Bengni	-**mɯ:**	pretend	Sun 1993b
	čin-**mɯ:** čin-čɯ:	pretend not to know	Sun 1993b
	mə:-rjap	cheat, swindle	Sun 1993b
	mɯ:	cheat; lie; lie (tell lie)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	si-**mɯ:**	play dead	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**mə:**	lie (speak falsehood); cunning, shrewd; false; sly; cunning	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1048.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1102.24
	mə: (da)	false	Sun 1993b
	mə: no:	deceive / cheat (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1564.24
	mə:-no:	cheat; lie; cheat, deceive	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	mɯ:-pit	make false charge against	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**mə:**	false	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:875.51
	mə: no:	cheat / swindle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:716.51
Galo	**me**-gum-nam	cheat (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	mə nam	cheat; lie (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	mɤ-nam	lie (tell lie) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	**mɤ**-nam	lie / speak falsely (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**me**-nam lu	cheat / lie	Sun 1993a
Damu	**mə:**-duŋ	false	Sun 1993b
	mə:-nə	tell lie	Sun 1993b

(5) PKC *hleŋ LIE / CHEAT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hleŋ**	LIE / CHEAT	VanBik 2009:1114
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**hle**	lie	VanBik 2009:1114
Khumi	**loeeyng**	cheat	VanBik 2009:1114
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hlêŋ**-I, hlěn-II	lie, cheat	VanBik 2009:1114

(6) PTB *ha:y LIE / DECEIVE / MISS / CONFUSED / FOOLISH

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***h(w)a:y**	flurried / dazed / foolish	Matisoff 2003a:594
	***ha:y**	lie / deceive / dissemble	Matisoff 1985a:099; Matisoff 2003a:593
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Kamarupan	**h(w)a:y**	flurried / dazed / foolish	Matisoff 1985a:135
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**hai?**^{3}	miss; show signs of pregnancy; go astray (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:399
	hai^{1}	foolish (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:400
	hai^{1}	foolish	Bhaskararao 1994
	hai?^{3}	miss...	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊ hai	foolish	Matisoff 1985a:135
	ˊhai/ˆhai	foolish (v.)	Henderson 1965
	ˋ hai	foolish	Matisoff 1985a:135
	_hai?/_hai?	miss; show signs of pregnancy; go astray (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hai**	mistake (n.)	Marrison 1967
	hāi	mistake; not know; not recognize; be ignorant of; forget; mistake one for another (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:099
	hāi	giddy, dizzy, dazed; have one’s head swim (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:135
	hai	mistake; be dizzy (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2348
	hāi-dēr	connive at; overlook intentionally; pretend not to know/recognize/hear	Matisoff 1985a:099
	haī-huih	flurried, confused; lose one’s presence of mind, be bewildered (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:135
	vai	bewildered	Matisoff 1985a:135
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hai**	misrepresent, lie; false, untrue; a lie	Matisoff 1985a:099
	hai-bi	liar	Matisoff 1985a:099
	hai-di-**hai**-dua	falsehood	Matisoff 1985a:099
	hai-na	falsehood	Matisoff 1985a:099
	hai-pa~**hai**-tai-pa	liar	Matisoff 1985a:099
	hai-phia	guile, deceit	Matisoff 1985a:099
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	* **[he**^{1}**]**	lie	Bradley 1979b:673
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Wuding)	**e**^{55}	deceive / cheat (people) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1564.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	**xiɛ35**	deceive, coax; cheat, deceive	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009; Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**xe**^{11}	deceive / cheat (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1564.43
Lahu (Black)	**hē**	cheat; deceive; tell a lie; be dishonest	Matisoff 1985a:099
	hē-pā	liar; a cheat	Matisoff 1985a:099
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɣe̱**^{31}dza^{31}	deceive / cheat (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1564.41

(7) PKC *hnee-I, *hneek-II URGE / STIMULATE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***hnee**-I, hneek-II	URGE / STIMULATE	VanBik 2009:910
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**ni˝**	urge, stimulate	VanBik 2009:910
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hnèe**-I, hneek-II	urge, stimulate	VanBik 2009:910
Lai (Falam)	**hnêek**-INV	urge, stimulate	VanBik 2009:910

(8) PKC *ɓia WORD

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɓia**	WORD	VanBik 2009:57
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**bǐa**	word	VanBik 2009:57
Lai (Falam)	**bìa**	word	VanBik 2009:57
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**bī**	word	VanBik 2009:57

(9) PCN *a-(h)ju WORD / VOICE / LANGUAGE / SAY / SPEECH

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	*a-**(h)ju**	WORD / LANGUAGE	Bruhn 2014a:III.089
**Ao*	*(a-)**hju**	WORD	Bruhn 2014a:II.279
Ao (Chungli)	**o**	language; speech; word	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	o-zümbi	talk (v.)	Marrison 1967
	o jang	law	Marrison 1967
	o la	voice (n.)	Marrison 1967
	o sang	news	Marrison 1967
	o tsü	speech	Marrison 1967
	u^{2}	word (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.279
	u^{3}-tsə^{1}	story (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	u^{3}la^{3}	voice (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	u^{3}si^{1}	language (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **yu**	word	Marrison 1967
	a **yu’**	language	Marrison 1967
	yu la	voice (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yu sang	news	Marrison 1967
	yu zang-khi	order (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hju**-la	voice (’word’ + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	hju-sì	language (’word’ + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	hju-tsə	tale, story (’word’ + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	hju-tʃaŋ	letter of alphabet (’word’ + ’seed’) (n.)	Coupe 2007

	jim-**hju**-thaŋ-la	fine (of a pig) ('village' + 'word' + 'sever' + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[a]-**hju**	word (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**o**[1]**-ji?**[1]	word / language (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.089
	o **yi**	language; news; word	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	yi	speech	Marrison 1967
	Yí tsəŋ	word	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	ai **yo**	speak	Marrison 1967
	thsing **yu**	teach	Marrison 1967
	tsu zing-**yu** zing	oath	Marrison 1967
	tsu zing-**yu** zing-thsa	swear	Marrison 1967
	yo	say; teach	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	yo cho	say (v.)	Kumar 1973a
	yu	news; speech; word	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	yu cho	language	Marrison 1967
	yu wa	voice (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yu zi	witness (n.)	Marrison 1967
	yu zing	command, order; law	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
	yu zing jü	order (v.)	Marrison 1967
	yu zing jücho	order (v.)	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	the **yo** züng	law	Marrison 1967
	thi **you**	news	Marrison 1967
	thi **you**	talk (v.)	Marrison 1967
	thi **you**	voice (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thi **you**	word	Marrison 1967
	thi **you**-müthsü	witness (n.)	Marrison 1967
	thi **you** thakhukalu	dumb	Marrison 1967
	thi **yu**	language	Kumar 1973b:78
	thi **yu** ji	word	Kumar 1973b:89
	thi **yu** so	news	Kumar 1973b:37
	thsang **you**	teach	Marrison 1967
	thsang **you** pu	teacher	Marrison 1967
	you	speak	Marrison 1967
	you thakhi	speech	Marrison 1967
	yu khean	talk	Kumar 1973b:74

(10) TGTM *[B]kat voice

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*[B]**kat**	voice	Mazaudon 1978:29
Gurung (Ghachok)	[1]**kae**	voice	Mazaudon 1978:29
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]**kat**	voice	Mazaudon 1978:29
Tamang (Sahu)	[2]**ket**	voice	Mazaudon 1978:29
Thakali (Marpha)	[H]**kʌi**	voice	Mazaudon 1978:29
Thakali (Syang)	[2]**kʌe**	voice	Mazaudon 1978:29
Thakali (Tukche)	[H]**kʌi**	voice	Mazaudon 1978:29

8.5.13 Beckon

(1) PTB * g/k aw CALL

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__g__**aw**	call (v.)	Weidert 1987:183
	*__g__**aw**	call	Matisoff 2003a:590; Benedict 1972:14
	*__g__**aw** ~ **kaw** (*A)	call / cry out	Coblin 1986:51
	*__g__**ɑw**	cry out / call	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1041q

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *__k__**aw** CALL / SHOUT

**Chin*	*__k__**aw**	CALL / SHOUT	VanBik 2009:262

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**kou**	call	VanBik 2009:262
Thado	**kóu**	call	Thirumalai 1972:56
	kòw-INV	call	VanBik 2009:262
Tiddim	**kou**[3] > kou?[3]	inform and call (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:659
	kou[3] > kou?[3]	inform and call, to ask a person to come	VanBik 2009:262

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	tháng **kaw kaw**	invite, convey, take a message to somebody	VanBik 2009:262

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**kâw**-I, koʔ-II	call, invite	VanBik 2009:262
Lai (Falam)	**kăw**-I, kòʔ-II	call, shout	VanBik 2009:262
Lushai [Mizo]	**ko**	call (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2599
	kò-I, kòh-II	call, to summon, to name (v.)	VanBik 2009:262
	kòu	call (v.)	Weidert 1987:183
	kou	call	Benedict 1972:14

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Khezha	[2]**ko**	call (v.)	Weidert 1987:183
Mao	[5]**ku**	call (v.)	Weidert 1987:183

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Zeme	**gu**	call	Benedict 1972:14

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	riŋ **gaw**	cry or call from a distance (v.)	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	džuru-**khau**	call	Benedict 1972:14

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**gau**	call	Benedict 1972:14

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**ku**	call	Benedict 1972:14

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**ku**-	call, cry out loudly (vi.)	Caughley 2000

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**guɔ**[35]	cry (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1485.16
Muya [Minyak]	**qo**[55]rɛ[53]	cry out / yell	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.15
Pumi (Qinghua)	**qo**[55] ʐɑ[55]	cry out; yell; call out, cry out	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ko**[55] ro[53]	cry out; yell; call out, cry out	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**qá** ɹà	cry out	Evans 1999:1961

4. Nungic

Anong	**go**	call	Benedict 1972:14

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**kɯ**[55]	cry out	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**kɯ**[31]	cry out	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Written)	**khau**	call (v.)	Weidert 1987:183
	khau	call	Benedict 1972:14
	khaw	summon / call (to come)	Matisoff 1974:70

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**qho**	summon / call (to come)	Matisoff 1974:70

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	**kv** 6	yell / shout / cry, to	Dell 1981b:101
	kv[35]	cry out / yell	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.35
	kɣ[55]	cry out	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	**kɣ**[55]	cry out	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984
	kɣ[55]	cry / weep (v.)	Zhao Yansun 1990:3.4.8
	kv[55]	cry out / yell	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:547.36

(2) PNC *sam CALL

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Northern Chin*	***sam**	CALL	VanBik 2009:643
Sizang	**sam** hī	call	VanBik 2009:643
Thado	**sàm**-I, sàp-II	call	VanBik 2009:643
Tiddim	**sam**[1]	call	VanBik 2009:643
	sam[1]	call (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1510
	sam[1]	call	Bhaskararao 1994

(3) PTk *ho CALL

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***ho**	call	Mortensen 2012:363
Kachai	kə-**hɐ**	call	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.067
Tusom	kə-**xu**	call	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.084
Ukhrul	kə-**ho**	call	Mortensen 2012

(4) PCN *tsaj CALL

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	***tsaj**	CALL	Bruhn 2014a:III.049
**Ao*	*a-**tʃaj**	CALL	Bruhn 2014a:II.145
Ao (Chungli)	**-cā**	call (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a[2]-**tʃa**[2]	call (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.145
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tʃa**	call [called] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**tsa**[1]-	call (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.049
	ā **tsà**	call me	Acharya 1975
	e **tsa**	call	Murry *et al.* 1978:14
	tsà	call (v.)	Acharya 1975
	tsa	call	Murry *et al.* 1978:14
Sangtam	**tsi** cho	call (v.)	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**ji**	call (v.)	Kumar 1973b:27

(5) PTani *grok CALL / SHOUT

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***grok**	call / shout	Sun 1993a:54

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**gjó**	call; invite	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	gjo-su	call	Sun 1993b
	gjù	cry (made by bovines and pig); shout	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	gjú-gɯ	shout (by leaders); shout in pain	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	grjoʔ	invite	Sun 1993b
	grjoʔ (-tu)	call; shout	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	grju	scream	Sun 1993b
	grju	bellow (v.)	Sun 1993b
	grju (gɯ pa-gɯ)	yell	Sun 1993b
	grju-do pa-do	shout	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**guk**	call; shout; cry (yell)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	guk-lam	give a scare (by sound)	Sun 1993b
	guk-li:	scream	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**gok**	call; shout; roar (tiger); beckon	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	gok	ask s.b. to come here; fetch; crow; crow (of cocks); crow (of hens); growl (of tigers); howl (of wolves); called, be; named (v.)	Sun 1993b; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1367.24,1426.24,1427.24,1435.24,1436.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1437.24
	la go **(gok)**	shout (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0919.24
	ɕo **gok**	yell / shout (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1368.24
Galo	**gog**-nam	call; shout; invoke (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	gog nam	call (someone) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	gog nam	sing (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	gog rɨk	reply (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	gok-cik-go-gig-nam	scream (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	yalo-**gog** nam	call (soul) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	**gok**	call / invite	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	aloŋ **gok**-toka	Call him	Das Gupta 1983
	gok nam	call (v.)	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**gok**	call / shout	Sun 1993a
Milang	**gyok**-ma	call (shout)	Tayeng 1976
	lu-ma **gyok**-ma	song (different)	Tayeng 1976
	ulo-**gyok**-ma	yell	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. Deng

Yidu	**gɹɑ**[31]mboŋ[35]	gong (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0660.25
	gɹɑ[55]	ask s.b. to come here; fetch; yell; shout (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1367.25; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1368.25

(6) PKC *soom INVITE / SUMMON

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***soom**	INVITE / SUMMON	VanBik 2009:656

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**sŏom**-I, sòom-II	summon, order	VanBik 2009:656
Tiddim	**so:m**[2]	plan, comtemplate to do (i.e. to invite oneself to do sth.)	VanBik 2009:656

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**sôom**-I, sŏom-II	invite, summon	VanBik 2009:656
Lai (Falam)	**sŏom**-I, sòom-II	invite	VanBik 2009:656
Lushai [Mizo]	**sáwm**	ask, to invite (v.)	VanBik 2009:656
	sawm	invite; ask (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2884

8.5.14 Broadcast and Announce

(1) PTB *haːw ANNOUNCE / BESPEAK

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***haːw**	announce, bespeak	Benedict 1972:p.33	[a]

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**hau**	abuse, reproach	Benedict 1972:p.33
	hau?	bespeak	Benedict 1972:p.33

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**ho**	announce	Benedict 1972:p.33	[b]

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**haù** > **hɔ̀**	announce	Benedict 1972:p.33

[a] This root is in the indexes of *STC* (pp.201, 210), but is only mentioned in passing on p.33.
[b] Benedict observes that Jingpho **ho** is a loan from Burmese and is usually pronounced **kho** (*STC* p. 33).

(2) PKC *hril? EXPLAIN / TEACH

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***hril?**	EXPLAIN / TEACH	VanBik 2009:1082

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**hilh**	teach, tell	VanBik 2009:1082
Sizang	lam **hil** pā	guide ("one who explains the way")	VanBik 2009:1082
Thado	**hìl**	teach	Thirumalai 1972:69
	hìl-INV	teach	VanBik 2009:1082
Tiddim	**hil?**^{3}	teach; instruct (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:465
	hil?^{3}	teach, instruct	VanBik 2009:1082; Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hril?**-fia?	explain	VanBik 2009:1082
Lai (Falam)	**hrìl?**-fia?	explain	VanBik 2009:1082
Lushai [Mizo]	**hrìlh**	explain, expound, tell	VanBik 2009:1082
	hrilh	teach; inform; tell (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2470

(3) PKC *phuaŋ-I, *phuan-II PROCLAIM / PROFESS / REVEAL

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***phuaŋ**-I, phuan-II	PROCLAIM / PROFESS / REVEAL	VanBik 2009:348

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**phuang**	profess, proclaim	VanBik 2009:348
Thado	**phúoŋ**-I, phùon-II	reveal, introduce	VanBik 2009:348

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**phûaŋ**-I, phŭan-II	reveal, proclaim	VanBik 2009:348
Lai (Falam)	**phŭaŋ**-I, phùan-II	reveal, proclaim	VanBik 2009:348

(4) PLB * $^{s}_{ʔ}$-ma $^{1}_{2}$ TEACH

This root is abundantly attested in Lolo-Burmo-Naxi (but not in Burmese itself), but has not yet been found in other subgroups.

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***s/ʔ-ma**$^{1/2}$	teach	Matisoff 2003a:601

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**m̥ɑ**^{31}	teach	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**m̥ɔ**^{35}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.41
	m̥ɔʔ^{35}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.28
Achang (Luxi)	**ma**^{51}	teach	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**ma̱**^{35}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**mɔ̱ʔ**^{55}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**mɔ̱ːʔ**	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.33
Maru [Langsu]	**mɔ̱ʔ**^{55}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mo̱ʔ**^{55}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.42
	mo̱ʔ^{55}pji^{21}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.30

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***s-ma**^{2}	teach	Bradley 1979b:721; Hansson 1989:223
PNL	**s-ma**^{2}	teach	Chen Kang 1986a:60.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**ma**^{55}	teach	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	ma^{55}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.47
Lalo	**ʔmà**	teach / point out	Björverud 1994
	ʔma^{2}	teach	Chen Kang 1986a:60.
Lipho	**mu**^{55}	teach	Chen Kang 1986a:60.
Nasu	**mo**^{55}	teach	Chen Kang 1986a:60.
Neisu	**mu**^{55}	teach	Chen Kang 1986a:60.
Nesu	**mo**^{2}	teach	Chen Kang 1986a:60.
Nosu	**m̥a**^{55}	teach	Chen Kang 1986a:60.
Yi (Dafang)	**m(u)**^{55}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**m̥a**^{55}	discipline; instruct; teach	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	m̥a^{55}**ʑi**^{21}	educate; teach; tutor	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	pa^{33}**m̥a**^{55}	educate; teach	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	to^{21}**m̥a**^{55}	teach	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**mu**^{55}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**mo̱**^{21}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mo**^{55}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.37
	mo^{55}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.24
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔmɑ**^{21}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.36
Yi (Wuding)	**mu**^{55}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.38
Yi (Xide)	**m̥a**^{55}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.21
	m̥ɑ^{55}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**mu**^{55}	teach	Chen Kang 1986a:60.
Jinuo	**ɬe**^{31}**mə**^{44}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.44
Kucong	**ma35**	teach	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**ma**^{11}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.43
Lahu (Black)	**mʌ**^{11}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ma**^{5}	teach	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	bæ^{33} **ma**^{55}	reflect; instruct; give orders; exhort; inform; tell; teach	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ma**^{1}	instruct / teach	Fraser 1922
	ma^{1} (grgh^{5})	teach (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ma**^{55}	teach; educate; instruct; direct; lead; advice (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ma**^{55}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ma**^{55}la^{33}	tell; teach; instruct	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**mɑ**^{55}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.27
Lisu (Northern)	phɤ^{33}**ma**^{55}	explain; note (V.)	Bradley 1994
	thɔ^{21}ɤ^{21} **ma**^{55}	teach	Bradley 1994
	tɕwa^{33}**ma**^{55}	propaganda; teach; heresay	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**mo**^{55}	teach	Chen Kang 1986a:60.
Yi (Sani)	**mo**^{55}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**mɛ̀**	teach	Hansson 1989:223
Akha (Yunnan)	**mɛ̀**	teach	Hansson 1989:223
Akha	**mɛ̀**	teach	Hansson 1989:223
Hani (Dazhai)	**me**^{31}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**mɛ̀**	teach	Hansson 1989:223
	me^{31}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**mɛ**^{31}	teach (v.t.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**meiq**	teach	Hansson 1989:223
Haoni	**mɛ**^{31}	teach	Hansson 1989:223
Hani (Shuikui)	**mɛ**^{31}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**mɛ**^{31}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.42

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**mi̱**^{45}	teach	Pelkey 2011:691
Southern Muji	**ma**^{21}	teach	Pelkey 2011:691
Phola	**mɑ**^{33}	teach	Pelkey 2011:691
Hlepho Phowa	**ma**^{33}	teach	Pelkey 2011:691
Phuza	**mʌ**^{33}	teach	Pelkey 2011:691

6.2. Naxi

Naxi	**me**^{55}	teach (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1425.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**me**^{55}	teach	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:621.28

Chinese comparandum

誨 OC **χmwəg*, *GSR* #947u 'instruct'; Schuessler 2007:288 ***hmə̂h**; B & S 2011: ***m̥ˤə-s {m̥ˤə()-s}**; Mand. **huì**.

8.5.15 Boast

(1) PCC *ʔuaŋ-I, *ʔuan-II BRAG / SHOW OFF

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***ʔuaŋ**-I, ʔuan-II	BRAG / SHOW OFF	VanBik 2009:468
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔùaŋ**-I, ʔŭan-II	brag, boast, show off	VanBik 2009:468
Lushai [Mizo]	**úang**-I, ùan-II	brag, to boast, to be puffed up, to show off (v.)	VanBik 2009:468

8.5.16 Dedicate

(1) PKC *tiam PROMISE / VOW

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tiam**	PROMISE / VOW	VanBik 2009:219

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**chiam**	avow (v.)	VanBik 2009:219
Sizang	**kī** chīem nā	promise	VanBik 2009:219
Thado	**tíem**-I, tìep-II	promise	VanBik 2009:219

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tîam**-I, tĭam-II	promise, avow (v.)	VanBik 2009:219
Lai (Falam)	**tĭam**-I, tìam-II	promise, avow (v.)	VanBik 2009:219
Lushai [Mizo]	**tìam**	promise, to vow, to make a contract (v.)	VanBik 2009:219

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**tài**	promise (v.)	VanBik 2009:219

(2) PCC *kam SWEAR / PROMISE / TAKE OATH

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***kam**	SWEAR / PROMISE / TAKE OATH	VanBik 2009:316
Lai (Hakha)	**bîa** kăm-I, kam?-II	swear, promise	VanBik 2009:316
Lushai [Mizo]	**kàm**	swear, take oath (v.)	VanBik 2009:316

Volume 9

Shape, Size, Color, Measure, Number, Time, Space

9.1.0 Time

(1) PTB * k ʔ uk BEND / CROOKED / RETURN / BACK / YEAR

This root is etymologically distinct from PTB ***guŋ*** BODY / BACK (§1.1.1), PTB ***(k/g)um*** BACK / BODY (§1.4.8), and PTB ***m-ku:(k/ŋ)*** KNEE / ANGLE (§1.5.8.4).

As explained in DL p.310, the Lahu word qhɔ̀ʔ means both *year* and *return; give/take back*, the semantic connection between these notions residing in the fact that the years keep returning in an annual cycle. The same connection of ideas occurs in many other Loloish languages.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***gok**	bent	LaPolla 1987:17
	***guk**	bow down / stoop (v.)	Weidert 1987:677
	***guk ≍ *kuk**	bent	LaPolla 1987:17
	***guk~kuk**	bend / crooked	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1017j
	***kuk**	return / year	Matisoff 2003a:597
	***ʔuk ≍** kuk	crooked / bent / knee / angle / return / back	Matisoff 2003a:583

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**uk**	bend (v.)	Rai 1985

3.2. QIANGIC

Muya	(tɐ^{55}) **kui^{53}**	year's (work); classifier for age (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.15; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0914.15
	kui^{53}	age; year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0685.15; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.15
Muya [Minyak]	**kui^{53}**	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.15; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.15
Namuyi	**kuəɹ^{55}**	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.19
	ʂʅ^{33}ɳi^{55}**khu^{55}**	year before last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:68.19
	khuəɹ^{53}	classifier for age of animals (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0879.46
	khuəɹ^{53}	year's (work); classifier for age (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0914.46
	khu^{55}əɹ^{55}	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	(tə^{11}) **ko^{55}**	year's (work); classifier for age (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.10; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0914.10
	ko^{35}	age; year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0685.10; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ko^{55}**	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.09
	ko^{55}	year's (work); classifier for age (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.09; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0914.09
	ko^{55}ɳ̩^{55}	age (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0685.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ko^{55}**	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.11; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ko^{35}**	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.10; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ko^{55}**	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.16; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**kuə^{55}**	age; year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0685.13; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.13
	kuə^{55}xsaɹ^{55}pe^{55}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.13
Xumi	(dʑi^{33}) **khu^{55}**	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.17
	khu^{55}	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.17
	khu^{55} (dʑi^{33}) **khu^{55}**	classifier for age (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0914.17
	khu^{55}hæ^{33}	age (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0685.17
	qhɐ^{55}	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.20; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.20
	qua^{55}by^{33}	year after next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:69.20

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	(a) **kvo**	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ko**	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.14; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.14
Daofu	**kvo**	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.12

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***guk^{L}*** CROOKED / BENT / KNEE / ANGLE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***guk^{L}**	crooked / bent / knee / angle	Matisoff 2003a:592

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	a^{35}ɳo^{53} (**kho^{53}**)	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.47
	kho^{53}	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.47
	kho^{53}sʅ^{35}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.47
	la^{31} (**kho^{53}**)	year of the tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.47
	lo^{31} (**kho^{53}**)	year of the dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.47
	m^{31} (**kho^{53}**)	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.47
	tha^{55}la^{55} (**kho^{53}**)	year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.47
	tshɳ^{31} (**kho^{53}**)	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.47
	tshɳ^{53} (**kho^{53}**)	year of the ram (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0762.47
	wa^{53} (**kho^{53}**)	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.47
	xa^{33}**kho^{53}**	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.47
	xa^{55} (**kho^{53}**)	year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.47
	zʅ^{24} (**kho^{53}**)	year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.47
	ŋ^{31} (**kho^{53}**)	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.47
	ɣa^{53} (**kho^{53}**)	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.47
Lalo	**kho̱^{2}**	year	CHEN Kang 1986a:86.
Lipho	**khu̱^{2}**	year	CHEN Kang 1986a:86.
Luquan	**k'u 55c**	return / give back / year	Matisoff 1972b:34
Nasu	**kho̱^{55}**	year	CHEN Kang 1986a:86.
	k'u 44s	return / give back / year	Matisoff 1972b:34
Nesu	**khu̱^{2}**	year	CHEN Kang 1986a:86.
Nosu	**khu̱^{55}**	year	CHEN Kang 1986a:86.
Nusu (Northern)	**kho^{31}**ʂʅ^{31}	celebrate (New Year)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**kho̱^{53}**ʂi̱^{53}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.34
	khui^{55}**khɹu̱^{53}**	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.34
Nusu (Northern)	**khu^{31}**	year / age	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**khu^{31}**ɹu^{53}	year	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	khu̱^{53}	year / age	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khɹu^{31}**ɹu^{31}phu^{55}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.45
Nusu (Central)	**khɹu̱^{53}**	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.34
	khɹu̱^{53}	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.34
	khɹu̱^{53}dzɔ^{55}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khɹu^{53}**ɹu^{53}	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.45; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.45
Nusu (Central)	la^{55}**khɹu̱^{53}**	year of the tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.34
	liɯ^{33}**khɹu̱^{53}**	year of the dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.34
	miu̱^{53}**khɹu̱^{53}**	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.34
	mɹə^{55}**khɹu̱^{53}**	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.34
	nuɔ^{55}**khɹu̱^{53}**	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.34
Nusu (Southern)	sa^{31}n̥i̱^{53}**khu^{53}**	next year	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	sa^{31}phɔ^{53}**khu^{53}**	year after next	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	tho^{31}la^{33}khɹu̱^{53}	year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.34
	tʂhə̱^{53}**khɹu̱^{53}**	year of the ram (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0762.34
	va̱^{53}**khɹu̱^{33}**	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.34
	vɹi^{33}**khɹu̱^{53}**	year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.34
	ɣɹa̱^{53}**khɹu̱^{53}**	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.34
	ɣɹua̱^{53}**khɹu̱^{53}**	year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.34
Yi (Dafang)	a^{21}ɳ̩i^{21}**khɔ^{13}**	year, last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:66.22
	khɔ^{13}	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.22; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.22
	khɔ^{13}xe^{33}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.22
	na^{55}**khɔ^{13}**	year, next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:67.22
	sʅ^{33}ɳ̩i^{21}**khɔ^{13}**	year before last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:68.22
	tshɯ^{33}ɳ̩i^{21}**khɔ^{13}**	year after next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:69.22
	tshɳ^{21}**khɔ^{13}**	year, this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:65.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{21}hɛ^{55}di^{21}**khu^{55}**	year, last	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	a^{21}mu^{33}ʂu̱^{33}**khu^{55}**	year, this	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khu̱^{33}	age; year	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khu^{55}	year	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khu^{55}po^{21}	New Year, Nuosu	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	khu^{55}ʂʅ̱^{33}	celebrate the new year	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɔ^{21}**khu̱^{33}**	year, previous	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ɳ̩ɛ^{55}ha^{33}dɛ^{33}**khu^{55}**	year, next	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂu^{33}**khu^{55}**	year, this	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**khu̱^{21}**	year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.25
	khu̱^{21}tho^{21}	year / age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.25
	khu̱^{21}ɕi̱^{21}mo^{33}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.25
	ne̱^{55}ne̱^{33}**khu̱^{21}**	year after next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:69.25
	o^{55}ni^{33}**khu̱^{21}**	year, last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:66.25
	tɕi^{33}**khu̱^{21}**	year, this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:65.25
	ɕi^{55}ni^{33}**khu̱^{21}**	year before last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:68.25
	ʌ^{21}dʑe̱^{33}ne̱^{55}**khu̱^{21}**	year, next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:67.25
Yi (Mojiang)	e^{55}**khu̱^{33}**	year, this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:65.26
	khu̱^{21}	year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.26
	khu̱^{21}mu^{21}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.26
	khu̱^{33}	year / age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.26
	ne̱^{33}**khu̱^{21}**	year, next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:67.26
	phe̱^{21}ne̱^{33}**khu^{21}**	year after next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:69.26
	si^{33}ne̱^{33}**khu̱^{21}**	year before last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:68.26
	ʌ^{21}ne̱^{33}**khu̱^{21}**	year, last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:66.26
Yi (Nanhua)	e^{33}**khu̱^{55}**	year, this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:65.24
	i^{55}**khu̱^{55}**	this year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.37
	khu̱^{55}	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.37
	khu̱^{55}	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.37
	khu̱^{55}	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.24; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.24
	khu̱^{55}mu^{33}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.24
	khu̱^{55}ɕi̱^{55}mu^{33}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.37
	khu^{55}ɕi^{55}mo^{55}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**kho^{21}**	year / age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.23
	kho^{21}; thy^{21}	year (age of person, animal)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.23
	ko^{21}xɯ̱^{21}tɕhi^{55}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.23
Yi (Weishan)	**kho̱^{21}**	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.36
	kho̱^{21}	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.36
	kho̱^{21}xɯ̱^{21}tɕhi^{55}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.36
	khu̱^{55}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.36
Yi (Wuding)	**khu̱^{55}**	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.38
	khu̱^{55}ɕi̱^{2}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.38
	khu̱^{55}ɕi̱^{33}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.38
	tʂhɒ^{33}**khu̱^{33}**	this year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.38
	ɑ^{33}ɳ̩i̱^{11}**ku̱^{33}**	last year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.38
	ɑ^{11}ʂe^{33}**ku̱^{55}**	year before last (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.38
	ŋu̱^{2}ne^{33}**khu̱^{55}**	year after next (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.38

Yi (Xide)	a^{21}he^{55}de^{33}**khu^{55}**	year, last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:66.21
	a^{21}m̩(ɭ)^{33}ʂu̱^{33}**khu^{55}**	year, this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:65.21
	khu̱^{33}; **khu^{55}**	year / age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.21
	khu^{55}	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.35
	khu^{55}	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.35
	khu^{55}ʂʅ̄^{33}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.35
	khu^{55}ʂʅ̄^{33}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.35
	khu^{55}ʂʅ̄^{33}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.21
	n̥e^{33}ha^{21}de^{33}**khu^{55}**	year after next (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.35
	n̥e^{33}hɔ^{21}de^{33}**khu^{55}**	year after next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:69.21
	n̥e^{55}hɔ^{33}de^{33}**khu^{55}**	year, next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:67.21
	n̥e^{55}hɑ^{33}de^{33}**khu^{55}**	next year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.35
	ɑ^{21}he^{55}de^{33}**khu^{55}**	last year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.35
	ɑ^{21}m̩^{33}ʂu̱^{33}**khu^{55}**	this year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.35
	ʂo^{33}mo^{33}tshl^{21}**khu^{55}**	year before last (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.35
	ʂo^{33}mo^{33}tshʅ̄^{21}**khu̱^{33}**	year before last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:68.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**khu̱^{2}**	year	CHEN Kang 1986a:86.
	k'u 44s	return / give back / year	Matisoff 1972b:34
Kucong	a31 mi31 **khɔ31**	last year	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	khɔ31	year	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	sʅ55 mi31 **khɔ31**	year before last	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	tɕhi31 n̥i33 **khɔ31**	this year	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	n̥i31 a55 **khɔ31**	next year	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	n̥i31 n̥i33 **khɔ31**	year after next year	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	ni^{53}ni^{33}**qhɔ^{21}**	year after next (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.43
	nɛ^{35}**qhɔ^{21}**	next year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.43
	qhɔ^{21}	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.43
	qhɔ^{21}si^{35}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.43
	qhɔ^{21}tɕɑ^{53}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.43
	si^{11}ni^{33}**qhɔ^{21}**	year before last (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.43
	tɕi^{33}**qhɔ^{21}**	this year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.43
	ɔ^{31}**qhɔ^{21}**	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.43
	ɑ^{33}ni^{33}**qhɔ^{21}**	last year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.43
Lahu (Black)	ni^{53}ni^{33}**qhɔ^{21}**	year after next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:69.33
	nɛ^{35}**qhɔ^{21}**	year, next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:67.33
	né-**qhɔ̀ʔ**	next year	Matisoff 1972b:151
	qhɔ^{21}	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.33; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.33
	qhɔ^{21}nɔ^{35}	later (in time)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:992.33
	qhɔ^{21}ts$_{A}^{53}$	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.33
	qhɔ̀ʔ	return / give back / year	Matisoff 1972b:34
	qhɔ̀ʔ-nɔ́	space behind; future time; after; back	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:155(b)
	qhɔ̀ʔ-nɔ́-qhwèʔ	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	qɔ̄-ɔ́-**qhɔ̀ʔ**-nɔ́	nape	Matisoff 1987
	sʅ^{54}ni^{33}**qhɔ^{21}**	year before last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:68.33
	tsi^{35}**qhɔ^{21}**	year, this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:65.33
	ʌ^{35}ni^{33}**qhɔ^{21}**	year, last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:66.33
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{1}n̥i^{1}ti^{3}**qhɔ^{5}**	year before last	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	a^{4}n̥i^{1}**qhɔ^{5}**	last year	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	k^{h}ɯ^{33} tsɣ^{35} **qu^{33}**	knee	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	nɛ^{4}**qhɔ^{5}**	next year	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	nɛ^{4}n̥i^{1}ti^{3}**qhɔ^{5}**	year after next	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	qhɔ^{5}	year; age	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	qhɔ^{5}tsa^{3}	celebrate New Year	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	tɕhi^{2}**qhɔ^{5}**	this year	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	fu^{33}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of snake	Bradley 1994
	fu^{33}**khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}	one who was born in the year of snake	Bradley 1994
	hɛ̃ʔ^{21}mɤʔ^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of famine	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**hkaw6**	return / give back / year	Matisoff 1972b:34
Lisu (Central)	**hkaw^{6}**	year	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	hæ̃^{35}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of the rat	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{35}**khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}	person born in the year of the rat	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year; age; years (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}vu^{55} thi^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**	first year (the first in a	Bradley 1994
	jɔ^{44}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of goat	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**khu̱^{31}**	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.40
	khu̱^{31}	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.40
	khu̱^{31}ʃi̱^{31}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.40
	khu̱^{31}ʃi̱^{31}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.40
	kho^{41}	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.27; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.27
	kho^{41}ʃʅ^{41}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.27
Lisu (Northern)	**khɔʔ^{21}**	year; age (N, C.)	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21}di^{33}	end of year	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21}dzø^{33}	leap year	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21}kha^{35}	dry year	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21}nu^{21}	year of floods	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21}vu^{21}	leap year	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21}vu^{55}	beginning of year	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21}ʃʅ^{21}	New Year; Spring Festival	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21}ʃʅ^{21}dʑi^{33}	wine for the New Year	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21}ʃʅ^{21}hã^{33}	beginning of year; the twelfth month of the year	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21}ʃʅ^{21}hwa^{21}	meat for the New Year	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21}ʃʅ^{21}si^{35}	firewood for the New Year	Bradley 1994
	khɔʔ^{21} ʃʅ^{21} vu^{55} ph	prepare for the New Year	Bradley 1994
	khɤ^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of dog	Bradley 1994
	khɤ^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}	person born in the year of the rat	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of the tiger	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}	born in the year of the tiger	Bradley 1994
	lu^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of the dragon	Bradley 1994
	lu^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}	born in the year of the dragon	Bradley 1994
	miʔ^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of monkey	Bradley 1994
	miʔ^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}	born in the year of monkey	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of horse	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}	born in the year of horse	Bradley 1994
	mɔʔ^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year's harvest (N.)	Bradley 1994
	mɔʔ^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**kha^{35}	dry; drought	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of ox; two years	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}	person born in the year of the rat	Bradley 1994
	rɔ^{44}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of goat	Bradley 1994
	thɔʔ^{21}la^{33}khɔʔ^{21}	year of rabbit	Bradley 1994
	tshi^{33}ma^{33}**khɔʔ^{21}**	this year; these years (A.)	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of pig	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}	born in the year of pig	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}**khɔʔ^{21}** mɤ^{33}**khɔʔ^{21}**	whole year; from beginning of year to the end	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of rooster	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}**khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}	person born in the year of the rat	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɲi^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of ox	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**su^{33}	person born in the year of the rat	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ɕwa^{55}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of famine; year of disaster; starvation	Bradley 1994
	ɕwa^{55}**khɔʔ^{21}** mɯʔ^{21}**khɔʔ^{21}**	year of famine; year of disaster; starvation	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**kho^{2}**	year	CHEN Kang 1986a:86.
Yi (Sani)	ne^{55}he^{2}ne^{55}n̥^{11}**qhu^{2}**	year after next (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.39
	qhu^{2}	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.39
	qhu^{2}	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.39
	qhu^{2}tshž^{33}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.39
	qhu^{2}ɕi^{2}mɒ^{33}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.39
Sani [Nyi]	**q'u 22s**	return / give back / year	Matisoff 1972b:34
Yi (Sani)	tɕe^{55}**qhu^{2}**	this year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**k'o LS**	return / give back / year	Matisoff 1972b:34
	na-ya-k'o LS-LS-LS ~	next year	Matisoff 1972b:151
	xòq	year	Hansson 1989:517
Akha (Yunnan)	**xòq**	year	Hansson 1989:517
Akha (Thai)	**xòq**	year	Hansson 1989:517
Hani (Dazhai)	je^{31}nɔ^{33}**xu̱^{31}**	year, this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:65.31
	mi^{55}nɔ^{33}**xu̱^{31}**	year, last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:66.31
	ni^{55}ja^{33}**xu̱^{31}**	year, next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:67.31
	sa^{55}phe^{55}**xu̱^{31}**	year after next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:69.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**xuq**	year	Hansson 1989:517
Hani (Dazhai)	xu^{31}nɔ^{33}**xu̱^{31}**	year before last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:68.31
	xu̱^{31}	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.31; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.31
	xu̱^{31}x̱^{33}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.31
Hani (Lüchun)	je^{31}nɔ^{33}**xu̱^{31}**	this year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.41
	mi^{55}nɔ^{33}**xu̱^{31}**	last year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.41
	sa^{55}phe^{31}**xu̱^{31}**	year after next (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.41
	xu^{31}nɔ^{33}**xu̱^{31}**	year before last (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.41
	xu̱^{31}	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.41
	xu̱^{31}	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.41
	xu̱^{31}sʅ̱^{31}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.41
	xu̱^{31}sʅ̱^{31} dza^{31}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.41
	n̥i^{55}ja^{33}**xu̱^{31}**	next year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**khy̱^{31}**	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.30
Hani (Pijo)	**khə**	year	Hansson 1989:517
	thɛ̀ **khə**	year	Hansson 1989:517
Hani (Gelanghe)	dzɯ^{31}nɯ̱^{33}**xo̱^{31}**	this year	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	mi^{55}nɯ̱^{33}**xo^{31}**	last year	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	na^{33}nɯ̱^{33}**xo̱^{31}**	year after next	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	nɛ̱^{31}ja̱^{31}**xo̱^{31}**	next year	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	xo̱^{31}	year; age	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986; LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	xu̱^{31}nɯ̱^{33}**xo̱^{31}**	year before last	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**huvq**	year	Hansson 1989:517
Hani (Shuikui)	mi^{55}na^{33}**xy̱^{31}**	year, last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:66.32
	na^{33}**xy̱^{31}**	year, next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:67.32
	sy̱^{31}mi^{55}na^{33}**xy̱^{31}**	year before last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:68.32
	sɔ^{55}phɛ^{31}**xy̱^{31}**	year after next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:69.32
Haoni	**xy̗^{31}**	year	Hansson 1989:517
Hani (Shuikui)	**xy̱^{31}**	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.32; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.32
	xy̱^{31}ʃʅ̄^{31}tsɔ^{31}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.32
Hani (Khatu)	**kho**	year	Hansson 1989:517
	thə̀ **kho**	year	Hansson 1989:517
Hani (Mojiang)	mi^{55}na^{33}**xy̗^{31}**	last year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.42
	na^{33}**xy̗^{31}**	next year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.42
	sɔ^{55}phɛ^{31}**xy̱^{31}**	year after next (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.42

	tsha^{31}na^{33}**xv̱^{31}**	this year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.42
	xv̩^{31}ʃɤ^{31}tsɔ^{31}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.42
	xv̱^{31}	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.42
	xv̱^{31}	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.42
	xv̱^{31}ʃɤ^{31}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.42
	ʃv̩^{31}mi^{55}na^{33}**xv̱^{31}**	year before last (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.42
Mpi	**kho?^{6}**	year	Hansson 1989:517
	ʔɑ^{2}**kho?^{6}**	year	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**khop33**	year	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:230010
Woni	**xu** 33	return / give back / year	Matisoff 1972b:34
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Hlepho Phowa	**k^{h}o^{33}**sl̩^{21}	new year	Pelkey 2011:58
	k^{h}o^{55}sl̩^{21}mo^{33}	spend the New Year	Pelkey 2011:752
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	hwɤ˩**k^{h}v**˥	year of the rat	Michaud 2006–2009:1640
	k^{h}v˧	year	Michaud 2006–2009:1625
	k^{h}v˩ʂɯ˩	celebrate the New Year (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:1653
	k^{h}ɯ˩**k^{h}v**˥	year of the dog	Michaud 2006–2009:1650
	læ˩**k^{h}v**˥	year of the cock	Michaud 2006–2009:1649
	lɑ˩**k^{h}v**˩	year of the tiger	Michaud 2006–2009:1642
	mu˩gv˩**k^{h}v**˥	year of the dragon	Michaud 2006–2009:1644
	t^{h}u˧lie˩**k^{h}v**˥	year of the rabbit	Michaud 2006–2009:1643
	vi˩**k^{h}v**˥	year of the ox	Michaud 2006–2009:1641
	wɤ˩**k^{h}v**˩	year of the pig	Michaud 2006–2009:1651
	y˩**k^{h}v**˩	year of the goat	Michaud 2006–2009:1647
	zy˩**k^{h}v**˩	year of the monkey	Michaud 2006–2009:1648
	ɖɯ˧ **k^{h}v**˥ ŋ˥ gɤ˩ ɖɯ˧ **k^{h}v**˥	every year	Michaud 2006–2009:1874
	ʅɔ˩**k^{h}v**˥	year of the horse	Michaud 2006–2009:1646
	ʐv˩**k^{h}v**˩	year of the serpent	Michaud 2006–2009:1645
Na (Yongning)	bu˩**k^{h}v**˧	year of the pig	Michaud 2006–2009
	bv˧ʐv˧**k^{h}v**˧	year of the serpent	Michaud 2006–2009
	hwɤ˧**k^{h}v**˥	year of the rat	Michaud 2006–2009
	i˧**k^{h}v**˩	year of the ox	Michaud 2006–2009
	ju˩**k^{h}v**˩	year of the goat	Michaud 2006–2009
	k^{h}v˧**k^{h}v**˩	year of the dog	Michaud 2006–2009
	k^{h}v˧p^{h}æ˧tɕi˩	young	Michaud 2006–2009
	k^{h}v˧ʂɯ˥	celebrate the New Year (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	k^{h}v˧	year; year of age	Michaud 2006–2009
	lɑ˧**k^{h}v**˧	year of the tiger	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˧gv˧**k^{h}v**˩	year of the dragon	Michaud 2006–2009
	tɕ^{h}ɤ˧**k^{h}v**˩ne˩zo˩	every year	Michaud 2006–2009
	t^{h}o˧li˧**k^{h}v**˧	year of the rabbit	Michaud 2006–2009
	æ˩**k^{h}v**˧	year of the cock	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐwæ˧**k^{h}v**˩	year of the horse	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʑi˩**k^{h}v**˧	year of the monkey	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	dɯ^{33}**khv̩^{55}**	classifier for age of animals (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0879.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**khv^{33}**	year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.29
	khv^{33}pha^{33}tɕi^{31}	young man	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:293.29
	khv^{33}pv^{55}	new year's eve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.29
	khv^{31}pha^{33}tɕi^{31}	young	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:858.29
Naxi	**khv̩^{55}**	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.45
	khv̩^{55}	year's (work); classifier for age (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.45; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0914.45
	khv̩^{55}phæ^{33}	age (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0685.45
	khv̩^{55}phæ^{33}tɕi^{55}	young	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1059.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**khv^{55}**	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**khv^{55}**	year / age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**khv^{55}**pha^{33}tɕi^{55}	young	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:858.28

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句 OC ***kḳôk**, *GSR* #1017j 'bend of a river'; B & S 2011: ***k^{ʂ}ok-s { [k] ^{ʂ}(r)ok-s}**; Mand. **gòu**.
曲 OC ***k'i̯uk**, *GSR* #1213a 'bent, crooked, unjust'; B & S 2011: ***k^{h}ok {k^{h}(r)ok}**; Mand. **qū**.
局 OC ***g'i̯uk**, *GSR* #1214a 'compressed, bent, twist'; B & S 2011: ***N-k^{h}ok {N-k^{h}(r)ok}**; Mand. **jú**.
跼 OC ***g'i̯uk**, *GSR* #1214b 'bent, stooped, crouched'; Mand. **jú**, **qù**.

(2) PKC *tik TIME

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tik**	TIME	VanBik 2009:239
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**cik^{3}** in^{2}	when	VanBik 2009:239; VanBik 2009:463
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**tìk** tsŭu	time, occasion	VanBik 2009:239
Lai (Hakha)	**tik**-ʔaʔ	when ("at the time when")	VanBik 2009:239
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**tí**	time	VanBik 2009:239

(3) PTB *tsay TIME / LIFESPAN

1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**shig**	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	pun **si**	life	Abbi & Mishra 1985
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**che** the	breath; life	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**zi** haŋ	life	Bhat 1968
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Byangsi	**tshè**	life; age; fat (n.)	Sharma 2003:1064
Chaudangsi	**chɛ**	fat, grease, life	Krishan 2003:143
Darma	**che**	life	Krishan 2003:123
2.1.2. BODIC			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ts^{h}e**	lifespan; life	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986; SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Motuo Menba	**tshe**	life span (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.07
Cuona Menba	ku^{55}**tsi?^{53}**	life span (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.06
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**tshe**	life span (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.05
Tibetan (Balti)	son **t̲e**·	alive	Rangan 1975:24
	son̲ **t̲e**·	alive	Rangan 1975:56
Tibetan (Batang)	**tshe^{53}**	life span (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tshe^{55}**	life span (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'cheq**	life (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.12
	'cheq ring bu	life, long (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.13
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	mi **zi**	alive / be living	Bishop 1989:1.12
Tibetan (Spiti)	mi **ce**	life	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**tshe**	life span (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.01 [a]
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**she**	alive, become / active (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1396.04
	tshe	life span (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0164.04
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**sɛ^{55}** dʒo^{55} tɛ^{33}	alive; be living	SUN Hongkai 1991d; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:781.18
Namuyi	so^{55}**ʐɛ^{53}**	alive; be living	SUN Hongkai 1991i:1.12; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:781.19
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tsi^{55}**	lifespan	LU Shaozun, ed. 1983
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{35} **zi^{53}**	alive / be living	SUN Hongkai 1991n:1.12
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Xiandao)	**cɛ^{55}**	alive	DAI Qingxia 1989f:1934
	cɛ^{55}	alive, become / active (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1396.29
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	mɔ^{33}**ɕi^{31}**	alive	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:781.34

[a] WT **tshe** is not found in Jäschke 1881/1958, but is abundantly attested in the modern dialects.

(4) PCC *trum TIME / OCCASION

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***trum**	TIME / OCCASION	VanBik 2009:1332
Lai (Hakha)	**trûm**	time, occasion, at the time of	VanBik 2009:1332
Lai (Falam)	**ṭúm**	occasion, at the time of	VanBik 2009:1332
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭŭm**	time, occasion	VanBik 2009:1332

(5) PKC *hun TIME / SEASON

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hun**	TIME / SEASON	VanBik 2009:741
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	a **hūn**	hour (time)	VanBik 2009:741
	hun	time	VanBik 2009:741
Thado	**hûn**	season	VanBik 2009:741
Tiddim	**hun^{1}**	time	VanBik 2009:741; Bhaskararao 1996:510
	ʼhun	time / season (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hun**	time (n.)	Marrison 1967
	hûn	time, season, day (in the sense of time or season), period, time	VanBik 2009:741
	hun	time	Bhaskararao 1996:510

9.1.1 Adverbial uses

(1) PKC *hlaan BEFORE / TIME (ancient)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***hlaan**	BEFORE / TIME (ancient)	VanBik 2009:1103
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	a-**hlan**	before-hand	VanBik 2009:1103
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hlăan**	before, ancient time	VanBik 2009:1103
Lai (Falam)	**hlàan**	before, ancient time	VanBik 2009:1103
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlàan**	time	VanBik 2009:1103
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**hlā**	before	VanBik 2009:1103

(2) NEIA * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{m}\\\textbf{s}\end{matrix}$ -nu LATE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***hnuu** LATE / BEHIND			
**Chin*	***hnuu**	LATE / BEHIND	VanBik 2009:895
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**'nü´**-é	late (be v.)	VanBik 2009:895
Cho (Mindat)	**hngu**	behind others, coming last, to be in the rear (be v.)	VanBik 2009:895
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hnùu**	behind	VanBik 2009:895
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Ao*	***m-nu**	LATE (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.250
Ao (Chungli)	**menu**	late	Marrison 1967
	mə^{2}nu^{2}	late (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.250
	mūnū	late (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**menu**	late	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**mənu**	late (be v.)	Coupe 2007
1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP			
Angami (Khonoma)	**meno** te	late	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**munu** va	late	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. ZEME GROUP			
Maram	na **no**	late	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**naw**	behind	Bhat 1969:85
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**naw**	be the last one	Mortensen 2012

(3) PTk *hwe LATE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***hwe**	late	Mortensen 2012:700
Huishu	kə-**hwi**	late	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.166

Tusom	kə-**xui**	late	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.183

(4) PKC *ray LATE / LONG (time)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ray**	LATE / LONG (time)	VanBik 2009:954
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**gèi**	late	Thirumalai 1972:62
	gèy-INV	late	VanBik 2009:954
	gèi	late	Thirumalai 1972:57
Tiddim	**gei**^{3}	long (time)	VanBik 2009:954; Bhaskararao 1996:329
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**răy**-I, rày-II	late, take long (time) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:954
Lushai [Mizo]	**réi**	a long time, to take a long time (be v.)	VanBik 2009:954
	rei	long time; delay	Bhaskararao 1996:329
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**rēi**	long time (n.)	VanBik 2009:954

(5) PTB * $^{s}_{k}$ -la:y LATE / SLOW

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-la:y**	late / slow	Matisoff 1985a:157
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***klaay** LATE / SLOW			
**Chin*	***klaay**	LATE / SLOW	VanBik 2009:1264
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**thláay**-INV	late, slow (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1264
Lai (Hakha)	**tlàay**-I, tlăay-II	late, slow (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1264
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlai**	late	Marrison 1967
	tlăi	late; slow (as a clock); late, to be slow (as clock) (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:157; VanBik 2009:1264
	tlai	late (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3029
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**tlai**	late	Matisoff 1985a:157
	tlía	late, behind hand (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1264
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	**lɛ**	late (be v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**le**-lo(-nyid)	indolence, laziness, tardiness	Matisoff 1985a:157
	le.lo	laziness	Sun 1985c:387
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔlay**^{1} LATE / SLOW			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔlay**^{1}	late / slow	Matisoff 1985a:157
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**l̥ɔ**^{31}	late	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1019.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:873.41
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***(k)-l(y)ay**^{3}	late	Bradley 1979b:565
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Wuding)	**lɤ̱**^{2}	late	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1019.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	a^{33}**lɐ**^{42}	late	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:873.34
	a^{44}**la**^{42}	late	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1019.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**lɑ**^{42}	late	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	**lɛ**^{33}	late	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1019.43
Lahu (Black)	**lɛ**	late; be the last one (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:157
	lɛ^{33}	late	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:873.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**lɛ**^{1}	late	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**lɯ**^{33}	late	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1019.40
	lɯ^{33}**ʒe**^{33}	late	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:873.27
Lisu (Northern)	**lɤ**^{44}**je**^{33}	late (towards nightfall); late (delayed) (V.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	**lɤ**^{33}	late	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:873.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**lɤ**^{33}	late	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1019.41
Mpi	**lɤ**^{5}	late; late at night	Matisoff 1985a:157; Srinuan Duanghom 1976

Chinese comparandum

豫 OC ***diọ**, *GSR* #83e 'slow, deliberate'; Schuessler 2007:592 ***lah**; B & S 2011: ***laʔ-s** ; Mand. **yù**.
紓 OC ***śi̯o**, *GSR* #83j 'remiss; relax, alleviate, delay'; Schuessler 2007:592 ***lha**~***mla**; B & S 2011: ***l̥a**; Mand. **shū**.
舒 OC ***śi̯o**, *GSR* #83k 'relax; ; leisurely; easy; slowly '; Schuessler 2007:592 ***lha**; B & S 2011: ***l̥a** ; Mand. **shū**.
徐 OC ***dzi̯o**, *GSR* #82p 'walk slowly; slowly, by and by'; Schuessler 2007:592 ***s-la**; B & S 2011: ***sə.la**; Mand. **xú**.

(6) PKC *tuu NOW

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tuu**	NOW	VanBik 2009:213
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**tu**	now, modern	VanBik 2009:213
	tū mā	just now	VanBik 2009:213
Thado	**tûu**	now	VanBik 2009:213
Tiddim	**tu**^{1}	now	VanBik 2009:213
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**tǘ**-á	now	VanBik 2009:213
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔa**-tûu	now	VanBik 2009:213
Lai (Falam)	**ʔa**-túu	now	VanBik 2009:213
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**ʔá**-tú-hmā	now	VanBik 2009:213

(7) PKC *yok QUICKLY

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***yok**	QUICKLY	VanBik 2009:1229
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zok**	quickly, hastily	VanBik 2009:1229
Lushai [Mizo]	**záwk**	quickly, hastily, for a moment, in a moment	VanBik 2009:1229

(8) PKC *p(h)aʔ WHILE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***paʔ** ≍ phaʔ	WHILE	VanBik 2009:168
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**pah**	do some work between other actions	VanBik 2009:168
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**paʔ** (Pv)	do something while doing something else (v.)	VanBik 2009:168
Lai (Falam)	**phàʔ**	do something while doing something else (v.)	VanBik 2009:168
Lushai [Mizo]	**pàh**	at the same time, while about it, on the way	VanBik 2009:168

9.1.2 Months and Years

(1) PNC *phal-bii WINTER

Contra *STC* p. 42 and *HPTB*:405, this Kuki-Chin root, formerly reconstructed as **pral** COLD / DRY SEASON is quite distinct from PKC ***khraal** SUMMER / DRY SEASON (§3.2.1).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pral**	cold / dry season	Matisoff 2003a:405
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
**Northern Chin*	***phal**-bii	WINTER	VanBik 2009:367
Sizang	**pal** bī lai	winter	VanBik 2009:367
Thado	**phàl** bìi	winter	VanBik 2009:367
	phɅ̄l bí	winter	Thirumalai 1972:36
Tiddim	**phal**^{3} bi^{3}	winter	VanBik 2009:367; Bhaskararao 1996:1433
	`phal bi̬:	winter (n.)	Henderson 1965

(2) PTB *s-ni(:)ŋ ≍ *s-nik YEAR

Almost all TB reflexes point to the final velar nasal, except for Burmish, which has the homorganic final stop. Several other roots pattern the same way (e.g., PTB ***si(ŋ/k)** TREE / WOOD / FIREWOOD (§3.1.1), PTB ***s/r-ma(ŋ/k)** DREAM (§1.1.4.2)).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***niŋ**	harvest; year	Chou Fa-kao 1972:364a-c; Benedict 1972:368
	***s-ni(:)ŋ** ≍ s-nik	year	Matisoff 2003a:604
	***s-niŋ**	year	Weidert 1987:317; LaPolla 1987:60
1.1.1. Tani: ***ñiŋ** YEAR			
**Tani*	***ñiŋ**	year	Sun 1993a:480
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**ña**	year	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**ña**-ka mrja-mi	yearly	Sun 1993b
	à-**ñaŋ**	year	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-**ña**	last year	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-**ñaŋ**	last year	Sun 1993b
	ko-**ñaŋ**	year before last	Sun 1993b
	lo-**ñaŋ**-da	year after next	Sun 1993b
	si-**ñaŋ**	this year	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**ña**	this year	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**nã** lɯ-pa	up till now	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**ñáŋ**	this year	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**ñiŋ**	year; age	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ki-**ñiŋ**	year before last	Sun 1993b
	luk-**ñiŋ**	next year	Sun 1993b
	mɯ-**ñiŋ**	last year	Sun 1993b
	ñiŋ	year	Sun 1993b
	ñiŋ-jin	third year after next	Sun 1993b
	ñiŋ-tin	second year after next	Sun 1993b
	ñiŋ-ə:	year after next	Sun 1993b
	si-**ñiŋ**	this year	Sun 1993b
Bokar	ko: **n̥iŋ**	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.24
	ko:-ka-**ñiŋ**	second year before the last	Sun 1993b
	ko:-**ñiŋ**	year before the last	Sun 1993b
	mɯ: **n̥iŋ**	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.24
	mɯ:-**ñiŋ**	last year	Sun 1993b
	ñe:-**ñiŋ**	next year	Sun 1993b
	ñiŋ	year; age; year (of age)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ñiŋ-je	year after the next	Sun 1993b
	ñiŋ-je:	year after the next	Sun 1993b
	ñiŋ-koŋ	second year after the next	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**ñiŋ**	this year	Sun 1993b
	n̥e: **n̥iŋ**	next year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.24
	n̥iŋ	age; year (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0685.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.24
	n̥iŋ	year's (work); classifier for age (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0914.24
	n̥iŋ je:	year after next (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.24
	ɕɯ **n̥iŋ**	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.24
Bokar Lhoba	ko: **n̥iŋ**	year before last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.51
	mɯ: **n̥iŋ**	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.51
	n̥e: **n̥iŋ**	year, next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:67.51
	n̥iŋ	year; age	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:63.51; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:64.51
	n̥iŋ je	year after next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:69.51
	ɕɯ **n̥iŋ**	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.51
Galo	a**ɲi**	year	Das Gupta 1963
	lu-**ɲɯ**	next year	Das Gupta 1963
	mɤ-**ɲɯ**	last year	Das Gupta 1963

	sɯ-**ɲɯ**	this year	Das Gupta 1963
	‘a**ɲii**	year (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	‘di**ɲii**	year (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	‘hi**ɲii**	this year; year (this) (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘kenda**ɲii**	four years ago (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	‘keŋkə**ɲii**	three years ago (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	‘keɲ**ɲii**	two years ago (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	‘luu**ɲii**	next year (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	‘mə**ɲii**	last year; year (last) (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘ɲii-	Classifier for years (clfr.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ɲii gam	happy new year (adv.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ɲii nam	pass (year) (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ɲii ten	three years hence (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	e**ɲi**	year	Simon 1976
	ɤ**ɲɯ**	year	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **nyiang**	year	Das Gupta 1969
	lung-**nyiang** a **nyiang**	next year	Das Gupta 1969
	mo-**ning**	last year	Das Gupta 1969
	ning	year	Das Gupta 1969
	si **ning**	this year	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **niŋ**	year	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**-ñiŋ**	year	Sun 1993a
Damu	kat-ŋo **n̡iŋ**	second year before last	Sun 1993b
	kat-**n̡iŋ**	year before last	Sun 1993b
	ma:-**n̡iŋ**	last year	Sun 1993b
	ruk-**n̡iŋ**	next year	Sun 1993b
	n̡iŋ	year; age	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	n̡iŋ dɯ-bə	every year	Sun 1993b
	ɕø:-**n̡iŋ**	this year	Sun 1993b
	ɦə-ŋo **n̡iŋ**	second year after next	Sun 1993b
	ɦə-**n̡iŋ**	year after next	Sun 1993b
Milang	ba-**naŋ**	last year	Tayeng 1976
	so-**naŋ**	next year	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**ńiŋ**	year	LaPolla 1987:60
	nyiŋ	year	Benedict 1972:368

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	bia:-cha:-**nang**	year before last	NEFA (India) 1963
	bia: **nang**	last year	NEFA (India) 1963
	bɯ^{31}jɑ^{31}**nɯŋ**^{55}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.22
	bɯ^{31}jɑ^{31}**nɯŋ**^{55}	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.49
	ka: **nang**	year	NEFA (India) 1963
	kɯ^{31}**nɯŋ**^{53}ɑ^{31}	young	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:858.49
	kɯ^{31}**nɯŋ**^{55}	year (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.22
	kɯ^{31}**nɯŋ**^{55}	year’s (work); classifier for age (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.22; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0914.22
	kɯ^{31}**nɯŋ**^{55}	year; age	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:63.49; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:64.49
	ta: **nang**	this year	NEFA (India) 1963
	tya: **nang**	this year	NEFA (India) 1963
	tɑ^{31}bɯ^{55}jɑ^{31}xɑ^{31}**nɯŋ**^{55}	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.22
	tɑ^{31}bɯ^{55}jɑ^{31}xɑ^{31}**nɯŋ**^{55}	year before last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.49
	xɑ^{31}**nɯŋ**^{55}	year after next (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.22
	xɑ^{31}**nɯŋ**^{55}	year after next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:69.49
	ɑ^{31}tiɑ^{55}**nɯŋ**^{55}	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.22
	ɑ^{31}tiɑ^{55}**nɯŋ**^{55}	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.49
Idu	bɯ^{55}jɑ^{55}**nu**^{55}	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.50
	e^{55}tiɑ^{55}**nu**^{55}	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.50
	hɑ^{55}**nu**^{55}	year after next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:69.50
	i^{55}**nu**^{55}	year; age	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:63.50; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:64.50
	nu^{55}thɑ^{53}	celebrate new year	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:685.50
	ɑ^{31}haŋ^{35}**nu**^{55}	year before last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.50
Yidu	bɯ^{55}ja^{55}**nu**^{55}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.25
	e^{55}tiɑ^{55}**nu**^{55}	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.25
	hɑ^{55}**nu**^{55}	year after next (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.25
	i^{55}**nu**^{55}	year (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.25
	i^{55}**nu**^{55}	classifier for age (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0914.25
	nu^{55}thɑ^{53}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.25
	ɑ^{31}haŋ^{35}**nu**^{55}	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.25

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *niŋ SKY / YEAR

**Central Naga*	***niŋ**	SKY / YEAR	Bruhn 2014a:III.210
**Ao*	*a-**niŋ**	SKY	Bruhn 2014a:II.247
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**nəŋ**^{1}	sky (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.247
	a **nüng**	sky	Marrison 1967
	^{3}a^{1}**nɯŋ**	year	Weidert 1987:317
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **ning**	sky	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[a]-**niŋ**	sky (n.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	**ning**	sky	Marrison 1967
	^{2}niŋ	year	Weidert 1987:317; Weidert 1987:923
Yacham-Tengsa	a **nung**	sky	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	thü **ning**	sky	Marrison 1967
	^{2}tɯ^{2}niŋ[^{1}]	year	Weidert 1987:317

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**ning** kan	year	Marrison 1967
	niŋ	harvest; year	Chou Fa-kao 1972:364a-c; Benedict 1972:180n476; Benedict 1972:368
	si **nīŋ(?)**	year	Weidert 1987:317

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	ju^{55} (ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33})	year of the mouse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.19
	kui^{31} (ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33})	year of the dog (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.19
	kum^{31}ʒa^{31} (ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33})	year of the horse (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.19
	lă^{33}pu̲^{33} (ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33})	year of the snake (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.19
	lă^{31}**niŋ**^{33}	year’s (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.19
	mă^{3}**niŋ**^{33}	last year	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	mă^{33}**niŋ**^{33}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.19
	mă^{33}**niŋ**^{33}	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.47
	mă^{33}**niŋ**^{33}tin^{31}	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.19
	moi^{31}**niŋ**^{33}	year before last	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.47
	ning	year	Marrison 1967
	niŋ	year	Benedict 1972:368
	niŋ / śə **niŋ**	year	Benedict 1972:79n243
	niŋ~śə **niŋ**	year	LaPolla 1987:60
	niŋ^{33}	year / age	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	niŋ^{33}	year (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.19
	niŋ^{33}	year; age	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:63.47; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:64.47
	pai^{31}nam^{33} (ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33})	year of the ram (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0762.19
	pă^{31}ʒen^{31} (ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33})	year of the dragon (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.19
	phʒa^{31}**niŋ**^{33}	year after next (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.19
	phʒa^{31}**niŋ**^{33}	year after next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:69.47
	phɹa^{31}**niŋ**^{33}	year after next	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	pʒaŋ^{31}tai^{55} (ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33})	year of the rabbit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.19
	sha **ning**	year	Marrison 1967
	tai^{31}**niŋ**^{33}	this year	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tai^{31}**niŋ**^{33}	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.19
	tai^{31}**niŋ**^{33}	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.47
	thă^{3}**niŋ**^{33}	next year	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	thă^{31}**niŋ**^{33}	next year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.19
	thă^{31}**niŋ**^{33}	year, next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:67.47
	u^{31} (ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33})	year of the chicken (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.19
	waʔ^{31} (ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33})	year of the pig (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.19
	woi^{33} (ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33})	year of the monkey (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.19
	^{3}mə^{2}**niŋ**	last year	Weidert 1987:317
	^{1}dai^{2}**niŋ**	this year	Weidert 1987:317
	^{1}šə^{2}**niŋ**	year	Weidert 1987:317
	^{1}thi^{2}**niŋ**	next year	Weidert 1987:317
	ŋa^{33} (ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33})	year of the ox (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.19
	ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33}	year (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.19
	ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33}n^{31}nan^{33}	New Year’s Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.19
	ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33}n^{31}nan^{33} ʃaŋ^{31}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.19
	ʃă^{31}ʒo^{33} (ʃă^{31}**niŋ**^{33})	year of the tiger (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.19
	ʃă^{1}**niŋ**^{33}	year	Liu Lu, ed. 1984

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	sə **niŋ**	year	Huzirawa Keisuke 2008:392

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**niŋ**	year	Benedict 1972:368
	nying	year	Andvik 1993:126
Tsangla (Motuo)	**n̡iŋ**	year; age	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:63.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:64.7
	n̡iŋ^{13}	year; age	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**nying**	year; age	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	uthu **ning**-ga	this year	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	dɑ^{35}**niŋ**^{55}	this year	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	niŋ^{55}	year; age	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986; Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	n̡i^{35}**niŋ**^{55}	year before last; last year	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986; Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**niŋ**^{55}	year; age	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:63.6; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:64.6
	nA^{13}**niŋ**^{55}	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.6
	ti^{13}**niŋ**^{55}	year before last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.6
	tA^{13}**niŋ**^{55}	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.6
Motuo Menba	**n̡iŋ**	year (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.07
	n̡iŋ	year’s (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.07
Cuona Menba	na^{31}**niŋ**^{55}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.06
	niŋ^{55}	year (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.06
	niŋ^{55} (theʔ^{53})	year’s (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.06
	niŋ^{55} ser^{55}ro^{31}	New Year’s Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.06
	ta^{31}**niŋ**^{55}	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.06
	ti^{31}**niŋ**^{55}	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	næ **naŋ**	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.05
	rgə **naŋ**	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.05
	ɣʑə **naŋ**	year after next (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	hʑə **naŋ**	year before last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.4
	na **naŋ**	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	na **naŋ**	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.5
	ɣʑə **naŋ**	year before last; year after next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:69.5
Tibetan (Batang)	na^{13}**n̡ĩ**^{55}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	da^{31}**n̡in**^{55}	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	nə^{13}**n̡ĩ**^{55}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.02
	ta^{13}**n̡ĩ**^{13}	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.2
	tə^{13}**n̡ĩ**^{55}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.02
Tibetan (Written)	gži-**niŋ** ⪤ že-niŋ	two years ago	Benedict 1972:368
	lo-**rnyiŋ**	last year	Benedict 1972:84n251
	lo-**rnyiŋ** ⪤ na-rnyiŋ = na-niŋ	year	Benedict 1972:368
	na **niŋ**	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.01

	na-**niŋ**	year	Benedict 1972:368
	niŋ	year	LaPolla 1987:60
	zla **n̥iŋ**	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	na **naŋ**	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.04
	ʑə naŋ	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.04

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Yamphu	**niŋ**	year (bound morph) (n.)	Rutgers 1998:560.1

3.2. Qiangic

Guiqiong	**n̥i**^{33}ɣi^{53}	year, next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:67.17
	n̥ĩ^{31}ɣi^{55}	next year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.16
Namuyi	ji^{55}**n̥i**^{55}	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.19
	no^{55}**n̥i**^{33}	year after next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:69.19
	qo^{33}**n̥i**^{55}pi^{35}	celebrate new year	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:685.19
	so^{55}**n̥i**^{33}	year, next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:67.19
	ʂʅ^{33}**n̥i**^{55}khu^{55}	year before last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.19
	ji^{33}**n̥i**^{31}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.46
	nu^{53}**n̥i**^{31}	year after next (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.46
	quo^{33}**n̥i**^{55}ʂʅ^{55}tsæ^{31}	New Year's Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.46
	quo^{31}**n̥i**^{55}bi^{35}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.46
	suo^{53}**n̥i**^{31}	next year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.46
	ʂʅ^{55}**n̥i**^{55}khu^{55}ə$^{\downarrow 55}$	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.46
Zhaba (Daofu County)	so^{55}**ne**^{55}	next year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.14
	tshe^{33}**ne**^{33}	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.14

4. Nungic

Nung	(thi^{55}) **n̥ɯŋ**^{55}	year's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.21
Rawang	dɛ^{31} **nɯŋ**^{53}	this year	LaPolla 2003:823
Nung	dɛ^{31}**n̥i**^{55}uɑ^{55}	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.21
Anong	dɛ^{31}**n̥i**^{55}uɑ^{55}	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.44
	me^{55}**n̥ɯŋ**^{31}uɑ^{55}	year after next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:69.44
Nung	mɛ^{55}**n̥ɯŋ**^{31}uɑ^{55}	year after next (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.21
Rawang	nap **nɯŋ**^{53}	next year	LaPolla 2003:826
Anong	**niŋ**	year	Benedict 1972:368
Rawang	sə **nɯŋ**^{53}	last year	LaPolla 2003:824
Nung	thɑ^{31}thɯ^{55}**n̥ɯŋ**^{55}	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.21
Anong	thɑ^{31}thɯ^{55}**n̥ɯŋ**^{55}	year before last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.44
Rawang	əzaŋ^{31} **nɯŋ**^{53}	year before last	LaPolla 2003:825
Nung	**n̥ɯŋ**^{31}	year (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.21
Anong	**n̥ɯŋ**^{31}	year	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:63.44
	ɑ^{31}**n̥ɯŋ**^{55}	year / age	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:64.44
Rawang	ɑŋ^{31} **nɯŋ**^{53}	year	LaPolla 2003:822
Dulong	dɔi^{31}**niŋ**^{55}	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.20
	mɯ^{31}**niŋ**^{55}	next year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.20
	mɯ^{31}**niŋ**^{55}ŋɑ^{55}**niŋ**^{55}	year after next (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.20
Trung [Dulong]	mǎn^{55}**niŋ**^{55}**niŋ**^{53}	year after next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:69.46
	mǎn^{55}**niŋ**^{55}wɑŋ^{53}	year, next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:67.46
Dulong	**niŋ**^{55}	year (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.20
	niŋ^{55}	year's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.20
	niŋ^{55}ɕɛɹ^{55}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.20
	niŋ^{55}ɕɑɹ^{55}	New Year's Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.20
Trung [Dulong]	tǎn^{55}**niŋ**^{55}wɑŋ^{53}	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.46
	tɕi^{55}**niŋ**^{55}wɑ^{53}	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.46
Dulong	tɕɯ^{31}**niŋ**^{55}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.20
	tɕɯ^{31}**niŋ**^{55}ŋɑ^{55}**niŋ**^{55}	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑŋ^{31}**niŋ**^{55}	year; age	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:63.46; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:64.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	aŋ^{31} **niŋ**^{55}	year	LaPolla 1987:60
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	aŋ^{31} **ńɯŋ**^{55}	year	LaPolla 1987:60
	mɑ^{31}**n̥ɯŋ**^{55}	year after next	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	nɑm^{31}**n̥ɯŋ**^{55}	next year	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	tǎn^{55}**n̥ɯŋ**^{55}	this year	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	tɕhi^{31}**n̥ɯŋ**^{55}**n̥ɯŋ**^{55}	year before last	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɑŋ^{31}**n̥ɯŋ**^{55}	year; age	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**ahnats**	year	Benedict 1972:368
	hnac	year	Benedict 1976a
	hnas	year / age	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:64.39
	hnas thɑs ku^{3}	celebrate new year	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:685.39
	hnas^{4}	year (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.26
	hnas^{4}	year's (work) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.26
	hnas^{4}tθɑs^{4}	New Year's Day (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.26
	hnas^{4}tθɑs^{4}ku^{3}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.26
	hre^{1}**hnas**^{4}	next year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.26
	hre^{1} **hnas**	year, next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:67.39
	jɑ^{1}khu^{1}**hnas**^{4}	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.26
	jɑ^{1} khu^{1} **hnas**	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.39
	jɑ^{1} mɑn^{2} **hnas**	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.39
	khu^{1} **hnas**	year	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:63.39
	mɑ^{1}**hnas**^{4}kɑ^{1}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.26
	tɑ^{1}hnas^{4}kɑ^{1}	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.26
	tɑ^{1} mrɑn^{2} **hnas**	year before last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.39
	ə-**hnac**	year	Benedict 1976a
	ə **hnats**	year	Weidert 1987:317
Atsi [Zaiwa]	a^{55}**n̥i̱k**^{55}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.30
	a^{55}**n̥i̱k**^{55}	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.42
	nuʔ^{21}**n̥i̱k**^{55}	year after next (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.30
	nuʔ^{21}**n̥i̱k**^{55}	year after next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:69.42
	saŋ^{51}**n̥i̱k**^{55}	next year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.30
	saŋ^{51}**n̥i̱k**^{55}	year, next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:67.42

6.1.2. Loloish: *s-nik^{H} YEAR

**Loloish*	***s-nik**^{H}*	year	Weidert 1987:317; Bradley 1979b:477A

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Central)	e^{31}**n̥i̱**^{53}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	ie^{31}**n̥i̱**^{53}	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.45
Nusu (Northern)	kɯ^{31}**n̥i̱**^{55}	year before last	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	n̥i̱^{55}	year	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	sa^{31}**n̥i̱**^{53}khu^{53}	next year	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	shɔ^{31}**n̥i̱**^{55}	next year	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	shɔ^{31}phɑ^{55}**n̥i̱**^{55}	year after next	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	shɑ̃^{55}**n̥i̱**^{53}	year, next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:67.45
	shɑ̃^{55}phɑ^{53}**n̥i̱**^{53}	year after next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:69.45
Nusu (Central)	su^{55}pha̱^{53}**n̥i̱**^{53}	year after next (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.34
	sɯ^{55}**n̥i̱**^{53}	next year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.34
	xɹe^{33}**n̥i̱**^{53}	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	xɹe^{31}**n̥i̱**^{53}	year before last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.45
Nusu (Southern)	xɹi^{31}**n̥i̱**^{53}	year before last	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	ɕi^{55}**n̥i̱**^{53}	this year	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɕi^{55}**n̥i̱**^{53}	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.45
Nusu (Central)	ʂi^{33}**n̥i̱**^{53}	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.34
Nusu (Northern)	ʂʅ^{31}**n̥i**^{55}	this year	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	ʔi^{31}**n̥i̱**^{53}	last year	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	ʔi^{31}**n̥i̱**^{55}	last year	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Nanhua)	ɑ^{21}**n̥i**^{33}le̱^{55}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.37
	ʂi^{33}**n̥i**^{33}te^{55}	year before last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.24
	ʂʅ^{33}**n̥i**^{33}le̱^{55}	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.37
	ʌ^{21}**n̥i**^{33}te^{55}	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.24
Yi (Nanjian)	a^{21}**ni̱**^{33}	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.23
	nu^{55}**ni̱**^{33}	year after next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:69.23
	tshʅ^{33}**ni̱**^{33}	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.23
	ʂʅ^{33}**ni̱**^{33}	year before last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.23
Yi (Weishan)	nu^{55}**nɪ̱**^{33}	year after next (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.36
	tʂhʅ^{21}**nɪ̱**^{33}	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.36
	ɑ^{21}**nɪ̱**^{33}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.36
	ʂʅ^{33}**nɪ̱**^{33}	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.36

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lisu (Central)	**ni**^{2}	year	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**næ**^{33}ni^{35}	year after next (A.)	Bradley 1994
	næ^{55}hæ̃^{21}	next year (A.)	Bradley 1994
	næ^{55}hæ̃^{21} mɤ^{33}ni^{35}	next year; future	Bradley 1994
	næ^{55}hæ̃^{21} **næ**^{33}ni^{35}	future; next year and the year after	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**nɛ̱**^{33}ni^{35}	year after next (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.40
	nɛ^{55}hɛ^{31}	year, next	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:67.27
	nɛ^{55}hɛ̃^{31}	next year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.40
Lisu (Northern)	tshi^{33}ma^{33}**ni**^{35}	this year; these years (poetic) (A.)	Bradley 1994
	tshi^{33}**ni**^{35}	this year (A.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	tshi̱^{33}**ni**^{35}	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.40
	tshʅ^{55}**ni**^{35}	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.27
	ʃi̱^{33}**ni**^{35}	year before last (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.40
Lisu (Northern)	ʃʅ^{33}**ni**^{35}	year before last (A.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ʃʅ^{44}**ni**^{35}	year before last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:68.27
	ɑ^{31}**ni**^{35}	last year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0779.40
	ɑ^{31}**ni**^{35}	year, last	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:66.27

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Pyen	mi45 **nɯ45**	this year	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:230012
	so33 **nɯ45**	next year	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:230013
Sila	a21 **nɯ̱33**	year	Kato Takashi 2008:272
	i̱21 **nɯ̱33**	last year	Kato Takashi 2008:274
	tshɯ̱21 **nɯ̱33**	this year	Kato Takashi 2008:273

7. Karenic: *hneŋ YEAR, *hneŋ^{B} YEAR

**Karen*	***hneŋ***	harvest; year	Chou Fa-kao 1972:364a-c; Benedict 1972:136n369
	***hneŋ**^{B}*	year	Luangthongkum 2013:338
**Karen (Pwo)*	***nĕnq***	year	Jones 1961:60
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***néq***	year	Jones 1961:60
**Karen*	***néŋq***	year	Jones 1961:60
**Karen (TP)*	***néŋq***	year	Jones 1961:60
**Karen [Burling]*	***nin**^{2}*	year	Luangthongkum 2013:338
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***níʔ***	year	Jones 1961:60
Bwe	**ɗe**^{33}	year	Luangthongkum 2013:338
Karen	**hneŋ**	year	LaPolla 1987:60
	ni̱^{31}	year (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.50
Kayah	**na**^{11}	year	Luangthongkum 2013:338
Kayan	**ne**^{11}	year	Luangthongkum 2013:338
Kayan (Pekon)	**nê**	year (CLFm.)	Manson 2010
	nê	year (N.)	Manson 2010
	nên	year (CLFm.)	Manson 2010
	nên	year (TEMP.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**de**^{11}	year	Luangthongkum 2013:338
Pa-O	**néŋ**	year	Solnit 1989; Jones 1961:60
	neŋ	year	Benedict 1972:142n384
Pa-O (Southern)	**neŋ**^{33}	year	Luangthongkum 2013:338
Pa-O (Northern)	**neŋ**^{55}	year	Luangthongkum 2013:338
Palaychi	**náq**	year	Jones 1961:60
Pwo (Northern)	**nãi**^{33}	year	Luangthongkum 2013:338
Pwo (Southern)	**nɛ̃i**^{55}	year	Luangthongkum 2013:338
Pwo (Bassein)	**nèn**	year	Jones 1961:60
Pwo (Moulmein)	**nĕnʔ**	year	Jones 1961:60
Sgaw	**ni**	harvest / year	Chou Fa-kao 1972:364a-c
Karen (Sgaw)	**ni**	year	Benedict 1972:180n476
Sgaw (Northern)	**ni**$^{31\sim}$	year	Luangthongkum 2013:338
Sgaw (Southern)	**ni**^{45,}	year	Luangthongkum 2013:338
Sgaw (Bassein)	**nì**	year	Jones 1961:60
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**níʔ**	year	Jones 1961:60

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	年	harvest; year	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2019; Nagano & Prins 2013:1846
	年纪	age	Nagano & Prins 2013:1849

	年轻	young	Nagano & Prins 2013:0731
	年轻人	young man, youth	Nagano & Prins 2013:0723

Chinese comparandum

年 OC ***nien**, *GSR* #364a-c 'year'; B & S 2011: ***C.nˤiŋ {C.nˤi [ŋ] }**; Mand. **nián**.

(3) PBod *lo YEAR

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**lo**	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.05
	lo rtɕik	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.05
	lo sar	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.05
	lo sar je	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.05
	tæ **lo**	this year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**lo**	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.4; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.4
	lo sar je	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.4
	ta **lo**	year, this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:65.4
	ɕər **lo**	year after next	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:69.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**lo**	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.5; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.5
	lo sa jel	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.5
	lo s^{h}ær	new year	Sun 1985a:639
Tibetan (Batang)	a^{13}**lʊ**^{53}	this year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.03
	dʑe^{55}ȵi^{55}**lʊ**^{231}	year before last (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.03
	lʊ^{231}	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.03
	lʊ^{231} (tɕiʔ^{53})	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.03
	lʊ^{13}sɑ^{55}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.03
	lʊ^{13}sɑ^{55}tõ^{55}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**lo**^{13}	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.3
	lo^{13}shɑ^{55}ɕeʔ^{31}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.3
	ta^{13}**lo**^{53}	year, this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:65.3
	ʑe^{31}ȵin^{55}**lo**^{53}	year before last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:68.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**lo**^{13}	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.02
	lo^{13}	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.2; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.2
	lo^{13} (tɕi^{52})	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.02
	lø^{13}sa:^{55}	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.02
	lø^{13}sa:^{55} taŋ^{55}	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.02
	lø^{15}sa^{55}-taŋ^{55}	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.2
	naŋ^{55}**lo**^{55}	year after next (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.02
	saŋ^{55}**lo**^{55}	next year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.02
	tha^{13}**lo**^{13}	year, this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:65.2
	tha^{13}**lo**^{55}	this year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.02
	ɕe^{13}ȵi^{55} **lo**^{13}	year before last (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.02
	ɕiʔ^{13}ȵĩ^{13}**lo**^{13}	year before last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:68.2
Tibetan (Spiti)	**lɔ́**	year	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	da **lo**	this year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.01
	da **lo**	year, this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:65.1
	gnaŋs **lo**	year after next (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0782.01
	gʑes niŋ **lo**	year before last (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0780.01
	gʑes niŋ **lo**	year before last	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:68.1
	lo	year	Marrison 1967
	lo	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.01
	lo	year; age	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:63.1; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:64.1
	lo (gtɕig)	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.01
	lo gsar	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.01
	lo gsar gtoŋ	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.01
	lo gsar gtoŋ	celebrate new year	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:685.1
	lo-rnyiŋ	last year	Benedict 1972:84n251
	lo-rnyiŋ ⋉ na-rnyiŋ = na-niŋ	year	Benedict 1972:368
	lo.gsar	new year	Sun 1985c:639
	saŋ **lo**	next year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**lo**	year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.04
	lo	year's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.04
	lo shar	New Year's Day (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0795.04
	lo sher jə	celebrate (the New Year) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1362.04
	shaŋ **lo**	next year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0781.04

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**lʉ**^{35}	age; year (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0685.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0777.16
	lʉ^{35} ta^{55}ŋɔ̃^{55}	year's (work); classifier for age (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0913.16; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0914.16
Lyuzu	læ^{53} (**lʉ**^{53})	year of the tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.18
	mi^{33} (**lʉ**^{53})	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.18
	mi^{33}tsɿ^{53}**lʉ**^{53}	year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.18
	nboɹ^{33} (**lʉ**^{53})	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.18
	nbu^{33}**lʉ**^{53}	year of the dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.18
	ŋu^{53} (**lʉ**^{53})	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.18
	ɣuo^{33} (**lʉ**^{53})	year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.18
	ɣu^{35} (**lʉ**^{53})	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.18
	ȵʉ^{33} (**lʉ**^{53})	year of the ram (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0762.18
Zhaba (Daofu County)	bdʐʅ^{33}**lu**^{55}	year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.14
	cçhi^{33}**lu**^{55}	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.14
	gu^{55}**lu**^{33}	year of the ram (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0762.14
	ju^{33}bdʐə^{55}**lu**^{33}	year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.14
	mdʐʌ^{13}**lu**^{55}	year of the dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.14
	pha^{33}**lu**^{55}	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.14
	ptsie^{13}**lu**^{33}	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.14
	zo^{33}ty^{55}**lu**^{33}	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.14
	ɕu^{55}pu^{55}**lu**^{33}	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.14
	ʂta^{33} **lu**^{33}	year of the tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.14
	ʂta^{33}**lu**^{55}	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.14
	ʐa^{33}pha^{55}**lu**^{33}	year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	bji va **(lu)**	year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.12
	cçhə **(lu)**	year of the dog (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0765.12
	fsi **(lu)**	year of the monkey (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0763.12
	fɕa **(lu)**	year of the chicken (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0764.12
	jə zvə **(lu)**	year of the rabbit (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0758.12
	lu	age (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0685.12
	lu (a kvo)	classifier for age (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0914.12
	mdʐu **(lu)**	year of the dragon (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0759.12
	phɑ **lu**	year of the pig (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0766.12
	stɑ **(lu)**	year of the tiger (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0757.12
	vdʐi **(lu)**	year of the snake (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0760.12
	ʁloŋ **(lu)**	year of the ox (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0756.12
	ʂta **(lu)**	year of the horse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0761.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	ko pa, **lo**	year	Nagano 1997:114

(4) PTB *kum YEAR / SEASON

This root seems to be confined to the NE Indian areal group.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kum** AGE / YEAR

**Chin*	***kum**	AGE / YEAR	VanBik 2009:249

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**kum**	age	VanBik 2009:249
Sizang	**kum**	age	VanBik 2009:249
Thado	**kùm**	year	VanBik 2009:249
Tiddim	**kum**^{3}	year; age; year, age	VanBik 2009:249; Bhaskararao 1996:693
	`kum	year (n.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**kun**	year	VanBik 2009:249
Chinbon	k^{h}o.**kum**	year	So-Hartmann 1988:12
Cho (Mindat)	**kum**	age, year	VanBik 2009:249
Daai	k^{h}ɔ **kum**	year	So-Hartmann 1988:12
Matu	k^{h}o **kum**	year	So-Hartmann 1988:12
Mkaang	k^{h}ɔ **kum**	year	So-Hartmann 1988:12
Ngmüün	k^{h}o **kum**	year	So-Hartmann 1988:12
Nyhmoye	k^{h}ɔ.**kum**	year	So-Hartmann 1988:12

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**kǔm**	age, year	VanBik 2009:249
Lai (Falam)	**kùm**	age, year	VanBik 2009:249
Lushai [Mizo]	**kum**	year	Marrison 1967
	kùm	year	VanBik 2009:249
	kum	year	Bhaskararao 1996:693

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**kō**	year	VanBik 2009:249

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	**kum**	year	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-kam** YEAR / SEASON

**Central Naga*	*a-**kam**	YEAR / SEASON	Bruhn 2014a:III.129
**Ao*	*(a-)**kəm**	YEAR	Bruhn 2014a:II.069
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}-ɹi^{3}si^{1} **kəm**^{1}	age (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ja^{2}**kəm**^{2}	last year (adv.)	Bruhn 2014b
	küm	year	Marrison 1967
	kəm^{1}	year (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.069
	ta^{2}**kəm**^{3}**kəm**^{1}	this year (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tsüng **kem**	winter	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**kɯm**	year	Weidert 1987:485
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **kam**	year	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	saŋ **kəm**	next year (?be.light + year)	Coupe 2007:122
	tha **kəm**	this year (now + year)	Coupe 2007:122
	tsə̀ŋ **kəm**	cool season	Coupe 2007
	zà **kəm**	last year (? + year)	Coupe 2007:122
	[a]-**kəm**	year	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**kəm**^{3}	season (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.129
	^{1}o^{3}**gɯm**	summer	Weidert 1987:485
Sangtam	**kang**	year	Marrison 1967
	tsing **kang**	winter	Marrison 1967
	^{2}**gaŋ**	year	Weidert 1987:485
Yimchungrü	**kam**	year	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**gam**	year	Weidert 1987:485

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	a **kum**	year	Marrison 1967
	tong **kum**	year	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	ta **kum**	year	Marrison 1967
Maram	ting **kum**	year	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ting **kum**	year	Marrison 1967
Zeme	pating **kum**	year	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***kum** YEAR			
**Tangkhulic*	***kum**	year	Mortensen 2012:457
Huishu	tsɐŋ-**kɐm**	year	Mortensen 2012:Nature.019
Kachai	ðɐŋ-**kum**	year	Mortensen 2012:Nature.019
Tangkhul	**kum**	year	Bhat 1969:100; Marrison 1967
	zing **kum**	year	Marrison 1967
Tusom	zaŋ-**kũ**	year	Mortensen 2012:Nature.019
Ukhrul	tsiŋ-**kum**	year	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**kum**	year	Abbi & Mishra 1985

9.1.3 Days

(1) PTani *lo DAY

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***lo**	day	Sun 1993a:97
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	a-**lo**	day	Sun 1993a
	à-**lo**	daytime (8 am-4 pm); day	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**lo**	day	Sun 1993b
	à-**lo** á-piŋ	lunch	Sun 1993b
	à-**lo** á-piŋ dɯ-du	lunch time	Sun 1993b
	a-**lo** ka mrjã	daily	Sun 1993b
	à-**lo** kar-mja-mi	daily	Sun 1993b
	à-**lo** lɯ-pa	noon	Sun 1993b
	a-**lo** lɯ-pa	midday	Sun 1993b
	a-**lo**-ka-mrjã	always	Sun 1993b
	bi-**lo**	before; yesterday	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	bi-**lo**-da	in future	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-ljo ko-**lo**	day before yesterday	Sun 1993b
	da-ñi **lo** ljã	morning (to 9am)	Sun 1993b
	dà-ñi **lo**-ljaŋ	mid-day (11am-1pm)	Sun 1993b
	ko-ljũ ko-**lo** ho-kɯ	long ago	Sun 1993b
	kó-**ló**	day before yesterday	Sun 1993b
	lo-bjaŋ	full day	Sun 1993b
	ló-du	short day (in winter)	Sun 1993b
	lo-ljã lɯ-pa	noon, midday	Sun 1993b
	lo-ljaŋ par-da	noon	Sun 1993b
	lo-po	half a day	Sun 1993b
	ló-so	long day (in summer)	Sun 1993b
	si-**lo**	today	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**lo**	today	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**lu:**	day; day (vs. night)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**lu:** lɯ-pa: dɯ-gam	lunch	Sun 1993b
	kju-**lu:**	day before yesterday	Sun 1993b
	lu:	day	Sun 1993b
	rɯ: **(lu:)**	day after tomorrow	Sun 1993b
	rɯ:-rjɯ (a-**lu:**)	second day after tomorrow	Sun 1993b
	su-**lu:**	today	Sun 1993b
	su-**lu:** lu-kɯ	from now on	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **lo:**	day (time) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0748.24
	a-**lo:**	day(time)	Sun 1993b
	ken **lo:**	day before yesterday (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0740.24
	ken-ka-**lo:**	second day before yesterday	Sun 1993b
	ken-**lo:**	day before yesterday	Sun 1993b
	lo:	day; day (24 hours)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lo:	date (time) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0768.24
	lo:	day's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0910.24
	lo: ako lam tə	day's (journey) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.24
	lo: dak	every day (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0925.24
	lo: je:	three days from now (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0744.24
	lo:-bum	whole day, all day long	Sun 1993b
	lo:-dak	every day	Sun 1993b
	lo:-e:	second day after tomorrow	Sun 1993b
	so-**lo:**	today; tonight	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɕo **lo:**	today (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0738.24
Bokar Lhoba	a **lo:**	day(time)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:102.51
	ken **lo:**	day before yesterday	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:91.51
	lo:	day (24 hours)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.51
	ɕo **lo:**	today	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:89.51
Galo	a **lo**	day	Das Gupta 1963
	a **lo** dɯkɯ-bɤ	always	Das Gupta 1963
	a **lo** kanɤ	week	Das Gupta 1963
	a **lo**-ne a ro	tomorrow morning	Das Gupta 1963
	a **lo**-nɤ	tomorrow	Das Gupta 1963
	a **loo**	day (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	a **loo**-'**loo** poo	noon (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	ken-kɤ-**lo**	before, day before yesterday	Das Gupta 1963
	ken-**lo**	day before yesterday	Das Gupta 1963
	keŋkur-a **loo**	five days ago (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	keŋjur-a **loo**	six days ago (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	loo	Classifier for days (clfr.)	GLDC 2009
	mɤr-ken-**lo**	indefinite number of days past	Das Gupta 1963
	mɤ **lo**	yesterday	Das Gupta 1963
	mɤ **lo**-ken lu	indefinite number of days past	Das Gupta 1963
	sɯ-**lo**	today	Das Gupta 1963
	'hi **loo**	today (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	'hi **loo**-'məroo	nowadays; recently (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'ken da **loo**	four days ago (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	'ken **loo**	day before yesterday; two days ago (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'keŋ kə **loo**	three days ago (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	'loo dak	every day (adv.)	GLDC 2009
	'loo gaa	lunch; noon (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'loo poo	midday (nce.)	GLDC 2009
	'məroo-'ken **loo**	before; long ago; way back when (adv.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	ken-**lo**	day after tomorrow	Simon 1976
	lo	numerical definitive [day]	Simon 1976
	moro-ken-**lo**	day before yesterday	Simon 1976
	si **lo**	today	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **lo**	day	Das Gupta 1969
	ké-**lo**	day before yesterday	Das Gupta 1969
	su **lu**	today	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **lu**	day	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	si-**lo** 'today'	day	Sun 1993a

(2) PTk *sun DAY

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***sun**	day	Mortensen 2012:757
Champhung	ŋa-**sin**-luŋ	day	Brown 1837
Tankghul (Central)	ma-**suŋ**	day	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	ŋa-**sun**	day	Brown 1837
Tusom	na-**sxuŋ**	day	Mortensen 2012:Nature.011
Ukhrul	kə-ŋə-**ʃun**	be midday	Mortensen 2012

(3) PTB *s-r(y)ak DAY / FULL DAY / SPEND THE NIGHT

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***riak/rjiak**	night	Coblin 1986:112
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ryak**	day (24 hours)	Benedict 1972:203
	***s-r(y)ak**	a full day / spend the night	Matisoff 2003a:611
	***s-ryɑk**	day (24 hours)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1029a-b
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***riak-I**, ***ria?-II** OVERNIGHT / SPEND THE NIGHT			
**Chin*	***riak**-I, ria?-II	OVERNIGHT / SPEND THE NIGHT	VanBik 2009:958
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**gîe?**-I, gìe-II	spend the night	VanBik 2009:958
Tiddim	**giak**^{1} > gia?^{3}	stay overnight in somebody's house (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:341
	giak^{1} > gia?^{3}	stay overnight in somebody's house	VanBik 2009:958
	giak^{1}/gia?^{3}	stay overnight ...	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**riak**-I, ria?-II	overnight, spend the night (v.)	VanBik 2009:958
Lai (Falam)	**rîak**-I, rìa?-II	overnight, spend the night (v.)	VanBik 2009:958
Lushai [Mizo]	**riak**	pass the night	Benedict 1972:171n457; Benedict 1972:203
	rîak-I, rìah-II	stay the night, to put up for the night, to encamp for the night (v.)	VanBik 2009:958
	riɑk	pass the night	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1029a-b
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**rí**	encamp for the night (v.)	VanBik 2009:958
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**ja?^{55}**	day (24 hours)	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:88.47
	khun^{33}**ja?^{55}**	day, twentieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:100.47
	pʒo̱?^{55}lă^{55}khoŋ^{51}**ja?^{55}**	day (second of lunar month) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0770.19
	pʒo̱?^{55}lă^{55}ŋai^{51}**ja?^{55}**	day, first of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:94.47
	pʒo̱?^{55}mă^{31}sum^{33}**ja?^{55}**	day, third of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:95.47
	pʒo̱?^{55}mă^{31}ŋa^{33}**ja?^{55}**	day, fifth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:96.47
	pʒo̱^{55}lă^{55}ŋai^{51}**ja?^{55}**	day (first of lunar month) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0769.19
	pɹo̱?^{55}ʃi^{33}ja?^{55}	tenth day of the month	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	pɹo̱?^{55}ʃi^{33}lă^{5}ŋai^{31}**ja?^{55}**	eleventh day of the month	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	sum^{31}ʃi^{33}**ja?^{55}**	thirtieth day of the month; day, thirtieth of month	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:101.47
	ya	day (24 hours)	Benedict 1972:203
	yá?	day (24 hours)	Matisoff 1974:369
	ʃi^{33}kʒu̱?^{55}**ja?^{55}**	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.47
	ʃi^{33}lă^{55}ŋai^{51}**ja?^{55}**	day, eleventh of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:97.47
	ʃi^{33}mă^{31}ŋa^{33}**ja?^{55}**	day, fifteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:98.47
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Pattani [Manchati]	**hrag**	night	Benedict 1972:48n154
	hrag ≍ rag	day (24 hours)	Benedict 1972:203
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Lahuli	**gyag**	day (24 hours)	Benedict 1972:203
Tibetan (Written)	**žag**	day (24 hours)	Benedict 1972:203
	źag	night	Benedict 1972:48n154
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	a **yak**	day (24 hours)	Benedict 1972:203
3.2. QIANGIC			
Namuyi	**xĩ^{33}**qho^{33}	night	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:105.19
	ʔhĩ^{31}qhuo^{31}	night, at / evening, in the (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0752.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	sɛ^{55}mbi^{55}**ɕye^{11}**	tomorrow night / evening (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0746.10
	ʑa^{11}mõ^{55}**ɕye^{11}**	yesterday evening / last night (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0747.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʃyɛ^{13}**	night's (work) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0911.09
	ʃyɛ^{55}tʂhu^{55}	night, at (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0753.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʃyɛ^{55}**tʂhu^{55}	night	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:105.11

Pumi (Taoba)	**ɕyɛ^{55}**	night	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:105.10
Qiang (Mawo)	a **ʂa**	night	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:105.8
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ʂi^{55}**qho^{53}	night	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:105.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	jɪ^{33}**ʃi^{55}**	yesterday evening / last night (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0747.14
	so^{33}**ʃi^{55}**	tomorrow night / evening (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0746.14
	ʃi^{55}	night, at; evening, in the (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0752.14; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0753.14
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔrak**	night / spend the night	Matisoff 1972b:174
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**rak**	day of 24 hours; day (24 hours); day	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:203; Benedict 1972:54n182
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**hìq**	spend night;perch	Björverud 1994
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	**há**	night; night, pass the night	Benedict 1972:108n304; Benedict 1972:171n457; Benedict 1972:48n154
	hù	night / pass the night	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1029a-b
Lahu (Black)	**há**	night; spend the night	Matisoff 1974:369; Matisoff 1972b:174
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	宿	spend the night	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2664
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**sḭôk/sḭuk**	lodge the night / pass a night	Karlgren 1957:1029a-b
	srḭôk/sḭuk	pass the night	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1029a-b
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**sjuwk**	spend the night	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2664
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**sù**	spend the night	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2664

Chinese comparandum

夕 OC ***dzḭ̆k**, *GSR* #796a-d 'night'; Coblin 86:112-3 ST ***rjiak** > OC ***rjiak**; Schuessler 2007:522 ***s-jak**; B & S 2011: ***s-N-rak {s-N-rAk}**; Mand. **xī**.
昔 OC ***sḭ̆k**, *GSR* #798a-e 'long ago'; Schuessler 2007:523 ***sak** or ***sjak**; B & S 2011: ***sak {[s] Ak}**; Mand. **xī**.

(4) PKar *rɔ^{A} TOMORROW

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	*~**rɔ^{A}**	tomorrow	Luangthongkum 2013:306
Kayah	pa^{55}**ro^{11}**	tomorrow	Luangthongkum 2013:306
Kayaw	mə^{11}**ro^{33}**	tomorrow	Luangthongkum 2013:306
Pa-O (Northern)	mɨ^{53}**rau^{33}**	tomorrow	Luangthongkum 2013:306
Pa-O (Southern)	mɨ^{55}**rau^{53}**	tomorrow	Luangthongkum 2013:306
Pwo (Northern)	khɛ^{11}**ɣɔ^{55}**	tomorrow	Luangthongkum 2013:306
Sgaw (Northern)	lə?^{45}**ɣɔ^{33}**	tomorrow	Luangthongkum 2013:306
Sgaw (Southern)	**ɣɔ^{33}**	tomorrow	Luangthongkum 2013:306

9.1.4 Times of Day

(1) PTB *g-duk DAYTIME / NOON

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-duk**	daytime / noon	Matisoff 2003a:587
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**gdugs**	midday / noon / umbrella / canopy	Gong Hwang-cherng 2000:set 32
	nḁi **gdugs**	umbrella (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0583.01
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tḭôg/t̂ḭə̂u-**	time of daylight / day	Karlgren 1957:1075a

Chinese comparandum

The Chinese comparandum 晝 OC ***tḭôg**, *GSR* #1075a; Mand. **zhòu** is due to Gong (2000).

(2) PTani *rjum EVENING

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***rjum**	evening	Sun 1993a:129
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**l(j)iŋ**	evening (4 pm-7 pm)	Sun 1993b
	a-**ljĩ**	evening	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ar-da a-**liŋ**	tomorrow evening	Sun 1993b
	ar-da a **ljĩ**-da	tomorrow night	Sun 1993b
	bi-**liŋ**	last evening	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-**liŋ**	last evening	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-**ljĩ**	last night	Sun 1993b
	ko-**ljiŋ**	second evening before last	Sun 1993b
	ri a-**ljiŋ**	second evening after next	Sun 1993b
	ri-da a-**ljaŋ**	second evening after next	Sun 1993b
	si-**liŋ**	this evening	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**ljĩ**-da	tonight	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-**ljiŋ**	this evening	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**rjum**	evening; twilight	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**rjum** dɯ-gam	dinner	Sun 1993b
	a-**rjum** tuŋ	afternoon	Sun 1993b
	a-ru: a-**rjum**	next night	Sun 1993b
	mi-**rjum**	last night	Sun 1993b
	rɯ: a-**rjum**	night after the next	Sun 1993b
	su-**rjum**	tonight	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-**jum**	evening; tonight; dusk	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	a-**jum** a-ke:	dinner	Sun 1993b
	a-rɯ-kə a-**jum**	tomorrow night	Sun 1993b
	a:rə kə a **jum**	tomorrow night / evening (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0746.24
	mo **jum**	yesterday evening / last night (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0747.24
	mo-**jum**	last night	Sun 1993b
	so-**jum**	tonight	Sun 1993b
	ɕo **jum**	tonight (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0745.24
Galo	a **rum**	evening (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	a **rum**	evening (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	a **rum**	evening	Das Gupta 1963
	a **rum**-'roorii	dusk (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	mʏ **rum**	last night	Das Gupta 1963
	mʏ **yum**	last night	Das Gupta 1963
	rum-	Classifier for nights (clfr.)	GLDC 2009
	'hɨ **rum**	this evening; tonight (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'mə **rum**	last evening; last night (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'rum dak	every night (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	o **rum**	evening	Simon 1976
	si **run**	evening	Simon 1976
Tagin	a **rem**	evening	Das Gupta 1983
	a **rim**	evening	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**jum**-ə	evening	Sun 1993a
Damu	**jum**-dan	dusk	Sun 1993b
	jum-dan rə:-kon	one night	Sun 1993b
	ma:-ro **jum**-dan	tomorrow night	Sun 1993b
	ro:-ro **jum**-dan	tomorrow night	Sun 1993b
	ɕi-**jum**	tonight	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **yem**	evening	Tayeng 1976

9.1.5 Other Intervals

(1) PNN *p^{h}a:y AFTER

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***p^{h}a:y**	after	French 1983:449
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**pai**	back (adv.) / behind / backwards	French 1983:449
	pai a	after, behind	French 1983:449
	pai bu	last second (of two) (adj.)	French 1983:449
	pai to	with (accompaniment)	Marrison 1967
	pai to-hau	follow	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**phei** me	after	French 1983:449
Phom	**phei** kə	after	French 1983:449
	p^{h}ʌy^{55}gʌ^{33}	after	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	**pai** tu	after	French 1983:449

(2) PTB *gla INTERVAL / SPACE BETWEEN

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-gla^{2}** BETWEEN / HAVE A SPACE BETWEEN / INTERVAL			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-gla^{2}**	between / have a space between / interval	Matisoff 2003a:590
6.1.1. Burmish			
Arakanese	**krà**	between	Okell 1971
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**-ca**	between	Okell 1971
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**-krā**	between	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**-krā:**	between	Okell 1971
	khrâ	between, divide; different (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	krâ	have space between, be apart	Benedict 1976a
	ə-krui-ə-**krâ**	intermediate space, a lane	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	ă **cà**	between	Henderson 1986
Intha	**klà**	between	Okell 1971
Maru [Langsu]	**kyō**	between	Okell 1971
Tavoyan	**klà**	between	Okell 1971
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***C-kra^{1}**	between	Bradley 1979b:453
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	**k^{ɻ}a^{55}**	between	Dai Qingxia 1989o:1021.
Yi (Liangshan)	**ka^{55}**ɬɔ^{33}	among; between	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ka^{55}ts̩^{33}	between; middle	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Baka)	**ko^{31}** tʃ^{h}e^{44}	between	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1042
Jinuo (Youle)	**ko^{42}** tɕ^{h}ə^{33}	middle, between	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	**k^{h}lo^{44}** lo^{44}	between	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1042
**Common Lahu*	***ka_**	between	Bradley 1979b:453
Lahu (Black)	mə̂-tɛ-**kā**	space between nose and lips	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-cɛ(-**kā**)	space between eyes	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-**kā**	space between eyes	Matisoff 1987
	mɛ̂ʔ-tɛ-**kā**	space between eyes	Matisoff 1987
Lisu (Northern)	**kaʔ^{21}**	(for room); gap, empty space (C.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**qɑ^{55}** ts̩^{55}	between	Ma Xueliang 1989:331.10
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **khà**	in between	Hansson 1989:7
Akha (Thai)	**khà**	in between	Hansson 1989:7
Hani (Lüchun)	á **khà**	in between	Hansson 1989:7
Hani (Wordlist)	al **kaq**	in between	Hansson 1989:7
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**kɔ^{21}**tsɨ^{44}	between	Pelkey 2011:1107
Phola	**qɑ^{33}**qɔ^{55}	between	Pelkey 2011:1107
Phuza	**kwʌ^{55}**k^{h}ɯ^{33}	between	Pelkey 2011:1107
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	lo⌋mi⊣**qɑ**⌋	space between thumb and index finger	Michaud 2006–2009
7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***khrà**	among	Matisoff 2003a:163
Blimaw	**klɛ́**	among	Matisoff 2003a:163
Kayah Li	**klē**	among	Matisoff 2003a:163
Kayaw	**klá** má	among	Matisoff 2003a:163
Pa-O	**khá**	between (lz)	Solnit 1989
	khrà	among, in among; among	Solnit 1989; Matisoff 2003a:163
Pwo	ʔə **klā**	among	Matisoff 2003a:163
Sgaw	**klá**	among	Matisoff 2003a:163

(3) PLB *ʔ-m(y)aŋ $^{1}_{3}$ LONG (TIME)

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-raŋ**	high / long	Matisoff 2003a:609
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔmaŋ^{1}**	last a long time	Matisoff 1978a:86

6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**hmyaŋ**	draw out long, make slender (cf. mraŋ')	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**mɔ**	last a long time	Matisoff 1978a:86
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	a˪ **myah** lu˪	always	Lewis 1989:516 [a]
	g'aw˪ **myah**˘ ni	long time	Lewis 1989:592
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **mɔ́**	long	Hansson 1989:435
Akha	**máŋ**	long	Hansson 1989:435
Akha (Thai)	**máŋ**	long	Hansson 1989:435
Bisu	ʔaŋ **hmɔ́ŋ**	long	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	**mo**^{55}	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**mɔ́**	long	Hansson 1989:435
	mo^{55}	long (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.41
Hani (Pijo)	**mú**	long	Hansson 1989:435
	mú i	long	Hansson 1989:435
Hani (Caiyuan)	**mu**^{55}	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**maŋ**^{55}	long	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**mol**	long	Hansson 1989:435
Haoni	**mu**^{55}	long	Hansson 1989:435
Hani (Shuikui)	**mu**^{55}	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.32
	mɔ^{55}	classifier for long, thin obje	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:954.32
Hani (Khatu)	**mú**	long	Hansson 1989:435
Hani (Mojiang)	**mu**^{55}	long (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.42
Mpi	**maŋʔ**^{5}	last a long time; durable	Matisoff 1978a:86; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	mjoŋ^{1}	slow / long (in time)	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **maŋ31**	long in time	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:230102
	ʔaŋ33 **moŋ33**	long	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:204012

[a] The final **-ah** in Lewis's transcription stands for the nasal rhyme **aŋ**.

Chinese comparandum

永 OC ***gi̯wăng***, *GSR* #764a 'long time'; Schuessler 2007:577-8 ***wraŋʔ***; B & S 2011: ***ɢʷraŋʔ* {[ɢ]ʷraŋʔ}**; Mand. **yǒng**.

(4) PTB *gra LONG (TIME)

This etymology, so far supported only in WB and OC, is due to Gong (2001:26).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***gra**	long (time)	Matisoff 2003a:175
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**kra**	long (in doing, in time) (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	遐	distant	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3022
Chinese (GSR #)	**0033j**	distant	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3022
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**g'å**	far, distant	Karlgren 1957:33j
Chinese (Old)	**gˢra** {[g]ˢra}	distant	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3022
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**hae**	distant	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3022
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**xiá**	distant	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3022

Chinese comparandum

遐 OC ***g'å***, *GSR* #33j 'far, distant, long (time)'; B & S 2011: ***gˢra* {[g]ˢra}**; Mand. **xiá**.

(5) PKar *ŋjaʔ^{D} LONG (of time)

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***ŋjàʔ**	long (time)	Jones 1961:184
**Karen [Burling]*	***ŋiʔ**^{1}	long (of time)	Luangthongkum 2013:174
**Karen*	***ŋjaʔ**^{D}	long (of time)	Luangthongkum 2013:174
Bwe	**jɪ**^{11}	long (of time)	Luangthongkum 2013:174
Kayah	**ŋja**^{33}	long (of time)	Luangthongkum 2013:174
Kayan	**ŋi**^{33}	long (of time)	Luangthongkum 2013:174
Kayan (Pekon)	**ŋ́**	a long time (ADV.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**ji**^{33}	long (of time)	Luangthongkum 2013:174
Pa-O (Southern)	**ŋjaʔ**^{45}	long (of time)	Luangthongkum 2013:174
Pa-O (Northern)	**ŋjaʔ**^{45}	long (of time)	Luangthongkum 2013:174
Pa-O	**ŋjàʔ**	long time, of things old and w	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**jaiʔ**^{21}	long (of time)	Luangthongkum 2013:174
Pwo (Southern)	**jaiʔ**^{45}	long (of time)	Luangthongkum 2013:174
Sgaw (Southern)	**ji**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	long (of time)	Luangthongkum 2013:174
Sgaw (Northern)	**jiʔ**^{21}	long (of time)	Luangthongkum 2013:174

9.2.0 Spatial terms

(1) PTani *len OUT (verbal particle)

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***len**	out (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a:284
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	du-**liŋ**	dig out	Sun 1993b
	saʔ **lin**	exhale	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**-lin**	out (directional adv)	Sun 1993b
	bjuk(-**lin**)	burn (vi.)	Sun 1993b
	buk **lin**	bud (v.)	Sun 1993b
	bəː(-**lin**)	vomit	Sun 1993b
	doː-ñi čaː-**lin**	rise (sun)	Sun 1993b
	fu-**lin**	gush out	Sun 1993b
	gam-**lin**	spit out (food)	Sun 1993b
	hak-**lin**	hook st. out of water	Sun 1993b
	ǰit-**lin**	drip	Sun 1993b
	koː(-**lin**)	pry	Sun 1993b
	lak it-**lin**	reach out hand	Sun 1993b
	laː-**lin**	take over here; take st. out of water; take toward speaker	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	lin	out (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	luː-**lin**	overflow (container)	Sun 1993b
	nap-li **lin**	have runny nose	Sun 1993b
	nap-tɯŋ **lin**	bleed (in the nose)	Sun 1993b
	ñik-laː **lin**	shed tears	Sun 1993b
	piː(-**lin**)	cut	Sun 1993b
	rjuː-**lin**	stick out tongue	Sun 1993b
	um-**lin**	squirt (water) from mouth	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a mum **len**	germinate; sprout; bud (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1307.24; Sun 1993b
	bu(-**len**)	pull / draw out	Sun 1993b
	ho-war **len**	sweat (v.)	Sun 1993b
	jo-**len**	reach out (hands); spit out (e.g. food)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	kər-**len**-mo	chase out	Sun 1993b
	len	out (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	loŋ-**len**	take out	Sun 1993b
	mik-laŋ **len**(-kap)	shed (tears)	Sun 1993b
	ñu-lu **len**	menstruate	Sun 1993b
	pu-jet-**len**	pull / draw out	Sun 1993b
	sak-**len**	exhale	Sun 1993b
	se-**len**	pull; draw out	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɕe **len**	pull / tug (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1487.24
Bokar Lhoba	jo: **len**	stick out (tongue)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	ɕe **len**	pull	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:562.51
Galo	**-'len**	out (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	kor **len**	step (out) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'bag **len**	move out (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'hag **len**	exhale (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'hel **len**	pull out (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'in **len**	set out (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'pee **len**	cut out (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'pəg **len**	pull out (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	` ba **len**-	vomit (v.)	Weidert 1987:585
Miri, Hill	ba **len**-nam	vomit	Simon 1976
	du ɲi-ca **len**	sunrise	Simon 1976
Nishing	ca-**lin**	arise	Das Gupta 1969
	do ni ca **ling**-ku	east	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	ca-**lin**-nam	arise (of sun)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**len**	out (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
Damu	bun-**lə**	pull out	Sun 1993b
	xaŋ-kər **len**	sweat (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ŋat-**len**	reach out the hand	Sun 1993b

(2) PTB *s-rwəy SLANT / SLOPE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***rwiy**	slope / slant	Benedict 1972:200
	***s-rwəy**	slant / slope	Matisoff 2003a:611
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**rəwi**	gently sloping, slanting	Benedict 1972:200
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**hrwe**	slant, be oblique	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:200

(3) PKC *tshaw SLOPE (upward) / ASCENT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tshaw**	SLOPE (upward) / ASCENT	VanBik 2009:601
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**sàw**	upward slope, ascent (n.)	VanBik 2009:601
Lai (Hakha)	**tshăw**	upward slope, ascent (n.)	VanBik 2009:601
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhò**	downward slope, ascent, an uphill path, an upward gradient (n.)	VanBik 2009:601

(4) PCC *let-liŋ UPSIDE DOWN / INVERTED

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***let**-liŋ	UPSIDE DOWN / INVERTED	VanBik 2009:1061
Lai (Hakha)	**let**-lîŋ	upside down, inverted (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1061
Lushai [Mizo]	**lèt**-líŋ-I, lèt-lìn-II	upside down or inverted, to be the wrong way round, to be reversed (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1061

9.2.1 Up

(1) PNC *ɗoon TOP

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
**Northern Chin*	***ɗoon**	TOP	VanBik 2009:113
Sizang	**dawn**	top	VanBik 2009:113
Tiddim	**doːn**^{3}	topmost, tip	VanBik 2009:113

(2) PKC *tsuŋ TOP / ABOVE / SURFACE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tsuŋ**	TOP / ABOVE / SURFACE	VanBik 2009:573
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**tung** ah	above	VanBik 2009:573
Sizang	**tunga**	above	VanBik 2009:573
Thado	**tsûŋ**	above, top, roof, on	VanBik 2009:573
Tiddim	**tung**^{1}	above; roof	Bhaskararao 1996:1836
	tuŋ^{1}	above, roof	VanBik 2009:573
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsùŋ**	top, above, on top of	VanBik 2009:573
Lushai [Mizo]	**chung**	top (i.e. highest point	Marrison 1967
	chŭng	top, roof, surface, summit	VanBik 2009:573
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**chô**^{3} tā	top (n.)	VanBik 2009:573

(3) PKC *khlu(u)ŋ TOP / APEX

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***khlu(u)ŋ**	TOP / APEX	VanBik 2009:1307
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**khung**	top	VanBik 2009:1307
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**chung**	top	VanBik 2009:1307
Khumi	**sliiwng**	top	VanBik 2009:1307

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thlùuŋ**	top	VanBik 2009:1307
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlùng** lú	head (the poetical equivalent of lú) (n.)	VanBik 2009:1307

(4) PTB *s-tyaŋ UPPER PART / RISE / RAISE / TOP / SUMMIT

We are here combining two roots reconstructed separately in *HPTB*: ***diŋ** (p.307) and ***s-tyaŋ** (p.304). This alternation in the rhyme is paralleled in several other roots, e.g. PTB ***s-myak** ≷ ***s-mik** EYE (§1.2.6) and PTB ***s-rik** ≷ ***s-ryak** PHEASANT / PARTRIDGE (§2.2.4).

Also undoubtedly related is PTB ***l-t(y)ak** UPPER SURFACE / TOP / ABOVE / CLIMB / LIFT / ASCEND / PALATE (§1.2.1).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***sting**	rise / top	Coblin 1986:126

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***diŋ**	top / summit	Matisoff 2003a:587
	***s-tyaŋ**	upper part / rise / raise	Matisoff 2003a:616

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	pung **ding**	top (i.e. highest point)	Marrison 1967
	puŋ **diŋ**	zenith / top	Chou Fa-kao 1972:833e
	pu̱ŋ^{33}**ti̱ŋ**^{33}	on top (of the roof) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0729.19
	tu̱ŋ^{33}	go up (water level) / rise (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1787.19

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**thoŋ**	rise (of the sun)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:751.7
Motuo Menba	**thoŋ**	come out (the sun)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1207.07
	thoŋ	rise / go up (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1623.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Ladakhi	**staŋ**	upper part (n.)	Benedict 1972:52
Tibetan (Written)	khaŋ **steŋ**	roof (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0495.01
	steng-so	upper tooth	Matisoff 1987
	steŋ	upper part (n.)	Benedict 1972:52
	steŋ	on (the table) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0724.01

7. Karenic: ***thaŋ**^{B} ASCEND / GO UP / RISE

**Karen [Burling]*	***thaŋ**^{2}	ascend, go up, rise	Luangthongkum 2013:5
**Karen*	***thaŋ**^{B}	ascend, go up, rise	Luangthongkum 2013:5
Bwe	**tha**^{33}	ascend, go up, rise	Luangthongkum 2013:5
Kayah	**thɛ**^{11}	ascend, go up, rise	Luangthongkum 2013:5
Kayan	**thaŋ**^{11}	ascend, go up, rise	Luangthongkum 2013:5
Pa-O	**tháŋ**	up, ascend	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**thaŋ**^{33}	ascend, go up, rise	Luangthongkum 2013:5
Pa-O (Northern)	**thaŋ**^{55}	ascend, go up, rise	Luangthongkum 2013:5
Pwo (Northern)	**thɛ̃**^{33}	ascend, go up, rise	Luangthongkum 2013:5
Pwo (Southern)	**thɔ̃**^{55}	ascend, go up, rise	Luangthongkum 2013:5
Sgaw (Northern)	**thɔ**$^{31\sim}$	ascend, go up, rise	Luangthongkum 2013:5
Sgaw (Southern)	**thɔ**^{45,}	ascend, go up, rise	Luangthongkum 2013:5

9. Sinitic

"Pre-Chinese"	**stəng**	rise / top	Coblin 1986:126

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**d̂ʻi̯əng/dźʻi̯əng**	mount / ascend;on top / above (v.)	Karlgren 1957:895a-c
	d̂i̯əŋ/źi̯əŋ	lift / hold	Chou Fa-kao 1972:896a-b
	tien/tien	top of the head, fall down, be; top of a mountain	Karlgren 1957:375m; Karlgren 1957:375n
	tieng/tieng:	top of the head	Karlgren 1957:833e
	tieŋ	top (of head) / summit	Chou Fa-kao 1972:833e
	təŋ	rise / ascend / raise	Chou Fa-kao 1972:883e-h
	t̂iəŋ/tśʻi̯əŋ	lift / hold	Chou Fa-kao 1972:894a-c
Chinese (Old)	**d̂ʻi̯əŋ**	mount / ascend / ride / drive / be on top / above	Chou Fa-kao 1972:895a-c
	tsəng	rise / top	Coblin 1986:126

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**tsəng**	add, rise high (v.)	Coblin 1986:126

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**tien**	top of the head, fall down, be	Karlgren 1957:375m
	ting	top of the head	Karlgren 1957:833e

Chinese comparandum

上 OC ***d̂i̯ɑŋ**, *GSR* #726a-d 'ascend'; Schuessler 2007:454 ***daŋʔ** ~ ***djaŋʔ**; B & S 2011: ***Cə.daŋʔ {Cə.[d]aŋʔ}**; Mand. **shàng**.
上 OC ***d̂i̯ɑŋ**, *GSR* #726a-d 'raise; deem superior'; Schuessler 2007:454 (***daŋʔ** ~ ***djaŋʔ**); B & S 2011: ***m-daŋʔ {m-[d]aŋʔ}**; Mand. **shàng**.
上 OC ***d̂i̯ɑŋ**, *GSR* #726a-d 'top, upper part; first, superior, supreme, highest'; Schuessler 2007:454 ***daŋh** ~ ***djaŋh**; B & S 2011: ***daŋʔ-s {[d]aŋʔ-s}**; Mand. **shàng**.

登 OC ***təng**, *GSR* #883e-h 'ascend, step up'; Schuessler 2007:208 ***tə̂ŋ**; B & S 2011: ***tʰəŋ**; Mand. **děng**.
等 OC ***təng**, *GSR* #961i' 'step (of stairs), degree, class, grade rank; classify'; Schuessler 2007: 208 ***tə̂ŋʔ**; B & S 2011: ***tʰəŋʔ**; Mand. **dēng**.

烝 OC ***t̂i̯əng**, *GSR* #896h 'offer (gift, sacrifice)'; Schuessler 2007:185 ***təŋ**; B & S 2011: ***təŋ** ; Mand. **zhēng**.
稱 OC ***t̂ʻi̯əng**, *GSR* #894g 'lift, raise, display'; Schuessler 2007:185 ***thəŋ**; B & S 2011: ***tʰəŋ**; Mand. **chēng**.
稱 OC ***t̂ʻi̯əng**, *GSR* #894g 'appreciate; equal to; corresponding'; Schuessler 2007:185 ***thəŋh**; B & S 2011: ***mə-tʰəŋ-s**; Mand. **chèng**.
承 OC ***d̂i̯əng**, *GSR* #896c 'lift, hold up, present, receive'; Schuessler 2007:185 ***dəŋ**; B & S 2011: ***dəŋ {[d]əŋ}**; Mand. **chéng**.

頂 OC ***tieng**, *GSR* #833e 'top; roof; most (superlative); carry on the head; push to the top; go against; replace; CL for hats, headgear'; Schuessler 2007:211 ***têŋʔ**; Mand. **dǐng**.

9.2.2 Down

(1) PTB *hwak BELOW

This root is undoubtedly related to PTB ***hwaŋ** BELOW / BUTTOCKS / LOWER BACK (§1.4.6), but is here treated separately in view of the considerable semantic difference between the two.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ok**	below	Benedict 1972:110
	***ʔok**	below / under	Matisoff 2003a:583

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	lă^{31}**wuʔ**^{55}	lower part of / lower reaches (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0723.19
	lă^{31}**wuʔ**^{55}	below / under (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0732.19
	lə **wúʔ**	below / side (lower)	Matisoff 1974:368

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ok**	underneath (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:58.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ok**	underneath (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:58.5
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**oʔ**^{13}	underneath (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:58.2
Tibetan (Written)	**ha̱og**-so	lower tooth	Matisoff 1987
	fiog	underneath (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:58.1
	ʔog	below	Benedict 1972:76n232

3.2. Qiangic

Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**wɐ**^{35}pa^{53}	underneath (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:58.16

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**vu** dɯu	underneath (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:58.14

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔok**	lower side / below	Matisoff 1972b:173

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**uʔ**^{31}pa^{31}; a^{31}the^{31}pa^{31}	underneath (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:58.41
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ɑuʔ**^{44}	underneath (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:58.40
Burmese (Written)	**auk**	below	Benedict 1972:110
	ɔk	underneath (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:58.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**ɔ**^{31}	under (the table); under (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0725.31; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0727.31
	ɔ^{31}mɛ^{31}	below / under (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0732.31
Maru [Langsu]	**ɔ**^{31}	underneath (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:58.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	a^{21}**o̱**^{51}ma^{55}	underneath (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:58.42
	o̱^{51}	under (the table); under (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0725.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0727.30
	o̱^{51}mai^{21}	below / under (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0732.30

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**ùq**-ʃí	further down	Matisoff 2003a:378

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	pɔ^{42}**o**^{33}	underneath (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:58.34
	pɔ^{44}**o**^{55}	below / under (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0732.44
Lahu (Black)	**hɔ́**	below; side (lower); lower side	Matisoff 1974:368; Matisoff 1972b:173
	ɔ^{31}**xɔ**^{35}phɔ^{53}	back (direction)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:52.33
	ɔ̀-**hɔ́**	lower side / below	Matisoff 1972b:173
Lisu	**o̱**^{31}si^{33}thi^{31}the^{33}	lower half of the body (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0736.40
	o̱^{31}si̱^{33}	below / under (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0732.40
Lisu (Central)	**wu**^{5}-paw^{1}	below	Fraser 1922
	wu^{5}-pē^{1}	below	Fraser 1922
	wu^{5}-si^{1}-mu^{3}	lower (opp. of higher)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ɔʔ**^{21}pæ^{33}	below; under	Bradley 1994
	ɔʔ^{21}pɔ^{55}	below; under; underneath (also wɔʔ^{21}pɔ^{55}, ɣɔʔ^{21}pɔ^{55})	Bradley 1994
	ɔʔ^{21}si^{33}	below; under	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	dàq **oq** phɔ	below	Hansson 1989:503
Akha	la-**o** LS-LS ~ LS-HS	lower side / below	Matisoff 1972b:173
Akha (Yunnan)	làq **og** phɔ	below	Hansson 1989:503
Akha	meh˪ lu˪ la˫ **o**ˆ pyaw˪	lip (lower)	Lewis 1989
	wu5-paw1	lower side / below	Matisoff 1972b:173
Bisu	ʔaŋ-**ʔɔk**	lower side / below	Matisoff 1972b:173
Hani (Lüchun)	à **ú** pho	below	Hansson 1989:503
Hani (Dazhai)	a^{31}**u̱**^{33}	underneath (n.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:58.31
Mpi	**ʔoʔ**^{2}-tɕoʔ^{2}	waist; small of back	Matisoff 1978a:13; Bradley 1979b; Srinuan Duanghom 1976

Chinese comparandum

後 OC ***gʻu**, *GSR* #115a 'behind, after'; Schuessler 2007:280 ***gôʔ**~***ɦôʔ**; B & S 2011: ***ɢˤoʔ {[ɢ]ˤ(r)oʔ}**; Mand. **hòu**.

(2) PKar *laʔ^{D} BELOW / UNDER / UNDERNEATH

7. Karenic

**Karen*	*~**laʔ**^{D}	below, under, underneath	Luangthongkum 2013:20
Bwe	**-lɛ**^{11}	below, under, underneath	Luangthongkum 2013:20
	gɔ^{11}**lɛ**^{11}	below, under, underneath	Luangthongkum 2013:20
Kayah	**le**^{33}	below, under, underneath	Luangthongkum 2013:20
Kayan	**laʔ**^{45}	below, under, underneath	Luangthongkum 2013:20
Kayaw	**lɔ**^{33}	below, under, underneath	Luangthongkum 2013:20
Pa-O (Northern)	(ka^{33}) **laʔ**^{45}	below, under, underneath	Luangthongkum 2013:20
Pa-O (Southern)	**laʔ**^{45}	below, under, underneath	Luangthongkum 2013:20
Pwo (Northern)	chaʔ^{45}**laʔ**^{21}	below, under, underneath	Luangthongkum 2013:20
Pwo (Southern)	phɔ^{53}**laʔ**^{45}	below, under, underneath	Luangthongkum 2013:20
Sgaw (Southern)	ka^{11} **la**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	below, under, underneath	Luangthongkum 2013:20
Sgaw (Northern)	phɔ^{33}**laʔ**^{21}	below, under, underneath	Luangthongkum 2013:20

(3) PCC *khlaŋ LOWER / DOWN / SOUTH

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**hláŋ**	down, lower side, south	VanBik 2009:1293
Tiddim	**khang**^{2}	south	VanBik 2009:1293; Bhaskararao 1996:720

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***khlaŋ**	LOWER / DOWN / SOUTH	VanBik 2009:1293
Lai (Hakha)	**thlâŋ**	lower part, down	VanBik 2009:1293
Lushai [Mizo]	**thláng**	lower down (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1293

(4) PKC *hnuay UNDER / UNDERNEATH

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***hnuay**	UNDER / UNDERNEATH	VanBik 2009:909

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**a** nwē a	under	VanBik 2009:909
Thado	**nûoy**	under, underneath	VanBik 2009:909
Tiddim	**nuai**[1]	under	VanBik 2009:909
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**anuuy**	underneath, botton	VanBik 2009:909
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnŭai**	part or space beneath, underneath (n.)	VanBik 2009:909

9.2.3 Sideways

(1) PKC *kiaŋ ADJACENT / BESIDE / NEAR

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***kiaŋ**	ADJACENT / BESIDE / NEAR	VanBik 2009:248
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**kiang**	adjacent	VanBik 2009:248
Thado	**kĭaŋ**	near, close by	VanBik 2009:248
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**kîaŋ**	adjacent, beside, near	VanBik 2009:248
Lai (Falam)	**kĭaŋ**	near, beside	VanBik 2009:248
Lushai [Mizo]	**kiang**	near	Marrison 1967
	kíang	near, nearby, adjacent, neighbouring	VanBik 2009:248

(2) PTB *ka:l BETWEEN / INTERVAL

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ka:l**	between / interval	Matisoff 2003a:594
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***kar ≍ *kal** BETWEEN			
**Chin*	***kar ≍ kal**	BETWEEN	VanBik 2009:259
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	ki-**kal**	between	VanBik 2009:259
Thado	kì-**kà?**	between	VanBik 2009:259
	ā **ká?** là?	between	Thirumalai 1972:26
Tiddim	**-ka:l**	in between (na.)	Henderson 1965
	ka:l[2]	between	VanBik 2009:259; Bhaskararao 1996:562
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**kâr**	between, among	VanBik 2009:259
Lai (Falam)	**kăr**	between, among	VanBik 2009:259
Lushai [Mizo]	**kár**	distance between, the space between, the interval between (n.)	VanBik 2009:259
	kârah	between	Marrison 1967
	ka:r-a	between	Bhaskararao 1996:562
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Sangtam	**kala**	between	Marrison 1967
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**kǎn/kǎn**	crevice / interstice;interval / space between	Karlgren 1957:191a-c

Chinese comparandum

間 OC ***kǎn**, *GSR* #191a-c; B & S 2011: ***k^{s}ren {k^{s}re[n]}**; Mand. **jiān, jiàn**

(3) PTB *s-na:y ≍ *s-ney NEAR

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***nyɨy**	near	Coblin 1986:111
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ney**	near	Chou Fa-kao 1972:359c
	***ney**	near (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:291
	***ney**	near	Benedict 1972:291
	***s-na:y ≍ s-ney**	near	Matisoff 2003a:604
	***s-ney ≍ s-na:y**	near	Matisoff 1985a:055
1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	a^{33}**nui**^{33}	near	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:818.52
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**nɯ**-tì	near	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ñi**-či:	near	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**nə** tɕe	near (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.24
	nə tɕe	near / close to	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1125.24
	nə-če	near	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**nə** tɕe	near	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:818.51
Galo	**'nə** ci	nearby (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'nə ci	vicinity (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**ne** ci	near	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	**nə**-tɕi	near	Sun 1993b
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	mɯ^{31}**nɑi**^{53}	near (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.23
	mɯ^{31}**nă̆i**^{53}	near	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:818.48
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***naay ≍ *hnaay** NEAR / CLOSE / ADJACENT			
**Chin*	***naay ≍** hnaay	NEAR / CLOSE / ADJACENT	VanBik 2009:823
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**nai** hī	near	VanBik 2009:823
Thado	**nâay-I**, **này-II**	close	VanBik 2009:823
Tiddim	**na:i**[1]	near	VanBik 2009:823
	na:i[1]	near (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1179
	na:i[1]	near	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊnai/ˆna:i	near (vi.)	Henderson 1965
	ˊna:i	near (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:055
	`na:i	near (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:055
	`na:i	draw near(vi.)	Matisoff 1985a:055
	`na:i/_nai?	draw near (vi.)	Henderson 1965
	_ nai?	draw near(vi.); draw smn near (vt.)	Matisoff 1985a:055; Matisoff 1985a:055
	_nai?/_nai?	draw (smn) near (vt.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**nàay**-I, năay-II	near, be close (be v.)	VanBik 2009:823
Lai (Falam)	**náay**-I, náy?-II	near (be v.)	VanBik 2009:823
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnăai**	near	Weidert 1987:154
	hnăai	near (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:291
	hnai	near	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1985a:055
	hnai	near (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2421
	hnai	near	Benedict 1972:291
	hnăi-I, hnàih-II	near (in time, space, or relationship), near-by, close, adjacent	VanBik 2009:823
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**nía**	come near	VanBik 2009:823
	^{3}a^{2}**hniə**	near (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:291
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	kʌ **nàai**	near	Weidert 1987:154
Lamkang	kʌr **nái**	near	Weidert 1987:154
Sorbung	ʔə **nái**	near	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:ToneMin.015; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.166
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Ao*	*a.**hna [j]**	NEAR (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.229
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}**na**^{1}(sa^{2})	near (adv.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.229
	a **na** sa	near	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**unha**	near	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**áhná**	near (be v.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	a mü **nye**	near	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	fü **ni**	near	Kumar 1973b:64
	^{2}a^{2}pɯ^{2}ni[1]	near (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:291
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami Naga	^{2}pe^{5}**nuo**	near (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:291
Angami (Kohima)	pe **nuo**	near	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Southern)	^{1}n^{4}**ni**	near (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:291
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**na** bu	near	Marrison 1967
Maram	ka **na**	near	Marrison 1967
Zeme	^{3}ke^{1}n^{5}**na**	near	Weidert 1987:154
Mzieme	**mna**	near	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***naj** NEAR			
**Tangkhulic*	***naj**	near	Mortensen 2012:378
Huishu	kə-nə-**nej**	near	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.141
Kachai	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**nwe**	near	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.124
Tangkhul	khaŋa **nai**	near	Matisoff 1985a:055
	nay	near	Bhat 1969:93
	nga **nai** da	near	Marrison 1967
	^{1}khə^{1}ŋə^{3}**nai**	near	Weidert 1987:154
	^{1}khə^{1}ŋə^{3}**nai**	near (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:291
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**naj**	near (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**naj**	near; close to each other, be near (be v.)	Mortensen 2012; Mortensen 2012
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**ni**	near	Marrison 1967
	nì	near	Matisoff 1985a:055; Matisoff 1974:230
	ni	near	Benedict 1972:291
	ni^{31}	near	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	ni^{31}	near (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.19
	ni^{31}	near	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:818.47
	šə **nì**	bring near	Matisoff 1974:230
	^{1}**ni**	near (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:291
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	thak **n̥e**	near (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	thak **n̥e**	near	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:818.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	thak **n̥e**	near	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:818.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**ŋi** ma·	near	Rangan 1975:77
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'nyi:** bi	near (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.02
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	tha/^{53}**n̥e**^{13}bo^{53}	near	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:818.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	tha?^{53}**n̥e**^{13}po^{53}	near	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:818.2
	tha^{52} **n̥e**^{13}po^{55}	near (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.02
	n̥e^{13} sa:^{55}tɕa:^{55}	near / close to	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1125.02
	n̥ẽ^{13}tʂam^{55}	vicinity / nearby (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0720.02
Tibetan (Spiti)	**nyã** bo	near	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**ñe** ba	near	Marrison 1967
	nye-ba	near	Matisoff 1985a:055; Benedict 1972:291
	thag **n̥e** po	near (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.01
	thag **n̥e** po	near	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:818.1
	n̥e	near / close to	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1125.01
	n̥e ɦdabs	vicinity / nearby (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0720.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	thaχ **n̥i**	near (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Gyaru)	**nya**^{4} ba	near	Nagano 1984:364
Manang (Prakaa)	^{4}**ɲe** pə	near	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0458
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Dolakhali)	**na** pɔ	near	Genetti 1990b
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	**nahi** taŋ	near	Ebert 1997
	net taŋ	near	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**ni:p** ma	near (inf.) (v.)	Weidert 1987:154
	ni:t?	near (v.)	Weidert 1987:154
	ni: ta	near (v.)	Weidert 1987:154
	ni: taŋ	near(adv.)	Weidert 1987:154
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Khaling	**'ne** phāem	near (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.02
	'pan-**ne**	bring (from near) (v.)	Hale 1973:02b1.01
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**'ne:** thā:	near (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.02
Thulung	**ŋe** pa	near (Ho)	Allen 1975
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**n̥i**^{55}	near	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:818.18
Guiqiong	**nɔ**^{33}nphɑ^{53}	near	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:818.17
	nɔ̃^{31}pha^{31}	near (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.16
Lyuzu	ə^{ɪ33}**n̥i**^{53}	vicinity / nearby (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0720.18
	ə^{ɪ33}**n̥i**^{53}	near (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.18
Pumi (Jiulong)	ʐuə^{13}**n̥i**^{55}	vicinity / nearby (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0720.10

	ʐuə^{11}**n̥ĩ^{55}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**nɛ̃^{55}**i^{55}	near / close to	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1125.09
	ʐuɐ^{13}**n̥i^{13}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	ʐuɐ^{13}**n̥i^{55}**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**nə^{55}**mə^{53}	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.10
Qiang (Mawo)	guəʴ **n**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.8
	guɛʴ **ȵɛ**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.08
Xumi	**nɯ̃^{35}**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**nu^{55}**ʐu^{33}	vicinity / nearby (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0720.14
	ȵu^{55}ʐu^{33}	near / close to	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1125.14
	ȵʌ^{55}ʐu^{33}	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.14

3.3. rGYALRONGIC

Daofu	nthɑ **ne**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.12
	thu **ȵa** ʁa	vicinity / nearby (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0720.12
Ergong (Danba)	tɕɛ **ne**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.14

3.3.1. rGYALRONG

Caodeng	kɐ-**rne**	near	Sun 1997a

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	a^{31}**ne^{51}**	vicinity / nearby (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0720.28
	ne^{31}	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.28
	ne^{31}	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.41
	ne^{31}ʐaʔ^{55}	near / close to	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1125.28
Achang (Xiandao)	**nɛ^{31}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ni^{55}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ni^{55}**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.40
Burmese (Written)	**nì**	near (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:291
	nî	near	Matisoff 1985a:055; Matisoff 1974:230; Benedict 1976a
	nì	near	Benedict 1972:291
	nī:	near	Marrison 1967
	ni^{3}	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.26
	ni^{3}	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.39
	ʔə **nî**	near	Matisoff 1974:230
Hpun (Northern)	**nè**, **nè**-ŋ	near	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**nɛ̠^{31}**tɛ̠ʔ^{55}	near / close to	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1125.31

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***b-ni^{2}**	near (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:291
	***b-ni^{2}**	near	Bradley 1979b:751
PNL	**b-ni^{2}**	near	CHEN Kang 1986a:13.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**nɤ^{31}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.47
Lalo	**ne^{21}**	near	CHEN Kang 1986a:13.
Lipho	**nɛ^{21}**	near	CHEN Kang 1986a:13.
Nasu	**nɔ^{33}**	near	CHEN Kang 1986a:13.
Neisu	**nɛ^{33}**	near	CHEN Kang 1986a:13.
Nesu	**nɛ^{33}**	near	CHEN Kang 1986a:13.
Nosu	**ȵi^{33}**	near	CHEN Kang 1986a:13.
Nusu (Southern)	**ȵi^{55}**	near	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ȵi^{55}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.34
Nusu (Northern)	**ȵ^{31}**	near	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɑ^{31}**ȵi^{53}**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ne^{33}**dɯ^{33}	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.22
Yi (Liangshan)	ga^{34}**ȵi^{33}**	near	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**nʌ^{21}**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**nɛ^{33}**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**nɛ^{21}**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.24
	nɑ^{21}	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.37
	nɑ^{21}nɑ^{33}	vicinity / nearby (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0720.37
	nɑ^{21}ɑ^{33}**nɑ^{21}**	near / close to	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1125.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ne^{21}**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.23
Yi (Weishan)	**nᴇ^{21}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.36
	nᴇ^{21}	near / close to	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1125.36
	nᴇ^{21}dʑi^{55}	vicinity / nearby (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0720.36
Yi (Wuding)	**nɔ^{33}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.38
	nɔ^{33}de^{33}	near / close to	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1125.38
	nɒ^{33}de^{33}gɤ^{11}	vicinity / nearby (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0720.38
Yi (Xide)	ga^{44}**ȵi^{33}**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.21
	gɑ^{34}**ȵi^{33}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**na^{21}**	near	CHEN Kang 1986a:13.
Lahu (Lancang)	**no^{21}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.43
Lahu (Black)	**nê**	near	Matisoff 1985a:055; Matisoff 1974:230
	nɛ^{53}	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.33
Lisu (Central)	**nrgh^{5}**	near, be (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**nɯ^{31}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.40
	nɯ^{31}	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.27
	nɯ^{31}le^{33}	near / close to	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1125.40
	nɯ^{31}nɯ^{31}zɑ^{31}kuɑ^{33}	vicinity / nearby (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0720.40
Lisu (Northern)	**nɤ^{21}**	near; lean against; be in contact with; get in touch; have to do with (V.)	Bradley 1994
	pha^{33}**nɤ^{21}**	close to; approach; near	Bradley 1994
	tɤ^{55}**nɤ^{35}**	near; approach; close to (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	mɪ^{44}**næ^{33}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.39
Sani [Nyi]	**næ^{21}**	near	CHEN Kang 1986a:13.

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Dazhai)	**ȵi^{31}**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ȵi^{31}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.41
	ȵi^{31}tsha^{33}ne^{33}	near / close to	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1125.41
Hani (Shuikui)	**ȵi^{31}**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**ȵi^{31}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.42

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**nʌ^{22}**	NEAR	Pelkey 2011:1038
Southern Muji	**ȵo^{52}**	NEAR	Pelkey 2011:1038
Phola	**ni^{31}**	NEAR	Pelkey 2011:1038
Phu Kha	**ŋaj^{35}** tu^{53}	near	Fried 2000

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	læ˥**ɲy**˥	near	Michaud 2006–2009:1941
	ʈʂwɤ˥hṽ˥-læ˥-**ɲy**˥	close to (close family relationship); near (be v.)	Michaud 2006–2009:1944
Na (Yongning)	ʐe˩**ni**˩˥	near	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**ni^{13}**; ʐə^{31}**ni^{13}**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.29
Naxi	**nv̩^{55}**	near (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.45
	nv̩^{55}nv̩^{33}	vicinity / nearby (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0720.45
	nv̩^{55}nv̩^{33}	near / close to	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1125.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**nv^{55}nv^{33}**	near	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:818.28

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ńi**	near / close	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:563a
	ńi̯ět	close-standing / familiar	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:563f
	ńi̯ək	near / familiar	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:777n
	ńźię̯	near	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:359c
Chinese (Old)	**ńi̯ět**	close-standing / familiar	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:563f
	ńi̯ək	near / familiar	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:777n
	njɨjʔ	near	Baxter 1992:1219
	ńźię̯	near	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:359c

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**ní**	near, close	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2005

Chinese comparandum

邇 OC ***ńi̯ăr**, *GSR* #359c 'near'; Coblin 86:111 ST ***nyɨy** > OC ***njirx**; Mand. **ěr**.
尼 OC ***ni̯ər**, *GSR* #563a 'near'; B & S 2011: ***nrəj {nr [ə]j] }**; Mand. **ní**.
昵 OC ***ńi̯ět**, *GSR* #563f 'familiar, intimate'; B & S 2011: ***nrit {nri [t] }**; Mand. **nì**.
暱 OC ***ńi̯ək**, *GSR* #777n 'near, familiar with'; B & S 2011: ***n‹r›ik**; Mand. **nì**.

(4) PLB *ba^{2} NEARBY PLACE / VICINITY

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ba^{2}**	nearby place / vicinity	Matisoff 2003a:584

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	ə-**pâ**	space near a thing (nî-pâ = 'near')	Benedict 1976a
Marma	**pá**	near (vi.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:364

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Lancang)	ɔ^{31}**pɑ^{53}**	vicinity / nearby (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0720.43
Lahu (Yellow)	**pa^{3}**	near	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	**hpa^{4}**-hti^{3}	near, be (v.)	Fraser 1922
	hpa^{4}-hti^{1}	close / near by	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**pha^{33}**	close to, near; exact (V.)	Bradley 1994
	pha^{33}nɤ^{21}	close to; approach; near	Bradley 1994
	pha^{33}thi^{55}	close to; near; go near	Bradley 1994

9.2.4 Apart

(1) PCN *tjuk ABANDON / LEAVE / AWAY

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Ao*	***tjuk**	ABANDON, LEAVE / AWAY (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.376
Ao (Chungli)	mə^{2}tsə^{2}-**tuk^{3}**	spit (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	sɯ́n **túk**	discard (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:11
	tuk^{3}tsəʔ^{3}	abandon, leave behind (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.376
	túk cɯ́ʔ	leave (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:10
	^{2}mɯ^{3}tsɯ^{3}**tuk**	spit (v.)	Weidert 1987:682
Ao (Mongsen)	ɯ́n **cúk**	throw (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:12
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	mətsə-**tʃuk**	spit out (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.376
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	en **chuk**	throw (v.)	Marrison 1967
	metsü-**chuk**	spit (v.)	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	hən **tʃuk**	discard, throw away [discarded, threw away] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	thùk **tʃuk**	throw away [threw away] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	tʃuk	abandon, leave [abandoned, left] (variant of tʃak); keep, leave [kept, left] (variant of tʃhàwk) (v.)	Coupe 2007; Coupe 2007

(2) PTani *krak RESULTATIVE PARTICLE (=off, away)

This is perhaps the same etymon as PTani ***kak** CLEAN (§9.6.1), cf. English expressions like 'he got clean away', where the meaning is "action performed with a complete result".

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***krak**	resultative particle (=off, away)	Sun 1993a:322

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	-**xrja**	resultative particle (=off, away)	Sun 1993a
Bengni	-**kjak**	resultative particle (=off, away)	Sun 1993a
	faː-**kjak**	scrub clean	Sun 1993b
	hiː-**kjak**	sieve (v.)	Sun 1993b
	hɯr-**kjak**	wash (rice, clothes, head)	Sun 1993b
	jap-**kjak**	winnow (v.)	Sun 1993b

	kjap-**kjak**	winnow (v.)	Sun 1993b
	kjuk-**kjak**	wash away	Sun 1993b
	puk(-**kjak**)	sweep	Sun 1993b
	tit(-**kjak**)	wipe off	Sun 1993b
	tit-**kak**	wipe	Sun 1993a
	tit-**kjak**-nuː	rag	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-jak hɯr-**kjak**	bathe	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**-kak**	resultative particle (=off, away)	Sun 1993a
	bjar **kak**	winnow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1748.24
	hap(-**kak**)	scrape (hair off), shave	Sun 1993b
	juː **kak**	fling / toss (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1643.24
	juː **kak**	throw, hurl	Sun 1993b
	pɯ **kak**	rinse; flush; wash away	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1200.24; Sun 1993b
	tit-**kak**	wipe; erase, wipe; wipe off	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	tɯk-**kak**	shake (dust) off	Sun 1993b
	ə-ɯ nɯː-**kak**	bathe	Sun 1993b
	fiup **kak**	wipe away / erase	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1164.24
Bokar Lhoba	tit **kak**	wipe	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:624.51
	ə ɯ ɕar **kak**	bathe	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:650.51
Galo	ti-**kak**-nam	wipe (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	hɯr **kak**-nam	wash	Simon 1976
Tagin	ar **kak**-nam	wash (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	eɟi-a ar **kak**-lak	Wash the cloth	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**-kak**	resultative particle (=off, away)	Sun 1993a

9.2.5 Amid

(1) PKC *lak AMONG / AMID / BETWEEN

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***lak**	AMONG / AMID / BETWEEN	VanBik 2009:986
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**lak**-ah	amid	VanBik 2009:986
Sizang	kī **lak** law	between	VanBik 2009:986
Thado	**làʔ**	between, among	VanBik 2009:986
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	ng-**lak**	between two terms (place, time) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:986
Khumi	**slá**	between, middle, during, while	VanBik 2009:986
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**lak**	among, amid, between	VanBik 2009:986
Lai (Falam)	**làk**	among	VanBik 2009:986
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**kā**-lā	crotch	VanBik 2009:986

(2) PTB *naŋ INSIDE

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	***naŋ**	inside (n,postp.)	Sun 1993b
	naŋ	inside (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.24
Bokar Lhoba	**naŋ**	inside	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.51
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**nung**	in	Marrison 1967
	nuŋ^{2}	inside, within (post.)	Bruhn 2014b
Lotha Naga	o **nung** i	in	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ning•**-a	inside (pp.)	Burling 2003:1.11-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**nyng•**	inside (n.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Phom	**mɔŋ**^{55}ŋʌy^{55}	inside	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**nam**	stomach	Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**nan** chya	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
Tsangla (Motuo)	**naŋ**	inside	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.7
	naŋ^{13}	inside	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**nan**-ga	inside	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**neŋ**^{35}ŋɑ^{35}	inside	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**neŋ**^{13}	inside	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.6
Motuo Menba	**naŋ**	inside (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.07
Cuona Menba	**neŋ**^{35}	inside (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**naŋ**	inside (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**naŋ**	inside	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**naŋ**	interior, inside; inside	Sun 1985a:393; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**nõ**^{13}	inside (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'nāng**-du	in / inside of	Hale 1973:XIIC
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**nuŋ**^{13}	inside	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**naŋ**^{13}	inside (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.02
	naŋ^{13}	inside	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.2
	naŋ^{13}lo^{52}	inside (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'nang**-lā	in / inside of	Hale 1973:XIIC
Spiti	ṭhot pi **naŋ**	stomach	Bodh 1991:9.10
Tibetan (Written)	**naṅ**-k'rol	bowels, entrails	Matisoff 1987
	nang	interior, inside	Sun 1985c:393
	naŋ	inside (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.01
	naŋ	inside	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.1
	phji **naŋ** slog	turn inside out (clothing) or the reverse (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1309.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**naŋ**	inside (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**nóng**	inside (adv.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**naŋ**	inside / inward / interior	Mazaudon 1994:546
Gurung (Ghachok)	(**X**)nāːhnu (N)bühɖiq	intestines	Glover 1972:2.A.43
	nạ̄ːhnu bụhDiq	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
Manang (Gyaru)	**naŋ**^{2} ri^{3}	inside	Nagano 1984:359
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**naŋ**	inside / inward / interior	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0270
	^{3}**naŋ**	inside / inward / interior	Mazaudon 1994:546
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**naŋ**	in / inside of	Mazaudon 1994:546
Tamang (Sahu)	**-nāhng**	in / inside of	Hale 1973:XIIC
	-nahŋ	in, inside of (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.C.48
	^{3}**naŋ**	into / in, inside of	Mazaudon 1994:546
Thakali	**nāhng**-ri	in / inside of	Hale 1973:XIIC
Thakali (Tukche)	**nahro**	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	nahŋ-ri	in / inside of	Hari 1971:12.C.47.2
	nɔhno	intestines	Hari 1971:2.A.43
	^{3}**naŋ**	in / inside of	Mazaudon 1994:546
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	thE **ŋaŋ** ma	stomach	Michailovsky 1989b
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	vɛ^{55} **ɲo**^{55}	intestines; bowels	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:271.18
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**naŋ** dɯu	inside	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:59.14
Daofu	**noŋ**	inside (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0715.12
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	'ko **ɲəŋ**	in	Nagano & Prins 2013:2133
Caodeng	**-naŋʔ**	inside (n.)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	ka^{3}**ɲoŋ**^{5}	in	Nagano & Prins 2013:2133
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ko **'ɲəŋ**	in	Nagano & Prins 2013:2133
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	kə **'nəŋ**	in	Nagano & Prins 2013:2133
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	kə **'ŋoŋ**	in	Nagano & Prins 2013:2133
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**noŋ**	inside	Nagano & Prins 2013:1740
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	**noŋ**	inside	Nagano & Prins 2013:1740
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	**noŋ**	inside	Nagano & Prins 2013:1740
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**noŋ**	inside	Nagano & Prins 2013:1740
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**noŋ**	inside	Nagano & Prins 2013:1740
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**noŋ**	inside	Nagano & Prins 2013:1740
rGyalrong (NW)	rɟ jə me **nak**	appendix	Sun Hongkai 1991l:9.11.3
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	wu **'naŋ**	inside	Nagano & Prins 2013:1740
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	wu **'naŋ**	inside	Nagano & Prins 2013:1740
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	wu **'naŋ**	inside	Nagano & Prins 2013:1740
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	wu **'naŋ**	inside	Nagano & Prins 2013:1740
rGyalrong (Aba Shuiricun)	wu **'ɲəŋ**	inside	Nagano & Prins 2013:1740
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	wu **'ɲoŋ**	inside	Nagano & Prins 2013:1740
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	**noŋ**	inside	Nagano & Prins 2013:1740
8. Bai			
Bai (Bijiang)	**ŋɑ**^{55} dzɑ̃^{42} tshɣ̃^{42}	stomach	Xu Lin & Zhao Yansun, eds. 1984

9.2.6 Around

(1) PTB *hwaŋ ENCIRCLE / CIRCULAR / FENCE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***hwaŋ**	encircle; fence; circular	Matisoff 2003a:593; Benedict 1972:217

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**huaŋ**	yard, enclosure	Benedict 1972:217

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	šə **wāŋ**	inclose, shut in	Matisoff 1974:246
	śə **waŋ**	shut in, fence in	Benedict 1972:217
	wàn	in a circle, be coiled (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:248
	wāŋ	surround; a circle	Matisoff 1974:246
	waŋ	surround, encircle; circle, enclosure, compound	Benedict 1972:217
	waŋ^{33}	surround	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:687.47

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**wáŋ**	garden	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:96a

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***waŋ-waŋ**	circular	Benedict 1972:217

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Balali	**waŋ-waŋ**	circular	Benedict 1972:217
Lohorong	**weŋ-weŋ**	circular	Benedict 1972:217

4. Nungic

Anong	**waŋ**	surround	Benedict 1972:217
Nung	**xuɑŋ**^{53}	circle / hover / wheel (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1543.21
Anong	**xuɑ**^{55}u^{31}	surround	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:687.44

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**wɛ**^{31}	surround	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Rangoon)	**wɛ**^{55}	circle / hover / wheel (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1543.27
	wɑ̃i^{55}	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**wɑĩ**^{55}jɑ̃^{22}	surround	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:687.40
Burmese (Written)	**waṅ:**	fence (n.)	Marrison 1967
	waŋ	fence, enclosure	Matisoff 1983:75
	wâŋ	enclosing fence; fence made of wrought materials	Matisoff 1974:246; Benedict 1976a
	wàŋ	fence made of wrought materials, forming an enclosure	Benedict 1972:217
	woŋ^{3}	circle; circular; round	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.26; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:807.39
	woŋ^{3}rɑṁ^{2}	surround	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:687.39
	wûiŋ	do by joint effort; surround; circle of people	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**wûiŋ**	circle, anything round	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	**wàŋ**	enclosure	Henderson 1986

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***woŋ**	round	Bradley 1979b:567

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**vɤ**^{33}	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.47
Yi (Liangshan)	**vo**^{33}lɯ^{33}gu^{21}	circular	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**vɐ**^{21}zi^{21}	surround	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:687.25
	A^{33}**vɛ**^{33}mo^{33}	round	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:807.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**vɛ**^{21}	round	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:807.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**vɑ**^{33}	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.37
Yi (Weishan)	a^{55}li^{55}**vɑ**^{33}	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.36
	vɑ^{33}	circle / hover / wheel (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1543.36
Yi (Wuding)	**vɒ**^{33}	circle / hover / wheel (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1543.38
	vɚ^{11}	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.38
Yi (Xide)	**vo**^{33}	circle / hover / wheel (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1543.35
	vo^{33}lɯ^{33}gu^{21}	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**və**^{31}lɯ^{44}	turn (round and round) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1808.44
Lahu (Lancang)	**u**^{35}	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.43
	vɔ^{33}lɔ^{33}	turn (round and round) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1808.43
Lahu (Black)	**vɔ**^{35}	round	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:807.33
Yi (Sani)	**vɑ**^{44}	circle / hover / wheel (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1543.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Mpi	**wuŋ**^{2}	circle / classifier for circles	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**vɛ**^{33}	round	Pelkey 2011:941
Phola	**vɛ**^{55}	round	Pelkey 2011:941

6.2. Naxi

Naxi (Lijiang)	**ue**^{31}	surround	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:687.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**uə**^{31}**uə**^{13}	surround / encircle	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:687.29
Naxi	**uə**^{55}**uə**^{33}	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.45

9.2.7 Extent

(1) PKC *waa $^{ŋ}_{y}$ BREADTH / WIDTH

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***waaŋ** ≍ waay	BREADTH / WIDTH	VanBik 2009:1136

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**a** vai	breadth	VanBik 2009:1136
Thado	**vâa**	breadth	VanBik 2009:1136
Tiddim	a^{3} **va:i**	breadth	VanBik 2009:1136
	a^{3} **va:i**^{1}	breadth	Bhaskararao 1996:14

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**vâaŋ**	breadth, width	VanBik 2009:1136
Lai (Falam)	**váaŋ**	breadth, width	VanBik 2009:1136
Lushai [Mizo]	**văang**	breadth, width	VanBik 2009:1136

(2) PKC *hlaa-I, *hlaat-II FAR (away) / REMOTE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***hlaa**-I, hlaat-II	FAR (away) / REMOTE	VanBik 2009:1108

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**lâa**-I, lâat-II	far	VanBik 2009:1108
Tiddim	**gam**^{2} la^{1}	far, far away ("far-away country"); far	VanBik 2009:1108; Bhaskararao 1996:305

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**'ló**	distant	VanBik 2009:1108
Chinbon	**ło**	far	So-Hartmann 1988:258
Cho (Mindat)	**hla**	far away, long ago (in time)	VanBik 2009:1108
Khumi	**póeloo**	far, distant	VanBik 2009:1108
Nyhmoye	**ła**	far	So-Hartmann 1988:258

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**hlàa**-I, hlaat-II	far away, remote	VanBik 2009:1108
Lai (Falam)	**hláa**-INV	far away, remote	VanBik 2009:1108
Lushai [Mizo]	**hla**	far	Marrison 1967
	hlá-I, hlàt-II	far, distant, far-away, remote (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1108

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	á **hlá**	far, long way	VanBik 2009:1108

Chinese comparandum

野 OC ***diå**, *GSR* #83l-o 'open country; wilderness; wild'; Schuessler 2007:561 ***la?**; B & S 2011: ***la? {lA?}**; Mand. **yě**.

(3) PTani *do FAR

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***do**	far	Sun 1993a:137

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-**do**	far	Sun 1993a
	á-**dò**	remoteness	Sun 1993b
	a-**do** (a-**do**)	far	Sun 1993b
	a-**do**-nɯ	distant	Sun 1993b
	a-**dó**-pa	far away	Sun 1993b
	ɯn-tó à-**dó**	far away	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**du:**	far	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-**to**	far	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b [a]
	a: **to**	far / distant (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.24
Bokar Lhoba	a: **to**	far	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:817.51
Galo	o **do**-na	far	Das Gupta 1963
	'oo **doo**	far; distant (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'oo **doo**	distance (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'oo **doo**	high (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'o **doo**	far (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	a **do**	far	Simon 1976
	a **do**-lo	far	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **do**~a **du**	far	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	a **du**	far	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	mo-**do**	far	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**do** (ko-ki)	far	Sun 1993b

[a] [Source Note] initial! (Sun 1993a).

(4) PTB *dzya:l FAR

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzya:l**	far	Matisoff 2003a:588; Benedict 1972:229

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**diɑ**^{55}	far / distant (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.22
	diɑ^{55}	far	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:817.49
	dya:	far; distant	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**fa:l**	apart, isolated, detached	Benedict 1972:229

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***c(a)ʔl**	far	Burling 1959:441

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**gadžaiŋ**	far	Benedict 1972:229
	gajaing	far	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**kə**=čal	far	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**tśel**	far	Benedict 1972:229
Garo (Bangladesh)	**chel•**-a	distant; far (vi.)	Burling 2003:2.11-II:idx

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Moshang)	**ədžal**	far	Benedict 1972:229

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**tsan**	far	Benedict 1972:229
	tsa̲n^{33}	far	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tsa̲n^{33}	far / distant (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.19
	tsa̲n^{33}	far	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:817.47

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	**caiŋ**	far (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:365

(5) PTk *kla FAR

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	**klɑm**^{55}	far / distant (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.23
	klɑm^{55}	far	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:817.48

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***kla**	far	Mortensen 2012:328
Huishu	kə-**ke**	far	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.140
Kachai	kə-**tu**	far	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.122
Tusom	kə-**ɬi**	far	Mortensen 2012
Ukhrul	kə-**ta**	far off (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(6) PTB *g-wəy-n FAR

The final ***-n** is reconstructed on the basis of Chinese. There is probably a relationship between this root and PTB ***wa-n** THAT / DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVE (§10.0), which has more abstract, grammatical meaning.

The velar prefix is attested both in Qiangic (including Tangut).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-wəy-n**	far	Matisoff 2003a:452

3.1. Tangut

Tangut [Xixia]	**khwạ**	far	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1639
	khwa	far, distant	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5911
3.2. QIANGIC			
Muya	**qhuɐ^{55}rɐ^{53}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.15
Muya [Minyak]	**qhuɐ^{55}rɐ^{53}**	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.15
Namuyi	da^{55}**qhu^{33}**	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.19
	da^{53}**qhu^{31}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.46
Qiang (Mawo)	**guəˈ** χe	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.8
	guɛˈ χɑ	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	zɻ́-**χuà**	far, distant [road-m]	Evans 1999:1416
Qiang (Taoping)	**χuɑ^{33}**	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**kua^{55}kua^{53}**	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.16
Xumi	**qhua^{55}**la^{33}	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.17
	qhuɑ^{55}	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.20
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Queyu Gala)	**qwa ʾqwə**	far	Nagano & Prins 2013:1760
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**ɣie^{21}**	far	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**ɣɯe^{21}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.49
	ɣɯe^{21}	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.38
Tujia (Southern)	**ʔu^{13}**ji^{55}	far	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***wəy^{2}** FAR			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***wəy^{2}**	far	Matisoff 2003a:619
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**wɑi^{31}**	far	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ve^{31}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.28
	ve^{31}	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.41
Achang (Luxi)	**wɛ^{51}**	far	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**vɛ^{31}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.29
Bola (Luxi)	**vɛ^{31}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**we^{55}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**we^{55}**	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.40
Burmese (Written)	**wê**	far, big; dull	Benedict 1976a
	we:	far	Marrison 1967
	we^{3}	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.26
	we^{3}	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.39
Hpun (Northern)	**wè**, **wè**-ŋ	far	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**va^{35}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**vɛː^{33}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.33
Marma	**wí**	far (vi.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:365
Maru [Langsu]	**va^{35}**	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ve^{21}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.30
	ve^{21}	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.42
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***we^{2}**	far	Bradley 1979b:750
	*?ə **we^{3}**	far	Bradley 1979b:750
	*?ə **we^{1}**	far	Bradley 1979b:750
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**zɻ^{31}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.47
Nusu (Northern)	**ue^{35}**	far	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ue^{55}**	far	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ue^{55}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.34
Yi (Dafang)	**vɯ^{33}**	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.22
Yi (Mile)	mi^{33}**vi^{21}**	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ve^{33}**	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**vi^{21}**	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.24
	və^{21}	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.37
Yi (Wuding)	**vi^{33}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	a^{44}**xɯ^{44}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**xə^{44}**	far	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**xɯ^{44}**	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.34
Kucong	**vɤ31**	far	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**vɯ^{53}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.43
Lahu (Black)	**vɨ**	far	Matisoff 1988a:1337
	vɯ^{53}	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**vɤ^{3}**	far	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a^{21}**ɤ^{55}ɤ^{44}**	far; very far; remote (V.)	Bradley 1994
	a^{33}**ɤ^{44}**	how far (A.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**rgh^{5}**	far, be; distant; remote	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Luquan)	**vi^{33}**	far	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**ɣɯ^{31}**	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.27
	ɯ^{31}	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ɤ^{21}**	far; go around (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ɤ^{21} a^{33} ma^{33} dʑa^{33}gu^{33}	long way	Bradley 1994
	ɤ^{21}jæ^{33}	very far; long-term (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ɤ^{21}jæ^{33} kwa^{33}tɕhi^{33}	far-reaching	Bradley 1994
	ɤ^{21}jæ^{33} **ɤ^{21}**ba^{21}	very far; long-term; far away; remote	Bradley 1994
	ɤ^{21}za^{33}	far; very far; remote (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	mɪ^{44}**vʐ^{11}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Dazhai)	**xɯ^{31}**; mo^{55}	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**xɯ^{31}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.41
Hani (Mojiang)	**ɣɛ^{31}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.42
Mpi	**hɤ^{1}**	far	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**vi^{33}**	far	Pelkey 2011:1037
Southern Muji	**və^{13}**	far	Pelkey 2011:1037
Phola	**vi^{31}**	far	Pelkey 2011:1037
	vɛ^{33}	far	Pelkey 2011:1037
Hlepho Phowa	**və^{21}**	far	Pelkey 2011:1037
Phu Kha	**vɯ^{31}**	far	Fried 2000
Phuza	**vɛ^{13}**	far	Pelkey 2011:1037
7. KARENIC			
Bwe (Western)	**yɪ^{2}**	far	Luce 1985:E.6
Geba	ɔ^{2}**yi^{2}**	far	Luce 1985:E.6
Karen	**ji^{33}**	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.50
Paku	**yi^{2}**	far	Luce 1985:E.6
Pwo (Delta)	**yãɪ^{2}**	far	Luce 1985:E.6
Pwo (Tenasserim)	**yɑi^{5}**	far	Luce 1985:E.6
Sgaw	**yi^{3}**	far	Luce 1985:E.6
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	往远	far	Nagano & Prins 2013:1761
	远	far	Nagano & Prins 2013:1760
	遠	far	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3653
Chinese (GSR #)	**0256f**	far	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3653
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old)	C.**gʷanʔ** {C.gʷa[n]ʔ}	far	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3653
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**hjwonX**	far	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3653
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**yuaan**	far	Sun 1985b:244
	yuǎn	far	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3653

Chinese comparandum

遠 OC ***gi̯wǎn***, *GSR* #256f 'far'; Schuessler 2007:594 ***wanʔ***; B & S 2011: ***C.gʷanʔ {C.gʷa[n]ʔ}***; Mand. **yuǎn**.

9.2.8 Directions

(1) PKC *tshak NORTH (upper part)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tshak**	NORTH (upper part)	VanBik 2009:593
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**sak** lam	north	VanBik 2009:593
Thado	**sàʔ**	north	VanBik 2009:593
Tiddim	**sak^{3}**	north	VanBik 2009:593; Bhaskararao 1996:1507
	_sak	north (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**sàk**	north, upper part, higher up position	VanBik 2009:593
Lai (Hakha)	**tshak**	north, upper part, higher up position	VanBik 2009:593
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhàk**	east, to be higher up	VanBik 2009:593
	khaw **chhak**	east	Marrison 1967

(2) PKC *raal OPPOSITE (side) / BEYOND

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***raal**	OPPOSITE (side) / BEYOND	VanBik 2009:957
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**gàal**	beyond	VanBik 2009:957
Tiddim	**ga:l^{1}**	beyond	VanBik 2009:957
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ga**	opposite side beyond a river (n.)	VanBik 2009:957
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**răal**	opposite, the other side (of a river)	VanBik 2009:957
Lai (Falam)	**ràal**	opposite side	VanBik 2009:957
Lushai [Mizo]	**ràal**	bank or side (of a river, etc) (n.)	VanBik 2009:957
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**tí**-rìa	opposite bank on the other side of a river (n.)	VanBik 2009:957

(3) PTB *d(w)a $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ OPPOSITE / FACING

The Lahu form apparently descends from the allofam with nasal final. The velar stop in Jingpho **tók** seems to be a secondary development from an earlier final glottal stop.

Further confirmation of this root will be welcome.

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**tók (tók)**	opposite to, directly in line with	Maran nd.:1057
	tóʔ	be opposite (an archaic root)	Maran nd.:1057
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**tɔ̄** dàʔ ve	be divided off from each other, be set off in opposition	Matisoff 1988a:660

(4) PKC *kalʔ TRANSVERSE / BOLT (shut) / CONTRADICT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***kalʔ**	TRANSVERSE / BOLT (shut) / CONTRADICT	VanBik 2009:318
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**kalh**	adverse, bolt	VanBik 2009:318
Tiddim	**kalʔ^{3}**	bolt and lock	VanBik 2009:318
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**kalʔ**-INV	bolt, contradict, entangle	VanBik 2009:318
Lai (Falam)	**kàlʔ**-INV	bolt, negate	VanBik 2009:318
Lushai [Mizo]	**kàlh**	locked or fastened (as door, box, etc); to put a stick of firewood, pestle, etc. across a door to show that the inmates are not at home (be v.)	VanBik 2009:318

9.3.0 Sounds

(1) PCC *thluuk INTONATION / ACCENT

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***thluuk**	INTONATION / ACCENT	VanBik 2009:1292
Lai (Hakha)	**thluuk**	intonation, accent, the fall of the sound	VanBik 2009:1292
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlûuk**	intonation, accent, tune, modulation	VanBik 2009:1292
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**thlu**-zi	tune (n.)	VanBik 2009:1292

(2) PKC *thaŋ-I, *-than-II LOUD / SOUND / FAMOUS

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***thaŋ-I, -than-II**	LOUD / SOUND / FAMOUS	VanBik 2009:399
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	min **thang**	celebrated (”name loud”)	VanBik 2009:399
Thado	**thăŋ**-I, thàn-II	famous (poetic)	VanBik 2009:399
Tiddim	**thang**^{2} > than^{3}	famous, renowned	VanBik 2009:399
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	am **thaáng**	famous, renowned	VanBik 2009:399
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**thà**	fame	VanBik 2009:399
Lai (Hakha)	**thâŋ**-I, thăn-II	loud, be famous (be v.)	VanBik 2009:399
Lai (Falam)	**thăŋ**-INV	loud (be v.)	VanBik 2009:399
Lushai [Mizo]	**tháŋ**-I, thàn-II	become known, to be renowned, to sound or travel (as sound), to be heard (as sound) (v.)	VanBik 2009:399
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-**thài**	renowned, famous (be v.)	VanBik 2009:399

(3) PTB *krwap RUSTLE

This root bears some resemblance to PTB ***k(w)am** THIRSTY / DRIED OUT (§1.1.3.1), the common core of meaning perhaps residing in the dry sound made by fallen leaves.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***krwap**	rustle	Matisoff 2003a:597; Benedict 1972:243
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**kròp**	rustle, as dry leaves; be dry, hoarse	Matisoff 1974:381
	krop	rustle	Benedict 1972:243
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**grwap-grwap**	rustlingly	Benedict 1976a
	khrwap	rustlingly	Matisoff 1974:381
	khrwap-khrwap	rustlingly	Benedict 1976a
	krwap-krwap	rustlingly	Benedict 1972:243

(4) PTani *dut^{2} SOUND

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***dut**^{2}	sound	Sun 1993a:386
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-**du**	sound	Sun 1993a
	à-**du**	make sound	Sun 1993b
	a-**du**	sound (n.)	Sun 1993b
	a-**du** (a-bī a-**du**)	cackle (v.)	Sun 1993b
	a-**du** a-bī	cackle (n.)	Sun 1993b
	a-**du** a-bi-nɯ	noise	Sun 1993b
	a-**du** ma-pa	quietly	Sun 1993b
	à-**du**-ma	silent	Sun 1993b
Bengni	(šu) **du**-bu	sound	Sun 1993a
	(su) **du**-bu:	sound	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-**tu**	sound; sound, make a sound	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b [a]
Galo	a **do**	sound; noise (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	a **du-du**-nam	sound (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	du nam	sound (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
	‘du tə	loud (sound) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘du tə	loud (sound) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	si **du**	sound	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**dut**	sound	Sun 1993a
Milang	a **dut**	sound	Tayeng 1976

[a] [Source Note] initial! (Sun 1993a).

(5) PTB *mriŋ SOUND / NOISE / ANIMAL CRY

There is a likely Chinese comparandum, *GSR* #827a.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***mriŋ**	sound / noise	Matisoff 2003a:307
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***riŋ-I**, ***rin-II** RING / LOUD / SOUND			
**Chin*	***riŋ**-I, rin-II	RING / LOUD / SOUND	VanBik 2009:966
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**gìn**	sound	Thirumalai 1972:41
	gín	sound	Thirumalai 1972:62
	gìn	noise	Thirumalai 1972:66
	gíng-I, gìn-II	ring (sound)	VanBik 2009:966
Tiddim	**ging**^{2} > gin^{3}	sound	VanBik 2009:966
	ging^{2} > gin^{3}	sound (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:354
	giŋ^{2}/gin^{3}	sound	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	ng-**ging**	produce a sound, noise (v.)	VanBik 2009:966
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**rîŋ**-I, rĭn-II	loud (be v.)	VanBik 2009:966
Lai (Falam)	**rĭŋ**-I, rìn-II	loud (be v.)	VanBik 2009:966
Lushai [Mizo]	**ríng**-I, rîn-II	loud, loud-sounding (be v.)	VanBik 2009:966
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**mrañ**	sound, produce sound	Benedict 1976a

Chinese comparandum

鳴 OC ***mi̯ĕng**, *GSR* #827a-c; Schuessler 2007:388 ***mreŋ**; B & S 2011: ***m.reŋ**; Mand. **míng** ‘cry (of birds; also, of animals in general)’.
笙 OC ***sĕng**, *GSR* #812h ‘reed-organ’; Schuessler 2007:460 ***srêŋ**; B & S 2011: (***sreŋ**); Mand. **shēng**.
鈴 OC ***lieng**, *GSR* #823r ‘small bell’; Schuessler 2007:360-1 ***rêŋ**; B & S 2011: (***reŋ**); Mand. **líng**.

(6) PKC *ʔoo SOUND / VOICE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ʔoo**	SOUND / VOICE	VanBik 2009:503
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**aw**	voice	VanBik 2009:503
Sizang	a-**aw**	sound	VanBik 2009:503
Thado	**ʔôo**	voice	VanBik 2009:503
Tiddim	**o:**^{1}	voice; sound; voice, sound	VanBik 2009:503; Bhaskararao 1996:1312
	o:^{1} u:n^{1}	low voice	Bhaskararao 1996:1313
	ʼɔ:	sound / voice (n.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**aw**	voice, sound, noise	VanBik 2009:503
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔòo**	sound, voice	VanBik 2009:503
Lai (Falam)	**ʔôo**	sound, voice	VanBik 2009:503
Lushai [Mizo]	**aw**	voice (n.)	Marrison 1967
	âw	voice, tone	VanBik 2009:503
	aw	voice	Bhaskararao 1996:1312
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**áo**	sound, voice	VanBik 2009:503

9.4.0 Colors

(1) PTB *s-nak BLACK

The ***s-** prefix is reconstructed for this etymon on the basis of forms like Written Tibetan **snag** and Written Burmese **hmaŋ** ‘ink’, as well as on the basis of the high stopped tone in Loloish. The Mpi form **naŋʔ**^{3} indirectly reflects this prefix by a sort of “rhinoglottal transfer” that occurs when a complex nasal (either with the ***s-** or the ***ʔ-** prefix) is the onset of a syllable with the ***-ak** rhyme: the original final stop was replaced by a vowel quality including both a nasal and a laryngeal component. There are no fewer than nine examples, see JAM (1978:22-23).

A similar root, PTB ***s-maŋ** ⩤ ***s-mak** BLACK / DARK / INK, is reconstructed with an initial labial nasal. This may well be the original form of the etymon (there are excellent Chinese comparanda with a labial nasal), with the dental nasal a plausible outcome from the combination of the ***s-** prefix and a labial nasal.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nak**	black; ink; deep	Matisoff 2003a:603; LaPolla 1987:50
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	ka?-ji (ɕi-**nak**)	black	Sun 1993b
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***nak** BLACK			
**Chin*	***nak**	BLACK	VanBik 2009:803
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**ní**	black	VanBik 2009:803
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**nak-I**, **naʔ-II**	black (be v.)	VanBik 2009:803
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-njak** BLACK			
**Central Naga*	*a-**njak**	BLACK (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.238
**Ao*	*a-**nak**	BLACK (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.240
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**nak**^{1}	black (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.240
	meja **nak**	ant (black)	Marrison 1967
	ta **nak**	black	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te **nak**	black	Marrison 1967
	tü **nak** rham	dark	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **nák**	black (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	(NZP-) **nák**-ɹəm	brown (’be black’ + ’be red’) (be v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**njək**^{2}-	black (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.238
	e **nyik** vü	black	Murry *et al.* 1978:10
	nyik a	black	Marrison 1967
	n̡īk à	black	Acharya 1975; Acharya 1975
	tsamphiro-e **nyik** o	ant (black)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a **nya**	black	Marrison 1967
	a **nyak**	black	Kumar 1973a
Yacham-Tengsa	**nyak** la	black	Marrison 1967
	nyak patla	dark	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **mürak**	black	Kumar 1973b:90
	mürak	black	Kumar 1973b:34
	murak ü	black	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	ma **nak**-	dark (adj1.)	van Breugel 2008
	nak-	black (adj1.)	van Breugel 2008
	pi **nak**	black (adj2.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***Ç-ɲak** BLACK			
**Northern Naga*	***Ç-ɲak**	black	French 1983:459
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	a **nyak**	black	Marrison 1967
	rang **ngyak**	dark	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	a **nyak**	black	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	a **nyak**	black	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**nak** tübü	dark	Marrison 1967
	nak übü	black	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**nyak** bu	black	Marrison 1967
Phom	**ñak**^{33}læ^{55}	black	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	nyak pü	black	Marrison 1967
	vang **nyak**	dark	Marrison 1967
	ʒaŋ^{55}**ñak**^{33}	dark (? + ’black’); night (? + ’dark’)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	cha **nak**	leopard	Marrison 1967
	mai **nak**	ape, monkey; monkey (generic)	French 1983:521; Marrison 1967
	me **nak**	monkey	French 1983:521
	nak	dark	Marrison 1967
	nu **nak**	black	Marrison 1967
	rang **nak**	dark	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**nok** ko	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hnak** kwo	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.4
	mə **nak**	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	mə **nak**	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.5
	nak kwo	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.5
	næg-wo	black	Sun 1985a:74
Tibetan (Balti)	**nʌq** po·	black	Rangan 1975:75
Tibetan (Jirel)	**nāk** po	black	Hale 1973:01.091

Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**naʔ**^{31}po^{53}	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**na**^{13}ko^{55}	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.02
	naʔ^{13}ko^{53}	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.2
	naʔ^{13}kuŋ^{55}	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.2
	nə^{13}khuŋ^{55}	dark	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'nak** dumiq	dark (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.34
	nak pu	black	Hale 1973:01.091
Tibetan (Spiti)	**nak** po	black	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	mun **nag**	dark	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.01
	nag khuŋ	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.1
	nag po	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.01; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.1
	nag-pa	black	Benedict 1972:102n290
	nag-po	black	Matisoff 1983:37; LaPolla 1987:50; Sun 1985c:74; Marrison 1967
	nɑg-po	black	Chou Fa-kao 1972:904a-b
	rŋul **nag**	sweat (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0154.01
	rŋul **nag**	sweat ("black sweat")	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:277.1
	ɣnɑg-p'yúgs	cattle (black) / esp. yak	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**naχ** dəp	dark	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.04
	naχ kwo	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	ʔá **nók**	black (adj.)	Plaisier 2007
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	mak **na**	black	Ebert 1997
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**njạ**	dark	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0176
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	ndzɻ^{33}**nuɑ**^{55}	leopard	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:126.18
	nuɑ^{55}	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.18
Guiqiong	mɔ̃^{31}**ɳi**^{35}	dark, get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.16
	ɳi^{33}qɑ^{33}ʐɑ^{33}	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.17
	ɳi^{35}ka^{33}ʐa^{33}	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.16
	ɳi^{35}kuɔ^{55}ʐɔ^{33}	dark	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.16
	ɳi^{55}qo^{55}lo^{55}	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.17
Lyuzu	de^{33}**nua**^{53}	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.18
	kɯ^{33}**nua**^{53}	kite (black-eared) / hawk (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0328.18
Muya	**ɳi**^{55}**ɳi**^{33}	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ɳi**^{55}**ɳi**^{33}	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.15
	ɳɛ^{55}qo^{33}qo^{33}	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.15
Namuyi	**na**^{33}hũ^{35}**na**^{33}hũ^{35}	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.19
	nɛ^{55}nqhɛ$^{\iota 55}$	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.19
	na^{31}hũ^{55}**na**^{31}hũ^{31}	dark	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.46
	næ^{55}nqhæ^{53}	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.46
	tɕhi^{31}**na**^{55}hũ^{53}	dark, get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**ɳɑ**^{13}	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.09
	ɳɑ^{13}dʒõ^{55}	dark	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ɳɑ**^{13}	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.11
	ɳɑ^{13}dʒõ^{55}	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɳa**^{35}ka^{55}mə^{53}	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.10
	ɳɛ^{35}mə^{53}	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.10
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	**ñi ~ nə**	black	Matisoff 1972b:142
Qiang (Longxi)	bù **ɳì**	fly (ɳì = 'black'?) (n.)	Evans 1999:442
	dè pié **ɳí**	black soybean	Evans 1999:554
	ní-tshì tshì	pitch dark [black-m]	Evans 1999:1600
	ɳí	black	Evans 1999:1452
	ɳí ~ ɳì	heavy (of color) (=black)	Evans 1999:1478
	χè-**ɳí**	coal [earth-black]	Evans 1999:68
Qiang (Mawo)	mu **ɳi**	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.8
	ńiq	black	LaPolla 1987:50
	ɳiq	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.8
	ɳɪ xə̯^{ɪ}	black (of faces)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.08
	ɳɪχ	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	deì-**nè**-kí	black soybean [bean-black-NOM]	Evans 1999:554
	nè	black	Evans 1999:1452
	nè-ŋá	crow [black-m]	Evans 1999:418
	fiá **ně**	darken [p,black]	Evans 1999:1674
Qiang (Taoping)	**ɳi**^{55}**ɳi**^{31}	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɳe**^{33}**ɳe**^{55}	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɳe**^{55}**ɳe**^{33}	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɳe**^{55}**ɳe**^{55}	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**na**^{55}**na**^{55}	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	ga **ɳa**	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.12
	gɛ **ʁnɛ**	dark	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.12
	mə gə **ʁnɛ**	dark, get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.12
	ɳa ɳa	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ɳa ɳa**	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.14
	ɦnɛ ɦnɛ	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.14
Daofu	**ʁnɛ ʁnɛ**	dark	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.12
Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	**xnis**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	**ʁnî**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	'kə **rŋəp**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	**'rnəks**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	'rə **ɣni**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	**'xŋa** 'ro	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	də^{3}**rnəʔs**^{1}	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	də^{3} **nak**^{5}	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	də **'nɑkˀ**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	də **'nɑkˀ**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	də **'nɑkˀ**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	də **nak'perper**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	də **ɦnɛ** də	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	ji **'nakš**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	ka **'xna**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	ka **'ŋɐ**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	ke **'ɣna**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	ko **'rnəʔkˀ**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	kwa **'rnəs**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	kwe^{3}**rnəs**^{5}	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə22 **rŋip44**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **nɐk**	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.11
rGyalrong	kə **nɐk**	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **rɳəp**	dark, get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.11
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	kə-**rɳu**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**rɳəp**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
Caodeng	kə-**ɲa**	black	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **rɳep42**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	kə22 **rɳep44**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	kə22 **nak44**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	kə5 **'rnəs53**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	kə^{3}**rnəs**^{3}	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kə^{3}**rnəs**^{5}	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	kə **'nakˀ**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	kə **'nakˀ**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	kə **'nɑkš**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kə **'rnas**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	kə **'rnis**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kə **'rnə**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	kə **'rnək**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	kə **'rnəs**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kə **'rəʔk**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	kə **'rɳips**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	kə **'rɳis**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	kə **'rɳəkˀ**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	kə **'rɳəkš**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	kə **'rɳəp**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	kə **'rɳəps**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	kə **'rɳəpˀ**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	kə **'rɳəpˀ**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	kə **'rɳəʈs**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	kə **'rɳəʔ**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	kə **'ɳa**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	kə kə **'rɳəks**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	kə qa **'nak**ˀ	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	kə **rɳəkš**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	kɪ$^{\iota}$**nək**ˀ	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
Caodeng	mə-**naʔ**	dark	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	na^{3}**rɳə**^{5}	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	ngən 'də **nɑk**ˀ	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	ngən də **'nak**ˀ	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	ngən də **'nak**ˀ	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	nə **'rɳə**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310

rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	nə ’**ɲak**ˀ	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	nə **ʁa’ni**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**nɑ**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong	**snɐk** tsɐ	black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.12
Caodeng	zndimʔ kə-**ɲa**	cloud (black)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**ʁnî**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊkə **rnəs**	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGyalrong	kA **nak**	black	Nagano 1997:170
	ku **rnyus**	dark	Nagano 1997:1.6
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	kə ’**ʁnas** i	dark	Nagano & Prins 2013:1310
rGBenzhen	kə-**nɐk**	black; dark	Sun 1997b; Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**naʔ**	black	LaPolla 1987:50
Rawang	**nɑʔ** wɛ^{33}	black	LaPolla 2003:1029
Anong	rim-rim **na**	grey	Benedict 1972:401
Dulong	**nɑʔ^{55}**	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.20
Trung [Dulong]	**nɑʔ^{55}**	black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**naʔ^{55}**	black	LaPolla 1987:50
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**naʔ^{55}**	black	LaPolla 1987:50
	nɑʔ^{55}	black	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***s-nak^{H}** BLACK

**Lolo-Burmese*	***(s-)nak**	black	Matisoff 1972b:142
	***s-nak^{H}**	black	Matisoff 2003a:603; Matisoff 1978a:79

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**na^{31}**	black	LaPolla 1987:50
	ɑ^{31}**nɑ^{31}**	black	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	**na^{51}**	black	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:50
Achang (Xiandao)	**nɔʔ^{55}**	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.29
	ɲɔʔ^{55} chot^{55}	dark, get (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.29
Bola (Luxi)	**naʔ^{31}**	black; dark	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**nɛʔ^{4}**	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**nɛʔ^{44}**	black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.40
Burmese (Written)	**nak**	black; dark, of black color	Marrison 1967; Hansson 1989:460; Matisoff 1978a:79; Matisoff 1983:37; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:87n256
	naʔ	black	LaPolla 1987:50
	nɑk	black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.39
	nɑk^{4}	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.26
	ə-**nak**	dark, black	Benedict 1976a
Hpun (Northern)	kă **nù?**	black	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**nɔʔ^{31}**	black; dark	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**nɔːʔ^{31}**	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.33
Maru [Langsu]	**nɔʔ^{31}**	dark; black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:834.43; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**noʔ^{21}**	black; dark	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.30; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:834.42; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***C-nak^{H}** BLACK

**Loloish*	***C-nak^{H}**	black	Bradley 1979b:503; Hansson 1989:460
PNL	**s-nak^{H}**	black	CHEN Kang 1986a:66.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**na^{53}**	black	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.47
	na^{53}wa^{33}	dark, get (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.47
Lalo	**niq**	black	Björverud 1994
	nį^{33}	black	CHEN Kang 1986a:66.
Lipho	**nę^{33}**	black	CHEN Kang 1986a:66.
Luquan	**na 22s**	black	Matisoff 1972b:142
Nasu	**na 32s**	black	Matisoff 1972b:142
	nạ^{2}	black	CHEN Kang 1986a:66.
Neisu	**na^{33}**	black	CHEN Kang 1986a:66.
Nesu	**nę^{33}**	black	CHEN Kang 1986a:66.
Nosu	**no^{4}**	black	CHEN Kang 1986a:66.
Nusu (Central)	**nạ^{53}**	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.34
Nusu (Southern)	**nɲ^{53}**	black	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**nɑ^{35}nɑ^{53}**	black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.45
Nusu (Northern)	**nɑ^{31}**	black	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**na^{33}**	black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{34}**nɔ^{33}**	black; serious (crime)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɔ^{33}	Yi, Black; black	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index; MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɔ^{33}bu^{33}	black, shiny	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɔ^{33}bu^{33}	black, mottled	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɔ^{33}da^{33}	black (hair)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɔ^{33}go^{21}ɕɛ^{33}	dark and empty (house)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɔ^{33}mu^{55}	deep and dark (of water)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɔ^{33}xo^{21}	aristocrat (Nuosu caste); Black Nuosu Yi; caste, Nuosu aristocrat; Nuosu aristocrat caste	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɔ^{33}ʤ^{55}	dark (without light)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɔ^{33}tshɻ^{21}	black, deep	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɔ^{33}tɕɔ^{33}	black (mass of animals or land)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	nɔ^{33}tɕɻ^{33}	black (lacquer)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ndʑɻ^{34}**nɔ^{33}**	skin, dark	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	sɔ^{33}**nɔ^{33}**	gray, dark	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ŋgɯ^{21}**nɔ^{33}**	birch, black	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɻ^{33}**nɔ^{33}**	cape, black felt	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	(ʌ^{33})**nę^{33}**	black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.25
	nę^{33}dɯ^{21}mo^{33}	dark	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:834.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**nę^{33}**	black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.26
	nę^{33}bɯ^{21}bɯ^{21}	dark	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:834.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**nę^{33}**	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.37; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.24
	nę^{33}mɑ^{21}	dark	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.37
	nę^{33}mʌ^{21}	dark	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:834.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**nį^{33}**	black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.23
Yi (Weishan)	**nɻ^{33}**	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.36
Yi (Wuding)	**nɑ^{2}**	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.38
	nɑ^{33}dɯ^{33}	dark	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.38
Yi (Xide)	a^{44}**nɔ^{33}**	black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.21
	nɔ^{33}dzɻ^{55}	dark	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.35; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:834.21
	ɑ^{34}**nɔ^{33}**	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**nę^{33}**	black	CHEN Kang 1986a:66.
	nie 44	black	Matisoff 1972b:142
Jinuo	a^{33}**na^{31}**ti^{33}	dark	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:834.34
	a^{33}**na^{42}**	black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.34
	a^{44}**na^{42}**	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.44
	na^{42}	dark	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**nɑ^{42}**tɤ^{42}	dark	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ɑ^{44}**nɑ^{42}**lɑ^{42}	black	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**na33**	black	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**nâʔ**	black	LaPolla 1987:50
Lahu (Lancang)	mu^{53}**nɑ^{54}**ŋo^{21}	dark, get (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.43
	nɑ^{54}	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.43
	nɑ^{54}xo^{21}	dark	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.43
Lahu (Black)	**nâʔ**	black	Matisoff 1978a:79; Matisoff 1972b:142
	nʌ^{54}	black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.33
	nʌ^{54}xo^{21}	dark	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:834.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**na^{6}**	black	CHANG Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	bja^{21}**næ^{33}**	wood bee (lit. black bee)	Bradley 1994
	bɔʔ^{21}lɔ^{33}**næ^{33}**	black ant	Bradley 1994
	bɤ^{33}**næ^{33}**	black sun	Bradley 1994
	dɔʔ^{21}**næ^{33}**	black kusnezoff monkshood	Bradley 1994
	hwa^{21}**næ^{33}**ʃɻ^{21}	Black race	Bradley 1994
	hɤ^{33}**næ^{33}**	black louse	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}ma^{33}**næ^{33}**	coarse wool (lit. ’black-seed’) (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**næ^{33}**	black (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**næ^{33}** ji^{55}kɔ^{35}	rather dark	Bradley 1994
	khɤ^{21}**næ^{33}**	black dog	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}**næ^{33}**	black ox	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}**næ^{33}**	black dog	Bradley 1994
	li^{33}ti^{33} ma^{33}**næ^{33}**	black bead	Bradley 1994
	mi^{21}hĩ^{33}**næ^{33}**	black wind	Bradley 1994
	mja^{33}**næ^{33}**	black pupil	Bradley 1994
	mu^{33}ku^{55}**næ^{33}**	dark cloud; black cloud	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}**næ^{33}**	black horse	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{21}thæ^{33} hæ̃^{35}phɤ^{21}**næ^{33}**	black mouse	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{33}**næ^{33}**	black cloth	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{55}**næ^{33}**	black tail	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ná3**	black	Matisoff 1972b:142
Lisu (Central)	**ná^{3}**	black	Fraser 1922
	ná^{3} htsi^{3} lye^{3}	dark (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	na^{55}**næ^{33}**	black long-grain rice	Bradley 1994
	næ^{33}	black, dark colour (V.)	Bradley 1994
	næ^{33}dɤʔ^{21} **næ^{33}**hɤ^{55}	pitch dark	Bradley 1994
	næ^{33}dɤʔ^{21}dɤʔ^{21}	jet black; shining bright	Bradley 1994
	næ^{33}dɤʔ^{21}le^{33}	black	Bradley 1994
	næ^{33}le^{33}	dirty; black	Bradley 1994
	næ^{33}næ^{33} kɔ^{33}kɔ^{33}	black and hard	Bradley 1994
	næ^{33}næ^{33}mu^{33}	shiny black	Bradley 1994
	næ^{33}tshi^{55}	dark; pitch dark	Bradley 1994
	næ^{33}tshi^{55} ma^{33}kwa^{33}	in the dark	Bradley 1994
	næ^{33}tshi^{55} **næ^{33}**thɔ^{21}	pitch dark	Bradley 1994
	nø^{55}**næ^{33}**	black soil; mellow soil	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**nę^{33}**	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.40
	nɛ^{44}	black	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:841.27
	nɛ^{44}tshɻ^{35}	dark	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:834.27
Lisu (Northern)	sa^{33}sɔ^{33}**næ^{33}**	black cloth	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}**næ^{33}**	purple blood; dark red, vermillion	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
	si^{21}**næ^{33}**lu^{55}	red blood cell	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}**næ^{33}**	black salt (cf. tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}**næ^{33}**	black people	Bradley 1994
	tʃhɻʔ^{21}**næ^{33}**	black goat	Bradley 1994
	tɕi^{55}**næ^{33}**	black lacquer oil	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}**næ^{33}**	black pig	Bradley 1994
	ɔʔ^{21}ma^{44}**næ^{33}**	black phyllostachys sulphurea	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɔʔ^{21}tɕø^{35}**næ^{33}**	black thread	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ɣa^{33}hwa^{21}**næ^{33}**	black-boned chicken	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ^{44}**næ^{33}**	black bear	Bradley 1994
	ɲa^{35}**næ^{33}**	black tit (living on high mountains)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ne 44**	black	Matisoff 1972b:142
	ne^{44}	black	CHEN Kang 1986a:66.
Yi (Sani)	**ne^{44}**	black	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.39
	ne^{44}bɤ^{11}	dark	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **naq**	black	Hansson 1989:460
Akha	**nạ**	black	Benedict 1972:87n256
	na HS	black	Matisoff 1972b:142
	naq	black	Hansson 1989:460

Akha (Thai)	**naq**	black	Hansson 1989:460
	naq tjɔ̀q i	very black	Hansson 1989:546
Akha (Yunnan)	**naq** xhɛ̀ ni	very black	Hansson 1989:546
Hani (Hu T'an)	**na 33c**	black	Matisoff 1972b:142
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**na 55**	black	Matisoff 1972b:142
Hani (Lüchun)	**ná** tjòq	black	Hansson 1989:460
	ná tjòq nɛ̀	very black	Hansson 1989:546
Hani (Dazhai)	**na̱**^{33}	dark; black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.31; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**na̱**^{33}	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.41
	na̱^{33}xɔ^{31}ne^{33}	dark	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.41
Hani (Pijo)	à **na**	black	Hansson 1989:460
	na	black	Hansson 1989:460
	ná sý thú ti	very black	Hansson 1989:546
Hani (Caiyuan)	**na̱**^{33}	dark; black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**na̱**^{33}	black	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**nav** jovqnei	black; very black	Hansson 1989:460; Hansson 1989:546
Hani (Shuikui)	**na**^{33}	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.32
	na^{33}xu^{31}	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.32
Hani (Khatu)	à **na**	black	Hansson 1989:460
	na	black	Hansson 1989:460
	ná jɔ jɔ̀	very black	Hansson 1989:546
Hani (Mojiang)	**na**^{33}	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.42
	na^{33}xu^{31}	dark	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.42
Mpi	**naŋ**$^{2^3}$	black	Hansson 1989:460; Matisoff 1978a:79; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Woni	**na 45**	black	Matisoff 1972b:142

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Phu Kha	**nja**^{31}	black	Fried 2000

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	mu˧**nɑ**˥	dark: the sky is dark	Michaud 2006–2009:3365
	nɑ˥fv˥fv˥	dark (weather, a room is dark)	Michaud 2006–2009:2034
	nɑ˥	black	Michaud 2006–2009:2011
Moso	**na 11**	black	Matisoff 1972b:142
Na (Yongning)	gi˧**nɑ**˧mi#˥	bear	Michaud 2006–2009
	gi˧**nɑ**˧mi˧zo˧	black bear	Michaud 2006–2009
	næ˩q^{h}æ˧ʈʂ^{h}e˩	black	Michaud 2006–2009
	nɑ˩	black	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}i˧zi˧**nɑ**˩hīʌ	black barley	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**nɑ**^{21}	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.45
	nɑ^{21}fɣ^{55}	dark	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.45
	nɑ^{21}fɣ^{55}	dark, get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**nɑ**^{31}	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.28
	nɑ^{31}fv^{55}	dark	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**nɑ**^{13}	dark; black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.29; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.29
	ʑi^{33}**nɑ**^{55}	black bovine	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:110.29

Chinese comparandum

Comment: Cf. comparanda and discussion under PTB ***s-ma(ŋ/k)*** BLACK / INK / DEEP (§9.4).

(2) PTB *haːŋ BLACK

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***haːŋ**	black	Matisoff 2003a:593

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**hâng**	black	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	**haŋ**	black	Bhat 1969:85
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**haŋ**	black (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(3) PTk *tsik BLACK

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***tsik**	black	Mortensen 2012:561
Huishu	kə-**tsoʔ**	black	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.134
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**ðɐk**	black	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.116
Tangkhul	ka **chik**	black	Marrison 1967
	zik	black	Bhat 1969:85
Tusom	kə-**zɯ**	black	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.153
Ukhrul	kə-**tsik**	black (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(4) PKC *ɗum BLACK / BLUE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ɗum**	BLACK / BLUE	VanBik 2009:62

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**dum**	black	VanBik 2009:62

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**dü**	blue of a dark color, to be deep blue	VanBik 2009:62

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**dûm**-I, dŭm-II	black (color), dark blue (be v.)	VanBik 2009:62
Lai (Falam)	**dŭm**-I, dùm-II	black (color) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:62
Lushai [Mizo]	**dum**	black	Marrison 1967
	dúm	black, blue (as sky, sea), purple (as distant mountains), dark (in color)	VanBik 2009:62
	dum	dark (in colour) (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2294

(5) PTB *s(y)im BLACK / BLUE / DARK / DARK-COLORED

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s(y)im**	black / blue / dark	Benedict 1972:380
	***syim**	dark-colored	Matisoff 2003a:614

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**thim**	dark; darkness	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:380

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	gi **sim** ≍ gu **sum**	black, blue, dark	Benedict 1972:380
	gu **sum**	black; dark	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	sim-ba ≍ **sum**-ba	black, blue, dark	Benedict 1972:380

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**sim**	black, blue, dark	Benedict 1972:380
Garo (Bangladesh)	gi-**sim**	black (vi.)	Burling 2003:3.534-II:idx
	han•-gi-**sim**	dark complexion (n.)	Burling 2003:3.534-II:idx
	mik-gi-**sim**	black eye (n.)	Burling 2003:8.953-II:idx

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**hsin**	dark	Marrison 1967
	nsin **hsin**	dark	Marrison 1967
	n^{55}**sin**^{55} **sin**^{33}	dark, get (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.19
	sin^{33}	dark	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.47

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**ɕin**^{55}	dark	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:834.41

(6) PKC *wom BLACK / DARK

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***wom**	BLACK / DARK	VanBik 2009:1135

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	a **vom**	black	VanBik 2009:1135
Thado	**vóm**-I, vòm-II	black	VanBik 2009:1135
	a̱vóm	black	Thirumalai 1972:47
Tiddim	**-vom**/ˆvom	black (v.)	Henderson 1965
	vom^{2}	black	VanBik 2009:1135
	vom^{2}	black (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1963
	vom^{2}	black	Bhaskararao 1994
	za^{3} san^{2} **vom**^{2}	black pepper	Bhaskararao 1996:1986

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**vâwm**	black, dark, tawny	VanBik 2009:1135
	vom	black (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3095

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	pā-**vỳ**	blacken (v.)	VanBik 2009:1135

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	**wàm**	black	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.042; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.158

(7) PTB *s-ma $\begin{matrix}\text{ŋ}\\\text{k}\end{matrix}$ BLACK / INK / DEEP

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***s-mak ≍ s-maŋ**	ink / black	Matisoff 1983:37
	***smək**	black / dark	Coblin 1986:45

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-maŋ ≍ s-mak**	black / dark / ink	Matisoff 2003a:601

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**ma:**	black	NEFA (India) 1963
	maŋ^{53}	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.49
Idu	**mɑ**^{55}	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.50
Yidu	**mɑ**^{55}	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.25

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-ma(ŋ)*** DARK

**Central Naga*	*a-**ma(ŋ)**	DARK (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.197
**Ao*	*a-**maŋ**	DARK (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.212
Ao (Chungli)	a^{3}-**maŋ**^{1}	dark (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.212
	a **mang**	dark; night	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**mang** ogo	evening	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **màŋ**	dark (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	màŋ-phàŋ	cloud over [clouded over] ('be dark' + 'cover') (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**məŋ**^{3}-	dark (environment) (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.197
	e **mung**	dark	Murry *et al.* 1978:28
	e **müng**	night	Murry *et al.* 1978:78
	é **məŋ**	darkness	Acharya 1975
	mang khanga	dark	Marrison 1967
	məŋ à	dark	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	a **ma**	dark	Marrison 1967
	a **ma** rüra	dark	Marrison 1967
	a ro **mang**	night	Kumar 1973a
	ro **mang**	night	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **mü** tü	dark	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	tangkha **mang**	dark	Marrison 1967

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Batang)	**n̥a**^{55}dza^{53}	ink (Chinese) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0649.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**nak**^{55}tsha^{55}	ink (Chinese) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0649.02
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**naχ** htsa	ink (Chinese) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0649.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

**TGTM*	*^{Ah}**mlaŋ**	black	Mazaudon 1994:803
Gurung (Ghachok)	**mlõ**-gya:	black	Glover 1972:1.91
Gurung	**mlọ**-gyā:	black	Hale 1973:01.091
	^{1}**mlõ**-	black	Mazaudon 1994:803
Manang (Gyaru)	**mlaŋ**^{2} gya^{2}	black	Nagano 1984:338
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**mlã** kya	black	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0478
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**mlaŋ** -mlaŋ-pa	black, very	Mazaudon 1994:804
Tamang (Sahu)	**'mlāng**	black	Hale 1973:01.091
	'mlaŋ	black	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.91
	^{2}**mlaŋ**	black	Mazaudon 1994:804
Tamang (Taglung)	**mlaŋ**	black	Mazaudon 1994:804
Thakali	**mlāng**	black	Hale 1973:01.091
Thakali (Syang)	**mlaŋ**	black	Mazaudon 1994:804
Thakali (Tukche)	**mlaŋ**	black	Hari 1971:1.91
	^{H}**mlaŋ**	black	Mazaudon 1994:804

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***mak**	black	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	kha **makt-**	become night < dark >	Michailovsky 1989b
	mak	black	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**mak**	black, be	Rai 1985
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	jɑ^{33}**nɛ^{55}**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.18
Guiqiong	**nʉ^{55}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.16
Lyuzu	**nɯ^{53}nɯ^{53}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.18
Muya	**ni^{33}ni^{53}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ni^{33}ni^{55}**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.15
Namuyi	da^{55}**mo^{33}**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.19
	da^{53}**mo^{31}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.46
Qiang (Mianchi)	**ŋ̡à**	deep	Evans 1999:1424
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ŋ̡a^{55} ŋ̡a^{55}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	gɛ **nav**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.12
Ergong (Danba)	**nau**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.14
Daofu	**nav nav**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	kə **rnak**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **rnɑk**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.11
Caodeng	kə-**rna**	deep	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	kə-**rnak**	deep	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	**ŋ̡ɯŋ^{31}**ɛ^{55}	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.21
Anong	**ŋ̡ɯŋ^{31}**ɛ^{55}	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.44
Trung [Dulong]	**na^{43}**	deep	LaPolla 1987:51
Dulong	ɹɯ^{31}**nɑʔ^{55}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɹɯ^{31}**nă̱ʔ^{55}**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	rɯ^{31} **naʔ^{55}**	deep	LaPolla 1987:51
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	rɯ^{31} **naʔ^{55}**	deep	LaPolla 1987:51
	ɹɯ^{31}**nă̱ʔ^{55}**	deep	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***-nak**	deep	LaPolla 1987:51; Matisoff 1972b:157(a)
	***ʔ-nak^{L}**	deep	Matisoff 2003a:603; Matisoff 1978a:82 [a]
	***ʔnak**	deep	Matisoff 1972b:157(b)
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**nək^{31}**	deep	LaPolla 1987:51
Achang (Luxi)	**nək^{31}**	deep	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**nɯk^{55}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.29
Bola (Luxi)	**naʔ^{31}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**nɛʔ^{4}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**nɛʔ^{44}**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.40
Burmese (Written)	**hmaŋ**	ink	Benedict 1976a
	hmɑŋ^{2}khɑi^{3}	ink cake	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:493.39
	hmɑŋ^{2}rɑŋ̡^{2}	ink	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:494.39
	maŋ	(prn. hmaŋ) ink	Benedict 1976a
	maŋ~**hmaŋ**	ink	Matisoff 1983:37
	mhaṅ	ink	Marrison 1967
	mɑŋ~**hmɑŋ**	ink	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:904a-b
	mɑŋ^{2}	ink (Chinese) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0649.26
	mɑŋ^{2}o^{3}	marker (ink, carpenter's) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0612.26
	nak	deep	Marrison 1967; Hansson 1989:461; Matisoff 1978a:82; Benedict 1976a
	nɑk	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.39
	nɑk^{4}	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.26
Hpun (Northern)	**nù̱ʔ, nù̱ʔ-**ŋ	deep	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**nɔʔ^{31}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**nəːk^{31}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.33
Marma	**naʔ**	deep (vi.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:368
Maru [Langsu]	**nɔʔ^{31}**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**nik^{21}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.30
	nik^{21}	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.42
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	**na^{35}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.47
Lalo	**ʔnìq**	deep	Björverud 1994
Nasu	**na 55**	deep	Matisoff 1972b:157(b)
Yi (Mile)	**nę̱^{55}**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**nę̱^{21}**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**nę̱^{55}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.37
	nę̱^{55}	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ni̱^{21}**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔni̱^{21}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.36
Yi (Wuding)	**nɑ̱^{55}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**nɑ^{55}**	deep	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**ŋ̡ɑ^{55}**	deep	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	tɕi^{33}**na^{44}**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.34
	tɕi^{44} **na^{55}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.44
Kucong	**na55**	deep	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**ná**	deep	LaPolla 1987:51
Lahu (Lancang)	**nɑ^{35}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.43
Lahu (Black)	**ná**	deep	Matisoff 1978a:82; Matisoff 1972b:157(b)
	nA^{35}	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**na^{4}**	deep	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**ná1**	deep	Matisoff 1972b:157(b)
Lisu (Central)	**ná^{1}**	deep	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**næ^{55}**	deep; profound (V.)	Bradley 1994
	næ^{55} næ^{55}	deeply felt; go deep into	Bradley 1994
	næ^{55}næ^{55}zɔʔ^{21}	a bit deep	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**nɛ^{55}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.40
	nɛ^{55}	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.27
Sani [Nyi]	**ne 55**	deep	Matisoff 1972b:157(b)
Yi (Sani)	**ne^{55}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **nàq**	deep	Hansson 1989:461
Akha	**na LS**	deep	Matisoff 1972b:157(b)
Akha (Thai)	**nàq**	deep	Hansson 1989:461
Akha	**nàq**	deep	Hansson 1989:461
Hani (Hu T'an)	**na 21c**	deep	Matisoff 1972b:157(b)
Hani (Lüchun)	**naq** ?	deep	Hansson 1989:461
Hani (Dazhai)	**nɑ̱^{31}**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**nɑ̱^{31}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.41
Hani (Pijo)	**nà**	deep	Hansson 1989:461
Hani (Caiyuan)	**nɑ̱^{31}**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**nɑ̱^{31}**	deep	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**navq**	deep	Hansson 1989:461
Hani (Shuikui)	**na^{31}**	deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.32
Hani (Khatu)	**nà**	deep	Hansson 1989:461
Hani (Mojiang)	**na^{31}**	deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.42
Mpi	**naŋʔ1**	deep	Matisoff 1972b:157(b)
	naŋʔ^{1}	deep	Hansson 1989:461; Matisoff 1978a:82; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **na31**	deep	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:204020
Sila	**nɑ̱21**	deep	KATO Takashi 2008:236
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**nɛ^{44}**	DEEP	Pelkey 2011:1050
Southern Muji	**ŋ̡ɛ^{21}**	DEEP	Pelkey 2011:1050
Phola	**nɑ̱^{31}**	DEEP	Pelkey 2011:1050
Hlepho Phowa	**ʔmo^{33}**	DEEP	Pelkey 2011:1050
Phuza	**ŋ̡i^{55}**	DEEP	Pelkey 2011:1050
6.2. NAXI			
Na (Yongning)	si˧**nɑ**˥	deep forest	Michaud 2006–2009
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**mək**	ink	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:904c
	xmək	black	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:904a-b
Chinese (Old)	**hmɨk**	black	Baxter 1992:1323
	mək	ink / black	Matisoff 1983:37

[a] Although Written Burmese does not differentiate between **nak** BLACK and DEEP, Lahu has a clear distinction: **nâʔ** 'black' < ***s-nak^{H}** vs. **ná** < ***ʔ-nak^{L}** 'deep'. This latter Lahu word has the high rising tone which developed by "glottal dissimilation" in syllables containing both a glottal onset and a stopped final (see Matisoff: 1970 passim and 1972, section 2.3).

Chinese comparandum

墨 OC ***mək**, *GSR* #904c 'ink'; Schuessler 2007:277 ***mêk**; B & S 2011: ***C.m^{ʕ}ək**; Mand. **mò**
黑 OC ***xmək**, *GSR* #904a-b 'black'; Schuessler 2007:277 ***hmêk**; B & S 2011: ***ŋ̡^{ʕ}ək** (dial. ***ŋ̡^{ʕ}-** > ***x^{ʕ}-**); Mand. **hēi**.

暮 OC ***mâg**, *GSR* #802d 'evening, sunset; late in season'; Schuessler 2007:393 ***mâkh**; B & S 2011: (***C.m^{ʕ}ak-s**); Mand. **mù**.
墓 OC ***mâg**, *GSR* #802f 'tomb, graveyard'; Schuessler 2007:393 ***mâkh**; B & S 2011: ***C.m^{ʕ}ak-s**; Mand. **mù**.

匿 OC ***ni̱ək**, *GSR* #777l-m 'conceal'; Schuessler 2007:493 ***nrək**; B & S 2011: ***nrək**; Mand. **nì**.
慝 OC ***t'nək**, *GSR* #777o 'evil'; Schuessler 2007:493 ***nhâk**; B & S 2011: ***ŋ̡^{ʕ}ək**; Mand. **tè**.

(8) PTB *s-mun DARK

This root seems to be allofamically related to PTB ***muːŋ** ⨳ ***r/s-muːk** FOGGY / DARK / SULLEN / MENACING / THUNDER (§3.2.1).

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***mun**/rmun	dark	Coblin 1986:60
	***mun**~**s-mun**	dusk / evening / darkness / blinded	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:457j-l
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-mun**	dark	Matisoff 2003a:603
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Batang)	**mỹ^{13}** ruʔ^{231}	dark, get (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**mun** dāk	dark (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.34
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**mun^{13}**rup^{132}	dark, get (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.02
	mỹ^{13}na^{52}	dark	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.02
Tibetan (Written)	**dmun**-pa	darkened	Benedict 1972:155n419
	dmun-pɑ	darkened	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:457j-l
	mun nag	dark	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1013.01
	mun rub	dark, get (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1672.01
	mun-pa	dark	Benedict 1972:155n419
	mun-pɑ	dark	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:457j-l
	mun pa	dark	Marrison 1967
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Manang (Prakaa)	**²mun** na:	dark	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0475
Tamang (Sahu)	**mun** tung	dark (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.34
	mun tuŋ	dark (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.B.34
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**hmun**	dim, dusky, blurred	Benedict 1976a
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**mwən/muən**	sad; dull; stupid; blinded, confused, desolate, distracted	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:441d; Karlgren 1957:457f
	mwən~xmwən/muən~xuən	blinded, confused / confused	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:457f
	xmwən/xuən	dusk / evening / darkness / blinded	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:457j-l
	χmwən/χuən	dusk; evening; darkness; benighted; blinded; dark (mentally); blinded, confused, desolate, distracted	Karlgren 1957:457f; Karlgren 1957:457j-l

Chinese comparandum

悶 OC ***mwən**, *GSR* #441d 'stuffy (of weather, room); bored; unconsciously'; Schuessler 2007:379 ***mân**; B & S 2011: (***m^{ʕ}ən**); Mand. **mēn**.
悶 OC ***mwən**, *GSR* #441d 'sad; dull, stupid'; Schuessler 2007:379 ***mâns**; B & S 2011: (***m^{ʕ}ən-s**); Mand. **mèn**.

殙/殞 OC ***miən ~ mwən ~ χmwən**, *GSR* #457f 'blinded; confused; desolate, distracted'; Schuessler 2007:379 ***hmân**; Mand. **hūn**.
昏昏 OC ***χmwən**, *GSR* #457j-l 'dusk, dark'; Schuessler 2007:379 ***hmân**; B & S 2011: ***ŋ̡^{ʕ}un {ŋ̡^{ʕ}u [n] }**; Mand. **hūn**.

(9) PKar *khiʔ^{D} DARK / LATE EVENING

7. KARENIC			
**Karen [Burling]*	***khiʔ**^{2}	dark, late evening	Luangthongkum 2013:73
**Karen*	***khiʔ**^{D}	dark, late evening	Luangthongkum 2013:73
Bwe	**khi**^{33}	dark, late evening	Luangthongkum 2013:73
Kayah	**khi**^{55}	dark, late evening	Luangthongkum 2013:73
Kayan	**khiʔ**^{45}	dark, late evening	Luangthongkum 2013:73
Kayaw	**khi**^{33}	dark, late evening	Luangthongkum 2013:73
Pa-O (Northern)	**kheʔ**^{21}	dark, late evening	Luangthongkum 2013:73
Pa-O (Southern)	**khiʔ**^{21}	dark, late evening	Luangthongkum 2013:73
Pwo (Northern)	**khaiʔ**^{45}	dark, late evening	Luangthongkum 2013:73
Pwo (Southern)	**khaiʔ**^{31}	dark, late evening	Luangthongkum 2013:73
Sgaw (Southern)	**khaiʔ**^{21}	dark, late evening	Luangthongkum 2013:73
Sgaw (Northern)	**khiʔ**^{45}	dark, late evening	Luangthongkum 2013:73

(10) PLB *s-rwəy[1] ≋ *s-rwe[1] GOLD / YELLOW

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**sui**	gold	DAVID A. Peterson 2014
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-rwəy**^{1}	gold / yellow	Matisoff 2003a:611
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**se**^{55}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.28
	se^{55}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**sɛ**^{55}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ɕwe**^{22}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ɕwe**^{22}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.40
Burmese (Written)	**hrwe**	gold	Benedict 1976a
	hrwe^{2}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.26
	hrwe^{2}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.39
	rhwe	gold	Marrison 1967
Marma	**ʃwe**	gold	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:288-4
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***s**-rwe^{1}	gold; yellow	Bradley 1979b:402A; Bradley 1979b:506; Hansson 1989:320
PNL	**s-rwe**^{1}	yellow	CHEN Kang 1986a:128.
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**sjá**	gold / yellow	Björverud 1994
Yi (Dafang)	**sə**^{33}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʂɿ**^{33}	gold (metal); yellow (color)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʂɿ^{34}pa^{33}	gold (color); yellow (color)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ʂʌ**^{33}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**sɛ**^{55}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ʂə**^{33}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.37
	ʂɛ^{33}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ɕe**^{55}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʂɑ**^{55}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ʂɔ**^{33}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.38
Yi (Xide)	**ʂɿ**^{33}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.35
	ʂɿ^{33}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo	**ʃɯ**^{31}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃɯ**^{42}	gold	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ɕɯ**^{42}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.34
Kucong	**sɻ33**	gold	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɕi**^{33}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.43
Lahu (Black)	**si**^{33}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**sɯ**^{1}	gold	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	khɤ^{21}**si**^{21}	yellow dog	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}**si**^{21}	yellow ox	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}**si**^{21}	yellow dog	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}ve^{33} **ʃɿ**^{33}ve^{33}	gold flower and silver flower	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}ŋa^{55} **ʃɿ**^{33}ŋa^{55}	plenty of silver and gold jewelry	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**shï**^{3}	gold	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**ʃi**^{33}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ʃɿ**^{33}	gold; (as suffix) yellow (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ʃɿ^{33} thi^{21} hɤ^{33}	half a gram of gold	Bradley 1994
	ʃɿ^{33}du^{21}	gold mine shaft	Bradley 1994
	ʃɿ^{33}hɤ^{21}	alluvial gold	Bradley 1994
	ʃɿ^{33}khu^{55}	gold mine; gold bar	Bradley 1994
	ʃɿ^{33}tɕhæ^{55}	gold ingot	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ʃɿ**^{44}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.27
Yi (Sani)	**ʂʐ̩**^{44}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **sjhý**	yellow, gold	Hansson 1989:320
Akha (Thai)	**sjhý**	yellow, gold	Hansson 1989:320
Hani (Lüchun)	**sjhý** ni	yellow, gold	Hansson 1989:320
Hani (Dazhai)	**sɻ**^{55}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**sɻ**^{35}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.41
Hani (Pijo)	ɔ **sý**	yellow, gold	Hansson 1989:320
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɕɯ**^{55}	gold	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	fv̩^{55}**ʃɯ**^{55}	gold	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:35.32
Hani (Wordlist)	**sil**	yellow, gold	Hansson 1989:320
Haoni	**ʃɯ**^{55}	yellow, gold	Hansson 1989:320
Hani (Khatu)	à **sý**	yellow, gold	Hansson 1989:320
Hani (Mojiang)	fv̩^{55}**ʃɯ**^{55}	gold (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0051.42
Mpi	**sɯ**^{6}	gold	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**ʂʌ**^{44}	gold	Pelkey 2011:33
Southern Muji	i^{33}**ɕɛ**^{52}ma^{21}	gold	Pelkey 2011:33
Phola	**ʂɛ**^{55}	gold	Pelkey 2011:33
Hlepho Phowa	**sə**^{33}	gold	Pelkey 2011:33
Phu Kha	**ʃi**^{31}	gold	Fried 2000
Phuza	**sɛ**^{33}	gold	Pelkey 2011:33

(11) PTk *tek GREEN

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***tek**	green	Mortensen 2012:557
Huishu	kə-mə-**keʔ**	green	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.138
Kachai	k^{h}ə-mə-**tek**	green	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.120
Tangkhul	kha ma **tek** a	green	Marrison 1967
	tek	green	Bhat 1969:90
Tusom	k^{h}a-n-**tɯə**	green	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.157
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**tek**	green (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(12) PCC *daaŋ-I, *daan-II PALE / PALLID / BLANCHED

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***daaŋ**-I, daan-II	PALE / PALLID / BLANCHED	VanBik 2009:99
Lai (Hakha)	**dâaŋ**-I, dăan-II	pale, blanched (as skin) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:99
Lushai [Mizo]	**dáaŋ**-I, dàan-II	pale, pallid, blanched (be v.)	VanBik 2009:99

(13) PTB *bruk PIEBALD / SPECKLED

This root resembles PTB ***m-bup*** ROT / SPOTTED / WRITE (§3.1.10), but is best kept distinct.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***prakw**	spotted / speckled	Coblin 1986:138
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***bruk**	piebald / speckled	Matisoff 2003a:585
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**prú?**	speckled / spotted	Matisoff 1974:360
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**bruk**.wa?	bird (sp.), medium-sized, fruit-eating, Speckled Wood Pigeon (n.)	Caughley 2000
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**prok**	speckled, spotted (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	prok	speckled, spotted	Coblin 1986:139
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**pŏk/påk**	horse with mixed colors (e.g. brown and white)	Karlgren 1957:1127a-b
Chinese (Old)	**prakw**	spotted / speckled	Coblin 1986:138
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**påk**	horse with mixed (brown and white) colors; mixed	Coblin 1986:612

Chinese comparandum

駁 OC ***pŏk***, *GSR* #1127a-b 'piebald horse'; Coblin 1986 ***prakw***; Schuessler 2007:170-1 ***prâuk***; Mand. **bó**.
豹 OC ***pau-***, *GSR* #1244k 'leopard'; Schuessler 2007:171 ***prâukh***; Mand. **bào**.

(14) PTB *r-ni RED

This widespread root is undoubtedly allofamic with PTB ***r/m-nil*** GUMS (§1.3.4.3).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-ni**	red	Matisoff 2003a:604
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	pa-tɕi-**nə**	red; red (scarlet)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ɲi**^{55}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.18
Guiqiong	**ɲĩ**^{55}**hĩ**^{55}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.16
	ɲi^{55}**xĩ**^{55}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.17
Lyuzu	de^{33}**ɲi**^{53}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.18
Muya	**ni**^{55}**ni**^{33}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ni**^{55}**ni**^{33}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ne**^{35}**tsɑ**^{55}**tsɑ**^{11}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ɲø**^{55}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ɲø**^{55}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɲɛ**^{55}**mə**^{53}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.10
Qiang	**ńhi**	red	Benedict 1972:91n265; Benedict 1972:p. 91
Qiang (Mianchi)	**ná**	red	Evans 1999:1454
	ná nə tsɨ	bright red, glowing	Evans 1999:1603
	sú-**nə**	gums [tooth?-red]	Evans 1999:171
	tshɛ̀-**ná**	numbing pepper (flower of prickly ash tree) [mutton?-red]	Evans 1999:600 [a]
	tɛ̀-**nâ**	redden [p-red]	Evans 1999:1675
	ŋò-mià-**ná**-kì	huangniu cow [cow-female-red-NOM]	Evans 1999:318
Qiang (Taoping)	**χɲi**^{31}**ɲi**^{33}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɲ̥i**^{55}**ɲ̥i**^{55}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɲ̥e**^{55}**ɲ̥e**^{33}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.13
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ɲi**^{55}**ɲi**^{33}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	gɛ **ngi**	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.12
	ngi ngi	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.12
Ergong (Danba)	**nɣiŋ nɣi**	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə wu **rnɛ**	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.11
rGyalrong	kə wu **rnɛ**	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.12
Caodeng	kə-wɐ-**rneʔ**	red	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	kə wu **rni**	red	Benedict 1972:46n152
	kə wu **rni**	red (Vadj.)	Benedict 1972:p. 46 [b]
Caodeng	kɐ-z-wɐ-**rneʔ**	cause to become red	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**tərni**	gold	Benedict 1972:46n152
	ə wu **rni**	red	Benedict 1972:91n265
	kA va **rne**	red	Nagano 1997:163
rGBenzhen	kə-və-**rne**	red	Sun 1997b
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-ni**^{1} RED			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-ni**^{1}	red	Matisoff 2003a:604

[a] [Source Note] (one kind tastes like mutton).
[b] [Source Note] < ***g-rni***.

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	ɑ^{31}**n̥ɛ**^{55}	red	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**na**^{55}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.41
Achang (Luxi)	**nɛ**^{31}	red	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**na**^{55}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.29
Bola (Luxi)	**nɛ**^{55}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.32
Burmese (Modern)	**nī**^{3}	red	Luce 1985:S.9
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ni**^{22}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ni**^{22}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.40
Burmese (Spoken)	**ni**^{3}	red	Luce 1985:S.9
Burmese (Written)	**nī**	red	Marrison 1967; Luce 1985:S.9
	ni	red	Hansson 1989:185; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:69n217
	ni^{2}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.26; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.39
	ə-**ni**-	red	Benedict 1976a
Danu	ă **ni**^{4}	red	Luce 1985:S.9
Hpun (Metjo)	kă **nɛ**^{1}	red	Luce 1985:S.9
Hpun (Northern)	kă **nè**	red	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**nɛ**^{31}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.31
Lashi (Lachhe')	**nɛ**^{4}	red	Luce 1985:S.9
Leqi (Luxi)	**nɛː**^{31}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.33
Maru [Langsu]	**nɛ**^{31}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.43
Taung-Yo	ă **ni**^{4}	red	Luce 1985:S.9
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ne**^{51}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.42
	nɛ^{2}	red	Luce 1985:S.9

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***ʔ-ni**^{1}	red	Bradley 1979b:502; Hansson 1989:185
Lolopho	**nyî**	red	Benedict 1972:p. 91

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**ŋ**^{24}	red	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.47
Lalo	**Ní**-sjỳq	red	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Central)	**n̥e**^{33}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.34
Nusu (Northern)	**n̥e**^{31}	red	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**nɯ**^{21}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a^{33}**n̥i**^{33}	red	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	n̥i^{33}	red	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	n̥i^{34}**tʂ̩**^{33}	red, dark	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tʂhɯ^{33}**n̥i**^{33}	rice, red	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	zu^{21}ʂu^{55}**n̥i**^{33}	fir, red	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ni**^{33}(pɛ^{33})	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**nɯ**^{55}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ɳ̊i**^{33}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.37; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.24
	ʑi^{33} **ɳ̊i**^{33} dzo^{21}	rust (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.37
	ʑi^{33}**ɳ̊i**^{33}	rust	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:39.24
	ʑi̱^{33}**ɳ̊i**^{33}dzo^{21}	rust (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**n̥(ɭ)**^{55}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.23
Yi (Wuding)	**ne**^{11}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.38
Yi (Xide)	a^{33}**n̥i**^{33}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.21
	ɑ^{33}**n̥i**^{33}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**nyǐ ~ nǐ**	red	Benedict 1972:p. 91
Jinuo	a^{33}**nɯ**^{44}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.34
	a^{33}**nɤ**^{44}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{33}**n̥ə**^{44}lə^{44}	red	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**ɳ̊i33**	red	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**ni ~ ní**	red	Benedict 1972:p. 91
Lahu (Lancang)	**ni**^{33}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.43
Lahu (Black)	cha-cú-**ni**	clitoris	Matisoff 1988a:517
	ni^{35}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ni**^{1}	red	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**ni**	red	Benedict 1972:p. 91
Lisu (Central)	**ni**^{3}	red	Fraser 1922
Lisu	sɭ^{31}; **ne**^{33}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.27
Sani [Nyi]	**nyi**	red	Benedict 1972:p. 91
Yi (Sani)	**n̥**^{44}**je**^{11}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.39
	n̥^{44}**phɤ**^{11}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **né**	red	Hansson 1989:185
Akha (Thai)	**né**	red	Hansson 1989:185
Akha	**né**	red	Hansson 1989:185
Bisu	ʔaŋ **hné**	red	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**ní** tjhù	red	Hansson 1989:185
Hani (Dazhai)	su^{55}**ɳ̊i**^{55}	rust	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:39.31
	ɳ̊i^{55}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.31
Hani (Lüchun)	su^{55} **ɳ̊i**^{55} tu̱^{31}	rust (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1618.41
	su^{55}**ɳ̊i**^{55}	rust (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0056.41
	ɳ̊i^{55}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.41
Hani (Pijo)	**ný**	red	Hansson 1989:185
Hani (Caiyuan)	**nɤ**^{55}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.30
Hani (Pijo)	ɔ̀ **ný**	red	Hansson 1989:185
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ne**^{55}	red	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**nil**	red	Hansson 1989:185 [a]
Haoni	**ɳ̊i**^{55}	red	Hansson 1989:185
Hani (Shuikui)	**ɳ̊i**^{55}	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.32
Haoni	**ɳ̊i**^{55}	red	Hansson 1989:185
Hani (Khatu)	à **ný**	red	Hansson 1989:185
	ný	red	Hansson 1989:185
Hani (Mojiang)	**ɳ̊i**^{55}	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.42

[a] Hani final **-l** is a tonemark.

Mpi	**nə**^{5}	red	Hansson 1989:185
	nɤ^{5}	red	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

Chinese comparandum

怩 OC ***nḭər**, *GSR* #563b 'ashamed'; Schuessler 2007:398 ***nri**; B & S 2011: ***nrəj {nr[əj]}**; Mand. **ní**.
耻 OC ***tʰḭəg**, *GSR* #959a 'shame, disgrace'; Schuessler 2007:188 ***hnrjəʔ**; B & S 2011: ***n̥rəʔ {n̥rə(ŋ)ʔ}**; Mand. **chǐ**.

(15) PTani *lɯŋ RED

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***lɯŋ**	red	Sun 1993a:319

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	à-kì tà-**laŋ**	dog (brown)	Sun 1993b
	di-**lā**	soil (red~)	Sun 1993b
	è-**laŋ**	paddy (red-colored)	Sun 1993b
	jà-**laŋ**	mithun (brown)	Sun 1993b
	la-čaŋ	red	Sun 1993b
	lan-čā	red	Sun 1993a
	lan-čʰā	red	Sun 1993b
	ma-**laŋ**	rust	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-**laŋ**	feather on rooster's nape	Sun 1993b
	ta-**laŋ**	rat (species)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	do:-**lɯŋ**	afterglow	Sun 1993b
	kjɯ-**lɯŋ**	squirrel (red)	Sun 1993b
	kɯŋ-**lɯŋ**	dye v. (red)	Sun 1993b
	lui **lɯŋ**-čiŋ-bu:	carrot	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-čiŋ	red	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-čiŋ	red	Sun 1993a
	mu:-**lɯŋ**	flush	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**lɯŋ** kaŋ	red	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.24; Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-kaŋ pɯ-jik-	red	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**lɯŋ** kaŋ	red	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:837.51
Galo	aa **l̶i̶i̶**	tea (red); tea (black) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	baa **l̶i̶i̶**	headress (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	bo **l̶i̶i̶**	mithun (red) (nce.)	GLDC 2009
	bɨ **l̶i̶i̶**	snake (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	dum **l̶i̶i̶**	brown hair; red hair (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	gaa **l̶i̶i̶**	tree (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	kə **l̶i̶i̶**	red squirrel; squirrel (red) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	l̶i̶i̶ ci̶i̶	red (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	l̶i̶i̶ nam	red (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
	maa **l̶i̶i̶**	sweet potato (variety); yam (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	mɨr **l̶i̶i̶**	red; reddened (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	po **l̶i̶i̶**	cock (n:poet.)	GLDC 2009
	ram **l̶i̶i̶**	plant (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ta **l̶i̶i̶**	cardamom (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ya **li**	red dyes	Das Gupta 1963
	ya **l̶i̶i̶**	red (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ya **l̶i̶i̶**-yabo	reddish (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'baa **l̶i̶i̶**	red rice; rice (red) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'be o-'koo **l̶i̶i̶**	monkey (variety) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'gɨi **l̶i̶i̶**	tree (variety); cockfeathers (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'je **l̶i̶i̶**	clothing (red) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ɲik ci-po **l̶i̶i̶**	irritated (eyes) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	ɲig **l̶i̶i̶**	irritated (of eyes); red-eyed (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill Nishing	**lɯ** ci	red	Simon 1976
	ke **lang**	paddy (type of)	Das Gupta 1969
	leng-ceng	red	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	ya **lɯŋ**	red	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	ja-**lɯŋ**	red	Sun 1993a
Milang	ga **laŋ**	sweet potato	Tayeng 1976
	ya-**laŋ**	red	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**lɯŋ**	red	Sun 1993a

(16) PTB *t(y)a-n ≍ *tsa-n RED

There may well be an allofamic connection between this etymon and PTB ***tsya(k/ŋ)** RED / DARK-COLORED / BLACK (§9.4).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***t(s)aːy**	red	Matisoff 2003a:616
	***t(y)a-n**	red	Matisoff 2003a:616
	***t(y)a-n ≍ *t(s)aay**	red	LaPolla 1987:113 [a]
	***t(y)a-n ≍ t(s)aːy**	red	Matisoff 1985a:150

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***sʰan ≍ *sʰen** RED

**Chin*	***sʰan ≍ sʰen**	RED	VanBik 2009:692

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	thi **san**	blood	Haokip 1998:8.7
Sizang	mī ik sā **san**	red (ant)	VanBik 2009:692
Thado	ă-**śen**	red	Benedict 1972:17n63
	ă **sén**	red	Matisoff 1985a:150
	a **sén**	red	LaPolla 1987:113
	sĕn-I, **sèn-II**	red	VanBik 2009:692
	thí **sàn**	blood	Thirumalai 1972:68
Tiddim	**-san/ˆsan**	red (v.)	Henderson 1965
	san	red	Matisoff 1985a:150; LaPolla 1987:113; Benedict 1972:18n63
	si^{1} **san**^{2}	blood ("red blood")	VanBik 2009:692; Bhaskararao 1996:1558
	tśan	red	LaPolla 1987:113
	tśhan	red	Matisoff 1985a:150; Benedict 1972:159n429
	tśhɑn	red	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:812t'
	tya-n	red	Benedict 1972:159n429
	za^{3} **san**^{2}	red pepper	Bhaskararao 1996:1985

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**sèn**	red	VanBik 2009:692
Chinbon	a̱ **šʰin**	red	So-Hartmann 1988:237
Cho (Mindat)	a **hlen**	red	VanBik 2009:692
Daai	**shen**	red	VanBik 2009:692
	sʰɛn	red	So-Hartmann 1988:237
Khumi	**psieeng**	red, redden	VanBik 2009:692
Mkaang	**šʰɛn**	red	So-Hartmann 1988:237
Ngmüüin	**sʰɛn**	red	So-Hartmann 1988:237
Nyhmoye	**sʰɛn**	red	So-Hartmann 1988:237

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**sên**-I, sĕn-II	red	VanBik 2009:692
Lai (Falam)	**sĕn**-INV	red	VanBik 2009:692

[a] [Source Note] [G&C 150].

Laizo	**sén**	red	Matisoff 1985a:150
	sĕn	red	Matisoff 1985a:150; LaPolla 1987:113
	sén	red	LaPolla 1987:113
Lushai [Mizo]	ár hlúi **sén**	red cock (n.)	VanBik 2009:1104
	sen	red	Marrison 1967
	śen	red	Matisoff 1985a:150
	sén	red, crimson, scarlet	VanBik 2009:692
	śen	red	LaPolla 1987:113; Benedict 1972:17n63
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**sài**	red, crimson, rosy	VanBik 2009:692
	sai	red	LaPolla 1987:113
	sai-law	red	Matisoff 1985a:150
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	t^{h}i **sen**	blood	Toba & Kom 1991:8.7
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**tʃen^{3}**	blood (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e **chen**	blood	Marrison 1967
	e **jen**	blood	Murry *et al.* 1978:10
	E **jeN**	blood	Nienu 1990c:8.7
	^{1}e^{3}**džen(ʔ)**	blood	Weidert 1987:260
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**ʃá**	red (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:333
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**ta**	very red, flaming red	Benedict 1976a
	ta / tya	red (very, flaming)	Benedict 1972:18n63
	ta∼tya	flaming red, very red (intensive); red	Matisoff 1985a:150; LaPolla 1987:113
	tya	very red	Benedict 1976a
	tya/ta	red (very-, flaming-)	Benedict 1972:159n429
	tyɑ∼tɑ	very red / flaming red (intensv)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:812t'

Chinese comparandum

綪 OC ***ts'iən**, *GSR* #812t' 'red, dark red'; Schuessler 2007:426 ***tshêns** < ***k-sêns**; Mand. **qìan**.
騂 OC ***si̯ĕng**, *GSR* #821c 'red horse; red, bay, brown'; Schuessler 2007:426 ***seŋ**; Mand. **xīng**.

(17) PTB *s-kyaŋ RED / BLUSHING

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***skhr + yeng**	red	Coblin 1986:123
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kyeŋ**	red; red ox; blushing; ashamed, red	Chou Fa-kao 1972:821c; Matisoff 2003a:598; Benedict 1972:162
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Nishing	leng-**ceng**	red	Das Gupta 1969
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**cheng**	red	Marrison 1967
	khje^{33}	red	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1007.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:837.47
	khyeŋ ⋉ tśeŋ	red, crimson	Benedict 1972:162
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**skyeŋ**-ba	ashamed (vs.)	Benedict 1972:162
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	kha-**khyañ**	large red ant	Benedict 1976a
	khā **khyaññ**	ant (red)	Marrison 1967
	khyâŋ	(intensive for 'red')	Benedict 1976a
	kyaŋ	red (intensive); intensifier with 'red'	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:45n147

Chinese comparandum

經 OC ***t'i̯ĕng**; *GSR* #831x 'red'; Schuessler 2007:184 ***hreŋ**; B & S 2011: ***t-k^{h}reŋ**; Mand. **chēng**.
赬 OC ***t'i̯ĕng**, *GSR* #834m 'red'; Coblin 86:123 ST ***skhryeng** > OC ***skhrjing**; Schuessler 2007:184 ***hreŋ**; Mand. **chēng**.

Comment: The separate graphs 經 **chēng** and 赬 **chēng** represent essentially the same etymon in Chinese.

(18) PTB *tsya k/ŋ RED / DARK-COLORED / BLACK

There may well be an allofamic connection between this etymon and PTB ***t(y)a-n** ⋉ ***tsa-n** RED (§9.4).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tsyak**	red; blood; gold	Matisoff 2003a:617; Benedict 1972:184
	***tśɑk**	red	Chou Fa-kao 1972:793a-c
	***tyaŋ**	black / dark	Matisoff 2003a:616; Benedict 1972:225
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**tyang**-so	gums; gum (of tooth)	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963 [a]
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	rang ka **chak**	gold	Marrison 1967
	raŋ-ka-**tśak**	gold	Benedict 1972:184
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Ntenyi	ke **jang**	dark	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	ga **dźau**	red	Benedict 1972:14n50
	ga **džau**	red; gold	Benedict 1972:184
	ga **jao**	red	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	kə-**čaʔ**	red	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	git **tśak**	red	Benedict 1972:184
	gi **tśak**	red	Benedict 1972:14n50
Garo (Bangladesh)	git-**chak**	red (vi.)	Burling 2003:3.532-II:idx
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**chang**	black	Marrison 1967
	dža	gold	Benedict 1972:184
	tśaŋ ⋉ mə **tśyaŋ**	black	Benedict 1972:225
	tʃa̠ŋ^{33}	black	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.47
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**thíŋ**	black (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:338
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	**chhang** lu	black	Andvik 1993:148
	tsaŋ	black	Benedict 1972:225
Tsangla (Motuo)	**tɕhaŋ** lu	black	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:841.7
	tɕ'aŋ^{55}lu^{13}	black	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**chang**-lu	black	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**tɕhaŋ** lu	black	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1005.07
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**tyaŋ**	dark	Benedict 1972:225
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**cyak**-	dark (va.)	Caughley 2000
	cyak-ʔo	dark	Caughley 1972:12.B.34
	cyak.dhə.bə.ləp	blinded, plunged into darkness (onom.)	Caughley 2000
	cyak.lah	dark of moon; dark moon (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	cyak.paŋ.raŋ	very dark (onom.)	Caughley 2000
	cyak.ryəw	darkness (n.)	Caughley 2000
	cyak.taŋ.ki tiŋ.ka	dark, dense (forest) (onom.)	Caughley 2000
	cyāk.ʔo	dark (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.34
	cyaŋ.raŋ	very dark (onom.)	Caughley 2000
	hluŋ **cyak**-	uncaring (vr.)	Caughley 2000
	hluŋ **cyak**.ryəw.məyʔ	hard-hearted ones (n.)	Caughley 2000
	tiʔ.**cyak**.ʔa.dhə	marsh, swamp, sodden area (n.)	Caughley 2000

[a] The order of the morphemes in this Darang compound seems strange, since the head noun **so** 'tooth' should appear before the modifier **tyang**.

(19) PKC *(k)rial STRIPED / SPOTTED

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	*(**k**)rial	STRIPED / SPOTTED	VanBik 2009:1330
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**gial** sak	mottle	VanBik 2009:1330
Sizang	**ngīel** hī	striped	VanBik 2009:1330
Tiddim	**gial^{2}**	spotted, have many colours	VanBik 2009:1330
	gial^{2}	spotted; have many colours (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:343
	gial^{2}	spotted...	Bhaskararao 1994
	gial^{2} beːm^{1}	leopard	Bhaskararao 1996:344
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**trîal**-I, trǐal-II	striped, spotted (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1330
Lai (Falam)	**trǐal**-I, trìal-II	spotted, striped (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1330
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭíal**	striped, spotted	VanBik 2009:1330

(20) PTB *bawk WHITE

This root is well-distributed, occurring in Bodo-Garo, Kuki-Chin, Kiranti, and Chinese.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***bok**	white	Matisoff 2003a:585
1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Kuki (Southern)*	***bok**	white	Chou Fa-kao 1972:782a-e; Benedict 1972:181n478
Chinbok	**bok**	white	Benedict 1972:181n478
Yawdwin	**pok**	white	Chou Fa-kao 1972:782a-e; Benedict 1972:181n478
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**bok**	white	Chou Fa-kao 1972:782a-e; Benedict 1972:181n478
Chinbon	ḁ **ɓoːk**	white	So-Hartmann 1988:238
Daai	**ɓɔ́ːk**	white	So-Hartmann 1988:238
Matu	ḁ **ɓoːk**	white	So-Hartmann 1988:238
Mkaang	**ɓɔ́ːk**	white	So-Hartmann 1988:238
Ngmüün	**ɓɔ́ːk**	white	So-Hartmann 1988:238
Nyhmoye	**ɓɔ́ːk**	white	So-Hartmann 1988:238
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***bok**	white	Burling 1959:445
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	gi **bok** / gi **pok**	white	Benedict 1972:181n478
	gi **bok**∼gi **pok**	white	Chou Fa-kao 1972:782a-e
Garo (Bangladesh)	**bok**-a	white (vi.)	Burling 2003:3.455-II:idx
	gip-**bok**	white (vi.)	Burling 2003:3.531-II:idx
	mik-on gip-**bok**	white of the eye	Burling 1992
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	a la **bok**	white crane bird (n.)	van Breugel 2008
	pi **bok**	white, unripe, very light green (adj2.)	van Breugel 2008
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	nam **bɔːŋ**	white variety of sesame	Weidert 1987:300
	phɔ	white	Michailovsky 1989b
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	白	white	Baxter & Sagart 2011:31; Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**b'ăk/b'ɒk**	white	Chou Fa-kao 1972:782a-e
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**bái**	white	Evans *et al.* 1991; Baxter & Sagart 2011:31

Chinese comparandum

白 OC ***băk**, *GSR* #782a 'white'; Schuessler 2007:153-4 ***brâk**; B & S 2011: ***bˤrak**; Mand. **bái**.
魄 OC ***p'ăk**, *GSR* #782o 'animal soul of man; phase of the moon'; Schuessler 2007:417 ***phrâk**; B & S 2011: ***p^{hʕ}rak**; Mand. **pò**.

(21) PQ *pram WHITE

This root is solidly established for rGyalrongic.
It is sometimes difficult to distinguish reflexes of this etymon from those of PTB ***plu** WHITE / SILVER / MONEY (§9.4) in Qiangic proper.

3.2. Qiangic			
Muya	**tʂhø^{53}tʂhø^{33}**	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tʂhø^{55}tʂhø^{33}**	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**phʐ̩ĩ^{55}**lø^{55}lø^{11}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**phʂə̃^{55}**	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**phʐ̩ə̃^{55}**	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**phʐ̩ã^{55}**mə^{53}	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.10
Qiang (Taoping)	**phʐ̩i^{55}**	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ptʂho^{55}ptʂho^{33}**	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tʂhõ^{55}tʂhõ^{55}**	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ptʂhi^{55}ptʂhi^{55}**	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	**'prəm** pa	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632

Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	**phrə̂m**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	ʼkə **pram**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	ʼkə **ptɽom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**ʼpʰrəm** pa	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	də **ʼmprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	də **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	kə22 **ɣram33**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə44 **pram44**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong	kə **pram**	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **prɑm**	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**pram**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	kə-**pran**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
Caodeng	kə-**ɣrəm?**	white	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	kə1**ʼpram53**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **pram44**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	kə22**proŋ44**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	kə^{3}**mprom**^{53}	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kə^{3}**pram**^{3}	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	kə^{3}**pram**^{5}	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	kə^{3}**pre**^{53}	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	kə^{3}**prom**^{5}	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	kə^{3}**prom**^{5}	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	kə^{3}**prom**^{53}	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	kə **ʼbra**^{m}	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	kə **ʼmbram**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	kə **ʼmbram**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	kə **ʼmbrom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	kə **ʼmbrom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	kə **ʼmbrom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	kə **ʼmbrom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	kə **ʼmbrom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	kə **ʼmprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	kə **ʼpram**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	kə **ʼpram**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	kə **ʼpram**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	kə **ʼpram**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	kə **ʼpraŋ**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	kə **ʼpra**^{m}	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	kə **ʼpra**^{m}	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	kə **ʼpra**^{m}	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	kə **ʼpra**^{m}	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kə **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	kə **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	kə **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kə **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kə **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	kə **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	kə **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	kə **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	kə **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	kə **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	kə **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	kə **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	kə **ʼprom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	kə **ʼprop**˺	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	kə **ʼptɽom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	kə **ʼptɽum**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	kə **ʼβptɽom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	kə ˈ**prom**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	**ptɽ^{h}o ʼptɽ^{h}o**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**p^{h}rə̂m**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Northern)	tə mn̥ak ka **wrum**	white of eye	Sun Hongkai 1991k:3.4.2.3
rGyalrong (NW)	tə mn̥ak kə **prum**	white of eye	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.4.2.3
rGyalrong (Eastern)	wu mn̥ak kə **pram**	white of eye	Sun Hongkai 1991j:3.4.2.3
Caodeng	zndimʔ kə-**ɣrəmʔ**	cloud (white)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊkə **pran**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˊkə **prʌm**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong	kA **pram**	white	Nagano 1997:169
rGBenzhen	kə-**pram**	white	Sun 1997b

(22) PTani *pu $\begin{matrix}\text{n}\\\text{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ WHITE

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***pun**~ **puŋ**	white	Sun 1993a:459

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	à-diŋ dim-**pu**	grey hair	Sun 1993b
	à-kì tà-**pu**	dog (white)	Sun 1993b
	djim-**pu**	grey hair	Sun 1993b
	ké-ñi-pa-**pu**	white bird (species)	Sun 1993b
	pu-lu	white	Sun 1993a
	pú-lu	white	Sun 1993b
	pu-lu	white	Sun 1993b
	ta-**pu**	white	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ñik-**puŋ**	white of eye	Sun 1993b
	puŋ-tɯŋ	white	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	kam **puŋ**	duck (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0300.24
	kam-**puŋ**	duck (wild)	Sun 1993b
	puŋ lu	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.24; Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	puŋ-po (toŋ-to)	white	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**puŋ** lu	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.51
Galo	aa **puu**	tea (white) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	dum **puu**	gray hair; white hair (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	duu **puu**	perilla (white) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	puu luu	white (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	puu nam	white (v:c.arg.)	GLDC 2009
	ya **pu**-na	white; white dyes	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	ya **puu**	white (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lɨɨ **puu**	stone (white) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘mɨr **puu**	white; whitened (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɲik **puu**	eye white (n.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**pu** lu	white	Simon 1976
	ɲik-**pu**	white of eye	Simon 1976
Nishing	ya **pung**	white; bright	Das Gupta 1969; Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**puŋ** pu	white	Das Gupta 1983
	ya **puŋ**	white	Das Gupta 1983
	ya **puŋ** ya luŋ	design (white and red [yellow?])	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	**pun**; **puŋ**	white	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	mik-**pung**	white of eye	Matisoff 1987

(23) PTk *car WHITE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***car**	white	Mortensen 2012:514
Kachai	kə-**car**	white; white of eye	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.117
	kə-**tɕar**	white	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	**cə́r**	white	Bhat 1969:100
	ka **char**	white	Marrison 1967
	mik ha **char**	white of eye	Matisoff 1987
Ukhrul	**cɐr**-ʃi-kə-haj	very white (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**car**	white	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**cɐr**	white (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(24) PTB *s-ŋow WHITE / GREEN / YELLOW / BLUE

Tibetan and rGyalrong have an allofam with final ***-n***.

The general meaning of this root seems to be ‘light in color’, with the exact color referred to differing from language to language.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ŋow**	blue / green	Matisoff 2003a:606
	***ŋow**	white / green / yellow	Benedict 1972:296

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ****ŋaw*** FAIR (skin color) / WHITE (of skin) [a]

**Chin*	***ŋaw**	FAIR (skin color) / WHITE (of skin)	VanBik 2009:852

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**ngou**	white	VanBik 2009:852
Sizang	**ngō** hī	fair (of color)	VanBik 2009:852
Thado	**ŋou**	clean	Benedict 1972:296
	ŋów-I, ŋòw-II	fair skin, white (be v.)	VanBik 2009:852
Tiddim	**ngou**^{2}	fair in complexion	VanBik 2009:852

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**nau**	green	Benedict 1972:296

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ŋâw**-I, ŋăw-II	fair skin, white (be v.)	VanBik 2009:852
Lai (Falam)	**ŋâw**-I, ŋàw-II	fair skin, white (be v.)	VanBik 2009:852
Lushai [Mizo]	**ngo**	white	Marrison 1967
	ngó	white, fair, a light color	VanBik 2009:852
	ŋou	white	Benedict 1972:296

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**ngyù**	fair, white	VanBik 2009:852

1.2.4. “OLD KUKI”

Bete	ə **ŋoi**	yellow	Benedict 1972:296

1.3. “NAGA” AREAL GROUP

Maring	**ngau** bang	white	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. BODIC

Tshona (Wenlang)	**ŋɑu**^{55}	blue	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**ŋʌu**^{53}	blue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:839.6
Cuona Menba	**ŋau**^{55}po^{53}	blue	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1010.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**rŋo** nak	blue	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1010.05

[a] This root was reconstructed as ****ŋow*** in *STC* #296.

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hŋon** po	blue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:839.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hŋon**-nbo	blue	Sun 1985a:80
	rŋ̊on mbo	blue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:839.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ŋ̊u**^{55}**ŋ̊u**^{53}	blue	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1010.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**ngom** muq	blue (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.35
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ŋ̊en**^{55}bo^{53}	blue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:839.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ŋom**^{55}po^{53}	blue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:839.2
	ŋø^{55}po^{55}	blue	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1010.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**ngun** bu	blue (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.35
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ŋum** bo	blue	Sharma 1979
	ŋun po	blue	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**sngon**.po	blue	Sun 1985c:80
	sŋo	blue, green	Benedict 1972:296
	sŋon po	blue	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1010.01; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:839.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hŋo** mbo	blue	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1010.04
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	**sŋon** mbo	blue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:839.12
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Luxi)	**ŋ̍au**^{31}	blue	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ɲau**^{55}	blue	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1010.29
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-ɲo**^{1}	blue / green	Bradley 1979b:508
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**ŋ̍ɯ**^{33}	blue	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1010.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ŋ̍ɯ**^{35}**ŋ̍ɯ**^{31}	blue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:839.45
Nusu (Northern)	**ŋ̍ɯ̃**^{31}	blue	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ŋ̍ɯ**^{55}	blue	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ŋ̍i**^{33}	blue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:839.22
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	**nu33**	blue	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**nɔ**^{33}	blue	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1010.43
Lahu (Black)	**nɔ**^{35}	blue	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:839.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**nŋ**^{1}	blue	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

(25) PKC *(k)(r)aaŋ-I, *(k)(r)aan-II WHITE / LIGHT (color)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	*(**k**)(r)aaŋ-I, (k)(r)aan-II	WHITE / LIGHT (color)	VanBik 2009:1334
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	mit **kang**	white of eye	Haokip 1998:3.4.2.3
Thado	**káaŋ**-I, kàan-II	white	VanBik 2009:1334
Tiddim	**-kaːŋ/ˆkaːn**	white;burn (v.)	Henderson 1965
	be^{1} **kaːng**^{2}	white bean	Bhaskararao 1996:73
	kaːng^{2} > kaːn^{3}	white	VanBik 2009:1334
	kaːng^{2} > kaːn^{3}	white (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:569
	kaːŋ^{2}**/kaːn**^{3}	white	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**ka(ng)líiwng**	white thing	VanBik 2009:1334
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**râaŋ**-I, răan-II	white (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1334
Lai (Falam)	**răaŋ**-I, ràan-II	white (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1334
Lushai [Mizo]	**ráang-I**, **ràan-II**	marked in any way with white, grey or light colour	VanBik 2009:1334
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**rà**	white	VanBik 2009:1334

(26) PTB *plu WHITE / SILVER / MONEY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***plu**	white / silver / money	Matisoff 2003a:607
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	gùm-**phrò**	white / silver	Matisoff 1974:38
	hpraw	white	Marrison 1967
	hpraw-nawn-jəhku	semen (poet. white worthy fluid	Matisoff 1987
	khʒaŋ^{31}**phʒo**^{31}	cabbage (Chinese)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:207.47
	khɹaŋ^{31}**phɹo**^{31}	Chinese cabbage	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	kum^{31}**phʒo**^{31}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.19
	kum^{31}**phʒo**^{31}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.47
	kum^{31}**phɹo**^{31}	silver	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	kum **hpraw**	silver	Marrison 1967
	myìʔ-**hpràw**	white of eye	Matisoff 1987
	phrò ŋ	white	Matisoff 1974:100
	phʒo^{31}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.47
	phɹo^{31}	white	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**phro**	white (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:337
3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	**phu**^{55}lu^{55}	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.19
	phu^{53}lu^{31}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.46
Qiang (Longxi)	**phé**	white	Evans 1999:1453
Qiang (Mawo)	nə **ph [ɸ] i**^{1}	white of the eye	Sun 1986
	nə **ɸi**	white of eye	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.4.2.3
	phi	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.8
	phɹɪʂ	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	bú-**pʂì**	hail [m-white?] (n.)	Evans 1999:15
	ló-**pʂì**	flint, stone for fire [stone-white]	Evans 1999:746
	pʂí	white	Evans 1999:1453
	tì-**pʂì**	panda [bear-white]	Evans 1999:387.1
Xumi	**phu**^{33}	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.20
	phu^{33}tu^{33}tu^{55}	grey	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1011.17
	phu^{33}tɕi^{33}tɕi^{55}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.17
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	gɛ **phru**	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.12
Ergong (Danba)	mau **phʂu**	white of eye	Sun Hongkai 1991b:3.4.2.3
Ergong (Northern)	meɣ^{53} **ptʂ^{h}u**^{33}	white of eye	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.4.2.3
Ergong (Daofu)	mau **phru**	white of eye	Dai Qingxia 1989b:3.4.2.3
Daofu	**phru phru**	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.12
Horpa	**phru-phru**	white	Benedict 1972:61n194
Ergong (Danba)	**phʂɯ phʂu**	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**ʼp^{h}ru p^{h}ru**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**p^{h}ru**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	**p^{h}ru p^{h}ru**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	**p^{h}ru p^{h}ru**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**p^{h}ru p^{h}ru**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**p^{h}rə ʼp^{h}rə**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	**p^{h}ɹu** ˈ**p^{h}ɹuʔ**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	**ʼp^{h}rə p^{h}rə**	white	Nagano & Prins 2013:1632
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***plu**^{1} WHITE / SILVER / MONEY			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***plu**^{1}	white / silver / money	Matisoff 2003a:607; Matisoff 1978a:23
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	ɑ^{31}**phu**^{55}	white	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	ɑŋ^{31}**phuʔ**^{55}	Chinese cabbage	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**phzu**^{55}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.41
Achang (Luxi)	aŋ^{55}**phu**^{51}	Chinese cabbage	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	phu^{35}	white	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**phzu**^{55}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.29
	ɲɔʔ^{55} **p^{h}zu**^{55}	eye white	Dai Qingxia 1989f:101.1
Bola (Luxi)	**phju**^{55}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**phju**^{22}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.27
	tɕɛʔ^{4}tθũ^{22}**phju**^{22}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**phju**^{22}	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.40
	tɕɛʔ^{44}tθũ^{22}**phju**^{22}	garlic	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:210.40
Burmese (Written)	krak swan **phrū**	garlic	Marrison 1967
	krɑk^{4} tθon^{2} **phru**^{2}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.26
	krɑk thon^{2} **phru**^{2}	garlic	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:210.39
	mî-**phru**	pure silver	Benedict 1976a
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**phlu**	white	Benedict 1972:41n134, 60n194
Burmese (Written)	**phlu**	white	Benedict 1972:60n194
	phlu / phru	white	Benedict 1972:41n134
	phrū	white	Marrison 1967
	phru	white; silver	Hansson 1989:165; Matisoff 1974:38; Benedict 1976a
	phru^{2}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.26; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.39
	phwê	very white	Benedict 1976a
	p^{h}ru	white / silver / money	Matisoff 1978a:23
Hpun (Northern)	ă **phyúʔ**, phyúʔ	white	Henderson 1986
	kʃ̌wè, kă ʃwè **phyú** (=w	garlic / onion (cf. WHITE)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**phju**^{31}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.31
Lashi	mjɔʔ^{31} **phju:**^{33}	white of eye	Dai Qingxia 1989m:3.4.2.3
Leqi (Luxi)	**phju:**^{33}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.33
Marma	chaiŋbaŋ **phru**	white hair	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:1-1a
	kraʔ θwaiŋ **phru**	garlic	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:73-1a
	phru	white (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:337
Maru [Langsu]	mjɔ^{31} **phju**^{31} tʃik^{55}	white of eye	Dai Qingxia 1989l:3.4.2.3
	phju^{31}	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.43
	ɔ̃^{35}**phju**^{31}	cabbage (Chinese)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:207.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	aŋ^{21}**phju**^{51}	cabbage (Chinese)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:207.42
	phju^{51}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***plu**^{1}	silver; white	Bradley 1979b:401A; Bradley 1979b:507; Hansson 1989:165
Lolopho	me̱^{44} **phy̱**^{33}	white of eye	Dai Qingxia 1989n:3.4.2.3
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**fú**	silver / white	Björverud 1994
	ʔmɪ^{33} **fu̱**^{55}	white of eye	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.2.3
Lipho	me̱^{33}**phu**^{33}	white of eye	Chen Kang 1986b:3.4.2.3
Nusu (Southern)	ɣɔ̃^{55}**phɹu**^{55}	Chinese cabbage	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Nanhua)	**phiu**^{33}	silver; white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.24; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.24
	phyo^{33}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.37
	phyo^{33}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.37
	ɣa^{21}phi^{33}**phiu**^{33}	cabbage (Chinese)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:207.24
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	a^{33}**phro**^{44}	white	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.44
	a^{33}**phɹo**^{33}	white	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:840.34
	ko^{44}**phrə**^{33}	garlic (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0424.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ko^{44}**phɹə**^{44}	garlic	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**phru**^{42}	silver (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.44
	phɹu^{31}	silver	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:36.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**phɹu**^{42}	silver	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	ɑ^{33}**phɹu**^{44}lu^{44}	white	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**phv33**	white; silver	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009; Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	śū-**phu**	onion	LaPolla 1987:99
	śū-**phu**-nù	garlic	LaPolla 1987:99 [a]

[a] Contra DL:1195, Lahu **-phu-** in this compound seems to mean WHITE rather than the homophonous morpheme BULBOUS OBJECT.

Lahu (Lancang)	**phu^{33}**	silver (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.43
	phu^{33}	white	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.43
Lahu (Black)	**phu**	white / silver	Matisoff 1974:38
	phu^{33}	silver	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:36.33
	phu^{35}	white	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:840.33
	p^{h}u	white / silver / money	Matisoff 1978a:23
	ɣɔ^{53}tsʌ^{35}**phu^{33}**	cabbage (Chinese)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:207.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**phɣ^{1}**	white; silver	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	(**hpu^{4}**)-du^{5}	mine (silver) (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	bɤ^{33}**phu^{33}**	white sun	Bradley 1994
	dzø^{44}**phu^{33}**	white eagle	Bradley 1994
	dɔʔ^{21}**phu^{33}**	white kusnezoff monkshood	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	dʑøʔ^{21}lɔ^{33}**phu^{33}**	white flint (quartzite)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	dʑɤʔ^{21}lɔ^{33}**phu^{33}**	white flint (quartzite)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**hpu^{4}**	white; money (silver); silver	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	hwa^{21}**phu^{33}**ʃ^{21}	White race	Bradley 1994
	hɤ^{33}**phu^{33}**	white louse	Bradley 1994
	ji^{35}khwa^{21} **phu^{33}**	white wormwood	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**phu^{33}**	white (V.)	Bradley 1994
	khɤ^{21}**phu^{33}**	white dog	Bradley 1994
	la^{21}**phu^{33}**	white ox	Bradley 1994
	la^{33}**phy^{33}**	white dog	Bradley 1994
	li^{33}ti^{33} ma^{33}**phu^{33}**	white bead	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}**phu^{33}**	white stone	Bradley 1994
	ma^{33}**phu^{21}**læ^{33}	white hollow-centred bamboo (with long hollow sections)	Bradley 1994
	mu^{33}ku^{55}**phu^{33}**	white cloud	Bradley 1994
	mɔ^{21}**phu^{33}**	white horse	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{55}**phu^{33}**	white tail	Bradley 1994
	na^{55}**phu^{33}**	white long-grain rice	Bradley 1994
Lisu	o^{31}**phu^{44}**	cabbage (Chinese)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:207.27
Lisu (Northern)	**phu^{33}**	white; clean; plain (V.)	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}	silver; money; currency; cf.phy^{21} (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**phu^{33}**	silver (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.40
Lisu (Northern)	**phu^{33}**a^{55}tha^{21}	silver knife	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}da^{33}	silver pole	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}dɔ^{33}khu^{33}	silver mine	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}khu^{55}	silver ingot; shoe-shaped gold or silver ingot	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}le^{33}	clean; white	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}le^{33}zaʔ^{21}	white; clean and white; shining white	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}li^{33}ɣɔʔ^{21}	silver necklace	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}læʔ^{21}dʒu^{44}	silver bracelet	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}læʔ^{21}ni^{33} tu^{55}du^{33}	silver ring	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**phu^{33}**læʔ^{21}ɲi^{33} tu^{55}du^{33}	silver ring	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**phu^{33}**na^{33}khɔ^{35}	silver earring	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}phu^{33}mu^{33}	purely white	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}thɔ^{21}ɤ^{21}	silver letter; silver book; silver paper	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}ve^{33}	silver flower	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}ve^{33} ʃ^{33}ve^{33}	gold flower and silver flower	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}ɲa^{55} ʃ^{33}ɲa^{55}	plenty of silver and gold jewelry	Bradley 1994
	phu^{33}ʒl^{44}	silver liquid	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**phu̱^{33}**	white	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.40
	phu^{44}	silver; white	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:36.27; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:840.27
Lisu (Northern)	phy^{21}lɔ^{44} **phu^{33}**	white agate	Bradley 1994
	phy^{21}**phu^{33}**	white melon	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}**phu^{33}**lu^{55}	white blood cell	Bradley 1994
	thɔ^{21}ɤ^{21} **phu^{33}**	white paper	Bradley 1994
	tsha^{21}**phu^{33}**	white salt (cf. tsha^{21}dʑæʔ^{21})	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}**phu^{33}**	albino; White peoplw	Bradley 1994
	tʃhɳʔ^{21}**phu^{33}**	white goat	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	tɕhø^{33}**phu^{33}**	white rice	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	tɕhɤ^{33}**phu^{33}**	white rice	Bradley 1994
	tɕi^{55}**phu^{33}**	white lacquer oil	Bradley 1994
	ve^{55}**phu^{33}**	white jade	Bradley 1994
	væʔ^{21}**phu^{33}**	white pig	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21} a^{33} le^{33} **phu^{33}**	as white as snow	Bradley 1994
	wa^{21}**phu^{33}**	white snow (cf. tsha^{21}phu^{33})	Bradley 1994
	ɔʔ^{21}**phu^{33}**	Chinese cabbage	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɔʔ^{21}tɕø^{35}**phu^{33}**	white thread	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ɔʔ^{21}tɕɤ^{35}**phu^{33}**	white thread	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}**phu^{33}**	white hair	Bradley 1994
	ɔ^{55}**phu^{33}**pha^{21}	white-haired old man	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}fu^{33}**phu^{33}**	egg white	Bradley 1994
	ɣa^{33}**phu^{33}**	white chicken	Bradley 1994
	ɣɔ^{44}**phu^{33}**	white bear	Bradley 1994
	ʒl^{35}duʔ^{21} ɔ^{55}**phu^{33}**	white-collared yuhinia, Yuhinia didemata (babbler bird) (N.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	ne^{33} **ɬu^{33}**	white of eyes	WU Zili *et al.* 1984b:93.13
	ne^{44}**ɬu^{33}**	white of eye	CHEN Kang 1986b:3.4.2.3

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **pjhú**	white	Hansson 1989:165
	khɔ̀ **pjhú**	perspiration	Hansson 1989:166
Akha (Thai)	khɔ̀-**pjhú**	perspiration	Hansson 1989:235
	pjhú	white	Hansson 1989:165
Akha	**pjhú**	white	Hansson 1989:165
Hani	-**phulu**	white	Benedict 1972:60n194
Hani (Lüchun)	khə̀ **phú**	perspiration	Hansson 1989:235
Hani (Dazhai)	**phju^{55}**	silver	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:36.31
	phju^{55}; ba^{33}	white	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:840.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**phú**	white	Hansson 1989:165
	phju^{55}	silver (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.41
	phju^{55}	white	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.41
Hani (Pijo)	**phfú**	white	Hansson 1989:165
Hani (Caiyuan)	**phɣ^{55}**	silver; white	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:36.30; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:840.30
	se^{55}**phɣ^{55}**	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.30
Hani (Pijo)	sjhí **phu**	louse	Hansson 1989:227
	ɔ̀ **phfú**	white; white, light	Hansson 1989:165; Hansson 1989:50
Hani (Gelanghe)	**phju^{55}**	silver	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɣɔ^{31}**phju^{55}**	Chinese cabbage	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Haoni	**fɣ^{55}**	white	Hansson 1989:165
Hani (Shuikui)	**fɣ^{55}**	white	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:840.32
	fɣ^{55}tʃ̃^{31}	silver	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:36.32
Hani (Wordlist)	koq **piul**	perspiration	Hansson 1989:166; Hansson 1989:235
	piul	white	Hansson 1989:165
Hani (Shuikui)	ʃɛ^{55}**fɣ^{55}**	louse	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:162.32
Hani (Khatu)	a **pjhú**	white; white, light	Hansson 1989:165; Hansson 1989:50
	pjhú	white	Hansson 1989:165
	sjhí **phú**	louse	Hansson 1989:227
Hani (Mojiang)	**fɣ^{55}**	white	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.42
	fɣ^{55}tʃ̃^{31}	silver; money (lit. 'silver') (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0052.42; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0573.42
	ʃɛ^{55}**fɣ^{55}**	louse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0356.42
Mpi	**phju^{6}**	money / silver	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	p^{h}ju^{6}	white / silver / money	Matisoff 1978a:23
Pyen	**phlu45**	silver	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:012073
Sila	a21 **phju55** lu55	white	KATO Takashi 2008:243
	he55 **phju55**	louse	KATO Takashi 2008:187
Ugong	mɪŋ **phlɔ**	white mark	Bradley 1993
	ɲɔʔ (kɔŋ)phlɔ/phɔ̆	white of eye	Bradley 1993:3.4.2.3

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	læ˧mjæ˥ʁɔ˥ ku˧**p^{h}v˥**	egg white, albumen	Michaud 2006–2009:828
	p^{h}v˥	white	Michaud 2006–2009:2013
	p^{h}v˥hwɑ˥læ˩hĩ˩	bright, shining	Michaud 2006–2009:3360
	p^{h}v˥hæ˥-læ˩-hĩ˩	light grey	Michaud 2006–2009:2032
	p^{h}v˥kwɤ˥læ˩hĩ˩	bright, shining	Michaud 2006–2009:3359
	u˥tɕ^{h}y˥ **p^{h}v˥** hĩ˥	white (hair)	Michaud 2006–2009:2016
Na (Yongning)	lwɤ˩**p^{h}v˩**	grey	Michaud 2006–2009
	p^{h}v˩	white	Michaud 2006–2009
	p^{h}v˩tɕæ˩ɻæ˧	white (face, clothes, hair, etc.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}i˧zi˧ **p^{h}v˩**hĩ˩	white barley	Michaud 2006–2009
	tɕæ˧**p^{h}v˩**	white (face, clothes, hair, etc.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	v˩ts^{h}ɤ˧**p^{h}v˥**	Chinese cabbage	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	ndʑy^{33}**phəɹ^{31}**	cabbage (Chinese)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:207.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**phəɹ^{33}**	white	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:840.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**phəɹ^{31}**	white	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:840.28
Naxi	**phɚ^{21}**	white	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1006.45
Naxi (Yongning)	tsha^{31}**phv^{33}**	cabbage (Chinese)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:207.29

8. BAI

Bai (Dali)	**peɹ^{42}**	white	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:840.35
	peɹ^{42}tshɯ^{31}	cabbage (Chinese)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:207.35
	poe 8	(1) white; (2) Bai (national minority)	Dell 1981b:348
	poe sɛ ts'ö 824	cabbage	Dell 1981b:349

(27) PKC *ʔeŋ-I, *ʔen-II YELLOW

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ʔeŋ**-I, ʔen-II	YELLOW	VanBik 2009:519

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**a**-eng	yellow	VanBik 2009:519
Thado	**ʔéŋ**-I, ʔèn-II	green, yellow, blue	VanBik 2009:519
Tiddim	**eng^{2}** > en^{3}	yellow or green	VanBik 2009:519

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ʔêŋ**-I, ʔěn-II	yellow (be v.)	VanBik 2009:519
Lai (Falam)	**ʔěŋ**-I, ʔèn-II	yellow (be v.)	VanBik 2009:519
Lushai [Mizo]	ái **éng**	turmeric ("yellow spice")	VanBik 2009:504
	ai **eng**	turmeric	Marrison 1967
	eng	yellow	Marrison 1967
	éng	yellow	VanBik 2009:519
	eng	yellow (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2304

9.5.0 Change of state

(1) PKC *haan ABATE / CEASE / SUBSIDE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***haan**	ABATE / CEASE / SUBSIDE	VanBik 2009:695

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**han**	abate	VanBik 2009:695

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Khumi	**ahaáng**	stop (of the rain)	VanBik 2009:695

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hâan**-I, hăan-II	abate, subside (e.g. rain)	VanBik 2009:695
Lushai [Mizo]	**hàan**-I, hâan-II	cease, to stop, to leave off (especially as rain) (v.)	VanBik 2009:695

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**hía**	cease (as rain) (v.)	VanBik 2009:695

(2) PKC *laŋ-I, *laŋʔ ≍ *lan-II APPEAR / UNOBSTRUCTED / VISIBLE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	*laŋ-I, laŋʔ ≍ lan-II	APPEAR / UNOBSTRUCTED / VISIBLE	VanBik 2009:988
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	ki-lang	appear	VanBik 2009:988
Sizang	lak hī	show	VanBik 2009:988
Thado	ki làŋ-I, ki là?-II	appear, reveal, resemble	VanBik 2009:988
Tiddim	lang³ > lat³	easily visible	VanBik 2009:988
	laŋ³/lat³	easily visible	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	làŋ-I, lâŋ-II	appear, be visible	VanBik 2009:988
Lai (Hakha)	lăŋ-I, laŋʔ-II	appear, be unobstructed, be visible	VanBik 2009:988
Lushai [Mizo]	làng-I, lân-II	appear, to show to be visible, to be seen, to be in sight, to be manifest, to be exposed to view (v.)	VanBik 2009:988
	la:ng	become visible (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2619
	phó làng-I, phó lân-II	expose, to show ("expose to be visible") (v.)	VanBik 2009:337
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	lā	appear, to be visible (v.)	VanBik 2009:988

(3) PCN *kam BECOME

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
*Central Naga	*kam	BECOME	Bruhn 2014a:III.130
*Ao	*a-kəm	BECOME / LIVE	Bruhn 2014a:II.070
Ao (Chungli)	-kūm	become (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a²-kəm²	become (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.070
	a küm	become	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	kam	become	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	kəm	become [became] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	kəm¹-	become, act like / ferment (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.130
	küm	become	Marrison 1967
	küm a	live	Murry *et al.* 1978:68
Sangtam	kang	become	Marrison 1967

(4) PKC *tsaŋ-I, *tsan-II BECOME / CHANGE INTO / MATURE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	*tsaŋ-I, tsan-II	BECOME / CHANGE INTO / MATURE	VanBik 2009:522
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	tsâŋ-I, tsàn-II	become	VanBik 2009:522
Tiddim	tang¹ > tan¹	change into; become one's own (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1689
	tang¹ > tan¹	change into; become one's own	VanBik 2009:522
	taŋ¹/tan¹	become one's own	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	ng-cang	well matured, adult, ripe (be v.)	VanBik 2009:522
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	tsâŋ-I, tsăn-II	become, change into, mature	VanBik 2009:522
Lai (Falam)	tsáŋ-I, tsàn-II	become, change into	VanBik 2009:522

(5) PKC *pran BEGIN / START

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	*pran	BEGIN / START	VanBik 2009:1310
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	pan	begin, start	VanBik 2009:1310
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	ṭân	begin	VanBik 2009:1310

Chinese comparandum

甫 OC *pi̱wo, *GSR* #102n-q 'begin; just now'; Schuessler 2007:231 *paʔ; B & S 2011: *paʔ {p(r)aʔ}; Mand. fǔ.
方 OC *pi̱wɑng, *GSR* #740a-f 'begin; just now'; Schuessler 2007:231 *paŋ; B & S 2011: *paŋ; Mand. fāng.

Comment: This root is currently reconstructed for PKC only. However, examination of the OC forms cited above, along with Phom **baŋ**[55], Jingpho **phaŋ**[33], and Bahing **preŋ**, all meaning 'begin, start', suggests an allofam or root variant of ***pran** reconstructable for ST ending in ***-aŋ/ʔ**, and for PTB in ***aŋ**.

(6) PCC *ʔew-I, *ʔewʔ-II BEND (backward)

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
*Central Chin	*ʔew-I, ʔewʔ-II	BEND (backward)	VanBik 2009:467
Lai (Hakha)	ʔewʔ-INV	bend backwards	VanBik 2009:467
Lushai [Mizo]	ĕu	bend backwards, to bend the back backwards (v.)	VanBik 2009:467

(7) PKC *kuay BEND OVER

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
*Chin	*kuay	BEND OVER	VanBik 2009:258
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Siyin	kuei (high tone)	bend (v.tr.)	Benedict 1972:67n210
	kui (low tone)	bend (v.i.)	Benedict 1972:67n210
Tiddim	kuai	bend	Benedict 1972:67n210
	kuai³ > kuaiʔ³	bend; twist (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:685
	kuai³/kuaiʔ³	bend, twist	Bhaskararao 1994
	`kuai/_kuaiʔ	bend (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	kŭay-I, kuayʔ ≍ koyʔ-II	bend over (as bow)	VanBik 2009:258
Lushai [Mizo]	kùai	bend (v.t.)	Weidert 1987:318
	kùai-I, kàwih-II	bend or draw (as a bow) (v.)	VanBik 2009:258
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	kēi	bend over (v.)	VanBik 2009:258

(8) PTB *koy BEND / CURVED / LAP / BOSOM

The basic meaning of this well established root is BEND / BENT / CURVED, the semantic extension into LAP / BOSOM evidently having arisen from the curved appearance of the body when holding an object closely.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
*Tibeto-Burman	*koy	bend (v.)	Weidert 1987:318
	*koy	bent; curved; coiled; bend	Matisoff 1985a:084; Matisoff 2003a:596; Benedict 1972:307
1.1.2. DENG			
Idu	e⁵⁵tʂʰo⁵³ku³⁵	bosom	SUN Hongkai 1991f:1.9
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *kooy CURVE / CROOKED			
*Chin	*kooy	CURVE / CROOKED	VanBik 2009:271
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	kawi	crooked (be v.)	VanBik 2009:271
Siyin	kăuyi ≍ koi	crooked, bent	Benedict 1972:307
Sizang	koi hī	crooked (be v.)	VanBik 2009:271
Thado	kôoy-INV	crooked	VanBik 2009:271
Tiddim	ko:i¹	crooked (be v.)	VanBik 2009:271
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	m-kawi	make something curve (v.)	VanBik 2009:271
Khumi	kakaawy	curved thing, curled thing, spiral thing	VanBik 2009:271
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	kòoy-I, kŏoy-II	curved, crooked (be v.)	VanBik 2009:271
Lai (Falam)	kôoy-I, kóoy-II	crooked, curved (be v.)	VanBik 2009:271
Lushai [Mizo]	kawi	crooked	Marrison 1967
	kàwi-I, kàwih-II	crooked, bent, curved, not straight, kinked (be v.)	VanBik 2009:271
	koi	crooked (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2601
	koi	crooked, bent	Benedict 1972:307
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Kom Rem	rə koˇ cuŋ	lap	Toba & Kom 1991:1.8
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	khəy	bend	Bhat 1969:85
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	kho:y	fishhook	Matisoff 1985a:084
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Dimasa	gu gui	bent	Benedict 1972:307
	su gui	bend (v.)	Benedict 1972:307
Kokborok	kʰu-ri	lap	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	kho re	lap / side	Balawan 1965:16
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
Chantyal	ko li	lap	Noonan *et al.* 1992:1.8
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Kulung	go gop_	lap (of body)	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang (Eastern)	kos	bosom	Caughley 1990:1.9
Kham	gõy	lap	Watters & Watters 1989
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Mianchi)	khuè lià	curved, crooked	Evans 1999:1451; Evans 1999:2437
5. TUJIA			
Tujia	li⁵⁵ kʰo⁵⁵ tsʰũ⁵⁵	bosom	CHEN Kang 1986c:1.9
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	kwe⁵³	turn (a corner) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1807.27
	kwe⁵⁵	curved, become / bent (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1700.27
	kwe⁵⁵ãu²²loʔ⁴	bend (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1701.27
	nɑ⁵³phɑ⁵⁵kwī⁵⁵	ring in cow's nose used to lead it about (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0600.27
Burmese (Written)	khwe	curve / curl / coil	Weidert 1987:318
	khwè	flat ring / ferrule	Weidert 1987:318
	khwê	flat ring, ferrule	Benedict 1976a
	khwe	curve, coil	Benedict 1976a
	khwe	curve, curl, coil, wind into a ring; a coil (v.)	Benedict 1972:307
	khwè	flat ring, ferrule	Benedict 1972:307
	kwè	bend / curve (v.)	Weidert 1987:318
	kwé	bend / round / be curved	Weidert 1987:318
	kwê	bend, curve	Benedict 1976a
	kwé	bend round, be curved	Benedict 1972:307
	kwè	bend, curve (v.)	Benedict 1972:307
	kwe³	curved, become / bent (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1700.26
	kwe³ɔŋ²lup⁴	bend (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1701.26
	kwe¹	turn (a corner) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1807.26
	kwe'	bend round, be curved	Benedict 1976a
	ə-khwe	coil (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə-khwê	flat ring, ferrule	Benedict 1976a
	ə-kwê	thing that is curved	Benedict 1976a
	ə-kwe'	curve, corner	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	kɔ̱i³¹	curved, become / bent (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1700.31
	lɔ̱ʔ⁵⁵kɔ̱i³¹	bend (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1701.31
Lashi	taŋ⁵⁵ kɔ:i⁵⁵	lap	DAI Qingxia 1989m:1.8
Leqi (Luxi)	kɔ:i⁵⁵	curved / crooked / bent	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1004.33
	kɔ:i⁵⁵	curved, become / bent (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1700.33
	lɔʔ⁵⁵kɔ:i⁵⁵	bend (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1701.33
Maru [Langsu]	tɔ̃⁵⁵ kɔ̱i³¹	lap	DAI Qingxia 1989l:1.8
Atsi [Zaiwa]	koi⁵⁵	curved / crooked / bent	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1004.30
	koi⁵⁵	curved, become / bent (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1700.30

	lo̱ʔ^{55}**ko̱i**^{55}	bend (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1701.30
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Xide)	m̥u^{55}-**k^{h}u̱**^{33}	bosom	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
8. Bai			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**k^{h}uæ**^{31} pi^{55}	lap; thigh	Zhao Yansun 1990:1.8; Zhao Yansun 1990:6.2.1

Chinese comparandum

跪 OC ***g'wiɑ***, *GSR* #29f 'bow, kneel'; B & S 2011: ***Cə.gojʔ { [Cə.g] (r)ojʔ}***; Mand. **guì**

(9) PTani * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{t}\\\textbf{d}\end{matrix}$ **ɯr BREAK (st. stiff with hand)**

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***tɯr**~ **dɯr**	break (st. stiff with hand)	Sun 1993a:45
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**dar**	break	Sun 1993b
	dar-i	break	Sun 1993b
	dar-nɯ	fracture	Sun 1993b
	dar~ **tar**	break (st. stiff with hand)	Sun 1993a
	tar	break with hand	Sun 1993b
	tar-tu	break	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	tar-xɯ	sprain	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ta-**tɯr**	break	Sun 1993b
	tɯr	break (st. stiff with hand)	Sun 1993a
	tɯr-tuŋ	break (st solid)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**dɯr**	break (st. stiff with hand)	Sun 1993a
	dɯr (ñeː)	break v.t. (bowl)	Sun 1993b
	dɯr tuŋ	break / snap (stick) (itr.v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1292.24
	dɯr tuŋ	snap / break (a stick) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1293.24
	dɯr(-ñeː)	break v.i. (rope)	Sun 1993b
Galo	alo-**dir**-nam	fracture (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	dir nam	break (down) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	dir nam	break (large, long) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	dir nam	break (long) (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	tir-nam	break (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	tir-tu-nam	break in two (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	tir nam	break (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	ta-**tarr**	break (stick)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	**tar**-tuŋ-nam	break (stick)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**dir**~ **tir**	break (st. stiff with hand)	Sun 1993a

(10) PKC *rook BREAK DOWN (v.i.) / DESTROYED

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***rook**	BREAK DOWN (v.i.) / DESTROYED	VanBik 2009:924
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**rook**-I, roʔ-II	break down	VanBik 2009:924
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**ráo**	break down	VanBik 2009:924

(11) PTk *kaj BREAK

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***kaj**	break	Mortensen 2012:371
Huishu	kə-**kej**	break	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.003
Kachai	kə-**kwe**	break	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.003
Tusom	tsɯ-kə-**kie**	break (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.132
Ukhrul	kə-**kaj**	break (pot, glass), smash (tr & intr); to disperse without coming to any conclusion (a meeting) (v.t./v.i.)	Mortensen 2012

(12) PTk *tlek BREAK

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***tlek**	break	Mortensen 2012:581
Huishu	ʃi-k^{h}ə-**leʔ**	break	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.042
Tusom	ta-kə-**tɯə**	break	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.003
Ukhrul	kə-**tek**	break (v.i.)	Mortensen 2012

(13) PCN *tʃak BREAK

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***tʃak**	BREAK	Bruhn 2014a:III.248
**Ao*	***tʃak**	BREAK	Bruhn 2014a:II.148
Ao (Chungli)	**cák** mà	break (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:5
	te na rong-a **jak**	deaf	Marrison 1967
	te tsung-ta **tsük**	lame	Marrison 1967
	tə^{2}-na^{2}ɹuŋ^{3} ta^{3}**tʃak**^{3}	deaf (adj.)	Bruhn 2014b
	tʃak^{3}ma^{1}	break, shatter (vt.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.148
	tʃak^{3}taŋ^{1}	break (vt.)	Bruhn 2014b
Ao (Mongsen)	**càk**	break (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**chak**	break (v.)	Marrison 1967
	te chang-te **chak**	lame	Marrison 1967
	te na rong-te **chak**	deaf	Marrison 1967
	tu mili-te **chak**	dumb	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	[tə]-hna ɹuŋ tə-**tʃak**	deaf ('ear' + NZP + 'break')	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-məli tə-**tʃak**	mute ('tongue' + NZP + 'break')	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-tʃaŋ tə-**tʃak**	lame ('leg' + 'NZP + break')	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e-tho-**tʃak**-	upset, downhearted (be v.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	tʃak^{2}-	break (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.248
	khu **chak**	break (v.)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a jing **ja** rü	lame	Marrison 1967
	müle **ja**	dumb	Marrison 1967

[a] [Source Note] nerves/strength-break

Yimchungrü	yih **shak**	break	Kumar 1973b:53

(14) NEIA *p^{w}ak BURST

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**puk**-či:	burst (pod, ripe fruit)	Sun 1993b
Galo	-'**buk**	burst (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	-'**puk**	pop (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	buk ci	burst apart (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	buk pik	burst; puncture (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'**buk** koo	burst open (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	«ˆ**buk**»-tak-	burst (v.)	Weidert 1987:679
Tagin	**buk**-tak-nam	burst (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	buk-tak-nam	explode	Das Gupta 1983
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***puak-I**, ***pua?-II** BLAST / BURST / EXPLODE			
**Chin*	***puak**-I, pua?-II	BLAST / BURST / EXPLODE	VanBik 2009:126
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**puak** kek	blast, explode	VanBik 2009:126
Sizang	**puak** tam hī	explode	VanBik 2009:126
Thado	**pó?**-I, pòo-II	explode	VanBik 2009:126
Tiddim	**puak**^{1}	burst	VanBik 2009:126
	puak^{1}	burst (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1412
	puak^{1}	burst (intr.)	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**apeew**	explode, pop, burst, break (of a blister, pimple, condom); be cut (of teeth)	VanBik 2009:126
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**pûak**-I, pùak-II	blast, explode	VanBik 2009:126
Lai (Hakha)	**puak**-I, pua?-II	blast, explode	VanBik 2009:126
Lushai [Mizo]	**puak**	burst (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2810
	pûak-I, pùah-II	explode, to burst, to pop, to blow up (v.)	VanBik 2009:126
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	-**púk**	burst (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:7
	^{3}a^{3}**puk**	burst (v.)	Weidert 1987:679
Ao (Mongsen)	**pùk**	burst (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:14
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***wok** BURST			
**Tangkhulic*	***wok**	burst	Mortensen 2012:681
Huishu	nɐ-**wuʔ**-k^{h}ej-k^{h}e	burst	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.043
Tangkhul	**wok**	burst	Bhat 1969:85
	«^{1}ŋə ^{2}**wok**»-^{1}kə ^{2}khai	burst (v.)	Weidert 1987:679
Tusom	ʔum-**bu**-kə-kie	burst (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.045
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**wok**	burst off (bottle)	Mortensen 2012
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa	**phuk**	burst (v.)	Weidert 1987:679

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卜 OC ***puk***, *GSR* #1210a-d 'divine using pyromancy (i.e. by interpreting cracks produced in a tortoise shell or ox bone exposed to intense heat)'; Schuessler 2007:172 ***pôk***; B & S 2011: ***p^{ʕ}ok***; Mand. **bǔ**.

(15) PTk *wɐt BURST

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***wɐt**	burst	Mortensen 2012:538
Huishu	mə-luŋ-k^{h}ə-**vejʔ**	angry (lit. heart is bursting)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.164
Kachai	mə-luŋ-k^{h}ə-**wat**	angry (lit. heart is bursting)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.143
Ukhrul	mə-luŋ k^{h}ə-**vat**	angry	Mortensen 2012

(16) PKC *kek-I, *keʔ-II BURST / EXPLODE / LEAK / RUPTURE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***kek**-I, keʔ-II	BURST / EXPLODE / LEAK / RUPTURE	VanBik 2009:261
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**kek**	rupture	VanBik 2009:261
	kek hī	crack	VanBik 2009:261
Thado	**kěʔ**-I, kèe-II	burst, break, split (firewood) (v.i.)	VanBik 2009:261
Tiddim	**keʔ**^{3}	leak, leaky	VanBik 2009:261
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**kek**	explode	VanBik 2009:261
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**kek**-I, keʔ-II	burst, explode, rupture	VanBik 2009:261
Lai (Falam)	**kèk**-I, kèʔ-II	burst, rupture	VanBik 2009:261

(17) PKC *toop CEASE / END / STOP

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***toop**	CEASE / END / STOP	VanBik 2009:185
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**tawp**	cease, stop	VanBik 2009:185
Sizang	**tawp** hī	cease	VanBik 2009:185
Tiddim	**to:p**^{2}	end, terminate, resign	VanBik 2009:185
	to:p^{2}	end; terminate; resign (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1801
	to:p^{2}	end, terminate, resign	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**tòop**-INV	cease, end, stop (v.)	VanBik 2009:185
Lushai [Mizo]	**tòop**	end, to finish, to stop (v.)	VanBik 2009:185

(18) PKC *đîʔ CEASE / FINISH / VANISH

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***đîʔ**	CEASE / FINISH / VANISH	VanBik 2009:67
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**dí**-ăt	cease (v.)	VanBik 2009:67
Cho (Mindat)	**di**	vanish, quiet down (as hunger, thirst) (v.)	VanBik 2009:67
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**diʔ**-INV	cease, to end (v.)	VanBik 2009:67

(19) PTB *m-lyan CHANGE / EXCHANGE

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-l [aː/a/ə] n** CHANGE / EXCHANGE

**Central Naga*	***m-l [aː/a/ə] n**	CHANGE / EXCHANGE	Bruhn 2014a:III.178
**Ao*	***m-lən**	EXCHANGE	Bruhn 2014a:II.369
Ao (Chungli)	**mə^{3}lən^{3}**	change, exchange (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.369
	múlún	change (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:9
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**mələn**	change [changed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Sangtam	**müli** chi cho	change	Kumar 1973a

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**len**	change (v.)	Rai 1985

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**len** ’sinɨ	change (esp. clothes)	Driem 1993

(20) PKar *k-hnɔN^B CRUSH (v.)

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***k-hnɔN^B**	crush (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:71
Bwe	**kə^{33}nʊ^{33}**	crush (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:71
Kayah	**no^{11}**	crush (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:71
Kayaw	**no^{11}**	crush (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:71
Pwo (Northern)	**nɔ̃^{33}**	crush (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:71
Pwo (Southern)	**nõ^{55}**	crush (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:71
Sgaw (Northern)	**no$^{31˜}$**	crush (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:71
Sgaw (Southern)	**nu^{45,}**	crush (v.)	Luangthongkum 2013:71

(21) PTk *ʃoj DECAY

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃoj**	decay	Mortensen 2012:427
Huishu	kə-**su**	decay	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.115
Kachai	kə-**ʃi**	decay	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.101
Tusom	kə-**ʃy**	rot	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.134
Ukhrul	kə-**suj**	decay	Mortensen 2012

(22) PKC *rop DECAY / ROT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***rop**	DECAY / ROT	VanBik 2009:929

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**gawp**	burst into pieces, to be crushed into pulp	VanBik 2009:929

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**rop**-I, roʔ-II	decay, rot, crushed into pieces	VanBik 2009:929
Lai (Falam)	**ròp**-I, rôʔ-II	decay, rot	VanBik 2009:929
Lushai [Mizo]	**ràwp**	rot or be rotten (as cloth, matting, bamboos, buildings, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:929

(23) PKC *kiam DECREASE / SUBSIDE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***kiam**	DECREASE / SUBSIDE	VanBik 2009:272

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**kiam**	subside, wane	VanBik 2009:272
Sizang	**kīem** hī	decrease, recede	VanBik 2009:272
Thado	**kîam**-I, kìam-II	decrease	VanBik 2009:272
Tiddim	**kiam^{1}**	decrease, recede	VanBik 2009:272

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**kǐam**	diminish, decrease	VanBik 2009:272

(24) PKC *yor DIMINISH / DECREASE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***yor**	DIMINISH / DECREASE	VanBik 2009:1196

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**yaw** ~ jaw	decrease, be less	VanBik 2009:1196

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**zôr**-I, zŏr-II	diminish, decrease (as in number)	VanBik 2009:1196
Lushai [Mizo]	**záwr**	diminish (in cooking), to decrease in quantity (v.)	VanBik 2009:1196

(25) PKC *kuuy DROOP

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***kuuy**	DROOP	VanBik 2009:274

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**kŭuy**-I, kùuy-II	droop, depressed	VanBik 2009:274

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**kûuy**-I, kŭuy-II	droop (strictly used for trees)	VanBik 2009:274

(26) PKC *khlep DROOP

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***khlep**	DROOP	VanBik 2009:1284

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**hlèp**-INV	droop, fold (as ears)	VanBik 2009:1284

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**thlep**-I, thleʔ-II	droop (as a cock’s comb, or cow’s ears)	VanBik 2009:1284
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlèp**-I, thlèh-II	drooping (as comb of cock or hen, etc) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1284

(27) PKC *ŋuay DROOP / WILT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ŋuay**	DROOP / WILT	VanBik 2009:850

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**ngûoy**-I, ngùoy-II	droop, wilt	VanBik 2009:850

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**ŋòoy**-I, ŋŏoy-II	droop, wilt	VanBik 2009:850

(28) PKC *phaw EXPOSE / SPREAD OUT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***phaw**	EXPOSE / SPREAD OUT	VanBik 2009:337

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**phou**	expose	VanBik 2009:337
Thado	**phôw**-I, phoo-II	spread out to dry (clothes)	VanBik 2009:337
Tiddim	**phou^{2}**	keep in sun for drying, to dry (in sun, or on fire)	VanBik 2009:337
	phou^{2}	keep in sun for drying (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1469
	phou^{2}	keep in sun for drying	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**p‘ö**	put out to dry (v.)	VanBik 2009:337
Cho (Mindat)	**phaw**	spread anything and dry it in the sun (v.)	VanBik 2009:337

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**phâw**-I, phăw-II	expose, put in the open	VanBik 2009:337
Lushai [Mizo]	**phó** làng-I, phó lân-II	expose, to show (”expose to be visible”) (v.)	VanBik 2009:337

(29) PTk *kup FINISH

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***kup**	finish	Mortensen 2012:535
Huishu	kə-**kɐp**	finish	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.009
Kachai	kə-**kup**	finish	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.005
Tangkhul	**kup**	finish (v.)	Marrison 1967
	kəp	finish	Bhat 1969:89
Ukhrul	kə-**kup**	finish (making table, etc.)	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**kɐp**	finish off	Mortensen 2012

(30) PKC *yaw-I, *yoʔ-II FINISH / COMPLETE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***yaw**-I, yoʔ-II	FINISH / COMPLETE	VanBik 2009:1202

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**zou**	finish	VanBik 2009:1202
Thado	**zôw**-I, zòo-II	defeat, win, succeed, complete	VanBik 2009:1202
	zɔ̀	win	Thirumalai 1972:62
Tiddim	**zou^{1}** > zoʔ^{3}	finish; succeed; overcome; able (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2045
	zou^{1} > zoʔ^{3}	finish, succeed, overcome, able	VanBik 2009:1202
	zou^{1}/zoʔ^{3}	finish...	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊzou/-zɔʔ	able to; finish / complete satisfactorily (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**pyaáw**	complete, finish, possible	VanBik 2009:1202

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**zŏ**-I, zàwh-II	finish, complete	VanBik 2009:1202

(31) PTB *s-grwal ≷ *ʔwal FINISH / LOOSE / RELAX

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***hl + ot/l + ot/lot**	loose / free / take off	Coblin 1986:105
	***hwjal**	soft / loose	Coblin 1986:136

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***grol**	finish / loose / relax	Matisoff 2003a:591
	***o:l**	loose, lax, finished	Benedict 1972:111
	***ʔo:l**	finish / loose / relax	Matisoff 2003a:583

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**ar**-he	loose	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**or**-pak	put (clothing) on loosely	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Kaman [Miju]	kɯ^{31}**glol^{35}**	lax; loose; slack	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1041.23; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:880.48

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ʔool** FLACCID / SLACK

**Chin*	***ʔool**	FLACCID / SLACK	VanBik 2009:484

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**awl** len	slack	VanBik 2009:484
Tiddim	**kol^{2}**	loose [= not tight] (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:652
	kol^{2}	loose [= not tight]	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**ʔôol**-I, ʔŏol-II	flaccid (as bamboo), slack (be v.)	VanBik 2009:484
Lushai [Mizo]	**ăwl**	at leisure, to rest (be v.)	VanBik 2009:484
	o:l	have little to do (v.)	Benedict 1972:111

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**ol**	lax, loose; relax	Benedict 1972:111

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**’grol**	untie	Marrison 1967
	(tshogs ſidu) **grol**	break up (meeting) / end (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1598.01
	grol	come loose (shoelace) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1599.01
	sgrol	release / set free (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1626.01
	ſigrol	untie / undo (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1600.01
	ſigrol	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.1

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Magar	**ol**	finish (v.)	Benedict 1972:111

8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**io** 7	relaxed / released (adj) (adj.)	Dell 1981b:927
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	g‘ûwn/**ɣuân**	complete (v.)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:257m
Chinese (Old)	**gon**	build ready; complete; solid	Baxter 1992:420; Baxter 1992:486

Chinese comparandum

完 OC ***g’wân**, *GSR* #257m ‘complete (v., adj.)’; B & S 2011: ***ɢˢon {[ɢ]ˢo[n]}**; Mand. **wán**.
緩 OC ***g’wân**, *GSR* #255l ‘slack, indulgent; slow, delay; negligent’; Coblin 86:136 ST ***ɣwal** > OC ***gwanx**; Schuessler 2007:546, 594 ***gwân?** ~ ***wan?**; B & S 2011: ***ɢʷˢan? {[ɢ]ʷˢa[n]?}**; Mand. **huǎn**.
諼 OC ***χi̯wăn**, *GSR* #255k ‘deceitful; forget’; Schuessler 2007: (***hwan**); B & S 2011: ***qʷʰan {qʷʰa[n]}**; Mand. **xuān**.
援 OC ***gi̯wăn**, *GSR* #255e ‘undisciplined; relaxed’; B & S 2011: ***ɢʷan {[ɢ]ʷa[n]}**; Mand. **yuán**.

Comment: Certain etyma given by Coblin (86:105), i.e. 脱, Mand. **tuō**, 兌, Mand. **duì**, 悦, Mand. **yuè**, are probably best treated as comparanda for PTB ***g/s-lwat** FREE / RELEASE / SLIP / DISLOCATE (§6.23).

(32) PKC *tsip GRATE / BREAK (into pieces)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tsip**	GRATE / BREAK (into pieces)	VanBik 2009:540
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**tsìp**	broken to pieces	VanBik 2009:540
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsip**-I, tsi?-II	grate, break into pieces (as pounded rice)	VanBik 2009:540
Lushai [Mizo]	**chìp**-I, chìh-II	reduced to small pieces (be v.)	VanBik 2009:540

(33) PTani *pɯ GRIND (SHARPEN)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***pɯ**	grind (sharpen)	Sun 1993a:184
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	à-**pi**	sharpen	Sun 1993b
	a-**pi**	sharpen	Sun 1993b
	a-**pi** rhyme!	grind (sharpen)	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**pɯ**-rit	grind (sharpen); sharpen	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**pɯ**	grind (sharpen); sharpen (knife)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pɯ	whet (a knife) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1526.24
Bokar Lhoba	**pɯ**	sharpen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:640.51
Galo	**‘piɨ** nam	sharpen (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	‘piɨ rek	sharpen (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pɯ**-rat	grind (sharpen)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**pɯ**-ra	grind (knife)	Sun 1993b
Milang	**pi**-rat-ma	sharpen	Tayeng 1976

(34) PKC *rial GRIND / CRUSH / GNASH

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***rial**	GRIND / CRUSH / GNASH	VanBik 2009:944
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**gíel**-I, gìel-II	grind, crush, gnash	VanBik 2009:944
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**rîal**-I, rĭal-II	grind, crush, gnash (as teeth)	VanBik 2009:944
Lai (Falam)	**rĭal**-I, rìal-II	grind, crush	VanBik 2009:944
Lushai [Mizo]	**rían** rùm	make a grinding (v.)	VanBik 2009:944

(35) PTB *s-ryut GROW WORSE / INFERIOR / FALLEN

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ryut**	inferior, worsen (be v.)	Benedict 1972:206
	***s-ryut**	inferior / fallen / worse	Matisoff 2003a:612
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**śəyut**	apathetic, indifferent (vs.)	Benedict 1972:206
	yut	become / grow worse, as illness	Benedict 1972:206
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	kha-**rud**	avalanche	Matisoff 2003a:365
	rud	falling or fallen mass (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:365
	sa-**rud**	landslide	Matisoff 2003a:365
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**hrut**	put down (v.)	Benedict 1972:206
	yut	inferior, mean	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:206

(36) PTB *haŋ HEAT UP

The phonosemantic fit between the Chepang and Tiddim forms is quite good, although further confirmation would be welcome.

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**hang**^{2} > han^{3}	heat something by keeping it near a fire (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:408
	haŋ^{2}/han^{3}	heat something near fire...	Bhaskararao 1994
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**?aŋ**	heat up (v.)	Weidert 1987:12
	?aŋ-sa	heat up (roti)	Caughley 1972:7.B.2. 10
	?aŋh-	radiate heat, scorch (vt.)	Caughley 2000

(37) PCC *zual INTENSIFY / INCREASE

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***zual**	INTENSIFY / INCREASE	VanBik 2009:1209
Lai (Hakha)	**zûal**-I, zŭal-II	intensify, increase, worsen (as in sickness)	VanBik 2009:1209
Lushai [Mizo]	**zŭal**	more (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1209

(38) PKC *ʔew LEAN BACK

This root is reconstructed for ‘Proto-Kuki-Naga’ in *STC* p. 68.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ʔew**	lean back	Matisoff 2003a:583
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
**Kuki-Naga*	***ew**	lean back	Benedict 1972:p.68
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**eu**	lean back	Benedict 1972:p.68
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**əua**	lean back	Benedict 1972:p.68

(39) PTani *ǰ $\begin{matrix}\textbf{i}\\\textbf{e}\end{matrix}$ t MELT

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***ǰit ~ ǰet**	melt	Sun 1993a:253
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**ǰi**	melt	Sun 1993b
	ǰi-ǰa-nə-ku	melt	Sun 1993a
	ji-ǰa-nə-ku	melt	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ǰit**	melt	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**dʑit**	dissolve; dissolve (cause to) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1592.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1593.24
	ǰit	melt	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**dʑit**	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.51
Galo	**-jik**	melt (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	jin nam	melt (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	ɟin-nam	melt (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	**ɟʏ**-nam	melt (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	**ǰit**~ **ǰet**	melt	Sun 1993a
Damu	**dʑi**-duŋ	melt	Sun 1993b

(40) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{s}\\\textbf{m}\end{matrix}$ -grəy MELT

This root is very well established in Qiangic and Loloish, with several languages having transitive/intransitive or simplex/causative doublets, e.g. Lalo, Nusu (Bijiang).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s/m-grəy**	melt	Matisoff 2003a:591
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	**gu**^{33}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.17
Muya [Minyak]	**ndʑyi**^{55}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.15
Qiang (Mawo)	**dʑi̯**	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**dʑyi**^{31}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	lə^{35}**ʑi**^{55}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.16
Xumi	**ji**^{55}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.20
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Danba)	**dʑyɯ**	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	’kə **dza**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	’kə **ndʈi?**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	’kə **tʈə**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	’na **ndʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	’na **ntʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	’ta **dʑə** si	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	’tendʑəɣi	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	a ˈ**ʨu** si	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	cə **’ntʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	da **’ndʈə**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	da **’ndʈə**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	da **’ntʈə**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	di3**’dʈi5**sej1	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	di^{1} **dʈə?** s^{1}	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	di **’dʈɑs**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	də’ **ntʈə**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	dəkə **’dʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	də^{3} **dʈə^{3}**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	də^{3} **dʈə^{5}**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	də^{3} **tʈə^{3}**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	də? **’dʈə** ?s	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	də **’dʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	də **’dʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	də **’dʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	də **’dʈi** ?s	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	də **’ndʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294

rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	də **ʼndʈi** s	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	də **ʼndʈi** ʔs	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**dʑə̂**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	kakə **ʼdʈə**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	kə ʼ^{n}**ɖə**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong	kə **ndʑi**	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.12
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	kə-**dʐʅ**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
Caodeng	kə-**ndʒwiʔ**	melt (v.i.)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**ndʑi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kə^{3} **dʈə**^{5}	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	kə **ʼdʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	kə **ʼdʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kə **ʼndʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	kə **ʼtɕə** sə	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	kə **ʼʔ**^{n}**dʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	kə ʼ^{n}**dʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	kʊ ˈ**ʈ**^{r}**i**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
Caodeng	kɐ-**rtʃwiʔ**	melt (v.t.)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	na44 **ɳɖi24**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	na44 **ɳɖi24** / kə22 **ɳɖi44**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	nai **ʼdzy**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	na^{3}**dʈə**^{5}	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	na^{3} **dʈə** ʔs^{3}	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	na **ʼdʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	na **ʼdʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	na **ʼndʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	na **ʼndʈiʔ**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	na ʼ^{n}**ɖə**^{i}	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**ndʑi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	pja **ʼntʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	ta **ʼndʑej**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	tə **ɖʐʏ̈ɹ**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	təkə **ʼndʑjwe**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	tɑ22 rkam44 nɑ22 **ɴɖi44**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	n̥o **ʼntʈi**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	$^{-n}$də ^{ɦ}**ɖʐə** ˊsejˀ / ˊkə ^{ɦ}**ɖʐə**	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
rGyalrong	kA **Ndru**	melt (v.)	Nagano 1997:5.82
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	ka **ʼdʑə** si	melt (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1294
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-grəy**[1]	melt	Matisoff 2003a:591
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**gɯ**^{55}	melt	Chen Kang 1986a:50.
	kə́	melt	Björverud 1994
Lipho	**dzi**^{33}	melt	Chen Kang 1986a:50.
Nasu	**dʑi**^{21}	melt	Chen Kang 1986a:50.
Neisu	**dʑi**^{21}	melt	Chen Kang 1986a:50.
Nesu	**dʑi**^{21}	melt	Chen Kang 1986a:50.
Nosu	**dʑi**^{33}	melt	Chen Kang 1986a:50.
Nusu (Bijiang)	**gɹi**^{35}; **kɹi̠**^{35}	melt (simplex); melt (causative)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.45
Nusu (Northern)	**gɹʅ**^{31}	melt / blend	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**tɕɛ**^{55}	melt / blend	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Liangshan)	**dʑʅ**^{33}	melt	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tɕi**^{33}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.25
Yi (Nanhua)	**dʐʅ**^{33}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.24
Yi (Xide)	**dʐʅ**^{33}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**tɕi**^{2}	melt	Chen Kang 1986a:50.
Jinuo	**tɕi**^{33}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.34
Lahu (Black)	**kə**^{31}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.33
	kɨ̀	melt (v.)	Matisoff 2003a:189
Lisu	**dʒʅ**^{44}ʒe^{44}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.27
Lisu (Central)	**ji**^{3} (la^{4})	melt	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	tʃhu^{33}**dʑi**^{33}je^{33}	melt	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**gý**	melt	Hansson 1989:302
Akha (Thai)	**gý**	melt	Hansson 1989:302
Akha (Yunnan)	**gý** í	melt	Hansson 1989:302
Hani (Lüchun)	**gý**	melt	Hansson 1989:302
Hani (Dazhai)	**gɯ**^{55}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.31
Hani (Pijo)	**jí**	melt	Hansson 1989:302
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	**ɖʐæ**˩	melt (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**dʐɑ**^{31}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndʐəɹ**^{31}	melt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:772.28

(41) PKC *tuy MELT / LIQUEFY

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tuy**	MELT / LIQUEFY	VanBik 2009:208
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**tui**	melt	VanBik 2009:208
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tîi**-I, tiit-II	melt	VanBik 2009:208
Lai (Falam)	**tíi**-INV	melt	VanBik 2009:208
Lushai [Mizo]	**tŭi**	melt, to go to water, to dissolve, to be fluid (v.)	VanBik 2009:208
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**ʔā** tí	melt (v.)	VanBik 2009:208

(42) PKC *raaw PALE / DISCOLORED

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***raaw**	PALE / DISCOLORED	VanBik 2009:959
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**gáaw**-I, gàaw	wither	VanBik 2009:959
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**tváaw**	afterlife ("the place where the pale ones live")	VanBik 2009:959
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**râaw**-I, răaw-II	pale, discolored, wither (be v.)	VanBik 2009:959
Lushai [Mizo]	**ráu**	change color or be discolored (as dying leaves), to wither, or die (as leaves, etc) (v.)	VanBik 2009:959

(43) PTB *s-nyak PULVERIZE / SHATTER / DIMINUTIVE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nyak**	pulverize / shatter / diminutive	Matisoff 2003a:605
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***nyak**	diminutive	Matisoff 1972b:158(a)
	***ʔnyak**	diminutive	Matisoff 1972b:158(b)
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**hñak**	diminutive	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**-nɛ́** ~ -nɛ̂ʔ	diminutive	Matisoff 1972b:158(b)

(44) PCC *leet RENEGE / ALTER / CHANGE

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***leet**	RENEGE / ALTER / CHANGE	VanBik 2009:1043
Lai (Hakha)	**leet**-INV	renege, change (as one's mind), alter	VanBik 2009:1043
Lushai [Mizo]	**lêet**-I, lèh-II	alter, change, transform (v.)	VanBik 2009:1043

(45) PKC *tsool REST

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tsool**	REST	VanBik 2009:556
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**tsòol**-INV	rest	VanBik 2009:556
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**tsòol**-INV	rest	VanBik 2009:556
Lushai [Mizo]	**chawl**	rest (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2174
	chàwl-I, châwlh-II	rest, to leave off, to give up, to discontinue (v.)	VanBik 2009:556

(46) PKC *ɗiim REST / END

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗiim**	REST / END	VanBik 2009:104
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**dim**	rest (v.)	VanBik 2009:104
Khumi	**dueng**	finish, end, set (of the sun), to be new (of the moon), go out (of a fire)	VanBik 2009:104
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dĭin-I**, **dinʔ-II**	rest (v.)	VanBik 2009:104

(47) PTB *zyaːw ⋉ *zyu(w) ROT / DECAY / DIGEST

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***zyaːw ⋉ zyu(w)**	rot / decay / digest	Matisoff 2003a:621
	***zyɑːw~zyu(w)**	rot / decay / digest	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1096h
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***sau**	rotten	Burling 1959:443
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	ga **sao**	rotten	Marrison 1967
	ma **sau**	digest, disintegrate, rot in water	Benedict 1972:p.54
	sau	rot, decay	Benedict 1972:p.54
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**so**-a	rot (vi.)	Burling 2003:4.696-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**saw**-	rotten (be v.)	van Breugel 2008
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ḥdźu**-ba ~ **źu**-ba	melt; digest	Benedict 1972:p.54
	zhu	melt (vi.)	Sun 1985c:695
	ɦdʑu	digest (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1730.01
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**zi̯ôg/i̯ə̯u**	rot / decay	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1096h

Chinese comparandum

廇 OC ***zi̯ôg**, *GSR* #1096h 'rot, decay'; Mand. **yóu**.

(48) PKC *mua $\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{t}{n}$ ROT / FESTER / BRITTLE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***muat** ≍ muan	ROT / FESTER / BRITTLE	VanBik 2009:783
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**muat**	rot, fester, putrefy	VanBik 2009:783
Sizang	**muat** hī	rot	VanBik 2009:783
Thado	**mûan**-I, mùan-II	decay, rot, rotten	VanBik 2009:783
Tiddim	**muat**[1]	rot, decay	VanBik 2009:783
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**muat** ≍ mot-I, moʔ-II	rot, fester	VanBik 2009:783
Lai (Falam)	**mûat**-INV	rot, fester	VanBik 2009:783
Lushai [Mizo]	**mûat**	discoloured and brittle (as teeth)	VanBik 2009:783

(49) PTani *jaŋ ROT / ROTTEN

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***jaŋ**	rot / rotten	Sun 1993a:330
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**ja**	rot; decay; rotten	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993a
	ja-ku	rotten	Sun 1993b
	ja-nɯ	rotten	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**jaː**	rot / rotten	Sun 1993a
	jaː(-pak)	rot	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**jaŋ**	rot; rotten	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	jaŋ	rot (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1330.24
Bokar Lhoba	**jaŋ** nə	rot / spoil	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:792.51
Galo	nə **yaa**	leaf (rotten) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ya-na	putrid	Das Gupta 1963
	ya-nam	rot (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	yaa nam	rot (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻag **yaa**	fermented soybeans; soybean (fermented) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻhɨɨ **yaa**	rotten wood; wood (rotten) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻnam **yaa**	rotten odor (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻyaa pak	rotten; off (food) (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ŋo **yaa**	fish (fermented) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ŋo **yaa**-ŋo lum	fish (fermented, boiled, liquified) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	**ya** nɤ	rotten	Das Gupta 1983
	ya nɤ ŋu i	rotten fish	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**jaŋ**	rot / rotten	Sun 1993a

(50) PTB *pwa $^{n}_{t}$ RUB OFF / GRIND

The alternation between final stop and nasal is attested in Written Burmese.

Chinese 粉 ʻpowderʼ (Mand. **fěn**) looks rather similar, but it seems to be a relative newcomer to the Chinese lexicon, and does not appear in *GSR*.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pwan** ≍ **pwat**	rub off / grind	Matisoff 2003a:608
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**pwân**	rubbed off, abraded	Benedict 1976a
	pwàn	rubbed off	Benedict 1972:99n283
	pwat	rub (v.)	Marrison 1967
	pwat	turnerʼs lathe; rub, grind, churn; rub, grind, lathe	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:99n283
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Dafang)	**phu**[55]	grind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:641.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**vu**[55]	grind	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	vu[55]ti[21]	beat (hit); beat up; grind (to bits)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Xide)	**vu**[55]	grind; pestle (medicine); grind (flour) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1527.35; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1747.35
	vu[55]	grind	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:641.21
7. Karenic			
Kayan (Pekon)	mə̀ **pʰwân**	grind [lit. do-powder] (V.)	Manson 2010

(51) PTB * $^{g}_{s}$ -rip SHADE / SHADOW

Two prefixes are well attested with this root, with usually one or the other occurring in a given form. WT **sgrib-pa** ʻdarkenʼ, however, reflects both of them syntagmatically.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***(g-)rip** ~ **(s-)rip**	grow dark; shade, shadow	Benedict 1972:113n318 [a]
	***g/s-rip**	shade / shadow	Matisoff 2003a:610
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**yɯ**	shade	Bhat 1969:96
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Balti)	**grip**	shade	Rangan 1975:23
Tibetan (Written)	**grib**	shade, shadow	Benedict 1972:113n318
	grib ma	shadow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0698.01
	grib ma	shadow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:520.1
	grib ma	shadow (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ḷgrib-pa	decease, grow dim	Benedict 1972:113n318
	rab-**rib** / hrab-**hrib**	mist, dimness	Benedict 1972:113n318
	sgrib-pa	darken, darkened	Benedict 1972:113n318
	srib(s)	darkness, shady side	Benedict 1972:113n318
	srib-pa	grow dark	Benedict 1972:113n318
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Gyaru)	**gri**[2]	shadow	Nagano 1984:265
Manang (Prakaa)	[1]**kri**	shadow	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0161
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**rib** juŋ	shade	Allen 1975
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Caodeng	kɐ-na-**ʁjep**	stay under shade	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	tɐ-**jip**	shadow, shade	Sun 1997b
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***k-rip** SHADOW / SHADE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***k-rip**	shadow / shade	Matisoff 1972b:189
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	ă **rip**	shadow, shade	Benedict 1972:113n318
	rip	throw a shadow	Matisoff 1974:348
	rip	throw shadow, to hint at (v.)	Benedict 1976a
	rip	throw a shadow	Benedict 1972:113n318
	ə-**rip**	shadow, shade; a hint	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ[1]**rip**[4]	shadow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0698.26
	ɑ[1] **rip**	shadow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:520.39
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	m[31]**ʐ̩**[53]	shadow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0698.47
Lalo	á-**ɣə**	shadow	Björverud 1994
Yi (Dafang)	**ɣe**[33]	shadow	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:520.22
Yi (Liangshan)	bu̱[34]**ʐ̩**[33]	reflection; shadow	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐ̩[33]	reflection; shadow	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	mu[21]**ʑi**[33]zo[21]	shadow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:520.25
Yi (Mojiang)	ʌ[55]**ʑi**[33]	shadow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:520.26
Yi (Nanhua)	ɑ[55]**ɣu̱**[33]	shadow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0698.37
	ʌ[33]**ʑɐ̱**[21]ɕi[21]	shadow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:520.24
Yi (Nanjian)	ɑ[55] **ɣɯ**[33]	shadow	Chen Shilin *et al.* 1985; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:520.23
Yi (Weishan)	ɑ[55]**ɣɯ**[33]	shadow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0698.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ji̱**[2]	shadow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0698.38
Yi (Xide)	bu̱[34]**ʐ̩̄**[33]	shadow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0698.35
	bu̱[44]**ʐ̩̄**[33]	shadow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:520.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	a[33]mɛ[33]tʃhɔ[33]**ji**[31]	shadow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:520.34
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	a[44] **ji**[31]	shadow	Dai Qingxia 1989h:1028
Jinuo (Baka)	a[44] **ji**[31]	shadow	Dai Qingxia 1989i:1028
Jinuo	a[44]**ji**[42]	shadow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0698.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ[44] **e**[42]	shadow	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	a[35] **ɣɯ**[31] xa[33]	shadow	Chang Hongʼen et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ̀-**ɡə̂ʔ**	shadow	Matisoff 1974:348
	ɔ̀-**ɣə̂ʔ**	shadow	Matisoff 1972b:189
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ[31] **gɯ**[31] xa[33]	shadow	Chang Hongʼen et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	e[55]**ɯ**[33]ŋo[31]	shadow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0698.40
Lisu (Northern)	ji[55]**ɤ**[44]ŋɔ[21]	shadow (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	**ɣɯ**[33] ŋo[31]	shadow	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**ɣɯ**[33]ŋo[31]	shadow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:520.27
Lisu (Northern)	**ɤ**[44]ŋɔ[21]	shadow (N.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**ji**[33] dą[22]	shadow	Ma Xueliang 1989:339.3
Yi (Sani)	**ji**[33]dɑ[2]	shadow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0698.39
Sani [Nyi]	mu[21]**ʐ̩i̱**[33]	shadow	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	m̩[21] **ʐ̩i**[44]	shadow	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984b:43.1
	m̩[11] **ji**[44]	shadow	Ma Xueliang 1989:310.3
	yi 44	shadow / shade	Matisoff 1972b:189
	ʐ̩i̱[33]dɒ[21]	shadow	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	a[44]**ʐɛ**[33]mɔ[33]	shadow	Pelkey 2011:556
Southern Muji	**ʐi**[33]na[21]tsʰə[21]na[13]	shadow	Pelkey 2011:556
Phuza	**ʐ̩**[55]na[33]	shadow	Pelkey 2011:556

(52) PKC *tson SHRINK / CONTRACT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tson**	SHRINK / CONTRACT	VanBik 2009:562
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**ton**	shrink	VanBik 2009:562
Tiddim	**ton**[2]	crouched, shrunk, wrinkled	VanBik 2009:562
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tsôn**-I, tsŏn-II	shrink, contract	VanBik 2009:562

(53) PKC *m-hew SPOILED / WASTE(D)

This root is reconstructed for ʻProto-Kuki-Nagaʼ in *STC* p. 68.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-hew**	spoiled / wasted	Matisoff 2003a:593
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
**Kuki-Naga*	***m-hew**	spoiled, waste(d)	Benedict 1972:p.68
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**heu**	spoiled, wasted	Benedict 1972:p.68
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pəhua**	waste away	Benedict 1972:p.68

(54) PTB *p- $^{r}_{y}$ an SPREAD (wide) / STRETCH OUT

WB has a simplex/causative pair, and Jingpho has a complex word family.

Lahu **fe** ʻwideʼ seems to reflect a PLB allofam ***ʔwan** (either Tone *1 or Tone *3).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***p-ran** ≍ **p-yan**	spread (wide) / stretch out	Matisoff 1985a:015
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**phran**	grow, unfold and flatten (as a leaf)	Matisoff 1985a:015
	phrān	spread (wide) / stretch out	Matisoff 1985a:015
	phyàn	spread wings, as a bird; spread wide; open, unroll, and flatten out	Matisoff 1985a:015
	phʒan[31]	untie	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:662.47
	phɹan[31]	untie	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	pyān	untie a knot, (fig.) untangle a knotty problem	Matisoff 1985a:015
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔwan** WIDE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	*(**ʔ**)**bran**[3] ≍ **pran**[3]/[1] ≍ ʔwan[1]/[3]	spread wide / stretch out	Matisoff 1985a:015
	***ʔ-bran**[3]	spread wide	Matisoff 2003a:585
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**phran'**	spread out, expand, spread wings (causative)	Matisoff 1985a:015

[a] Reconstruction in *STC* index but not in text.

	phran’	spread out, expand; spread wings	Benedict 1976a
	pran’	expanded, spread out, level (simplex) (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:015
	pran’	expanded, spread out; to be level (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	prɑn^{1}	level / flat (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0994.26
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**fe**	wide	Matisoff 1985a:015
	fe^{33}; qɛ^{31}	wide	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:815.33
	mû-**phe**	sky ("sky-spread"?)	Matisoff 1985a:015
	phe	spread something out (blanket, cloth, one’s palm)	Matisoff 1985a:015
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**phe**^{5}	wide	Matisoff 1985a:015; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	**phrá** nâm	stretch oneself	Solnit 1989

Chinese comparandum

徧/遍 OC ***piɑn**, *GSR* #246b-c ‘all around, universally’; B & S 2011: ***p**ˁ**en-s {p**ˁ**e[n]-s}**; Mand. **biàn**.
衍 OC ***gi̯ɑn**, *GSR* #197a ‘overflowing; abundant, extensive’; Schuessler 2007:554 ***janʔ/s**; B & S 2011: ***N-qanʔ {N-q(r)anʔ}**; Mand. **yǎn** ∼ **yàn**.
演 OC ***di̯ɑn**, *GSR* #450k-l ‘flow out, extend’; Schuessler 2007:554 ***janʔ**; B & S 2011: ***ɢerʔ {[ɢ] [a] [r] ʔ}**; Mand. **yǎn**.
延
愆 OC ***k’i̯ɑn**, *GSR* #197b ‘exceed; err, lose; error’; Schuessler 2007:554 ***khrian**; B & S 2011: ***C.ɢran {C.q**^{h}**ra[n] }**; Mand. **qiān**.

(55) PTani *pru? SPREAD OUT (e.g. bedding)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***pru?**	spread out (e.g. bedding)	Sun 1993a:392
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	à-**pì**	spread out (cloth)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**pju**	spread out (e.g. bedding); make bed	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**pu:**	spread out (e.g. bedding); make bed	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**pu:**	make bed	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:656.51
Galo	ge-**pu**-nam	spread (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	pu nuam	spread (vt.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**pu**	spread out (e.g. bedding)	Sun 1993a
Milang	**pu**-ma	spread	Tayeng 1976

(56) PTB *r-dal SPREAD / EXTEND / DEVELOP

HPTB:424 gives the erroneous *GSR* number 203a; the correct number is 201a.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-dal**	spread / extend / develop	Matisoff 2003a:586
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**rdal**	spread; extend; cover	Matisoff 2003a:425
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**dyar**-	spread out, remove from centre (hot coals), clear ash from hot coals (vt.)	Caughley 2000
7. Karenic: ***ʔda**^{A} SPREAD OUT (A MAT)			
**Karen*	***dà’**	spread out (v.)	Jones 1961:142
**Karen [Burling]*	***da**^{3}	spread out (a mat)	Luangthongkum 2013:274
**Karen*	***ʔda**^{A}	spread out (a mat)	Luangthongkum 2013:274
Bwe	**ɗɛ**^{55}	spread out (a mat)	Luangthongkum 2013:274
Kayah	**de**^{33}	spread out (a mat)	Luangthongkum 2013:274
Kayan	**da**^{53}	spread out (a mat)	Luangthongkum 2013:274
Kayaw	**da**^{55}	spread out (a mat)	Luangthongkum 2013:274
Pa-O	**dà**	spread, as mat	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**da**^{31}‥	spread out (a mat)	Luangthongkum 2013:274
Pa-O (Northern)	**da**^{31}‥	spread out (a mat)	Luangthongkum 2013:274
Pwo (Northern)	**da**^{55}	spread out (a mat)	Luangthongkum 2013:274
Pwo (Southern)	**da**^{31}‥	spread out (a mat)	Luangthongkum 2013:274
Sgaw (Northern)	**da**^{33}	spread out (a mat)	Luangthongkum 2013:274
Sgaw (Southern)	**da**^{55}	spread out (a mat)	Luangthongkum 2013:274
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	展	roll over; unfold	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3769
Chinese (GSR #)	**0201a**	roll over; unfold	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3769
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ti̯ɑn/t̂i̯än**	unfold / open / develop	Karlgren 1957:201a
Chinese (Old)	**trenʔ**	roll over; unfold	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3769
	trjenʔ	roll over; unfold; open	Baxter 1992:417b; Baxter 1992:937
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**trjenX**	roll over; unfold	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3769
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**zhǎn**	roll over; unfold	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3769

Chinese comparandum

展 OC ***ti̯ɑn**, *GSR* #201a ‘roll over, unfold, develop’; B & S 2011: ***trenʔ**; Mand. **zhǎn**.

(57) PTB *yaːr SPREAD / EXTEND / SAIL

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***yaːr**	spread / extend / sail	Matisoff 2003a:620
	***yɑʻr∼yâr**	spread / extend / sail	Chou Fa-kao 1972:371g
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***yaar** SPREAD / HANG			
**Chin*	***yaar**	SPREAD / HANG	VanBik 2009:1237
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**zaːk**^{2}	spread a trap or blanket	VanBik 2009:1237
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**yai**	hang something in the sun	VanBik 2009:1237
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zâar-I**, **zǎar-II**	spread, hang things in the sun	VanBik 2009:1237
Lai (Falam)	**zǎar-I**, **zàar-II**	spread, hang things in the sun	VanBik 2009:1237
Lushai [Mizo]	**za:r**	hang up (cloth), spread (sail)	Benedict 1972:138n371
	záar	spread or spread out (as wings, canopy, cloth, etc.), to hang up (as clothes on a line) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1237
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**zàw**	spread, hang	VanBik 2009:1237
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**yàn**	spread (wide); stretch out; unrolled, unwound, spread out (as a bundle)	Matisoff 1985a:015; Matisoff 1985a:015
	yan	unrolled, extended, spread out	Benedict 1972:138n371
	ə **yan**	extended, continuous	Benedict 1972:138n371
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	g-**yor**-mo	sail	Benedict 1972:138n371
7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***ya**	sail	Benedict 1972:138n371
	***yɑ**	expand / hoist (sail); sail (=sthg extended)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:371g

(58) PKC *phaʔ SPREAD / STRETCH

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***phaʔ**	SPREAD / STRETCH	VanBik 2009:356
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**phàa**-I, phàt-II	spread out cloth (e.g. on floor, bed, table)	VanBik 2009:356
Tiddim	**pha?**^{3}	spread a flat object [e.g. a mattress] (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1429
	phaʔ^{3}	spread a flat object (e.g. a mattress); spread a flat object ...	VanBik 2009:356; Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**phah**	spread (v.)	VanBik 2009:356
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**phaʔ**-INV	spread, stretch out (as a blanket on the ground)	VanBik 2009:356
Lushai [Mizo]	**phàh**	spread (as cloth, etc), to place flat on the ground (v.)	VanBik 2009:356

Chinese comparandum

敷 OC ***p’i̯wo**, *GSR* #102t’ ‘spread out; widely, extensively’; Schuessler 2007:173 ***pha**; B & S 2011: ***p**^{h}**a {p**^{h}**(r)a}**; Mand. **fū**.
布 OC ***pwo**, *GSR* #102j-l ‘spread (mat); display; announce; disperse’; Schuessler 2007:173 ***pâh**; B & S 2011: ***p**ˁ**a-s**; Mand. **bù**.
博 OC ***pâk**, *GSR* #771a-c ‘wide; ample’; Schuessler 2007:173 ***pâk**; B & S 2011: ***p**ˁ**ak**; Mand. **bó**.

(59) PTB *(t)sy$\genfrac{}{}{0pt}{}{i}{u}$p ⪤ *(t)swap SQUEEZE / WRING / CRUMPLE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**t**)**syip** ⪤ (t)syup	wring / crumple	Matisoff 2003a:618
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **chep**	squeeze	Marrison 1967
	me **chep**	squeeze	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**séb**	squeeze / press (v.)	Bhat 1968
	sep kó	squeeze out seed from a fruit; squeeze out seeds from a fruit (v.)	Bhat 1968; Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**sep**	squeeze	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**sep**-a	wring (vt.)	Burling 2003:9.277-II:idx
1.7.1.3. Koch			
Atong	**sep**-	wring, to squeeze out (v.)	van Breugel 2008
	sep jyrot-	wring (v.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**šùp**	clench / crumple	Matisoff 1974:325
	tšùp	clench / crumple	Matisoff 1974:325
	ʃup^{31}	wring; wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.47
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**sop**^{13}	wring (e.g. hands, clothes)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Thulung	**cip**-	<squeeze> to press on, to squash	Allen 1975
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**yup**-	tight, hold fast, grip, squeeze (vat.)	Caughley 2000
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**ʂuɑ**^{55}luɑ^{55}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.18
Lyuzu	**ntshʉ**^{53}	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.18
Muya	**nɐ**^{33}**tsui**^{55}	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.15
Muya [Minyak]	nɯ^{55}**tsɯ**^{55}tsɔ^{55}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.15
Namuyi	**ntshʉ**^{53}	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tsʅ**^{55}	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tsə**^{55}	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**nə**^{13}**stʃɯu**^{55}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.11
Qiang (Mianchi)	**dʐ̩ù dʐ̩uá**	wring (kerchief)	Evans 1999:2189 [a]
Qiang (Taoping)	**dʐ̩yi**^{33}la^{55}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	lɛ^{55}**tsɛ**^{55}	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**nə**^{35}**tɕy**^{35}	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:554.16

[a] [Source Note] cf. ‘pinch’.

Xumi	**tshu**[53]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	a[33]**tshɳ**[55]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**tshu**	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.12
Ergong (Danba)	**vɕi**	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:554.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong	ka **tsri**	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:554.12
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	**dʑɔt**[55]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.20
Trung [Dulong]	suʔ[55]; **tɕiʔ**[55]	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:554.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**tɕhŭʔ**[55]	wring	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Southern)	**tɕiu**[13]	wring	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**tɕiu**[55]	wring	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**tɕiu**[55]	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:554.38
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-tsup ≍ *ʔ-tsip** CRUMPLE / SQUEEZE / FIST			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***tsup ≍ ʔtsup ≍ tsip**	crumple / clench / squeeze into a	Matisoff 1972b:66
	***tsup ≍ ʔtsup ≍ tsip**	crumple / clench / squeeze into a ball ((HIGH);.)	Matisoff 1972b:66
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**tshit**[55]	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:554.41
Achang (Luxi)	**tɕi**[51]	wring	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola	laʔ[31] **tsa̱p**[55]	fist	DAI Qingxia 1989g:139
Bola (Luxi)	laʔ[31]**tsa̱p**[55]	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.32
	tʃa̱p[55]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.32
Burmese (Written)	**chup**	clinch hand	Benedict 1976a
Langsu (Luxi)	lɔʔ[31]**tsa̱p**[55]	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.31
	tʃa̱p[55]	squeeze (for milk); twist (a towel); suck (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1533.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1648.31
Lashi	lɔʔ[31] **tsɔ̱p**[55]	fist	DAI Qingxia 1989m:6.1.7.3
Leqi (Luxi)	lɔʔ[31]**tsɔ̱p**[55]	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.33
	tʃu̱ːp[55]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.33
Maru [Langsu]	lɔʔ[31] **tsa̱p**[55]	fist	DAI Qingxia 1989l:6.1.7.3; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:252.43
	tʃa̱p[55]	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:554.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	loʔ[21]**tsu̱p**[55]	fist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:252.42
	lɔʔ[21]**tsu̱p**[55]	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.30
	tʃu̱p[55]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.30
	tʃu̱p[55]	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:554.42
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Lalo	**tshi**[21]	squeeze	CHEN Kang 1986a:126.
	tɕhi̱[2]	pinch	CHEN Kang 1986a:168.
Lipho	**tshɳ**[21]	squeeze	CHEN Kang 1986a:126.
Nasu	**tshɯ**[55]	squeeze	CHEN Kang 1986a:126.
Neisu	**tshy**[55]	squeeze	CHEN Kang 1986a:126.
Nesu	**tshi**[21]	squeeze	CHEN Kang 1986a:126.
Nosu	**tshi**[21]	squeeze	CHEN Kang 1986a:126.
Nusu (Central)	**tʂhɚ̱**[53]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**tshi**[33]	milk (squeeze teet)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Weishan)	**tɕhy**[55]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tshɯ̱**[2]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.38
Yi (Xide)	**tshi**[33]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.35
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Ahi	lę̱[21] pu[55] **ts‘i̱**[21]	fist	LUO Meizhen 1990:6.1.7.3
	tshi[21]	squeeze	CHEN Kang 1986a:126.
Jinuo (Youle)	**tshu**[42]	wring	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Black)	**chîʔ**	clench / crumple	Matisoff 1974:325
	chîʔ (< *tsip)	crumple / clench / squeeze into a ball	Matisoff 1972b:66
	là?-**chîʔ**	fist	Matisoff 1987
	là?-**chîʔ**-khɔ	knuckles (as they appear in clenched fist)	Matisoff 1987:3
	là?-**chîʔ**-pɨ	fist	Matisoff 1987
	lʌ[21]**tshɳ**[54]pə[33]	fist	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:252.33
Lisu (Northern)	**tshi**[35]	squeeze (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tshi**[35]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tsɯ**[55]	squeeze; nip (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	le[2]khẏ[11]**tshz̭**[44]	fist (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0114.39
Sani [Nyi]	le[22]qhu[21]**tshi**[44]	fist	CHEN Kang 1986b:6.1.7.3
	le[21]qhu[21]**tshi̱**[33]	fist	WU Zili *et al.* 1984a
	le̱[22] kʰẏ[11] **tsʰɳ̱**[44]	fist	MA Xueliang 1989:350.5
	tshi[21]	squeeze	CHEN Kang 1986a:126.
Yi (Sani)	**tshɤ**[33]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**tsu** HS (*tsup)	crumple / clench / squeeze into a ball	Matisoff 1972b:66
	tsuˆ	clench / crumple	Matisoff 1974:325
Hani (Shuikui)	ʒɤ[31]**tsɛ**[55]	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:554.32
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**tsy̱**[45]	press; fill in; squeeze in; stuff	Pelkey 2011:922
Southern Muji	n̥i[21]**tɕʰɛ**[21]	squeeze	Pelkey 2011:923
Hlepho Phowa	tʰə[33]**tɕʰi**[21]	press; fill in; squeeze in; stuff	Pelkey 2011:922
	tsʰɯ[21]tə[33]	squeeze	Pelkey 2011:923
Phuza	**tsʰi**[33]	press; fill in; squeeze in; stuff	Pelkey 2011:922
	tsʰi[55]kʰɯ[55]	squeeze	Pelkey 2011:923
6.2. NAXI			
Naxi	**tʂhuɑ**[33]	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tʂhuɑ**[31]	milk (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:611.28
8. BAI			
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tsue̱**[33]	twist (a towel) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1533.48
	tsue̱[33] (pɑ[21])	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.48
	tsui[44]	wring (e.g. wet cloth)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:554.36
	tsui[44]	milk (v.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:611.36
	tɕi̱[33] (pɑ[21])	squeeze (for milk) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1405.48
	tɕui̱[21]	kiss (v.)	ZHAO Yansun 1990:3.9.5

(60) PTk *haaw START

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***haaw**	start	Mortensen 2012:588
Huishu	**haw**-puʔ-k[h]e	start	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.008
Tusom	kə-**xuə**	start (v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.007
Ukhrul	kə-**haw**	start	Mortensen 2012

(61) PCC *thok-I, *-thoʔ-II START / BEGIN / COMMENCE

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***thok**-I, -thoʔ-II	START / BEGIN / COMMENCE	VanBik 2009:414
Lai (Falam)	**thók**	commence, start (v.)	VanBik 2009:414
Lai (Hakha)	**thok**-I, thoʔ-II	commence, start (as a journey)	VanBik 2009:414
Lushai [Mizo]	**thàwk**-I, thàwh-II	make a start, to begin (v.)	VanBik 2009:414
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**pā**-thāo	commence, to begin (v.)	VanBik 2009:414

(62) PKC *ŋol STOP

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ŋol**	STOP	VanBik 2009:869
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**om** ngawl hī	absent	VanBik 2009:869
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**ŋôl**-I, ŋǒl-II	stop	VanBik 2009:869
Lai (Falam)	**ŋól**-INV	sulk	VanBik 2009:869
Lushai [Mizo]	**ngàwl**-tâwt	disobedient	VanBik 2009:869

(63) PCC *reʔ STOP / CEASE / END

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
**Central Chin*	***reʔ**	STOP / CEASE / END	VanBik 2009:979
Lai (Hakha)	**reʔ**-INV	stop, cease, end, over	VanBik 2009:979
Lushai [Mizo]	**rèh**	stop, to cease, to end, to be over, to die away (v.)	VanBik 2009:979

(64) PTani *ǰon STRETCH ONESELF

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***ǰon**	stretch oneself	Sun 1993a:403
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	a-**ǰiŋ**	stretch hands	Sun 1993b
	tar-**ǰiŋ**	stretch oneself	Sun 1993b
Bengni	gu-**ǰin**	stretch oneself	Sun 1993a
	gu-**ǰin** gu-taː	stretch oneself	Sun 1993b
Galo	-‘**jin**	stretched out (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	-‘**jin**...-‘taa	stretch out (vs:advs.)	GLDC 2009
	‘aa **jin**	stretch (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘aa **jin**-aa taa	stretch (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘jin nam	stretch (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘kə **jin**	stretch (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	‘kə **jin**-‘kə taa	stretch (vi.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	gə-**ǰon**	stretch oneself	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. DENG			
Yidu	ɑ[55] **dʑeŋ**[55]	stretch out (the arm) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1613.25

(65) PTB *tsyan ≍ *dzyan STRETCH OUT

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Tiddim	**zan**	stretch	Benedict 1972:167n448
	zɑn	stretch	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:371g
	¯zan/ˆ**zan**	stretch (v.)	Henderson 1965
4. NUNGIC			
Dulong	**tɕɑ·n**[55]	stretch out (the arm) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1613.20
	tɕɑːn[53]	draw out / stretch (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1615.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**tśan**[53]	stretch out	LaPolla 1987:123
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**tśan**[53]	stretch out	LaPolla 1987:123
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-džan[3] ≍ *ʔ-tšan[3]** STRETCH OUT			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***(ʔ-)dzan[3] ≍ tsan[3]**	stretch out	Matisoff 1985a:011
	***ʔ-dzan3 ≍ *tsan3**	stretch out	LaPolla 1987:123 [a]
	***ʔ-džan[3] ≍ ʔ-tšan[3]**	stretch out	Matisoff 2003a:588
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**can’**	stretched out, lengthened (simplex)	Matisoff 1985a:011
	can’	stretched out, lengthened	Benedict 1976a
	chan’	stretch out straight, lengthen something (causative)	Matisoff 1985a:011
	chan’	stretch out straight, lengthen	Benedict 1976a
	châŋ	stretch out (v.)	Benedict 1976a
Atsi [Zaiwa]	lo̱ʔ[55] **tʃen**[55]	draw out / stretch (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1615.30

[a] [Source Note] [G&C 11].

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu	**che**	stretch out	LaPolla 1987:123
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕhe**^{33}	extend; elongate; stretch out (the arm) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1613.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1614.43
7. Karenic			
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	***cùq**	stretch out (v.)	Jones 1961:68
**Karen (TP)*	***cwánq**	stretch out (v.)	Jones 1961:68
**Karen*	***cwánq**	stretch out (v.)	Jones 1961:68
**Karen (Pwo)*	***jɔ́nq**	stretch out (legs) (v.)	Jones 1961:545
**Karen (Sgaw)*	***súʔ**	stretch out (v.)	Jones 1961:68
**Karen (Pwo)*	***sɔ́nq**	stretch out (v.)	Jones 1961:68
Pa-O	**cə́n**	stretch out (v.)	Jones 1961:68
	jɔ̂ŋ	stretch out (legs) (v.)	Jones 1961:545
Palaychi	**cùq**	stretch out (v.)	Jones 1961:68
	jó	stretch out (legs) (v.)	Jones 1961:545
Pwo (Bassein)	**jɔ̀n**	stretch out (legs) (v.)	Jones 1961:545
	sɔ̀n	stretch out (v.)	Jones 1961:68
Pwo (Moulmein)	**jɔ́nʔ**	stretch out (legs) (v.)	Jones 1961:545
	sɔ́ʔ	stretch out (v.)	Jones 1961:68
Sgaw (Bassein)	**sù**	stretch out (v.)	Jones 1961:68
Sgaw (Moulmein)	**súʔ**	stretch out (v.)	Jones 1961:68
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**shēn**	stretch, extend	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2450

(66) PKC *yam STRETCH / SUSPEND

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***yam**	STRETCH / SUSPEND	VanBik 2009:1238
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**yam**	suspend or hang up sth in the air, to have dried in the sun (v.)	VanBik 2009:1238
Khumi	**ayang**	stretch (the body)	VanBik 2009:1238
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zâm**-I, zăm-II	strectch or suspend (as rope), spread (as net)	VanBik 2009:1238
Lushai [Mizo]	**zâm**	stretch from one post/object to another (as clothes line, spider web, etc.), to spread or set (as cloth, net, birdlime) (v.)	VanBik 2009:1238

(67) PTB *s-myak VANISH / GET LOST

This etymon resembles PTB ***g/s-ma-t/n*** PERISH / BE SPENT / BE LOST / LOSE / DISAPPEAR / EXHAUSTED / FORGET (§1.1.6), but must be kept distinct, as witness the two Jingpho forms **myéʔ** from the present root, and **mat** from PTB ***g/s-ma-t/n*** PERISH / BE SPENT / BE LOST / LOSE / DISAPPEAR / EXHAUSTED / FORGET (§1.1.6).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-myak**	vanish / get lost	Matisoff 2003a:322
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**myéʔ**	be lost, gone, vanish	Matisoff 2003a:322
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	**mɛ**^{35}	disappear / vanish (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1731.43
Lahu (Black)	**mɛ́**	get lost, disappear, vanish	Matisoff 2003a:322

(68) PKC *huut VAPORIZE / GILD

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***huut**	VAPORIZE / GILD	VanBik 2009:743
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-hut	let off vapor (as boiling water) (v.)	VanBik 2009:743
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**huut**-I, huʔ-II	vaporize (as boiling water), gild (as gold)	VanBik 2009:743

(69) PTB * $\frac{\text{d}}{\text{t}}$ wan WRINKLE / SHRINK

Although this root is so far sparsely attested, it looks solid, with a good correspondence between Jingpho and Written Burmese.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dwan ≍ twan**	wrinkle / shrink	Matisoff 2003a:587
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**thūn**	shrink	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:323
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	ɑ^{53}je^{22}**tũ**^{53}	wrinkle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0121.27
Burmese (Written)	**twan'**	wrinkled, puckered; flinch (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ^{1}re^{2}**ton**^{1}	wrinkle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0121.26

9.6.1 Positive/Desirable qualities

(1) PTB *lwa(ː)y EASY

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***lwa(ː)y**	easy	Matisoff 2003a:600
	***lway**	easy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:194
	***lway**	easy	Matisoff 1985a:078; LaPolla 1987:129; Benedict 1972:302
	*s-**l(w)a-y**	easy	LaPolla 1987:129
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Lamkang	kʌ-**làai**	easy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:194
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-laj** EASY			
**Central Naga*	*m-**laj**	EASY (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.050
**Ao*	*m-**la [j]**	EASY (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.344
Ao (Chungli)	me **la** me **la** r	easy	Marrison 1967
	mɯ̃ **lā**	easy (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	^{2}tɯ^{2}mɯ^{2}**la**	easy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:194
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	me **la**	easy	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**la**^{3}-	easy (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.050
	e **la**	cheap; easy	Murry *et al.* 1978:16; Murry *et al.* 1978:36
	e **la** shusa	easy	Marrison 1967
	là	price (cheap)	Acharya 1975
	la	cheap	Murry *et al.* 1978:16
	la lokwa	cheap	Marrison 1967
	la ro a	easy	Murry *et al.* 1978:36
	o man **la**	cheap	Marrison 1967
	^{3}**la**	easy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:194
Sangtam	angang a mü **la**	cheap	Kumar 1973a
	a mü **la**	easy	Marrison 1967
	^{1}a^{1}mɯ^{1}**la**	easy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:194
Yimchungrü	^{2}mɯ ^{2}**lɯ** [^{1}]	easy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:194
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	me **li**	easy; cheap	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Khezha	^{2}me^{1}**lu**	easy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:194
Mao	mo **lo**	easy	Marrison 1967
	^{1}mo^{3}**lo**	easy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:194
Sema [Sumi]	akum **la**	easy	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Maram	ri **li**	easy	Marrison 1967
Zeme	^{1}ke^{4}**la**	easy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:194
Mzieme	rü **lui**	easy	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***plaj** EASY / CHEAP			
**Tangkhulic*	***plaj**	easy / cheap	Mortensen 2012:373
Huishu	kə-**pej**-re	easy / cheap	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.153
	ʔa-mej-kə-**pej**	cheap	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.155
Kachai	kə-**pwe**	easy / cheap	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.132
Tusom	k^{h}ə-**lie**	easy / cheap	Mortensen 2012:ToneMin.008
Ukhrul	kə-**paj**	able, can, be possible to do; might; be easy; be cheap	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**lai** ba	easy	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**lai** ba	easy; cheap	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	^{1}ʌ^{1}**la**	easy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:194
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**lòi**	easy; of early growth; easy, of early growth	Matisoff 1985a:078; Matisoff 1974:121
	loi ≍ lwe	easy	Benedict 1972:302
	lòi~**lwè**	easy	Matisoff 1985a:078
	loi^{31}	easy	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1068.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:878.47
	lwe	easy	Marrison 1967
	n̄-**lôi**	of early growth	Matisoff 1974:121; Matisoff 1985a:078
	sə **lòi**	early bean (n.)	Matisoff 1985a:078; Matisoff 1974:121
	^{1}**loi**	easy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:194
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Bunan	**lo**-i	easy	Matisoff 1985a:078; Benedict 1972:302
Byangsi	**lo** dɛ	easy, cheap (adj.)	Sharma 2003:491
Chaudangsi	**lo** tə	cheap, easy	Krishan 2003:413
Darma	**lo**-nu	easy	Krishan 2003:415
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	phu^{55}**mɑ**^{33}tɑ^{55}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ma**^{33}thu^{55}	blunt / dull	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1021.14
4. Nungic			
Dulong	**lɑ**^{55}	easy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1068.20
Trung [Dulong]	sɑ^{55}sɑ^{55}**lɑ**^{55}	easy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:878.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**la**^{55}	easy	LaPolla 1987:129
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**la**^{55}	easy	LaPolla 1987:129
	lɑ^{55}	easy	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola (Luxi)	**lui**^{55}	easy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1068.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**lwɛ**^{22}	easy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1068.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**lwɛ**^{22}	easy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:878.40
Burmese (Written)	**lwai**	easy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:194
	lwai	easy; yielding	Matisoff 1985a:078; Matisoff 1974:121; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:302
	lway	easy	Marrison 1967
	lwɑj^{2}	easy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1068.26; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:878.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**lɔi**^{31}	easy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1068.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**lɔː**^{31}	easy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1068.33
Marma	**rwe**	easy (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:345-1
Maru [Langsu]	**lɔi**^{31}	easy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:878.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lûi**	easy (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:194
	lui^{51}	easy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1068.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:878.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Mile)	**lʌ**^{33}	easy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:878.25
Yi (Nanjian)	**le**^{55}	easy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:878.23
Yi (Weishan)	**lɛ**^{55}	easy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1068.36
Yi (Wuding)	**lɔ**^{11}	easy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1068.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	cà-**lwɛ̄**	early growing rice	Matisoff 1985a:078
Lisu (Northern)	dza^{44}**lɔ**^{44}	early ripening crops	Bradley 1994
	dza^{44}**lɔ**^{44}mi^{44}	field of early ripening crops	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**lɔ**^{44}	early maturing (V.)	Bradley 1994
	khɔ^{21}ɕa^{33}**lɔ**^{44}	early corn	Bradley 1994
	khɔ^{21}ɕa^{33}lɔ^{44}mi^{44}	plot of early corn	Bradley 1994
	khɤ^{21}**lɔ**^{44}	baby who begins to talk early	Bradley 1994
	si^{21}le^{21}**lɔ**^{44}	early peach	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**læ**^{33}	easy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1068.39

Chinese comparandum

易 OC ***diḛ̆g**, *GSR* #850a-e 'easy'; Schuessler 2007:569 ***leks**; B & S 2011: ***lek-s**; Mand. **yì**.

(2) PKar *hŋawᴬ EASY

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***hɲaw^{A}**	easy	Luangthongkum 2013:97
**Karen [Burling]*	***ŋɔ^{4}**	easy	Luangthongkum 2013:97
Bwe	**jo^{55}**	easy	Luangthongkum 2013:97
Kayah	**ju^{33}**	easy	Luangthongkum 2013:97
Kayan	**jau^{53}**	easy	Luangthongkum 2013:97
Kayaw	**ju^{55}**	easy	Luangthongkum 2013:97
Pwo (Northern)	**jɔ^{35}**	easy	Luangthongkum 2013:97
Pwo (Southern)	**jo^{53}**	easy	Luangthongkum 2013:97
Sgaw (Northern)	**ɲɔ^{33}**	easy	Luangthongkum 2013:97
Sgaw (Southern)	**ɲɔ^{55}**	easy	Luangthongkum 2013:97

(3) PCC *ʔol EASY / SIMPLE

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**ol** hī	easy (be v.)	VanBik 2009:478

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***ʔol**	EASY / SIMPLE	VanBik 2009:478
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔòl**-I, ʔŏl-II	easy, simple	VanBik 2009:478
Lai (Falam)	**ʔŏl**-I, ʔòl-II	easy, simple	VanBik 2009:478
Lushai [Mizo]	**awl**	easy	Marrison 1967
	áwl	easy, not difficult, simple	VanBik 2009:478

(4) PTB *g-sal CLEAR / BRIGHT / PLEASANT

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-sal**	clear / bright / pleasant	Matisoff 2003a:612

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Ntenyi	**kethan**	light (bright) (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**san**	clear, pure	Benedict 1972:15n54(a)
	san^{31}	clarify; clear up; clear (water)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1022.19; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1197.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:855.47

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**sāl** ma	bright (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.33
Tsangla (Motuo)	**sai^{55}**pu^{13}	bright	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**sɛː^{55}**po^{53}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.6
Cuona Menba	**sɛː^{55}**po^{53}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**sa** wo	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**sha** wo	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**se^{55}**pu^{53}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**se^{55}**mo^{53}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**sɛ^{55}**po^{53}	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.2
	sɛ^{55}po^{55}	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.02
Tibetan (Written)	**gsal** po	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.01; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.1
	gsal-ba	clear / distinct / bright (be v.)	Benedict 1972:15n54(a)
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**sha** mo	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.04

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}tʰaŋ **^{3}səl** pə	bright / light	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0474a
	^{3}tʰoŋ **^{3}səl** pə	bright / light	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0474b

3.2. QIANGIC

Muya [Minyak]	**sa^{55}sa^{55}**	bright	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:833.15
Qiang (Mianchi)	pé-**sə̧̀**	today [? = sky-bright]	Evans 1999:1085

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **khsɐl**	bright	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1012.11

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**san**	clean	Benedict 1972:15n54(a)

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ša^{1}** EASY / CHEAP [a]

**Lolo-Burmese*	***C-ša^{1}**	easy / cheap	Matisoff 2003a:613
	***sa^{1}**	clear / bright / pleasant	Matisoff 2003a:612

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**sa**	clear, pleasant	Benedict 1972:15n54(a)

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***śa**	easy	LaPolla 1987:129
	***sa^{1}**	easy	Bradley 1979b:545

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Kucong	**sʌ33**	easy	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Black)	**ša**	easy, pleasant	Matisoff 1988a
Lahu (Yellow)	**sa^{1}**	easy	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	dʑɔ^{44}**sa^{33}**	happiness; easy life (N.)	Bradley 1994
	sa^{33}	easy; comfortable; feel nice (V.)	Bradley 1994
	sa^{33}sa^{35}	easy; simple	Bradley 1994
	sa^{33}sa^{35}za?^{21}	very easy; plain sailing; easily	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**sa^{4}**	easy, be	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**sɑ̱^{33}**	easy	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1068.40
	sɑ^{44}	easy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:878.27

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**sa$^{˅}$**-eu	easy (not difficult); flat (be v.)	Lewis 1989:389
Sangkong	**ʑa^{55}**	easy / cheap	Matisoff 2003a:36

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**sɔ^{21}**	easy	Pelkey 2011:982
Southern Muji	kə^{21}**sa^{33}**	easy	Pelkey 2011:982
Phola	kɛ^{33}**sɑ^{55}**	easy	Pelkey 2011:982
Hlepho Phowa	kə^{33}**sa^{21}**	easy	Pelkey 2011:982
Phuza	gə^{33}ga^{33}**sa^{31}**	easy	Pelkey 2011:982

[a] This etymon bears a fortuitous resemblance to PTB ***s-ra** HARD / DIFFICULT / POOR / DISTRESSED (§1.1.5), a root with the opposite meaning.

Chinese comparandum

粲 OC ***tsʼɑn**, *GSR* #154b 'bright, splendid'; Schuessler 2007:176 ***tshâns**; B & S 2011: ***ts^{hʂ}ar-s { [ts^{h}] ^{ʂ}ar-s}**; Mand. **càn**.

(5) PTani *kak CLEAN

This looks like a valid Proto-Tani root, but it is possible that there is a connection with PTani ***krak** RESULTATIVE PARTICLE (= off, away) (§9.2.4). Cf. English expressions like 'he got clean away', where the meaning is "action performed with a complete result".

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Galo	-bin...-**kak**	clean (vs:advs.)	GLDC 2009
	-kak	clean (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	a **kak**	clean(arch.) (ace.)	GLDC 2009
	kag nam	wash (surface) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	mo-**kak**-nam	clean (cloth); wash (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	mər **kak**	rub (clean) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	pek **kak**	sweep clean (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	rɯ-**kak**-nam	wash (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻmo **kak**	clean (something) (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	me-**kak**	clean	Das Gupta 1969
	o **kak**	clean	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	mo **kak**-nam	wash room (v.)	Das Gupta 1983
	mɤ-**kak** darek	clean (vi.)	Das Gupta 1983
	mɤ **kak** ne iɟi	clean cloth	Das Gupta 1983

(6) PTani *d-rek CLEAN

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**dà-rɯ**	clean	Sun 1993b
	da-rɯ-pa mɯ	clean (v.)	Sun 1993b
	da-rɯʔ	clean (adj.)	Sun 1993b
Galo	**dərək**	clean (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	dɤrɤk-na	clean	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	**derek**-nam	clean	Simon 1976
	derek-ne	clean	Simon 1976
Nishing	**darek**	clean	Das Gupta 1969

(7) PCC *faay CLEAN

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bengni	**faː**-kjak	scrub clean	Sun 1993b

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***faay**	CLEAN	VanBik 2009:613
Lai (Hakha)	**fâay**-I, făay-II	clean (as hand) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:613
Lushai [Mizo]	**făay**	clean (be v.)	VanBik 2009:613
	fai	clean (v.)	Marrison 1967
	fai	clean (be v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2310

(8) PTk *t^{h}ɐr CLEAN

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Sorbung	**t^{h}àar**	clean	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.202

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}ɐr**	clean	Mortensen 2012:510
Huishu	kə-**t^{h}o**	clean	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.170
Kachai	kə-**t^{h}ar**	clean	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.150
Tangkhul	ka **thar**	clean (v.)	Marrison 1967
	thər	clean	Bhat 1969:86
Tusom	kə-**t^{h}ɯə̃**	clean	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.188
Ukhrul	kə-**t^{h}ar**	clean	Mortensen 2012
	kə-**t^{h}ɐr**	clean; to be holy (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(9) PKC *θiaŋ-I, *θian-II CLEAR / LEGIBLE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***θiaŋ**-I, θian-II	CLEAR / LEGIBLE	VanBik 2009:614

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**chiang** lou	illegible	VanBik 2009:614
Tiddim	**ki^{3}** cian^{3}	clear, distinct	VanBik 2009:614

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**fîaŋ**-I, fĭan-II	clear, legible (be v.)	VanBik 2009:614
Lai (Falam)	**fiaŋ**-INV	clear, legible (be v.)	VanBik 2009:614

(10) PTB *(t)s(y)aŋ CLEAR / PURE / CLEAN

See PTB ***s(y)u-ŋ/k** WAKE UP / MORNING / CLEAR-HEADED / SOBER UP (§1.1.4) for a phonosemantically similar root.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***seng**	clear	Coblin 1986:55

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(t)syaŋ**~*syaŋ	clean	LaPolla 1987:110
	***syaŋ**	clear, clean	Benedict 1972:53n177

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Damu	***tsaŋ** ma	clean	Sun 1993b

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***thiaŋ-I**, ***thian-II** CLEAN / CLEAR

**Chin*	***thiaŋ**-I, thian-II	CLEAN / CLEAR	VanBik 2009:379

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**siang**	clean	VanBik 2009:379
Sizang	**chīang** htō hī	clean	VanBik 2009:379
Thado	**thíeŋ**-I, thìen-II	clean (be v.)	VanBik 2009:379
Tiddim	**siang^{2}** > sian^{3}	clean (be v.)	VanBik 2009:379
	siang^{2} > sian^{3}	clean (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1575
	siaŋ^{2}/sian^{3}	clean	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**thîaŋ**-I, thĭan-II	clean (be v.)	VanBik 2009:379
Lai (Falam)	**thĭaŋ**-I, thìan-II	clean (be v.)	VanBik 2009:379
Lushai [Mizo]	**thiang**	clean up (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2964
	thiang	clean (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2965
	thíang-I, thìan-II	clear (as sky, weather), to be fresh (as air or smell) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:379
	thiang hlim	clean (v.)	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	pā-**thài**	clean, pure (be v.)	VanBik 2009:379

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***tsaŋ** CLEAN (BE) / BE CLEAR

**Central Naga*	***tsaŋ**	CLEAN / CLEAR (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.201
**Ao*	***tʃaŋ**-tʃaj	CLEAR (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.147
Ao (Chungli)	**cāŋ** cā	clear (be v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:3
	tʃaŋ^{2}tʃa^{2}	be clear, clarify (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.147
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **tʃàŋ** tʃà	clear (be v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	n̥^{1}-**tshəŋ^{1}**-	clean (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.201
	ntsang a	clean (v.)	Marrison 1967
	n **tsüng** a	clear	Murry *et al.* 1978:18

	n **tsüng** chet a	clean	Murry *et al.* 1978:18
	n **tsüng** u	clean	Murry *et al.* 1978:18
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	ə **seŋ**-ba	clean	LaPolla 1987:110
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**tsaŋ**^{55}ma^{13}	clean	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	tsaŋ ma	clean	LaPolla 1987:110; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:853.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**sing-sing**	clean	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tsɑŋ**^{55}mɑ^{55}	clean	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tsaŋ**^{55} ma^{53}	clean	LaPolla 1987:110
	tsʌŋ^{55}mʌ^{53}	clean	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:853.6
Motuo Menba	**tsaŋ** ma	clean	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1085.07
Cuona Menba	**tsaŋ**^{55}ma^{53}	clean	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1085.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣtsaŋ** dak	clean	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1085.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htsaŋ** ma	clean	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:853.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rtsaŋ** ma	clean	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:853.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**tsõ**^{55}ma^{53}	clean	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1085.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**sāng sāngq**	clean (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.48
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tsuŋ**^{55}ma^{53}	clean	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:853.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**tsaŋ**^{55}ma^{13}	clean	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:853.2
	tsaŋ^{55}ma^{55}	clean	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1085.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**ceng** geq	clean (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.48
Tibetan (Spiti)	**saŋ** ma	clean	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Western)	**siŋs**	clear, clean	Benedict 1972:53n177
Tibetan (Written)	**gseng**-po	clear and sharp (of sounds); acute (of hearing)	Coblin 1986:55
	gtsaŋ ma	clean	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1085.01; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:853.1
	seng	clear	Coblin 1986:55
	seng-po ~ **bseng**-po	clear, white, airy, pale	Coblin 1986:55
	ɣtsaṅ ba	clean (v.)	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htsaŋ** ma	clean	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1085.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Manang (Gyaru)	**dzaŋ**^{2} ba	clean	Nagano 1984:350
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**tsaŋ** pə	pretty; clean	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0453b; Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0933
	^{1}ŋuʔi ^{3}**tsaŋ** pə	pretty / clean	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0453a
Thakali	kham-**sāng**-pa	clean (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.48
Thakali (Tukche)	k^{h}ɔm-**saŋ**-pɔ	clean	Hari 1971:12.B.48
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**ʂo**^{55}**ʂo**^{55}	clean	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:853.18
Lyuzu	mæ^{33}**ʂu**^{53}**ʂu**^{53}	dirty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1086.18
	ʂu^{33}**ʂu**^{53}	clean	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1085.18
Namuyi	mɛ^{55}**ʂɛ**^{33}**ʂɛ**^{55}	dirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:854.19
	ʂɛ^{33}**ʂɛ**^{55}	clean	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:853.19
	mæ^{53}**ʂa**^{33}**ʂa**^{53}	dirty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1086.46
	ʂa^{33}**ʂɑ**^{53}	clean	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1085.46
Qiang (Longxi)	mà **só**	dirty	Evans 1999:1542 [a]
	ɕó	clear	Evans 1999:1470
Qiang (Mawo)	mə **ɕu** tiu	dirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:854.8
Xumi	me^{55}**ʂɑ̃**^{55}	dirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:854.20
	mu^{55}**ʂõ**^{55}	dirty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1086.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	ma^{33}**ʂtsũ**^{55}ma^{33}	dirty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1086.14
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	**tsɑŋ**^{55}mɑ^{55}	clean	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:853.46
Dulong	**ʦɑŋ**^{55}mɑ^{55}	clean	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1085.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**tsaŋ**^{55} ma^{55}	clean	LaPolla 1987:110
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**tsaŋ**^{55} ma^{55}	clean	LaPolla 1987:110
	tsɑŋ^{55}mɑ^{55}	clean	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**caṅ**	clean (v.)	Marrison 1967
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	mə˥**ʂu**˥	dirty	Michaud 2006–2009:2212
Na (Yongning)	mɤ˧**ʂu**˩	dirty	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂu˩	clean; clear (water)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂu˩qæ˨	very clean	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	mə^{33}**ʂu**^{31}	dirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:854.29
Naxi	**ʂu**^{21}	clean	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1085.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʂu**^{31}ga^{31}la^{55}	clean	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:853.29
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	**càŋ**	clean (2)	Solnit 1989
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	晴	clear (weather)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2243
	清	clear (adj.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2242
	睡 醒	wake up (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0501
Chinese (GSR #)	**0812i'**	clear (adj.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2242
	812	clear (weather)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2243
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**dzjingx**	pure	Coblin 1986:55
	N-**ts^{h}eŋ**	clear (weather)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2243
	sing	clear	Coblin 1986:55
	singx	clear	Coblin 1986:55
	tshjeng	clear; pure; bright	Baxter 1992:283; Baxter 1992:408
	ts^{h}eŋ	clear (adj.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2242
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**dzjäng:**	pure	Coblin 1986:55
	dzjeng	clear (weather)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2243
	sieng	clear	Coblin 1986:55; Coblin 1986:55
	sieng:	clear	Coblin 1986:55
	singh	wake up, become sober (< clear the mind);	Coblin 1986:55
	tshjeng	clear (adj.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2242
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**qīng**	clear (adj.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2242
	qíng	clear (weather)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2243
	xǐng	wake up	Evans *et al.* 1991

[a] [Source Note] cf. 'poison'.

Chinese comparandum

醒 OC ***sing** 'wake up, become sober' (Coblin 1986:55); not in *GSR*; cf. Mand. **xǐng, xīng**.
清
晴

(11) PKC *klaw DURABLE / LASTING

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***klaw**	DURABLE / LASTING	VanBik 2009:1257
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**tou**	durable	VanBik 2009:1257
Thado	**hlów**-I, hlòw-II	durable	VanBik 2009:1257
Tiddim	**tou**^{2}	tough, last long	VanBik 2009:1257
	tou^{2}	tough; last long (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1779
	tou^{2}	tough, last long	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tlâw**-I, tlăw-II	durable, lasting	VanBik 2009:1257
Lushai [Mizo]	**tló**	durable, lasting, strong, steadfast, enduring	VanBik 2009:1257

(12) PTk *nak FINE, BE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***nak**	fine, be	Mortensen 2012:553
Kachai	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**nak**	fine (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.175
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**nak**	fine (small particles) (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
	k^{h}ə-mə-**nɐk**	fine (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(13) PTB *pra GOOD

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pra**	good	Benedict 1972:129
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ã:llya:yem **pra:** ím	worst	NEFA (India) 1963
	ã:lya:yem **pra:**	best	NEFA (India) 1963
	ã:lya:yem **pra:**-we shi-a:	beloved (most)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ba:-**pra:**-ím	invalid	NEFA (India) 1963
	ekhing-**pra:**	better	NEFA (India) 1963
	hwẽ-**pra:**	beautiful	NEFA (India) 1963
	hwẽ-**pra:**-ím	ugly; awkward	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	ka:m kapa:i **pra:** ím	ill-fated	NEFA (India) 1963
	ka:m **pra:** ím	crime	NEFA (India) 1963
	khala:i **pra:**	fertile; land (fertile)	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	khín-ím **pra** ím	spirits causing all sorts of evil	NEFA (India) 1963
	khing **pra:** ím	worse	NEFA (India) 1963
	khíním **pra:** ím	spirits (malevolent)	NEFA (India) 1963
	me dõ ekhing **pra:**	distinguished	NEFA (India) 1963
	nya:rã: gõ **pra:**	recover (from illness)	NEFA (India) 1963
	nya:rã: **pra:** ji	treatment (of disease)	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra:	good; well; beneficient	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: a:pa:g	clean (adj.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: a:pag	neat	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: hũi	choose	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: ka:po	care	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: ka:po-a:	careful	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: ka:thu	choose	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: ma:dang ta:lyo	congratulate	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: ta:hui	preach	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra:-ba:-so	well-made	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra:-ba:-ya:	well made	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra:-ím	bad; wicked	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	pra:-ím jiya: 'me	culprit	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra:-ím-ji	commit (crime)	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra:-ji	cure; heal	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	pra:-la:	recommend	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra:-ma:da:ng	charming	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra:-we	fond	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra:-we shi-a:	beloved	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra:-we-ím	condemn (v.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: cha:	bless	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: cho	care	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: cho-wa:	well-made	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: ím we	bore (to feel tired); remorse	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: ím wetu	regret	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: ím-rã:	ill (unwell)	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: la:ha:ng	admire	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: ma:da:ng	beautiful	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: sha:-bo	entreat	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: we	love	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: we-a:	loved (adj.)	NEFA (India) 1963
	pra: webo	appease	NEFA (India) 1963
	pɹɑ^{55}	good	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:860.49
	pɹɑ^{55}jim^{55}	bad	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1053.22; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:861.49
	ta:ki-**pra:**	polite	NEFA (India) 1963
	ta:shya:-**pra:**	omen (good)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ta:shya:-**pra:** ím	omen (bad)	NEFA (India) 1963
	takí **pra:**	honest	NEFA (India) 1963
	takí **pra:** ím	peevish (of speech)	NEFA (India) 1963
	tha:-**pra:**	delicious; tasteful (tasty)	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	tyang **pra:**	healthy	NEFA (India) 1963
	tyang-**pra:** ím	worst	NEFA (India) 1963
Digaro	**pra**	good	Benedict 1972:129
Idu	**pɹɑ**^{55}	good	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:860.50
Yidu	**pɹɑ**^{55}	good	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***phraa-I**, ***phrat-II** GOOD			
**Chin*	***phraa**-I, phrat-II	GOOD	VanBik 2009:1338
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	a **hpā**	good	VanBik 2009:1338
Thado	**phàa**-I, phàt-II	good	VanBik 2009:1338
	ə **pha**	good	Benedict 1972:129
	ā **phá**	good	Thirumalai 1972:65
Tiddim	**pha:**^{3} > phat^{3}	good (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1338
	pha:^{3} > phat^{3}	good (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1438
	pha:^{3}/phat^{3}	good	Bhaskararao 1994
	`pha:/_phat	good (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**pʻoi**	good (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1338
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**ṭhàa**-INV	good, nice (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1338
Lai (Hakha)	**thrǎa**-I, thrat-II	good, nice	VanBik 2009:1338
Lushai [Mizo]	**ṭha**	good	Benedict 1972:129
	ṭhà-I, ṭhàt-II	good, nice, well, right, correct (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1338
	t̰ha	good	Marrison 1967
	t̰ha lo	bad	Marrison 1967
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**phā**	good (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1338
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***p^{h}ra** GOOD			
**Tangkhulic*	***p^{h}ra**	good	Mortensen 2012:643
Tangkhul	ka **pha**	good	Marrison 1967
	phá	good	Bhat 1969:90
Tusom	kə-**p^{h}ri**	beautiful	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.190
Ukhrul	kə-**p^{h}a**	good (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
	p^{h}a	good	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	a **pha** ba	good	Marrison 1967
	pha jaba	beautiful	Marrison 1967
	əp **p^{h}ə** ba	good	Abbi & Mishra 1985
2. HIMALAYISH			
Thangmi	ə **pra**	good	Benedict 1972:129

(14) PTB *s-na GOOD

The ***s-** prefix is abundantly attested in rGyalrongic, and is implied by the PLB pre-glottalization.

For a rather resemblant but distinct root, see PTB ***s-nam** GOOD (§9.6.1).

3.2. QIANGIC			
Namuyi	**nɛ^{33}**	good	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:860.19
	mæ^{53}**næ̱^{31}**	bad	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1053.46
	næ̱^{31}	good	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.46
Qiang (Longxi)	ì-**nà**	fortunate [life-good]	Evans 1999:1589
	liè-**ná**	ring finger [m-good]	Evans 1999:139
	mə ɳ̊ì-**nà**	lucky day [m-good]	Evans 1999:1173
	nà	correct, right ('good'); good; peaceful (good)	Evans 1999:1497; Evans 1999:1504; Evans 1999:1590
	tiè-**nà**	tasty [eat-good]	Evans 1999:1553
	tshuə́ ʨ̊ì-**nà**	euphonious [listen-good]	Evans 1999:1558
	zə̀-**nà**	tasty [eat-good]	Evans 1999:1553
	ʨì-**nà**	happy [heart-good]	Evans 1999:1588
Qiang (Mawo)	**nɑ**	good	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.08; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:860.8
	tsɛ **nɑ**	beautiful / pleasant to the eyes	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1093.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**nà**	good	Evans 1999:1504
	tiè **nà**	happy [heart-good]	Evans 1999:1588
	ù-**nà**-(qɛ̌)	recover (from illness) [p-good-s]; recover (from injury) [p-good-s]	Evans 1999:2265; Evans 1999:2266
	ʐì-**nà**	comfortable [life-good]	Evans 1999:1591
Qiang (Taoping)	**nɑ^{33}**; ʂe^{33}	good	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:860.9
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	mi **ŋi**	bad	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:861.14
	ŋi	good	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:860.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **sna44**	of a good quality	Nagano & Prins 2013:1677
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə22 **snɑ44**	good [in general sense]; of a good quality	Nagano & Prins 2013:1675; Nagano & Prins 2013:1677
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**sna**	good [in general sense]; of a good quality	Nagano & Prins 2013:1675; Nagano & Prins 2013:1677
Caodeng	kə-**sneʔ**	good	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 xao44 / kə22 **sna44**	good [in general sense]	Nagano & Prins 2013:1675
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	kə22 ŋɜn44 / mə22 na33 hou44 / mə22 kə44 **sna42**	bad [in general sense]	Nagano & Prins 2013:1680
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	kə**'sna**	good [in general sense]	Nagano & Prins 2013:1675
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	kə**'sna**	good [in general sense]	Nagano & Prins 2013:1675
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	kə**'snje**	good [in general sense]	Nagano & Prins 2013:1675
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	kʊ ˈ**sna**	good [in general sense]	Nagano & Prins 2013:1675
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ma kə-**sn̥ʁ**	bad-tempered; bad (person)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1647; Nagano & Prins 2013:1680
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	ma44 kə44 **sna44**	of bad quality	Nagano & Prins 2013:1671
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	ma **'ʂn̥ə** ki	bad [in general sense]	Nagano & Prins 2013:1680
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	ma də **'snje**	bad [in general sense]	Nagano & Prins 2013:1680
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	ma kə **'sna**	bad [in general sense]	Nagano & Prins 2013:1680
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	ma kə **'snje**	bad [in general sense]	Nagano & Prins 2013:1680
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	ma kʊ ˈ**sna**	bad [in general sense]	Nagano & Prins 2013:1680
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	mə22 kə44 **sna24**	of bad quality	Nagano & Prins 2013:1671
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	mɑ kə **snɑ**	bad	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1053.11
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	mɑ 'də **sna**	bad [in general sense]	Nagano & Prins 2013:1680
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	tə **'ŋe**	good [in general sense]	Nagano & Prins 2013:1675
rGBenzhen	kə-**snaʔ**	good	Sun 1997b
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-na^{1}** GOOD / PERMISSIBLE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-na^{1}**	good / permissible	Matisoff 2003a:603
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Gazhuo	ma^{31}**na^{35}**	bad	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1053.47
	na^{24}	good	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	na^{35}	good	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.47
Yi (Dafang)	**ɳ̊o^{33}**	good	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:860.22
Yi (Mojiang)	**no^{55}**	good	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:860.26
Yi (Wuding)	**nę̱^{2}ne^{55}**	beautiful / pleasant to the eyes	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1093.38
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Youle)	**ɳ̊ɑ^{33}**	good	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**nʌ33**	good	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lisu (Northern)	ni^{33}**na^{33}**	good day, auspicious day, lucky day	Bradley 1994
	ni^{33}**na^{33}**ni^{33}	lucky day; good day; day of fortune	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɲi^{33}**na^{33}**	good day, auspicious day, lucky day	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{33}**na^{33}**ɲi^{33}	lucky day; good day; day of fortune	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Hani (Khatu)	**nɔ**	beautiful	Hansson 1989:27
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**nɔ^{44}**	good	Pelkey 2011:970
	ŋʌ^{22}	good	Pelkey 2011:970
Southern Muji	ma^{21}**ɳ̊i^{33}**	bad	Pelkey 2011:971
	ɳ̊a^{13}	good	Pelkey 2011:970
	ɳ̊i^{33}	good	Pelkey 2011:970
Phola	mɑ^{33}**nɑ^{55}**	bad	Pelkey 2011:971
	nɑ^{55}	good	Pelkey 2011:970
Hlepho Phowa	ma^{33}**ɳ̍^{21}**	bad	Pelkey 2011:971
	ɳ̍^{21}	good	Pelkey 2011:970
Phu Kha	mə^{33} **ɳ̍^{31}**	bad, deficient	Fried 2000
	ɳ̍^{31}	good	Fried 2000
Phuza	ma^{31}**ɳ̊ɛ̱^{13}**	bad	Pelkey 2011:971
	ɳ̊ɛ^{13}	good	Pelkey 2011:970

(15) PTB *s-nam GOOD

So far this root has been found mostly in Bodo-Garo, with good cognates in Ao (Central Naga) and Nungish. This root has some resemblance to PTB ***s-na** GOOD (§9.6.1), but should probably be considered as quite separate.

The ***s-** prefix is implied by the Bodo forms with initial **h-**, as well as by the pre-glottalization in the Anong form.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nam**	good	Matisoff 2003a:104
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Ao*	*a-**nəm**	WELL, SATISFIED (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.257
Ao (Chungli)	a^{2}**nəm^{2}**	well (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.257
1.7.1. BODO-GARO: ***n(y)am** GOOD			
**Bodo-Garo*	***nVm**	good	Burling 1959:441
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	ga **ham**	good	Bhat 1968
	ham	good	Benedict 1972:84n250
	ham gəw	good	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**ham**	good	Benedict 1972:84n250
	ham ba	good	Marrison 1967
	ham ya	bad	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**nam**	good	Benedict 1972:84n250
Garo (Bangladesh)	bang•-e **nam**-ja	not very good (vph.)	Burling 2003:3.453-II:idx
	nam-a	good (vi.)	Burling 2003:3.455-II:idx
	nam-hang	adequate; almost; good enough (adv.)	Burling 2003:3.453-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**nem**-	good (adj1.)	van Breugel 2008
	nem gyni	advantage, good fortune, good luck (n.)	van Breugel 2008
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	ɕɛ^{31}**nɛm^{55}**ɛ^{31}	beautiful	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.21
Anong	ɕɛ^{31}**ʔnɛm^{55}**ɛ^{31}	beautiful	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:847.44

(16a) PTB *m-tya $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ ≍ *ti $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ GOOD / VERY / REAL / STRAIGHT

This etymon has a very likely connection with PTB ***l(y)a(k/ŋ)** GOOD / BEAUTIFUL (§9.6.1), illustrating the widespread alternation between dental stop and liquid in TB. See Matisoff 2013 ("The dinguist's dilemma").

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-d(y)ak**	good	Matisoff 2003a:587
	***t(y)ak ≍ t(y)ik**	very / real / certain	Matisoff 2003a:616
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***tak** ACTUAL / REAL, ***d̄ik ≍ *d̄iŋ** TRUE / RIGHT / STRAIGHT			
**Chin*	***tak**	ACTUAL / REAL	VanBik 2009:171
	***d̄ik ≍ d̄iŋ**	TRUE / RIGHT / STRAIGHT	VanBik 2009:114
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**dik**	authentic, true	VanBik 2009:114
	tak-tak	actual, real	VanBik 2009:171
Sizang	a lai **tak**	center	VanBik 2009:171
Thado	**dìʔ**-INV	true, real, right, correct	VanBik 2009:114
	tàʔ	actual, real	VanBik 2009:171
Tiddim	**dik^{3}**	right; accurate; innocent; right, accurate, innocent	VanBik 2009:114; Bhaskararao 1996:244
	tak	right, correct, right (side)	Benedict 1972:52n173
	tak^{3}	right; real; exact; actual, real	VanBik 2009:171; Bhaskararao 1996:1672
	_tak	right (side) (n.)	Henderson 1965
	_tak/_tak	right / correct (vi.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**dìk**-INV	authentic, true (be v.)	VanBik 2009:114
Lai (Hakha)	**dìŋ-I**, **dǐn-II**	straight, true (be v.)	VanBik 2009:114
	tak	actual, real	VanBik 2009:171
Lai (Falam)	**tàk**	actual, real	VanBik 2009:171
Lushai [Mizo]	**dik**	right (correct)	Marrison 1967
	dìk	right, accurate, true, proper, correct, just	VanBik 2009:114
	dik	right; accurate	Bhaskararao 1996:244
	tak	very	Marrison 1967
	tàk	real, true, genuine	VanBik 2009:171
	tak	real; exact	Bhaskararao 1996:1672
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	á-**dāw**	true, authentic	VanBik 2009:114
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ă **thik**	just	Benedict 1972:p.52
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	***tiŋ**	straight	French 1983:560
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	a **ting**	straight	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**tang** sheibü	straight	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**ting** khuanypuu	straight	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**tang**	straight	Marrison 1967
2.1.2. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**thag**-pa	sure, decided, certain (be v.)	Benedict 1972:p.52
	tig-tig	certainly	Benedict 1972:p.52
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***m-d(y)ak** GOOD / PRETTY / FINE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***N-d(y)ak**	truly / very / intensitive	Matisoff 1972b:4
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**tak-tak** ~ **tyak-tyak**	very	Benedict 1972:p.52
	tyak-tyak	very	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**dá**	permissible / O.K. / good	Björverud 1994
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	**da31**	beautiful	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**dɑ^{21}**	good	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.43
	dɑ^{21}pɯ^{35}	beautiful	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.43
Lahu (Black)	**dàʔ**	good	Matisoff 1972b:4
	dA^{21}	good	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:860.33
	làʔ-nɔ-**dàʔ**	finger (ring)	Matisoff 1987
	qha-**dèʔ**	in the right way; nicely; properly; thoroughly; truly; very; intensitive	Matisoff 1988a:268; Matisoff 1972b:4
Lahu (Yellow)	**da^{5}**	beautiful; good	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

Chinese comparandum

寔 OC ***d̂i̱ək**, *GSR* #866s 'this; this is; really'; Schuessler 2007:464 ***dək**; B & S 2011: (***dek**); Mand. **shí**.
實 OC ***d̂i̱ĕt**, *GSR* #398a-c 'solid; true; really'; Schuessler 2007:464 ***dit**; Mand. **shí**.
直 OC ***di̱ək**, *GSR* #919a 'straight; right'; Schuessler 2007:616 ***drək**; B & S 2011: ***N-t‹r›ək**; Mand. **zhí**.

正 OC ***t̂i̱ĕŋ**, *GSR* #833j 'first (lunar month)'; B & S 2011: ***C.teŋ**; Mand. **zhēng**.
正 OC ****t̂i̱ĕŋ**, *GSR* #833j 'straight, correct'; B & S 2011: ***teŋ-s**; Mand. **zhèng**.
政 OC ****t̂i̱ĕŋ**, *GSR* #833r-s 'government; rule, law; manage'; Schuessler 2007: ***teŋh**; B & S 2011: ***teŋ-s** ; Mand. **zhèng**.

Comment: Schuessler 2007:464 considers 實 **shí** with the meaning "solid, true, really" to be a phonetic variant of 寔 **shí** in OC. He treats as a separate etymon 實 **shí**, when it means "fruit" (ibid.).

(16b) PTB *l(y)a $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{k}\\\mathbf{ŋ}\end{matrix}$ GOOD / BEAUTIFUL

This etymon is very likely allofamic with PTB ***m-tyak/ŋ** ≍ ***tik/ŋ** GOOD / VERY / REAL / STRAIGHT (§9.6.1), illustrating the widespread alternation between dental stop and liquid in TB. See Matisoff 2013 ("The dinguist's dilemma").

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***lek**	good / easy	Coblin 1986:87
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***l(y)ak** ≍ **l(y)aŋ**	good / beautiful	Matisoff 2003a:601
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	**lak**	good	Sun 1993b
Galo	**lak**	perfect! (int.)	GLDC 2009
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Central)	**lek** pu	good	Andvik 1993:129
	ma **lek** pa	bad	Andvik 1993:130b
Tsangla (Motuo)	**lek^{55}**pu^{55}	good; beautiful	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	lek pu	beautiful; good	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:847.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:860.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**lyak**-pu-ja	beautiful	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**lek** pu	good; beautiful	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.07; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.07
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**jak**	beautiful; pleasant to the eyes	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.05; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1093.05
	jak kə	good	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.05
	ruk **jak**	clever	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1099.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**jak** kwa	beautiful	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:847.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**jak**	good	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:860.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**jɑ^{13}**pu^{53}	good	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ja^{13}**ko^{55}	good	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.02
	jaʔ^{13}ko^{53}	good	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:860.2
	lek^{13}po^{55}	good	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.02
Tibetan (Written)	**jag** po	good	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.01; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:860.1
	legs pa	good	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1052.01; Marrison 1967
	yag-po / **ḥdźag**-po	good	Benedict 1972:54n183
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**jaχ** kwa	beautiful; pleasant to the eyes	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1093.04
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**laŋ**.ʔay thaŋ.ʔay	brightly beautiful (onom.)	Caughley 2000
	ləŋ.ʔay thəŋ.ʔay	beautiful (flowers) (onom.)	Caughley 2000
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**lia**	beautiful	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0470
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**liɑŋ^{55}**pɑ^{55}	beautiful	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Bola (Luxi)	**jauŋ^{35}**	beautiful	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.32
	u^{35}**jauŋ^{35}**	beautiful / pleasant to the eyes	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1093.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**jauŋ^{55}**	beautiful; pleasant to the eyes	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.31; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1093.31
	mə̌^{31}**jauŋ^{55}**	ugly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1061.31
Leqi (Luxi)	a^{31}**juŋ^{55}**	ugly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1061.33
	jɔːŋ^{55}	beautiful; pleasant to the eyes	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.33; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1093.33
Maru [Langsu]	**jauŋ^{55}**	beautiful	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:847.43
	mə̌^{31}**jauŋ^{55}**	ugly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:848.43
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Southern)	**liə^{53}**	beautiful	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi	**lə^{21}**	beautiful	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	ndʐɯ^{33} ; **lə^{31}**	beautiful	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:847.28
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**di̱ĕg/iĕ-**	easy; negligent; at ease; well cultivated	Karlgren 1957:850a
	lieg/liei-	well-proportioned; elegant, beautiful; refined; good	Karlgren 1957:878a-b
	li̱ɑng/li̱ɑng	good	Karlgren 1957:735a-d

Chinese comparandum

良 OC ***li̱ɑng**, *GSR* #735a 'good'; Schuessler 2007: (***raŋ**); B & S 2011: ***raŋ { [r] aŋ}**; Mand. **liáng**.

Comment: For 良 **liáng**, recently reconstructed as OC ***raŋ**, to be a valid comparandum, we would ideally wish to see an initial ***r-** in the PTB form here. One possible recourse is to assume an alternation ***l(y)a(k/ŋ) ≍ *r(y)a(k/ŋ)** at the PST stage.

(17) PKC *suŋ PRECIOUS / RARE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***suŋ**	PRECIOUS / RARE	VanBik 2009:668
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**sùŋ** lóoy-INV	precious	VanBik 2009:668
Lai (Hakha)	**sûŋ**-I, sŭn-II	precious	VanBik 2009:668
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**sô^{1}**	valuable, rare (be v.)	VanBik 2009:668

(18) PTB *pəw PRICE

The putative semantic connection between Kuki-Chin DEBT / REVENGE and PRICE rests on the idea of exacting a cost for a perceived injury.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***puw**	valuable; price	Weidert 1987:251; LaPolla 1987:67; Benedict 1972:41
	***pəw**	price	Weidert 1987:251; Matisoff 2003a:607
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***phuu** DEBT / REVENGE			
**Chin*	***phuu**	DEBT	VanBik 2009:333
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**phu** bai a	revenge	VanBik 2009:333
Sizang	**pū** lam hī	revenge	VanBik 2009:333
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**phu**	debt	VanBik 2009:333

1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**phùu** hlăm	revenge	VanBik 2009:333
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**phù** lā	revenge	VanBik 2009:333
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	chah **pu**	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
	džə **phū**	price	Matisoff 1974:192
	dźə **phu**	price	LaPolla 1987:67
	dzə **phu**	price, wages	Benedict 1972:41
	phu	price	LaPolla 1987:67
	phu to	of value, expensive (be v.)	Benedict 1972:41
	phu^{33}	expensive	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.47
	^{1}tšə^{2}**phu**	price	Weidert 1987:251
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**phə**	price, value	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5950
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	ma^{33}**phɛ**^{55}khuɑ^{55}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.18
	phɛ^{33}htsʅ^{55}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.18
	phɛ^{55}khuɑ^{55}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.18
Guiqiong	**phu**^{55}mɑ^{33}tɑ^{55}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.17
	phu^{55}ta^{31}wu^{55}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.16
	phu^{55}tɑ^{55}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.17
	phu^{55}ŋi^{35}wu^{55}	cheap	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1055.16
	wø^{35}tʃʅ^{53}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.17
Lyuzu	mæ^{33}**phe**^{53}khuæ^{31}	cheap	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1055.18
	phe^{31}khuæ^{53}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.18
Namuyi	mɛ^{55}**phu**^{55}dzɛ^{35}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.19
	phu^{33}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.19
	phu^{55}dzɛ^{35}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.19
	phu^{31}dzɻ^{31}æ^{35}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**phy**^{55}qo^{55}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**phu**^{13}ta^{55}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.09
	phu^{13}ʒdʒɛ̃^{55}	cheap	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1055.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**phu**^{13}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.11
	phu^{13}sdʒɛ̃^{55}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.11
	phu^{13}ta^{55}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**phu**^{35}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.10
Qiang (Longxi)	(**phù**) tɕhá	inexpensive (phù = 'price')	Evans 1999:1507
	phù	price	Evans 1999:803
	phú lú	expensive	Evans 1999:1506
Qiang (Mawo)	**phu** liu	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.08
	phə	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.8
	phə la	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.8
	phə ma la	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.8
	phə la	price	LaPolla 1987:67
Qiang (Mianchi)	**phè**	price	Evans 1999:803
	phé liù	expensive	Evans 1999:1506
Qiang (Taoping)	mi^{55}**phə**^{55}ly^{55}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.9
	phə^{33}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.9
	phə^{31}ly^{55}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.9
Xumi	**phɛ**^{53}duɛ^{33}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.17
	phɛ^{53}ju^{33}	cheap	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1055.17
	phɐ^{55}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.20
	phɐ^{55}dʑyɛ^{35}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.20
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Caodeng	tə-**p^{h}u**	price	Sun 1997a
4. Nungic			
Rawang	a **phɯ**^{53} wɛ^{33}	expensive	LaPolla 2003:1081
Anong	də **phü**	price; cost, price	LaPolla 1987:67; Benedict 1972:41
Rawang	mɑ^{31} **phɯ**^{53} wɛ^{33}	cheap	LaPolla 2003:1082
Anong	ŋ̍^{31}di^{31}**phɯ**^{55}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.44
	ə **phü**	valuable expensive	Benedict 1972:41
Nung	ɑ^{31}**phɯ**^{35}ɛ^{35}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}**phɯ**^{35}ɛ^{35}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.44
Trung [Dulong]	ɑŋ^{31}**pɯ**^{53}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	aŋ^{31} **pɯ**^{53}	price	LaPolla 1987:67
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**phɯ**^{53}	price	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:67
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***pəw**^{2} price			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***pəw**^{2}	price	Matisoff 2003a:607
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	a **bhui:**	price (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **bhui:** krī:	dear (expensive)	Marrison 1967
	ă **phuì** / ă **bhuì**	price	Benedict 1972:21n75
	ă **phuì** ⩵ ă **bhuì**	price	Benedict 1972:41
	a **phuì**∼ a **bhuì**	price	LaPolla 1987:67
	ə-**bhûi**	price	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**phûi**	price	Benedict 1976a
	ə **bhuì**	price	Weidert 1987:251
	ə **phuì**	price	Weidert 1987:251
	ʔə **phûi**	price	Matisoff 1974:192
Langsu (Luxi)	**phuk**^{55}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**pha:u**^{55}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.33
Maru [Langsu]	a^{31}**phuk**^{55}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.43
	phuk^{55}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	a^{21}**phau**^{21}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.42
	phàu	price	Weidert 1987:251
	phau^{21}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.42
6.1.2. Loloish: ***po**^{2} price			
**Loloish*	***po**^{2}	price	Weidert 1987:251; Bradley 1979b:421
PNL	**po**^{2}	price	Chen Kang 1986a:115.
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	ma^{31}**phv**^{31}kha^{55}	cheap	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1055.47
	phv^{31}kha^{55}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.47
Lalo	**fì**	price	Björverud 1994
	fi^{21}	price	Chen Kang 1986a:115.
Lipho	**phɯ**^{21}	price	Chen Kang 1986a:115.
Nasu	**phu**^{33}	price	Chen Kang 1986a:115.
Neisu	**phi**^{33}	price	Chen Kang 1986a:115.
Nesu	**phu**^{33}	price	Chen Kang 1986a:115.
Nosu	**phu**^{33}	price	Chen Kang 1986a:115.
Nusu (Northern)	**phɯ**^{55}	price	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**phɯ**^{55}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.45
Nusu (Southern)	ʔn̩ɑ^{31}**phɯ**^{55}	price	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**phu**^{33}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.22
	phu^{33}kha^{33}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.22
	phu^{33}lə^{21}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**phu**^{33}	price; value	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	phu^{33}ʐu^{33}	cheap; inexpensive; worthless	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	phu^{33}dʐo^{33}	expensive; valuable	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	phu^{33}tɕɛ^{55}	price	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	i^{33}**phu**^{21}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.25
	phu^{21}lu^{33} ; ɕA^{33} ʐi^{33}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.25
	phu^{21}tɕhe̱^{33}; **phu**^{21}tʂu^{33}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**phu**^{33}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.26
	phu^{33}lɒ^{21}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.26
	phu^{33}tɕhe̱^{33}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**phæ**^{21}khæ^{33}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.37
	phɯ^{21}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.24
	phɯ^{21}kh$\underline{\text{A}}^{33}$	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.24
	phɯ^{21}lɑ^{33}	cheap	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1055.37
	phɯ^{21}lʌ^{33}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.24
	phɯ^{21}ɲɑ^{21}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**fi**^{21}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.23
Yi (Wuding)	**phṿ**^{33}de̱^{55}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.38
	phṿ^{33}khq̱^{2}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.38
	phṿ^{33}lɒ^{33}	cheap	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1055.38
Yi (Xide)	**phu**^{33}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.21
	phu^{33}dʐo^{33}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.35; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.21
	phu^{33}gɑ^{21}dʑʅ^{34}	cheap	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1055.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**phu**^{21}	price	Chen Kang 1986a:115.
Jinuo	mɔ^{33}**phu**^{33}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.34
	mə^{33}**phu**^{44}mɔ^{44}pu^{44}	cheap	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1055.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**phu**^{44}	expensive	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**phu**^{44}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.44
	tɕi^{33}**phu**^{33}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.34
Lahu	**phɨ**	price	Weidert 1987:251
	ɔ́-**phû**	price	LaPolla 1987:67
Lahu (Black)	ɔ^{31}**phu**^{53}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.33
	ɔ̀-**phû**	price	Matisoff 1974:192
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{2}**phṿ**^{3}∼ɔ^{2}ka^{1}	price	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	dza^{44}**phy**^{21}	price of grain	Bradley 1994
Lisu	e^{55}**phu**^{31}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.27
	e^{55}**phu**^{31}thɛ^{31}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.27
Lisu (Northern)	gu^{21}dʒu^{21} ji^{55}**phu**^{21}	price	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**hpū**^{5}	price	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{55}**phy**^{21}	value; price; cost; worth; expense (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**phy**^{21} dæ^{33}	raise the price	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**phy**^{21} gaʔ^{21}daʔ^{21}	price is expensive	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**phy**^{21} kha^{35}	worth a lot, expensive	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**phy**^{21} næ^{55}	high price	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**phy**^{21} thæ^{21}	cheap	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**phy**^{21} tshe^{33}	cut the price	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**phu**^{31}khɑ^{35}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.27
Lisu (Northern)	**phy**^{21}kha^{35}	expensive	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**phỳ**	price	Weidert 1987:251
Sani [Nyi]	**phu**^{21}	price	Chen Kang 1986a:115.
Yi (Sani)	**phṿ**^{11}lo^{33}	cheap	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1055.39
	phṿ^{11}qhe^{44}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**pȍ**	price	Weidert 1987:251
Hani (Lüchun)	mà **pjhö**	cheap	Hansson 1989:88
	ma **pjhö**	cheap	Hansson 1989:88
Hani (Dazhai)	**phø**^{31}	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.31
	ɣa^{31}**phø**^{31}	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**phø**^{31}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	a^{55}**phø**^{31}	price	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	phø^{31}	expensive	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Mojiang)	**phi**^{31}	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.42
Mpi	**phi**^{2}	price / value	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	phi^{1}	expensive	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Sila	**phy21**	expensive	Kato Takashi 2008:262
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	i^{44}**p^{h}y**^{33}	price	Pelkey 2011:544
	p^{h}y^{22}	expensive	Pelkey 2011:1033
	p^{h}y^{22}lu^{21}	cheap	Pelkey 2011:1034
Southern Muji	**p^{h}ɯ**^{55}	expensive	Pelkey 2011:1033
	ɪ^{33}**p^{h}ɯ**^{55}	price	Pelkey 2011:544
Phola	**p^{h}u**^{33}lɛ^{33}	cheap	Pelkey 2011:1034
	p^{h}u^{33}q^{h}ɑ^{31}	expensive	Pelkey 2011:1033
	u^{55}**p^{h}u**^{23}	price	Pelkey 2011:544
Hlepho Phowa	ma^{33}**p^{h}ɸɯ**^{33}tɕ^{h}ɛ^{21}	cheap	Pelkey 2011:1034
	p^{h}ɯ^{33}tɕ^{h}ɛ^{21}	expensive	Pelkey 2011:1033
	ɛ^{33}**p^{h}ɯ**^{55}	price	Pelkey 2011:544
Phu Kha	i^{33} **pu**^{35}	price	Fried 2000
Phuza	ɛ^{33}**p^{h}ɯ**^{55}	price	Pelkey 2011:544
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**p^{h}v**˥y˥	cheap	Michaud 2006–2009:2128
	p^{h}v˧dzɯ˧	expensive	Michaud 2006–2009:2127
	ʁɑ˧**p^{h}v**˧	salary, price paid for the work done by a worker	Michaud 2006–2009:1184
Na (Yongning)	**p^{h}v**˧ɖɯ˥	expensive	Michaud 2006–2009
	p^{h}v˧ʐu˥	cheap	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁɑ˧**p^{h}v#**˥	salary (1st syllable); salary, price paid for the work done by a worker	Michaud 2006–2009; Michaud 2006–2009

Naxi (Yongning)	**phu**[33]; ɑ[33]**phu**[33]	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**phv**[33]	price	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:486.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**phv**[33]dɻ[13]	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.29
	phv[33]ʐɻu[13]	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**phv**[33]ʐi[33]	expensive	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:876.28
	phv[33]ʐu[31]	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.28
Naxi	**phꭍ**[33]i[33]	expensive	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1054.45
	phꭍ[33]y[21]	cheap	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1055.45

Chinese comparandum

寶 OC *__pôg__, *GSR* #1059a 'precious, treasure'; Coblin 86:155 ST *__pəɣw__ > OC *__pəgwx__; Schuessler 2007:158 *__pû?__; B & S 2011: *__pˤu?__; Mand __bǎo__.

(19) PCC *hlook PROFITABLE / WORTHY

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	*__hlook__	PROFITABLE / WORTHY	VanBik 2009:1117
Lai (Hakha)	**hlook**-INV	profitable, worthy	VanBik 2009:1117
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlâwk**	profitable, fruitful, productive, paying, to yield due return, to gain, to profit (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1117

(20) PCN *ʒak- QUICK / QUICKLY

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	*__ʒak__-	BE QUICK, QUICKLY	Bruhn 2014a:III.245
**Ao*	*__ʒak__.ta	QUICKLY	Bruhn 2014a:II.025
Ao (Chungli)	**jak**[3]ta[2]	quickly (adv.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.025
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	**zak** tà	quickly (adv.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.025
Lotha Naga	**zak**[1]to?[3]	quickly (adv.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.245
	zak to	quick	Murry *et al.* 1978:97
	zak zak a	quick	Murry *et al.* 1978:97
Sangtam	**ya? ya** ne	fast (quick)	Marrison 1967
	za za	fast	Kumar 1973a
	za za nü	quickly	Kumar 1973a

(21) PKC *muaŋ-I, *muan-II SAFE / SECURE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	*__muaŋ__-I, muan-II	SAFE / SECURE	VanBik 2009:785

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**muang** hī	trust, confide	VanBik 2009:785
Thado	**múong**-I, mùon-II	safe, secure (be v.)	VanBik 2009:785
Tiddim	**muang**[2] > muan[3]	trust (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1147
	muan[1] huai[1]	safe	VanBik 2009:785
	muaŋ[2]/muan[3]	trust	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**múang**-I, mùan-II	have no anxiety or fear (v.)	VanBik 2009:785

(22) PCC *him SAFE / UNHARMED / UNDAMAGED

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	*__him__	SAFE / UNHARMED / UNDAMAGED	VanBik 2009:736
Lai (Hakha)	**hîm**-I, hĭm-II	safe, unharmed, undamaged (be v.)	VanBik 2009:736
Lushai [Mizo]	**hím**	unharmed, undamaged, flawless (be v.)	VanBik 2009:736

(23) PCC *rem SUITABLE / CONGRUOUS / PROPER

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	*__rem__	SUITABLE / CONGRUOUS / PROPER	VanBik 2009:980
Lai (Hakha)	**rêm**-I, rĕm-II	suitable, congruous, proper (be v.)	VanBik 2009:980
Lai (Falam)	**rĕm**-I, rèm-II	suitable, harmonious (be v.)	VanBik 2009:980
Lushai [Mizo]	**rém**	suitable, congruous, appropriate, proper, expedient (be v.)	VanBik 2009:980

(24) PKC *θiim TRANSPARENT / CLEAR / WISE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	*__θiim__	TRANSPARENT / CLEAR / WISE	VanBik 2009:634

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**ci:m**[2]	wise; clever; clever in mind; wise, clever, clever in mind, transparent, clear	VanBik 2009:634; Bhaskararao 1996:192

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**amcueéng**	clear, clean (of water)	VanBik 2009:634

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**fîim**, fiim-II	clever, wise, transparent, clear	VanBik 2009:634
Lai (Hakha)	**fîim**-I, fĭim-II	clear (as water), clever, wise	VanBik 2009:634

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**sò**	clever, wise, artful	VanBik 2009:634

(25) PNN *Ç-ɟiːŋ TRUE

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	*__Ç-jiːŋ__	true	French 1983:571

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Konyak	ngao **ting** pu	true	Marrison 1967
	ü **ting** lak	believe	Marrison 1967
	ü **ting** pa	right (correct)	Marrison 1967
Phom	**hing** lem	believe	Marrison 1967
	hing mei pü	right (correct)	Marrison 1967
	hing mei pu	true	Marrison 1967
	hɯŋ[33]mʌy[55]	true / correct	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
Wancho	ho **tzing**	true	Marrison 1967

(26) PCC *mak UNUSUAL / WONDERFUL

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	*__mak__	UNUSUAL / WONDERFUL	VanBik 2009:797
Lai (Hakha)	**mak**-INV	unusual, wonderful, great	VanBik 2009:797
Lushai [Mizo]	**màk**	unusual, extraordinary, marvelous, wonderful, odd, uncommon	VanBik 2009:797

(27) PKC *klaak WORTHY / ACCEPTABLE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	*__klaak__	WORTHY / ACCEPTABLE	VanBik 2009:1275

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**pom** taak	acceptable	VanBik 2009:1275

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tlăak**	worthy, acceptable (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1275
Lai (Falam)	**tlâak**	worthy, acceptable	VanBik 2009:1275
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlâak**	worthy, to be fit (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1275

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**tlá**	worthy, fit, proper	VanBik 2009:1275

(28) PKC *phuu WORTHY / EXPEDIENT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	*__phuu__	WORTHY / EXPEDIENT	VanBik 2009:368

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**phu**	expedient	VanBik 2009:368

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**phû**-I, phuut-II	worthy, be expedient (be v.)	VanBik 2009:368
Lai (Falam)	**phŭ**-INV	worthy, be expedient (be v.)	VanBik 2009:368
Lushai [Mizo]	**phú**	worthy, to deserve, to merit, to suit, to be fitting (be v.)	VanBik 2009:368

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**phù**	worth (be v.)	VanBik 2009:368

(29) PKC *ɗaay CALM / COOL / QUIET / SILENT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	*__ɗaay__	CALM / COOL / QUIET / SILENT	VanBik 2009:66

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**dai**	silent	VanBik 2009:66
Sizang	**dai** tuī	dew	VanBik 2009:66; VanBik 2009:75
Thado	**dàay**-I, dày-II	calm down, abate	VanBik 2009:66
Tiddim	**da:i**[3] > dai?[3]	quiet	VanBik 2009:66

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**dăay**-I, day?-II	calm, quiet	VanBik 2009:66
Lai (Falam)	**dàay**-I, dáy?-II	calm, quiet	VanBik 2009:66
Lushai [Mizo]	**dai**	cold	Marrison 1967
	dài-I, dàih-II	become cool, or cold, to quiet down (v.)	VanBik 2009:66

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**dīa**	cool	VanBik 2009:66

(30) PTB *ta:p ≷ *m-daw CAPABLE / FIT / BEAUTIFUL

The Lolo-Burmese forms are derived from the allofam with final *__-w__, suggesting a development from final labial stop to semivowel, as in Bodo-Garo.

The nasal prefix in the second allofam is attested by the voiced Lahu initial.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__ta:p__	capable / fit / beautiful	Matisoff 2003a:614; Benedict 1972:337

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**thau**	fit for, suitable for (vs.)	Benedict 1972:337

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	ni-**to**	beautiful, fit	Benedict 1972:337

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**htap**	beautiful	Marrison 1967
	thap	beautiful; capable, quick, useful	Benedict 1972:337; Benedict 1972:337
	thap tsiŋ	beautiful	Benedict 1972:73n227
	thàp	beautiful	Matisoff 2003a:340

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**tau**	fit, suitable	Benedict 1972:73n227

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu	**dɔ**	fit, suitable	Benedict 1972:73n227

(31) PKC *θiŋ-I, *θin-II CLEVER / CLEAR / WISE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	*__θiŋ__-I, θin-II	CLEVER / CLEAR / WISE	VanBik 2009:615

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**chīm** hī	clear	VanBik 2009:615
Thado	**tsîŋ**-I, tsìn-II	wise	VanBik 2009:615

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**ng**-hting	become sober (v.)	VanBik 2009:615
Khumi	**coeéyng**	wise, intelligent, smart, aware, educated	VanBik 2009:615

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**fîng**-I, fîn-II	clever, wise, sagacious, intelligent, shrewd, astute (be v.)	VanBik 2009:615

(32) PKC *taay-maa DILIGENT / ACTIVE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***taay**-maa	DILIGENT / ACTIVE	VanBik 2009:187

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**tai**-ma	active	VanBik 2009:187

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**tàay**-mâak-INV	diligent, active (in doing sth) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:187
Lai (Hakha)	**tây**-màa-I ≍ tâay-màa-I, tày-maak-II ≍ tàay-maak-II	diligent (be v.)	VanBik 2009:187

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**tīa**-má	diligent, industrious, energetic	VanBik 2009:187

(33) PTB *dam HEALTHY / WELL

This root is well-established in Kuki-Chin but also has good cognates elsewhere. The cognacy of the Achang forms has not been proven.

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***ɗam** HEALTHY / WELL

**Chin*	***ɗam**	HEALTHY / WELL	VanBik 2009:88

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	hih **dam**	heal	VanBik 2009:88
Sizang	**dam** sak hī	cure	VanBik 2009:88
Thado	**dám-I**, **dàm-II**	well (not sick)	VanBik 2009:88
Tiddim	**-dam/ˆdam**	well (v.)	Henderson 1965
	dam²	healthy	VanBik 2009:88
	dam²	healthy (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:204
	dam²	healthy; feel cold	Bhaskararao 1994
	`dam/ˆdam	heal / make well (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**dăm**-INV	healthy, well (be v.)	VanBik 2009:88
Lai (Hakha)	**dâm-I**, **dăm-II**	healthy, well (be v.)	VanBik 2009:88
Lushai [Mizo]	**dám**	healthy, to be living, to be well (be v.)	VanBik 2009:88
	dam	well (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2274

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo (Bangladesh)	**da'm**-bak-a	stocky, healthy and strong but not slim, of children; low bushy plants, flat noses like Mandi, large round faces, non-pointed end of a pen; not tall, of a gimbi	Burling 1992
	da'm-bak-bak	stocky, healthy and strong but not slim, of children; low bushy plants, flat noses like Mandi, large round faces, non-pointed end of a pen; not tall, of a gimbi	Burling 1992

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**dăm**	good / well / healthy (adj/adv.)	Bailey 1911
	dăm ba'sh	good / well / healthy (adj/adv.)	Bailey 1911
	dăm kh	good / well / healthy (adj/adv.)	Bailey 1911

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**tɔm**^{35}	beautiful	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:847.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**tom**^{35}	beautiful; pleasant to the eyes	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1060.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1093.29

(34) PKC *thiam SKILLFUL / ADROIT / KNOW-HOW

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***thiam**	SKILLFUL / ADROIT / KNOW-HOW	VanBik 2009:410

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**siam**	adroit, deft	VanBik 2009:410
Thado	**thîem**-I, thìam-II	know how, able	VanBik 2009:410
Tiddim	**thiam**^{1}	be an expert	VanBik 2009:410

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**thîam**-I, thĭam-II	skillful, be adroit, to know how (be v.)	VanBik 2009:410
Lai (Falam)	**thíam**-INV	skillful, be adroit (be v.)	VanBik 2009:410
Lushai [Mizo]	**thiam**	know (v.)	Marrison 1967
	thĭam	know, to know how to, to be skilled, to understand how to (v.)	VanBik 2009:410
	thiam	know how to (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2963

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**thái**	skillful (be v.)	VanBik 2009:410

9.6.2 Negative Qualities

(1) PTani *mul AMISS (verbal particle)

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***mul**	amiss (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a:3

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Bokar	**-mur**	amiss (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	ben-**mur**	make false charge against	Sun 1993b
	i-**mur**	make an mistake	Sun 1993b
	mur	wrong, mistaken; wrong, be	Sun 1993b; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1226.24
Galo	**-'mur**	erroneously; incorrectly; mistakenly (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	i-**mur**-nam	err; mistake (v.)	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963
	i-**mur:**	wrong	Das Gupta 1963
	rɤ-**mur:**	wrong	Das Gupta 1963
	'mem **mur**	misspeak (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'ri **mur**	make a mistake (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	'ri **mur**	mistake (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ri **mur**-'ri kee	balls-up; disaster (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'ri **mur**-'ri kee	fouled up (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'ri **mur**-'ri kee	mess; pear-shaped (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'ri **mur**-'ri kee	screwed up (vi.)	GLDC 2009
	'ta **mur**	mishear; misunderstand (vt.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'yo **mur**	adultery (vt.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	**mur**	wrong	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	**-mul**	amiss (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
Mishing [Miri]	**-mur**	amiss (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a

(2) PCC *tshia-vaa BAD

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***tshia**-vaa	BAD	VanBik 2009:1131
Lai (Falam)	**sía** vâa-INV	really bad	VanBik 2009:1131
Lai (Hakha)	**tshìa** vàa-I, vaat-II	really bad	VanBik 2009:1131
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhîa vâ**	very, specially, utterly (all used in a bad sense only)	VanBik 2009:1131

(3) PTk *ʃi BAD

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃi**	bad	Mortensen 2012:726
Tusom	ʔɯ-sɯ-ven sa-kə-**tʃi**	bad character	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.198
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃi**	feel bad, be upset; make a sorry face; be difficult (postp.)	Mortensen 2012

(4) PKC *tshia-I, *tshiat-II BAD / BROKEN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tshia**-I, tshiat-II	BAD / BROKEN	VanBik 2009:578

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**sia**	bad	VanBik 2009:578
Thado	**sîe**-I, sîet-II	broken, break down, spoiled	VanBik 2009:578
Tiddim	**sia**^{1} > siat^{1}	bad	VanBik 2009:578
	sia^{1} > siat^{1}	bad (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1562
	sia^{1}/siat^{1}	bad	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**'si´´**	bad (be v.)	VanBik 2009:578
Chinbon	**šʰï**	bad	So-Hartmann 1988:256

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**sîa**-I, sîat-II	bad, broken	VanBik 2009:578
Lai (Hakha)	**tshìa**-I, tshiat-II	bad, broken	VanBik 2009:578
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhia**	bad	Marrison 1967
	chhia	bad (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2203
	chhîa-I, chhîat-II	bad, not good, rotten, not up to the mark, poor, unfertile, spoiled, damaged, wrecked	VanBik 2009:578
	hmel **chhia**	ugly	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**chhì**	bad (be v.)	VanBik 2009:578

(5) PCC *ŋoŋ DULL / STUPID

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

**Central Chin*	***ŋoŋ**	DULL / STUPID	VanBik 2009:851
Lai (Hakha)	**ŋòŋ**-I, ŋŏn-II	dull, stupid (be v.)	VanBik 2009:851
Lushai [Mizo]	**ngấwng**	dull, slow of understanding	VanBik 2009:851

(6) PKC *khel FALSE / WICKED

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***khel**	FALSE / WICKED	VanBik 2009:441

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**khel**	wicked	VanBik 2009:441
Thado	**khêl**-I. khèl-II	excel in a non-positive way	VanBik 2009:441

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lushai [Mizo]	**khél**	false, untrue, delusive, lying	VanBik 2009:441

(7) PKC *huay HAUNTED / DANGEROUS

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***huay**	HAUNTED / DANGEROUS	VanBik 2009:720

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Tiddim	**lau**^{3} huai^{2}	harmful	VanBik 2009:720

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hûay**-I, hŭay-II	haunted (by spririts), dangerous (be v.)	VanBik 2009:720
Lushai [Mizo]	**húai**	haunted (by an evil spirit, a demon) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:720

(8) PKC *tsham LACK / INCOMPLETE / SHORT OF

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tsham**	LACK / INCOMPLETE / SHORT OF	VanBik 2009:591

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**ki**-sam	incomplete	VanBik 2009:591

Thado	**kì**-sàm-I, kì-sàp-II	need, want, lack	VanBik 2009:591
Tiddim	**ki**^{3} sam^{3}	need	VanBik 2009:591
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**sam**	short of the target (be v.)	VanBik 2009:591
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tshə̀m**-I, tshăm-II	lack, deficient, in need of	VanBik 2009:591
Lai (Falam)	**tshə̀m**-INV	lack, deficient, in need of	VanBik 2009:591
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhàm**	lack, to run short of, to be in need or want of (v.)	VanBik 2009:591

(9) PTB *grwal OVERBEARING / EXPLOITATIVE

The Lai / WB comparison is due to Ken VanBik. The Jingpho / WB comparison was made in Matisoff 1974 #204.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***grol**	overbearing / exploitative	Matisoff 2003a:591
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**trol**	pass over; overtake; be overbearing	Matisoff 2003a:421
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**khràu**	mount, bestride	Matisoff 1974:204
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**krâu**	take advantage of another;	Matisoff 1974:204
	krô	take advantage of	Benedict 1976a

(10) PKC *mool PLAIN / DULL / STUPID / SIMPLE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***mool**	PLAIN / DULL / STUPID / SIMPLE	VanBik 2009:780
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**mawl** hī	blunt, dull	VanBik 2009:780
Thado	**móol**-I, mòol-II	simple, not wise, foolish (person)	VanBik 2009:780
Tiddim	**mo:l**^{1}	blunt, dull, simple as a person	VanBik 2009:780
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**maaw**	foolish, stupid, poor	VanBik 2009:780
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**môl**-INV	stupid	VanBik 2009:780
Lai (Hakha)	**mòol**-mok-I, mŏol-mok-II	ignorant, foolish, stupid	VanBik 2009:780
Lushai [Mizo]	**măwl**	plain, simple	VanBik 2009:780

(11) PTB *d-b $\begin{matrix}u\\i\end{matrix}$ l POOR

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***dbjɨul**	poor	Coblin 1986:120
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-bul ≍ d-bil**	poor	Matisoff 2003a:585
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**dbul**	poor	Chou Fa-kao 1972:471v; Benedict 1972:173n461
	dbul po	poor	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1084.01
	dbul ba	poor	Marrison 1967
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	**bɤ**	poor	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:909.8
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	貧	poor	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2100
Chinese (GSR #)	**0471v**	poor	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2100
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**b'i̱ən/b'i̱ĕn**	poor	Chou Fa-kao 1972:471v
Chinese (Old)	**brjɨn**	poor	Baxter 1992:1111
	brən {(Cə.)[b]rə[n]}	poor	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2100
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**bin**	poor	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2100
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**pín**	poor	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2100

Chinese comparandum

貧 OC ***b'i̱ən**, *GSR* #471v; B & S 2011: ***brən {(Cə.)[b]rə[n]}**; Mand. **pín**.

(12) PKC *ŋal ≍ *hŋal RUDE / OVERBEARING / PRESUMPTOUS

This root must be distinct from PTB ***grwal** OVERBEARING / EXPLOITATIVE (§9.6.2), despite the phonosemantic similarity between the two etyma, as evidenced by the two Lai Chin forms: **hŋâl-I, hŋăl-II** from the present root and **trol** from PTB ***grwal** OVERBEARING / EXPLOITATIVE (§9.6.2).

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ŋal ≍** hŋal	RUDE / OVERBEARING / PRESUMPTOUS	VanBik 2009:865
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hŋâl**-I, hŋăl-II	rude, overbearing, presumptuous, ill-behaved	VanBik 2009:865
Lai (Falam)	**hŋăl**-I, hŋàl-II	rude, overbearing, ill-behaved	VanBik 2009:865
Lushai [Mizo]	**nghál**	rude, overbearing, ill-behaved, unruly, bullying, cruel, troublesome, spiteful	VanBik 2009:865
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-**ngìa**	rude, to be insolent (be v.)	VanBik 2009:865

(13) PCC *ral RUINED / DESTROYED

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***ral**	RUINED / DESTROYED	VanBik 2009:968
Lai (Hakha)	**ràl**-I, răl-II	ruined (overripe fruit), to have lost its essence (as liquor)	VanBik 2009:968
Lushai [Mizo]	**bó**-răl	ruined, be completely lost (be v.)	VanBik 2009:968

(14) PTk *tep SLOW

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***tep**	slow	Mortensen 2012:594
Huishu	kə-**tɐp**	slow	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.209
Tangkhul	**təp**	slow	Bhat 1969:97
Tusom	kə-**ta**	slow	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.227
Ukhrul	kə-**tɐp**	slow (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(15) PKar *ɟi^{B} STINGY

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***ɟi**^{B}	stingy	Luangthongkum 2013:280
Bwe	**ɪ**^{33}	stingy	Luangthongkum 2013:280
Kayan	**ci**^{11}	stingy	Luangthongkum 2013:280
Kayaw	**ci**^{11}	stingy	Luangthongkum 2013:280
Pa-O (Southern)	**ci**^{53}	stingy	Luangthongkum 2013:280
Pa-O (Northern)	**ci**^{55}	stingy	Luangthongkum 2013:280

(16) PTk *nir WRINKLE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***nir**	wrinkle	Mortensen 2012:655
Huishu	kə-nə-**nu**	wrinkle	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.247
Tangkhul	**nir**	wrinkle	Bhat 1969:100
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-ŋə-**nir**	wrinkle	Mortensen 2012

(17) PKar * $\begin{matrix}g\\k\end{matrix}$ -hma^{B} WRONG / MISTAKE / ERROR

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***g/k-hma**^{B}	wrong, mistake, error	Luangthongkum 2013:336
**Karen [Burling]*	***ma**^{2}	wrong, mistake, error	Luangthongkum 2013:336
Bwe	**gə**^{33} **mɛ**^{33}	wrong, mistake, error	Luangthongkum 2013:336
Kayaw	**ma**^{11}	wrong, mistake, error	Luangthongkum 2013:336
Pa-O (Southern)	**ma**^{33}	wrong, mistake, error	Luangthongkum 2013:336
Pa-O (Northern)	**ma**^{55}	wrong, mistake, error	Luangthongkum 2013:336
Pwo (Southern)	**ma**^{55}	wrong, mistake, error	Luangthongkum 2013:336
Sgaw (Northern)	**kə**^{11}**ma**$^{31\sim}$	wrong, mistake, error	Luangthongkum 2013:336
Sgaw (Southern)	**ma**^{45,}	wrong, mistake, error	Luangthongkum 2013:336

(18) PTk *jon WRONG, BE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***jon**	wrong, be	Mortensen 2012:590
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**jɐŋ**	wrong (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.184
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**jon**	wrong (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

9.6.3 Neutral

(1) PTB *s- $\begin{matrix}r\\y\\w\end{matrix}$ ay BOLD / HEROIC

This root shows a tripartite variation in medial glide.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-ray ≍ s-yay ≍ s-way**	bold / heroic	Matisoff 1985a:110; Matisoff 2003a:610
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**huāi**	bold, daring	Matisoff 1985a:110
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	khə **yay**	hero (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:110
	yay	hero	Bhat 1969:90
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**jaj**	be a hero	Mortensen 2012
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	šə **rē**	hero, leader, captain	Matisoff 1985a:110; Matisoff 1974:240
	yē	daring	Matisoff 1985a:110
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**rai**	bold, courageous	Matisoff 1985a:110
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu	ni^{2} **wu**^{5}	bold / heroic	Matisoff 1985a:110

(2) PTani *mjoŋ-maŋ BUSY

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***mjoŋ-maŋ**	busy	Sun 1993a:52
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**ño-ma:**	busy	Sun 1993a
	ño:-ma:	busy	Sun 1993b
Galo	**'moomaa**	busy (adj.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**moŋ-maŋ**	busy	Sun 1993a

(3) PKC *ɓuay BUSY / BUSTLE / CONFUSED / DISTURB

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɓuay**	BUSY / BUSTLE / CONFUSED / DISTURB	VanBik 2009:13
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**buai**	bustle (v.)	VanBik 2009:13
Thado	**su**- bùoy-INV	disturb	VanBik 2009:13
Tiddim	**buai**^{1}	confused	VanBik 2009:13
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**bùay**-I, bŭay-II	busy, be disordered (be v.)	VanBik 2009:13
Lai (Falam)	**búay**-I, bùay-II	busy, be disordered (be v.)	VanBik 2009:13
Lushai [Mizo]	**bŭai**	busy, to bustle (be v.)	VanBik 2009:13

(4) PTB *b-rut MISCHIEVOUS / ROWDY / HOOLIGAN

This etymology is due to Kenneth VanBik.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-rut**	mischievous / rowdy / hooligan	Matisoff 2003a:364

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	mi-**rut**	abnormal person	Matisoff 2003a:365
	ruu ≍ ruut	mischievous, irresponsible	Matisoff 2003a:365

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**bərut**	mischievous or rowdy person	Matisoff 2003a:364

9.7.1 Shape and size

(1) PKC *kual COIL / LOOP

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***kual**	COIL / LOOP	VanBik 2009:267

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**kual**	loop	VanBik 2009:267
Thado	**kùol**	circle	VanBik 2009:267
	a͘kól	circle	Thirumalai 1972:18

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**akaawy**	coil (of a snake), bend, assume a fetal position, bent	VanBik 2009:267

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**kŭal**	coil, loop	VanBik 2009:267
Lai (Falam)	**kùal**	coil, circle	VanBik 2009:267
Lushai [Mizo]	**kùal**	coil (as of rope, etc), a ring (not a finger ring), anything bent into a coil or circle	VanBik 2009:267

(2) PKC *nuay FRAGMENT / PIECE / COIN

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***nuay**	FRAGMENT / PIECE / COIN	VanBik 2009:815

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**nûoy**	fragments	VanBik 2009:815

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**nôoy**	fragments, pieces, coins	VanBik 2009:815
Lai (Falam)	**nóoy**	fragments, pieces, coins	VanBik 2009:815
Lushai [Mizo]	**năwi**	small pieces, fragments	VanBik 2009:815

(3) PKC *klaŋ LUMP / CLOD / SOLID (thing)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***klaŋ**	LUMP / CLOD / SOLID (thing)	VanBik 2009:1265

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**hlàŋ**	lump, solid thing	VanBik 2009:1265
Tiddim	**tang^{3}**	lump	VanBik 2009:1265

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**k'lüng**	lump, hard thing (n.)	VanBik 2009:1265
Cho (Mindat)	**kiang**	dry and hard (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1265

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tlăŋ**	lump, clod, solid thing	VanBik 2009:1265
Lai (Falam)	**tlàŋ**	lump, clod, solid thing	VanBik 2009:1265
Lushai [Mizo]	**tlàng**	lump (of anything), a clod, a loaf (n.)	VanBik 2009:1265

(4) PKC *yool OBLONG / OVAL (figure)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***yool**	OBLONG / OVAL (figure)	VanBik 2009:1221

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Tiddim	**zo꞉l^{1}**	oblong	VanBik 2009:1221

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**zòol**-I, zŏol-II	oblong or oval figure (as the shape of an egg) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1221

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**pa**-záo	oval, an oblong (n.)	VanBik 2009:1221

(5) PKar *thuN^{B} POLE

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***thuN^{B}**	pole	Luangthongkum 2013:221
Kayah	**thɨ^{11}**	pole	Luangthongkum 2013:221
Kayan	**thwaŋ^{11}**	pole	Luangthongkum 2013:221
Kayaw	**thu^{11}**	pole	Luangthongkum 2013:221
Pa-O (Northern)	**thun^{55}**	pole	Luangthongkum 2013:221
Pa-O (Southern)	**thuə̰m^{33}**	pole	Luangthongkum 2013:221
Pwo (Northern)	**thɑ̃^{33}**	pole	Luangthongkum 2013:221
Pwo (Southern)	**thə̃ɨ^{55}**	pole	Luangthongkum 2013:221
Sgaw (Northern)	**thu$^{31\sim}$**	pole	Luangthongkum 2013:221
Sgaw (Southern)	**thu^{45,}**	pole	Luangthongkum 2013:221

(6) PTB * $^{s}_{m}$ -kwar ROUND

This etymon may well be related to PTB ***kwar*** HOLE / ORIFICE / INNARDS (§3.2.7), the common core of meaning perhaps residing in the round appearance of many holes.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Miri, Hill	go **kɯr**	round, encircle	Simon 1976

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

Lotha Naga	n̥^{1}-**kon^{1}**-	round (be v.)	Bruhn 2014b

2.1.2. Bodic

Tshona (Wenlang)	**gor^{35}**pɑ^{55}	round	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Cuona Menba	**khor^{55}**ro^{55}ja^{35}	turn (round and round) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1808.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**kor rkor**	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.05
	nkhor	circle / hover / wheel (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1543.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hkor kor**	round	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:807.4
	tha **kor** je	surround	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:687.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rkor**	surround	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:687.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**kho^{55}**	turn (round and round) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1808.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**khor^{55}**	turn (round and round) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1808.02
	ko꞉^{13}ko꞉^{55}	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.02
	tha^{53}**kor^{55}**	surround	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:687.2
Tibetan (Written)	**kor kor**	round (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	sgor sgor	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.01
	skor	circle; surround	Matisoff 1983:75; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:687.1
	fikhor	turn (round and round) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1808.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hkor hko**	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.04
	khor	circle; hover; wheel; turn (round and round) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1543.04; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1808.04

2.1.4. Tamangish

Manang (Prakaa)	**^{4}kwor**	round	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0448b
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{3}kor**	round object, unit	Mazaudon 1991

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Limbu	**kɔr**- (kɔn-)	disposed in a circle ? * (v.i.)	Michailovsky 1989b

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**gore**	round	Hale 1973:01.098; Caughley 1972:1.98

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	**nkhər** va	circle; hover; wheel; turn (round and round) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1543.12; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1808.12
	ʁɑr ʁɑr	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

Caodeng	kɐ-**skɔr**	surround	Sun 1997a

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Mpi	**kho?^{1}**	circle (v.)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976

Chinese comparandum

果 OC ***klwɑ̂r***, *GSR* #351a-b 'fruit; result; as a result'; Schuessler 2007:269 ***kôi?***; B & S 2011: ***k^{ʕ}or? { [k] ^{ʕ}o [r] ʔ}***; Mand. **guǒ**.

(7) PKC *ɓial ROUND / CIRCLE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***ɓial**	ROUND / CIRCLE	VanBik 2009:45

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**bial**	round	VanBik 2009:45

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**bîal**-I, bĭal-II	round, circle (be v.)	VanBik 2009:45
Lai (Falam)	**bĭal**-I, bìal-II	round, circle (be v.)	VanBik 2009:45
Lushai [Mizo]	**bial**	round (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	bíal	circle, round, cicular shape (n.)	VanBik 2009:45
	bial	round; spherical	Bhaskararao 1996:87

(8) PKC *tia SIZE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tia**	SIZE	VanBik 2009:228

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**tĭa**	size	VanBik 2009:228

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tĭa**	size	VanBik 2009:228
Lai (Falam)	**tìa**	size	VanBik 2009:228

(9) PCC *ʔaay STACK (n.) / PILE (n.)

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***ʔaay**	STACK / PILE (n.)	VanBik 2009:506
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔâay**	stack of firewood	VanBik 2009:506
Lushai [Mizo]	**ái** éng	stack, pile (as firewood)	VanBik 2009:506

(10) PTB *sap WEDGE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***sap**	wedge	Matisoff 2003a:336, 342

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tsop**	wedge	Matisoff 2003a:337

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Tangkhul	thiŋ-**tap**	wood	Matisoff 2003a:337

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**sap**	wedge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:413.7
Tshona (Wenlang)	ɕeŋ^{55}**sɑp^{55}**	wedge	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**sap**	wedge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.07

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	**ʂo^{35}**	wedge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:413.19
	ʂuo^{35}	wedge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tso^{35}**	wedge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.10
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tso^{55}**	wedge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:413.11
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ʂsa^{55}**	wedge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.13

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	sɯ **zau**	wedge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:413.14

Daofu	**zav**	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.12
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tθɑʔ**^{4}	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθɑʔ**^{44}	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.40
Burmese (Written)	**sap**	wedge (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	thɑp	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.39
	tθɑp^{4}	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.26
6.2. NAXI			
Naxi	**ʂuɑ**^{55}	wedge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0620.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʂuɑ**^{55}	wedge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:413.28
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tsi̯ɑp/tsi̯äp**	peg, tenon	Karlgren 1957:635f

Chinese comparandum

楔 OC ***tsi̯ɑp***, *GSR* #635f; B & S 2011: ***tsap* {[ts]ap}**; Mand. **jiē**.

9.7.2 Verbs referring to size/shape

(1) PTB *ba THIN / FLAT

This root has also acquired both the **-n** and **-t** suffixes; see PTB ***(b/p)a(n/t)*** THIN (§9.7.2).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ba**	thin (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:308
	***ba**	thin	Matisoff 2003a:583; LaPolla 1987:74; Benedict 1972:25
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	**bɑ**^{55}ɑ^{55}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.22
	bɑ^{55}ɑ^{55}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.49
Idu	**bɑ**^{55}ɑ^{55}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.50
Yidu	**bɑ**^{55}ɑ^{55}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.25
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***paa** THIN			
**Chin*	***paa**	THIN	VanBik 2009:164
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**pâa**-I, pâat-II	thin (be v.)	VanBik 2009:164
Tiddim	**pa:** / pa:t	thin	Benedict 1972:102n293
	pa:^{1} > pa:t^{1}	thin (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1349
	pa:^{1}/pa:t^{1}	thin	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊpa:/ˊpa:t	thin (vi.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Khumi	a(ng) **poó**	thin	VanBik 2009:164
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**páa**-I, pâa-II	thin (be v.)	VanBik 2009:164
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **pa** i	thin	Marrison 1967
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	**pà**	thin (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:308
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
**Bodo-Garo*	***baʔ**	thin	Burling 1959:444
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**bá**	thin (v.)	Bhat 1968
	baʔ-a	thin (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:308
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**ba**	thin	LaPolla 1987:74; Benedict 1972:25
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ba**-ang-a	thin; thin of forest (n.)	Burling 2003:4.630-II:idx
	ba•-a	thin (vi.)	Burling 2003:2.215-II:idx
	ba•-deng-deng	thin (adv.)	Burling 2003:2.215-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**pa•**-	low, plain, flat, thin (of things) (adj1.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	džə **phà**	make thin	Matisoff 1974:206
	hpa	thin	Marrison 1967
	phà	thin	Matisoff 1974:206
	pha	thin	LaPolla 1987:74
	pha^{31}	thin	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	pha^{31}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.19
	pha^{31}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.47
	phà	thin	Benedict 1972:25
	^{1}**pha**	thin (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:308
	ʔə **phà**	thin	Matisoff 1974:206
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**pha**	thin (not thick) (vi.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:331
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**bā** ma	thin (of things, density) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.06
	bā mā	thin (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.07
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ba** lu	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ba**-lu	thin	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**ba** lu	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.07
2.1.4. TAMANGISH			
**TGTM*	*$^{\wedge}$**pa**	thin	Mazaudon 1994:601
Manang (Gyaru)	**ba**^{2} ba^{2}	thin	Nagano 1984:331
Manang (Prakaa)	^{3}**pə pə**	thin	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0434
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**pa**	thin (too) / watery	Mazaudon 1994:601
Tamang (Taglung)	**pa**-na	liquid (be), thin	Mazaudon 1994:601
Thakali	**ʼpa**-wa	thin (of things, density); thin (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.06; Hale 1973:12c.07
Thakali (Syang)	^{55,44}**pʌ**-mu	thin	Mazaudon 1994:601
Thakali (Tukche)	**ʼpɔ**-wɔ	thin (density); thin	Hari 1971:12.B.6; Hari 1971:12.C.7
	^{1}**pə**	thin	Mazaudon 1994:601
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**pho**	thin	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:2640
3.2. QIANGIC			
Lyuzu	**bi**^{53}**bi**^{53}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.18
	bi^{53}**bi**^{53}	thin (hair)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1033.18
Namuyi	ɛ^{33}**bi**^{55}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.19
	æ^{33}**bi**^{53}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.46
	æ^{33}**bi**^{55}	thin (hair)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1033.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**bi**^{35}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.10
	bi^{35}mi^{55}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.10
	bi^{11}bi^{55}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**bé**	thin, slender	Evans 1999:1407
	bé-pà	thickness (thick-thin) [thin-thick]	Evans 1999:1621
	pà-**bé**	thickness (thick-thin) [thick-thin]	Evans 1999:1621
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**bə be**	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.12
Ergong (Danba)	**bɯ bɯ**	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.14
Daofu	gɛ **bə**	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.12
	rʁə **bə**	thin	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1026.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	ʼkə **be**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	ʼkə **we**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	**ʼpə pə**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	**bi̯** ˈ**bi̯**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**bə**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	**bɯ bɯ**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	ka **ʼbə**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	kə22 **mbe44**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə22 **mbɑ44**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong	kə **mba**	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **mbɑ**	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**mba**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	kə1**ʼve53**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **mba44**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	kə22 **mba44**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	kə44**wa44**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	kə **ʼba**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	kə **ʼba**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	kə **ʼba** / kə **waʔ**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	kə **ʼbaʔ**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	kə **ʼbaʔ**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	kə **ʼbe**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	kə **ʼbɛ**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	kə **ʼmba**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	kə **ʼmba**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	kə **ʼmba**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	kə **ʼmba**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	kə **ʼmba**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	kə **ʼmba**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	kə **ʼmbje**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	kə **ʼβe**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**mba**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	nə **ʼmbaʔ**	thin (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1617
rGyalrong	kA **NbaH**	thin	Nagano 1997:151
rGBenzhen	kə-**nba**	thin (book)	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**ba**	thin	LaPolla 1987:74; Benedict 1972:25
Rawang	**bɑ**^{31} wɛ^{33}	thin	LaPolla 2003:1008
Nung	**bɑ**^{35}**bɑ**^{31}ɕɛn^{31}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.21
Anong	**bɑ**^{35}**bɑ**^{31}ɕɛn^{31}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.44
Dulong	**bɑ**^{53}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**bɑ**^{53}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**ba**^{53}	thin	LaPolla 1987:74
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**ba**^{53}	thin	LaPolla 1987:74
	bɑ^{53}	thin	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**bo2**	thin (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	bo2bo1	thin (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ba**^{2} THIN			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ba**^{2}	thin	Matisoff 2003a:584
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Bola (Luxi)	**pa̲**^{35}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**pɑ**^{55}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.27

Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**pɑ**^{55}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.40
Burmese (Written)	**pà**	thin (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:308
	pâ	thin; thin, sparse	Hansson 1989:53; Matisoff 1974:206; Benedict 1976a
	pà	thin	LaPolla 1987:74; Benedict 1972:25
	pɑ^{3}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.26
	pɑ^{3}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.39
Hpun (Northern)	**pà'**, pà-ŋ	thin (of things)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**pɻ̲**^{35}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**pɻ̲:**^{55}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.33
Marma	**pá**	thin (not thick) (vi.)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:331
Maru [Langsu]	**pɻ̲**^{35}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.43

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***ba**^{2}	thin (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:308
	***ba**^{2}	thin	Bradley 1979b:533A; Hansson 1989:53
PNL	**ba**^{2}	thin	CHEN Kang 1986a:103.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**pa**^{31}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.47
Lalo	**ba**^{21}	thin	CHEN Kang 1986a:103.
Lipho	**bo**^{21}	thin	CHEN Kang 1986a:103.
Nasu	**bo**^{33}	thin	CHEN Kang 1986a:103.
Neisu	**bu**^{33}	thin	CHEN Kang 1986a:103.
Nesu	**bo**^{33}	thin	CHEN Kang 1986a:103.
Nosu	**bo**^{33}	thin	CHEN Kang 1986a:103.
Nusu (Northern)	**ba**^{35}	thin	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ba**^{55}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.34
Nusu (Southern)	**bɔ**^{55}	thin	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɑ^{31}**bɻ̲**^{55}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.45
Yi (Dafang)	**bu**^{33}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ba**^{33}zɛ^{33}	thin (strips)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ba^{33}ɬa^{33}	thin (chips)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**bo**^{33}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**bo**^{21}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.37
	bo^{21}	thin (hair); thin	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1033.37; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**bɑ**^{21}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.23
Yi (Weishan)	**bɑ**^{21}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.36
Yi (Wuding)	**bu**^{33}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.38
	bu^{33}	thin (hair)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1033.38

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**bo**^{21}	thin	CHEN Kang 1986a:103.
Jinuo	a^{33}**pɔ**^{33}; a^{33}phja^{33}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.34
	a^{44}**pɔ**^{44}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**pɔ**^{44}	thin	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**pʌ35**	thin	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**pâ**	thin (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:308
	pâ	thin	LaPolla 1987:74
Lahu (Lancang)	**pɑ**^{53}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.43
	pɑ^{53}	thin (hair)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1033.43
Lahu (Black)	**pâ**	thin	Matisoff 1974:206
	pʌ^{53}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**pa**^{3}	thin	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**bà**	thin (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:308
Lisu (Northern)	**ba**^{21}	thin; weak; decline (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ba^{21}**ba**^{21} hɤ^{33}hɤ^{33}	few and scattered; thin	Bradley 1994
	ba^{21}le^{35}za^{21}	fairly thin (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ba**^{5}	thin	Bradley 1979b:533A
Lisu (Central)	**ba**^{5}	thin	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**bɑ**^{31}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.40
	bɑ^{31}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.27
Sani [Nyi]	**ba**^{21}	thin	CHEN Kang 1986a:103.
Yi (Sani)	**bɒ**^{11}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**bà**	thin (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:308
Akha (Thai)	**bà**	thin	Hansson 1989:53
Akha	**bà**	thin	Hansson 1989:53
Hani (Lüchun)	**bà** khá	thin	Hansson 1989:53
Hani (Dazhai)	**ba**^{31}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ba**^{31}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**pɔ**^{35}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.30
Hani (Pijo)	**pɔ̀**	thin	Hansson 1989:53
	pɔ̀ i	thin, sparse	Hansson 1989:4
	pɔ̀ í	thin	Hansson 1989:53
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ba**^{31}	thin	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**bbaq**	thin	Hansson 1989:53
Hani (Shuikui)	**po**^{35}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.32
Hani (Khatu)	**pò**	thin, sparse; thin	Hansson 1989:4; Hansson 1989:53
Hani (Mojiang)	**po**^{35}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.42
	pɔ^{31}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.42
Mpi	**po**^{1}	thin; thin (like paper)	Hansson 1989:53; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **pa31**	thin	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:204019
Sila	a21 **be55**	thin	KATO Takashi 2008:269
	a21 **bɛ21**	thin	KATO Takashi 2008:235

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**pɔ**^{22}	THIN (2d)	Pelkey 2011:1055
Southern Muji	**ba**^{13}	THIN (2d)	Pelkey 2011:1055
	ba^{13}(-tɛ^{55})	skinny; thin	Pelkey 2011:963
Phola	**pɑ**^{52}	THIN (2d)	Pelkey 2011:1055
Hlepho Phowa	**ba**^{21}(-la^{33}la^{33})	THIN (2d)	Pelkey 2011:1055
Phuza	**ba**^{13}	THIN (2d)	Pelkey 2011:1055

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	tʰɑ˧**bie**˥	thin	Michaud 2006–2009:1952
Na (Yongning)	**bi**˧	thin; shallow	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**be**^{33}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.45
	be^{33}	thin (hair)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1033.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**bi**^{33}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mbe**^{33}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.28
	mbi^{31}	thin (watery)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:845.28

7. KARENIC: ***ʔba**^{B} CLASSIFIER FOR FLAT OBJECTS, ***ʔbV**^{A} THIN (as of cloth), ***pja**^{B} FLAT

**Karen [Burling]*	***bun**^{3}	thin (as of cloth)	Luangthongkum 2013:297
**Karen*	***pja**^{B}	flat	Luangthongkum 2013:118
	***ʔb( )**^{A}	thin (as of cloth)	Luangthongkum 2013:297
	***ʔba**^{B}	classifier for flat objects	Luangthongkum 2013:53 [a]
Bwe	**ɓe**^{33} ɓa^{33}	flat	Luangthongkum 2013:118
Kayah	**be**^{11}	classifier for flat objects	Luangthongkum 2013:53
	bi̱^{33}	thin (as of cloth)	Luangthongkum 2013:297
Kayan	**ba**^{11}	classifier for flat objects	Luangthongkum 2013:53
	bja^{11}	flat	Luangthongkum 2013:118
	bi̱^{53}	thin (as of cloth)	Luangthongkum 2013:297
Kayaw	**ba**^{11}	classifier for flat objects	Luangthongkum 2013:53
Pa-O (Southern)	**ba**^{33}	classifier for flat objects	Luangthongkum 2013:53
Pa-O (Northern)	**ba**^{55}	classifier for flat objects	Luangthongkum 2013:53
Pa-O (Southern)	**bə**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	thin (as of cloth)	Luangthongkum 2013:297
Pa-O (Northern)	**bə**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	thin (as of cloth)	Luangthongkum 2013:297
Pa-O (Southern)	**pja**^{33}	flat	Luangthongkum 2013:118
Pa-O (Northern)	**pja**^{55}	flat	Luangthongkum 2013:118
Pwo (Northern)	**bai**^{33}	classifier for flat objects	Luangthongkum 2013:53
	pa^{33}	flat	Luangthongkum 2013:118
Pwo (Southern)	**bai**^{55}	flat; classifier for flat objects	Luangthongkum 2013:118; Luangthongkum 2013:53
	baə$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	thin (as of cloth)	Luangthongkum 2013:297
Sgaw (Northern)	**be**$^{31\sim}$	classifier for flat objects	Luangthongkum 2013:53
	bi̱$^{31\sim}$	flat	Luangthongkum 2013:118
Sgaw (Southern)	**bi̱**^{45,}	classifier for flat objects	Luangthongkum 2013:53
Sgaw (Northern)	**bu**^{33}	thin (as of cloth)	Luangthongkum 2013:297
Sgaw (Southern)	**bu**^{55}	thin (as of cloth)	Luangthongkum 2013:297

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**po**^{42}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.37
Bai (Dali)	**po**^{42}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.35
	pɔ 8	thin	Dell 1981b:363
Bai (Jianchuan)	**pɻ̲**^{21}	thin (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.48
	po^{42}	thin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:814.36

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**bó**	thin	Evans *et al.* 1991

[a] [Source Note] The correspondence pattern of rhymes in SK suggests *ʔbaj^{B} [Thai: baj33]

Chinese comparandum

薄 OC ***b'âk**, *GSR* #771p 'thin'; Schuessler 2007:170 ***bâk**; B & S 2011: ***b**^{ʕ}**ak {(Cə.)[b]**^{ʕ}**ak}**; Mand. **bó**.

(1a) PTB * b/p a n/t THIN

Some languages point to a voiceless initial with this root, although most forms descend from a *voiced prototype. Both an **-n** and a **-t** suffix are attested with this root: cf. #4165, and form II of this verb in several Chin languages, e.g. Tiddim **pa:t** BE THIN. See *HPTB*: 440-441.

The basic allofam of this etymon appears to be PTB ***ba** THIN / FLAT (§9.7.2), with an open rhyme.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ban/t ≍ pan/t**	thin	Matisoff 2003a:584

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***pan** THIN / LANK / SPARSE

**Chin*	***pan ≍** pam	THIN / LANK / SPARSE	VanBik 2009:165

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**pan**	lank, sparse	VanBik 2009:165
Tiddim	**pan**	thin (very)	Benedict 1972:102n293
	pan^{1}	very thin	VanBik 2009:165
	pan^{1}	very thin (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1340
	pan^{1}	very thin	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊpan/ˆpan	thin (very) (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**pam**	thin, to be slim, slender (be v.)	VanBik 2009:165

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**pân**-I, **păn**-II	thin, lank (be v.)	VanBik 2009:165
Lushai [Mizo]	**pán**	thin (as paper), weak (as tea etc), watery (as milk)	VanBik 2009:165
	pan	thin (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2766
	pan	thin	Benedict 1972:102n293

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**pá**	thin, sparse	VanBik 2009:165

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Lotha Naga	e-**po** ro-	thin (of things) (be v.)	Bruhn 2014b

(2) PTB *s-lum ≍ * b/m -lu m/ŋ ROUND / ROUND OBJECT / HEART / EYE-BALL

Several phono-semantically similar variants are to be grouped together in this etymon. Their center of gravity is ROUND OBJECT, as shown in various compounds for rounded body parts and inanimate objects. The variants with final **-m** and **-ŋ** are equally well-attested, even within a single subgroup (cf. Bruhn's [2014] reconstructions for Proto-Central-Naga: PCN ***m-luŋ** HEART / BE ROUND and PCN ***ləm** HEAD / HEART / MIND.

Bahing **thym** and Hayu **thum** 'heart' look as if they might somehow be related, although the initial dental stop is a problem.

(2a) PTB *s-lum ROUND

In Qiangic and Burmish languages, this morpheme appears as a final element in compounds for HEAD. These cases are to be distinguished from reflexes of the independent root #1221 ***k-lu**.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-lum**	round (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:297
	***s-lum**	round	Benedict 1972:143
	s-lum**=zlum**	round	LaPolla 1987:142
	***zlum**	round (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:297
	***zlum**	round	Matisoff 2003a:78, 272; Benedict 1972:42n136

1.1.1. TANI: ***lum** ROUND (GLOBULAR)

**Tani*	***lum**	round (globular)	Sun 1993a:331

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	ja-lã **lum**-pɯ	cave	Sun 1993a

	ja-lã **lum**-pɯʔ	cave	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**lum**	round (globular); round (global)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-pɯ a-**lum**	round (global)	Sun 1993b
	lum	classifier (lump)	Sun 1993b
Galo	ʻa **lum**	clump; cluster (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻa pə-ʻlii **lum**	round; circular; globular; spherical (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻlii **lum**	round (ace.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻlum-	Classifier for clusters (clfqr.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻnəmɨi-ʻa **lum**	clump (of grass) (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	a **lam** kargo pumcup	round / spherical	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**lum**	round (globular)	Sun 1993a
1.2. Kuki-Chin: *hluum ROUND			
**Chin*	***hluum**	ROUND	VanBik 2009:1118
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**lûum**-I, lùum-II	round (solid)	VanBik 2009:1118
Tiddim	**lu:m**^{1}	shaped like cabbage	VanBik 2009:1118
	lu:m^{1}	shaped like cabbage (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1031
	lu:m^{1}	shaped like cabbage	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Chinbon	ạ pə **łom**	round	So-Hartmann 1988:230
Cho (Mindat)	m-**hlum**	wind (thread) into a ball (v.)	VanBik 2009:1118
Daai	pu **lum**	round	So-Hartmann 1988:230
Khumi	a **lueng**	ball (of thread)	VanBik 2009:1118
Mkaang	pu **luni**	round	So-Hartmann 1988:230
Ngmüün	ạ ku **lum**	round	So-Hartmann 1988:230
Nyhmoye	pu **lum**	round	So-Hartmann 1988:230
Wakung	tʰ pu **lu**	round	So-Hartmann 1988:230
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**hlúum**-I, hlùm-II	round, circular	VanBik 2009:1118
Lai (Hakha)	**hlûum**-I, hlŭum-I	round, circular	VanBik 2009:1118
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlum**	ball	LaPolla 1987:142; Benedict 1972:143
	hlŭum	wind into a ball (v.)	VanBik 2009:1118
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**hló**	ball	VanBik 2009:1118
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Sorbung	ʔə **lúum**	round	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.157
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**lùm**	round	Matisoff 1974:252
	lum	round; round, globular	LaPolla 1987:142; Benedict 1972:143
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**zlum**-pa	round (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:297
	zlum-pa	round; round, globular	LaPolla 1987:142; Benedict 1972:143
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti			
Kulung	khu **lum_**	hole (in the ground)	Rai *et al.* 1975
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	vi^{33} **li**^{55}	head	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.18
Lyuzu	wu^{33}**li**^{53}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.18
	zɯ^{33}**lɯ**^{53}	testicle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0117.18
Muya	ʁɐ̯^{53}**lø**^{33}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.15
Muya [Minyak]	tɯ^{53}kɯ^{53}**lø**^{53}	stomach	Sun Hongkai 1991h:9.10
	ʁɐ^{35}**lø**^{33}	head	Sun Hongkai 1991h:2.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.15
Namuyi	ʁo^{55}ə^{ɻ55}**ly**^{33}	head	Sun Hongkai 1991i:2.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.19
	ʁuo^{53}ə^{ɻ31} (**lɯ**^{31})	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.46
Xumi	ʁo^{33} **ło**^{35}	head	Sun Hongkai 1991m; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.20
	ʁu^{33}qhu^{33}**lu**^{53}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	gu^{33}po^{55}**lo**^{33}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.14
4. Nungic			
Trung [Dulong]	ɑŋ^{31}kɯ^{31}**lŭm**^{55}	round	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:807.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	aŋ^{31} kɯ^{31} **lɯm**^{55}	round	LaPolla 1987:142
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	dɯ^{31} **lɯm**^{55}	round	LaPolla 1987:142; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola	u̱^{35} **lam**^{31}	head	Dai Qingxia 1989g:96
Burmese (Written)	bhɔ^{3}**luṁ**^{3}	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.39
	hlum	ball	Benedict 1972:143
	lùm	round (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:297
	lûm	round	Matisoff 1974:252
	lûṁ	round, globular	Benedict 1976a
	lùm	round; round, globular	LaPolla 1987:142; Benedict 1972:143
	luṁ:	round (adj.)	Marrison 1967
Langsu (Luxi)	au^{35}**lam**^{35}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.31
Lashi	wo̱^{55} **lɔ̱m**^{53}	head	Dai Qingxia 1989m:2.1
Leqi (Luxi)	wo̱^{55}**lɔ̱m**^{53}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.33
Maru [Langsu]	au^{35} **lam**^{35}	head	Dai Qingxia 1989l:2.1
	a̱u^{33}**lam**^{35}	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.43
	lām	round (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:297
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lʔùm**	round (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:297
	u^{21} **lu̱m**^{21}	head	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	u^{21}**lu̱m**^{21}	head (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0074.30
	u^{21}**lu̱m**^{21}	head	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:232.42
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Bijiang)	**lɔ**^{35}	round	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:807.45
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	a^{33}**lɐ**^{35}	round	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:807.34
	a^{44}**lɤ**^{33}**lɤ**^{33}	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**lə**^{33}	round	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lisu	**lu**^{33}	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.40
Lisu (Central)	**lu**^{1}	round (shaped)	Fraser 1922
	lu^{1}-**lu**^{1}-mu^{3}	round (shaped)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**lu**^{55}**lu**^{55}za^{21}	round (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**lu**^{55}**lu**^{55}zɑ^{31}	round	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:807.27
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Caiyuan)	**lu**^{33}	round	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:807.30
Hani (Shuikui)	tu^{33}**lu**^{33}	round	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:807.32
Hani (Mojiang)	ɣu^{33}**lu**^{33}sa^{33}	circle / circular	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.42
Sila	a21 bɤ33 **lɤ33**	round	Kato Takashi 2008:238
6.2. Naxi			
Naxi (Lijiang)	kho^{33}**lo**^{33}	hole	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:34.28

(2b) PTB *b-lum EYE / EYEBALL / HEART / ROUND OBJECT

The vocalism of the Tujia reflexes varies from **-o** to **-a**, leading to the hypothesis that the Proto-Tujia form was something like ***lwa**. Several Northern Tujia forms actually have the vocalism **-uo**.

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**blm**	eye	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	blm-(bre/ma:)	blind	NEFA (India) 1963
	blm-a:gu	pupil (of the eye); pupil	NEFA (India) 1963; Matisoff 1987
	blm-ga:p	eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	blm-ka	eyelid	Matisoff 1987
	blm-nyã:	disease of the eye	NEFA (India) 1963
	blm-um	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	bɯ^{31} **lɯm**^{55} tsɑu^{55}	blind person	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	bɯ^{31}**lɯm**^{55}	eye	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	bɯ^{31}**lɯm**^{55}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.22
	bɯ^{31}**lɯm**^{55}	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.49
	bɯ^{31}**lɯm**^{55} ko^{55}	eyelid	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	bɯ^{31}**lɯm**^{55} m̩^{55}	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	bɯ^{31}**lɯm**^{55} tɯ^{31} bɹoŋ^{35}	eyeball	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	bɯ^{31}**lɯm**^{55} tɑ^{31} kueŋ^{53}	eye socket	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	bɯ^{31}**lɯm**^{55} ɑ^{31} goŋ^{35}	pupil	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	bɯ^{31}**lɯm**^{55}**m̩**^{55}	eyebrow (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0078.22
	bɯ^{31}**lɯm**^{55}**m**^{55}	eyebrow	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:237.49
	bɯ^{31}**lɯm**^{55}**tsɑu**^{53}	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.22
	bɯ^{31}**lɯm**^{55}**tsɑu**^{53}	blind person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.49
	grõ-**blm**	eye of foot; ankle	Matisoff 1987; NEFA (India) 1963
	gɹoŋ^{53} **bɯ**^{31}**lɯm**^{55}	ankle	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	gɹoŋ^{53}**bɯ**^{31}**lɯm**^{55}	ankle (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0104.22
Idu	e^{55}**loŋ**^{55}ma^{31}	blind	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.4.10
	e^{55}**loŋ**^{55}mɑ^{31}	blind person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:300.50
	e^{55}**lo**^{55}bɹa^{55}	eye	Sun Hongkai 1991f:3.4
	e^{55}lo^{55}bɹɑ^{55}	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.50
	e **lõ**-bra	eye	Anonymous 1962
	e **lõ**-ta-a	eye (pupil)	Pulu 1978
	e **lõm** bra	eye	Pulu 1978
	e **lõ** ko	eyelid	Pulu 1978
	e **lõ** ma	blind	Pulu 1978
	e **lõ** mbra embe	eye disease	Pulu 1978
	e **lõ** mo	eyelash	Pulu 1978
	e **lõ** ndu	eyeball	Pulu 1978
Yidu	e^{55}**loŋ**^{55}mɑ^{31}	blind person (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0202.25
	e^{55}**lo**^{55}bɹɑ^{55}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.25
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Mama)	**ɬa**^{55} pu^{53}	eye	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
3.2. Qiangic			
Guiqiong	ɳɑ^{35} **lũ**^{55}	eyeball	Sun Hongkai 1991e
Muya [Minyak]	mi^{55}kɯ^{33}**lø**^{35}	eyeball	Sun Hongkai 1991h:3.4.2
Namuyi	**ly**^{55}	classifier for e.g. bowls; classifier for grains	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:949.19; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:955.19
	miɛ^{55}ʂ̩^{33}**ly**^{55}	eyeball	Sun Hongkai 1991i:3.4.2
	ʂ̩^{55}**ly**^{55}	liver	Sun Hongkai 1991i:9.5; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:273.19
	tʂi^{33}**ly**^{55}	mole	Sun Hongkai 1991i:8.2.3.3
	tʂ̩^{33}**ly**^{55}	gall bladder; gall	Sun Hongkai 1991i:9.5.2; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:275.19
	tʂ̩^{31}**lu**^{55}	gall bladder (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0147.46
Qiang (Mawo)	nu **ʁlu**	eyeball	Sun 1986
	nə **ʁlu**	eyeball	Sun Hongkai 1991g:3.4.2
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Northern)	meɣ^{53} **rlu**^{13}	eyeball	Sun Hongkai 1991c:3.4.2
5. Tujia			
Tujia	a^{21} **la**^{55} a^{21} so^{21}	eyebrow	Chen Kang 1986d:3.4.3
	a^{21} **la**^{55} kɯe^{21} lo^{21}	eyelid	Chen Kang 1986d:3.4.1
	a^{21} **la**^{55} ts^{h}e^{35}	tears	Chen Kang 1986d:3.4.6
	a^{21} **la**^{55} tɕi^{35}	eye	Chen Kang 1986d:3.4
	a^{35} **la**^{55} bu^{21}	eyeball	Chen Kang 1986d:3.4.2
Tujia (Northern)	li^{1}kuo^{1}**luo**^{1}	heart	Brassett *et al.* 2006:2.1
Tujia	li^{55} k^{h}o^{55} **lo**^{35}	heart	Chen Kang 1986c:9.3
Tujia (Northern)	li^{55} k^{h}o^{55} **lo**^{35}	heart	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	lo^{35} pu^{35}	eye	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	lo^{35} pu^{35} pɨe^{55} ts^{h}e^{21}	tears	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	lo^{35} pu^{35} si^{35} ka^{55}	eyebrow	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**lo**^{35} pu^{55}	eye	Chen Kang 1986c:3.4
	lo^{35} pu^{55} puɐ^{55} ts^{h}e^{21}	tears	Chen Kang 1986c:3.4.6
	lo^{35} pu^{55} si^{35} ka^{55}	eyebrow	Chen Kang 1986c:3.4.3
	lo^{35} pu^{55} t^{h}a^{55} p^{h}a^{21}	eyelid	Chen Kang 1986c:3.4.1
Tujia (Northern)	**lo**^{35} se^{21}	eye sand	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**lo**^{35} ts^{h}i^{55} li^{55}	eyeball	Chen Kang 1986c:3.4.2
	lo^{35}pu^{55}	eye (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0079.49
	lo^{35}pu^{55}	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.38
Tujia (Northern)	**luo2**bu1	eye (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	wu2li1kuo1**luo1**	cow's heart (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia (Southern)	ʔa^{21} **la**^{55}	eye	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

[a] Cf. Lyuzu **nbo**^{33}**ly**^{53} 'kidney'. Both **lɯ**^{53} and **ly**^{53} are probably < ***lum**.

	ʔa^{21} **la^{55}** ʔa^{21} so^{21}	eyebrow	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	ʔa^{21}**la^{55}** ts^{h}e^{35}	tears	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Xide)	dʑu̱^{34}-**lu̱^{33}**	eye	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	mɛ̂ʔ-qha-**lɛ̂**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987:DL 1022
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	bu˧**ly**˥	button	Michaud 2006–2009:900
	mie˧**lv**˥	eye	Michaud 2006–2009:254
	mie˧**lv**˥ ʂɑ˩tu˥	orbit; eye socket	Michaud 2006–2009:258
	mie˧**lv**˥nɑ˥i˥	eyeball	Michaud 2006–2009:256
Na (Yongning)	bv˩**lɯ**˩	kidneys	Michaud 2006–2009
	dze˧**lɯ**˧	wheat	Michaud 2006–2009
	dze˧**lɯ**˧ ʐ̩#˥	wheat straw	Michaud 2006–2009
	hɑ˧**lɯ#**˥	cereals	Michaud 2006–2009
	njɤ˩**lɯ**˧	eye	Michaud 2006–2009
	njɤ˩lɯ˧ko˧tv˩	eyeball	Michaud 2006–2009
	nv˩**lɯ**˧	soy beans	Michaud 2006–2009
	pv˩**lɯ**˨	button	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɕi˧**lɯ**˧	paddy rice	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɕi˧**lɯ**˧-lv˧	paddy field	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɕi˧**lɯ**˧-lv˧p^{h}v˩	paddy field	Michaud 2006–2009
	lɯ˧	CL of round objects: grains, bowls… Also for clothes (CL.)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Eastern)	bv^{31}**lv^{13}**	kidney	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	bv^{31}**lv^{13}**	kidney	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.29
Naxi	by^{33}**ly^{33}**	kidney (nbp.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0146.45
	bɑ^{21}**ly^{33}**	bud (nveg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0381.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**lv^{33}**	classifier for grains	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:955.29
Naxi	**lv̩^{55}**	classifier for rocks, stones; classifier for garments (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0859.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0864.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lv^{55}**	classifier for clothes	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:957.28
Naxi	**ly^{33}**	classifier for bowls; classifier for eggs; grain (of rice) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0836.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0841.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0845.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ly^{33}**	classifier for e.g. bowls; classifier for grains	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:949.28; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:955.28
Naxi (Western)	mby^{33}**ly^{33}**	kidney	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	mby^{33}**ly^{33}**	kidney	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:270.28
Naxi (Western)	miə^{31}**ly^{33}**	eye	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	miə^{31}**ly^{33}**	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.28
Naxi (Yongning)	nv^{31}**l̩^{33}**	beans	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:201.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	tʂhəɹ^{55}**lv^{33}**; tsəɹ^{33}ta^{55}	bullet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:425.28
Naxi	xɑ^{33}**ly^{33}**	rice (unhusked) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0409.45
	zy^{33}**ly^{33}**	button (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0470.45
Naxi (Yongning)	ɳɑ^{31}**l̩^{33}**	eye	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:238.29
Naxi (Eastern)	ɳɑ^{13}**lv^{55}**	eye	He Jiren & Jiang Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi	ʂu^{33}**ly^{33}**	nit (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0357.45

(2c) PTB *m-lu $\frac{\text{ŋ}}{\text{m}}$ HEART / ROUND

Kuki-Chin languages systematically confuse the meanings HEART and LIVER for this etymon, probably because both body parts are frequently used in psycho-collocations expressing mental states, processes, and emotions.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***luŋ**	heart / liver	Matisoff 1978b:(1a)
	***m-luŋ**	mind / heart / liver	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:600
	***m-luŋ ≍ b-lu**	heart / liver	Matisoff 1978b:(1c)
	***s-lum**	heart / liver	Matisoff 1978b:(1d)
	***s-luŋ**	heart / liver	Matisoff 1978b:(1b)
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
Miji	**luŋ**	heart, bowels	Simon 1979
	luŋ-ʒaŋ	love; be kind to (adj.)	Simon 1979
1.1.2. Deng			
Kaman [Miju]	**lɯm^{35}**	heart	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	lɯm^{35}	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.23
	lɯm^{35}	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.48
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***luŋ** HEART / LIVER			
**Chin*	***luŋ**	HEART / LIVER	VanBik 2009:1025
Anal	pa-**luŋ**	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(1c)
Chinbok	am-**luŋ**	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(1c)
Thanphum	**luŋ^{1}**	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
	lṹ^{1}	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Kuki-Chin	**lung** chang	heart; locus of emotions	Haokip 1998:14.2; Haokip 1998:9.3
	lung changpha	heart / locus of personality	Haokip 1998:14.3
	lung phut	heartbeat	Haokip 1998:9.3.1
	lung thim	mind / locus of thought	Haokip 1998:14.1
Sizang	**lung**	heart	VanBik 2009:1025
Thado	**lúng**	heart	VanBik 2009:1025
Tiddim	**lung^{2}**	heart	VanBik 2009:1025
	lung^{2} sim^{2}	temper	Bhaskararao 1996:1025
	lung^{2} tang^{1}	heart	Bhaskararao 1996:1026
	luŋ	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(1a)
	luŋ^{1}	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**amlü´ng**	heart	VanBik 2009:1025
Asho (Sandoway)	**mlüŋ^{1}**	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
Chinbon	**m̩lïŋ**	heart	So-Hartmann 1988:85
Cho (Mindat)	**m-lung**	heart	VanBik 2009:1025
Daai	**m̩luŋ**	heart	So-Hartmann 1988:85
Khami (Northern)	pă **lüng**	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(1c)
Awa Khumi	a^{-}**mlṹ^{2}**	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
Khumi	**pliíwng**	heart, chest, breast, mind	VanBik 2009:1025
	p^{ə}le^{u}ŋ	heart	So-Hartmann 1988:85
Khumi (Ahraing)	**pălɛṹ^{2}**	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
Matu	**luŋ** bu^{i}	heart	So-Hartmann 1988:85
Matupi	**luŋ^{4}bɤʁi^{1}**	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
Mkaang	**luŋ**	heart	So-Hartmann 1988:85
Ngmüün	**m̩lúŋ**	heart	So-Hartmann 1988:85
Nyhmoye	**m̩luŋ**	heart	So-Hartmann 1988:85
Wakung	**m^{ə}luŋ**	heart	So-Hartmann 1988:85
Womatu	**m^{-}luŋ^{4}**	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Khualsim	**luŋ^{3}**	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
Lai (Hakha)	**lûŋ**	heart, liver	VanBik 2009:1025
Lai (Falam)	**lŭŋ**	heart	VanBik 2009:1025
Lai (Hakha)	**luŋ^{5}**	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
Lushai [Mizo]	**lung**	heart	Marrison 1967
	lúng	heart (n.)	VanBik 2009:1025
	lúng	heart	Löffler 1985
	lung	heart	Bhaskararao 1996:1026
	lung ngai	sad; sorry	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	luŋ^{1}	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
	thin-**lung**	mind	Matisoff 1978b:(1a); Marrison 1967
Paangkhua	**lúng**	heart	Löffler 1985
	malúng	heart	Löffler 1985
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pā-lô^{1}**	heart	VanBik 2009:1025
	palô < **pa** lung	heart	Löffler 1985
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	**pělṹ^{1}**	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
Mera	**pă^{5}ləu^{6}**	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
Xongsai	**luŋ^{3}**	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
Zotung	**lō^{4}**	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
	lṹ^{4}	heart	Luce 1985:N.46
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**luŋ** t^{h}im	mind / locus of thought	Toba & Kom 1991:14.1
	məluŋ	heart; locus of emotions; locus of personality	Toba & Kom 1991:14.2; Toba & Kom 1991:14.3; Toba & Kom 1991:9.3
	məluŋ int^{h}ok	heartbeat	Toba & Kom 1991:9.3.1
Moyon	**brúŋ** ~ **bʌrúŋ**	heart	Kosha 1990:9.3
	bruŋ rár	heart / locus of emotions	Kosha 1990:14.2
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**malung**	angry; heart	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***m-luŋ** HEART / BE ROUND, ***ləm** HEAD / HEART / MIND			
**Central Naga*	***ləm**	HEAD / HEART / MIND	Bruhn 2014a:III.147
	***m-luŋ**	HEART / BE ROUND	Bruhn 2014a:III.231
**Ao*	***luŋ luŋ**	ROUND (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.360
	***ləm**	HEAD	Bruhn 2014a:II.363
	*phi-**ləm**	THINK	Bruhn 2014a:II.020
	***t-m-luŋ**	HEART	Bruhn 2014a:II.361
Ao (Chungli)	bi **lem**	think	Marrison 1967
	lung lung er	round (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	luŋ^{2}luŋ^{2}	round (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.360
	pi^{3}**ləm^{1}**	think (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.020
	pí **lùm**	think (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:5
	te **mu-luŋ**	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(1c)
	te **mulung**	mind	Marrison 1967
	te **mulung**-azü	sad	Marrison 1967
	te **mulung** jang	heart	Marrison 1967
	tə^{2}-**mu^{2}luŋ^{2}** tʃaŋ^{2}	heart (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.361
	^{2}tɯ^{2}**luŋ^{2}luŋ**	round (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:297
	^{3}pi^{1}**lum**	think (v.)	Weidert 1987:473
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**lam** rat	skull	Marrison 1967
	phi **lam**	think	Marrison 1967
	te **lam**	head	Marrison 1967
	te **lung**	round (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	te **mulung**	mind	Marrison 1967
	te **mulung**-charu	sad	Marrison 1967
	te **mulung**-nam	believe	Marrison 1967
	tü **mulung** chang	heart	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **luŋ luŋ**	round (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	(NZP-) **məluŋ**	willing (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	lùŋ-phaŋ	encircle [encircled] (probably 'be round' + 'cover') (v.)	Coupe 2007
	ləm-taŋ	bedstead ('head' + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	ləm-tshə̀ʔ	bald ('head' + 'pull') (be v.)	Coupe 2007
	phì **lə̀m**	think [thought] (v.)	Coupe 2007
	phì **lə̀m**-tʃhət	remember, realize [remembered, realized] ('think' + ABIL) (v.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**ləm**	head (n.)	Coupe 2007
	[tə]-**məluŋ**-tʃaŋ	heart ('be willing' + 'seed') (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**loŋ^{1}**tsə^{1}-	believe (v.)	Bruhn 2014b
	loŋ^{1}ʃi^{1}	joy (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.231
	ləm^{1}-pəm^{3}	heart (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.147
	lam	mind	Marrison 1967
	lam-tsok a	angry	Marrison 1967
	lam khanga	brave (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	lam pam	soul; heart; mind	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	long shi	joy	Murry *et al.* 1978:64
	long tsü lo	faith	Marrison 1967
	lüm büm	heart	Murry *et al.* 1978:54
	Lum bun	heart	Nienu 1990c:9.3
	ləm pə̀m >	heart	Acharya 1975
	n **lam**	hate (v.)	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a **mülong**	round (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	lem thing	think	Kumar 1973a
	long ti	believe	Marrison 1967
	long ti	hope (v.)	Marrison 1967
	lüm	think	Marrison 1967
	^{2}**lum**^{1}tiŋ	think (v.)	Weidert 1987:473
	^{1}a^{1}**mɯ^{2}luŋ**	round (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:297
Yimchungrü	**lüm**	mind	Marrison 1967
	lüm	desire; want (v.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	lüm	think	Marrison 1967
	lüm	wish (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mulong	heart	Marrison 1967
	mulung	heart	Kumar 1973b:60
	mulung-mütsü	sorry	Marrison 1967
	mulung jih	heart	Kumar 1973b:80
	thu **lung**-khiungto	round	Kumar 1973b:42
	^{1}**lum**	think (v.)	Weidert 1987:473
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	**melu**	heart	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	(u) **me^{31} lou^{33}**	heart	Nienu 1990a:9.3

	u **melu**	heart	Marrison 1967
Chokri	kü **mülü**	faith	Marrison 1967
	mülü	believe	Marrison 1967
	mü^{31} lü^{33}	heart	Nienu 1990b:9.3
	u **mülü**	heart	Marrison 1967
Meluri	a **lu** ve	heart	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	ku **nong** di	faith	Marrison 1967
	nong di	believe	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**nnyung**	heart	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	a **melo** ti	heart	Marrison 1967
	a **mlo**	heart / locus of personality	Achumi 1998a:14.3
	a **mlo** ghime	heart / locus of emotions	Achumi 1998a:14.2
	a **mulo**	heart	Achumi 1998a:9.3
	a **mulo** kughütha	heartbeat	Achumi 1998a:9.3.1
	a **mulo** küghütha	pulse	Achumi 1998a:9.3.2
	a **mulo** saghi	sad	Marrison 1967
	^{2}tšo^{3}pu^{1}**mu^{3}lo^{2}**i	round (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:297

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Liangmei	cha **lung** pum bu	angry	Marrison 1967
	lung puh bu	sorry; sad	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	lung sa	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mailung	heart	Marrison 1967
	malum bou	faith	Marrison 1967
	malum khai	believe	Marrison 1967
Maram	a **lung** si	love (v.)	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**lum** lou	believe	Marrison 1967
	lum mei	faith	Marrison 1967
	lüng ning	mind; heart	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	lung puam	angry	Marrison 1967
	lung ren ramei	sorry	Marrison 1967
	məi luŋ^{53}	heart	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	ke **lung** pumbe	angry	Marrison 1967
	mi **lung**	heart	Marrison 1967
	^{3}mi **^{1}n^{1}luŋ**	heart	Weidert 1987:11
Mzieme	**lung** sia	sorry; sad	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	lung tsiep	peace	Marrison 1967
	mi **lung**	heart; mind; soul	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	nlum	believe	Marrison 1967
	peken **lum**	faith	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *luŋ HEART

**Tangkhulic*	***luŋ**	heart	Mortensen 2012:496
Huishu	**mə-luŋ**-k^{h}ə-vejʔ	angry (lit. heart is bursting)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.164
	ʔa-**mə-luŋ**	heart / locus of emotions	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.129
Kachai	**mə-luŋ**	heart	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.260
	mə-luŋ-k^{h}ə-wat	angry (lit. heart is bursting)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.143
Tangkhul	**malung**	heart	Marrison 1967
	məluŋ	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(1c)
	^{1}mə^{1}luŋ	heart	Weidert 1987:11
Tusom	ʔɯ-mə-**lŭ**	heart	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.271
Ukhrul	**mə-luŋ**	heart	Mortensen 2012

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	sǎ^{3} **lum^{33}**	heart	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	sǎ^{33}**lum^{33}**	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.47
	sǎ^{31}**lum^{33}**	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.19
	sə **lūm**	heart	Matisoff 1974:256
	sə **lum**	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(1d)

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Kadu (Kantu)	miʔ^{1}**tălu^{1}**	eyeball	Luce 1985:L.136

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Pattani [Manchati]	**luŋ** ña	lung	Sharma 1991b:9.2

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Central)	thing **lom**	heart	Andvik 1993:21
	thing **lum**	heart	Egli-Roduner 1987:35 11
Tsangla (Motuo)	thiŋ **lom**	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.7
	t^{h}iŋ^{55} **lom^{13}**	heart	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	t^{h}iŋ **lom**	heart	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Tsangla (Tilang)	t^{h}im-**luŋ**	heart	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	me^{55} **loŋ^{55}**	eye	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	thiŋ **lom**	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.07

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Lhasa)	**luŋ^{55}** laŋ^{13}	angry	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:728.2
Sherpa	**lo**-waq	liver	Matisoff 1978b:(1a)

2.3. KIRANTI

**Kiranti*	***luŋ**	liver	Michailovsky 1991:112
	***luŋ** ma	liver	Michailovsky 1991:112

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**luŋ** haːr- (haːt)	bear a grudge (v.)	Michailovsky 1989b
	luŋ ma	heart	Michailovsky 1989b; Michailovsky 1991:112
	luŋ ma tukt-	love (so.), to sympathize with, to feel sorry for (v.)	Driem 1988
Lohorong	**ruŋ** ma	heart	Weidert 1987:749
Yakha	**luŋ** ma bɛ ha maŋcəwa	bile	Kohn 1990:9.5.1
	luŋ maː	liver	Kohn 1990:9.5

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**lung**-ma(k)	heart	Rai *et al.* 1984:47
	luN mak	heart	Rai 1985
	luŋ-mak	heart; heart, liver	Matisoff 1978b; Matisoff 1978b:(1a)
	luŋ ma	liver	Michailovsky 1991:112
	luŋ mak	liver	Michailovsky 1991:112
Chamling	**lung** ma*	liver	Winter 1985:23
Kulung	**lum**	liver	Michailovsky 1991:112
	lum_	liver	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**lum**	liver; Nep. kalejo	Michailovsky 1991:112; Driem 1993
Khaling	**'lum**	liver	Matisoff 1978b:(1d)
	lum	liver	Michailovsky 1991:112

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Sunwar	**lung** gir	heart	Michailovsky 1991:112

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	brəʔ.**hluŋ**	confused state of mind; confused (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	hlung	heart	Matisoff 1978b:(1b)
	hlung jik.sā	hurt (v.)	Hale 1973:10b1.74
	hluŋ	heart; liver	Weidert 1987:11; Weidert 1987:749; Michailovsky 1991:112

hluŋ	heart; centre of feeling in body (n.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ	heart	Caughley 1972:1.52
hluŋ bhewʔ-	depressed, lifeless (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ bhya-	determined to finish (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ bliŋ-	capable, ready (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ blyanʔ-	give heartburn, indigestion (vat.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ bləw-	regurgitate, retch, gag (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ braw-	knowledgeable (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ braŋh	of one mind, like-minded (onom.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ brek-	pain (heart) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ bres-	remain frightened, be confused, not able to think straight (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ cak-	unwilling, dour (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ciʔ-	know, understand (vt.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ corʔ-	jealous, hate (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ cyak-	uncaring (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ cyak.ryəw.məyʔ	hard-hearted ones (n.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ dho.may-	have peace of mind, be cheered, satisfied (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ dhuk-	nauseated (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ dhyut-	bear grudge against (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ dhyəw-	mortified, humiliated, unable to speak (because of guilt, fear) (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ dhəŋ-	become content, be settled in mind, be ready (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ dyanh-	change mind (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ dyok-	apathetic, uninterested in anything (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ dyon-	have heart pain, angina (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ dyum-	resigned (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ dyumʔ-	at ease (mind) (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ dyuŋʔ-	feel worried or disturbed (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ gaʔ-	want to flirt (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ges-	feel like teasing, flirting with someone (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ghiʔ-	aware, attentive (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ghyum-	downcast (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ghəmʔ-	subdued, uncommunicative, sullen (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ glyan-	feel nauseated, regurgitate (vri.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ gləŋ-	harden heart (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ gor.ʔe	beloved, much loved (adj.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ goŋʔ-	have a lying heart (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ grəmh-	bold, firm, stout-hearted (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ gurh-	restless, bored (with place) (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ gəmh-	confused (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ haʔ-	clear-minded, light-hearted, happy, relieved (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ hmət-	satisfied (previous longing), fulfilled (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ jaŋ-	do well, readily, willingly (vrt.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ jhah-	long for, wish for (esp. to see, visit) (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ jhyom-	disappointed (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ jhyəm-	unsatisfied, unhappy (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ jhəmh-	satisfied (longing) (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ jik-	distressed, sad, insulted, aggrieved, upset (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ jik-sa	hurt (feelings)	Caughley 1972:10.B.1.74
hluŋ jəy-	without defects, pure, free from evil influence (ch.); be straightforward, direct (speaker) (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ keŋ-	distracted, have divided mind (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ kho-	resist temptation (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ khəʔ-	feel loathing (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ klaw-	retch, be nauseated, bring up, regurgitate (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ klot-	change mind, attitude (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ klot.kay.ti noʔ-	come to argument (vt.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ kloyk-	change attitude (to friend, etc.) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ kləm-	dislike person (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ kləmh-	cool off (anger) (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ kləs.ʔəŋ-	annoyed with (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ kləyh-	hard-hearted (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ kləŋh-	remain angry (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ kray-	pleased with events (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ kroŋ-	bold, firm (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ krya-	envious, jealous (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ kryanh-	awake to a need (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ krəm-	stop with shock (heart) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ kəy.sə-	bothered, upset, fed up (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ lay-	concentrate on (esp. recalling) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ le-	awake, alert (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ lih-	unhappy, sad (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ liʔ-	hard-hearted (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ lyawh-	agree (vi.)	Caughley 2000

hluŋ lə-	envious, covetous (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ mi-	unhappy (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ mro-	pleased, happy (with action), accept gesture, gift, explanation, etc. (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ mrya-	clear-minded (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ məlh-	angry, indignant (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ nə.rək-	have lump in chest (with emotion or eating) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ phe-	die down (anger) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ phenh-	at odds (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ phus-	ready to listen, pay attention, be ready to give (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ phuʔ-	frank, blunt (in speech), bold (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ pləw-	feel nauseated, gag at (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ pləwʔ-	not communicative (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ prunh-	gnaw (hunger pains) (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ prəp-	cheerful, in good spirits, unafraid (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ pək-	weaken (heart - after high fever) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ res-	reminisce (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ reŋ-	have new or different attitude, see in different light (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ri-	flutter, palpitate (heart) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ riŋh-	trembling (usually with fear) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ro-	happy (doing something) (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ron-	prepared (mentally) to go (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ros-	desire, covet (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ruyk-	want to go with, eagerly anticipate going, look forward to (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ruʔ-	worried, concerned, anxious (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ rya-	want to go (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ryanʔ-	concerned, be thinking about (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ryaŋʔ-	anxious, concerned (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ryon-	consider matter (for decision) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ryum-	humbled, shamed sorry (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ rəs-	remain angry (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ sa-	feel miserable (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ sak-	preoccupy, irritate (vt.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ sak.ʔayʔ-	desire to begin speaking (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ sayk-	willing to give, generous (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ seʔ-	happy, satisfied (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ sos-	mull over, brood over (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ sram-	afraid (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ sraw-	beat with fright, shock (heart) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ syaŋ-	refreshed, satisfied, content (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ sərh-	non-agressive, easy-going (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ taŋh-	mature minded (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ tet-	have a moving experience (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ thoŋ-	generous, good (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ tol-	covetous, (ambitious?) (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ təyk-	have heartburn (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ yawʔ-	reveal feelings (vt.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ yoyʔ-	happy with (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ yum-	self-effacing (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ŋah.to noʔ-	speak with knowledge (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ŋas-	crave for (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ŋryaʔ-	agree, be similar (ideas, speech), free with, fluent (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ŋənəʔ-	ready, be willing to work, begin to move (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ʔayh-	generous (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ʔemheʔ-	palpitate (heart) (vt.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ ʔoŋh-	agreeable (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.(tuk) klyay-	agree (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.(tuk) kuʔ-	test someone's reactions, attitudes (vt.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.baŋ	stone erected on grave, over the heart (n.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.go.re.coʔ	much desired, loved child; only child (ext.) (n.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.haŋʔ sayʔ-	wonder (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.haŋʔ se-	remember (vt.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.haŋʔ tum-	know about (someone) (vt.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
hluŋ.haŋʔ tyumh-	mull over (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.haŋʔ wayk-	keep in mind (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.koʔ ro	centre of feeling, desire (n.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.koʔ ro giʔ-	unafraid, bold (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.koʔ ro mrya-	happy to talk, talkative (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.koʔ ro thumh-	recover from sadness (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.koʔ ro ʔor-	talkative, excited (vi.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
hluŋ.koʔ.ro giʔ-	unafraid, bold (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.koʔ.ro thumh-	recover from sadness (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.ruʔ	concern, worry (n.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.tuk	mind, centre of emotion, thoughts (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
hluŋ.tuk cap-	restrain oneself (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.tuk cok-	mature minded, bold (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.tuk dyon-	subside (anger) (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.tuk jhel-	clear-minded, have feeling of well-being (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.tuk kuʔ.ti yo-	test reaction (vt.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.tuk kyu-	gain confidence (vt.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
hluŋ.tuk laŋ-	weigh up in mind (va.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.tuk phalh-	revive previous anger (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.tuk pok-	muse, daydream (vi.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.tuk yo-	test reaction, try out someone; find out opinion (vt.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
hluŋ.tuk ŋayʔ-	satisfy (vr.)	Caughley 2000
hluŋ.ʔi sek-	understand, take in (other's words, etc.) (vt.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
hluŋ.ʔi ʔalʔ-	be enticed, forget oneself (vt.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
mik-**luŋ**	eyeball	Caughley 1972:2.A.23
mik.**lung**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
Chepang (Eastern) **hluŋ** sraw naʔ	heartbeat	Caughley 1990:9.3.1
hluŋ (gore)	heart	Caughley 1990:9.3
hluŋ tuk	mind; locus of thought; heart; locus of emotions; locus of personality	Caughley 1990:14.1; Caughley 1990:14.2; Caughley 1990:14.3
mik **luŋ**	eyeball	Caughley 1990:3.4.2
Kham 'mi: **lang**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
'mi **ləŋ**	eyeball	Watters & Watters 1989:2.A.23

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia] **lɛ**	mind; heart	DAI Qingxia 1989e:9.3; Nishida 1964:88-011

4. NUNGIC

Anong ñi^{55} **ɹɯm^{31}**	heart	SUN Hongkai 1988
Rawang nə **rɯm^{31}**	heart	LaPolla 2003:161
rɯm^{31} naŋ^{33}	friend	LaPolla 2003:235
Nung n̥i^{31}**ɹɯm^{31}**	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.21
Anong n̥i^{55}**ɹɯm^{31}**	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.44
Trung [Dulong] **ɹɯ^{31}**mɔ̆ʔ^{55}	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.46
Dulong **ɹɯ^{31}**mɛʔ^{55}	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe) **ɹɯ^{31}** mɔ̆ʔ^{55}	heart	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
ɹɯ^{31} sɯ^{55}	lung	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang) **ɹɯ^{31}** mɔ̆ʔ^{55}	heart	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
ɹɯ^{31} sɯ^{53}	lung	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe) n̥u^{55} **luŋ^{55}**	heart	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan) **lum^{31}**	round	LaPolla 1987:142
lum^{31}	classifier for bowls; classifier for eggs (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0836.28; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0841.28
lum^{31}	circle; circular; round; classifier for e.g. bowls; classifier for grains	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.28; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:807.41,949.41; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:955.41
lɔʔ^{55}**lum^{31}**	bracelet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0487.28
lɔʔ^{55}**lum^{31}**	bracelet	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:373.41
n̥a^{55} **lum^{31}**	heart	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
n̥a^{55}**lum^{31}**	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.28
n̥a^{55}**lum^{31}**	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.41
Achang (Luxi) **lɔm^{31}**	clf for bowls	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
nɯk^{55} **lɔm^{35}**	heart	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao) kuʔ^{55}**lum^{31}**	rice (unhusked) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0409.29
lum^{31}	classifier for bowls; classifier for eggs; grain (of rice); classifier for rocks, stones (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0836.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0841.29,0845.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0859.29
lum^{31}	circle / circular	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.29
n̥ɔʔ^{31} **lum^{31}**	heart	DAI Qingxia 1989f:172
n̥ɔʔ^{31}**lum^{31}**	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.29
Bola (Luxi) **lam^{31}**	circle / circular (tubular)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0990.32
lam^{31}tʃaŋ^{35}	believe / trust (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1725.32
Bola nạk^{55} **lam^{31}**	heart	DAI Qingxia 1989g:172
Bola (Luxi) nạk^{55}**lam^{31}**	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.32
Burmese (Rangoon) hnɑ^{53}**lõ^{55}**	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.27
lõ^{55}	classifier for bowls; classifier for eggs (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0836.27; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0841.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon) bɔ^{55}**lõ^{55}**	ball	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:501.40
lõ^{55}	classifier for e.g. bowls	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:949.40
n̥ɑ^{53}**lõ^{55}**	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.40
Burmese (Written) hnac-**lûm**	heart	Matisoff 1978b
hnə **lûm** (< hnac-**lûm**)	heart	Matisoff 1974:256
hnɑ^{1}**luṁ^{3}**	heart	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.39
hnɒ^{1}**luṁ^{3}**	heart (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.26
lûm	heart	Matisoff 1974:256
luṁ^{3}	classifier for bowls; classifier for eggs (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0836.26; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0841.26
luṁ^{3}	classifier for e.g. bowls	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:949.39
luṁ^{1}lɑ^{1}hri^{1}	industrious; hardworking; diligent	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1111.26; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:906.39

	luṁ'-la'	(prn. lûm-la') diligence, industry	Benedict 1976a
	myak-**lûm**	eyeball	Matisoff 1987
	sɑ²**luṁ³**	word / character	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:495.39
Hpun (Metjo)	lɛʔ⁵**lɑŋ⁴**	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
Hpun (Northern)	lɛ̀ʔ **làŋ**	heart	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	nạk⁵⁵**lam³⁵**	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.31
Lashi	nə̱k⁵⁵ **lɔm³³**	heart; heartbeat	Dai Qingxia 1989m:9.3; Dai Qingxia 1989m:9.3.1
Leqi (Luxi)	nə̱k⁵⁵**lɔm³³**	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.33
Marma	ə hnə **lúŋ**	heart	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:35
Maru [Langsu]	nạk⁵⁵ **lam³⁵**	heart; heartbeat	Dai Qingxia 1989l:9.3; Dai Qingxia 1989l:9.3.1; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.43
	pɔ³³**luŋ⁵⁵**	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.43
Taung-Yo	nă **lo²**	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
	neʔ¹**lõ²**	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
Atsi [Zaiwa]	a⁵⁵**lu̱m²¹**	affectionate / intimate	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1121.30
	lom⁴	heart	Luce 1985:U.24
	nị̱k⁵⁵ **lu̱m²¹**	heart	Xu Xijian & Xu Guizhen, eds. 1984
	nị̱k⁵⁵**lu̱m²¹**	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.30
	nị̱k⁵⁵**lu̱m²¹**	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.42
	po²¹**luŋ⁵¹**	ball	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:501.42
	tʃiŋ⁵⁵; **lum⁵¹**tʃiŋ⁵⁵	believe	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:721.42

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Nusu (Southern)	n̥i³¹ **ʔlɑ⁵⁵**	heart	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	n̥i⁵³ **lɔ³⁵**	heart	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	n̥i̱³¹ **lɔ̱⁵³**	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989o:172.
Nusu (Central)	n̥i̱⁵³ **lɔ⁵³**	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989p:172.
	ʔĩ³¹ **lɔ⁵³**	heart	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ʔĩ³¹**lɔ⁵⁵**	heart	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:272.45

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	nə̱³³ **lo²²** zo²¹	eyeball	Luo Meizhen 1990:3.4.2

7. Karenic

Bwe	mù-ká ə-**phlú**-θɛ	eyeball (n.)	Henderson 1997
Karen	tθa̱⁵⁵**phiø³¹**	heart (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0144.50
Kayan (Pekon)	θà **pʰlôn**	heart (N.)	Manson 2010
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	da³¹ **pʰlø³¹**	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989k:179.1
	tθa̱⁵⁵ **pʰlø³¹**	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989k:179
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	θa̱ʔ⁵⁵ **pʰlɛ³¹**	heart	Dai Qingxia 1989j:179

(3) PTB *r-tas THICK / HARD / SOLID

STC #426 originally reconstructed this root as ***r-ta-t**, but this was revised in note 291 to ***r-tas**, where the **s** is considered part of the root, not a suffix.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-ta-t**	thick	Benedict 1972:426
	***r-tas**	thick; solid; coarse	Matisoff 2003a:614; LaPolla 1987:38

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***tshaʔ** THICK / DENSE

**Chin*	***tshaʔ**	THICK / DENSE	VanBik 2009:606

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**sā** hī	thick	VanBik 2009:606
Thado	**sàa**-INV	thick (book, thing, etc)	VanBik 2009:606
	a̱ sà	thick	Thirumalai 1972:59
Tiddim	**saʔ³**	thick (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1481
	saʔ	thick	Benedict 1972:17n63
	saʔ³	thick	VanBik 2009:606; Bhaskararao 1994
	_saʔ/**_saʔ**	thick (v.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Chinbon	**a̱ šʰoʔ**	thick	So-Hartmann 1988:232
Daai	**sʰaʔ**	thick	So-Hartmann 1988:232
Khumi	**tho**	thick (book, hair, fog, etc.)	VanBik 2009:606
	tʰoʔ	thick	So-Hartmann 1988:232
Matu	**tʰaʔ**	thick	So-Hartmann 1988:232
Mkaang	**tʰa**	thick	So-Hartmann 1988:232
Ngmüün	**a̱ʔ šʰaʔ**	thick	So-Hartmann 1988:232
Nyhmoye	**sʰʰ**	thick	So-Hartmann 1988:232

1.2.2. Central Chin

Bawm	**sàʔ**	thick (to be)	Löffler 1985
Lai (Falam)	**sàʔ**-INV	thick, dense	VanBik 2009:606
Lai (Hakha)	**tshaʔ**-INV	thick, dense	VanBik 2009:606
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhah**	thick	Marrison 1967
	chhàh	thick (as wood, cloth, paper, clouds, etc)	VanBik 2009:606
	chhah	thick (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2186
	tśaʔ	thick	LaPolla 1987:38
	tshàʔ	thick (to be)	Löffler 1985
	tśhaʔ	thick	Benedict 1972:102n291

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ʃa** THICK

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃa**	thick	Mortensen 2012:738
Huishu	kə-**se**	thick	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.147
Kachai	kə-**ʃu**	thick	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.129
Tusom	kə-**ʃi**	thick	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.166
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃa**	thick	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	ar **tha** ba	thick	Marrison 1967
	ə **tha**-ba	thick	Benedict 1972:426

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**arthat**	thick; fat, thick, callous	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:426

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo

**Bodo-Garo*	***ca(ʔ)**	thick	Burling 1959:444

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-tat**	thick	French 1983:566

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Wancho	**tat**	thick	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**htat**	thick	Marrison 1967
	ləthat	coarse, rough	Benedict 1972:426
	that	thick	LaPolla 1987:38; Benedict 1972:426
	that³¹	thick	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	that³¹	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.19
	that³¹	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.47

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Motuo)	**thet** pu	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.7
	tʻet⁵⁵pu⁵⁵	thick	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**thet**-pu	thick	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Motuo Menba	**thet** pu	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.07

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Written)	**'thas**-pa	hard, solid	LaPolla 1987:38
	ḥthas-pa	hard, solid	Benedict 1972:426

4. Nungic

Anong	**that**	thick	LaPolla 1987:38
Anong (Rawang)	**that**	thick	Benedict 1972:16n59
Anong	**that**	thick	Benedict 1972:426
Rawang	**that** wɛ³³	thick	LaPolla 2003:1007
Dulong	**tɑt⁵⁵**	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.20
Trung [Dulong]	**tăt⁵⁵**	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**tat⁵⁵**	thick	LaPolla 1987:38
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**that⁵⁵**	thick	LaPolla 1987:38
	thăt⁵⁵	thick; thick (liquid)	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

Chinese comparandum

粗 ***N-sˤra** 'coarse, thick'

鹵 ***rˤaʔ {[r]ˤaʔ}** 'rustic, coarse'

(4) PTB *maŋ BIG / ELDER (BROTHER, UNCLE) / OLD

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***maŋ**	big / elder (brother or uncle)	Matisoff 2003a:601
	***mɑŋː**	eldest (of brothers) / great / principal	Chou Fa-kao 1972:761e-f

4. Nungic

Nung	ʈhi³¹**mɑŋ³¹**	old / elderly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.21
	ʈhi³¹**mɑŋ³¹**	old, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.21
Anong	ʈhi³¹**mɑŋ³¹**	old (of people)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:857.44
	ʈʰɪ³¹ **maŋ³¹**	old	Sun Hongkai 1988
Trung [Dulong]	də **maŋ**	big	Benedict 1972:189n488
	də **mɑŋ**	big (of persons); (comp.) older (brother, uncle)	Chou Fa-kao 1972:761e-f

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***maŋ²** OLD (of people)

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**mɑŋ³¹**	old (of people)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tsu⁵⁵**mɑŋ⁵⁵**	old person	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**muaŋ³¹**	old / elderly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.28
	muaŋ³¹	old, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.28
	muaŋ³¹	old (of people)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:857.41
	muaŋ³¹tsɔ³¹	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.41
	phɔʔ³¹**muaŋ³¹**tsɔ³¹	old man (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.28
	tɕhi³¹**muaŋ³¹**tsɔ³¹	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.28
Achang (Luxi)	**maŋ⁵¹**	old (of people)	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	pju³¹**maŋ³¹**	old person	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**mɔŋ³¹**	old / elderly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.29
	mɔŋ³¹	old, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.29
	mɔŋ³¹tsɔ³¹	old man; old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.29; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.29
Bola (Luxi)	**mɔ̃³¹**	old / elderly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.32
	mɔ̃³¹	old, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.32
	mɔ̃³¹ta³¹mi̱³⁵	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.32
	mɔ̃³¹ta³¹pha³⁵	old man (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.32
Burmese (Written)	**mâŋ**	old; ruler, governor, controller, official; ruler, governor, official	Hansson 1989:272; Matisoff 1974:222; Benedict 1976a
	màŋ	ruler / governor / official	Chou Fa-kao 1972:761e-f
	ù-**màŋ**	uncle	Benedict 1972:189n488
	ú-**màŋ**	uncle	Chou Fa-kao 1972:761e-f
Hpun (Northern)	**mò**	old (of persons)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**mɔ̃³⁵**	old / elderly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.31
	mɔ̃³⁵	old, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.31
	mɔ̃³⁵tsɔ³⁵	old man; old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.31; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**maŋ³³**tso³³	old man (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.33
	maŋ³³tso⁵⁵	old / elderly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.33
	phji⁵⁵**maŋ³³**	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.33
Maru [Langsu]	**mɔ̃³⁵**	old (of people)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:857.43
	mɔ̃³⁵tsɔ³⁵	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**maŋ²¹**	old; elderly; old (of people)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.30; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:857.42
	maŋ²¹tso²¹	old person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:292.42
	maŋ²¹tso²¹pho⁵⁵	old man (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.30
	maŋ²¹tsɔ²¹mji̱⁵⁵	old lady (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.30
	mjaŋ²¹	old, be (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.30

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***maŋ²**	old (person); old	Bradley 1979b:535; Hansson 1989:272

PNL	**maŋ²**	old	CHEN Kang 1986a:20.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**mo³¹**	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.47
Lalo	à-phì-**mò**	old woman	Björverud 1994
	mò	old (person)	Björverud 1994
	mu²¹	old	CHEN Kang 1986a:20.
Lipho	**ma²¹**	old	CHEN Kang 1986a:20.
Nasu	dz'ɻ³³**mo³³**	ruler / lord / emperor	Matisoff 1978a:68
	mɔ⁵⁵	old	CHEN Kang 1986a:20.
Neisu	**mo⁵⁵**	old	CHEN Kang 1986a:20.
Nesu	**ma²¹**	old	CHEN Kang 1986a:20.
Nosu	**mo²¹**	old	CHEN Kang 1986a:20.
Nusu (Northern)	**mɯ³⁵**	old (people)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɯ⁵³**ɑ³¹	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.45
Nusu (Southern)	**mɯ⁵⁵**	old (people)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**mɯ⁵⁵**	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.34
	mɘ⁵⁵	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.34
Yi (Dafang)	**m(u)⁵⁵**	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.22
	m̩(u)⁵⁵su³³	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a⁵⁵**mo²¹**	old (age)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mo²¹	old (age)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	mo²¹su³³	person, old	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**mu²¹**	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.25
	tshu³³**mu²¹**	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**mɒ²¹**	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.26
	tshɒ²¹**mɒ²¹**mo²¹	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**mɑ²¹**	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.37
	mʌ²¹	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.24
	tshɑ³³mo³³**mɑ²¹**	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.37
	tshɑ³³**mɑ²¹**	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.37
	tshɑ³³**mɑ²¹**	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.37
	tsʰʌ³³**mʌ²¹**	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.24
Yi (Nanjian)	tshu⁵⁵**mu²¹**	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.23
Yi (Weishan)	a²¹fi²¹**m̩²¹**	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.36
	a²¹pa⁵⁵**m̩²¹**	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.36
	mo²¹su³³	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.36
	mu²¹	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.36
	mu²¹ta²¹	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.36
Yi (Wuding)	**mɒ⁵⁵**	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.38
	mɒ⁵⁵	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.38
	mɒ⁵⁵su³³	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.38
	ɑ⁵⁵phi³³**mɒ⁵⁵**	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.38
Yi (Xide)	a⁵⁵**mo²¹**	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.21
	mo²¹su³³	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.35
	mo²¹su³³	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.35
	mo²¹su³³	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.21
	ɑ³³**mɑ⁵⁵**	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.35
	ɑ⁵⁵**mo²¹**	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.35
	tsho⁴⁴**mo²¹**	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.27
Lisu (Northern)	tshɔ³³dzø⁴⁴**mɔ²¹**	old bachelor	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ³³**mɔ²¹**	old people; the aged	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ³³**mɔ²¹** tshɔ³³ti³³	respectful form of address for an old person	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ³³**mɔ²¹**ma³³	old lady; old woman	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ³³**mɔ²¹**pha²¹	old man; old gentleman	Bradley 1994
	ɣa³³**mɔ²¹**	old hen	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ȷni²¹**mɔ²¹**	old cow	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ʃl̩³³khɤ²¹ **mɔ²¹**khɤ²¹	senile; weak; old and weak; at the verge of death	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**mo²¹**	old	CHEN Kang 1986a:20.
Yi (Sani)	**mo¹¹**	used; old; elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1051.39; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.39
	mo¹¹	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.39
	ɑ⁴⁴bɣ̩⁵⁵**mo¹¹**	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.39
	ɒ⁵⁵phɪ¹¹**mo¹¹**	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	à phì zà **mɔ̀**	old woman	Hansson 1989:274
Akha	**mɔ̀**	old	Hansson 1989:272
Akha (Thai)	**mɔ̀**	old	Hansson 1989:272
	tshó **mɔ̀**	old person	Hansson 1989:273
Akha (Yunnan)	tshó **mɔ̀**	old person	Hansson 1989:273
	zà **mɔ̀**	old	Hansson 1989:272
Akha (Thai)	zà **mɔ̀**	old woman	Hansson 1989:99
Bisu	jà bì jà **màŋ**	old woman	Bradley 199x
	jà **màŋ**	old person	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	à phì tshó **mò**	old woman	Hansson 1989:274
	mò	old	Hansson 1989:272
Hani (Dazhai)	**mo³¹**	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.31
Hani (Lüchun)	tshó **mò**	old person	Hansson 1989:273
	tshó **mò** ?	old woman	Hansson 1989:99
Hani (Dazhai)	tsho⁵⁵**mo³¹**	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.31
Hani (Lüchun)	a³¹bo⁵⁵tsho⁵⁵**mo³¹**	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.41
	a³¹phi³¹tsho⁵⁵**mo³¹**	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.41
	mo³¹	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.41
	tsho⁵⁵**mo³¹mo³¹**	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.41
Hani (Pijo)	ju **mù**	old person	Hansson 1989:273
Hani (Caiyuan)	ju³¹**mu³¹**	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.30
Hani (Pijo)	**mù**	old	Hansson 1989:272
Hani (Caiyuan)	**mu³¹**	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**mɔ³¹**	old (people)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	tshɔ⁵⁵**mɔ³¹**	old person	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	aq piq ssaq **moq**	old woman	Hansson 1989:274
	col **moq**	old person	Hansson 1989:273
	moq	old	Hansson 1989:272
Hani (Shuikui)	**mu³¹**	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.32
Hani (Wordlist)	ssaq **moq**	old woman	Hansson 1989:99
Hani (Shuikui)	tshɣ̩⁵⁵**mu³¹**	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.32
Hani (Khatu)	jà **mù**	old person	Hansson 1989:273
	mù	old	Hansson 1989:272
Hani (Mojiang)	**mu³¹**	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.42
	tshɣ̩⁵⁵**mu³¹mu³¹**	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.42
	ɔ³¹phi³¹zɔ³¹**mu³¹**	old lady (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0172.42
	ɔ³¹pɣ̩⁵⁵zɔ³¹**mu³¹**	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.42
Mpi	**maŋʔ⁵**	old	Hansson 1989:272

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**mu²²**	old (person)	Pelkey 2011:966
Southern Muji	**mə²¹**	old (person)	Pelkey 2011:966
Phola	**mɔ³¹**	old (person)	Pelkey 2011:966
Hlepho Phowa	**mə³³**	old (person)	Pelkey 2011:966
Phuza	**mɔ³³**	old (person)	Pelkey 2011:966

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	hĩ˧ **mv˧** v˧ hĩ˧	elderly person	Michaud 2006–2009:519
	mv˧v˧	old	Michaud 2006–2009:2131
Na (Yongning)	**mu˩**	old	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**mo⁵⁵**	old, be (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1493.45
	mu⁵⁵	old / elderly	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1058.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mu⁵⁵**	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**mu⁵⁵**	old (of people)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:857.29
	xĩ³³**mu¹³**	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.29
Naxi	ɕi³³**mu⁵⁵**	old man (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0171.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	ɕi³³**mu⁵⁵**	old person	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:292.28

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	孟	eldest, great	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1889
Chinese (GSR #)	**0761e**	eldest, great	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1889

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**măng/mɒng-**	eldest (of brothers etc.); first of three months; great, principal	Karlgren 1957:761e-f
Chinese (Old)	**mrangs**	eldest sibling	Baxter 1992:1420
	măŋ	eldest (of brothers) / great / principal	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:761e-f
	mˤraŋ-s	eldest, great	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1889

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**maengH**	eldest, great	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1889

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**mèng**	eldest, great	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1889

Chinese comparandum

兄 OC ***χi̯wăng**, *GSR* #765a-e 'eldest (of brothers)'; B & S 2011: ***m̥raŋ**; Mand. **xiōng**.
孟 OC ***măng**, *GSR* #761e 'eldest, great-'; B & S 2011: ***mˤraŋ-s**; Mand. **mèng**.
S375 mang huang

(5) PTB *t(y)u ŋ n SHORT

A number of reflexes of this root have affricated rather than simple dental initials.

Another variable feature of this etymon is the final nasal, which in most cases is velar, but a number of languages in several subgroups (Jingpho, Liangmei, Chepang, Tamang) have a dental.

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"

Sulung [Puroik]	a³³**tuoŋ³³**	short	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:810.52

1.1.1. TANI: ***təŋ ≍ *dəŋ** SHORT

**Tani*	***təŋ**~ **dəŋ**	short	Sun 1993a:356

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	tu-**dɯ**	short	Sun 1993a
	tú-**dɯ**	short	Sun 1993b
	tu-**dɯ**	short	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ha:-**tɯŋ**	short; short (human); low	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ha:-**tɯŋ** kɯ-ña:	very low	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **təŋ**	short (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.24
	a-**təŋ**	short	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **təŋ**	short	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:810.51
Galo	a **dəə**	short (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'lə **dəə**	short (leg) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	a **de**	short	Simon 1976

Tagin	a **dɤŋ** a **dɤŋ** nɤ baknyi	short	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	an-**dəŋ**	short	Sun 1993a
Milang	at-**de**	short	Tayeng 1976
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ka: **tyũ**	short	NEFA (India) 1963
	kɯ^{31}**tioŋ**^{53}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.22
	kɯ^{31}**tioŋ**^{53}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.49
Kaman [Miju]	kɯ^{31} **ti**^{55}	short	LaPolla 1987:31
	kɯ^{31}**ti**^{55}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.23
	kɯ^{31}**ti**^{55}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.48
Idu	eto **ti**	short coat (black)	Anonymous 1962
	kɑ^{55}**tioŋ**^{55}ɑ^{55}	low; short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:803.50; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.50
Yidu	kɑ^{55} **tioŋ**^{55}ɑ^{55}	low; short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0969.25; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.25
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Liangmei	**dun**	short	Weidert 1987:37
	ka **dun** bu	short	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	**teŋ**	low	Bhat 1969:92
Ukhrul	kə-**teŋ**	low (as in a meadow) (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	suŋ **dúŋ**	short / brief	Bhat 1968
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	ban-**dang**-a	short (vi.)	Burling 2003:3.341-II:idx
	i•-**tong**-**tang**-a	short cut (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.312-II:idx
	re•-**tong**-**tang**-a	short cut (vi.)	Burling 2003:9.319-II:idx
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Wancho	hao **tong**	low (adj.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	ka^{31} **tun**^{31}	short	LaPolla 1987:31
	kă^{31}**tun**^{31}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.47
	kă^{1}**tun**^{31}	short	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	ka **dun**	short	Marrison 1967
	^{1}gə^{1}**dun**	short	Weidert 1987:37
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**tuŋ**	short (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:329
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**Tum** ma	short (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.05
Tsangla (Motuo)	**thum** bi; **thum** i	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.7
	thum i~**tum** bi	short	LaPolla 1987:31
	t'um^{55}pi^{13}	short	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**thoŋ**^{55}ko^{55}	short	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**thuŋ**^{55}po^{53}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.6
Motuo Menba	**thu m** i	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.07
	thum bi	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.07
Cuona Menba	**thuŋ**^{55}po^{53}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**thoŋ**	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**thoŋ thoŋ**	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**thoŋ thoŋ**	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**thũ**^{13}**thũ**^{55}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'thum** maq	short (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.05
	'thum māq	low (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.09
	'thum miq	short (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.05
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**thuŋ**^{55}**thuŋ**^{55}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**thuŋ**^{55}**thuŋ**^{55}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.2
	thỹ^{55}**thỹ**^{55}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**thing** meq	short (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.05
Tibetan (Written)	**thuṅ** ba	short	Marrison 1967
	thuŋ thuŋ	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.1
	thuŋ ŋu	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**thoŋ thoŋ**	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.04
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**tun**	short	Mazaudon 1994:461
Tamang (Sahu)	**'tun** cā	short (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.05
	'tun ca	short (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.C.5
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**taŋs**-	short (vs.)	Driem 1988
	taŋ bu	short, blind snake (n.)	Michailovsky 1989b
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**tyun?**	short	Weidert 1987:37
	tyun?-	short (va.)	Caughley 2000
	tyun?-?o	short	Caughley 1972:12.C.5
	tyun?.?o	short (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.05
Magar	**Tem**-khe	low (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.09
	Tun-khe	short (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.05
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**dʒo**^{33}**dʒo**^{55}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.18
Guiqiong	**tʂhu**^{55}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.16
Muya	**tshø**^{55}**tshø**^{53}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tshø**^{55}**tshø**^{55}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.15
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tshũ**^{11}**tshũ**^{55}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tshiõ**^{55}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tshiõ**^{55}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tshiõ**^{35}mə^{53}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.10
Qiang (Taoping)	**tio**^{33}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tshõ**^{33}**tshõ**^{55}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tsho**^{55}**tsho**^{33}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.13
Xumi	a^{33}dĩ^{33}**dɛ̃**^{55}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.17
	dɛ̃^{35}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.20
4. Nungic			
Nung	tɕi^{55}**ʈhɯŋ**^{55}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.21
Anong	tɕi^{55}**ʈhɯŋ**^{55}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.44
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	**dong2**	(for actions taking a short time to do) (cl.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia	**tsoŋ**^{21}	near (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0975.49
	tsoŋ^{53}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.49
	tsoŋ^{53}	short; near	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.38; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:818.38
Tujia (Northern)	**zong4**	short/near (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	zong4kui3	short (one) (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	zong^{4}	short or near (be v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.3
	zong^{4}kui^{2}	short one	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.3
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**ʑoŋ**^{31}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.41
	ʑɔŋ^{31}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.28
Burmese (Written)	**tôŋ**	short, as a garment	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Northern)	**dʐõ**^{35}	short	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**dʐoŋ**^{55}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.34
Nusu (Southern)	**dʐõ**^{55}	short	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ɑ^{31}**dzõ**^{53}(thɑ^{35})	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.45
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	a^{44}**tso**^{55}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.44
Jinuo (Youle)	ɑ^{44}**tso**^{55}	short	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	**tsɔ**^{31}	SHORT	Pelkey 2011:1043
7. Karenic			
Pa-O	bá **dəŋ**	bean, short	Solnit 1989
	dəŋ	short	Solnit 1989
8. Bai			
Bai (Dali)	**ts'ö** 1	short	Dell 1981b:779
	tshuɯ^{55}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**tshuɯ**^{55}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.36
	tshɳ^{55}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.48
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**duǎn**	short	Evans *et al.* 1991

Chinese comparandum

短 OC ***twân***, *GSR* #169a-c 'short'; Schuessler 2007:219 ***tôn?***; B & S 2011: ***t^{ʕ}or?***; Mand. **duǎn**.

(6) PTB *ta-y BIG

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ta-y**	big; large	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:614; Matisoff 1985a:068; Matisoff 2003a:614; LaPolla 1987:34; Benedict 1972:298
	***tay** (*A)	big	Coblin 1986:42
	***tɑy**	great / big	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:317a-c

1.1.1. TANI: ***tə** ~ ***ta** BIG

**Tani*	***tə**~ **ta**	big	Sun 1993a:26

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	pá-**tɯ**	tiger	Sun 1993b
Bengni	-**tɯː**	big	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	buŋ-**tɯː**	river (large)	Sun 1993b
	di-**tɯː**	mountain (big)	Sun 1993b
	pa-**tɯː**	tiger	Sun 1993b
	pa-**tɯː** a-nɯː	tigress	Sun 1993b
	pa-**tɯː** a-puː	tiger (male)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**təː** pə	big / large (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0964.24
	təː-bə	big	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	təː-pə bo moː	enlarge	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**təː** pə	big	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:800.51
Galo	-**'tə**	big (adj:mono.)	GLDC 2009
	at **te**	big	Das Gupta 1963
	ho men-'ɲo **tə**	tiger; Panthera tigris (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'at **tə**	big (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'baa **tə**	ladder (large) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'bo **tə**	mithun bull (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'bi̱i **tə**	brother elder (n:poet.)	GLDC 2009
	'bi̱ **tə**	snake (variety); king cobra (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'du **tə**	loud (sound) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'du **tə**	loud (sound) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'ki̱ **tə**	eldest maternal uncle; maternal uncle (eldest); uncle (maternal, eldest); uncle-in-law; paternal aunt's husband (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'li̱i **tə**	boulder (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'mak **tə**	brother-in-law; elder sister's husband; sister's husband (eldest) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'mo **tə**	aunt (maternal, elder); aunt-in-law (elder); maternal aunt (elder); younger maternal aunt (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'nə **tə**	brother's wife (first) (n:kin.)	GLDC 2009
	'puk **tə**	brave (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'puk **tə**	bravery; courage (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'puk **tə**	courageous (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	'ret **tə**	banyan (large) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	'tuu **tə**	majority; relatively largest portion (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'tə nam	grow (larger); enlarge; increase (in size) (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'ti̱i **tə**	majority (of people); most (people) (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	'ɲo **tə**	lion; tiger (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɲo-**tɤ**	tiger	Das Gupta 1963
Nishing	pa **te**	tiger	Das Gupta 1969
	té	big (w / classifier or dupl. of n)	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	bot-**tə**~ bot-**ta**	big	Sun 1993a
	ta	large; big	Matisoff 1985a:068; LaPolla 1987:34
Damu	ʔa-**ty(ː)**	big	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**tyː** jaŋ-kon	biggest	Sun 1993b
Milang	pa-**ti**	tiger	Tayeng 1976

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***dej** LARGE / BIG

**Tangkhulic*	***dej**	large / big	Mortensen 2012:609
Kachai	kʰə-**ði**	big	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	a kə **tay**	remnant	Matisoff 1985a:068
	khə mə **tay**	increase, multiply	Matisoff 1985a:068
	kə **tay**	extra	Matisoff 1985a:068
Tankghul (Central)	sa-ka-**tai**	elephant	Brown 1837
Tusom	ʃi-kə-**ta**	elephant	Mortensen 2012:Animals.091

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ke **the**	big	Marrison 1967
	ke **thè**	big, large, great	Matisoff 1985a:068
	the	big; large; great	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:317d-e; Marrison 1967
	thè	big, large, great	Matisoff 1985a:068
	the	big; big, large, great	LaPolla 1987:34; Benedict 1972:298; Coblin 1986:42

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	*-**tay**	big	Matisoff 1985a:068

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Wancho	a-**tai**	far	Matisoff 1985a:068
	tai-hu	many	Matisoff 1985a:068

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**mthe**-bo	thumb	Benedict 1972:298; Matisoff 1985a:068

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**da**	big	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0738

3.2. QIANGIC

Guiqiong	**dɑ^{33}dɑ^{33}**	big	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:800.17
	ta^{31}wu^{55}	big / large (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0964.16
	ta^{55} wu^{55}	big / large (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0964.16
Namuyi	**da^{55}**dʐ^{33}	big	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:800.19
	da^{55}mo^{33}	high; tall; deep	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:802.19; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:804.19
	da^{55}qhu^{33}	far	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:817.19
	da^{55}ʂa^{33}	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.19
	da^{53}bo^{31}	wide (in diameter) / coarse (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0966.46
	da^{53}dʐ^{31}	big / large (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0964.46
	da^{53}mo^{31}	high; tall; protruding; raised; deep (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0970.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.46
	da^{53}qhu^{31}	far / distant (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0974.46
	da^{53}ʂa^{31}	long (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.46
	da^{53}χuo^{31}	wide / broad (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0976.46
Pumi (Lanping)	**ta^{55}**	big / large (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0964.09
	tʃhə^{13}**bie^{55}**ɣu^{55}	year of the mouse (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0755.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ta^{55}**	big	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:800.11
Xumi	**duɐ^{35}**	big	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:800.20
	mɛ^{33}**duɛ^{53}**	big / large (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0964.17

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**the**	big	Benedict 1972:298
	thɛ	big, large, great; big	Matisoff 1985a:068; LaPolla 1987:34; Coblin 1986:42
Rawang	**thɛ^{33}** wɛ^{33}	big, large	LaPolla 2003:986
Dulong	**tɑi^{53}**	big / large (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0964.20
Trung [Dulong]	**tăi^{53}**	big	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:800.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**tai^{53}**	big	LaPolla 1987:34

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	**da2**	large (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**tai**	very	Matisoff 1985a:068

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	**ɖɯ˩**	big, large	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**dɯ^{21}**	big / large (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0964.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dɯ^{31}**	big	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:800.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɖʅ^{13}**	big	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:800.29

7. KARENIC

Kayan (Pekon)	zū **dǫ̣**	house mouse [lit. rodent-big] (N.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	jû **dô**	gnaw a hole, as mouse	Solnit 1989

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old)	**d'âd**	great, greatly	Matisoff 1985a:068
	d'âi	great / big	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:317a-c
	t'âd	great; excessive; great, greatly	Matisoff 1985a:068; Matisoff 1985a:068

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**d'âi**-	great, greatly	Matisoff 1985a:068
	t'âi-	great; excessive; great, greatly	Matisoff 1985a:068; Matisoff 1985a:068

Chinese comparandum

大 OC ***d'ûd** ~ ***t'ûd**, *GSR* #317a-c 'big, great'; B & S 2011: ***l^{ʕ}at-s {l^{ʕ}a [t] -s}**; Mand. **dà, dài**.
大 OC ***t'ûd**, *GSR* #317d-e 'too great, very great, excessive'; B & S 2011: ***l^{ʕ}at-s {l^{ʕ}a [t] -s}**; Mand. **tài**.

(7) PTB *dəw SHORT

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***tooy** SHORT / BRIEF

**Chin*	***tooy**	SHORT / BRIEF	VanBik 2009:226

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**tawi**	short, too short (in both space and time) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:226
Daai	**tɔː^{i}**	short	So-Hartmann 1988:229
Khumi	**ɗɔː^{i}ʔ**	short	So-Hartmann 1988:229
Matu	a̱ **tə^{i}**	short	So-Hartmann 1988:229
Mkaang	**tɔ^{i}**	short	So-Hartmann 1988:229
Ngmüün	a̱ʔ **tɔː^{i}**	short	So-Hartmann 1988:229
Nyhmoye	**tɔ^{ʌ}**	short	So-Hartmann 1988:229
Wakung	a **ɗøʔ**	short	So-Hartmann 1988:229

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tòoy**-I, tŏoy-II	short, brief	VanBik 2009:226
Lai (Falam)	**tóoy**-INV	short (be v.)	VanBik 2009:226
Lushai [Mizo]	**tăwi**	short, to be brief (be v.)	VanBik 2009:226
	toi	short (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3045

1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"

Sorbung	**tòo**	short (length); short (height)	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.147; Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.149

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Maram	**dui**	short	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**toi** nu	short	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**dui** mei	short	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***tew** SMALL / FEW, ***tu** SHORT (LENGTH OR HEIGHT)

**Tangkhulic*	***tew**	small / few	Mortensen 2012:593
	***tu**	short (length or height)	Mortensen 2012:760
Huishu	**tuk**-kʰe	short (height/length)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.126
Tusom	kə-**tuə**	small	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.143
Ukhrul	kə-**tew**	small, low (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	ing **dei**	low (adj.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

**Northern Naga*	***təːw**	short	French 1983:545

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa (Yogli)	a **to**	short	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**tu** bü	short	Marrison 1967

3.2. QIANGIC

Namuyi	ɛ^{33}**ndɛ^{55}**	short	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:810.19
	a^{33}**nda^{55}**	short (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.46

4. NUNGIC

Dulong	**tɯi^{53}**	low; short (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0969.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.20
Trung [Dulong]	**tŭi^{53}**	low; short	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:803.46; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:810.46

Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**tɯi**^{53}	short	LaPolla 1987:31
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**thi**^{53}	low; short	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:31
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *dəw^{1} SHORT			
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Lianghe)	**tuɑʔ**^{55}	short	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Rangoon)	**to**^{22}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**to**^{22}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.40
Burmese (Written)	**to**^{2}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.26
	to^{2}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.39
	tui	short	Marrison 1967; Matisoff 1974:19; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:31
Marma	**to**	short (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:329
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**du**^{31}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**dɯ**^{33}bi^{21}	short (a person's height)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	dɯ^{33}vu^{55}	down (low)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu (Northern)	**du**^{21}**du**^{21}mu^{33}	short and bald (V.)	Bradley 1994
	du^{35}**du**^{21}za^{21}	short and small (V.)	Bradley 1994
	du^{55}	short (V.)	Bradley 1994
	du^{55}**du**^{55}zaʔ^{21}	rather short (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	n̥io^{55} ; **du**^{55}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.27
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **də**	short	Hansson 1989:382
6.2. Naxi			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	**ɖæ**^{41}	short	Michaud 2006–2009:1939
Na (Yongning)	**ɖæ**^{41}	short	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**da**^{33}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.29
Naxi	**də**$^{\wedge 33}$	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndəɹ**^{33}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.28

Chinese comparandum

短 OC ***twân***, *GSR* #169a-c 'short'; Schuessler 2007:219 ***tôn?***; B & S 2011: ***t^{ʂ}or?***; Mand. ***duǎn***.

(8) PTB *tuːk THICK / DEEP

Languages like Ao and Zeme have a sibilant fricative or affricate initial, although this may be chalked up to a widespread tendency to develop frication of **t** before **u**, as in Japanese.

Vowel length is reconstructed because of the WB rhyme **-uik**.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***təkw**	thick	Coblin 1986:148
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tuːk**	deep; thick	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:615; Benedict 1972:356
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***thuuk** DEEP / PROFOUND			
**Chin*	***thuuk**	DEEP / PROFOUND	VanBik 2009:382
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**thuk**	deep (be v.)	VanBik 2009:382
Sizang	**htūk**	deep (be v.)	VanBik 2009:382
Thado	**thû?**-INV	deep	VanBik 2009:382
Tiddim	**thuːk**^{1}	deep (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1905
	thuːk^{1}	sour; be deep	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**tʻük**	deep (be v.)	VanBik 2009:382
Cho (Mindat)	**thuk**	deep (be v.)	VanBik 2009:382
Khumi	**thiiw**	deep	VanBik 2009:382
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**thuuk**-I, thuʔ-II	deep (be v.)	VanBik 2009:382
Lai (Falam)	**thûuk**-INV	deep (be v.)	VanBik 2009:382
Lushai [Mizo]	**thûk**	deep	Marrison 1967
	thûuk	deep, to be profound (be v.)	VanBik 2009:382
	thuːk	deep (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3004
	thuːk	deep	Benedict 1972:356
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**thú**	deep (be v.)	VanBik 2009:382
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Sorbung	**t^{h}ùuk**	deep	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Verbs.207
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te **suk**	deep	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Mzieme	**tsuk**	deep	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***t^{h}uk** DEEP			
**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}uk**	deep	Mortensen 2012:570
Huishu	kə-**tuʔ**	deep	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.176
Kachai	kə-**t^{h}uk**	deep	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.152
Tangkhul	ka **thuk**	deep	Marrison 1967
	thuk	deep	Bhat 1969:87
Tusom	kə-**t^{h}u**	deep	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.192
Ukhrul	kə-**t^{h}uk**	strong; to be deep (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ar **sik**	deep	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**tɔ́w**	deep (v.)	Bhat 1968
1.7.1.4. Deori			
Deori/Deuri	**tu**	deep	Brown 1895:70
	tu^{2}(-i^{2})	deep	Jacquesson 2005
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**Tung** ma	thick (of things, density); thick (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.05; Hale 1973:12c.06
Tshona (Wenlang)	**tuk**^{55}pu^{55}	thick	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tuk**^{55}po^{53}	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.6
Cuona Menba	**tuk**^{55}po^{53}	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**tok** po	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**thək** kwo	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**mthək** po	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.5
	nthə ko	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:844.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**t^{h}uk** po·	thick	Rangan 1975:61
Tibetan (Batang)	**thu**^{55}pu^{53}	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**thuk** puq	thick (adj.)	Hale 1973:12c.06
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tuʔ**^{53}po^{53}	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**thuʔ**^{53}po^{53}	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.2
	thuː^{55}pu^{55}	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**thuk** pu	thick (of things, density); thick (adj.)	Hale 1973:12b.05; Hale 1973:12c.06
Tibetan (Written)	**'thug** pa`	thick	Marrison 1967
	ḥthug-pa ≍ **mthug**-pa	thick	Benedict 1972:356
	mthug po	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.1
	stug(s)-pa	thickness	Benedict 1972:356
	ɦthug po	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**thəχ** kwo	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.04
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Limbu	**tuk tuk** pa	thick (e.g. of beer)	Michailovsky 1989b
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**toʔ**^{44}	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:811.40
Burmese (Written)	**thuik-thuik**	thickly	Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:356

Chinese comparandum

篤 OC ***tôk***, *GSR* #1019g 'firm, solid, thick'; Schuessler 2007:217 ***tûk***; B & S 2011: ***t^{ʂ}uk***; Mand. ***dǔ***.

(9) PTB *low LONG / TALL

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***low**	tall (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:231
	***low**	long; tall	Matisoff 2003a:600; Benedict 1972:279
1.7.1. Bodo-Garo			
**Bodo-Garo*	***lauʔ**	long	Burling 1959:442
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	ga **lao**	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	ga **lau** ≍ **lau**-ba	long	Benedict 1972:279
	lao ba	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	kə-**lauʔ**	long	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	lauʔ	long (be v.)	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**ro**	long	Benedict 1972:279
Garo (Bangladesh)	**ro·**-a	long (vi.)	Burling 2003:2.213-II:idx
	ro·-rek-a	long (vi.)	Burling 2003:2.312-II:idx
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***low** LONG / TALL			[a]
**Northern Naga*	***low**	long	French 1983:515
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Nocte	a **lo**	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	a **lo**	tall	Marrison 1967
	dang **lo**	sword	Marrison 1967
Tangsa	^{1}**lu(ʔ)**	tall (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:231
Tangsa (Yogli)	a **lu**	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	a **lu**	tall	Marrison 1967
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	in **lou**	sword	Marrison 1967
	lo bü	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	lo bü	tall	Marrison 1967
	láu	tall (v.i.)	Weidert 1987:231
Konyak	**lao** pu	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
Phom	**lu**^{33}	long (time, roads)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lu ang pü	far	Marrison 1967
	lu ang pü	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	yan **lu**	sword	Marrison 1967
Wancho	chang **lo**	sword	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	ga **lu**	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	gə **lù**	long	Matisoff 1974:123
	gə **lu**	long	Benedict 1972:279
	kă^{31}**lu**^{31}	long (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.19
	kă^{31}**lu**^{31}	long	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:809.47
	kă^{1}**lu**^{31}	long	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**lu**	disproportionately tall	Benedict 1972:279

[a] Several Naga languages have this morpheme as the second syllable in compounds meaning SWORD where the first syllable means KNIFE.

(10) PTani *bjɯŋ THICK (e.g. book)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***bjɯŋ**	thick (e.g. book)	Sun 1993a:422
	***ǰɯŋ**	fat (not thin)	Sun 1993a:140
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**brjã** kɯ-rɯ	thick; thick (e.g. book)	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993a
	ǰan-tu	fat (not thin)	Sun 1993a
	ǰán-tu	fat	Sun 1993b
	ǰan-tu	fat (adj.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**ǰiŋ**-kɯr	thick (book)	Sun 1993b
	ǰiŋ-tɯŋ	fat (not thin); fat	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ǰɯŋ-kɯr	thick (e.g. book)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**biŋ** tɕam	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.24
	biŋ tɕam	woven, tightly (fabric)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1032.24
	biŋ-čam	thick (e.g. book); dense, close; thick	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**biŋ** tɕam	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.51
Galo	**-jii**	fattened (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	jii gə	fatten (vt.)	GLDC 2009
	jii nam	fat; healthy; plump; sink (vi.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻjii cam	thick; dense (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɟi-cam-na	thick	Das Gupta 1963
	ɟɯ po-na	fat	Das Gupta 1963
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**bi**-sam	thick (e.g. book)	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**biŋ**-duŋ	thick (liquid)	Sun 1993b

Mishing [Miri]	**ǰɯŋ**	fat (not thin)	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**bi**^{31} tɕoŋ^{55}	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.22
	bi^{31}tɕoŋ^{55}	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.49
Kaman [Miju]	**bi**^{31} tɕoŋ^{55}	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.23
	bi^{31}tɕoŋ^{55}	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.48

(11) NEIA *m-ya BROAD / WIDE

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Tiddim	**-za:**/_zat	broad / wide (v.)	Henderson 1965
	zai^{1}	wide and spacious [= zai2] (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1988
	zai^{1}	wide and spacious	Bhaskararao 1994
	za:^{2} > zat^{3}	spacious; wide (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2001
	za:^{2}/zat^{3}	spacious, wide	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊzai/ˆzai	wide / broad (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Chinbon	a? **ja**^{u} kap	wide	So-Hartmann 1988:234
Daai	**ja**^{u}	wide	So-Hartmann 1988:234
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**zau**	broad; wide	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Chungli)	**meya-meya** r	broad	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	**nzo**	broad	Marrison 1967
	nzo a	wide	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	a **müya**	wide	Marrison 1967
	müza	broad	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Angami (Khonoma)	ke **meya**	wide	Marrison 1967
	mezha	broad	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	ke **meya**	wide	Marrison 1967
	meya	broad	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Mzieme	**mza**	broad; wide	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

(12) PTB *s-ŋ $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{i}\\\mathbf{u}\end{matrix}$ ŋ SHORT

3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Mawo)	**ŋuə** tsi	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.8
	ŋuɛ tsɛ	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.08
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	**ngai1**	short (in height) (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ngei1	short (in height) (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: *?ŋiŋ^{1} SHORT			
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ŋ̊iɔ**^{53}	low	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:803.45
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	**ŋɛ31**	short	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
	ŋɛ33	short (of things)	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**ŋɛ**^{33}	short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0973.43
Lahu (Black)	**ŋɛ**^{33}	short	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:810.33
	ŋɛ^{31}	low	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:803.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ŋɛ**^{1}	short (length)	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**hiŋ?**^{5}	short	Hansson 1989:382; Srinuan Duanghom 1976 [a]
	niŋ^{5}	short	Hansson 1989:382
	ŋ^{2}**hiŋ?**^{6}	ears (short)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ɲiŋ^{3}	low / short (of a person)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ɲiŋ^{5}	short (of a thing)	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **ɲuŋ45**	low; (of length) short	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:204010; Shintani Tadahiko 2009:204013
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Hlepho Phowa	**ʔŋə**^{55}	LOW; SHORT	Pelkey 2011:1040; Pelkey 2011:1043

[a] Mpi has two allofamic reflexes, one with palatal **ɲ-** and one with **h-**. The palatal (rather than velar) nasal is explicable in terms of the following high vowel, while the variation in initials reflects alternate simplifications of the complex initial ***ʔŋ-**.

(13) PTani *rɯŋ DEEP

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***rɯŋ**	deep	Sun 1993a:100
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	u-**rã**	deep	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ù-**raŋ**	deep	Sun 1993b
Bengni	(kɯ-di: a-**rɯŋ**) si-vɯŋ	well (n.)	Sun 1993b
	(ə-ši) a-**rɯŋ**	deep	Sun 1993b
	a-**rɯŋ**	deep	Sun 1993a
	kɯ-di: a-**rɯŋ** si-vɯŋ	well (n.)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-si a-**rɯŋ**	bottom (of a body of water)	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-si a-**rɯŋ** ǰa:	swim under water	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **rɯŋ**	deep (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.24
	a-**rɯŋ**	deep	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **rɯŋ**	deep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:804.51
Galo	u: **re**-na	deep	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻuu **rɨɨ**	deep (adj.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	ə-**rɯŋ**~ a-**rɯŋ**	deep	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**rəŋ**-duŋ	deep	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	o-**rɯŋ**	deep	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**rím**	deep	NEFA (India) 1963
	ɹɯm^{55}	deep (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.22
	ɹɯm^{55}	deep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:804.49
Kaman [Miju]	kɯ^{31}**ɹɯuŋ**^{53}	deep (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.23
	kɯ^{31}**ɹɯuŋ**^{53}	deep	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:804.48

(14) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{p}\\\mathbf{b}\end{matrix}$ ay ENCIRCLED / RINGED / STRIPED

This root was reconstructed as PL ***ʔ-ban**^{2} 'ring' in Bradley 1979:235, and as PTB ***bran** in *HPTB* (p.69, n.101). In favor of this reconstruction is Pumi Dayang **ʐə̌ bʐɛ́ɴ** (*HPTB*:69); however, Lahu **-e** (as in **làʔ-pē** 'finger-ring') can descend from either ***-an** or ***-ay**, and on balance (see e.g. Tankghul, Mikir, and Jingpho) we now prefer the present reconstruction.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***p(w)ay ≍ b(w)ay**	encircled / ringed / striped around	Matisoff 1985a:096
	***pay ≍ bay**	encircled / ringed / striped	Matisoff 2003a:606
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Tangkhul	khə ŋə **wəy**	fence (v.)	Matisoff 1985a:096
	wəy	fence	Bhat 1969:89
	wəy khuy	fence around village	Matisoff 1985a:096
	ŋə **wəy**	fence	Matisoff 1985a:096
Ukhrul	kʰə-ŋə-**wɐj**	fence	Mortensen 2012
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	ing **pai**	fence (n.)	Marrison 1967
	pai	fence (n.)	Marrison 1967
	pai	ring (finger ring)	Marrison 1967
	páy	fence, hedge, line, stripe, ring (or leopard's skin), turn	Matisoff 1985a:096
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**bài**	encircled, girded, striped (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:096
	bài-bài	marked, as with streaks / rings of variegated colors (be v.)	Matisoff 1985a:096
	pài	appear striped / spotted	Matisoff 1985a:096
3.2. Qiangic			
Muya [Minyak]	lɛ^{33}**mbɛ**^{35}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.15
Namuyi	lɛ^{33}**pu**^{55}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.19
	læ^{31}**pu**^{55}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	jə^{11}**bʐɐ̟**^{55}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.10
Pumi (Lanping)	ʒɛ^{13}**bʐə̃**^{13}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.09
Pumi (Dayang)	ʐə̌ **bʐɛ́ɴ**	ring	Matisoff 2003a:69
Pumi (Qinghua)	ʒɛ^{13}**bʐə̃**^{13}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.11
Pumi (Taoba)	ʑɛ^{35}**bʐɐ̟**^{53}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.10
Xumi	ɬɑ^{33}**py**^{35}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.20
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***bay**^{2} ≍ **ʔbay**^{2}	encircled / ringed / striped around	Matisoff 1985a:096
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	la^{53}**piɛ**^{55}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.47
Yi (Liangshan)	lo^{55}**pi**^{33}	ring (jewelry)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	lę^{21}**pi**^{55}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.25
Yi (Mojiang)	lę^{21}**pe**^{33}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.26
Yi (Wuding)	lo̱^{55}**pe**^{11}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.38
Yi (Xide)	lo^{55}**pi**^{33}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.35
	lo^{55}**pi**^{33}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Kucong	la31 **pi35**	(finger) ring	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	lɑ^{21}**pe**^{11}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.43
Lahu (Black)	làʔ-**pē**	finger-ring	Matisoff 1985a:096
	lʌ^{21}**pe**^{31}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.33
Lahu (Yellow)	la^{5}**pe**^{5}	ring	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Yi (Sani)	le^{2}**pʐ**^{55}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	làq-**bɛ̀**	finger-ring	Matisoff 1985a:096
	laʔ^{31} **beh**^{31}	finger-ring	Matisoff 1985a:096
Hani (Gelanghe)	nø^{55}**bɛ**^{31}	ring (n.)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	n̡i^{55}**pi**^{31}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.32
Hani (Mojiang)	n̡i^{55}**pi**^{31}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.42
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	lɛ^{22}**pi̱**^{45}	ring (for finger)	Pelkey 2011:448
Southern Muji	ljɛ^{21}**pi**^{33}	ring (for finger)	Pelkey 2011:448
Phola	lɑ^{33}**pɐ̟**^{23}	ring (for finger)	Pelkey 2011:448
Hlepho Phowa	lɛ^{33}**pi**^{55}	ring (for finger)	Pelkey 2011:448
Phuza	li^{55}**bji**^{33}	ring (for finger)	Pelkey 2011:448
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	lo˩**pv**˥	ring	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	lo^{31}**pv**^{13}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.29
Naxi	lɑ^{21}**pv̩**^{55}	ring (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0486.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	lɑ^{31}**pəɹ**^{55}	ring	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:375.28

(15) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{d}\\\mathbf{t}\end{matrix}$ uŋ LONG / LENGTH

STC #20 and *HPTB* p. 288 reconstruct the voiceless allofam with a long vowel because of the Lepcha vowel; a short medial PTB **-u-** tends to lower to Lepcha **-a-** while long **-u:-** remains **-u-**. Further data is needed to establish this point, however.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***duŋ**	length	Benedict 1972:20
	***duŋ ≍ tuːŋ**	long / length	Matisoff 2003a:587
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ɗuŋ ≍ *tuŋ** LENGTH			
**Chin*	***ɗuŋ ≍ tuŋ**	LENGTH	VanBik 2009:92
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**dung**	length	VanBik 2009:92
Tiddim	**dung**^{2}	along, length	VanBik 2009:92
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tûŋ**	length	VanBik 2009:92
Lai (Falam)	**tûŋ**	length	VanBik 2009:92
Lushai [Mizo]	**dúng**	length (as opposed to văang 'width')	VanBik 2009:92
	duŋ	length	Benedict 1972:20
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	ʔá-**tô**^{1}	length	VanBik 2009:92
1.5. Mikir [Karbi]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**diŋ**	long	Benedict 1972:20
	ke **ding**	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	ke **ding**	tall	Marrison 1967
	ki **ding**	high	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**din duŋ**	length	Benedict 1972:20
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	(a-)**thŭŋ**	height, length	Benedict 1972:20

(16) PTani *bV-čor SHALLOW / THIN (paper)

1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	***bV-čor**	shallow / thin (paper)	Sun 1993a:350
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	(ə-si) **bə-čɯr**	shallow	Sun 1993b
	bə-čɯr	thin (paper)	Sun 1993b
	bɯ-čɯr	shallow / thin (paper)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**be tɕor**	thin; shallow (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0981.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0983.24
	be tɕor	thin (hair)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1033.24
	be-čor	shallow; thin (paper); scattered, thin; thin	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**be tɕor**	thin	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:814.51
	be: tɕor	thin (watery)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:845.51
Galo	**bo-cor:**-na	thin	Das Gupta 1963
	'bocor	thin (cloth) (adj.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**be-sor**	shallow / thin (paper)	Sun 1993a

(17) PKC *saaw LONG

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***saaw**	LONG	VanBik 2009:661
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	a **sau**	long	VanBik 2009:661
Thado	**sâaw**-I, sàaw-II	long	VanBik 2009:661
Tiddim	**sau**[1]	long (not short); long (spatially)	VanBik 2009:661
	sa:u[1]	long [spatially] (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1539
	sa:u[1]	long [spatially]	Bhaskararao 1994
	ˊsa:u/ˆsa:u	long (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**'sauhˊˊ**	long (be v.)	VanBik 2009:661
Cho (Mindat)	**so**	long	VanBik 2009:661
Khumi	**saw**	long	VanBik 2009:661
	s^{h}a^{u}?	long	So-Hartmann 1988:227
Mkaang	**s^{h}a:u**	long	So-Hartmann 1988:227
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**sàaw**-I, săaw-II	long	VanBik 2009:661
Lai (Falam)	**sáaw**-INV	long (length)	VanBik 2009:661
Lushai [Mizo]	**său**	long (as stride or step) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:661
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Phom	**ʃaw**[31]	high; tall (objects)	Burling & Amon Phom 1998; Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	ʃaw[31]lu[33]	tall (people) (? + 'long')	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

(18) PTani *gər CROOKED

1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	***gər**	crooked	Sun 1993a:86
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	lɯ-**gɯr** ba-**gɯr**	crooked	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	gu **gɯr**	curved, become / bent (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1700.24
	pa-**gɯr**	crooked	Sun 1993a
	pə-**gɯr**	crooked, curved, bent	Sun 1993b
Galo	**gɯr**-nam	bend (twist) (v.)	Das Gupta 1963
	pa **gər**	crooked (adj.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	**gər**; (in compounds)-gɯr	crooked	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ge**	crooked	Matisoff 1985a:084
Damu	gar-**gər**-nə	crooked	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ger**-ɲi	crooked; curved	Tayeng 1976; Tayeng 1976
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**wgər**	curved, become / bent (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1700.05
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**gər**	curved / crooked / bent	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1004.04
	gər	curved, become / bent (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1700.04

(19) PTani *sɯŋ GROW (v.i.)

1.1.1. Tani			
*Tani	***sɯŋ**	grow (v.i.)	Sun 1993a:186
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**sã**	grow (v.i.)	Sun 1993a
	sà	grow	Sun 1993b
	san	grow (vi.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**šɯŋ**	grow (v.i.)	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**šɯŋ**	grow (v.i.)	Sun 1993a
	sɯŋ	grow	Sun 1993b
	ɕɯŋ	grow (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1617.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɕɯŋ**	grow up; grow	Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:775.51
Galo	**'caa** nam	grow (of plant) (vie.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**sɯŋ**	grow (v.i.)	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ɕiŋ**-nə	grow	Sun 1993b

(20) PTB *m(y)ap SHORT

This root so far has been uncovered only in Tani and Burmish, with Burmish showing alternation between the labial and velar nasals.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	to **map**	low / short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0969.24
	to-**map**	low	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	to **map**	low	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:803.51
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	ʔo **miəp** jəp-nə	low	Sun 1993b
Milang	ke-**map**	low land	Tayeng 1976
6.1.1. Burmish			
Bola (Luxi)	**ŋjạp**[31]	low / short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0969.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**ŋjạp**[31]	low / short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0969.31
Maru [Langsu]	**ŋjạp**[31]	low	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:803.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mjạp**[21]	low / short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0969.30
	mjạp[21]; **ŋjụp**[21]	low	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:803.42
	ŋjụp[21]	low / short (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0969.30

(21) PKar *jɔʔ^{D} DEEP

7. Karenic			
*Karen	***jàuʔ**	deep	Jones 1961:185
	***jɔʔ^{D}**	deep	Luangthongkum 2013:78
Karen [Burling]	***ŋoʔ**[1]	deep	Luangthongkum 2013:78
Bwe	**jɔ**[11]	deep	Luangthongkum 2013:78
	yɔ̀	deep, profound (be v.)	Henderson 1997
Karen	**jɔ**[31]	deep (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0982.50
Kayah	**jɛ**[33]	deep	Luangthongkum 2013:78
Kayan	**ɟauʔ**[21]	deep	Luangthongkum 2013:78
Pa-O (Southern)	**jɔʔ**[45]	deep	Luangthongkum 2013:78
Pa-O (Northern)	**jɔʔ**[45]	deep	Luangthongkum 2013:78
Pa-O	**jɔ̀ʔ**	deep	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**joʔ**[21]	deep	Luangthongkum 2013:78
Pwo (Southern)	**juʔ**[45]	deep	Luangthongkum 2013:78
Sgaw (Southern)	**jo**[11‥]	deep	Luangthongkum 2013:78
Sgaw (Northern)	**jɔʔ**[21]	deep	Luangthongkum 2013:78

(22) PKar *thaw^{A} LONG / TALL / HIGH

7. Karenic			
*Karen	***thaw^{A}**	long (of length), tall, high	Luangthongkum 2013:175
Bwe	**thɔ**[55]	long (of length), tall, high	Luangthongkum 2013:175
Karen	**thɔ**[55]	high / tall (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0968.50
Kayah	**thu**[33]	long (of length), tall, high	Luangthongkum 2013:175
Kayan	**thau**[53]	long (of length), tall, high	Luangthongkum 2013:175
Kayaw	**thu**[55]	long (of length), tall, high	Luangthongkum 2013:175
Pa-O	**thò**	high	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**tho**[31‥]	long (of length), tall, high	Luangthongkum 2013:175
Pa-O (Southern)	**tho**[31‥]	long (of length), tall, high	Luangthongkum 2013:175
Pwo (Northern)	**thɔ**[35]	long (of length), tall, high	Luangthongkum 2013:175
Pwo (Southern)	**tho**[53]	long (of length), tall, high	Luangthongkum 2013:175
Sgaw (Northern)	**thɔ**[33]	long (of length), tall, high	Luangthongkum 2013:175
Sgaw (Southern)	**thɔ**[55]	long (of length), tall, high	Luangthongkum 2013:175

(23) PKar *phə^{B} SHORT / LOW

7. Karenic			
Karen [Burling]	***phy**[2]	short, low	Luangthongkum 2013:256
Karen	***phə^{B}**	short, low	Luangthongkum 2013:256
Kayah	**pho**[11]	short, low	Luangthongkum 2013:256
Kayan	**phəi**[11]	short, low	Luangthongkum 2013:256
Kayaw	**-phə**[11]	short, low	Luangthongkum 2013:256
Pa-O (Southern)	**phə**[33]	short, low	Luangthongkum 2013:256
Pa-O (Northern)	**phə**[55]	short, low	Luangthongkum 2013:256
Pwo (Northern)	**phəi**[33]	short, low	Luangthongkum 2013:256
Pwo (Southern)	**phi**[55]	short, low	Luangthongkum 2013:256
Sgaw (Northern)	**phi**[31~]	short, low	Luangthongkum 2013:256
Sgaw (Southern)	**phi**[45,]	short, low	Luangthongkum 2013:256

(24) PKC *lian-II, *lianʔ-II BIG / LARGE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
*Chin	***lian**-II, lianʔ-II	BIG / LARGE	VanBik 2009:992
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	a **līen**	big	VanBik 2009:992
Thado	**lìen**-I, lyèt-II	big	VanBik 2009:992
Tiddim	**lian**[3] > liat[3] or let[3]	big	VanBik 2009:992
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**'lén**	big	VanBik 2009:992
Khumi	**lieng**	big, large, increase in size, grow	VanBik 2009:992
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**lìan**-I, lîan-II	big, large	VanBik 2009:992
Lai (Hakha)	**lĭan**-I, lianʔ-II	big, large	VanBik 2009:992
Lushai [Mizo]	**lìan**-I, lên-II	large, big, great, bulky (be v.)	VanBik 2009:992
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**lāi**	big, large	VanBik 2009:992

(25) PKar *ʔdo^{B} BIG / LARGE

7. Karenic			
Karen [Burling]	***do**[2]	big, large	Luangthongkum 2013:21
Karen	***ʔdo^{B}**	big, large	Luangthongkum 2013:21
Bwe	**do**[33]	big, large	Luangthongkum 2013:21
Kayah	**du**[11]	big, large	Luangthongkum 2013:21
Kayan	**dau**[11]	big, large	Luangthongkum 2013:21
Kayaw	**du**[11]	big, large	Luangthongkum 2013:21
Pwo (Northern)	**du**[33]	big, large	Luangthongkum 2013:21
Pwo (Southern)	**du**[55]	big, large	Luangthongkum 2013:21
Sgaw (Northern)	**do**[31~]	big, large	Luangthongkum 2013:21
Sgaw (Southern)	**du**[45,]	big, large	Luangthongkum 2013:21

(26) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{t}\\\mathbf{d}\end{matrix}$ ow-n THICK

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
*Tibeto-Burman	***tow**	thick	Benedict 1972:319
	***tow-n ≍ dow-n**	thick	Matisoff 2003a:615
	***tow~dow**	thick	Chou Fa-kao 1972:427k
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			

Jingpho	**dāu**	thick	Matisoff 1974:64
	dau	thick	Benedict 1972:319

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***tu**[1] THICK / BLUNT

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	**thu**[22]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**htu**[22]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.40
Burmese (Written)	**htu**[2]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.39
	thū	thick	Marrison 1967
	thu	thick; close together; dense	Hansson 1989:157; Matisoff 1974:64; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:319
	thu[2]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**thau**[31]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**thuː**[33]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.33
Maru [Langsu]	**thau**[31]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**thu**[51]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.30
	thu[51]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.42

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***tú**	thick	Hansson 1989:157
	***tu**[1]	thick	Bradley 1979b:531
PNL	**tu**[1]	thick	Chen Kang 1986a:109.

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	**thò**	thick (gruel)	Björverud 1994
	thú	thick (cloth)	Björverud 1994
	thu̱[55]	thick	Chen Kang 1986a:109.
Lipho	**thu**[33]	thick	Chen Kang 1986a:109.
Nasu	**thu**[21]	thick	Chen Kang 1986a:109.
Neisu	**thu**[21]	thick	Chen Kang 1986a:109.
Nesu	**thu**[21]	thick	Chen Kang 1986a:109.
Nosu	**tu**[33]	thick	Chen Kang 1986a:109.
Nusu (Central)	**thu**[33]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.34
Nusu (Northern)	**thu**[31]	thick	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**thu**[31]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.45
Nusu (Southern)	**thuə**[55]**u**ɑ[55]	thick (liquid)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**thuɐ**[31]	thick (liquid)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**thu**[55]	thick	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**thu**[33]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.22
Yi (Liangshan)	a[33]**tu**[33]	thick (flat things)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	di[33]**tu**[33]	thick-skinned	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tu[33]	multi-layered; thick	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mojiang)	**thu**[21]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**thu**[33]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.37
	thu̱[33]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.24
	tɯ[55]	thick (porridge); thick	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1030.37; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:844.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**thu̱**[21]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:844.23
	thu̱[55]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.23
Yi (Weishan)	**thu**[55]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.36
Yi (Wuding)	**thʏ̣**[33]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.38
Yi (Xide)	a[33]**tu**[33]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.21
	ɑ[33]**tu**[33]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**tho**[2]	thick	Chen Kang 1986a:109.
Jinuo	a[33]**thu**[55]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.34
	a[33]**tʰu**[55]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:811.34
	a[44]**thu**[44]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**thu**[42]	thick	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**thv55**	thick	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**thu**	thick	Benedict 1972:77n235
Lahu (Lancang)	**thu**[33]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.43
Lahu (Black)	**thu**	thick	Matisoff 1974:64
	thu[33]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tho**[1]	thick	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a[21]**thy**[55]**thy**[33]	pretty thick (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**htu**[4]	thick	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	pa[21]pa[21] **thu**[33]**thu**[33]	wide and thick (V.)	Bradley 1994
	thu[33]	thick; dense (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Luquan)	**thu**[33]	thick	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**thu**[33]**thu**[21]mu[33]	thick	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Yongsheng)	**thu**[35]	thick	Xu Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu	**thu̱**[33]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.40
	thu[44]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.27
Sani [Nyi]	**thu**[33]	thick	Chen Kang 1986a:109.
Yi (Sani)	**thʏ̣**[33]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	jɔ **thú**	thick	Hansson 1989:157
Akha (Thai)	**thú**	thick	Hansson 1989:157
Akha	**thú**	thick	Hansson 1989:157
Hani (Lüchun)	**thú**	thick	Hansson 1989:157
Hani (Dazhai)	**thu**[55]	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:813.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**thu**[55]	thick (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**thu**[55]	thick	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	thɔ[55]	thick (liquid)	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Khatu)	**thú**	thick	Hansson 1989:157
Mpi	**thu**[5]	thick	Hansson 1989:157; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Pyen	ʔaŋ33 **thu45**	thick	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:204018
Sila	phɛ21 **thu55**	thick	Kato Takashi 2008:234

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**tʰœ**[21]	THICK (2d)	Pelkey 2011:1054
Southern Muji	**tʰɯ**[21]	THICK (2d)	Pelkey 2011:1054
Phola	**tʰu**[55]	THICK (2d)	Pelkey 2011:1054
Hlepho Phowa	**tʰo**[21]	THICK (2d)	Pelkey 2011:1054
Phuza	**tʰɯ**[31]	THICK (2d)	Pelkey 2011:1054

Chinese comparandum

敦 OC ***twən**, *GSR* #464p 'solid; thick'; Schuessler 2007:220 ***tûn**; B & S 2011: ***tˁur** ; Mand. **dūn**.
焞 OC ***t'wən**, *GSR* #464r 'ample; complete'; Schuessler 2007:220 ***thûn**; B & S 2011: ***tʰˁur**; Mand. **tūn**.
醇 OC ***d̂i̯wən**, *GSR* #464f 'pure, unadulterated; generous'; Schuessler 2007:220 ***dun**; B & S 2011: (***dur**); Mand. **chún**.
淳 OC ***d̂i̯wən**, *GSR* #464e 'ample'; Schuessler 2007:220 ***dun**; B & S 2011: ***dur {[d] ur}**; Mand. **chún**.
肫 OC ***t̂i̯wən**, *GSR* #427m 'sincere; diligent'; Schuessler 2007:220 ***tun**; B & S 2011: (***tun**); Mand. **zhūn**.

(27) PTB *z(y)əy LITTLE / SMALL / TINY

For a similar though distinct root, see PTB ***ya** DIMINUTIVE (§10.4.1.3).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***z(y)əy**	little / small / tiny	Matisoff 2003a:621
	***ziy**	small, minute	Benedict 1972:60
	***ziy** ≍ **tsiy	small(1)	LaPolla 1987:121

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**zi**	small	Benedict 1972:60
	zi-zi	small, minute	Benedict 1972:60

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Western)	**zi**	something of a very small size; of quantity; small	LaPolla 1987:121; Benedict 1972:60

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**sè**	small; small, fine, slender	LaPolla 1987:121; Benedict 1972:60
	se:	small	Marrison 1967

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Kucong	**ʐi33**	small	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**i**	small; small, fine, slender	LaPolla 1987:121; Benedict 1972:60
Lahu (Lancang)	**i**[33]	small (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0965.43
Lahu (Black)	**i**[33]	small	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:801.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**i**[1]	small	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

Chinese comparandum

細 OC ***siei-**, *GSR* #1241l 'small, minute'; Schuessler 2007:526 ***sêh~sîh**; B & S 2011: ***sˁər-s {[s] ˁər-s}**; Mand. **xì**.

(28) PKC *pum ROUND / SPHERICAL

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***pum**	ROUND / SPHERICAL	VanBik 2009:160

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**pûm**	whole	VanBik 2009:160
Tiddim	**pum**[1]	spherical	VanBik 2009:160

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**pum**	round, spherical things	VanBik 2009:160

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**pùm**-I, pŭm-II	round, be spherical (be v.)	VanBik 2009:160
Lai (Falam)	**pûm**-I, pùm-II	round, be spherical (be v.)	VanBik 2009:160

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**pó**	round (be v.)	VanBik 2009:160

(29) PTB *ku(ː)m ARCHED / VAULTED / CONCAVE / CONVEX

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ku(ː)m**	arched / vaulted / convex / concave	Matisoff 2003a:597

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lushai [Mizo]	**kum** ~ **kuːm**	concave	Benedict 1972:p.78

2.1.3. Lepcha

Lepcha	**kum**	arched, concave, vaulted	Benedict 1972:75n231

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Written)	**khûm̀**	convex, arched	Benedict 1976a
	pa'-**khûm**	shoulder	Matisoff 1974:399
	pa **khuṁ:**	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	pu[1]**khuṁ**[3]	shoulder	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:250.39
	pə **kûm**	shoulder	Matisoff 1987
	pɑ[1]**khum**[3]	shoulder (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0090.26

(30) PKC *tsom SHORT / SHRINK

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tsom**	SHORT / SHRINK	VanBik 2009:561

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**tsôm**-I, tsòm-II	short	VanBik 2009:561
Tiddim	**tom**[1]	short	VanBik 2009:561
	tom[1]	short (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1771
	tom[1]	short	Bhaskararao 1994

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**tsóm**-I, tsòm-II	short, shrink	VanBik 2009:561

(31) PKC *tshi(i)ŋ-I, *tshi(i)n-II SHORT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***tshi(i)ŋ**-I, tshi(i)n-II	SHORT	VanBik 2009:598

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**síiŋ**-I, sìin-II	short in length (only for skirt)	VanBik 2009:598
Tiddim	**sing**[2] > sin[3]	short in length (as in shirt sleeves; trouser legs)	VanBik 2009:598

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tshîiŋ**-I, tshĭin-II	short (e.g. skirt)	VanBik 2009:598
Lai (Falam)	**tshĭiŋ**-I, tshìin-II	short	VanBik 2009:598
Lushai [Mizo]	**chhíing**-I, chhìin-II	short (as coat, trousers, skirt rope, loop, etc)	VanBik 2009:598

(32) PTB *wal ROUND / CIRCULAR

This root is well-established in Tibeto-Burman, and underlies a luxuriant Chinese word family with at least a dozen members.

This root bears a certain resemblance to PKC ***weel** CIRCLE / GO (round) (§6.7), but further research is needed to establish this relationship.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***wal**	round; circular; enclosure; circular, round	Weidert 1987:267; Matisoff 2003a:618; Benedict 1972:91
	***wɑl**	round / circular	Chou Fa-kao 1972:425a-b

1.2.2. Central Chin: ***wal** ENCIRCLE

**Central Chin*	***wal**	ENCIRCLE	VanBik 2009:1145
Lai (Hakha)	**vâl**-I, văl-II	encircle, to make ring (as with rope on the ground)	VanBik 2009:1145

Lushai [Mizo]	**văl**	circular	Weidert 1987:267
	văl	form a ring or circle (v.)	VanBik 2009:1145
	val	circular, round	Benedict 1972:91
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**wan**	circular, round	Benedict 1972:91
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**wàn**	circular	Weidert 1987:267
	wân	round, surround (v.)	Matisoff 1974:248
	wân	round, circular	Benedict 1976a
	wan	circular	Benedict 1972:15n54(b)
	wàn	circular, round	Benedict 1972:91
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (Hanzi)	員	circle; round	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3636
	圓	round	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3637
	圜	round	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3638
	旋	turn round; return	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3227
	環	ring (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1118
	運	turn round, move	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3690
	還	turn round, return	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3229
	院	wall round a courtyard	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3656
Chinese (GSR #)	**0227a**	circle; round	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3636
	0227c	round	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3637
	0236a	turn round; return	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3227
	0256k	turn round, return	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3229
	0256n	ring (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1118
	0256y	round	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3638
	0257u	wall round a courtyard	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3656
	0458d	turn round, move	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3690
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**gi̯wɑn/ji̯wăn**	round; wall (round a courtyard)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:227c; CHOU Fa-kao 1972:257u
	gʻiwɑn/ɣiwen	tie around / encircle	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:256q
	gʻwɑn/ɣwɑn	turn round / return	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:256k-m
	gʻwɑn/ɣwɑn	ring / encircle (v.)	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:256n
	ʔi̯wət/ʔi̯uət	park / enclosure for animals	Karlgren 1957:260q
	ʔi̯wăn/ʔi̯wɒn:	park / enclosure for animals	Karlgren 1957:260q
Chinese (Old)	C.**ɢʷˁren**	ring (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1118
	gi̯wɑn	circle / circumference / round / return	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:227a-b
	s-**ɢʷen** {s-[ɢ]ʷen}	turn round, return	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3229
	s-**ɢʷen** {s-[ɢ]ʷe[n]}	turn round; return	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3227
	wren	ring	Baxter 1992:916
	ɢʷran-s {ɢʷra[n]-s}	wall round a courtyard	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3656
	ɢʷren {[ɢ]ʷren}	round	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3638
	ɢʷren {[ɢ]ʷre[n]}	circle; round	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3636; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3637
	ɢʷər-s {[ɢ]ʷər-s}	turn round, move	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3690
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**hjunH**	turn round, move	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3690
	hjwen	circle; round	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3636; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3637; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3638
	hjwenH	wall round a courtyard	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3656
	hwaen	ring (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1118
	zjwen	turn round; return; turn round, return	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3227; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3229
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**huán**	ring (n.)	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1118
	xuán	turn round; return; turn round, return	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3227; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3229
	yuán	circle; round	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3636; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3637; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3638
	yuàn	wall round a courtyard	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3656
	yùn	turn round, move	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3690

Chinese comparanda

Additional comparanda:

圈 OC ***gʻi̯wɑn** ~ ***gʻi̯wăn**, *GSR* #226k ‘enclosure for pigs’; Mand. **juàn** ‘pen, corral’, **juān** ‘shut in, confine to (e.g. a corral, jail)’.

圈 OC ***ki̯wăn** ~ ***kʻi̯wăn**, *GSR* #226k; cf. Mand. **quān** ‘a circle; to draw a circle, delineate’.

圈 *GSR* #226k includes two separate, yet semantically related etyma, distinguished by the voicing of the initial consonant: 1) ‘corral/to confine’, and 2) ‘circle/to draw a circle’ (Karlgren glosses 2) as ‘turn around on foot’; in modern Chinese, however, the predominant sense is ‘circle’).

No reconstruction for 圈 is offered by B & S 2011 or Schuessler 2007. [SPB]

PTB ***wal** ROUND / CIRCULAR (§9.7.2)
PTB ***kwa(ŋ/k)** FENCE / ENCLOSURE / CIRCLE / RING (§5.14)
PKC ***ɓial** ROUND / CIRCLE (§9.7.1)
PTB ***hwaŋ** ENCIRCLE / CIRCULAR / FENCE (§9.2.6)
PKC ***kual** COIL / LOOP (§9.7.1)
PKC ***weel** CIRCLE / GO (round) (§6.7)

(33) PKC *tom RETRACTED / CONTRACTED

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***tom**	RETRACTED / CONTRACTED	VanBik 2009:223
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**tom** hī	short	VanBik 2009:223
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**tòm**-I, tŏm-II	retracted, contracted (be v.)	VanBik 2009:223
Lushai [Mizo]	**táwm**	contracted, to shrink, to bend (finger, arm, leg) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:223
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	chā-**tý**	retracted (be v.)	VanBik 2009:223

(34) PKC *θaa-I, *θaat-II SMALL

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***θaa**-I, θaat-II	SMALL	VanBik 2009:628
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**tsàa**-I, tsàat-II	small, dear	VanBik 2009:628
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**só**	small, little	VanBik 2009:628
Cho (Mindat)	**hta**	small	VanBik 2009:628
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**fâa**-I, faat-II	small (be v.)	VanBik 2009:628

(35) PKC *sooy-I, *soyʔ-II CROOKED / ASKEW / WRY

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***sooy**-I, soyʔ-II	CROOKED / ASKEW / WRY	VanBik 2009:646
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**sawi**	wry	VanBik 2009:646
Thado	**sôoy**-I, sòy-II	crooked (be v.)	VanBik 2009:646
Tiddim	**so:i**^{3} > soiʔ^{3}	crooked	VanBik 2009:646
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**sàwi**-I, sàwih-II	askew, crooked, out of shape (be v.)	VanBik 2009:646

(36) PKC *sʰay LONG

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***sʰay**	LONG	VanBik 2009:690
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**hlei**	long (for hair, nails, animal manes) (be v.)	VanBik 2009:690
Khumi	**sáy**	grow (of hair, plants)	VanBik 2009:690
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lushai [Mizo]	**sei**	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	séi	long	VanBik 2009:690

(37) PTB *s-grum CONTRACTED / STUNTED / DWARFISH

The Lai and Lahu forms reflect ***-r-**, but WB has **-y-**; both WB and Lahu reflect PLB Tone *3.

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-grum**	contracted / stunted / dwarfish	Matisoff 2003a:591
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***k(r)um** DECREASE / DESCEND / SHRINK			
**Chin*	*(**k**)(r)um	DECREASE / DESCEND / SHRINK	VanBik 2009:1316
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**kûm**-I, kùm-II	descend	VanBik 2009:1316
Tiddim	**kum**^{1}	descend	VanBik 2009:1316
	kum^{1}	descend (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:691
	kum^{1}	descend	Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Asho	**kawn**	descend, go down	VanBik 2009:1316
Khumi	a **vung**	climb down (from a tree), descend, go down	VanBik 2009:1316
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**trum**	stunted	Matisoff 2003a:272
	trûm-I, trŭm-II	decrease, shrink, descend	VanBik 2009:1316
Lai (Falam)	**ṭúm**-I, ṭùm-II	decrease, shrink, descend	VanBik 2009:1316
Lushai [Mizo]	**tum**	jump (v.)	Marrison 1967
	ṭŭm thlà	jump down (v.)	VanBik 2009:1316
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**chó**	descend, to come down (v.)	VanBik 2009:1316
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**krúm**	trim, lop, prune	Matisoff 1974:265
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**khyuṁ’**	contracted (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	krum câ	shrink in size (v.)	VanBik 2009:1316
	kuṁ’-kuṁ’	contracted	Benedict 1976a
	kyum’	contracted, drawn together, shrunk (be v.)	Matisoff 2003a:272
	kyuṁ’	contracted (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	chɔ-**kɛ**-nɛ	dwarf	Matisoff 1974:265
	chi-**kɛ**-nɛ	barking deer (a small species)	Matisoff 2003a:272
	qhɔ-**kɛ**-nɛ	barren, treeless mountain	Matisoff 1974:265

(38) PNC *ɓeem CIRCULAR / ROUND

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
**Northern Chin*	***ɓeem**	CIRCULAR / ROUND	VanBik 2009:19
Sizang	**beam** hī	round (be v.)	VanBik 2009:19
Thado	**bêem**-INV	round, circle	VanBik 2009:19
Tiddim	**be:m**^{1}	circular	VanBik 2009:19; Bhaskararao 1996:87

(39) PTk *ŋum ROUND

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***ŋum**	round	Mortensen 2012:454
Huishu	ʔa-**vɐm**-tʰu	round	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.133
Kachai	kʰə-**ŋum**	round	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.115
Tangkhul	a **ngum**	round (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	ŋum	round	Bhat 1969:95
Ukhrul	kʰə-**ŋum**	round (be v.)	Mortensen 2012
	ŋum-hiŋ-kə-haj	completely round (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(40) PTk *saaŋ LONG

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***saaŋ**	long	Mortensen 2012:603
Huishu	kə-**si**	long	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.125
Kachai	kə-**so**	long	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.109
Tangkhul	ka **sang**	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	ka **sang**	tall	Marrison 1967
	saŋ	tall	Bhat 1969:98
Tusom	kə-**sɯ̃**	long	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.144
Ukhrul	kə-**saŋ**	long	Mortensen 2012

(41) PNC *neew SMALL

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
**Northern Chin*	***neew**	SMALL	VanBik 2009:834
Thado	**nêew**-I, nèew-II	small	VanBik 2009:834
Tiddim	**ne:u**^{1}	small	VanBik 2009:834
	ne:u^{1}	small (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1201

	neːu[1]	small	Bhaskararao 1994
	ńɛːu/ˆnɛːu	small (v.)	Henderson 1965

(42) PTk *kaw THIN

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***kaw**	thin	Mortensen 2012:391
Kachai	kə-**ko**	thin	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.130
Ukhrul	kə-**kaw**	dry up; be thin	Mortensen 2012

(43) PTk *hak BIG

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***hak**	big	Mortensen 2012:551
Huishu	kə-**hoʔ**	big	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.123
Ukhrul	kə-**hɐk**-ɐ	big	Mortensen 2012

(44) PTk *k^{h}ej CROOKED

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}ej**	crooked	Mortensen 2012:400
Huishu	k^{h}aʔ-kə-**k^{h}u**	crooked	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.131
Kachai	k^{h}ə-mə-**k^{h}i**	crooked	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.114
Tusom	k^{h}a-ŋ-**kue**	crooked	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.150
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-mə-**k^{h}ej**	bent, curved (wall), crooked (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(45) PTk *ʃu SHORT

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃu**	short	Mortensen 2012:761
Tangkhul	**śɯ**	short	Bhat 1969:96
Tusom	kə-**su**	short (height)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.147
Ukhrul	kə-**ʃu**	short (be v.)	Mortensen 2012

(46) PKar *ʔdwɨN^{A} THICK

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***ʔdwɨN^{A}**	thick	Luangthongkum 2013:296
Kayah	**do^{33}**	thick	Luangthongkum 2013:296
Kayan	**dɨ^{53}**	thick	Luangthongkum 2013:296
Kayaw	**dʉ^{55}**	thick	Luangthongkum 2013:296
Pa-O (Southern)	**duəm$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	thick	Luangthongkum 2013:296
Pa-O (Northern)	**dɨn$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	thick	Luangthongkum 2013:296
Pa-O	**dɨ̀n**	thick	Solnit 1989

(47) PCN *ʒa[ː] n or *ʒən GROW

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	***ʒ [aː/a/ə] n**	GROW	Bruhn 2014a:III.177
**Ao*	*a-**ʒən**	GROW UP	Bruhn 2014a:II.126
Ao (Chungli)	**-īn**	grow (v.)	Temsunungsang 2009:2
	a^{2}-**jən^{2}**	grow up (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.126
	in	grow	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	**zən**	grow up (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.126
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**zen**	grow	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**zi**	grow	Marrison 1967
	zi cho	grow (v.)	Kumar 1973a

(48) PTB *s-r $\begin{matrix}\mathbf{i}\\\mathbf{u}\end{matrix}$ ŋ LONG / ELONGATE

This well-established root shows ***-i-*** ≍ ***-u-*** variation, with the latter variant characteristic of the Tamangic group.

rGyalrongic attests a velar prefix, which always appears between the ***s-*** prefix and the root initial.

It is claimed in DL:1297 that Lahu **yɨ** LONG and **šɨ** LENGTH appear not to descend from this root, since the rhyme ***-iŋ*** usually goes to Lahu ***-ɛ*** not ***-ɨ***. However, this is perhaps too strict since special vocalic reflexes frequently occur after sibilants in Loloish languages.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***ring**	long / stretch	Coblin 1986:105

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-riŋ**	long; elongate, long	Matisoff 2003a:610; Benedict 1972:433

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**rèn**	too long, protracted (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:139
	ren	long	Benedict 1972:433
	śəren	lengthen	Benedict 1972:433

2.1.2. BODIC

Tsangla (Central)	**ring** mu	long	Andvik 1993:133
Tsangla (Motuo)	**riŋ^{13}**pu^{13}	long	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
	riŋ mo	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ring**-bu	long	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**riŋ^{35}**ko^{55}	long	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**riŋ^{13}**po^{53}	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.6
Motuo Menba	**riŋ** mo	long (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.07
Cuona Menba	**riŋ^{35}**po^{53}	long (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	**rĩ^{13}**mbu^{53}	long (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	āyuq **rim** bu	life, long (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.13
	rim bu	long (adj.)	Hale 1973:01.014
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**rin^{13}**bo^{53}	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**riŋ^{13}**ku^{55}	long (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.02
	riŋ^{15}ku^{53}	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	ʼcheq **ring** bu	life, long (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.13
	ring bu	long (adj.)	Hale 1973:01.014
Tibetan (Spiti)	**riŋ** po	long	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	ḥtsho **riŋ**-du	live a long time	Jäschke 1881:p.460
	riṅ ba	long (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	riŋ po	long (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.01
	riŋ po	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.1
	riŋ-ba	long	Benedict 1972:433
	sriŋ-ba	extend, stretch, postpone	Benedict 1972:433

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	(ă-)**hyrăn**	long	Benedict 1972:433

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

Gurung (Ghachok)	**rīhŋ** gyo	long	Glover 1972:1.14
Gurung	**rịhng** gyo	long (adj.)	Hale 1973:01.014
Manang (Gyaru)	**ruŋ^{3}** ba	long	Nagano 1984:328
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**ruŋ** pə	long	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0455b
	^{2}ʔu **ruŋ** pə	long	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0455a
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{3}**reŋ**	long	Mazaudon 1994:847
Tamang (Sahu)	**rehng** pā	long (adj.)	Hale 1973:01.014
	rehŋ pa	long	Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.14
	^{3}**reŋ**	long	Mazaudon 1994:847
Tamang (Taglung)	**reŋ**-ba	long	Mazaudon 1994:847
Thakali	chay **rihm**-pa	life, long (n.)	Hale 1973:10a.13
	rihm-pa	long (adj.)	Hale 1973:01.014
Thakali (Marpha)	$^{22\text{›}22}$**rum**-ba	long	Mazaudon 1994:846
Thakali (Syang)	$^{11\text{›}33}$**rum**-ba	long	Mazaudon 1994:846
Thakali (Tukche)	c^{h}ɔj **rihm**-pɔ	long life	Hari 1971:10.A.13
	c^{h}ɔj **rihn**-lɔ	spared, be / live long	Hari 1971:10.B.1.38
	rihm-pɔ	long	Hari 1971:1.14

2.1.5. DHIMAL

Dhimal	**hriːn**	long	Benedict 1972:433

3.2. QIANGIC

Muya [Minyak]	**zɻɯ^{33}zɻɯ^{55}**	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.15
Qiang (Mawo)	**dzi̱**	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.8
	dzə̱	long (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**dzɻ́**	long; long (of time)	Evans 1999:1413; Evans 1999:1414
	phù-**dzɻ́**	gown (long) [clothes-long]	Evans 1999:631
Qiang (Taoping)	**dzɻe^{33}**	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.9
	dzɻi^{241}	classifier for long objects; classifier for long, thin obje	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:953.9; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:954.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**se^{33}se^{55}**	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.16

3.3. RGYALRONGIC: ***s-k-riŋ*** LONG

Ergong (Danba)	**dzɻi**	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.14
Daofu	gɛ **dzɻi**	long (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.12
Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	**ʼsren** pa	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	**xsrê**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	ʼkə **skreŋ**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	de k **ʼsrje**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	də^{3}kə^{3}**sri^{5}**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	də^{3}kə^{5}**sri^{3}**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	də ʼkə **sre**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	də ʼkə **sre**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	də kə **ʼskre**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	kə22 **zre33**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə33 **skrɐn44**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong	kə **skhɐn**	long	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:809.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **skrɐn**	long (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.11
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	kə-**k^{h}ri**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**skrɐn**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	kə22 **skren44**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **skrjen44**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	kə3**ʼsriŋ53**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	kə^{3}**k^{h}ri^{5}**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	kə^{3}**k^{h}rə^{5}**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	kə^{3}**sri^{5}**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	kə^{3}**xsre^{5}**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kə^{3}**xsri^{35}**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	kə ʼd **krje**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	kə **ʼk^{h}ri**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	kə **ʼskre**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	kə **ʼskre**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	kə **ʼskren**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	kə **ʼskren**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	kə **ʼskren**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	kə **ʼskren**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	kə **ʼskren**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	kə **ʼskren**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	kə **ʼskre^{n}**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	kə **ʼskri**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	kə **ʼskərin**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	kə **ʼskɛ^{n}**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606

rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	kə-**skɾeɲ**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	kə-**skɾin**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	kə-**sre**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	kə-**sre**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	kə-**sri**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	kə-**sri**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	kə-**sris**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	kə-**sriʔ**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	kə-**sɨrə**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	kə-**xsre**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	kə-**xsrje**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kə-**ʂi**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kə-**ʂre**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	kəkʰ**skren**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	kəkʰ**sre**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kə-**xsrin**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	kʊkʰ**sre**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**sre**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**srɑ̂ɣ**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	tʰə22 ste44 kə44 **skren22**	how long?	Nagano & Prins 2013:2071
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	tʰɐ stɛ kə-**skɾɐn**	how long?	Nagano & Prins 2013:2071
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	wa22 **skreɴ33**	how long?	Nagano & Prins 2013:2071
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	wu33 tə44 **zre33**	how long?	Nagano & Prins 2013:2071
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**zri**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	**ʃkre**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˆkə-**xʂiŋ**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˆkə-ᵏ**sriŋ**	long	Nagano & Prins 2013:1606
rGyalrong	kA **skreN**	long	Nagano 1997:158
rGBenzhen	kə-**skrjɐn**	long	Sun 1997b
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**hrañ**	long	Hansson 1989:435; Matisoff 1974:139; Benedict 1976a
	hrań	long	Benedict 1972:433
	hre	long (< hrañ) (be v.)	Benedict 1976a
	hrɑɲ^{2}	long (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.26
	hrɑɲ^{2}	long	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:809.39
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**sɤ**^{24}	long	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	sɤ^{24}	long (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.47
Lalo	**sjə́**	long	Björverud 1994
	ʂɯ^{55}	long	Chen Kang 1986a:143.
Lipho	**ʂi**^{33}	long	Chen Kang 1986a:143.
Nasu	**ʂɔ**^{33}	long	Chen Kang 1986a:143.
Neisu	**ʂɛ**^{13}	long	Chen Kang 1986a:143.
Nesu	**sɛ**^{55}	long	Chen Kang 1986a:143.
Nosu	**ʂo**^{33}	long	Chen Kang 1986a:143.
Nusu (Southern)	**xɹə**^{55}	long	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**xɹɯ**^{33}	long (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**xɹɯ**^{31}	long	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:809.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ɕe**^{33}	long	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:809.22
Yi (Mojiang)	**sɛ**^{55}	long	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:809.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ʂi**^{33}	long	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:809.24
	ʂl̩^{33}	long (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ʂl̩**^{55}	long	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:809.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʂl̩**^{55}	long (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ʂɔ**^{33}	long (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.38
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo	la^{33}**ɕɯ**^{55}	long	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:809.34
	la^{44}**ʃɯ**^{55}	long (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃɤ**^{42}	long	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**zɤ31**	long	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**zi**^{31}	long (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.43
Lahu (Black)	**ši**	length; region	Matisoff 1988a:1228 [a]
	yì	long	Matisoff 1974:139
	zl̩^{31}	long	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:809.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ʑɛ**^{2}	long	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	a^{21}**ʃl̩**^{55}**ʃl̩**^{33}	long; pretty long; extend (V.)	Bradley 1994
	hæ̃^{21}gɔ^{21} **ʃl̩**^{33}	long night	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ʃi**^{33}	long (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ʃl̩**^{33}	long (length) (V.)	Bradley 1994
	ʃl̩^{33}**ʃl̩**^{33} ɲɔ^{55}ɲɔ^{55}	some long and some short; length	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ʃl̩**^{44}	long	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:809.27
Sani [Nyi]	zi^{33}**ɕɛ̱**^{33}	long-lived	Wu Zili *et al.* 1984a
	zl̩^{33} **ɕæ**^{33}	long life (changshou)	Ma Xueliang 1989:356.1
	ɕæ^{33}	long	Chen Kang 1986a:143.
Yi (Sani)	**ɕæ**^{44}	long (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0972.39

[a] Lahu **ši** is an "extentive" noun derived from the adjectival verb **yì**. For the morphophonemics of exentive nouns, see Matisoff 1973/1982: 30-32.

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**sɯ**^{5}	long	Hansson 1989:435; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**xjɛ**^{44}	LONG (distance); LONG (time)	Pelkey 2011:1041; Pelkey 2011:1042
Southern Muji	**χo**^{33}	LONG (distance); LONG (time)	Pelkey 2011:1041; Pelkey 2011:1042
Phola	nɔ^{55}**ʂɛ**^{55}	LONG (time)	Pelkey 2011:1042
Hlepho Phowa	**ɕɛ**^{33}	LONG (distance); LONG (time)	Pelkey 2011:1041; Pelkey 2011:1042
Phuza	**xjɛ**^{55}	LONG (distance); LONG (time)	Pelkey 2011:1041; Pelkey 2011:1042

(49) PKar *ʔjɛnᴮ NARROW

7. Karenic			
**Karen [Burling]*	***in**^{2}	narrow	Luangthongkum 2013:199
**Karen*	***ʔjɛn**^{B}	narrow	Luangthongkum 2013:199
Kayah	**ʔi**^{11}	narrow	Luangthongkum 2013:199
Kayan	**ʔjaŋ**^{11}	narrow	Luangthongkum 2013:199
Kayaw	**-ʔi**^{11}	narrow	Luangthongkum 2013:199
Pa-O (Southern)	**ʔɛn**^{33}∼**ʔɛm**^{33}	narrow	Luangthongkum 2013:199
Pa-O (Northern)	**ʔɛn**^{55}	narrow	Luangthongkum 2013:199
Pwo (Northern)	**ʔãi**^{33}	narrow	Luangthongkum 2013:199
Pwo (Southern)	**ʔãi**^{55}	narrow	Luangthongkum 2013:199
Sgaw (Northern)	**ʔi**$^{31\sim}$	narrow	Luangthongkum 2013:199
Sgaw (Southern)	**ʔi**$^{45\prime}$	narrow	Luangthongkum 2013:199

(50) PTB * g/k a: r/l SOLID / CONGEALED / FROZEN / VISCOUS / STRONG

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***gjar**	strong	Coblin 1986:142
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ga:r ≷ ka:r**	solid / frozen	Matisoff 2003a:590
	***kal**	congeal	Matisoff 2003a:594
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	**kar**-mu-duŋ	thick (liquid)	Sun 1993b
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***khal** FREEZE / CLOT / SOLIDIFY			
**Chin*	***khal**	FREEZE / CLOT / SOLIDIFY	VanBik 2009:443
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**khal**	clot, freeze	VanBik 2009:443
Thado	**khâl**-I, khàl-II	clot, freeze	VanBik 2009:443
Tiddim	**khal**^{3} > khal?^{3}	solid (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:713
	khal^{3} > khal?^{3}	solid	VanBik 2009:443
	khal^{3}/khal?^{3}	solid	Bhaskararao 1994
	`xal/_xalʔ	in solid lumps (v.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**khàl**-I, khăl-II	clot, freeze, solidify	VanBik 2009:443
Lai (Falam)	**khál**-INV	clot, freeze, solidify	VanBik 2009:443
Lushai [Mizo]	**kha:r / khal**	congeal / frozen	Benedict 1972:15n54(c)
	khăar	congeal (v.)	Weidert 1987:174
	khâl	congeal (v.)	Weidert 1987:174
	khâl	congealed, solidified, thick (as paste, etc), hard (as pumpkin, meat, excrement, etc.), clotted, frozen (as water)	VanBik 2009:443
	khal	congeal (vi.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2543
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**kal**	strong	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***kar** STRONG			
**Tangkhulic*	***kar**	strong	Mortensen 2012:628
Huishu	**ko**-kʰe	strong	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.121
Tusom	kʰa-ŋ-**kuə**	strong	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.140
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**nghār** chhye ma	strong (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.04
Tsangla (Motuo)	**gar** bo	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:844.7
	kar^{13}pu^{13}	thick (liquid)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**gɑr**^{35}pu^{55}	thick (liquid)	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**kʌr**^{13}mo^{53}	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:844.6
Motuo Menba	**gar** bo	thick (porridge)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1030.07
Cuona Menba	**kar**^{35}mo^{53}	thick (porridge)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1030.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Batang)	**ka**^{13}mu^{53}	thick (porridge)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1030.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**ngār** mā	strong (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.04
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ga**^{31}bo^{53}	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:844.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**kha**^{15}po^{53}	thick	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:844.2
	kha:^{13}po^{55}	thick (porridge)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1030.02
Tibetan (Written)	**gar** po	thick (porridge); thick	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1030.01; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:844.1
	gar-ba	strong	Benedict 1972:15n54(c)
	gar-bu	solid	Benedict 1972:15n54(c)
	gar-mo	thick (soup)	Benedict 1972:15n54(c)
	gar ba, drags po	strong	Marrison 1967
2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	*^{A}**ka**	thick	Mazaudon 1994:11
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{1}**ka**	thick	Mazaudon 1994:11
Thakali (Marpha)	^{44,55}**kʌ**-wʌ	thick (liquid)	Mazaudon 1994:11
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**kharh**.ʔo	violent (human) (adj.)	Hale 1973:12a.06
	kʰarh-ʔo	violent	Caughley 1972:12.A.6
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**khɛ**^{55}	solidify / congeal (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1534.27
Burmese (Written)	**khài**	congeal (v.)	Weidert 1987:174
	khaì	congeal	Benedict 1972:15n54(c)
	khɑi^{3}	solidify / congeal (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1534.26
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**khoɤ**^{33}	solid	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1043.47
Yi (Xide)	**kho**^{33}	solid	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1043.35

6.2. NAXI

Naxi	**ko^{21}**	solid	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1043.45

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	健 康／壮的	healthy	Nagano & Prins 2013:0643

Chinese comparandum

健 OC ***g'i̯ăn**, *GSR* #249g 'strong'; Mand. **jiàn** 'strong, healthy'.

(51) PrGy *jak THICK (and flat)

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**jɑ^{33}**bi^{55}	thick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:811.18
	jɑ^{33}bu^{55}	thick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:813.18
Guiqiong	**ja^{31}**kuã^{55}	thick (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.16
	jɑ^{33}	thick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:813.17
	jɑ^{35}lɛ^{33}	thick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:844.17

3.3. rGYALRONGIC

Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	**jak˺**pa	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	**jɑ̂ɣ**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615

3.3.1. rGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	'kə **ja**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	'kə **jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	də^{3} **jak^{5}**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	də^{3} **jik^{1}**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	də **'jɑk˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	də **'jɑk˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	də **'jɑk˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	**jaks**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**jaw**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**jaʁ**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	kə22 **ja44**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kə22 **yaʔ44**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong	kə **jak**	thick	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:813.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **jɑk**	thick (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0980.11
Caodeng	kə-**ja**	thick (book)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	kə-**ja**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	kə-**jak**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	kə22 **jak44**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	kə22 **jak44**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	kə44**jak44**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	kə5**'jək53**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	kə^{3}**jak^{3}**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	kə^{3}**ja^{3}**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	kə^{3}**jik^{5}**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	kə^{3}**xjaʔk^{3}**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	kə^{3}**xjek^{5}**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	kəʔ **'jɑk**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	kə **'ja**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	kə **'ja**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	kə **'ja**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	kə **'ja**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	kə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	kə **'jaʔ**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	kə **'jaʔ**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	kə **'jik˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	kə **'jɑk˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	kə **'jɑk˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	kə **'jɑk˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	kə **'jɑk˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	kə **'jɑʔ**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	kʊ ˈ**jək**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	nə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	nə **'jak˺**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	uʑiao ˈ**ʑæʔ**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	ˊke **jo [ʕ] k**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊkə **jɐ [ʕ] k**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGyalrong	kA **yak**	thick	Nagano 1997:171
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	kaw **'ja**	thick (and flat)	Nagano & Prins 2013:1615
rGBenzhen	kə-**jak**	thick (book)	Sun 1997b

9.8.0 Measure Words

(1) PKar *dɨm^{A} ARMSPAN (with open hand)

7. KARENIC

**Karen*	***dɨm^{A}**	linear measure about half a yard (open-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:169
Kayah	**tɨ^{11}**	linear measure about half a yard (open-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:169
Kayan	**tɨ^{33}**	linear measure about half a yard (open-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:169
Kayaw	**tɨ^{33}**	linear measure about half a yard (open-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:169
Pa-O (Northern)	**thom^{33}**	linear measure about half a yard (open-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:169
Pa-O (Southern)	**təm^{53}**	linear measure about half a yard (open-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:169
Pwo (Northern)	**thã^{55}**	linear measure about half a yard (open-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:169
Pwo (Southern)	**thə̃ɨ^{31}**	linear measure about half a yard (open-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:169
Sgaw (Northern)	**tə^{33}**	linear measure about half a yard (open-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:169
Sgaw (Southern)	**tɨ^{33}**	linear measure about half a yard (open-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:169

(2) PTB *s-la(ː)m ARMSPAN / FATHOM / CORD

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***la(ː)m**	fathom	Matisoff 2003a:599
	***la [a] m**	fathom	LaPolla 1987:147

1.1.1. TANI: ***rjam** FATHOM

**Tani*	***rjam**	fathom	Sun 1993a:143

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	(a-la) **lje**-ŋe	fathom	Sun 1993b
	lje-nɯŋ	fathom	Sun 1993b
	lje-ŋe	fathom	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**rjam**	fathom	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-**jam**	classifier (fathom)	Sun 1993b
	jam	fathom	Sun 1993a
	jam	fathom (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0899.24
Bokar Lhoba	a **jam**	fathom = 6 feet	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:959.51

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	bom-**jam**	fathom	Sun 1993a

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***la(a)m** ⪤ ***hla(a)m** YARD / ARMSPAN / CORD

**Chin*	***la(a)m** ⪤ hla(a)m	YARD / ARMSPAN / CORD	VanBik 2009:1071

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Kuki-Chin	**lam**	cord / fathom (outstretched arms)	Haokip 1998:13.4
Thado	**láam**	yard (measurement: spread arms)	VanBik 2009:1071
Tiddim	**laam**	fathom	LaPolla 1987:147

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**lam**	span of the arms	VanBik 2009:1071

Khumi	**láang**	fathom (distance from one hand to the other with outstretched arms)	VanBik 2009:1071
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**lâm**	yard (measurement: one fingertip from the other)	VanBik 2009:1071
Lai (Falam)	**lăm**	yard	VanBik 2009:1071
Lushai [Mizo]	**hlám**	measurement (the distance between the tip of the fingers on the right hand to the same on the left, with the arms extended) (n.)	VanBik 2009:1071
	hlam	fathom	LaPolla 1987:147
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**là**	measurement: one fingertip from the other (n.)	VanBik 2009:1071
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Kom Rem	**ləm**	cord / fathom (outstretched ar	Toba & Kom 1991:13.4
Sorbung	**laam**-k^{h}àt	cord, one; fathom, one	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.359
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Ao*	*a-**hnəm**	FATHOM	Bruhn 2014a:II.237
Ao (Chungli)	a^{1}-**nəm**^{2}	fathom, armspan (middle finger to middle finger) (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.237
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a **hnəm**	armspan (both arms extended)	Coupe 2007
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Huishu	**lam** kɐ	left fingertip to right fingertip (one unit)	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.348
Tusom	**lam**	fathom	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.340
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**ləm**	cord / fathom	Singh 1991:13.4
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**lām**	fathom / cubit	Matisoff 1974:116
	lă^{31}**lam**^{33}	fathom (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0899.19
	lă^{31}**lam**^{55}	fathom = 6 feet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:959.47
	lă^{1} **lam**^{33}	fathom, cord	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lə **lām**	fathom / cubit	Matisoff 1974:116
	lə **lam**	fathom	LaPolla 1987:147; Benedict 1972:71n220
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tshona (Wenlang)	**glam**^{35}	fathom, cord	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Cuona Menba	**klam**^{35}	fathom (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0899.06
	klam^{35}	hug / hold in the arms	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1149.06
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**lio**^{55}	cord; fathom; fathom = 6 feet	Sun Hongkai 1991d; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:959.18
Lyuzu	(te^{55}) **liu**^{53}	fathom (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0899.18
Namuyi	**ɬy**^{55}	cord; fathom; fathom = 6 feet	Sun Hongkai 1991i:13.4; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:959.19
	ɬu^{53}	fathom (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0899.46
Pumi (Qinghua)	tə^{55} **liẽ**^{55}	fathom	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
Queyu (Xinlong)	(tɯ^{55}) **lu**^{55}	fathom (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0899.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	tə^{35} **lõ**^{55}	cord; fathom (outstretched ar; fathom = 6 feet	Sun Hongkai 1991n:13.4; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:959.16
Zhaba (Daofu County)	(tɛ^{55}) **li**^{55}	fathom (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0899.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Ergong (Daofu)	**ʔlo**	cord / fathom	Dai Qingxia 1989b:13.4
4. Nungic			
Rawang	**lam**^{53}	fathom (fingertip to fingertip of out-stretched arms)	LaPolla 2003:936
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	ti^{55} **lam**^{53}	fathom	LaPolla 1987:147
	ti^{55} **lăm**^{53}	fathom	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	tʂi^{55} **lam**^{53}	fathom	LaPolla 1987:147
	tʂi^{55} **lăm**^{53}	fathom	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***s-lam**$^{1/2}$ FATHOM			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***s-lam**$^{1/2}$	fathom	Matisoff 2003a:599
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Longchuan)	**lam**^{55}	fathom, cord; fathom	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985; LaPolla 1987:147
	lam^{55}	fathom (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0899.28
	lam^{55}	fathom = 6 feet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:959.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**lam**^{55}	fathom (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0899.29
Burmese (Written)	a **lam**	fathom	LaPolla 1987:147
	ă **lam**	fathom	Benedict 1972:71n220
	lam	fathom; cubit; measure with arms extended; encompass with the arms	Hansson 1989:xxx; Matisoff 1974:116; Benedict 1976a; Benedict 1972:71n220
	ə-**laṁ**	fathom, four cubits (n.)	Benedict 1976a
Lashi	**lam**^{31}	cord / fathom	Dai Qingxia 1989m:13.4
	lam^{31}	fingertip to fingertip (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989m:13.4.2
Leqi (Luxi)	**lam**^{31}	fathom (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0899.33
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**lam**^{51}	fathom	LaPolla 1987:147
	lam^{51}	fathom (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0899.30
	lam^{51}	wide; broad; spacious; commodious (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0976.30; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0978.30
	lam^{51}	wide; fathom = 6 feet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:815.42; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:959.42
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***lam**^{1}	fathom	Hansson 1989:xxx
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**la**^{35}	fathom	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**liɛ**^{35}	fathom, cord	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**lɔ**^{31}	fathom	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Youle)	**ɬɛ**^{44}	fathom	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	**lo**^{31}	fathom (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0899.43
Lahu (Black)	**lò**	fathom / cubit	Matisoff 1974:116
	lu^{31}	fathom	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	te^{53}**lo**^{31}	fathom = 6 feet	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:959.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**lu**^{31}	fathom	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**lḿ**	fathom	Hansson 1989:xxx
Hani (Dazhai)	**lɔ**^{55}	fathom, cord	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Caiyuan)	**le**^{55}	fathom, cord	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Gelanghe)	**lm̩**^{55}	fathom, cord	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**lu**^{55}	fathom, cord	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
7. Karenic: ***bla**^{B} ARMSPAN (with closed hand)			
**Karen*	***bla**^{B}	linear measure about half a yard (closed-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:168
Kayah	**ple**^{11}	linear measure about half a yard (closed-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:168
Kayan	**pla**^{11}	linear measure about half a yard (closed-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:168
Kayaw	**pla**^{11}	linear measure about half a yard (closed-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:168
Pa-O	**klèm**	fathom (Tatawk dialect)	Solnit 1989
	tə **khrèm**	fathom	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**phla**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	linear measure about half a yard (closed-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:168
Pwo (Southern)	**phla**^{33}	linear measure about half a yard (closed-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:168
Sgaw (Southern)	**pla**^{31}	linear measure about half a yard (closed-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:168
Sgaw (Northern)	**pla**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	linear measure about half a yard (closed-hand)	Luangthongkum 2013:168
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	尋	measure of 8 chǐ □.	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3253
Chinese (GSR #)	**0662a**	measure of 8 chǐ □.	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3253
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**dzi̯əm**	a measure (eight □)	Karlgren 1957:662a

Chinese comparandum

尋 OC ***dzi̯əm**, *GSR* #662a 'measure of 8 chǐ (尺)'; B & S 2011: ***sə-ləm {sə-l[ə]m}**; Mand. **xún**.

(3) PKC *taʔ GAUGE / MEASURE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***taʔ**	GAUGE / MEASURE	VanBik 2009:199
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**teh**	gauge, measure (v.)	VanBik 2009:199
Thado	**tèe**-INV	measure (weigh)	VanBik 2009:199
Tiddim	**teʔ**^{3}	measure (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1736
	teʔ^{3}	measure; measure...	VanBik 2009:199; Bhaskararao 1994
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**taʔ**-INV	gauge, measure (v.)	VanBik 2009:199
Lai (Falam)	**tàʔ**-INV	gauge, measure (v.)	VanBik 2009:199
Lushai [Mizo]	**teh**	measure (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:2932

(4) PTani *ke HALF

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***ke**	half	Sun 1993a:189
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	pa-**če**	half	Sun 1993a
	pa-**č^{h}e**	half	Sun 1993b
	puɪ-ló pá-**če**	half moon	Sun 1993b
	ta-**č^{h}e**	half	Sun 1993b
Bengni	pa-**či:**	half; half (of st round)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	pa **tɕe:**	half (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0832.24
	pa-**če:**	half	Sun 1993a
Bokar Lhoba	pa **tɕe:**	half	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:947.51
Galo	pen-**ci**	half	Das Gupta 1963
	tak-**ci**	half	Das Gupta 1963
	tak **ci**	half (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	a-**ke**	half	Sun 1993a

(5) PKC *krim HALF / MIDWAY

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***krim**	HALF / MIDWAY	VanBik 2009:1322
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**zā** kim lai	midnight	VanBik 2009:1322
Thado	**zàan** kìm	midnight	VanBik 2009:1322
Tiddim	**zaːn**^{3} kim^{3}	midnight	VanBik 2009:1322
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**kó**-i	half	VanBik 2009:1322
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**trìm**	half, midway	VanBik 2009:1322

(6) PTB *p^{w}ak HALF / ONE OF A PAIR / SIDE

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***pwak**	half	Matisoff 2003a:608
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**poko**	half	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**bàʔ**	folded (be v.)	Matisoff 1974:331; Matisoff 1972b:93(b)

3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong	wu **phɛk**	half	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:947.12
	ə **phak**	half	Benedict 1972:24n78
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔbak**	side / half / one of a pair	Matisoff 1972b:72(b)
	***ʔpak**	side / half / one of a pair	Matisoff 1972b:72(a)
	***ʔpak ≍ ʔbak**	fold / embrace / one (of pair) / side	Matisoff 1974:331
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**phɛʔ**^{4}	embrace / hug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1762.27
	tɑ^{53}**wɛʔ**^{4}	half (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0832.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tɑ^{53}**wɛʔ**^{44}	half	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:947.40
Burmese (Written)	ă **wak**	half	Benedict 1972:24n78
	bhak	embrace; one of a pair; embrace, hug; match, unite	Matisoff 1974:331; Benedict 1976a
	bhɑk^{4}	classifier for one of a pair (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0871.26
	phak	fold; embrace; one (of pair); side; embrace, hug; match, unite	Matisoff 1974:331; Benedict 1976a
	phɑk^{4}	embrace / hug (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1762.26
	thwe^{3}**pok**^{4}	cuddle / embrace (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1505.26
	tɑ^{1}**wɑk**^{4}	half (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0832.26
	tɑ^{1} **wɑk**	half	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:947.39
	wak	half	Marrison 1967
	ə-**bhak**	match, one of a pair; an associate (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**phak**	match, one of a pair; an associate (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**wak**	half	Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	**pɑ**^{35}	classifier for one of a pair (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0871.43
	ɔ^{31}**pɑ**^{53}	side (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0709.43
Lahu (Black)	ɔ^{31} **pa**^{53}	side	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ^{31}**pʌ**^{31}phɔ^{53}	side	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:55.33
	ɔ̀-**pá**	side; faction	Matisoff 1974:331; Matisoff 1972b:72(b)
Lahu (Yellow)	ɔ^{31} **pa**^{55}	side	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**paˆ**	side	Matisoff 1974:331

(7) PKar *khlɛN^{A} LINEAR MEASURE (about two yards)

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***khlɛN**^{A}	linear measure about two yards	Luangthongkum 2013:170
Kayah	**khli**^{33}	linear measure about two yards	Luangthongkum 2013:170
Kayan	**khlaŋ**^{53}	linear measure about two yards	Luangthongkum 2013:170
Pa-O (Northern)	**khlɛm**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	linear measure about two yards	Luangthongkum 2013:170
Pa-O (Southern)	**khlɛŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	linear measure about two yards	Luangthongkum 2013:170
Pwo (Northern)	**khlãi**^{35}	linear measure about two yards	Luangthongkum 2013:170
Pwo (Southern)	**khlãi**^{53}	linear measure about two yards	Luangthongkum 2013:170
Sgaw (Northern)	**khli**^{33}	linear measure about two yards	Luangthongkum 2013:170
Sgaw (Southern)	**khli**^{55}	linear measure about two yards	Luangthongkum 2013:170

(8) PTB *kyiːn ≍ *tsyiːn WEIGH

This root shows variation between a palatalized velar and a palatalized dental affricate initial. Note the variant Jingpho forms.

In this case, both Written Burmese and Mizo unambiguously reflect a long vowel (***-in** > WB **-añ**, while ***-iːn** > WB **-in**). See *HPTB*:277.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kin**	weigh	Benedict 1972:369
	***kiːn**	weigh (v.)	Weidert 1987:187
	***kyiːn**	weigh	Matisoff 2003a:598
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lushai [Mizo]	**khìin**	weigh (v.)	Weidert 1987:187
	khiːn	weigh	Benedict 1972:369
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**śin ≍ śen ≍ tśen**	weigh	Benedict 1972:369
3.2. Qiangic			
Qiang (Longxi)	**tɕhì tɕhí**	weigh (grain)	Evans 1999:1710
Qiang (Mianchi)	**tɕhé**	weigh (grain)	Evans 1999:1710
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***kyiːn**^{1} WEIGH			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***kyiːn**^{1}	weigh	Matisoff 2003a:598
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**khyin**	weigh	Benedict 1972:369
6.1.2. Loloish: ***tsin**^{1} WEIGH			
**Loloish*	***tsin**^{1}	weigh (v.)	Weidert 1987:187
	***tsin**^{1}	weigh	Bradley 1979b:713
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**tshɛ**^{24}	weigh (food)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1188.47
Lalo	**tshí**	weigh / measure weight	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Southern)	**tsuĩ**^{55}	weigh (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**tɕi̱**^{35}	weigh (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tɕi**^{53}	weigh (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:620.45
Yi (Mojiang)	**tsɛ**^{55}	weigh (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:620.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tʂhə̱**^{33}	weigh (food)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1188.37
	tʂhɯ̱^{33}	weigh (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:620.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**tshŋ̍**^{55}	weigh (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:620.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tshŋ̍**^{55}	weigh (food)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1188.36
Yi (Xide)	**tɕi**^{21}	weigh (food)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1188.35
	tɕi^{21}	weigh (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:620.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Youle)	**tʃhe**^{33}	weigh (v.t.)	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tɕhe**^{33}	weigh (food)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1188.44
	tɕhe^{42}	weigh (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:620.34
Lahu (Black)	**chɨ**	weigh	Matisoff 1974:86
	tshŋ̍^{33}	weigh (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:620.33
Lisu (Central)	**htsye**^{4}	weigh (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**tshe**^{33}	weigh (V.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tshe**^{33}	weigh (food)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1188.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tʃhŋ̍**^{21}ni^{33}	weigh in hand	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**tʃhŋ̍**^{21}ɲi^{33}	weigh in hand	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tʃi**^{55}	weigh (food)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1188.40
	tʃi^{55}	weigh (v.t.)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:620.27
Lisu (Northern)	**tɕi**^{55}	weigh (V.)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**tsž**^{44}	weigh (food)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1188.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**tɕhe**^{3}	weigh	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**sɛ**^{33}	weigh	Pelkey 2011:893
Southern Muji	**ɕɛ**^{33}	weigh	Pelkey 2011:893
Phola	**kɨ**^{55}	weigh	Pelkey 2011:893
Hlepho Phowa	**sɛ**^{33}	weigh	Pelkey 2011:893
Phuza	**ɕi**^{55}	weigh	Pelkey 2011:893

Chinese comparandum

均 OC ***kɨ̱wěn**, *GSR* #391c 'even, equal, uniform'; Schuessler 2007:328 ***kwin**; B & S 2011: ***C.qʷin {C.qʷi [n] }**; Mand. **jūn**.
鈞 OC ***kɨ̱wěn**, *GSR* #391d 'weight of 30 *kin*'; Schuessler 2007:328 ***kwin**; B & S 2011: (***C.qʷin {C.qʷi [n] }**); Mand. **jūn**.

(9) PCN *hju ≍ *hu WEIGH

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***hju ≍ hu**	WEIGH	Bruhn 2014a:III.090
**Ao*	***hju**	WEIGH	Bruhn 2014a:II.278
Ao (Chungli)	**u**^{2}taŋ^{2}	weigh (vt.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.278
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**hju**	weigh [weighed] (v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**fə**^{3}-	weigh (v.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.090

9.9.0 Numbers and numeric expression

(1) PKC *tshap ADD / REPEAT

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tshap**	ADD / REPEAT	VanBik 2009:577
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tshap**-INV	add, repeat	VanBik 2009:577
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**chhā**	add	VanBik 2009:577

(2) PCC *zaa ALL (plural Pn)

Perhaps derived from PKC ***yaa** HUNDRED (VanBik 2009:281). See PTB ***b-r-gya** HUNDRED (§9.9).

1.2.2. Central Chin			
**Central Chin*	***zaa**	ALL (plural Pn)	VanBik 2009:1183
Lai (Falam)	**zàa**	all	VanBik 2009:1183
Lai (Hakha)	**zăa**-têe	all	VanBik 2009:1183
Lushai [Mizo]	**zà**	all, all together (plural particle)	VanBik 2009:1183

(3) PLB *ka ALL

6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***ka**^{1}	all	Matisoff 2003a:594
6.1.1. Burmish			
Achang (Xiandao)	ta^{31}**ka**^{31}	we all (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0939.29
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Southern)	**khɑ**^{31}ŋuə^{35}	all / even	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**kho**^{21}	all / even	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:999.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**kha**^{33}	all; every	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	kha^{34}	all; every	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Weishan)	**xɑ**^{33}xu^{33}	we all (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0939.36
	xɑ^{33}xu^{55}	all / whole, the (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0963.36
Yi (Xide)	**khɑ**^{34} di^{33} n̡i^{33}	we all (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0939.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**kɑ**^{13}**kɑ**^{55}	all	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Lahu (Lancang)	**qhɑ**^{33} pɤ-e^{11}	we all (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0939.43
	qhɑ^{33} pɤ-e^{11}	all; everything; whole, the (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0962.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0963.43
Lahu (Black)	**qha**	completely; to the limit; to a marked degree	Matisoff 1988a:265
	qha-dɛ̀ʔ	in the right way; nicely; properly; thoroughly; truly; very; intensitive	Matisoff 1988a:268; Matisoff 1972b:4
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**k'aˇ**	all who, all which (v.)	Lewis 1989:242
Hani (Caiyuan)	**kha**^{55}ŋɤ^{55}kɤ^{55}	all / even	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:999.30
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	**q^{h}ɑ**^{55}tɕɔ^{33}	all	Pelkey 2011:1142

(4) PKar *loʔ^{D} ALL / ALL GONE / WHOLE

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***loʔ**^{D}	all, all gone, whole	Luangthongkum 2013:1
Kayah	**lɔ**^{33}	all, all gone, whole	Luangthongkum 2013:1
Kayan	**lɔʔ**^{33}	all, all gone, whole	Luangthongkum 2013:1
Kayaw	**lə**^{33}	all, all gone, whole	Luangthongkum 2013:1
Pa-O (Northern)	**loʔ**^{45}	all, all gone, whole	Luangthongkum 2013:1
Pa-O (Southern)	**luʔ**^{45}	all, all gone, whole	Luangthongkum 2013:1

Pwo (Northern)	**lauʔ**^{21}	all, all gone, whole	Luangthongkum 2013:1
Pwo (Southern)	**lɔuʔ**^{45}	all, all gone, whole	Luangthongkum 2013:1
Sgaw (Northern)	(khɛ^{33})**ləʔ**^{21}	all, all gone, whole	Luangthongkum 2013:1
Sgaw (Southern)	**lɔu**^{11}	all, all gone, whole	Luangthongkum 2013:1

(5) PKC *ɗee ŋ/k ALMOST

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗeeŋ** ⋉ ɗeek	ALMOST	VanBik 2009:60
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**dek** tak	almost	VanBik 2009:60
Tiddim	**dek**^{3}**tak**^{3}	almost	VanBik 2009:60
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Khumi	**máydiee(ng)**	little bit, almost	VanBik 2009:60
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dèeŋ**	almost, about to	VanBik 2009:60
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**dài**	almost	VanBik 2009:60

(6) PKC *pawʔ ANY / EVERY

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***pawʔ**	ANY / EVERY	VanBik 2009:118
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**peuh**	any	VanBik 2009:118
Sizang	**teng** pō	every	VanBik 2009:118
Tiddim	**khem**^{1} peuh^{3}	every	VanBik 2009:118
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**pawʔ**	any, every	VanBik 2009:118

(7) PTB *b-r-gyat ⋉ *b-g-ryat EIGHT

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	*(**b-)g-ryɑt**	eight	Chou Fa-kao 1972:281a-d
	***b-r-gyat** ⋉ **b-g-ryat**	eight	Matisoff 2003a:592
	***b-r-gyat**	eight	LaPolla 1987:183
	***b-r-gyat** ⋉ **(b)-g-ryat**	eight	Matisoff 1985a:041
	***b-rgyat**	eight	Benedict 1972:163
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
**Kuki-Naga*	***d-ryat**	eight	Benedict 1972:45n148
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***riat** EIGHT			
**Chin*	***riat**	EIGHT	VanBik 2009:935
**Kuki*	***d-ryat**	eight	Benedict 1972:163
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**gîet**	number eight	VanBik 2009:935
Tiddim	**giat**^{1}	eight	VanBik 2009:935
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**kheit**	eight	VanBik 2009:935
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	pa-**riat**	number eight	VanBik 2009:935
Lai (Falam)	pa-**rîat**	number eight	VanBik 2009:935
Lushai [Mizo]	**pà**-rîat	eight	VanBik 2009:935
	riat	eight	Benedict 1972:163
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pā**-chā-rí	eight	VanBik 2009:935
1.3. "Naga" Areal Group			
Maring	**chot**	eight	Marrison 1967
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Ao*	*thi ⋉ **tshət**	EIGHT	Bruhn 2014a:II.047
Ao (Chungli)	**ti**^{3}	eight (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.047
	ti^{3}-ɹ^{1}	eighty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.047
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	mükyi mü pen **tsit**	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	tsit	eight	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**tshə**-ə-ət	eight each	Coupe 2007:276
	tshət	EIGHT	Coupe 2007:113
	tshə̀t-mən zəŋ-làk	eighty each	Coupe 2007:276
Yacham-Tengsa	te **set**	eight	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Sema [Sumi]	chüghi **thace**	eighteen	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	ruh na **tacüt**	eighteen	Marrison 1967
Zeme	kereuze **desat**	eighteen	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ʃɐt** EIGHT			
**Tangkhulic*	***ʃɐt**	eight	Mortensen 2012:539
Huishu	tə-**tsejʔ**	eight	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.008
Kachai	ci-**ʃit**	eight	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.008
Tangkhul	tha ra da chi **shat**	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	^{1}tši^{1}**šət**	eight	Weidert 1987:703
Tusom	**si**-he	eight	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.008
Ukhrul	ci-**ʃat**	eight	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Dimasa	**džai**	eight	Benedict 1972:163
	jai	eight	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo	**tśhet**	eight	LaPolla 1987:183; Benedict 1972:163
Garo (Bangladesh)	**-chet**	eight (num.)	Burling 2003:3.3708-II:idx
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	antak **sat**	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	saat	eight	Marrison 1967
Phom	an pü **shet**	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	shüt	eight	Marrison 1967
	ʃat^{33}	eight	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**masat**	eight	Marrison 1967
	mă^{31}**tsa̱t**^{55}	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.19
	mă^{31}**tsa̱t**^{55}	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.47
	mă^{1}**tsa̱t**^{55}	eight	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	mətsát	eight	Matisoff 1974:370
	mətsat	eight	LaPolla 1987:183; Benedict 1972:163,45n148; Benedict 1972:57n186
	^{1}**mə**^{3}**sat**	eight	Weidert 1987:703
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Kanauri	nis̱ẖ/nī nizō **rai**	forty-eight	Bailey 1911
	nis̱ẖ/nī nizō sŏ **rai**	fifty-eight	Bailey 1911
	rae	eight	LaPolla 1987:183
	rai	eight (adj.)	Bailey 1911
	rai rāō	eight hundredth	Bailey 1911
	rai rā̆	eight hundred	Bailey 1911
	ræ	eight	Benedict 1972:163
Pattani [Manchati]	**re**	eight	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**kye**	eight	Hale 1973:09.06
Tshona (Wenlang)	**get**^{35}	eight	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**wdʑat**	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.05
	wɟjæ tɕhə	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**dʑed**	eight	Sun 1985a:219
	dʑed tɕʰə tʰæm-nbæ	eighty	Sun 1985a:220
Tibetan (Batang)	**dʑa**^{55}tɕhʊ^{53}	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.03
	dʑɛʔ^{53}	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'gyet**	eight	Hale 1973:09.06
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**dʑe**^{31}	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.3
	dʑe^{31}tɕu^{53}	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**cɛ**^{13}tɕu^{55}	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.02
	cɛ^{132}	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.02
	cɛʔ^{13}	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.2
	cɛʔ^{13}tɕu^{53}	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**'ge**	eight	Hale 1973:09.06
Tibetan (Spiti)	si **bgyat**	twenty-eight	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**brgjad**	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.01
	brgjad	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.1
	brgjad tɕu	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.01
	brgjad tɕu	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.1
	brgyad	eight	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:219; LaPolla 1987:183; Benedict 1972:161n434
	brgyad.chu.tham.pa	eighty	Sun 1985c:220
	brgyad cu	eighty	Marrison 1967
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**ri**	eight	Benedict 1972:163
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Bahing	**ya**	eight	Benedict 1972:163
Thulung	**let**	eight	Allen 1975
	yet	eight	LaPolla 1987:183; Benedict 1972:163
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**ʒʅ**^{55}	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.18
	ʒʅ^{55}i^{55}zʅ^{55}	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.18
	ʒʅ^{55}wu^{55}kɛ^{33}	eighth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:946.18
Guiqiong	**ie**^{55}	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.16
	je^{55}	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.17
	je^{55}ʃʅ^{33}	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.17
Lyuzu	**dʑi**^{35}	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.18
	dʑi^{53}zʅ^{53}	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.18
Muya	**ɕuɐ**^{53}	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ɕyɐ**^{53}	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.15
Namuyi	**hĩ**^{33}	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.19
	hi ɔ^{33}	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.19
	ʔhĩ^{31}	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.46
	ʔhĩ ɔ^{31}	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ɕyə**^{35}qo^{55}	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.10
	ɕyə^{11} (lĩ^{55})	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʂuɛ**^{13}	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.09
	ʂuɛ^{13}xqo^{55}	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʂuɛ**^{13}	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.11
	ʂuɛ^{13}sqo^{55}	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɕyɐ**^{35}	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.10
	ʂuɛ^{35}ko^{53}	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**tshá**	eight	Evans 1999:1181
	tshá sá	eighty	Evans 1999:1205
	tshá sá à	eighty-one	Evans 1999:1206
	tshá ɚ́ χeì	eighth	Evans 1999:1226
Qiang (Mawo)	**khar**	eight	LaPolla 1987:183
	khaʴ	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.8
	khaʴ su	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.8
	khuɹ su	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.08
	khɛʴ	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**tʂhè** qó	eight	Evans 1999:1181
Qiang (Taoping)	**tʂhe**^{33}	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.9
	tʂhe^{31}sɑ^{33}	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɕyɛ**^{55}tɕã^{53}	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.16
	ɕyɛ^{55}ɣa^{53}	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.16
Xumi	tõ^{33}pu^{55}**ɕyi**^{55}ko^{33}	eighth	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:946.20
	ɕi^{55} (ku^{53})	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.17
	ɕi^{55}qa^{53}	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.17
	ɕyi^{55}(ko^{33})	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.20
	ɕyi^{55}qɛ^{33}	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ɟje**^{55}	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.14
	ɟje^{55}**zʅ**^{33}	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**rjɛ**	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.12

	rjɛ sqha	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.12
Ergong (Danba)	**zjɛ** sqha	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.14
	zɣiɛ	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Caodeng	kə-**rkjé**-ri	eight hundred	Sun 1997a
	kə-**rkje**-sqeʔ	eighty	Sun 1997a
	ká-**rkjet**	eight	Sun 1997a
	o-**rgje** sqeʔ	one hundred and ten	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	wə **rjat**	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	wə **rjɐ** ʃtʃɐ	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.11
rGyalrong	wə **rjɐt** ʃtʃɐ	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	wə **rjɑt**	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.11
rGyalrong	kA **rkyat**	eight	Nagano 1997:125
rGBenzhen	kə-**rtʃɐt**	eight	Sun 1997b
	kə-**ʂtʃa(t)** zdʒeʔ	eighty	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**əśat**	eight	Benedict 1972:163

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-rit**^{L} EIGHT

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ʔ-rit**^{L}	eight	Matisoff 2003a:610
	***ʔrit**	eight	Matisoff 1972b:171

6.1.1. BURMISH

Inscriptional Burmese (=Pagan)	**hsyats** / **syats** / **hyats** / **hyat** / **het**	eight	Benedict 1972:54n182
Achang (Longchuan)	**śet**^{55}	eight	LaPolla 1987:183
	ɕet^{55}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.28
	ɕet^{55}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**ɕɛt**^{55}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.29
Bola (Luxi)	**ʃɛʔ**^{55}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ɕiʔ**^{4}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ɕiʔ**^{44}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.40
Burmese (Written)	**hrac**	eight	Hansson 1989:540; Matisoff 1985a:041; Benedict 1976a
	hrats	eight	LaPolla 1987:183; Benedict 1972:57n186
	hrɑs	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.39
	hrɑs^{4}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.26
	rhac	eight	Marrison 1967
Hpun (Northern)	**ʃìʔ** yóŋ; màŋtàŋ	eight (cp. Seven)	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**ʃɛʔ**^{55}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ʃɐt**^{55}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.33
Marma	**ʃɔiʔ**	eight	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:401
Maru [Langsu]	**ʃɛʔ**^{55}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ʃit**^{55}	eight	LaPolla 1987:183
	ʃit^{55}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.30
	ʃit^{55}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***C-yet**^{L} EIGHT

**Loloish*	***C-yet**^{L}	eight	Bradley 1979b:485; Hansson 1989:540

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**ɕi**^{53}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.47
Luquan	**xɛn 34**	eight	Matisoff 1972b:171
Nasu	**tṣha**	eight	Matisoff 1972b:171
Nusu (Southern)	**xiɑ̱**^{53}	eight	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**ɕɐ̱**^{53}	eight	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ɕɚ̱**^{53}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ʂɑ˞**^{53}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.45
Yi (Dafang)	**he**^{13}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**hi**^{55}	eight	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**xi̱**^{21}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**he̱**^{21}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**he̱**^{55}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.24
	xe̱^{55}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**hi̱**^{21}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.23
Yi (Weishan)	**hɪ̱**^{21}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.36
Yi (Wuding)	**hi̱**^{55}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.38
Yi (Xide)	**hi**^{55}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.35
	hi^{55}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**xi 44s**	eight	Matisoff 1972b:171
Jinuo	**xɛ**^{44}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.44
	xɛ^{44}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**xɛ**^{55}	eight	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**ɕi**^{55}	eight	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**xi55** ma31	eight	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**xi**^{35}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.43
Lahu (Black)	**hí**	eight	Matisoff 1985a:041; Matisoff 1974:370; Matisoff 1972b:171
	xe^{35}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**xe**^{4}	eight	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**hɛ̱**^{31}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.40
	he^{41}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.27
	hi 11	eight	Matisoff 1972b:171
Lisu (Northern)	**hīʔ**^{21}	eight (Q.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**h'i**^{6}	eight	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**ʔhən 55c**	eight	Matisoff 1972b:171
Sani [Nyi]	**he 22s** (non-glott tone)	eight	Matisoff 1972b:171
Yi (Sani)	**he**^{2}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.39
Sani [Nyi]	**xae 21**	eight	Matisoff 1972b:171

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**jɛ̀q**	eight	Hansson 1989:540
Akha (Thai)	**jɛ̀q**	eight	Hansson 1989:540
Akha (Yunnan)	**jɛ̀q**	eight	Hansson 1989:540
Akha	**yeh LS**	eight	Matisoff 1972b:171
Hani (Hu T'an)	**h'i6**	eight	Matisoff 1972b:171
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**še 21c**	eight	Matisoff 1972b:171
Hani (Lüchun)	**sjhɛ̀**	eight	Hansson 1989:540
Hani (Dazhai)	**ɕɐ̱**^{31}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɕɐ̱**^{31}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.41
Hani (Pijo)	**hiɛ̀q**	eight	Hansson 1989:540
Hani (Caiyuan)	**xɐ̱**^{31}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**jɐ̱**^{31}	eight	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**xeivq**	eight	Hansson 1989:540
Haoni	**xɛ**^{31}	eight	Hansson 1989:540
Hani (Shuikui)	**xɐ̱**^{31}	eight	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:918.32
Hani (Khatu)	**sjɛ̀q**	eight	Hansson 1989:540
Hani (Mojiang)	**xɐ̱**^{31}	eight (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.42
Mpi	**həʔ**^{2}	eight	Hansson 1989:540
	hɤʔ^{2}	eight	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Azha	**xi**^{22}	eight	Pelkey 2011:1065
Southern Muji	**xjɐ**^{21}	eight	Pelkey 2011:1065
Phola	**xɐ̱**^{31}	eight	Pelkey 2011:1065
Hlepho Phowa	**ʐi**^{13}	eight	Pelkey 2011:1065
Phu Kha	**ji**^{33}	eight	Fried 2000
Phuza	**ʑɛ**^{13}	eight	Pelkey 2011:1065

7. KARENIC: ***khrɔt**^{D}**/grɔt**^{D} EIGHT

**Karen*	***khrɔt**^{D}**/grɔt**^{D}	eight	Luangthongkum 2013:101 [a]
**Karen [Burling]*	***xoʔ**^{1}	eight	Luangthongkum 2013:101
Kayan	**chauʔ**^{45}	eight	Luangthongkum 2013:101
Kayaw	**-xɔ**^{11}	eight	Luangthongkum 2013:101
Pa-O (Southern)	**sɔt**^{21}	eight	Luangthongkum 2013:101
Pa-O (Northern)	**xoʔ**^{21}	eight	Luangthongkum 2013:101
Pwo (Northern)	**xuʔ**^{45}	eight	Luangthongkum 2013:101
Pwo (Southern)	**xoʔ**^{21}	eight	Luangthongkum 2013:101
Sgaw (Southern)	**xɔʔ**^{45}	eight	Luangthongkum 2013:101

9. SINITIC

Chinese (GSR #)	**0281a**	eight	Baxter & Sagart 2011:24

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old)	**pˢret**	eight	Baxter & Sagart 2011:24

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**peat**	eight	Baxter & Sagart 2011:24

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**bā**	eight	Baxter & Sagart 2011:24

[a] [Source Note] The D3 tone in NK and Pwo suggests *gr- while the D12 tone in Kayan and Sgaw indicates *khr-.

Chinese comparandum

八 OC ***pwăt**, *GSR* #281a-d 'eight'; Coblin 86:70 ST ***priat** > OC ***priat**; Schuessler 2007:152 ***prêt**; B & S 2011: ***pˢret**; Mand. **bā**.

(8) PKC *tin EVERY / EACH / ALL

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tin**	EVERY / EACH / ALL	VanBik 2009:193

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tĭn**	every, each, all	VanBik 2009:193
Lushai [Mizo]	**tin**	each	Marrison 1967
	tìn	every, all	VanBik 2009:193

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**tō**	every, each	VanBik 2009:193

(9) PCN *th-nja:m FIFTY

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

**Central Naga*	*th-**nja:m**	FIFTY	Bruhn 2014a:III.117
**Ao*	*th-**nəm**	FIFTY	Bruhn 2014a:II.261
Ao (Chungli)	te **nem**	fifty	Marrison 1967
	tə^{1}-**nəm**^{2}	fifty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.261
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	tü **nam**	fifty	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	thə **nəm**	FIFTY	Coupe 2007:113
	thə **nəm-nəm**	fifty each	Coupe 2007:276
Lotha Naga	ti^{1}-**njan**^{1}	fifty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.117
	ti-**ingya**	fifty	Marrison 1967
	ti **nyan**	fifty	Murry *et al.* 1978:45
Sangtam	thü **nyang**	fifty	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	thü **nim**	fifty	Kumar 1973b:101; Marrison 1967

(10) PTani *pjoŋ FIRST (adverbial verbal particle)

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***pjoŋ**	first (adverbial verbal particle)	Sun 1993a:151

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	im-**prjo**	advance	Sun 1993b
	im-**prjo**	lead (v.)	Sun 1993b
	ka-**prjo**	before	Sun 1993b
	ka-**prjo**-ǰa	first	Sun 1993b
	prjo	first (adverbial verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**-čo:**	first	Sun 1993b
	a-tuk-**čo:**	front	Sun 1993b
	čo:	first (adverbial verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
	ɯŋ-**čo:**	go first	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**pjoŋ**	first (adverbial verbal particle); first, former	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**pjoŋ**	first	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:991.51
Galo	-**'coo**	first (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	in-**co**-na	first goer	Das Gupta 1963
Tagin	eŋ-**co**-nam	advance; go ahead	Das Gupta 1983; Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**poŋ**	first (adverbial verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
Damu	lan-**pyo**	first; former; in front	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b

(11) PTB *$\begin{matrix}\text{l}\\\text{b}\end{matrix}$-ŋa FIVE

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***lngaɣ**	five	Coblin 1986:80

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*-**ŋa**	five	Matisoff 1983:6
	***b-ŋa**	five	Weidert 1987:245

	*l-ŋa	five	Weidert 1987:245
	*l-ŋa ⩤ b-ŋa	five	Benedict 1972:78; CHOU Fa-kao 1972:58a-d
	*l/b-ŋa	five	Matisoff 2003a:605; LaPolla 1987:23

1.1.1. TANI: *ŋo FIVE

*Tani	*ŋo	five	Sun 1993a:153

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-ljā ja-**ŋo**	fifty	Sun 1993b
	à-ljaŋ ja-**ŋo**-je	fifty	Sun 1993b
	ja-**ŋo**	five	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**ŋo:**	five	Sun 1993b
	čam-**ŋo:**	fifty	Sun 1993b
	la-**ŋo**	fifteen	Sun 1993b
	u-**ŋu**	five	Sun 1993a
Bokar	o **ŋo**	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.24
	o-**ŋo**	five	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ŋo jɯŋ	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.24
	ŋo-jɯŋ	fifty	Sun 1993b
	ɯ jɯŋ la **ŋo**	fifteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0811.24
	ɯ-jɯŋ la-**ŋo**	fifteen	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-jɯŋ o-**ŋo**	fifty	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	jup **ŋo**	day, fifth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:96.51
	jup ɯ jɯŋ la **ŋo**	day, fifteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:98.51
	o **ŋo**	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.51
	ŋo jɯŋ	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.51
	ɯ jɯŋ la **ŋo**	fifteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:925.51
Galo	aŋ **ŋo**	five numr. -ŋo (n:num.)	GLDC 2009
	a **ŋo**	five	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-**ŋo**	fifty	Das Gupta 1963
	ləŋ **ŋo**	five times (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	aŋ **ŋo**	five	Simon 1976
	caŋ-**ŋo**	fifty	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **ngo**	five	Das Gupta 1969
	cam-**ngo**	fifty	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**ŋo**	five	Sun 1993a
Damu	pə-nən la ʔa-**ŋo**	fifteen	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ŋo(:)**	five	Sun 1993b
Milang	haŋtak-kalo-pa **ŋu**	fifteen	Tayeng 1976
	haŋtak-pa **ŋu**	fifty	Tayeng 1976
	pa **ŋu**	five	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	ma: **nga** ha:-long	fifty	NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **nga:**	five	NEFA (India) 1963
	$mɑ^{31}$**ŋɑ^{35}**	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.22
	$mɑ^{31}$**ŋɑ^{35}**	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.49
	$mɑ^{31}$**ŋɑ^{35}**$xɑ^{55}lɯŋ^{55}$	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.22
	$mɑ^{31}$**ŋɑ^{35}**$xɑ^{55}lɯŋ^{55}$	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.49
	$tɯi^{55}$ $ɑ^{55}$ $mɑ^{31}$ **ŋɑ^{35}**	five organs (wuguan)	SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980
Idu	$mɑ^{31}ŋɑ^{53}hɹoŋ^{55}$	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.50
	$mɑ^{31}$**ŋɑ^{55}**	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.50
Yidu	$ho^{55}lo^{55}$**ŋɑ^{35}**	fifteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0811.25
	$mɑ^{31}$**ŋɑ^{35}**$hɹoŋ^{55}$	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.25
	$mɑ^{31}$**ŋɑ^{55}**	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: *ŋaa FIVE

*Chin	*ŋaa	FIVE	VanBik 2009:855

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**ngā**	five	VanBik 2009:855
Thado	**ngáa**	five	VanBik 2009:855
Tiddim	**nga^{2}**	five	VanBik 2009:855; Bhaskararao 1996:1272

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**‘ngo˝**	five	VanBik 2009:855
Chinbon	**m̩Mɔ**	five	So-Hartmann 1988:213
Cho (Mindat)	**hma**	five	VanBik 2009:855
Daai	**m̩Ma**	five	So-Hartmann 1988:213
Khumi	**pãn**	five	So-Hartmann 1988:213
Matu	**pa̰ŋa**	five	So-Hartmann 1988:213
Mkaang	**pa̰ɴa**	five	So-Hartmann 1988:213
Ngmüün	**m̩Ma**	five	So-Hartmann 1988:213
Nyhmoye	**m̩Mʌ**	five	So-Hartmann 1988:213
Wakung	pə **ŋ**	five	So-Hartmann 1988:213

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**pa-ŋâa**	five	VanBik 2009:855
Lai (Falam)	**pà-ŋǎa**	five	VanBik 2009:855
Lushai [Mizo]	**nga**	five	Bhaskararao 1996:1272
	ngáa	five	Löffler 1985
	pà-ngá	five	VanBik 2009:855
	pa nga	five	Marrison 1967
	sawm **nga**	fifty	Marrison 1967
	ŋa ⩤ pəŋa	five	Benedict 1972:78; LaPolla 1987:23
Paangkhua	ra **ngáa**	five	Löffler 1985

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	sá-**pā-ngàw**	five	VanBik 2009:855

1.2.4. “OLD KUKI”

Lamkang	**pʌrŋà**	five	Weidert 1987:245

1.3. “NAGA” AREAL GROUP

Maring	**phanga**	five	Marrison 1967
	som **nga**	fifty	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): *pha-ŋa FIVE

*Central Naga	***pha-ŋa**	FIVE	Bruhn 2014a:III.012
*Ao	***pha-ŋa**	FIVE	Bruhn 2014a:II.017
Ao (Chungli)	**pungu**	five	Marrison 1967
	pu^{1}ŋu^{2}	five (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.017
	te ri **pungu**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**phanga**	five	Marrison 1967
	te ra **phanga**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	jùŋ **phaŋa** nəm	hand’s width (five digits)	Coupe 2007
	phaŋa	FIVE	Coupe 2007:113
	phaŋa-ŋa	five each	Coupe 2007:276
Lotha Naga	**mo^{1}-ŋo^{1}**	five (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.012
	mongo	five	Murry *et al.* 1978:45
	mungo	five	Marrison 1967
	mūŋò	five	Acharya 1975
	ta ro si-**mungo**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**münga**	five	Marrison 1967
	thü re **münga**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**phungu**	five	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**phüngü**	five	Marrison 1967
	thü rü kheale **phüngü**	fifteen	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	**^{3}pe^{3}ŋu**	five	Weidert 1987:245
Angami (Khonoma)	kreo **pengu**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	lhi **pengu**	fifty	Marrison 1967
	pengu	five	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	hie **pengou**	fifty	Marrison 1967
	kere **pengou**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	pengou	five	Marrison 1967
Chokri	hie **püngu**	fifty	Marrison 1967
	küri **püngu**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	püngu	five	Marrison 1967
	^{2}pɤ^{3}ŋu	five	Weidert 1987:245
Khezha	lha **pangu**	fifty	Marrison 1967
	pangu	five	Marrison 1967
	^{2}pa^{3}ŋu	five	Weidert 1987:245
Mao	chüro-**pongo**-o	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	pongo	five	Marrison 1967
	ri **pongo**	fifty	Marrison 1967
	^{2}po^{2}ŋo	five	Weidert 1987:245
Meluri	**manga**	five	Marrison 1967
	te ra **manga**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**münga**	five	Marrison 1967
	ra-a **manga**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	chüghi **pongu**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	lho **pongu**	fifty	Marrison 1967
	pongu	five	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	**manga**	five	Marrison 1967
	re **nga**	fifty	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**mangiu**	five	Marrison 1967
	ri **ngiu**	fifty	Marrison 1967
Maram	**mungu**	five	Marrison 1967
	re **ngo**	fifty	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**pang**	five	Marrison 1967
	som **nga**	fifty	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**pangu**	five	Marrison 1967
	paŋù	five	Matisoff 1994e
	rek **ngu**	fifty	Marrison 1967
	re **ŋu**	fifty	Matisoff 1994e
	ruh na **pangu**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
Zeme	kereuze **mengeu**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	mengeu	five	Marrison 1967
	re **ngeu**	fifty	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	riang **ngei**	fifty	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: *ŋa FIVE

*Tangkhulic	***ŋa**	five	Mortensen 2012:341
Huishu	p^{h}ə-**ni**	five	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.005
Kachai	p^{h}ə-**ŋɐ**	five	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.005
Tangkhul	hang pha **nga**	fifty	Marrison 1967
	pha **nga**	five	Marrison 1967
	thaa ra da **phanga**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	ŋa	five	Bhat 1969:89
Tusom	pʃi-**ŋi**-a	five	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.005
Ukhrul	p^{h}ə-**ŋa**	five	Mortensen 2012

1.4. MEITHEI

Meithei	kunt^{h}ra **məna**	thirty five	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	manga	five	Marrison 1967
	mərip^{h}u tə ra **məŋa**	ninety five	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	ta ra **manga**	fifteen	Marrison 1967

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**phongo**	five	Marrison 1967
	phongo kep	fifty	Marrison 1967
	phoŋō(ʔ)	five	Weidert 1987:245

1.7.1. BODO-GARO

*Bodo-Garo	***b(aŋ)**-a	five	Burling 1959:441

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**ba**	five	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**bonga**	five	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**ba**	five	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**bo’ŋa**	five	LaPolla 1987:23
	boŋa	five	Benedict 1972:78

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**banga**	five (num.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN

*Northern Naga	***Ç-ŋa^{B}**	five	French 1983:489

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**banga**	five	Marrison 1967
	ruak **banga**	fifty	Marrison 1967
	^{3}bʌ^{3}ŋa	five	Weidert 1987:245
Tangsa	**^{1}bʌ^{2}ŋa**	five	Weidert 1987:245
Tangsa (Moshang)	**banga**	five	Marrison 1967
	rok **banga**	fifty	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**banga**	five	Marrison 1967
	rauk **banga**	fifty	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**ngau**	five	Marrison 1967
	ŋâu	five	Weidert 1987:245
Khiamngan	**^{12}bɤ^{2}ŋo̰u**	five	Weidert 1987:245
Konyak	**nga**	five	Marrison 1967
Phom	**nga**	five	Marrison 1967
	ŋæ^{31}	five	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**manga**	five	Marrison 1967
	manga shi	fifty	Marrison 1967
	mă^{31}ŋa^{33}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.19
	mă^{31}ŋa^{33}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.47
	mă^{31}ŋa^{33}$ʃi^{33}$	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.47
	mă^{1}ŋa^{33}	five	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	məŋā	five	Matisoff 1974:226
	məŋa	five	LaPolla 1987:23; Benedict 1972:78

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak	**ŋá**-hvú	five	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:398
	ŋá injí	fifty	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:404-6

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**ṅā**	five (adj.)	Bailey 1911
	ṅā rāɔ̄	five hundredth	Bailey 1911
	ṅā rā	five hundred	Bailey 1911

	niṣh/nī nizɔ̄ **ṅā**	forty-five	Bailey 1911
	sāḍhē **ṅā**	five-and-a-half	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**ŋa**	five	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**ngā**	five	Hale 1973:09.03
	ngā thal	hundred	Hale 1973:09.24
	ngā thalai nghye	hundred and two	Hale 1973:09.25
	pherāng **ngā** thal	ninety	Hale 1973:09.21
Tsangla (Central)	**nga**	five	Andvik 1993:154
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ŋa**	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.7
	ŋa^{55}	five	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**nga**	five	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**le**^{35}**ŋɑ**^{55}	five	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**le**^{31}**ŋe**^{53}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.6
Motuo Menba	**ŋa**	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.07
Cuona Menba	**le**^{31}**ŋe**^{53}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**rŋa** ptɕə	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.05
	rŋæ	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hŋa**	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.4
	hŋap tɕə	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**hŋæ**	five	Sun 1985a:265
	hŋæb tɕə tʰæm-nbæ	fifty	Sun 1985a:254
	rŋa	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.5
	rŋa ptɕə	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**ɣa·**	five	Rangan 1975:74
Tibetan (Batang)	**ŋau**^{55}**tɕʊ**^{53}	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.03
	ŋa^{53}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'ngāq**	five	Hale 1973:09.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ŋa**^{53}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.3
	ŋa^{53}**tɕu**^{53}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ŋap**^{53}**tɕu**^{53}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.2
	ŋa^{53}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.2
	ŋa^{55}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.02
	ŋəp^{55}**tɕu**^{55}	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	khal-**ngāq**	fifty	Hale 1973:09.17
	ngāq	five	Hale 1973:09.03
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ŋa**	five	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	don **lṅa**	five main organs: heart, lungs, liver, spleen, kidneys	Matisoff 1987:179
	l-**ŋa**	five	Benedict 1972:96n276
	lṅa	five	Marrison 1967
	lṅa-bcu	fifty	Marrison 1967
	lnga	five	Sun 1985c:265
	lnga.bcu.tham.pa	fifty	Sun 1985c:254
	lŋa	five	Matisoff 1983:6; LaPolla 1987:23; Benedict 1972:78
	lŋa	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.01
	lŋa	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.1
	lŋa btɕu	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.01
	lŋa btɕu	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.1
	nga.gcig	fifty-one	Sun 1985c:255
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hŋa**	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.04
	hŋa tɕə	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**fangú**	five (num.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. TAMANGISH

**TGTM*	*^{B}**ŋa(:)**	five	Mazaudon 1994:202
Gurung	**ngāhq**	five	Hale 1973:09.03
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ŋahq**	five	Glover 1972:9.3
Gurung	^{4}**ŋa**	five	Mazaudon 1994:202
Manang (Gyaru)	**ŋa**^{4}	five	Nagano 1984:398
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**ŋə** cu	fifty	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0678
	^{4}**ŋə**	five	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0183
	^{4}**ŋɤ**	five	Mazaudon 1994:202
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'ŋa**^{ɦ}	five	Weidert 1987:824
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**ŋa:**	five	Mazaudon 1994:204
Tamang (Sahu)	**'ngāh**	five	Hale 1973:09.03
	'ŋah	five	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.3
	^{4}**ŋa**	five	Mazaudon 1994:202
Tamang (Taglung)	^{H}**ŋa**	five	Mazaudon 1994:204
	^{4}**ŋa**	five	Mazaudon 1994:204
Thakali	**'ngāh**	five	Hale 1973:09.03
	'ngāh-cyu	fifty	Hale 1973:09.17
Thakali (Marpha)	^{545}**ŋʌ**	five	Mazaudon 1994:202
Thakali (Syang)	^{L}**ŋa**	five	Mazaudon 1994:204
	^{51}**ŋʌ**	five	Mazaudon 1994:202
Thakali (Tukche)	**'ŋah**	five	Hari 1971:9.3
	'ŋah-cju	fifty	Hari 1971:9.17
	^{4}**ŋa**	five	Mazaudon 1994:204

2.2. NEWAR

Newar	**nyā**	five	Hale 1973:09.03
Newar (Kathmandu)	**nya**	five	Genetti 1990c
Newar (Dolakhali)	**ŋa**	five	Genetti 1990b

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**ŋa:** si	five	Weidert 1987:245
	ŋa si	five	Michailovsky 1989b
Yamphu	**na** ʔum	five (num.)	Rutgers 1998:559.08

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Kulung	**ŋa** chi	five	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**ŋo**	five.	Driem 1993

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	**ŋo**	five	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**po**.ŋa	five (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	po.ŋa.jyoʔ	five (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	pongā.joʔ	five	Hale 1973:09.03
	poŋa-joʔ	five	Caughley 1972:9.3
	«**poŋa**»-joʔ	five	Weidert 1987:824

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**ŋwə**	five	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1999

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**ŋua**^{ɪ33}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.18
	ŋua^{ɪ55}**zɿ**^{55}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.18
Guiqiong	**ŋa**^{55}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.16
	ŋɛ̃^{35}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.17
	ŋɛ̃^{35}**ʃɿ**^{33}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.17
Lyuzu	**ŋa**^{33}**zɿ**^{53}	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.18
	ŋa^{53}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.18
Muya	**ŋæ**^{33}tɕuə^{53}	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.15
	ŋæ^{53}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.15
	ʁɑ^{53}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.15
Muya [Minyak]	dɛ^{33}wɛ^{55}**ŋɑ**^{55}pɛ^{53}	May	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:80.15
	ŋɛ^{55}tɕyɯ^{53}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.15
	ŋɑ^{35}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.15
Namuyi	**ŋa**^{33}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.19
	ŋɑ^{33}ɬi^{55}	May	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:80.19
	ŋa^{31}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.46
	χuo^{31}**ŋa**^{31}	fifteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0811.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ŋuə**^{11} (lĩ^{55})	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.10
	ŋuɑ^{55}**qo**^{55}	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ɣuɑ̃**^{13}**xqo**^{55}	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.09
	ɣuɑ̃^{55}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	qa^{55}**ɣuɑ̃**^{55}**n̥**i^{55}	day, fifteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:98.11
	ɣuɑ̃^{55}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.11
	ɣuɑ̃^{55}**sqo**^{55}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ŋuɐ**^{53}**ko**^{53}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.10
	ŋuɐ^{55}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.10
	ŋuɐ^{55}li^{55}mei^{35}	May	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:80.10
Qiang (Longxi)	tshé tò (nà) **ʁuè** sá	three thousand fifty	Evans 1999:1213
	ʁuè	five	Evans 1999:1178
	ʁuè lə	May	Evans 1999:1127 [a]
	ʁuè sá	fifty	Evans 1999:1199
	ʁuè sá à	fifty-one	Evans 1999:1200
Qiang (Mawo)	**ʁu** su	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.08
	ʁuɑ	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.08
	ʁuɑ	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.8
	ʁuɑ su	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.8
	ʁuɑ tiu	day, fifth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:96.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	sì tshɛ́ n̥à **ʁuà** sá	three thousand fifty	Evans 1999:1213
	ʁuà lə	May	Evans 1999:1127 [b]
	ʁuà qó	five	Evans 1999:1178
	ʁuà sá	fifty	Evans 1999:1199
	ʁuà sá n̥à à qó	fifty-one	Evans 1999:1200
Qiang (Taoping)	**ʁuɑ**^{241}ʂl^{33}	May	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:80.9
	ʁuɑ^{33}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.9
	ʁuɑ^{33}**sɑ**^{33}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.9
	ʁuɑ^{33}tɕy^{33}	day, fifth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:96.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	da^{35}wa^{55}**ŋa**^{55}pa^{53}	May	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:80.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ŋua**^{55}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.13
	ŋua^{55}**rqa**^{55}	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ŋua**^{55}**tɕã**^{53}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.16
	ŋua^{55}**ɣa**^{53}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.16
Xumi	**ɦiõ**^{35}**qa**^{33}	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.17
	ɦiõ^{55} (ku^{53})	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.17
	ɦiɑ̃^{55}(ko^{33})	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.20
	ɦiɑ̃^{55}**qɛ**^{33}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.20
	ɦiɑ̃^{55}ɬɯ^{33}	May	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:80.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ŋøi**^{13}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.14
	ŋøi^{13}**zɿ**^{33}	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**nGvɛ**	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.12
Ergong (Danba)	**wŋuɛ**	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.14
	wŋuɛ sqha	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **mŋo**	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.11
rGyalrong	kə **mŋo**	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **mŋo** ʃtʃᴇ	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.11
rGyalrong	kə **mŋo** ʃtʃᴇ	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.12
Caodeng	ká-**mŋo**	five	Sun 1997a
	mŋo-sqe	fifty	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	kA **mnge**	five	Nagano 1997:123
rGBenzhen	kə-**mŋɔ**	five	Sun 1997b
	kə-**mŋɔ** zdʒeʔ	fifty	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Dulong	pɯ^{31}ŋa^{53}sɑn^{55}	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.20
	pɯ^{31}**ŋɑ**^{53}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.20
Trung [Dulong]	pɯ^{31}**ŋɑ**^{53}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.46
	pɯ^{31}ŋɑ^{53}tsɑ̆l^{55}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	pɯ^{31} **ŋa**^{53}	five	LaPolla 1987:23
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	pɯ^{31} **ŋa**^{53}	five	LaPolla 1987:23
	pɯ^{31}**ŋɑ**^{53}	five	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Southern)	**ŋi**^{33}	five	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ŋa**^{2} FIVE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ŋa**^{2}	five	Matisoff 2003a:606

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**ŋɑ**^{31}	five	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ŋɔ**^{31}	five (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.28
	ŋɔ^{31}	five	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:915.41

[a] [Source Note] calque.
[b] [Source Note] calque.

	ŋɔ^{55}tɕhe^{55}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ŋa**^{51}	five	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**ŋɔ**^{31}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.29
	ŋɔ^{31}**tshi**^{55}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.29
Bola (Luxi)	pɯ^{31}ŋa^{53}sɑn^{55}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.32
	ŋa^{31}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ŋɑ**^{55}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.27
	ŋɑ^{55}shɛ^{22}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ŋɑ**^{55}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.40
	ŋɑ^{55}hsɛ^{22}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.40
Burmese (Written)	**ṅā:**	five	Marrison 1967
	ṅā: chay	fifty	Marrison 1967
	ŋà	five	Weidert 1987:245
	ŋâ	five	Hansson 1989:15
	ŋa	five	Matisoff 1983:6
	ŋâ	five	Matisoff 1974:226; Benedict 1976a
	ŋà	five	LaPolla 1987:23; Benedict 1972:78
	ŋɑ^{3}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.26
	ŋɑ^{3}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.39
	ŋɑ^{3}hsɑj^{2}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.39
	ŋɑ^{3}shɑj^{2}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**ŋɔ**^{55}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.31
	ŋɔ^{55}tshɛ^{31}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ŋ**^{33}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.33
	ŋ^{33}tshe^{33}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.33
Marma	**ŋá**	five	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:398
	ŋá-che	fifty	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:404-6
Maru [Langsu]	**ŋó**	five	Weidert 1987:245
	ŋɔ^{55}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.43
	ŋɔ^{55}tshɛ^{31}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋo**^{21}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.30
	ŋo^{21}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.42
	ŋo^{21}tshe^{51}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.30
	ŋo^{21}tshe^{51}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.42
	ŋò l?ùm	five	Weidert 1987:245
	ŋɔ	five	Benedict 1972:54n181

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***ŋa**^{2}	five	Weidert 1987:245; Bradley 1979b:482; Hansson 1989:15

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**ŋa**^{31}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.47
Nusu (Northern)	**ŋa**^{35}	five	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ŋa**^{55}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.34
Nusu (Southern)	**ŋɔ**^{55}	five	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**ŋɑ**^{53}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.45
	ŋɑ^{55}tshe^{35}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.45
Yi (Dafang)	**ŋɒ**^{33}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ŋɯ**^{33}	five	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ŋo**^{21}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.25
	ŋo^{21}tshi^{33}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ŋo**^{33}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.26
	ŋo^{33}tshɯ^{21}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ŋo**^{21}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.37
	ŋo^{21}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.24
	ŋo^{21}tshi^{33}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.37
	ŋo^{21}tshi^{33}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**ŋɑ**^{21}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.23
	ŋɑ^{21} tɕhi	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ŋɑ**^{21}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.36
	ŋɑ^{21}tɕhi^{55}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ŋu**^{33}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.38
	ŋu^{33}tshe^{33}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.38
Yi (Xide)	**ŋɯ**^{33}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.35
	ŋɯ^{33}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.21
	ŋɯ^{33}tshi^{33}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.35
	ŋɯ^{33}tshi^{33}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**ŋɔ**^{33}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.34
	ŋɔ^{33}tshɯ^{42}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**ŋɔ**^{44}	five	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**ŋɔ**^{44}	five	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ŋɔ**^{44}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.44
	ŋɔ^{44}tshə^{33}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.44
Kucong	**ŋʌ31** ma31	five	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**ŋâ**	five	Weidert 1987:245
Lahu (Lancang)	**ŋɑ**^{53}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.43
	ŋɑ^{53}tɕhi^{33}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.43
Lahu (Black)	**ŋâ**	five	Matisoff 1974:226
	ŋA^{53}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.33
	ŋA^{53}tshi^{33}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ŋa**^{3}	five	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	ka^{35}thu^{33} **ŋwa**^{21} phæʔ^{21}	five baskets	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ngwa**^{5}	five	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**ŋuɑ**^{31}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.40
	ŋuɑ^{31}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.27
	ŋuɑ^{31}tsh̩^{44}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.27
	ŋuɑ^{55}tsh̩^{33}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.40
	ŋwà	five	Weidert 1987:245
Lisu (Northern)	**ŋwa**^{21}	five (Q.)	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{21} tshi^{33}	fifty	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**ŋɒ**^{55}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.39
	ŋɒ^{55}tshɪ^{33}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ŋà**	five	Weidert 1987:245
Akha (Thai)	**ŋà**	five	Hansson 1989:15
Akha (Yunnan)	**ŋà**	five	Hansson 1989:15
Akha	**ŋà**	five	Hansson 1989:15
Bisu	**hâ**	five	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**ŋà**	five	Hansson 1989:15
Hani (Dazhai)	**ŋa̱**^{31}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.31
	ŋa̱^{31}tshe^{55}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ŋa̱**^{31}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.41
	ŋa̱^{31}tshe^{55}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ŋɔ**^{31}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.30
	ŋɔ^{31}tshɤ^{55}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.30
Hani (Pijo)	**ŋɔ̀**	five	Hansson 1989:15
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ŋa**^{31}	five	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ngavq**	five	Hansson 1989:15
Hani (Shuikui)	**ŋɔ**^{31}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.32
	ŋɔ^{31}tshɛ^{55}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.32
Hani (Khatu)	**ŋuɔ̀**	five	Hansson 1989:15
Hani (Mojiang)	**nɔ**^{31}tshɛ^{55}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.42
	ŋɔ^{31}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.42
Mpi	**ŋo**^{2}	five	Hansson 1989:15; Srinuan Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ŋɔ**^{22}	five	Pelkey 2011:1062
Southern Muji	**ŋa**^{13}	five	Pelkey 2011:1062
Phola	**ŋɑ**^{31}	five	Pelkey 2011:1062
Hlepho Phowa	**ŋa**^{21}	five	Pelkey 2011:1062
Phuza	**ŋa**^{13}	five	Pelkey 2011:1062

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	ts^{h}i˩**ŋwɤ**˧gv˩	15	Michaud 2006–2009:1726
	ts^{h}i˩**ŋwɤ**˧ɲi˩	15th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1574
	ŋwɤ˧gv˩	5	Michaud 2006–2009:1716
	ŋwɤ˧ts^{h}i˩gv˦	50	Michaud 2006–2009:1743
	ŋwɤ˦lie˦mie˦	5th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1667
Na (Yongning)	ts^{h}e˦do˥ ts^{h}e˩**ŋwɤ**˩ɲi˨	15th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩**ŋwɤ**˩ɲi˨	15th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩**ŋwɤ**˨	15	Michaud 2006–2009
	ŋwɤ˦	5	Michaud 2006–2009
	ŋwɤ˦ts^{h}i˩	50	Michaud 2006–2009
	ŋwɤ˩˦hi˩mi˨	5th month	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	tshe^{21}**uɑ**^{33}	fifteen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0811.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshe^{33}do^{31}**uɑ**^{33}n̥i^{33}	day, fifth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:96.28
Naxi (Yongning)	tshe^{31}do^{33}**ŋuɑ**^{33}n̥i^{33}	day, fifth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:96.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshe^{31}**uɑ**^{33}	fifteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:925.28
	tshe^{31}**uɑ**^{33}n̥i^{33}	day, fifteenth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:98.28
Naxi (Yongning)	tshe^{31}**ŋuɑ**^{31}n̥i^{33}	day, fifteenth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:98.29
	tshe^{31}**ŋuɑ**^{13}	fifteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:925.29
Naxi	**uɑ**^{33}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**uɑ**^{33}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.28
	uɑ^{33}tshəɹ^{31}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.28
Naxi	**uɑ**^{33}tshə^{21}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**uɑ**^{55}me^{33}	May	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:80.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ŋua**^{33}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.29
	ŋuə^{31}ɬe^{31}mi^{13}	May	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:80.29
	ŋuɑ^{33}thsʮ^{31}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.29

7. Karenic: ***ŋjat**^{D} FIVE

**Karen*	***ŋáT**	five	Jones 1961:108
	***ŋjat**^{D}	five	Luangthongkum 2013:116 [a]
**Karen [Burling]*	***ŋɛ**^{1}	five	Luangthongkum 2013:116
Bwe	**jɛ**^{11}	five	Luangthongkum 2013:116
Kayah	**ŋɛ**^{33}	five	Luangthongkum 2013:116
Kayan (Pekon)	mən **ŋa̰i** nə̰	Friday [lit. sun-five-day] (TEMP.)	Manson 2010
	ŋa̰i-	five (NUM.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**ŋɛʔ**^{21}	five	Luangthongkum 2013:116
Kayan (Pekon)	θa **ŋa̰i**	five (NUM.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**jɛ**^{33}	five	Luangthongkum 2013:116
Pa-O (Southern)	**ŋap**^{45}~**ŋat**^{45}	five	Luangthongkum 2013:116
Pa-O (Northern)	**ŋat**^{45}	five	Luangthongkum 2013:116
Pwo (Northern)	**jɛ**^{11}‥	five	Luangthongkum 2013:116
Pwo (Southern)	**jɛ**^{33}	five	Luangthongkum 2013:116
Sgaw (Southern)	**jɛ**^{31}	five	Luangthongkum 2013:116
Sgaw (Northern)	**jɛ**^{11}‥	five	Luangthongkum 2013:116

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	**ŋv**^{33}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.37
	ŋv^{33}tʂeɹ^{42}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.37
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ŋo**^{33}	five (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0801.48
	ŋo^{33}tsa̱^{21}	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.48
	ŋv^{33}	five	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:915.36
	ŋv^{33}**tsɛ**^{42}	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.36

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ŋo**/ŋuo	five	Chou Fa-kao 1972:58a-d
Chinese (Old)	**ŋgaʔ**	five	Baxter 1992:1882
	ŋo	five	Matisoff 1983:6

[a] [Source Note] It is noticable that Sgaw and Pwo (SK) have tone B3.

Chinese comparandum

五 OC ***ngo**, *GSR* #58a-d 'five'; Coblin 86:80 ST ***lngaɣ** > OC ***ngagx**; Schuessler 2007:519 ***ŋâʔ**; B & S 2011 ***C.ŋ**^{ʕ}**aʔ**; Mand. **wǔ**.

(12) PTB *b-ləy FOUR

For detailed discussion of the numeral FOUR, see Matisoff 1995 ("Numerals"), pp. 183-186.

The Chinese cognate has been disguised by a prefixal substitution of ***b-** to ***s-**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-liy**	four	Chou Fa-kao 1972:518a-d; Weidert 1987:248; LaPolla 1987:200; Benedict 1972:410
	***b-ləy**	four	Chou Fa-kao 1972:518a-d; Weidert 1987:248; Matisoff 2003a:599

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	suat^{33}**və˧i^{33}**	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.52
	və˧i^{33}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.52

1.1.1. Tani: *__pri__ four, *__pri-ñi__ eight

**Tani*	***pri**	four	Sun 1993a:166
	***pri**-ñi	eight	Sun 1993a:124

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	a-ljã-**púi-lje**	forty	Sun 1993b
	à-ljaŋ **pɯ-lje**	forty	Sun 1993b
	p(rj)ɯʔ-ñi	eight	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pì-ñe	eight	Sun 1993b
	pí-ñi	eight	Sun 1993b
	pɯ-lje	four	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b [a]
	pɯ-ljì	four	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**pi**	four	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	čam-**pi**	forty	Sun 1993b
	čam-**piː-ni**	eighty	Sun 1993b
	la-**piː-ni**	eighteen	Sun 1993b
	piː-ni	eight	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **piː**	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.24
	a-**piː**	four	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	piː jɯŋ	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.24
	piː n̩i ɯ jɯŋ	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.24
	piː n̩i	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.24
	piː-jɯŋ	forty	Sun 1993b
	piː-ñi	eight	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	piː-ñi ɯ-jɯŋ	eighty	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-jɯŋ a-**piː**	forty	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-jɯŋ **piː-ñi**	eighty	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **piː**	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.51
	a **pii**	four	LaPolla 1987:200
	pi n̩i ɯ jɯŋ	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.51
	piː n̩i	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.51
	piː jɯŋ	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.51
Galo	ap **pii**	four (n:num.)	GLDC 2009
	a cam-**pɯ-nɤ**	eighty	Das Gupta 1963
	a **pːɯ**	four	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-**pɯ**	forty	Das Gupta 1963
	ləp **pii**	four times (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	pɯːnɤ	eight	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻpiinə	eight (n:num.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	cem-**pi**	forty	Simon 1976
	cem-**pi** ŋ	eighty	Simon 1976
	e **pi**	four	Simon 1976
	pine	eight	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **pi**	four	Das Gupta 1969
	píné	eight	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	**pɯ-ñi**	eight	Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**pi**	four	Sun 1993a
Damu	**pi(ː)-n̩iː**	eight	Sun 1993b
	pət **piː-n̩iː**	eighty	Sun 1993b
	pət-**piː**	forty	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**pi(ː)**	four	Sun 1993b
Milang	haŋtak-kalo-**pe**	fourteen	Tayeng 1976
	haŋtak-**pe**	forty	Tayeng 1976
	pe	four	Tayeng 1976
	pe-na-ɲi	fourth	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**pi**	four	LaPolla 1987:200
	pi-ñi	eight	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	ka: **praːi**	four	NEFA (India) 1963
	ka: **praːi** gõ	quadruple	NEFA (India) 1963
	ka: **praːi** haː long	forty	NEFA (India) 1963
	kɑ^{31} **prai^{35}**	four	LaPolla 1987:200
	kɑ^{31}**pɹɑi^{55}**	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.22
	kɑ^{31}**pɹɑi^{55}**	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.49
	kɑ^{31}**pɹɑi^{55}**xɑ^{55}lɯŋ^{55}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.22
	kɑ^{31}**pɹɑi^{55}**xɑ^{55}lɯŋ^{55}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.49
	paisa: ka: **praːi**	anna; anna (one); pice (four)	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	ti-ka: **praːi**	one fourth	NEFA (India) 1963
Digaro	kə **prei**	four	LaPolla 1987:200
Kaman [Miju]	**bɹɯ** n^{31}giɑp^{55}mu^{53}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.48
	bɹɯ n^{31}ɕi^{55}mu^{53}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.23
	kɯ^{31} **bɹɯ** n^{53}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.23
	kɯ^{31} **bɹɯ** n^{53}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.48
	kʌ́m-**brî** n	four	Weidert 1987:248
Idu	kɑ^{31}**prɯi^{55}**	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.50
	kɑ^{31}**pɹɯi^{55}**hɹoŋ^{55}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.50
Yidu	kɑ^{31}**pɹɯi^{55}**	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.25
	kɑ^{31}**pɹɯi^{55}**hɹoŋ^{55}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *__lii__ four

**Chin*	***lii**	FOUR	VanBik 2009:1022

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**lī**	four	VanBik 2009:1022
Thado	**lì**	four	Thirumalai 1972:48; Thirumalai 1972:55
	líi	four	VanBik 2009:1022
Tiddim	**li^{2}**	four	VanBik 2009:1022; Bhaskararao 1996:940

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Chinbon	**m̩ɬi**	four	So-Hartmann 1988:212
Cho (Mindat)	**phli**	four	VanBik 2009:1022
Daai	**ʔpɣ^{h}ï**	four	So-Hartmann 1988:212
Khumi	**plúee**	four	VanBik 2009:1022
	p^{ə}lï	four	So-Hartmann 1988:212
Matu	**pa̰li**	four	So-Hartmann 1988:212
Mkaang	**pa̰li**	four	So-Hartmann 1988:212
Ngmüün	**ʔpl^{h}i**	four	So-Hartmann 1988:212
Nyhmoye	**ʔp^{h}i**	four	So-Hartmann 1988:212
Wakung	**m^{ə}li**	four	So-Hartmann 1988:212

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	pa-**lîi**	four	VanBik 2009:1022
Lai (Falam)	pa-**lǐi**	four	VanBik 2009:1022
Lushai [Mizo]	**li**	four	Bhaskararao 1996:940
	pà-**lí**	four	VanBik 2009:1022
	pa **li**	four	Marrison 1967
	sâwm **li**	forty	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	sá-pā-**lì**	four	VanBik 2009:1022

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	phi **li**	four	Marrison 1967
	som **li**	forty	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *__phV-ləj__ FOUR

**Central Naga*	***phV-ləj**	FOUR	Bruhn 2014a:III.112
**Ao*	***ph-ləj**	FOUR	Bruhn 2014a:II.328
Ao (Chungli)	**li^{1}-ɹ^{2}**	forty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.307
	li r	forty	Marrison 1967
	pezü	four	Marrison 1967
	pezü nuk	square	Marrison 1967
	pezü sü	square	Marrison 1967
	pə^{1}zə^{2}	four (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.328
	te ri **pezü**	fourteen	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**li** ra	forty	Marrison 1967
	li ra-anekhi	eighty	Marrison 1967
	phüli	four	Marrison 1967
	te ra **phüli**	fourteen	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	jùŋ **phəli** nəm	four fingers' width	Coupe 2007
	li ɹa-ɹa	forty each	Coupe 2007:276
	li ɹə	FORTY	Coupe 2007:113
	phəli	FOUR	Coupe 2007:113
	phəli-li	four each	Coupe 2007:276
Lotha Naga	**me^{1}-ʒə^{1}**	four (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.112
	ʒə-roʔ	forty (num.)	Bruhn 2014b
	mezhü	four	Murry *et al.* 1978:47
	mezü	four	Marrison 1967
	méžə̀	four	Acharya 1975
	ta ro si-**mezü**	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	ta ro sü **tiza**	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	žē rò	forty	Acharya 1975
	zhü ro	forty	Murry *et al.* 1978:47
	zü ro	forty	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**müzyü**	four	Marrison 1967
	thü re **müzyü**	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	zyü re	forty	Marrison 1967
	zyü re rre-a nyü	eighty	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**phale**	four	Marrison 1967
	talule **phale**	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	talule **phungu**	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	tamong **phule**	eighty	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**fiyi**	four	Kumar 1973b:99
	phiyi	four	Marrison 1967
	thü rü kheak **phiyi**	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	yi r	forty	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{3}**die**	four	Weidert 1987:248
Khezha	**pedi**	four	Marrison 1967
	^{2}**pe^{3}di**	four	Weidert 1987:248
Mao	**padei**	four	Marrison 1967
	^{2}**pa^{2}dei**	four	Weidert 1987:248
Meluri	**mezu**	four	Marrison 1967
	te ra **mezu**	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	zü ra	forty	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**mezhü**	four	Marrison 1967
	mezü	four	Marrison 1967
	ta-a **mezü**	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	zü a	forty	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**pezi**	four	Marrison 1967
	tsa rü **pezi** chü	fourteen	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**bidhi**	four	Marrison 1967
	chüghi **bidi**	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	lho **bdhi**	forty	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**malhi**	four	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**mali**	four	Marrison 1967
	som **li**	forty	Marrison 1967
	som **li** to	fourteen	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**padei**	four	Marrison 1967
	pədə̀i	four	Matisoff 1994e
	ruh na **padei**	fourteen	Marrison 1967
Zeme	kereuze **medai**	fourteen	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *__ti__ FOUR

**Tangkhulic*	***ti**	four	Mortensen 2012:351
Huishu	mə-**kik**	four	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.004
Kachai	pə-**tsɐ**	four	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.004
Tangkhul	hang **mati**	forty	Marrison 1967
	tha ra da **mati**	fourteen	Marrison 1967
Tusom	mə-**lɯ**-a	four	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.004
Ukhrul	mə-**ti**	four	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	hump^{h}utəra **məri**	seventy four	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	mari	four	Marrison 1967
	ta ra **mari**	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	tə ra **məri**	fourteen	Abbi & Mishra 1985

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	**phir**	four	Marrison 1967
	phli	four	LaPolla 1987:200
	phlī(ʔ)	four	Weidert 1987:248
	phli kep	forty	Marrison 1967

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo: *__brəi__ FOUR

**Bodo-Garo*	***brəi**	four	Burling 1959:441

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**brəy**	four	Bhat 1968
	ka **brəy** mansəy	four men	Bhat 1968
	pay **brəy** pay	come four times	Bhat 1968
	paŋ **brəy** talír	four plaintain leaves	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**biri**	four	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**brəy**	four	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	**-bri**	four (num.)	Burling 2003:3.3704-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	**byryi**	four (num.)	van Breugel 2008
	chi **bri**	fourteen (num.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: *__bə__ ləy FOUR

**Northern Naga*	***bə ləy**	four	French 1983:492

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**beli**	four	Marrison 1967
	ruak **beli**	forty	Marrison 1967
	^{3}**bʌ^{3}li**	four	Weidert 1987:248
Tangsa	^{1}**bʌ^{2}lʌi**	four	Weidert 1987:248
Tangsa (Moshang)	**bali**	four	Marrison 1967
	rok **bali**	forty	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**bülai**	four	Marrison 1967
	rauk **bülai**	forty	Marrison 1967

[a] [Source Note] initial! (Sun 1993a).

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**lei**	four	Marrison 1967
	lîi	four	Weidert 1987:248
Khiamngan	^{12}**bɤ**^{2}**lẹ**	four	Weidert 1987:248
Konyak	**peli**	four	Marrison 1967
Phom	a^{55} **li**^{55}	four	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	a **li**	four	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**li**	four	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**mali**	four	Marrison 1967
	mali shi	forty	Marrison 1967
	mă^{31}**li**^{33}	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.19
	mă^{31}**li**^{33}	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.47
	mă^{31}**li**^{33} ʃi^{33}	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.19
	mă^{31}**li**^{33}ʃi^{33}	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.47
	mă^{1}**li**^{33}	four	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	məlī	four	Matisoff 1974:255
	məli	four	LaPolla 1987:200

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak	**prɨ**-hvú	four	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:397

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**pö**	four	Bailey 1911; LaPolla 1987:200; Benedict 1972:39n126
	pö rāɔ̄	four hundredth	Bailey 1911
	pö rāʿ	four hundred	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**pi**	four	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**li**	four	Hale 1973:09.02
	li thal	eighty	Hale 1973:09.20
	pherāng **li** thal	seventy	Hale 1973:09.19
Tsangla (Central)	**pshi**	four	Andvik 1993:153
Tsangla (Motuo)	**phi**	four	LaPolla 1987:200; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.7
	pʿi^{55}	four	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**b(i)ci**	four	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**bli**^{35}	four	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	chɛʔ^{53}**pli**^{53}	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.6
	chɛʔ^{53}**pli**^{53}tɕi^{53}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.6
	pli	four	LaPolla 1987:200
	pli^{53}	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.6
Motuo Menba	**phi**	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.07
Cuona Menba	krup^{35}**ʐi**^{35}	square / rectangular (lit. 'four sides') (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0989.06 [a]
	pli^{53}	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**wʐə**	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.05
	wʐə ptɕə	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hʐə**	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.4
	hʐəp tɕə	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**wʐə**	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.5
	wʐə ptɕə	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.5
	ʐə	four	Sun 1985a:285
Tibetan (Balti)	**ižbi**·	four	Rangan 1975:36
Tibetan (Batang)	**ɣɪ**^{53}	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.03
	ɣɪ^{55}tɕu^{53}	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'syi**	four	Hale 1973:09.02
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ʐe**	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.3
	ʐe^{31}tɕu^{53}	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ɕi**^{13}	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.02
	ɕi^{13}	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**ǰi**	four	Hale 1973:09.02
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ʒi**	four	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	**bzhi**	four	Sun 1985c:285
	bzhi.bcu.tham.pa	forty	Sun 1985c:283
	bźi	four	LaPolla 1987:200; Benedict 1972:162n436
	bźi-tshan	collection of four (bźi) things	Benedict 1972:100n284
	bʒi	four	Marrison 1967
	bʒi-bcu	forty	Marrison 1967
	bʐi	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.01
	bʐi	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.1
	bʐi btɕu	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.01
	bʐi btɕu	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.1
	nya-**bʐi**	four principle muscles (calves and biceps)	Matisoff 1987:74
	zhe.gcig	forty-one	Sun 1985c:284
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ʐə**	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.04
	ʐə tɕə	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**fali**	four (num.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *[B]**bli** FOUR

**TGTM*	*[B]**bli**	four	Mazaudon 1994:736
Gurung	**plihq**	four	Hale 1973:09.02
Gurung (Ghachok)	**plihq**	four	Glover 1972:9.2
Gurung	**plih** jyuq	forty	Hale 1973:09.16
Gurung (Ghachok)	**plih** jyuq	forty	Glover 1972:9.16
Manang (Gyaru)	**bli**^{3}	four	Nagano 1984:397
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**pli** cu	forty	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0677
	^{4}**pl̥i**	four	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0182
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'bli**^{fi}	four	Weidert 1987:825
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**pli**	four	Mazaudon 1994:736
Tamang (Sahu)	**'plih**	four	Hale 1973:09.02; Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.2
Thakali	**'plih**	four	Hale 1973:09.02
	'plih-cyu	forty	Hale 1973:09.16
Thakali (Marpha)	^{545}**pli**	four	Mazaudon 1994:736
Thakali (Syang)	^{L}**bli**	four	Mazaudon 1994:736
	^{L}**pli**	four	Mazaudon 1994:736
Thakali (Tukche)	**'plih**	four	Hari 1971:9.2
	'plih kəl-pe som-kəl	three quarters	Hari 1971:9.40
	'plih kəl-pe ti-kəl	one-quarter; two thirds	Hari 1971:9.38; Hari 1971:9.39
	'plih-cju	forty	Hari 1971:9.16

2.2. NEWAR

Newar (Dolakhali)	**pe**	four	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**pe**	four	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**pẹ**-gu:	four (inanimate)	Hale 1973:09.02
	pi:-gu:	forty (inanimate)	Hale 1973:09.16

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Limbu	**li:** si	four	Weidert 1987:248
	li si	four	Michailovsky 1989b
Yamphe	ri-**dzi**	four	Weidert 1987:703

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Kulung	**li** chi	four	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	**bli**	four	LaPolla 1987:200

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**play**.joʔ	four	Hale 1973:09.02
	pləy	four (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	pləy-joʔ	four	Caughley 1972:9.2
	pləy.jyoʔ	four (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	«**pləy**»-joʔ	four	Weidert 1987:825
Magar	**buli**	four	Hale 1973:09.02; LaPolla 1987:200

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**ʐo**^{33}	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.18
	ʐo^{33}bu^{55}	square	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:808.18
	ʐo^{55}ʐl̩^{55}	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.18
Guiqiong	**tsə**^{55}	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.16
	tsl̩^{55}	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.17
	ʐə^{35}**tʂə**^{55}	square / rectangular (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0989.16
Lyuzu	**ʐu**^{33}ʐl̩^{53}	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.18
	ʐu^{35}	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.18
	ʐu^{53}du^{53}	square / rectangular (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0989.18
Muya	**rə̯**^{53}	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.15
	ʑi^{33}tɕuə^{53}	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.15
	ʑi^{53}	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.15
Muya [Minyak]	**zɐ̯**^{35}	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.15
	ʑi^{33}tɕyɯ^{53}	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.15
Namuyi	**zl̩**^{33}	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.19
	zl̩^{33}dzl̩^{33}qɛ^{33}qɛ^{33}tɛ^{35}	square	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:808.19
	zl̩^{33}**l̥i**^{55}	April	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:79.19
	zl̩^{31}	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**zə**^{11}dzl̩^{55}	square / rectangular (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0989.10
	ʒə^{35}qo^{55}	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.10
	ʒə^{11} (lĩ^{55})	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.10
	ʒə^{11}dzl̩^{55}	square / rectangular (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0989.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʒɛ**^{55}	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.09
	ʒɐ^{13}xqo^{55}	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʒɛ**^{55}	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.11
	ʒɐ^{13}sqo^{55}	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʐɛ**^{53}ko^{53}	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.10
	ʐɛ^{55}li^{55}mei^{35}	April	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:79.10
	ʐɐ^{55}	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.10
	ʐɐ^{55}zə^{55}mə^{53}	square	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:808.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**zə̀** lə	April	Evans 1999:1126 [a]
	zɨ	four	Evans 1999:1177
	zɨ sá	forty	Evans 1999:1197
	zɨ sá à	forty-one	Evans 1999:1198
	zɨ-duà	limbs [four-limb/leg]	Evans 1999:98
Qiang (Mawo)	**gʐu** su	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.08
	gʐə	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.08
	gʐə	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.8
	gʐə su	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.8
	gʐə ɣrụ	square / rectangular (lit. 'four corners') (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0989.08
	gʐə ɤdzu	square	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:808.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**zɨ** lə	April	Evans 1999:1126 [b]
	zɨ qó	four	Evans 1999:1177
	zɨ sá	forty	Evans 1999:1197
	zɨ sá n̡à à qó	forty-one	Evans 1999:1198
	zɨ-ʐà	limbs [four-m]	Evans 1999:98
	fià **zɨ**	fourteen	Evans 1999:1187
Qiang (Taoping)	**dʒl̩**^{241}ʂl̩^{33}	April	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:79.9
	dʒl̩^{241}χdzo^{31}	square	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:808.9
	dʒl̩^{33}	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.9
	dʒl̩^{31}sɑ^{33}	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**bʒi**^{13}	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.13
	bʒi^{13}rqa^{55}	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.13
	bʒi^{13}ʁdə^{55} mə^{33}	square / rectangular (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0989.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	da^{35}wa^{55}**ʐi**^{35}pa^{53}	April	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:79.16
	ʐi^{35}tɕã^{53}	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.16
	ʐi^{35}ɣa^{53}	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.16
Xumi	**ʒuɐ**^{33} (ko^{35})	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.20
	ʒuɐ^{33}ɬɯ^{55}	April	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:79.20
	ʒuɐ^{55}qɛ^{55}	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.20
	ʐuɛ^{55}qa^{33}	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.17
	ʑyɛ^{33} (ku^{53})	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.17

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**vʐə** rgəm ba	square / rectangular (lit. 'four corners') (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0989.12
Ergong (Danba)	**wʐɛ**	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.14
	wʐɛ sqha	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.14
Daofu	**ɣʁə** sqha	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.12
	ɤʁə	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **wdi**	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.11

[a] The second syllable seems certainly to be a loan from Tibetan in this learned word.

[a] [Source Note] calque.
[b] [Source Note] calque.

rGyalrong	kə **wdi**	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.12
Caodeng	kə́-**vdɐ**	four	Sun 1997a
	vdé-ri	four hundred	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	ko **de**	four	Nagano 1997:122
rGBenzhen	ku-**di**	four	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Nung	**bɹi**^{31}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.21
	bɹi^{31}**tshɑ**^{55}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.21
Anong	**bɹi**^{31}**tshɑ**^{55}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.44
Nung	**bɹi**^{31}tɕhɔŋ^{55}	square / rectangular (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0989.21
Anong	**bɹi**^{53}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.44
Rawang	ə **bi**^{31}	four	LaPolla 2003:848
	ə **bi**^{31} sɛ^{53}	forty	LaPolla 2003:866
Anong	ə **byi**	four	LaPolla 1987:200
Dulong	ɑ^{31}**bli**^{53}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31}**bli**^{53}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.46
Dulong	ɑ^{31}bli^{53}sɑn^{55}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31}bli^{55}tsɑ̆l^{55}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	a^{31} **bli**^{53}	four	LaPolla 1987:200
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**bli**^{53}	four	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982; LaPolla 1987:200

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	**re1**	four (num.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	re^{1}	four	Brassett *et al.* 2006:7.2
Tujia (Southern)	**ze**^{13}	four	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**ze**^{55}	four	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**zie**^{55}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.49
	zie^{55}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.38
	zie^{55}xɯ^{55}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.49
	zie^{55}xɯ^{55}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.38

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***b/ʔ-ləy**^{2} FOUR

**Lolo-Burmese*	***b/ʔ-ləy**^{2}	four	Matisoff 2003a:599

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**mɛ**^{31}	four	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**mi**^{31}	four	LaPolla 1987:200
	mi^{31}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.28
	mi^{31}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.41
	mi^{31}tɕhe^{55}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.28
	mi^{31}tɕhe^{55}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.41
Achang (Luxi)	**mɯ**^{31}	four	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**mi**^{31}tshi^{55}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.29
	mi^{55}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.29
Bola (Luxi)	**məi**^{31}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.32
	məi^{31}thai^{55}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**le**^{55}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.27
	le^{55}shɛ^{22}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.27
	le^{55}thɑ̃u^{53}	square / rectangular (lit. ’four corners’) (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0989.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**le**^{55}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.40
	le^{55}hsɛ^{22}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.40
Burmese (Written)	**lè**	four	Weidert 1987:248
	lê	four	Hansson 1989:339; Matisoff 1974:255; Benedict 1976a
	lè	four	LaPolla 1987:200; Benedict 1972:91n263
	le:	four	Marrison 1967
	le^{3}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.26
	le^{3}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.39
	le^{3}hsɑj^{2}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.39
	le^{3}shɑj^{2}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.26
	le^{3}thɔŋ^{1}	square / rectangular (lit. ’four corners’) (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0989.26
	le chay	forty	Marrison 1967
Hpun (Northern)	**yì**, **ɲì**	four	Henderson 1986
	ɲì kɔ́ŋ, **yì** kɔ́ŋ	four things	Henderson 1986
Leqi (Luxi)	**mei**^{33}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.33
	mei^{33}tshe^{33}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.33
Marma	**lé**	four	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:397
	lé-che	forty	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:404-5
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**mji**^{21}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.30
	mji^{21}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.42
	mji^{21}tshe^{51}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.30
	mji^{21}tshe^{51}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.42
	myi	four	LaPolla 1987:200

6.1.2. Loloish: ***b-le**^{2} FOUR

**Loloish*	***b-le**^{2}	four	Weidert 1987:248; Bradley 1979b:481; Hansson 1989:339

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**xɤ**^{33}	four	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	xɤ^{33}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.47
	xɤ^{33}tshi^{33}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.47
Nusu (Central)	**vɹi**^{33}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.34
	vɹi^{33}tshe^{33}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.34
Nusu (Northern)	**vɹi**^{31}	four	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**vɹi**^{35}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.45
	vɹi^{35}tshe^{35}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.45
Nusu (Southern)	**ɹui**^{35}	four	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ɬi**^{33}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**lɿ**^{33}	four	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**li**^{33}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.25
	li^{33}tshi^{33}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**xe**^{33}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.26
	xe^{33}tshɯ^{21}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**li**^{33}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.37
	li^{33}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.24
	li^{33}tshi^{33}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.37
	li^{33}tshi^{33}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**l̥(ɿ)**^{33} ; **l̥(ɿ)**^{55}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.23
	l̥(ɿ)^{33}tɕhi^{55}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ʔl̩**^{33}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.36
	ʔl̩^{33}tɕhi^{55}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ɬi**^{33}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.38
	ɬi^{33}tshe^{33}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.38
Yi (Xide)	**l(ɿ)**^{33}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.21
	lɿ^{33}-si^{33}	four limbs	Chen Shilin & Li Min, et al., eds. 1979
	l̥(ɿ)^{33}tshi^{33}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.21
	l̩^{33}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.35
	l̩^{33}bo^{21}thi^{33}	square / rectangular (lit. ’four square body’) (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0989.35
	l̩^{33}tshi^{33}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**li**^{33}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.34
	li^{33}tshɯ^{42}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.34
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**li**^{44}	four	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**li**^{44}	four	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**li**^{44}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.44
	li^{44}tshə^{33}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.44
Kucong	**ɤ31** liɛ35	four	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**ɔ̂**	four	LaPolla 1987:200; Benedict 1972:61n195
	ɔ̆n / **ɔ̂n**	four	Benedict 1972:91n263
	ʔɔ̆	four	Benedict 1972:152n413
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɔ**^{53}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.43
	ɔ^{53}tɕhi^{33}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.43
Lahu (Black)	**ɔ̂**	four	Matisoff 1974:255
	ɔ^{53}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.33
	ɔ^{53}tshi^{33}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ɔ**^{7}	four	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	dʑi^{44}phɤ^{21} **li**^{33} kɤ^{55}	four glasses of wine	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**li**^{3}	four	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**li**^{33}	four (with tone change); cf. li^{55}, li^{33} (Q.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**li**^{33}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.40
	li^{33}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.27
Lisu (Northern)	**li**^{33}lø^{21}	four pieces	Bradley 1994
	li^{33}tɕhø^{21}	four sides	Bradley 1994
	li^{44}	four (with tone change); cf. li^{55}, li^{33} (Q.)	Bradley 1994
	li^{55}	four; cf. also li^{33}, li^{44} (Q.)	Bradley 1994
	li^{55} ma^{33}	four	Bradley 1994
	li^{55}hæ̃^{33}	four hundred	Bradley 1994
	li^{55}kɔ^{33}	four-surfaced pyramid	Bradley 1994
	li^{55}tshi^{33}	forty	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**li**^{55}tshi̠^{33}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.40
	li^{55}tshɿ^{44}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.27
Lisu (Northern)	**li**^{55}tu^{33}	four thousand	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33}za^{21} **li**^{55} jɔ^{33}	four persons	Bradley 1994
	ŋwa^{55} **li**^{55} ma^{33}	four fish	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**ɬz̥**^{33}tshi^{33}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.39
	ɬz̥^{55}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**ö**	four	Hansson 1989:339
Akha (Thai)	**ö**	four	Hansson 1989:339
Akha (Yunnan)	**ö**	four	Hansson 1989:339
Akha	**ö̆**	four	Benedict 1972:61n195
Hani (Lüchun)	**ö**	four	Hansson 1989:339
Hani (Dazhai)	**ø**^{31}tshe^{55}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.31
	ø̠^{31}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ø̠**^{31}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.41
	ø̠^{31}tshɛ^{55}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.41
Hani (Pijo)	**lì**	four	Hansson 1989:339
Hani (Caiyuan)	**li**^{31}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.30
	li^{31}tshɤ^{55}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ø**^{31}	four	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**li**^{31}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.32
	li^{31}tshɛ^{55}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.32
Hani (Khatu)	**lì**	four	Hansson 1989:339
Hani (Mojiang)	**li**^{31}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.42
	li^{31}tshɛ^{55}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.42
Mpi	**li**^{6}	four	Hansson 1989:339; Srinuan Duanghom 1976

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	ts^{h}i˥**ʐv**˥gv˥	14	Michaud 2006–2009:1725
	ʐv˥gv˥	4	Michaud 2006–2009:1715
	ʐv˥ts^{h}i˥gv˧	40	Michaud 2006–2009:1742
	ʐv˧lie˧mie˧	4th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1666
Na (Yongning)	ts^{h}e˩**ʐv**˩˧	14	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐv˧	4	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐv˧ts^{h}i˩	40	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐv˧ɲi˧ʁu˧t^{h}o˥	in four days	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐv˩ɬi˩mi˩˧	4th month	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**lu**^{33}	four (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**lu**^{33}	four	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:914.28
	lu^{33}tshəɹ^{31}	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.28
Naxi	**lu**^{33}tshə˞^{21}	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.45

	tshe^{21}**lu**^{33}	fourteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0810.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshe^{31}**lu**^{33}	fourteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:924.28
Naxi (Yongning)	tshe^{31}**zɣ**^{13}	fourteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:924.29
	zɣ^{33}	four	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:914.29
	zɣ^{31}ɬe^{31}mi^{13}	April	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:79.29
	zɣ^{55}tshŋ^{44}	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.29

7. KARENIC: ***lwi-t*** FOUR

**Karen*	***lwi**-t	four	Benedict 1972:162n436
	***lwíT**	four	Jones 1961:107
**Karen [Burling]*	***lwi**^{1}	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124
**Karen (Central)*	***hlwi**^{A}	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124 [a]
**Karen (Northern)*	***liK**^{D}	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124 [b]
**Karen (Southern)*	***lwi**^{B}	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124 [c]
Bwe	**lu**^{55}	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124
Karen	**lui**^{31}	four (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0800.50
	lui^{31}tshi^{55}	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.50
Kayah	**lwi**^{33}	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124
Kayan (Pekon)	**lwe̱**-	four (NUM.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**lwi**^{53}	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124
Kayan (Pekon)	mən **lwi̱** nə̀	Thursday [lit. sun-four-day] (TEMP.)	Manson 2010
	θa **lwe̱**	four (NUM.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**li**^{55}	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124
Pa-O (Northern)	**lip**^{45}∼**lit**^{45}	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124
Pa-O (Southern)	**lip**^{45}∼**lit**^{45}	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124
Pa-O	**lít**	four	Solnit 1989
	lít céŋ	four corners	Solnit 1989
	lít lî	crossroads, four-way	Solnit 1989
Palaychi	**lwi**	four	Benedict 1972:131n355
Pwo (Northern)	**lwi**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124
Pwo (Southern)	**lei**^{33}	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124
Pwo	**li**	four	Benedict 1972:131n355
Karen (Sgaw)	**lwi**	four	Benedict 1972:131n355
Sgaw (Southern)	**lwi**^{31}	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124
Sgaw (Northern)	**lwi**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	four	Luangthongkum 2013:124

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	四	four	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2637; Nagano & Prins 2013:1875
Chinese (GSR #)	**0518a**	four	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2637

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**si̱əd**/si	four	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:518a-d
Chinese (Old)	**s**.lij-s {s.li[j]-s}	four; team of four horses	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2637; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2638

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**sijH**	four; team of four horses	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2637; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2638

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**sì**	four; team of four horses	Evans *et al.* 1991; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2637; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2638
	syh	four	Sun 1985b:285

[a] [Source Note] The PK protoform cannot be reconstructed since PNK, PCK and PSK have different onset and tones.
[b] [Source Note] The PK protoform cannot be reconstructed since PNK, PCK and PSK have different onset and tones.
[c] [Source Note] The PK protoform cannot be reconstructed since PNK, PCK and PSK have different onset and tones.

Chinese comparandum

四 OC ***si̱əd***, *GSR* #518a-d 'four'; Coblin 86:83 ST ***błyid*** > OC ***ljidh***; Schuessler 2007:478 ***sis***; B & S 2011: ***s.lij-s {s.li[j]-s}***; Mand. ***sì***.

(13) PTB *b-r-gya HUNDRED

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***b-r-gya**	hundred	Matisoff 2003a:592
	***r-gya**	hundred	Weidert 1987:185; LaPolla 1987:184; Benedict 1972:164
	***r-gyɑ**	one-hundred	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:781a-c

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***yaa*** HUNDRED

**Chin*	***yaa**	HUNDRED	VanBik 2009:1207

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**zàa**	hundred	VanBik 2009:1207
Tiddim	**za**^{3}	hundred	VanBik 2009:1207; Bhaskararao 1996:1983
	`za:	hundred (q.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	pʿ **yá**	hundred	VanBik 2009:1207

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**zăa**	hundred	VanBik 2009:1207
Lai (Falam)	**zàa**	hundred	VanBik 2009:1207
Lushai [Mizo]	**za**	hundred	Marrison 1967
	zà	hundred	VanBik 2009:1207
	za	hundred	Bhaskararao 1996:1983; LaPolla 1987:184; Benedict 1972:164

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**zā**	hundred	VanBik 2009:1207

1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP

Maring	ma **cha**	hundred	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Lotha Naga	ṇ-**zoaʔ**	hundred (num.)	Bruhn 2014b
	n **zoa**	hundred	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:57
Sangtam	**thsi**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**chhi**	hundred	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami (Khonoma)	**kra**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**krie**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Chokri	**kra**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Khezha	**kri**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Mao	**kri**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Meluri	me **za**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	me **za**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**tsi**	hundred	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Khoirao	**ki**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	**kai**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Maram	**hai**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**raja**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**phai**	hundred	Marrison 1967
	phài khàt	hundred	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	**hai**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**hai**	hundred	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***ʃa*** HUNDRED

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃa**	hundred	Mortensen 2012:332
Huishu	**se**-kɐ	hundred	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.017
Kachai	**ʃu**-k^{h}a	hundred	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.017
Tangkhul	**śa**	hundred	Bhat 1969:91
	sha	hundred	Marrison 1967
Tusom	mə-**ʃi**-he	one hundred	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.017
Ukhrul	**ʃa**-k^{h}a	hundred	Mortensen 2012
	ʃa-k^{h}ɐ	hundred	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	**radža**	hundred	Benedict 1972:164

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	rit **tśa**	hundred	Benedict 1972:164

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***Ç-k^{h}ya*** HUNDRED

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-k^{h}ya**	hundred	French 1983:506

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	^{3}**tša**-	hundred	Weidert 1987:185
Tangsa	^{2}**ša**-	hundred	Weidert 1987:185
Tangsa (Moshang)	rek **sha** shi	hundred	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**sha** kha	hundred	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Konyak	**kho**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Phom	**gho**	hundred	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**puga**	hundred	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**lətsa**	hundred	Benedict 1972:164

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**brgja**	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.01
	brgja	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.1
	brgja daŋ gtɕig	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.01
	brgya	hundred	Marrison 1967; Sun 1985c:378; LaPolla 1987:184; Benedict 1972:161n434; Benedict 1972:164
	brgyɑ	one-hundred	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:781a-c

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**zɑ**^{55}	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.18
Guiqiong	**dʐø**^{35}	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.17
	dʐə^{35}	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.16
Lyuzu	(te^{33}) **ʐæ**^{53}	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.18
	te^{53}**ʐæ**^{53} læ^{53} te^{33}jæ^{31}	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.18
Muya	**dʐæ**^{53}	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.15
	dʐæ^{53} tɑ̃^{33}tɕi^{53}	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.15
Muya [Minyak]	**dʐɛ**^{53}	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.15
Namuyi	**hiɔ**^{53}	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.19
	(tɕi^{31}) **ʔhĩɔ**^{53}	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.46
	tɕi^{31} **ʔhĩɔ**^{53} tɕi^{31}	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	ta^{55}**ʐe**^{55}	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.10
	ta^{55}**ʐe**^{55}nə^{11}ta^{11}	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.10
Pumi (Lanping)	tə^{13}**ʂi**^{55} nə^{13} ti^{13}	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʂi**^{55}	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**re**^{53}	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.10
Qiang (Longxi)	à **tshəì**	hundred (one)	Evans 1999:1209
	à **tshəì** nà à (nà = 'and')	one hundred one	Evans 1999:1211
	á **sheí**-ʁuá	million [hundred-ten.thousand]	Evans 1999:1216
Qiang (Mawo)	(ɛ) **khɛ**^{ɪ}	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.08
	(ɛ) **khɛ**^{ɪ} ɳɑ tʃɛ	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.08
	khir	hundred	LaPolla 1987:184
	khi^{ɪ}	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	à **tʂhì**	hundred (one)	Evans 1999:1209
	à **tʂhì** ɳá à qó	one hundred one	Evans 1999:1211
	á **tʂhì** qò	one hundred + CL	Evans 1999:1209
Qiang (Taoping)	**tʂhi**^{55}	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**bdʐə**^{13}	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.13
	bdʐə^{13}ʃi^{33} tɯ^{55}	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**dʐa**^{35}	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.16
Xumi	(dzi^{33}) **ɕa**^{53}	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.17
	dʐi^{33}**ɕɛ**^{53}ni^{55}dʐī^{33}	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.17
	dʐi^{33}**ɕɛ**^{55}	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ʑji**^{13}	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.14
	ʑji^{13} tɛ^{55}	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**rjə**	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.12
	rjə wu ro	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ʐɣiɯ**	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

Caodeng	o-**rgje**	hundred	Sun 1997a
	o-**rgje** stʃʰən kə-rdɔ	one hundred and one	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**pə rjɐ**	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.11
rGyalrong	**pə rjɐ**	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**pə rjɐ** wu ŋkhu kə tɛk	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.11
rGyalrong	**pA rgya**	hundred	Nagano 1997:119
rGBenzhen	**pə-rdʒaʔ**	hundred	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**ya**	hundred	Benedict 1972:164

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	a **ra**	hundred	LaPolla 1987:184
	ă **ra**	hundred	Benedict 1972:164

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu (Lancang)	te^{53}**xɑ**^{33}te^{53}	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.43
Lahu (Black)	**ha**	hundred	Matisoff 1974:134

7. KARENIC: ***g-rja**^{A} HUNDRED

**Karen*	***g-rja**^{A}	hundred	Luangthongkum 2013:150
**Karen [Burling]*	***ŋa**^{3}	hundred	Luangthongkum 2013:150
Bwe	**gə**^{33}**jɛ**^{33}	hundred	Luangthongkum 2013:150
Kayah	**je**^{11}	hundred	Luangthongkum 2013:150
Kayan	**ja**^{33}	hundred	Luangthongkum 2013:150
Kayaw	**ja**^{33}	hundred	Luangthongkum 2013:150
Pa-O (Northern)	**rja**^{33}	hundred	Luangthongkum 2013:150
Pa-O (Southern)	**rja**^{53}	hundred	Luangthongkum 2013:150
Pwo (Northern)	**ja**^{55}	hundred	Luangthongkum 2013:150
Pwo (Southern)	**ja**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	hundred	Luangthongkum 2013:150
Sgaw (Southern)	**kə**^{11}**ja**^{33}	hundred	Luangthongkum 2013:150
Sgaw (Northern)	**kə**^{11}**ja**^{33}	hundred	Luangthongkum 2013:150

Chinese comparandum

百 OC ***pǎk**, *GSR* #781a-e 'hundred'; Coblin 86:96 ST ***pria?** > OC ***priak**; Schuessler 2007:154 ***prâk**; B & S 2011: *$\mathbf{p^{s}rak}$; Mand. **bǎi**.

(14) PTani *lɯŋ HUNDRED

1.1. "NORTH ASSAM"

Sulung [Puroik]	**ləŋ**^{33}	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.52

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***lɯŋ**	hundred	Sun 1993a:211

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**laŋ**	hundred	Sun 1993b
	laŋ-e	hundred	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**ləŋ**(-ku)	hundred	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-kin	hundred	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-ñi	two hundred	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ	hundred	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**lɯŋ**	hundred	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.24
	lɯŋ a ko	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.24
	lɯŋ-ñi	two hundred	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**lɯŋ**	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.51
Galo	'a **l̪i̪i̪**	hundred (n:num.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	**lengu**	hundred	Das Gupta 1969
	lengu-le-a kin	hundred and one	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**lɯŋ**	hundred	Sun 1993a
Damu	**rə**-ŋən	two hundred	Sun 1993b
	rə-n̪i:	two hundred	Sun 1993b
	rəŋ-kon	hundred	Sun 1993b
Milang	**liŋ**-ko	hundred	Tayeng 1976
	liŋ-ko-kalo-ne	one hundred and two	Tayeng 1976
	liŋ-ko-ne	two hundred	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	ma: **lom**	hundred	NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: **lom** khing	one hundred	NEFA (India) 1963
	mɑ^{31}**lɯm**^{55}	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.22
	mɑ^{31}**lɯm**^{55}	hundred	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:939.49
	mɑ^{31}lɯm^{55}khɯn^{55}khɯm^{55ā}	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.22

(15) PTk *cuŋ MANY

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***cuŋ**	many	Mortensen 2012:763
Kachai	**cuŋ**-muj	many (be v.)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.185
Tusom	**cŭ**-k^{h}ə-ma	many	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.229
Ukhrul	kə-**cuŋ**-k^{h}a	many, a lot of	Mortensen 2012

(16) PTani *jaŋ MORE (verbal particle of comparison)

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***jaŋ**	more (verbal particle of comparison)	Sun 1993a:258

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**-ja**	more (verbal particle of comparison)	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**-ja:**	more (verbal particle of comparison); comparative degree	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	-ja:-čuk	superlative degree	Sun 1993b
	lɯ-**ja:** lɯ-**ja:**	more and more	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**-joŋ**	more (verbal particle of comparison); more (comparative marker); comparative degree marker	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	joŋ-čup	most (superlative degree)	Sun 1993b
	joŋ-joŋ	more and more	Sun 1993b
Galo	**-'yaa**	more (than) (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009
	-'yaa yaa	even more; still more (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**-jaŋ**	more (verbal particle of comparison)	Sun 1993a

(17) PTk *mej MORE THAN

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

**Tangkhulic*	***mej**	more than	Mortensen 2012:406
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**mu**	more than (comparative degree)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.213
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**mi**	more than (comparative degree)	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.187
Tusom	k^{h}ə-**ma**	comparative degree	Mortensen 2012:Verbs.231
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**mej**	comparative degree, become?	Mortensen 2012

(18) PTB *s-la-k MORE / BEYOND / EXCESSIVE

This root was already suggested in *STC* p.89, although it does not appear in the TB-English index, but only in the English-TB index, where it is reconstructed as ***hla(k)**.

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Batang)	**ɬɑ?**^{53}	left over, be / remain (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1622.03
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ɬa**^{52}	left over, be / remain (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1622.02
Tibetan (Written)	**lhag**	left over, be / remain (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1622.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ɬaχ**	left over, be / remain (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1622.04

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Written)	**hla'**	very, excessively	Benedict 1976a

(19) PTB * $\mathbf{\frac{d}{s}}$ **-kəw NINE**

The mesoroot attested in Kuki-Chin seems clearly to have arisen from a suffixed form like ***kəw-a**.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***d-kəw**	nine	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:992a-d
	***dkwjəɣw**	nine	Coblin 1986:113

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-kuw**	nine	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:992a-d; Weidert 1987:292; Matisoff 1983:16; LaPolla 1987:12; Benedict 1972:13
	***d/s-kəw**	nine	Matisoff 2003a:595; Mortensen 2012
	***s-kwa**	nine	Matisoff 2003a:597

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kua** NINE

**Chin*	***kua**	NINE	VanBik 2009:302

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**kua**	nine	VanBik 2009:302
Sizang	**kua**	nine	VanBik 2009:302
Thado	**kûo**	nine	VanBik 2009:302
Tiddim	**kua**^{1}	nine	VanBik 2009:302; Bhaskararao 1996:682

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**ko˝**	nine	VanBik 2009:302
Chinbon	**ko**	nine	So-Hartmann 1988:217
Cho (Mindat)	**kaw**	nine	VanBik 2009:302
Daai	**ʔkɔ**	nine	So-Hartmann 1988:217
Khumi	**tkaw**	nine	VanBik 2009:302
	t^{ə}kɔ	nine	So-Hartmann 1988:217
Ngmüün	**ko**	nine	So-Hartmann 1988:217
Nyhmoye	**ko**	nine	So-Hartmann 1988:217
Wakung	**t^{ə}kɔ**	nine	So-Hartmann 1988:217

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Falam)	**kúa**	nine	VanBik 2009:302
Lai (Hakha)	pa-**kûa**	nine	VanBik 2009:302
Lushai [Mizo]	**kŭa**	nine	Weidert 1987:292
	kua	nine	Bhaskararao 1996:682
	kua ≍ pə **kua**	nine	Benedict 1972:13
	pa-**kŭa**	nine	VanBik 2009:302

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	pā-chā-**kí**	nine	VanBik 2009:302

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***t-ku** NINE

**Central Naga*	***t-ku**	NINE	Bruhn 2014a:III.077
**Ao*	***th-ku**	NINE	Bruhn 2014a:II.059
Ao (Chungli)	**tu**^{2}**-ku**^{3}**-ɹ**^{1}	ninety (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.307
	tu^{3}**-ku**^{3}	nine (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.059
	^{3}**tu**^{3}**ku**	nine	Weidert 1987:292
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**thuku**	NINE	Coupe 2007:113
	thuku-ku	nine each	Coupe 2007:276
	thuku-pən zəŋ-làk	ninety each	Coupe 2007:276
	thuku ɹ	NINETY	Coupe 2007:113
	thəɹa-ɹə **thuku**-khu	nineteen each	Coupe 2007:276
Lotha Naga	e-kha to-**ku?**	ninety (num.)	Bruhn 2014b
	to^{1}**ku?**^{3}	nine (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.077
	toku	nine	Murry *et al.* 1978:78
	t̪ōkù	nine	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**tüko**	nine	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**tuku**	nine	Kumar 1973b:99

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	^{2}the^{5}**pfɯ**	nine	Weidert 1987:292

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	reg **tsəku**	ninety	Matisoff 1994e
	tsəkû	nine	Matisoff 1994e

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***ko** NINE

**Tangkhulic*	***ko**	nine	Mortensen 2012:364
Huishu	tə-**ku**	nine	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.009
Kachai	ci-**kɐ**	nine	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.009
Tangkhul	**ko**	nine	Bhat 1969:93
Tusom	ʃa-**ku**-he	nine	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.009
Ukhrul	ci-**ko**	nine	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	**guʔ**	nine	Weidert 1987:292

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**sku**	nine	Benedict 1972:13

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	chi **sykhu**	nineteen (num.)	van Breugel 2008
	chykyw	nine (num.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.1.4. DEORI

Deori/Deuri	mu-**dugu**	nine	Jacquesson 2005

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Tangsa	^{2}**t̪ʌ-kʌuʔ**	nine	Weidert 1987:292

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Chang	**gûɪ**	nine	Weidert 1987:292

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**dʒəkhu**	nine	Benedict 1972:13
	dźətśu	nine	Benedict 1972:51n171
	tʃă^{31}**khu**^{31}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.19
	tʃă^{31}**khu**^{31}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.47
	tʃă^{31}**khu**^{31}ʃi^{33}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.19
	tʃă^{31}**khu**^{31}ʃi^{33}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.47
	tʃă^{1}**khu**^{31}	nine	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	^{1}**dʒə**^{1}**khu**	nine	Weidert 1987:292

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Kanauri	**gŭi**	nine (adj.)	Bailey 1911
	gŭī rā	nine hundred	Bailey 1911

	gŭī rāɔ̄	nine hundredth	Bailey 1911
	zgŭī	nine (adj.)	Bailey 1911
	zgŭi ≍ gŭi	nine	Benedict 1972:13
Pattani [Manchati]	**ku**	nine	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	chyu r **gu**	nineteen	Hale 1973:09.10
	gu	nine	Hale 1973:09.07
	nhi chyu chyur **gu**	thirty-nine	Hale 1973:09.15
	nhi chyu **gu**	twenty-nine	Hale 1973:09.13
Tsangla (Central)	**gu**	nine	Andvik 1993:158
Tsangla (Motuo)	**gu**	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.7
	ku^{13}	nine	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**gu**	nine	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**du**^{35}**gu**^{55}	nine	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tu**^{31}**ku**^{53}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.6
Motuo Menba	**gu**	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.07
Cuona Menba	**tu**^{31}**ku**^{53}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**rgə**	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.05
	rgə ptɕə	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hgə**	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.4
	hgəp tɕə	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**gə**	nine	Sun 1985a:641
	rgo tɕə	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.5
	rgə	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**rgu**·	nine	Rangan 1975:52
Tibetan (Batang)	**gu**^{53}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.03
	gu^{55}tɕu^{53}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'gu**	nine	Hale 1973:09.07
	khāl-jyik-tāngq **'gu**	twenty-nine	Hale 1973:09.13
	khal-jyik-tangq cyur **guq**	thirty-nine	Hale 1973:09.15
	khālq 'syi-tāng cyur **guq**	ninety-nine	Hale 1973:09.23
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**gu**^{31}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.3
	gu^{31}tɕu^{53}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**kup**^{13}tɕu^{53}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.2
	kup^{13}tɕu^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.02
	ku^{13}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.02
	ku^{13}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**gu**	nine	Hale 1973:09.07
	khal-**gu**	ninety	Hale 1973:09.21
	khal-**gu** 'tangq 'ge	ninety-eight	Hale 1973:09.22
	khal-**gu** 'tangq **gu**	ninety-nine	Hale 1973:09.23
	khal-ǰik 'tangq **gu**	twenty-nine	Hale 1973:09.13
Tibetan (Written)	bu-ga **dgu**(-po)	nine orifices of the body	Matisoff 1987
	dgu	nine	Matisoff 1983:16; Sun 1985c:641; Benedict 1972:13
	dgu	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.01
	dgu	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.1
	dgu btɕu	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.01
	dgu tɕu	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.1
	dku	nine	LaPolla 1987:12
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**gə**	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.04
	gəp tɕə	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.04

2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *[B]**ku(:)** NINE

**TGTM*	*[B]**ku(:)**	nine	Mazaudon 1978:28
	*[B]**ku**,[B]ku:	nine	Mazaudon 1994:30
Gurung (Ghachok)	[2]**ku**	nine	Mazaudon 1978:28
Manang (Ngawal)	[2]**ku**	nine	Mazaudon 1978:28
Tamang (Risiangku)	[2]**ku:**	nine	Mazaudon 1978:28
Tamang (Sahu)	[2]**ku**	nine	Mazaudon 1978:28
Tamang (Taglung)	[2]**ku(:)**	nine	Mazaudon 1978:28
Thakali (Marpha)	[2]**ku**	nine	Mazaudon 1978:28
Thakali (Syang)	[2]**ku(:)**	nine	Mazaudon 1978:28
Thakali (Tukche)	[2]**ku**	nine	Mazaudon 1978:28

2.2. NEWAR

Newar (Dolakhali)	**gu**	nine	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	**gu**	nine	Genetti 1990c

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Khaling	**'ghu**	nine	Hale 1973:09.07

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Thulung	**gu**	nine	Allen 1975

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**gji̱**	nine	LǏ Fànwén 李范文 1997:3113

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**ngɛ**^{33}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.18
	ngɛ^{55}ʐ̩^{55}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.18
Guiqiong	**gui**^{33}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.17
	gui^{33}ʃ̩^{55}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.17
	ŋgui^{35}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.16
Lyuzu	**ngɯ**^{33}ʐ̩^{53}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.18
	ngɯ^{35}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.18
Muya	**gu**^{33}tɕuə^{53}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.15
	gu^{53}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.15
	ŋguə^{53}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.15
Muya [Minyak]	**gu**^{35}tɕyɯ^{53}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.15
	ŋguɯ^{35}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.15
Namuyi	**ŋgu**^{33}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.19
	ŋgu^{33}ɬi^{55}	September	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:84.19
	ngu^{31}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.46
	χuo^{31}**ngu**^{31}	nineteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0815.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**gɯ**^{35}qo^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.10
	gɯ^{11} (lī^{55})	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**zgiɯ**^{13}xqo^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.09
	zgiɯ^{55}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sgiɯ**^{13}sqo^{55}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.11
	sgiɯ^{55}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**gɯ**^{53}ko^{53}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.10
	ɣi^{55}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**gú**	nine	Evans 1999:1182
	gú lə́	September	Evans 1999:1131 [a]
	gú sá	ninety	Evans 1999:1207
	gú sá à	ninety-one	Evans 1999:1208
Qiang (Mawo)	**rguə**	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.8
	rguə su	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.8
	zguə	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.08
	zguə su	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**gù** lə́	September	Evans 1999:1131 [b]
	gú qò	nine	Evans 1999:1182
	gú sà	ninety	Evans 1999:1207
	gú sà ɲà à qó	ninety-one	Evans 1999:1208
Qiang (Taoping)	**χguə**^{241}ʂl̩^{33}	September	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:84.9
	χguə^{33}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.9
	χguə^{31}sɑ^{33}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**gɯ**^{55}tɕã^{53}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.16
	gɯ^{55}ɣa^{53}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ku**^{55}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.13
	ku^{55}rqa^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.13
Xumi	**guɛ**^{33} (ku^{53})	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.17
	guɛ^{53}qa^{33}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.17
	guɐ^{33}(ko^{35})	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.20
	guɐ^{33}ɬɯ^{55}	September	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:84.20
	quɐ^{55}qɛ^{55}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ngʌ**^{13}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.14
	ngʌ^{13}ʐ̩^{33}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	**ngiɛ**	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.14
Daofu	**ngə**	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.12
	ngə sqha	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ŋguɛ** sqha	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **ngu**	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.11
rGyalrong Caodeng	kə-**ngu**	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.12
	kə-**ngə́**-ri	nine hundred	Sun 1997a
	kə́-**ngət**	nine	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong rGBenzhen	kA **Ngu**	nine	Nagano 1997:126
	kə-**ngu**	nine	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Nung	**di**^{31}**gɯ**^{31}tshɑ^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.21
Rawang	**dəgɯ**^{31}	nine	LaPolla 2003:853
	dəgɯ^{31} sɛ^{53}	ninety	LaPolla 2003:871
Nung	**dɯ**^{31}**gɯ**^{31}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.21
Anong	**dɯ**^{31}**gɯ**^{31}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.44
	dɯ^{31}**gɯ**^{31}tshɑ^{55}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.44
	təgö	nine	LaPolla 1987:12; Benedict 1972:13
Dulong	**dɯ**^{31}**gɯ**^{53}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.20
Trung [Dulong]	**dɯ**^{31}**gɯ**^{53}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.46
Dulong	**dɯ**^{31}**gɯ**^{53}sɑn^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.20
Trung [Dulong]	**dɯ**^{31}**gɯ**^{53}tsə̆l^{55}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**dɯ**^{31} **gɯ**^{53}	nine	LaPolla 1987:12
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**dɯ**^{31} **gɯ**^{53}	nine	LaPolla 1987:12; SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	**ge1**	nine (num.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ge^{1}	nine	Brassett *et al.* 2006:7.2

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***gəw**^{2} NINE

**Lolo-Burmese*	***gəw**^{2}	nine	Matisoff 2003a:590

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**kau**^{31}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.28
	kau^{31}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.41
	kau^{31}tɕhe^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.28
	kau^{31}tɕhe^{55}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.41
Achang (Luxi)	**khjau**^{51}	nine	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**kau**^{31}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.29
	kau^{31}tshi^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.29
Bola (Luxi)	**kau**^{31}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.32
	kau^{31}thai^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**ko**^{55}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.27
	ko^{55}shɛ^{22}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ko**^{55}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.40
	ko^{55}hsɛ^{22}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.40
Burmese (Written)	**ko**^{3}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.26
	ko^{3}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.39
	ko^{3}hsɑj^{2}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.39
	ko^{3}shɑj^{2}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.26
	kuì	nine	Weidert 1987:292
	kûi	nine	Hansson 1989:367
	kui	nine	Matisoff 1983:16
	kûi	nine	Benedict 1976a
	kuì	nine	LaPolla 1987:12
	kui	nine	Benedict 1972:13
	kuì	nine	Benedict 1972:152n412
Leqi (Luxi)	**kou**^{33}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.33

[a] [Source Note] calque.
[b] [Source Note] calque.

	kou^{33}tshe^{33}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.33
Marma	**kú**	nine	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:402
	kú-che	ninety	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:404-10
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**kâu**	nine	Weidert 1987:292
	kau^{21}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.30
	kau^{21}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.42
	kau^{21}tshe^{51}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.30
	kau^{21}tshe^{51}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***go**^{2}	nine	Weidert 1987:292; Bradley 1979b:486; Hansson 1989:367
Lolopho	**kò̰**	nine	Benedict 1972:152n412
PNL	**go**^{2}	nine	CHEN Kang 1986a:132.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**kv**^{33}	nine	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	kv^{33}tshi^{33}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.47
	kv^{44}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.47
Lalo	**kɻ**^{21}	nine	CHEN Kang 1986a:132.
Lipho	**kɯ**^{55}	nine	CHEN Kang 1986a:132.
Nasu	**kɯ**^{33}	nine	CHEN Kang 1986a:132.
Nesu	**kɯ**^{33}	nine	CHEN Kang 1986a:132.
Nosu	**gu**^{33}	nine	CHEN Kang 1986a:132.
Nusu (Central)	**gɯ**^{33}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.34
	gɯ^{33}tshe^{33}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.34
Nusu (Northern)	**gɯ**^{35}	nine	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**gɯ**^{35}	nine	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**gɯ**^{35}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.45
	gɯ^{35}tshe^{35}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.45
Yi (Dafang)	**kɯ**^{33}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**gu**^{33}	nine	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**kɯ**^{33}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.25
	kɯ^{33}tshi^{33}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**kɯ**^{33}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.26
	kɯ^{33}tshɯ^{21}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**kɯ**^{33}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.37
	kɯ^{33}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.24
	kɯ^{33}tshi^{33}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.37
	kɯ^{33}tshi^{33}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**kɻ**^{21}tɕhi^{55}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.23
	kɻ^{33}(∼^{55})	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.23
Yi (Weishan)	**kɻ**^{33}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.36
	kɻ^{33}tɕhi^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.36
Yi (Wuding)	**kɯ**^{33}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.38
	kɯ^{33}tshe^{33}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.38
Yi (Xide)	**gu**^{33}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.35
	gu^{33}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.21
	gu^{33}tshi^{33}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.35
	gu^{33}tshi^{33}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**kŏ**	nine	Benedict 1972:152n412
	kɯ^{55}	nine	CHEN Kang 1986a:132.
Kucong	**kɔ31** ma31	nine	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**kǰ**	nine	Benedict 1972:152n412
	qɔ̂	nine	Weidert 1987:292; Benedict 1972:152n413
Lahu (Lancang)	**qɔ**^{53}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.43
	qɔ^{53}tɕhi^{33}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.43
Lahu (Black)	**qɔ**^{53}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.33
	qɔ^{53}tshi^{33}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**qɔ**^{7}	nine	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**kŭ**	nine	Benedict 1972:152n412
	ku	nine	Benedict 1972:152n413
Lisu (Northern)	**ku**^{33}	nine; cf. also ku^{55} (Q.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ku**^{1}	nine	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**ku̱**^{33}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ku**^{55}	nine (with tone change); cf. ku^{33} (Q.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ku**^{55}(∼^{44})	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.27
Lisu (Northern)	**ku**^{55}tshi^{33}	ninety	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ku**^{55}tshi̱^{33}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.40
	ku^{55}tshɳ^{44}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.27
Lisu (Northern)	tshɔ^{33}za^{21} **ku**^{55} jɔ^{33}	nine people	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**kō**	nine	Benedict 1972:152n412
Yi (Sani)	**kɯ**^{33}tshɪ^{33}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.39
Sani [Nyi]	**kɯ**^{55}	nine	CHEN Kang 1986a:132.
Yi (Sani)	**kɯ**^{55}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**ɣö**	nine	Hansson 1989:367
Akha (Thai)	**ɣö**	nine	Hansson 1989:367
Akha (Yunnan)	**ɣö**	nine	Hansson 1989:367
Akha	**ɣò̰**	nine	Weidert 1987:292
Bisu	**kâw**	nine	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɣö**	nine	Hansson 1989:367
	ɣò ?	nine	Hansson 1989:367
Hani (Dazhai)	**ɣø**^{31}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.31
	ɣø^{31}tshe^{55}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ɣø**^{31}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.41
	ɣø^{31}tshe^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɣø**^{31}	nine	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**ɣu**^{31}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.32
	ɣu^{31}tshɛ^{55}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**ɣu**^{31}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.42
	ɣu^{31}tshɛ^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.42
Mpi	**kwi**^{6}	nine	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	kɯi^{6}	nine	Hansson 1989:367

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	**kɯ**^{55}	nine	Pelkey 2011:1066
Phola	**qu**^{55}	nine	Pelkey 2011:1066
Hlepho Phowa	**kɯ**^{55}	nine	Pelkey 2011:1066
Phuza	**kə**^{55}	nine	Pelkey 2011:1066

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**gv˥gv˥**	9	Michaud 2006–2009:1720
	gv˥ts^{h}i˥**gv**˦	90	Michaud 2006–2009:1747
	gv˦lie˦mie˦	9th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1671
	ts^{h}i˥**gv˥**gv˥	19	Michaud 2006–2009:1730
Na (Yongning)	**gv**˦	9	Michaud 2006–2009
	gv˦ts^{h}i˩	90	Michaud 2006–2009
	gv˩ȵi˩mi˨	9th month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩**gv**˨	19	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**gv**^{33}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.29
	gv^{33}tsʅ^{31}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.29
	gv^{31}ɬe^{33}mi^{33}	September	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:84.29
Naxi	**gɣ**^{33}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.45
	gɣ^{33}tshɚ^{21}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.45
	tshe^{21}**gɣ**^{33}	nineteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0815.45
Naxi (Yongning)	tshe^{31}**gv**^{13}	nineteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:929.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshe^{31}**ŋgv**^{33}	nineteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:929.28
	ŋgv^{33}	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.28
	ŋgv^{33}me^{33}	September	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:84.28
	ŋgv^{33}tshəɹ^{31}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.28

7. KARENIC: ***khwi**^{A} NINE

**Karen*	***khwi**^{A}	nine	Luangthongkum 2013:203
**Karen [Burling]*	***khwi**^{4}	nine	Luangthongkum 2013:203
Bwe	**khwi**^{55}	nine	Luangthongkum 2013:203
Karen	**khui**^{55}tshi^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.50
Kayan	**khwi**^{53}	nine	Luangthongkum 2013:203
Kayaw	sɔ^{33}**khi**^{55}	nine	Luangthongkum 2013:203
Pwo (Northern)	**khwi**^{35}	nine	Luangthongkum 2013:203
Pwo (Southern)	**khwi**^{53}	nine	Luangthongkum 2013:203
Sgaw (Northern)	**khwi**^{33}	nine	Luangthongkum 2013:203
Sgaw (Southern)	**khwi**^{55}	nine	Luangthongkum 2013:203

Chinese comparandum

九 OC ***kjŭg**, *GSR* #992a-d 'nine'; Coblin 86:113 ST ***dkwjəɣw** > PC ***kwjəgwx** > OC ***kjəgwx**; Schuessler 2007:320 ***kuʔ** or ***kwəʔ**; B & S 2011: ***kuʔ { [k] uʔ}**; Mand. **jiŭ**.

(20) PTani *kV-(n)aŋ NINE

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***kV-(n)aŋ**	nine	Sun 1993a:274

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**ko-a**	nine	Sun 1993b
	ko-ha	nine	Sun 1993b
	ko-wa	nine	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ko-wa kʰrjā-he	ninety	Sun 1993b
Bengni	čam-**kju-waː**	ninety	Sun 1993b
	kju-aː	nine	Sun 1993a
	kju-waː	nine	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ko noŋ**	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.24
	ko-noŋ	nine	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	noŋ jɯŋ	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.24
	noŋ-jɯŋ	ninety	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-jɯŋ **ko-noŋ**	ninety	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**ko noŋ**	nine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:919.51
	noŋ jɯŋ	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.51
Galo	a-cam-**ko-na**	ninety	Das Gupta 1963
	keŋa	nine	Das Gupta 1963
	kona	nine	Das Gupta 1963
	'keŋŋaa	nine (n:num.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**kona**	nine	Simon 1976
Nishing	**kéya**	nine	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ko-naŋ**	nine	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ko-na**	nine	Sun 1993b
	ko-nə	nine	Sun 1993b
	pət **ko-na**	ninety	Sun 1993b
Milang	haŋtak-**kanyem**	ninety	Tayeng 1976
	kanyem	nine	Tayeng 1976

1.1.2. DENG

Yidu	**kɯ**^{55}**ŋ̍i**^{55}**hɹoŋ**^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.25
	kɯ^{55}**ŋ̍i**^{55}	nine (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0805.25

(21) PTani *kon ONE

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***kon**	one	Sun 1993a:280

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	a-**kó**	one	Sun 1993b
	kõ	one	Sun 1993b
	koŋ	one	Sun 1993b
	kũ	one	Sun 1993b
	kũ∼ **kõ**	one	Sun 1993a
Bengni	a-**kin**	one	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	čam-ñi (gu) la a-**kin**	twenty-one	Sun 1993b
Bokar	(LW) keː a-**ken**	twenty-one	Sun 1993b
	a **ken**	one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.24
	a-**ken**	one	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	a-**ko**	one	Sun 1993b
	hum-jɯŋ go lo a-**ken**	thirty-one	Sun 1993b
	keː la-**ken**	twenty-one	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ a **ko**	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.24
Bokar Lhoba	a **ko**; a **ken**	one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:911.51
	kɛː a **ken**	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.51
Galo	a **ken**	one	Das Gupta 1963
	a **ken**-a **ken**	each (one); one another (n:qual.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	cam-ɲi-go-la **ken**	twenty-one	Das Gupta 1963
	'a **ken**	one numr. -'ken (n:num.)	GLDC 2009
	'a **ken**	same one (n:qual.)	GLDC 2009
	'a **ken**-'a **ken**	one by one (n:qual.)	GLDC 2009
	'a **ken**-'a ren	one or two (adj:expr.)	GLDC 2009
	'lə **ken**	one numr. -'ken (n:qual.)	GLDC 2009

Miri, Hill	a **ken**	one	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **kin**~a **king**	one	Das Gupta 1969
	cam-nyi-le-a **kin**	twenty-one	Das Gupta 1969
	lengu-le-a **kin**	hundred and one	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**kon**	one	Sun 1993a
Damu	jum-dan rəː-**kon**	one night	Sun 1993b
	poː-ro **ko**	one month	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**kon**	one	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**kon**-ka-jam	identical	Sun 1993b
Milang	a **kan**	one	Tayeng 1976

(22) PTB *kat ONE

This is one of the better attested roots for ONE. See Matisoff 1995:§3.1.2ff.

This root may well be related to PTB ***ka-t*** WING / HAND (§1.5.1), though further analysis of their interconnection is necessary, especially with respect to the Central Naga forms.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kɑt**	one	Chou Fa-kao 1972:394a-d
1. NE Indian Areal Group			
**Kuki-Naga*	***khɑt**	one	Chou Fa-kao 1972:394a-d
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***khat** ≍ ***ʔat** ≍ ***hat** ONE			
**Chin*	***khat** ≍ ʔat ≍ hat	ONE	VanBik 2009:450
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**hkat**	one	VanBik 2009:450
Thado	**khàt**	one	VanBik 2009:450
Tiddim	**khat**[3]	one	VanBik 2009:450; Bhaskararao 1996:726
	khat[1] ciat[1]	each one	Bhaskararao 1996:725
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**ät**	one (num.)	VanBik 2009:450
Khumi	**ha**	one	So-Hartmann 1988:209; VanBik 2009:450
Matu	pạ **k^{h}at**	one	So-Hartmann 1988:209
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	pa-**khat**	one (number)	VanBik 2009:450
Lai (Falam)	pa-**khàt**	one (number)	VanBik 2009:450
Lushai [Mizo]	**pà**-khàt	one	VanBik 2009:450
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pá**-khā	one	VanBik 2009:450
1.2.4. "Old Kuki"			
Sorbung	kʉdməjumráa **k^{h}àt**	finger width, one	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:BodyParts.356
	k^{h}áat	one	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Numbers.001
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***khaj** ONE			
**Central Naga*	***khaj**	ONE	Bruhn 2014a:III.185
Ao (Chungli)	**ka**[1]	one (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.185
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	te ra-a **khat**	eleven	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a **khət** ~ a **khət** a	ONE	Coupe 2007:113
	məɹitʃaŋ a **khət**-khət	one thousand each	Coupe 2007:276
	nuklàŋ a **khət-khət**	one hundred each	Coupe 2007:276
	thə ɹa-ɹə a-**khət-khət**	eleven each	Coupe 2007:276
Lotha Naga	e-**kha** ti-za	eighty (num.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e-**kha** to-kuʔ	ninety (num.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e-**kha** tə-jəŋ	seventy (num.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e[1]-**kha**[1]	one (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.185
	ē **khà**	one	Acharya 1975
	e **kha**	one	Murry *et al.* 1978:81
	e **kha** tiza	eighty	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	**khu** tü	one	Kumar 1973a
	mükyü-pü **khü** tu	twenty-one	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**khü** lang	one	Kumar 1973b:99
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	som **khat** to	eleven	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	phài **khàt**	hundred	Matisoff 1994e
	ruh na-a **khat**	eleven	Marrison 1967
	ṛuu nə **khàt**	eleven	Matisoff 1994e
	ə **khàt**	one	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	kereuze **kat**	eleven	Marrison 1967
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Huishu	se-**kɐ**	hundred	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.017
Kachai	ʃu-**k^{h}a**	hundred	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.017
Tangkhul	**khə**	one	Bhat 1969:93
Ukhrul	ʃa-**k^{h}a**	hundred	Mortensen 2012
	ʃa-**k^{h}ɐ**	hundred	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**k^{h}a**	one	Mortensen 2012
	ʔa-**k^{h}ɐ**	one	Mortensen 2012
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian			
**Northern Naga*	*Ç-**kla**^{A}	one	French 1983:529
1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte			
Tangsa (Yogli)	sha **kha**	hundred	Marrison 1967
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**kát**	one (num.)	Plaisier 2007
	kɑt	one	Chou Fa-kao 1972:394a-d
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	*(**ʔ**)ka	one	Opgenort 2011
2.3.4. Western Kiranti			
Sunwar	**kāː**	one	Hale 1973:01.011
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Magar	**kaT**	one	Hale 1973:01.011
	kāT bise eghāra	thirty-one	Hale 1973:09.14
	som buruk-o **kaT** buruk	third, one-	Hale 1973:09.37

(23) PTB *tyak ≍ *g-t(y)ik ONE

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	****tyik ≍ *tyak**	one	LaPolla 1987:35
	***gtyik**	one	Coblin 1986:114
	***tyɑk**	single / one	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1260c
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***tyak ≍ g-t(y)ik**	one / only	Matisoff 2003a:616
	***tyɑk**~**tyik**	one	Chou Fa-kao 1972:1260c
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Meche	**ceʔ**	one	Weidert 1987:685
	seʔ	one	Weidert 1987:685
2.1.2. Bodic			
Bumthang	**thek**	one	Weidert 1987:685
Kurtöp	**tši?**	one	Weidert 1987:685
Tshona (Mama)	**theʔ**[53]	one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:911.6
Cuona Menba	**theʔ**[53]	one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Dzongkha	**tši?**	one	Weidert 1987:685
Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣcçək**	one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htɕək**	one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:911.4
	ɲə xhə htsa **tɕək**	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**htɕəg**	one	Sun 1985a:715
	tɕag **htɕəg**	eighty-one	Sun 1985a:221
	ŋag **htɕəg**	fifty-one	Sun 1985a:255
	ɣtɕek	one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:911.5
	ɲə xhə rtsa **tɕək**	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.5
	ɕeg **htɕəg**	forty-one	Sun 1985a:284
Tibetan (Balti)	**čik**	one	Rangan 1975:69
	čik čik	one	Rangan 1975:31
Tibetan (Batang)	dʑa[53] da **tɕiʔ**[53]	one hundred and one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.03
	ja[13] (**tɕiʔ**[13])	classifier for one of a pair (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0871.03
	tɕiʔ[53]	one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.03
Tibetan (Central)	**čīkʔ**	one	Weidert 1987:685
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tɕi**[53]	one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:911.3
	ɲe[13]xu[53]tsa[53]**tɕiʔ**[53]	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	ca[13]taŋ[13]**tɕi**[52]	one hundred and one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.02
	tɕiʔ[53]	one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:911.2
	tɕi[52]	one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.02
	ɲi[13]ɕu[53]tsak[53]**tɕiʔ**[53]	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**čikq**	one	Hale 1973:01.011
Sherpa	**čikʔ**	one	Weidert 1987:685
Tibetan (Sherpa)	khal-ǰik 'tangq ču **čikq**	thirty-one	Hale 1973:09.14
	tongDa **čikq**	thousand, one	Hale 1973:09.29
Tibetan (Written)	brgja daŋ **gtɕig**	one hundred and one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.01
	gcig	one	Weidert 1987:685; Sun 1985c:715
	gtśig	one	Matisoff 1985a:148; LaPolla 1987:35; Benedict 1972:94n271
	gtɕig	one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.01
	gtɕig	one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:911.1
	gya.**gcig**	eighty-one	Sun 1985c:221
	ja **(gtɕig)**	classifier for one of a pair (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0871.01
	nga.**gcig**	fifty-one	Sun 1985c:255
	zhe.**gcig**	forty-one	Sun 1985c:284
	ɲi ɕu rtsa **gtɕig**	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htɕəχ**	one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.04
2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{B}**grik** ONE			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**grik**	one	Mazaudon 1978:52; Mazaudon 1994:179
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{4}**gri**	one	Mazaudon 1978:52
Gurung	^{4}**gri**	one	Mazaudon 1994:179
Manang (Ngawal)	^{4}**hři**	one	Mazaudon 1978:52
Manang (Prakaa)	^{4}**k^{h}riː**	one	Mazaudon 1994:179
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**kik**	one	Mazaudon 1978:52; Mazaudon 1994:179
Tamang (Sahu)	^{4}**kiː**	one	Mazaudon 1978:52; Mazaudon 1994:179
Tamang (Taglung)	^{4}**ki**	one	Mazaudon 1978:52
	^{4}**kiː**	one	Mazaudon 1994:179
Thakali (Marpha)	^{4}**kɤi**	one	Mazaudon 1978:52
	^{54}**kɨ**	one	Mazaudon 1994:179
Thakali (Syang)	^{31}**ʈi**	one	Mazaudon 1994:185 [a]
	^{11}**gɨ**	one	Mazaudon 1994:179
	^{11}**gʌi**	one	Mazaudon 1994:141
	^{4}**gɨ**	one	Mazaudon 1978:52
Thakali (Tukche)	^{4}**ʈi**	one	Mazaudon 1978:52
2.3. Kiranti			
**Kiranti*	***ik**	one	Opgenort 2011
	***ʔtik**	one	Opgenort 2011
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti			
Athpare (Rai)	**thik**	one (general)	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**thik**	one	Michailovsky 1989b
Lohorong	**thik** kɔ	one	Weidert 1987:685
2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dumi	**tɨk**	one, a.	Driem 1993
	tɨk bo	one	Driem 1993
3.2. Qiangic			
Namuyi	**tɕi**^{33}	one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:911.19
	ɲɔ^{53}lɛ^{33}**tɕi**^{33}	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.19
	tɕi^{31}	one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.46
	tɕi^{31} ʔhĩɔ^{53} **tɕi**^{31}	one hundred and one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.46
Qiang (Taoping)	a^{31}; **tʃl̩**^{33}	one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:911.9
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **tʁk**	one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.11
rGyalrong	kə **tʁk**	one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:911.12
	kə nəs ʃtʃɐ kə **tʁk**	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.12
4. Nungic			
Anong	**thi**	one	LaPolla 1987:35
Rawang	**thiʔ**	one	LaPolla 2003:845
	thiʔ khɑ^{33}	half (one half)	LaPolla 2003:879
	thiʔ sɛn^{31}	one hundred thousand	LaPolla 2003:876
	thiʔ yɑ^{53} **thiʔ**	one hundred and one	LaPolla 2003:873
Nung	**thi**^{55}	one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.21
Anong	**thi**^{55}	one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:911.44
Nung	**thi**^{55}ɕɑ^{55}**thi**^{31}	one hundred and one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.21
Dulong	**tiʔ**^{55}	one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.20
Trung [Dulong]	**tĭʔ**^{55}	one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:911.46
Dulong	**tiʔ**^{55}ɕɑ^{55}kɑi^{31}**tiʔ**^{55}	one hundred and one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**tiʔ**^{55}	one	LaPolla 1987:35
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**tśi**^{55}	one	LaPolla 1987:35
	tɕi^{55}	one	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

[a] this doublet is a loan from Tukche

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***ʔ-dik**^{L} ONE / ONLY, ***C-ti-k** ONE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***C-ti-k**	one	LaPolla 1987:35 [a]
	***C-tik** ’one’	one / only	Matisoff 1972b:31(a)
	***ʔ-dik**^{L}	one / only	Matisoff 2003a:586
	***ʔdik** ’only’	one / only	Matisoff 1972b:31(c)
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tiʔ**^{4}	one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.27
	tɑ^{53}jɑ^{53}hnĩ^{53}**tiʔ**^{4}	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tiʔ**^{44}	one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:911.40
Burmese (Written)	**tac**	one	Matisoff 1985a:148; Benedict 1976a
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**ti**	only	Matisoff 1985a:148
	tí	one; only	Matisoff 1972b:31(c); Matisoff 1972b:48
8. BAI			
Bai (Dali)	**tia** 3-	one / some	Dell 1981b:542
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**tʻi̯ăk / tśi̯ăk**	single, one	Benedict 1972:94n271
	t̂i̯ăk/tśi̯ăk	single / one	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1260c
Chinese (Old)	**dik**	single	Baxter 1992:809
	tek	single	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3867
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**tśiäk**	one	LaPolla 1987:35
	tsyek	single	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3867

[a] [Source Note] [*TSR* 31].

Chinese comparandum

隻 OC ***t̂i̯ăk**, *GSR* #1260c; Coblin 86:114 ST ***gtyik** > OC ***tjik**; Schuessler 2007:614 ***tek**; B & S 2011: ***tek**; Mand. **zhī**.

(24) PTB *ʔa ONE

This “minimalist” morpheme has only been unearthed in a couple of languages so far but represents a genuine etymon.

1.1. “NORTH ASSAM”			
Aka [Hruso]	**a**	one	Matisoff 1995a:132
3.2. QIANGIC			
Qiang (Longxi)	**à**	one	Evans 1999:1174
	à tshəì	hundred (one)	Evans 1999:1209
	à tshəì nà **à**	one hundred one (nà = ’and’)	Evans 1999:1211
	à ɚ χé	first [one-CL-NOM]	Evans 1999:1219
	gú sá **à**	ninety-one	Evans 1999:1208
	nə̀ sá **à**	twenty-one	Evans 1999:1194
	tshá sá **à**	eighty-one	Evans 1999:1206
	tshè sá **à**	thirty-one	Evans 1999:1196
	tsú sá **à**	sixty-one	Evans 1999:1202
	zɨ̀ sá **à**	forty-one	Evans 1999:1198
	ɕí sá **à**	seventy-one	Evans 1999:1204
	ʁuè sá **à**	fifty-one	Evans 1999:1200
Qiang (Mawo)	(ɛ) khɛʴ	hundred (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.08
	(ɛ) khɛʴ n̥ɑ tʃɛ	one hundred and one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.08
	a ʁuɑn ʁuɑn	hundred million	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:942.8
	a; tɕi	one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:911.8
	ɑ	one (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**à** qó	one (qó = CL)	Evans 1999:1174
	à qó mò qà	each one	Evans 1999:1356
	à tʂhì	hundred (one)	Evans 1999:1209
	à tʂhì n̥á **à** qó	one hundred one	Evans 1999:1211
	à-lá-**a**-diè	half [one-whole-one-part]	Evans 1999:1289
	à-mé diò	part, portion [one-same.amount]	Evans 1999:1013
	à-ɕí-pă	live (a life) [one-life/generation-m]	Evans 1999:1845
	á tʂhì qò	one hundred + CL	Evans 1999:1209
	gú sà n̥à **à** qó	ninety-one	Evans 1999:1208
	nə̀ sá n̥à **à** qó	twenty-one	Evans 1999:1194
	ní sà n̥à **à** qó	seventy-one	Evans 1999:1204
	sí sà n̥à **à** qó	thirty-one	Evans 1999:1196
	tɕhè sá n̥à **à** qó	eighty-one	Evans 1999:1206
	tʂóu sà n̥à **à** qó	sixty-one	Evans 1999:1202
	zɨ̀ sá n̥à **à** qó	forty-one	Evans 1999:1198
Qiang (Taoping)	**a**^{31}; tʃʅ^{33}	one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:911.9
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Southern Muji	**a**^{21}	one	Pelkey 2011:1058
8. BAI			
Bai (Bijiang)	e^{44}**ɑ**^{31}	one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:911.37
Bai (Dali)	**a** 3-	one	Dell 1981b:886
	ji^{44}**ɑ**^{31}	one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:911.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	ji^{44}; **ɑ**^{31}	one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:911.36

(25) PTB *ʔit ⋉ *yat ONE

STC p. 94 sets up PTB ***ʔit** on the basis of only two forms, Kanauri **id** and WB **ac**, identifying it (p. 162) as cognate to OC ***ʔi̯ĕt**.

To these we now add Chepang **yat**, motivating the allofamic reconstruction with **-i-** ⋉ **-ya-** variation, a pattern attested in several other roots (cf. PTB ***s-myak** ⋉ ***s-mik** EYE (§1.2.6), PTB ***s-rik** ⋉ ***s-ryak** PHEASANT / PARTRIDGE (§2.2.4), etc.).

The Chinese form has been borrowed into Tai in compound numerals (e.g., Siamese **sìp-ʔèt** ‘eleven, **rɔ́ɔj-ʔèt** ‘one hundred and one’).

Several TB languages of Nepal have disyllabic forms for ONE where the first syllable has a superficial resemblance to this etymon, but these all seem to be borrowings from Nepali *ek*. See Matisoff 1995:126-7.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***ʔjit**	one	Coblin 1986:114
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***it**	one	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:394a-d; Benedict 1972:p.94
	***ʔit**	one	Matisoff 2003a:583
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**ī**	one	Bailey 1911
	i gŭdʻ	handful (one)	Bailey 1911
	ī myā	once / once upon a time / one day	Bailey 1911
	id	one	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:394a-d; Benedict 1972:p.94
	idʻ	one	Bailey 1911
	ī myā	one day / once upon a time	Bailey 1911
	ni<u>sh</u>/nī nizɔ̄ **idʻ**	forty-one	Bailey 1911
	nizɔ̄ **idʻ**	twenty-one	Bailey 1911
	pöṇizɔ̄ **idʻ**	eighty-one	Bailey 1911
	<u>sh</u>ŭm nizɔ̄ **idʻ**	sixty-one	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**it** ʃa	one	Sharma 1982
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Chepang	**ya(ʔ)**-	one (nmb.)	Caughley 2000
	ya.jyaŋ	one (emphatic) (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	ya.jyo	one thing, person (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	yat	one (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	yat-joʔ	one	Caughley 1972:1.11
	yat. taŋ	one direction (n.)	Caughley 2000
	yat.cak	one person (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	yāt.joʔ	one	Hale 1973:01.011
	yat.jyaŋ	one (emphatic) (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	yat.nis	one or two, some (nm.)	Caughley 2000
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	**ac**	unit, one	Benedict 1976a
	ats	one, unit	Benedict 1972:p.94
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**i̯ĕt**	one	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:394a-d
Chinese (Old)	**ʔit** {[ʔ]i[t]}	one	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3393
	ʔit {ʔi[t]}	one	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3392
	ʔjit	one	Baxter 1992:1155
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE			
Chinese (Middle)	**’jit**	one	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3392; Baxter & Sagart 2011:3393

Chinese comparandum

一 OC ***ʔi̯ĕt**, *GSR* #394a-d ‘one’; Coblin 86:114 ST ***ʔjit** > OC ***ʔjit**; Schuessler 2007:563 ***ʔit**; B & S 2011: ***ʔit {ʔi [t] }**; Mand. **yī**.

(26) PKar *t-la^{T} ONE

7. KARENIC			
**Karen*	***t-la**^{T}	one	Luangthongkum 2013:207 [a]
Bwe	**də**^{33}-	one	Luangthongkum 2013:207
	to^{55}	one	Luangthongkum 2013:207
	tə^{33}-	one	Luangthongkum 2013:207
Kayah	**t**-	one	Luangthongkum 2013:207
Kayan	**la**^{11}~**laʔ**^{21}	one	Luangthongkum 2013:207
Kayaw	**t**-	one	Luangthongkum 2013:207
Pa-O (Southern)	**taʔ**^{21}	one	Luangthongkum 2013:207
Pa-O (Northern)	**taʔ**^{21}	one	Luangthongkum 2013:207
Pwo (Northern)	**laʔ**^{21}~**la**^{11}	one	Luangthongkum 2013:207
Pwo (Southern)	**lə**^{31}̤	one	Luangthongkum 2013:207
Sgaw (Northern)	**tə**^{33}	one	Luangthongkum 2013:207
Sgaw (Southern)	**təʔ**^{21}	one	Luangthongkum 2013:207

[a] [Source Note] The tone of this etymon cannot be reconstructed due to its regularity. Very often, the word ‘one’ is unstressed, so its vowel has been reduced. Moreover, in some CK languages there is also the harmony of vowels in sesquisyllabic words, t?’C?.

(27) PTk *si ONE

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
**Tangkhulic*	***si**	one	Mortensen 2012:356
Huishu	kə-**sik**-a	one	Mortensen 2012
Kachai	kə-**sɐ**	one	Mortensen 2012
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**se**	one	Bhat 1968

(28) PTB *dzum ⋉ *tsum PAIR

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***zr + ung**	pair	Coblin 1986:115
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dzum ⋉ tsum**	pair	Matisoff 2003a:588
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Bokar	a **tɕum**	pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.24
	a-**čum**	classifier (pair of chicken)	Sun 1993b
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**tsum**^{33}	pair	LIU Lu, ed. 1984; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.47
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**dʐɛ**^{55}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.18
Guiqiong	tɔ^{33}**zũ**^{53}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.17
Lyuzu	(te^{53}) **dʐɯ**^{53}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.18; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.18
Muya [Minyak]	tɐ^{35}**tʂhuɯ**^{35}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.15
Namuyi	**dzy**^{35}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.19
	dzʉ^{31}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	(tə^{55}) **phʐy**^{11}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.10; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**phʃe**^{55}	pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.09
	tə^{55}**phʂɯ**^{13}	pair (of shoes) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	tə^{55}**phʐɯ**^{13}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.11
Pumi (Taoba)	tə^{35}**phʐə**^{53}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.10
Queyu (Xinlong)	(tɯ^{55}) **tʃhe**^{33}	pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.13
Xumi	**dʑĩ**^{35}	classifier for one of a pair (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0871.17
3.3. rGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**vtɕa**	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.14
4. NUNGIC			
Rawang	**zɯm**^{53}	CL pair (of rabbits or yoked cattle) (CL.)	LaPolla 2003:917
Trung [Dulong]	**dzɯ̆m**^{55}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.46
Dulong	**dʑɯm**^{55}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.20; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.20
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	tɕi^{55}**zɯ̆m**^{55}	pair	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	**zũ**^{55}	pair	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**zu**^{55}	pair (of shoes) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.49
	zu^{55}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.38

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***dzum**^{3}/^{1} ⋉ ***tsum**^{1} PAIR / EVEN NUMBER

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**tɕuŋ**^{31}	pair	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tɕɔm**^{31}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.28; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.28
	tɕɔm^{31}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.41
Achang (Luxi)	**tsɔm**^{51}	pair	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**cum**^{31}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.29
Bola (Luxi)	**tsam**^{35}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.32; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**sõ**^{22}	pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.27
Burmese (Written)	**chuṁ**	meet, come together	Benedict 1976a
	cuṁ	double, form a pair, be even, complete	Benedict 1976a
	suṁ^{2}	pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.26
	ə-**chuṁ**	meeting, junction	Benedict 1976a
	ə-**cuṁ**	even number, pair (n.)	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **cum**	pair	Hansson 1989:xxx
Hpun (Northern)	ă **tsóm**	pair	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**tsam**^{55}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.31; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tsɔm**^{55}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.33; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.33
Maru [Langsu]	**tsam**^{55}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tsum**^{55}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.30; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.30
	tsum^{55}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	***ʔ-dzum**^{1}	pair	Bradley 1979b:420A

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**tsɛ**^{323}	pair (of shoes) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.47
Nusu (Central)	**dza**^{33}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.34; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.34
Nusu (Northern)	**dza**^{31}	pair	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**dzɛ**^{55}	pair	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**dzɑ**^{35}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.45
Yi (Dafang)	**dzɯ**^{21}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**dʑi**^{33}	pair [classifier]; set [classifier]	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tsi**^{33}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**dzɯ**^{21}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**dzɯ**^{33}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.24
	dzʅ^{33}	pair (of shoes) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.37
Yi (Weishan)	**dʑy**^{33}	pair (of shoes) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.36
	dʑy^{55}	pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.36
Yi (Wuding)	**dzɤ**^{11}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.38; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.38
Yi (Xide)	**dzi**^{21}	pair (of shoes) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.35
	dzi^{21}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.21
	dzi^{33}	pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	**tsø**^{33}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**tsø**^{55}	pair	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tsœ**^{55}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.44; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.44
Kucong	**tɕɛ33**	classifier.pair	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕɛ**^{33}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.43
Lahu (Black)	**cɛ**	pair (clf.)	Matisoff 1988a:481
	cɛ̀	be doubled (of something that should be single) (v.)	Matisoff 1988a:484
	tsɛ^{35}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tɕɛ**^{1}	pair	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	(hti^{5}) **dzyē**^{4}	pair of (n.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	de^{21}pɤ^{33} thi^{21} **dzeʔ**^{21}	pair of pigeons (n.)	Bradley 1994
	de^{21}pɤ^{33} thi^{21} **dzø**^{44}	pair of pigeons (n.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**dze**^{33}	pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.40
Lisu (Northern)	**dzeʔ**^{21}	pair; cf. dzeʔ^{21} (N, C.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**dze̱**^{31}	pair (of shoes) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.40
	dze^{41}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.27
Lisu (Northern)	**dzø**^{44}	pair; cf. dzeʔ^{21} (N, C.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**dzøʔ**^{21}	couple; pair (N.)	Bradley 1994
	ji^{55}**dzø**^{44}	even number; pair, couple (N.)	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi^{33}ne^{33} thi^{21} **dzeʔ**^{21}	pair of shoes (n.)	Bradley 1994
	ɕwa^{33}ma^{33} thi^{21} **dzeʔ**^{21}	pair of wheat grains (riddle: eyes)	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**dzɤ**^{33}	pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.39
	tsɤ^{33}	pair (of shoes) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**dzḿ**	pair	Hansson 1989:xxx
Hani (Dazhai)	**dzɔ**^{55}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**dzɔ**^{55}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.41; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tsɔ̱**^{31}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**dzm̩**^{55}	pair	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**tsʅ̄**^{31}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.32

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	ɖɯ˧**dze**˥	pair	Michaud 2006–2009:1823
Na (Yongning)	**dze**˩	pair	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dzɯ**^{33}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.28
Naxi	**dzʅ**^{21}	pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.45

7. KARENIC

Karen	**dzu**^{31}	pair (of shoes); pair (of rabbits) (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0865.50; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0866.50

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**ɕõ**^{55}	pair	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:958.37

Chinese comparandum

雙 OC ***sŭng**, *GSR* #1200a 'a pair'; Coblin 86:115 ST ***zrung** > OC ***srung**; Schuessler 2007: ***srôŋ**; B & S 2011: ***sˤroŋ { [s] ˤroŋ}**; Mand. **shuāng**.

This comparandum is tentative given the disparity in final consonants: ***-ŋ** for Sinitic e.g. ***srung**, compared with ***-m** for Tibeto-Burman ***dzum** ⋉ ***tsum**.

(29) PKC *tua k/ʔ PAIR / COUPLE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***tuak** ⋉ tuaʔ	PAIR / COUPLE	VanBik 2009:215

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Thado	**tùo**	pair, couple	VanBik 2009:215
Tiddim	**tuak**^{1}	pair, couple	VanBik 2009:215
	tuak^{1}	pair; couple; both (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:1815

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**tuaʔ**	pair, couple	VanBik 2009:215
Lushai [Mizo]	**tûak**	a pair, a couple	VanBik 2009:215
	tuak	pair; couple; both (v.)	Bhaskararao 1996:3054

(30) PKC *kop PAIR / COUPLE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***kop**	PAIR / COUPLE	VanBik 2009:303

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**kop**	pair	VanBik 2009:303
Sizang	**kop**	pair	VanBik 2009:303
Tiddim	**nu**^{3} pa^{3} kop^{3}	couple ("pair of female-male")	VanBik 2009:303

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**kop**	pair	VanBik 2009:303
Lai (Falam)	**kòp**	pair	VanBik 2009:303
Lushai [Mizo]	**kàwp**	a pair, a couple	VanBik 2009:303

(31) PTB *s-ni-s SEVEN

For detailed discussion of the numeral SEVEN, see Matisoff 1995 ("Numerals"), pp. 197-203.

Written Tibetan **bdun** is an isolate, shared only by a few other languages in the Tibetosphere.

The phonological similarity between this numeral and PTB ***g/s-ni-s** TWO (§9.9) has led to the deduction that the TB numeral system must once have had a quinary basis (*STC* pp. 16, 93), but nobody has been able to identify any part of the protoform ***s-ni-s** as meaning FIVE. (Modern Khmer is an example of a contemporary language with a quinary numeral system.)

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Sino-Tibetan*	***s-nis**	seven	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:400a-d
	***shnjis**	seven	Coblin 1986:131

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-nis**	seven	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:400a-d; LaPolla 1987:186; Matisoff 2003a:604; Benedict 1972:5

1.1.1. TANI: ***kV-nɯt** SEVEN [a]

**Tani*	***kV-nɯt**	seven	Sun 1993a:346

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**ka-nu**	seven	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ka-nu kʰrja-ŋe	seventy	Sun 1993b
	kà-nu xà-ŋe	seventy	Sun 1993b
Bengni	čam-**kaː-ni**	seventy	Sun 1993b
	ka-ni	seven	Sun 1993a
	kaː-ni	seven	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**kɯ nɯ**	seven (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.24
	kɯ-nɯ	seven	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	nɯ jɯŋ	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.24
	nɯ-jɯŋ	seventy	Sun 1993b
	ɯ jɯŋ **kɯ nɯ**	seventeen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0813.24
	ɯ-jɯ [sic] **kɯ-nɯ**	seventeen	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-jɯŋ **kɯ-nɯ**	seventeen	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-jɯŋ-nə **kɯ-nɯ**	seventy	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**kɯ nɯ**	seven	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:917.51
	nu jɯŋ	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.51
	ɯ jɯŋ **kɯ nu**	seventeen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:927.51
Galo	a cam-**ka-nɤ**	seventy	Das Gupta 1963
	kane	seven	Das Gupta 1963
	'kanə	seven (n:num.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**keni**	seven	Simon 1976
	kenne	seven	Simon 1976
Nishing	**kané**	seven	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**ki-nit**	seven	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ka-neː**	seven	Sun 1993b
	pət **kə-ne**	seventy	Sun 1993b

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***sa-riʔ** SEVEN

**Chin*	***sa-riʔ**	SEVEN	VanBik 2009:672

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**sa lī**	seven	VanBik 2009:672
Thado	**sá-gî**	seven	VanBik 2009:672
	sʌ́gì	seven	Thirumalai 1972:68
Tiddim	**sa**^{1} **giʔ**^{3}	seven	Bhaskararao 1996:1487
	sa^{1} **giʔ**^{3}	seven	VanBik 2009:672
	¯să_giʔ	seven (q.)	Henderson 1965

[a] Jackson Sun also suggests that this PTani reconstruction could have instead contained a ***-ɯs** rime (1993:361).

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**ʻsí˝**	seven	VanBik 2009:672
Chinbon	**šʰeiʔ**	seven	So-Hartmann 1988:215
Cho (Mindat)	**khih**	seven	VanBik 2009:672
Daai	**ʔkɣʰïʔ**	seven	So-Hartmann 1988:215
Khumi	**srue**	seven	VanBik 2009:672
	sʰərïʔ	seven	So-Hartmann 1988:215
Wakung	**sʰəriʔ**	seven	So-Hartmann 1988:215

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	pà-**sà-rìʔ**	seven	VanBik 2009:672
Lai (Hakha)	pa-**sa-riʔ**	seven	VanBik 2009:672
Lushai [Mizo]	pà-**sà-rìh**	seven	VanBik 2009:672
	pa-**sari**	seven	Bhaskararao 1996:1487
	pa **sarih**	seven	Marrison 1967
	sawm **sarih**	seventy	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	pā-**sā-rī**	seven	VanBik 2009:672

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	a **ni**	seven	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***th-ni(t)** SEVEN

**Central Naga*	*th-**ni(t)**	SEVEN	Bruhn 2014a:III.061
**Ao*	*th-**ni** ≍ th-**nət**	SEVEN	Bruhn 2014a:II.248
Ao (Chungli)	**net** er	seventy	Marrison 1967
	nət^{3}ɘ.ɪ^{1}	seventy (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.248
	te **net**	seven	Marrison 1967 [a]
	te ri te **net**	seventeen	Marrison 1967
	tə^{3}-**nət**^{3}	seven (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.248
	^{3}tɯ^{3}**nɯt**	seven	Weidert 1987:593
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	mükyi-mü pen-te **ni**	seventeen	Marrison 1967 [b]
	ni ra	seventy	Marrison 1967
	te **ni**	seven	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**nì** ɹa-ɹa	seventy each	Coupe 2007:276
	nət əɹ ~ **ni** ɹə	SEVENTY	Coupe 2007:113
	thə **ni**	SEVEN	Coupe 2007:113
	thə **ni**-ni	seven each	Coupe 2007:276
Sangtam	**nyü** re	seventy	Marrison 1967
	thü **nye**	seven	Kumar 1973a; Marrison 1967
	thü re thü **nye**	seventeen	Marrison 1967
	^{1}tɯ$^{(2)}$**ñiʔ**	seven	Weidert 1987:593
Yacham-Tengsa	talule tha **nyet**	seventeen	Marrison 1967
	tha **nyet**	seven	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**nie** rü	seventy	Marrison 1967
	thü **ne**	seven	Kumar 1973b:99
	thü **nie**	seven	Marrison 1967
	thü rü kheak thü **nie**	seventeen	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	meku pom the **na**	seventeen	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	hie the **nie**	seventy	Marrison 1967
	kere the **nie**	seventeen	Marrison 1967
	the **nie**	seven	Marrison 1967
Chokri	hie thu **na**	seventy	Marrison 1967
	küri thü **na**	seventeen	Marrison 1967
	thü **na**	seven	Marrison 1967
Khezha	si **nyi**	seven	Marrison 1967
Mao	cha **ni**	seven	Marrison 1967
	ri **ni**	seventy	Marrison 1967
Meluri	mükwe shun **terü**	seventeen	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	chughi tsi **ni**	seventeen	Marrison 1967
	lho tsi **ni**	seventy	Marrison 1967
	tsi **ni**	seven	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**sini**	seven	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**sari**	seven	Marrison 1967
	som **sari**	seventy	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**tsənə̃i**	seven	Matisoff 1994e
Zeme	riak **sena**	seventy	Marrison 1967
	sena	seven	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	**hena**	seventy; seven	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ni** SEVEN

**Tangkhulic*	***ni**	seven	Mortensen 2012:358
Huishu	tʰi-**nik**	seven	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.007
Kachai	ʃi-**nɐ**	seven	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.007
Tangkhul	hang **shini**	seventy	Marrison 1967
	shini	seven	Marrison 1967
	tha ra da **shini**	seventeen	Marrison 1967
Tusom	sɯ-**na**-he	seven	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.007
Ukhrul	ʃi-**ni**	seven	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	ta ra **taret**	seventeen	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	**sini**	seven	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	**šni**	seven	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**sni**	seven	Benedict 1972:5
	səni	seven	LaPolla 1987:186
Garo (Bangladesh)	**-sin-i**	seven (num.)	Burling 2003:3.3707-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	chi **syni**	seventeen (num.)	van Breugel 2008
	sene	seven (num.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***Ç-nit** SEVEN

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-nit**	seven	French 1983:544

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	i **ngit**	seven	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**nyet**	seven	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**nyit**	seven	Marrison 1967
Phom	**ñat**^{33}	seven	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	nyet	seven	Marrison 1967
Wancho	a **nat**	seven	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**sanit**	seven	Marrison 1967
	sǎ^{31}**nit**^{31}	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.19
	sǎ^{31}**nit**^{31}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.47
	sǎ^{31}**nit**^{31}ʃi^{33}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.19
	sǎ^{31}**nit**^{31}ʃi^{33}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.47
	sǎ^{1}**nit**^{31}	seven	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	shanit shi	seventy	Marrison 1967
	sənìt	seven	Matisoff 1974:388
	sənit	seven	LaPolla 1987:186; Benedict 1972:5

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**stis**	seven	LaPolla 1987:186; Benedict 1972:5
	stiś / tiś	seven	Benedict 1972:35n117
	stiṣẖ	seven (adj.)	Bailey 1911
	tiṣẖ	seven (adj.)	Bailey 1911
	tiṣẖ rā	seven hundred	Bailey 1911
	tiṣẖ rāɔ̄	seven hundredth	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**nhizi**	seven	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	**nẹ**	seven	Hale 1973:09.05
	pherāng **ne** thal	hundred and thirty	Hale 1973:09.26
Tshona (Wenlang)	**n̥i**^{55}	seven	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	le^{53}**nis**^{55}	July	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:82.6
	nis^{55}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.6
	tɕi:^{55}**nis**^{55}	seventeen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:927.6
Cuona Menba	**nis**^{55}	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.06
	tɕiŋ^{55}**nis**^{55}	seventeen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0813.06

2.1.4. Tamangish: *^{Bh}**nis** SEVEN

**TGTM*	*^{Bh}**nis**	seven	Mazaudon 1994:585
Gurung	**ʼŋi**	seven	Weidert 1987:714
	ngiq	seven	Hale 1973:09.05
	ngiq jyu	seventy	Hale 1973:09.19
	^{2}**ŋi**	seven	Mazaudon 1994:246
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ŋiq**	seven	Glover 1972:9.5
	ŋiq jyu	seventy	Glover 1972:9.19
Manang (Gyaru)	**nyi**^{1}	seven	Nagano 1984:400
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**ɲi:**	seven	Mazaudon 1994:585
	^{1}**ɲi:**	seven	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0185
	^{1}**ɲĩ** cu	seventy	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0680
Tamang (Bagmati)	**ʼnyis**	seven	Weidert 1987:714
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**nis**	seven	Mazaudon 1994:585
	^{2}**nis** -ʈa	seven days	Mazaudon 1994:585
Tamang (Sahu)	**ʼnyis**	seven	Hale 1973:09.05; Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.5
	^{2}**ɲis**	seven	Mazaudon 1994:585
Tamang (Taglung)	^{2}**nis**	seven	Mazaudon 1994:585
Thakali	**ʼŋis**	seven	Weidert 1987:714
	ngi-cyu	seventy	Hale 1973:09.19
	nigs	seven	Hale 1973:09.05
Thakali (Syang)	^{55}**ɲis**	seven	Mazaudon 1994:585
Thakali (Tukche)	**nigs**	seven	Hari 1971:9.5
	ŋi-cju	seventy	Hari 1971:9.19
	^{H}**nis**	seven	Mazaudon 1994:585

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**ʃ**ʅ^{55}**n̥**^{55}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.18
	ʃʅ^{55}**n̥**^{55}**z**ʅ^{55}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.18
Guiqiong	**n̥i**^{35}	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.16
	n̥ĩ^{55}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.17
	n̥ĩ^{55}**ʃ**ʅ^{33}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.17
Lyuzu	**skŋ̩**^{53}	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.18
	skŋ̩^{53}**z**ʅ^{53}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.18
Muya [Minyak]	**n̥yi**^{35}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.15
Namuyi	**ʂ**ʅ^{21}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.19
	ʂʅ^{33}**ɻ̈i**^{55}	July	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:82.19
	ʂʅ^{31}	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.46
	χuo^{31}**ʂ**ʅ^{31}	seventeen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0813.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**n̥ɯ**^{55} (lĩ^{55})	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.10
	n̥ɯ^{55}qo^{55}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.10
Pumi (Lanping)	qɑ^{55}**xiɛ̃**^{55}	seventeen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0813.09
	xiɛ̃^{13}	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.09
	xiɛ̃^{13}xqo^{55}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	qɑ^{55}**xiɛ̃**^{55}	seventeen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:927.11
	xiɛ̃^{13}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.11
	xiɛ̃^{13}sqo^{55}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**n̥ĩ**^{35}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**ʂí**	seven	Evans 1999:1180
	ʂí sá	seventy	Evans 1999:1203
	ʂí sá à	seventy-one	Evans 1999:1204
	ʂí ɔ́ χeì	seventh	Evans 1999:1225
Qiang (Mawo)	**stə**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.8
	stə su	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.8
	ʂtʂu su	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.08
	ʂtʂə	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**nə́** qò	seven	Evans 1999:1180
	ní sà	seventy	Evans 1999:1203
	ní sà n̥à à qó	seventy-one	Evans 1999:1204
Qiang (Taoping)	**ʂiŋ**^{33}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.9
	ʂiŋ^{31}sɑ^{33}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**n̥a**^{55}tʂã^{53}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.16
	n̥a^{55}ɣa^{53}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**sna**^{55}	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.13
	sna^{55}rqa^{55}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.13
Xumi	**ʂa**^{55} (ku^{53})	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.17
	ʂa^{55}qa^{33}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.17
	ʂɛ̃^{55}(ko^{33})	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.20
	ʂɛ̃^{55}qɛ^{33}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**n̥ɛ**^{55}	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.14
	n̥ɛ^{55}**z**ʅ^{33}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.14
	ʂnɛ^{55}	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**snie**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.14
	sn̥ɛ sqha	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.14
Daofu	**zn̥e**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.12
	zn̥e sqha	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	kě **sněs**	seven	LaPolla 1987:186
	kě **sněs**	seven	Benedict 1972:5
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **ʃnəs**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.11

[a] Chungli final **-t** descends from PTB final ***-s** (cf. also PTB ***s/m/g-rus** BONE (§1.6.3)).

[b] This is an excellent example of the original "overcounting" numeral system of Mongsen Ao (cf. Coupe 2007, Clark 1893). The individual morphemes are are as follows: 'twenty-NEG-be.complete-seven', i.e. "the seven before the twenty".

rGyalrong	kə **ʃnəs**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **ʃnəs** ʃtʃᴇ	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.11
rGyalrong	kə **ʃnəs** ʃtʃᴇ	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.12
Caodeng	kə-**ʃnɛ**-sqɛ	seventy	Sun 1997a
	kə-**ʃnɛ́**-ri	seven hundred	Sun 1997a
	ká-**ʃnɛs**	seven	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	te **ʂńit**	seven	Benedict 1972:79n242
rGBenzhen	kə-**ʃnəʔs**	seven	Sun 1997b

4. Nungic

Anong (Rawang)	**sənit**	seven	Benedict 1972:16n59
Anong	**sənit**	seven	Benedict 1972:16n60
Nung	**sɻ^{31}ȵ^{55}**tshɑ^{55}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.21
	sɻ^{31}ȵi^{55}	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.21
Anong	**sɻȵ^{35}**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.44
	sɻȵ^{35}tshɑ^{55}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.44
Rawang	**ʃəŋət** sɛ^{53}	seventy	LaPolla 2003:869
	ʃəŋɯt	seven	LaPolla 2003:851
Trung [Dulong]	**sɯ^{31}ɲĭt^{55}**tsă̆l^{55}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.46
Dulong	**sɯ^{31}ȵit^{55}**sɑn^{55}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.20
Trung [Dulong]	**sɯ^{31}ɲĭt^{55}**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.46
Dulong	**sɯ^{31}ȵit^{55}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.20
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**sɯ^{31} ŋit^{55}**	seven	LaPolla 1987:186
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**sɯ^{31}ń̆it^{55}**	seven	LaPolla 1987:186
	sɯ^{31}ȵ̆it^{55}	seven	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. Tujia

Tujia (Northern)	**ne^{21}**	seven	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	nie3	seven (num.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	nie^{3}	seven	Brassett *et al.* 2006:7.2
Tujia	**ȵie^{21}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.49
	ȵie^{21}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.38
	ȵie^{21}xɯ^{55}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.49
	ȵie^{21}xɯ^{55}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.38

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***ʔ-nit* ≍ **ši^{2}*** SEVEN

**Lolo-Burmese*	***snit** (PLolo *N-šit (LOW)	seven	Matisoff 1972b:128(a)
	***snit** (PLolo *ši (Tone *2	seven	Matisoff 1972b:128(b)
	***ʔ-nit ≍ ši^{2}**	seven	Matisoff 2003a:604

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**ȵit^{55}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.28
	ȵit^{55}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.41
	ȵit^{55}tɕhe^{55}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.28
	ȵit^{55}tɕhe^{55}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.41
Achang (Luxi)	**nit^{55}**	seven	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**nit^{55}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.29
	nit^{55}tshi^{55}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	khu^{53}**hniʔ^{4}**shɛ^{22}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.27
	khu^{53}**n̥iʔ^{4}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	khu^{53}**n̥iʔ^{44}**hsɛ^{22}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.40
Burmese (Written)	**hnac?**	seven	Hansson 1989:xxx
	khu **nɑs**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.39
	khu^{1}**hnɑs^{4}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.26
	khu^{1}**hnɑs^{4}**shɑj^{2}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.26
	khu^{1} **nɑs** hsɑj^{2}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.39
	khu'-**nac**	seven	Benedict 1976a
	khu **nhac**	seven	Marrison 1967
	khu **nhac** chay	seventy	Marrison 1967
Langsu (Luxi)	**nat^{55}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.31
	nat^{55}tshɛ^{31}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ŋjɛt^{55}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.33
	ŋjɛt^{55}tshe^{33}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.33
Maru [Langsu]	**nat^{55}**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.43
	nat^{55}tshɛ^{31}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**ŋjit^{55}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.30
	ŋjit^{55}tshe^{51}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.30
	ŋjit	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.42
	ŋjit^{55}tshe^{51}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.42

6.1.2. Loloish: ***C-ʃi(k)^{2}/^{L}*** SEVEN

**Loloish*	***C-ʃi(k)^{2}/^{L}**	seven	Bradley 1979b:484

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**sɻ^{31}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.47
	sɻ^{31}tshi^{33}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.47
Lipho	**ʂi^{21}**	seven	Chen Kang 1986a:25.
Luquan	**ši 55**	seven	Matisoff 1972b:128(a)
Nasu	**ɕi^{55}**	seven	Chen Kang 1986a:25.
Neisu	**ɕi^{55}**	seven	Chen Kang 1986a:25.
Nesu	**ɕi^{21}**	seven	Chen Kang 1986a:25.
Nosu	**ʂi^{21}**	seven	Chen Kang 1986a:25.
Yi (Dafang)	**ɕi^{55}**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**ʂɿ^{21}**	seven	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ʂi^{21}**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.25
	ʂi^{21}tsi^{33}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ɕi^{21}**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.26
	ɕi^{21}tshɯ^{21}; **ɕi^{21}**tsɯ^{55}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ɕi^{21}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.37
	ɕi^{21}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.24
	ɕi^{21}tshi^{33}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.37
	ɕi^{21}tshi^{33}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**xɯ^{21}**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.23
	xɯ^{21}tɕhi^{55}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.23
Yi (Weishan)	**xɯ^{21}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.36
	xɯ^{21}tɕhi^{55}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.36
Yi (Wuding)	**ɕi^{55}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.38
	ɕi^{55}tshe^{11}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.38
Yi (Xide)	**ʂɿ^{21}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.35
	ʂɿ^{21}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.21
	ʂɿ^{21}tshi^{33}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.35
	ʂɿ^{21}tshi^{33}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.21

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Ahi	**ʂi^{21}**	seven	Chen Kang 1986a:25.
Jinuo (Youle)	**ʃi^{55}**	seven	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**ɕi^{44}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.44
	ɕi^{44}tshə^{33}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.44
	ɕi^{55}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.34
	ɕi^{55}tshɯ^{42}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.34
Lahu (Lancang)	**si^{11}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.43
	si^{11}tɕhi^{33}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.43
Lahu (Black)	**šɪ̄**	seven	Matisoff 1974:388; Matisoff 1972b:128(b)
	sɻ^{31}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.33
	sɻ^{31}tshi^{33}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**sɻ^{2}**	seven	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**shï5**	seven	Matisoff 1972b:128(b)
Lisu (Central)	**shï^{5}**	seven	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**sɻ 11**	seven	Matisoff 1972b:128(b)
	ʃi^{31}	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.40
	ʃi^{31}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.27
	ʃi^{31}tshi̱^{33}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.40
Lisu (Northern)	**ʃɿ^{21}**	seven (Q.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ʃɿ^{31}**tshɿ^{44}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.27
Yi (Sani)	**sʑ^{11}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.39
	sʑ^{11}tsɪ^{33}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ʂi^{21}**	seven	Chen Kang 1986a:25.

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	**shi LS**	seven	Matisoff 1972b:128(a)
	shiˆ	seven	Matisoff 1974:388
Akha (Yunnan)	**sjìq**	seven	Hansson 1989:490
Akha (Thai)	**sjìq**	seven	Hansson 1989:490
Akha	**sjỳq**	seven	Hansson 1989:xxx
Hani (Lüchun)	**sjhì**	seven	Hansson 1989:490
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**sɻ 21**	seven	Matisoff 1972b:128(a)
Hani (Dazhai)	**sɻ̄^{31}**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.31
	sɻ̄^{31}tshe^{55}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**sɻ̱^{31}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.41
	sɻ̱^{31}tshe^{55}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**sʅ̄^{31}**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.30
	sʅ̄^{31}tshɤ^{55}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ɕi̱^{31}**	seven	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**sivq**	seven	Hansson 1989:490
Haoni	**ʃʅ^{21}**	seven	Hansson 1989:xxx
Hani (Shuikui)	**ʃʅ̄^{31}**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.32
	ʃʅ̄^{31}tshɛ^{55}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.32
Hani (Khatu)	**sjỳ**	seven	Hansson 1989:xxx
Hani (Mojiang)	**ʃʅ̄^{31}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.42
	ʃʅ̄^{31}tshɛ^{55}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.42
Mpi	**si?^{2}**	seven	Hansson 1989:xxx; Srinuan Duanghom 1976

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ʂɨ^{22}**	seven	Pelkey 2011:1064
Southern Muji	**ɕi^{21}**	seven	Pelkey 2011:1064
Phola	**ɕi^{33}**	seven	Pelkey 2011:1064
Hlepho Phowa	**sɻ^{33}**	seven	Pelkey 2011:1064
Phuza	**ɕi^{33}**	seven	Pelkey 2011:1064

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	ts^{h}i˩**ʂɯ**˩gv˩	17	Michaud 2006–2009:1728
	ʂie˧lie˧mie˧	7th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1669
	ʂɯ˩gv˩	7	Michaud 2006–2009:1718
	ʂɯ˩ts^{h}i˩gv˧	70	Michaud 2006–2009:1745
Na (Yongning)	ts^{h}e˧**ʂɯ**˧	17	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂɯ˧	7	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂɯ˧ts^{h}i˩	70	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂɯ˧ȵi˧mi˧	7th month	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	tshe^{21}**ʂɚ^{33}**	seventeen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0813.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshe^{31}**ʂəɹ^{33}**	seventeen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:927.28
Naxi (Yongning)	tshe^{31}**ʂɻ^{13}**	seventeen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:927.29
	ȵi^{31}tsɻ^{55}nɔ^{33}	day, twentieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:100.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ʂəɹ^{33}**tshəɹ^{31}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.28
	ʂəɹ^{55}	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.28
Naxi	**ʂɚ^{33}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.45
	ʂɚ^{33}tshə^{21}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**ʂɻ^{33}**	seven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:917.29
	ʂɻ^{33}tshɿ^{31}	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.29
	ʂɻ^{33}ɬe^{33}mi^{33}	July	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:82.29

7. Karenic: ***ʔnwe^{A}***, ***ʔnwet^{D}*** SEVEN, ***hnət*** / hnwi-t SEVEN

**Karen*	***hnət** / hnwi-t	seven	Benedict 1972:130n355
	***nwét**	seven	Jones 1961:103
	***ʔnwe^{A}, ʔnwet^{D}**	seven	Luangthongkum 2013:250 [a]
Bwe	**nwe^{55}**~**nwi^{55}**	seven	Luangthongkum 2013:250
Karen	**nu̱i^{55}**	seven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0803.50
	nu̱i^{55}tshi^{55}	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.50
Kayan (Pekon)	**nwè-**	seven (NUM.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**nwɛ^{53}**	seven	Luangthongkum 2013:250
Kayan (Pekon)	θa **nwè**	seven (NUM.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	sɔ^{33}**ne^{55}**	seven	Luangthongkum 2013:250
Pa-O (Southern)	**nət^{45}**	seven	Luangthongkum 2013:250
Pa-O (Northern)	**nɨt^{21}**	seven	Luangthongkum 2013:250

[a] [Source Note] Two protoforms which have tone A (CK, S.Sgaw, Pwo) and tone D (NK, N.Sgaw) can be reconstructed. However, the correspondence of vowels is problematical.

Pa-O	**nít**	seven	Solnit 1989
Pwo (Northern)	**nwɛ**^{55}	seven	Luangthongkum 2013:250
Pwo (Southern)	**nwɛ**^{31ˬ}	seven	Luangthongkum 2013:250
Sgaw (Northern)	**nwi?**^{45}	seven	Luangthongkum 2013:250
Sgaw (Southern)	**nwi**^{55}	seven	Luangthongkum 2013:250
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**ts'i̱ĕt**	seven	Chou Fa-kao 1972:400a-d

Chinese comparandum

七 OC ***ts'i̱ĕt***, *GSR* #400a-d 'seven'; Coblin 86:131 ST ***shnjis*** > PC ***shnjit*** > OC ***tshjit***; Schuessler 2007:419 ***tshit*** < ***snhit***; B & S 2011: ***ts^{h}it { [ts^{h}] i [t] }***; Mand. **qī**.

(32) PKC *seek SEVERAL / FREQUENT / EVERY

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***seek**	SEVERAL / FREQUENT / EVERY	VanBik 2009:673
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**sek**	frequent	VanBik 2009:673
Thado	**sè?**	every	VanBik 2009:673
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**seek**	several times (verb particle)	VanBik 2009:673

(33) PTB *r-kyaŋ SINGLE

This root, although apparently valid, is still no better attested than it was in *STC* #34.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***r-kyaŋ**	single	Matisoff 2003a:598; Benedict 1972:34
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**rkyaŋ**-pa	single	Benedict 1972:34
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**khyàŋ**	single	Benedict 1972:34

(34) PTB * d t a n y SINGLE / ONE / WHOLE / ONLY

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***day ≍ dan ≍ tay ≍ tan**	single / one / whole	Matisoff 1985a:148
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dan ≍ day**	single / one / whole / only	Matisoff 2003a:586
	***tay ≍ tan**	single / one / whole / only	Matisoff 2003a:615
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**dei**	only; alone	Matisoff 1985a:148
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	**-tai**	only (suf.)	Bruhn 2014b
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	o **tay**	whole	Bhat 1968; Matisoff 1985a:148
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**tāi**	single	Matisoff 1985a:148; Matisoff 1974:154
	ta̱i^{33}	classifier for one of a pair (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0871.19
	ə **tāi**	one, as of a pair	Matisoff 1985a:148
	ʔə **tāi**	one, as of a pair	Matisoff 1974:154
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ta**^{55}ʐe^{55}	hundred (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0824.10
	ta^{55}ʐe^{55}nə^{11}**ta**^{11}	one hundred and one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**tə**^{13}ʂi^{55} nə^{13} ti^{13}	one hundred and one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.09
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	**te**^{53}	one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0797.43
	te^{53}tɕhi^{33}mɤ^{11}	one hundred thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0828.43
	te^{53}xɑ^{33}**te**^{53}	one hundred and one (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0825.43
Lahu (Black)	**tê**	one; a; the whole; only	Matisoff 1985a:148; Matisoff 1974:154; Matisoff 1972b:31(b)
	tê nàʔ	early morning; morning (early); early in the morning	Matisoff 1978a:83; Matisoff 1974:387; Matisoff 1972b:131
	te^{53}	one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:911.33
	te^{53}thu^{33}	handspan	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:960.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**tɛ**^{3}	one	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	單	single, simple	Baxter & Sagart 2011:466
Chinese (GSR #)	**0147a**	single, simple	Baxter & Sagart 2011:466
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**d^{ʕ}an?** {[d]^{ʕ}a[n]ʔ}	only	Baxter & Sagart 2011:478
	tân	single, simple	Matisoff 1985a:148
	tan	single; unit	Baxter 1992:210; Baxter 1992:868
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**danX**	only	Baxter & Sagart 2011:478
	tân	single, simple	Matisoff 1985a:148
	tan	single, simple	Baxter & Sagart 2011:466
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**dān**	single, simple	Baxter & Sagart 2011:466
	dàn	only	Baxter & Sagart 2011:478

Chinese comparandum

單 OC ***tân***, *GSR* #147a-d 'single, simple'; B & S 2011: ***Cə.t^{ʕ}ar***; Mand. **dān**.
但 OC ***d'ân***, *GSR* #149e 'only'; B & S 2011: ***d^{ʕ}an? { [d] ^{ʕ}a [n] ʔ}***; Mand. **dàn**.

(35) PTB *d-k-ruk SIX

Some reflexes of this extremely widespread etymon reflect the minimal form ***ruk***; others descend from a ***kr-*** cluster; while still others come from a ***d-r-*** combination.

The PLB form ***C-krok^{L}*** is reconstructed with a voiced prefix (represented by the cover symbol **C-**), since its reflexes derive from the Proto-Loloish low-stopped tone, which can only come from a *voiced initial sequence. Cf. Matisoff 1972: #35.

For additional discussion of the numeral SIX, see Matisoff 1995 ("Numerals"), pp. 193-197.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***d-kruk**	six	Matisoff 2003a:597; Matisoff 2003a:611
	***d-ruk ≍ d-k-rok**	six	LaPolla 1987:177
	***d-ruk**	six	Benedict 1972:411
1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	suat^{33}**ɣək**^{33}	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.52
	ɣək^{33}	six	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:916.52
1.1.1. Tani: *krə SIX			
**Tani*	***krə**	six	Sun 1993a:365
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	a-ljã **k^{h}rjɯ**-he	sixty	Sun 1993b
	à-ljaŋ **xɯ**(-e)	sixty	Sun 1993b
	k^{h}rɯ	six	Sun 1993b
	xrjɯ	six	Sun 1993a
	xɯ	six	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-**kjɯ:**	six	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	čam-**kjɯ:**	sixty	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **kɯ**	six (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.24
	a-**kɯ**	six	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	kɯ jɯŋ	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.24
	kɯ-jɯŋ	sixty	Sun 1993b
	ɯ jɯŋ la **kɯ**	sixteen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0812.24
	ɯ-jɯŋ a-**kɯ**	sixty	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-jɯŋ la-**kɯ**	sixteen	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **kɯ**	six	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:916.51
	kɯ jɯŋ	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.51
	ɯ jɯŋ la **kɯ**	sixteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:926.51
Galo	ak **kə**	six numr. -kə (n:num.)	GLDC 2009
	a **kːʏ**	six	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-**kʏ**	sixty	Das Gupta 1963
	lək **kə**	six times (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	a **ke**	six	Simon 1976
	caŋ-**ke**	sixty	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **ké**	six	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	a-**ke**	six	Sun 1993a
Damu	ʔa-**ky**	six	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ky:**	six	Sun 1993b
Mishing [Miri]	a-**kəŋ**	six	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	ta: **hro**	six	NEFA (India) 1963
	ta: **hro**-ha: long	sixty	NEFA (India) 1963
	tɑ^{31}**xɹo**^{53}	six (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.22
	tɑ^{31}**xɹo**^{53}	six	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:916.49
	tɑ^{31}**xɹo**^{53}xɑ^{55}lɯŋ^{55}	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.22
	tɑ^{31}**xɹo**^{53}xɑ^{55}lɯŋ^{55}	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.49
Digaro	**thərɔ**	six	LaPolla 1987:177; Benedict 1972:411
Kaman [Miju]	**kɯ**^{31}**tɑm**^{53}	six (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.23
	kɯ^{31}**tɑm**^{53}	six	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:916.48
	kɯ^{31}**tɑm**^{55}**mu**^{31}	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.48
	kɯ^{31}**tɑm**^{55}**mu**^{53}	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.23
Idu	tɑ^{31}hɹo^{53}hɹoŋ^{55}	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.50
	tɑ^{55}**hɹo**^{53}	six	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:916.50
Yidu	tɑ^{55}**hɹo**^{53}	six (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.25
	tɑ^{55}hɹo^{53}hɹoŋ^{55}	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.25
1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ruk** SIX			
**Chin*	***ruk**	SIX	VanBik 2009:974
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Sizang	**luk**	six	VanBik 2009:974
Thado	**gúp**	six	Thirumalai 1972:35
	guup	six	VanBik 2009:974
	khûu	cough	VanBik 2009:974
Tiddim	**guk**^{3}	six	VanBik 2009:974; Bhaskararao 1996:385
	_guk	six (q.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**'sók**	six	VanBik 2009:974
Chinbon	**šʰok**	six	So-Hartmann 1988:214
Cho (Mindat)	**chuk**	six	VanBik 2009:974
Daai	**ʔkɣʰuk**	six	So-Hartmann 1988:214
Khumi	**triw**	six	VanBik 2009:974
	tᵊriᵘʔ	six	So-Hartmann 1988:214
Matu	**pa̱xuk**	six	So-Hartmann 1988:214
Mkaang	**pa̱luk**	six	So-Hartmann 1988:214
Ngmüün	**ʔkɹʰuk**	six	So-Hartmann 1988:214
Wakung	**tᵊruʔ**	six	So-Hartmann 1988:214
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	pa-**ruk**	number six	VanBik 2009:974
Lai (Falam)	**pa-rùk**	six	VanBik 2009:974
Lushai [Mizo]	**rùk**	six	VanBik 2009:974
	ruk	six	Bhaskararao 1996:385
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**pā**-chā-rū	six	VanBik 2009:974
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***t-ruk** SIX			
**Central Naga*	***t-ruk**	SIX	Bruhn 2014a:III.268
**Ao*	***t-ɹuk**	SIX	Bruhn 2014a:II.314
Ao (Chungli)	**tə**^{3}**-ɹuk**^{3}	six (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.314
	^{3}tɯ^{3}**ruk**	six	Weidert 1987:687
	ɹuk^{1}əɹ^{2}	sixty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.307
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**təɹuk**	SIX	Coupe 2007:113
	təɹuk-ɹuk	six each	Coupe 2007:276
	ɹuk ɹa	SIXTY	Coupe 2007:113
	ɹuk ɹa-ɹa	sixty each	Coupe 2007:276
Lotha Naga	**rok**-roʔ	sixty (num.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ti^{1}**-rok**^{2}	six (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.268
	tiruk	six	Murry *et al.* 1978:112
	ṭirók >	six	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	**ro** re	sixty	Kumar 1973a
	thürok	six	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	**ruk** rü	sixty	Kumar 1973b:102
	thuruk	six	Kumar 1973b:99
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	**kəruk**	six	LaPolla 1987:177
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	rek **səruk**	sixty	Matisoff 1994e
	tsərúk	six	Matisoff 1994e
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ruk** SIX			
**Tangkhulic*	***ruk**	six	Mortensen 2012:572
Huishu	sə-**ruʔ**	six	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.006

Kachai	ʃə-**ruk**	six	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.006
Tangkhul	**ruu**	six	Bhat 1969:96
	^{1}thə^{1}**ruk**	six	Weidert 1987:687
Tusom	t-**ru**-he	six	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.006
Ukhrul	t^{h}ə-**ruk**	six	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI			
Meithei	tə ra **təruk**	sixteen	Abbi & Mishra 1985
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	**therok**	six	LaPolla 1987:177; Benedict 1972:411
	thrók	six	Weidert 1987:687
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Kokborok	**doʔ**	six	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**doʔ**	six	Weidert 1987:687
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo	**dok**	six	Weidert 1987:687; LaPolla 1987:177; Benedict 1972:182n479
Garo (Bangladesh)	**-dok**	six (num.)	Burling 2003:3.3706-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**korok**	six (num.)	van Breugel 2008
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***d-ruk** SIX			
**Northern Naga*	***d-ruk**	six	French 1983:547
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG			
Phom	**wɔk^{33}**	six	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**kjuʔ^{55}**ʃi^{33}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.47
	kru	six	LaPolla 1987:177; Benedict 1972:411
	krúʔ	six	Matisoff 1974:359
	kruʔ^{55}	six	LaPolla 1987:177
	kʒu̱ʔ^{55}	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.19
	kʒu̱ʔ^{55}	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.47
	kʒu̱ʔ^{55}ʃi^{33}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.19
	kɹu̱ʔ^{55}	six	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN			
Sak	**kruʔ**-hvú	six	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:399
	kruʔ cí	sixty	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:404-7
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH			
Kanauri	**ṭŭg**	six	Benedict 1972:411
	ṭŭg‘	six	Bailey 1911
	ṭŭg rā	six hundred	Bailey 1911
	ṭŭg raɔ̄	six hundredth	Bailey 1911
	ʈŭg	six	LaPolla 1987:177
Pattani [Manchati]	**trui**	six	Sharma 1982
2.1.2. BODIC			
Kaike	**ru**	six	Hale 1973:09.04
Tshona (Wenlang)	**grok^{35}**	six	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**kroʔ^{53}**	six	LaPolla 1987:177; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.6
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ʈşuk**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.05
	ʈşuk tɕhə	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ʈşək**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.4
	ʈşək tɕə	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ʈşək**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.5
	ʈşək tɕə	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**ʈ̱ruk**	six	Rangan 1975:61
	tuk	six	Rangan 1975:58
	tuk ču·	sixty	Rangan 1975:71
Tibetan (Batang)	**ʈşu^{13}**tɕu^{53}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.03
	ʈşuʔ^{231}	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**’Thuk**	six	Hale 1973:09.04
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ʈşhu^{31}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.3
	ʈşu^{31}tɕu^{53}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ʈşhuk^{13}**tɕu^{53}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.2
	ʈşhuk^{13}tɕu^{55}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.02
	ʈşhu^{132}	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.02
	ʈşhuʔ^{13}	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**’Tuk**	six	Hale 1973:09.04
	khal-**Tuk**	sixty	Hale 1973:09.18
Tibetan (Written)	**drug**	six	LaPolla 1987:177; Benedict 1972:76n232
	drug	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.01
	drug	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.1
	drug tɕu	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.01
	drug tɕu	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ʈşəχ**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.04
	ʈşəχ tɕə	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.04
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**tarak**	six	LaPolla 1987:177
	tărăk	six	Benedict 1972:114n320
	tarók	six (num.)	Plaisier 2007
2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{B}**ɖu**,^{B}ɖuː,^{B}ɖuk SIX			
**TGTM*	*^{B}**ɖu**,^{B}**ɖuː**	six	Mazaudon 1994:409
Gurung	**Tuhq**	six	Hale 1973:09.04
Gurung (Ghachok)	**ʈuhq**	six	Glover 1972:9.4
Gurung	^{4}**ʈu**	six	Mazaudon 1994:410
Manang (Gyaru)	**ʈɯ^{3}**	six	Nagano 1984:399
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}**tuk** cu	sixty	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0679
	^{4}**ʈ^{h}u**	six	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0184; Mazaudon 1994:410
Tamang (Bagmati)	**’ɖuː^{ɦ}**	six	Weidert 1987:687
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**ʈu**	six	Mazaudon 1994:409
Tamang (Sahu)	**’Tuːh**	six	Hale 1973:09.04; Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.4
	^{4}**ʈuː**	six	Mazaudon 1994:410
Tamang (Taglung)	^{H}**ʈuː**	six	Mazaudon 1994:410
Thakali	**’Tuh**	six	Hale 1973:09.04
	’Tuh-cyu	sixty	Hale 1973:09.18
	’tu	six	Benedict 1972:114n320
Thakali (Marpha)	^{434}**ʈu**	six	Mazaudon 1994:410
Thakali (Syang)	^{L}**ɖu**	six	Mazaudon 1994:410
	^{51}**ʈu**	six	Mazaudon 1994:410
Thakali (Tukche)	**’ʈuh**	six	Hari 1971:9.4
	’ʈuh-cju	sixty	Hari 1971:9.18
	^{4}**ʈu**	six	Mazaudon 1994:410
2.2. NEWAR			
Newar (Kathmandu)	**khu**	six	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**khu**-guː	six	Hale 1973:09.04
Newar (Dolakhali)	**ku**	six	Genetti 1990b
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	**tuk** si	six	Michailovsky 1989b
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Kulung	**tuk** chi	six	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**’rā**	six	Hale 1973:09.04
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Thulung	**ru**	six	Allen 1975
2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG			
Magar	**kruk**	six	Benedict 1972:411
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**ʈşhu^{55}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.18
	ʈşhu^{55}zɻ^{55}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.18
Guiqiong	**khuɔ^{55}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.16
	khɔ^{33}	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.17
	khɔ^{33}ʃɻ^{55}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.17
Lyuzu	**ʈşhʉ^{53}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.18
	ʈşhu^{53}zɻ^{53}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.18
Muya	**tɕhuə^{53}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.15
	ʈşu^{33}tɕuə^{53}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.15
	ʈşu^{53}	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.15
Muya [Minyak]	**tɕhyi^{35}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.15
	ʈşu^{35}tɕuɯ^{53}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.15
Namuyi	**qhu^{33}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.19
	qhu^{33}ɬi^{55}	June	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:81.19
	qhu ɔ^{33}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.19
	qhu^{31}	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.46
	qhu ɔ^{31}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ʈşhu^{35}**qo^{55}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.10
	ʈşhu^{11} (lĩ^{55})	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ʈşhu^{13}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.09
	ʈşhu^{13}xqo^{55}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ʈşhu^{13}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.11
	ʈşhu^{13}sqo^{55}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ʈşhu^{35}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.10
	ʈşhu^{35}ko^{53}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.10
	ʈşhu^{35}li^{55}mei^{35}	June	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:81.10
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	**htʂu**	six	Matisoff 1972b:35
Qiang (Longxi)	**tsú**	six	Evans 1999:1179
	tsú lə́	June	Evans 1999:1128 [a]
	tsú sá	sixty	Evans 1999:1201
	tsú sá à	sixty-one	Evans 1999:1202
	tsú ɚ̀ χeì	sixth	Evans 1999:1224
Qiang (Mawo)	**χtʂuə**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.08
	χtʂuə su	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.08
	χtʂə	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.8
	χtʂə su	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**tʂòu** lə́	June	Evans 1999:1128 [b]
	tʂóu qò	six	Evans 1999:1179
	tʂóu sà	sixty	Evans 1999:1201
	tʂóu sà ɳà à qó	sixty-one	Evans 1999:1202
Qiang (Taoping)	**xtʂu^{33}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.9
	χtʂu^{31}sɑ^{33}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.9
	χtʂu^{55}ʂl^{33}	June	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:81.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ʈşhõ^{55}**tɕã^{53}	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.16
	ʈşhõ^{55}ɣa^{53}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.16
Xumi	**tɕho^{55}**(ko^{33})	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.20
	tɕho^{55}qɛ^{33}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.20
	tɕho^{55}ɬɯ^{33}	June	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:81.20
	tɕhu^{55} (ku^{53})	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.17
	tɕhu^{55}qa^{33}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**tʂho^{55}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.14
	tʂho^{55}zɻ^{33}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.14
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Ergong (Danba)	**wtɕhau**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.14
	wtɕhɛ sqha	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.14
Daofu	**xtɕho**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.12
	xtɕhə sqha	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.12
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **tʂok**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.11
rGyalrong	kə **tʂok**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə **tʂok** ʃtʃɛ	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.11
rGyalrong	kə **tʂop** ʃtʃɛ	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.12
Caodeng	kə-**tʃo**-sqe	sixty	Sun 1997a
	ká-**tʃo**	six	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	kA **trok**	six	Nagano 1997:124
rGBenzhen	kə-**tʂɔk**	six	Sun 1997b
	kə-**tʂɔk** zdʒeʔ	sixty	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**kru**	six	Benedict 1972:411
Rawang	**kruʔ**	six	LaPolla 2003:850
Anong	**təru**	six	Benedict 1972:411
Rawang	ə **tɕhuʔ**	six	LaPolla 2003:850
	ə **tɕhuʔ** sɛ^{53}	sixty	LaPolla 2003:868
Trung [Dulong]	**khlu**	six	LaPolla 1987:177; Benedict 1972:114n320
Dulong	**kɹuʔ^{55}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.20
Trung [Dulong]	**kɹŭʔ^{55}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.46

[a] [Source Note] calque.
[b] [Source Note] calque.

Dulong	**kɹuʔ^{55}**sɑn^{55}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.20
Trung [Dulong]	**kɹŭʔ^{55}**tsŭl^{55}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**kruʔ^{55}**	six	LaPolla 1987:177
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**khruʔ^{55}**	six	LaPolla 1987:177
	khɹŭʔ^{55}	six	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***C-krok^{L}** SIX

**Lolo-Burmese*	***C-krok**	six	Matisoff 1972b:35
	***C-krok^{L}**	six	Matisoff 1978a:17

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**xz̩oʔ^{55}**	six	LaPolla 1987:177
	xz̩oʔ^{55}	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.28
	xz̩oʔ^{55}	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.41
	xz̩oʔ^{55}tɕhe^{55}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.28
	xz̩oʔ^{55}tɕhe^{55}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.41
Achang (Luxi)	**tshu^{51}**	six	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**chuʔ^{55}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.29
	chuʔ^{55}tshi^{55}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.29
Arakanese	**hkrau'**	six	Okell 1971
Bola (Luxi)	**khjauʔ^{55}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.32
	khjauʔ^{55}thai^{55}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tɕhɑuʔ^{4}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.27
	tɕhɑuʔ^{4}shɛ^{22}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**hcau'**	six	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tɕhɑuʔ^{44}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.40
	tɕhɑuʔ^{44}hsɛ^{22}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.40
Burmese (Written)	**khlauk / khrauk**	six	Benedict 1972:41n134
	khlok	six	Hansson 1989:504
	khrauk	six	LaPolla 1987:177; Benedict 1972:76n232
	khrok	six	Hansson 1989:504; Okell 1971
Burmese (Inscriptional)	**khrok**	six	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	**khrok**	six	Benedict 1976a
	khrɔk	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.39
	khrɔk hsɑj^{2}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.39
	khrɔk^{4}	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.26
	khrɔk^{4}shɑj^{2}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.26
	k^{h}rok	six	Matisoff 1978a:17
Langsu (Luxi)	**khjauk^{55}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.31
	khjauk^{55}tshɛ^{31}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**khjuk^{55}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.33
	khjuk^{55}tshe^{33}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.33
Marma	**khrɔʔ**	six	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:399
	khrɔʔ-che	sixty	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:404-7
Maru [Langsu]	**khjauk^{55}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.43
	khjauk^{55}tshɛ^{31}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.43
	khyaú	six	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khjuʔ^{55}**	six	LaPolla 1987:177
	khjuʔ^{55}	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.30
	khjuʔ^{55}	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.42
	khjuʔ^{55}tshe^{51}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.30
	khjuʔ^{55}tshe^{51}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.42

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**tɕho^{31}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.47
	tɕho^{53}tshi^{33}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.47
	tɕ^{h}o^{53}	six	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
Lalo	**kho̱^{2}**	six	CHEN Kang 1986a:88.
Lipho	**tʂhu̱^{2}**	six	CHEN Kang 1986a:88.
Luquan	**tš'u 55c**	six	Matisoff 1972b:35
Nasu	**tšu 44s**	six	Matisoff 1972b:35
	tʂho̱^{55}	six	CHEN Kang 1986a:88.
Neisu	**tɕhe^{13}**	six	CHEN Kang 1986a:88.
Nesu	**tʂhu̱^{2}**	six	CHEN Kang 1986a:88.
Nusu (Northern)	**kh.ɹu̱^{53}**	six	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**kh.ɹu̱^{53}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.34
	kh.ɹu̱^{53}tshe^{33}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**kh.ɹu^{53}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.45
	kh.ɹu^{53}tshe^{35}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.45
Nusu (Southern)	**tʂhu̱^{53}**	six	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**tɕhɔ^{13}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.22
Yi (Mile)	**tʂhu̱^{21}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.25
	tʂhu̱^{21}tshi^{33}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tshu̱^{21}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.26
	tshu̱^{21}tshɯ^{21}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**tɕho̱^{55}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.37
	tɕho̱^{55}tshi^{33}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.37
	tɕho^{55}	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.24
	tɕhu̱^{55}tshi^{33}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**kho^{21}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.23
	kho^{21}tɕhi^{55}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.23
Yi (Weishan)	**kho^{21}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.36
	kho̱^{21}tɕhi^{55}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tɕhu̱^{55}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.38
	tɕhu̱^{55}tshe^{11}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.38

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**tʂhu 44s**	six	Matisoff 1972b:35
	tʂhu̱^{2}	six	CHEN Kang 1986a:88.
Jinuo	**tʃho^{33}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.34
	tʃho^{33}tshɯ^{42}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.34
	tɕho^{44}	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.44
	tɕho^{44}tshə^{55}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**tɕho^{55}**	six	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**khɔ31** ma31	six	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**khɔ̀ʔ**	six	LaPolla 1987:177; Benedict 1972:114n320
Lahu (Lancang)	**khɔ^{21}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.43
	khɔ^{21}tɕhi^{33}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.43
Lahu (Black)	**khɔ^{21}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.33
	khɔ^{21}tshi^{33}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.33
	khɔ̀ʔ	six	Matisoff 1974:359; Matisoff 1972b:35
	k^{h}ɔ̀ʔ	six	Matisoff 1978a:17
Lahu (Yellow)	**khɔ^{2}**	six	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**hchaw6**	six	Matisoff 1972b:35
Lisu (Central)	**hchaw^{6}**	six	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**tʃho^{41}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.27
	tʃho^{41}tshɳ^{44}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.27
	tɕho̱^{31}	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.40
	tɕho̱^{31}tshi̱^{33}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.40
Lisu (Northern)	**tɕhɔʔ^{21}**	six (Q.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**kho^{2}**	six	CHEN Kang 1986a:88.
	khu 22s	six	Matisoff 1972b:35
Yi (Sani)	**khu^{2}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.39
	khu^{2}tshɪ^{33}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Mpi	**khoʔ^{2}**	six	Hansson 1989:504; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
	k^{h}oʔ^{2}	six	Matisoff 1978a:17

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Southern Muji	**k^{h}ɯ^{21}**	six	Pelkey 2011:1063
Phola	**k^{h}ʒ^{31}**	six	Pelkey 2011:1063
Hlepho Phowa	**ts^{h}o^{33}**	six	Pelkey 2011:1063
Phuza	**tʂ^{h}ɯ^{55}**	six	Pelkey 2011:1063

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**q^{h}ɔ**˩gv˩	6	Michaud 2006–2009:1717
	q^{h}ɔ˩lie˩mie˩	6th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1668
	q^{h}ɔ˩ts^{h}i˩gv˩	60	Michaud 2006–2009:1744
	ts^{h}i˥ **q^{h}ɔ**˩ɲi˩	16th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1575
	ts^{h}i˥**q^{h}ɔ**˩gv˩	16	Michaud 2006–2009:1727
Moso	**tʂ'wa 55**	six	Matisoff 1972b:35
Na (Yongning)	**q^{h}v**˧ɬi˧mi˧	6th month	Michaud 2006–2009
	q^{h}v˧	6	Michaud 2006–2009
	q^{h}v˩ts^{h}i˧	60	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩**q^{h}v**˩ɲi˧	16th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩**q^{h}v**˧	16	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧tsi˧**q^{h}v**˧	26	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**khəɹ^{33}**tshɳ^{13}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.29
	khəɹ^{33}ɬe^{33}mi^{33}	June	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:81.29
	khəɹ^{13}	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.29
Naxi	tshe^{21}**tʂhuɑ^{55}**	sixteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0812.45
Naxi (Yongning)	tshe^{31}**khəɹ^{13}**	sixteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:926.29
	tshe^{31}**khəɹ^{13}**ɲi^{33}	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshe^{31}**tʂhuɑ^{33}**	sixteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:926.28
	tshe^{31}**tʂhuɑ^{55}**ɲi^{33}	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.28
	tʂhuɑ^{33}tshəɹ^{31}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.28
Naxi	**tʂhuɑ^{55}**	six (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0802.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tʂhuɑ^{55}**	six	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:916.28
	tʂhuɑ^{55}me^{33}	June	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:81.28
Naxi	**tʂhuɑ^{55}**tshɔ^{21}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.45

7. KARENIC: ***khrow^{A}** SIX

**Karen*	***khrow^{A}**	six	Luangthongkum 2013:259
**Karen [Burling]*	***xy^{4}**	six	Luangthongkum 2013:259
Bwe	**xu^{55}**	six	Luangthongkum 2013:259
Kayan	**chu^{53}**	six	Luangthongkum 2013:259
Kayan (Pekon)	**s^{h}ù-**	six (NUM.)	Manson 2010
	θa **s^{h}ù**	six (NUM.)	Manson 2010
Pa-O	**sù**	six	Solnit 1989
	su	six	Benedict 1972:141n382
Pa-O (Northern)	**su$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	six	Luangthongkum 2013:259
Pa-O (Southern)	**su$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	six	Luangthongkum 2013:259
Palaychi	**hu**	six	Benedict 1972:141n382
Pwo (Northern)	**xou^{35}**	six	Luangthongkum 2013:259
Pwo (Southern)	**xou^{53}**	six	Luangthongkum 2013:259
Sgaw (Northern)	**xɨ^{33}**	six	Luangthongkum 2013:259
Sgaw (Southern)	**xɨ^{55}**	six	Luangthongkum 2013:259

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	六	six	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1753; Nagano & Prins 2013:1879
Chinese (GSR #)	**1032a**	six	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1753

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**/liə̯ôk**	six	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1032a-d
Chinese (Old)	**C-rjuk**	six	Baxter 1992:1615
	k.ruk	six	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1753
	liə̯ôk	six	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:1032a-d

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**ljuwk**	six	Baxter & Sagart 2011:1753

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**liù**	six	Evans *et al.* 1991; Baxter & Sagart 2011:1753

Chinese comparandum

六 OC ***liôk**, *GSR* #1032a-d 'six'; Coblin 86:133 ST ***dljəkw** > OC ***ljəkw**; Schuessler 2007:362 ***ruk**; B & S 2011: ***k.ruk** ; Mand. **liù**.

(36) PTB *ts(y)i(y) ⩬ *tsyay TEN

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ts(y)i(y)**	ten	Benedict 1972:408
	***ts(y)i(y) ⩬ tsyay**	ten	Matisoff 1985a:073; Matisoff 2003a:618
	***tsyay**	ten	Weidert 1987:232

1.1.2. DENG

Kaman [Miju]	**si**	ten	Benedict 1972:408

1.7.1.1. BODO

Dimasa	**dźi**	ten	Matisoff 1985a:073
	dži	ten	Benedict 1972:408

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**tśi**	ten	Matisoff 1985a:073; Benedict 1972:408

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	i-**tśi**	ten	Benedict 1972:408
	^{1}wan-^{1}ʌ^{1}**tšhi**	ten	Weidert 1987:232
Tangsa	rok-^{1}**ši(ʔ)**	ten	Weidert 1987:232
Tangsa (Moshang)	rok-**śi**	ten	Benedict 1972:408

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Khiamngan	^{1}**tšę**	ten	Weidert 1987:232

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	kjuʔ^{55}**ʃi**^{33}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.47
	kʒuʔ^{55}**ʃi**^{33}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.19
	să^{31}nit^{31}**ʃi**^{33}	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.19
	să^{31}nit^{31}**ʃi**^{33}	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.47
	shanit **shi**	seventy	Marrison 1967
	ši (ší in comp.)	ten	Matisoff 1974:85
	sum^{31}**ʃi**^{33}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.19
	sum^{31}**ʃi**^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.47
	tśi ⩬ śi	ten	Benedict 1972:408
	tśi~**śī**	ten	Matisoff 1985a:073
	^{2}**ši**	ten	Weidert 1987:232
	ʃi^{33}	ten	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	ʃi^{33}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.19
	ʃi^{33}	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.47

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	**chyu**	ten	Hale 1973:09.08
Tshona (Mama)	chɛʔ^{53}pli^{53}**tɕi**^{53}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.6

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Written)	**btɕu**	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.01 [a]
	btɕu	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.1
	ɲi **ɕu**	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.01
	ɲi **ɕu**	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.1
	ɲi **ɕu** rtsa gtɕig	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.1

2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{B}**tsjui** TEN

**TGTM*	*^{B}**tsjui**	ten	Mazaudon 1978:24
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{2}**cju**	ten	Mazaudon 1978:24
Manang (Ngawal)	^{2}**tsjy**	ten	Mazaudon 1978:24
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{2}**tsɥi**	ten	Mazaudon 1978:24
Tamang (Sahu)	^{2}**ci**	ten	Mazaudon 1978:24
Tamang (Taglung)	^{2}**tsju**	ten	Mazaudon 1978:24
Thakali (Marpha)	^{2}**tsju**	ten	Mazaudon 1978:24
Thakali (Syang)	^{H}**tʃju**	ten	Mazaudon 1978:24
Thakali (Tukche)	^{H}**tsju**	ten	Mazaudon 1978:24

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	nɛ^{55}**tshɳ**^{55}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.18
	nɛ^{55}**tshɳ**^{55}tɛ^{55}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.18
	sɑ^{55}**tshɳ**^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.18
	tshɛ^{55}nɛ^{55}	twelve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:922.18
	tshɛ^{55}**tshɛ**^{55}	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.18
Guiqiong	je^{55}**ʃ**ɿ^{33}	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.17
	si^{55}ɲĩ^{55}	twelve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:922.17
	sɔ̃^{55}**ʃ**ɿ^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.17
	sə^{55}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.16
	sə^{55}**khuɔ**^{55}	one hundred thousand (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0828.16
	sə^{55}ŋi^{55}	twelve (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.16
	sɻ^{55}	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.17
	ɲi^{33}**ʃ**ɿ^{55}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.17
	ɲi^{33}ʃɿ^{55}lø^{55}tɑ^{33}tɕɑ^{53}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.17
	ɲĩ^{55}**ʃ**ɿ^{33}	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.17
Lyuzu	sa^{33}**tshɳ**^{53}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.18
	tshe^{53}ne^{53}	twelve (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.18
	tɕhe^{53}**tɕhe**^{53}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.18
Muya	gu^{33}**tɕuə**^{53}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.15
	tɕuə^{53}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.15
	ŋæ^{33}**tɕuə**^{53}	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.15
Muya [Minyak]	gu^{35}**tɕyɯ**^{53}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.15
	ŋɛ^{55}**tɕyɯ**^{53}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.15
Zhaba (Daofu County)	nɛ^{33}**tshɳ**^{55}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.14
	tshe^{55}ne^{55}	twelve (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.14
	tshɳ^{55}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	rjɛ **sqha**	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.12
Ergong (Danba)	zjɛ **sqha**	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə mŋo **ʃtʃʁ**	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.11
rGyalrong	kə mŋo **ʃtʃʁ**	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə ngu **ʃtʃʁ**	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.11
rGyalrong	kə ngu **ʃtʃʁ**	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə sɑm **ʃtʃʁ**	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.11
	kə tʂok **ʃtʃʁ**	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.11
rGyalrong	kə tʂop **ʃtʃʁ**	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.12
	kə sam **ʃtʃʁ**	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	kə ʃnəs **ʃtʃʁ**	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.11
rGyalrong	kə ʃnəs **ʃtʃʁ**	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.12
Caodeng	kə-ngə-**sqe**	ninety	Sun 1997a
	kə-rkje-**sqeʔ**	eighty	Sun 1997a
	kə-tʃo-**sqe**	sixty	Sun 1997a
	kə-ʃnɛ-**sqɛ**	seventy	Sun 1997a
	mŋo-**sqe**	fifty	Sun 1997a
	o-rgje **sqeʔ**	one hundred and ten	Sun 1997a
	sqeʔ	ten	Sun 1997a
	sqé-mne	twelve	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	wə rjɐ **ʃtʃʁ**	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.11
rGyalrong	wə rjɐt **ʃtʃʁ**	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.12
	ʃtʃə nəs	twelve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:922.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**ʃtʃʁ** nəs	twelve (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.11
	ʃtʃʁ	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.11
rGyalrong	**ʃtʃʁ**	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.12
	sgye	ten	Nagano 1997:118
rGBenzhen	kə-ngu **zdʒeʔ**	ninety	Sun 1997b
	kə-tʂɔk **zdʒeʔ**	sixty	Sun 1997b
	kə-ʂtʃa(t) **zdʒeʔ**	eighty	Sun 1997b
	zdʒeʔ	ten	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Nung	di^{31}gɯ^{31}**tshɑ**^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.21
Rawang	dəgɯ^{31} **sɛ**^{53}	ninety	LaPolla 2003:871
Anong	dɯ^{31}gɯ^{31}**tshɑ**^{55}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.44
Nung	kuŋ^{55}**tshɑ**^{55}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.21
Anong	kuŋ^{55}**tshɑ**^{55}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.44
	phɔŋ^{31}**tshɑ**^{55}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.44
Nung	phɑŋ^{31}**tshɑ**^{55}	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.21
	som^{31}**tshɑ**^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.21
Anong	sɔm^{31}**tshɑ**^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.44
Nung	sɻ^{31}ɳ^{55}**tshɑ**^{55}	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.21
Anong	sɻɳ^{35}**tshɑ**^{55}	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.44
Nung	thi^{31}**tshɑ**^{55}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.21
Anong	thi^{31}**tshɑ**^{55}	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.44
Rawang	thiʔ **sɛ**^{53}	ten	LaPolla 2003:854
	thiʔ **sɛ**^{53} wan^{31}	ten million	LaPolla 2003:878
	əʃat **sɛ**^{53}	eighty	LaPolla 2003:870
	ə tɕhuʔ **sɛ**^{53}	sixty	LaPolla 2003:868
Anong	ɕɛn^{55}**tshɑ**^{55}	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.44
Nung	ɕɛɳ^{55}**tshɑ**^{55}	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.21

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *^{1}**tsay** TEN

**Lolo-Burmese*	*^{1}**tsay**	ten	Matisoff 2003a:618; Matisoff 1978a:30
	*^{1}**tsay** (?)	ten	Matisoff 1985a:002

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	tɑ^{31}**tʂhɳ**^{55}	ten	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	kau^{31}**tɕhe**^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.28
	kau^{31}**tɕhe**^{55}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.41
	mi^{31}**tɕhe**^{55}	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.28
	mi^{31}**tɕhe**^{55}	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.41
	sum^{31}**tɕhe**^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.28
	sum^{31}**tɕhe**^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.41
	tɕhe^{35}	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.41
	tɕhe^{55}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.28
	tɕhe^{55}**mun**^{31}	one hundred thousand (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0828.28
	xʐo^{55}**tɕhe**^{55}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.28
	xʐo^{55}**tɕhe**^{55}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.41
	ŋɔ^{55}**tɕhe**^{55}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.41
	ɲit^{55}**tɕhe**^{55}	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.28
	ɲit^{55}**tɕhe**^{55}	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.41
	ɕet^{55}**tɕhe**^{55}	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.28
	ɕet^{55}**tɕhe**^{55}	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.41
Achang (Luxi)	ak^{55}**tshəi**^{35}	twenty	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	tɑ^{31}**tshəi**^{35}	ten	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	chuʔ^{55}**tshi**^{55}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.29
	çɛt^{55}**tshi**^{55}	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.29
	kau^{31}**tshi**^{55}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.29
	mi^{31}**tshi**^{55}	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.29
	nit^{55}**tshi**^{55}	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.29
	tɑ^{31}**tshi**^{55}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	khu^{53}hniʔ^{4}**shɛ**^{22}	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.27
	ko^{55}**shɛ**^{22}	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.27
	le^{55}**shɛ**^{22}	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.27
	shɛ^{22}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.27
	tɕhɑuʔ^{4}**shɛ**^{22}	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.27
	tθõ^{55}**shɛ**^{22}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.27
	ŋɑ^{55}**shɛ**^{22}	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.27
	ɕiʔ^{4}**shɛ**^{22}	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.27
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	**cei'**	ten	Okell 1971
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**hsɛ**^{22}	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.40
	khu^{53}n̥iʔ^{44}**hsɛ**^{22}	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.40
	ko^{55}**hsɛ**^{22}	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.40
	le^{55}**hsɛ**^{22}	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.40
	n̥iʔ^{44}**hsɛ**^{22}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.40
	n̥iʔ^{44}hsɛ^{53}tiʔ^{44}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.40
	tɕhɑuʔ^{44}**hsɛ**^{22}	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.40
	tθõ^{55}**hsɛ**^{22}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.40
	ŋɑ^{55}**hsɛ**^{22}	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.40
	ɕiʔ^{44}**hsɛ**^{22}	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.40
Burmese (Written)	(tə) **chai**	ten	Matisoff 1985a:002
	atshai	ten	Benedict 1972:408
	ătshai	ten	Benedict 1972:94n272
	chay	ten	Hansson 1989:175; Matisoff 1974:85
	hnɑs **hsɑj**^{2}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.39
	hnɑs **hsɑj**^{1}**tɑs**	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.39
	hnɑs^{4}**shɑj**^{2}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.26
	hrɑs **hsɑj**^{2}	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.39
	hrɑs^{4}**shɑj**^{2}	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.26

[a] After palatal initials, Written Tibetan fairly regularly has **-u** corresponding to front vowels in other languages. Cf. PTB ***d/s-ləy*** BOW (weapon) / SLINGSHOT (§5.15) > WT **gʐu**. See Michailovsky & Mazaudon 1994:550-553 ("Preliminary notes on the languages of the Bumthang group").

	khrɔk **hsɑj²**	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.39
	khrɔk⁴**shɑj²**	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.26
	khu¹hnɑs⁴**shɑj²**	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.26
	khu¹ nɑs **hsɑj²**	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.39
	khu nhac **chay**	seventy	Marrison 1967
	ko³**hsɑj²**	ninety	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:938.39
	ko³**shɑj²**	ninety (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.26
	le³**hsɑj²**	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.39
	le³**shɑj²**	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.26
	le **chay**	forty	Marrison 1967
	ṅā: **chay**	fifty	Marrison 1967
	shɑj²	ten (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.26
	thuṁ³**hsɑj²**	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.39
	tshai	ten	Benedict 1972:25n81
	tə **cʰay**	ten	Matisoff 1978a:30
	tɑ¹**hsɑj²**	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.39
	tθuṁ³**shɑj²**	thirty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.26
	ŋɑ³**hsɑj²**	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.39
	ŋɑ³**shɑj²**	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.26
	ə-**chai**	ten	Benedict 1976a
	ə **tshai**	ten	Weidert 1987:232
	ʔə **chai**	ten	Matisoff 1985a:073
Langsu (Luxi)	khjauk⁵⁵**tshɛ³¹**	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.31
	kuk³¹**tshɛ³¹**	ninety (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.31
	nạt⁵⁵**tshɛ³¹**	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.31
	pjik³¹**tshɛ³¹**	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.31
	sam³¹**tshɛ³¹**	thirty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.31
	tshɛ³¹	ten (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.31
	ŋɔ⁵⁵**tshɛ³¹**	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.31
	ʃi̱k⁵⁵**tshɛ³¹**	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.31
	ʃɛʔ⁵⁵**tshɛ³¹**	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.31
Leqi (Luxi)	kou³³**tshe³³**	ninety (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.33
	mei³³**tshe³³**	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.33
	sɔm⁵⁵**tshe³³**	thirty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.33
	sə̱t⁵⁵**tshe³³**	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.33
	tă³¹**tshe³³**	ten (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.33
	ŋ̊jɛ̱t⁵⁵**tshe³³**	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.33
	ŋ³³**tshe³³**	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.33
	ə̱⁵⁵**tshe³³**	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.33
Marma	**che**	ten	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:403
	hnɔiʔ-**che**	twenty	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:404
	khrɔʔ-**che**	sixty	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:404-7
	khənɔiʔ-**che**	seventy	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:404-8
	kú-**che**	ninety	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:404-10
	lé-**che**	forty	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:404-5
	ŋá-**che**	fifty	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:404-6
	ʃɔiʔ-**che**	eighty	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:404-9
	θúŋ-**che**	thirty	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:404-4
Maru [Langsu]	khjauk⁵⁵**tshɛ³¹**	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.43
	kuk³¹**tshɛ³¹**	ninety	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:938.43
	nạt⁵⁵**tshɛ³¹**	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.43
	pjik³¹**tshɛ³¹**	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.43
	sum³¹**tshɛ³¹**	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.43
	tă **tshɛ³¹**	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.43
	tshè	ten	Weidert 1987:232
	ŋɔ⁵⁵**tshɛ³¹**	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.43
	ʃi̱k⁵⁵**tshɛ³¹**	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.43
	ʃi̱k⁵⁵tshɛ³¹ta³¹	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.43
	ʃɛʔ⁵⁵**tshɛ³¹**	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	kau²¹**tshe⁵¹**	ninety (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.30
	kau²¹**tshe⁵¹**	ninety	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:938.42
	khjuʔ⁵⁵**tshe⁵¹**	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.30
	khjuʔ⁵⁵**tshe⁵¹**	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.42
	mji²¹**tshe⁵¹**	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.30
	mji²¹**tshe⁵¹**	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.42
	sum²¹**tshe⁵¹**	thirty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.30
	sum²¹**tshe⁵¹**	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.42
	tshé	ten	Weidert 1987:232
	tshe⁵¹	ten (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.30
	tshe⁵¹	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.42
	ŋ̊jit⁵⁵**tshe⁵¹**	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.30
	ŋ̊jit⁵⁵**tshe⁵¹**	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.42
	ŋo²¹**tshe⁵¹**	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.30
	ŋo²¹**tshe⁵¹**	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.42
	ʃit⁵⁵**tshe⁵¹**	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.30
	ʃit⁵⁵**tshe⁵¹**	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.42

6.1.2. Loloish: *tsay¹ TEN

**Loloish*	***tsay¹**	ten	Weidert 1987:232; Bradley 1979b:487; Hansson 1989:175

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	kv³³**tshi³³**	ninety (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.47
	si³³**tshi³³**	thirty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.47
	sɭ³¹**tshi³³**	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.47
	tshi³³	ten (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.47
	tsʰi³³	ten	Dai Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	tɕho⁵³**tshi³³**	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.47
	xɤ³³**tshi³³**	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.47
	xɤ³³tshi³³tɛ³¹	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.47
	ŋ³¹**tshi³³**	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.47
	ŋ³¹**tsi³³**	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.47
	ɕi³¹**tshi³³**	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.47
Nusu (Central)	gɯ³³**tshe³³**	ninety (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	gɯ³⁵**tshe³⁵**	ninety	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:938.45
Nusu (Central)	khɹu̱⁵³**tshe³³**	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	khɹu⁵³**tshe³⁵**	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.45
	m̩⁵⁵tshe³¹thi⁵³	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.45
	m̩⁵⁵**tshe³⁵**	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.45
Nusu (Central)	m⁵⁵**tshe³³**	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.34
Nusu (Northern)	nɛ³¹**tshe³¹**	twenty	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ñ̥ɐ̃ɹ⁵⁵**tshe³⁵**	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.45
Nusu (Central)	ñ̥ɚ⁵⁵**tshe³³**	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.34
	sɔ³³**tshe³³**	thirty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	sɔ³⁵**tshe³⁵**	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.45
Nusu (Central)	**tshe³³**	ten (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.34
Nusu (Southern)	**tshe³⁵**	ten	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**tshe³⁵**	ten	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**tshe³⁵**	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.45
Nusu (Central)	vɹi³³**tshe³³**	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	vɹi³⁵**tshe³⁵**	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.45
	ŋɑ⁵⁵**tshe³⁵**	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.45
Nusu (Central)	ɕɚ⁵³**tshe³³**	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.34
Nusu (Southern)	fiĩ³⁵**tshe³¹**	twenty	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ʂɑ⁵³**tshe³⁵**	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.45
Yi (Dafang)	n(i)²¹**tsɯ³³**	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.22
	n(i)²¹tsɯ³³thi⁵⁵	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.22
	tshɯ²¹	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.22
Yi (Liangshan)	n̥i²¹**tsi³³**	twenty	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tshi³³	ten	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	kɯ³³**tshi³³**	ninety	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:938.25
	li³³**tshi³³**	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.25
	ni²¹**tsi³³**	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.25
	ni²¹tsi³³thi²¹	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.25
	si³³**tshi³³**	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.25
	tshi³³	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.25
	tʂhu̱²¹**tshi³³**	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.25
	xi̱²¹**tshi³³**	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.25
	ŋo²¹**tshi³³**	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.25
Yi (Mojiang)	hɐ̱²¹**tshɯ²¹**	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.26
	kɯ³³**tshɯ²¹**	ninety	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:938.26
	ni²¹**tsɯ⁵⁵**	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.26
	ni²¹tsɯ⁵⁵thi²¹	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.26
	sɒ³³**tshɯ²¹**	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.26
	tshu̱²¹**tshɯ²¹**	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.26
	tshɯ²¹	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.26
	xe³³**tshɯ²¹**	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.26
	ŋo³³**tshɯ²¹**	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.26
	ɕi²¹**tshɯ²¹**; ɕi²¹tsɯ⁵⁵	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.26
Yi (Nanhua)	hɐ̱⁵⁵**tshi³³**	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.24
	kɯ³³**tshi³³**	ninety (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.37
	kɯ³³**tshi³³**	ninety	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:938.24
	li³³**tshi³³**	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.37
	li³³**tshi³³**	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.24
	ni²¹**tsi³³**	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.24
	ni²¹tsi³³thi²¹	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.24
	n̥²¹**tsi³³**	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.37
	so³³**tshi³³**	thirty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.37
	so³³**tshi³³**	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.24
	tshi³³	ten (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.37
	tshi³³me²¹	one hundred thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0828.37
	tshi̱³³	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.24
	tɕho̱⁵⁵**tshi³³**	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.37
	tɕhu̱⁵⁵**tshi³³**	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.24
	xɐ̱⁵⁵**tshi²¹**	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.37
	ŋo²¹**tshi³³**	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.37
	ŋo²¹**tshi³³**	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.24
	ɕi²¹**tshi³³**	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.37
	ɕi²¹**tshi³³**	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.24
Yi (Nanjian)	hi̱²¹**tɕhi⁵⁵**	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.23
	kho²¹**tɕhi⁵⁵**	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.23
	kɥ̱²¹**tɕhi⁵⁵**	ninety	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:938.23
	l̥(ɻ)³³**tɕhi⁵⁵**	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.23
	n̥(ɻ)²¹tsi³³tshɻ⁴⁴	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.23
	n̥(ɻ)²¹**tɕi⁵⁵**	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.23
	sɑ³³**tɕhi⁵⁵**	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.23
	tɕhi⁵⁵ ; tɕi⁵⁵	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.23
	xɯ²¹**tɕhi⁵⁵**	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.23
	ŋɑ²¹ **tɕhi**	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.23
Yi (Weishan)	hi̱²¹**tɕhi⁵⁵**	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.36
	kho̱²¹**tɕhi⁵⁵**	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.36
	n̥²¹**tɕi⁵⁵**	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.36
	sɑ³³**tɕhi⁵⁵**	thirty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.36
	tɕhi⁵⁵	ten (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.36
	xɯ²¹**tɕhi⁵⁵**	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.36
	ŋɑ²¹**tɕhi⁵⁵**	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.36
	ʔl̥³³**tɕhi⁵⁵**	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.36
Yi (Wuding)	hi̱⁵⁵**tshe¹¹**	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.38
	kɯ³³**tshe³³**	ninety (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.38
	sɒ³³**tshe³³**	thirty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.38

	tshe^{11}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.38
	tshe^{11}ȵe^{11}	one hundred thousand (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0828.38
	tɕhu̱^{55}**tshe^{11}**	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.38
	ŋu^{33}**tshe^{33}**	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.38
	ȵi^{55}**tse^{33}**	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.38
	ɕi^{55}**tshe^{11}**	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.38
	ɬi^{33}**tshe^{33}**	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.38
Yi (Xide)	fu^{55}**tshi^{33}**	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.35
	fu^{55}**tshi^{33}**	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.21
	gu^{33}**tshi^{33}**	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.35
	gu^{33}**tshi^{33}**	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.21
	hi^{55}**tshi^{33}**	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.35
	hi^{55}**tshi^{33}**	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.21
	l̥(ɳ)^{33}**tshi^{33}**	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.21
	l̥^{33}**tshi^{33}**	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.35
	sɔ^{33}**tshi^{33}**	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.35
	sɔ^{33}**tshi^{33}**	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.21
	tshi^{33}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.35
	tshi^{33}	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.21
	tshi^{33}vɑ^{55}	one hundred thousand (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0828.35
	ŋɯ^{33}**tshi^{33}**	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.35
	ŋɯ^{33}**tshi^{33}**	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.21
	ȵi^{21}**tsi^{33}**	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.35
	ȵi^{21}tsi^{33}tshɳ^{44}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.21
	ȵ̥(i)^{21}**tsi^{33}**	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.21
	ʂ̥ɭ^{21}**tshi^{33}**	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.35
	ʂ̥ɭ^{21}**tshi^{33}**	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Jinuo	li^{33}**tshɯ^{42}**	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.34
	li^{44}**tshə^{33}**	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.44
	ni^{33}**tshə^{55}**	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.44
	ni^{55}**tshɯ^{42}**	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.34
	ni^{55}tshɯ^{42}thi^{33}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.34
Jinuo (Youle)	n̥^{33}**tshə^{55}**	twenty	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	sø^{33}**tshɯ^{42}**	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.34
	sø^{44}**tshə^{33}**	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**tshə^{42}**	ten	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	tshə^{42}n̥^{55}	twenty	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tshɯ^{42}**	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.34
	tshɤ^{42}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.44
	tʃho^{33}**tshɯ^{42}**	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.34
	tɕho^{44}**tshə^{55}**	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.44
	tɕy^{33}**tshɯ^{42}**	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.34
	tɕy^{44}**tshə^{33}**	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.44
	xɛ^{44}**tshə^{33}**	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.44
	xɛ^{44}**tshɯ^{42}**	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.34
	ŋɔ^{33}**tshɯ^{42}**	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.34
	ŋɔ^{44}**tshə^{33}**	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.44
	ɕi^{44}**tshə^{33}**	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.44
	ɕi^{55}**tshɯ^{42}**	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.34
Kucong	**tɕhi33** ma31	ten	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**chī**	ten	Weidert 1987:232
	chi	ten	Benedict 1972:25n81
Lahu (Lancang)	khɔ^{21}**tɕhi^{33}**	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.43
	ni^{53}**tɕhi^{33}**	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.43
	qɔ^{53}**tɕhi^{33}**	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.43
	si^{11}**tɕhi^{33}**	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.43
	te^{53}**tɕhi^{33}**	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.43
	xi^{35}**tɕhi^{33}**	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.43
	ŋɑ^{53}**tɕhi^{33}**	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.43
	ɔ^{53}**tɕhi^{33}**	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.43
	ɕɛ^{54}**tɕhi^{33}**	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.43
Lahu (Black)	(tê) **chi**	ten	Matisoff 1985a:002
	chi	ten	Matisoff 1985a:073; Matisoff 1974:85
	khɔ^{21}**tshi^{33}**	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.33
	ni^{53}**tshi^{33}**	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.33
	ni^{53}tshi^{33}te^{53}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.33
	qɔ^{53}**tshi^{33}**	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.33
	sɭ^{31}**tshi^{33}**	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.33
	sA^{53}**tshi^{33}**	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.33
	tê **c^{h}i**	ten	Matisoff 1978a:30
	te^{53}**tshi^{33}**	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.33
	xe^{35}**tshi^{33}**	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.33
	ŋA^{53}**tshi^{33}**	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.33
	ɔ^{53}**tshi^{33}**	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.33
Lahu (Yellow)	ti^{3}**tɕhi^{1}**	ten	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ȵi^{3}**tɕhi^{1}**	twenty	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	hɛ̃^{31}**tshi̱^{33}**	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.40
	he^{41}**tshɳ^{44}**	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.27
	htsi^{4}	ten	Matisoff 1985a:073
Lisu (Central)	**htsi^{4}**	ten	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	ku^{55}**tshi^{33}**	ninety	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ku^{55}**tshi̱^{33}**	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.40
	ku^{55}**tshɳ^{44}**	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.27
Lisu (Northern)	li^{55}**tshi^{33}**	forty	Bradley 1994
Lisu	li^{55}**tshi̱^{33}**	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.40
	li^{55}**tshɳ^{44}**	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.27
Lisu (Northern)	ni^{21}**tshi^{33}**	twenty	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}**tsi^{33}**	twenty	Bradley 1994
Lisu	sɑ̱^{33}**tshi̱^{33}**	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.40
	sɑ^{44}**tshɳ^{44}**	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.27
Lisu (Northern)	thi^{21} **tshi^{33}**	ten	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tshī**	ten	Weidert 1987:232
Lisu (Northern)	**tshi^{33}**	ten; pick up (Q.)	Bradley 1994
	tshi^{33} khɔʔ^{21}	ten years	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tshi̱^{33}**	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.40
	tshɳ^{44}	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.27
	tʃho^{41}**tshɳ^{44}**	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.27
	tɕhu̱^{31}**tshi̱^{33}**	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.40
	ŋuɑ^{31}**tshɳ^{44}**	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.27
	ŋuɑ^{55}**tshi̱^{33}**	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.40
Lisu (Northern)	ŋwa^{21} **tshi^{33}**	fifty	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ȵi^{21}**tshi^{33}**	twenty	Bradley 1994
	ȵi^{21}**tsi^{33}**	twenty	Bradley 1994
Lisu	ʃi^{31}**tshi̱^{33}**	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.40
	ʃɭ^{31}**tshɳ^{44}**	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.27
	ȵi^{31}**tshi̱^{33}**	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.40
Yi (Sani)	he^{2}**tshɪ^{33}**	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.39
	khu^{2}**tshɪ^{33}**	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.39
	kɯ^{33}**tshɪ^{33}**	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.39
	n̥^{11}**tsɪ^{33}**	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.39
	sɤ^{33}**tshɪ^{33}**	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.39
	tshɪ^{33}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.39
	ŋɒ^{55}**tshɪ^{33}**	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.39
	ɬʐ̊^{33}**tshi^{33}**	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**tsé**	ten	Weidert 1987:232
	tse^{55}	ten	Matisoff 1985a:073
	tshé	ten	Hansson 1989:175
Akha (Yunnan)	**tshé**	ten	Hansson 1989:175
Akha (Thai)	**tshé**	ten	Hansson 1989:175
Bisu	**tshè**	ten	Bradley 199x
Hani (Dazhai)	ku̱^{31}**tshe^{55}**	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.31
	sɔ^{31}**tshe^{55}**	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.31
	sɭ̄^{31}**tshe^{55}**	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**tshé**	ten	Hansson 1989:175
Hani (Dazhai)	**tshe^{55}**	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.31
	ø^{31}**tshe^{55}**	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.31
	ŋa̱^{31}**tshe^{55}**	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.31
	ɣø^{31}**tshe^{55}**	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.31
	ȵi^{31}**tshe^{33}**	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.31
	ȵi^{31}tshe^{55} **ti̱**	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.31
	ɕe̱^{31}**tshe^{55}**	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.31
Hani (Lüchun)	ku̱^{31}**tshe^{55}**	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.41
	sḻ^{31}**tshe^{55}**	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.41
	sɔ^{31}**tshe^{55}**	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.41
	tshe^{55}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.41
	ø̱^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.41
	ŋa̱^{31}**tshe^{55}**	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.41
	ɣø^{31}**tshe^{55}**	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.41
	ȵi^{31}**tshe^{55}**	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.41
	ɕe̱^{31}**tshe^{55}**	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	khv̱^{31}**tshɤ^{55}**	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.30
	li^{31}**tshɤ^{55}**	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.30
	ne̱^{31}**tshɤ^{55}**	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.30
	ne̱^{31}tshɤ^{55}thɤ^{31}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.30
	se^{55}**tshɤ^{55}**	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.30
	sɭ̄^{31}**tshɤ^{55}**	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.30
Hani (Pijo)	**tshý**	ten	Hansson 1989:175
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tshɤ^{55}**	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.30
	tsi^{31}**tshɤ^{55}**	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.30
	xe̱^{31}**tshɤ^{55}**	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.30
	ŋɔ^{31}**tshɤ^{55}**	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**tshe^{55}**	ten	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ȵi^{31}**tshe^{55}**	twenty	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ȵi̱^{31}tshe^{55}thi^{31}	twenty one	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**ceil**	ten	Hansson 1989:175
Hani (Shuikui)	khv̱^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.32
	li^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.32
	su^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.32
	tshɛ^{55}	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.32
	xe̱^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.32
	ŋɔ^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.32
	ɣu^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.32
	ʃɭ̄^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.32
	ȵi̱^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.32
	ȵi̱^{31}tshɛ^{55}thi^{31}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tshý**	ten	Hansson 1989:175
Hani (Mojiang)	khv̱^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.42
	li^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.42
	nɔ^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.42
	su^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.42
	tshɛ^{55}	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.42
	xɛ̱^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.42

	ɣu^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	ninety (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.42
	ʃĩ^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.42
	n̥i^{31}**tshɛ^{55}**	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.42
Côông [Phunoi]	tə **sé**	ten	Matisoff 1985a:073

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ts^{h}ɛ^{21}**	ten	Pelkey 2011:1067
Southern Muji	**ts^{h}ə^{21}**	ten	Pelkey 2011:1067
Phola	**ts^{h}ɛ^{55}**	ten	Pelkey 2011:1067
Hlepho Phowa	**ts^{h}ə^{21}**	ten	Pelkey 2011:1067
Phuza	**ts^{h}ə^{31}**	ten	Pelkey 2011:1067

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	gv˩**ts^{h}i**˩gv˧	90	Michaud 2006–2009:1747
	lɑ˩ts^{h}i˩ **ts^{h}i**˩ɲi˥	10th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1572
	q^{h}ɔ˩**ts^{h}i**˩gv˩	60	Michaud 2006–2009:1744
	su˥**ts^{h}i**˩gv˧	30	Michaud 2006–2009:1741
	su˥**ts^{h}i**˩ɲi˥	30th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1576
	ts^{h}i˩ q^{h}ɔ˩ ɲi˩	16th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1575
	ts^{h}i˩ ɖɯ˥ ɲi˥	11th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1573
	ts^{h}i˩gv˥gv˥	19	Michaud 2006–2009:1730
	ts^{h}i˩gv˧	10	Michaud 2006–2009:1721
	ts^{h}i˩lie˥mie˥	10th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1672
	ts^{h}i˩q^{h}ɔ˩gv˩	16	Michaud 2006–2009:1727
	ts^{h}i˩su˥gv˥	13	Michaud 2006–2009:1724
	ts^{h}i˩ŋwɤ˥gv˥	15	Michaud 2006–2009:1726
	ts^{h}i˩ŋwɤ˥ɲi˥	15th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1574
	ts^{h}i˩ɖɯ˥gv˥	11	Michaud 2006–2009:1722
	ts^{h}i˩ɖɯ˥lie˥mie˥	11th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1673
	ts^{h}i˩ɲi˥gv˥	12	Michaud 2006–2009:1723
	ts^{h}i˩ɲi˥lie˥mie˥	12th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1674
	ts^{h}i˩ʈv˥	10,000	Michaud 2006–2009:1750
	ts^{h}i˩ʈv˥gv˥	10,000	Michaud 2006–2009:1750
	ts^{h}i˩ɕi˩gv˩	18	Michaud 2006–2009:1729
	ts^{h}i˩ʂɯ˥gv˥	17	Michaud 2006–2009:1728
	ts^{h}i˩ʐv˥gv˥	14	Michaud 2006–2009:1725
	ŋwɤ˥**ts^{h}i**˩gv˧	50	Michaud 2006–2009:1743
	ɲi˧**tsi**˧gv˧	20	Michaud 2006–2009:1731
	ɕi˩**ts^{h}i**˩gv˩	80	Michaud 2006–2009:1746
	ʂɯ˥**ts^{h}i**˩gv˧	70	Michaud 2006–2009:1745
	ʐv˥**ts^{h}i**˩gv˧	40	Michaud 2006–2009:1742
Na (Yongning)	gv˧**ts^{h}i**˩	90	Michaud 2006–2009
	hũ˩**ts^{h}i**˥	80	Michaud 2006–2009
	q^{h}v˩**ts^{h}i**˥	60	Michaud 2006–2009
	so˧**ts^{h}i**˧	30	Michaud 2006–2009
	so˧**ts^{h}ɯ**˧ɲi˧	30th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧	10	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧do˥ **ts^{h}e**˩ŋwɤ˩ɲi˩	15th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧do˥**ts^{h}e**˩ɖɯ˩ɲi˩	11th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧do˥**ts^{h}e**˩ɲi˩	10th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧so˧	13	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧ɖɯ˧	11	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧ɲi˧	12	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧ɬi˧mi˧	10th month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧ʂɯ˧	17	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩gv˩	19	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩hũ˩	18	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩q^{h}v˩ɲi˩	16th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩q^{h}v˩	16	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩ŋwɤ˩ɲi˩	15th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩ŋwɤ˩	15	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˩ʐv˩	14	Michaud 2006–2009
	ŋwɤ˧**ts^{h}i**˩	50	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧**tsi**˧	20	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧**tsi**˧gv˧	29	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧**tsi**˧hũ˥	28	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧**tsi**˧q^{h}v˥	26	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧**tsi**˧so˩	23	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧**tsi**˧ŋwɤ˧	25	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧**tsi**˧ɖɯ˥	21	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧**tsi**˧ɲi˧	22	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧**tsi**˧ʂɯ˧	27	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧**tsi**˧ʐv˧	24	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʂɯ˧**ts^{h}i**˩	70	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʐv˧**ts^{h}i**˩	40	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	ɡv^{33}**ts^{31}**	ninety	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:938.29
Naxi	ɡv̩^{33}**tshɚ^{21}**	ninety (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.45
Naxi (Yongning)	khəɹ^{33}**tsh^{13}**	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	lu^{33}**tshəɹ^{31}**	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.28
Naxi	lu^{33}**tshɚ^{21}**	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.45
Naxi (Yongning)	so^{33}**tsh^{33}**	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.29
	so^{33}**ts^{33}**n̥i^{33}	day, thirtieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:101.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	sɯ^{33}**tshəɹ^{31}**	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.28
	sɯ^{33}**tsəɹ^{31}**n̥i^{33}	day, thirtieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:101.28
Naxi	sɿ^{33}**tshɚ^{21}**	thirty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.45
	tshe^{21}	ten (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.45
	tshe^{21}ɡv̩^{33}	nineteen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0815.45
	tshe^{21}lu^{33}	fourteen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0810.45
	tshe^{21}mɯ^{33}	one hundred thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0828.45
	tshe^{21}tʂhuɑ^{55}	sixteen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0812.45
	tshe^{21}uɑ^{33}	fifteen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0811.45
	tshe^{21}ʂɚ^{33}	seventeen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0813.45
	tshe^{21}χo^{55}	eighteen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0814.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**tshe^{33}**	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.29
Naxi	**tshe^{33}**dɯ^{21}	eleven (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0807.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tshe^{33}**dɯ^{31}	eleven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:921.28
	tshe^{33}dɯ^{31}n̥i^{33}	day, eleventh of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:97.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**tshe^{33}**ɖ^{33}	eleven	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:921.29
	tshe^{33}ɖ^{33}n̥i^{33}	day, eleventh of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:97.29
	tshe^{33}ɖ^{33}ɬe^{33}	November	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:86.29
	tshe^{33}so^{33}	thirteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:923.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tshe^{33}**sɯ^{31}	thirteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:923.28
Naxi	**tshe^{33}**sɿ^{21}	thirteen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0809.45
	tshe^{33}n̥i^{21}	twelve (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**tshe^{33}**n̥i^{33}	twelve	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:922.29
	tshe^{33}n̥i^{33}ɬe^{33}	December	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:87.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tshe^{33}**n̥i^{31}	twelve	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:922.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**tshe^{33}**ɬe^{33}mi^{33}	October	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:85.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tshe^{31}**	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.28
	tshe^{31}də^{33}	November	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:86.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**tshe^{31}**gv^{13}	nineteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:929.29
	tshe^{31}khəɹ^{13}	sixteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:926.29
	tshe^{31}khəɹ^{13}n̥i^{33}	day, sixteenth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:99.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tshe^{31}**lu^{33}	fourteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:924.28
	tshe^{31}me^{33}	October	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:85.28
	tshe^{31}tʂhuɑ^{33}	sixteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:926.28
	tshe^{31}tʂhuɑ^{55}n̥i^{33}	day, sixteenth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:99.28
	tshe^{31}uɑ^{33}	fifteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:925.28
	tshe^{31}uɑ^{33}n̥i^{33}	day, fifteenth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:98.28
	tshe^{31}xo^{55}	eighteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:928.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**tshe^{31}**xu^{13}	eighteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:928.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tshe^{31}**ŋgv^{33}	nineteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:929.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**tshe^{31}**ŋuɑ^{31}n̥i^{33}	day, fifteenth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:98.29
	tshe^{31}ŋuɑ^{13}	fifteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:925.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tshe^{31}**ʂəɹ^{33}	seventeen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:927.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**tshe^{31}**ʂɿ^{13}	seventeen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:927.29
	tshe^{31}ʐv^{13}	fourteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:924.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	tʂhuɑ^{33}**tshəɹ^{31}**	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.28
Naxi	tʂhuɑ^{55}**tshɚ^{21}**	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	uɑ^{33}**tshəɹ^{31}**	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.28
Naxi	uɑ^{33}**tshɚ^{21}**	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	xo^{33}**tshəɹ^{31}**	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.28
Naxi (Yongning)	xu^{31}**tshɿ^{13}**	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	ŋgv^{33}**tshəɹ^{31}**	ninety	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:938.28
Naxi (Yongning)	ŋuɑ^{33}**thsɿ^{31}**	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	n̥i^{33}**tsəɹ^{31}**	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.28
	n̥i^{33}tsəɹ^{31}dɯ^{33}	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.28
	n̥i^{33}**tsəɹ^{31}**n̥i^{33}	day, twentieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:100.28
Naxi	n̥i^{33}**tsɚ^{21}**	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.45
Naxi (Yongning)	n̥i^{33}**ts^{33}**	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.29
	n̥i^{33}tsɿ^{33}ɖɿ^{13}	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.29
	n̥i^{31}**ts^{55}**nɔ^{33}	day, twentieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:100.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	ʂəɹ^{33}**tshəɹ^{31}**	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.28
Naxi	ʂɚ^{33}**tshɚ^{21}**	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.45
Naxi (Yongning)	ʂɿ^{33}**tshɿ^{31}**	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.29
	ʐv^{55}**tshɿ^{44}**	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.29
Naxi	χo^{55}**tshɚ^{21}**	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.45

7. Karenic: ***chej^{A}** ten

**Karen*	***chej^{A}**	ten	Luangthongkum 2013:291
	***chìh**	ten	Jones 1961:164
**Karen [Burling]*	***chi^{4}**	ten	Luangthongkum 2013:291
Bwe	**ʃi^{55}**	ten	Luangthongkum 2013:291
Karen	jɛ^{31}**tshi^{55}**	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.50
	khi^{55}**tshi^{55}**	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.50
	khui^{55}**tshi^{55}**	ninety (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.50
	lui^{31}**tshi^{55}**	forty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.50
	nu̱i^{55}**tshi^{55}**	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.50
	tø^{55}**tshi^{55}**	ten (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.50
	tθø^{55}**tshi^{55}**	thirty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.50
	xɔ^{31}**tshi^{55}**	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.50
	xu̱i^{55}**tshi^{55}**	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.50
Kayah	**chə^{33}**	ten	Luangthongkum 2013:291
Kayan (Pekon)	**s^{h}í**	ten (NUMb.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**thi^{53}**	ten	Luangthongkum 2013:291
Kayaw	**ɕi^{55}**	ten	Luangthongkum 2013:291
Pa-O	nì **chì**	twenty	Solnit 1989
	tśi	ten	Matisoff 1985a:073
	tə **chì**	ten	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Northern)	**ɕi$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	ten	Luangthongkum 2013:291
Pa-O (Southern)	**ɕi$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	ten	Luangthongkum 2013:291
Pwo (Northern)	**chei^{35}**	ten	Luangthongkum 2013:291
Pwo (Southern)	**chei^{53}**	ten	Luangthongkum 2013:291
Pwo	**shi**	ten	Matisoff 1985a:073
Sgaw (Northern)	**chi^{33}**	ten	Luangthongkum 2013:291
Sgaw (Southern)	**chi^{55}**	ten	Luangthongkum 2013:291
Sgaw	**shi**	ten	Matisoff 1985a:073

8. Bai

Bai (Bijiang)	fu^{44}**tʂeɹ^{42}**	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.37
	ku^{33}**tʂeɹ^{42}**	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.37
	ku^{33}tʂeɹ^{42}e^{44}	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.37
	si^{44}**tʂeɹ^{42}**	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.37
	sɑ̃^{55}**tʂeɹ^{42}**	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.37
	tshi^{44}**tʂəɹ^{42}**	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.37
	tɕi^{33}**tʂeɹ^{42}**	ninety	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:938.37
	tɕuɑ^{44}**tʂeɹ^{42}**	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.37
	tʂeɹ^{42}	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.37
	ŋv^{33}**tʂeɹ^{42}**	fifty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:934.37
Bai (Dali)	fv^{44}**tsi^{42}**	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.35
	sɑ^{55}**tsi^{42}**	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.35
	tsi^{42}	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.35
	tsw 8	ten	Dell 1981b:738
	tɕhi^{31}**tsi^{42}**	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.35
	ɕi^{44}**tshi^{42}**	forty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:933.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	fv̱^{33}**ts^{21}**	sixty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.48
	fv^{44}**tsɛ^{42}**	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.36
	ni^{21}**ɕi^{21}**	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.48
	ni^{31}**ɕi^{31}**	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.36
	sɑ̃^{55}**ts^{21}**	thirty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.48
	sɑ̃^{55}**tsɛ^{42}**	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.36
	ts^{21}	ten (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.48
	tsɛ^{42}	ten	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:920.36
	tɕhi^{31}**tsɛ^{42}**	seventy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:936.36
	tɕhi̱^{33}**ts^{21}**	seventy (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.48
	tɕə^{33}**ts^{21}**	ninety (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.48
	tɕɯ^{33}**tsɛ^{42}**	ninety	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:938.36
	ŋo^{33}**ts^{21}**	fifty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.48

	ɕi[21]**tsə̱[21]**	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.48
	ɕi[31]**tsɛ[42]**	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.36
	ɕi̱[33]**tsə̱[21]**	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.48

(37) PTani *rjɯŋ TEN

See Matisoff 1995:§3.233.

1.1.1. TANI			
Tani	*__rjɯŋ__	ten	Sun 1993a:419
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	a-__ljã__ ja-ŋo	fifty	Sun 1993b
	a-__ljã__ k[h]rjɯ-he	sixty	Sun 1993b
	a-__ljã__-púi-lje	forty	Sun 1993b
	à-__ljaŋ__	ten; tenth	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	à-__ljaŋ__ he-la a-ko	eleven	Sun 1993b
	a-__ljaŋ__ he-la a-ko-ne	eleven	Sun 1993b
	à-__ljaŋ__ ja-ŋo-je	fifty	Sun 1993b
	à-__ljaŋ__ pɯ-lje	forty	Sun 1993b
	à-__ljaŋ__ xɯ(-e)	sixty	Sun 1993b
	__ljã__	ten	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	__ljã__ leʔ hĩ	thirteen	Sun 1993b
	__ljã__-leʔ-kũ	eleven	Sun 1993b
	__ljã__-leʔ-ñi	twelve	Sun 1993b
Bengni	(ə-__ɾjəŋ__) la-kin	eleven	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__ɾjəŋ__	ten	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__ɾjɯŋ__	ten	Sun 1993a
Bokar	hum-__jɯŋ__	thirty	Sun 1993b
	hum-__jɯŋ__ go lo a-ken	thirty-one	Sun 1993b
	kɯ __jɯŋ__	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.24
	kɯ-__jɯŋ__	sixty	Sun 1993b
	m __jɯŋ__ ko noŋ	nineteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0815.24
	m __jɯŋ__ piːn̰i	eighteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0814.24
	noŋ __jɯŋ__	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.24
	noŋ-__jɯŋ__	ninety	Sun 1993b
	nɯ __jɯŋ__	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.24
	nɯ-__jɯŋ__	seventy	Sun 1993b
	piː __jɯŋ__	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.24
	piː n̰i ɯ jɯŋ	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.24
	piː-__jɯŋ__	forty	Sun 1993b
	piː-ñi ɯ-jɯŋ	eighty	Sun 1993b
	ŋo __jɯŋ__	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.24
	ŋo-__jɯŋ__	fifty	Sun 1993b
	ɯ __jɯŋ__	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.24
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ kɯ nɯ	seventeen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0813.24
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ la ken	eleven (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0807.24
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ la kɯ	sixteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0812.24
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ la piː	fourteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0810.24
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ la ŋo	fifteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0811.24
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ la n̰i	twelve (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.24
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ la ɦum	thirteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0809.24
	ɯ-__jɯ__ [sic] kɯ-nɯ	seventeen	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__	ten	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__ a-hum	thirty	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__ a-kɯ	sixty	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__ a-piː	forty	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__ ko-noŋ	nineteen; ninety	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__ kɯ-nɯ	seventeen	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__ la-hum	thirteen	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__ la-ken	eleven	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__ la-kɯ	sixteen	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__ la-ñi	twelve	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__ la-piː	fourteen	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__ la-ŋo	fifteen	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__ o-ŋo	fifty	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__ piː-ñi	eighteen; eighty	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ɯ-__jɯŋ__-nə kɯ-nɯ	seventy	Sun 1993b
	ɦum __jɯŋ__	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.24
Bokar Lhoba	jup ɯ __jɯŋ__ la kɯ	day, sixteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:99.51
	jup ɯ __jɯŋ__ la ŋo	day, fifteenth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:98.51
	jup ɯ __jɯŋ__ la ken	day, eleventh of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:97.51
	jup ɦum __jɯŋ__	day, thirtieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:101.51
	kɯ __jɯŋ__	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.51
	noŋ __jɯŋ__	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.51
	nu __jɯŋ__	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.51
	pi n̰i ɯ jɯŋ	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.51
	piː __jɯŋ__	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.51
	ŋo __jɯŋ__	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.51
	ɯ __jɯŋ__	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.51
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ ko noŋ	nineteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:929.51
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ kɯ nu	seventeen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:927.51
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ la kɯ	sixteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:926.51
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ la piː	fourteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:924.51
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ la ŋo	fifteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:925.51
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ la n̰i	twelve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:922.51
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ la ɦum	thirteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:923.51
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ piː n̰i	eighteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:928.51
	ɯ __jɯŋ__ la ken	eleven	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:921.51
	ɦum __jɯŋ__	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.51
Galo	cam-__rɯ__	hundred	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-__rɯ__-a ɲi	two hundred	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-__rɯ__-go-a ɲi	one hundred and two	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-__rɯ__-ɯ __rɯ__	thousand	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-__rɯ__-ɯ __yɯ__	thousand	Das Gupta 1963
	lə __rii__	ten times (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	i __rii__	ten numr. -__rii__ (n:num.)	GLDC 2009
	ɯ __rɯ__	ten	Das Gupta 1963
	ɯ __rɯ__-go-laken	eleven	Das Gupta 1963
	ɯ __rɯ__ go laɲi	twelve	Das Gupta 1963
	ɯ __rɯ__ go la um	thirteen	Das Gupta 1963
	ɯ __yɯ__	ten	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	cem-__rɯ__	hundred	Simon 1976
	__rɯ__-go-la-aken	eleven	Simon 1976
	ɯ __rɯ__	ten	Simon 1976
	ɯ __rɯ__-dɯ-aken	eleven	Simon 1976
	ɯ __rɯ__-dɯ-aɲi	twelve	Simon 1976
Nishing	e __ring__ akin	eleven	Das Gupta 1969
	e __ring__~e __riang__	ten	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	ə-__jiŋ__	ten	Sun 1993a
1.1.2. DENG			
Darang [Taraon]	ha: __long__	ten	NEFA (India) 1963
	ka:ing ha: __long__	twenty	NEFA (India) 1963
	ka:sa:ng ha: __long__	thirty	NEFA (India) 1963
	ka: pra:i ha: __long__	forty	NEFA (India) 1963
	kinya:ng ha: __long__	ninety	NEFA (India) 1963
	kɯ[31]n̪ɯŋ[55]xɑ[31]__lɯŋ__[55]	ninety (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0823.22
	kɯ[31]n̪ɯŋ[55]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	ninety	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:938.49
	kɯ[55]jɑ[55]kɑ[31]n̪[55]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	ninety, twentieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:100.49
	kɯ[55]jɑ[55]kɑ[31]sɯŋ[35]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	thirtieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:101.49
	kɑ[31]n̪[55]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.22
	kɑ[31]n[55]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.49
	kɑ[31]n[55]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]khum[53]	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.49
	kɑ[31]pɹɑi[55]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	forty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0818.22
	kɑ[31]pɹɑi[55]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	forty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:933.49
	kɑ[31]sɯŋ[55]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.22
	kɑ[31]sɯŋ[55]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.49
	liɯm[35]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	eighty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.22
	liɯm[35]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	eighty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:937.49
	lɑɯ[53]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	one hundred thousand (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0828.22
	ma: nga ha:-__long__	fifty	NEFA (India) 1963
	mɑ[31]ŋɑ[35]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	fifty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0819.22
	mɑ[31]ŋɑ[35]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	fifty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:934.49
	ta: hro-ha: __long__	sixty	NEFA (India) 1963
	tɑ[31]xɹo[53]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	sixty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0820.22
	tɑ[31]xɹo[53]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.49
	wẽ-ha: __long__	seventy	NEFA (India) 1963
	weŋ[53]xɑ[31]__lɯŋ__[55]	seventy (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0821.22
	weŋ[53]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	seventy	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:936.49
	xa[55]lo[53]xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	October	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:85.49
	xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.22
	xɑ[55]__lɯŋ__[55]	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.49
	ʼlimm ha:-__lang__	eighty	NEFA (India) 1963

(38) PTB *gip TEN

The ordinary WB word for TEN is **chay**; **kyip** is substituted "in the numbering of rational beings" (Judson 1893:215).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
Tibeto-Burman	*__g(y)ip__	ten	Matisoff 2003a:592
	*__gip__	ten	CHOU Fa-kao 1972:686a-d; Matisoff 2003a:590; Benedict 1972:16
1.1.2. DENG			
Kaman [Miju]	__kap ≍ kyep__	ten	Benedict 1972:16
	__kiɑp__[55]__mu__[53]	ten (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0806.23
	__kiɑp__[55]__mu__[53]	ten	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:920.48
1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
Yawdwin	__gyip__	ten	Benedict 1972:16
1.3. "NAGA" AREAL GROUP			
Maring	__tśip__	ten	Benedict 1972:16
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]			
Mikir [Karbi]	__kep__	ten	Benedict 1972:16
	phli __kep__	forty	Marrison 1967
	throksi __kep__	seventy	Marrison 1967
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	__gip__	ten	Benedict 1972:16
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Burmese (Written)	ă __kyip__	ten	Benedict 1972:16
Burmese (Inscriptional)	__kip__	ten	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	__kyip__	ten	Okell 1971; Benedict 1976a

Chinese comparandum

┼ OC *__d̰jəp__, *GSR* #686a-d 'ten'; Coblin 86:147 ST *__gɾip__ > PC *__grjəp__ > OC *__djəp__; Schuessler 2007:462 *__gip__; B & S 2011: *__t.gəp {t.[g]əp}__; Mand. __shí__.

(39) PKC *soom TEN

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
Chin	*__soom__	TEN	VanBik 2009:678
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	__sawm__	ten	VanBik 2009:678
Thado	__sòom__	ten	VanBik 2009:678
	__sɔ̀m__	ten	Thirumalai 1972:43; Thirumalai 1972:57,58; Thirumalai 1972:67
	__sɔ́m__	ten	Thirumalai 1972:17
Tiddim	__soːm__[3]	ten	Bhaskararao 1996:1610
	__soːm__[3] ni?[3]	twenty	Bhaskararao 1996:1612
	__soː__[3]	ten	VanBik 2009:678
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	__sòom__	ten	VanBik 2009:678
Lai (Hakha)	__sǒom__-thûm	thirty	VanBik 2009:678
Lushai [Mizo]	__sàwm__	ten	VanBik 2009:678
	__sawm__ lehpariat	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	__sâwm__ lehpasarih	seventeen	Marrison 1967
	__sâwm__ li	forty	Marrison 1967
	__sawm__ nga	fifty	Marrison 1967
	__sawm__ pakhat	eleven	Marrison 1967
	__sâwm__ pali	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	__sâwm__ panga	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	__sawm__ riat	eighty	Marrison 1967

	sawm sarih	seventy	Marrison 1967
	shom	ten	Bhaskararao 1996:1610
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**sȳ**-chā-rū	sixty	VanBik 2009:678
1.2.4. “Old Kuki”			
Sorbung	**som** kərúuk	sixteen	Mortensen & Keogh 2011
	som məlíi	fourteen	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Numbers.014
	som rəŋáa	fifteen	Mortensen & Keogh 2011
	som səríi	seventeen	Mortensen & Keogh 2011
	som ʔəkúa	nineteen	Mortensen & Keogh 2011
	som ʔənt^{h}úum	thirteen	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Numbers.013
	som ʔərét	eighteen	Mortensen & Keogh 2011
1.3. “Naga” Areal Group			
Maring	**som** chat	eighty	Marrison 1967
	som li	forty	Marrison 1967
	som nga	fifty	Marrison 1967
	som ret	seventy	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Puiron	**som** karet	eighty	Marrison 1967
	som khat to	eleven	Marrison 1967
	som li	forty	Marrison 1967
	som li to	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	som nga	fifty	Marrison 1967
	som sari	seventy	Marrison 1967

(40) PTB *s-ra TEN, TEEN

This etymon seems to be confined to the Northeast Indian areal group. It is not properly reconstructed in Matisoff 1995:§3.233, where it is surmised as reflecting one of two other etyma with initial ***r-**.

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***hraa** TEN			
**Chin*	***hraa**	TEN	VanBik 2009:1100
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Chinbon	**ha**	ten	So-Hartmann 1988:218
Cho (Mindat)	a-**gha**	ten	VanBik 2009:1100
Daai	**xa**	ten	So-Hartmann 1988:218; VanBik 2009:1100
Khumi	**hóo**	ten	VanBik 2009:1100
	hó	ten	So-Hartmann 1988:218
Matu	pa̱ **xa**	ten	So-Hartmann 1988:218
Mkaang	pa̱ **ša**	ten	So-Hartmann 1988:218
Ngmüün	**ša**	ten	So-Hartmann 1988:218
Nyhmoye	**xʌ**	ten	So-Hartmann 1988:218
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	pa-**hrâa**	number ten	VanBik 2009:1100
Lai (Falam)	pa-**hrăa**	ten	VanBik 2009:1100
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	pā-**hràw**	number ten	VanBik 2009:1100
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***th-ra** (TIMES) TEN			
**Central Naga*	*th-**ra**	(TIMES) TEN	Bruhn 2014a:III.033
**Ao*	*th-**ɹa**	(TIMES) TEN	Bruhn 2014a:II.307
Ao (Chungli)	li^{1}-**ɹ**^{2}	forty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.307
	net **er**	seventy	Marrison 1967
	nət^{3}**əɹ**^{1}	seventy (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.248
	səm^{2}**əɹ**^{2}	thirty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.307
	te **ri** ka	eleven	Marrison 1967
	te **ri** pezü	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	te **ri** pungu	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	te **ri** te net	seventeen	Marrison 1967
	ti^{3}-**ɹ**^{1}	eighty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.047
	ti **r**	eighty	Marrison 1967
	tu^{2}-ku^{3}-**ɹ**^{1}	ninety (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.307
	t **əɹ**^{1}	ten (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.307
	ɹuk^{1}**əɹ**^{2}	sixty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.307
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	li **ra**	forty	Marrison 1967
	li **ra**-anekhi	eighty	Marrison 1967
	ni **ra**	seventy	Marrison 1967
	te **ra**-a khat	eleven	Marrison 1967
	te **ra** phanga	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	te **ra** phüli	fourteen	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	li **ɹə**	FORTY	Coupe 2007:113
	səm **ɹa**	THIRTY	Coupe 2007:113
	səm **ɹa**-ɹa	thirty each	Coupe 2007:276
	thi **ɹ**	EIGHTY	Coupe 2007:113
	thuku **ɹ**	NINETY	Coupe 2007:113
	thə **ɹa**	TEN	Coupe 2007:113
	thə **ɹa**-**ɹa**-**ɹa**	ten each	Coupe 2007:276
	thə **ɹa**-**ɹə** a-khət-khət	eleven each	Coupe 2007:276
	thə **ɹa**-ɹə thuku-khu	nineteen each	Coupe 2007:276
	ɹuk **ɹa**	SIXTY	Coupe 2007:113
	ɹuk **ɹa**-ɹa	sixty each	Coupe 2007:276
Lotha Naga	rok-**ro?**	sixty (num.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ta^{1}-**ro**^{1}	ten (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.033
	thəm^{1}-**ro**^{1}	thirty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.033
	ʒə-**ro?**	forty (num.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ta **ro** si-ekha	eleven	Marrison 1967
	ta **ro** si-mezü	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	ta **ro** si-mungo	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	ta **ro** sü tiza	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	thüm **ro**	thirty	Murry *et al.* 1978:124
	ṭ̂həm **rò**	thirty	Acharya 1975
	žē **rò**	forty	Acharya 1975
	zhü **ro**	forty	Murry *et al.* 1978:47
	zü **ro**	forty	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	nyü **re**	seventy	Marrison 1967
	ro **re**	sixty	Kumar 1973a
	sang **re**	thirty	Kumar 1973a
	thü **re**	ten	Kumar 1973a
	thü **re** ke	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	thü **re** khe	eleven	Marrison 1967
	thü **re** münga	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	thü **re** müzyü	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	thü **re** thü nye	seventeen	Marrison 1967
	zyü **re**	forty	Marrison 1967
	zyü **re** rre-a nyü	eighty	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	nie **rü**	seventy	Marrison 1967
	ruk **rü**	sixty	Kumar 1973b:102
	sam **rü**	thirty	Kumar 1973b:100
	thü **rü**	ten	Kumar 1973b:99
	thü **rü** kheak-khülang	eleven	Marrison 1967
	thü **rü** kheak phiyi	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	thü **rü** kheak thü nie	seventeen	Marrison 1967
	thü **rü** kheak tizha	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	thü **rü** kheale phüngü	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	yi **r**	forty	Marrison 1967
	zha **rü**	eighty	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Meluri	rü **ra**	seventy	Marrison 1967
	te **ra** ke	eleven	Marrison 1967
	te **ra** manga	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	te **ra** mezu	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	ze **ra**	eighty	Marrison 1967
	zü **ra**	forty	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	jü **gha**	forty	Marrison 1967
	ra-a manga	fifteen	Marrison 1967
Rengma	tsa **rü** pezi chü	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	tsa **rü** pfü chü	fifteen	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**lho** bdhi	forty	Marrison 1967
	lho pongu	fifty	Marrison 1967
	lho thache	eighty	Marrison 1967
	lho tsi ni	seventy	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**ruh** na-a khat	eleven	Marrison 1967
	ruh na padei	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	ruh na pangu	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	ruh na tacüt	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	ṛuu nə khàt	eleven	Matisoff 1994e
	ṛuu/**ṛyu**	ten	Matisoff 1994e
1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ra** TEN			
**Tangkhulic*	***ra**	ten	Mortensen 2012:339
Huishu	sə-**re**	ten	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.010
Kachai	ʃə-**ru**	ten	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.010
Tangkhul	**ra**	ten	Bhat 1969:98
	thaa **ra** da phanga	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	tha **ra** da-akha	eleven	Marrison 1967
	tha **ra** da chi shat	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	tha **ra** da mati	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	tha **ra** da shini	seventeen	Marrison 1967
Tusom	t-**ri**-he	ten	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.010
Ukhrul	t^{h}ə-**ra**	ten	Mortensen 2012
	t^{h}ə-**ra** tə a-k^{h}ɐ	eleven	Mortensen 2012
	t^{h}ə-**ra** tə k^{h}ə-ni	twelve	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	mərip^{h}u tə **ra**	ninety	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	mərip^{h}u tə **ra** humdoy	ninety three	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	mərip^{h}u tə **ra** məŋa	ninety five	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	mərip^{h}u tə **ra** nipan	ninety eight	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	ta **ra** manga	fifteen	Marrison 1967
	ta **ra** mari	fourteen	Marrison 1967
	ta **ra** mathoi	eleven	Marrison 1967
	ta **ra** nipan	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	ta **ra** taret	seventeen	Marrison 1967
	tə **ra**	ten	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	tə **ra** humdoy	thirteen	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	tə **ra** məri	fourteen	Abbi & Mishra 1985
	tə **ra** təruk	sixteen	Abbi & Mishra 1985

(41) PTani *čam TENS (e.g. twenty)

This etymon is perhaps allofamically related to PKC ***soom** TEN (§9.9).

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***čam**	tens (e.g. twenty)	Sun 1993a:420
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**ča**-oum	thirty	Sun 1993b
	čam	ten	Sun 1993b
	čam-ka:-ni	seventy	Sun 1993b
	čam-kju-wa:	ninety	Sun 1993b
	čam-kjɯ:	sixty	Sun 1993b
	čam-ñi	tens (e.g. twenty); twenty	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	čam-ñi (gu) la a-kin	twenty-one	Sun 1993b
	čam-pi	forty	Sun 1993b
	čam-pi:-ni	eighty	Sun 1993b
	čam-ŋo:	fifty	Sun 1993b
Galo	a-**cam**-ko-na	ninety	Das Gupta 1963
	a **cam**-ka-nɤ	seventy	Das Gupta 1963
	a **cam**-pɯ-nɤ	eighty	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-	Classifier for groups of ten (clfqr.)	GLDC 2009
	cam-kɤ	sixty	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-pɯ	forty	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-rɯ	hundred	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-rɯ-a ɲi	two hundred	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-rɯ-go-a ɲi	one hundred and two	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-rɯ-ɯ rɯ	thousand	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-rɯ-ɯ yɯ	thousand	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-um	thirty	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-ŋo	fifty	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-ɲi	twenty	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-ɲi-go-la ken	twenty-one	Das Gupta 1963
	cam rɨɨ	hundred (n:num.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**caŋ**-canne	seventy	Simon 1976
	caŋ-ke	sixty	Simon 1976
	caŋ-ŋo	fifty	Simon 1976
	cem-pi	forty	Simon 1976
	cem-pi ŋ	eighty	Simon 1976
	cem-rɯ	hundred	Simon 1976
	cem-ɲi	twenty	Simon 1976
	com-o um	thirty	Simon 1976
	com-um	thirty	Simon 1976
Nishing	**cam**-ngo	fifty	Das Gupta 1969
	cam-nyi	twenty	Das Gupta 1969
	cam-nyi-le-a kin	twenty-one	Das Gupta 1969

(42) PKar *hreŋ^{A} THOUSAND (amount of money)

7. Karenic				
**Karen*	***hreŋ**^{A}	thousand (amount of money)	Luangthongkum 2013:298	[a]
Kayah	**ri**^{33}	thousand	Luangthongkum 2013:298	
Kayan	**re**^{53}	thousand	Luangthongkum 2013:298	
Kayaw	**re**^{55}	thousand	Luangthongkum 2013:298	
Pa-O (Northern)	**reŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	thousand	Luangthongkum 2013:298	
Pa-O (Southern)	**reŋ**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	thousand	Luangthongkum 2013:298	

[a] [Source Note] *hreŋ^{A} = thousand (amount of money), *g-thɔN^{A} = thousand (people).

(43) PTB *s-tawŋ THOUSAND

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-toŋ**	thousand	Weidert 1987:207; Matisoff 2003a:615; Benedict 1972:32

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	*toŋ-ra:	thousand	Sun 1993b
	toŋ ra	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.24
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Lotha Naga	^{1}o^{3}**tɯŋ(ʔ)**	thousand	Weidert 1987:207
1.7.3.2. Asakian			
Sak	**thóŋ**-na	thousand	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:405-11
2.1.2. Bodic			
Bumthang	**toŋ** ʈha-	thousand	Weidert 1987:207
Tsangla (Motuo)	**toŋ**^{55}	thousand	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**toŋ**^{55}	thousand	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tɔŋ**^{55}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.6
Motuo Menba	**toŋ**	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.07
Cuona Menba	**tɔŋ**^{55}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.06
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**rtoŋ** zək	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**htoŋ**	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**rtoŋ**	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**tũ**^{55}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**tuŋ**^{55}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**toŋ**^{55}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.02
	toŋ^{55}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.2
Tibetan (Written)	**stoŋ**	thousand	Weidert 1987:207; Benedict 1972:32
	stoŋ	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.01
	stoŋ	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**htoŋ**	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.04
2.1.3. Lepcha			
Lepcha	**túng** chúr	hundred million (num.)	Plaisier 2007
	tung hrók	thousand (num.)	Plaisier 2007
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**tụ**	thousand	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:0359
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	hpu^{55}(**htu**^{55})	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.18
Guiqiong	**tũ**^{55}ntshø^{55}tɕɔ̃^{53}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.17
	tɔ̃^{55}tshʉ^{55}ta^{55} (tɕuŋ^{55})	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.16
Lyuzu	**tu**^{53}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.18
Muya	**tõ**^{53}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.15
Muya [Minyak]	**to**^{55}ntʂhɑ^{53}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.15
Namuyi	**tu**^{33}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.19
	tu^{31}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.46
	tɕi^{31}**tu**^{31}ntshu^{31}	ten million (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0830.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**tõ**^{55}tʂhɑ^{55}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**stĩ**^{55}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**stĩ**^{55}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tiã**^{55}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.10
Qiang (Longxi)	à **tó**-ʁuá	ten million [thousand-ten.thousand]	Evans 1999:1217
	tshé **tò** (nà) ʁuè sá	three thousand fifty	Evans 1999:1213
	tú	thousand	Evans 1999:1212 [a]
Qiang (Mawo)	(ɑ) **stụ**	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.08
	(ɑ) **stụ** ʁuɑn	ten million (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0830.08
	stuŋ tsu	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.8
Qiang (Taoping)	**χto**^{55}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tũ**^{55}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.16
Xumi	**tõ**^{55}dʐa^{53}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.17
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ʂtũ**^{55}ntʂha^{55}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.14
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**stoŋ** (a gə)	ten cents (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0907.12
	stoŋ (m) tʂhɑ	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.12
Ergong (Danba)	**stɔŋ** phʂɔ	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.14
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	khrə tso **stoŋ** tso	ten million (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0830.11
	stoŋ tso	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.11
rGyalrong	**stoŋ** tso	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.12
Caodeng	**stoŋ**-tso	thousand	Sun 1997a
rGBenzhen	**stoŋ**-tso	thousand	Sun 1997b
4. Nungic			
Dulong	**tu**^{55}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.20
	tu^{55}	ten cents (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0907.20
Trung [Dulong]	**tu**^{55}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.46
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**htɔŋ**^{2}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.39
	thauŋ	thousand	Weidert 1987:207; Benedict 1972:32
	thôŋ	thousand	Hansson 1989:414
	thɔŋ^{2}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.26
	thɔŋ^{3}	ten thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:941.39
	tθɔŋ^{3}	ten thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0827.26
	ə-**thoŋ**	thousand (n.)	Benedict 1976a
Leqi (Luxi)	(ta^{31}) **tǫŋ**^{33}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.33
	(ta^{31}) **tǫŋ**^{33}**mun**^{31}	ten million (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0830.33
Marma	tə-**thɔŋ**	thousand	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:405-11
	tə-**θɔ́ŋ**	ten thousand	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:405-14
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***ʔ-toŋ**^{1}	thousand	Weidert 1987:207; Bradley 1979b:489; Hansson 1989:414

[a] [Source Note] < WT stoŋ ?

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**tv**^{35}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.47
Nusu (Central)	**tu**^{33}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.34
Nusu (Northern)	**tu**^{31}	thousand	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	ȼi^{35}; **tu**^{35}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.45
Yi (Dafang)	**to**^{33}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**tu̱**^{33}	thousand	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	thi^{21}**to**^{33}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.25
Yi (Mojiang)	(thi^{21})**to**^{55}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.26
Yi (Nanhua)	thi^{21}**tu**^{33}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.24
	tu̱^{33}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.37
	tu̱^{33}**me**^{21}	ten million (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0830.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**tu̱**^{55}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.23
Yi (Weishan)	**tu̱**^{55}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.36
Yi (Wuding)	**tv̩**^{33}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.38
	tv̩^{33}**ti**^{33}	ten million (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0830.38
Yi (Xide)	tshŋ^{21}**tu̱**^{33}vɑ^{55}	ten million (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0830.35
	tu̱^{33}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.35
	tu̱^{33}	ten cents (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0907.35
	tu̱^{33}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.21
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lisu (Northern)	li^{55}**tu**^{33}	four thousand	Bradley 1994
	thi^{21} **tu**^{33}	a thousand	Bradley 1994
	tu^{33}	thousand (Q.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**tu**^{33}	ten cents (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0907.40
	tu^{33}**mɯ**^{31}	ten million (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0830.40
	tu̱^{33}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.40
	tu^{44}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.27
Yi (Sani)	**tv̩**^{44}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	**tháŋ**	thousand	Hansson 1989:414
Akha (Thai)	**tháŋ**	thousand	Hansson 1989:414
Hani (Lüchun)	**thɔ́**	thousand	Hansson 1989:414
Hani (Dazhai)	**thɔ**^{55}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**thɔ**^{55}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.41
Hani (Shuikui)	**thu**^{55}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**thu**^{55}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.42
6.2. Naxi			
Na (Yongning)	ɖɯ⊣**tv**⊣	1000	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**tv**^{33}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**tv**^{31}	thousand	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:940.28
Naxi	**tv̩**^{21}	thousand (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0826.45
	tv̩^{21}**mɯ**^{33}	ten million (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0830.45
7. Karenic: ***g-thɔN**^{A} THOUSAND (people)			
**Karen*	***g-thɔN**^{A}	thousand (people)	Luangthongkum 2013:298 [a]
**Karen [Burling]*	***thɔŋ**^{4}	thousand	Luangthongkum 2013:298
Bwe	**gə**^{33}**thɔ**^{55}	thousand	Luangthongkum 2013:298
Kayaw	**tho**^{33}	thousand	Luangthongkum 2013:298
Pwo (Southern)	**thɔ̃**^{53}	thousand	Luangthongkum 2013:298
Sgaw (Northern)	**kə**^{11}**tho**^{33}	thousand	Luangthongkum 2013:298
Sgaw (Southern)	**thu**^{55}	thousand	Luangthongkum 2013:298

[a] [Source Note] *hreŋ^{A} = thousand (amount of money), *g-thɔN^{A} = thousand (people).

(44) PTB *g-sum THREE

For detailed discussion of the numeral THREE, see Matisoff 1995 ("Numerals"), pp. 181-183.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***gsum**	three	Coblin 1986:149
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-sum**	three	Matisoff 2003a:613; Chou Fa-kao 1972:648a-c; Weidert 1987:253; LaPolla 1987:94; Benedict 1972:409
1.1. "North Assam"			
Sulung [Puroik]	**ɣɯək**^{33}	three	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:913.52
1.1.1. Tani: ***fium** THREE			
**Tani*	***fium**	three	Sun 1993a:428
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**hĩ**	three	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	hĩ k^{h}ra le	thirty	Sun 1993b
	hĩ-nɯ	third	Sun 1993b
	hi-ŋə	three	Sun 1993b
	hiŋ	three	Sun 1993b
	hiŋ-xaŋ	thirty	Sun 1993b
	ljã le? **hĩ**	thirteen	Sun 1993b
	ro-hi-ŋe ro-**hĩ**-e[*]	thrice	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ča-**oum**	thirty	Sun 1993b
	ja-**oum**	thirty	Sun 1993b
	la-**oum**	thirteen	Sun 1993b
	u-**um**	three	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-**um**	three	Sun 1993a
Bokar	a **fium**	three (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.24
	a-**hum**	three	Sun 1993a
	hum-jɯŋ	thirty	Sun 1993b
	hum-jɯŋ go lo a-ken	thirty-one	Sun 1993b
	jup-**hum**	third day of the month	Sun 1993b
	o-**hum**	three	Sun 1993b
	ɯ jɯŋ la **fium**	thirteen (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0809.24
	ɯ-jɯŋ a-**hum**	thirty	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-jɯŋ la-**hum**	thirteen	Sun 1993b
	fium jɯŋ	thirty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.24
Bokar Lhoba	a **fium**	three	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:913.51
	jup **fium**	day, third of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:95.51
	jup **fium** jɯŋ	day, thirtieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:101.51
	ɯ jɯŋ la **fium**	thirteen	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:923.51
	fium jɯŋ	thirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:932.51
Galo	a **um**	three (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	a **um**	three (n:num.)	GLDC 2009
	a **um**	three; triple	Das Gupta 1963; Das Gupta 1963

	cam-**um**	thirty	Das Gupta 1963
	ɯ rɯ go la **um**	thirteen	Das Gupta 1963
Miri, Hill	com-o **um**	thirty	Simon 1976
	com-**um**	thirty	Simon 1976
	o **um**	three	Simon 1976
Nishing	**om**	three	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI

Padam [Abor]	a-**ŋum**	three	Sun 1993a
Damu	pət-**ɦam**	thirty	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**ɦam**	three	Sun 1993b
Milang	**ham**	three	Tayeng 1976
	ham-na-ɲi	third	Tayeng 1976
	ham-ɲi	triple	Tayeng 1976
	haŋtak-**ham**	thirty	Tayeng 1976
	haŋtak-kalo-**ham**	thirteen	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	a-**um**	three	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**ka:sa:ng**	three	NEFA (India) 1963
	ka:sa:ng ha: long	thirty	NEFA (India) 1963
	kɑ^{31}sɯŋ^{35}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.22
	kɑ^{31}sɯŋ^{35}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.49
	kɑ^{31}sɯŋ^{55}xɑ^{55}lɯŋ^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.22
	kɑ^{31}sɯŋ^{55}xɑ^{55}lɯŋ^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.49
Digaro	**kəsaŋ**	three	LaPolla 1987:94
Kaman [Miju]	**ksɅm**	three	Weidert 1987:821
	kɯ^{31}**sɯ̆m^{53}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.23
	kɯ^{31}**sɯ̆m^{53}**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.48
Idu	**kɑ^{31}soŋ^{55}**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.50
Yidu	kɑ^{31}**soŋ^{35}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.25
	ɑ^{31}**soŋ^{35}**hɹoŋ^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.25

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***thum** THREE

**Chin*	***thum**	THREE	VanBik 2009:416

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**htum**	three	VanBik 2009:416
Thado	**thíŋ**	three	Thirumalai 1972:58
	thúm	three	VanBik 2009:416; Thirumalai 1972:11,33; Thirumalai 1972:43
	thùm	three	Thirumalai 1972:63
Tiddim	**thum^{2}**	three	Bhaskararao 1996:1902
	thum^{3}	three	VanBik 2009:416

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**t'ün˝**	three	VanBik 2009:416
Chinbon	pa̱ **t^{h}um**	three	So-Hartmann 1988:211
Cho (Mindat)	**thum**	three	VanBik 2009:416
Daai	**ʔt^{h}um**	three	So-Hartmann 1988:211
Khumi	**thúung**	three	VanBik 2009:416
	t^{h}ũŋ	three	So-Hartmann 1988:211
Matu	pa̱ **t^{h}um**	three	So-Hartmann 1988:211
Mkaang	pa̱ **t^{h}um**	three	So-Hartmann 1988:211
Ngmüün	**ʔt^{h}um**	three	So-Hartmann 1988:211
Nyhmoye	**ʔt^{h}u:m**	three	So-Hartmann 1988:211
Wakung	**t^{h}ũn**	three	So-Hartmann 1988:211

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	pa-**thûm**	three	VanBik 2009:416
	sŏom-**thûm**	thirty	VanBik 2009:678
Lai (Falam)	**thŭm**	three	VanBik 2009:416
Lushai [Mizo]	pà-**thúm**	three	VanBik 2009:416
	thum	three	Bhaskararao 1996:1902; LaPolla 1987:94

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	pā-**thò**	three	VanBik 2009:416

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP): ***a-sam** THREE

**Central Naga*	*a-**sam**	THREE	Bruhn 2014a:III.133
**Ao*	*a-**səm**	THREE	Bruhn 2014a:II.105
Ao (Chungli)	a^{1}-**səm^{2}**	three (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.105
	səm^{2}əɹ^{2}	thirty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.307
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a-**səm-səm**	three each	Coupe 2007:276
	a **səm**	THREE	Coupe 2007:113
	jùŋ **səm** nəm	three fingers' width	Coupe 2007
	səm ɹa	THIRTY	Coupe 2007:113
	səm ɹa-ɹa	thirty each	Coupe 2007:276
Lotha Naga	e^{1}-**thəm^{1}**	three (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.133
	thəm^{1}-ro^{1}	thirty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.033
	e **thüm**	three	Murry *et al.* 1978:125
	thüm ro	thirty	Murry *et al.* 1978:124
	ṭhām rò	thirty	Acharya 1975
Sangtam	a **sang**	three	Kumar 1973a
	sang re	thirty	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	([1])maʔ [2]**sam** [2]	three	Weidert 1987:253
	mah **sam**	three	Kumar 1973b:99
	sam rü	thirty	Kumar 1973b:100

1.3.2. ANGAMI-POCHURI GROUP

Angami Naga	**^{3}se**	three	Weidert 1987:253
Chokri	**^{3}sɤ**	three	Weidert 1987:253
Khezha	**^{2}ke^{3}tshɯ**	three	Weidert 1987:253
Mao	**^{2}ko^{2}sɯ**	three	Weidert 1987:253

1.3.3. ZEME GROUP

Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**kəthùn**	three	Matisoff 1994e
	tam ṛu	thirty	Matisoff 1994e

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC: ***t^{h}um** THREE

**Tangkhulic*	***t^{h}um**	three	Mortensen 2012:455
Huishu	kə-**t^{h}ɐm**	three	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.003
Kachai	kə-**t^{h}um**	three	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.003
	ʃə-ru kə-**t^{h}um**	thirteen	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.013
Tangkhul	**thum**	three	Bhat 1969:99
Tusom	ka-**t^{h}õ**	three	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.003
Ukhrul	kə-**t^{h}um**	three	Mortensen 2012

1.7.1. BODO-GARO: ***ta'm** THREE

**Bodo-Garo*	***ta'm**	three	Burling 1959:444

1.7.1.1. BODO

Bodo	dozon **tam** kitáb	three dozen books	Bhat 1968
	katam mansəy	three men	Bhat 1968
	tam	three	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	**t^{h}am**	three	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. GARO

Garo	**git-tam**	three	Weidert 1987:253
	githam	three	LaPolla 1987:94
Garo (Bangladesh)	**-git-tam**	third; three (num.)	Burling 2003:3.3703-II:idx

1.7.1.3. KOCH

Atong	**tham**	three (num.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN: ***Ç-sum** THREE

**Northern Naga*	***Ç-sum**	three	French 1983:568

1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE

Nocte	**^{1}wan^{1}rʌm**	three	Weidert 1987:253

1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG

Khiamngan	**^{23}sɤ^{23}mę̱ʔ**	three	Weidert 1987:253

1.7.3.1. JINGPHO

Jingpho	**mă^{31}sum^{33}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.19
	mă^{31}sum^{33}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.47
	mă^{1}sum^{33}	three	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	məsūm	three	Matisoff 1974:209
	məsum	three	LaPolla 1987:94
	sum^{31}ʃi^{33}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.19
	sum^{31}ʃi^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.47
	^{1}mə^{2}shum	three	Weidert 1987:253

1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN

Sak	**súŋ**-hvú	three	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:396
	súŋ jí	thirty	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:404-4

2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH

Baram	**som**	three	Kansakar 2010:153
Kanauri	**s̱ȟŭm**	three (adj.)	Bailey 1911
	s̱ȟŭm rāɔ̄	three hundredth	Bailey 1911
	s̱ȟŭm rā́	three hundred	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**çumu**	three	Sharma 1982
	çúm la	all the three	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. BODIC

Kaike	chauthāi **sum**	quarters, three-	Hale 1973:09.40
	chyu **sum**	thirteen	Hale 1973:09.09
	kālā **sum**	thirds, two-	Hale 1973:09.39
	pherāng **sum** thāl	fifty	Hale 1973:09.17
	sum	three	Hale 1973:09.01
	sum thāl	sixty	Hale 1973:09.18
Tsangla (Central)	**sam**	three	Andvik 1993:152
Tsangla (Motuo)	khai **sam**	sixty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:935.7
	sam	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.7
	sam^{55}	three	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**sam**	three	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**som^{55}**	three	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**sum^{53}**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.6
Motuo Menba	**sam**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.07
Cuona Menba	**sum^{53}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.06

2.1.2.1. TIBETAN

Tibetan (Alike)	**səm** tɕhə	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.05
	ɣsəm	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hsəm**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.4
	shəm tɕə	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**shəm** tɕə	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.5
	ɣsəm	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.5
Tibetan (Balti)	po **sum**	three-fourth	Rangan 1975:51
	suin	three	Rangan 1975:33
	sum	three	Rangan 1975:71
	sum pa·	third	Rangan 1975:72
Tibetan (Batang)	**shɑ̃^{55}tɕʊ^{53}**	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.03
	sɑ̃^{55}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**'sumq**	three	Hale 1973:09.01
	bo + **'sum**-lāq	thirds, two-	Hale 1973:09.39
	coutāiq **'sumq**	quarters, three-	Hale 1973:09.40
	cyuk **sumq**	thirteen	Hale 1973:09.09
	khālq **'sum**-tāngq cyutā	seventy	Hale 1973:09.19
	khālq **'sumq**	sixty	Hale 1973:09.18
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	da^{13}wa^{53}**suŋ^{55}**ba^{53}	March	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:78.3
	suŋ^{55}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.3
	suŋ^{55}tɕu^{53}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.3
	tɕu^{53}**suŋ^{55}**	thirteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:923.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	kəŋ^{55}**sum^{55}**	trivet (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0565.02
	sum^{55}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.02
	sum^{55}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.2
	sum^{55}tɕu^{53}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.2
	sum^{55}tɕu^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.02
	tshe^{53}pa^{53}**sum^{55}**	day, third of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:95.2
	tɕok^{53}**sum^{55}**	thirteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:923.2
	tɕok^{55}**sum^{55}**	thirteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0809.02
Tibetan (Sherpa)	čup **sum**	thirteen	Hale 1973:09.09
	khal-čup **sum**	hundred and thirty	Hale 1973:09.26
	sumq	three	Hale 1973:09.01
Tibetan (Spiti)	**sum**	three	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	btɕu **gsum**	thirteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0809.01
	btɕu **gsum**	thirteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:923.1
	gsum	three	LaPolla 1987:94
	gsum	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.01
	gsum	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.1
	sum tɕu	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.01
	sum tɕu	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.1
	tshes pa **gsum**	day, third of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:95.1
	zla ba **gsum** pa	March	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:78.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hsəm**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.04
	shəm tɕə	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**sám**	three (num.)	Plaisier 2007
	sam	three	Benedict 1972:75n231

2.1.4. TAMANGISH: ***^{B}som** THREE

**TGTM*	***^{B}som**	three	Mazaudon 1994:965
Gurung (Ghachok)	(X)**(N)caũt^{h}ẽq** sõq	three quarters	Glover 1972:9.40
Gurung	cāụtheq **sọq**	quarters, three-	Hale 1973:09.40
Gurung (Ghachok)	**sõq**	three	Glover 1972:9.1
Gurung	**sọq**	three	Hale 1973:09.01
	^{2}sõ	three	Mazaudon 1994:965
Manang (Gyaru)	**sɐn^{1}**	three	Nagano 1984:396
Manang (Prakaa)	**^{2}sẽ**	three	Mazaudon 1994:965
	^{3}sum cu	thirty	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0676
	^{1}sẽ	three	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0181
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'som**	three	Weidert 1987:821

Tamang (Risiangku)	**²som**	three	Mazaudon 1994:965
Tamang (Sahu)	'poh 'plih ki koce **'som**	three-quarters	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.40
	'poh 'plih ki koce **som**	quarters, three-	Hale 1973:09.40
	'som	three	Hale 1973:09.01; Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.1
	²som	three	Mazaudon 1994:965
Tamang (Taglung)	**²som**	three	Mazaudon 1994:965
Thakali	'plih kal-pe **som**-kal	quarters, three-	Hale 1973:09.40
	prah-se **som**-cyu	hundred and thirty	Hale 1973:09.26
	som	three	Hale 1973:09.01
	som-cyu-se 'Tih	thirty-one	Hale 1973:09.14
	som-cyu-si ky	thirty-nine	Hale 1973:09.15
Thakali (Tukche)	'plih kɔl-pe **som**-kɔl	three quarters	Hari 1971:9.40
	prɔh-se **som**-cju	hundred and thirty	Hari 1971:9.26
	som	three	Hari 1971:9.1
	som-cju-se 'ţih	thirty-one	Hari 1971:9.14
	som-cju-si ku	thirty-nine	Hari 1971:9.15
	ᴴsom	three	Mazaudon 1994:965

2.2. NEWAR

Newar (Dolakhali)	**sõ**	three	Genetti 1990b
Newar	**swạ**-gu:	three	Hale 1973:09.01
	swi:-cha-gu:	thirty-one	Hale 1973:09.14
	swi:-gụ-gu:	thirty-nine	Hale 1973:09.15
Newar (Kathmandu)	**swɔ**	three	Genetti 1990c

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Athpare (Rai)	**sum** baŋ	three (human)	Ebert 1997
	sum bok	three (nonhuman)	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**sum** boŋ	thirty	Michailovsky 1989b
	sum jan	three days	Michailovsky 1989b
	sum si	three	Weidert 1987:253; Michailovsky 1989b
Yamphu	**sum** boŋ	thirty (num.)	Rutgers 1998:579.27
	sum ji	three (num.)	Rutgers 1998:579.28

2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI

Bantawa	**sum** ka	three (adj.)	Rai 1985
Kulung	**supchi**	three	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**ryekbo**	three	Driem 1993
	sukli	three	Driem 1993
Khaling	**'suhpu**	three	Hale 1973:09.01

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Sunwar	**'sạ̄:**	three	Hale 1973:09.01
Thulung	**'su**	three	Allen 1975
	sium	three	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**sum**	three (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	sum-hale **sum**-joʔ	thirty-nine	Caughley 1972:9.15
	sum-joʔ	three	Caughley 1972:9.1
	sum.cak	three persons (n.)	Caughley 2000
	sum.hāle **sum**.joʔ	thirty-nine	Hale 1973:09.15
	sum.joʔ	three	Hale 1973:09.01
	sum.jyaŋ	three (emphatic) (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	sum.jyoʔ	three (nm.)	Caughley 2000
Kham	**sohm** lo	three	Hale 1973:09.01
Magar	**som**	three	Hale 1973:09.01

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**si**^{55}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.18
	sɑ^{55}tshŋ^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.18
Guiqiong	**sɔ̃**^{55}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.16
	sɔ̃^{55}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.17
	sɔ̃^{55}pu^{53}	March	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:78.17
	sɔ̃^{55}ʃŋ^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.17
Lyuzu	**sa**^{33}tshŋ^{53}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.18
	ɕi^{53}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.18
Muya	**so**^{53}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.15
	sõ^{53}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.15
Muya [Minyak]	dɛ^{33}wɛ^{55}**so**^{55}mbɛ^{53}	March	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:78.15
	so^{35}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.15
Namuyi	**so**^{53}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.19
	so^{55}**ɬi**^{55}	March	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:78.19
	nu^{53}tɕi^{31} **ʂuo**^{33}ə^{ɻ31}	three days from now (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0744.46
	suo^{53}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**sũ**^{11} (lĩ^{55})	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**sãu**^{13}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**sãu**^{13}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**sõ**^{35}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.10
	sõ^{35}li^{55}mei^{35}	March	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:78.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**tshè**	three	Evans 1999:1176
	tshé tò (nà) ʁuè sá	three thousand fifty	Evans 1999:1213
Qiang (Mawo)	**khsi**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.8
	khsiɑ su	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.8
	khsu su	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.08
	khsə	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	**sì** tshé ɳà ʁuà sá	three thousand fifty	Evans 1999:1213
	sí qò	three	Evans 1999:1176
	sí sà	thirty	Evans 1999:1195
	sí sà ɳà à qó	thirty-one	Evans 1999:1196
Qiang (Taoping)	**tshi**^{31}**sɑ**^{33}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.9
	tshi^{55}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	**so**^{55}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**su**^{55}**tɕã**^{53}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.16
	su^{55}**ɣa**^{53}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.16
Xumi	**sa**^{55}**qa**^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.17
	sɛ^{55} (ku^{33})	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.17
	sɐ^{55}(ko^{33})	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.20
	sɐ^{55}**qɛ**^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.20
	sɐ^{55}**ɬɯ**^{33}	March	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:78.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**sə**^{55}**ntshŋ**^{33}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.14
	sɪ^{55}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	**wshu**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.14
	wsu sqha	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.14
Daofu	**xsu**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	**kə sam**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**kə sɑm**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.11
	kə sɑm ʃtʃᴇ	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.11
rGyalrong	**kə sam** ʃtʃᴇ	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.12
Caodeng	**χsəm**	three	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**kA sam**	three	Nagano 1997:121
rGBenzhen	**kə-sam**	three	Sun 1997b
	kə-sam zdʒeʔ	thirty	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Nung	**som**^{31}tshɑ^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.21
Anong	**sɔm**^{31}tshɑ^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.44
	ətsum	three	LaPolla 1987:94
Anong (Rawang)	**ətsum**	three	Benedict 1972:170n455
Rawang	**əʃɯm**^{31}	three	LaPolla 2003:847
	əʃɯm^{53} sɛ^{53}	thirty	LaPolla 2003:865
Nung	ɑ^{31}**sɔm**^{53}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}**sɔm**^{53}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.44
Dulong	ɑ^{31}**sɯm**^{53}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31}**sɯm**^{53}sɑn^{55}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.46
Dulong	ɑ^{31}sɯm^{53}sɑn^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31} **sŭm**^{53} tsă̆l	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	a^{31} **sɯm**^{53}	three	LaPolla 1987:94
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**sɯm**^{53}	three	LaPolla 1987:94
	sŭm^{53}	three	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Northern)	**sang1**	three (num.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia (Southern)	**sa**^{55}	three	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**so**^{55}	three	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia	**so**^{55}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.49
	so^{55}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.38
	so^{55}**xɯ**^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.49
	so^{55}**xɯ**^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.38
Tujia (Northern)	**suo1**	three (num.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	suo1si1	three months (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	suo^{1}	three	Brassett *et al.* 2006:7.2

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***sum**^{2} THREE

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Lianghe)	**suŋ**^{31}	three	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**sum**^{31}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.28
	sum^{31}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.41
	sum^{31}tɕhe^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.28
	sum^{31}tɕhe^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.41
Achang (Luxi)	**sɔm**^{35}	three	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**sum**^{31}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.29
	sum^{31}**tshi**^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.29
Bola (Luxi)	**sam**^{55}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.32
	sam^{55}**thai**^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**tθõ**^{55}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.27
	tθõ^{55}shɛ^{22}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθõ**^{55}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.40
	tθõ^{55}hsɛ^{22}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.40
Burmese (Written)	**sùm**	three	Weidert 1987:253
	sûm	three	Hansson 1989:399; Matisoff 1974:209
	sûm̀	three	Benedict 1976a
	sùm	three	LaPolla 1987:94
	thuṁ^{3}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.39
	thuṁ^{3}hsɑj^{2}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.39
	tθuṁ^{3}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.26
	tθuṁ^{3}shɑj^{2}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.26
Hpun (Northern)	**ʃàŋ** kɔ́ŋ, shàŋkɔ́ŋ	three things	Henderson 1986
	ʃàŋ, shàŋ	three	Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**sam**^{31}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.31
	sam^{31}tshɛ^{31}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**sɔm**^{55}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.33
	sɔm^{55}tshe^{33}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.33
Marma	**θúŋ**	three	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:396
	θúŋ-che	thirty	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:404-4
Maru [Langsu]	**sam**^{31}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.43
	sum^{31}tshɛ^{31}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**súm**	three	Weidert 1987:253
	sum^{21}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.30
	sum^{21}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.42
	sum^{21}tshe^{51}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.30
	sum^{21}tshe^{51}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***C-sum**^{2} THREE

**Loloish*	***C-sum**^{2}	three	Weidert 1987:253; Bradley 1979b:480; Hansson 1989:399
Lolopho	**sö**	three	Benedict 1972:152n412

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**si**^{33}	three	DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991
	si^{33}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.47
	si^{33}tshi^{33}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.47

	sɻ^{35}o^{31}ŋ^{323}	three days ago (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0741.47
Nusu (Northern)	**shɔ^{31}**	three	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**sɔ^{33}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.34
	sɔ^{33}ge^{33}ɳi^{31}	three days from now (adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0744.34
	sɔ^{33}tshe^{33}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**sɔ^{35}**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.45
	sɔ^{35}tshe^{35}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.45
Nusu (Southern)	**sɑ^{35}**	three	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**sɯ^{33}**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**sɔ^{33}**	three	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**si^{33}**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.25
	si^{33}tshi^{33}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**sɒ^{33}**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.26
	sɒ^{33}tshɯ^{21}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**so^{33}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.37
	so^{33}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.24
	so^{33}tshi^{33}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.37
	so^{33}tshi^{33}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**sɑ^{33}**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.23
	sɑ^{33}tɕhi^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.23
Yi (Weishan)	**sɑ^{33}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.36
	sɑ^{33}tɕhi^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.36
Yi (Wuding)	**sɒ^{33}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.38
	sɒ^{33}tshe^{33}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.38
Yi (Xide)	**sɔ^{33}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.35
	sɔ^{33}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.21
	sɔ^{33}tshi^{33}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.35
	sɔ^{33}tshi^{33}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**sǒ**	three	Benedict 1972:152n412
Jinuo	**sø^{33}**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.34
	sø^{33}tshɯ^{42}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**sø^{44}**	three	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**sø^{44}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.44
	sø^{44}tshə^{33}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.44
Lahu	**sèh**	three	Benedict 1972:152n412
	šɛ̄ʔ	three	Benedict 1972:152n413
Lahu (Lancang)	**ɕɛ^{54}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.43
	ɕɛ^{54}tɕhi^{33}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.43
Lahu (Black)	**šɛ̄ʔ ⩵ šɛ̄**	three	Matisoff 1974:209
	sɛ^{53}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.33
	sʌ^{53}tshi^{33}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ɕɛ^{1}**	three	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	dza^{44} phu^{33} **sa^{33}** kɤ^{55}	three bowls of rice	Bradley 1994
	dza^{44}phu^{33} sa^{33} **phe^{21}**	three litres of rice	Bradley 1994
	hɤ^{33}tɕhi^{33} **sa^{21}** tɕɔ^{33}	three iron tripods	Bradley 1994
	ma^{44}da^{33} **sa^{33}** thɤ^{35}	three bamboo sticks	Bradley 1994
	ni^{44} **sa^{21}** ni^{33}	two or three days; a couple of days	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**sa**	three	Benedict 1972:152n412
	sàm	three	Weidert 1987:253
Lisu (Northern)	**sa^{21}**	three (alternative sandhi form of sa^{33}) (Q.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**sa^{3}**	three	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**sa^{33}**	three; cf. also sa^{21} (Q.)	Bradley 1994
	sa^{33}hwa^{35}	three times	Bradley 1994
	sa^{33}hɔ^{21}	three batches	Bradley 1994
	si^{55}kɤ^{55} sa^{33} **phæʔ^{21}**	three bowls	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**sɑ̱^{33}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.40
	sɑ̱^{33}tshi̱^{33}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.40
	sɑ^{44}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.27
	sɑ^{44}tshɻ^{44}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.27
Lisu (Northern)	tshɔ^{33}za^{21} sa^{21} **jɔ^{33}**	three people	Bradley 1994
	tɕhi^{33}zaʔ^{21} sa^{21} **phɤ^{33}**	three strands of thread	Bradley 1994
	ʃl̩^{21} ʃl̩^{33} **sa^{33}** dʒl̩^{35}	three hours	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**sɔ̈**	three	Benedict 1972:152n412
Yi (Sani)	**sɤ^{33}**tshɪ^{33}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.39
	sɤ^{55}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Thai)	**shḿ**	three	Hansson 1989:399
Akha (Yunnan)	**shḿ**	three	Hansson 1989:399
Akha	**shḿ**	three	Hansson 1989:399
	sm̀	three	Weidert 1987:253
Bisu	**sǎm**	three	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**shɔ̀**	three	Hansson 1989:399
Hani (Dazhai)	**sɔ^{31}**tshe^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.31
	sɔ^{55}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**sɔ^{31}**tshe^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.41
	sɔ^{55}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**se^{55}**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.30
	se^{55}tshɤ^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.30
Hani (Pijo)	**sjhì**	three	Hansson 1989:399
Hani (Gelanghe)	**sm̩^{55}**	three	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**saol**	three	Hansson 1989:399
Hani (Shuikui)	**su^{31}**tshɛ^{55}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.32
	su^{55}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.32
Hani (Khatu)	**sjhì**	three	Hansson 1989:399
Hani (Mojiang)	**su^{31}**tshɛ^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.42
	su^{55}	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.42
Mpi	**siŋ^{6}**	three	Hansson 1989:399; SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Pyen	**sam33** jum31	three things	SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009:260021

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	lɑ˩ts^{h}i˩ **su**˥ŋi˥	3rd day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1571
	su˥gv˧	3	Michaud 2006–2009:1714
	su˥lie˧mie˧	3rd month	Michaud 2006–2009:1665
	su˥ts^{h}i˥gv˧	30	Michaud 2006–2009:1741
	su˥ts^{h}i˥ŋi˥	30th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1576
	ts^{h}i˥**su**˥gv˥	13	Michaud 2006–2009:1724
Na (Yongning)	**so**˧	3	Michaud 2006–2009
	so˧ts^{h}i˧	30	Michaud 2006–2009
	so˧ts^{h}ɯ˧ŋi˧	30th day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	so˧ȶi˧mi˧	3rd month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧do˥**so**˩ŋi˥	3rd day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧**so**˧	13	Michaud 2006–2009
	ˊʁu˩ɖɯ˩so˧ ɖɯ˧ŋi˥	in three days	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**so^{33}**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.29
	so^{33}tshɻ^{33}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.29
	so^{33}tsɻ^{33}ɲi^{33}	day, thirtieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:101.29
	so^{33}ʂe^{33}mi^{33}	March	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:78.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**sɯ^{33}**tshəɹ^{31}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.28
	sɯ^{33}tsəɹ^{31}ɲi^{33}	day, thirtieth of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:101.28
	sɯ^{31}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.28
Naxi	**sɻ^{21}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.45
	sɻ^{33}tshɚ^{21}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.45
Naxi (Yongning)	tshe^{33}do^{33}**sɻ^{31}**ɲi^{33}	day, third of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:95.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshe^{33}do^{31}**sɯ^{31}**ɲi^{33}	day, third of month	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:95.28
Naxi (Yongning)	tshe^{33}**so^{33}**	thirteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:923.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshe^{33}**sɯ^{31}**	thirteen	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:923.28
Naxi	tshe^{33}**sɻ^{21}**	thirteen (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0809.45

7. KARENIC: ***səm^{A}*** THREE

**Karen*	***səm^{A}***	three	Luangthongkum 2013:300
**Karen [Burling]*	***səm^{4}***	three	Luangthongkum 2013:300
Bwe	**θo^{55}**	three	Luangthongkum 2013:300
Karen	**tθo̱^{55}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.50
	tθo̱^{55}tshi^{55}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.50
Kayah	**sɔ^{33}**	three	Luangthongkum 2013:300
Kayan (Pekon)	**θyán-**	three (NUM.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**θə^{53}**	three	Luangthongkum 2013:300
Kayaw	**sə^{55}**	three	Luangthongkum 2013:300
Pa-O	**sòm**	three	Solnit 1989
	som	three	Benedict 1972:142n384
Pa-O (Northern)	**səm$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	three	Luangthongkum 2013:300
Pa-O (Southern)	**səm$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	three	Luangthongkum 2013:300
Pa-O	**θuŋ**	three	Benedict 1972:144n389
Pwo (Northern)	**sɑ̃^{35}**	three	Luangthongkum 2013:300
Pwo (Southern)	**sɑ̃^{53}**	three	Luangthongkum 2013:300
Sgaw (Northern)	**sə^{33}**	three	Luangthongkum 2013:300
Sgaw (Southern)	**sə^{55}**	three	Luangthongkum 2013:300

8. BAI

Bai (Bijiang)	**sɑ̃^{55}**	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.37
	sɑ̃^{55}tʂeɹ^{42}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.37
Bai (Dali)	**sa** 1	three	Dell 1981b:388
	sɑ^{55}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.35
	sɑ^{55}tsi^{42}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.35
Bai (Jianchuan)	**sɑ̃^{55}**	three (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0799.48
	sɑ̃^{55}	three	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:913.36
	sɑ̃^{55}tsa̱^{21}	thirty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0817.48
	sɑ̃^{55}tsɛ^{42}	thirty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:932.36

9. SINITIC

Chinese (Hanzi)	三	three	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2373; Nagano & Prins 2013:1873
	三千	three thousand	Nagano & Prins 2013:1945
	三百	three hundred	Nagano & Prins 2013:1939
Chinese (GSR #)	**0648a**	three	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2373

9.0.1. OLD CHINESE

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**səm**/sâm	three	CHOU Fa-kao 1972
Chinese (Old)	**sum**	three	Baxter 1992:1755

9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE

Chinese (Middle)	**sam**	three	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2373

9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE

Chinese (Mandarin)	**sān**	three	Evans *et al.* 1991; Baxter & Sagart 2011:2373

Chinese comparandum

三 OC ***səm***, *GSR* #648a-c 'three'; Coblin 86:149 ST ***gsum*** > OC ***səm***; Schuessler 2007:449 ***sâm***; B & S 2011: ***srum {sr[u]m}*** (**sr-** > **s-**; infl. by 四 **s-** ?); Mand. **sān**.
參 OC ***śi̯əm***, *GSR* #647a-b 'three stars in Orion belt'; Schuessler 2007:449 ***srəm***; B & S 2011: ***srum {sr[u]m}***; Mand. **shēn**.
參 OC ***ts'əm***, *GSR* #647a-b 'unit of three; threefold'; Schuessler 2007:449 ***tshâm*** < ***k-sâm***; B & S 2011: ***N-sʳrum {N-sʳr[u]m}***; Mand. **cān**.

(45) PTB *m-kul TWENTY / ALL

STC originally set up two separate roots: ***kun*** ALL (#10) and ***m-kul*** TWENTY (#397). However, the discovery of the Karbi pair **koi** 'all' / **iŋ-koi** 'twenty' made it clear that a single etymon is involved, with an original meaning like "such a large number that one has to use all the fingers and toes to count up to it."

This root may also be connected semantically with PTB ***m-kal*** ⩵ ***s-gal*** BACK (lower) / KIDNEY / LOAD / CARRY (§1.4.8.1).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***(m-)kul**	twenty (unit)	Weidert 1987:753
	***kun**	all; used up, all	Matisoff 2003a:597; Benedict 1972:10
	***m-kul**	twenty; all; twenty, all	Mortensen 2012; Matisoff 2003a:597; Benedict 1972:397

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***kul*** TWENTY

**Chin*	***kul**	TWENTY	VanBik 2009:320

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Siyin	**kul**	twenty, all	Benedict 1972:397

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Asho	**go˝**	twenty	VanBik 2009:320
	gó	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
	gó	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
Chinbon	**m̩kɔ**	twenty	So-Hartmann 1988:219
Cho (Mindat)	**m-ku**	twenty	VanBik 2009:320
Daai	**m̩ku**	twenty	So-Hartmann 1988:219
Matu	pa̱ **kul**	twenty	So-Hartmann 1988:219
Mkaang	pa̱ **ku^{i}**	twenty	So-Hartmann 1988:219
Ngmüün	**m̩ku**	twenty	So-Hartmann 1988:219
Nyhmoye	**m̩ku**	twenty	So-Hartmann 1988:219

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**kûl**	twenty	VanBik 2009:320
	kul ⩵ kwe	twenty, all	Benedict 1972:397

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	pa-**kì**	twenty	VanBik 2009:320

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *mu-kju TWENTY

*Central Naga	*mu-kju	TWENTY	Bruhn 2014a:III.083
Ao (Chungli)	mə²tsə²	twenty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.083
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	mükyi-mü pen-te ni	seventeen	Marrison 1967
	mükyi mü pen tsit	eighteen	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	məki	TWENTY	Coupe 2007:113
	məki-ki	twenty each	Coupe 2007:276
Lotha Naga	mju¹kju?¹	twenty (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.083
	¹mi¹gü	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
Sangtam	mükyü	twenty	Kumar 1973a
	mükyü-pü-a nyü	twenty two	Kumar 1973a
	mükyü-pü khü tu	twenty-one	Kumar 1973a
Yimchungrü	muku	twenty	Kumar 1973b:99
	²mu²gu [²]	twenty	Weidert 1987:753

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	²me³pfɯ	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
Angami (Khonoma)	meku pomo thetha	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	meku pom the na	seventeen	Marrison 1967
Mao	²ma²kei	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
Meluri	mükwe shun-tüze	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	mükwe shun terü	seventeen	Marrison 1967
Rengma (Northern)	¹mi³gwẽ	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
Rengma (Southern)	¹n⁴ki	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
Sema [Sumi]	¹mu³ku	twenty	Weidert 1987:753

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Zeme	¹n¹kai	twenty	Weidert 1987:753

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: *kul TWENTY

*Tangkhulic	*kul	twenty	Mortensen 2012:508
Huishu	mə-kɐn	twenty / score	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.014
Kachai	mə-kwi	twenty	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.014
Tangkhul	kɯ	twenty	Bhat 1969:99
	¹mə¹kə	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
Tusom	mə-ku-he	twenty	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.014
Ukhrul	mə-ku	twenty	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	kul	score (twenty)	Benedict 1972:7n23
	kùn	twenty	Weidert 1987:753

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	iŋ-kol > iŋ-koi	score (twenty)	Benedict 1972:7n23
	iŋ kòi	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
	iŋ kol ≍ iŋ koi	twenty, all	Benedict 1972:397
	koi	all (iŋkoi = 20 < iŋkol)	Benedict 1972:18n64

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Dimasa	khon	twenty, all	Benedict 1972:397
Kokborok	kru	twenty	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	khol ≍ khal	twenty, all	Benedict 1972:397
	kol	score (twenty)	Benedict 1972:7n23
	kol grik	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
Garo (Bangladesh)	kol-grik	twenty (num.)	Burling 2003:3.3720-II:idx

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	khol	twenty (num.)	van Breugel 2008
	khole	twenty (only used in compound numerals) (num.)	van Breugel 2008
	khol chang	twenty, used only in compound numerals (num.)	van Breugel 2008
	khol gryk	twenty (loan from Garo, used frequently) (num.)	van Breugel 2008
	khol gyk	twenty (used infrequently) (num.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	khun	twenty, all	Benedict 1972:397
	khun < khul	score (twenty)	Benedict 1972:7n23
	khun³³	twenty	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	khun³³	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.19
	khun³³	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.47
	khun³³lă⁵ŋai³¹	twenty one	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	khun⁵⁵lă⁵⁵ŋai⁵¹	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.47
	²khun	twenty	Weidert 1987:753

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	li thal	eighty	Hale 1973:09.20
	nghe thāl	forty	Hale 1973:09.16
Tsangla (Central)	khai-thur	twenty	Andvik 1993:162
Tsangla (Motuo)	khai sam	sixty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:935.7
	khai thor	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.7
	khai thor daŋ thor	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.7
	k'ai⁵⁵t'or⁵⁵	twenty	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	khei-thur	twenty	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	khɑ⁵⁵li⁵⁵	twenty	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
	khɑ⁵⁵li⁵⁵thi⁵⁵	twenty one	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	chɛʔ⁵³pli⁵³	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.6
	chɛʔ⁵³pli⁵³tɕi⁵³	ninety	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:938.6
	khʌ⁵⁵li⁵³	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.6
	khʌ⁵⁵li⁵³theʔ⁵³	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.6
Motuo Menba	khai thor	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.07
Tashigang	khe thur	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
Cuona Menba	kha⁵⁵li⁵³	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Sakka Trokpa	khāl-	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	kən-bo	all	Sun 1985a:10
Tibetan (Central)	khāl-	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
Tibetan (Jirel)	khāl-jyik-tāngq 'gu	twenty-nine	Hale 1973:09.13
	khāl-jyik-tāngq 'nyiq	twenty-two	Hale 1973:09.12
	khal-jyik-tangq cyur guq	thirty-nine	Hale 1973:09.15
Tibetan (Sherpa)	'khal-ge	eighty	Hale 1973:09.20
Sherpa	khāl-	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
Tibetan (Sherpa)	khal-čithambāq	hundred	Hale 1973:09.24
	khal-čithambāq 'tangq n	hundred and two	Hale 1973:09.25
	khal-čup sum	hundred and thirty	Hale 1973:09.26
	khal-čurkhu	hundred and ninety	Hale 1973:09.27
	khal-din	seventy	Hale 1973:09.19
	khal-gu	ninety	Hale 1973:09.21
	khal-gu 'tangq 'ge	ninety-eight	Hale 1973:09.22
	khal-gu 'tangq gu	ninety-nine	Hale 1973:09.23
	khal-ji	forty	Hale 1973:09.16
	khal-jik	twenty	Hale 1973:09.11
	khal-jik 'tangq čurkhu	thirty-nine	Hale 1973:09.15
	khal-jik 'tangq ču čikq	thirty-one	Hale 1973:09.14
	khal-jik 'tangq gu	twenty-nine	Hale 1973:09.13
	khal-jik 'tangq ngyiq	twenty-two	Hale 1973:09.12
	khal-ngāq	fifty	Hale 1973:09.17
	khal-Tuk	sixty	Hale 1973:09.18
Tibetan (Written)	kun	each; all	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:15n53
	kun.po	all	Sun 1985c:10

2.1.4. Tamangish

Tamang (Sahu)	khāl 'ki:h	twenty	Hale 1973:09.11
	khāl 'ki:h syi 'ku	twenty-nine	Hale 1973:09.13
	khāl 'ki:h syi 'nyi:h	twenty-two	Hale 1973:09.12
	khāl 'ki:h syi 'unnāis	thirty-nine	Hale 1973:09.15
	khāl 'ku syi 'ci	hundred and ninety	Hale 1973:09.27
	khāl 'ngah syi 'nyi:h	hundred and two	Hale 1973:09.25
	khāl 'Tu:h syi 'ci	hundred and thirty	Hale 1973:09.26
	khāl ci	hundred, two	Hale 1973:09.28
	khāl ngāh	hundred	Hale 1973:09.24
	khal-'gi:[fi]	twenty	Weidert 1987:753
	kʰal 'ki:h	twenty	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.11
	kʰal 'ki:h syi 'ku	twenty-nine	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.13
	kʰal 'ki:h syi 'nyi:h	twenty-two	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.12
	kʰal 'ki:h syi unnais	thirty-nine	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.15
	kʰal 'ku syi 'ci	hundred and ninety / 190	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.27
	kʰal 'Tu:h syi 'ci	hundred and thirty / 130	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.26
	kʰal 'ŋah syi 'nyi:h	hundred and two / 102	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.25
	kʰal ci	two hundred	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.28
	kʰal ŋah	hundred	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.24

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	kha lə	twenty, score	Rai *et al.* 1975

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	kɯŋ⁵⁵kɯŋ⁵⁵	all / even	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Luxi)	kəŋ⁵⁵kəŋ⁵¹	all / even	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Burmese (Written)	ăkun	all	Benedict 1972:15n54
	kun	come to an end, be used up (v.)	Benedict 1972:10
	ə-kun	all; the whole	Benedict 1976a

Chinese comparandum

羣 OC *g'i̯wən, *GSR* #459d-e 'flock, group; all'; Schuessler 2007:438 *gun; B & S 2011: *gur {[g]ur}; Mand. qún.
昆 OC *kwən, *GSR* #417a-b 'swarm (insects)'; Schuessler 2007:438 *kûn; B & S 2011: *kˤun {kˤu[n]}; Mand. kūn.

(46) PTB * g/s -ni-s TWO

For detailed discussion of this numeral (TWO), see Matisoff 1995 ("Numerals"), pp. 178-181.

THe ***-s*** suffix is preserved in some Himalayan and rGyalrongic languages.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

*Tibeto-Burman	*g-ni-s	two	Weidert 1987:715; LaPolla 1987:52; Chou Fa-kao 1972:564a-d; Weidert 1987:178,715; Benedict 1972:4
	*g/s-ni-s	two	Matisoff 2003a:604

1.1. "North Assam"

Sulung [Puroik]	suat³³ŋi³³	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.52
	suat³³ŋi³³na¹¹ɦui³³	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.52
	va³³se³³ŋih⁵³	they two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:977.52
	ŋi³³	two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:912.52

1.1.1. Tani: *pri-ñi EIGHT

*Tani	*pri-ñi	eight	Sun 1993a:124

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	à-ñe	two	Sun 1993b
	a-ñi	two	Sun 1993b
	à-ñi	two	Sun 1993b
	a-ñi-e	double	Sun 1993b
	mo a-ñi	they two	Sun 1993b
	mo-ñi	they two	Sun 1993b
	ñi-kʰrã-he	twenty	Sun 1993b
	ñi-xaŋ-he	twenty	Sun 1993b
	nɯ-ñì	you two	Sun 1993b
	p(rj)ɯʔ-ñi	eight	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pì-ñe	eight	Sun 1993b
	pí-ñi	eight	Sun 1993b
	tá-ñe	two	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-ñi	two	Sun 1993b
	čam-ñi	tens (e.g. twenty); twenty	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	čam-ñi (gu) la a-kin	twenty-one	Sun 1993b
	čam-piː-ni	eighty	Sun 1993b
	la-piː-ni	eighteen	Sun 1993b
	ləŋ-ñi	two hundred	Sun 1993b
	ma-ñi	they two	Sun 1993b
	ñi-fiŋ	twenty	Sun 1993b
	nu-ñi	you two	Sun 1993b
	nɯ-ñi	you two	Sun 1993b
	piː-ni	eight	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	ŋuː-ñi	we two	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a ŋi	two (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.24
	a-ñi	two	Sun 1993b
	lɯŋ-ñi	two hundred	Sun 1993b
	mə lu a ŋi	they two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0935.24
	mə noː a ŋi	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.24
	mə ŋi	you two; they two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0935.24
	mə-lu a-ñi	they two	Sun 1993b
	mə-ñi	they two; you two	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	mə-noː a-ñi	you two	Sun 1993b
	piː ŋi ɯ jɯŋ	eighty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0822.24
	piː ŋi	eight (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0804.24

[a] This is an excellent example of the original "overcounting" numeral system of Mongsen Ao (cf. Coupe 2007, Clark 1893). The individual morphemes are are as follows: 'twenty-NEG-be.complete-seven', i.e. "the seven before the twenty".

	pi:-ñi	eight	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	pi:-ñi **ɯ**-jɯŋ	eighty	Sun 1993b
	ŋo: lu a **n̥i**	we (two) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0929.24
	ŋo:-lu a-**ñi**	we two	Sun 1993b
	ŋo:-**ñi**	we two	Sun 1993b
	ŋo: **n̥i**	we (two) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0929.24
	ɯ-jɯŋ pi:-ñi	eighty	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **n̥i**	two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:912.51
	mə lu a **n̥i**	they two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:977.51
	mə **n̥i**	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.51
	pi n̥i **ɯ** jɯŋ	eighty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:937.51
	pi: n̥i	eight	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:918.51
	ŋo: **n̥i**	we two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:970.51
Galo	a cam-pɯ-nɤ	eighty	Das Gupta 1963
	a **ɲi**	two	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-rɯ-a **ɲi**	two hundred	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-rɯ-go-a **ɲi**	one hundred and two	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-**ɲi**	twenty	Das Gupta 1963
	cam-**ɲi**-go-la ken	twenty-one	Das Gupta 1963
	pɯ:nɤ	eight	Das Gupta 1963
	‘a **ɲi**	two (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	‘a **ɲi**	two (n:num.)	GLDC 2009
	‘bu **ɲi**	they (dl.) (pro.)	GLDC 2009
	‘lə **ɲi**	twice (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	‘nu **ɲi**	you (dl.) (pro.)	GLDC 2009
	‘piinə	eight (n:num.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ŋu **ɲi**	we (dl) (pro.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**-ɲi**	both, two	Simon 1976
	a **ɲi**	two	Simon 1976
	cem-pi **ŋ**	eighty	Simon 1976
	cem-**ɲi**	twenty	Simon 1976
	e **ɲi**	two	Simon 1976
	pine	eight	Simon 1976
Nishing	a **nyi**	two	Das Gupta 1969
	cam-**nyi**	twenty	Das Gupta 1969
	cam-**nyi**-le-a kin	twenty-one	Das Gupta 1969
	píné	eight	Das Gupta 1969

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam [Abor]	pɯ-ñi	eight	Sun 1993a
Damu	kon-pa: ʔa-**n̥i:**	two years of age	Sun 1993b
	pi(:)-n̥i:	eight	Sun 1993b
	pət pi:-n̥i:	eighty	Sun 1993b
	pət-**n̥i:**	twenty	Sun 1993b
	rə-**n̥i:**	two hundred	Sun 1993b
	ʔa-**n̥i(:)**	two	Sun 1993b
Milang	liŋ-ko-kalo-**ne**	one hundred and two	Tayeng 1976
	liŋ-ko-**ne**	two hundred	Tayeng 1976
	ne	two	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	pi-ñi	eight	Sun 1993a

1.1.2. Deng

Yidu	ɑ^{55}n̥i^{55}hɹoŋ^{55}	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: ***ni**ʔ ≍ ***hni**ʔ TWO

**Chin*	***ni**ʔ ≍ **hni**ʔ	TWO	VanBik 2009:844

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**nī**	two	VanBik 2009:844
Thado	**ní**	two	Thirumalai 1972:54
	nì	two	Thirumalai 1972:67
	nìi	two	VanBik 2009:844
Tiddim	**ni?**^{3}	two	Bhaskararao 1996:1216
	ni?^{3}	two	VanBik 2009:844
	so:m^{3} **ni?**^{3}	twenty	Bhaskararao 1996:1612

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**hngih**	two	VanBik 2009:844
Khumi	**nue(ng)**	two	VanBik 2009:844
Wakung	**ni**	two	So-Hartmann 1988:210

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**hnìʔ**	two	VanBik 2009:844
Lai (Hakha)	pa-**hniʔ**	two	VanBik 2009:844
Lushai [Mizo]	**hnìh**	two	VanBik 2009:844
	hnih	two	Bhaskararao 1996:1216
	hniʔ	two	Weidert 1987:178; LaPolla 1987:52; Benedict 1972:4

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	pā-**nō**	two	VanBik 2009:844

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***a-ni(t)** TWO

**Central Naga*	*a-**ni(t)**	TWO	Bruhn 2014a:III.062
**Ao*	*a-**nət**	TWO	Bruhn 2014a:II.263
Ao (Chungli)	a^{1}-**na**^{1}	two (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.263
	a **na**	two	Marrison 1967:279
	^{1}a^{1}**na**	two	Weidert 1987:178
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	a **net**	two	Marrison 1967:279
	a **net** pen	second (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	i **net**	we two	Marrison 1967
	kü **net**	we two	Marrison 1967
	pa **net**	they two	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	a **nə**-zə	pair (of hands, eyes, etc) (probably <’two’ + ?) (n.)	Coupe 2007
	a **nət**	TWO	Coupe 2007:113
	a **nət** à	a couple, several (lit. two, one)	Coupe 2007:112
	juŋ **nət** nəm	two fingers’ width	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	e^{3}-**niʔ**^{3}	we two (1dl) (pro.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e^{1}-**niʔ**^{3}	two (num.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.062
	ni^{3}-**niʔ**^{3}	you two (2dl) (pro.)	Bruhn 2014b
	o^{3}-**niʔ**^{3}	they two (3dl) (pro.)	Bruhn 2014b
	e **ni**	two	Murry *et al.* 1978:128
	e **ni**, o **ni**	two	Marrison 1967:279
	e **ni** oto	second (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	ē **n̰ì**	two	Acharya 1975
	ni **ni**	you two	Marrison 1967
	^{1}e^{3}**ni(ʔ)**	two	Weidert 1987:178
Sangtam	a **niyü**	two	Kumar 1973a
	a **nyü**	two	Marrison 1967:279
	a **nyü**-u	second (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	a **nyü** pü achangsho	two and half	Kumar 1973a
	mükyü-pü-a **nyü**	twenty two	Kumar 1973a
	sangre-pü-a **nyü**	thirty two	Kumar 1973a
	zyü re rre-a **nyü**	eighty	Marrison 1967
	^{1}a ^{2}**ñɯ**	two	Weidert 1987:178
Yacham-Tengsa	a **nat**	two	Marrison 1967:279
Yimchungrü	ma **hne**	two	Kumar 1973b:99
	ma **nie**	two	Marrison 1967
	ma **nie** pü	second (adj.)	Marrison 1967

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami Naga	^{2}ke^{2}**nie**	two	Weidert 1987:178
Angami (Khonoma)	he **nia**	we two	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	hie **nie**	we two	Marrison 1967
	n **nie**	you two	Marrison 1967
	puo **nie**	they two	Marrison 1967
	u **nie**	they two	Marrison 1967
Chokri	u **nyi**	they two	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	ishe **ni**	we two	Marrison 1967
	ma **ni**	they two	Marrison 1967
	nshe **ni**	you two	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Liangmei	**nê**	two	Weidert 1987:178
Zeme	a **nai**	we two	Marrison 1967
	ning **nai**	you two	Marrison 1967
	pe **nai**	they two	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	pe **nai**	they two	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic: ***ni** TWO

**Tangkhulic*	***ni**	two	Mortensen 2012:361
Huishu	k^{h}ə-**nik**	two	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.002
Kachai	k^{h}ə-**nɐ**	two	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.002
Tangkhul	a **ni**	they two	Marrison 1967
	i **ni**	we two	Marrison 1967
	na **ni**	you two	Marrison 1967
	ni	two	Bhat 1969:99
	^{3}khə^{3}**ni**	two	Weidert 1987:178
Tusom	k^{h}a-**na**	two	Mortensen 2012:Numbers.002
Ukhrul	k^{h}ə-**ni**	two	Mortensen 2012

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	ə-**nì**	two	Weidert 1987:178

1.5. Mikir [Karbi]

Mikir [Karbi]	hi **ní**	two	Weidert 1987:178

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo: ***ni** TWO

**Bodo-Garo*	***ni**	two	Burling 1959:444

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**nəy**	two	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	**nəy**	two	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**gni**	two	Benedict 1972:4
	gəni	two	LaPolla 1987:52

1.7.1.3. Koch

Atong	chi **ni**	twelve (num.)	van Breugel 2008
	ni	two (num.)	van Breugel 2008

1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***ʔ-ni** TWO

**Northern Naga*	***ʔ-ni**	two	French 1983:572

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Tangsa (Yogli)	ching **nei**	they two	Marrison 1967
	nim **nei**	you two	Marrison 1967
	ni **nei**	we two	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Phom	**ñi**^{31}	two	Burling & Amon Phom 1998

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**ni**	two	LaPolla 1987:52; Benedict 1972:16n60
	nī	two	Benedict 1972:16n61
	ni	two	Benedict 1972:4

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Baram	**nis**	two	Kansakar 2010:152
Kanauri	**nī**	two (adj.)	Bailey 1911
	ni	two	Benedict 1972:4
	nis	two	LaPolla 1987:52
	nis̲h̲	two (adj.)	Bailey 1911
	ni rāɔ̄	two hundredth	Bailey 1911
	ni rā‘	two hundred	Bailey 1911

2.1.2. Bodic

Kaike	kyāmā-**nghẹ**	hundred, two	Hale 1973:09.28
	ngā thalai **nghye**	hundred and two	Hale 1973:09.25
	nghe thāl	forty	Hale 1973:09.16
	nghyi	two	Hale 1973:01.012
	ngi chyu	twenty	Hale 1973:09.11
	nhi chyu chyur gu	thirty-nine	Hale 1973:09.15
	nhi chyu chyu di	thirty-one	Hale 1973:09.14
	nhi chyu gu	twenty-nine	Hale 1973:09.13
	nhi chyu **nghe**	twenty-two	Hale 1973:09.12
Tshona (Wenlang)	**nɑi**^{35}	two	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**nʌi**^{13}	two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:912.6
	pe^{13}**nʌi**^{13}	they two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:977.6
	ŋʌ^{13}**nʌi**^{13}	we two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:970.6
	ʔe^{53}**nʌi**^{13}	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.6
Cuona Menba	**nai**^{35}	two (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.06
	pe^{35}**nai**^{35}	they two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0935.06
	ŋa^{35}**nai**^{35}	we (two) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0929.06
	ʔe^{53}**nai**^{35}	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**ɣn̥i**	two (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.05
	n̥u xə	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**hn̥i**	two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:912.4
	kho **n̥i** ɣa	they two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:977.4
	tɕhe **n̥i** ɣa	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.4
	ŋə **n̥i** ɣa	we two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:970.4
	n̥ə xhə	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.4
	n̥ə xhə htsa tɕək	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	cɕho **ɣn̥i**	you two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:974.5
	khə **ɣn̥i**	they two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:977.5
	ŋa **ɣn̥i**	we two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:970.5
	ɣn̥i	two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:912.5
	n̥ə xhə	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.5
	n̥ə xhə rtsa tɕək	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**ŋis**	two	Rangan 1975:34; Rangan 1975:40
	ŋis u·	twenty	Rangan 1975:40
Tibetan (Batang)	hu^{55} ru^{53} **n̥i**	you two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.03
	kho^{55} ro^{53}**n̥i**^{55}	they two (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0935.03
	ŋøy^{13} **n̥i**	we (two) (pron.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0929.03
	n̥i^{55}	two (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.03
	n̥ɪ^{13}**xhu**^{53}	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**’nyiq**	two	Hale 1973:01.012
	’sei-jyik-tāngq **’nyiq**	hundred and two	Hale 1973:09.25

	'seiq **'nyiq**	hundred, two	Hale 1973:09.28
	nye: syu	twenty	Hale 1973:09.11
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	kho^{53}**n̥i^{55}**	they two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:977.3
	tɕhø^{53}**n̥i^{55}**	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.3
	ŋa^{13}**n̥i^{55}**	we two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:970.3
	n̥e^{13}xu^{53}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.3
	n̥e^{13}xu^{53}tsa^{53}tɕi^{53}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.3
	n̥i^{55}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	(lo^{13}n̥i:^{55}) **tɕhĩ^{52}**	go by (two years) / pass (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1364.02
	cheʔ^{53}raŋ^{15}**n̥i^{55}**	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.2
	chi^{55} **n̥i^{52}**	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.02
	kho^{53}**n̥i^{53}**	they two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:977.2
	khuŋ^{55} **n̥i^{52}**	they two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0935.02
	ŋa^{13}**n̥iʔ^{53}**	we two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:970.2
	ŋə^{13} **n̥i^{52}**	we (two) (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0929.02
	n̥i^{13}ɕu^{53}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.2
	n̥i^{13}ɕu^{53}tsak^{53}tɕiʔ^{53}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.2
	n̥i^{13}ɕu^{55}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.02
	n̥i:^{55}	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.02
	n̥i^{55}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	khal-čithambāq 'tangq **n**	hundred and two	Hale 1973:09.25
	khal-ǰīk 'tangq **ngyiq**	twenty-two	Hale 1973:09.12
	ngyi	two	Hale 1973:01.012
	ngyi-šuq	hundred, two	Hale 1973:09.28
Tibetan (Spiti)	**ɲi**	two	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Written)	deb (**gn̥is**)	classifier for two books (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0849.01
	gńis	two	LaPolla 1987:52
	gnyis	two	Benedict 1972:4
	gn̥is	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.01
	gn̥is	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.1
	khjed raŋ **gn̥is**	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.1
	khjod **gn̥is**	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.01
	kho **gn̥is**	they two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0935.01
	khoŋ **gn̥is**	they two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:977.1
	ŋa **gn̥is**	we (two) (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0929.01
	ŋa **gn̥is**	we two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:970.1
	n̥i ɕu	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.01
	n̥i ɕu	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.1
	n̥i ɕu rtsa gtɕig	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.1
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hn̥i**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.04
	khə **n̥ə** ɣa	they two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0935.04
	tɕhə **n̥ə** ɣa	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.04
	n̥u xhə	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.04
	ʔə **n̥ə** ɣa	we (two) (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0929.04

2.1.3. LEPCHA

Lepcha	**nyăt**	two	Benedict 1972:17n62
	nyet	two (num.)	Plaisier 2007

2.1.4. TAMANGISH: *^{B}**ni:** TWO

**TGTM*	*^{B}**ni:**	two	Mazaudon 1994:550
Gurung	cāụthẹq **ngihq**	thirds, two-	Hale 1973:09.39
	ngih brā:	hundred, two	Hale 1973:09.28
	ngih syu	twenty	Hale 1973:09.11
	ngih syu se	twenty-two	Hale 1973:09.12
	ngih syu se kuq	twenty-nine	Hale 1973:09.13
	ngịhq	two; twenty-two	Hale 1973:01.012; Hale 1973:09.12
	prāhseq **ngịhq**	hundred and two	Hale 1973:09.25
Gurung (Ghachok)	prahseq **ŋĩhq**	hundred and two	Glover 1972:9.25
	ŋĩhq	two	Glover 1972:1.12
	ŋih bra:	two hundred	Glover 1972:9.28
	ŋih syu	twenty	Glover 1972:9.11
	ŋih syu se kuq	twenty-nine	Glover 1972:9.13
	ŋih syu se **ŋĩhq**	twenty-two	Glover 1972:9.12
Manang (Gyaru)	**nyi:^{3}**	two	Nagano 1984:395
	nyi:^{1} syɯ:^{2}	twenty	Nagano 1984:404
Manang (Prakaa)	^{2}mi **^{4}ɲi:**	two persons	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0689
	^{2}ɲu ɕu	twenty	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0189
	^{4}ɲi:	two	HOSHI Michiyo 1984:0180; Mazaudon 1994:550
Tamang (Bagmati)	**'ŋi:^{ɦ}**	two	Weidert 1987:715
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{4}ni:**	two	Mazaudon 1994:550
	^{4}ni: -ra	two days	Mazaudon 1994:550
Tamang (Sahu)	'en **nyi:h**	you (two) (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.E.15
	'nyi:h	two	Hale 1973:01.012; Taylor *et al.* 1972:1.12
	'poh 'som ki koce **'nyi:h**	two-thirds	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.39
	'poh som ki koce **'nyi:h**	thirds, two-	Hale 1973:09.39
	khāl 'ki:h syi **'nyi:h**	twenty-two	Hale 1973:09.12
	khāl 'ngah syi **'nyi:h**	hundred and two	Hale 1973:09.25
	k^{h}al 'ki:h syi **'nyi:h**	twenty-two	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.12
	k^{h}al 'ŋah syi **'nyi:h**	hundred and two / 102	Taylor *et al.* 1972:9.25
	nyin **nyi:h**	we (two) (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.E.14
	t^{h}en **nyi:h**	that (two) (adj.)	Taylor *et al.* 1972:12.E.16
	^{3}ɲi:	two (in compounds)	Mazaudon 1994:549
	^{4}ɲi:	two	Mazaudon 1994:235; Mazaudon 1994:550
Thakali	**'ngih**	two	Hale 1973:01.012
	'ngih-pra	hundred, two	Hale 1973:09.28
	ngih-syu	twenty	Hale 1973:09.11
	ngih-syu **'ngih**	twenty-two	Hale 1973:09.12
	ngih-syu ku	twenty-nine	Hale 1973:09.13
	prah-se **'ngih**	hundred and two	Hale 1973:09.25
Thakali (Marpha)	**^{545}ɲi**	two	Mazaudon 1994:235; Mazaudon 1994:550
Thakali (Syang)	**^{21}ɲi**	two	Mazaudon 1994:234; Mazaudon 1994:235
Thakali (Tukche)	**'ŋih**	two	Hari 1971:1.12
	'ŋih-prɔ	two hundred	Hari 1971:9.28
	prɔh-se **'ŋih**	hundred and two	Hari 1971:9.25
	ŋih-sju	twenty	Hari 1971:9.11
	ŋih-sju 'ŋih	twenty-two	Hari 1971:9.12
	ŋih-sju ku	twenty-nine	Hari 1971:9.13
	^{4}ŋi	two	Mazaudon 1994:550

2.2. NEWAR

Newar (Kathmandu)	**ni**	two	Genetti 1990c
Newar	**ni**-gu(li)	two	Hale 1973:01.012
	ni-sa(l)	hundred, two	Hale 1973:09.28
	ni:-gu:	twenty	Hale 1973:09.11
	ni:-gụ-gu:	twenty-nine	Hale 1973:09.13
	ni:-ni-gu:	twenty-two	Hale 1973:09.12
Newar (Dolakhali)	**nis**	two	Genetti 1990b
Newar	**nis** gur	two	Weidert 1987:715
	sa-chi wa **ni**-gu:	hundred and two (inanimate)	Hale 1973:09.25
	swa bwae **ni**-bwa	thirds, two-	Hale 1973:09.39

2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI

Yamphu	**nit** ci	two (num.)	Rutgers 1998:560.15

2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI

Dumi	**nɨ**	two, the two of them, both	Driem 1993

2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI

Bahing	**nik**-si	two	Benedict 1972:16n60
Sunwar	**'ni:k** syi	two	Hale 1973:01.012
Thulung	**nə**	two	Allen 1975
	nək	two	Allen 1975
	nə lem	two days	Allen 1975
	nə na	year before last, two years ago	Allen 1975

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**ni**.ci	we two (pn.)	Caughley 2000
	nis mən	of two minds, undecided (n.)	Caughley 2000
	nis(-)	two (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	nis-hale poŋa-joʔ	twenty-nine	Caughley 1972:9.13
	nis-hale sat-gota	thirty-one	Caughley 1972:9.14
	nis-joʔ	two	Caughley 1972:1.12
	nis.gu.gu.caʔ	two friends, pair of friends (nk.)	Caughley 2000
	nis.hāle pongā.joʔ	twenty-nine	Hale 1973:09.13
	nis.joʔ	two	Hale 1973:01.012
	nis.jyoʔ	two (nm.)	Caughley 2000
	nis.leŋ	two layers (n.)	Caughley 2000
	ni ci	we (two)	Caughley 1972:13.B.14
	ŋi.ci	we two (pn.)	Caughley 2000
	ŋi ci	we (two)	Caughley 1972:13.B.14
	ŋi ni-	carry together two loads together as one (vt.)	Caughley 2000
	ʔowʔ-**nis**	that (two)	Caughley 1972:13.B.16
Kham	**neh** plo	two	Hale 1973:01.012
	neh say	hundred, two	Hale 1973:09.28
	sọh bā:kin **neh** bā:	thirds, two-	Hale 1973:09.39
	tasay **neh** plo	hundred and two	Hale 1973:09.25
Magar	bis ra **nis**	twenty-two	Hale 1973:09.12
	nis	two	Hale 1973:01.012
	nis bis	forty	Hale 1973:09.16
	nis bis e das	fifty	Hale 1973:09.17
	nis mā-hol-na say	ninety-eight	Hale 1973:09.22
	nis se	hundred, two	Hale 1973:09.28
	nis na	both	Hale 1973:09.44
	pạc bise **nis**	hundred and two	Hale 1973:09.25
	som buruk-o **nis** buruk	thirds, two-	Hale 1973:09.39

3.1. TANGUT

Tangut [Xixia]	**njɨ̱**	two	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:4027

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**nɛ^{55}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.18
	nɛ^{55}tshɿ^{55}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.18
	nɛ^{55}tshɿ^{55}tɛ^{55}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.18
	tshɛ^{55}**nɛ^{55}**	twelve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:922.18
Guiqiong	(**ŋi^{35}**) thə^{55}	classifier for two books (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0849.16
	(**ŋi^{35}**) tɕõ^{55}	classifier for two birds (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0842.16
	nũ^{35}**ŋi^{35}**pi^{55}	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.16
	nũ^{35}**n̥i^{33}**pi^{53}	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.17
	si^{55}**n̥ĩ^{55}**	twelve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:922.17
	sə^{55}**ŋi^{55}**	twelve (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.16
	zø^{35}**n̥i^{33}**pi^{53}	they two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:977.17
	ŋi^{35}	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.16
	ŋø^{35}**n̥i^{33}**pi^{53}	we two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:970.17
	n̥i^{33}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.17
	n̥i^{33}ʃɿ^{55}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.17
	n̥i^{33}ʃɿ^{55}lø^{55}tɑ^{33}tɕɑ^{53}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.17
	n̥i^{55}npu^{55}li^{53}	February	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:77.17
Lyuzu	(**ne^{33}**) pẽ^{31}	classifier for two books (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0849.18
	(**ne^{33}dʐu^{53}**)tʂhɯ^{53}	go by (two years) / pass (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1364.18
	ne^{33} pu^{53}	classifier for two birds (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0842.18
	ne^{33}tshɿ^{53}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.18
	ne^{35}	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.18
	tshe^{53}**ne^{53}**	twelve (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.18
Muya	(**nə^{55}**) tɕuæ^{53}	classifier for two books (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0849.15
	(**nə^{55}**) βæ^{53}	classifier for two birds (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0842.15
	nə^{33}ʁuɑ^{53}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.15
	nə^{53}	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.15
	n̥i^{33}ɕə^{53}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.15
	n̥i^{53}	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.15
Muya [Minyak]	**nɯ^{35}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.15
	n̥i^{35}ɕɯ^{53}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.15
	n̥i^{35}ɕɯ^{53}tsɛ^{55}tɕi^{53}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.15
Namuyi	no^{33}ku^{55}**n̥i^{53}**ku^{55}	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.19
	tɕhi^{55}ku^{55}**n̥i^{53}**ku^{55}	they two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:977.19
	xo^{33}**n̥i^{55}**ɬi^{55}	December	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:87.19
	ŋa^{55}ku^{55}**n̥i^{53}**ku^{33}	we two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:970.19
	n̥i^{53}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.19
	n̥i^{55}ɬi^{55}	February	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:77.19
	χo^{55}**n̥i^{53}**	twelve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:922.19
	tɕhi^{55}ku^{31} **n̥i^{55}**ku^{31}	they two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0935.46

	ŋa^{55}ku^{53} **ɲi^{53}**ku^{31}	we (two) (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0929.46
	ɲi^{53}	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.46
	ɲi^{55}ɬi^{53}	February (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0773.46
	ɲi ɔ^{53}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.46
	χuo^{31}**ɲi^{53}**	twelve (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**nɯ^{11}** (lĩ^{55})	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**ni^{13}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.09
	nə^{13}Go^{55}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.09
	qo^{55}**ni^{55}**	twelve (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**ni^{13}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.11
	nə^{13}Go^{55}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.11
	nə^{13}Go^{55}ti^{13}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.11
	qo^{55}**ni^{55}**	twelve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:922.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**nə^{35}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.10
	nə^{35}li^{55}mei^{35}	February	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:77.10
	nə^{35}ɣa^{53}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.10
	nə^{35}ɣa^{53}ti^{35}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**nə̀**	two	Evans 1999:1175
	nə̀ lə̀	February	Evans 1999:1124 [a]
	nə̀ sá	twenty	Evans 1999:1193
	nə̀ sá à	twenty-one	Evans 1999:1194
	nə̀-tɕhæ̀N	two dollars (coins) [two-b]	Evans 1999:1314
	ɦà **nə̀**	twelve	Evans 1999:1185
Qiang (Mawo)	hɑ **ɲə**	twelve (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.08
	ɣnə	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.8
	ɣnə su	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.8
	ɣnə su a	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**nə̀** dzɛ́	two dollars (coins)	Evans 1999:1314
	nə̀ dzò̱u	two taels of liquor	Evans 1999:1313
	nə̀ lə̀	February	Evans 1999:1124 [b]
	nə̀ qó	two	Evans 1999:1175
	nə̀ sá	twenty	Evans 1999:1193
	nə̀ sá ɲà à qó	twenty-one	Evans 1999:1194
	nə̀ sè tí	twenty-one	Evans 1999:1194
	tɕà **nə̀** pù	recently [these-two-years]	Evans 1999:1150
	tɕà-**nə́**-sè	recent days [these-two-days]	Evans 1999:1088
	ú lè **nə̀** qó	you two	Evans 1999:1364
	ŋà-lè-(**nə̀**-qó)	we two [I-he-two-CL]	Evans 1999:1360
	ɦà **nə́**	twelve	Evans 1999:1185
	ɦà ŋá-**nə̀**-qó	they two [they-two-CL]	Evans 1999:1367
Qiang (Taoping)	(**χ**)nə^{31}sɑ^{33}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.9
	(**χ**)nə^{31}sɑ^{33}tʃ̩^{33}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.9
	ɲi^{55}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.9
	ɲi^{55}ʂ̩^{33}	February	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:77.9
	χɑ^{31}**ɲi^{33}**	twelve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:922.9
Queyu (Xinlong)	(**ɲi^{55}**) ro^{31}	classifier for two birds (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0842.13
	(**ɲi^{55}**) rpe^{55}	classifier for two books (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0849.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**na^{35}tɕã^{53}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.16
	na^{55}ɣa^{35}tɕã^{53}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**na^{55}ɣa^{55}**	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**na^{55}ɣɑ^{35}ti^{55}tɕã^{53}**	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.16
	tsɛ^{35}**na^{35}**	they two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:977.16
	xa^{35}**na^{55}**tɕã^{53}	twelve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:922.16
	ŋa^{35}**na^{35}**	we two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:970.16
	ɲe^{35}**na^{35}**	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɲi^{55}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.13
Xumi	**na^{33}ʁa^{55}**	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.17
	nɐ^{33}ʁɛ^{55}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.20
	nɐ^{33}ʁɛ^{55}dʑĩ^{35}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.20
	ɲa^{33} (ku^{53})	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.17
	ɲɛ^{33}(ko^{35})	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.20
	ɲɛ^{33}ɬɯ^{55}	February	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:77.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	(**nɛ^{33}**) pa^{55}	classifier for two birds (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0842.14
	(**nɛ^{33}**) tshi^{55}	classifier for two books (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0849.14
	nɛ^{33}tshɳ^{55}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.14
	nɛ^{13}	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.14
	nu^{55} **nɛ^{55}**	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.14
	tshe^{55}**ne^{55}**	twelve (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.14
	ŋə^{33} **nɛ^{55}**	we (two) (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0929.14
	ŋu^{55} **nɛ^{33}**	they two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0935.14
	ʐu^{55}**nɛ^{33}**	they two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0935.14

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Ergong (Danba)	**wne**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.14
	wne sqha	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.14
	wne sqha ʐau	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.14
Daofu	**ɣnə**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.12
	ɣnə sqha	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.12

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong	**kěněs**	two	LaPolla 1987:52
	kěněs	two	Benedict 1972:4
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**kə nəs** ʃtʃᴇ	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.11
rGyalrong	**kə nəs** ʃtʃᴇ	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.12
	kə nəs ʃtʃᴇ kə tᴇk	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	**kə nᴇs**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.11
rGyalrong	**kə nᴇs**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.12
	ʃtʃə **nəs**	twelve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:922.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	ʃtʃᴇ **nəs**	twelve (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.11
Caodeng	**ʁné**-ri	two hundred	Sun 1997a
	ʁnes	two	Sun 1997a
	ʁnes-qe	twenty	Sun 1997a
	ʁnes-qé-fte	twenty-one	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong	**kA nyes**	two	Nagano 1997:120
	kA nyes gye	twenty	Nagano 1997:115
rGBenzhen	**kə-ɲe** zdʒe?	twenty	Sun 1997b
	kə-ɲe/əs	two	Sun 1997b
	zdʒo-**ɲes**	twelve	Sun 1997b

4. NUNGIC

Anong	ə **ni**	two	Benedict 1972:16n60
Rawang	ə **ni^{53}**	two	LaPolla 2003:846
	ə **ni^{53}** sɛ^{53}	twenty	LaPolla 2003:864
Nung	ɑ^{31}**ɲ̣^{55}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}**ɲ̣^{55}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.44
Nung	ɑ^{31}ɲ̣^{55}tshɑ^{55}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.21
Anong	ɑ^{31}ɲ̣^{55}tshɑ^{55}	twenty; twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.44; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.44
Dulong	ɑ^{31}**ni^{55}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31}**ni^{55}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.46
Dulong	ɑ^{31}ni^{55}sɑn^{55}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.20
Trung [Dulong]	ɑ^{31}ni^{55}tsɑ̆l^{55}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.46
	ɑ^{31}ni^{55}tsɑ̆l^{55}tĭʔ^{55}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	a^{31} **ni^{55}**	two	LaPolla 1987:52
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	a^{31} **ńi^{55}**	two	LaPolla 1987:52
	ɲ̣i^{55}tshɑ̆n^{55}	twenty	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
	ɑ^{31}**ɲ̣i^{55}**	two	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia (Southern)	**le^{55}**	two	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	le^{55}h̄i^{21}	twenty	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**ne^{55}**	two	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	ne^{55}xi^{35}	twenty	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
	nie1	two (num.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	nie1hi1	twenty (num.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	nie1la1hu3	two people (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	nie1si3	two months (n.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	nie^{1}	two	Brassett *et al.* 2006:7.2
	nie^{1}hi^{1}	twenty	Brassett *et al.* 2006:7.2
	nie^{1}si^{3}	two months	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.4
Tujia	**ɲ̣ie^{55}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.49
	ɲ̣ie^{55}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.38
	ɲ̣ie^{55}xɯ^{55}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.49
	ɲ̣ie^{55}xɯ^{55}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.38
	ɲ̣ie^{55}xɯ^{55}la^{35}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.38
	ɲ̣i^{35}ɲ̣ie^{55}xu^{21}	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.49

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: *ʔ-nit ≍ *ni² TWO

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ni**	two	Matisoff 1972b:160(b)
	***nit**	two	Matisoff 1972b:160(a)
	***ʔ-nit ≍ ni²**	two	Matisoff 2003a:604
	***ʔnit**	two	Matisoff 1972b:160(c)

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**n̥i?^{44}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.40
	n̥i?^{44}hsɛ^{22}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.40
	n̥i?^{44}hsɛ^{53}ti?^{44}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.40
Burmese (Written)	**hnac**	two	Hansson 1989:122; Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:52
	hnats	two	Benedict 1972:16n60
	hnɑs	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.39
	hnɑs hsɑj^{2}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.39
	hnɑs hsɑj^{1}tɑs	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.39
	hnɑs^{4}	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.26
	hnɑs^{4}shɑj^{2}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.26
Langsu (Luxi)	**ʃi̱k^{55}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.31
	ʃi̱k^{55}tshɛ^{31}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**ə̱k^{55}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.33
	ə̱^{55}tshe^{33}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.33
Marma	**hnɔiʔ**	two	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:395
	hnɔiʔ-che	twenty	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:404
Maru [Langsu]	**ʃi̱k^{55}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.43
	ʃi̱k^{55}tshɛ^{31}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.43
	ʃi̱k^{55}tshɛ^{31}ta^{31}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**i̱^{55}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.30
	i̱^{55}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.42
	i̱^{55}tshe^{51}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.30
	i̱^{55}tshe^{51}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.42
	i̱^{55}tshe^{51}ʒa^{21}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH: *s-ni(k)²/ᴸ TWO

**Loloish*	***s-ni(k)²/ᴸ**	two	Weidert 1987:178; Bradley 1979b:479; Hansson 1989:122
PNL	**ʔnitᴸ**	two	CHEN Kang 1986a:23.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**ŋ^{31}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.47
	ŋ^{31}tshi^{33}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.47
	ŋ^{31}tsi^{33}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.47
Lalo	**ni^{21}**	two	CHEN Kang 1986a:23.
Lipho	**ɲ̣i^{21}**	two	CHEN Kang 1986a:23.
Luquan	**ni 55**	two	Matisoff 1972b:160(a)
Nasu	**ɲ̣i^{55}**	two	CHEN Kang 1986a:23.
Neisu	**ɲ̣i^{55}**	two	CHEN Kang 1986a:23.
Nesu	**ɲ̣i^{21}**	two	CHEN Kang 1986a:23.
Nosu	**ɲ̣i^{21}**	two	CHEN Kang 1986a:23.
Nusu (Bijiang)	**m̩^{55}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.45
	m̩^{55}tshe^{31}thi^{53}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.45
	m̩^{55}tshe^{35}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.45
Nusu (Central)	**m^{55}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.34

[a] [Source Note] calque.
[b] [Source Note] calque.

	m^{55}tshe^{33}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.34
Nusu (Northern)	**nɛ^{31}**	two	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	nɛ^{31}tshe^{31}	twenty	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**ɦĩ^{35}**	two	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
	ɦĩ^{35}tshe^{31}	twenty	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**n(i)^{21}**tsɯ^{33}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.22
	n(i)^{21}tsɯ^{33}thi^{55}	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.22
	ȵi^{55}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.22
Yi (Liangshan)	nɯ^{21}**ȵi^{55}**	you (dual)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ȵi^{21}	two	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ȵi^{21}tsi^{33}	twenty	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ȵi^{55}	two people [classifier]	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ni^{21}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.25
	ni^{21}tsi^{33}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.25
	ni$^{21}tsi^{33}thi^{21}$	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**ni^{21}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.26
	ni^{21}tsɯ^{55}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.26
	ni$^{21}tsɯ^{55}thi^{21}$	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.26
	nA^{33}**ni^{21}**	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**ni^{21}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.24
	ni^{21}tsi^{33}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.24
	ni$^{21}tsi^{33}thi^{21}$	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.24
	no^{21}**ṇ^{21}ʑo^{33}**	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.37
	nɛ^{21}**ni^{21}ʑo^{21}**	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.24
	ṇ^{21}	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.37
	ṇ^{21}tsi^{33}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**ṇ(ɭ)$^{21}tsi^{33}tshɿ^{44}$**	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.23
	ṇ(ɭ)^{55}ni^{21}ɑo^{21}	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.23
	ṇ(ɭ)^{21}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.23
	ṇ(ɭ)^{21}tɕi^{55}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.23
	ṇ(ɭ)^{33}tsɑ^{33}	you (pl.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:975.23
Yi (Weishan)	**ṇ^{21}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.36
	ṇ^{21}tɕi^{55}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.36
Yi (Wuding)	ni^{55} **ȵi^{55}**	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.38
	ȵi^{55}	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.38
	ȵi^{55}tse^{33}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.38
Yi (Xide)	nɯ^{21}**ȵi^{55}**	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.21
	ȵi^{21}	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.35
	ȵi^{21}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.21
	ȵi^{21} **ȵi^{55}**	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.35
	ȵi^{21}tsi^{33}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.35
	ȵi$^{21}tsi^{33}tshɿ^{44}$	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.21
	ṇ(i)^{21}tsi^{33}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**ni 21**	two	Matisoff 1972b:160(b)
	ni^{21}	two	CHEN Kang 1986a:23.
Jinuo	**ni^{33}**tshə^{55}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.44
	ni^{55}	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.44
	ni^{55}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.34
	ni^{55}tshɯ^{42}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.34
	ni$^{55}tshɯ^{42}thi^{33}$	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.34
	nɯ^{33}**ni^{33}**	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.34
	nɯ^{55} **ni^{55}**	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.44
Jinuo (Youle)	**n̥^{33}**tshə^{55}	twenty	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	n̥^{55}	two	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	tshə^{42}**n̥^{55}**	twenty	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	**ȵi31** ma31	two	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
	ȵɛ35 **ȵi31** vi55	you two	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	**nî**	two	Weidert 1987:178
Lahu (Lancang)	**ni^{53}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.43
	ni^{53}tɕhi^{33}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.43
Lahu (Black)	**nî**	two	Matisoff 1972b:160(b)
	ni^{53}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.33
	ni^{53}tshi^{33}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.33
	ni$^{53}tshi^{33}te^{53}$	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ȵi^{3}**	two	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ȵi^{3}tɕhi^{1}	twenty	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**ni^{21}**	two (Q.)	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}ha^{35}$	two branches	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}khɔʔ^{21}	two years	Bradley 1994
	**ni$^{21}kwa^{33}** tshɔ^{33}dʑɔ^{44}	live in separation in two places	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}my^{21}$	two places	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}my^{21}tshɔ^{33}$	people from two different places	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}ni^{33}$	two days	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}phi^{21}$ ni^{21}pɤ^{55}	two ends; two sides	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}phɔ^{35}$	two sides	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}phɔ^{35}$ ni^{21}jæ^{33}	two parties; two sides	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}pɤ^{55}$ ni^{21}jæ^{33}	two ends; two sides	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}pɤ^{55}$ ni^{21}laʔ^{21}	two sides; heads and tails	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}rɯ^{21}$	two shares	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}thɔ^{55}$	two sections	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}tse^{33}$	team of two	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}tshi^{33}	twenty	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}tshiʔ^{21}$	two generations	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}tshiʔ^{21}tshɔ^{33}$	people of two generations	Bradley 1994
	ni^{21}tsi^{33}	twenty	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}tø^{35}$	two layers; double layered	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}zi^{35}$	two rounds	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}zɤ^{44}$	two generations	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}ʃl^{21}$	two kinds; two types; two races	Bradley 1994
	ni$^{21}ʃl^{55}ni^{33}$	compatriots; two brothers; brother and sister	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**nyì**	two	Weidert 1987:178
	nyï5	two	Matisoff 1972b:160(b)
Lisu (Central)	**nyi^{5}**	two	Fraser 1922
	ɲi^{21}	two (Q.)	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}ha^{35}$	two branches	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}khɔʔ^{21}$	two years	Bradley 1994
	**ɲi$^{21}kwa^{33}** tshɔ^{33}dʑɔ^{44}	live in separation in two places	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}ma^{33} la^{21}tshɔ^{33}	husband and wife; couple	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}my^{21}$	two places	Bradley 1994
	**ɲi$^{21}my^{21}** tshɔ^{33}	people from two different places	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}mɤ^{21}	second marriage (remarry after first spouse's death or (for man) marry a second wife)	Bradley 1994
	**ɲi$^{21}phjø^{21}** ɲi^{21}pɤ^{55}	two ends; two sides	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}phɔ^{35}$	two sides	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}phɔ^{35}$ ɲi^{21}jæ^{33}	two parties; two sides	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}pɤ^{55}$ ɲi^{21}jæ^{33}	two ends; two sides	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}pɤ^{55}$ ɲi^{21}laʔ^{21}	two sides; heads and tails	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}rɯ^{21}$	two shares	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}thɔ^{55}$	two sections	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}tse^{33}$	team of two	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}tshi^{33}	twenty	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}tshiʔ^{21}$	two generations	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}tshiʔ^{21}tshɔ^{33}$	people of two generations	Bradley 1994
	ɲi^{21}tsi^{33}	twenty	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}tø^{35}$	two layers; double layered	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}zi^{35}$	two rounds	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}zɤ^{44}$	two generations	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}ʃl^{21}$	two kinds; two types; two races	Bradley 1994
	ɲi$^{21}ʃl^{55}ɲi^{33}$	compatriots; two brothers; brother and sister	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**ṇi^{31}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.40
	ṇi^{31}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.27
	ṇi^{31}tshi̱^{33}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.40
	ṇi^{31}tshɿ^{44}; **ṇi^{31}**tsɿ^{44}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.27
	ṇi$^{31}tshɿ^{44}thi^{31}$	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.27
	ṇi^{31}tsi̱^{33}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.40
Sani [Nyi]	**ni^{21}**	two	CHEN Kang 1986a:23.
Yi (Sani)	nɒ^{11} **ṇ^{11}** mɒ^{33}	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.39
Sani [Nyi]	**ṇ 11**	two	Matisoff 1972b:160(b)
Yi (Sani)	**ṇ^{11}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.39
	ṇ^{11}tsɪ^{33}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	**nì**	two	Hansson 1989:122
Akha (Thai)	**njì**	two	Hansson 1989:122
Akha (Yunnan)	**njì**	two	Hansson 1989:122
Akha	**njì**/njìq	two	Hansson 1989:122
	nyì	two	Weidert 1987:178
	nyi LS	two (used in counting)	Matisoff 1972b:160(a)
	nyi L	two	Matisoff 1972b:160(b)
Bisu	**ni**	two	Bradley 199x
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	**ni 21**	two	Matisoff 1972b:160(b)
Hani (Lüchun)	**njì**	two	Hansson 1989:122
Hani (Dazhai)	no^{55}**ȵi^{31}**ɣa^{31}	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.31
	ȵi^{31}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.31
	ȵi^{31}tshe^{33}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.31
	ȵi$^{31}tshe^{55}$ tɨ	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.31
Hani (Lüchun)	no^{55} **ȵa^{31}**	you two (pron.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0932.41
	ȵi^{31}	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.41
	ȵi^{31}tshe^{55}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.41
Hani (Caiyuan)	**nę̱^{31}**	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.30
	nę̱^{31}tshɤ^{55}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.30
	nę̱$^{31}tshɤ^{55}thɤ^{31}$	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.30
Hani (Pijo)	**njè**	two	Hansson 1989:122
Hani (Caiyuan)	nɔ^{31}ɣ^{33}**nę̱^{31}**kɔ^{31}	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ȵi^{31}**	two	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ȵi^{31}tshe^{55}	twenty	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	ȵi̱$^{31}tshe^{55}thi^{31}$	twenty one	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**niq**	two	Hansson 1989:122
Hani (Shuikui)	no^{33}**ȵi̱^{31}**ɣɔ^{31}	you two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:974.32
	ȵi̱^{31}	two	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:912.32
	ȵi̱^{31}tshɛ^{55}	twenty	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:930.32
	ȵi̱$^{31}tshɛ^{55}thi^{31}$	twenty-one	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:931.32
Hani (Khatu)	**njè**	two	Hansson 1989:122
Hani (Mojiang)	**ȵi̱^{31}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.42
	ȵi̱^{31}tshɛ^{55}	twenty (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.42
Mpi	**ɲi^{2}**/ɲiʔ^{2}	two	Hansson 1989:122
	ɲiʔ^{2}	two	SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Woni	**ni 33**	two	Matisoff 1972b:160(a)

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	la˩ts^{h}i˩ **ɲi**˩ ɲi˩	2nd day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009:1570
	ts^{h}i˥**ɲi**˥gv˥	12	Michaud 2006–2009:1723
	ts^{h}i˥**ɲi**˥lie˥mie˥	12th month	Michaud 2006–2009:1674
	ɲi˥gv˥	2	Michaud 2006–2009:1713
	ɲi˧ lie˧mie˧	2nd month	Michaud 2006–2009:1664
	ɲi˧tsi˧gv˧	20	Michaud 2006–2009:1731
Na (Yongning)	ts^{h}e˧do˧**ɲi**˧ɲi˧	2nd day of the month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ts^{h}e˧**ɲi**˧	12	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧tsi˧	20	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧tsi˧gv˧	29	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧tsi˧hũ˥	28	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧tsi˧q^{h}v˥	26	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧tsi˧so˩	23	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧tsi˧ŋwɤ˧	25	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧tsi˧ɖɯ˥	21	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧tsi˧**ɲi**˧	22	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧tsi˧ʂɯ˧	27	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧tsi˧ʐv˧	24	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˧ȴi˧mi˧	2nd month	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɲi˥	2	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	tshe^{33}**ȵi^{21}**	twelve (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0808.45
Naxi (Yongning)	tshe^{33}**ȵi^{33}**	twelve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:922.29
	tshe^{33}**ȵi^{33}**le^{33}	December	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:87.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	tshe^{33}**ȵi^{31}**	twelve	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:922.28
Naxi	**ȵi^{21}**	two (num.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.45

Naxi (Lijiang)	**ɳi**^{33}tsəɹ^{31}	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.28
	ɳi^{33}**tsəɹ**^{31}**du**^{33}	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.28
	ɳi^{33}tsəɹ^{31}ɳi^{33}	day, twentieth of month	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:100.28
Naxi	**ɳi**^{33}tsɔ^{21}	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɳi**^{33}tsɭ^{33}	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.29
	ɳi^{33}**tsɭ**^{33}**dɭ**^{13}	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.29
	ɳi^{33}ʈe^{33}mi^{33}	February	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:77.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ɳi**^{31}	two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:912.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**ɳi**^{13}	two	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:912.29

7. Karenic: *__k-hnej__^{A} two

**Karen*	*__hni__	two	Benedict 1972:136n369
	*__hni__ / khi	two	Benedict 1972:130n355
	*__k-hnej__^{A}	two	Luangthongkum 2013:313
**Karen [Burling]*	*__ni__^{4}	two	Luangthongkum 2013:313
Bwe	**ki**^{55}	two	Luangthongkum 2013:313
Karen	**khi**^{55}	two (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0798.50
	khi^{55}tshi^{55}	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.50
Kayah	**nə**^{33}	two	Luangthongkum 2013:313
Kayan (Pekon)	**nì**	two (used only for counting) (NUM.)	Manson 2010
	ní-	two (NUM.)	Manson 2010
Kayan	**ŋɨ**^{53}	two	Luangthongkum 2013:313
Kayan (Pekon)	θa **ní**	two (NUM.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**ki**^{55}	two	Luangthongkum 2013:313
Pa-O	**nì**	two	Solnit 1989
	ni (high tone)	two	Benedict 1972:131n356
	nì chì	twenty	Solnit 1989
Pa-O (Southern)	**ni**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	two	Luangthongkum 2013:313
Pa-O (Northern)	**ni**$^{31\cdot\cdot}$	two	Luangthongkum 2013:313
Palaychi	**tśhi**	two	Benedict 1972:131n356
Pwo (Northern)	**khei**^{35}	two	Luangthongkum 2013:313
Pwo (Southern)	**nei**^{53}	two	Luangthongkum 2013:313
Karen (Sgaw)	**khi**	two	Benedict 1972:131n356
Sgaw (Northern)	**khi**^{33}	two	Luangthongkum 2013:313
Sgaw (Southern)	**khi**^{55}	two	Luangthongkum 2013:313

8. Bai

Bai (Dali)	**nɛ** 2	two	Dell 1981b:236
Bai (Jianchuan)	**ni**^{21}ɕi^{21}	twenty (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0816.48
	ni^{31}ɕi^{31}	twenty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:930.36
	ni^{35}**ji**^{44}	twenty-one	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:931.36

9. Sinitic

Chinese (Hanzi)	二	two	Baxter & Sagart 2011:644; Nagano & Prins 2013:1871
	二十二	twenty two	Nagano & Prins 2013:1911
Chinese (GSR #)	**0564a**	two	Baxter & Sagart 2011:644

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**/ńi̯ə̂r**	two	Chou Fa-kao 1972:564a-d
Chinese (Old)	**nij**-s {ni[j]-s}	two	Baxter & Sagart 2011:643; Baxter & Sagart 2011:644
	ńi̯ə̂r	two	Chou Fa-kao 1972:564a-d
	njijs	two	Baxter 1992:724

9.0.2. Middle Chinese

Chinese (Middle)	**nyijH**	two	Baxter & Sagart 2011:643; Baxter & Sagart 2011:644

9.0.3. Modern Chinese

Chinese (Mandarin)	**èr**	two	Evans *et al.* 1991; Baxter & Sagart 2011:643; Baxter & Sagart 2011:644

Chinese comparandum

二 OC *__ńi̯ə̂r__, *GSR* #564a-d ‘two’; Coblin 86:154 ST *__gnyis__ > PC *__njit__ > OC *__njidh__; Schuessler 2007:226-7 *__nis__ or *__nih__; B & S 2011: *__nij-s {ni[j]-s}__; Mand. **èr**.
次 OC *__ts’i̯ə̂r__, *GSR* #555a-b ‘arrange in order; order (n.); next in order, second’; Schuessler 2007:198 *__tshis/h__ < *__s-nhis__; B & S 2011: *__s-n̥ij-s {[s-n̥]i[j]-s}__; Mand. **cì**.

9.10.1 Roads and Ways

(1) PKC *koŋ ALLEY / LANE / PATH / ROAD

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	*__koŋ__	ALLEY / LANE / PATH / ROAD	VanBik 2009:250

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**kong**	alley	VanBik 2009:250
Sizang	**kawng**	entrance	VanBik 2009:250
Tiddim	**kong**^{2} zing^{1}	street	VanBik 2009:250

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**kôŋ**	alley, lane	VanBik 2009:250
Lushai [Mizo]	**kawng**	road	Marrison 1967
	káwng	road, a roadway, a path, a route, a track (n.)	VanBik 2009:250

(2) PKar *glɛ^{A} PATH / TRAIL / WAY

7. Karenic

**Karen*	*__glɛ__^{A}	path, trail, way	Luangthongkum 2013:213
**Karen [Burling]*	*__klɛ__^{4}	path, trail, way	Luangthongkum 2013:213
Bwe	**klɛ**^{33}	path, trail, way	Luangthongkum 2013:213
Kayan	**khlɛ**^{33}	path, trail, way	Luangthongkum 2013:213
Kayaw	**klɛ**^{33}	path, trail, way	Luangthongkum 2013:213
Pa-O (Southern)	**klai**^{53}	path, trail, way	Luangthongkum 2013:213
Sgaw (Southern)	**klɛ**^{33}	path, trail, way	Luangthongkum 2013:213
Sgaw (Northern)	**klɛ**^{33}~**klɛʔ**^{45}	path, trail, way	Luangthongkum 2013:213

(3) PTB *r-ka ⩬ *k(r)a PATH / WAY / CHANNEL / DITCH

Many reflexes point to a simple prototype *__ka__, but there also is strong evidence for a rhotic element, either prefixal (as in WT **rka**) or medial (as in Nusu Bijiang **khɹɑ**^{35}). Many other purported reflexes have voiced initials (as in Hani Gelanghe **ga**^{55}**ma**^{33} ‘road, way’), which perhaps means that a separate root or allofam *__ga__ should be set up, as witness another Gelanghe form, **ɯ**^{55}**xɛ**^{31} ‘ditch’.

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	tɕhə **rkæ**	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	tɕhər **ka**	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	tɕhə **rka**	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.5
Tibetan (Batang)	**ka**^{53}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.03
Tibetan (Written)	**rka**	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**hka**	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.04

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	**kha** dala	ditch (n.)	Rai 1985

3.2. Qiangic

Namuyi	**qhɛ**^{33}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.19
	qhæ^{33}bu^{55}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.46
Pumi (Lanping)	tʃə^{55}**qha**^{55}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	tʃə^{55}**qha**^{55}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.11
Qiang (Longxi)	**qhuà**	ditch	Evans 1999:36
Qiang (Mawo)	tsə **gui**^{1}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	**qhò** ɔ́	ditch	Evans 1999:36
	qhuà tsué	ditch (large)	Evans 1999:36
Queyu (Xinlong)	ʒi^{13} **qo**^{55}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.13

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**quɛ** zɻɛ	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.14
Daofu	**ɣrə** rɛ	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.12

6.1.1. Burmish

Maru [Langsu]	**khjɔ**^{31}	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**khjo**^{51}	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.42

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Lalo	ɣə́-**khà**	ditch	Björverud 1994
Nusu (Northern)	**khɹɑ**^{31}	ditch	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	khɹɑ^{31}phɹiõ^{31}	road / way	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**khɹɑ**^{35}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.45
	khɹɑ^{35}phɹɔ̃^{35}	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.45
Nusu (Central)	ɣɹi^{33}**khɹa**^{33}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**ga**^{33}	distance; pathway; road; trail (path)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ga^{33}po^{34}	path, correct	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ga^{33}ʐa^{55}	make way	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ga^{33}ʑo^{55}	go the wrong way; lose (one’s way); lost, get; turn, take a wrong	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ga^{34}sɛ^{33}	path	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ga^{34}ʂa^{33}	path, difficult; see somebody off	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ga^{34}tɕɛ^{33}	path; road; route	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tʂɯ^{55}**ga**^{33}	Milky Way	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʐɭ^{33}**ga**^{33}	ditch (channel)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Nanhua)	bɐ̯^{33}**gɑ**^{21}	lead the way (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.37
Yi (Nanjian)	**gɑ**^{55}mɑ^{33}	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.23
	ɣɯ^{55}**khɑ**^{21}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.23
Yi (Weishan)	ɣɯ^{55}**khɑ**^{21}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.36
Yi (Xide)	**ga**^{21}mo^{21}	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.21
	gɑ^{33} ʐɑ^{55}	make way for / give way (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1586.35
	ʐɭ^{33}**ga**^{33}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.21
	ʐɭ^{33}**gɑ**^{33}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	a^{33}**khɹo**^{33}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.34
	jɔ^{33}**khɔ**^{33}	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.34
Jinuo (Youle)	jɔ^{44}**kho**^{44}	road / way	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	ɣɯ31 **khʌ31**	ditch; channel	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	ɣɯ^{31}**qhɑ**^{53}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.43
Lahu (Black)	ɣɯ^{31}**qhʌ**^{53}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.33
Lahu (Yellow)	ɣɯ^{2}**qha**^{3}	ditch	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Central)	ji^{33}**khwa**^{21}tɕø^{35}	ditch; irrigation ditch	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	ji^{33}**khwa**^{21}tɕɤ^{35}	ditch; irrigation ditch	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	ż^{33}**kɒ**^{33}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Yunnan)	ý **xhè**	irrigation ditch	Hansson 1989:225
Akha (Thai)	ý-**xhè**	irrigation ditch	Hansson 1989:225
Hani (Dazhai)	**ga**^{55}ma^{33}	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.31
	lo^{55}**ga**^{55}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.31
Hani (Lüchun)	ý **xhè**	irrigation ditch	Hansson 1989:225
	lo^{55}**ga**^{55}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.41
Hani (Pijo)	ý **ku**	irrigation ditch	Hansson 1989:225
Hani (Caiyuan)	ɤ^{55}**khɔ**^{31}; lu^{55}kaŋ^{33}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ga**^{55}ma^{33}	road / way	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ɯ^{55}**xɛ**^{31}	ditch	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	ɣɯ^{55}**kɔ**^{55}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.32
Hani (Khatu)	ý **ku**	irrigation ditch	Hansson 1989:225
Hani (Mojiang)	lu^{55}**ka**^{33}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.42

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Southern Muji	ʑi^{21}**ka**^{13}	ditch	Pelkey 2011:26
Phu Kha	ɯ^{33} **za**^{31}	ditch	Fried 2000

6.2. Naxi

Naxi (Yongning)	**kha**^{33}	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.29
Naxi	**khæ**^{33}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.45
	khə^{33}	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**khə**^{33} (**kha**^{33})	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.28

Chinese comparandum

柜 OC *__kɨ̯wo__, *GSR* #95f ‘gutter’; Schuessler 2007:324 *__kwaʔ__; Mand. **jǔ**.
澮 OC *__kwə̂d__, *GSR* #321f ‘watering channel, drain, canal’; Schuessler 2007:324 *__kwə̂ts__~*__kôts__; B & S 2011: *__kˢop-s {[k]ˢop-s}__; Mand. **kuài**.
闕 OC *__kʰi̯wə̌t__, *GSR* #301h ‘opening, breach; gate’; Schuessler 2007:324 *__khwat__~*__khot__; B & S 2011: *__kʷʰat__; Mand. **què**.
渠 OC *__gʱi̯o__, *GSR* #95g ‘canal’; Schuessler 2007:324 *__gwa__; B & S 2011: *__ga {[g](r)a}__; Mand. **qú**.
衢 OC *__gʱɨ̯wo__, *GSR* #96d ‘road; crossroads’; Schuessler 2007:436 *__gwa__; B & S 2011: (*__gʷa__); Mand. **qú**.

(4) PTB *lam ROAD

This etymon bears some resemblance to PTB *__lwam__ THROAT (§1.3.5), since one could maintain that the throat is the road into the body. This seems somewhat fanciful, however.

The Tamangic forms imply an allofam with a velar prefix.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	*__lam__	way; road	Weidert 1987:313; Matisoff 2003a:599; Benedict 1972:87

1.1.1. Tani: *__lam__ ROAD

**Tani*	*__lam__	road	Sun 1993a:327

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**lém**-bo	road	Sun 1993b
	lem-bo	road	Sun 1993b
	len-da	road	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b

Bengni	**lam**-juk	path	Sun 1993b
	lam-tuː	road	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	(doŋ-ñi) čaŋ-**lam**	east	Sun 1993b
	(doŋ-ñi) oŋ-**lam**	west	Sun 1993b
	lam	trace	Sun 1993b
	lam	mark / trace / track (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0695.24
	lam tə in gəː gəː	lead (the way) / guide (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.24
	lam-bak	branch road	Sun 1993b
	lam-tə	road; road, path, way	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	lam-tə a-pəː	mountain trail	Sun 1993b
	lam tə	road (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0038.24
	lok-**lam**	fingerprint; handprint	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	loː ako **lam** tə	day's (journey) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.24
	lə-**lam**	footprint	Sun 1993b
	oŋ **lam**	west (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0706.24
	tɕaŋ **lam**	east (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0704.24
Bokar Lhoba	**lam** tə	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.51
	mo tʂa **lam** tə	highway	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:476.51
	oŋ **lam**	west	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:48.51
	tɕaŋ **lam**	east	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:47.51
Galo	**-lam**	waypoint (vs:nzr.)	GLDC 2009
	aa **lam**	entryway (n.)	GLDC 2009
	cə **lam**	side (n.)	GLDC 2009
	in **lam**	path (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ka **lam**	side (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻnen **lam**	exit (n.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	bé-**lam**	down side	Das Gupta 1969
	lam dum	crossroad	Das Gupta 1969
	lam pya	road	Das Gupta 1969
	té-**lam**	up side	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	eruŋ **lam** da	muddy road	Das Gupta 1983
	lam da	road	Das Gupta 1983
	pakuŋ pala **lam** da	zigzag road	Das Gupta 1983
	ɤ **lam** da-ŋa mo-tum-to	he obstructed the road	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**lam**-tə; **lam**-bə	road	Sun 1993a
Damu	**lam**-do	way, road (branch road)	Sun 1993b

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	a: **lem**	road	NEFA (India) 1963
	ɑ^{31}**lim**^{55}	road (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0038.22
	ɑ^{31}**lim**^{55}	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.49
Kaman [Miju]	bloŋ^{35}; **lam**^{55}	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.48
	lɯm^{55}	road (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0038.23
Idu	ɑ^{31}**lioŋ**^{35}	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.50
Yidu	ɑ^{31}**lioŋ**^{35}	road (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0038.25

1.2. Kuki-Chin: *lam DIRECTION / SIDE / TOWARDS, *lam WAY / PATH / ROAD

**Chin*	*lam	DIRECTION; SIDE; TOWARDS; WAY; PATH; ROAD	VanBik 2009:1010; VanBik 2009:1067

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Kuki-Chin	khut **lam**	fingerprint	Haokip 1998:7.1.6
Paite	**lam**	path	VanBik 2009:1067
Sizang	**lam**	road	VanBik 2009:1067
	lam hil pā	guide ("one who explains the way")	VanBik 2009:1082
	sak **lam**	north	VanBik 2009:593
Thado	**lâm**	towards; road, way, path	VanBik 2009:1010; VanBik 2009:1067
Tiddim	hi?^{3} **lam**^{1}	this side	Bhaskararao 1996:455
	hi?^{3} **lam**^{1}	this side	VanBik 2009:1010
	lam^{1} ka^{1}	forked road	Bhaskararao 1996:881
	lam^{1} pi^{1}	road	VanBik 2009:1067; Bhaskararao 1996:882
	ˊlam	way / road (n.)	Henderson 1965
	ˊlamˊpiː	road / highway (n+nvs.)	Henderson 1965

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	**lawn**	road, a path (n.)	VanBik 2009:1067
Chinbon	**lam**	road, path	So-Hartmann 1988:188
Cho (Mindat)	**lam**	road, path (n.)	VanBik 2009:1067
Daai	**lám**	road, path	So-Hartmann 1988:188
	ʔsɔŋ lám	left side	VanBik 2009:1010
Khumi	**laang**	road, way, method, means	VanBik 2009:1067
	lām	road, path	So-Hartmann 1988:188
Mkaang	**lám**	road, path	So-Hartmann 1988:188
Ngmüün	**lám**	road, path	So-Hartmann 1988:188
Nyhmoye	**lám**	road, path	So-Hartmann 1988:188

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Falam)	**lám**	direction, side, towards	VanBik 2009:1010
Lai (Hakha)	**lâm**	road, path, way	VanBik 2009:1067
Lai (Falam)	**lám**	road, path, way	VanBik 2009:1067
Lushai [Mizo]	**lăm**	direction, side; way, pathway, path	VanBik 2009:1010; VanBik 2009:1067
	lam	way, direction, place	Benedict 1972:87
	lam-lian	road	Bhaskararao 1996:882; Benedict 1972:87; Marrison 1967
	tha-**zâm**	blood vessel; vein; artery; nerve	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	tha-**zaːm**	veins, arteries, nerves	Benedict 1972:442

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**lá**	direction	VanBik 2009:1010
	lá	road, a path (n.)	VanBik 2009:1067

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Sorbung	**lam**-bɯ̀ɯ̀	road; path	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Implements.024
	lam-pɯ	road	Brown 1837

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**lam**	road	Brown 1837; Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): *laːm PATH, ROAD, WAY

**Central Naga*	*laːm	PATH, ROAD, WAY	Bruhn 2014a:III.126
Ao (Chungli)	a nü dok **len**	east	Marrison 1967
	a nu dok **len**-tip	south	Marrison 1967
	len	road	Marrison 1967
	lən^{1}	path, road (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.126
	taba **len**	left-hand	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	o^{1}-**lan**^{3}	road (n.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.126
	ē **láṇ** à	right	Acharya 1975
	lán rò	path	Acharya 1975
	lan tsü o **lan**	road	Murry *et al.* 1978:105
	o **lan**	road	Marrison 1967
	ō **láṇ**	road	Acharya 1975
	poti **lan**	road	Murry *et al.* 1978:105
	^{1}o^{3}**lan(?)**	way / road	Weidert 1987:313
Sangtam	füli **lang**	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	lang	road	Kumar 1973a
	lang ti	road	Marrison 1967
	me **lang**	dream	Kumar 1973a
	mi **lang**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsa **lang**	right-hand	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	ung **lan**	road	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	huzü **lim**	left-hand	Marrison 1967
	lim ro	road	Marrison 1967
	lim tsa-a	walk (v.)	Marrison 1967
	mi **lim**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	tsü **lim**	right-hand	Marrison 1967
	^{1}**lim**^{1}ro	way / road	Weidert 1987:313

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Sema [Sumi]	poti **la**	road	Marrison 1967
	^{1}a^{1}**la**	way / road	Weidert 1987:313

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	**lam** pui	road	Marrison 1967
Maram	**lam**	road	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**lam** pui	road	Marrison 1967
	leng **lam**	north	Marrison 1967
	tang **lam**	south	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**lam**-pwi	road	Brown 1837
Zeme	^{1}he^{4}**lam**	way / road	Weidert 1987:313
Mzieme	**lam** pui	road	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

Champhung	**lam**-pi	road	Brown 1837

1.4. Meithei

Meithei	**lam** bi	road	Marrison 1967

1.7.1. Bodo-Garo: *lam ROAD

**Bodo-Garo*	*lam	road	Burling 1959:443

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**lam** á	footpath / road	Bhat 1968
	lam aʔ	way / path	Weidert 1987:85
	lam koŋ	path of wild animals	Bhat 1968
	moday **lam** á	milky way	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**lam** a	road	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	k^{h}i-**lam**	buttock	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	lam	road	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Meche	**lam** aʔ	way / path	Weidert 1987:85

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo	**lam**-a	way / path	Weidert 1987:85
	ram-	road	Benedict 1972:87

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**lam**	road	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Moshang)	**lam**	road	Marrison 1967
Tangsa (Yogli)	**lam**	road	Marrison 1967

1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang

Chang	**lam**	road	Marrison 1967
Phom	**lam**^{55}	road / path	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	lem	road	Marrison 1967
Wancho	**lam**	road	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	khă^{31}ʒaŋ^{31}leŋ^{31}**lam**^{33}	railroad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:475.47
	khă^{1}ʒaŋ^{31}leŋ^{31}**lam**^{33}	railroad	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lam	road	Marrison 1967
	lām	road / way	Matisoff 1974:244
	lam	road	Benedict 1972:87
	lam^{33}	road / way	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	lam^{33}	road (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0038.19
	lam^{33}	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.47
	mo^{33}to^{33}**lam**^{33}	highway	Liu Lu, ed. 1984; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:476.47
	n^{31}saʔ^{31}**lam**^{33}	genitals	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
	n sa **lam**	penis	Matisoff 1987
	sài **lam**	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	sai^{31}**lam**^{33}	pulse (wrist) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0131.19

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**lam**	path	Andvik 1993:53
Tsangla (Motuo)	**lam**	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.7
	lam^{13}	road / way	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	mo^{13}tʂa^{55}**lam**^{13}	highway	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	mo tʂa **lam**	highway	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:476.7
	ri **lam**	ditch	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:24.7
	ri^{13}**lam**^{13}	ditch	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	ri-**lam**	ditch	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	tɕɑk^{55}**lɯm**^{55}	railroad	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	tɕʌk^{53}**lem**^{13}	railroad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:475.6
Motuo Menba	**lam**	road (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0038.07
	ri **lam**	ditch / gully (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0034.07
Cuona Menba	mi^{55}**lam**^{53}ja^{35}	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Alike)	**lam**	road (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0038.05
	ɲə **lam**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.05
	ɲə **lam** ɲi	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	hdʑa **lam**	highway	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:476.4
	htɕak **lam**	railroad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:475.4
	lam	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.4
	ɲə **lam**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	hɲə **læm**	dream	Sun 1985a:199
	lam	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.5
	rɲə **lam**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.5
	rɟja **lam**	highway	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:476.5
	tɕak **lam**	railroad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:475.5
Tibetan (Batang)	mi^{55} **la**^{55} mi^{53}	dream (v.)	Dai Qingxia 1989a:1.18
	mɪ^{55}**lɑ̃**^{55}	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.03
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	tɕɑʔ^{53}**lɑŋ**^{55}	railroad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:475.3
	ɲi^{55}**lɑŋ**^{55}	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**lam**^{13}	road (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0038.02

	tɕak[53]**lam**[15]	railroad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:475.2
	n̥i?[53]**lam**[15]	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.2
	n̥i:[55]**ləm**[55]	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.02
	n̥i:[55]**ləm**[55] taŋ[55]	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.02
	ɕaŋ[55]**lam**[55]	anus (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0115.02
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	mē **lam**	dream (v.)	Bishop 1989:1.18
Tibetan (Spiti)	**lam**	way	Sharma 1979
Spiti	mi **lam**	dream (n.)	Bodh 1991:1.18
	mi **lam** yoŋ je	dream (v.)	Bodh 1991:1.18
Tibetan (Written)	(**lam** sna) khrid	lead (the way) / guide (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1251.01
	(**lam** sna) fikhrid	lead the way (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1756.01
	bs̀aŋ-**lám**	anus	Matisoff 1987
	gn̥id **lam**	dream	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:519.1
	gz̧uŋ **lam**	highway	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:476.1
	lam	road	Marrison 1967; Benedict 1972:87
	lam	road (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0038.01
	lam	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.1
	lam.khrid	guide	Sun 1985c:332
	ltɕags **lam**	railroad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:475.1
	rgya.**lam**	highway	Sun 1985c:361
	rmaŋ-**lam**	dream	LaPolla 1987:82; Benedict 1972:82
	rmi **lam**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.01
	rmi.**lam**	dream	Sun 1985c:199
	rmi **lam**	dream (n.)	Marrison 1967
	n̥in **lam** (gtɕig)	day's (journey) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0870.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	hnə **lam** nə	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.04
	hn̥ə **lam**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.04
	lam	road (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0038.04

2.1.4. Tamangish: *[B]**gjam** ROAD

**TGTM*	*[B]**gjam**	road; path, road	Mazaudon 1978:59; Mazaudon 1994:167
Gurung (Ghachok)	[4]**gã:**	road	Mazaudon 1978:59
	[4]**gjã:**	road	Mazaudon 1978:59
Manang (Gyaru)	**kyɛn**[3]	road	Nagano 1984:178
Manang (Ngawal)	[4]**khjẽ**	road	Mazaudon 1978:59
Manang (Prakaa)	[4]**k[h]jẽ**	way / road	Mazaudon 1994:167
	[4]**k[h]yẽ**	way / road	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0132
Tamang (Risiangku)	[4]**kjam**	road	Mazaudon 1978:59
Tamang (Sahu)	plehkpa **'kyahm**	road	Taylor *et al.* 1972:6.1
	plehpā **'kyāhm**	road (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.01
	[4]**kjam**	path; road	Mazaudon 1978:59; Mazaudon 1994:167
Tamang (Taglung)	[4]**kjam**	road	Mazaudon 1978:59; Mazaudon 1994:167
Thakali	**'kyahm**	road (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.01
Thakali (Marpha)	[4]**kjʌm**	road	Mazaudon 1978:59
Thakali (Syang)	[4]**kjʌm**	road	Mazaudon 1978:59
Thakali (Tukche)	**'kjɔhm**	road	Hari 1971:6.A.1
	[4]**kjʌm**	road	Mazaudon 1978:59

2.3. Kiranti: ***ʔlam** ROAD / PATH

**Kiranti*	***ʔlam**	road, path	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**lam** bo	path	Ebert 1997
	lam ti(y)-e	walk	Ebert 1997
	lam ti-	walk	Ebert 1997
	lam ti ma	walk	Ebert 1997
Limbu	**lam**	road	Michailovsky 1989b
	lam do	crossroads <road>	Michailovsky 1989b
	lam dzɔŋ	halfway, on the road	Michailovsky 1989b

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Bantawa	e kha **lam**	anus; the way latrin. (v.)	Rai 1985
	lam	road / path	Rai 1985
Chamling	khi **lam**	anus	Winter 1985:20
Kulung	**lam_**	road	Rai *et al.* 1975
	lam_cam_	provisions, food (for a journey)	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	hi: **lam** di	blood vessel. <vein>	Driem 1993
	lam	road, way, path; via.	Driem 1993; Driem 1993
	lam du	road, way, path	Driem 1993
	lam thi: ni	<go,leave> hit the road, be on one's way	Driem 1993
	lam ti	up to, up towards	Driem 1993
	lam ti to:to:	uphill	Driem 1993

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**-lam**	from	Allen 1975
	khuciu **lam**	shortcut road	Allen 1975
	koko **lam**	sometimes <time>	Allen 1975
	ko **lam**	once <one time>	Allen 1975
	lam	road, path, way; time, occasion	Allen 1975; Allen 1975
	lam di-	walk (v.)	Allen 1975

3.3. rGyalrongic

Daofu	rn̥i **lam**	dream (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0699.12
	rn̥i **lam** nə rn̥i	dream (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1821.12

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong (NW)	kavarma rmə **lɛm**	dream (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:1.18

4. Nungic

Anong	**lam**	side, direction	Benedict 1972:87
Rawang	nam[31] lɯp **lʌm**[31]	west	LaPolla 2003:771
Anong	nəm nip **lam**	west	LaPolla 1987:63; Benedict 1972:400
	tha-kha / tha-**lam**	up, above	Benedict 1972:123n338
Rawang	thi[31] bɔ[33] **lʌm**[31]	north	LaPolla 2003:772
	thənu[33] go[33] **lʌm**[31]	north	LaPolla 2003:773
	thənu[33] ni[33] **lʌm**[31]	south	LaPolla 2003:770

5. Tujia

Tujia	mie[21] mie[21] **lo**[55]	blood vessel / vein / artery	Chen Kang 1986d:8.7.1

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	tθã[22]**lã**[55]	railroad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:475.40
Burmese (Written)	hnac-**lûm** thê kə thwak	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	làm	way / road	Weidert 1987:313
	lâm	road / way	Matisoff 1974:244
	làm	road	Benedict 1972:87
	lam:	road	Marrison 1967
	lʌm[3]	road / way	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:474.39
	lʌm[3] phɑj[2]	make way for / give way (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1586.26
	thɑm̀[2]**lʌm**[3]	railroad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:475.39

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	nɑ[33]**lo**[33]	in (the sky) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0726.43
	phɔ[53]**lo**[33]	direction / orientation (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0703.43
	qho[53] **lo**[33]	on (the table); on (the wall); on top (of the roof) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0724.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0728.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0729.43
	xɔ[35]**lo**[33]	under (the table); under (the sky); at the bottom of (a hill) (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0725.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0727.43; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0730.43
	ɔ[31]nɑ[33]phɔ[53]**lo**[33]	over / above (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0731.43
	ɔ[31]nɑ[33]phɔ[53]**lo**[33]	upwards (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0733.43
	ɔ[31]xɔ[35]phɔ[53]**lo**[33]	below / under (prep.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0732.43
	ɔ[31]xɔ[35]phɔ[53]**lo**[33]	downwards (adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0734.43
Lahu (Black)	**lo**	locative particle	Matisoff 1988a:1377-1378 [a]

[a]This word has been grammaticalized to a locative particle, and no longer retains its full nominal meaning. It reflects PLB Tone *3, while cognates like WB **lâm** reflect Tone *2.

Chinese comparandum

尢 OC ***d'i̯əm**, *GSR* #656a 'walk (v.)'; Schuessler 2007:572 ***ləm**; Mand. **yín**.

Comment: This comparandum is suggested by Schuessler (ibid.), who also relates 尢 **yín** to PKC ***laam** DANCE (§6.7.9).

(5) PTk *ʃoŋ ROAD

1.3.4. Tangkhulic

**Tangkhulic*	***ʃoŋ**	road	Mortensen 2012:573
Huishu	ʔa-**sɐŋ**-ru	road / path	Mortensen 2012:Implements.025
Tankghul (Central)	**som**-bui	road	Brown 1837; Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	**som**-p[h]ɯ	road	Brown 1837; Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	**soŋ**-vɯ	road	Brown 1837; Brown 1837
Tusom	**sā**-pu	road / path	Mortensen 2012:Implements.024
Ukhrul	**soŋ**-fu	road	Mortensen 2012
	ʃoŋ-fu	road	Mortensen 2012

9.10.2 Waterways/Having to do with water

(1) PTB *m-dzam BRIDGE / LADDER

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***m-dzam**	bridge	Matisoff 2003a:588

2.1.1. Western Himalayish

Kanauri	**tshamm**	bridge (n.)	Bailey 1911
	tshamm lanmig'	bridge, build (v.)	Bailey 1911
Pattani [Manchati]	**tʃ[h]əm**	bridge	Sharma 1982

2.1.2. Bodic

Bumthang	**zam**	bridge	Weidert 1987:721
Kurtöp	**zam** pa	bridge	Weidert 1987:721
Tsangla (Motuo)	**sam**[13]pa[55]	bridge	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	zam pa	bridge (general)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:477.7
Tsangla (Tilang)	**sham**	bridge (rope)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**zɑm**[35]pɑ[55]	bridge	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**zʌm**[13]	bridge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:477.6
Motuo Menba	**zam** pa	bridge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.07
Tashigang	**zam** pa	bridge	Weidert 1987:721
Cuona Menba	**zam**[35]	bridge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.06

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Dzongkha	**z[ɦ]am:**	bridge	Weidert 1987:721
Tibetan (Alike)	**sam**	bridge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**sam**	bridge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:477.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**sæm**	bridge	Sun 1985a:101
	wzam mba	bridge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:477.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**zʌm** ba·	bridge	Rangan 1975:72
Tibetan (Batang)	**sɑ̃**[13]mba[53]	bridge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.03
Tibetan (Central)	**sa̱m** pa	bridge	Weidert 1987:721
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**suŋ**[13]ba[53]	bridge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:477.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	(**sam**[13]pa[55]) kɛ[13]	cross (a bridge) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1363.02
	sam[13]pa[55]	bridge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.02
	sam[15]pa[53]	bridge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:477.2
Tibetan (Written)	(**zam** pa) rgal	cross (a bridge) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1363.01
	zam	bridge	Sun 1985c:101
	zam pa	bridge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.01
	zam pa	bridge	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:477.1; Weidert 1987:721
	zam pa	bridge (n.)	Marrison 1967
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**sa**	bridge (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.04

2.1.4. Tamangish: *[A]**tsam** BRIDGE

**TGTM*	*[A]**tsam**	bridge	Mazaudon 1994:257
Gurung (Ghachok)	**cã:**	bridge	Glover 1972:5.A.73
Gurung	[1]**tsã:**	bridge	Mazaudon 1994:257
Manang (Gyaru)	**dzɛn**[2]	bridge	Nagano 1984:179
Manang (Prakaa)	[3]**tsẽ**	bridge	Hoshi Michiyo 1984:0134
	[1]**tsẽ**	bridge	Mazaudon 1994:257
Tamang (Bagmati)	**cam**	bridge / ladder	Weidert 1987:721
Tamang (Risiangku)	[1]**tsam**	ladder	Mazaudon 1994:257
Tamang (Sahu)	**cā:m**	ladder (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.24
	tsa:m	bridge	Taylor *et al.* 1972:5.82
Thakali (Syang)	[52]**tsʌm**	bridge	Mazaudon 1994:257

Thakali (Tukche)	**cɔm**	bridge	Hari 1971:5.A.73
	ᴴtsəm	bridge	Mazaudon 1994:257
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Khaling	**cham**	ladder	Weidert 1987:721
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**dzi^{55}**	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.18
Guiqiong	(**zɑ̃^{55}**pu^{55}) wu^{35}tɕhyi^{55}	cross (a bridge) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1363.16
	zɔ̃^{33}pʁ^{53}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.17
	zɑ̃^{31}pʁ^{55}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.16
Lyuzu	**dʑe^{35}**	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.18
Muya	**ndzo^{24}**	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ndzo^{35}**	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.15
Namuyi	**dzo^{55}**	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.19
	dzuo^{55}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	(**dzɑ̃^{11}**) tə^{11}ʃi^{55}	cross (a bridge) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1363.10
	dzɑ̃^{35}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**dziɑ̃u^{13}**	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**dziɑ̃u^{13}**	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**dzɑ̃^{35}**	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**tshá** (tò)	bridge	Evans 1999:94
Qiang (Mawo)	**tshi**	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.8
	tshuɑ	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.08
Qiang (Mianchi)	(lò) **tshá**	(stone) bridge	Evans 1999:94
	(**tshá**) tʂhuè	cross (bridge)	Evans 1999:1954
	tshá-kè-gú	cross (bridge) [bridge-go-return?]	Evans 1999:1954
Qiang (Taoping)	**tshie^{33}**dɑ^{241}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**dzɑ̃^{55}**	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**tso^{55}**	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.13
Xumi	**zɛ̃^{55}**	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.20
	zɛ̃^{55}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.17
3.3. RGYALRONGIC			
Daofu	**dzo**	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.12
Ergong (Danba)	**dzo**	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.14
3.3.1. RGYALRONG			
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	’ta **’zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	’ta **ndzam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	’ta **zam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	’ta **zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	’ta **zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	’ta **zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	’ta **zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	’tɑ **’zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	**dzam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	**dzam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
Caodeng	**dzem?**-ta kɐnlɔʔ	cross (bridge)	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	**dzo**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**dzo**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	**dzom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	**dzom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	**dzom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	**dzoʔ**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**dzu**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	**dzu**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**dzu**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	**ndzam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	**ndzaŋ**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
Caodeng	**ndzem**	bridge	Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	**ndzom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong	ta **ndzam**	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.12
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ta-**nd̡am**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	ta22 **ndzam44**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	ta22**zoŋ44**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	ta5’**zom53**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	ta^{3}**zom^{3}**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	ta^{3}**zom^{3}**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	ta^{3}**zom^{3}**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	ta^{3}**zom^{31}**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	ta^{3}**zom^{5}**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	ta^{3}**zom^{53}**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	ta^{ˈn}tsæp$^{˥}$	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	ta **’dzam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	ta **’dzam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	ta **’dzap**˥	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	ta **’dzaᵐ**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	ta **’ndzam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	ta **’ndzam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	ta **’ndzam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	ta **’zam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	ta **’zam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	ta **’zam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	ta **’zam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	ta **’zap**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	ta **’zap**˥	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	ta **’zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	ta **’zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	ta **’zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ta **’zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	ta **’zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	ta **’zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	ta **’zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	ta **’zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	ta **’zoʔm**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	ta **zoʔ**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	**tsa**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Queyu Gala)	**tso**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**tso**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	**tsọ**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	**tsu**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	tə22 **ndzəp44**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	tɑ **ndzɑm**	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.11
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	tɑ33 **ɴdzam44**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	tɑ **’zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	**zam^{3}**to^{5}	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	**zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	**zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	**zoŋ**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	**zoŋ^{1}**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	**zuaŋ**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	**zwa**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	**zə̃m**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	**ɣdzam**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	´tɐ **zom**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	**ᴺdzɑm43**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	**dzu**	bridge	Nagano & Prins 2013:0881
rGBenzhen	tɐ-**ndzɐm**	bridge	Sun 1997b
4. NUNGIC			
Trung [Dulong]	**dzɑ̆m^{55}**	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.46
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**zɑ̆m^{55}**	bridge	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1. LOLO-BURMESE: ***m-dzam^{1}** BRIDGE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***m-dzam^{1}**	bridge	Matisoff 2003a:588
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Lianghe)	**tɕɑŋ^{55}**	bridge	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**tɕam^{31}**thək^{35}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.28
	tɕam^{31}thək^{35}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.41
	tɕam^{55}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.28
	tɕam^{55}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.41
Achang (Luxi)	**tsam^{31}**	bridge	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**cam^{31}**thɤk^{35}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.29
	cam^{55}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.29
Bola (Luxi)	**tsam^{55}**thɔ̃^{55}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.32
	tsɛ̃^{55}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.32
Langsu (Luxi)	**tsam^{31}**thɔ̃^{31}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.31
	tsɛ̃^{31}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**tsam^{31}**	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.33

Maru [Langsu]	**tsam**^{31}thɔ̃^{31}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.43
	tsɛ̃^{31}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**tsam**^{51}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.30
	tsam^{51}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.42

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***dzam**^{1} BRIDGE

**Loloish*	***dzam**^{3}	steps / ladder	Bradley 1979b:351A
	***dzam**^{1}	bridge	Bradley 1979b:393; Hansson 1989:380
PNL	**dzam**^{1}	bridge	CHEN Kang 1986a:146.

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**tsɛ**^{33}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.47
Lalo	**dʐy**^{55}	bridge	CHEN Kang 1986a:146.
Lipho	**dzɤ**^{33}	bridge	CHEN Kang 1986a:146.
Nasu	**dz'ɛ**	bridge	Benedict 1972:38n123
	ndzhe^{21}	bridge	CHEN Kang 1986a:146.
Neisu	**dzɛ**^{21}	bridge	CHEN Kang 1986a:146.
Nesu	**dzɤ**^{21}	bridge	CHEN Kang 1986a:146.
Nosu	**dzɪ**^{33}	bridge	CHEN Kang 1986a:146.
Nusu (Southern)	**dzɛ**^{55}	bridge	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	gu^{35}**dzɑ**^{35}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.45
Nusu (Central)	gu^{55}**dza**^{33}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.34
Nusu (Northern)	gu^{55}**dzɔ**^{31}ɑ^{55}	bridge	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	gu^{55}**dzɑ**^{35}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.45
Nusu (Northern)	ke^{31}gu^{55}**dzɔ**^{35}ɑ^{55}	ladder	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	da^{33}**dzɯ**^{33}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.22
	thɯ^{33}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.22
Yi (Liangshan)	ta^{55}**dʑi**^{33}	bridge, big	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	dʑi^{33}	bridge	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tsi**^{33}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.25
Yi (Mojiang)	dę^{33}**dzɛ**^{21}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.26
	dzɯ^{21}gɯ^{21}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.26
Yi (Nanhua)	dę^{33}**dzɯ**^{33}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.24
	dzɯ^{33}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.24
	dzɯ^{55}ɣə^{21}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.37
	dzɭ^{33}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.37
Yi (Nanjian)	ɣo^{21}**dʐy**^{55}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.23
Yi (Weishan)	ɣo^{21}**dʐy**^{55}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.36
Yi (Wuding)	dę^{2}**ntshe**^{33}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.38
	ntshe^{11}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.38
	ntshe^{11}	cross (a bridge) (v.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:1363.38
Yi (Xide)	**dzi**^{33}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.35
	dzi^{33}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.21

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Ahi	**tsi**^{2}	bridge	CHEN Kang 1986a:146.
Jinuo (Youle)	kho^{33}**tsɛ**^{33}	bridge	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	khrə^{31} **tsɛ**^{33}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.44
	khɹa^{33}**tsɛ**^{33}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.34
	tsø^{33}thɐ^{55}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**tsɛ**^{33}thə^{55}	ladder	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**tsɛ**^{44}thə^{55}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.44
Kucong	**tsv31**	bridge	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**tɕo**^{31}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.43
Lahu (Black)	**cò**	bridge (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:254
	tso^{31}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.33
Lisu (Northern)	**dʐæ**^{33}hĩ^{33}	hanging ladder (N.)	Bradley 1994
	dʐæ^{55}æʔ^{21}	suspension bridge (N.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	gaw^{5}-**dzyē**^{4}	bridge	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	hɔ^{33}khɔ^{21}**dzø**^{33}	iron bridge	Bradley 1994
Lisu	kho^{31}**dze**^{33}	ladder; bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.27; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.27
	kho^{31}**dzę**^{33}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.40
Lisu (Northern)	khɔ^{21}**dzø**^{33}	bridge (N.)	Bradley 1994
	khɔ^{21}**dzø**^{33} gu^{21}khɤ^{21}	end of bridge	Bradley 1994
	khɔ^{21}**dzø**^{33} tɔ^{35}du^{33}	frame of bridge	Bradley 1994
	khɔ^{21}**dzø**^{33}phi^{21}	planks on bridge	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{33}tshi^{35} khɔ^{21}**dzø**^{33}	stone bridge	Bradley 1994
	ta^{35}bja^{21} khɔ^{21}**dzø**^{33}	staircase; ladder (N.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**tsɤ**^{33}	bridge	CHEN Kang 1986a:146.
Yi (Sani)	**tsɤ**^{33}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.39

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha	**dzḿ**	bridge	Hansson 1989:380
Akha (Yunnan)	lɔ́ **dzḿ**	bridge	Hansson 1989:286
Akha (Thai)	lɔ́-**dzḿ**	bridge	Hansson 1989:286; Hansson 1989:380
Akha	naˇ mehˇ naˇ **tsmˇ**	bridge of nose	Matisoff 1987
Hani (Lüchun)	ló **dzɔ́**	bridge	Hansson 1989:286
	lɔ́ **dzɔ́**	bridge	Hansson 1989:380
Hani (Dazhai)	lɔ^{55}**dzɔ**^{55}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.31
Hani (Lüchun)	lɔ^{55}**dzɔ**^{55}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.41
Hani (Pijo)	**tjí**	bridge	Hansson 1989:380
	tjí kỳ	bridge	Hansson 1989:380
Hani (Caiyuan)	**tse**^{33}kɣ^{31}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.30
Hani (Gelanghe)	dɔ^{31}**dzɱ**^{33}	ladder	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
	lɔ^{55}**dzɱ**^{55}	bridge	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Shuikui)	**tɕhɔ**^{31}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.32
Hani (Khatu)	**tjí**	bridge	Hansson 1989:380
	tjí kù	bridge	Hansson 1989:380
Hani (Mojiang)	**tsɛ**^{33}**kɣ**^{31}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.42
	tɕhiɔ^{31}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.42

6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH

Phola	**ts$\ddot{ɪ}$**^{23}	bridge	Pelkey 2011:541
Phu Kha	**t͡ʃʰo**^{31}	bridge	Fried 2000
Phuza	**tɕʰʌ**^{31}	bridge	Pelkey 2011:541

6.2. NAXI

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**dzy**˥˧ʰv˩	ladder	Michaud 2006–2009:1044
	dzy˧	bridge	Michaud 2006–2009:212
Na (Yongning)	**dzo**˩	bridge	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	**dzo**^{21}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.45
	dzo^{21}	classifier for bridges (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0851.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**dzo**^{33}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**ndzo**^{31}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.28

(2a) PTB *s-l $\begin{matrix}a\\e\end{matrix}$ y BRIDGE / LADDER

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***s-lay ≈ s-ley**	bridge / ladder	Matisoff 2003a:599

1. NE INDIAN AREAL GROUP

Kamarupan	**s-lay ≈ s-ley**	bridge / ladder	Matisoff 1985a:133

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	sɯ-**la**	rope bridge	Sun 1993b
Bengni	si-**lak**	rope bridge	Sun 1993b
Galo	**lɤ** go	bridge	Das Gupta 1963

1.1.2. DENG

Darang [Taraon]	**lo**	bridge (rope); bridge (string)	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963

1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***lay ≈ *hlay** BRIDGE

**Chin*	***lay ≈** hlay	BRIDGE	VanBik 2009:995

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Sizang	**lē**	bridge	VanBik 2009:995
Thado	**lèi**	bridge	Thirumalai 1972:13
	lèy	bridge	VanBik 2009:995
Tiddim	ka?^{3} **lei**^{3}	ladder	Bhaskararao 1996:537
	lei^{3}	bridge	VanBik 2009:995; Bhaskararao 1996:915
	`lei	bridge (n.)	Henderson 1965
	`lei	bridge / ladder	Matisoff 1985a:133

1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN

Cho (Mindat)	**hlei**	bridge	VanBik 2009:995

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**hlǎy**	bridge	VanBik 2009:995
Lai (Falam)	**hlày**	bridge	VanBik 2009:995
Lushai [Mizo]	**lei**	bridge / ladder	Matisoff 1985a:133
	lèi	bridge, a suspension bridge (n.)	VanBik 2009:995
	lei	bridge	Bhaskararao 1996:915
	leih-lâwn	bridge / ladder	Matisoff 1985a:133
	lei lâwn	bridge (n.)	Marrison 1967
	lei lâwn	ladder	Marrison 1967

1.2.3. MARAIC

Lakher [Mara]	**hlēi**	bridge	VanBik 2009:995
	hlei-dy	stair, bridge, ladder; flight of steps	Matisoff 1985a:133
	hlei-ri	small bridge	Matisoff 1985a:133

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)

Sangtam	**lo** pa	bridge (n.)	Marrison 1967
	lo pa	ladder	Marrison 1967

1.3.4. TANGKHULIC

Tangkhul	**śay**	bridge; ladder	Bhat 1969:85; Matisoff 1985a:133
	śay ron	bridge / ladder	Matisoff 1985a:133
	shai	bridge (n.)	Marrison 1967
	shai ron	ladder	Marrison 1967

2.4. KHAM-MAGAR-CHEPANG

Chepang	**hlayʔ**	ladder (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.24
	hləyʔ	ladder	Caughley 1972:6.A.24
	hləyʔ-	climb ladder, use notched pole, ladder or stairs (vi.)	Caughley 2000
	hləyʔ.siŋʔ	ladder (notched tree trunk); notched pole, ladder (n.)	Caughley 2000; Caughley 2000
	lhəy.siŋ	ladder (B) (n.)	Caughley 2000

3.2. QIANGIC

Ersu	**ɬi**^{55}tsʅ^{55}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.18
Lyuzu	**ɬi**^{33}ki^{53}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.18
Namuyi	dzʅ^{55}**ɬi**^{55}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.19
	ɬi^{55}dzʅ^{55}	flight of steps; ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0520.46; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**ɬi**^{55}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.10
Pumi (Taoba)	**ɬi**^{35}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.10
Qiang (Mawo)	(ɑ) **lɑ**	classifier for bridges (clf.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0851.08
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ɬi**^{55}ki^{33}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.13
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ɬi**^{55}ki^{53}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.16
Xumi	**ɬɛ**^{55}tʃʅ^{55}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.20

3.3. RGYALRONGIC

Daofu	**sɬhə**	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.12
Ergong (Danba)	**ɬɯ**	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.14

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Maerkang)	ndzəi **la**	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.11

6.1.1. BURMISH

Burmese (Rangoon)	**hle**^{22}kɑ^{55}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**ɬe**^{22}kɑ^{55}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.40
Burmese (Written)	**hle**-kâ	stairs; ladder	Benedict 1976a
	hle^{2}kɑ^{3}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.26
	hle^{2}kɑ^{3}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.39
	lhe kā:	ladder	Marrison 1967

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha (Yunnan)	**lɔ́** dzḿ	bridge	Hansson 1989:286
Akha (Thai)	**lɔ́**-dzḿ	bridge	Hansson 1989:286; Hansson 1989:380
Hani (Lüchun)	**ló** dzɔ́	bridge	Hansson 1989:286
	lɔ́ dzɔ́	bridge	Hansson 1989:380
Hani (Dazhai)	**lɔ**^{55}dzɔ^{55}	bridge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:477.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**lɔ**^{55}dzɔ^{55}	bridge (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0070.41
Hani (Gelanghe)	**lɔ**^{55}dzɱ^{55}	bridge	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986

6.2. NAXI			
Naxi	**le^{33}**dʑi^{21}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**le^{33}**dʑi^{31}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.28
9. SINITIC			
Chinese (GSR #)	**0591l**	stairs	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2754
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**t'i̯ər**	wooden steps, staircase (n.)	Karlgren 1957:591l

Chinese comparandum

梯 OC ***t'i̯ər**, *GSR* #591l 'wooden steps, staircase'; Schuessler 2007:493 ***thî ∼ thôi**; B & S 2011: ***l̥ˤəj {l̥ˤ[ə] j}**; Mand. **tī**.

The Chinese and Chepang comparisons are due to Bodman 1980.

(2b) PTB *s-lak ⪤ *s-laŋ BRIDGE / LADDER / STAIRS

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Miri, Hill	da **loŋ**	bridge	Simon 1976
Nishing	sa-**lek**	bridge (single cane-line)	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Damu	**lak**-go	bridge (made of cane-rope)	Sun 1993b
Milang	do **loŋ**	bridge	Tayeng 1976
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***hlaak** LADDER / STAIRS			
**Chin*	***hlaak**	LADDER / STAIRS	VanBik 2009:1112
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**láy** làʔ	ladder, stairs	VanBik 2009:1112
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**hlak**-kum	ladder, stairs	VanBik 2009:1112
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**hlây**-hlaak	ladder, stairs	VanBik 2009:1112
1.2.4. "OLD KUKI"			
Sorbung	ʔə **láak**	ladder	Mortensen & Keogh 2011:Implements.026
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	do **long**	bridge (n.)	van Breugel 2008
2.3.1. EASTERN KIRANTI			
Limbu	tɔ **rɔŋ**	bridge	Michailovsky 1989b
4. NUNGIC			
Nung	**luŋ^{31}**dɔn^{53}	ladder (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0582.21
Anong	**luŋ^{31}**dɔn^{53}	ladder	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:456.44
Rawang	**lɔŋ^{31}**	CL (non-rope bridge) (CL.)	LaPolla 2003:899
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**lɑŋ^{31}**dɔn^{53}	ladder	SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

(3) PCN *p(w)a BRIDGE / LADDER

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Ao (Chungli)	a **pu**	bridge (n.)	Marrison 1967
	a **pu**	ladder	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	lang **ba**	bridge (n.)	Marrison 1967
	lang **ba**	ladder	Marrison 1967
Lotha Naga	**pho^{3}**phaʔ^{3}	ladder (n.)	Bruhn 2014b
	o **pho**	bridge (n.)	Marrison 1967
	po pa	ladder	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	lo **pa**	bridge (n.)	Marrison 1967
	lo **pa**	ladder	Marrison 1967

(4) PTB *m-kup EDGE / BANK / MOUTH

This so far sparsely attested root bears a certain resemblance to PTB ***r-ka(:)m** LIP / MOUTH / EDGE / BANK (§1.3.2), but we are treating it as a separate etymon.

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
Yimchungrü	amüng **küp**	bank (edge)	Marrison 1967
	küp	bank (edge)	Marrison 1967
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO			
Jingpho	**n-gup**	mouth	Marrison 1967
	ǹ-gùp	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	n-gup n-gau	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	n-gup n-mun	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	ngup	mouth	Matisoff 1987
	n^{31}kup^{31}	mouth (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0084.19
	n^{31}kup^{31}	mouth	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:242.47
	n̩^{31} kup^{31}	mouth	LIU Lu, ed. 1984
	^{1}n^{1}gup	mouth	Weidert 1987:1104

9.10.3 Governable units (towns, parts of towns)

(1) PTB * d/t yal VILLAGE

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***dyal ⪤ tyal**	village	Matisoff 2003a:587
	***tyal**	village	Benedict 1972:p.52
2. HIMALAYISH			
Nachereng	**tyal**	village	Benedict 1972:p.52
2.1.3. LEPCHA			
Lepcha	**tyol**	village	Benedict 1972:p.52
2.3. KIRANTI			
**Kiranti*	***dyal**	village	Benedict 1972:p.52
2.3.2. SOUTHERN KIRANTI			
Kulung	**tel**	village	Benedict 1972:p.52
	tel_	village	Rai *et al.* 1975
2.3.3. CENTRAL KIRANTI			
Dumi	**del**	village	Benedict 1972:p.52
	de:l	village	Driem 1993
	de:l kɨ	village water source, village well.	Driem 1993
	de:l me	large village, bazar.	Driem 1993
Khaling	**del**	village (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.02
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Bahing	**dyal**	village	Benedict 1972:p.52
Thulung	**Del**	village	Allen 1975
	del	village	Allen 1975

(2) PTB * r/g -wa VILLAGE

This root bears a certain resemblance to PTB ***grwaŋ** VILLAGE / CROSSROADS (§9.10.3), although the velar in the latter root is part of an initial consonant cluster and not a prefix.

0. SINO-TIBETAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***rɣwjɨaɣ**	village / street	Coblin 1986:156
0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***g-wa**	village	Weidert 1987:208
	***r-wa**	village	Weidert 1987:208
	***r-wa ⪤ g-wa**	village	Matisoff 2003a:618; Benedict 1972:444
1.2. KUKI-CHIN: ***khua** COSMOS / VILLAGE / ATMOSPHERE			
**Chin*	***khua**	COSMOS / VILLAGE / ATMOSPHERE	VanBik 2009:432
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**khua**	village	VanBik 2009:432
Sizang	**hkuā**	village	VanBik 2009:432
Thado	**khúo**	village	VanBik 2009:432
Tiddim	**-xua**	village (n.)	Henderson 1965
	khua^{2} mial^{1}	dark	VanBik 2009:761; Bhaskararao 1996:824
	khua^{2} mui^{2}	dusk ("dark cosmos")	VanBik 2009:432; VanBik 2009:777
	khua^{2} zi:ng^{2}	dark (be v.)	VanBik 2009:1194
	khua^{2} zi:ng^{2}	dark	Bhaskararao 1996:827
	kua^{1} no^{1}	village	Bhaskararao 1996:683
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**khûa**	cosmos, village	VanBik 2009:432
Lai (Falam)	**khǔa**	cosmos, village	VanBik 2009:432
Lushai [Mizo]	**khúa**	village	Weidert 1987:208
	khua	village	Marrison 1967
	khúa	village, a town, a city, time weather, atmosphere (n.)	VanBik 2009:432
	khua	village	Bhaskararao 1996:683
	khúa	village	LaPolla 1987:173
	khua	village	Benedict 1972:444
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**khì**	village	VanBik 2009:432
	khì-pí	large village, a city, a large village, the abode of the real chief (n.)	VanBik 2009:120
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**rɛ^{33}wɑ^{33}**	village	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:362.18
Xumi	**wu^{55}**	village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.17
	wu^{55}lu^{55}	village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.17
3.3. rGYALRONGIC			
Horpa	**hrəva**	village	Benedict 1972:444
Daofu	**rə və**	village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.12
4. NUNGIC			
Anong (Rawang/Mutwang)	**rəwa**	village, town	Benedict 1972:109n306
Rawang	**rəwɑ^{53}**	village	LaPolla 2003:77
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Inscriptional Burmese (=Pagan)	**rwauh**	village	Benedict 1972:49n159
Achang (Lianghe)	**wɑ^{55}**	village	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**o^{55}**	village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.28
	o^{55}	village	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:362.41
Achang (Luxi)	**wa^{31}**	village	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**o^{55}**	village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.29
Bola (Luxi)	**va^{55}**	village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.32
	va^{55}tau^{31}	leader in a (stockaded) village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0182.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**jwɑ^{22}**	village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.27
	jwɑ^{22}tθu^{22}tɕi^{55}	leader in a (stockaded) village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0182.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**jwɑ^{22}**	village	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:362.40
Burmese (Written)	**rwa**	village	Weidert 1987:208
	rwā	village	Marrison 1967
	rwa	town, village; village	Benedict 1976a; LaPolla 1987:173; Benedict 1972:49n159
	rwɑ^{2}	village	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:362.39
	rwɑɑ^{2}	village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.26
	rwɑɑ^{2}tθu^{2}kri^{3}	leader in a (stockaded) village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0182.26
Hpun (Northern)	**khăwá(ʔ)**	village	Henderson 1986
Phön	**kəwa**	village	Benedict 1972:444
Langsu (Luxi)	**vɔ^{31}**	village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.31
Lashi	**wo**	village	Benedict 1972:444
Leqi (Luxi)	**wo^{31}**	village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.33
	wo^{31}tsou^{33}	leader in a (stockaded) village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0182.33
Marma	**rwa**	village	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:160
Maru [Langsu]	**vɔ**	village	Benedict 1972:444
	vɔ^{31}	village	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:362.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**va^{51}**	village (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.30
	va^{51}	village	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:362.42
	wa	village	Benedict 1972:444
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***rwa^{1}**	village	Weidert 1987:208; Bradley 1979b:355C
6.2. NAXI			

Na (Yongning)	dʑɤ˩bv˧ʁwɤ˩	Jiabowa (Yongning village)	Michaud 2006–2009
	gɤ˩ʁwɤ˧	Gewa (Yongning village)	Michaud 2006–2009
	lɑ˧lo˧ʁwɤ˥	Lagewa (Yongning village)	Michaud 2006–2009
	mv˩ʁwɤ˧	(a Yongning village)	Michaud 2006–2009
	æ˩mi˧ʁwɤ˧	Amiwa (Yongning village)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁwɤ˧	village, hamlet	Michaud 2006–2009
	ʁwɤ˧lɑ˩bi˩	Walabie (Yongning village)	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**uɑ**^{33}	village	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:362.29
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**g^{w}(r)ja**	street / course	Baxter 1992:1378

Chinese comparandum

丘

街 OC ***kěg***, *GSR* #879o ‘road crossing, street’; Coblin 1986:156 ST ***rɣwjiaɣ*** > OC ***gwiag***; B & S 2011: ***k^{ʕ}re { [k] ^{ʕ}re}***; Mand. ***jiē***.

The comparison with Chinese 街 in the sense ‘village/street’ is due to Coblin 1986:156.

(3) PTk *k^{h}uul VILLAGE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***k^{h}uul***	village	Mortensen 2012:509
Tankghul (Central)	**k^{h}ui**	village	Brown 1837
Tusom	**kfɯ**	village / state	Mortensen 2012:People.075
Ukhrul	**k^{h}u**	village	Mortensen 2012

(4) PL *k(y)ak^{H} VILLAGE

6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***kak***	village	Matisoff 1972b:22
	kak^{H}	village	Matisoff 2003a:594
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***kak^{H}***	village	Bradley 1979b:355A
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Lalo	**kjháq**	village (n.)	Matisoff 2003a:319
Luquan	**k‘a 22s**	village	Matisoff 1972b:22
Nasu	**k‘a** 32s	village	Matisoff 1972b:22
Yi (Liangshan)	**khε^{33}**	hamlet [classifier]; village [classifier]	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ʑi^{34}khε^{33}	village	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**tɕhe̱^{33}**	village	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:362.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**tɕhe̱^{33}**	village	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:362.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**khæ̱^{33}**	village (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.37
	kh$\underline{\alpha}^{33}$	village	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:362.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**kha^{33}**	village	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:362.23
Yi (Weishan)	**cha^{33}**	village (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.36
Yi (Wuding)	**khu̱^{2}**	village (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.38
Yi (Xide)	ba^{21}**ka^{33}**	village	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:362.21
	bɑ^{21}**kɑ^{33}**	village (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.35
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Ahi	**tš‘e** 44 <*kyak	village	Matisoff 1972b:22
Kucong	**kha33**	village	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**qha^{53}**xo^{35}	leader in a (stockaded) village (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0182.43
	qhɑ^{54}	village (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.43
Lahu (Black)	**qhâ?**	village	Matisoff 1972b:22
	qhʌ^{54}	village	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:362.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**qha^{6}**	village	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu	**hka2**	village	Matisoff 1972b:22
Lisu (Central)	**hka^{2}**	village	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**kha^{35}**	village; stockaded village; hamlet (N.)	Bradley 1994
	kha^{35}da^{21}ma^{44}	large village	Bradley 1994
	kha^{35}dɔ^{44}	village downhill; the stock	Bradley 1994
	kha^{35}dɔ^{44} lɔ^{33}ma^{33}	bottom of village	Bradley 1994
	kha^{35}gu^{21}	stockaded village uphill;	Bradley 1994
	kha^{35}gɔ^{21}	village uphill	Bradley 1994
	kha^{35}kwa^{33}la^{33}	centre of village; middle of village	Bradley 1994
	kha^{35}le^{33}tse^{55}	edge of village	Bradley 1994
	kha^{35}lu^{33}	old stockaded village	Bradley 1994
	kha^{35}ti^{33}	old stockaded village	Bradley 1994
	kha^{35}ti^{55}	one-house village	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**khɑ^{35}**	village (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.40
	tsho^{44}**khɑ^{35}**	village	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:362.27
Lisu (Northern)	tshɔ^{33}**kha^{35}**	rural area; village (N.)	Bradley 1994
Sani [Nyi]	**tš‘e** 44 <*kyak	village	Matisoff 1972b:22
Yi (Sani)	**tɕhe^{44}**	village (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.39
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	pu̱^{33}**kha^{31}**	village	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:362.31
Hani (Lüchun)	pu̱^{33}**kha^{31}**	village (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.41
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Azha	**tɕ$^{h}\varepsilon^{33}$**y^{45}	village	Pelkey 2011:578
	tɕ$^{h}\varepsilon^{33}$	village	Pelkey 2011:578
Phola	**q^{h}u̱^{31}**	village	Pelkey 2011:578
Hlepho Phowa	**tɕ$^{h}\varepsilon^{21}$**χə^{33}	village	Pelkey 2011:578
Phu Kha	hu^{35} **t͡ʃhɛ^{53}**	village	Fried 2000
	hu^{35} **t͡ʃɛ^{53}**	village	Fried 2000

(5) PTB *nam VILLAGE

The distribution of this form makes it look like a probable loan. This etymology is due to Liberty Lidz.

1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Khoirao	i **nam**	village	Marrison 1967
Liangmei	a **nam**	village	Marrison 1967
Maram	ra **nam**	village	Marrison 1967
Puiron	**nam**	village	Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**nam**	village	Brown 1837
	nüm	village	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	rü **nam**	village	Marrison 1967
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Rongpo	**nam**	village (n.)	Sharma 2003:908
2.1.2. Bodic			
Kaike	**nām**	village (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.02
2.1.4. Tamangish			
Gurung (Ghachok)	**nā:q** sa	village	Glover 1972:6.A.2
Gurung	**nạ̄:q** sā	village (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.02
Tamang (Sahu)	**’nām** sā	village (n.)	Hale 1973:06a.02
	’nam sa	village	Taylor *et al.* 1972:6.2

(6) PTB *grwaŋ VILLAGE / CROSSROADS

This root bears some resemblance to PTB ***r/g-wa*** VILLAGE (§9.10.3), although the velar element in the latter is prefixal, not part of an initial cluster.

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
**Sino-Tibetan*	***grong**	village / street	Coblin 1986:156
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***grwa**-ŋ	village	LaPolla 1987:173 [a]
1.7.2. Northern Naga/Konyakian: ***C-griŋ*** VILLAGE			
1.7.2.2. Konyak-Chang			
Chang	**sang**	village	Marrison 1967
Konyak	**jing**	village	Marrison 1967
Phom	**ching**	village	Marrison 1967
	čɯŋ^{33}	village	Burling & Amon Phom 1998
	jüng	village	Marrison 1967
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**groṅ**	village	Marrison 1967
	groŋ	village	LaPolla 1987:173; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:362.1
	groŋ tsho	village (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.01
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**groŋ**	village	Nagano & Prins 2013:0786
4. Nungic			
Dulong	cim^{53}**kɹɔŋ^{55}**	village (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0066.20
Trung [Dulong]	**kɹɔŋ^{55}**	village	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:362.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**krɔɔŋ^{55}**	village	LaPolla 1987:173
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**khrɔɔŋ^{53}**	village	LaPolla 1987:173
	khɹɔŋ^{53}	village	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982
6.1.2. Loloish			
**Loloish*	***koŋ^{3}**	village	Bradley 1979b:355B
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Bisu	**khɔ́ŋ**-ba	village	LaPolla 1987:173
Pyen	**khɔŋ31**	village	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:081027
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	巷	lane, street	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3100
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old/Mid)	**g’ŭng/ɣůng-**	lane, street (n.)	Karlgren 1957:1182s
Chinese (Old)	C.**g^{ʕ}roŋ-s**	lane, street	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3100
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**xiàng**	lane, street	Baxter & Sagart 2011:3100

[a] [Source Note] [Matisoff 1972b, set 28]

Chinese comparandum

巷 OC ***g’ŭng***, *GSR* #1182s ‘lane, street’; Coblin 1986:156 ST ***grong*** > OC ***grungh***; B & S 2011: ***C.g^{ʕ}roŋ-s***; Mand. ***gǎng***.

The comparison with Chinese 巷 in the sense ‘village/street’ is due to Coblin 1986:156.

9.10.4 Farm/Agricultural places

(1) PTB *lay FIELD (paddy)

It is possible that the Kuki-Chin forms are loans from Burmese.

There is a similar-looking Tai root: cf. Siamese **râj**.

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***lay**	FIELD (paddy)	VanBik 2009:1019
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**lai**	paddy field	VanBik 2009:1019
Khumi	**liee**	paddy field	VanBik 2009:1019
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**lây**	paddy field	VanBik 2009:1019
Lushai [Mizo]	**lěi** lèt	engage in wet-rice cultivation (v.)	VanBik 2009:1019
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**lɛ^{22}**	paddy fields (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.27
Burmese (Written)	**lɑj^{2}**	paddy fields (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.26

(2) PKC *ɗum GARDEN

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ɗum**	GARDEN	VanBik 2009:84
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**dŭm**	garden, vegetable field	VanBik 2009:84
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**sà**-dō	garden (n.)	VanBik 2009:84

(3) PKC *huan GARDEN

There is a similar Tai root: cf. Siamese **sŭan**.

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***huan**	GARDEN	VanBik 2009:717
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**hùon**	garden	VanBik 2009:717
Tiddim	**huan^{3}**	garden	VanBik 2009:717; Bhaskararao 1996:503
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**hŭan**	garden	VanBik 2009:717
Lushai [Mizo]	**huan**	garden (n.)	Marrison 1967
	hùan	garden, a yard or run (for poultry, etc) (n.)	VanBik 2009:717
	huan	garden	Bhaskararao 1996:503

(4) PTani *ruk SWIDDEN

1.1.1. Tani

Tani	***rɯk**	swidden	Sun 1993a:411

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Bengni	**rɯk**-pa:	swidden	Sun 1993a
	rɯk-ram ram-bu:	burnt area	Sun 1993b
	ɯ-si **rɯk**-pa:	field (irrigated)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-**rɯk**	swidden	Sun 1993a
	a-**rɯk** i	work in the field	Sun 1993b
	a-**rɯk** lə:	grow crop	Sun 1993b
	a-**rɯk** lə:-nə	farmer	Sun 1993b
	a-**rɯk** mo:	plough (field) (v.)	Sun 1993b
	jiŋ-koŋ a-**rɯk**	field (on plains)	Sun 1993b
	ə-di a-**rɯk**	field (on hills)	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	a **rɯk**	field	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:27.51
Galo	**rɨg** aa	field (second-use) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	rɨg dum	field (upper side) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	rɨg lam	way (to field) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	rɨg mam	field (virgin) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	rɨg rom	field debris (after burning) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	rɨk ə	field (n.)	GLDC 2009
	rɯg ɯ	field	Das Gupta 1963
	rɯk ɤ	field	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻi si-**rɨk** ə	field (wet) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻrɨg bin	field (cleared) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻrɨg ii	field boundary (lower) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻrɨg raa	field (interior) (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻrɨk koo	field (lower side) (n.)	GLDC 2009

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	a-**rik**	swidden	Sun 1993a

(5) PTB *s-ya SWIDDEN

Many Southeast Asian languages distinguish between ”(non-irrigated) upland field, swidden” and ”(irrigated) lowland paddy field”, e.g. Lahu **hɛ** ‘swidden’ vs. **ti-mi** ‘paddy field’.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

Tibeto-Burman	***hya**	swidden / field (mountain)	Matisoff 2003a:594

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Daai	**jah**	mountain field (n.)	So-Hartmann 2001:146

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Kokborok	**hoʔ**	swidden, field	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**yi**	field	Marrison 1967
	yíʔ	dry field (n.)	Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983:893

2.3.2. Southern Kiranti

Kulung	**yi**	field	Rai *et al.* 1975

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Thulung	**ye:**	dry field, land	Allen 1975

6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***hya**[1] SWIDDEN / FIELD (MOUNTAIN)

Lolo-Burmese	***hya**[1]	swidden / field (mountain)	Matisoff 2003a:594

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**ʑɔ**^{55}	paddy fields (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.28
	ʑɔ^{55}	field	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:27.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**jɔ**^{55}	patch (of ground / field) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0858.29
	jɔ^{55}tam^{55}	paddy fields (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.29
Burmese (Written)	lay **yā**	field	Marrison 1967
Hpun (Northern)	kă **yáʔ**	ricefield (wet) (v.Field[dry])	Henderson 1986
	yáʔ	swidden; hill field; taungya; field (dry)	Henderson 1986; Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**jɔ̌**^{21}thauŋ^{35}kauk^{31}	rice (paddy) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0403.31
	jɔ̌^{31}thauŋ^{35}	paddy fields (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**jo**^{31}thuŋ^{55}	paddy fields (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.33
Marma	**ya**	field / swidden	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:163-3
Maru [Langsu]	**jɔ̌**^{31}thauŋ^{35}	field	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:27.43
Atsi [Zaiwa]	**jǒ**^{21}thuŋ^{21}kuʔ^{21}	rice (paddy) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0403.30
	jo^{51}	field	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:27.42
	jǒ^{51}thuŋ^{21}	paddy fields (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.30

6.1.2. Loloish

Loloish	***r-ya**[1]	dry field	Bradley 1979b:414

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Yi (Wuding)	**ji**^{11}mi^{33}	paddy fields (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0042.38

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Lancang)	**xɛ**^{33}vɑ^{21}	boar (wild) (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0312.43
Lahu (Black)	**hɛ**	swidden highland field (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1082-1085
	hɛ-šā	old field (n.)	Matisoff 1974:213
	hɛ-và? ~ **hɛ́**-và?	wild boar (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:1085
	xɛ^{33}vʌ^{21}	boar	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:127.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**xɛ**^{1}va^{5}	boar	Chang Hong’en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**hã**^{33}dɔ^{44}	bottom of field	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}gu^{21}	top of field	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}mi^{33}	land; field; cultivated field	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}mi^{33} **hã**^{33}ba^{21}	land; cultivated field	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}mɤ^{33} le^{33}tse^{55}	edge of field	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}tsæ^{55} **hã**^{33}læʔ^{21}	edges and corners of field	Bradley 1994
	hã^{33}tɕhi^{33} **hã**^{55}æʔ^{21}	edges and corners of field	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**h’a**^{4}-mi^{4}	field (dry, hillside)	Fraser 1922
Lisu (Northern)	**ji**^{55}mi^{44}	field (N.)	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Mpi	**jo**^{6}	swidden / dry field	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
Sila	**ja55** go55	upland field	Kato Takashi 2008:141

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Phu Kha	**ha**^{31}	dry field	Fried 2000

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

Sino-Tibetan	***s-ra**	place	Matisoff 1983:38

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

Tibeto-Burman	***s-ra**	place	Matisoff 2003a:609

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	**ra**	place (n.)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	**ra**	place (n.)	Marrison 1967

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**rà**	place (n.)	Matisoff 1974:125
	ra / śəra	place	Benedict 1972:171n457
	rà~**šərà**	place	Matisoff 1983:38
	rɑ~**śərɑ**	place	Chou Fa-kao 1972:91a-c
	shara	place (n.)	Marrison 1967
	šərà	place, occasion, subject matter	Matisoff 1974:125

1.7.3.2. Asakian

Sak	a **rá**	place	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:353-1

6.1.1. Burmish

Burmese (Rangoon)	ne^{22}**jɑ**^{22}	place (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0064.27
Burmese (Written)	ne^{2} **rɑɑ**^{2}	place (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0064.26
	ne **rā**	place (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ra	verb formative denoting object of an action,; place of being or action; place; thing, subject; place, situation	Matisoff 1983:38; Matisoff 1974:125; Benedict 1976a
	ə-**ra**	thing, subject; place, situation	Benedict 1976a
	ʔə **ra**	thing, subject, matter, place, situation	Matisoff 1974:125
Marma	ə **ra**	place	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:353-1

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Lahu (Black)	**kà**	clf. for places	Matisoff 1988a:326-7

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha	à-**gá**	where	Matisoff 1988a:326
	gá-ma	place	Matisoff 1988a:326
	gá	locative nominalizer	Matisoff 1988a:326-7

7. Karenic

Kayan (Pekon)	**klá**	place (N.)	Manson 2010

9.0.1. Old Chinese

Chinese (Old/Mid)	**śr̥i̯o**/s̥i̯wo	place where	Chou Fa-kao 1972:91a-c
Chinese (Old)	**śr̥i̯o**	place	Matisoff 1983:38

Chinese comparandum

所 OC ***śr̥i̯o**, *GSR* #91a-c; Matisoff 1983, Chou 1972:91a-c ***śr̥i̯o**; Schuessler 2007:286 ***sraʔ**; B & S 2011: ***s-qʰraʔ**; Mand. **suǒ**.

(2) PCC *hmun PLACE / SITE / ROOM

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Sizang	**mun**	site	VanBik 2009:877
Thado	**mùn**	place	VanBik 2009:877
Tiddim	**mun**^{3}	place	VanBik 2009:877; Bhaskararao 1996:1151

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**hmün**	place, site	VanBik 2009:877

1.2.2. Central Chin

Central Chin	***hmun**	PLACE / SITE / ROOM	VanBik 2009:877
Lai (Hakha)	**hmŭn**	place, room, site	VanBik 2009:877
Lai (Falam)	**hmùn**	place, room	VanBik 2009:877
Lushai [Mizo]	**hmun**	place (n.)	Marrison 1967
	hmùn	place, room, site, post, position	VanBik 2009:877
	hmun	place	Bhaskararao 1996:1151

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**hmō**	site, a place (n.)	VanBik 2009:877

(3) PKC *waw SHARE / LOT

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Chin	***waw**	SHARE / LOT	VanBik 2009:1168

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**tan**-vou	share	VanBik 2009:1168

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**tsăw**-vâw	share, portion	VanBik 2009:1168

1.2.3. Maraic

Lakher [Mara]	**vyù**	one’s share, one’s portion, one’s lot in life	VanBik 2009:1168

(4) PKC *pooŋ SURROUNDING / VICINITY

1.2. Kuki-Chin

Chin	***pooŋ**	SURROUNDING / VICINITY	VanBik 2009:163

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Asho	a-**pöng**	district	VanBik 2009:163

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**pòoŋ**	surrounding, nearby area, vicinity	VanBik 2009:163

(5) TGTM *^{B}gla $^{\cdot}_{A}$ gla: place

2.1.4. Tamangish

TGTM	*^{B}**gla:**/^{A}gla:	place	Mazaudon 1978:56
Gurung (Ghachok)	^{3}**ɬo**	place	Mazaudon 1978:56
Manang (Ngawal)	^{4}**khja**	place	Mazaudon 1978:56
Tamang (Risiangku)	^{4}**kla**	place	Mazaudon 1978:56
Tamang (Sahu)	^{4}**kla:**	place	Mazaudon 1978:56
Tamang (Taglung)	^{4}**khla:**	place	Mazaudon 1978:56
Thakali (Marpha)	^{4}**lja**	place	Mazaudon 1978:56
Thakali (Syang)	^{4}**lja**	place	Mazaudon 1978:56
Thakali (Tukche)	^{3}**kja**	place	Mazaudon 1978:56

9.10.5 Places in general, countries

(1) PTB * $^{s}_{k}$ -ra PLACE

The OC reconstruction was changed from *GSR*’s #91a-c ***s̥i̯o** to ***śr̥i̯o** in *STC*, p. 171.

9.10.6 Functional buildings/places

(1) PTani *bruŋ GRAVE

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***bruŋ**	grave	Sun 1993a:182
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**bjú**	grave	Sun 1993b
	bru	grave	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	bru-kũ pa-deʔ-nan	memorial	Sun 1993b
Bengni	ñi-**bjuŋ**	grave	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	ɲi **buu**	grave (n.)	GLDC 2009
Tagin	nyi **buŋ**	grave	Das Gupta 1983
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Milang	a **byuŋ**	grave	Tayeng 1976

(2) PKC *khlaan GRAVE / TOMB

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***khlaan**	GRAVE / TOMB	VanBik 2009:1288
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Sizang	**htan**	grave	VanBik 2009:1288
Thado	**hlàan**	cemetery, grave	VanBik 2009:1288
Tiddim	**haːn**^{3}	grave yard	VanBik 2009:1288
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**thlăan**	grave, tomb	VanBik 2009:1288
Lai (Falam)	**thlàan**	grave, tomb, cemetery	VanBik 2009:1288
Lushai [Mizo]	**thlàan**	grave, a tomb, a sepulchre (n.)	VanBik 2009:1288
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**thlā**	grave, a tomb (n.)	VanBik 2009:1288

Volume 10

Grammatical Words

10.0.0 Grammatical Words

(1) PTB *sa-y INCHOATIVE PARTICLE

The comparison with Chinese 且 is due to Coblin (1986:36).

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)			
Sino-Tibetan	***tshyɨaɣ**	about to / on the point of	Coblin 1986:36
0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
Tibeto-Burman	***sa-y**	inchoative particle	Matisoff 2003a:612
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
Lolo-Burmese	***sVy²**	inchoative particle	Matisoff 1985a:154
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**sê**	inchoative particle	Matisoff 1985a:154
Marma	mə … **θĭ**	not yet	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:433
6.1.2. Loloish			
Loloish	***se²**	functor: (not) yet	Bradley 1979b:833
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**šē**	inchoative particle	Matisoff 1985a:154
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha	á-**shì**	inchoative particle	Matisoff 1985a:154
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**tshjiagx**	about to / on the point of	Coblin 1986:36
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**tshja:**	about to / on the point of	Coblin 1986:36

Chinese comparandum

且 OC ***ts'i̱ɑ**, *GSR* #46a-f 'about to; moreover'; Coblin 86:36 ST ***tshyɨaɣ** > OC ***tshjiagx**; Schuessler 2007:306 ***tsha?**; B & S 2011: ***ts^{h}a? {[ts^{h}] A?}**; Mand. **qiě**.
將 OC ***tsi̱ɑŋ**, *GSR* #727f 'on the point of, about to; intend to, be going to'; Schuessler 2007:306 ***tsaŋ**; B & S 2011: ***tsaŋ {[ts] aŋ}**; Mand. **jiāng**.
才 OC ***dz'əg**, *GSR* #943a-f 'only when/at'; Schuessler 2007:175 ***dzə̂**; B & S 2011: ***{(Cə.)[dz]^{ʕ}ə}**; Mand. **cái**.

(2) PTB *la-y QUESTION PARTICLE / INTERROGATIVE

Lolo-Burmese distinguishes between the open syllable allofam ***la** and the suffixed form ***lay**, with a semantic difference: signaling yes/no questions vs. substance questions, respectively. See *GSTC* set #131, Matisoff 1995 ("Palatal suffixes") #21, and *HPTB* p. 488.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
Tibeto-Burman	***la-y**	question particle	Matisoff 2003a:599
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	**'laa**	Content question marker; Question marker (content) (pcl.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
Ukhrul	**la**	question marker (yes-no)	Mortensen 2012
1.4. Meithei			
Meithei	**la** ~ **lə**	yes/no question particle	Matisoff 2003a:488
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Kokborok	kh **lay**	content question particle	Matisoff 2003a:488
	lay	content question particle; wh- particle	Matisoff 2003a:488; Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
2.2. Newar			
Newar (Kathmandu)	**lā**	yes/no question particle	Malla 2007:HPTB:488
	le	content question particle	Malla 2007:HPTB:488
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang			
Chepang	**-lo**	Interrogative of Identification (fn2.)	Caughley 2000
5. Tujia			
Tujia (Northern)	**la**	interrogative sentential particle	Brassett *et al.* 2006:7.1
6.1. Lolo-Burmese: ***la²** yes/no question particle, ***lay²/³** substance question particle			
Lolo-Burmese	***lay¹/²**	question particle	Matisoff 1985a:131
	***la²**	question particle	Matisoff 2003a:599
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Written)	**lâ**	(affix, interrog.)	Benedict 1976a
	lâi	final particle marking substance questions	Matisoff 1985a:131
6.1.2. Loloish			
Loloish	***lay²/³**	substance question	Bradley 1979b:859
	***la²**	yes / no question	Bradley 1979b:858
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**lâ**	yes/no question particle	Matisoff 1988a:1347
	le	substance question particle	Matisoff 1988a:1373
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Mpi	**lɑ²**	question particle	Srinuan Duanghom 1976
7. Karenic			
Kayan (Pekon)	**lá**	interrogative question marker (Pf.)	Manson 2010
	lé	question marker (Pf.)	Manson 2010

Chinese comparandum

Chinese 與 or 歟 'final (yes/no or rhetorical) interrogative particle' is reconstructed as OC ***zi̱o** in *GSR* #89b-d and #89e (Mand. **yú**), but as ***lă** in WHB's system.

(3) PTB *dz(y)ay-s QUOTATIVE PARTICLE

The final ***-s** is attested both in WT and rGyalrongic.

This particle is evidently a grammaticalization of a full verb meaning 'speak'. Loloish seems to have differentiated these two senses, leading to a doublet **džay²/¹** 'quotative particle' and **dze²** 'speak'.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
Tibeto-Burman	***dz(y)ay-s**	quotative particle	Matisoff 2003a:589
	***dʒay ≍ tʃay**	quotative particle	Matisoff 1985a:104
2.1.2. Bodic			
Baima	**dzø^{35}**	speak (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991a:3.8.1
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Written)	**ces**	so (like that)	Marrison 1967
	ces	so, thus	Matisoff 1985a:104 [a]

[a] Jäschke's definition (p. 142): "so, thus; in ancient literature regularly placed after words or thoughts that are literally quoted".

2.3.3. Central Kiranti			
Dum-Thu-Kha	***ɟe-**	speak (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:165
Dumi	**dze:-**	speak, to talk (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:165
	dze:t-	call, to address, to speak (v.)	Michailovsky 1991:165
	dze: nɨ	speak, talk.	Driem 1993
3.1. Tangut			
Tangut [Xixia]	**tshjij** (tshjij)	speak, talk, say	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:5612
3.2. Qiangic			
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tʃə^{13}**	speak	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983
	tʃə^{55}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tɕi^{35}**	say; speak	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.10
Qiang (Mawo)	**dʑɛ**	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.08
Qiang (Taoping)	**dʑi^{231}**	speak	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
	dʑi^{241}	say / speak	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:545.9
Qiang (Yadu)	**dʑe**	speak	Dai Qingxia 1989q:2263
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	'ka **tsə**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	də^{3}**tsəs^{3}**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	ka-**tsəs**	speak; say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901; Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	ka-**tsɻ**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	ka22**tsɨ44**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	ka^{3}**tsə^{53}**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	ka^{5}**tsə^{5}**	speak; say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901; Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	ka 'rju / ka **'tsis**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	ka **'tse**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	ka **'tsi**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	ka **'tsə**	speak; say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901; Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	ka **'tsə**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	ka **'tsə**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	ka **'tsəs**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	ka **'tsəs**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	ka **'tsəs**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	ka **'tsəs**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	ka **'tsəs**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	ka **'ts^{h}ə**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	ka **'ts^{h}ə**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	ka **'zə**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	ka **tɕ^{j}ɛ**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	ka **tsa**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (NW)	ka **ts^{h}ə**	speak (v.)	Sun Hongkai 1991l:3.8.1
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	ka ^{l}**tsʊ**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	ko^{3}**tsəs^{5}**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	kwe **'tsəs**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	kə55 **tsɨ44**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	kə **'tsəs**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	kɐ22 **ʧis44**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
Caodeng	ké-**tsə**	say; speak	Sun 1997a; Sun 1997a
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	nə44 **tɕəs24**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	ta44mi44 ka22**tsɨ44**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	ta mi 'ka **tsə**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	ta mi 'ka **tsə**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	ta mi 'na **tsəs**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	ta mi ka **'tsəs**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	to3**'tsə5**sej1	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	to **'tsis**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	tərjo 'ka **tsə**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	tə^{3}mə^{5}də^{3}**tsəs^{3}**	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	tə **'tsi**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	ŋa **'tsəs**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	ŋa **'tsəs**	say (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0904
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	ˊko **tsəs** / ˊko rju	speak (v.)	Nagano & Prins 2013:0901
6.1. Lolo-Burmese			
Lolo-Burmese	***džay²/¹**	quotative particle	Matisoff 2003a:589
	***dʒay¹/²**	quotative particle	Matisoff 1985a:104
6.1.2. Loloish			
Loloish	***dze²**	speak	Bradley 1979b:663B
	***jay¹/²/³**	quotative	Bradley 1979b:861
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Nusu (Central)	**dʑɑ^{53}**	say	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
	tu^{31} **dʑa^{53}**	speak	Dai Qingxia 1989p:2263.

Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	tu[31] **dʐa̱[31]**	speak	Dai Qingxia 1989o:2263.
Nusu (Central)	tu[31]**dʐa̱[53]**	speak (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1649.34
Yi (Liangshan)	**dʑi[55]**	say; speak	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**cê**	quotative prt.	Matisoff 1985a:104
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Yunnan)	**dja**	say	Hansson 1989:197
Akha	**djé**	quotative particle	Matisoff 1985a:104
	je[55]	quotative particle	Matisoff 1985a:104
6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish			
Phola	**dʑi[33]**	speak	Pelkey 2011:617
	dʑi̱[23]	say	Pelkey 2011:612

(4) PCN *ta(ʔ) QUOTATIVE

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***ta(ʔ)**	QUOTATIVE	Bruhn 2014a:III.005
**Ao*	***ta**	QUOTATIVE, THUS	Bruhn 2014a:II.022
Ao (Chungli)	**ta[2]**	QUOT, thus (part.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.022
Lotha Naga	**toʔ[1]**	QUOTATIVE (part.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.005

(5) PTB *wa-n THAT / DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVE

This etymon is probably related to PTB ***g-wəy-n*** FAR (§9.2.7). The two must be kept distinct however, in view of contrasting forms like Lahu **vî** 'far' (PTB ***g-wəy-n*** FAR (§9.2.7)) vs. **ô** 'over there, distant point' from the present root.

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	cu-**we**	that; he (for distant object or person)	NEFA (India) 1963; NEFA (India) 1963
	we[55]	that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.22
	we[55]	that	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:983.49
Kaman [Miju]	**wǎn[35]**	that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.23
	wǎn[35]	that	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:983.48
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**wo[33]**ʒa[31]	that	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	wo[51]	that (over yonder) (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0948.19
	wo[55]	that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.19
	wo[55] ʒa[31] teʔ[31]	that side / there (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.19
	wo[55]ʒa[31] tson[31]	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.19
	wo ra	that (adj.)	Marrison 1967
2.2. Newar			
Newar	**wa**	that	Hale 1973:01.005
4. Nungic			
Rawang	**wɛ[33]** lɔŋ[31]	that	LaPolla 2003:964
	wɛ[33] lɑp	that side, there	LaPolla 2003:970
	wɛ[33]dɯ[33]	that (way), (like) that	LaPolla 2003:972
	ərum[53] **wɛ[33]**	far, distant	LaPolla 2003:1000
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Yi (Nanhua)	**və[13]və[33]**	that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.37
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	**o[53]**	that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.43
	o[53] kɑ[31]	there (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0950.43
	o[53] phɔ[53]	that side / there (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.43
	o[53] qhe[33]	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.43
Lahu (Black)	**ô**	over there; distant point	Matisoff 1988a:122
	o[53]	that	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:983.33
	o[53]kʌ[31]	there	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:984.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ʔo[1]**	that	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ʔo[1]lɛ[4]	like that / that way	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ʔo[1]sɔ[2]	there	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	thø[55]; **ø[55]**	that;that (far)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:983.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ø[55]**	that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.41
	ø[55] me[55]	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.41
	ø[55] phø[33]	that side / there (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.41

10.1.0 Ontological

(1) PTB *na AGENTIVE / INSTRUMENTAL

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	**-naa**	by way of (vs:val.)	GLDC 2009
1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**na**	by means of	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**nə**	(agentive)	Coupe 2007:121
Lotha Naga	**-na**	by means of	Marrison 1967
	ā **n̤ā**	I	Acharya 1975
	nà	by	Acharya 1975
	n̤à	by	Acharya 1975
	[2]a(-[1]**na**)	I	Weidert 1987:197
Sangtam	**-nü**	by means of	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**nü**	by means of	Marrison 1967
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Mao	**no**	by means of	Marrison 1967
	va **no**	by means of	Marrison 1967
Meluri	**nü**	by means of	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**-na**	by means of	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**-no**	by means of	Marrison 1967

10.1.2 Conjunctives

(1) PKC *yoŋ ALSO / TOO

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***yoŋ**	ALSO / TOO	VanBik 2009:1184
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**zong**	too	VanBik 2009:1184
Sizang	**zong**	also	VanBik 2009:1184
Thado	**zòŋ**	also	VanBik 2009:1184
Tiddim	**zong[3]**	also	VanBik 2009:1184
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**zǒŋ**	also, too	VanBik 2009:1184
Lai (Falam)	**zòŋ**	also, too	VanBik 2009:1184
Lushai [Mizo]	**zàwng**	also	VanBik 2009:1184
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	**zȳ**	too	VanBik 2009:1184

(2) PKC *lee AND / WITH

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***lee**	AND / WITH	VanBik 2009:987
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**lèe**	and, with	VanBik 2009:987
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**lěe**	and, with	VanBik 2009:987
Lai (Falam)	**lè?**	and, with	VanBik 2009:987

10.1.3 Classifiers

(1) PKar *sej[B] CLASSIFIER (HAND OF BANANAS)

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***sej[B]**	classifier (hand of bananas)	Luangthongkum 2013:52
Kayah	**sə[11]**	classifier (hand of bananas)	Luangthongkum 2013:52
Kayan	**θi[11]**	classifier (hand of bananas)	Luangthongkum 2013:52
Kayaw	**si[11]**	classifier (hand of bananas)	Luangthongkum 2013:52
Pa-O (Southern)	**si[33]**	classifier (hand of bananas)	Luangthongkum 2013:52
Pa-O (Northern)	**si[55]**	classifier (hand of bananas)	Luangthongkum 2013:52
Pwo (Northern)	**sei[33]**	classifier (hand of bananas)	Luangthongkum 2013:52
Sgaw (Northern)	**si[31~]**	classifier (hand of bananas)	Luangthongkum 2013:52
Sgaw (Southern)	**si[45,]**	classifier (hand of bananas)	Luangthongkum 2013:52

(2) PKar *plɔŋ[B] CLASSIFIER FOR A PIECE OF MEAT, CAKE, ETC.

7. Karenic			
**Karen [Burling]*	***lɔŋ[2]**	classifier for a piece of meat, cake, etc.	Luangthongkum 2013:55
**Karen*	***plɔŋ[B]**	classifier for a piece of meat, cake, etc.	Luangthongkum 2013:55
Kayah	**plɔ[11]**	classifier for a piece of meat, cake, etc.	Luangthongkum 2013:55
Kayaw	**plo[11]**	classifier for a piece of meat, cake, etc.	Luangthongkum 2013:55
Pa-O (Northern)	**lɔŋ[55]**	classifier for a piece of meat, cake, etc.	Luangthongkum 2013:55
Pwo (Northern)	**lɔ̃[33]**	classifier for a piece of meat, cake, etc.	Luangthongkum 2013:55
Pwo (Southern)	**lõ[55]**	classifier for a piece of meat, cake, etc.	Luangthongkum 2013:55
Sgaw (Northern)	**lo[31~]**	classifier for a piece of meat, cake, etc.	Luangthongkum 2013:55
Sgaw (Southern)	**lu[45,]**	classifier for a piece of meat, cake, etc.	Luangthongkum 2013:55

(3) PKar *ʔdə[A] CLASSIFIER FOR FOUR-LEGGED ANIMALS

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***ʔdə[A]**	classifier for four-legged animals	Luangthongkum 2013:59
Kayah	**do[33]**	classifier for four-legged animals	Luangthongkum 2013:59
Kayan	**dəɨ[53]**	classifier for four-legged animals	Luangthongkum 2013:59
Kayaw	**də[55]**	classifier for four-legged animals	Luangthongkum 2013:59
Pwo (Northern)	**dəɨ[55]**	classifier for four-legged animals	Luangthongkum 2013:59
Pwo (Southern)	**dɨ[31¨]**	classifier for four-legged animals	Luangthongkum 2013:59
Sgaw (Northern)	**dɨ[33]**	classifier for four-legged animals	Luangthongkum 2013:59
Sgaw (Southern)	**dɨ[55]**	classifier for four-legged animals	Luangthongkum 2013:59

(4) PTani *tɯŋ CLASSIFIER FOR GROUP (of animals)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***tɯŋ**	clf for group (of animals)	Sun 1993a:70
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	**tɯŋ**	classifier for group (of anima; classifier (group)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **tɯŋ**	team; line (of people (&animals)); flock (of sheep) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0867.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0882.24
	a-**tɯŋ**	classifier for group (of anima; classifier	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Galo	a **tɨɨ**	crowd; group (n:qual.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	bee **tɨɨ**	monkey (crowd); crowd (of monkeys) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	cər **tɨɨ**	deer herd (n.)	GLDC 2009
	ho **tɨɨ**	mithun herd (n.)	GLDC 2009
	tɨɨ-	Classifier for herds (clfr.)	GLDC 2009
	'ak **tɨɨ**	crow (flock of); flock (of ravens); raven (flock of) (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009

	‘tə **tɨɨ**	elephant herd (n.)	GLDC 2009
	‘tɨɨ tə	majority (of people); most (people) (adj.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ə **tɨɨ**	cattle herd; herd of cattle (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ɲi **tɨɨ**	crowd; throng (n.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Damu	ʔa-**təŋ**	classifier: group	Sun 1993b

(5) PKar *ʔbɔN^{A} CLASSIFIER FOR LONG OBJECTS

7. Karenic			
**Karen [Burling]*	***bɔŋ^{3}**	classifier for long objects	Luangthongkum 2013:58
**Karen*	***ʔbɔN^{A}**	classifier for long objects	Luangthongkum 2013:58
Kayah	**bo^{33}**	classifier for long objects	Luangthongkum 2013:58
Kayan	**bɔ^{53}**	classifier for long objects	Luangthongkum 2013:58
Kayaw	**bo^{55}**	classifier for long objects	Luangthongkum 2013:58
Pwo (Northern)	**bɔ̃^{55}**	classifier for long objects	Luangthongkum 2013:58
Pwo (Southern)	**bõ^{31}**	classifier for long objects	Luangthongkum 2013:58
Sgaw (Northern)	**bo^{33}**	classifier for long objects	Luangthongkum 2013:58
Sgaw (Southern)	**bu^{55}**	classifier for long objects	Luangthongkum 2013:58

(6) PTani *soŋ CLASSIFIER FOR LONG, SLENDER OBJECTS

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***soŋ**	clf for long, slender objects	Sun 1993a:71
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**so**	classifier for long, slender o	Sun 1993a
Bengni	**šo:**	classifier for long, slender o	Sun 1993a
	so:	classifier (long objects)	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **ɦoŋ**	classifier for sticks (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0843.24
	a-**hoŋ**	classifier for long, slender o; classifier (long objects)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b [a]
	hoŋ-me:	thin	Sun 1993b
	ɦoŋ me:	thin (in diameter) / fine / tiny (adj.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0967.24
Bokar Lhoba	a **ɦoŋ**	classifier for long, thin obje	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:954.51
	ɦoŋ mɛ:	thin (slender)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:812.51
Galo	-**‘hoo**	long (bamboo) (adj:mono.)	GLDC 2009
	a **hoo**	Classifier for long, thin things (n:clf.)	GLDC 2009
	hoo-	Classifier for long, thin things (clfr.)	GLDC 2009
	‘a **hoo**	long (adj.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**soŋ**	classifier for long, slender o	Sun 1993a

[a] [Source Note] initial! (Sun 1993a).

(7) PKar *bra^{A} CLASSIFIER FOR PEOPLE, PERSONS

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***bra^{A}**	classifier for people, persons	Luangthongkum 2013:54
**Karen [Burling]*	***phwa^{3}**	person	Luangthongkum 2013:54
	***ɣa^{3}**	classifier for people, persons	Luangthongkum 2013:54
Kayah	**phre^{11}**	classifier for people, persons	Luangthongkum 2013:54
Kayan	**pra^{33}**	classifier for people, persons	Luangthongkum 2013:54
Kayaw	**ra^{33}**	classifier for people, persons	Luangthongkum 2013:54
Pa-O (Northern)	**phra^{33}**	classifier for people, persons	Luangthongkum 2013:54
Pa-O (Southern)	**pra^{53}**	classifier for people, persons	Luangthongkum 2013:54
Pwo (Northern)	**ɣa^{55}**	classifier for people, persons	Luangthongkum 2013:54
Pwo (Southern)	**ɣa$^{31\cdot\cdot}$**	classifier for people, persons	Luangthongkum 2013:54
Sgaw (Northern)	**pɣa^{33}**	classifier for people, persons	Luangthongkum 2013:54
Sgaw (Southern)	**ɣa^{33}**	classifier for people, persons	Luangthongkum 2013:54

(8) PKar *kho^{B} CLASSIFIER FOR PLANTS (CLUMPS, CLUSTERS)

7. Karenic			
**Karen*	***kho^{B}**	classifier for plants, e.g. bamboo, rice, banana etc. (clumps, clusters)	Luangthongkum 2013:56
Kayan	**khau^{11}**	classifier for plants, e.g. bamboo, rice, banana etc. (clumps, clusters)	Luangthongkum 2013:56
Pwo (Northern)	**khu^{33}**	classifier for plants, e.g. bamboo, rice, banana etc. (clumps, clusters)	Luangthongkum 2013:56
Pwo (Southern)	**khu^{55}**	classifier for plants, e.g. bamboo, rice, banana etc. (clumps, clusters)	Luangthongkum 2013:56
Sgaw (Northern)	**kho$^{31\sim}$**	classifier for plants, e.g. bamboo, rice, banana etc. (clumps, clusters)	Luangthongkum 2013:56
Sgaw (Southern)	**khu^{45,}**	classifier for plants, e.g. bamboo, rice, banana etc. (clumps, clusters)	Luangthongkum 2013:56

(9) PTani *bal CLASSIFIER FOR ROUND FLAT OBJECTS

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***bal**	clf for round flat objects (e.g. coins)	Sun 1993a:72
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**bar**	classifier for round flat objects (e.g. coins)	Sun 1993a
Galo	‘a **bar**	Classifier for discs; disc; plate (n:clf.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	‘bar-	Classifier for discs (clfr.)	GLDC 2009
Nishing	**bar**	clf (disc-like objects)	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	**bal**	classifier for round flat objects (e.g. coins)	Sun 1993a
Milang	a **bal**	money	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	**bar**	classifier for round flat objects (e.g. coins)	Sun 1993a

(10) PKar *phloŋ^{B} CLASSIFIER FOR ROUND OBJECTS

This root seems to be allofamically related to PKar ***ploŋ^{B}** TERMITE MOUND (§2.3).

7. Karenic			
**Karen [Burling]*	***phloŋ^{2}**	classfier for round objects	Luangthongkum 2013:57
**Karen*	***phloŋ^{B}**	classfier for round objects	Luangthongkum 2013:57
Kayah	**phlɔ^{11}**	classfier for round objects	Luangthongkum 2013:57
Kayan	**phləu^{11}**	classfier for round objects	Luangthongkum 2013:57
Kayan (Pekon)	**p^{h}lôn**	Classifier for small round things (CLFs.)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	**phlə^{11}**	classfier for round objects	Luangthongkum 2013:57
Pa-O (Southern)	**phloŋ^{33}**	classfier for round objects	Luangthongkum 2013:57
Pa-O (Northern)	**phloŋ^{55}**	classfier for round objects	Luangthongkum 2013:57
Pwo (Northern)	**phlău^{33}**	classfier for round objects	Luangthongkum 2013:57
Pwo (Southern)	**phlõu^{55}**	classfier for round objects	Luangthongkum 2013:57
Sgaw (Northern)	**phlə$^{31\sim}$**	classfier for round objects	Luangthongkum 2013:57
Sgaw (Southern)	**phlɨ^{45,}**	classfier for round objects	Luangthongkum 2013:57

(11) PTani *pjɯl CLASSIFIER FOR SMALL ROUND OBJECTS

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***pjɯl**	clf for small round objects	Sun 1993a:73
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	ñim-**pɯr**	nipple	Sun 1993b
	pɯr	classifier for small round obj	Sun 1993a
Bengni	am-**čɯr**	rice grain	Sun 1993b
	čɯr	classifier for small round obj; classifier (small insect); classifier (grain)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	puk-**čɯr**	bullet	Sun 1993b
	tum-**čɯr** ki-fa:	castrate	Sun 1993b
	tup-**čɯr**	button	Sun 1993b
Bokar	a **pir**	grain (of rice) (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0845.24
	a-**pir**	classifier for small round obj; classifier	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	men a-**pir**	medicine (pill)	Sun 1993b
	um **pir**	foodstuff / grain (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0402.24
	um-**pir**	grain (of rice); grain, food supply	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam [Abor]	**pil**	classifier for small round obj	Sun 1993a
Mishing [Miri]	**pir**	classifier for small round obj	Sun 1993a

(12) PTani *bor CLASSIFIER FOR THIN, FLAT OBJECTS

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***bor**	clf for flat, thin objects	Sun 1993a:69
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	a **bor**	sheet (of hide); classifier for garments (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0839.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0864.24
	a-**bor**	classifier	Sun 1993b
	bor	classifier for flat, thin obje	Sun 1993a
Bokar Lhoba	a **bor**	classifier for clothes	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:957.51
Galo	a **bor**	Classifier for sheets; sheet (of paper, e.g.) (n:clf.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	bor-	Classifier for sheets (clfr.)	GLDC 2009
	‘ma **bor**	tobacco leaf (n.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**bor**	classifier for flat, thin obje	Sun 1993a

(13) PTani *tak CLASSIFIER FOR THIN, FLAT OBJECTS

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***tak**	clf for thin, flat objects (e.g. pieces of cloth)	Sun 1993a:74
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**ta?**	classifier for thin, flat objects (e.g. pieces of cloth)	Sun 1993a

Bengni	**tak**	classifier for thin, flat objects (e.g. pieces of cloth); classifier (thin, flat piece)	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	a-**tak**	classifier	Sun 1993b
	tak	classifier for thin, flat objects (e.g. pieces of cloth)	Sun 1993a
Galo	a **tak**	flat (adj.)	GLDC 2009
	a **tak**	piece (of a flat-sided object); side (n:clfq.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	tak-	Classifier for flat pieces (clfqr.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**tak**	classifier for thin, flat objects (e.g. pieces of cloth)	Sun 1993a

(14) PKC *w $^{o}_{a}$ y TIMES (classifier)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***woy** ~ way	TIMES (Clf.)	VanBik 2009:1175
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**vày**	time (Clf.)	VanBik 2009:1175
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Cho (Mindat)	**vei**	time in the sense of recurrence	VanBik 2009:1175
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Falam)	**vôy**	time, times (preceding a numeral)	VanBik 2009:1175
Lai (Hakha)	**vǒy** ~ vây	times (Clf.)	VanBik 2009:1175
Lushai [Mizo]	**vâwi**	time, times (preceding a numeral), as in vâwi thúm ká hmù tàwh 'I have seen it three times'	VanBik 2009:1175

10.2.1 Grammatical identifiers

(1) PTani *aː (?) THAT (demonstrative)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***aː** (?)	that (demonstrative)	Sun 1993a:421
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bengni	a-lo**: ɯː**	that over there	Sun 1993b
	ɯː	that (demonstrative); that	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar	**aː**	that (demonstrative); that	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	aː	that; that (over yonder) (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0948.24
	aː-lo	there	Sun 1993b
	aː-pa	in that way; that way	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	aː-ten	there, that side	Sun 1993b
	aː lo	that side; there (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0950.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.24
	aː pa	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.24
	aː ten	that side / there (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.24
Bokar Lhoba	**aː**	that	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:983.51
	aː lo	there	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:984.51
Galo	**'aa**	that (same level) (dem.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**e**	that	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Milang	**a**	that	Tayeng 1976

10.2.2 Morphological identifiers

(1) TGTM *^{B}k^{h}am CAN

2.1.4. Tamangish			
**TGTM*	***^{B}k^{h}am**	can	Mazaudon 1994:96
Gurung (Ghachok)	**k^{h}ãːq** ba	can	Glover 1972:13.A.1
Gurung	**^{2}k^{h}ãː**-	can	Mazaudon 1994:96
Manang (Gyaru)	**kɛn^{1}**	can	Nagano 1984:454
Tamang (Risiangku)	**^{2}k^{h}am**	able / capable (physically / stren	Mazaudon 1994:96
Tamang (Sahu)	**^{2}k^{h}am**	can (to be able to) do s.th	Mazaudon 1994:96
Thakali (Marpha)	**^{55,54}k^{h}am**-dzi	can / may / able to	Mazaudon 1994:96
Thakali (Tukche)	**^{2}k^{h}əm**	can / be able to do sthg	Mazaudon 1994:96

(2) PTani *laŋ CAN / ABLE TO (verbal particle)

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	***laŋ**	can / able to (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a:56
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	**-la**	can / able to (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a
Galo	**-'laa**	able to; can (vs:adv.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	**la**	vbl. suffix denoting potentiality, can	Simon 1976
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**laŋ**	can / able to (verbal particle)	Sun 1993a

(3) PKC *khaw CAN / ABLE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***khaw**	CAN / ABLE	VanBik 2009:427
1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin			
Asho	**kʻó**	can, to be able	VanBik 2009:427
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**khàw**-I, kho?-II	can, be able	VanBik 2009:427

(4) PTB *m-nyaŋ CAN / BE ABLE

Further confirmation of this root would be welcome.

1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Bokar	(in) **ŋ̊õː**	can (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1531.24
	-ñoː	can; able	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
3.3.1. rGyalrong			
Ganzi Danba Geshenzha	**mɲoŋ**	can	Nagano & Prins 2013:2196
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	**mɲioŋ**	can	Nagano & Prins 2013:2196
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	**mɲoŋ**	can	Nagano & Prins 2013:2196
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**mŋ̊a**	can	Nagano & Prins 2013:2196
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	**mŋ̊oŋ**	can	Nagano & Prins 2013:2196
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	**mŋ̊oŋ**	can	Nagano & Prins 2013:2196
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	**mŋ̊ə** 'dɽa	can	Nagano & Prins 2013:2196
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**mŋ̊ɑ**	can	Nagano & Prins 2013:2196
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	**mŋ̊oŋ**	can	Nagano & Prins 2013:2196
4. Nungic			
Dulong	**ŋ̊i^{53}**	can (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1531.20
6.1.1. Burmish			
Burmese (Rangoon)	**nãi^{22}**	can (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1531.27
Burmese (Written)	**noŋ^{2}**	can (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1531.26
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Akha (Thai)	**nja**	can	Hansson 1989:28
Akha (Yunnan)	**nja**	can	Hansson 1989:28
Hani (Lüchun)	xhá **nja**	can	Hansson 1989:28
Hani (Wordlist)	**nia**	can	Hansson 1989:28
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	能	can	Nagano & Prins 2013:2196

Chinese comparandum

能 OC **nəg / nəng*, *GSR* #885a 'be able'; B & S 2011: **nˤə {nˤə(ʔ)}~ nˤəŋ*; Mand. **néng**.
態 OC **tʼnəg*, *GSR* #885f 'bearing, manner'; Schuessler 2007:398 **nhâh*; B & S 2011: **n̥ˤə-s*; Mand. **tài**.

10.4.1 Nominal

(1) PKC *ʔin ABLATIVE MARKER

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***ʔin**	ABLATIVE MARKER	VanBik 2009:463
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**nung** in	after	VanBik 2009:463
Tiddim	cik^{3} **in^{2}**	when	VanBik 2009:239; VanBik 2009:463
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**ʔîn**	ablative marker (from)	VanBik 2009:463
Lai (Falam)	**ʔĭn**	ablative marker (from)	VanBik 2009:463

(2) PKC *puy AUGMENTATIVE

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***puy**	AUGMENTATIVE	VanBik 2009:120
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Thado	**pîi**	great (e.g. khúo pîi 'main city')	VanBik 2009:120
Tiddim	**pi^{1}**	augmentative marker, (e.g. ni1 pi1 'sunday')	VanBik 2009:120
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**pîi**	augmentative ("main, big", e.g. ni-pîi 'big day')	VanBik 2009:120
Lai (Falam)	**píi**	augmentative	VanBik 2009:120
Lushai [Mizo]	**pŭi**	augmentative marker (e.g. káwng pŭi 'main road')	VanBik 2009:120
1.2.3. Maraic			
Lakher [Mara]	khì-**pí**	large village, a city, a large village, the abode of the real chief (n.)	VanBik 2009:120

(3) PTk *bɨ AUGMENTATIVE

1.3.4. Tangkhulic			
**Tangkhulic*	***bɨ**	augmentative	Mortensen 2012:781
Champhung	lam-**pi**	road	Brown 1837
Huishu	ʔa-jeŋ-**wuk**	thumb	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.214
Kachai	ʔa-fu-**we**	molar	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.094
Tankghul (Central)	som-**bɯi**	road	Brown 1837; Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Northern)	som-**p^{h}ɯ**	road	Brown 1837; Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	soŋ-**vɯ**	road	Brown 1837; Brown 1837
Tusom	ʔɯ-kfɯ-lem-**pvɯ**	thumb	Mortensen 2012:BodyParts.202

(4) PTB *ya DIMINUTIVE

This root, discussed in detail in JAM 1995 "Sino-Tibetan palatal suffixes revisited", appears in reduced form as **-i** or **-y** in a large number of etymologies. See also *HPTB*:482-489.

The high-rising tone of Lahu **é** 'baby, child' is evidence for a final stop at the Proto-Loloish level, which motivates Bradley's reconstruction of PL **s-yak^{L}*.

For a similar though distinct root, see PTB **z(y)əy* LITTLE / SMALL / TINY (§9.7.2).

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ya**	diminutive	Matisoff 2003a:482
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Galo	**-yaa**	small (adj:mono.)	GLDC 2009
	-yaa...-caa	tiny (adjs:rcom.)	GLDC 2009
	a **yaa**	small (adj.)	GLDC 2009
1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**aː- aː**	small	NEFA (India) 1963
	hu:i-**aː**	bamboo (small)	NEFA (India) 1963
	hui-**aː**	bamboo (small)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ma: sa:ng-**aː**	tree (small)	NEFA (India) 1963
	ta: nyu-**aː**	basket (small, for women)	NEFA (India) 1963

	ɑ⁵³ɑ⁵⁵	thin (in diameter) / fine / tiny (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0967.22
Idu	i⁵⁵tsi⁵⁵ge⁵⁵**ɑ⁵⁵**	little / few	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:820.50
Yidu	bɹɑŋ³⁵tɕi⁵⁵**ɑ⁵⁵**	thin (in diameter) / fine / tiny (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0967.25
	i⁵⁵tsi⁵⁵ge⁵⁵**ɑ⁵⁵**	few / little (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0988.25

3.2. QIANGIC

Lyuzu	**ji³³ji⁵³**	small (adj.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0965.18

6.1.2. LOLOISH: ***s-yak**ᴸ BABY

**Loloish*	*s-**yak**ᴸ	baby	Bradley 1979b:157

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

**Common Lahu*	*a⁻ /**eh⁻**	baby	Bradley 1979b:157
Lahu (Lancang)	ʑɑ⁵³**ɛ³⁵**	baby (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0170.43
Lahu (Black)	**ɛ́**	baby, child (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:127

(5) PKC *ʔaʔ LOCATIVE MARKER (to, on, etc.)

1.2. KUKI-CHIN

**Chin*	***ʔaʔ**	LOCATIVE MARKER (to, on, etc.)	VanBik 2009:493

1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN

Paite	**nuai**-ah	under	VanBik 2009:493

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN

Lai (Hakha)	**ʔaʔ**	locative marker (in, to, on, etc)	VanBik 2009:493
Lai (Falam)	**ʔàʔ**	in, to, on, etc	VanBik 2009:493
Lushai [Mizo]	**àh**	in, into, on, upon, to, etc	VanBik 2009:493

Chinese comparandum

於 OC ***ʔi̯o***, *GSR* #61e 'be at, in, on, with'; Schuessler 2007:584 ***ʔa***; B & S 2011: ***ʔa {[ʔ] a}***; Mand. **yú**.

(6) PTB *ʔa ŋ/k - NOUN PREFIX

It is possible that this etymon is related to PTB ***ʔa*** PRONOUN (3RD PERS.) (§4.1).

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ʔaŋ- ≍ ʔak-***	noun prefix	Matisoff 2003a:583

1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]

Mikir [Karbi]	**ang**-mi	fur, hair	Matisoff 1987
	ang bong	among; between; middle	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ang bong a keik	iris; pupil	Matisoff 1987
	ang deng i si	backbone / spine	Matisoff 1987
	ang ehun	end (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ang ham	palate	Matisoff 1987
	ang hap	uvula	Matisoff 1987
	ang jin	shoulder	Marrison 1967
	ang jok	bud (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ang kok	hole	Marrison 1967
	ang kur	root (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ang mi	hair (of body)	Marrison 1967
	ang ni	tusk; canine tooth; tooth (canine)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	ang phun	nape	Matisoff 1987
	ang pram	scar	Matisoff 1987
	ang ru	rust (n.)	Marrison 1967
	ang se	only; empty	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ang song	up; top (i.e. highest point); on	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ang taw	without (prep.)	Marrison 1967
	ang thek-	scar	Matisoff 1987
	ang tur **ang** mum	moustache	Matisoff 1987
	aŋ mi	hair; fur; body hair, fur, feathers	LaPolla 1987:90; Benedict 1972:2
	aŋ mī(ʔ)	hair (body)	Weidert 1987:261
	aŋ ním	smell (n.)	Weidert 1987:252
	aŋ phàr	flower	Weidert 1987:247
	aŋ phar	catkin, inflorescence, flower	Benedict 1972:1
	aŋ sū(ʔ)	thorn	Weidert 1987:59
	ing tùr **ang** mûm	moustache	Grüssner 1979:22
	keng pak-**ang** lur	sole	Matisoff 1987
	me **ang** bop	blister (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	mek **(ang)** sum	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mek ahom **ang** mi	eyelash	Matisoff 1987
	mék ahōm **ang** mī	eyelash; eyelid	Grüssner 1979:167; Grüssner 1979:167
	mék **ang** sūng	eyelash	Grüssner 1979:167
	mi **ang** kok	anus	Matisoff 1987
	no **ang** thor	earhole	Matisoff 1987
	no kan **ang** lhor	nostril	Matisoff 1987
	te hang **ang** mi	forelock	Matisoff 1987
	te hang **ang** sum	brow; eyebrow	Matisoff 1987
	te hàng **ang** sùm	eyebrow	Grüssner 1979:87
	te hàng **ang** sung	eyebrow	Grüssner 1979:87

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lahu	**á**-cè	kite	Benedict 1972:49n162
	á-chè?	goat	Benedict 1972:121n335
	á-ci-ku	crab	Benedict 1972:25n81
	á-lè?	salt	Benedict 1972:121n335
	á-phè?	pepper	Benedict 1972:121n335
Lahu (Nyi)	**aw̬** keu:	bile	Bradley 1979a:148
Lahu	**á** chè?	goat	LaPolla 1987:122
	á chû	thorn	Weidert 1987:309
	à-chî	lung	Matisoff 1978b:2a
	à-chî-phô?	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1c
	à-ghù-tê?	guts	Matisoff 1978b:2c
	à-khɔ	horn	LaPolla 1987:167
	à-kú-mu	mane	Benedict 1972:76n232
	à-ki	bile, gall bladder	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	à-kî	gall bladder	LaPolla 1987:166
	à-lâ-šī	kidney	Matisoff 1978b:(3)
	à-lò	womb	Matisoff 1978b
	à-má	child; son	Benedict 1972:71n221
	à-ni-pā	younger brother	LaPolla 1987:205
	à-pe	spleen	Matisoff 1978b:(1)
	à-qá	branch	LaPolla 1987:9
	à-qú	bark	Benedict 1972:342
	à-śē-qú	fingernail	LaPolla 1987:207
	à-thu	span	LaPolla 1987:30
	ǎ sì	blood	Weidert 1987:260
	à tɔ̀ʔ	poison	Benedict 1972:76n232
Lahu (Lancaŋ)	**ɔ³¹**bɑ³¹	outside (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0714.43
	ɔ³¹dʑɑ⁵³	edge; rim; margin; boundary line; demarcation line (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0718.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0721.43
	ɔ³¹dʑɑ⁵³**ɔ³¹**dʑi³³	surroundings (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0719.43
	ɔ³¹e³³	mother (address) (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0219.43
	ɔ³¹e³³tɕɑ³⁵	stepmother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0249.43
	ɔ³¹fɯ³⁵qo¹¹	stomach (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0148.43
	ɔ³¹gɯ³¹	skin (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0265.43
	ɔ³¹gɤ³³	root (nveg.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0375.43
	ɔ³¹khi⁵³	shape / appearance (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0697.43
	ɔ³¹khɔ³³	corner; angle; horn (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0263.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0716.43
	ɔ³¹khɔ⁵³	sound (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0161.43
	ɔ³¹khɯ⁵³mɑ³³	daughter-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0221.43
	ɔ³¹ku⁵³tɕɑ⁵⁴	tendon / sinew (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0130.43
	ɔ³¹lɑ⁵³ɕi¹¹	kidney (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0146.43
	ɔ³¹mi⁵³mɑ³³	wife (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0248.43
	ɔ³¹mv²¹ku³³	bone (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0133.43
	ɔ³¹mv²¹ku³³tsi³⁵	joint (nbp.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0136.43
	ɔ³¹mv³³	hair / down (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0266.43
	ɔ³¹mɛ³³	name (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0687.43
	ɔ³¹mɑ³⁵pɑ¹¹	son-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0223.43
	ɔ³¹ni³³mɑ³³	younger sister (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0229.43
	ɔ³¹ni³³pɑ¹¹	younger brother (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0228.43
	ɔ³¹ni³³**ɔ³¹** xɑ³⁵	life / livelihood (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0683.43
	ɔ³¹nɑ³³	upper part of / upper reaches (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0722.43
	ɔ³¹nɑ³³phɔ⁵³	north (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0707.43
	ɔ³¹pi³³	grandmother (address); mother-in-law (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0217.43; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0246.43
	ɔ³¹u³³mɑ³³	aunt <mother's brother's wife> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0239.43
	ɔ³¹u³³phɑ⁵³	uncle <mother's brother> (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0238.43
Lahu (Black)	**á**-bô?	blanket	Matisoff 1972b:78
	á-cè	hawk; kite	Matisoff 1985a:006; Matisoff 1978a:35
	á-chè?	goat	Matisoff 1985a:042; Matisoff 1974:357; Matisoff 1972b:27
	á-ci-ku	crab	Matisoff 1985a:004
	á-nâ?-qā	crow	Matisoff 1972b:142
	á-phà?	ear; leaf	Matisoff 1978a:63; Matisoff 1972b:29
	á-pè	duck	Matisoff 1985a:158
	á-qà? yì ve	shit (euph.)	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ³¹ sɛ³¹	liver	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ³¹ sɛʔ⁵⁴	scales	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ³¹ sɻ³³ kʏ̩³³	corpse	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ³¹ sɻ¹¹	blood	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ³¹ tu³³	body	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ³¹ ʏ̩³³	egg	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ³¹ ɣa⁵³	strength	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ³¹ ɣu³¹ tɛʔ⁵⁴	intestines	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ³¹dzɻ⁵³	urine	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:283.33
	ɔ³¹dzᴀ⁵⁴	edge	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:61.33
	ɔ³¹e³³	mother	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:320.33
	ɔ³¹fə³⁵qo¹¹	stomach	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:269.33
	ɔ³¹gə³³	root	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:222.33
	ɔ³¹gɯ³¹	skin	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:266.33
	ɔ³¹khə³³	voice	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:512.33
	ɔ³¹khɯ⁵³mᴀ³³	daughter-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:341.33
	ɔ³¹ku³³tsᴀ⁵⁴	sinew	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:267.33
	ɔ³¹kə³³	gall	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:275.33
	ɔ³¹li³¹	interest (n.)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:488.33
	ɔ³¹lɔ³³	thing / matter / event	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:515.33
	ɔ³¹lᴀ⁵³si¹¹	kidney	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:270.33
	ɔ³¹me³³	name	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:517.33
	ɔ³¹mi⁵³mᴀ³³	wife	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:338.33
	ɔ³¹mu³³	hair / fur	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:172.33
	ɔ³¹mu³³lu³³	feather	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:173.33
	ɔ³¹mᴀ⁵³pᴀ¹¹	son-in-law	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:342.33
	ɔ³¹ni³³mᴀ³³	heart; sister (younger)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:272.33; SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:336.33
	ɔ³¹ni³³pᴀ¹¹	brother (younger)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:335.33
	ɔ³¹nu³³	ear (of grain-producing plant)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:229.33
	ɔ³¹nɛ⁵⁴	gruel	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:396.33
	ɔ³¹phu⁵³	price	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:486.33
	ɔ³¹phɔ⁵³	husband	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:337.33
	ɔ³¹phᴀ²¹	leaf	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:224.33
	ɔ³¹pə³¹tᴀ⁵⁴	garbage	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:473.33
	ɔ̀-cè	slave	Matisoff 1985a:008
	ɔ̀-chu	roll of fat; wave, ripple; wave	Matisoff 1987:168
	ɔ̀-chu-bâ-nâ	roll of fat; wave, ripple; wave	Matisoff 1987:168
	ɔ̀-chɔ-pwɛ	foot; marrow	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:72
	ɔ̀-chî	lung; lungs	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:56
	ɔ̀-chî-phô?	lung	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-cì	tooth / tusk	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-cɔ-pɔ	foot; marrow	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:72
	ɔ̀-cí	joint	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-cî	raw / fresh	Matisoff 1978a:45
	ɔ̀-cʰu (n.)	fat	Matisoff 1978a:31
	ɔ̀-e	mother	Matisoff 1985a:100
	ɔ̀-fí-qō	stomach	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:176
	ɔ̀-gì(-qú)	skin	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ̀-gì-mâ	foreskin	Matisoff 1987 [a]

[a] Lahu **mâ** 'tip'.

	ɔ-ɡù	intestines	Matisoff 1978a:91
	ɔ-ɡɔ̂	bone, stalk	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-ɡɔ̂ʔ	shadow	Matisoff 1974:348
	ɔ-ha	spirit, image	Matisoff 1974:137
	ɔ-há	night	Matisoff 1972b:174
	ɔ-hêʔ	true omen, portent; symbol, sign	Matisoff 1985a:005-A
	ɔ-hɔ́	lower side / below	Matisoff 1972b:173
	ɔ-jâʔ	cubit; cubit (elbow to fingertips)	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:100(a)
	ɔ-jâʔ	drop (n.)	Matisoff 1972b:82
	ɔ-jî	urine	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-ká-ku	bone	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-khɔ	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-khɨ	foot	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-khɨ-qɔ̀ʔ	whole leg; kneepan	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-ku-câʔ	blood vessel; vein; artery; muscle; sinew; tendon	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-kɛ	pith	Matisoff 1974:8
	ɔ-kɨ	bladder; gall; gall bladder; bile	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:19; Matisoff 1974:65
	ɔ-kʰɔ	horn	Matisoff 1978a:15
	ɔ-lâ-šĭ~ɔ-lə̂-šĭ	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-lə̰-šĭ	kidney	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-lî	custom, rule	Matisoff 1985a:162
	ɔ-lî yàʔ ve	menses	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-lò	womb; placenta	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1978a:89 [a]
	ɔ-má	son (in law); son-in-law	Matisoff 1974:365; Matisoff 1972b:153
	ɔ-má-pā	son-in-law	Matisoff 1972b:153
	ɔ-mê	body dirt	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-mu	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-mɛ̄-tu	tail	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-ne-pa	gristle	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-ni-ma	younger sister	Matisoff 1985a:146
	ɔ-ni-pā	younger brother	Matisoff 1985a:146
	ɔ-nɔ	fingerbreadth'	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-ō	cradle	Matisoff 1978a:92
	ɔ-pā-šɔ̄	intact male animal	Matisoff 1988a:1225
	ɔ-pe	spleen	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1985a:094; Matisoff 1974:14
	ɔ-pèʔ	smell (n.)	Matisoff 1985a:030
	ɔ-phû	price	Matisoff 1974:192
	ɔ-phu-šɔ̄	intact male	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-pi-câʔ	strap; sash; belt (n.)	Matisoff 1988a:p. 817
	ɔ-pū	grandfather	Matisoff 1978a:1
	ɔ-pè-qu	goiter	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-pʰɨ	nest	Matisoff 1978a:7
	ɔ-qá	branch	Matisoff 1972b:43
	ɔ-qhɔ-qhɔ̂	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-qhê	shit (n.)	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-qú	outer covering; bark; skin; peel; scab	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1972b:71(b)
	ɔ-qʰɔ	hole in ground / pit	Matisoff 1978a:2
	ɔ-šá	breath / life	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-šā	flesh; meat; something old	Matisoff 1987; Matisoff 1974:213
	ɔ-šá	breath / air / any vaporous / insubstantial substance / vital force	Matisoff 1972b:123
	ɔ-to	body	Matisoff 1987
	ɔ-ví	elder sibling	Matisoff 1972b:172
	ɔ-yâ	child	Matisoff 1978a:27
	ɔ-yɔ̂	seed	Matisoff 1988a:1292
Lahu (Yellow)	**a²**mi⁵	fire	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	a¹pɛ²	duck	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	a¹thɔ¹	knife	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	a¹tsa²pi⁴	sparrow	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	a¹tshɤ²	goat	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	a¹tɕe⁵	eagle	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	a¹ŋa¹	goose	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	a¹ŋɯ¹	frost; ice	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ² to³³	body	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ²khɯ³	daughter-in-law	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ²nu¹	ear of grain	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	ɔ²ʐ̩³	seed	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lahu (Bakeo)	**aw̰keu:**	bile	Bradley 1979a:148
Lahu (Banlan)	**aw̰ki:**	bile	Bradley 1979a:148

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Bisu	**aŋ**-jàt-ja-húm	womb	Beaudouin 1988:16
	aŋ gàɔ	bone	Beaudouin 1988:13
	aŋ gàɔ laŋ	marrow	Beaudouin 1988:15
	aŋ hmaɔ	lung	Beaudouin 1988:14
	aŋ hmɨ	hair (of body)	Beaudouin 1988:14
	aŋ hú	male (animal)	Beaudouin 1988:3
	aŋ khjáɔ	horn	Beaudouin 1988:2
	aŋ khɔ	skin	Beaudouin 1988:15
	aŋ ku	tendon	Beaudouin 1988:15
	aŋ kù	vein	Beaudouin 1988:16
	aŋ làp ʔmbā	genitals	Beaudouin 1988:14
	aŋ sà	breath	Beaudouin 1988:13
	aŋ tjɔ	waist	Beaudouin 1988:16
	aŋ to	body	Beaudouin 1988:13
	aŋ tshiŋ	liver	Beaudouin 1988:14
	aŋ tù	head	Beaudouin 1988:14
	aŋ tɔ́ŋ	wing	Beaudouin 1988:4
	aŋ ʃà	flesh	Beaudouin 1988:14
	aŋ ʔú	intestines	Beaudouin 1988:14
	aŋ ʔúm	pus	Beaudouin 1988:15
	ʔaŋ gàw	bone	Bradley 1979b
	ʔaŋ hmaw	lungs	Bradley 1979b
	ʔaŋ khɔ	skin	Bradley 1979b
	ʔaŋ kjɔ̀ / tɕɔ̀	waist	Bradley 1979b
	ʔaŋ sà	meat	Bradley 1979b
	ʔaŋ tshiŋ	liver	Bradley 1979b
	ʔaŋ tù	head	Bradley 1979b
	ʔaŋ tɔ́ŋ	wing	Bradley 1979b
	ʔaŋ ɲu	life	Bradley 1979b
	ʔaŋ ʔú	intestine	Bradley 1979b
	ʔaŋ-dà	early morning	Matisoff 1972b:131
	ʔaŋ-hmāw	lung	Matisoff 1987
	ʔaŋ-hmaw	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1a
	ʔaŋ-thà	upper part / top surface	Matisoff 1972b:42(b)
	ʔaŋ bà	insect	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ blɔ́ŋ	husband, man	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ dà	dawn	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ gàw	bone	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ hjɔ́ŋ	thin (person)	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ hlɔ́ŋ	hot (water)	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ hmaw	liver	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ hméŋ	name	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ hnɯ	seed	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ kà **ʔaŋ** tum/kʰàlaw	clothes, shirt	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ kúŋ	clear water	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ pʰò	nest	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ sà	breathe, breath	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ séŋ	thing	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ tù	head	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ tɔ́ŋ	wing	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ ʃà	meat	Bradley 199x
	ʔaŋ ʔu	egg; egg (animal)	Bradley 199x; Beaudouin 1988:2
Côông [Phunoi]	**ã** bja³¹	eye	Ferlus 1991:3.4
	ã hmut³¹	body hair	Ferlus 1991:8.1.3
	ã ku	nerve	Ferlus 1991:8.10
	ã bja³¹ da⁵⁵	pupil	Ferlus 1991:3.4.2.2
	ã co³¹	waist	Ferlus 1991:5.6
	ã hnã³¹ ləpen	earlobe	Ferlus 1991:3.6.1
	ã jã⁵⁵ jao	rib cage	Ferlus 1991:5.1.1
	ã ku³¹ ca	blood vessel / vein / artery	Ferlus 1991:8.7.1
	ã pũ⁵⁵ co ca³¹	groin / loins / hips	Ferlus 1991:1.10
	ã tu³¹ pᵊpən ya	fontanel (soft spot in a baby's skull).	Ferlus 1991:2.3
	ã tu³¹ tatan⁵⁵	top of head / crown / pate	Ferlus 1991:2.2
	ã yã⁵⁵	bosom	Ferlus 1991:1.9
	ã ʔu⁵⁵ ba	large intestine	Ferlus 1991:9.11.1
	ã ʔu⁵⁵ ja	small intestine	Ferlus 1991:9.11.2
	ʔã hlá	tongue	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã bi̯a pɔ̀ (bê chô`)	blind	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã bja	eye	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã cɔ̀ʔ	waist	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã hmot	feathers; body hair	Bradley 1979b; Bradley 1979b
	ʔã-hmap	lung	Matisoff 1978b:1a
	ʔã́ cháu̯	horn / antlers	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ cɔ̀ yàu̯	rib	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ hlùʔ	skin	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ hmap	lung	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ hmot	hair (body)	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ khat mi̯ā`	marrow	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ tu	head	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ ʔú	intestines / bowels	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ tu yàu̯	skull	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ bi̯a	eye	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ cháw	horn	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ cò	waist	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ dò	brain	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ hlá	tongue	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ hlù	skin	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ hmap	lungs	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ hnà	ear	Bradley 1979b; Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ jàw	bone	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ jấ	chest	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ juʔ	life	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ kò	throat	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ kù sə̀	blood vessel / vein / artery	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ líɲ	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ pon	thigh	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ sìn	liver	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ tố	wing	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ tu	head	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ yỗ	chest	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã́ ʔú	intestine	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã́ ʔúm	pus	Bradley 1979b
	ʔã̰ dɔ̀	brain	Matisoff 1987 [a]
	ʔã̰ kɔ̀	throat / gullet / esophagus	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã̰́ yau̯	bone	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã̰́ ʔúm	pus	Matisoff 1987
	ʔã³³ hla⁵⁵	tongue	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ bia³³	eye	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ bia³³ pɔ¹¹	blind	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ co¹¹	waist	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ co¹¹ jau¹¹	rib	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ cʰau⁵⁵	horn	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ do¹¹	brain	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ hluʔ¹¹	skin	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ hmot³³	body hair	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ hmap³³	lungs	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ hna¹¹	ear	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ jau¹¹	bone	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ jã⁵⁵	chest	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ ko¹¹	throat	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ ku¹¹ sə¹¹	vein	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ kʰat³³ mia¹¹	marrow	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ liŋ³³	throat	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ sin¹¹	liver	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ sʰi⁵⁵	fat (n.)	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ tõ⁵⁵	wing	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ tu³³	head	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ tu³³ jau¹¹	skull	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ um⁵⁵	pus	Bradley 1977
	ʔã⁵⁵ ʔu⁵⁵	intestines	Bradley 1977
Sangkong	**aŋ³³** hu³¹	skin	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ khoŋ³¹	throat	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ khɯ⁵⁵	footleg	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ ku³¹	muscle, sinew	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ la̱³¹	handarm	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ mbaŋ⁵⁵	body	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ na³¹	ear	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ ndo̱³¹	brains	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ phap³¹	lung	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ phje³¹	liver	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ poŋ⁵⁵	thigh	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ puŋ⁵⁵	pus	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ so³¹	tooth	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ tsham⁵⁵	hair (head)	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ tsham⁵⁵ phe̱³¹ le̱³¹	braid, queue	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ tshu³¹	boil (n.)	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ tu³¹	head	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ tɕo³¹	waist	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ u⁵⁵	intestines	LI Yongsui 1991
	aŋ³³ ʑø³¹	seed; bone	Matisoff 2003a:35; LI Yongsui 1991

[a] Lahu **-o** is the regular reflex of PTB and PLB ***-am**.

[a] Phunoi regularly denasalizes.

(7) PTB *m-dzya-t VERY / TOO / TOO MUCH

This root is well-established in Loloish, and apparently also in Tujia. The Tangkhul and Central Chin forms reflect suffixal ***-t**, which is also hinted at by the tone of Naxi (Yongning) **dʑɑ**[13].

1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN: ***zet** VERY / EXCEEDINGLY

**Central Chin*	***zet**	VERY / EXCEEDINGLY	VanBik 2009:1246

Lai (Falam)	**zét**	very, exceedingly	VanBik 2009:1246
Lushai [Mizo]	**zét**	very, exceedingly, certainly, really	VanBik 2009:1246
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC			
Tangkhul	**za**	very	Bhat 1969:100
	zut	very	Bhat 1969:100
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**zí zí**	very much	Bhat 1968
3.2. QIANGIC			
Xumi	**zo^{33}zo^{55}**	very	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:997.20
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	du4**zi3zi2**	(very) heavy (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	du^{4}**zi^{3}zi^{2}**	very heavy (be v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.3
	eng3**zei1zei1**	very sweet (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ki2**zi1zi1**	very bitter (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ki^{2}**zi^{1}zi^{1}**	very bitter (be v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.3
	ong3**zei1zei1**	very sweet (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ong3**zei2**ong3**zei2**	very sweet (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ong^{3}**zei^{1}zei^{1}**	very sweet (be v.)	Brassett *et al.* 2006:6.3
	tian3**zei1zei1**	very sweet (vi.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Yi (Dafang)	**ndzu^{33}**	very	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:997.22
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**dzʌ^{53}**	very	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:997.33
	jâ	very; too; many; extremely	Matisoff 1988a:562
Lahu (Bakeo)	**ja˅** ve	be pregnant	Bradley 1979a
Lisu (Northern)	dʑɔ^{21}li^{35}**za?^{21}**	very straight	Bradley 1994
	lɔ^{55}ɔ^{33}**za^{21}**	very few (little); proper (V.)	Bradley 1994
	mɤ^{33}**za^{33}**	very long time (A.)	Bradley 1994
	nu^{21}le^{35}**za^{21}**	gentle; soft; very soft	Bradley 1994
	nu^{21}nu^{21}**za^{21}**	very soft; tender; delicate and tender	Bradley 1994
	nɤ^{21}nɤ^{21}**za^{21}**	very close; draw close to	Bradley 1994
	nɤ^{21}nɤ^{35}**za^{21}**	very close	Bradley 1994
	sa^{33}sa^{35}**za?^{21}**	very easy; plain sailing; easily	Bradley 1994
	thæ^{21}thæ^{21}**za^{21}**	very shallow	Bradley 1994
	thæ^{21}thæ^{35}**za?^{21}**	very shallow	Bradley 1994
	ɕæ^{33}ɕæ^{35}**za?^{21}**	very clear; pure	Bradley 1994
	ɤ^{21}**za^{33}**	far; very far; remote (V.)	Bradley 1994
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**zɛ^{45}**	very	Pelkey 2011:1139
Hlepho Phowa	**zə^{13}**tsə^{55}	very	Pelkey 2011:1139
6.2. NAXI			
Laze (Xiangjiao)	dʑy˩**dʐɯ**˩	very poor	Michaud 2006–2009:2204
Na (Yongning)	hv̄˧hv̄˩**dʐæ**˩**dʐæ**˩	very red	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Western)	**dža^{31}**	very	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985:172
Naxi (Eastern)	**dža^{13}**	very	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985:172
Naxi (Lijiang)	**dʐa^{31}**	very	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:997.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**dʐɑ^{13}**; a^{33}mv^{55}tɕi^{33}	very	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:997.29

10.4.2 Verbal

(1) PCN *-thjət ABILITIVE (suf.)

1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Central Naga*	***-thjət**	ABILITIVE (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.191
**Ao*	***-thjət**	ABILITIVE (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.379
Ao (Chungli)	**-tət^{1}**	ABILITIVE (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.379
Lotha Naga	**-tʃhet^{2}**	ABILITIVE (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.191

(2) PKC *ɗiŋ FUTURE MARKER

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***ɗiŋ**	FUTURE MARKER	VanBik 2009:83
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Paite	**ding**	shall	VanBik 2009:83
Thado	**dìng**	future marker	VanBik 2009:83
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Falam)	**dîŋ**	future marker	VanBik 2009:83
Lai (Hakha)	**dîŋ**	future marker (for subordinate clause)	VanBik 2009:83

(3) PKC *maa ≍ *moo INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE

1.2. KUKI-CHIN			
**Chin*	***maa ≍** moo	INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE	VanBik 2009:773
1.2.1.1. NORTHERN CHIN			
Thado	**mòo**	interrogative particle	VanBik 2009:773
Tiddim	**¯ma?˴**tɔ:	interrogative particle group (a?+sp.)	Henderson 1965
1.2.1.2. SOUTHERN PLAINS CHIN			
Cho (Mindat)	**ma**	verbal interr.; it is used when one is assured of a positive answer	VanBik 2009:773
1.2.2. CENTRAL CHIN			
Lai (Hakha)	**măa ≍** mŏo	interrogative particle	VanBik 2009:773
Lai (Falam)	**mòo**	interrogative particle	VanBik 2009:773
1.2.3. MARAIC			
Lakher [Mara]	**mā**	interrogative particle	VanBik 2009:773
1.7.1.2. GARO			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**-ma**	question marker (ts.)	Burling 2003:0.31-II:idx
1.7.1.3. KOCH			
Atong	**ma**	question enclitic or particle (encl.cl/prtcl.)	van Breugel 2008

(4) PL *du^{1} IRREALIS PARTICLE

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE			
**Lolo-Burmese*	***du^{1}**	irrealis particle	Matisoff 2003a:587
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***du^{1}**	future	Bradley 1979b:830A
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Lahu (Black)	**tù**	irrealis particle	Matisoff 2003a:180
Lisu	**du^{3}**	irrealis particle	Matisoff 1988a:614
Yi (Sani)	**dv̩^{33}**mæ^{44}	future (n.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0787.39
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha	**dú**	irrealis particle	Matisoff 2003a:180

(5) PTB * t/d a PROHIBITIVE (NEG. IMPERATIVE)

0.1. TIBETO-BURMAN (PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED RECONSTRUCTIONS)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***da ≍ ta**	negative imperative	Matisoff 2003a:586
1.3.1. CENTRAL NAGA (AO GROUP)			
**Ao*	***tə-**	PROHIBITIVE (pfx.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.036
Ao (Chungli)	**tə^{1}-**	PROHIBITIVE (NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE) (pfx.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.036
Lotha Naga	**ti^{3}-**	PROHIBITIVE (pfx.)	Bruhn 2014b
1.7.1. BODO-GARO			
**Bodo-Garo*	***da-**	negative imperative	Burling 1959:442
1.7.1.1. BODO			
Bodo	**da**	prefix indicating negative imperative	Bhat 1968
Kokborok	**ta**	Neg. Imper.	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
2.3.4. WESTERN KIRANTI			
Hayu	**tha**	do not! [NEGATIVE of the imperative] (part ne.)	Michailovsky 1989a:84.85, 84.
3.1. TANGUT			
Tangut [Xixia]	**tji**	do not (negative imperative)	Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997:1734
	tji^{1}	NEG imperative	Matisoff 2003a:172
3.2. QIANGIC			
Ersu	**thɑ^{55}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.18
Guiqiong	**thɛ^{33}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.17
Namuyi	**thɛ^{55}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.19
Pumi (Qinghua)	**tɑ^{13}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**tɛ^{35}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.10
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**tɛ^{35}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.16
Xumi	**thɑ^{55}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.20
4. NUNGIC			
Anong	**thɑ^{31}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.44
5. TUJIA			
Tujia (Northern)	**ta4**	don't (neg.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
	ta4hhi2	don't go! (expr.)	Brassett & Brassett 2004
Tujia (Southern)	**ta^{21}**	NEG imperative	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Northern)	**ta^{4}**hhi^{2}	Don't go!	Brassett *et al.* 2006:7.7
Tujia	**tha^{55}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.38
Tujia (Northern)	**tha^{55}**~**tha^{55}**to^{21}	NEG imperative	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
6.1.1. BURMISH			
Achang (Longchuan)	**ta^{31}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.41
Achang (Luxi)	**ta?^{31}**	NEG imperative	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Maru [Langsu]	**tǎ^{31}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.43
6.1.2. LOLOISH			
**Loloish*	***ta^{2}**	don't	Bradley 1979b:802; Hansson 1989:29
6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH			
Nusu (Southern)	**tha^{53}**	NEG imperative	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**thɑ^{31}**	NEG imperative	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**t^{h}ɑ^{31}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.45
Yi (Dafang)	**t^{h}a^{21}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**tha^{21}**	do not [literary]	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	tha^{55}	don't	MA Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**t^{h}ʌ^{21}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**t^{h}ʌ^{21}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.26
Yi (Nanhua)	**t^{h}ʌ^{21}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.24
Yi (Nanjian)	**t^{h}ɑ^{21}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.23
Yi (Xide)	**t^{h}a^{31}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.21
6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH			
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**thɔ^{44}**	NEG IMP	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**thɔ^{44}**	NEG imperative	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**t^{h}ɐ^{33}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.34
Lahu (Black)	**tʌ^{53}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**ta^{3}**	NEG imperative	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**tha^{21}**	do not (negative imperative) (A.)	Bradley 1994
Lisu	**t^{h}ɑ^{31}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.27
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH			
Akha (Thai)	**thà**	don't	Hansson 1989:29
Akha (Yunnan)	**thà**	don't	Hansson 1989:29
Akha	**thà**	don't	Hansson 1989:29
Hani (Dazhai)	**tha^{31}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.31
Hani (Pijo)	**thà**	don't	Hansson 1989:29
Hani (Caiyuan)	**thɔ^{31}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.30
Hani (Wordlist)	**taq**	don't	Hansson 1989:29
Hani (Shuikui)	**thɔ^{31}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.32
Hani (Khatu)	**thà**	don't	Hansson 1989:29
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH			
Azha	**ta^{22}**	don't	Pelkey 2011:1146
Phola	**t^{h}ɑ^{33}**lɛ^{33}	don't	Pelkey 2011:1146
Hlepho Phowa	**ta^{33}**	don't	Pelkey 2011:1146
Phuza	**t^{h}a^{33}**	don't	Pelkey 2011:1146
6.2. NAXI			
Na (Yongning)	**t^{h}ɑ**˧dzo˧dzo˥!	don't touch!	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	mə^{33}**t^{h}ɑ^{31}**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.28

(6) PTani *jo PROHIBITIVE MARKER

1.1.1. TANI			
**Tani*	***jo**	prohibitive marker	Sun 1993a:309
1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI			
Apatani	**jo**	prohibitive marker	Sun 1993a
Bokar	**jo**	prohibitive marker	Sun 1993a
	jo ka	prohibitive particle	Sun 1993b
	jo to	prohibitive particle	Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	**jo**	don't	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.51
Galo	**-yoo**	Prohibitive suffix; don't (do that)! (vs:mod.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
1.1.1.2. EASTERN TANI			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**jo**	prohibitive marker	Sun 1993a

(7) PTani *-su REFLEXIVE MARKER

1.1.1. Tani			
**Tani*	*-**su**	reflexive marker	Sun 1993a:320
1.1.1.1. Western Tani			
Apatani	-**su**	reflexive marker	Sun 1993a
	au har-**su**	take bath	Sun 1993b
	auʔ-har-**su**	bathe	Sun 1993b
	har-**su**	wash; bathe	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
	tú-**su**	comb (v.)	Sun 1993b
Bengni	-**šu**	reflexive marker	Sun 1993a
	-**suː**	reflexive	Sun 1993b
	lak-suk-**suː**	wash hands	Sun 1993b
Bokar	-**šuː**	reflexive marker	Sun 1993a
	hɯr-**šuː**	wash	Sun 1993a
	hɯr-**suː**	wash (face)	Sun 1993b
	suː	alone, by oneself	Sun 1993b
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	-**su**	reflexive marker	Sun 1993a

(8) PCN *-thaŋ WHILE (contemporative)

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	*-**thaŋ**	WHILE (CONTEMPO-RATIVE)	Bruhn 2014a:III.199
Ao (Chungli)	-**taŋ**^{1}	while (CONTEMPO-RATIVE) (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.199
	ko **dang**	when?	Marrison 1967
	ku^{3}**taŋ**^{3}	when? (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.057
Lotha Naga	-a^{2}-**thəŋ**^{2}	while (CONTEMPO-RATIVE) (suf.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.199
	ku^{1}-**thəŋ**^{3}	when? (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.074
	ku **thəŋ**-ha	never (adv.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	ko **thang**	when?	Marrison 1967
	ku **thüng**	when	Murry *et al.* 1978:136
	to **thüng**	while	Murry *et al.* 1978:136

[a] [Source Note] used with NEG marking on verb

10.4.3 Other

(1) PKC *tuu RELATIVIZER (who, which)

1.2. Kuki-Chin			
**Chin*	***tuu**	RELATIVIZER (who, which)	VanBik 2009:221
1.2.1.1. Northern Chin			
Paite	**a** la tu	adopter	VanBik 2009:221
1.2.2. Central Chin			
Lai (Hakha)	**tùu**	subject relativizer	VanBik 2009:221
Lai (Falam)	**tûu**	who	VanBik 2009:221
Lushai [Mizo]	**tû**	who, which (denoting the agent or actor or doer)	VanBik 2009:221

Chinese comparandum

誰 OC ***d̂ʼi̯wər**, *GSR* #575u ‘who’; Schuessler 2007:457 ***dui**; Mand. **shéi ~ shuí**.
孰 OC ***d̂ʼi̯ôk**, *GSR* #1026a ‘who’; Schuessler 2007:457 ***duk**; B & S 2011: ***duk { [d] uk}**; Mand. **shú**.

(2) PTB *m-day ⋉ *m-di THAT / THIS / DEICTIC

As is to be expected with high-frequency grammatical etyma, this root shows some vowel gradation, apparently between ***-ay** and ***-i**.

The nasal prefix is attested directly in Written Tibetan and Jingpho, and indirectly by the voiced initial in Written Burmese.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***day**	this; that; that, this	Matisoff 1985a:067; Matisoff 2003a:586; Benedict 1972:21
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**de**	this / that	Matisoff 1985a:067
1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group			
Meluri	thu-**ti**	that (adj.)	Marrison 1967
Rengma	**ti** gü	that (adj.)	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**ti**	that; this (adj.)	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ti shi	so (like that)	Marrison 1967
1.3.3. Zeme Group			
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	**tei**	that (adj.)	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	ai **de**	this (adj.)	Marrison 1967
1.7.1.1. Bodo			
Bodo	**di**	that	Bhat 1968
1.7.3.1. Jingpho			
Jingpho	**dai**	this; that; this, that	Matisoff 1985a:067; Benedict 1972:21
	ndai	this (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	ndai	this	Matisoff 1985a:067
	n^{33}tai^{33}	this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.19
	tai^{33}	that	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:983.47
	tai^{31}niŋ^{33}	this year	Liu Lu, ed. 1984
	tai^{31}niŋ^{33}	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.19
	tai^{31}niŋ^{33}	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.47
	^{1}dai^{2}niŋ	this year	Weidert 1987:317
2.1.1. Western Himalayish			
Pattani [Manchati]	**di**	this	Sharma 1982
Rongpo	**dhi**	this (pro.)	Sharma 2003:390
	dhi jə	this (sg. agentive) (pro.)	Sharma 2003:383
	dhi pu, **di** pu	on this side (adv.)	Sharma 2003:384
	dhi ru	this (sg.dative) (pro.)	Sharma 2003:385
	dhi tə	of this (pro.)	Sharma 2003:389
	dhi ʃe, **dhi** se	this (sg. ablative) (pro.)	Sharma 2003:386
	di laːp	so big, that large (adj.)	Sharma 2003:325
	di mi	like this, so (adv.)	Sharma 2003:327
	di pu	this one, this side (n.)	Sharma 2003:329
2.1.2. Bodic			
Tsangla (Motuo)	**da** riʔ	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.7
	ta^{13}re^{13}	this year	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**dɑ^{35}**niŋ^{55}	this year	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**tʌ^{13}**niŋ^{55}	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.6
Motuo Menba	**da** riʔ	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.07
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Alike)	**ndi** mo	thus / this (way) / (like) this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0946.05
	ndə	this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.05
	ndə wʐok	this side / here (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0945.05
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ndə**	this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:981.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ndə**	this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:981.5
Tibetan (Balti)	**d̪i·**	this	Rangan 1975:60
Tibetan (Batang)	e^{13} **de^{53}**	that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.03
	e^{13}**de^{53}** na^{13} na^{53}	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.03
	e^{55} **de^{53}**	that (over yonder) (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0948.03
	ʔe^{55} **de^{53}**	this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.03
	ʔe^{55} **de^{53}** na^{13} na^{53}	thus / this (way) / (like) this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0946.03
Tibetan (Jirel)	**ʼdi**	this	Hale 1973:01.004
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	phen^{55}**de^{53}**	that	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:983.3
	ʔin^{55}**de^{53}**	this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:981.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ti^{13}**	this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.02
	ti^{13}	this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:981.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**ʼt-i**	that	Hale 1973:01.005
	d-i	this	Hale 1973:01.004
Tibetan (Written)	**ʼdi**	this (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	de	that (adj.)	Marrison 1967
	de	that; that one; that, that one	Matisoff 1985a:067; Benedict 1972:21
	de	that; that (over yonder) (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.01; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0948.01
	de	that	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:983.1
	de l-tar	so (like that)	Marrison 1967
	de ltar	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.01
	de phjogs	that side / there (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.01
	ɦdi	this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.01
	ɦdi	this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:981.1
	ɦdi phjogs	this side / here (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0945.01
	ɦdi ɦdra	thus / this (way) / (like) this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0946.01
Tibetan (Xiahe)	**ndə**	this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.04
	ndə tsha	this side / here (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0945.04
	ndə ɕe	thus / this (way) / (like) this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0946.04
3.2. Qiangic			
Ersu	**thɛ^{55}**	this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:981.18
	ɑ^{33}**thɛ^{55}**	that	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:983.18
Guiqiong	**ti^{35}**	this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.16
	ti^{55}ki^{55}	this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:981.17
Lyuzu	**the^{33}**	this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.18
	the^{33}sʉ^{53}	thus / this (way) / (like) this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0946.18
Pumi (Jiulong)	**dɯ^{11}**	this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.10
	dɯ^{11}tɕho^{55}	this side / here (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0945.10
	dɯ^{11}n̥ẽ^{55}	thus / this (way) / (like) this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0946.10
	dɑ^{35}	that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**di^{13}**	this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.09
	di^{13}ta^{55}tshɑ̃u^{13}	thus / this (way) / (like) this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0946.09
	də^{13}pe^{55}	this side / here (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0945.09
	tə^{13}	that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.09
	tə^{55}pe^{55}	that side / there (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.09
	tə^{55}ta^{55}tshɑ̃u^{13}	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**di^{13}**	this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:981.11
	tə^{13}	that	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:983.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ti^{35}**	that	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:983.10
	u^{55}**ti^{53}**	this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:981.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**thà**	that (less distant)	Evans 1999:1384
	thà dá qè	at that time	Evans 1999:1148
	thà piá qhuà	that side, there	Evans 1999:1388
	thà tɕhí qhuà	that side, there	Evans 1999:1388
	thá	that (more distant)	Evans 1999:1384.1
Qiang (Mawo)	**thaː**	that	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:983.8
	thɛ khʂ̥ɛ	that side / there (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.08
	thɛː	that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.08
Xumi	**thi^{53}**	that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.17
	thi^{55}bɛ^{33}si^{33}	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.17
	thɛ^{33}za^{33}hĩ^{55}	that side / there (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.17
3.3. rGyalrongic			
Daofu	**thə** bi	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.12
	ə **də**	this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.12
	ə **thə**	that (over yonder) (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0948.12

	ɛ **de** bi	thus / this (way) / (like) this (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0946.12
	ɛ **de** qhɛ	this side / here (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0945.12
Nyagrong Minyag (Ganzi Xinlong)	¯ʔə **dɛ**	this	Nagano & Prins 2013:2029
	´te	that; that, that... over there; that, the	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027; Nagano & Prins 2013:2031; Nagano & Prins 2013:2033
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	å **tê**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027

3.3.1. RGYALRONG

rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	’tə **te**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	’tɕe **te**	this	Nagano & Prins 2013:2025
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	’tɕə5 **tə53**	this	Nagano & Prins 2013:2025
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	’tɕə **te**	this	Nagano & Prins 2013:2025
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	’tɕə **tə**	this	Nagano & Prins 2013:2025
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	’tɕə **tə**	this	Nagano & Prins 2013:2025
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	’wu **tə**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	a nə’ **tə**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	a **’da**	this	Nagano & Prins 2013:2025
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	a **’də**	this	Nagano & Prins 2013:2025
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	**deʔ**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	**te**	this	Nagano & Prins 2013:2025
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**tʰə**	this	Nagano & Prins 2013:2025
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	**tʰə**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	**tʰə**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	wu **təi**	that, that... over there; that, the	Nagano & Prins 2013:2031; Nagano & Prins 2013:2033
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	wu^{3}**ti**^{3}	this	Nagano & Prins 2013:2025
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	wu^{3}**ti**^{3}	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	wu^{3}**tə**^{3}	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	wu **’te**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	wu **’te**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	wu **’te**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	wu **’te**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	wu **’ti**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	wu **’ti**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	wu **’ti**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	wu **’ti**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	wu **’ti**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	wu **’ti**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	wu **’tə**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	wu **’tə**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	wu **’tə**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	wu **’tə**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	wu **’tə**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	wu **’tət**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	wə **tə**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	ə^{3}**tə**^{3}	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	ə^{3}**tə**^{5}	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	ʔa **’di**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	ʔɑ **’doj**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	ˈtsʊ **te**	this	Nagano & Prins 2013:2025
	ˈwʊ **tɛ**	that	Nagano & Prins 2013:2027

4. NUNGIC

Anong	**de**	this	Benedict 1972:21
	dɛ	this	Matisoff 1985a:067
Rawang	**dɛ**^{31} nɯŋ^{53}	this year	LaPolla 2003:823
Nung	**dɛ**^{31}n̥i^{55}uɑ^{55}	this year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.21
Anong	**dɛ**^{31}n̥i^{55}uɑ^{55}	year, this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:65.44
Dulong	**dɔi**^{31}niŋ^{55}	this year (n/adv.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.20

6.1.1. BURMISH

Achang (Longchuan)	**the**^{51} **the**^{55}	that (over yonder) (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0948.28
	the^{55}	that (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.28
	the^{55}	that	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:983.41
	the^{55} miu^{55}	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.28
	the^{55} thɔʔ^{55}	that side / there (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.28
Achang (Xiandao)	**thɛ**^{55}	that; that (over yonder) (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.29; HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0948.29
	thɛ^{55} su^{31}	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.29
	thɛ^{55}pa^{31}	that side / there (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.29
Bola (Luxi)	**thɔi**^{55}	that (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.32
	thǰi^{55}khja^{31}	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.32
	thǰi^{55}khja^{55}	that side / there (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	(**di**^{22})	this (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.27
	tθi^{22}	this (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**tθi**^{22}; **di**^{22}	this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:981.40
Burmese (Written)	**dī**	this (adj.)	Marrison 1967
Langsu (Luxi)	**thø**^{31}	that (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.31
	thø^{55}	that (over yonder) (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0948.31
	thø^{55} khjɔ^{31}	that side / there (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.31
	thø^{55}ʒu^{31}	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.31
Leqi (Luxi)	**thə**^{33}	that (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.33
	thə^{33}phjaŋ^{55}	that side / there (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.33
	thə^{33}su^{55}	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.33
Marma	**de**	this	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:420
	də-dŏ	hither / this way	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:423-2
	the	that (proximal)	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008:421-1
Maru [Langsu]	**thø**^{31}	that	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:983.43

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	**tɛ**^{33}	this (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.47
	tɛ^{33}ni^{33}ta^{55}	thus / this (way) / (like) this (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0946.47
	tɛ^{33}pi^{31}	this side / here (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0945.47
Yi (Xide)	a^{33}**di**^{55}	that	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:983.21
	ɑ^{33}**di**^{33}ko^{33}	that (over yonder) (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0948.35
	ɑ^{33}**di**^{55}	that (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.35

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

Lisu	**the̱**^{33}	this (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.40
	the̱^{33} le^{33}	thus / this (way) / (like) this (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0946.40
	the^{44}(mɑ^{44})	this	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:981.27
Lisu (Northern)	**thø**^{33}	this; these (P.)	Bradley 1994
	thø^{33}lø^{33}	this way; so; like this	Bradley 1994
	thø^{33}lø^{33} gɔ^{33}pɔ^{55}	after that; since; later	Bradley 1994
	thø^{33}ma^{33}	this one; this is	Bradley 1994
	thø^{33}ma^{33} ba^{33}si^{33}	besides or apart from this	Bradley 1994
	thø^{33}ma^{33} ji^{55}ba^{21} kwa^{33}	apart from or besides this	Bradley 1994
	thø^{33}ma^{33} ka^{33}tæ^{33}	besides or except this; above	Bradley 1994
	thø^{33}ma^{33} ka^{55}næ^{55}	from this time on	Bradley 1994
	thø^{33}ma^{33} kwa^{33}ne^{55}	from here; starting from this	Bradley 1994
	thø^{33}ma^{33} le^{21} ma^{21}tshi^{3}	not only this	Bradley 1994
	thø^{33}ma^{33} tæ^{55}	towards this	Bradley 1994
	thø^{33}ma^{33} vu^{55}ni^{33}	therefore; because of this	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**thø**^{33}ma^{33} vu^{55}ɲi^{33}	therefore; because of this	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**thø**^{33}thæ^{21}	this time	Bradley 1994
	thø^{33}ʃl^{21}	this kind; these	Bradley 1994

6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Hani (Dazhai)	**thø**^{55}; ø^{55}	that;that (far)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:983.31

6.2. NAXI

Na (Yongning)	**tʰv**ꞌ	that	Michaud 2006–2009
	tʰvꞌgiꞌ	in that direction	Michaud 2006–2009
	tʰvꞌɲi#˥	that day	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Yongning)	**thv**^{33}	that	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:983.29
Naxi	**thɯ**^{33}	that (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0947.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**thɯ**^{33}	that	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991:983.28
Naxi	**thɯ**^{33} bə^{21}	that side / there (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0951.45
	thɯ^{33}be^{33}	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.45

Chinese comparandum

是 OC ****d̂i̯ĕg**, *GSR* #866a-c ‘this’; B & S 2011: ****de? { [d] e?}**; Mand. **shì**.
之 OC **t̂i̯ĕg**, *GSR* #962a-b ‘*third person pronoun; attributive particle*’; Schuessler 2007:613 ****tə**; B & S 2011: ****tə**; Mand. **zhī**.

(3) PTani *si THIS

1.1.1. TANI

**Tani*	***si**	this	Sun 1993a:426

1.1.1.1. WESTERN TANI

Apatani	**si**	this; it	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	si ka a-tã	these	Sun 1993b
	si tam-pa	thus	Sun 1993b
	si-jo	tonight	Sun 1993b
	si-liŋ	this evening	Sun 1993b
	si-lo	today	Sun 1993b
	si-ñaŋ	this year	Sun 1993b
	si-ro	this morning	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-jo	tonight	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-ljī-da	tonight	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-ljiŋ	this evening	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-lo	today	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	sɯ-ña	this year	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-ñáŋ	this year	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-ro	this morning	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	sɯ-si	now	Sun 1993b
Bengni	**si**-kɯː	this way	Sun 1993b
	si-ñiŋ	this year	Sun 1993b
	šiː	this	Sun 1993a
	siː	this	Sun 1993b
Bokar	**ši**ː	this	Sun 1993a
	siː	this; here	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	siː-pa	in this way; this way, thus	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b

	siː-ten	here, this side; this side	Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	so-jum	tonight	Sun 1993b
	so-loː	tonight	Sun 1993b
	sɯ-ñiŋ	this year	Sun 1993b
	ɕiː	this; these; here (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0942.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0943.24; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0944.24
	ɕiː pa	thus / this (way) / (like) this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0946.24
	ɕiː ten	this side / here (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0945.24
	ɕo jum	tonight (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0745.24
	ɕɯ n̥iŋ	this year (n/adv.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0778.24
Bokar Lhoba	**ɕiː**	this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:981.51
	ɕɯ n̥iŋ	year, this	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:65.51
Galo	**sɯ**	this	Das Gupta 1963
	sɯ-gɯ-ɲum	only (this)	Das Gupta 1963
	sɯ-lo	today	Das Gupta 1963
	sɯ-ro	this morning	Das Gupta 1963
	sɯ-ɲum	this much	Das Gupta 1963
	sɯ-ɲɯ	this year	Das Gupta 1963
	sɯ gɯ	this	Das Gupta 1963
	ʻhi	this (dem.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻhi loo	today (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻhi loo-ʻməroo	nowadays; recently (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻhə kə	this sort (nearer to me than to you or currently being discussed) (dem.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻhɨ gɨ	this one (nearer to me than to you or currently being discussed) (dem.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻhɨ ro	this morning (n:time.)	GLDC 2009
	ʻhɨ rum	this evening; tonight (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ʻhɨ ŋɨɨ	this year; year (this) (n:time.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill	i **si**	this	Simon 1976
	si	this	Simon 1976
	si-bulu	these	Simon 1976
	si lo	today	Simon 1976
Nishing	**si**	this	Das Gupta 1969
	si molong	these (this many)	Das Gupta 1969
	si ning	this year	Das Gupta 1969
	si-ja	just now	Das Gupta 1969
	si-ji∼**se**-je	now	Das Gupta 1969
	si ja	now	Das Gupta 1969
1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani			
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**si**	this	Sun 1993a
Damu	**ɕi**-jum	tonight	Sun 1993b
	ɕøː-n̥iŋ	this year	Sun 1993b

Chinese comparandum

斯 OC ***s'i̱ĕg***, *GSR* #869a-b ‘this’; Schuessler 2007:198 ***se***; B & S 2011: ***se {[s] e}***; Mand. **sī**.
此 OC ***ts'i̱ǐr***, *GSR* #358a-b ‘this’; Schuessler 2007:198 ***tshe?***; B & S 2011: ***ts^{h}e? {[ts^{h}] e(j)?}***; Mand. **cǐ**.

(4) PTB *(h)i ≍ *(h)ay THIS / HERE / PROXIMAL DEICTIC

Forms supporting the current etymon are widely attested across TB languages. Early on, Burling 1959:444 reconstructs ***i*** ‘this’ for Proto-Bodo; Bradley 1979:454 ***i*** ∼ ***hi*** for Proto-Loloish; evidence from other TB subgroups justifies treating ***i*** ∼ * as a root at the PTB level. Schuessler 2007:563 offers a convincing Chinese comparandum: 伊 ‘this’, OC ***ʔi***, Mand. **yī**.

Note that we are positing PTB ***(h)i ≍ *(h)ay*** THIS / HERE / PROXIMAL DEICTIC (§10.4.3.2) as an etymon distinct from PTani ***si*** THIS (§10.4.3.2) and PTB ***m-day ≍ m-di*** THAT / THIS / DEICTIC (§10.4.3.2). Additional comparative and historical research may reveal whether these three PTB etyma should continue to be treated as isolates vs. ultimately as allofams of one another. [SPB]

1.7.1.2. Garo			
Garo (Bangladesh)	**i**-a	this (dem.)	Burling 2003:1.5-II:idx

Chinese comparandum

伊 OC ***ʔi̱er***, *GSR* #604a ‘this’; Schuessler 2007:563 ***ʔi***; B & S 2011: ***ʔij***; Mand. **yī**.

10.5.3 WH words

(1a) PTB *ka WHICH / LIKE / DEICTIC / INTERROGATIVE

The basic form of this interrogative morpheme is ***ka***, with two suffixed variants. For a discussion of palatal suffixes in Tibeto-Burman, see Matisoff (1995) “Sino-Tibetan palatal suffixes revisited”. The variant with final ***-ŋ*** is attested in Written Tibetan as well as in Lahu.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***ka-y**	which / like / deictic	Matisoff 2003a:594
6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish			
Gazhuo	**xa^{33}**ni^{33}ko^{55}	how many / how much (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0958.47
	xa^{33}ni^{33}ma^{24}	how many (a small number) (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0959.47
Nusu (Central)	**kha^{55}**m̥ia^{31}	how many / how much (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0958.34
Nusu (Southern)	**khu^{55}**mia^{31}	how many / how much	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**kha^{35}**m̥ia^{31}	how many / much	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:989.45
Nusu (Northern)	**kha^{55}**m̥a^{55}	how many / how much	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	**qha^{31}** kɑ^{31}	where (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0955.43
	qha^{31} mɑ^{31}	how many / how much (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0958.43
	qha^{31} ni^{53}	several / few, a (clf.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0924.43
	qha^{31} qhe^{33}	how (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0957.43
	qha^{31} tha^{54}	when (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0956.43
	qha^{31}xi^{53}	how many (a small number) (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0959.43
Lahu (Black)	**qhà**	which?; what?; what kind of?	Matisoff 2003a:488
	qhà-qhe	how?	Matisoff 2003a:488
	qhɔ̀-qhe	how?	Matisoff 2003a:488
	qha^{31}	which	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:987.33
	qha^{31}ka^{31}	where	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:988.33
	qha^{35}ma^{33}	how many / much	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:989.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**qha^{5}**	how many; a few; which	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986; Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	qha^{5}mɛ^{1}	how many / how much	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish			
Hani (Dazhai)	**xa^{55}**mja̱^{33}	how many / much	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:989.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**xhá** mjaq	how many	Hansson 1989:467
	xa^{55}mja̱^{33}mo^{55}	how many (a small number) (things) (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0959.41
	xa^{55}mja̱^{33}ne^{33}	how many / how much (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0958.41
Hani (Pijo)	**xhɔ́** lɤ̀	how many	Hansson 1989:467
Hani (Caiyuan)	**xɔ^{33}**lɤ^{31}	how many / much	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:989.30
Hani (Shuikui)	**xɔ^{55}**thi^{55}	how many / much	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:989.32
Hani (Mojiang)	**xɔ^{33}**mɔ^{33}mɔ^{55}	how many (a small number) (things) (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0959.42

Chinese comparandum

何 OC ***g'ˤâ***, *GSR* #1f ‘what, why, how’; B & S 2011: ***g^{ˤ}aj {[g]^{ˤ}aj}***; Mand. **hé**.
幾 OC ***kɨ̱ər***, *GSR* #547a-b ‘how many’; B & S 2011: ***kəjʔ***; Mand. **jǐ**.
豈 OC ***k'ɨ̱ər***, *GSR* #548a ‘how’; B & S 2011: ***C.q^{h}əjʔ***; Mand. **qǐ**.
S2009 1-1 a’

(1b) PTB *kay WHICH / LIKE / DEICTIC

1.1.2. Deng			
Darang [Taraon]	**kye**	interrogative particle	NEFA (India) 1963
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Lancang)	o^{53} **qhe^{33}**	that (way) / (like) that (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0952.43
	qhɑ^{31} **qhe^{33}**	how (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0957.43
	tɕhe^{33} **qhe^{33}**	thus / this (way) / (like) this (dem.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0946.43
Lahu (Black)	qhà-**qhe**	how?	Matisoff 2003a:488
	qhe	like; thus; so	Matisoff 2003a:488
	qhɔ̀-**qhe**	how?	Matisoff 2003a:488
9. Sinitic			
Chinese (Hanzi)	豈	how	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2171
Chinese (GSR #)	**0548a**	how	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2171
9.0.1. Old Chinese			
Chinese (Old)	**C.q^{h}əjʔ**	how	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2171
9.0.2. Middle Chinese			
Chinese (Middle)	**khj+jX**	how	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2171
9.0.3. Modern Chinese			
Chinese (Mandarin)	**qǐ**	how	Baxter & Sagart 2011:2171

Chinese comparandum

See comparanda for PTB ***ka*** WHICH / LIKE / DEICTIC / INTERROGATIVE (§10.5.3).

(1c) PTB *kaŋ WHICH / LIKE / DEICTIC

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)			
**Tibeto-Burman*	***kaŋ**	which / like / deictic	Matisoff 2003a:595
2.1.2.1. Tibetan			
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**kaŋ^{13}**ka^{55}	all / everything (num.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0962.02
	kaŋ^{15}ka^{53}	all / even	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:999.2
Tibetan (Sherpa)	**ʼkang**	what	Hale 1973:01.007
Tibetan (Written)	**gaṅ**	who?; what?	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	gaŋ	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.01
	gaŋ ga	all / even	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:999.1
6.1.2.2. Central Loloish			
Lahu (Black)	**qhɔ̀**	where?	Matisoff 2003a:488
	qhɔ̀ ve	what kind of?	Matisoff 2003a:488
	qhɔ̀-thâʔ	when?	Matisoff 2003a:488
Lahu (Yellow)	**qhɔ^{5}**ka^{2}	where	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986

(2) PCN *ku-ta HOW?

The first syllable is PCN ***ku*** INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN / LOCATIVE (§10.5.3).

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)			
**Central Naga*	***ku-ta**	HOW?	Bruhn 2014a:III.075
**Ao*	***ku-ta**	HOW?	Bruhn 2014a:II.023
Ao (Chungli)	**koda**	how	Marrison 1967
	ku^{2}ta^{2}	how? (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.023
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**kútɔ́**	how	Coupe 2007:99
Lotha Naga	**kuta** la	how many/much? (pro.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ku^{1}-toʔ^{3}	how? (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.075
	koto li	how	Marrison 1967
	kūṭó lì	how	Acharya 1975
	kvüto lyui	how	Murry *et al.* 1978:56
Sangtam	**khüta**	how	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**kütü**	how	Marrison 1967

(3) PCN *ku INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN / LOCATIVE

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Central Naga*	***ku**	INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN	Bruhn 2014a:III.074
**Ao*	***ku**	INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.057
Ao (Chungli)	**ko** ba	what?	Marrison 1967
	ko dang	when?	Marrison 1967
	ku^{3}iʔ^{1}	how many? (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.057
	ku^{3}taŋ^{3}	when? (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.057
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**ko** piya	how	Marrison 1967
	ku chuko	where?	Marrison 1967
	kwo yim	when?	Marrison 1967
	ma **ko**	outside	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	**kú** jáʔ	how many	Coupe 2007:99
	kú jím	when	Coupe 2007:99
	kətsə **ku**	where LOC	Coupe 2007:99
	tha **ku**	now (probably: now + LOC)	Coupe 2007:122
	tʃə́páʔ **ku**	what LOC	Coupe 2007:99
	[a]-jim **ku** li-(ə)ɪ	villager ('village' + LOC + 'stay' + ANOM) (n.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**ku**^{3}-	where? (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.074
	ku^{1}-thəŋ^{3}	when? (pro.)	Bruhn 2014a:III.074
	ku thəŋ-ha	never (adv.)	Bruhn 2014b
	ko thang	when?	Marrison 1967
	ku i	where	Murry *et al.* 1978:136
	kū lò	where	Acharya 1975
	ku lo	where?; where	Marrison 1967; Murry *et al.* 1978:136
	ku moe	where	Murry *et al.* 1978:136
	ku thüng	when	Murry *et al.* 1978:136
Sangtam	**kho** te	when	Kumar 1973a
	khü te	where	Kumar 1973a
	khü teo	where?	Marrison 1967
	ko theo	when?	Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	**kü** de	why?	Marrison 1967
	kü kheak	where	Kumar 1973b:33
	kü khieak	where (place)	Kumar 1973b:50
	kü limpeang	where?	Marrison 1967
	kü yimki	when	Kumar 1973b:32
	kü yimkunü	when?	Marrison 1967

[a] [Source Note] used with NEG marking on verb

(4) PTB * $\begin{matrix}\textbf{b}\\\textbf{m}\end{matrix}$ a-y WHAT

This high-frequency morpheme shows alternation between labial stop and labial nasal. Several languages having reflexes with front vowels evidently reflect the palatal suffix. See JAM (1995) "Sino-Tibetan palatal suffixes revisited".

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ba-y**	what	Matisoff 2003a:584
	***ma-y**	what	Matisoff 2003a:601

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Meluri	**ma**	what?	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**mo** wa	what?	Marrison 1967

1.7.1.1. Bodo

Bodo	**má**	what	Bhat 1968
Dimasa	**ba** ra	where?	Marrison 1967
Kokborok	ta-**ma**	what	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
	tə-**ma**	what	Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988

1.7.1.2. Garo

Garo (Bangladesh)	**ba**-	what? (qw.)	Burling 2003:1.21-II:idx
	bai-sik	what time? (qw.)	Burling 2003:1.21-II:idx
	ma	what? (int.)	Burling 2003:0.64-II:idx
	mai-na	why? (qw.)	Burling 2003:1.21-II:idx
	ma•-	what? (qw.)	Burling 2003:1.21-II:idx
	mo•-na	what for?; why? (qw.)	Burling 2003:1.21-II:idx
	mu-a	what? (qw.)	Burling 2003:1.21-II:idx

1.7.3.1. Jingpho

Jingpho	**hpa**	what?	Marrison 1967
	phā	what	Matisoff 1974:80
	pha^{33}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.19
	pha^{33}	what	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:986.47
	pha^{33}~n̥^{33}**pha**^{33}	what	Liu Lu, ed. 1984

2.3.3. Central Kiranti

Dumi	**mwo:**	what, any	Driem 1993

3.2. Qiangic

Pumi (Jiulong)	**me**^{35}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**mi**^{55}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**mi**^{55}	what	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:986.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**me**^{53}	what	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:986.10

4. Nungic

Rawang	**phɑ**^{31}	what	LaPolla 2003:975

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Longchuan)	**pi**^{31} si^{55}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.28
	pi^{31}si^{55}	what	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:986.41
Achang (Xiandao)	**pɛ**^{31}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.29
Bola (Luxi)	**pɐ̲**^{55} tʃuŋ^{31}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.32
Burmese (Rangoon)	**bɑ**^{22}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.27
	ɑ^{53} **bɛ**^{22}m̥ɑ^{22}	where (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0955.27
	ɑ^{53}**bɛ**^{22}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	ɑ **bɛ**^{22}	what	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:986.40
	ɑ **bɛ**^{22} ne^{22} jɑ^{22}	where	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:988.40
Burmese (Written)	**ba**	what	Matisoff 1974:80
	bhai	what	Benedict 1976a
	bhay hā	what?	Marrison 1967
	bhay hmā	where?	Marrison 1967
	bhɑɑ^{2}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.26
	ə-**bhai**	what	Benedict 1976a
	ɑ^{1} **bhɑj**^{2} hmɑɑ^{2}	where (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0955.26
	ɑ^{1}**bhɑj**^{2}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.26
	ɑ^{1}**bhɑj**^{2}	what	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:986.39
	ɑ^{1}**bhɑj**^{2}ne^{2}rɑ^{2}	where	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:988.39
Langsu (Luxi)	**pɐ̲**^{55}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.31
Maru [Langsu]	**pɐ̲**^{55}	what	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:986.43

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	xa^{33}**ma**^{33}ta^{55}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.47
Nusu (Bijiang)	tɕho^{55}**mɑ**^{55}	what	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:986.45
Nusu (Central)	tʂhu^{31}**ma**^{55}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.34
Yi (Dafang)	**mɯ**^{33}lɯ^{33}	what	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:986.22
Yi (Mile)	ʌ^{21}**mi**^{55}	what	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:986.25
Yi (Nanhua)	ɑ^{33} tso^{33}**mo**^{33}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.37
	ʌ^{33}tsʌ^{33}**mo**^{33}	what	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:986.24

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Kucong	a33 **mʌ33**	what	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	ɑ^{31}tho^{21}**mɑ**^{33}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.43
Lahu (Black)	à-**ma**	what	Matisoff 1988a:97
	à-thɔ̀ʔ=**ma**	what	Matisoff 1988a:97
	ʌ^{31}tho^{21}**mʌ**^{33}	what	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:986.33
Lahu (Yellow)	a^{2}tho^{2}**pha**^{3}le^{1}	what	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Yi (Sani)	ɒ^{44} **mɪ**^{44}	what (intg.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0954.39

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	a^{33}**mu**^{33}	what?	Pelkey 2011:1121
Southern Muji	a^{33}**mi**^{21}(-ti^{21})	what?	Pelkey 2011:1121
Hlepho Phowa	a^{33}**mɛ**^{55}	what?	Pelkey 2011:1121

7. Karenic

Pa-O	thə **māi**, tə **māi**	what	Solnit 1989

(5) PKC *koy ≍ *khoy ≍ *hoy WHERE

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***koy** ≍ khoy ≍ hoy	WHERE	VanBik 2009:323

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Paite	**khoi** ah	where	VanBik 2009:323
Sizang	**koi** lai	where	VanBik 2009:323
Thado	**hôy**	where	VanBik 2009:323
Tiddim	**koi**^{1} aʔ^{3}	where	VanBik 2009:323

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Cho (Mindat)	**hawi**	where	VanBik 2009:323

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**khǒy**	where	VanBik 2009:323
Lushai [Mizo]	**kháwi** á	where	VanBik 2009:323

10.6.1 Affirmative

(1) PCC *hrim REALLY

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	***hrim**	REALLY	VanBik 2009:1094
Lai (Hakha)	**hrǐm**	really, indeed	VanBik 2009:1094
Lushai [Mizo]	**hrìm**	really, simply	VanBik 2009:1094

(2) PKar *mwɛ^{B} YES

7. Karenic

**Karen*	***mwɛ**^{B}	yes	Luangthongkum 2013:340
Kayah	**ma**^{11}	yes	Luangthongkum 2013:340
Kayan	**mwɛ**^{11}	yes	Luangthongkum 2013:340
Kayaw	**mɛ**^{11}	yes	Luangthongkum 2013:340
Pa-O (Northern)	**mwɛ**^{53}	yes	Luangthongkum 2013:340
Pa-O (Southern)	**mwɛ**^{55}	yes	Luangthongkum 2013:340
Pwo (Northern)	**mɛ**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	yes	Luangthongkum 2013:340
Pwo (Southern)	**mwɛ**^{33}	yes	Luangthongkum 2013:340
Sgaw (Northern)	**me**$^{11\cdot\cdot}$	yes	Luangthongkum 2013:340
Sgaw (Southern)	**mɛ**^{31}	yes	Luangthongkum 2013:340

10.6.2 Negative

(1) PTB *ma (NEGATIVE)

This functor is widely attested in many branches of Tibeto-Burman. Several Qiangic languages show the expected "brightening" of ***-a** to ***-i**.

In many languages there is an allegro variant with zero-initial, e.g. Lahu **mâ** ~ **â**.

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	***ma**	negative	LaPolla 1987:81
	***ma-y**	negative	Matisoff 2003a:601

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	**m̩**^{55}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.49
Idu	**m̩**^{55}	don't	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.50

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

Maring	**ma**	not	Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group): ***maʔ** NO (REFUSAL)

**Central Naga*	***maʔ**	NO (REFUSAL)	Bruhn 2014a:III.003
**Ao*	***maʔ**	NO (REFUSAL)	Bruhn 2014a:II.209
	***mə-**	NEGATIVE (VERBAL) (pfx.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.221
Ao (Chungli)	**ma**	not	Marrison 1967
	ma^{3}sə^{1}	no (yes/no)	Bruhn 2014b
	maʔ^{1}	no (refusal)	Bruhn 2014a:II.209
	mu^{2}kuŋ^{2}	cold (be v.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.064
	mə^{2}-	NEGATIVE (verbal) (pfx.)	Bruhn 2014a:II.221
	ta **ma** jung	bad	Marrison 1967
	te **mo** kong	cold	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	**mo**	not	Marrison 1967
	mükyi-**mü** pen-te ni	seventeen	Marrison 1967 [a]
	mükyi **mü** pen tsit	eighteen	Marrison 1967
	ta **ma** ro	bad	Marrison 1967
	te **me** pung	bad	Marrison 1967
	tü **mu** kung	cold	Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	(NZP-) **mə** kuŋ	cold (be v.)	Coupe 2007

[a] This is an excellent example of the original "overcounting" numeral system of Mongsen Ao (cf. Coupe 2007, Clark 1893). The individual morphemes are are as follows: 'twenty-NEG-be.complete-seven', i.e. "the seven before the twenty".

	màʔ	no	Coupe 2007
	ta **má** ɹu	bad (<NZP- + NEG + 'be good') (be v.)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	**moʔ**^{2}	no (refusal)	Bruhn 2014a:III.003
	m̥^{3}-	not, NEGATIVE (verbal) (pfx.)	Bruhn 2014b [a]
	m̥^{3}-hon^{1}-	bad (be v.)	Bruhn 2014b [b]
	m	not	Marrison 1967
	me	no	Marrison 1967
	m mhe	raw (unripe)	Marrison 1967
	m mho	bad; wrong	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	n	not	Marrison 1967
Sangtam	atsü **mü** tsa	ugly	Marrison 1967
	a **mü** pi sa	incomplete	Kumar 1973a
	a **mü** tsa	bad; wicked	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	ma	no; not	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mü	not	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	**ma** chong	bad; ugly	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	a **mü** mün khi	unripe	Kumar 1973b:31
	a **mü** tsü	bad	Kumar 1973b:38
	a **mu** tsü	bad	Kumar 1973b:76
	a **mü** tsü	bad; wicked	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967
	mu	no	Marrison 1967
	mü	not	Marrison 1967
	mü la	no	Kumar 1973b:63

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Meluri	**ma**	not	Marrison 1967
	me	not	Marrison 1967
	mo	not	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	**mo**	not	Marrison 1967
Sema [Sumi]	**mo**	no	Marrison 1967
	moi	not	Marrison 1967

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Mzieme	**ma**	no; not	Marrison 1967; Marrison 1967

1.7.2.1. Tangsa-Nocte

Nocte	**ma**	no	Marrison 1967

2.1.2. Bodic

Tsangla (Central)	**ma** lek pa	bad	Andvik 1993:130b
Tsangla (Motuo)	**ma**	NEG; don't; NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.7; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.7
	ma^{13}-	NEG; NEG imperative	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ma^{13}la^{13}	NEG + have (recent past) (aux.)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ma^{13}wa^{13}	NEG + have (stative) (aux.)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	**ma-**	NEG; NEG imperative	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986; Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
	ma na	NEG + have (stative)	Zhang Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Wenlang)	**mɑ**^{35}	NEG	Lu Shaozun, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	**mʌ**^{13}	don't	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.6

2.1.2.1. Tibetan

Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	**ma**	don't	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.4
	mə	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.4
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	**ma**	don't	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.5
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	**ma**^{13}	NEG; don't	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.3; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.3
	ma^{13}re^{53}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.3
	meʔ^{31}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.3
Tibetan (Lhasa)	**ma**^{13}	NEG; don't	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.2; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.2
	mɛʔ^{13}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.2
	mɛ̃^{15}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.2
Tibetan (Written)	**ma**	not; don't	Marrison 1967; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.1

2.2. Newar

Newar	**ma-**	not	Hale 1973:01.008

2.3. Kiranti

**Kiranti*	***ma-**	(negative marker)	Opgenort 2011

2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti

Athpare (Rai)	**ma** sun!	don't lose it!	Ebert 1997

2.3.4. Western Kiranti

Sunwar	**mā**	not	Hale 1973:01.008

2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang

Chepang	**-ma**	not	Caughley 1972:1.8
	-maʔ	Negative (non-final verb form only) (fn.)	Caughley 2000
	ma.lə	no! (WD) (excl.)	Caughley 2000
Magar	**mā-**	not	Hale 1973:01.008

3.2. Qiangic

Ersu	**ma**^{33}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.18
	ma^{33}li^{55}	bad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:861.18
	ma^{33}phɛ^{55}khuɑ^{55}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.18
	ma^{33}zɻ^{55}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.18
	mɑ^{33}bo^{55}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.18
	mɑ^{33}nthuɑ^{55}	blunt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:871.18
Guiqiong	**mã**^{35}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.16
	ma^{35}bã^{55}	idle / not busy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1081.16
	ma^{35}tɕhɑ̃^{55}	blunt / dull	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1021.16
	me^{35}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.17
	me^{35}ge^{35}wu^{55}	bad	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1053.16
	me^{55}zɻ^{55}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.17
	mɛ^{33}gie^{35}u^{55}	bad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:861.17
	mɛ^{35}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.17
	mɛ^{35}ndzĩ^{55}	ugly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:848.17
	mɑ^{33}tɕhɔ̃^{55}	blunt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:871.17
Lyuzu	de^{33}**mæ**^{33}bi^{33}bi^{31}	idle / not busy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1081.18
	ma^{33}bo^{35}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.18
	ma^{33}nduo^{53}	disappear / vanish (lit. 'not seen anymore') (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1731.18
	ma^{33}nthua^{53}	blunt / dull	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1021.18
	mæ^{33}li^{53}	bad	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1053.18
	mæ^{33}nphiu^{53}	ugly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1061.18
	mæ^{33}phe^{53}khuæ^{31}	cheap	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1055.18
	mæ^{33}ʂu^{53}ʂu^{53}	dirty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1086.18
Muya	**ɲi**^{33}mə^{53}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.15
	ɲi^{33}ndʑø^{53}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.15
Muya [Minyak]	**ɲi**^{35}ndʑo^{53}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.15
	ɲi^{35}si^{33}vɯ^{55}	ugly; bad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:848.15; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:861.15
	ɲi^{35}tɕu^{53}	lazy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:907.15
Namuyi	**mi**^{33}ʁa^{35}	lose (a game)	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:682.19
	mɛ^{33}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.19
	mɛ^{33}ʁa^{35}	lose	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:798.19
	mɛ^{55}dʐ^{55}gie^{55}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.19
	mɛ^{55}dʑi^{55}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.19
	mɛ^{55}nthɛ^{35}	blunt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:871.19
	mɛ^{55}nɛ^{33}	bad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:861.19
	mɛ^{55}phu^{55}dʐɛ^{35}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.19
	mɛ^{55}thu^{55}	lazy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:907.19
	mɛ^{55}tse^{33}	ugly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:848.19
	mɛ^{55}ʂɛ^{33}ʂɛ^{55}	dirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:854.19
	jæ^{55}ndzɻ^{55}**mæ**^{55}dʐuo^{55}	ugly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1061.46
	mæ^{33}dʐuo^{5}	there isn't / aren't (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.46
	mæ^{53}mi^{31}	uncooked / raw	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1049.46
	mæ^{53}nthæ^{31}	blunt / dull	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1021.46
	mæ^{53}næ^{31}	bad	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1053.46
	mæ^{53}tshɻ^{33}qa^{31}	true	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1047.46
	mæ^{53}ʁa^{31}	lose (a game) (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1635.46
	mæ^{53}ʂa^{33}ʂa^{53}	dirty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1086.46
	mæ^{55}khu^{33}khu^{53}	idle / not busy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1081.46
	mæ^{55}thu^{55}	lazy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1112.46
Pumi (Jiulong)	**mɑ**^{13}bõ^{35}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.10
	mɑ^{55}tʂuɑ^{55}	lazy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1112.10
Pumi (Lanping)	**mɑ**^{13}bõ^{55}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.09
	mɑ^{13}tɕha^{55}	blunt / dull	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1021.09
	mɑ^{13}ʃu^{55}	ugly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1061.09
Pumi (Qinghua)	**mɑ**^{13}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.11
	mɑ^{13}bõ^{55}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.11
	mɑ^{13}də^{13}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.11
	mɑ^{13}tɕha^{55}	blunt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:871.11
	mɑ^{13}ʃu^{55}	ugly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:848.11
Pumi (Taoba)	**ma**^{35}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.10
	ma^{35}bõ^{55}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.10
	ma^{35}dzio^{55}mə^{53}	lazy	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:907.10
	ma^{35}də^{35}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.10
	ma^{35}tɕhɛ^{55}mə^{53}	blunt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:871.10
Qiang (Longxi)	**mà** só	dirty	Evans 1999:1542 [a]
	mè ué	not have (use)	Evans 1999:2545
	mì	have not (+ V-ed)	Evans 1999:2639
	mì iá	bad (of character)	Evans 1999:1505
	mì í	there is not (person)	Evans 1999:2538
	mì liá	not have (something in bowl); not have (something in milk)	Evans 1999:2541; Evans 1999:2542
	mì sí	there is not (something on table)	Evans 1999:2543
	mì ʁuá	there is not (tree)	Evans 1999:2539
	mì-iá	fake, counterfeit [NEG-good]	Evans 1999:1500
	mí	NEG; NEG (+ V)	Evans 1999:2637; Evans 1999:2638
	mí ià	foul-tasting ('not good')	Evans 1999:1554
	mí sè	ugly	Evans 1999:1560
	mí tsè	not have (wealth)	Evans 1999:2537
	mò ɦó	there is not (a matter); not have (use); have not (+V-ed)	Evans 1999:2540; Evans 1999:2545; Evans 1999:2639
Qiang (Mawo)	**ma**	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.8
	ma mdza	ugly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:848.8
	ma tsa	blunt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:871.8
	mu hu	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.8
	mə ɕu tiu	dirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:854.8
	mɛ tsɛ	blunt / dull	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1021.08
	mɛ tɕin thɑ	idle / not busy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1081.08
	mɛw	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.08
	mɑ ŋuə	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.8
	phə **ma** la	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.8
Qiang (Mianchi)	duè-diò-**mì**-lɛ́	overly talkative [mouth-door-not-have]	Evans 1999:1614
	duè-diò-**mì**-ué-mù	longwinded [mouth-door-NEG-have-m]	Evans 1999:1586
	ì-**mí**-sì-ɲà-qhuè-**mì**-té	quiet [chicken-not-cluck-and-dog-not-bark]	Evans 1999:1544
	mì (dzɛ́)	NEG (+ eat)	Evans 1999:2638
	mì (ŋué)	NEG (+ be)	Evans 1999:2637
	mì dzì	have not (+V-ed)	Evans 1999:2639
	mì láN bà mù	mute person	Evans 1999:267
	mì lɛ́	not have (something in bowl); not have (something in milk)	Evans 1999:2541; Evans 1999:2542
	mì pá ʂè	ugly	Evans 1999:1560
	mì tá	ugly	Evans 1999:1513; Evans 1999:1560
	mì tsɛ́	dull	Evans 1999:1469
	mì tí	there is not (something on table)	Evans 1999:2543
	mì uɛ́	there is not (tree)	Evans 1999:2539
	mì ŋà	not have (wealth); there is not (tree); there is not (a matter); not have (something in milk); not have benefit; not have (use); have not (+V-ed)	Evans 1999:2537; Evans 1999:2539,2540,2542,2544,2545; Evans 1999:2639

[a] [Source Note] assimilates in place to following consonant
[b] [Source Note] NEG-be.good

[a] [Source Note] cf. 'poison'.

	mì ʐ́í	there is not (person)	Evans 1999:2538
	mì-láN-pà	mute [NEG-speak-s]	Evans 1999:2508
	mì-pú-zì	forbid [NEG-do-CAUS]	Evans 1999:2077
	mì-ŋà	zero [NEG-have]	Evans 1999:1210
	mí-pà ʂì	ugly [m-b]	Evans 1999:1513
	mù tié-**mí**-tiù-mù	blind person [eyes-not-see-AGT]	Evans 1999:259
	mù tí-à-ʐà-**mì**-ué-mù	one-eyed person [eye-one-CL-NEG-have-person]	Evans 1999:268
	mè tié-**mí**-tiù-mù	blind person [eyes-not-see-AGT]	Evans 1999:259
	qé zì-**mì**-ŋà	flustered, confused [reason-not-have]	Evans 1999:1612
	tié-qè-**mì**-tə	careless, slipshod [heart-m-not-put]	Evans 1999:1613
	tshì-**mí**-dzù	bland [salt-NEG-enough?]	Evans 1999:1531
	tɕhì-**mì**-n̥ú-uà	die [b(breath)-NEG-m-m]	Evans 1999:1846
	ù sù-**mí**-qè ʐà	envy, despise [look-NEG-a.little]	Evans 1999:2022
	n̥à kí-**mì**-ŋuè	must, have to [what-not-be]	Evans 1999:1666
Qiang (Taoping)	**mi**^{33}tsie^{33}	blunt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:871.9
	mi^{33}ʂe^{33}	bad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:861.9
	mi^{55}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.9
	mi^{55}kan^{55}tsin^{13}	dirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:854.9
	mi^{55}phə^{55}ly^{55}	cheap	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:877.9
	mi^{55}ŋuə^{33}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.9
	mi^{55}ŋɑ^{33}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.9
	mi^{55}χpɑ^{33}ʂe^{33}	ugly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:848.9
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	**ma**^{35}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.16
	ma^{35}dzi^{35}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.16
	ma^{35}ɕi^{35}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.16
Queyu (Xinlong)	**ma**^{13}tɕo^{55}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.13
	ma^{55}kɕe^{55}	blunt / dull	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1021.13
	ma^{55}mtɕhe^{55}tɕe^{33}	ugly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1061.13
	ma^{55}ra^{55}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.13
Xumi	**me**^{55}jɛ^{55}ji^{55}	ugly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:848.20
	me^{55}rɑ^{33}	bad	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:861.20
	me^{55}tɕhe^{33}	blunt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:871.20
	me^{55}ʂɑ̃^{55}	dirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:854.20
	mu^{33}ʐõ^{55}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.17
	mu^{55}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.20
	mu^{55}tɕhu^{33}	ugly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1061.17
	mu^{55}uɛ̃^{33}ji^{55}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.20
	mu^{55}ʂõ^{55}	dirty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1086.17
	mu^{55}ʔɛ̃^{55}	lazy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1112.17
	mɛi^{55}ʐɔ̃^{33}ji^{55}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.20
Zhaba (Daofu County)	**ma**^{33}dʌ^{55}zɻ^{33}	ugly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1061.14
	ma^{33}pʊ^{55}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.14
	ma^{33}ʂtsʊ̃^{55}ma^{33}	dirty	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1086.14

3.3. rGyalrongic

Ergong (Danba)	**mi**	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.14
	mi ntɕho	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.14

3.3.1. rGyalrong

rGyalrong	**ma**	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.12
	mə	don't	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.12
Caodeng	**mɐʔ**	no (negation)	Sun 1997a

4. Nungic

Rawang	**mɑ**^{31} dɑŋ^{53}	not have	LaPolla 2003:1375
	mɑ^{31} phɯ^{53} wɛ^{33}	cheap	LaPolla 2003:1082
	mɑ^{31} ɑl^{33}	not have	LaPolla 2003:1374
Nung	**m̥**^{31}ɑn^{55}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.21
Trung [Dulong]	**mɯ**^{31}e^{53}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.46
Dulong	**m** ɑ·n^{53}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.20
Trung [Dulong]	**m** ăn^{55}	don't	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.46
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	**mɯ**^{31}	negative	LaPolla 1987:81
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	**mɯ**^{31}	negative	LaPolla 1987:81
	mɯ^{31}e^{53}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. Tujia

Tujia (Southern)	**ma**^{55}	NEG	Tian Desheng & He Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. Lolo-Burmese

**Lolo-Burmese*	***ma**^{2}	not	Matisoff 2003a:601

6.1.1. Burmish

Achang (Lianghe)	**n**^{31}	NEG	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n^{31}pa^{55}	not yet	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n^{31}pɑ^{55}	NEG + have	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	n^{31}n̥ɛʔ^{55}	NEG + copula	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Longchuan)	**ma**^{31}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.41
	mă^{31}pɔ^{55}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.41
	mă^{31}n̥eʔ^{55}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.41
	mă^{51}pɔ^{55}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.28
Achang (Luxi)	**m**^{31}	NEG	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	m^{31}pa^{31}	NEG + have	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	m^{31}paʔ^{31}	not yet	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
	m^{31}ŋut^{55}	NEG + copula	Dai Qingxia & Cui Zhizhao, eds. 1985
Achang (Xiandao)	**m**^{31}pɔ^{35}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.29
Burmese (Rangoon)	**mɑ**^{53}ɕi^{53}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.27
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	**mɑ**^{53}...bu^{55}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.40
	mɑ^{53}...n̥ĩ^{53}	don't	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.40
	mɑ^{53}hoʔ^{44}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.40
	mɑ^{53}ɕi^{53}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.40
Burmese (Written)	**ma**	not	Marrison 1967
	ma'	not	Matisoff 1974:398
	ma'	not	Benedict 1976a
	mɑ^{1}...bhu^{3}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.39
	mɑ^{1}...hnɑŋ^{1}	don't	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.39
	mɑ^{1}hri^{1}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.26
	mɑ^{1}hri^{1}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.39
	mɑ^{1}**hut**	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.39
Hpun (Northern)	**má'**, **mă-**	not	Henderson 1986
	mă kɔ̀ŋ	bad (= 'not good')	Henderson 1986
	mă pá	is not	Henderson 1986
	mă páʔ	not be (v.i.)	Henderson 1986
	mă ʃí'	not know; alive (lit. = 'not die')	Henderson 1986; Henderson 1986
Langsu (Luxi)	**mə̌**^{31}jauŋ^{55}	ugly	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1061.31
	mə̌^{31}ɣɔ^{55}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.31
Marma	**mə** ... θĭ	not yet	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:433
	mə hlă	ugly (vi.)	Huziwara Keisuke 2008:349-1
Maru [Langsu]	**mə̌**^{31}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.43
	mə̌^{31}jauŋ^{55}	ugly	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:848.43
	mə̌^{31}ŋat^{31}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.43
	mə̌^{31}ɣɔ^{55}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.43

6.1.2. Loloish

**Loloish*	***ma**^{2}	not	Bradley 1979b:801; Hansson 1989:65

6.1.2.1. Northern Loloish

Gazhuo	**ma**^{31}na^{35}	bad	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1053.47
	ma^{31}phv^{31}kha^{55}	cheap	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1055.47
	ma^{31}tso^{323}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.47
	ma^{31}xoa^{24}tsa^{24}	idle / not busy	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1081.47
Nusu (Northern)	**ma**^{31}	NEG	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central)	**ma**^{55}khui^{31}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.34
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɑ**^{33}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.45
Nusu (Southern)	**mɑ**^{53}	NEG	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Northern)	**mɑ**^{55}khui^{31}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	**mɑ**^{55}khui^{31}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɑ**^{55}khui^{31}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.45
Nusu (Northern)	**mɑ**^{55}uɔ̰^{31}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Bijiang)	**mɑ**^{55}uə̰^{ɹ53}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.45
Nusu (Southern)	**mɑ**^{55}ŋuə^{31}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai & Liu Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	**ma**^{21}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.22
	ma^{21}dzɔ^{21}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.22
	ma^{21}ŋɯ^{21}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.22
Yi (Liangshan)	**a**^{21}	no; not	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	a^{34}bi^{33}	defective; old (not new); poor (quality)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	a^{34}li^{33}	old (not new)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
	ma^{21}	no (literary)	Ma Linying *et al.* 2008:index
Yi (Mile)	**ᴀ**^{21}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.25
	ᴀ^{21}bu^{33}; **ᴀ**^{21}tʂu^{33}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.25
	ᴀ^{21}ŋɯ^{33}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.25
Yi (Mojiang)	**mᴀ**^{21}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.26
	mᴀ^{21}dzᴀ^{21}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.26
	mᴀ^{21}ŋɯ^{21}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.26
Yi (Nanjian)	**mɑ**^{21}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.23
	mɑ^{21}dʐu^{55}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.23
	mɑ^{21}ŋɑ^{55}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.23
Yi (Weishan)	**mɑ**^{21}dʐu^{55}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.36
Yi (Wuding)	**mɑ**^{11}dʐp^{11}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.38
Yi (Xide)	**a**^{21}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.21
	a^{21}dʑo^{33}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.21
	a^{21}ŋɯ^{33}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.21
	ɑ^{21}dʑo^{33}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.35

6.1.2.2. Central Loloish

Jinuo	**mɔ**^{33}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.34
	mɔ^{33}tʃa^{31}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.34
Jinuo (Youle)	**mɔ**^{33}ŋə^{44}	NEG + copula	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**mɔ**^{33}ŋɯ^{33}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.34
Jinuo (Buyuan)	**mɔ**^{44}	NEG	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	**mɔ**^{44}	NEG	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
	mɔ^{44}tʃɑ^{42}	NEG + have	Gai Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo	**mə**^{44}tʃa^{42}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.44
Kucong	**mʌ31** tsɔ31	don't have	Dai Qingxia & Chang Junzhi 2009
Lahu (Lancang)	**mɑ**^{53}tɕɔ^{31}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.43
Lahu (Black)	**â**	NEG	Matisoff 1988a:95
	mᴀ^{53}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.33
	mᴀ^{53}tsɔ^{31}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.33
	mᴀ^{53}xe^{54}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.33
Lahu (Yellow)	**a**^{3}	NEG	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	a^{3} (tsɔ^{2})	not yet	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	a^{3}tsɔ^{2}	NEG + have	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
	a^{1}xe^{6}	NEG + copula	Chang Hong'en et al., eds. 1986
Lisu (Northern)	**ma**^{21}	no; not (A.)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21} dzæ^{44}	not suitable	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21} dʐi^{44}æ^{33} ma^{33}	ugly; not clean; despicable and filthy; base	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ma**^{21} ni^{35}tɕhø^{35}	not worry; not rash; steady; prudent	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Northern)	**ma**^{21} ni^{35}tɕhɤ^{35}	not worry; not rash; steady; prudent	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21} sa^{21}	not handle in transport (unfortunate)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}ba^{21}	not too thin nor too thick; not too thin nor too dense; even	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}thu^{33}	will not do; not able; cannot	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}da^{33}	not fine (not well husked)	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}deʔ^{21}	not disturb	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}du^{33}	not deliberate; not aware of	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}dzi^{21}	not close	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}dziʔ^{21}	not right; incorrect; not suitable	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}dzɔ^{21}	will not stick; not sticky	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}dzɔ^{33}		

	ma^{21}dʑi^{33}	bad; not good; unfortunate; disappointing	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}dʑɔ^{33}dʑɔ^{33}	not afraid; fearless	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}fu^{33}	not let go; not dry	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}gu^{21} **ma**^{21}jɔ^{33}	equally match; not inferior to	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}gu^{33} **ma**^{21}sa^{21}	endlessly; ceaselessly; will not stop until finish	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}hwa^{55} **ma**^{21}sa^{21}	go all out to do better; not stop until victory	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}jæ^{33}	not vacillate	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}ku^{55} **ma**^{21}sa^{21}	not stop until learn to do	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}lɔʔ^{21}	not enough; lack; scarce;	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}mɔ^{21} **ma**^{21}læ^{55}	middle-aged; not old nor young	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}si^{21}	not sober; coma; lose senses	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}si^{21} **ma**^{21}ɕæ^{33}	filthy; not hygienic	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}tha^{21}	not the same; different	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}ti^{33}si^{21}	not sober	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}tshi^{33}	not only; not less than; not merely; without end; not simply; not enough	Bradley 1994; Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}tʃhŋ^{33}	no matter; there is no need; not necessary; not important	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}tɕa^{33}	ignore; not respect; not trust	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}vu^{21} **ma**^{21}jɔ^{33}	not too big nor too small; medium; medium size	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}ɣɔʔ^{21} **ma**^{21}phɤ^{33}	match; match well; not very different from each other	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}ʃŋ^{33} **ma**^{21}ɲɔ^{55}	not too long nor too short; just right	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}ɕæ^{33}	dirty; not clean; not hygienic	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}ɕæ^{33} **ma**^{21}gaʔ^{21}	dirty; not clean	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}ɤ^{21} **ma**^{21}nɤ^{21}	proper distance; not too close nor too far	Bradley 1994
	ma^{21}ɤ^{35}ly^{33}	not waver; persistently	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	**ma**^{5}	no; not	Fraser 1922; Fraser 1922
	ma^{5} hchya^{4}	right (not wrong)	Fraser 1922
	ma^{5} nga^{4}	no	Fraser 1922
	ma^{5} rá^{6}	miss (not hit) (v.)	Fraser 1922
Lisu	**mɑ**^{31}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.27
	mɑ^{31}dʒo^{33}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.27
	mɑ^{31}dʑo^{35}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.40
	mɑ^{31}ŋɑ^{33}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.27
Lisu (Northern)	ni^{21}thɔ^{35} **ma**^{21} dʑɔ^{44}	not different; alike; very similar	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}khwa^{21} **ma**^{21} ʃŋ^{33}	not reconciled to; not content	Bradley 1994
	ni^{35}ma^{33} **ma**^{21}sa^{33}	worry; be anxious; not quite oneself	Bradley 1994
	phi^{21}phu^{33} ni^{35} **ma**^{21} phu^{3}	not open-minded; think in one way and behave in another; with a forced smile	Bradley 1994
	thɔ^{21}thɔ^{21} ma^{21}thɔ^{21}	often; have or not have business (A.)	Bradley 1994
	tshiʔ^{21} **ma**^{21} sɯ^{55}	not sensible	Bradley 1994
	tshɔ^{33} **ma**^{21} tɕa^{35}	not as a human being	Bradley 1994
	zø^{21} **ma**^{21} thɔ^{21}	not necessary	Bradley 1994
	zø^{21} **ma**^{21} zæʔ^{21}	have no use; not suitable for use	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Central)	ɲi^{21}thɔ^{35} **ma**^{21} dʑɔ^{44}	not different; alike; very similar	Bradley 1994
Yi (Sani)	**mɒ**^{11}tʂo^{44}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.39

6.1.2.3. Southern Loloish

Akha (Thai)	**mà**	not	Hansson 1989:65
Akha (Yunnan)	**mà**	not	Hansson 1989:65
Akha	**mà**	not	Hansson 1989:65
Bisu	**ma**~**mà**	not	Bradley 199x
	ʔà	don't	Bradley 199x
Hani (Lüchun)	**mà**	not	Hansson 1989:65
	mà dja	don't	Hansson 1989:29
	mà pjhö	cheap	Hansson 1989:88
	ma pjhö	cheap	Hansson 1989:88
Hani (Dazhai)	**ma**^{31}dʑa^{33}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.31
	ma^{31}ŋɯ^{55}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.31
	ma^{53}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.31
Hani (Lüchun)	**ma**^{31}dʑa^{33}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.41
Hani (Pijo)	**mà**	not	Hansson 1989:65
Hani (Caiyuan)	**ma**^{31}tsa^{33}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.30
Hani (Pijo)	**mò**	not	Hansson 1989:65
Hani (Caiyuan)	**mɔ**^{31}(**ma**^{31})	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.30
	mɔ^{31}ŋɤ^{55}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.30
Hani (Pijo)	**mɔ̀**	not	Hansson 1989:65
Hani (Gelanghe)	**ma**^{31}	NEG	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ma^{31}dʑa^{33}	NEG + have	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
	ma^{31}ŋɤ^{55}	NEG + copula	Li Yongsui & Wang Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Wordlist)	**maq**	not	Hansson 1989:65
Hani (Shuikui)	**ma**^{31}tʃa^{33}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.32
Haoni	**mɔ**^{31}	not	Hansson 1989:65
Hani (Shuikui)	**mɔ**^{31}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.32
	mɔ^{31}ŋɯ^{55}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.32
Hani (Khatu)	**mà**	not	Hansson 1989:65
Mpi	**mɑ**^{2}	NEG; not	Hansson 1989:65; Srinuan Duanghom 1976
	ʔɑ^{2}	don't	Hansson 1989:29
Pyen	**ma31** be45	do not know	Shintani Tadahiko 2009:192008
Sila	**ma21** mɯ21	bad	Kato Takashi 2008:259
	ŋɔ55 ko55 ɯ21 a21 mą̄21 **ma21** ŋɤ55	I am not Sila.	Kato Takashi 2008:302

6.1.2.4. Southeastern Loloish

Azha	**ma**^{22}	not (NEG)	Pelkey 2011:1145
	ma^{22}tʂɯ^{21}	not have; lack; without	Pelkey 2011:799
	ma^{33}ŋɜ^{21}	is not	Pelkey 2011:797
Southern Muji	**a**^{21}	don't	Pelkey 2011:1146
	ma^{21}	not (NEG)	Pelkey 2011:1145
	ma^{21}n̥i^{33}	bad	Pelkey 2011:971
	ma^{33}dʑə^{21}	not have; lack; without	Pelkey 2011:799
Phola	**mɛ**^{33}xɛ^{31}	is not	Pelkey 2011:797
	mɑ^{33}	not (NEG)	Pelkey 2011:1145
	mɑ^{33}nɑ^{55}	bad	Pelkey 2011:971
	mɑ^{33}tʂɔ^{31}	not have; lack; without	Pelkey 2011:799
Hlepho Phowa	**ma**^{33}	not (NEG)	Pelkey 2011:1145
	ma^{33}n^{21}	bad	Pelkey 2011:971
	ma^{33}pʰɸɯ^{33}tɕʰɛ^{21}	cheap	Pelkey 2011:1034
	ma^{33}ʑi^{55}	is not	Pelkey 2011:797
	ma^{33}dʑə^{21}	not have; lack; without	Pelkey 2011:799
	ma^{33m}bl̥^{33}	ugly	Pelkey 2011:959
Phu Kha	**mə**^{33} n̥^{31}	bad, deficient	Fried 2000
Phuza	**ma**^{33}	not (NEG)	Pelkey 2011:1145
	ma^{33}dʑɔ^{31}	not have; lack; without	Pelkey 2011:799
	ma^{31}n̥ɛ^{13}	bad	Pelkey 2011:971
	ma^{31}ʑi^{55}	is not	Pelkey 2011:797

6.2. Naxi

Laze (Xiangjiao)	**mə**˩ʂu˥	dirty	Michaud 2006–2009:2212
	mə˧dʑɤ˨˩	bad	Michaud 2006–2009:2124
	ɑ˧**mɤ**˥li˥	ugly	Michaud 2006–2009:3381
Na (Yongning)	dzi˩bi˩ni˩**mə**˩gv˨	not be accustomed to (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	mə	negation	Michaud 2006–2009
	mə˧fv˧	angry	Michaud 2006–2009
	mə˧gɤ˩	not to be resigned; to be recalcitrant	Michaud 2006–2009
	mə˧qʰæ˩	feel unwell (v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	mɤ˧ʂu˩	dirty	Michaud 2006–2009
	ɖɯ˧bæ˧**mə**˧tsɤ˧	different (be v.)	Michaud 2006–2009
	ə˧**mə**˧v˨˩	ugly	Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mə**^{33}	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**mə**^{33}; **mɑ**^{33}	NEG; don't	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.29; Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.29
	mə^{33}dʑu^{33}; **mɑ**^{33}dʑu^{33}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.29
Naxi	**mə**^{33}dʑy^{33}	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mə**^{33}dʑy^{33}	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.28
Naxi	**mə**^{33}gə^{21}	regret (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1376.45
	mə^{33}gɯ^{21}	false	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1048.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mə**^{33}gɯ^{31}	false	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:875.28
Naxi (Yongning)	**mə**^{33}gɯ^{31}	false	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:875.29
	mə^{33}gɯ^{13}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.29
	mə^{33}mv^{31}	raw	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:868.29
Naxi	**mə**^{33}thɑ^{55}	blunt / dull	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1021.45
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mə**^{33}thɑ^{55}	blunt	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:871.28
	mə^{33}tʰɑ^{31}	don't	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1004.28
	mə^{33}uɑ^{31}	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.28
Naxi	**mə**^{33}xæ^{55}	pitiable / pitiful	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1116.45
	mə^{33}xɯ^{21}	angry, be; take offense; hate (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1373.45; Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1621.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**mə**^{33}xɯ^{33}	angry	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:728.29
Naxi (Lijiang)	**mə**^{33}xɯ^{31}	hate	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:729.28
Naxi	**mə**^{33}n̥i^{55}n̥i^{21}	difference / distinction (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0691.45
Naxi (Yongning)	**mə**^{33}ʂu^{31}	dirty	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:854.29

7. Karenic

Pa-O	**m** în	don't	Solnit 1989

Chinese comparandum

無 OC ***mi̯wo***, *GSR* #103a 'no, not have'; Coblin 86:113 ST ***mjaɣ*** > OC ***mjag***; Schuessler 2007:518-19 ***ma***; B & S 2011: ***ma***; Mand. **wú**.

(2) PTani *maŋ NEGATOR

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	***maŋ***	negator	Sun 1993a:270

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

Apatani	**ma**	negator; NEG; not	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ma-ǰa-lo	if not	Sun 1993b
	ma-ko-da	if not	Sun 1993b
Bengni	a-fu **ma:**-bu:	lean meat	Sun 1993b
	či-**ma:**	NEG enough	Sun 1993b
	do:-**ma:**	NEG have	Sun 1993b
	ka:-**ma:**	NEG have	Sun 1993b
	ma:	negator; NEG; NEG copula	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b; Sun 1993b
	ma:-bə:-ka	prohibitive marker	Sun 1993b
	mɯŋ-pa:-**ma:**	forget	Sun 1993b
Bokar	da: **moŋ**	existential copula NEG	Sun 1993b
	da: **moŋ**	have, do not (v.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:1519.24
	gom **maŋ**	mute (n.)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992:0211.24
	gom-**maŋ**	dumb	Sun 1993b
	gom-**maŋ**	mute (n.)	Sun 1993b
	hə: **moŋ**	copula NEG	Sun 1993b
	moŋ	negator; NEG	Sun 1993a; Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	da: **moŋ**	NEG + have	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:736.51
	gom **maŋ**	mute; mute person	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:302.51; Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980
	moŋ	NEG	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:1003.51
	ɦə: **moŋ**	NEG + copula	Sun Hongkai et al. 1991:734.51
Galo	**-maa**	Negative; not (vs:asp.)	GLDC 2009; GLDC 2009
	ma	not	Das Gupta 1963
	ma!	nope (int.)	GLDC 2009
	maa	no (int.)	GLDC 2009
Miri, Hill Nishing	**-ma**	negative affix; no, not	Simon 1976; Simon 1976
	al e-**ma**	bad ('not good')	Das Gupta 1969
	ka-pa-**ma**	did not find	Das Gupta 1969
	ma	not; for negative orders	Das Gupta 1969; Das Gupta 1969
	ma-bé	negative imperative (suffix)	Das Gupta 1969
	ma-dé	not yet (suffix)	Das Gupta 1969
Tagin	al ɤ-**ma**	bad / not good	Das Gupta 1983
	al ɤ-**mà** nɤ	rude / not good	Das Gupta 1983
	al ɤ-**ma**-nɤ	cruel / not good	Das Gupta 1983

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	**maŋ**	negator	Sun 1993a
Damu	ken-dʐu-**ma:**	stupid	Sun 1993b

(3) PKC *law NOT (negative marker)

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	***law**	NOT (negative marker)	VanBik 2009:1035

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

Thado	**lòw**	not	VanBik 2009:1035
Tiddim	ha:t[1] **lou[1]**	weak (”not strong”)	VanBik 2009:1035

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

Khumi	**alaaw**	not have to do something, be reprieved from something, get out of doing something, get released; get freed from doing something	VanBik 2009:1035

1.2.2. Central Chin

Lai (Hakha)	**lăw**	negative marker, not	VanBik 2009:1035
Lai (Falam)	**làw**	not	VanBik 2009:1035
Lushai [Mizo]	**lò**	not	VanBik 2009:1035

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SUN Hongkai. 1991k. *Body Parts Questionnaire (rGyarong: Northern)*. (unpublished ms. contributed to STEDT).

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List of Languages

0. Sino-Tibetan (previously published reconstructions)

**Sino-Tibetan*	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1983, Matisoff 1985a

0.1. Tibeto-Burman (previously published reconstructions)

**Tibeto-Burman*	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, French 1983, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1983, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 2003a, Michailovsky 1991, Mortensen 2012, Weidert 1987
**Tibeto-Karen*	Chou Fa-kao 1972

1. NE Indian Areal Group

**Kuki-Naga*	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Weidert 1987
**Kuki-Naga-Chin*	Weidert 1987
Kamarupan	Matisoff 1985a
Miji	Simon 1979

1.1. "North Assam"

Aka [Hruso]	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1995a
Bangru	Sun 1993a
Sherdukpen	Sun 1993a
Sulung [Puroik]	Matisoff 1993, Sun Hongkai 1993, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991, Sun 1993a

1.1.1. Tani

**Tani*	Sun 1993a

1.1.1.1. Western Tani

**Western Tani*	Sun 1993a
Apatani	Sun 1993b, Sun 1993a, Weidert 1987
Bengni	Sun 1993a, Sun 1993b
Bokar	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992, Matisoff 2003a, Ouyang Jueya, ed. 1985, Sun 1993a, Sun 1993b
Bokar Lhoba	LaPolla 1987, Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
Galo	Das Gupta 1963, GLDC 2009, Weidert 1987
Miri, Hill	Simon 1976
Nishi [Dafla]	Benedict 1941/2008, Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 2003a, Weidert 1987
Nishing	Das Gupta 1969
Nyisu	Sun 1993a
Tagin	Benedict 1941/2008, Das Gupta 1983, Matisoff 2003a, Sun 1993a
Yano	Sun 1993a

1.1.1.2. Eastern Tani

Adi	LaPolla 1987
Damu	Sun 1993a, Sun 1993b
Milang	Tayeng 1976
Mishing [Miri]	Benedict 1941/2008, Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Lorrain 1907, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Sun 1993a
Padam [Abor]	Benedict 1941/2008, Lorrain 1907, Sun 1993a
Padam-Mishing [Abor-Miri]	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1993, Sun 1993a

1.1.2. Deng

Darang [Taraon]	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987, NEFA (India) 1963, Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
Digaro	Benedict 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 2003a
Idu	Anonymous 1962, Pulu 1978, Sun Hongkai 1991f, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
Kaman [Miju]	Benedict 1972, Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 2003a, Sun Hongkai *et al.* 1980, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991, Weidert 1987
Yidu	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992

1.2. Kuki-Chin

**Chin*	VanBik 2009, Weidert 1987
**Kuki*	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Weidert 1987
**Kuki (Southern)*	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972
**Kuki (Western)*	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Anal	Benedict 1972, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987, Ono 1965, Weidert 1987
Chawte	Benedict 1972
Chinbok	Benedict 1972, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987, Ono 1965
Kaang	VanBik 2009
Khoibu	Benedict 1972, Brown 1837, Coblin 1986
Kyaw	Benedict 1972
Ngawn	Matisoff 1987, Ono 1965
Pankhu	Benedict 1972, Matisoff 1985a
Thanphum	Luce 1985
Yawdwin	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972

1.2.1. Peripheral Chin

**Peripheral Chin*	VanBik 2009

1.2.1.1. Northern Chin

**Northern Chin*	VanBik 2009
Kuki-Chin	Haokip 1998
Paite	VanBik 2009
Siyin	Benedict 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1985a
Sizang	VanBik 2009
Thado	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1985a, Thirumalai 1972, VanBik 2009, Weidert 1987
Tiddim	Benedict 1972, Bhaskararao 1994, Bhaskararao 1996, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Henderson 1965, LaPolla 1987, Luce 1985, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, VanBik 2009, Weidert 1987

1.2.1.2. Southern Plains Chin

**Southern Plains Chin*	VanBik 2009
Asho	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972, LaPolla 1987, VanBik 2009, Weidert 1987
Asho (Sandoway)	Luce 1985
Awa Khumi	Luce 1985
Chinbon	So-Hartmann 1988
Cho (Mindat)	Matisoff 2003a, VanBik 2009
Daai	So-Hartmann 1988, So-Hartmann 2001, VanBik 2009
Khami	Benedict 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978a
Khami (Northern)	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b
Khami (Southern)	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Khumi	Matisoff 1987, So-Hartmann 1988, VanBik 2009
Khumi (Ahraing)	Luce 1985
Khumi (Bangladesh)	Peterson 2008
Matu	So-Hartmann 1988, VanBik 2009
Matupi	Luce 1985
Mkaang	So-Hartmann 1988
Ngmiiin	So-Hartmann 1988
Nyhmoye	So-Hartmann 1988
Wakung	So-Hartmann 1988
Womatu	Luce 1985

1.2.2. Central Chin

**Central Chin*	VanBik 2009
Bawm	David A. Peterson 2014, Löffler 1985, Schwerli 1979
Hwalngau	Luce 1985
Khualsim	Luce 1985
Lai (Falam)	VanBik 2009
Lai (Hakha)	Benedict 1972, David A. Peterson 2014, Luce 1985, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 2003a, VanBik 1995–, VanBik 2009
Laizo	Benedict 1972, David A. Peterson 2014, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987
Lushai [Mizo]	Benedict 1972, Bhaskararao 1996, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Löffler 1985, Lorrain 1940, Luce 1985, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 2003a, VanBik 1995–, VanBik 2009, Weidert 1987
Paangkhua	Löffler 1985, VanBik 2009, Weidert 1987
Rangkhol	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Matisoff 1985a

1.2.3. Maraic

Banjogi	Benedict 1972
Lailenpi	Luce 1985
Lakher [Mara]	Benedict 1972, David A. Peterson 2014, LaPolla 1987, Löffler 1985, Lorrain 1951, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 2003a, VanBik 2009, Weidert 1987
Lothvo (Hiranpi)	Luce 1985
Mera	Luce 1985
Tha'oa	Luce 1985
Xongsai	Luce 1985
Zotung	Luce 1985, Matisoff 1987

1.2.4. "Old Kuki"

Aimol	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Bete	Benedict 1972
Chiru	Weidert 1987
K'cho	David A. Peterson 2014
Kom Rem	Toba & Kom 1991, Weidert 1987
Lamkang	Benedict 1972, David A. Peterson 2014, Weidert 1987
Moyon	French 1983, Kosha 1990
Sorbung	Brown 1837, Mortensen & Keogh 2011
Tarao	David A. Peterson 2014

1.3. "Naga" Areal Group

**Naga*	Weidert 1987
Maring	Benedict 1972, Brown 1837, Marrison 1967

1.3.1. Central Naga (Ao Group)

**Ao*	Bruhn 2014a
**Central Naga*	Bruhn 2014a
Ao (Chungli)	Benedict 1972, Bruhn 2014b, Bruhn 2014a, Coblin 1986, French 1983, LaPolla 1987, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1978b, Temsunungsang 2009, Weidert 1987
Ao (Mongsen)	Temsunungsang 2009
Ao (Mongsen: Khensa)	Bruhn 2014b, Bruhn 2014a
Ao (Mongsen: Longchang)	French 1983, Marrison 1967
Ao (Mongsen: Mangmetong)	Coupe 2007
Lotha Naga	Acharya 1975, Benedict 1972, Bruhn 2014a, Bruhn 2014b, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1985a, Murry *et al.* 1978, Nienu 1990c, Weidert 1987
Sangtam	Kumar 1973a, Marrison 1967, Weidert 1987
Tengsa	Marrison 1967
Yacham	Marrison 1967
Yacham-Tengsa	French 1983, Marrison 1967
Yimchungrü	Kumar 1973b, Marrison 1967, Weidert 1987

1.3.2. Angami-Pochuri Group

Angami (Khonoma)	Marrison 1967
Angami (Kohima)	Marrison 1967, Nienu 1990a
Angami Naga	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978a, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1994b, Weidert 1987
Chokri	Marrison 1967, Nienu 1990b, Weidert 1987
Khezha	Marrison 1967, Weidert 1987, Yabu 1994
Mao	Benedict 1972, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1985a, Weidert 1987
Meluri	Marrison 1967
Ntenyi	Marrison 1967
Rengma	Benedict 1972, Marrison 1967
Rengma (Northern)	Weidert 1987
Rengma (Southern)	Weidert 1987
Sema [Sumi]	Achumi 1998b, Achumi 1998a, Benedict 1972, Marrison 1967, Weidert 1987

1.3.3. Zeme Group

Khoirao	Benedict 1972, Marrison 1967
Kwoireng	Benedict 1972
Liangmei	Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1985a, Weidert 1987
Maram	Marrison 1967
Mzieme	Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1985a
Puiron	LaPolla 1987, Marrison 1967
Rongmei / Nruanghmei	Benedict 1972, Brown 1837, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1994e, Weidert 1987

Zeme	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1985a, Weidert 1987
1.3.4. TANGKHULIC	
**Tangkhulic*	Mortensen 2012
Champhung	Brown 1837
Huishu	Mortensen 2012
Kachai	Mortensen 2012
Tangkhul	Benedict 1972, Bhat 1969, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1994b, Matisoff 2003a, Weidert 1987
Tangkhul (Northern)	Brown 1837
Tangkhul (Standard)	Brown 1837
Tankghul (Central)	Brown 1837
Tusom	Mortensen 2012
Ukhrul	Mortensen 2012
1.4. MEITHEI	
Meithei	Abbi & Mishra 1985, Benedict 1972, Chelliah 1997, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 2003a, Singh 1991, Weidert 1987
Old Meithei	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
1.5. MIKIR [KARBI]	
Mikir [Karbi]	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, Grüssner 1979, LaPolla 1987, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Walker 1925, Weidert 1987
Old Mikir [Karbi]	Benedict 1972
1.6. MRU	
Mru	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987, Löffler 1966, Luce 1985, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Weidert 1987
1.7.1. BODO-GARO	
**Barish*	Matisoff 1993, Weidert 1987
**Barish (East)*	Weidert 1987
**Bodo-Garo*	Benedict 1972, Burling 1959, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Matisoff 1985a
1.7.1.1. BODO	
Bodo	Benedict 1972, Bhat 1968, Burling 1959, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Weidert 1987
Dimasa	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 2003a
Kokborok	Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 2003a, Tripuri & Jurafsky 1988
Lalung [Tiwa]	Balawan 1965
Meche	Weidert 1987
1.7.1.2. GARO	
**Garo dialects*	Benedict 1972
Garo	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Weidert 1987
Garo (Bangladesh)	Burling 1992, Burling 2003
1.7.1.3. KOCH	
Atong	Burling 1959, Matisoff 1987, van Breugel 2008
Koch	Benedict 1972
Rabha	Benedict 1972
Ruga	Benedict 1972
Wanang	Burling 1959, Matisoff 1987
1.7.1.4. DEORI	
Deori/Deuri	Benedict 1972, Brown 1895, Jacquesson 2005, unknown nd
1.7.2. NORTHERN NAGA/KONYAKIAN	
**Northern Naga*	French 1983, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 2003a
1.7.2.1. TANGSA-NOCTE	
Nocte	Benedict 1972, French 1983, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1985a, Weidert 1987
Nocte (Namsang)	Benedict 1941/2008
Shangge	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Tangsa	Weidert 1987
Tangsa (Moshang)	Benedict 1941/2008, Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, French 1983, LaPolla 1987, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1985a, Weidert 1987
Tangsa (Yogli)	French 1983, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1985a
1.7.2.2. KONYAK-CHANG	
Chang	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, French 1983, LaPolla 1987, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1985a, Weidert 1987
Khiamngan	Weidert 1987
Konyak	French 1983, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1985a, Weidert 1987
Konyak (Tableng)	Benedict 1972
Konyak (Tamlu)	Matisoff 1978b, Weidert 1987
Konyak (Wakching)	Weidert 1987
Phom	Benedict 1972, Burling & Amon Phom 1998, French 1983, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1993
Tableng	Benedict 1941/2008
Wancho	Benedict 1972, French 1983, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987
1.7.3.1. JINGPHO	
**Jingpho*	Weidert 1987
Jili	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Jingpho	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1983, Hanson 1906, Hansson 1989, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, LaPolla 1987, LIU Lu, ed. 1984, Maran nd., Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1974, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1978a, Matisoff 1983, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1993, Matisoff 1994b, Matisoff 2003a, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991, Weidert 1987
Jingpho (Assam)	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Jingpho (Hkauri)	Benedict 1972, Matisoff 1974, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987
Jingpho (Maran)	LaPolla 1987
1.7.3.2. ASAKIAN	
**Asakian*	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2012
Andro	Benedict 1972, Luce 1985
Chairel	Benedict 1972, Luce 1985, Matisoff 2003a
Ganan	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2012, Luce 1985, Matisoff 2013a
Kadu	Benedict 1972, HUZIWARA Keisuke 2012, LaPolla 1987, Luce 1985, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 2013a
Kadu ("Sak")	Löffler 1964
Kadu (Kantu)	Luce 1985
Lui	Matisoff 1987
Sak	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 2013a
Sak (Bawtala)	Luce 1985
Sak (Dodem)	Luce 1985
Sengmai	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2012, Luce 1985
Taman	Luce 1985
2. HIMALAYISH	
Chourasya	Benedict 1972, Coblin 1986, Matisoff 1987
Nachereng	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972
Thangmi	Benedict 1972, Weidert 1987
Toto	Benedict 1972
2.1.1. WESTERN HIMALAYISH	
Baram	Benedict 1972, Kansakar 2010
Bunan	Benedict 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1985a, Sharma 1991a
Byangsi	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Sharma 2003
Chaudangsi	Benedict 1972, Krishan 2003
Darma	Krishan 2003
Kanashi	Benedict 1972
Kanauri	Bailey 1911, Bauer 1991, Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Sharma 1988
Pattani [Manchati]	Benedict 1972, Coblin 1986, Matisoff 1985a, Sharma 1982, Sharma 1991b
Raji	Krishan 2003
Rongpo	Sharma 2003
Thebor	Benedict 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987
2.1.2. BODIC	
Baima	SUN Hongkai 1991a
Bumthang	Weidert 1987
Cuona Menba	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Kaike	Hale 1973, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987, Michailovsky 1991, Weidert 1987
Kurtöp	Weidert 1987
Monpa	Weidert 1987
Motuo Menba	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Takpa	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Tashigang	Weidert 1987
Tsangla	CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Das Gupta 1968
Tsangla (Central)	Andvik 1993, Benedict 1972, Coblin 1986, Egli-Roduner 1987
Tsangla (Motuo)	LaPolla 1987, SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991, ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tsangla (Tilang)	ZHANG Jichuan, ed. 1986
Tshona (Mama)	LaPolla 1987, SUN Hongkai *et al.* 1980, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Tshona (Wenlang)	LU Shaozun, ed. 1986
Zhangzhung	Matisoff 2001
2.1.2.1. TIBETAN	
"Pre-Tibetan"	Coblin 1986
Bhote	Weidert 1987
Chamba Lahuli	Benedict 1972
Dzongkha	Weidert 1987
Jirel	Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a
Ladakhi	Benedict 1972
Lahuli	Benedict 1972
Purik	Benedict 1972
Sakka Trokpa	Weidert 1987
Sherpa	Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987, Weidert 1987
Spiti	Bodh 1991
Tibetan (Alike)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Tibetan (Amdo:Bla-brang)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Tibetan (Amdo:Zeku)	Benedict 1972, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991, Sun 1985a
Tibetan (Balti)	Benedict 1972, Rangan 1975
Tibetan (Batang)	DAI Qingxia 1989a, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Tibetan (Central)	Benedict 1972, Weidert 1987
Tibetan (Jirel)	Hale 1973, Matisoff 1987
Tibetan (Khams:Dege)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Tibetan (Ladakhi)	LaPolla 1987
Tibetan (Lhasa)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, LaPolla 1987, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Tibetan (Sherpa)	Hale 1973
Tibetan (Sherpa:Helambu)	Bishop 1989
Tibetan (Spiti)	Sharma 1979
Tibetan (Spoken)	Weidert 1987
Tibetan (Western)	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Tibetan (Written)	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, Das 1902, GONG Hwang-cherng 2000, GONG Hwang-cherng 2001, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, Jäschke 1881, LaPolla 1987, Luce 1985, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1974, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1983, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1987–, Matisoff 1993, Matisoff 1994b, Matisoff 2003a, Michailovsky 1991, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991, Sun 1985c, Weidert 1987, ZHANG Liansheng 1988
Tibetan (Written/Western?)	Jäschke 1881
Tibetan (Xiahe)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
2.1.3. LEPCHA	
Lepcha	Benedict 1941/2008, Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Mainwaring 1898, Matisoff 1978a, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1994b, Plaisier 2007, Weidert 1987
2.1.4. TAMANGISH	
**TGTM*	Matisoff 1985a, Mazaudon 1978, Mazaudon 1994
Chantyal	Matisoff 1994b, Noonan *et al.* 1992
Gurung	Benedict 1972, Hale 1973, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Mazaudon 1994, Weidert 1987
Gurung (Ghachok)	Glover 1972, Matisoff 1987, Mazaudon 1978
Manang (Gyaru)	Nagano 1984
Manang (Ngawal)	Mazaudon 1978
Manang (Prakaa)	HOSHI Michiyo 1984, Mazaudon 1994
Murmi	CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986
Tamang	Benedict 1972, Weidert 1987
Tamang (Bagmati)	Weidert 1987
Tamang (Risiangku)	Matisoff 1978b, Mazaudon 1978, Mazaudon 1991, Mazaudon 1994, Mazaudon 2013
Tamang (Sahu)	Hale 1973, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1994b, Mazaudon 1978, Mazaudon 1994, Taylor *et al.* 1972, Weidert 1987

Tamang (Sindhuli)	Weidert 1987
Tamang (Taglung)	Mazaudon 1978, Mazaudon 1994
Thakali	Benedict 1972, Hale 1973, Matisoff 1985a, Weidert 1987
Thakali (Marpha)	Mazaudon 1978, Mazaudon 1994
Thakali (Syang)	Mazaudon 1978, Mazaudon 1994
Thakali (Tukche)	Hari 1971, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987, Mazaudon 1978, Mazaudon 1994
2.1.5. Dhimal	
Dhimal	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, King 1994, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1987
2.2. Newar	
Newar	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Genetti 1990d, Genetti 1990a, Hale 1973, LaPolla 1987, Malla 2007, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1993, Michailovsky 1991, Shakya & Hargreaves 1989, Weidert 1987
Newar (Dolakhali)	Genetti 1990b
Newar (Kathmandu)	Genetti 1990c, Malla 2007, Manandhar 1986
2.3. Kiranti	
**BSDTK*	Michailovsky 1991
**Kiranti*	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1985a, Michailovsky 1991, Opgenort 2011, Weidert 1987
**SE Kiranti*	Michailovsky 1991
Dungmali	Benedict 1972, Weidert 1987
Khambu	Benedict 1972, Coblin 1986
Kharmile	Weidert 1987
Lambichong	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Rokhung	Weidert 1987
Waling	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972
Zerungge Rai	Weidert 1987
2.3.1. Eastern Kiranti	
Athpare (Rai)	Ebert 1997, Weidert 1987
Balali	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Belhare	Bickel 1995
Chhintang	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972
Chukwa	Weidert 1987
Limbu	Benedict 1972, Chemjong 1962, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Driem 1988, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 2003a, Michailovsky 1989b, Michailovsky 1991, Weidert 1987
Lohorong	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987, Weidert 1987
Rungchangbung	Chou Fa-kao 1972
Yakha	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, Kohn 1990, Weidert 1987
Yakkha-Dewan	Weidert 1987
Yamphe	Weidert 1987
Yamphu	Rutgers 1998
2.3.2. Southern Kiranti	
**Kul-Cham-Ban*	Michailovsky 1991
Bantawa	Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987, Michailovsky 1991, Rai 1985, Rai *et al.* 1984, Weidert 1987
Chamling	Michailovsky 1991, Weidert 1987, Winter 1985
Kulung	Benedict 1972, Michailovsky 1991, Rai *et al.* 1975, Weidert 1987
Rodong	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972
2.3.3. Central Kiranti	
**Dum-Thu-Kha*	Michailovsky 1991
Dumi	Benedict 1972, Driem 1993, LaPolla 1987, Michailovsky 1991, Weidert 1987
Khaling	Benedict 1972, Hale 1973, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1997, Matisoff 2003a, Michailovsky 1991, Weidert 1987
Rai	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Sampang	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987, Weidert 1987
2.3.4. Western Kiranti	
**Bah-Sun*	Michailovsky 1991
Bahing	Benedict 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Michailovsky 1991, Michailovsky & Mazaudon 1973, Weidert 1987
Hayu	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Michailovsky 1989a, Michailovsky 1991
Ombule (Rai)	Weidert 1987
Rumdali	Weidert 1987
Sunwar	Benedict 1972, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Hale 1973, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Michailovsky 1991, Weidert 1987
Thulung	Allen 1975, Benedict 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987, Michailovsky 1991, Weidert 1987
2.4. Kham-Magar-Chepang	
Chepang	Benedict 1972, Caughley 1972, Caughley 2000, Chou Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, Hale 1973, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Michailovsky 1991, Weidert 1987
Chepang (Eastern)	Caughley 1990
Kham	Hale 1973, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Michailovsky 1991, Watters & Watters 1973, Watters & Watters 1989, Weidert 1987
Magar	Benedict 1972, Coblin 1986, Hale 1973, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987, Michailovsky 1991, Weidert 1987
3.1. Tangut	
Tangut [Xixia]	Benedict 1972, Dai Qingxia 1989e, Lǐ Fànwén 李范文 1997, Matisoff 1978a, Matisoff 2003a, Nishida 1964, Sofronov c1978, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
3.2. Qiangic	
Ersu	Sun Hongkai 1991d, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
Guiqiong	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992, Sun Hongkai 1991e, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
Lyuzu	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992
Manyak	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Menia	Benedict 1972
Muya	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992
Muya [Minyak]	Sun Hongkai 1991h, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
Namuyi	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992, Sun Hongkai 1991i, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
Pumi (Dayang)	Matisoff 2003a
Pumi (Jiulong)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992
Pumi (Lanping)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992
Pumi (Qinghua)	LaPolla 1987, Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
Pumi (Taoba)	LaPolla 1987, Lu Shaozun, ed. 1983, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
Qiang	Benedict 1972
Qiang (ChiuTzuYing)	Matisoff 1972b
Qiang (Longxi)	Evans 1999
Qiang (Mawo)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992, LaPolla 1987, Sun Hongkai 1991g, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991, Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981, Sun 1986
Qiang (Mianchi)	Evans 1999, Matisoff 1993
Qiang (Taoping)	LaPolla 1987, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991, Sun Hongkai, ed. 1981
Qiang (Yadu)	Dai Qingxia 1989q, Dai Qingxia *et al.* 1983
Queyu (Xinlong)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992
Queyu (Yajiang) [Zhaba]	Sun Hongkai 1991n, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
Xumi	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992, Sun Hongkai 1991m, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
Zhaba (Daofu County)	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992
3.3. rGyalrongic	
Daofu	Huang Bufan & Dai Qingxia, eds. 1992
Ergong (Danba)	Sun Hongkai 1991b, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
Ergong (Daofu)	Dai Qingxia 1989b
Ergong (Northern)	Sun Hongkai 1991c
Horpa	Benedict 1972
Lavrung (Jinchuan Guaninqiao)	Nagano & Prins 2013
Lavrung (Maerkang Muerzong)	Nagano & Prins 2013
Nyagrong Minyag (Ganzi Xinlong)	Nagano & Prins 2013
3.3.1. rGyalrong	
Caodeng	Sun 1997a
Ganzi Danba Geshenzha	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGBenzhen	Sun 1997b
rGyalrong	Benedict 1972, Coblin 1986, Dai Qingxia 1989d, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Nagano 1997, Sun Hongkai et al. 1991
rGyalrong (Aba Kehe Shuiricun)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Aba Rongan Menggucun)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Leilecun Duoguozu)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Baoxing Qiaoqi Yuojie)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Eastern)	Sun Hongkai 1991j
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Munashan)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi Qiongshan)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Badi)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Banshanmen)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bawang)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Bianer)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dandong)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Dasang)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Niega Jiaju)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Ganzi Danba Taipingqiao)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Jiasikong kharjiacun)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Kongse Xiaoguoqiaocun)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Ganzi Daofu Xianshuizhen)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Ganzi Seda Geletuo Naoluocun)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Heishui Luhua)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo Muchang)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Heishui Shashiduo)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Rangkou Jiadang)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Hongyuan Shuajinsi Selong)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Cengda)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Dusong)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Erkai)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Guaninqiao Wobzi)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Hedong)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Jimu Zhouchan)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Kalajiao)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maerbang)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Manai Genza)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Maori Maori)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Sawajiao)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Taiyanghe)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Jinchuan Wanlin Xilizhai)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Lixian Ganbao)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Lixian Guergou)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Lixian Jiabi)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Lixian Miyalo)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Lixian Putou)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Lixian Shangmeng Rajipu)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Lixian Xiameng Xiaogoucun)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Lixian Xinglong Kechun)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Lixian Xuecheng Jiamizhai)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Baiwan Muerji)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Benzhen Yingbolo)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (A))	Nagano & Prins 2013

rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (B))	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Bola (C))	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (A))	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Caodeng (B))	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dangba Geerda)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Dazang)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (A))	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Japhug Shaerzong (B))	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Jiamuzu Konglong)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Kangshan)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Longerjia)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Ribu)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman Seermi)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Soman)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Songgang Zhibo)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang Zhuokeji Xisuo)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Maerkang)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
rGyalrong (Northern)	SUN Hongkai 1991k
rGyalrong (NW)	SUN Hongkai 1991l
rGyalrong (Queyu Gala)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxi siyaowucun)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Rangtang Puxicun)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Rangtang Shili Erguowucun)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Rangtang Zongke)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Tsuta)	Benedict 1972
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Bajiao)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Dawei)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Fubian)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Hanniu)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Jiesi)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Mupo)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Rilong)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Xingge)	Nagano & Prins 2013
rGyalrong (Xiaojin Zhailong)	Nagano & Prins 2013
Shili	Sun 1997c

4. NUNGIC

**Nungish*	Benedict 1972
Anong	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978a, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 2003a, SUN Hongkai 1988, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Anong (dialect)	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Anong (Rawang)	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987
Anong (Rawang/Lungmi)	Benedict 1972
Anong (Rawang/Metu)	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972
Anong (Rawang/Mutwang)	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987
Anu	Benedict 1972
Dulong	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Nung	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, Matisoff 2003a
Nung (Rawang)	Benedict 1941/2008
Rawang	LaPolla 2003
Rawang (Mvtwang)	LaPolla & Poa 2001
Trung [Dulong]	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, LaPolla 1987, LO Ch'ang-p'ei 1945, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1993, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Trung [Dulong] (Dulonghe)	LaPolla 1987, SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982
Trung [Dulong] (Nujiang)	LaPolla 1987, SUN Hongkai, ed. 1982

5. TUJIA

Tujia	CHEN Kang 1986d, CHEN Kang 1986c, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, Matisoff 1994b, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Tujia (Northern)	Brassett & Brassett 2004, Brassett *et al.* 2006, TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986
Tujia (Southern)	TIAN Desheng & HE Tianzhen, et al., eds. 1986

6.1. LOLO-BURMESE

**Lolo-Burmese*	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1974, Matisoff 1978a, Matisoff 1983, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1988a, Matisoff 1993, Matisoff 1994b, Matisoff 2003a, Weidert 1987

6.1.1. BURMISH

**Burmese*	Matisoff 2003a, Okell 1971, Weidert 1987
Achang	Benedict 1972, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1994b
Achang (Lianghe)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1994b
Achang (Longchuan)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1994b, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Achang (Luxi)	DAI Qingxia & CUI Zhizhao, eds. 1985, LaPolla 1987
Achang (Xiandao)	DAI Qingxia 1989f, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Arakanese	Okell 1971
Atsi [Zaiwa]	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, LaPolla 1987, Luce 1985, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1994b, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991, Weidert 1987, XU Xijian & XU Guizhen, eds. 1984
Bola	DAI Qingxia 1989g, Matisoff 2003a
Bola (Luxi)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Burmese (Inscriptional)	Benedict 1972, Matisoff 1983, Okell 1971
Burmese (Modern)	Luce 1985
Burmese (Rangoon)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Burmese (Spoken Rangoon)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Burmese (Spoken)	Luce 1985
Burmese (Standard Spoken)	Okell 1971
Burmese (Written)	Benedict 1972, Benedict 1976a, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, Hansson 1989, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, Judson 1893, LaPolla 1987, Luce 1985, Marrison 1967, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1974, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1978a, Matisoff 1983, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1988a, Matisoff 1993, Matisoff 2003a, Okell 1971, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991, VanBik 2009, Weidert 1987
Danu	Luce 1985
Hpun (Metjo)	Luce 1985
Hpun (Northern)	Henderson 1986
Inscriptional Burmese (=Pagan)	Benedict 1972
Intha	Benedict 1972, Okell 1971
Langsu (Luxi)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Lashi	Benedict 1972, DAI Qingxia 1989m, LaPolla 1987
Lashi (Lachhe')	Luce 1985
Leqi (Luxi)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Marma	HUZIWARA Keisuke 2008
Maru [Langsu]	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, DAI Qingxia 1989l, LaPolla 1987, Luce 1985, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 2003a, Okell 1971, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991, Weidert 1987
Phön	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1985a
Phön (Megyaw)	Benedict 1972
Phön (Samong)	Benedict 1972
Pyu	Benedict 1972
Pyu [Tircul]	Luce 1985
Samong	Benedict 1972
Taung-Yo	Luce 1985
Tavoyan	Benedict 1972, Okell 1971
Tavoyan dial.	LaPolla 1987

6.1.2. LOLOISH

**Loloish*	Bradley 1979b, Hansson 1989, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1993, Weidert 1987
Lolo	Benedict 1972, LaPolla 1987
Lolopho	Benedict 1972, DAI Qingxia 1989n, LaPolla 1987
PNL	CHEN Kang 1986a

6.1.2.1. NORTHERN LOLOISH

Gazhuo	DAI Qingxia 1989c, DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987, DAI Qingxia et al., eds. 1991, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, MU Shihua 2003
Lahu (Red)	Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1988a
Lalo	Björverud 1994, CHEN Kang 1986b, CHEN Kang 1986a, Matisoff 2003a
Lipho	CHEN Kang 1986b, CHEN Kang 1986a
Luquan	MA Xueliang 1948, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1978a, Matisoff 1979, Matisoff 1983, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 2003a
Nasu	Benedict 1972, CHEN Kang 1986b, CHEN Kang 1986a, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1978a, Matisoff 1985a
Neisu	CHEN Kang 1986a
Nesu	CHEN Kang 1986a, CHEN Kang 1986b
Noesu	CHEN Kang 1986b
Nosu	CHEN Kang 1986a, CHEN Kang 1986b
Nusu (Bijiang)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Nusu (Central)	DAI Qingxia 1989p, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Central/Zhizhiluo)	DAI Qingxia 1989o
Nusu (Northern)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Nusu (Southern)	SUN Hongkai & LIU Lu, eds. 1986
Yi (Dafang)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985, Matisoff 1993, Matisoff 1994b, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Yi (Liangshan)	MA Linying *et al.* 2008, Matisoff 1994b
Yi (Lishan)	DAI Qingxia *et al.* 1987
Yi (Mile)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Yi (Mojiang)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Yi (Nanhua)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Yi (Nanjian)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Yi (Southern)	Bauer 1991
Yi (Weishan)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Yi (Wuding)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Yi (Xide)	CHEN Shilin *et al.* 1985, CHEN Shilin & LI Min, et al., eds. 1979, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1993, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991

6.1.2.2. CENTRAL LOLOISH

**Common Lahu*	Bradley 1979b
Ahi	Benedict 1972, CHEN Kang 1986a, CHEN Kang 1986b, LaPolla 1987, LUO Meizhen 1990, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, YUAN Chia-hua 1953
Jinuo	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, Matisoff 1985a, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Jinuo (Baka)	DAI Qingxia 1989i
Jinuo (Baya/Banai)	DAI Qingxia 1989h
Jinuo (Buyuan)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Jinuo (Youle)	GAI Xingzhi, ed. 1986
Kucong	DAI Qingxia & CHANG Junzhi 2009
Lahu	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1983, Matisoff 1987–, Matisoff 1994b, Weidert 1987
Lahu (Bakeo)	Bradley 1979a
Lahu (Banlan)	Bradley 1979a
Lahu (Black)	CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986, Luce 1985, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1974, Matisoff 1978a, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1988a, Matisoff 1993, Matisoff 2003a, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Lahu (Lancang)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Lahu (Nyi)	Bradley 1979a
Lahu (Shehleh)	Bradley 1979a
Lahu (Yellow)	Benedict 1972, CHANG Hong'en et al., eds. 1986, Matisoff 1974, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1988a
Lisu	Benedict 1972, Bradley 1979b, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1978a, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1988a, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991, Weidert 1987
Lisu (Central)	Bradley 1994, Fraser 1922
Lisu (Luquan)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Northern)	Bradley 1994
Lisu (Nujiang)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lisu (Putao)	Luce 1985
Lisu (Theng-yüeh)	Luce 1985
Lisu (Yongsheng)	XU Lin *et al.* 1986
Lolo (Ni)	Luce 1985
Sani [Nyi]	Benedict 1972, CHEN Kang 1986b, CHEN Kang 1986a, Coblin 1986, LaPolla 1987, MA Xueliang 1989, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1993, Matisoff 1994b, WU Zili *et al.* 1984a, WU Zili *et al.* 1984b

Yi (Sani)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
6.1.2.3. SOUTHERN LOLOISH	
Akha	Benedict 1972, Bradley 1979b, Coblin 1986, Hansson 1989, LaPolla 1987, Lewis 1968, Lewis 1989, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1974, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1978a, Matisoff 1983, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1988a, Matisoff 1994b, Matisoff 2003a, Weidert 1987
Akha (Thai)	Hansson 1989
Akha (Yunnan)	Hansson 1989
Bisu	Beaudouin 1988, Bradley 1979b, Bradley 199x, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987
Côông [Phunoi]	Benedict 1972, Bradley 1977, Bradley 1979b, Ferlus 1991, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1988a, Matisoff 2003a
Hani	Benedict 1972, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1988a, Matisoff 1994b
Hani (Caiyuan)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Hani (Dazhai)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Hani (Gelanghe)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986
Hani (Hu T'an)	Matisoff 1972b
Hani (Kao Hua-Nien)	Matisoff 1972b
Hani (Khatu)	Hansson 1989
Hani (Lüchun)	Hansson 1989, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Hani (Mojiang)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Hani (Pijo)	Hansson 1989
Hani (Shuikui)	LI Yongsui & WANG Ersong, eds. 1986, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Hani (Wordlist)	Hansson 1989
Haoni	Hansson 1989
Kha Li	Benedict 1972
Mpi	Bradley 1979b, Hansson 1989, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1978a, Matisoff 1985a, SRINUAN Duanghom 1976
Pyen	Matisoff 1978b, SHINTANI Tadahiko 2009
Sangkong	LI Yongsui 1991, Matisoff 1993, Matisoff 2003a
Sila	KATO Takashi 2008
Ugong	Benedict 1972, Bradley 1993
Woni	Matisoff 1972b, Matisoff 1985a, YUAN Chia-hua 1947
6.1.2.4. SOUTHEASTERN LOLOISH	
Azha	Pelkey 2011
Hlepho Phowa	Pelkey 2011
Phola	Pelkey 2011
Phu Kha	Fried 2000
Phuza	Pelkey 2011
Southern Muji	Pelkey 2011
6.2. NAXI	
Laze (Xiangjiao)	Michaud 2006–2009
Moso	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, LI Lin-ts'an *et al.* 1967, Matisoff 1972b
Moso (Weixi)	Bauer 1991
Na (Yongning)	Lidz 2010, Michaud 2006–2009
Naxi	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992
Naxi (Eastern)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Lijiang)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
Naxi (Western)	HE Jiren & JIANG Zhuyi, eds. 1985
Naxi (Yongning)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991
7. KARENIC	
**Karen*	Benedict 1972, Benedict 1979, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Jones 1961, Luangthongkum 2013, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 2003a, Weidert 1987
**Karen (Central)*	Luangthongkum 2013
**Karen (Northern)*	Luangthongkum 2013
**Karen (Pwo)*	Jones 1961
**Karen (Pwo-Sgaw)*	Jones 1961
**Karen (Sgaw)*	Jones 1961
**Karen (Southern)*	Luangthongkum 2013
**Karen (TP)*	Jones 1961
**Karen [Burling]*	Luangthongkum 2013
Blimaw	Matisoff 2003a
Bwe	Henderson 1997, Luangthongkum 2013, Weidert 1987
Bwe (Western)	Luce 1985, Weidert 1987
Geba	Luce 1985, Weidert 1987
Karen	CHOU Fa-kao 1972, HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, LaPolla 1987
Karen (Sgaw)	Benedict 1972, Matisoff 1978b
Karen (Sgaw/Hinthada)	DAI Qingxia 1989k
Karen (Sgaw/Yue)	DAI Qingxia 1989j
Kayah	Luangthongkum 2013
Kayah Li	Matisoff 2003a
Kayan	Luangthongkum 2013
Kayan (Pekon)	Manson 2010
Kayaw	Luangthongkum 2013, Matisoff 2003a
Pa-O	Benedict 1972, Benedict 1979, Coblin 1986, Jones 1961, Luce 1985, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 2003a, Solnit 1989, Weidert 1987
Pa-O (Northern)	Luangthongkum 2013, Luce 1985
Pa-O (Southern)	Luangthongkum 2013
Paku	Luce 1985
Palaychi	Benedict 1972, Benedict 1979, Jones 1961, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987, Weidert 1987
Pwo	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 2003a, Weidert 1987
Pwo (Bassein)	Benedict 1979, Jones 1961, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Weidert 1987
Pwo (Delta)	Luce 1985
Pwo (Moulmein)	Benedict 1979, Jones 1961, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Weidert 1987
Pwo (Northern)	Luangthongkum 2013
Pwo (Southern)	Luangthongkum 2013
Pwo (Tenasserim)	Luce 1985
Red Karen	Benedict 1972
Sgaw	Benedict 1979, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, LaPolla 1987, Luce 1985, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 2003a, Weidert 1987
Sgaw (Bassein)	Jones 1961, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 2000b
Sgaw (Moulmein)	Jones 1961, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1987
Sgaw (Northern)	Luangthongkum 2013
Sgaw (Southern)	Luangthongkum 2013
8. BAI	
Bai	Matisoff 1994b
Bai (Bijiang)	SUN Hongkai et al. 1991, XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Dali)	Dell 1981a, Dell 1981b, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991, XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984
Bai (Jianchuan)	HUANG Bufan & DAI Qingxia, eds. 1992, SUN Hongkai et al. 1991, XU Lin & ZHAO Yansun, eds. 1984, ZHAO Yansun 1990
9. SINITIC	
"Pre-Chinese"	Coblin 1986
Chinese (GSR #)	Baxter & Sagart 2011, Luce 1985
Chinese (Hanzi)	Baxter & Sagart 2011, Matisoff 2003a, Nagano & Prins 2013
9.0.1. OLD CHINESE	
Chinese (Old)	Baxter 1992, Baxter & Sagart 2011, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, GONG Hwang-cherng 2000, Karlgren 1923, Luce 1985, Matisoff 1978b, Matisoff 1983, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1994b, Matisoff 2003a, Weidert 1987
Chinese (Old/Mid)	Benedict 1972, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Karlgren 1957, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1978b
9.0.2. MIDDLE CHINESE	
Chinese (Middle)	Baxter & Sagart 2011, CHOU Fa-kao 1972, Coblin 1986, Karlgren 1923, LaPolla 1987, Matisoff 1983, Matisoff 1985a, Matisoff 1987
9.0.3. MODERN CHINESE	
Chinese (Mandarin)	Baxter & Sagart 2011, Evans *et al.* 1991, Karlgren 1957, Matisoff 1987, Matisoff 1993, Matisoff 1994b, Sun 1985b
X.1. NON-TB	
**Austro-Tai*	Matisoff 1985a
**Tai*	Matisoff 1985a
Nepali	Hale 1973, Matisoff 1987
Vietnamese	CHOU Fa-kao 1972

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